Appendix

Increasing Income-Tax Exemption From $600 to $1,000

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on this opening day of this new session of Congress I have introduced a bill to increase from $600 to $1,000 the income-tax exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent. The purpose of this bill is to provide reasonable relief to the American taxpayer possessing dependents. If this bill of mine is enacted into law, the present income-tax law would be amended permitting this increase from $600 to $1,000 for dependents for the taxable years beginning after December 31, 1953.

The American taxpayer has earned some relief. In no other country in the world have the citizens of such nations answered their responsibilities to government as honestly and as loyally as have the American people. Not only has the American taxpayer shouldered the burden of financing war and the armament of free nations but he has also gladly and willingly shouldered the responsibility of reconstruction of the whole free world. The enormous sums of money which our country has contributed abroad has come, and is coming, from the American taxpayer.

Due to these large foreign requirements, together with the great expense of government here at home, the American taxpayer has suffered. His family has suffered; his children have suffered; American life has suffered. In view of the present $600 low exemption for a dependent, it is exceedingly difficult for American families not only to finance the day-to-day living costs of their dependent children and their education, but it has become so difficult, it is regrettable to say, children are avoided. In other words, this low exemption of $600 not only threatens American family life but it threatens the future of America.

If our country is to survive during these next crucial generations, young parents must have every encouragement, not only to have children, but to properly care for them and to give them an adequate education. A nation in which its people are educated is a strong nation. Freedom depends upon education and education depends upon freedom. Certainly the time has come in this country when the American taxpayer has earned this reasonable relief in order that his own country might be strengthened.

There are some who hold the view that the Nation cannot afford to increase the exemption for a dependent from $600 to $1,000 because it would cost the Government too much in taxes. It is my view that this is faulty economic reasoning. It is not fact; it is pure opinion. This opinion is not based upon sound economic thinking. If at the proper time I am asked to do so, I shall be glad to state my views on this subject to the Congress. I expect to do everything I possibly can to get this bill passed during this session of Congress. I shall appreciate the support of the American people.

The bill follows:

A bill to increase from $600 to $1,000 the income-tax exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent

Be it enacted, etc., That section 25 (b) (1) (D) of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to normal tax and surtax exemptions) is hereby amended by striking out "An exemption of $600 for each dependent" and inserting in lieu thereof "An exemption of $1,000 for each dependent."

SEC. 2. Section 58 (a) (1) of the Internal Revenue Code (relating to requirement of declaration of estimated tax) is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(1) his gross income from wages (as defined in sec. 1621) can reasonably be expected to exceed the sum of $4,500 plus—

"(A) $600 with respect to each exemption provided in subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of section 25 (b) (1); and

"(B) $1,000 with respect to each exemption provided in subparagraph (D) of section 25 (b) (1); or."

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this act shall apply only with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1953.

One Hundred and Fifty-third Anniversary of the Boston Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article by Bill Cunningham which appeared in the Boston Herald on Wednesday, August 26, 1953, the 153d anniversary of the Boston Naval Shipyard. As the Representative in Congress of the 11th Congressional District of Massachusetts in which the shipyard is located I am especially proud to bring to the attention of the Congress this tribute to the shipyard and to the many loyal employees of this splendid installation.

The article follows:

NAVY YARD RATES HAPPY BIRTHDAY—ITS SHIPBUILDERS COMPILE AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD

(By Bill Cunningham)

Today marks the 153d anniversary of the Boston Navy Yard, a mighty industrial possession vital to the entire New England region, a fact insufficiently known and not generally appreciated. I am moved to this salute in the name of all of us who benefit incidentally from its presence because the cry has been heard that we don't sufficiently appreciate our traditional possessions—the Boston Braves, for instance, and sundry other enterprises that were permitted to wither here, only to bloom into sensational prosperity when transplanted in distant soil.

I do not speak here of its hallowed history going all the way back to the April of 1800, when the Honorable Benjamin Stoddard, Secretary of our fledgling Navy, wrote President John Adams that there was, in Boston, "an old yard (Hart's Naval Yard where the famed Constitution was built) * * * which is a very proper situation for a building yard." It was, however, private property, he explained, and "cannot be obtained for less than $18,000."

OTHER FIVE NORTHEAST STATES CONTRIBUTE, TOO

President Adams told him to go ahead. The place then was known as Moulton's Point, and it's where the British landed prior to the Battle of Bunker Hill * * * but all that you can read somewhere else. I'm thinking here of the great modern shipbuilding yard that employs 13,000 civilian men and women in Charlestown and South Boston, at a payroll that runs to $50,000,000 a year.

That's at the site. It would take more time than I can spare and more statistics than I care to cope with to include all the other civilian workers whose wages come in whole, or in part, from that central operation. Their number must run into the hundreds of thousands and then earnings into the hundreds of millions. Their geographical spread embraces the location of small business plants and subcontractors wherever they are located all over these six surrounding States.

For example, Massachusetts manufacturers and suppliers send to the navy yard plumbing fixtures, leather beltings, navigating instruments, clocks, insulation, turbine, electrical machinery, draperies, and many other items. From New Hampshire come clay products, ebony, silica, and mica. Maine contributes paper, winches, windlasses, steering gears, clay, and lumber.

Vermont is in this general industrial picture for lumber, marble, lime, asbestos, plywood, paints, steel wire, and machinery. Connecticut sells supply hardware, silverware, cutlery, pipe fittings, clocks, gages, brass products, tools, lime, and graphite. Rhode Island profits from graphite hand tools, lime machinery, and numerous other items.

This doesn't include the vegetable and produce dealers, the meat dealers, oil companies, transportation systems, landlords, and so on to a sprawling pattern that adds up to an important percentage of the general regional economy.

But it's the people who work there I especially hail and on the authority of experience. I have had sufficient contact with them especially in connection with certain charities, to see who they are and how they operate. Actually, they're like the citizens

of a town of their own, only there probably isn't a town in the United States as well and efficiently run.

FIRST TO RESPOND AFTER TORNADO

As shipbuilders and fitters, the record out there is on file in the form of letters of commendation from the officers and men of many ships of the fleet, not to mention the top brass of the Navy and farther on up. But I'm thinking of their outstanding records in the fields of safety, bond buying, accident prevention, Red Cross blood donation, and similar divers good causes, including quick response to emergencies. The recent tornado disaster was a case in point. The navy yard employees were with the first to rush men, materials, and money.

And I especially salute the way they handled the news of somewhile back that the new Federal economy program might bring severe employment cuts to the yard. Instead of growing panicked, of screaming or threatening, or trying to pressure our Senators and Congressmen with belligerent letters, they met and formed what they called The Boston Naval Shipyard Betterment Association.

Its officers were, and are: President, Lyman E. Carlow, of Reading, who is also president of the Master Mechanics and Foremen's Association at the yard; vice president, Kenneth T. Lyons, national commander of the Federal Employees Veterans Association; treasurer, Thomas J. McDonald, president, American Federation of Government Employees at the yard; secretary, Joseph S. McAteer, commander, Allied Veterans Council at the yard; recording secretary, Charles C. O'Donnell, president of maintenance workers.

They then prepared a complete picture of the operations at the yard, its advantages, facilities, its excellent skilled labor market, its economy, efficiency, its tie-ins with New England industry, etc., in fact, as professional a presentation as the brightest corporation ever produced. Then, instead of demanding that Washington come up and look at it, they took it to Washington and placed it on display.

GREAT SELLING JOB—AND SUCCESSFUL

First they met with the Massachusetts congressional delegation, and made their presentation to it. Then they conferred with various other legislators and committees to show their charts and their pictures, and to answer all questions—as salesmen, not pleaders. It was a great selling job, and a successful one—historic, possibly, in the fact that what could have been a strong pressure group disdained the use of pressure, except the pressure of facts pleasantly and authoritatively presented.

The assembled solons, usually driven to the resentful defensive by the customary "Write Your Congressman" approach, were tremendously impressed by this more sensible and far more informative appeal, but I'd say it's typical of the intelligence and the initiative of a fine group of artisans and citizens. That historic old yard with its busy modern population is 153 years old today.

Happy birthday to it, and the best wishes of all of us to all who serve it.

Backs Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following letter written by the president of the California Farm Bureau Federation to the editor of the San Francisco Chronicle:

BACKS BENSON

EDITOR: I wish to express my appreciation, and I am sure I speak for a great many California farmers, in commending your editorial of October 28, "Three Hundred and Fifty Cattlemen Aren't a Majority."

Our analysis indicates that while we feared that some errors have been made by the Department of Agriculture under the leadership of Mr. Benson, that is true with any administrator who might accept such a tremendous responsibility to carry out a very difficult job through people not of his own choosing. Still, a great majority of farmers do have confidence in the integrity of Mr. Benson and in the ability of the administration, with the advice of farm organizations, to bring some order out of the chaos, most of which is the result of the high price-support program encouraged during the last 3 years of the last administration and likewise due to the heavy carryover of farm commodities in Government hands, due primarily to this same high price-support program.

We are confident that it is the desire of Mr. Benson and his assistants to help us develop a farm program for the benefit of farmers and the general public, designed to bring about the necessary postwar adjustment, rather than supporting a program for the benefit of politicians, designed primarily to keep politicians in office.

One might comment for the benefit of Democrats and Republicans alike, that the Democrats were doing very well in office until they adopted the high price support after passing the act of 1949, and from that time on farmers fell away from the Democratic administration in droves until the last Democrat presidential candidate was not able to carry a single farm State north of the Mason-Dixon line. Farmers want a sensible program designed to bring about the necessary adjustments in the high price-support and high surplus carryover program designed by some politicians to keep them in office.

GEORGE H. WILSON,
President, California Farm Bureau Federation.
BERKELEY.

Treatment of Burns With the Drug B. N. G.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK L. CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1953, 83d Congress, 1st session, my colleague, VICTOR WICKERSHAM, of Oklahoma, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD certain remarks about a new medical product made from the sprouts of the Mung bean, which is grown in Oklahoma. At later dates, Congressmen MOLLOHAN, of West Virginia; JOHN L. MCMILLAN, of South Carolina, and HAROLD A. PATTEN, of Arizona, have all inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD information about the work of this unusual drug.

With the kind indulgence of the membership I would like to bring to your attention a very interesting case that happened a short time ago, which shows just how the B. N. G. solution, manufactured by the Worth Pharmacal Co., of Oak Lawn, Ill., reacts when applied to burns.

According to a letter which I have just received from Mrs. Thomas La Venia, of 120 Arlington Village, Va., her 2-year-old son, on September 17, 1953, received a very severe burn on his right hand. I am informed that the first three fingers suffered third-degree burns, while the palm of the hand received second-degree burns. His mother tells me that little Tommy was rushed to the Arlington Village Pharmacy and that on the recommendation of the druggist, Dr. John H. Jones, the B. N. G. solution was applied to the boy's hand there at the drugstore.

According to Mrs. La Venia, within approximately 26 days her son's hand was completely well. This made the family very happy indeed but what pleased them most was the fact that there was no scar left. The good mother explains the matter far more eloquently in her letter to me, which I quote:

ARLINGTON, VA., *January 5, 1954.*
The Honorable FRANK L. CHELF,
House of Representatives,
Old House Office Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CHELF: It is my understanding that you have expressed an interest in the drug product known as B. N. G., which has been used for the treatment of burns.

For this reason, I would like to recount, for your interest, an experience with this drug.

On September 17, 1953, just a week before his second birthday, our son, Tommy, attempted to put a stray plug, unattached to a cord into an electric outlet. The plug shorted in some manner, creating a great explosion with much fire, singeing his hair and eyelashes and causing third-degree burns to his three fingers on his right hand and many other smaller places throughout his hand. In a state of severe shock and pain, I took him to our neighborhood pharmacy for first aid. This was approximately 20 minutes after the accident occurred. The pharmacist immediately began soaking the hand in B. N. G. solution, continuing this treatment for about 30 minutes. After this period of time it was obvious to even a layman that the pain and shock had disappeared. About an hour after the accident, on returning home, Tommy happily ate his dinner, in typical child fashion banging the injured hand on the tray of his high chair, obviously in no pain whatsoever.

We continued to treat his hand throughout the healing period with B. N. G., using no other treatment, during which time he suffered no pain or loss of use of the hand. On the 26th day the last of the scab fell away, leaving no scars.

We consider it a miracle that he shows no scars, to say nothing of some permanent disability to the hand, considering the seriousness of the burns.

Our only hope in telling you of our experience, is that you may use it to assist others who suffer from this major cause of accidents, burns, with the resulting disfigurements and disabilities.

Sincerely yours,
MRS. THOMAS W. LA VENIA.

My good friend and constituent, Mr. William W. Vaughn, of Glasgow, Ky., former aide to the beloved "Veep," Alben W. Barkley, is at the present time serving as the regional distributor of this drug. The fact of the matter is, Bill Vaughn informs me, that he has

made distribution of the B. N. G. solution as it was furnished to him, through various interested friends, free of charge, because, he says, this drug has not been recognized by the American Medical Association and that as a result it has been deprived of a legitimate market. If this be true the question arises: "Why is this drug not on the market and why is it not available to the medical profession or to the public?" Probably this matter should be called to the attention of Dr. Jonathan E. Rhoades, Richmond, Va., who I understand is chairman of the subcommittee on burns of the National Research Council.

In Support of Producing Commercial Beef in Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call attention at this time to an article written by Mr. George P. Converse, son of the late E. C. Converse, one of the founders of the great United States Steel Corp. Mr. Converse is the owner of Great Ring Farms, Sandy Hook, Conn., one of the largest cattle farms in the State. He is a pioneer in the raising of the Santa Gertrudis breed of cattle, the first breed of cattle ever developed in the United States, and the first new breed in over 100 years. Mr. Converse's article, which proclaims the feasibility of economically producing commercial beef in Connecticut by the use of the Santa Gertrudis bull, is especially interesting and provocative inasmuch as the Nutmeg State along with most of the New England States, is known as one of the most highly industrialized areas in the Nation. However, Mr. Converse points out that, during the pre-Revolutionary period, commercial beef was an important industry in Connecticut and may well be again.

The article follows:

WHY NOT CONNECTICUT BEEF?

(By George P. Converse, Sandy Hook, Conn.)

If one should turn back to the pages of our early Connecticut history, one would find that commercial beef was produced in this State by the early colonists of the east coast of North America back in the 17th century. These early settlers came from England and brought with them cattle similar to the present-day Devon, Hereford, and Shorthorn breeds. Due to the relatively large area of open grassland found in the Connecticut Valley, it became the basis for a very prosperous beef-cattle industry; the beef was pickled and packed in huge barrels and constituted an important item of foreign trade during the pre-Revolutionary period. In fact, so many oxen were slaughtered for export that an alarming shortage of work animals existed in certain sections. Most farmers at that time placed such a high value on their oxen that it was considered a gross economical waste to slaughter them for meat. The situation became so acute as to cause considerable agitation for the enactment of laws prohibiting the slaughter of able oxen under 7 years of age.

Today this once-profitable industry no longer exists in Connecticut. The $64 question constantly running through my mind is, Why? It might well be due to the fact that the early settlers had very little inducement to keep more cattle than were absolutely necessary to perform the farmwork and to furnish milk and butter for the home; and it is true that, other than in the Connecticut Valley, there was very little open grassland and most of the land had to be cleared of timber before it could be planted to crops. As the production of feed for cattle became more difficult the farmers interested in producing beef moved to the warmer climates of the Carolinas and Georgia, where they had mild winters and a long grazing season, with plenty of grassland available, without having to clear the wooded uplands. This, no doubt, was the condition created by necessity back in the 18th century.

Conditions have improved vastly in the New England States in the past 150 years. Today, Connecticut, with her thousands of fertile acres, no longer poses the problem of raising adequate feed required in the production of commercial beef. Modern science and the machine have taken over where the oxen and horses have left off. They have shown us the way to far greater soil fertility than was ever dreamed possible. New types of livestock have also been developed to produce higher quality and greater gains more economically. This is a new page out of a new book on modern farming, forgetting the past and looking only toward a brighter future.

There are, however, two important economical factors to be considered in the raising and feeding of commercial beef cattle. One is, How much of the required feed can the farmer raise on his own farm and how much of it will he be required to purchase? From my experience, a fair average would be 65 percent farm-grown and 35 percent purchased. The other factor is, What breed of beef cattle will produce the largest quantity of quality beef most economically? On this subject there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion.

There is little reason to expound upon the merits of the three British beef breeds, Hereford, Aberdeen-Angus, and Shorthorn, for their merits are well known to all producers of beef. The merits of the Santa Gertrudis, the first breed of cattle ever developed in the United States and the first new breed in over 100 years, are not as yet well known. (In 1940 the Santa Gertrudis breed, developed by the King Ranch in Texas, was officially recognized by the United States Government as a distinct breed of beef cattle.) I am presently in my second year of pioneering this truly great American beef breed in Connecticut, and have proven that, in addition to their being a more economical beef animal, they are well adapted to our rather rugged New England climate.

It might be of interest to other New Englandfarmers to learn firsthand a few of the outstanding merits of the Santa Gertrudis breed, which are:

1. By using a Santa Gertrudis bull on any of the British breeds one can produce a calf that at birth will outweigh the British breeds by approximately 50 pounds; at 9 months this same calf will outweigh them by about 150 pounds, at the same age and on the same feed. A mature cow or steer will average about 250 pounds more.

2. Santa Gertrudis cattle will outgain the British breeds. At a recent test conducted by the Ohio Experimental Station a yearling Santa Gertrudis bull, given them by the King Ranch, gained 123 pounds on a maintenance ration from June 10 to August 20. On the same ration 4 Herefords, of approximately the same age, gained only 15 to 47 pounds apiece.

3. Santa Gertrudis cattle will outdress the British breeds by approximately 3 percent. Swift & Co. butchered three 5-year-old King Ranch feedlot steers which weighed 2,400, 2,395, and 2,300 pounds live weight. They dressed out 71.9 percent, figured on live weight, less 3 percent shrinkage. Shortly thereafter the ranch received a cautiously worded letter announcing that these steers had not only broken all records for price, weight, and dressing percentage, but had also collapsed the rails at the stockyard.

4. It is now a scientifically proven fact that the British breeds suffer a rise in body temperature when air temperatures rise above 80° Fahrenheit. At a temperature of 95° Fahrenheit they run a fever of 2° to 4°, resulting in the loss of costly weight. As the Santa Gertrudis excrete perspiration through their skin, they are not affected by the heat.

5. With this American breed a farmer can produce 50 percent more beef per acre, at the same cost, for they are truly the most practical beef factory ever developed; their outstanding characteristics are their enormous size, dressing percentage, quality on hoof, hook, or platter, temperament, and, above all, their honest appreciation of grass. More pounds of quality beef can be produced cheaper with a Santa Gertrudis bull than with any other bull. That is a hard argument to beat.

In any case, no matter which beef breed you may choose, there is no reason why commercial beef cannot be produced economically in Connecticut. I might add that we have been producing it on Great Ring Farms for the past 3 years, and it is a very profitable enterprise.

Oppression of Religion in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, in oppressed Poland today there is no single force fighting the Communist tyranny as stanchly as the Catholic Church. Throughout the ages the church has kept alive the tradition of resistance in Poland, and has served as a rallying point for her downtrodden people. Poland's struggle for independence and liberty has long derived its inspiration from the spiritual strength of the church.

The Christian tradition is the key to the Polish spirit of nobility and self-sacrifice. Because Christianity upholds the dignity and rights of the individual, it is completely incompatible with the atheistic teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The Communist system means the complete degradation of humanity and the denial of all individual freedoms. Between the two doctrines there can be no compromise. And it is for this reason that wherever the Communists have gained power, they have had to wage a ruthless campaign to destroy the church. In this way they have sought to destroy not only their strongest

source of opposition in Poland, but also the very spirit of the Polish people.

The ruthless persecution of the Catholic Church by the godless forces of Communist tyranny followed a familiar pattern in Poland. The agreement that was reached between the Communists and the Catholic Church in 1950 was soon broken in every way. Churches were threatened and openly attacked. The clergy were considered enemies of the state and all who attended church were suspected. Last September, this vicious campaign reached its climax with the imprisonment of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski. Many other members of the Catholic hierarchy have been removed and replaced by Communist puppets.

The struggle continues, but communism has not succeeded in destroying the faith of Polish men and women. Neither can it succeed in obliterating something that is so much a part of the Polish heritage.

On the contrary, it seems to have given the Polish resistance a point of focus. Church attendance has become more than a rededication to the faith. It is a means of defying the regime and of showing that the spirit of liberty is not dead in Poland. Furthermore, the church gives all Poles a feeling of being a part of the great democratic Christian community. As we begin the new year, let us remember the oppressed people of Poland and pray with them for their deliverance. The following Christmas message from the Polish-American Journal of December 1953 perhaps best expresses our affirmation to keep faith with the enslaved people of Poland:

OUR CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

This Christmas 25 million Catholics in Poland, enslaved by godless Communist tyrants, will silently pray to Christ the Lord for their imprisoned Primate, Cardinal Wyszynski, for the 1,000 Polish priests held in Communist dungeons, for the liberation of Poland and for peace on earth among men of good will.

In asking all Catholics to pray for the captive Poles, His Holiness Pius XII declared:

"The gravity of these present evils should cause no one to lose trust in a more promising future. Truth and justice are not merely words. They have the very power of God Most High, who is their Sponsor and has constituted Himself their Defender and who, in maintaining them, despite appearances, instills in the hearts of His children the certitude of the final triumph of peace in mutual esteem among peoples and generous agreement among those of good will."

Keeping this in mind, let every one of us support our oppressed brethren in Poland with prayers to the God Most High, remembering that prayers are more powerful than the atomic bombs.

Rev. Alexander W. Fronczak, President, Polish Clergymen Society, Lodge 24, PCU of America, Most Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, Wallington, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Paul Knappek, St. Casimir's Church, Newark, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Martin J. Lipinski, St. Hedwig's Church, Trenton, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur B. Strenski, St. Joseph's Church, Camden, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Anthony A. Traika, Mount Carmel Church, Bayonne, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John F. Wetula, St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, Garfield, N. J.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. James Wrzeciono, St. Stephen's Church, Paterson, N. J.; Rev. Adolf Banach, O. F. M. Conv., St. John Kanty Church, Clifton, N. J.; Rev. Stephen A. Buszka, All Saints Church, Burlington, N. J.; Rev. Theodore J. Gajewski, St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, Plainfield, N. J.; Rev. Leo P. Hak, St. Anthony's Church, Jersey City, N. J.; Rev. Ceslaus M. Jasionowski, S. T. D., St. Mary of Czestochowa Church, Bound Brook, N. J.; Rev. Clement Kacprzynski, O. F. M. Conv., St. Stanislaus Church, Trenton, N. J.; Rev. John A. Karolewski, St. Anne's Church, Jersey City, N. J.; Rev. Francis A. Kasprowicz, Holy Cross Church, Trenton, N. J.; Rev. M. A. Konopka, Holy Family Church, Carteret, N. J.; Rev. Francis P. Kowalczyk, Holy Rosary Church, Passaic, N. J.; Rev. Edward S. Kozlowski, St. Therese of the Child Jesus Church, Linden, N. J.; Rev. Anthony T. Kurzynowski, St. Joseph's Church, Passaic, N. J.; Rev. Metislaus C. Lankau, Sacred Heart Church, Irvington, N. J.; Rev. Zenon Lesniowski, St. Stephen's Church, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Rev. Alexander F. Maciejewski, St. Stanislaus Church, Sayreville, N. J.; Rev. Francis S. Majewski, Sacred Heart Church, Hudson Heights, N. J.; Rev. Stanislaus A. Milos, St. Anthony's Church, Port Reading, N. J.; Rev. Martin A. Piasecki, Our Lady of Czestochowa Church, Jersey City, N. J.; Rev. Bronislaus A. Socha, St. Valentine's Church, Bloomfield, N. J.; Rev. Walter, Urbanik, Sacred Heart Church, South Amboy, N. J.; Rev. Peter Wieczorek, Sacred Heart Church, Manville, N. J.; Rev. John P. Witkiewicz, St. Joseph's Church, Hackensack, N. J.; Rev. Fabian Zator, O. F. M. Conv., St. Casimir's Church, Riverside, N. J.; Rev. Alexander L. Zdanewicz, St. Joseph's Church, New Brunswick, N. J.; Rev. Henry A. Sarnowski, Director, Don Bosco High School, Ramsey, N. J.; Rev. Albert Arthur Rojek, President, Second World War Polish Chaplains Association in the United States.

Eight - Thousand - Six - Hundred - Dollar Housing Program but No Eight-Thousand-Six-Hundred-Dollar Houses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, a housing program predicated on nonexistent $8,000 houses has failed to arouse any considerable enthusiasm in the city of Chicago, according to the lead article in the January 1954 issue of Work. I might explain, Mr. Speaker, that Work is the monthly newspaper of the Catholic Labor Alliance, an organization so large and powerful in the city of Chicago that on the occasion of its 10th anniversary a few months ago over 2,500 men and women of the highest distinction in all fields of activity gathered at the commendatory banquet. His Eminence Cardinal Stritch was one of many speakers, including leaders in industry, in labor, and in other fields.

The article follows:

(By Patrick Malone)

My friend Stan Novak, the south Chicago steelworker, is really baffled.

Ever since November 1952 Stan has been wondering what happened to the housing program of the administration in Washington. He saw the last session of Congress effectively sidetrack a housing program which would meet needs of families in his income bracket (take-home pay of $80 a week).

He's even more worried after he heard about the report made in December by the President's Advisory Committee on Housing.

Newspaper stories said the Advisory Committee was recommending a 2-year experimental program to provide 40-year loans for the full amount on homes selling up to $7,600 ($8,600 in high-cost areas like New York and Chicago). The loans would be insured by FHA and there would be no down payment.

Novak couldn't believe his eyes. Where did the Federal Government expect to find $8,600 homes in the Chicago area? For 2 full years, several nights a week and often on Saturday and Sunday, he has been searching for a home around $10,000 for his wife and 3 children.

To date he hasn't found one.

If there were no such homes to be bought, who did the Advisory Committee think was going to build them, he wanted to know? If somehow homes were built to sell at the Advisory Committee's low prices, would the homes last 40 years?

Stan was sure baffled. Had he been looking in the wrong places? Had he been blind to some real bargains? Novak went for advice to a friend of his, a top executive in a Chicago savings and loan association.

"There simply isn't anything like a $10,000 house in the Chicago area," the executive told him. "In fact, the only kind of house you can buy for even $11,000 is a shell that you have to finish yourself."

Novak feels better now—and worse, too.

He was right about not finding a home under $10,000, but unhappy about the prospect of an administration program which wouldn't help him realize his life-long dream of owning a home of his own.

Novak now wonders how serious the President's Advisory Committee is about its so-called experimental program. Why, he wants to know, is it even suggested as a substitute for the present, low-rent public-housing program?

He has yet to be convinced that the administration is not trying to find a way to kill the United States public housing program—but gracefully.

The Advisory Committee, Novak found out, made no effort to estimate the size of the public-housing program necessary to meet the needs of families with a lower income than his. The 296-page report went into extraordinary detail on other matters but not on ones so vital to these poorer families.

Novak doesn't want public housing for himself. What he really wants is a home of his own. But he also knows first hand how desperately poor families need decent housing. That's why he's so interested in public housing.

The overwhelming majority of the President's committee was made up of bankers, builders, and real estate men. Novak fears that they have not really committed themselves to a public-housing program except a token one—perferably on paper.

So Novak is baffled. He thinks the Advisory Committee's report was an odd way to begin the New Year. He is waiting to see whether it will be a happy one for families like his who want good housing.

In the meantime he's writing to his Congressman to find out what the administration program really is. He also plans to spend some time in church praying that the report won't turn out as badly as it sounds.

Office of Education Survey Shows Private Colleges Lead in Enrolling Korean Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in its most recent survey of enrollment trends in colleges and universities, the Office of Education has reported that the educational provisions of the Korean GI bill are having practically no effect on the distribution of Korean veterans between public and private colleges. Some private colleges have contended that because the education and training allowance is paid directly to the Korean veteran, he will tend to avoid private colleges with high tuition.

The Office of Education survey shows that this contention is without foundation and, to the contrary, the survey shows that private colleges are enrolling more than their proportionate share of Korean veterans. The survey shows that private colleges enrolled 1.1 percent more Korean veterans than their proportionate precentage of nonveterans.

When compared on the basis of cost, the Office of Education reports that schools charging more than $200 per year tuition enrolled 2.9 percent more Korean veterans than nonveterans when compared with schools charging less than $200 tuition per year.

The Office of Education survey is based on reports from 1,472 public and private colleges out of a total of 1,871 which were polled. The study is based on the enrollment pattern of more than 230,000 Korean veterans and nonveterans.

The survey follows:

TABLE 1.—*Enrollment of all first-time male Korean veteran (Public Law 550) students and all first-time male nonveteran students, by amount of tuition and required fees: Fall 1953*

[For primary comparisons, read down]

Type of student (all first-time male)	All institutions		Tuition and required fees			
			Below $200 (566 institutions)		$200 or above (906 institutions)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(a) Korean veteran	29,527	100.0	14,186	48.0	15,341	52.0
(b) Nonveteran	202,104	100.0	102,954	50.9	99,150	49.1
(c) Percent difference ((a) minus (b))				−2.9		2.9

TABLE 2.—*Enrollment of all first-time male Korean veteran (Public Law 550) students and all first-time male nonveteran students, by type of control of institution: Fall 1953*

[For primary comparisons, read down]

Type of student (all first-time male)	All institutions		Type of control			
			Public (491 institutions)		Private (981 institutions)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(a) Korean veteran	29,527	100.0	16,385	55.5	13,142	44.5
(b) Nonveteran	202,104	100.0	114,328	56.6	87,776	43.4
(c) Percent difference ((a) minus (b))				−1.1		1.1

Congress Must Restore Full Medical Aid to Veterans at Once

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, Congress should consider without delay the sad plight of our veterans, whose medical and dental care has been seriously curtailed within the past few months, and should act promptly to end existing hardships. It is not too soon to give this problem our best attention.

Last year, when the appropriation for the Veterans' Administration was under consideration, I pointed out that any economy at the expense of our veterans would be shameful, would cause untold hardships to our veterans, and would be against the wishes of the American people. I maintained that our veterans were entitled to the medical care and other assistance they needed, and that it was our duty to provide for them.

Mr. Ted Poston, an outstanding and astute newspaper reporter for the New York Post, investigated the Eisenhower administration's economy drive as it affects the Veterans' Administration. He wrote a series of excellent articles showing that the program has drastically slashed at medical care for many hundreds of mentally ill veterans in the New York City area, and that free dental service for veterans has been greatly curtailed. It follows that other sections of the country are similarly adversely affected.

I am sure that other Members of Congress will be shocked, as I was, to learn that hundreds of veterans who were able to work and support their families because of neurological and psychiatric services they received at outside clinics and with private physicians are now being denied that care, and that as a result many will have to be hospitalized. It is tragic that veterans suffering a mental illness are forced to wait months to receive treatments. It is, indeed, false economy to save on the clinical and outside treatment for our mentally ill veterans when it means that, in many cases, they will have to be hospitalized, thus costing us many times more for their care later on.

In my opinion, this extra cost should not be a deciding factor. Veterans seeking to overcome their illness should have a helping hand, not be neglected, deserted, and forgotten. Their self-respect, normal family life, rehabilitation, and usefulness as working citizens are all in jeopardy when we deny them the medical aid referred to. To ruin the life of a veteran and bring misery to his family in order to save a comparatively small sum of money is unconscionable.

Mr. Poston's articles are timely and contain much valuable information. They prove that Congress should lose no time in considering the plight of our veterans and in taking action to correct the situation. Aid should be restored and we should insure our veterans against such curtailments and harmful regulations in the future.

Mr. Poston is to be commended for the splendid work he did in reporting developments in the Veterans' Administration concerning the cuts in medical and dental aid to our veterans and for the sincerity with which he approached and performed his task.

So that all Members of Congress may have the benefit of his fine articles I am inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am hopeful that they will prove to all the need for immediate action; that we will recognize our clear duty to render all necessary aid to our veterans; that we will keep faith with those who must rely upon us.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Post of November 1, 1953]

THREE-MILLION-DOLLAR BUDGET HOLDOUT TRIMS VA MEDICAL SERVICE

(By Ted Poston)

Budget Director Dodge, spearhead of the Eisenhower administration's economy drive, is gunning for the Veterans' Administration medical service, the Post learned today.

Dodge has impounded $3 million of the VA medical funds appropriated by Congress for the current fiscal year.

The VA has been ordered to make up the sum by increasing the productivity and efficiency of its own outpatient clinics, and

by cutting down on paid services to veterans by non-VA doctors and contract clinics.

Charles J. Reichert, manager of the New York regional VA office, said that no reduction in services has been ordered here. However, the Dodge economy program has given rise to fears that it may eventually disrupt the balanced VA mental-hygiene program which is credited with saving thousands of New York veterans from going into mental institutions.

The economy program is planned on a national basis, but any cut in service would greatly affect this area since an estimated 12 percent of the country's veterans live here.

Dodge's impounding of the $3 million was undertaken despite warnings by the American Psychiatric Association and other groups that cuts in VA neurological and psychiatric services were indefensible on scientific or humane grounds.

The VA may eventually have to reduce the number of mentally disturbed veterans now being treated at 14 outside contract clinics and by private physicians and psychiatrists.

These men are getting outside treatment because they are unable to visit the 2 outpatient clinics which the VA maintains during daytime hours at 252 7th Avenue and 65 Ryerson Street, Brooklyn.

During July and August some 700 such veterans were receiving neurological and psychiatric services at outside clinics and with private physicians.

The VA paid $12.50 a visit for the services.

VA spokesmen had pointed out prior to the economy program that many of these veterans have been able to continue working, and in some cases to support their families, only because of the afterhours care received at the contract clinics.

Any cut here would increase the load of the two VA out-patient clinics believed to be operating at capacity.

And any breakdown or overcrowding of the out-patient service in the VA clinics could lead, some authorities contend, to an increase in the hospitalization of mental cases among veterans here.

On October 1, according to VA records, all mental hospitals in the area were operating at near capacity.

Since the VA already has allocated funds for the second quarter ending December 31, no immediate cuts are expected in contract clinic service during that period.

But drastic cuts would have to be instituted in the third and fourth quarter allotments if the $3 million economy program demanded by Dodge is carried out.

[From the New York Post of November 5, 1953]

VA SLASHES MENTAL CARE IN SECRET ECONOMY DRIVE

(By Ted Poston)

The Veterans' Administration, secretly pushing the Eisenhower "economy" program, has drastically slashed at medical care for hundreds of mentally ill veterans here, the Post learned today.

Acquiescing to demands of Budget Director Dodge that the VA nationally "save" $3 million of medical funds already appropriated by Congress, the local agency has:

1. Ordered slashes up to 60 percent in the number of VA-paid treatments given mental patients at contract clinics outside regular VA facilities;

2. Forced the reduction or abolition of treatment for hundreds of mentally disturbed veterans who cannot attend out-patient clinics during daytime;

3. Attempted to conceal the drastic slashes by refraining from putting the orders into writing, giving them by telephone, instead;

4. Refused to restore the contract clinic services after official word was received from Washington last October 14 that "adequate fee-basis funds are available, and conferences are underway to assure their continued availability."

When the Post revealed last week that Dodge had impounded $3 million of already appropriated VA medical funds, and ordered reductions in fee-basis treatments of veterans, a spokesman for the regional office here denied any cuts had been instituted.

He said the VA office "has not deviated from its standard practice in authorizing fee-basis treatments."

The VA disclaimer brought immediate protests from directors of contract clinics in Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan who charged that their services to needy patients had been drastically reduced by the VA.

Typical of the cuts were those at the Rehabilitation Clinic of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn. One of the city's oldest psychiatric clinics, it was established in 1944 by Dr. Joseph L. Abramson to treat selective-service rejectees.

BAD NEWS BY PHONE

In the year ending last September, its staff of psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers held 6,108 treatment sessions with veterans suffering service-connected ailments. The agency pooled the $12 per treatment paid by the VA, so that similar treatments could be given free to 20 percent more veterans whose ailments were not service-connected.

But last September 25—a week after Dodge's secret economy directive had been communicated here—Sidney Cohen, supervisor of the Rehabilitation Clinic, was ordered by telephone to cut the five-hundred-odd monthly VA-paid treatment sessions to 200, effective as of October 1.

When Dr. Abramson protested that such short notice did not give his staff an opportunity to prepare the patients for the cut or to decide which cases should be retained, he was ordered to institute the cuts or have the VA do it.

When Abramson refused to make the cuts before conferring with his staff, a VA spokesman tentatively ordered the clinic to retain all veterans whose initials ranged from A to R and arbitrarily to drop those whose initials ranged from S to Z.

The VA spokesman refused to put any of the orders into writing, even when Jewish Hospital, which charges the clinic a nominal rent, requested it.

Abramson insisted upon staff-directed cuts, however, and finally was able to retain some of the more serious cases. The clinic was forced to drop all the non-service-connected cases, however.

The contract clinic at Brooklyn State Hospital was also forced to slash its VA-paid sessions from more than 500 a month to a flat 200. Slashes also have been instituted in other contract clinics.

FEAR PERIL TO COMMUNITY

In some cases, the Post learned, psychiatrists have refused to drop some patients despite VA orders and have continued treatments free because of dangers involved to the patient and the community.

"Some of these men have already been in institutions," one psychiatrist said, "and some are only able to remain in the community because of the aid they've received in our clinics.

"It would be ironic, indeed, if one of these patients should run amok and do some real damage to the community and its inhabitants merely because the VA feels that it is more important to save a few dollars at a given moment."

[From the New York Post of November 6, 1953]

"DON'T SAY LACK OF FUNDS"—VA STAFF TOLD TO PRETEND MENTAL PATIENTS ARE CURED

(By Ted Poston)

The Veterans' Administration here has ordered its officials not to tell mentally ill veterans that their treatment is being curtailed or halted because of the Eisenhower administration's economy program, the Post learned today.

Recently a ranking VA mental-hygiene official told psychiatric and neurological staff members of the VA's largest out-patient clinic at 252 Seventh Avenue:

"Don't mention lack of money when you reduce your caseload. Make up some reason which will be acceptable to the veteran. Tell him that he has already achieved maximum benefits and that further treatments are not necessary, or give some other reason. Don't mention lack of funds."

The VA economy program was instituted after Budget Director Dodge impounded $3 million of medical funds already appropriated by Congress. He ordered the agency to "save" the sum by reducing outside payments to contract clinics and by increasing the efficiency of its own out-patient clinics.

Although spokesmen denied that the VA had curtailed its outside service, the Post revealed yesterday that the agency had eliminated almost 60 percent of the treatments at some contract clinics.

Mental patients are treated at VA expense in contract clinics maintained at State and private hospitals when veterans are unable to visit the two VA out-patient clinics here during daytime and when the caseload exceeds capacity of the VA-maintained units.

The reduction was ordered effective October 1, the Post learned, but it began earlier at the VA out-patient clinics in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Soon after regional VA officers were informed by Washington last September 17 of the Dodge-directed cuts, local VA mental-hygiene workers were told to stop future referrals to outside clinics.

Some professional staff members pointed out that disruption of the program would work hardships on many veterans, especially those who were only able to continue working at regular jobs because of the aid received at evening clinics.

Others said that many psychotics were being kept out of VA mental hospitals solely through the clinic treatment and that such an abrupt reduction of service might lead to further jamming of the already overcrowded hospital facilities.

Despite objections, however, the new ruling was ordered into effect.

Theoretically, the veterans dropped by the contract clinics were to be referred to the VA out-patient clinics, but the daytime facilities are overcrowded.

To meet this contingency in Manhattan, staff workers were ordered to reduce the regular period devoted to each case and to accept more cases during the working hours of 8:30 a. m. to 5 p. m., the Post learned.

This arrangement, however, made little provision for the veterans who worked during the day or could not attend the daytime clinics because of distance and other hardships.

Workers in the Brooklyn out-patient clinic at 65 Ryerson Street charged that the staff there had been reduced even as the caseload was being increased.

[From the New York Post of November 8, 1953]

VETS' GROUPS PROTEST CUT IN VA MENTAL CARE

(By Ted Poston)

Veterans' organizations Saturday strongly protested "economy" cuts which the Veterans' Administration has initiated in treatment of mentally ill veterans here.

The protests followed revelations by this newspaper that the VA secretly had slashed, up to 60 percent, treatments for mental patients in contract clinics and had curtailed services at the agency's own clinics in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

The slashes were ordered by Budget Director Dodge, who impounded $3 million of

VA medical funds appropriated by Congress. Dodge ordered the VA to reduce payments to outside clinics, and institute a speed-up in its own clinics.

The Jewish War Veterans of Kings County, where cuts exceeding 60 percent have been ordered at two contract clinics, charged that the order was "a direct breach of faith with not only the veterans but with the electorate."

Dodge's "one-man decision" ignored the wishes of Congress and violated President Eisenhower's ratification of the VA budget, Commander Jerry Cohen and JWV executive director Henry R. Shields said.

"It is a false economy to 'save' $3 million when the lack of continued care and treatment for these thousands of mentally ill veterans means they may become patients in mental hospitals, and the care for them will amount to many, many times more than this so-called saving," they said.

They urged citizens to protest to their Congressmen.

Dr. George Prussin wired the President for the Marine Corps Fathers Association.

"With the present facilities, disturbed veterans have to wait months to receive treatments. Reduction in the contract clinics will increase the case load in the regular VA facilities and the waiting period will be longer.

"Right now, our organization finds it necessary to refer disturbed veterans with service-connected ailments to private sources for treatment.

"Congress has appropriated money for the medical treatment of veterans. There is a crying need for this treatment. It is reprehensible to think that in the interest of so-called economy, the Budget Director sees fit to save money at the expense of mentally disturbed veterans."

Prussin urged the President to "see to it that our veterans are not denied these medical benefits."

Abraham Janko, national service officer for the Disabled American Veterans, charged that the slash in evening treatments at contract clinics might cause many veterans to lose the jobs by which they support their families.

"Many of these men who are trying to overcome a mental disability can't leave their daily work for outpatient treatment at the VA's daytime clinic. If some should ask their employers for an hour off during the day for psychiatric treatment, they might be regarded as unstable and fired from their jobs immediately."

Many staff and private psychiatrists have refused to stop treating serious cases of mental disturbance despite the VA slash, and have continued the treatments free.

[From the New York Post of November 9, 1953]

VA Economy Erasing Its Free Dental Care

(By Ted Poston)

The drastic slash in the medical care of mentally-disturbed veterans here is only one part of the new "economy" program instituted by the Veterans' Administration at the insistence of Budget Director Dodge, the Post learned today.

Seeking to "save" the $3 million impounded by Dodge from already-appropriated congressional funds, the VA has practically wiped out free dental service for veterans whose disabilities are directly connected to their service in the Armed Forces.

The new policy on dental care was officially announced by the VA's Washington headquarters last October 21 in an innocuous but misleading press release which said:

"Only one-time dental treatment will be given to veterans with service-connected dental conditions or disabilities that are not severe enough to rate disability compensation."

The gimmick in the announcement was the fact that, under VA regulations, 99.9 percent of service-connected dental conditions do not rate compensation.

Therefore, under the new policy, only one-tenth of 1 percent of the veterans with service-connected dental conditions will be eligible for dental treatment at VA installations. And these few veterans will be entitled only to "one-time dental treatment."

The agency did offer one concession to those veterans whose disabilities may not be fully rectified with only a single treatment.

"The one-time treatment for noncompensable cases will prevail," the official announcement said, "unless the treatment is found to be unacceptable 'within the limitations of good professional standards,' or the veteran is found eligible under one or more of the other dental benefit classifications."

The VA announcement that the new limitation of treatment "does not apply to veterans receiving disability compensation for service-connected dental conditions or disabilities."

Again, a gimmick will cut down the number of veterans who would benefit by this concession. For, except in those rare cases where part of the jaw has been anatomically lost or where there is osteomyelitis, the VA does not grant compensation for dental disabilities.

The VA made another concession. It stated that the new limitation does not "apply to those veterans who require treatment for dental conditions, whether or not service-connected, which are medically found to be aggravating another service-connected disability."

The only trouble with this concession, however, is that under such a set of circumstances, which the VA calls adjunct conditions, a determination that a service-connected dental condition is aggravating another service-connected disability is rarely made under present regulations.

The one exception for the new dental limitations, the VA said, will be "made for former prisoners of war who will receive as many dental treatments as are required to take care of disabilities found to have been caused by their imprisonment."

At the same time, however, the VA announced that:

"All veterans whose treatment for noncompensable dental conditions or disabilities already has been completed will not be eligible for further treatment of those conditions or disabilities."

The agency said this new cut in service to veterans was made under the basic 1933 law that authorizes the Administrator to provide such medical, surgical, or dental service as is "reasonably necessary" for diseases or injuries incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval services.

The statute wase placed on the books in the first year of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. It is being invoked now by the Veterans' Administration and Budget Director Dodge to push the new "economy" program of the Eisenhower administration.

Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, January 11, 1954, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has arranged to resume its inquiry into the subject of a comprehensive health program. These hearings will constitute a continuation of the committee's study of methods now available to groups and individuals to protect themselves against the cost of illness and to find ways and means of improving or expanding the same. The study is a continuation of the hearings conducted by the committee in Washington last fall after the adjournment of Congress and which were subsequently supplemented by studies in foreign countries.

In these health studies, serious consideration will be given to the formulation of a program that will enable assistance to be given to our people in carrying the tremendously burdensome cost of medical attention, particularly where hospitalization is necessary, or the illness is of a long-term character.

Commendable progress has been made in this connection by many of our labor unions and industrial concerns. What has been provided by such and the experience they have gained can be of great assistance in formulating a program for the general public. Likewise, much is to be learned from the experience of voluntary health organizations, such as Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and similar group-insurance plans.

Study and consideration should also be given to the possibility of enacting legislation to permit deduction for income-tax purposes of payments made to medical-insurance plans as an incentive to individuals to join such health programs; to legislation designed to provide Federal reinsurance of prepaid health service plans of nonprofit associations; to Federal guarantees of private loans for the construction of hospital and clinical facilities; to programs for strengthening medical schools and providing an increased number of medical students and nurses, and programs designed to extend preventive medical care.

The organizations and individuals who are expected to testify at the hearing either are concerned directly with the securing or furnishing of medical and hospital services or have made studies with regard to the cost involved in furnishing such services.

The committee's health inquiry was begun during the congressional recess on October 1 and the first 2 weeks of the committee's hearings were devoted to a study of the causes and control of some of the principal diseases of mankind. The second phase of the hearings is now being continued. It was opened with testimony by insurance companies and industrial concerns with regard to group and individual health insurance available today.

I am introducing today 4 bills incorporating one or more of the aforementioned proposals. I am expecting to introduce additional bills in order to have before the House alternative proposals designed to assist our people in carrying burdensome medical costs.

At the close of the 81st Congress I introduced a bill to strengthen group-

insurance plans. I am reintroducing this bill today. The purpose of the bill is to expand health services by encouraging the growth of and guaranteeing the strength and security of nonprofit associations. It would also permit extended coverage and allow protection against long, costly treatment.

The second bill I have introduced is designed to assist nonprofit associations offering prepaid health-service programs to secure necessary facilities and equipment through long-term, interest-bearing loans.

My third bill would amend title VI of the Public Health Service Act—relating to hospital survey and construction—to provide mortgage-loan insurance to stimulate investment of private capital in the construction of self-supporting hospitals and other medical facilities, and to facilitate the extension of voluntary, prepayment health plans providing comprehensive medical and hospital care.

The fourth bill I have introduced would amend the Internal Revenue Code and authorize a deduction up to $100 for income-tax purposes of payments made to medical-insurance plans. This deduction would be in addition to deductions for medical expenses now authorized by law.

The schedule of hearings and the names of the witnesses who are expected to testify are as follows:

Monday, January 11: Mr. Henry J. Kaiser, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Oakland, Calif.; Dr. Sidney R. Garfield, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Oakland, Calif.

Tuesday, January 12: Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, president, Rehabilitation Institute, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. H. Clifford Loos, Ross-Loos Clinic, Los Angeles, Calif.

Wednesday, January 13: Mr. Lowell J. Reed, president, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Russel Van Arsdale Lee, director, Palo Alto Clinic, Palo Alto, Calif.

Thursday, January 14: Dr. George Baehr, president and medical director, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, New York, N. Y.

Friday, January 15: Mr. Fred Umhey, executive secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, New York, N. Y.; Mr. A. J. Hayes, international president, International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Nelson Cruikshank, director, Social Insurance Activities, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.

Monday, January 18: Mr. Jerry Voorhis, executive secretary, Cooperative Health Federation of America, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Dillon S. Meyer, executive director, Group Health Association, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, January 19: Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Walter Reuther, president, United Automobile Workers, Detroit 7, Mich. (Names of additional representatives of CIO to be announced.)

Wednesday, January 20: Dr. Dean A. Clark, general director, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Mass.

Thursday, January 21: Mr. Benjamin Lorber, insurance manager, Universal Pictures Co., Inc. New York, N. Y.

Tuesday, January 26: Research Council for Economic Security, Chicago, Ill., Mr. Gerhard Hirschfeld, director; Mr. Leon Werch, director of research.

Wednesday, January 27: Health Information Foundation, New York, N. Y., Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, United States Navy (retired), president; Mr. Kenneth Williamson, vice president and executive secretary; Dr. Odin Anderson, research director; Dr. Clyde Hart, director, National Opinion Research Center.

Thursday, January 28: American Medical Association. (Names of witnesses to be announced.)

Monday, February 1: Mr. George Bugbee, executive director, American Hospital Association, Chicago, Ill.; Commission on the Financing of Hospital Care, Chicago, Ill. (Names of witnesses to be announced.)

Tuesday, February 2: Mr. E. A. Van Steenwyk, executive director, Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia, and chairman, Government relations committee, Blue Cross Commission, Chicago, Ill.; Blue Shield Medical Care Plans, Chicago, Ill. (Names of witnesses to be announced.)

Return to Competitive Bidding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have this date introduced a bill which in substance provides that Government contracts be awarded to the low bidder in the vast majority of cases. This bill would amend section 2 (c) (1) of the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 and amend section 302 (c) (1) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949.

It was the original intent of the Congress, as expressed in the House and Senate reports which accompanied the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947, that competitive bidding be used in the vast majority of cases and that negotiation be made the permissible exception. Unfortunately, the intent of the Congress, as expressed in the House and Senate reports, had not been embodied in the policies and regulations issued under authority of the act. There has been an indiscriminate use of negotiation in Government procurement contracts. Negotiation has in practice become the rule rather than the permissible exception.

It is the purpose of this bill to insure that through advertising and competitive bidding the Government as a purchaser will receive the best bargain available and that suppliers in a position to furnish the Government's requirements will have a fair and equal opportunity to compete throughout the United States. Competitive bidding applies to everyone who is in a position to supply the Government's requirements and not merely to those who happen to be located where Government surveys are conducted. The procurement laws which were passed by the Congress applied fairly and equally to all of the people. The Office of Defense Mobilization discriminated against the thinly populated areas of our country by writing policies which applied only to areas having a labor force of at least 15,000 and estimated nonagricultural employment of at least 8,000.

There has also been a growing awareness that small-business concerns have not fared well under negotiated contracts. In the preparation of this bill, numerous persons closely associated with the daily problems of small business were consulted. I have gained the impression that a return to competitive bidding as the rule rather than the exception would restore to small-business concerns a confidence in our procurement program which is needed at this time. It is the declared policy of the Congress that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for supplies and services for the Government shall be placed with small-business concerns.

During this period of negotiation of Government contracts by Executive order the cost of awarding and administering a typical textile contract reached the unbelievably high cost of $557 per contract. The American people expect and are entitled to receive the maximum defense obtainable from funds expended by our military services, without paying unnecessarily high prices or unnecessarily high administrative costs under a system which is foreign to competitive bidding and free competitive enterprise.

Negotiation has had the effect of saddling segments of American industry with an economic control over manufactured items in surplus supply at a time when it is the declared policy to abolish controls. I would not desire to prevent the Government from negotiating for a critical material in short supply which could not be secured by competitive bidding, but I do object to the negotiation of contracts for supplies and services which can be secured under competitive bidding.

The inequities which have resulted under the system of negotiated contracts procurement have been many. Policies have been written which authorized up to 15 percent in excess of the lowest bid price for negotiated contracts. Bid matching policies have been followed which resulted in manufacturers taking contracts away from other manufacturers who would have received the contract except for location. Unemployment has been created in one section by negotiating contracts for the stated purpose of solving an unemployment problem in another location. Government surveys were not made for all areas, resulting in a failure to recognize the fact that unemployment can be as severe in one location as another. Manufacturers could move to distress labor areas and take away contracts from other manufacturers in nonsurplus labor areas. In Arizona, 250 seamstresses were thrown out of work and a parachute manufacturer forced out of business on a negotiated contract. In New Jersey a company engaged in research and development was almost forced out of business on a negotiated contract. A premium was placed on inefficiency by giving preference to mills operating 80 hours or less per week, and efficient textile manufacturers of the South were penalized.

An attempt has been made to justify the negotiation and channeling of con-

tracts to preference areas on the ground that the Government would save in unemployment compensation payments; that the Government would otherwise lose taxes; that lost sales would otherwise result; and that additional relief payments would be necessary in the absence of the policy. If contracts can be negotiated to serve these purposes, for which no figures were made available, it would be difficult to mention any other matter of local public interest which would not also be of equal concern to those who administer our procurement program. These are all matters which are not remotely concerned with Government procurement, and which designated departments of the Government are already engaged in administering.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that an amendment to existing procurement legislation is necessary in order that competitive bidding be reestablished as the rule rather than as the permissible exception, and this is the purpose which I seek to accomplish in introducing the bill.

Eleven American Legion Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement concerning 11 bills I am introducing today at the request of the American Legion:

On this opening day of the second session of the 83d Congress, I am introducing 11 bills at the request of the American Legion. These bills are the result of resolutions adopted at the 1953 national convention of the Legion.

Five of these measures would change the existing laws relating to veterans' insurance. One of these bills provides that the commuted value of any installments of insurance remaining unpaid at the death of the last beneficiary shall be paid to the estate of the insured. Another bill provides that any person having United States Government life insurance or national service life insurance on the 5-year level premium term plan, the term of which expires while the person is in active service after April 25, 1951, or within 120 days after separation from such service, shall upon application made within 120 days after separation be granted an equivalent amount of insurance on the 5-year level premium term plan at the premium rate for his then attained age. Another bill amends the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940 by waiving all premiums on United States Government or national service life insurance term policies and so much of the premiums on permanent plan policies as represents the pure insurance risk for those insureds who were unable to apply for the waiver authorized by law because of being missing in action or captured by the enemy after April 25, 1951. Another insurance bill provides for the payment in a lump sum, direct to counsel, of a reasonable attorney's fee in a suit brought by or in behalf of an insured during his lifetime for waiver of premiums on account of total disability. The other insurance measure would limit eligibility of a stepchild and of a stepparent for servicemen's indemnity awards. It would authorize an award to a stepchild or a step parent designated as beneficiary by the insured, making certain that payment would be made if the person in service wanted this. Also, as is proper, if a stepparent not designated as beneficiary, had nonetheless stood in the relationship of parent to the insured for 1 year or more at any time prior to the insured's entry into active service, such parent would be in the permitted class of beneficiaries.

There is also a bill that would continue the direct home and farmhouse loan authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to January 1, 1955, with the same rate of annual appropriations to be allotted on a quarterly basis as now provided under existing statutes.

Another bill would grant a statutory 3-year presumption of service-connection, instead of the present statutory 2-year presumption, for multiple sclerosis. It would also grant a 3-year statutory presumption of service connection for the chronic functional psychosis, instead of the present 1-year presumption now afforded by inclusion in a list of chronic diseases in a Veterans' Administration regulation. By the enactment of this legislation, multiple sclerosis and the chronic functional psychosis would then be placed on a parity with all types of active tuberculosis.

Still another bill would redefine the term "widow of a World War I veteran," by extending from December 14, 1944, to January 1, 1953, the date before which a woman must be married to a World War I veteran to be determined to be his widow for VA compensation and pension purposes.

Another bill would enable World War II veterans to qualify for benefits of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, of which they would otherwise be deprived because of recall to active service in the Armed Forces.

There is also a bill to provide increases in the monthly rates of wartime service-connected death compensation payable to widows alone, and to dependent parents. It proposes a monthly compensation rate in wartime service-connected deaths of $85 for a widow with no child, instead of the present $75, and $75 for a dependent mother or father, instead of the present $60, or where both are granted the benefit, $40 each, instead of the present $35 each. The American Legion points out that there is ample justification for the recommended adjustment of rates. All other disability and death compensation and pension rates were increased in 1952, in the 82d Congress. The cost of living increased for these survivors as for everyone else. There are widows and dependent parents of deceased World War I veterans who are eking out a bare existence because the compensation award is their only income to meet their living expenses.

The final Legion bill would amend existing regulations so as to provide for the transportation of the body of a veteran dying in a State veterans' home. At the present time up to $150 may now be paid by the Veterans' Administration, where a veteran meeting the allowance requirements dies in a State veterans' home, for burial and funeral expenses and transportation of the body, including preparation of the body, to the place of burial. Assumption by the Federal Government of the cost of transporting the body to its final resting place will make certain that the burial and funeral allowance is sufficient to assure a fitting burial for the veteran, in recognition of his service to his country. The Legion believes that equal treatment in this regard should be accorded the veteran, whether he has been domiciled in a State veterans' home or a Veterans' Administration home.

All of these measures will be numbered and referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives. They will then be assigned to the proper subcommittee for study and possibly hearings, with a view toward their enactment.

The Responsibilities of Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY A. FINE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. FINE. Mr. Speaker, on November 8, 1953, Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, delivered an address at Yeshiva University's eighth annual charter day dinner, at Hotel Astor, New York City, on the Responsibilities of Leadership, which is as timely today as it was at the date of delivery. I believe it should be read by every Member of this House.

Mrs. Rosenberg has had a varied career which embraced a national background in the field of labor relations. Her public service began with an appointment to the National Recovery Administration in 1934, and has extended since to numerous fields. She has served as a regional director of NRA, Social Security Administration, Office of Defense, Health and Welfare Service, and the War Manpower Commission. She was a member of a commission appointed by President Roosevelt to study industrial relations in Great Britain and Sweden in 1938. As Secretary of the Labor Victory Board, she was instrumental in having labor representatives sent overseas to theaters of war so as to gain fuller appreciation of the problems of the military. More recently, she served as a consultant on manpower problems, was a public member of the Committee on Mobilization Policy of the National Security Resources Board; member of the Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion; member of the Manpower Consulting Committee of the old Munitions Board; member of Army Advisory Committee of the First Army; member of United States National Commission for UNESCO.

Mrs. Rosenberg has also been identified with New York State as well as New York City public service. In 1944 she served as an appointee of Governor Dewey on the New York State war council and acted as chairman of the New York State constitutional convention subcommittee on Bill of Rights and general welfare. By direction of Mayor LaGuardia, she organized the New York City industrial relations board and organized the first veterans service award recreation center in New York City.

Mrs. Rosenberg has been the recipient of many awards; the first civilian to be awarded the Medal of Freedom by General Eisenhower, the Medal of Merit, the master of humane letters degree from

Russel Sage College, a doctor of laws degree from Tufts College, a doctor of humane letters degree from Columbia University, and the University Award from Yeshiva University. In 1953 she received the Department of Defense Exceptional Civilian Service Award. She is presently a director of the American Korean Foundation.

From this it can be established that such a diversified and vast experience ably fitted her to deliver the speech, which, under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I now call to the attention of the House. The speech follows:

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP

I am enormously proud that you have chosen me to receive the Yeshiva University Award for 1953. I know it is expected that one should be humble on such occasions, but I must confess, with all due apologies to Arthur Godfrey, that there isn't much humility in me tonight. I'm very proud. I'll never forget tonight.

I am the more proud because I am a graduate of the "learning by doing" school—and I am a graduate in a sense never conceived by John Dewey or William H. Kilpatrick or any of the trailblazers in the field of progressive education. I had to do things when I should have been learning, and my consciousness of how little I know has caused me to spend my life in true awe of those who have mastered the learned arts and the sciences. That is why it is a source of such particular pleasure to me to obtain this high tribute from your scholarly president, Dr. Belkin, and the distinguished members of your board of trustees.

In this case, of course, my pleasure is heightened by the fact that, in other years, you have chosen such great world citizens to receive your award. Eleanor Roosevelt, Oscar Chapman, Justice Douglas, and Senator Lehman—these are people whose hearts and minds leap over sectional, racial, and national barriers: They are people whose monumental talents are dedicated to making real the principles of social justice that are the necessary foundation for international peace and security. I am grateful to you for allowing me to join so noble a company.

But, most of all, I am stirred because of the intellectual eminence Yeshiva has achieved in its brief history and the importance to America and the world of the ideals it carries forward. You are constantly on the alert for new ways in which to serve the community and to equip our youth to make an imaginative contribution to the straightening out of our muddled society.

Yeshiva, in common with all our schools and colleges, faces a gigantic challenge these days. It is the task of reevaluating all our traditional concepts of education to determine how well they apply to today's world—a world in which man's learning has given him the capacity to wipe out mankind without, apparently, giving him the wisdom to curb the impulse toward self-destruction.

Now I am not one of those who believe you can wrap up in a tidy package all the things that are wrong with the world or all the things that must be done to set it right. Life is too complex to allow straight-line prescriptions for putting things the way we would like them to be—even if we could all agree on what a perfect world ought to be.

But I am wholeheartedly convinced that our educational institutions can do much that they are not doing now to develop more responsible citizens—to develop youths equipped to go into a world in which military service is one of the facts of life, in which international tensions are likely to erupt into open warfare, and in which a true devotion to the principles of freedom is our strongest shield against the danger of totalitarian engulfment.

I do not mean this as an indictment of our schools. If the schools have not done all they should for the community, it is at least equally true that the community has not done all it should for the schools. We have almost starved our educational system. We have built too few schools, too few colleges, and we have too few teachers. We underpay and harry our faculties and it is a constant source of amazement to me that our institutions of learning are able to attract and hold the loyalty of the thousands of inspired teachers we find at every level from kindergarten to graduate laboratory. We owe these devoted men and women an enormous debt.

But where I do think our schools are falling down is in the fostering of a world outlook, of developing a sense of social responsibility adequate to enable our young men and women to take on the obligations of citizenship—no matter how burdensome—without grumbling and with a real determination to pass things on to their children a little—and, I hope, a lot—better than we have passed things on to them.

It certainly isn't the function of universities to be glorified trade schools, whether they turn out plumbers or Ph. D.'s in engineering. Unfortunately, many schools have become so preoccupied with developing technical proficiency in their students that they have forgotten all about developing them as whole men and women.

That is why some of our best-educated people went into a complete tailspin when they learned that the Soviet Union had the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Some of them fled from these weapons of total destruction as if one could isolate himself from such a holocaust—indeed as if one could escape from this small world. I know a man who thought the best place to hide was on the edge of a desert—the Nevada desert. No sooner had he set up his sanctuary than he discovered that the Atomic Energy Commission was using the area as a key testing center, which, of course, would make it one of the first targets in the event of enemy attack. Now this man has a hideaway some other place, to which he runs whenever the headlines get too ominous.

What we need, of course, is not people who run away but people who fight with every thing they have at their command to build a better and stronger America and to steer us into a future free of war and the threat of war. Most of us recognize that we are fighting for the minds of men in this worldwide struggle, but we are too prone to forget that we are also fighting with the minds of men.

Our GI's in Korea did a magnificent job—both on the battlefield and in their relations with the Korean people. But they started out by calling our Korean allies "gooks" and building up animosities that were not erased until the sharing of bitter trials made each group appreciate the virtues and overlook the shortcomings of the other.

Too often our sons leave home to enter the armed services without any real understanding of why they are being called. It is a tribute to the fundamental soundness of our youth that they are able to take this military experience in their stride. Most of them quickly work out for themselves a code of civic responsibility, even though they would probably insult you if you dared suggest that anything so highflown had taken nest in their minds.

Just as a sample of what I am talking about I should like to read to you from a letter written by a young soldier soon after the Korean war broke out. The soldier was slogging through the mud in basic training, getting ready to go overseas, when his sister had a son. The GI wrote this to his infant nephew:

"You have entered a pretty troubled old world at a pretty troubled time. There was nothing you could do to avoid it and yet, if you could have, I would say come ahead with fists clenched and battle as we all must.

"This is a wonderful country to be able to start life in. Every day, as you grow stronger and wiser, you will learn why I tell you this. You will meet people from all parts of the country, but though they may speak differently, they are Americans. And Danny, that is a proud heritage.

"This Nation faces a danger; that of being warred upon for the purpose of conquest. Conquest of spirit, mind, and body. But why? Who can really say? But couldn't it be jealousy? We are a successful Nation industrially, politically, but most important, spiritually.

"We love our country with a tenacity that has been tested but never defeated. We have fought among ourselves. They called it the Civil War. And yet, we did not defeat our purpose. We still have democracy, which our founders left their homelands to establish for us. We have had to fight as they did, but we still have it.

"And so this is the country you have arrived in. I cannot tell you about it in 1 letter, nor even in 1 year; so learn. Watch what goes on about you, listen to what people say, live as you would have others live. Be proud, be humble, and fight for what you believe is right.

"Above all, be wise and when you are my age in a few years you may be spared military service. But if you are not, learn your job so well that you may defend your mother, father, and all that is dear to you. But never forget your country, because to your country you have the one obligation that you can never quite fulfill."

I wish it were possible to feel that our young people were leaving our colleges and universities with the sense of citizenship that this young man was trying to express in the letter I have just read. I am afraid our feeling of guilt about the mess we have made of the world is so great that we spend most of our time apologizing to our youth and failing to impress upon them a sufficient consciousness that the responsibility for the future is theirs. We have not adjusted our approach to learning in a way that fits the world in which every qualified young man must dedicate at least 2 years of his life to the Armed Forces of his country.

Our young people need an awareness of what democracy means and what it entails in the way of obligations. We must make education for citizenship a dynamic, inspired process. No amount of purely technical instruction is going to give our youth the idea that the preservation of liberty depends on their will to make sacrifices in its cause.

We must give our students a pride in the accomplishments and aspirations of the American people, but we must make them understand that we have no monopoly on virtue. If we are to have a peaceful world, we must give up the notion that we are a superior people. True, we stand for freedom and justice, but happily, we do not stand alone. People all over the earth, including millions of those who cower under the Communist heel, share our hope for the emergence of a world in which the dignity of every man, woman, and child will be protected.

The way in which each of us can bring that world closer is by accepting a personal responsibility for improving our communities and fulfilling to the utmost, our duties as citizens. Our slogan should not be "What can I get away with?" but rather, "How much can I do?" The easy, soft way is the hardest way in the long run, for the individual and the Nation.

There are too many signs that our eagerness for tax relief will cause us to put aside too quickly the iron shield we need to protect the free world from disaster. There are equally alarming signs that we may allow ourselves to be lulled into the comforting

belief that the Russians mean us no harm. We are not going to find a quick and painless road to security. We need men and women with the discernment and dedication that makes them take on responsibility soberly and uncomplainingly. History has given us the role of leadership and we much not fail in our high mission.

Yeshiva is the living embodiment of the kind of citizenship I have in mind. It is reflected in your current drive to complete the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. You are not waiting for someone else to do a job that has been too long neglected; you have gotten together and undertaken the job yourself. When that same spirit grips all of us in all the manifold tasks of the community, then and only then, will we be on our way to the world we dream about.

All over the world tonight our sons—and even some of our daughters—are in military service. During the past 3 years, I had the opportunity to visit dozens and dozens—more like hundreds—of our Army, Navy, and Air Force bases overseas. I've talked with literally thousands of our soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen in every conceivable place—in dismal little islands where the wind blows so hard that the men live in huts dug deep into the ground and in desert stations where the temperature reaches 140 degrees—I've talked with these men—our men—and I think I know what they are like and what they expect of us. They have acquired a new maturity and understanding. They have acquired these from a variety of hard experiences which they might have been spared if we had better equipped them and given them greater understanding. It is their hope that we will give this to the men who follow them.

Yeshiva is the symbol of that hope. A true institution of higher learning cannot merely hold up a mirror and reflect the society in which it lives. That way lies stagnation. Our great centers of learning must take the lead—they must hold aloft the always bright torch of truth, of freedom, of justice, and of hope.

That is what Yeshiva is doing—and that is what each of us here tonight must do—for ourselves, for our children, and for our country.

The Standards We Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, every so often a book comes along which in addition to giving us in the lessons of the past a mirror of the present adds as well the invaluable ingredient of pointing the way for the future. Such a book is the Standards We Raise, by Paul Mazur, author, economist, and prominent banker of New York. It is a splendid thesis, and I call attention to especially three points in it:

First. The book shows that by the idea of a constantly expanding standard of living, we can meet the competition of the Communist bloc the most effectively. He points out that "the American system is truly progressive" whereas the Communist system is only for "lipservice."

Second. The author offers some excellent suggestions for a national economic council.

Third. He shows our capability to carry a heavy burden of national expenditure for defense, and so forth, and at the same time to expand our living standards, provided that we broaden the base of national consumption and production and therefore of income.

Appended herewith is editorial comment on the Standards We Raise, by Leslie Gould, the well-known financial editor of the New York Journal-American and a review of the book in the New York Times Book Review:

[From the New York Journal-American of September 30, 1953]

CONSUMPTION MASTER OF UNITED STATES ECONOMY, SAYS MAZUR BOOK

(By Leslie Gould, financial editor)

It isn't production or purchasing power that counts, but the rate of consumption.

That in brief is the idea Paul Mazur makes in his not only interesting but provocative book, The Standards We Raise, out today. It is economics, but written in language the average man or woman can understand.

Mazur is an investment banker—partner in Lehman Bros.—and a director of a number of corporations and consultant to two of the leading department store chains—Federated Department Stores and Allied Stores. So, he knows distribution, merchandising, and consumption.

Mazur writes:

"In the American economy, production is the factor by which men measure hot and cold on the business thermometer.

CONSUMPTION IS KEY

"However, it is consumption, not production, that in fact is the master of our economy—and it is a master which holds all factors to account with rigid discipline."

Mazur sticks his pen into one of the economic bubbles—that inadequate purchasing power is the cause of hard times. He points out that depressions have occurred at the time of greatest boom of purchasing power.

The trouble is that the followers of the purchasing power theory fail to recognize that purchasing power is one thing and purchases something else, and it is the latter that is translated into consumption. Purchasing power can be substantial, but if it isn't spent there is no consumption. When purchasing power is converted into purchases, additional purchasing power is created.

A lot of economists will disagree with Mazur—for one thing he's too practical, but he makes the point that if this country is to support a large military expenditure the standards of living must be raised. To raise them there must be more business—that means more consumption.

It doesn't matter so much how much is spent on defense, but more on the relation of such expenditures to overall income.

BOOK IS STIMULATING

On his theory of consumption economics versus the popular one of production economics, he points out:

"We are a Nation that consumes its way to property, security, prosperity and freedom and we are compelled by the dynamic character of our economic relationship to continue to do so at an ever increasing rate."

With all the current propaganda about the importance of foreign trade, Paul believes, while this has its place, the important sales market to be developed if the United States is to maintain and expand employment is our domestic one. This challenge, he believes, must be met due to the changes use of atomic energy will make in the world, with power packaged and taken to the areas where raw material now lacks power sources.

The book is stimulating reading and is a must for anyone concerned with the future course of the free enterprise system. He's bullish on that picture.

[From the New York Times Book Review of November 8, 1953]

SOME TIMELY TALK ABOUT BUSINESS

The Standards We Raise. The Dynamics of Consumption. By Paul Mazur (173 pages, New York, Harper & Bros., $2.50)

(By Eliot Janeway)

Paul Mazur's small, sensible, and very readable book is a well-timed antidote for the acute overdose of gloom into which prevalent economic thought has plunged us. In contrast to politics and politicians, economists and economics tend to uncompromising absolutes and simplifying generalizations. When the politician is unable to defer direct questions, he tries to say "maybe" to his constituents and "I'll see" to himself. But the economist is always ready to point with finality to a curve turning up or down, and he is almost never ready to question the assumptions on which curves can be expected to go up or down. Nevertheless, a growing majority of businessmen have come to accept their economic soothsayers at face value as if curves could substitute for sense.

What makes Mr. Mazur's contribution so refreshing is that he shows that economics is no substitute for sense. Right now majority economic opinion is convinced that defense spending must be cut to avoid a crash, and that cuts in defense spending will precipitate something very much like a crash. Either way economics works out as more dismal than science. Certainly the average citizen has every reason to conclude that he is better off going broke by defending himself against the H-bomb than listening to the economists and ending up broke and defenseless against the H-bomb. To dispel such counsels of despair, Paul Mazur has brought what William James called "healthy mindedness" to economics. He is realist enough to assume that defense spending is not going to be cut, and to conclude that bankruptcy is just a shibboleth and not a real danger.

Mr. Mazur offers a practical yardstick by which to gage the alleged approach of bankruptcy. It is the ability of our standard of living to keep pace with our productivity. So long as capital and labor employ our resources to raise our standard of living, he says, we will continue to be able to absorb any debt incurred in the process. He is particularly effective in arguing against the attitude in business, in banking, and particularly in Government which fears and is forever trying to impose controls upon consumer credit—as if industry's customers could accumulate savings as fast as industry can accumulate surpluses; as if consumer credit were any worse a risk than continuity of employment; and incidentally as if business could remain free from controls so long as its customers are subjected to controls.

Mr. Mazur emphasizes a useful distinction between purchasing power and actual purchasing. The difference is accounted for by consumer confidence or lack of it—that is, by public opinion. As never before, public opinion has become sensitive to economic opinion. Thus, the dogmatic gloom of most economists (who assume the defense cuts they predict) is all too clearly reflected in mounting confusion and fear saving among consumers (who still assume the defense cuts advertised). As Mr. Mazur shows, the way to start a recession is to permit fear saving and fear of absorbable debt to widen the gap between peak purchasing power and a falling rate of purchasing. In this connection he makes the constructive suggestion that the Government supplement the mass

of marginal and partial statistical data now being churned out by preparing an overall index of consumption.

In his eagerness to dramatize the productivity of our economy and its need for continuously expanding consumption of its output, Mr. Mazur may very well underestimate the strain which the war danger is about to put on our resources—especially of manpower. He makes rather too much of the point that between 1950 and 1953 we met the requirements of defense, we raised our standard of living, and still we ran into overproduction. The fact is that we have been woefully understating the requirements of defense. But precisely because war and realistic preparations for war threaten us with a long-term shortage of resources, we should be grateful to Mr. Mazur for writing this eloquent and shrewd plea for consumption and its financing now.

My Social-Security Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which represents my individual views for the improvement of social security. This proposal is H. R. 6863.

The following points represent the major items incorporated in this bill:

First. Coverage under title II of the Social Security Act—OASI—is extended to practically all occupations now excluded from coverage. This is along the line previously recommended by President Eisenhower. The coverage provisions of my bill are virtually identical with the bill introduced by Chairman Reed, H. R. 6812. Most people who have given any attention to social security are agreed that a national compulsory social security system cannot work with the greatest degree of success without universal coverage or nearly so. In addition to extending coverage to occupations now excluded from the act, it also makes coverage possible for State and local employees who are already covered by a retirement system, but with the exception of firemen and policemen.

Second. The eligibility requirements are liberalized in my bill. This is sometimes referred to as the $75 a month work clause. At the present time, if a beneficiary earns even a few cents more than $75 in a given month, he loses all of the benefits for that month. I have placed this on an annual basis. This should be of great help to many people. If an OASI beneficiary has a chance to take seasonal work or to work for a few months and earn substantial wages, he can do so and he will not lose any benefits unless for the full year he exceeds the amount of permissible earnings. My bill also raises the amount of permissible earnings to $1,000 per year, but by placing it on an annual basis it is my belief that it will be much more workable and fair to a considerable number of people.

Third. At the present time there are over a million of our aged population who are eligible for benefits but are continuing to work. The reasons for their not asking for the benefits and for continuing to work may be many and varied. My proposal would remove the social security taxes on the earnings of all people after they reach the age of 66 if they have 40 quarters of coverage. The individual who declines the benefits and continues to work saves the system considerable money and it is certainly fair that if he has paid for 40 quarters that he be relieved from continuing to pay the social security tax.

Fourth. The bill that I am today introducing calls for a raise of the minimum benefit to $45 per month. At the present time the minimum benefit is $25. This will bring a raise in benefits to more than one-third of the present beneficiaries who are now receiving the very low benefits. This is a social program designed to meet a social need and the present minimum benefit is inadequate for that purpose.

Fifth. This bill also provides that the benefit paid to a widow or widower will not be less than the minimum primary benefit; to wit, $45 per month. At the present time a widow only receives three-fourths the amount of the husband's primary benefit. With the present very low primary benefit, three-fourths of that amount is an extremely small allowance. My bill says that the widow's or widower's benefit shall not be less than $45 per month.

Sixth. My bill also carries a provision that will eliminate a great many of the abuses in the payment of benefits to individuals living in foreign countries. Under the present law it is possible for individuals who are not our citizens—who in fact may never have been in the United States—to receive social-security benefits for years and years. In the calendar year 1952, the payments of social-security benefits to individuals residing in foreign lands were greater than the payments of social-security benefits to the people in any one of the following States: Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Wyoming, and Mississippi.

There are situations where as a matter of fairness and equity an individual should draw his benefits even though he leaves the United States. I have not sought to disturb those.

Seventh. My bill would make the survivor benefits available now to fatherless children and their mothers where the father died without having become eligible for the survivor benefits. The manner of doing this and the reasons for it will be discussed in connection with the provision that follows:

Eighth. My proposal would make it possible to extend title II benefits—OASI—now to approximately 5 million more of the Nation's retired aged.

The 5 million aged people to whom I propose payment of the minimum OASI benefit are individuals of advanced age who as a class have been unable to qualify under the new-start provisions of the 1950 amendments to the social-security law. Much of the criticism against this proposal has arisen from a lack of information as to how the present system is working. These criticisms are erroneously based on the belief that the present system is one where an individual pays for his own benefits and that every individual who has a social-security card is buying and paying for his benefit or is laying up savings in the program.

The fact is that under the present law an individual can qualify for minimum benefits by paying as little as $4.50 taxes. But, lest I be charged with talking about the exceptional case, let us consider the individual who has paid the maximum tax. An individual who has paid the maximum tax since the act became effective in 1937 and who retires this year could not have paid more than $543 in social-security taxes throughout the period. Such an individual would draw the maximum benefit; and if his wife was likewise 65, together they would draw $127.50 per month, which is paid to them as a matter of right, regardless of their need or other income. At age 65 the life expectancy of a man is 12 years and that of his wife is 14 years. In other words, these benefits will total approximately $18,000.

Many individuals have already qualified for the maximum benefit above referred to for the payment of only $81 in taxes.

In other words, the system that we have now, in truth and in fact, provides that nearly all of the benefit that an aged person receives is paid from the current social-security taxes of the people now working.

The payment of benefits to substantially all of the retired aged now is in line with the previous amendments to the social-security law. The 1939 amendments moved up the effective date as to when individuals could draw benefits. The 1950 amendments did the same thing. The 1950 amendments had the provision referred to as the "new starts."

The adoption by Congress of the new-start provision was the first step toward the extension of OASI benefits to all the retired aged. When the 1950 act was written Congress made social-security benefits available to many people who were already aged. They accomplished this by shortening the time in which these old people would have to work under social security and pay social-security taxes to qualify for benefits. This is what the term "new starts" means. These new-start provisions which became law in 1950 made it possible for older people to qualify not only for benefits but for the maximum benefits by working in covered employment for as little as 6 quarters or 1½ years.

The people that I am talking about today are by and large the people who because of age or physical condition were unable to take advantage of the new-start provisions of the 1950 act. Had they been able to do so they would now be drawing benefits. But they would not have paid for their benefits, they

would have made a mere token payment.

The partisan obstructionists who now scream at my proposal and raise the cry that it is unfair and unsound were silent in 1950—likewise for partisan reasons.

The late Senator Taft recognized the true nature of the present system and the effect of the 1950 amendments. In speaking on those amendments on June 14, 1950, Mr. Taft said:

In the long run we have to recognize that the only way to pay those sums is for the people who are working at the time to pay the benefits for the people who are not working. There is no other way to do it.

In the course of that debate Senator SMITH of New Jersey asked Senator Taft the following question:

Mr. SMITH. Is the Senator proposing that hereafter those presently working will be taxed to pay benefits to those who are 65 and over, but at the same time those presently working will not be contributing to their own retirement benefits?

Mr. TAFT. That is correct. I would favor a universal old-age pension system. At the same time, we might just as well recognize what we are doing. In the old days children were supposed to take care of their parents. That was sometimes done, and sometimes it was not done. Sometimes there were no children to assume the responsibility. For that system we should substitute a system under which all the people under 65 are undertaking to say they will pay old-age pensions to everyone over 65, hoping that when they reach the age of 65 the people who are at that time working will assume the same obligation.

Mr. Taft went on to say:

What I want to point out is that this bill already has gone far toward recognizing the principle of paying to those over 65 years of age a pension, with little relation to what they paid in during their life. In other words, it is no longer insurance. It is something called social insurance. It is not insurance, and, at least up to date, this system has not been very social either, because it has covered only a very small portion of the total number of people who are over 65 years of age.

Senator Taft further said:

In other words, we are recognizing in this bill that we have an obligation to pay old-age pensions to people who are old. Simply because they are old and not because they paid money into the fund.

Senator Taft in specifically referring to the new-start principle on that same day said:

Under the new-start principle, a man who pays in practically nothing will get $70 a month. Why should we not give the man who does not pay in anything $70 a month, or at least $65 a month? As I see it, we have practically destroyed the theory of social insurance. All I regret is that we still use the name "insurance" when as a matter of fact there is no insurance about it.

The net effect of what I propose to do for the present retired aged is to give the minimum benefit to those retired aged who do not have a wage record which would entitle them to a benefit under existing law. The people who have a wage record and who have paid sufficient taxes would of course continue to get wage-related benefits up to the present maximum. It is interesting to note that this is substantially in line with what Senator Taft said in the debate in the other body on June 14, 1950, and I quote:

I personally, at the moment, should be inclined to favor a flat minimum and then have an increased benefit as people have paid taxes during their life or as they have earned money during the 10 years prior to the time they retired. Under that rule there would be some relation to the amount paid in. I think some relation should be recognized.

The method that I would use for giving an OASI benefit to the present retired aged who have an insufficient work record would be to make those aged eligible to apply for a benefit on a presumptive wage record which would give such an individual the minimum benefit. However, in order to hold down the cost of this provision and in order to prevent the sending of OASI checks to individuals of considerable income if they had never been in covered employment or paid any social-security tax, I would require an aged person who applies for the minimum benefit on the basis of a presumptive wage record to waive his extra personal exemption in the income-tax law. This provision of course would not apply to the individual who has established a wage record making him eligible for benefits.

There are many arguments pointing up the fairness and the equity of my proposal. First let us consider who these unprotected aged are. It is estimated that there are approximately 5.3 million additional aged persons who would draw a benefit under my proposal. More than half of these are widows. Some of them are in their 90's, some of them in their 80's, and many of them past 70. It is estimated that probably more than half of them are over 75 years of age. They were unable to qualify under the new-start provisions of the 1950 law. Had they been able to come under the 1950 law they could have, with the payment of as little as $4.50 tax, become eligible for a minimum benefit.

It must also be borne in mind that many of these people have paid some social-security taxes. Every Member of Congress has in his files letters from aged people who have paid social-security taxes but for one reason or another the quarters of coverage are not such as would make them eligible for benefits. No doubt many of these unprotected aged have paid considerable social-security tax as an employer in a small unincorporated business before self-employment was covered. There are, of course, many of them who have not paid any social-security tax. But we should not forget that many of them have paid and they may well have paid more in direct social-security taxes than others who are now drawing benefits. There are many cases of individuals who have paid considerable social-security taxes but technicalities in the law have prevented the payment of benefits to them or to their survivors. I want to quote from the testimony before the subcommittee studying social security:

COUNSEL. Suppose an individual had worked 24 quarters or 6 years, in covered employment, from January 1940 to January 1946 and died in January 1950, just before reaching age 65. Would his widow, upon reaching age 65, be eligible for an old-age benefit?

WITNESS. No. In the example you give he would not have met the insured status requirement in effect at the time he died. He would have been required to have 26 quarters of coverage, and he actually had 24.

COUNSEL. Suppose an individual with exactly the same wage record, that is, 24 quarters, or 6 years, in covered employment from January 1940 to January 1946, died in January 1951, just before reaching age 65. Would his widow upon reaching age 65 be eligible for an old-age benefit?

WITNESS. Yes. (Hearings, Nov. 20, 1953, p. 1163 of transcript.)

The critics of this proposal say they object to paying benefits where no tax has been paid or where there is no wage record. Can these people have forgotten what Congress has already done in the present social-security system?

When the 1950 law was passed the Congress raised the benefit schedule. Then in order to do justice and to carry out a social purpose they raised the benefits of the people who already had retired prior to the amendments of that year. These people who were already on the benefit rolls were given an additional benefit for which no taxes were paid. Some individuals received an additional benefit of as much as $30 a month for which no additional taxes were required. The total cost of these additional benefits for those already on the OASI rolls for which no added tax payments were required by the 1950 act is estimated at $5,460,000,000. A similar principle was followed by the Congress in 1952 and additional benefits were paid to those already on the rolls for which no added tax payments were required at a total estimated cost of $2,530,000,000.

Those who charge that my proposal to pay benefits to all the present retired aged is radical or is "a dishonest approach" either are totally ignorant as to what Congress has done in the past or they are deliberately attempting to mislead the public. I grant to anyone the right to disagree on what should or should not be done, but I suggest that we debate these things on their merits and not attempt to discredit proposals by smears and name calling.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the payment of benefits to these 5 million aged people is an extension of the principle followed in previous amendments to the social-security law that permitted older people to become eligible upon the payment of a mere token tax. I submit that many of these people have already paid some social-security taxes and I further submit that in 1950 and in 1952, Congress did grant billions of dollars of additional benefits for which no added tax payments were required.

Mr. Speaker, from the standpoint of equity, fair play, and justice the Congress would be justified in extending the minimum benefit to these aged people who do not now receive a benefit. However, my proposal has a further important provision. It distinguishes it from any other proposal that has been made for blanketing in the unprotected retired aged. I provide for an additional source of revenue to the social security fund in lieu of the token taxes that these

older people would have paid had they been able to qualify under the 1950 law.

Briefly, this added revenue would be obtained by applying the social-security tax at the employees' rate on the first $3,600 of income of all people regardless of its source. At the present time an individual who works for wages or is engaged in self-employment pays the social-security tax on his first $3,600. This would continue. But an individual whose sole income is from investments or rent or the like pays no direct social-security tax. My bill would require all individuals to pay the social-security tax, except those paying civil service and railroad retirement.

This added source of revenue will bring in a substantial amount to the social-security fund. It will be a continuing source of revenue. A fair and conservative estimate of it would be $200 million a year.

Mr. Speaker, if these 5.3 million aged to whom I propose the payment of a minimum benefit of $45 a month had qualified as "new starts" under the 1950 amendments at wage levels for 6 quarters sufficient to give them $45 monthly benefits, the combined employee and employer social-security taxes for them would have totaled $250 million. In other words, an amount equivalent to the total OASI taxes that would have been paid by these older people and by their employers under the new-start provisions will under my bill flow into the fund every 15 months.

Mr. Speaker, as the Congress proceeds to make social-security coverage universal, we are faced with our last good opportunity to make the program sound.

It is difficult for us to realize that the way to make OASI sound is to pay benefits to more of our aged now. This, however, is the way for us to act with responsibility. There is a reason why I say this. Most people are agreed that there is a limit as to how high benefits and taxes should go. Those who seek extremely high benefits can attain their goal while the number of beneficiaries is low because the cost isn't felt or realized. When the program begins to carry the full load of all the retired aged, then radical and extreme increases in benefits will be much less likely because we would be immediately faced with the increased expenditure of billions of dollars and the necessity for an immediate increase of the tax. It would minimize the present danger of hidden and delayed costs. It would put checks and balances in the system—checks and balances that do not now exist. Those who would propose radical and extremely high maximum benefits or the whole range of welfare-state benefits are opposed to assuming a realistic approach with reference to our present retired aged. They are unwilling to take on the full load of the aged now—a load which they are expecting today's children to take on two decades hence.

My proposals will make for soundness now and in the future, and in addition, they will bring social-security benefits to approximately 6 million of our aged who are now denied those benefits.

The Farm Problem and the City Consumer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the city consumer has awakened to the fact that the country's farm policy has a heavy impact on his standard of living. He is also beginning to understand that Government high fixed farm price supports tending to discourage efficiency and business judgment on the part of the farmer and the contradictions of an isolationist policy on trade generally with a desire nevertheless to maintain the high level of farm product exports are of vital interest to him. City consumers need to support the reappraisal of the Government farm price policy which the Administration seems inclined to make and which has been projected forward by Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. In doing so they help themselves both as consumers and as taxpayers and will help the farmer who must break away from Government paternalism if he is to maintain the honored and prosperous place which we all want for him in a private economy.

Two newspapers with enormous circulations in New York City have recently perceived the effects of the Government's farm price policy on the city consumer. I append an editorial of October 15, 1953, from the New York Daily Mirror and also an editorial from the New York Daily News. Also appended is an editorial from the Sample Case, official magazine of the United Commercial Travelers of America of November 1953:

[From the New York Daily Mirror of October 15, 1953]

THE PRICE OF SUBSIDIES

It is a truism with which we have no quarrel that when the farmer is prosperous the Nation is prosperous, and vice versa.

The farmer ought to have reasonable guaranties for an even break in the Nation's economy, and reasonable protection against the fates of a hazardous pursuit.

But we are happy to note that—in all the debate about farm policy—somebody has at last spoken up for the average city dweller, who makes up 85 percent of our population and who pays in unreasonably high food prices and in unconscionable taxes for what amounts to a guaranty that the farmer—alone among all the workers of the country—shall not be allowed to fail.

The somebody is Representative JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican-Liberal, of New York, who spoke as a city Congressman, representing city consumers before the West Washington Market Men's Association dinner Wednesday night.

We think his views ought to be welcomed by the Eisenhower administration, the vote-conscious politicians, and the farmers themselves.

For it is the city dweller who pays the freight for farm subsidies that have lost contact with reality.

For instance, the annual food bill of the 52 million families in the United States is about $72 billion—of which $4 billion to $8 billion represent farm price supports and taxes.

Obviously guaranties of support for the farmer have gone too far unless we are ready to subsidize other segments of the economy—a step toward totalitarianism that could be irrevocable. Witness the recent vote by which wheat farmers overwhelmingly accepted Federal controls on production and marketing in return for a wheat-support price set at 90 percent of parity.

That, in reality, was a vote for "let the Government do it"; for Federal restriction in return for the will-o'-the-wisp of security.

And this "security" is provided by the rest of the taxpayers.

As Representative JAVITS told the produce men, "Farm prices unlike the prices of almost everything else are protected from the impact of consumer demand and supply."

What is the parity-price formula? It is not complicated. It guarantees the farmer prices that give him the same purchasing power he enjoyed in the periods 1910–14 or 1941–51, whichever is higher. Thus "90 percent of parity" needs no further explanation, except the footnote that the specified periods for determining parity were ones of agricultural booms.

The way the subsidy works is that the Federal Government, itself, buys and stores surplus commodities to keep the fixed prices stable. This attempt to overrule the law of supply and demand has resulted in acute embarrassment and criminal waste.

Take only the case of butter: The Government has paid $183,041,000 for 274,219,000 pounds of butter for which it must shell out storage costs of $685,000 a month.

Is this benefiting the farmer? Yes, on each price-supported pound. But not in the long run. His market is being destroyed. The consumption of butter has dropped more than 50 percent since 1941 though our population has grown 23 million. Butter is being "priced out of the market"—fixed-priced out.

The answer to this whole muddle is not for city people to get mad at farm people, or the other way around.

We are one people. The American ideal rejects the concept of setting class against class.

But the plight of the city consumer must be a recognized factor in determining farm policy on a par with universal recognition that the competent farmer should be insured against hazards beyond his control and is entitled to a monetary return for his labor equitable with the prices of the manufactured goods he has to buy.

Representative JAVITS' proposed solution, we think, is reasonable and statesmanlike: Flexible support between 75 and 90 percent of parity according to whether production of a particular commodity is to be encouraged or discouraged; the stimulation of foreign markets; education of the consumer to get the most for his food dollar; better management of surpluses to cut waste and reduce consumer prices; better protection for the farmer through extended crop insurance and loan authority.

Farm policy is not a problem remote from us residents of cities. It is as intimate as our weekly food bills.

[From the New York Daily News]

WHAT GOES WITH THE FARMERS?

Wisconsin's mainly agricultural and traditionally Republican Ninth District goes Democratic in a special congressional election. President Eisenhower takes occasion at a news conference to defend his Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra T. Benson. Growls about Benson from various farmers go on being heard.

What's it all about, anyway? Can city people ever hope to understand the ins and outs of the farm problem, with particular reference to price supports?

We don't know. But we'll do our best to explain here the main outlines of the problem as we see it.

First, as to Mr. Benson. He's from Utah, a high official in the Mormon Church, and a believer in standing on your own feet and relying on your own initiative to get you ahead in the world.

He began preaching that philosophy a few minutes after President Eisenhower appointed him head of the Department of Agriculture.

Thus, Benson ran afoul of the farm price-support program, which had its birth far back in the New Deal-Roosevelt era. This system is based on the proposition that United States farmers cannot be left to the law of supply and demand; that there are levels below which the prices they get for their stuff must not be allowed to drop.

Hence the so-called parity device. Disregarding the brain-racking mechanics of calculating parity, let's just keep in mind the fact that the present laws force the Government to prevent prices of a lot of farm products from falling below 90 percent of said parity. The effect is to keep the farmers prosperous largely at the expense of the general taxpayer—meaning you.

That isn't the only effect. The rigid 90-percent-of-parity rule also encourages farmers to overproduce. Then, too, it lures into small-scale, high-cost farming a lot of semi-amateurs who would do themselves and the taxpayers more good by working in factories or business offices. So the surpluses mount, and you pay and pay.

A lot of real farmers are well aware of these facts. The powerful American Farm Bureau Federation, for example, with 1,500,000 members chiefly in the middle and upper farm-income brackets, detests the rigid 90 percent plan and fights it persistently.

MANY FARMERS DON'T LIKE IT

Many other farmers, however, love to have the Government virtually guarantee their earnings, and too bad about the poor old taxpayer and the city consumer eating overpriced chow. These are the babies who hate Benson for having dared to hint that United States farmers would be smart to return at least part way to the American independence and self-reliance of their ancestors.

Benson has backtracked to a considerable extent. Eisenhower has appointed a commission to study the whole question, meanwhile assuring the farmers that he has no intention of jerking price supports entirely from under them.

Educated guessers guess that the commission will recommend one of two courses.

It may come out for so-called flexible supports—meaning Government guarantees sliding between 75 percent and 90 percent of parity depending on farm production each year.

SLIDING SCALE VERSUS TWO-PRICE

Or it may go for a gimmick invented during the Calvin Coolidge era but never tried out—the two-price system. This would give the farmers just about the same price supports as now for products consumed inside the United States. The surpluses would be sold abroad for whatever foreign buyers would pay.

There are catches and booby traps in both schemes. But there seem to be more in the second.

The two-price system would cause dumping of our surpluses abroad, for one thing. That would almost automatically raise high tariff walls in other countries against our goods. If by some miracle it didn't, it would disrupt the economies of many of the nations we've been trying to nurse back to health since the war.

We'll see what we shall see. Meanwhile, there are a couple of statistics which ought to be lugged in here. One is that the United States population is increasing by about 2,500,000 a year. The other is that the farm population is shrinking, in spite of the 90 percent system's encouragement of overproduction. So if farmers will control their greed for the short run, and not try to kill the taxpayer-goose that lays the golden eggs, the long-run probability is that Americans will eventually eat all the stuff all the farmers will part with, and pay highly satisfactory prices for it.

[From the Sample Case, official magazine of the United Commercial Travelers of America, of November 1953]

AS WE SEE IT

(By Jim Daly)

We have been hearing about parity prices for a lot of years now and are beginning to wonder how long it must continue. Mr. Benson, the Secretary of Agriculture, has been trying to convince the farmers that the time is at hand for them to regain their freedom by ceasing to demand this Government subsidy.

The Government has special emergency aid to the cattlemen in the drought areas, and nobody objects to that although it is a refreshing thing to know that many of them have said that aside from this special help they need nothing further.

Members of the agriculture staff at Minnesota University recently pointed with alarm to the fact that the high Government price of butter was pricing it out of the market. The per capita consumption of butter, they say, has dropped from 16.4 pounds to 8.6 pounds and they fear the future of butter and also of cheese, which also has dropped.

We saw an ad in a Mississippi paper that said, "Bring your cotton to us; the Government is higher than the market price," and it was signed by a quasi-Government representative. Is this parity or 90 percent parity in either case?

We learn now that certain groups are organizing to force Mr. Benson out of his office and to restore all parity prices that were in effect in the previous administration. It was our thought that the last election ruled against all of these false theories and not just a part of them.

At the present time a great number of citizens are paying income taxes above 20 percent of their incomes. A man and wife with combined earnings of $10,000 to $12,000 pay almost 20 percent net. A man with a wife and child pays about 17 to 18 percent. One wonders why all of them should not organize and demand 90 percent parity of their incomes. What is your thought?

Too many people are willing to sell their freedoms for alleged security. There must be an end to all of this class legislation some day. We commend Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Benson for standing pat on their programs. We urge you to advise your Congressman that he also should cease seeing hobgoblins in every special privilege group unless he wants another group to demand parity incomes.

Grassroots Conferences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, it is my great honor and very real privilege to represent the important Third District of Ohio here in the Congress of the United States. Therefore, I consider it my sacred duty and responsibility to represent all the citizens of this district to the very best of my ability. I have found that it is extremely helpful both to me and the Third District to keep well informed as to how my constituents think and feel about some of the important and vital questions confronting our Nation and all of us here in Congress.

With this avowed purpose in mind, and after Congress adjourned on August 3, 1953, I returned to the Third District of Ohio and again held grassroots conferences with people throughout the district. It made me very happy when more than three times as many people took the time and trouble to attend than did the previous year.

Some, of course, had various kinds of personal problems involving their relationship with departments and agencies of our Federal Government and with which they felt we could be of help to them. My staff and I welcomed these opportunities to serve, because we are always happy to be of every proper assistance to any and all of our constituents.

A very large percentage of our visitors, however, to these grassroots conferences came to express their opinions and give suggestions as to how the work and functions of our Federal Government could be improved in the public interest through increased efficiency and reduction of waste.

It is my constant and sincere effort, Mr. Speaker, to represent all of the people in our very important Third District of Ohio to the very best of my ability. These grassroots conferences, therefore, proved extremely helpful and encouraging to me, because, I was thus enabled to discuss many of our problems with a great many people on a personal basis. These grassroots conferences were also very encouraging because I found that our citizens are well informed, that they have well-founded opinions, based in the public interest and not personally selfish motives, and that they want to be and are actively aware of their responsibilities of citizenship. This, it seems to me, is especially significant, because a well informed, interested, and active citizenry is the greatest hope for the future and well being of our great United States, and is our best assurance that our Nation will always be the greatest, most wonderful, and best place in the world in which to live.

In a further effort to be better informed as to how the citizens of our third district feel and think about some of the important and vital questions which face our Nation and us here in Congress, I have prepared a questionnaire which I hope to give rather wide spread distribution in our district. It is my expectation and hope that the answers I receive will provide me with a cross sectional and composite point of view of our citizens. This will be very important, Mr. Speaker, because it will not only provide me with important information, but it will also alert me to those certain issues in which the people of the third district are especially interested and about which I should be particularly well informed.

In order, Mr. Speaker, that you, my colleagues, and the public at large may be officially and fully informed as to the questionnaire, I have prepared to use in this survey, I respectfully request that the attached copy be made a part of my remarks and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND: During the next session of Congress, every man, woman, and child will be affected by the legislation adopted. It is extremely helpful to me to know how you feel about the many important and vital questions which will be considered. Therefore, I will greatly appreciate knowing how you feel on the following questions. Please mark and return this questionnaire to me in Washington at your earliest convenience.

This need not be signed, although we will be glad to have your name and address if you would like a reply or would like to receive other mail and information from this office. It will greatly help us, however, in tabulating and interpreting your answers if you will state your occupation. We will also be glad to have you make any additional suggestions or recommendations either at the end of this questionnaire or on another sheet of paper.

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

PAUL P. SCHENCK,
Member of Congress.

Occupation _____

1. Do you believe that we should cut taxes first and balance the budget later? Yes ☐ No ☐
2. Would you approve higher Federal taxes if needed to balance the budget? Yes ☐ No ☐
3. Do you feel that the Taft-Hartley law—
   A. Should be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐
   B. Should be changed giving greater rights to employers? Yes ☐ No ☐
   C. Should be changed, giving greater rights to workers? Yes ☐ No ☐
4. Do you favor farm price supports? Yes ☐ No ☐
5. Should social security be broadened to include groups not now covered (farmers, professional, etc.)? Yes ☐ No ☐
6. Do you favor increasing the social-security rate of pay deductions from 1½ percent to 2 percent? Yes ☐ No ☐
7. Do you favor Senator MCCARTHY's investigation of subversive influences both in and out of Government? Yes ☐ No ☐
8. Do you favor the Un-American Activities Committee investigation? Yes ☐ No ☐
9. Do you favor investigations by congressional committees? Yes ☐ No ☐
10. Do you believe the United States should remain in the U. N.? Yes ☐ No ☐
11. Do you favor continued foreign economic aid? Yes ☐ No ☐
12. Do you favor continued foreign military aid? Yes ☐ No ☐
13. Do you feel that the reciprocal-trade laws should be continued to assist in our foreign trade and commerce? Yes ☐ No ☐
14. Do you favor increased postal rates on—
   A. First-class mail? Yes ☐ No ☐
   B. Second- and third-class mail? Yes ☐ No ☐
   C. Airmail? Yes ☐ No ☐
15. Do you feel it is necessary that the Post Office Department operate without a deficit? Yes ☐ No ☐
16. Do you favor increased pay rates for postal employees? Yes ☐ No ☐
17. Are you in favor of universal military training? Yes ☐ No ☐
18. Do you favor the requirement that drafted and enlisted military personnel serve in the Reserves for a specified period after discharge from active service? Yes ☐ No ☐
19. Would you favor UMT after the expiration of our present draft law? Yes ☐ No ☐
20. Do you believe that a civil-defense program is necessary? Yes ☐ No ☐
21. Do you believe that the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act should be amended to provide for more liberal admission of immigrants into the United States? Yes ☐ No ☐
22. Do you favor Senator BRICKER's proposed constitutional amendment voiding treaties which deny or abridge any constitutional rights of American citizens? Yes ☐ No ☐
23. Do you feel that personal income taxes should be lowered by—
   A. Lowering the income-tax rate? Yes ☐ No ☐
   B. Increasing exemption for dependents? Yes ☐ No ☐
   C. Raising the exemptions for married couples? Yes ☐ No ☐
24. Would you favor exemption of the first $1,500 of retirement income from income taxes? Yes ☐ No ☐
25. Do you feel that the Eisenhower administration is doing a good job? Yes ☐ No ☐

Name _____
Address _____
Do you want a reply? Yes ☐ No ☐
Do you want to be on our mailing list? Yes ☐ No ☐
Remarks _____

Case History of a Smear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the October 19, 1953, issue of Congress Weekly, the publication of the American Jewish Congress. This article by Mr. Will Maslow concerns the attacks of a confessed traitor to the United States on the memory of some of our Nation's most revered clergymen, Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, among other important religious leaders.

During the recent recess of the Congress the House Committee on Un-American Activities released to the press without comment the statements of various ex-Communists attacking these respected and revered leaders. To their credit the committee did not associate itself with the remarks of these confessed traitors who now claim passionate patriotism but neither did the committee disassociate itself. It is extremely discouraging to find that a committee of the Congress will act as a vehicle for the publication of undocumented charges against such responsible leaders of the community. The practice which the committee engaged in, in this instance, is indeed questionable, and I think it is extremely desirable that all of the Members have an opportunity to read this article by Mr. Maslow:

CASE HISTORY OF A SMEAR

(By Will Maslow)

Throughout its long and turbulent history, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been criticized for injuring innocent people, confusing popular understanding of the meaning of communism, attempting to throttle social and economic views it disliked and otherwise misusing its functions. The recent attack on the deceased rabbis, Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, is the latest and one of the most alarming illustrations of the committee's procedures.

On September 11, 1953, the House Committee on Un-American Activities released to the press without comment four volumes of testimony delivered before a subcommittee sitting in executive, i. e., private, session in New York City on July 6, 7, 8, 13, and 14, 1953. The testimony consisted in the main of statements by ex-Communists linking Protestant clergymen to the Communist Party. The volumes are entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area."

Included in the 310 pages of testimony thus released was one statement by Benjamin Gitlow reading as follows:

"To be specific: Before the creation of the front organizations,[1] the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers.

"The outstanding ones among them were, besides Dr. Harry Ward, Dr. William B. Spofford, Jerome Davis, Rev. Tucker P. Smith, Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, Rabbi Judal (sic) L. Magnes, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Sidney Strong, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise."

This was the first indication anyone had had that the names of Drs. Wise or Magnes had been mentioned by any witness before the committee.

The paragraph of Gitlow's testimony concerning Drs. Wise and Magnes was incorporated in the Associated Press account of the attack on the Protestant clergy and distributed throughout the country on September 12, 1953. It is significant that many newspapers, on their own initiative, refused to publish this paragraph and omitted any reference in their stories to Wise or Magnes; a sufficiently large number, however, did use the Gitlow attack on the rabbis so that it immediately became a matter of national interest.

Benjamin Gitlow gave his testimony on July 7, 1953, in New York City before Representative KIT CLARDY, Republican, of Michigan, and FRANCIS E. WALTER, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Questioned by Robert L. Kunzig, committee counsel, Gitlow described himself as one of the top officials of the Communist Party in the United States from 1919 to 1929, when he was expelled. At the time of his expulsion, he was general secretary of the party in charge of its work in the textile unions. Mr. Kunzig stated that the main purpose for which Gitlow had been invited to testify was to give his "experience in connection with the relationship of the Community Party to religion."

Gitlow began by describing the Communist Party as an atheistic organization that nevertheless had a policy of infiltration of religious organizations, and he named a half-dozen Protestant clergymen who had worked closely with the party. Mr. Kunzig then asked whether Gitlow could tell how the Communists infiltrated the religious field. He replied that before he answered he would deal briefly with the tactic of the united front adopted by the Communists in 1922 after their policy of instigating revolutions in Germany and elsewhere had failed.

This united-front policy, according to Gitlow, resulted in the formation by the Communist Party of many united-front organizations in the United States. The then continued: "To be specific: Before the creation of the front organizations, the ministers who

[1] Identified previously by the witness as before 1922.

carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers." He then named the outstanding one among them as Rabbi Magnes, Rabbi Wise, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, and 6 other Protestant ministers of whom 3 had already been named by him. There were no other references by Gitlow to Wise or Magnes or any other rabbi.

It is evident that Gitlow in his references to Wise and Magnes was referring to the 5 years between November 1917, the date of the Soviet revolution, and 1922—a period more than 30 years before the date he testified. Dr. Magnes left the United States and emigrated to Palestine in 1922 settling permanently in that country. In 1925 he became chancellor of the Hebrew University in Palestine. Gitlow clearly therefore was referring to events before 1922.

Far more shocking than Gitlow's performance was that of the committee. It allowed him to make his charges relating to events of 30 years ago without requiring him to substantiate them with the slightest evidence. Gitlow was not questioned at all about this reference to Wise or Magnes. He was not asked how he knew about the alleged Communist collaboration, whether it was based on this personal knowledge or hearsay or when the collaboration took place. It will be noted that Gitlow lumped together the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party with those who collaborated with it, as though there were no differences in the two accusations. The subcommittee did not ask Gitlow what he meant by the term "collaborated." Judging by the committee's past record, collaboration may mean anything from taking a public stand on an issue paralleling that of the Communist Party to joining an organization that is any time dominated by Communists. The term, however, as the ordinary reader would understand it, means conscious, deliberate, and systematic cooperation. In the present state of public opinion, a charge that an individual has collaborated with Communists is virtually equivalent to branding him a traitor.

On September 24, 1953, the Peekskill (N. Y.) Evening Star published a letter from Benjamin Gitlow (a resident of the area) defending himself against attacks because of his testimony concerning Wise and Magnes. In the course of his letter, he wrote:

"It was the purpose of this testimony to show how the Communist movement, from its very inception—though antireligious and in principal (sic) atheistic—was able to attract a number of well-meaning, liberal, and social-minded religious leaders such as Rabbis Magnes and Wise. The charge was not made that they were ever Communists or members of the Communist Party."

It will be noted that Gitlow was now retreating if not recanting. Rabbis who he had previously sworn had carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were now described as well-meaning, liberal, and social-minded religious leaders who were never members of the Communist Party or Communists. Gitlow apparently draws a distinction between Communists with a small "c" and members of the Communist Party. Wise and Magnes, he stated, fell into neither category. They are now described merely as well-meaning leaders whom the Communist movement was able to attract. Here again Gitlow gives no dates nor any other evidence to support his assertion and uses a vague word like "attract" to indicate a relationship with the Communists.

Had the committee shown the slightest responsibility or sense of fair play, it would have refused to countenance this denunciation, on the unsupported assertion of one witness, based on nebulous charges referring to events 30 years ago. Instead, heedless of the injury it might do to the reputations of two dead rabbis, it made Gitlow's testimony public. The committee, by allowing Gitlow to testify before it, immunized him from civil or criminal libel proceedings (in New York it is a crime maliciously to defame the reputation of the dead) and allowed anyone now to republish this portion of the official transcript of the testimony with impunity.

Public reaction to the Gitlow smear was instantaneous and vigorous. Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, issued a joint statement which was printed in full by the New York Times and given generous space throughout the country.

The Goldstein-Eisendrath statement described the action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "a shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency," expressed the hope that "this climactic revelation of the irresponsible character of the committee's procedures will move the American people to action in defense of their liberties" and concluded that Gitlow's charge was "a contemptible and vile desecration of two of the most noble and revered names in American Jewish history."

Thereafter many leading American organizations and many distinguished American citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish, joined in denouncing this latest action of the committee.

The national board of the National Council of Churches of Christ, the central body of American Protestantism, condemned the "utter disregard of the American tradition of fair play" in releasing accusations against the two dead rabbis "revered not only by their coreligionists but millions of other Americans" and described the committee's action as "yet another example of the abuse of the congressional investigative process."

The Synagogue Council of America, representing the major congregational and rabbinic groups in this country, condemned the committee for its cowardly attack. The National Community Relations Advisory Council scored the irresponsible publication of unsupported charges and called upon Congress as "its first order of business when it reconvenes" to adopt fair rules of procedure for congressional investigating committees.

Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the Zionist Organization of America, accused the committee of almost unbelievable irresponsibility and called the charges against Wise and Magnes fantastic and ridiculous. The board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made public a resolution denouncing the unsupported charges. (Dr. Wise in 1909 had been one of the founders of the NAACP.) Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in a public statement called Gitlow's testimony a reckless attack. The Community Church of New York (of which Dr. John Haynes Holmes is minister emeritus) and the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue defended the records of Dr. Holmes and Dr. Wise and called upon Congress to adopt a code of fair procedures. Dr. Holmes, a lifelong friend and coworker with Dr. Wise in innumerable civic and social causes and for many years chairman of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union (whose constitution bars Communists from holding office or staff positions), has branded the Gitlow charges as absolutely false.

Several influential newspapers including the New York Times, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and the New York Post assailed the committee. The only dissenting voices that have been heard are The Tablet, the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Brooklyn, which supported Gitlow's attack on Dr. Wise, and Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, who expressed his faith in the inegrity of Gitlow.

The Wise-Magnes incident dramatizes the need for the reform of the procedure of legislative investigating committees and focuses attention on the wholly inadequate rules of the Committee on Un-American Activities that made possible an attack on the memory of two deceased and revered rabbis.

On July 15, 1953, this committee made public its Rules of Procedure, the first rules it has ever adopted. The rules indicate some awareness that innocent persons may be injured by the procedures of the committee. Thus it is provided that if a majority of the committee or a subcommittee thereof believe that the interrogation of a witness in a public hearing might "unjustly injure" the reputation of other individuals, the committee shall conduct such interrogations in an executive session. Testimony in executive sessions must be kept "secret" and "shall not be released or used in public sessions without the approval of a majority of the committee."

The same awareness of this unjust injury is indicated by another rule entitled "Rights of Persons Affected by a Hearing" that requires the committee "where practicable" to notify any person that has been named in a public hearing before it as "subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organizations, who has not been previously so named." Such notice is to be given "within a reasonable time" after the naming. A person thus notified may within 15 days of such notice request the opportunity of testifying in public about such accusations.

These rules are obviously inadequate to prevent such incidents as the Gitlow smear. Nor indeed could any rule be formulated that would hold the committee even to elementary notions of fair play or decency in releasing testimony given in the secret session. Obviously a committee with any sense of responsibility would have on its own motion rejected out of hand the flimsy assertions of Gitlow concerning alleged conduct 30 years ago.

More basic than rules regulating procedure are rules limiting the scope of the committee's investigative power. Today it is authorized by the standing rules of the House to investigate the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities. But the rules do not and indeed could hardly define un-American. What is un-American for the House Committee on Un-American Activities evidently is, as the New York Times has put it, views on social and economic matters differing from its own. As long as the committee is given carte blanche to libel anyone living or dead as un-American, no reputation in the United States is safe.

Failing a complete overhauling of the committee's functions, the next most important step is to reconstitute the committee and others like it. It is obviously not enough to man the committee with lawyers, according to the custom of the House. Members of such committees should be those who have demonstrated that they value responsibility, objectivity, and judicial standards of fair play more than headlines.

While these larger goals are being fought for, halfway measures must be sought. One is the adoption of rules of procedure designed to place some check upon the hit-and-run tactics of the committee. For example, rules should be adopted that would (1) forbid the committee to make public any testimony injuring the reputation of any living or dead person, unless the committee itself evaluates such testimony and makes detailed findings about it; (2) forbid the release of such defamatory testimony until the person defamed or the representatives of the deceased per-

son have been given a copy of the accusation and the opportunity to comment thereon; and (3) compelling the committee if it makes public the accusation, simultaneously to release the answer or defense. Such rules are necessary because the Wise-Magnes incident is not an isolated one. The committee through its long and stormy history has rarely been able to distinguish between accusation and judgment or even been able to evaluate a person's record as a whole.

The spontaneous indignation and resentment of distinguished organizations and individuals to the irresponsible action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are healthy and reassuring. But their sense of outrage must be focused upon constructive goals; the redefinition of the functions and reform of the procedures of legislative investigating committees. This reform can only be accomplished by the building up of a sound public opinion and tradition that will hold up to public scorn any legislator violating the common decencies. When the conscience of America is so aroused that it no longer is good politics to smear innocent people, effective rules of procedure can be adopted to preserve and protect our American tradition of fair play.

Lowering the Retirement Age in Old-Age and Survivors Insurance to 60

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing quite a lot of talk today about ways in which our social-security system should be improved. And, in the beginning, I would like to suggest that some of the so-called remedies which are being advanced will bear careful watching. For example, we cannot, I am convinced, improve our social-security system by allowing it to do less and less for more and more people. We need to extend the coverage of the system, certainly, but not, as some of the proposals would do, at the expense of those of us who are now receiving its benefits, or who will be receiving them in the future.

As many of you know, my own overall solution for improving our present system is not only to extend its coverage, but to improve its protection and its benefits structure substantially. My bill, H. R. 6180, would accomplish the purposes of a genuinely protective social-security system not only by providing for more generous benefits under the existing system, but also by furnishing protection against wage loss caused by the fearful hazard of disability, be it temporary or permanent. This is an ambitious program, and one which will, I am afraid, hardly meet with the approval of the present Congress. But I am glad to be a sponsor of this bill because I am very sure that it outlines the social-security program which this country will someday achieve.

Meanwhile, I am greatly concerned with supporting such genuine improvements as may be possible under existing conditions. And today I want to talk with you about one such improvement which, to my mind, is of the utmost importance in relieving the fear of insecurity in the later years of life, but which has so far received little attention. I am convinced that we could make one of the most important single steps in the direction of genuinely improving the system and bringing it more in line with the realities of our time, by lowering the retirement age under old-age and survivors insurance from age 65 to age 60.

Why was the retirement age in the original Social Security Act set at age 65? I have asked that question repeatedly, and I have never had a satisfactory answer. Perhaps the best one is t
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women who lose their jobs after age 45 have the greatest difficulty finding new jobs. According to these studies, even those employers who keep older workers who are already on their payrolls put strict age limits when hiring new workers. Tragically enough, about one-third of all persons applying for employment are 45 years of age and over. This evidence that older workers are the first casualties in the labor market is, in my opinion, one more very important reason why we should lower the eligibility age in old-age and survivors insurance at least to age 60.

And let us remember, too, the hardship caused in the case of men and women who are forced to leave their jobs before age 65 because of a disabling injury or illness. All of us know that such tragedies occur without regard to age. They do not wait until age 65, because the law has set that arbitrary age as the one which makes benefits available. We know, too, that crippling accidents and illnesses are more likely to occur as we grow older.

Now in my opinion, the only real solution to this problem lies in enacting a really protective disability insurance program—such as the one outlined in my omnibus bill. For in this way we could reach down to protect the worker against such a tragedy at any age. But again—short of that long-range goal—we can substantially reduce the tragedy by lowering the retirement age to 60 years. This will mean that men and women who now are so disabled after their 60th birthday will not have to wait until they are 65 to

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benefit. If she has no children living in the home, and if she is unable to find work—either because of inexperience or ill health—she often has no recourse but public relief. Again, lowering the eligibility age to 60 would be a step in the direction of relieving much misery. And for those wives and mothers who are 60 and over when tragedy strikes, it would be avoided altogether.

I have so far mentioned some special conditions which, because of the individual inequities they produce, demonstrate how much more protective our social-security system could become by the simple means of lowering the retirement age by just 5 years. But such an improvement is also desirable from the point of view of all of us. We are faced with the fact that the genius of modern industrialism and the productiveness of our working force have made it possible for us to produce more than we had ever

dreamed we could produce—and all that by working less. But we know, as well, that in creating new opportunities and new production records we have also increased some of the risks having to do with economic security for the American family.

The conditions of our time call as insistently for a shortening of the working life as they have for a shortening of the working day. For the most part, we have adjusted the hours of the working day—or of the working week—to meet modern conditions. But we are still wedded to a working-life concept which dates back at least three decades. We are here concerned, then, not with the condition

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well-known priest, Rev. James M. Gillis, who writes for the Tablet. This article is thought provoking, and Reverend Gillis sets forth a point of view shared by millions of American citizens on the subject of our foreign policy. The article is as follows:

COMMONSENSE DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is supposed to be a difficult art, to be practiced only by professionals. If an amateur ventures to offer a suggestion as to how our international affairs should be conducted, he gets about the same consideration from the professionals as a "fan" in the bleachers who would tell Charlie Dressen how to run the Dodgers or as a Monday-morning quarterback who criticized the star who called the plays on Saturday afternoon. The volunteer diplomat, like the volunteer strategist, is told, "You keep out of this; you don't know what you are talking about."

Not that the professional has reason to be proud of what he has achieved. He may have made a mess of things. Take the present situation, for example. Nobody in Europe, Asia, or Africa loves us. Most of them hate us. They don't want any part of what they call Uncle Sam's next war. The ambitious scheme called NATO has fallen through. There is no united Western European army, and there is little disposition on the part of Britain, France, Italy to create one. So it is hard for anyone to see that our diplomacy of the last several years has been something to brag about.

FEW SUGGESTIONS

In such conditions the amateur is emboldened to think that what he suggests cannot be worse than what has been tried. There is even a chance that it might be better. So I venture a few suggestions.

First. The elder J. Pierpont Morgan used to say, "We do business on character." He meant, I suppose, that he would not know-

160 million inhabitants, should export manpower to Western Europe with 270 million."

CALLING ALL HOME

That looks like common sense. Is common sense inconsistent with diplomacy?

But does it mean pulling out of the attempt to save Western Europe? Not at all, says Simms. We shall continue to help in all ways except with manpower in a part of the world where American manpower is resented. The British, French, and others will not listen to the warnings of a Gruenther or a Ridgway. So let them put Marshal Juin or Field Marshal Montgomery in charge.

The Europeans now think that our presence on the Continent is a menace to peace. So, says Simms, "as promptly as orderly procedure permits, we should bring home our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, leaving Europeans in their peace."

Further—and in the judgment of the amateur who writes this column—let us remove the causes of suspicion, hatred, and jealousy caused by the presence of civilian American employees in Europe. "Let us call home," says Simms, "all our missions, commissions, authorities, and whatnot—all that army of American civilians now swarming over Europe—and leave the job to our regular embassies. * * * For a long time now Europeans have been saying to us, 'Go home.' Well, let's go."

The Everlasting Building Called Prestige

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, while I was in my home district during the recess of the 83d Congress I had an opportunity to hear a very thoughtful and philosophical discussion by one of the outstanding citizens and civic workers of Oregon on the subject of The Everlasting Building Called Prestige, a copy of which I include in these remarks:

THE EVERLASTING BUILDING CALLED PRESTIGE

It is often said "Forget the past," but how can I forget my past when my past is what I am. "Study the past if you would define the future."

Do I want to forget my past? No, if I am in good standing and successful. Yes, if I have failed in my integrity and duties.

Regardless of what I wish, it would not matter. "Every man is the son of his own works." So when we build, we build forever.

It is startling to think as Cicero said, "There is not a moment without some duty." Today makes yesterday's biographies and tomorrow's sorrows or contentment.

The best teachers of humanity are the lives of great men and great women. Nothing is so infectious as example, and man may do what has by men been done. If we do not take care of the moments, we could truthfully say—what loneliness is more lonely than distrust and he, who purposely cheats his fellowmen, would cheat his God.

It is true after we have built "prestige" in the hearts of men, we can live by our past efforts. The momentum of revolving respect and trust would bring returns a hundredfold.

As we walk down life's pathway, and sometimes we are weary with responsibilities and reverses, it might seem fitting to sing the song the galley slaves used to sing, but if we have some song in our hearts, we will not have completely failed. Ah, give us the man who sings at his work, one who looks on the bright side and pushes the bad things in the background.

If we are successful, let us not forget our beginnings and watch lest prosperity destroys generosity.

Though we cannot forget our past, the golden age is before us and not behind us. Too low they build who build below the skies. Not failure, but low aim is crime. If we would create something, we must be something.

The world belongs to the energetic for good or evil. If the men of the hour are of high type and have taken care of their yesterdays, there is a cycle of constructive work being done. If it is the opposite and the most energetic are of the Hitler and Mussolini type, destructive work abounds.

As old age comes stealing on, would it not be rejuvenating to know that we could be recommended by business firms, credit associations, fellow workers and friends, and really realize we have built an everlasting

son have been given a copy of the accusation and the opportunity to comment thereon; and (3) compelling the committee if it makes public the accusation, simultaneously to release the answer or defense. Such rules are necessary because the Wise-Magnes incident is not an isolated one. The committee through its long and stormy history has rarely been able to distinguish between accusation and judgment or even been able to evaluate a person's record as a whole.

The spontaneous indignation and resentment of distinguished organizations and individuals to the irresponsible action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities are healthy and reassuring. But their sense of outrage must be focused upon constructive goals; the redefinition of the functions and reform of the procedures of legislative investigating committees. This reform can only be accomplished by the building up of a sound public opinion and tradition that will hold up to public scorn any legislator violating the common decencies. When the conscience of America is so aroused that it no longer is good politics to smear innocent people, effective rules of procedure can be adopted to preserve and protect our American tradition of fair play.

Lowering the Retirement Age in Old-Age and Survivors Insurance to 60

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing quite a lot of talk today about ways in which our social-security system should be improved. And, in the beginning, I would like to suggest that some of the so-called remedies which are being advanced will bear careful watching. For example, we cannot, I am convinced, improve our social-security system by allowing it to do less and less for more and more people. We need to extend the coverage of the system, certainly, but not, as some of the proposals would do, at the expense of those of us who are now receiving its benefits, or who will be receiving them in the future.

As many of you know, my own overall solution for improving our present system is not only to extend its coverage, but to improve its protection and its benefits structure substantially. My bill, H. R. 6180, would accomplish the purposes of a genuinely protective social-security system not only by providing for more generous benefits under the existing system, but also by furnishing protection against wage loss caused by the fearful hazard of disability, be it temporary or permanent. This is an ambitious program, and one which will, I am afraid, hardly meet with the approval of the present Congress. But I am glad to be a sponsor of this bill because I am very sure that it outlines the social-security program which this country will someday achieve.

Meanwhile, I am greatly concerned with supporting such genuine improvements as may be possible under existing conditions. And today I want to talk with you about one such improvement which, to my mind, is of the utmost importance in relieving the fear of insecurity in the later years of life, but which has so far received little attention. I am convinced that we could make one of the most important single steps in the direction of genuinely improving the system and bringing it more in line with the realities of our time, by lowering the retirement age under old-age and survivors insurance from age 65 to age 60.

Why was the retirement age in the original Social Security Act set at age 65? I have asked that question repeatedly, and I have never had a satisfactory answer. Perhaps the best one is that the choice of age 65 was made almost two decades ago, at a time when we had had little experience with retirement plans. By and large, therefore, the eligibility age was set at 65 by a mathematical and arbitrary choice, rather than because it had any special meaning in our industrial structure.

My point, here, then, is that we must now reevaluate that decision made over 18 years ago in the light of our experience with the system and our development as a nation. And I am convinced that the record of the old-age and survivors plan, the experience of the people entitled to its benefits, and the industrial development and increased productivity of our country dictate the wisdom of adopting the more realistic retirement age of 60 years.

Such a revision will recognize the clear fact of our time that the very increase in our productivity is shortening the work life of most Americans very decisively. We hear much talk, for example, of the merit of hiring older workers—or of encouraging them to remain at their jobs as long as possible. All of this is laudable and desirable. But the stark reality of the matter is that a great many older workers cannot continue to work either because they are physically unable to do so or because nobody will hire them. Nearly all evidence shows that job opportunities for older workers are decreasing simultaneously with the expansion of our economy. Studies made by the Department of Labor show that men and women who lose their jobs after age 45 have the greatest difficulty finding new jobs. According to these studies, even those employers who keep older workers who are already on their payrolls put strict age limits when hiring new workers. Tragically enough, about one-third of all persons applying for employment are 45 years of age and over. This evidence that older workers are the first casualties in the labor market is, in my opinion, one more very important reason why we should lower the eligibility age in old-age and survivors insurance at least to age 60.

And let us remember, too, the hardship caused in the case of men and women who are forced to leave their jobs before age 65 because of a disabling injury or illness. All of us know that such tragedies occur without regard to age. They do not wait until age 65, because the law has set that arbitrary age as the one which makes benefits available. We know, too, that crippling accidents and illnesses are more likely to occur as we grow older.

Now in my opinion, the only real solution to this problem lies in enacting a really protective disability insurance program—such as the one outlined in my omnibus bill. For in this way we could reach down to protect the worker against such a tragedy at any age. But again—short of that long-range goal—we can substantially reduce the tragedy by lowering the retirement age to 60 years. This will mean that men and women who now are so disabled after their 60th birthday will not have to wait until they are 65 to receive social-security benefits. Shortening the waiting period for workers who are disabled at earlier ages will not completely solve their problem—but if we can, on their 60th birthday, say to these people, "You are entitled now to your social-security benefit. You do not have to wait another 5 years until you are 65," we shall have taken an important step toward relieving at least part of the heartless waiting period which is caused by the age restrictions of present law.

May I remind you of another area in which the simple matter of lowering retirement age would be a step in the direction of righting a real injustice to many of the widowed mothers of our country. As you know, women are not entitled to benefits as the widows of workers until they reach age 65 under our existing system. This works a special hardship on the aged widows and on the dependent mothers of wage earners who have died. It is especially true that women age 55 and over find it practically impossible to get a job unless they have been recently employed. If a bereaved widow has never had a job, or if she has been out of the labor market for a long time because she was primarily a homemaker, her problem of sustaining herself after the death of her husband is one of tragic proportions. Under the existing law, she will be entitled to a widow's benefit if her husband was covered by social security. But not until she has reached age 65. If she was widowed at age 55, she must wait 10 years for that benefit. If she has no children living in the home, and if she is unable to find work—either because of inexperience or ill health—she often has no recourse but public relief. Again, lowering the eligibility age to 60 would be a step in the direction of relieving much misery. And for those wives and mothers who are 60 and over when tragedy strikes, it would be avoided altogether.

I have so far mentioned some special conditions which, because of the individual inequities they produce, demonstrate how much more protective our social-security system could become by the simple means of lowering the retirement age by just 5 years. But such an improvement is also desirable from the point of view of all of us. We are faced with the fact that the genius of modern industrialism and the productiveness of our working force have made it possible for us to produce more than we had ever

dreamed we could produce—and all that by working less. But we know, as well, that in creating new opportunities and new production records we have also increased some of the risks having to do with economic security for the American family.

The conditions of our time call as insistently for a shortening of the working life as they have for a shortening of the working day. For the most part, we have adjusted the hours of the working day—or of the working week—to meet modern conditions. But we are still wedded to a working-life concept which dates back at least three decades. We are here concerned, then, not with the condition of the country in 1910—or even in 1935—but with the situation today. We have revised and modernized our social security structure in nearly every other respect, but we have held on to an outworn concept in allowing the retirement age to stand at 65.

I believe our social-security system should be one which will encourage us to make way for younger workers, and encourage a way of life which, in the democratic pattern, produces the maximum of economic progress and individual security. Short of the enactment of a genuinely protective social-security system, such as is proposed in my omnibus bill, I suggest that an amendment lowering the retirement age from age 65 to age 60 would be one of the most universally beneficial improvements we can make in the system. It will, I submit, be a long step forward in providing better and more adequate protection against the economic risks of our time.

Commonsense Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a newspaper article by that well-known priest, Rev. James M. Gillis, who writes for the Tablet. This article is thought provoking, and Reverend Gillis sets forth a point of view shared by millions of American citizens on the subject of our foreign policy. The article is as follows:

COMMONSENSE DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is supposed to be a difficult art, to be practiced only by professionals. If an amateur ventures to offer a suggestion as to how our international affairs should be conducted, he gets about the same consideration from the professionals as a "fan" in the bleachers who would tell Charlie Dressen how to run the Dodgers or as a Monday-morning quarterback who criticized the star who called the plays on Saturday afternoon. The volunteer diplomat, like the volunteer strategist, is told, "You keep out of this; you don't know what you are talking about."

Not that the professional has reason to be proud of what he has achieved. He may have made a mess of things. Take the present situation, for example. Nobody in Europe, Asia, or Africa loves us. Most of them hate us. They don't want any part of what they call Uncle Sam's next war. The ambitious scheme called NATO has fallen through. There is no united Western European army, and there is little disposition on the part of Britain, France, Italy to create one. So it is hard for anyone to see that our diplomacy of the last several years has been something to brag about.

FEW SUGGESTIONS

In such conditions the amateur is emboldened to think that what he suggests cannot be worse than what has been tried. There is even a chance that it might be better. So I venture a few suggestions.

First. The elder J. Pierpont Morgan used to say, "We do business on character." He meant, I suppose, that he would not knowingly have dealings with a customer whose character was known to be bad. Would not that reasonable precaution work in diplomacy? Can we really do business with Malenkov? Or with Mao Tse-tung? Or with the North Korean puppets of these utterly irresponsible superbrigands? If we cannot do it, why do we try?

Do the diplomats answer, "If we don't do business with crooks, we shall do no business at all"? Is that what you would call good business? Furthermore, if you do business with disreputables, must you do business disreputably? If you are honest and the other fellow is dishonest, don't you put yourself at a disadvantage? You may lose. Then what? If a banker loses, he pays in dollars; if the diplomat loses, he pays in lives. In 145,000 American casualties and in another million sustained by an ally. Do you call that successful diplomacy?

Second suggestion: Tell the people the truth. The truth? Yes; the truth. The truth to the people at large. Does someone say, "Nonsense, you cannot tell the truth to the people"? Then what is this Government of ours? A democracy? Would it not be common sense and good morality if when a diplomat makes a blunder—a costly blunder, a bloody blunder, which sacrifices scores of hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars—he should "come clean" and confess that the venture was a failure? Why keep up the bluff? Why attempt to persuade the people that a stalemate is a victory or that a ghastly fiasco is a triumph? Is that diplomacy? Is it decent? Is it moral?

Third suggestion: This time I quote. William Philip Simms, veteran correspondent in Europe for the Scripps-Howard papers, said in a particularly blunt article not long ago: "We should take steps to turn over the defense of Western Europe to Europeans. There is no longer any reason why we, with 160 million inhabitants, should export manpower to Western Europe with 270 million."

CALLING ALL HOME

That looks like common sense. Is common sense inconsistent with diplomacy?

But does it mean pulling out of the attempt to save Western Europe? Not at all, says Simms. We shall continue to help in all ways except with manpower in a part of the world where American manpower is resented. The British, French, and others will not listen to the warnings of a Gruenther or a Ridgway. So let them put Marshal Juin or Field Marshal Montgomery in charge.

The Europeans now think that our presence on the Continent is a menace to peace. So, says Simms, "as promptly as orderly procedure permits, we should bring home our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, leaving Europeans in their peace."

Further—and in the judgment of the amateur who writes this column—let us remove the causes of suspicion, hatred, and jealousy caused by the presence of civilian American employees in Europe. "Let us call home," says Simms, "all our missions, commissions, authorities, and whatnot—all that army of American civilians now swarming over Europe—and leave the job to our regular embassies. * * * For a long time now Europeans have been saying to us, 'Go home.' Well, let's go."

The Everlasting Building Called Prestige

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, while I was in my home district during the recess of the 83d Congress I had an opportunity to hear a very thoughtful and philosophical discussion by one of the outstanding citizens and civic workers of Oregon on the subject of The Everlasting Building Called Prestige, a copy of which I include in these remarks:

THE EVERLASTING BUILDING CALLED PRESTIGE

It is often said "Forget the past," but how can I forget my past when my past is what I am. "Study the past if you would define the future."

Do I want to forget my past? No, if I am in good standing and successful. Yes, if I have failed in my integrity and duties.

Regardless of what I wish, it would not matter. "Every man is the son of his own works." So when we build, we build forever.

It is startling to think as Cicero said, "There is not a moment without some duty." Today makes yesterday's biographies and tomorrow's sorrows or contentment.

The best teachers of humanity are the lives of great men and great women. Nothing is so infectious as example, and man may do what has by men been done. If we do not take care of the moments, we could truthfully say—what loneliness is more lonely than distrust and he, who purposely cheats his fellowmen, would cheat his God.

It is true after we have built "prestige" in the hearts of men, we can live by our past efforts. The momentum of revolving respect and trust would bring returns a hundredfold.

As we walk down life's pathway, and sometimes we are weary with responsibilities and reverses, it might seem fitting to sing the song the galley slaves used to sing, but if we have some song in our hearts, we will not have completely failed. Ah, give us the man who sings, at his work, one who looks on the bright side and pushes the bad things in the background.

If we are successful, let us not forget our beginnings and watch lest prosperity destroys generosity.

Though we cannot forget our past, the golden age is before us and not behind us. Too low they build who build below the skies. Not failure, but low aim is crime. If we would create something, we must be something.

The world belongs to the energetic for good or evil. If the men of the hour are of high type and have taken care of their yesterdays, there is a cycle of constructive work being done. If it is the opposite and the most energetic are of the Hitler and Mussolini type, destructive work abounds.

As old age comes stealing on, would it not be rejuvenating to know that we could be recommended by business firms, credit associations, fellow workers and friends, and really realize we have built an everlasting

building of prestige that stands as a sentinel to the skies. Know and profit by this statement:

"How can I forget my past, when my past is what I am."

ELVA DONDENA COFER.

Hon. Robert B. Meyner Wasn't Too Proud To Wax Office Floors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, listed below is an item from the Hudson Dispatch of September 8, 1953, on the Honorable Robert B. Meyner, the next Democratic Governor of New Jersey. It will, I think, add a possible clue to the recent Democratic sweep in our great State—the man himself, solid, sound, loaded with stamina, and widely admired.

The article follows:

MEYNER WASN'T TOO PROUD TO WAX OFFICE FLOORS

After a man has obtained his bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws degrees he does not usually go around looking for work like scrubbing or waxing floors.

But we are not discussing the ordinary lawyer. We are thinking of an extraordinary barrister, who came to our Hudson Dispatch Building in the depth of the depression—1933—and started a clerkship with the late J. Emil Walscheid, who, with the late Julius Lichtenstein, of Hoboken, we think, were the two most outstanding members of the legal profession in Hudson County in those days, and for years that followed.

Mr. Walscheid's services were so much in demand that he and his assistant, Milton Rosenkranz, who later became his partner, could not keep up with the demands of would-be clients. Mr. Walscheid was also county counsel. So they decided to get a hustling young lawyer to serve a clerkship. Mr. Rosenkranz called the dean of Columbia Law School. He explained that Mr. Walscheid wanted the most capable and highest standing of the graduating class. Said the dean:

"I have a man who worked every bit of his way through Lafayette College, where he was captain of the debating team and then honor student. He comes from very poor parents and has had to make his entire way alone through Columbia Law School. At Columbia during the past 3 years he has kept himself going by keeping a day job during the day and a night job during the night and has still been able to make a high B average. Would you be interested in such a man?"

Mr. Rosenkranz replied: "Send him right over."

It was Bob Meyner who showed up at Hudson Dispatch Building and went to work for the Union City law firm. It was Robert B. Meyner, now Democratic candidate for governor, who at 45 has become a prosperous lawyer in his home town of Phillipsburg, Warren County.

Mr. Meyner knew the pangs of poverty even as a child. When he was less than 10 years old he was selling newspapers on the streets of Paterson. His father was a poor silk weaver, and went from city to city to obtain employment in textile plants. He was unable to send his son to college, but Mr. Meyner found he could work his way to a law degree as well as to that of bachelor of arts.

Mr. Rosenkranz, whom Mr. Meyner now calls his teacher, tells us that the law clerk, who was with his firm for 3 years until he went to Phillipsburg in 1936 to establish a practice, was most helpful. He was dependable, a hard worker, with an unimpeachable integrity. Mr. Rosenkranz was not only impressed by these qualities, but by his deep devotion to his family. He sent home money regularly, and aided a sister with his meager earnings as a law clerk. Mr. Rosenkranz was amazed one day when the young lawyer walked into his office and asked him if he could not take over the job of waxing the new cork floors in the Walscheid suite every other Sunday. He said that he needed the money to help out his sister. The job was given to him and for a long time after that young Meyner added $10 every 2 weeks to his regular earnings.

The first big fee—large in those days of 100-percent dollars—was earned by Mr. Meyner from Clendenin Ryan, now an independent candidate for governor against Mr. Meyner. Mr. Ryan wanted Mr. Walscheid to take the case, but both he and Mr. Rosenkranz were so rushed that they turned it over to Mr. Meyner. Mr. Ryan was so pleased with the services of the Phillipsburg attorney that he employed him in other matters. Mr. Ryan has expressed high regard for Mr. Meyner, with one exception—he thinks that Mr. Meyner is a poor politician.

Mr. Meyner, a bachelor, still lives with his widowed mother, Mrs. Sophia Meyner, now 70, in an old-fashioned house near the center of Phillipsburg.

Mr. Meyner interrupted his successful law practice to go into the Navy in World War II. He served as a commissioned officer.

Our National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article entitled "Let's Close the National Parks," by Bernard DeVoto, which was published in the October 1953 issue of Harper's magazine:

LET'S CLOSE THE NATIONAL PARKS

(By Bernard DeVoto)

The chief official of a national park is called the superintendent. He is a dedicated man. He is also a patient, frustrated, and sorely harassed man. Sit in his office for an hour some morning and listen to what is said to him by the traveling public and by his administrative assistant, the chief ranger.

Some of his visitors are polite; some aren't; all have grievances. A middle-aged couple with a Cadillac make a formal protest: It is annoying that they must wait three-quarters of an hour to get a table at Lookout Point Lodge, but when it comes to queuing up in order to use the toilets at the point—well, really. A woman in travel-stained denim is angry because Indian Creek campground is intolerably dusty. Clouds of dust hang over it, dust sifts into the sleeping bags at night, dust settles on the food and the children and the foliage, she has breathed dust throughout her 2-weeks stay. Another woman reports that the toilet at Inspiration Cliff campground has been clogged since early last evening and that one of the tables there went to pieces at breakfast time. A man pounds the desk and shouts that he hit a chuckhole on Rimrock Drive and broke a spring; the drive, he says, is a carkiller and will soon be a mankiller. Another enraged tourist reports that a guardrail collapsed when his little girl leaned against it and that she nearly fell into the gorge. The representative of a nature society sums up his observations. He has hardly seen a ranger since he reached the park. (One reason is that most of the rangers are up in the high country fighting a forest fire.) Tourists have picked all the bear grass at Eyrie Overlook and the observer doubts if the species will ever come back there. Fifty-one names have been freshly carved in the vicinity of Cirque Falls, some of them actually on the famous Nine Centuries Tree itself. All but one of the campgrounds look like slums; in the observer's opinion, the reason why they look that way is that they are slums.

Such complaints must be distinguished from the irrational ones voiced to the Superintendent by tourists who are cantankerous, crackbrained, tired, or merely bewildered. They must be so distinguished because they are factual and true. (The Superintendent, not having a plumber, will send a ranger to clean out the toilet but replacing the guardrail will leave him too little money to buy lumber for a new table. He squeezed $1,200 from his budget to enlarge Indian Creek campground and so reduce the dust there but Brawling River undercut 50 feet of main road and the emergency repairs cost $1,350.) He answers all complaints courteously, as a representative of the National Park Service and the United States Government, but he has no effective answer. He is withheld from saying what would count, "Build a fire under your Congressman." He cannot go on and explain that the Service is suffering from financial anemia, that it is the impoverished stepchild of Congress, and that the lack of money has now brought our national park system to the verge of crisis. He cannot say this and neither can his superiors in the Washington office, but it is true.

Between visitors the chief ranger has been developing this theme. He got together a crew yesterday and put them to work on the decaying bridge inside the north entrance; it can be shored up for the rest of this season but next year it will be beyond help and the north entrance will have to be closed. He also went over Beaver Creek Trail again yesterday and he is scared; unless some work can be done on it at once it must be closed as unsafe. Costs on last week's rescue job are now in. Fourteen men worked 3 shifts a day for 2 days to bring that climber with a broken hip down from Deception Peak. A doctor had to be summoned from 80 miles away and an ambulance from 175 miles. The episode cost just over a thousand dollars, which will have to come out of the budget, and this means one summer ranger less next year. (In 1936 the park had two more summer rangers than it has this year—and only one-twelfth as many visitors.) Furthermore, Ranger Doakes, an expert alpinist, has demanded overtime pay for that rescue—sacrilege in the Service, but the chief ranger cannot blame him. The recent increase in rents hit Ranger Doakes hard. He got only a 137-percent increase, which was less than some others, but it brought his rent to 23.5 percent of his annual salary.

Let's leave the chief ranger's remaining woes unprinted and look at this latest device for reducing pay by compelling personnel to subsidize the National Park Service budget. The most valuable asset the Service has ever had is the morale of its employees. I have said that the Superintendent is a dedicated man; all his permanent staff and all the temporary rangers and ranger-naturalists are dedicated men, too, they are all lovers and all fanatics or they would have quit long since. Ever since it was organized the Service

has been able to do its difficult, complex, and highly expert job with great distinction, because it could count on this ardor and devotion. The 40-hour week means nothing in a national park. Personnel have always worked 16 hours a day and 7 days a week whenever such labor was necessary. Superintendent, rangers, engineers, summer staff, fire lookouts, they all drop their specialties to join a garbage-disposal crew or a rescue party, to sweep up tourist litter, to clean a defouled spring, to do anything else that has to be done but can't be paid for. They are the most courteous and the most patient men in the United States and maybe once a week several of them get a full night's sleep. If you undermine their morale, you will destroy the Service. Well, the latest increase in rents has begun to undermine it.

By decree of the Bureau of the Budget the rents of Government housing must be equalized with those of comparable housing in the same locality. In the end this amounts to some sleight of hand in the bookkeeping of the United States Treasury, but it is probably sound in theory. Sound, that is, for a lot of Government housing, but not for that which, to a varying degree, shields NPS employees from the weather. In the first place, the locality with which rents must be equalized is the nearest resort town outside the park, where rents are 2 or 3 times as high as in the nearest nonparasitical town. In the second place, there is practically no comparable housing. These are not the massive dwellings of a military installation, the imposing and luxurious ones that the Bureau of Reclamation erects, or the comfortable cabins of the Forest Service that were built by the CCC. Apart from a few such cabins by the CCC and a few new structures which the Service has been able to pay for from the pin money that passes as its appropriation, they are either antiques or shacks. The best of them are usually inadequate—one-bedroom houses for couples with two or more small children, two-bedroom houses for couples with two or more adolescent children. Many of the rest of them belong in the Hoovervilles of 1931—CCC barracks built of tar paper in 1934, and intended to last no more than 5 years, old warehouses and cook shacks built of slabs, curious structures hammered together from whatever salvaged lumber might be at hand. I have seen adobe huts in damp climates that were melting away from the rain, other quarters that were race courses for rats, still others that would produce an egg shortage if you kept chickens in them.

Park Service employes are allowed an isolation deduction of from 5 to 40 percent, intended to compensate them for being forced to live at a galling and expensive distance from the services of civilization. Even so, the already high rents have been cruelly increased by the last directive from the Bureau of the Budget. On a list I have at hand of 17 dwellings in Grand Teton National Park, the lowest increase (after the isolation deduction) is 100 percent, the highest 200 percent, the average of 150 plus).

At this park there is an associated ingenuity. The park pays Teton County, Wyo., $26,000 a year in lieu of taxes; it produces God knows how much for the State in gasoline and sales taxes the business brought in by its visitors is all that keeps the town of Jackson solvent or even alive. But a hangover from the controversy over Jackson Hole National Monument, a controversy created for profit by local politicians and the gamblers and land speculators allied with them, has enabled the town of Jackson to pressure the State administration. By decree of the State attorney general, park personnel are not residents of Wyoming, though any itinerant Okie who paused there would be, and must therefore pay for the transportation and tuition of their children who attend public schools. They total $158 per pupil. It makes quite an item in the family finance of an underpaid public servant who has now had his rent increased, the rent of a leaky and rat-ridden crate which he cannot select but must take as assigned—and in which he gets no equity though he pays a fifth of his salary or more.

This last summer I visited some 15 NPS areas. It was a commonplace to meet a park employee who had had to bring a son or daughter back from college as a result of the rent increase. It was even commoner to find one who had decided that the kids could not go to college when they finished high school. In many places, wives of park personnel are working for the private firms licensed to operate businesses in the parks, and this is a highly undesirable practice. The chief clerk of one of the most important parks works weekends in a grocery store in order to stay fed while retaining the job he loves. I could add to these specimens indefinitely but let it go with the end product: the most valuable asset of the National Park Service is beginning to erode away.

So are the parks and national monuments themselves. The deterioration of roads and plant that began with the war years, when proper maintenance was impossible, has been accelerated by the enormous increase in visitors, by the shrinkage of staffs and by miserly appropriations that have prevented both repair and expansion of facilities. The Service is like a favorite figure of American legendry, the widow who scrapes and patches and ekes out, who by desperate expedients succeeds in bringing up her children to be a credit to our culture. (The boys work the graveyard shift in the mills; the girls' underwear is made of flour sacking.) Its general efficiency, the astonishingly good condition of its areas, its success at improvising and patching up is just short of miraculous. But it stops there, short of the necessary miracle. Congress did not provide money to rehabilitate the parks at the end of the war, it has not provided money to meet the enormously increased demand. So much of the priceless heritage which the Service must safeguard for the United States is beginning to go to hell.

Like a number of another small areas in the system, the Black Canyon of the Gunnison has no NPS personnel assigned to it. On one rim of this spectacular gorge there are a few inadequate guard rails, on the other and more precipitous rim there are none. When I visited it, one of the two registers for visitors and all the descriptive pamphlets had been stolen. The ranger force at Mesa Verde National Park is the same size it was in 1932; seven times as many people visited it in 1952; the figures for June 1953 were up 38 percent from last year's. The park can man the entrance station for only one shift; automobiles which arrive in late afternoon cannot be charged the modest entrance fee. It cannot assign a ranger exclusively to fire duty at headquarters, though it is in an arid region where destructive fire is a constant danger; the headquarters ranger must keep the fire-alert system operating while he attends to a dozen other jobs. All park facilities are strained to the utmost. Stretches of the main road to keep sinking and must be repaired at excessive cost because there is not money enough to relocate them where the underlying strata are more stable. There is not even money enough to replace broken guardrail posts along the edge of the canyon. Colorado and New Mexico are about to construct a new highway past the park to the famous Four Corners. On the day it is completed visitors to Mesa Verde will double in number and the park will be unable to take care of them. It will be paralyzed.

Last year Senator Hunt, of Wyoming, made a pleasure trip to Yellowstone Park, at least a trip that was intended to be pleasurable. He was so shocked by the condition of the roads that he wrote a letter of protest to President Truman. It got buried under the election campaign. And yet, considering the handicaps, Yellowstone has done magnificently with its roads; those of many other parks are in worse condition. Of the main road system in the park, 5 percent is of pre-1920 standard, 42 percent of pre-1930 standard, and only 27 percent of 1930–40 standard. Exactly 3 miles of new road have been constructed since 1945 and those 3 complete a project that was begun before the war. This is the oldest, most popular, and most important national park. In 1932, when 200,000 people visited it, its uniformed staff was large enough to perform just over 6,000 man-hours of work per week; last year, with 1⅓ million visitors, the shrunken staff performed just over 4,000 man-hours per week. Like nearly every other popular park, it has reached the limit of performance and begun to slide downhill. There are not enough rangers to protect either the scenic areas from the depredations of tourists or the tourists from the consequences of their own carelessness, or to gather up the litter or to collect all the entrance fees that should be paid. Water and garbage and sewage systems are beginning to break down under the load put on them; already some sewage is being discharged in Yellowstone Lake. The park's high plateaus covered with lodgepole pine are natural firetraps which some day will be burned out because the budget will not permit adequate fire protection.

I have touched on only a few of Yellowstone's critical problems. What I have said is true also of all the most popular areas administered by the service and in some degree of almost all the less accessible areas. There are true slum districts in Yellowstone, Rocky Mountain, Yosemite, Mesa Verde, various other parks. The National Park Service does a far better job on its starvation rations than it could reasonably be expected to do, but it falls increasingly short of what it must do. It is charged with the preservation, protection, maintenance, development, and administration of 28 national parks, 5 national historical parks, 85 national monuments, 56 areas of various other classifications, and 785 National Capital parks. Their importance to the American present and future is simply incalculable; they are inestimably valuable. But Congress made no proper provision for rehabilitating the areas at the end of the war or for preparing them for the enormous increase in use. More than 60 million people visited them last year. It could have provided for renovation and expansion at about a fourth or a fifth of what the job would cost now, but it didn't. It requires the Service to operate a big plant on a hot-dog-stand budget.

The crisis is now in sight. Homeopathic measures will no longer suffice; 30 cents here and a $1.75 there will no longer keep the national park system in operation. I estimate that an appropriation of $250 million, backed by another one to provide the enlarged staff of experts required to expend it properly in no more than 5 years, would restore the parks to what they were in 1940 and provide proper facilities and equipment to take care of the crowds and problems of 1953. After that we could take action on behalf of the expanding future and save from destruction the most majestic scenery in the United States and the most important field areas of archeology, history, and biological science.

No such sums will be appropriated. Therefore, only one course seems possible. The national park system must be temporarily reduced to a size for which Congress is willing to pay. Let us, as a beginning, close Yellowstone, Yosemite, Rocky Mountain, and Grand Canyon National Parks—close and seal them, assign the Army to patrol them,

and so hold them secure till they can be reopened. They have the largest staffs in the system but neither those staffs nor the budgets allotted them are large enough to maintain the areas at a proper level of safety, attractiveness, comfort, or efficiency. They are unable to do the job in full and so it had better not be attempted at all. If these staffs, and their respective budgets, were distributed among other areas, perhaps the Service could meet the demands now put on it. If not, additional areas could be temporarily closed and sealed, held in trust for a more enlightened future—say Zion, Big Bend, Great Smoky, Shenandoah, Everglades, and Gettysburg. Meanwhile, letters from constituents unable to visit Old Faithful, Half Dome, the Great White Throne, and Bright Angel Trail would bring a nationally disgraceful situation to the really serious attention of the Congress which is responsible for it.

Present Income-Tax Exemption of $600 Should Be Raised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the present personal income-tax exemption of $600 for each taxpayer and each dependent is totally unrealistic today. At the time when these exemptions were made so low a dollar was worth more than it is today. With the decreasing value of the dollar it is now necessary to raise the personal income-tax exemption in order to end the disproportionate tax burden which now falls on large families.

In January 1953, I introduced H. R. 2281 which provides for raising the income-tax exemption from $600 to $750 for all personal taxpayers and for each dependent. According to the Treasury Department estimates this change in the income-tax laws would make an additional $3½ billion a year available to American families. We all know that the American family is the great spending unit which keeps the wheels of American industry turning. This additional $3½ billion in the hands of American families would be spent on the usual family necessities and would thus help to keep American business at a high level and help to absorb American farmer products.

Since it has been proposed to reduce taxes beyond the amount which has already gone into effect as of January 1 of this year, it would be much more equitable to bring about this reduction by increasing the personal exemptions rather than by an overall percentage decrease in the tax rates. An overall decrease in rates, while helpful, would still leave the large families bearing a disproportionate share of the tax burden. On the other hand, a reduction in the personal exemptions would benefit everyone but would be particularly beneficial to large families.

H. R. 2281 is also applicable to the double exemption for blind persons and persons over 65. Hence, a married couple, both over 65, would be entitled to an exemption of $3,000 under H. R. 2281, in contrast to the present exemption of $2,400. Thus, this bill would be a great help to the old people who have particularly borne the burden of inflation which has sharply reduced the value of their savings and annuities.

The Republican administration which came into office in 1920, following World War I and its high taxes, particularly benefited the people with low incomes by greatly reducing their income tax from its previous high level. The present new Republican administration can likewise do a worthwhile act of justice and give priority in tax relief for the persons with low incomes and large families by raising the present tax exemptions $600 to $750 or more per dependent.

Federal Cooperation With Local Subdivisions for the Conservation and Development of Water Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in line with the announced policy of the Department of Interior to cooperate with the States and other political subdivisions in the conservation and development of water resources, I have today introduced a bill to provide Federal assistance to permit the financing and construction of the Tri-Dam project on the Stanislaus River in California.

The South San Joaquin Irrigation District and the Oakdale Irrigation District have combined their interests in undertaking this joint project. These two districts were pioneers in the development of irrigation in California which turned our agricultural production from grains, hay, and so forth, to specialized crops such as almonds, walnuts, peaches, plums, pears, prunes, grapes, truck garden crops of all kinds, and so forth. This has resulted in California being the State which for years has been the largest producer, in dollar value, of agricultural crops.

This bill will authorize assistance in the amount of $10,370,000 to these districts. The districts have each voted bonds in the sum of $26 million for the development of the Tri-Dam project. The districts are operated jointly, and have two Federal Power Commission licenses authorizing the construction of this project.

It is fantastic that a small group of people who are the owners of these districts—about 30,000 people in the boundaries of the districts—should be willing to bind themselves to the payment of $52 million plus interest, in order to more fully develop a water supply to meet the expanding needs of the irrigators.

The amount which is provided as financial aid is the sum which it would cost the Federal Government for the irrigation features of the project, should it develop the water resource and in turn sell it to the irrigators. Under the reclamation law this would be repaid by the water users, without interest, over a period of 40 years. This sum is not a gift to the irrigation districts. It is merely a loan to help them get started on the project. It will be repaid by the districts.

This bill is a "guinea pig" bill that may pave the way for other similar projects and that will result in collaboration between the Federal Government and State agencies in the development of water resources. It will place the management and control of these resources in the hands of those who will use and pay for the works necessary to bring the water to their lands. It will be controlled at the level of and by the very people who use the resource. It will remove remote control of water which comes from an intrastate stream in California, which by its constitution provides that the water of its streams belong to the people of the State.

Another interesting feature of this development is that hyroelectric development of these waters will provide electricity, the sale of which will completely pay for the whole project in 50 years. These districts have an executed contract with the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. that all the power developed by these dams will be purchased by the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., and it is estimated that in 50 years the income from this contract will pay the money for which the people of the districts have bonded themselves

A most interesting thing about this situation is that the vote of the people who authorized these bonds was over 9 to 1 in one district, and over 5 to 1 in the other district.

Deduction of College Expenses for Income-Tax Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a proposal has been made that the income-tax laws should be revised to allow deduction for tax purposes of certain expenses connected with college education. I am thoroughly in agreement with the basic principle upon which this proposal is based. My specific reasons I will enumerate for you in a minute, but first I would like to say a few words about the importance of a college education for the youth of today. If we are willing to support tax advantages for the sake of making college education more readily available, we must first agree that a college education is a good and desirable thing.

We live in a very complex world today, a world which our ancestors would find completely baffling. We are engaged in all sorts of activities which they could never have anticipated. We have made tremendous strides in both the physical and the social sciences. Life is infinitely more complex today than ever before. How are we to cope with this increased complexity, with this myriad of new inventions and new developments? How are we to equip the young men and women of today to go out with a chance of making a better world for themselves? One answer is that we must provide better and more extensive education for as many of our population as possible. Now, a better education does not mean that everyone must go to college. But, certainly, it means that we should provide the opportunity for the best qualified of our young people to do so. We need desperately, for instance, many more scientists and adequately trained professional men and women. We need, too, men and women who have an understanding of our social and economic structure, of our cultural institutions; men and women with a background adequate to enable them to devise workable solutions to the many problems which confront us. Colleges are equipped to help us satisfy those needs.

Today, 150,000 top students each year are unable to go on to college from high school, mostly for financial reasons. Only 20 percent graduate from college. We can and must do better than this.

There are a few fortunate families who have no trouble in meeting all the expenses their children incur during the course of their college educations. But most of us experience a great deal of difficulty in scratching up the thousands of dollars required to put a child through college. Many of us find it far beyond the realm of possibility, or are forced to go heavily into debt to secure the necessary funds. One action which would provide some relief is the raising of the income tax deduction allowed for a dependent in college to a figure which more nearly corresponds to the actual cost than does the present $600 allowance. Experience has shown that a parent must expect to pay nearly $1,500 a year to keep a child in college; many schools require a much greater amount; some are somewhat less expensive, especially if the child is living at home. Very few of us have $1,500 a year to spare, and the situation becomes even worse when two or more children are ready for college at the same time. Increased tax deductions would not solve the whole problem, but they would make it a little less burdensome. We allow deductions for medical expenses, for contributions to charities (possibly including the education of someone else's children), and we grant special tax advantages for such things as the rapid amortization of the cost of defense plants. It would be even more logical to allow tax advantages for the college educations of our children. Not only would this help the children, but it also would help some of the private institutions of higher learning by increasing the number of students in attendance. In the long run, of course, all of us would benefit by having a citizenry which was better educated and better equipped to face the problems of modern-day living.

Texas Friendship to Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of the Members of this body to the following report made by Prof. Daniel Russell, of the department of agricultural economics and sociology of the A. & M. College of Texas, following his visit to Germany with a boatload of heifers and livestock donated by the people of Texas in conjunction with the Christian Rural Overseas Program—CROP. Professor Russell was accompanied by Mr. Basset Orr, of the Texas Feed Industries, who donated the feed for the livestock while en route from Galveston.

TEXAS FRIENDSHIP TO GERMANY

The Texas Friendship of dairy cattle, food, and clothing to the political and religious refugees of Germany got enthusiastic support from all the diverse religious, political, economic, national, and racial-origin groups as no other private effort in the State's history perhaps. From a religious angle, Jews and Church of Christ, Catholics and Southern Baptist, Episcopalians and Seventh-day Adventists, Methodist and Latter-day Saints, Lutherans and Evangelicals, and many other denominational people gave dairy animals, food, and clothes.

From an economic standpoint, differences in individuals contributing were as marked. Members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor took leadership and made noteworthy contributions to the ship's cargo. Likewise leading members of the National Association of Manufacturers contributed time and money to the cause. Widow women living on a small annuity and some of Texas' wealthiest men made contributions. One aged part-time farm laborer came to the minister of a small country church who was trying to raise money to buy a heifer and said, "Preacher, I can't give much, but here is a dollar, maybe that will buy the tail of the heifer." Wealthy city churches and poor country churches gave. In Chapel Hill, Tex., the Baptist Church and the Methodist Church joined hands in giving a heifer. Large-scale farmers, ranchers, dairymen, and small-farm operators gave.

From a racial- or national-origins standpoint, the Negro Agricultural Council of Hopkins County led out by contribution of a fine-bred dairy heifer to go on this ship. Germans, Czechs, Italians, Poles, Mexicans, Englishmen, Scots, Norwegians, Irishmen, and those of other national origins joined hands in this mercy enterprise.

From a political standpoint, Dixiecrats, Shivercrats, loyal Democrats, old-line Republicans, Eisenhower Republicans, and at least one Socialist cooperated wholeheartedly in the program.

Some people abroad think these divisions in our public indicate weakness. Quite the opposite is true, because they act as checks and balances especially since in periods of crisis and in great mercy campaigns as ours, we all sit down together and join hands in a great cooperative effort. It is a great task for those of us conducting these campaigns to always keep harmony and see that tension does not arise. Only absolute harmony have we had thus far. We ought to get together more often like this, because it might make our tensions in other areas less severe. Our differences are not so great, we find, after we sit down and eat and work together. Our program is not brotherhood in theory but brotherhood in action.

Shipping the heifers was the most difficult part of our program. This was our first experience. Health requirements for shipments are difficult, conflicting, and confusing to the beginner.

Of the 74 heifers penned for shipment, only 42 were cleared in time for shipment. Recommendations are being worked out for State and national committees for future shipments.

We learned a lot, and I believe we could make another shipment without so many headaches. Many of our voluntary workers, county agents, dairymen, veterinarians, and others are to be highly commended for staying with us to the end through all the trouble we and they had. Some contributed almost full time the week before we sailed.

The steamship *Jesse-Lykes*, with our cattle and food and other contributions aboard, sailed from the port of Houston 6 p. m., August 17. Bassett W. Orr, Bryan, secretary of the Texas Feed Manufacturers Association; Glenn Fuller, 4–H and FFA boy, of Houston; and Daniel Russell went along to care for the dairy animals. Four rough days were encountered at sea. Several of the animals as well as our 4–H boy got seasick. By hand feeding we kept the animals from losing weight except for one heifer, which was sick 3 days before we knew what was the matter with her. On the whole the animals kept in good shape and were even in better condition when we arrived than when we left. Even the little heifer mentioned above was slicking up and gaining weight when we arrived.

After 19 eventful days at sea with 2 of those a stopover at La Palice, France, we arrived at Bremen, Germany, with our cargo. A welcoming committee headed by Herr Kurt Grote, of Oralog, and Dr. Leuders, of Church World Service, with movie and television cameras, were there to greet us. The Germans were aboard unloading the cattle with big lift cranes almost before we landed. We were taken to the Bremen Hospice, a hotel operated by the Evangelical Church, where we were comfortably and reasonably housed for our stay in Bremen.

The next day, Sunday, we were taken at 11 o'clock to the port building where some of our supplies were displayed—rice, sugar, lard, flour, clothes, for the presentation, acceptance and dedication of our gift. The burgomaster, the chief of welfare of the Bonn government, the local senator, the representatives of Cralog (all private relief agencies in Germany, Church World Service, etc.) and I made speeches. All speakers praised the people of the United States very highly, Texas in particular, the Christian rural overseas program, and Heifer Projects, Inc. (Dr. Leuders stood by me and interpreted the German addresses as they were given.) This was national election day. We went to two polling places. Great masses were going to the polls, always in a very orderly manner. The results of the elections are well known in the States by now. Communists and neo-Fascists were allowed to put their announcements on the public

bill boards, but they got nowhere in the elections. Germans are solidly behind Adenauer, but do not know who would take his place if something happened to him.

There are great piles of rubble from the war in Bremen and other large German cities, but everywhere you look they are building new apartment houses, schools, factories and business buildings, streets and what have you. When you ride out in the country, you see beautifully kept farms, pastures and fine livestock. Abject poverty such as you see in Korea and the rest of the Orient or even in France, is not evident. One traveling through Germany might wonder why relief supplies are made by Germany. The German people as such do not need relief and would highly resent being considered the objects of charity, even charity through Christian efforts. You have to look back of the scenes to see the real needs.

There is a food shortage because East Germany has always been the food basket of west industrial Germany. Now East Germany is behind the Iron Curtain. West Germans have stepped up their food production far beyond what it was before the war, and with trade can easily take care of themselves. They must import sugar, oil, cotton, wool, and other basic commodities.

It is the displaced new arrivals, ten to fifteen millions, that need help. Germany is doing her best to take care of them, far more than we and all nations are doing, but they must and should have helped in this enormous task. One out of each five persons in West Germany is a displaced person. In some areas, 1 in 2 or 3 is displaced. On an area smaller than Texas, they have ten to fifteen million new people.

Germany is badly overcrowded in housing. Many of the people who fled the bombed-out cities to the rural areas still live there and commute back and forth to their city jobs on bicycles, motor bikes, trains, buses, etc., because they cannot find a place to live in the city where they work. Now, with all the new-arrival refugees, one can easily picture the overcrowded housing. We were told that in some areas every house had an extra person, couple, or family. This is something the tourist traveling through Germany does not see or realize. We heard no complaints; we both realize this is not good.

The German people generally eat heartily, but they are short on fats, oils, sugar, wheat, meats, and other foods we take for granted. Potatoes, cabbage, snap beans, and other homegrown vegetables make up a large part of their diet. Even in the hotels bread was never served except at breakfast, and the German-made bread is very appetizing.

The average German is clothed comfortably, but their clothes look a little coarser than ours and more worn. There is a shortage of cotton, wool, and leather which they could buy from us if we would buy their industrial products. Old clothes from this country are needed, especially among the refugees. Especially are men's clothes and shoes needed. Children's clothes and shoes, women's clothes and sweaters and coats are quite welcome. Women's narrow-toed, high-heeled shoes don't fit. There was some complaint that some bundles of clothes were badly worn and in poor condition. Unless the clothes are good, they should not be sent.

Some have questioned me as to whether the German people appreciate these donations of ours. One has only to make the trip as we did to get this question answered. All the people—government, church, refugees, and private citizens—are most appreciative. The welfare director of the Bonn government was high in his praise of our gift. An old German couple from Hanover on the boat from a visit to their son in Port Arthur, Tex., cried when they were told the heifers were a gift from the church people in Texas to the refugees in Germany. An old Czech lady in a refugee camp cried profusely when she was told we were Americans. She said if it had not been for the Americans she would have been dead a long time ago. One refugee boy proudly showed us the American label in the coat he wore. In some respects I think we have gotten more credit than we deserve because the German Government and the people have done so much more than we for the refugees.

The refugees in Germany can be divided roughly into three groups—the escapees, the DP's, and the refugees.

The escapees are the German citizens of East Germany fleeing the Iron Curtain for an asylum in the free world. All classes of people are in this group of from 800 to 1,800 per day through West Berlin. Some are old people. Many are teenage youths who refuse to desert their religion and take the oath of the Communist youth organization required to go to school and work. Some are industrial workers, shopkeepers, and professional people. Large numbers are farmers who could not make the impossible quotas put on them by the Communist overlords. They saw everything they had was going to be taken away from them as a penalty and they fled the land they loved and the home that had been in the family name for hundreds of years.

These escapees constitute the largest number and are the easiest to adjust. Some will migrate to the States, Canada, South America, and other parts of the world. They are given all the rights of German citizens, social security employment rights and service, public housing where available, etc. Many, if not most of them, are finding employment in the expanding German economy and are making generally a contribution, I would say, to West Germany, especially if she can get trade. One big handicap some Germans told me was that most of the 1,700 camps they were being sent to were in the rural areas too far from the industrial towns where they might be needed. Relief for most of these should be of a temporary nature until they become adjusted and self-supporting. Nearly all of them have only the clothes on their backs.

Two groups among the escapees will need long-time care. These are the unemployable, aged, and cripples, and youth. The teenage youth ought to have a special appeal for the American public. The German people are trying to put all these youths in school so that they might finish their education and be worth more to Germany in the future. This, it seems to me, is going to cost someone a great deal of money for some time; and from other free-world nations, it seems to me, would be in order. In one orthopedic hospital run by the Evangelical Church out of Kassell, I saw them doing surgery and reeducation for cripples.

But everywhere one goes in Germany, they find these people fitting into the life of Germany. In the World Council of Churches office in Frankfurt, was a former doctor of philosophy and professor of English in an East German university. Three of the doctors in the orthopedic hospital were escapees. The ticket clerk in Lykes Lines, etc.

The second group, the DP's, are the most pathetic and most needy of all. These are the people uprooted by the Potsdam and other agreements made with Russia from their native homes in territory taken over by Russia and sent to West Germany because they had some German lineage. Some of them are from countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia, and even Russia proper. They are used to a culture different from Western Germany and may not even speak the German language.

Some of these DP's have been whiling away their time in a DP camp for 6 or 8 years with evidently not much hope for the future. They are fed, clothed, and housed by the West German Government and by international relief organizations, as CROP. However, the Germans, I would say, are bearing the brunt of the load. Some are old people, some are crippled, perhaps war casualties. Many are children.

These people need everything. The camp I saw was some old temporary barracks. The roofs leaked badly. They had never seen paint. They were rotting away. They were bound to be cold in the hard winters.

Their clothes were old and worn. One little sandy-haired boy had his pants patched until it looked like they could stand no further patching. All the children the day of the visit were there because the other children in the local school had gone on a field trip and these children could not put up the small transportation fee. Old clothes from America would be a godsend to these people, especially good children's clothes and shoes, men's clothing and shoes, women's clothing and shoes of the non-high-heel variety.

Some of the men and women get part-time employment in the fields and the local stone quarry, but unemployment and inactivity are major problems. These are the forgotten, neglected, needy people living in the poor quarters off the main highways that the tourist does not see as he travels through Germany and sees all the activity and apparent prosperity in Germany.

The third group, for want of a better name, we will call the refugees. They are those who have fled the Iron Curtain, but have not been given the status of the escapees and DP's. That is, they are not given any of the official aid, such as employment status, social security, and other government benefits. They are completely on their own.

All crossing over into the West Zone in Berlin now, are screened very carefully by an American, a British, a French, and a German team of specialists. If there is any question by any team as to their reason for crossing over, or if they are non-Germans, they are not given citizenship status of the others coming over. However, I am told, no one fleeing to the free world through Berlin is forced to go back to Communist-dominated areas. They get police protection, but no material help from the West German Government. With the great influx of the last few months, restrictions are being tightened until about one-third now are in this group.

What will happen to this great group of people without a country, so to speak? Your guess is as good as mine. Unquestionably a great many will go back to East Germany because the main reason, I was told, West Germans were not accepting them was because they could not prove that they were not employed and they were suffering undue persecution in the East Zone. Many of them hope to migrate to another country. Some will. Some on their own are finding work, but this is difficult. Some will find friends in Germany or other lands that will help take care of them. They are living any place they can find. Several families even in a room. Large numbers in vacant warehouses or buildings they may find.

Unquestionably this is a group needing help from the free world. Church and private agencies are doing much in trying to help these people, but their resources are inadequate for this tremendous job, especially since they must help these other groups. There is even a refugee camp for escaped Russians in Frankfurt. A Greek-Orthodox priest was visiting them the time I was in Frankfurt.

Germany, at first glance, seems to be booming and prosperous. Back of the scenes

there is very dire poverty, neglect, and need. If these people are not helped, we may not expect them to continue to believe in the principles of the free world we so proudly enunciate. They will be ripe for the rabble-rousing organizer no matter what "ism" he advocates. America needs to help them and I believe will.

Trade With Iron Curtain Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. LYLE, JR.
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LYLE. Mr. Speaker, I have been home among normal people so long that it takes reconditioning to understand some of the things I have been reading about in the Washington papers for the last 2 days.

When I left here in August to go home, Russia was a mortal enemy of mankind, cruelly bent upon the destruction of freedom and decency and all of the things we cherish. That is, I thought so, but I read this morning where the President's man, Stassen, now called Foreign Operations Administrator, had a press conference and said that the National Security Council decided last summer to relax the curbs on trade with the Iron and Bamboo countries, and that the administration has been relaxing the bans on items considered nonstrategic over the last 5 months. As a matter of fact, the article said that the Eisenhower administration has reversed its policy of opposing trade with Russia and is now encouraging such trade. The article reminds us, however, that this will not favorably affect the surpluses of America—it will only favorably affect the countries that we have been giving money to since the war and, of course, Russia.

Mr. Speaker, when can an enemy be forgiven for purely economic purposes? When is it advisable to prohibit Americans from trading with the Iron Curtain countries, and at the same time advisable to permit and encourage our beneficiaries and competitors to carry on this trade.

I have not been able to wipe away the blood and sacrifice and suffering brought on by the Communists sufficiently to accept without protest a policy that will strengthen the Government of Russia.

It is not possible for me to experience anything except anger and sadness that my country would make such a decision, a decision which, apparently, was made last summer when young Americans were dying at the hands of the stooges of the Communist government. I do not propose to tell the Governments of England, France, Italy, or any other government except my own what they should or should not do with reference to someone who is trying to kill them, but I do say that I am not going to share with them the hard-earned dollars of the American people, and to further say that the proposed announcement by Mr. Stassen does not make sense to me. If it is the administration's proposal, we are entitled to a full explanation from those responsible for it, and an opportunity for the people's representatives to pass upon its soundness.

It does not seem right, somehow, to have one hand asking for billions and sacrifice to destroy an enemy and the other hand patting him on the back and encouraging his economic welfare.

Trinity River Project Endorsed by Bureau Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, this fall at Red Bluff we held the ground-breaking ceremonies for the construction of the Sacramento Valley canals, a historic step in the progress of northern California. One of the prominent public officials appearing on the platform at the ceremonies on October 17, 1953, was Mr. W. A. Dexheimer, the Commissioner of Reclamation. In his remarks he not only pointed to the value and importance of these canals to northern California, but referred in favorable terms to the Trinity River project, which is the next step in the development of northern California's water resources. He stated that the Bureau of Reclamation stood ready to support authorizing legislation for this project. Such legislation is now pending before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and I hope to get favorable action on it this session. Because of its general interest, I am including at this point the full text of Mr. Dexheimer's speech:

COMMENTS BY COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION W. A. DEXHEIMER AT GROUNDBREAKING FOR SACRAMENTO CANALS, RED BLUFF, CALIF., OCTOBER 17, 1953

The start of work on the Sacramento Canals here today represents the culmination of preliminary efforts which have been going on in this valley for 80 years.

It was back in 1873, less than 10 years after the Civil War, that the Congress authorized the Secretary of War to appoint a board of commissioners to make an "examination of irrigation of the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Tulare Valleys."

Lt. Col. B. S. Alexander's report to President U. S. Grant outlined a comprehensive system of "hypothetical irrigation canals including two diverting from the Sacramento River near Red Bluff and extending down both sides of the Sacramento Valley." This early report may be said to constitute the original conception of the Central Valley project.

Very little was done with this early report until 1905, when the Bureau of Reclamation, at the request of Governor Pardee, of California, made a comprehensive study of the upper Sacramento Valley under Engineer S. G. Bennett. The Orland project, which is down on our books as a mighty successful little operating project, was started in 1908 following this survey.

Enlarged Sacramento Valley and Central Valley studies were made in 1914 by E. G. Hopson, in 1920 by Homer Gault, and in 1925 by Walker R. Young. Mr. Young later became the construction engineer at Hoover Dam, where it was my good fortune to work with him. Then he came back here to supervise the construction of Shasta Dam and from there he became the chief engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation, so you can see you have been in good hands in the design and construction of your reclamation works here in the Sacramento Valley.

As I see it in reviewing these early planning reports, the real significance of the work starting here today is that the Central Valley project is now becoming in fact what its name implies—a project for the entire Central Valley.

When the Central Valley project was authorized as a Federal reclamation project in 1935, one of its most urgent goals was to meet the critical irrigation deficiency in the southern San Joaquin Valley. Up to this day, practically all irrigation efforts have been centered in the San Joaquin Valley and the Delta region. There has been very little work in the Sacramento Valley other than the Shasta Dam which is the keystone to the whole project.

Nevertheless, the Central Valley project was intended from the start, as the early plans indicated, to serve the Sacramento Valley as well as the San Joaquin and Delta areas. The Congress clearly recognized this intention and guaranteed its physical fulfillment when it passed the Engle bill in 1950, which added the Sacramento Valley Canals unit to the Central Valley project.

Accordingly, this celebration represents in a large sense, a key step in the bringing together of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys as one great valley under one great project—the Central Valley project.

There are no particular problems in reclamation in putting in place the concrete and steel and machinery that will make the Sacramento Valley canals a reality.

But the canals will be of no use to farmers unless they have water in them. That simply means that the Sacramento canals unit must have an assured firm water supply, in dry years, as well as wet. Also, since pumping is involved for some areas, the canals unit must also have an assured power supply.

Of course, water and power already are available in a general way. A large part of the natural flow of the Sacramento is yet unused during certain seasons of the year. In addition, 300,000 acre-feet of the water stored in Shasta Reservoir was set aside in the original Central Valley project plans for use in the Sacramento Valley. Power also is produced at Shasta and downstream Keswick although the entire output is now fully committed by contract.

But a hard fact that should be kept in mind is that the ultimate irrigation requirements of the Sacramento Valley canals call for more stored water and more firm power than presently are available from the existing Central Valley project

We all know there is plenty of water and plenty of potential power still subject to development in northern California In fact, the basic water resources of the Sacramento Basin are more than sufficient, when fully developed, to meet all the ultimate requirements of all the irrigable lands in the Sacramento Valley and still leave considerable water for export south.

The point is, these supplies have to be developed; a number of potential sources in the Sacramento River Basin might be tapped for this purpose. Reclamation believes the best of these is the proposed Trinity River unit of the Central Valley project. With this in mind, the final reports on the Sacramento Valley canals and the Trinity River development were sent to the Congress simultaneously last January.

The Trinity development was legally authorized by the Secretary of the Interior's official report and accompanying finding of feasibility. No money has yet been appro-

priated for construction of the Trinity River unit. Perhaps the Congress may want to take a further look and require a specific authorization act of its own before considering appropriations for its construction; if so, we stand ready to support authorizing legislation because we realize that to make the Sacramento Valley canals fully useful, the water and power of the Trinity River must be made available.

But it is you people who must carry the ball in any such effort. You folks right here on the ground, who realize the necessity and know just what benefits can result from the addition of the Trinity River development to the Central Valley project, are in a better position than anyone else to get action.

One of the surest ways to get the Congress to act on further reclamation development is to back up your good faith with deeds in the way of repayment contracts. You know the Congress is taking a very careful look at every governmental expenditure. This is only as it should be and is entirely justified. Thus, it is only natural that we will be in a much better position in seeking funds to continue the Sacramento canals and in initiating work on the Trinity River development if we can report to the Congress that we have repayment contracts signed, sealed, and delivered, providing for the return to the Federal Treasury of all reimbursable costs of the project assigned to irrigation for payment.

So far, no agreement has been reached on the use of the water and no payment contracts executed. As a matter of fact, local irrigation districts are not yet formed.

I want to congratulate your local community leaders and also the four-county committee which is exercising leadership in the matter of getting this highly desirable portion of the overall CVP under way. The Bureau of Reclamation will work with you. But the initiative and timing are up to you, informing your water users organizations, development of specific payment contracts with the United States and completion of definite plans for augmenting your water supply.

Willamette Basin Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, during the recent recess of the Congress—on December 9, 1953, to be exact—the important Willamette Basin Project Committee in my State of Oregon held its annual meeting at Eugene, Oreg.

A very timely address was delivered by W. A. Dexheimer, the Commissioner of Reclamation. Pursuant to permission granted, I am including Mr. Dexheimer's address as part of these remarks, as follows:

REMARKS BY COMMISSIONER OF RECLAMATION W. A. DEXHEIMER AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WILLAMETTE BASIN PROJECT COMMITTEE, EUGENE, OREG., DECEMBER 9, 1953

It is a sincere pleasure for me to attend this annual meeting of the Willamette Basin Project Committee. I appreciate the opportunity of again visiting the famed Willamette Valley. It is a particular honor, also, to visit the group in which Secretary Douglas McKay took such a prominent part and interest for so many years.

I can assure you that he is still very much interested in and very proud of the accomplishments of this committee. You know better than I how much he loves this valley, how deep his desires are to make it even greater than it is today, and of his sincere desires to be with you again at some time in the future.

I can assure you, too, that under the leadership of Secretary McKay, that the development of the West's water resources will proceed in an orderly way which will be in the best interest of all the people. Mr. McKay's residence in this valley and the experience of his work on this committee is proving invaluable in his present position.

He is aware, for example, that important as hydroelectric power production is in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere, this function must remain secondary to the consumptive uses to which our limited supply of water can be put. When the Congress put the Federal Government into the water resources development business by passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902, it assigned as a primary function the providing of facilities for irrigating the arid and semiarid lands of the Western States.

The Bureau of Reclamation has not done badly on this assignment in the last half century. There are nearly 7 million acres of land now receiving water from these facilities. The crops harvested from these lands last year were valued at just under $1 billion. Irrigated farms of the West have made a major contribution to the economic prosperity of the Nation.

However, somewhere along the line during the last 20 years, there has been a tendency to lose sight of this primary purpose for the Government being in the reclamation business. When Secretary McKay came into office, he found the hydroelectric tail wagging the reclamation dog, so to speak. We are seeking to reverse that trend and get back to the primary objective of land reclamation and the development of new water supplies. This objective must be our target if the West is to continue to grow.

At the same time, we recognize the importance of hydroelectric power as a potent and valuable byproduct of multipurpose reclamation development. We are particularly cognizant of the part it has played in widening the industrial horizon in the Pacific Northwest. We expect this development to continue with full-scale participation by the Federal, State and local governments and by private enterprise. We propose that each group do its share in the field to which it is best adapted. By close cooperation, these individual efforts can be brought into a coordinated whole.

I would say that your accomplishments in the development of the Willamette River Basin are a very fine example of the manner in which water-resource projects should be undertaken. By that I mean that the initiative should come from the local people, with your Government serving in a partnership capacity with you. Here the Willamette River Basin Project Committee, working through the Willamette River Basin Commission as a responsible local agency representing the people, has taken the initiative in working out an integrated and locally acceptable multiple-purpose flood-control storage plan. Working in partnership with the Army engineers, I know that you have been eminently successful in securing the authorization of this project and today this program is fast becoming translated into completed storage reservoirs. I understand that there are now 17 reservoirs authorized for construction and an additional 3 recommended for construction. These Corps of Engineers' structures will impound nearly 3 million acre-feet of water for multiple-purpose use for flood control, irrigation, power, municipal and industrial water supplies, pollution abatement, and navigation benefits.

I know, also, that in the last 40 to 45 years you of your own initiative have accomplished an irrigation development now approaching 140,000 acres. This valley is one of the most important sprinkler irrigation areas in the country. It has become so strictly through private enterprise and initiative. This area represents an outstanding example of private enterprise working out its own problems and achieving its own goals.

The question now appears to be, What can the Bureau of Reclamation do working in partnership with you and the Corps of Engineers to further irrigation development in the Willamette? It seems that you have all of the basic ingredients—a very fine storage system, a responsible local organization, and, I understand, 500,000 acres that could ultimately be supplied with irrigation water. Our organization has been studying the Willamette Basin since 1940, working together with the State engineer and Oregon State College in accumulating a wealth of technical data including land classification, economic analysis, foundation studies and cost estimates, for a number of possible project developments.

Elsewhere in Oregon, principally in the more arid areas east of the Cascades, we have been your neighbors for almost 50 years, some $41 million having been invested in making available a full or supplemental water supply to 267,000 acres that produced some $37 million in crops last year. Against that background of local experience the Bureau of Reclamation stands ready to assist you in putting to maximum use the water allocated to irrigation from project reservoirs. But the initiative continues to rest with you. We have no desire to undertake any work which you can better accomplish yourself.

There is need and opportunity for a great deal more irrigation development by utilizing the stored waters presently available and scheduled to be available in the future from project reservoirs. Although the Bureau of Reclamation has operated in Oregon for almost 50 years, the traditional patterns of development that have been successful in the more arid sections east of the Cascades may need to be modified to meet the predominantly supplemental water, sprinkler-type economy that flourishes so well in this valley.

It might be helpful to discuss the present and future Bureau irrigation programs under two important headings:

1. Use of Army reservoirs for irrigation purposes.
2. Use of stored water through federally financed project works.

USE OF ARMY RESERVOIRS

Of the authorized reservoirs now completed or under construction in the Willamette Valley, all except Cottage Grove and Fern Ridge were authorized under the Flood Control Act of 1944. This act gave the Secretary of the Interior responsibility for marketing power and making arrangements for irrigation use of projects constructed under the act. The Secretary of the Army has the responsibility for all other purposes served by the project.

It has been our aim to carry out Reclamation's responsibility in the most practical manner possible, working in cooperation with the Corps of Engineers and established local agencies.

As you know, during the past year a procedure was worked out for making available to individuals irrigation water from storage in space allocated to irrigation in the existing Willamette project reservoirs. This simplified contract draft, which was approved by Assistant Secretary Aandahl on June 1, is a significant first step toward con-

tinuing irrigation development by individual initiative and private enterprise in this valley.

Much credit goes to your organization, the State engineer, and Oregon State College in working out this contract basis for annual water service. This is differentiated from the conventional repayment type contract by which a fixed obligation is undertaken.

In simple terms, the contract calls for the furnishing of stored water at 50 cents an acre-foot during an initial period not to exceed 10 years. The charge then increases to about one dollar an acre-foot which may be modified downward if irrigation cost allocations and conditions then existing so justify. Contracting individuals or groups will pick up storage releases at specified diversion points through individually-owned irrigation facilities. We feel that the cost of water supply under this plan will be such as to stimulate a more intensive irrigation economy. Let me say again that progress in irrigation development in the Willamette from the utilization of stored water now largely depends on individual and community effort. It appears improbable that any great amount of stored water will be contracted for and used until organized efforts are made to finance and construct the necessary diversion and distribution works either through private means or by authorized reclamation projects.

FEDERALLY FINANCED PROJECT WORKS

There are other irrigation possibilities which involve complex community-type, diversion, carriage, and distribution systems. Most of these are probably beyond the capacity of a single operator or small group of operators to finance and construct. Federal reclamation was originally conceived to meet this type of problem and in my opinion the major future irrigation opportunities in the Willamette Basin lie in this range.

There will, of course, be many continuing opportunities for utilization of regulated storage releases and development of ground water by individual operators. However, the bulk of remaining irrigable lands, possibly in excess of 300,000 acres, lie out of reach of a simple diversion plan and ground water supplies may be inadequate or expensive to reach.

There are more of these project possibilities in Oregon than the Bureau can hope to handle at the present time. More than ever local guidance and participation, financial and otherwise, are necessary so that we may concentrate on those most needed and feasible so that they may become a reality within a reasonable period of years.

We have completed reconnaissance-type reports containing preliminary engineering plans, with cost estimates on four promising Willamette Basin projects. These are the Coburg, Hopewell, Chehalem, and East Long Tom areas and I know that there are representatives from each of them here today. These reports have been or will be transmitted back to you. Future feasibility type investigations will depend upon your reaction to these reports. Your congressional delegation already has transmitted your reaction on two of these and further work will be scheduled within the next fiscal year.

In addition, in response to strong local need, a major project investigation is underway in the Tualatin River area to complement Army engineer flood-control investigations. A first draft of report is expected in December of 1954.

I know that the Willamette is one area in which local interests have traditionally taken the lead in laying out water development programs. We appreciate your very fine past cooperation and effort. I assure you that future Bureau of Reclamation programs in the Willamette will continue to be in partnership with you to best meet your needs.

Glen Lipscomb, California's New Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the oath of office was administered today to several new Members of this body, one of whom was GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB from California's 24th District.

Those of us who have known him and observed his work in the California Legislature over the past years wish to welcome him to Washington. I am certain that his 8 years' previous legislative experience will cause him to render outstanding service in the House.

At this point in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of November 11, 1953, describing the campaign and election of the gentleman from California [Mr. LIPSCOMB]:

CALIFORNIA VOTE ADVANCES GOP

(By Richard Dyer MacCann)

LOS ANGELES.—The Republicans turned out in record numbers for California's congressional by-election and gave the Eisenhower-Nixon administration a political bonanza just in time for Thanksgiving Day.

GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, State assemblyman and former campaign executive for Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, was elected to the House of Representatives by an absolute majority among four candidates.

This vote of confidence in the 24th District was a matter for particular rejoicing within the party organization because the campaign odds appeared to be about as difficult as they could be.

John L. E. Collier, also a Republican State assemblyman, had been expected to make a serious division in the party's vote. George Arnold, although it was his first political race, had strong labor support and an active crew of Democratic Party workers and was generally given the best chance of winning. Mr. Arnold moved to California from Chicago in 1948.

As it turned out, the Lipscomb victory was most impressive. He not only defeated Mr. Arnold 42,880 to 34,545, by latest count, but he also allowed his GOP opponent, Mr. Collier, a mere 3,616 votes. This came after free forecasts that Mr. Collier was solidly in the race.

KNOWLAND'S ADVICE

The district normally supports Republican candidates, although registered Democratic voters are in the majority by 10,000. Norris Poulson, whose election as Los Angeles mayor caused the vacancy, had been returned to Washington three times.

Evidently Republicans in this metropolitan district took the advice of Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, who came out in support of the organization's candidate only 3 days before the election. He told Los Angeles voters, "The best chance of winning will depend upon concentration of voting strength behind GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB."

The race attracted national attention, following as it did Republican defeats in Wisconsin and New Jersey congressional elections. Here, however, there was no farm issue and no distracting talk of friendships between candidates and men currently in jail. It was a straightforward battle for votes between a Nixon man and a Stevenson man.

Mr. Arnold made a point in his campaign speeches of attacking the Vice President's record and praising the platform of Adlai E. Stevenson. He said he would support President Eisenhower only on foreign affairs.

SPY ISSUE RAISED

Mr. LIPSCOMB and his chief campaign adviser, Murray Chotiner, a public relations man who has long been associated with Mr. NIXON'S campaigns, took the position that the President deserved another Republican vote in the House of Representatives. Mr. LIPSCOMB'S platform stressed the need for lowering taxes, building a strong national defense, and dealing firmly with communism.

On election day, local front pages were full of the report that former President Truman would be subpenaed by a congressional committee to investigate his recommendation of Harry Dexter White for a job with the International Monetary Fund.

Republicans in the district were quick to call the White case a typical example of Democratic carelessness where security was concerned. Mr. Arnold, for his part, denounced Attorney General Herbert Brownell's attack on the former President as a disgraceful attempt to use FBI files for political purposes.

Earlier, at a South Pasadena meeting attended by all candidates, the question of McCarthyism had been raised. Mr. LIPSCOMB said he thought the Senator from Wisconsin had done a good job if he had rid the Government of even one Communist. Mr. Arnold said he thought McCarthyism primarily meant spreading fear and that this was evil and un-American.

COMMUNISM ISSUE

The lines which were drawn on this issue give some support to the Republicans who say that a campaign based primarily on anti-communism still carries a strong appeal—at least in California.

The campaign was enlivened by constant Republican references to Mr. Arnold as the son-in-law of the syndicated political columnist, Drew Pearson, and further by the fact that Mr. Pearson himself turned up in Los Angeles.

Democratic chieftains found they could not persuade the journalism department at the University of California to cancel a long-scheduled speech by Mr. Pearson. While he was in town, Mr. Pearson wrote a column about acting as baby sitter for his daughter, who was out campaigning, and remarked that Mrs. Arnold was also the niece of Col. Robert McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune.

In 3 byelections to fill vacancies in the State assembly from Los Angeles, 2 Republicans and 1 Democrat were elected.

Resolution Introduced Calls for Nationwide Soil Conservation and Flood Prevention Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD S. MILLER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced for consideration of the House and the Senate a resolution requesting the Department of Agriculture to take immediate steps to develop a comprehensive and nationwide soil

conservation and flood-prevention program.

In introducing this resolution I had in mind two principal objects.

First of these arises out of the seriousness of the problem of saving our soil. The United States fell heir to the greatest fortune ever inherited by any nation, 3,628,130 square miles of land—forests, minerals, farmland in seemingly inexhaustible quantity. We were the rich man's son of the world, and I regret to say we have wasted our substance very much as the proverbial rich man's son is likely to do.

We have wantonly wasted our metals until we are being driven to import iron for our steel mills. We have denuded our mountains of timber until we can foresee a shortage of lumber within a lifetime. But these losses, serious as they are, are small compared to the loss of the soil that is being yearly washed into the sea.

No man who loves his country and who has a decent regard for the generations to come after him, and knowing the soil loss this Nation annually sustains, can look into the future without fear and anxiety for his country.

Think of it, my colleagues, you guardians of the welfare of the people of this Nation, the loss, the irreparable loss that can never be retrieved. It is not like the destruction of a city. Cities can be rebuilt and they are rebuilt, often bigger and better than ever, but the good soil, the life of a nation, washed into the sea, can never, never be replaced.

Think of it, my colleagues, the waste, the unredeemable waste, such as no nation on the earth has ever sustained. Shall we stand idly by and see it continue? We must not, we dare not do it. If we Members of Congress, guardians of this Nation, knowingly permit this waste to continue we shall deserve the condemnation, not only of this generation, but of all the generations that come after. We cannot plead ignorance—we know the facts; we cannot plead poverty—we can only plead guilty—guilty of a crime for which we cannot make amends.

What then shall be our course of action? Shall we close our eyes to the hideous spectacle of our basic wealth being transported into the sea? Shall we close our ears to the roar of the rivers carrying not our "black gold" but our "bread of life" into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans?

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, what will this Congress do in such circumstances? No more important question can come before this session. There can be but one answer: We shall, we must, adopt a sensible, comprehensive soil-conservation program. To prevent further waste of our soil should be our first and primary consideration.

We have more than 3 million men in the armed services. We have other millions engaged in the manufacture of instruments of war. We all know that, sooner or later, the international tensions must lessen, these soldiers will be brought home, and the men in war plants will be out of jobs. All must be given employment. Where in all this land can be found a better place to put these young men to work, than in saving our basic resource, the good black soil that produces the corn, the wheat, the cotton, the wool, the swine, and the cattle that feed and clothe the people of this Nation.

Red Lawyers Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, September 19, 1953:

The problem of Communist infiltration reaches in many directions.

Even into the profession of law.

Speaking before the annual convention of the American Bar Association, which was held in Boston during the month of August 1953, Attorney General Brownell labeled the National Lawyers Guild, which is an entirely different organization, as being the legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

Brownell said: "I have today served notice on it to show cause why it should not be designated on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. It has been clear that at least since 1946, the leadership of the guild has been in the hands of card-carrying Communists and prominent fellow travelers. On every major issue since then it has steadfastly followed the party line and its programs and actions have been consistent with it." He said that members of the guild were careful not to back "those issues so notorious that their espousal would too clearly demonstrate the Communist control." He added that the guild had "consistently opposed all laws or investigations which sought to curb or expose Communist activity in the United States.

The patriotic American Bar Association went further. It passed a resolution requesting the Justice Department to determine whether Communist lawyers should be allowed to practice in the United States.

"We'll have to give it pretty careful study before we have anything to say about it. We'll have to study the legal authority before we know what we're doing. But we will do so promptly," the Attorney General said.

Most Americans are disturbed by the fact tht the few lawyers who put loyalty to communism above loyalty to the United States are still allowed to practice in our courts.

What is this mysterious National Lawyers' Guild which is under attack by the American Bar Association and has been investigated by the Committee on Un-American Activities by the United States House of Representatives?

As far back as 1950 the committee described the National Lawyers' Guild as the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party. Since its inception it has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents. It has consistently fought against National, State, and local legislation aimed at curbing the Communist conspiracy.

Through its connection with the so-called International Association of Democratic Lawyers, an international Communist-front organization, it has constituted itself an agent of a movement that seeks to destroy the United States.

These aims, naturally, are not specified in its constitution or statement of avowed purpose. In order to attract non-Communists to serve as a cover for its actual purpose, the guild poses benevolently as "a professional organization which shall function as an effective social force in the service of the people to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property rights." In the entire history of the guild, stretching back over the 16 years of its existence, there is no record of its ever having condemned such instances of the violation of human rights as found in Soviet slave-labor camps and in the series of Moscow trials which shocked the civilized world or in the torture of American prisoners of war by the North Korean and Chinese Reds.

Communists publicly hailed the founding of the guild.

Earl Browder, testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 6, 1939, in his capacity as general secretary of the Communist Party, admitted that the guild was a Communist transmission belt.

This was verified by Louis F. Budenz, former member of the national committee of the Communist Party and one-time managing editor of its official newspaper, the Daily Worker. Budenz testified under oath that the guild was a working ally of the Communist Party and stated that members of the guild would be under the influence of the party, while officers would be Communists or fellow travelers.

In every major court case involving Communists, the guild has interceded on the Communist side.

The congressional committee reported that the real nature of the guild's philosophy comes into sharp focus during court procedures. Almost without exception, the guild's members try to destroy the confidence of the people in our system of jurisprudence. They substitute insult for argument, resort to intimidation of judges by picket lines, parades, and personal abuse. They follow standard Communist practice which provides that, and I quote from a Red publication: "A Communist must utilize a political trial to help on the revolutionary struggle. Our tactics in the public proceedings of the law courts are not tactics of defense but of attack. Without clinging to legal formalities, the Communist must use the trial as a means of bringing his indictments against the dominant capitalist regime, and of courageously voicing the views of his party."

Federal Judge Harold Medina, in citing for contempt the attorneys who defended the 11 Communists convicted in New York of advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, noted the frequent and deliberate efforts on the part of the guild attorneys to inject Communist propaganda into the trial.

Medina handed down sentences of contempt of court to six attorneys for the Communists, all of whom were members of the guild.

Another member of the guild appeared as defense attorney for Valentin Gubitchev, a Russian charged with spying against the United States. This attorney based most of his questions on notes passed to him by a representative of the Soviet Embassy, seated at his side during the trial. The Russian official, an agent of the Soviet Secret Police, named Novikoff, literally stage-managed the spy's defense, a procedure without precedent in the United States court history.

Not only has the behavior of guild attorneys been noted officially by several Federal judges, but the American Bar Association, as far back as 1949, received from its board of governors a recommendation that the American Bar Association bar from membership any person holding membership in

the National Lawyers Guild. The action was based on the grounds that guild lawyers held beliefs "incompatible with membership in the American Bar Association."

Any action on executive or legislative levels of the Government which tends to interfere with the Communist fifth column operations in this country is guaranteed to evoke a howl of opposition from the guild.

A striking example is the persistent attack by the guild on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which is the vigilant guardian of our national security. J. Edgar Hoover, testifying on February 7, 1950, before a Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations, noted that the guild has vociferously denounced the FBI since 1940. Mr. Hoover quoted a guild member as having stated the following at a meeting of this front organization in 1940:

"If we keep up the constant criticism of the FBI and of Hoover, and if this criticism is systematically kept up and followed all the time, particularly by organizations, it can and it will weaken the power of the FBI and hamper them very effectively."

The congressional committee was convinced that the guild attacks on the FBI are part of an overall Communist strategy aimed at weakening our Nation's defenses against the international Communist conspiracy.

Not only has the guild opposed legislation directed against the Communist Party, but it has also fought every committee which has been effective in exposing Communist activity.

The end of World War II introduced a new Communist Party line which is one of extreme hostility to the United States Government and all of its defense efforts against the postwar aggressions of the Soviet Union. The policy of the guild coincides with this line almost completely. It opposes our military training programs and other internal security measures. It condemns the entire European recovery program and the North Atlantic Pact. It favors recognition of the Red regime in China. All of these viewpoints are also found in the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party in this country.

Liberal lawyers who were originally taken in by the deceptive appeal of the guild, washed their hands of it when they detected its hidden purposes.

A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State in 1940, resigned with the following statement: "The National Lawyers Guild was formed in the hope that expression might be given to the liberal sentiment in the American bar. It is now obvious that the present management of the guild is not prepared to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party line, under these circumstances, and in company, I think, with the most progressive lawyers, I have no further interest in it."

Attorney General Robert H. Jackson had resigned the previous week. Charles Poletti, Lieutenanant Governer of New York State, resigned because he understood some members of the guild were more interested in communism than anything else.

Attorney General Brownell's action to cite the guild as subversive, and the American Bar Association's move against Communist lawyers, both taken within the past 30 days, indicates that the guild is still up to its old tricks.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has recommended that the guild be placed on the Department of Justice subversive list, and that it be required to register as an agent of a foreign power.

It further recommends that members of the guild be barred from Federal employment, and that the American Bar Association consider the question of whether or not membership in the guild is compatible to the American bar. The American Bar Association in turn has asked the Justice Department to decide whether Communist lawyers should be allowed to practice in the United States.

The committee calls on all decent lawyers and those sincerely interested in the liberal principles of American justice to warn the younger members of the bar as to the real nature of the National Lawyers Guild as an arm of the international Communist conspiracy.

The Constitution and the laws of our land must be protected from the undermining tactics of those few lawyers who are Reds.

Congressional Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, there is great dissatisfaction in our country today with the investigative methods and procedures used by congressional committees. Unfortunately, there has been a good deal of abuse of these processes, which has proven injurious to the civil rights and liberties of American citizens. It is undermining our whole concept of freedom and may in the long run destroy our way of life.

The trend of fear and hysteria, which is felt throughout the length and breadth of our country today, is a direct result of the abuse of congressional power and the dictatorial manner of some of those who utilize this power for personal or partisan reasons. Our tradition of freedom, our respect for human rights and for the dignity of the individual, the privileges we enjoy in the form of civil liberties—all of these rights and privileges which made America great—are being trampled upon.

It is not too late to retrieve our steps and to correct this situation, and that can best be done by promptly putting in their place the vociferous witch-hunters, the book-burners, the character assassins, and the like, who have made America the laughing-stock of the world. It can best be done within the halls of Congress itself by exerting greater control over these run-away committees and by prescribing set rules of procedure in their investigative activities.

Mr. Speaker, during the 82d Congress, back in 1951 and 1952, I had the honor to serve as chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee which conducted an investigation of the Securities and Exchange Commission. At the very first meeting of our subcommittee, I laid down the rules by which the investigation would be conducted. I quote from the subcommittee's hearings, part 1, page 2:

> The subcommittee will seek to ascertain whether or not the legislative intent and policy have been understood and carried out by the Commission. The inquiry will be conducted in an objective, fair, judicial, and impartial manner in the interest of the Nation.
>
> In reviewing the Commission's activities we shall aim to do so in a constructive and dignified manner, to give credit and recognition to the Commission's achievements, and to point out any deficiencies and weak spots wherever these may occur, so that proper steps may be taken to correct them.
>
> * * * Slander and character assassination will be ruled out of order. We will not smear, but we will not whitewash. At all times it shall be the aim of the subcommittee to extend to those involved and to those who want to be heard the privilege and opportunity to present their views. We shall, however, avoid cluttering the record with irrelevant testimony and baseless defamatory remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I need not tell you that I followed that procedure scrupulously. I sought to conduct the hearings judicially and to track down every lead in a fair and impartial manner, without sensationalism and without seeking headlines at the other fellow's expense.

I want to reiterate my position that congressional investigations must be conducted in such manner. The rights and the privileges, the good names, and the good reputations of those appearing as witnesses or those named during the course of such hearings, must be safeguarded. Irresponsible charges, made under the protective cloak of congressional immunity, must be ruled out. The sooner that is done, the sooner we shall be able to preserve the great moral and political freedoms we so proudly call our own.

It is for these reasons that I have given much thought in recent months to this matter in the hope of suggesting certain rules of procedure in order to ameliorate the investigative processes of congressional committees. I am of the opinion—and I believe all my colleagues in this Chamber will agree with me—that the primary purpose for which Congress is entitled to use compulsory power in its investigative procedure is to obtain the necessary information to perform its legislative functions. When these legislative investigations take on the appearance of a court trial, when they are conducted in a way to advance the political fortunes of an individual who is a member of such committee or the political party with which he is affiliated, then it is time to revise or amend our rules of procedure to bring them within the scope of our democratic process.

Consequently, I am introducing a concurrent resolution which seeks to establish certain rules of procedure governing investigations by committees of Congress. It follows generally some of the provisions contained in a similar resolution introduced by the distinguished Senator of Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] and nine of his Senate colleagues, but with certain exceptions and modifications.

My resolution contains a new provision—section 3—which specifies that the subject and purpose of an investigation shall be stated before hearings are held, and that the evidence developed by the committee during the hearings shall be relevant to the subject and purpose as stated. This section is in accordance with my views expressed in the quotation cited above from the hearings of the SEC Subcommittee which I headed in the last Congress.

Another provision in my resolution—section 14—prescribes that television or

radio coverage shall be omitted during hearings if the witness objects on the ground that his reputation is at stake. Where there is no objection on the part of the witness, such coverage is to be facilitated to the fullest possible extent.

Other sections of my resolution provide as follows:

Any person or organization whose activities are the subject of an investigation shall be notified of the nature of the charges against them and the derogatory material which is to be presented against them.

Such person or organization should be given the opportunity to present evidence in their own behalf.

Persons or organizations investigated should be permitted the advice of counsel, who shall be entitled to question within appropriate limits such person or representatives of organizations for pertinent facts.

They may file with the committee a limited number of questions to be answered by witnesses who have testified to derogatory information.

At the conclusion of the evidence, such person or organization may file a rebuttal statement.

Witnesses should not be compelled to testify as to their religious or political beliefs unless a majority of the committee rules that such information is relevant to the investigation.

These are the main provisions of the resolution, but there are also several minor provisions which contain safeguards concerning subpenas, the presentation of bona fide claims of privilege, inquiries into the private affairs of an individual, testimony developed in executive sessions, and other safeguards.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members of Congress to give serious consideration to this matter and to the proposals contained in my resolution. By adoption of these rules of procedure, we shall not only vastly improve the prestige of Congress but also bring to an end the period of fear and hysteria and lift the national morale to great heights.

The full text of my resolution follows:

Concurrent Resolution 186

Concurrent resolution establishing rules of procedure governing investigations by committees of Congress

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring therein), That the following provisions of this concurrent resolution are adopted as an exercise of the rule-making power of the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they shall be considered as part of the rules of each House, respectively, governing the conduct of investigations undertaken by committees.

SEC. 2. As used in this concurrent resolution, the term "committee" means a standing or select committee of either House of Congress, a joint committee of the two Houses, or a duly authorized subcommittee of any of the foregoing.

SEC. 3. Before any committee begins any hearings in connection with any investigation, the chairman, or a member of the committee designated by him for the purpose, shall clearly state the subject and purpose of the investigation. The evidence sought to be elicited by the committee in the course of such hearings shall be relevant to the subject of the investigation, and reasonably calculated to contribute to the accomplishment of the purpose of the investigation, as so stated.

SEC. 4. Insofar as practicable, any person or organization whose activities are the subject of investigation by a committee, or about whom derogatory information is proposed to be presented at a public hearing of a committee, shall be fully advised by the committee as to the matters into which the committee proposes to inquire and the derogatory material which is proposed to be presented. Insofar as practicable, all material reflecting on the character of any individual or organization which is proposed to be presented at a public hearing of a committee shall be first reviewed in executive session and shall not be presented at a public hearing except pursuant to majority vote of the committee.

SEC. 5. Any person or organization whose activities are the subject of any investigation by a committee, or about whom a derogatory statement is made or material is presented at any public hearing of a committee, shall—

(1) be given an opportunity to present evidence in his or its own behalf at the same session and, if possible, on the same day;

(2) be permitted in appearances before the committee to be accompanied and advised by counsel, who shall within appropriate limits be entitled to question such person or representatives of such organization, in order to bring out all pertinent facts;

(3) be permitted to file with the committee a limited number of interrogatories to be answered by witnesses who have testified to derogatory material about such person or organization;

(4) be entitled to have the committee subpena witnesses for limited direct or adverse examination by such person or organization, or by his or its counsel, subject to the discretion of the committee; and

(5) be permitted to file at the conclusion of the evidence a rebuttal statement, which shall be made a part of the record and considered in the committee's report.

SEC. 6. Any witness who asserts a bona fide claim of privilege shall be entitled to present such claim to the committee, either in his own proper person or through counsel, and secure the committee's ruling.

SEC. 7. No subpena to inquire into the private affairs of any individual shall be issued by any committee except pursuant to majority vote of the committee.

SEC. 8. No person shall be required to testify in executive session of any committee unless a majority of the committee expressly rules that the public interest requires that such person's testimony shall be kept secret. Any such examination shall be held before not less than two committee members. Testimony taken in executive session shall be kept secret and shall not be released, or used in public hearings, without the approval of a majority of the committee.

SEC. 9. No witness before a committee shall be compelled to testify as to his religious or political belief unless the committee rules by majority vote that such testimony is relevant to the inquiry.

SEC. 10. Until after the committee has been given a reasonable time to file its report, members of committees shall refrain from making derogatory comments about a witness in either House or elsewhere and shall refrain from revealing the contents of any committee report or the conclusions contained in such report prior to its issuance.

SEC. 11. Minority reports, if any, shall be filed at the same time as majority reports on investigations involving the private affairs of individuals.

SEC. 12. All of the evidence involving the private affairs of individuals upon which a committee report, finding, or conclusion is based shall be made public concurrently with such report, finding, or conclusion.

SEC. 13. A verbatim record shall be made of all hearings. Records of public hearings and published portions of executive hearings shall be made available to the public upon payment of the cost thereof.

SEC. 14. The appearance of a witness before a committee in the course of an investigation shall not be broadcast or televised without his consent, where there is reasonable ground to believe that in the course of his appearance a reference will be made, by the witness or by any member of the committee or its staff, to any matter adversely affecting the reputation of the witness.

Legion, AMA Gird for Battle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Drew Pearson that appeared in the Washington Post of January 5, 1954:

LEGION, AMA GIRD FOR BATTLE

(By Drew Pearson)

Mr. John Q. Public will be chiefly watching taxes, social security, national defense, and other headline issues as Congress gets under way. Backstage, however, two of the most powerful groups in the Nation—the American Legion and the American Medical Association—are getting ready for a cut-throat battle against each other that will end up in the Halls of Congress.

The issue, in effect, is "socialized medicine."

The American Medical Association, which ranks second among registered Washington lobbies, spent $270,174 to influence Congress in 1952. The Legion, which ranks eighth, spent $106,235. Both are among the top lobbying spenders to influence Congress.

But in this case the battle goes deeper than Congress, with the AMA encouraging doctors to infiltrate the Legion as ordinary veterans in order to fight the socialized-medicine battle from the inside. The AMA has even set up a "front" group, the National Medical Veterans Society, to fight the socialized-medicine battle and warns its members to confine their statements to remarks "cleared through the AMA to make sure you all say the same thing."

The Legion in turn has alerted its 18,000 posts to start shooting at the AMA bluntly. The American Legion magazine warns: "The Legion has definitely lost patience with the American Medical Association's weaving, twisting, opportunistic attacks on the Federal system of care for veterans.

"Never before," says the Legion, "had the AMA defined 'socialized medicine' in such a way as to compel America's war veterans to be for it."

DISABILITIES

What the battle boils down to is a proposal by the doctors to ban free hospital care by the Government for non-service-connected disabilities. In other words, when a veteran gets sick for reasons other than a disability suffered in war, he would be denied treatment in a Veteran's Administration hospital.

Actually, this affects not merely the American Legion but about 20 million vets, or

40 percent of the adult male population of the United States.

To prepare for its campaign to eliminate this medical service, the AMA held a closed-door session at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago. While the minutes were not made public, this writer has obtained a copy and since they affect 40 percent of the adult male population, it seems appropriate to quote from them.

PRESSURING CONGRESS

Dr. Joseph D. McCarthy, of Omaha, a member of the AMA's committee of legislation, gave the doctors a peek at AMA lobbying tactics. He explained that his legislative committee has a member assigned to each geographic division of the United States to alert key men in those States on "pressing legislative problems."

Dr. William B. Walsh, of Washington, president of the AMA's "front" organization, the National Medical Veterans Society, cautioned doctors against declaring open warfare on the Legion. "Education," he maintained, "is the cornerstone of the campaign."

And as part of that education, he said, "We must encourage physicians to join the American Legion, but to avoid the creation of doctor's posts. By remaining informal, one of the boys, the doctors will be more effective in an ordinary post."

Sentiment at the closed-door meeting was far from unanimous, however, and several doctors spoke up in disagreement.

Dr. William A. O'Brien, of Nevada, asked if the group thought it would be wise for medical societies to tell the Nation's doctors not to care for non-service-connected cases now in VA hospitals.

Dr. Walter B. Martin, president-elect of the AMA, warned that any such drastic step would be a fatal error and the doctors would "get our throats cut and get in the doghouse permanently."

One doctor, whose name was not identified in the minutes, asked his fellow doctors what plans they had for treating the 87 percent non-service-connected cases.

"How," he queried, "could these patients be placed in already overcrowded local hospitals? How does it help the taxpayer if the burden is simply shifted from the Federal to the local government?"

After warning the doctors that their proposal was impractical, the delegate added: "If the doctors do not know that the American people have a special regard for veterans, the Congress does know it."

Meanwhile the American Legion magazine, not exactly known as a Socialist organ, has published a stinging editorial accusing the AMA of "urging that indigent, disabled veterans be thrown back upon their communities for indigent care in order to save the country from socialism."

World Peace Roundup

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following speech made on December 21 by Mr. Louis B. Dailey who conducts a weekly radio broadcast entitled "World Peace Roundup" on station WAAT, Newark. Mr. Dailey's comments are always stimulating and worth while, and I feel that the following speech merits the attention of every Member.

Thank you, and welcome friends to another session of World Peace Roundup.

As we approach the celebration of Christmas our thoughts and our prayers naturally turn to peace. Perhaps we do so more out of habit than out of a real awareness of our desperate need for peace and of the part which each of us might be playing in its achievement. If peace is to be achieved in our time surely it will be by and through us—not handed to us by God on a silver platter.

This Christmas will be the fourth that will come and gone since World Peace Roundup first went on the air. Much has happened in that short span of time and much that is encouraging. For instance, the United Nations has stood fast and fought back against aggression in Korea—not weasled as the old League of Nations did in Manchuria in 1931. The U. N. has thus justified its existence as our best existing peace organization. It's not out of the woods by a long shot but it's in there doing its best with the weapons and jurisdiction presently available to it.

Also the menace of aggressive communism in recent years has tended to solidify and unite the forces at work seeking to establish freedom and decency in the world. Four years ago who would have thought that the Schuman coal-steel pool plan would have been in actual operation today bringing erstwhile enemies in Europe into close economic association—or that a common European army would be as near as it is to creation as provided in the European Defense Community Treaty signed but not yet fully ratified—or that there would have been thrashed out a draft of a constitution for a proposed political federation of six countries of Western Europe?

Even more significant have been changes in public thinking about peace and how to go about establishing it. Today there is even graver public suspicion of diplomatic deals, such as Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, all concluded as part of the old game of power politics. Treaties and alliances are less and less looked on as a hopeful path to pursue except as a stopgap to provide time to achieve more organic union through coal-steel plans and political federations.

And then there's this idea that military power is the way to achieve peace. That idea, too, in the past 4 years has lost a lot of its former luster, if we are to judge by recent statements of President Eisenhower and other leaders. Such power, too, is a stopgap policy. The recent proposal of President Eisenhower to create an atomic bank to develop the peaceful uses of this new terrifying power shows that our leaders are groping for a new approach to an old problem. Here is no policy of despair or resignation. Even if it doesn't result in immediate accomplishment, it induces a determination to succeed in spite of the undeniable fact that so far man's political ingenuity has not been equal to the difficulty of rendering obsolete wars between nations.

Also, the last 4 years has seen a deepening of the depression in hope for peace through disarmament. In spite of 7 straight years of sailing by the U. N. Disarmament Commission and its predecessors, the disarmament ship has always foundered on the rock of inspection. Increasingly, it is being realized that no adequate system of inspection that people would dare rely on can be set up without first establishing some sort of organization with jurisdiction and power to enforce safeguards against violations of inspection rules. Besides, there is little public confidence that if disarmament were complete and enforceable that would keep nations from fighting with sticks and stones so long as they were being tyranized or unjustly treated.

True isolationism, believing that any nation can go it alone and achieve security, has not advanced in popularity recently, in spite of considerable showing of support for a proposal like the Bricker amendment in our Congress, and in spite of the fact that our true allies don't always agree with policies that we think wise.

Well, what are we in this country thinking about peace?

Elmo Roper, a noted public opinion taker, was paid anonymously to make such a survey the results of which were published last Tuesday. Who paid him? Of all people—a defense manufacturer who said he wanted to find out what the American people can and will do that would help to put him out of the amaments business. Here are the results:

Seventy-three percent feel their best hopes for peace rest in the United Nations. Of these, 21 percent are satisfied with the U. N. structure as is; 35 percent believe it should be stronger (that is, control the atomic bomb and establish a larger military force than any member); 11 percent believe it should be transformed into a federation of states with the goal of world government; and 6 percent felt that, besides the U. N., there should be partnership arrangements in which friendly states would form democratic unions.

By a 2-to-1 majority our people would prefer to have the Soviet Union inside, not outside, the U. N. Only 9 percent preferred to have our Government adopt a strict isolationist policy and pull out of the U. N. as soon as possible. An analysis of the answers on this last point led Mr. Roper to conclude that the isolationist point of view had been overrepresented both in the daily press and in Congress.

Only 6 percent were in favor of a preventive war and an even smaller number, 4 percent, wants us to halt our arms production and seek an appeasement-type settlement with the Soviet Union.

Thus, of the 73 percent who base their peace hopes on the United Nations about two-thirds believe that the U. N. Charter needs revision so that it can have a larger military force of its own than any member nation. This is a distinct advance in thinking. The next step, as our people think more about the creation of a large U. N. police force, will be the realization that this will be dangerous unless its use is based on moral principles of justice and it shall be controlled by democratic processes. These considerations necessarily involve powers and restrictions which it is the function of government to provide. Or at least that is what we have found necessary in our local and national communities.

Encouraging for prospects for peace was the report which Vice President RICHARD NIXON brought back from his recent goodwill trip around the world. Asians, he said, were hungry for peace and the peoples of all 19 countries he visited were much alike. This is in contrast to the frequently heard statement that people are all so different that it's impossible for them to work together. When it is necessary for a common objective like peace somehow or other they do. Vice President NIXON plans a fuller TV-radio broadcast on Wednesday of this week.

There is still no word from Moscow on the Foreign Ministers' meeting of the Big Four proposed to be held in Berlin starting January 4 to consider a settlement of the status of Germany. And January 4 is right around the corner.

The French still seem to be brewing their continuing political stew. This time it is the election of a President. At last report six ballots had been taken without any candidate receiving the needed majority. The Communists on the left and the De Gaullists on the right are combining to prevent the election of M. Laniel who on the sixth ballot had only 397 of the needed 461 votes. Previously no such election had taken more than two ballots. The prospects of a stable French Government thus seem more remote than ever.

One of the foreign ingredients tossed into this French stew last week was a rather blunt statement of our Secretary of State Dulles made at the NATO Council meeting and repeated in a press conference just a week ago. He said that if the European Army Treaty failed of ratification the United States would be forced to make an "agonizing reappraisal of its foreign policies." President Eisenhower in Washington promptly backed up this statement pointing to the congressional act that requires after January 1 that one-half of our foreign military aid to go directly to the European Defense Community. Thus if there is no recipient, there is no aid. That will be the true legal situation after January 1.

But it shocked the French. Perhaps that was Mr. Dulles' intention. Some French friends of the EDC treaty thought it would hurt prospects for ratification; others thought the reverse. French President Auriol called the statement a tirade. Vice Premier Reynaud said it was the truth. Defense Minister Pleven said the other five treaty signatories had made the same demand while still others claimed heatedly that it constituted officious meddling into French internal affairs by a foreign officer. So, "you pays your money and you takes your choice," as the horse racing saying goes.

But drowned out in the hullabaloo which followed were even more significant things which Mr. Dulles said: First, as to EDC he called it a cruel caricature to portray the American people as interested only in German rearmament when in fact our primary concern is that European civilization shall survive and prosper. This cannot be, he said, without a European community in which will be combined, indissolubly, France and Germany.

After reviewing what the United States had done to help European civilization survive such as NATO, Marshall-plan aid, and United States troops stationed in Europe he pointed out that decisive steps yet remain to be taken and said, "These steps involve something more than treaties between sovereign states. Mere promises for the future are not enough to bury a past so replete with bitter memories. The need is for Europe to move onward to more complete and organic forms of union."

The true significance of this statement is that our Secretary of State charged with the responsibility of conducting our foreign affairs, after consultation with the President, thus shows that the Eisenhower administration now concedes that treaties of alliance are not the means to achieve peace and that the crying need of our atomic age is to establish "more complete and more organic forms of union." Without naming it in so many words Mr. Dulles was obviously referring to some form of European federation or government.

Speaking of NATO, which includes the United States and covers a wider area than Europe, he urged that it develop unity as a permanent condition rather than as an emergency device. Then followed these penetrating words: "There is always the danger that a coalition may relax and lose its cohesion if peril ceases to seem imminent. That is what the Soviet leaders say they hope will happen. Even if the Soviet threat were totally to disappear, would we be blind to the danger that the West may destroy itself? Surely there is an urgent, positive duty on us all to seek to end that danger from within. It has been the underlying cause of two world wars and it will be disastrous if it persists."

These words should be pondered seriously by all who give more than lip service to peace. What Mr. Dulles is saying is this: Poverty and economic factors are not the underlying causes of war, but a lack of organic union among the hostile nations of the world is. And he predicts disaster unless this defect is remedied.

Prime Minister Churchill in reporting on the Bermuda Conference to the House of Commons made what seems to me to be a most constructive suggestion. He urged that in the forthcoming Big Four Conference some means be found of providing Russia with a sense of security arising from other factors than mere force. In fact, he said, the whole world is in need of that. He commended President Eisenhower's speech proposing an atomic bank as one of the most important events since the end of the war. Similar reactions came from other quarters, but as yet nothing more from the Kremlin.

Goodnight until next Monday and to each of you my best wishes for a Merry Christmas.

Ukrainian National Independence Truth or Fiction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for time today in order to invite the attention of the Members of Congress to some unusual developments taking place within the U. S. S. R. These events have been given scant public notice in the United States and have received like treatment, with a few notable exceptions, elsewhere in the free world. But they have been given intense treatment within the prison of nations, which we, by habit, refer to as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Since these events have a vital bearing on the security of the United States and the advancement of human freedom throughout the world, I feel they should be of special interest to all Members of Congress.

Just a few months ago we and the other people of the free world were informed by the Kremlin that Stalin, the czar of tyrants, was about to pass from this earth like all mortal men. Scarcely had this announcement been made when the official mouthpiece of the Red conspirators called for unity of the many nations and peoples making up the U. S. S. R. Their fear and uncertainty was so overriding that they let the cat out of the bag on several critical issues. To begin with, even before Stalin was announced as dead, they denied his only significant contribution to Marxian theory by admitting that the multinational tensions of the U. S. S. R. were greater than ever before in history. The greatest myth surrounding Stalin was that he had solved the perplexing problem of nationalism by getting the people to accept the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as the road to utopia. Their fears also led them to admit publicly their belief that the ethnic Russians, the minority peoples of the U. S. S. R., were the superior people of the system and the dependence of the regime upon their loyal support of the transition following Stalin's death.

The struggle between Malenkov and Beria was forecast on the very day they carried Stalin's mortal remains to Red Square. In the funeral orations given by both men, one finds the seeds of the struggle which ensued during the following 5 months. Malenkov, in his oration, made particular reference to the peoples of Russia. Beria on the other hand, chose to call them peoples of the U. S. S. R. The passage of time and the elimination of Beria have proved the real significance of the choice of these terms by the leading contenders for Stalin's throne.

Beria, by virtue of his long tenure of office, as head of the dreaded secret police, knew better than anyone else the structural and political weakness of the Communist empire. He also knew what the vast majority of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. wanted because he spent most of his lifetime sending people to death or slave labor camps just because they did seek goals and objectives which did not agree with those of the regime. He knew why the police state was necessary and he thereby knew what kind of internal pressure would assure his victory in the struggle with Malenkov.

Malenkov on the other hand, was a typical Moscow bureaucrat, steeped in the chauvinistic life of Muscovy. Well schooled by Stalin in the technique of imperial control, he, above all others, came closest to the requirements of a czar. He thereby became the candidate of the Moscovites and as such all ethnic Russians were committed to support him.

What followed is a matter of history. Beria spent his time building up strength in the 14 non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. Russians were dismissed from high office in most of those areas and in their places Beria put men who could be counted upon to demand concessions from the Muscovites. In dismissing the Russian bureaucrats, charges were placed against them for attempting to Russify the non-Russian nations, disregarding the legitimate aspirations of the people and for reviving the chauvinistic policies of the Tzars. In retrospect we can now see that Beria came close to attaining total power. Malenkov, having made his deal with the Russian controlled Red army, was able to use that force to stop Beria—to arrest him, to try him and to liquidate him. Perhaps we shall never know exactly how close Beria came to winning this struggle but there are strong indications at this early date that Malenkov stopped him with little time to spare. There are also signs that Beria left behind some violent seeds of internal disruption which may very well burst in the hands of Malenkov—if he lasts long enough.

I am not attempting to analyze Beria's motives or to suggest that he sought to reform after Stalin's death. He was a ruthless, amoral person all his life and the record should remain clear on that point. In his struggle for total power, however, cold-blooded judgment rather than sentiment was required.

The Soviet indictment of Beria charged him, among other things, with the following:

First. Supporting remnants of the bourgeois nationalist elements in the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R.

Second. Sowing hatred and discord between the peoples of the U. S. S. R.

Third. Undermining the friendship of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. with the ethnic Russian people.

The closed court committee which supposedly tried Beria announced him guilty of these charges, among others, and ordered his execution. This was carried out on December 23, 1953.

But this does not end the case of Lavrenti Beria. Even before his announced execution, the frightened Muscovites felt compelled to take a most extraordinary step to demonstrate what they call the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. for the ethnic Russians. Pravda of December 9, 1953, announced that by official decree, January 8, 1954, was to be a multinational holiday celebrated throughout the realm, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the annexation of the Ukraine by Muscovy. This decree makes it "incumbent upon local party and Soviet organizations to mark widely this event—to organize lectures, reports and talks devoted to this important event—and the further strengthening of friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Pravda, in an editorial of December 9, 1953, gives extravagant instructions on why this multinational holiday is proclaimed and how it is to be carried out. The Ukrainians are to be told that they have now realized their centuries long struggle for national independence because their Russian "brothers" have granted it to them. The Ukrainians are to be praised for this centuries long struggle and told that they attained it through the efforts of the Communist Party. They are to be reminded, however, that their national independence is not the same kind sought by Ukrainian patriots over the centuries. It is a new kind, manufactured by the Muscovites, and called National Soviet Ukrainian statehood. According to the editorial, this means "national in appearance and socialist in substance." What the Ukrainians will not be told is that this is the same old stuff put out in revised form and tailored to cause more than the ordinary confusion resulting from such proclamations. But, I am sure the Ukrainian people will not be fooled by this maneuver and will see in it an admission of fear on the part of the Kremlin.

I am also sure that the Ukrainian people will recall the true story about the Treaty of Peryaslav. They will remember that Hetman Khmelnitsky was deceived by the Muscovites 300 years ago at a time when he was making an heroic struggle for the independence of Ukraine. They will never forget how the Muscovites violated this treaty and in the end used it as a means to annex Ukrainian lands and make the people subservient to Moscow. They will surely recall the failure of the czars to Russify the Ukraine just as today they see on all sides the efforts of the Communist Party to accomplish what the czars failed to accomplish. Their courage and true national spirit will be strengthened by the expressed fears of Moscow. They cannot fail to press forward with renewed vigor toward the centuries old goal of an independent, sovereign Ukraine taking its place among the other nations of the world as a respected equal.

I am equally confident that the other non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. will not be deceived by the Kremlin falsification of history in connection with the Treaty of Peryaslav. The Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians have fresh in their memories the treaties they were forced to sign in 1939 which were later used illegally to annex those sovereign nations into the U. S. S. R. The people of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaidzhan will never forget how they lost their national independence gained after World War I through the violation of similar treaties by Moscow. Nor will the people of the Independent Byelorussian or the Turkestani Democratic Republic ever forget what signing any sort of treaty with Moscow means. Down through all recorded history, Muscovy has always considered any treaty of mutual assistance or nonaggression with a foreign state as a legal instrument to perform any illegal act necessary to the extension of the empire.

Now that the Kremlin has been forced to admit that the aspirations of all the Ukrainian people is, and always has been, for national independence, we should extend similar recognition. There is pending before the House Foreign Affairs Committee a resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 58—calling for the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia. Public hearings have been held on this resolution and it is time action was taken on it.

By taking early and affirmative action on this resolution, we can establish a real test of the sincerity of Moscow in its claimed support for peace and tranquillity among nations. We could not be accused of interference in the internal affairs of the U. S. S. R. because the Kremlin itself has announced to the world that the Ukrainian nation has been given its national independence. All the other non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. have been given instructions to prepare appropriate celebrations for this occasion. The Kremlin knows that all these nations also seek the same goal. It is clearly in our best interests to find out whether the Kremlin announcement of December 9, 1953, is truth or fiction.

Facts Suffer in Drive Against Echo Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, a vast amount of misinformation is being circulated by self-designated protectors of the scenic West over the effect of the construction of Echo Park Dam on Dinosaur National Monument in Utah and Colorado. Those of us familiar with the monument in its present state, and with the plans for its utilization as a national playground upon the construction of the dam, are amazed at how much of this misinformation is accepted without checking by otherwise responsible eastern organizations and publications.

I would like to insert into the RECORD a copy of an editorial from the Salt Lake Tribune written by and for those who know the area and the importance of the construction of the dam to its development as an accessible scenic area. The editorial follows:

FACTS SUFFER IN DRIVE AGAINST ECHO PARK

A campaign of calumny against Echo Park Dam is reaching a crescendo as the time nears for a congressional hearing on the vital Upper Colorado River Basin storage program.

Wilderness crusaders and their dupes launched their "last dam" drive in the wake of Interior Secretary McKay's recent approval of the program. Disregarding the critical water needs of five Western States, they are making Echo Park the symbol of a phony crusade that may do irreparable damage to the overall cause of conservation.

Even the usually factual and temperate New York Times repeats the "hair raiser" that Echo Park Dam "would destroy one of the West's great scenic preserves." There is no call to reiterate here the reasons why this project and Split Mountain reservoir—scheduled for later construction—would greatly enhance the scenic value of the Green and Yampa River Canyons, make the area accessible to many thousands, and damage nothing of great value.

The epidemic of printed and mimeographed warnings from high-sounding organizations—worded significantly alike—claim that there are satisfactory alternative dam sites outside of Dinosaur National Monument. (At least one of these alternative sites would cause flooding of canyons even more flamboyant than the Green and Yampa.)

The alternative sites are boosted by wilderness enthusiasts despite repeated engineering reports on the superiority of Echo Park, wheelhorse of the basin storage and waterpower development program. It is the best because of sheltering canyons, low temperatures, location, and other factors. Reclamation Bureau engineers carefully studied the alternatives and just recently Assistant Secretary of Interior Tudor went over the ground and scrutinized all reports.

Many elements are involved in the complex plans for the nine-dam upper basin program. Evaporation loss is paramount. The most favorable alternative—as to storage, cost economy, electric-power production, and so forth—would evaporate some 300,000 acre-feet of water annually more than Echo Park. Such a water loss would supply a city of more than a million people, comparable to metropolitan Boston, and six times the size of Salt Lake City. It would irrigate 200,000 acres of land and supply an agricultural livelihood for 24,000 persons.

In addition, substitution of another dam or dams for Echo Park would eliminate from the upper basin program Split Mountain and the Gray Canyon Dams downstream on Green River. The upper Colorado River Basin program must be considered as an entity. It is carefully integrated and balanced—as to storage, power links, and other use of the water. Eliminating or radically changing one unit in the coordinated plan could throw the overall program out of balance, making it economically or otherwise infeasible.

This program is the only means by which Utah, and the rest of the upper basin can fulfill their compact to the lower basin States and put their share of water to beneficial use.

The Times repeats the alarmist forecast that Echo Park Dam would lower the bars for "invasion of any national park or monument." Is there a real danger of undermining the inviolability policy of national parks? We don't think so. Other water storage and hydroelectric works exist in national parks. The Tribune believes they should be held to the minimum. But can anyone truthfully say that the tunnel and waterworks of the Colorado Big Thompson reclamation project damages the scenic or recreational value of the immensely popular Rocky Mountain National Park?

The 1938 Presidential order expanding Dinosaur National Monument from the 80-acre "dinosaur graveyard" to 200,000 acres, including the Green and Yampa Canyons, clearly contemplated future use of the monument for a water project. Moreover, Park Service spokesmen definitely made pledges to residents that the monument extension would not interfere with such a project.

The violent campaign against Echo Park is an effort to persuade the United States Government to violate its commitment to the people of this region, people fully as interested in preserving scenic and historical resources as are the parlor conservationists of the East and the Pacific coast.

Dewey's Hartford Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters to the editor of the New York Times and editor of the Washington Post, written by Hyman H. Bookbinder, concerning Governor Dewey's Hartford, Conn., diatribe:

[From the New York Times of December 23, 1953]

DEWEY'S SPEECH PROTESTED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

During the past 20 years or so I have heard or read many hundreds of political speeches. Never, but never, have I ever been so revolted by a speech as by the one delivered by Gov. Thomas Dewey this week in Hartford. I'm not thin skinned about American politics; I don't expect speeches to be models of objectivity and good manners. I've heard speeches by demagogs, by cheap politicians, by racists.

But what makes a man charge that the words "Truman" and "Democrat" are "synonymous with Americans dying thousands of miles from home because they did not have ammunition to defend themselves"? Does Dewey want the mothers and wives of the Americans who died in Korea to suffer through an empty and tragic Christmas in the bitter belief that their sons and husbands are missing because of the perfidy of an American President or one of its major political parties rather than because of the Korean and Chinese and Soviet Communists?

When I read this speech I felt ashamed of being a native New Yorker. But I have confidence that there are enough decent New Yorkers, whatever their political persuasion might be, who will somehow give expression to their disgust at the Governor's inexcusable behavior.

HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER,
Chief of Congressional Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

WASHINGTON, *December 18, 1953.*

[From the Washington Post of December 27, 1953]

DEWEY'S ATTACK

The September 19 Washington Post carried a brief story on a recent speech by New York's Governor, Thomas E. Dewey. The story refers to the "seldom-matched" terms by Dewey in that speech. Seldom matched, indeed. I have read the entire text of that speech, and I want to assure you that never have I been so shocked by any political utterance. I don't shock easily; I know that political speeches are not models of objectivity or good manners. But, in over 20 years of very close interest in political developments, I have not seen anything to equal Dewey's obscene speech. And I have listened to demagogs, to labor baiters, to racists, to the pettiest of petty politicians. I have heard or read almost every speech ever delivered by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. But Dewey beats them all.

What makes a man sink so low that he can find within his heart to say that the words "Truman" and "Democrats" are "synonymous with Americans dying, thousands of miles from home, because they did not have the ammunition to defend themselves?" Is this Dewey's Christmas greeting to thousands of American mothers and wives whose homes will be sad and empty because of some loved one who will never return? Does he want them to think that their sons or husbands died because of the perfidy of an American President or one of America's two major parties, rather than because of the crimes of Korean and Chinese and Russian Communists?

If Dewey's revolting performance is, as your article indicates, "a sample of what the Democrats can expect in the way of political fire in coming months," the situation is indeed very tragic. The decent elements of all parties must cry halt to such guttersniping. When I read Dewey's speech, I felt ashamed at being a native New Yorker. But I am sure that there are enough decent New Yorkers, of all parties, who will somehow, sooner or later, repudiate this frustrated, unconscionable politician.

HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER,
Chief of Congressional Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

WASHINGTON.

"Money Cannot Buy a Judge's Loyalty and Devotion, But Are We Willing To Use That Truism as an Excuse To Presume on the Loyalty and Devotion of These Public Servants?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the October 1953 issue of the Journal of American Judicature Society entitled "The Vinson Estate":

THE VINSON ESTATE

Chief Justice Vinson's small estate shocked a great many people, but it should have shocked nobody. A man like Charles Evans Hughes, who devoted a considerable portion of his life to the practice of law before going on the bench, has a chance to build up an estate, but Mr. Vinson spent most of his life on the Federal payroll in Washington. Born in 1890, he began the practice of law in 1911 at the age of 21, and left it 12 years later at the age of 33 to go to Congress. From then until his death in 1953, a total of 30 years, he lived in Washington as a Government employee. It is a curious anomaly that although nobody can get rich on the Federal payroll, perhaps nowhere else in the country are the demands of social life so expensive. It should be no cause for wonderment that Mr. Vinson spent all of his income in maintaining the standard of living expected of the chief justice of the United States, especially in view of the fact that he was the beneficiary of a pension plan intended to provide for his old age without making it necessary for him to do so out of his own income.

But many people, including the judges themselves, have been seriously concerned for years about the plight of judges' widows, for whom the existing retirement plan makes no provision. Two years ago, Senator MCCARRAN introduced a bill to remedy this situation and provide pensions for surviving widows of Federal judges. This bill passed the Senate once, but never went on to final enactment. In a recent conversation with Justin Miller, who himself resigned from the Federal bench a few years ago, the Chief Justice confided that "fear of what would happen to their widows" was troubling a great many of the Federal judges.

In 1951 the directors of the American Judicature Society overwhelmingly endorsed the McCarran bill of that year to provide pensions for judge's widows. Similar legislation was introduced soon after Congress convened in 1953 by Representatives JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of Manhattan, and ABRAHAM J. MULTER and EMANUEL CELLER, Democrats, of Brooklyn. Since news of the size of Chief Justice Vinson's estate was published last month, officials of the Justice Department have said that the Department will push for enactment of such legislation next year. Surely here is an item of business that has already been too long postponed and on which there should be no disagreement by Congressmen or Senators regardless of party affiliations. Consideration should be given in drafting the 1954 version to the possibilities of including in it provision for surviving widows of already deceased judges, like Mrs. Vinson.

It is certainly true, as suggested by a correspondent in the Reader's Viewpoint department of this issue, that money cannot buy patriotism, public-spiritedness or devotion to duty on the part of any public official, judges included, and that doubling or tripling any of the financial perquisites of judicial office will not automatically double or triple the caliber of the incumbents or the quality of their judicial output. But when we speak of judicial salaries reasonably adequate to maintain a standard of living reasonably expected of judicial officers, together with retirement and pension provisions sufficient to make reasonable provision for the maintenance in old age of themselves and their dependents, we are not talking about getting rich—we are speaking of minimum provisions without which the right kind of men cannot often be persuaded to take those jobs. Yes, it is true, Mr. Vinson did, and there are others like him, but are not the facts in the Vinson case evidence of a public-spiritedness above and beyond what we, the people of the United States, have any right to ask? No, money cannot buy a judge's loyalty and devotion, but are we willing to use that truism as an excuse to presume on the loyalty and devotion of these public servants? We hope not. Let's see to it that Congress does not adjourn again without enactment of this needed legislation. And by the way, how about the judges of your own State courts?

Mayor John V. Kenny Led Epochal Period

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, in May 1949, Hon. John V. Kenny became mayor of Jersey City, N. J., a position which he voluntarily resigned in December 1953. His accomplishments in office are referred to in an article which appeared in the Jersey Journal, a newspaper published in Jersey City, N. J., shortly before the effective date of his resignation.

On Friday, December 4, 1953, there appeared in the same newspaper a leading editorial dealing with Mr. Kenny's political achievements as leader of the Democratic Party in Hudson County.

Both the newspaper article and the editorial referred to are appended hereto:

WON A DOZEN TESTS, SPARKED CITY'S GAINS

(By Harold Lubell)

When John V. Kenny retires as mayor of Jersey City, after less than 5 years in office, he will be closing a period epochal in its accomplishment.

For in that period Kenny not only attained and maintained his place at the summit of his lifelong political career, but also brought to his city a greater degree of advancement than ever was done in any similar segment of time.

Kenny will remain active as county Democratic Party leader while relinquishing the mayor's chair.

WON PIVOTAL VOTE

He is making the change while at his political peak. Including his memorable victory of May 10, 1949, he has won a dozen consecutive elections. The pivotal election was last May, when he and running mates, Donald Spence and Bernard J. Berry, eked out a majority on the city commission.

That was just after he had been ill for months.

But he and his organization were back at full strength for the State election. And there he climaxed his record by leading Hudson County Democrats on the road to victory for the governorship. For had not Kenny's leadership given Robert B. Meyner the majority in Hudson County necessary to his slim margin of victory in the primary election, Meyner would not be Governor-elect today.

Now, at the height of his political activity, Kenny is ready to step out of the mayor's office.

WILL CONTINUE AS LEADER

He'll continue as Democratic Party leader and adviser in Jersey City and Hudson County, but will relieve himself of the heavy duties of city office.

Kenny will be able to devote more time to his family.

He'll be able to take better care of his health. He's in good shape now and wants to stay that way. He was seriously ill last year with a circulatory ailment which incapacitated him for months. His retirement will help him guard his health more closely in the future.

Kenny will leave behind a record to be emulated by his successors.

PROUD OF HOUSING

Kenny feels his greatest accomplishment for Jersey City was in the field of housing.

During his regime as mayor two new low-rent housing projects were erected with Public Housing Administration assistance. Montgomery Gardens—dedicated by Adlai Stevenson in the fall of last year and Duncan Gardens, now in its first month of occupancy, accommodate 1,126 families.

Going a step farther, Kenny sought—and received—Federal aid in slum clearance. Through the auspices of the Jersey City Redevelopment Agency, private builders were given Federal aid in planning two great slum-clearing housing projects, St. John's Apartments and Gregory Apartments. Jersey City was the first city in the country to receive such aid. Construction is soon to begin on the projects.

AIDED PRIVATE BUILDERS

Private builders also were inspired by the Kenny administration to construct 700 one- and two-family homes and 6 multiple-dwelling apartments in Jersey City.

With new housing there must be new employment opportunities for homeowners and rentpayers. There also must be new school accommodations.

INDUSTRIES AND SCHOOLS

The Kenny administration went to work along these lines,

It induced several nationally known industries—such as Emerson Radio and Federal Foods—and 400 smaller businesses and industries worth over $8 million to locate in Jersey City, new opportunities for employment of local residents.

As for schools, Jersey City went on a school-building program unmatched in the city's history.

First with Bernard J. Berry—now a Kenny colleague on the city commission and then president of the board of education—and later with Nathan Arlook heading the board of education, four new schools were planned.

School 8, planned but not completed before Kenny's regime, was completed and put into use in the Hudson City section. New schools 12 and 14 will shortly replace outmoded buildings in the Bergen section and the James F. Murray School in the Greenville section will ease the crowded conditions of school 34 and another new school will accommodate residents of the new Duncan Gardens and the West Bergen section.

NEW DIGNITY

City employees took on new dignity and new opportunity to provide adequately for their families during the Kenny regime.

Kenny declared an end to the 3 percent salary kickbacks his predecessors were alleged to have instituted and collected over a period of years. The practice is nowhere near as rampant today as it is said to have been prior to 1949.

Kenny also declared it out of bounds for ward leaders to burden city and county job holders, as well as businessmen, in their bailiwicks with tickets to ball games, dances, and testimonial dinners.

On the other hand, the Kenny administration provided pay increases for many low-paid employees. It made political "pull" secondary to ability in many posts by providing for a broader use of civil service. And through a civil-service reclassification program many employees were made eligible for pay boosts they could not have received previously.

NEGROES BROUGHT UP

A special feature of the advancement of city employees was Kenny's treatment of Negroes. Many were appointed for the first time to important positions. Louis Saunders became a member of the city law department, Dr. Marie Carpenter, a member of the board of education. Felix Isom became the first Negro policeman to be promoted to sergeant. Negroes were employed by the fire department, the medical center, the housing authority, and the welfare bureau.

The department of public safety employed 242 new policemen and 158 new firemen. It gave the policemen a 40-hour workweek and the firemen a 56-hour workweek. Kenny also was able to give the bluecoats a $500 pay increase in 1950, even though a public referendum for the same increase had been defeated a year earlier.

POLICE STREAMLINED

Recently, under the supervision of Berry, the police department has undergone a streamlining which will eventually terminate in the incorporation of the old eight police precincts into four modernized police stations.

The fire department was enhanced by $250,000 worth of modern fire-fighting equipment to replace some apparatus as much as 30 years old. A three-way radio system was added to give Jersey City residents the utmost in fire protection. The police motorcycle squad also were given radio systems.

In addition, four new civilian defense emergency trucks were purchased and air-raid sirens were installed throughout the city.

MEDICAL CENTER ADVANCE

For many years the medical center has been one of Jersey City's greatest glories.

Under Kenny it achieved new luster. Conditions were improved to an extent that the American Hospital Association granted the medical center its highest possible rating.

Dr. Carroll Lvey made medical history at the hospital with his scientific experiments on the liver. Dr. Earl Halligan made advances in surgical research. These and other studies helped lift the medical center to new rank among scientific centers.

The medical center was not the only place where Kenny provided for the health of his city's residents.

CAMP FOR CHILDREN

Kenny established the John V. Kenny camp in High Bridge for crippled and underprivileged children. He provided new opportunities for healthful activity in the department of recreation.

One of his finest achievements along health lines was starting a $126,000 public swimming pool at Montgomery annex. The pool—the first outdoor pool in the city's history—was completed under the supervision of Commissioner Joshua Ringle.

WATER PURIFICATION

A further health insurance provided was the installation of a million-dollar purification and pumping system at Jersey City's Boonton Reservoir. The 80-year-old pipeline from Boonton to Jersey City was replaced, too.

With health goes safety.

New legible street signs were provided. Close to 75 new traffic lights were installed. A new traffic-control system was installed at Journal Square with "Wait" and "Walk" signals replacing the old system.

TRESTLES REMOVED

The overhead trolley trestles were removed, as well as the car tracks from the city streets. More than 10 miles of cobblestoned streets were repaved with asphalt, to make for safer driving. Installation of parking meters in business areas and free off-street parking areas in various sections of the city provided added safety insurance as well as an aid to businessmen.

Among other Kenny accomplishments were:

Setting up of rent-control clinics throughout the city to aid tenants fighting what they consider to be unjust rent increases.

Expansion and rehabilitation of the public library system, with a new branch added in Greenville.

The purchase of new, modern street-cleaning equipment which scrubs streets with a foam solution capable even of washing away radioactive particles in case of an atomic attack.

Improving street lights in shopping areas and increasing their power.

GARBAGE COLLECTION

One of the most prominent Kenny projects was the transformation of the city garbage collection system. Kenny did away with the practice of letting out the garbage contract yearly, considering it outmoded, and replaced it with a fleet of city-owned garbage trucks, with city employees making the regular collections.

Kenny's latest achievement through the Jersey City sewerage authority, is the plan for construction of the city's own incinerator system. The program, while temporarily blocked by litigation, is in accordance with the plans of the Interstate Sanitation Commission.

And with all these achievements the Kenny administration was able this year to give the city a tax rate reduced $2.01 from last year's rate.

KENNY'S DECISION

Mayor Kenny's confirmation of the report that he intends soon to put aside the burdensome job of mayor, retaining the place of political leader, nevertheless, is consistent with what he has said ever since the events of 1949 projected him into the center of the Jersey political scene.

He has said consistently that he never sought to be mayor and that the battle of 1949 was thrust upon him.

He ran then on a platform of freedom and of civic development. His administration was reelected last May on its record of accomplishment and with a plea for more time to complete its program. The record of civic accomplishment since 1949 is clear for all to see. Some of its highlights are outlined elsewhere in today's paper but the new face on Jersey City is plain enough for anyone.

Kenny also made as one of his goals the elimination of former Mayor Frank Hague and former Mayor Frank Hague Eggers as major political forces in the city, the county, and the State. Some 12 consecutive clashes at municipal, primary, and general elections resulted in victories for Kenny. It is about as close to a shutout as one political force can score over another political force. Kenny's hardest fight came in the last municipal election; his ticket elected 3 of the 5 commissioners, but the verdict was close. His greatest victory came only a few months afterward. He put his reputation on the line in April to support Robert B. Meyner for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Kenny's Hudson organization pulled Meyner through to the nomination by less than 1,400 votes, and the margin was still there after the recount. Then Meyner's brilliant victory a month ago sealed the Kenny leadership.

In the final days of the gubernatorial campaign, the last, hard core of the once great Hague machine switched to the Republican Party and Paul Troast. Meanwhile, the Republicans were calling for Meyner's defeat because Kenny was supporting him. The voters decided for Meyner—Governor-elect Robert Meyner—and Kenny's judgment was vindicated.

So today Kenny stands at the highest peak of his political achievements. He has won all the elections he has been in. He has won some of them easily, some with difficulty, some when he was the favorite, some when he was the underdog. He also has reorganized his party. Men who were once against him are with him now. New and young blood has been recruited and has come to the fore. Like a good baseball manager he has made up a balanced team of veterans with know-how youngsters with vigor.

Meanwhile, emphasis in Jersey City and Hudson County is shifting from partisan politics to good government. It is slow work but it is underway. Less and less are the people concerned with whether somebody can get himself a soft touch on the payroll. More and more they are concerned with getting better government for their tax dollar. Considerable credit for this change of attitude must go to the changing spirit at city hall and at the courthouse.

Whenever Mayor Kenny decides to step out of the city hall, he can do so with a record of substantial and rapid municipal accomplishment.

If he can remain as county leader and continue the trend he has started, his successor can be assured of a loyal, able, and willing helper.

Eighty-Third Congress, Second Session, Report to the People of the Fifth Congressional District of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK SMALL, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, as the second session of the 83d Congress opens, offering new opportunities for constructive legislation, I should like to make several observations for the record at this time. I therefore submit this report to my constituents:

My work on the Public Works Committee is both interesting and demanding. Many of the projects considered by our committee have real merit. You can readily appreciate how difficult it is to establish projects which should be given priority for appropriations. You and I are impelled by our sense of responsibility as conscientious and patriotic citizens to do our duty. The very safety of our great Republic depends upon the way in which you and I discharge this responsibility.

The last session of Congress accomplished a saving of $13 billion, compared with the estimate prepared in advance by the previous administration. This was a saving of about $81 for every man, woman, and child in the country. More can be saved if Congress will clamp down on foreign spending, as I believe we should do, for I still believe that you cannot buy friends. It is hoped that Congress can discontinue foreign-aid programs soon and thus further reduce our Government expenditures.

While the last session of Congress passed up a proposed increase in the national debt limit, it is anticipated that this will be up for consideration early in the second session. Budget requests were cut, but the present administration is confronted with the heavy commitments of the former regime. Bills coming due must be paid. The Government must borrow the money to pay them unless tax payments take a spurt. We must always be in a position to pay our obligations or face a national calamity. This is just a business reality.

Matters of vital concern to the Fifth Congressional District to which I shall continue to devote my attention and personal efforts include the following:

Anacostia River Basin flood-control project, better known as Peace Cross: Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER and Senator J. GLENN BEALL are cooperating actively with us in an effort to obtain conclusive, favorable action for some construction funds in 1954. This project is important not only as a relief to homeowners and businesses in the area, but also for the movement of traffic on United States Routes 1 and 50 and for the defense of the National Capital. The State of Maryland has made mandatorily available a sum of $4,250,000 for construction on this project, predicated on an appropriation by the Federal Government, which would permit us to go ahead without further delays. Planning by the United States Army engineers has progressed sufficiently for construction to begin as soon as Federal funds can be provided.

Andrews Air Force Base and Friendship International Airport: The entire Maryland congressional delegation, including all Representatives and both United States Senators, is cooperating with us in opposing the partial commercialization of Andrews Air Force Base; and we unitedly favor the use of Friendship International Airport to handle the overflow load of transoceanic and transcontinental air traffic which cannot be readily accommodated at Washington National Airport.

Washington-Baltimore Expressway: The Baltimore end of this new highway, built by the State of Maryland, will be open to all types of traffic. The Department of the Interior has indicated that the Washington end, designated as "parkway" and built by the Federal Government, will be limited to passenger vehicles only. We are seeking a solution to this problem which has two schools of thought. We feel that the Interior Department should afford further opportunity for both sides to be heard.

The Hatch Act: I shall continue to press for enactment of my bill, H. R. 1418, to amend the Hatch Act so that Government employees will be able to enjoy the same rights as other citizens to participate in political campaigns.

I shall continue to look out for the best interests of our schools, so far as I can help at the national level, with due consideration for the heavy load we carry in federally impacted areas. I am ever ready to do what I can to protect the extensive varied interests of all segments of agriculture and other legitimate business and industry, employees and employers alike. I shall continue to work also for improved retirement benefits for Government employees in the interest of a better civil service.

The opportunity to serve the people of the Fifth District of Maryland in Congress is deeply appreciated, but there are some things more important to me than my commission as your Congressman. What happens to me will be of little importance, in a general sense, but what happens to this country is tremendously important to my children, to your children, and to our children's children. I want to do a good job. You can help. I shall be glad to hear from you on any matters which you feel should be brought to my attention. My address is room 1608, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Do Farmers Face Complete Control?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from Hoard's Dairyman, published at Fort Atkinson, Wis., and one of the Nation's leading publications for agriculture, as well as the article by Prof. W. P. Mortenson, of the University of Wisconsin, which prompted the editorial.

As we give consideration to the farm problem in this new session of Congress, I believe this information will be of great interest to all Members of Congress.

The editorial follows:

THE QUESTION THAT TRANSCENDS ALL OTHERS

Rarely have we published a more significant and thought-provoking article than Do Farmers Face Complete Control? We commend it to your reading, reflection, and rereading.

Dairy farmers, anxious to find a solution to the accumulating surplus and lower prices, are boxed in on all sides. Labor and industrial policies prevent farm costs from falling to any major degree. Fixed 90 percent parity supports under wheat and corn, and 85 percent supports under oats, barley, rye, and grain sorghums hold feed costs at a high level. This is the rigid cost picture.

Now, let's look at another angle. As reported in Washington Dairygrams (November 10), there is the prospect of 30 million acres which cannot go into cotton and certain feed grains. What will farmers do with this extra acreage? Will it lie idle? Of course not. Many millions of acres will go into grass and legumes for livestock feed. Without production controls on livestock, the industry stands to shoulder the surplus problem shed by the supported and controlled crops. Are livestock people faced then, with industrial sacrifice to the cash-crop groups?

America's growth and greatness have been the result of its resources, its freedoms, its production, and its plenty. We stand where we are today, not through our search for security but through our willingness to match our brains and energies for personal gain. The resultant national development has not been smooth, nor has it lacked its periodic reverses, but generation after generation has inherited a greater, stronger, more abundant, productive economy and life. We want our children and grandchildren to inherit from us the same vital, growing, abundant economy we have enjoyed. We want our coming generations to find their satisfaction and strength through sacrifices and rewards, as has every generation that preceded us. In our opinion, we can perpetuate our abundant life and national greatness in no other way.

We have stated our principles. How can they be rationalized to fit today's situation? Frankly, we don't believe they can. For 13 years we have been financially drugged by the heady inflation resulting from war, financed by a multibillion-dollar indebtedness. We have fingered our blood-soaked dollars so long; we have permanently altered our standard of living to such an extent that we cringe at the prospect of existence in a peacetime economy. These are the brutal realities.

The only offset to higher and higher farm costs, resulting from increased wages for less work, is the possible technological advances which tend to offset the reduced hours of work per wage dollar. In this prospect we can derive cause for some optimism.

Within agriculture the battle for votes and the strength of the cash-crop farm bloc has given us high price supports and restricted production. There is little prospect for livestock men to find relief from high feed costs and diverted acres. Slowly but relentlessly, therefore, the livestock man is being enveloped and forced into the road of artificial scarcity and rigid marketing controls for self and industry preservation.

This, it appears, is how we will fit into the great American reversal which history may record as the turning point in our growth and expansion; a period wherein we chose to follow the great nations and peoples of the past who reached a plateau, maintained it, perhaps, for a period of many years, and then gradually descended into mediocrity and impotence. This is the penalty we are prepared to pay apparently for that relative thing called security.

Dairy farmers can take some satisfaction in the fact that they have not led the way. They are the victims of enveloping circumstances over which they have had little control.

The article by Professor Mortenson, considered by the editor of Hoard's Dairyman to be of such importance that it became the lead article in a recent edition, follows:

DO FARMERS FACE COMPLETE CONTROL?

(By W. P. Mortenson, agricultral economist, University of Wisconsin)

American grain farmers have spoken. Almost 9 out of every 10 farmers in 18 leading wheat States voted this fall to let the Government control their wheat output in order that they might obtain Federal price support at 90 percent of parity.

Under the plan, which carried such an overwhelming vote, a wheat grower not only approved acreage control but he gave the Government the right and obligation to determine how many bushels he may sell next year without paying a penalty. It is doubtful that these farmers appreciated what those controls would mean in limiting the freedom of action in operating their farms. Most of them are thinking in terms of the price support during the past 10 years which involved no real controls.

This vote was on wheat only but the trend of thinking is perfectly obvious. Is there any reason why they should reverse their vote when the time comes to vote on controlling the output of corn, oats, rye, and flax? And what about livestock? If the Government is to control crop acres, why not livestock numbers? Just where is American agriculture headed? The trend seems clear.

More than ordinary significance should be attached to this vote for at least three reasons:

1. Farmers in this area had recently played their part in putting in the Republican Party which has been against Government controls,

2. The Secretary of Agriculture has recently made public appearances arguing against Government controls of agriculture and of the affairs of individual farmers, and

3. The voting was in a period of a relatively prosperous agriculture when controls might not appear necessary.

The very producers who voted for controls will tell you that regimentation is strictly against their principles. Of course, these farmers didn't vote for controls. They voted against the danger of ruinous wheat prices. Many still remember the dark days of the early 1930's. After all, when intelligent people go to the polling booth they can be expected to vote for what they believe to be in their own best interests. So do we all. But how will wheat control and the artificial prices that go with it affect other phases of agriculture?

Let us take, for example, the dairy and poultry industries, both heavy users of feed grains. If the producers of our grains and feed crops follow a policy of continuing production control and artificial price pegging, then producers of livestock and poultry may have little choice but to fall in line. Controls, once established, will tend to become a growing and permanent feature of our agriculture. Difficulties of enforcement will multiply as new products come under the umbrella.

Our farm surplus problem child was born back in the days of President Harding and became a howling infant when Hoover held sway, insisting that it wasn't getting enough attention. Then during Roosevelt's regime the youngster not only grew into long pants but virtually took over the household. With the release of price controls beginning in 1945 and the strongest consumer buying power in all history, prices of farm products climbed rapidly, even with expanding production and no controls. All the farm products that could be produced were grabbed by anxious buyers.

Just when President Truman left his temporary abode on Pennsylvania Avenue for a less strenuous life, noises were again making themselves heard at the White House door. But he waved goodby to his uninvited guest and wished him well. Really a well-timed exit.

The point to be taken seriously is that the farm-surplus problem is not the child of either political party. It is, instead, an infant that has boldly walked into the arms of the party in power and is going to stay right there and continue to howl whether papa spells his name with a capital D or a capital R. Like the gremlin of World War II, he's going to sit on the party chief's shoulder and ask him if he could use a few votes at the next election, certainly nothing to be laughed off in our American democracy.

Why has this farm-surplus problem gripped us again after a quiet spell of more than a decade? The answer is quite simple. World War II left Europe riddled with a shortage of food and the lack of manpower and facilities to produce it. During the last half of the 1940's we came to their rescue with vast quantities of agricultural products paid for largely by American funds. Now for several seasons the European farms have been rehabilitated and come back into production so they have less crying needs for our farm output. With less of our food products moving across the oceans, more has to be stored at home. For at least 3 or 4 years we have been storing grains and livestock products at staggering rates.

The combined stocks of wheat and corn under Federal storage add up to more than a billion bushels. These two crops would fill a bin 20 feet wide and 25 feet high from Chicago to Pittsburgh (473 miles). More is rolling in this fall. Butter, vegetable oils, and nonfat dry milk solids have been purchased in tremendous quantities with taxpayers' money.

Under the present price-support legislation the Secretary of Agriculture has no choice but to continue piling more products into the already bulging grain bins and cold-storage warehouses. Even more serious is the fact that the situation is rapidly growing worse, not better. If these stocks were released into American consumption they would break the markets almost overnight.

To help keep the President's job from becoming boresome, the very month that one Government agency was forced into a program of curtailing the Nation's wheat supply, another agency, almost across the street, was forced by the facts to admit that the cost

of living had reached a new all-time high. Pleasant news to the large family with a small pocketbook, of which we have millions.

Farmers, however, are already losing position and they naturally want to avoid a landslide of economic trouble. Based on the comparison of prices received and paid, farmers are in the weakest position they have been in for a decade. The value of farm products in terms of what the farmers buy has slipped 14 points below the 10-year average 1942–51.

Is it any wonder that farmers, seeing things as they do, are willing to vote controls upon themselves in order to keep farm prices from skidding to where farmers may be in danger of suffering serious losses?

There are those from urban areas who condemn farmers as being selfish and shortsighted in curtailing the production of needed goods. But farmers are quick to point out that most of what they learned they absorbed from organized labor and large industry.

It has consistently been the policy of labor, officially or otherwise, to shorten the workweek and increase the wage rate. In certain instances, notably in the building trades, it has limited the output per hour and prohibited the use of certain labor-saving machines and equipment. When a farmer contracts to have a house built with union labor he is not so blind that he can't see how he might gain by adopting similar methods in agriculture.

During the recent labor strike in the industry that "made Milwaukee famous," organized labor demanded, among other things, a 35-hour week. When farmers are working almost twice that number of hours during the busy season is it any wonder that they also put on pressure for less production and fewer hours if they believe they can improve their economic welfare thereby? Organized labor has shown them what can be done, so why sit back and wait?

As a general practice, when inventories begin to pile up, industry reduces its production more than it reduces its prices. It should, of course, be said that in manufacturing the highest-cost items are labor and raw materials. By reducing output, both of these expense items can be reduced accordingly. Industry operates under a system of administered prices which can be kept under quite rigid control without Government aid. It is thus a fact that agriculture is the last link in our economic chain to reduce output through organized effort.

The basic difference is that farmers are adopting the ballot box rather than the picket line to impose their demands upon the public. It is generally agreed that there is probably no other way that 3 million farmers, operating small, independent farms, can exercise the same influence as a few powerful labor unions or a small number of giant corporations.

We have awed the world by our capacity to invent ingenious labor-saving devices but how will that benefit us as a nation if organized political pressure groups adopt a policy of trying to get more and more by producing less and less? Modern machines can improve our welfare to the extent that they are permitted to operate at capacity. This cannot be done under a policy whereby special interest groups force a program of limited production upon our American economy.

The question is, what groups will offer the leadership in reversing a trend that has now been underway and growing for more than a generation?

The fact is generally recognized that a workable farm program may be necessary to avoid the possibilities of a drastic situation from developing in American agriculture. However, there is strong public sentiment against a solution which involves creating a scarcity. Moreover, from a purely economic point of view, such a program has distinct drawbacks. If farmers are to market fewer bushels, each bushel will have to carry a heavier load of the fixed production and marketing costs.

Thoughtful people agree that, for the longer pull, we must adjust our economy, industry, and agriculture alike, to increase production so as to keep pace with our growing population and its expanding requirements of food, fiber, and industrial products. Yet production controls and the limitations of output affecting large sectors of both agriculture and industry are again finding their way into the economy as they did in the 1930's.

The problem of America and Americans is to reverse that trend—and the sooner the better. America has become great because of its productivity, not because of new inventions to create scarcity. How will we go about now to reverse our present trend of reducing the Nation's output to that of expanding it? That is the economic question that transcends all others in America today.

A Day in the Life of a Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK SMALL, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, because it so accurately portrays what takes up the day of a Congressman when Congress is in adjournment, I wish to place in the RECORD an article which appeared in the November 13, 1953, edition of the Foreign Service Courier, a publication of the students of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. The article follows:

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A CONGRESSMAN
(By Gerry Davis)

"Gosh! I wish I were a Congressman; then I could work half the year and vacation the rest of the time." No doubt you have heard this statement at one time or another. Well, let me tell you, this shows little understanding of the facts, which I know from experience, because I accompanied Representative FRANK SMALL, of Maryland's Fifth Congressional District, during several of his typical days last month.

Being a Congressman is no picnic even during so-called vacation periods when the Congress is not in session. As you can see in the pictures on this and the next pages, there is plenty to do, if the time can just be found. Most of our Nation's legislators maintain offices here in Washington and in their home district, even during adjournment. If a Congressman lives near Washington it saves him lots of traveltime, but it also means that he has even less time of his own, for his constituents hunt him out day and night to seek his help in all sorts of problems.

Representative FRANK SMALL is a Republican, and a freshman as far as the Hill is concerned—for he was elected in 1952 for the first time. He lives in Clinton, Md., just outside of Washington. Clinton is a simple, pretty little Maryland town with a few stores and one bank. In addition to his work in Congress, Representative SMALL is president and chairman of the board of this bank. Most House Members have some business or professional connection in addition to their work in Congress.

Congressman SMALL leaves his modest home in Clinton and drives to Washington every weekday morning about 7:45, and, on many days, he does not return home until late in the evening because of the business of Congress and his district which will not wait until the next day. On each day that I was with Representative SMALL, he was in his office by 8:30, dictating letters to one of his secretaries, talking to constituents either on the phone or in person, or working by phone on some problem which he may be able to solve for his district.

Like all Members of Congress, Representative SMALL has certain problems in his district which are of particular interest to him. One of these has been the constant flooding at Peace Cross whenever it rains. He has spent many hours working on this, and every day he has letters and calls pertaining to this. He has been working to get Congress to appropriate the money to control the effects of the rains in this area; hence, many of his callers during the days I was with him were anxious to hear how he was coming in this project.

The day that I was in Clinton with the Congressman, he had a board meeting at the bank and several people to see who, he thought, he might be able to help. During this time he dropped into the local hardware store to buy a hatchet and to chat with the owner.

Much of a Congressman's time is spent just talking to the people in his district, in casual conversations here and there and in the course of his business day. He must always know the feeling of his constituents on every question of the day in order to represent their viewpoint in Congress. It is for this reason that he must get around as much as he does, and this includes fairs, and all the various functions that he must attend.

His life is very interesting, but certainly hectic as you can see from the accompanying pictures, which should give you an idea of the scope of his activities in a composite view of "a day in the life of a Congressman."

Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent graciously granted I am extending my remarks to include the following communication from the Business Men's League of United States:

Hon. Daniel Dougherty, chairman of the ways and means committee, reports that action be taken to get the necessary funds from Congress to complete the Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel project.

Meeting of the board of directors of the Business Men's League of United States held Saturday, December 12, 1953, 1 o'clock p. m., at the offices of the league, 8151 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Ill. A motion made by Hon. Daniel Dougherty, seconded by Arthur J. Palermo, and carried, that the president, John T. Goldrick, appoint a resolution committee to draft suitable resolution for immediate action to complete the Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel, and the secretary, A. G. Kirbach, be hereby instructed to send a copy of the resolution to His Excellency, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and to each of the honorable Members of the United States Senate and Congress.

Resolution committee drafted the following resolution:

"Whereas complying with the request of the board of directors of the Business Men's League of United States; and

"Whereas the great strength of the Nation today owes considerable to harbor and channel developments; and

"Whereas there should be no further delay in appropriating the necessary funds for the completion of the Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel; and

"Whereas a Federal project for the improvement of the Calumet-Sag route was authorized in 1946; and

"Whereas the improvement of the Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel project means so much to the Middle West, expansion of industries, and work for the boys coming home from the United States Army; and

"Whereas it is an insurance for defense for the Nation; and

"Whereas we refer you to page A661 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for more facts: And now be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the Business Men's League of United States urgently request His Excellency, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, and the honorable Members of the Senate and Congress to take immediate action to appropriate the necessary funds for the completion of this important project; namely, Calumet Harbor-Sag Channel.

"John T. Goldrick, president; A. G. Kirbach, secretary; Hon. Daniel Dougherty, chairman; Arthur J. Palermo, Peter J. Foote, Hon. Emil V. Pacini, Hon. Wm. A. Rowan, Hon. Henry M. Lenard, Henry De Haan, Jack B. Timm, Dr. Paul A. Ludeman, Wm. C. Howell, Oscar E. Bergstrom, resolution committee."

Serious Situation Developing in Detroit Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, with the convening of the 2d session of the 83d Congress and in the expectation of the President's address on the state of the Nation, due tomorrow, I deem it my duty to present to my colleagues a grave situation which now exists in Detroit, and particularly in my congressional district, where increasing unemployment gives cause for worry and calls for immediate action to prevent a serious crisis.

I submit herewith a copy of a telegram just received by me from one of the largest union locals in the area, representing the workers of the Dodge plant of the Chrysler Corp.

I hope the President and the Congress will take early action to stave off the possibility of a depression in this and many other areas faced with the same situation. We cannot shirk our responsibility to face the issue squarely and without delay.

DETROIT, MICH., *January 5, 1954.*

Hon. T. M. MACHROWICZ,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Following is a telegram which we sent today to President Eisenhower:

"Mr. President, we heard your very interesting speech on radio and TV on Monday, January 4, 1954, particularly your reference to a depression in 1954.

"Mr. President, in that speech you stated that the Government of the United States would take positive action to prevent a depression in the United States in 1954. For this we highly commend you, Mr. President, but, Mr. President, it may interest you to know that in the metropolitan area of Detroit we have 100,000 unemployed workers and specifically in the Dodge main plant of the Chrysler Corp. we have 20,000 unemployed. Compared to the employment of June 1953 when we had 33,000 workers on the Dodge main payroll, we now have less than 13,000 on the payroll.

"Mr. President, to these workers depression is on now, your brave words of promise to come must be put into action now and not in any future. Many of these workers have used up their unemployment compensation and most of them will use theirs up soon. The future of these Americans is very bleak, welfare handouts are their only hope.

"Mr. President, we sincerely hope that you put your program into action in the Detroit area immediately, as conditions in said area are getting worse instead of better. Your promise to the American people against the welfare state cannot be better demonstrated than in the Detroit area where welfare department handouts are the only hope of the American people.

"Mr. President, we thank you for reading the telegram and please act fast to preserve our American democracy and our way of life."

JOSEPH CHEAL, *President,*
C. PAT QUINN, *Vice President,*
Dodge Local 3, UAW-CIO.

The Amazing Seafarers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we hear much about unions from time to time. Too frequently they are the subject of attack and malignment.

I am happy to direct the attention of our colleagues to an article about the Seafarers International Union written by Victor Riesel, which appeared in the Reader's Digest of September 1953 as follows:

THE AMAZING SEAFARERS UNION
(By Victor Riesel)

Right in the heart of New York's racket-run waterfront—amid unsolved murders, multi-million-dollar pilferage and gang terror spread by guns, knives, and brass knuckles—is one of the Nation's cleanest and most democratic unions, the AFL's Seafarers International, Atlantic and Gulf District.

The Seafarers don't frighten easily. They made up many of the crews for Allied freighters running the submarine gantlet to such ports as Murmansk during the last war—more than 1,500 of them went down with torpedoed ships. The men now work vessels sailing with military cargo to Europe, where Communist strong-arm gangs must frequently be tamed; they also cast off for Korean ports. They are 20,000 strong—members of one of the AFL's youngest unions, now in its 15th year.

Paul Hall, husky, 6-foot secretary-treasurer of these Seafarers, stands out physically, morally, and intellectually. At 39 this blondish viking from Alabama has shown old-line business unionists how to keep faith with the rank and file, and at the same time roll up millions of dollars in assets.

It hasn't been easy. Paul Hall, who is one of the few honest labor leaders on the New York waterfront, has been framed and beaten by both crooks and Communists. On the morning of January 21, 1949, for example, the Bureau of Narcotics in New York received an anonymous telephone tip that 50 ounces of smuggled heroin was hidden under a sofa pillow in Hall's living room.

The agents drove out immediately. In the glove compartment of Hall's car they found two envelopes filled with heroin worth $2,000. A lengthy investigation proved that the dope had been planted. The United States attorney and the Narcotics Bureau began searching for the mobsters whom Hall might have antagonized into attempting to frame him. They might as well have dragnetted all of New York's multi-million-dollar underworld, for Hall has antagonized all the mobs.

When the union's $1 million headquarters was opened, in 1951, police got word that two of the toughest mobs in Brooklyn were deadlocked over which would assume jurisdiction of the Seafarers Hall. The gunmen took their dispute to a mobster court for arbitration. "Stay away," advised the arbitrator. "It won't be hard getting in, but you'll have a hell of a time getting out."

He went on to tell them the story of the Boston thug who made the mistake of barging in on the old Seafarers Hall in Manhattan in 1947. With a gun only half concealed he demanded a union card so he could ship out immediately. He was "hot," he revealed, having just hijacked a big truckload of Boston waterfront cargo. He didn't get the union card. Instead he lost his gun, along with some teeth, and found himself hanging out of the window, his feet jammed tight between the sill and the window bottom—a warning to gangsters that the Seafarer's International Union was off bounds.

Every AFL seafarer is expected to conduct himself creditably. Years ago the union set up special boards to try members who drank on the job, pilfered, or used or smuggled dope, the biggest source of gangster income from waterfront rackets.

Aware that the Crime Syndicate has murdered to protect its dope-smuggling interests, the union's leaders, nonetheless recently exposed smuggling techniques of worldwide rings such as those believed to be run by the exiled "Lucky" Luciano and the Sovietized opium trust. The latter, Federal Narcotics Bureau Chief Harry Anslinger told the United Nations, financed much of the Comintern's espionage activity around the world. SIU's disclosures have cost the smuggling rings millions of dollars.

The Seafarer's newspaper, the Log, dramatically publicized smuggling techniques never before brought to light. For instance, an organized ring had bribed construction workers to build a secret room behind the bar of a vessel being converted from a freighter into a liner; this room had been used by the ring to smuggle $1 million worth of opium each trip. After the room was discovered it was never used again—and the bartender, who sneaked food to the hidden dope runner, never shipped out again.

When the New York State Crime Commission was openly defied by leaders of the AFL's Longshoremen's Union, some of whom were later indicted and jailed, Paul Hall and his colleagues on the Seafarers Union council were infuriated. They sent word to the leaders of all AFL waterfront unions—longshoremen, engineers, masters, mates, pilots, tubgoat workers—that the time had come to clean house.

Hall and his men proposed a 10-point program, the first item of which was a "guaranty of internal democracy in all local unions" for every international labor outfit

on the waterfront. Union membership meetings would be held at least once a month, with written financial statements and secret balloting. Any union official caught demanding or receiving kickbacks from maritime workers, stealing cargo, or terrorizing dock wallopers or seamen into borrowing money from loan sharks at usurious rates would be expelled. Special loan funds would be raised by the unions to help any waterfront worker who needed money. Jobs would be handed out on a rotating list, not at the whim of a foreman in the notorious shapeup—this mobster-controlled hiring method would be wiped out. The mobsters and their labor fronts listened to this proposition and went right on with their crooked deals.

But the Seafarers International itself stands firm on an oasis of democracy in the midst of a gory era inside labor when newspapers in a hundred cities report violence and the slow death of freedom in unions. For example, at a time when 2 years were needed to persuade officials of the New York AFL Central Trades and Labor Council simply to show a copy of its constitution to its members, and more than 10 years to force the hod carriers to hold a union meeting or an election, the seafarers' leaders constantly urge their own followers to vote, to question their officers on the disbursement of union funds, to accept or reject the leaders' reports.

The Log actually informs each AFL sailor that he can nominate himself at any meeting, held mandatorily every 2 weeks in all ports, for membership on a committee to investigate the leaders or any of the union's policies, activities, or expenditures. Before each meeting a statement of their rights is read to the sailors. Officers are frequently voted out—giving the union a unique turnover of leaders.

Many labor outfits are one-man organizations. But in this union of AFL sailors there is a leadership school. Seamen who show promise are asked to miss a trip or two and for a month are put through classes in public speaking, parliamentary procedure, and technical training so they can get better ship ratings. They are housed, fed, and paid during this intensive study. Thus, men are trained not only to lead in union affairs but to cope with any emergency at sea.

The seafarers' business department resembles the accounting division of a large corporation. The comptroller, a former business executive, has a staff of accountants, legal aides, and efficiency experts.

The union has many subsidiaries. One is a cafeteria which also provides food for down-and-out sailors, who no longer need hit the crimp joints along the Bowery. Another subsidiary is the union's Sea Chest Corp., which has replaced the dry-goods merchants who sold fourth-class clothes to sailors at first-rate prices. Sea Chest does $500,000 worth of business annually.

There is also the Seafarers Building Corp., worth $1,500,000, which plans to open a union hall in Baltimore and to build an eight-story hotel adjacent to its headquarters in Brooklyn. In this and other hotels to come, the sailor home from the sea will live between trips (together with his family, if they are near) in air-conditioned rooms equipped with TV and radio.

When he is ready to ship out again he need but go into the nearby union building to find a huge electronic device listing his name and number. When a job comes in, it is flashed on the floor-to-ceiling multiglassed board and a number is called. If he is there when his number is called, the job is automatically his. No mobster, no official can force him to pay for it.

When the SIU was founded on November 1, 1938, its officials represented 500 sailors who were in revolt against Communist control of most of the Nation's waterfront. Paul Hall, then a wiper in the engineroom, was earning about $1.60 a day. Current wages range from $100 for a 40-hour week for the average seaman to $1,200 a month for the boatswain who has charge of deck crews on luxury ships.

As Paul Hall said to a friend, when SIU headquarters was opened on November 17, 1951: "We've surely come a long, long way."

The Bright, Clean Flame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am submitting an editorial from the Boston Sunday Herald. The title of this editorial is "The Bright, Clean Flame." I wish that every American, I wish that every individual in America could read this editorial. It is one of the finest I have ever seen on the subject of communism and freedom. In clear, concise language this editorial states why communism can never prevail over the free world. Much can be written and much can be said, but I doubt if anything could be done any better. I recommend it to everyone and hope everyone will read it. If they do, America and the free world will surely benefit.

The editorial follows:

THE BRIGHT, CLEAN FLAME

The United States has no need of adjectives to describe the atrocities committed by the Communists in Korea. We have the facts.

The tortures are documented. Names, places, dates, techniques. The story of Buchenwald refined to a new height of horror.

Let the Communists make all the speeches they want. Let them protest. Let them enter resolutions. Let them squirm and twist and turn and reveal their guilt in their own too-loud protesting.

Let us come forth with these documented facts again and again and again. Many Europeans and Asians think Americans who are worried about communism have been seeing ghosts. Here—these tortured dead—are those ghosts come to life.

The free world must realize this is its alternative. This is the price of apathy, paralytic fear, imprisoning pessimism. This is the price of thinking communism a harmless intellectual plaything.

Here, in the documented details of Communist mistreatment of prisoners, is the place of the individual in the Communist system.

But even as we mourn these dead, let us take heart from their victory. They were subjected to anguish, both mental and physical. They were starved, beaten, frightened, interrogated with maddening repetition. The Communists stripped away their health, in some cases their sanity, in many cases their life. But they couldn't reach their soul.

A bright, clean flame burned on where it was least suspected. There were men who wouldn't break. Men who chose death, and in that way won a victory.

Christianity was not killed, though many a Christian was put to a cross. Lovers of freedom have been killed, but not freedom.

In the hell holes of North Korea communism has had a terrible defeat. For it is the Communists who tried to make their own martyrs, with a Rosenberg, for example. They failed. But they have made martyrs for the free world, individuals who were subjected to the worst tortures modern science can devise, freemen who preferred to keep the bright, clean flame of liberty burning rather than live a slave life.

This is what the world must be told—in facts, not in adjectives. The Communists have tried every means to put out the bright, clean flame in the soul of man—and they have failed.

Union Leader and Big-Business Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article which appeared in the New York Times on November 15, 1953:

UNION LEADER AND BIG-BUSINESS MAN DAVE BECK, HEAD OF THE POWERFUL TEAMSTERS BROTHERHOOD, BELIEVES A LABOR ORGANIZATION CAN BE RUN LIKE GM EVEN ON NEW YORK'S TURBULENT WATERFRONT

(By A. H. Raskin)

Call it fate that made Dave Beck president of the Nation's biggest and most powerful union at the very moment that a businessman's government was taking over in Washington after 20 years of New Deal rule. For the leader of 1,300,000 truck drivers, who is now spearheading the American Federation of Labor drive to bring honest unionism to the crime-shrouded waterfront, is a businessman with a union button.

He believes that a giant union ought to be run like General Motors or United States Steel, and his tributes to the free enterprise system would make George Folansbee Babbitt blush. He started working on a Seattle laundry truck 40 years ago, the penniless son of a carpet cleaner and a laundress. Today investments in real estate and securities have made him a millionaire, so well-to-do that the tax collector has a bigger interest than Beck himself in his union salary of $50,000 a year.

His union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is a real cradle-to-the-grave organization in terms of its stranglehold on the economy. Its members control everything from the delivery of diapers to the driving of funeral hearses. No building is put up, no product made, no food delivered without the use of trucks. The absence of a handful of drivers can shut off vital public services or plunge tens of thousands of construction or factory workers into idleness.

When Beck took over the union 10 months ago, it was not an international union at all, for all its size, wealth, and strategic position. It was a combination of hundreds of locals, each a law to itself. Daniel J. Tobin, Beck's predecessor, was the most powerful single individual in the AFL. He bossed the federation's executive council with shameless arrogance, but he walked softly in the presence of his own local leaders. In New York, Chicago, and other big cities, Teamster officials threw their weight around with no regard for the parent organization. On the rare occasions when Tobin sought to blow the whistle, no one listened.

Beck is changing all that. He is reorganizing the union along the most efficient corporate lines. Fifteen national departments are being installed, each with jurisdiction over a separate branch of the union.

One will supervise all organizing among dairy drivers, another bakeries, still another warehouses. Regional conferences are being organized, modeled after Beck's own Western Conference of Teamsters, the start of his spurt to the top. The authority of the locals is declining, the power of the national organization is increasing. When the process is complete, there will be no question who is boss.

At 59, Beck is a chunky, talkative man, with pale blue eyes and a wisp of reddish-brown hair. His eyebrows are so fair as to be almost invisible. His face is moon-shaped and pink, his hands are freckled and years of strenuous exercise on weight-cutting machines have failed to keep his waistline from bulging. In casual contact, he is deceptively mild. He looks more like a Sunday-school teacher than the man who fought his way to the top of the toughest union in the West.

The illusion of mildness drops away when Beck goes into action. When he makes a speech, the words pour forth in a Niagara. He rocks back and forth like a fighter about to throw a punch. Yet his tone is flat and he has no oratorical tricks. He lacks the leonine presence of a John L. Lewis or the ability to conjure up inspirational slogans of a Walter Reuther. But there is such an implacable earnestness in what he says and how he says it that no one listens to him without coming away convinced that here is a man who means business.

He never tires and he is never alone. He counts lost the week in which he travels less than 10,000 miles. On a typical day recently, he got up in his Washington apartment at 5 a. m., flew to Cincinnati for a morning meeting, hopped to a conference in Detroit in the afternoon, and wound up with a night session in Chicago. The Chicago meeting kept going until well after midnight. At dawn he was in a plane on his way to Seattle.

He has all the copybook virtues, as befits a self-made man in the best Horatio Alger tradition. He never smokes, never drinks, never gambles. He does not swear; he does not shout. This in a union in which men are men in all the worst senses. Respectability is the big urge in Beck's life. He wants it for himself; he wants it for his union.

He never got as much schooling as he would have liked. He left high school in his senior year to work on the laundry truck. At 24 he enlisted in the Navy and served with a bombing squadron in the North Sea. He came back to his truck and a more active role in the union. (He also took extension courses in law and public speaking at the University of Washington.) By 1923 he had become president of the joint council embracing all teamster locals in the Northwest. Three years later he was named general organizer in charge of the whole west coast. The union made great gains, but the violence that accompanied its progress brought Beck a lot of unpleasant publicity.

With all the methodicalness of a toothpaste manufacturer selling a new product to the public, Beck undertook to reverse the picture the Northwest had developed of him and his union. His first task was to convince the employers that it was better business for them to recognize Beck than to fight him. The west coast was jittery over the rise of Harry Bridges and the leftwing elements that clustered around him in the CIO. Beck, with his emphasis on the right of management to a fair profit and his readiness to use his union as the stabilizing element in jumbled competitive situations, found it easy to break down management resistance to his organizing efforts.

Beck's second task was to win community acceptance. He interested himself in civic affairs and in charity campaigns. He became a member of the Seattle Civil Service Commission, the Washington State Prison Board of Parolees and proudest achievement of all, president of the Board of Regents at the University of Washington. He was a great joiner; he was chosen Exalted Ruler of the Elks, an officer of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The mayor of Seattle called him the community's most distinguished citizen.

He has addressed more Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs than any other union bigwig. He regards himself as labor's ambassador to industry, sweeping away misconceptions that make for strikes and distrust. He puts his philosophy of labor in terms a businessman can understand.

He has three main themes. One is that he subscribes to the profit system and repudiates socialism in all its forms. The second is that a 15-year-old boy can call a strike but it takes mature leaders on both sides to work out a collective-bargaining agreement. The third is that, once his union signs a contract—good, bad or indifferent—it considers that contract just as sacred as the Bible.

The sanctity of contract idea is one on which Beck feels strongly. In a recent message to the union's membership, he said: "I would a thousand times rather lose a local, or even the entire organization, than to violate our trust." He lives this precept so energetically that west coast employers often turn to him as arbiter in contract-enforcement cases that have nothing to do with labor relations.

Most of the hostility to Beck these days comes not from employers but from fellow union leaders, worried over the aggressiveness with which he is pressing his campaign to build up his union. One idea is central to all his thoughts about his own union. He means to gather into its fold everything that belongs, in his opinion, within its jurisdiction. That means signing up a lot of drivers, warehousemen, and miscellaneous workers who are not in any union today. It also means bringing into the Teamsters tens of thousands of workers who are enrolled in other unions.

By the time Beck gets through calling the roll of unions that have members he feels belong to him, he has named almost every major union in the A. F. of L. and CIO. There is no subtlety in the man; he indulges in none of the doubletalk that makes most labor speeches sound like something out of Senator Claghorn. The result is that his warnings to other unions to render unto Beck the things that are Beck's make him a good deal less than popular in the ruling circles of most big unions.

That is not the only direction from which hostility comes. Some critics call Back a cartelist—an advocate of the theory that big labor and big industry should work together to fix prices and squeeze out competition, with each power group benefiting at the expense of the consumer. This is the charge that angers Beck most. Beck insists that he is opposed to anything that injures the consumer; he is against it in principle and he is against it because the union members he represents are such a big part of the consuming public that they would be hurting themselves if they engaged in practices that victimized the consumer.

"They say we fixed prices in the Seattle laundries," Beck declares. "What sense would that make? We would be fixing prices to protect 400 laundry drivers and the rest of the 30,000 teamsters in Seattle would be paying the freight every time they gave their laundry to wash."

But Beck does not deny that he believes in regulating competition if the result of competitive practices is to force down wage rates or eliminate jobs for his members. In the Seattle laundries, the commission rate for drivers was fixed on the basis of a standard price scale and the union insisted that the commission be paid at the established rate, even if the laundry wanted to give the service away.

Beck has fought the Safeway chain all along the Pacific coast on moves to consolidate deliveries so that bread, milk, beer, soft drinks, meat, vegetables, and a thousand other items would go in one truck, instead of a dozen. His unionized automobile salesmen in Seattle are the chief enforcement agents for sale of cars at list price. "Otherwise," he explains, "our people would get it in the neck—the cut comes out of their commissions."

He has a simple formula for handling Communists in his union. It is: "Grab them by the neck and throw them out in the alley. J. Edgar Hoover does not advocate that philosophy. He cannot do so. I advocate it within our union because I know why they come in our union, and we are not going to tolerate them for one instant."

There is not much of a Communist problem in the teamsters; there is a sizable racketeer problem. The organization Beck took over has crooked officers in many of its biggest locals. He has faced up to 2 tough situations—1 in New York and the other in St. Louis, but he still has several dozen to go before he can congratulate himself on carrying out his public pledge to rid the union of thugs. Those who are closest to him are convinced that he will make the seamier members of the union family respectable or chop them off the union payroll. He is too concerned with establishing the union in the public mind as a responsible organization to let a few punks sink it.

Beck is a great believer in polishing the rough edges off the union leadership. He has asked the Ford Foundation to sponsor a project under which all the union's business agents would go to college for extension courses intended to broaden them as individuals. The stress would be on the humanities, not on technical courses related to trade-union administration or collective bargaining.

"By the time they got through, we hope, our people would be reading the Saturday Review or Harper's," one teamster representative told the Ford Foundation people.

How avidly the teamster business agents will respond to the Beck-enforced infusion of culture is an unanswered question. As of now, the Racing Form remains the favorite reading matter for most of them. Beck himself is a diligent reader. He says he has read the autobiography of every successful man in every field. He goes to the theater frequently, but he is just as regular in his attendance at prizefights and baseball and football games.

He insists that his staff representatives stay at the best hotels, eat at the best restaurants, and meet employers on terms of complete equality. He pays his assistants well—salaries of $15,000 and $20,000 a year—and he provides generous pension and welfare programs to make their jobs more attractive.

"It is hard to get good men," he says, "and I want to be sure we keep those we get. Industry is always prepared to buy them away. They are not interested in the poor ones, only the good ones."

He has surrounded himself with the people he feels can help him most, even though in some cases their personal philosophies differ radically from his own and in others the men might use their newly acquired prestige to build personal machines and challenge his own supremacy. His closest associate is Jimmy Hoffa, a hard-fisted, tough-talking, efficient, and enormously popular vice president, who is as solidly entrenched in the Midwest as Beck is on the west coast. In the days before Beck became president, he and Hoffa were legendary enemies. Now, far from shunting Hoffa into a back alley, Beck has given him an area of responsibility almost as great as his own.

Also conspicuous in Beck's inner circle are "eggheads" of the most diverse background. Former CIO officials, ex-Socialists and members of the old IWW, idealists and reformers of a dozen hues work side by side with former

officials of trade associations and red-necked graduates of a 10-ton truck.

He is putting up a lavish new headquarters building in the shadow of the Capitol in Washington, and he is encouraging all the union's locals to get handsome new buildings of their own. To make it easier, he is offering them loans from the international's $31 million treasury at 4 percent interest.

The local at Las Vegas, Nev., showed little interest in a new home. It enjoyed rent-free quarters and was not anxious to change. When Beck went through Las Vegas, he found out why the local was paying no rent. Its offices were over a slot-machine arcade and the owner was happy to have the members troop through the arcade on their way to pay their monthly dues. Beck insisted on lending the local $30,000 to buy a building. It moved within 2 months.

One of the things that upset Beck most when he took over the No. 1 spot in the union was a discovery that the union had $8,000,000 of its funds scattered around in checking accounts, drawing no interest. He put the money in Government-secured mortgage loans, selling below par, and realized a return of nearly 5 percent. By the time the union holds its next convention in 1957, Beck expects his investment policies to prove so beneficial that he will get authority to put part of the union's money in common stocks, on the same basis as pension trusts. It outrages his business sense to feel that the union's funds are not earning the highest return consistent with risk-free investment.

In politics, as in everything else, Beck is a pragmatist. He believes in getting along with the people in power. He does not spend hours inveighing against the Republican administration in Washington. If the Republicans are in, it is up to Beck to see to it that his union gets all the help it can from Republicans.

He teamed up with top men in the trucking industry on a visit to President Eisenhower several months ago to enlist his aid in the industry's feud with the Interstate Commerce Commission. The A. F. of L. drive on the waterfront, under Beck's direction, is leaning heavily on the White House, Governor Dewey, and the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission.

Beck's political philosophy is simple. A big union cannot live alone. It is bound to get into situations in which Government can help or hurt it. To Beck it is just good business to stay on the right side of people who can help you. That does not mean you take it on the chin if the people in power choose to hurt you. Then you fight back with all the political weapons at your disposal. He abhors the idea of a labor party in this country, but he warns that things like the Taft-Hartley Act can bring one into being, if only on a temporary basis.

His dislike of the Taft law has not kept him from using it to the hilt in his war of extermination against Joseph P. Ryan's International Longshoremen's Association. Beck takes the view that the A. F. of L. is fighting for the whole community in its campaign to clean up the waterfront, and he thinks it makes more sense to use injunctions rather than bullets or baling hooks to do the job.

Beck has been itching for a chance to put Ryan out of the union business since 1934 when the I. L. A. boss fell down on his end of a joint project to keep Bridges from taking over the Pacific coast. Beck moved into the warehouses, but Ryan, never noted for his temperance, disappeared on a 5-day bender. When he came out of the fog, Bridges had the docks under airtight control. In the back of Beck's mind is the thought that one day—still a long way off—the new A. F. of L. longshore union may do the job Ryan failed to do in the thirties.

The Commonwealth Club Membership Version of the Expansion of How To Prevent Soviet Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Commonwealth Club of California is a club which recently celebrated its 50th birthday. The purpose of the club is to study public and social problems, including problems of the National Government. The club is divided into sections, each one having a special sphere of activity, such as foreign affairs, national defense, prevention of crime, and so forth. These groups make exhaustive studies of various problems coming within their jurisdiction.

An exhaustive study was made concerning the best method to prevent further aggression and expansion by the Soviet Union. The club not only studies the problem but it has the courage to take a stand. The motto of the club is, "Get the facts." The decision of this club on a matter is based upon study, knowledge, interest, and so forth. In other words, it is a deliberate decision based upon facts and a thorough consideration of the specific problem. The decision of this club is similar to the decision of a court which listens to arguments on both sides of a legal problem and finally resolves it by a decision.

The club has had an interesting history and has heard all types of problems discussed by people from all parts of the world. Theodore Roosevelt and, I believe, every other President, except possibly Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, have addressed the club, either while he was President or prior to or thereafter. The result of the vote on the best policy to prevent Soviet imperialism was published in the Commonwealth, the magazine of the club on December 21, 1953.

It is a very revealing group of conclusions which I am sure every Member of Congress would be interested in reading. Consequently, I have obtained unanimous consent to print these results so the Members of the House of Representatives and others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may have the benefit of the views of the Commonwealth Club of California. Following is a list of the questions and the answers thereto as revealed by the vote of the membership:

CLUB OPPOSES HIGH LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIANS—COMPLETE RESULTS OF MEMBERSHIP BALLOT ON POLICY TO PREVENT IMPERIALISM

1. Do you believe that the fixed policy of the Soviet regime is to continue to expand the area of its domination over other nations and peoples? Yes, 1,792; no, 60.

2. Does a Soviet policy of continued expansion of its area of domination conflict with the national interests of the United States? Yes, 1,797; no, 52.

3. Do you believe there are enough people in the United States who do not want peace to influence its policies materially? Yes, 851; no, 1,406.

4. Which do you believe is the greater deterrent to the Soviet Union:

(a) Existing United States power? 627 or

(b) Potential United States power? 1,197.

5. Which, if any, of the following will be major obstacles to achievement of Soviet objectives: [1]

(a) The general United States effort to strengthen the non-Soviet world? 1,492.

(b) Efforts to re-arm Western Europe? 1,020.

(c) Proposed reconstruction, unification, and rearmament of Germany? 1,220.

(d) Proposed rearmament of Japan? 974.

(e) Fear Western powers may become effectively unified, militarily, economically, and politically? 1,076.

(f) United States leadership in opposition to aggression by force of arms in Korea? 1,000.

6. (a) Should the United States build its Armed Forces to maximum strength as rapidly as possible regardless of eventual economic results? Yes, 241; no, 1,334.

(b) Should the United States build its Armed Forces to maximum strength only within Government estimates of long-term economic capacity? Yes, 1,553; no, 117.

7. (a) Should the United States discontinue all commerce:

(1) With Soviet Russia? Yes, 895; no, 903.

(2) With its satellites? Yes, 815; no, 979.

(b) Should the United States take positive economic measures to halt export of strategic commodities from Allied nations to Iron Curtain countries? Yes, 1,546; no, 243.

8 (a) Do you believe that, at present, high level negotiations with the Soviet Government would be useful? Yes, 522; no, 1,295.

(b) Should any such negotiations be made contingent upon definite agenda agreed upon beforehand? Yes, 1,234; no, 359.

9. If immediate negotiations should be encouraged:

(a) Should such negotiations be between the heads of state of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia? Yes, 1,298; no, 211.

(b) Which, if any, of the following additional powers should be included: [2] (1) Germany, 625; (2) Pakistan, 285; (3) India, 384; (4) Japan, 516; (5) Nationalist China, 410; (6) Red China, 155; (7) Turkey, 558; (8) Yugoslavia, 239.

(c) Should such negotiations await a settlement in Austria? Yes, 556; no, 926.

(d) Should such negotiations be made dependent upon a Korean peace? Yes, 739; no, 791.

10. Should the United States aid Japan to rebuild her military strength? Yes, 1,394; no, 316.

11. Should the United States aid West Germany to rebuild her military strength? Yes, 1,454; no, 266.

12. Should the United States continue to promote a treaty to establish an independent, united German nation? Yes, 1,707; no, 69.

13. Should such a treaty include restoration to Germany of all eastern predominantly German provinces (East Prussia, Silesia, and those parts of Brandenburg and Pomerania which have been given to Poland)? Yes, 1,113; no, 423.

14. If realization of a European Defense Community is delayed inordinately—

(a) Should the United States enter a definite alliance with West Germany? Yes, 1,360; no, 312.

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[1] All subdivisions of this question received a majority.

[2] No subdivision of this question received a majority.

(b) Should such alliance be implemented by an adequate German army? Yes, 1,305; no, 226.

15. (a) Should the United States set up a new, separate, and independent organization for the purpose of training personnel for and carrying on the cold war? Yes, 1,054, no, 568.

(b) Should the United States employ carefully selected refugees for service in cold war projects? Yes. 1,314; no, 310.

(c) Should the United States train large numbers of people to carry on the cold war effectively? Yes, 1,006; no, 547.

16. Should the United States encourage:

(a) Increased exchange of students with foreign nations? Yes, 1,705; no, 99.

(b) Increased exchange of teachers with foreign nations? Yes, 1,632; no, 157.

(c) Increased visits of businessmen to and from other countries? Yes, 1,730; no, 70.

(d) Increased visits of parties of workers and managers to this country? Yes, 1,635; no, 143.

17. Should the United States continue to support an existing colonial administration when the only alternative is either (a) a Communist regime or (b) a weak regime certain to be dominated by Communists? Yes, 1,070; no, 586.

Biennial Report of the Division Against Discrimination and the Commission on Civil Rights of the State of New Jersey

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following excerpts from the report of the activities, accomplishments, and recommendations of the Division Against Discrimination and the Commission on Civil Rights of the State of New Jersey for the biennial period ending June 30, 1953. The period covered by this report represents the completion of 8 years of operation of the Fair Employment Practices Act in New Jersey. As Dr. John P. Milligan, assistant commissioner of education for the State of New Jersey, has pointed out, "This report will be helpful in shedding light upon administrative procedures in this widely debated area of Government activity." It is unfortunate that the report is too lengthy to be reprinted in its entirety, but because of its particular timeliness I wish to quote the chapter on Public School Integration Developments, together with the introduction and the chapter entitled "Some Observations":

I. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the phenomenon of intergroup prejudice out of which emanates the practices of discrimination, is the existence of widespread misunderstanding, and the great amount of apprehension which accompanies this misunderstanding. To reach the roots of this difficulty requires application of a combination of knowledge, skill, persistence, and patience, a treatment that may not be oversimplified by recourse to a single remedy supposedly found in the ambiguous word "education."

The division against discrimination has completed 8 years of intensive and extensive pioneering effort. It was the first public State agency to be armed with authority "to prevent and eliminate discrimination * * *" in employment as well as in other areas of civil rights, and in this report are recorded the results of the third and fourth years of experience in the latter area of administrative experience.

Of the many lessons being learned from these experiences, one stands out prominently; namely, that the act of discrimination against persons of other racial or cultural groups may be traced to social habit, custom, or practice; to fear of change; and to a selfishly motivated unwillingness to share. These influences and impulses, in turn, may arise out of the suspicions and apprehensions created by the busy, articulate and ofttimes psychoneurotic fringe-group members who have the time and the urge to indulge in hate. Any effective program designed to prevent or eliminate practices of discrimination, therefore, must be geared to meet the problem on these different levels.

Most regulatory laws have been designed, not to harass the majority of citizens who are law abiding even though sometimes misguided, but to provide the weapons with which to protect that majority from the inconsiderate few. There is a constant need, however, of educating, advising, and cautioning the many in law observance, to minimize the influence of the few. The crime-does-not-pay theme of American literature and drama is the note which is repeatedly being sounded by the division in this relatively new legal approach to an old socioeconomic problem.

The topical divisions in this chronicle are designed to give comparable emphases to the purely regulatory and educational approaches to solutions to the problems, with particular attention being given to those activities that may not be confined to such limited or generalized classifications. It is hoped that this report will be seen by its reader as a progress statement, rather than a listing of accomplishments, per se, and as the recording of a conscientious eighth year attack upon a centuries' old problem.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION DEVELOPMENTS

Since the first general move toward racial integration made in the fall of 1948, New Jersey has become the center of interest to the rest of the Nation. Consideration by the United States Supreme Court of five separate issues involving racial discrimination in public schools is one of the significant developments of the decade, and New Jersey provides the one large-scale experience and precedent in the process of desegregation. Lacking facilities or means through which to conduct or promote an intensive study of methods used and results obtained in more than 40 New Jersey communities, the division has been unable to answer adequately the numerous requests for information coming from all sections of the country. Staff members have appeared in Washington, D. C., on several occasions, in Baltimore, Md., and in Wilmington, Del., to speak of New Jersey experiences. A Howard University faculty member, referred to earlier, made an observation tour of the State to check her findings against a study made by her in 1941. The results of these visitations were the subject of the scholarly paper now available in a division reprint.

Despite the enviable record New Jersey has made in achieving amicable solution to an old problem, it cannot be said that all vestiges of racial segregation have been erased. However, we in the division are aware that more work is to be done in a few communities to achieve satisfactory completion of the desegregation process. It is important to note that such difficulties as have appeared have been traceable to official inaction or indecision, rather than to organized or spontaneous community resistance. The division continues to visit each school district for progress reports.

To answer numerous questions concerning the effect of desegregation upon the employability of Negro teachers, during 1952 the division conducted an inquiry in all New Jersey counties to bring up to date the record of their employment in the public schools of the State. In four counties, there is no record of a Negro teacher being employed in either of the control years, 1945 and 1952, embraced in the study. These are Morris, Somerset, Sussex, and Warren Counties in which there are few Negro residents. In Hunterdon and Middlesex Counties, there were no Negro teachers in 1945, but in 1952 each had provided employment for two. These counties have a Negro population representing 2 percent and 4 percent, respectively, of the county total, but in the two Hunterdon County school districts employing Negro teachers, there were no Negro residents or pupils.

The 1952 State totals of 645 Negro teachers showed a net increase over the 1945 figure, of 127 in all counties on the elementary level, and a net gain of 39 teachers on the secondary level. In those counties where racial segregation in the schools has recently been abandoned, employing in 1945 a total number of 367 Negro elementary and no Negro secondary teachers, there was a net loss of 4 elementary and a net gain of 17 secondary teachers, as reflected in 1952 figures. At the close of the biennium permission had been granted for two independent but coordinated studies of desegregation experiences by competent social-research scholars, one being a doctoral candidate and the other a representative of a national foundation.

IX. SOME OBSERVATIONS

The foregoing paragraphs have been able to present but a thumbnail sketch of the variety of problems and the tasks which have engaged the attention of the Division staff. It would be impossible to single out for specific mention those persons and organizations whose helpfulness during the past 2 years has made these accomplishments possible. Our friends of the press, the pulpit, and the civic organizations of all kinds have given great service in helping to create the kind of atmosphere in New Jersey in which the spirit of real freedom has been able to thrive. Particularly is the staff grateful to the members of the Commission on Civil Rights who have given so generously of their time and wisdom.

From regular exchange of opinion and experience with leadership on these various levels, and from complaint situations brought to the Division's attention, several problems which currently are being met inadequately or not at all, deserve serious thought. Foremost among these is the problem of housing discrimination which is growing in intensity on all fronts. Although the first healthy moves have been made successfully to abandon racial segregation in public-housing developments, very little change has been seen in veterans' housing on State and local levels or in other quasi-public housing. In private housing the traditions of racial exclusion are being strengthened and deepened by the hard and fast policies that are being perpetuated, particularly in the vast new neighborhoods which are springing up around decentralized industries in erstwhile rural areas. In these numerous situations housing practices are exerting an influence upon the shaping of new population centers and the redistribution of people in the old industrial cities. Employment discrimination, with another twist and from different reasons, is following these trends, as will shifts in public-school population and urban-redevelopment plans. All of this

ultimately will have profound effect upon the socio-economic outlook of the industrial cities of the State. Intensive study of this grave problem by scientists from the State University (Rutgers) or other recognized institutions would make a valuable contribution toward needed analysis of all aspects of this problem.

Subsidized Textile Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent editorial from the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., of November 23, 1953:

SUBSIDIZED TEXTILE COMPETITION

Anyone who stands up to declare for Lawrence on the subject of textile imports can be expected to show a definite bias against the hardship caused by a tariff policy which may be idealistically farsighted but is also, at the same time, injuriously shortsighted.

Maybe a spokesman for Lawrence in this situation should disqualify himself on the ground of this bias, because there is no gainsaying the fact that it exists.

When one examines the long list of names of displaced Lawrence textile workers in the light of the fact that imports of wool apparel fabrics in 1953 may well break the alltime record of 24 million square yards established last year, one feels a surge of resentment that this should be happening at a time when the textile industry is least able to meet such devastating competition.

What it adds up to, translated into our local idiom, is this: Lawrence has lost a lot of blood through economic mischance, yet it is being forced to make regular contributions of blood to the economic recovery of other nations, under the spurious shibboleth of trade, not aid.

No direct subsidy is available for textiles, as there is for farmers, nor is there anything approximating the indirect subsidy of continuing defense orders that the heavy industries enjoy and wax prosperous upon. Textiles must, for the most part, not only fend for themselves, but must pay a heavy assessment to the proposition that it of all industries is under particular obligation to be noble and long suffering in the face of a ruinous, painful handicap.

Maybe it's basically selfish, but it has become more or less of a truism of our daily living that you don't feed the neighbors until you've fed your own folk.

It is bad enough to see textiles going South in the hope (now substantially abridged by equalization of economic pressures as between North and South) of finding a climate more congenial to their operations; but when it is considered that textile imports in 1952 would employ 5,000 American textile workers for a full year, Lawrence, for one, finds its mouth juicing up just at the thought of having such a windfall deposited on its doorstep.

But Lawrence's mouth will juice up in vain so long as the National Association of Wool Manufacturers can be quoted as follows:

"Foreign goods often can be sold in this country, duty paid, at less than the cost of producing them in the United States. This is not because American mills are inefficient, but rather because there is a vast difference in wages. Average hourly wage of wool-mill production workers here ranges from $1.60, higher, of course, in certain areas.

"In Great Britain, our principal competitor, the average is 40 to 45 cents an hour, and less than that in other countries exporting wool textiles to this country.

"According to estimates, American workers are 1.3 to 1.5 more productive than those in British mills, but this cannot offset a wage difference of 4 to 1 or more enjoyed by foreign mills."

The solution, of course, is to bring tariff policy into closer register with the realities of the textile problem, thus giving American textile workers a fighting chance to compete successfully with low-wage competition from abroad. A tariff policy which actually subsidizes that competition is so inequitable that it is hard to justify, particularly since any suggestion that the domestic textiles be made the beneficiary of Federal subsidy would meet with exclamations of pious horror.

Acreage Restriction on Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to adjust acreage restrictions according to the various types and grades of wheat in the areas in which they are produced according to the supply of such types and grades in relation to demand for them.

The present law providing for acreage restrictions on wheat contains a serious defect in that it does not take into account the fact that the supply and demand situation varies with different classes of wheat.

At present the surplus of wheat in the United States is so great that acreage restrictions have been applied. However, investigation reveals that the largest oversupply is in the soft wheats, while there is a high level of demand and indications of some shortage of high protein spring and hard winter wheat and durum.

Montana farmers received premiums as high as 50 cents per bushel on high protein wheat this year. I am told that the 1953 crop of durum is only about one-half our normal requirement. It appears that the production of high protein and durum in 1953 did not contribute to the surplus supply of wheat.

Nevertheless, the present law requires that the acreage allotments be assigned to all producers of wheat, regardless of the class of wheat produced, and therefore the acreage of these needed and desirable classes of wheat must be restricted just the same as the acreage of those classes of which there is a surplus. I feel it is desirable to give the Secretary of Agriculture the authority he needs to administer the law with greater flexibility so that he may take into account these special situations.

Properly administered, this amendment will assure American consumers a continued adequate supply of high protein wheat, while at the same time protecting the economy against an oversupply of other grades.

The amendment would have no effect on price support operations for any class of wheat.

Proposed Span Over Potomac River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, it now rests with the Congress to make the decision necessary to the solution of the serious bridge problem affecting the greater Washington area. I believe that it will be decided in the best interests of the citizens of Washington and neighboring Virginia.

I sincerely regret that some well-intentioned citizens have objected to the E Street bridge location because the proposed span would go over Theodore Roosevelt Island. This island was dedicated to the memory of that great American and former President.

I sincerely share their admiration and respect for the lovable "Teddy" Roosevelt. As a boy in knee pants he was one of my heroes. His exploits in the Spanish-American War were dear to my heart. And as I grew older I learned of his efficient and successful administration of our Nation's affairs as its Chief Executive.

I would most certainly do nothing to mar the cherished memory of that great statesman-soldier. On the contrary my proposal would serve to enhance that memory. The bridge I propose would carry the name "the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge." It would be a constant reminder to the millions of people who would pass over it that Theodore Roosevelt will ever live in the American hall of fame.

No one will contend that the Lincoln Memorial Bridge in Washington offends the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Nor will they say that the George Washington Bridge in New York reflects adversely on the memory of the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." If any luster could be added to the names of Lincoln and Washington, these splendid bridge structures have added it. And so it would be with the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge which I proposed in the bill I have introduced in the House today.

Theodore Roosevelt Island will not be destroyed, nor will the bird sanctuary there be disturbed. I am sure that were the great "Teddy" alive he would be the last to stand in the way of progress and the great needs of the citizens of our communities. When the best interests of our Nation and its people were concerned he moved fast. When he conceived the Panama Canal it is said he acted first and obtained the approval of

Congress later. That was the nature of the man. He was a doer and he did not believe in haggling about it.

Chicago Tops Pittsburgh as Steel Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on April 15, 1953, when the Honorable Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, was a witness at a public hearing of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I took occasion to remark that metropolitan Chicago then was a very close second to Pittsburgh in steel production and that the Chicago Association of Commerce predicted that by 1954, Chicago would be ahead of Pittsburgh—page 299, rent control hearings.

I am sure the House will be interested in learning that the prediction of the Chicago Association of Commerce has been fulfilled. The following editorial comment is from the Chicago Tribune of December 18, 1953:

CHICAGO: STEEL CAPITAL

The Chicago Association of Commerce reports that Chicago area steel mills poured a greater tonnage of ingots during the first 11 months of this year than they ever did in any full calendar year. Production to November 30, was 19,068,700 tons. At the present rate of production these mills will pour some 20.8 million tons before New Year's Day, as against a previous annual record of 18,550,400 tons set in 1951.

This year Chicagoland steel mills, concentrated in the Calumet area near the Illinois-Indiana State line, are producing more steel than the mills of either Great Britain or Western Germany are capable of making at full capacity. The capacity of British steel mills, at the start of this year, was 20,062,000; that of Western Germany, 19,290,000 tons.

Right now Chicago is producing more steel than Pittsburgh, the traditional steel capital of the world. Construction during 1952 put the capacity of the Chicago area within reach of that of Pittsburgh, 22.8 million as against 23.5 million tons. But Pittsburgh has some of the older and less efficient mills in the industry. They are the first to shut down when orders slacken as they have in recent months. Chicago's more modern mills were running at 94 percent of capacity last week, as against a national average of 86 percent. Pittsburgh was using only 85 percent of its capacity.

A feature of the expansion of steel capacity in the Chicago area is that it has gone largely unnoticed outside technical journals because it has involved the construction of no new plants. Since 1945 the United States Steel Co. has added nearly a million and a half tons of ingot capacity to its South Chicago and Gary works. This is not far short of the 1.8 million tons that the new Fairless works on the Delaware River can turn out, but it would take a keen observer, just riding past the Chicago plants, to note any expansion. Inland Steel likewise has added 1.1 million tons without going outside its old plant fence.

Complete figures on 1953 steel plant construction, expected to reach 4,000,000 tons capacity in the Nation, are not yet available. Last year the Chicago district added 2.5 million tons, the largest increase in the country. Chicago led not only in additional tonnage of open hearth and electric furnace capacity, the modern steelmaking processes, but also in the proportion of the picturesque but inefficient Bessemer converters that were junked.

That accent on modernization is one reason why Chicago steelworkers are getting more work this month than their fellows in the Pittsburgh district. The other reason, which also explains the heavy increase in mill capacity in this area, is that Chicagoland is, or was until recently, a deficit steel area. Its industries needed more steel than was produced locally. Pittsburgh has for years been a surplus area, producing more steel than could be used locally.

How United States Pure Food and Drug Act Protects You

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, October 17, 1953:

Greetings: Pure food and drug G-men—that's what they are called.

They belong to the FDA, the Federal agency that enforces the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

Their job is to insure that our foods, drugs, and cosmetics are pure and wholesome, made under sanitary conditions, safe to use, and truthfully labeled.

The people of the United States spend nearly $50 billion a year, or a quarter of the national income on these products.

Yet the FDA—with a budget of $5 million and 1,000 employees, including 200 field inspectors and 150 chemists—is charged with the responsibility of regulating scores of thousands of manufacturers, packers, shippers, distributors, relabelers, and warehouses handling fruits, vegetables, cereal products, fishery products, other types of food and beverages, and drugs of all kinds.

This form of health insurance costs each person in the United States only about 3½ cents annually.

Federal jurisdiction and responsibility is not limited just to interstate shipments of adulterated or misbranded products, but it is concerned also with local activities that may result in the adulteration or misbranding of products received in interstate commerce.

This is a big job for a small staff.

First, there are the inspectors out in the field who must try to cover 77,000 manufacturing plants and wholesalers, for instance, looking for samples that may violate the law. Secondly, there are district laboratories which analyze samples. In Washington there are research laboratories which are constantly working on more difficult problems, new methods of analysis, etc. Together, they find the evidence that is presented to the Federal courts for action.

At the outset, I want to make the point that the great majority of manufacturers fully comply with the law and cheerfully cooperate with the FDA to maintain the highest of standards. It is the fringe few who must be found and prosecuted to protect the public from harmful effects.

Once upon a time when most of the food processing took place right in the home or in the village shop, grandmother could make sure with her own eyes as to the wholesomeness of the product. About the year 1900 food processing was moving away to large factories. Abuses set in. Newspapers and magazines started to check on the alarming rumors. They came up with shocking exposures of filthy, fraudulent, or dangerous products—foods tainted with chemical preservatives, candy colored with poisonous dye, narcotic soothing sirups for babies, and the patent medicines that promised to cure all ailments and make doctors unnecessary.

Housewives demanded a cleanup.

It come through the pure food and drug law passed by Congress in 1906.

In 1927 the Food and Drug Administration was established as a separate unit in the Department of Agriculture. The original act was revised and modernized in 1938. In 1940 the administration of the law was transferred to the Federal Security Agency.

The FDA cooperates with State and local agencies to avoid duplication. With its limited personnel it could not possibly cover all of the 77,000 processors and wholesalers once a year. As it is, it does a remarkable job. Backed by a small legal staff, it averages close to 3,000 legal cases a year. Most of these are seizure actions, to make sure that a spoiled or harmful product is removed from the market. Several hundred criminal actions are brought each year against people who are responsible for filthy or falsely labeled products. As evidence of careful preparation, less than 2 percent of the cases are actually contested in court. FDA's batting average is even better than Ted Williams'. Of the cases that do go to trial, FDA wins better than 9 out of 10.

One racket which a cheating dealer did not get away with was to increase the weight of his turkeys by pumping them up with water before freezing. The turkeys were injected with an average of a quart of water each. FDA inspectors found puncture holes, one in each side of the breast and one in each thigh.

Another fraudulent trick is to pass off horsemeat as beef.

Or to adulterate oysters with an excess of water.

More and more the inspectors find that the trail leads to the underworld. The criminal element is moving in on the illicit distribution of sleeping pills, ever looking for the fast buck that is made at the cost of the health and the lives of its victims.

Your neighborhood druggist is competent, honest, and law-abiding.

He, too, must be protected from the few who sell worthless products or who make unauthorized refills of prescriptions of dangerous drugs.

In the food field the year 1952 was highlighted by typical seizure actions like the following:

Fifty carloads of pink wheat, colored by a poisonous mercurial compound used for seed treatment.

Cheese impregnated with a poisonous chemical absorbed from wrappers which had been treated to prevent spoilage.

Two hundred thousand pounds of filthy, decomposed, or diseased poultry.

Two million pounds of sugar held in a wharf shed without protection from rats.

Other cases resulted in breaking up a long-standing practice of adulterating lemon oil with cheaper oils.

And the conviction of three ringleaders in the Midwest horsemeat racket.

FDA also instituted seven injunctions to stop shipment of food produced or stored under insanitary conditions. As a result, plants were cleaned up and contaminated products were destroyed.

Included in the drug work for the year were:

Twenty recalls of drug products that were in the market with wrong labels, with strength below or dangerously in excess of that declared on the label or contaminated with impurities.

A continued campaign against illegal sales of prescription drugs. Five convicted druggists served jail sentences, and others were fined or placed on probation.

Seizures of defective therapeutic devices, inaccurate clinical thermometers, unsterile surgical dressings, and hypodermic syringes with cracks in their metal tips.

Progress in the campaign against fake cures for cancer and other serious diseases.

All cosmetic actions of the year involved products that might injure the user. Four brands of shampoos were seized and all stocks recalled from the market because they contained an irritant which would damage the eye if accidentally splashed in. An eyewash was recalled because it was contaminated with bacteria that would infect the eye.

The FDA is hot on the trail not only of quack medicines but of witch doctors who set themselves up in business without any medical training whatsoever. It is amazing and frightening to learn of the number of people who will fall for these frauds instead of seeking the help of their family physician.

Not so long ago, the FDA convicted a woman who claimed that she could treat any disease by radio. All she needed, she claimed, was one drop of the patient's blood if delivered on an office visit or two drops if sent by parcel post. Putting the sample in her hocus-pocus machine, she pretended to diagnose the ailment and even to treat the patient by remote control. People in their right minds were asked to believe that if a patient had an automobile accident in Moscow and was bleeding, this woman could broadcast from the United States and reach through the Iron Curtain to stop the hemorrhage.

The Iron Curtain of jail bars soon put an end to this nonsense and saved many potential victims from parting with their money and their lives.

One word of caution: If you have any doubts as to whether a so-called doctor or clinic is licensed or is competent to treat cancer or any other serious ailment, get in touch with your State department of health or State medical society.

In all situations the question arises: "What can the ordinary person do that will be of help to the FDA in the enforcement of the law?"

The Food and Drug Act depends to a large extent on the information you will find on the labels of such products you buy. If you, the housewife or the consumer, will make it a practice to read what it says on the label, you will be getting the protection that Congress wants you to have. Not that all labels are exactly truthful, shall we say? But by and large they will provide you with helpful information that will safeguard your health and your pocketbook.

If you want to be sure send for the booklet called Read the Label, which you can get from the United States Government Printing Office at Washington for 15 cents a copy. It will tell you what to look for on labels of food, drugs, and cosmetics. In this way you will not only help yourself but assist the Pure Food and Drug Administration of your Government in its part of the job of insuring the Nation's health.

At the same time you will be supporting all those honest American enterprises that are constantly working to improve the quality and standards of their products to serve America best.

It is the bad apple in the barrel that the FDA is hunting for in order to save the good ones.

The Food and Drug Administration was perhaps the first of our modern scientific crime-detection agencies. Before we could have laws to insure the purity of foods, or the potency of drugs, we had to have methods of scientific analysis by which it could be determined if products were up to standard.

But the small staff of laboratory experts and field investigators must be reinforced by the cooperation of all citizens. The FDA needs your assistance as private eyes to detect violations.

Remember that all foods, drugs, and cosmetics must be pure and wholesome, made under sanitary conditions, must be safe to use, and must be truthfully labeled.

The Social Security Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to continue the rate of social-security tax at 3 percent. Under existing law social-security tax was fixed at 1½ percent to be paid each by the employer and the employee until January 1, 1954. On that date under the law the amount of tax to be paid by the employer and the employee increased to 2 percent, making a total of 4 percent. This raises the tax one-third on both the employer and the employee, and it is estimated that this increase would bring into the fund an increase of approximately $1½ billion per annum.

In many instances this increase in social-security tax would more than offset the tax reduction resulting from the 10 percent cut in individual income taxes which went into effect January 1.

In view of the fact that the whole matter of social-security legislation has been under study by the Ways and Means Committee, and in view of the further fact that important changes may be made in the social security laws during the present session of Congress, I think we could well afford to wait and see whether any far-reaching changes will be made by Congress in social-security laws before we arrive at a figure to which the tax will be increased. It is possible that no increase at all will be necessary at the present time. On the other hand, it is possible that changes might be made in the laws which would call for a different schedule of payments by the taxpayer.

Certainly, while the entire subject is under consideration, the matter of tax increases should be held in abeyance until it is determined whether the present provisions of the law will be continued in force or whether they should be changed.

In order to allow ample time for a thorough and complete study of the entire question, my bill continues the present rate of tax in effect on self-employment income until January 1, 1960, and extends the present rate of tax on employers and employees under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act until 1959. In each instance the bill provides that its provisions shall be retroactive to January 1, 1954, the date the increase went into effect.

I shall ask the Ways and Means Committee to set the bill down for a hearing at the earliest possible date so that action may be had upon it.

How the Constitution May Be and May Not Be Amended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the following timely article by Dr. John A. Lapp, distinguished Chicago scholar and constitutional authority:

HOW THE CONSTITUTION MAY BE AND MAY NOT BE AMENDED

(By John A. Lapp)

The Constitution of the United States provides for its own amendment in article V as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution or, on the application of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

The Constitution of the United States thus provides for two methods of initiating amendments.

1. Congress by a two-thirds vote of both Houses may propose amendments to the Constitution which are valid when approved by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States or by conventions of three-fourths of the States.

2. The legislatures of the States may apply to Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution and when two-thirds of the legislatures of the States have so applied, Congress shall call a convention. Amendments proposed by the convention become valid when approved by three-fourths of the legislatures of the States or by conventions in three-fourths of the States.

All of the amendments so far made to the Constitution were made by the first method, namely, by being voted by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress and approved by three-fourths of the State legislatures. No convention has ever been called by Congress for the purpose of proposing amendments.

The General Assembly of Illinois passed, June 26, 1943, a joint resolution as follows:

"Be it resolved that application be, and it hereby is, made to the Congress of the United States of America to call a convention for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Then follows a proposed amendment repealing the 16th article (income tax) of amendment. To provide for a ceiling of

25 percent on income and inheritance taxes, with certain exceptions, for wartime when by a vote of three-fourths of both Houses of Congress the rate may be exceeded for a period of not more than 1 year.

The resolution specified when the separate parts of the proposed amendment shall take effect and included saving clauses providing that accrued income taxes could be collected and inheritances handled under the laws in effect before the amendment becomes effective.

It is reported that 30 States have adopted this resolution presumably in the same form.

The resolution in Illinois was rescinded by the general assembly in March 1945 but, according to previous decisions of the United States Supreme Court, a rescinding act is not valid.

The mere reading of the resolution indicates that this is not a valid way to amend the United States Constitution. It does not conform to the requirements of article V of the Constitution.

The States may petition for a convention and may recommend to the convention anything they please as an amendment which the convention may or may not consider, but the States cannot bind Congress to call a convention for the purpose of submitting any particular amendment. When a convention is assembled it is a free lance and cannot be limited to any particular proposal recommended by a State. Nor can it be required to consider any particular proposal of a State.

The resolution passed by the General Assembly of Illinois does not petition Congress to call a convention "for proposing amendments." It petitions instead, for the calling of a convention "for the purpose of proposing the following article as an amendment." (Then follows the specific amendment.)

The language of the amending article of the United States Constitution is so clear that no one can pretend to misunderstand it. But even if it were not perfectly clear, the history of the adoption of the amending article in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 removes all doubt as to the invalidity of the attempt to call a convention for the purpose of proposing ar particular amendment. That history is brief and directly to the point.

The Virginia plan proposed in the Convention May 29, 1787, contained the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That provision ought to be made for the amendment of the Articles of Union whenever it shall seem necessary and the assent of the National Legislature ought not to be required thereto." The last paragraph was debated on June 11 and on June 23, the following was adopted: "That provision ought to be made for future amendments of the Articles of Union."

The committee on detail submitted on August 6 the following provision:

"On the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States in the Union for an amendment of this Constitution the Legislature of the United States shall call a convention for that purpose."

The committee on style September 12 worded the provision as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem necessary or on application of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several States, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part thereof. When the same shall have ben ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by conventions of three-fourths thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress."

As the provision thus stood the States, as well as Congress, could propose specific amendments to be submitted to the States for ratification. In the last days of the Convention the provision was brought up for debate. Madison's Journal records (September 15) that George Mason objected to the plan because in either method of amendment too much power was in Congress and "no amendments of the proper kind would ever be obtained by the people if the Government should become oppressive, as he verily believed would be the case."

Gouverneur Morris and Elbridge Gerry moved to require a convention on application of two-thirds of the States. James Madison said that he could not see why Congress would not be as much bound to propose amendments applied for by two-thirds of the States as to call a convention on the like application.

The amendment of Morris and Gerry was adopted unanimously and the provision as it has stood ever since was drafted into the Constitution.

Thus it is plain that the framers of the Constitution expressly rejected the idea that two-thirds of the States could initiate specific amendments which must be submitted to a convention or to the States for approval, and expressly limited the power of the States to the calling of a convention when two-thirds of the States petition therefor.

The conclusion is beyond doubt that the only part that the States can play in initiating amendments is to petition Congress for the calling of a convention to propose amendments. Neither the States nor the Congress can limit the powers of the convention when it is called nor direct the convention as to what amendments it shall consider. The States and the Congress may recommend proposals to the convention for its consideration, but have none but recommendatory powers over actions by the convention. Obviously the States and Congress cannot bypass the convention and submit amendments to the States nor compel the convention when called to consider any particular amendment or to limit itself to any particular amendments.

These conclusions are clearly borne out by the language of article V of the Constitution and by the history of that article in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

The resolution of the General Assembly of Illinois passed in 1943 and similar resolutions of other States are null and void because they are not in conformity with the amending process found in article V of the Constitution.

Illegal Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following article from the Boston Post of September 18, 1953:

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Illegal immigration across the Mexican border has been going on on a large scale for a number of years and the authorities who knew of it said they did not have enough of an appropriation to police the long border carefully.

But now there is a new phase of it. Recent reports say that as many as 100,000 of these so-called wetback Mexican immigrants have been gaining access to the United States in a single month. But, when the authorities try to take steps to prevent this inrush the farmers in the Southwest protest. They want the Mexicans to come in because they work for far less than the American farmhands.

When the official figures show that almost 700,000 of these illegal immigrants were rounded up by the authorities so far this year, it may well be that several hundred thousand others escaped detection. Many of these immigrants are fugitives from justice in Mexico and would not be allowed in even if they were legally entitled to come. Others are diseased, and all in all it is time to take more vigorous measures to put an end to it and let the American farmers pay the going wage for American labor.

Labor Day Address by Hon. Harry S. Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include with pleasure in my remarks the following timely and effective address made by former President Harry S. Truman in Detroit, Mich., on Labor Day, September 7, 1953:

My friends, this is the first time in more than 30 years that I have not been in public office. I'm out of a job. And I'm having a wonderful time at it. But I'm still busy. I am only working 8 hours a day now instead of 16. I have a lot of mail to answer. You'd be surprised if you knew how many people keep writing to me. On top of that I'm writing a book. I think it will be interesting, but it will be some time before it is published.

Now I'm more than glad to be here today, because I have a lot of friends in Michigan. I'm particularly proud to have as a friend your great young Governor, Mennen Williams. And I sincerely hope that the people of Michigan are going to keep him in public life for a long, long time.

I am proud to have been the friend of another great man from Michigan. A man who had a different political faith from mine, but who did a great deal to inspire this country's leadership of the free nations of the world—that is Senator Arthur Vandenberg.

And it was my privilege later to know well his successor, another very able Senator from Michigan, Blair Moody.

I heard that Senator Moody is leading an effort to set up a liberal daily newspaper here in Detroit. I sure hope he succeeds because it's about time this great city had a Democratic newspaper. When you think of it, it's an amazing thing that a great city like this—with its thousands of Democrats and union men—have to read newspapers that are for the most part pro-Republican and anti-union.

Those two words go together and I mean it. But that's the way it is over most of the country. That's the way it is in my home town. These Republican-publisher-controlled papers have no compunction about suppressing or distorting the news. They even won't let you read it if they can get away with it—that's what they do at home.

But you can help change all that here if you will get behind a liberal newspaper and support. You can make it a success.

PRAISES GREEN AND MURRAY

Now, my friends, this is Labor Day 1953, and on this day we naturally think of 2 lead-

ers of organized labor—2 great men—who devoted their lives to the cause of the workingman, and who passed away this last year.

It isn't just the workingman and woman who owe a great debt to William Green and Philip Murray, it's the entire country. For these men helped to shape organized labor as a great constructive force for the good of the country. They brought labor to a position of responsibility and opportunity it had never had before. Don't think that was an easy job. It was a hard, lifelong struggle.

Some of you younger men and women in the labor movement can't remember back to the days when a man put his livelihood in jeopardy, together with the welfare of his wife and children, if he signed a union card. You can't remember the days of the labor spy, and the private police force, and the labor injunction. But Bill Green and Phil Murray fought through those days, and they fought to win, and did win.

When the Wagner Act went on the books as a Federal law, a new era began in the industrial life of this great country of ours that was the Magna Carta of labor's rights, but it has brought benefits to all American citizens, including those outside the ranks of organized labor. It has meant higher wages and greater purchasing power, higher productivity, and a rising level of prosperity for all of us.

I was in the Senate when the Congress passed that Wagner Act, and I am proud to say I voted for it. I was in the White House when the first attempt was made to cripple that law, and I vetoed that effort. But that famous do-nothing 80th Congress did do this—it passed it over my veto, and put the Taft-Hartley law on the books.

Now the Taft-Hartley law is a bad law, and during the last presidential campaign there was a promise made, by the Republican candidate, that he was going to correct its injustices. But I haven't read about anything being done along that line—and I want to tell you I've been reading the record pretty regular.

NOTES LEADERS' RESPONSIBILITY

Bill Green and Phil Murray saw the labor movement through some stirring times, and now their jobs have been passed on to two other fine and able men. They are both good friends of mine, and they are wise and resourceful leaders. I don't think you could have two better men than George Meany and Walter Reuther to head the labor movement.

Your new leaders have the responsibility of holding the gains that labor has made, holding them against a spirit of reaction that is using the election results of the last fall to get back in the saddle again. But they have a broader responsibility than this. It is the responsibility of acting, not just as the representatives of a particular group, but rather as leaders in promoting the welfare and progress of the whole country.

This means that labor must act to keep the unions free from corruption and communism, the way George Meany and Walter Reuther are doing. It means that the branches of labor ought to work together, work in greater unity for a common goal, and I am glad to see that your leaders are doing just that. And that's good for the country, my friends.

This is a very wise course, because in this present political situation, if you don't hang together, there will be some people only too eager to hang you separately.

One of the advantages of being in so-called political retirement is that it gives a man more time to think. I have been thinking a lot, in recent months, of the path this country has followed in the past 20 years, and of where it is heading. I would like to share some of those thoughts with you here.

RECALLS DEPRESSION DAYS

My mind goes back to the great depression that began almost 25 years ago, and to the great efforts that were being made in Washington to overcome it when I first went to the Senate in 1935. I ask myself: Why did we have that depression, and what was the essence of the New Deal?

The main answer to the first question is, I think, that in 1929 we had a very unhealthy distribution of the national income. The people at the top had more than they could use, and the rest of the people did not have enough purchasing power to buy the output of our factories and farms. The big boom of the twenties increased the income of the top 5 percent of the people, but it actually decreased the income of the remaining 95 percent.

Stock issues were boomed to fantastic heights by speculation. But even when the speculators were rolling in profits, agriculture was in a depression. Workers, teachers, professional people were at the mercy of a speculative bubble, blown by the few in the interest of the few.

The Government, controlled by the very groups who were doing the speculating, was entirely helpless. All that Mr. Mellon could suggest as the disaster approached was that it looked like a good time to buy bonds. But no one had any money to buy bonds, and Mellon didn't know how to give the poor people any money, either.

Naturally the national economy couldn't go ahead in this lopsided fashion and it collapsed.

TELLS OF MEETING PROBLEM

Now the New Deal, in a word, was nothing less than an attack on this control of the Government and the economy by the few for the few, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party took the Government out of the hands of the one small group of the population at the top and restored it to the people as a whole, where it belonged.

We attacked the problem in many ways. We stopped wild speculation. We taxed in accordance with ability to pay. We enacted minimum-wage laws and social-security laws. We helped agriculture and small business. We moved to develop the great natural resources of the country in the interest not of a few exploiters but of all the people. And, not least, we saw to it that the American labor movement got an even break with its employers in bargaining for decent wages and better working conditions, in order to raise the general standard of living in America.

We showed that the people could use the great powers of government to help themselves in a multitude of ways—to bring electricity to the farmer's home; to clear slums and build houses; to provide security for the aged, the handicapped, and the unemployed; and, above all, to provide jobs for men and women who wanted to work.

We did all this in spite of the most bitter opposition. And, according to the leading Republicans, this was socialism. It used to be called galloping socialism, but now I understand it is more fashionable to call New Deal measures, like the Tennessee Valley Authority, creeping socialism. My friends, they're both pure nonsense, because they came out of the heart and soul of the American people, and they are contributing to the welfare of all the people.

Now, what was the result of these measures? In 20 years, the living standards of our people were raised beyond any heights that the world had ever dreamed of. We proved that full employment is possible, at high incomes—not just between depressions—but all the time. We proved that depressions and recessions are not necessary.

QUOTES LIFE MAGAZINE

I won't ask you to take my word for it.

I will refer you to Life magazine. You remember that Life magazine was not exactly a supporter of the Fair Deal, but last winter Life printed an article saying that in the last dozen years a miracle had been performed.

Now I'm quoting from Life:

"The once sick American economy has become the wonder of the modern world."

"The year 1929," it went on, "is still remembered by graying citizens as a time when things were really high, wide, and handsome. Well, the total per capita income of the people of the United States was 40 percent larger in 1950 than in 1929, even making full allowance for the rise in the price level. What a lift like that means to millions of Americans in increased well-being is difficult to express without exclamation points."

And what is the reason? A major factor, this article says, "is that we are constantly redistributing the national income into the pockets of the less prosperous."

Well, my friends, I never thought I'd see the day when Life magazine would praise us for that, but there it is, in black and white. And you can see the same kind of article in everything from the Sunday supplements to the Wall Street Journal.

And all this was possible because the Democratic Party did not believe in a sharply divided class society in America. We believed in a government that belongs to all the people, and an economic system that benefits all the people. That is what saved us, and saved our system of free enterprise and capitalism, at a time when other countries have fallen into socialism or communism or fascism.

The question now is, What lies ahead for us?

The majority of the people last fall voted for a change in the political party which controls the Government. That was their perfect right but, oh, how sorry they are. But I don't think they voted for a change in the social and economic principles that have made us so strong and prosperous. But that is the kind of change we're getting.

SEES CHANGES IN PHILOSOPHY

There are plenty of signs of a return of that old philosophy that the object of government is to help big business—on the theory that, if big business is well enough off, its wealth and income will trickle down to the rest of the population to keep the system going.

There was that fellow-Detroiter of yours, who gave his views on how to run the Government when he said, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country."

I could go along with that if he included the people who work for General Motors and all the rest of the working people of the country, the farmers, the white-collar workers and small-business men—not to mention Ford and Chrysler.

More recently, another member of the Cabinet said, "We're in the saddle as an administration representing business and industry." No mention of the farmers or consumers or labor—just business and industry.

This administration has raised interest rates, all across the board. That may be to the benefit of the money lenders, but it surely does hurt the rest of the people. It hurts the veteran who wants to buy a house or start a business or buy a farm. It hurts the small-business man who needs credit to expand. It hurts the taxpayer who has to pay more interest on the public debt. It is a perfect example of that discredited old trickle-down theory, and that's only part, my friend.

SEES HOUSING PROGRAM DOOMED

There are other signs that the Government is no longer so concerned for the welfare of all of us. Our great public housing program, which was helping to clear America's slums, has been condemned to death. Funds for enforcement of the minimum-wage law, which protects the lowest paid of our workers, have been drastically cut. And the farmer, who lives with greater economic hazards than perhaps any of us, is being

told that he ought to "go it alone" again—as he did in the long farm depression that began right after World War I.

You should hear the farmer and the cattleman weep and wail and ask forgiveness for voting as he did last fall; at least, that's true in my part of the country.

Then look at what's happening to the policy of developing low-cost electric power. The betrayal of the Hells Canyon project in the Columbia River Basin tells the story. This is the greatest natural dam site left in America. For years we have been battling to keep it out of the hands of the Power Trust. It should be developed with maximum benefit to the public. Now the Secretary of the Interior has come along and said he thinks Hells Canyon ought to be turned over to the Idaho Power Co.

If they give Hells Canyon away, others will follow. The power lobby is doing its best to take over Niagara Falls. And the bell will be tolling for the Tennessee Valley Authority and the rural electrification and all the rest. All this will mean less power and higher rates, fewer jobs and lower wages.

Look what they have done with your immense offshore-oil interests. They have given away billions of your dollars in oil to pay a political debt to the Shivercrats and the Dixiecrats. A right expensive political debt so far as the citizens of 45 of the 48 States are concerned. This, in my opinion, is the biggest steal in the history of this Government of ours. It makes Teapot Dome look like petty larceny.

CALLS FOR A FIGHT

Now, my friends, you don't have to take these things lying down. You can't hope to change the philosophy of those people who are now in Washington; but if you watch them closely and raise your voices loud and clear, you may be able to salvage some of these things. After all, they are just politicians, and they are influenced by public opinion. So I urge you to put up a good fight, day in and day out, for the things you believe in.

You may yet be able to get some of the public housing programs restored if you fight for it.

You may yet be able to save Hells Canyon Dam from the private power monopoly if you put your backs into it.

And you may even force a little progress here and there if you push hard enough. The courts may even save your offshore oil.

You may be able to get a few improvements in the Taft-Hartley law; and you may also be able to get the social-security law strengthened a little, although I doubt both of these things very much.

Then there is another thing on which you ought to make your position absolutely clear. That is the dangerous philosophy that balancing the Federal budget is the most sacred objective of the Government—more important even than giving us the best Air Force in the world, or protecting great cities like Detroit from devastation by Soviet atomic bombs.

Now, I am a great believer in a balanced budget, and I kept the Government budget balanced, too, until an emergency came along, and that was a lot more important than all the balanced budgets in the world.

SAYS SECURITY MUST BE FIRST

We have to put first things first. And the security and safety of this Nation comes ahead of everything else, so far as I am concerned. I don't see how anyone can take chances with our national defense, at such a time in the world's history. I should think a first-class Air Force and air-raid-defense system, that would protect all our great cities and industrial centers, would be worth quite a lot to us just now—even if it unbalanced the budget for a while and deferred a tax cut for some years to come.

It might even be better for the top-bracket-income groups than the money they will make on a tax cut, because those extra dollars aren't going to do them much good if the whole country is devastated.

My friends, we can't just turn away from the international situation and wish it didn't exist. And, as Gen. Omar Bradley said the other day, you don't start coasting before you reach the top of the hill. When you do, you soon start rolling backward.

The world picture is full of hope, today, just as it is full of danger. The sacrifices we have made in building up our defenses, the lives that have been laid down in stopping aggression, have not been in vain.

CALLS FOR UNITY WITH ALLIES

In these past years we have stood loyally with our allies and they with us. We have maintained unity and increased our defensive strength. It has been a sound, responsible, and understanding policy.

We are entering a period of negotiations, we hope fruitful negotiations, with the Soviet group. As I have often said, whether these negotiations are successful will depend entirely upon them. But we must negotiate from strength, my friends. Strength is what Communists understand and respect.

Strength comes from unity with our allies, from the sympathetic understanding of all free peoples, and from the power of our defense forces. If we allow our unity to waver, if our understanding with our allies becomes misunderstanding, if we whittle away the power of our defense forces, just when we begin to negotiate, we just invite disaster.

I believe the free world is going to win this struggle. I think we are going to win because we are free. And in this fight the free labor unions, all over the world, are one of our most important assets.

We have all been thrilled, these past 2 months, by the noble and costly resistance to Communist rule in East Germany and East Berlin. What started that movement that shattered the myth of totalitarian invincibility? It was the working people of East Germany. It was the average everyday trade unionist of East Berlin who dared defy the Communist terror.

That is something for all of us to think about, and I hope that the trade unions of this country will continue to expand their great work of cooperation and encouragement because it is through such channels as these that the message of this country can reach the hearts of te people of other lands.

For the last 7 months now the American people have had a representative overseas who has been truly able to reach the hearts of the people of other lands. He's come back now and he will soon tell you what he saw and what the chances are in the worldwide fight for peace and freedom. I hope you'll all listen to him when he talks. He's a wonderful observer—just as he was a good Governor and an able candidate. And he always will be a great human being. Tht's Adlai Stevenson. He's going to talk at Chicago on the evening of September 15, and that's close.

In our hopes for world peace and freedom, we are not Republicans and Democrats; we are all Americans. We all believe in making every effort for world peace.

I want to see this great country of ours continue to follow the ways that have made us the strong and prosperous nation we are today. Our strength at home is the foundation of all our efforts abroad. Our strength at home flows from the fact that we have made this truly the land of opportunity for all our citizens. This is a land where all men come together in a cooperative effort to raise living standards and to broaden the horizons of hope for all of us. We discovered the way to do this after years of suffering and economic distress.

I don't want to see anyone take us back to the old ways of greed and arrogance and indifferences to the public weal, which we rejected 20 years ago. Because I know, if those days return, we shall lose our strength at home and our moral leadership abroad, and the path will lead to depression and destruction.

So keep a good watch, and on this Labor Day, remember to be alert in all things that concern the public welfare, and do all you can to hold this Nation on its course of prosperity and justice for all men.

Strong Figure Removed From Fourth Estate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. SECREST
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excellent editorial written by Mr. Wilbur Matson, editor and copublisher of the Morgan County Herald of McConnelsville, Ohio.

The editorial, written by a master in the art, expresses my personal feelings and the feelings of thousands of people who have been privileged to know three generations of the Littick family. It follows:

STRONG FIGURE REMOVED FROM FOURTH ESTATE

Death of Orville B. Littick removed a strong figure from the list of Ohio publishers. Mr. Littick was a worthy son of a worthy father. His father, W. O. Littick, a self-made man who died in 1940, consolidated a number of weaker publications serving the Zanesville field into one strong and successful publishing enterprise. Upon his death, he was succeeded as general manager of the company by his son, Orville, who died last week. During the long and hopeless illness with which the latter was afflicted, his brother, Clay, and son, W. O. Littick, Jr., have presided over the destinies of the Zanesville Publishing Co.

When controlled by men of vision and ideals, a newspaper with circulation can be a mighty influence for good in any community. W. O. Littick established his publishing business upon the rock of sound journalistic principals which found inception in long and hard experience. Mr. Littick first sought to serve the people of Zanesville and Muskingum County with a complete news service, State, national, and local. He then extended his field to coverage through the establishment of corespondents throughout the territory of which Zanesville is the hub.

Since 1929 and until his fatal illness which began months ago, Orville Littick was a prominent factor in the splendid business which his father established. Unlike so many of the sons of men of wealth, the Littick brothers grew up imbued with a serious purpose in life. Possessing excellent habits and great industry, Orville and Clay have carried on the publishing business which their father founded, with conspicuous success. Both were men of broad gage, appreciative of merit in others and respecting those who are entitled to respect. Both considered their influential publications, so widely circulated in this section of Ohio, not solely as mediums for personal aggrandizement but as powerful weapons to promote the best in the life of this section of the Muskingum Valley.

We knew personally and held "Bo" Littick in highest esteem. In this, we but duplicated the opinion of other members of the newspaper fraternity in Ohio. Few, aside from a publisher, have any idea of the in-

finite variety of vexing problems which confront the editor of any paper, large or small.

A newspaper intimately affects the life of everyone in a community and the publisher must satisfy subscribers, business patrons, the proponents of multitudes of remedies for social ills which their advocates believe are essential for the salvation of the world. Not the least of his problems are keeping peace on the home front, where the arts of a diplomat are at times essential; and he must fearlessly and honestly speak out on moot public questions, whether or not his opinions are popular.

All of the exacting problems which confront a publisher have been met with marked ability by Orville and Clay. Prior to his last, long illness, Orville lead a busy and a rich, full life. He was a success in his own right. His excellent business judgment was not solely devoted to building his personal fortune. He was a civic leader, one of Zanesville's first citizens, ever ready to espouse and promote any cause which he sincerely believed was for the betterment of the people among whom he had spent his lifetime. He had a heart for the poor, the unfortunate, which found an especial outlet in bettering the lives of crippled children. His work in the Boy Scout movement was notable and he will long be remembered with affection by hosts of the boys whom he helped in this worthy movement. His employees loved and respected him as just and considerate of their well being, and looked upon him as one of their own number who really wished to make life's pathway brighter and easier for them.

The Times Recorder and Signal are influential journals of public opinion which daily visit the homes of thousands of readers in southeastern Ohio. A heavy responsibility now devolves upon Clay Littick, but knowing him as we do, we have no hesitancy in predicting that he and W. O. Littick, Jr., are in every way qualified to carry on the high traditions of one of the outstanding newspaper families of Ohio—the W. O. Littick family of Zanesville.

American Postal Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert a most interesting and well-informed article entitled "American Postal Service," which was published in the London Times of September 25, 1953.

It is sometimes good to see ourselves as others see us. While this article is critical in spots, it is justly so, notably when it states that our Post Office Department has been too often the victim of politics and what the London Times calls vote-catching.

The article pays a well-deserved tribute to our Postmaster General, Arthur Summerfield, and his heroic efforts to cut the Gordian knot of political log-rolling and bureaucratic muddling that has so greatly impeded the progress of our Post Office Department and its many fine employees.

The article is as follows:

AMERICAN POSTAL SERVICES—EFFECT OF POLITICAL PATRONAGE ON DEPARTMENTAL EFFICIENCY

On the main post-office building in New York is inscribed the proud boast that "not snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds," an adaptation of Herodotus' tribute to the Persian messengers and a reminder to those who now trudge down the concrete pavements of Eighth Avenue of the romantic tradition of the American postal services. When the continent was being opened up and the central plains were infested with bandits, the cry that "the mail must go through" was a challenge to the crews of stagecoaches who were always in danger of attack when they carried, as they so often had to, valuable cargoes in cash. A modern postal system began, therefore, in the United States with entirely different problems from those in other countries. And it has continued to have different problems, problems which have made it almost impossible to operate the Department of the Post Office without incurring large deficits.

SIZE OF COUNTRY

One serious problem has always been the size and diversity of the country. A uniform charge for all mail of the same class entails carrying letters thousands, instead of hundreds, of miles and delivering individual pieces to isolated neighborhoods at the same price as taking them around the corner. And it has meant the operation of a large number of uneconomic routes and services as a part of public policy.

A more serious problem, for anyone trying to run the Department efficiently, is the tradition that the Post Office should provide so many of the positions with which the minor faithful are rewarded after a successful political campaign. The products of the patronage system have seldom proved themselves capable even of running a small country post office of the kind, of which there are plenty, which are only kept open for fear of offending local pride or to make jobs available. It is because the Post Office is the chief instrument of patronage that the chairman of the national committee has so often become Postmaster-General. The present one, Mr. Arthur Summerfield, was chairman during General Eisenhower's campaign, both Mr. Roosevelt's had occupied the post and so had the first of Mr. Truman's. With his second choice Mr. Truman gallantly broke new ground by choosing a career civil servant, but unfortunately his experiment was not a success.

VICTIM OF VOTE CATCHING

The Post Office is continually the victim of congressional attempts to get, or keep, votes. One after the other Postmasters General have gone to Congress and begged to be allowed to increase rates, and one after the other they have left emptyhanded. The result of all these factors is that the Post Office has had a surplus only 18 times in 115 years and 9 of the so-called profitable years were in wartime, when much of the cost of transport and distribution was borne by the military. By the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, the deficit had reached the figure of $727 million, and, in the budget submitted by Mr. Truman for the present year, it was estimated to be $746 million. It is probably American experience with the Post Office that accounts for the violence of American belief that no nationalized industry can be run efficiently, honestly, or profitably.

When Mr. Summerfield appeared before the Appropriations Committees of both Houses this spring he announced that he proposed, "with the help of Congress and the support of the public, to make the Postal Establishment as nearly financially self-supporting as practicable, while at the same time improving postal service." And there was no doubt that it needed improving. In the middle of residential Washington the last collection was between 6 and 6:30 and the only delivery of the day was often after noon. There is still only one delivery except in business districts and during the Christmas season—Mr. Summerfield is probably right in saying that, in the present condition of his Department's finances, the demand for a second delivery is not strong enough to justify the $80 million it would cost—but there is now a later collection which will allow someone who does not work at home to answer a letter on the day it is received.

Like so many of his predecessors, the new Postmaster General failed to get the help from Congress for which he asked toward making his Department self-supporting. What he could do himself, he has done. He has eliminated $152 million in administrative costs by introducing modern methods and machines—that this should be possible out of a total expenditure of $2.8 billion is some indication of the archaic methods in use before—and he has increased revenue by $200 million through action which was within his power, such as raising international rates, which will be done from November 1, and persuading the Interstate Commerce Commission to allow him to charge more for certain classes of mail over which the ICC has jurisdiction.

A further $79 million was saved, or rather transferred from the Post Office to the Civil Aeronautics Board, under a reorganization plan which separated payments to airlines for the carrying of mail from those which represented subsidies and made the latter a responsibility of the CAB. All this hard work reduced the anticipated deficit to $315 million, and Mr. Summerfield tried to get permission to cut it further, to $74,500,000, by increasing rates on domestic air and first class (except local mail), second, and third class mail and books. Congress refused, one Congressman giving as a reason that mail is delivered to the Tennessee Hills or to little islands in the great lakes as a matter of public policy and that he doubted whether such services should be charged to the Post Office deficit.

POLICY OF SUBSIDIES

The free services—to Members of Congress, Government departments, and the blind—cost $56,500,000 in 1952 and they can be counted as subsidies agreed as a matter of public policy. There are also hidden within the losses of $240 million on second-class mail (newspapers and periodicals) and $192 million on third-class mail (circulars and catalogs) other conscious subsidies. Eight types of organization—religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor, veterans', and fraternal—get special rates for both classes, which accounts for a loss of about $50 million, and the free delivery of newspapers in the county—a traditional service without which few country newspapers could survive—costs $13,600,000. These three services between them, therefore, account for a deficit of $120 million.

These, however, are but a small part of the subsidies given to publishers. According to Mr. Summerfield, for every dollar a publisher pays to send his product through the mails the taxpayer pays an additional $3.92. These low rates were originally fixed as a part of educational policy but they now amount to a vast subsidy to a small group of national magazines. Indeed, the Chicago Tribune is fond of taunting the Luce Publications, Time, Life, and Fortune, with living entirely at the taxpayers' expense on the basis of a calculation that their annual profit is ap-

proximately equal to the amount of hidden subsidy they receive.

LATEST PROPOSALS

First-class internal mail, mainly letters, is the only important class that shows a profit but the Postmaster General proposed to raise $150 million by increasing the rates from 3 to 4 cents for the first ounce on all but local mail, which used to have a 1-cent differential until the charge was raised from 2 to 3 cents in 1944. He justified this by pointing out that it was the only class of mail which could help to make a substantial reduction in the annual deficit without inflicting any particular hardship on the individual and by asserting that subsidies to one type of mail must be borne by increases in others. There was little disposition among his congressional audiences to agree with him. And he lost the support of Democrats by suggesting such small changes in second-class rates that the extra cost of the proposed increase to publishers would have been only $20 million. The public would still, therefore, have to support to the tune of over $200 million a class which showed itself overwhelmingly Republican last November and which now definitely comes under the heading "big business." So the session came to an end without Congress taking any action although the bill which would have raised rates was on the list of "must" legislation drawn up by the President on July 20. A week later the House Post Office Committee rather ostentatiously shelved it.

Mr. Summerfield will have to try again in January, and his propects are, perhaps, not quite as bleak as his experience up to now might sugggest. A special advisory council of the Senate Post Office Committee is studying various proposals which would increase revenue by $330 million in and at the same time improve the services.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Harrison, William H., *Wyo*—Cathedral Mansions, North
Hart, Edward J., *N. J*
Harvey, Ralph, *Ind*—110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hays, Brooks, *Ark*—314 2d St. SE.
Hays, Wayne L., *Ohio*—The Woodner
Hébert, F. Edward, *La*—104 Cockrell St., Alexandria, Va.
Heller, Louis B., *N. Y*
Herlong, A. S., Jr., *Fla*
Heselton, John W., *Mass*
Hess, William E., *Ohio*
Hiestand, Edgar W., *Calif*
Hill, William S., *Colo*—110 Maryland Ave. NE.
Hillelson, Jeffrey P., *Mo*
Hillings, Patrick J., *Calif*
Hinshaw, Carl, *Calif*
Hoeven, Charles B., *Iowa*—2108 Suitland Terrace SE.
Hoffman, Clare E., *Mich*—Methodist Bldg.
Hoffman, Richard W., *Ill*
Holifield, Chet, *Calif*
Holmes, Hal, *Wash*
Holt, Joseph F., *Calif*
Holtzman, Lester, *N. Y*
Hope, Clifford R., *Kans*—3541 Brandywine St.
Horan, Walt, *Wash*
Hosmer, Craig, *Calif*
Howell, Charles R., *N. J*
Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*
Hunter, Allan Oakley, *Calif*
Hyde, DeWitt S., *Md*
Ikard, Frank, *Tex*
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif*
James, Benjamin F., *Pa*—200 C St. SE.
Jarman, John, *Okla*
Javits, Jacob K., *N. Y*
Jenkins, Thomas A., *Ohio*—The Mayflower
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa*—The Washington House
Johnson, Leroy, *Calif*—626 North Carolina Ave. SE.
Johnson, Lester, *Wis*
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C*
Jonas, Edgar A., *Ill*
Jones, Paul C., *Mo*—3613 Greenway Place, Alexandria, Va.
Jones, Robert E., Jr., *Ala*
Jones, Woodrow W., *N. C*
Judd, Walter H., *Minn*—3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*
Kean, Robert W., *N. J*—2435 Kalorama Road
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), *N. Y*
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa*—The Wardman Pk.
Keating, Kenneth B., *N. Y*—1656 34th St.
Kee, Elizabeth, *W. Va*—301 N. J. Ave. SE.
Kelley, Augustine B., *Pa*
Kelly, Edna F., *N. Y*
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y*—The Mayflower
Kersten, Charles J., *Wis*
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y*—The Gen. Scott
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex*—3507 Albemarle St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif*
King, Karl C., *Pa*
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*
Klein, Arthur G., *N. Y*
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*
Knox, Victor A., *Mich*
Krueger, Otto, *N. Dak*—The Coronet

Laird, Melvin R., *Wis*	
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga*	
Lane, Thomas J., *Mass*	
Lanham, Henderson L., *Ga*	
Lantaff, Bill, *Fla*	
Latham, Henry J., *N. Y*	
LeCompte, Karl M., *Iowa*	The Wardman Pk.
Lesinski, John, Jr., *Mich*	
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif*	
Long, George S., *La*	
Lovre, Harold O., *S. Dak*	1605 Sherwood Road, Silver Spring, Md.
Lucas, Wingate H., *Tex*	4737 11th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Lyle, John E., Jr., *Tex*	
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn*	3809 17th St. NE.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr., *Pa.*	
McCormack, John W., *Mass*	The Washington
McCulloch, Wm. M., *Ohio*	Westchester Apts.
McDonough, G. L., *Calif*	
McGregor, J. Harry, *Ohio*	The Westchester
McIntire, Clifford G., *Maine*	
McMillan, John L., *S. C*	1201 S. Barton St., Arlington, Va.
McVey, William E., *Ill*	3610 38th St.
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., *Mich.*	812 Park Ave., Falls Church, Va.
Mack, Peter F., Jr., *Ill*	
Mack, Russell V., *Wash*	
Madden, Ray J., *Ind*	3250 T St. SE.
Magnuson, Don, *Wash*	
Mahon, George H., *Tex*	Alban Towers
Mailliard, William S., *Calif*	
Marshall, Fred, *Minn*	
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., *Mass*	The Hay-Adams
Martin, Thomas E., *Iowa*	The Kennedy-Warren
Mason, Noah M., *Ill*	The Baronet
Matthews, D. R. (Billy), *Fla.*	
Meader, George, *Mich*	3600 Quesada St.
Merrill, D. Bailey, *Ind*	1542 44th St.
Merrow, Chester E., *N. H*	
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont*	
Miller, A. L., *Nebr*	2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Miller, Edward T., *Md*	2901 Conn. Ave.
Miller, George P., *Calif*	
Miller, Howard S., *Kans*	1805 Parkside Dr.
Miller, William E., *N. Y*	721 North Overlook Drive, Alexandria, Va.
Mills, Wilbur D., *Ark*	2701Conn. Ave.
Mollohan, Robert H., *W. Va.*	
Morano, Albert P., *Conn*	
Morgan, Thomas E., *Pa*	
Morrison, James H., *La*	4420 Dexter St.
Moss, John E., Jr., *Calif*	
Moulder, Morgan M., *Mo*	
Multer, Abraham J., *N. Y*	
Mumma, Walter M., *Pa*	The Coronet
Murray, Tom, *Tenn*	
Natcher, William, *Ky*	
Neal, Will E., *W. Va*	The Congressional
Nelson, Charles P., *Maine*	
Nicholson, D. W., *Mass*	
Norblad, Walter, *Oreg*	
Norrell, W. F., *Ark*	3106 34th St.
Oakman, Charles G., *Mich*	
O'Brien, George D., *Mich*	
O'Brien, Leo W., *N. Y*	
O'Brien, Thomas J., *Ill*	The Hamilton
O'Hara, Barratt, *Ill*	
O'Hara, Joseph P., *Minn*	2813 31st St.
O'Konski, Alvin E., *Wis*	2801 Pa. Ave. SE.
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., *Mass.*	
Osmers, Frank C., Jr., *N. J*	
Ostertag, Harold C., *N. Y*	100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Passman, Otto E., *La*	
Patman, Wright, *Tex*	117 Carroll St., SE.
Patten, Harold A., *Ariz*	4337 Nebraska Av.
Patterson, James T., *Conn*	
Pelly, Thomas M., *Wash*	
Perkins, Carl D., *Ky*	
Pfost, Gracie, *Idaho*	
Philbin, Philip J., *Mass*	
Phillips, John, *Calif*	
Pilcher, J. L., *Ga*	
Pillion, John R., *N. Y*	
Poage, W. R., *Tex*	2309 Skyland Place SE.
Poff, Richard H., *Va*	
Polk, James G., *Ohio*	
Powell, Adam C., Jr., *N. Y*	
Preston, Prince H., Jr., *Ga*	
Price, Melvin, *Ill*	
Priest, J. Percy, *Tenn*	The Berkshire
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt*	
Rabaut, Louis C., *Mich*	
Radwan, Edmund P., *N. Y*	
Rains, Albert, *Ala*	
Ray, John H., *N. Y*	
Rayburn, Sam, *Tex*	
Reams, Frazier, *Ohio*	
Reece, B. Carroll, *Tenn*	
Reed, Chauncey W., *Ill*	2009 Glen Ross Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
Reed, Daniel A., *N. Y*	The Woodner
Rees, Edward H., *Kans*	1801 16th St.
Regan, Ken, *Tex*	3226 N St.
Rhodes, George M., *Pa*	1809 Franklin St. NE.
Rhodes, John J., *Ariz*	
Richards, James P., *S. C*	4707 Conn. Ave.
Riehlman, R. Walter, *N. Y*	2700 Wis. Ave.
Riley, John J., *S. C*	
Rivers, L. Mendel, *S. C*	
Roberts, Kenneth A., *Ala*	3701 39th St.
Robeson, Edward J., Jr., *Va*	
Robsion, John M., Jr., *Ky*	
Rodino, Peter W., Jr., *N. J*	
Rogers, Byron G., *Colo*	
Rogers, Dwight L., *Fla*	The Wardman Pk.
Rogers, Edith Nourse, *Mass*	The Shoreham
Rogers, Walter, *Tex*	
Rooney, John J., *N. Y*	
Roosevelt, F. D., Jr., *N. Y*	
Sadlak, Antoni N., *Conn*	
St. George, Katharine, *N. Y*	
Saylor, John P., *Pa*	
Schenck, Paul F., *Ohio*	3801 Conn. Ave., Apt. 307
Scherer, Gordon H., *Ohio*	
Scott, Hugh D., Jr., *Pa*	
Scrivner, Errett P., *Kans*	2331 Cathedral Ave.
Scudder, Hubert B., *Calif*	5415 Conn. Ave.
Secrest, Robert T., *Ohio*	
Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., *Conn.*	
Selden, Armistead I., Jr., *Ala.*	4634-B 36th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Shafer, Paul W., *Mich*	
Sheehan, Timothy P., *Ill*	
Shelley, John F., *Calif*	
Sheppard, Harry R., *Calif*	
Short, Dewey, *Mo*	
Shuford, George A., *N. C*	The Wardman Pk.
Sieminski, Alfred D., *N. J*	
Sikes, Robert L. F., *Fla*	
Simpson, Richard M., *Pa*	2 Woodhaven Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
Simpson, Sid, *Ill*	2100 Mass. Ave.
Small, Frank, Jr., *Md*	
Smith, Frank E., *Miss*	
Smith, Howard W., *Va*	204 W. Walnut St., Alexandria, Va.
Smith, Lawrence H., *Wis*	The Dorchester
Smith, Wint, *Kans*	
Spence, Brent, *Ky*	The Wardman Pk.
Springer, William L., *Ill*	
Staggers, Harley O., *W. Va*	
Stauffer, S. Walter, *Pa*	
Steed, Tom, *Okla*	
Stringfellow, Douglas R., *Utah*	6919 Clarendon Road, Bethesda, Md., Apt. 303
Sullivan, Leonor K., *Mo*	
Sutton, Pat, *Tenn*	
Taber, John, *N. Y*	
Talle, Henry O., *Iowa*	
Taylor, Dean P., *N. Y*	
Teague, Olin E., *Tex*	4743 Bradley Blvd. Chevy Chase, Md.
Thomas, Albert, *Tex*	2901 34th St.
Thompson, Clark W., *Tex*	The Wardman Pk.
Thompson, Ruth, *Mich*	
Thompson, T. A., *La*	726 So. Royal St., Alexandria, Va.
Thornberry, Homer, *Tex*	
Tollefson, Thor C., *Wash*	
Trimble, James W., *Ark*	
Tuck, William M., *Va*	
Utt, James B., *Calif*	
Van Pelt, William K., *Wis*	
Van Zandt, James E., *Pa*	The Senate Courts
Velde, Harold H., *Ill*	
Vinson, Carl, *Ga*	4 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Vorys, John M., *Ohio*	2702 Wis. Ave.
Vursell, Charles W., *Ill*	The Congressional
Wainwright, Stuyvesant, *N. Y.*	
Walter, Francis E., *Pa*	
Wampler, William C., *Va*	
Warburton, Herbert B., *Del*	
Watts, John C., *Ky*	
Weichel, Alvin F., *Ohio*	The Raleigh
Westland, Jack, *Wash*	
Wharton, J. Ernest, *N. Y*	
Wheeler, W. M. (Don), *Ga*	
Whitten, Jamie L., *Miss*	5804 Nebraska Ave.
Wickersham, Victor, *Okla*	
Widnall, William B., *N. J*	
Wier, Roy W., *Minn*	
Wigglesworth, R. B., *Mass*	3257 N St.
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N. J.*	
Williams, John Bell, *Miss*	2045 38th St. SE.
Williams, William R., *N. Y*	1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Willis, Edwin E., *La*	
Wilson, Earl, *Ind*	
Wilson, J. Frank, *Tex*	
Wilson, Robert C. (Bob), *Calif.*	
Winstead, Arthur, *Miss*	
Withrow, Gardner R., *Wis*	
Wolcott, Jesse P., *Mich*	109 E. Thornapple St., Chevy Chase.
Wolverton, Charles A., *N. J*	1336 HOB
Yates, Sidney R., *Ill*	
Yorty, Samuel W., *Calif*	
Young, Clifton (Cliff), *Nev*	1900 N. 16th St., Arlington, Va.
Younger, J. Arthur, *Calif*	The Wardman Pk.
Zablocki, Clement J., *Wis*	

DELEGATES

Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska*	1718 33d Pl. SE.
Farrington, Jos. R., *Hawaii*	82 Kalorama Circle

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

Fernós-Isern, A., *P. R*	2713 Woodley Pl.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE

Clerk—Lyle O. Snader.
Sergeant at Arms—Lyle O. Snader.
Doorkeeper—T. J. Kennamer.
Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St.
Postmaster—Beecher Hess.

OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATE

SENATE

James W. Murphy, 7 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
John D. Rhodes, 3535 Williamsburg Lane.
Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
Herbert N. Budlong, 5032 Glenbrook Terrace.
J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Robert C. Brooks (assistant), 2018 Luzerne Ave., Silver Spring, Md.
Elmer L. Koons (clerk), 826 Aspen St.

HOUSE

W. L. Fenstermacher, 2929 Connecticut Ave.
Roy L. Whitman, 4820 Linnean Ave.
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E. B. Clark, 604 Bennington Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
Frank E. Battaglia, 957 East-West Highway.
Claude S. Scheckel, 6 East Blackthorne St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
Charles H. Parkman (clerk), 1003 Taylor St. NE.
Paul L. Miller (assistant clerk), Shadyside, Md.

Appendix

The Highway Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the annual convention of the American Association of State Highway Officials, in the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., on Tuesday, November 10, 1953.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania is proud to welcome this distinguished group of Americans. As road builders, you are engaged in one of the most important projects confronting our Nation.

You doubtless have already been impressed with our factories, mines, buildings, and public improvements.

Before talking about roads, bridges, and tunnels, and how to finance them, I would like to speak briefly about the Pittsburgh area and what made it.

Pittsburgh is the center of the northeastern quadrant of our country. In this quadrant, American initiative and enterprise have attained their highest development.

More than one-half the population of the United States is contained within its boundaries. It has three-fifths of the retail trade of our country and almost two-thirds of our national income.

What has brought about such enormous industrial and cultural progress? Was it material wealth? Was it natural advantage? Was it the work of government?

No—it was the hard work, devotion, thrift, and the character of the people living in this area. It was the leadership furnished by men of courage and vigor who poured their powerful creative energies into productive enterprise for the benefit of their fellow men.

Eight years ago the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh decided to unveil the portraits of certain distinguished men of Pittsburgh's business and industry and they chose the following: Horne, merchandising; Mellons, banking; Rees, boat building; Hunt, aluminum; Jones, iron; Heinz, food products; Westinghouse, airbrake and electrical appliances; Frick, coke; Rodgers, river navigation; Lockhart, oil; Carnegie, steel; Armstrong, cork; Harris, motion picture industry; Thomson, railroads; Oliver, ore; O'Hara, glass.

These men were more than leaders in the economic life of Pittsburgh. They were active in the church, in education, in military service and government.

They all came up in the American way. They knew how to work. They were not afraid to work. They knew no way to make indolence honorable. They did not depend upon Government to shape their way of life. Some of them were immigrants who came to America in search of opportunity. They never discredited America. They never lost faith in America. They never lost faith in the Republic.

Pittsburgh products, in a normal year, are valued at more than $2 billion. They find their way into every continent on the earth.

Men, resources, ideas, and initiative are back of this great production.

As an educational center, Pittsburgh is the home of the University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Tech, Duquesne University, Mellon Institute, the Pennsylvania College for Women, the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary and Mount Mercy College, and many noted colleges in the surrounding area.

The spiritual side has never been neglected in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Stalwart preachers came over the mountains with the trappers and soldiers in the old days. First came the little log houses of worship, then the beautiful white frame churches, and now the imposing structures of brick, stone, and granite.

Public-spirited newspaper editors have played an important part in shaping the destiny of western Pennsylvania. Novelists and historians of this area have influenced many lives.

No part of America has done more to assemble works of art and in the encouragement of music than Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh patrons of art are world famous.

Business and industry, labor and agriculture, created the Pittsburgh we know. The part of Allegheny County farms in the building of Pittsburgh cannot be ignored. In no part of the world is farming more diversified.

Nor is there any place in the world where there is such a diversity of skilled labor as in southwestern Pennsylvania. We have mines, oilfields, gas fields, steel mills, quarries, coke ovens, oil refineries, aluminum plants, food processing, railways, and water transportation. These trades have been mastered by our people.

Pittsburgh and its territory have been as preeminent in war as in peace. Two hundred years ago, the 23d of this month, George Washington saw the strategic importance of what was then the western gateway where the Monongahela and the Allegheny meet. He considered it well situated for a fort. It was built, and here, in 1758, the defeat of the French forces established British supremacy in the New World and shaped the course of world history.

Now let us turn to the business at hand.

Your organization represents the best roadbuilding brains and skill in the world.

In your official duties you are concerned with one of the most difficult problems in all the complicated business of Government.

The highway programs and policies which you formulate and put into operation affect the lives and well-being of every citizen.

They have a direct bearing on our commercial, industrial, and agricultural progress. They have an important part in national defense.

They have a strong relationship to the social, cultural, and spiritual lives of our people and every other activity that enters into the American way of life.

This has been true since the earliest days of our history. The roadbuilder has always held a place of highest importance in the growth and development of the American Continent.

Transportation has been the key to our expanding economy since the westward migration of the early pioneers through the forest, over the mountains, and across the plains.

The famous Conestoga wagon, a product of Pennsylvania, traveling in trains of 50 or more, played an important part in the overland transportation that led to the settlement and the economic development of the West.

Military necessity was another strong factor in road development, particularly here in western Pennsylvania.

Braddock's road from Cumberland, Md., to Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, and the Forbes Road from Bedford, then known as Raystown, to the Ohio Forks were notable examples of roads cut through the wilderness by military forces.

There can be no doubt that the great transportation systems of today—public roads, railroads, waterways, and airlines—are the arteries which carry the lifeblood of American progress and prosperity.

We cannot go forward to greater achievement unless our facilities for safe, speedy, dependable transportation keep pace with our vastly increased traffic needs.

Unfortunately, in the matter of highways we have fallen far behind the spectacular growth of motor traffic, which has more than doubled in the last 10 years. You men who live with the highway problem day after day realize better than anyone else how serious the situation has become.

You are all familiar with the statistics which show the extent to which deficiencies in our highway system have piled up during and since the end of World War II.

The figures are startling. Most Americans are shocked when they learn that $40 billion will be required to bring our highway system up to 1953 traffic needs, without considering the needs of the immediate future.

That situation places upon each of us a great responsibility. It points with the strongest emphasis to the imperative need for a sound, comprehensive highway program and a sound plan to finance such a program with a minimum of hardship on the taxpayer.

I think we all agree on certain points.

We have the know-how to build the roads. The materials are available. The labor supply need not cause us any concern.

But—and there always seems to be a great, big but—the one question that we cannot dodge or evade is how to get the money.

How are we going to finance a $40 billion program that gets bigger and more costly the longer it is delayed?

Shall we resort to further deficit financing?

Shall we put another squeeze on the long-suffering taxpayer to provide additional highway funds?

Or is there a better plan?

Surely a nation with a debt of $273 billion must weigh with utmost care any proposed expenditure that would increase the heavy burden of debt upon its citizens.

We cannot make sound progress on borrowed money. The greatest single cause of inflation is excessive borrowing, by local, State, and Federal Government. The rising cost of road construction under today's in-

flationary pressure is a striking example of the dangers resulting from depreciation in the value of the dollar.

Excessive taxation places another heavy burden upon our people and acts as a barrier to economic progress. Our high living standards cannot be maintained under the double pressure of inflation and high taxes.

It therefore seems to me that serious consideration should now be given to the expansion of the self-liquidating principle with regard to roads, tunnels, and bridges.

Furthermore, I believe that similar consideration should be given to financing new highway, bridge, and tunnel construction, in part, by the collection of tolls on facilities already in existence.

For a long time many of us have been advocating that Government at all three levels should be placed as far as possible on a pay-as-you-go basis. You know we can never go wrong when we pay all our bills at the end of the year.

We must always remember that all taxes, whether local, State, or Federal, come out of the same pocket—the pocket of the consumer.

There is no reason why the highway user should not pay for the roads. As a matter of fact, if the revenues collected in connection with motor vehicles and their use were applied to highway purposes, the job so badly needed today could be paid for without any difficulty.

Let us look at some figures. The three levels of government now collect $7½ billion a year from the manufacture and sale of motor vehicles, tires, gasoline, oil, and registration fees.

In addition a portion of the taxes on real estate goes into the maintenance of roads, streets, and bridges. We are collecting nearly $200 million a year from toll roads now in operation in the United States and this revenue will be substantially increased as another 1,000 miles of toll roads now under construction are completed.

All of this adds up to more than $8 billion. If half of these revenues were devoted to highway purposes our road system would be brought up to present requirements in 10 years and the cost would be paid by those getting the benefits.

Experience has shown that great care must be exercised with regard to turnpike projects. It has been established that not more than 8,000 miles of major roads pass through areas with a population dense enough to make them self-liquidating turnpikes. Already some in the country have not been successful financially.

I do not pretend that in this brief talk I have brought the highway problem closer to solution. But I have some suggestions, growing out of my personal thoughts, which I should like to submit for your consideration.

1. For a long time I have been convinced that the number of governmental units dealing with highways should be reduced. In the 48 States of the Union we have more than 46,000 civil subdivisions having some jurisdiction over streets and roads. These include townships, boroughs, counties, and cities.

2. We should all preach and work for economy in all branches of government. It is my firm belief that our future as a free Republic cannot be maintained without a sound and solvent foundation. I am convinced that we cannot effectively safeguard the security, stability, and economic progress of our country without balanced budgets at all levels of government, a sound currency and lower taxes.

Our first objective—one that should be a must for all Government officials—should be the elimination of every needless or nonessential expenditure. We should cut away all waste, all overlapping and duplication in government. All functions and services that we can do without—even if desirable—should be wiped out until we have balanced the budget.

Then we should put more emphasis on greater savings until we can bring down the oppressive burden of debt and taxes which bear so heavily upon our people today.

3. We should finance highway, bridge, and tunnel projects by the collection of tolls wherever it is financially feasible to make them self-liquidating.

4. We should consider the advantage of placing tolls on some roads, bridges, and tunnels already built which serve large centers of population.

5. The Federal Government should withdraw as soon as possible from the gasoline tax field and all such revenue should go to the States to be used for highway construction and maintenance without diversion for any other purpose.

6. We should put more effort behind a long range, comprehensive plan for roads for the United States with a national system of interstate highways based on our commercial and military requirements.

7. There should be full and complete cooperation among State governments to establish uniform regulations covering the weight and size of trucks and buses.

8. We should carefully consider whether Federal participation in the development of roads, bridges, and tunnels should be continued as at present or whether it should be limited to research, coordination and supervision. Engineering and construction definitely should be kept under the control of the States.

9. Highway planning to reduce traffic congestion around our big cities should be coordinated with the needs of civilian defense. Rapid dispersion by means of an adequate system of good, wide roads is the best defense against any attack on civilian population.

I do not offer these suggestions as a cure-all or a perfect solution to all our motor transportation problems. But I do think they are worthy of your thoughtful consideration as a basis for discussion.

As chairman of the Committee on Public Works of the United States Senate, I can tell you that no extensive argument will be needed to convince the committee members that the rehabilitation and expansion of our highway system is of vital importance to the future of our Nation.

We recognize that highway transportation must keep pace with our expanding needs if America is to go ahead in security, economic strength, and prosperity.

A great mass of testimony has already been placed in the records of the committee by executives of your organization and other well-qualified experts.

We have before us many valuable suggestions and recommendations. I know that in the next session of Congress we will again have the benefit of your advice and guidance.

On behalf of the Senate Public Works Committee I most cordially invite your help and cooperation with complete assurance that your views will be gratefully received and deeply appreciated.

Opening of Charleston Air Force Base

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered on November 3, 1953, in Charleston, S. C., by the great senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK].

This address by the Senator from South Carolina seems to me especially significant because no one has been more courageous and farsighted than he in facing up to the truth of what we need in the way of military requirements to defend our country.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The opening of this Air Force base is an important event for this State. It demonstrates again recognition by the Air Force and the Department of Defense of the importance of South Carolina to the Nation's military strength. Here in South Carolina we are very proud of the contribution that we are making to the growing military might of this country.

Ever since the Revolution, the young men of South Carolina have proved themselves in every war our Nation has fought. In World War II they fought all over the globe, and in the recent war in Korea they distinguished themselves as they always have in the past.

South Carolina is proud of its young men who have served with such distinction in war. It is also proud of its sons who are in the service today, in military units that are on guard all the way from Germany to Japan.

We have another reason to be proud of what our State is doing for the country in this period of crisis. It is not only the men in the service who are making a notable contribution; the people here at home are also contributing their share, and more than their share, in many ways.

First of all, of course, is the contribution of South Carolina agriculture and industry that is indispensable to the economy of our country and to its prosperity. The material goods we produce here, and even the taxes we pay, become a part of a total national strength on which military strength is built.

When it comes to actual production of military strength, South Carolina's share is a big one. We have long served as an excellent base for all three branches of our armed services.

Our fine harbors provide excellent shore facilities for the Navy, and training bases for the Marine Corps.

The Army finds that our mild weather is almost ideal for the training of soldiers in land warfare. Our favorable climate and our level terrain have also provided an excellent opportunity for the operations and training of the Air Force. Since this is an air base that we are dedicating on this occasion, I am going to say a few words about the air power of the United States.

It is high time for somebody to talk about United States air power and to talk plainly and to the point. Ever since I have been in Washington, I have taken a special interest in this subject. I have always fought for progress in the building of American air power, and I began to fight at a time when there were very few of us to carry on the battle. I want to tell you that we have to fight just as hard today. If a lot of people had their way, this Nation would have a second-best Air Force just because air power is new and because they have other interests.

Ever since Billy Mitchell was court-martialed and kicked out of service, the fight for adequate air power in this country has been a hard fight. Those of us who have stood up for adequate air strength have been proved right over and over again; yet today we are up against the same kind of bitter opposition we always encountered in the past. Right now, I believe the struggle is actually more violent than it has ever been

in the past, despite the fact that the country has never been in greater danger as a result of failure to build the air power we ought to have.

Let me tell you briefly what our situation is today, and then I will tell you what is being done about it. I am sure you will agree with me that not enough is being done about it—not near enough.

We all know what the Communists are up to. They want to conquer the world because they do not believe they can survive as Communists if part of the world remains free. They have trouble all the time around their borders, wherever their people come in contact with free men.

After World War II, we disarmed, and the Russians did not disarm. They kept about 200 divisions of ground troops under arms. They started building submarines on a big scale. They continued their heavy production of airplanes while we cut our plane production down to a mere trickle.

The Soviets stole a few of our long-range B-29's that fell into their hands. Using these as models, they built more of these planes than we have today. They have more than two thousand, and they can reach all the way to South Carolina from bases in Russia. Now they are producing bigger and better long-range bombers that can fly farther and faster.

They stole secrets of the atomic bomb, and they started making that terrible weapon 4 years ago. They have now begun making hydrogen bombs, just a short time after we ourselves began to experiment with this terrible weapon that is powerful enough to flatten all of Charleston, including the suburbs, in one blast.

No one but a fool would try to pretend that the Russians are maintaining this armament and building these terrible weapons for use against anybody but us. They don't need them for anybody but us. Except for the United States, the Reds could take over Europe and Asia any time they felt like doing it. This is a fact that has been admitted by all the experts over and over again.

The Soviets would not need to use hydrogen bombs, or even atomic bombs, on any nation but ours. They could easily conquer Europe and Asia without the bomb. We might as well admit they are going to use them on us whenever they feel their air force is more powerful than ours so that they can get away with it.

The Reds would have a big advantage from the start because they could strike the first blow, and the first blow with a few hydrogen bombs might come very near winning the war. Just one of those things is as powerful as a pile of TNT the size of the Great Pyramid of Egypt. One hydrogen bomb can make as big an explosion as all the bombs we dropped on Germany in World War II put together.

Just to give you an idea of how the atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb have revolutionized warfare, I can tell you that we used about $7 billion worth of ammunition in the entire Korean war, and that includes all kinds of ammunition except small arms. For this amount we could have blasted every square mile of North Korea with atomic bombs, and we could have done it within a few hours.

Now, you may have heard a lot of talk coming out of Washington about the Russians not having enough atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, and you may be a little mixed up about it. Let me tell you right now that you have been hearing weasel words on this subject from people who don't want to admit just how serious the situation really is. We have had the greatest amount of bungling in the Defense Department that has happened since the Spanish-American War.

There are some well-meaning but inexperienced men in the Department of Defense who have contradicted themselves every few days for the past several months.

They have made so many contradictory statements about the Air Force, and about atomic and hydrogen bombs, that the administration had to gag everybody so that the people of this country now have no way of knowing the truth. Our military men, and particularly leaders of the Air Force, have been forbidden to say anything that has any importance. They cannot talk about the hydrogen bomb, or the atomic bomb, or the strength of the Air Force, or anything else that might result in criticism for the new management in the Defense Department that has made so many mistakes.

I knew they were bungling the job 6 months ago when they started cutting the Air Force at the very time when we needed to build up our air power first of all. They claimed then that with the hydrogen bomb we had such an advantage over the Russians we did not need as big an Air Force as the Joint Chiefs said we would need.

Then the Russians exploded a hydrogen bomb years ahead of the time they were supposed to do it, and in its embarrassment, the administration simply refused to admit it was wrong. Instead of admitting that this was a tragic mistake, right at the time when air power is becoming completely dominant in warfare, they went right ahead with the old program of keeping the Army and Navy up to strength and holding the Air Force back from the strength everyone agreed a year ago it ought to have. They even cut out several hundred more planes from the program after promising not to.

I was not even satisfied with the program for the Air Force a year ago. We knew what the Russians were up to. We knew they were building hundreds of long-range bombers that would be useful only against the United States. We knew they were making hundreds of atomic bombs to be carried by those bombers. Yet the Russians built up an air force of 20,000 combat planes in active combat units, while we coasted along on an Air Force of less than 6,000 combat planes in active combat units.

The Democratic administration under President Truman finally got started after the Korean war and was doing a fine job toward building a 143 wing Air Force. It was a long-term program, and we had been at it for nearly 3 years. Building an air force is a long-range job, and every time you change your goal you waste billions of dollars.

Yet the new bosses of the Department of Defense came in and started cutting back the Air Force when it was only two-thirds along the way toward the 143 wings it had been building for 3 years. This was the air strength that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, including the heads of the Army and Navy, had agreed was the absolute minimum to enable us to carry out any kind of strategy of defense that could insure the security of this Nation.

We heard all kinds of testimony in the Senate trying to excuse and explain this inexcusable cutback. None of the explanations made much sense.

Over and over again, people who were trying to defend this sabotage of our air program had to put the whole blame on General Eisenhower, and, of course, he was in no position to refuse to accept the blame. The testimony in the Senate showed conclusively that the President knew very little of what was going on in the Defense Department until after the whole program had been announced. The cat was out of the bag, and it was too late to start over again without admitting a serious error.

Now, I have the greatest respect for the President, and I think he is a fine man and doing his best to do a good job. However, he is not infallible, and I, for one, refuse to abdicate the responsibility of Congress to provide for the defense of this country. Other Presidents have made mistakes before, and even General Eisenhower himself has made mistakes. Remember that General Eisenhower is a soldier, not an airman, and soldiers have always underrated the importance of airpower. I can remember when General Drum tried to limit the range of Army airplanes, and when the Air Corps was told not to build a plane that could fly farther than a division could march in a day. The only way the Air Corps got permission to build the B-17, the only plane that could bomb Germany in daylight early in World War II, was to argue that we had to have a long-range bomber to defend the Panama Canal.

Army generals wasted billions of dollars in preparation for land invasion of Japan—and even brought Russia into the war against Japan—because they refused to believe Japan could be defeated without a land invasion. If it had not been for a few of us in the Senate and House who fought for more airpower against the advice of Army generals, we would have had to invade Japan, and it would have cost us half a million American soldiers.

It is interesting to remember that just 4 years ago the Russians exploded their first atomic bomb. That got a lot of people in the country and in Congress to question whether the strength of the Air Force was sufficient to meet this new threat. Nobody was satisfied with the statements made by the Secretary of Defense at that time, so General Eisenhower, who was then at Columbia University, was called in by the Senate committee for his opinion. He testified in a public hearing in the spring of 1950 that he thought the Truman defense budget of just $14 billion was about right. Despite the fact that the Russians had already exploded an atomic bomb, he recommended an increase in that budget of only $500 million. He said he did not think the Russians having an atomic bomb would make much difference.

The terrible fix we were in when the Korean war broke out and the fearful time we had—being afraid to strike back at China while we had what General Vandenberg called a "shoestring Air Force"—proved how wrong General Eisenhower was as a prophet at that time.

Now, I think it is a very strange fact that 4 years later, right after the Russians have exploded a hydrogen bomb more advanced, in some respects, than any we have made, President Eisenhower's Secretary of Defense recommends an increase in the Air Force budget of exactly the same amount General Eisenhower recommended just before the Korean war—$500 million.

That sum proved to be completely inadequate at that time. Although we escaped disaster in the Korean war, we had to suffer many thousands of casualties that would not have been necessary had we had enough air straight to keep the Chinese out of that war from the beginning.

I think everybody that knows the power of a hydrogen bomb, and knows what a superior air force can do with those weapons against a country with a smaller air force, is willing to admit that $500 million additional to counter the new Russian threat is far from enough.

One year ago, the defense budget and the defense plans had been worked out by General Bradley, of the Army; General Vandenberg, of the Air Force; Admiral Fechteler, of the Navy; and General Collins, of the Army. These plans had been approved by the administration and overwhelmingly voted by both Houses of Congress. Under these plans the Air Force was working toward at least 130 wings by June of 1954, 138 wings by June of 1955, and 143 wings of modern aircraft by June of 1956.

This was considered a modest air program even before the Russians exploded the hydrogen bomb. What do we have now? The

very best we can hope for after the wrecking job done by the new crew in the Defense Department, and endorsed by the President who is trying desperately to carry out his campaign promise to balance the budget—the very best that is promised now is to have only 115 Air Force wings by next June. That is at least 15 wings less than we could have had except for the new Secretary of Defense's interference in a program that had already been running smoothly for 3 years. We are now promised only 120 air wings by June of 1955, which is at least 18 wings less than we would have had under the Truman program.

Most of this difference is due to new restrictions on manpower in the Air Force, imposed by the Secretary of Defense, which holds the Air Force at less than 1 million men. The previous plan was to have 1,060,000 men in the Air Force—just 100,000 men over its present strength. The Air Force is losing 23 wings of combat power, one-fifth of its planned strength, because it is not permitted to recruit and train the men to man these 23 wings. The job could be done with a little over one-tenth addition to the present strength of the Air Force in manpower.

This is so foolish and shortsighted that it seems incredible, but it is true.

In the next session of Congress, I am going to fight to give this country adequate airpower in a world where airpower is going to decide whether this Nation stands or falls. Ever since the days of Billy Mitchell—and I knew him well—there have been greedy interests of a personal nature fighting against airpower. There has always been jealousy on the part of some people in the other services, although not, I am happy to say, of all the people in the other services. There has always been resistance on the part of special interests that are tied up with old ways of doing things, and we have never had the airpower we ought to have in this country.

Despite the fact that Billy Mitchell was proved right, acclaimed a hero, and decorated by Congress after he was dead, some people go on ignoring lessons that we should have learned. General Vandenberg had the courage to speak the truth and, although he was not entirely well at the time, he stood up under 3 days of attack by administration leaders and proved every point that he made. Yet, rather than to admit that a mistake had been made, the administration ignored his warnings, even though not a single error or contradiction could be found in any of General Vandenberg's testimony.

The day will come when General Vandenberg's words will be quoted again and again, and he will be acclaimed as another farseeing and self-sacrificing man, whose words should have been heeded before it was too late.

I hope that we will again be lucky and escape the worst consequences that could come from mistakes that have been made, but we cannot afford to take such chances with the future of the United States and the future of the whole world. The only way we can make the Russians listen to reason today is to be so strong in the air they will never dare attack us. The only way we can strike back at them today is through the air, and we are already leveling off in our buildup of air strength. They are going right ahead with theirs. I believe the people of this country are not going to be content to let this happen, and if I know the people of South Carolina, I know they will not be content to let it happen.

In this State we are deeply involved in the defense of the United States against air attack and development of our ability to strike back through the air with overwhelming air force at anybody who attacks us.

This airfield is an important part of that picture, and a fighter interceptor squadron is being put on this airfield for that reason.

The people of this country and the people of South Carolina will not be satisfied until we know that our air program is back on the track and receiving the emphasis it will have to have if we are going to prevent a terrible war—or even if we are going to prevent defeat in a terrible war that might be forced upon us.

We have the people in this country—and the resources— that can make the United States supreme in the air. South Carolina is going to fight for air supremacy and go on working to make the United States of America supreme in the air. If we can get this done, no one will attack us, and our country will be safe.

Pros and Cons of the Brownell Wiretapping Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have not had an opportunity to consult with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] regarding the matter to which I am about to allude, but I am sure he would have no objection to the request I shall make; in fact, I am sure he would desire to join me in the request. I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] and me on the pros and cons of the Brownell wiretapping proposal, the statement appearing in today's issue of Newsweek.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE HOT WIRETAPPING DEBATE: THE CASE FOR, AND A HARD-HITTING ARGUMENT AGAINST IT

(Attorney General Brownell's request for legislation to permit use of wire-tapped evidence in Federal courts, primarily as a weapon against espionage, has created one of the hottest issues confronting Congress. Here Senator HOMER FERGUSON, Michigan Republican and former prosecutor, states the case for enactment of such a law.)

Justice Holmes called wiretapping a "dirty business," and it is a dirty business, but espionage and subversion are dirtier businesses.

To some people wiretapping of any kind, even subject to reasonable restrictions, is an instrument for oppression of free citizens and should be forever outlawed. To many others, wiretapping for investigation of crimes involving national security and defense, and crimes like kidnaping, is a sensible adjustment between the liberties of the individual and the need for protecting the Nation from its internal enemies.

Chief Justice Taft held that wiretapping was legal and said: "A standard which would forbid the reception of evidence if obtained by other than nice, ethical conduct by Government officials would make society suffer and give criminals greater immunity than has been known heretofore."

Two recent cases, the Harry Dexter White case and the Judith Coplon case, emphasize the need for permitting the Government to use wiretapping evidence in criminal courts to prove espionage and subversion.

It seems to me that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover summed up the need for wiretapping when he told a committee of Congress:

"Modern techniques must be used in dealing with treason, espionage, sabotage, and the kidnaping of little children. I dare say that the most violent critic of the FBI would urge the use of wiretapping techniques if his children were kidnaped and held in custody. Certainly there is as great a need to utilize this technique to protect our country from those who would enslave us and are engaged in treason, espionage, and subversion, and who, if successful, would destroy our institutions and democracy."

Unfortunately, the technique of wiretapping has been widely abused by many persons, even law-enforcing agencies, for unlawful purposes and for their personal and political advancement. Its use in connection with marital investigations by the private eye, its use in labor, business, and professional rivalries, and its use by local police for shaking down racketeers and gamblers has contributed to the distrust which many people have for wiretapping.

Experience with wiretapping technique and the flagrant disregard for established lawful procedures by persons unauthorized to use wiretapping make it plain that a clear Federal act is essential for protecting both the individual and the Nation. The Special Senate Committee on Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce has recommended legalizing wiretapping. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee report entitled "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments" fully confirms the need for this action.

The three fields in which it appears that this Federal act is essential are espionage, subversion (which involves national security), and the kidnapping of children, which strikes at the heart of our Nation. It appears that such legislation is required to lay at rest the doubts which now exist in some minds.

It seems clear that the people of our country should not have to wait until our country is destroyed in order to learn who the plotters against us are, and that the people should not be helpless to require such plotters to pay a penalty for their betrayal.

A section of the Federal Communications Act bars the evidence obtained directly from wiretappings, as well as any derivative evidence obtained, from being admitted in a Federal court, although no law bars the tapping of wires or the obtaining of the evidence. The law prohibits the divulgence and publication of the information obtained.

A Federal wiretapping statute should be carefully restricted and contain a number of well-defined limitations for the protection of individual rights, including the protections which are afforded all citizens from search and seizures by the fourth amendment to the Constitution. It should only permit such evidence to be used in a criminal case in a Federal court, and only the FBI should be permitted to use this method and obtain evidence in this manner.

There are additional cases which could be brought to the bar of justice if wiretap evidence could be used in court and I believe justice and the public interest will best be served by the enactment of such a law.

(The Brownell wire-tap legislation will be opposed—by filibuster, if necessary—by Senator WAYNE MORSE, a former law professor. The Oregon Independent will be joined by a group of Democrats bent on beating the legislation. Here, MORSE argues the case against the legislation sponsored by the Eisenhower administration.)

In Nazi Germany families muffled their telephones with blankets so that the wiretapping ears of the Gestapo could not hear their private conversations. It is doubtful whether there are enough telephones in Russia to make such a practice widespread. We can be sure that what telephones do exist are tapped with impunity by Communist police.

If we adopt totalitarian methods to combat the activities of totalitarian agents, we thereby compromise our democratic principles and repudiate our historic faith in the privacy of the home as the free man's castle. Throughout the ages freedom for the individual has had to be protected from the tyranny of too much police power. A government ceases to be the servant of the people whenever police agents, under the excuse of crime detection, are allowed to monitor private conversations of supposedly free men.

In 1954 we should not permit the bogeymen of the Eisenhower administration to scare us into a legislative sacrifice of our rights of privacy. Brownell's wire-tapping proposal would do just that. It is an unnecessary device for detecting espionage, subversion, and treason. It is a coverup for lazy, inefficient, unimaginative, ruthless law-enforcement administration. The history of the struggle for freedom shows that indecent police methods, such as proposed by Brownell in this instance, breed disrespect for law and shake the confidence of law-abiding citizens in the administration of justice. Police tyranny is no substitute for police protection.

The denial of improper search and seizure has not crippled law enforcement. Neither will the continued protection of the right of free men to converse in privacy, irrespective of whether they be innocent or guilty of wrongdoing. We cannot legalize safely a wire-tap apparatus for police surveillance of the privacy of the homes of America and not run the risk of sacrificing, in the name of law-enforcement expediency, our hard-won protections against secret-police tactics.

Conditioning wiretapping upon a court order—and the Attorney General apparently is impatient of even such a curb—is insufficient protection against abuse. Of necessity, the application and order are secret. No one can be secure.

A wiretap order cannot be restricted to specific articles and evidence as a search warrant must be. Every word spoken and every person who is called or calls upon a telephone is open to unrestricted surveillance. Wiretapping invites the terrible danger of police blackmailing.

In 1928, the Supreme Court held in a 5 to 4 decision that wiretapping without warrant was not prohibited by the fourth and fifth amendments. There were historic dissents written by some of the finest jurists and interpreters of the Constitution in our history: Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone.

Listen to Justice Brandeis:

"The evil incident to invasion of the privacy of the telephone is far greater than that involved in tampering with the mails. Whenever a telephone line is tapped, the privacy of the persons at both ends of the line is invaded. * * * As a means of espionage, writs of assistance and general warrants are but puny instruments of tyranny and oppression when compared with wiretapping."

Primarily because of the subsequent passage of the Federal Communications Act, the Supreme Court has not had occasion to reconsider the 1928 majority holding, although a line of cases has indicated that the earlier majority opinion is considered no longer to be the law.

I do not for a moment underestimate the aggressive intent of foreign Communists and their agents within our country. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency are doing the necessary job in discovering and identifying enemy agents and are better off without a wiretapping blackmailing law to assist them.

During its infancy, the United States enacted the alien and sedition laws at a time of international crisis and domestic turmoil. The statutes, which restricted free expression, were rationalized on the basis of national security. What is a nation profited if it gains security and loses its liberty? The Eisenhower administration should ponder that question long and well, because there is no room in America for a substitution of police espionage for vigilant and unfailing adherence to democratic principles and fair methods of law enforcement.

When Milk Is Controlled the Public Pays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, in commenting on the milk industry and the consuming public before the House on February 3, 1953, I propounded a question which I believed, and still believe, has a great deal of significance to the housewife as well as the producer of dairy products. We all know how difficult it has been to halt the rising price spiral of food and everyday necessities in the home. On that date I asked: "Where can the head of a large family purchase a gallon of milk today without paying for 4 containers, 4 bottling operations, and the handling cost of 4 items in addition to his milk?"

I am glad to say that my question has at long last been answered through the medium of a very noteworthy article published in the Washington Post of January 6 by Mr. J. J. Lawson, of the Lawson Milk Co., Akron, Ohio. Both the producer and the consumer would do well to give serious thought to the resourcefulness and accomplishments of this outstanding concern and they are to be congratulated on their practical solution of a problem that affects every home in the country. While the question of controls and marketing regulations may be rather sectional in nature, there is so much of merit in Mr. Lawson's article that I would like to quote it in full at this point in the RECORD. It follows:

WHEN MILK IS CONTROLLED THE PUBLIC PAYS

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

The Lawson Milk Co. started with an idea about 15 years ago that a plan of milk processing and distribution could and should be devised and developed, whereby milk could be sold at prices low enough to fit every income bracket. Lawson's wanted to make it possible for people with large families to have all the milk they needed and could use, since milk is the most essential food we have for babies and growing children, and is the most complete food we have for the whole family.

The plan was completed, and the policy set for its operation. It has been the policy of the Lawson Milk Co., under this plan, to sell milk as cheaply as it is possible to sell it, consistent with the highest standards of quality. From the start, we were able to sell milk under this plan so cheaply that people could afford to buy it by the gallon.

It was then that Lawson's started to put up milk in gallon glass jugs, with a convenient carrying handle, selling it through through company-owned dairy stores, at 30 to 40 percent below the average retail delivered price. It was about 15 years ago that we opened our first dairy store. Now we operate 90 company-owned stores in the Akron, Cleveland, and Canton districts, and we serve, in addition, 40 dealer franchise stores.

The influence of this plan and the use of it has brought the price of milk down to all milk consumers in the above markets. They now can buy all their milk far below the National average retail price—64 cents per gallon—with savings of as much as $100 per year on milk alone for the average family of four.

At the same time Lawson's has paid milk suppliers equal to, or above, the top market price for their milk, and has paid employees equal to, or above, the average local wage of the industry.

How has this been done? By using the most modern and up-to-date methods used anywhere in the industry for the processing and the distribution of fresh milk in large containers.

Legislators, Federal milk control boards, and State milk control boards have given the appearance for many years—and maybe, sincerely so—that they are trying to solve the milk producer and the milk consumer problems of the country. Is it possible that the Lawson Milk Co. might have a simple remedy for some of these problems? Our plan is no secret and can be used nationwide, if desired and if not blocked by controls.

The Lawson plan was developed and put into operation for the purpose of selling milk to the housewives at a much lower price than prevailing market prices. We have saved our customers 30 to 40 percent on their milk purchases since 1939. But, as we have entered new markets which are Federal controlled, we have been penalized as much as $20,000 per month for selling our milk under the prevailing price in that market. When we recently criticized the evils of State milk controls, we were then sued for $100,000.

The Federal, State, and dealer association control policies, since the middle thirties, have sought to place the highest price on the fluid milk which is sold to the housewife. The milk to housewives is aways priced much higher than any other milk sold in the market. The result—she just buys less than she otherwise would buy if she was getting it at a much more reasonable price. Many housewives cannot afford enough milk for their family's needs at the higher prices. That is the main reason for the surplus milk and butter in the country.

Why set the price of milk to the housewife so high that she cannot afford to buy what she needs and then tax her to pay for what she can't buy, tax her to pay for the Government storage on the surplus milk and butter until it is disposed of by the Government, and then add a little bit more to her taxes to pay for Government enforcement costs? It looks like the housewife is having to pay for a lot that she is not getting and the innocent, helpless children in the country are the victims of evil abuses of National and State milk control systems.

J. J. LAWSON.

A REPORT ON NATIONAL MILK PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION FOR 1953

The United States consumption of fluid milk and cream in 1952—the latest year for which figures are complete—was 352 pounds per capita. (Figures taken from reports for 1952 of U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

Akron's consumption of fluid milk and cream in 1952 was 536 pounds per capita, or 184 pounds per person more than the national average. (Figures taken from the department of Health of the City of Akron, Ohio.)

Had the rest of the Nation consumed as much milk per person as did the people of the Akron area, there would have been a shortage of milk production of more than 15 billion pounds. There would have been no dairy problem—consumers, farmers, the Government, and processors, all would have benefited.

Delta Pioneer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the great Delta country of Mississippi, which I have the honor to represent, is not far removed from the stage of a frontier wilderness. We were reminded of this fact a few days ago, upon the death of Mrs. R. O. Smith, one of the pioneers who helped open up our section of the South.

Ellen Orr, one of the best southern writers about rural life, has written a fine tribute to Mrs. Smith which was first published in the Greenhouse column of Paul Flowers in the Memphis Commercial Appeal. The story of Mrs. R. O. Smith is one in the best American pioneer tradition, and I am pleased to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an extension of my remarks. It follows:

DEAR GREENHOUSE: The passing of Mrs. R. O. Smith, who carved a plantation from the wilderness on Sunflower River, west of Drew, closed a chapter in the history of the delta.

This is a tribute to a person who was a part of the making of the delta, and whose character and influence touched hundreds before her 78 years of life faltered to a courageous close.

Miss Nora Shaw was a beautiful girl with flashing dark eyes, and spirit to match when she first came to the delta in 1893, traveling to Schlater by train and making the rest of the trip by wagon to the site of her present home, camping out en route and making the trail. Panthers, wildcats, deer, and bear lurked in the woods, and strange noises in the night failed to daunt her fearless progress.

Returning to the hills and home of Choctaw County in the hills of Bywy community, the strange fascination of the delta called her again, and she returned in 1899, riding the first passenger train that came through Drew. The harsh delta and its pioneering challenges she met with unfaltering stanchness, standing shoulder to shoulder with her first husband until he died, and laboring without complaint beside her second husband until he died and left her with a family of bright-eyed, strong personality, individualistic children. Also he left her a toehold on the ladder of fortune if she held steadfastly. She went ever forward without a backward look to the might-have-been of a sheltered life.

It was 8 miles, give or take, to Drew. Or one could cross the Sunflower River and take the deep-cut trail to Merigold for supplies. Often she sent the wagon and eight or more mules to the river's edge and waited for the ferry. Sometimes the man who ran the ferry did not feel like serving the public. So they would wait until he felt more charitable and brought the crude ferry across the river, hoping he'd feel generous enough to let them recross late that afternoon or next day when they returned with barrels of flour and other provisions from the Merigold furnishing stores. Ax by ax, the Negroes felled the trees on this rich Sunflower riverside land, and Miss Nora pushed the wilderness back with all the might and main of a slight but steel strong figure and the kind of courage and fortitude that knows no defeat and accepts no setback as final. She followed the plows and the mule teams as they strained and pulled the rows up for planting cotton on the rich, flood-stacked soil of the delta.

She built a church for the white people of her community, and almost single-handedly built Negro schools and churches, so great was her civic pride and consciousness of her obligation to help people as she improved her land.

She carried keys to the commissaries, checked the pantries, and kept the shelves stacked with home-canned, home-grown foods. Alone and engrossed, she tried to be both mother and father to her children. But at last she saw they needed more advantages than she had time or equipment to provide, so giving them a hug and some hungry kisses, she resolutely piled them on the train at Drew and sent them down to Moorhead where "de Southern Cross de Dog." There they changed trains and with their baggage climbed aboard for the uphill journey to a boarding school near Miss Nora's home in the hills.

I remember them now, these delta children who had been sent to the boarding school. They were smart and precise and a little dictatorial and at the same time a little remote, as if they still saw their mother in the delta pitting her strength and her ambitions in a land where many men had failed, and where a slight figured woman had the cards stacked against her. Perhaps they were lonely for her. Perhaps they missed the wilderness where their mother brought them bear cubs for playmates, and a little fawn, and where the strong swift current Sunflower River flowed by the home of their hearts.

Once their mother had given them a bear cub for a playmate. He was a nice playmate until he got so big his affectionate hugs would squeeze the breath from them.

Then she tied him with a chain to the massive oak in the front yard of their plantation home. This kept him from digging up the crop in the sweet potato patch, and threshing out the head-high cotton that grew almost to yard's edge.

Once she had the payroll in a big lard can, and having no safe, she thought to bury the lard can beside the bear tree for safekeeping. All the tenants knew and feared that bear. They wouldn't venture near him. Hadn't he squeezed the breath out of the biggest dog on the place the week before? No, sir, they weren't about to venture close to that bear, no matter if he sat on the ground where all the delta's money was buried.

But next morning to Miss Nora's surprise, alarm and abashment, there sat the bear happily slapping the lard can back and forth to hear the rattle of money inside. He had dug up the dough, and was having a beautiful time.

"I gave that bear to the circus the very next week," she reminisced, "And we never buried the payroll again."

First to put in a gin, first to take on the modern machinery as it became known in the delta, Miss Nora also took vacations. Several times she traveled with the Know Mississippi Better train on tours throughout the United States and Canada.

"Canada, ah there is the country, lots of undeveloped frontiers there," she had a sparkle in her eyes even at 75. "If I had my life to live over, I'd go there. And the Canadian Mounted Police, they were such handsome fellows, too." Her twinkle made her ever young, and her intense interest in things and people. She collected things, pitchers, souvenirs of the places she had visited. A cypress knee from Florida, lovely translucent china, sets of glasses. She collected friends too, and the admiration of the people who knew her best. Her character and reputation remained untarnished, unchallenged, bright and shiny.

The long contoured rows of the plantation on Sunflower River remain a monument to Miss Nora, or Mrs. R. O. Smith, as the name on the mailbox proclaimed for years.

Her children and grandchildren honored her to the last, and her compatriots admired her.

Sometimes in writing the history of a country, we forget to look for individuals that made it great by their industry, fortitude, and matchless courage, the people who saw the possibilities of the land and its people and endeavored to make better the spot where they lived, and such a person was Mrs. R. O. Smith. She has her place in the history of the delta, and the hearts of those who knew and loved her.

ELLEN ORR.

Deepening the Spiritual Roots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following editorial which was published in the Daily Times, of Mamaroneck, N .Y., October 20, 1953, titled: "Deepening the Spiritual Roots":

DEEPENING THE SPIRITUAL ROOTS

When he signed the peace agreements that ended the war with Japan, General MacArthur indicated that spiritual power alone could protect mankind from its own destructive power.

Atomic scientists, organized into what has been called the Society of Frightened Scientists, have called for a great development of the moral strength that can help to control the scientific resources that are available in our world.

Laymen in business, led by Charles E. Wilson, have organized what they call Religion in American Life to use every advertising media to call to people's attention the need for cultivating the spiritual values in life. Ultimately they believe that the best defense against communism and its false theories is a good grip upon the truth that makes men free.

We see many evidences of the effort to make this deepened spiritual life a reality. President Eisenhower has set the pace by the sincere and worthy practice of opening Cabinet meetings with prayer. A prayer chapel has been dedicated in the United Nations Building. Groups of Congressmen meet each day for prayer.

The Advertising Council has made available billboard space and pages in national journals as well as spots on both radio and television to urge people to participate more actively in the religion of their choice. Even during the late world series, the familiar voice of a TV announcer urged his hearers to attend church as a family.

All of this is good, but it is only as good as the individual persons in any community make it. We would add our word of encouragement to any church that is making a special effort to reach more people with the message about the sustaining spiritual values of life. We would urge individuals and families to examine their values and look to the church for a renewed spiritual life.

We cannot live long on the spiritual capital created by past generations.

We must build our own.

The greater the problems of any age, the greater the needs for spiritual strength and moral insight.

We have a big task in this generation. Are we working at it as we should

Dare To Be Leaders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered to the Pennsylvania Association of Student Councils by its president, Robert W. Kummer. This is an excellent and timely discourse and carries a forceful and inspiring message to the young people of our Nation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

There is a legend about a furious battle of dim antiquity. At a time of desperate crisis, a coward skulked in the rear and muttered, "Would that I had a sword of keener steel, a blade such as the king's son bears." In disgust he snapped his weapon and cravenly crept from the field. You know the rest: How an unknown warrior, sore beset, snatched up the broken sword and saved a great cause on that heroic day.

There is a moral in this story for us who are attending this convention. In these dangerous and exciting days of the 20th century, are we content to be cowards or, at best, colorless weaklings? Do we excuse our failures saying: "I haven't the brains." "I haven't the time." "I haven't the money."; then, creep into the background leaving others to fight our battles. Or are we willing to dare to be leaders? To dare to use whatever gifts we possess to the best of our ability—now in school; later in college; finally in our adult community life.

It is a sobering fact that 20 years from now the welfare of the State of Pennsylvania, perhaps of the United States, will rest in our hands; we are learning today how to become the leaders of tomorrow. It seems to me this is the primary justification for the Pennsylvania Association of Student Councils and for this 3-day conference.

Dare to be leaders. Leadership is almost impossible to define, but there are many words in our language that defy definition. Take, for example, a kiss. If you've ever looked up the definition of a kiss in the dictionary, you haven't found anything there to get hot and bothered about. To appreciate a kiss you have to experience it; and having experienced it, you usually can't describe anything. So, too, the qualities of a leader do not lend themselves easily to definition.

However, if you would be a leader, you must be sincere. Sincerity in what you say and believe is indispensable. Lack of sincerity is one of the deadliest of modern diseases. It means popular approval without private faith. Youth in every generation has been ready to respond to high ideals; it is the sophistication of maturity with its cynicism and materialism that has undermined sincerity. No matter how keen and penetrating your mind, if it leans toward deceit and evil, it is not the mind of a leader.

Courage is the second ingredient of leadership. Long ago in ancient Athens, Pericles said that "courage is the secret of freedom." We are being trained as leaders in order that our free, democratic way of life may be preserved. Only men and women of courage can be leaders, for theirs is the heritage of Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and Samuel Adams.

Finally, a leader must possess vision. Among us, this morning, there are one-story minds, two-story minds, and three-story minds with skylights. People of the three-story minds with skylights possess vision. They learn by experience and plan for the future. These leaders are builders with imagination. They are prepared to make great ventures of faith—now and in later life. They receive their illumination through the skylight to master the problems of the present and the future.

Once in the Ford Museum at Dearborn I saw an early traffic sign. It read, "Take care which rut you choose; you will be in it for the next 50 miles." This sign is excellent advice to us who would be leaders. Whatever kind of life we choose today, we will be in it for the next 50 years. Dare we choose to live with vision, with courage, and with sincerity? Dare we be leaders?

You may wonder why we selected leadership as the theme of this convention. If you have read your daily papers and national periodicals, you know the answer. In our national life of the last decade, too many men of position have become deliberate, skulking cowards, abdicating their leadership. They have abandoned their sacred obligations to chase the rainbows of personal advantage and political expediency. Our democracy has suffered accordingly. Walter Lippmann crystallized this idea when he recently wrote: "If the free world is in peril, it is not because our enemies are so strong, but because the free nations are so badly governed."

The task of a leader in a democracy—your task someday—is to guide and inspire public opinion so it may rise to constantly higher levels. But what do we see among some of our so-called leaders in Washington and elsewhere? In the name of anti-communism these fakers try to strike down the freedom of the mind which alone of all things differentiates us from the Communists; in the name of Americanism, they are trying to suppress the right to think what you like and say what you think.

Believe me, a government is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent.

If we in America are not to become such a government, we as the leaders of tomorrow must train ourselves to stand up and fight. We as Americans are lost if each of us must go through life looking over his shoulder to make sure that the man beside him isn't preparing to stab him in the back.

But this morning you may say that you are not interested in politics; that all politicians are crooked; that all politics is dishonest; that you do not vote. Such neglect and indifference is criminal. Make no mistake, there will be no need for democratic leaders tomorrow if today we do not begin to practice in our respective schools the principles of democratic living. This morning and this afternoon in our group meetings we shall receive instruction in these principles.

Take back to the schools which elected you the lessons you learn. Unless these voters back home fully understand student government, they cannot have a sense of ownership in it. Unless they have a sense of ownership in it, they cannot control it. Unless they can control it, there can be no student government.

You represent the student power of your school, but power is never a good unless he be good that has it. Within your schools you are respected—never forget that a school is what it respects.

As leaders you are living in a glass dome, open to inspection and criticism on every side. You will prove a false leader, a coward, and a traitor if your school life is bounded by idleness, irresponsibility, and glory-grabbing.

You will make your school and America a better place in which to live if you hold fast to the ideals of sincerity, courage, and vision. They are the hallmarks of leadership.

Finally, if you would dare to be a leader, never admit defeat. Your path will be like a climb up a lofty mountain—each hill conquered will reveal a yet higher peak ahead. You may never reach the ultimate summit, for you will be continually exposed to the biting winds of jealousy and envy. But wherever you may climb as a leader in the years ahead, I would give you some advice from the fourth chapter of the First Book of Samuel.

When the leaders of the Philistines were hemmed in on every side by vicious enemies and insurmountable obstacles, they cried aloud, "Woe unto us. Who shall deliver us?" Then, realizing that nobody else was going to deliver them, they said to one another, "Be strong and quit yourselves like men, and fight."

And so must we. "Be strong and quit yourselves like men, and fight." Dare to be leaders.

The Late Chief Justice

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK L. CHELF
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Speaker, I was stunned to learn of the untimely and unfortunate passing of my dear friend, Chief Justice Fred Vinson, of Kentucky. The Nation can ill afford to lose a man of his Christian principles, integrity, wisdom, industry, and leadership during these perilous days in which we find ourselves.

He made an outstanding contribution to America in the House of Representatives from Kentucky, as a Federal district judge, a wartime administrator in many difficult assignments, as Secretary of the Treasury, and as Chief Justice of the United States.

In my opinion, Chief Justice Vinson did more to restore the faith and confidence of the American people in the judicial branch of our Government than any other man during my lifetime, especially when he called the Supreme Court, which he so ably headed, into extraordinary session in the Rosenberg case. That very wise and judicial decision and the dispatch with which it was reached shall stand as a perpetual monument to his everlasting glory.

The Nation has lost a great American and Kentucky has lost a stalwart, faithful son. I extend to his dear wife and all of his family my deep and sincere sympathy. May the good Lord bless them and keep them, may He cause His bright and glorious countenance to shine upon them and give them comfort and peace always.

Taft-Hartley Reflects White House-Congress Conflict

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in inserting the remarks of J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president of the American Good Government Society, before the National University Extension Association at the Hotel Statler, New York, December 29, 1953, in support of House Joint Resolution 1 and its companion, Senate Joint Resolution 95:

TAFT-HARTLEY REFLECTS WHITE HOUSE-CONGRESS CONFLICT

(Opening statement of J. Harvie Williams in debate-forum of National University Extension Association on question: "How Should We Select the President of the United States?" Williams substituting for Senator Karl E. Mundt, Representative South Dakota, and teamed with Representative Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., Representative, New York, in opposition to team of Senator Estes Kefauver, Democrat, Tennessee, and former Representative Ed Gossett, Democrat, Texas. One hour of debate, with 10-minute opening statement and 5 minutes refutation for each speaker, and 1 hour of forum questions from the floor of the NUEA conference, which is composed of professors of rhetoric and English high-school-debate coaches.)

The contrasting positions of the White House (the President's advisers, whether Republican or Democrat) and the Congress on the controversial Taft-Hartley Act was cited tonight as a prime example of the President's narrow elective constituency and of the broad elective constituency of the House of Representatives, the popular body of the Congress, under the present method of electing the President.

This contrast, which in effect says the long continuing conflict on this and other ideological questions between the President and the Congress is a conflict between the President's constituency and that of the whole Congress, was made by J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president of the American Good Government Society, who was substitute speaker on the program for Senator KARL E. MUNDT, Representative, South Dakota.

Mr. Williams was teamed with Representative FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Jr., Representative, New York, in a debate-forum at the Statler Hotel on the question: "How Should We Select the President of the United States?" Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee, and former Representative Ed Gossett, Democrat, Texas, resigned, were the other debate-forum team.

Eight large pivotal States with 213 electoral votes which turn on only 8 simple pluralities were described by Mr. Williams as the core of the President's constituency and contrasted with the 197 seats in the House of Representatives in the same 8 States which turn on 197 election pluralities. The difference between 8 and 197 pluralities was given as the difference between a narrow and a broad constituency in this case. The debate-forum was under the auspices of the National University Extension Association and launched the 1953–54 forensic season for some 4,000 high school and college debating societies and discussion groups whose subject this year is on electing the President.

The text of Mr. Williams' opening statement follows:

"When Senator MUNDT asked me to take his place on this program he asked me to bring his greetings to you—for this occasion and for the holiday season. Senator MUNDT has been held in South Dakota by a series of unanticipated commitments but wants you to know how deeply he regrets his inability to be with you this evening.

"My colleague, Congressman COUDERT, has laid great stress on the importance of political balance in the Federal Government, between the executive and legislative branches. He would achieve this balance by broadening the political base of the White House to equal that of the whole Congress, rather than by narrowing the base of Congress to that of the President.

"The central provision of the constitutional amendment which Congressman COUDERT first proposed in 1949 and which is now pending in Congress as House Joint Resolution 1, and which is sponsored in the Senate by Senator MUNDT as Senate Joint Resolution 95, provides:

"'SECTION 1. Each State shall choose a number of electors of the President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, in the same manner as its Senators and Representatives are chosen.'

"The Constitution now provides that electors of the President shall be appointed in each State—1 for each Senator and 1 for each Representative—'in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct.' The Coudert-Mundt amendment would merely change the manner of election of presidential electors from the present statewide, general ticket or en bloc system to exactly the same manner by which Senators and Representatives in Congress are elected. This would be a minor change in the Constitution. It would require no adjustment in any other part of our constitutional system.

"This point is of tremendous significance. We are considering changes in a constitution that has served us well for a good long time. Nearly 166 years young—little more than a moment in history—this Constitution is the oldest functioning instrument of government in the whole world. Its 'blessings of liberty' secured to ourselves and our posterity are beyond comparison with the results of any other political system that has emerged from barbarism.

"The Coudert-Mundt amendment will achieve the political balance between the President and the Congress that Congressman Coudert seeks; and this no matter whether the Representatives in Congress and representative electors of the President are elected in single-member districts or statewide, en bloc. For the amendment would permit either method of election in any State. It would merely require that both be elected in the same way. Since the manner of electing United States Senators is already fixed by the Constitution the election of senatorial electors of the President would be so fixed by this amendment, that is, two would be elected at-large in each State.

"At this time there is no law, constitutional or statutory, requiring Representatives to be elected in single-member districts. There was such a statute, from 1842 until the late 1920's which had been enacted under the original and concurrent power of Congress with respect to the times, places, and manner of holding elections. • • • (Art. I, sec. 4.) Because Congress now has the power to establish single-member districts for Representatives, it is not necessary to include such a provision in the Coudert-Mundt amendment.

"In the 1952 elections 428 of the 435 Members of the House were elected in single-member districts. Only New Mexico and North Dakota make a practice of electing their Representatives in multimember districts. They have two Representatives each. Three other States—Connecticut, Texas, and Washington—each elected one Representative at-large because their State legislatures have not redrawn congressional district lines since their representation in the House was increased due to growth of population. However, the single-member district is firmly established in the political customs and practices of the United States and it is in no foreseeable danger unless new and novel ideas should become a part of the Constitution.

"While it is true that the election of presidential electors in the same manner as their counterpart Senators and Representatives will restore much-needed balance to the Federal Government, only the single-member district for Representatives in Congress and representative electors of the President will give each voter—no matter where he votes—the same weight in electing the President and in congressional lawmaking. This equality of weight among individual voters throughout the land is no less important than political balance between the President and the Congress.

"Senator MUNDT puts it this way: 'Every voter in this country whether he lives in California, Delaware, New York, or South Dakota, ought to have equal power in electing the President of the United States.' He goes on: 'The Pennsylvania voter shares in 32 presidential electors while the South Dakota voter shares in but 4. Yet they share and share alike in the Congress of the United States. Each has 2 United States Senators and each has 1 Member of the House of Representatives.' Senator MUNDT calls this equal vote authority.

"Under the Coudert-Mundt amendment each voter, whatever his State, would share in three electoral votes. No more and no less, so long as the single-member district prevails for the election of Representatives, for representative electors would be so elected. Each voter would vote for two senatorial and one representative electors of the President and Vice President.

"Congressman COUDERT has shown you how the indivisibility of New York's electoral vote brings one set of forces to bear on the Congress and another and contrary set to bear on the President. I would like to expand that illustration to include the 8 States outside the South that have 16 or more electoral votes. The States are: New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. These States together have 213 electoral votes, 197 of which correspond to votes in the House of Representatives and 16 of which correspond to votes in the Senate.

"In the 1952 elections the 197 representative electoral votes of these States turned on only 8 pluralities while the corresponding House seats turned on 197 pluralities. The difference between 8 pluralities, on the one hand, and the 197 pluralities, on the other hand, is a measure of the difference between the narrow constituency of the President and the broad constituency of the Congress.

"As you would expect, because of the different form of constituency, the results of the election were radically different. The Democrats won none of the electoral votes of these States but won 70 seats in the House of Representatives. The Republicans won all of the 213 electoral votes but won only 127 seats in the House. The Coudert-Mundt amendment would 'unconsolidate' these blocs of electoral votes which are only 53 less than enough to elect a President.

"The 8 statewide pluralities necessary to win these 213 electoral votes are the very core of the President's constituency. They are the great prizes in presidential elec-

tions. While both parties have won all of them in different elections, neither has won more than 178 seats in the House. The Republicans won that number in 1928. The Democrat high was 135 seats in 1936.

"The distinctly different attitudes of the White House and the Congress toward the Taft-Hartley Act is a good illustration of the effect in Washington of the opposing forces that are brought to bear on the President and the Congress. Any President, Republican or Democrat, must consider the state of his political fences in these eight large pivotal States. In 1947 the House of Representatives overrode the President's veto of Taft-Hartley by 331 to 83. Of the 83 votes to sustain the President's veto 50 came from the 8 States we are talking about.

"Thus, in terms of congressional districts in these few States, where enemies of Taft-Hartley are strongest, that law has overwhelming support among the voters. In terms of statewide elections, the President's constituency, Taft-Hartley is a touch-and-go proposition, if not a losing one. Without prodding from the White House the Congress would leave the law alone or even strengthen it. Because of prodding from the White House—the President's political advisers—inspired by the strength of Taft-Hartley's enemies in the President's narrow constituency, the Taft-Hartley Act may be emasculated by the party which made it the law of the land. This is but one example of the ideological conflict between the President and the Congress. Truly, it is a conflict between the narrow and weighted consituency of the President and the broad representative constituency of the whole Congress. In waging this conflict the elected officials—the President and Members of Congress—are merely being responsive to their own constituents.

"The President of the United States should be elected in the most representative manner possible under the American political system. That system considers the States as coequal political societies for the purpose of representation in the United States Senate. This Federal feature of our system should remain clearly distinguished from representation in the House of Representatives according to the respective populations of the States, for it is our greatest contribution to the knowledge and art of statecraft. Since our poliitcal system is founded on a combining of the Federal and national principles of representation these principles should be combined in the election of the President. The Coudert-Mundt amendment does exactly that.

"Any approach to this problem of electing the President that begins with a clear understanding of the principles involved will inevitably conclude with the provisions of the Coudert-Mundt amendment.

"Its adoption would make eligible for Presidential nomination men from small as well as large States; and would transform the nominating conventions of both major parties. No longer would the political overweight of small groups of single-interest voters in large States be decisive as to candidates or platforms.

"Finally, and of equal importance in the long future ahead, adoption of the Coudert-Mundt amendment will make for a wider and clearer understanding of the structure of the American political system. Without such understanding what Lincoln called the last good hope of earth will go the way of Ninevah and Tyre. For the supreme issue in the United States today is whether the American political system, with its unique institutions and their upholding traditions, shall be maintained or whether it shall be made over in the image of European social democracy."

The Retail Druggist and the Federal Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Food and Drug Commissioner Charles W. Crawford before the National Association of Retail Druggists. The address, entitled "The Retail Druggist and the Federal Law" is an excellent discussion of the effect of the Durham-Humphrey amendments to the Food and Drug Act.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RETAIL DRUGGIST AND THE FEDERAL LAW

(By Charles W. Crawford, Commissioner of Food and Drugs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)

It is a pleasure to appear again on the program of your annual convention. I know what a lot of work Dr. John Dargavel puts into the planning of these meetings to make them outstanding occasions. You have an organization, and an executive secretary, in whom you can take justifiable pride.

The Food and Drug Administration greatly appreciates the relationship it has with the National Association of Retail Druggists through Dr. Dargavel, your able general counsel, Herman Waller, and your indefatigable Washington representative, George Frates.

We do not always agree on questions of mutual concern but there is a solid foundation for mutual confidence and respect—we always know where you stand and I hope you always know where we stand.

The Food and Drug Administration's doors are always open to anyone who has public business to discuss with us. There has always been a frank and open exchange of views between the Food and Drug Administration and the National Association of Retail Druggists and I hope this may always continue. Even when we are in disagreement, as was the case on the question of whether or not prescription files in retail drugstores should be exempted from mandatory inspection at the time the Congress was considering H. R. 5740, our relationship continued on the same basis of confidence and respect.

Our interest was that we should, at all times, be able to enforce the Durham-Humphrey amendment, and we had then, and we have now, some honest doubt about it, unless, under certain circumstances, we are given the authority to inspect prescription files. It was regrettable that we did not fully understand each other for I know that your organization has a particular interest in the Durham-Humphrey amendment and procedures for its enforcement. You were its principal sponsor. In years to come we believe that this legislation will be recognized as a monument to the farsighted statesmanship of the leaders of the National Association of Retail Druggists.

We believe also that if, under the present law, we find ourselves unable to enforce the amendment effectively, you will join with us to obtain legislation which will enable us to do so.

The Durham-Humphrey amendment is not only designed to protect the public health but also to dignify the status of pharmacy and to lay a sound basis for improving the relations between the professions of pharmacy and medicine.

One of the most important things the Durham-Humphrey amendment does is to prescribe a clear line of demarcation between the functions and responsibilities of the two great professions in the care of the sick. In effect the law says it is the physician's responsibility to prescribe medication and it is the pharmacist's responsibility to provide medication.

Such a basic clarification of the respective responsibilities of the two professions became necessary through the tremendous advances which have been made in this golden age of medical discovery. Instead of the old-fashioned shotgun medication to alleviate symptoms, physicians and pharmacists can now provide patients with high-powered bullets which cure disease when properly used but which also can do great damage when misused.

It is our view that the Durham-Humphrey amendment is a product of the age of science in which we live. The advent of this age placed a strain on the professional relationship between pharmacy and medicine by raising many new questions. But the age also provided the professions with the opportunity and challenge to meet these questions and thus place the relationship on a sounder and higher basis than ever before.

Because it clarified the situation we believe the Durham-Humphrey amendment is the keystone on which the new relationship between pharmacy and medicine and the solution of other professional problems can be based.

In addition to clarifying the matter of professional relations the Durham-Humphrey amendment settled a number of other outstanding problems of pharmacy. The best listing of these problems I have seen appeared in an editorial in the September 21 issue of your National Association of Retail Druggists Journal. With your indulgence may I repeat what I am sure you have already read:

"The Durham-Humphrey Act is a good law. It was enacted (1) to provide a workable procedure for refills, (2) to legalize the acceptance of telephoned prescriptions, (3) to free the druggists from the hazards of criminal liability for mislabeled medicinals shipped in interstate commerce, (4) to provide an objective standard for the classification of legend drugs in order to relieve the pharmacists from the intolerable confusion of promiscuous application of the legend, (5) to make possible more effective enforcecent of the Federal statute against sales of medicinals that are mislabeled to promote fraudulent purposes, and (6) to relieve the druggists from restrictions that handicapped them in their efforts to serve the public."

And now there is one thing I would like to make crystal clear. These retail drugstore operators who have been prosecuted under the Durham-Humphrey amendment and under the previous law are not charateristic of drugstore owners or pharmacists as a whole. They make up only a minute part of your profession, which like every other profession, is afflicted by a fringe. That fringe has no place in the profession. Certainly they are not practicing pharmacy. They are not following the dictates of professional ethics taught to every student in our colleges of pharmacy. They are not entitled to be regarded as members of the profession.

I would also like to put clearly on the record our procedure in the investigation of cases under the Durham-Humphrey amendment. We do not now, and have never obtained our leads by so-called snooping. We make no random or general searches of drug-

gists' prescription files. Since most druggists obey the law, it would be an inexcusable waste of time to attempt to get evidence of violations in this manner. It is like looking for a needle in a haystack. We have not sought out cases that way. They have come to us.

The Durham-Humphrey cases begin with complaints of drug injuries or abuses. We receive them from a wide variety of sources. Often it is a member of the victim's family or the family physician. The other day we had one from the family lawyer, who reported the name of the store from which his client's daughter was illegally obtaining drugs. Recently a city manager came to us with a serious barbiturate problem. Other leads come from police, coroners, social workers, clergy, and significantly from reputable pharmacists.

Investigation begins after we receive a complaint. Our inspectors attempt to ascertain whether the store will make illegal sales. If they succeed in buying restricted drugs without prescription, or in obtaining unauthorized refills, the inspectors then identify themselves and ask to see all pertinent records, including invoices and prescription files. It is not uncommon to find evidence of deliberate and repetitious violations of the law, such as forged prescriptions, raised prescriptions, or unauthorized refills marked as authorized by telephone. The prescriptions on file may be negligible compared with the amounts of prescription drugs purchased.

But in case the prescription file does not show such evidence we usually conclude that the pharmacist should be warned but not prosecuted.

Let me point out that in investigations under the Durham-Humphrey amendment, when an inspector identifies himself to the druggist there is usually evidence of one or more illegal sales. Where such sales have been through inadvertence or unintentional error and not the result of a deliberate practice, the druggist's best solution of the dilemma is to show his files as evidence of his good faith and that he has nothing to hide.

Actually, it is you, the retail druggists of America, who are the first line of defense against the few who disregard professional ethics and put monetary gain ahead of the welfare of the patient. Increasingly, you are supplying us with leads on which we base investigation of illegal sales. In one such recent case we had complaints not only from several individual druggists but also from the State Board of Pharmacy, the city police department, the health department, and the United States Narcotics Bureau. These sources told us of a store located in the skid row section of town which was generally suspected of supplying large quantities of barbiturates and amphetamines to vagrants and delinquents.

Preliminary investigation showed that the owner would make illegal sales only to peddlers or runners who distributed the drugs to users on the nearby streets. It was impossible for our inspectors to buy these drugs when dressed in their regular clothing. Two of our FDA men went underground. Dressed in rough clothing, they frequented the area and made the acquaintance of underworld characters. Through the latter they made numerous purchases, asking for the drugs by such names as yellows, whites, or benzies. Only silver coins could be used. The store owner would not accept paper money for fear it might be marked.

This defendant was thoroughly familiar with the requirements of the law. He knew them as far back as 1949, when we investigated a tip from a wholesale druggist regarding a suspiciously large purchase of barbiturates and amphetamines. These drugs were not delivered to the store but to the defendant's house. When his prescription files were checked we found many instances of refills made without authorization from the prescribing physician. A $3,000 fine and a 1-year jail sentence were imposed in this case, illustrating the serious view the courts are taking of violations of this law and of their consequences.

Druggists who engage in practices of this kind can hardly hope to escape being found out. The drugs they are purveying have powerful effects. Sooner or later someone is hurt, and the facts come to light.

Just a little more than 1 year ago the police narcotic squad of one of our larger cities raided an amusement center which was a hangout for teenagers. Sixty-four persons were arrested, over 50 of them under 17 years old. Sex deviates, delinquents, and narcotic addicts were among them. The officers who raided this party described it as one of the wildest in their experience. Marijuana cigarettes littered the dance floor. When the dancers "unloaded" upon the entry of the officers more than 100 tablets of various brands of barbiturates were found scattered over the floor. A teenage girl was caught flushing barbiturates down the toilet. Many of those arrested were described as "all hopped-up and acting crazy." Six were described by the police officers as mentally "knocked out" as a result of taking drugs with beer.

Needless to say, local newspapers headlined this affair on their front pages. One girl informed the police that she had been using amphetamine for about 3 months. She identified the peddler from whom she obtained the drugs and the drugstore from which he purchased them. Working incognito, our inspectors made several buys, and the store owner was subsequently convicted in Federal court, fined, and put on probation for 1 year. Several other druggists were also convicted. The girl's escort and the peddler have since been convicted under State law for illegal possession of drugs.

There is not time here to relate other significant cases. We have had a number of them involving juveniles in various cities of the country. The point I would make is that cases of this kind are generally regarded as front-page material by the newspapers. Juvenile delinquency and abuse of drugs are important public problems. Combine them and you have headlines. These are the kinds of cases that can't be kept out of the newspapers.

FDA court actions are reported by the press like any other court activities. Reporters have access to anything that is a matter of court record. We issue no publicity ourselves until a case is terminated. At that time we are required by section 705 (a) of the law to publish the pertinent facts of each case.

We realize that you do have a public-relations problem, and in our public statements we try always to include a qualification making it clear that the illegal acts of the minority are not characteristic of the profession. Your problem is peculiarly difficult because of the serious and often sensational consequences that flow from violations of your professional ethics. It is therefore all the more important that the Durham-Humphrey amendment be vigorously enforced. We intend to do so, with every means at our command. When a druggist refuses to permit inspection of his prescription file and we have strong reasons to believe it contains evidence essential to the completion of a sound Federal court case, we shall ask the nearest judge or United States commissioner for a search warrant. Or as an alternative or supplement to search-warrant proceedings we shall refer the facts to the State board of pharmacy or other local enforcement agency and offer our full cooperation in bringing the renegade to book.

We hope to encourage wider and more effective coverage of the problem by State and local enforcement groups. Although some States have an impressive record of enforcement, most of them are hampered by lack of adequate laws and manpower. A recent survey showed that in 18 States there is no enforcement by State inspectors and that there were only 4 that spend the time of more than 1 inspector for this work. While some local police departments are spending considerable time in this field, their activities are largely limited to development of cases based on possession and not cases based on illegal sale by drugstores. The survey showed that during the period July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953, State and local enforcement groups brought a total of 679 cases on which penalties were imposed or licenses revoked or suspended, while 111 Federal cases were terminated during this period. It should be noted, however, that 640 of the 679 cases brought by State and local enforcement groups were in only 9 States. Thirty-six Federal cases were terminated in these States. In general, the Federal court penalties are much more severe.

I want to point out that there is a way for your profession to disassociate itself from the unethical fringe and to make it clear that their activities are not characteristic of druggists. That way is for pharmacy itself to take action, vigorously and forthrightly, against unethical practices. That way is for pharmacy to join in strengthening existing laws designed to curb unethical practices that tend to put the entire profession in a bad light. That way is to seek adequate provision for the enforcement of these laws.

To the extent that boards of pharmacy can take over this field of regulation and thereby obtain observance of the Federal law which Congress has enacted to protect the public, we will be glad to turn our efforts to other problems.

Under the Durham-Humphrey amendment the pharmacist has the exclusive franchise to be the custodian and dispenser of all prescription drugs. The law is silent as to the mode of distribution of over-the-counter items, leaving their regulation to the States. The FDA is not indifferent to the way in which potentially dangerous drugs are sold. We have recently been investigating, with a view to legal action, several cases where wholesalers apparently sold prescription-legend drugs to nonlicensed outlets.

Since the passage of the Durham-Humphrey amendment, physicians have been giving more attention to the marking of prescriptions with refill instructions. The amendment has had the effect of putting the responsibility on the doctor, where it belongs, for deciding whether or not his prescription for a particular drug should be refilled. I should like to emphasize that no druggist should feel apologetic when he telephones the doctor for refill instructions. A good physician wants to know when his patient feels a need to continue medication. He is appreciative of this cooperation by the pharmacist.

Contrary to some of the dire predictions, there has been an increase in refill business for the druggist since the Durham-Humphrey amendment was passed.

The thought I would leave with you is simply that we have in common a very serious fundamental problem—the misuse of drugs. It is a perennial problem which neither the Government, the trade, nor the profession can solve alone. From this fundamental problem stem various other problems of professional ethics, public relations, and law enforcement. We cannot hope to make progress on any of them if we are working at cross purposes. It has been demonstrated in the past that we and the National Association of Retail Druggists have been able to work together constructive in the public interest. I am most hopeful that this working relationship will continue, and I pledge the best efforts of the Food and Drug Administration to that end.

Report by Special Committee of the St. Louis Bar Association Opposing the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have received from Mr. Lon Hocker, president of the Bar Association of St. Louis, a majority report of the association's expert committee on constitutional and international law.

This majority report expresses clearly and unequivocally opposition to Senate Joint Resolution 1, known popularly as the Bricker amendment. I am sorry the majority report was not unanimous, and that a minority report was filed but we all appreciate that deep controversy has prevailed over this issue in the American bar for some time.

The St. Louis majority report was distributed to the association's full membership. A vote was taken on it. The vote was 229 for the majority report and 164 against.

Needless to say, I am gratified at the decision of the St. Louis bar to join with numerous other outstanding bar groups in opposing the Bricker amendment.

I send now to the desk the text of the special committee's majority report and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE BAR ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW RE THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

(Submitted November 23, 1953)

In accordance with the mandate of this association, your special committee on constitutional and international law has given careful consideration to Senate Joint Resolution 1, as revised by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, which is usually designated as the Bricker amendment. The text of this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

Since most of the members of your committee had already given careful study to the Bricker amendment and had reached considered opinions as to its merits, it became apparent at the outset of its deliberations that the members of this committee were so divided in their views that the committee could not unanimously agree upon recommendations to be made to the members of this association concerning this proposed amendment.

Your committee is of the opinion that it is not practicable to attempt to incorporate in its report to this association a complete analysis of the Bricker amendment or to present extensively the various arguments which have been advanced in favor of and against its adoption. A substantial volume of literature on the subject has been published during the past several years. The report of the Senate Judiciary Committee alone devotes 34 printed pages to an exposition of the views of the majority favoring the adoption of the amendment and 19 printed pages to the views of the minority opposing its adoption. Fairly representative of the material which has been written on the subject are two pamphlets prepared by Frank E. Holman, one of the principal advocates of the amendment, entitled respectively, "The Erroneous Arguments of the Opponents of a Constitutional Amendment on Treaties and Executive Agreements—An Analysis and Answer" and "Treaty Law and the Constitution"; and the report of the committee on constitutional aspects of international agreements to the section of international and comparative law of the American Bar Association, which recommends that this section of the American Bar Association oppose the adoption of the Bricker amendment.

It is recognized by your committee that the Bricker amendment is of vital significance and that it should receive the thoughtful consideration of all members of this association and, indeed, of all citizens. After careful consideration, the members of your committee concluded that they could best serve the members of this association by presenting for their consideration a summarization of the principal arguments which have been advanced for and against the adoption of this amendment.

Accordingly, Forrest M. Hemker, Jacob M. Lashly, Samuel H. Liberman, Wilder Lucas, and Paul B. Rava, who are opposed to the adoption of the Bricker amendment, have prepared and submit for the consideration of the members of this association the following summary of their views on the subject, in which the chairman of your committee concurs:

"We believe that the proposed constitutional amendment known as the Bricker amendment (S. J. Res. 1), as amended by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which deals with the treatymaking powers as presently provided by the Constitution, is unnecessary and undesirable, and that the various other texts suggested carry serious hazards in varying degrees. As reasons for our conclusion, we submit the following:

"Section 1, which provides that a provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect, simply states what is already the accepted construction of the United States Constitution with respect to treaties and is unnecessary. The supremacy of the Constitution and amendments thereto over any treaty provision rests on the basic principles of the Constitution and is supported by the consistent decisions of the Supreme Court. As Chief Justice Taney said for the Court in 1853: 'The treaty is therefore a law made by the proper authority, and the courts of justice have no right to amend or disregard any of its provisions, unless they violate the Constitution of the United States' (*Doe* v. *Braden* (16 How. 635, 657)). In accord: *The Cherokee Tobacco* ((1870) 11 Wall. 616, 620–621); *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* ((1890) 133 U. S. 258, 267); and *United States* v. *Minnesota* ((1926) 270 U. S. 181, 207–208). This doctrine is not weakened but is reaffirmed in *Missouri* v. *Holland* ((1920) 252 U. S. 416, 433), where Justice Holmes states: 'We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treatymaking power . . . The treaty in question does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution.'

"Not only is section 1 unnecessary but it is also decidedly undesirable. Since constitutional amendments are not ordinarily enacted to accomplish something already effective, there is the danger that courts will construe the amendment as intended to change the present law. In the view of the members of the committee on peace and law of the American Bar Association, which has been advocating this amendment, section 1 is intended to reverse the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland* that the treaty power is a delegated power, the proper exercise of which may not necessarily be forbidden by the 10th amendment. (See testimony of Mr. Alfred J. Schweppe, Senate committee hearings, p. 54.) Thus, section 1 would introduce in the Constitution a new element of confusion.

"Section 2 of the proposed amendment is a two-pronged reversal of our constitutional system. First, it requires that before a treaty becomes valid as domestic law it must be reenacted by Congress. Secondly, it provides that legislation implementing the treaty be within the specifically enumerated and delegated powers of Congress.

"As to the first requirement, it would disable this country from entering into self-executing treaties. Our present practice is particularly justified by the constitutional provision that two-thirds of the Senators present must concur in the ratification of any treaty. In the 164 years of its existence this safeguard has proved both real and effective: Of the 1,224 treaties submitted to the Senate from 1789 to March 30, 1953, 130 were not approved, 214 were approved with reservations or understandings and 31 were pending as of that date.

"The second requirement of section 2 of the amendment would necessitate enabling and implementing legislation by each of the 48 States, with the exception of certain limited fields. That was the condition under the confederacy and was one of the principal reasons which led to the adoption of the Constitution in its present form. The fears which are now being expressed by Senator BRICKER and others were also expressed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution and these fears were rejected as unfounded by a majority of the delegates. Experience since then justifies the wisdom of the position then taken.

"The proposed amendment would embarrass tremendously and weaken critically the United States in its conduct of foreign affairs and hinder the President in carrying our major responsibilities. In many instances a foreign country would virtually have to make separate treaties with each of the 48 States or at least obtain concurrent legislation from them.

"Such a change would also upset the constitutional balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. The President does not have a free hand under present constitutional provisions in negotiating treaties. He still must have the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present to have the treaty ratified, which in itself is sufficient check on abuse of power and has proved to be such. In fact the Executive has never made a treaty which has been held to conflict with the Constitution. In the same period some 70 acts of Congress have been held void by the courts.

"With reference to section 3 dealing with executive agreements we feel that the proposed amendment does not meet the objective which might have been desirable, namely the definition of where treaties end and executive agreements take over. As the amendment is drafted, most if not every executive agreement could well require legislative implementation. That is not practical in the conduct of foreign affairs where in times of emergency swift action by the executive head is required. In most instances, however, executive agreements are

entered into pursuant to prior legislative authorization. The possibility of an abuse by the President of his powers as to executive agreements is not overlooked by us but the likelihood of such occurrence appears to be remote and we feel the probability of detriment to the country by hampering the President (as proposed) in entering into such agreements in emergencies is far greater than the danger of abuse. The subjection of executive agreements to the provisions of proposed sections 1 and 2 is open to the same objections as the subjection of treaties to these restrictions.

"The proponents of the amendment contend that its enactment would prevent the reoccurrence of such agreements as that of Yalta. They fail to advise, however, that since the Yalta agreement did not affect American internal law, no congressional action would have been required, had the Bricker amendment been in existence at that time.

"Furthermore, the effect of any undesirable treaty or an executive agreement can be met by an act of Congress subsequent to the date of the adoption of the treaty or agreement, and such statute would supersede the provisions of the treaty, insofar as our courts are concerned, although it may constitute a breach of an international obligation. The doctrine is not disputed that a subsequent act of Congress will override insofar as domestic law is concerned either a treaty (*Moser* v. *United States* (1951, 341 U. S. 41, 45) and cases cited in note 5) or, a fortiori, an executive agreement. Compare *United States* v. *Guy W. Capps, Inc.* ((1953, C. A. 5) 204 F. (2d) 655, 658) which held that the executive agreement between the United States and Canada of 1948 'was void because it was not authorized by Congress and contravened provisions of a statute dealing with the very matter to which it related.'

"As President Eisenhower has said, the proposed amendment 'would have had the effect of depriving the President of the capacity necessary to carry on negotiations with foreign governments * * *.' It is our belief that constitutional amendments transcend partisan politics, and that our fundamental principles of government should not be imperiled because of occasional fears or feelings. Over a century ago, Justice Joseph Story concluded his analysis of the underlying issue with an enlightening warning which is equally true today: 'The treaty-making power * * * was declaimed against with uncommon energy as dangerous to the commonwealth and subversive of public liberty. Time has demonstrated the fallacy of such prophecies, and has confirmed the belief of the friends of the Constitution, that it would be not only safe but full of wisdom and sound policy. Perhaps no stronger illustration than this can be found, of the facility of suggesting ingenious objections to any system calculated to create public alarm, and to wound public confidence, which, at the same time, are unfounded in human experience or in just reasoning.'

"The proposed effort to limit the treaty-making power and to curtail the constitutional authority of the President to conduct our foreign relations appears to be motivated at least partly by an attempt to weaken our participation in the United Nations and eventually cause our withdrawal from that organization on the part of those who do not understand that the only alternative to collective security is universal insecurity.

"For all the foregoing reasons we feel that the proposed amendment is ill advised and we recommend its rejection."

* * * * *

In order that the issue may be presented for the consideration of the members of this association, the majority of the members of your committee who are opposed to the adoption of the Bricker amendment, propose the adoption by the members of this association of the following resolution:

"*Be it resolved*, That the Bar Association of St. Louis is opposed to the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 1 as revised by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate and recommends that said resolution be rejected by the Congress of the United States; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the executive committee of this association be and it is hereby authorized to transmit copies of this resolution to the Congress of the United States and to take such other action as it may deem appropriate to make known the opposition of this association to the adoption of the Bricker amendment."

Respectfully submitted.

FORREST M. HEMKER,
JACOB M. LASHLY,
SAMUEL H. LIBERMAN,
WILDER LUCAS,
PAUL B. RAVA,
FRANK P. ASCHEMEYER,
Chairman, constituting the majority of the committee.
LYLE M. ALLEN, JR.,
WILLIAM R. SCHNEIDER,
RICHARD O. RUMER,
Constituting the minority of the committee.

The Rocky Path of Equal Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Hartford Courant:

THE ROCKY PATH OF EQUAL RIGHTS

It was in 1923 that Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas, later vice president under President Hoover, first introduced the equal rights amendment to the Constitution. That was shortly after the nineteenth amendment had given women the vote. The new proposal followed from a drive to sweep away all remaining legal discriminations against their sex. [The amendment reads "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex."]

Some of the oppositoin is backward looking, for among the "protections" the amendment would get rid of are provisions in several States prohibiting women from serving on juries, restricting the right of a married woman to make a contract, and like matters. But opposition also comes from those of less archaic outlook. Thus Senator LEHMAN, of New York, for example, pointed out the other day that passage of the amendment risked doing away with some of the legal discriminations in favor of women enacted in States like New York.

Actually all this confuses the issue. In fact it is hard to understand what the fuss is all about. The position of women has changed with the years, and all this amendment would do is recognize in the Constitution the simple fact that our society considers men and women to be legal equals. The objections to the amendment are a survival from the thinking of a century ago, when women not only could not vote, but were ineligible for public office, and when a husband could restrain his wife's personal freedom, or punish her for disobedience to his commands. Where special legislation is necessary to protect women it should be embodied in statute law, just as is special protection for men when the conditions of their work or other factors make it desirable.

Sensible as it is, the equal rights amendment has never been presented to the House, but to the Senate twice. The Senate passed it again the other day, though with an amendment that virtually undoes all that is sought in it. So it goes. Well, it took 80 years[1] to give women the vote. Let us hope that, long before 1973, the equal rights amendment will have been accepted as a matter of course.

CONNECTICUT COMMITTEE FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Twenty Years of Service by the Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very excellent editorial from the New York Times commenting upon the Tennessee Valley Authority's 20 years of service, and pointing out that TVA has done a good job.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TVA'S 20 YEARS

The Tennessee Valley Authority in its annual report at the end of 20 years of operation is able to point to some great material achievements in the region it serves. The consumption of electricity has risen from 1.5 billion kilowatt-hours annually to 24 billion kilowatt-hours—several times more rapidly than the nationwide increase. The report presents TVA's power operations as "self-supporting and self-liquidating." There has been and will be endless dispute as to the power bookkeeping in the TVA reports, but the figures do show a net rate on the estimated power investment of 2.7 percent last year and as high as 5.8 percent in some years. Finally, some $81 million has been paid back into the United States Treasury or used to retire bonds.

At the same time—TVA has continued as directed by law to develop and maintain navigation in the Tennessee Basin; has developed new fertilizers and encouraged better farm practices; it has worked effectively in the conservation of soil and forests; it has stimulated industries, including such private giants as the Aluminum Company of America and such public giants as the atomic energy plants.

The controversial element in TVA has always been and will doubtless remain its power operations. Criticism in some quarters has increased as the Authority has found it necessary to build steam plants to supplement its hydroelectric plants. A private company would not be criticized for doing this, but a public agency, established to develop a river, might not be expected to derive 36 percent of its power from steam, as TVA did last year.

[1] Actually, from the first Woman's Rights Convention in 1848 to the ratification of the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution in 1920, the struggle continued just 72 years.

President Eisenhower was thought to have had TVA in mind when he spoke some months ago of "creeping socialism," but he has disclaimed any intention to sell TVA, literally or otherwise, down the river. The whole idea will probably come under sharp examination at the coming session of Congress, but TVA can stand it—it has done a good job.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very informative article which appeared recently in the Christian Science Monitor, discussing universal military training, written by Deane W. Malott, president of Cornell University. Dr. Malott was chancellor of Kansas University for many years, and has given much thought to this problem.

It seems to me that the article is of especial value at this time, as much thought is being directed to changes in our defense program which will give greater consideration to scientific and technical warfare.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING?

(By Deane W. Malott, president, Cornell University)

Any educational administrator discusses universal military training at his peril.

If he opposes it, he is at once accused of serving the self-interests of his institution, for it is completely evident that a broad program for UMT may drastically slash male student populations. If he approves it, his fellow educators tend to question his fundamental loyalties to the purposes of higher education.

A moment's further thought, however, should be reassuring that any effect of UMT, unless it basically changes the habits and desires of young men for an education—which seems unlikely—would be merely a passing phase of readjustment for a year or two at most, and any financial problems so posed would be solvable by imaginative administrators and by sympathetic governing boards.

The whole problem, therefore, calls for examination primarily from the point of view of the security needs of the country, with some consideration for the effect on the lives of the young men of the Nation—our greatest of natural resources. The timeliness of examination lies in the fact that the subject will again be before the country in the winter of 1953–54, when a report is due from a new Presidential commission.

During the existence of the experimental UMT unit at Fort Knox, I visited it to learn at firsthand of its methods and objectives. It was a picked group, frankly experimental. Some phases of its operation were good; others, to my thinking, were deplorable because there was lacking in a portion of the officer personnel the abilities to understand some of the implications and objectives of their mission.

I do not believe that such a picked unit and program could have been generalized to a national UMT. But let us assume that a well-planned, effective program of basic training can be developed. There are still a number of questions which I hope the current commission of reexamination of this subject will cover.

In a day of highly scientific and technical warfare, is it worth while to interrupt the orderly lives of all the young men of the Nation for 6 months or so of basic training?

A third world war (if it should come) must obviously be largely a war of engineers, navigators, mathematicians, physicians, physicists, pilots, electronic scientists, logistic technicians, and a hundred other highly skilled specialists.

Yet UMT would interrupt or delay by millions of man-days the preparation of the young men of our colleges and universities in acquiring the necessary complicated skills for these tasks in order that everyone might participate in a vast military "boot camp," with the idea that a universal basic training is essential for the specialized skills of modern warfare.

What specifically would be taught in a 6-month program of UMT?

Certainly we cannot provide electronics mates, quartermasters, engineers, pharmacists, machinists, pilots, or supply corps specialists in any such program; yet to be strong we must have these and many other technicians, too, in large numbers in our ever-ready forces in being.

What specifically would be taught, in what amounts, and by whom? May UMT possibly divert and lull us from a stronger defensive position?

Through the years the essential concept of UMT has apparently changed, but whether from changing need or expediency I do not know. It was first thought of as a year's program; then 6 months was brought forward. Yet in previous wars men have gone into specialized training or into combat after 16 weeks or even less of basic indoctrination.

To what extent and in what specific ways would they have been better fitted had they had the training of UMT?

What is the memory span of such a program?

In other words, as a result of obsolescence in changing techniques, as well as the leaky quality of the human noggin, how long will the basic program be effective for the average individual?

If war does not come for 5 years, say, will these young men again require weeks of basic training? If the time span is short, perhaps we should await the risk and be ready quickly to expand our forces to give the training at the time and under the immediate conditions of current warfare. Or will it specifically save time in mobilization, and if so, how much?

What is the probable cost and what is the officer and enlisted force necessary to implement UMT?

The vast sums and large personnel surely required for this program must be diverted from the training and supply of our forces in being, from our police and patrol activities in scores of countries throughout the world, or else additional funds and personnel must be siphoned off from our civil economy to create and operate this gargantuan undertaking.

Where is the manpower coming from, and what will be the fiscal effects of such a program?

The American people have never been given full answers to this question. Any adequate preparation is less costly in personnel and funds than war itself. But if UMT is a life insurance policy for our national survival we must be sure of the details of the policy and assure ourselves that it will pay off in the event of catastrophe.

That America must be militarily strong I have no doubt. In the event of conflict we may not have allies to hold the line while we ready ourselves. But I desire much more information than has yet been made available on the actual strength that UMT will add to our military power. And I do not think we Americans should subscribe to a program which does not demonstrably and specifically add to our current strength.

Will it be necessary to require the loss of an entire academic year for the college and university student who must interrupt the preparation for his life's objectives in order to serve for 6 months in UMT?

The program last before the American people urged 6 months' basic training, followed by ROTC or other special training programs. Colleges and universities, however, admit perhaps more than 90 percent of their students in the autumn at the beginning of an academic year. The military, for obvious reasons, would wish to operate its camps on an all-year-load factor. The result is inevitable months of further delay before the young man, having discharged his UMT obligations, can resume his civilian education.

The military possibly is under the impression that the colleges and universities could increase the number of matriculation dates in the academic calendar. To do so, as demonstrated in World War II, would strain the financial, physical, and teaching facilities of the institutions of higher learning, and vast new resources would somehow have to be provided from somewhere to make such readjustments feasible.

Wasteful delay, therefore, for the male student is the only other alternative unless the military can manage to take care of those in the midst of academic life in two shifts of three summer months. This latter suggestion would probably pose as great difficulties for the military authorities as would the basic revision of civilian academic calendars for college and university administrators.

Under UMT, what will happen to the college and university ROTC, Air ROTC, and Navy ROTC programs?

Reserve officers, trained in military techniques concomitantly with their liberal arts and civilian professional education, provided a great and distinguished group of officer leaders in World War II. Since the close of the conflict some of these programs have been greatly expanded.

There is much to be said for this joint training activity, where military discipline and training are obtained in the relatively normal environment of the civilian campus. Carried on beyond the basic—often to parallel the professional civilian education—the military training thus has meaning without the frustration of delay and uncertainty. The colleges and universities and many a commanding officer of an ROTC unit have been proud of the joint enterprise of this collegiate training program.

But will the youth of the UMT not feel they have done their stint for Uncle Sam and stay away from further commitments involving 2 or 3 further years of active service?

Those in the colleges and universities recall the reluctance of the returning GI to reenroll in a military program. In the event of this same reaction, following UMT experience, where will the military obtain its Reserve officers and those for active careers in the military which the ROTC programs have been designed to supply?

Wherein lies the actual strength of UMT?

There has been much emotion and little logical discussion of this subject. Certainly it presents in concept a simple blueprint for national military duty on the part of every young man in the Nation.

But is this actually desirable from the point of view of possible Russian aggression?

For, after all, Russia is the only possible great enemy, and she is demonstrably a tough, skilled, and ruthless one, bent on world conquest. We must be strong mili-

tarily, economically, educationally. We must think more clearly, marshal our resources faster, develop our offensive and defensive skills more quickly than she can keep up with us.

Does UMT, with its 6 months of training, best serve this purpose? Specifically how?

What are the relative merits of alternatives?

By higher pay, could an adequate professional force in being with the training skills and abilities of modern warfare be maintained? Could a plan of national service be devised which could utilize a larger part of the highly technical know-how of trained people as a substitute for mere routine basic training? Could men, for instance, be allowed to serve on completion of their formal education, whether that be upon graduation from high school or from graduate and professional school, thereby bringing to the service of the Nation the maximum trained abilities which we can muster?

The American public is not convinced that all possible imagination and analysis have been applied to this complex and difficult problem.

There are of course many other aspects advanced as pros or cons in the argument.

UMT as a psychological threat to the world, often argued, seems to me untenable. Nations with and without UMT have warred or remained neutral, apparently because of other environmental factors.

UMT as a mass discipline of American youth is an argument sometimes advanced. Such values are not clear. We in education saw at first hand the difficulties of the GI's, in some cases requiring months to solve, in readjusting to a world where they made their own decisions, and exercised their own initiative, in returning from that military world where initiative often brought disciplinary penalties, and where doing what one was told so easily was translated into the habitual policy of doing as little as possible.

There are those who put forward UMT as a great character-building experience. Some young men are undoubtedly benefited by the experience; some may be harmed by it. For most, the effects for good or ill are probably transient. Fundamental character is formed long before the age of UMT.

The whole problem is complicated, and the present state of American thinking is confused. I have posed the few foregoing questions not as a challenge which proponents of the plan cannot meet, or in the belief that the proposal is doomed for defeat if realistically appraised. Nor are they posed with the idea that answers are readily available to prove the soundness of the concept of UMT.

Rather these questions are posed because they seem to me to be vital, as America makes up its multiple mind on this serious and difficult problem.

Not only is our defense against aggression involved; so, too, is our internal way of life, our concept of education, our pattern of the individual's duty to his country, our financial structure, and our philosophy of national defense.

If UMT is the answer to the tormented dilemma of our responsibilities in a divided world, then forthright answers to these questions should be available to guide the thinking of the American people. If they are unanswerable questions, or if the material for reasoned answers is not yet available, perhaps we should continue to rely upon a strong, or even stronger, force in being, instead of placing such large emphasis on a 6-month training program, with its subsequent periods of active or reserve status.

Fundamental values are at stake for every American citizen.

Fictitious Savings in Cost of Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "You'll Foot the Bill for Phony Savings," published in the Democratic Digest for January 1954. I commend the article to the attention of Members of Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU'LL FOOT THE BILL FOR PHONY SAVINGS

Public health officers were disturbed this year when the administration hacked 27 percent off Federal funds for the control of tuberculosis.

The fight to bring tuberculosis under control in this country has been long and heartbreaking. Although TB is still one of the major causes of death in this country, enormous progress has been made in prevention and care through medical research and education. One of the chief factors in the defense of health is the campaign to detect the disease in the early stages.

The cut made by the administration will reduce Federal spending by $2.3 million during fiscal 1954, but in the long run this saving will cost the taxpayers many times that amount.

For one thing, it will mean the end of the mass X-ray survey in which 8 million people have been examined and 49,000 formerly unknown cases of TB have been discovered, many of them in the first stages when treatment is relatively inexpensive.

This is only one of the public health programs cut in order to produce a budget saving of about $51 million. Funds for VD control, for heart clinics, and cancer diagnosis, for mental health programs, for control of polluted water, and for public health personnel, such as doctors, nurses, dentists, and nutritionists have been slashed.

Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, tried to persuade Congress to retrench on medical research as well, on the grounds that Government encouragement in this field was being given on a scale where it discouraged private research. However, Congress rejected her recommendation of $44 million and appropriated $71 million.

Mrs. Hobby's cuts prompted the Washington Post to protest that "Economy means, of course, intelligent and frugal expenditure of national funds in accordance with national needs, not mere pennypinching."

Although the Post was speaking of the new public health budget, its comment can be applied with equal force to this administration's approach to all Government spending.

For the administration often seems to be more concerned with the appearance of thrift than with wise investments in the Nation's future. It has skimped on measures to control floods and prevent wars, as well as disease, giving too little consideration to the billions that can be saved by protective measures.

In order to back up the ballyhoo on economy, cuts are now frequently being made for the sake of cutting, and as might be expected, some of the much-heralded reductions are actually costing money.

The most obvious of these is the reduction in the staff of the Internal Revenue Service which collects our taxes. Experts have frequently pointed out that checking by the Service brings more in revenue than it costs in salaries, and T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, acknowledged to the joint congressional Committee on Taxation that the reorganization of the service he proposed would cost the Government over $250 million in undetected tax evasions by businesses. After the cuts a Republican Congressman, DEWITT HYDE, of Maryland, protested that "the scalpel of economy has cut too deeply in the wrong place."

A second expensive economy measure is the cut in the Bureau of the Budget's field service. The Bureau saves many millions of Federal dollars every year by acting as a watchdog on spending by other Government agencies. A reduction of 12 jobs in its field service, for example, will save $77,650 annually, but the service performed by those 12 men would produce many times its cost in actual savings, according to Joseph Dodge, Director of the Bureau. Yet Mr. Dodge requested the cut in order, as he told Congress, to set an example of heavy budget cuts for other Government bureaus.

Even more injurious to the country than phoney savings are the program cuts which the Republicans are putting through. Individually, the savings in programs are small, especially in terms of a $3.8 billion deficit. Yet collectively, the fund slashes will slow the spectacular improvement in living standards and working conditions which has been made under the programs in the last 20 years.

Many of these savings have a penny-wise and pound-foolish look about them. Here are some cases in point:

Mine inspection has been reduced by 10 percent from the amount requested in the Democratic budget. The saving is $425,000, a fraction of the cost of a single mine disaster.

The Democratic budget request for the Department of Agriculture's flood prevention program has been cut by 55 percent. The saving is $8 million. A single flood will carry more than $8 million in topsoil down the river.

The development of synthetic liquid fuels, the technique of making coal into oil, which would revitalize the Nation's coal mining industry, has been cut 43 percent. The immediate saving is only $3.4 million, but the loss resulting from slow-down in this promising field of research may be a staggering figure.

The administration has cut the Port Patrol Service which is responsible for preventing the smuggling of narcotics into the country. Although this is certain to increase the cost of controlling the illegal narcotics traffic inside the country, the real cost of increased juvenile delinquency cannot even be estimated.

The administration eliminated funds for 335 additional border patrol guards needed to police our Mexican border and prevent the unlawful entry of Mexican labor into this country. Local officials have been swamped by costly problems of health and law enforcement among illegal immigrants.

Atomic energy research has been cut 15 percent, in order to save about $7 million.

In the name of economy, the administration has stopped work on three dam projects, although the Government has invested $6.5 million in starting work on the dams.

We have invested billions of dollars in trying to save Asia from communism. Yet the administration has crippled one of our most important propaganda weapons, the remarkably successful American Reporter, a paper published by our information services in India. In the name of economy, this influential paper, which has four times the circulation of India's top newspaper, has been cut from a 12-page weekly publication in 7 languages with a circulation of 450,000 to an 8-page fortnightly publication in 3 languages with a circulation of under 350,000.

These are only a few of the programs which the administration has curtailed. Yet the sum total of all the reductions, including cuts in defense spending, leaves the administration facing a budgetary deficit of $3.8 billion.

This is politically embarrassing because the administration has made budget balancing a cardinal point of its program.

The administration has attempted to push this dilemma out of the limelight by giving a big play to the reductions they have made in the cost of government.

Yet many of their claims have so little substance that Democratic Senator PAUL DOUGLAS charged they did it "with mirrors" when Republicans announced savings of $187 million in the appropriations for the State, Commerce, and Justice Departments. Most of the savings, as the Senator pointed out, resulted from a Republican decision to put off meeting certain fixed obligations.

Among the savings which the Senator labeled as fictitious are:

Thirty-five million dollars in Federal aid to highways. Said DOUGLAS, "Expenditures for this item are committed in advance so that the cut will not stick."

Five million dollars in ship construction for the liquidation of contract authorizations. "Commitments are made by law and must ultimately be met."

Eighteen million four hundred thousand dollars for State Department salaries and expenses. This is offset by $15.6 million already authorized but not yet spent, and by $2.8 million which was transferred to other agencies.

Misrepresentation of savings also occurred when the appropriation for independent Federal agencies passed the House. At that time, the bill's managers announced that an overall cut of more than 60 percent had been made in the Truman budget request, from about $1,170 million to $450 million.

The Providence Sunday Journal analyzed the claim and concluded that 80 percent of the supposed cut was represented by two questionable or badly deceptive items.. One was a refusal of the House to make a regular annual appropriation to the Federal civil-service retirement fund, a measure the Journal called a temporary postponement of an unavoidable obligation. The other was a refusal to vote $225 million for stockpiling of strategic war materials, as enough money was left over from the previous year's appropriation. Since spending would go on at the same rate as had been scheduled, the savings would be all on paper.

Overemphasis on immediate dollar savings, whether fancied or real, inevitably tends to obscure the effects of retrenchment in terms of essential Government services. A pertinent example is the cutting of the armed services budget, which, in the opinion of many experts, has been carried to the point of jeopardizing our defense program.

The extremes to which this economy psychology has developed is suggested by the administration's contention that it is providing more defense for less money. That claim is given wide circulation despite the fact that less money also means fewer planes, less weapons programing, and cuts in pilot training, bases, personnel, and a contraction of the broad mobilization base.

In an article in the Saturday Evening Post, General Omar Bradley, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, protested the military curtailment as shortsighted economy, and warned against the tendency of budget cutting to become a habit as tempting as, and more dangerous than, the habit of dollar extravagance.

Our Veterans Now Get a New Economy-Sized Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article from the January issue of the Democratic Digest entitled "Our Veterans Now Get a New Economy-Sized Program":

OUR VETERANS NOW GET A NEW ECONOMY-SIZED PROGRAM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The experiences and situations described in this article are built around facts; the names of individuals are fictitious.)

Tugboats maneuvered the troop transport into its place at the dock, and after what seemed an endless time, the gangplanks were lowered. One by one the veterans of Korea made their way into the crowd of wives and sweethearts, parents, and friends, for a hero's welcome, and a return to the everyday problems and hopes of civilian life.

Sgt. William O'Brien, after 20 months in a mortar squad in the frontlines, had his heart set on building a new home for his wife Lillian and their two children.

Cpl. Eric Wheeler, who shouldered a bazooka all through the Korean war, hoped to return to his postman's job in his native State of Texas.

Not all of the returning veterans were able to make their own way down the gangplank. Among those who had to be helped off the ship was a slightly built private first class named Stephen Hanford, not yet fully recovered from a shrapnel wound. For him, a job was a far-off thing. There would be some months of convalescence in a veterans hospital before he could think about home and a job, and he wanted to take advantage of his schooling rights under the new Korean GI bill of rights.

The three returning veterans found their way into the arms of waiting welcomers, and set off, each in his own direction, to pick up the pieces of their civilian lives which they had dropped so suddenly so many months ago.

Things had changed since they left. Both the administration and the Congress had changed hands and were now in control of the Republicans. But none of the returning trio felt he had anything to fear. After all, last year, before the Republicans took over, Congress had passed a new GI bill of rights for Korean veterans. And now there was a soldier-President in the White House who surely would understand and care for their needs. Hadn't the President said, during the campaign, "I believe we should do everything possible for those soldiers while they are in there, and when they get out do everything possible to get them started in whatever they want to do"?

But as time went on, each of these veterans began to discover that there had been more than just a political change at home. To them it began to appear that the Nation's gratitude to its returning heroes was, at best, a grudging gratitude, sparingly expressed.

Bill and Lillian O'Brien found a temporary apartment, and began making plans for building their home. Bill had remembered that after World War II, and up until the time he left the country, the Government was helping out GI home builders by paying the first year's interest on their mortgage. Now Bill found that the new Congress had stopped this practice, and that he would have to foot the bill himself. He began reworking his cost calculations.

Then Bill went down to apply for his GI loan to finance his house. He had made all his calculations on the basis of a 4 percent interest rate, as it had been when he left. But now he found that the rate had been raised to 4½ percent. When had that happened, he asked? On May 2, soon after the new administration took over, he was told. Bill O'Brien went home to take another look at his cost figures and his bank account.

What he came up with was the sad fact that it was going to cost him between $600 to $1,000 more to build. He had hoped for a three-bedroom house. Now it looked as if two bedrooms would be all he could afford.

He began looking at houses already built. But then he heard gripes from some of his buddies who had returned from Korea before him about shoddy construction on GI houses. One of his friends had had a GI house for only a year, and already it was beginning to sag and the kitchen floor had begun to buckle.

Bill was not a contractor and there were a lot of other veterans in the same boat. He had read about an investigation by Congress that took place last year before elections, which uncovered a lot of shoddy practices by contractors who were taking advantage of veterans. One of his friends told him that the House of Representatives had made provisions for 1-year warranty on all GI housing, but the new GOP Senate had killed the provision. Another sign of changing times.

Corp. Eric Wheeler made the long journey home to Texas, thinking he'd loaf around for a while before making inquiries about his job with the Post Office Department. There was no hurry. After all, there were veterans' preference laws that should assure him the spot that he had left 2½ years ago.

But one day he read an item in one of the Texas newspapers that began to make him wonder whether his job was so sure, or if it would be a secure job once he had regained it. The story came from Hillsboro, Tex. It read: "One of the Nation's best known postmasters Saturday was taking his ouster after 19 years of service philosophically. He won't fight the ouster, under his civil service or veterans' protection because 'it simply is not worth going through it all,' he said."

Eric Wheeler began to make some inquiries. Other friends of his who held Government jobs were feeling uneasy, despite their veterans' status. The new Congress had tried to attach a rider to one of the Government appropriations bills giving certain Government agencies the right to fire people without regard to the civil service or the veterans' preference laws. The Democrats, it seemed, had voted solidly against it, and had beaten the rider once, but it had been put back in another bill toward the end of Congress.

Eric seemed to remember that there had been a Republican promise about veterans' preference laws and he decided to look up the 1952 Republican platform at his public library. There he found, in cold print, the words, "We propose that aid be given to veterans to obtain suitable employment, by providing training and education, and through strict compliance with veterans' preference laws in Federal service."

Eric began to cast around for a job outside the Government, one that would mean real security.

Pfc. Stephen Hanford spent 3 months in the Veterans' Hospital at Houston, Tex., regaining his full strength and health. Having just returned from Korea, his own treatment was fine, but he soon began to discover, from what he heard in the hospital, that other veterans, especially those who had been out of service for a while, were not getting what they had been told they were entitled to receive.

Veterans of World War II, Hanford remembered, had been entitled to free medical service when they couldn't afford the high cost of private medical care and when beds were available. Now the new administration believes they should seek private hospitals, and their own word wasn't enough if they couldn't afford to pay. There should be a humiliating inquiry to see whether or not they could or could not afford private hospitalization.

In a letter from one of his former squad mates in Korea, Hanford learned that thousands of veterans who had been promised dental treatment by the Veterans' Administration were now not going to get it. Hanford asked the hospital dentist about this. He was told that the new Congress had passed a new law which had the effect of denying dental treatment to thousands of veterans who had been told they would receive it. There was nothing the VA could do. The law was the law.

He also learned that the vets who weren't sick enough to go to a hospital, but too sick to go to work, were getting slower service in the outpatient program because of the new economy-minded administration's cuts in the budget for this program.

To Stephen Hanford, it began to appear that the administration and the new Congress were viewing the GI's returning from Korea not as conquering heroes, but simply as tax burdens—annoyances that were preventing the administration from reaching its cherished goal of a balanced budget.

Stephen Hanford's feeling was strengthened toward the end of his long hospital stay when he started writing some of his friends who were beginning to take advantage of are new Korean GI bill of rights to further their schooling. Hanford remembered that after World War II, there had been a lot of trouble with fly-by-night schools and colleges which sprang up solely to make money out of the GI education program. After the Office of Education had been charged with inspecting and approving the new schools, many of the abuses were stopped. But now the World War II program had just about tapered off, and a new inspection and approval system had to be set up to take care of the new Korean veterans. When the last Congress passed the Korean GI bill, it again charged the Office of Education with the supervision of the education program.

What Stephen Hanford found out from his friends who had been shopping around for schools and colleges was that the new Congress had denied to the Office of Education the funds needed to supervise the new GI education program. A good many of his friends had been making inquiries to find out whether this school or that had a good reputation, but none of them could be really sure he wasn't hitting a place that would give him a sloppy education.

In a veterans' news letter that he picked up around the hospital, Stephen Hanford read a statement made last fall by General Eisenhower at Grinnell, Iowa. The statement read: "All the time I was in Europe with 3 million young Americans, I used to try to tell them why we are fighting. We were fighting so they could come home and do the very things this young man says he wants to do. Now he finds he is not able to do it. It almost makes me feel as though I had helped to deceive him, and I get very angry."

To Stephen Hanford, the words had a hollow ring.

The Scandal at Fort Monmouth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Scandal at Fort Monmouth," written by Walter Millis, and published in the New York Herald Tribune of December 8, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARMS AND MEN
(By Walter Millis)
THE SCANDAL AT FORT MONMOUTH

The defense of this country against communism is by no means so simple as it looks. Secretary Dulles has said, and the President has backed him, that the activities of our chief anti-Communist crusader, Senator MCCARTHY, attack "the very heart of the United States foreign policy."

They attack other things as well, including some of the most critical of our defense installations and military activities. That defense has become in large part a race in scientific development is today questioned by few. In this desperate race, the development of radar and other electronic equipment is perhaps the chief factor which will determine our ability to defend the lives—to say nothing of the property—of tens of millions of Americans against atomic attack.

The principal center in which the scientific development of radar and other forms of military electronics has been going forward is the Army Signal Corps laboratories at Fort Monmouth, N. J. And in the past few weeks this really vital and sensitive military installation has been wrecked—more thoroughly than any Soviet saboteur could have dreamed of doing it—by the kind of anti-communism of which Senator MCCARTHY has made himself the leader and champion.

The Fort Monmouth situation is truly scandalous. It is so scandalous that some who have looked into it, thoroughly conservative in outlook and Republican in politics, are talking about demanding a congressional investigation—not into the alleged espionage (of which, on Secretary Stevens' word, no evidence of any kind has been discovered by the Army) but into the processes of witch-hunting, bigotry, cowardice, race prejudice, and sheer incompetence which have turned one of our top-level military-scientific operations into a mare's nest of exasperation, fear, and futility.

The facts are almost unbelievable without the documentary evidence before one's eyes. Monmouth employs about 600 trained scientific personnel, ranging from recent college graduates to men of experience and long training in the more difficult branches of physics, chemistry, and related sciences. On these there descended, about the middle of September, a whirlwind of security, apparently directly generated by the Army Intelligence section at the post, whether at the instigation of or in competition with Senator MCCARTHY not being clear. Within a month, at least 30 scientists—many whose services with the Signal Corps had gone back 10 or 15, and in one case, 19 years—had been summarily suspended by the Army without pay; another 11 had had their security clearances withdrawn, thus putting them in the "leper colony," where they could do little more useful than twiddling their thumbs.

The Eisenhower Executive order requires that a suspended employee must be served with charges within 30 days; the charges were slow in coming (not all have arrived as yet) but those which have appeared are an almost unbelievable farrago of guilt-by-association innuendoes. Extreme examples are those of the scientist accused of favoring the policies of Max Lerner, or of the head of a project in solid-state physics accused of attempting to transmit a techincal article written by you to a professor in Czechoslovakia. This arose from the fact that the accused was asked by the Czechoslovak for a reprint of an article which, duly declassified, had appeared a year before in a scientific journal of international circulation. Instead of simply sending the reprint, the accused took the precaution of asking his superiors about it, and was told not to reply. He did not reply; but his own security-minded inquiry now becomes the basis of a charge of "attempting to transmit."

Meanwhile, Senator MCCARTHY weighed in with his own executive-session investigations, to which a number of the suspended scientists were summoned. None of those now at Monmouth was accused of being a spy, still less of being a Communist, none pled the fifth amendment, and none intends to if given a chance. Just what sort of chance they do have is uncertain. The cases scheduled to be heard before the Army Security Hearing Board this week have been postponed indefinitely. Anyone who has examined available copies of the charges—and of the affidavits which at cost of time, money, and anguish the accused have assembled in reply—must feel it incredible that they could be sustained. All the same, the board professes to have no power to subpena the accusers or permit confrontation; and where such charges were originally leveled officially against top-level, highly trained men serving one of the most essential of all defense functions, it seems hard to say that anything is incredible.

The whole proceeding is very much like driving a Patton M-47 tank through the heart of an electronic thinking machine on the unfounded suspicion that some of its electronic tubes might have been made in Russia. It is certainly the farthest possible remove from a satisfactory solution of the delicate and difficult problem of associating scientific effort with military technological requirements. A first impression is that the commanding officer of the post, the military director of this vital scientific activity, who allowed such charges to be made by his intelligence people, must be totally and temperamentally unfit for the special responsibilities such a position entails. The strong elements of racial and religious bigotry and prejudice in the case can only increase the damage it has done to the common defense of our people against Communist power. The personal injustice involved is not here considered. The impairment of the national defense is something which no one whose life may one day hang upon the excellence of our radar screens can dare to disregard.

Capitol Dome at Night

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following

poem written by the managing editor of the Washington Post, Mr. J. Russell Wiggins, entitled "Capitol Dome at Night." Mr. Wiggins' poem appeared on the front page of the Post on January 3.

CAPITOL DOME AT NIGHT

Against the darkened winter sky,
Effulgent, luminous and bright,
It stands a beacon raised on high,
A symbol of a people's right
To government by men they choose,
To justice, order under law,
To liberties they must not lose,
To refuge from the tooth and claw
Or arbitrary men and states,
To safety for the strong and weak,
To curbs upon archaic hates,
To freely think and freely speak,
Against the tumult of our time,
The clash of prejudice and pride,
The sorry ills of wrong and crime,
The rage of hatred's swelling tide,
May deeds and words and acts of those
Who gather now beneath this light
Shine even as it gently glows
With wisdom, justice, mercy, right,
And lift a beacon men may see
From distant lands, against the skies,
Proclaiming men may still be free
Where hope of freedom never dies.

Expression of Appreciation by a Korean Veteran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, my colleague, the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and I were pleased to receive a letter recently from a veteran who served during the Korean conflict, asking that we express to the Members of Congress and to the American people his gratitude for the opportunity to continue his studies in the University of Miami under the GI bill.

It is gratifying to know that these young men who have sacrificed so much are anxious to express appreciation for the efforts of a grateful country to repay them in a small way for their sacrifices, and for my colleague and myself I ask unanimous consent to have this letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIAMI, FLA.

The SENATORS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA,
The Senate Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SENATORS: I am writing this small note of thanks to both the Representatives and Senators from the State of Florida, in hopes that you will express my deepest gratitude to the rest of Congress and especially to my fellow Americans, for enabling me to attend the University of Miami, under the Koreau GI bill. Without it I certainly could not have been able to pursue my present course of study. I fondly hope that you can find an opportunity to thank the American people through their Representatives and Senators.

Thank you for a moment of your very valuable time,

Yours sincerely,

AL AVISATO, JR.

Appraisal of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, from July 1 to July 4, 1953, the Second Extraordinary Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization met in Paris. Subsequenly, an appraisal of UNESCO was prepared by the Chairman of the United States delegation, Irving Salomon, of California, with the assistance and approval of the other two delegates, Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, of Minnesota, and President John A. Perkins, of the University of Delaware.

The appraisal, in my opinion, contains information which would be of interest to the American people and which would be helpful to them in increasing their knowledge of UNESCO, and its purposes and objectives.

The Public Printer has informed me that the appraisal, in its entirety, would require seven and one-half pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at an estimated cost of $637.50. However, I have been advised by officials of the Department of State that the final section of the appraisal, embodying opinions of UNESCO from other countries, could properly be excluded without destroying the sense of the document or the value of the information it contains for us here in the United States. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the first five subdivisions of the appraisal, the sixth being the opinions of UNESCO from other countries to which I have just referred. The Public Printer has advised me that this insertion will require five and one-quarter pages of the RECORD at an estimated cost of $446.25.

There being no objection, the first five subdivision of the appraisal were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN APPRAISAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION BY THE DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SECOND EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO, JULY 1–4, 1953

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 15, 1953.

To the Fourth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO:

I wish that I could be at your meetings because the United States National Commission for UNESCO, and its Fourth National Conference—both examples of the high degree of citizen responsibility in a free republic—are working for peace and advancement.

The Department of State appreciates the contribution being made by the officers, members, alumni, and organizations of the National Commission in improving our understanding of and participation in world affairs.

You and your Government have supported the principles of UNESCO and constantly work to strengthen and improve the UNESCO program. With this in mind, the President asked his delegates to the recent special session of the UNESCO General Conference to explore and consult in Paris with the representatives of other governments, the individual members of UNESCO's Executive Board, and the International Secretariat.

I want to share with you, as an example of our continuous study in international collaboration, the conclusions transmitted in July by this distinguished delegation—Irving Salomon, of California, chairman; Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, of Minnesota; and President John A. Perkins, of the University of Delaware. The delegation reported that—

1. The top officers in the Secretariat, both Americans and non-Americans, who are responsible for administration and program execution, are doing so with fidelity to UNESCO's aims and purposes.

2. The influences which predominate in the Organization derive from a full regard for the human rights and fundamental freedoms affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. UNESCO does not advocate world government, or world citizenship in the political sense. The United States delegation found no official expression of the General Conference, the Executive Board, the Director General, or the Secretariat that gives the slightest support to this charge. They found no fear on this point among the representatives of other governments who, on the contrary, find it difficult to comprehend the American fear on this matter.

4. The delegation reported that UNESCO does not attempt, directly or indirectly, to undermine national loyalties or to encourage the substitution of loyalty to and love for a supranational authority for loyalty to and love for one's own country, as has been alleged in some quarters.

5. The delegates reaffirmed that the official bodies and the personnel of UNESCO observe the provision of the UNESCO Constitution which prohibits UNESCO from interfering in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of member states. UNESCO does not attempt to interfere in the American school system.

6. The delegation could find no evidence of atheism or antireligious bias in any of UNESCO's work. I am happy to report to you these observations of the delegation.

The people of the United States do gain or can gain many valuable benefits from their participation in UNESCO. The advancement by UNESCO of human welfare through education, science, and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SECOND EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO,
Paris, August 31, 1953.

The SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Supplementing my letter of July 8, in which I took the liberty of acquainting you briefly with the findings of my delegation to the UNESCO Conference, I take pleasure in attaching hereto a more detailed report.

Our delegation to the Conference of UNESCO remained a few days afterward in Paris, spending some time with the Secretariat at UNESCO headquarters, because we felt that Members of Congress, other officials of the Government, and the public in general, should be reliably informed concerning UNESCO. Hence, I am taking the liberty of suggesting that the Department of State circulate this report to whatever extent seems feasible.

Although this appraisal gives UNESCO a rather clean bill of health in answering the criticisms leveled against it, may I assure you that our delegation was completely objective and not biased in any direction. Had

the facts been otherwise, we would have discussed them with equal frankness.

Our findings being what they are, however, we hope that they will contribute toward dispelling, or at least reducing, many unfortunate and unrealistic misconceptions. We hope too, that the facts herein will clear the way for renewed and constructive support in the United States for UNESCO's aims and program.

Sincerely,

IRVING SALOMON,
Chairman.

PREFACE

This general appraisal of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has been prepared on the occasion of the Second Extraordinary Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, which took place in Paris, July 1 to 4, 1953. The United States delegation felt that its presence at the Conference provided an opportunity while at headquarters of UNESCO to study various aspects of the Organization, and it remained after the Conference for this purpose.

This report has been prepared by Irving Salomon, of California, chairman of the United States delegation, with the assistance and approval of Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, of Minnesota, and John Perkins, of Delaware, who were the other two United States delegates. Some of the information herein was gathered at the request of the delegates and submitted to them for further evaluation by Walter Laves, Max McCullough, Charles Thomson, Miss Carol Laise, and Robert Smith who served as advisers to the delegation.

Although this report attempts to furnish some general knowledge about UNESCO, it is particularly directed in channels that should provide answers to the criticisms and accusations against UNESCO that have arisen in the United States. In order to determine the validity of such criticisms and to report factually on the findings, discussions were held with members of delegations representing other nations, with members of the American Embassy in Paris, with members of the executive board of UNESCO, and with members of the Secretariat.

In order to present the material herein in the most comprehensive and useful manner it is divided as follows:

I. Background and Organization of UNESCO.
II. Criticisms and Their Validity.
III. Program and Major Activities.
IV. Benefits That Accrue to the United States from UNESCO.
V. Major Weaknesses of UNESCO.
VI. Some Opinions of UNESCO From Other Countries.

It is hoped by the three delegates that this report will be made available to members of Congress and will also receive some circulation to the American public, particularly to the uninformed as well as to the friends and critics of UNESCO.

I. Background and organization of UNESCO

The purpose of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture. Its constitution seeks to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed by the Charter of the United Nations. It is an intergovernmental organization created in 1945, at present having a membership of approximately 65 independent states. It is one of the specialized agencies in the United Nations system.

Most of the member countries of UNESCO are also members of the United Nations. It should be noted that the Soviet Union never joined UNESCO. It is equally significant that only three countries which are considered as satellites of Soviet Russia have been members, and they have resigned from UNESCO, charging that the Organization had come under the domination of the United States. These three countries are Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. All other types of governments are represented, all forms of capitalistic and all shades of socialistic. Franco Spain participates, as does Yugoslavia, which, although Marxian, rejects the aggressive communism of the U. S. S. R.

Any organization contributing to peace and security through education, science, and culture, and composed of so many nations with differing cultures, languages, values, and histories understandably carries out an extremely broad and varied program. Thus UNESCO differs from the other U. N. specialized agencies in that its program is more of an omnibus—a carryall filled with a wide and diffused range of activities. Hence it cannot be quite the cohesive functioning unit that generally characterizes the other U. N. specialized agencies. However, there are evidences of progress in this direction, owing to the reduction of the program and the tendency toward specifically increasing assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

The program and policies of UNESCO are voted in a General Conference, meeting biennially, to which each government sends delegates. Thus the formulation of program and policies is the direct responsibility of the member states. Although the United States Government has at times differed with other governments regarding the usefulness of some parts of the program, there is no indication that the United States has ever found it necessary to oppose any resolutions on the grounds of their being in conflict with the United States' national interest.

The Secretariat is under the supervision of a Director General, chosen by the General Conference, and of an Executive Board of 20 members, also elected by the General Conference. The new Director General is an American, Luther Evans, former Librarian of Congress. He possesses a thorough knowledge of all the facets of UNESCO, based on his years of experience as a United States delegate or a member of the Executive Board or chairman of the United States National Commission for UNESCO. Moreover, he enjoys a reputation as both a scholar and an able administrator. The Secretariat and other employees number about 900 persons, who are of many nationalities.

II. Criticisms and their validity

Criticisms of UNESCO in the United States

During the past 2 years a number of criticisms of UNESCO have been heard in the United States. These include the following criticisms against UNESCO, which this delegation has attempted to investigate: (a) That UNESCO is under Communist control or is influenced by Communists in directions that are inconsistent with the interests of the United States: (b) that UNESCO advocates a political world government and seeks to prepare the citizens of the member states to accept such a political world government; (c) that UNESCO seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans toward their own Government and toward their own flag and to substitute for that loyalty one favoring a political world government; (d) that UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American school children with ideas and philosophies that are contrary to American ideals and traditions and that UNESCO seeks to do this through influencing teachers and placing materials such as textbooks in the classrooms of America; (e) that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious; (f) that the United States contributes 33⅓ percent of UNESCO's budget and receives little if anything of value in return for what it contributes; (g) UNESCO has failed to fulfill the expectations of those who brought it into being.

(a) The allegation that UNESCO is under Communist control or influence:

It has been charged against UNESCO that it is under Communist control or is influenced by Communists in directions counter to the interests of the United States. The answer to this follows under three headings: American personnel, non-American personnel, and UNESCO publications, program, and policy.

1. American personnel: As it has been alleged that many Americans on the UNESCO staff were not loyal to the United States, the delegation first considered American personnel employed by UNESCO. As of the date of this report, there are approximately 90 Americans on the staff. The President of the United States has issued an Executive order to establish procedures under which the Government of the United States can make available to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director Generals of the specialized agencies, including UNESCO, information bearing on the loyalty of American citizens who are employed by these organizations. Under the terms of the Executive order, American employees of international organizations are required to complete personnel forms supplied by the United States Government.

Prior to the opening of the second extraordinary session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris, July 1 to 4, the Executive Board of UNESCO had endorsed an interpretation of UNESCO's staff regulations made by the Acting Director General, regarding personnel policy. The board considered that the staff regulations, as interpreted until now, did not allow him to terminate the contract of a staff member on the grounds that the staff member may be considered to be likely to engage in subversive activities against any member state of UNESCO. As a result of action by the General Conference, it is the view of the United States delegation that this restriction on the Director General's power to dismiss an employee has been lifted. The resolution, presented after the deliberations of a small committee consisting of the United States and six other countries, recommended that UNESCO's personnel policy be brought into accord with the personnel policy of the United Nations. It was adopted unanimously, although many of the delegations had expressed concern lest the Director General take any action which would conflict with the basic rights of staff members.

The General Conference also took action to insure that UNESCO continues to transmit the necessary questionnaire required under the executive order procedures (see above) to American citizens being considered for employment by UNESCO. Hence UNESCO has agreed to cooperate with the Government of the United States for the purposes of receiving the comments of the United States Government on persons presently employed by UNESCO or under consideration for future employment. Of the Americans now on the Secretariat, all except three have completed the forms and have returned them to tht United States Government. One of these three has since been subpenaed by a Federal grand jury, investigating subversive activities of American employees of the United Nations system. This individual refused to answer the subpena and has been suspended by UNESCO pending an investigation. Until the appropriate United States authority furnishes the Director General of UNESCO with information, no action can be taken with respect to the other two individuals who refused to complete the forms. The three persons, none of whom control the policy of UNESCO, have been engaged in the following tasks in the Secretariat:

The editor of UNESCO Features, a biweekly review of educational, scientific, and cultural activities in UNESCO member states. (Several issues of this publication were checked, and nothing was found therein with any subversive tinge.)

A program specialist in the voluntary international assistance division of the Mass Communications Department, who helped to collect the necessary information and de-

velop projects through the UNESCO gift coupon scheme. (This is the individual who was suspended).

A stenographer in the voluntary international assistance division.

2. Non-American personnel: The delegation also endeavored to secure information about possible political influence exercised by non-American members of the Secretariat.

Naturally it was not possible to obtain complete and dependable information in respect to political affiliations, but on the basis of conversations with sources that satisfied the delegation, its members agreed that none of the 23 persons of varied nationalities who comprise all the directors and deputy directors of the program departments and the heads of the bureaus and services can be considered to be Communist-inspired in their actions. Moreover political influences do not seem to have any noticeable place in guiding the policies of work of UNESCO. Neither Communist nor any other extremist political influence is discernible in the policies, program, or activities of the Secretariat. While the delegation is not in a position to state whether there are Communists among the non-American personnel in the lower echelons of the Secretariat, it was apprised of the following facts:

All member states are asked to comment prior to the appointment of their nationals to professional posts on the Secretariat. They are not consulted on appointments of the stenographic and clerical level.

No member state, other than the United States, has submitted evidence of subversive Communist activities of any of its nationals employed by UNESCO.

With the proffered resignation now of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, no Iron Curtain country is a member of UNESCO, and hence there is no obligation to employ any Communist from these countries. The only persons on the Secretariat from these countries are stateless refugees. There is one Soviet citizen on the Secretariat who claims she has not been back since before the World War, but she will be leaving at the end of 1953. There is at present no employee of Yugoslav nationality, but as this country is a member state of UNESCO, citizens therefrom can be employed.

Competence of Secretariat: It is not within the purview of this report, nor would it be possible in the time allotted, to evaluate the competence of the personnel. However, the general impressions of the delegation might be recorded. They had the opportunity to meet with most of the aforesaid 23 directors, as well as most of the 24 division heads in the UNESCO Secretariat during the Conference and in the days that followed.

On the basis of discussions with these persons and with other observers of UNESCO, the delegation felt that the general level of competence of the Secretariat is satisfactory, especially considering the difficulties of recruiting from so many different nations and cultures. It can be said that a general level of competence in the director category appears to be high (with one or two rather important exceptions). The same can be said of the division heads, at least six of whom have held the rank of university professors. It should be noted, somewhat apprehensively, that up to now at least the staff seems to have a more dominant position than in most other international organizations, at times endeavoring to influence decisions in personnel matters that are the proper concern of the director general and the executive board. On the other side of the coin they have an unusual enthusiasm, and they are characterized by an ardor and dedication to the aims and principles of their organization that is not common among bureaucracies. It is suggested that Americans sojourning in Paris might visit UNESCO house so that they can meet some of the personnel and learn about their individual functioning.

3. UNESCO Publications, Program, and Policy: The criticisms of UNESCO's publications were in other directions than on communism. As a discussion of publications will appear under the heading of world government, suffice to say in answer to allegations of communism in UNESCO that in the publications this delegation examined, and from information from those who have read a large number of such publications, there is no evidence or record of communistic or other political propaganda in UNESCO's literature. The same applies to program and policy as for as communistic leanings are concerned.

(b and c) the allegations that UNESCO advocates a political world government and that UNESCO seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans:

The facts already referred to, namely that UNESCO's policies and programs are voted by member governments, including the United States, and that this delegation has found no evidence of disloyalty to the organization on the part of the staff in the execution of UNESCO's program, seem to refute the validity of the charge that UNESCO advocates political world government and seeks to undermine the loyalty of Americans toward their own flag by substituting loyalty to a supergovernment. It is difficult to conceive that delegations from so many highly nationalistic member states would vote for such a program, and certainly no United States delegation would do so. Moreover, the constitution of UNESCO specifically forbids the organization "from intervening in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of the member states. Perhaps some of the misunderstanding is due to occasional UNESCO usage of the expression, "world citizenship," but nowhere was there any evidence that this term had any political connotation that could be interpreted as citizenship in a world government. On the contrary UNESCO's policies, program, and activities do not in any degree infringe on the sovereignty, independence, or integrity of the United States or any of its other members.

(d) The allegation that UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American schoolchildren, etc.:

There was no evidence that came to the attention of this delegation that UNESCO under its own egis has produced materials or textbooks for use in American schools which seek to indoctrinate our children with ideas contrary to American ideals and traditions. Actually UNESCO produces only a limited amount of material suitable for classroom use, and this material is used only upon the initiative of appropriate school authorities; for example, in Arab refugee camps and in the fundamental education centers in Mexico and Egypt.

Of the millions of pages of UNESCO's publications, to our knowledge, only two short pamphlets have been cited in various attacks as containing materials promoting world government. One of these books is known as The United Nations and World Citizenship and the other, In the Classroom, With Children Under Thirteen Years of Age. They are in a series of brochures entitled Toward World Understanding. Both of these pamphlets do discuss world citizenship, but a careful study of them fails to reveal that this terminology connotes world government in any political sense. In one of these pamphlets it is suggested that children might have an international anthem. However it does not suggest substituting it for any national anthem. We can readily understand how this and the term "world citizenship" can be misinterpreted and misunderstood by American groups, especially those which might be more or less isolationist, because these pamphlets strongly espouse the cause of the United Nations, world-mindedness, and international understanding and sympathy. Some such groups have extracted statements from the pamphlets which may appear on the surface as favoring world government, but a critical analysis of the contents proves otherwise.

Moreover it should be stated that the citations in these books are the opinions expressed by participants (including Americans) in international conferences or seminars and are merely published by UNESCO, not representing the view of the Organization. Each pamphlet contains a specific disclaimer, which reads: "This pamphlet is in no way an official expression of the views of UNESCO" or "UNESCO does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by the author." While there are grounds for controversy over whether or not individual participants in these conferences go further in the matter of training children on the question of loyalties than most of us would go, UNESCO has an honest obligation to publish the proceedings of such meetings and the opinions expressed at any meeting it sponsors, like the minutes of any other organization, United States, or elsewhere. Like any other organization or association, UNESCO cannot be held responsible for publishing proceedings or opinions of individuals or groups that do not represent its own views or principles.

There appears to be no validity to the accusation that UNESCO seeks to indoctrinate American schoolchildren with ideas and philosophies that are contrary to American ideals and traditions, nor does it seek to influence teachers or curricula by placing textbooks and other materials in the classrooms of America. At this juncture, however, a discussion of UNESCO's publications might be appropriate, so that this phase of its activities may be more broadly understood.

The quantity of UNESCO publications is so voluminous and covers such an extremely broad range of topics, many of which are technical, that neither this delegation—nor perhaps any other group—could venture an opinion of their general merit. Those that we have seen appear to be suitable and useful for the purposes intended. Nevertheless this delegation is not competent to judge whether UNESCO's publishing activities should have some alterations, should have its standards raised, or can be subject to some important economies.

Among those published directly by UNESCO, there are two distinctly different kinds of publications—those which constitute the official records of the Organization and those which arise out of its program in education, science, and culture; and, as mentioned previously, many of these are highly technical.

UNESCO also publishes the views of individual governments on certain matters, such as the Copyright Convention, which have been submitted to member states for their comments. The comments published are therefore merely the opinions of the governments and not necessarily of UNESCO.

Publications of nongovernmental organizations to which UNESCO gives subventions are in the fields of education, science, and culture, and are usually of a technical and professional character. These do not pretend to state official views of the Organization.

In mentioning publications, it should be noted that there are publications about UNESCO issued by the national commissions of member states, including the United States National Commission for UNESCO. In the United States also the United States Office of Education and the various public schools and national voluntary organizations publish materials about UNESCO. It should be noted that some of the misunderstandings about UNESCO and its purposes that are based on printed material also arise out of such publications which are not UNESCO's responsibility.

(e) The allegation that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious:

Among the charges made that are less widely circulated, one finds the claim that UNESCO is atheistic or antireligious. Nothing found in the official actions of the organization, including publications and statements, substantiated this charge. That there may be such views among persons who attend UNESCO meetings would not be surprising, in view of the universal character of UNESCO's membership. But that UNESCO should officially have committed itself to or promoted such doctrines is not established in fact. Just as many national viewpoints are represented in UNESCO, so is almost every established religious belief. It is noteworthy that at the last General Conference session in 1952, several delegations included ministers of various religious faiths. Among the nongovernmental organizations having consultative arrangements with UNESCO, there are many organizations representing Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other faiths. The Vatican has been represented regularly by an observer at UNESCO conferences, and there is a permanent representative of the Holy See at UNESCO. Membership on the United States National Commission for UNESCO includes the National Catholic Welfare Council, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America. These and other religious groups have given full support to the work of the United States National Commission for UNESCO.

The constitution of UNESCO affirms the fundamental freedoms of the peoples of the world, "without distinction of race, sex, language, or religion."

(f) The allegation that the United States contributes 33⅓ percent of UNESCO's budget and receives little:

The United States does pay 33⅓ percent of UNESCO's budget. This is a figure arrived at by the United States Congress. The United States share is based upon factors governing ability to pay, agreed upon by the United Nations Committee on Contributions, in which the United States participated. If ability to pay were the only criterion, the United States share should actually be larger. However, the United States and other nations have agreed upon the 33⅓ percent ceiling on the contribution by any member state, or $3 million in our case.

As to whether the United States gains anything from the Organization, we believe first of all that no self-respecting nation could conscientiously refrain from participating in the work of an international organ whose objectives lie so close to our own, in a national sense. Moreover, since peace is our primary goal, UNESCO could be an effective instrument in this direction given reasonably normal conditions. Its axiom is "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." In part IV below there is a more specific and detailed listing of direct and other indirect benefits to us that might indicate that we are getting our money's worth. It might be emphasized here, however, that beyond these there is an immeasurable gain that accrues to us through UNESCO in strengthening the community of free nations upon which our own well-being, security, and even prosperity so largely depend.

III. Program and major activities

In the belief that most Americans who may have occasion to see this report are unfamiliar with the nature and scope of UNESCO's activities, a few pages will be devoted thereto. First it should be understood that the endeavors are generally distributed, though not confined, to the following five areas: Education, natural sciences, social sciences, cultural activities, mass communications.

Under these captions UNESCO programed a wide variety of projects in its early years but has since eliminated many of them. Concentration is continuing and is an important and necessary part of UNESCO's policy. Another tendency which is noteworthy is the increasing assistance to underdeveloped countries and the lessening of projects of a more erudite character. The old European theory that educational advancement is merely for the elite has been lessened considerably by reason of UNESCO's efforts in the direction of education for the masses.

Below are listed some of UNESCO's more interesting specific activities substantially as they appeared in the report of the Acting Director General on the work of the Organization for the period of October 1952 to March 1953.

Established the second regional fundamental education center at Sirs el Taiyana, Egypt, for the Arab countries. These centers are for the purpose of teaching teachers. The first was established about 2½ years ago at Pátzcuaro, Mexico. Fundamental education, a name probably coined by UNESCO, describes an attack on mass illiteracy, ignorance, ill health, dietary deficiencies, and lack of economic development. In this effort UNESCO is joined by other United Nations specialized agencies to assist over half the world's population by educating them in health, agriculture, and livestock practices, in housing and handicraft techniques, in community recreation, in local self-government participation and in providing at least a minimum formal education for both children and adults.

Organized a series of regional conferences designed to promote free compulsory primary education.

Sponsored or cosponsored several international scientific institutes, e. g., Arid Zone Research, International Computation Center, Council for Nuclear Research, Humid Tropics Research.

Supported 31 elementary schools for Arab refugee children from Palestine.

Sponsored or cosponsored meetings of the International Social Science Council, International Economic Association, International Statistical Institute, International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Theatre Institute, International Music Council, International Union of Architects, International Council of Museums, and Commission on the Care of Paintings.

Assisted the Government of Pakistan in developing a satisfactory Braille system for Urdu. Also is working out uniformity in Braille for music.

Organized numerous lecture tours by scientists in many fields, and in many countries, primarily the underdeveloped ones. Also was responsible for a large number of missions of a scientific nature.

Published a large number of works of reference, periodicals, etc., on a wide variety of educational subjects.

Initiated a much-needed bibliography of multilingual, scientific, and technical dictionaries. Also preparing a Works of Terminology, which will give a scientific definition of a number of social science terms.

In the cultural field, has supported or assisted in supporting publications dealing with the theater, opera, folk music, translation of selected books, and a publication called Museum.

Completed a study of the impact upon children of the press, film, and radio.

Maintained a clearing house in connection with the exchange of persons, including and disseminating information on fellowship programs and assessing the need for specialized personnel for oversea training programs. Published three publications in this area, e. g., Study Abroad, Travel Abroad, Workers Abroad.

At the individual country's request sent experts or missions to eight of them to help organize free compulsory education systems.

Arranged for studies and issued brochures on the education of women.

In cooperation with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, a 6 months' mission was completed which surveyed existing educational facilities and drew up a long-term plan for the reconstruction of education there.

Has also drafted an International Convention for the Preservation of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, sponsoring regulations on archaeological excavation by means of an international center for preserving and restoring cultural property.

Supplied a traveling exhibit in Latin America on astronomy, physics, and science.

A Universal Copyright Convention brought in new signatories, now totaling 36.

Prepared a manuscript entitled "Inventories of Apparatus and Materials for Teaching Science" covering electrical, mechanical, and civil engineering.

Has reproductions of the great paintings prior to 1860, and there are 89 traveling exhibits of these now touring the member states.

The UNESCO clearing house for publications has sent 19 lists to libraries in member states offering approximately 15,000 books for gift or exchange.

In the field of international governmental agreements, secured more signers to the agreement on the importation of educational, scientific, and cultural materials; made arrangements for safe and expeditious custom clearance of delicate laboratory and scientific material; and worked with the Universal Postal Union and International Telecommunication Union to promote the free and more economical flow of information.

The well-known UNESCO coupon scheme continues to flourish. In 4 months $734,000 worth of coupons were issued, which permitted those in soft currency countries to purchase books, scientific material, and educational films from hard currency countries.

Another sensational endeavor, the issuance of UNESCO gift coupons, now has 11 donor countries, who give approximately $5,500 worth of educational material per month to 25 beneficiary nations. (This, however, only takes care of one-sixth of the "formalized" needs.)

Initiated a study in agreement with a member state for a study of internal tensions; also several surveys on racial problems.

Continued its activities in child welfare, among which was organizing a regional conference in Paris on the education and mental health of children in Europe.

Meeting of representatives of international youth organizations. Sponsored a Youth Educational Institute in Germany; also the Youth Institute's second seminar.

Financed 34 fellowships for studies in the fields of education, science, etc.

IV. Benefits that accrue to the United States from UNESCO

The foregoing indicates some areas in which our country benefits directly or indirectly from its membership in UNESCO, but later in this section these will be stated more specifically. However, it should be understood first of all that no evaluation of UNESCO would be adequate even from the American viewpoint if limited to such benefits. Ample weight should be given to the fact that through our participation in UNESCO important contributions toward the well-being and progress of underdeveloped nations are made possible. While we have an altruistic satisfaction in assisting them, we receive a more selfish benefit insofar as they improve their social and economic status, and we thus increase the market for our exports.

Our country does not always utilize the available materials and facilities offered by UNESCO to the same extent that most highly developed European countries do. Nevertheless there are a significant number of direct benefits which UNESCO offers to the United States. These are listed below so that our

fellow Americans who have asked about this can judge for themselves whether or not we get our money's worth—in direct benefits alone:

1. UNESCO has helped American scientists and educators by providing access to the educational, scientific, and cultural resources of the entire free world.

2. UNESCO has helped American natural and social scientists; all types of cultural groups; and artists, libraries, museums, etc., by sponsoring about 80 meetings a year in the areas of their specific interests. Here they meet with others from many parts of the globe who have the same interests and receive the benefit of ideas in their respective fields. (At this writing there are approximately 300 members of American musical societies participating in a meeting of an international music group in Brussels under the auspices of UNESCO.)

3. It has helped American educators in the task of improving United States educational methods by apprising them of the methods, curricula, and operations of educational institutions in the other advanced countries of the world.

4. UNESCO is one of the best devices for conveying our cultural attainments abroad and thus is an effective instrument for making people in other countries understand us and our way of life. Every material excellence we demonstrate generates respect. We cannot beget respect merely from leadership, authority, or power. By means of cultural exchange with friendly nations we earn respect that we could not achieve through leadership or power.

5. Along the same line, or rather to achieve the same results, seminars, and technical assistance missions in the scientific and educational fields help make the American way of life understood abroad. Americans by their presence are able to interpret our actions and also to introduce to the thinking of other countries American conceptions of education and democracy. Through the technical assistance program American ideas and methods are now known in almost all the underdeveloped countries. This has and will continue to make friends for us and win respect for our free economy and democratic political system—and incidentally create or increase the demand for American goods.

6. American publishers have gained much from the efforts of UNESCO in the direction of the free flow of information between countries: in the efforts toward easing the supply of newsprint; in the achievement of materially reducing telecommunication rates. The historic desire of the American people for an unrestricted flow of information makes UNESCO's efforts along this line especially noteworthy.

7. In the same general vein, through UNESCO's initiative international agreements have been adopted by many countries to abolish customs duties on books, newspapers, magazines, educational films, recordings, and other auditory-visual materials, works of art, certain categories of scientific equipment, and all articles of education for the blind.

This and the endeavors of UNESCO to secure reductions in postal and freight rates on educational materials and on telegraphic and press rates increase the opportunity of people to learn about each other and enable American educational materials to be purchased far more easily and freely throughout the world, benefiting us both financially and in furthering understanding of us by other nations.

8. UNESCO makes available to American radio stations a number of educational programs. UNESCO also makes available to American groups, art centers, and schools reproductions of the great paintings of the world, from the great masters to modern art.

9. To some extent the United States does draw on the vast storehouse of publications and information UNESCO has in the various fields of education, in the developments in natural sciences throughout the world, in the disciplines of the social sciences, and on international cultural activities in almost all forms. Much of this material, which can only be accumulated by an agency like UNESCO, is valuable in the American educational scene. Knowledge knows no national boundaries.

10. UNESCO is promoting the translation of the great works of literature, including that of American authors, into many of the less used languages of the underdeveloped countries. Also, in turn, they are having translated into English some of the philosophies, etc., that were only available in Hindu and the Oriental languages.

11. Of very practical benefit has been the book exchange (coupon) plan, which has given American publishers and suppliers of educational materials orders of over $1,200,000 annually. Here again we benefit in terms of greater understanding of the United States.

12. UNESCO has promoted teaching about the principles of collective security, as defended by the United Nations in Korea, and therefore has reinforced the effort in which we carried so large a share. UNESCO has also promoted understanding of the entire United Nations system to which our Government has clearly enunciated its support. It thus, as much as circumstances permit, strengthens the fundamentals upon which the peace and security of the United States depend. Any democratic society based upon concepts of freedom, whether national or international in scope, needs the positive efforts of the kind in which UNESCO is engaged.

Beyond all considerations of direct benefits we receive from participation in UNESCO, it should at this time be reemphasized that, in the most nationalistic sense, it is in the United States' interest to be engaged in this kind of international cooperation. This was manifestly clear to this delegation at the Second Extraordinary Session of the General Conference. Our participation is a necessary evidence of our good faith and our belief in the liberal and democratic conceptions that underlie the free-world struggle against authoritarianism and dictatorship. Help to others in strengthening the foundations of democratic free governments by raising educational standards is in the interest of promoting peace, strengthens the economic stability of the world, and therefore promotes world prosperity, on which most of our own prosperity depends.

A great nation like ours, conceived and developed through many sacrifices for the promotion of human welfare, cannot fittingly isolate itself from world efforts toward the same end. Such a course could conceivably do us incalculable harm, in prestige, respect, and world trade. It therefore serves our own positive self-interest to associate ourselves with other freedom-loving people in furthering UNESCO's aims, principles, and activities.

V. Major weaknesses of UNESCO

1. For a long time it has been the view of the United States Government that the program of UNESCO attempted to cover too many activities. With the budget limitations imposed by the economic capacities of UNESCO's member states, as well as by the involvement of many of the member states in national and regional educational, scientific, and cultural programs, it is our view that UNESCO could use its limited resources more wisely. To this end the United States delegation to the last General Conference in 1952, introduced the system of priorities, which was shown in the latter part of section III. We strongly feel that UNESCO could be improved by concentrating the bulk of its resources on these priorities and eliminating expenditures for some of the fringe activities. Many of these have been included in the program to satisfy the special interests of certain member states rather than the essential needs of all member states. Other projects, though meritorious, should also be omitted rather than appropriate an inadequate sum which would be ineffective. It may be anticipated that the new Director General, who has been a member of the United States delegations to all but one of the sessions of the General Conference, will carry into his job the convictions which he demonstrated when speaking as United States delegate.

2. The above statement is predicated on the practical likelihood that UNESCO's budget will not be materially increased. As a matter of fact UNESCO can carry on a goodly number of its important projects within the present budget. Nevertheless any listing of the weaknesses of UNESCO would be remiss if it did not contain the statement that the Organization is woefully underfinanced to attempt to carry on its full purpose and mission in its fields of education, science, and culture. Because there is such a wide divergence between the demands and opportunities to serve and the inadequate funds at its disposal, UNESCO will always be criticized for the absence or insufficiency of efforts in some areas of its responsibility.

3. While this delegation felt that the caliber of personnel on the UNESCO Secretariat was generally satisfactory, there are individual instances that warrant replacement. It seems that some of the program specialists could be replaced with stronger individuals for the benefit of the Secretariat. It is our feeling that certain departments are not administered in a manner to adequately carry on all their functions and responsibilities.

Secondly it is suggested that UNESCO do more to improve its recruitment methods. While it is necessary to give due regard to geographic representation in the selection of personnel, it should insist that member states supply only truly qualified personnel. UNESCO must not lose sight of the primary need for a highly competent staff, which, among other things, properly reflects the cultural diversities and achievements of the various member states. As far as American candidates are concerned, of which there is a need, mention should be made that the long delays of our present security procedures are militating against the employment of qualified and loyal Americans. Since our Government finds security measures necessary, these processes should be expedited in order to facilitate full American representation on the staff.

The third item which should be mentioned here again is the propensity of staff to engage in lobbying activities with the delegates to the conference and occasionally with the Executive Board. In view of the limited appropriations for UNESCO, this propensity operates against the overall program of UNESCO and favors the departments with the most effective lobbyists.

4. This delegation is critical of the composition, functioning, and unclear responsibilities of the Executive Board. For the past two sessions, the question has arisen of having the Executive Board be composed of representatives of member states, rather than consist of a group of individuals. It is the view of the United States Government that the members should represent their respective governments, not themselves. When UNESCO was created, it was hoped that by having the Executive Board composed of individuals, the most outstanding intellectuals of our time could be induced to become Board members. Such has not been the case. Moreover the degree of absenteeism has been high, so that frequently members are represented by permanent governmental representatives at UNESCO or merely Embassy officials located in Paris. UNESCO's constitution should be revised on the basis of governmental representation.

By so doing the Board members would be properly instructed by their governments and would take greater responsibility for their actions, vis-a-vis an intergovernmental organization.

Perhaps because of the foregoing or maybe owing to the quality of the membership as a whole, the Executive Board does not function effectively. The issues laid before them are belabored and beclouded, resulting in prompt and intelligent action either being delayed or absent in many instances. Moreover they waste time with details of administrative affairs that should be the proper responsibility of the Director General.

When and if the Executive Board is composed of government representatives, and not individuals, there should be a constitutional amendment that will not only more clearly define its responsibilities and functions but perhaps increase them. It is conceivable that some of the matters now referred to the General Conference could be fittingly and finally acted upon by an Executive Board in which the members are the authorized representatives of their respective governments.

5. Throughout the world there is a definite lack of understanding of UNESCO's aims, purposes, and activities. Without such understanding UNESCO cannot secure the necessary public and governmental support for its operation. One reason for this lack of understanding is the failure of the mass media in the member states to interpret UNESCO's work and to point out ways in which member states can share in these efforts. A pressing requirement today is the development of a more effective program in this direction, which this delegation considers the first responsibility for the Mass Communications Department.

6. An important weakness in UNESCO lies in the absence of properly organized or functioning national commissions in most of the member states. Of 65 countries supporting UNESCO, only 13 (including the United States) have national commissions that represent to a goodly extent the various educational, scientific, and cultural interests of the country. Only these few have become well-rounded instruments for the execution of UNESCO's program and have sufficient professional staffs to secure full participation in the responsibilities or opportunities.

Only 13 other member nations have national commissions that are doing a reasonably adequate job, and 12 other member nations have commissions of a less active nature. The others have either no national commission or an exceedingly limited or inactive one. Apparently this is not due to any lack of good will toward UNESCO, but rather a lack of resources and/or inability to translate their good intentions into concrete action.

UNESCO is authorized by its constitution to assist member states with the organization of national commissions, and it has provided valuable help of this kind to several member states. But the problem of inactive national commissions is still so great an impediment to effective execution of UNESCO's program that more resources resulting in a more determined effort will need to be devoted to this endeavor if UNESCO is to secure the help which only its member states can provide.

Until the national interest in UNESCO of the member states is represented by some cross section of the educational, scientific, and cultural life of a country and, moreover, is in reasonable proportion to the benefits it receives, UNESCO can never wholly perform the purposes for which it was intended.

Port of Los Angeles: Man-Made Miracle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the port of Los Angeles is today one of the most important harbors in the world. Its building is a modern miracle in construction. It is not a natural harbor, but is the result of careful planning and designing, and the continuing energy and vision of the citizens of Los Angeles.

The port of Los Angeles offers every modern facility to meet the shipper's needs. And improvement of the port is still in progress. A $25 million program launched after World War II is being completed this year and paid for out of income, which includes new passenger-cargo facilities, land purchases, dredging, and other improvements.

As a result of the excellent service offered by the port of Los Angeles, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, the port had a cargo increase of 1 million tons over the 1952 year.

We of Los Angeles are proud of our harbor. It serves a population of 7 million in the Los Angeles area alone, and reaches an additional 14 million in a 12-State area.

With the increasing growth of the city and county of Los Angeles and the surrounding areas, the port of Los Angeles will continue to grow. It has established an outstanding record of service to shipping, and has a great future ahead.

The following article is an excellent review of the port of Los Angeles, how it was created and what it is like today:

PORT OF LOS ANGELES: "BAY OF SMOKES"

Surprised and frightened Indians lit a series of brush fires along the shore when Cabrillo, a Portuguese exploring for Spain, first put in at the Los Angeles area in 1542. Cabrillo promptly christened it Bahia de Los Furmos (Bay of Smokes). All he found were mud flats. So did Viscaino in 1602. So did Richard Henry Dana (Two Years Before the Mast) 230 years later. And again in 1857 (1835 first visit), when he saw freight being lightened up a tortuous channel with a normal 2-foot depth at its entrance.

Dana's second visit was 11 years after Los Angeles (originally founded in 1781), became a city. It was more than three centuries after Cabrillo's original discovery of the area. It was also the end of an old, the beginning of a new, era for Los Angeles. Things began to happen.

Railroad service came to Los Angeles in 1869. The city's location came to the notice of the Federal Government and a series of inner harbor improvements were initiated in 1871. By 1880 there was an urgent public demand from the citizens for further harbor improvements. In 1888, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce was organized and dedicated to a harbor planned and built for shipping. Construction of an outer harbor breakwater began in 1899. The harbor commission was created by city ordinance in 1907, before Los Angeles owned a harbor, and the first public bond issue ($3,000,000) was voted in 1910 after the consolidation of Wilmington and San Pedro with Los Angeles. The building of the port's man-made harbor was to begin in earnest.

The San Pedro portion of the breakwater, completed in 1912, offered the first real protection for deep-sea shipping. The first municipal wharf was completed in 1914. The fishing and canning industries were growing rapidly. The commercial opening of the Panama Canal in 1921 (closed during World War I) saw another spurt in activity in the port of Los Angeles, and the port was ready for it. Some $30,000,000 in bond issues had been floated in the years from 1908 to 1923. The funds were used to build terminals, wharves, and other facilities, all designed to make the port attractive in industry and shipping.

Los Angeles' original handicap, the lack of a natural harbor, has probably been its No. 1 asset. (No. 1 being the continuing energy and vision of its citizens.) Because Los Angeles had to build its harbor, to make one out of mud flats and salt marshes, it now has one of the world's finest, most practical ports. Its facilities have been carefully planned and designed, built to meet the shippers' needs, not to fit the geography.

Skippers like the port of Los Angeles. They say that bunkering facilities are always available. Bunkering is cheaper and faster. Fuel stores and water can be loaded while loading or discharging cargo. Cargo changeover is made at the same terminal. There's no lost time, no extra cost caused by shifting to other docks. The port facilities, built for maximum efficiency, are maintained in top-notch condition. Skippers can dock their ships within 10 to 30 minutes of the time they pass the outer harbor breakwater. The famous Los Angeles weather permits year-round operation. There's no delay for fog since 1951 when a radar and radiophone installation was made to bring ships in or take them out, regardless of conditions.

Today's port of Los Angeles is composed of an outer and inner harbor. The outer harbor, taking in the San Pedro and Terminal Island districts, is protected by three breakwaters. The inner harbor, known as the Wilmington district, has excellent deep and wide channels and turning basins. Altogether the 7,000-acre port has nearly 1,000 acres of channel and anchorage area in the outer harbor; about 800 acres of water area in the inner harbor; 28 miles of water frontage with improvements covering more than 80 percent.

The world's largest fishing industry operates out of the port. The annual catch is estimated at around a billion pounds with a $75 million value. It's mostly sardine and tuna, brought in by a fleet averaging 1,200 commercial fishing boats. First-class facilities have been provided this important activity. A new $3 million fisherman's wharf with a two-story, Spanish stucco-type building of 67,000 square feet houses 12 markets, refrigeration, cleaning and processing facilities, office and storage space, ample parking areas, and truck-height loading platforms.

A foreign trade zone—No. 4 in the United States—was officially opened in 1949, was an immediate success and continues to draw new tonnage to the port. The zone occupies a land and water area of 5 acres, subject to expansion. There are 682 feet of berthing space, deep water at a 30-foot wide concrete dock, 2 railroad tracks.

Three transcontinental roads serve the port—the Sante Fe, Southern Pacific, and Union Pacific. Pacific Electric serves the

southern California area while the Harbor Belt Line, operated jointly by the board of harbor commissioners and the railroads, consolidates all real facilities at a single terminal for any given port area. This provides fast, efficient, economical freight terminal and switching services.

The port is operated by a 5-man board of harbor commissioners. Each is appointed by the mayor for a 5-year term and serves without salary. The records show that the commission has operated over the years with an efficiency equal to that of any business organization.

Out of $150 million spent in the last 33 years of development, there is a mere $7 million construction debt and this is a hangover in unmatured bonds issued before 1924. At the time a restriction on certain bond issues prohibited their retirement before maturity. But for this the port would be debt-free.

A $25 million program, launched after World War II, is being completed this year and paid for out of income. It included $16 million for new passenger-cargo facilities, 1 million for fish handling, and $5 million for land purchases, dredging, streets, bulkheads, and other improvements. The $1 million a year maintenance expense comes out of operating income.

Meanwhile, the fiscal year, ended June 30, 1953, shows that the port has a cargo increase of 1 million tons over the 1952 year, to reach a total gross tonnage of 21,170,610 tons. Total net income was $5,220,944. Four thousand four hundred and fifty-seven vessels, 10 percent more than the previous year, entered the port during the fiscal year.

The conclusion of the $25 million postwar expansion program does not mean the end of port improvements. The commission points out that new programs will be necessary as the city, surrounding areas, and port continue to grow.

Leading port of our Pacific coast, third city of the United States, ranking first, second, or third in many industrial activities, serving 7 million people in its own backyard and 14 million more in a 12-State area, the port of Los Angeles is in a good spot to reach for new honors. And you can be sure it will.

Conditions in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interview which appeared in the U. S. World & News Report of October 30, 1953, following my return from the Far East.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR W. F. KNOWLAND, MAJORITY LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

EDITOR'S NOTE.—What's really behind all the upheaval now in Asia? Is Nehru's "neutralist" attitude toward the Communists felt in other countries besides India? Do Asians have a will to resist? Can Communist China be stopped from overrunning the remaining free countries there? Here are the views of an expert on Asia, the majority leader of the United States Senate. Senator KNOWLAND, who just returned from a tour of Asia and the Near East, gives his report, country by country, in the exclusive U. S. News & World Report interview that follows. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND took over as majority leader in the Senate after the death of Senator Taft in July. He had become acting leader in June, and chairman of the Republican Policy Committee early this year. Senator KNOWLAND long has been concerned with Far Eastern affairs. He has visited the Far East many times and has spoken in the Senate frequently on Far Eastern problems. In the Senate, Mr. KNOWLAND is a member of the influential Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees.

Question. What countries did you visit on this trip, Senator KNOWLAND?

Answer. I went out from the United States first to Japan, then to Korea, Formosa, to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, to Thailand, and Burma, then to India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Egypt, then to Great Britain and back to the United States.

Question. Did you have any staff along, or did you go alone?

Answer. No, I went alone.

Question. Was there any designation by the Senate to make the trip, or was it your own?

Answer. No, I went on my own responsibility, and it's the fourth trip I have made to the Far East.

Question. This was at your own expense?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did you talk in each of these countries with the highest officials of the government?

Answer. Yes. I talked not only with the heads of the governments and the premiers and foreign ministers but also, of course, with our own ambassadors, many of whom have changed since I last was out there in 1950, and with our top military commanders in areas where we had our own forces located or where we had military-advisory-group officers.

Question. What was your basic reason for making the trip?

Answer. The basic reason was to keep up to date on the developments in that area of the world. I have always felt that the Far East was extremely important in our foreign affairs. I have never been in favor of an "Asia first" policy, but I have felt that you couldn't stop the global menace of communism by closing the door in Europe and leaving the door wide open in Asia.

Question. Some of the same travel routes that you took were taken by Adlai Stevenson, weren't they?

Answer. Yes. He had been in a number of the countries that I visited.

Question. Did you talk with Syngman Rhee?

Answer. Yes, I had a number of talks with him.

Question. And Chiang Kai-shek?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Nehru?

Answer. Yes, I saw Nehru in India.

Question. Did you see Naguib in Egypt?

Answer. Yes, I saw President Neguib in Egypt.

Question. And in Britain and France?

Answer. In Great Britain I had the opportunity of visiting with the top people in the British Cabinet at a luncheon that was given by Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister, on the day that he got back, and the acting Foreign Minister, Lord Salisbury. Then in the afternoon I had a conference for 45 minutes with Prime Minister Churchill.

Question. And they were all glad to discuss these problems with you with great frankness?

Answer. Yes.

Question. You had a chance to express your own views frankly to them?

Answer. That is correct, but, of course, I made it perfectly clear that under our constitutional system only the President and Secretary of State can speak for the Nation in our foreign policy and, although the Senate has an important responsibility, my comments were on my own individual responsibility, and I was not purporting to speak for our Government.

Question. Or for the party?

Answer. That's right.

Question. As you go around the world, do you find that the respect for the United States has increased or diminished?

Answer. I don't think you can make a general observation that would apply to all areas of the world. I think that we have increased our standing from what it was in some areas since I last visited there, and I think there are some areas of the world where our position is not as high as it was when I last visited them.

Question. What are some of the things that we are doing that have produced negative reactions on the other side?

Answer. Of course, in some areas they have not been certain as to just what our policy was going to be vis-a-vis the Chinese Communists. There's some concern in the Far East as to whether we will continue to resist the admission of Communist China into the United Nations, as an example.

I think that those nations realize the consequences that would flow from any such act, because most of the anti-Communists out in the Far East recognize, I believe, that the mere admission of Communist China into the United Nations would not satisfy the Communists either at Peiping or in the Kremlin at Moscow. They would immediately then press for Chinese Communist membership on the Security Council. That would require the removal of the Republic of China from membership on the Security Council and membership in the United Nations, and even that would not satisfy them, because they would then claim that as the legally recognized member of the United Nations they should have possession of Formosa.

NEHRU'S POSITION

Question. Is India insistent on the admission of Red China, or do they understand our opposition?

Answer. No, I think that India's position has been right along favorably disposed to the admission of Communist China. As a matter of fact, India has been one of the chief advocates of the admission of Communist China.

Question. Do they criticize us for not wanting to admit Red China?

Answer. Yes, I think it's been pretty clear from both the public statements and the private maneuverings of India's representatives in the United Nations that they think our policy is wrong, and they have a belief apparently that, by placating the Chinese Communists, by appeasing them in this regard, they may then not press for further conquest in Asia. I think this is a mistaken policy because I think that the more weakness that is shown in the face of the Communists, either Soviet or Chinese, the greater the demands will become upon ourselves and the rest of the free world.

Question. Did you have a chance to argue this out with Prime Minister Nehru of India?

Answer. Not only in relation to Nehru but the same thing would of necessity have to apply to all the officials that I saw—I would not feel that it was proper to disclose private conversations with these men. After all, they did speak very fully and very frankly, and I wouldn't feel it was proper to discuss any personal conversations.

Question. Do you think you made any impression upon Nehru with your views?

Answer. I at least made my views known to him. Just what impression may have been made upon him is something else again. But I do think one great mistake that we of the free world would make in regard

to India would be to consider that Nehru is the spokesman for all of Asia. I do not believe that this is a correct analysis of the existing situation in the Far East. Certainly Nehru does not speak for the Republic of Koren. He does not speak for Japan. He does not speak for free China on Formosa. He doesn't speak for Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia. And he certainly doesn't speak for Pakistan. All of those countries I visited.

Now, on this trip I did not get to the Philippines because I went on around the world. I had originally planned to visit the Philippines by coming back across the Pacific. But, based on my prior visits to the Philippines, I don't believe that Nehru speaks for the Philippines, either.

Question. Do you feel that he speaks for Indonesia?

Answer. I think that the only countries that he might be said to speak for with some authority, or at least represent their views, would be India itself, Indonesia, which is also neutralist in its outlook, and perhaps Burma, which has a Socialist government but is also neutralist in its outlook. In those countries he might be considered as a spokesman, but I think it would be a serious mistake for our own policy people or those in the other foreign ministries of the world to look upon Nehru as the authentic spokesman for all of Asia.

Most of the leaders in Asia, those whose nations are outside the Iron Curtain and who are determined to remain outside the Iron Curtain, feel that the Nehru policy would ultimately be fatal to free institutions in Asia and would ultimately lead to all of Asia's going behind the Iron Curtain.

Question. Would you sum up the Indian position as neutralist?

Answer. Yes, I think that the position of India is neutralist insofar as international relations with communism are concerned. Domestically they take some fairly firm steps against their domestic Communists. But, on the international end of it, they are not prepared apparently to take any effective steps for collective security or in support of collective action against further Communist aggression.

Question. Then the word "neutralism" in that case really means what we have known in America as isolationism?

Answer. Yes, I think it does. And I think it is utterly unrealistic from this point of view, that apparently Nehru loses sight of the fact that in World War I the imperial Germany of the Kaiser respected the desire for neutrality on the part of the Netherlands and Denmark and Norway, whereas in World War II Nazi Germany under Hitler didn't respect their desire for neutrality, though the desire was just as strong in those three countries.

I don't believe that it's realistic for Nehru to think that, if all the rest of the world went behind the Iron Curtain, the ruthless men in the Kremlin would respect his desire to be an isolated island of freedom in an otherwise totalitarian world.

Question. Is there any evidence in India that there is any division of opinion on the subject of neutralism versus collective security?

Answer. Undoubtedly in a country of 350 million people everyone is not of the same mind, and I think that there are some people who at least question the advisability of being complacent while communism moves up to the borders of India. But as of the present time, I thing undoubtedly Nehru expresses and plays a determining part in formulating the foreign policy of the Government of India.

Question. Is there any suspicion that the Communist sympathizers and Communist agitators have had any influence on public opinion in India?

Answer. They may have played some part, but I do not believe that domestically, as I pointed out, Nehru does very much compromising with the local brand of Communists. But he apparently, for some reason, believes that this neutralist policy that he follows may ultimately cause the Chinese Communists, and presumably the Soviet Union, to postpone, if not completely eliminate, thoughts of further aggression. There are very few people in Asia who have had firsthand contact with the Communists who believe that this is anything but a naive outlook when you're dealing with the Kremlin or with Peiping.

WHAT RHEE WILL DO

Question. What was your impression when you were in Korea as to how Syngman Rhee would conduct himself in the future?

Answer. I was satisfied as a result of my visit to Korea that the Republic of Korea would live up to the armistice terms. I think that it is fair to say that, as of the time I was there, President Syngman Rhee was stronger with the people of the Republic of Korea than, perhaps, he has ever been before with the people of his country. I think that some of the reports that we have had that he doesn't have the support of his own people are simply not accurate reporting.

Question. Is there some evidence, too, that perhaps he has some strength in North Korea with the people?

Answer. Well, of course, I would have no firsthand information on that, but I think that undoubtedly, if there could be free elections held in North Korea, a very substantial vote would be cast in favor of unification with the Republic of Korea.

Question. Is there any basis for the suspicion often expressed in Great Britain that Syngman Rhee at any moment may kick over the traces if he doesn't like the long delay?

Answer. That, of course, I would not be able to say. My own personal belief is that he will abide by the terms of the armistice and will live up to them. I think he is greatly concerned by what the ultimate effects on the freedom of Korea will be of a permanently divided country and with a Chinese Communist army of over a million in the northern part of Korea. Actually with that situation they are worse off than they were prior to the 25th day of June 1950, because then they only at most had a North Korean Communist army. Now they have the North Korean Communist forces augmented by the so-called Chinese volunteers, and this, of course, presents a very real and present danger to the future freedom of the Republic of Korea.

Question. Can we consider the aggression to have been repelled only when we get the Chinese Communists out of North Korea, or would you say we have repelled the aggression as of now?

Answer. No, I think we can't be said to have repelled the aggression of the Chinese Communist "volunteers" because at the time they entered we were almost up to the Yalu River. As a matter of fact, when I was there in 1950, in October, I myself got clear up to Hamhung and Hungnam, which are almost up to the historic borders of the country, up toward Siberia and Manchuria, and was also up near the Yalu River line. So that from the time the Chinese Communists entered down to the present line of demarcation we, of course, moved back about halfway down the peninsula again.

Question. Did you find any reason to believe that the Communist side is going to make any concessions in respect to unification of Korea—or do you get the impression that the stalemate is going to be indefinitely prolonged?

Answer. Of course, that is the $64 question that I don't think we can finally know the answer to until there is a political conference held. I think that there is a possibility, remote though it be, that you might come up with a formula which would give a united Korea if the Communists really desire peace in the world. But if they are merely stalling for the purpose of building up their own striking power and having a prolonged Panmunjom merely for the purpose of lulling us into a sense of false security, then I think you will find that they will scuttle the political conference and merely sit back and delay.

Strategy in Korea

Question. Isn't that related to whether there is any chance that the fighting will be resumed in Korea?

Answer. No; because they might be perfectly willing to sit there for the time being, knowing that as long as they maintain a million or more Chinese volunteers in North Korea, it is going to require the Republic of Korea to maintain a very large standing army, which is, of course, a drain on its economy, and it is probably going to mean that the United States is going to have to tie down a substantial force in that country.

So it may be to the advantage of the Communists just to sit there and to do any further maneuvering in some other area of the world.

Question. They know that there will be no resumption of fighting unless they attack?

Answer. That's right.

Question. Then this is not only an armistice, but an indefinite armistice?

Answer. That's what the Communists may be playing for, and I also think it will be a pretty clear indication as to whether they are really interested in a peace with honor, or whether they merely want to delay for the purpose of building up their striking force there and elsewhere.

INSIDE RED CHINA

Question. Do they have any reliable information in Formosa as to what is happening inside of Red China, as indicating any change inside Red China?

Answer. They have information. I think security would prevent me from discussing publicly the information that they have. There is a feeling, however, that if the Chinese Communists have another 5 or 10 years to liquidate all the dissident elements there and to educate a new generation of Chinese to know nothing but hatred for the West and to be fed the usual Communist propaganda, it will be more difficult finally to upset the Communist regime there the longer time they have to consolidate their position.

It's a good deal like the situation in the Soviet Union, give them enough time, and they can liquidate the elements which might be inclined to move toward free institutions.

Question. Is there any belief that an invasion of the Chinese mainland will be necessary to change that picture?

Answer. I think in the Far East there is a general recognition that unless at least a part of mainland China is ultimately freed, it's good to be very difficult to keep the balance of Asia from being ultimately overrun. They've got a problem, for instance, in Southeast Asia that's not unlike the situation in Greece prior to the time that they were able to seal off the border between Yugoslavia and Greece. Whenever the Communist forces of Ho Chi Minh should be defeated or given a bad mauling, why, they can go across the border into Communist China, retrain, regroup, and be reequipped, and then come back across the line again, and that could be almost an endless process.

So as long as Communist China is up against nations they are trying to upset and communize, it's going to be a constant festering sore in that area of the world.

Question. Did you find the Chinese Nationalist Government hopeful that they may be able to regain possession of the mainland?

Answer. I found the situation in Formosa greatly improved over what I had found there in 1949 and 1950. Their morale, the economic improvement on the island, the condi-

tion and training of their troops, and the equipment situation, all had materially improved since I was last there in 1950. There is certainly no defeatist attitude in the Republic of China on Formosa. I think, of course, they recognize that they still have a considerable way to go before they would be in a position, either alone or with help, to move in force on the mainland. But they do feel that they have the capacity for commando-type raids, harassing raids, on the China coast.

Question. What do they think in the Far East about Red China's leader, Mao Tse-tung, becoming another Tito?

Answer. No; they don't think that that is likely. The general feeling out there is that Mao Tse-tung is a willing and enthusiastic ally of the men in the Kremlin. He may be a junior partner, but they feel that his policies and those of Communist China are going to parallel, in the foreseeable future at least, the policies of the Soviet Union.

Communist China and U. N.

Question. Would you say that liberal-minded people—liberals in the Pacific area in all the various countries—are all on the side of admission of Red China or on the side of opposition to admission into the U. N.?

Answer. Well, of course, using a term like "liberal" and so forth, it depends on the connotation that you place upon it. I think that the people who are fundamentally and aggressively opposed to communism and want no part of it, and are prepared to fight and die to resist being dragged behind the Iron Curtain, are very much opposed to the admission of Communist China. I think those people who are soft toward communism—who believe that you can appease and compromise with them—they generally support the admission of Communist China.

Question. Would the admission of Red China be received in Asia as a plus or a minus sign so far as world peace is concerned?

Answer. I think it would be accepted definitely as a minus sign. I think if it is admitted, with the chain of events which we mentioned earlier in this interview—namely, Communist China on the Security Council and the ultimate attempt to take over Formosa, driving a wedge as it would into our defense position, which runs from Japan through Okinawa to the Philippines—that would be taken as a scuttle-and-run policy on the part of the free world, and I think it would definitely break the morale of the people in the balance of Asia who are prepared to resist communism, so that they would feel that there was nothing much left for them to do but to go hat in hand to the Kremlin or to Peiping and make the best deal that they could.

I think it would be generally recognized as the go-ahead signal for communism in the balance of Asia.

OUTLOOK IN INDOCHINA

Question. What impression did our truce in Korea make on the Indochina situation? Did they think this was an appeasement, or did they think of it as a possible solution?

Answer. I think they recognize that, with the limitations that were placed upon our force in Korea, that at least, while it was no victory for the free world, they do not look upon it as a defeat. They recognize it, I think, for what it was—a stalemated condition. But they would, I think, be very much concerned if there was any retreating in the face of further Communist threats or aggression, and they are watching very carefully every move that is made, not only in Washington but in the United Nations and in Europe, to see whether or not there is any major move toward appeasement in the defense of the free peoples of Asia.

Question. Is there any indication that Indochina is going to be a hotter spot than it's been before?

Answer. Yes; I think that it definitely will be within the next 6 months. The French have a new commander there, General Navarre, who has a very fine reputation, and I think that the French have decided that they have to get away from the old Maginot line type of defense where they would put their French military units in a fortified post on a hilltop in the Beau Geste type of warfare, and then the Communists would pretty well control the countryside, at least by night, and appear to be peaceful farmers in the daytime. Now they are taking a position that will permit them to bring in some of those outposts and to get a striking mobile force—the type that has been going out and raiding the Communist supply depots.

Question. Are there any signs that with the armistice in Korea the Red Chinese are able to supply more men and munitions to the Indochina war?

Answer. There are indications that the Ho Chi Minh forces are having their people trained in Communist China and are undoubtedly getting some equipment there? But so far, at least, they do not appear to have sent any substantial number of so-called volunteers into the fighting as they have done in Korea. Whether they will do that or not is one of the great unanswered questions at the present time.

I think, however, that since the French declaration in July the French have done a great deal to win the support of the non-Communist civil population in Vietnam, and they are now raising a substantial force in the Vietnam Army itself that will be of material help in cleaning up the Communist situation there.

Question. What indication is there as to the attitude of those countries toward us? Is Indochina thinking in terms solely of France, or do they look to us?

Answer. No, I think that the people want, and I think they are going to insist upon, their complete political freedom from France. My own view is that the age of colonialism in Asia is dead and that countries which expect to win the support of the non-Communist peoples of Asia are going to have to face up to that problem. I certainly don't think that we can have an effective foreign policy in the Far East if the impression is given, either rightfully or wrongfully, that we have tied our policy to that of any colonial power.

Question. What is the attitude toward us in countries like Burma and Thailand?

Answer. I think the United States stands very high in Thailand and in a good many of these countries. I believe that they look to America as a great free country. They recognize that we won our own freedom from colonialism. I think they have been impressed with the fact that we have been helpful to many of these nations having their growing pains, going through some of the same problems that we went through in the early days of the Republic. I think we stand very well. Of course, in a country like Burma, they are following the same type of policy as Nehru in hoping that, regardless of how far communism advances up to their borders, it will leave them alone.

But very few other people in Asia believe that, if the Communists should overcome Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand, it is realistic to think that they would stop short of invading Burma.

HOW PAKISTAN DIFFERS

Question. What is Pakistan's attitude toward us?

Answer. Pakistan has, generally speaking, a very favorable attitude toward the United States.

Question. Is their attitude toward communism different from India's?

Answer. Materially so, in my judgment. I think they are far more realistic about the dangers facing the world from communism than is the present Government of India.

Question. Would you say that Pakistan may some day become a powerful country in southeast Asia?

Answer. Yes, I think that Pakistan has the potentials of really being like Turkey ultimately in firmly standing against communism.

Question. Could they become a useful ally militarily?

Answer. I think very definitely that Pakistan could.

JAPAN'S PROBLEMS

Question. What do you think is the situation in Japan? Is Japan as friendly toward us as appears on the surface?

Answer. I think that as of the present time the general feeling of Japan is friendly disposed toward us, but there's no question that Japan has some economic problems in the future that are very real. They have a population which is increasing at the rate of about a-million-plus a year and a limited area of country for the feeding of her people and the improving of the standard of living. Consequently, the Japanese also recognize if all of mainland Asia should fall into Communist hands, it would greatly concern them, because they have to trade with the outside world in order to live.

When I was traveling through these various countries, I found that the Japanese were sending economic missions to Pakistan and India and Burma and Thailand and Formosa and the Philippines. So they are very active in building up their trade contacts and in entering into agreements with various countries in order to supply manufactured goods and in turn get raw materials for the support of Japanese industries.

Japan's trade dilemma

Question. Will Japan's trade with Red China increase?

Answer. Undoubtedly the pressures for trade are going to increase as the years go by. Up to the present time, I think the Japanese have abided substantially by our strategic list, but there has been some trade going on in the so-called nonstrategic materials.

Question. It's a natural market for Japan, isn't it?

Answer. That is correct. Of course, that's one of the things that make it so difficult. On the other hand, I believe that most realistic Japanese believe that they would be in mortal peril if they should develop all their trade, or substantially all of it, with Communist China, because they know that at some time when it would suit the men in Peiping or the Kremlin, they could cut Japan off overnight and bring about a tremendous economic dislocation with its political and economic repercussions, and that the Communists would do that for the purpose of ultimately destroying the Government of Japan.

So I don't think they want to be in the position of a butterfly getting completely enmeshed in the web of the Communist spider.

Question. What about the rearmament program in Japan? Is there a feeling they are going to have to build up armament to defend themselves against Russia?

Answer. While Japan has been moving, in my own personal opinion, a little too slowly in facing up to that problem, I think that there is a growing realization that a nation of 85 million people needs a larger defense force than Japan presently has. As a matter of fact, the Japanese Army today is less than a quarter, perhaps even a fifth, of what the Republic of Korea or the Republic of China on Formosa has. This is, of course, not sufficient to furnish adequate defense even to the home islands of Japan against potential Soviet or Chinese Communist aggression.

Question. Is there an awareness in Japan among the people of the possibility that Russia might attack them?

Answer. I think there is an awareness of the danger facing them in that area of the world, either from the Soviet Union or from Communist China. As a matter of fact, subsequent to the time I left there, as you know, Premier Yoshida met with Shigemitsu, the leader of the second largest party in the Parliament, and issued a joint statement relative to the need of building up their defense forces.

AHEAD IN EGYPT

Question. Do you look for the situation in and around Egypt to stabilize, or are there signs of more trouble?

Answer. Relative to Egypt, I was very favorably impressed with President Naguib and the men who constitute the present Government of Egypt. I think they are patriotic and are people of integrity who are trying to clean up a very difficult situation which they had under the old regime in Egypt. I think they have some of the zeal that Kemal Ataturk had when he tried to modernize and clean up the situation in Turkey.

It is too early to tell whether these people have or will develop the same success that Kemal Ataturk had in modernizing and bringing Turkey up to the very strong position she is in today, but I think they certainly have the desire to do so, and they are entitled to our help and support in working out some of their problems.

Question. Are they aware in Egypt of the Communist-infiltration menace?

Answer. Oh, yes, I think there is no question that they are. However, it is unfortunately the fact that the big issue in Egypt today is the question of the British base on the Suez Canal—it is really a whole series of bases there—and while I was there they were conducting their negotiations. Both sides seemed to have moved toward an area of agreement, but they still have a gap which has not been closed. Whether or not the negotiations will finally culminate in success or failure, it is a little early to tell at this moment.

A PACIFIC PACT?

Question. Is there a likelihood that we could make some progress with a Pacific regional pact like NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?

Answer. Yes, but I think that on that there is a very real question of public policy involved. I do not believe that you can have a successful Pacific pact if you exclude the Republic of Korea, Japan, and the Republic of China on Formosa.

I think it would be a very great mistake to have a Pacific pact that was limited, for instance, to Australia and New Zealand, together with Great Britain and France, because that would immediately antagonize the people of Asia into believing that it was some kind of a pact limited to the Western World, even though, obviously, those countries have a very real and vital interest there.

Unless the Pacific pact includes the Republic of Korea, Japan, the Republic of China on Formosa, and the Philippines, I don't think that it would be effective in doing the job of holding to the free world the tens of millions of people in Asia who still want to remain outside of the Iron Curtain.

Now what is not generally known—and what I think must be faced up to—is that as of today the Republic of Korea has the fifth largest army in the world, and the Republic of China on Formosa has perhaps what is the sixth largest standing army in the world. And to think that you could have an effective collective-security Pacific pact and ignore those two countries, as an example, is not very realistic.

Question. How about the economic rehabilitation of Korea?

Answer. They have made some progress in that regard, but the difficulty is that as long as there is the danger of further aggression, it is not very encouraging for investment, particularly capital investment, to be made either by private individuals or by governments in the Republic of Korea.

Furthermore, it's very difficult to have economic stability in Korea as long as the country is divided at its present line of demarcation. The South is primarily agricultural, whereas the North has the great source of electric power, and a lot of their industry and mining facilities are north of the present line of demarcation.

If the country were united, they would have a reasonable chance of ultimately working out their economic problems, but I personally believe that as long as it's divided it's going to be very difficult for the Republic of Korea to exist as an independent entity without substantial prolonged support from outside nations. I think this is made doubly so because as long as the country is divided, and you have Chinese Communists in North Korea and armed forces north of the line, it requires the Republic of Korea to maintain a larger army than the size of the country can support.

Question. I suppose Vice President Nixon will cover some of the same tracks that you did, won't he?

Answer. I think, as a matter of fact, he will not only cover some of the same areas I covered, but actually he is covering more than I did, and he will be out for a period of about two months. I was out for about six weeks. And he of course is taking in New Zealand and Australia, Indonesia and the Philippines, which I did not get to on this trip.

Question. Do you regard visits by our officials and legislators as unusually important at this time?

Answer. Yes, I think it is a very fine thing that Vice President Nixon is making this trip at the request of the President, because these people for a long time have felt that they have been neglected in that area of the world, and that we have concentrated our attention pretty much in Europe. While everyone even there in Asia, I think, recognizes the importance of Europe, they also feel that the importance of Asia must not be underestimated.

As a matter of fact, it was interesting to note that one of the most encouraging things among our real friends in Asia—that is, those who have a desire to be free and determination to fight, if necessary, to maintain their freedom—was the encouragement they received from the victory of Chancellor Adenauer in Germany. The significance of that was not lost upon the people of Asia.

WAR OR PEACE

Question. Summing it up, would you say that the people out there are expecting another world war, or do they think the period of tension will be indefinite and a world war is remote?

Answer. Of course, they, like anyone else, do not have the definite answer to that question, but I think they feel very definitely that the best way of not having a world war is as rapidly as possible to get the people of the free world, both in Asia and in Europe, into a very strong position. What they are fearful of is that there would be a "Far East Munich" of some kind which would sacrifice one or more of these nations, and that in turn would break the morale and spirit of the others who, as of today, are willing to resist any further Communist encroachment.

Collective security, or else

Question. Is there anything positive that might lead to peace in the Pacific area?

Answer. Yes; I think that as of today there is a very real opportunity to rally the free people of Asia, who—all taken together, including India—still amount to several hundreds of millions of people. And if you can finally develop, either with or without India, the collective security of the balance of Asia, I think you will have sufficient power there that will cause the Chinese Communists, and perhaps the Soviet Union, to hesitate from further aggression. But if we lose this opportunity of bringing about a real collective security in Asia, and the Communists are able to start picking off these nations one by one, then I believe that we may have to face up to what Lenin predicted a couple of decades ago, when he said that the road to Paris was through Peiping.

Question. Is there any value in nonaggression pacts in the Far East, such as they are talking about for Europe?

Answer. I think there might be some circumstances under which the question of a nonaggression pact could be considered, but I think it would depend upon what the preliminary deeds by the Soviet Union would be. Personally, when I came back, as you know, on October 5, at a press conference in Washington I said that I would be opposed to a so-called nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union in Europe that would leave enslaved the countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Eastern Germany.

If these countries are left behind the Iron Curtain, what it means when a nonaggression pact is entered into is that it is going to be interpreted, by those people who desire to be free in those countries, that we have permanently abandoned them to Soviet tyranny.

I personally do not believe that we should enter into a pact with the Soviet Union unless we have the deed of its giving those people a chance to establish their own government by free elections. If that is worked out, then I think there might be some basis for a joint guaranty of the neutrality of the border nations and a nonaggression pact to go along with it, if we could first assure that those people would be free.

Question. In other words, it's a long road ahead?

Answer. It's a long road ahead. There's one quotation worth while repeating, and that is what William A. Seward in 1852 said:

"The Pacific, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theater of events in the world's great hereafter."

Senator Knowland Is Right About Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND is to be congratulated on his comprehensive knowledge, intelligent approach, and logical views on the position of the United States in relation to the Pacific-Asiatic area.

It is apparent to me, and I fully agree with Senator KNOWLAND that it is of the utmost importance to the security and future well-being of the United States to rid the Pacific-Asiatic area of communistic and Russian-Soviet influences that are demoralizing the millions of people in this area, and for the United States to help to establish sound democratic governments and promote and solidify friendly relationship with countries in this area.

All of Senator KNOWLAND's views and opinions concerning the position of the United States in this area are not fully agreed with by the administration, but

the Senator, nevertheless, even in his position as majority leader in the Senate, has the courage, conviction, and tenacity which is characteristic of him to stick to his views regardless of this opposition in the belief, in my opinion, that his policies and convictions of what the United States should do in the Pacific-Asiatic area will eventually prevail.

I am confident that Senator KNOWLAND is right, and that time will prove that he is right.

The following report of an exclusive interview with Senator KNOWLAND by Frederick W. Collins, of the World, gives an excellent résumé of the Senator's views and opinions as to the position of the United States in relation to the Pacific-Asiatic area:

[From the World of January 1954]

MR. KNOWLAND'S ASIA

(By Frederick W. Collins)

THE SEVEN PILLARS OF MR. KNOWLAND'S ASIA

1. The Chiang Kai-shek regime must continue to be recognized as the Government of the Republic of China; there must be no United Nation trusteeship over Formosa.

2. Admission of Communist China would destroy the moral basis upon which the United Nations was founded; if it takes place, the United States should withdraw.

3. Japan's constitution does not forbid adequate forces for defense against aggression.

4. Nehru does not speak for free Asia, whose vast numbers favor effective common defense against further Communist aggression.

5. Neutralist nations like India don't deserve the same military or economic aid as our active allies, or an equal place at the conference table.

6. Lenin said that the "road to Paris is through Peking"; our European allies must realize that the Kremlin plans conquest of Asia as the preliminary to a major assault on Western Europe.

7. Appeasement of communism in Korea or elsewhere in Asia would be Munich all over again.

Politics worked in mysterious ways to create Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND. His eminence is a fact, and his views, especially as to Asia, are clear. What neither his friends nor his foes yet fully understand is how he arrived at that eminence and those views.

As majority leader of the Senate he holds membership ex-officio in the world's parliamentary elite, but although he owes his title to the testament of the late Senator Robert A. Taft (probated a little grudgingly by his party colleagues), that most revered of Senate Republicans did not and could not bequeath with the title the full measure of authority it needs. Already, powerful committee chairmen plot usurpations, infringements, challenges, vetoes, restraints and supervisions. Why Taft should have named as beneficiary a man so vulnerable is a congressional mystery.

But KNOWLAND fears not, nor does he call for White House help. Despite possible defects in his credentials, he means to be as much the Senate's envoy to the President as the other way around, and may be expected to maintain his own strong views, dissident though they may be, in interpreting Mr. Eisenhower to his restless senatorial forces. In short, he is besieged by circumstances all unfavorable—and it is the supreme mystery that somehow they combine to make him talked of as a presidential possibility.

If he himself aspires to that office, as many think he does, he is staking his political fate mainly on the proposition that Communist expansion in Asia must be blocked by every available means. He is one of the strongest supporters of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, and a stern critic of Nehru and Great Britain.

Senator KNOWLAND's opinions are as sincere as they are firm. No fair-minded critic can accuse him of self-interest except within legitimate political bounds. The merits of his views may be the subject of debate, but there can be no debate as to the weight they carry because of his Senate role. On the eve of a new congressional session in which they may help to shape major decisions in United States policy in Asia, World believes it is important to present the Senator's opinions to its readers.

Question. Do you think the Mao regime can be overthrown short of war? If so, how?

Answer. It is quite possible that the same stresses and strains that have recently been evident in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia will develop in mainland Communist China. There seems to be no doubt that the Korean war was a great drain on China's manpower and resources. The strong reaction of former Chinese Communist soldiers who are willing to die rather than be repatriated indicates that there may be more of this feeling, both in the Chinese armed forces and the civilian population, than had been thought possible.

As long as hope of ultimate freedom remains, a very real threat exists to the Peking regime. This is why it is essential that the free government of the Republic of China should continue to strengthen itself on Formosa, and why it should continue to be recognized.

Question. What do you conceive to be the dangers to the United States from Red China's admission to the U. N.?

Answer. Primarily, the danger is that Red China's admission would destroy the moral basis on which the U. N. was founded. A reading of the United Nations Charter shows that Communist China, as an aggressor, violated at least half a dozen of the charter's provisions. Admission of Communist China would be looked upon in the Far East, and elsewhere, as a reward for aggression and a far eastern Munich.

The Chinese Communists would never be satisfied with mere admission into the United Nations. They would also insist upon having the Republic of China's seat on the Security Council, and then would, with complete logic, insist that, as the recognized Chinese Government, they should have possession of the Province of Taiwan (Formosa). This of course would jeopardize the defense position of the free world, which runs from Japan through Okinawa to the Philippines and Australia.

Question. If the United Nations were to admit Red China, would you advocate our leaving the organization?

Answer. I have introduced a resolution in the Senate providing that if Communist China is admitted to the United Nations, the United States should withdraw. I shall press, in committee and on the floor of the Senate, for the adoption of this resolution if Communist China is admitted to membership.

Question. Do you think that if we quit the U. N. we could continue the rest of our foreign policy unchanged, NATO, and so forth? If not, how in general would we have to reshape it?

Answer. I hope that the United Nations will not admit China, but there is nothing to prevent the United States from cooperating with other nations in the common defense of the free world, regardless of our membership in the U. N. Our existing mutual defense pacts would be continued and we would, of course, live up to our treaty obligations in the Americas, in Europe, and in Asia.

Question. Will Formosa ever be strong enough to reconquer the mainland? If not, should Formosa be kept as it is, made an independent sovereign state, or what?

Answer. The Republic of China now on Formosa has the sixth largest standing army in the world. At present, of course, it does not have the manpower or the resources to overcome the Communist power on mainland China. It does have sufficient power to be a constant threat to the Chinese Communists should they become involved in Korea again or in Southeast Asia.

I do not believe that it is within the province of international law for either the U. N. or the United States to determine a change in the sovereignty of the Republic of China on Formosa. The people of both free China and free Korea would resent and resist multiple colonialism by the United Nations in the form of a so-called trusteeship as much as they would resent colonialism by a single power.

There is also a practical question, "What U. N. mouse will bell the cat?" Certainly, neither the American people nor the American Congress or Government would be expected to make war upon free China and disarm its more than half a million troops on Formosa. Since, out of the 60 members of the United Nations, only 16 contributed forces to resist aggression in Korea, and all 16 contributed fewer than 45,000 men, it is hardly likely they would undertake such a task.

Question. Do you think it wise for the United States to base its China policy on an aging man—Chiang?

Answer. I do not believe that this Nation should base its foreign policy on any individual, whether he be President Chiang Kai-shek, President Syngman Rhee, Prime Minister Churchill, or Chancellor Adenauer. I believe we should be guided by the principle that our foreign policy is based on human freedom. What advances it, we shall support. What retards it, we shall oppose. I believe that free governments in all of the countries mentioned will survive the passing of their present leadership.

Question. Do you think MacArthur was right when he wrote abolition of armaments into the Japanese Constitution, or should the constitution be altered?

Answer. I believe that this provision was intended to prevent the building up of aggressive forces for foreign conquest. I do not believe that the letter or the spirit of the constitution prohibits Japan from having adequate forces to defend her home islands from aggression by a foreign power.

Question. Japan is heading toward serious economic troubles. She wants trade with China. Can or should this be prevented?

Answer. Japan has been interested in developing trade in other sections of Asia. While I was in the Far East I ran across Japanese trade missions in Pakistan and India, and others were scheduled to go into several other free countries of Asia. To date, the Japanese have largely abided by the ban on exports of strategic materials to Communist China. They hope that conditions ultimately will permit their having some trade in that area.

Most Japanese, however, realize that it would be dangerous to place all their trade in the one basket of Communist China. They know the Communists could then cut off trade and thus brings about an economic and political collapse.

Question. Syngman Rhee violently opposes spending Korean-aid funds in Japan. The United States feels such spending would balance the drop in Korean war spending in Japan. Do you agree with Rhee?

Answer. President Rhee has a logical reason for opposing the spending of Korean-aid funds in Japan. He does not want Korea to become an economic colony of Japan. His country was a political and economic colony for 50 years and he knows that, if all of its machinery comes from Japan, Korea will

be dependent on Japan for replacement parts, and that at some future time it might suit Japan's purposes to cut off these replacements.

On the other hand, I believe that President Rhee is mistaken in opposing the rehabilitation of war-damaged plants. These plants originally came from Japan; a relatively small expenditure for Japanese parts would bring them back into production. I think he is also mistaken in opposing the purchase of certain consumer goods which can be gotten more economically from Japan than from other areas.

Question. Rightly or wrongly, you are believed at home and abroad to be the exponent of a get-tough policy in Asia. How tough must we get to attain our objectives?

Answer. If by this statement you mean that I am opposed to a Far Eastern Munich, you are correct. I do not consider this a get-tough policy, but rather a be-firm-and-stand-on-principle policy, which I believe has a better chance of saving the rest of Asia from communism than does any policy of appeasement. Many years ago Lenin said that the road to Paris was through Peking. What he meant was that if the manpower and resources of China came into their hands, the Communists' chance of ultimately gaining control of more than a billion people and the vast strategic resources of Asia would be greatly enhanced. Once they consolidate their position in Asia, it will be difficult to stop them in Europe.

Question. Do you believe Mr. Rhee's policy frequently runs counter to United States policy? If so, how should he be handled? Should we actively oppose him if he breaks the armistice?

Answer. No one would deny that differences have developed in the past between the Republic of Korea and the United States. It is my personal belief that these differences might not have developed had there been closer consultation with President Rhee during all stages of the preliminary U. N. armistice negotiations.

I know that President Rhee has great respect for President Eisenhower, for Secretary of State Dulles, and for Assistant Secretary of State Robertson. I believe that President Rhee and the ROK will abide by the terms of the armistic and I am sure he sincerely hopes that the political conference will result in a united, free Korea. He recognizes that a divided Korea is likely to mean an ultimately Communist Korea and that a million armed Chinese aggressors in Northern Korea will be a constant menace to the independence of his nation.

If the Chinese and North Korean Communists strictly live up to the terms of the armistic, I do not believe it will be violated by President Rhee. I think the United States and the United Nations should make it clear that they expect all parties to abide by these terms and will take whatever action our national interests require if they are violated by any of the parties concerned. Needless to say, I believe it would be one of the great tragic events of history if the United States or the U. N. should find itself alined with the Communists in a conflict with the Republic of Korea which was our staunchest ally in 3 years of fighting Communist aggression.

Question. What chance do you think there is of agreement on a conference to settle the Korean problem, and of a settlement if the conference were held?

Answer. I do not believe there is more than a 50–50 chance that such a conference will be agreed on, or that it can settle the Korean problem on a basis of peace with honor.

Question. Should elections be held only in North Korea, or should they be nationwide, including South Korea?

Answer. United Nations-sponsored elections have already been held in the Republic of Korea, south of the 38th Parallel. They would have been held north of that line had the U. N. commission not been prevented from conducting them by Communist forces in 1948 and 1949. For this reason, I believe that U. N.-sponsored elections should be held in North Korea, where as yet there have been no free elections. It is my personal belief, however, that the ROK would have nothing to fear from nationwide elections, and perhaps it should be induced to agree to them if Mao Tse-tung agrees to elections, sponsored by the United Nations, throughout China. What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander.

Question. Would you favor United States participation in a general far eastern conference or would you oppose sitting down with Mao's representatives?

Answer. I would not favor United States participation in a general far eastern conference in which Communist China was represented and the Republic of China was not. I would not favor such a conference unless the nations of Asia which helped to resist aggression in Korea were the principal parties. I do not believe that the neutralist nations which sat on the sidelines for 3 years of the Korean war should take part in a general conference on a basis of equality with those nations which supported collective security and suffered casualties. Perhaps, as a basis for agreement, the neutralist countries of Asia might be permitted to select one of their number to represent them at such a conference.

Question. Many people think Asia is polarizing around either Communist China or Nehru's democratic India. Do you think this is true? If so, shouldn't we cooperate more with India, notwithstanding the criticism of Nehru in Congress?

Answer. I do not agree that the only alternatives in Asia are Communist China or Nehru's India. This would be merely a choice between communism, which is quick death, and neutralism, which is ultimate death, for the free nations of Asia.

I think there are vast numbers of people in Asia who are determined to remain outside of the Iron Curtain and are willing to take effective steps toward a common defense against further Communist aggression. They believe that communism is destructive to human freedom and that India's neutralism is destructive to effective resistance, Nehru speaks only for the neutralist nations of India, Burma, and Indonesia. He does not speak for the Republics of Korea and China, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, or Pakistan.

Question. Do you believe we can cooperate with our allies in Europe yet work at cross purposes with them in Asia?

Answer. Cooperation must be a two-way street. I think this question should more properly be asked of our allies in Europe, for whom we have done much in the common defense. They need to understand better the world strategy of communism and to recall Lenin's statement, "The road to Paris is through Peking."

Question. Do you think the Kremlin is lying low in Europe to relieve pressure there and concentrate on Asia?

Answer. I think that the Kremlin is pursuing its long-term objectives; it is trying first to consolidate its power in Asia before launching a major assault on Western Europe.

Question. There is reported to be a movement in Washington to make point 4 and technical assistance dependent on military aid, so that a nation, to qualify, must sign up as a military ally. Do you approve this or do you think large-scale point 4 programs themselves effectively combat the spread of communism?

Answer. I believe that our mutual aid program should be limited to those who are doing the utmost to help themselves. I do not believe we have the resources in this country to support simultaneously a system of collective defense and a system of neutralism. Each country, of course, has a sovereign right to choose its own course of action.

It is unreasonable to expect the United States to give the same aid and the same priority of aid to nations that are waiting to see how the struggle between the free world and the Communists comes out as we give the nations that are helping to build an international system of law and order and collective security. There is room for a limited amount of point 4 technical assistance in the so-called neutralist countries. But we do not have the resources to continue to give them mutual security, by military or economic aid, if they are unwilling to join in the common effort of the free world.

Question. There seem to be signs that your policy on important Asian problems differs from that of the administration. How will this affect your role as majority leader?

Answer. This is a question which I think assumes more than the facts warrant. Personally, I do not believe that this administration or the American public is prepared to sacrifice the free people of Korea, or the Republic of China, or any other area in Asia, to appease communism temporarily when the inevitable result would be further Communist aggression. It would be Munich all over again, as when Czechoslovakia was sacrificed in the hope that it would bring "peace in our time." Appeasement now, as then, would only be surrender on the installment plar I did not abandon my responsibilities as United States Senator when I became majority leader.

Mrs. Walter R. Tuckerman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last Friday a great many persons in this area were saddened to learn of the passing of Mrs. Walter R. Tuckerman. This is a great personal loss to me, a real friend of many years—great of heart and mind; loyalty was one of her finest attributes.

Mrs. Tuckerman was known to thousands in the District of Columbia and throughout the Nation, for she was one of the leaders in the social, cultural, and charitable life of the Nation's Capital. She was an indefatigable worker in the many varied interests in which she participated. For 20 years she was a member of the executive committee of the Washington Committee for the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. She was also a member of All Hallows' Guild, the Garden Guild of the Cathedral, of which she was president for 12 years.

In both World Wars Mrs. Tuckerman was active in war work and for this she received many decorations from foreign governments.

She was intensely interested in the preservation of our historic houses and was vice chairman of the first committee organized in the District for the restoration of Stratford, the Lee birthplace.

One of her earliest interests was writing, and she was the author of several books and plays, as well as a number of

short articles and poems in magazines and papers.

Mrs. Tuckerman will be sorely missed by everyone who ever knew her. It was always a joy to talk with her. She was so alert and so well-informed of the problems of the day, and so solicitous for those who called upon her for assistance.

In addition to her devoted husband, Mrs. Tuckerman is survived by 5 daughters. To them in their great sorrow go the deep sympathy and condolences of all of us. Her passing is a great loss to the community and to the Nation.

We've Come a Long Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's state of the Union message provides many graphic evidences of how very far the Nation has progressed in the 12 months of Republican administration in terms of sound political philosophy and governmental policy.

That progress must not be obscured by impatience over progress which still needs to be made or by the inevitable honest disagreements, even among Republicans, over how that future progress is to be best achieved.

Progress, to be truly gaged, must be measured in terms of how far we have come from the starting point as well as how far we still have to go. It is worth while reviewing some of the highlights of Mr. Eisenhower's message on the basis of how far the Nation has come during the past year.

First. Mr. Eisenhower defined the objective of tax reductions already made, and in prospect, as being that of enabling taxpayers to spend their own money in their own way. Think how far removed that is from the philosophy of tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect. And think how completely that reverses the openly avowed New Deal purpose to use the taxing power to redistribute wealth.

Second. Mr. Eisenhower, in his message, asked for legislation to strip American citizenship from those who are "convicted in the courts of hereafter conspiring to advocate the overthrow of this Government by force or violence." Think how far removed that is from President Roosevelt's "some of my best friends are Communists" and President Truman's glib references to American communism as a bugaboo and red herring.

Third. Mr. Eisenhower flatly rejected any farm plan which would "regiment the production of every basic agricultural crop" and "place every producer of those crops under the domination and control of the Federal Government." Think how far removed that position is from Brannanism—which demanded that Congress impose just such socialistic controls on agriculture.

Fourth. Mr. Eisenhower reported that foreign economic assistance can be reduced, that the airpower of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis in defense planning, and that our Armed Forces must regain maximum mobility of action. Think of the contrast of these policies with the Truman-Acheson-Marshall program, which sought unlimited authority to disperse American economic resources and manpower—in terms of ground forces, primarily—all over the world.

Fifth. Mr. Eisenhower, citing reductions in Government expenditures, payrolls, and taxes, declared that "the discouraging trend of modern governments toward their own limitless expansion has in our case been reversed." Think how far removed this is from the record of limitless expansion of Government in the 18 out of 20 years prior to the Eisenhower administration in which New Deal Democrats controlled both executive and legislative branches of the Government.

Sixth. Mr. Eisenhower described the Taft-Hartley law as basically sound. Contrast this with Mr. Truman's veto of this law, his refusal to use it in a grave emergency, and his constant rabble-rousing attacks on it as a slave-labor law.

Seventh. Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that "our Government's powers are wisely limited by the Constitution; but quite apart from those limitations, there are things which no government can do or should try to do. Enterprise and ambition are qualities which no government can supply." Think how far removed this philosophy is from the 20-year New Deal record of deliberately cultivated reliance upon Government and persistent encroachment upon constitutional limitations on Government which culminated in Mr. Truman's illegal seizure of private property.

Eighth. Consider, finally, the restored dignity of the Presidency and the enhanced respect for all branches of the Federal Government under Mr. Eisenhower—with no demands for must legislation, no attacks on Congress, a co-equal branch of Government, no attempted purges of opponents, and no personal vendettas against American citizens or groups of citizens.

Yes; we have truly come a long way in the past 12 months.

Speech by Supreme Court Justice S. Samuel Di Falco at Lower Manhattan State of Israel Bond Dinner, Biltmore Hotel, Sunday Night, October 25, 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an address delivered by the Honorable S. Samuel Di Falco, justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, on the occasion of a dinner given in his honor by the committee for Bonds for Israel.

Justice Di Falco was so honored, not only for the great work he has done in behalf of the State of Israel, but for his outstanding contribution toward amity and good feeling between people of all races and religions.

I am very proud of my close friendship with him and even prouder of his devotion and efforts to the welfare of the members of the Jewish faith, although he himself is a prominent Catholic, devoted to the tenets of his own religion.

His remarks follow:

I stand before you this evening with mingled feelings of humility and pride. The honor you have bestowed upon me cannot but make the recipient, whoever he may be, feel somewhat lacking in measuring up to all that it implies. And to be singled out, especially by this great Israeli committee, as their man of the year is, indeed, something to be proud of: I would be less than frank if I did not confess to a deep, ineffable feeling of happiness and, I repeat, pride.

It has been my fortunate privilege throughout my entire life to have been in constant daily contact with people of the Jewish faith. When I say "constant" I mean not only in a business or professional capacity, but as a neighbor, friend, confidant, and associate, and I am proud to say that my lovely wife has shared this association with me.

And, looking back upon the past 3,000 years of Jewish history, who can help but be impressed and inspired by their example. They have been perhaps, among the civilized races of the world, among the best, but the least appreciated. Various attempts have been made to correct the inaccuracies which have crept into prejudiced portraits of the Jews, but such efforts are no longer needed.

The primitive religious concepts of the Jews were first in the history of mankind to be associated with a dawning sense of unity, and from these beginnings they proceeded to a sharply defined concept of a one and only God, and it was their destiny to spread this truth throughout the civilized world.

It may well be that their very history was preordained to bring this about. When the great powers of the ancient world closed in upon them the Jewish state was destroyed but their faith and ideals survived, and to prove their worth in relation to the idea they fashioned a double-edged sword for themselves, the binding moral law of the Torah, the direction, and its derivatives, which were welded into a brazen fence in the Talmud. These two forces, symbolizing obedience and faith, the law and mysticism, have ever been present in the hearts of Jews.

With the beginnings of the diaspora the Jewish people were scattered over the face of the earth. Their successive migrations like the swing of a giant pendulum carried them back and forth from east to west, and east again, until the great migration to America and the lesser migration (now assuming greater proportions), to Palestine, began. The former had for its object the salvation of their bodies, the latter the salvation of their souls. They must and shall, complete, and balance each other.

Even though the crown of achievement in the entire world is studded and sparkles with Jewish names in every field of endeavor, it is here in America that the Jew has attained most complete fulfillment. And contrary to many preconceived notions his history here

is not of recent vintage. The Sephardic Jews of Spain had their representatives on the caravels of Christopher Columbus. Refugees from Brazil established the first Jewish community in New Amsterdam in 1654, and 18 years later under the leadership of Asser Levy were admitted to the burghership. They were soon found throughout the colonies, and they had their share of prominent people in the community. Aaron Lopez, the trader; Gershom Mendes Seixas, the outstanding rabbi of colonial days who was also a trustee of Columbia College; the Gratz brothers, merchants and shippers; and of course, Haym Salomon, who did so much to finance the American Revolution. By 1830 there were about 10,000 Jews in the United States under the spiritual leadership of the Spanish Jews, though by that time most of the rank and file were of German origin.

These non-Spanish, or Ashkenazic Jews soon made their weight felt in the New World. August Belmont, the Brandeises, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, are names that are enshrined in our history together with that of Isaac Mayer Wise, the Bohemian rabbi who became the organizer of America reform Judaism. During the War Between the States the Jewish bankers of the North helped open the German market to American bonds. Thousands of Jews served in the armies on both sides. There were also about nine general officers in the north; and former United States Senator Judah P. Benjamin was a leading figure in the Confederate Cabinet.

The last wave of immigration (the swing of the pendulum again from east to west) brought the East European Jews who flocked to these shores as early as 1870. They came with their families, intending to stay, and were filled with a passionate desire for freedom.

These migrants to our shores and their children have evolved into the American Jew who is distinguished from his fellow Americans only in religion, by his strong sense of kinship for Jews abroad, and by his determination to help them attain the political, economic, and cultural opportunities and security which are imperative if they, too, are to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The State of Israel is a living monument of democratic achievement of which the entire free world can be proud—a symbol of courage and hope to freedom-loving people of all faiths and all nations. It is because of this that I volunteered to work for the State of Israel bond drive. The State of Israel is probably the most unique country in the world. Born of a people's faith, nurtured on a strength which came from the heart, and thriving on a spirit which is endless, this tiny country has become the eighth wonder of the world. The progress which Israel has made since becoming a nation in developing its economic resources and its industries attests to the determination of its people to survive and succeed in the family of free nations.

The Jews of America have given us some of our greatest citizens. To name them all would be like reciting an American Who's Who. Great governors like Herbert Lehman and Henry Horner; Supreme Court Justices like Cardozo, Brandeis, Frankfurter; Cabinet Members Oscar Straus and Henry Morgenthau; and, of course, that sage counselor and elder statesman, the beloved Bernard M. Baruch. In the scientific field, the physicians Abraham Jacobi, Jacob Dasilva, Solis Cohen, Carl Killer, the chemist Landsteiner, and the physicists Michaelson and Einstein. In medical education and research the two Flexner brothers, Abraham and Simon, musicians, composers and artists of course, by the hundreds, and among the outstanding philanthropists of the country, the Guggenheim and Straus families are second to none.

And so it is that from being at best an outpost of world Jewry, today the American Jew is in a position of world leadership, and it augurs well for the world that our American Jews, thanks in great part to the traditions, history, and opportunities of our great country, are a vigorous, culturally alert and progressive group, profoundly conscious of, deeply proud of, and the stanch defenders of Jewish spiritual obligations and historical traditions.

Gatherings of this type perhaps illustrate the true spirit of America which has had such a forceful impact upon the Jews. For centuries they have been compelled to make decisions both in the spiritual and material sphere in which their very existence was at stake. This, thank God, is not true in America. We are all one. Here I am, an American of Italian origin and of the Roman Catholic faith, honored and surrounded by friends of the Jewish faith. It is perhaps, in its small way, an indication of the future course of Jewish history, of the ineluctable destiny of its people. I am proud, even though it be fortuitously, to be a part of this movement. It makes us all better Americans. We are a Nation of 160 million individuals each working for the glory of our country and for our mutual welfare. Our problems are of our own making and we must stand on our own and not be made to suffer for others. It was Ezekiel who wrote:

"The soul that sinneth it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."

We shall be judged by our own deeds, our own actions, and our own accomplishments. That is the American way.

I want to thank my Jewish friends and non-Jewish friends for coming here to witness and pay honor to me on the occasion of this award. I know that they are here as Americans all. And in line with this I want to thank the committee for this most signal honor. I say "signal" because I want to feel that I have merely been signaled out by your committee as the recipient of this award on behalf of and for the millions of Americans not of the Jewish faith who feel as I do and have made their contribution to the cause of Israel as I have. What we are doing on behalf of the state of Israel we are doing as men and women interested in protecting and advancing the cause of democracy, the cause of world peace, and the elimination of the tyrants and totalitarian agents whose influences are at work to endanger and destroy these sacred rights for which your people have been persecuted and paid the supreme price and for which all peace-loving nations of the world have sacrificed so many men and women on the battlefields of democracy.

I am proud to accept this honor and this plaque in their behalf and shall safeguard it and cherish this evening, one of the most memorable moments of my life.

Robert A. Taft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, the tremendous responsibility and opportunity which are ours at this crucial period in world history combine to make the opening of the 2d session of the 83d Congress a great and challenging occasion.

But, somehow, the luster of this occasion is dimmed by the sobering knowledge that our former majority leader and friend, the Honorable Robert A. Taft, will not be with us. The eminence of his long career as a truly great American has been acknoweldged by millions of his fellow Americans, and the impact of his penetrating mind, unrivaled competence, and unselfish devotion to the service of his beloved country will endure in this chamber and in the heart of America as long as statesmanship continues to be revered by free and honorable men.

Today it would seem fitting that we recall Bob Taft's presence in this, the greatest of all legislative chambers—always pleasant, always willing to counsel, always an informed and tireless debater. In paying a further tribute to "Mr. Republican," I ask unanimous consent that a searching study of his biography and personality, which was published in the August 10, 1953, issue of Time magazine, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN

Upstairs in her Georgetown house, surrounded by the memorabilia of her family, Mrs. Robert Taft waited for the rites to begin on Capitol Hill. She had been with her husband through all his defeats—when Willkie beat him at the 1940 convention, when Dewey beat him at the 1948 convention, and finally, when Eisenhower beat him at Chicago last year. Taft had always lost the greatest, most venturesome battles of his career. Now he had lost this one, but without her.

He had insisted on Tuesday, when she flew to New York to visit him, that she go back to Washington. By that time she knew the whole truth of his illness, which for some 2 months he had kept from her. On Friday word had come to her that Bob Taft had died in a coma of malignant tumors.

"I'M GOING TO FIGHT IT"

It was to spare her that Taft had so closely guarded the secret of his condition from the press, and from all but his sons and his most intimate friends. Martha was in precarious health, paralyzed by a stroke 3 years ago. The knowledge of his condition had come as sudden and shocking news to him. He had had himself checked carefully before his 1952 presidential campaign, and had been given a clean bill of health. Last spring he went to his doctor with the exasperating pain in his hip, which he had tried to alleviate with aspirin tablets, and had gradually learned, after many tests, that what he had might be very serious. In June the doctors told him that his case was "virtually hopeless." He told Mrs. Taft that he might have a malignancy but belittled the extent of it, and thereupon began a careful masquerade, playing the part of a man who had nothing wrong with him that the doctors couldn't fix.

It was a heroic and poignant performance. He continued to make a pretense of tending to his Senate duties. On the day he announced his retirement from the majority leadership, exhausted and scrawny-looking and badly in need of a haircut, he excused himself to a visitor in his Senate office and dragged himself out on crutches to take Martha Taft to a promised garden party. After an exploratory operation, he hobbled around the room to show a friend from Washington how much he had improved. He did believe until near the end that he

might have a chance. "I'm going to fight it," he told a friend. But he lost to it.

And in losing, another Taft battle was imperiled. From January to June, as Senate majority leader, he had worked with just one goal in mind; the Republican administration must be made to succeed. It was probably the last chance to reestablish the power of the GOP. For that goal, the political essential was party unity. Taft, every inch a partisan and a politician, knew that, and he had worked with all his driving energy for harmony between White House and Congress.

THE MAN FROM THE MACHINE

"I am a politician," Taft once declared unabashedly. In a nation which always distrusts and sometimes despises politicans (while handing the responsibility of Government over to them), it was an unusual admission, made without any qualification. Taft was a technician of government, a lawmaker, a man of astonishing integrity—but a hardheaded, practicing politician from the Midwest.

It was a curious chick from which the politician grew: a shy boy, with large round eyes in a large round head, born in 1889 in a gingerbready house in Cincinnati. The chick became a precocious young man who set his contemporaries an example in scholarship at Yale, who casually accepted the fact that his father was in the White House, ground his way to the top of his class at Harvard Law School, and fled from the opportunities open to him in New York ("I have a prejudice against New York," he wrote his father) to return to Cincinnati and handle, among other affairs, the fortune (in cast iron) of his Aunt Annie.

Bob Taft and Martha Bowers, who was the daughter of William Howard Taft's Solicitor General, fitted appropriately into Cincinnati. There Grandfather Alphonso had settled down 75 years before; Tafts had lent streets and buildings their name; Taft money bought memorials and largely supported the zoo; Tafts ran the Cincinnati Times-Star and Tafts imparted to a whole urban society their own sedate, conscientious, and self-assured characteristics. Taft could have stayed comfortably in the house he bought on Indian Hill and lucratively in the law practice with his younger brother Charles. Instead, the Taft sense of duty took him into politics.

He began his career as a precinct doorbell-ringer in Boss Rudolph Hynicka's notorious Ohio Republican machine. Taft believed then in party regularity, and was to hold to that belief throughout his career. It was not an opportunist's attitude. He believed in the party of his father as the only party founded on sound principle. "My theory," he explained, "was to work within the organization," in which he considered the Hynickas to be intruders. Brother Charles did not agree, and was active in Cincinnati's fusionist reform movement. The Hynicka machine elected Bob Taft to the State legislature. In a few years Bob Taft, and not the intruders, controlled the machine.

He served 6 years in the legislature and 2 years in the State senate. He was chiefly responsible for the heroic revision of Ohio's antiquated tax system. Beyond that, he left a modest record of supporting legislation in the field of human welfare, based on the minimum standards of living which he always believed it should be government's obligation to maintain. But it was a record that could not withstand the New Deal storm in 1932. Taft was washed overboard in the deluge.

THE MAN FROM YALE

From the trough of the waves in 1936, Taft cried out stoutly that he was Ohio's favorite-son candidate for President, and that he stood on a platform of being "100 percent against the New Deal." The cry was scarcely heard in the thundering triumph of Franklin Roosevelt over Alf Landon.

Two years later Taft stubbornly tried again, this time for the United States Senate. Grimly he talked his way across Ohio, seconded in more vivacious tones by the vivacious Martha. It was during that campaign that she made probably her most famous political utterance. "My husband is not a simple man," she said to a group of coal miners. "He did not start from humble beginnings. My husband is a very brilliant man. He had a fine education at Yale. He has been well trained for his job. Isn't that what you prefer when you pick leaders to work for you?"

It was a kind of political indiscretion which only a bold lady would commit in public. There before the voters of Ohio stood exposed a picture of the Taft aristocracy—diplomats, lawmakers, lawyers, judges, civic leaders, and a United States President—men of property with respect for property, and graduates of Yale. To the surprise of political observers, the voters did not react with the leveling impulse of envy. They turned down a passionate New Dealer and sent instead the brilliant man of lofty beginnings to represent them in Washington.

THE UNDERSTANDING ENEMY

Senator Robert Taft was never one to waste time in making his position clear. The flat Ohio voice that was to be heard uttering millions of words of protest in the next 14 years first sounded across the Senate Chamber decrying the Federal Government's adventures in business, and on that score protesting an appropriation for TVA. Tall, ungainly, eyeing the Senate through rimless spectacles, he hammered at the "vain, immoral, and dangerous" precepts of the New Deal, demanding the redirection of current tendencies, since otherwise "we cannot long maintain financial solvency or free enterprise of even individual liberty in the United States."

Gradually the New Dealers awoke to him. There was good reason why Taft was so widely attacked. The men around Roosevelt, New Deal apologists among the press, and the high-riding labor unions, unerringly spotted a potentially dangerous enemy. He was ridiculed and vilified. He was highly vulnerable to attack because of his thinking-out-loud type of speaking; his loose sentences could be lifted out of context and thrown back at him with deadly effect. It was no good for friends to point out that he was a man of decent motives who, in the years he served in the Senate, developed from his own careful studies legislation directed to improving housing (the housing lobby accused him of socialism), improving education, improving health. This was not the point.

It was often said that Taft was misunderstood. Many people misunderstood him, but not his enemies. They caricatured and distorted him before the public, but they understood him very well. Taft was against the spread of Federal power; his welfare bills gave jurisdiction to the States. He stood in the way of collectivist of all varieties, from the creeping to the rampant. He was against their kind of progress.

"WHEN I SAY LIBERTY"

Taft stood for individual liberty. "And when I say liberty," he wrote, "I do not mean simply what is referred to as free enterprise. I mean liberty of the individual to think his own thoughts and live his own life as he desires to think and live, liberty of a man to choose his own occupation, liberty of a man to run his own business as he thinks it ought to be run, as long as he does not interfere with the right of other people to do the same thing. Gradually this philosophy has been replaced by the idea that happiness can only be conferred upon the people by the grace of an efficient government. Only the government, it is said, has the expert knowledge necessary for the people's welfare."

This was the idea he fought. He opposed centralization of power in government, in big labor, and for that matter, in big business, because such power finally destroys the liberty of men.

The accuracy of his enemies' assessment of Taft was borne out. In 1947 he pushed through the Taft-Hartley Act. In 1950, running for reelection in Ohio, he administered organized labor one of its most far-reaching political defeats. Union leaders thought they could beat him. In no State campaign had labor ever let loose such a concerted attack, determined as it was to punish the author of the Taft-Hartley Act, which they called the "slave labor act," Taft won by a majority almost twice the size of what he himself had predicted. It might have marked the high tide of labor's political influence. In any case, the CIO and the AFL have not been able to assert themselves since as an effective political force.

"I'M NOT A PHILOSOPHER"

Taft was not a reflective man. Once, when an interviewer tried to draw him into a discussion of the underlying philosophy of conservatism, he said simply: "I'm not a philosopher. These are questions I haven't thought much about." He was not at home in complicated theorizing. He operated from a fixed base of accepted principles and law, used his analytical mind to sift out the facts. The Taft-Hartley Act made no effort to establish new principles of labor relations. Rather, it was a great improvisation, intended to register a shift of public sentiment against the one-sidedness of the Wagner Act. It was not the last word on the subject, and Taft admitted it; he had none of the politician's usual prejudice against acknowledging mistakes. In 1949, at hearings on revision of the act, he faced labor's legal experts, countering their citations with citations he dug up from his exhaustive knowledge. Few men ever stumpted Taft in legislative debates.

From fixed principles and some prejudices, he rushed headlong in and out of the great foreign-policy debates preceding World War II. He feared United States involvement in war as leading to the mastery of the State over the man. Further than that, he saw no national necessity for the United States to enter the war. He opposed aid to Russia after the breaking of the Soviet-Nazi pact when Russia was being invaded. "The victory of communism in the world would be far more dangerous to the United States than the victory of fascism," he said then. "It is a greater danger to the United States because it is a false philosophy which appeals to many. Fascism is a false philosophy which appeals to a few." This was a weighing of hazards which was not well received in Washington in 1941.

He had no more, and sometimes he had less, prescience than other men. Four months before Pearl Harbor, he voted against an extension of the draft; 2 months later, he voted against a second lend-lease appropriation (as he had voted against the original lend-lease proposal); a month before Pearl Harbor, he voted against arming United States merchant ships; on December 6, 1941, he demanded to know why a force of 2 million men was justified. In that force, actually multiplied sixfold, Taft's four sons were to serve throughout the war.

A CHARGE OF APPEASEMENT

But if Taft's vision was sometimes more limited than other men's, it was also sometimes wider. As early as 1944, while Washington and London were still nodding approvingly over the Teheran conference, he pointed out its fatal fallacies. "The danger to the accomplishment of an association of

nations," he said, "does not come today from so-called isolationists or any unwillingness on the part of our people to go ahead. It comes from the current policy of Mr. Stalin and the failure of this country to have any definite foreign policy at all * * * [Mr. Roosevelt] seems prepared to sacrifice all principles of foreign policy to appease Russia."

He questioned the value of the United Nations, delimited as it was by the veto, its concept based solely on peace and security, not on law and justice. He took the unpopular position, as so many of his positions were, of denouncing the Nuremberg trials, which "violate the fundamental principle of American law that a man cannot be tried under an ex post facto statute. * * * In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials, government policy and not justice."

He went along with Arthur Vandenberg's leadership in the Republicans' postwar policy in foreign affairs, Van's so-called unpartisanship. But Taft had misgivings, which Vandenberg also began to entertain before the end of his career. When the Michigan Senator died of cancer in 1951, Taft began to express himself with vigor on foreign affairs, attacking what he saw as defects and ambiguities in the NATO pact, challenging both the President's right and wisdom in committing large numbers of United States troops to Europe, fixing the blame for the Korean attack on the administration's weak and vacillating policy in the Far East, the theme to which he returned in his last formal speech before his death.

What did Taft have to offer instead? In 1951 he wrote his book, A Foreign Policy for Americans. From it emerged his theory of a Monroe Doctrine protecting Europe, the concentration of United States might in the long arm of the Air Force, and a world organization founded on world law. It was hastily written, scattered, and not fully thought through—another headlong improvisation, but another example of Taft's ability to put facts together. It was a scathing review of postwar United States foreign policy, which had been bold and even brilliant in flashes of desperation, but without any firm core of consistent principle or steady purpose.

THE BITTER PILL

The book was written as a weapon in Taft's last fight for the Presidency. He entered it as the man who had earned and unquestionably held the leadership of his party—"Mr. Republican," no less. By the old rules of United States party politics, Taft would have won the nomination hands down. But the old rules had crumbled. Congressional leadership counted for less than it had in the past. Many Republicans disagreed strongly with Bob Taft. More opposed not Taft but the image which his enemies had fixed in the public mind. Still more understood that the image was a distortion of the man but held that, because of the image, he could not be elected.

The last argument was decisive against him. Taft, ever the practical politician, ever the party regular, was licked on a point of political expediency. If his party had been pretty sure of winning or pretty sure of losing, Taft would have been its nominee. But at convention time, it looked as if the general election would be close, and a majority of the delegates wanted to win badly enough to swing behind a candidate who was unquestionably more popular with Democrats and independents.

Taft took this bitter pill like a politician of principle. He believed in himself, but believed also in what his party stood for. On Morningside Heights, he and Eisenhower worked out a statement of agreed principles. Taft pledged his allegiance and he never wavered.

As Senate majority leader in a Republican administration, the public began to see a new Taft. The Nation, which had overturned the Fair Deal to elect Dwight Eisenhower, was ready to listen at least with half an ear. There sprang up the hope that Taft and Eisenhower between them would evolve a foreign policy and a policy of national defense, a domestic policy, and, indeed, a reconstructed and truly American idealism to which the Nation could rally. This hope began to turn Taft into a popular figure. Whatever suffering they brought to him as a man, Taft's last 6 months brought him at last recognition of his stature as a public servant, or, as he would have said, as a politician.

In the Senate when the news came the Taft desk stood piled high with papers and CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS and the empty chair was pushed back, as though the long-legged man from Ohio had just left it.

IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

On the day of the funeral a uniformed attendant wheeled Martha Taft into the rotunda of the Capitol, where for a day her husband's body, in a closed casket, had lain in state, visited by thousands of people.[1] There the dignitaries gathered: President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the Supreme Court; Taft's old friend, Douglas MacArthur. The muffled brass of the United States Marine Band echoed through the corridors and Senator JOHN BRICKER spoke the eulogy. Taft, who had always gone armed with a sense of humor, would have appreciated the irony of such pomp and honor; in life he had been more often damned than praised.

Quite alone in spirit, Martha Taft watched the honor guard carry out the casket. She had known very well the political Taft, a figure so often in contrast to the personal Taft: one argumentative, impatient with slow minds, the other amiable and tolerant; one stiff-seeming and stand-offish, the other resonantly singing airs from Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, devoted to his four sons, playing with his grandchildren, who laughingly called him "the Gop." There had been contrast and sometimes conflict between the two Tafts. She had not wanted him to campaign for the Presidency in 1952; if he had won, she would have been deprived of much of his company, which she needed so badly in her own trouble.

She had courageously hidden her reluctance and gone along with him because she believed the Presidency was his greatest ambition. Taft had not sensed her brooding fears until after he had thrown himself into the campaign, after he was committed. This week she summoned up her courage for the last ordeal and got ready to follow him back to Indian Hill.

[1] Only 12 others have lain in state in the Capitol Rotunda: Abraham Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, John A. Logan, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Adm. George Dewey, the Unknown Soldier of World War I, Warren G. Harding, Gen. John J. Pershing, and Robert Taft's father.

Tragic Plight of President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I include in these remarks a timely editorial written by David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Star on January 6, 1954, as follows:

TRAGIC PLIGHT OF EISENHOWER—STATE OF THE UNION CALLED SHAKY—WASHINGTON MESS HELD TO BE WORSE THAN THE PUBLIC EVER KNEW

(By David Lawrence)

It isn't the task of Washington correspondents to elect or defeat Presidents or help Members of Congress win reelection. It is their duty to report the story of Washington happenings without regard to where the chips may fall. It's their obligation to forget personal likes or dislikes or their own party affiliations and tell the public what's going on, even though, for example, it may not be pleasant reading or the friends or supporters of the man in the White House.

For the "state of the Union" governmentally speaking, isn't good, and there isn't much logic in glossing over the tragic plight of Dwight Eisenhower today. He needs every bit of sympathy he can get, and he deserves the benefit of a frank disclosure of the truth.

The facts show that "the Washington mess" is worse than the public ever knew and that the present administration has made very little progress in cleaning it up. It may take years to get that job done.

This isn't the time for the administration to be talking of accomplishments of its own, to be issuing defensive essays on its aims and purposes, because the fact is that the new administration hasn't been able to get a good grip on the Government during the nearly 12 months that have elapsed since it took office. It hasn't cleaned out the inefficient or rooted out the bad policies. The boom or so-called prosperity of recent years was made by the business of war orders, and the two Democratic administrations were able to provde prosperous conditions primarily because of war or publicized threats of war. Readjustment from a war prosperity is a painful necessity, not a political weakness.

A favorite quip heard in Washington is: "When will the Republican administration be inaugurated?" Up to now, the Government has been ruled in large part by Truman holdovers in many departments or by persons imbued with the philosophy of the preceding administrations, though they call themselves Republicans. While some of the recent appointees think they are making new policies, several of them find themselves struggling to keep the old, deep-seated policies from spilling over into worse messes.

Thus the truth about the Korean mess has never been told. The facts as to the unpreparedness of the military services, and particularly of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for the sudden decision to intervene in Korea have never been revealed, though the blunder is almost as catastrophic as what happened at Pearl Harbor. There is still a tendency, moreover, to cover up and be secretive about the circumstances surrounding the forced entry of the United States into World War II.

The same kind of coverup has occurred with reference to the loss to the free world of China. Incidentally, some of the individuals who participated in that fiasco have been defended, and in certain cases promoted by the Eisenhower administration to other posts, notwithstanding their faulty judgment.

Throughout the Government departments the effort to uproot New Deal and Fair Deal policies that spell waste and creeping socialism has met with frustration. Many of the Eisenhower appointees have chosen to be silent on the obstacles they find, when the need of the hour is for intensive exposure.

Naturally the old crowd of Trumanites want to squelch all investigating committees in Congress. But what is amazing is that some of the Eisenhower men seem to be willing to let bygones be bygones. Each administration should be held accountable for its

acts to the American people. The present administration has never fully recognized its obligation to tell the voters what has happened behind the scenes—the truth all the way from tax frauds to coddling of Communists.

Mr. Eisenhower is a tragic prisoner of circumstances beyond his control. He wants to be nice to everybody, including his predecessors. But the truth has a way of forcing itself into the open, and Mr. Eisenhower's chances to extricate the country from the many messes his administration inherited lies in telling the whole revolting story, piece by piece.

The waste of American money abroad has been a scandal. The waste of money in the military services has been another scandal. The failure to provide ammunition to American boys in Korea is still another scandal. And the refusal—due to foreign dictation—to back up American troops on the firing line by giving them maximum power to fight the enemy is a story that has never been told in its entirety, though the public does know Gen. MacArthur was summarily fired for daring to suggest that American boys be defended to the utmost in Korea.

The budget can't be balanced because the inherited commitments are beyond belief. The President is battling with critics who say he hasn't kept his campaign promises about balancing the budget, but Mr. Eisenhower has never revealed the true nature of the costly commitments made by the preceding administrations which make a balanced budget almost impossible for a long time to come.

Secrecy and diversion of attention to new legislative proposals will not eradicate the basic cancer—a personnel dedicated to spending, a personnel dedicated to policies that mean surrender of American interests all over the world, and a personnel that wants to give money to allies while getting little cooperation in return.

Foreign policy and domestic policy are interwoven, and any cold-blooded analysis of the facts—without wishful thinking—will reveal that the Eisenhower administration is up against a set of barriers that only an informed public opinion can help the President to break down. This is not a happy picture, but little good can come out of a glossing over of the facts.

"That Each of Us Shall Continue To Increase in Wisdom and in Stature and in Favor With God and Man"—Columbus Day Invocation by Rev. Forest M. Fuess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, listed below is the invocation offered on the occasion of the Columbus Day celebration in Journal Square, Jersey City, October 12, 1952, by Rev. Forest M. Fuess, pastor of the Simpson-Grace Methodist Church. I trust its message will be of interest to the House. Listed also, is Reverend Fuess' gracious letter of consent for the prayer's reproduction:

SIMPSON-GRACE METHODIST CHURCH,
Jersey City, N. J., October 14, 1953.

DEAR MR. SIEMINSKI: Enclosed is a copy of the invocation which you requested. As you recall, it was offered on the occasion of the Columbus Day celebration in Journal Square, Jersey City.

I appreciate the honor you do me in requesting it, even as I recall with pleasure the period spent with you upon that platform.

Sincerely yours,

FOREST M. FUESS.

COLUMBUS DAY INVOCATION

Almighty God we recognize Thee as the Father of the universe, the Creator of each one of us, the source from which we get our faith and hope and love. All things do begin and continue and end in Thee. Therefore, we pause at the beginning of this special occasion to invoke Thy presence with us and Thy blessing upon us.

Even as we utter these words, however, we remember that Thou art everywhere—especially where people are gathered together seeking Thee. We know that Thou art here, but we need to be reminded of it.

Thou hast blessed Thy people across the centuries. In that 1 year about which we now think, Thou didst lift the curtain from a hidden continent and didst give Thy children a whole new world in which to carry out Thy purposes. As always, Thou didst work through the lives of men and in this hour Thine own servant was Christopher Columbus. We stand here tonight in the direct line of succession to those who followed his vision and duplicated his courage.

Now accept our prayer of thanksgiving for all our blessings in this land which he discovered. The homes from which we have come, the freedoms which we enjoy—have all been made possible because of man's belief in Thee and his desire to be like Thee. When we compare ourselves with others of the world we find nothing to be desired of material things, but when we compare ourselves with Thy plan for us we hang our heads in shame. Forgive us then our faults which we confess before Thee and grant us strength to be better than we have been.

Especially O God do we pray for the leaders of our city, State, and Nation. Hold them steady upon the course which the great lives of the past have set. May they in this day match the vision and courage of Columbus. May they see the peculiar value of the individual and may they permit no form of government to exist which will destroy it. May they find real meaning in life through the satisfaction that comes from serving Thee. Indeed, O Father, keep them at tasks too hard for them that they shall be driven to Thee for help.

And all this is to the end that each of us shall continue to increase in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man. Amen.

Local Water Distribution Systems Can Be Built Cheaper by Local Agencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, sometimes it is a lot cheaper for local people to build certain types of public improvements than for the Federal Government, or for that matter, the state government. The bigger the government is, the more expensive it is for it to operate. The distribution systems for carrying water from the main canals on reclamation projects is a good example. These distribution systems are essentially local in character and simple in engineering. Experience has shown that the local districts can build them for as much as half the cost of running the same construction through the Federal Government. The same thing was proven with reference to secondary roads under the Federal highway system. For this reason I have introduced H. R. 4397, which would authorize locally constructed distribution systems with the Federal Government making the money available. In short, it will be the same money that is now spent for the same purpose, but less of it because the local people can do it cheaper and want to do it cheaper since they have to pay the money back. A recent article in the Western Water News reports a speech made by Mr. Howard Stoddard, consulting engineer of Los Banos, Calif., on this problem. The article is as follows:

[From the Western Water News of November-December 1953]

DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM PROBLEM OUTLINED IN CONVENTION TALK—STODDARD URGES FEDERAL FUNDS BE GRANTED FOR LOCAL CONSTRUCTION

In a careful analysis of the problems faced by irrigation districts in connection with the construction of distribution systems, Howard Stoddard, consulting engineer of Los Banos, told the Irrigation Districts Association convention that many districts in California hope that Congress will pass legislation which will enable them to construct their own systems with Federal funds made available on an interest-free basis.

Stoddard said: "The problem of constructing irrigation distribution systems has been the most difficult problem faced by many irrigation districts in California," and prophesied that the same problem will continue in many areas as added features of the CVP are constructed and new individual projects go into operation.

TWO ROADS TO FOLLOW

At the present time, there are two ways open to irrigation districts to handle the construction of distribution systems, Stoddard said. The districts can arrange for the construction to be done by the Bureau of Reclamation with Federal financing, or they can construct the systems themselves with private financing.

In commenting on the advantages of Bureau construction, Stoddard stated: "The construction cost can be repaid over a 40-year period with no interest charge on the money; the Bureau offers the advantage of a so-called development period of generally from 5 to 10 years which has the effect of deferring the initial payment following completion of the system.

"The disadvantages of the Bureau construction program are that the title to the works remains in the Government during at least the entire payment period and the Government retains the right to operate and maintain the system, being paid for such operation and maintenance costs by the district. The construction contracts do not provide for the completion of the projects but merely provide for the spending of a specified amount of money by the United States whether that amount is adequate to complete the system or not."

HIGH COSTS DISCOURAGE PROGRAM

"The principal disadvantage lies in extremely high costs. The Bureau of Reclamation has established very high and inflexible standards for design and construction which are reflected in high unit prices bid by contractors. The so-called incidental costs covering surveys, designs, inspection, legal, accounting, purchasing, and all other such costs that are charged against construction are very high indeed.

"In many instances they approach 50 percent of the actual construction cost. These very high incidental costs added to high construction costs result in extremely high overall costs where distribution systems are designed and constructed by the Bureau. In many cases the costs threaten the financial stability of a district."

DISTRICTS CAN SAVE

Stoddard maintained that district-constructed systems have advantages and that "experience during the past few years shows very clearly that local units can make very substantial savings under local design and construction." Simplified but practical design and the practice of contractors to bid lower on jobs supervised by local units, along with incidental costs which amount to only a fraction of the costs under Bureau construction, result in much lower construction costs.

Locally constructed systems, with the title to the works remaining in the district, are a definite advantage and rights-of-way are easier to secure, according to Stoddard.

FINANCING PROBLEM SERIOUS

However, the financing problem dogs the districts. On this important point, Stoddard said: "The costs of financing such construction under a bond issue of a reasonably long term are so large that when they are added to the construction cost we arrive at a total cost that equals or exceeds the cost of a Bureau-constructed system."

The speaker noted, too, that the obligation under a Bureau contract seemed to be more palatable to the landowners than does the lien imposed by a bond issue.

AN ILLUSTRATION

Stoddard illustrated his discussion with comparative figures brought together in connection with the proposed distribution system of the Solano Irrigation District under the Monticello Dam project. The Bureau estimated the total cost of this system at $10,650,000. If locally constructed, the system could be built for an estimated $7,369,000. The difference amounts to $3,281,000, or approximately 31 percent of the Bureau's estimate.

On a per acre basis, the Bureau's estimate amounts to $141 per acre as compared to a local estimate of approximately $98 per acre. A substantial part of the difference in cost of the two systems is accounted for by the savings in incidental costs which the Bureau estimated at 45 percent of the construction cost, whereas the district could do the work with an overhead of not more than 15 percent.

However, Stoddard said that the cost of privately financing the local system when added to the construction costs brings the total figure up to equal or exceed the Bureau's figure.

URGES FEDERAL FUNDS FOR DISTRICTS

As an alternative proposal, the speaker outlined the program which is included in legislation now pending before Congress. Under this legislation, districts would be authorized to construct their own distribution systems under the same methods of financing as if they were constructed by the Bureau.

Stoddard pointed out that if interest-free funds were available to the Solano District, an estimated saving of $3,250,000 might result. He said:

"It would appear that with regard to both the landowner who pays for the system and the United States Government that advances the money under the Bureau program, the authorization of Federal financing on an interest-free basis for district construction of distribution systems is indeed a very desirable procedure."

LEGISLATION IN THE HOPPER

The bill which was introduced by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE (H. R. 4397) at the last session, if passed, would provide for the program which Stoddard believes would meet the problem. Hearings were held on the bill during June of this year. Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND has introduced a companion bill (S. 1628) in the Senate. The Knowland bill embraces all reclamation projects and provides interest-free money for design and construction by local water users organizations. It is anticipated that hearings will be held on this bill in January or February of next year.

The ideas included in the pending measures have been widely supported by districts, by the National Reclamation Association and by the Irrigation Districts Association of California, as well as by other organizations interested in water matters.

Landmarks of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in the fall of 1953 Mr. Bradley L. Morison, editorial writer for the Minneapolis Tribune, used his vacation period to visit some of the great and historic shrines of American democracy. Following his visit, he placed his thoughts and reflections in writing and prepared a series of articles entitled "Landmarks of Liberty." These splendid articles were printed in the Minneapolis Tribune. In my mind, they constitute not only brilliant writing and keen observation but a sense of history and a mature understanding of American democracy. All too often we Americans fail to draw inspiration from our great heritage. We live in the present, unmindful of the roots of our way of life and the spiritual and idealistic principles which have motivated our society from its beginning. Mr. Morison, like a true artist, has painted the picture of the growth of American democracy, using as an inspiration the great shrines of Jefferson's Monticello, Faneuil Hall in Boston, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Supreme Court Building.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that these articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY—FANEUIL HALL STILL ECHOES DISSENTING VOICES

(By Bradley L. Morison)

BOSTON, MASS.—Outside the air was alive with pungent and competing odors from the market place. The old brick building stood serene in the noon sunlight, a graceful captive to the dinginess around it.

Inside a man was placing an order over the telephone. "We will need 10 gallons of clam chowder," he was saying briskly. This modest ocean of New England elixir, he explained, was to be consumed by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, quartered on the third floor.

This must be Faneuil Hall, I thought.

Indeed it was. My brief journey along freedom's trail had begun.

Faneuil Hall is an ideal starting place for such a journey. The winds of freedom, still blowing around its weathered frame, are freshly laden with the market smells of beef, fish, vegetables, and other kindred and aggressive scents.

To Bostonians, this is still the cradle of liberty. Here, says the inevitable metal plaque, were held those "patriotic meetings which kept alive among the people the fires of freedom, and stirred them to greater deeds from which fact the hall became known as the cradle of liberty." Here the "shiftless and thriftless" Sam Adams exercised his right of dissent and free association, joining with other men of courage to protest the injustices of British rule.

In this ancient market building, first built in 1742, and 3 times reconstructed, the people of colonial Boston, meeting in open forum, struck the sparks that fired the revolt against the British Crown. Thus Faneuil Hall's second story meeting room, above its teeming market stalls, became the cradle of liberty.

Within its friendly shelter Sam Adams and his angry "rabble" faced the issues of self-government. They thought as they pleased, and they spoke as they thought, and they raised their bold voices against a horde of injustices. They denounced the despised Stamp Act. They raged against the Boston Massacre. They damned the tax on tea, and denounced the quartering of British troops. They spoke for their right to live as free men, working out their own destiny and purpose.

Today Faneuil Hall is one of the great landmarks of liberty. For more than 200 years, it has maintained its dual identity as market place and open forum. Last year it was visited by more than 50,000 sightseers who flowed up and down its worn stairways to explore its ancient meeting hall and to visit the third floor headquarters of the ancient and honorable artillery company of Massachusetts, the hemisphere's most venerable military organization.

It is hard to pass the statue of Sam Adams, standing resolutely in the tangle-town of Boston's market district, without a lifting of the spirit. Behind him Faneuil Hall has the air of a Back Bay patriot in rags and tatters. Sawdust trailed from its basement and first floor markets lies upon its lumpy sidewalks. Signs plastered against its dignified old walls advertise sirloin wholesale, and cut rate prices on corned beef. Parked cars hedge it in on every side. The gasoline age flows irresistibly around it, and honking horns disturb its stolid quiet.

But enter Faneuil Hall, and the years suddenly roll back. The meeting hall is still there, the ample platform, the decorous rows of seats, the high walls which have reflected back the echoes of innumerable voices addressed to the American ideal of freedom.

Within these walls, the traditions of Peter Faneuil's original market place are still preserved. Today the city of Boston rents the meeting hall at rates tempting to the spiritual descendants of Sam Adams. For $15 in the afternoon, or $25 in the evening, Bostonians may still exercise their rights of free speech in Faneuil Hall and make the rafters ring with their dissents and protests.

Even the rental rules are a little Bostonian. In this hall, with its capacity of nearly 1,000 persons, smoking, dancing, drinking, and the taking of collections are strictly forbidden. Furthermore, because a photographer once

singed a painting of Daniel Webster with his flash powder, no pictures may be taken.

But oratorically, the lid is off in Faneuil Hall. The old meeting room still resounds with the voices of the nonconformist, as well as with the ringing phrases of the patriot and politician. Townsendites and Legionnaires, foreign-language groups, and Independence Day orators, the Herters and the Conants and the Curleys—all these have helped to keep alive the Faneuil tradition of the open forum, where freemen may exert their right to speak.

Today Faneuil Hall averages about 40 meetings a year, where once it saw 3 times that number. Newer halls are more convenient. The market place is uninviting. The tempo of modern living has tended to relegate the Cradle of Liberty to the oratorical backwaters. But Bostonians still take pride in this venerable building. And many a non-Bostonian, confused by the time's growing emphasis on rigid conformity to patterns, must find reassurance in the market and meeting hall which in Sam Adams' day cradled the spirit of dissent.

The night before I visited Faneuil Hall I heard Judge Charles Edward Wyzanski, Jr., of the United States district court speak on the Anatomy of Courage before the National Conference of Editorial Writers in Boston. Judge Wyzanski made a moving and eloquent appeal, not alone for physical courage, but for social and spiritual courage. He spoke for the right of voluntary association, for the right to dissent, for the individual's freedom to diverge from the paths of conformity.

In Faneuil Hall, the next day, I sensed more fully the true Bostonian meaning and flavor of his speech. I somehow wished that old Sam Adams, still standing guard on that dingy market area encircling the Cradle of Liberty, could have heard it. No doubt he would have thought it very fine indeed.

Landmarks of Liberty—Jefferson's Influence Endures at Monticello

(By Bradley L. Morison)

Charlottesville, Va.—Monticello, the lovely estate of Thomas Jefferson, lies about 115 miles southwest of Washington, D. C. As the bus rolls, it is a 3-hour journey, much of it through the gentle foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. On the way down, my attention wase attracted to a front-page story in the morning paper. Out in Los Angeles the American Civil Liberties Union had been denied the use of a great auditorium because its scheduled speaker was "too controversial a figure." The man of controversy was Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, a vigorous champion of civil rights.

That is funny, I thought. Thomas Jefferson was quite a civil rights man in his day. A pretty controversial fellow, if I had not misread the history of his times.

Were the American people still flocking to Monticello, I wondered, to honor this distinguished advocate of civil liberties?

Indeed they were. The tourists attracted to Monticello constitute a thriving industry for Charlottesville, a handsome and venerable town of 30,000 persons which shelters Jefferson's beloved University of Virginia. This year about 220,000 visitors will pass through Charlottesville on their way to Monticello, which is 3 miles distant along a steep and winding road. Furthermore they will pay 90 cents apiece for admission to that mountaintop estate, and will carry away souvenirs by the bushels and tons from the various tourist shops in that area. Buses, taxis, and private motor cars are drawn as if by a magnet to this remote shrine. Since Monticello was opened to the public in 1924, more than 2 million persons have passed through its graceful rooms and explored its spacious grounds overlooking that breathlessly beautiful valley which lies between it and the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Considering the fact that Monticello lies off the beaten path, a considerable distance from the tourist swarms of Washington, this is a remarkable record. Controversial or not, it is plain as day that Thomas Jefferson still captures the imagination and holds the affection of the American people.

The precise and matronly hostesses who conduct the tours through Monticello explain that its name means "little mountain" in Italian and that Virginians call it Montichello as Jefferson preferred. They take a special pride in the abundant evidences of Jefferson's inventive genius—the 7-day calendar clock with its cannonball weights, the automatic glass doors, the dumbwaiter for wine bottles, the revolving chair and table, the folding ladder, the recessed beds. They recall that Jefferson once valued the mansion at $5,000 for insurance purposes. They point admiringly to the parquet floors of rosewood, satinwood, walnut, and cherry in the reception room and salon, laid more than 150 years ago at a cost of $200 and still miraculously resisting the scuff and scrape of tourist armies.

They will tell you, too, how Jefferson brought his young bride to Monticello in 1772, how the high cost of entertaining hordes of guests drove him to near bankruptcy, and how he died there on July 4, 1826, and was buried in the family graveyard nearby, along a wooded mountain road.

It is at this graveyard, now thickly carpeted with brown leaves, that a sense of Jefferson's greatness makes its deepest impression. Jefferson wrote the simple inscription for his tombstone: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom; and father of the University of Virginia."

It is almost impossible to leave Monticello without a renewal of one's faith in those bedrock concepts of liberty and human dignity on which America was founded.

Here, as at Faneuil Hall in Boston, one has a feeling of closeness to basic American principle, and here, too, there is a fresh stirring of the winds of freedom.

Jefferson's gadgets in the mansion above are forgotten as his immortal words of the Declaration come to mind: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

This was the man who said: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

His statute for religious freedom was to set an example for the Nation. He was an early champion of a statewide system of free public schools. He helped draft the bill of rights, the first 10 amendments to the Federal Constitution, and pressed vigorously for their adoption. Perhaps more than any other American, Jefferson influenced those fundamental philosophies which are inescapable from the American traditions of democracy and freedom.

At the little graveyard, many of the present-day challenges to those traditions—the efforts to intimidate the mind of man and to place it in safe and identical molds—seem very far away.

Going back to Washington on the bus, I browsed through some of my accumulated literature. Here Claude G. Bowers describes Jefferson as "artist, musician, architect, landscape gardener, lover of painting and sculpture, and a graceful writer" Jefferson designed Monticello, the capitol at Richmond, the University of Virginia buildings. As a farmer, he introduced crop rotation and terraced farming to this country. When he wrote the Declaration of Independence, he far-sightedly included a provision against slavery, which was later eliminated. Of him Abraham Lincoln wrote: "The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society."

A remarkable American, Thomas Jefferson, I thought. Even if he was controversial.

Landmarks of Liberty—Awe and Irony Merge at Lincoln Memorial

(By Bradley L. Morison)

Washington.—Project a line from the Capitol through the Washington Monument and as it cuts through this city of colossal buildings it will soon collide with what is probably the handsomest memorial ever erected to an American president.

The visitor who stands at the base of that memorial which honors Abraham Lincoln, will inevitably experience a sense of awe. And if he projects another line back into history, until it collides with Lincoln's villifiers in the stirring days of his Presidency, he will also experience a profound sense of irony.

For this is the Nation's monument to its most savagely assailed President. Here, as one joins the great throngs of Americans paying tribute to his memory, the bitter calumnies seem wholly unrelated to the man so honored.

Today the Lincoln Memorial has no rival as a presidential shrine. Last year it was visited by 1,793,048 persons, outdrawing all other monuments within the District of Columbia. The great obelisk which honors Washington was a poor second, with 985,000 visitors.

The magnetic pull of the Lincoln Memorial is a constant source of wonder to those officials who watch over it. In the opinion of one of them, no monument in the world exerts a comparable drawing power. Seeing the crowds flow endlessly up and down the great expanse of steps leading to the sanctuary it is easy to believe this.

The Lincoln Memorial is open to the public every day except Christmas from 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. The crowds begin to thicken early. When evening comes and floodlights bathe the memorial with an eerie beauty the flow continues. Day and night there is an air of awe at its base, an atmosphere of reverence within the shadows of its spacious central hall.

Heads are quickly bared before the great brooding statue of Lincoln. In the temple-like interior which that statue dominates even noisy knots of school children often come to an abrupt silence, as if reacting to some unspoken reprimand.

It is while standing before this heroic likeness of Lincoln that the visitor is likely to be most impressed by one of the great ironies of American history. For this was the most vilified President of all. Less than a century ago the detractors who snapped at his heels were calling him charlatan, buffoon, blunderer, coward, bully, and assassin. Even his noble Gettysburg Address, now inscribed for posterity on the interior's south wall, was contemptuously dismissed by one critic as "silly, flat, and dishwatery."

Time, it seems, gives perspective to men and events. And in the case of Abraham Lincoln time has almost totally erased the harshest judgments ever passed upon a President.

Massive is the word for the Lincoln Memorial—massive and magnificent. The marble superstructure towers 80 feet above the slope on which it rests. The 36 columns in the colonnade—1 column for each State existing when Lincoln was President—are 44 feet high and more than 7 feet in diameter. In the central hall the Greek Ionic columns tower 50 feet. The statue of Lincoln, carved from 28 blocks of white marble, is 19 feet high. Even the armchair in which he sits is a Brobdingnagian 12 feet.

Eight years went into the building of this mammoth structure, and when it was dedicated on Memorial Day, 1922, many a critic

was ready to denounce it as a colossal incongruity in marble. One charged that it had been coldly cribbed from the Parthenon. Others were impressed by the folly of dedicating a Greek temple to a President of Lincoln's humble origins and simple tastes.

But these early controversies have long since died away. Incongruous or not, the Lincoln Memorial leaves an unforgettable impression on the viewer. The impact of it is sharp and dramatic. One has a feeling, looking up at its solid grandeur from the boulevard below, that this monument to the immortal Lincoln is built to last forever.

The Negro regards this memorial as a very special shrine and tens of thousands of them come here every year to pay their tribute of affection to the Great Emancipator. In this fact, too, lies another element of irony, for the Lincoln Memorial faces toward a city in which the Negro is still regarded as a second-class citizen. Despite the great emancipation mural in the central hall, the Negroes of Washington have not yet been emancipated from their segregated slums or fully freed from the chafing shackles of discrimination.

In the years since Marian Anderson sang from this memorial in a great open-air concert after being barred from Constitution Hall, the Negro has made great progress. He still attends segregated schools, but many of the old barriers are crumbling. The theaters are open to him. He has freer access to restaurants and hotels. His employment horizons have been broadened. He serves in the Armed Forces, for the most part, on equal terms with his fellow whites.

Slowly but surely he is being emancipated from the economic and spiritual bondage to which the encrusted prejudices of the Nation's Capital have so long condemned him. Yet until this emancipation is complete, the Negro will visit the Lincoln Memorial more as a suppliant for justice than as one who knows the satisfaction flowing from a goal fulfilled.

In these days when so many bitter and intolerant judgments are passed upon our public servants, a visit to the Lincoln Memorial is good for the soul. Within the shadows of its stately sanctuary, it is good to reflect that the passions of the day are fleeting and that there is something solid and enduring in American values that will easily survive the harsh controversies of the day.

The towering statue of Lincoln seems to bespeak patience and charity from all who stand before it. And it may well remind the visitor that the verdict of history—good or bad—is the only one that counts in the long stream of passing years.

LANDMARKS OF LIBERTY—DIGNITY'S A MUST AT SUPREME COURT BUILDING

(By Bradley L. Morison)

WASHINGTON.—Sit in the galleries of either House of Congress and listen sharply. There you will hear the legislative voice of the American people, rising and falling in the cadences of controversy. Sometimes it has demagogic overtones, sometimes the clear timbre of the statesman. But the people are speaking, wisely or not, through their elected representatives.

Then leave the Capitol and proceed eastward for a few hundred paces to the United States Supreme Court Building. Scale its glacier-like steps, pass beneath the great legend Equal Justice Under Law which rests upon its mammoth columns, and walk through its cavernous central hall to the Supreme Court Room.

There, if the Court is in session, you will hear what Bryce once called "the living voice of the Constitution." If it resembles a decorous drone, and if it lacks the dramatic quality of the people's legislative voice, do not be deceived. For here is one of the greatest concentrations of judicial power in the world. And when the living voice of the Constitution speaks, sometimes the whole Nation rocks with its reverberations.

This was so, to cite a recent case, when the Court invalidated Mr. Truman's attempted seizure of the steel industry last year. It was so again last June when it convened for its third special term in history to consider the last lingering doubts in the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the condemned atomic spies. And it will be so again when the Court resolves the great issue of segregation by color in the Nation's public schools after hearings which begin next month.

To get within hearing distance of the Constitution's "voice," nearly a million visitors pass through the portals of this handsome building every year. Some of them are little boys who annoy the guards by pausing to sail bits of paper in the pools outside. Some are distinguished jurists who feel quite at home in the somewhat austere atmosphere which tends to overawe the layman. But no adult enters it without checking frivolity outside. There is no building in Washington where the chill of dignity reaches quite so deeply to the marrow.

The timid visitor who sneezes in the presence of a uniformed attendant is likely to experience a profound sense of embarrassment, if not of self-condemnation. Even the elevators seem to move at a majestic tempo. As one wanders through the building's marble mazes, and up and down its elliptical spiral stairways, the feeling grows that this is a world separate and apart, remote from all the other governmental worlds that whirl and spin in Washington.

The Supreme Court building was completed in 1935 at a cost of more than $9 million. In this white and gleaming building, there is no suggestion of the mellowing of time, as at Faneuil Hall or Monticello. Here a Court which has functioned for 164 years sits in modern splendor, belying the venerable traditions which still cluster close around it.

The focal point of all this architectural magnificence, toward which most visitors are drawn irresistibly, is the courtroom itself. Here dignity is spelled with a capital D. There is probably no more impressive courtroom on the globe than this, with its 24 great columns, its dark red velour hangings, its carved marble panels, and its 44-foot-high ceiling.

When the Court is in session, visitors come and go in a hushed and reverent procession. Here the humblest citizen may sit for a brief period to hear the Constitution's living voice.

He need not listen too intently to this voice, or grasp at each nuance of argument, to understand that this is a room where men not only turn to the past as a guide, but make new history in the process.

The nine Justices who relax in armchairs represent one of the three great foundation stones of our American democracy—a free and independent judiciary. These men stand for liberty under law. They interpret the Constitution, and in a very real sense are the guardian of the rights therein conferred upon the individual. These particular nine Justices are the appointees of three Presidents—Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower—yet they function independently of the Executive, just as they function independently of Congress, whose laws they sometime invalidate as conflicting with the Constitution.

The United States Supreme Court Building, some readers have suggested, does not properly belong in this series of articles. The years do not encrust it, as they encrust Faneuil Hall and Monticello. Nor is it a monument to one great American champion of freedom, as is the Lincoln Memorial.

Yet the ideal of liberty and equal justice under law finds a strong fortress here. If it is not served perfectly, it is still served, and there is no ideal which so distinguishes our American democracy, with its emphasis on the individual's rights, from the totalitarian concept of the all-embracing state.

There are critics of the court who say that it has not sufficiently extended or liberalized the Constitution's guaranties of freedom. Yet through the years, the court has served as an effective brake on many a threat to that freedom. We have all been more secure in those liberties enumerated in the Bill of Rights because we lived within the protecting vigilance of an independent judiciary accountable to nothing save its own good conscience.

As I left the building, I stood near its great entrance to watch the crowds filter in and out. They were people for whom the Bill of Rights represented a great heritage. The American system of Government had endowed them with the freedom to worship as they please, to speak as they please, to have access to an uncensored press, to assemble peaceably, to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Faneuil Hall was part of their heritage. So were Thomas Jefferson and Monticello, so were Abraham Lincoln and the great memorial dedicated to him.

The Supreme Court Building, somehow, seemed to be inseparable from that priceless heritage.

"Equal Justice Under Law," the legend read.

What better ending to a brief journey along the paths that led Americans to freedom?

Low Salaries and High Living Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that before this new session gets very old, we will consider legislation to increase Government officials' salaries.

In that connection, the following article is most apropos. It appeared in the October 16, 1953, issue of U. S. News & World Report.

WHY HIGH OFFICIALS DIE POOR: LOW SALARIES, HIGH LIVING EXPENSES

Honor is undiminished but the pay is slipping, comparatively. That describes Earl Warren's new job as Chief Justice.

Since 1946, executive officials have been leaving the Federal judiciary and Congress far behind, in pay and extras.

Judges and Congressmen feel it's their turn now. They ask higher pay, pensions for widows. Many judges have quit—for a better living.

When Earl Warren gave up the No. 1 job in the State of California to take the No. 2 job in the United States Government, he accepted a cut in living standards.

As Governor, Mr. Warren got pay plus perquisites that permitted him to live in a style that he cannot support as Chief Justice of the United States.

In effect, the new Chief Justice gave up a job of limited tenure and attractive pay for a job of life tenure and great power at a less attractive reward in worldly things.

Chief Justice Warren has spent 34 years in public service, raising a family of 6 children. As the culmination of that career he has taken a job paying $25,500 a year with retirement available at full pay after the age of 69. In doing that he has passed up

the chance to pile up much of an estate to leave his family, if the experience of other high officials is any guide.

Mr. Warren's predecessor, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, spent 34 years in public life. When he died last month he left a net estate of $1,100 in Washington, plus a small amount of real estate in Kentucky and West Virginia, and some insurance.

When Mr. Vinson died, all his pension rights ended. Mrs. Vinson, as his widow, was left without any pension from the Government. Had Mr. Vinson been an ordinary worker, instead of the Chief Justice, when he died, Mrs. Vinson probably would have a social-security pension of around $40 a month for life.

Senator Charles W. Tobey died last July. His career spanned 38 years and included positions as State Governor, United States Representative, and United States Senator. He left an estate of $20,000. His widow gets no Government pension as a result of his long years of service in top public jobs. She would have an annuity of more than $100 a month had Mr. Tobey been a minor Federal civil servant for a lifetime.

These are only the most recent examples of a situation that has raised the question of whether Government is niggardly in providing for certain of its top officials. Judges and Congressmen, particularly, feel they are the forgotten men of Government when it comes to pay, and security for their survivors.

They haven't had a salary raise since 1946. There is no pension system for the widows of judges. Congressmen's widows can qualify for an annuity only if the Congressman dies after he has retired from office, for those whose husbands die in office, there is only a lump-sum payment dependent upon the sum paid into a pension fund.

Most of the 315 Federal judges now on the bench get $15,000 a year. Judges of the three highest-ranking United States courts get $17,500, and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court get $25,000. Senators and Representatives are paid $15,000 a year.

Their salaries have been standing still, while the cost of living has soared, taxes have gone up and the incomes of other officials have been raised. Federal civil servants have had five pay increases, in addition to the usual promotions for individuals, since judges and Congressmen got a raise.

THE CASE OF THE NEW CHIEF JUSTICE

The case of the new Chief Justice now is drawing attention to the way things have changed, financially, for the Federal judiciary.

The President of the United States is paid $150,000 a year plus many extras after recent adjustments. His money income from the Government thus is six times as much as the Chief Justice's. Back in 1946, the President got three times as much as the Chief Justice.

The Vice President and the Speaker of the House were raised, in 1949, to $30,000 a year plus $10,000 in expenses. In recent years, both offices have been given the services of Government limousines and chauffeurs. Yet the Chief Justice, who outranks both of these officials as the head of a separate branch of the Government, gets one-third less money and no limousine.

Prior to 1946, all Supreme Court justices got higher pay than the Vice President and the Speaker.

A number of other Federal officials, far below the Chief Justice in power and prestige, also have gradually accumulated cars and chauffeurs, cooks, and airplanes, as well as salary increases, in recent years. After raises, the judges of the Court of General Sessions in New York County, a criminal trial court, get $2,500 a year more than the Chief Justice of the United States. The chief judge of the Court of Appeals of New York receives $38,000 a year.

The lack of income-supplementing extras for the Chief Justice is especially noticeable in the case of Mr. Warren, as shown by the chart on page 38.

As Governor of California, Mr. Warren got a total of $37,000 a year in salary and expense allowance, a 20-room mansion, the use of 2 Cadillacs, a twin-engine airplane for official trips, the aid of a big staff.

As Chief Justice, Mr. Warren gets $25,500 salary, or 31 percent less money than he received as Governor. He will have to rent his own house or apartment, ride taxis or provide his own car, pay for any entertaining out of his own pocket, pay traveling expenses out of the maximum allowance of $16 a day that the law allows for official trips.

His biggest saving will arise from the fact that he no longer has the expense of running for office every 2 years.

Rising complaints about judicial and legislative salaries were put on the record before Congress last April. Former judges joined other prominent lawyers in warning the Senate Judiciary Committee that the caliber of the Federal bench is threatened by resignations of experienced judges and refusals of able men to take judgeships—mostly because the pay is low, responsibilities are great, and there is no security for a judge's family when he dies.

Said one former judge, a member of the United States Tax Court for 4 years:

"I resigned after 4 years for one very simple reason: I had a family to feed, three children to educate, insurance to carry, and with taxes and increased cost of living I simply could not do it. I am now on the American Bar Association's committee on taxation. There are seven members, every one a former member of the Tax Court * * * every one of them resigned for exactly the same reason I did."

A former United States district judge, who was appointed in 1944 and resigned in 1952, told the committee that—

"During my time on the bench I handled, for instance, a railroad reorganization involving property of over $100 million. I handled a tax case that resulted in recovery of some $7 million. That gives you an idea of the magnitude of the position * * *. My household expenses ran to about $700 a month. By the time I got through I had absolutely no way of getting any security for my wife."

A prominent lawyer described the situation this way:

"I would like to refer to just one instance of a Federal judge out in our area whom I know has been offered four positions ranging in compensation from $30,000 to $50,000 per year. This man wants to be a Federal judge. * * * He has had to borrow on all his life insurance in order to educate his two children. * * * We have some widows out in our area who offer rather sad testimony to what the ability and capacity of a Federal judge has been on his salary. We have one in Oklahoma who is now taking in roomers in order to maintain herself."

A raise for judges may be forthcoming during the next session of Congress. A special Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries is being set up, though only one-third of its members have been appointed so far.

This Commission probably will endorse a proposal, already in the form of suggested legislation, giving the Chief Justice $40,000 a year, Associate Justices $35,000, United States district judges $25,000, Members of Congress $25,000.

The men who make the laws, and those who interpret them, generally agree that some such raise, with provisions for pensions for widows, is needed to bring their salary scale up to date.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Report of American Bar Association Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy, and Objectives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, in recent months the propriety of barring members of the Communist Party from the practice of law in this country has been fully explored and evaluated by the American Bar Association. The report of the bar association committee to study Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives, presided over by my good friend and former colleague, Senator Herbert R. O'Conor, of Maryland, is indeed comprehensive and pertinent to many considerations now before the Congress. The timeliness of this excellent report moves me to ask unanimous consent that it be included in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY COMMUNIST TACTICS, STRATEGY, AND OBJECTIVES TO THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

On February 24, 1953, following the recommendations of your committee, the house of delegates adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas it has been thoroughly established that international communism, the Communist Party of the United States, and individual Communists aim and plan to overthrow the Government of this country and of other countries by force and violence and that Communist activities in this country are dominated and dictated by a foreign power; and

"Whereas membership in or adherence to the Communist Party of the United States by an attorney is inconsistent with and violates his fundamental oath of office; and

"Whereas evidence has been adduced through sworn testimony in congressional investigations that some attorneys, relatively few in number, have been members of Communist Party cells; and

"Whereas some attorneys have, in lawful inquiries into their membership and activities in the Communist Party, refused to testify on the ground that such testimony would tend to incriminate them; and

"Whereas it is the duty of the bar to cause further inquiry to be made to determine the fitness of such attorneys to continue to practice: Be it

"*Resolved*, (a) That the Attorney General be requested to review the roster of such attorneys and if he believes the facts warrant to move before any Federal court to which of said attorneys may have been admitted, that the court inquire into his activities and conduct and determine his fitness to continue to practice in such court; and (b) that the State bar associations or other local associations having jurisdiction be requested to make like inquiry and, where warranted, to institute proceeding to determine his fitness to continue to practice."

I

Throughout the past year, your committee, with its associate and advisory committee, has been active in the fulfillment of its assigned task which the committee interpreted to include a practical marshaling of information and not a perfunctory, formal study of Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives.

It has been in direct touch with the official representatives of the United States Government, especially with those agencies charged with responsibility in this particular field. Also your committee has been in attendance at meetings of congressional committees and has received splendid cooperation from the legal counsel and staffs of such committees. Culminating these efforts we have compiled the names of attorneys, (a) who have been identified under oath as members of the Communist Party, and (b) who have appeared before congressional committees and when interrogated as to possible Communist membership or attachment have refused to testify on the ground that their testimony might tend to incriminate them.

As soon as arrangements could be made, the chairman of your committee conferred with the Attorney General of the United States and with the Deputy Attorney General and, later, with staff members of the Justice Department. The resolution of the house of delegates was presented and request for action in accordance therewith was respectfully made. Later your committee met in Washington with the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, and one staff member. Frank discussion was had on the respective responsibilities of State bar associations and the Attorney General. Your committee urged that the Attorney General, in addition to considering presentation of the matter to the appropriate Federal courts, also take direct action in the Federal departments or bureaus (where special admission or registration of attorneys to practice is required). At the same time your committee submitted information to the effect that a number of attorneys, who had declined to testify when questioned are still privileged to practice before the Federal agencies.

The Attorney General has the entire matter under advisement, but, insofar as your committee is informed has not yet acted. However, the time since our conference has been relatively short. Your committee expects that some concrete action will be taken and it will report the results to the house of delegates at the midwinter meeting at Chicago.

Your committee, through its chairman, has written to the appropriate State bar association forwarding a copy of this association's resolution. Your committee has requested each such association to consider and act on the matter in accordance with the resolution and advise your committee of its action and the results. The bar associations in question have indicated their intention to give utmost consideration to the suggestion and will advise your committee of further developments. In Maryland, the State bar association, under the presidency of Clarence W. Miles, has appointed a special committee to carry out the objectives of this resolution of the American Bar Association. Your committee expects to report concretely to the House of Delegates at the midwinter meeting.

The hour of accounting by these attorneys has been too long delayed. Considerable progress has been made in other fields of endeavor to cleanse their ranks, e. g., education, labor, government.

The following simple observations may be noted:

1. Every citizen, when called as a witness, has the duty to disclose any facts within his knowledge sought by a court or by a duly constituted legislative committee. The only exceptions recognized by law are the privileged confidential professional communications to an attorney, physician, or a minister, or by one spouse to the other—the privilege of applying only for the protection of the confiding person.

2. Notwithstanding the witness' duty to disclose relevant facts, the Constitution has afforded a personal right of protection against self-incrimination, which right is placed higher than the duty to speak. The right has been properly and broadly applied to all trials or proceedings. It does not apply to the incrimination of others than the witness. It applies only when the witness honestly feels that self-incrimination may result, directly or by link, from the testimony sought. Except as such personal protection, the fifth amendment was never intended as a hindrance to governmental functioning.

3. The citizen's duty to testify rests more heavily upon members of the bar—by reason of their very privileged position and their sworn allegiance to the Constitution and to our form of Government. Nevertheless, as citizens, they still retain all constitutional rights—including the right to refuse to testify if their testimony might tend to incriminate them. Perhaps better than laymen, an attorney can weigh his past acts and more accurately determine whether or not his testimony concerning them might be incriminatory. Therefore, when a citizen, who is an attorney, refuses to testify on the ground that his testimony might tend to incriminate him of undisclosed crimes, then upon his own sworn statement which we must assume is honestly and sincerely asserted, his personal constitutional right must be honored, but in asserting this right he himself has thereby disclosed disqualification for the practice of the law. The license to practice law is not an absolute right but is a privilege revocable for cause.

Your committee desires to report that in the conference with the Attorney General and in the letters to the State bar association, it has urged that each of the attorneys in question be given the further opportunity by the court or other appropriate authority to return before the congressional committee to give frank testimony of all Communist activities and participants within his knowledge. Our committee has urged this course in keeping with the resolution adopted by the House of Delegates on February 25, 1952. What is sought is not punishment for past misdeeds or mistakes but a determination of present fitness and worth

to be a member of an honorable and a responsible profession. It must be remembered that an attorney is an officer of the court.

Your committee doubts that there is a single State in the country that would admit to practice any applicant who on the day before his application for admission has refused to testify on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Your committee recommends that it be authorized to cooperate further with the Attorney General of the United States and the State and local bar associations, when so requested by them, in any inquiry or proceedings pertaining to attorneys who come within the classes enumerated in the House of Delegates Resolution of February, 1953.

Your committee has under consideration the course that should be followed concerning attorneys who have been, by sworn testimony, identified as members of the Communist Party but who have not yet been called to testify. Your committee reports its conclusion that no one who is presently a Communist is fit or should be permitted to be a member of any bar of this country. It should now be obvious that membership in the Communist Party is incompatible and inconsistent with membership at the bar.

II

At times the feeling has existed that some of the witnesses called before congressional committees and who refused to testify under the fifth amendment, did so on the advice of attorneys who were more concerned with aiding the Communist Party than protecting the basic, personal interests of the witness. It has been thought that some of such witnesses, not knowing where else to seek advice, went to the very Communist Party under investigation.

Your committee believes that the bar—particularly through the State and local associations—can and should render a distinct public service by publicly indicating its readiness on request to furnish a panel of attorneys whom such prospective witness or any former member of the Communist Party may consult and from whom he can receive confidential, dependable counsel and guidance based solely upon the proper interests of the client.

If this is adopted, a representative of your committee would be pleased to confer with the attorney of the panel in each case where the client desires such conference.

Your committee feels it as essential to protect all citizens from unjust and unfair accusation as it is to pursue its assignment to study Communist tactics, strategy, and objectives. It is obvious that the safeguards inherent in American citizenship are too precious to be subjected to hasty, ill-considered charges without adequate defense. Accordingly, your committee expresses the hope that legal representation of the highest order will be available upon request to any accused person, even one alleged to be a Communist.

III

(a) On April 20, 1953, the Subversive Activities Control Board filed its final decision and report finding the Communist Party of the United States to be a Communist-action organization and entered an order directing it to register as such under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950; or if it failed to register, then each section, branch, or cell to register.

The Subversive Activities Control Board's decision, rendered under the able chairmanship of Peter Campbell Brown, and printed as Senate Document 41 (made after careful and thorough hearing and consideration) is in our opinion sound and merits the examination and the commendation of the members of the bar.

(b) The committee is aware of criticisms of excessive delay in final determination of cases involving communism and Communists—in some instances justified. Certainly our courts have carefully safeguarded every right of the individuals concerned, thereby maintaining the finest traditions of American justice.

IV

The peace of the world will be menaced so long as communism is a potent force. The immediate future may see its decline but not its death. It is therefore of vital importance that the free peoples of the world learn the true purpose and effect of communism, its methods and tactics, its successful infiltration into and subversion of important phases of their national life and the extent to which Communists' promises can be trusted.

Communism is devoid of honor or truth. Communism is false in premise and in practice. To mislead by deliberate lies is one of its prime tools and tactics based on its policy that the end justifies the means. Therefore, it is folly for any person or any nation to rely upon the word, promise, or treaty of any Communist regime. Communism has grown stronger and has spread upon the repeated mistakes of nations in relying upon Communist false promises. Recent history has demonstrated the dishonesty, the treachery, and the cruelty of Communist leaders—at which they are masters—and also the inherent weaknesses of communism.

Strength, wisdom, courage, determination, readiness, and unity are the best defense of free nations against Communist aggression and enslavement. To avoid the burden is to invite disaster. This obvious need in our present civilization is the tragedy of our time.

In the contest for survival of constitutional government, the bar bears a unique responsibility properly placed upon it by reason of its training. Many specific phases of this responsibility will develop and become obvious, but at present the prime duty is leadership (1) in upholding our Constitution and our form of government by free men, (2) in exposing the dangers of communism and its activities through action and front organizations and Communist collaborators, and (3) in guiding our people during these dark years. This role of the bar is delicate and vital.

Your committee has abiding faith in the ideals and practicability of our Constitution and urges rededication to it and to all the rights and freedoms guaranteed under it—to attain which so much has been sacrificed in the centuries past. We should not yield our heritage under the pressure of communism. While we should and must protect fundamental rights—even of Communists—we must expose and overcome by legal means the concealment, infiltration, subversions, espionage, and obstructive and destructive Communist tactics, and wherever warranted convict those domestic traitors and enemies who would destroy our Government and enslave our people.

Congressional investigations have revealed evidence of the amazing ability of Communists to obtain key positions in Government, in United Nations organizations, in professions, and in industry—with great opportunity and readiness to serve Soviet communism. The comparatively small number of actual Communist Party members should not mislead the American people, for through similar small counterparts have other nations been captured by the Communists. In no nation—not even Russia—do the Communists represent a majority; nor have they ever obtained control of a government by a free vote of the people.

Our Nation and our Constitution have survived attacks by other totalitarian dictatorships. They will survive the death of communism only if Americans keep ever alert to the existing challenge and work unceasingly for the destruction of communism.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE TO STUDY COMMUNIST TACTICS, STRATEGY, AND OBJECTIVES,
HERBERT R. O'CONOR, *Chairman.*
JAS. MADISON BLACKWELL.
TRACY E. GRIFFIN.
EGBERT L. HAYWOOD.
CLARENCE MANION.
ASSOCIATE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE,
JULIUS APPLEBAUM.
GALLOWAY CALHOUN.
R. S. HEMINGWAY.
RAY MURPHY.

Opposition to Compromise on the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have before me a most stimulating editorial from the January 6, 1954, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial condemns any effort at a compromise with principle on the issue of the so-called Bricker amendment.

Precisely why a compromise is questioned can be gleaned in turn from a better understanding of the Bricker amendment itself.

Toward that end I have before me excerpts from a splendid address delivered by Dr. Covey T. Oliver, professor of law at the University of California. The address was presented to the International Relations Section of the Commonwealth Club, of California, one of the great discussion groups of the Nation.

I now send to the desk the text of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial opposing a compromise with principle, and the reprint of Dr. Oliver's remarks, as carried in the Journal of the Commonwealth Club for January 4, 1954. I ask unanimous consent that both these items be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 6, 1954]

A DEAL WITH BRICKER?

Is a compromise Bricker amendment in the works as Congress opens? Last week Senator BRICKER flew to Washington for a White House conference with Secretary of State Dulles and Attorney General Brownell. On Tuesday of this week he was again at the White House for compromise talks.

What, if anything comes out of these conferences should be one of the most interesting developments in 1954. Senator BRICKER'S constitutional amendment to limit the President's treaty powers draws a vital issue of principle between him and the administration. If a deal is now to be struck, something has got to give somewhere.

When Secretary of State Dulles testified on the Bricker amendment last spring, he said:

"There is no actual experience to demonstrate the need of the far-reaching changes here proposed," and he declared that those changes "could be dangerous to our peace and security."

When Attorney General Brownell testified, he said: "The proposed amendments (by BRICKER and WATKINS) are unnecessary and damaging."

If the administration still holds these views, it cannot accept without sacrifice of principle any version of the Bricker amendment save one which is a meaningless formula of mere words. Any amendment with teeth in it, which really sets out to curb the presidential treaty power, would be open to the same objections which the administration raised last year: it would be superfluous, and it would be damaging to the constitutional powers of the President.

On the other hand, a compromise amendment which merely set forth a meaningless verbal formula would hardly satisfy the Brickerites, whose whole purpose is precisely to curb the presidential treaty power.

Even if a formula acceptable to both sides could be found, however, the administration ought to ask itself whether a compromise at this stage is desirable at all.

The basic issue of the Bricker amendment cannot really be settled by compromise. That issue is: Shall the presidential power to conduct foreign policy be limited and impaired?

The administration, up to this point, has very properly answered "No." If it now makes a deal with Senator BRICKER, its answer would be clouded by ambiguity, and the compromise amendment would go to the people without a clear-cut issue to decide. And though it might seem innocent, such an amendment by its very uncertain nature could make future trouble.

Would it not be far better to get a basic decision from the people on the basic issue at stake? The constitutional amendment process is too sacred and solemn a thing to be used as a mere device for saving political face. When an amendment comes before the people, it ought to carry a clear-cut issue for their decision.

If Senator BRICKER wants to curb the presidential treaty power, let him convince Congress and the people that it should be curbed; and let the administration argue to the contrary. A "yes and no" deal between them would only confuse the issue and confuse the people.

[From the Commonwealth of January 4, 1954]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LAW PROFESSOR COVEY T. OLIVER TERMS BRICKER CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON TREATY LAW "BOTH UNNECESSARY AND DANGEROUS"

"The Bricker amendment is both unnecessary and dangerous," Dr. Covey T. Oliver, professor of law at the University of California, said in a recent talk to the International Relations Section.

"It is unnecessary because the process by which international agreements become effective in this country is presently subject to adequate controls," he said. "It is dangerous because it would make the National practically impotent in agreement-making at the very time it most needs the utmost flexibility and power in use of this vital alternative and supplement to military means.

"This proposal represents an effort to revert to isolationism and to a procedure for State participation in agreement-making that was decisively rejected by the framers of the Constitution in the light of their own experience.

"In summary, the proposed amendment provides—

"First, That any treaty provision in conflict with the Constitution shall be ineffective.

"Second. (a) That no treaty may be operative as internal law within the United States unless and until appropriate enabling legislation is enacted by Congress, and/or possibly by State legislation. (b) That this enabling legislation must be based on otherwise delegated powers of Congress or on legislation within the power of the States, and not on the treaty power.

"Third. (a) That Congress should be empowered to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. (b) That all such agreements should be subject to the same restrictions that the amendment imposes on treaties (see 1 and 2 above).

"This proposal has been so consistently presented in the press as if it contained only the first section—as if its sole objective were the alleged preservation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—that it becomes of importance to understand it in its entirety.

"The broad issue presented by section 1 is whether existing doctrine of the Supreme Court indicating that a treaty may not override constitutional prohibitions is a sufficient safeguard or whether it is necessary to embody this doctrine in the Constitution. Further, will the proposed wording have effects other than adoption of the existing doctrine?

"The argument is, the first amendment does not apply to restrict the treaty power. * * * So narrow a construction would except from the operation of the first amendment many activities of the Federal Government which the courts have frequently recognized to be subject to it: inasmuch as the due process clause of the 14th amendment restricts all functions of a State's government, so the similar clause in the 5th amendment restricts all functions of the Federal Government, one of which is the making of treaties.

"As conditions are today, Congress can always remedy any internal consequence of a treaty or executive agreement whenever it believes them harmful.

"The proposed section 1 is merely an attempted restatement of the existing doctrine of constitutional law and it is therefore unnecessary. There is always danger in attempting to codify existing judicial decisions. The Supreme Court in construing such an amendment might find some different meaning was intended and thus either add to or subtract from the existing law.

"Section 2 raises 2 distinct issues.

"As interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, treaties, once they are ratified by the Senate, are immediately enforceable in State and Federal courts if it was intended that the treaty become effective immediately.

"The framers inserted the supremacy clause in the Constitution so that there would be no doubt that treaties would supersede inconsistent State law, as a result of their practical experience with State recalcitrance under the Articles of Confederation. If State legislation as well as congressional legislation would be required, it would further add to the cumbersomeness and unworkability of the suggested procedure. It would make our agreement-making process the most cumbersome in the world.

"The second issue presented by section 2 is whether the Constitution should limit Congress' power to implement treaties to those delegated powers which Congress possesses in the absence of a treaty.

"In the past, to secure reciprocal advantages to citizens of the United States and for international purposes, such as conclusion of a treaty of peace, the treaty power has been extended into many areas which might otherwise have been regarded as of local concern only; such as the privilege of conducting certain businesses, the possession and distribution of property, the migration of game birds, and numerous other matters which in the absence of a treaty are customarily considered to be of State concern and not ordinarily subject to international regulation. To require a constitutional amendment to act in such areas would be impractical.

"The first sentence of section 3 presents the issue whether the Constitution should be amended to give Congress the power to control the Executive's right to make agreements other than treaties. Should the present balance of powers in the Federal Constitution be changed so as to increase congressional control over foreign affairs?

"The real argument of proponents is that congressional rather than executive control of agreements other than treaties is preferable to any independent executive authority in foreign affairs.

"This proposal strikes at the separation of powers provided by the framers. It would shift drastically the control of day-to-day routine arrangements in foreign affairs from the Executive to Congress.

"It is axiomatic that in the process of government we must trust somebody.

"The Bricker amendment is, in fact, a drastic proposal that would erase the basic principle of national supremacy in international affairs in a Federal form of government that was considered crucial by the framers, and is even more clearly so today."

President Eisenhower's Program Assured of Popularity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Frank R. Kent, appearing recently in the Washington Star, entitled "Eisenhower's Program Assured of Popularity":

EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM ASSURED OF POPULARITY

In a few days now Congress will convene and the President, in person, will present his message on the state of the Union. But tomorrow night he will speak directly to the American people over television, giving them a review, as he sees it, both of the foreign and domestic situation. In a few more days the entire administration program, as formulated by the President, will be laid before Congress and the country.

This is the climax of a great many months of work by General Eisenhower, his aides, advisers, and friends. It is the very best they can do. No one questions its sincerity. No one disputes the disinterested integrity of purpose behind it. No one thinks—at least no one not utterly partisan—that there is any personal or political motive anywhere in its pattern. Ike can, does, has, and will make mistakes. But, so far, even among his most bitter professional political opponents and the very hostile and far to the left columnists (except a few of the acknowledged embittered ones), no one has questioned that what the President will propose is what he believes is in the national interest and that neither his personal nor political interests are calculatingly concerned.

It is worth noting that this is the first time in 22 years that the opposition to an administration has made this remarkable concession. In brief, it is the first time in more than a generation in which some of the congressional opponents of a sitting President have not doubted his personal veracity, good faith, or the sanctity of his word. This does not mean that General Ike and his program are beyond criticism.

It does not mean that he will not go wrong in a number of ways. All it does mean is that, for the first time since 1932, the American people have at the head of their Government a man whose good faith, whose honor, whose personal disinterestedness and intentions cannot be impugned. In brief, they have a man whom they can trust. He may make mistakes, but he won't sell them out.

Above all else this is the great Eisenhower asset. If the people of the Nation believe that this is the kind of man he is (and there is every indication that they do so believe), this is the reason his program, to a large extent, will go through in the coming session. This is why, despite the fact that he lacks one of having a Republican majority in the Senate and his party majority in the House is so slender that it easily may disappear overnight—through illness or death—this is why if, when the crises occur, he follows out his present plans of taking his case straight to the people week after week and week after week, he will prevail—despite the odds against him and the poisonous nature of some of his opponents.

In brief, he can win if he does not falter. Until recently a constant drumming had been maintained by the Democratic National Committee and by the more virulent Democratic Senators such as MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, and LYNDON JOHNSON, of Texas, to the general effect that General Ike had supinely surrendered to one or the other of the Republican factions; that he was failing to assert his leadership; that he was timorous and confused. For a long time the anti-Ike propagandists sang on these keys. But they have not done so recently. They ceased to do so almost immediately after the President made his historic speech before the United Nations. Most of his critics on foreign policy fell into line with him after that.

When he followed through with his 4 days of conferences with Republican chairmen of House and Senate concerning the measures he will submit to Congress, the talk about Ike's lack of leadership just went out the window. Undoubtedly, the President will have to fight to get his program—or even a large part of it—through. After the Republican conference the President invited the leading Democrats of House and Senate, to go over his proposals with them. Notwithstanding the pain this caused some of the irreconcilable New Deal journalists, the Democratic conference promises to be almost as successful as the Republican. No one expects the Democrats to throw up their hats and cheer, but even the most hostile among them concede it is a friendly gesture.

Of two things there now seems no doubt: First, the Republicans in Congress have got the White House leadership for which they have been asking; second, that for a considerable part of the Eisenhower program the Democratic support essential to put it through will be forthcoming. For this there will be two good reasons: (1) Most of the President's proposals will be obviously sound; (2) most of them will have very great popular support.

The Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, the Baltimore News-Post has been outspoken in support of the American merchant marine as a necessary segment of our national defense. In the editorial columns of this splendid publication, as well as in other Hearst newspapers, the imperative need for maintaining this fourth arm of our defense forces has been emphasized. Recently there appeared an editorial pointing out the essential needs of our country for the preservation of this tested segment of American industry, both for domestic purposes and in the interest of world trade. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the editorial be displayed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHIP NUCLEUS

Senator BUTLER of Maryland has written to Senator FERGUSON, of Michigan, chairman of the Senate Republican policy committee, listing subjects which he deems it important the approaching session of Congress should consider and upon which, in his opinion, it should take action.

Prominent in the Maryland Senator's list are the upbuilding and maintenance of the American merchant marine and, as essential to this, the preservation of our American shipbuilding industry from decay and dissolution.

Senator BUTLER admirably puts the case for the merchant marine—a merchant marine of our own—when he writes that it "Constitutes our fourth arm of defense and should, therefore, be coordinated and integrated with our long-range military and economic objectives and afforded a degree of financial assistance to insure that a sufficient nucleus with which to meet any future contingency or emergency is always available for immediate expansion."

In his recognition of our merchant marine as our fourth arm of defense supplementing the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, Senator BUTLER presents the basic reason why, in this troubled time of world affairs, we should not permit our merchant fleet to degenerate and our shipbuilding facilities to be starved out of existence. Once they are gone, they cannot be recalled and reassembled overnight.

As an insurance against war, if it can be prevented, as we all hope; as preparation for war, if despite our efforts for peace, it must come, we are spending, will continue to spend and must spend billions, and not all of them by any means at home. Three arms of our national defense command our attention: the fourth arm is too negligently regarded.

But is the conception of a merchant marine—a merchant marine of our own, be it understood—warranted? With Senator BUTLER, we think that it is and have said so before now. And the reason is not far to seek. You need go no further back than the Second World War. We then needed merchant ships—needed them in abundance and in a hurry.

And we got them. They were built here in Baltimore and elsewhere. But how? Because we had a nucleus of shipbuilding science and organization which was capable of incredibly rapid expansion for the production of the so urgently needed multitude of ships.

But it is that nucleus—that essential core—which is disintegrating and which, if our shipbuilding industry is allowed to languish, waste away and perish, will not be there, if once again there should be urgent needs of ships. It is that sufficient nucleus for which Senator BUTLER urges "a degree of financial assistance."

Here we come up against the question of subsidies. But the term, as ordinarily used, is not applicable in this case. We do not consider appropriations for the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force as subsidies. They are investments in national security, these three arms of defense. The fourth arm rates consideration—and preservation.

A Proposal for Obtaining More, Better, and Safer Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I today introduced a bill to authorize an increase of 50 percent in the highway matching funds provided by the Federal Government to the States for the Federal fiscal year which starts next July 1.

Under an appropriation bill passed by Congress last year, $575 million has been allocated to the States for highway purposes for the year July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955. My bill would authorize an immediate increase of this amount by $287,500,000.

Since every dollar of this additional $287,500,000 must be matched by the States before any State can obtain it, the enactment of my bill will result in a more than half-billion-dollar increase in the amount of Federal-State highway construction undertaken in the year which starts next July.

This additional highway work will provide jobs for many thousands of construction workers. Also, it will stimulate the demand for steel, cement, asphalt, lumber, plywood, and other construction materials, thereby adding to employment in the industries which produce these goods. Railroad and transportation workers will be benefited by the increased freight such an expanded highway program will generate.

Officials of the Bureau of Public Roads, repeatedly, have warned that our highways have been wearing out, during the past 10 to 15 years, much faster than old roads have been reconstructed or new ones built.

The Nation needs more and better roads. It needs them now. The program to provide these desperately needed, better, and safer highways should be started at the earliest possible time, not postponed and delayed.

EISENHOWER ON ROADS

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union speech last Thursday, said:

To protect the vital interest of every citizen in a safe and adequate highway system, the Federal Government is continuing its central role in the Federal-aid highway program. So that maximum progress can be made to overcome present inadequacies in the interstate highway system, we must continue the Federal gasoline tax at 2 cents per gallon. This will require cancellation of the one-half-cent decrease which otherwise will become effective April 1, and will maintain revenues so that an expanded highway program can be undertaken.

The President, in his message, urged that the present 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline taxe be kept in effect after April, when it is due to expire. In return for keeping this 2-cent-a-gallon tax in effect, and not allowing it to return to the 1½-cent former rate, the President promised an expanded highway program.

If the 2-cent-a-gallon Federal gasoline tax is continued after April 1, the expanded highway program promised by the President should be put into effect at the earliest possible date after April 1. The start of that expanded highway program should not be delayed until July 1, 1955, which will be the case if Congress waits until the regular road appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1955 is enacted.

Unless a highway bill, such as the one I today introduced, is enacted promptly, America's 53 million automobile and truckowners will continue paying the Federal Government 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax, instead of 1½ cents a gallon, without obtaining any benefits in the form of the promised improved highways for this extra one-half-cent-a-gallon payment until July 1955.

GASOLINE-TAX COLLECTIONS

The Federal Government last year, from its 2-cent-a-gallon gas tax and diesel-oil tax, collected $867,200,856. All of this money came out of the pockets of American automobile and truckowners. It was a special tax on this group, and this group alone.

All of this Federal gas-tax money ought to be spent in building highways that serve the motorists who pay this special tax. None of it should be diverted to other Federal uses, as long as the present great deficiency in needed highways exists. The diversion, by both the Federal Government and the States, of gas-tax revenues to other purposes than roadbuilding should be stopped.

While the Federal Government last year collected $867,200,856 from the Federal gasoline tax and its tax on diesel oil, it will use only $575,000,000 of this money for highway purposes. It will divert almost $300 million of it to other than highway purposes, to such purposes as foreign aid.

My bill, by granting a 50-percent increase, or $267,500,000 of additional funds, effective July 1 next, to States for highway and bridge construction will bring the total amount of Federal highway funds available to the States for that year to $862,500,000. This total is substantially less than that now being collected from the Federal taxes on gasoline and diesel oil.

It will be most unfair to motorists to continue to collect the 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax unless the promised expanded highway program is initiated at the earliest possible moment.

On the other hand, the more than 53 million motorists who now pay this gasoline tax, I am sure, will make no complaint against continuing the 2-cent rate after April 1, provided all, or practically all, of these added gasoline tax revenues are devoted to an expanded highway program. These motorists, however, will have justifiable cause for complaint if the start of the program for more, better, and safer highways is delayed until July 1955.

OUR HIGHWAY DEFICIENCY

The failure, during the past two decades, of the Nation's highway program to keep pace with its growth in population and motor vehicles has created one of the greatest deficiencies in our national economy.

In 1940, less than 35 million motor vehicles were licensed in the United States. In 1952, more than 53 million motor vehicles were licensed. This was an increase of 50 percent in the number of automobiles and trucks on our highways. The traffic-load increase probably was even greater, for the average car owner today drives more miles a day than he ever has.

Despite this more than 50-percent increase in the traffic load, the mileage of new roads constructed and old ones replaced in the last few years was not much greater than during the thirties. We have been making little or no gain in providing better or safer highways for those who by increased gasoline taxes are providing the money to build roads. More money, it is true, has been spent on highways in recent years than in the thirties, but due to the depreciated dollar, or to state it another way, due to higher construction costs, we have not obtained any material increase in better highways.

During 1953, the highway directors of the 48 States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia made estimates of the number of miles of highways in each of the States or Territories that were in need of improvement. These men, probably, are in closer touch and know the Nation's highway problems better than any others. Their combined estimate was that 429,282 miles of highways in the Nation are in need of improvement. Their combined estimate on the cost of this needed highway work was that $34,951,312,000, say $35 billion, was required to do this job adequately.

TOLL ROADS

There are those who think, or profess to think, that toll roads, financed by private interests or the States, can go a long way toward solving our highway deficiency. This, in my opinion, is an overly optimistic view. Toll roads are all right. Toll roads should be encouraged wherever feasible. Toll roads will help. However, toll roads will fall far short of solving the traffic problem.

Today, only 641 miles of toll roads are in operation in the United States. Another 1,172 miles of toll roads are under construction which will require at least 3 years to complete. An additional 818 miles of toll roads have been proposed and are in early planning study stages. Altogether, completed, under construction, and proposed there are only about 2,600 miles of toll roads. These toll roads represent only about one-tenth of 1 percent of the 3 million miles of roads on the Federal highway system and only about one-half of 1 percent of the 429,282 miles of highways in the several States and Territories which the State highway directors say are in need of improvement.

The one and only complete answer to solving the Nation's $35 billion highway deficiency is larger appropriations by the Federal Congress and by the State legislatures for road and bridge-building purposes. One of the most effective steps toward obtaining the additional money required would be for both the Federal Government and the States to stop diverting gasoline tax revenues to other purposes than road building.

The Federal Government should spend on highways every dollar it obtains from motorists in Federal gasoline and diesel oil taxes at least until the present highway deficiency is materially lessened. Let Congress, if it wishes, spend on other than highway purposes the approximately billion and a quarter dollars it collects annually from excise taxes on new automobiles, trucks, tires, tubes, and auto accessories. It should not, however, dip into Federal gasoline-tax revenues and use them for other purposes than roads.

When the Congress or the State legislatures make appropriations for highway, members should not look upon these appropriations as expenditures but rather as investments.

Many of our great railway corporations are heavily in debt. Often their profits are not as large as in former years. Still the directors of these railroads borrow additional funds to modernize their lines and equipment in order to make their railroads more efficient. These directors, all hardheaded businessmen, regard the money put into these improvements as good business investments that will be returned to the railroads through savings.

The same sound business principle should cause legislators who, in fact, are the directors of the Nation and of the States, to provide funds for better highways, in order to make the Nation's motor transportation more efficient and less costly.

The money invested in highways will be returned in savings to those who use these roads and to the national economy.

Studies made by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association reveal that if this Nation, today, had an adequate interstate highway system, that the savings to motorists would total more than $2 billion a year which sum is the equivalent to a 6 percent return on the $35 billion investment which the Nation's State highway directors say will be required to place all of the Nation's highways in first class condition.

The Automobile Manufacturers' Association survey figures show adequate highways would produce these savings: $550 million to motorists from a saving on gasoline, brakes, and tires, $725 million to motorists through traffic accident reduction, and $825 million to commercial vehicle owners in time savings.

The Nation cannot, due to financial limitations, overcome its highway deficiency in a year or just a few years. It should, however, move as soon and as fast as possible to overcome it.

The American people are going to pay for more, better, and safer highways whether these are built or not. If these highways are built the people will pay for them in taxes. If these highways are not built, motorists will pay for them just the same through increased medical and hospital bills, in costlier automobile repair bills, in added wear and tear on

their tires and cars and in higher automobile insurances rates.

Appended to this address is a table showing the present sums allocated to each State for the year July 1, 1954 to June 30, 1955, under the $575 million appropriation bill passed last year and also, the amounts by which the money available to each State will be increased if my bill is enacted by Congress during the next few months.

Chart showing the present apportionment by States of Federal-aid highway funds for fiscal year beginning July 1, 1954, and the additional funds each State would receive under the bill introduced by Representative Mack, Republican, of Washington

	Present apportionment	Increase proposed by Representative Mack[1]	1954-55 total under Mack bill[1]
Alabama	$11, 629, 238	$5, 814, 619	$17, 443, 857
Arizona	7, 090, 267	3, 545, 133	10, 635, 400
Arkansas	8, 552, 216	4, 276, 108	12, 828, 324
California	30, 299, 263	15, 134, 631	45, 403, 894
Colorado	8, 962, 425	4, 481, 212	13, 443, 637
Connecticut	5, 177, 072	2, 588, 536	7, 765, 608
Delaware	2, 400, 449	1, 204, 724	3, 614, 173
Florida	9, 442, 291	4, 721, 145	14, 163, 436
Georgia	13, 335, 300	6, 667, 650	20, 002, 950
Idaho	5, 738, 448	2, 869, 224	8, 607, 672
Illinois	25, 055, 311	12, 527, 655	37, 582, 966
Indiana	12, 697, 571	6, 848, 785	20, 546, 356
Iowa	12, 505, 287	6, 252, 643	18, 757, 930
Kansas	12, 035, 698	6, 017, 849	18, 053, 547
Kentucky	10, 170, 437	5, 085, 218	15, 255, 655
Louisiana	8, 982, 105	4, 491, 552	13, 474, 657
Maine	4, 318, 722	2, 159, 361	6, 478, 083
Maryland	5, 998, 746	2, 888, 373	8, 887, 119
Massachusetts	10, 224, 769	5, 112, 384	15, 337, 153
Michigan	19, 363, 770	9, 681, 889	29, 045, 668
Minnesota	13, 741, 435	6, 870, 717	20, 612, 152
Mississippi	9, 264, 239	4, 632, 119	13, 896, 358
Missouri	16, 087, 240	8, 043, 629	24, 130, 888
Montana	9, 167, 781	4, 583, 800	13, 751, 671
Nebraska	9, 485, 200	4, 742, 600	14, 227, 800
Nevada	5, 730, 198	2, 865, 099	8, 595, 297
New Hampshire	2, 532, 280	1, 266, 140	3, 798, 420
New Jersey	10, 486, 958	5, 243, 479	15, 730, 437
New Mexico	7, 602, 745	3, 801, 372	11, 404, 117
New York	35, 428, 657	17, 714, 328	53, 142, 985
North Carolina	13, 669, 505	6, 834, 752	20, 404, 257
North Dakota	6, 757, 350	3, 378, 675	10, 136, 025
Ohio	22, 493, 115	11, 246, 557	33, 739, 672
Oklahoma	11, 052, 688	5, 526, 344	16, 579, 032
Oregon	8, 661, 811	4, 330, 905	12, 992, 716
Pennsylvania	26, 616, 706	13, 308, 353	39, 925, 059
Rhode Island	3, 097, 079	1, 548, 539	4, 645, 618
South Carolina	7, 326, 960	3, 663, 480	10, 990, 440
South Dakota	7, 245, 384	3, 622, 677	10, 868, 031
Tennessee	11, 989, 709	5, 994, 854	17, 983, 553
Texas	34, 757, 747	17, 378, 873	52, 136, 620
Utah	5, 563, 341	2, 781, 670	8, 345, 011
Vermont	2, 342, 840	1, 171, 420	3, 514, 260
Virginia	10, 892, 628	5, 446, 324	16, 338, 952
Washington	9, 240, 247	4, 620, 123	13, 860, 370
West Virginia	6, 174, 811	3, 087, 405	9, 262, 216
Wisconsin	13, 110, 327	6, 555, 163	19, 665, 490
Wyoming	5, 610, 580	2, 805, 275	8, 415, 825
Hawaii	2, 404, 524	1, 232, 262	3, 606, 786
District of Columbia	3, 298, 123	1, 649, 061	4, 947, 184
Puerto Rico	3, 773, 439	1, 886, 719	5, 660, 158

[1] Approximate.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the Parent-Teacher Assembly of the Church School, in Rockford, Ill., has endorsed the proposal now pending for a constitutional amendment, which is popularly referred to as the Bricker resolution, to safeguard domestic rights against intrusions through treaty law for the exercise of the treaty-making power. An item from the December 23 issue of the Rockford Morning Star sets forth the text of the recommendations and the resolution which was forwarded for action by the Illinois State Congress of Parents and Teachers Associations. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRICKER AMENDMENT ENDORSED BY PTA

Church school parent-teacher assembly has gone on record as endorsing Senator JOHN W. BRICKER'S proposed constitutional amendment to prevent abuse of the treaty-making power."

Following recommendation by its executive committee, the local assembly urged Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers to endorse the following resolution:

"The constitution of the United States should be amended so as to provide that treaties which affect individual rights or infringe upon or alter the Constitution or domestic law of the United States or of any State shall not become the supreme law of the land."

It also asked ICPT endorsement of a resolution to support the United Nations in its protection of freedoms for all peoples as outlined in the United States Constitution.

List of Members and Statement by the Committee for the Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power; and Editorial Published in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, there was recently formed a vital, new organization whose purpose is one of the most significant in our time. I refer to the Committee for Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power. A group of distinguished Americans have organized, through this committee, in order to protect the Constitution from those who would, mistakenly, do the gravest of damage to it; those who would disrupt the checks and balances in the Constitution, under the guise of protecting our rights.

I want to congratulate the outstanding assembly of leaders who have associated themselves with this splendid protreaty power, pro-Constitution movement. Their names are a roster of American patriotism. They come from all sections of the Nation. They represent both major political parties. There is not a single man or woman in the group who does not have a tremendous variety of other public and private responsibilities; but they realize full well how crucial it is that they take time from their busy lives in order to engage in this great undertaking of defending the Constitution against the threat of Senate Joint Resolution 1, known popularly as the Bricker amendment.

I now send to the desk a list of the citizens who have associated themselves with the committee. I append to it a statement of the position to which these individuals adhere in protecting the treaty power.

Finally, I attach the text of an editorial entitled "Bricker Opponents United," from the January 9, 1954, issue of the noted National Catholic Weekly America. I ask unanimous consent that the text of these three items be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the list, statement, and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION BY PRESERVING THE TREATY POWER, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Sponsors: John W. Davis, Lucius D. Clay, cochairmen; Frank Altschul, Stamford, Conn.; Charles K. Arter, Cleveland, Ohio; Laird Bell, Chicago, Ill.; James T. Brand, Salem, Oreg.; Harry Amos Bullis, Minneapolis, Minn.; Stuart Chevalier, Los Angeles, Calif.; Will T. Clayton, Houston, Tex.; Charles A. Coolidge, Boston, Mass.; Edward S. Corwin, Princeton, N. J.; Homer D. Crotty, Los Angeles, Calif.; Robert Dechert, Philadelphia, Pa.; Edwin D. Dickinson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert G. Dodge, Boston, Mass.; Henry S. Drinker, Philadelphia, Pa.; Farnham P. Griffiths, San Francisco, Calif.; Erwin N. Griswold, Cambridge, Mass.; James P. Hart, Austin, Tex.; Elizabeth E. Heffelfinger, Minneapolis, Minn.; Palmer Hoyt, Denver, Colo.; Sarah T. Hughes, Dallas, Tex.; Devereux C. Josephs, New York, N. Y.; Jacob M. Lashly, St. Louis, Mo.; Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans, La.; William D. Mitchell, New York, N. Y.; John Lord O'Brian, Washington, D. C.; Joseph O'Meara, South Bend, Ind.; Philip D. Reed, New York, N. Y.; Owen J. Roberts, Philadelphia, Pa.; Elihu Root, Jr., New York, N. Y.; Marcus C. Sloss, San Francisco, Calif.; Geoffrey S. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.; Anna Lord Strauss, New York, N. Y.; Harrison Tweed, New York, N. Y.; Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., Stamford, Conn.

Edward S. Corwin, national chairman.
Geoffrey S. Smith, treasurer.
Robert B. Eichholz, executive secretary.

STATEMENT OF POSITION ON THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

We are opposed to amending the Constitution as proposed by the so-called Bricker amendment (S. J. Res. 1 as reported June 15, 1953).

Our Constitution has served our country exceedingly well for 165 years. It should be changed only on the clearest showing of actual need. No such need has been shown in this connection. Yet the proposed amendment would cut down the treatymaking power of the Federal Government and alter the existing division and balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches. In so doing it would write into the Constitution three new and dangerous provisions.

First, the proposed amendment would require that a treaty become effective as internal law only through legislation. Thus, after the President negotiated and signed a treaty, and after the Senate by a two-thirds vote of those present consented to it, as now provided by the Constitution, the Bricker amendment would require, in addition, that Congress pass a law by a majority vote of each house and that the President approve it, in order to make the treaty effective as internal law. This requirement would make our procedure for carrying out our treaty obligations the most cumbersome in the world, impose needless delays and

seriously weaken our bargaining position in dealing with other nations. Throughout its history the Senate has exercised its treaty function so cautiously that it has been called the graveyard of treaties. It has not in the past failed in its trust, and we have no reason to believe it will do so in the future.

Second, the proposed amendment would limit implementing legislation to that which would be valid in the absence of treaty—the so-called which clause. This is an attack upon the Union itself. It would confine the Federal Government's power to make effective treaties (as well as to implement treaties) to those subects on which Congress may legislate under the powers otherwise delegated to it by the Constitution. Since the birth of the Republic it has been our practice to deal in treaties with numerous matters entirely appropriate and usual in international agreements though not within the expressly delegated legislative powers. The Bricker amendment would thus make acquiescence of the legislatures of the 48 States necessary to the effectuation in the United States of such vital international agreements as the traditional treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, narcotics control conventions and possible arrangements for international control of atomic energy. The preservation of peace and the maintenance of international trade are difficult enough without incapacitating ourselves to deal with such essential matters.

Third, the proposed amendment would give Congress the power to regulate executive and other international agreements. It would go beyond the extensive powers which Congress already has and exercises in this field. It would make the power of Congress complete and impair if not destroy the independence of the executive branch in the conduct of foreign affairs. It would let Congress destroy the President's power to make necessary international arrangements to meet emergencies, like the Berlin blockade, as they occur.

In addition to these three changes, the Bricker amendment would declare that a treaty provision which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect. This is the law already, and there is no need to amend the Constitution to say so.

Each of the three changes proposed by the Bricker amendment is objectionable and all are unnecessary. Their cumulative effect, as stated by Secretary of State Dulles, would be "Calamitous * * * upon the international position and prospects of the United States." We fully endorse President Eisenhower's statement regarding the Bricker amendment:

"I am unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treaty-making power or which would hamper the President in his Constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs. Today probably as never before in our history it is essential that our country be able effectively to enter into agreements with other nations."

[From America of January 9, 1954]

BRICKER OPPONENTS UNITE

Senator BRICKER, in the name of conservatism, still insists on amending the Constitution in order to give Congress control over the President's power to make treaties and executive agreements. The recently organized Committee for the Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power regards his proposal as actually revolutionary.

The composition of this committee is as impressive as its title. It is literally loaded with the most conservative and most highly respected constitutional lawyers, businessmen, and civic leaders. National chairman is the noted authority on constitutional history, Prof. Emeritus Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton University. Cochairmen of the committee of sponsors are Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former United States Commander in Chief in Germany, and John W. Davis, former president of the American Bar Association and dean of American constitutional lawyers.

Among the 36 distinguished sponsors of the committee is Prof. Joseph O'Meara, Jr., dean of the School of Law of Notre Dame University. Some time ago Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, leader of the opposition to the Bricker amendment in the Senate, asked the deans of America's leading law schools to comment on the Bricker proposal. Of the 27 who replied, 25 were opposed to it, including Dean O'Meara, who wrote:

"As my predecessor here—Clarence E. Manion—is one of the more vigorous of the partisans of the amendment, I think you should know that I am in complete accord with your views on this subject. * * * Those who are working so hard for the adoption of the Bricker amendment, for the most part at any rate, are people who want to secede from the world."

It was Mr. Manion who asserted at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on April 6, 1953, that—

"The unanimous conclusion of all legal students of this matter of treaty law is * * * that the constitutional liberty of our citizens, the constitutional integrity of the States of the Union, and last, but certainly not least, the sovereign independence of the United States itself, is menaced by the threatened supremacy of treaty law."

The Committee for Defense of the Constitution numbers, besides the legal lights among its sponsors, hundreds of "legal students of this matter of treaty law." They oppose the Bricker amendment because they believe it is a revolutionary attempt to destroy our traditional form of government. "It would alter the existing division and balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches," declares their formal statement, and "impair, if not destroy, the independence of the executive branch in the conduct of foreign affairs."

The new committee will have served a useful purpose if it does no more than destroy the myth that American constitutional lawyers unanimously support the Bricker amendment.

Preservation of Historic Warships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, as a historical shrine, the people of Maryland seek the restoration and return of the frigate *Constellation*, which is presently deteriorating in the Boston Navy Yard. It is discouraging that proposals have been advanced calling for the destruction of this, and four other, famous Navy ships. However, the people of Maryland have united in an attempt to preserve the *Constellation*; and, in this respect, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials which appeared in the last several months in the Washington and Baltimore newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Evening Sun of December 5, 1953]

THE CONSTELLATION

News that the Navy may be willing to turn over the ancient frigate *Constellation* to the Department of the Interior, and thereby at last make possible the ship's return to Baltimore, where it was built, comes like the dawn after a long night for thousands of history-minded Baltimoreans. The prospect of a permanent, safe berthing at Fort McHenry, with a concrete base to protect the hull from further deterioration, means that Maryland's foremost historic shrine will gain new importance and attention.

Between the recent meeting at the Star-Spangled Banner Flag House, when plans for the *Constellation*'s return were made public, and an actual ceremony of installation, much will be written and said to make clear the ship's position in the Nation's record. Briefly, the *Constellation* is the oldest surviving American warship. The first ships built as naval vessels, to the order of Congress, in American yards, were the *United States*, the *Constellation*, and the *Constitution*. They slid down Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston ways, respectively, on July 10, September 7, and September 20, 1797. The following year the *Constellation* was the first of the three to go on active sea duty. In 1865, furthermore, the *United States* was officially broken up.

In 1799 and 1800, in the West Indies, the *Constellation* attained her greatest renown when she defeated the French warships *Insurgente* and *Vengeance*, each of which boasted larger armaments. Later on, the *Constellation*'s logs show 44 years at Annapolis as training ship for the Naval Academy, a visit to Baltimore in 1914 for the Star-Spangled Banner centenary, and active duty during World War II at the Newport (R. I.) Naval Base as flagship of the Atlantic Fleet.

Transferred to the Boston Navy Yard in 1946, the *Constellation* is a burden upon the Navy Department. Boston itself, having the *Constitution* (*Old Ironsides*) on display, is willing to relinquish the *Constellation;* indeed, a bill introduced by Senator SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts, at the past session of Congress called for the *Constellation*'s destruction. There have been questions, of course, as to what proportion of the present ship's timbers are the same live oak, cedar, and pine that David Stodert built her out of in 1797, at the foot of what is now Lakewood Avenue, but the *Constitution*, also, has necessarily had to undergo occasional renovation. Each ship is certainly the same in exterior outline and much of its interior arrangement.

The time for cries of joy down at the docks is when your ship coming in is actually visible upon the horizon. But today the outlook for a *Constellation* once more Baltimore's own is the best in many years, and delight will be great indeed.

[From the Washington Evening Star of November 12, 1953]

FATE OF FIVE FAMOUS SHIPS

There is need for another Oliver Wendell Holmes to arouse public support for a movement to save five historic Navy ships from the oblivion of rust and decay. One of the ships, the U. S. S. *Constitution*, is afloat today only because the young poet protested the threatened tearing down of her "tattered ensign" and her consignment "to the god of storms." The inspiring words of "Old Ironsides" brought a flood of money from sentimental children and adults for restoration of the venerable frigate.

Again, as in 1830, the Navy is without funds to preserve the *Constitution*, which is tied up at the Boston Navy Yard. Not far away is another famous sailing ship of war,

the *Constellation*, sister ship of *Old Ironsides* and slightly older. She is just a rotting hulk. Three other famous warships, the *Hartford*, the *Olympia*, and the *Oregon*, are in varying states of deterioration. The Navy says it would cost many millions to restore these relics—and there is no money in its budget for restoration of naval relics, however historic.

The plight of the old ships has come to light as a result of recent futile efforts to have the Navy bring the *Constellation* to Baltimore, where she was built 156 years ago. A group of patriotic Baltimoreans wants to tie her up alongside Fort McHenry, which stood off the British Fleet in the War of 1812. A campaign to raise funds for restoration of the ship is planned. But the Navy does not have $15,000 to use in transporting the *Constellation*, by means of a floating drydock, from Boston to Baltimore. Unless private money can be found for this purpose, the *Constellation* will continue to fall apart at the seams in the backwaters of Boston Harbor. The *Hartford* was the flagship of Admiral Farragut at Mobile Bay in 1864 when he damned the torpedoes and ordered full speed ahead. The *Olympia's* guns were trained on Manila Bay in 1898 when Admiral Dewey instructed Captain Gridley to "fire when ready." The *Oregon* won fame during the Spanish-American War for her dash from San Francisco to take part in the Battle of Santiago.

Are these once-proud fighting ships to be given back to the sea—"to the god of storms, the lightning, and the gale"? Unless some way is found to finance their rescue from impending ignominy, their fate will be the one decried so inspiringly in 1830 by the outraged Holmes.

Political Conditions in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, news from Italy indicates the approach of a political crisis there in which the Communists may find their greatest opportunity since World War II for taking power in that unhappy country. The consequences for the defense of our Atlantic frontier in Europe of a Communist Italy are so fearful to contemplate that we must insist that our Government do all within its power to strengthen the prodemocratic, middle-of-the-road, and liberal forces in Italy against the exfremists. During the recess a well-documented background study of Communist strength in Italy was published in the U. S. News & World Report. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this illuminating factual report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REDS CLOSING IN ON ITALY—RUNNING PART OF COUNTRY, SET TO TAKE THE REST

ROME.—All signs are that Italy is the country marked for the next Communist takeover in Europe.

Communist activity is so widespread here, and so readily taken for granted by Italians, that words like "infiltration" and "subversion" have no meaning. Communism is as much an accepted part of Italian life as spaghetti. The average politician and even industrialist, not to mention the man in the street, accepts the fact of Communist power as calmly as Republicans in the United States accept the existence of Democrats.

All of this is being pointed up by riots flaring over the issue of Trieste. Communist activity plays its part in violence aimed at British and American policies.

A weak non-Communist government is hanging on, but it could fall at any moment. If there is a Cabinet reshuffle, many are taking it for granted that Pietro Nenni, a stanch fellow-traveling Socialist, will get into the Government—maybe as Foreign Minister.

To Americans, the political strength of the Communists here is rather startling. It is hard for an Italian to get excited, however, when Communist influence and power are so familiar to him in everyday life.

An Italian who happens to live in Bologna, a city of half a million, or in any of a number of communities, has a Communist mayor running his city's affairs.

If he is a wage earner, the chances are that he belongs to the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor, since this organization controls more workers than all the other unions in Italy put together.

If he lives in a village, it is probable that the social center where he goes to read the papers or play pool is Communist operated. If he is an upper-class Roman eating in an expensive restaurant, he will not be surprised to see the well-dressed gentleman at the next table reading the official Communist newspaper, L'Unita.

There are dozens of Communist judges in Italy, including one on the Court of Cassation, the highest court of the land. That would be as though a Communist justice sat on the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Communist Party of Italy is the biggest outside Russia itself, with a membership of about 2 million. Together, it and the Socialist Party—which follows the Communist line—got 35.3 percent of the votes cast in the last general election.

In Italy, the Communist Party is not an exclusive club as it has become in many countries where Communists are already entrenched in power. It costs less than the equivalent of 10 American cents to become a member, and the party is driving constantly to increase its membership.

The militant core of the party consists of about 200,000 Communists who study, plan, and organize for the party every day of the year.

There are party schools at every level. The local cell schools are really no more than propaganda classes, where the average man is taught simple Communist doctrine. Selected students go on to higher regional classes to get more advanced training in Communist methods. Then there are national schools for Communists in Milan, Rome, and Bologna—and a special Communist college for Roman party leaders in the quiet of the Alban Hills, just outside Rome.

From its upper classes, the party graduates an average of 3,000 well-trained agents each year—men who can organize strikes, riots, sabotage, and propaganda.

The party's personnel files are probably more complete than those of the United States Army. A record is kept of every member of a cell—his status as a veteran, his position in Communist organizations, his labor union, his membership in athletic, professional, or cultural groups. Reports on this information go regularly from the cell to higher headquarters.

A major Communist goal in these local cells is to penetrate the everyday lives of the people. Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti years ago urged Communists to establish themselves in the homes, in the markets, wherever the life of most of the people goes on in its most elementary forms.

As a result, there are all kinds of Communist-run organizations to reach every group of Italians.

Veterans join the Communist-controlled National Association of Italian Partisans, whose 300,000 members would give the Communists real military strength in case of revolution. Youths get early training in Communist doctrine by joining the Communist Youth Federation, which has 455,000 members. The Union of Italian Women, with a million or more members, plays an important part in Communist-inspired peace rallies that attack United States and the Government.

The party spends heavily on propaganda—more than all the other parties and the government put together. One United States diplomatic official estimates that the Communists are spending more on their propaganda than the United States is spending for similar purposes in all of Western Europe.

The official party newspaper is published in four large cities. Its 34 provincial editions have a total circulation of nearly half a million, and as a result it is the only politically-owned newspaper in Italy that can pay its own way. And there are 12 other pro-Communist newspapers and 104 pro-Communist magazines.

Party funds come from many sources. How much comes from the Soviet Union, no one knows. The Communists, however, get a cut on the profits of several Communist-front firms that conduct trade with countries behind the Iron Curtain. Most of the rest of the party's funds come from individual contributions, some of which are heavy. Industrialists donate big sums as insurance in case the Communists should ever come into power.

There is no doubt that the Communists have a secret military apparatus, although its extent is not known. Communists formed the most closely organized guerrilla movement during the war, and picked up an enormous supply of arms and ammunition that they hid away in caches throughout the country for future use.

Since the end of the war, hardly a week goes by without one of these caches being found—generally in an industrial area where the sabotage potential is greatest. Up to the end of last year, millions of items had been uncovered by police, including 173 artillery pieces and 719 mortars. What has been found could equip at least six guerrilla divisions, and the amount of equipment still hidden is believed to be formidable.

The secret Communist military apparatus poses a real threat in case of war. A sample of its strength was seen in 1948 following an attempt on the life of Togliatti. Armed Communist rioters cut communications, occupied factories, completely isolated several cities and even disarmed police cars. That was considered a poorly organized uprising—nothing like the full-scale insurrection that government leaders fear if Italy gets into a war on the side of the United States.

American officials here are convinced that Communist infiltration is strong within the Government.

Communist ministers held office in the Cabinet until May 1947. Before their ousting, they had plenty of chances to place their agents in the Government. Since then, known Communists have been removed from policymaking posts, but there has been no thorough housecleaning of Communist-appointed officials.

Communist agents are a force to be reckoned with in the army as well. Recently an Italian newspaper reported that more than 50 percent of the candidates at a paratroopers' training school were Communists. The army did not reply publicly to this charge, but one official said privately that the percentage wasn't quite that high.

Communism also has most of the Italian workingmen in its grip. Its labor confederation controls all key industries, transportation, communications, and dock workers. Not all of the confederation's members are Communist, but even the non-Communist worker stays in, because it is the only labor organization in Italy with unquestioned bargaining power. If he got out, he might be blacklisted by the Communists who control the hiring in his particular industry.

There is no attempt by the Government or even private industry to dislodge the Communist unions from their supremacy and build up non-Communist unions. In fact, the director of the Fiat automotive plant, the largest factory in Italy, has openly stated that if he were a worker he would join the Communist Labor Confederation.

This attitude toward Communist organs of power is typical of the country as a whole.

No Italian Government since the war has felt it politically safe to try to clamp down openly on Communist subversion or weed out Communists from the Government. Any move in this direction brings cries of discrimination, not only from the Communists but from non-Communists.

Italy's present Premier, Giuseppe Pella, has promised that there will be no discrimination for political beliefs, a phrase generally taken to mean that Communists in the Government will not be fired for their party affiliations.

There are several Government bills of long standing designed to control Communist subversion, but they have little chance of getting through Parliament.

Thus the Government has no legal authority now to act against political strikes called by the Communists in essential industries. Communist schools go on turning out agents trained to lead a revolution when it comes. There is no restraint on Communist leaders who travel to Moscow and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain to get at first hand their latest directives for making trouble.

You seldom see any real indignation in the Italian press about the Communists' anti-Government activity. Discovery of an arms cache gets a couple of paragraphs. Communist training schools are almost never mentioned. When several Italians were arrested for channeling defense secrets to Russia the news created very little stir.

Anti-Communist propaganda by the Government is weak. No concerted attempt has been made to discredit Togliatti. In France the desertion of Maurice Thorez from the French Army in 1939 and his flight to Moscow received wide publicity. But no one here recalls that any propaganda use ever was made of a statement by Togliatti in 1930 after he became a Russian citizen:

"As an Italian I feel like a miserable mandolin player and nothing more. As a Soviet citizen I feel I'm worth 10,000 times what the best Italian citizen is."

Communist propaganda, on the other hand, is continuous and clever. Even reforms made by the Government are turned to its advantage. Communists tell the farmers that the Government would not have started land reform without Communist prodding. As a result, the party is stronger than ever in the poverty-stricken south, where most of the land reform is taking place.

One reason for the general indifference to Communist growth is that many non-Communists are not convinced that the Italian Communists are a revolutionary party.

Respectability in the eyes of the public is a primary objective of the party. Its official platform is to abide by the constitution, support parliamentary procedure, and, if possible, to join the Government through peaceful means to carry out reforms.

To the average non-Communist the Communist Party seems too much like any other party to be considered especially dangerous. You like communism or you don't—but it is not worth getting excited about.

Communists are confident of taking over Italy by peaceful means, giving Russia its first beachhead in Western Europe. If there is a war, they can give Russia a strong fifth column within Italy. But the man in the street isn't worried about it.

Universal Military Training Disguised Under National Security Training Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an important article by Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, United States Army, retired, which appears in the magazine Air Force for December 1953.

General Fellers in the past few months has been making an invaluable contribution to the Nation in discussing airpower and UMT. He is a veteran of World War II and has written and lectured frequently on military subjects. The article in Air Force is especially timely now. I commend it to the attention of all Members of Congress.

The article follows:

THE CONSCRIPTION FALLACY

(By Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, U. S. Army, retired)

The stage is being set to sell conscription to the American people.

This month the National Security Training Commission, which has been revised and strengthened by President Eisenhower, will report on the feasibility of superimposing universal military training upon the present draft.

They do not call it universal military training any more. National security training is the new and more palatable trade name. But whatever the label on the package, it means mandatory military service for America's 18-year-old sons.

The National Security Training Commission will supposedly give us an objective appraisal of this vital issue. But it is no secret that every member of the Commission favors national security training. In fact, its President, Dr. Karl T. Compton, recently wrote in a national magazine that national security training would guarantee adequate defense at a cost we can afford for the years that may be necessary.

This conclusion fits neatly into the current official trend in defense thinking. To Russia's H-bomb threat, the administration has replied with a $6 billion cut in the Air Force budget and an increased budget for the Army. And the administration has left the door open for national security training implementation, which will be supported, as it is perennially, by the large and powerful veterans' organizations of the country. The administration recently may have set up a trial balloon on the subject in the form of a strong proadministration commentator who declared flatly, "We have got to give Ike UMT."

In this atmosphere, the new Joint Chiefs of Staff have made it apparent that the old strategy of balanced forces—with each of the three services getting roughly one-third of the defense budget—is to continue. At the same time, the Joint Chiefs have indicated their belief that our most critical military shortage is in trained manpower.

For many years we have heard propaganda, largely tax-subsidized, that universal military training is the only answer to this manpower problem. Indeed, so powerful is this effort that many of our citizens have been led to believe that national security training is synonymous with defense. Those who have opposed it have been sneered at as pacifists and dupes of the Communists.

Thus far, the opposition has come exclusively from those who argue the nonmilitary aspects of the case. Churchmen have opposed UMT on moral grounds. Others have been concerned with the prospect of placing our youth under the thumb of big government. Others have opposed it as being an impingement on personal liberties. What our citizens have not been told is that universal conscription—call it what you will—just does not make military sense. Even worse, it can lull us into a false and fatal sense of security.

Conscription must be judged first by the military yardstick. Let us take a look at the facts.

No thinking person now doubts that the Kremlin has both the A- and H-bomb and the means to deliver them. The President has announced that "the Soviets now have the capability of atomic attack on us and such capability will increase with the passage of time."

Will national security training "guarantee adequate defense at a cost we can afford," in the face of this rising Red peril?

Except for her large submarine fleet, Russia has no formidable navy. She has no sizable merchant marine. So long as our Navy controls the seas, no Red army invasion of the United States is possible. Our most serious danger lies in Russia's growing strategic air force, now estimated at more than 1,000 intercontinental bombers. These bombers were not built to strike at Europe. They have far more range than is required to reach European targets. But, on one-way flights, at least, they can strike—with A- or H-bombs—any military or industrial target in the United States.

This newly created strategic capability is evidence that the Kremlin knows the United States is the most formidable obstacle to worldwide Communist expansion. Before Lenin's dream of world domination can possibly be realized, Russia's long-range bombers must cripple American industry and military power.

A glance at a globe or a polar projection map makes it graphically clear that Russia's present arctic bases are as close to the industrial heart of the United States as any bases the Russians could capture or build in Western Europe. Russia does not need to overrun or dominate Europe in order to bomb the United States. That this deadly peril from the arctic region is separate and distinct from any situation—favorable or unfavorable—which might develop in Europe, unfortunately is not widely understood.

And there is a second great threat to the United States. In addition to the havoc submarines can play with surface shipping they now can be used to launch atomic missiles. Consequently our coastal cities now lie exposed to this new danger from the sea.

How would national security training attempt to meet these two mortal threats to our survival? Suppose that all American youth were trained as well as West Point cadets. Could this reservoir of trained manpower appreciably lessen the Red air and submarine threats against our homeland? It seems evident that they can only be countered with superior air and naval forces, in being. To be effective, these essential forces must be modernly equipped, superbly trained, sharpened for battle, instantly ready to strike. Only trained, talented, experienced men can hope to do the job.

Advocates of national security training claim that conscription would speed war mobilization. But another war would come with lightning rapidity, with little or no warning, coupled with appalling devastation. Only seasoned, forces, in being and instantly ready, could resist and strike back. No longer can we think of America as a vast and secure base, providing trainees and munitions to speed full-scale mobilization for war.

Today, and in the future, we must rely on the Armed Forces, in being, when the war starts. In fact, the initial atomic and hydrogen assault against us might, and probably would, be so devastating as to make troop mobilization utterly impossible. And the outcome of the war might well be decided during this first short and ghastly phase.

Even if trainee mobilization were possible, the training called for in the national security training program would be wholly inadequate to meet the stunning blows of the initial phases of the next war.

It takes 7 years to train a handpicked man to be a proficient pilot, bombardier, or navigator for our most modern bomber—the B–47. Airmen must be thoroughly trained in five complex and exacting technical fields:

Pilots and combat crews (must be volunteers).

Aircraft, maintenance and repair.

Weapons, maintenance and repair.

Electronic and radio operation.

Weather systems.

Army and Navy personnel standards and training requirements are also high.

It is revealing to compare the stern requirements for men in the Regular services with those proposed in the NST program. Supose the NST trainee and the 4-year Regular enlisted volunteer start even, each with a 6 months' basic-training period. During the next 7½ years the NST trainee will have received 2 weeks' training, in 7 successive summers, plus 2 hours' night instruction once every 2 weeks. This totals 21 weeks, or 2.8 weeks a year.

During the next 3½ years, the Regular enlisted volunteer will have received a total of 182 weeks' training. At the prescribed NST rate, it would take the trainee 60 years to equal the training a man gets in a 4-year enlistment in the Regular service.

Even the 2-year draft is far too short a time to train Navy and Air Force men properly. As a consequence of this rapid turnover, both these services already have a heavy surplus of untrained or partially trained men. At the same time there is an acute shortage of qualified personnel. The proposed NST program would only make this unsatisfactory situation even worse.

Ever since soldier-statesman Gen. George C. Marshall became Army Chief of Staff in September 1939, our defense policy has been strongly influenced by ground officers who advocated compulsory universal service. The Navy and the Air Force, however, have gone along most reluctantly. In fact, were they free to express themselves, the Navy and the Air Force would actively oppose NST.

Even Army leaders recognize privately that 6 months of NST would be of little value. They justify it only on the grounds that it might lead to longer training periods. The Army also supports NST because it would swell Army strength without producing an excessively large standing Army. The Reserve organizations will support it because it might lead to compulsory Reserve training. But the questions of what these NST trainees would be worth as a defensive force against air-atomic attack has been carefully avoided.

The United States is not the only power vulnerable to Red attack. Europe's position is far more precarious. There, the Red air force, the Red army, and Red submarine missiles can all strike effectively.

Should war start in Europe, The United States is bound by treaty to intervene. On the highest governmental levels our national defense is shaped by the conviction that come what may, "We must save Europe." Somehow the delusion persists that, as long as Europe is safe from invasion, America cannot be attacked. Some hold that aid to Europe is the best possible investment in our own security.

If these premises are accepted, two more steps follow in logical sequence: First, continuance of substantial foreign aid lest NATO fall apart, and second, if war comes, American reinforcements by the million for the flimsy NATO Army.

The slim NATO forces in Europe face unprecedented military might. In East Berlin, Poland, and East Germany, Russia has 30 occupational divisions; back of these are 75 divisions of the Central European satellites; behind these are 175 regular Red army and 300 reserve divisions, equipped and trained.

Facing this formidable array, NATO along the Rhine has some 25 regular and a like number of reserve divisions in a generally poor state of readiness. These flimsy forces can, in no way, be considered as a war deterrent. Since they have no power of retaliation, should Russia strike. They pose no counterthreat against Russia itself.

Several hundred Red twin-jet bombers, poised on new bases in Central Europe, are capable of instant atomic strikes on NATO nations. The 20,000 combat planes of the Red air force are overwhelmingly stronger than our largely obsolescent 4,000 NATO aircraft. The NATO Air Force, like NATO ground forces, is too weak to be called a deterrent to Red aggression.

Should war come to Europe, Red forces could quickly reach the Atlantic coast.

The recent deep cuts in our Air Force budget indicate that Communist air supremacy over Europe is now accepted as inevitable. Even if we could hold our lines along the Rhine, our fighting forces would soon become dependent upon supplies and reinforcements from America. The Reds, able to destroy our industrial plants and ports of embarkation as well as European ports of debarkation and forward supply lines, could shut off the flow of American support to the fighting front. Without freedom from enemy air attack, NATO forces could not long hold out. Our men would soon be dead or on their way to Siberia.

In this kind of situation, it is hard to see how conscription would be of assistance to our European allies. As a matter of fact, it has already been determined, although not announced, that the European program cannot be supported from the United States. Apparently, for political or psychological reasons, this decision has not been, and probably will not be, officially made known.

A military decision aaginst Russia on the seas is impossible. Although we can control the surface of the sea, blockade against the Communist states cannot be decisive. Behind the Iron Curtain lie all the resources and heavy industry necessary to support total, sustained, modern war. And these resources are safe and well protected, both militarily and geographically from land or sea attack.

Since neither the United States nor Russia can gain a victory on land or sea, a final decision can be won only in the sky. The side which controls the air can win the next war and national security training cannot influence this decisive phase of modern combat.

The 1951 NST Commission report contended that "full implementation of UMT may eventually save in excess of $13 billion annually." This claim is worth looking into. The Commissioners estimated their program would cost $4 billion the first year with a recurring annual cost of nearly $2 billion. One of the services, however, placed the annual cost after the first year at $7,200 for each trainee, or $5.7 billion for the program. Assuming the annual recurring cost could be held to $2 billion, $15 billion would have to be cut from the defense budget to save the $13 billion the Commission predicted.

And there's a hidden cost, not even considered. As soon as this proposed universal conscription program gets into full swing, some 6 million trainees, led by professionals, will be demanding benefits—bonuses, pensions, medical care, educational subsidies, pressuring the Congress from all sides.

Perhaps the Commission may have intended that NST take the place of a $15 billion defense investment. Since NST cannot directly contribute to the initial, and probably the decisive phase of the next war, what is its proper place in the defense program?

In view of known enemy capabilities, the following defense priorities are indicated:

The best possible intelligence system.

The strongest Air Force in the world (to strike the enemy and defend the homeland).

Continued naval supremacy.

A small professional army (largely airborne).

Ample research funds.

Full strength National Guard.

A realistic voluntary Air Reserve program to place the Reserve on a par with the guard in terms of readiness.

We need all of these elements in our Defense Establishment. In the light of the present world tension, no objective estimate could conceivably place NST ahead of these seven priorities. Their cost, however, is so staggering that no funds would remain for NST. To hold out for conscription at the expense of basic defense elements would be criminal bungling.

Those who cling to the old-fashioned strategy of mass combat resist any tendency to reduce the size of the Army. Fortunately for the free world, however, the development of modern weapons is forcing our strategy away from mass surface combat. Once the enemy air force is cleared from the sky, total mobilization of our military manpower would be unnecessary. And the numerical strength of the Communist armies would become a liability rather than an asset. Our small, well-trained Ground Forces could be flown anywhere, even deep into enemy territory. There they could be air-defended and air-supplied. Airpower could deny supplies to Communist armies, destroy their transport, immobilize and demoralize them.

The proponents of conscription claim that the NST corps represents the best hope for an effective civil-defense organization. The trainees could deal with the death and confusion resulting from air strikes against our cities. Despite this fact, to spend $2 to $5 billion annually to handle a debacle which could be prevented if we spend our defense money wisely, is a defeatist solution.

Every man a soldier was George Washington's wise defense prescription. In his day the most formidable weapon was a rifle in the hands of a man who knew how to use it. Today's greatest weapon, the H-bomb, can destroy instantly everything in a 10-mile circle. This is the kind of destruction which we must prepare to deter or to retaliate against if it comes. NST can make no appreciable contribution toward this goal. It must not be permitted to lull us into a false sense of security.

For those who believe—as many do—that NST is the answer to our military manpower problem, consider the most critical phase of this problem—reenlistment in the Regular forces.

The NST trainee is in no way obliged to enlist in the Regular services. Their problem of recruitment remains acute and the turnover tremendous, even if NST becomes a reality.

At the end of 4 years of duty, an enlisted man in the Regular forces is just beginning to master his job. Yet, for a combination of reasons, only about 15 percent are reenlisting. No business concern could survive the extravagance of such a rapid turnover in technical personnel.

Take electronics, for example, without which modern air and sea power would have no meaning. Electronic devices take the place of human perception when speed, fatigue, or darkness impair proper physical reaction. Electronics actually improve upon human perception and are as essential in modern warfare as were pebbles for David's slingshot.

About the time a serviceman has mastered his job in electronics, his enlistment expires. Commercial companies, with millions of television sets to make and other millions to service, lose no time in making attractive offers. The service specialists would not be human if they spurned the lure. And the Armed Forces, on which our survival may depend, have to start all over, training new and green men. Conscription, instead of offering a solution, only compounds these problems.

If advocates of NST are sincerely interested in solving our military manpower dilemma, let them concentrate their efforts—and their propaganda machines—on service pay competitive with commercial practice, on better living conditions for our military men and their families, on more attractive retirement inducements. In the long run, these considerations would save money. Heavy reenlistments would follow so as to insure the highest possible personnel standards. The time is long since past when just anyone can soldier.

It is appalling that the American people have been denied the facts on national defense. While Pentagon propaganda has proclaimed the dire necessity for NST and cleverly extolled the effectiveness of obsolescent weapons and World War I strategy, the Air Force has failed utterly to educate our people. The Defense Department has dropped an iron curtain about the Air Force. It would appear that its leaders remain silent lest they be punished and Air Force appropriations cut still deeper. The gag rule is in force.

As a consequence the enormous deterrent power of modern weapons has never caught the imagination of the American people.

But the Kremlin senses this terrific power. For more than 30 years Russia has been building up her heavy industry. Russia is the base for the Communist operation to encompass the world. Heavy industry is an essential part of this base and Russia cannot afford either to lose it or to see it crippled.

If we possess the power for sustained strikes against Russia's war machine and war industry until it is totally destroyed, the chances of world war III are indeed remote. In view of the total destructiveness of modern weapons, it is clear that the only way we can save Europe and protect America is to avoid war.

The adoption of NST merely would be preparation for past wars. It would mean that our leaders have failed to grasp the nature of the new, rising Red peril from the sky.

Somehow these issues must be taken to the American people.

Hon. Roy Tasco Davis, Ambassador to Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, 6 months ago, an outstanding Marylander was appointed Ambassador to Haiti. I speak of Hon. Roy Tasco Davis. In his new assignment, Ambassador Davis has already distinguished himself as a representative of this Government. We in Maryland are justifiably proud of our native son, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a translation of articles appearing in the press of Haiti, relating to Ambassador Davis and his work.

There being no objection, the translation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Le Jour, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, of September 24, 1953]

OMEN OF THE FUTURE—THE TRIBUTE OF AMBASSADER DAVIS

(By Hubert Carré)

In these days of selfishness and triumphant hardness through which we live, is it not a joy and comfort to listen to the tribute vibrating with human interest and affection which His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Roy Tasco Davis, addressed yesterday to His Excellency the President of the Republic and to the entire Haitian nation. Casting aside its ambiguous and conventional mask, diplomacy, through the distinguished and remarkable representative of the United States, spoke the language of the heart and of friendship. The event—as it truly is—is food for thought for those who might still believe that affairs of state had forever banished sentiment as outmoded.

Mr. Ambassador of the United States will please forgive us for emphasizing this tribute—concise and discreet as truth itself, which he has offered to a nation the history of which constitutes a vivid epic of heroism.

"As a young man," he stated, "my heart was stirred when I read of the struggles and achievements of the founders of this great independent republic—Ogé, Toussaint, Dessalines, Pétion, and others.

"During the 32 years that I have lived and worked among the American Republics, I have visited Haiti many times and have had an opportunity to observe and appreciate the qualities of your people. Before I came as a visitor, now I come to live with you and I hope that I may be regarded as an adopted son of the Republic."

In this manner, then, the distinguished diplomat begins his mission in Haiti under the threefold sign of humanism, of fervor, and of friendship. In fact, it is a good thing that the diplomat should be a humanist; his culture widens his experience, it gives him higher points of view from where he can dominate his task. The humanist is aware of delicate matters, the unknown moments "in which the event can be turned another way, and in which another alternative can become a fact."

Camille Mauclair, in his magnificent work Princess of the Mind, has pointed out a certain secret and international heredity which unites man. We are not too far from believing that Ambassador Davis has this secret and international heredity and that he has a certin kinship with a Cardinal Fleury, a Théophile Delcassé, a Dean Acheson, a Bedel Smith, a Norman Armour, who have honored their profession.

The noble and very human words of the Ambassador, during the presentation of his letters of credence to President Paul E. Magloire, bring to mind the conception of the profession of that other distinguished diplomat by the name of Jules Gambon. For this master of French diplomacy, success in the profession consisted, in possessing a certain harmony and a certain balance, in order to do away with, and to put an end to the difficulties menacing to break the peace between peoples and governments.

We have gone a long way from the type of suspicious diplomats, of those mediocre persons with great plans, of those ambitious blunderers, incapable of putting into effect the combination of the supreme art, and always ready to open the door to catastrophes.

By the excellent tribute pronounced yesterday, to us, Ambassador Davis has won the acclaim of the Nation. This very cultured man has broken with our time. He could have started a dialog with our Firmin and our Louis Joseph Janvier, with our political experts whose names are Luxembourg Cauvin Pauléus Sannon and Louis Edouard Pouget.

The tribute of Ambassador Davis is also an omen of the future. We predict already the fruitful work which will result from the meetings of the diplomat with our President who each day asserts himself more as possessing a clear political intelligence, and who puts forth in the service of his country, with an obstinate will for success, experience, and unmatched tact.

The tribute of Ambassador Davis is, in short, a proof and a certain guarantee of friendship. This friendship will be very useful to us. It will lighten the task; it will tone the discussions and will lessen the points of friction. Above all, it is precious in these very serious days and at such a heavy hour. It will permit us to conciliate and to work out differences. We need to bring these two partners to meet in frank camaraderie. And it is in this manner that we are going to bring about the miracle of associating with affection and mutual respect this America of Lincoln and of Roosevelt and that of the Haiti of Dessalines and Pétion who travel side by side, resplendent and glorious, on the road of liberty, heroism, and honor.

[From Le Nouvelliste, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, of October 31, 1953]

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR SPEAKS

(By Jacques Large)

If it were necessary to search for words to describe the present Ambassador of the United States, His Excellency M. Roy Tasco Davis, one would need to abandon the conventional terms usually reserved for ambassadors, chiefs of state, and other great people of this world, to listen only to those spontaneously dictated by esteem, congeniality, and respect.

Ambassador Davis is one of those persons of whom is said ordinarily that he wears his heart on his sleeve. With eyes sparkling with life, a smile on his lips, of easy manner, the infectious enthusiasm of Ambassador Roy Tasco Davis wins one over instantly. This, perhaps, may explain the great popularity of the Ambassador who in a few days has made as many friends as though he had lived in this country since 10 years ago.

Of course, Haiti was not unknown to him. About 30 years ago when Ambassador Davis was on his way to his first post in Costa Rica, he passed by Port-au-Prince, where he stayed for 2 days. Since then, he has had occasion to come to Haiti at least 10 times. "These repeated visits," he says, "increased more each time the profound friendship that I feel toward the Haitian people."

And what better proof of friendship could he have given than by choosing himself to come to Haiti. His predecessor, Ambassador Travers, who was ill, did not wish to hand in his resignation, as he hoped to get well and return to Haiti, which he liked very much. The State Department having confidence in Ambassador Travers waited a long time before naming another Ambassador; however, since Mr. Travers' illness continued, the latter decided to resign.

At the same time, Ambassador Davis, who is an experienced career diplomat, was asked to suggest a post to which he would have liked to be named. "I avail myself of the opportunity," says Ambassador Davis,

"and I requested to be named to Haiti, where I had always wanted to return. * * * As to Mr. Travers, he is still ill, being confined to the hospital."

The friendship which Ambassador Davis has for Haitians dates from a long time back. From the time when he was quite young—"Do not ask me how many years ago," he says smiling—when, as a young man, he read the History of Haiti—"when one reads the History of Haiti, one cannot help but be truly impressed. Those are facts which assume the magic colors of the marvelous."

Since then he has wished to know the Haitian people. Not in a superficial manner, as a tourist, but as one who wishes to know the persons one loves: profoundly. Now that he is among us, he is going to avail himself of the opportunity to do so, to meet, to get to know the peasant, the laborer, as well as the intellectual, the businessman, by going into all the small corners, to be first of all a man who interests himself deeply in other human beings, and then, the Ambassador.

He has already been astonished to see the impressive changes which have taken place in Haiti. "I, who am a very inquisitive person," he says, "when I used to visit Haiti, could hardly ever leave the city, as the highways were scarcely passable. Now, with the excellent highways that are being built, I shall be able to make up for it."

Among the achievements which have impressed him the most he mentioned the Cité Magloire (workers' city), public hygiene, which has made fantastic progress, and the public works at Cap-Haitien, of which he has heard so much that we shall make it a point to visit that city at the first opportunity. He has also been very impressed to read that in 2 years the surface of paved highways has been doubled in Haiti. Concerning the tourist industry in Haiti, Ambassador Davis thinks that it will undergo great development. "I myself," he says, "each time I send a letter abroad, add a paragraph praising the beauty of Haiti from the point of view of tourism." With a publicity agent of this type and of this imoprtance, of course, our tourist industry can only flourish rapidly.

Ambassador Davis emphasizes the importance of the achievements already accomplished through collaboration between the Haitian and American Governments.

In the sphere of the point 4 program for aid to underdeveloped countries, agencies such as the Service Coopératif Inter-Américain de Production Agricole (SCIPA) and the Service Coopératif Inter-Américain de la Santé Publique (SCISP) in Haiti have demonstrated their usefulness and efficiency increasingly day by day. And in order to illustrate his thought, Ambassador Davis gives as an example the health center which SCISP built at Anse-À-Veau just a few days after the earthquake. "Perhaps," he adds smiling, "only to test the strength of the health center." But the latter, a symbol of Haitian-American cooperation, stood up well, and was able to give help to hundreds of wounded and distressed persons.

Ambassador Davis considers himself very fortunate to have at his side to help him in his task M. Homer Gayne, the cultural attaché. He asked Mr. Gayne, who was vacationing at that time in the United States, to interrupt his holidays and return with him to Haiti. The latter accepted willingly, and Ambassador Davis is thankful each day for his collaboration.

"Countries of the entire world," says Ambassador Davis, "are subject to economic difficulties. Even my own country, although a very rich one, has its economic ills. One must have courage to confront these difficulties and even to go forward. I am happy that in Haiti, a man should have such courage: President Magloire, whose efforts, I believe, should be supported by all Haitians, as is done in my country, where the great majority of the people support the efforts of the government in its projects and in its great task of safe-guarding world peace."

Are there any problems between the two countries? "To my knowledge," says Ambassador Davis, "there are no problems between Haiti and the United States of America, and none could arise which could not be resolved through friendly discussions."

The only matter which worries Ambassador Davis is his French. He can already read it, but he is going to devote himself seriously to its study in order to be able to speak it fluently. "Naturally," he adds, with an exasperated look and a malicious smile, "I don't expect to become a Léon Laleau or a Dantès Bellegrade, but I shall do my best."

He will do his best, although in his conscience, Ambassador Davis doubts that he will learn créole before French. The reason for this is simple. Ambassador Davis cannot help but be pleasant to persons who are pleasant, and he thinks that Haitians are the nicest people in the whole world. He also wishes to learn the language of the majority of Haitians in order to be able to converse with them. "I am sorry that my automobile is not large enough," he says, "to be able to give a seat to all those peasant women who carry large baskets on their heads, and who descend gayly down the steep hills."

Then, suddenly, Ambassador Davis becomes serious. He seems to be deep in thought for a minute. Then he says slowly: "What makes a nation is not only the extension of its territory. Its greatness consists in many other factors. Haiti has had to confront many problems during its 150 years of independence. She has had to resolve and is always resolving these problems courageously, for the most part, by the aid of its only resources; for this reason, she should be considered as worthy of the respect of the world."

If one were permitted to draw a conclusion as to the meaning of the words of Mr. Roy T. Davis, the smiling Ambassador, one might make the following resumé: "I wish to be an observer. I wish to be a friend. I wish to be of assistance." What he also wishes is to give his friendship and his confidence to Haitians. He may be sure that Haitians will reciprocate * * *

And if it were not for the respect which his rank of Ambassador demands, one would like to be able to tell him, while tapping him affectionately on the shoulder, and using a common expression of his beautiful and great country: "Roy, you're a wonderful guy."

What Korea Really Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, entitled "What Korea Really Means," which appeared in the December 1953 issue of Democratic Digest:

WHAT KOREA REALLY MEANS—WE DID NOT DANCE, BUT WE NEED NOT CRY

(By Dore Schary)

In the uneasy days since the Korean armistice was announced, a disturbing mood that was shown by many Americans on the first day of that truce has persisted.

There were, as was remarked in one magazine article, "No whistles, no cheers, no dancing," when the cease-fire was proclaimed. In one sense, that was as it should be, for loud and boisterous display of ticker tape, firecrackers, and bourbon bottles has always been a sorry tribute to the dead and maimed and missing who won the peace. But there was another and more significant attitude involved in the people's restrained reception of the news that the guns had been stilled. That spirit is reflected in the emphasis on the side of defeat rather than victory in much that has been written about the Korean truce.

The peace is here, unsteady as it may be, insecure as it is. It is here, and instead of its being viewed as the first demonstration of what can be won by the United Nations against an aggressor, we are presently being belabored by the strident cries of many who say this is the time for us to withdraw from the new world of 1953, and retreat to the disastrous isolation of 1920.

In his recent book, the Big Change, Frederick Lewis Allen writes eloquently of the attitude in America after World War I. He recounts the rise of the cynical point of view of that war. Mockery was attached to the repetition of that familiar phrase, "Make the world safe for democracy." There were scandals about munitions which were used to discredit the American position; these were revelations about propaganda; there was the flood of literature and legend that led finally to the rejection of the first bold dream, the League of Nations, and, inevitably, to the isolation of the nineteen twenties and thirties.

We were told in fiction, in films and in the theater about the gangster who was the victim of war. There were stories about the inexperienced civilian soldier who had been given a gun and who turned into a predatory monster who avenged the betrayal of his wife while he was in the Argonne by machine-gunning his rival and becoming a vice lord because all the jobs had been filled by slackers. But J. Edgar Hoover has said that all of this war-veteran-turned-gangster theme is invention, that, in fact, gangsters sprang from the evil of juvenile delinquency, and the percentage of veterans in crime is so minor that it has no significance.

But so many believed it then, and that World War I was unimportant and unnecessary and that we were not going to get caught again or pull England's chestnuts out of the fire. Europe was Europe and America was the United States, and never the twain shall meet. This led then to the ads about World War I veterans, the "hello, sucker" display that bred a laissez-faire attitude about the goings-on all over the rest of the globe. Hitler was a funny little figure with a silly mustache, and while Mussolini did seem to have a fondness for the use of castor oil on many people, after all he did make the trains run on time, and although it was too bad about the Jews in Germany, you had to give Hitler credit for building good roads.

So we lived in this atmosphere and watched all the fast-moving events flash by, and those who said, "Look—be careful—see what's happening—it means danger"—were warmongers or New Dealers or alarmists—or Communists (though the Communists were trying to put blinders on us from Munich to June 14, 1941, when Hitler crossed into Russia).

And then with Pearl Harbor, we suddenly knew the facts of life.

With VJ-day came resolution that this wouldn't happen again—that we would live and breathe in a world organization devoted to the abolition of war. Not overnight; never overnight; not with the Russians who threw blocks, hid the ball, ran the wrong way and deliberately dropped forward passes. But stubbornly the rest of the world stayed on the job picking up a yard here and a yard there and, best of all, still held onto the ball.

Then Korea.

This was, as they say in all songs, stories, movies and plays, "it."

And the country by a big majority said yes and hurrah when President Truman ordered the Armed Forces to fight.

Maybe we all thought it was right because it looked so easy. A war against a rag-tag army of north Koreans. Perhaps two regiments of Marines could do the trick. But it wasn't easy and the big load was ours here in the United States. It did mean the lives of 24,000 Americans, and the lives of many others from other nations who fought and bled with us, and it meant high taxes. It meant more delay in seeing some dreams of peace come true. It meant dissension at home and confusion abroad. It meant looking at our neighbors and asking why they couldn't do more. It meant all those things and more.

It meant a resurgence of that old-time political religion—isolation. Korea toppled one administration and brought in a new one that would hopefully end the trouble—some way, any way—even if (and this "if" was a final absurdity) it meant enlarging the war to end the war.

The answer to "Why Korea?" was forgotten. The truth that this was the first time the world had said "enough" to aggression was overlooked under a flood of doubt and suspicion. What we had failed to do in Manchuria, in Ethiopia, in the Rhineland, we finally did in Korea—and we did it right away—and the possibility that we had destroyed a Russian timetable for conquest was forgotten and dismissed.

And now it is over—and instead of a feeling that a victory for the free world has been won, we are in danger of being sold a bad bill that it was a waste, a betrayal, a useless fight.

The soldiers who fought in Korea—Americans, South Koreans, Turks, English, and those of other nations—must not be deluded into believing that they have wasted their blood and their effort. They must not ever be fooled into believing that our comrades died uselessly in a struggle that never should have been fought. The men who live in the Kremlin know that Korea was a victory for the United Nations. We Americans should know that, too.

In the first angry days of Korea, our thinking was clear and our purpose high. Don't let our thinking become confused. Don't let our purpose shrink because Korea cost so much. Korea demonstrated to the nations of the world that they share among them not only a deep sense of national honor, but a deep sense of international integrity and moral indignation. It would be a tragic circumstance if we turned our backs on the glowing picture painted by free men in Korea.

Let us have "no whistles, no cheers, no dancing" in our hour of mourning for the dead—but a rich and full measure of heartwarming triumph is properly in order.

Address by Associate Justice Jackson at the American Bar Center Cornerstone Ceremony

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Robert H. Jackson, Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, at the American Bar Center Cornerstone Ceremony, Chicago, on November 2, 1953.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY ROBERT H. JACKSON, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE AMERICAN BAR CENTER CORNERSTONE CEREMONY, CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 2, 1953

Fellow members and friends of the American Bar Association, cornerstones are commonplace unless they gain distinction from the vision and faith of those who lay them. Our vision today is of an American Bar Center which will focus the influence and pilot the activities of the largest association of lawyers in the world. This influence literally saturates American intellectual life. Generally, in each community its members are among the most respected and articulate leaders in every field of thought and action.

The special competence and responsibility of the bar is in the administration of justice under law, because the private law office is the very cornerstone of that system. Only through it can the citizen learn the increasingly complicated rules which bear upon his peculiar rights or obtain effective access to any except minor courts. To these offices each day come countless men and women in grief or greed, in anger or distress. While the bar is not free from that low cunning which gives it the reputation of promoting strife for its own profit, as a whole it carries to litigation few of the cases it is offered, and our law offices settle many times the number of controversies that are settled by the courts.

But there are occasions when the lawyer will be false to his client and to his profession if he is not ready to risk his own standing on a hard and perhaps unpromising contest. Rights, whether given by Constitution, statute, or common law, are but scraps of paper unless a lawyer will go into the courtroom and there give concrete effect to the abstract word. Von Jhering goes so far as to say, "All the law in the world has been obtained by strife." And he adds that "Every legal right—the legal rights of a whole nation as well as those of individuals—supposes a continual readiness to assert and defend it." Thus the bar has a considerable part in lawmaking, and the prestige and authority of law as a social force at any time is very much what the lawyers make it.

Today it weighs heavily upon the hearts of men who love their profession that many conditions conspire to frustrate achievement of an effective rule of law. The events which have made the deepest impression upon the thought of the first half of our 20th century are 2 World Wars which distorted or extinguished more lives through scientific slaughter of combatants and calculated killing and torture of civilian populations than any wars of history. Our era has seen probably as many as 6 million men, women, and children put to death for no offense but having been born of a different race. It has reintroduced forced labor on a scale never before witnessed as a device of dictatorship. It made the concentration camp, whose scientific cruelty puts the ancient torture chamber to shame, one of the most populous institutions of our time. These evils in a large part of the world are still carried on in the second half of our century.

Paradoxical as it may seem, in this age of general education our Nation is plagued with unprecedented juvenile delinquency, gangsterism, and shocking crimes followed only by long-delayed punishment or by none. The administration of our criminal law, from one cause or another, is a humiliation and a discredit to our profession and our country. And even civil justice is still delayed or denied, and often beyond the reach of deserving men and women. We cannot fairly disagree that specific laws in many fields are inadequate or obsolete, that lawyers ofttimes fail to live up to their professional standards, and courts do not measure up to their responsibilities. The lay public is quite justified in viewing these conditions as a challenge to the leadership of the bar.

But what seems to me more ominous is the tendency to skepticism as to whether a struggle for improvement in the law is worthwhile, the doubt that reliance can be placed upon any law for the control of force or the determination of conflicts. Indeed, there is a cult which thinks meanly of our calling and tutors youth that realistically there is no law except the will of those in authority, that judgments of the courts express nothing deeper than the personal preference of the judge, and his opinions merely manipulate words and symbols to rationalize or dissemble his predilections. Our people, appalled by the magnitude and stubbornness of the manifestations of lawlessness, tend to sink into a suicidal fatalism that accepts violence, crime, injustice, and misgovernment as part of the natural and changeless order of things.

The most revealing symptom of a declining faith in reason and legitimacy as power in the world is evidenced by the zeal with which people everywhere are turning their minds to accumulating instruments of physical power. The titanic struggle for military superiority now being waged between nations is on the assumption that material, not moral, force will determine their destinies. No nation is more force-minded today than our own. The people are burdened and unhappy under it, but they do not know how to withdraw because the stakes seem to be so high that the dreadful game must be played on to fortune or ruin. And within each nation the internal struggle for power between classes, creeds, races, and ideologies tends to take on the same uncompromising character.

The question we face today is whether the profession which we envision as centering here will have any saving faith to offer to an anxious and bewildered people. I think it has. A matter-of-fact and practical profession has courage and idealism to assert its belief in law and in the rule of law as the last best hope for an orderly and tranquil nation and for a peaceful world.

When we speak thus of law, we are not concerned with the merits or defects of any particular statutes, regulations, decisions, or procedures. We are speaking of a reasoned and intelligible system of thought about the adjustment of life's relationships between man and his neighbor, growing out of his family, his state, his land, his personality, his contracts, his injuries. The general ideas of law that lie back of all detailed laws comprise a system of legal philosophy older and more profound than legislation, on which we base an ever-growing body of legal learning which approaches a science of civilized life. Foundations for this law were laid long ago by men of our calling who waged their contests in the Roman Forum or in Westminster Hall.

This Western law rejects the teachings of fatalism and presupposes that normal men have free wills and, since they may choose, that they may be held responsible for the results of their choice. It always has been fundamentally irreconcilable with any theory of determinism, economic or otherwise. The concepts of free will and responsibility are the premises on which we have built our entire doctrine of duties and liabilities, of law and its sanctions.

The ground for our confidence in the rule of law is its history through 15 centuries since Justinian's great series of compilations which preserved Roman law for posterity. While long dormant, its influence since the 11th century in moulding intellectual, social,

and political life on this planet would be hard to overestimate. Despite endless modification of component rules and doctrines, it has retained its distinctly Roman character and been the groundwork of contemporary civil law. It furnished the main principles for Napoleon's Civil Code, a "combination of fruitful innovation and ancient usage" which became the most widely copied legal work since Justinian. Thus, Rome furnished a fundamental philosophy for the law today being administered in France and Holland and their possessions, and in Germany, Italy, Scotland, Switzerland, Quebec, South Africa, all of Latin America, and our own Louisiana.

The common law, I need not remind you, had a later origin. Nurtured by our parent profession in England, it spread with the mother tongue to the United States, British Canada, Australia, India, and New Zealand. Little aided by legislation, it flourished as a consensus of experienced judicial opinion and made its way because of its reasonableness and workability in settling the ever-present conflicts in society.

At times, the integrity of both systems has been threatened by the extravagance of revolution and by the distoritions of despotism. But it is reassuring that each not only survived but actually continued to shape the underlying structure of society during the very regimes which threatened it. The common law, although yielding on important matters, as a system continued to rule England during Stuart absolutism, a Cromwellian Protectorate, a Restoration, and a limited monarchy. Carried to this country, it flourished during a Colonial period, a Revolution, a Confederation, a chaos of separate States, and a Union. Civil law has undergone even greater vicissitudes. It served a Louis XIV, endured the French Revolution, emerged as a dominant influence in Napoleonic codification, and adapted itself to both Teutonic and Latin tradition. Such history is convincing that our two great Western legal systems do protect ultimate values which meet the natural needs of society, that they answer some deeper need than expediency and utility, and by inherent worth can hold society together by ruling the hearts and minds of men.

Law in this sense must not be confused with the activities and interests which it permeates. Law is not government nor is it politics, though it is closely related to political science and receives particular "positive" rules from legislation. Our law is not religion, although many of its finest precepts are drawn from religious teachings. Law is not ecbnomics, though it is deeply involved with economic problems; nor is it sociology, though its chief concern is with the welfare, health, and well-being of society.

When we consider the body of substantive principles we call law in this separate sense, what stands out is not differences but similarities between the systems. We must except public law, which is more influenced by the regime of the hour, and procedure, on which any two lawyers from the same school are certain to disagree. But basic ideas of just dealing and civilized living are so strikingly alike that we may foresee a mutual understanding and cooperation between the professions of the western world greater than has existed in the past. And if a peaceful and stable international order ever is reached, it is not rash to predict that it will result from acceptance by the professions of all nations of an international rule of law as a curb on lawless power in control of great states.

It is the nature of power always to resist and evade restraints by law, just as it is the essential nature of law, as we know it, always to curb power. Our Bill of Rights signifies victory of law over power. Perhaps the decisive difference between Communist legal philosophy and that of the West is that our law puts rational restraints upon the use of coercive power by those in authority, while, as Vyshinsky points out, Soviet law is only "expressing the will of the dominant class," to be enforced upon all by the "compulsive force of the state." Thus their law, instead of controlling the prevailing authority, is merely another impiement—mainly, we may believe, a propaganda impiement in the hands of the authorities.

The conception of law as a brake on power is one of the chief contributions to civilization made by our profession, which has exerted more than its proportionate influence in constitutional conventions, legislative bodies, and executive departments, as well as in courts. But it is largely due to these lawyers that all three branches of our Government have been conducted on the same assumption that they exercise power under, not above, the law. Thus these lawyers have contributed mightily to a cohesion and moderation in our federation without which it is doubtful if our system of dispersion of powers would prove workable.

May we not today usefully summarize our creed? It must, of course, be a statement of ideals which, like all ideals, can be approached only slowly and never reached, yet are nearly enough attainable to enlist and inspire a profession of practical and sophisticated men of the world.

We believe in law as an intellectual discipline capable of directing the thought and action of law-trained men and, through their leadership, of guiding men and masses away from violence, vengence, and force and toward submission of all grievances to settlement by fair legal procedures. We believe in it as an authority to which the just judge, so far as humanly possible, will yield his personal prepossessions, passions, and interests.

We believe in law as a growing and progressive science of civilized life, not as a closed doctrine like the law of the Medes and Persians. Our profession is duty-bound to supply bold and imaginative leadership to bring and keep justice within the reach of persons in every condition of life, to devise processes better to secure men against false accusation and society against crime and violence, and to preserve not merely the forms of constitutional government but the spirit of liberty under law as embodied in our Constitution.

We believe that the only permissible use of coercive force is under the law. No device of compulsion by public authority or private advantage is tolerable unless authorized by the law of the land and executed by procedure that conform to strict concepts of due process of law.

We believe in a strong and independent judiciary charged with adjusting and applying law to conditions of our time, with balancing the values of continuity against those of improvement, certainty against adaptability, liberty against authority. By independence of the judge we mean more than freedom from subservience to other branches of Government; we mean the largest freedom humanly attainable from his own partisanship, class interest, political bias or group pressures. We maintain our right respectfully to criticize what we may think errors of honest judgment by our courts and judges, but we can show no leniency toward judicial partisanship, faithlessness, carelessness, or irresponsibility.

We believe in an independent bar, free not only from Government control, but intellectually independent of client control. In the client-and-attorney relation the client is not a master, the lawyer is not a mere hired hand. He is an officer of the court, with a duty of independent judgment in the performance of his professional service and under a duty to serve all sorts and conditions of men.

We believe it a duty to champion all fundamental rights under the law, but we recognize a special trust and competence to safeguard every man's right to fair trial, on which every other right is dependent. We cannot approve any use of official powers or position to prejudice, injure, or condemn a person in liberty, property, or good name which does not inform him of the source and substance of the charge and give a timely and open-minded hearing as to its truth, safeguards without which no judgment can have a sound foundation. We cannot condone any use of publicity to stir either hatred or sympathy for those on trial, or to arouse public opinion upon the basis of rumor or statements not verified by oath and tested by cross-examination.

We believe respect and understanding is due systems of law other than our own, however different. We recognize them as the efforts of dedicated men under other conditions and influences to reach justice as a goal. We welcome opportunity for conference, comparison of experience, and doctrine, and the fullest intercourse and fraternity with our professional brethren in other lands. We approach them and their work in a spirit of humility and awareness of our own failures and shortcomings and not as crusaders for uniformity or standardization in disregard of the differing traditions, cultures, and conditions of peoples and nations.

We believe that the great purpose of achieving a peaceful world is best approached through a strengthening and extending of international law and international legal institutions along the lines of their development in the West. We believe the legal processes of adjudication and arbitration offer an honorable and effective alternative to war as a means for correction of just international grievances.

It is in support of these ideals that this American Bar Center will marshal the united wisdom and influence of our numerous and powerful profession.

A story that I have often told seems especially apt today. A visitor at a cathedral under construction questioned three workmen as to what they thought they were doing. The first muttered, "I am making a living." The second gave the uninspired reply, "I am laying this stone." The third one looked up toward the sky and his face was lighted up by his faith as he said, "I am building a cathedral."

What are we doing today? We are building a cathedral to testify to our faith in the rule of law.

The Slimy Trail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Berlin Journal, Berlin, Wis., Sunday, November 8, 1953. The editorial reads as follows:

THE SLIMY TRAIL

Washington disclosures concerning Harry Dexter White and his retention in office by then President Truman when all the rest of the country knew of White's questionable political character, has direct application in our many Journal communities.

Harry Truman, the man (not President) has always had a great number of friends, and among them were, of course, numerous of the unsavory Pendergast political machine in Kansas City, with control, generally, of most of the other parts of the State. That

did not add cleanness, because wherever its slimey paw touched there was nastiness. But United States Senator Harry Truman was loyal to his boss, delivered a eulogy on the Senate floor, and flew out to Kansas City to pay his personal homage to his deceased boss.

What has all this to do with our village, rural, and city communities? What has it to do with farm produce? How can it effect us? That's worth going into. First, we are burdened by high taxes because people controlled the government who thought first of personal allegiances and only secondly of obligations to responsibility. The fact that under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations so many Communists infiltrated into Government, got too tight a hold on the Democratic Party management, set up the program under which agriculture is having a hard time, allowed people with foreign attachments and sympathies to mold our country's foreign policies, should make any person wilt before the thought of that party's return to power.

That's part of the reason why the farm population, village, town, and city populations should want a competent administration in washington—an honest administration in Washington. We dare not let government again fall to opportunists, incompetents, and to the hordes of foreign sympathizers who live in the luxury of this country apparently upon the gold drawn from the earth in Siberia by millions of constantly dying slaves. It is wise to be on our guard that we do not become slaves under such Government that a few seem to want again.

Revelations concerning Mr. White's foreign sympathy, if not direct attachment, was not unknown to a lot of people during his life and during his fattening at the trough under the New Deal and the Fair Deal administrations. It seemed, however, that a communistic tinge only added luster to a person during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

Another reason why the Democratic Party cannot be trusted is the hue and cry for the return of the Government to the people. The people have the Government, now, under competent management. The Democrats' sore spot is because of the competency of the present management, because the heads of departments are experienced in handling large and intricate affairs, in contrast to the Democrats' wishes for small people with little competency who can be handled by the right people. And, as is known to all, for years and years the right people controlled us into a mess which with great competency, as now, cannot be cleaned up in a few months. The political floor and walls were very dirty.

Shall we return the Government to those who would pile up more and more debts? Shall we trust them, when they built the expense of government to the breaking point? Shall we return them to authority so they can further sell us down the river, so we can more smoothly flow into the maw of the Communist authority?

Shall we let temporary loss of some profit, due to the Democrats, lead us into ultimate disintegration? Shall we sacrifice our birthright as the New Deal and the Fair Deal sacrificed them for us? Our birthright is elastic just so far. Is it wise to stretch it beyond endurance? It can break, you know.

Disclosures concerning Mr. White are in a long line yet to come. There's a rotten mess, accumulated through 20 years. Let's not expect the Eisenhower laundry to clean up all that mess in weeks.

Let's be cautious for our own welfare, as individuals and as a nation. Let's give the laundry time to get the enormous number of dirty shirts clean. We'll be better off in the long run, and there's a chance ahead for profit where it should be, and that does not include communistic Russia; that does not include half a dozen big labor czars, who would cut the farmers' throat, politically, without a pang; that does not include the slimy machines.

The cleaning will give all of us a better chance. Giving support to Americanism will be more profitable than supporting the forces of disintegration. And White represented the last group.

Questionnaire to Michigan's Eighth District Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, December 21, 1953, I mailed 53,000 questionnaires to my congressional district. In making up such a mailing list I have used rural and city directories, telephone directories, auto registration lists, and all possible names available in order to cover a good cross section of my district. This questionnaire gives Michigan's Eighth District citizens an opportunity to express their views without regard to party affiliation and without revealing their names unless they so desire. The percentage of return looks encouraging as of this date, and I am looking forward to the tabulated results, which should be ready for distribution early in February.

The introductory paragraph of explanation and the 25 questions which are to be answered "Yes" or "No" follows:

In order to assist your Congressman in deciding some of the important issues now before the Congress, your opinions in these matters would be greatly appreciated. They may be checked "yes" or "no" and comments may be written on the reverse of this sheet. Please return this in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope not later than January 20, 1954.

1. Government expenses should not legally exceed Government income in any given fiscal year.

2. Social security should be extended on a compulsory basis to farmers, professional people, etc.

3. The social-security retirement age should be lowered from 65 to 60.

4. The social-security system should be put more nearly on a pay-as-you-go basis.

5. A person should be required to contribute for 20 quarters for social-security eligibility.

6. Postal rates should be raised sufficiently so that the Post Office Department can show a profit.

7. I am in favor of universal military training as part of a high school course.

8. Selective-service calls should be sufficient to maintain our Armed Forces at their present levels.

9. Veterans with non-service-connected disabilities should only receive medical care in cases of proven poverty.

10. The American Communist Party should be outlawed.

11. Persons testifying before congressional committees should be required to answer questions as to Communist Party membership.

12. Senator JOE MCCARTHY is performing a distinct public service to the American people.

13. The Taft-Hartley Act is basically fair to both labor and management.

14. Price supports should be retained at 90 percent of parity for the time being.

15. Crop surpluses should be built to guard against future drought or other unfavorable conditions.

16. I am in agreement with Secretary Benson's announced plans and policies.

17. Soil conservation payments to farmers should be continued.

18. Farm co-ops and other such nonprofit organizations should be taxed similarly to private corporations.

19. Production controls should be maintained on all price-supported commodities.

20. Our present tariffs should gradually be reduced over a period of time.

21. Foreign aid should be cut at least 50 percent from the last appropriations authorized.

22. American troops should be left at full strength in Korea until a political settlement is reached.

23. Atomic weapons should be used wherever American troops may have to fight Communists.

24. No country trading with the Communists should receive American military or economic aid.

25. A constitutional amendment is required to protect domestic law against international treaties (Bricker amendment).

Optional:
Name ----------
Address ----------
Occupation ----------

More Timber From the National Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, at the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future, Mr. W. D. Hagenstein, forest engineer for the Industrial Association, Portland, Oreg., made an extremely important address on the subject "More Timber From the National Forests." I am inserting it in the RECORD because I believe many Members of the Congress will be interested in it.

The address follows:

Our national forests have never fulfilled the most important purpose for which they were set aside. That purpose, according to the act of June 4, 1897, was "to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of the citizens of the United States."

Our great national forest properties in the continental United States comprise a sixth of the total commercial forest land. They are occupied principally by mature old-growth timber and contain a third of the Nation's saw timber. The annual contribution of the national forests, now at an all time high, is not more than 10 percent of the Nation's annual timber harvest. This is poor forestry and means substantial losses to the American people who own the national forests.

The national forests are located principally in the West. They often are in rough mountainous country remote from existing transportation. We must recognize that in the management of timber on the national forests the Government is in a proprietary business. This is not the usual function of Government under our system. Despite these limitations our national forests can and

should be harvesting more wood if we are not to delay their ultimate management under the sound business principles of sustained yield forestry. Holding as they do the key to the economic success of many western communities, the longer the national forests fail to contribute their maximum allowable cut annually, the longer will they render disservice to such communities. To the extent that they are not contributing their share to the forest products needs of the American people they are not serving their principal objective cited above.

Why aren't the national forests harvesting as much timber as they are capable?

The first and most obvious reason is that much of their timber is inaccessible. Timber as such has no tangible economic value without means of transporting it from stump site to point of use. The problem of getting sufficient timber access roads in the national forests is highly complicated. It's a practical political problem because five States—Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, and Montana—contain most of the national forest timber. It is an economic problem, too. More cannot be spent for roads than can be justified by the timber values created by their construction. No Congressman from a State without national forests sees any votes in support of timber access road legislation or appropriations. Lack of timber access roads has the practical effect of creating an artificial timber shortage. This is reflected in higher prices for timber on the stump because of the effect of the law of supply and demand. Higher stumpage prices are passed on to the consumer of forest products. Congressmen who do not support timber access roads for the national forests are unwittingly raising the price of forest products to their constituents.

Another reason for timber-access roads is that without them the national forests cannot practice forestry. For example, the current estimate of the allowable annual cut of the national forests is 6 billion board feet. Only this last year has the cut ever reached 5 billion. Allowable cut which is not harvested cannot be hoarded and saved against the day when the forest is accessible for harvest and use. If you don't cut mature timber you don't convert the land under it to young growing timber. Because very little cutting has occurred in the mature timber on the national forests, there is very little current annual growth. Most of the estimated allowable annual cut is because of the preponderance of mature and overmature timber. Therefore, to the extent that the allowable cut is not harvested, you have lost it to use forever.

If the national forests are to fulfill their purpose, their first and paramount need is the development of an adequate system of timber-access roads. Without them the national forests will continue to be a luxurious expense to the people of the United States because they will not be self-supporting. And they should be self-supporting because of their tremendous volume of commercial resources. There exists an active market for national-forest timber because of the desire and need of the people of the United States for forest products.

Another serious detriment to the harvest of the allowable cut of the national forests is the cumbersome timber-sale procedure, part of which is deemed necessary because the Government in this instance is in a proprietary business. The sovereign always has a hard time deciding which hat to wear—the crown or the everyday hat of the proprietor. In every private transaction of commodities in the United States most contractual relationships are simple. Except for some differences of opinion which are the principal reason for our courts, most businesses buy and sell commodities in an orderly, efficient way. Buying national forest timber is not so easy because the contract itself is such a formidable document. It has so many clauses that the average operator who is acquainted only with the basic economics and mechanics of his business, never knows from one minute to the next whether he is in trouble under its terms. I think a little more realism on the part of the Forest Service could result in a simplified timber-sale contract which would safeguard in every respect the interests of the Government as a proprietor. Surely a simplified contract would make for better relations between the parties. The details on this have been discussed many times between Forest Service officials and their timber-sale clientele. Such discussions should continue in the interest of expediting the sale of timber by making the whole business less cumbersome.

No one can manage a forest adequately until he knows how much timber he owns. It's well known that the estimates of the volume of timber on the national forests are based upon very limited field sampling. As an example of how inadequate the timber inventory of the national forests is today, just in 1 year the estimated allowable cut was increased by nearly 200 million feet on the basis of an up-to-date inventory of only a handful of working circles. This was an increase of more than 10 percent of the allowable cut of a region. Another important reason for accurate timber inventory is the necessity for establishing priorities for the harvest of timber which is dead or deteriorating. There are millions of acres of this sort of timber on the national forests. It is being lost to use in many instances because no one knows its location or extent. Accurate timber inventories facilitate the determination of realistic allowable cuts in accordance with the latest information on growth and yield and amount of timber usable under the great variety of economic conditions that obtain throughout the national forests.

Another way to expedite the harvest of national forest timber is more advanced planning of road location and timber sales. The present status of this is wholly inadequate to stay on top of the problem.

The four principal suggestions I have made for helping the people of the United States realize more timber from their national forests are:

1. Building timber access roads.
2. Simplifying timber sale procedure.
3. Speeding up timber inventories.
4. Doing more advanced engineering and timber management planning.

This sounds as if I were beating the tomtoms for large additional appropriations for the Forest Service. With the exception of moneys needed for the development of an adequate system of timber access roads, this is not the case. I sincerely believe that a realinement of the activities of the Forest Service with more concentration upon timber management, which is in line with the policy set forth by the Congress in the act of June 4, 1897, would make the current level of appropriations go much further.

The Forest Service is engaged in too many extraneous activities. Some, though important, are of considerably lesser priority than practicing forestry on the national forests. For example, I think there is too much emphasis on public relations. Acquainting the people of the United States with how it is managing their national forests is a legitimate function of the Forest Service, but I question the legitimacy of public relations which are obviously political.

There is too much emphasis on some of the other parts of forestry besides timber management beyond the point of economic justification. Please don't misunderstand; I am not saying that the Forest Service should not devote time, energy, and money to the development of recreational opportunities of the national forests, or give lands primarily suited for watersheds good protection against fire, or neglect range management where forage is an important resource, or any other legitimate activity. But let's concentrate on timber management.

To help get better timber management on the national forests, a few comments on the use of professional personnel are pertinent. There's too much professional overhead working at high-grade clerical jobs today. There's too much specialization in some of the activities of forest officers. The Forest Service must develop practical timber management men to work in the woods. These men need broad experience in the economics and mechanics of timber harvesting, which is the key to forest management. The only way they can get it in a specific timber type is to be left on one property long enough to get firsthand acquaintanceship with the local conditions. They should be given sufficient authority to make decisions. Of course we must have lines of authority, but they must be much more clear cut than at present. I think a constructive suggestion is to hold a man responsible for his administrative acts but not hold such responsibility as a club over his head until he becomes frightened, frustrated, and indecisive.

I am a great believer in the national-forest system. I think it is one of the outstanding forestry developments in the world. The timber users of the national forests want to work with the Forest Service in every possible way to help it do a better job in the interest of the economy of their communities. This is going to take much closer cooperation than has existed in the past. Let's forget the political ambitions of men and think in terms of managing the national forests, not for the sake of the trees, but for the sake of the people of the United States who own them.

North Dakotan Speaks Up for Postal Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a letter from Mr. George F. Griffin, a postal worker for more than 30 years. Mr. Griffin presents a graphic picture of what it is like to be a postal worker today, and his arguments in favor of a salary increase for postal workers deserve the attention of the Congress.

The letter follows:

JAMESTOWN, N. DAK., *January 5, 1954.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURDICK: I am writing you this letter in regard to House bills 2297 or 2344.

It is true a raise for the postal workers will do me no good as I am now retired, but I am still national State representative of postoffice clerks here in North Dakota. I am very much interested in the welfare of clerks and carriers of the mail service, and their great need right now is for a pay raise and better working conditions.

I know that after being a post-office clerk for well over 30 years that I can speak from experience. I have served that much time in the office here at Jamestown, and can truthfully say that the pay has never been as much as it should have been, compared to trades and other professions. I will say that away back here 25 or more years ago—we

clerks at that time had a some better time of it. We at least had a sort of running chance with the cost of living. Now days I really can't see how these young clerks can make it. I am speaking for some 490 post-office clerks here in North Dakota when I am writing this letter. I am positive that 50 percent of the clerks and carriers throughout the country today are men who served in the Armed Forces of World War II. They did their 3- to 5-year hitch in defense of their country. When they returned home a good share of these men got married (all quite natural). A lot of them at once turned to civil service and took examination for postal service and got the job. After getting married the first big problem for these young folks was to find a place to live. At that time the money value of even the bare necessities of life had gone sky high, and even a three-room apartment was being held for a rental of from $50 to $75 a month, so a lot of these young couples all over our land, went out and into debt to build themselves a home, hoping in time to have the mortgage paid off.

While there were only the two of them, the husband working at the office and the little wife working at some job, they were doing pretty well. But then the little ones began arriving; that surely changed the picture of life. There was only one small salary of the father working at the post office doing his best to supply the needs of his growing family. Now, it's more than just the payment on the house and two mouths to feed. It's the patter of 2, 3, and 4 little pair of feet on the floor of the little home. They need shoes and clothes and there is added doctor bills to be met. The father, too, wants his family to have those things in life that go to make wife and kids look presentable to friends and neighbors. So the hard situation of making a living is solved by the decision that both father and mother will go to work again—mother to get a steady job somewhere and father to go back to the old grind of working all his extra and spare time at outside work. It's terrible that a postal clerk must work such hours in order to make money enough that his family may live in comfort that is almost demanded of one in his position. Yes; through all these years the cost of living has been going up and up, with the pay of the postal worker going up but little in comparison to the rapid rise in cost of living.

These clerks and carriers still stay with the job, giving their service to the public with a smile, when really inside they have that feeling as to what to do about it. They see other tradesmen and men of other professions coming home with a pay envelope that comes much nearer meeting the demands of the cost of living, without having to do all this extra outside work to do it.

It is certainly a sad state of affairs when a postal worker and his wife have to have the mother-in-law come into the home and take care of the little family while they both go to work—he doing his regular tour of duty at the post office, then doing all the pickup work he can find, and the wife busy all day long clerking at a store or waiting table at the city cafe. It never happened in grandpa's time.

Now, may I ask you, Mr. BURDICK, is this right? Isn't this a condition that needs your attention? Don't you think the postal worker should have enough in his pay envelope on payday to at least break even with the high cost of living, without he and his wife having to seek outside work in order to make a decent living?

I really think it's high time that the postal worker was being recognized and thought of as one of the people who help to build this great country of our, and without a doubt he is a member of the greatest service company in the United States. He is doing his best to keep the great volume of mail moving—giving that service that only a postal worker can do. Why, then, in God's name, isn't he entitled to a wage so he can be more than proud that he is a member of the clerks and carriers in civil service of these United States?

Sincerely,

GEO. F. GRIFFIN.

The New Economy (?)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Grant County Journal, Ephrata, Wash., on November 12, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE RESENT THE IMPLICATION

Ralph A. Tudor, Under Secretary of the Interior, made some remarks in Spokane last Monday which, because of the way they were tied to the Columbia Basin, cause us to raise our voice in protest. Here is what Mr. Tudor said, as quoted from the Spokane Chronicle of that date:

"Tudor said that the public-relations needs of the Department of the Interior were being studied by a team of civilians who hold high positions in business.

" 'The public relations of the various divisions of Interior had become very expensive and not very effective,' he said.

"He indicated that a new public-relations office would be opened soon in the Columbia Basin."

The sweeping statement about the expense and effectiveness of Interior public relations might be true in other areas, but in the Columbia Basin that remark is clear out of line. The expense started when the public-relations (or information) office was wiped out, and the effectiveness has never been questioned. Since the sudden demise of the information office on this project, newspaper and radio people have spent extra hours and money trying to get information of what's going on, and how the taxpayers' money is being spent, and have got very little.

Furthermore, instead of going to one central source, they have been forced to call 6 or 8 top-priced bureaucrats and then often those people had to confer on whether anything could be said or not. You could pay a good many salaries of public relations people with the taxpayers' money that has been wasted by those bureaucrats who should have something better to do.

The information office here had an exceptional record in being helpful to radio, newspaper, magazine and newsreel men, and was never accused of bias, political or otherwise. The personnel was extremely well qualified, the top member having won the national public relations award before coming to the Columbia Basin project. When the office was wiped out, letters of praise for the office and of protest to the higher-ups came from nearly every newspaper and radio station in the Pacific Northwest—Republican, Democratic and Independent.

Could it be that Mr. Tudor is just setting the stage for some of the usual stooges to come in and take over—even though the new administration has been saying (with tongue in cheek, we are sure) that "career" Government employees shall have first chance at new jobs? His remark that a new public relations office would be opened soon in the basin would lead us to believe this. What was wrong with the old one?

This stunt of replacing people who were honestly doing a good job, with those who think in line with the new misadministration, isn't new. It's been done recently in Washington, D. C., in wholesale lots, and other places as well. We had hoped the Columbia Basin project, conceived by Republicans and Democrats working together, would escape this kind of treatment.

And while Mr. Tudor is talking about expense, he'd better start at the top of his Interior public relations office. The former head of that office was bounced down to assistant, but left at the same salary because he was too valuable a man to lose. The new head, who didn't know his way around either Washington or the Interior Department, came in at a salary of several hundred dollars more.

That's cutting down on expenses and making for more effectiveness, isn't it, Mr. Tudor?

Parcel-Post Size and Weight Limitations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by me before the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on January 11, 1954:

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before you to give certain facts and conclusions of mine concerning this controversial issue of parcel-post size and weight limitations.

I want to say at the outset that I bear no ill will toward the Railway Express Agency or anyone else who may hold opinions contrary to mine. I trust their position will be set forth fully in this record. There are some facts on both sides of this question that can best be had from those who have a direct interest in the matter. That is why I deem it appropriate for this hearing to be held on this subject—to give both sides an opportunity to present their views thoroughly.

Of course, we who serve on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee have an important responsibility to decide not only as between the direct antagonists on this issue, but also on behalf of the general public whom we represent in Congress. The parcel-post system is a service of the post office department that reaches the entire population of this country. This issue, therefore, must be decided primarily on the basis of what is best for 160 million fellow-countrymen; and secondarily to meet the desires of special interests, whether they be on this side or that side of the issue.

It is appropriate that hearings be held at this time, because we now have had 2 full years experience with Public Law 199, which was passed in the preceding Democratic Congress. Based on 2 years' experience, I believe the present Congress should have an adequate basis on which to make a proper judgment for future policy. The facts properly assembled on this subject, should speak for themselves. There is no purpose served

in resorting to cliches, name-calling, or partisan argument.

I introduced my bill to repeal Public Law 199 almost a year ago. I thought the facts were clear then that Congress had made a mistake—an honest mistake, wherein sympathy for the express agency outweighed a realistic appraisal of the damage which would be done to the Post Office Department and the general public. Events of the past year have confirmed my previous conclusion.

In my statement today I want to try to shed light on some questions which I believe go to the heart of this controversy. These questions are:

What has been the effect of this legislation?

Is there justification for curtailing parcel post service for the general public with the avowed purpose of aiding a special group?

Is there justification for discriminating against parcel post users on the basis of the area in which they live?

What were the arguments in favor of the passage of Public Law 199—and how have these arguments stood up, after 2 years' experience with the law?

Is parcel post a threat to "private enterprise"?

What results or consequences can be anticipated from the repeal of Public Law 199?

First, what has been the effect of this legislation? What about the general public, the Post Office Department, the express agency, the railroads and the employees of these agencies?

As far as the general public is concerned, there obviously is substantial dissatisfaction with the present size and weight limits. The amount of protest mail which all of us in Congress have received is one indication. Similarly, the Post Office Department has received numerous complaints. In fact, official mention of the criticism and dissatisfaction of the public toward the present law was noted in the last annual report of the Department.

Perhaps those best qualified to judge how the public feels are the postal clerks who are assigned to the windows for the acceptance of parcels in first-class post offices. A type measure is a much-used implement of their task. A reference book listing first-class post offices must constantly be referred to. I am told that these clerk are almost unanimous in their dislike for the new limitations—because of the abuse they get from patrons who dislike or cannot understand the differences and complexities which presently govern the acceptance of parcels. Some incidents were reported to me in the recent Christmas-mailing season where parcel post clerks were simply worn down by the strenuous objections raised by some mailers. The clerks accepted oversize and overweight packages, notwithstanding the law, because they were hopelessly unable to explain the logic of the situation to some abusive objectors. The clerks had to deal with too many who persisted in mailing parcels formerly acceptable which are now oversize or overweight.

An unusual twist to this situation is the face that the Express Agency has wisely sought to capitalize directly on this public dissatisfaction with parcel post service. In its advertisements, the agency blandly proclaims that express service (in contrast to parcel post) has no size and weight limitations.

Public dislike of something is not always a final gage of what is proper. No one likes taxes—yet we have to have them. In the case of parcel post size and weight limits, however, I think the general public is justified in their dissatisfaction. For more than 20 years prior to January 1, 1952, the Post Office Department provided a parcel-post service which permitted 70 pounds and 100 inches per parcel. The general public cannot understand the reasons why, or the justification for, the limitations imposed in 1952.

What about the effect of Public Law 199 on the Post Office Department? The Department originally opposed this law because of administrative difficulties which they foresaw—nevertheless, they have endeavored to give it a fair test. I do not want to presume to speak for the Department, but I do want to summarize some of the effects on the Department, insofar as I know them.

When I introduced my bill last February, I estimated that the size and weight limitations had caused a net loss of revenue to the Department of some $60 million—that it had been impossible by that margain to cut costs to keep pace with the reductions in revenues resulting from barring the high-revenue parcels from the mails. Sometime later, the Department made an official estimate in the parcel post rate case before the Interstate Commerce Commission that the net revenue loss resulting from the size and weight limitation was $52,400,000. Undoubtedly, since that time, the Department has made further studies which will be reported on in this hearing. Taking into account the 37-percent rate increase which became applicable for parcel post last October 1, 1953, it is obvious that the net revenue loss at present rates is in excess of $75 million.

In other words, in round figures, about $100 million worth of parcel business at present rate levels has been barred from the mails by Public Law 199 and the Department has been able to cut costs only $25 million as a result of the lesser parcel volume. In fact, I understand that in certain handling operations postal costs are actually higher now, with a lesser poundage of parcel post—because the splitting of shipments makes for higher handling costs, in the Department as well as for the mailer.

Concerning the subject of parcel-post rates, I want to make my position clear: I am opposed to a subsidized parcel-post system. I believe parcel post should pay its own way. Too often, the separate questions of rates and service are confused. Making the service available is one thing; placing the proper charge on the service is another matter. I think the facts are entirely clear that it was the rate equation—not the service equation—which caused the Express Agency problem in the immediate postwar years. The Express Agency had some of its most profitable years prior to that, and, I emphasize, the prosperity was under the old size and weight limits of parcel post.

Getting back to the effects of this law on the Post Office Department, let me point out one far-reaching effect of curtailed service that has ominous implications. The Post Office Department is committed to a universal service throughout the length and breadth of the land. That means that it must average out the high traffic costs of sparse-volume areas with the low costs of high-volume areas. It probably costs the Department several dollars to deliver a 3-cent letter in certain areas of Alaska. On the other hand, there is a good margin of profit in handling a heavy first-class letter locally or between metropolitan areas. The same situation applies, in general, to the movement of parcel post. A volume shipment between first-class post offices is much less expensive to handle proportionately than a single parcel on an R. F. D. route. In the case of first-class mail, Congress has given the Department a monopoly in handling all first-class mail so that no one can come in and skim off the profitable business while leaving the Department with the dregs. Public Law 199 did exactly the opposite in the case of parcel post: It prohibited the Department from handling the profitable end of the business. Again, what is the effect of this? Obviously, the general level of parcel-post rates must rise accordingly. The farmer, who previously got a break because of volume shipments elsewhere in the parcel-post system, will necessarily have to pay higher rates in the future, if the restrictions of this law are retained. In fact, in the recent parcel-post rate-increase case, it was acknowledged by the Post Office Department that approximately one-third of the rate increase that was imposed, which was made effective last October 1, was due solely to the effects of the parcel-post size and weight curtailment.

Let me add one further comment about parcel-post rates and express rates. Some people assume that the service and costs are the same and that hence the rates should be the same. Actually, the express service has always been a specialized deluxe service with certain features that parcel post has never had (insurance, pickup service, shipment records, expedited service, etc.). That this deluxe service is desired by many is attested by the large number of shipments that Railway Express has in the weight range of 1 to 20 pounds, where it might be anticipated that parcel post would be used almost exclusively. According to express company statistics about 43 percent of l. c. l. (less-than-carload lots) express shipments are in that weight range, or almost 40 million shipments in 1952.

Because of this de luxe service and because the express agency does not have the advantage of density traffic and the sharing of overhead such as parcel post enjoys, the express agency says it needs a minimum of $2.30 per shipment, even on the 1- to 20-pound parcels, although the ICC recently rejected this proposed minimum charge. The express agency can make a good case for substantially increased express rates, because the analyses of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that express revenues pay for less than half of the costs of the service to the railroads. In other words, the freight traffic of the railroads is subsidizing the express and other "head-end" passenger traffic by a very substantial amount.

As compared with the minimum of $2.30 which the express agency says it needs, for any parcel the Post Office Department can provide a lesser, "streamlined" package delivery service at a much lower cost. The Post Office Department can make money handling parcels on which the express agency loses money—and that is no reflection on the efficiency of the express agency, but a simple statement of economic fact.

When treated as a unit and when permitted to handle the normal volume between metropolitan centers, the Post Office Department has operating advantages which cannot be matched by an individual private enterprise—unless the enterprise were to take over the entire function of the Post Office Department as an entity. This basic operating advantage which the Post Office Department enjoys is the fundamental reason why the parcel post system exists. In my opinion, Public Law 199 is doing a serious injustice to patrons of first-class post offices in not permitting them to have the full advantages of this system—and at the same time the law is undermining for the future the ability of the service to provide what it is now providing for the rural patrons of parcel post.

So much for the effects of this law on the Post Office Department and the parcel post system. Let me turn now to the effects of this law on the express agency, the railroads, their employes, etc.

The available statistics show that the transportation revenues of the express agency did increase somewhat in 1952 and 1953 as compared with the immediate preceding years. Total revenues for 1952 were reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission to be $402 million, as against $326 million in 1951. It appears, however, that about $40 million of the $76 million increase was due to rate increases which became effective on November 15, 1951, and February 28, 1952. Of the $36 million due to increased traffic, it must be remembered that this includes carload traffic, and also LCL traffic over 70 pounds and under 20 pounds—none of which was affected by Public Law 199. On

the basis of express agency figures about 45 percent of the LCL traffic and, of course, none of the carload traffic fall within the 20-70-pound range affected by Public Law 199.

In other words, it appears that of the $100 million of traffic driven out of the Post Office Department, the express agency has been able to attract less than $20 million of it. What happened to the rest? It has gone to trucks, private carriage, split parcel-post shipments, or just has not moved at all.

It seems obvious to me that the railroads and railroad workers have fared badly as a result of this law. I am particularly conscious of the plight of railroad employees because I happen to have many railroad workers in my district and only recently the railroads have made severe layoffs due to a general decline in traffic.

Traditionally, almost all of parcel post moves by rail. What is more, the payments of the Post Office Department for this transportation are much more compensatory to the railroads than express agency payments to the railroads for the same service. It all adds up to this: The railroads have lost business and revenues as a result of this law; and that in turn is reflected in railroad jobs—because roughly half of all railroad revenues are paid out to employees in wages and salaries.

Statistics of the ICC show that average employment for the express agency increased from 44,546 in 1951 to 46,487 in 1952, or an increase of 1,941 jobs. I am glad that these additional jobs exist in the express organization. Nineteen hundred jobs, however, is a substantial difference from the 40,000 jobs which were claimed to have been lost to parcel-post diversion, when the size and weight bill was under consideration in 1951. As a matter of fact even in 1951, the express agency had almost exactly the same number of employees as in prewar 1940.

Members of the committee, I venture the assertion that as a result of this size and weight law there has been a net decrease in railroad employment which exceeds the nominal increase in jobs which the express agency has had.

What about the discriminatory aspects of Public Law 199? Can a justification be made for withholding from the patrons of first-class post offices a postal service which is provided to the remainder of the population? I am not competent to pass on the legal aspects of the question, but I am told that actually there is a substantial constitutional question involved, that the postal service of the Government has been judged to be an essential service which cannot be withheld without good reason. Regardless of the legal aspects, I think it is wrong that patrons of first-class post offices are discriminated against. I am well aware of the argument that was used at the time the law was passed: that there was no discrimination involved because most first-class post-office areas had express service or alternative shipping facilities to send packages.

The plain fact is that there is no comparable service to parcel post. The first and foremost difference is that of rates. If the mailer of a package in a first-class post office city does not want to have the frills of express service, why should he be forced to use that service? And why is he not entitled, the same as his rural or small city neighbor, to the economical rates which are inherent to a parcel post type of operation? Express service, while a de luxe service, actually has some disadvantages too: it does not reach into many areas where postal service is had, and delivery of packages can not normally be had on Saturdays. In short, it seems to me that there is unwarranted discrimination against patrons of first-class post offices under this law.

The free-enterprise argument is the one most often cited in support of Public Law 199. No one is a firmer believer in free enterprise than I. I have been engaged actively in free enterprise for many years before I was elected to Congress. I believe I know something about it. Just who is free enterprise? Is it the railway express agency or is it approximately 6 million farms, 640,000 service establishments, 250,000 manufacturers, 1,700,000 retail merchants, and 240,000 wholesalers serving 160 million Americans, all of whom use the mails?

I don't think many people can be sold the bill of goods that the Post Office Department is a threat to free enterprise. I don't think that very many people believe that the parcel-post system is a socialistic scheme or is tinged with red. We Republicans think that there were some things in Washington that tended in that direction during the last 20 years, but the parcel-post system and the former size and weight limitations are and were respected parts of our economy, long before that. No; the parcel-post system and the old size and weight limitations bear the full stamp of approval that the test of time can give. Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that the Post Office Department is a substantial support for free enterprise, in the large volume of goods and services which it buys from transportation agencies, contractors, landlords, etc., coast to coast, and in the transportation wherewithal, it provides for small business or any business to grow and prosper.

What can be expected with the repeal of Public Law 199? In my opinion, repeal of this law can be of substantial help to the Postmaster General by (1) increasing fourth-class postal revenues, (2) reducing unit costs in parcel-post operations, and (3) making possible reduction in parcel-post rates in the near future. Also $75 million of net revenue, which I believe will result, can be of substantial help in making readjustments in postal salaries which I believe are overdue. Most important of all, I believe that reversion to the old size and weight limits will restore an economic balance to the parcel-post system and remove the unwarranted discrimination which presently exists against certain mail users.

Stop Repercussions Developed by Closing of American Woolen Plants in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following timely and excellent editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., of January 3, 1954:

A TIME FOR CHAMPIONS

There has been no widespread consternation in Lawrence over the news that the American Woolen Co. plans to pull out of the city by closing down the mammoth Wood Worsted Mills. We do not face the prospect with fear and trembling, even though the Wood Mills have been a source of livelihood for generations of textile workers for nearly a half century.

Contemplating this shutdown is not a pleasant thought. Already, several thousands of its employees have been released. About one-third of its peak force is still on the job, but the rate of release is accelerating. Even our strengthening local economy cannot easily absorb the shock of such an impact upon our employment structure. But we have been bracing ourselves to "roll with the punch," not go down under it.

The retrenchment plans of American Woolen adversely affect several important textile centers in New England. None of the other mills are as large as the Wood, but everywhere the result will be the same: increased unemployment until the released workers—those of them who are acceptable to other mills or other industries—can rehabilitate themselves.

Because it is not purely a local picture, many observers are disturbed by the silence of people in high places; people who could assume needed areawide leadership and put up some kind of a fight to induce American Woolen to reconsider the closings.

Naturally, if a business is losing money consistently (and American Woolen places its annual losses in the millions) it cannot hope to continue in operation without some severe retrenchment. The American Woolen is a private business corporation and its officers are responsible to its stockholders. But it has a moral obligation to the people who are or have been in its employ, and who are entitled, humanely, to a full consideration in any plans which involve wiping out their jobs. On the part of this employer, there is a public responsibility.

Since we have officials in Government on the higher echelons who are placed in office by the people to protect the public interests, it is only fair to assume that these officials have a duty which transcends purely political matters. The many thousands of American Woolen workers in Massachusetts and the other affected communities in the New England States look to their one last hope today to take up their fight for them to protect their jobs. And that one last hope is our high Government officers and the various agencies established within the framework of State governments to handle industrial issues.

The proposed closing of the American Woolen plants is no localized problem. It will have repercussions throughout all of New England. Therefore there should be a united effort by the responsible officials of every affected State to bend every possible effort, to exhaust every possible proposal, in order to convince the American Woolen that it can operate just as profitably in New England in the long run as it could anywhere else.

To permit this one flourishing industry to be unrooted without a fight would be a flagrant demonstration of inertia on our part. The workers, including the reemployable and those who perhaps never again might find steady employment, cannot do it by themselves. It is a time for champions.

The Soviet Web of Lies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, Prof. Marius B. Jansen, of the Far Eastern Institute of the University of Washington, at Seattle, has written a most interesting letter to the New York Times under date of December 29, 1953. It graphically demonstrates the manner in which the Soviet Government fetters itself in its own web of lies, and I believe the facts cited should be of widespread interest. I ask unanimous consent to have this let-

ter printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
FAR EASTERN INSTITUTE,
Seattle, Wash., December 29, 1953.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Soviet reply to President Eisenhower's proposal for an atomic energy pool (N. Y. Times, December 22) makes a damaging admission in its clumsy attempt to propagandize. The statement, in speaking of the usefulness of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, says that "the fact that in the Second World War not a single government decided to use chemical and bacteriological weapons shows that the aforementioned agreement * * * was of positive importance."

Now the fact is that the Russians long have claimed that the Japanese did use bacteriological warfare extensively. Their charges were the basis of the trial and sentencing of 12 high-ranking Japanese officers at Khabarovsk, December 25–30, 1949. The record of this trial was published in English in Moscow in a volume of 535 pages entitled "Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons," in 1950. The Russians discovered that the Japanese began work on germ warfare after seizing Manchuria in 1931, that the General Staff and War Ministry, acting upon "secret instructions from Emperor Hirohito" formed, in 1935 and 1936, two top-secret units "for preparing and conducting bacteriological warfare," that the germs developed were used in China, and on Russian and Chinese prisoners, and that the Japanese were prevented from using them in the closing stages of the war only by the swift advance of the Russian armies. The confessions of the Japanese officers have a familiar ring today. They told of planes equipped with special receptacles for carrying and dropping plague-infested fleas which were supposed to have caused epidemics in the Nimpo area. The court, in its verdict, said in summary: "The Japanese imperialists employed bacteriological weapons in the war against China and in sabotage raids against the U. S. S. R." All of the accused were found guilty, and all but two received sentences of more than 10 years.

Immediately following these trials, the Soviets demanded the trial of Emperor Hirohito as personally responsible for germ warfare in a 22-page note presented to Secretary of State Acheson February 2, 1950.

And now they take it all back. Ambassador Zarubin's letter to you (N. Y. Times, December 26) shows that he has checked your translation of the Soviet statement without finding errors in the section pertaining to germ warfare. The Soviet thus admit that their germ warfare charges against the Japanese were a deliberate fraud. In this, as in other things, their Chinese allies have proven apt pupils.

MARIUS B. JANSEN,
Assistant Professor, Japanese History.

Archbishop Urges Italian Emigration to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following text of an address delivered by Archbishop Richard J. Cushing at the annual dinner of the American Committee on Italian Migration in New York City on December 3, 1953. The article appeared in the Boston Pilot, Boston, Mass., of December 5, 1953:

ARCHBISHOP CITES OBLIGATIONS TO AID OLD WORLD NATIONS BY EMIGRATION

For more and more of us in each generation, America is now not only our land of chosen preference but also our motherland. A generation ago a European country was the motherland of millions of Americans. At that time is was universally acknowledged to be quite proper that men should remain loyal to their natural motherland despite their obligations to their adopted motherland.

Nowadays we sometimes hear it said that those born in this country should forget what might be called their grandmother country. Such a suggestion runs counter to decent human instincts. Filial piety binds us to our own parents, but it also binds us to our grandparents, particularly when they need our affection and our support. Such is the law of Christianity. Such is also the voice of enlightened conscience. Such is the instinct of decent humanity.

And so in this matter of filial piety and humane interest toward the land of our ancestors, there should not be so sharp a distinction among first, second, or third generation Italians or others when it is a question of generosity. Loyalty to America and generosity in her loving service are not inconsistent with a filial piety toward one's ancestral national family, particularly in repaying by kind deeds some of our debt to the land which gave us ancestors so worthy of our grateful piety.

OVERPOPULATION

We are not interested in becoming involved in Old World politics, but it is entirely proper and praiseworthy, I repeat, that we should seek to do something great and good for Italy in helping her solve the basic problem which plagues her progress toward the solution of most of her other problems.

This problem of overpopulation is one which should challenge the good will and generosity of anyone who has had the luck to be born. I shall never be able to understand how anyone who is himself blessed with the gift of existence, the chance to live, and the opportunity to grow, should wish to deny these to others. Certainly no Catholic Christian could subscribe to any solution of the problem of overpopulation which would deny to others rights and privileges for which he is himself grateful and which he zealously seeks to preserve for himself and his own.

The American Committee on Italian Migration is therefore doing a mighty Christian and humanitarian work when it strives to bring to all Americans an accurate knowledge of the overpopulation problem in Italy and of the need for emigration as a partial and moral solution to these problems.

The American Ambassador to Italy has stated accurately and well the problem of the Italian nation to which you are directing public attention when she said:

"Italians want what men and women everywhere want—a chance to earn a decent living for their families, and the opportunity to better the circumstances of their children. What troubles them most today is the backlog of overpopulation and consequently the existence of very large numbers of unemployed and underemployed people. Italy is a country relatively poor in natural resources, and so its present economy does not permit it to solve its major problem of overpopulation without some assistance from other nations."

AMERICAN WORK

At the same time Mrs. Luce indicated straightforwardly and with admirable frankness, as well as clarity, America's responsibility, as your committee understands it too. She said:

"Many people here hope to see America take a vigorous lead at a world level in the solution of this problem, not only taking in its fair share of people but even contributing its reasonable share to the financing and operation of a worldwide program in which all interested nations would cooperate for moving people to places where they can be economically productive. Overpopulation in Italy and other European countries is the greatest human problem that faces the West. Its solution would, I believe, be an incalculable blow to communism in Italy, and elsewhere."

From what Mrs. Luce has said and from any commonsense point of view, it is perfectly obvious that whatever is done to help Italy relieve her particular problem of overpopulation is done in the interest of all the Western World.

It is my opinion that too many of our people are unaware of how essential Italy is and must always remain to the interests of the Western World. When we speak of our civilization as having its roots in the Mediterranean world, most people appear to think that we are referring to ancient history, to our debt to ancient Rome and ancient Greece. They seem to think that we mean only how much we owe to the poetry of Virgil, to the conquests of Caesar, and to the cultural and political heritage of the Roman civilization.

Sometimes people extend their concept of Italy's place in the Western World to include the Italian heritage from the Middle Ages and, of course, the Italian Renaissance. Beyond that, they seem to think that Italy's significance to Western civilization is restricted to a score or more tenors and sopranos and several million day laborers who have helped on construction jobs in other nations, including ours.

All this is very far from being the truth of the matter. The cultural debt of the Western World to Italy is, of course, enormous. The contribution of the Italian worker to every corner of the Western World is not less impressive. The part Italian genius has played in the scientific as well as artistic and religious enrichment of our civilization is beyond calculation.

MORE PRACTICAL

But there are even more practical considerations of a contemporary kind behind the contention that whatever strengthens Italy here and now, strengthens Western civilization—and whatever dooms Italy contributes proportionately to the destruction of the Western World.

Those who doubt this should look not only at the history books and the art books, but at an ordinary map. The Mediterranean world is not merely a cultural concept; it is also a geographical fact. The Mediterranean is still the sea highway between the East and the West. It is still the basin where mingle whatever forces for good or evil travel either eastward or westward, and the shores of Italy are still, as in centuries past, washed with the worries of the West and the East. According as Italy is strong or weak, those worries are diminished or multiplied. According as Italy stands with the Western World or falls into the hands of the present masters of the East, faith and freedom, as we have traditionally understood them, are strengthened or become hostages in the hands of Italy's enemies and ours.

HUMAN FAMILY

In seeking to serve Italy as you are doing, you are therefore serving the entire Western World—and, for that matter, the human family generally, for there is no need of softpedalling the fact that the future of all mankind depends on how soon the West, despite

any and all its faults, will be able to join hands with the good people in their millions throughout the East who are languishing under despots who are hurting their own people quite as much as they are hating us.

In a most particular way, you are helping America by everything you do to bring to these shores the maximum number of Italian immigrants consistent with the national interest. Let me hasten to say that this phrase "consistent with the national interest" is not a weasel clause. It should be interpreted generously—and the burden of proof should be overwhelmingly on the backs of any who seek to restrict immigration from Italy rather than on those who seek to encourage the coming into our land of persons devoted to Christian and democratic ideals.

The interests of our own country, of America, are richly served by a generous policy with regard to Italian immigration. Without flattery let me say that typical proof of that fact is present in this very room. There is no need of a rhetorical trip across the country or back through the pages of history to establish what the sons and daughters of Italy mean to the United States. Typical evidence is right before me. Many of you here present are living monuments not only to what America has meant to Italy but of what Italy has given to America.

AMERICAN SAINT

Last year you paid tribute to Mother Cabrini. You called her "The Italian Immigrant of the Century." She was a nun, a woman devoted to the spiritual and the corporal works of mercy. And yet she was typical in many and important ways of the Italian immigrant generally. She brought to these shores in heroic degree values which have all been present in the countless thousands of others who share her national background.

I need not rehearse those values. They were effectively presented in your program a year ago. She exemplified, of course, the religious faith of the Italian people. Millions of other Italians have brought that same faith into thousands of American cities, towns, and villages. More than 150 institutions bear her name: orphanages, schools, and centers for moral and physical health. But most of these, I can easily guess, and tens of thousands of other like beneficent institutions were built by the toil and in no small measure financed by the generosity of countless of her anonymous compatriots.

The accomplishments of Mother Cabrini stand as a rebuke to any who attempt to raise barriers against the worthy immigrants. So do the accomplishments of millions of immigrants less well known, not only from her country but from all over the world.

America is an immigrant nation. It is unintelligible how a nation settled and made strong by immigration, as this Nation has been, could ever produce people unsympathetic to the plight of the immigrant or unwilling to extend a cordial welcome to those who are driven by sad necessity from the land of their ancestors to seek survival in this land of blessed opportunity.

Important reasons of an almost selfish kind may easily be added to humanitarian considerations as arguments for generous immigration policies, particularly in favor of Italians. Our Nation is faced with a very real agricultural problem. The balance between our industrial and metropolitan areas on the one hand and our farm areas on the other is precarious, to say no more; it is becoming more so and may yet take a turn completely disastrous to the national stability, economic as well as cultural.

WHERE?

Only last week a newspaper columnist, reporting on his airplane trip from the west coast to New York, stated something which has certainly occurred to anyone who has ever flown across the United States. He said that once his plane left the coastal area of California and except in the few cities like Denver, Chicago, and others which come immediately to mind, he found himself asking as he looked out of his plane: "Where is everybody?" He said that this question kept running through his mind as he gazed across the seemingly limitless expanse of American rural, farm, and cattle country territory.

The answer is, of courses, that not everybody, but altogether too many people for our own good, are in the big cities. As far as food production goes, the parasitic and dependent part of our population is enormously out of proportion to the part which produces food—and the disproportion becomes increasingly grave with each passing year as farm areas are deserted by young people from families which have become bored with a long history of farming.

New blood could not only be used, but is badly needed in the farming areas of the United States. Even as I say these things I am mindful of the hopes which Bishop Spalding of Peoria entertained back in 1884 when he argued that many States would provide admirable farming centers for the peasants of Lombardy and other sections of Italy. His vision found very little practical support at the time and altogether too few Italian immigrants found their way to the farming districts. This was all the worse for them and in some ways for America.

Nowadays a like idea could be implemented by the better organization we now have for rural life programs, immigration procedure, and the whole setup of Catholic and civic provisions for the care of immigrants.

Your own committee might well add to its objectives that of exploring the tremendous possibilities of correlating Italy's need for emigration and America's need for the strengthening of her agricultural potential in areas where that potential is declining and where her countryside already shows serious signs of abandonment, even before it has been adequately developed.

CULTURAL GIFTS

American national interests of a material kind would be served in other ways by a policy of maximum liberality in favor of Italian immigration. So would our national interests on what we might call the psychological and cultural level.

A brilliant author recently remarked that it would be a great loss to America if the spontaneity, sparkle, and gaiety of the Italian temperament should be undervalued, for it can contribute much to the America of the future. Italians have shown a remarkable capacity for ready assimilation into the political, economic, and religious pattern of American life, while retaining these attractive qualities of their ancestors. The assimilation of Italians has been more rapid than that of many other immigrants, partly because traditionally the Italian has had a tender patriotism rather than a fanatic nationalism in his attitude toward the Old Country. As a result, Italians who come to this country usually retain their cherished traditions of a religious, local, or family character, but lose no time in mastering the language and the other common traditions of the American community.

That is why I never see much point or fun in portrayals of the so-called stage-type Italian nowadays. It is not the primary purpose of your committee, I know, but I think it would help if people like yourselves discouraged radio, theater, movie, and cartoon attempts to represent Italians as semicomic characters of a half-amusing, half-pathetic type.

I meet many, many thousands of Italians, but only on the radio and in the comic papers do I encounter these eccentric stage-type Italians, and almost all of them are portrayed by people with no drop of Italian blood.

You may wonder why I bother to mention a point like this. The reason is very simple and very serious: Stereotypes and caricatures are obstacles to the progress of a cause like yours, the cause of educating America and the organized world community to the reasons why the Italian people are a substantial part of our civilization's best hope—and why America should open her doors with generous wisdom to those for whom you are working with such marvelous generosity and such magnificent devotion.

God bless your work. I have already said that with the patronage and leadership you have you don't seem to need the help of us lesser fry, but if I can serve I am yours to command.

Voice of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Bob Seaborn, of Fairbanks, Alaska, has recently won the local Fairbanks and Territorial Voice of Democracy essay contest sponsored by the Junior Chambers of Commerce in Alaska and has received a scholarship to the University of Alaska. Bob, son of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Seaborn, is an outstanding high-school student and basketball star. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am having reproduced here Bob's winning and inspiring essay:

The heritage of our Nation is something everyone ought to know. It is the story of how peoples from Europe wanted to be free to govern themselves, worship as they saw fit, and make a living as they pleased and how they fought a long and bloody war to establish complete liberty. It is the tale of how a free people spread themselves over the West, hewed homes out of the wilderness, and made the common man the equal of the richest aristocrat, thus showing that democracy could not only hold its own, but grow. It is the story of a free people, expanding from ocean to ocean, proving to a jealous Old World that it could endure a great Civil War and rid itself of slavery.

Our Nation's heritage is worth knowing because it is the story of a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the welfare of the common man, who went to the aid of freedom when it was threatened in other lands, fought for justice throughout the world and tried to lead other nations to peace.

The American story means something newer, larger, and better in every generation. It has always been a story with a quality of freshness, of energy, of idealism all its own. But above all it is a vast and inspiring tale of the American people.

First of all it is a rich and never-ending adventure story. From Captain John Smith tossing on the ocean for many weeks, to a jet pilot racing the sun acoss the United States is a few hours, it is the adventure of exploration, pioneering, the log cabins, the Indian battles, the river flatboats, the ranchers and the cowboys on the plains. Other adventures like the gold rush of "49" and the following of the building of the railroads lit up the tale.

Adventure is still all around us—and the greatest adventures still lie ahead.

Secondly, it is the conquest of material wealth. A vigorous people, full of ambition, were thrown into the richest of lands. They set about to create a standard of life such as

the world had never known before. At first they made slow progress, but by using their bare hands and then finally the largest and most efficient machines known they formed our Nation.

Third, it is the story of how peoples of many different origins slowly built a nation with one soul and one loyalty. They began on solid foundation materials: The common language, the old English tradition of justice and self-government, the love of freedom brought by the Dutch, Swedes, Chinese, Africans, and many others. All our people were immigrants. They came from all parts of the world in search of a freer, richer, better life and were ready to make sacrifices for those ideals. They gradually built a culture that was truly American, the richer because so many nations contributed to it. The culture of our Nation that was at first weak and imitative, in time became strong and origi . They learned to write novels, to sing songs, to paint pictures. In their art they poured the spirit of the people—eager, unconventional, hopeful, freedom loving. This American culture had a broad, democratic base.

Last, it is the story of how a desire for social justice led American statesmen by one step after another, to try to make sure that no one would be ill-fed or ill-housed, no one would go hungry, no one would lack a chance to work and use his talents. These social goals have never been fully attained anywhere. But beginning with Theodore Roosevelt, a long line of leaders have strived and are still striving to help the needy and protect the insecure.

We still have this heritage to live up to. It is our duty not to be lax and let our rights slip away from us for there is nothing more important than keeping this freedom that our ancestors fought and died for. Shakespeare summed it up aptly in these words:

"For we which now behold these present days,
"Have eyes to wonder yet lack tongues to praise."

Lindbergh's Greatest Discovery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Charles A. Lindbergh entitled "My Greatest Discovery." It is very pertinent at this time, it seems to me.

The article follows:

MY GREATEST DISCOVERY

(By Charles A. Lindbergh)

To me in youth, science was more important than either man or God. I worshiped science. I am awed by its knowledge. Its advances had surpassed man's wildest dreams. In its learning seemed to lie the key to all mysteries of life.

It took many years for me to discover that science, with all its brilliance, lights only a middle chapter of creation. I saw the science I worshiped, and the aircraft I loved, destroying the civilization I expected them to serve, and which I thought as permanent as earth itself.

Now I realize that to survive, one must look beyond the speed and power of aircraft—beyond the material strength of science. And, though God cannot be seen as tangibly as I had demanded as a child, His presence can be sensed in every sight and act and incident. Now I know that when man loses this sense, he misses the true quality of life—the beauty of earth, its seasons, and its skies; the brotherhood of men; the joy of wife and children. He loses the infinite strength without which no people can survive—the element which war cannot defeat or peace corrupt.

Now I understand that spiritual truth is more essential to a nation than the mortar in its cities' walls. For when the actions of a people are unguided by these truths, it is only a matter of time before the walls themselves collapse.

The most urgent mission of our time is to understand these truths, and to apply them to our way of modern life. We must draw strength from the almost forgotten virtues of simplicity, humility, contemplation, prayer. It requires a dedication beyond science, beyond self—but the rewards are great and it is our only hope.

J. Norman Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following interesting article concerning J. Norman Anderson, of Methuen, Mass., president of the Textile Shield Co., from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., of November 8, 1953:

LOCAL MAN WINS NATIONAL RECOGNITION

America's Textile Reporter, a weekly trade magazine established in 1887, sent one of its representatives to the offices of the Textile Shield Co. here to interview the firm's president, J. Norman Anderson, of 13 Quincy Street, Menthuen.

The magazine representative developed from this interview one of the most amazing self-made-man stories to appear about a local resident in a publication of national scope in this century.

It is a story about a man who has fashioned success from practically every major venture to which he has applied his amazing business and industrial acumen—success established in the face of the warnings of his friends and associates that he was crazy to try it.

Mr. Anderson, besides his accomplishments listed in the textile industry magazine, is a director of the Industrial Credit Corp., of Lawrence, a director of the Atlantic Associates, and a director of the Arlington Trust Co.

The Sunday Sun takes pleasure in reprinting in toto the article on him from America's Textile Reporter titled "Textile Shield President Exemplifies Individualism":

"In Lawrence, Mass., they'll tell you about a man who bluffed his way into part ownership of a building 36 years ago as the initial step along a hectic but eminently successful road paved with seemingly ill-advised business decisions. The man, a fabulous 72-year-old individualist, is J. Norman (Red) Anderson, president, guiding light, and treasurer of the Textile Shield Co., maker of 90 percent of all fittings for bobbins used in the United States and Canadian textile industries.

"But along the Merrimack they'll not tell you only of Red Anderson's triumphs in the manufacture of metal stampings, bobbin shields, handle ferrules, and other related products. Besides owning a plant with a two-shift capacity of a million pieces of stamped metal daily, the industrialist has purchased considerable real estate, being part owner of the Bay State Building and much of the Pacific Mills property in Lawrence. He also runs a popular restaurant, a Hudson automobile agency, and an electrical appliance outlet.

"It all began with a bluff. After some years as superintendent of the stamped metal department of United States Bobbin & Shuttle Co., Red Anderson moved out on his own, establishing a small operation in a dingy shed behind the Watts Regulator Building on Lowell Street in Lawrence. But soon his dye cutting operation needed more room and better quarters. So did Red's confidence and ambition.

"The break came in 1917 when word leaked out that the owner of the large Watts structure was discouraged, discontented, and willing to sell. His price was $60,000 but Red soon convinced him that $45,000 would be adequate recompense. The agreement was that three men would raise $15,000 apiece by October 1, just a few short months away.

"Mr. Anderson's compatriots were reasonably sure of raising the cash, but Red admits that he hadn't the faintest notion 'where all that dough was going to come from.' But the young businessman's nerve paid off and it was a much-surprised and red-faced group which, on the specified date, received a certified check for Mr. Anderson's end of the bargain, a loan from a Vermont bobbin manufacturer whose faith was to prove well-rewarded.

"After 3 years of slow expansion by Textile Shield in the Watts Building, Red Anderson bought and moved into the 1 Groton Street, South Lawrence, location where the company has resided ever since. The building, expanded several times, now includes 35,000 square feet of floor space divided into a machine shop with a million dollars worth of machinery, various supply rooms, shipping area, and general offices. About 70 employees now work 2 shifts on what Mr. Anderson terms, 'the most modern machinery in the United States.'

"The simultaneous rise of Textile Shield and J. Norman Anderson had really begun. He was getting used to hearing his business associates chorus: 'You're crazy, Red!' when he announced an outward plan or decision. But his business instinct was getting better and better, and the more his friends cried 'You're crazy,' the more he proved right in judgment.

"Just as daring was inherent in his makeup, so too was determination imbued in the body of J. Norman Anderson. For example, the Textile Shield called on one firm for 17 years without ever even getting to see the purchasing agent. Then, one opportune morning, he walked into an important conference of officials, including the firm's purchasing agent. In brazen action, Red informed all present that he could save the firm $40,000 per year by manufacuring a certain product for them. If not, he promised to make a year's supply of the article for nothing. Of course, he got the order (for more than a million pieces) and has held the client ever since.

"Red Anderson studied raw-material prices and when brass or copper reached a deflated price level or appeared ready for a cost jump, the manufacturer went into action. By 'action,' we mean not only stockpiling quantities of the fluctuating materials but literally astonishing clients who used the same metals by advising them to lay up large supplies at the then bargain price. Yes, you guessed it; more often than not he was greeted with, 'You're crazy, Red.'

"We doubt that anyone seriously disputes the wisdom of his business moves any longer. Less impetuous than in his younger days, the industrialist recounts with twinkling eye the events of his virtual single-handed spurt to prominence. Tall, heavy-set, and balding,

the athletic-appearing man looked younger than his age by several years when interviewed in his modest office by America's textile reporter.

"Born in Bristol, R. I., in 1881, the Textile Shield head attended Bristol schools, then went to Rhode Island School of Design and Lowell Textile Institute nights. He has been around Lawrence since 1904, when he joined U. S. Bobbin.

"He has seen the Merrimack Valley town go through many ups and downs in the first half of this century. The latest, the demise of the textile industry, has been called the 'death blow' to the city by many spokesmen. But, here again, Mr. Anderson differs with the majority view; in fact, freely predicts that 'Lawrence will come back in about 5 years.' He attributes this to the new diversification of industry which will create less and less stronger unionism, an obstacle which textile mills could not overcome.

"Indirectly contributing to the revitalizing of Lawrence as a busy industrial area, a group of associates and Mr. Anderson, known as Atlantic Enterprises, Inc., have purchased from 500,000 to 600,000 square feet of floor space in the unused upper Pacific Mills. All this space with the exception of the old Atlantic Mills has now been rented and new roads are being built by the organization from the Central Merrimack Bridge to Broadway. In addition, a parking area for 1,500 cars is being provided. 'By fall, all of our property will be going full blast,' Mr. Anderson predicts.

"As well as being highly respected in the textile industry and by civic authorities, Mr. Anderson is well known for his machine-design talent. In fact, he has designed or helped design all the machinery presently used for manufacturing ferrules for bobbins."

Democrats Credited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, under under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star:

DEMOCRATS CREDITED—REPUBLICAN DISUNITY PREVENTS REAL MAJORITY LEADERSHIP, CRITIC SAYS

(Constantine Brown is on vacation. His guest columnist for today is Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, Democratic whip of the House.)

(By Representative JOHN W. MCCORMACK)

The Democratic Party, while in the minority in Congress, is, nevertheless, the party of responsibility. Instead of adopting the course of blind opposition followed by the Republican Party during the previous 20 years, the Democratic Party has been a forward-looking, constructive force and influence.

As Gov. Adlai Stevenson said recently upon his return from abroad, the record of the Democratic Party in the past session of Congress "has been the opposition at its best."

While the record of the past session of this Congress is meaningless so far as Republicans carrying out their campaign promises are concerned, it does show a divided Republican Party unable to function as a majority party. It was only due to Democratic support the few good achievements were accomplished, such as preventing sharp reductions in foreign aid; extension of the reciprocal trade-agreements law; defeat of the Simpson high-tariff bill; passage of the refugee bill; extension of excess-profits tax strongly recommended by President Eisenhower; wheat for Pakistan; extension of reorganization law providing for a congressional veto by a constitutional majority instead of a simple majority as agreed to by President Eisenhower with his congressional leaders. It is amusing to note the emphasis placed by Republicans on the passage of appropriation bills. Any Congress has to pass such bills.

In view of the statement by Malenkov that the Soviet Union has the hydrogen bomb the fight made by the Democrats for a stronger Air Force is now more than justified.

This leads to speculation as to the 1954 congressional elections.

The chances look good for a substantial Democratic majority in the House and for a Democratic Senate.

The following are some of the reasons:

While President Eisenhower was elected in 1952 the vote clearly showed the people did not want to depart from the policies of the Democratic Party. There were 221 Republican Members of the House elected, 213 Democrats, and 1 independent Member, the latter being a Democrat.

If the people had turned against the Democratic Party, with Eisenhower's plurality well over 6 million votes, instead of 213, the Democratic membership would be not much more than 160 Members. Furthermore, throughout the country the Democratic candidates polled more votes than Republicans did.

Without criticism of the present Republican administration developing and operating in the 1954 elections the Democrats will have excellent chances of carrying the House of Representatives. For political history shows in an off-Presidential year the minority party makes gains. It will only take a change of five seats for Democratic control. However, the justifiable criticism arising from Republican policies to date which will probably increase rather than decrease, in my opinion will result in a Democratic House of from 30 to 45 majority, and of a Democratic Senate.

It is apparent that the campaign promises of a balanced budget, of reduced taxes, and of stronger national defense will not be carried out even in fiscal year 1955. The reduction in appropriations for the armed services, particularly our Air Force, is a calculated risk taken by the present administration that all of us hope will not be harmful to our country. That question alone depends on the course Communist leaders in the Kremlin may take.

The increase in interest rates, which was unnecessary, and which will cost Federal, State, and local governments as well as individuals and private business, at least $2 billion more each year has already created justifiable criticism, which criticism will grow between now and the 1954 elections.

The change of policy in relation to conservation of natural resources and the development of public power will play an important part in the coming campaign in a large section of our country.

The condition of agriculture—of the rural vote—is an additional factor. There is no question but what criticism is growing and in all probability will continue to grow among the farmers.

The promise of higher prices for the farmer and lower prices for the consumer has failed.

Republicans talked a lot in recent years about "the 53-cent Democratic dollar." We now have "the 49-cent Republican dollar."

While our situation in the field of foreign affairs has deteriorated since January 20, I shall refrain from discussing it because we are all hoping for the best. However, I cannot see where the Democrats will suffer in 1954 in this field.

Looking forward to the elections of 1954, it appears now a good probability there will be a Democratic trend, with both branches of the Congress Democratic and with the House safely so.

Very Rev. Thomas Canon Duggan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following article from the Boston Pilot, Boston, Mass., of Saturday, December 26, 1953:

IRISH CANON PROPOSES SPIRITUAL POINT 4

(By Ellen L. Sullivan)

Red Buttons invaded the Pilot office today. But not in person. Rather, these red buttons are three in number, are fashioned of silk French knots, and decorate the precise spot on the black shirt front of an Irish cleric, where once rested a medal for valor, earned while serving as chaplain with the Irish troops.

The shirt front and the three red buttons ("There should be four—a nun's economy!") belong to a merry Irish Canon who appears to have mastered the astounding feat of allocating to his own ready reference both the twinkling eye of a maverick leprechaun and the ready wisdom of Irish Catholicism.

The merry Irish canon is more properly, Very Rev. Thomas Francis Canon Duggan, S. T. L., M. A., M. C., and numbers among his impressive posts, those of canon theologian of the diocese of Cork; president of the Cork Diocesan College, Farranferris, officialis of the diocesan court of Cork; member of the board of governors of Cork University; president of the Maynooth Union of the Clergy (of which title he is the most proud); and former professor of mathematics as Farranferris. He is now in Boston as the special representative of his bishop, and in this last instance, he is a man with a mission.

If the roll of his present activities is impressive, the record of the events of his life reads like the adventures of a modern Ulysses.

His name stands among those of the Irish patriots who liberated their country from Britain, when he served as chaplain with the Irish Republican Army and the legendary Tom Barry in the uprisings in west Cork. He was the youngest chaplain with the British forces in the First World War, ministering to Irish troops, and the oldest in the Second World War. He was the last chaplain to leave Dunkirk, and the first to be decorated in the last war.

After ordination in 1915 the canon took a postgraduate degree in sacred theology at Farranferris. In 1917 he was drafted by Cardinal Logue, of Armagh, into the International Red Cross to serve as chaplain to the Irish troops of the 16th infantry division of the British Army. Hundreds of Irishmen enlisted in the British Army during the war, believing the promise of the British that Ireland would be given her freedom if they would do so.

From 1919 to 1922, the canon joined forces as chaplain with the Irish Republican Army, when his name became linked with Tom Barry. During the days of the hunger strikes of September and October 1920 he was assistant chaplain at Cork Prison. The account of these days of bitter fighting in the cause of Irish freedom are told in Barry's book, Guerrilla Days in Ireland, published by the Irish Press, Dublin.

Canon Duggan was personally responsible for the peace negotiations of 1923 which ended the civil war in Ireland, after the campaign of the Irish Republican Army.

From 1923 to 1939, the canon took a rest, if being professor of mathematics to seminarians at Farranferris College can be called a rest.

In 1939 he was off again to write another chapter in the already adventuresome saga of his life. He found himself a recall in the draft, this time as a major and senior chaplain in the British Army's Durham light infantry, again serving as chaplain to Irishmen who had enlisted with the British forces.

June 2, 1940, is a memorable day for the world, the last day of the evacuation of Dunkerque. For Canon Duggan it meant the end of weeks in bloody combat outside of Paris. He was the last chaplain to leave Dunkerque and received the British Military Cross for valor in that campaign. As such, he was the first and oldest chaplain to be decorated by the British Government during the Second World War.

The canon found himself with the 8th and 9th Composite United States Air Force in Northern Ireland from 1940 to 1945, where he served as senior chaplain to the American troops.

At the end of the war, he returned to Cork, where he was elevated to the rank of canon and made president of Farranferris.

ADVISER TO BISHOP

As a canon, he is adviser to his bishop, Most Rev. Cornelius Lucey, one of the most progressive members of the Irish clergy, founder and former editor of Christus Rex, the voice of modern Irish clerical thought on social and economic problems, which is published at Maynooth Seminary.

During Archbishop Cushing's pilgrimage to Ireland last summer, Bishop Lucey was host to His Excellency while he was in Cork. In return, Archbishop Cushing invited the prelate to preside next year at the annual St. Patrick's Day pontifical mass in Holy Cross Cathedral.

Canon Duggan himself is truly the Irish gentleman: that marvelous combination of artless Celtic wit and Old World scholarship; of effortless charm and moving spirituality—a man whose learning is never flaunted, who is never the poseur, and for whom the attainment of genuine scholarship is a natural and pleasing accomplishment.

He is at once the melding of the ever old and the ever new, a unique blending of the medieval and the modern. No sooner is his listener impressed by a searching gesture with the hand when he is mentally tracking down the precise word, by the slouch of the shoulders, which is the visible mark of hours spent with books, by a venerable nod of the head when he recognizes a morsel of human wisdom—characteristics would make him a suitable and respected member of the faculty of any medieval university—than he immediately startles his audience with the characteristics of that maverick leprechaun, or with a sudden reversal from a Latin reference to the use of the most modern phrase from the passing parade of American jargon. The perfect ambassador of the best that is Ireland.

This is the canon's return engagement as an ambassador from the Emerald Isle. Last year he delivered the St. Patrick's Day address at Notre Dame University, where he spoke on Ireland and her destiny.

On this trip he is also concerned with Ireland and her destiny. Particularly with the spiritual destiny of the Catholics of Cork.

PURPOSE IN COMING TO BOSTON

His purpose in coming to Boston (where he is making his headquarters at 41 Pierce Street, Arlington) is to acquaint all Boston Catholics, particularly those of Irish descent, with the No. 1 project in his diocese.

Bishop Lucey is now faced, in Cork, with the tremendous problem common to Bishops of most rapidly-decentralized cities: that of providing churches in the suburbs for 60,000 people who have moved from the now-industrialized city areas.

Boston has its Dorchester and its South Boston, its Newton and its Belmont. It is an easy matter for the thousands who live in these cities and towns to catch the 8:15 in the morning, or to walk to the MTA. As easy as it is for them to walk to church on Sunday morning. But how easy was it 50 years ago—when these were not suburbs, but were comparatively inaccessible and sparsely populated outlying adjuncts to the city?

The migration to Boston suburbs has been accompanied by the advent of the family car, by the provision of excellent transportation, and by the erection of scores of Catholic churches.

Following the same pattern as the Boston of half a century ago, Cork also has its newly populated suburbs. Roughly, the new areas have ringed themselves around the city in a giant circle.

But here the comparison with Boston ends. In Cork, as is true of most of Ireland, there has been no advent of the family car, there is no excellent transportation to the city.

Most important of all, the diocese of Cork is unable to build enough suburban churches to accommodate the migration to these new areas. Sixty thousand people must travel 5 miles or more, most of them on foot, to attend mass on Sunday. Attendance at daily mass is almost an impossibility, unless one is a commuter. The tradition of the Irish priest as the advisor and confidant of his flock is in danger of dying in Cork, where he is being relegated to the role of pastor or curate of a large city parish church.

In order to keep alive this unique spirituality of the Irish among the people of his diocese, and to retain the traditionally close bond between the Irish priest and his flock, Bishop Lucey realized long ago the need of erecting nine churches in the suburbs.

Two new churches have already been built. One has been enlarged, and one church has been purchased from a Protestant congregation. Five more churches remain to be built, at an estimated cost of $300,000 each. An estimated total of one and a half million dollars.

To raise such an amount in Ireland is a Herculean task. While churches in Boston suburbs were erected at tremendous personal sacrifices one and two generations ago, Catholics at least were able to dig down, and still have something left. But after 700 years of British oppression, and only 30 years as a self-liberated nation, Ireland is just struggling to her feet financially. In plain terms, there just isn't the money in circulation which there was in Boston, even at that time.

For those of us who proudly bear Irish names, it has occurred to the writer that we give gladly to the foreign missions, to the Red Cross, to the Community Fund, and to a thousand and one other worthy causes in our native land, the adopted country of our ancestors. But do we not owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to Ireland? It was these same forebears of ours who built, often at enormous personal sacrifice, many of the churches in Boston in which we still worship God today. In so doing they were motivated by a tremendously personal and ardent faith which had its origin in Ireland. More than this, while the United States was still a mission country, Ireland provided half of our clergy, and raised thousands of dollars for the church in America, by special plans made throughout Ireland.

Now we are given the opportunity to prove the biblical axiom of casting one's bread upon the waters.

Perhaps it is our 20th century heritage to justify the faith in America which our Irish immigrant ancestors displayed so nobly, and to erect in the land of saints and scholars lasting memorials to their sacrifices for us: To write for generations to come a lasting chapter of gratitude in the account of Irish Catholicism—the proof that it is ever reborn, ever vital, and ever conscious of its enormous dignity.

Community Ambassadors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, two cities of my district, Greenwood and Greenville, Miss., are participating in a program of exchanging community ambassadors each year with a town or community in Europe. During 1 year of the program some outstanding young person from Greenwood or Greenville is sent to visit the European community, living in the homes of private citizens and participating in the everyday life of the community. In alternate years, a young European is brought to Greenwood and Greenville. In each case, the cost of the program is borne by voluntary contributions of citizens in the two towns of my district.

The 1953 community ambassador to Greenwood was Edwin Barnes, of Plymouth, England. As an example of fine results of the community-ambassador program, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as an appendix to my remarks, four newspaper articles from Plymouth newspapers.

The articles follow:

BACK FROM AMERICA—IMPRESSIONS OF YOUNG AMBASSADOR

One of the problems about Britain which bothers young America, according to 18-year-old Edwin Barnes, of St. Budeaux, who recently visited Mississippi as an ambassador selected by Plymouth Rotary Club, concerns summertime.

He reported to Rotarians in his talk that he had often been asked "If it doesn't get dark until after 10 o'clock whatever do you do with dates?"

"They thought we could have no possible fun at all. It was a major problem for them."

Mr. Barnes, who addressed civic clubs in Mississippi, was often asked questions about the Prime Minister, who was frequently referred to as "Sir Churchill." He said, "They could not understand how there could be people in England who did not like him and still less that there could be people who were aggressive toward him."

Lady Astor, who although from the South, confessed she had never been in Mississippi, congratulated Mr. Barnes on his "clever résumé of the South."

EDWIN, 18, REVISES HIS IDEAS OF UNITED STATES—NO BANNER, BUT VISITOR FROM PLYMOUTH GOT GRAND WELCOME

Edwin Barnes, 18-year-old Plymothian, used to have a bundle of prejudices against Americans. Then he was chosen as a good-will guest to an American community and

decided he would have to forget them. It did not take long—they won him over from the word "welcome."

Edwin, who went with his Plymouth College blazer and some shorts, came home to 21 Marett Road, St. Budeaux, this week with a pair of blue jeans and a lot of nice things to say about the Americans.

His American summer came about this way.

Down south in Mississippi there is a prosperous cotton town (population 25,000) called Greenwood, which 4 years ago launched the Greenwood community ambassador project.

Local clubs financed a yearly visit by an American to Europe or the reverse. Last year a Greenwood girl came to Plymouth. This year the Plymouth Rotary Club was asked to choose a young Plymouthian to go to Greenwood.

They chose Edwin.

By liner to Quebec and then by air, he reached Memphis late on July 18. A reception party then drove him through the night to Greenwood. All the way they pounded him with questions, and that's how it was for the rest of his 9 weeks' stay.

THE HECTIC ROUND

Being an ambassador is no easy job. Edwin had a hectic time. He was loaded with hospitality, including a generous allowance. He moved every few days from one family to another, with weekends in the country. He spoke at 12 clubs and luncheons, kept his end up at a long round of parties, and all the time answered those questions.

Most were about the royal family. Americans found it hard to understand our attitude to royalty, he said last night. Then came politics, cars, and almost everything else, even, "What do you do on a date when it does not get dark in England until 10 p. m?"

Young Americans wanted the lowdown on the whole technique of British dating.

But as much as anything his hosts wanted to know how Americans themselves were regarded. They knew there was a lot of dislike. They wanted to know why, to understand.

Edwin said frankly he used to be prejudiced against the Americans. He thought they were rather bouncy types.

But he found them quite self-effacing. Abroad, in the minority, amidst prejudice, they try aggressively to defend themselves, he explained.

The qualities that won him were their rough and ready but genuine frankness and their informality. Then he said: "They are very worried whether they are making a good impression, and they will let you know they are." He liked that, too.

The informality helped ease the strain of being on his best behavior all the time. It also helped with dress problems. He took his Plymouth College blazer for formal wear. But the heat stripped most formal occasions down to shirtsleeves.

HOW FOLKS STARED

Edwin also took some shorts. But they just are not worn, though he did sport them on a couple of boating trips, and how folk stared.

Now Edwin is back, with a pair of jeans and is trying to forget the charming southern habit of addressing all women as "ma'am." and older men as "sir." He is also preparing for national service.

One day he hopes to go back to Greenwood, not for good, but for a couple of years as a teacher, his chosen career.

PLYMOUTH AMBASSADOR BACK

What do Americans most want to know about England and the English? First, when and who is Princess Margaret going to marry and, secondly, what's the score on socialized medicine?

These were the two questions which were continually flung at Plymouth's ambassador, 18-year-old Edwin Barnes, when he spoke to Americans during his recent stay in that country.

There was a third question. What was the tieup about Britain sending goods to Red China?

Obviously there were no cut-and-dried safe questions for Mr. Barnes.

Under a Greenwood (Miss.) Community Ambassador Project, the Plymouth Rotary Clubs selected Mr. Barnes to visit America. He left early in July and returned a few days ago.

He arrived at Greenwood via ship to Quebec, a plane to New York and Memphis, and then by car. His welcoming committee of eight had a long wait at the airport as the plane they were expecting did not operate on Saturdays and their visitor arrived by a later airplane.

NO MONEY WORRIES

Before his public engagements, addressing various clubs in the 25,000-peopled cotton township, he was allowed to settle in, living with families—once on a cotton plantation with a lady who visited Plymouth last year and once with a doctor.

"I was wondering about my personal expenses," Mr. Barnes told a Western Independent reporter, "but I need not have worried. They took care of everything."

With a local youth, he was given some money and they went to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, became spent up in New Orleans and returned to Greenwood by bus.

The next trip was a 30-hours ride in an air-conditioned bus to Washington. He stayed the first night at the YMCA but went to a friend's home the next day. The heat was terrific and a doctor ordered him to bed for 3 days when he diagnosed heat prostration.

VERY FRIENDLY

"I was prejudiced against Americans before this trip," he said. "Here they seem to talk loudly about their country. But I expect I was shooting off my mouth about England when I was over there. I had a grand time, everyone was very friendly and wanted to know about England."

His official speeches he kept short, giving the people ample opportunity to ask questions.

His hosts were fascinated by his accent and one girl, reputed to have the most southern drawl in the town, wanted to hear him talk all the time.

"I have a completely different conception of America and Americans now," said Mr. Barnes. "They want to learn about us and don't mind criticism of themselves."

On one occasion he was driving in a car in Mississippi where the maximum speed limit was 60 miles per hour. His driver apologized for going so slowly, as the previous week she had been "picked up" by the police for doing 70 miles per hour. At that moment the car was travelling at 90 miles per hour.

Mr. Barnes had a longer trip than he had anticipated. His ship was delayed at New York, giving him more time in that city. Because of the delay the ship did not call at Southampton on the homeward passage but went on to Bremerhaven, and he spent a night there before returning to Southampton.

ROTARY AMBASSADOR TALKS ABOUT UNITED STATES

Nancy Lady Astor congratulated an 18-year-old Plymouth College student, Edwin Barnes, yesterday on the accuracy of his impression of life in the Southern States of America.

Mr. Barnes was chosen by the Plymouth Rotary Club from a number of Plymouth students to spend 3 months in the United States at the invitation of the civic clubs of Greenwood, Miss.

At the Rotary luncheon yesterday, a month after his return, he said that his first impression of the people he had met over there was of their exceptional humility. Americans could not understand, after pouring money into Europe, the Communist demonstrations saying, "Send the Yanks home."

The chairman was Mr. Fernley Wallis. One of the guests at the luncheon was Mr. Barnes' headmaster, Mr. F. W. Lockwood.

The Federal Gasoline Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by me at the annual meeting of the American Road Builders' Association, Atlantic City, N. J., Tuesday, January 5, 1954:

In the subject assigned to me, "Your observations regarding the proposal of the Governor's conference to repeal the Federal excise tax on gasoline and curtail the Federal aid highway program," your officers have correctly titled the Federal gasoline tax as "Federal Excise Tax."

In approaching the all-important question of financing our highway program, certain basic factors must always be kept in mind. Highway construction is, first and foremost, a public works undertaking, and as such, the only possible source of revenue to finance that undertaking is from taxes. Such taxes may take one of several forms, but they remain taxes, nonetheless.

Taxes for public improvements in America have generally taken on several recognized trends. A general tax on property, real or personal; a special benefit tax, either on an area or front foot basis; a selective tax, or sales tax, such as a tax on gasoline; or a revenue factor tax, where the benefits derived from the public uses are paid for on a unit basis, such as the number of gallons of water consumed, or the number of kilowatts of electricity burned. In recent years, the toll road, or so-called pay-as-you-use road, which has come into prominence can, in general terms, be catalogued in the latter category. Nonetheless, in the end, revenues derived from any of these sources, whether on a general or a selective basis, are fundamentally taxes, and the only basic difference is whether they are applied on the theory that the public generally is benefited, or whether the selective user should pay the special tax.

During the past quarter of a century, the philosophy has been developed and applied in all the 48 States that the highway user should be the one who pays for the highways, and this has generally been applied in the form of a gasoline tax and a license fee for a particular type of vehicle. Only a relatively small percentage of money now applied to highways comes from any type of general taxation. This is quite contrary to the philosophy applied in the field of public education where taxes are levied special sales tax dedicated to school purposes. The spinster and the bachelor pay these taxes just the same as a person with a large family. The public in general, however, has not been willing to apply the same philosophy with regard to financing our

highways, even though the public in general benefits from these highways whether or not they own or operate a motor vehicle.

It is debatable, under existing conditions, whether we can ever expect to meet our highway needs from highway-user revenues alone and on a pay-as-you-go basis. The ability of the motor vehicle manufacturer to produce far outstrips the ability of the highway official to finance and provide the facility over which the vehicle is to be operated.

It is estimated that in 1953 the States will receive, in so-called highway-user revenue funds, an amount approaching three billion dollars. Something in the neighborhood of 10 to 15 percent of highway-user revenue collected by the States, however, will be diverted to purposes other than providing and maintaining the highway system. Twenty-four States now have Constitutional amendments against such diversion. My personal feelings are opposed to diversion of highway-user revenues since I do not believe that with all of the money presently available and guaranteed for road purposes, we would even then have sufficient money to meet our highway needs. Some States, in the light of their own good judgment, very positively state that they cannot increase existing gasoline taxes, and yet we find the range of gasoline taxes varying from three cents a gallon in Missouri and New Jersey, for example, to seven cents a gallon presently applied in such States as Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee. The average gasoline tax throughout the country is slightly over 5 cents a gallon, and yet we have a large number of States, who presently levy less than the average. Therefore, we must assume that the reason some States levy a gasoline tax well under the national average stems not from the fact that the average motorist is unwilling to pay higher taxes (because he does pay them elsewhere), but from other factors than the willingness of the average motorist to pay a higher tax. In other words, the decision seems to be made, in many instances, for political reasons, to use an over-all term, rather than economic reasons. Insofar as I know, there have been no instances recorded where an increase in the States gasoline tax has resulted in a decrease in gasoline sales, and I personally must assume that we have not, as yet, in any State, reached a point of diminishing return insofar as the gasoline tax is concerned.

There is strong agitation, at the present time, for the Federal Government to retire from the field of gasoline tax and relinquish that field to the States that originate it. I believe that agitation originated from the fact that less than 50 percent of the Federal gasoline tax is being used for highway purposes, to say nothing about the other excise taxes paid by the traveling public. In other words, the motorist wants more of the Federal gasoline tax money spent on the highways of these United States and I am with him 100 percent in that desire. Let's stop sending our excise-tax money to foreign countries and use it to build roads, and for other worthy purposes here at home.

At the governors' conference a resolution was passed demanding that the Federal Government withdraw from the field of gasoline tax and relinquish that function to the respective States. I don't blame the governors—they would have nearly a billion dollars from Federal excise taxes on gasoline alone—to spend where they desired.

Do they want the Federal Government to withdraw from the other fields of taxation and turn those responsibilities and revenues over to the States? How about cigarette tax, liquor tax, amusement tax, and all others? Would the governors then give the needed attention to the various welfare groups, aid for the aged, hospitals, yes, even the veterans? I ask you in all sincerity, what kind of a Government would we have? We certainly would have a checkerboard system of taxation and many programs now dependent upon Federal aid surely would be without funds in the various States. Let us not forget that we are a part of these United States and united we stand and divided we fall.

Are the Governors attempting to grab more money for political power? Do they realize that by repealing the 2-cent Federal gas tax we automatically do away with the Federal Bureau of Public Roads? We no longer will have an agency to coordinate the road program of the various States. Each State highway director and Governor could then build the type of road and determine the location of said road to suit his own personal and political desires. Our Federal research road program would be scuttled. What would happen to the smaller populated States and those States of the Far West that have lots of road mileage but very few motor vehicles? How would they build their roads if the wealthier States did not, through the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, help them? What would happen to the interstate system of highways, which is becoming more and more an important part of our national defense? Do you think that the Governors and the highway directors of the adjoining States across our Nation, East and West, North and South, could agree on road locations if it were not for the guiding hand of the Federal Government, through its agency, the Bureau of Public Roads?

If the Federal Government repeals the Federal gasoline tax, what assurance do we have that the States, or any State, will reenact it as a State tax? If they do not, our road program will be short nearly a billion dollars at a time when good roads, all types, are needed, not only for economy but for our military strength as well. May I call to your attention just five of the many things that have been accomplished through Federal aid:

1. Promotion of highway research and planning;
2. Promotion of uniformity of standards;
3. Stabilization of highway programs;
4. Promotion of uniformity of traffic laws and controls;
5. Spearheading of traffic safety. What would happen to these five subjects, to say nothing of many, many others, if the Federal Government should repeal the 2-cent Federal gas tax, and thus do away with the Federal Bureau of Public Roads? The Federal-aid program, as we know it today, is one of long-standing and one that, in spite of what shortcomings it may have today, has been the cornerstone on which the great highway and motor transportation industry of America has been built. It has given us a system of surface transportation unequaled, or even approached, anywhere else in the world. It is a cooperative program that has worked effectively; and our road program is not one that should be radically tampered with, cast aside or destroyed, without adequate proof that whatever could be substituted therefore would be better. Thus far, I have seen no evidence to convince me that this proven and effective process should be obliterated to be replaced by some short-lived procedure, whose attributes and sound qualities have been proven beyond the imagined or hoped-for stage. Let us not suddenly abandon the known for the unknown. Let us not be deluded by wishful, or even selfish thinking until something more concrete and understandable seems obtainable.

The Federal-aid program has assisted in the planning, construction, and financing of the world's greatest road network. This success has been achieved through a State-Federal partnership, which has preserved completely the sovereignty of each State, and at the same time has provided for Federal participation in meeting constitutional obligations and needs.

The matching principle, the apportionment of the funds according to a fixed formula, and the retention by the States of their rights to initiate work and to carry it out under the private contract system, are essential components of this program. In a nation as big and growing as rapidly as America, continuation of this long-range, large-scale highway program is essential to the well-being of our country and its citizenry.

The continuation of a realistic road program will depend on "you, the people." Congress will sincerely try to give to the people what they want. You, the people, will decide if the one-half cent Federal excise gasoline tax, which expires in a few months, will be renewed or allowed to die. You, the people, will decide whether or not the Federal Government will retire from the field of taxation and leave the various States to determine if they want good roads, hospitals, old-age assistance, and the various other worthwhile programs to continue.

The highway problem is not an easy one. It is not one that will be solved by Federal, State, county, or city government working alone. It must be solved by all of these agencies cooperating with such splendid civilian groups as the American Roadbuilders Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Automobile Association, the American Association of State Highway Officials, the farm groups, and many others, sincerely working together to provide an adequate highway transportation system at the least cost consistent with efficient operation and maintenance.

No matter where we turn in pursuit of this discussion the end result is that moneys, either State or Federal, that are applied to highway programs must come from taxes levied against the public; none of which are present, none of which pleases all the people. The problem we face in America is to the best of our ability derive needed funds from as nearly an equitable and reasonable tax as we are able to devise.

Thank you very much.

A 5 Percent Flat National Manufacturer's Excise Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, consistent with my public statements over the past months, I have introduced a bill to transform the Federal excise system from a hodge-podge of selective and discriminatory levies into a sound and fair tax instrument. My bill would apply a uniform rate of tax to all end products of manufacture and would repeal all existing excises except those levied on alcoholic beverages and tobacco. The excises to be repealed include all those levied for revenue purposes at the retail level, all levied on communication and transportation, all admission taxes, as well as all those now levied on manufactured products.

The exemptions from the uniform tax would be all foods, whether for human or animal consumption, seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, fungicides, defoliants, drugs, printed material used exclusively for and by the blind, and religious articles.

The exceptions to repeal of all existing excises, other than those on alcoholic

beverages and tobacco, are confined to imposts which are levied for regulatory instead of revenue purposes.

My intent is to maintain the existing level of excise revenues, not to increase them. Hence, I have set the rate of uniform tax at 5 percent on the basis of estimates that this would yield revenue equivalent to the $5½ billion now derived from the excises to be replaced.

Mr. Speaker, in introducing this bill for initial consideration of the House Ways and Means Committee, I do so with the conviction that it offers the only way to end the bitterness and resentment against the present excises. In their selectivity, these imposts are harmful and unfair to the companies and industries involved, to their employees, and to the communities and areas in which they are located. My interest in and long study of this situation has convinced me that adoption of a uniform replacement tax is the only way by which the existing revenue can be maintained and the irritation and controversy caused by selective excises can be ended.

I understand the Treasury has suggestions for moderating some of the most flagrant abuses of the present system, making up for the lost revenue by extending the list of taxable items. While this approach would be better than nothing for those industries which would receive some relief from present high rates, it would not eliminate the basic objection of being subject to arbitrary and selective taxation, and would create new sources of bitterness and opposition from the industries whose products would be subject to tax for the first time. We simply cannot cure the inequities of selective taxation by makeshifts of this kind.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the members of both major political parties to give my proposal their most objective and sympathetic consideration. In doing so, I am acutely aware of the misunderstandings and misinformation which have existed in regard to this proposal. I hope all concerned will recognize the truth of these points:

First. A uniform excise would not be a new tax—it would simply be the fair use of a tax method which goes back to the beginnings of the Republic. As a replacement tax, it would impose no additional tax burden on the public at large, nor upon any segment thereof.

Second. This tax would not shift tax burdens from the higher incomes to the lower incomes. Items now taxed at rates up to 20 percent are used universally throughout the economy without regard to income levels. The replacement of these rates by the low uniform rate of 5 percent, and elimination of excises on services, would fully offset the burden on the consumers of applying the tax across the board on manufactured end products. Lower income groups would have special advantage from the exemption of food and drug products. With these exemptions, careful studies have shown that there should be no shift in tax burdens at all.

Third. A uniform excise will not be hidden. As compared to existing excises, it would be more open and aboveboard. Actually, it would be impossible to hide the fact of a uniform tax from our well-informed citizens, whereas today even a tax expert cannot always be sure what is and what is not taxed under the present hodgepodge.

Fourth. The tax would not pyramid any more than present excise and other business taxes pyramid.

Fifth. Because of the uniformity and low rate of tax, the effect on industries—and their employees and communities in which located—whose products were being taxed for the first time would be minimized. In competing for the consumers' dollar, these industries would be at no greater disadvantage than all other industries.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to providing an equitable and defensible means of excise taxation, my bill would eliminate many of the administrative and compliance problems which characterize the present system and are inevitable under any selective system. In preparing this bill, I have sought and received the advice and counsel of leading tax experts from American industry, mostly men who are in intimate touch with day-to-day operation of the present system. Wherever possible, trouble points of the present system have been avoided, and provisions have been inserted which should assure the maximum amount of revenue to the Government at the least cost and inconvenience to the taxpayers. The burdens of tax collection and payment are always onerous, but I am certain that this bill as drafted will prove to be one of the most workable and least controversial pieces of major tax legislation ever enacted. However, despite the accumulated knowledge and judgment which has gone into the drafting of this bill, I have no illusions that it is perfect. I urge every affected industry, through individual companies or their trade groups, to give it the most careful study, and to submit suggestions for amendment on any aspect in regard to which they believe improvement can be made.

In a future statement I will outline the major provisions of the bill and explain in some detail how they would work.

My final plea for understanding at this time is directed to the various segments of industry and business, and to taxpayers at large. The bill offers a bold and new concept in Federal tax policy—fairness for all and discrimination against none. The issues involved transcend political, business, and group interest. I solicit the support of all good citizens.

Text of Truman Talk Decrying "Hysteria" in Fighting Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, on November 10, 1953, former President Truman delivered the following speech at the 73d annual dinner of the Alumni Association of City College of New York at the Commodore Hotel, New York City. In this speech, Mr. Truman goes to the heart of a problem of great importance to our present and to our future:

TEXT OF TRUMAN TALK DECRYING HYSTERIA IN FIGHTING COMMUNISM

I always enjoy coming to New York. As you know, a part of my family insists on living here. I am particularly glad on this occasion to be asked to attend this meeting of the alumni of City College.

City College is the oldest free municipal college in the United States. It helped to set the pattern for city colleges in many other parts of the country. Most of these colleges are supported by the taxpayers, and they are open to local students without reference to race, creed, color, or national origin.

These colleges are part of a great tradition. They are dedicated to the freedom of the mind—to the concept that human reason shall be absolutely free to inquire into any branch of knowledge, and absolutely responsible for its own decisions.

These colleges are part of our great experiment in free public education. They arise out of our belief that every member of our society should have the opportunity of obtaining an education, and developing his natural gifts to the full extent of his ability. Our tradition combines freedom of thought and equality of opportunity for all, and out of this tradition come the great strength and energy of American life.

The honor roll of the graduates of the City College of New York proves the truth of the proposition that freedom of thought is both the offspring of democracy and the servant of democracy. What freedom means to us is exemplified by the names of such graduates as Senator Robert Wagner in the field of government, Alfred Goldsmith in the field of science, and Morris Cohen and his distinguished son, Felix Cohen, in the realm of philosophy.

I hope that City College will always live up to the standards of men like these. I hope it will always stand as a citadel of freedom of thought and freedom of speech.

In our troubled world of today this will not be an easy thing to do.

COMMUNISM AS GREATEST THREAT

Our generation has witnessed the most violent and the most relentless attacks on freedom of the mind that have ever been launched in all history. A few years ago, the Nazis tried to destroy the intellectual and moral achievements of centuries under a wave of hate and prejudice. Today, the greatest foe of the free mind is communism.

Soviet totalitarianism binds the mind of man with the chains of the police state, forbidding it to think about certain things at all, demanding that it reach predetermined conclusions about others, punishing with new refinements of brutality any deviation. The struggle against communism is more than a conflict between economic systems, or ideals of government, important as these things are. It is a struggle for the freedom of men's souls.

Communism threatens us most of all through the military force and economic power of the Soviet state. As a political movement, communism has never gained much of a foothold in this country, and it is now thoroughly discredited and despised. All that keeps it alive are the resources and the persistence of the Soviet Government.

But as long as that government seeks to maintain a fifth column in this country, we should be constantly on the alert and vigilant, as citizens, to resist its efforts to infiltrate our society.

In making this fight, we should be sure that we do not fall into the trap of adopting the totalitarian tactics of the Communists themselves. I shall say more about that in a moment, but first let me repeat what I have said many times before. The

Communist threat to freedom is greatest in those countries where there are large Communist parties, or in countries overshadowed by the Communist armies, or in countries where poverty and injustice create fertile breeding grounds for revolution.

STRONG ALLIANCES URGED

The best way to resist communism is to have a strong national defense, to maintain strong alliances with other free nations, and to carry forward vigorous programs for raising the living standards of underdeveloped areas.

I am very skeptical of any anti-Communist crusaders who are willing to reduce our national defense, or weaken our alliances with other free nations, or sabotage point 4.

In fighting Communist infiltration at home, we are faced with some very fundamental and very difficult problems. The nature of the Communist conspiracy is such that in combating it we have had to scrutinize very closely the lives of many citizens. This is part of the struggle against espionage. But in resisting the enemy, we must not tear ourselves apart.

This is what the demagogs among us would have us do. They are playing on our fears to further partisan political ends. They are playing on our fears to such a degree as to create distrust of some of our greatest institutions—our institutions of education and of religion.

Our institutions of learning are against communism because they are dedicated to the truth. So long as we have free discussion and free inquiry in our colleges and universities, we need not fear that they will fall under the spell of communism. Truth is the product of the clash of minds and ideas which is constantly going on in our institutions of learning, and communism cannot understand the truth.

We have always followed the policy in this country that the Government, while it may support education, should never control it.

Neither the Congress nor the Federal Government nor the State governments should put limitations on freedom of thought in our institutions of learning. The standards of a university or a college are standards of intellectual integrity. They can be applied far better by the men responsible for the administration of our institutions of learning than by men in the State legislatures or the Congress, who have not devoted their lives to the special problems of education.

Remember what Jefferson said: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Our educational institutions, like all our human institutions, are subject to human frailties and human errors. There is no mortal way to assure their absolute perfection. But I submit our universities are the best judges of the integrity of their own teachers, and it is far safer to let them police themselves than to subject them to political censorship.

WARNS OF ATTACK ON RELIGION

The same thing is true of religion. This wave of hysteria over communism has now reached the point where several legislators are undertaking to investigate the beliefs and opinions of clergymen. This is even more dangerous than the attack on education.

I notice that these attacks have been leveled at some of the leaders of our great Protestant denominations and some of the leaders of our great Jewish congregations—even against those who are dead and unable to defend or explain their actions.

Now, we surely all know that our Protestant churches and our Jewish synagogues are among the strongest supporters of American principles and ideals. I do not believe there is any distinction between any of our great religious groups in this country with respect to their adherence to the principles of our form of government. I think it will be a sad day for religious tolerance in this country when anyone starts to draw lines between our great churches in this matter.

We have a very great principle in this country, and it is written into the Constitution that the Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

If Congress can make no laws prohibiting freedom of worship, it is certainly not entitled to investigate the beliefs of church groups or their leaders.

Of course, if a clergyman is engaged in espionage or has violated the law in any way, he is subject to the law like any other citizen. But matters of belief and opinion present a very different question.

Communism is the deadly foe of belief in God and of all organized religion. It is carefully written in the basic documents of communism that to be a Communist a man must be an atheist. Communism is militant atheism.

FAVORS DECISIONS BY CHURCHES

If a clergyman is an atheist, he is at odds with the vows he has taken, with the body of believers whom he serves and with the God he professes. If such clergymen exist, their betrayal of religion is a matter for churches to handle. Only the churches can decide whether a clergyman has been faithful to his vows of ordination or not.

This is certainly not something for the secular power, the power of the state, to decide. These are matters of conscience, and the Congress of the United States and its committees are not competent to judge them.

The leaders of our churches from time to time throughout our history have taken stands on social issues. They have done this in response to the dictates of conscience, wherever the moral law has appeared to them to be involved. Many of them condemned slavery when it existed in this country. Many have condemned sweatshops, child labor, and the forcible denial of collective bargaining. We have lived to see these condemnations become the law of the land. We have moved forward along the road of moral progress under the spur of our great moral leaders in the churches.

Of course, there are always differences of opinion in the churches themselves about how far church leaders should go in matters of this kind. Our churches have conservative wings and liberal wings. Some clergymen have been blind to social evils and others have been misled or deceived as a result of their zeal for social justice.

The Government and all its branches should stay out of church affairs.

Neither Congress nor the executive branch nor the courts should take it upon themselves to decide who should preach what in the pulpits. The churches and synagogs will take care of these matters themselves. I think they will come out with better answers than most of our human institutions.

WAVES OF HYSTERIA REVIEWED

These attacks which we are witnessing in our basic institutions, such as our departments of government, our institutions of higher learning, and our churches, have their parallel in waves of hysteria that have swept over the country in the past.

One of the first of these was the agitation that culminated in the alien and sedition laws. This occurred at the end of the 18th century when France, which had been our ally in our Revolution, seemed to have been transformed from a friend into a threatening enemy. At the same time, the majority of Americans here at home were rising up politically against the Federalist Party. Unscrupulous politicians tried to play on this fear of France in such a way as to injure the growing power of Jeffersonian democracy. As a result, the alien and sedition laws were passed. The sedition law provided penalties of fine and imprisonment for people who indulged in criticism of the Government of the United States. It was enforced exclusively against the editors and orators who supported Jefferson.

But this wave of hysteria was only temporary. The people were horrified by the use of the Federal power to suppress the free expression of opinion. They moved to the ballot boxes and pitched the Federalists out of office and the Federalist Party never recovered.

The next wave of hysteria to be politically manipulated was the anti-Masonic movement. This occurred between the years of 1826 and 1840 when the Jacksonian democracy reached its peak. Jackson himself and many of his friends were Masons. Masonry had spread widely among the small-business men and farmers of America in those days. Those who feared Jackson and what he represented picked the Masons as the object of their attack.

This wave of hysteria pictured the Masons as a secret conspiracy against the public good. It accused the Masons of all kinds of horrible crimes. Masonic lodges were broken up. Suspected Masons were boycotted and abused.

The anti-Masons even formed a political party. For that had been their main objective all along—to get votes. But after a time the people got tired of this nonsense and the anti-Masonic movement disappeared.

THE KNOW-NOTHING MOVEMENT

The next wave of intolerance came with the Know-Nothing movement. This was an anti-immigration agitation. It stirred up the most violent and dangerous of all emotions, that of religious prejudice. Catholic churches were destroyed and Catholic priests were tarred and feathered. Seldom has there been such an ugly manifestation in American politics. For it was political. It took shape as a political party and sought control of the National Government. This dangerous conspiracy died away in the face of the real issues of the day, which were slavery and secession. At the polls in 1856 the Know-Nothing party found itself deserted by the voters.

The spirit of Know-Nothingism came to life again after World War I. Fear of foreigners and fear of organized labor were manipulated and brought together in the radical scare of the twenties, and in the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. Here again fear was stirred up for political purposes. Educational institutions were attacked. The Catholic religion and the Jewish religion were slandered and vilified. As a result, in many States the Ku Klux Klan rose to considerable political importance.

I had to oppose the Klan in my own State of Missouri. I was told that I would be subjected to physical violence if I spoke against the Klan, but I spoke against it anyway, and nothing happened. It just takes a little intestinal fortitude to put these merchants of fear and hate in their place.

The Klan, like those other hate movements, was ultimately wiped out by the common sense of the American people.

FOR RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL

I hope, I sincerely hope, that our justified concern about communism in these days will not lead us further and further into a period of hysteria, as in the past. In all I did, when I was President, to combat communism, I always sought to preserve the rights of the individual. I always tried to hold in check those ugly passions of intolerance and hate which can be so easily manipulated by unscrupulous demagogues.

For this I was sometimes accused of being soft. This, of course, is ridiculous. I think the record will prove it. The great measures we took in foreign policy to check Communist aggression abroad, and the measures we took at home to enforce the laws against

espionage and sabotage and subversion, are evidence that I was moving relentlessly against all our enemies, both foreign and domestic.

But if our central Government does not distinguish between the real dangers of communism and the hysterical fear of it, if our national leaders do not stand firm against panics, and against the invasion of individual freedoms, then we are in for some bad times.

That brings me to my final point. In times such as these, when the national Government is yielding to hysteria rather than resisting it, our colleges and universities have a very special obligation to maintain freedom of thought and inquiry.

The precious freedoms for which your college stands—freedom of thought and freedom of the human spirit—are our greatest strength in the world struggle in which we are involved. We cannot win our goals by abandoning our values. I urge you to be alert and bold in preserving and protecting our democratic freedoms.

Was He Sold Down the River?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in view of President Eisenhower's statement in his state of the Union message that "all Federal conservation and resource development projects are being reappraised" it is pertinent to note an appraisal of his administration's policy for the first 10 months. I wish to call attention to an article by Lowell Mellett, which appeared in the Washington Star on December 1, 1953. Mr. Mellett says, "If there is any rivalry, it appears instead to be over who can give away the most." The President's statement raises the hope that the reappraisal of the conservation and resource program will be away from such a giveaway. Otherwise the reappraisal will only be for the purpose of finding other natural resources to give away. Mr. Mellett's article in full is:

WAS HE SOLD DOWN THE RIVER?—HAROLD ICKES SHOULD BE ALIVE TO SEE WHAT'S BEING SOLD DOWN RIVER TODAY UNDER REPUBLICAN REGIME

(By Lowell Mellett)

Among the bitter little bits that Harold L. Ickes confided to his Secret Diary, now being published, there is one that illustrates the difference in the approach of the Roosevelt administration and the Eisenhower administration to the problem of natural resources.

In a diary entry of May 22, 1936, the then Secretary of the Interior complained that he was being "sold down the river" by the President. This was because Roosevelt was withholding support for a bill to change the Interior Department to the Department of Conservation. Although the President had pretended to favor the bill, Ickes said, he was permitting Secretary of Agriculture Wallace and others to lobby against it. "I would like to be in a position to let off a little steam at the expense of the Department of Agriculture, and I would not be averse to telling how I have been doublecrossed at the White House," Ickes wrote.

This apparently was one of those not infrequent occasions when the President was caught between two strong-minded members of his Cabinet, each convinced that he and his department could best serve the country in the same field. In this instance, it was the conservation of the Nation's resources. Both, like the President himself, were ardent conservationists. Both were last-ditch fighters against encroachments on the public domain; both were out to reclaim any land that had been lost, either to Mother Nature or to private exploiters. And to make the President's situation completely uncomfortable, there was his creature the TVA, whose directors were filled with the same zeal and prepared to fight both Ickes and Wallace. Out of it all the President got a lot of conservation, but not much peace of mind.

President Eisenhower is having no trouble of this kind. If there is anybody in his immediate Government family filled with fervor on the subject of conservation the fact has not been made evident. If there is any rivalry, it appears instead to be over the question of who can give away the most.

Nobody stood up against the raid on the country's valuable offshore oil lands. Nobody is putting up any fight against the gift of the Snake River at Hells Canyon to a Maine corporation, masquerading as an Idaho local enterprise. The present Secretary of the Interior is actually aiding in this pillage. No Ickes, he. The Soil Conservation Service itself is being whittled apart by the present Secretary of Agriculture. Only TVA still stands firm, thanks perhaps to its independent status and a management inherited from the previous administration.

To add to the harmony among the President's helpers there can be expected presently a report by the Hoover Commission calculated to furnish a boost to the giveaway program. Mr. Hoover is opposed to public power projects. Recently he appointed a "task force" to plan the reorganization of the Government's public power program. To head this group he named Ben Moreel, chairman of the board of Jones & Laughlin Steel. Mr. Moreel believes the 16th amendment, authorizing our national income tax, is a "Communist plank"—or so he once wrote.

The task force is stacked with engineers, lawyers, and other experts with views not too dissimilar, nearly all dedicated to the proposition of "getting the Government out of the power business"; very few dedicated to keeping the Nation's resources for the people. Mr. Hoover even managed to find in TVA territory a man for his task force who says he cannot be described as a supporter of TVA.

Mr. Ickes thought he was being sold down the river. He should be alive to see what's being sold down the river today.

Ike, Byrd, National Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the leading editorial in the New York Daily News, Monday, January 11, opposing an increase in the debt limit and urging enactment of H. R. 2:

IKE, BYRD, NATIONAL DEBT

"If we get through this administration without a balanced budget, we will never have a balanced budget."

The man who said that is one who speaks with authority on all matters pertaining to United States Government debts, taxes, and budgets: Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia.

Senator BYRD made the remark last Wednesday, the day before President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message that he hoped Congress would lift the Government's legal debt limit above the present $275 billion.

The gentleman from Virginia had things to say on that subject, too. What they added up to was that Congress had blocked such a boost last Summer, and that none of the terrible results predicated had occurred. Simply, the Government managed to stay under the debt-limit roof because it had to.

Mr. BYRD intends to fight this latest effort to raise the limit, just as he fought the previous one. We hope he and his fellow economizers may win again.

We respect and admire General Eisenhower, you understand, even more than we did when he was inaugurated President almost a year ago. But just conceivably, Ike is in danger of falling victim to an occupational disease of the mind which overtakes some 99 out of 100 politicians when they get into public office.

This disease is a conviction—usually 100 percent sincere and honest—that they've got to have more public money to spend, or at any rate not a dime less than they are now getting.

There is no cure for the disease that we know of. The only thing that can be done is for the controllers of the purse strings (Congress in this case) to say "No," as often as necessary, and to mean what they say.

Therefore, we not only hope Congress will refuse to raise the debt limit, but we also hope it will speedily pass Representative FREDERIC R. COUDERT, Jr., Republican, of New York's, bill stating flatly that Government expenditures shall in no year exceed Government income, except in time of war or of national emergency proclaimed by a two-thirds congressional majority.

Force government agencies to live within their means, and they'll do it. Refrain from forcing them, and they won't.

In Memory of Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a beautiful and expressive poem composed in memory of our late dear friend, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, by Hon. Scott Lucas, former Member of the House of Representatives, and former Member and majority leader of the United States Senate:

IN MEMORY OF CHIEF JUSTICE FRED M. VINSON

It was years ago when I first met this sage;
My service in Congress was youthful in age,
But a friendly hand from this Kentucky great
Was a straw in the wind which measured my fate.

And, all through the years since that meeting of ours,
Our friendship grew stronger with the passing hours.
Anw, now, at a time when our freedom is low,
This stalwart so true is commanded to go.

It seems cruel and strange that a man so just,
Should leave us untimely when needed so much.
And, yet, who are we, who are children of chance,
To question the sting of the Almighty's lance?

For, in his life, God planted a seed,
That will grow green grass and never a weed.
And he leaves, as he goes to his home on the hill,
A void in our life that is so hard to fill.

And, now he's at rest in a new-found grave,
The coil is removed from this noble so brave;
From out of this slumber, so shrouded with clay,
Burn the lights of the just from his deeds of the day.

In this silent home of everlasting sleep
Lies the cross of faith Americans must keep.
In death, as in life, he cants from freedom's shore,
Oh! blessed Republic, bloom forevermore!

Action Needed To Save the Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, in his evening radio and television address to the American people last week President Eisenhower stated that "'help' is the keyword of the administration," and that "this administration believes that no American—no one group of Americans—can truly prosper unless all Americans prosper." In his state of the Union message on Thursday Mr. Eisenhower stated as one of the great purposes of government recognized by this administration "concern for the human problems of our citizens," and he placed emphasis upon the American economy as "one of the wonders of the world." The President expressed a determination upon the part of the present administration to "keep our economy strong and to keep it growing."

I am glad that this administration is taking the position that no American can truly prosper unless all Americans prosper, because the deduction naturally follows that America cannot truly prosper when one of its component parts is suffering such adverse economic disturbances as are presently being suffered by the people of West Virginia. This administration, in the light of the foregoing quotations from the President's speech, must surely take cognizance of the disturbing problems which confront the coal industry, and the administration must certainly assume the responsibility for finding a solution to those problems.

Upon leaving Beckley, the largest city of my county, on Monday of last week, I saw hundreds of men standing in line awaiting their turn to make application for unemployment compensation. The same sight is becoming a common one throughout the coal-mining areas of southern West Virginia. These lines of hungry, unemployed coal miners are reminiscent of an earlier day. Whether the situation may be termed a recession or a depression is beside the point. Hunger and privation are fully as terrible in the one case as in the other.

This past weekend, the West Virginia Department of Employment Security supplied me with a report depicting unemployment conditions currently existing in West Virginia. A study of this report reveals a very discouraging picture. At the end of December 1953, there were 31,930 applications for work on file at the 23 State employment security offices. This was an increase of 44 percent over the number on file at the end of December 1952. There were 8,837 applications for work on file in the three offices which serve the Sixth West Virgina District which I represent. This was an increase of 51 percent over the number on file at the end of December 1952.

During December 1953, there were 17,352 initial claims filed for unemployment compensation. This was an 80-percent increase over the number filed in December 1952. There were 4,674 initial claims filed in the sixth congressional district during the month of December 1953, and this was more than twice the 2,041 filed in December 1952—an increase of 129 percent. This substantial rise in the level of initial claims over a year is again indicative of the continuing rise in new unemployment in the State.

The 56,349 continued claims filed for unemployment compensation this past December was 54 percent more than were filed during December 1952. There were 12,949 continued claims filed in the sixth congressional district, and 82-percent increase over the number filed in December 1952. This increase in continued claims not only indicates the upturn in unemployment, but it is also indicative of the longer duration of unemployment.

Claims activities so far this January indicate a continuing rise in the already high level of unemployment in West Virginia.

Information received last week from the West Virginia Department of Mines indicates that 170 commercial mines have closed in West Virginia during the year of 1953 out of a total number of 800 mines which were operating at the beginning of that year. In addition to the 170 which have been shut down completely, 64 other mines reported no production in 1953. Overall employment in the coal-mining industry, I am further advised by this source, has receded from a total number of 125,669 miners employed in 1948 to 85,490 as of the 31st day of December 1953. In other words, 40,179—or 1 out of every 3—coal miners have lost their jobs over the past 5 years. In most cases, these discharged men are too old to gain employment elsewhere, and they lack the necessary training for employment in other industrial fields. What is going to become of these men and their families? The administration must supplement its kind words with positive action. Action, not words, is the order of the day, so far as unemployed men are concerned. What kind of action is necessary?

The answer to this question is obvious. Last year, 132,000,0000 barrels of residual oil were imported into this country from South America. This figure constitutes the most sizable importation of residual oil ever to be brought into the country in any 1 year, and it approximates three times the amount of residual oil which was imported in 1946—the figure that year being 45,000,000 barrels. Last year's importation of oil displaced about 32,000,000 tons of coal. This was a loss in coal tonnage large enough to account for much of the unemployment presently existing in the finest coal fields of our Nation. Such a loss is largely responsible for the difficulties which confront not only those people directly employed in the coal industry, but also those who are engaged in business and in the professions.

I maintain that the answer to the problem lies in legislative action by the Congress. I sincerely hope that the administration and the President will lend support to legislation limiting the importation of residual oil into the country. With the passage of such legislation, coal markets can be regained; those people who depend upon a healthy and thriving coal industry for a living can be given new hope in its future; and, stability and confidence will be restored in this vital segment of our economy.

Address by Hon. Katharine St. George, of New York, Before the New York City Chapter, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert an address delivered by the Honorable KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, Member of Congress, before the New York City Chapter, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in New York City, January 6, 1954, at the annual celebration of the marriage of Martha Dandridge Custis and George Washington:

Exactly 195 years ago on the 6th of January 1759, Martha Dandridge Custis and George Washington were married by candlelight in the White House in New Kent on the Pamunkey River. This was the home of the widow Custis, who at the age of 28 was looked upon as middle-aged and was beginning to put on weight. This last was con-

sidered most proper and becoming for one of her years.

Whenever we read the history of George Washington in either his private or his public life we are again struck by what a shining example his life and personality were, and are, down to the present day.

This is particularly true of his marriage. Marriage, like individuals and nations, has no history when it is happy. George and Martha Washington's marriage has little history and was happy.

This marriage was dignified and suitable. It was not wildly romantic, but for that reason probably, they lived happily ever after, which is never the case where passion and romance are the only cornerstones.

Martha Washington was typical of her time and country. She grew up in an age when women were not supposed to need or to have much book learning. It is quite evident from her spelling that, although she expressed herself with distinction, her knowledge of one of the basic R's was definitely faulty.

She was, however, well-trained in all household arts and knew how to run and order large establishments. We have an unfortunate habit today of making very light of the feminine accomplishments, but the world has lost a great deal in the fact that the modern woman has been forced to relegate the homemaking part of her life to a secondary place and to go out into the world of men and compete with them on their own ground.

Let no one despise or belittle the women of the past who really worked at housekeeping and homemaking and made them a fine art; they added a dignity and a quiet beauty to life that has disappeared from our modern world.

As we read our daily papers and see the antics of some of our rich and vapid women, who bring nothing but disrespect and disrepute to our country in the outside world, we may well be forgiven for looking back with a certain nostalgia to the charming lady who was our first, First Lady and who presided with such grace, ease and dignity over her husband's home at Mount Vernon and over his household in New York and Philadelphia when he was President.

No, Martha Washington was no glamor girl but when it comes to examples of American womanhood, I would rather have one curl off her head than all the glamor girls rolled into 1 and multiplied by 10.

This household must have faced certain problems. First, George and Martha had no children of their own and Martha was inclined to spoil and indulge her son Jacky Custis, the young heir to a very great fortune. This was quite contrary to the ideas of her husband who was insistent that the boy be taught self-discipline and thrift. These differences were all adjusted, however, and Martha Washington's main ambition was to be a helpmate to her husband during those very difficult days of the Revolution.

Our Revolution is so different from any other that we should study it more and ponder its lessons with care.

We are prone to forget that George Washington, who was after all the principal in this great drama, was a rich man; that he and his family had grown up and been nurtured in all the luxury that the time and country could provide.

George Washington was an officer of the British army and a servant of the English king. When he decided to cast his lot with those who preferred the path of liberty, he stood to lose all and from the worldly standpoint, to gain little or nothing.

No other revolutionist has ever been in such a category. Why did he do this? There is but one answer. Because he loved his country above all else in the world and because he was willing to sacrifice wealth, position, friendships of long standing, and even family, for her.

Can you think of a greater patriot in the whole long history of mankind? No, there is no other. He stands alone, again a unique and brilliant example to his countrymen.

Contrast this with the world of today, where it is considered reactionary to be a patriot. Where love of country is looked upon as a sign of lack of intellect, where we must reform the world but never reform ourselves. Where the predominating question is: What can the Government do for me, not what can I do for my Government and my country.

And now we turn to his wife and see how she, too, stands by her patriot husband, even though it is hard and perhaps a little incomprehensible that he should follow such a strange course. We find her writing to a relative who had apparently deplored George's folly in taking his stand with the rebels: "Yes; I forsee the consequences; domestic happiness suspended; social enjoyments abandoned; property of every kind put in jeopardy by war; neighbors and friends at variance, and eternal separations on earth possible. But what are all these evils when compared with the fate of which the port bill may be only a threat? My mind is made up; my heart is in the cause. George is right; he is always right."

Yes; she was there at his side, and surely it must have been heartening to him to know that her heart was in the cause. Noble words, nobly spoken, and nobly lived up to. Here were two people willing to forsake all for pure unselfish love of country. Truly no nation can boast of nobler beginnings.

Why have we strayed so far away from it all, and why do we teach so little of this noble history? A history that should be classed with the noblest epics of the past.

Here is where this organization is doing so much and can do still more. Because we bring before the people of the United States the glamor of their forefathers and their Revolution; not the shoddy glamor of cheap publicity but the glamor that lights up the ages and that will continue to light generations yet unborn.

And what finer work for us as women and as proud Daughters of that Revolution, than to hold high the torch and to pass it on, saying in the words of Martha Washington in her great hour of decision: "My mind is made up; my heart is in the cause." Yes; let us with mind and heart follow in her footsteps and play our part in saving America.

There is still grave danger. Not so much danger from without, but danger from within. Danger from a dark featureless terror that stalks silently and often anonymously. Not the communism of Red Russia, but the communism of the fellow traveler in our midst, who hides behind our Constitution, written for freemen of a nobler breed, and the fifth amendment. Those fellow travelers who have wormed their way into positions of trust in our Government. Yes; your Republic is in danger again, and it is a time for the Daughters of that Revolution to put their hearts in the cause. The cause of America.

I can only suggest to you one thing. It is a four-way test that you can apply to pieces of legislation and to your attitude toward your country as a whole. Ask yourself these four questions: "Is it honest? Is it fair to the whole country? Will it bring credit on us as a nation? Is it one step toward the ideals of the Revolution?"

I believe this little yardstick can serve well. So often we are carried away by small personal matters that seem at the time vastly important, but if we simplify our thinking by these four questions it may be easier to find the answer that we seek.

Martha Washington was not a great woman, nor was she an intellectual, but she was right-minded and when she saw the light she followed it wholeheartedly and completely. She had the good fortune of being the wife of one of the great men of history and it is to her credit that she realized it at the time and with complete singleness of purpose. It is true that at times the Father of our Country was tried by his womenfolk, just as other more ordinary mortals, as when he wrote to Tobias Lear concerning a journey from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon with his ladies, and Nelly Custis' dog, and wife Martha's parrot. "By one side, I am called upon to remember the parrot, and on the other, to remember the dog. For my part, I should not pine much if both were forgot."

But in spite of these very natural human episodes it can be said of Martha Washington that she met a great challenge and accepted it completely. It can be said of her in the words of Tennyson's Guinevere, who was not so fortunate: "We needs must love the highest, when we see it; not Lancelot nor another." She truly loved the highest and was satisfied to take second place to his first and greatest love, his country. For he could say in very truth, better than any other man in history: I do love my country's good with a respect more tender, more holy, more profound, than mine own life.

So, after contemplating this noble pair and studying their lives and their example, let us go out into this modern world, strengthened and heartened by their noble lives and saying to ourselves in the words of the scripture, "Go thou and do likewise."

New Year Day Address by Thomas Dixon, National Commander, United American Veterans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I am submitting an address by Thomas Dixon, national commander, United American Veterans, which I should like to have inserted in the RECORD. This speech bristles with Americanism and is most timely at a period in our history when the danger to our institution is from within and not from without:

Patriotic Americans, this is the day when we start making good on the resolutions that are to guide us on our trip through this New Year of 1954.

It is a happy tradition that at this time each year we individually resolve to improve our personal qualities. And, as a Nation, we resolve to improve our nationwide relations.

As national commander of the United American Veterans, it is my pleasure to speak to you today. I want to bring to your attention several worthy resolutions—some new, others continuing—that will mean much to every patriotic American. These resolutions, all based on their underlying principles of forthright Americanism—all carry the weight of complete indorsement of all posts of the United American Veterans.

First, we pray that the Master above will bestow the blessing of good health upon the President of the United States, and upon all those dearest to his heart. And likewise upon all governmental leaders, and upon all patriotic Americans.

There are several outstanding and worthy objectives facing our Nation this year. First, of course, is world peace. Next, is the financial welfare of 160,000,000 American citizens.

These two complex issues are the outstanding challenges to face the 2d session of the 83d Congress, which begins in a few days.

World peace: There are only two solutions to world peace. First, a peaceful solution, and should this fail, then the second solution is war.

Peaceful solution: The best way would be through diplomatic cooperation with all enlightened and free nations. This would require these free nations, in a concerted plan, to stop—absolutely stop—all trade and commerce with Russia and with all of the Kremlin dominated satellites.

This would put the pressure on the Russian dictators where it would be felt—where it would hurt most. This economic pressure would leave the dictators no out—but out. It would be a compelling demonstration to the hundreds of million human beings in that vast area back of the Iron Curtain, showing them how they have been enslaved dupes of the dictators. Open the way for these helpless people to realize that every man and woman deserves the rights of freedom, under a government of their own choice.

Skillfully handled, this ousting of the dictators, and the liberation of these millions of pathetically helpless human beings, could be achieved without the loss of a single soldier of the free nations.

But, if the dictators should circumvent this diplomatically arranged powerful economic pressure, then there is another way—a way certain and final. Bring into action every military force, so overpowering that it would wipe out all belligerent dictators. And thus release to freedom those millions of people now under dictator slavery and control.

Such an exploding force turned loose and aimed directly at the dictators, would wipe out of existence every last trace of that most stupid of fallacious philosophies—communism.

Force—overwhelming devastating force—either economic force, or bomb force, will have to be employed. Force that knows no defeat—the only sign language the communistic dictators seem to understand.

No dictator is all of history has ever voluntarily relinquished his power. They have had to be thrown out. The dictators of Russia and her satellites must be thrown out—by a mighty and righteous force.

The time has now arrived for freeing the enslaved and misguided people behind the Iron Curtain. This requires the wiping out of the communistic dictators, in order to bring their subjects into a new world of freedom, and to give them the opportunity to set up a Government of their own choice by a free and secret ballot, so that they may take their place among the free and respected nations of the world.

The time has arrived for the United States to set the pace so as to bring about the freeing of all the people who are now cringing under the heels of the Russian soldiers. And if the Russian dictators make it necessary—and they will—then we must be prepared to use the most destructive bombs and every military weapon at our command in order to wipe out the communistic dictators at the earliest possible moment.

For several years I have personally advocated these general principles, and have so spoken many times over the radio, and in news releases, to many publications. The weight of influence of the office which I hold as National Commander of the United American Veterans, has been earnestly on behalf of free and patriotic people.

I am especially pleased today to announce this greeting of welcome to a group of men of great vigor and influence who have recently incorporated under the name of For America, Inc.

This organization is young, but the leading members are seasoned crusaders for the things that are aimed to protect America, and to foster the purposes and ideals of our way of life. This includes expanding our American influence in ways of best ultimate value for the American people. This much needed patriotic movement is most timely, because both of the old parties are drifting too far away from Americanism.

Prominent among this distinguished group of patriotic Americans are such outstanding men of achievement as former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, former Representative Hamilton Fish, former Senator Hawkes.

This is just the beginning. Much can be expected from this combined influence. I am confident that you will want to anticipate with interest their early announcement of plans, which will be expressed in many ways to awaken all American citizens to the dire necessity of carrying on much more successfully our dealings throughout the world.

In a very few days Congress will again be in full swing. We hope it will be for action on some matters of vital importance.

There is the Bricker constitutional amendment sponsored by Senator BRICKER, of Ohio. This is really important. It is a bill to limit the Presidential Treaty-Making Powers. We hope it will be passed this session. If the Bricker amendment had been in force a year ago we would not be confronted with the Korean truce, which will go down in history as the most dilapidated truce the world has ever heard of.

It is to be expected that Congress will come to its senses in this last half of the session and put its foot down on its past extravagance and its fruitless give-aways to foreign governments. Some of them have boomeranged, particularly supplies that have reached Russia with only a short stopover in England. It will take more than a smile and a handshake by Sir Winston Churchill to straighten out such a crooked-looking deal.

These give-aways are a direct violation of article 1, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States.

Just what is all this give-away about? Not contented with giving our money away, our leaders are trying to give away our most valuable military secret, the atomic bomb.

I wish time permitted me to take up more fully the merits of many public isues.

For instance here in the District of Columbia, we have a shortage of beds in the veterans hospitals. Excuse is given that there is no money to carry out the plans for a 600-bed hospital.

Schools everywhere are overcrowded. There is a nationwide shortage of 345,000 classrooms and a shortage of 75,000 teachers.

Homes for the aged are overcrowded. Even our prisons are dangerously overcrowded.

These serious conditions should cause us to sit down and think—to really think hard. What is it that has caused us to hamstring some of our own vital needs in America, while we have lugged free cash money all over the world—as freely as though it grew on trees?

There is much I would like to discuss with you about the merits of a national lottery. We certainly could do worse than to adopt such a plan. I believe you will hear much more about it this year. Get all the facts, and then give them your best thought. Think it over, without prejudice. It may be one of the answers we are looking for in our complex living.

I do hope that Congress will enact House Resolution No. 105 which was introduced by Congressman USHER L. BURDICK, of North Dakota. This bill calls for the withdrawal of our membership from the United Nations. I think that all patriotic Americans should get behind this bill, and write to their Representatives in Congress requesting them to give full support to this bill.

Congress will be alive to a really new awareness about America, and the expanding problems—to a greater degree than at any time in the past 20 years. Voters know how to express themselves. More and more voters have abandoned the straight party ticket. Voters consider themselves to be Americans, and interested in American problems and their solutions. They are concerned with actual issues, rather than in party tags.

Members of Congress will be shown that they must face the issues, without ducking or sidestepping. Between now and next November is all the time they have to make good. It is my hope that they will accomplish results that will be beneficial for Americans and humanity on a sound and worthy basis.

And now, patriotic Americans, I sincerely wish you a happy and prosperous trip through each day in the calendar year of 1954.

And, of course, my best wishes as always to the management and staff of radio WUST.

I thank you.

The Need for Increasing the Salaries of Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I honestly feel that the time has come when Congress should reappraise the schedule of salary payments made to postal employees of the United States with a view to adjusting these salaries so that they will be more in line with increases in the cost of living, continuing heavy tax burdens, and those other factors which have eroded the substance of postal employees' take-home pay.

In my opinion, no other group of Federal employees enjoys as long a history of service to our Nation as the United States postal workers. There is no group of employees in or out of the Federal service who can point justifiably with greater pride to their record of steadfast, loyal, and efficient service to our Nation. Unfortunately, too many people seem to take the loyalty and devotion to duty of our postal carriers for granted, just as they do so many other important factors that join to make the American way of life. Always I have been impressed deeply by the famous words so often used to personalize the postal service:

> Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these carriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds.

How many people have considered just what these words mean to us and to our Nation? Because of this loyalty and devotion, I feel that it is our responsibility in Congress to demonstrate to these employees that we recognize and appreciate their efforts and that every attempt will be made to see that they are treated as fairly as is possible.

I do not feel that it is necessary to discuss at length increases in the cost of living, increased taxes, reduced purchasing power of the dollar, or increased

deductions for retirement; all of these facts are well known to us. But it is for other reasons also that I think an increase in salaries of postal employees is urgently required at this time.

Let us take, for example, the situation with regard to the increased productivity per worker in the Post Office Department. The type of activities engaged in by most of these employees is not too conducive to mechanization because in sorting and handling mails and packages it is still necessary for the human eye to differentiate between various names and addresses in order to assure that packages and letters are forwarded to their eventual destination with a minimum of delay. For this reason, any increase in the output per man-hour in the Post Office Department is largely the result of increased productivity on the part of these employees. During fiscal 1952, 49,740,510,000 pieces of mail were handled by the Post Office Department, the largest volume in any year of postal history. This was an increase of 6 percent over the 1951 volume, and an increase of 32.9 percent during the past 5-year period. While the volume of mail was increasing by over 30 percent the number of postal employees increased by slightly over 11 percent in the years from 1947 through 1952, indicating that the output per man-hour must have increased considerably.

It should be remembered that production in a purely service institution of this kind is not as controllable as in many lines of business. The postal service does not choose its customers; it does not control the extent, time, or place that the patrons may hire its services. It cannot allow demands for its services to accumulate awaiting a time when facilities and personnel may render service under the most economical circumstances; neither can it stockpile productive effort to meet future increased or unusual demands. It must perform, with all possible speed and dispatch, when, where, and in whatever quantity the public chooses.

Among many little known facts about employees of the postal service, one is that it is necessary for them to study long hours at home on their own time in order that they may do their job more efficiently for the general benefit of everybody in our country. They must study changing schemes and transportation routing and destinations so that your mail may arrive more quickly at its appointed destination.

It would be possible to go into many more reasons for increasing postal salaries, but, unfortunately, our time here is limited. So, may I simply state my honest opinion on this matter. It is imperative that we in Congress enact pay raise legislation for postal employees as rapidly as possible to prove our trust in them; to reward them for their loyalty and devotion; to help them recoup a part of their losses resulting from increased prices and taxes, and decreased purchasing power of their take-home pay; to compensate their improved productivity; in short, because of the justice of the case made for such an increase in salary.

Minutes of a Special Committee Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Michigan Bean Producers' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing herewith the minutes of a special committee meeting of the board of directors of the Michigan Bean Producers' Association which was held last December 14 in Saginaw, Mich. This meeting summarized the thinking of an earlier meeting held on November 27, at which were present growers from all of the bean-growing counties in Michigan.

The president of the association has informed me that these three things were emphasized at the two meetings:

1. Dry edible beans should be made a basic commodity, with provisions for the USDA to vary the percentages of support within the bean industry so as not to have a terrific overproduction of some varieties and scarcity of others. There are a great many varieties of beans. Some are canned, others sold only as dry beans to be cooked in the home or public eating places. Production of Michigan beans has just been announced as 3,750,000 bags, whereas 4 million is normal consumption. National production is announced at 18 million bags with 16,500,000 normal consumption.

2. A low support would be as disastrous as a 16-percent moisture ruling. At harvesttime the buying price starts below support price and follows along until after take-over date.

3. The producers felt that if the United States Department of Agriculture want to get out of supporting beans, they should just drop them off the list, and not saddle the industry with a 16-percent moisture problem and/or low support as a means of making farmers dissatisfied, and thus throw overboard all bean supports. There are 40,000 bean growers in Michigan, and we firmly believe that beans and bean growers are just as important as peanuts and rice, and their growers.

The minutes read as follows:

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE MICHIGAN BEAN PRODUCERS' ASSOCIATION HELD DECEMBER 14 IN SAGINAW

Chairman: Arthur Shoultes.

Acting secretary: Carl J. Hanson.

Others present: William Rohlfs, Lawrence Stewart, Clarence Prentice, Dale Butz, Dale Hathaway.

The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the dry edible bean price-support program for 1954. At an earlier meeting of the committee, several questions were raised for consideration at this time.

1. Should there be a support program? The committee feels that a program is needed.

Research carried out at Michigan State College indicates that at present if there were no support program price to the farmer would be about $6 per hundred instead of $7.70.

Beans should be considered as a basic commodity but the many different types of beans need to be handled differently. It should be varied in support price by variety to insure 90 percent for the total. Support price should be at or near 90 percent of parity because in the past government support price has had to act not only as a floor but also a ceiling on bean prices at the harvest time and for the next few following months.

About 60 percent of the crop can be expected to move into the hands of the elevator operator after the first few days of harvest. If a low support price, say 60 percent of parity, is offered then that is very likely to be the price at harvest and for the first 2 or 3 months which would mean that the farmer would receive 60 percent rather than somewhere approaching a fair price for the beans.

Because of the wheat acreage allotments in this area, it can be expected that 1954 bean acreages will increase. This will happen regardless of what type of program is offered for the 1954 crop. If the support price is somewhere near 85 or 90 percent of parity then farmers should receive fair return for their crop. If a support program is developed at low support, say 60 or 75 percent of parity, then no support program would be better for the farmer than this low support because of the fact mentioned above that the farmer would receive a very low price regardless of the number of bushels harvested in that year.

In regard to the question of the rapid rise in bean yields in recent years, we have had favorable weather plus the adoption of good rotation practices and as bean acreage has diminished a greater percentage of beans produced are on land ideally adapted to bean production. We cannot expect to continue to increase yields on these acres. Yield increases in the future depend greatly on the weather and on the number of acres planted. If the acreage should increase, then a good share of the increase might be on land not as productive from the standpoint of beans as the farms raising beans at present.

Another question raised was a relative change in bean acreages under different conditions such as no support program price support at about the same as last year which was 87 percent of parity or a low support price such as 60 percent of parity. Indications are that the bean acreages will increase slightly because of the restrictions on wheat acreages. This increase will occur regardless of a support program. Of the 3 possibilities it seems that 60 percent of parity support would be the most detrimental to the bean crop. If support can be established at some reasonable level then this will help the bean producers and assure an adequate bean crop for 1954.

In checking back over the records prices paid for beans in the previous season seems to have the greatest influence on the acres planted the following year. This year prices have been satisfactory to most farmers. Add to this the fact that we have had two very good falls for harvesting. In the light of these facts we can expect some increase in bean acreage for 1954. This means that bean producers should be offered a support price which would put them on a similar position as farmers producing such crops as wheat, corn, cotton, etc. The committee did not feel that prices paid between class of beans at present are adverse to balance production.

Regarding the question of whether premium and discounts for various grades for the 1953 program were satisfactory the committee felt that the premium for choice hand-picked beans should be 25 cents rather than 10 cents. Twenty-five cents is the standard premium for the grades of choice and hand-picked beans at the present time and there seems to be some indication that elevators feel that the spread should be even greater than the 25 cents. This would tend to have a better quality of beans marketed.

The question of bulk delivery is primarily a problem for the trade to settle; however, this is being adopted in similar crops such as wheat, flour, fertilizer, etc. More impor-

tant is the point that older beans should be moved first; perhaps the takeover time by the Government should be changed in order to offer the beans to the trade in the current market year. The CCC might consider placing the responsibility for the quality of the beans on the elevator operators and allowing them to use their years of experience in handling beans to handle them in such a way to maintain quality rather than placing them under a list of regulations and restrictions which may not solve the problem.

The committee feels that losses in the past were due to beans being bagged and stored then, next year's beans are piled in front; the older beans forgotten. Industry has, over a period of years, been able to handle beans at 18-percent moisture content without a loss. They should be able to do this for the Government if given the responsibility and opportunity to handle them in a way that will meet local conditions.

It is the opinion of the committee that if regulations call for a 16-percent moisture content bean to be eligible then there will be a higher percentage of splits and a lower quality of bean will be made available to the Government.

Beans stored in Michigan under the weather conditions which occur here and which are very similar to New York's conditions will draw moisture in storage so they might be put in at 16 percent and still spoil by the next summer due to the moisture taken on during storage. Those working in the trade know how to handle these beans to avoid this.

In summary this committee feels that we need a support program for beans in order to insure an adequate supply. Furthermore, this support should be at or near 90 percent of parity and moisture content at 18 percent. If parity is lowered to 60 percent and the moisture content lowered to 16 percent then the program will be a farce as far as Michigan bean producers are concerned and the bean trade would be better off if the support program were eliminated rather than dragging it along 1 more year at a low support or low content which would be detrimental to the growers.

New Year's Resolutions for the Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, as we embark on the 2d session of the 83d Congress, at the beginning of a new year, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the January 1 column of the well-known Chicago Sun-Times financial editor, Robert H. Vanderpoel, entitled "Suggestions for 1954 New Year Resolutions." Personally, I feel that each of us here in Washington, those of us in Congress as well as department heads, would find that a reading of Mr. Vanderpoel's sober suggestions was time well spent.

The column is as follows:

SUGGESTIONS FOR 1954 NEW YEAR RESOLUTIONS

(By Robert P. Vanderpoel)

Some suggested New Year resolutions:

President Eisenhower: I shall continue to strive for world peace as the foremost objective of my administration. I shall remember my campaign promises of a balanced budget and insist that taxes be kept at a level that will enable the country to operate in the black. To this end I shall recognize the necessity for an even more intense fight against waste and inefficiency so as to reduce the volume of spending.

Congress: We shall not be afraid to face the fact that if we vote appropriations, we must vote taxes to cover the spending and leave at least a little over for debt retirement. We shall act as statesmen, not politicians, voting primarily for policies that will benefit the country rather than simply to gain us votes.

We shall attack the farm problem intelligently. We shall not duck the labor problem. We shall study the proposed tax legislation carefully and guard against any efforts to shift the burden, which we recognize must be heavy, onto those who have relatively the least. We shall reexamine the loopholes in the present tax law and endeavor to plug them to the best of our ability.

Securities and Exchange Commission: We shall do nothing to reverse the trend toward a greater degree of corporate democracy. We shall always remember that the agency which we are directing was set up to protect the investing public. Under the cloak of facilitating financing, we shall not take action which will act to destroy the purpose for our existence.

Federal Reserve Board: We shall avoid like the plague a smug feeling of self-satisfaction that we have, through our policies, succeeded in stabilizing the national economy on a high plateau. We shall recognize that what has been done was accomplished only in the face of increasing Federal, State, municipal, and private debt—a paved highway that leads to eventual disaster.

Business: We shall enter 1954 with courage, aware that in all probability we no longer shall be riding the crest of a boom, but understanding that great opportunities still lie ahead for those with imagination, initiative, ability, and untiring effort. We shall prove that our praise of the "American system of private enterprise" has not represented merely hollow words; that we are not afraid of competition, domestic or foreign; that we will not scream for help from Washington at the first signs of storm.

Agriculture: We shall not demand price supports for our products at uneconomic levels and then reject controls aimed at keeping supply and demand within reasonable balance. We shall not insist that we be guaranteed "parity plus" when we know that modern machinery and agricultural methods have reduced our production costs relative to many of the goods we buy. We shall tell our Representatives in Congress that we expect them to act for the national good rather than purely for our selfish benefits.

Labor: We shall recognize that in the long run our welfare inevitably must depend upon our productivity. Consequently, we shall reject union rules and policies aimed at restricting productivity. We shall understand that strikes represent warfare, and that, like wars between nations, seldom does either side win. We shall remember that many innocent people are hurt by strikes. We shall not forget that even if we "win" a strike, the possibility is that our employer will have been so hurt that in the long run we shall find fewer jobs, fewer opportunities, a less pleasant place to work.

Management: We shall acknowledge that we are employed by the stockholders and that success of the corporate system depends upon thrifty men and women with surplus funds available, believing that they will receive fair treatment if they buy company stocks. We shall foreswear the idea held by some that the corporation is simply a device for enriching the few.

The American people: We shall quit complaining of taxes and recognize that we "never had it so good." We shall save intelligently, assume debt cautiously. We shall practice tolerance, except for evil. We shall demand a high level of ethics from our public servants. We shall reject discrimination, insisting on equal opportunities for all. We shall favor increased expenditures for education, and for ourselves we shall spend less on dissipation. We shall be devout, generous, and humble. If clouds appear on the horizon, we shall have courage and faith.

May 1954 be a good year to you.

Facts and Figures Point Up Outlook for Normal Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to point out that of late some politically inspired prophets of economic doom have seized upon figures relating to employment throughout the United States as the basis for predicting depression and disaster.

We are told that unemployment in this country rose to a total of about 1,850,000 last December, and that it approximates 2,000,000 today. This is cited as evidence that depression is just around the corner. Yet Government figures show that no more, and probably fewer, lack jobs now than lacked them a year ago. And 1953 marked the period of highest employment in the Nation's history.

It is generally conceded that the 8 years since World War II—from 1945 through 1953—were years of continuous prosperity. Highest employment was reached only 2 months ago. The period of lowest employment was in February 1950.

Now it is true, Mr. Speaker, that unemployment increased during December by 422,000, and by a lesser number in the first week of this month. But why is this true?

Well, winter is the off season for agricultural employment. In December many of the great automotive industrial plants were retooling for the new motorcar models, which have been unveiled to the public since the first of the year. And a tremendous number of industrial and commercial establishments closed for inventory at the end of the year.

In spite of the rise in unemployment over the last few weeks, the number of jobless still is small. It is small, indeed, in comparison with the total of more than sixty-one million now gainfully employed in the United States.

The number of unemployed looks smaller than ever, when it is considered that even at the top—2 months ago—there were 1,162,000 workers without jobs.

This number represented then, as it does now, approximately the total falling into three major classifications—those out of work temporarily, while changing jobs; those at home because of illness; and those voluntarily ceasing to work, although remaining on the employment rolls.

Therefore, it follows, Mr. Speaker, that the number of unemployed, as of today,

is no more significant than was the number of unemployed a year ago today.

The number without jobs on any day, or in any month, is not a cause. It is an effect. It can serve as no basis on which to forecast the economic future. The true basis for prediction exists rather in the outlook and the planning of business and industrial management.

Announcements by American industrial managers indicate that this year industry will spend just about as much for expansion of plant and equipment as it did in the banner year of 1953.

The amount of building-construction work now on the boards indicates that this year substantially the same number of new homes will be built as were put up during the banner year of 1953. And commercial construction appears certain to keep pace.

Mr. Speaker, to me at least, all of this does not look like economic recession. It looks more like continued prosperity, and perhaps more of it. It looks like more jobs, instead of less. With the leveling off of war production, it seems to me, the Nation is safely converting to a peacetime economy.

We are not moving from a period of great prosperity into a period of lesser prosperity. We are moving, I believe, from a "phony," Korean war-based prosperity into a sound and lasting prosperity, based upon the enjoyment of more things of pleasure and necessity by every American.

Herein, I believe, lies the real answer to the dismal forebodings of the politically inspired prophets of economic disaster.

Massachusetts' Governor Herter on Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAURENCE CURTIS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD a few paragraphs relating to communism from the second inaugural address of Gov. Christian A. Herter, of Massachusetts, delivered on Wednesday, January 6, 1954. Members will, I am sure, be interested in these views of their former colleague, my predecessor as Representative of the 10th Massachusetts District, who is now proving himself a great governor. He voices opinions much in line with those expressed the following day by the President of the United States.

His remarks follow:

During the year just past there has been much public and private discussion of subversives and subversion.

I believe I mirror your thoughts on this subject when I say that there is no room in Massachusetts government or education for the known subversive or for that doubtful character who seeks a shield, either in the fifth amendment to the Federal Constitution or in provisions of equal effect in our own constitution.

Massachusetts has always been committed to the preservation of the rights of the individual. The preamble of our Constitution described that great document as a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good.

But the men who gave expression to that concept did not add the words "save for those who wish to employ the frame of Government as a means to destroy it."

Therefore, in being ever mindful of the individual rights which we have fought for through the years, we cannot blind ourselves to the limits of those rights when they are involved against the general good.

I deem it a sound proposition that he who takes refuge in constitutional safeguards in properly established investigations into subversive matters makes himself suspect to the point where his usefulness as a State or municipal official, a teacher, or as a worker in the field of key public contracts, State or Federal, is at an end.

Grassroots Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Sioux City Journal of Tuesday, January 5, 1954:

GRASSROOTS TOUR

We have a tremendous admiration for the members of the House Agriculture Committee who have traveled some 16,000 miles to hear the comments of farmers of all kinds about agricultural price supports. There can be no question but what they have made a sincere effort to get the facts, and if the evidence they have gathered sometimes turns out to be fanciful rather than factual, it is not their fault. The point is that at a time when many Members of Congress were out on expensive foreign junkets, studying this and that on an often thinly disguised pleasure trip, the House Agriculture Committee members have been plugging away on a relatively uncomfortable and frequently monotonous trip in order to hear from the people.

There is already indication that what the committee has found out is not going to agree with what some of the farm organizations insist are the facts, but rather than accuse either side of preconviction we are inclined to think the lack of agreement as to the facts comes from a poor system that has been set up for the gathering of such evidence. This system is the typical congressional hearing. Its fault is that frequently it permits a highly militant and vocal minority to misrepresent what the actual opinion of the individuals might be. The bus junket to Washington sometime ago by the "western cattlemen," many of whom were not cattlemen at all, was an extreme example of what we mean. Some of that same thing takes place in congressional hearings.

Still, we don't know any better way for a congressional committee to get information. The ideal system, we suppose, is the Farm Bureau's sending down through its great circulatory system an inquiry to the grassroots, and being governed by the answer. And still that system also has faults, and like any other gathering of "facts," the interpretation is still frequently subjective. Such a system, assuming that it is "ideal" for a moment, is still denied the congressional investigators who have to rely on evidence by prepared statement. And prepared statements always imply careful—and cleverly biased—preparation. Which means that after gathering the evidence a committee is likely to have great trouble making anything out of it.

The starting point in agricultural "evidence," we suppose, is acknowledgment that about the only times all agricultural producers will agree on anything is when everybody is making money and happy, or when everybody is losing money and is unhappy. In between these extremes, when some are making money and some are not, there will be disagreements with reconciliation often difficult, if not impossible. Starting with that unsteady foundation, any investigation of agricultural "facts" is inclined to produce conflicting testimony.

But that doesn't take one thing away from the credit due the members of the House Agricultural Committee whose tour, neither glamorous nor leading to much glory, was dedicated to a matter of strict business, which is a refreshing approach and one we sincerely hope sets a substantial precedent for other committees of the Congress.

Text of Speech by Harry S. Truman on the Four Freedoms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by former President Harry S. Truman in accepting the annual award of the Four Freedoms Foundation, Inc., as prepared for delivery at its dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel:

TEXT OF THE SPEECH BY HARRY S. TRUMAN ON THE FOUR FREEDOMS

No honor could be more gratifying to me than this award symbolizing Franklin D. Roosevelt. I know of no one in history who fought more valiantly and expressed more vigorously than he did the yearning for freedom of all mankind.

We shall always remember that solemn hour in 1945 when we all learned that our great President was dead. The heavy burdens he had carried passed to me. I tried to be guided by the ideals and the principles that inspired him in his noble work.

The keystone of those principles was the sacred value of human liberty—a concept that he expressed in his formulation of the four freedoms. In spite of all the weariness and the cynicism of recent years, that is still our best hope for the future. Franklin D. Roosevelt had a vision of the good life for all peoples everywhere.

The good life is not possible without freedom. It is not possible without freedom of inquiry and freedom of thought. It is not possible without freedom of worship and of the individual conscience before God. It is not possible without freedom from fear—fear of oppression that may come from a foreign foe or from a domestic source. And, lastly, the good life is not possible without the assurance of good health and daily bread for everyone.

These four freedoms, however, do not in themselves assure the good life. Only the

people, by their will and by their dedication to these freedoms, can make the good life come to pass.

INVASIONS OF FREEDOMS

We cannot leave it to the courts alone to protect freedom of speech and freedom of worship, because many of the invasions of these freedoms are so devious and so subtle that they cannot be brought before the courts.

The responsibility for these freedoms falls on freemen. And freemen can preserve them only if they are militant about freedom. We ought to get angry when these rights are violated, and make ourselves heard until the wrong is righted. We ought to feel a moral indignation over the violation of liberty, not only where our own private interests are concerned, but whenever the fundamental rights of anyone of us are stepped on.

Furthermore, there are times when the defense of freedom calls for vigorous action. This action may lead to trouble, and frequently does. A community of freemen is always a lively and often a turbulent community. We never have those 99.4 percent votes "yes" which the police states can provide in their countries.

Effective effort to preserve freedom may involve discomfort and risk. It takes faith, unselfishness, and courage to stand up to a bully, or to stand up for a whole community when it has been frightened into subjection. But it has to be done, if we are to remain free.

We have to start wherever we can—in the family, the lodge, the business community, the union, our local government, party, church, and work outward—asserting, demanding, insisting that the most unpopular persons are entitled to all the freedoms, to fundamental fairness. And almost always the issues are raised over unpopular people or unpopular causes.

In the cause of freedom, we have to battle for the rights of people with whom we do not agree, and whom, in many cases, we may not like. These people test the strength of the freedoms which protect all of us. If we do not defend their rights, we endanger our own. If we deny freedom to the least among us, we cannot protect the rights of the rest of us.

DUTY TO CHALLENGE

In short, we have a duty to challenge, to criticize the person or institution—whether it is a governmental body, or an official, or a newspaper editor, or a radio station—that is guilty of violating those freedoms or of condoning their violation by others.

This has been true throughout our history. No one was more aware of this than one of our greatest champions of liberty, Thomas Jefferson. In writing to a friend, Jefferson once put it this way: "If we find our Government in all its branches rushing headlong, like our predecessors, into the arms of monarchy, if we find them violating our dearest rights, the trial by jury, the freedom of the press, the freedom of opinion, civil or religious, or opening on our peace of mind or personal safety the sluices of terrorism * * * then indeed let us withdraw and call the Nation to its tents."

We cannot be hearers and believers only; we must be doers. We must fight to make these four freedoms live. Some of these freedoms have been proclaimed for many centuries. Some are enshrined in our Constitution. But these are not merely words to hear and pronounce. They are testaments of daily faith. They must be lived; they must be acted upon.

But it is not enough to defend our freedoms at home only. We must be concerned with a world environment in which free men can live free lives. Franklin Roosevelt knew that we could not exist as an oasis of freedom in a world of totalitarianism of war. "The world order which we seek," he said, "is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society." The four freedoms for us, as for all freemen, depend upon a world in which peace and justice are maintained by the concerted efforts of the free nations.

Let me tell you the enemies of freedom know this very well. It was less than a year ago that the Soviet rulers announced from the Kremlin that their best hope for world dominion lay in tearing apart the unity and common purpose of the free nations. That is their plan now, to undermine and dissolve the partnership of the free nations by spreading dissention and distrust.

SUSPICION OF U. N.

All across our country there are people at work stirring up suspicion of the United Nations, of our allies, of our own public servants, of our fellow citizens. All across our country there are zealots who are clamoring for somebody's head.

In Los Angeles schoolchildren are not to taught about a whole subdivision of the United Nations—UNESCO—because the morticians of the mind fear it might subvert them.

In Boston the delegates of our legal professions vote solemnly to strip from the Executive of the United States its constitutional authority in foreign policy, lest some day an elected President would do something these lawyers might not like, thereby subverting the Republic.

In Washington the investigating frenzy rises to new heights. The clergy and the press, even the great philanthropic foundations, become targets.

This whole miserable business may be more intense, but is not so very different from the ugly tactics of the diehard isolationists of 12 years ago. Indeed, here are basically the same people, the same faces, the old isolationists become by dint of circumstances the new nationalists, the new imperialists. And basically their ideas have not changed. They are still anti everything that does not square with their own prejudices.

These are the people who say: "The really important thing is to cut taxes, whether the danger is over or not."

These are the people who say: "It is too much trouble to have allies—they won't do what we say, and won't let us have our own way."

These are the people who say: "Let's burn the books a gullible public should not read."

These are the people who say: "The United Nations isn't any good, even if we did start it. It is full of foreigners."

These are the people who say: "Let foreigners fight foreigners—this international effort is not our business."

FEELING UNDER COMPLAINTS

And underneath all the complaints and bickering there lies a deep feeling—a sort of unformulated wish or hope—that if we could only turn away from these international problems, and just mind our own private, individual affairs at home for a while, everything would be all right.

These are the strident voices of the few. These are the elements who would build a new Babel with the bricks and mortar of division and distrust. But happily they do not, and never have, represented the will and spirit of the American people.

And I regret to note that among some of our allies a few loud voices of division and distrust can also be heard. Some of their people are saying the same things about us that our isolationists are saying about them.

But a return to isolationism would be the road to disaster, for them and for us, for peace, and for the four freedoms, and for the good life.

As a nation we ought to show our leadership, by setting our faces sternly against false prophets here and abroad. We have to give the world an example, to help set the tone of the community of the free nations.

We have to understand the basic pillars of our American foreign policy, and support them, regardless of partisanship. We have to know them when we see them. And I suggest that they are as follows:

A renewed and reinvigorated reciprocal trade program.

A strong defense—a really strong defense.

Support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Support of European unity.

Support of the Rio Pact.

Support of the Pacific alliances.

Technical assistance and economic aid for the underdeveloped countries.

The willingness, in firm agreement with our allies and from a position of united strength, to seek in all sincerity solutions of our differences with the Soviet bloc through patient and peaceful negotiation.

BUILDING ON FOUNDATION

If we recognise these foundations and build on them with confidence and enthusiasm, we can preserve the free world community.

This is our most solemn obligation. We must keep and strengthen the grand alliance of freemen. And to do that we must have sympathy and understanding for our friends even when they differ with us. I do not say this out of any mere softness toward foreigners. I say it in the interest of the United States.

Do you suppose that Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms could have had any meaning in the fight with Nazi tyranny, had they been addressed to us alone? Do you suppose we could have won the fight alone? Let no American forget what Britain did for him 12 years ago when she withstood for a whole year the full fury of Hitler's war machine.

Let no American think it has been charity that led us into that great series of mutual undertakings from lend-lease through the Marshall plan to the mutual security program of today. It was not charity alone, but self-preservation.

It was self-preservation, but it was more than that—it was also the way, the only way, to move us forward toward the great goals of the four freedoms. Only the whole free community—we and our allies together, our resources and theirs combined—is strong enough and big enough to meet the threat to freedom and give us victory for freedom's cause.

Someone once said, "We die of what we eat and drink, but more, we die of what we think." Let us think—and act—as freemen, and we shall live.

Capitol Frieze Completed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that nationwide interest prevails in the report that work has now been completed on the panels located in the great rotunda of the Capitol, and which depict notable events in our country's history.

This work of art, started 76 years ago, has been finished by Allyn Cox of Essex, Mass., and one of the outstanding muralists of our Nation. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the

following report from the New York Times of Monday, October 26, 1953:

An imposing work of art begun 76 years ago, no less, has finally been completed in the great rotunda of the Capitol and will be formally dedicated early next year.

It is the depiction in fresco of historical events from the landing of Columbus to the birth of aviation in the United States. Scenes of 8-foot figures now adorn the entire frieze that circles the rotunda 58 feet above the floor.

Work on the circular band of paintings in fresco, an ancient and difficult technique entailing the mixing of paint into a canvas of wet plaster, had been discontinued in 1888 with the completion of a panel portraying the discovery of gold in California in 1848. That left an eye-catching blank space of 30 feet on the frieze, which is 300 feet in circumference.

It also left, by the time Congress got around to authorizing completion of the frieze, a good deal of history to be depicted in a small space if the work was to be brought up to date.

The Joint Congressional Committee on the Library, which has jurisdiction, recognized that it obviously would be impossible to embrace the "limitless future which confronts the United States," so it settled after some controversy on three subjects to carry the narrative into the 20th century and let it go at that.

The three new panels, just completed, consequently commemorate the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the 1903 flight of the first airplane at Kitty Hawk, N. C.

Congress appropriated $20,000 for the work, which was designed and executed by Allyn Cox, of Essex, Mass., one of the country's foremost muralists.

An additional $15,000 was appropriated for restoration of the rest of the frieze, which had become grimy and water-stained over the years. Mr. Cox did this work, too. He used a fine spray of water, mopped it off with sponges and then touched up the paintings.

THE TOURISTS TAKE NOTICE

As a result, the whole frieze now stands out like sculpture in relief when viewed from the floor of the rotunda far below and the old part is scarcely distinguishable from the new. Tourists comment on the figures whereas they used to pass through the rotunda frequently without noticing the fresco, so dingy had it become.

The first of the new panels depicts the making of peace after the Civil War by a Confederate and Union soldier shaking hands, each flanked by another soldier of his side in the conflict. Behind the Confederate soldiers is a cotton plant and behind the Union men a northern pine tree.

The central panel in the new group shows a gun crew in action during one of the two great naval battles of the Spanish-American War.

In the final picture of the frieze, Leonardo da Vinci and two figures representing American precursors to the Wright brothers stand in a group at the left, each holding a miniature model of his flying machine. To the right is Orville Wright in the plane at Kitty Hawk, which has just left the ground. Wilbur Wright, having run along to steady the wing, has just let go. To localize the achievement as an American flight, an eagle flies to meet them with a laurel branch in its claws.

At the extreme right are figures of Liberty and her attendants, ending the frieze with favorite personifications of the American spirit.

The space filled by the new panels had been occupied since 1918 by the lone figure of a World War I officer in khaki uniform, field hat and wrapped leggings. It was put there by an artist named Charles Ayer Whipple as a sample of his work, preparatory to completion of the frieze. Mr. Whipple has since died.

Constantino Brumidi designed the 15 panels already in place. He executed seven of them, starting work in 1877 and continuing until his death in 1880. Filippo Costaggini executed the other eight, working from 1880 to 1888.

The Brumidi pictures show the Landing of Columbus, 1492; the Entry of Cortez into the Halls of the Montezumas, 1521; Pizarro's Conquest of Peru, 1533; the midnight burial of De Soto in Mississippi, 1541; Pocahontas saving the life of Capt. John Smith, 1607; the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mass., 1620, and Penn's treaty with the Indians, 1682.

Mrs. Isabella Greenway King, Former Congresswoman From Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the people of Arizona I wish to express regret and sorrow over the passing of Mrs. Isabella Greenway King, former Congresswoman from Arizona.

Isabella Greenway King was born March 22, 1886, on a farm in Boone County, Ky. She spent her early years between St. Paul and Kentucky sharing her grandfather's home and the Kentucky farm where she and her mother were born. She attended schools in New York City.

In 1928 Mrs. King became national committeewoman from Arizona and took an active part in Al Smith's campaign. She took part in local Tucson political activities and in 1931 she took the first steps toward organizing a preconvention campaign for Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was largely due to Mrs. King's efforts and leadership that Arizona sent delegates instructed to vote for the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. After the nomination of Governor Roosevelt, Mrs. Greenway, as national committeewoman for her party, applied herself to the organization of Arizona for the Democratic Party's nominee. Mrs. King was well known for her diplomacy, ability, and personal charm.

During the depression years she established an employment agency in Tucson.

Mrs. Greenway became prominent when at the 1932 Democratic convention she seconded the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. She had never been a candidate for office, but consented to do so when Lewis Douglas was appointed Director of the Budget. Mrs. Greenway became a candidate for his unexpired term in Congress and won the nomination at a special primary election. She polled 30,277 votes more than her two opponents combined. At the general election in October she again won with a total of 24,163 votes; reelected to the 74th Congress and served from October 3, 1933, to January 3, 1937; was not a candidate for nomination in 1936.

Because of her close personal friendship with Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Mrs. Greenway combated the idea that this friendship with the Roosevelt family gave her either special privileges at or responsibilities to the White House. After her election she made it clear that she meant this by taking an active part in opposing some of the administration programs. She fought for the soldiers' bonus, which Mr. Roosevelt opposed. She opposed the third term for Franklin D. Roosevelt, and accepted the chairmanship of the Democrats for Willkie in Arizona. In April 1939, Mrs. Greenway married Harry O. King, of New York City. Her first marriage was to Robert Munro Ferguson. Mr. Ferguson passed away in 1922. In 1923 Mrs. Ferguson married Gen. John C. Greenway, a friend of many years. Shortly after their marriage General and Mrs. Greenway moved to Ajo, Ariz., where as mining engineer he had been responsible for the development of the New Cornelia Copper Co. General Greenway passed away in 1926. In 1928 when her two elder children were of college age, she purchased a working cattle ranch and with the children operated the outfit. Mrs. King owned and operated the famous Arizona Inn, at Tucson.

Mrs. King served on the governing boards of a number of charitable institutions. She was one of the trustees of Tucson Desert Sanitarium before it became the Tucson Medical Center; the first chairman of Tucson's emergency unemployment relief committee; and numerous other committees. During World War II she was national chairman of American Women's Volunteer Services.

Besides her husband she is survived by her daughter, Mrs. Charles Breasted, two sons, Robert Munro Ferguson and John Selmes Greenway.

Civil Aviation and American Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the honorable PETER F. MACK, JR., is recognized as one of the Nation's outstanding authorities on civil aviation. On November 5, 1953, Mr. MACK addressed the convention of the National Association of State Aviation Officials at the Edgewater Gulf Hotel, Edgewater Park, Miss. I am including his address as an extension of my remarks:

In the time that God has granted me to live in this revolutionary jet-propelled atomic era, I have been favored with many honors and your kind invitation graciously tendered me by your president and my good friend, Joe McLaughlin, is certainly no exception. I deem it a definite privilege and honor to address this esteemed group with such a vast background of public knowledge

experience in a subject which is very close to my heart. A group charged with the responsibility of promulgating aviation in the various States and who have already contributed substantially in promoting aviation interest and are today devoted to the cause of surmounting the seemingly insurmountable obstacles confronting the aviation industry.

Fifty years of aviation has taken up past the speed of sound. Where will the next 50 years take us? The answer is obvious. It will take us as far, but no further, than our people are prepared to go. Fifty years has removed our borders and shrunk the world. It has narrowed the seas. It has closed vast distances and has made us conscious of our neighbors across the seas. It has progressed us, against our wishes, from isolationism to a period of internationalism. Aviation has been the most vital link in expanding our horizons, bringing upon us problems of greater magnitude than have ever been known to mankind. This 50 years of progress has taken us to what I believe to be the crossroads of aviation history. A place where we should analyze the past in hopes of perfecting the future. We must know why we have won a place of distinction in the field of aviation and with it the leadership of the world. Analyzing the past will provoke thought in the minds of men as to what direction we will take in the future.

We have been successful in aviation because of the ingenuity, determination, and persistence of the Wright brothers, the courage of Charles A. Lindbergh, the confidence of our pioneers in the future of aviation and, of course, the progressive forward-looking men in our Government. If I were to make a realistic analysis of the importance of aviation events which brought us to our present position in aviation history, I would list them in the following order:

First, the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk, who, despite the refusal of industrial leaders to cooperate with them in building an engine, surmounted all obstacles and proved to the world for the first time in 2,000 years of experimentation it was possible for man to fly.

Second, Charles Lindbergh, the ridiculed lad whose courage and confidence startled the world by proving the practicability of long-distance intercontinental flights.

Third, the group of pioneers whose confidence and persistence broke down the barrier of public opinion and surmounted the obstacles preventing the expansion and development of aviation. The Billy Mitchells and Col. William Ackers, who gave their lives through their devotion to aviation and confidence in the future, with their fights against some of the narrowminded military commanders, for the development of military aviation and the feasibility of aviation instrumentation. The group who carried on the fight which resulted in the expansion of Army, Navy, and civil aviation.

Fourth, perhaps the most important of all was the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938. Passed by a progressive Congress that had recognized the potentialities of aviation, this act created the Civil Aeronautics Authority and provided for the organized procedure of development and promotion of aviation. It provided also for the regulation of what has developed into one of our biggest industries, which today affects the lives of people all over the world.

With these events tied into our framework of aviation history, we had the impetus to go forward in the development of all fields of aviation. We had the public support and interest which encouraged the development of devastating war machines of World War II and the subsequent postwar era which has taken us through the speed of sound. As a natural product of these social and technological changes, we have the commercial transports which are becoming self-sufficient and are now flying over 12 billion passenger-miles per year all over the world.

Perhaps the recounting of the events of the past will help us in analyzing our needs for the future. We can see where we have been, but we find it difficult to see where we are going. We all have excellent hindsight, but it will be those with determination and foresight who will produce the incentive to go forward to analyze the needs of the aviation industry in the future. It should be the concern of every segment of our aviation field as it is a problem which needs the support and deliberation of the best minds of all the people in aviation.

At the end of our first 50 years, we might say we have reached the crossroads when the minds of man will have to determine the direction to guide our destiny and the future of aviation. We must look now, not back, but ahead to the next half century of progress that might conceivably take us to interplanetary flight. Regardless of this eventuality of vertical flight entering our aviation age, we know we must continue to meet the needs of an expanding industry which today finds itself confronted with a situation which promises to be a major threat to future progress of aviation.

Today at the crossroads, we find many weaknesses in the chain of aviation. Dominant everywhere is the general feeling of indifference and apathy. We find an industry bogged down in the maze of military requirements without proper planning for the future needs in the field of aviation.

We must recognize the fact that today the military services are unable to find young men to enlist in the air services of our country. The Navy and the Air Force are spending enormous sums to recruit cadets and are not successful in meeting their quotas even for todays limited requirements. The Air Force on November 1 dropped the 2 years of college requirements and are now accepting high-school graduates to meet their quotas. On the civil side of aviation we find that more than half of our small airports have closed in the last 5 years, where today the private flier finds it most difficult to find a place to land for service. Our airlines and contract operators are in need of pilots, aircrewmen and mechanics to meet present demands. The situation is alarming. Immediate action is necessary as this problem affects today's commerce and tomorrow's mobilization.

The National Association of State Aviation Officials has been foremost in recognizing this problem, and is most cognizant of this situation. Commendably, you have formed a commission to study this problem. The appointment of the committee is a realistic effort to meet this squarely as it confronts us. However, I do hope this commission is not as fruitless as some of the commissions we have appointed in Washington in recent times to study some problem.

As a Member of Congress, I have been intensely interested in this problem of filling the vacuum created in the aviation industry. I have solicited the advice and suggestions of all segments of the aviation industry as I believe it reaches and affects them all. I have studied the Canadian plan, which has been most successful in creating interest in aviation in Canada. We have completely bypassed the aviation education and training of our youth. This is unquestionably the source of our trouble. We need to promote an education program which will ultimately produce the needed manpower in aviation. We are spending billions of dollars for air defense and military budgets, but we are spending nothing to stimulate interest in aviation for our domestic needs in time of peace and our military needs in time of war. Never in the history of our country have we neglected such a vital field.

Now is the time we need some of the courage displayed by our aviation pioneers, to meet the immediate needs of this important industry. We must provide an economic source of training and education in the interest of air commerce as well as our national security.

This in my opinion can best be done by the development of selective courses and flight indoctrination in the Nation's high schools, technical schools, and in our colleges and universities. We need a long range buildup to create new interest at the proper age level to derive more potentialities for all phases of our industry. If this was done in a satisfactory and constructive manner we would produce important results. This program would arouse the interest of our youth in aviation which is essential for its success. As a natural product we would have created a demand for small aircraft. We would have a society for young men and women to fill the vacuum in this field. More personnel would be available as stewardesses, mechanics, engineers, and others to participate in air commerce on both the ground and in the air.

If successful we would have made available thousands of young men for both civil and military aviation. To do this we need the support of not only all segments of the civil aviation industry but in addition we must have the support of the military in this endeavor. Of necessity it must be supported by civil and military air agencies as the benefits of a program of this nature would be reflected in all phases of the aviation field.

The NASAO could play a very important part, in fact they could be the backbone of a movement to develop a sound program to solve the problems of youth air education to provide the interest which ultimately would result in an influx of young people into civil and military aviation. What organization could be more representative? You are familiar with the problems in each of the 48 States and therefore you could best determine the remedy. As officials in the various States it is your responsibility to promote aviation and eliminate the obstacles impeding the progress of aviation. I shall certainly welcome the aid and support of your organization on aviation legislation in Congress.

Personally, I am opposed to subsidizing our aviation industry, as I am opposed to all subsidies, but I believe a sound investment could be made in the security and well-being of our Nation. I don't believe we should run to our Government for a handout. The States must assume their share of the responsibility and carry a fair share of the burden. We should approach this problem jointly with a cooperative spirit with both the States and the Federal Government sharing the responsibility for its success.

Needless to say, the Federal Government does have a real responsibility and, as it has done in the past, will carry the bulk of the financial burden but the States would certainly be expected to effect the implementation of this program.

During the first session of this Congress, I introduced H. R. 5635, to be known as the Aircraft Training Act of 1953, which was designed to encourage aviation training in our high schools and colleges to at least partially meet the needs in the field of aviation education. I have no pride of authorship and would gladly yield to anyone that has a more constructive plan, although the principles encompassed in this legislation are strictly my own. I do believe it to be the appropriate approach for Federal legislation and its success would be dependent upon the cooperation of local and State units.

This bill is patterned after the Civilian Pilot Training Act of 1939 which contributed

so much in providing pilots for World War II and expanding civil aviation. However, under my bill, the local units within the States would be required to establish certain ground aviation training to qualify students for primary flight training. The expenses of these courses would have to be defrayed by the student or by the local cooperating authority. This is a small financial burden but it does provide the cooperative spirit and active participation on the local level. The expenses of instituting and administering the flight phase of this program would still be borne by the Federal Government.

My proposal would empower the Secretary of Commerce to encourage training schools, high schools, colleges, and universities to establish aviation ground schools to qualify students for primary flight training. The Secretary would be empowered to make rules and regulations establishing some type of standard for ground study. In addition, he would be empowered to rate as qualified to participate in this program any school meeting such standards. The Secretary would also have authority to contract with flight schools to provide primary flight training for those successfully completing such aviation ground school courses.

One of the limiting features of this bill is that students cannot participate in the flight training phase of this program after they have reached the age of 25. For the purpose of this act, we are attempting to encourage and train our youth. Therefore the most efficient age at which they should be trained is before they attain the age of 25.

Furthermore, a student, in order to receive flight training, must make application within 1 year after completing his ground school training. To permit a longer period to elapse would not only indicate a lack of interest on the part of the student, but would allow the student to forget some of the knowledge acquired in aviation education training in the school. Lastly, my proposal provides that the Secretary of Commerce may refuse to approve any school, college, or university which does not give full academic credit for successfully completed ground courses. Certainly we should attempt to insure that students who are sufficiently interested in aviation to pay tuition, purchase books, attend classes and study, receive credit toward their degree or diploma. This provision has a dual effect. It will also tend to insure worthwhile aviation courses, for every educational institution that allows credit for a course will see that it is properly taught, attended, and graded. They have something at stake as they have to maintain their reputation for high standards.

That, gentlemen, is a brief of my bill for aviation training. Admittedly it leaves something to be desired. I do strongly believe that it would correct the causes of the aviation destitution as we know it exists in some areas today. This bill would provide the stimulus for aviation education in high schools and colleges. It would provide the incentive for training in these high schools and colleges, stimulate interest in aviation and fill expanding requirements of both military and civil aviation. The important feature is that this legislation would require Federal-local cooperation in sharing the costs and administering the program. This would produce interest in aviation on a local scale that would be reflected on the entire program.

We can never forget the greater contribution made by the civilian pilot training program prior to World War II to meet the manpower need for mobilization to say nothing of promoting civil aviation. During the last war 827,000 civilian pilot training trainees went to active duty and Army Reserve in the Air Force according to figures from the Air Force. Twenty-five thousand became Army cadets, 17,000 became Navy cadets, 9,000 became Army instructors, 2,000 Navy instructors, 3,000 became additional civilian instructors or contract instructors, 1,000 went to the airlines, 250 became test pilots. Two thousand were women, many of whom served in the aviation field both civil and military. This, gentlemen, is a commendable record.

It would appear, from our experience before World War II that we could wisely invest again in a program which would be most useful in the event of full-scale mobilization.

It is evident that the military cannot do all of the training in the field of aviation. In the postwar years it has been apparent that the military has tried to monopolize the training field. They have in mind only the immediate military needs and at least some individuals have been somewhat prejudiced. They have failed to place appropriate value on civil aviation experience. Yet they have been forced to rely on civilian contractors to do their instructing.

A child must learn to walk before he can run and this logic seems equally appropriate to aviation. More emphasis should be placed on primary training before the kids are hauled off to a military base with some never having been off the ground, to fly the jet propelled, speed of sound planes we have today.

While this legislation is not designed for, nor is it associated in any way with our military training program, it does make a substantial contribution to their program and therefore merits the support of the air services. Last year one high ranking military officer testified that civil training was of no value to the military air services. I feel it is time these individuals in the military air service charged with training and procurement, come down out of "the wild blue yonder" and recognize the potentialities of a sound aviation training program.

In my opinion we must, at these crossroads, after 50 years of progress, recognize our weakness and look forward to even greater progress in the next 50 years. I believe the lack of aviation among our youth is a growing weakness and it can best be corrected by a sound aviation education program in our schools and colleges.

In closing, I want to thank the officers and members of the NASAO not only for the invitation extended to me but for their indulging efforts to correct the shortcomings of the aviation industry.

Champion for Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, early after the first session of this Congress adjourned, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee held extensive hearings throughout Alaska, a subject dear to the hearts of the vast majority of Alaskans. Senator EARLE CLEMENTS, of Kentucky, was a member of that group. Shortly after his return from the Territory, the September 23 issue of the Courier-Journal carried an editorial, which is reproduced here:

CLEMENTS PICKS A LITTLE BLUE FLOWER

There is a wistful irony in Alaska's choice of an official flower—the forget-me-not. No wronged maiden has ever been the victim of so many broken promises. Both Republicans and Democrats have repeatedly promised statehood to the Territory at their national conventions, only to forget the pledge when voting time came around in Congress.

Now Alaska has a new champion, and an important one. He is Senator EARLE CLEMENTS. The Kentuckian, just back from 2 weeks of study in the Territory, was struck as is every visitor by the majestic beauty of Alaska's scenery. He was also "greatly impressed by its resources and possibilities, by the will of the people and their willingness to assume the responsibilities of statehood."

This is good news. It means the switch of a vital vote when the issue comes up again in the 1954 Congress. The last vote, in early 1952, found CLEMENTS and his Kentucky colleague, Senator Underwood, lined up with Democrats from the Deep South in opposing Alaska's claim. It took 25 Democrats and 20 Republicans to beat the bill, by the margin of 1 vote.

Alaskan statehood has had bad legislative luck. It got tied in with the civil-rights fight in Congress. Some southern Democrats did not like the prospect of Alaska's electing two Senators of their own party, for fear the new Members from the "Deep North" would tip the Senate scales in favor of civil-rights legislation.

This year's Republican Congress tried to bring Republican Hawaii into the Union, while ditching Alaska. The result of this maneuver was that both Territories lost their chance for another session.

If American politicians sometimes need a forget-me-not to remind them of their party pledges to Alaska, there are others in the Kremlin whose thoughts of Alaska need no jogging. They remember without the least difficulty that the Territory was formerly called Russian America. They refer to it as "Soviet territory in the hands of an alien power." They dispute the right of Czar Nicholas II to have sold it to the United States in 1867 for a paltry $7,200,000.

The thought of the U. S. S. R. with a giant foothold on the North American continent is enough to make us all shudder. Nobody doubts that the United States would fly to the defense of Alaska against a Soviet attack as certainly as we would defend Oregon or California. Military leaders have been telling us for years that Alaska is a most vital link in our national defense. General "Hap" Arnold has testified that "upon Alaska our future may well rest."

Alaska and Hawaii should both become States, and not a minute later than 1954. The statehood movement has gained a useful convert in EARLE CLEMENTS.

Arthur W. Brown, Lawrence Textile Workers' Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following very interesting and thoughtful letter sent by Arthur W. Brown, director, Greater Lawrence Area, Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO, to Hon. JOHN F. KENNEDY. Mr. Brown is one of the outstanding leaders of the textile workers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

A former worker himself with a close understanding of the problems of these persons in that industry, with years of

practical experience, with labor and management, Mr. Brown, with his keen knowledge has suggested real, worthwhile, and constructive suggestions, each of which merits thoughtful study and consideration by the Congress.

AN OPEN LETTER

DECEMBER 9, 1953.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your concern over the current economic conditions of New England is well known by many thousands of New England citizens. Your recommendation on the floor of the Senate regarding possible remedies also seemed sound to thousands of New Englanders.

Since your program does not seem to be getting the support it deserves from the present administration I should like to direct your attention to an immediate and acute situation which is facing the State of Massachusetts and particularly our Greater Lawrence area.

Through liquidation of textile mills in Lawrence alone more than 10,000 workers have been permanently dislocated from their jobs and with cutbacks in employment and the threat of further liquidation, another ten to twelve thousand people may also lose their jobs permanently.

I urge you to bring this matter to the attention of the Senate and would suggest that an attempt be made to pass legislation which will give our people protection during the period of transition.

First, I urge extension of unemployment benefits to all workers who have lost their jobs through plant liquidation or complete plant closing over an extended period of time.

Secondly, I urge that persons unemployed because of liquidation or extended plant closing be given credits toward their old-age and survivors benefits equal to their average contribution over the past 5 years.

Third, I urge that persons over the age of 45 but under 65 have their benefits frozen as of the last day worked.

The old-age benefits of the Social Security Act has been one of the finest pieces of legislation ever passed in the Congress of the United States. It has given to millions of working people an opportunity to contribute on a reasonable basis toward a retirement plan which they otherwise never would have had.

Although the present benefits are inadequate it still has given our older people a sense of security and a feeling that they can live out the remaining years of their lives in dignity and without being wholly dependent on their children or relatives.

One of the most pitiful aspects of areas faced with factory liquidation or extended periods of complete plant closings is that group of people between the ages of 45 and 65. These people are too young to retire and too old to get other jobs and their plight should not be taken lightly.

Since the amount of benefits due them at retirement age is dependent on their earnings prior to retirement I have urged that their benefits be frozen at this point so that in the event they are unable to work again they will suffer no loss at retirement age.

I believe that a Government survey should be made in such areas with a view to finding gainful employment for heads of families and single persons solely dependent on their weekly earnings.

I believe it was the intent of the framers of the Constitution of the United States that the function of the Federal Government is to act in the general welfare of all of its people, and I believe it was Abraham Lincoln that once said that a "government should do for the people that which they cannot do for themselves or that which they cannot do so well for themselves."

It is with this thought in mind that I urge you as a Senator from the State of Massachusetts to do everything in your power as quickly as you can, which may help to retain the confidence of thousands of people in our democratic way of life.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR W. BROWN,
Director, Greater Lawrence Area,
Textile Workers Union of America, CIO.

Post Mortem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an editorial, Post Mortem, appearing in the Boston Post of December 26, 1953.

It appears to me to be difficult for any rational-minded person to challenge the final paragraph of this editorial:

But any rational person who understands the implications of this madness must also understand that it is not possible to come to any secure and rational agreement with this society of assassins.

I have been saying this in different words for at least the past 20 years.

The American people will understand the intent and purposes of international communism better if they realize they are dealing with individuals and groups and those in control of other satellite countries who are possessed of the minds of world-killers, determined to conquer all civilizations, all countries, all peoples who do not agree with or submit to communism and its leaders.

POST MORTEM

When an individual in a civilized community dies under mysterious circumstances a post mortem examination is indicated to determine how and why the individual died.

The executioner of Lavrenti Pavlovitch Beria removed from the fair face of the earth a character so deeply steeped in infamy that the world would prefer to forget that he ever existed. Beria was an overseer of slaves, an official assassin and the chief instrument of terror in the Soviet Union. No reason comes immediately to mind why he should deserve pity or why there should be concern about the means his rivals for power took to destroy him, except that he was a human being and therefore was entitled to a fair public trial.

His crime under Soviet law was that he was ambitious. None of the truly monstrous crimes he had committed were considered to be crimes under Soviet law. It was considered that what he did was to serve the state. And, by the strange reasoning of the lunatics who wield power in the Soviet Union, his confession to plots to betray the state, and his execution are also service to the state demanded of every dedicated Communist. In short, the dedicated Communist is expected to perform any service the state demands, and, if it is necessary, to confess to high crimes and suffer the death penalty.

The very few who have escaped death in a Soviet purge testify that it is this devotion to the state that is demanded of and dinned in the ears of those who are to be liquidated. It goes on night and day, step by step, until finally even the most resolute spirit fails—and they will confess to anything. This technique needs no documentation. It has been described and demonstrated so many times in the past 20 years that it should be familiar to everyone.

The post mortem thus establishes that Beria died because he was of more value to the state dead than alive. He died because his rivals for supreme power had decided that his usefulness was at an end. But even a man-eating tiger gets a more sporting chance that Beria got.

All post mortems in civilized lands which disclose murder are followed by an inquest, an indictment and a trial. There will be none of that in Beria's case. He was murdered, and richly deserved a violent end. The slaughter in the madhouse that is the Kremlin is an internal Soviet affair. The civilized world can only look upon its frenzies with disgust and pity for the masses of people who must endure the Communist aberrations.

But, any rational person who understands the implications of this madness must also understand that it is not possible to come to any secure and rational agreement with this society of assassins.

A Redevelopment Plan for the Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Washington Evening Star of December 19, 1953, by that newspaper's very able real-estate editor, Robert J. Lewis, describes an important plan for redeveloping the southwest area of our National Capital.

Some of the other plans for Washington have given too little consideration to the basic civic and cultural requirements so desperately needed. Pierre M. Ghent, author of the present plan, declares they would replace housing for housing, slums for future slums. He challenges us to think in larger terms, saying:

It is high time for Congress and all of us here to begin to think in bigger dimensions about Washington and its place in the world scheme. This is a city of destiny, yet we continue to think of it almost as a one-horse country town, and make plans accordingly. Such a viewpoint is not only parochial, it is nonsensical. It demeans not only this vast metropolitan region; it demeans our entire country, as well.

The Ghent plan can justly be compared to a number of other plans of great scope and imagination such as: the central Bolivar project of Venezuela; the golden triangle plan of Pittsburgh; the restoration plan for the center of Philadelphia; as well as Daniel Burnham's civic center plan for San Francisco and the Chicago outershore development.

Among other interesting proposals Mr. Ghent suggests that a national theater and opera house be built. I have before the 83d Congress a bill, H. R. 5397, which

would assist in the further growth and development of the cultural side of our lives as a national war memorial. My bill would establish in the Federal City a national theater, music center, and art gallery. Mr. Ghent's plan is the first I have seen which promises to provide the space and parking facilities so necessary for the kind of development I have in mind.

In May 1952, the Congress held hearings on a small bill of mine to encourage the further growth and development of the fine arts in our colleges and universities. Testifying at that time the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, F. Joseph Donohue, warned that:

We had for many years reserved a very fine location for the national opera, but by methods which I could never quite understand, the Department of Justice granted that very nice corner of Third and Pennsylvania for the new courthouse. But there are at least three other fine locations which we doubtless will lose unless we can act swiftly, which would properly contain a building dedicated to the arts and cultures which this city so sadly lacks.

Mr. Ghent's plan merits the most serious consideration. Let us hope that it receives it. The article from the Star follows:

FEDERAL CENTER PROPOSED FOR SOUTHWEST AREA

(By Robert J. Lewis)

A tract of land in southwest Washington consisting of about 427 acres largely covered with dilapidated slums and many outworn commercial structures in a hodge-podge pattern, has become the center of mounting controversy in the last few months.

It stretches east and west from the Smithsonian Institution to the Capitol, with its northern boundary an irregular line varying from three to five blocks south of the Mall. The tract includes the site of three projected redevelopment projects through which the District and Federal Government hope to begin an attack on one of the worst of Washington's "sore-thumb" sections.

Up to now, every plan to transform and rehabilitate this area has proposed construction of new housing to replace old housing. Every plan accepts the idea that the area shall remain essentially residential in character, despite the high value of the land, its proximity to the Capitol, and its location roughly in the geographical center of the Washington Metropolitan region.

Is this area, in fact, suited for residential redevelopment? Does it deserve some higher use?

Ask those related questions of Pierre M. Ghent, a well-known Washington land economist and member of the Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City who has site-planned more than 90,000 dwelling units built in the District area and other cities, and you receive two emphatic answers:

1. "The southwest tract is not suitable for mass living."

2. It offers the Washington area just about its last chance to think big for real redevelopment and beautification of the in-town area.

Mr. Ghent is one of an increasing number of persons interested in Washington redevelopment who recently have called for a thoroughgoing reassessment of the acceptability of plans hitherto proposed for changing the face of the southwest area. He is the first to say the area is largely unsuitable for housing.

At a recent meeting of the Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City, Mr. Ghent said he considered most of the thinking so far on southwest redevelopment to be "unrealistic, narowly conceived, and almost completely out of context with the economic realities of the problem."

His indictment of the idea that chiefly housing should replace existing deteriorated property is based on three main premises, he explained the other day:

"1. As the Nation's Capital, Washington deserves to be truly the cultural center of the Nation and possess easily accessible physical facilities to fulfill its responsibilities to the country as a whole.

"2. The area marked for redevelopment is the most logical site for the necessary expansion of Washington's physical facilities not only to serve the people of this area but the hundreds of thousands of additional visitors which it could attract every year.

"3. Any redevelopment of the area based on replacement of housing by housing is not only illogical but so hopelessly uneconomic that it could never be fully accomplished."

As a substitute for what he refers to as the present plans' concept of "housing for housing, slums for future slums," Mr. Ghent proposes what he calls a "Federal center plan" of southwest redevelopment.

"It is high time for Congress and all of us here to begin to think in bigger dimensions about Washington and its place in the world scheme," he said.

"This is a city of destiny, yet we continue to think of it almost as a one-horse country town, and make plans accordingly. Such a viewpoint is not only parochial, it is nonsensical. It demeans not only this vast metropolitan region; it demeans our entire country, as well."

What does Mr. Ghent's Federal center plan propose?

Essentially, it is a simple plan, though on a sweeping scale. It would raze virtually all buildings in the forty-odd-block area and replace them with:

1. An Olympic stadium, suitable for international sports gatherings, with parking space both above and below ground for approximately 30,000 automobiles.

2. A union bus terminal, serving all parts of the metropolitan region, and from which express buses could shuttle back and forth from the downtown business section.

3. A large convention hall, opera house, and national theater.

4. An auxiliary commercial center having its own parking space adjacent to stadium and bus terminal.

5. Sites for an international university and university apartments and dormitories, to serve as an additional educational and cultural center on the national scene. The dormitories and apartments would be designed primarily to serve the university and would represent the only housing proposed by Mr. Ghent for construction in the area.

6. A warehouse-industrial-commercial area adjacent to tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad along part of the northern boundary of the redevelopment tract.

There, in essence, is the Federal center plan. How could it be brought to reality? Where would the money come from?

"The money would have to come from the same sources that would need to be depended upon for any redevelopment program," Mr. Ghent said, "private investors and the Federal Government."

"A plan of such scope which did not rely upon housing, could attract private funds in sufficient volume and justify a larger percentage of Federal expenditure," he said.

"There certainly must be many individuals in this country who would welcome the opportunity to identify their names with the National Capital in somewhat the same way as did Mr. Smithson, with his gift establishing the Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Freer, in establishing the Freer Gallery; Mr. Folger in establishing the Shakespearean Library; Mr. Mellon, in establishing the National Gallery and others who have contributed to the cultural life of the Nation with centrally located institutions here.

"But first there must be an integrated plan and a logical place for these establishments.

"As to private investment, there most certainly is need for and opportunity for both community and private profit in a central bus terminal."

Likewise an auxiliary commercial development close to such an active center of public transportation would be attractive to investors.

"As to Government responsibilities, consider this: The Federal Government the District and the States of Maryland and Virginia are engaged in spending or in planning to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for bridges and highways to bring many thousands of additional automobiles into the central city and take them out again. But what is being done to get them off the streets while they are here?

"Off-street parking adjacent to a stadium and auxiliary commercial center would certainly alleviate the present transportation problem, and the bigger one ahead.

"Strategic placing of a union bus terminal near to large expanses of off-street parking would allow public transportation facilities to be used more efficiently in quick, short, shuttle-bus trips to the F Street retail area, downtown office buildings, and other intown areas.

"The central bus station would provide a point for transfer and interchange of passengers from intown centers to buses which would carry these passengers on their way to outlying sections."

Mr. Ghent made it clear his Federal center plan is not rigid in concept.

"My basic idea is that we use land for its most feasible, economic, and proper use before replacing slums with high-cost housing in an area not best suited for housing development," he said.

"To do less would be to discount Washington's importance today as a mecca of American democracy and as a cultural symbol of our developing city and Nation.

"The overriding fact about the Southwest redevelopment area is that it offers an unparalleled opportunity to think big about Washington, and to establish much-needed community facilities in the central area where they belong."

Alaska Roadhouse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, not far from the banks of the Yukon River is a part of Alaska where the first hydraulic mining for gold was carried on, and not too distant from the Arctic Circle there is a roadhouse which has cared for Alaska travelers since 1896. Let it be added that the Alaska roadhouse is not a night spot but a place on the trail for the accommodation of travelers. When the roadhouse was opened Fairbanks, now the second largest city in Alaska, did not even exist. After its founding a trail was cut through to connect Fairbanks and Circle, then the mining metropolis on the Yukon River, and later a wagon road was built, and still later the Steese Highway, which now serves the motoring public. Through all these years and through all the changes in

transportation methods, the Millér House has been the scene of hospitality, cheer, and good food. For a long while now the Miller House has been operated by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Miller, pioneer and respected citizens of the Territory. Now Mr. Miller has put down the saga of Miller House in verse, and I take pleasure in inserting the stanzas here:

This is an old, old roadhouse.
At the crossroads of the pioneers,
Operating since 1896, and figuring by man's rule,
That is a long term of years.

Here, many friendships were cemented,
And "tall" tales were often told,
These have been cherished and remembered, through the years,
Like nuggets of untarnished gold.

The setting has not changed much.
It is still a beautiful spot
And one of the places in all the world
That God has never forgot.

The beautiful hills and the valley,
With their carpets of shrubs, flowers, and trees,
Continually changing their gorgeous colors:
Why? Maybe, just to please.

And the creek not far away,
Noisily singing along,
Sometimes grumbling and sometimes scolding,
But ever, a wonderful song.

The bull moose, browsing on the hillside,
And in the muskegs too,
Dreaming perhaps for all we know,
Of the things he's going to do.

The furry animals round about,
And all our feathered friends too,
The Beneficent Creator has put here,
For the needs of me and you.

The "skeeters" in the bushes,
With the festive gnats beside,
Sharpening up their drills and pincers,
To work on tourists' hides.

The creeks are filled with grayling,
So, it is advertised,
And fishermen say they are biting,
But remember, a fisherman often lies.

At nearby spots, gold can be panned,
And tourists often do,
And shout with glee when the first colors they see,
No matter, many or few.

Believe or not, the story I've told,
And the facts I've given to you,
Come down and see, you'll be welcomed, I know,
As in the days of old.

ADDENDUM

Alaska is a wondrous land,
Always just and true,
So remember brother, good or bad,
You will get what's coming to you.

Taxes, Prosperity, and Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. E. S. Hall, Farmington, Conn., is a well-known research engineer, patent attorney, and writer. He has spent years studying our Federal tax system. He is convinced that he has worked out a tax system that will operate efficiently, equitably, and economically. The heart of his plan is to place all business on the basis of trusteeship—that is, trustee operation and accounting. As he puts it:

Let business as a trustee distribute all profits justly, before taxes, but withhold a proportional tax from all personal incomes, management, labor, and stockholder, the same percentage from everybody.

The following is Mr. Hall's statement outlining his plan:

TAXES, PROSPERITY, AND FREEDOM

Experience in the 80th Congress has shown that tax reduction encourages private enterprise, stimulates economic activity, and yields more tax revenue. Complete business tax reduction—no taxes on sales or profits; excise taxes for regulatory purposes only—should stimulate business most and yield maximum revenue, enough to balance the budget.

If we untax business, would we have to raise personal taxes? No. In the end, all taxes are personal taxes. Business doesn't really pay taxes; it only collects them. When we try to tax business, big chunks of taxable income escape through loopholes and business collects hidden sales taxes from us. Most of us voters are paying more than our shares of taxes, yet the budget isn't balanced because of the loopholes.

What's the surest way to give the voters tax relief? Stop trying to tax business. Wipe out hidden taxes. Repeal sales taxes. Plug all loopholes. Tax everybody justly and directly with a simple tax law founded on the principles of freedom. What are the facts?

FREEDOM IS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Economic freedom is private ownership of yourself, your total product as income, and your property or capital saved from your former production and that of your forebears. Private ownership, the essence of freedom, is acquired by investing capital assets. Life is a capital asset more precious than money.

A business is a combination of property and personnel. Those who invest money own the property; the measure of their private ownership is the money invested. Those who invest life (while selling work done, a commodity, for wages) own themselves, the personnel, the living capital of the business; the free-market measure of their private ownership is the year's payroll.

Profit, the net new wealth produced, is the gain from operating the business, the difference between income and expense. Profit should be distributed justly, before taxes, partly in cash at the discretion of management and partly in property ownership credited (or charged) to the owners of both property and personnel in proportion to their several private ownerships as measured by the money invested and the year's payroll.

THE CAUSE OF WORLD CONFLICT

In this and former civilizations, the master incentive of freedom, of private ownership and profit, was applied to the owners of business property but not to the owners of business personnel. Employees, their ownership of themselves not recognized, have been working in partial economic serfdom, and the distribution of voting power in business and the distribution of profit (or loss) have been neither just nor currently complete.

This defect in capitalism's freedom mechanism was, and is, the basic cause of the class struggle, the basic cause of strikes and communism, the cause of the entire conflict. Marx was right in his diagnosis, but left and wrong in his prescription and treatment. Wage slavery, partial economic serfdom, was the original injustice, the cause of the disease. But instead of abolishing the serfdom, Marx undertook to abolish private ownership, abolish freedom. He set up communism as an international conspiracy to abolish capitalism and establish world socialism, both by force of legal evolution and by force of violent revolution.

AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY

An appalling thing about this conspiracy is the ease with which the best of us, reformers and philanthropists, become involved in it. Instead of repealing existing injustice, we try to compensate for it by enacting socialistic laws. We rob capitalists with progressive taxes on profits and incomes, and indulge in liberal spending for parity, benefits, and socialized security. We point with pride to these social gains. Thus we win elections. When injustice cries for correction, votes go to those who do something, even the wrong thing, rather than to those who have no program.

HOW TO WIN ELECTIONS

There's a better way to win elections. Get a right program. Correct the defect in capitalism's mechanism. Abolish economic serfdom. Remove the cause of communism. Remove the basic cause of strikes. Remove the cause of the entire conflict. Revitalize capitalism with the dynamic incentive of universal economic freedom. Who wouldn't vote for strikeless prosperity?

Congress could give us tax relief by enacting a new tax law as an alternate to the Internal Revenue Code, and let the taxpayers choose between the two. This wouldn't add any complications; as the taxpayers change to the simple law, it would lessen the complication.

TAX RELIEF FOR EVERYONE

Suppose we had a law to let any business voluntarily distribute profits (or loss) justly, before taxes, and thus pay higher dividends to stockholders, pay these same high dividends to management and labor, care adequately for seniority and retirement in the natural capitalist manner, and give everyone ability to pay the proportional income tax, the rate automatically adjusted quarterly to balance the budget every year, retire the debt at a reasonable rate, and restore and maintain the purchasing power of the dollar. Is there an American alive who wouldn't vote for that? Would stockholders like higher dividends? Would management like these high dividends? Would labor like these high dividends? Would voters vote for this extra income? Would they like to have ability to pay their shares of the tax on the national income?

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

Suppose, as part of this new tax program, we had a law to provide incentive pay for Government employees, to raise the efficiency and reduce the cost of Government. Would the voters vote for that?

FARM INCOME INSURANCE

Suppose we had a law to take the gamble out of farming in the free market by the general use of farm-income insurance based on cost of production, mostly in private insurance companies but correlated each year by Government. Would the farmers vote for insured incomes? Would the voters vote for a gradual reduction in the cost of living?

GENUINE SECURITY

Suppose we had a law to provide cash aid to the needy to cover food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, locally administered, with no special taxes or contributions. In America we are expected to stand on our own feet, but if misfortune should strike, wouldn't we like to know that society stands ready to give us what we need in a decent and forthright manner? Who wouldn't vote for genuine overall security?

VOLUNTARY TAX RELIEF

A business which elects to operate under this new tax law will pay no profit taxes and withhold no taxes under the code, but it will withhold the same flat-rate proportional tax from all personal income payments and make returns currently. No tax problems. Complete tax relief. Venture capital free to venture. Private enterprise free to produce.

OVERBALANCE THE BUDGET

Department of Commerce records show that a tax rate of 25 percent, fully effective last year, would have collected about $76 billion, $8 billion more than collected by the code. With the budget overbalanced, the rate would have been cut already to 22 percent.

STRIKELESS PROSPERITY

Employees and stockholders are the same kind of people. Give them the same freedom incentive, the incentive of private ownership and profit, and they will all react in the same way. No strikes. Profits and the national income will rise to new heights, and as peace returns to this war-weary world, the tax rate will fall toward the tithe, 10 percent.

PAINLESS TAXATION.

The just distribution of commodities, the real wealth, which follows the just distribution of personal incomes is not disturbed by the proportional income tax, even when the rate is high enough to soak up the "inflationary gap" and overbalance the budget. As the debt is reduced and prices come down in the natural way, the money left in our pockets after taxes will buy a better living. Painless taxation. No quarterly or annual income tax headaches. Is this what the voters want?

BOSTON TEA PARTY

Congress will give us this alternate tax law if enough of us demand it. Write to your Congressmen. Hold another Boston Tea Party in your town. Heave red taxes overboard by writing a flood ow personal eitters to Washington.

Berlin Editors Fighting United States-Subsidized Paper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, from the following newspaper article it appears that instead of winning friends by subsidizing a newspaper in Berlin, we might be losing friends. If these editors of the competing newspapers in Berlin take this problem still more seriously, it may harm the good relationship that is every day improving between the German people and the American people.

The facts of this difference in opinion are brought out by the article written by Julius Epstein and appearing in the Brooklyn Tablet on December 5, 1953:

BERLIN EDITORS FIGHTING UNITED STATES SUBSIDIZED PAPER—FREE GERMAN PRESS THREATENED, THEY CHARGE—REVEAL DEFICITS FOR LACK OF ADVERTISING COPY

(By Julius Epstein)

For the last months, a bitter fight has been waged between the free German press, especially that of Berlin, and the American Government and its representatives in Bonn and Berlin.

The strange fact that this fight has been waged behind a very tightly drawn silk screen of utmost secrecy and that, therefore, no American newspaper reported about it can only enhance the tremendous importance of the issues involved.

PRESENTS THE FACTS

The facts behind the curtain of secrecy, as they concern this fight, are the following:

When the American Government, a few months ago, was forced by congressional cuts of appropriations to close down the Neue Zeitung of Frankfurt, the American Government-owned daily newspaper in Germany, it decided to continue its Berlin edition. It was this decision which provoked the indignation of the publishers and editors of the free German press, especially in West Berlin.

The reasons for that indignation are very simple, indeed, and there cannot be any doubt that the vast majority of the American people will share that indignation if they know its motive.

The publishers and editors of the free Berlin press are engaged in a highly competitive business, a fact which they don't mind a bit, since it is in complete accordance with their adherence to the principle of free enterprise, a principle to which the American Government and its High Commissioner in Germany, Dr. Conant, profess to adhere to, at least in theory.

Those publishers and editors cannot understand why the American Government is still publishing a daily newspaper in Berlin, a paper which can only exist by its extraterritorial status in every legal respect and by its financial support out of the pockets of the American taxpayer.

UNITED STATES TAXPAYERS PAY DEFICIT

They argue that the Berlin Neue Zeitung could not appear for a single day were it not for the fact that it does not have to care about capitalistic profit, since its deficit is taken care of by American Government subsidies.

The case of the Berlin Neue Zeitung has been very ably presented in a recent letter by the publisher and editor-in-chief of one of the largest West Berlin newspapers, the Tagesspiegel, Erik Reger. Mr. Reger's letter was addressed to the majority leader of the United States Senate, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND.

The following quotations from Mr. Reger's letter to Senator KNOWLAND may well illustrate the whole case:

"The case of the Neue Zeitung is one of principle. It is contradictory to the rules of free economy and fair competition appreciated in the United States.

"It was all very well to prohibit the Bonn government from setting up a government-owned press, but the United States High Commissioner, with the Neue Zeitung owned by the occupation authorities, gives a rather bad example.

"Amply subsidized by Washington, the Neue Zeitung is free from German taxation. German labor law does not apply to it. No German can take action for libel in case such thing occurs.

"As we understood, fair competition means competition under equal conditions. The Neue Zeitung is able to go to work without any balance of expenses and earnings. Regardless of economic sense its size need not be in a sound proportion to advertising, and subscription rates can be as low as those of German papers of much smaller size. The salaries and the fees for free lancers are higher than in any other comparable German newspaper."

SEES INQUIRY DEMANDED

"These are the points demanding an inquiry. * * * The fact that the Neue Zeitung is carrying on in Berlin as a daily cannot be accepted. The West Berlin press has fought hard for liberty in the city and, by its weight as German newspapers, has done more for the accomplishment of the vote for the free West than the Neue Zeitung as a United States official paper, often regarded by the public as a propaganda matter, ever could do.

"The West German press, therefore, must regard a continuation of the Neue Zeitung in Berlin as an unmerited lack of confidence toward it. That inevitably must lead to serious consequences. * * *

"German Berlin newspapers are, of course, not afraid of competition. If the Neue Zeitung would be strongly submitted to the same conditions, both economic principles and application of German taxation and labor law, there would be no objection."

To illustrate the fact how independent the Berlin Neue Zeitung is from the necessity to sell advertising space as any self-supporting newspaper in the free world of free enterprise has to do, Mr. Reger attached a statistical chart to his letter to Senator KNOWLAND, showing in several columns the space devoted to news and article of the Berlin Neue Zeitung as compared to the space devoted to advertisements and to the exact percentage all the space sold to advertisers amounts to.

To understand this very interesting chart one must bear in mind that no Berlin newspaper, appearing in the free sector of the city, can exist with less than 25 to 30 percent of its space sold to advertisers.

As Mr. Reger's statistical chart shows, the Berlin Neue Zeitung during the months examined sold never more than 10.29 percent of its total space to advertisers, this being the peak. The usual percentage lies between 4.58 and 8.16 percent.

INTENDS TO TAKE ACTION

No wonder that the Berlin publishers consider this an utmost unfair competition, made possible only by the American Government.

Those publishers and editors are now ready to fight this unfair competition tooth and nail.

They also point to the fact that the newspapers of West Berlin have been waging a most efficient fight against communism and Bolshevist subversion right from the beginning of their appearances in 1945, at a time when the Neue Zeitung not only completely refrained from printing anti-Soviet material, but, quite contrary, used to print articles and editorials written by prominent card-carrying members of the Communist Party, an undeniable fact, just recently brought out in the hearings before the United States Senate's Subcommittee on Government Operations.

The Berlin publishers and editors are now anxiously waiting for the reconvening of the American Congress in January 1954. They do hope that Congress will consider their point and will ultimately abolish the last remains of an unfree press, run by the American Government and paid for by the American people.

Double Ten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks an editorial appearing in the New York Times of October 10, 1953, entitled "Double Ten" presenting sound reasons, in addition to many others not expressed therein, why Red China should not be admitted into the United Nations or

receive recognition from our Government:

DOUBLE TEN

As many of the Chinese as are still free will observe today the annual Double Ten anniversary, so called because it falls on the 10th day of the 10th month. It commemorates the proclamation, 42 years ago, of a new and free China by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It marks the anniversary of the authentic beginning of the Chinese revolution, although it had its roots in the efforts of Dr. Sun and others prior to 1911.

In spite of the cruel buffets that the new and free China has suffered and in spite of the fact that a different tyranny now holds sway in Peiping, the observance at this time should be significant. It can be a time for a more careful look at the past and a closer look to the future. The thoughts of today can be the guide to actions of tomorrow.

It will be noted, first of all, that this Double Ten ought to put into better focus some of the facts about the Chinese revolution. There has often been a careless tendency (perhaps not so careless in some quarters) to equate the Chinese revolution with the rise of the Communists. It has been the standard party line that evil conditions in China—both exploitation domestically and encroachment by foreign "imperialists"—brought forth an inevitable "peasant and worker revolt" in which the Communists were the logical and true protagonists.

This thesis is false. There was an authentic Chinese revolution years before the Communists, under orders from Moscow, appeared on the scene. By the time the Communist agents arrived the spearhead of that revolution was the Kuomintang, which had been formed to carry out the program of Dr. Sun. The Communist participation subsequently was directed toward the infiltration and capture of the Kuomintang. When that failed the obvious stratagem was first to vilify and then to destroy, if possible, those agencies, including the Kuomintang, that had resisted the Kremlin assault. When all other methods failed it was possible to accomplish, by military means, the overthrow of the authentic Chinese Government on the mainland. This was not revolution; it was conquest.

Politically the Chinese Communists have not succeeded so long as the spirit of Dr. Sun and the real Chinese revolution remains alive. It is kept alive now by the existence of a still free Chinese Government whose seat is Formosa. This fact goes far to explain the grim determination of the Communists and their apologists to destroy that free government. Since this cannot be accomplished by force, under present conditions, the Communist method is political. It should be clear by this time that the Communist clamor for recognition gets its real inspiration from the determination to see recognition withdrawn from that China that is still free.

In addition to its topical aspect this phase of the problem, as it is highlighted by the Double Ten, has another element of the utmost importance. The preservation of a free government under the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa continues to provide the rallying point for the considerable body of so-called overseas Chinese in several vital areas. There is still a standard to which these Chinese can repair.

Because of their situation the overseas Chinese have an importance out of proportion to their some 12 million in numbers. They form important communities in countries such as Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The direction that their loyalty takes can be of the utmost significance. Their interests, since most of them are capitalists of a sort, are naturally opposed to the Communists, and they have been even further alienated by the systematic Communist campaigns of extortion and blackmail.

To take away their possibility of allegiance to a free government would be in effect to create potential Communist Chinese fifth columns in half a dozen strategic areas. Much more than that, it would be to take away the possibilities of hope and faith and fervor in a good cause, the cause of the real Chinese revolution, which is still in progress.

Double Ten, this year, is not a happy anniversary. The Chinese on the mainland as well as elsewhere are in a period of terrible travail. But this can be a thoughtful and a dedicated observation. We can resolve with our Chinese friends that the spirit of Dr. Sun shall not be overwhelmed by the dialectic of Lenin-Stalin-Mao, and that a new life shall dawn, in good time, for the Chinese.

Health Program Offered to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce by Henry J. Kaiser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce today, January 11, 1954, resumed hearings on methods available to groups and individuals to protect themselves against the costs of illness and particularly prolonged or catastrophic illness.

The first witness before the committee was Mr. Henry J. Kaiser, president of the Kaiser Foundation. His testimony was important in offering a sound and comprehensive program that would be of assistance in meeting the burdensome cost of medical attention and hospitalization. I wish to include extracts taken therefrom, as follows:

A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SOLUTION TO MEDICAL CARE BY THE DOCTORS OF THIS COUNTRY

First of all, we consider it important to express wholehearted agreement with your chairman's statement in originally opening this series of hearings that no subject dealt with by your committee "affects every family and individual in these United States more directly than the subject of health," with its "important economic implications for our Nation."

It is our conviction that a new economics of medical care can be and will be developed throughout the United States. It will place high quality, comprehensive, medical, surgical, and hospital care within people's reach. It is important to emphasize comprehensive coverage, in order to point up that it can protect millions of Americans against far more than a mere fraction of the hardships and high costs of illness and disease.

This new economics of medical care that we envision as coming rapidly and nationwide, is a free enterprise solution that can be accomplished by groups of doctors throughout the United States. It will make Government socialized medicine absolutely unnecessary.

In every section of the country, groups of doctors can carry out their own independent adaptations of the pattern of voluntary medical service prepayment plan that has been developed on the Pacific coast over a period of 20 years.

TWENTY-YEAR BACKGROUND OF A PATTERN FOR MEDICAL CARE

The Kaiser Foundation health plan as it operates today, did not start out with preconceived ideas and a full-grown plan, but instead developed by evolution over a spread of 20 years. It evolved out of great human needs—first, the health needs of workers on remote construction projects; next, the needs of war workers, and then, the demands of the general public.

The solution came about when a prepayment medical care program was pioneered by Dr. Garfield and the group. Workers voluntarily signed up for a prepayment health plan to cover their nonindustrial health care. The workers no longer had any concern about paying for their medical care. Everybody concerned benefited from the prepayment plan—the patients, doctors, insurance carriers and contractors. The lessons learned have been the basis of our health operations ever since.

At the end of World War II, demand arose from former shipyard workers and others who had learned of the plan for continuation of the plan and for opening it up to the general population. In 1946, there were 40,000 health plan members. Since then the membership has increased tenfold, and now has a membership of nearly one-half million members, and growth has been limited only by ability to provide facilities and the services of groups of doctors fast enough to keep up with public demand.

The conviction that groups of doctors can apply this type of plan elsewhere throughout the country has been demonstrated by the fact that the plan has been tested under all sorts of conditions—in wartime and peacetime; through depression, recession and prosperity; in all sorts of locations—in deserts, in remote rural areas, in suburbs and in large cities; in areas with only a small number of members and in other areas with tens of thousands of members; with scattered groups and concentrated groups.

FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PLAN

The plan works because of four basic principles:

1. Prepayment: Prepayment is generally accepted as the only way that people of moderate means can pay for increasing costs of modern medical care. This is the old principle of the well helping pay for the sick; the houses that don't burn down paying for those that do. It is the principle of small monthly dues paying a patient's doctor and hospital bills in advance, so that major illness or disease does not bankrupt a family.

2. Group practice: General practitioners and specialists in the various branches of medicine, surgery, X-ray and laboratory sciences work together as a group. Group practice is not new; it is carried out notably at the great university hospitals and the Mayo, Crile, and Lahey Clinics, and in fact, there are about 600 teams of doctors engaged in group practice in the country. Medical knowledge has become so vast that no one doctor can cover the entire field, and specialists must be used. When a group of general physicians and specialists provide services to health-plan members and work together in modern medical centers, they are able, because of sound economies involved, to provide more care at substantially lower costs to the people than by other methods.

3. Well-planned, integrated facilities: Doctors and their patients need to have a central medical center with the finest, newest hospital design and equipment and with outpatient clinic and, as needed, outlying doctors' offices and smaller outlying hospitals. A group of doctors having such adequate facilities can serve the patients more effectively. The doctor has right at hand his office, laboratory, X-ray and hospital, which obviously results in saving of transportation, saving in duplication of equipment and facil-

ities, saving of personnel. Chief advantage is the great accessibility between the doctor and his scientific equipment and his sickest patients.

4. Preventive medical care: The comprehensive service-type health plan reverses the usual economics of medicine, whereby doctors and hospitals obtain their income from persons who are ill. Under the new economics of medicine, the members' prepaid funds go directly to the medical and hospital organizations providing the services—not as a fee for each sickness, each X-ray, each laboratory test, but as a total sum. The comprehensive service plan differs from more limited kinds of coverage that may eliminate the first few visits to doctors and only partially pay the fees for services charged by doctors and hospitals. So there is an incentive to keep patients well. The members are encouraged to obtain diagnosis and treatment early before illness or disease becomes severe and more costly, more dangerous, and more tragic. The emphasis is on preventive medicine—on keeping people well.

It is by combining all four recognized and basic principles that doctors over the country can achieve more medical care at lower costs for the people. The prepayment principle alone is not enough. Your committee no doubt has noted that 85 million Americans—more than half our people—have some form of prepaid health protection, mostly for only partial coverage, so that official reports state that prepaid plans cover only some 15 percent of people's private expenditures for medical care. But when all four principles are combined—prepayment, group practice, well-planned, integrated facilities and preventive medical care—far more medical care can be provided within the people's reach and means.

DEMONSTRATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PLAN

Here are some of the facts about how the combination of these four basic principles has worked out on the Pacific coast:

1. The Kaiser Foundation health plan today is serving approximately 400,000 members in California, Oregon, and Washington.

The plan is comprehensive and on a service basis rather than being on a limited indemnity or fee-for-each-service basis. Subscribers obtain the following: Care of doctors in the office, home and hospital; all hospital care—111 days for each illness or injury; operations; routine and special duty nursing; laboratory and X-ray services; physical therapy; emergency services; drugs and medicines without charge while hospitalized.

The monthly dues for the standard group health plan at this time are $3.25 for a single subscriber; $5.70 for a subscriber and one dependent, and $6.95 for a subscriber and two or more family dependents. In addition to the dues there are small supplemental charges for certain services which are described in brochures submitted to your committee. These brochures cover our major plans—plans designed to meet varying desires of our members.

The current 400,000 members comprise a cross-section of the public—employees of industries, stores, offices, transportation, military works and university faculties; dependents of such employed persons; and families enrolled on an individual rather than group basis.

The demands for this comprehensive type of medical, surgical and hospital coverage far outstrip the speed with which facilities can be financed and built.

2. Doctors' group practice partnerships: The heart of the medical care program is the partnerships of doctors who supply their services to the members. Physicians form their own independent, private enterprise partnerships—much the same as do many group practice clinics in the country. General practitioners and specialists in the various branches of medicine, surgery, X-ray and laboratory sciences organize a full-time team.

The number of doctors serving health-plan members through several partnerships in hospitals, outpatient departments, and at home has grown to more than 525 doctors working on a full-time or part-time basis or as special consultants.

The doctors are in complete charge of all medical care, without lay or corporate control over their services to patients.

It is essential that doctors in a group receive adequate incomes for their professional skills and work, and the incomes of the doctors in the groups serving the health-plan members compare favorably with averages for physicians in areas in which they practice. The doctors, as well as hospitals, are able to provide a tremendous amount of high quality care at reasonable cost, with administrative overhead being kept at a bare minimum.

3. Self-sustaining facilities: Today Kaiser Foundation health plan members and the public are served through 35 medical centers, hospitals, and clinics in the West.

These facilities, worth a good many millions of dollars, have been made possible by developing a method by which hospitals can be operated without deficits and pay for themselves out of a modest percentage of income. It has been proved that hospitals can be made a sound, privately financed investment. They do not have to resort to customary charity appeals, or subsidies. This is a departure.

I recall that when I sought the first bank loan to build hospital facilities to meet the critical health needs of shipyard workers, the bankers said that they "wouldn't loan a dime on a hospital, because hospitals are such money losers." I had to arrange guaranties to underwrite the first loans. But subsequently financial institutions have recognized the sound and self-sustaining basis of our foundation hospitals, and guaranties of our hospital loans are no longer required.

In the multistory city hospitals, the top floors provide hotel-type service for convalescents. The one-floor suburban hospitals are built like ranch houses spread in country and garden surroundings of flowers, lawns, and trees, with a wide lanai, or veranda, to which patients' beds may be wheeled into the out-of-doors.

Self-supporting hospitals—hospitals that can be financed with private funds and that pay their own way—are an integral part of an adequately rounded medical-care program.

4. Funds for medical education, research, and charity are generated as a vital part of our program.

With approval of the American Medical Association Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, the Oakland Hospital is a training center for interns, and under specialty board approvals, it is a teaching hospital for the training of specialists in surgery, internal medicine, general practice, pathology, pediatrics, obstetrics, and gynecology. The Kaiser Foundation School of Nursing conducts an approved 3-year course. Other provision is made for free hospital care of charity patients, for a number of programs of medical research, for publication of an educational medical bulletin, and for a planning-for-health publication that goes to health plan members.

These and greater achievements result when the medical and hospital organizations succeed in keeping people healthier. The plan is good for both doctors and patients.

A PROPOSAL FOR MEDICAL CENTERS NATIONWIDE

Right today there would be a great many more doctors partnerships and service-type health plans competing to do the best job for the people if they could qualify for the necessary private financing. But, as I have indicated, bankers won't lend for the kind of hospitals that traditionally operate in the red. Hence, a vital key is to make private financing available to the groups of doctors, and I believe the opportunity is at hand to accomplish this.

I have conferred with the heads of a number of the country's major insurance companies and banks, exploring with them the suggestion that private capital be invested in facilities in areas where doctors desire to associate themselves together in their own group-practice partnerships, in connection with the establishment of medical centers and service health plans. Bankers and insurance company executives have expressed great interest in receiving the figures proving how medical centers can be self-sustaining, and I have been encouraged to anticipate their active participation in working out sound private financing of medical centers.

I believe that groups of doctors—entirely through private enterprise and private financing—could accomplish the following program nationwide:

1. Thirty million Americans could be protected for comprehensive medical, surgical and hospital needs under voluntary, group practice health plans that will provide them substantially more high quality health care at lower costs than can be done by more limited fee-for-service types of coverage.

2. Thirty thousand doctors in every part of the country could have the opportunity to establish their own independent doctors partnerships, practice together in the local medical centers and outpatient clinics, and take care of the medical needs of these 30,000,000 members of health plans.

3. The investment of approximately $1 billion, entirely through private funds, could finance the building of medical centers in every part of the country, providing hospitalization for the 30,000,000 Americans and the care by the 30,000 doctors. These facilities could pay for themselves and be completely self-supporting.

At this time, banks and insurance companies can lend only 60 percent of the cost of building a medical center, with a doctors partnership raising the other 40 percent, providing the financial institutions are convinced of the soundness of the operations and project.

FHA AND VA TYPE INSURANCE OF LOANS

Your committee has asked how the Congress might help toward alleviating "some of the suffering and some of the economic losses" of disease and toward assisting people to protect their health needs better.

To speed up a program to enable more doctors partnerships to serve members of prepayment health plans in every area of the country, the Congress might see fit to authorize the Government to insure loans made by banks and institutional investors for the proposed medical center facilities.

This would extend to the financing of medical facilities the same general type of loan insurance now granted by the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration for home building. Thus if an insured loan of 90 percent of construction costs were granted by lending institutions, a group of doctors could arrange for the investment of the balance of 10 percent. Insured loans also could be advanced to improve or expand existing facilities.

Long-term financing would be an important impetus to enabling hospitals to repay self-liquidating loans. If the burden of capital costs were spread out over the useful life of facilities, it would increase the self-supporting potentialities of a hospital or medical facility. It would be advisable that insured hospital loans be extended for a period of at least 25 years, or in fact, over the estimated useful life of, say, up to 40 years for given facilities.

The economies and efficiencies made possible through group practice, prepayment health plans and medical centers result in such savings to health plan members and the public that, in actuality, the patients'

savings are much greater than the reasonable share of funds devoted to paying for facilities and equipment.

For approximately $1 million a medical center can be built that would enable an independent partnership of 30 doctors to provide comprehensive medical care to 30,000 health plan members, in addition to care given patients of solo doctors, persons covered by any other types of health plans or insurance, and charity patients. A billion-dollar program would finance the building of 1,000 units of this size. A $3 million metropolitan medical center (3 times the size of such unit) could care for 90,000 members of a comprehensive health plan, using the services of 90 doctors, as well as caring for other patients on a private or charitable basis.

I believe our vigorous financial institutions can rise to the need and opportunity and can supply the necessary private capital.

Financial institutions have invested $23,600,000,000 in the construction of approximately 4 million dwelling units, under loans insured through the Federal Housing Administration.

Financial institutions likewise have invested $20,600,000,000 in 3,290,000 units of housing, farms, and businesses, under loans insured through the Veterans' Administration.

Since the insurance stimulation has worked so effectively and soundly in unleashing such enormous home building, I respectfully suggest that your committee may desire to study how the Congress could apply the FHA- and VA-type insurance for private investments to make more medical care and hospitals available at low cost to millions of people.

CONGRESSIONAL BILLS TO FINANCE HOSPITALS AND HEALTH PLANS

Members of Congress are to be commended for their continuing search over many years to arrive at ways by which to extend and distribute medical care more adequately. I have noted that bills are pending before the 83d Congress proposing to set up Government financial assistance making it possible for doctors and communities to build medical centers, hospitals and clinics, and multiply protection of people by health plans. Several proposals before the Congress are aimed at helping break the financial barriers to the provision of more adequate health services for the people.

OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED FOR A PRIVATE INITIATIVE SOLUTION

An outstanding development, in my opinion, came only last Wednesday, January 6, when Chairman WOLVERTON of your committee introduced a new bill "to provide mortgage-loan insurance to stimulate investment of private capital in the construction of self-supporting hospitals and other medical facilities and to facilitate the extension of voluntary, prepayment health plans providing comprehensive medical and hospital care."

The declaration of purposes in the Wolverton bill assuredly advances objectives of tremendous importance to the millions upon millions of Americans seeking answers to their health problems.

The Wolverton bill proposes Government insurance of mortgage loans for hospitals and medical facilities. Your committee can make a great contribution by exploring this proposal for extending the accepted, proven and successful FHA and VA type of insurance of loans for hospital and medical facilities.

Unequivocally, we favor the principle of making available to the doctors of this country insured loans to encourage the flow of private capital into needed facilities, because we believe that the opportunities are yet untouched for the doctors through free enterprise and private capital to provide medical care and facilities for the millions without Government subsidies or socialized medicine. We have clung tenaciously to the hope that doctors themselves will take the lead in providing the private initiative solution to the people's health needs. We certainly do not envision the nationwide effort, reaching into every area, as the task for the Kaiser Foundation health organizations. Our sole interest is in seeing more health care provided to the people at costs within their means.

Group practice is growing, and if encouragement is given to this trend, an upsurge can take place in the numbers of general physicians and specialists of all the various skills who will associate themselves together in partnerships and group practice throughout the United States.

We do not believe the average middle-income people, now clamoring for a way to meet high health bills, need be plunged either gradually or rapidly into Government socialized medicine. We do not believe the Government need spend billions on a solution.

The medical profession might see fit to establish its own service organization to assist doctors who wish to form partnerships, build medical centers, and supply comprehensive prepaid health care. County medical societies could organize full-time staffs of doctors from their local memberships, and they would find thousands of people streaming to them for comprehensive prepaid service.

In conferences with American Medical Association executives in Chicago, as well as AMA chiefs on the State and county levels, we have endeavored to contribute the experiences gained in our 20 years of experiments, difficulties, and successes.

Doctors themselves have the opportunity through this plan to increase their priceless service to their fellow man, enjoy excellent incomes and professional working conditions, and obtain ultramodern medical centers, built and paid for entirely through private enterprise. If they do the necessary job, there would be such a spread of medical care in this country that no other place or country could compare with it. It would make socialization of medicine unnecessary and by making it unnecessary, impossible.

I believe the overwhelming enlightenment and gumption of dedicated medical men ultimately will prevail. I earnestly hold to the faith that doctors themselves through genuine private initiative, rather than organized laymen or Government, will bring about an orderly, rapid evolution to the medical care of the future. The people rule and make their own free choices in a democracy, and the groundswell of demands from the people for a better way to be kept healthy and to meet their doctors' and hospital bills inevitably will bring full health care within the reach of all.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, with Congress back in session, the ever-hopeful St. Lawrence seaway project again is back on our doorstep. There are many, who are sincerely economy minded and who see clearly the tremendous sums running into the billions, who wish some way could be found to remove this economic monstrosity once and for all.

In this connection, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement recently released by the National St. Lawrence Project Conference. The statement discusses one of the undesirable basic facts about this proposal which long ago we developed in our committee—and apparently waterway advocates now are seeing the light, as they agree—and that is the foreign threat to our American shipping if the seaway is completed.

Make no mistake about it. Should we, the Congress, sanction construction of the seaway, we surely will be guilty of jeopardizing our American shipping and our American railroads as well. Cheaply built and cheaply operated foreign vessels, which can be manned at considerably lower costs than American vessels, will deprive us of millions of tons of cargo. Diversion of tonnage and freight traffic from these groups would be extensive and would prove a disastrous impact on our eastern and gulf ports.

The seaway, at the expense of the American people, would in reality give an enormous competitive advantage to European ships, as lower-cost foreign vessels will benefit principally from it. Since when is it good economy for this country to spend huge expenditures at the taxpayers' expense for such unwarranted projects as the seaway, assuring economic freedom for foreign competition, at the expense of our own ships? Surely no one in this Congress would be in favor of adding anything to the burden of our shipping and railroads at this crucial time when these industries have been forced to recede rather than expand.

Years ago, in order to be better informed to consider this project, I agreed to accompany the committee on its inspection tour. I am as completely convinced today, as I was then, that the seaway is definitely not a vital "must" for transportation, power or, as it now comes to us, as a defense measure and America's responsibility. There may be a shortage of electric power in that area but government operation of such power facilities you may be sure would operate in direct competition with the taxpaying private power companies now serving the area. The navigation phase is still far from being sound. It would not only preclude 94 percent of our merchant marine but it would be closed to traffic 5 months of the year. Hearings before our committee prove conclusively the project is not in the interest of our national defense and it would be detrimental to our national economy.

I believe everyone is convinced that all of us can have more if the Government spends less. Any high school boy can figure that out. But, how can economy-minded Members, earnest in their efforts to reduce taxes, ever hope to accomplish this when grossly expensive and uneconomic monsters such as the St. Lawrence seaway project are permitted to be debated and turned down only to rise

again? This, I remind you, has been going on for the past half century.

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, said:

Economic preparedness is fully as important to the Nation as military preparedness.

I think this is a good statement and I commend the President for it. Since this is the time when plans are being made for our economic growth, I recommend his statement be carried out. This we can do best by effectively blocking fantastic projects such as the St. Lawrence seaway and others in its category. I hope this Congress will not fail in its duty to the people to act immediately to resolve this matter.

Tentatively scheduled for Senate consideration this week is the St. Lawrence seaway bill. I hope, with all my heart that, despite the renewed pressure being exerted on them, that the good Senators will continue to use the excellent judgment they have shown in the past and again turn thumbs down on the measure.

The statement and articles follow:

NATIONAL ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT CONFERENCE,
Washington, D. C., December 31, 1953.

NOW, WOULDN'T THIS DEFEAT YOU?—THEY'RE GETTING READY TO IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON SHIPPING IN THE GREAT LAKES, AND ASK FOR SUBSIDIES IF THEY GET THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

A Senator of our acquaintance, bedeviled by the long controversy over the St. Lawrence Waterway, once observed that probably the best solution was to build the waterway and then impose such tariffs that it wouldn't be used.

Believe it or not, the enclosed reprint of articles from Great Lakes newspapers, reveal that something on this order is already in the making. For years these Great Lakes people have agitated for this project which they claimed would be a great boon to the "Heartland of America," and of only slightly lesser benefit to the country as a whole. The "Heartland of America" would be opened up to oceangoing vessels from all the seven seas. Our eastern and gulf ports upon which billions have been spent would be bypassed, they have said, outmoded by the march of progress.

Now, at this late date they have awakened to some of the ill effects of the monster they would create. A particular worry, these articles reveal, is the operation in the lakes between American and Canadian ports of cheaply manned, cheaply operated foreign vessels. Foreign vessels, unlike those of the American merchant marine, which operate mostly on prescribed trade routes from American ports, just set out from their home ports and wander all over the world picking up cargo here and dropping it there. It seems that the small foreign vessels which move through the present St. Lawrence Waterway come into the lakes and now do a sizable business between American and Canadian ports. If the waterway is deepened the lakes would be opened up to a larger number of these vessels and of larger size. Well, that would be a pickle of a situation for the Great Lakes operators to find themselves in; it could be the end of them.

Senator POTTER, of Michigan, a leading waterway advocate, has moved to do something. He has proposed, these articles reveal, and talked it over with President Eisenhower, that the United States and Canada enter into a treaty to prohibit all except American and Canadian vessels from using the waterway except for oceangoing trade. They could pick up a cargo of auto parts at Detroit and take it to Hamburg, for example, but not to a Canadian port.

We think the Senator has cut out a job for himself. We are not a Hague tribunal, nor do we pose as authorities on international law, but an agreement by two nations blocking off or limiting foreign shipping in this wise would, in our opinion, be unique. We may be wrong but we think the eminent jurists at The Hague would burst their juridical frocks.

The United States, of course, does not permit foreign vessels to engage in coastwise traffic. But the proposition here is that two countries get together to confine commerce between them to their own vessels. Well, don't hold your breath until Canada agrees to exclude vessels of the far-flung British Commonwealth, notwithstanding that Canadian operators on the lakes are similarly worried.

Be that as it may, it is not our problem.

But it is a forerunner of things to come that these articles reveal that American Great Lakes operators will also need subsidies to compete with the lower-cost foreign vessels. It is a cinch that subsidies will have to be increased to any American-flag oceangoing vessels that operate on the waterway with part loads in order to get through.

[From the Detroit News of September 25, 1953]

LAKE SHIP OWNERS SEE FOREIGN THREAT

(By Stoddard White)

CLEVELAND, September 25.—Considering the St. Lawrence Seaway as sure to come as tomorrow's sun, Great Lakes ship operators already are worrying about European competition.

Delegates to the American Merchant Marine Conference went home today after hearing a plea by lake carriers for the same protection against cheap labor which Federal law gives to salt water companies.

The anticipated bugaboo is not that raised constantly by seaway opponents—fear that eastern ports will lose trade from Europe—but a fear that cheaply built, cheaply operated foreign vessels will snap up the multimillion-dollar annual trade between the United States and Canada.

CASE PRESENTED

For the first time in public, the case for continued domination of the lakes trade by American and Canadian companies was made here.

Backed by the powerful Lake Carriers' Association, a possible solution to the theoretical plight of American operators was offered by Alexander T. Wood, of Cleveland, president of the Wilson Transit Co.

"Should the deep waterway to the sea become a reality, it will be one thing for European vessels to enter the lakes and clear for ports on the continent," Wood said.

"It will be quite another should they bring specially constructed vessels to the lakes in an endeavor to capitalize upon the exchange of basic commodities between the United States and Canada."

SEES FOREIGN ADVANTAGE

The far lower construction and operating cost of such vessels would give European ships an enormous competitive advantage over the existing lake fleet of the United States.

Wood said 70 percent of the lake vessels are more than 32 years old.

"How then can we, with the cost of construction as it is today, hope to rebuild and expand our fleet in view of the possible usurpation of a large portion of the trade?" he asked.

"Obviously what is needed," he added, "is legislation that will enable each vessel owner to undertake a comprehensive replacement and rebuilding program."

SMALL SHIPS SAILING

Already, he said, small specially designed European vessels able to navigate the shallow St. Lawrence canals are engaging in the grain trade between the United States and Canada.

"Some 27 million tons of essential bulk commodities move between the United States and Canada on the Great Lakes," he said, referring to such traffic as grain, wood products and even iron ore.

"Such trade has shown an increase of 131 percent over the last 25 years and will continue to grow."

"Should America lose that portion of the Canadian-American trade we now have, the repercussions upon domestic commerce would be extensive."

DRAFTING LEGISLATION

Spokesmen for the Lake Carriers' Association, to which every important American lake steamer company belongs, indicate that they are drafting legislation to be offered to Congress, assuring economic freedom from European vessels on the Lakes.

This presumably will imitate the Mutual Security Appropriations Act, which calls for the transportation by United States flag vessels of at least 50 percent of the commodities shipped under the mutual aid program.

The conference, sponsored by the Propeller Club of the United States, an association of maritime men, closed last night with a plea for larger private ship financing.

BOARD CHAIRMAN SPEAKS

The speaker was Louis S. Rothschild, Federal Maritime Administrator and Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board.

"The responsibility for achieving a sound American merchant marine rests on the industry itself, which must exhibit enough self-confidence to encourage a similar confidence on the part of the investing public," Rothschild declared.

A certain amount of Federal aid must be forthcoming, he said, because the maritime industry "must have the assurance that our national interest demands a basic merchant fleet."

[From the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald of December 14, 1953]

POTTER'S PLAN

Michigan's Senator POTTER, in conference with the President, has come up with a proposal for a treaty with Canada which might quiet some of the opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway plan.

The treaty would bar foreign ships from local competition with United States and Canadian ships, limiting them to traffic between Great Lakes ports and foreign ports. It would be necessary, of course, only if and when the seaway is completed.

There is sound reasoning behind this. Foreign ships can be built and operated for about 40 to 60 percent of the costs of American and Canadian ships. Several countries are reported planning to get into the business of serving only Great Lakes ports. Senator POTTER points out that they would crowd local shipping concerns out and then, in time of war when such shipping would be at a premium, could be expected to pull out. The Potter plan would protect United States-Canadian shipping and at the same time guarantee wartime facilities.

In addition, it would end opposition by Great Lakes shipowners and perhaps, to some extent, the opposition by railroads serving this area.

Senator POTTER, moreover, is advantageously placed to push his proposal. He is a member of the Senate Commerce Committee.

Test in Indochina for the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the Communist world conspiracy has always been a challenge to our Government and to the American people. When we failed to do anything effective to prevent Communist conquest of China, we made inevitable the attack on Korea. When someone decided not to win the war in Korea, we made inevitable increased military activity in Southeast Asia. If the Communists get away with that, the aggressions will expand and increase. Asia is important for itself; conquest of it by the Reds is even more important as a step in its intention to get Europe, then ourselves. When and where are we going to try to win and not just hold? The power of the free world is adequate. What it lacks is the will. The test is of our moral fiber.

We have tried appeasement in dealing with the Communists and we have succeeded only in making them more bold, more ruthless and thus have contributed to the enslavement of millions of men and women. Only in strength and determined will to weaken and overcome communism and all that it stands for is there real hope for the free world.

Because we showed indecision in Korea, we now face a tougher decision in Laos where Communist-inspired and Communist-planned aggression against a peaceful people is taking place. What are we to do about it? How and where? The following editorial from the Minneapolis Star of Wednesday, December 30, 1953, calls attention to the decision the American people must make:

TEST IN INDOCHINA?

Eventually—perhaps soon—Americans will be put to the test of their willingness to live up to this Nation's position as leader of the non-Communist free world.

People of many and conflicting political beliefs will be tested. Equally called on to stand up and be counted will be those who believed with General MacArthur that we must not shrink from military action to roll back the Communist threat in Asia, those who preferred the less aggressive Truman-Acheson policy of "containment," and those who agreed with President Eisenhower when he warned that armistice in Korea should mean * * * an end to direct and indirect attacks upon * * * Indochina and Malaya (for) any armistice in Korea that merely released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud.

The test may be developing in Indochina.

It is generally accepted that Communist conquest of Indochina would threaten the security of all southeast Asia. Burma, Thailand, Malaya would become prime candidates for Red invasion or infiltration. Indonesia would be exposed, and India pushed further toward unfriendly neutrality against the west.

It would seem, then, at least as important to prevent Communist conquest of Indonesia as it was to repel the Reds in Korea.

It's hard to say just how serious the situation is right now in Indochina. What French censorship doesn't conceal, unrealistic French optimism confuses. But right now the situation seems to be moving toward the point where United States intervention may be called for.

We must not assume, as some people do, that reduction of United States ground forces in Korea indicates an appeasement frame of mind in Washington or an inability to act, if we wish, in Indochina. It would not only be unpopular, here and in Asia, but probably unprofitable to send large United States ground forces into the Indochinese jungle in pursuit of elusive guerrillas.

But the Viet Minh forces must have supplies from China in order to carry on any extensive operations. Most of these supplies—perhaps 1,000 to 4,000 tons a month—flow into Indochina along well-defined transport routes. These routes could be crippled, if not destroyed, by air power. Coastal gunrunning would be exposed to a close-in naval blockade.

"Retaliation" against the Chinese source of Indochinese arms need not—should not—imply atomic bombs on teeming Chinese civilian populations. But China's rail and highway transport system is exposed and vulnerable to determined air attack.

All such possible actions, of course, assume that we mean it when we say Communist aggression in Asia must be repelled. President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have said we mean business. But whether we act or not must depend in the end on the decision of public opinion.

Transportation Our Nation's Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorials from the Gary Post Tribune, Gary, Ind., recognize the necessity for expanded road and water transportation as our country's greatest need:

HIGHWAYS OF PROGRESS

During the shipping season just closed, Great Lakes vessels toted a record 164 million tons of iron ore, coal, and grain. This surpassed by nearly 6½ percent the previous record year, 1942.

Few Americans appreciate how vital a role these great inland oceans play in the high living standard they enjoy. That's true even here in the Calumet where three harbors handle a large share of the tonnage.

When people talk of this country's advantages, they usually think of the abundance of basic resources, the varied and productive climate, the 3,000-mile-wide market which allows broad distribution of mass-produced goods.

But cheap transportation has always been a key factor. And our magnificent water highway, stretching from northern Minnesota down to Illinois and Indiana, and across the Midwest to north central New York, is the heart of our transport system.

Were it not for these convenient thoroughfares, carved out long ago by the glaciers that sprawled across upper America, we would pay a lot more for bread, for fuel, for automobiles, for houses, for all the things that are made from steel.

ROADS MAY BE A PERIL

One of the hardest-headed planners in this country, Robert Moses, of New York, told the motor manufacturers the other day they should take the lead in pushing for a 10-year, $50 billion highway program.

He cast his appeal in the hard terms they understand: "You can't sell cars if there is no place for their smooth and uninterrupted operation."

Moses said the country is more than 10 years behind the output of cars in its modern highway construction.

These warnings are uttered so often that perhaps they no longer attract much attention. But if the cities, States, and Federal Government do not soon unite on an ambitious program to bring our roads up to date, we may awake before too long to find they are not merely uncomfortable and unsafe, but a peril to our security in time of war.

Opening Statement Made by Chairman Wolverton, of Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on Resumption of Committee's Hearing on Providing a Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, among the diversified legislative functions assigned to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, of which I am chairman, none appear to me more important than the committee's legislative jurisdiction with regard to health. None of the many other subjects with which this committee deals affects every family and individual in these United States more directly than the subject of health. Apart, however, from the human factors involved, I have become convinced from my study of health problems that the subject of health has more important economic implications for our Nation than are generally recognized. The following figures are evidence of the economic importance of ill health.

Four major diseases alone—heart, cancer, tuberculosis, and rheumatism and arthritis—have resulted in an annual loss of 370,000,000 man-days. This accounts for over one-third of the total man days lost annually on account of chronic diseases.

During the course of our hearings, we received the startling testimony that the annual costs to the Nation from illnesses is roughly equivalent to the total Federal income-tax revenues—or $30 billion annually.

By contrast, the United States is spending only $181 million annually for public and private research into the dreaded diseases. At the same time, there is as yet no adequate private program for helping the aged and ill to bear the expenses of hospital and medical bills, particularly those that extend over long periods of time.

The magnitude of the human suffering caused by these diseases and the enormous economic losses suffered both by the Nation as a whole and by individuals and family units, raises two important questions for which the committee sought answers:

First. How can some of the suffering and some of the economic losses be prevented or mitigated; and

Second. How can groups, individuals, and family units protect themselves against the unavoidable economic losses flowing from these diseases?

The first aspect of our inquiry was, therefore, directed primarily toward the public and private efforts that are being made into the causes, treatment, and control of some of these major diseases.

During the second series of our hearings which began October 13, we are seeking from insurance companies, Blue Cross, Blue Shield, cooperatives, employers, and unions, information with regard to some of the plans now in operation designed to protect individuals and members of groups and family units against the economic hazards of ill health.

During the recess, the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and two members of the committee, Representatives HOFFMAN and SPRINGER, made a trip to Europe and other parts of the world for the purpose of getting the benefit of the experience of European and other governments, and private agencies and groups, in establishing programs for widespread alleviation of the costs of both preventative and curative measures. Material and data obtained on this trip will be made a part of the record of the committee in the hearings being held.

President Eisenhower, in his message on the state of the Union, expressed his concern for the health of the people of the United States and stated:

> I am flatly opposed to the socialization of medicine. The great need for hospital and medical services can best be met by the initiative of private plans, but it is unfortunately a fact that medical costs are rising and already impose severe hardships on many families. The Federal Government can do many helpful things and still avoid the socialization of medicine.

The President endorsed the participation by the Federal Government in medical research programs into the various diseases, the assistance given to States in their health and rehabilitation programs, and endorsed the hospital survey and construction program. He specifically endorsed private and nonprofit hospital and medical insurance plans. He stated that a limited Government reinsurance service would permit the private and nonprofit insurance companies to offer broader protection to more of the many families which want and should have it. He stated that on January 18 he would forward to Congress a special message presenting this administration's health program in detail. I, personally, am highly pleased that the President included within his program such a broad statement of health objectives.

Today the committee resumed it hearings by continuing the inquiry into what protection is available to the people by group insurance plans.

Dr. Sidney R. Garfield, Medical Director of Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Testifies Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given today before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at its hearing to develop a plan of health insurance by Dr. Sidney R. Garfield, medical director of the Kaiser Foundation health plan, was highly important. Supporting the testimony given by Henry J. Kaiser, president of the Kaiser Foundation, his testimony in part is as follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. SIDNEY R. GARFIELD, MEDICAL DIRECTOR, KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN, CONCERNING PROTECTION AGAINST CATASTROPHIC DISEASES

With the tremendous growth of voluntary health insurance and medical care plans in this country during the past 15 years, it is most appropriate for your committee to obtain information regarding the role of such plans in the control of the catastrophic diseases and in the protection of the people against economic losses resulting from these diseases and associated prolonged illness.

The Kaiser Foundation health plan, currently serving approximately 400,000 members on the west coast, welcomes the opportunity to discuss its activities in this field.

MEDICAL CARE PRINCIPLES IN KAISER FOUNDATION PLAN

The Kaiser Foundation health plan is a medical service prepayment plan. Affiliated with the health plan are a number of separate medical groups comprising physicians working on a group practice basis, the Kaiser Foundation hospitals, two centers for physical medicine and rehabilitation, and the Kaiser Foundation itself. This organizational team is guided by the following medical care principles.

1. Comprehensive medical care services of high quality must be provided at reasonable costs. This is accomplished when services are provided on a group practice voluntary prepayment basis in medical centers and hospitals affiliated with a medical service plan.

2. A high value must be placed on keeping people well. A healthy person is an asset to all concerned; a sick person is a liability. When medical care services are purchased on a periodic prepayment basis and the prepaid funds go directly to the hospitals and doctors, it is good medical care practice, as well as good business, to focus attention on prevention of diseases.

3. Medical care arrangements must be so designed that, in the event of illness, the patients are encouraged to obtain early diagnosis and treatment. Again, it is good medical care practice, as well as good business, to provide treatment early in an illness and return the patient to health as rapidly as possible. Early detection of disease—in fact, detection before the patient is aware of symptoms—when coupled with prompt treatment is the next best thing to disease prevention.

4. The organizational team must be willing and prepared to experiment with new facilities, new procedures, new forms of medical care coverage, and new arrangements to the end that better medical care services and more comprehensive services are made available to more people within the limits of reasonable costs.

5. Doctors and other personnel who provide the services must be adequately compensated and their working conditions must be good. Economy in the medical care program must not take the form of inadequate compensation for physicians and other personnel, and there must be assurances of high quality care. There is no need for false economy. In contrast to traditional fee-for-service solo medical practice with its high costs, medical care costs are relatively low when services are provided on a group practice basis in well-planned facilities with optimum use of auxiliary personnel, common equipment and facilities; when duplication of overhead expenses, personnel, equipment, and facilities are avoided; and when medical attention is focused on disease prevention, early detection, and prompt treatment.

It must be evident that these principles just outlined apply not only to general medical care, but also apply very specifically to medical care for catastrophic illness.

THE CONTROL OF CATASTROPHIC DISEASES

Essential elements in the control of catastrophic diseases are these:

1. Prevention of the onset of disease: It is recognized that scientific knowledge is as yet limited regarding the causes of many of the catastrophic diseases. Where we cannot prevent the onset of these diseases, our attack must focus on—

2. Early detection and prompt treatment: Through early detection and prompt treatment, we can postpone death and reduce or eliminate disability in many cases of heart disease, cancer, and other catastrophic diseases. Where damage has resulted in certain of these diseases, our attack must go beyond the acute phases of treatment and must focus on—

3. Rehabilitation: Through the use of relatively new rehabilitation techniques and methods, many severely disabled persons can achieve a surprising degree of recovery. Although their diseases may not be cured, more and more disabled persons can be rehabilitated to useful, productive living.

For this triple-pronged attack aimed at the control of the catastrophic diseases, one basic goal of medical service plans should be the elimination of financial barriers to the receipt of necessary services for prevention, early detection, prompt treatment including rehabilitation.'

The Kaiser Foundation health plan and its affiliated organizations and facilities are intensely concerned with catastrophic disease control and with the development of more comprehensive protection against economic losses resulting from these diseases. What we are doing and what be would like to do in this field will now be outlined.

The principles outlined earlier are not vague, complicated, impractical, or unrealistic. These principles are clear, simple, and eminently practical. They bear repeating—i. e. comprehensive medical care provided at reasonable costs on a voluntary prepayment basis by doctors in group practice working in medical centers and hospitals affiliated with the health plan and with prepaid funds going directly to doctors and hospitals; total program emphasis on preventive services and services for early detection and prompt treatment of illness; adequate compensation for doctors and auxiliary personnel; and the ever-present willingness to study new developments and ideas aimed at better and more comprehensive medical care services for the people.

PREVENTIVE SERVICES IN KAISER FOUNDATION PLAN

To understand how these principles are put into practice, let us start with preventive services and services for the early detection of disease.

From the inception of the health plan, periodic physical examinations and other preventive services in all fields of medicine

have been basic services available to health plan members. These preventive services have been recommended for many years by the medical profession, life insurance companies, and the voluntary health agencies. There has been a ready acceptance by the public of these preventive services, particularly in the care of mothers and children. However, with respect to periodic physical examinations of the traditional type, there is general experience that relatively few people take such examinations. Even when relatively comprehensive traditional type physical examinations are provided under a health plan at no extra cost, relatively few members avail themselves of them.

The Kaiser Foundation health plan and the affiliated medical groups could have been satisfied with their program of periodic physical examinations. By making these examinations available to members and encouraging them to use this service, the health plan was in the company of a few prepayment plans in the country providing this service. However, the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan and the doctors were not satisfied. They were on the lookout for a more effective program of periodic physical examinations.

EARLY DETECTION OF CATASTROPHIC DISEASES IN KAISER FOUNDATION HEALTH PLAN POPULATION

In December 1949, a promising development was reported in the Journal of the California Medical Association (California Medicine). In San Jose, Calif., a demonstration had been conducted of multiple mass screening procedures. A battery of tests (designed to detect tuberculosis, syphilis, diabetes, certain forms of heart disease, and nephritis) was given to 945 industrial employees and among these persons 13 cases of significant disease previously unknown to the patient were discovered.

Although doctors in the medical groups affiliated with the Kaiser Foundation health plan were aware of the potentialities of multiphasic-screening procedures for early detection of disease, they were also aware of many technical and procedural problems which had to be solved before multiphasic screening could be incorporated into the medical-care program. Some of these problems were solved with the application of multiphasic procedures in a number of public-health case-finding programs.

However, in 1951, with multiphasic screening procedures still untried in medical-care prepayment plans, the Kaiser Foundation health plan and a large labor union whose members are covered by the health plan, decided to organize a multiphasic-screening program on an experimental basis. This was done with the cooperation of several public and private agencies. Dr. Lester Breslow, who initiated the San Jose demonstration, participated in the planning and conduct of the experimental program. Approximately 4,000 workers took the following battery of screening tests: chest X-ray, electrocardiogram, blood pressure, serologic test for syphilis, hemoglobin, blood sugar, urine sugar, urine albumin, height and weight, vision, hearing, and a medical history.

Among the approximately 4,000 men tested, 1,087 cases of newly discovered disease were detected, including 6 cases of active or possibly active pulmonary tuberculosis, 1 lung and 2 esophageal cancers, 28 cases of syphilis, 46 cases of diabetes, 6 cases of nephritis, and 339 cases of cardiovascular disease. The results of this experiment are described in detail in the December 1952, issue of the American Journal of Public Health. In brief, it demonstrated the high yield of previously unknown disease and disorders; the value of having comprehensive prepaid medical-care services readily available for definitive diagnosis and treatment of diseases and conditions discovered by the screening tests; the high level of acceptance of the program by the participants; and the feasibility of incorporating multiphasic screening procedures in a prepaid medical-service plan.

As a direct and immediate result of this experiment, the Kaiser Foundation health plan has provided multiphasic screening associated with physician visits for health plan members who seek a periodic health checkup. Most of the tests mentioned above are included in the multiphasic screening procedures for health plan members. In addition, special cancer detection tests for women (e. g. cytologic test for uterine cancer) and for men (sigmoidoscopy for cancer of the rectum) are available. After the tests have been taken and processed, the health plan member reports to his doctor in the medical group for clinical examination to supplement the laboratory and X-ray findings, for evaluation of all the findings, and for the starting of treatment when necessary.

Multiphasic screening is a most effective technique for early case finding for many of the catastrophic diseases. This is the basic reason for its attractiveness for medical service plans. From the standpoint of the doctor, multiphasic screening furnishes him with key information on which to base his evaluation of the health status of persons who seek periodic health checkups. Also, from the standpoint of the doctor and the medical service plan, only a minimum amount of time on the part of the physician is required in the laboratory and X-ray phases of the work, since the administration and processing of the screening tests are done by technicians and auxiliary personnel. The physician's role in the screening procedure is that of interpreting the findings and integrating the test results with the direct physical examination by the physician.

Multiphasic screening has great appeal to the health plan members—with a minimum amount of time, effort, and at very small extra cost (significantly less than $5), they can have a comprehensive examination which would cost them approximately $50 to $100 at private patient rates. Some of the important advantages to the medical service plan have already been outlined. In addition, through organization and scheduling of the screening tests, through the effective use of technicians and auxiliary personnel, and through the use of existing laboratory and X-ray facilities during normally off-duty hours, it is possible to provide these services at a small fraction of what it would cost on a solo practice fee-for-service basis.

Analyses are being made of the multiphasic screening findings among health-plan members in terms of the numbers of cases of previously unknown illnesses discovered and brought under treatment. These findings will be reported in medical journals at an early date.

The development of multiphasic screening as an integral part of Kaiser Foundation health plan services illustrates our concern with catastrophic illness. We are not content to provide services for the sick, to give palliative treatment to patients with chronic diseases of long duration, and to care for the terminal cases of patients with catastrophic illness. We must get at these cases earlier. Therefore we are actively seeking out the catastrophic diseases in their earliest stages when, in many instances, these diseases can be controlled; complications and long term disability can be prevented or reduced, and, in some instances, complete cures can be effected.

PROMPT AND COMPREHENSIVE CARE FOR PATIENTS WITH CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS

This approach to the catastrophic diseases has these implications: Where we cannot prevent the onset of certain of these diseases, the most effective way to control them is through early detection and prompt treatment. And, in these cases, effective control is the best way to protect people against the economic losses arising from these diseases. Cash reimbursement for the huge expenses of medical care for serious illness is a poor substitute for effective control. Furthermore, medical care expenses represent only a part of the economic loss resulting from these diseases.

When serious illness does occur, the health-plan member is eligible for long term care. There are no waiting periods or other time limitations on outpatient physician services. Members obtain these services when and as often as needed and over as long a period of time as required. These services are available for patients who have heart disease, cancer, arthritis, rheumatism, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, and most [1] other catastrophic diseases. In many instances, members receive professional services for these conditions over the period of several years.

In the days when most prepayment plans limited hospitalization to 30 days, the Kaiser Foundation health plan subscribers who joined the plan on a group basis were entitled to 111 days of complete hospital care for each illness without extra cost. This 111-day period for subscribers has not been reduced and, for many groups, dependents are now eligible for the same hospital coverage. For other groups, at lower monthly membership fees, dependents are entitled to 30 days of hospital care and an additional 81 days at half private rates.

From the above description we do not mean to imply that the Kaiser Foundation health plan has solved completely the problems of protecting its members against the financial burdens of catastrophic illness. The plan offers a large measure of protection, but there is ample room for improvement. This is perhaps best illustrated with respect to rehabilitation services.

REHABILITATION SERVICES

Until 1951 rehabilitation services were not available under the health plan coverage. In 1951, on an experimental prepayment basis, rehabilitation as well as regular treatment services for poliomyelitis cases were made available to a large membership group in the southern California area at a charge of 10 cents per member per month. For such cases rehabilitation services are provided in our Santa Monica rehabilitation center. Poliomyelitis services are provided under this plan until one or the other of the following two events takes place: (1) The value of the services furnished equals $5,000, or (2) the expiration of 2 years from the date services were initially rendered to the patient for this disease. On the basis of favorable experience with this group, coverage was extended to other groups in the southern California area and consideration is being given to broadening the coverage to other neuromuscular diseases and conditions. Trained personnel and specially designed facilities for these services are available through the rehabilitation center.

Our rehabilitation centers at Santa Monica and Vallejo, Calif., are dedicated to providing new and advanced methods of rehabilitating children and adults physically handicapped by various types of neuromuscular illnesses, such as multiple sclerosis and poliomyelitis. Even a few years ago, nothing seemed more hopeless and beyond help of medical science than the severely disabled. But now, new methods of treatment have been developed which can bring about a surprising degree of recovery from paralysis, and can restore more and more crippled per-

[1] Although health plan contracts exclude certain conditions—e. g. tuberculosis, mental disorders, alcoholism, and poliomyelitis—diagnostic services are provided for these conditions. Also, for the purpose of experimenting with broader coverage, certain services for some of these diseases are being provided, as indicated in the text below.

sons to useful lives. While many paralytic diseases and disabilities from serious injuries cannot be cured, worthwhile restoration of function is possible through advanced physical therapy techniques. The centers have made outstanding contributions in the field of neuromuscular reeducation, combating multiple sclerosis, poliomyelitis, and paraplegia. Treatment for restoration of function also is afforded for progressive muscular atrophy, cerebral palsy, Parkinson's disease, arthritis, and other related disabilities.

To integrate rehabilitation services into the prepayment services of the Kaiser Foundation health plan is one of our current objectives. Actuarial experience in this new field is being developed at the present time.

SERVICES FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

Another more difficult problem to be solved in the attempt to protect health-plan members against the financial burdens of catastrophic illness is that of mental illness. Here the purpose is not to duplicate facilities and services provided by public agencies, but rather to work again in the area of prevention, early detection and prompt treatment. As part of a research project being conducted jointly with the University of California and the United States Public Health Service, psychiatric services, including group therapy, are being provided under special arrangements to emotionally disturbed and mentally ill health-plan members in the northern California area. The results of this research project, with specific reference to the role of mental health services in prepayment plans, will soon be available. Developments in this important field are of keen interest to the Kaiser Foundation health plan and its affiliated organizations.

SERVICES FOR THE AGED

The Kaiser Foundation health plan, along with many other health plans, accepts subscribers on a group enrollment basis with no restrictions on age. For dependents of group subscribers who are over the age of 60, a physical examination is required. Individual enrollees, who are over the age of 60 at the time of application for membership, are generally not accepted for membership. However, in contrast to some plans, group and individually enrolled members and dependents who become 60 years of age while they are members of the Kaiser Foundation health plan are not cancelled and there is no alteration in their subscription charges, benefits, or services.

The Kaiser Foundation health plan is experimenting with coverage on a surcharge basis, for individual enrollees who are over 60 when they apply for membership and for applicants who have chronic diseases or other conditions at the time of application. The extent to which coverage can be broadened on a financially sound basis to provide prepayment services for these categories of persons is awaiting actuarial determinations.

In these and several other areas which could be enumerated, there is much room for extending the orbit of prepayment services in medical-service plans to provide the maximum protection against the hardships and high costs of catastrophic illness. The Kaiser Foundation health plan and its affiliates are not willing to concede that any one of these problems defies solution on a voluntary prepayment basis. What now appears to be insurmountable problems, we believe will lend themselves to solutions with better organization and distribution of facilities and services, with improved availability and utilization of medical and allied personnel.

This brief account of the principles and services of the Kaiser Foundation health plan has been presented here for one prime purpose. We are vitally interested in the development of similar plans and services all over the United States to the end that comprehensive care on a group practice, voluntary prepayment basis is made available at reasonable costs to all our people. What has been accomplished and is being accomplished by use can be done in other areas of the country. This committee might well consider exploring the ways in which the Federal Government could encourage and stimulate the development of voluntary medical-service plans—plans which could provide comprehensive care at reasonable costs on a group practice basis in affiliated hospitals and medical centers.

An Old Fighter Gone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, one of Virginia's greatest products, a man who gave unselfishly and untiringly of his time, effort, and personal resources in the service of his State and Nation, a purveyor of Americanism both at home and abroad, and a Presidential adviser, Col. Henry W. Anderson, is dead. Loved and distinguished in life, he is sadly remembered but revived in death.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith an editorial taken from the January 9, 1954, edition of the Roanoke World-News:

AN OLD FIGHTER GONE

Death in Richmond of Col. Henry W. Anderson removes one of Virginia's most distinguished sons and the man who was known as its "Mr. Republican" for several decades.

A native of Dinwiddie County and a graduate of Washington and Lee University, he was an outstanding corporation lawyer, railroad official, public servant, and patron of the arts.

It was in 1920 that Colonel Anderson reached his peak period in politics. He then sought the GOP vice presidential nomination unsuccessfully. It went to a taciturn New Englander by the name of Calvin Coolidge.

The impetus of that effort was sufficient to catapult him into the 1921 gubernatorial race in Virginia. E. Lee Trinkle won, but a strong groundwork was laid for the party which emerged to take full advantages of its opportunities in 1928. He also lost a bid for Congress.

Earlier in his life he served in the office of the United States Attorney General, as a member of the Mexican Claims Commission which grew out of the 1914 unpleasantness, and as adviser to President Hoover.

Colonel Anderson's natural disappointment at inability to get into active military duty in World War I was assuaged by the chance at distinguished and valuable relief work in 1917–18 in the Balkans. Five governments decorated him and President Wilson commissioned him a lieutenant colonel.

As a member of one of the most noted law firms of the State, he became chief counsel to the Seaboard Airline Railroad Co. receivership in 1929, which work he performed several years. He had been on the board of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts many years, being chairman of the board at his death, and was active in countless civic endeavors.

It has often been said that Colonel Anderson was one of the men who helped make the Republican Party respectable again in Virginia. Certainly he endowed it with a fighting spirit and with at least the desire to be something other than an office-holding organization.

Roundup on Present Situation in Countries of Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to include with my remarks the following summary of the situation across the Pacific by one of the best correspondents ever in Asia, Oland D. Russell, of Scripps-Howard papers. As one of his own fellow correspondents wrote last year:

With some 187 correspondents currently working in Tokyo, Olie has consistently outthought and outwritten them.

It was significant that President Eisenhower began his report on the world situation by a discussion of conditions in Asia. Here is the best thumbnail estimate I have seen:

MEMO FROM THE FAR EAST: ASIA IS VAST, BUT THE COMMUNISTS WANT ALL OF IT

(By Oland D. Russell)

Two things to remember about Asia: It is big—very big. And the Communists want it—all of it.

They haven't got far to go, in terms of area. Take a map and shade the areas completely under Communist control. All of China, Manchuria, and, of course, Siberia with its island chain pointing down to Japan. Korea down to the 38th parallel. Crescents and wedges in Indochina.

What's left? South Korea, Japan, Formosa, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, India, and Pakistan. A longer list of names, but less territory. Yet Indonesia alone with its string of islands stretches out 3,000 miles into the Pacific, with Borneo bigger than California.

From the Kuriles to Karachi, from Rabaul to Rangoon, they all eat rice. They eat so much rice, all save Burma and Thailand have to import it. Burma and Thailand with as many as three crops a year, supply most of the imports.

If the Communists get Thailand and Burma, they can apply a mighty squeeze on the others and deny them rice if they reject communism.

The American occupation tried to "sell" wheat to Japan. And got nowhere. The Japanese don't like bread. They say it's costlier than rice when you add butter or sweetening.

Japan, incidentally, has suffered her worst rice crop failure in 10 years. She'll have to import 1,763,000 tons next year, besides appropriating an unprecedented $142,000,000 for farm relief.

This will have a direct bearing on how much Japan can spend for rearmament. But if the Communists could cut off entirely Japan's rice imports, the size of Japan's army would be rather academic.

Rice is just one facet. Southeast Asia produces 90 percent of the world's raw rubber and 60 percent of its tin—besides much sugar, oil, tungsten, tea, spices, manganese. Its 146 million population added to the 105 million of Japan, South Korea, and Formosa would provide a formidable manpower

source. Completing the setup is Japan's great industrial potential.

The Communist goal is control and exploitation of all Asia. The question is where to use direct aggression, where to infiltrate and where to combine the two. Many Asian countries are going through the labor pains of changing from colonial to independent status. Complete independence is the goal of a strong nationalism.

This situation is made to order for the Communists. Besides stirring up dissatisfaction by every possible means, they couple a spurious nationalism with their own brand of rebellion.

The West cannot let what remains of free Asia be swallowed by communism. There is hope. Time is playing on our side now. Most of the peoples who know anything at all about it don't want to go Communist, don't want to be conquered. But they are pitiably weak.

We gain tremendously, in spite of waste and overlapping, when we offer them technical and economic aid and teach them how to build their own defense forces. But sometimes our contributions are eclipsed by outmoded colonial policies of France. Free Asians welcome our help when it is exclusively for their own nations. It sours when it can be linked in any form with prewar western imperialism. Yet, one way or another, in the process of helping them we slowly implant the conviction that communism is their worst menace. All possible foes of their freedom.

During the past year, I have visited eight of the remaining free nations of Asia. Following are some observations brought back from each country:

KOREA

This is still the hottest spot in the Far East, though the shooting ended last July.

Here, on the opposite sides of a buffer strip, with 5,000 Indian troops and 22,000 unrepatriated prisoners of war between them, are the two greatest belligerent forces assembled anywhere in the world.

Communist China, now a major military power, has an estimated 750,000 men under the phony name of "People's Volunteers" in North Korea and in reserve along the Yalu River. The United Nations' force is half that size. In the uneasy truce, both sides have built striking power as well as deeper defenses. We may have atomic artillery near the front and atom bombs in Okinawa or Japan.

It is a stalemate.

Nothing short of a war is ever likely to unite Korea again. The Chinese Communists have taken over North Korea.

President Syngman Rhee of South Korea must know this. No political conference will ever bring permanent unification of North and South Korea. So, in a New Year message, Mr. Rhee has called upon the free world to join his country in a "great crusade" against communism.

What the allies will do, and what Mr. Rhee will do with or without their help, are still the big questions of the Far East. And if that were not enough, there is the additional question of what happens to the balky war prisoners who, under the armistice agreement, must be released on January 23.

Only one thing is certain—the Communists themselves had better not start the war in Korea again. It would be to a finish. The United States would retaliate by striking directly at Red China by air and sea.

JAPAN

It was apparent, even before the Allied occupation ended, that Japan would revert to ways of life that suited her best and would follow a course that national interest indicated.

That generally has been the pattern. One competent observer remarked: "As a race of nationality, the Japanese love no one except themselves. They are so convinced of their innate superiority that it maddens them when other nations remain unconvinced on that point."

Rearmament is the stickiest issue between our two countries. The Japanese shrewdly guessed we were guarding their country from the Russians in our own interest—and would be prepared to do so indefinitely.

That's one reason they're stalling. They would like to use the money for other things: Erecting hotels, rebuilding their industrial machine, angling for foreign trade; and, not least, keeping wages up and people reasonably well-fed, both to offset communism and to keep the government party in power.

The public still confuses rearmament with hated militarism. Prime Minister Yoshida, as canny as they come even at 75, with his gray kid gloves, fat cigar, and cherubic smile, is playing it sharp. He would like to see it our way but he knows Suzuki-San's bitter memories of warlordism—he has such memories himself, and he did a turn in jail for talking up to prewar generals.

Anti-Americanism? It is not very deep—compared with the real thing I saw in 1938. The press, radio, and films still are at it, but it's more of a fad profitable to the practitioners, and a waning one at that. The Japanese enjoy seeing the American kicked in the pants.

The real thing could be turned on again. But nobody in authority has done it. Time to watch out is when somebody gets to the faucet.

Who can? Ultranationalists? They're stirring again, but no strong group has yet emerged. The Communists? They're even farther from the faucet, practically underground.

Runaway inflation and lack of promising leaders are the big problems. Meanwhile, our late enemy and present ally is in the process of deciding how much to dip into the past and how far to reach into the future.

MALAYA

A year ago when I was in the steaming Malayan jungles, it looked as if the British had a decided edge on the Communists. But despite steady Red casualties, mostly Chinese, the enemy force is about as large as ever—5,000 to 6,000. There are no better jungle fighters. With this small number, they keep a British-led army of 75,000 tied down. There are indications they plan new attacks in 1954 with reorganized forces.

As one British officer said: "We're fighting an army of 5,000 men and 50,000 trees."

Britain's brilliant, nervous, explosive military leader, Sir Gerald Templer, leaves Malaya this year for a NATO post in Europe. He prides himself on speaking frankly, sometimes almost insultingly. When I interviewed him, he read from a card on his desk, in clipped accents:

"Ah, yes—from Scripps-Howard newspapers. 'Very patriotic,' I note. That means they're anti-British, of course." He has no use for the Japanese. "One of their consuls from Singapore came up to call on me the other day. Brought a gift, like Japs usually do. I told him to take his bloody bribe and get out of here."

But General Templer's been an inspirational leader, the kind that likes to go into the jungles with his men. His bounciness has been balanced by the able Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's commissioner for southeast Asia, who gets along excellently with Americans. General Templer will be succeeded by his brilliant deputy, Sir Donald MacGillivary, who knows Malaya even better than his boss.

The Commies are directed by a high command in Red China. Britain's problem is to win the hearts and minds of Malaya's racial groups. The Malayans themselves are outnumbered in their own country; half of the 6 million population are Chinese, 700,000 are Indians. They are by no means united on how to get rid of the Commies or in their nationalist aspirations.

INDOCHINA

The man to watch in this strange, frustrated country of three associated states is the Vietnam ex-Premier, Nguyen Van Tam.

This tubby, wrinkled 59-year-old strong man of Saigon is an ardent Nationalist. He believes Vietnam, with no more than current help from France and the United States, could win the war against the Communist-led Viet Minh—if France would agree that Indochina could have complete independence, outside the French Union, after the war.

Van Tam harbors ideas of succeeding Bao Dai, who was appointed by the French as "chief of state" for life. Last month the Premier went to bat with Bao Dai on Nationalist issues; including general elections and a national union government of all anti-Communist factions to negotiate with France for full independence. Bao Dai, with French backing, unseated Van Tam—but he'll be heard from again. He's a politician and popular. His son, an airman who flew with one of our bomber wings in north Africa during War II, commands the Vietnam Army. As the son sees it, agreeing with his father, in the long run only the Vietnamese themselves can pacify Indochina.

Too many Vietnamese, who certainly are not commies, support the Viet Minh today, or are at least passive in this 8-year-old war. They believe a Viet Minh victory offers the quickest way to independence.

So the war continues, the initiative with the Reds. Gen. Henri-Eugene Navarre, the French commander says 6 more months of hard fighting will bring victory. Our own help is monumental, and still growing—about two-thirds of the financing. Along the flower-banked streets and in the sidewalk cafes of brooding Saigon, they say General Navarre is too optimistic.

THAILAND

Every new Communist offensive in Indochina brings speculation by the armchair pundits that happy, little Thailand (or Siam) is threatened.

So it is. Communist China, with its periodic famines, covets Thailand's annual rice surplus. But the Siamese never seem to worry much.

Besides abhorring communism almost to a man—the Siamese have only a thousand or so homegrown Reds, not counting the pro-Communist Chinese within their borders—the country relies on several other things. It was one of the first nations to send troops to Korea and among the first to ban trade with Red China. Thailand therefore is convinced that the United Nations would act promptly if the Indochina Reds ever crossed the border.

Thailand has faith, too, in the United States. Genuinely appreciative of our stream of military and economic help, they feel we would not let them down. Their army is only about 50,000 strong.

Nevertheless, they are realistic enough to keep a wary eye on an autonomous free Thai state, set up a year ago in south China's neighboring Yunnan Province. The Siamese are historically Thai people, whose tribes are still found in south China and Indochina.

"Right now," says Thailand's smooth Foreign Minister, Prince Wan Waithayakon, "the danger is only potential. It will become actual only in accordance with the pace and extent of Communist aggression." Meanwhile, Thailand is safely on our side, at least internally.

INDONESIA

Of all the free countries of southeast Asia, Indonesia is ripest for Communist picking.

It has 3,000 islands, including revolt-ridden Sumatra which curves up around Singapore from the south. If it goes Communist

the Red flank will be complete around southeast Asia and extend almost to Australia.

What holds the young Republic together is baffling—perhaps no more than the vagaries of Moscow's timetable. Th well-organized Communist Party of Indonesia now has balance of power in the Government. This is the strongest position the Reds have enjoyed since 1948, when they almost took over the Republic. They completely control the federation of trades unions and, as in Indochina, play heavily on hot-blooded nationalism.

Two other parties are bigger, the Masjumi (Moslem) and the Nationalists. But they lack the Reds disciplined drive. They battle between themselves, principally on whether Indonesia should have a general election. The Republic never has held an election. President Sukarno who, apparently, is in office for life, rules more or less by decree. The Nationalists, who make up the cabinet, want no election because the Moslems with 90 percent of the population, might sweep the country.

Corruption, graft, and doubledealing are as lush as the jungle itself. Frequent armed rebellions are too much for the 200,000-man army, throwing the country into semianarchy. Despite rich natural resources, the 8 years of war, occupation and revolution have seriously crippled the economy.

Indonesia, in an official effort to stay neutral between communism and the West, resolutely turned thumbs down on American military aid. But we have managed to pour around $4 million annually into the country—with not much to show for it.

FORMOSA

President Eisenhower in his inaugural message last January said he was ordering that the United States 7th fleet "no longer be employed to shield Communist China."

This put new life and high hope in Nationalist China. It focused world attention on the 500,000-man anti-Communist army on Formosa, preparing for the day when it could strike back for its mainland home.

American correspondents who rushed to Taipeh were told by top Chinese leaders: "When we land on the mainland, we mean to stay." And—"with 150 sabre jets he could do the job * * * there are 650,000 organized guerrillas in China to help us." And, "decisions made in Washington, not here, will determine what we do."

Since then nothing has happened—beyond a few guerrilla raids and naval harassments and a stepped-up program of American aid, including those much-wanted jets. The visiting correspondents have gone, a minor cabinet crisis has occurred, and, except for occasional visits by American military leaders, Formosa has been left alone.

Yet morale has continued high, thanks partly to able Karl Rankin, United States Ambassador. Chiang Kai-shek's troops are getting a little older but there are at least 15 well-trained light divisions.

But what of those decisions in Washington? Apparently none has been made. American observers on Formosa put it this way: "If we want Chiang to do nothing but defend Formosa, we are sending him too much aid; but if we want him to open a real offensive on the mainland, we are doing far too little."

PHILIPPINES

Most hopeful of all the troubled spots in the Far East is the Philippines.

Ramon Magsaysay on November 10 was overwhelmingly elected president and his opponent, President Elpidio Quirino, didn't try to stay on. It had been freely predicted Quirino would never give up the presidency regardless of the vote.

The Filipinos are launched upon a promising new era. President Magsaysay campaigned on the issue of corruption. As an administrator he is yet untested, and his cabinet comparatively unknown. But his record of integrity is unchallenged. Filipinos are convinced he will not disappoint them.

But the principal cause for rejoicing is that the people showed the world, and in particular their Far East neighbors, that the young republic was capable of carrying out a democratic election under stress.

President Magsaysay will be as strong a friend of America as he is an enemy of communism. He faces a host of internal fiscal and economic problems.

OLAND D. RUSSELL.

President Eisenhower's "D-day"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my remarks, I include an article entitled "President Eisenhower's 'D-day'," written by Ernest K. Lindley, which appeared in the December 7, 1953, issue of Newsweek.

I think it is reasonable to infer from the written article that Mr. Lindley did not think at the time he wrote this particular article that President Eisenhower has been a fighting President to date. Also, that the first year of his administration has been one of Government by postponement.

It will be interesting to see if President Eisenhower becomes a fighting President with his own party Members in Congress. If so, it will be most interesting to see the percentage of support the President will receive from the Republicans in Congress.

Mr. Lindley is a careful writer. I assume he had received information from some persons close to President Eisenhower that—

The Eisenhower administration, it may be stated categorically, is now prepared to take the offensive.

I note Mr. Lindley's attempted comparison of the first year of President Eisenhower's administration with "many of the characteristics of the Army of the Potomac before Grant" and that the passage of "the foreign-aid program, extension of excess-profits tax, and some other essential items in its armory" were a partial victory that "may be regarded as President Eisenhower's Gettysburg."

If this comparison has any application to the first year of the present administration, then it was the Democrats in Congress—the minority or opposition party—not the Republicans—that saved the day for President Eisenhower, in the period which Mr. Lindley stated, "up to now has displayed many of the characteristics of the Army of the Potomac before Grant."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S "D-DAY"

(By Ernest K. Lindley)

The Eisenhower administration up to now has displayed many of the characteristics of the Army of the Potomac before Grant. In its first days it was occasionally caught by surprise and routed by weaker but more determined and more skillfully led forces. When it had overwhelming superiority, it failed to take the offensive, pleading to take need for more time to get ready and overestimating its opposition. When rebuffed, it usually retreated. When it won an initial advantage, it failed to follow through. It seemed to lack a consistent strategy.

To identify the President's lieutenants with Civil War counterparts would perhaps stretch the comparison too far, although Ezra Taft Benson's imperturbable resolution under fire suggests Winfield Scott Hancock.

Near the end of the first session of Congress, the administration took a stand deep in its own territory and saved the foreign-aid program, extension of the excess-profits tax, and some other essential items in its armory. That partial victory may come to be regarded as its Gettysburg. This assumes of course that Mr. Eisenhower's Army of the Potomac, like Grant's, passes to and perserveres in the offensive.

The Eisenhower administration, it may be stated categorically, is now prepared to take the offensive. It has developed a comprehensive legislative program. Part of this program already has been approved by the Cabinet and other parts are nearing that stage. This program contains some things that will disappoint, and perhaps decidely displease, various elements in the Republican Party.

It may be stated further that men who want the President to fight for this program now appear to be in the ascendant. There are indications that the President's jaw is set.

At intervals during the last 10 months, predictions have come from the inner circles of the administration that the President was going to become firm or even tough. On some occasions, as in the fight over the confirmation of Ambassador Bohlen, these predictions were borne out. Just as often, they were not.

For at least four reasons, similar forecasts now rest on a broader foundation. First, there is a limit to the pushing around which a man even so forbearing as Mr. Eisenhower will endure. Secondly, he has had an opportunity to learn from experience that appeasement of his enemies in the party is unrewarding. Thirdly, the time for action on several problems is running out, and it is evident that unless Mr. Eisenhower seizes and holds leadership he is not likely to go down in the books as a successful President. Fourthly, his administration has had time to develop a comprehensive program.

The numerous commissions, committees, and other study groups set up by the Eisenhower administration last spring were not intended to become a battery of "file and forget" files. Postponement was in large part a deliberate strategy. Whether it was a wise strategy is still an open question. But, in the administration at least, the decisions then deferred are now being made. If the President now presents and energetically presses a comprehensive Eisenhower program, the charge of "government by postponement" will automatically fall.

Mr. Eisenhower's advisers realize that several parts of his legislative program will divide the Republican Party. They are ready to put aside the doctrine, which so often prevailed last spring, that no measure shall be pressed which is not approved by all, or nearly all, the Republicans in the House and Senate.

Mr. Eisenhower has gone about the development of his program much as a commander prepares for a major invasion. Meanwhile, in preliminary engagements he has tested various tactics and the caliber of his lieutenants. Now, D-day is near at hand. It will arrive with his state of the Union message to Congress. Whether the Eisenhower offensive will be executed with force, skill, and pertinacity we must wait to see. But undeniably it is being mounted.

Protecting the Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II, the use of new chemicals in the production of pesticides has increased at such a rate that the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 has, for all intent and purposes relative to pesticides, become obsolete. During the last session of this Congress, I introduced legislation, H. R. 4277, to amend the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so that officials of the Food and Drug Administration could more easily cope with the present situation.

Many have become quite fearful of any or all pesticide chemicals—some of these fears are based on fact, but the vast majority have arisen from vicious propaganda designed to provoke hysteria. The very nature of the existing laws tends to foster rather than eliminate these fears. Under present conditions, the manufacturer of a new pesticide chemical need only to apply to the Secretary of Agriculture and get his approval under the Federal Insecticide, Rodenticide, and Fungicide Act of 1947 in order to place his product on the market. A tolerance need not be established and, therefore, it was possible that a dangerous product could be placed on the market.

I believe it is proper to point out at this time that industry has been quite careful to insure that the products they place on the market are not dangerous to public health. Recently, one manufacturer withdrew his product voluntarily from the market just as soon as he found out it might be dangerous to public health. This was done before his product was investigated by Food and Drug. Had this individual been without scruples and cared only for economic gains, he could have let his product remain on the market until such time as Federal authorities confiscated it as poisonous or deleterious.

Under the provisions of the bill which I have introduced today, no product could be placed on the market unless a tolerance is first established.

When I introduced the first pesticide residue bill, I said that it was the culmination of many hours of conferences with interested groups and was the common ground of thinking for all concerned. There were some differences of thinking in respect to some of the provisions and language. Hearings were held by a subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee headed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER], and it was determined that further study should be made with the hopes that the differences could be ironed out. It was agreed that the counsel for the committee along with representatives of the Food and Drug Administration, the Department of Agriculture, the farming industry, the manufacturing industry, and myself should meet and recommend any changes which might be necessary.

The meetings have been held. Officials of Food and Drug, Agriculture, land-grant colleges, farm organizations, chemical industry, and myself have held several conferences and have agreed on all major issues in question with the result being the clean bill which I introduced today.

PRESENT LAW

Under the provisions of the 1938 act, a food is considered adulterated if it bears or contains any poisonous or deleterious substance which is unnecessary or which exceeds an amount specified by regulations of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Pesticide chemicals used in agriculture are generally considered to be poisonous or deleterious substances, and, as such, are subject to the provisions of the act limiting the amount which may remain in or on food. The amount which may remain in or on food, which is determined by secretarial regulations, is generally referred to as a tolerance.

The present procedure for establishing tolerances involves the holding of public hearings at which time evidence must be presented to show: First, the use of the pesticide chemical is necessary in the production of food; second, the amount of residues remaining in or on the food; and, third, toxicity data upon which tolerances adequate to protect the public health may be established.

This procedure has been in effect for over 15 years. I might point out that at the time this procedure was established, it was not anticipated that such tremendous gains would be made by industry. Many thought then as others did during the early 1800's in regard to the United States Patent Office when legislation was introduced to close that office because some felt that everything that was to be invented had been invented already. It would be folly, or the words of a person destitute of imagination, if he were to say nothing more could be invented and the Patent Office should be closed.

Mr. Speaker, it would border on the same today if someone were to say every new chemical pesticide had been discovered. Government and industry are just beginning to clear the way for new and better pesticides to curb, and perhaps some day completely eliminate, the staggering losses incurred by agriculture due to fungae and pests. These losses have cost not only agriculture, but the consumer as well, billions of dollars.

Industry has been faced with an almost insurmountable handicap in this field. This handicap has been the cumbersome and impracticable procedure to establish tolerances under existing laws. Since 1938, a tolerance has been established for only one pesticide chemical. In 1950 lengthy public hearings at a cost of nearly a half a million dollars to Government, to industry, to agricultural organizations, and to the various land-grant colleges were held. These hearings, despite the extensive hours of testimony, failed to produce the establishing of a single tolerance of any degree.

The bill which I introduced is designed to remedy this defect by providing a simple, more appropriate procedure to establish tolerances for pesticide chemicals and to prevent the use of the new pesticide chemical until such a tolerance as needed has been established.

SUMMARY OF PROCEDURE

Under my bill, the process for establishing a tolerance on a pesticide chemical used on raw agricultural commodities would be initiated by the manufacturer of the chemical, or by one similarly situated, or by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare initiative. Such person would file a petition with the Secretary requesting a tolerance with scientific data and reasons in support thereof, and would request the Secretary of Agriculture to certify to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that the pesticide chemical was useful for its intended purpose, and that the requested tolerance was in line with the amount of residue likely to result when the pesticide chemical was used as proposed.

Within 90 days after this were done, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would make public a regulation establishing a tolerance. If within this period the person petitioning for the tolerance requested, or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare deemed it desirable, the matter would be submitted to an advisory committee of scientific experts familiar with the problems involved. Members of the advisory committee would be appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from a list submitted by the National Academy of Sciences. The advisory committee, after studying the data before it, would make a report and recommendations of an advisory nature to the Secretary, who would consider the report in establishing a tolerance.

The bill also provides that anyone adversely affected by a tolerance issued under the foregoing procedure could request a public hearing on the tolerance or portions thereof deemed objectionable upon a showing of reasonable grounds. A public hearing would then be held on the controversial issue of the proposed tolerance. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would then publish an order affirming or modifying the original tolerance upon the basis of evidence produced at the hearing. This order would be subject to court review in the manner generally prescribed in other regulatory statutes.

CONCLUSION

All in all, I believe the procedure specified in this bill would enable the prompt and efficient establishment of appropriate tolerances for pesticide chemicals used in or on raw agricultural commodities. This would definitely be to the advantage of all concerned with the use of pesticide chemicals. The food consumer for the first time would be assured that a tolerance assuring safety has been established for every pesticide chemical used in the production and storage of the raw agricultural com-

modity. At the same time, chemical manufacturers would have standards upon which to base recommendations to the grower in the use of these chemicals, and the grower would not have his products confiscated because he did not know the tolerance for the various chemicals.

The grower would be assured that he would be in compliance with the law if he followed the recommendations of these agencies and of the manufacturer. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would have a definite standard to carry on their enforcement responsibilities as regards to a safe food supply under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

In view of the urgency of this legislation and the expressed need for it, as well as the complete agreement, I sincerely hope early action will be given this bill.

William T. Collins, Surrogate of New York County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, on November 18, 1953, about 300 members of the New York bar assembled at the Manhattan Club in New York City to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the judicial services of Surrogate Collins. Born 67 years ago in lower New York, in the district which I have the honor of representing Surrogate William T. Collins typifies the rise of a boy from the sidewalks of New York to a position of prominence in his beloved city. Since his first entry into public service in 1907, the public has been well aware of Judge Collins' judicial ability and understanding. For many years he has played an active part in civic and charitable activities. He has been honored by his church by being made a Knight of Malta. In 1943 he was cited for his outstanding contributions to the interfaith movement. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in 1951 paid tribute to him for his efforts in behalf of this worthwhile endeavor. These are but two of the many honors he has acquired through the years. The list is endless.

I feel his remarks were so cogent, so sincere, and felicitous in expression, I am moved to insert them herewith:

Listening to the effusive praise, which will bewilder and dazzle and overwhelm me the rest of my days, I was keenly tempted to interrupt the well-meaning perpetrators by reminding them of the pertinent admonition in Homer's Iliad—

"Praise me not too much,
Nor blame me, for thou speakest to the Greeks
Who know me."

Moreover, the thickly spread praise brought to mind the embarrassing dictum of Jonathan Swift that:

"'Tis an old maxim in the schools,
That flattery's the food of fools."

In addition, I felt I should shut off the flow of flattery by nudging the speakers with Mark Twain's observation about truth. "Truth," he once said, "is the most valuable thing we possess. Therefore we should be economical with it."

Well, even if my charitable friends have been lavish with the truth tonight, let me assure them that it has not been wasted or lost on me. For, if flattery's the food of fools, it's my dish, and I lap it up ravenously.

In this gluttonous position I'm somewhat comforted by the decision of the poet who wrote:

"The love of praise, howe'er concealed by art,
Reigns more or less and glows, in every heart."

No; I can't truthfully tell you that my ears were closed or that I wanted to escape by the nearest exit while the speakers were doing their pleasing stuff.

"Delightful praise!—like summer rose,
That brighter in the dewdrop glows."

Tonight this is all the more profoundly appreciated because it emanates from our president and my dear friend, Tom Corcoran, from my boyhood chum and schoolmate Tommy Sheridan. Likewise I am grateful for the eulogistic and soothing words of my friend and superior, Dave Peck.

Every now and then Dave and his confederates take me behind the Twenty-fifth Street marble shed and administer a not-always-gentle judicial spanking for what they, in their superior wisdom, deem my misconception of the law. Tonight, however, I have him across my knees. Even so, I happily reject the advantage. Indeed, after hearing Dave's eloquent, superlatively satisfying, and stirring tribute, I feel more like taking him affectionately to my proud and grateful bosom instead of across my knees. I am deeply and warmly thankful for his bountiful approbation, not only because of his exalted position, but also because all who know him know that he is not careless in distributing compliments. Consequently all reversals are gladly forgiven.

Of the many others present, at this delightful celebration, I can feelingly say:

"We have been friends together,
In sunshine and in shade."

I would indeed be insensitive to all human emotions, to all natural sentiment, if my heart did not respond with abundant gratitude for this magnificent manifestation of esteem and friendship, and if my thoughts were not laden with remembrances traversing a quarter of a century—and even beyond.

When I reflect on the incandescent history of this 88-year-old Manhattan Club, and consider the great men it has honored, and who have honored the club, it becomes inexpressibly heartwarming and soul stirring that my 25 years as judge and surrogate should be marked so movingly in this citadel of friendship and distinction. I need not stress that I relish the glowing memories which these dear walls hold for me, and I am immensely proud that I've been a member of this club for more than two decades, and that I served as its president for 4 years.

I make no secret of the fact that I was infused with exultation when, in December 1928, the distinguished Democratic Governor, Al Smith, appointed me to preside in the Supreme Court, where my dear father was once an attendant. Self-evidently, the event was an epochal one in my life.

And still another epochal happening in my busy life was in 1946, when the distinguished and capable Republican Governor, Tom Dewey, appointed me, an incurable Democrat, to succeed my incomparable friend, your devoted friend and our former president, the great surrogate, the late lamented Jim Foley.

I would be guilty of false modesty were I to refrain from expressing tonight my eternal gratitude and vast pride for what I believe to be a unique distinction—of having been appointed first by an eminent Democrat and later by an eminent Republican, each of whom was the choice of his party for the Presidency. I devoutly hope that I have vindicated the confidence reposed in me by these two notable Governors, and that I have not disappointed the political parties that nominated me, or the voters who trustingly elected me.

Although my decisions have not always squared with subsequent opinions of the appellate courts, they have, nevertheless, always squared with my conscience. Yes, my conscience immodestly assures me that I have striven scrupulously to conform to the succinct and humane code of the prophet Micah, "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with my God."

Throughout the years that I have been privileged to bask in what Coke happily called the gladsome light of jurisprudence, my conception of rules of procedure, of technicalities, has been that they are routes, not the destination; the tools, not the product; the destination and the product is justice. I have tried to emphasize the spirit rather than the letter of the law. The substance has always seemed to me vastly more important than the form. To me, the common law means commonsense; the statutory law, as I view it, is, in the words of Samuel Johnson, "the last resort of human wisdom acting upon human experience for the benefit of the public."

Tonight my nostalgic and misty eyes naturally look back upon what Tennyson vividly called the eternal landscape of the past.

"Remembrance wakes with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast, and turns the past to pain."

Eagerly glancing around these tables, I poignantly miss the many departed whose friendship I valued and whose company I loved.

I do not intend to burden you with a chronology of the noteworthy happenings during my 25-years on the bench. Yet, reference to a few of them will indicate the length and the significance of the span we have crossed in the momentous interim.

I have already noted that when I was appointed in 1928 Coolidge was President; William Howard Taft was Chief Justice of the United States; the nonpareil Cardozo was chief judge of the court of appeals, and a former president of this club; our devoted friend, Victor J. Dowling, occupied the pivotal position now so efficiently and graciously held by Dave Peck. Lyman Spalding was president of this club. The personable and jaunty Jimmy Walker was mayor, and our mayor-elect and fellow member, young Bob Wagner, was just finishing prep school and still 3 years away from voting age. Neither the New Deal nor the Fair Deal had been conceived. Prohibition was on the books, but the stuff was in the bottles. World War II was not even dimly on the horizon, and the atom age was not visible in the crystal ball. F. D. R. was not part of our language, and U. N. were just letters in the alphabet. The world was more recognizable and less complicated.

Thus, the quarter of a century I have worn the sacred judicial robe witnessed miraculous changes; unpredicted, undreamed of, unimagined things came to pass. Those years were extraordinarily historic and unprecedentedly productive. Like all changes, like all human experience—in sum, like life itself—the products and consequences have been mixtures of good and evil, of tears of joy and tears of sorrow, of laughter and mourning, of exaltation and lamentation, of pain and robustness, of buoyancy and de-

spondency, of birth and death—of Democrat and Republican. And despite everything, our hopes are still vigorous and aloft, our faith remains invincible, and our undaunted eyes envision a better future.

All in all, I am fortunate and happy to be able to say that life has been good to me. And I would like to think that I have reciprocated in some small measure by making at least a small contribution toward a reasonable and decent and an equitable administration of justice.

I thank each of you most heartily for making me ineffably happy by your presence on this impressive and—for me, anyway—memorable occasion. Although it would be difficult for any human being to measure up to the magnanimous laudations of this evening, please be assured that you have inspired me to try more diligently and faithfully than ever to deserve this splendid demonstration of your high regard, your rare confidence, and your priceless friendship.

And now, having seen that "my cup runneth over," you have thoughtfully and generously come to the rescue by providing Mrs. Collins and me with a much larger and elegant and more useful receptacle. Thereby you have enhanced my gratitude and increased my debt to you beyond calculation or possible repayment.

This handsome silver bowl will ornament our table and thus decorate our home. It is a rich keepsake. And when the candles are lighted, they will brighten our spirits and warm our hearts.

Of course, if Mrs. Collins were here, she, too, would thank you fervently. In her absence, I'm thanking you for her, as her special guardian, as well as amicus curiae.

REA Criticism Backfires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Marshfield News-Herald, Marshfield, Wis., Howard A. Quirt, editor and publisher, of Friday, December 11, 1953. The editorial reads as follows:

REA CRITICISM BACKFIRES

Senator KEFAUVER, who said some nasty things about Republican administration of the REA while he was in Wisconsin this fall campaigning in the Ninth District, has not stopped saying them. But he should.

The Senator was brought up sharply the other day when Ancher Nelson, the Minnesota man who now heads the Rural Electrification Administration, corrected some of the figures the Tennessean has been using. "We are hopeful you will be pleased to learn," Nelson said blandly, "that the department has made loans totaling $39,501,600 in the first 4 months of fiscal year 1953–54, rather than $29,095,748 mentioned in your letter."

The amount the Government is lending to rural-electric cooperatives is, however, no sound basis for a comparison of Republican versus Democratic interest in farm electrification.

It would be well for Senator KEFAUVER and other critics of the present administration to remember that there is no longer the need for REA credit which existed during the earlier years of the program. Today more than 90 percent of the Nation's farms have electricity, and it would not speak well of the Democratic stewardship of the REA program up to this time if the Nation's REA co-ops still needed as much credit as they did when they were getting under way.

Shipstead Drafts Cheap Northwest Power Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the history of the development of the Rural Electrification Administration would not be complete without citation of the all-important part played by former Senator Henrik Shipstead, of Minnesota, in the birth and development of that great program. Fortunately, the files of the St. Paul Pioneer Press record the fact of the all-important part that Senator Shipstead had in that great American enterprise.

Senator Shipstead served in the United States Senate for 24 years. He and Mrs. Shipstead now live at Alexandria, Minn., where they enjoy not only the friendships and associations of that community but of their host of friends throughout the entire State of Minnesota.

For the RECORD, I enclose an article from the St. Paul Pioneer Press of December 24, 1934, under the byline of J. R. Wiggins, who was then the staff correspondent of that publication.

The article follows:

SHIPSTEAD DRAFTS CHEAP NORTHWEST POWER PLAN—CONGRESS O. K. TO BE SOUGHT ON FARM AREA AID—UNITED STATES AND STATES WOULD JOIN TO BUILD "TVA" PROJECT ON UPPER MISSISSIPPI—FEDERAL LOANS AIMED—JOBS FOR MILLIONS AND MODERNIZED RURAL HOMES SEEN UNDER PROGRAM

(By J. R. Wiggins)

WASHINGTON, December 23.—An upper Mississippi version of the Tennessee Valley Administration, to bring to northwest rural communities low-cost electricity, inexpensive farm-home modernization, restore lake levels and ground waters, and control floods is provided in legislation being drafted by Senator Shipstead, of Minnesota, for presentation early in the next session of Congress.

Broad State and local powers will be sought from the Federal Government to permit a joint State and national program of water-resource utilization and rural electrification and modernization that will develop hydroelectric power sites, set up economical power units, turn back to forest or wilderness areas of drained land unadapted to agriculture, check rapid water runoff, and prevent flooding.

More than a year's preparation in which experts in private fields and in the administration have participated, Shipstead said, has been put into his legislation.

Supplementary legislation to utilize powers conveyed in his bill would be necessary in the States, he asserted.

CALLS WATER ASSET

"Treatment of water as an asset instead of an enemy," Shipstead said here as he announced his plan, "ought to be the philosophy behind a sound regional program for the Northwest to turn to the highest public advantage our tremendous natural heritage of streams and lakes."

Federal assistance would be provided to prevent the tragedies of drought and water shortage induced by unwise drainage policies of the past, the senator said.

Working together, he said, the communities and States of the upper valley should not only return to marsh and forest areas unsuited to agriculture that were unwisely drained, but also should take steps to develop a region-wide system of water conservation that would begin with dams on the smallest draws and ditches to obstruct the rapidity of water runoff.

Power aspects of his regional plan, the Senator said, were by no means limited to utilization of more than a million kilowatts of undeveloped hydro sites in the Northwest, but included as well provision for widespread construction of fuel-burning plants which the waterpower might supplement.

SEES JOBS FOR MILLIONS

Asserting that only 20 percent of the farms in Northwest States were shown to have electricity in surveys made by the CWA for the Department of Agriculture, the Minnesota Senator said these potential consumers offered a market for power in the manufacture of which millions of idle men might be profitably employed.

Counties and other units of government, he said, must be permitted to join in cooperative units to create a single power agency of an area and population fixed by economies of electrical generation and transmission. An ideal district, he thought, ought to be no larger than 200 miles in radius and have a population providing not less than 40,000 consuming units.

While offering no estimates of cost, the Senator said he had been told by sound engineering authority that 5,000 consuming units within a radius of 25 miles could be served by a plant built for $60,000. Farm electricity at 5 cents a kilowatt-hour, the Senator was inclined to believe, would be possible. Such a rate he prophesied would multiply farm consumers in States like Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin, where farm rates are the highest in the country.

PLANS GOVERNMENT LOANS

To build necessary facilities of generation and transmission Shipstead's bill would have the Government make loans on revenue bonds secured by the earning capacity of the constructed plants and amortized out of their subscriber revenues. Such self-liquidating projects, he believed, should not be secured by existing Government units whose bonded debt already is heavy but by the new power districts to be set up.

With cheap power the Shipstead plan would couple farm home modernization. By using the organizing power of Government he said it would be possible to provide farmers with complete bathroom outfits at low cost. Purchases in thousands of lots, he said he had been informed by one of the Nation's largest plumbing manufacturing companies, might be arranged for as low as $50 for a tub, sink, and toilet. The Department of Agriculture engineering division, he continued, would be drafted to make plans for simple farm-built concrete septic tank systems.

PAYMENT ON ELECTRIC BILLS

Equipment needed for farm home modernization, Shipstead declared, could be purchased by the power units set up and sold to farmers on a credit plan that would allow repayment with their electric bills each month on a long-time installment plan.

This scheme, he asserted, would put running water and other modern conveniences in thousands of farm homes where they could not otherwise be provided at prices within reach of farm purchasers for a long time.

To illustrate the potential demand for such modernization equipment at the right price, Shipstead cited the farm housing survey conducted for the Department of Agriculture by CWA workers. Taking Winona

County, Minn., as an example of a county even above average in modernization, Shipstead asserted that of 1,927 farm homes in the county only 226 had indoor toilets. Only 172 had running hot water, and 424 running water in the house. Of nearly 2,000 farm houses surveyed, but 254 had either tub or shower and 798 kitchen sinks. Water was carried by hand in 1,007 of these farm homes.

To satisfy this unfilled demand for conveniences that go with an acceptable standard of farm living, Senator Shipstead said, would provide labor not only for the idle in the upper Mississippi Valley but for millions of men now walking the streets in factory towns throughout the land.

WOULD REVIVE INDUSTRY

Citing statements by both President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace that further gains in farm income must come increasingly through the revival of industrial purchasing power, Shipstead stressed his program as one way to starting up industrial activity.

At the same time he called for a higher farm income, to give the farmer a revenue expectancy to warrant even the small outlay necessary to acquire modernization improvements under the regional plan which the Senator would launch.

The beginning made in the restoration of farm income must be continued and increased in speed, he declared. He saw in his regionalization plan for the upper valley the possibility of aiding both argriculture and industry by reviving demand for labor and a demand for farm products at the same time.

NOTE.—Following is Senator Shipstead's statement as to how he conceived the idea that resulted in the developing and the establishing of the REA:

"I had a cottage on Lake Irene in Douglas County, Minn., where we spent our time, my wife and I, between sessions of the Senate. We missed the electric lights and the conveniences that electricity brings. After interviewing a few of the neighboring farmers I went to Alexandria, visited the municipal plant there, and asked if it were not possible for me and the farmers nearby to be furnished electricity if we paid for the building of the line and then paid the monthly bills as they were submitted.

"I was told that that could not be. The plant in Alexandria, the manager stated, could barely furnish the amount of electricity that was needed as it was.

"That set me thinking and when I next visited Washington I went to the President, Mr. Roosevelt, and aired my views. I told him that something should be done to bring electricity to the farm. 'How can that be done?' asked the President. I told him that would be simple; just put up some sticks, string some wire and connect them with a generator of electricity. 'I didn't say any more, nor did he. President Roosevelt, you know, was very quick on the trigger.

"Shortly thereafter the President called me in and began asking me about these ideas of mine. He wanted to know about those sticks that I mentioned and I of course had to tell him that I meant poles. He told me that he had given considerable thought to this idea of bringing electricity to the farm and showed a great deal of interest in the project.

"It was not long afterwards that REA was organized and this resulted in that the farmer now has electricity and all its conveniences."

"The Mr. Wiggins who wrote the above article for the St. Paul Pioneer Press, in the issue for December 24, 1934," Says Mr. Shipstead, "was at that time a very young, but bright and capable man. He is now the editor of the Washington Post, a very important and influential Washington, D. C., publication."

United States Accused of Appeasement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension a most interesting article appearing in the Washington Star of January 7, 1954, written by David Lawrence. I think it can be safely, impersonally, and objectively stated that David Lawrence in the field of politics cannot be accused of being pro-Democratic.

In his column he makes statements and charges that should be frankly answered and made public one way or the other. If our officials have been talking one way and negotiating and acting another way the Congress and the American people are entitled to know. The appropriate committees of the Congress should make thorough inquiry.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES ACCUSED OF APPEASEMENT—GOVERNMENT CHARGED WITH GRADUAL RELAXATION OF LAW BANNING SHIPMENT OF STRATEGIC GOODS TO IRON CURTAIN

(By David Lawrence)

For 5 months now the United States has been appeasing Communist Russia without letting the American people know the facts. The Soviet Government has known that a gradual relaxation in shipment of strategic articles for use behind the Iron Curtain has been going on—but the people of this country have been kept in the dark.

Secret diplomacy usually arises because of a fear that to tell the people the truth will bring restraints on the policy adopted. In this case there is no evidence that the United States ever got anything in return for the valuable concessions made to the Communists.

For the last few months America publicly has been in the position of begging the Communists, in vain, to set a time and date for a peace conference to settle the Korean problem. Several hundred American boys have been held as prisoners, despite the terms of the armistice providing for their return. Yet important concessions have been made which allow Russia to build up her armaments for world war III.

The official facts now indicate that British diplomacy has won one of its biggest triumphs. This correspondent wrote on December 25 calling attention to a British Government public statement that the embargo on trade with the Communists on strategic articles was being relaxed. In that dispatch the British were accused of defying the United States Congress. But apologies are due, for it turns out that the London government had the secret approval of the United States Government, permitting her to engage in the enlarged trade in strategic items with Red China and Communist Russia.

The new policy, it now is officially conceded by the Foreign Operations Administration here, began to go into effect by degrees 5 months ago. It is disclosed also that there have been continual conferences with congressional staff members on it and that there were varying reactions from certain Members of Congress. Whoever these Members were, they did not see fit to enlighten the American people, though, of course, Moscow and Peiping knew all the time the items of trade that were being sanctioned.

Under the new policy, for instance, rubber has been taken off the strategic list. In both World War I and World War II rubber was so considered. Evidently it doesn't matter to the Eisenhower administration if rubber is exported for the trucks that carry ammunition to kill American boys in Korea or in countries where the Communists may resume their aggression. Evidently rubber for the tires of the MIG's and the bombers that constitute the Communist air force is not to be considered strategic any more, just because there's money to be made in it among the British colonial possessions. It would be safer for the American Government to buy and stockpile such rubber to keep it out of the hands of the Communists.

The other strategic items now being allowed have not been made public, but it is admitted that the list has been contracted, while the list of so-called nonstrategic items has been expanded.

The argument is made here that a stricter control is being exercised now over the items that remain on the strategic list and that other nations have agreed to these controls. It is also contended by the Foreign Operations Administration that the Russians lately have been compelled to ship out gold to get foreign exchange with which to buy needed articles. It is pointed out that this shows how the embargo has been pinching.

But there is no explanation as to why, when an embargo is becoming effective, it is suddenly decided to relax it. What did the United States and the Western countries get by way of concessions from the Communists, if anything?

The four-power conference is about to start in Berlin, but the allies have been throwing away their economic leverage. Today the Communists know the West will not use military power to gain its ends, and, since the West is forfeiting its economic trump cards, there seems no logical reason why the Communists should not continue to act arrogantly and to prosecute their cold-war tactics throughout the world.

The official information is given out here that all this relaxation of trade in strategic articles is due to a decision by the National Security Council and that the action was taken last summer. This group, headed by the president, conducts its sessions in great secrecy—supposedly to keep the enemy from knowing what is going on. Evidently the purpose here also was to keep the American people and the entire Congress from knowing that the spirit, if not the letter, of its laws forbidding trade in strategic commodities with aggressors was being flagrantly violated. It is a distressing chapter in American history, and it is not likely that all Members of Congress will accept without vigorous protest the announcement of what appears to be a new surrender to the Communists on the eve of the four-power conference.

The American System: A Consumers' Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have urged upon my party that it make a central theme of its program and platform the development of a consumers' economy in our country. This is the logical development of a private economy which we feel can de-

liver the most in human satisfactions while at the same time being the best way in which to preserve and develop free institutions. A consumers' economy shows the most clearly the difference between free world and the Communist slave world for it fits a consumers' economy concerned with the dignity and well-being of the individual against a slave economy in which the individual is only a mechanical unit and all human effort is dedicated toward the aggrandizement of the state and of the party which rules the state. I am confident a consumers' economy can deliver the most benefit to all the people for a fair expenditure of effort, preserve our freedoms and develop and expand them while at the same time serving the spiritual and ethical needs and dignity of the individual. I shall continue to urge this central theme for a representative party program and platform.

Following is a splendid column by the well-known columnist Lawrence Fertig in the New York World-Telegram of December 15, 1953, explaining the idea.

CONSUMER'S PARTY: CHEAP FOOD LEAGUE IN BRITAIN SHOULD BE GUIDE TO UNITED STATES, SAYS ECONOMIST

(By Lawrence Fertig)

A bright spot of the week was our receipt of some literature from Britain announcing the formation of a new organization called the Cheap Food League. "We stand first, last, and all the time for the British consumer," says the announcement. Among the policies they advocate are removal of all barriers between the housewife and plentiful supplies of cheaper food; destruction of all monopolies which seek to keep up the price of food against the British consumer; withdrawal of all subsidies or other forms of protection or preference of specially favored groups of producers at home and abroad; ruthless cuts in taxation and wasteful government expenditure.

Doesn't it make sense for one of our leading parties to pledge itself to "stand first, last, and all the time for the American consumer"? To fulfill this pledge would require policies which are the opposite of catering to every powerful economic block at the expense of the consumer.

In favoring the consumer, a party would have to fight against every form of subsidy which results in an increase of prices to the average citizen—whether that subsidy takes the form of tariffs for business, or assessments on production in favor of special groups of industrial workers, or payments to farmers which keep farm prices artificially high. Instead of favoring special groups at the expense of the consumer, a consumer's platform would advocate a fair and free market, so that the worker could get the most for the dollar he earns.

SUCH SCHEMES START MODESTLY

The reader has probably noted that every scheme to protect some special group always starts out very modestly. But it invariably winds up as a national headache or an international crisis. Government support for farm products is a case in point.

Government warehouses are bulging with vast surplus stocks taken in under Government price-fixing laws. Whenever these products are sold at a sacrifice price abroad, the American taxpayer takes a licking. In fact, he pays twice for Government price fixing of farm products—once in the form of higher retail prices for his market basket, and secondly in the form of taxes necessary to pay for the loss involved in the entire program.

As of September 30, Government-owned Commodity Credit Corporation's commitments totaled more than $4 billion. New crops are going into warehouses so fast that this figure will reach more than five billions by the end of the year. The reserve for estimated losses on the CCC's books is now seven hundred and sixty-eight millions, and this loss is growing rapidly because of spoilage.

The Government had 268 million pounds of butter—a product which has been supported at such a high price as to greatly damage the market for it. It had 464 million bushels of wheat, 235 million bushels of corn, 854 million pounds of cottonseed oil, plus vast quantities of a dozen other products. Today, farmers are producing for Government warehouses, not for human stomachs as Secretary Benson said recently.

But the harmful and costly results of this protectionist policy do not stop at our shore line. Our vast surpluses are now becoming a subject for international wrangling. The Netherlands Government fears that we will sell these commodities for what they will bring in good markets abroad.

DUTCH BIG EXPORTERS

Since the Dutch export food, they are naturally worried, and so are many other nations. Then along comes a so-called world farmers group which urges the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization to do something about it. They want our surpluses to go to poorer nations abroad in accordance with some vague credit scheme which they do not explain.

All of this simply adds up to a plan for United States taxpayers to spend additional billions in financing consumption all over the world. With taxes as high as they are, the question is: Will the American workman be able and willing to carry this additional annual burden?

If we do not agree to some such plan, anti-American propagandists all over the world will accuse us of sheer selfishness. So what started as a simple plan to help some farmers winds up as a source of international irritation and anti-American propaganda.

We would not get into this kind of difficulty if, like the new British organization, "we stand first, last, and all the time for the consumer." Maybe we, too, ought to organize a consumer's party—or at least exert pressure on present political parties to adopt such a platform.

The Development of Atomic Energy for Civilian Uses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on December 4, 1953, it was my privilege to address the National Association of Manufacturers during their annual convention in New York City. The subject of my address was the Development of Atomic Energy for Civilian Uses, which follows:

Mr. Chairman, section 1 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 states:

"The utilization of atomic energy * * * shall be directed toward improving the public welfare, increasing the standards of living and strengthening free competition."

Since 1946, when the act was written, vast changes have taken place in the field of atomic energy, not only in the field of accumulated technical knowledge but in our thinking as to the best ways of utilizing atomic energy to improve the public welfare, increase the standards of living, and to strengthen free competition.

Since the first controlled fission, or burning, of uranium in 1942, our Nation has steadily improved its position in the field of atomic energy until today we have enough atomic explosives, either in hand or in sight, to support a program both for national defense and domestic use.

In my opinion, we are several years late in the development of atomic energy for civilian uses.

With that thought in mind, on April 20, 1953, I introduced H. R. 4687, a bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

My bill, which is at present pending before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, will promote the development of atomic power by private enterprise for industrial development, first, by allowing private enterprise to own or hold, on long-term lease, the material to run atomic power plants; secondly, the bill will authorize the Atomic Energy Commission to regulate such power plants; and thirdly, it will prevent an atomic TVA by prohibiting the Atomic Energy Commission from selling power except as produced in conjunction with the manufacture of weapon materials.

In addition, the bill will allow patents on privately financed nonweapon developments.

It will also allow the United States to give assistance to friendly foreign governments in building atomic power plants whenever it is in the interest of national security to do so.

My main purpose in introducing H. R. 4687, which, by the way, might be called a minimum bill, is to place before Congress the principal elements of the legislative problems of development of domestic uses for atomic energy, principally in the industrial field.

As I told the House of Representatives last spring: "Finding a solution to this problem is a major issue before this Congress and the Nation and, while my bill may not be an ideal one, it does raise the main issues involved."

As many of you recall, lengthy hearings were held by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy; and, while my bill was not the subject of the hearings, practically every witness agreed that the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 should be amended to permit private enterprise to participate more freely in the atomic energy program.

It was the general consensus of opinion that only the minimum of long-term decisions should be made by Congress, and only decisions necessary to launch a healthy development program.

As was expected, there developed during the hearings protests on the part of some against what they termed the "turning over of atomic energy development to the big monopolistic corporations."

Such opposition is merely the repetition of the debate that has been going on for years in the United States between those who favor the socialistic scheme of putting the Government in business through subsidized public projects to the detriment of private enterprise.

In this connection, I am pleased to report to you that there are many of us in Congress who have been and are today making a great effort to get our Government out of business and out of the hair of you businessmen.

In a few words, we are determined to halt creeping socialism by allowing private enterprise to perform its functions in a free economy.

Those who oppose the opportunity for private development of atomic power by Ameri-

can industry ignore the fact that the greatness of our Nation stems primarily from free enterprise.

They fail to realize that private enterprise can play an equally important part in attaining the objectives of section 1 of the Atomic Energy Act:

"The utilization of atomic energy * * * shall be directed toward improving the public welfare, increasing the standards of living, and strengthening free competition."

The opponents of giving free enterprise greater latitude in the atomic energy program point to the nearly $13 billion that will have been spent in the field of atomic energy by the American taxpayers, including this fiscal year.

They cry aloud that it would be foolhardy to turn over such an investment to private enterprise.

They forget, however, that the expenditures in the field of atomic energy to date have been primarily for military purposes and as a nation we have received great benefits in the field of national security at a time when such security depended to a great extent on a stockpile of atomic weapons.

Let me assure you that Congress will never disregard the welfare of this Nation and the interest of the American taxpayer.

Then, too, it should be borne in mind that the money of the American taxpayer has been and is being spent in many other fields, just as it is being spent today in the development of atomic energy.

We should not forget the billions of dollars of tax money spent in developing the airplane, the turbine, and diesel engines and in many other fields of industrial development that were later turned over to free enterprise for further improvement and development for the benefit of mankind.

Let me read to you an interesting quotation from Vice Adm. Earle W. Mills, United States Navy, retired, president of the Foster-Wheeler Corp., when appearing the past summer before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy:

"It has not been many years ago that we were almost dependent upon licenses from abroad, particularly the English, for the production of turbines used in our combatant and auxiliary ships. Having decided that was not a good position to be in, we enlisted the aid of industry to solve the problem, and I think the outgrowth of that development through the help of industry has resulted in the United States Navy having the finest motive power of any navy in the world today."

In my opinion, this statement by Admiral Mills proves that by permitting private enterprise to become a greater part of the atomic energy effort such action will not establish a new precedent to the contrary but will serve the best interests of this Nation.

Our Government, working arm in arm with private industry in the field of free enterprise, has given the American people a nation that is recognized as the leader of the world.

In my opinion Congress will not hamper that leadership by giving recognition to the spurious charge that to permit private industry freer participation in the development of atomic energy amounts to "turning over atomic energy development to the big monopolistic corporations."

The leadership that we enjoy today in the field of atomic energy for peaceful aims is being challenged by several nations of Europe who are developing atomic furnaces to generate cheap electric power.

What Russia is doing in this field no one seems to know, but I am sure you will agree it would be very embarrassing and our prestige abroad would be seriously injured if Moscow would announce that she had perfected an atomic furnace and was ready to provide the world with electric power in plentiful quantities.

As you can imagine and as I know from my visits to various foreign nations, these power-hungry nations would flock to Russia to enjoy the benefits of cheap electric power.

In other words, Moscow would have these nations literally "eating out of her hand."

To maintain our leadership in the world, we must take advantage of the great supply of uranium that we have at our fingertips today.

We can do this by recognizing that the time has arrived when the Government should relax its monopoly in the field of atomic energy.

This can be brought about by permitting private industry to enter this field on a competitive basis which we know will expand our domestic progress at a rapid rate in a growing America.

In the early days of our atomic-energy effort not a great deal was done in exploration for uranium.

Since 1948, however, with incentive payments being offered prospectors and through contracts with foreign nations, our supply on hand and procurable represents an energy potential that excels all other fuels.

In plain words, since we have the uranium market of the free world cornered, we can continue our progress in the field of defense and at the same time develop domestic uses without endangering our national security.

If we as a nation are to succeed in retaining our leadership through development of peacetime uses of atomic energy, it is going to require accelerated effort that will require all the scientific and engineering skill we can muster on all fronts.

As you can imagine, such an all-out effort will be very costly.

As I have previously mentioned, as of June 30, 1954, the American people will have spent close to $13 billion primarily in the development of atomic weapons.

To finance the added expense in developing the peacetime program, it is going to cost the American taxpayer billions of dollars more.

To saddle this additional burden on the already overburdened American taxpayer is unthinkable, especially when private industry can be called upon to share some of this burden in dollars and cents as well as employing its scientific and engineering brains in further solving the mysteries of the atom.

It is my belief that the Congress of the United States will amend the Atomic Energy Act next year, probably not to the extent that some would like but in a way that will permit a relaxation of some of the existing prohibitions against the development of atomic energy uses by private industry.

It is common knowledge that under our present system of restricted operations thousands of contractors have advantages of know-how and continued access to vital information.

This favored group has done a magnificent job; yet under existing law it could become a permanent group with undue advantages.

If such a situation should develop, I am sure you will agree that it would prove repugnant to the American concept of free enterprise.

In this connection, it is my belief that Congress will support our concept of free enterprise by amending the law so as to open the door to qualified American industry in general.

One frequently hears the question, Is private industry ready to assume its role in the development of peacetime uses of atomic energy?

Based on the hearings last summer, there is evidence that there are scores of firms eager to make their contribution to the industrial future of atomic energy.

Because of the terrific cost in the beginning, private industry may not be able to shoulder the burden.

This means that the Government will have to share the initial costs during the experimental years.

However, after acquiring the necessary knowledge and experience, the genius of our American free enterprise system will enable it to do as it has on other occasions when working with the Government and take over the industrial development program.

As a matter of fact, if private industry is given the opportunity to display its talents, the day may come when the Atomic Energy Commission's responsibilities may shrink to such a degree that it will take its place alongside other regulatory agencies of Government.

No doubt many of you are wanting me to tell you in just what way the Atomic Energy Act will be amended.

No doubt you have in mind the handling of fissionable material and as to whether it could be leased or sold to private industry under a licensing system.

You may wish to know what Congress will do regarding patents, as well as what action it will take in the field of security and clearances.

Frankly, I do not believe anyone can read the mind of Congress. Until the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has a chance to analyze the hearings held the past summer and study my bill, H. R. 4687, as well as others, predictions at this time are not in order.

As previously mentioned, I am convinced the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 will be amended with private enterprise being given a freer hand and in a way that will not endanger national security with respect to the use of material, patents, secrets, and so forth.

In connection with the national defense effort, let me quote Mr. Robert Lebaron, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy, when he told our committee last summer:

"We believe that there can be an aggressive industrial program and a satisfactory resolution of the needs of that program for fissionable material with the military weapon needs of the Department of Defense."

As a military man with some 36 years of Naval Reserve service behind me, I agree with Mr. Lebaron that an aggressive industrial program can be worked out without impairing our defense efforts.

At the same time I agree that it is possible to develop atomic energy for domestic purposes in a way that will parallel the development of the airplane, the diesel engine, and other noteworthy advances, made in various fields.

As one of the original members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, it is my opinion that 1954 is a year of decision in atomic energy.

I am convinced that the Congress of the United States as the representative of the American people will make decisions permitting freer development of atomic energy, thus placing it in the same category with other scientific achievements, that have made it possible for the American people to enjoy the highest living standards in the history of mankind.

Armistice Day, 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it was my honor on Armistice Day, November 11, 1953, to deliver the principal address

at the annual Armistice Day ceremonies sponsored by the various veterans' organizations of Altoona, Pa.

The address follows:

This is the 35th anniversary of Armistice Day, and as I gaze about I recognize many veterans of the Spanish-American War and World War I who year after year have given of their time and effort to assure the proper observance of that day back in 1918 when World War I came to an end.

Yes; it was 35 years ago on November 11, 1918, at 11 o'clock in the morning, when the armistice agreement signed between the Allies and Germany became effective. It was an armistice applauded by the world in the belief that it meant the end of all wars.

The termination of World War I brought us temporary peace, at the cost of over 330,000 casualties of our finest American manhood, not to mention property destruction, millions of dollars of tax burdens, and broken hearts. It was a heavy price to pay, but as Americans who cherish peace and freedom, we accepted it with hope in our hearts and a prayer on our lips.

Later we discovered that war had not been outlawed nor had a true peace been accomplished. To the contrary, the lust for power was still buried in the hearts of some world leaders with the result that within a period of 20 years the world was again bathed in blood and tears.

Today, as we observe Armistice Day, we are mindful of those who were in uniform on November 11, 1918, and especially the unknown soldier who is a symbol of all those who have made the supreme sacrifice for our country.

At this time, we recall that great holocaust of World War II which cost America more than 294,000 men killed and a total of 1,050,000 casualties. These men too, believed their sacrifices would preserve our American way of life and protect the freedoms of our allies.

The worldwide destruction, the numerous tragedies of war, and tax burdens imposed, will long be remembered by millions of people around the world as the bitter aftermath of the Second World War.

Despite the grim realities, and the diplomatic and national mistakes made during and after two world wars, America again finds herself in a difficult international situation following a 3-year hot war in Korea where we suffered 140,000 casualties, including 33,000 dead.

One of the many tragedies of the Korean war was the unbelievable report by the Red radio at Peiping, China, that some of our boys had become indoctrinated with the Communist ideology and had refused to be repatriated. It is difficult to believe that any American youth would abandon the American way of life for the false promises of godless communism.

Living as we do today in a confused and divided world Armistice Day like Memorial Day provides an opportunity to recount the blessings we enjoy as American citizens.

There are over 160 million of us Americans and we cannot help but be concerned over the world crisis which we now face, and may face for many years to come.

There is no denial of the fact that we are living in a tragic era of world affairs and it is therefore incumbent upon all to take inventory and make an appraisal, especially in view of the possibility of an atomic war.

With our American way of life being threatened from within and without, right-thinking Americans believe peace can be maintained only through strength. This belief is based on the fact that requisite strength will be attained only after all patriotic and God-fearing Americans assume their individual responsibilities as good citizens and help make our country stronger economically, militarily, morally, and educationally.

It is to be regretted that too many Americans are so complacent about the major problems facing this Nation that they will tell you such matters are the responsibility of top leaders in our various governmental departments. They will tell you that the strength and power of the United States rests entirely in Washington, D. C. That opinion is fallacious.

The truth is that the strength and power of our country and the spirit that activates it rests with you and me and every citizen throughout this Nation. Each and every one of us must assume some role of citizenship and leadership. By this we demonstrate our loyalty. We show our vigilance and our awareness of the many and varied problems facing our communities, our States, and our Nation.

Today a citizen, to be effective, must be informed. He must study the needs and problems of his local and the worldwide community and endeavor to meet them to the best of his ability—whether it means exercising the fullest use of the ballot, accepting jury duty, working for a better educational system, or spreading the word of the advantages—yes; the blessings—of our way of life.

Citizenship begins at the grassroots or precinct level. We must do our part to overcome the lukewarm attitude displayed by some people. In this connection the noble inspiration of the Founding Fathers must move us—as it moved them.

As the author, Tom Paine, phrased it so well at the time of the American revolution, "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it." And just as in Paine's time, we cannot repeat too often that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and that the price of freedom does not come cheaply.

We, as citizens, must do our part in the critical years ahead—even though it means great personal sacrifices, which are necessary to protect our liberties and our Nation, which at this very moment are in great jeopardy. In short we as a Nation are engaged in a contest for survival.

What can we do? To begin with we must rededicate ourselves to the principles of the founding fathers. We must keep America strong and great—an example to the whole free world, and a symbol to the enslaved. All of us cannot fight the Communist hordes with planes, ships, tanks or guns in foreign lands. We can, however, fight the Red ideology by helping to mold public opinion and to build a sound citizenship that is free from the greed and selfishness which will weaken any Nation.

We speak and read of the deadly and un-American doctrine known as communism. However, I submit to you that there is also a deadly ism right here in America, and that is apathy and indifference on the part of many Americans. It is vicious and it must be defeated.

Furthermore, the best answer to militant communism is militant Americanism. We know that no foreign ism can survive in a community, State, or Nation that understands and practices Americanism.

Let me emphasize that the final showdown between these two diametrically opposed ideologies is a struggle for keeps. Either we shall win, or the Reds will win. There is no middle ground because America is the only stumbling block in the path of world communism. For every red-blooded American the challenge of communism is pointed at the heart of the Nation we love.

To those of us who take pride in the love we have for our Nation, it is disheartening and disgraceful to learn that our Government in the past 6 or 7 months found it necessary to dismiss 1456 Government employees because they were found to be poor security risks.

Mind you these so-called Americans were removed from the Federal payrolls for one or more of the following reasons: Sabotage, espionage, treason, membership in the Communist Party or other subversive groups, and sympathetic association with enemies of the United States.

Believe it or not, some of these self-styled Americans when questioned regarding their membership in the Communist Party refused to answer "Yes" or "No" on the grounds of self-incrimination; in plain words, they hid behind the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

In the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the American people no red-blooded American will ever have to hide behind the fifth amendment to our Constitution, because he has a clear conscience with respect to his activities as a citizen of this great Nation.

My blood boils when I read of the spy ring in our Signal Corps Laboratories in Fort Monmouth, N. J., and the unspeakable atrocities inflicted upon some 6,000 American prisoners of war at the hands of Communist China. My blood boils when I realize that phony Americans in our midst who coddle, harbor, and embrace communism are responsible to a marked degree for the betrayal of our country and our valiant sons.

While this group of phony Americans is dangerous, I say with all sincerity that Americans who permit themselves to become victims of apathy and indifference can bring about the downfall of this Government without raising a hand.

As we observe the 35th anniversary of the armistice of World War I, I am certain that you agree it is time to reappraise the benefits and blessings we enjoy in our country. Yes, peace-loving Americans must again ask themselves—am I discharging my obligations as an American citizen to the best of my ability? At the same time all of us by our words and deeds should reaffirm our allegiance to the United States and our way of life.

We should hold high the banner of human dignity and liberty, of justice, peace, and understanding, among the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

This type of Simon-pure Americanism is what our Nation needs today if it is to retain its prestige as the leader of all the free nations of the world and to serve as a beacon light in the titanic struggle for a just and lasting peace.

Cotton Acreage Allotments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, as a result of meetings with farmers, businessmen, and with Dave L. Pearce, Commissioner of Agriculture for the State of Louisiana, and because I have become firmly convinced of the inadequacies of the cotton allocation plan presented by the Department of Agriculture to the farmers of this Nation, I introduced a bill entitled "A bill, H. R. 7060, to amend section 344 (f) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, which relates to cotton acreage allotments to farms."

The acreage in cotton cultivation as of July 1953 nationwide amounted to 24,534,500 acres. The Department of Agriculture made an allotment on 1954

acreage of 17,910,448 acres. This is a reduction of roughly 30 percent. Because of nationwide dissatisfaction with such a tremendous reduction in cotton acreage for 1954 and because of the inadequacies, unjust and unfair methods by which this allocation would have been made, I immediately saw an end to a way of life for many thousands of farmers, particularly in the South and more particularly in the State of Louisiana. Although the plan offered by Mr. Benson provided for the small farmer to the extent no contract would be made for less than a 5-acre allotment for 1954, nothing has been said of the tenant farmer, the sharecropper, and the renter who is truly the forgotten man of the Department of Agriculture's directives. This man has no cotton acreage contract. He has for the most part a verbal agreement made on or about the 1st of January every year with his landlord who is the landowner, to cultivate a certain acreage of crops with his share being for the most part 50 percent of the yield. Although this man is furnished tools by the landlord, the labor is furnished by him and his family. This sharecropper for the most part has a large family and must have consideration which to this date has not developed. He is not eligible for a contract. He cannot and does not expect his landlord to disfurnish himself in order to give him, the tenant, all the available cotton acreage. This man and his family, as so often happens, are going to be forced to bear the brunt of the hardships and chaos resulting from the Department of Agriculture's plan on cotton allocation.

When Mr. Benson and his Department became aware of the voices from the grass roots expressing such pointed dissatisfaction with the 17 million acres allotted cotton farmers, he issued a statement that he would recommend to the Congress an increase of 3 million acres which would result in a total of 21 million acres nationwide. The bug under the chip is the manner in which this cotton acreage is allotted. For instance, the State of Arkansas would be allotted under the Agriculture Department's plan 83 percent of their 1953 planting. The State of Oklahoma has been allotted 89 percent of its 1953 planting. The State of Texas which is by far the largest cotton planting State in the Nation, planting half of the entire cotton acreage, was allotted 77 percent under the first plan of the Department. On the other hand, the State of Arizona was allotted only 45 percent of their 1953 plantings. The State of California was allotted only 50 percent of their 1953 planting, and my State of Louisiana was allotted only 69 percent of their 1953 planting. In my judgment this plan of the Department of Agriculture is woefully inadequate and I believe this—if it were possible for the Secretary of Agriculture to make a trip through the cotton sections and see the tenant farmer of the cotton producing South attempting to make a living for a large family, working from daylight until after dark, more consideration would have been given this great segment of Americana.

When I campaigned for the office of Representative I promised that man when I came to the Congress he could be assured of representation—he would know that GEORGE LONG would speak for him and would never stand idly by and see his only method of providing bread for his wife and children taken from him without raising his voice in protest and here today I say to you, honorable members, if the plan proposed by the Department of Agriculture is not changed these tenant farmers will be forced to move from their homes. They will of necessity adopt a gypsy existence. Our welfare offices in many parishes in the State of Louisiana have already had an increase of applications for assistance of well over 100 percent. If this plan proposed by the Secretary is adopted, rest assured you must make ready to provide soup lines. You must make ready to handle a panic because, as surely as I stand here today, 50,000 families in the State of Louisiana alone are going to be so affected that they will be forced to hunt for other employment. There is no other employment for these people. These men are skilled, it is true. Skilled at wresting a harvest from the land. But that is the only skill they possess. Farming is the only way of life they know and are equipped for.

The farmers of this Nation were asked by the Department of Agriculture to produce 16 million bales of cotton in 1950. They turned to with a great good will and produced 16 million bales of cotton. Now we are in the position of having a great segment of our Nation go ragged, hungry, ill-clothed because of a surplus of the very fiber necessary to clothe them. We are agreed that cotton acreage must be cut, but I will never agree that one cotton producing State shall be given 85 percent of their 1953 planting and another State shall be given 50 percent. I say if we are going to cut production let us use the same yardstick that we used for California. Let the same scale be applied to Arkansas as is applied to Louisiana. And this is exactly what is written in my bill to amend section 344 (f) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. My bill provides for a 20-percent cut straight across the board, all States alike on each man's 1953 planted acres in cotton. It provides for a minimum 5-acre contract for the small farmer. It further provides that no local committees will have authority to set up a socalled hardship pool and make allotments from this pool willy-nilly to whomever they decide might come within the hardship category. There is nationwide dissatisfaction with these local committees and it is very keen indeed.

It is my sincere hope that this bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 will be passed in time to allow the cotton farmers of this Nation to apply it in planting their 1954 crop.

FERRIDAY, LA., *January 3, 1954.*

HON GEORGE LONG,
Washington D. C.:

Absolutely ridiculous at the percentage of cropland a cotton farmer may plant to cotton depends on where he lives varying from 5 to 65 percent if everyone is raised to 65 percent of 1951, 1952, and 1953 planting as outlined by Farm Bureau. Under 21 million authorized will result in 16 million acre planting putting half croppers and Farmers' Home Administration clients on relief rolls. We believe House No. 7060 providing for 20 percent cut on 1953 planting with 5 acre minimum will result in 21 million acre planting which would not disrupt economy or labor of cotton areas. Important Louisiana delegation present solid front.

U. B. EVANS.

BUNKIE DAIRY QUEEN,
Bunkie, La., December 22, 1953.

Representative GEORGE S. LONG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: I am writing you in regard to the recent cotton allotment given me on my farm, of which I have a total of 46½ acres of cropland and of which I had in cotton this year 42⅗ acres, my allotment given me through the Marksville ASC office 8⅗ acres, and having gone to see Mr. Joe Daigle as suggested by Mr. L. A. Mullin and he being in Mr. Daigle's office both told me the allotment given me was right according to the way they gave other allotments. I then told both that I knew of some allotments given others which had less cropland than I had and also that had less than one-half of the cotton planted than I had and was given a larger allotment.

Now, Mr. LONG, may I still explain further that the average cotton planted on my farm for the past 3 years was a fraction above 36 acres per year, which as I mention above also comparing their 3-year average was less than one-half of mine, and according to newspaper clipping which I have in my file I am entitled to 65 percent of my 3-year average, or 45 percent of my largest planting year, which is 42⅗ acres. Not only that, according to recent newspaper clipping, Avoyelles Parish had only a 44-percent cut from the 1953 cotton crop.

In Mr. Daigle's office and in presence of Mr. Mullin, I told them I thought I should get about three times the amount I was allotted and that I was not satisfied, and knowing you to be a fair and just man I feel confident that you will do everything to see that I get a fair and just allotment, for I do not believe a law could be written otherwise.

Thanking you in advance for an early reply and wishing you and yours a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, I am,

Yours truly,

J. EARL LEMOINE, *Owner.*

P. S.—Enclosed find answering letter from Mr. Mullin. Thanks.

MARKSVILLE, LA., *December 28, 1935.*

Hon. GEORGE LONG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am hoping that you can help me with my acreage allotment.

My farm has an average of 31 acres, for the past 3 years in cotton. The triple A office allotted me 10 acres in cotton.

And since I paid high for my farm, with the idea that I would have enough cotton land to pay my notes and still support my family, I don't see how I can pay my notes and be able to support my family.

Please give this letter your consideration and hoping to hear from you soon.

I remain,

ARCHIE F. DEVILLE.

GOUDEAU, LA., *December 21, 1953.*

Mr. E. BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: A problem has arisen that I think we as individuals should put before you and our State representatives. This situation is deemed vital, in my opinion. Anything you can do to help us out will be greatly appreciated.

In today's mail I received my cotton allotment, which was 38 acres. Off this amount both my self, wife, child, mother, and 10 tenant families must make their living. In the tenant families there are a total of about 50 people.

Example: In the past years I have been planting about 150 acres of cotton on which the living for the above has been made. This gives each family an average of 12½ acres. This, in a normal production year, would yield approximately $1,000 per family. My tenant families average 6 each, therefore, the $1,000 would give each person $166. Do you think any human being could possibly make his year's living off of much less? I certainly don't.

My present cotton allotment of 38 acres will allow me to let each of my tenants have only 3 acres each. Could you live 1 year off $180? Neither could I—nor anyone, and live humanly.

Something must be done about this situation. If it is not, there is only one thing I can do—let all 10 of my tenants go and work the land myself so that a decent living can be afforded my wife, child, mother, and myself. Believe me, farming is the only thing these people know. Not one of them could make a living for his family in any other walk of life.

I am not the only one in this predicameht. Everyone in our community and the South will be in the same boat. In our little community alone there will be some 200 homeless families that I know of. What will they do? Starve?

Can this happen? No. What can be done about it? Plenty. Give us an increase—a fair one. Let us plant at least two-thirds of the acreage we have planted in the past years. This would give the Nation a cut of approximately 9 million acres.

As you know, we usually have a crop failure every third year. As a matter of fact, this is that failure year. I think that a one-third cut in acreage and a possible crop failure will take care of the surplus and still protect the price. This, I know, is vitally important.

Please won't you help us out in this situation? Don't let's force hard-working people into soup lines and on public welfare which, as the situation stands at present, is the inevitable. This is America, not some enslaved European country.

I would like to hear from you regarding this situation. We—I speak for my family and my tenants—will do all in our power to cooperate under reasonable conditions.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Yours truly,

GORDON L. GOUDEAU, Jr.

THE UNION BANK,
Marksville, La., December 10, 1953.

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. LONG: The proposed curtailment and slash of cotton producing acreage as you may know, is causing serious concern not only among the farmers of this area but among our people in general.

In our study of the allocations made from Washington and of the reports to us, the results would prove to be not far from disastrous financially to our people in this strictly farming region. The evident inequality of the program was made, we believe, without serious and due consideration of the particular cotton producing areas in relation to the effects of the program.

Naturally we are interested in our people and their economy. The farmers in the Marksville area and Avoyelles Parish and their welfare are of much concern to us.

Should the effective immediate relief regarding the program not be obtainable through and by appeal to the Department of Agriculture, we respectfully solicit your good efforts when Congress again convenes this coming month.

Thanking you, and with every good wish, we are

Cordially yours,

J. EDDIE GREMILLION,
President.

MARKSVILLE, LA., *January 2, 1954.*

DR. GEORGE S. LONG,
Congressman from Louisiana,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. LONG: I would appreciate you making an endeavor to change the allocation of the cotton acreage as it presently stands. I am a small farmer and will be unable to meet my obligations with such a small cotton allotment. There is still an installation due on my tractor and I will be forced to either surrender my tractor or sell it at a great loss. The cost of living hasn't gone down and I will be eventually forced to move to some other place to make a living for my family. This would be rather hard as I have been farming all my life and am not qualified to do anything else.

Again I ask you that you make an effort to get the cotton acreage increased.

Yours very truly,

HERMAN LICKNEY.

MARKSVILLE, LA., *January 2, 1954.*

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. LONG: This is the first time I have ever written my Congressman asking that he use his power in getting a law enacted. I am now asking that you endeavor to get such a law enacted whereby a small farmer like myself can remain on my farm. My cotton acreage has been cut to such an extent it will be impossible for me to make enough to meet my family needs. I am definitely in favor of reducing the cotton acreage but not to such an extent that I would be forced to give up my farm and move to some city. If the acreage was cut to 20 percent it would be still possible that we could make a living at home.

Please use all your efforts in getting such a law enacted and it will be appreciated by myself as well as all my neighbors.

Thanking you, I am,

Very truly yours,

LEONILE LACHNEY.

MARKSVILLE, LA., *January 2, 1945.*

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. LONG: This letter is being written in regards to the present cotton allotment. Under the present conditions it will be a practical impossibility to make enough cotton to meet the needs of my family.

It will be greatly appreciated if you will use all the power at your command to change the allotments as they now stand. I am in favor of price control and would favor a reduction in cotton acreage of say 20 percent.

Thanking you to give this matter your immediate attention, I am,

Sincerely yours,

SIERLING LACHNEY.

NATCHITOCHES, LA., *December 11, 1953.*

Mr. GEORGE S. LONG,
Member of Congress.

DEAR SIR: I am interested in an explanation or a surprise investigation on cotton acreage allotments.

I understand about 24,600,000 acres were planted in cotton this year (1953) and the allotted acres for 1954 were to be 17 million acres, which is less than 33 percent and cannot be increased or decreased without action of Congress.

I have 115 acres of cropland. Eighty-eight acres of the 115 were planted in cotton. I was allotted 31.4 acres.

I was first informed the acreage allotment was going to be based on actual cotton acreage planted and now I understand you plant 25 percent of total cropland in cotton, which I think is unfair for the majority of the farmers.

Any action or explanation will be appreciated. Answer soon.

Thanks,

WILMER MONETTE.

MARKSVILLE, LA., *January 2, 1954.*

Hon. GEORGE S. LONG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LONG: I attended the meeting recently held in Alexandria regarding the cotton allottment as it presently stands. I am definitely in favor of your proposal and will appreciate you doing everything possible in getting our allottment increased. It will cause myself as well as all small farmers a great hardship to meet our present day needs if something is not done to increase our acreage.

It was a pleasure meeting you and again I ask that you do everything in your power to help we poor small farmers.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIE LACKNEY.

FERRIDAY, LA., *January 5, 1954.*

Hon. GEORGE LONG,
Congressman from Louisiana,
Washington, D. C.:

Under Benson approved 21,300,000 national acres cotton allocation Louisiana will receive 110,000 additional acres which when added to orignal 638,000 will bring Louisiana's allotment to 748,000 acres. Farm bureau plans to increase allotments to everyone to 65 percent of 1952 planted acres or a 35 percent cut. 1952 planted acres for Louisiana, 900,000. If frozen acres from the 17,900,000 national allotment are released as provided for in the farm bureau plan, there will be a surplus above the 65 percent allotment of more than 100,000 acres in Louisiana. Basis for estimate 1952 planting Louisiana, 900,000. Allotment to Louisiana under 21 million acres 748,000. Allotment 1954 is 83 percent. Cut of 17 percent. Surplus 83 percent less 65 percent is 18 percent of 748,000 or 134,000 acres. We recommend that anyone planting less than 15 acres in 1952, especially Farmers' Home Administration clients, will not be cut below 1952 planting insofar as the 748,000 acres allotted to Louisiana will permit after the 65 percent farm bureau compromise is taken care of. Bill now before Senate Agriculture Committee. Unanimous support of farm bureau compromise, but nobody satisfied with statewide distribution. The small farmer should be protected. Five acres minimum under existing law is below subsistence level.

U. B. EVANS.

PLAUCHEVILLE, LA.,
December 21, 1953.

DEAR MR. LONG: I am writing you in regards of my cotton acreage allotment. Here is the way it is, and I am not satisfied about it at all. For the past 3 years I have planted in 1951, 10½ acres; in 1952 I planted 11⅞ acres; in 1953 I planted 7⅞ acres, and my allotment came 6 acres. I have 25 acres of land. I don't think it right to let me plant only 6 acres when there are some who are right next to me—only a fence wire to separate our field—and have only 18 acres of land and plant 8 acres. Some who never planted 8 acres the past 3 years are given 8 acres to plant. I don't believe it is fair, but it is plain unjust to do this. I have a family of 4 children, me, and my wife. All 4 children go to school, ranging from 17 years to 8 years. I just can't make a living on 6 acres of cotton, so I am asking you to please let me know what I can do about this. I went to Marksville at the AAA office. They say they can't do anything about it, but I do believe somebody can help do something about it or at least treat all alike.

I will show you how this allotment was made here where we are all side by side:

Evans Mayeux, 6 acres allowed.
Westley Kimball, 8 acres allowed.
Levey Gremillion, 8 acres allowed.
Albert Lemoine, 8 acres allowed.

Now my field is wider, which means I have more land to plant more cotton, and I was cut the most. Why? I want to know if a man believes that he can make a living

on 6 acres of cotton to come and show me how. I just plain can't make a living on 6 acres of cotton. So I am asking you to please do something for me. See to it that I get more, because we can't live on this much cotton.

I will close in asking you to please answer me by return mail.

I am, yours truly,

EVANS MAYEUX.

P. S.—Allen B. Gremillion never in the past 3 years planted 8 acres of cotton and is allowed 8 acres. Why—I want to know? Also is pasture and woodland counted for an allotment?

Hon. Frank W. Boykin, of Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, there is no one in Congress who has befriended more particularly the colored people than the gentleman from Alabama, FRANK BOYKIN. The many families who live on his property in Alabama know of his humanity, and his generous kindly nature.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BOYKIN] recognizes integrity when he sees it. Recently he was touched by the strength of character exemplified by the parents of James Landis' wife. Landis, who practically emptied the United States Treasury, at the point of a pistol endeavored to subjugate the character of his wife's people, who resided on a farm in Virginia. This he could not do. Because of the everlasting honesty of William Irving Grant, his father-in-law, and at the risk of Grant's own life, Landis was apprehended and is now where he should be—in jail.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BOYKIN] called this heroic act to the attention of the newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to include herewith an article from the Washington Daily News, under date of January 7, entitled "Integrity Is News, Too," and also one from the Washington Times-Herald under date of January 9. These articles give credit to a good American and these articles are in response to the request of our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BOYKIN]:

[From the Washington Daily News of January 7, 1953]

INTEGRITY IS NEWS, TOO

I note with interest the publicity which our Washington newspapers have given the people who attempted to steal $160,000 from the Bureau of Engraving.

I suggest that not all publicity be given to the thieves, but that you get a statement from those good colored people who gave the information about the money to the authorities, and give them some publicity, too. I think they are good citizens. I know many just like them back home in Alabama.

I am sure that Mr. Phillips, who has a beautiful farm in Virginia, will always remember and never forget the good man and woman who looked after his property, and that he must deeply appreciate their honesty, integrity, and truthfulness.

I believe it would be helpful to both white and colored citizens to give praise where praise is due, not only now, but in many ways in the future.

Representative FRANK W. BOYKIN.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of January 9, 1954]

HONESTY

William Irving Grant deserves the respect of all who believe in living a decent Christian life. He is a good citizen, and he has the courage to stick to his principles.

Mr. Grant is the father-in-law of the principal suspect in the $160,000 theft from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. His story is a modern day triumph of god over evil.

Several days ago, he recounts, his son-in-law and another man brought a large sum of money to his home and asked him to hide it. They promised to give him a portion of the loot and then when he refused to go along with the scheme, threatened his life. He was in a desperate situation, he knew, so he played along with the men.

The shock to him was terrific. For a time he lived in torment. He was afraid his daughter, the mother of his grandchildren, was involved, he was afraid for his life. But, true to the good character he had built up throughout the years, he awaited his chance and then reported the facts to the police.

As a result of his action the police were able to solve a case that might otherwise have taken years to untangle. He has provided an excellent example of good citizenship of which anyone could be proud.

Restrictive Language in Current Appropriation Act for Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the restrictive language that the 1st session of the 83d Congress wrote into the appropriation act for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with reference to vocational rehabilitation, wherein it was provided "that the amount apportioned to a State for the fiscal year 1955 shall not exceed $1 for each 75 cents contributed by the State for the same purpose" should be forthwith repealed by this session of Congress.

I opposed the restrictive language at the time it was written into the act, oppose it now, and trust that the Congress will repeal it.

The restrictive language is inequitable and unjust as it applies to the whole Federal-State program of Vocational Rehabilitation. For instance, if the restriction is carried into effect, it will reduce funds in the State of Alabama for Vocational Rehabilitation by $82,000. This will deny services to many disabled persons and will greatly damage the Alabama State program. If Alabama were able to bring its appropriations up to the level which the restrictive language proposes, it could not do so by the time the 1955 fiscal year starts on July 1, 1954, because the Alabama Legislature will not be in regular session again until the calendar year 1955.

Everyone who has familiarized himself with the Alabama vocational rehabilitation program, which has been carried on in cooperation with the Federal Government since 1921, knows that the program has paid for itself many times over by returning to gainful employment disabled and handicapped persons.

I submit herewith Resolution 4, approved by the Alabama State Board of Education on November 18, 1953, attested by the Honorable W. J. Terry, superintendent of education, which deals with this problem.

The resolution follows:

Resolution 4

Whereas the State board of education of Alabama has administered vocational rehabilitation, on a grant-in-aid basis, in cooperation with the Federal Government since 1921, during which time the program has paid for itself many times over by returning to gainful employment thousands of disabled and handicapped persons, who otherwise would have become or remained recipients of public assistance; and

Whereas the State board of education has been informed of the action of the conferees of the two Houses of the recent Congress, in writing into the appropriation act for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare language with special reference to vocational rehabilitation, as follows: "*Provided further*, That the amount apportioned to a State for the fiscal year 1955, shall not exceed $1 for each 75 cents contributed by the State for the same purpose"; and

Whereas this provision, if carried into effect, will mean a reduction in funds for vocational rehabilitation services in Alabama for the fiscal year 1955 of approximately $82,000, which would necessitate restricting and denying services to many disabled persons, with damaging effects on the State program; and

Whereas the State legislature will not be in regular session again before this provision becomes effective, and there is no possibility of securing State funds to make up this loss until the next regular session of the legislature: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the State board of education in regular session hereby urges the Alabama delegation in the Congress to use their influence to have removed the restrictive langue quoted above from the appropriation act for rehabilitation for the fiscal year 1955.

Approved by the Alabama State Board of Education November 18, 1953.

M. J. TERRY,
Superintendent.

The Land of Freedom, Liberty, and Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to offer the following:

I have often said that no other government organized on the face of the globe ever

has in the past, or does now, offer the opportunities in individual freedom and liberty that the United States does. On this occasion I desire to submit proof and authority for this statement, as shown in the biography of James Shields.

Shields, James, a Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri; born in Altmore, County, Tyrone, Ireland, May 10, 1810; attended a hedge school, private schools, and pursued classical studies; immigrated to the United States in 1823; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1832 and commenced practice in Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Ill.. member of the State house of representatives in 1836; auditor of the State in 1839; judge of the supreme court of Illinois in 1843; Commissioner of the General Land Office 1845–47; during the Mexican War was commissioned brigadier general of Volunteers July 1, 1846; brevetted major general April 18, 1847, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico"; honorably discharged July 24, 1848; appointed Governor of Oregon Territory by President Polk, resigned in 1849; elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate from Illinois for the term commencing March 4, 1849; upon his appearance to take his seat on March 5, 1849, a resolution was presented raising the question of his eligibility; took his seat on March 6, 1849, but on March 15, 1849, the Senate declared his election void on the ground that he had not been a citizen of the United States the number of years required by the Constitution; again elected for the same term and served from October 27, 1849, to March 3, 1855; unsuccessful candidate for reelection; moved to Minnesota in 1855; upon the admission of Minnesota as a State into the Union was elected to the United States Senate and served from May 11, 1858, to March 3, 1859; unsuccessful candidate for reelection; moved to California, during the Civil War served in the Union Army as brigadier general of Volunteers from August 19, 1861, to March 28, 1863, when he resigned and returned to California; moved to Carrollton, Mo., and resumed the practice of law; member of the State house of representatives in 1874 and 1879; appointed adjutant general of Missouri in 1877; served as railroad commissioner; elected to the United States Senate from Missouri on January 22, 1879, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis V. Bogy and served from January 27, 1879, to March 3, 1879; declined to be a candidate for renomination; died in Ottumwa, Wapello County, Iowa, June 1, 1879; interment in St. Mary's Cemetery, Carrollton, Carroll County, Mo."

Here is the case of an Irish immigrant who never saw the United States until 1823, and through his own efforts rose to hold the greatest positions of responsibility in his adopted country, both in civil and in military life. The details of his life in America should be read by the people of the United States today. He became Governor of a great Territory, Judge of the supreme court of Illinois, auditor of Illinois, and Commissioner of the General Land Office, United States Senator from Illinois, United States Senator from Minnesota, and United States Senator from Missouri.

Can any other government on earth match this record of attainments by an immigrant to any country? This land of opportunity should be preserved, and yet we have people in the United States today who seek to destroy it.

Remember the prophetic utterance of Patrick Henry when he said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty."

Address of Hon. Daniel M. Keyes, Jr., Delivered Upon Dedication of New Home and Community Center of American Legion, Liberty Post, No. 430, Springfield, Mass., October 11, 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the very inspiring remarks of a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts. The address was delivered by Hon. Daniel M. Keyes, Jr., presiding justice of the Chicopee, Mass., district court, and the youngest member of the Massachusetts judiciary, at the dedication exercises of the new home and community center of the American Legion, Liberty Post, No. 430, Springfield, Mass., October 11, 1953. Mr. Speaker, this new building dedicated to the purposes of one of the Nation's great veterans organizations, the American Legion, is one of the finest of its kind in the entire country. Built principally by the volunteer labor of post members and friends, it stands as emphatic testimony of what can be done through the cooperative efforts of labor, business, and real public spirit. I take particular pride in announcing to this House that the chairman of the building committee of Liberty Post, No. 430, was our own respected colleague, Congressman BOLAND, of Massachusetts. Judge Keyes was introduced by John P. Beasley, the first commander of Liberty Post:

Mr. BEASLEY. The task in selecting the dedicatory speaker was no problem to this post. A young man raised in our community, educated at Boston College and Boston University Law School, distinguished judge and outstanding citizen of our city, I am privileged to present the Honorable Daniel M. Keyes, Jr., to this great gathering.

Judge KEYES. My good friend John Beasley, Commander Hogan, Your Honor Mayor Brunton, distinguished guests, members of Post 430, and my fellow Americans.

I would be insensible to the great honor that has been conferred upon me were I not to express my deepest gratitude for the gracious invitation to speak on this memorable and meaningful occasion. This is a great day in the lives of all those who inhabit the neighborhood of my birth. A day when eyes dance with joy and hearts pulse with pride. This is a day when happiness reigns supreme and we join in a chorus of triumphant voices proclaiming the first birthday of a cherished dream come true. Indeed, as we meet here in this intimate spirit of dedication, the realization is irresistable that we join together on the eve of that day which commemorates the discovery of America. And for an occasion such as this, what day could have greater significance, what moment could be fraught with more meaning than that upon which we revere the memory and worship at the shrine of the first American.

The fame of Columbus walks in the pathways of the stars. His glories are whispered in the lullabies of the ages. His vision, his wisdom, his faith, and his strength have been unfolded on the tablets of the human heart. Fear was alien to his makeup, faith synonymous with his name. And it was with that faith and that vision and that great strength that he kept a rendezvous with destiny. That was the same spirit of courage and faith that compelled your people and mine and yet many of you here today to leave their homes across the sea and fill America from shore to shore with men and women of freedom's breed and race—the same spirit that fired our fighting men on down through the centuries of struggle for human freedom to play a great role in freedom's holy cause. So it's only fitting that we meet here at this moment to dedicate this home, this American Legion home, inspired by an enthusiasm and an imagination so typically American, built by the hands and hearts in that time-honored tradition of America, the American Legion—militant champion of liberty, uncompromising foe of despotism, aggressive defender of our political faith, articulate advocate of those great rights inherent in freemen for which so many of our patriots have suffered and bled, fought and died. You of the American Legion have a right to be proud—proud of the great contributions you have written in the record of mankind, of the inspiration given to our Nation's history, of your great deeds in time of war, your high example in days of peace.

And so we, your fellow men, rejoice that we can come here at this moment, at the occasion of this great event, to dedicate this wonderful building to all those things that give life its meaning and are so close to the human heart—to dedicate this building to our fated dead, those great patriots of Liberty Heights who gave the last full measure of their devotion on liberty's altar, whose glory shall live so long as the first rays of the morning sun kiss the waking world; dedicated to those great people, to those wonderful people, your neighbors with whom you live and work and worship and love; those great people who, in a great manifestation of character, opened their pocketbooks and their hearts in your time of need and rallied to your cause.

To those mothers and those fathers who have known the loneliness and the speechless sorrow that can come only to those whose sons have died in the holocaust of war to keep men free. To you the members of Post 430 for your courage and your vision, for your steadfastness of purpose and your devotion to those things in which you believe. For the great example of personal sacrifice and brotherhood you have given to the community and to your fellow men in the construction of this great edifice.

Most of all we dedicate this building to Him without whom nothing is ever made. To our God who has blessed the United States with so much, who, in His infinite wisdom and generosity, has made us the happiest and luckiest and the richest people on the face of the globe.

And so we dedicate this building to the past, to the present, and to the future, to the dead and to the living, with thanksgiving and with hope. Thanksgiving for the great blessings which have been bequeathed to us by the founders of the Republic, with hope that we may see that day in our lifetimes when you and I and all God's children everywhere shall stand, as it was intended from all eternity we should stand, on the pinnacle of a peaceful world and looking out across the wastelands made barren by the tragedies of history, see Old Glory in all its new glory.

To that day when you and I shall walk with the hungry and the oppressed peoples of the world, under the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of America, the hope of the world.

Appendix

Accidents Among Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on Sunday, January 3, 1954, the Boston Globe carried a very interesting article by John Harris, commenting on the first-class job our colleague, the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], has been doing in connection with the study he has been making of the waste of life and limb that has been occurring for years among Federal employees. The article is a very comprehensive one, and not too long; so I ask unanimous consent that it may be published in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACCIDENTS COST TREASURY $130 MILLION A YEAR

(By John Harris)

WASHINGTON, November 28.—Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, after 9 months of intense study, has come up with what he considers the answer to a shocking waste of life and limb that has been going on for years among Federal employees.

The Senator has found that—

On the average, each week sees 5 Government workers killed and 1,750 injured.

The annual direct and indirect loss to the Federal Treasury is $130 million, a loss that the Senator believes can be cut as much as 75 percent.

Government work is actually more dangerous than employment in many an industry that is regarded as hazardous.

The reason:

Your Uncle Sam does not have now—and has not had for years—a genuine safety program against occupational accidents.

Said the Senator:

"The more deeply I have gone into this the more I am appalled by the lack of any real safety program backed by full-time expert study and experience. This has brought about needless waste and needless suffering to workers and their families."

The Senator's main answer:

Establishment of a Federal Safety Council with a full-time Director and trained staff. He is now drafting legislation that would accomplish this. The cost is estimated at $150,000, or roughly what Secretary of Interior McKay informed the Senator was the cost of 1 fatality in 1952.

The Senator's plan has received the encouragement of the White House, the indorsement of Attorney General Brownell, the General Accounting Office, and other Government agencies with which SALTONSTALL has been working to gather facts and effect a solution.

The Senator has also been working on two allied fields of preventable loss to the Government:

1. Fire damage to Government property and

2. Losses to the Government (tort cases) that result from negligent injuries that Government employees cause to other persons or the property of others.

Even statistics in these two fields are hard to come by. Claims under $1,000 are not subject to the jurisdiction of the General Accounting Office. The type and incidence of tort cases are unavailable. The Comptroller General's Office, after a search said "no such data have been or presently are being compiled."

Yet in 1952 the Post Office Department expended $900,000 in tort claims, an indication of the staggering total in these cases for which there is not now a Government-wide set of figures.

One figure available on fire losses is that in the 5-year period, 1947–51, they cost the Government $67 million. That is regarded as unquestionably a minimum figure. Most often estimates are based on original costs rather than replacement figures which could only mean that challenge of the figures would bring a sharp upward revision.

SALTONSTALL began his study in the safety field last spring. His interest was aroused by a careful examination he made of the accident experience reports of the Bureau of Employees' Compensation of the Labor Department. These reports convinced Saltonstall that the Federal Government is lagging seriously in the important field of Federal employees' safety.

The reports showed that in the 5-year period, 1947–51, there were nearly 400,000 Federal employees injured and fatal accidents took the lives of 1,304 Federal workers.

SALTONSTALL started tracking down information in the various agencies of the Government. Among the officials whose assistance he sought was John F. O'Malley, supervising safety engineer of the General Services Administration here. O'Malley is formerly from Nahant, Mass., attended public schools in Manchester, N. H., St. John's Preparatory in Danvers, and Manhattan College, New York.

O'Malley made a study and report at the Senator's request. Then the Senator arranged for O'Malley and the vice president of the National Safety Council, Sidney J. Williams, to go to the White House and confer with Presidential Chief of Staff Sherman Adams.

At that point it was believed that the creation of a workable safety set-up could be achieved through President Eisenhower issuing an amended Executive order. As the study progressed it became apparent that an Executive order would not accomplish fully what the Senator was seeking.

So the Senator arranged conference between the staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which he is chairman, and the Senate Legislative Council. All the time additional data was being gathered. The decision was then reached to propose new legislation to Congress.

What is the present set-up?

Back in 1950 an Executive order established the present Federal Safety Council. It is composed of one representative of each Federal department.

This Council has no director, no technical staff beyond 2 safety engineers and 1 clerk paid by the Department of Labor. In other words just 3 persons directly assigned to protecting 2,500,000 Government workers.

SALTONSTALL was surprised to find that not a single Government union was represented on the Council. He sharply criticized this as a violation of Government preaching that management and labor should get together.

The Senator examined the reasons why the accident rate is greater in the Federal Government than in industry. Here were some he found:

1. Lack of strong backing from top management, meaning that where top executives do not stress accident prevention then it gets but lip service down the line.

2. No Federal agency is charged with any direct accident cost. Deducting these costs from agency appropriations, the Senator believes, would make the agency heads more alert to the necessity of sound accident prevention programs.

3. The majority of supervisors in Government service receive no safety training.

4. The appointing of inexperienced and unqualified safety directors.

5. Inadequate safety training for vehicle operators.

6. Lack of physical examinations prior to employment on hazardous jobs.

7. Lack of safety indoctrination for new employees.

8. Lack of safety and fire inspections of buildings, work operations, etc.

9. Lack of analyzing accidents for causes and types in order to guide personnel in the prevention of similar accidents.

The most frequent causes of accidents are presently classified as handling material or equipment, falls of persons, striking against material, vehicles, flying particles, hand tools. Handling material or equipment is responsible for 1 out of every 3 accidents.

Curiously the 1950–51 statistics (last available) show a heavier loss in this category in the Postoffice Department than in the Army, Navy, or Air Departments.

Some Government agencies have made excellent safety records, among them the Navy yards, Atomic Energy Commission, Government Printing Office, the Treasury.

SALTONSTALL noted, "The majority of Government workers are engaged in office work, certainly not a hazardous occupation.

"Yet the accident frequency of the glass, aircraft, chemical, rubber, and textile industries is better by nearly 2 percent than that of the Federal Government, and their operations involve much greater hazards."

Government executives have nothing to lose by high accident rates. Their budgets are not affected. Leading corporations, on the other hand, have reduced accident frequency in the past 10 years by more than 70 percent. In the past 5 years the Federal Government's accident frequency rate has been reduced only two-tenths of 1 percent.

Industry has set an embarrassing example, as O'Malley reported in a recent survey.

"I am confident," said SALTONSTALL, "that changes will be made where changes are necessary in order to provide the framework for an effort that will benefit thousands of Government workers and save millions of dollars for the Government and taxpayers."

Communist Domination and Infiltration of Labor Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, it has been my great privilege, during the recent recess, to conduct legislative hearings on the question of Communist domination and infiltration of labor organizations, as chairman of an internal-security subcommittee task force. While these hearings have not as yet been concluded, I have been impressed by the depth and complexity of this problem, and, therefore, I ask unanimous consent that two magazine editorials be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Time magazine of December 21, 1953]

RED UNIONS—HOW TO CLEAN HOUSE

"We * * * must resort to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges * * * to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs."

So wrote Lenin, and Communists obediently burrowed deep into United States labor unions in the thirties. Since then, the AFL has cleaned house; by 1950, 11 Communist-run unions had been thrown out of the CIO. But Communist labor bosses, despite exposure of their Red ties by congressional committees, have managed to keep control of 7 independent unions and of scattered locals within the CIO and AFL. Altogether, these little Politburos still control some 500,000 members, or about 3 percent of all union members, some of them in the nerve centers of United States industry.

The largest Red-run union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), has contracts with hundreds of plants, including such giants as Westinghouse and General Electric, and has about 100,000 members. More than a third of the workers in plants of International Harvester, which makes Garand rifles and Army trucks, are members of the Communist-bossed Farm Equipment-United Electrical Workers. The Red-dyed Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union has a strong hold on United States production of defense metals, from copper to uranium. Party liners are in control of the American Communications Association, bargaining agent for 5,000 Western Union employees in New York, and Communist Harry Bridges' 75,000 International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union could tie up west coast and Hawaiian ports.

Few of the members of these Red-run unions are Communists themselves; only the bosses are. Why then do loyal American workers keep them in power? The chief reason is that rank and filers really believe that their leaders deliver the goods. Attacks on their loyalty are brushed off as union-busting propaganda.

Why do employers recognize a union if they know that it is Communist controlled? Labor leaders have charged that some employers play ball with Communists in jurisdictional disputes to keep their workers divided, and General Electric once publicly stated that "we do not [have a] preference" between a Communist union and a non-Communist one. But the big reason why Communist labor leaders stay in power is that, under the law, employers must treat Red-run unions exactly as they would any other. Employers can fire workers for Communist activity, as General Electric announced last week that it intends to do, but such a policy does not touch the Red labor leaders.

The Taft-Hartley Act attempted to break Communist control of unions by requiring officers of labor unions to sign non-Communist affidavits before their unions could be certified as bargaining agents. This section in the law has been a flop. Officers of Communist-run unions have simply resigned formally from the party, signed an affidavit, then continued their Red activities as before. Nevertheless, the NLRB has been ordered by the courts to take the affidavits at face value and to certify the unions.

Two bills have been introduced into the Senate to enable the NLRB to decertify Red-dominated unions as bargaining agents. Under both bills, if the Subversive Activities Control Board decided a union was Communist-dominated the NLRB would withdraw its certification. But Board action against Reds in the past has proved to be a cumbersome procedure.

Moreover the CIO is against any such law for fear it might some day be abused and be used to decertify almost any union.

The Justice Department is also considering (1) putting the names of Communist-run unions on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and barring companies with defense contracts from employing anyone who belongs to them, and (2) broadening the Government's personnel security program to cover workers in defense plants. But both procedures would penalize union members, most of whom are not Communists, but not touch their leaders.

The best and simplest way to strip Communist labor bosses of their power would be to empower the NLRB to look behind their affidavits and to withhold or revoke certification of their unions. The NLRB could also be empowered to determine to its own satisfaction whether a union's nominal officers are its actual leaders, decertify it if the officers are only front men for Communists. The great virtue of this method is that it would limit the issue to the real truth or falsity of a union leader's affidavit. All workers would have to do to get back their union's bargaining privileges would be to elect new officers who are not Communists or Communist tools.

[From the Saturday Evening Post of November 7, 1953]

ARE OUR UNIONS FREE OF PRO-RED LEADERS?

Last April, Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, of Maryland, introduced a bill amending the Internal Security Act of 1950 in such a way as to change the means by which Communist-dominated unions are supposed to be denied the right to collective bargaining and other privileges conferred by our labor laws. At present the Taft-Hartley law requires the officers of labor unions to file with the National Labor Relations Board affidavits stating that they are not members of the Communist Party or affiliated with any organization advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force. Senator BUTLER would shift the duty of determining whether or not a union is Communist-dominated from the NLRB to the Subversive Activities Control Board, which was created under the Internal Security Act.

Recent events certainly suggest that some change in the law is necessary if the purpose of the Taft-Hartley law to exclude Communists from holding official positions in labor unions, or from dominating the unions from some less conspicuous position, is to be anything more than a dead letter. In the United States court of appeals at the present moment is the case of the National Labor Relations Board, in the person of its former Chairman, Paul M. Herzog, against the United Electrical Workers Union, the American Communications Association, and the International Fur and Leather Workers Union. The officers of these three unions, complying with the Taft-Hartley law, filed the required affidavits. In November 1952 a Federal grand jury in New York issued a presentment in which it was stated that officers of the above-mentioned unions had refused to affirm before the grand jury the truth of the affidavits which they had filed with the Board. Thereupon the National Labor Relations Board sent to the union officers a questionnaire in which they were asked to reaffirm the truth of their original affidavits stating that they were not members of the Communist Party. The union officers, instead of replying to this not unreasonable request, applied to the United States district court in Washington for an injunction restraining the NLRB from putting such embarrassing questions to them. The court granted the injunction, one of its grounds being that the NLRB lacked statutory authority to go behind the face of an affidavit and conduct investigations as to the facts. This is substantially the position taken by NLRB itself in a number of instances.

Curiously enough, the United Electrical Workers Union has been thrown out of the CIO on the ground that it is Communist-dominated, but, because its officers filed the non-Communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Law, the UEW has been clean as far as the Taft-Hartley law is concerned, and has therefore been able to sign contracts with employers, including the leading manufacturers of electrical equipment. If the district court's opinion should prevail all the way up the judicial ladder, there would seem to be no reason why a union whose officials refused to affirm the truth of their previous sworn statements that they were not Communists could not go right on doing business at the old stand.

In addition to the serious question cast on the truth of affidavits actually signed by union leaders, Senator Butler has pointed out that in some instances labor unions are dominated by Communists who have no official position in the union, but manage to exert a considerable degree of control over its policies. It has also been suspected that some union officials have resigned from the Communist Party for the purpose of signing the affidavit that they were not Communists, but actually retain their subservience to Communist dictation.

Unfortunately, the rank and file of some unions, although few of them have any sympathy with communism, have been persuaded to support the leadership on the ground that the leaders were being persecuted from the outside and that political beliefs should not be held against officials who were doing a good job in furthering the interests of working people. The racketeering activities of certain anti-Communist but corrupt labor unions have also worked to the advantage of left-wing leaders.

Nevertheless the unions have been doing an outstanding job in ridding themselves of subversive elements in their leadership, and it is extraordinary that their efforts should be frequently thwarted on account of defects in the legal machinery intended for the same purpose. Whether the fault is in the law itself or in its administration by NLRB, there is a gap in our security defense which should be closed.

Whether or not the detailed provisions of Senator BUTLER'S amendment are the right answer, it is certainly plain that, if we think it important to keep Communist-dominated unions at a safe distance from sensitive industries, we shall have to improve the means of doing it.

Endorsement of the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "By Law, Not By Whim," published in the Wall Street Journal on January 6, 1954; an article written by George Sokolsky, published under the headline "These Days"; and also an editorial entitled "Heat, But Not Light," published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on December 29, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 6, 1954]

BY LAW, NOT BY WHIM

The recent banding of a committee to oppose the Bricker amendment, indicates the nationwide interest in the Ohio Senator's proposal. The committee is made up of many prominent men, but it seems to us that the points they make against enactment of the amendment have all been made before. Some, indeed, do not do full justice to what ought to be expected of such a committee.

Their arguments are that adoption of this amendment will make our treatymaking the most cumbersome in the world; that the 48 States would have to legislate on international agreements on narcotics, navigation, and like subjects; that it would enable Congress to destroy the President's power to meet international emergencies, and that, finally, a treaty can't conflict with the Constitution anyway so it is unnecessary.

The facts are that the United States is the only major power where treaty law becomes automatically the supreme law of the land, and thus invades domestic law. So adoption of the amendment would not make ours the most cumbersome but it would serve to place us on an equal footing. And to say that under it the Congress can destroy the President's power in emergencies, or that all the States would have to legislate on international matters seems to overstate the case rather widely.

Thus the new committee offers nothing new. Its arguments are the old administration arguments. But the administration's opposition has made a good case for the Bricker amendment; for in its efforts to stop this particular proposal, it has proposed one of its own through Senator KNOWLAND. The majority leader's substitute for Senator BRICKER's does not close the loophole in treaty law, but the fact of its submission is evidence that even those high in the administration know that there is substantial and honest fear of danger there.

As a matter of record, one of the best witnesses for the necessity of an amendment to the Constitution to prevent an abuse of the treaty power is Secretary of State Dulles.

Before he became Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles told some lawyers meeting in Louisville, in 1952, that treaties can make domestic law and that they can override the Constitution. Treaties can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President, or from the States and give them to the Federal Government and from the Federal Government and give them to some international body.

"Treaties can cut across the rights given to the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights," he said.

Since becoming Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles has changed his position somewhat. In testifying before a Senate subcommittee last spring, Mr. Dulles announced that the United States would not agree to certain treaties proposed or being drafted by the United Nations. He said that those who sought the Bricker amendment had served the Nation well in pointing out dangers in some of these treaties. But he said, the amendment was not necessary because the present administration would be careful about treaties and would not agree to bad ones.

Mr. Dulles, of course, cannot bind any future Secretary of State or President or Senate to be as watchful as he pledged this administration would be.

The dangers Mr. Dulles pointed out in 1952 are still there. They will not disappear because honest men say they will not abuse such powers, or through arguments such as the new committee's that the dangers don't exist. The way to prevent the abuse is by law, not by whim.

THESE DAYS

(By George Sokolsky)

I received a letter signed by three important names, Lucius D. Clay, Edward S. Corwin, and John W. Davis. It is a form letter, probably sent to thousands of citizens, and came from the Committee for Defense of the Constitution—a laudable purpose, indeed. The very first sentence hit we with all the vehemence of an advertising agency calling attention to a body odor. It read:

"The Constitution is again under attack."

Naturally I assumed that here might be another committee to fight the Communists, perhaps for their abuse of the fifth amendment, but I was in error. This committee was organized to fight Republicans and Democrats who favor the Bricker amendment.

THE CONSTITUTION

From the general tenor of the statement signed by these gentlemen, one would imagine that the American Constitution had been prepared by the Persians and the Medes and is unchangeable in every comma and semicolon. Actually, the Constitution makes ample provision for amendments and has been amended 22 times, including once to eliminate alcoholic beverages from our lives and another time to restore such liquid refreshment, after a campaign in which one of the objectives was freeing beer from the bootleggers and racketeers.

Therefore, it must be reported that when the lawyers and laymen of this committee set out to frighten us by announcing another attack on the Constitution, they were misstating the case, exaggerating the premise, engaging in fantasy, which may be characteristic of pleading lawyers, but is not likely to influence hard-headed Americans who recognize a fact when they see one. The fact they see is that, while the Constitution provides that the legislative function of this Nation is designated to Congress, it can be and is being performed by foreigners in the United Nations because of treaties signed for what appears to be one particular purpose but becomes expanded to be all-inclusive. Cases have already been in our courts concerning this and in most of them the United States has lost to the foreigners.

The Constitution needs to be amended to protect this country from alien powers whose activities neither Alexander Hamilton, John Jay nor James Madison could have foreseen. In fact, none of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention could have imagined that the United States would ever become involved so deeply in the affairs of Europe, Asia, and Africa, they, the delegates, just having freed themselves from Great Britain and European tutelage.

NOTHING LEARNED

The difference of opinion here is a hidden one—not at all the one that is generally discussed. What is really at stake is this: the internationalists have learned nothing since 1945. They have not truly appraised the events that have happened since our Government finally discovered that Soviet Russia is not an ally but an enemy.

And having learned nothing they proceed as though the United States can afford to pursue a policy devised in the first 5 years of the 1940's and which brought to our country disaster and humiliation.

These matters these internationalists do not wish to have discussed openly on the floor of the Senate in relation to treaties written between this country and some others. They can avoid such discussions by secret executive agreements which bind the American people to conditions of which they are not cognizant. They generally hold that such legislation as Senator BRICKER now proposes and John Foster Dulles supported before he became Secretary of State but now rejects is unnecessary because Dwight D. Eisenhower is President. How can anyone consistently support in the Eisenhower administration what he opposed in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations?

The United States will continue after Eisenhower is no longer President, as it is continuing after Roosevelt and Truman are no longer President. If John Foster Dulles favored the principles of the Bricker amendment when Truman was President why does he oppose them now?

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 29, 1953]

HEAT, BUT NOT LIGHT

The Committee for Defense of the Constitution, a newly formed organization carrying on its letterhead important names from all sections of the Nation, begins its assault on the Bricker amendment with wild, inflammatory statements.

For example, the organizational letter signed by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, Prof. Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton, and John W. Davis, the noted lawyer and Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1924, addresses a prospective member with this statement: "The Constitution is again under attack."

Since when did the submission to Congress of a constitutional amendment constitute an attack on the Constitution? Were the first 10 amendments, the Bill of Rights, an attack? Was the women's suffrage amendment an attack on the Constitution?

And again, the official statement of position of the new committee ignores the clearest fundamental facts to appeal to prejudice. It asserts that "Our Constitution has served our country exceedingly well for 165 years," which flies over the fact that numerous treaties being cooked up by various United Nations organizations deal with domestic matters never dreamed of as treaty subjects when the Constitution was written.

It contends that the Bricker amendment "would make our procedure for carrying out our treaty obligations the most cumbersome in the world," whereas the legal authorities who have devoted long study to the amendment through the American bar's committee on peace and law have shown that the basic law of no other country is as wide open as our Constitution; that the amendment would equalize our position, not put us at a disadvantage.

The new committee's initial statement of position then goes further than the letter by calling the amendment "an attack upon the Union itself." This is vicious propaganda no

matter how unwise the Bricker amendment might be, for our Constitution provides for alterations in basic law by orderly process. The amendment must first be passed by a two-thirds vote of Senate and House, then adopted in a specified time by two-thirds of the States. Yet the committee calls the submission of the amendment "revolution."

If the organizational letter and statement of position coming from the Committee for Defense of the Constitution are fair samples of what is to come, it will cast intense heat but little light on this important issue.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram which I received today from the Honorable John W. Davis, one of our foremost constitutional lawyers who ran for President on the Democratic ticket in 1924, in which he analyzes the proposed Bricker amendment and finds it "defective not only in its form but even more so in its spirit."

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very glad to comply with your request for a brief statement of my personal views on Senate Joint Resolution 1, as reported out by the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee last June.

As to section 1, I agree with the President that it is anomalous to amend the Constitution in order to show that it is going to remain the same.

As to section 2, I think the "which" clause is a shocking attempt to set us back into the very situation of national impotence which was one of the main causes of the downfall of the Articles of Confederation. There can be no adequate reason why our country, in making effective treaties, should give itself less powers than practically any other nation in the world as regards the rigid requirement of section 2 that all treaties must be non-self-executing. While this does not curtail our national powers, it certainly puts sand in the gears of their normal exercise. The Senate has traditionally shown itself a cautious guardian against abuse of the treatymaking power.

Section 3 would shift the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs so that it would be lodged solely in Congress. We would no longer have the benefit of our traditional and extraordinarily wise constitutional plan for providing a President who can act and a Congress which can legislate—both separately and directly responsible to the people. This shift of responsibility would cover not only the most urgent emergency agreements which the President might make under his powers as Commander in Chief, which the Constitution vests solely in him, but also it could cover the most trivial incidents of our day-to-day business with foreign nations. In sum, while I do not underestimate the problems with which you gentlemen have to deal, I think it would be a grave mistake to adopt the Bricker amendment. To my mind, it is defective not only in its form but even more so in its spirit. Our country and its President need our traditional power and stature to negotiate and carry out agreements with other peoples, and to do so by processes that are efficient and candid. The proposed amendment would be a retrogressive step on both counts. Both at home and abroad, it would be an impediment to our obtaining and maintaining peace.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, on Receiving the Mark Eisner Award From the American Association for Jewish Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD remarks I made on December 12, 1953, on the occasion of receiving the Mark Eisner award from the American Association for Jewish Education.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For this award, given in the name of the American Association for Jewish Education, by my old friend, Judge Sam Rosenman, my heartfelt thanks. Awards such as this one fill me not only with a natural pride but with a certain uneasiness.

The pride is for the generous recognition of such contributions as I have been able to make to causes in which I have deeply believed. The uneasiness arises from a feeling that the challenges of this day are so great and overwhelming that I fear my capacity to measure up to them.

This is a time, if ever there was one, for courage, for dedication, and resolution. All I can say for myself is that in the tasks that lie ahead I shall not flag or give ground. I hope to justify the confidence expressed in me by this award, and to acknowledge it not only as a recognition for past performance, but as a standard for future service.

I have always considered myself a peace-loving man. I have never knowingly picked a fight, or deliberately provoked a quarrel. Yet I have consistently found myself in the middle of fights. I guess it has something to do with the principles I hold and the necessity I feel for defending them when they are under attack.

Of all things that might be said or have been said about me, I am not aware that I have ever been called a quitter. So I assure you today that I am not planning to give up the fight or retire, as has been rumored in some quarters, but rather to intensify my efforts, to the extent possible. I am in the present struggle, in my present assignment, to stay, as long as I am physically able and as long as the people feel I am needed and can be useful.

Quite apart from my pleasure and satisfaction in receiving this award, I am glad to be at this dinner tonight sponsored by the New York chapter of the American Association for Jewish Education. This is a time for special attention to the cause of education and educators. This cause needs our help and attention now as never before.

I have long had a great admiration for Dr. Chipkin and the others who have guided the work of the American association. It has been my privilege to be associated with this association and with the Jewish Education Committee for many years.

During all these years, the committee, and in more recent years, this association, have rendered invaluable service in promoting not only knowledge but understanding, not only learning but research and inquiry.

The American Association has, of course, built its program around learning in fields particularly associated with the culture, history, and language of Jews. But it has carefully avoided extreme parochialism. "It has shown an understanding of the dynamic nature of education and of the unconfinable nature of knowledge.

It has kept pace with the times, adopting new techniques and new approaches as they have been developed and tested. This organization has been consistently aware of its social responsibilities and of the social impact of its work. Its aim has been not to enshrine the dry learning of the past but rather to give vitality to tradition and to make its best features a part of the living present. Not learning by rote but learning for living has been our goal.

All the media of education—from universities to kindergartens—have been touched, and the whole field of education is richer as a result of the work and efforts of this association. Its leaders, officers, and employees merit our deep appreciation for a job well done.

But any consideration of the mission and work of an educational organization must, in these parlous days, deal with the central problem of the present period—the threat of the book burners. And when I say book burners, I mean all those who have been attacking and harrassing the citadels of freedom in this country and pressing the inquisition into people's opinions and beliefs of days gone by.

Not in my memory have education and educators been exposed to such buffets and attacks as they have been in recent months. The right of free inquiry and of free teaching have been and are being subjected to pressures they have never known in this country.

Presidents of universities, professors, teachers, scientists, and students have been indiscriminately attacked not on the basis of their work or their acts but on the grounds of their personal association and political views—some, of years long past.

The parents of our country were recently told by one public officeholder who professes to be a leading opponent of communism that one of our great universities is a breeding ground of communism. That was, of course, an irresponsible libel on one of the most respected universities in the entire world.

I don't think I need say before this audience—although these days it does seem necessary publicly to prove one's own loyalty in order to defend the loyalty of others—that I have no use for Communists. I oppose them and all their works with all my strength, and always have.

I have always done my best to fight communism and Communists by working to establish conditions of economic, political, and military strength, both at home and abroad, which would stop communism.

The records, in this respect, of some of those who today most loudly protest their anticommunism, and who most violently and indiscriminately attack others for being soft toward communism, might well be examined. In most cases they would be found sadly wanting.

I believe—and it is a basic article of my political faith—that the best defense against Communist ideas is not heat but light, not passion but reason.

Light and reason come not from denunciation but from education. They come from free public discussion, from free inquiry, from the enhancement and not the repression of the right to think and speak freely, to teach freely, and to write freely.

We should not, of course, relax in our persistent vigilance against the subversive designs of Communists. Spies, saboteurs, and conspirators must be detected in their evil work by police and prosecuted for their misdeeds in the courts. But if our vigilance degenerates into vigilantism, we have already lost what our vigilance was intended to protect.

The most precious institution we have is the institution of free learning and free inquiry. Both the Communists and the book burners threaten this institution. For the past 8 years the Communists have been in full retreat in the field of education—in the market place of ideas. But today the bookburners are on the march and we must form our lines and strengthen our defenses against them or we are lost.

The kind of repressive, anti-intellectual anticommunism which is now on the march inevitably attacks all nonconformity, all unorthodoxy, and then freedom itself.

Educators and the schools, by their very nature, are prime targets for the fearmongers. Educators, by their nature, provoke thought, some of it unorthodox thought. Books, by their nature, raise doubts and ask questions.

Education itself is a process of ranging the entire realm of human experience. Learning includes inquiry into that which is judged to be bad as well as that which has been found to be good. But education is different from propaganda in that it encourages people to arrive at their own conclusions on the basis of the facts.

Free inquiry establishes the facts. The development of judgment, which is the aim of education, is the development of the ability to assess and evaluate the facts. Education for democracy is learning to exercise intellectual choice which is the heart of morality and the soul of freedom.

That is my philosophy. I hope it is yours. But the enemies of freedom do not share this philosophy. They think that by proscribing and repressing ideas, ideas can be overthrown. This is the ostrich theory. It was proved false centuries ago.

But the fear and hate mongers have no more understanding of history than they have of freedom.

The bookburners are the intellectual primitives of the present day. We dare not give ground to the primitives. To allow them to prevail will turn far back the clocks of our civilization. That, too, has happened before.

We have already given some ground. We must halt the retreat and counterattack. We must realize that bookburning is an epidemic disease. It spreads like wildfire. It does not remain confined to a few chairmen of congressional investigating committees. It gets into the country, into cities and neighborhoods remote from Washington.

In the recent past, entire nations have been swept by it. Today, behind the Iron Curtain, it is a chronic, an endemic ailment which becomes epidemic as soon as it reaches new ground.

The bookburners, of course, are also the character-assassins, the merchants of hate and prejudice. They are also the chauvinists, the isolationists, the advocates of suspect-your-neighbor and distrust-your-allies.

They subscribe to the dangerous fallacy that the end justifies the means. They have nothing but contempt for the old-fashioned virtues of truth, honor, and integrity. In this, as in so many other respects, they most resemble those whom they profess most to oppose, the Communists.

To follow their way is to end in chaos over which only they can rule and preside.

Only a few weeks ago, the leading spirit of them all, in a nationwide television broadcast heard by millions of American citizens, charged that President Harry Truman's definition of McCarthyism had come "word for word and comma for comma" out of the pages of the Daily Worker.

The next day Senator McCARTHY was challenged on this statement. Far back in the inside pages of a very few newspapers, an explanation by a member of his staff was printed: Senator McCARTHY hadn't meant it literally. He had meant, an assistant said, that the Daily Worker had also attacked McCarthyism, and from time to time had used some of the same words in reference to it.

That is the kind of unscrupulous sophistry which is creeping over our land.

In Toledo, Ohio, a few weeks ago, a Federal judge ruled that a federally financed housing project recently opened in that city could not be operated on a segregated basis.

A tenants' and property owners' mass meeting was held. Plans were laid to upset the ruling of the court by political action. At the meeting, the statement was made that the program of housing integration had been "promulgated by a group of Communists."

After news of this meeting was printed in the local press, the Federal judge who had issued the ruling, Judge Frank Kloeb, convened a special session of his court. He warned that he would enforce the ban on segregation, that it could not be upset by political action, and that he would consider a repetition of the irresponsible statements made at the meeting as contempt of court. There were no repetitions. And thus reason, enforced by justice, prevailed.

But in most cases—and there are hundreds of analogous incidents occurring every day throughout our land—there are no Federal judges to appeal to reason and to enforce justice.

Occasionally it is the national sense of humor which asserts itself, as in the recent case of the lady trustee of an Indiana library who demanded that books about the legendary Anglo-Saxon hero, Robin Hood, be banned from the library. The lady said that the story of Robin Hood, who rebelled against a tyrant and unjust king, followed the Communist line. Fortunately the press saw the humor in the situation and Robin Hood was saved.

But, in general, bookburning is no laughing matter. Its proponents are deadly serious people. They have no sense of humor. And we who oppose them must be serious, too.

One of the worst aspects of the situation is the fact that the less extreme forms of bookburning are now accepted and tolerated, without protest or indignation. Our own Government practices it.

I have learned authoritatively that the United States Office of Information, which circulates American books overseas, and facilitates their translation, so that peoples abroad will better understand America and American democracy, still persists in screening every author, before clearing a book for circulation overseas.

The author isn't consulted or informed of derogatory information against him, but is judged on the basis of secret files whose sources nobody knows and for whose contents no responsibility is assessed.

If this is the method our Government uses to spread democratic ideas abroad, it should be no surprise that our prestige abroad has fallen to an alltime low.

No, my friends, this evil, this cancer has already eaten deep. While not giving way to panic, we must soberly evaluate the damage that has already been done, and muster our strength and our resolve not only to stop the spread of this disease but to work to repair the ill effects already felt both at home and abroad.

This is a long-haul job. But I have faith in the American people. I have faith in the resiliency of freedom.

While we who are assembled here tonight congratulate ourselves on the accomplishments of the American Association for Education, we must also mobilize ourselves for the fight in behalf of the whole cause of education.

This is a time when every man and woman who loves freedom and who respects knowledge and the cause of learning and free inquiry must join forces against those who would subvert knowledge, regiment learning, and supress free inquiry.

We have much at stake. Everything we hold dear may be at stake. Now is a time for action. Now is a time for dedication and common endeavor in the sacred name of freedom.

Opposition to the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "St. Lawrence Seaway Boondoggle Still Big Threat," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer on December 13, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY BOONDOGGLE STILL BIG THREAT

Remember the St. Lawrence seaway? That "multimillion-dollar boondoggle," as it was labeled by Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, of Maryland, the other day. You thought it was killed off by Congress for keeps.

Well, it's not dead. It's very much alive. Reports are that legislation to build this costly alleged shipway through the Great Lakes, in partnership with Canada, is to be given high priority when Congress meets in January. And right there is where every seaport on the eastern coast of the United States, including Philadelphia, should be alerted to prompt and all-out opposition.

For the St. Lawrence seaway, if it ever were completed—at a cost of hundreds of millions—with a channel deep enough for seagoing ships, would divert from Philadelphia and other eastern and southern ports ship tonnage vital to their prosperity; would slash the business of eastern railroads, and would benefit foreign ships while seriously damaging the American merchant marine.

And all for what? For an unnecessary waterway that would be frozen up 4 or 5 months of the year and would be, in the event of war, a liability because of vulnerable locks that could be put out of business by enemy bombs.

Surely this seaway project would be a gigantic boondoggle, as Senator BUTLER told a meeting of the North Atlantic Ports Association in Baltimore. J. Alex Crothers, promotion director of the Delaware River Port Authority, said it would deprive Philadelphia and other ports of Federal funds badly needed for channel maintenance.

The seaway isn't a new threat to our ports. It has been in and out of Congress since 1895 and has repeatedly lost. Most recent defeats of this ill-considered proposal were in 1934, 1944, 1948, and 1952.

You'd think the proponents would have lost heart and quit. Not so. This time powerful Canadian and Midwest financial and industrial interests are pushing it in earnest. The Washington administration already has given New York State authority to join with Canada in building a $600 million St. Lawrence River power project. Although this power proposal is represented as being wholly

distinct from the controversial seaway, it is not inconceivable that it would be used as the "thin edge of the wedge" in seeking United States approval of the whole waterway boondoggle.

The St. Lawrence seaway is a potential business killer for Philadelphia and the eastern and southern ports. They should make this unmistakably plain. The seaway must be defeated—again—by Congress.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Compromise with BRICKER?" published in the Washington Post of January 8, 1954, commenting upon Senate Joint Resolution 1, the so-called Bricker amendment.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPROMISE WITH BRICKER?

The increasing talk of a compromise on the Bricker amendment is causing a good deal of alarm. It is said that if a compromise can be reached, the proposed amendment to curtail the President's treatymaking power will be the first item of legislation before the Senate. This seems to us extremely unwise. Any compromise would necessarily involve new procedures for the handling of treaties. It would raise extremely complicated problems that should be thoroughly analyzed and debated—not slipped through the Senate under pressure.

One compromise under discussion is reported to have been worked out by Attorney General Brownell. It would take the place of the notorious "which clause." That obnoxious provision in Mr. BRICKER's resolution would require special action by the Senate and House to give a treaty the status of internal law and would place some matters of international concern beyond the reach of the Federal Government even by this special procedure. The importance of defeating this assault upon the United States standing as a world power can scarcely be overemphasized. But that would not warrant acceptance of a compromise which is open to grave objections of a different sort.

The proposal attributed to Mr. Brownell is that only treaties affecting the domestic rights of Americans be subjected to the special requirement of approval as internal law by the House and Senate. But what are domestic rights? The use of that vague phrase might easily prove to be a Trojan horse. For every treaty probably affects the rights of some Americans. Certainly that would be true of the treaties of friendship, navigation, and commerce, which usually deal with the ownership of property, the right to do business, and so forth. In the end such a vague phrase might prove to be a surrender instead of a compromise. Moreover, it would be an inexcusable offense against good government to write such flabby and uncertain verbiage into the Constitution.

President Eisenhower has said in positive words that he would accept no compromise which detracts from the power of the President to conduct the foreign relations of the United States. The scheme attributed to Attorney General Brownell seems to fall definitely into that category. We think it should be flatly discarded. The administration went as far as it could reasonably go when it accepted Senator KNOWLAND'S substitute for the Bricker amendment.

In effect the Knowland substitute provides that a treaty flying in the face of the Constitution shall have no effect. That is the present law. There is no occasion whatever to restate it, and we think it would be better to reject even this face-saving gesture. To go beyond it in an effort to conciliate Senator BRICKER would not only hamstring President Eisenhower in his conduct of foreign relations but would also pass on a legacy of frustration that would haunt the United States down through history. We cannot believe that the President will agree to any such foolish gesture.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, Before New York Chapter of the Friends Committee on National Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD remarks I made on December 11, 1953, at a dinner of the New York chapter of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It gives me much satisfaction to be here at this dinner sponsored by the New York Friends Committee on National Legislation, and to join in paying tribute to Mr. E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary of your national organization.

The best way I can illustrate my regard for your group is to say that Mr. Wilson has seldom had to approach me to urge my support for most causes in which the Friends Committee has been interested. I vote that way naturally, and by conviction.

I have read in a brochure issued by one of the Friends committee—I think it was your California group— that the Friends feel they have a responsibility to help shape wise legislation, especially in the areas of peace and human dignity.

"We are moved," this brochure reads, "not by political allegiance to party or platform, but by religious faith which teaches that love of God and love of neighbor are inseparable."

Those words express my own deep faith as well as any words I have ever read. And because the Friends Committee on National Legislation not only expresses these views but acts upon them, it has earned my great regard for its integrity and my deep respect for its nobility of purpose.

While Mr. Wilson has not felt it necessary to buttonhole me in Washington, he is in frequent touch with my office. Indeed, my office more frequently seeks his counsel and assistance than he seeks mine. He is the ideal Washington representative—unobtrusive, well-informed, deeply sincere, and highly effective.

We have worked together on a half-dozen good causes, and I have never found him wanting.

On civil rights, on human rights, on the cause of world peace and fellowship, and on one of the subjects I am going to discuss tonight—immigration and citizenship—Raymond Wilson has always been a tower of supporting strength. I cannot too highly praise him. I cannot too warmly salute the fine sincerity and idealism of your organization, and the real effectiveness of its office in Washington.

Tonight, as we consider the functions which the Friends Committee on National Legislation must perform in Washington in the months immediately ahead, we must all hope for its maximum strength and influence.

Never has our horizon seemed more troubled and uncertain, more overcast with confusion, problems and grave potentialities. The issues which face us in the coming year, involving peace and human dignity are many and grave.

The world tinderboxes are increasing in number * * * from Korea to Kashmir from the Elbe River to the Jordan, and from Helsinki to Singapore. New crises arise and subside but do not disappear. The stage of world events becomes more and more crowded. It has become hard even to keep all the crises in mind.

In our own country the United Nations is under attack as never before while Soviet Russia presses her cunning campaign to destroy and split the free world whose unity is the greatest assurance of our own security.

To discharge our responsibilities of world leadership requires bold, consistent, and imaginative policies. It requires a decent respect for the opinion of free mankind. It requires the kind of patient, understanding approach Secretary Dulles so eloquently—though so belatedly—described in his press statement of December 1.

Yes, the world situation is challenging enough, and should engage our deepest anxiety.

But at the same time we face a host of domestic issues, each of them complex, each of them calling for our most earnest thought, our most measured judgment. In the coming session of Congress we shall have to deal with such various subjects as amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act, revision of our tax structure, reciprocal trade and foreign economic policy, agricultural policy, and farm price supports, natural resources policy, and public power, and many, many more.

While all these problems have been building up, however, a careful and concentrated approach to them has been made increasingly difficult by another, even greater threat to our national life—the paralyzing influence of McCarthyism.

Beginning as a guerilla activity, it has become, since January 1953, a full-scale assault on the Government service, the schools, the stage, the publishing world, and even our churches.

This assault has been against both persons and policies. Against persons the attack has been pressed on interchangeable grounds of disloyalty, unorthodoxy, and failure to accept the infallibility of McCARTHY, JENNER, and VELDE as supreme arbiters of patriotism and of the ways of justice in the United States.

On policies, the attack has been based on the strange assumption that any foreign policy program having its origins in the past administration is, by definition, wrong and evil.

The inquisitors have undertaken to impose on this country not only their own peculiar brand of political orthodoxy, but also their own violent concept of foreign policy.

They propose not only to go it alone, but to do it alone, and to do it to everybody.

The effects of these activities have been far-reaching and appalling. One effect has been to create more disunity at home than we have had in generations. The Government service has been filled with fear, and paralyzed in the exercise of independent judgment. Civil liberties have been cast under a pall. The basic American concepts

of due process, and of presumptive innocence until guilt has been proved have been distored beyond recognition.

These developments, among others, have instilled among free peoples abroad a growing doubt and even fear as to both the true nature and the eventual directions of America.

From these particular developments, in my judgment, the Soviet cause has profited more than it could from knowing vital defense secrets.

Now in very recent weeks, there has been a new essay in sensationalism, a new impetus to the public concern with the internal threat of communism. The Attorney General of the United States, in an unfortunately timed and carelessly phrased speech, resurrected the case of a deceased Government official whom the Attorney General alleged to have been a Soviet spy. The case, itself, was not new. The novelty was in the use of the word "spy." The sensation was in the imputation against the loyalty of both the former President of the United States and the late Chief Justice of the United States. This imputation of disloyalty was later disavowed, but the disavowal was meaningless in the face of the allegations.

I am not going to undertake tonight to discuss the details of the Harry Dexter White case. It would serve no purpose.

It is probably necessary for me to say, although it shouldn't be, that I do not minimise the danger of Communist subversion in our country. To guard our security the Government must be at all times vigilant, and the public must have an active concern.

Mistakes in this respect were undoubtedly made in the past. Back in 1945 and 1946, and before, vigilance against Communist penetration was undoubtedly not as great as it could have been had those then in charge of our Government been endowed with powers of prophecy as to the developments of the future.

But our most urgent concern today must be for the events of today.

Thus I feel deeply that the recent use and partial disclosure of secret police files for political purposes was unwise, improper, and dangerous. The files of the FBI are filled largely with unsworn material from confidential sources, even with gossip and hearsay, most of which is impossible to prove as to fact, and which the FBI does not pretend to evaluate. These files and their contents have always been secret and inviolate, lest they lose their usefulness.

In spite of this, however, the Attorney General saw fit to use and disclose a selected part of one particular FBI file in order to make an attack on the previous administration. This sets a most dangerous precedent.

Certainly if an Attorney General, whose duty it is to enforce exact justice, may for partisan purpose publicly disclose secret police files on one individual and may, moreover, disclose such parts of those files as suit his purpose and withhold other parts, then no one in our country is safe from attack. Against such attacks defense is difficult, if not impossible. This makes a mockery of the name of justice.

I feel, moreover, that the imputation plainly made by the Attorney General that President Truman and the late Chief Justice Vinson were disloyal—and the charges, despite the disavowal, lead inevitably to that imputation—was inexcusable, incredible, and outrageous.

This imputation is of the same nature as those made by Senators McCARTHY and JENNER against the loyalty of fine, patriotic men like General Marshall, Secretary of State Acheson, Ambassador Jessup, and Ambassador Bohlen.

Obviously in 1945 and 1946 some individuals who were at that time Communists and fellow travelers did hold positions in Government, as they did in industry, labor, and in all other fields of endeavor in the United States and elsewhere in the free world.

But as the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union came into conflict in the postwar years, those who persisted in their subservience to the Communist cause were progressively eliminated from our Government service. Some few may have escaped the dragnet of the loyalty program. But I have seen no evidence to show that at any time the overall policy of the United States was significantly affected by persons disloyal to the United States.

Beginning in 1947, the United States inaugurated a series of programs, and a policy, which mobilized the power and might of the United States for the struggle against the Soviet Union. We halted Soviet expansion and threw it back, first in Europe, and then in Asia. No Government leader in the United States or in the world has done as much against world communism as President Harry S. Truman. And at home the Communist Party was more effectively demoralized and immunized and its strength more diminished than in any other free country in the world.

Is this the work of a Government penetrated and honeycombed with Communists, spies, and saboteurs?

I say these words, not from a motive of partisanship, but from a heart full of concern for the implications of what is now going on in our country. I say these words from a deep apprehension that the cultivated frenzy and hysteria of the present day are helping and not hurting the Communist cause. I am motivated finally by an anxious regard lest in our panic over the Communist threat we forget the dignity of what Walt Whitman, the poet, once called "the single solitary soul."

The heart of our democracy is our respect and concern for the individual, just as it is the soul of our religious faith. If, in order to fight communism at home, we must debase the dignity of the individual, and reject the virtues of decency and truth, we will have lost the struggle before we have really joined it.

It is with this last point of view, above all others, that I know you are concerned. And it is from this point of departure that I address myself to another issue in which the same values are at stake—immigration and citizenship.

The issue of immigration and citizenship is really not foreign to the issue of McCarthyism. There is a strong thread which leads directly from the one to the other.

The same elements of public fear, hysteria, and real concern over the threat of communism which today underlie anti-Communist vigilantism, gave rise 2 years ago to the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act.

The same dangerous train of thought which today points to the incredible conclusion that all officeholders of the past administration were coddlers of communism or dupes of Communists pointed, in the McCarran-Walter Act, to the conclusion that all aliens are potential criminals, spies, and saboteurs.

Finally, to complete the connection between the two subjects, some of the identical difficulties which stand in the way of bringing logical perspective to a consideration of Communist infiltration into Government also confront us in educating the American public to the facts involved in our immigration and citizenship laws.

Both in regard to the issue of Communist infiltration of government and the issue of immigration, fear and passion rather than restraint and reason dominate the present atmosphere. In both cases the good name of national security is invoked to justify shameful acts and practices. Those who advocate a logical approach must first overcome the assumption of being soft toward communism and unconcerned for national security.

I do not wish to labor this analogy too hard. But it is important to bear these facts and this parallel in mind.

What work we do for general improvements in our immigration and citizenship laws will also bring results in the broader field of public understanding of ideals and principles which are basic to our philosophy of life and and government.

When we determine to reform our immigration and citizenship laws, we inevitably include in our goals the achievement of a greater public awareness of America's moral obligation as a leader of the free world.

In fighting the McCarran-Walter Act, we give direct battle to the forces of national and racial prejudice and discrimination.

In short, our crusade against the McCarran-Walter Act, and for humane immigration and citizenship laws, is not an isolated or parochial struggle. It is not even a new struggle. It is part of the whole, the immemorial, the never-won, the never-ending fight for decency and tolerance, and for humanitarianism and brotherhood.

It is part of the same fight which men have been waging for centuries to establish the truth that the end does not and cannot justify the means. The reverse of this truth is the same dangerous fallacy which leads men to say such things as follows:

"It is better to keep out all aliens than to run the chance of admitting a single Communist or subversive"; and

"It is better to deport 10 innocent aliens than to permit 1 subversive or criminal alien to remain here"; and

"It is better to be called savage and cruel than to run the risk of being called soft and lenient."

The loose and dangerous turn of mind in America which leads men to such conclusions as these is our first target if we are to succeed in revising the McCarran-Walter Act in a basic way, if we are to make real progress toward a more humane and enlightened America, and, finally, if we are to save our national souls.

Up to this point I have been speaking in general terms about the McCarran-Walter Act.

When I refer to that act, and to its evils, I am aware that some of its evil features were carried over from preexisting laws which were revalidated and reaffirmed in the McCarran-Walter Act.

One of the worst of these features, the national origins quota system, dates back to legislation originally passed in 1924. Some few of the features which urgently require amendment date back to the act of 1917. Legislation discriminating against Asiatics goes back even further, to the 1880's.

The McCarran-Walter Act cleared out some of the legal underbrush of previous law, and made some slight advances in the direction of liberalization. At the same time, however, it not only reaffirmed most of the evils of previous law, but it also created a new series of booby traps and pitfalls to trap the unwary immigrant and the alien resident in the United States, not to speak of the naturalized American citizen.

Let me describe, for instance, just one typical set of provisions, tucked away in the present law.

There is a simple proviso in the naturalization title which says that an alien legally resident here for 5 years who is otherwise eligible can become an American citizen if he has not, within 10 years of filing his naturalization petition, been a member of a Communist organization.

This is a forgiveness proviso, extending grace for past Communist affiliation if the affiliation was terminated at least 10 years before the date of the citizenship application. But elsewhere in the act, in a previous title, it is provided that if an alien is

or has been at any time a member of a Communist organization he is automatically subject to deportation. He may have been a member of a Communist group 30 years ago and retained his affiliation for 6 months, or a month, or a week. Under the McCarran Act, he remains perpetually subject to deportation whenever the fact of his past Communist affiliation comes to the notice of the immigration authorities.

If an alien applies for naturalization and, relying on the forgiveness provision, admits that he was a member of a Communist organization 15 or 20 years ago, he is eligible for naturalization, but, on the other hand, he becomes immediately subject to deportation. Instead of getting a certificate of citizenship, he is served with a warrant of arrest. Thus, the forgiveness provision in the naturalization section of the law seems to have only one purpose—to serve as bait to trap the alien into an admission of past Communist affiliation so that he can, however belatedly, be deported.

There are other entrapment provisions—obscure, technical provisions—which can bring heartbreak and tragedy to one individual or to thousands.

Such provisions seldom come to public notice. They will not be eliminated or amended except as part of an overall legal housecleaning, a complete humanization of our present immigration and citizenship laws. This is one of the reasons why, in my judgment, it would be unwise to subscribe to a piecemeal amendment of the McCarran-Walter Act. Should we agree to piecemeal amendment, such technical provisions as I have described, and hundreds of others, would be left permanently imbedded in our statute books.

Today there are great stirrings of organized sentiment, in many parts of our country, in favor of wholesale reform of the McCarran Act. Citywide committees dedicated to this purpose have been organized in a score of our metropolitan centers, throughout the country, from Boston to Los Angeles. A number of statewide committees have been formed. New groups are being formed and mobilized almost every day.

What is needed to tie all these stirrings together, to give them force, focus, and direction, is a national committee. Some of us have been working on this project for some months.

Such an organization needs to be established. The local associations now forming throughout the country have a great grassroots potential. But they need guidance and direction. They need speakers and educational material. They need a national inspiration.

I know I need not convince you that the major problem is education—the education of millions of people as to the facts and principles involved. We will never get far-reaching reform of our immigration and citizenship laws until an informed public sentiment is aroused throughout the country—not just in the East—to breach and destroy the barricades of prejudice in Congress.

This is everybody's job. It requires dedication. It requires a deep resolve to enlist in what must be a long haul, a persistent and unrelenting effort. I know that you and your organization have enlisted in this effort.

I believe that the challenge is great enough, the target is big enough, the objective to be gained noble and important enough to call forth the kind of dedication that is needed. This is a cause for valiant men and women.

This is a cause for all who believe in the brotherhood of man and the blessedness of justice.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Post-Dispatch of St. Louis, Mo. We have heard much talk within the last few days about compromises on the Bricker resolution, and this editorial, I think, is a fine statement of the reasons why the administration must stand firm against efforts to undermine the Constitution.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DEAL WITH BRICKER?

Is a compromise Bricker amendment in the works as Congress opens? Last week Senator BRICKER flew to Washington for a White House conference with Secretary of State Dulles and Attorney General Brownell. On Tuesday of this week he was again at the White House for compromise talks.

What, if anything, comes out of these conferences should be one of the most interesting developments in 1954. Senator BRICKER'S constitutional amendment to limit the President's treaty powers draws a vital issue of principle between him and the administration. If a deal is now to be struck, something has got to give somewhere.

When Secretary of State Dulles testified on the Bricker amendment last spring, he said: "There is no actual experience to demonstrate the need of the far-reaching changes here proposed," and he declared that those changes "could be dangerous to our peace and security."

When Attorney General Brownell testified, he said: "The proposed amendments (by BRICKER and WATKINS) are unnecessary and damaging."

If the administration still holds these views, it cannot accept without sacrifice of principle any version of the Bricker amendment save one which is a meaningless formula of mere words. Any amendment with teeth in it, which really sets out to curb the Presidential treaty power, would be open to the same objections which the administration raised last year: it would be superfluous, and it would be damaging to the constitutional powers of the President.

On the other hand, a compromise amendment which merely set forth a meaningless verbal formula would hardly satisfy the Brickerites, whose whole purpose is precisely to curb the Presidential treaty power.

Even if a formula acceptable to both sides could be found, however, the administration ought to ask itself whether a compromise at this stage is desirable at all.

The basic issue of the Bricker amendment cannot really be settled by compromise. That issue is: Shall the Presidential power to conduct foreign policy be limited and impaired?

The administration, up to this point, has very properly answered "No." If it now makes a deal with Senator BRICKER, its answer would be clouded by ambiguity, and the compromise amendment would go to the people without a clear-cut issue to decide. And though it might seem innocent, such an amendment by its very uncertain nature could make future trouble.

Would it not be far better to get a basic decision from the people on the basic issue at stake? The constitutional amendment process is too sacred and solemn a thing to be used as a mere device for saving political face. When an amendment comes before the people, it ought to carry a clear-cut issue for their decision.

If Senator BRICKER wants to curb the Presidential treaty power, let him convince Congress and the people that it should be curbed; and let the administration argue to the contrary. A "yes and no" deal between them would only confuse the issue and confuse the people.

Need of Curb on Treatymaking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in the November 22, 1953, issue of the Saturday Evening Post there appeared an editorial entitled "History Proves Need of Curb on Treatymaking."

Since this body will soon be considering the important amendment offered by the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER], this editorial is particularly informative and strikes a responsive chord with the great mass of our citizenry.

I offer it for insertion in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, requesting unanimous consent for this purpose.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HISTORY PROVES NEED OF CURB ON TREATYMAKING

Although Secretary of State John Foster Dulles took a swing at it in Boston late in August, Senator BRICKER'S proposed amendment to the Constitution's treatymaking clauses is still very much alive. Perhaps one reason is that the Bricker idea appeals to most people as it did to Mr. Dulles until he became Secretary of State. Early in 1952 he agreed that the treaty power was "liable to abuse" and that treaties "can cut across the rights given to the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights." Even in his Boston speech, before the house of delegates of the American Bar Association, the Secretary agreed that the fear that treaty power might be used to change American internal law had some basis and that those who voiced their concern "performed a genuine service in bringing the situation to the attention of the American public."

But, added Mr. Dulles, "the danger, never great, has passed." Of course, it has passed while President Eisenhower is in the White House and Mr. Dulles in the State Department. But if there was, before November 1952, a danger sufficient to justify Mr. Dulles' praise of those who sounded the alarm, many will suspect that with another set of neoliberals in power the peril may reappear.

The Bricker amendment represents an effort to clarify the relation of treaties and

executive agreements to American domestic law. Article VI of the Constitution declares that the Constitution and the laws of the United States "which shall be made in pursuance thereof" and "all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." The article itself would seem to place treaties on an equal footing with other laws, but the Supreme Court in at least one case (*Missouri v. Holland*) has held that treaties override domestic law. Senator BRICKER'S proposal is to amend the Constitution to make it clear that no treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall be valid.

It is difficult to see why this should hamper the executive in the negotiation of treaties, unless you conceive a situation in which an American President or Secretary of State undertook to negotiate a treaty which would nullify American domestic law. The Bricker amendment would restrain some future Roosevelt who might be tempted to indulge in another spree at Yalta or propose a human-rights covenant which could obligate this country to accept sociological reforms or changes which it would never accept of its own accord. Indeed, our foreign relations would be more stable today if some such restraint on executive folly had existed in 1940.

The dangers foreseen by the amendment's sponsors are by no means imaginary. A former American administration agreed to a human-rights covenant which, if it had been adopted, would have obligated this country to carry out social changes quite out of harmony with American political concepts. We send delegates to the meetings of the International Labor Organization, which passes resolutions and recommends for adoption by treaty all sorts of socialistic measures unacceptable to American opinion.

There is no reason why sincere negotiation with foreign countries should be hampered by the Bricker amendment. Surely it won't shock our allies to learn that we plan to make treaties on the same terms as such arrangements have long been made by Great Britain, Canada, or France.

Proposed Closing of Certain Smaller Post Offices in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Plan To Close Post Offices," published in the Devil's Lake (N. Dak.) Journal of November 17, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLAN TO CLOSE POST OFFICES

In the interests of national economy, a movement has started to close a number of the smaller post offices in the United States.

States, such as North Dakota, would be particularly hit by such a move because of the large number of small towns.

Many would see in objections to the closing of small post offices the usual cry of a special interest when something is taken away. However, in the case of the small post office, the matter is not quite so simple, particularly when it involves the identity of a large number of communities.

No doubt it is true that with faster and better methods of transportation, many smaller communities could be served by carriers from the larger trade centers. However, with the end of the post office in a community, the town will lose its main reason for existence, inasmuch as in many cases residents of the area go elsewhere to carry on their business.

Some may ask why it should be necessary to subsidize the hamlet at the expense of the taxpayer. In many cases, public-spirited citizens no doubt would be willing to take on the job of postmaster as a sideline in order that the service could continue in operation.

In many small towns, the post office is operated in connection with other businesses. Nevertheless, the post office department maintains that these particular stations continue to cost the Government more than they take in as receipts for postage and money orders.

Most everyone realizes that if the post offices close, the towns will disappear from most maps and for all practical purposes will no longer exist in the eyes of people outside of those communities.

Compromising of the issue by both the communities and the Government could result in a solution of the problem without the need for taking such drastic action, which could psychologically wipe a number of North Dakota towns off the map.

In rendering Government service, it is not always possible to assess its value on a strictly dollars-and-cents basis. Despite what some persons would have us believe, Government is not a vast corporation nor can it be operated as such.

These things should be kept in mind in any consideration of the problem of the small post office. The existence of many small communities and the loyalty of residents to them may be at stake. How much are they worth?

Award to Carl E. Fribley by New York State Automobile Dealers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an award made on September 15, 1953, by the New York State Automobile Dealers, Inc., to Carl E. Fribley, a resident of Norwich, N. Y. This award names Mr. Fribley as the automobile dealer of the year and is, as all who know him are aware, a well-deserved tribute.

There being no objection, the award was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW YORK STATE AUTOMOBILE DEALERS, INC., PROUDLY SALUTES CARL E. FRIBLEY AS THE AUTOMOBILE DEALER OF THE YEAR 1953

This award is humbly rendered for his continued industry and inspired leadership in the automotive trade on behalf of his fellow dealers throughout New York State and the Nation. His devotion to the principle of maximum service for the motoring public and automobile dealer has resulted in his continued recognition as a leader in the field of automobile trade associations. His untiring endeavor and devotion has materialized in the great strides taken by our State and national associations. Mr. Fribley's faithful and unselfish service have been devoted to the principle of free enterprise. Years before public acceptance, Mr. Fribley crystalized the idea of the economic essentially of the automobile.

His wide experience, training, and inexhaustible energy have been eagerly utilized by State and national associations. As a director, past president, and chairman of its public relations committee, Mr. Fribley has worked for national recognition and prominence his State association now holds. Nationally, Mr. Fribley has served as a member and chairman of major working committees, is a past secretary, and presently serving a second term as New York State director and chairman of the national public relations committee.

He has led his fellow dealers through the jungle of conflicting ideas to the clear-headed and sage judgments of successful actions.

Thus is Carl E. Fribley chosen as automobile dealer of the year.

SARANAC INN, N. Y., *September 15, 1953.*

Unseating of John Rutledge as Chief Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the Washington Post on November 29, 1953, which was prepared by Mr. James A. Hoyt, reporter of decisions, United States Court of Claims, Washington, D. C. In this article Mr. Hoyt, former Speaker of the House of Representatives in South Carolina, points out the reason why former Supreme Court Chief Justice John Rutledge, of South Carolina, was unseated.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE SPEECH UNSEATED A CHIEF JUSTICE
(By James A. Hoyt)

The recess appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States recalls a similar case in the early days of the Supreme Court. It was similar only up to a point, however.

Warren's confirmation by the Senate is practically a certainty. The 1795 appointment of John Rutledge, of South Carolina, was rejected by the Senate after a bitter fight.

The Supreme Court was lightly regarded in its early days, and until its clash with Jefferson its decisions were given scant attention. President Washington had great difficulty in obtaining acceptances from his first appointees. One declined after confirmation and another resigned.

One of the three or four men whom Washington considered for Chief Justice was Rutledge, who had been president of South Carolina under the old form of government and governor under the new. The post finally went to John Jay, Acting Secretary of State, and Rutledge was named an Associate Justice.

When the Court met in New York to organize, in February 1790, only 3 of the 6 Justices were present. Rutledge did not attend any of the Supreme Court sessions, but served on circuit. It was a duty of the Justices to preside over Federal circuit courts, an unpleasant task entailing much travel over bad roads.

The Supreme Court and the circuit courts had few cases to consider in those days, and when Rutledge was appointed chief justice of South Carolina, he resigned from the Supreme Court, considering the State judgship equally honorable and more congenial.

Then Jay after negotiating his treaty with England, ran for Governor of New York and, after his election, resigned as Chief Justice. That in itself showed how little the Supreme Court was then esteemed.

Rutledge then wrote a remarkable letter to President Washington, "intended merely to apprise you of what I would do if selected" as Chief Justice. Washington immediately appointed him.

In those days, the issue of the hour was neutrality. Neutrality between France and England, and Jay's treaty, which was denounced by the anti-Federalists as too favorable to England, were the subjects of acrimonious debate.

The treaty was ratified conditionally by the Senate June 24, 1795, and 2 days later the Senate adjourned. Rutledge was offered the post of Chief Justice in a letter dated July 1. And on July 16, Rutledge made his celebrated Charleston speech denouncing the Jay Treaty.

It was an unwise and uncalled for utterance from a beneficiary of the administration which was responsible for the treaty, but the speech itself and the circumstances of its delivery have been grossly misrepresented. Rutledge, however, took the oath of office at Philadelphia August 12. The court heard two cases, and Rutledge left the city for his circuit court work. "But he was destined never to return to the Supreme Court," says Charles Warren in the Supreme Court in United States History, "for the Federalists were fixed in their determination to punish him."

Thomas Jefferson wrote:

"The rejection of Rutledge by the Senate is a bold thing, for they cannot pretend any objection to him but his disapprobation of the treaty. It is, of course, a declaration that they will receive none but Tories into any department of the Government."

Jefferson was not under any delusions. He knew that Hamilton controlled the Senate.

As to what might have been, Charles Warren says in his history: "The rejection of Rutledge was an event of great importance in American legal history, which has hitherto received cursory attention.

"But for his unfortunate Charleston speech, he would have undoubtedly been confirmed despite the rumor as to his mental condition. As his death did not occur until the year 1800, the Chief Justiceship, if held by him, would have become vacant at a time when it is extremely unlikely that President Adams would have appointed John Marshall as his successor. Thus upon the event of one chance speech regarding a British treaty hinged the future course of American constitutional law."

In Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, Richard Barry describes the circumstances surrounding the speech.

The terms of the Jay Treaty became public July 2 and the fury of opposition from Boston to Charleston was such that nearly every popular leader spoke against it, the chief opponent being Jefferson, who had resigned from Washington's Cabinet.

Public protest meetings were held, and one of these was at St. Michael's Church in Charleston. Rutledge had not been invited to attend this meeting, but appeared unexpectedly. Says Barry:

"Rutledge spoke for more than an hour. He took the treaty apart, line by line, section by section, and demolished it. That speech, later printed, became a bible for the campaign being waged throughout the States by opponents of the treaty, including Jefferson and his followers.

"Yet the printed words, strong as they are, do not reveal the fire which one auditor reported as 'sufficient to raise the tombstones in the nearby graveyard.' Read in the cold light of a later day (and especially in the light of the denouement), this attack on the Jay Treaty appears as the able, uncompromising advocacy of a vigilant and informed political opponent, quite devoid of judicial restraint. It remains as a curiosa of spellbinding by a Chief Justice, equaled only in judicial tactlessness by some of the diatribes later delivered by John Marshall after he had been confirmed as Chief Justice.

"Never before had Rutledge made a serious error in his sense of timing. His dual personality previously had stood him in good stead, and the orator in him had appeared only at behest of the competent politician. Now, for the first time, he was indiscreet.

"He ignored the fact that he was Chief Justice only ad interim, and that to be secure he required the confirmation of the Senate. That he spoke impromptu on an important issue, contrary to habit, can be accounted for only on the score that he did not anticipate the national platform his words eventually reached."

Throughout the summer and fall of 1795 the campaign for and against the Jay Treaty absorbed the political attention of the country. The Senate gave the treaty a qualified ratification in August, but Britain refused to be bound by it unless it was approved also by the House. That prolonged the fight, and it was not until the following spring that it was approved by one vote.

Rutledge's nomination as Chief Justice was taken up by the Senate in December. On December 15 the Senate refused to confirm by a vote of 14 to 10.

Rutledge returned to the practice of law in Charleston, broken in spirit and finances.

In opposing his confirmation the accusation had been made that Rutledge was insane, and the Charleston speech was exhibit A. From his examination of all the evidence Barry comes to the conclusion that the accusation was entirely baseless.

Rutledge had kidney stone and Bright's disease. "He was never mentally unsound," says Barry, "unless such a phrase might be used to describe his condition in the moments of agony when he suffered from his illness."

In December 1797 Rutledge was elected a representative to the General Assembly of South Carolina, without his suggestion or seeking and without opposition.

"No man of unsound mind," says Barry "would be elected by his neighbors to represent them officially in a lawmaking body. Those who knew him best trusted him the most."

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Hruska, Roman L., *Nebr*.
Hunter, Allan Oakley, *Calif*.
Hyde, DeWitt S., *Md*.
Ikard, Frank, *Tex*.
Jackson, Donald L., *Calif*.
James, Benjamin F., *Pa*.—200 C St. SE.
Jarman, John, *Okla*.
Javits, Jacob K., *N. Y*.
Jenkins, Thomas A., *Ohio*.—The Mayflower
Jensen, Ben F., *Iowa*.—The Washington House
Johnson, Leroy, *Calif*.—626 North Carolina Ave. SE.
Johnson, Lester, *Wis*.
Jonas, Charles Raper, *N. C*.
Jonas, Edgar A., *Ill*.
Jones, Paul C., *Mo*.—3613 Greenway Place, Alexandria, Va.
Jones, Robert E., Jr., *Ala*.
Jones, Woodrow W., *N. C*.
Judd, Walter H., *Minn*.—3083 Ordway St.
Karsten, Frank M., *Mo*.
Kean, Robert W., *N. J*.—2435 Kalorama Road
Kearney, B. W. (Pat), *N. Y*.
Kearns, Carroll D., *Pa*.—Sheraton Park
Keating, Kenneth B., *N. Y*.—1656 34th St.
Kee, Elizabeth, *W. Va*.—301 N. J. Ave. SE.
Kelley, Augustine B., *Pa*.
Kelly, Edna F., *N. Y*.
Keogh, Eugene J., *N. Y*.—The Mayflower
Kersten, Charles J., *Wis*.
Kilburn, Clarence E., *N. Y*.—The Gen. Scott
Kilday, Paul J., *Tex*.—3507 Albemarle St.
King, Cecil R., *Calif*.
King, Karl C., *Pa*.
Kirwan, Michael J., *Ohio*.
Klein, Arthur G., *N. Y*.
Kluczynski, John C., *Ill*.
Knox, Victor A., *Mich*.
Krueger, Otto, *N. Dak*.—The Coronet

Laird, Melvin R., *Wis.*
Landrum, Phil M., *Ga.*
Lane, Thomas J., *Mass.*
Lanham, Henderson L., *Ga.*
Lantaff, Bill, *Fla.*
Latham, Henry J., *N. Y.*
LeCompte, Karl M., *Iowa*—Sheraton Park
Lesinski, John, Jr., *Mich.*
Lipscomb, Glenard P., *Calif.*
Long, George S., *La.*
Lovre, Harold O., *S. Dak.*—1605 Sherwood Road, Silver Spring, Md.
Lucas, Wingate H., *Tex.*—4737 11th St. N., Arlington, Va.
Lyle, John E., Jr., *Tex.*
McCarthy, Eugene J., *Minn.*—3809 17th St. NE.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr., *Pa.*
McCormack, John W., *Mass.*—The Washington
McCulloch, Wm. M., *Ohio*—Westchester Apts.
McDonough, G. L., *Calif.*
McGregor, J. Harry, *Ohio*—The Westchester
McIntire, Clifford G., *Maine*
McMillan, John L., *S. C.*—1201 S. Barton St., Arlington, Va.
McVey, William E., *Ill.*—3610 38th St.
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., *Mich.*—812 Park Ave., Falls Church, Va.
Mack, Peter F., Jr., *Ill.*
Mack, Russell V., *Wash.*
Madden, Ray J., *Ind.*—3250 T St. SE.
Magnuson, Don, *Wash.*
Mahon, George H., *Tex.*—Alban Towers
Mailliard, William S., *Calif.*
Marshall, Fred, *Minn.*
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., *Mass.*—The Hay-Adams
Martin, Thomas E., *Iowa*—The Kennedy-Warren
Mason, Noah M., *Ill.*—The Baronet
Matthews, D. R. (Billy), *Fla.*
Meader, George, *Mich.*—3360 Tennyson St.
Merrill, D. Bailey, *Ind.*—2701 N St.
Merrow, Chester E., *N. H.*
Metcalf, Lee, *Mont.*
Miller, A. L., *Nebr.*—2801 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Miller, Edward T., *Md.*—2901 Conn. Ave.
Miller, George P., *Calif.*
Miller, Howard S., *Kans.*—1805 Parkside Dr.
Miller, William E., *N. Y.*—721 North Overlook Drive, Alexandria, Va.
Mills, Wilbur D., *Ark.*—2701Conn. Ave.
Mollohan, Robert H., *W. Va.*
Morano, Albert P., *Conn.*
Morgan, Thomas E., *Pa.*
Morrison, James H., *La.*—4420 Dexter St.
Moss, John E., Jr., *Calif.*
Moulder, Morgan M., *Mo.*
Multer, Abraham J., *N. Y.*
Mumma, Walter M., *Pa.*—The Coronet
Murray, Tom, *Tenn.*
Natcher, William, *Ky.*
Neal, Will E., *W. Va.*—The Congressional
Nelson, Charles P., *Maine*
Nicholson, D. W., *Mass.*
Norblad, Walter, *Oreg.*
Norrell, W. F., *Ark.*—3106 34th St.
Oakman, Charles G., *Mich.*
O'Brien, George D., *Mich.*
O'Brien, Leo W., *N. Y.*
O'Brien, Thomas J., *Ill.*—The Hamilton
O'Hara, Barratt, *Ill.*—The Congressional
O'Hara, Joseph P., *Minn.*—2813 31st St.
O'Konski, Alvin E., *Wis.*—2801 Pa. Ave. SE.
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr., *Mass.*
Osmers, Frank C., Jr., *N. J.*
Ostertag, Harold C., *N. Y.*—100 Maryland Ave. NE.
Passman, Otto E., *La.*
Patman, Wright, *Tex.*—117 Carroll St., SE.
Patten, Harold A., *Ariz.*—4337 Nebraska Av.
Patterson, James T., *Conn.*
Pelly, Thomas M., *Wash.*
Perkins, Carl D., *Ky.*
Prost, Gracie, *Idaho.*
Philbin, Philip J., *Mass.*
Phillips, John, *Calif.*
Pilcher, J. L., *Ga.*
Pillion, John R., *N. Y.*
Poage, W. R., *Tex.*—2309 Skyland Place SE.
Poff, Richard H., *Va.*
Polk, James G., *Ohio.*
Powell, Adam C., Jr., *N. Y.*
Preston, Prince H., Jr., *Ga.*
Price, Melvin, *Ill.*
Priest, J. Percy, *Tenn.*—The Berkshire
Prouty, Winston L., *Vt.*
Rabaut, Louis C., *Mich.*
Radwan, Edmund P., *N. Y.*
Rains, Albert, *Ala.*
Ray, John H., *N. Y.*
Rayburn, Sam, *Tex.*
Reams, Frazier, *Ohio.*
Reece, B. Carroll, *Tenn.*
Reed, Chauncey W., *Ill.*—2009 Glen Ross Rd., Silver Spring, Md.
Reed, Daniel A., *N. Y.*—The Woodner
Rees, Edward H., *Kans.*—1801 16th St.
Regan, Ken, *Tex.*—3226 N St.
Rhodes, George M., *Pa.*—1809 Franklin St. NE.
Rhodes, John J., *Ariz.*
Richards, James P., *S. C.*
Riehlman, R. Walter, *N. Y.*—2700 Wis. Ave.
Riley, John J., *S. C.*
Rivers, L. Mendel, *S. C.*
Roberts, Kenneth A., *Ala.*—3701 39th St.
Robeson, Edward J., Jr., *Va.*
Robsion, John M., Jr., *Ky.*
Rodino, Peter W., Jr., *N. J.*
Rogers, Byron G., *Colo.*
Rogers, Dwight L., *Fla.*—Sheraton Park
Rogers, Edith Nourse, *Mass.*—The Shoreham
Rogers, Walter, *Tex.*
Rooney, John J., *N. Y.*
Roosevelt, F. D., Jr., *N. Y.*
Sadlak, Antoni N., *Conn.*
St. George, Katharine, *N. Y.*
Saylor, John P., *Pa.*
Schenck, Paul F., *Ohio.*—3801 Conn. Ave., Apt. 307
Scherer, Gordon H., *Ohio.*
Scott, Hugh D., Jr., *Pa.*
Scrivner, Errett P., *Kans.*—2331 Cathedral Ave.
Scudder, Hubert B., *Calif.*—5415 Conn. Ave.
Secrest, Robert T., *Ohio.*
Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr., *Conn.*
Selden, Armistead I., Jr., *Ala.*—4634-B 36th St. So., Arlington, Va.
Shafer, Paul W., *Mich.*
Sheehan, Timothy P., *Ill.*
Shelley, John F., *Calif.*
Sheppard, Harry R., *Calif.*
Short, Dewey, *Mo.*
Shuford, George A., *N. C.*—Sheraton Park
Sieminski, Alfred D., *N. J.*
Sikes, Robert L. F., *Fla.*
Simpson, Richard M., *Pa.*—2 Woodhaven Blvd., Bethesda, Md.
Simpson, Sid, *Ill.*—2100 Mass. Ave.
Small, Frank, Jr., *Md.*
Smith, Frank E., *Miss.*
Smith, Howard W., *Va.*—204 W. Walnut St., Alexandria, Va.
Smith, Lawrence H., *Wis.*—The Dorchester
Smith, Wint, *Kans.*
Spence, Brent, *Ky.*—Sheraton Park
Springer, William L., *Ill.*
Staggers, Harley O., *W. Va.*
Stauffer, S. Walter, *Pa.*
Steed, Tom, *Okla.*
Stringfellow, Douglas R., *Utah*—6919 Clarendon Road, Bethesda, Md., Apt. 303
Sullivan, Leonor K., *Mo.*
Sutton, Pat, *Tenn.*
Taber, John, *N. Y.*
Talle, Henry O., *Iowa.*
Taylor, Dean P., *N. Y.*
Teague, Olin E., *Tex.*—4743 Bradley Blvd. Chevy Chase, Md.
Thomas, Albert, *Tex.*—2901 34th St.
Thompson, Clark W., *Tex.*—Sheraton Park
Thompson, Ruth, *Mich.*
Thompson, T. A., *La.*—726 So. Royal St., Alexandria, Va.
Thornberry, Homer, *Tex.*
Tollefson, Thor C., *Wash.*
Trimble, James W., *Ark.*
Tuck, William M., *Va.*
Utt, James B., *Calif.*
Van Pelt, William K., *Wis.*
Van Zandt, James E., *Pa.*—The Senate Courts
Velde, Harold H., *Ill.*
Vinson, Carl, *Ga.*—4 Primrose St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Vorys, John M., *Ohio.*—2702 Wis. Ave.
Vursell, Charles W., *Ill.*—The Congressional
Wainwright, Stuyvesant, *N. Y.*
Walter, Francis E., *Pa.*
Wampler, William C., *Va.*
Warburton, Herbert B., *Del.*
Watts, John C., *Ky.*
Weichel, Alvin F., *Ohio.*—The Raleigh
Westland, Jack, *Wash.*
Wharton, J. Ernest, *N. Y.*
Wheeler, W. M. (Don), *Ga.*
Whitten, Jamie L., *Miss.*—5804 Nebraska Ave.
Wickersham, Victor, *Okla.*
Widnall, William B., *N. J.*
Wier, Roy W., *Minn.*
Wigglesworth, R. B., *Mass.*—3257 N St.
Williams, Harrison A., Jr., *N. J.*
Williams, John Bell, *Miss.*—2045 38th St. SE.
Williams, William R., *N. Y.*—1241 Pa. Ave. SE.
Willis, Edwin E., *La.*
Wilson, Earl, *Ind.*
Wilson, J. Frank, *Tex.*
Wilson, Robert C. (Bob), *Calif.*
Winstead, Arthur, *Miss.*
Withrow, Gardner R., *Wis.*
Wolcott, Jesse P., *Mich.*—109 E. Thornapple St., Chevy Chase.
Wolverton, Charles A., *N. J.*—1336 HOB
Yates, Sidney R., *Ill.*
Yorty, Samuel W., *Calif.*
Young, Clifton (Cliff), *Nev.*—1900 N. 16th St., Arlington, Va.
Younger, J. Arthur, *Calif.*—Sheraton Park
Zablocki, Clement J., *Wis.*

DELEGATES

Bartlett, E. L., *Alaska.*—1718 33d Pl. SE.
Farrington, Jos. R., *Hawaii.*—82 Kalorama Circle

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

Fernós-Isern, A., *P. R.*—2713 Woodley Pl.

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Sergeant at Arms—Lyle O. Snader.
Doorkeeper—T. J. Kennamer.
Chaplain—Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., 1421 Montague St.
Postmaster—Beecher Hess.

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Gregor Macpherson, 3111 44th St.
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J. Chester Wilfong, 225 17th St. NE.
Charles J. Drescher, 3738 North 4th St., Arlington, Va.
Francis J. Attig, 3919 Livingston St.
Nicholas J. Cinciotta, 400 Williamsburg Dr., Silver Spring, Md.
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Elmer L. Koons (clerk), 826 Aspen St.

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Albert Schneider, 7516 14th St.
Charles H. Parkman (clerk), 1003 Taylor St. NE.
Paul L. Miller (assistant clerk), Shadyside, Md.

Appendix

Address by Philip R. Rodgers, Member of the National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered last evening by Philip Ray Rodgers, a member of the National Labor Relations Board, before the National Retail Drygoods Association, in New York City.

Mr. President, during the hearings last year of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, it became increasingly obvious that one of the main troubles between labor and management had been the operation of the National Labor Relations Board. When Mr. Rodgers assumed this responsibility, he said:

I propose to carry out this law, not as it once was, not as some may wish it to be, but as it is. In other words, I intend to adhere to the Taft-Hartley Act as it stands, and to apply it as Congress in its wisdom intended it to be applied,

Mr. President, I now send the speech to the desk, for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At the outset, I should like to make a few observations about the agency of Government with which I am presently identified and to clarify, if possible, its role in the important field of labor-management relations.

The National Labor Relations Board was created for the purpose of administering a statute, not a program. Its function is to determine in a judicial manner the rights and obligations of those whom that statute is intended to reach. The National Labor Relations Board, in my opinion, was not constituted as an agency of mediation or conciliation. It was not constituted as an agency to settle labor disputes. It was constituted, rather, as an agency to settle legal disputes arising under a particular statute.

In that posture the National Labor Relations Board occupies the position of a quasi-judicial agency, concerned only with the application of law, not with the accomplishment of social, economic, or political results.

If, as some have alleged (and I am not passing on those allegations), this agency has, over the years, somehow become identified in the public mind as the advocate of a cause, rather than the custodian of a law, that development is most unfortunate—not only for the agency itself but for the public, and for all those who come within the purview of the law.

It shall be my aim, as long as I am identified with this agency, to impart to the National Labor Relations Board the full stature of a public body—to be referred to by all parties as the Board and by no party as our Board or their Board. And I can think of no better time to say to you representatives of management that if you hope, think, or believe that in this present Board, or in me, you have at long last found a spokesman for your cause or your point of view in this field, you are badly mistaken. As far as I am concerned, this Board will respect and enforce the rights of every union, every individual worker, and every employer in accordance with the provisions of the law. If any petitioner under this act seeks more than that, it will be denied.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE NLRB

Now as a result of the statute under which this agency presently operates, the National Labor Relations Board necessarily performs two types of functions—judicial and administrative. And while these functions at some points seem to merge, one with the other, I believe that in any intelligent discussion of the Board's operations these functions must as far as practicable be treated separately.

JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS

When I assumed the office of member of the National Labor Relations Board some 4 months ago, I said in part:

"I propose to carry out this law, not as it once was, not as some may wish it to be, but as it is. In other words, I intend to adhere to the Taft-Hartley Act as it stands and to apply it as Congress in its wisdom intended it to be applied."

Having been associated for a number of years with the committee of the United States Senate which was responsible for the enactment of the present labor law, and with that illustrious American statesman whose name identifies that law, I can assure you that I do not propose to retreat from that position, until and unless that law is amended by the Congress of the United States—the sole agency recognized for that purpose under our constitutional system of government.

The judicial application of any law must, of course, follow the orderly paths of legal procedure, whereby a formal decision issues only after a specific case or controversy has been fully litigated. Hence the production of decisions since my appointment to the Board has been neither overwhelming in volume, nor world-shaking in content.

This situation is in part explained by the fact that ever since my advent to the Board we have been functioning with only 4 members, rather than the 5 members authorized by law. Needless to say this has served to slow down the Board's production, and to cause a number of indecisive tie votes on certain important questions.

FREE SPEECH CASES

I do not intend at this time to belabor you with a recital of the cases which the Board has already decided. They are public information and are well known to all interested parties. I wish to refer briefly to but two recent decisions of the Board, both of which are concerned with the so-called Bonwit-Teller doctrine and its various extensions.

In its recent decision in the Livingston Shirt case, the board has reaffirmed the right of free speech which the Taft-Hartley Act specifically conferred upon the employers of this country. And in the Peerless Plywood case, the board, while further recognizing that right of free speech, set forth the so-called 24-hour rule, to safeguard the conduct of representation elections. These decisions, I might add, were made only after full and complete litigation of the instant cases, and only after a careful analysis of the terms of the statute and its legislative history.

Now both these decisions have been subject of widespread public comment, some of it favorable, some of it unfavorable. In some quarters these decisions have been characterized as legislating by the board. This, in my opinion ,is a false and hollow charge, based on emotion and not on fact.

I can assure you, and such of these critics as can be assured, that based upon my considerable experience in the legislative field, I have neither the intent nor the desire to engage in that most hazardous of all occupations—legislating. Indeed, upon assuming the duties of this office, I said:

"If any individual or group feels that this act requires modification, let him look to the Congress of the United States to effect those modifications, and not to this agency. I propose neither to subvert the intent of Congress nor to usurp its lawmaking functions through the decisional or administrative processes of this Board."

That was my unqualified position then; it is my unqualified position now.

Indeed, if any unauthorized legislative activity has been indulged in, it has not been indulged in by the present Board. I took an oath to administer this statute. I did not take an oath to accept and administer any modifications, unseen provisos, or unsound interpretations which may have become engrafted upon it.

In reaching my conclusions in this position I intend to look at both the law and the precedents. If in that process I find the precedents consistent with the law, I shall sustain them. But where I am convinced that the precedents do not follow the law, I shall not sustain them. The doctrine of stare decisis is sound doctrine, only to the extent that it implements the law. It is not sound doctrine where its observance would tend to subvert, modify, or defeat the law.

As custodian of this law, the proper role of this agency is to apply it as the creators of that law intended it to be applied, without regard to personal preferences. And if that law, properly applied, fails of the objective which its creators had in mind, it is for them to amend it by legislative act. It is not for this agency to overcome such "discrepancies" by either strained interpretation or sophisticated logic.

COMMUNISM IN UNIONS

Another important area of judicial activity involving this Board is concerned with the proposition of giving effect to those provisions of the law which are directed toward removing the remaining vestiges of Communist influence from the American labor movement. I am of the firm opinion that Congress never intended to enact an administrative lie which would compel this agency to permit its processes to be abused by the advocates of Red revolution. Nor do I believe that Congress intended this agency to occupy the role of disinterested spectator while so-called unions, led by publicly identified Communists, gain legal recognition as sole bargaining agents in plants and industries vital to the security of this Nation.

To attribute to Congress the intent of permitting such agents of subversion and treason to hold within their dominance vast numbers of American workingmen, and thus to deny to them the protection of, and association in, the countless, legitimate, patriotic American trade unions is, in my opinion, a libel upon Congress as an institution, and a calling into question not only of its motive, but of its sanity.

I would be less than candid, however, if at this point I did not state that as conditions now stand it is not at all certain that our legal position in this matter will prevail. Nevertheless, we shall press this problem before the courts until our position is sustained, or until the courts have clearly stated that the statutory tools conferred upon us by the Congress are deficient. In that latter circumstance, the problem will thereafter rest clearly with the Congress, to be met and dealt with as that agency sees fit.

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

In addition to its judicial functions, this agency must also perform numerous administrative functions, many of which involve problems equally as difficult, if not more difficult, than those encountered in its judicial capacity.

JURISDICTION

Probably the most pressing administrative problem confronting the Board at this time is the problem of jurisdiction. In my opinion this agency, as an arm of the Federal Government, should concern itself only with those cases which have a clear, substantial, and obvious impact on the national economy. Indeed, if this agency is to fill that significant role in our national life which Congress has conferred upon it, it cannot, in my opinion, dissipate its substance upon resolving issues essentially local in character.

This is, after all, a Federal state, and it is the underlying philosophy of our Government, and I might add of our President, that the States and communities not only should, but must, assume and discharge the responsibility of local affairs. I believe that this agency must use sound restraint in the exercise of its jurisdiction. I believe that this agency should assist this administration in pulling back the outer reaches of Federal bureaucracy and thus encourage rather than impede the development of our communities and our States.

This question of jurisdiction is, to say the least, a controversial one. There are those who would extend the power of this agency into virtually every conceivable situation—roadside hotdog stands, service stations, apartment houses, even restrooms. With this so-called vital approach to jurisdiction, I cannot agree. As most of you are well aware, the word "labor" is used repeatedly in the text of this act. A vital construction of that word is fraught with possibilities. But I want to make it clear beyond question that I will never vote to take jurisdiction over the numerous maternity wards throughout the length and breadth of this land. That is an enterprise for which I, as a Board member, wish neither to be credited nor blamed.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION

As the administrative head of a Federal agency, this Board is responsible for the general organization of the National Labor Relations Board, its personnel and its policies.

In this connection, it would be clearly misleading to say or imply that this agency has come under the effective control of the Eisenhower administration. At the present time we are functioning with but four Board members, only two of whom were appointed by this administration. Moreover, at the present time virtually all of the policymaking and confidential positions on the Board's side of the agency, including the Solicitor and all division heads, are still held by persons appointed during or prior to the Truman administration.

In addition, and even more important, the vast expanse of this agency's regional offices, whose personnel represents the only immediate and continuing contact between this agency and the public, remains under the supervision of a General Counsel appointed by the Truman administration. All regional directors long predate this administration, as indeed do virtually all of the regional personnel.

In view of the foregoing, it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that the personnel of this agency actively supports the present administration, either in philosophy or in fact. I cite this information merely to apprise those who would evaluate the performance of this agency of the true facts of its organizational life.

INTERNAL AGENCY

At the present time this agency, in keeping with a Presidential directive, has embarked upon a sound program of internal security. This program is designed to remove security risks from the payrolls of the Federal Government. This important program will, of course, be administered with due regard to the rights of all individuals. But if, as the program unfolds, disloyal employees are found, they will be weeded out. The National Labor Relations Board has no place within its ranks for those who would betray this country or endanger its security. This agency is an American agency, and it must be manned by Americans.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing are but a few of the problems currently occupying the attention of this Board. Doubtless the passing of time will find us confronted with new and possibly more difficult questions. Speculation as to the volume and form which such future problems may assume would, of course, be an idle gesture. But to those who from time to time use the processes of this Board, I would like to impart some final thoughts:

To the extent that labor-management relations can be settled by collective bargaining, the continuation of a free economy is assured, and the grasping hand of Government regimentation is restrained. To the extent that recalcitrant employers refuse to meet their full obligations under this act, the force of Government must be brought to bear. To the extent that unions, however sound their purpose, fail to meet their full obligations under this act, the force of Government must be brought to bear.

The law under which we operate is essentially a sound and just law, completely compatible with full, free, and productive collective bargaining. To the extent that either employers or unions or both permit or cause this law to fail in its reasonable objectives, they will invite further Government intervention in labor-management relations, and a further curtailment of that freedom of action so essential to free unions and free management.

This law confers certain rights upon unions and upon employers. This Board will restrain neither in the full and proper exercise of those rights.

I can think of no more futile thing than for a workingman to be a member of a union that does not represent him effectively, that does not bargain hard for his rights, that does not, within the limits of the law, strive in every manner to be worthy of his support. Unions are an established, growing, and vital force in this country. Anyone who thinks he can foresee their decline or demise on the horizon of the future is a master of self-delusion.

Unions, like television and sex, are here to stay. And as long as this society remains free, they shall grow, and not diminish, both in size and importance. Those who refuse to accept these simple facts will be hopelessly lost in the forward surge of time.

It may well be that free collective bargaining is the final stand of economic freedom as we know it. For in every nation where this process has failed, the dignity of man and the institutions of free men have failed with it. This prospect places a sobering burden on the shoulders of all those who lead unions of men and enterprises of commerce. It is my sincere hope that both, within reason and law, will preserve and strengthen the processes of free collective bargaining in this country.

It is my continuing hope that they will do it so effectively that the need for agencies such as this will disappear. Indeed, I can think of no more fitting tribute to the virility of America and the cause of freedom than that.

Address by Frank M. Porter at Dedication of Platte Pipeline, Casper, Wyo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER C. HUNT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. HUNT. Mr. President, on August 8, 1953, a rather historic event took place at Casper, Wyo., in the dedication of the Platte pipeline, an oil pipeline extending from Wood River, Ill., to Worland, Wyo. At the ceremony Mr. Frank M. Porter, president of the American Petroleum Institute, delivered a most interesting and historical address. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dedications are always happy occasions. Dedications are ceremonies marking achievement, fulfillment, the realization of daydreams which have progressed through the evolution of practical dreams, proposals, engineering, financing, design, purchasing, and construction. The dedication marks the termination of those problems and the beginning of the fruits of the endeavor. So it is always a pleasure to be asked to participate in a dedication.

It is a particularly pleasant chore to speak at the dedication of Platte pipeline. One reason lies in the fact that this particular line had such a long period of gestation. Its economic justification was far from a certainty back in 1948 and 1949 when the pipeline was a mere vision. After the decision was made to proceed, the Korean war forced a year's delay in the receipt of the line pipe. Further to complicate matters, a serious steel strike caused completion to be delayed several more months. But the line is now complete and in operation. Today—right now—the line is delivering Rocky Mountain oil into Wood River at close to 100,000 barrels per day. So this dedication is a happy one, not alone in reflection of the difficult past, but also because of a rosy future.

I am glad for another reason to be participating in these dedication ceremonies. In both the Platte group of companies, and this Rocky Mountain region, I have many warm friends and am delighted to share with them in celebrating this outstanding event.

The Platte pipeline fills a very vital need in our Nation. Quite aside from the high purpose of providing a market for producers of crude oil, the line was needed to bring petroleum mobilization to a state of maximum readiness. With the line completed,

as it is now, the vast and growing oil reserves of this vigorous oil area are available, and are being used to help meet not only the petroleum needs of the military, but also civilian needs, which in this day of high dependency on petroleum, are just as essential to mobilisation as are military needs. America's military might rests on its industrial might. Oil to heat the workman's home and gasoline to get him to the job are essential elements of a strong, secure, America.

From the standpoint of national defense and petroleum mobilization, Platte pipeline is making another very important contribution. I refer to the stimulation of additional exploratory and development work to augment crude-oil productive capacity. If the Petroleum Administration for Defense gave consideration to this factor when they certified the Platte line as essential to national well-being, they have been fully vindicated. Both exploration and development in the area served by the line are at record high levels and still rising. It is comforting to know that the Rocky Mountain region, certainly our most promising dry-land oil frontier, is now tied into mid-America's oil-consuming centers by a modern, high-capacity, low-unit-cost pipeline.

From our vantage point of today, using hindsight, it is easy to see that the decision to build the Platte line was a smart step on the part of its backers. But 3 years ago it was not so obvious. Both the availability of excess productive capacity in the West and the need for the oil at the delivery end were subject to serious doubt. Under the circumstances, it required vision and courage to undertake an investment of $60 million. This is particularly true in view of the fact that this Platte line would be the first pipeline project of its scale built or sponsored by producing interests to establish a market for production, rather than by refining interests to establish a source of raw material for refineries. In this case, as almost always, vision and courage, combined with wise use of engineering and business judgment, have created a facility to bring vast benefit to an important oil region.

The physical facilities consist of 900 miles of 20-inch diameter main line, fed by 126 miles of 16-inch line and 184 miles of smaller pipeline. The 4 main line pump stations and the 8 injection stations are all electrically powered. Their total power requirements are equivalent to the power usage of the cities of Casper and Laramie combined.

Those of you who have toured the facilities here have seen the modern equipment, the electronic control boards, the huge valves and manifolds. Though costly, they add to the transporting ability of the pipeline.

With only 160 employees, the Platte pipeline can carry more oil than the same number of freight trains could carry if operated around the clock every day. What is more, the pipeline will carry a gallon of oil, weighing approximately 7 pounds, from Wyoming to Illinois for less than a cent.

We are all impressed with this installation which has been referred to as the "pipeline of tomorrow." But transcending its unique engineering, transcending its elaborate communications system, transcending these efficient all-electric stations is the all-important fact to which I have already referred, that Rocky Mountain crude oil is now more readily available to the Nation's oil mobilization needs.

Platte is a creature of the free-enterprise system in typical American manner. Equity capital from the British American, Continental, Ohio, Pure, and Sinclair Oil Cos., and bond money from Metropolitan and Mutual of New York Insurance Cos. provided the money to build it. Stockholders of the oil companies and policyholders of the insurance companies are the real furnishers of capital in this case.

Though the pipeline which we are dedicating today is one of the largest and one of the most significant of the additions which the industry has made since the close of World War II, it is symbolic of many, many projects undertaken and the millions and millions of dollars spent by the petroleum industry to keep the industry vigorous, supplies adequate, and the products better.

In view of the large amount of information available on the subject, it is disheartening, at times, to see how little conception certain people in high places have of the magnitude of the industry's necessary capital expenditures and how scant is the appreciation of the tremendous task involved in constantly increasing crude output while offsetting the natural decline of older wells, let alone building reserve productibility to the extent of a million barrels per day or more.

The cost to the petroleum industry, in the form of capital outlay, of keeping up with the growth in demand for its products from the beginning of 1946 (the first full year after World War II) to the end of last year was more than $19 billion. Over $12 billion of this was in the producing branch, with $2 billion in transportation alone. It took a lot of money to gear this industry so that in 1952 it could supply 51 percent more gasoline; 64 percent more kerosene, and 112 percent more distillate fuel oils, including home heating oils, than in the year 1945.

The key ingredient in all of our industry's accomplishments has been competition. In some cases the investments were made to increase volumes, and in other cases the investments were made to improve products, but in every case, the incentive was competition with other companies for a greater percentage of the overall business in the expectation of profits—the fruits of free enterprise. We can be thankful that today the word "profits" is not one which needs to be spoken behind a cupped hand. As long as the profit system prevails, we can be sure of having fuels and lubricants to meet our needs.

Some day, in the distant future, we will undoubtedly be using packaged fuels from nonpetroleum raw materials. The petroleum industry will meet that challenge when it arises. For many years ahead, however, we can and will rely on petroleum.

You people out here know that the key to oil preparedness is the continuing discovery of more and more oilfields. You also know that oil discovery is distinct from transportation, refining and the other endeavors of the industry in one important respect. Whereas refineries and pipelines can be built in predictable periods of time and at predictable costs in terms of materials and manpower, the same is not true as to oil discovery. Engineers and constructors do wonders on building facilities. Only in the field of exploration are our best skills defied by the nonconformity of the earth's makeup. An exploratory well drilled at a location selected by the highest qualified geologists on the basis of millions of dollars of geological and geophysical research, may result in a dry hole. In fact, the chances are 8 to 1 that such a well will be dry. On the other hand, a well located by pure whim or fancy may find oil. The king of the wildcatters, Tom Slick, is credited with having said that the only difference between a genius and an idiot could be 20 feet of saturated pay.

The fact is that crude oil productive capacity must have a larger cushion than is required in the other branches of the industry. The cushion must not only provide for possible precipitous increases in requirements, but must also be sufficient to take up the slack during a period when discoveries are low. We passed through a period at the end of and immediately following World War II when discoveries were slow due to a combination of the frozen low price of crude oil which reduced exploration activity and a cycle of poor results from what little activity did occur.

In recent years the industry has rebuilt a margin of excess productive capacity, but it still is not on a level to warrant relaxation of the exploration emphasis.

To keep exploratory activity at a high level, there must be commensurate exposure to rewards for the risk-taking explorers.

Cost to the petroleum industry of everything that it buys has gone up just as it has for every other industry. Deeper and deeper drilling in finding and developing crude oil reserves has been a large factor in higher costs. Yet, when the producing branch seeks to recover on these costs of finding and developing and the necessary charges against carrying a substantial reserve capacity, and experiences the first general increase in crude-oil prices at the well since 1947, criticism is leveled and a tendency is shown to prejudge the case before the responsible evidence is in, and this in spite of the industry's long-term price record. That record, I say, speaks for itself. The industry is proud of it and may very well be. It is written in an open book for all to see; whether it be on price alone, or on achievement of meeting demand, or on recognition of its responsibility to the public and the Nation, or on any other basis of measurement.

The Congress of the United States recognized the need for incentives when, in 1926, it enacted into the income tax law the percentage depletion provision. This sound, far-sighted tax policy has over the years been of the greatest importance in making available to the Nation a plentiful supply of low-cost petroleum products by attracting capital and enabling operators, large and small, to plow back income in order to continue and expand the hazardous and increasingly costly search for new oil resources. The very problems that first made mandatory this action on the part of Congress have become more numerous and heavier instead of fewer and lighter. The country has been fortunate in that the tax laws do provide recognition for the depletion of the operators' capital assets. A cutback in the amount allowed for this purpose would decrease exploration and development and this Nation cannot afford to gamble with an oil shortage here at home.

Of course, economic incentives such as we know in the oil business will not be effective unless the oil found can be developed and sold. The existence of the Platte pipeline assures those of you who encounter exploratory success in this area of an opportunity to market your oil. As the productive capacity in this area increases further, it should follow that additional stations and other facilities will be added by Platte pipeline to handle the oil.

The fulfillment of this pipeline dream is a great thing for this region and for the Nation. It is a great achievement for the five companies which sponsored the project.

In congratulating them on their vision and courage, we congratulate ourselves, for here we have another example of the petroleum industry conducting itself in the public interest and, after all, you and I and our families are the public.

Airpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on last Saturday evening, January 9, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] deliv-

ered an able and timely address at the 31st annual Jackson Day banquet at Springfield, Mo., and discussed with exceptional knowledge and fine emphasis the urgent and important question of airpower and the national defense. I ask consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON, 31ST ANNUAL JACKSON DAY BANQUET, SHRINE MOSQUE, SPRINGFIELD, MO., JANUARY 9, 1954

I am honored and deeply grateful at your kindness in asking me here tonight, giving me another opportunity to visit Springfield, one of the great cities of Missouri and the Nation.

How can one spend a more enjoyable evening than dining and visiting with hundreds of loyal Democrats, all anxious to work for the best interests of our country?

About a month ago we had another fine Democratic gathering in St. Louis—at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner.

We gathered then, as we gather now, to celebrate the magnificent State Democratic victory of our party in November 1952.

We checked our progress and programs then, as we are again checking here tonight, in order to be sure that all plans and preparations are being carried out so that, next November, the Democratic Party in Missouri will further increase its large congressional majority, and elect worthy Democrats to office all over our State.

This session of Congress will be a most interesting one, for reasons you all know about as well as I.

Obviously there will be many important issues—foreign affairs, domestic affairs, including taxes, defense, etc.

First I want to talk about a problem of particular interest to this part of the State, Table Rock Dam.

Most of you know the story about this dam.

For over 40 years Table Rock has been recommended for our State; by those against floods, by those who want water in case of crippling drought, by those who believe we should work hard to develop the great Ozark country of Missouri, and by those who know a serious electric power shortage soon will affect the future security of the United States.

After waiting many, many years, this dam was finally started. Houses were built, and buildings and roads constructed.

When this administration came into power, however, the construction of Table Rock Dam stopped.

Even though it was part of the great Bull Shoals system, concentrated in our sister State of Arkansas, the Government walked off the job—thereby violating binding contracts it had with rural electrification units.

The houses, the buildings, the roads—all representing millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money—are now lying idle.

This is the ultimate in bureaucratic waste.

This current sad condition is not the fault of the Senate. The House first voted down the appropriations, and then arranged for another report by the Army engineers.

Can we in America afford such a policy in the development of our national resources, with the Soviet Communists working 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, to develop theirs?

You and I both know those responsible for this latest delay.

Such postponement of a development vital to the security of the Nation and the prosperity of Missouri will not continue, provided the opposing Republicans are sincere in their request for a further report from the Army engineers, because that report has now been submitted, and it says Table Rock should go ahead.

I pledge you tonight that if your Representative can handle the problem of funds to continue the construction of Table Rock in the House, the Senate will pass the necessary funds again this year as they did last year.

Now I would like to be able to talk about the recent reductions in forces just announced for the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. But first I want to get the facts, and I don't yet know them.

I do want to comment briefly, however, on another decision of the Department of Defense—to greatly increase the wing structure of the Air Force.

No problem facing America today is more challenging than the rapid rise of Soviet air power.

Less than 6 months ago the new administration's answer to the rise of Communist air power was to heavily cut our own air power.

And so the administration now acknowledges that the $5 billion Air Force cut of last spring was a tragic mistake.

Less than 6 months ago the administration was fighting bitterly before Congress, and successfully, to justify cutting 23 wings from the Air Force 143-wing program.

Back into the new program now go the same number of combat wings formerly in the 143-wing program, because the six wings not restored are air transport wings.

This remarkable about-face will go down in history as one of the most rapid and complete changes of direction in strategic military planning ever to occur in time of peace.

Now we are approximately back where we started, except the American taxpayer has lost 2 years in time—and over a billion dollars in wasted money.

It is to the credit of these new inexperienced civilians that they now admit the mistake.

But let's look at the damage, in the hope it will never happen again.

The postponement for 2 years in the build-up of adequate American air power is exactly in accordance with the prophecy of a truly great American, Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg.

Because last summer General Vandenberg had the courage, the vision, and the patriotism to tell the Congress and the people the truth, he was denounced and ridiculed as he retired.

Shades of Billy Mitchell, another great general, who was drummed out of the service in disgrace, because, in the face of the same kind of pressures, he, too, had the courage to tell America the truth about air power.

Hundreds of millions of dollars were wasted by this latest juggling, through cutbacks in construction and training, and this money can never be recovered.

The number of men in uniform, all services, dropped 50,000 in 1953.

Every man of that number came out of the Air Force, and all 50,000 were thrown out in 9 months.

The Air Force ROTC program has been gutted. Since that service has no academy comparable to West Point or Annapolis, this blunder could hardly have been more damaging.

As its aftermath, more than 3,000 Air Force ROTC students have now been told that their Government cannot fulfill its promise to commission them next year. And so these superbly trained young Americans must now serve as if they had had no training whatever.

Seven hundred and forty-eight combat aircraft were removed, including many of our best medium bombers and best fighters. This occurred less than 6 weeks after the Pentagon pledged the Congress that not one combat plane would be removed.

General Vandenberg testified over and over again that if the pilots and their maintenance crews were cut, it would be necessary to either store or cancel combat planes. Again he has been proved right.

There is now a severe shortage of spare parts, various supplies, and trained mechanics.

Air Force flying has been sharply curtailed, despite promises to the Congress that training standards would be maintained.

It is a fact that today, with more wings, Air Force pilots are allowed far less flying hours than they were last year.

Flying hours were originally programed for this year at more than 10 million hours. They have now been cut to 8 million, a reduction of 20 percent in allowed flying training.

All these shortages in this program have been advertised as savings.

It is a program that can only guarantee less training, and therefore less ability, and therefore more accidents.

A football team can have a bad Saturday, but a jet bomber crew must always have its hand in.

One bad Saturday means a lot of people lying around a wrecked airplane.

If this Government has the right to draft your sons and brothers, to fly and fight for their country, has it not also the duty to train them properly, furnish them with modern airplanes, and supply trained mechanics to keep their planes in shape?

Despite assurances to the Congress that the pilot-training program would not be cut, that training program in the Air Force now stands at 7,800 pilots per year, instead of the previous 12,000.

In this connection, the opinion of a great Missourian from Moberly, Gen. Omar Bradley, the man who led our ground armies to victory over Europe, was also ridiculed.

In a published article shortly after he too retired, General Bradley asserted this administration had "started to coast before it reached the top of the hill."

What these "figures before forces" manipulations have cost in that vital requirement for any military force—morale—cannot be estimated.

But suppose last spring you were a Reserve pilot, with a wife and children, had decided to stay in the Air Force as a career, and had planned your life accordingly. Then, all of a sudden, with no advance notice, you find yourself looking for a job.

Consider the effect on the morale of those remaining on duty, pilots and crew, also with wives and children, who felt they too might receive a similar discharge notice any day.

As a result of this administrative bungling, scores of the best men in the services are now either getting out, or looking for other jobs.

Recently the Secretary of the Navy pointed out in a fine address that the prewar reenlistment rate for the Army of 60 percent had now shrunk to 6 percent.

There is graphic evidence of your morale problem.

Let the pencil-pushers figure out how many billions of dollars that difference is now costing the American taxpayer.

Who should make the decision as to what is the right plane, or what is the right training?

Should it be the chief cost accountant of the Pentagon; or should it be men like Vandenberg, the latter a fighter pilot instructor before World War II, and an experienced veteran—the leader of General Eisenhower's tactical Air Force in its decisive victory over Europe.

When there was national apprehension about the $5 billion reduction in our air power, the new civilian heads nervously attempted to place the responsibility on the President.

But that is not true, and let us go to the record to prove it.

In open hearing last spring, in answer to a question from Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, as to who was responsible for the budget cut of the Air Force, the Secretary of Defense replied:

"I think I had the greatest responsibility for it, to be honest with that. The two men that had the most to do with it are waiting on either side of me."

The two men who were sitting beside Secretary Wilson at that time were the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the Defense Comptroller, Mr. McNeil.

Did the President have a significant part in imposing the $5 billion cut on the Air Force?

Again let us hear Mr. Wilson. Here is what he says:

"Before I left (for Europe) I had a conference with the President and I told him what I thought we could do. I did not divide it up between how much the cut would be for the Air Force or the Army or anything else.

"We had a whole bunch of figures and we were working day and night on them and Mr. McNeil here has been through it so many times that he is really not so bad on the figures in getting them together. I don't know how he does it like he does."

That is what happened a few weeks after Mr. Wilson came on the job and just before he left for Europe to attend the NATO conferences in Paris.

Now let us hear him describe what happened when he came back, having left Mr. McNeil to "get together the figures."

Here is what Mr. Wilson says: "I went to Europe. When I came back I found some figures. I went over them quickly. They were satisfactory to me * * * the thing is a sound program."

Did Mr. Wilson and Mr. Kyes realize the strategic implications of imposing nearly the whole cut upon the Air Force?

Once again let us let Mr. Wilson speak for himself. He said: "After we got the things together we added them up. Much to Mr. Kyes' surprise and mine most of the cuts seemed to show up in the Air Force program. We did not say 'that is what we are going to do; we are going to take $5 billion out of the Air.' "

And then the Deputy Secretary added confirmation of this whole costly error by saying, "I did not realize it until Secretary of the Air Force Talbott called the statistical result to my attention."

If you want to know the truth about who directed this costly experiment in Air Force wreckage, read this week's feature article in Collier's magazine about the real boss of the Pentagon.

You will then know who runs that building—who misled the new civilians about airpower—and why.

It is easy enough to sit behind a desk and decide that figures are more important than forces.

But of what value is bookkeeping efficiency, if it in turn destroys the effectiveness necessary to win a possible third world war?

When this $5 billion cut continued to bring the administration under fire, they came up with a new excuse. This was, "We are cutting the Air Force $5 billion in order to have a better Air Force."

Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, answered that one once and for all when he replied, "Why not cut it $10 billion and have a much better Air Force?"

Now these inexperienced civilians admit their mistake, but the "promissory note" aspect of the new program worries us.

On December 17 last, President Eisenhower made the following statement. Please listen to it carefully, because no high American official ever before presented so frankly to the world the brutal truth about America's critical defense position in this air atomic age:

"The power of the surprise attack grows too great, and with every further step in the perfection of the airplane, with the terrifying increase in the power of bombs, we get to the point that the side that denies the moral and spiritual values in life, preserves over people who live as we do, such a terrifying advantage that something must be done about it."

Despite those sincere and forthright words of President Eisenhower, the Defense Department is now further postponing the development of our Air Force.

This latest postponement is until 1957.

But if what President Eisenhower said last month is true, about the growing danger of losing all in a sudden surprise atomic attack—and surely he should know—how dare we postpone for 2 more years the Air Force everybody now considers the minimum requirement for our security?

It can't be a problem of shortage of workers, because skilled workmen are now being laid off by the thousands, all over the United States.

It can't be a problem of plant space, because work has now been concentrated in a few great corporations to the point where only recently the administration announced its intention of routing work to plants in areas where unemployment is already acute.

These matters will be analyzed thoroughly during the coming session; and after the hearings before the Armed Services Committee, I will report to you, my constituents, in more detail.

In summary, however, the Defense Department is now taking a calculated risk in favor of figures before forces, despite the known rapid rise of Soviet strength in air power and nuclear weapons.

Especially after this recent grave warning from President Eisenhower, I do not believe that this is right.

The decision is their prerogative. But it is now time to tell the American people the truth about the nature and extent of this calculated risk—because in this form of government the people themselves are the ones who have the right to decide whether they want to risk being slaves, or pay the cost of freedom.

And now to another problem, one close to the people of the Seventh District, the State of Missouri, and the Nation—the farm problem.

There is no use going into detail about the incredible administrative mess created in this State by the United States Department of Agriculture, a mess that has resulted in thousands of our farmers going bankrupt.

Every cattleman and dairyman in Missouri knows the story.

I believe the reason the will of the Congress was so completely nullified is primarily because of the philosophy of the heads of the Department of Agriculture.

As evidence, let us look at a statement made last April by the Under Secretary of Agriculture.

"It would be better if the marginal farmer got out of farming and into industry and his land were turned over to grass or trees or other soil-conservation practices."

But tens of thousands of experienced workers are now being laid off from industry; and the Secretary hasn't yet taught the farmer and his family how to digest the grass.

One characteristic of the American people is their ability to perceive humor even in tragedy. All of us were amused therefore by the telegram an eminent jurist is supposed to have sent the Representative from this district. It went, "DEWEY, if you don't get some drought aid down here soon to our cattlemen and dairymen, there won't be a cow or a Republican left in the Seventh District."

A silver lining to this Federal mismanaged drought program, however, was and is the magnificent way our Missouri State government, under the leadership of our great Democratic Governor, Phil M. Donnelly, of nearby Laclede County, vigorously attacked this whole problem of drought aid.

If in the national interest we can afford to give many billions of dollars of the American taxpayers' money to foreign countries—including hundreds of millions of our agricultural products, is it too much to allow our own drought-stricken farmers, including many veterans, the right to purchase feed from their Government at prices they can afford to pay?

The Commodity Credit Corporation report last week stated that its net loss on all price-support operations during the past 20 years of its existence was $1,100,000,000.

That is the amount necessary to pay the salaries of our Defense Department for a little over 4 weeks.

It is less than the waste created by this administration in juggling the Air Force wing structure during the last 9 months.

But that loss, less than one-third of 1 percent of our 1953 gross national product, represents the core of the plan that has given this country farm prosperity over many years.

Some are now attempting to sell the idea that the farmers of Missouri and the Nation don't want a continuation of 90 percent parity on those agricultural products which now have such supports.

Those who imply this is the position of a majority of Missouri farmers could not be more wrong.

Only a few months ago 77 percent of Missouri's wheat farmers voted for 90 percent parity on wheat; and only a few weeks ago 97 percent of our cotton farmers voted for continuation of 90 percent parity on cotton.

When a farmer fights for parity, he is not fighting for excess profits. His fight is for equality, because 100 percent parity actually represents nothing more than equality. In no way does it represent abnormal profit.

Price supports may result in Government food stocks.

But such stocks are limited by law. And let me ask this simple question: If we believe it wise to spend billions upon billions of dollars for the stockpiling of strategic materials, why would it be wrong to stockpile quantities of nonperishable food?

In case of atomic attack, here or in any other country, what could possibly be more important than a reserve supply of food to aid destroyed cities and crippled urban areas.

Food reserves have already proved a valuable asset in the so-called cold war. Why would they not be of even greater value as part of our defenses in a possible hot war?

Administration spokesmen appear to be taking two positions with respect to the present economic situation.

First they say there is no recession—and then they promise to get us out of the one we are in.

As to whether or not there is now one for the farmer, let's let the record speak for itself.

The income of labor and business were at an all-time high in 1953; but except for a slight check last month, farm income and farm prices have dropped steadily.

According to the most recent reports of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, whereas the farmers' personal income is 23 percent lower than in 1952, corporate profits for the third quarter of 1953 are 24 percent above the same period last year.

So there you have it. Corporate profits up to 24 percent; the farmers' personal income down 23 percent.

And in this State, to the already unfavorable farm situation one must add the scourge of the drought.

Unfortunately this drought problem is not only a matter of the past. It is a problem of the present and for the future.

Missouri's agricultural loss from last year's drought is estimated at over $200 million. It is the greatest disaster that ever hit our State.

Now the farmers of Missouri, especially the dairymen and cattlemen, need help to reseed and refertilize their seared pastures, their meadows, and their roughage-producing crops.

Last month the Agriculture Committee of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce surveyed the 16 surrounding counties and determined that 3 million pounds of pasture seeds are needed in this area alone. The same condition exists through much of our State, and to a lesser degree in other drought-stricken States.

The Department of Agriculture has the authority, now, to establish a seed program for these drought victims. Such a program should be worked out immediately, in order that our farmers can make their plans for the growing season.

Every other segment of the economy is protected, one way or another, by law.

Industry has tariffs, accelerated tax write-offs, and many other benefits.

Labor has the minimum wage law, a 40-hour-week law, and many other benefits.

In an economy where all other major segments have some protection, how can farmers survive with no protection?

No one believes in private enterprise more than the man who owns a piece of land; and he would probably be the first to take a chance in a totally free economy.

But would anyone be so naive as to believe that Congress will ever remove the above legislative protections for other segments of our economy?

Tonight I have touched primarily on national defense and the farm problem. They are but two of the many issues which must be faced by this Congress this year.

Last Thursday the President delivered his annual message. It was very general but it was interesting. It will be better understood when the additional messages on particular problems he referred to are presented.

Much if not most of the programs the President outlined were originated in the Democratic administrations of the past 20 years.

It may be, therefore, that in this session, as during the last session, President Eisenhower will receive more support from the Democrats than he will from the Republicans.

The President has a growing problem, however. His close friend and political ally, Governor Dewey, recently made a speech which, to the best of my knowledge, is the first time every member of an opposition party has been indicted.

We Democrats will continue to vote for what we believe is best for the country. But I don't see how such a blanket condemnation of all Democrats by anyone as close to the administration as Governor Dewey can help the President in his efforts to obtain bipartisan support.

As our beloved SAM RAYBURN quietly mentioned the other evening, Democratic backs are sore from the mounting criticism from prominent associates of the President.

For two reasons, however, we will continue to vote for what we believe best for the country. First, we are Americans before we are Democrats. Second, as our leader, LYNDON JOHNSON, mentioned the other evening, we want to show the Republicans how the minority should cooperate with the majority, so they will know how to act after 1954.

The Spread in Food Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a lead editorial that appeared in the Journal-Every Evening, of Wilmington, Del., on Saturday, January 9, 1954.

This, no doubt, will be of great interest to many Americans.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILLIAMS' NEW JOB

Both the Nation's housewives and the Nation's farmers have been wondering for a long time why there has to be so great a spread between the price the farmer gets and the one the consumer pays. There is now a good chance that they will get an authoritative and understandable answer to this question. For the Senate of the United States has now assigned the job of investigating the spread in food prices to a subcommittee headed by the man who is perhaps its ablest and most painstaking investigator—Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware.

Senator WILLIAMS is, without question, a natural for this particular assignment. His personal business, before he was elected to the Senate, has given him a close insight into farm price problems. His ability to dig up the facts of a difficult financial problem, subject them to close and penetrating analysis, and present his findings in clear and objective form has been demonstrated beyond dispute. We welcome his selection to head this new subcommittee. And we are also confident that, whatever task he undertakes, he will continue to keep a lookout for any evidence of corruption and immorality in Government, regardless of party.

Proposed Amendment of the Constitution To Equalize Voting Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, Representative COUDERT, of New York, and I are the joint authors of a proposed constitutional amendment to improve the operations of our present electoral system and to equalize the vote power of all Americans regardless of the State or the area of the country in which they live. On December 29, 1953, Representative COUDERT delivered a most interesting and constructive address on our proposed amendment as a part of a debate held before the national convention of speech teachers, which met in New York City. For the information of the country and the Congress, I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIDDEN THIRD PARTY IN PRESIDENT'S CONSTITUENCY

As the Representative in Congress of this congressional district, I wish to welcome the members and guests of this conference. Also, I wish to thank the arrangements committee for bringing the conference here and for inviting me to take part in this forum.

The question is: How should we select the President of the United States?

Senator MUNDT and I, who are sponsoring a constitutional amendment to that end, say that the President should be elected in that manner which will, as nearly as possible, give him the same political roots, the same base, the same constituency as that of the whole Congress, a coordinate branch of the Government of the United States. This amendment would broaden the constituency of the White House so as to make it identical with that of the whole Congress.

We propose two changes in the Constitution which would correct a corruption that has crept into the operation of the electoral system by restoring the original district system. These are:

1. Election in congressional districts of those 435 electors of the President and Vice President who correspond to the 435 members of the House of Representatives, and statewide election of 2 electors who correspond to the 2 Senators of each State.

2. In the event of no electoral majority for any presidential candidate, a final choice by a joint session of the 2 Houses of Congress, voting by the head, from among the candidates having the 3 highest numbers of electoral votes. If necessary, a final choice for Vice President would be made immediately after the President was chosen and in the same way.

To me, the final and fundamental condition on which we may answer this question is that of political balance, partywise and ideologically, between the executive power and the legislative power of the Federal Government.

Since balance in a truly representative government is the thing to be sought and achieved, I would liken the importance of political balance in government to the importance of balance in the movement of a fine watch. The people of the United States, as the source of political power, can be likened to the mainspring. The hands of the watch can be likened to the coordinate branches of the government, the executive and the legislative. The balance wheel is the Constitution which controls both branches.

Your watch runs smoothly and keeps good time when it is adjusted and synchronized and its gears are meshed. If, on the other hand, one of the hands gets out of gear, or out of control of the balance wheel, you just can't tell the time of day.

Our electoral system at the present time is like a watch with its mainspring separately geared to its hands and without a balance wheel. The separate and distinct constituencies of the President and of the Congress produce different results in the same election involving the same voters. This is because the Members of the House of Representatives—the most numerous branch of the Congress—are elected in separate and distinct congressional districts while their counterpart electors of the President are elected en bloc in the States, that is, statewide on a general ticket. Thus, because of the lack of balance, the people as the political mainspring give different and often contrary impulses. These contrary impulses of political power find expression in Washington in the frequent ideological conflict between the White House and the Congress. Essentially, that conflict is between two forms of constituency made up of the same people, but counted in different ways.

New York City, as you all know, is tremendous. I wonder, though, if all of you fully appreciate its political magnitude. I am but 1 of the 22 Members of the House of Representatives from this city alone. Forty-two of the States have a smaller representation in the House than New York City. In the remainder of this State we have another 21 Representatives, for a State total of 43.

The lawmaking weight of New York State in the House of Representatives is a fraction under 10 percent of the 435 Members or

nearly 20 percent of a majority; and the weight of New York City in the House is just over 5 percent of the members or 10 percent of a majority. But, as that great political weight is applied in lawmaking, it is divided between the major political parties. Because New York's weight in electing the President is not divisible between the parties, any election of the President and the House of Representatives produces widely divergent results.

Each of our House Members is elected in separate districts. Each has his own constituency, in which he won at least a plurality of the popular vote in the 1952 election. In that election Republicans won 27 districts. However, we carried the State and won all of the electoral votes. The Democrats won 16 districts and got none of the electoral votes. That is just a measure of the distortion between the impact of the present electoral system on the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government.

I don't think I need to remind this conference that the single-member district is the foundation of the two-party system in the Congress of the United States.

I should add, though, that because of our single-member districts for House Members, the State's political weight has always been divided between the parties. In the last 13 biennial elections—from 1928 through 1952—neither party has won fewer than 16 seats and neither has won more than 29, for a total variation of 13 seats, or just over one-fourth of the State's lawmaking weight in the House. At the same time the presidential electoral weight of the parties varied between all and none, or 100 percent. Thus the variation of either party's presidential electoral weight varied nearly four times as much as its weight in the House of Representatives.

This great distortion suggests the necessity for a closer balance between the way the President and the Congress are elected.

The present electoral system has brought into being what is in effect a hidden third party which operates within both parties and largely influences the national nominating conventions of both the Democrats and Republicans, thus acquiring disproportionate power at the White House level. This hidden third party is less concerned with the Congress except as a ratifying body for the proposals of strong Presidents. It is the source of the long-sustained assault on Congress as an institution, an assault of more than 20 years' duration.

This hidden third party exists effectively solely because of the en-bloc system of electing presidential electors. It operates as a balance of power on the long levers or large blocs of electoral votes in the big States, electoral votes that are necessary for victory in presidential elections. It is made up of single-interest voters organized into political pressure groups. This fact is easily demonstrable.

No Republican has been elected President without New York's electoral vote. And few Democrats have entered the White House without New York's support. In the New York political picture is the largest concentration of splinter-party groups in the United States.

In 1917 the Socialist Party polled 22 percent of the New York City vote for its candidate for mayor. In the 1953 election, its lineal descendants, the Liberal and American Labor Parties, poled 24 percent of the city's vote. In intervening elections and under a variety of party labels this vote did not fall below one-fifth of the city total, which equals one-tenth of the statewide vote.

The importance of New York's electoral vote, and the balance-of-power position of this splinter-party and pressure-group 10 percent of the State's electorate in swinging elections has virtually compelled presidential candidates of all parties to woo these voters. Together with their counterparts in a few other big States these voters have a tremendously magnified power in the President's constituency. In the constituency of the whole Congress, where they are reckoned by their actual numbers, they have no disproportionate impact. Hence, the ideological struggle between the President and the Congress.

The district system of selecting electors was the method originally contemplated by the Founding Fathers and had the support of such men as Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Webster, and Story. It is presently supported by such respected political analysts as Messrs. Arthur Krock, Walter Lippmann, Professor Corwin, Lucius Wilmerding, and many others. Thus, it is as old as Jefferson and Hamilton and as recent as Messrs. Krock and Lippmann. In fact, it was the method generally in vogue until about the time of President Jackson.

Its adoption would eliminate the generally recognized evils of the present statewide unit system of selecting electors. In the words of Walter Lippmann:

"The present system exaggerates beyond all reason the power of splinter parties. * * * It puts a premium on accident. It puts a premium on fraud. * * * It exaggerates the power of special interests. It makes it possible for a State minority rather than a State majority to capture the whole vote of the State, and so perhaps to swing the whole election."

It is because of this grossly exaggerated power of splinter parties and special-interest groups that these groups concentrate their attention on the Presidency rather than the Congress because the President is far more dependent upon their support for election and reelection.

In supporting the district system, Arthur Krock observed:

"The President and the Congress elected with him would derive their offices from visible, and the same, constituencies, and pressure groups would have no more and no less influence at the White House than at the Capitol because their weight in assisting the President and the Members of Congress to get elected would be exactly the same. No more could this weight be used to tilt the balance in the big-city States that can furnish blocs of delegates sufficient to nominate national candidates and blocs of electors sufficient to elect them."

The alternative proposal represented by the Lodge-Gossett amendment of recent years would accomplish many of the desirable results of the district system. It is, however, subject to fatal defects that led to its defeat in Congress and the opposition of thoughtful and objective-minded statesmen and political experts. In the words of Walter Lippmann:

"This brings us to our main objection to the Lodge-Gossett amendment, to our main reason for preferring the district system amendment. We believe that if the system of proportional representation is applied to the presidential electors, or, what comes to the same thing, to the presidential electoral vote, that it will eventually be applied to the Representatives in Congress. And such a result is, we think, to be avoided at all costs, even at that of retaining the obnoxious general ticket system which we now have. * * *

"The evils of proportional representation are, one, that it destroys the two-party system and substitutes for it a many-party system. This has happened everywhere that the principle has been applied and is one of the chief causes of the instability of democratic government in countries like France. * * *

"We regard these objections to the Lodge-Gossett amendment as sufficient to justify its rejection. We believe that the district system, as contemplated in the Coudert substitute, is not open to these objections and that it will cure all the evils of the present system quite as well as the Lodge-Gossett amendment."

A third proposal is also in the field. That is the proposal that the President be elected by the people at large, without regard to State lines or an electoral college. As to this Mr. Lippmann commented:

"Furthermore, if the President were elected by the people at large, all the evils which we have mentioned in connection with the general ticket system—accident, fraud, etc.—would appear in aggravated form because they would not stop at State lines. In addition, States would be under an inducement to compete with each other in lowering their voting qualifications. In Georgia, for example, children of 18 can vote; other States would soon follow or better the example. And in the end the Federal Government would have to step in and fix uniform voting qualifications, itself an undesirable result."

It might be added to this comment that direct election would strike a deathblow at the Federal system itself. As of today there is no national election at all. All elected officials of the United States, including members of the electoral college, are elected within the States and under State law.

Adoption of the Coudert-Mundt amendment to the Constitution will restore balance to our political system and emancipate the President from subservience to the arrogant power of political pressure groups. By broadening the President's constituency to equal that of the Congress the President will be brought closer to the people of the United States, and be better able to represent the broad and abiding interests of the Nation.

Voice of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a speech entitled "Voice of Democracy," written by Miss Dianne Larson, of Hopkins, Minn., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Miss Larson was the winner of the 1953 State Voice of Democracy contest sponsored by the Minnesota Junior Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

(By Dianne Larson)

I speak for democracy; but why? I'm a senior in high school now and soon I'll be taking an important step into life. The step into an adult world—a world of confusion, prejudice, chaos, and strife. A world that holds many responsibilities for future generations. But my background in this democracy will serve as a foundation for this step.

I have been educated in a school where I might choose the subjects that interest me, subjects that will help me in my chosen vocation; a school that has student government. Being a member of the student council has helped me practice democracy, for we all take an active part in the meetings, giving our opinions on matters that arise. I, like every other member of the student council, help run the school by participating in the student council. If I don't think some activity should take place, I may vote against it, using my freedom of expression. I have been educated in a school that presents multiple sides of each question; a school that has many different activities for us, the students, to participate in. Activities that give us the

opportunity to mix with other students and make friends. After I graduate from high school I may go on, if I wish, to learn a profession in a college or university of my choice, or if I haven't the means or desire to continue my formal education, I may learn a trade and start right in earning a living. Whatever I decide, it is my privilege to do so.

I have been educated in the church of my choice, for in a democracy there is freedom of religion—everyone may belong to a church, any church he wishes. Most of us don't even think of what it would be like not to have our freedom of religion, but when we realize that religion is really inseparable from our life and that our ideals are religious, our goals are religious, and our standards are religious, we realize that freedom is really a holy thing.

I have been educated in my home, a home where my parents might work wherever they please and where they need not worry about being jailed for expressing their feelings, where they might raise their children in truth. Freedom of speech gives us the opportunity to say what we wish. In school rules and regulations are made by the administration. If I don't think these regulations are fair, I may discuss the problem with my teachers or the principal, and if my opinion is a true and logical one these regulations might be changed. For example, a few weeks ago the school administration set a limit on the number of dances we might have during the school year. We in the student council did not think the limit should be quite so low, so three of us talked to the principal concerning the matter. The number of dances was raised. Here free speech is being put into practice.

We have freedom of press also. Newspapers and magazines aren't told by the Government what to print; they may print what they wish. They may voice opinions in the editorials as may the people in letters to the editor. Even I may voice my opinions without fear of any abuse.

No; I am not afraid to meet the problems of this troubled world, for living in this democracy has aided me in preparing for an adult life. I will want to participate in governmental affairs for when I become 21 I will have the right and the privilege to vote. I, like every other citizen, may vote for the people who I think are best qualified to govern our land—competent leaders who will direct us in the best way they know how.

I speak for a democracy—a system of government; a system of living. I am more prepared to meet the problems that will become mine when I am ready to enter into another phase of life. I might falter in the beginning, but as I look around me I will become more secure because my home, my church, and my school have helped me to meet these obstacles, not through indoctrination but by education. I will continue wending my way through life more confident of myself and my Government; more confident of my friends and my parents—of everything that is a part of living—for I live in a democracy.

Conditions in 1892

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a guest editorial entitled "Ike Learned Firsthand—Remember What Happened In 1892?" The editorial appeared in the Denver Post of December 18. I may say that the editorial deals with the experience the writer of the editorial, Mr. R. H. James, had when he was a farm hand, following a binder, in Kansas.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE LEARNED FIRSTHAND—REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED IN 1892?

(Author of the following guest editorial is a wholesale seed grower at Rocky Ford, Colo.)

(By R. H. James)

President Eisenhower's recent expressed hope that the 1892 elections will not be repeated in 1954 brings to my mind my experience in 1892 and 1893. Ike likely gets his firsthand, also in eastern Kansas.

I had just quit school and during the winter had done some work in a small town for a merchant, who knew everybody and their financial condition. He voluntered to get me a job as a farmhand and to my dismay made the deal for $4 per month less top wages. When I griped about this he replied that in the matter of certainty of getting my pay, the training I would get and the family associations the lower priced job was far the best, even at $4 per month discount. Many a time have I been thankful I took his advice.

I plowed, planted, cultivated, and laid by a corn crop. After July 15 he did not need me longer but was behind one-half of my wages, as prices were on the down grade and credit had vanished. We farmed good land well, and when he proposed that I take 40 acres of good corn for the balance, I accepted with alacrity. However he said to get father's O. K.

"Nothing doing," said Dad. "That corn will not be worth over 12 to 15 cents per bushel" and I would have to pick it. It was not quite that bad. It did sell for 16 cents and the picker got 1¼ cents per bushel for gathering it. We settled for a good fresh milch cow for $17.50, balance cash, when the 16-cent corn was sold. Next was a job putthing in wheat for the town milkman. I got my first half wages in cash. The balance the milkman delivered in milk, at 5 cents per quart, for our January house rent to the agent of the mortgage company owning the house.

Spring of 1893 I got a job at $12 per month, and board, and worked alongside a nephew of my employer who came 300 miles from a western Kansas wheat farm to get money to pay taxes, at same wages I was getting. We were a bit oversupplied with labor so we grubbed sumac, mined coal (strip pit which sold for $3 per ton at the pit), burned lime, and helped build a residence. I do not remember what corn was worth that fall but do know that fat hogs brought $2.45 per hundredweight and dry salt bacon cost 6 cents per pound retail.

These rates were for farm labor and included board. I do not remember what plasterers got but I do know it was 12½ cents per hour for hod carrying, bricklayers got 30 cents per hour, carpenters 20 cents, girl typesetters got from $2 to $3 per week, boarded themselves and the paper carried the union label. Unemployed could get county relief in exchange for breaking stone at 12½ cents per hour.

As I remember it, Ike's father was firing a boiler at this time, having migrated from Texas to Kansas to better his condition. Conditions were bad enough in 1892 under Republican President Harrison to defeat him, but in the next 4 years stayed at about the same level, defeating Democrat President Cleveland in 1896. It was a period of deflation after the Civil War inflationary period and as far as I remember was as bad under Democrat Cleveland as Republican Harrison. I am glad to know President Ike remembers it.

Development of Electric Power in Cleveland County, N. C., by Duke Power Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting and illuminating editorial written by State Senator Lee B. Weathers, publisher of the Shelby (N. C.) Daily Star, in regard to the development of electric power and the benefits brought to Cleveland County by the Duke Power Co. Often private power companies become objects of criticism and denunciation on the part of the newspapers and others of the public. It is refreshing to find one company that seems to merit and receive the plaudits of the newspaper published in the county where it operates and the public it serves. The editorial, which is entitled "Star Lines," appeared in the Shelby Daily Star of August 26, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STAR LINES

(By Lee B. Weathers, publisher)

Driving down through Grover on No. 29 to Gaffney, S. C., the other day, I saw at Grover, stored on a vacant lot, some two dozen huge reels of cable from ALCOA, and further on, a series of tall steel towers extending for miles along the Southern Railroad. When a newspaperman sees material like this, it spells building and arouses his inquisitive mind to find out what's going on. A few local inquiries shed no light whatever, so I contacted the genial John Paul Lucas, public-relations man for Duke Power and found out.

At first I thought the transmission line would pass through lower Cleveland and mean more taxable property just as the Plantation Pipeline and Transgas Natural Pipeline have added to our property valuation, but this is not the case with Duke's new transmission line. It does not touch Cleveland County, but it represents progress for Piedmont Carolinas.

Mr. Lucas says it means a new "highway in the sky," a $6 million transmission line for the steam-electric generating units of Duke Power, extending 77 miles from the Riverbend plant on the Catawba near Mount Holly to Duncan, S. C., in the Greenville-Spartanburg area. In the planning stage is a similar "highway in the sky" running north from Riverbend to Greensboro, and costing another $6 million. Lateral lines will lead off from the main artery to integrate the system, so as to reduce line lossage on the smaller lines, prevent interruption of power at any time and meet the growing needs for electric power in the most rapidly developing section of the South. Duke's territory extends 275 miles from east to west, 150 miles from north to south, with a service area of 24,000 square miles. This new transmission line below Grover will have five times the transmitting capacity of the present 100,000-volt lines.

And therein evolves a story of Duke Power, a combination public-private utility, the profits from which touch the lives of 6 million persons in the two Carolinas, directly

er indirectly. It is a story every citizen should know, because he or she has a stake in it, thanks to the beneficence of the late James B. Duke. Yes, it is big business but its bigness benefits the charity patients who are forced to enter 168 publicly-owned hospitals in the 2 Carolinas and 42 orphanages, white and colored, supported by various denominations, many of which are located beyond the area served by Duke Power.

By publicly owned, I mean that 54 percent of Duke Power stock is owned by Duke Foundation, established by Mr. Duke in 1924 and today holding assets of approximately $140 million, dedicated to serve not only the 168 hospitals and 42 orphanages, but also four colleges, superannuated Methodist ministers and a rual Methodist church building program.

Marshall Pickens, son of a Methodist minister who served throughout western Carolina in his day, is the mild-mannered, capable director of the hospital and orphan sections of the Duke Foundation. And this is no small job. He succeeded Dr. W. S. Rankin, for many years a champion of better public health facilities, now retired.

Cleveland County is interested in Duke Power in more ways than one. While it serves 8,000 rural customers in Cleveland, it also serves practically every industrial plant, 20 or more, and the towns of Shelby and Kings Mountain on a wholesale basis, both of which distribute power to city customers and make a profit in the handling. Electric power has shown the least price increase of any necessity of modern living, thanks to scientific developments that have been going on.

Both the Shelby and Kings Mountain hospitals participate in the Duke endowment hospital fund and, since it was created, have received $203,768.40 to help care for indigent patients and for capital improvement.

Over in No. 1 township, Duke has a modern steam generating plant, using 42 carloads of coal daily from the Clinchfield, Ky., coal fields. This 220-kilovolt plant, together with Duke's transmission lines, makes Duke Power the county's largest single taxpayer. That investment helped bring the county's tax rate down to a 86-cent base.

Cleveland's location in the heart of this power development has resulted in the county's having nearly 80 percent of its rural homes with electric service. This is higher than the State or national average, and came about by wise, long-range planning.

When Mr. Duke was living, he conceived the idea of harnessing the streams that head-up in the mountains and run to the Atlantic Ocean. On these streams there are 32 hydroplants, the principal ones being on the Catawba River in North Carolina. Land values increased, available water power became used up, so eight steam plants have been built, making a total of 40 plants in the two Carolinas.

In the past 6 years the load growth has doubled and, based on present growth trends, another doubling of the load or demand can be expected in the next 10 years.

Most of the profits are given away and can't be invested in plant expansion, but Duke is in the midst of a $90 million expansion program. The company has a AAA credit rating with bond buyers.

It would be interesting to hear Chuck Reed, a vice president, when he and other Duke officials appear this week before a hundred or more bankers and bond buyers to answer questions pertaining to Duke and the territory it serves. Mr. Reed is a wizard at figures and a genius in the field of engineering. To satisfy the Securities Exchange Commission and the prospective bond buyers, they must be fully informed, not only as to the corporation, but as to the territory it serves and when these gentlemen get through we would not be surprised if some of their listeners take the first train south and bring their businesses along with them.

The Duke Foundation's 15-member board of trustees is headed by two North Carolinians, George G. Allen, chairman, and Walter Parker, treasurer, both of Warrenton. Under their administration is not only the 54 percent of stock which goes to Carolina charities, education, and the like in the two Carolinas, but another 26 percent in trust for Mr. Duke's heirs.

The Duke Foundation is 1 of the 5 largest philanthropic trust funds in the world. Eighty percent of the Duke Power stock is under the administration of these 15 trustees and the fund is perpetual. The Duke will or indenture is regarded as one of the smartest documents ever drawn in the South to descend a fortune. It specifies the type of investments that must be made, so there is a minimum of loss risk.

All philanthropic purposes for which the Duke endowment is being used are clearly and definitely prescribed in his will. There can be no deviation, hence the Duke endowment is not besieged, like many other endowments, for free gifts to individuals and organizations outside of those objects set up in the will.

Sagacious as he was, had Mr. Duke left more investment discretion to the trustees, they might conceivably have built the expanding power units with trust funds, leased them to the operating power company, been relieved of income tax, because it is a philanthropic trust, and thereby enhanced the endowment by $6 million yearly. This plan would have spared Duke Power from selling its forthcoming $35 millions in 30-year bonds. Even the smartest businessmen cannot foresee far into the future in these changing times.

Another interesting sidelight to Duke Power, in which every citizen of the two Carolinas has a stake, is that it owns about 300,000 acres of land for dams and watersheds, and sells $1 million worth of pulpwood annually. However, the company employs a large crew for land management and reforestation. An average of 2 million tree seedlings are planted each year to replace the cut trees and prevent land erosion. Since this program has been under way, some 30 million trees have been planted on the vast land holdings on the watersheds and along the rivers.

There are quite a few figures in this article, but the romantic story of philanthropy and industrial development in the Piedmont cannot be told without them. Every adult, every high-school boy and girl should know about the part that Mr. Duke's generosity and foresight have played in making this a better world, and the Carolinas a better place in which to live.

And if anyone should consider this free advertising, it is free advertising to the sick and indigent, the boys and girls who go to colleges and to the orphaned in 42 institutions.

And if it is free advertising, it is to make the thousands of workers conscious of the fact that electrical expansion has created jobs in industry, without which the Piedmont Carolinas could never have made the progress and attained the living standards that prevail today.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. PASTORE
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on juvenile delinquency which appeared in the December 10, 1953, issue of the Providence Visitor.

It is a provocative article, based on an interview with Rev. Daniel Egan, S. A., of Graymoor Garrison, N. Y., and I commend it for reading to every Member of the Congress, particularly the Members of the Senate subcommittee who are now engaged in studying the problem of juvenile delinquency.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIEST, TEEN-AGE EXPERT, TRACES GUILT FOR DELINQUENCY TO VARIOUS SOURCES

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Who is to blame for juveline delinquency? A priest who has given teen-age missions to thousands of youth—"tough ones, too"—gave this answer.

"A generation of broken homes and divorced parents, a cowardly minority of corrupt officers of the law, a daily press that glorifies vice and crime, a Hollywood that debases virtue, a billion-dollar business in filthy literature, a school system that graduates spiritual morons—all these have joined hands to make teen-agers the scapegoat for their own failings."

Some of the testimony at a current congressional committee probe of juvenile crime has struck Father Daniel Egan, S. A., of Graymoor Garrison, N. Y., as the "buckpassing" variety.

"One gets the suspicion that ten-agers have suddenly become responsible for all the ills of modern society," he commented. "An older generation seems bent on deliberately passing over to teen-agers the blame that rightfully belongs to itself."

Father Egan, with more than 100 teen-age missions and retreats as background, outlined the sources he believes are the principal causes for crime increases among youth.

Parents: "Lack of spiritual food in the home" will gradually weaken a young person. Bad parents "leave God, religion, prayer out of home life; they feed and clothe their children's bodies but take little or no care for the spiritual life, exposing their children to the germs of a sin-infested society."

Even good parents sometimes make no "real effort to understand and guide their children through the difficult temptations of youth which exist today on every corner, at every date, every party, every high school."

Schools: The American school system is telling youth—"Knowledge is goodness. The more you know the better you are. * * *" Yet if this were true, America would be a land of saints.

Without God in the schools, youths receive no training of the will, no teaching of principles of right and wrong. "By logical suggestion, teen-agers now have the idea that morality depends on customs; goodness and badness are as changeable as high school fads; whatever the crowd does is right."

"What then are we to expect of our teen-agers? In the hands of too many pagan educators during the formative years of their life, they learn nothing about God, nothing about the soul, nothing about life's purpose. * * * And the tragic results are just beginning."

The press: "Through the medium of lurid pictures and realistic stories of all forms of vice and crime, today's newspapers are actually selling crime to teen-agers. And when the teen-agers buy the very articles they advertise, the same newspapers then condemn the teen-agers. * * * Today's newspapers are advertising crime. Teen-agers merely falling for the advertisements."

The police: Evidences of corruption in government, and police who abuse their authority create resentment among youth. "It just doesn't make sense to a teen-ager when

a policeman drives them off the street and yet is blind to the real crimes that stare him in the face."

"I've had the experience several times as a priest of standing on a corner just talking with teen-agers when suddenly a police car pulls up and a tough cop yells: 'O. K., you guys, beat it! Get moving!' Even as a priest I felt within me a burning resentment."

As for being in gangs, "teen-agers just have to be together—That's part of growing up."

Where are teen-agers to go to recreate? "If half the billions spent on crime detection were spent on its prevention there would be far less so-called juvenile delinquents."

Filthy literature: "No one seems too much concerned, but the business of filthy literature is doing more harm to teen-agers than the whole narcotics trade. Taking narcotics has fearful physical consequences that people can see. But sex literature sold at corner newsstands and drug stores is responsible for more crimes than most people suspect. When purity goes, it leaves a teen-ager with such a weakened personality that he quickly and easily becomes a victim to all forms of vice. I doubt if the average parent has even the slightest suspicion of what can be bought at the corner drug store."

Summing it all up, Father Egan said: "Teen-agers are more sinned against than sinning."

Then, returning to his teen-age mission of Brooklyn youths, he apologized, "Pardon me. I have 900 kids here now. Tough ones, too."

The Upper Colorado River Basin Development and Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Water Fight Centers on Echo Park Dam," published in the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune of January 10.

In the months ahead we shall hear a great deal of the Upper Colorado River Development and Echo Park Dam, and I am happy to begin the education of my colleagues with this particular article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER FIGHT CENTERS ON ECHO PARK DAM—JANUARY 18 HEARING WILL SEEK FACTS WHETHER PROJECT KEY TO PLAN

(By O. N. Malmquist)

Why do supporters of the upper Colorado River Basin development program, as worked out by the United States Bureau of Reclamation, so stubbornly insist that Echo Park Dam must remain as a unit of the main river system storage project?

Why is the fight on the project concentrated so squarely on Echo Park?

Why don't the backers of the program, as a matter of strategy, abandon Echo Park for some alternate unit, even though they are convinced that the attacks on that particular dam are based on claims which have little if any relationship to the facts?

HEAT NOT LIGHT

Those questions are currently embroiled in a propaganda skirmish which is producing more heat than light on the subject. But Utah proponents of the project are hoping that much of the emotional fog surrounding the project will be dispelled—at least in the minds of the people who will vote on authorization—at the congressional hearings opening January 18.

The seemingly stiffnecked support of the Echo Park unit is based primarily on the assumption that Reclamation Bureau engineers are right when they say Echo Park is the "wheelhorse" or the "keystone" of the entire river-regulation program.

NO SIMPLE MATTER

It is not, as they see it, a simple matter of 10 storage and power dams (with Echo Park in the group) or 9 dams without Echo Park. It is more nearly a matter, as they see it, of 10 dams with Echo Park or collapse of the entire plan (with the exception of Glen Canyon) if Echo Park is eliminated.

Whether the Reclamation Bureau's concept of economic feasibility is realistic or unrealistic is an issue that applies to the entire reclamation program, not just the upper Colorado River or Echo Park.

ALL FALL SHORT

But accepting their measure stick as sound for comparative purposes, all the projected storage units except Glen Canyon fall short of economic feasibility if Echo Park is knocked out of the picture.

The fact that Glen Canyon could meet the bureau's test of economic feasibility without Echo Park, is especially galling to upper basin partisans who regard Glen Canyon as a project almost wholly for the benefit of California.

ECONOMIC PICTURE

The economic picture can be seen from the table on page A–A, showing storage, power installation, evaporation factor, and estimated cost of each of the 10 units.

From these figures it can be seen that Glen Canyon offers the most active storage and most power per dollar of expenditure of all the units. The storage, the bureau estimates, will be reduced to about half the initial amount after 200 years by encroachment of silt, which otherwise would go on down the river to reduce the useful life of the lower basin's Lake Mead.

MOST ACTIVE UNIT

Aside from Glen Canyon, Echo Park is by long odds the most attractive remaining unit from the standpoint of storage and power. It will, for example, provide more than three times as much active storage and almost the same power at $15 million less cost than Gray Canyon on the Green River. It will cost slightly more than twice as much as Flaming Gorge on the Green but will provide three times as much power and almost twice as much storage. Cross Mountain on the Yampa has good storage and power in relation to cost but the power installation is small.

The ratio of storage and power to cost, however, is only part of the picture according to Reclamation Bureau engineers. Echo Park is the wheelhorse in the sense that it firms up the power of the units higher up on the river system and increases the power output from the projects lower down on the stream. Split Mountain, for one example, provides no active storage and 100,000 kilowatts of power. But it is entirely dependent on Echo Park storage for its power output.

ECHO PARK ESSENTIAL

Thus, as the program now is set up, the power output of all the units would be reduced substantially by the elimination of Echo Park. Remove it from the setup and the Reclamation Bureau could not, according to its engineers, justify construction of a transmission line to a consuming center.

On a basis of this picture, any interest that wanted to scuttle Upper Basin development could accomplish that aim, or at least cause an indefinite delay while a new combination of units was being worked out by knocking Echo Park out of the network. If the attack were predicated on the question of economic feasibility instead of preservation of fossils or scenery the bullets might ricochet to other projects which the attackers would not want to hit. It is this situation which has created a suspicion in some Utah minds that the effort to stop Echo Park has a broader base than appears on the surface.

ONLY ONE FACTOR

Critics of Echo Park have been pushing the idea that the only grounds on which their opponents can defend the unit is that an alternate unit would result in increased evaporation losses. But evaporation, reclamation engineers point out, is only one of the factors favorable to Echo Park.

Of the projected storage reservoirs in the Bureau's plan, Echo Park is second only to Curecanti on the evaporation score. The ratio of live storage to annual evaporation loss ranges 86 to 1 for Curecanti down to 42 to 1 for Split Mountain and Whitewater. The ratio for Echo Park is 74 acre-feet of storage for each acre-foot of evaporation. Ratios for proposed alternate units are 31 to 1 for New Moab, which would flood a national monument; 28 to 1 for Dewey, and 25 to 1 for Desolation.

Colorado River Dam table

Project	Initial active storage	Power installation	Evaporation	Cost
	Acre-feet			*Millions*
Echo Park	5,460,000	200,000	87,000	$176
Glen Canyon	20,000,000	800,000	526,000	421
Split Mountain	0	100,000	8,000	84
Flaming Gorge	2,950,000	72,000	56,000	83
Cross Mountain	4,200,000	60,000	70,000	80
Crystal	0	48,000	0	41
Curecanti	2,010,000	54,000	32,000	86
Curecanti No. 2	0	40,000	16,000	49
Gray Canyon	1,300,000	210,000	30,000	191
Whitewater	470,000	48,000	21,000	44

Achievements of the Delaware Plant Breeding Station

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, the University of Delaware, located in Newark, New Castle County, Del., has made great strides in agricultural experiments, through the facilities of its agriculture extension service.

One notable achievement is in plant breeding, through which we can attain a greater yield of more tasty fruit and vegetables. It is most pleasing to me that the accomplishments of the Delaware experimental station are being recognized in other sections of the United States.

The extent of these experiments is more fully described in an article by Mr. J. W. Johnston, horticulture editor, which appeared in the August 23, 1953, issue of the New York Herald Tribune. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Johnston's article be placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DELAWARE PLANT BREEDING STATION REVISITED—NEW TOMATO, CANTALOUP WITH BETTER YIELD, TASTE

(By J. W. Johnston)

One of the most active plant breeding stations in the east is that of the agricultural extension service of the University of Delaware, located west of Georgetown, Del., in Sussex County. This is the southernmost county of the State, the college being located in the northern of the three counties, New Castle. It had been a year and a week since this writer visited the college farm, and I was interested to find the results of a couple of breeding operations over the past year. Specifically, a tomato and a cantaloup breeding project had captured my imagination the previous year, and these deserved further check.

Both are doing well, and in addition I ran into some other interpreting facts. Dr. Eugene P. Brasher has been working on a series of tomato hybrids for 4 years. It takes 6 or 7 years to develop a pure line of tomato, one that will remain true to form, so that his new varieties have a couple of generations more to go.

RUTGERS-LAKELAND CROSS

He now has some 6 or 8 hybrids, all of which are outranking standard varieties in their ability to resist disease and to produce bumper crops of fruit. Best of the lot at this point in the operations is one now unnamed but identified as Delaware 4E. This is a cross of the famous variety Rutgers and the variety Lakeland. The fruit is 3 to 5 days earlier than Rutgers in maturing and is about the same size.

In last year's tests, this variety had a spread of 12 feet. From a single picking, one of the plants produced 56 tomatoes weighing 16 pounds. That's where the possibility of extremely high yields come in, if such plants can be grown on a wide scale. Tomato production in the State of Delaware now averages only 4 to 7½ tons an acre, depending on growing conditions.

One of the most fascinating breeding projects I have ever encountered is the effort of Prof. L. R. Detjen, of the university, to develop a flavor-fragrant cantaloup resistant to disease, or, rather, it must be practically immune to disease.

DISEASE IS CAUSE

The inside story as to why you get cantaloupes in the markets that look fine and taste awful is not the fault of the variety but rather the result of disease that attacks the vines. You may start with a perfectly acceptable variety of melon and just about the time the fruit is approaching maturity diseases such as downy mildew and macrosporium leaf spot comes along to destroy the green foliage. Under these conditions the melons mature and go to market but without the sugar content and flavor necessary to make this fine fruit enjoyable. Worse of all, in the market it is difficult for you as the buyer to discern the difference.

Professor Detjen now has 34 selections, which began with 4 original varieties—1 from India and not fit for human consumption. They did, however, possess the priceless heritage of being immune from disease. These are now what is known as triple hybrids. In a taste test of several of them there seems little doubt that the professor will make his goal. Just how long it will take is still conjecture—it may be 2 years or it could be 5.

The flavors vary like good wines but the pattern is good and the fragrance is notable and here we must go to fine perfumes for a comparison.

SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT FLESH

Just as everyone does not like the same wine and every woman care for the same perfume, there will undoubtedly be differences of opinion as to the final results of this breeding project. Notable is the flesh content of all of them. Seventy-five percent or more of the inside of the melons is edible flesh with small seed cavities. His ideal to date prompted this writer to venture the opinion that it looks like Persian melon blood in that one. "You are exactly right," said the professor, which moved us to the head of the class at least for a few moments.

When and if introduced to the farmers of Delaware the melons will have good size, orange flesh, good shipping quality, and most important of all, high eating quality. It would seem to me that the professor is on the home stretch in his breeding of the perfect cantaloup.

One of the great values of a State experiment station is that they venture with plants in ways that a farmer cannot afford and does not have the time to do. A simple change of planting methods bids fair to increase the production of watermelon growers per acre.

Normal commercial growing of watermelons calls for hills planted 10 feet each way. Delaware has tried a system of 4 by 10 feet. It is now established with trials going on since 1951 that the new system will produce close to 24 tons of marketable fruit per acre whereas the old planting system produced about 16 tons. Net gain to a watermelon farmer with this year's prices, $250 an acre. Melons from the closer spacing were just as large as melons from the wider spacing.

Bush lima beans are an important crop to Delaware farmers so it was natural we should run into a series of tests being made by Prof. E. M. Rahn. Chemical weed control of the crop, pod set, and variety trials are all being conducted. With a small motor-driven viner, Professor Rahn was processing vines of bush limas against a background of beautifully grown test plots. This machine separates the pods from the vines and hulls the beans.

It would seem that the cry for more economical, larger, and more labor-saving production is being adequately answered by the University of Delaware for its farmers through its experimental farm. In addition to those mentioned there are scores of other breeding and testing operations going on.

Alice Leopold, of Connecticut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, published in the Hartford Courant, concerning Alice Leopold, an outstanding woman in political life in the United States, at one time secretary of state of Connecticut, appointed by the President to the Manion Commission to study governmental affairs, and presently Director of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The article was written by a highly respected veteran political writer in Connecticut, Associated Press Correspondent Carl J. Lalumia.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SUCCESSFUL WORRIER FROM CONNECTICUT—ALICE LEOPOLD'S HELPING HAND IS HER TRADEMARK

(By Carl J. Lalumia)

(The new Director of the U. S. Labor Department's Women's Bureau is ambitious, set in certain convictions—and if you've got a problem, just try to keep her from helping out. Here is a closeup Alice K. Leopold, a mother who decided to quit preaching good government to the League of Women Voters and plunged into politics herself.—THE EDITOR.)

A personal problem is your best key to Alice K. Leopold's office.

Perhaps more than anything else, her associates say, concern over the troubles of others steered her to her new job as Director of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor.

"She's always getting into an emotional state about some person who is in trouble," says her husband, Joseph, a New York advertising executive.

They have two sons, Robert, 20, a Dartmouth College junior, and John, 16, a high-school junior.

Mrs. Leopold served as secretary of the state in Connecticut before President Eisenhower named her to the Women's Bureau post. Mrs. Charlotte Miller, one of Mrs. Leopold's top aides in Connecticut, calls her former boss "a softie."

"Say you are sick and need money to meet hospital bills," Mrs. Miller says, "Heaven and earth would not keep her from butting in and helping you out. It has happened."

Add to that a quick mind, a capacity for hard work, a commanding and attractive appearance whether she is behind a desk or on a dance floor, a vibrant personality, an artistic bent (she designs toys), and you have a rough-word portrait of Mrs. Leopold.

She is tall, with a Junoesque figure that could easily have led her into show business if she had not chosen other paths.

Her wavy black hair is set off by a gray lock in front. Her eyes are hazel, appearing to change from gray to blue with her mood and costume.

Official biographies say she was born in Scranton, Pa., 44 years ago.

"That's what it says; let us leave it that way," she says lightly.

You get the impression she wouldn't protest if you added a year or two.

Her friends pull out the stops when they talk about her.

Like Mrs. Helen Loy, who was named to handle publicity on Mrs. Leopold's 1950 campaign as secretary of the state, although the two had never met. It was her election that marked her as a top Republican leader in the State.

"Alice breezed into headquarters," Mrs. Loy recalled, "and I asked someone: 'Who might she be?'"

She confesses that she was prepared to belittle.

Now she calls her "a fine girl—tremendous."

"She has," says Mrs. Loy, "what every other woman would like to have. When she walks into a room everything stops—most people to admire her and some to envy."

"At first, I thought she was cold—a woman of definite ideas, strictly business, strictly the job at hand," another woman associate says. "Then I began to find out how much time she spent on small people. She really likes to help the little guy."

Agnes Kerr, Mrs. Leopold's personal secretary in her pre-Washington days, says she had her figured wrong too.

"I was a bit in awe of her—afraid she would be tough to work for. But she's easy to please. She's got a heart as big as all outdoors. I'll tell you one thing, she's a darn hard worker."

A hard worker was what Mrs. Leopold proved herself on one of the major projects of her administration as secretary of the state—a complete revision of the Connecticut election laws.

The hard worker description held true, when she became, for one day, the first woman ever to serve as Acting Governor of Connecticut.

The job fell to her when the three officials who outranked her all happened to be outside the State the same day.

She visited the Governor's office only for a few minutes that day. There was too much work to do in her own office across the hall, she said.

Joseph M. Rourke, secretary-treasurer of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, AFL and a Democrat, says of her latest appointment:

"I think she'll do a good job, especially in the field of protecting and extending the right of workingwomen. The post is becoming increasingly important because more and more women are coming into the labor market. I'm sure they will have a good friend and an able administrator in Mrs. Leopold."

The turn that led to a career in public life came early for Mrs. Leopold, only child of E. Leonard Koller, who devoted his life to books and art, and of Leonora Edwards Koller who, in her daughter's words, "just loved everybody and was always doing things for people."

As a Goucher College student, her social science studies took her to penal and welfare institutions in Baltimore. Until then, people used to say of her:

"Alice always has her nose in a book."

Once she stepped among the sick and the troubled, however, "it woke me up to the world outside of books," she says.

On her graduation from Goucher, where she majored in English literature and social science, she was offered a scholarship to study at the University of Chicago for a master's degree in English.

She declined because "I always had a lurking idea that I wanted to work with people."

She went to work for a big Baltimore department store, first as an assistant buyer in women's sportswear and later as personnel director.

"I guess I got the personnel job," she says, "because I met so many people so fast."

It was her first experience in labor relations.

She added to it as personnel director of a New York department store; State representative in the Connecticut General Assembly, where she served on the labor and education committees; and as a member of Connecticut State minimum wage board which fixed pay standards for cleaners and dyers, laundry and mercantile workers.

"It has been thrilling to find in Washington that Connecticut is considered in the forefront on labor questions which interested me so much in the Legislature," Mrs. Leopold says.

During her one term in the legislature in 1949—she was the first woman Representative from her home town of Weston—she sponsored legislation now on the books guaranteeing women equal pay with men for equal work.

She introduced a 75-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill for both men and women. It was defeated in 1949 but passed 2 years later.

She fought for more money for trade schools.

She had numerous tiffs over her labor views, usually with more conservative members of her own Republican Party.

"But when you prove your point," she observes, "they are perfectly reasonable about it. All you have to do is sell them by proof and statistics.

"Republicans have every bit the vision of Democrats, but they don't make as much noise about it."

How does a woman get into politics?

For Mrs. Leopold, the decision came like the snap of a finger. She had quit the business world to raise her boys because, she said, with children, it just wasn't right to go on working.

As a mother, she became interested in PTA affairs, World War II brought work on Red Cross drives, the ration board, selling war bonds, serving as a nurse's aide in two hospitals, raising sheep, chickens, and vegetables on her 10-acre estate.

With it all, she did her own housework in a 10-room home with such efficiency, one of her closest friends said, "You could walk into her house any time and everything would be in order."

She also served as chairman of the voters service committee for the League of Women Voters. As such she supervised preparation of two pamphlets entitled "Value Your Vote," and "Don't Be an Armchair Citizen."

"One day," she says, "while riding home on a train from the league headquarters, I told myself: 'Honest to goodness, I'm a dope. Why don't I stop preaching and get into politics myself?' "

"You mean you fell for your own propaganda?" she was asked.

"Yes," she replied with a chuckle. "I fell for it hook, line, and sinker. I decided to take my own advice. To be effective in the things you believe in, in the things you want done, there is no better way than to work through a political organization."

She went directly to her GOP town chairman. Soon after she became a member and vice chairman of the local committee.

What qualifications should women have for public life?

She has no use for "political hacks, women who think they should get a job solely because they're women rather than for what they can bring to the job."

Politics, she says, needs women with strong convictions and a lot of idealism.

Though a Republican, Mrs. Leopold has had plenty of practice getting along with Democrats. Her husband is a Maryland Democrat, as she described him.

He has served on the Weston School Board and was elected to the town finance committee recently.

"We have never disagreed on what's right for the country," she says.

Commented her husband:

"Politics is the only subject we never have had an argument about. There isn't much difference between a patriotic, intelligent Democrat and a patriotic, intelligent Republican."

Gloomy Prospect for Shipbuilding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two news items, one entitled "Prospect Gloomy for Shipbuilding," from the New York Times of January 13, 1954; and the other entitled "Forty-eight Ships Remain on Yards' Orders," from the Baltimore Sun of January 13, 1954.

These two articles depict a very bad situation in the shipbuilding industry. Again I caution the Congress that something must be done about this matter, and must be done rapidly, if we are to preserve our merchant marine.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of January 13, 1954]

PROSPECT GLOOMY FOR SHIPBUILDING—ONLY 48 CRAFT UNDER CONTROL IN COASTAL AND LAKES YARDS—NO ORDERS IN SIGHT

This year opened on a gloomy note for the ship construction industry, with the monthly report of the Shipbuilders Council of America fixing new building at barely above the 1 million deadweight-ton mark. It said an aggregate of less than 50 vessels of 1,000 tons and over was under contract to coastal or Great Lakes shipyards.

The council said only 46 ships were listed for the seacoast yards and only 2 on the lakes. These total 993,235 and 44,000 deadweight tons, respectively, and mark the lowest point of shipbuilding in American yards in well over a decade.

Of the 48 ships now building or under contract, all but 3 are due for completion this year. Next year's ships consist of 1 each for January, April and July, and there is nothing in prospect for the privately owned shipyards after that.

The construction schedule, as of January 1, calls for 30 tankers, 14 of the Mariner-type dry cargo ships, 2 bulk ore carriers, and 2 passenger-auto ferries. The council, in pointing up the plight of the shipbuilding industry, has previously said that not a single contract for a new oceangoing vessel was acquired in 1953.

Vessels delivered of last month were the *Palmetto Mariner*, completed by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.; the *Diamond Mariner*, by the New York Shipbuilding Co.; and the 17-800-deadweight ton tanker *Keystoner*, built for the Keystone Tankship Corp. by the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point (Md.) Shipyard. The Mariners are 12,700-deadweight ton high speed, national defense cargo carriers.

Launchings in December were the *Evergreen Mariner*, from the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s yard at Quincy, Mass., along with 2 tankers, the *Marine Dow Chem* and *Avila*; the tanker *California*, by the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.; and the *Eclipse*, another tanker, by the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.

[From the Baltimore Sun of January 13, 1954]

FORTY-EIGHT SHIPS REMAIN ON YARDS' ORDERS

NEW YORK, January 12.—Only 48 ships remain on order or under construction in United States shipyards, the Shipbuilders Council of America reported today in its monthly statement.

Their total tonnage is 1,037,235 deadweight.

Of this number, 10 of the ships are at the Bethlehem Shipyard at Sparrows Point. Three of these have been launched.

Next highest in number is the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. with 9, and the Bethlehem yard at Quincy, Mass., with 8. Sun Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. has 6 and the Bethlehem Pacific Coast, 5.

Of the total ships, 45 are scheduled for delivery this year, and 3 next year.

Unless something is done to revive the industry, most of the Nation's shipyards will be closed down by the end of this year, the Shipbuilders Council said.

The Depletion Allowance in the Oil Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the story of the American petroleum industry is a story of tremendous exploration and production brought about at great cost. Since the passage by Congress of the depletion-allowance law in 1926, the oil companies of the

Nation have built up our petroleum reserves from 8 billion barrels to 28 billion barrels in spite of unbelievably huge increases in consumption of oil in both war and peace.

The depletion-allowance law, enacted and retained all these years for the purpose of encouraging a never-ceasing search for oil, has at times come under attack. The law has been able to withstand these attacks because the statute's important role in bringing about the building up of our oil reserves has been clearly evident.

At a recent board of directors meeting of Texas Service Stations, Associated—a trade association of service-station operators with thousands of members in 200 Texas cities and towns—a resolution was passed which set forth some of the history of the oil industry and which expressed vigorous opposition to any effort to repeal or reduce the depletion allowance.

This resolution, containing facts and figures of tremendous significance to the national economy and the national security, is commended to the attention of Senators. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution passed by Texas Service Stations, Associated, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas in 1926, after 8 years' consideration, the Congress of the United States, in order to encourage more oil production and to bring greater progress and prosperity to the Nation, passed depletion allowance legislation authorizing holders of oil property to treat as depletion for tax purposes, 27½ percent of the gross income, or 50 percent of the net income, whichever is the lesser amount.

In recent years, and in some quarters, this incentive and beneficial legislation has been under attack on the erroneous assumption that it benefits oil men at the expense of the people. Oil is where it is found. The search for it is hazardous and the financial risk greater than the risk in any other business. The average cost per well is approximately $90,000. Many wells cost as much as $1 million. Only 1 out of 9 wildcats produces. One in 43 finds a field that produces a million barrels. One in 243 makes a 10-million-barrel field, and one in 967 hits a field that makes as much as 50 million barrels.

Prior to depletion allowance, the average well depth was little more than 3,000 feet, there being only a few wells as much as 5,000 feet deep. With depletion allowance the average well depth has practically doubled. Many wells are producing from below 12,000 feet, and at least 1 brought in last March, in Iberia Parish, La., is producing at 17,000 feet. Many dry holes have been drilled below 20,000 feet.

In the much-discussed tidelands in the Gulf of Mexico, oil men have drilled 227 wells, at a cost of $260 million. Less than one-half of them made a showing of oil. From this tremendous investment, oil men have gotten back only about $50 million, leaving them in the red $210 million in this one noted area alone.

Those willing to take the risk in searching for and producing oil have built an industry in the United States which furnishes employment, directly or indirectly, to 2 million persons, and 200,000 separate businesses make up the oil industry and its allied interests.

The petroleum business is so large and intricate that it takes 1,800 different kinds of jobs to get oil from the ground into the consumer's automobile tank. It will thus be seen how tremendous was the task in getting from the ground into customers' car tanks the 4,400,000,000 gallons of gasoline used last year in the State of California alone.

In 1921, before oil men were receiving depletion allowance, the average annual per capita consumption of petroleum products was 4.3 barrels. After this incentive allowance legislation the per capita annual consumption increased to 7.5 barrels in 1931; 10.1 barrels in 1941; and 16.5 barrels in 1952, an increase of nearly 300 percent under depletion allowance.

In addition to the ever-increasing uses of petroleum products in business, industry, homes, and national defense, the natural increase in population in the United States (estimated at 12 to 14 million by 1960) will approximate 1¾ million new customers each year, 5,000 per day, which the oil industry must supply over and above present demands. To meet this increased demand will require the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The United States is in greater jeopardy today than at any time in its history. Communist aggression, like a crouching animal in darkness, hovers around, ready to spring at our throat on a moment's notice. In the event of war, oil in quantities and quality heretofore undreamed of will be required to win.

Oil men and companies are doing all in their power to conserve our supply and still meet the demand. Every barrel of oil taken from the ground and consumed is gone forever. Scrap iron could for a long time replace depleted iron ore. For every tree that is cut, another can be grown in a few years. For every steer butchered and consumed, another can be bred and grown in 3 years. Mineral substances in the soil, depleted by continuous use, may soon be replaced, but not oil.

In the passage of the depletion allowance statute, the Congress reached 3 self-evident conclusions: (1) Oil is indispensable to our national prosperity and defense; (2) the more oil found and used, the more income there is to tax; (3) by allowing oil men to save a portion of the proceeds of the oil they find and sell, a tremendous incentive is given for them to continue their search for more oil: Therefore be it

Resolved by the board of directors of Texas Service Stations, Associated, with units in more than 200 cities and towns in Texas, in regular meeting at the Baker Hotel, Mineral Wells, Tex., on this, the 20th day of October, 1953, Oppose any and all efforts on the part of the United States Government, its officers, and the Congress to repeal or reduce the present depletion allowance statute.

Transportation of Public Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter signed by Mr. W. R. Pfizer, vice president of the Panama Canal Company, and addressed to Mr. Arthur L. Davis, of the Buffalo Evening News.

In this letter Mr. Pfizer gives to Mr. Davis certain information regarding the number of Congressmen and their families who have been provided reduced-rate transportation.

This report further emphasizes the need for the enactment of S. 2629, the purpose of which would prohibit free or bargain-rate transportation being extended to any public official by any shipping company which was being subsidized by the American taxpayers.

I ask unanimous consent to have this letter of Mr. Pfizer's incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PANAMA CANAL COMPANY,
New York, N. Y., December 29, 1953.

Mr. ARTHUR L. DAVIS,
Buffalo Evening News,
National Press Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: Receipt is acknowledged of your letters of November 13 and December 15, and we regret the delay in making reply.

The regulations adopted by the Board of Directors of this Company provide that Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives will receive courtesy transportation on our steamship line and their families will be accorded the employees rate of $40 each way provided request for such transportation is made by the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, or the chairman of the committee on which the member serves. Under that policy, we furnished the following congressional transportation:

1951:	
Congressmen	33
Families	49
1952:	
Congressmen	26
Families	34
1953:	
Congressmen	40
Families	64

The foregoing figures are for fiscal years ending June 30, that being the basis on which our records are kept.

Very truly yours,

W. R. PFIZER,
Vice President.

N. B.—You are no doubt aware of the fact that the Panama Line is part of the Panama Canal Company, a wholly owned United States Government corporation.

Negro Teachers May Lose Jobs if Segregation Ends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I have an article which appeared in the January 10, 1954, issue of the New York Herald Tribune written by a South Carolina newspaperman, Mr. W. D. Workman, Jr. This article, entitled "Negro Teachers May Lose Jobs if Segregation Ends," points out that if segregation ends in the public school systems, the Southern States could follow the examples already set by States in other sections of the country and discharge the Negro teachers. In South Carolina all teachers are given an ex-

amination prepared by Columbia University. Certificates are given as a result of the examinations, and the teachers are paid accordingly under the provisions of the classification act which was enacted while I served as Governor. In South Carolina we have 113,000 Negro school teachers, principals, and administrators as compared with about 825,000 negroes in the State. Negroes comprise 38 percent of the total population of South Carolina and 36 percent of those employed in the educational field. I ask unanimous consent that this newspaper article be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGRO TEACHERS MAY LOSE JOBS IF SEGREGATION ENDS

(By W. D. Workman, Jr.)

COLUMBIA, S. C., January 9.—One of the collateral issues caught up in the school segregation cases now pending before the United States Supreme Court is embraced in this question: "What will happen to the 113,000 Negro schoolteachers, principals, and administrators now employed in segregated school systems when and if segregation is abolished?"

If the Southern States were to follow the example set by the nonsegregated States of the North, East, and West, then thousands of Negro schoolteachers are likely to lose their jobs. Only in the southern and border States do Negroes hold teaching jobs in anything approaching a fair proportion to their numbers.

CENSUS IS STUDIED

That conclusion is based on a study of individual census returns from every State and the District of Columbia. The study embraced such considerations as the percentage of Negro population to total population, along with a more detailed scrutiny of the ratio of white and Negro employment listed under "Educational Services, Government."

Out of that study has come findings such as these:

The three States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia together employ more Negroes in public education than do all the States of the North, East, and West combined.

South Carolina alone employes more Negroes in education than do all the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, with more than 2,000 teachers to spare. Yet the combined Negro population of those nine States exceeds that of South Carolina by more than a million persons.

ONLY 3,000 IN NEW YORK CITY

The State of New York, which has a Negro population of 918,000, according to the 1950 census, employs fewer than 3,000 Negro educators. On the other hand, South Carolina, with a smaller Negro population (822,000), employs 3 times as many Negro educators (8,845).

Of the 133,000 Negro teachers in the United States, only 20,000 are employed in the North, East, and West. The remaining 113,000 are employed in the 17 States and the District of Columbia where segregation is required.

In South Carolina, where Negroes make up 38.8 percent of the total population, Negro teachers make up 36.1 percent of the total persons in "educational services, government." In North Carolina the population ratio is 25.8 percent Negro; the educational ratio, 29.1 percent. In the District of Columbia, where Negroes make up 35 percent of the population, Negro teachers make up 45.5 percent of the total educational force.

But in New York, where Negroes comprise 6.2 percent of the total population, Negroes comprise only 2.5 percent of the total number of teachers. In New Jersey, the Negro ratio is 6.6 percent of the population, but only 2.8 percent of the educational force. In Michigan, the ratio is 6.9 percent as to population; 2.7 percent as to teaching force. In Illinois, the comparative ratios are 7.4 percent and 4.3 percent, and in Ohio the ratios are 6.5 percent and 3.6 percent.

I Rode Uncle Sam's Gravy Train

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, in the Saturday Evening Post of January 9, 1954, there appeared an excellent article entitled "I Rode Uncle Sam's Gravy Train," written by Thomas Drake Durrance. It has to do with governmental expenditures in the Foreign Service. I have been advised by the Government Printing Office that the article exceeds the two printed pages allowed under the rule, and that the cost of printing it in the RECORD will be $255. In my opinion it is such an excellent article that it should be printed in the Appendix notwithstanding the additional cost involved, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—I should like to point out that Mr. Durrance married a girl from my home town. I agree with the Senator from New Mexico that it is a very informative article and I hope every Member of the Senate will read it. I associate myself with the Senator from New Mexico in believing that through its being called to the attention of the Committee on Appropriations our country will save many millions of dollars.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I RODE UNCLE SAM'S GRAVY TRAIN

(By Thomas Drake Durance)

(Early in 1949, the author couldn't afford a family car. Then he took a Government job overseas and found himself living in luxury. He hired a nursemaid, a cook, and a butler, traveled first class and stayed in the best hotels. Or as he himself put it: "The taxpayer was being milked so we could drink champagne.")

In February, 1949, my wife and I and our 15-month-old daughter were living in a 2-room furnished apartment in Washington, D. C. I had a well-paying editorial job, but operating expenses in the Nation's capital being what they were, our budget included neither a car nor the services of a full-time maid. When we wanted a fling, we had to save for it. We were typical, probably, of thousands of young American couples struggling to set up a satisfactory postwar way of life.

Then I had a telephone call which changed the whole picture. The call was from a friend of mine, a local newspaperman who had been appointed information chief for the newly established Marshall plan agency, the Economic Cooperation Administration. "What do you know about Copenhagen?" he asked.

"Very little," I said, "but I'm willing to learn. Why?"

"We have a job open there for an information officer. Would you be interested?"

"Sure," I answered, "but give me time to talk it over with my wife."

"O. K.," he said. "The job's yours if you want it. Let me know your decision tomorrow?"

That night Caroline and I excitedly discussed the proposal. We were tantalized by visions of a life which would be as purposeful as it was pleasureable. I said "yes" the next day, and we were immediately plunged into a kaleidoscopic whirl of indoctrination lectures, physical exams, inoculations, and farewell parties. In preparation for the bleak Scandinavian winters we had to buy heavy woolen sweaters, socks, mufflers, and overcoats. We bought luggage with which to make the move, too—stalwart secondhand suitcases and a battered old trunk the size of a boxcar.

The State Department Welfare Bureau gave us a revealing preview of what life abroad with Uncle Sam might offer. Here people going overseas on Government assignment could purchase anything from refrigerators to earmuffs at discount. The place, a small room in one of Washington's temporary Federal buildings, looked like bargain day in a big city department store basement. Scores of new appointees to foreign posts milled about, placing orders for cut-rate pop-up toasters, radios, stoves, irons, and vacuum cleaners. Excellent buys were not confined to hard goods. From the big distillers limitless quantities of the finest whiskies could be obtained at prices that would convince a toper he had achieved nirvana.

"LIKE UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN ON A SPREE"

After we had been fingerprinted and passed a preliminary investigation by the FBI, I was sworn in as a Foreign Service staff officer, class 3—FSS–3—with the awesome title of Assistant Economic Commissioner. My so-called base pay was $7,380 a year. In addition, I was entitled to a quarters allowance of $2,000 and a post allowance of another $1,370, both exempt from income tax. Altogether, then, the job was worth $10,750. That wasn't bad in itself, but as it turned out—in terms of buying power, and bolstered by all sorts of special emoluments accruing to Foreign Service personnel—the job couldn't have been matched at double that figure in Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, or any other big United States city.

In the midst of the departure whirl we received our passports. These were just like the regular green-covered ones, but with a single important difference: the magic word diplomatic was embossed in gold letters across the front. Meanwhile, the ECA transportation office had been busy arranging the many details of our passage overseas. On March 16, with travel orders and tickets in hand, we took the train to New York, climbed aboard the S. S. *America*, and settled into a first-class stateroom on the sun deck. This was the start of a nearly 3-year tour of duty as a Federal employee in Europe—the beautiful beginning of our ride on Uncle Sam's fabulous gravy train.

At first we felt like a pair of underprivileged children on a spree. We were tremendously excited by new faces, new places, and a sudden, almost incredible improvement in our living standards. As the ride continued, however, this exhilaration began to wear off. Luxury followed luxury in such dizzy succession that by the end of it satiety had tarnished the whole bright adventure.

Uncle Sam—laboring under the delusion that his agents overseas were subject to extraordinary hardship—showered them with loving kindness. It was difficult to escape the conclusion that we, and several thousand others like us, were participants in an unconscionable exploitation of the fellow taxpayers we had left behind. No matter how you added it up, they were being milked so we could drink champagne.

At the time, though, that first transatlantic trip—the longest voyage we'd ever made before was a midnight cruise up the Potomac River—offered pleasures undiluted with misgiving. Each morning after a late breakfast and after a nurse had whisked away our daughter to the ship's playroom, Caroline and I would sink into our deck chairs and gaze at the ocean in torpid fascination. On the first day out our repose was disturbed by the abrupt recall of a cleaner's bill left unpaid and the vivid image of an unanswered letter pressed inside a book sent to storage. But the deck stewards were soon at our sides dissipating anxiety with hot cups of bouillon. These gentlemen then stood by, ready upon signal to wrap the blankets more snugly about our feet.

We learned to stride briskly up and down the promenade deck, mufflers thrown carelessly about our throats, heads high, chests expanded. By midocean Caroline had won several lotto games in the grand salon and I not only knew the correct pronunciations of Liebfraumilch, Beaujolais, and Remy Martin, but could even call for them at the proper mileposts in the course of our prolonged dinners.

When we reached Le Havre on the morning of March 22 the purser collected our diplomatic passports, then led us easily past the congestion of passengers and officials on the debarkation deck. At dockside a young Frenchman from the United States consulate was waiting for us. He tipped his hat as he bowed and said with a charming smile, "Bienvenue, madame et monsieur." (Caroline was right. He did sound like Charles Boyer.) After guiding us past customs—a flash of the passports did it—and into a compartment on the Paris train, he bowed again and departed.

I did a little figuring. So far, counting my salary, the trip to New York, our passage, baggage fees, and travel allowances, American taxpayers had shelled out about $2,500 to get us where we were—3 hours from the most exciting city in the world. For a moment, I thought gloatingly of my erstwhile colleagues beating their brains out in the National Press Building, chasing stories, fighting deadlines, collecting their wages at week's end. Viewed from the tranquil loveliness of the French countryside, theirs seemed a slave's life, indeed.

As our train slid into St. Lazare Station I caught sight of a fat, mustachioed Frenchman wearing a chauffeur's cap and carrying across his chest an ECA sign. I rolled down our window and called to him. He spun around, saw me, and elbowed his way to the side of the train.

"Monsieur Durrance?" he asked. "There is a car waiting. I will help you."

A few minutes later we were slung into the curb-level back seat of a Renault. Our suitcases, hatboxes, and a bag containing the baby's portable potty were lashed to the luggage carrier on top. I learned that a cable had been sent from Washington notifying ECA-Paris of our arrival date and the approximate amount of baggage we would be carrying. Accommodations had been arranged for us at the Hotel Continental, one of the city's finer establishments.

Our first stay in Paris was brief. After 5 days of meeting fellow commissioners and being introduced to an assortment of ambassadors, special assistants, and division chiefs, we were issued new travel orders and another set of train tickets for Copenhagen. We boarded the Nord Express early on March 29 for the 32-hour run across northern Europe.

That night, as the train rumbled toward the German border, we were awakened by the imperative banging on our compartment door of customs officials and police. A wave of the diplomatic passports brought the click of heels in the narrow corridor and a heavily accented "Excuse me, sir." From the next compartment issued the sleepy protests of less fortunate travelers whose luggage was being swung down from overhead racks and opened for inspection.

Copenhagen's copper spires came into view late the following afternoon. Again we were met by a chauffeur, led this time to a shiny American limousine, and driven through the city's crowded streets to the massive old Hotel D'Angleterre, the equivalent of New York City's Plaza.

We lived at the D'Angleterre for several weeks while searching for permanent quarters. It was a delightful stay, for the D'Angleterre—like all European hostelries of its vintage—was built strictly for the comfort of its guests. The place swarmed with valets, maids, doormen, waiters, floor managers, and maitres d'hôtel. They were all efficient, all magically able to anticipate our slightest wish.

Here we were holed up in a suite with two huge bedrooms and a connecting bath approaching the size of my old high-school swimming pool. The baby's meals, even breakfast at 7 a. m., were rolled in by the floor waiter, a strapping fellow in a dark blue uniform trimmed with gold braid. To serve little Grace, this 20th century viking used enough chafing dishes, hot plates, and cutlery to accommodate a stateside dinner for four.

An advertisement in the Berlingske Tidende, Denmark's leading newspaper, soon started a flow of prospective nursemaids our way. On the third day we found the answer to any housewife's prayer. Her name was Iris, a country girl who spoke good English and had excellent references. We hired her at about $25 a month. This was the going rate for full-time maids who lived in the home.

Soon thereafter we located a house—a six-room sandstone rambler on a hill overlooking a small lake. It had an expanse of flat lawn, a garden, and a sunken goldfish pond. Among the plum, apple, and cherry trees there was a scattering of nude statuary. There was a recreation room in the basement. We took the place, fully furnished, for a little more than $100 a month.

Meanwhile, Caroline and I were becoming acquainted with the American colony in Copenhagen. Except for the career Foreign Service officers who had spent years in overseas posts, its members were mostly people snatched from middle-class existences in places like Richmond, Burbank, and Tallahassee. Mainly they were economists, engineers, professors, and bureaucrats transferred from other stateside Federal agencies. Most were like us—saucer-eyed and not completely at ease in their newly acquired splendor. "If you think my layout is lush," we were told more than once as we made the rounds, "you ought to see so-and-so's place." So-and-so's usually turned out to be a villa along the coast north of Copenhagen. This stretch of beach on the Öresund, the narrow strait that separates Denmark from Sweden, was a favorite with Americans. It was dappled with pink, green, blue, and white houses with gardens which terraced down to secluded private swimming places. Many of these establishments were staffed with 2, and sometimes 3, servants. Even in these plush surroundings, however, our hosts often regaled us with stories of magnificent mansions and penthouse apartments acquired by more fortunate fellow workers in other ECA countries.

Gradually, the image formed in our minds of thousands of Uncle Sam's minions living like dukes and duchesses all over Europe. The cost of maintaining ECA's continental contingent must have been incalculable, what with salaries, per diems, shipments of furniture and cars, travel, and half a dozen different kinds of allowances. We had been told that for prestige purposes American officials abroad were expected to live on a relatively lofty scale. But this seemed to be overdoing it. Never had so many taxpayers donated so much to maintain so few in a style to which they were so completely unaccustomed.

It was almost impossible to navigate around Copenhagen, a sprawling metropolis of more than 1 million people, without some private means of transportation. Although most Marshall planners and Embassy officials had heavy American cars, we bought a British Ford, a small but sturdy vehicle particularly suited to Europe's narrow roads. The price, with a diplomatic discount of 20 percent, was $700. Because gas was in short supply in Denmark and very expensive, the Embassy supplied us with special tickets with which we could make our purchases below the prevailing prices.

We moved into our new quarters in June. Not even 3 months had slipped by since our confused departure from Washington. Since then we had crossed the Atlantic, seen Paris, traversed France and Germany, lived well in one of Scandinavia's luxury hotels, hired a maid, rented a house, and bought a car. This, we soon learned, was only the beginning.

My assignment with the mission was to do all I could to explain to the Danish people the motives behind the Marshall plan, its objectives, and the manner in which it operated for their benefit. Aware of the plan's potential, the Communists already had launched a virulent propaganda campaign against it. My job, and that of other information officers in Europe, was to organize then throw the counterpunch.

To do this in my area, I assembled a staff of 10 people, 7 of them Danes, and all capable, dedicated workers. Operating on a local-currency budget of close to $250,000 the first year, we moved into every possible public-information medium. We wrote and produced radio shows and documentary films. We published pamphlets, distributed posters, conceived and built exhibitions. We put together a daily account of reconstruction news and serviced Danish newspapers and magazines with it. My two American assistants and I wrote speeches for the Ambassador and the mission chief, and delivered some ourselves before key groups of Danish citizens. We encouraged the Danish Foreign Office to step-up its own efforts to inform and inspire the Danes. The hours were long, 5 and frequently 6 days a week.

At first I was baffled by the relatively slow pace of doing business in Denmark. One of my early chores, for example, was to arrange for a Marshall plan exhibit at the annual Copenhagen agricultural fair, biggest event of its kind in the country. I called the fair's secretary, introduced myself, and asked for an appointment. He was most cordial and suggested that I be his guest for lunch. We went to a restaurant in Tivoli Gardens, where it was obvious he was a frequent diner. We were hardly seated before a waiter appeared with several bottles of beer and a quart of schnapps. My host ordered cigars and filled the glasses.

"To the Marshall plan," he said.

"To Denmark," I responded. We skoaled, chasing the clear aquavit with long draughts of lager.

"How do you like it here?" the Dane asked.

"It's out of this world," I replied with sincerity. The fervor of my comment seemed to please my companion.

After several skoals, a steak, and two cigars, my host suddenly glanced at his watch and called for the check. He was most apologetic. "I must return to the office. Will you lunch with me again next week so that we can discuss your exhibit in greater detail?"

It was then mid-April. By the time the fair took place on June 30, my friend and I had shared a number of superb lunches. And in the end, as he always predicted it would, everything went off beautifully. Two hundred thousand people crowded into the fairgrounds, and the Marshall plan pavilion was a notable success.

While I was thus engaged, Caroline was active on other fronts. Back home, her routine had been a dawn-to-dusk, seven-days-a-week preoccupation with diapers and dishes. Now her days were devoted to things like language lessons, excursions into the Danish countryside, and tea parties. In her spare time she satisfied a long-unfulfilled craving for antiques.

Throughout that year the mission was visited by a succession of congressmen, labor and business leaders, journalists, women's club officials, and big wheels from Paris and Washington on tours of inspection. The Danes seized every opportunity to entertain, and the Americans—supported by representation allowances, the Foreign Service version of expense accounts—quickly followed suit. "Representation" was a device by which the cost of any social function could be defrayed by the Government. Sometimes this meant that influential Danes were invited to attend social functions as window dressing to make sure that Uncle Sam would pick up the check for the wine and filets for the whole crowd. This kind of fraternization, it was felt, furthered the cause.

The vastness of the Marshall plan program and the infinite variety of its projects required constant cross-checking between the missions and headquarters. My coworkers and I were called to frequent conferences in Paris, London, and Rome. While on the road, we were reimbursed at rates running from $14 a day in the more expensive cities to eight or ten dollars in places like Oslo and Dublin. There was so much shuttling back and forth across the Continent and the Atlantic Ocean by ECA people that we seldom had to travel alone. Usually there was at least one other temporary diplomat—sometimes three or four—aboard any given plane, train, or boat.

Travel and entertainment were financed out of so-called counterpart funds. Under the terms of the Marshall plan agreements, European governments were required to place in special funds money commensurate with the amount of American aid they had received. This money was earmarked for reconstruction purposes, with 5 percent set aside to cover operating expenses of our own Marshall plan missions.

In Denmark, this meant we had several million dollars' worth of Danish money at our disposal the first year. A few bar chits here and there, an occasional "representation" feed at Oscar Davidsen's, or a plane ride to The Hague for consultation seemed but drops from that deep and brimming bucket. An astute observer once remarked that he thought the counterpart fund would go down in history as the greatest invention since the wheel. Many a man alive today would testify to the validity of that seemingly cynical observation.

We lived 18 months in Denmark and then, in October 1950, I was transferred to the information-division headquarters in Paris. With the transfer came a good raise in salary, and because Paris was probably the most expensive city on the Continent, substantial boosts in allowances. My pay jumped to $9,950 and my other emoluments to $4,250, for a total of $14,200.

Paris was bulging with Americans. Not only did the Embassy and the ECA have several thousand people on their payrolls but the boulevards burgeoned with offices of American advertising firms, public-relations agencies, and entrepreneurs of all types. The Place de la Concorde, where the guillotine did its bloody business during the French Revolution, was so crowded with American cars it sometimes looked like a supermarket parking lot. The city's famous cafés echoed to the shrill vociferation of American hucksters, students, and tourists.

With so many suckers in town, Parisian landlords were having a field day. Thoroughly familiar with the salaries and allowances of Foreign Service officers, they knew how much we could pay for the fancy villas and elegant apartments which they dangled before our eyes.

The first solid lead Caroline and I had was for a place on Rue du Cherche Midi, a fashionably rundown street on the Left Bank. It was an apartment which faced a cobblestoned inner court where a fountain played. We were met at the entrance by a small, thin, henna-haired woman who wore a careless layer of rouge on her cheeks and whose heels were the highest I ever had seen. The layout of the apartment was gorgeous, with spacious rooms furnished in the imposing style of the Empire. Tapestries and oils covered the walls, and the polished floors were almost completely lost beneath deep-piled rugs.

Caroline and I barely managed to repress our delight. Following the advice of old Paris hands, however, we tried to camouflage our interest. We commented that the rooms were a little dark. We noted that the kitchen was far removed from the dining room. We expressed concern at the strident street noises which invaded the courtyard. Madame remained aloof. Then, as though she simply couldn't stand it any longer, she asked, "Monsieur, do you wish the apartment?"

Caroline indicated that the negotiations were all mine. "We are favorably impressed, Madame, but there are drawbacks. How much are you asking for it?"

"The price is most reasonable, Monsieur," replied the little bundle of cosmetics and lace. "Only 100,000 francs. I believe that is within your—comment dites-vous ca—allowance, n'est-ce pas?"

Believing I ought to play it cagey, I gave madame a card and told her she would hear from us later. I steered Caroline to the door, grumbling about the place being "trop cher, trop cher."

In the taxi returning to our hotel, I confidently announced, "Give the old girl a couple of hours to think it over and she'll knock 10,000 francs off that price." When I called back that afternoon ready to talk terms, madame reported that, unhappily, another American had just signed the lease at the full rate. Turned out it was a fellow in the office next to mine.

For days thereafter we plodded through villas in St. Cloud, pension suites in Versailles and 17th-century apartments on the Ile St. Louis. Always there was a serious drawback. Either the rent was outrageous, the length of the lease too long or too short, or the distance from my office too great. Often the landlord wanted to retain one or several rooms for his own use.

In our third week of hunting we hit pay dirt at an address in Passy, across the Seine from the Eiffel Tower. The building, located on a bluff overlooking the river, was a modern, beautifully landscaped apartment house reputed to be perhaps the finest in Paris. The apartment itself was replete with the trappings of gracious living, including 3 pastel-tiled baths, 1 for each bedroom. The place was furnished in genuine Louis Seize and had a French-window view of the whole city. It was owned by a Belgian baron, a dapper Old World type, who explained that business interests in Egypt required his presence there. I signed the lease on the spot for 85,000 francs—about $250 a month.

With the apartment, for another 12,000 francs, came Marie and Henri, a husband-wife, cook-butler team. Since Iris had made the trip with us from Copenhagen, we now had a battery of three servants. Marie and Henri were an imposing pair, middle-aged, ruler-straight, as inscrutable as they were handsome. Marie, with the mien of a chatelaine rather than a cook, did all the shopping and prepared three superb meals a day. She spurned any canned goods which Caroline purchased at the commissary. For hours she would comb the neighborhood in search of the freshest vegetables, the ripest fruits, and cheeses at the peak of their fragrance.

Henri was a perfectionist too. I never knew what time he arrived in the morning, but my days began at 7:30 a. m. sharp, when I would waken to the muffled rhythm of Henri shining my shoes in the hall outside the bedroom door. Each morning a freshly brushed suit of his choosing would be laid out for me. Always wearing a clean white jacket, he went about his duties with tireless proficiency—carrying wood to the fireplace, polishing the silver, maneuvering the vacuum cleaner expertly over the wall-to-wall carpets. Sometimes I would see him on the balcony scrubbing away the evidence of nocturnal visits paid us by the pigeons of Passy.

My new duties with ECA—helping to plan Europe-wide information campaigns in support of our major political and economic objectives—required me to take many trips to missions in other countries. I would be in Athens or Istanbul one week, Rome the next, Berlin or Brussels after that. Always it was the same—per diems, big rooms in the best hotels, business accomplished despite the inevitable round of official social functions. By the end of 12 months in Paris I had been to 14 countries and traveled close to 30,000 miles. My ties were Italian, my shoes Austrian, my suits English.

Everywhere I traveled were people I had known at home. Mostly they were former newspapermen who had come to Europe as Government workers. On the Continent they had found the paradise that had eluded them at police court or on the cable desk or along the corridors of some hinterland city hall in America. Few would deny that they "never had had it so good." Almost without exception, they fervently wished it could last forever.

With us, though, certain changes had taken place. By the time Caroline and I had spent 2½ years in Europe, the special-privilege life had lost its appeal. What had started as a purposeful adventure now had us feeling more than a little ashamed—like able-bodied people living it up on a handout.

All those months we had been well paid and pampered beyond justification. Twinges of conscience, once mildly heeded, were now spasms which could no longer be ignored. We decided it was high time we went home and got off the taxpayers' back.

I asked for a transfer to Washington and we returned there in October 1951. I stayed on long enough to help work out a reorganization of our division—ECA was being superseded by the Mutual Security Agency, MSA—and then handed in my resignation. The ride on Uncle Sam's gravy train was over.

No doubt about it, we had prospered abroad. In 1949 we would have thought twice before buying a new goldfish bowl. Now I had the cash with which to make a substantial down payment on a house, and Caroline had brought home enough loot—five tons of it, shipped free, naturally—to furnish the place. Uncle Sam gave me a going-away present, too, a fat reimbursement for unused leave.

That was more than a year ago. Since then, adjustment to life as private citizens hasn't been so rough as we thought it would be. I earn my living—not a bad one—as a writer. I'm accumulating no annual leave—nor is Caroline out swapping local currency for fancy figurines. But when we pay our bills, the checks we draw are on a Washington bank, not the United States Treasury. We like it this way.

The Fight on the Communist Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "All Faiths Implored To Unite in Fight on Communist Peril," published in the Washington Star of January 3, 1954; a letter addressed by me to Archbishop O'Boyle; and a statement from the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

There being no objection, the article, letter, and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 3, 1954]

ALL FAITHS IMPLORED TO UNITE IN FIGHT ON COMMUNIST PERIL

Religious leaders have been stepping up their efforts to get Americans of different faiths to work together toward common goals.

In Washington, Catholic Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle appealed to Protestants, Jews, and others who believe in God to put aside their differences and join Catholics in a crusade of prayer and protest against Communist persecution of religion.

He proposed that all faiths support a demand for a formal United Nations investigation. He charged that the Communists were making a "diabolical attempt to exterminate all religion."

Archbishop O'Boyle made his plea at a solemn mass of reparation in St. Matthew's Cathedral as Catholic churches throughout the country held special services of intercession for their persecuted bretheren.

ASSAILS "COMMUNIST SCOURGE"

Appealing directly for Protestant cooperation, Archbishop O'Boyle said:

"This is not the occasion to enter into the issues which have unfortunately caused incidents of religious intolerance in our land.

"With half the world in flames, should we argue over precedence in putting out the fire? Or should we rather all walk humbly before God, admitting our sins and pleading that the scourge of communism be lifted from the earth?"

The prelate declared that Protestants, Jews, and Moslems had shared with Catholic and Orthodox Churches the terrible persecution of the Kremlin. He related the case of a Lutheran pastor in Latvia, who was banished to Siberia for life because he insisted on holding a Christmas service in 1947.

MISSIONS CLOSED IN CHINA

Archbishop O'Boyle said organized Protestant religious life had been practically wiped out in Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

"It survives only with the greatest difficulty in East Germany and Czechoslovakia," he said. "Protestant missions and works of mercy in China have been closed. The record is clear—any believer in God, any person whose conscience rebels against the great injustices of communism, is considered an enemy of the regime."

The archbishop said a U. N. investigation might do much to overcome the neutralism into which millions of the world's citizens have retreated in the battle between communism and the West.

"Against such indifference, the voice of protest for the right of faith will have a powerful effect," he predicted.

"The power of arms is great, and we do not underestimate the tragedy of atomic warfare. But let us not underestimate the power of the spirit and the greatness of truth."

CANADIAN CHURCHES COOPERATE

In Toronto, Canada, Protestant and Catholic churchmen urged better understanding between members of the two communions.

Their appeal was made at the inaugural meeting of the Alliance Canadienne, an organization seeking to promote amity between French- and English-speaking Canadians.

Father Arthur Maheux, history professor at Laval University in Quebec and one of the alliance organizers, stressed the importance of understanding rather than fearing one another's religion.

He said most religious disputes were caused by fear of being suppressed by another denomination.

Dr. C. E. Silcox, of Toronto, a United Church of Canada minister and author, spoke on behalf of the Protestant representatives.

He termed the alliance an "Experiment which will make not only a new Canada but show the way to a new world."

It is up to Canada, said Dr. Silcox, to set an example in international relations by welding a united country out of two distinct cultures.

GAINS MADE IN SOUTH AMERICA

Another pronouncement on interchurch relations, this time in South America, came from a Lutheran leader in New York.

Dr. Stewart W. Herman, executive secretary of the National Lutheran Council's Division of Lutheran Cooperation in Latin America, said that Protestant work in Latin-American countries, especially in Colombia, was becoming somewhat easier.

He made the statement after returning from a 4-week trip to Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico.

Dr. Herman said, "there is good hope that under the new regime in Colombia an era of progress and liberal policy in all matters is being initiated."

The Lutheran leader declared that while the Catholic church was becoming increasingly sensitive to the growth of Protestantism in Latin America, it was turning away from forms of violent persecution and was trying to regain popular support by meeting the real spiritual needs of the people.

JANUARY 8, 1954.

Most Rev. PATRICK A. O'BOYLE,
Archbishop of Washington,
Washington, D. C.

YOUR GRACE: I read with a great deal of interest the newspaper article in the January 3 edition of the Washington Star. This article discussed your appeal and proposal to all faiths for a United Nations investigation of the Communist program of extermination of all religions.

I have just received from the National Catholic Welfare Conference the news releases including a breakdown of the bishops, priests, and religious who have been executed, imprisoned and expelled from countries in Europe and Asia. These reports are terrible. It is also surprising to me that this information and the facts concerning this program of destruction have not received more widespread coverage in our own newspapers.

It is my intention to have this information published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I shall continue to include additional information on the subject as it becomes available.

Your statement on the subject that this Communist program is an attack on all religious is convincing. I want to commend you for your forthright statement, and appeal for cooperation of all churches.

With the very best of good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

GUY M. GILLETTE.

[From the National Catholic Welfare Conference]

LIST OF MODERN MARTYRS-CONFESSORS NAMES 4 CARDINALS, 32 ARCHBISHOPS, 117 BISHOPS, AND 32 MONSIGNORS

Marxist hatred of religion has brought death, imprisonment, expulsion, and suffering to 185 bishops and other heads of sees throughout the world.

An exhaustive survey by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service shows how decisively international communism has taken to itself the persecutor's mantle dropped successively by Nero when he killed himself and by Decius when he was defeated, killed, and buried in an unknown grave in the marshes of Dobrudscha.

The list compiled by the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service shows that 4 cardinals, 32 archbishops, 117 bishops, and 32 monsignors—the latter serving as prefects, administrators, or visitators apostolic—have been victims of Communist persecution. They have been either murdered, imprisoned, expelled, or are otherwise impeded from exercising their office.

These modern confessors and martyrs dot almost every part of the globe where communism has seized power. They lie in humble graves and languish in Red dungeons from Czechoslovakia in the west to Korea in the Far East.

Despite the impressive number of names, the National Catholic Welfare Conference list does not mention every bishop or head of see who has ever suffered at Communist hands. It names only those who have been murdered, imprisoned, placed under arrest, expelled, forced into or kept in exile, or are otherwise permanently barred from performing their episcopal duties. Nor does it include the scores of vicars general who have suffered Red persecution after they attempted to take over the direction of a diocese upon the Red elimination of the bishop.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference list contains the names of 13 American-born prelates. Ten suffered persecution in China, 2 in Red Korea, and 1 in Red Rumania.

The list shows that 23 bishops were murdered, executed, or died as a result of Communist brutality. Thirty-eight bishops and other heads of sees are known to be in prison. Seventy-four have been expelled from the land of their work. Fifteen are in exile; others have died in exile. Twenty-two are under some form of arrest. The remaining bishops on the list are in some other way permanently barred from performing their office.

The arch-persecutor of the church, according to the list, is Communist China. Mao Tse-tung's attempts to "purify" Christianity have resulted in 96 victims among the hierarchy. Seventy-three bishops and other heads of sees have been expelled. Nine are in prison. Five have died of Red brutality. Three are in exile. Three are barred from their sees and another is impeded in the exercise of his office.

The Peking regime is guilty of the persecution of one cardinal—His Eminence Thomas Cardinal Tien—18 archbishops, 54 bishops, and 23 monsignors.

Of the 10 Americans persecuted by the Chinese Reds, 5 bishops and 3 monsignors were expelled; 1—Bishop Francis X. Ford, MM.—died in prison, and another—Bishop Ambrose Pinger, O. F. M.—is still in prison.

The country with the next largest number of persecuted bishops against its record is Soviet Russia with 29. This includes not only Russia proper but also the 3 Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) gobbled up by the Kremlin and the large slice of Polish-Ukrainian territory annexed to the Soviet Union after World War II.

Other countries on the list of persecutors are Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Viet Minh-controlled areas of Indo-

china, Communist Korea, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

Albania is responsible for the execution of two bishops, the death in prison of another.

Bulgaria has 2 bishops in prison, 1 with a death sentence pronounced on him.

Czechoslovakia has 6 bishops under arrest, 5 in jail.

One Estonian bishop is in prison.

A cardinal—His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty—and two bishops are in prison in Hungary. One bishop has been killed by the Soviets, another is under arrest.

Two bishops are under arrest in Indochina.

Two bishops—one of them American, Bishop Patrick J. Byrne, M. M.—have died in prison in Red Korea. Another is in jail, and the fate of a prefect apostolic—American Msgr. Patrick T. Brennan—is unknown.

Two bishops from Latvia are in exile.

Three bishops are in exile from Red-dominated Lithuania, 2 have been imprisoned, 1 has been murdered and another has died in prison.

In Poland, 1 cardinal—His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski—7 bishops and a monsignor are under arrest. One bishop is in prison, another confined to a monastery.

The entire hierarchy has been eliminated in Rumania. One bishop—American Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara—was expelled. Two bishops are under arrest, 7 in prison and 2 dead of Communist brutality.

One bishop died in exile from Red Russia. Another bishop and 4 monsignors are still in exile. Two monsignors have been imprisoned.

In the Ukraine, 3 bishops and 1 monsignor are in prison. Six bishops have died under the Reds. One is in exile.

In Yugoslavia, 1 cardinal—His Eminence Aloysius Cardinal Stepinac—is semi-imprisoned. Two bishops are in exile; another has died in exile. One bishop is in prison. Two have been murdered. Three have been inducted into the army in an apparent effort to keep them from discharging their office.

While not listed under the persecuted bishops special attention must be drawn to the many bishops in Yugoslavia who have been beaten, bruised, and bloodied by organized mobs of Communist ruffians. One of these bishops—Bishop Cyril Banic, apostolic administrator of Sibenik—was flogged so brutally that months later he has still not been able to resume his episcopal duties.

Here, country by country, follow the names and fates of the 155 victims of Communist persecution:

ALBANIA

Archbishop Nicholas Prennushi, O. F. M., of Durres (died in prison).

Bishop Francis Gjini of Lezh (executed).

Bishop George Volaj of Sappa (executed).

BULGARIA

Bishop Eugen Bossilkoff, C. P., of Nikopol (sentenced to death, but believed still alive in prison).

Bishop John Romanoff, vicar apostolic of Sofia and Plovdiv (in prison; facing "trial").

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial is most apropos. It is from the December 1953 issue of the Journal of the American Judicature Society:

One Congressman told the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries that he couldn't vote for a raise for himself without displeasing the folks back home. We don't believe it. Much higher salaries for labor leaders have not been begrudged by union members. They have gotten their money's worth. We don't believe the taxpayers are content for business and industry to continue to have first pick of topflight brains and administrative talent. Government is our biggest business. To hesitate to pay Members of Congress in reasonable proportion to what private industry pays those who manage its affairs, while expecting them to be responsible for a multi-multi-billion dollar business, is indeed to strain at a very young and undernourished gnat while swallowing, not just a camel, but a herd of elephants.

I Am a Revolutionist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article appeared in the January issue of the VFW magazine entitled "I Am a Revolutionist," by Edward A. Rossit. In clear, straightforward language, Mr. Rossit shows how we Americans should support a revolution in the Soviet Union.

I include herewith the article by Mr. Rossit:

I AM A REVOLUTIONIST

(By Edward A. Rossit)

I am a revolutionist. I suppose I've been one all of my life. As a matter of fact, most Americans are revolutionists. We've let the Communists steal the word away from us, and they very cunningly give it their own meaning. That's an old Communist trick—the word-stealing business. Take the words "democracy" and "comrade," for example.

To me revolution means change—change of government or change of a system, or a change of one kind or another. To an indoctrinated Communist, the word "revolution" means no change from the Red regime in the Kremlin. A genuine revolution there would be called in their twisted semantics antirevolutionary or counterrevolutionary since it would strive to overthrow their regime.

Why should we use words as defined by the Kremlin? A revolution in the Soviet Union would be just as much of a revolution as one transpiring anyplace else. Why call it anything else?

As far as I'm concerned, I would be very happy to see such a revolution. If I thought I could be of assistance in any way, I don't think I would hesitate very long before committing myself.

We Americans change our President every 4 years, or else we vote the incumbent an additional 4 years of tenure. This is a rotation or revolution. It is not a violent revolution, nor a bloody one, but it is revolutionary nevertheless.

We revolted against taxation without representation and against royal tyranny in 1776. We have been revolting against anything we dislike ever since then.

Our American revolution, the first of its kind anywhere in the world, established an ideal government through which those governing acquired their powers from those being governed. It become, in other words, a "peoples' government." Much of the world has yet to reach this ideal state. The suffering masses under Soviet domination would regard it as heaven on earth if they could achieve the political freedom, and the individual dignity, which we Americans have so long enjoyed. They would love to have a real "peoples' government."

Outside of the Iron Curtain there are many millions of others, in many nations, who still yearn for the personal freedom, and the control over their governments, which all Americans enjoy, and which so many of us take for granted.

As an American revolutionist, I say let's help all people who want to be as free as we are. If the citizens of a nation in South America revolt against a military dictatorship in an attempt to establish a free and democratic government, I cannot sit back aloofly and call this a "banana revolution." I must feel strongly for the side of freedom. If I can possibly help, even if only through financial contributions, I feel obligated to do so.

When I compare the governments of the world today, the worst forms of tyranny pale into insignificance—and actually begin to look moderate—when compared to the utter regimentation of human bodies and human souls under the Soviet regime.

The vastness of this domination, and the detailed completeness of its control are all but impossible for an average American to understand. The Average American, for example, has probably never understood the full meaning of the phrase that "silence is criminal, within the Soviet Union. What does this mean? Ask your wife. Ask your husband. Ask the person sitting next to you. Few know the real answer.

The doctrine that "silence is criminal" stems from the Communist conception of "he who is not with us is against us." It means that passive opposition to communism is outlawed in Iron Curtain countries. As a subject of the Communist slave state, you must enthusiastically and publicly acclaim all that is done. As Kravchenko, the noted White Russian, put it, you must not only allow the boot to kick you in the face. You must also lick the boot afterward and thank it for calling your wrongs to your attention.

I remember speaking to many Germans who had lived under both Hitler's Nazi regime and under the Soviet occupation. All agreed that communism is worse; all agreed on the reason why. The Communists won't leave you alone. Hitler was satisfied, if you opposed him, if you merely kept your mouth shut and said nothing.

Not so the Communists. You cannot sulk in the privacy of your miserable quarters; you must parade frequently and enthusiastically; you must praise communism publicly and privately and profusely; you cannot remain silent, *for* "silence is criminal."

Could anything be more absurd to an American? If ever a revolution were needed, is it not exactly within such a system? Why not term such a notion "counterrevolutionary"? Why don't we openly support revolution against such a terrible system?

We Americans should be in favor of any Russian revolution we may learn about. We should favor such a revolution because we feel a brotherhood for any human being who aspires to be free and is ready to fight for his freedom. But even more practically we should support Russian revolutionists as a matter of self-interest.

If the masters of the Kremlin were content with enslavement of only those people who live within the borders of Russia, our self-

interest would not necessarily enter into the question, only our idealism. But we already know that they will not be content until they have seized control of the entire world—of you and of me. By their frank admission of their aims and intentions, they give us a personal reason for entering into the battle against them. That reason is self-preservation as free men.

The best defensive has never won a war, a battle, or even a skirmish. It is pointless of us to simply say we are anti-Communist. We can be antisin or antiwarm beer. But what are we for? What can we do that is positive? Negative attitudes make oratory and literature. Positive attitudes make history.

The traditional answer for Americans is revolution. We are profreedom. We are proindividual human dignity. We have it ourselves. We morally support others who would join us among the ranks of free men.

There has been entirely too much talk about Wall Street exploitation, about American imperialism, etc. A good part of the fault lies with us. We Americans are one of the most revolutionary countries in the world today. Our revolution has succeeded and continues to be successful. Yet we accept Communist definitions of words, but deny the truth of their sentences.

If America is imperialistic, where is the list of nations we have conquered and which we dominate? There is no such list. Soviet Russia is imperialistic. You can prove Soviet imperialism and expansionism by merely listing all the nations which once were free but which have since been captured by them.

We are not imperialistic. We Americans are against imperialism. The Soviet Union practices imperialism. These are the simple facts, stated with words used as the dictionary defines them.

There are some 60 million Americans gainfully and voluntarily employed. The remainder consists of a few unemployed and wives, parents, children, and other dependents. We are, therefore, essentially a nation of fellow workers, and hard workers at that.

In the Soviet Union some 10 to 20 million people are slaves, confined to concentration camps and enduring forced labor and unbelievably miserable lives. Honestly defined, they are fellow slaves.

All over the world people are, generally speaking, more formal to each other than we are in the United States. We don't like titles. We don't care for formality. We can be introduced to a complete stranger and a few moments later call each other by our first names. We are all friendly. We are comrades. In this case, however, comrade is not a title such as mister or senor or captain. It is merely a word which denotes informality, companionship, and friendship.

The next time you hear a Communist shooting off his mouth, remember that all the words he uses have dictionary meanings. Accept what he says by the true meaning of his words, and not by the Kremlin definition.

When he starts out by saying "Fellow workers," remember that most of the people in the crowd probably are your fellow workers. They are not his fellow workers, because the people of the country he represents are slaves in every sense of the word.

When he says that we should do everything we can "to fight imperialism," agree with him and do everything you can to fight further Communist growth.

When he says he is against slave labor laws, remember that all of us are against slave labor laws. The trouble is that the only slave labor laws we know about are fashioned in Moscow and we can't do much to repeal such legislation.

When he says he is against lynching, just remember that we are too. Lynching is a terrible thing. About the only thing worse that I can think of than lynching, and it is really much worse, is extracting confessions from innocent people through inhuman torture. A victim of lynching at least dies quickly.

Finally, when he says "there should be a revolution," agree with him completely. A revolution in Russia is the one thing the peace-loving free world needs the most. That's the quickest way to produce peace and prosperity for people everywhere. Nothing could make the free world happier than a big, bloody commissar-killing revolution in Russia.

To arms, comrades and fellow workers. Strike now against the imperialistic Soviet warmongers. Let's support a Russian revolution. Let's pray for a real peoples' government for the citizens of Russia and peace for the rest of a troubled universe.

Rochambeau, French Hero of American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an historical account by the Associated Press newsfeature writer, Arthur Edson, published by the New York Times and other newspapers on Sunday, August 16, 1953. The article tells of Charles Parmer, of Virginia, starting the Rochambeau victory-road project in the United States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHAMBEAU HELD A FORGOTTEN HERO—RADIOMAN CRUSADES TO MAKE KNOWN TO ALL FRENCH GENERAL WHO AIDED UNITED STATES REVOLUTION

WASHINGTON, August 15.—Who were the two great French generals who helped win the Revolutionary War?

Easy? Lafayette and—and—and—

Few people can name No. 2, but Charles Parmer knows the answer.

Mr. Parmer is a dedicated man. He is convinced that Rochambeau is the forgotten hero of the Revolution, and is busy trying to get him remembered.

One way, he thinks, is to mark the route the 4,000 French troops took 172 summers ago as they marched 756 miles from Rhode Island, through Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland into Virginia. There, at Yorktown, they helped defeat Cornwallis.

Across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House stand two impressive statues of equal prominence. One is for Lafayette, known by almost all Americans. The other is for Rochambeau.

Mr. Parmer, a 55-year-old radio commentator, became interested in Rochambeau when he was a youngster. He came across a family heirloom, a flageolet, sort of an old-fashioned flute. It had belonged to a great-great-grandfather who had served under Rochambeau, returned to France, and later immigrated here.

A MAN WITH A PHILOSOPHY

Great-great-grandfather had an imposing name, Pierre Julian de Masse, and a wonderful philosophy. "He never did a lick of work in his life," Mr. Parmer said. "Just sat on the veranda and played that flageolet."

Mr. Parmer served in World War I and next heard of Rochambeau when he was sent to the University of Toulouse after the Armistice. He soon learned the French were well informed of Rochambeau's American visit and why.

"The men with Rochambeau," he said, "wrote home to beat the band. Their letters have been kept by their descendants. Everywhere I went I kept running into people who had an ancestor who was with Rochambeau."

Mr. Parmer's enthusiasm has led to formation of an organization to erect markers along the line of march. Fortunately, existing roads pretty well follow the route, so the job is not too difficult.

Mr. Parmer wants to make sure no one thinks he is knocking Lafayette. "We're not taking a blessed thing from that man," he says.

Nor is he surprised that Lafayette has captured our fancy, while Rochambeau has been almost forgotten.

"Lafayette was dashing and young," Mr. Parmer explains, "the perfect picture of the cavalier. He spoke excellent English and commanded American troops. Naturally, they wrote home what a fine leader he was. And Lafayette returned to this country twice after the war, and was given a tremendous reception each time."

PRAISE GIVEN BY HISTORIAN

On the other hand, the fellow with that imposing name—Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau—was 55, a lifelong professional soldier.

When he was named to head the French troops to be sent to the struggling Colonies, he could not speak a word of English. And at the end of the war he went home for keeps.

But the late Douglas Southall Freeman, in his biography of Washington, credited the French with the assist that made the Revolution successful. Rochambeau with his well-drilled troops arrived at a time when Washington was believed to have thought he was about at the end of his rope. They stayed on and what looked like a hopeless cause turned into victory.

Speaking of the help given by the French, Washington wrote to Lafayette in October 1782: "It may, I believe, with much truth be said that a greater harmony between two armies never subsisted."

And Mr. Freeman said Washington could well have added this sentence:

"This in large measure was because of Rochambeau."

All in all, Mr. Parmer is convinced, Rochambeau was a man well worth remembering.

Archbishop O'Boyle Urges Believers of All Faiths To Join in the Crusade Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, of Washington, D. C., in his sermon at St. Matthew's Cathedral on December 27, 1953, urged the believers of all faiths, both Christian and non-Christian, to unite in a crusade of prayer and protest to lift the scourge of communism from mankind.

The archbishop pointed out that the struggle between communism and reli-

gion was worldwide and was directed against all faiths and all believers in God.

The archbishop's appeal for unity of all faiths in the struggle against communism was made in conjunction with the Catholic church's Day of Reparation for the sins of mankind which have given rise to the Communist evil.

I include herewith the sermon of Archbishop O'Boyle, entitled "Communist War on Religion":

"It is written: 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.' (Matthew 26: 31.)"

In the year 1937, Pope Pius XI warned the world against the fearful dangers of atheistic communism in these words: "For the first time in history we are witnessing a struggle, cold blooded in purpose and mapped out to the least detail, between man and 'all that is called God.' Communism is by its nature antireligious. It considers religion as 'the opiate of the people' because the principles of religion which speak of a life beyond the grave dissuade the working people from the dream of a Soviet paradise which is of this world." (On Atheistic Communism.) In another message, he warned that when communism seeks "to achieve these objectives, there is nothing which it does not dare, nothing for which it has respect or reverence; and when it has come to power, it is incredible and portentous in its cruelty and inhumanity." (On Reconstructing the Social Order.)

COMMUNISM SEEKS TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF ALL RELIGION

When the Holy Father wrote these words, many persons did not choose to read or attend to his warning. Some were taken in by the glittering promises and ideal pattern of government. Others rejected communism, but held that it was a weak growth in backward countries and could never be a menace to the great powers of the world. There were even those who rejoiced at the blood bath of the church in Spain, holding that it was the excesses of Catholicism and not the barbarity of communism which provoked the cruelty of the commissars.

Today, the thoughtful person will admit that the Holy Father spoke with the voice of prophecy. What he saw clearly in the 1930's only the blindly partisan will deny in the 1950's. A war is raging today—not the cold war between the Western Powers and the forces behind the Iron Curtain—but the even more deadly war between the atheistic leaders of the Kremlin and "all that is called God." Communism today is seeking nothing less than the total destruction of religion in the areas under its control.

ORTHODOX, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT, JEWISH, MOSLEM, AND BUDDHIST RELIGIONS ALL PERSECUTED

We cannot stress this point too strongly. The first victim of this war was our ancient and venerable sister church in Russia. Next was the Catholic Church in Spain. Then Jew, Moslem, Buddhist, and Protestant were each singled out as victims. For a while the defenders of Marxism could say that they were not opposed to religion as such, but only to the abuses in the Orthodox Church of Russia. They would argue that they did not attack the Catholic faith, but only the so-called politically minded hierarchy, subject to the Vatican. Their attack on the Jewish faith was thinly veiled as a repudiation of Zionism. With the Moslems, it was supposed to be Arab imperialism which was fought. So the refrain went, but the relentless unveiling of the truth has demolished the lies of the propagandists. Communism stands indicted and convicted today as the foe of human freedom and dignity, a violator of our basic rights, an arrogant upstart whose clenched fist is raised in defiance of the Almighty.

RELIGION ITSELF, NOT JUST THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS, THE ENEMY OF COMMUNISM

Religion is the enemy, not the trumped-up political crimes of church leaders. It is the faith of the ordinary man which is the object of attack; the leaders of the church are singled out merely to dramatize the terror of the regime and to strike fear in the hearts of all believers. Prominent names make headlines, and the trials of Cardinals Stepinac, Mindszenty, and the arrest of Cardinal Wyszynski were dramatic and newsworthy. But millions of victims suffer silently, unknown to the press of the world. They are numbers, not names, buried in the cold anonymity of a silent execution or the living death of slave-labor camps.

The voices of these silent victims would cry in tones of thunder were their story to be known to the world. Let me speak for a moment to tell the tale of these silent sufferers. Go with me to a slave-labor camp in the desolate wastes of Siberia. See the picture of an old man, bearded and bent, shuffling along carrying heavy logs. The work is beyond his strength, but he dare not falter lest the savage dogs of the guards be set upon him. Who is this man? He is a rabbi, a leader of a small congregation of Jewish believers. What was his crime? He insisted on gathering the faithful in his house to worship in the manner that God had revealed to His chosen people. For this awful crime he was accused of zionism and sent to join the army of the silent.

JEW, PROTESTANT, AND CATHOLIC VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM

Is his case exceptional? On the contrary, only a few years ago the Jewish Labor Committee submitted to the United Nations a documented charge that every phase of Jewish life is being stamped out among the 2½ million Jewish behind the Iron Curtain. Schools and synagogues are being obliterated. The crowning atrocity of all—thousands of Jews who miraculously survived the concentration camps of Hitler are back in these very same camps as prisoners of the Communist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania.

Let me pick out another victim—this time it is a young man in his middle 30's. He was a Lutheran pastor from Latvia. In the year 1947 he defied the government edict forbidding the celebration of Christmas. He gathered his small congregation to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Peace. For this offense he was condemned as an enemy of the people. He and his flock were summarily packed off in the bitter cold of winter, in unheated cattle cars, for the long trip to a life of prison labor.

Protestant religious life in an organized fashion has been practically wiped out in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria. It survives only with the greatest difficulty in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Protestant missions and works of mercy in China have been closed. The record is clear; any believer in God, any person whose conscience rebels against the gross injustices of communism, is considered an enemy of this regime.

Cruel as these stories are, they are mild compared with the afflictions visted upon the religious women in China. Nuns who had given up their lives to ministering to the sick, the orphan, the homeless, and abandoned poor were beaten by howling mobs. They were accused of being foreign spies, murderers of children, enemies of the people. If ever we wanted a clear demonstration of the Satanic nature of communism, it is found in the "brain washing" that has debased the Chinese Reds. The people of China, as we know, are gentle and cultured. They respect the aged and revere family life. Yet, under this fiendish system, children denounce their parents. They hurl curses upon their elders. They beat and spit upon their benefactors, such as the unselfish nuns who gave so much to that ancient land.

Of them we can say, as Saint Paul thundered against the pagans of his day: "And as they have resolved against possessing the knowledge of God, God has given them up to a reprobate sense, so that they do what is not fitting, being filled with all iniquity * * *; being full of envy, murder, contention, deceit, malignity; being whisperers, detractors, hateful to God, irreverent, proud, haughty, plotters of evil; disobedient to parents, foolish, dissolute, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy." (Romans, 1: 28–32.)

It is clear that the struggle between communism and religion is worldwide. It is directed against all faiths, against the simple believer as well as the leaders of churches. If tolerance is practiced at some times and in certain places, it is only an expedient dictated by the tactical needs of the moment. The long-term strategy of communism envisions only one goal: the complete destruction of religion.

BELIEVERS OF ALL FAITHS SHOULD JOIN IN CRUSADE OF PRAYER AND PROTEST TO LIFT THE SCOURGE OF COMMUNISM FROM MANKIND

Faced with this enemy, all believers should join in a crusade of prayer and protest, of common prayer to the Almighty that He might spare us this scourge; of protest to the nations of the world, that they might denounce this crime against humanity. Such a plea was made 16 years ago by Pope Pius XI. He said: "In this battle joined by the powers of darkness against the very idea of divinity, it is our fond hope that, besides the host which glories in the name of Christ, all those—and they comprise the overwhelming majority of mankind—who believe in God and pay Him homage may take a decisive part. We therefore renew the invitation * * * invoking their loyal and hearty collaboration 'in order to ward off from mankind the great danger that threatens all alike'." (On Atheistic Communism, No. 72.)

May I respectfully and humbly repeat this invitation to all believers in God, indeed to all who recognize the dignity and worth of man, to unite in a crusade against atheistic, imperial communism. First of all, this should be a crusade of prayer and reparation to Almighty God for the evils perpetrated upon believers of all nations and creeds. We can make our own the prayer of the dying Saviour: "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do." We can pray that the blessings of peace once more descend upon the world as a gift of the Prince of Peace. Let us never forget, in our preoccupation with political controversy and world affairs, that our struggle is not merely against flesh and blood, but against the spirits of evil who seem to have taken possession of the Communist blasphemers.

Let us not be diverted in this crusade by the antagonisms and grievances which too often divide us. This is not the occasion to enter into the issues which have unfortunately caused incidents of religious intolerance in our land. With half the world in flames, should we argue over precedence in putting out the fire? Or should we rather all walk humbly before God, admitting our sins and pleading that the scourge of communism be lifted from the earth?

Together with prayer, the churches and synagogues of America should raise their voices in protest against the terrible persecution of believers behind the Iron Curtain. Our Government can proudly boast its concern for the rights of man and the basic freedoms which flow from human dignity. Is it too much to ask that we join with other free nations of the world in a request for a formal investigation by the United Nations

of this diabolical attempt to exterminate all religion? May we not call upon our delegates to international conferences to remain steadfast in holding to safeguards for basic human rights in all agreements among nations?

MORAL STRENGTH OF BELIEVERS CAN WIN OVER NEUTRALS AND ENHEARTEN THE ENSLAVED

We know that the rulers of the Kremlin respect only force of arms and not principles of right or wrong. But there are tens of millions of peoples in the world who have retreated to the sidelines in this struggle. Against such indifference or neutralism, the voice of protest for the right of faith will have a powerful effect. Even behind the Iron Curtain—and it does not completely cut out the voice of the free world—there will be millions heartened by our solidarity with them in their hour of trial.

The power of arms is great, and we do not underestimate the tragedy of atomic warfare. But let us not underestimate the power of the spirit and the greatness of truth. The church has known in other ages the dark hours of persecution. Thousands of martyrs have sealed their faith with their blood. Yet the church has emerged from the catacombs to rise to new heights of achievement. So it is today. If now the darkness of Calvary seems to prevail over vast regions of the earth, let us remember that Calvary was followed by Easter morn and the glory of the Resurrection. Christ told His followers to take courage, for He had conquered the world. This is the certainty of our faith. With such a faith, we shall not despair. Rather we go forward in trust and hope, knowing that He who has begun in us His good work, will perfect the same; that He who founded His church upon the rock of Peter, will be with us as a faithful protector, even to the end of the world.

New Senate Radio-Television Gallery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the new radio and television facilities in the Capitol. I think it is worth while that each and every Member of Congress be advised on this matter. It will be an improved means of communication to the public of what is going on in the Senate of the United States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO-TV FIND A HOME ON CAPITOL HILL

Radio and television have a new and bigger stature on Capitol Hill, after more than 16 years of taking a back seat in facilities for reporting Washington affairs to the Nation.

Just completed are remodeled studios on the gallery floor of the Senate wing of the United States Capitol which will accommodate all major radio and TV networks, four major TV film services and 35 individual radio stations or special news services.

Here, away from the gilded halls and corridors of the historic Senate, newsmen can interview legislators, tape shows, and produce radio or TV programs in a setting which resembles the most modern broadcast studio layout in the country.

Cost of the remodeling, under direction of Capitol Architect David Lynn and his assistant, Arthur E. Cook, was $33,000, appropriated last summer by the 83d Congress which begins its 2d session Wednesday.

NOMENCLATURE: G–25

The remodeled room, G–25, is located in one of the many rooms which are adjacent to the Senate Chamber's seating gallery. It is next door to the Press Gallery which houses the many correspondents covering Senate proceedings for the Nation's newspapers and wire services.

The gallery now contains a new TV studio, 20 by 15¼ feet, which has acoustical doors permitting two studios, 10 by 15¼ feet, to film two separate shows at the same time. For radio, there is a 12 by 6 foot studio, and two 7 by 5 foot studios, the latter studios also separated from each other by acoustical doors.

Stairs lead up to a mezzanine (17x12½ ft.) which is used for files, power, telephones and air conditioning controls. Office space measures 28 feet 3 inches by 8 feet 10 inches. Lines are included for any of the radio and TV networks to use any of the studios. Acoustical tile and grid lighting are among the many installations.

This is a departure from the former makeshift arrangement which complicated production. Whenever it was necessary to accommodate more than one show, or when a big issue broke in the Senate, near pandemonium would ensue in the gallery.

The before broadcasting history of the room goes back to 1859 when the Senate wing was opened. So far as Capitol records show, first occupant was the Committee on Claims. Later, when the Committee on Privileges and Elections was there for several years, the room was the scene of famous hearings held on contests for Senate seats. It was in G–25 that Senator Rush Holt, elected before he was eligible (he was under the constitutional age), successfully resisted ouster efforts.

Leslie Biffle as secretary to the Democratic majority was assigned the room in 1933 and in the thirties it was the rendezvous point for Senatorial strategy for the debates of early New Deal days.

FIRST SPACE IN 1937

When first the radio news fraternity was recognized (1937) and permitted access to the galleries, a 6- by 12-foot room was made available and later the space was doubled. The first major show: Description of the funeral of Senator William E. Borah. In 1941, H. R. Baukhage broadcast for NBC a description of the Senate war declaration against Germany.

More space (about 28 by 28 feet) was turned over to radio use when Michigan's Arthur Vandenburg gave up claim to G–25's full area.

It was then 1945. The day after Franklin D. Roosevelt died, the room was jammed with newsmen recording a series of interviews with Members of the Senate.

Soon after Harry S. Truman became President, the expanded gallery was formally dedicated on radio's 25th anniversary with Mr. Truman cutting the ribbon. Nearly all of the Senate was present.

Television made its entry in 1947 with a live show telecast by NBC. Earl Godwin, Richard Harkness, and Robert McCormick were featured in a round-table discussion of current affairs. Senator WILLIAM LANGER, Republican, of North Dakota, was the first Senator filmed there (for NBC-TV's Camel Caravan).

With TV making film demands, part of the gallery was reapportioned in 1949 to permit a few lights to be installed in one of the small, original studios. More than half the Members of the Senate were filmed there.

A move, backed by Senators HOMER FERGUSON, Republican, of Michigan, and BURNET R. MAYBANK, Democrat, of South Carolina, to add a portion of the corridor adjacent to the gallery for TV use was put in legislation which failed during the 82d Congress and the first session of the current Congress. Efforts will be made for reconsideration.

But, in the meantime, demands were great on the limited area being used. Seven network and the independent members of the Radio and Television Correspondents Association worked out the plan which reaches fruition today.

The gallery must take over the sundry (and often unexpected) demands of 155 correspondents, working for radio and television.

The new layout, it is expected, will keep the traffic problems down to a minimum while permitting production of radio recordings, live pickups (radio or TV), forum shows, filmings, and relays to be unhampered.

Importance of Reserve Units

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter I have received from the officers of the Shreveport, La., chapter of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States:

RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES,
SHREVEPORT CHAPTER,
Shreveport, La., January 8, 1954.

Hon. OVERTON BROOKS,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROOKS: As the officers of the Shreveport chapter of the Reserve Officers Association, we are deeply concerned by the information that in the near future both of the local Engineer Reserve units are to be moved from Shreveport. Accordingly, we want to inform you promptly and to request your assistance in effecting the retention of these units.

We are informed that the reason for the removal of these units is the failure of the units to maintain a required minimum enlisted strength. Even with vigorous and sustained recruiting efforts on the part of all concerned, experience shows that as long as no provision is made for requiring obligated reservists to join Active Reserve units, the incentives of pay and retirement are considered by most enlisted reservists as insufficient in view of the time and obligations required of them.

We agree that a well-balanced Reserve program should include enlisted personnel in active units. However, we see nothing to be gained by the removal of a unit which is admittedly short of this goal but which is at the same time giving unit training to those individuals who are now in the program and who are doubtless the best hope for recruiting more enlisted reservists.

The units in question are the Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 312th Engineer Group (Construction), and the 275th Engineer Combat Battalion, which is a unit of the 75th Infantry Division. These units are the only engineer units in this area, and we feel that their removal would not only be a loss to the community but to the Defense Department and the individual reservists concerned.

We feel that there is no substitute nor equivalent for unit training. Individuals trained as individuals or students have, of course, gotten much good fundamental and technical training, but when the situation requires their mobilization and utilization, those who have been so fortunate as to have had unit training will much more readily begin to function as a team.

We believe the only hope for the active participation of sufficient numbers of obligated reservists lies in implementation and enforcement of the law as now written. However, until this is done, we strongly protest the abandonment of the Active Reserve training program because of inability to achieve an arbitrary enlisted strength.

Your valuable assistance has in the past brought many changes and improvements and with this in mind, we ask that you give this matter serious consideration and join us in what we believe to be action necessary to the best interests of the national defense.

Very truly yours,

Lt. Col. JOHN G. COOKE,
United States Air Force Reserve,
President.

Maj. JESSE W. WOOD,
Artillery, United States
Army Reserve,
Executive Vice President.

Lt. Col. GLENN L. SHEPHERD,
Corps of Engineers, United States
Army Reserve,
Vice President for Army.

Capt. BILL GUYNES,
United States Marine Corps Reserve,
Vice President for Navy.

Maj. KELLEY P. WOMACK,
United States Air Force Reserve,
Vice President for Air.

Capt. JOHN E. RODGERS,
Artillery, United States Army,
Treasurer.

Capt. ADRIAN R. SNIDER,
Quartermaster Corps, United
States Army Reserve,
Secretary.

Aftermath of the FBI Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 13, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Aftermath of the FBI Report," which appeared in the Washington Post on Thursday, November 19, 1953, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

This editorial is based upon a thorough analysis of the testimony before the Internal Security Subcommittee in connection with the case of Harry Dexter White.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AFTERMATH OF THE FBI REPORT

In the light of former President Truman's speech and Attorney General Brownell's testimony it becomes important to ask whether the course followed in the Harry Dexter White case protected the security of the United States. The FBI report of February 4, 1946, alerted Mr. Truman to the fact that a spy ring was operating within his administration. He decided to leave that ring temporarily undisturbed while the FBI pursued its investigation. Great interest thus centers on the administration's subsequent action after a reasonable time for completion of the investigation had elapsed.

Mr. Truman took sole responsibility for this course of action. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, has since made known that he thought it a mistake to keep White in office. His testimony indicates that the Attorney General at that time, Tom Clark, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Fred M. Vinson, took a similar view, Secretary of State Byrnes had previously urged Mr. Truman to get rid of White. After seeing the President, Attorney General Clark even advised the FBI chief that an effort would be made to remove White, but nothing came of it.

In explaining his decision, Mr. Truman said: "I want the American people to understand that the course we took protected the public interest and security and, at the same time, permitted the intensive FBI investigation then in progress to go forward. No other course could have served both of these purposes." This suggests that Mr. Truman was intensely interested in the outcome of the investigation and was willing to take substantial risks to avoid interference with it. Consequently, it is reasonable to ask what use he made of the fuller information thus supposedly obtained.

For enlightment on this point we turn to what happened to the persons named in the February 4, 1946, FBI report as associates of White in a Soviet espionage ring. One month after the report was received at the White House, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, named by an FBI informant as the head of the spy ring aided by White, was promoted to a position in the War Assets Administration. Harold Glasser, described in the report as an active member of the espionage ring, was promoted by Secretary Snyder from assistant director to director of the Treasury's Division of Monetary Research, and was made White's adviser in the monetary fund. Instead of being kept under close surveillance, he was sent to Geneva and Trieste on American delegations, and in 1947 went to Moscow as an adviser to Secretary of State Marshall. This was more than a year after his alleged spying activities had been reported to the President.

Frank Coe, also named in the 1946 FBI report, became secretary of the monetary fund at White's behest and continued to serve until a year ago. Victor Perlo was still in the Treasury a year after the report had been made. Irving Kaplan left the Government in 1948 to take a job in the U. N. William Ullman, to whom White is accused of supplying confidential documents, remained for some time at the Treasury without any apparent restrictions on his activity. These cases are typical of the 10 persons named in the FBI report as associates of White in the Silvermaster espionage ring. According to the Attorney General, all these persons have since refused to answer questions about their alleged espionage activities on the ground that their answers might tend to incriminate them.

In the face of this record, Mr. Truman ought to tell the country the precise steps he took to rid the Government of suspected spies. Most of those named in the report left the Government within a few years after the report went to the White House. Were they ultimately fired? Or were they allowed to resign with warm praise, as in the case of White and Glasser? The country would also like to know what precautions were taken to prevent suspected spies from betraying their country while still in office under surveillance. Were secret official documents kept out of their reach? Was all the Cabinet alerted to the possible dangers?

Attorney General Brownell has asserted that the records fail to show that anything was done which interfered with the continued functioning of the espionage ring of which White was a part. If Mr. Truman has records to refute this, they certainly should be forthcoming. From what is now known the least that can be said is that the results of putting the spy ring under surveillance were of a hit-or-miss variety. None of the alleged members of the ring has been prosecuted. And for all the public knows, the alleged traitors were left to filter out of the Government service at their own convenience.

Hon. Peter W. Rodino, of New Jersey, Urges U. N. Action To Free the Primate of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, cited below are the remarks of the Hon. PETER W. RODINO on the case of Cardinal Wyszynski, as they appeared in the Polish-American Journal December 26, 1953:

REPRESENTATIVE RODINO URGES DULLES TO BRING CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S CASE BEFORE U. N.

NEWARK, N. J.—In a letter to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Congressman PETER W. RODINO, JR., Democrat, of New Jersey, urged that the United States present the facts about Cardinal Wyszynski to the proper organ of the United Nations.

Representative RODINO informed Secretary Dulles that he wholeheartedly supports the resolution passed at the protest rally held recently at the Polish Falcons Hall, Nest 104.

Mr. RODINO pointed out to the Secretary of State that if the case of Cardinal Wyszynski goes unnoted "further transgressions against religious leaders will be even more likely, not only against the Catholics, but against all sects, not only in Poland, but in every country under Communist sway."

Congressman RODINO'S letter to Secretary Dulles is, in part, as follows:

"Since 1949 the Communist regime in Poland has conducted an intense surveillance over the activities of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the church remained a powerful bulwark against Communist incursions into the spiritual domain. In spite of the arrest and imprisonment of many church leaders on flimsy pretexts and trumped-up charges, Polish Catholics under the leadership of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski proved unyielding to the blandishment of the Communists.

"This past year, however, the Communists launched a new attack on the church. The clergy were spied upon more closely and arrests increased. By July there were six bishops and several hundred priests in prison.

"The climax to these shocking events came in September, when Cardinal Wyszynski himself was arrested and forced into retirement in a monastery. His only crime was that he had dared to protest against the mass imprisonments of the clergy and indignities against the church. This arrest of the Roman Catholic primate of Poland is a final outrage which proves that the Communist leaders will stop at nothing to attain their atheistic goal.

"In this critical time, the United States must make every possible effort to maintain the courage and faith of the Polish people and other brave nationalities temporarily enslaved by the Kremlin. President Eisenhower has already expressed the condemnation felt by all American people. I believe the Government of the United States should

also officially protest this elimination of the spiritual leadership of an entire country in the forum of the United Nations.

"A resolution condemning the Communist Government of Poland would focus the attention of world opinion on the evils and dangers of communism. It would buoy up the spirits of those millions of Poles who in their hearts despise their Soviet overlords and long for the day when freedom will be theirs once again. It would usher the new year with hope, for it would prove that Cardinal Wyszynski has not been forgotten and that no act of totalitarian brutality can stifle the Christmas spirit."

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH BUTLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a radio broadcast made by me over a Nebraska radio station on January 10, 1954, and an editorial on the subject of the Bricker amendment, published in the Omaha World-Herald.

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fellow Nebraskans, this is your Senator, HUGH BUTLER, bringing you once again my regular monthly report on important national policies and problems that I think will be of interest to you.

Today I am going to devote most of my time talking to you about the so-called Bricker amendment which is one of the more important items to be considered by Congress this session.

The Bricker amendment, which is actually Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, was introduced in the Senate last January by Senator BRICKER and 62 other Senators, including myself. This resolution is popularly known as the Bricker amendment because Mr. BRICKER's name appears first on the resolution, and also because it is a proposed amendment to the United States Constitution. The purpose of the Bricker amendment is to change the United States Constitution to protect American rights and the American form of government against the dangers of treaty law. The amendment provides for three things:

Section 1: That no provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution of the United States shall be of any force or effect;

Section 2: A treaty shall be effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty.

Section 3: Congress shall have the power to regulate executive agreements and such agreements shall be subject to the same limitations as treaties.

At this point, you may be interested in the history of treaty law, and just why this amendment is so vital to the welfare of our country.

The Constitution of the United States operates as a guide for all laws made in this country. This simply means that a law passed by any legislative body which contradicts any portion of our Constitution is absolutely null and void. The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest court that decides this question. Whenever a law is passed by Congress, a State legislature, or any other legislative body that takes away the protection afforded by the Constitution, we always see such law challenged in the courts where it is declared to be unconstitutional; or in other words, to have no effect whatsoever. You may wonder why it is now necessary to amend the Constitution in order to maintain the freedom that we have enjoyed under our Constitution for over 175 years. All the trouble arises from a curious provision in our Constitution, which, up to now, has never been regarded as particularly dangerous. That provision is part of article 6 of the Constitution which provides, in substance, that all treaties shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. This part of the Constitution makes our Supreme Court powerless to do anything about a treaty which contradicts our Constitution or any of our laws. If the United States were to enter into a treaty with a foreign country, granting that country the right to come into your home and take your property, there is no way any court or law could help you. This possibility has existed since the beginning of our country, and perhaps you wonder why nothing has been done for 175 years.

Until about 30 years ago, our Supreme Court, by its decisions, said, in effect, that the United States could not make a treaty that is contrary to our Constitution. In 1920, the Supreme Court changed its mind by an opinion handed down in the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland*. For the first time in the history of this country the Supreme Court permitted the Federal Government to accomplish, under the auspices of a treaty with Canada, what the Constitution did not permit it to do in the absence of a treaty.

Another reason why this part of the Constitution has not been of particular concern until recently, is that for a long time treaties did not affect our normal, everyday lives. Prior to the organization of the United Nations, even lawyers took comparatively little interest in treaties between the United States and foreign countries. The question of trade agreements and boundaries could safely be left to the State Department, the President, and the Senate. When the United Nations was organized in 1945, a new doctrine was announced which stated that treaties should be used to make domestic law as well as international law. This deals with the right of citizens in their relationship to their own government.

Let us look at just one of the treaties being drafted by the United Nations and see how it could affect our lives if ratified by the Senate. There is now in preparation a draft statute for an international criminal court with authority to try American citizens for international crimes. This statute could easily permit American citizens to be tried before that court for criticising foreign governments or their officials. Article 37 of this statute provides that the trial shall be without a jury. Of the 9 judges on this court, at least 1 of them would be a Communist. Frankly, under these conditions, I would hate to have my liberty at stake before such a court.

Suppose now we analyze the three main sections of the Bricker amendment and see just how they operate to protect American rights and the American form of government against the dangers of treaty law. The first section firmly establishes that the Constitution is the supreme law of our land, and that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution cannot be bargained away by a treaty. A safeguard has always existed in that treaties are not effective until ratified by the Senate. However, in the past, Congress has passed laws which were later held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court does not now have the power to declare a treaty unconstitutional, and this necessary power would be granted to that Court under the Bricker amendment.

Section 2 prevents a treaty from becoming effective as internal law in the United States unless it is supplemented by an appropriate law which would be valid in the absence of such a treaty. Under this section of the amendment, a portion of a treaty dealing with international matters will take effect immediately, but any portion that deals with internal law will require additional legislation before it will have any legal effect.

Section 3 grants Congress the power to regulate executive agreements. This section does not tie the hands of the President beyond assuring that he does not, through executive agreements, alter our internal domestic law in a manner the Constitution does not permit of the Congress through legislation. A great deal of criticism has been directed toward section 3 of the Bricker amendment on the ground that the President will be greatly handicapped in making executive agreements. There is nothing in this section which compels Congress to regulate and pass on all executive agreements affecting foreign affairs. Under the amendment, the President can go ahead making executive agreements as freely as heretofore, but the Bricker amendment will authorize Congress to act, when in its judgment it is necessary to protect American interests against a President entering into such far-reaching and disastrous executive agreements as those of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. No longer will any President be able to call a treaty an executive agreement, and thus bypass the Senate and the Congress in committing the United States to international obligations of far-reaching effect.

Some of the people who oppose the Bricker amendment mention the role of the United States in world affairs, and claim that the amendment will hamper our foreign relations. Actually, the amendment safeguards, rather than hampers our conduct with foreign countries. I cannot agree with those who advocate that the world should be one big, happy family. No other country has been so generous as the United States in lending a helping hand to countries in need. Our boys have died on foreign soil in protecting a free way of life.

From time to time we hear proposals stemming from the United Nations that the Americans should embrace some form of world citizenship. I can think of nothing more disastrous than for us to lose our identity as American citizens. There is no way that we can save the world and achieve world peace by giving up American rights and American independence. Our forefathers fought a revolution to become an independent Nation. They fought for the right to be governed by laws made by their own elected Representatives. If we stand idly by, the United Nations organizations will make our laws through treaties, where the representatives of other nations have a majority voice in what these treaties shall cover, both as to language and as to content. We must not permit our basic right under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to be rewritten, compromised, and bargained away by United Nations treaties.

Whatever we do in world affairs, our first consideration should be the preservation of this country's integrity as a free, solvent, and independent Nation. The Bricker amendment, I believe, is a must to help preserve America.

[From the Omaha World-Herald]

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

"I believe I am missing something. What is this Bricker amendment?"

The above inquiry was addressed to this newspaper by Mrs. Ellen Pinske, of Bayard, Nebr.

Since it may be that other interested readers are not familiar with the amendment, we quote the essence of it below.

This is a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, offered by Senator JOHN BRICKER, of Ohio. It was favorably reported on last June 15 by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but did not come up for a vote in the Senate as a whole. If it is approved by both Houses of Congress, it will then be submitted to the States for ratification.

The full text of the proposed amendment, as it now stands, follows:

SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all Executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SEC. 5. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission.

Many Americans believe that this amendment is imperatively needed because of a weakness in the Constitution. In article VI this ancient and honored document provides: "* * * All treaties * * * shall be the supreme law of the land * * * anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

In recent years some judicial authorities have advanced the view that article VI makes treaties (which are not passed upon by the House of Representatives) equal to or superior to the Constitution. In the Steel Seizure case the Chief Justice, in a dissent, advanced the doctrine that the Charter of the United Nations and other international commitments gave the President authority to seize private property—even though the Constitution expressly forbids such action. Two other Justices joined in this view.

Since a large number of international compacts, conventions, agreements, or whatever, are now being negotiated by various do-good offshoots of the United Nations, the Bricker amendment has become an issue of considerable urgency.

If it is not adopted, there is at least a lively possibility that laws will be accepted via the treaty route which are completely foreign to the American concept, and which would never be approved by a Congress elected by the people.

If it is adopted, the American people and their Republic will be protected in this respect.

When first introduced, the Bricker amendment was also signed by some 60-odd other Senators, as cosponsors.

It is vigorously supported by the American Bar Association.

It is opposed chiefly by the most extreme internationalists and oneworlders—those who are so strongly in favor of world government that, to achieve it, they are willing to yield America's sovereignty.

In the opinion of this newspaper, this is one of the gravest issues which will confront the next session of Congress.

If the amendment is submitted by the Congress, and later ratified by the States, it will make no change whatever in the traditional American system of Government-by-law. It will simply reaffirm the people's faith in that system. It will say, in effect, to the President—any President, in any administration to come:

"As Presidents always have done, you may negotiate treaties concerning America's relations with foreign nations, and submit them to the Senate. But only the Congress, the whole Congress, acting under the Constitution, shall have the right to pass laws which the American people shall be required to obey."

Jordan River Valley Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY M. JACKSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Eric Johnston, personal representative of the President, on his mission to the Near East, delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting System radio network, from station WTOP, Washington, 10:45 to 11 p. m., Tuesday, December 1, 1953.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

From time immemorial, the Biblical waters of the Jordan have tumbled down the towering slopes of Mount Hermon in the Lebanon, paused in the Sea of Galilee, and rolled swiftly south to waste themselves in the salt depths of the Dead Sea.

The Jordan is a short silt-laden stream, plunging for most of its 200 miles through earth's deepest valley, a thousand feet below the level of the sea.

It is one of mankind's most beloved streams. It flows through the very heartlands of three great religions as consistently as it moves across the barren geography that confines its downward course.

From the banks of the Jordan, the ancient Israelites, wearied by years of wandering in the desert, first glimpsed the Promised Land. In its turgid waters, Jesus Christ was baptized by John. Along its winding course, the Prophet Mohammed preached the word of Allah.

Yes; the River Jordan has enriched history and song, but unhappily, not the arid lands through which it flows. These noble waters have held spiritual significance for man down through the ages, but they have given him relatively little material benefit.

And because the life-giving blessings of these waters are so sorely needed by the suffering peoples who today inhabit this hallowed and historic region, the President of the United States, only this October, commissioned me to go there bearing a proposal—a proposal intended ultimately to make the valley of the Jordan blossom and bloom as it never has before.

When the President first asked me to undertake this mission, I suggested in my stead other Americans whom I felt were better acquainted with the area and the situation there.

But, finally, with many misgivings, I followed the wishes of the President and set out for Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Israel.

I got no farther than Paris when word was received of new incidents and charges which inflamed the tensions between Arabs and Israelis and soon became the subject of United Nations Security Council discussions.

My first reaction, and I must say I did not have a second one until I had spoken with some of the leaders in the Near East, was that what little chance the mission had of succeeding in the first place, was now just about gone.

It was not long, however, before I realized that though such incidents increased the difficulties of the assignment, they also made it more urgent and necessary.

I am happy to say that in my capacity as personal representative of the President of the United States, I was received with the warm hospitality traditional to the region, and I was granted a courteous and attentive hearing wherever I went.

I would like to correct a general impression that developed at the very outset. I did not go to the Near East with a plan. What I had in my brief case was a proposal.

This proposal was to urge the careful consideration of a concept—a concept which envisioned the coordinated development of the Jordan River watershed. I am pleased to report that without exception, the statesmen of the affected countries are now studying that proposal.

Now it is true that I took with me charts and tables based on studies made by a distinguished American engineering firm working under the direction of the Tennessee Valley Authority at the behest of the United Nations, and which have since been issued in the form of a report by the United Nations agency responsible for the Arab refugees from Palestine.

The report also contained suggestions for the construction of dams and power stations without regard to national frontiers or political boundaries.

But I did not ask or expect a "yes" or "no" answer from anyone in connection with these suggestions. To the contrary, I did not feel that any definite reply made before careful consideration had been given to the proposal would be in order.

These studies, which themselves drew on previous research, do illustrate what can be done and how many material benefits can be showered on war victim and pioneer alike through the modern utilization of the water resources of the Jordan Basin.

Thanks to 20th century engineering practices and administrative coordination, it is estimated that nearly 240,000 acres of land now idle and unproductive can be put into the richest kind of production. Most of this land, of little use or value to anyone now, would yield 3 crops a year, so that by American standards we may figure that, in effect, the equivalent of some 720,000 acres would be put to fertile work, giving sustenance to hungry people, work to the idle, and new wealth and revenue to the nations involved.

What is more, in the course of parallel development, more than 65,000 additional kilowatts of power would be made available to turn the wheels of societies already on the move.

The proposal holds out real promise to all parties concerned. To the Arab leaders of the area, it offers a way to meet their people's growing demands for progress and a better life.

Mass lethargy in the Arab world is fast disappearing before the surge of new aspirations. It is a world in transition, straining

at the fetters of economic feudalism, seeking opportunities which our times offer.

Arab leadership is conscious of this vast stirring of peoples long quiescent. It knows that social revolution has begun and that it must lead that revolution or be swallowed up by it.

To Israel, on the other hand, the Jordan Valley development furthers the possibilities to forge ahead with ambitious and urgent plans to wrest every possible benefit from the meager resources on which Israel must depend.

To both the Arabs and Israelis it suggests a practical way of easing an explosive issue largely responsible for so much of the tension between them—the alleviation of the plight of the Arab refugees who fled their homes in Palestine.

I truly believe that the United Nations report will contribute to the well-being of all the peoples in the Near East. I hope the development will take the form this report recommends, or something like it, but in my conversations with the leaders of the Arab States and Israel I made it clear that modifications would be welcomed.

The main thing right now, however, is general support of the principle of development of the Jordan watershed in which each of the affected states would acknowledge a responsibility as well as advancing a claim. The precise nature of the plan finally adopted is a secondary matter so long as it is equitable, economic, and efficient.

Now one might ask, is it realistic to hope that nations still in a state of war could be expected to participate in any coordinated development?

I think it is practical and realistic so long as the coordinating is done by some agent above reproach and beyond prejudice. I should think that the United Nations could be trusted to do a fair and effective job.

It is not a prerequisite that any of the states involved commit themselves directly or indirectly to signing an agreement with any of its neighbors or of working with them. Each country could undertake unilateral commitments to the coordinating agency which could serve as a clearinghouse and a catalytic agent.

This, I might add, is part of the proposal I presented to Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, and it is being given consideration by their leaders.

Other questions which could readily be raised but which can be promptly answered are: "Why can't individual states go forward alone with independent irrigation and power projects involving the waters of the Jordan and its tributaries? Couldn't the benefits of the Jordan watershed be achieved piecemeal?"

The sad facts and frightening possibilities that stare us in the face make rhetorical questions out of such queries. In the first place, even if the Arabs and the Israelis were living in neighborly harmony and sweet bliss today, there would be sure to be a rumpus over the contested waters of the Jordan. It would at best be difficult to decide who is entitled to how much.

Squabbles over riparian rights and water use are as common—and often as violent—as romantic quarrels between suitors.

In our own country, Kansans and Coloradoans have tiffed over the Colorado River even when Arizonians and Californians have not. Being a Westerner myself, I am not unmindful of the disputes in the Snake River country.

The quarrels over water rights extend from the Rio Grande to the Helmand in Afghanistan and Iran—and back again—and they are usually settled only when there is some impartial authority on the ground.

It would not take much imagination to envision what would happen in the way of sabotage and even bloodshed if the waters of the Jordan were to remain unregulated indefinitely.

There is of course room for national water resource development plans by the affected states in the Jordan basin but to get maximum benefit and equity while avoiding violence, these, it seems to me, should be integrated within the framework of the general Jordan watershed development program.

Having spoken of the interests and the potential advantages of the Arab States and Israel in the development of the Jordan basin, my friends in the Middle East will, I know, understand if I now discuss for a moment the stake that the West has in such a program.

Of course, as religious people, Americans have something more than a passing interest in any dispute raging around the Holy Land, and we have some economic and political interests in the area, too.

For one thing, the American Government is spending $150 million a year in this area for general economic development and in the last 4 years we have contributed $154 million in support of the Arab refugees alone.

No one has to be on the inside in Washington these days to predict that much as we sympathize with unfortunate people the United States is not going to keep on spending that kind of money indefinitely. Certainly, we have a right to expect progress and improvement. Surely, it is not out of order for us to urge undertakings which will enable people to help themselves—just, as I am sure, they want to do.

Americans do not want to see communism spread and we know that human misery helps it do so. We want to combat misery and we are on the side of anyone who feels the same way and is willing to do something about it. We are not the only freedom-loving people on earth and we should not have the monopoly of combating Communist imperialism.

So we do have material as well as spiritual interest in the valley of the Jordan. It is a continuing one and for that reason I do not consider my mission ended. The President has asked me to return to the lands of the Jordan as soon as their leaders have had the opportunity to study our proposal.

As things now stand, I do think that the chances for coordinated development are much better than when I went out to the Near East a few weeks ago. I don't know whether one more journey will settle everything but if we continue to make progress there will be real reason for optimism.

If, as I hope, the historic waters of the Jordan bring new and green life to suffering people, then I think they will be thrice blessed. They will bless him that gives and him that takes. And they will also bless men of good will everywhere who would dearly love to see misery on the run in the land that first gave life to the treasured credos of us all—Christian, Jew, and Muslim.

Are We Becoming Economic Hypochondriacs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, remarks have been made on the floor of the Senate during the past few days which lead me to believe that it is timely to insert in the RECORD a very fine address entitled "Are We Becoming Economic Hypochondriacs?" delivered by Harold B. Wess, professor of business administration and retailing, American University, Washington, D. C., before the Washington Board of Trade on November 13, 1953. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We had better stop being economic hypochondriacs and become creative marketeers before we really become economically ill. To remain economically healthy will require a complete change of our present state of mind. This state of mind can best be characterized as hypochondria. Webster defines hypochondria as a mental disorder in which melancholy and gloomy views torment the affected person, particularly concerning his own health. If we substitute the word national health or business health we have a fairly good measure of our present state of mind.

A significant symptom of our hypochondria on the international scale is the undeniable fact that every time a Malenkov or his stooges sneeze, we catch a cold. We take our cues from others and are constantly fighting fears instead of learning not to be afraid. A hypochondriac constantly checks his pulse, his temperature, takes an assortment of colored pills, and in addition, keeps running to his doctor with imaginary aches and pains. The economic hypochondriac does exactly the same thing—he runs to Dr. Uncle Sam at the first sign of discomfort and, in addition, becomes the sucker for quack economic doctors as well.

Let us examine some of our recent victims of hypochondria. The landlord who could rent a furnished hole in the wall which he unashamedly called an apartment, sees the beginning of a depression because he can no longer profit because of a housing shortage. The person accustomed to making sales and profits on shoddy merchandise and poor service is panicky because a normal supply of merchandise and manpower is depriving him of customers who demand good merchandise as well as good service. If an automobile dealer can no longer let a customer have a car—notice I said, let the customer have instead of sell him—the depression for him is really on. It is so many years since salesmanship was necessary that he has forgotten the technique of selling.

In such a frame of mind it would not be surprising if the apparel retailer and manufacturer were to organize a "march on Washington" to ask Uncle Sam to bale them out of their heavy inventory and potential losses due to unseasonably hot weather during the month of October which, traditionally, is the beginning of the heavy fall and winter buying. Conceivably, the stock market operators might also organize a march on Washington every time the market goes down and they face substantial losses.

The trouble is that too many people with little or no experience went into enterprises because of the lure of easy profits during a period of shortage of supply. Because of their lack of experience, they are usually the first to be hurt and yell the loudest.

For years we have been living in a pressure economy with the pressures on the buying and not on the selling end. The percentage of responsible executives in industry today who have actually had to come to grips in a really competitive economy are small indeed, and the change to such a competitive economy scares many of them, thus creating some of our economic hypochondriacs.

We could easily talk ourselves into a depression because our economy is based on human wants that are created rather than the minimum necessities, and because our standard of living is so much above the subsistence level that the consumer can defer

purchases for some time without any hardship. It is dangerous to create a climate of fear which must of necessity develop a resistance in the consumers' willingness to buy even though they are economically able to do so.

Professional experts expect the Federal Reserve Board Index to drop no more than 15 percent below the March 1953 peak. The president of the International Harvester Co. forecasts a business recession of about 10 to 15 percent and he said, "There comes a time when we have to go down a little and level off." General Wood, of Sears, Roebuck, said recently, "We can't keep going up forever," referring to the sales volume of Sears, but knowing the General, I am certain that he will at least make a try at it. If in 1951 our economy had been characterized by the present measures of economic health, would we have been talking "depression"?

The only economy that does not have its ups and downs is a dictatorial economy where the standard of living is frozen at a very low level, where stultification, stratification, and a straitjacket is the mode of living; where no unemployment occurs because everyone is either employed in forced labor, the secret police, the army, etc., etc. Even the mountain climber must rest before starting the next ascent and on occasion he will even slip back a little because of unforeseen difficulties.

There are those who predict a gross national product of $400 billion, in terms of 1952 dollars, before the year 1960. There are those who believe that consumer credit, intelligently developed, can be used as an important part in financing the advancement of our standard of living. We can therefore see that, while we have a period of readjustment, it will not be of serious proportions unless we, through hypochondria, make it so, and certainly the prospects after such a period of readjustment are very bright indeed.

We can ride out this readjustment by cleaning house, getting rid of some excess fat, tooling up for a better product and better selling, or we can choose to get panicky, try to prop up poor practices, marginal operation, lopsided imbalances, worry about every little cut and bruise, keep everybody happy only to build up a very unhealthy and unhappy failure.

What are the realities for the creative marketeer? We know beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is no limit to our ability to produce; our real problem is our ability to consume. It would be a great pity after having achieved a miracle of production if we did not apply ourselves to achieving the same miracle in consumption as well. The creative marketeer must know that each dollar of production creates its equivalent in purchasing power. This is so because 65 cents of every dollar of national income goes into wages and salaries and the remaining 35 cents goes into corporate profits, rental income, income of unincorporated businesses, and net interest. Therefore, booming business actually creates its equivalent in purchasing power. Yet we have witnessed again and again a sloughing off in consumer purchases at the very peak of production and income.

At this point let us turn our attention from the overemphasis given to the consumer's economic ability to buy against the more dominant factor in our kind of economy, of the consumers' willingness to buy. The consumer is not just an economic person; he is a psychological and sociological person as well and it is in this latter area that we have the greatest opportunity for growth both in knowledge and performance.

Divine discontent is a powerful force for progress. Dissatisfaction with old and outmoded concepts and ideas moves us along the path to higher ideals and ideas. This is equally true in the market place of a free society. To build the volume which is the life blood of our economy, we must constantly shed the old and create a steady flow of new products and refinements of the old. It is important to emphasize that this will not happen of itself. Demand in a free economy must be created. The telephone as an aid in every day living had to be sold, in its early days. We must educate the consumer to newer and better products through creative merchandising and imaginative advertising. The American consumer has more savings today than ever before in our history. It will be our job to induce him to spend some of it.

We cannot overemphasize the importance of constantly creating and stimulating demand. Let us try to imagine what would happen if all at once, through some mass hypnosis, every consumer would decide to make do what he already had and refused to buy anything new except the barest minimum necessities. Our economy would collapse. There would be many millions of unemployed and thousands of businesses would become bankrupt.

The creative marketeer must become increasingly better informed about the changing market so that he may plan accordingly. For instance, in spite of predictions of demographers of a decline in our birthrate, actually the population has been increasing more rapidly than at any time in the past 40 years. There are some predictions that we may have as many as 180 million population by 1960, while others place the figure at 170 million.

There is reason to believe that the low birthrate in the depression of the thirties will affect family formations adversely in the fifties and that the unprecedented increase in the birthrate in this country in the forties will result in an increase in marriage and family formations in the sixties. Right now American families are having twice as many second babies as they did in 1940, and many more are having third and fourth babies. There is a definite trend toward a larger family unit. For the marketeer this means there will be more homes built containing dining rooms, more furniture and accessories for these dining rooms to be sold.

What is the significance of these statistics? In most countries of the world where the ability to produce is at a very low level, a significant increase in population is a calamity because it means less of the necessities of life per individual resulting in more misery and starvation. In our economy, on the other hand, with an unlimited production potential, an increase in population means more markets for goods and services and more markets means more production. That is why our increasing population is such bullish news.

We are rapidly becoming a prosperous middle-income people with a one-class market. Witness the fact that well over half of our family units today have a real income of $3,000 to $10,000 per year, while in 1929 that proportion in terms of 1952 dollars was only half of what it is today.

By 1960 we are likely to have 16 million persons over 65 years of age who will be drawing about $10 billion yearly in retirement funds. This should open up purchasing power, new markets, and contribute significantly to our expanding economy. It must be pointed out that this market and the satisfying of these 16 million people will be jeopardized if inflation makes any further inroads.

It is predicted that there will be 50 million TV sets in operation by 1958, and that just when this market is about saturated colored TV will be getting into its stride. Air conditioning as a market is just in its infancy. Anyone with imagination and faith in the dynamism of our economy can expand this list considerably.

What does it all add up to? Simply this, that unless we do the same imaginative, creative job in marketing goods as we have done in the production of goods, we will by that much fail to take full advantage of almost an unlimited potential of our economy. An industrialist recently stated that engineering thinking, product design, and distribution have lagged far behind the advance made in the manufacturing function. He predicted lower costs and better products in "this hard sell" era.

In a recent article Professor Shlichter, of Harvard University, expressed the opinion that, "There are large markets that industry is missing because people are adding to their liquid assets at faster than $14 billion a year. If industry, by offering better goods at more attractive prices, were to reduce this rate of liquid saving by half (which would still leave it more than double the rate in 1948 or 1949), the demand for consumer goods would rise by $7 billion a year. Such an increase would assure a continuation of the boom."

It is only by constantly aiming at higher and higher standards of living that we can achieve maximum production and maximum employment and convert purchasing power into actual purchases. The consumer must be induced by the creative marketeer through better design, new products, and imaginative salesmanship to an ever improved way of life.

What should be the frame of mind of the business and professional man during the period of readjustment? First of all it is important for him to remember that except for minor interruptions in 1946 and 1949, business activity and dollar consumer spending have been climbing steadily since 1938. During such a long stretch of high business activity, it is only human that we take on some excess fat, so to speak, develop a few bad habits, and wallow in the illusory comforts of inflation. The proper attitude will have a lot to do with the courage and imagination with which we act during this trying period. If a factory shuts down or slows down its operation in order to tool up for a new line of merchandise, this is usually taken in its stride. Should we not look upon a period of readjustment as the period of tooling up for a new economic line? It is important for use to remember also that a recession is usually a readjustment resulting from the past and not necessarily a harbinger of a dire future.

This is a good time for business management to be prepared to test its mettle and to be ready for the next upswing. This is a good time for many business organizations to reexamine their break-even points which have been going up at a very fast clip and in many cases needs adjustment for the future.

What is the Government's role in the present situation? First, let us accept the fundamental belief that we have to earn our prosperity, we cannot get it from the kind of atmosphere that brought forth the Townsend plan. A government that keeps promising no matter what sins of overindulgence we become guilty of, nothing can by any means hurt us, is doing the people a great wrong. Governments around the world have discovered how easy it is to stay in power through the magic of inflation. This is a great danger for us. We are now being sold on the idea that a little inflation won't hurt but this is a dangerous doctrine because the word "little" can be stretched a lot and for a long period of time.

It is important for the Government to remember that drastic inflation and serious deflation, both can have terrible results for the economy of a nation. The Government must conscientiously stop the erroneous notion that has grown up over the years that all we have to do is to spend more and more billions and that this is the measure of getting a job done. We seem to accept the belief that it is the number of people on the Government payroll, the number of dollars on the Government's budgets that will assure the adequacy of the things to be done. Actually, we must find some

method of getting more for the Government dollar instead of the continuous pouring of more dollars ad infinitum. The greatest victory world communism could achieve would be to force us to bleed ourselves white, economically.

What then lies ahead of us? First we must not allow temporary detours to discourage us from the road of our destined objectives. The most important thing is that we should be traveling in the right direction and at the proper speed and not allow concern about temporary conditions. Nothing can stop the growth of our ever-expanding standard of living except our own belief in limitation, our lack of faith in our inner strength as a free people. The electronic and atomic age is just ahead of us, their potential for a better life is presently beyond our imagination. God has His greatest stake in our way of life and He won't let us down.

Capital Transit Co., of Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post of December 28, 1953, entitled "Wolfson's Unloading Device." The editorial is sharply critical of Mr. Wolfson's plan for the creation of a metropolitan authority to take over the milked-dry Capital Transit Co. and other transit companies serving the Washington metropolitan authority.

The editorial urges the creation of a regulatory body, such as that provided for in my amendment to Representative BROYHILL'S bill, H. R. 2236, to serve the entire metropolitan area. And that is exactly what ought to be done.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WOLFSON'S UNLOADING DEVICE

Louis E. Wolfson's plan for the creation of a metropolitan authority to take over the transit companies serving Washington has all the earmarks of a scheme to obtain a fancy price for a cow that has been milked dry. In recent months Mr. Wolfson and his associates in control of the Capital Transit Co. have almost drained away its surplus funds. Even though those funds had been accumulated in part because of the overly conservative policies of the previous management, at least some of them could have been used to improve the company's service and perhaps to take steps toward consolidation of the city's transit companies. As matters stand, the Wolfson plan to unload the milked-out transit system upon the city can scarcely be taken seriously.

There is, of course, a superficial appeal in the suggestion that the city could obtain a 15-cent fare (and a 5-cent school fare) effective throughout the metropolitan area. Similarly, there is a growing demand for consolidation of the transit lines serving Washington and the adjacent counties. Undoubtedly large economies would result from such a merger on favorable terms. But it is all too obvious that the terms proposed by Mr. Wolfson are favorable largely to himself and associates. The tax exemption he suggests for operations of a new public transit setup and for the bonds to be issued by the proposed authority to buy out the stockholders of the present companies is an unimpressive sugar-coating on the pill. Washingtonians would have nothing to gain by getting lower transit fares only to have the difference added to their tax bills.

Nor can we believe that the freedom of the proposed authority from regulation would be feasible. The public interest must be protected, even if regulation is a costly and cumbersome business. Indeed, the first step to be taken, according to our way of thinking, is to create a regulatory body to serve the entire metropolitan area. That body could then direct its attention to the problems of merging the various transit companies, improving service to encourage mass transportation, and fixing reasonable uniform fares. Progress by this method might be slow, but it would at least avert the dangers of a grand fiasco—dangers that would be very great, indeed, under the Wolfson plan.

American Tariffs and Free Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Foreign Firms Pay Two Backers of Free Trade—Charles Taft Files As Venezuela Agent," written by Philip Warden, and published in the Washington Times-Herald of Monday, December 21, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN FIRMS PAY TWO BACKERS OF FREE TRADE—CHARLES TAFT FILES AS VENEZUELA AGENT

(By Philip Warden)

Two of the leaders in a businessmen's campaign to lower American tariffs and permit free trade are on the payroll of some foreign firms which would benefit most, it was revealed Sunday.

They are Charles P. Taft, president, and George W. Ball, secretary, of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc. Both have filed registration statements with the Justice Department under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as agents of Venezuela.

The American coal industry and the independent oil companies whose properties and operations are confined to the United States claim they are suffering heavy financial losses because many of the largest industrial consumers of their products are switching to Venezuela waste oil for fuel.

Venezuelan oil refineries, owned for the most part by 1 or 2 big American oil companies, are somewhat primitive by comparison with refineries in the United States, oil industry officials said. In refining gasoline and other petroleum products from Venezuelan crude oil, the refiners accumulate a low-grade oil which for many years was dumped in the ocean as waste.

UNDERCUT UNITED STATES OILS

Petroleum researchers found this waste oil made a good fuel oil when special burners were installed. The refiners in recent years have pushed its sale along the eastern seaboard, offering it at prices below American coal and American-produced fuel oils.

The coal industry and the independent oil producers have been fighting for congressional action for months to get tariffs increased on the Venezuelan residual fuel oils as a protective measure. The tariffs had been cut in half a year ago by Presidential order.

With a fight on their hands, the Venezuelan chamber of commerce hired the Washington law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly and Ball, its associate firm in New York, at a $75,000-a-year fee to provide legal advice and related services.

"These services include giving advice to proposals designed to increase tariffs or impose quotas on petroleum and petroleum products," the registration statement filed by the law firm with the Justice Department said. "In this capacity the registrant has prepared and distributed mimeographed materials opposing such proposals and has individually communicated its opposition to such proposals to interested persons in the United States."

The registration statement showed that the law firm has established a network of representatives among powerful political figures across the Nation to propagandize for Venezuela.

Taft, brother of the late Republican Senator from Ohio, is listed as the spokesman in Cincinnati. Stuart S. Ball, one of Adlai Stevenson's principal advisers in the 1952 presidential compaign, is the Chicago representative, the registration statement shows.

Taft, the Justice Department said, has filed a separate registration statement. His statement, however, does not show what fees, if any, he has collected.

TAFT DESCRIBES WORK

Taft, in a recent letter to a newspaper, said his job involves "enlisting the support of the many Cincinnati businesses, ranging from small producers of cotton clothing and toys, all the way up to Procter & Gamble, and the Cincinnati Milling Machine Co.," in fighting the imposition of quotas on Venezuelan oil imports. He said he was hired by the Cleary firm for this purpose.

Statement by John L. Lewis, Urging Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MATTHEW M. NEELY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement made by President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, relative to the President's recommendations concerning amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JOHN L. LEWIS SAYS THE SLAVE TAFT LAW SHOULD BE REPEALED

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 11,.1954.—Following is a statement by President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, on President Eisenhower's proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley law:

"A few piddling amendments will not make a slave law palatable to freeborn citizens.

"The Taft-Hartley statute is out of harmony with the American concept of liberty. It is a deterrent to constructive and efficient labor-management relations. It imposes

sanctions—economic, legal, and social—on that part of our citizenship that seeks to earn a living by the sweat of its brow.

"Piecemeal tinkering with its multiple provisions will not make it wholesome or acceptable to those who abhor its trespass upon their constitutional and statutory rights.

"It should be repealed in toto."

Chuck Yeager Has Made Aviation History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a tribute to Chuck Yeager, a distinguished West Virginian whose achievements have made aviation history. Mr. Yeager has been chosen as West Virginian of the Year by the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette; and I present for the RECORD that newspaper's summary of his contribution to aviation, and also a comment by Frank A. Knight, editor of that newspaper. Mr. Yeager's achievements are ones of which all Americans can be proud.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WEST VIRGINIAN OF 1953

Nationally and internationally he is known as Chuck Yeager, a big, good-looking fellow who flies airplanes faster than anybody else.

The folks around Hamlin call him Charley, though—and they know him as an unassuming young man with a passion for hunting, fishing, and his chosen profession, flying.

Yeager has done a great many things in his 30 years.

He is best known for being the first man to fly faster than the speed of sound, a feat he accomplished in 1948, and for recently exceeding the 1,600-mile-an-hour mark.

The people who knew him when he was growing up in Hamlin are proudly aware of these things; but there are other things about Charley that they regard as being fully as important as the supersonic records.

Most of these recollections and impressions boil down to one feeling: Maj. Charles E. Yeager is a mighty nice fellow, a modest man, and a good friend.

Fame has never "gone to his head," they report. He is still the same person who left town in May 1941 to enlist in the Air Corps and fight the Germans.

"Why, you'd never know he'd ever been away from Hamlin," said Louis Hoff, music instructor for Lincoln County schools.

"When he comes back he doesn't talk any more than he did before he left and you'd never know he was in town if you just didn't happen to bump into him. He's still the same nice kid that was so easy to get along with in school."

Hoff had Charley in the band from the seventh grade on and also was his Sunday-school teacher.

Yeager's Hamlin childhood apparently was quiet and pleasant.

He wasn't born right in town; his birthplace, as his father, Drilling Contractor A. Hal Yeager, describes it, was "up Mud River a few miles."

He was born in 1923 in a big white farmhouse where Mrs. Yeager's father was living at the time.

The Yeagers lived in a home at Wilkinson Street and Dingess Avenue in Hamlin until recently, but now they have moved to a new residence farther up on the hill behind the high school.

"Charley" was a skinny little freckle-faced youngster, neighbors recall. His mother, a hospitable, retiring person, points out that he is the only 1 of her 4 children who has freckles—and she adds that she is the only 1 in her family of 10 who has them.

There was only one hint in Yeager's boyhood that he might someday be an airman, and that was dismissed as nothing more than a childhood fancy.

It was when he was 7 years old. He was lying on the living room floor looking at a book on flying—which was his favorite book subject, although no one gave it much thought.

Suddenly he rared up and said: "Dad, you know what I'm going to be when I grow up?"

"I don't know," said his father, kidding, "I guess you'll turn out to be a mule driver."

"No, sir," said the boy, "I'm going to be a pilot."

In school, Yeager was no more than an average student, and he spent 2 years in the sixth grade. But when he had a mind to study he was good, the teachers remember. He was especially good in geometry.

Other incidents concerning his childhood are difficult to recount since many people who knew him can only scratch their heads and say, "Well, I don't know—he was just one of the kids."

He never got into trouble. He didn't run around much, and after school he usually would be one of three places: at home reading or puttering with his hobbies of gourds, sunflowers and bugs; in the woods hunting with his favorite .22; or down on the bank of the Mud River with his fishing pole.

He played football in high school, and could have been a first-string halfback instead of a substitute "if he had only pushed himself a little."

He was interested in Boy Scout work, though. He went camping often, and became an Eagle Scout, earning the highest rank possible.

When he was 17 the war in Europe had already started, but the United States was still at peace.

Nevertheless "Charley" wanted to enlist in the Air Corps immediately; and he could hardly wait until graduation from Hamlin High in May to join.

His first act after commencement was to enlist, and he was off to training in September.

The rest of the Yeager story has been often told: how he became a combat "ace" in Europe; how he was shot down, and then escaped capture; how he came back as a test pilot and the fastest of the speedsters.

Through all of these events he has remained a quiet and modest person, though.

Basically this "Chuck" is still the "Charley" of years ago.

CHUCK YEAGER

(By Frank A. Knight, editor, the Charleston Gazette)

Only one thing kept Chuck Yeager from being named the Gazette's "West Virginian of the Year" for 1947. We didn't start the practice until 4 years later with the selection of Okey L. Patteson, then Governor.

In 1947, Capt. Charles E. Yeager, of Hamlin, W. Va., would have been a cinch for the honor because on October 14 he became the first man to fly faster than sound, which is 762 miles an hour when the temperature is 59 degrees but only about 660 miles an hour at high altitudes, where the air is thin and cold.

Earlier this month the Air Force announced that Chuck Yeager, now a major, had flown another rocket plane between 1,600 and 1,700 miles an hour—faster than any speed ever attained by any aircraft or any human being anywhere in the world.

That wrapped it up.

The Gazette editors comprising the committee which annually selects the Mountaineer who has done most to bring distinction to his State almost immediately voted unanimously in favor of the 30-year-old native son as the "West Virginian for 1953."

With all the modesty we can muster we believe Major Yeager will appreciate this nomination. We say this because he is the kind of a guy who, despite all the honors which have come his way, is still a great fellow with a deep sense of loyalty both to his State and Nation.

Looking back, it is difficult to realize that Yeager has come so far in such a brief period of time. But his feats mark the period in which we're living—the age of speed.

Lyle E. Ashworth, a Hamlin High classmate, put it into a few words when he said:

"Nobody ever noticed Charley Yeager much until 1943 when he buzzed the town in a P–47 and sent old Mrs. Lon Richardson to the hospital with a case of nerves."

Five years after he put Mrs. Richardson to bed Chuck Yeager presented a bad case of the willies to about 35,000 persons lining the banks of the Kanawha River for the Gazette's West Virginia boat racing championships. I remember the details as if they occurred an hour ago.

Chuck had recketed into town from the west coast, making the last lap from Dayton in 17 minutes. It happened so fast no one on the paper knew he had arrived until he was getting ready to depart, so we put a call in to his dad at Hamlin.

His father reported that Chuck was unavailable, but he would try to get a message to him. We requested that he in turn ask his son to fly over the river to give West Virginians their first glimpse of a jet plane in flight. He promised to do what he could.

With the afternoon well spent a scout keeping an eye glued to the Kanawha airport from the judges' stand on the south side of the river suddenly saw a plane shoot off the runway. It leaped toward the capitol dome and then was lost behind South Ruffner. We figured that was it.

But we didn't reckon on Yeager having more country in him than that. He had, in fact, decided what the home fold would like best.

Suddenly, and without warning, he was screeching down river about 50 feet above the water at an estimated 600 miles per hour. Participants in the final event of the afternoon seemed to freeze in their boats as he headed straight toward the South Side bridge. Just as it seemed he would certainly collide with the broad span of steel his jet plane dipped and flew beneath it. A fraction of a second later he made a 45° turn skyward as if doffing his Air Force cap, and was California bound.

This is the first time, to my knowledge, that this story has appeared in the Gazette. Furthermore, it has remained a fairly well kept secret in the 5 years since it happened. Even the press services, bless them, didn't report the incident for fear it would get Chuck Yeager into difficulties.

The Reader's Digest, as I remember it, made some mention of the incident a year or so later—but it was ever so slight. Experts, told that it had occurred, said it was an improbable feat, but 30,000 of Yeager's admirers had witnessed it. What the experts didn't know was that Yeager had done it many times before in a four-cylinder seaplane based at the foot of Capitol Street.

But the Air Force might not understand that.

Only last week Chuck Yeager was honored by President Eisenhower at an Aero Club dinner in Washington marking the golden anniversary of the Wright Brothers'

historic first flight at Kitty Hawk, N. C., on December 17, 1903.

And, oddly enough, it was Eisenhower—then a general—who paved the way to fame for Yeager. It happened like this:

In March of 1944, Yeager was shot down while flying with a fighter squadron over northern France. Although wounded, he left France 2 months later with the aid of the underground.

A strict War Department regulation at the time prevented his return to the combat zone, the reason being that if captured again a prisoner might be forced to reveal his escape route. But Yeager's appeal was carried to Ike, who ruled in his favor, and before the war had ended he was awarded the Silver Star, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Purple Heart, the Air Medal with six clusters, and the Bronze Star.

There are many reasons why Chuck Yeager should be the West Virginian for 1953, but the most important is that he is an excellent example of the opportunity that exists for any young man in a democratic nation.

As a schoolboy he was only average, and even spent 2 years in the sixth grade. But when he had a mind to study he was good, and Miss Conza Methel, who taught him in high school, remembers him as "one of the best geometry students I ever had."

In some countries they don't teach geometry and, even if they did, it wouldn't be for ordinary kids like the now famous pilot from Hamlin who did most with the chance he got.

The Future of Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement released on January 7, 1954, by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The President said in his state of the Union message: "This administration is determined to keep our economy strong and to keep it growing." He further stated: "At this moment, we are in transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy."

"Small business of this Nation is very vitally interested in this declaration of the President provided it is not lip service" said George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business. "However," Burger stated, "in the overall message of the President, small business must be alarmed that no positive declaration was made as to the need for a healthy, vigorous and expanding small-business economy, particularly in the transition period which is now taking place in our overall economy." He added: "Experience has proved in any downward trend in our economy the first real victims are small business, both at the production and distribution level, and such destructive action could be arrested provided there was an indication in the President's message that this administration would see to it that less emphasis is placed on study groups in antitrust enforcement and that there is more action for vigorous enforcement of the laws."

It is to be noted in the message that emphasis is placed on the so-called problems facing agriculture, labor, etc. "However," Burger added, "it is our belief that small business of this Nation faces at this moment a most serious problem which will call for special consideration and attention by the administration, the same as is given to any and all other segments of our economy."

The President, in his conclusions, said, "A government can strive, as ours is striving, to maintain an economic system whose doors are open to enterprise and ambition * * *."

"It goes without saying," Burger concluded, "the intent of establishing the antitrust laws beginning in 1890 was to maintain in our economy just what the President stated in his state of the Union message, but from what we have experienced or observed there has been merely lip service to the enforcement of these antitrust laws for the past 40 years, through which small business has been the victim." Burger vowed it would be the intention of his organization to strengthen the powers of the small-business committees of the Congress so that our economic system will keep its doors open to enterprise and ambition.

Faithfulness to Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, any one of us who has served in the infantry or has served as what is known as a doughboy is very familiar with General Order No. 5 which reads: "To quit my post only when properly relieved."

Recently Pvt. Raymond L. Cote, of the 12th Infantry, stayed on his post for 6 days. When he was relieved, some of his comrades said that he "had a hole in his head."

I wish to make the observation that day after day the world is being saved by men who are willing to perform their full duty and not leave their post until properly relieved.

I am extremely sorry that I do not know the name of the newspaper in which appeared the editorial I hold in my hand, but I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOLE IN HIS HEAD

It is related that the 19th-century excavators of Pompeii found a Roman soldier in full armor standing by his sentry box. Vesuvius had erupted and was destroying the city, but this legionary had obeyed his orders and stuck to his post until the hail of volcanic ash buried him.

A correspondent who witnessed the fall of Singapore to the Japanese told after his escape of a Sikh infantryman detailed to direct traffic at a busy intersection. Bombs fell all around him, traffic had become nonexistent as the people sought shelter. But, when last seen this turbanned warrior was still signaling stray fugitives to stop or to cross.

Pvt. Raymond L. Cote, of the 12th Infantray Regiment, was not buried by a volcanic eruption nor threatened by bombs. But, when he was posted as sentry over some pontoons on the bank of the Rhine during recent maneuvers he apparently had learned his general orders, No. 5 in particular—"to quit my post only when properly relieved."

He wasn't properly relieved—not until after 6 days and nights, when someone remembered. Nearby farmers had replaced his exhausted rations. But it had rained for days.

When a truck picked him up and returned him to his outfit his commanding officer commended his strong sense of duty. Some of his buddies wisecracked that he had a hole in his head.

Maybe so. But we have a deep-seated hunch that this world is being saved every day by people with holes in their heads like Private Cote's.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared on January 12 in the New York Times, in support of construction of the St. Lawrence seaway.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

American participation in the St. Lawrence seaway seems closer today than ever before. It would be a pity if one more opportunity—perhaps the last—were now thrown away.

The seaway project is an example of special interests blocking something that is for the national good. This is their prerogative in a free country and they must be expected to look out for themselves, first of all. Congressmen, however, are elected to represent the Nation's interests as well as their home States and districts. However disputable the seaway project was at times in the past, its value in present circumstances is incontestable.

Every President in more than 30 years has tried to get the United States into the project. On April 24 last year President Eisenhower announced that the National Security Council believed early completion of the seaway would contribute to the national defense. On May 8 the Cabinet endorsed Senator WILEY'S bill. The late Senator Taft said he would do "anything I possibly can" to get the bill passed. On June 16 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the Wiley bill 13 to 2. When President Eisenhower was in Ottawa last November he told the Canadian Parliament that his administration favored the seaway "on security and economic grounds" and that "joint development and use * * * is inevitable."

One factor to keep in mind is that the Canadians will build the seaway themselves if the United States refuses to join them. A major hurdle was cleared recently when the New York State Power Authority received a license from the Federal Power Commission to join Canada in developing the hydroelectric power project in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River. The seaway could not be built without the power project.

The St. Lawrence seaway will open a 27-foot channel, 2,200 miles long, into the North American continent bringing great benefits to our Middle West. The Senate would be well advised to pass the Wiley bill quickly and decisively.

The Bricker Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I hold in my hand a splendid editorial carried in the Wednesday, January 13, issue of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. This famed newspaper urges "no compromise" in the battle against Senate Joint Resolution 1.

I also hold in my hand a great many messages received from individual citizens and organizations across the country, likewise expressing opposition to any effort which would limit the treatymaking power of the President. Included in these messages is the text of a telegram sent by the Friends Committee on National Legislation to President Eisenhower.

I send to the desk the text of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat editorial, along with several other messages which I have received. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NO COMPROMISE

The Bricker plan to manacle treatymaking powers of the President has blossomed out as the most immediate issue of Congress. It is also the most dangerous. Such a head of steam has been built behind the proposal, administration troubleshooters are reported trying to arrange a compromise.

There is no room for compromise on the Bricker amendment proposal. Either a basic purpose of the Constitution stands, or it will be scrapped. Either the White House, with Senate sanction, makes treaties and conducts foreign policy—as it has been doing more than 160 years—or this authority is turned over to Congress, hedged and abridged.

Such a shift in the basic law of the Nation would set Congress up as the paramount executive, as well as legislative, authority in foreign affairs. It would junk the concept of a division of powers, subject to checks and balances. The executive branch would be stripped of jurisdiction in foreign decision.

Instead of a congressional check on foreign policy, Congress would assume full control. Even if the country wanted to make such a radical change in traditional American government, Congress by its very organization would be too unwieldy and lacking in facilities to accomplish the job.

The Bricker amendment was no doubt conceived in sincerity by its sponsor, the senior Senator from Ohio, who gave the plan his name. It provides: (a) No treaty could expand the legislative area of Congress, which now can be expanded under treaties that do not conflict with the Constitution; (b) executive agreements made by the President would be subject to congressional regulation; (c) no treaty affecting internal law could be operative until Congress adopted enabling legislation, and (d) no treaty would be valid if it abridges the rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

The last two factors mean little or nothing. They are already effective. Obviously enabling legislation is necessary to implement a treaty, and it is customary to provide it. High court decisions provide that citizen rights guaranteed by the Constitution cannot be infringed by a treaty. The crux of the amendment is in the provisions barring expansion of legislative power under treaty and hampering, perhaps negating, presidential agreements.

These two features would prohibit the United States from entering many kinds of treaties, such as all other nations contract. They would tie the President's hands hopelessly in any kind of foreign agreement. Under such restriction we could not have made a protocol for the Berlin airlift, for quick foreign aid in an emergency, even for relief in case of foreign disaster. This crippling amendment would make us an international laughingstock, and worse an incompetent in the field of foreign affairs where, perforce, we must function as a dominant leader.

The impetus for the Bricker amendment arose from antagonism, from justified repudiation of presidential agreements made at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. But these were made under war powers of the President, as Commander in Chief. The Bricker amendment would not invalidate these war powers.

If Congress were to support this constitutional revision and submit it to the States it would be an admission of distrust not only in the President's authority, but in that of the Senate. Besides, Congress already has indirect powers adequate to regulate or emasculate a treaty: It has authority over appropriations, essential to virtually every treaty or executive agreement.

It seems no more possible to compromise with the Bricker plan than to compromise with suicide. Adoption of the Bricker amendment in any form would destroy a fundamental function of the presidency, one that has generally proved sound, wisely used, an effective implement of statecraft ever since it was incorporated in the Constitution.

APPLETON, WIS., *January 11, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

Congratulations on strong opposition to Bricker amendment. Its passage would be a national disaster. We depend on you to stand firm.

All best wishes,
Mrs. CHARLES MCCLURE.

BUCKHILL FALLS, PA., *January 12, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Would appreciate your voting against Senate Joint Resolution No. 1 because it would hamper our President and Congress in international affairs and believe the machinery in our Constitution on treaties very adequate.

Mrs. CARL ROMANIK,
President, Milwaukee Business and Professional Women.

SOUTH MILWAUKEE, WIS., *January 12, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

We are opposed to Bricker amendment in any form that restricts the operation of the executive and State Departments in their normal functions, that hampers the enforcement of reduction or abolition of universal armaments or that complicates universal peacetime use of atomic energy.

LAWRENCE GIESE,
Legislative chairman, Milwaukee Peace Education Committee.

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL LEGISLATION,
Washington, D. C.
President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House, Washington, D. C.:

The Friends Committee on National Legislation at its annual meeting in Philadelphia, January 7, expressed strong and united opposition to the Bricker resolution as an unfortunate roadblock to development of the United Nations and to an effective disarmament treaty. May I express personal hope that you will not compromise on this dangerous legislation?

E. RAYMOND WILSON,
Executive Secretary,
Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Sitting Bull at Fort Yates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Sitting Bull at Fort Yates." The article appeared in the Selfridge Journal on December 24, 1953. I desire to read the first portion of the article:

SWORN AFFIDAVITS DECLARE WRONG BONES TAKEN—SITTING BULL AT FORT YATES

Sitting Bull again.

Did South Dakota grave robbers get the bones of Sitting Bull last spring, or did the raiders find an empty grave and substituted bones of another person?

Some members of the Sioux Tribe at Fort Yates believe the bones are still in Fort Yates and have signed affidavits to support this.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SWORN AFFIDAVITS DECLARE WRONG BONES TAKEN—SITTING BULL AT FORT YATES

Sitting Bull again.

Did South Dakota grave robbers get the bones of Sitting Bull last spring, or did the raiders find an empty grave and substituted bones of another person?

Some members of the Sioux Tribe at Fort Yates believe the bones are still in Fort Yates and have signed affidavits to support this.

AFFIDAVITS SIGNED

Mrs. Josephine Kelly, former tribal chairman and leader at Fort Yates, and Joseph Archambault, who served as Sitting Bull's interpreter, have signed affidavits stating that a member of the raiding party, Clarence Grey Eagle of Bullhead, S. Dak., had admitted to Archambault that the grave was empty when opened and bones from another grave were substituted.

The affidavit reads in part:

"He [Archambault] was told by Clarence Grey Eagle that when the supposed grave of Chief Sitting Bull was excavated at Fort Yates April 8, 1953, there was no trace found of any human bones. Grey Eagle went on to say that away off to the side the diggers noticed what appeared to be ashes and hastily uncovered the earth from what appeared to be ashes and discovered human bones and these were the bones which were taken to Mobridge, S. Dak., and later buried near Mobridge as the bones of Sitting Bull.

"It is my belief that Chief Sitting Bull still remains buried at Fort Yates, N. Dak., and that the bones excavated were merely bones which could have been those of any of the numerous persons buried in the old military cemetery at Fort Yates.

"(Signed) JOSEPHINE KELLY."

Below this in handwriting and signed by Joseph Archambault is an addition which reads:

"The above affidavit made by Josephine Kelly is as told to me and brother Louis Archambault who was present at the time and place when Clarence Grey Eagle told us all about the digging of Sitting Bull's grave."

Mrs. Kelly told the Bismarck Tribune that the Archambault's and Grey Eagle are old friends and that Grey Eagle told them the story when Joseph Archambault returned to Bullhead for a visit from his home in New Mexico.

The affidavit was notarized by Robert A. Feidler, Sioux County State's attorney.

Racial Relations in the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, for my colleague [Mr. SMATHERS] and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the Orlando Sentinel, one of our major Florida newspapers, entitled "Trial in the South." This article quotes in its entirety a letter written by a member of the press concerning racial relations in the South which appeared in the New York Times.

I call this excellent article to the attention of Senators and hope they will take the time to read it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIAL IN THE SOUTH

(EDITOR: The following letter appeared in a recent issue of the New York Times:)

The South taught me a lesson today. I sat in a local courtroom this afternoon and saw an all-white jury acquit a young Negro for killing a prominent white businessman, on the grounds of self-defense. The aquittal was won by a Negro lawyer, after a trial during which he was accorded precisely the same courtesy and consideration as the white prosecutor by the judge and courtroom attendants.

I couldn't help reflecting that the case of Willie Lee Harvey would have produced screaming headlines in the North if the outcome had been different, but I don't suppose it will attract much attention now. I doubt if anybody will bother to pay tribute to the fairness with which the trial was conducted by Judge W. M. Murphy or Solicitor Richard Cooper; the care with which the case was investigated by Sheriff Dave Starr or even the skill with which Attorney Paul Perkins defended his client.

But I am equally sure that all of them would have been pilloried if any of these elements had been lacking—and the Communists would have been screaming to high heaven about race discrimination and the inability of the Negro to secure justice in the South. Isn't it possible, then, that we in the newspaper business in the North are unfair to the South when we leave our readers in ignorance of a side of the picture many of them don't know exists?

Most of my southern friends blame us for misrepresenting the situation and insist they are working out a satisfactory solution of the race problem. After what I saw today, I suspect they may be right. Certainly they are making progress in central Florida.

LOWELL M. LIMPUS,
New York News.

ORLANDO.

Dr. George Baehr, Medical Director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, Testifies Before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony of Dr. George Baehr before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at its hearing to develop a health program is very important. Dr. Baehr was chief of medical service and director of clinical research at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City. He was chairman of the technical advisory committee, Department of Health, New York City, 1933–41, and consultant, Department of Hospitals, New York City, 1933–45. He has been a member of the public health council of the State of New York since 1935 and is past president of the New York Academy of Medicine.

Dr. Baehr made the following statement on prepaid medical care plans and the health-insurance plan of Greater New York:

TESTIMONY PRESENTED BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE ON JANUARY 14, 1954, BY GEORGE BAEHR, M. D., PRESIDENT AND MEDICAL DIRECTOR, HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN OF GREATER NEW YORK

In all considerations of health insurance, the basic and interrelated issues are (1) the method of providing medical services to the insured, (2) the scope and quality of the services, and (3) the method of payment to physicians.

LIMITED COVERAGE BY MEDICAL EXPENSE INDEMNITY INSURANCE

Medical expense indemnity plans pay individual physicians on a fee-for-service basis. For this reason, they must limit the scope of their benefit coverage for the most part to diseases requiring admission to a hospital, the frequency of which is predictable within reasonable limits. Benefits outside of a hospital are generally excluded because the number of professional and laboratory services which physicians may choose to render outside of a hospital is unpredictable when physicians are paid a fee for each service by a third party. Even when some medical benefits outside of a hospital are included under medical expense indemnity contracts, they are sharply limited in amount and leave the insured families widely exposed to additional medical bills. Comprehensive benefit coverage is impossible under these indemnity, fee-for-service plans because it inevitably results in a rapid increase in medical bills and the progressive pyramiding of costs to the insurance company.

The inadequacy of in-hospital medical coverage as a means of protecting the family budget is revealed by the experience of such comprehensive programs of medical care as the health-insurance plan of Greater New York, which find that only 10.7 percent of all professional services are rendered to such insured persons in hospitals and 89 percent in their homes and doctor's offices. With fees for home and office visits and for X-rays, technical laboratory work, and other diagnostic and therapeutic procedures now rising to the point that care even for ambulatory patients may cost a week's wages, there is a growing need for prepayment that covers ambulatory as well as hospital care. Extra-hospital medical care is continually being needed by all families; hospital care is often not required for 20 or 30 years.

COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL CARE THROUGH PREPAID GROUP PRACTICE

During the past 25 years, local plans for providing comprehensive medical care on a prepaid basis have been established in various parts of the country under the sponsorship of medical groups, industrial organizations, labor unions, farm cooperatives, and other local agencies. These independent plans are able to provide medical care of comprehensive scope in return for the collective per capita premium income only because the services are rendered to the insured by physicians engaged in organized group practice, who together comprise all the required professional, laboratory, X-ray, and other specialty branches of medicine and surgery. Under this system of completely prepaid group practice, financial barriers to prompt utilization of the needed medical, laboratory, and X-ray services can be eliminated and the insured families are able to enjoy all the major benefits of modern medicine, including prevention and early disease detection. In our aging population, disease prevention and early disease detection as well as medical care during chronic illness must be included in a medical-insurance program if it is to meet the needs of the public.

In this age of highly specialized professional skills and medical technology, the total medical needs of an insured population can best be met by such balanced teams of physicians, specialists, and technicians trained in the the great variety of skills and technics which today constitute modern medicine. The comprehensive-prepayment plans combine these medical skills and technics in the form of group practice and place them freely at the disposal of people of moderate means in return for the per capita income derived from insurance premiums. Each insured family has a family doctor who has been selected by the subscriber from the family physicians on the staff of a medical group. The clinical laboratory, X-ray diagnosis and therapy services, pathology, physical therapy, and visiting nurse services of the group are freely at the disposal of the family physicians as are all the consulting services of the group's specialists in the various branches of medicine and surgery without financial deterrents to their full use.

An argument commonly advanced by opponents of prepaid group practice is that it does not give subscribers free choice of any licensed physician in the community. From the standpoint of a subscriber, this has absolutely no validity, for he exercises his choice when he decides to join the plan as a member of his enrolled group of insurees and he is at liberty to drop out of the plan at any time. He is also at liberty to consult any other physician at any time that he wishes. It is certainly desirable that families of low and moderate income be given the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of comprehensive-medical care through prepaid group practice if they prefer it to so-called free choice of individual physicians and specialists whose services they cannot afford on a fee-for-service basis.

Families that receive all their medical services from a prepaid medical group can completely budget the costs of their total medical care throughout the year. If satisfied with the full scope and quality of the care provided for them by the medical group, the insured population has no need to purchase medical care from any other physician. Therein lies the cause of compiaint and resistance by the opponents of prepaid group practice in every part of the country in which it has been established.

Local medical societies consist largely of solo practitioners who usually resent the economic and professional competition of

group practice and will tolerate only a fee-for-service method of solo medical practice in insurance plans. Medical societies are therefore prevented by their membership from taking any part in modernizing the organization of medical care into group practice even though it is required by the high degree of specialization characteristic of the times in which we live. Because of local resistance to progress, programs of comprehensive medical care through prepaid medical group practice have grown very slowly and have as yet reached only 4 million people.

At the national level, the American Medical Association has accepted the principle that independent groups of physicians and community leaders should be permitted to experiment with newer patterns of prepaid medical care and group practice. State and county medical societies cannot or will not initiate or operate such experiments because of their political composition. A widespread spirit of intolerance to change pervades the thinking and actions of their leaders and in some States laws have been enacted at the instigation of medical societies which actually prohibit prepaid group practice. Some local physicians are even now seeking to alter or reinterpret the Code of Professional Ethics for the purpose of obstructing the development of the only form of voluntary health insurance which has thus far been able to provide comprehensive medical care at a cost which people of low and moderate income can afford on a prepaid basis.

On July 16, 1946, an editorial in the Journal of the American Medical Association warned that such obstructive behavior by physicians may itself be unethical.[1] In spite of these pronouncements, the conflict at the local level remains unchanged and now calls for more positive action by national authorities within the profession itself or else intervention by Government in the public interest.

ORIGIN OF HIP

In 1947, after a 4-year study of the problems of medical care, the New York Academy of Medicine concluded that prepaid group practice is the logical and evolutionary development of medicine in the changing order. In 1942 and 1944, the mayor of the city of New York, the Honorable Fiorello H. LaGuardia, announced that the city would pay half the premiums of nonprofit group health insurance for municipal employees and their families if insurance coverage could be made truly comprehensive and employees and their families would be protected against additional medical bills. In order to make it possible for the city to pay half the premium cost, permissive legislation was enacted by the State legislature in 1946. Following a prolonged study of nonprofit medical insurance plans in various parts of the country, the founders of the health-insurance plan of Greater New York were convinced that medical society sponsored plans, because of the current political structure of the societies, could not change the current pattern of medical practice so as to provide the public with an opportunity to purchase comprehensive medical care. HIP was therefore established on March 1, 1947, as an independent nonprofit medical insurance plan under a board of directors composed of representative community leaders from labor, business and industry, Government, and the medical profession. It was designed to serve wage earners employed in private business and industry as well as governmental employees. The board of directors operates the plan as a community trusteeship. As in the case of voluntary hospitals, the entire responsibility for medical matters and the determination of all professional standards are delegated to a medical board and the medical aspects of the program are supervised by a medical director and his staff.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Working capital was required during its formative period and the first year of operation. As this was the first experimental demonstration of comprehensive medical care under community-wide sponsorship, several philanthropic foundations supplied loans, which are being rapidly repaid out of premium income. From our experience it is evident that similar projects cannot be established without financial aid in the form of grants or loans either from industry, labor groups, consumer, or farm cooperatives, or, if it is to be under community sponsorship, from government. The role of government in the promotion of plans for comprerensive medical care through prepaid group practice was suggested in the 1947 Report on Medicine in the Changing Order of the New York Academy of Medicine.[2] Once established, such plans can become self-supporting, paying adequate remuneration to their physicians and repaying the initial loans.

After 7 years of operation, the health-insurance plan of Greater New York is providing comprehensive medical care to almost 400,000 insured persons. As a nonprofit agency established under the State's insurance law, it is operated in the black and has accumulated ample financial reserves as required by the State's superintendent of insurance. The services are provided by 30 medical groups, 29 of which are located in various sections of the city and 1 in an adjacent county. The medical groups are autonomous and are independent contractors. Each group includes an adequate number of family physicians proportionate to its enrollment size and a complete roster of qualified specialists representing the 12 basic specialties of medicine and surgery. They comprise altogether about 1,000 physicans, of whom about 450 are family doctors and about 550 are qualified specialists. The required professional qualifications for membership in a group are determined by an impartial medical control board of 15 representative physicians. The quality of medical care is supervised by the medical department of HIP.

Under a family-type contract, the cost for an individual subscriber without dependents is $42.72 a year, for a couple $85.44 a year, and for a family of any size $128.16 a year.[3] A family with 12 children pays no more than a family with 1 child. Allowing for large families, the average cost per individual is $36.36 a year. Employers are required to pay at least half the premium so that the weekly contribution of a single employee is $0.41, of a couple $0.82, and of a family of 3 or more, $1.23.

For providing all the care which may be needed by the insured families, HIP pays each medical group a capitation of $29.40 per annum for all persons on its rolls. After deduction of the cost of operating its medical group center and of retirement benefits, the remainder of the capitation income is available to a group for the payment of salaries of its participating physicians, most of whom are partners in the group. When a group reaches an average enrollment (14,000), the remuneration of its physicians is at least as high as the average reported incomes of other physicians and specialists in the community and the physicians enjoy added benefits of security not possible for the solo practitioner.

There are no deterring extra charges for any medical services which the insured may require in their homes,[4] in physicians' offices, medical group centers, or in hospitals. Every kind of medical and surgical service is available to them, including X-ray diagnosis and therapy, radium and radio-isotope therapy, diagnostic laboratory services, physical therapy, visiting nurse services, and even ambulance transportation without extra charge.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The plan erects no barriers by reason of age, sex, or preexisting illness, injury, physical defect, or pregnancy, either to admission to its rolls or to utilization of services thereafter. There are no waiting periods for medical care for preexisting illness or pregnancy. Reliance is placed solely upon group enrollment to protect the plan against the adverse experience to which unguarded individual enrollment would expose it.

Since the first day of operation of the plan, a division of research and statistics in HIP has recorded every medical service to every enrollee. By means of modern statistical machinery, these data can be thoroughly recorded, analyzed, and evaluated. The utilization rates of medical, surgical, and laboratory services by all age groups and especially the plan's experience with old people and with maternal and infant care will provide valuable data for future programs of medical care. An intensive study of the experience of the plan during its first 5 years is now being made by a special committee of impartial experts under the chairmanship of Dr. Lowell Reed, president of Johns Hopkins University, which is being financed jointly by the commonwealth fund and the Rockefeller Foundation. In addition to a longitudinal study of the plan's experience with its insured population, the special research project conducted by Dr. Reed's committee has included an investigation of the sickness and medical-care experience of large and representative samples of households in New York City and in the HIP population, totaling more than 25,000 persons. The publications emanating from the research division are available to you as well as all of the plan's recorded experience.

HIP also maintains a division of preventive medicine and health education as one of its important activities. It is the responsibility of the expert staff of this division to promote adequate utilization of medical services by the insured population, especially preventive services and those concerned with early disease detection. The objective is to have every family select a family doctor and use him and the specialists and laboratories of their medical group for the prevention and the early detection and treatment of illness. The effect of this wide exposure of the insured population to medical care can be measured by the fact that at least 74 percent of the enrolled members of the insured families are now using their physicians' services within a year and this rate is rising as our health education program takes hold. The average rate of utilization of physicians' services by the entire insured population is 5.3 services per year per person. The lack of financial barriers to complete medical care has not led to any significant amount of needless use of the services by the insured. Subscriber abuse is minimal and easily corrected.

The experience of HIP and of many similar plans throughout the country is now sufficiently voluminous to demonstrate that comprehensive medical care through prepaid group practice is professionally feasible and financially practical from the standpoint of both the doctors and the public. There can also be no question of the importance of prepaid comprehensive medical care to public health.

To facilitate its growth, two things are necessary: (1) Elimination of interference by local professional societies with prepaid group practice; (2) financial assistance by Government through loans to encourage the wider extension of prepaid comprehensive medical care throughout the country under local community sponsorship.

Government at all levels may also help through the purchase of prepaid medical care for its own employees and wards. It should follow the accepted practice of purchasing medical care under group contract from the prepayment organization which

produces the best values for the price charged.

ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The role which the Federal Government should take in promoting and extending adequate medical care to the insurable population of the country might well follow that which it has already taken to promote and extend adequate hospital care under the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act. Federal assistance to the States might first be limited to grants-in-aid to encourage the States to survey existing deficiencies in medical care within the State and to determine:

1. The extent to which the insurable population is not covered by prepayment for medical and for hospital care.

2. The gaps in benefit provisions under existing prepayment programs.

3. The means whereby the gaps in population coverage and the gaps in benefit provisions under existing programs may be eliminated.

4. The availability of voluntary insurance plans which provide comprehensive benefits for medical care in the homes; in doctors' offices, in diagnostic laboratories and X-ray services, as well as in hospitals.

5. The desire of the public for prepayment plans which will provide comprehensive medical services.

6. The existence of State laws which prohibit or make it impossible for physicians to provide such comprehensive medical care through prepaid group practice of medicine.

The State surveys should also include:

1. A determination of the nonwage and low-income group in the population which cannot afford to prepay their medical care through the purchase of voluntary health insurance.

2. The possibilities of experimentation by State and local governments with coverage of some or all of this group by voluntary medical-insurance plans.

3. The degree to which Federal assistance might be required to enable State and local governments to provide medical and hospital care to persons in the nonwage and low-income groups (the medically indigent) through prepayment.

4. The possibilities of experimentation by State unemployment funds or other State agencies with the provision of medical care for temporarily unemployed persons and their dependents through continuing the prepayment of premiums for the unemployed for care which may be needed during periods of temporary unemployment.

Small Federal grants could be employed most effectively to assist States in carrying out experimental programs designed to extend prepayment plans and comprehensive coverage under these plans to the part of the population within the State which is at present not covered or inadequately covered under such plans. In recognition of the fact that comprehensive medical service coverage under any voluntary prepayment plan requires economies and increased efficiency in operation which can be achieved only by organization of medical services as group practice, Federal aid to State and local communities is needed to encourage the establishment of prepaid group practice of medicine under local community sponsorship.

The organization of medical practice along such modern and more efficient lines requires loans to medical groups for the construction of the required physical facilities, to be repaid by them out of future earnings. Such loans for the purpose of encouraging local prepayment programs for comprehensive medical care should be limited to the acquisition of medical group centers, the purchase of X-ray, laboratory, and other professional equipment required for group practice, and the administrative expenses of the medical group center during the first year of its operation. The annual appropriations for this purpose need not be large nor would they be needed for more than 5 or 10 years, for as the loans are repaid they may be used as a revolving fund.

It can be predicted that rapid progress in the extension of prepaid comprehensive medical care will not be made until (1) such loans are made available, (2) hampering State laws are repealed wherever they exist, and (3) effective steps are taken by higher professional authorities to eliminate interference by members of the local medical profession in restraint of change from the present costly and disorganized methods of medical practice to a more modern and more economical pattern.

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[1] "Instances have occurred in which physicians, for political, commercial, or emotional reasons, have endeavored to utilize the principles of medical ethics as a means of producing embarrassment, distress, or loss of reputation of other physicians whom they envy or whose open competition they fear. The principles of medical ethics were not designed for any such purpose, and the attempt to utilize the principles of ethics for such purposes may well be in itself unethical." Editorial, JAMA July 16, 1949 (vol. 140, No. 11), p. 960.

[2] "The committee recommends that comprehensive medical services be extended by the use of voluntary, nonprofit insurance, using group practice units wherever feasible, and Government subsidy wherever necessary." Medicine in the Changing Order, Commonwealth Fund, 1947, p. 56.

[3] Subscribers to the health insurance plan must also have Blue Cross or other hospital insurance.

[4] Except a permissible $2 charge for night calls requested and made between 10 p. m. and 7 a. m.

Jobbers' Scorecard on Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing herewith portions of a survey published by the Michigan Petroleum Association recently:

JOBBERS' SCORECARD ON CONGRESS

The Michigan Petroleum Association, with the assistance of the Retail Gasoline Dealers Association of Michigan, have been conducting a survey in order that we may let our Michigan Congressmen and Senators know the reactions of independent petroleum marketers to the activities of Congress and Washington generally. We wanted to be able to tell our Michigan contingency in Washington just how we feel about their performance, and in fairness to them to perhaps give them a guide for their future deliberations.

Questionnaires were mailed to petroleum jobbers and dealers, and to other small-business organizations in Michigan. Five hundred and forty-four returns were received from 55 different cities, and the computations were made on a percentage basis. Following are the questions which were asked, and the results received:

Do you feel that the President knows what cuts can be safely made in the defense budget? Yes, 85 percent; no, 15 percent.

Do you think we should have a tax cut or a balanced budget? Tax cut, 13 percent; balanced budget, 87 percent.

Do you think newspaper columnists and radio commentators are fair in their reporting of political activities of the President? Yes, 32 percent; no, 68 percent.

Do you think Senator McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, has done a god job on this fight against communism and should be commended? Yes, 76 percent; no, 24 percent.

Do you think teachers, college professors, ministers, public officials, radio or newspaper reporters, or anyone on the taxpayers' payroll should hesitate in saying, "I am not a Communist or never have been," if the statement is true? Yes, 11 percent; no, 89 percent.

Do you favor drastic budget cuts so as to reduce bureaucratic activities? Yes, 95 percent; no, 5 percent.

Do you think the bureaucrats in Washington are spending the taxpayers' money on many activities that we can well do without? Yes, 99½ percent; no, one-half of 1 percent.

Do you think Congress has done a good job in protecting the taxpayers from useless expenditures of public money? Yes, 8 percent; no, 92 percent.

Do you feel that present Congress is as active in that respect as it should be? Yes, 11 percent; no, 89 percent.

In case of strikes that do great public harm, do you think the President should take quick action to prevent serious harm to the country? Yes, 97 percent; no, 3 percent.

Do you think the greatest aid that Congress can give the small-business man is tax relief and relief from bureaucratic controls? Yes, 97 percent; no, 3 percent.

Do you think the small-business man needs any Government loans if given a fair tax law? Yes, 15 percent; no, 85 percent.

Do you favor passage of a bill to exempt jobbers from the provisions of the wage and hour law? Yes, 71 percent; no, 29 percent.

Do you believe that the co-op tax advantage is unfair? Yes, 96 percent; no, 4 percent.

SURVEY COMMENTS

The following are some of the many comments we received under the heading of "Remarks."

Some show humor; some show sarcasm; most are in dead earnest.

Eighty percent of the replies we received were from businessmen not connected with the oil business and represent practically all lines in the State.

1. "Anything that is done to fight communism is good. We should first have a balanced budget and eventually a tax cut."

2. "Small business can take care of itself if income can be used for capital instead of going for a tax."

3. "Have waited 20 years for a change from present conditions; all we get is more of the same; I'm bitterly disappointed."

4. "McCARTHY is the outstanding Member in Congress in my judgment, stands along with Senator BYRD."

5. "Speaking of McCARTHY, his ideas are very fine; however, his method of exposing these people is a bit annoying."

6. "Hope your survey will do some good; the free spenders are still in the driver's seat."

7. "Is President qualified to state the amount of military budget? Don't think so, nor any other living man."

8. "Keep the Government out of all business."

9. "Keep high defense budget, but let's have more efficiency, get more of our dollars."

10. "Cut the foreign dole and arms to the core; let's spend more money home for our own defense. Many of our allies questionable help in case of war."

11. "McCARTHY: The good he does little more than equals the harm."

12. "We need more action and less talk from Congress."

13. "In case of strikes that do great public harm, the President should act quickly but keep within the law."

14. "Senator McCarthy: I think he puts up a fine fight; his methods are a little rough."

15. "A voter's prayer: I pray that someday we may have a President who knows as much as little Harry thinks he does."

16. "McCarthy: Why don't McCarthy get tough? He's too kindhearted and too soft with the witnesses."

17. "Adlai wonders if he is smart enough to be President; there are quite a few million people that thought he was not."

18. "Small business should make their loans from local banks."

19. "If Congress would follow Barney Baruch's advice, it would help."

20. "Co-ops are organized to avoid payment of taxes. They furnish dishonest competition."

Cities from which jobbers' scorecards were received: Bad Axe, Pinconning, Alpena, Wayne, Saginaw, Iron Mountain, Clare, Grand Rapids, Coldwater, Marquette, Traverse City, Albion, Pigeon, Ludington, Greenville, Alma, Harrison, Gaylord, Gladstone, Lansing, Port Huron, Kalamazoo, Marshall, Petoskey, Charlevoix, Owosso, Mt. Clemens, Allegan, Battle Creek, Jackson, Detroit, Manistee, Flint, Escanaba, Adrian, Cadillac, St. Joseph, Sault Ste. Marie, Sturgis, Eaton Rapids, Ionia, Rogers City, Bay City, Menominee, Mt. Pleasant, Manistique, Mackinaw City, Hillsdale, Muskegon, Cheboygan, St. Ignace, Tawas City, Pontiac, Holland, Hancock.

The St. Lawrence Waterway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial appearing in the January 12, 1954, issue of Labor's Daily, issued in Charleston, W. Va.

I submit this editorial to my colleagues for their consideration, as it is truly indicative of the views of labor, regardless of the section of the country in which they reside, whether it is in West Virginia, New York, Michigan, or any other part of the country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGAIN, THE ST. LAWRENCE

(By Willafd Shelton)

Senator KNOWLAND, of California, the stolid, untested Republican Senate floor leader, said that one of three bills would be the Senate's hasty order of business while Congress waits for another couple of weeks of message from Mr. Eisenhower. He listed statehood for Hawaii, the Bricker amendment, or that St. Lawrence seaway as potential issues with which the Senate might deal.

The Bricker amendment—a proposal to rewrite the Constitution to make foreign policy control more difficult for the Chief Executive—should be buried in a deep freeze, statehood for Hawaii is a worthy goal, and the resolution acknowledging Hawaii's claims will sometime be adopted. There are some problems, however, including the fact that statehood for Alaska should be written into the proposal.

The St. Lawrence seaway bill should get the immediate green light.

The proposal is for a deep-channel dredging of the St. Lawrence, plus some bypasses of rapids, so as to provide a landlocked seaway for oceangoing vessels into the heartland of the American and Canadian continent.

The seaway was first endorsed by President Harding. It has been endorsed by every President since Harding's day—Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, and now Eisenhower.

The concept involves a joint operation of Canada and the United States, each contributing a fair share of the cost, each sharing in the benefits and the control.

Many special interests in the United States have blocked the seaway in the past. Eastern railroads, Atlantic seaboard port authorities, have looked on the proposal as a menace to their economic position.

It has always been the viewpoint of this observer that sectional and special interests should yield, in the consideration of major proposed improvements, to the national interest.

There was a time, in our early history, when the river routes and great canals connecting them were needed for national development. Later the railroads supplanted the canals, and the canal lobby of those times could not be allowed to interfere with the cross-country march of the rails.

The railroads violently objected to the construction of the Panama Canal, but in the early part of this century the rails had to be brushed aside, because a canal across the Central American Narrows was vital to our national welfare.

Now the question is whether special interests, including the Atlantic ports and the eastern railroads, can again block the St. Lawrence after 35 years of struggle.

They should not be allowed to block it, no matter how powerful their spokesmen may be in Congress.

The Nation needs, for its security, a safe approach to the iron ores of Labrador. It needs a covered seaway, running through the center of our continent, by which access to these ores may be guaranteed in war or peace.

The cities of the upper Midwest have a right to access to the wide oceans. Boston, New York, and Baltimore will not wither and fade away if Duluth becomes an ocean seaport. On the contrary, the whole Nation will be stronger, more secure and more prosperous when the seaway is constructed.

Canada will build the seaway alone if the United States still refuses to participate. But we ought not to refuse. We have our own part to play in the development of the North American complex and we should not leave it to our northern neighbor to do the job alone.

Senator KNOWLAND will face plenty of tests in the new session of Congress. The St. Lawrence proposal gives him a good chance to prove himself.

Seaway in Eisenhower Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, last year I sent a questionnaire to the people of my district to ascertain their attitude about some of the important issues that would come before the 83d Congress. The 12th question on that questionnaire read as follows: "Do you favor the St. Lawrence seaway?" The reply to that question indicated that 87 percent of the people in my district were opposed to it. The following editorial in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader newspaper of Thursday, January 7, 1954, reaffirms the opposition of my constituents to this project. I can readily understand why these good people feel as they do. Unemployment at an all time high, the anthracite coal industry caught in a squeeze by the unlimited importation of residual fuel oil for local consumption, people required to leave their homes to find work in adjacent States force them to look upon the St. Lawrence seaway as a hinderance to the future prosperity of anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.

The editorial follows:

SEAWAY IN EISENHOWER PROGRAM

The complexity of our Government is strikingly illustrated by President Eisenhower's state of the Union message to Congress today.

Obviously, no individual, no matter how gifted, could hope to have a grasp of the tremendous problems involved—foreign affairs, domestic economy, taxes, budget, debt, agriculture, labor, defense, internal security, health, conservation, highways, education, post office, suffrage, social security, and scores of other odds and ends.

The President, of necessity, must lean on others not only for advice, but for the execution of his policies since there are only 24 hours in the day and 365 days in the year, with 1 day added every 4 years.

Vital matters, therefore, may receive a minute or two of the President's time. That does not imply they have received little attention. What it does mean is that the work has been done by subordinates whose recommendation the Chief Executive accepts. As a military man, President Eisenhower is familiar with this procedure.

Which leads us to this recommendation in the President's message:

"Both nations (the United States and Canada) need the St. Lawrence seaway for security as well as for economic reasons. I urge Congress promptly to approve our participation in its construction."

When President Eisenhower entered the White House he had no particular views on the seaway, or at least that was the impression he gave out. Proponents of this scheme to mulct the United States taxpayers saw an opportunity to cash in on his unfamiliarity with the subject, and incidentally, on his popularity. Obviously the President has been sold a bill of goods by selfish and unscrupulous individuals.

Congress is quite familiar with the arguments that will be advanced on the military and economic value of the seaway. All were shot full of holes before. President Roosevelt, it will be recalled, put a uniform on the seaway during the Second World War in the hope of getting it through Congress, going as far as to say the outcome of the conflict depended on it. The seaway, of course, was not built and we won the war; in fact, if it had been authorized, it would have interfered with the war effort, since it would have diverted manpower and materials. The vulnerability of the seaway and its closing 5 winter months out of the year are other matters that have been thrashed out.

A great deal of pressure has been brought on Congress, especially on new Members. We can expect the usual deals whereby its backers will endeavor to get votes in exchange for support for aid on other legislation. This is the sort of artifice that is employed since the seaway cannot stand on its own two feet.

Congress, of course, is not going to rubber stamp the President's program in toto. We sincerely hope that, in the public interest, it will reject his recommendation of the seaway. The duty of Congressman BONIN, although a member of the President's party, is clear.

Testimony of Dr. Loos and Dr. Magnuson on the Development of a Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, continuing its hearings on the development of a health program, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 12, 1954, heard Dr. H. Clifford Loos, cofounder of the famous Ross-Loos medical group located in Los Angeles, Calif., and Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, chairman of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, 1951–52, and former Chief Medical Director, Veterans' Administration.

The following are excerpts taken from Dr. Loos' statement describing the origin and operation of the Ross-Loos medical group in Los Angeles, Calif.:

The Ross-Loos medical group consists of physicians associated in the form of a copartnership, and engeged in the practice of medicine. It consists of 130 full-time staff members. All devote their full time to the practice of medicine and surgery, or to the administration of the affairs of the Ross-Loos medical group.

The purpose of Ross-Loos is to supply medical care to its patients (subscribers and dependents). In this sense it differs not at all from a private physician, whether he operates singly or with others. All patients pay for their services.

Ross-Loos does differ from almost all other medical groups in the manner of payments by its patients (its subscribers). Payment for services (both for groups and individuals) is based on a periodic payment plan. For this periodic payment (by groups and individuals) Ross-Loos agrees to take care of almost all medical and surgical services (there are certain specified exemptions) necessary for the patient.

All persons either in groups or as individuals desiring Ross-Loos medical service must make application for the service. No solicitation or advertising of any kind has ever been or will ever be engaged in by Ross-Loos. Ross-Loos conforms strictly to the ethics of the medical profession.

All subscribers are free to terminate the Ross-Loos service at any time. All patients of Ross-Loos have free choice in the selection of a physician or physicians from its large staff of more than 130 physicians. Consultants outside the staff are available at all times, and are frequently called in.

Ross-Loos is not a corporation, not a cooperative, not a non-profit organization. It is not a part of, nor is it subsidized by, any foundation, trust, religious, educational, political, or secular body, or government agency. It is not tax exempt and it neither seeks nor receives any support, grants, subsidies, or special favors from any unit of government—local, county, State, or Federal.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ROSS-LOOS

The basic points in the Ross-Loos philosophy were and are:

1. The pool the combined skills and knowledge of a group of physicians, including specialists to care for their patients.
2. To render medical and hospital service to individuals through their voluntary affiliation with a health group or committee.
3. To establish a monthly fee for service, based upon estimated costs of rendering such a service.
4. The organization established to undertake this work should be owned, managed, and controlled by doctors of medicine.
5. The same ethical rules which covered the individual practitioner should apply to each and every staff member of the group, and the group itself.
6. The organization should not engage in any advertising or in the solicitation of subscribers to its services.

RULING ON CHARGES OF VIOLATING ETHICS

Group medicine, as practiced by Ross-Loos medical group, was largely a new venture in the early 1930's. Quite naturally most physicians did not understand it. Some of them feared its growth. Others charged Ross-Loos with violating the ethics of the medical profession by solicitation of membership through advertising and other means. In 1934 charges to this effect were brought against Drs. Ross and Loos by the members of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, and they were ordered expelled from the association. The two partners appealed the decision and carried the case to the judicial council of the parent body, the American Medical Association. The highest body of the medical profession declared that the charges were not properly proven, that an adequate investigation had not been made and that proper procedure had not been followed. The judicial council then reversed the decision of the county medical association and ordered the physicians reinstated. This was done.

NATURE OF ROSS-LOOS SERVICES

Subscribers to Ross-Loos services consist of: (1) those who subscribe through a group; and (2) those who subscribe individually.

There is no definite limit to the size of the group which makes application for medical services with Ross-Loos medical group, but anyone desiring membership within the group must sign an individual application for service. A contract or agreement is entered into between the official representatives of the group and the Ross-Loos medical organization.

The basis of accepting members in a subscribing group varies with the many factors of physical condition to be considered. Some of these are—whether the employer asks for a preemployment physical examination; the stability of the employees; the male and female complement of the group; the age of the applying employees. All of these will influence whether the group can be taken without physical examination or whether any control will be exerted.

Once the members of the group have been accepted, Ross-Loos agrees that the medical group shall furnish medical and surgical care and attention, including professional consultations, treatments, examinations, surgical procedures, and preventative care, including the following: Laboratory tests, X-ray examinations, physiotherapy treatments, splints and dressings, consultations, eye examinations, ambulance service (for a distance not to exceed 15 riding miles traveled by a patient on any 1 trip), and hospitalization in a 2-bed room for a period not to exceed 90 days in any year.

INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBERS ACCEPTED

Late in 1936 Ross-Loos medical group modified its structure to permit individual subscribers the use of its services. The decision to permit individual subscribers was taken only after long and careful consideration among the partners of the organization for it was feared that office and administrative overhead would increase the cost to individual subscribers very substantially. As a matter of fact, however, the rate for individual subscribers is usually no more than 50 cents per month above that of group subscribers.

At the close of 1952 Ross-Loos had 28,000 group subscribers and 9,000 individual subscribers. In addition, it is estimated that the average number of dependents per subscriber is 2.2. This means in actual fact, that there are between 125,000 to 130,000 patients who are regularly served by the Ross-Loos medical group.

Group subscribers are also entitled to special privileges at low fees for services rendered to their dependents. A dependent is defined as a spouse and children under 19 years of age. At present the following charges are made to dependents: $1.25 for office calls, $2 for daytime resident calls, and $2.50 for resident calls at night. Minor operations performed at the office (including surgery and recovery bed) cost not over $20. Major operations cost $25. Confinement cases, including prenatal and postnatal care, cost $50.

Individual subscribers: Any person between the ages of 21 and 50 is eligible for application (although a member of any group may transfer to individual membership regardless of age). A prospective member must first contact one of the offices of the Ross-Loos medical group either by mail, telephone, or in person to get an application form. This must be filled out and a physical examination undertaken. Individual subscribers pay $3 for the examination plus a $6 registration fee payable at the same time. In the event an applicant is not accepted as a subscriber, the registration fee is refunded. Individual subscribers pay a monthly fee of $6, payable on the first day of each month for the preceding calendar month.

THE STRUCTURE OF ROSS-LOOS

Due to the size of its operations, the partnership established a number of subcommittees (usually of three doctors each). These subcommittees include: Finance, hospitalization, personnel, purchasing, housing, maintenance, and scientific.

Dr. H. Clifford Loos acts as administrator and with the help of the partners handles all problems of administration and control. Dr. Donald E. Ross is the chief surgeon and, assisted by the partners and staff, devotes his time to the medical, surgical, and scientific interests of the organization.

DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF SERVICES

Home calls, whether day or night, are obtainable by merely calling any office of the group. Special members of the office staff route and schedule these calls from the home-call doctors to speed the service and avoid unnecessary travel by the doctors. The home-call office always checks on the patient the following day to find out whether additional services are needed.

Nearly 90 percent of all Ross-Loos patients are examined or treated at one of its offices in the course of a year.

Minor operations requiring hospitalization for less than 1 day are performed in the surgery department of the main medical building, where there are 20 recovery beds to take care of patients.

Ross-Loos does not maintain its own hospital, nor does it intend to build one. Nearly all its patients are sent to Queen of Angels Hospital.

THE ROSS-LOOS CLIENTELE

Ross-Loos subscribers represent a good cross section of the population of Los An-

geles County. Almost all nationalities are included.

Occupationally they include university and college professors, high school and elementary school teachers, policemen, firemen, city and county civil-service employees, department of water and power employees, librarians, dairy workers, bakers, engineering employees, aircraft employees, retail market employees, postal employees, rubber workers, oil workers, motion-picture employees, radio network employees, insurance-company employees, astronomers, bus drivers, consumer groups, real-estate groups, brokerage-house employees, and many others.

Individual subscribers represent every walk of life from unskilled laborers to bankers.

The majority of group subscribers are civil-service employees or teachers. Most other groups, too, are made up of skilled or professional workers in occupations or industries where there is relative job security and low turnover. Such stability and security make for greater security and stability of the medical group itself.

THE SUBSCRIBERS' HEALTH COMMITTEE

The key to successful group medical practice and the maintenance of effective liaison between Ross-Loos and its patients lies in the subscribers' health committees.

The health committee is the direct, active, responsible representative of the subscribers. Every group which wishes to obtain for its members (and their dependents) the medical services of Ross-Loos, no matter how large or small, must first select or elect a health committee to act as official spokesman for the group.

It is the health committee which works out details of the written agreement entered into between the subscriber group and Ross-Loos. It is the health committee which assumes responsibility for collecting dues from its members and turning these fees over to Ross-Loos. This procedure enables the health committee to keep a close and accurate tab on its members.

The health committee performs another invaluable function in that it serves as a clearing house for questions, complaints, and suggestions from its own members. Subscribers make known their wants and complaints more freely to such a committee than to the medical or administrative staff of Ross-Loos. The health committee can quickly and easily transmit these suggestions, questions, or complaints, to the proper authorities of Ross-Loos for action. This procedure is a valuable time saver for all concerned and is also a means for speed and efficient action. Tensions and misunderstandings between patients and the doctors can be cleared up quickly with a minimum of friction.

THE MEDICAL STAFF

No matter how efficient and effective all other parts of the medical group, its heart and center is the medical staff. The selection of new members for the medical staff is the responsibility of the personnel committee of the partnership.

Ross-Loos has attempted to meet the problem of the physician-patient relationship in many ways. First and foremost has been its insistence that each subscriber have a free choice, insofar as possible, in selecting from among the large staff the physician whom he likes best. The physician, in turn, comes to know these patients intimately. To all intents and purposes they are his patients. In the second place, all staff members and other personnel are constantly reminded that Ross-Loos patients must be treated with both courtesy and efficiency.

At the time the Ross-Loos medical group was first established in 1929, and for the first 10 years of its existence, its major problems consisted of the following:

1. How to interest physicians in associating with such a radical and untried experiment.

2. How to overcome the general hostility of the medical profession and the public indifference to group medicine.

3. To determine how complete should be the medical coverage given groups subscribing for Ross-Loos services.

4. How to determine in advance an adequate monthly fee to the subscribers which would be low enough to be attractive to them, yet high enough to enable the group to attract good doctors.

5. To determine the extent of the area which could be covered in terms of service and home calls.

6. To arrange for speedy and adequate hospitalization.

Within a year's time it was realized that the original monthly fee was inadequate to give proper medical care to the subscribers and their families. Medical and hospital expenses mounted rapidly. For example, in 1930 Ross-Loos paid $2.75 a day for hospitalization of its patients. Now the rate exceeds $25 a day. At intervals as they have occurred these increased costs were explained to the health committees. New proposals were made which were acceptable to the committees, which, in turn, helped work out new fees commensurate with the services being given.

Additional problems now faced include:

1. The threat of governmental interference in the practice of medicine.

2. Richly subsidized defense plants and governmental agencies which can and do set the standard of price for physicians, nurses, technicians, receptionists, secretaries, and other help.

3. The aging population of the country at large and the higher average age rate of the subscriber groups.

Solution to the last of these problems has been partially met by use of a sliding scale of dues.

To attract and hold efficient personnel, various incentive programs have been devised, as well as reducing hours of work, increasing pay, and giving all employees numerous other benefits.

How to meet the continued encroachment of Government in the field of medicine is one which obviously cannot be solved by the Ross-Loos medical group nor even by the medical profession as a whole. It must be solved by an enlightened citizenry.

STATEMENT OF DR. PAUL B. MAGNUSON

Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, chairman of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, 1951–52, and former Chief Medical Director, Veterans' Administration, made the following statement:

In the time allotted to me, I cannot begin to cover the major recommendations contained in the several thousand pages of our five-volume report. However, in a letter of transmittal to former President Truman when our report was submitted on December 18, 1952, I summarized the Commission thinking in this paragraph:

"There is one major thread of philosophy which runs through every phase of this report. We Commissioners believe that providing good health care starts at the grass roots. The building up of our health resources in terms of training more health personnel and providing more physical facilities must start from the ground up. We have recommended Federal grants-in-aid to these and other necessary activities because we believe that the role of the Federal Government is to stimulate them, not to control them. Government must take the leadership in the promotion of good health; its major energies should go here rather than in extensive direct operation of health services."

I understand this committee is particularly interested in means through which we can extend prepayment health insurance to cover more of the individual's medical bill. This was probably the most important subject with which our Commission wrestled during its year of deliberations; we heard more than 800 witnesses, and most of them were severely critical of the limited coverage offered by present insuranec plans. Statistical evidence presented at a 3-day Commission panel on the financing of medical care indicated that present insurance plans cover only about 15 percent of private expenditures for medical care.

The growth of private health insurance in the past two decades is deeply gratifying, but it must broaden its sights in the coming years. It concentrates far too much on covering minor illnesses, and spends far too much time and money processing small claims for $5 and $10 medical bills. For years I have been an outspoken critic of the fine print in these insurance policies; the policyholder who takes the trouble to read that fine print is dismayed to learn the policy excludes the big medical expenses which break the back of the average wage earner.

In a speech in October 1952 in the campaign preceding his election President Eisenhower came out in support of Federal aid for insurance against catastrophic illness. In September 1953, Mrs. Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Eisenhower Cabinet, told delegates to an American Hospital Association convention that "we have not yet found a way to save any average American family from destruction by the catastrophic illness. * * * Tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, strokes, congenital defects, cancer, arthritis and many other diseases by their very duration can still wreck many a family's economy."

The voluntary health-insurance system can insure these major medical expenses, but it must be protected against financial disaster. I have been advocating Federal reinsurance for a long, long time, and this recommendation was described in these words in our Commission report:

"Federal reinsurance of private prepayment plans to enable them to extend their services and still be protected from financial catastrophe. Each participating plan would pay into a Federal insurance agency a certain proportion of the premiums collected from its members. The Government would then guarantee to meet any liability exceeding a certain maximum, in a manner similar to the reinsurance principle as applied to other forms of risk."

I am therefore deeply gratified that President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message of January 7, announced that his administration would propose a Federal reinsurance bill to the current session of Congress.

There is nothing new about the reinsurance principle. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation does it on bank deposits, the Veterans' Administration does it on building loans, and so on. Probably everyone in this room has his home insured against catastrophic fire, but probably not a one of you has insurance against the catastrophic illness which strikes much more frequently than a disastrous fire.

Any insurance company, in order to qualify for such reinsurance, would have to meet governmental standards which would specify the completeness of medical coverage and outlaw the fine print which many chiselers put into present-day policies. I am unalterably opposed to the Government insuring health-insurance policies which aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

The past 5 years have witnessed a few significant experiments by insurance companies in underwriting the expenses of catastrophic illness, with particular emphasis upon poliomyelitis. I think the next decade will witness a tremendous growth of this kind of insurance because of insistent public demand for wider coverage. Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and many commercial companies see the vital need for catastrophic insurance, but they are afraid to write a lot

of it because they haven't enough actuarial data to set premiums which will keep them in the black. A Government guaranty will give them the needed shot in the arm to experiment and develop sound premiums and policies.

I realize there are many problems to be solved in writing this insurance, but I think there are certain general principles which, if followed, will guarantee the success of the venture. Here are a few of them:

1. Catastrophic insurance should cover the entire family, and it should cover all prolonged illness with the probable exception of mental illness and tuberculosis. It should underwrite all medical expenses—doctors' bills, hospitals, surgical operations, drugs, and nursing care.

2. It should have a ceiling payment. Testimony before the Commission indicated a proper upper limit of $2,500 for any one illness.

3. It should have a lower limit, below which the insured person will be expected to defray expenses. Some medical economists have suggested the insurance company should be liable for medical expenses that go beyond 1 month of family income. For example, for a person earning $3,600 a year, medical expenses over $300 would be a catastrophe; for the person earning $7,200, the deductible would be twice as high—$600. Whatever yardstick is chosen, the important point is this: the individual should handle minor medical expenses out of his family budget, but not be charged anything when these medical expenses get beyond his reach. This is exactly the opposite of most present health insurance, which protects against minor expenses but withdraws its protection when the going gets really rough.

4. Catastrophic insurance must spread itself over as wide a risk area as possible—the more policyholders, the lower the premium. It is difficult to estimate costs with so little data at hand, but our Commission studies indicate that it need not cost more than $50 per family per year.

5. How about the 50 percent of American families whose income is $3,000 a year or less? I agree with President Eisenhower that the Federal Government has a definite responsibility to aid in the extension of medical care to those who are unable to afford it. As we said in our Commission report: "One of the most important roles of the Federal Government in health is to act as a catalyst, to stimulate new programs and to expand existing ones." Through grants-in-aid, the Federal Government should make it economically feasible for both nonprofit and commercial insurance companies to insure low-income groups. With this important proviso: The individual must be left absolutely free to decide from whom he wants to purchase his insurance, so long as he chooses a reputable company which meets minimum standards of coverage approved by the Government.

Congressman Van Zandt Is One of the Great Legislative Leaders of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT visited my district in the State of Washington. He made speeches in four cities in my district. In each of these places many citizens would come up to him and say, "Hello, JIMMIE." Congressman VAN ZANDT as he shook hands with each one would call each greeter by his first name.

I was amazed at the number of people who knew JIMMIE and even more amazed by the number of persons JIMMIE knew by name. Other Congressmen, whose districts JIMMIE VAN ZANDT has visited, tell equally amazing stories of Congressman VAN ZANDT's legion of friends everywhere and of JIMMIE's amazing memory for names and faces.

But people everywhere do not only know and like JIMMIE VAN ZANDT. They also admire him for the fine qualities of ability and leadership he displays in everything he undertakes.

He is known in and out of Congress as one of the Nation's best-informed Congressmen. He is an authority on atomic-energy development, on preparedness and defense, on veterans' matters, and on foreign affairs. Many of us other Congressmen go to him for information and advice on these subjects because his interest in such national problems is wide and varied and his information on them vast.

Yet along with all this, Congressman VAN ZANDT always has time to handle the smallest problem of any constituent in his district, which is a large and active one. Handling these problems takes much time and involves much detail. One of the things one frequently hears about Congressman VAN ZANDT is that he never fails to personally read and answer every letter that comes to his office. He does this despite the fact that his mail is one of the largest of any of the 435 Members of the House.

How is JIMMIE VAN ZANDT able to handle this great amount of mail, attend to all his committee work, and take an active part in almost all activities of the House of Representatives? The answer in one word is "work." JIMMIE VAN ZANDT is a prodigious worker. He works long hours and he makes every minute count. Also, his attendance record is one of the best. Of him it is said, "JIMMIE VAN ZANDT is always on the job."

I was not surprised, therefore, when I read in the hometown newspaper of JIMMIE VAN ZANDT, the Altoona Mirror, of Altoona, Pa., that 400 of his hometown people held a testimonial dinner for him at the Penn-Alto Hotel in that city on January 9. This dinner by his hometown friends, who know him best, was a fitting tribute to Mr. VAN ZANDT for the fine work he has done for them, for his district, for his State, and for his country.

Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, the principal speaker, at this Congressman VAN ZANDT testimonial dinner said, "JIMMIE now belongs to the Nation." That statement is a true summary, I believe, of what JIMMIE's friends in Congress and his multitude of friends throughout the Nation think of him.

All of them will agree with the sentiments expressed by an editorial in JIMMIE VAN ZANDT's hometown newspaper, which reads:

A PATRIOT IN ACTION

Home folks and visitors from nearby counties, as well as guests from Government, labor, and military circles, paid tribute to Altoona's most prominent citizen, Congressman JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, at an overflow testimonial at the Penn-Alto Hotel last Saturday.

More than 400 joined in greeting the Congressman from the 20th District and high tribute was paid to his service with the Government.

"Jimmie now belongs to the Nation," said Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, United States Marine Corps, retired, who was the principal speaker. He referred to Jimmie's service being most valuable due to his long association with affairs in Washington and his activity with most important congressional committees.

Friends from Altoona and Blair County and the adjoining counties comprising the 20th District, Centre and Clearfield, joined in extolling Congressman VAN ZANDT and the record crowd heard him praised as "a living American patriot in action."

Mr. VAN ZANDT is now concluding his seventh term, totaling 14 years, as the representative from this district in Washington. He has soared to high posts in the Government and presently holds positions on the powerful Armed Services Committee and the Atomic Energy Commission. He is next in line to head the Armed Services Committee.

The Congressman first entered Congress in 1938, serving in the 76th Congress. He served for the 77th and 78th Congresses and then resigned to enter World War II, serving in the Pacific with the Navy. He also served in the Navy in World War I. He was reelected to the 80th Congress, also serving in the 81st, 82d and 83d Congresses. He has a service of 36 years with the Navy, including both World Wars, and service in Korea and other tours of duty.

The testimonial, planned by his numerous Altoona and district friends, applauds the fine service of Congressman VAN ZANDT. His on-the-job record at Washington is outstanding and he qualifies at each session as the Member most frequently in his assigned seat to answer rollcalls and participate in all sessions. He is one of the best recognized and best known Members of Congress, as well as the best informed.

Congressman VAN ZANDT most ably represents his district and Pennsylvania in the Hall of Congress. His friends are most appreciative of his record.

St. Lawrence Seaway: Weak Defense, No Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I am persuaded that the President's program, as outlined in his state of the Union message, will enjoy a surprising amount of support in the Congress and that there will be little in it that will not stand up under the inspection of a longer legislative look, taking into account our domestic and international commitments inherited from previous administrations.

On the proposition of building the St. Lawrence seaway, however, we have something that can bring little of bene-

fit to the Atlantic seaboard and would in fact set up a Frankenstein that would do irreparable damage to Pennsylvania industry and more particularly to the port of Philadelphia. It will be my purpose to oppose the seaway plan, and I find convincing support for my position in the following editorial appearing in the January 9 issue of the Philadelphia Enquirer:

SEAWAY IS WEAK DEFENSE, NO ECONOMY

Because we subscribe wholeheartedly to the broad principles in President Eisenhower's state of the Union message to Congress does not, of course, mean that we say "Yes" to every recommendation he makes.

To put it bluntly, we think the President has been sold "a bill of goods" on the St. Lawrence seaway and we hope Congress will save his administration from making the serious mistake of spending billions on that boondoggle.

Mr. Eisenhower supports the seaway for "security as well as for economic reasons." He does not go into detail on those reasons, but we believe he has been badly misinformed concerning this proposal which, the facts show, would promote neither our defense nor our economy.

Let's first look at the economic facts. The United States Army engineers, in 1948, estimated that the St. Lawrence seaway—at that time—would cost over $800 millions for a 27-foot channel, and over $1¾ billion for a 35-foot channel. This did not include the cost of deepening harbors, dredging harbor approaches, and dock construction. Obviously, all those costs would be much higher today than in 1948.

There is a second set of economic facts. The St. Lawrence seaway is purposely designed to divert shipping from east coast ports, including Philadelphia. It is frankly intended to benefit another section of the country at our expense. It is admitted that if the hopes of seaway backers are realized, millions in the Eastern Atlantic States will find their commerce, industry, and livelihoods undermined.

Easterners have been called selfish for objecting to that. But if there is any motive more selfish than a proposal to tax the whole country for a seaway of limited benefit to a limited area, then we don't know what it is.

In short, the seaway is not only costly and uneconomic in itself, but one of its avowed goals is to undermine the economy of one of the largest taxpaying areas of the Nation.

We will be told that all this is outweighed by the value of the seaway to national defense.

Let's look at the facts here, too. Let's consider, first, a fact which the most ardent seaway propagandists do not deny—that the seaway will be icebound, frozen up, out of business, for at least 4 or 5 months of each year.

Its construction calls for several dozen locks, all of which would be vulnerable targets for a bombing mission, and any one of which, disabled, would shut down much of the seaway for an indefinite period.

Finally, as to the argument that the seaway is needed to transport iron ore from Labrador and Venezuela, ore shipments over the long and tortuous route would be highly vulnerable in wartime, and that very slow haul would, again in wartime, probably force use of faster and better protected means of transport not only for ore but for all defense shipping in the St. Lawrence area.

Now suppose a defense emergency does not arise in warm weather. Suppose it arises in winter. Then the seaway would be as useless as a fifth wheel on a two-wheeler bike.

That's why we believe the President has been misinformed. To cut expenditures for our armed services on one hand and spend billions for a vulnerable seaway is a concept of defense mighty difficult to understand save in the light of political pressure from midwest politicians.

Above all, it is difficult to see how the proposal to spend vast sums on the seaway can be reconciled with the administration's tax and economy policies.

Pay Raises for Postal and Other Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is most important that the Congress recognize the plight of the Federal employee and take immediate action to relieve the strain of his economic distress. During the first session of this Congress much was said, but little was done and absolutely nothing was accomplished in that direction. Congress has reserved unto itself the power to determine the salaries which are to be paid to postal employees and to Federal employees in the classified service. Likewise the Congress has assumed the responsibility for maintaining those salaries at an adequate and just level.

We are all aware of the increase in the cost of living which has continued uninterruptedly during the past few years, yet nothing has been done for the postal employee to cope with that problem and he is suffering untold hardships. The last pay raise which was received by the postal employees and the classified employees was in 1951, thus for more than 2 years they have been unable to meet their expenses because of restricted, inadequate income and now stand with their backs to the wall pleading that we take notice of their problems and grant them the financial relief which they justly deserve.

The New York Federation of Post Office Clerks last year made an economic survey of its members, many of whom reside in my district, and found an appalling situation. Approximately 75 percent of the members were forced to supplement their incomes by working on second jobs or by having their wives take employment outside the home. Over 42 percent of the employees are working on second jobs, and about 33 percent of the wives are working. In addition to this, nearly 70 percent of the employees have had an increase in their debts during the past year, an increase averaging $540. Approximately 25 percent have found it necessary to borrow on their life insurance.

It is inconceivable to me that Congress will allow this sort of situation to go on any longer. These people are forced to rely upon us to secure a fair rate of return for their hours of hard work. By no stretch of the imagination can we say that they are receiving a fair return when they are forced to take other jobs to make ends meet, when they have to borrow on their insurance policies, thus decreasing the security of their families. We cannot say that we are meeting our responsibility to Federal employees when one-third of the wives are forced to take jobs outside of the home, when debts continue to increase—when, in effect, the very existence of the family is being threatened. A pay increase now, not many months in the future, is what the situation demands. We would not expect a man with a broken leg to wait months before a doctor was called, just to see if his leg would knit satisfactorily without medical attention. No more should we expect the postal and classified employees to wait months for aid which they need, and need badly, at this very moment.

We have heard a great deal of talk about the desire of the present administration to improve the civil service and the lot of the Federal employee. Certainly one way to improve it is to pay him an adequate salary. I maintain that there are no more deserving employees, no harder working or more conscientious men and women than those we find in Federal service. There is no need for me to tell you of the importance of the functions they carry out. They collect the revenue, they guard the ports, they carry the mail, they apprehend criminals and smugglers, they keep the records and the books, they give care to our veterans and our aged, they help industry and the farmer. Where would our country be without the men who are responsible for keeping our communications system in operating order? How could we hope to keep our Nation strong and healthy and prepared to lead the fight against world communism without the unceasing efforts of thousands of conscientious Federal employees performing jobs which touch our lives in innumerable points?

The employees who rendered excellent service over the years and are now retired also find that the benefits which they receive, are completely out of balance with the high cost of living demanded at the present time. For this reason the retirement benefits of former Federal employees should likewise be increased in order to permit these persons, in advanced age groups, to maintain themselves with respect and some little security. Many of these people who have no independent means, are compelled to accept family charity as a last resort for otherwise they would be unable to provide for themselves adequately.

My remarks may be summarized in a few words. Postal and classified employees are in serious financial difficulties. These employees are conscientious, hard-working, efficient, and deserving. Congress, and Congress alone, has the power and the responsibility to remedy their financial situation. The financial problem confronting the retired employees should likewise be taken into consideration and their pension benefits increased. It is obvious that immediate action should be taken by Congress to provide adequate salary increases for both postal and classified employees of the Federal Government presently employed as well as those retired.

Government in Agriculture—An Address by Hon. Karl C. King, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the House, and particularly those who represent agricultural constituencies, the appended transcript of an address delivered by Hon. KARL C. KING before the recent convention of the Vegetable Growers Association of America. This reprint is taken from the Packer, issue of December 12, and represents the straightforward thinking of a man whose practical experience entitles him to speak for those who still believe in free enterprise:

The subject of this panel discussion is listed in the program as "Government in Agriculture." It is a very appropriate title, for we have arrived at that stage in the development of our American economy where government is a very important factor in the success of any enterprise.

It must be admitted that in this country which was founded on the principle of maximum freedom to the individual in the pursuit of his own livelihood, with his success determined largely by his own ingenuity, we have now arrived at that point of development where individual ingenuity is limited by Government rules, and individual success is diminished by taxation to support the monster of government which we have created.

It is, therefore, altogether fitting and proper and quite pertinent to the vegetable industry that we should today be discussing the importance of government in agriculture. In the enterprise of producing food and fiber for general consumption, producers today are more dependent upon government gifts and government regulation than they are upon their own ability to meet competition on a basis of hard work and efficiency.

This is a timely discussion because it is possible that a majority of the people of this country will still vote for the preservation of the free enterprise system if they understand the signs of approaching danger. Our Republic was founded on the principle of freedom in enterprise, with the founders knowing full well that this meant the individual right to make a profit and individual chance of making a loss and going broke. Therein lies the most potent and most intelligent force for adjustment of supply and demand at a fair price level.

Yet the founders of this Republic knew that the success of this system depended upon the wisdom of the people, for one of them said that the free enterprise system will live only until 50 percent of the people find out that they can persuade the Federal Government to give them something which they have not earned at the expense of those who pay taxes.

Thus, in the specific field of agriculture, we find ourselves today in a precarious position, with more than 50 percent of the voters in American agriculture willing to destroy the free enterprise system because they have found out that through political pressure they can exact from the Federal Government fixed rewards for production regardless of how much the supply may be out of balance with demand. This summer's tour of the House Committee on Agriculture produced plenty of evidence that a majority of growers of every crop under high support prices will vote for a continuance of these supports. Many admit that the giving of such guarantees is no proper function of the Federal Government, but insist that, since it has embarked upon a program of arbitrarily distributing the wealth of the country, they want to get their share.

Of course, I should qualify this general indictment by saying that the members of the Vegetable Growers Association of America are not guilty, for it is well known that this segment of agriculture is still operating in a free economy with only sporadic attempts on the part of the Government to interfere with the law of supply and demand. Yet I must say that this is only because the master-minds of Government have been unable to devise a scheme for Government purchase and storage of perishable commodities.

Perhaps we of the vegetable industry should be quite content with this situation. But we, too, pay the tax costs of the Federal Government, and we, too, can be the victims of socialism, since it is quite evident that we must retain our free enterprise system as a whole or submit to a completely socialized national economy.

Looking at the whole agricultural picture in the United States, we have already abandoned free enterprise and set up regulated socialism in the basic crops: corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, dairy products, and even peanuts, of which the Government owns only 143 million pounds. It is hard to keep up with the total Government purchases of agricultural products, but a fair estimate at present would exceed $3 billion and some authorities estimate that the Government may own $6 billion worth of agricultural products by April 1, next spring.

The proclaimed theory is that the Government buys these surpluses so as to keep them from adversely affecting the free market. But anyone knows that these surpluses hang over the market as a dagger at the throat of any optimistic buyer who would dare speculate on future values.

What is the Government to do with these surpluses? If there is any merit at all to the theory of Government purchases to relieve a market, then the only logical thing to do is to dump these surpluses in the sea and let the taxpayers pay the bill, although this would have its bad effect by reducing consumers ability to buy. Some say use food instead of ammunition in dealing with foreign countries, but thus far every attempt to give away surplus food to foregin countries has had its reverberations in enmity rather than in friendship.

The farm subsidy program as a whole has cost American taxpayers over $20 billion. But this is not the only disturbing factor in this socialistic scheme. When Government commits itself to the purchase of surpluses, it must device schemes of regulating production. And, although acreage restrictions thus far devised have not been drastic enough to take the Government off the hook, you vegetable growers are all cognisant of the dire threat to your business in the diversion of restricted acreages.

What is the West going to do with 4 million acres which they cannot put into cotton next year? What are the wheat farmers going to grow with 17 million acres which the Government says they cannot put in wheat? Other crops not thus far supported by the Government are bound to have their free market destroyed by overproduction.

So the Government, if it follows through logically, must protect those producers by putting a dozen more crops under support prices. Thus we see this creeping socialism finally encompassing every agricultural product as a matter of logical necessity. It is only one step further to conclude that if we socialize agriculture we must march forward with the socialization of every other segment of our national economy.

I know you vegetable growers are fearful of the effect of this crop diversion on your program, and you have made well-stated please to keep cotton and wheat acreage from being diverted to vegetable crops. But I predict you are yelling down a rain barrel for the time being, because the Government does not yet have the courage to be so drastic as to tell a farmer that he must completely abandon the growing of marketable crops on restricted acreage. It will come, but we must live a few years yet under half socialism until a new generation, which never knew the free-enterprise system, acknowledges its complete subservience to Government regulation.

Old Order of Amish Mennonites and Social Security Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS E. GRAHAM
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter addressed to me by Bishop Joni F. Byler, of Volant, Pa., in which he sets forth the reasons why his sect are opposed to any form of insurance and requests that they be excused from receiving a social-security number:

NEW WILMINGTON, PA., *January 5, 1954.*
Hon. LOUIS E. GRAHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Please be advised that we of the Old Order of Amish Mennonites are opposed to insurance in any form according to the tenets of our religion.

We hereby request that our sect be excused from receiving a social security number for any of our people who work for others in agricultural lines or trades, or who are self-employed. We have no objection whatever to paying the social-security tax, but we do object to having any number assigned to any of our people, except as to employers. The point involved here is that we do not object to paying social-security tax, but we do object to having any of our people being placed in the position where any insurance would be available to them at any time, now or in the future.

There is the only insurance we Amish have and can use: "But when thou doest alms let not the left hand know what the right hand doeth that thine alms may be in secret and thy Father which seeth in secret Himself shall reward thee openly."

Fundamentally, we cannot accept subsidies, welfare, or old age pensions. Our churches provide for our poor and needy with raiment, food, shelter, hospital, doctor bills and other necessary expenses. We are also willing to help our neighbors of any other denomination or sect, or even our enemies. We apply the Golden Rule, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

This is a very serious matter with us, and we urgently request that you give our objections based on religious scruples, your most favorable consideration.

We hope and pray to our good Lord that he protects our good Government that we may still live in the way our forefathers taught us and the way the Bible and Jesus taught us.

We also feel like Jesus said about tax. "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

We, a humble sect of Amish Pilgrims want to try to live like the Scripture says. The fruits are love, joy, peace, long suffering gentleness, goodness and faith.

Sincerely yours,

Bishop JONI F. BYLER.

Unemployment in Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, last week I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD figures showing the dangerous unemployment situation in Michigan. The situation is becoming progressively worse and should be of grave concern to us here in Washington.

The Michigan Employment Security Commission, a few days ago, published unemployment figures showing that as of December 15, 1953, the number of unemployed in Michigan was 138,000, of whom 82,000 were in Detroit.

Over the past weekend the commission published an estimate bringing these figures up to date. The commission estimates that, at this time, there are 168,000 unemployed in Michigan, of whom 107,000 are in Detroit alone. This amounts to about 7 percent of the entire labor force.

The unemployment situation in Detroit and in Michigan as a whole is today as bad as it was in January 1952, when 107,000 workers were unemployed in Detroit, or 7.4 percent of the labor force. Unemployment at that time was due to material shortages resulting from the defense buildup. Today unemployment is due to lack of buyers and the backing up of cars on dealers' hands.

In 1952 there was good reason to believe that unemployment would be reduced when and as the materials shortage was overcome and as more contracts were placed when plants and trained work forces were available. Today, as of January 11, 1954, with the announcement last week of a Defense Department cutback in tactical vehicles on order from General Motors, Reo, and Chrysler plants that will mean layoffs of 10,000 workers and general uncertainty about markets if and when peace finally "breaks out" following the present truce in Korea, there is an urgent need for bold, prompt action by the Eisenhower administration to check and reverse the present trend toward more and more unemployment.

To show how deeply this recession has bitten into Detroit already, let me give more facts:

In the Detroit area since July 1953, 22,055 Chrysler workers with seniority have been laid off. In one plant, Dodge Main, over 13,000 seniority employees and over 6,000 probationary employees have been laid off since July 1953.

Last week Plymouth announced cutbacks in production that resulted in layoffs of 2,350 Plymouth workers and 4,200 workers at the Briggs plant and a layoff of 1,000 in a supplier's plant at Evansville, Ind.

The Hudson plant last week shut down production until January 20, throwing 4,500 employees out of work for 10 days.

Fight Reds the American Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the November 22 issue of the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. I have little to add to this editorial, for its philosophy and its internal logic are complete in themselves. I do want, however, to urge that this editorial be thoughtfully read and carefully considered for it has a great deal to say on an important subject on which we seem to have too little reason in some quarters.

The editorial follows:

FIGHT REDS THE AMERICAN WAY

"I refuse to answer on the ground that it would tend to incriminate me." That statement is being heard frequently these days—in congressional hearings, in grand-jury rooms, in investigations by loyalty boards set up by various cities, schools, and other agencies.

The immediate reaction of some people to such a refusal is a shocked, "Ah, hah. The witness must be guilty of something, for otherwise an honest answer could not possibly incriminate him."

It is only a short step to the next conclusion—that the right of refusal to testify on grounds of self-incrimination is dangerous because it is being used to shield Communists, security violators, Red sympathizers and spies.

That thought has brought about various demands for limitations on the right of refusal to testify and an effort is being made to convince the public that it is disreputable to refuse to testify against one's self in Communist investigations if not in other types of criminal cases.

Some Members of Congress want to clothe congressional committees with authority to force witnesses to talk by granting immunity from prosecution. If a witness could not be prosecuted, he could not incriminate himself in the eyes of the law by anything he might say, so he would have to talk or go to jail for contempt.

Attorney General Brownell favors such a law provided his Department could approve or disapprove the extension of immunity in any particular case.

Mr. Brownell also wants a law to permit the use of wire tap evidence in espionage cases. In that way a man's own words could be used as testimony to incriminate him, assuming, of course, that the proposed law would prove to be constitutional.

Senator MCCARTHY has proposed a law to deny tax free status to any educational institution having a faculty member who had refused to testify on the ground of self-incrimination. The sure result of such a law would be to put a high penalty on the use of a right guaranteed him by the Constitution. Also, it would fix a certain amount of Federal control on educational institutions.

Senator MCCARTHY and others have helped create in the public mind the impression that anyone who uses the right to refuse to testify must be guilty per se. Such an impression is contrary to commonsense, law, and history.

Is it reasonable to suppose the framers of the Constitution put in it a provision which would protect only guilty persons—a protection the innocent would never need? And what value would the right of refusal to testify have if the use of that right were no more than a silent confession of guilt?

Attacks now being made on this fundamental right stem from hysteria, a desire to shortcut the normal process of gathering evidence against suspected offenders and, primarily, from misunderstanding.

Refusal to testify is based on the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution, part of the bill of rights. The fifth amendment provision in one form or another is found in most of State constitutions also.

The fifth amendment says, "No person * * * shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The courts have held that "any criminal case" means not only trials in criminal courts but also hearings before grand juries, congressional committees, and other investigatory bodies. To be entitled to refuse to testify a person does not have to be formally accused of a crime.

Of course, the amendment does not bestow the right of refusal to testify on everyone. The right is reserved for persons who, from the nature of the questions asked or from other circumstance, are justified in believing that they are under suspicion and are in real danger of being prosecuted, either rightfully or wrongfully, if they answer certain questions.

The witness does not have to fear actual conviction in order to exercise the right of refusal to testify. Fear that an effort is being made to build up a case against him is enough, provided the fear is reasonable.

The United States Supreme Court has recognized, for example, that an excessively timid person would be justified in refusing to testify if he feared he would make such a poor impression under questioning that he would bring suspicion on himself which might result in his prosecution.

It is significant that the fifth amendment does not use the words "incriminate" or "self-incriminate." Instead it uses the words "witness against himself."

If in refusing to testify a man said he was standing on his right not to testify against himself he would give a more favorable impression than if he refused to testify on the ground that he might incriminate himself. The layman is likely to construe "incriminate myself" as meaning "prove myself guilty." That is a false conception.

Why then do witnesses use the term "incriminate myself"? The answer seems to lie with lawyers. The words "criminate himself" were used by Justice John Marshall in his fifth amendment decision in the case of Aaron Burr in 1807. That case has served as a precedent ever since.

Lawyers, to be safe, advise their clients to use words which would plainly bring the protection as defined by Marshall. But in doing so they bring unjustified suspicion on their clients in the pulbic mind.

To understand the fifth amendment it is necessary to look at its background. Long before the Constitution was written, there was a maxim of English common law, "Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare," meaning "No man is bound to accuse himself."

That maxim was a dearly won right which grew out of the excesses of the Inquisition. The purpose of the Inquisition was to pun-

ish heretics—persons who did not agree with all the teachings and tenets of the church.

In trials during the Inquisition no one could refuse to answer any question regarding his beliefs. If he tried to refuse he was tortured. He had no right to know who accused him. Children could be used as prosecution witnesses but not as defense witnesses. Often a court was the accuser and the trial judge also. Penalties for heresy included burning at the stake and forfeiture of property. Methods of the Inquisition were used later to punish political dissenters. Torture to extract confession was used even in our own colonial times.

When those dark days were over, men wrote into their laws guaranties against any such proceedings in the future—rights of trial by jury, rights of habeas corpus, rights of refusing to testify against themselves.

Our courts have been living with the right of refusal to testify for a long time. Congressional committees have run headlong against that right only recently, perhaps because they are now doing more investigating than ever before.

In most courts it is well recognized that the accused need not take the witness stand if he does not wish to do so. He has that right under the fifth amendment.

In most courts the prosecutor is not allowed to comment on the fact that the defendant did not testify. The exercise by the defendant of his right to silence may not be made to appear as a suspicious circumstance. In fact, if the defendant does not testify the judge normally instructs the jury that his failure to be a witness may not be held against him.

But congressional committees, which are so new at the investigating business that they have failed to adopt proper rules of procedure, have frequently shown impatience with rights under the fifth amendment.

If a witness declines, on the ground of possible self-incrimination, to say whether he has ever been a Communist, he may then be asked whether he ever was a spy, whether he ever stole secret documents, whether he ever passed secret documents to Communist agents.

When he is through refusing to answer those additional questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination his character has been pretty well blackened by inference and the headlines proclaim Blank Refuses To Say if He Was Spy. What protection has the fifth amendment been to him?

If courts suddenly displayed the same lack of feeling for the spirit of the fifth amendment that some congressional committees have shown, the entire country would be shocked.

Those who find fault with the fifth amendment keep asking, "If a man is not a Communist how could he possibly incriminate himself by saying he is not?" There are many possibilities, if we want to get into the field of conjecture.

He might, for example, know that someone had accused him of being a Communist and he may fear that if he answers the question he may find himself facing a perjury trial with his word pitted against that of his accuser. In such a circumstance the prudent course might be to refuse to talk.

No one could be so naive as to suppose that only innocent persons seek refuge in the fifth amendment. We do not doubt that many Communists have taken advantage of it. But those who take the position that only the guilty need the protection of the fifth amendment must, to be consistent, take the additional position that innocent persons are never falsely accused and suspected.

We can understand the frustration congressional investigators feel when a witness refuses to say whether he was a Communist. But, should we whittle away the rights all persons, innocent or guilty, have under the fifth amendment in the hope of catching more Communists?

Crimes such as murder and kidnaping are proved everyday without forcing people to be witnesses against themselves. Are not our law-enforcement agencies capable of dealing with espionage on the same basis?

We hope Congress and the country will consider carefully before trying to put any limitations on the fifth amendment. We doubt if a law to give immunity to witnesses in the hope of forcing them to talk could guarantee enough immunity to be constitutional.

If the Government sees fit to deny Government employment to persons who refuse to talk by invoking the fifth amendment, we can find no fault with that action. A Government job is not a right, but a privilege.

President Eisenhower's order to discharge Federal employees who refuse to testify is no invasion of rights under the fifth amendment because by taking a Government job a person automatically waives certain rights of privacy and secrecy which other persons retain.

However, if Congress should try to drive from private employment persons who have invoked the fifth amendment, the right to refuse to testify would become meaningless. And the next easy step could be the establishment of a police state, complete with wiretapping on all telephones.

In our efforts to stamp out communism we must be careful that we do not throw away our hard-won heritage of rights and adopt Communist methods instead.

The Need for Improving Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the Social Security Act was adopted during the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, those of us in the Democratic Party who have always supported this legislation have been anxious that it be continually improved to meet new conditions of life in these great United States.

While it is true that this program of helping our people prepare adequately for their needs on reaching retirement age was at one time a straight political party issue—with Democrats in favor and most Republican Members of Congress opposed—we have all been gratified over the years to see that members of both parties by and large have come around to recognize the value of this great idea in social progress. Today, few Members of Congress would deliberately and knowingly vote to end the program.

But we all know that the program is far from good enough to go on any longer without substantial improvement, including the broadening of coverage and the increase of benefits.

I am proud to join with scores of other Democratic Members of the House in proposals we jointly support for adding 10 million more people to the rolls; continuing the present Federal contribution to the States for old-age assistance payments to needy persons outside the insurance system without charging these costs against the social security trust fund—which must be kept sound; increasing the limitation on monthly earning to $100; payment of benefits and waiver of premiums for workers permanently and totally disabled; broadening to $4,800 the present $3,600 base on which contributions and benefits are based; retaining the present 2 percent contribution which went into effect January 1; and also developing a formula for higher benefits based on the increase in living costs.

These proposals, included in the statement authored by the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. JOHN D. DINGELL, one of the architects and builders of the present social-security system, will go far toward bringing social security more closely in line with current needs.

Address of Hon. Edward H. Rees Before the Federal Club Upon Receiving the 1953 Award for Outstanding Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Washing Star of January 12 makes a fitting introduction to the fine speech delivered on January 11 by Hon. EDWARD H. REES, of Kansas, on acepting the award for outstanding public service from the Federal Club, here in our Nation's Capital.

No Member of Congress is as deserving of this award, which in the words of the Star make him the "Government man of the year." Mr. REES was the pioneer in such matters as loyalty tests, efficiency ratings, the merit system for Government and civil-service employees.

He has been one of the best friends of the postal employees and all civil and Government servants, and it is to the credit of the Federal Club that they have recognized, fittingly, this conscientious, forward-looking, modest, and patriotic Congressman.

The outstanding address that Mr. REES delivered follows the Star editorial.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 12, 1954]

GOVERNMENT "MAN OF THE YEAR"

Chairman EDWARD H. REES of the House Civil Service Committee well merited the honor bestowed on him by the Federal Club, an organization made up of Federal personnel administrators and other officials. Actually, his designation as Government "Man of the year" might have been equally appropriate in any of a number of recent years. The Kansas Republican has been an outstanding worker for a better civil service throughout his 17 years of congressional service. He is credited with starting the movement for a Federal loyalty program and he has sponsored many measures designed to improve the efficiency of the Federal establishment and the welfare of its employees. The merit system has no more tireless defender than Representative REES.

ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD H. REES OF KANSAS BEFORE THE FEDERAL CLUB UPON RECEIVING THE 1953 AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING PUBLIC SERVICE

President Fuller, Past President Peterson, and Mr. Vallance, chairman of the awards committee, and other officers of the Federal Club, distinguished guests, and members of this great organization; it is with mixed feelings of humility and gratitude that I come before you on this occasion. There are times—unusual occasions—when words do not really express one's thoughts and feelings. That is the situation in which I find myself tonight. To say I appreciate this honor and that I am grateful is not enough.

I realize it is seldom in one's lifetime that such recognition is accorded. This is a major event, a highlight, in my years in Congress.

To be a recipient of this honor is bound to create a feeling of concern as to my ability to measure up to everything it really means. I know, too—and I would like to emphasize as much as I can do so—this recognition and this honor are shared by and with the people I have the privilege to represent in the Congress of the United States. It is because of them I am here tonight. It is because of your organization, and it is in their name, that I accept the award and the honor. From the bottom of my heart, let me say, "Thank you. With your help I'll do my best."

Now may I in turn salute this fine organization for its unselfish contribution to public service.

This Federal Club, composed of executives in Government positions, has a keen perception of the complexity of our Government's operations.

Your program has received commendation of Chief Executives over the years. I notice that President Harding said, and I quote: "I have been impressed that the club's administration and methods are such as to make it a possible clearinghouse of sound ideas regarding the coordination of Government activities."

This evidences your deep interest, as well as your knowledge and understanding, of the importance of personnel programs as a part of good government, which you share with our committee.

Too often people are prone to look at personnel as just so many units. As a matter of fact, personnel is, or should be, a composition of many individuals—men and women like yourselves—who have made contributions to our Government.

Many times Federal employees have become targets of unfair and unjustified criticism, because a few employees fail to live up to their obligations and responsibilities in Government. Too many times the discredit hurts those who should not be blamed. There should be a way by which employees could be credited with the many fine things they do for the Government. The incentive would mean much. When those who deserve it receive the recognition to which they are entitled, a great deal will be accomplished in making the Government service more attractive.

In the final analysis what the people of the United States think of their Federal employees is the impression that the employees themselves create in the way they do their jobs every day, and in the service they give to the public. All Federal employees should have this in mind as they go about their daily tasks. I think that Federal employees should have as their objective that they will add to, and certainly not detract from, the opinion and esteem that the people of the United States have for those in public service.

I would like to comment, briefly, on the job that our committee is doing in the direction of making our Government more efficient and giving better service to the people of the country at less cost.

Our committee has not sought the Kleig lights or sensational headlines. We have tried to do our job in an efficient and workmanlike manner and conduct our studies in a somewhat judicial atmosphere. We have tempered our decisions with some of the experiences that we have had in our private lives, and I believe that our committee represents a cross section of all of the people of the United States. In addition, it draws its membership from States where more than half the Federal employees are living and working.

There are occasions, and I believe this is one or them, when it is well to spread on the record some of the work that has been done and the accomplishments that have been made so these things can be viewed altogether as a part of the general pattern of our committee activities. They are some of the items with which the general public is not familiar.

For example, we recently made a survey of one of the large Government units, an organization having over 25,000 employees in Washington and throughout the United States. As a result of our survey a number of serious administrative errors and procedures were uncovered. As a further result of the survey the entire personnel program was changed. It was not only a change in the responsibility of the personnel division—and incidentally one of the changes made was the assignment of a civilian as personnel director instead of a military officer—it was as well a revision of the personnel responsibilities through all supervisory channels.

Another important study is being made for us by the Comptroller General's Office. This is a study of the military counterpart organization, at least that is what we term it; what we are talking about, of course, is the assignment of a military officer and a civilian in the same job. I have had an opportunity to follow this study rather closely, and I am sure that when the results are finally published this study will have a far-reaching effect in personnel policy and personnel utilization throughout the Federal Government.

One thing that I am particularly pleased about in the course of this counterpart study is the cooperation between our committee staff, representatives of the Comptroller General, and the officials of the Department of Defense. In fact, there is a good deal of evidence indicating that this study has played a large part in the re-evaluation of the needs of the military service, and savings in the military departments which will run to many millions of dollars. We have been most interested to follow the effects of our efforts, both here at home and abroad. Many of you have probably read in the newspapers the new plans to replace troop divisions overseas by civilians, not only at a great savings in dollars, but also as a means of calling our troops back and eliminating the need for heavy draft calls in the future.

In line wtih giving due credit for efficiency as far as personnel is concerned, I believe that something must be done about performance rating systems in order that due credit might be properly given to efficient employees. This does not necessarily mean that legislation is needed. The law establishing the performance rating system left a great deal of leeway on the part of the Civil Service Commission and on the part of management to set up performance rating systems that would be in line with the needs of their particular department. We have found, however, that performance rating systems must be improved. In fact, in some cases they have been administered so haphazardly that they have actually injured employee morale and operating efficiency.

There is still a need for revision of our annual and sick leave system in the Federal Government. I believe that Federal employees are entitled to know once and for all just what their rights will be. I plan to introduce a bill within the next few days which will, if approved, bring this about.

There are inequities in the Classification Act that should be corrected. I think, with regard to overtime, where supervisors and employees perform overtime work side by side because of emergencies, employees should not draw more money than the supervisor for that period of work.

I believe that employees above grade 10 should be given an opportunity to have longevity step increases based on length of satisfactory service, in the same manner as lower-grade employees.

In any reevaluation of the classifications of Federal employees we should consider to what extent the overlapping of grades can be eliminated.

Another matter which will undoubtedly come before our committee is the question of Federal employees' retirement. Congress provided for a special Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel to make a study of all Federal retirement systems. I know that this study committee, headed by Mr. H. Eliot Kaplan, has proceeded in its work with great vigor and has developed a good deal of statistical information and other data on the subject.

If there is to be a revision of the Retirement Act, it should have as its objective improvements for Federal employees. Our Federal employee retirement system should not go backward. I would find it very difficult, indeed, to propose any suggested changes which would not meet with the wholehearted and enthusiastic support of the Federal employees for, in fact, it is the Federal employees' retirement system.

Of primary importance to me, and to the Nation, is a Federal employees' loyalty program. You will recall that, as a member of the Civil Service Committee in the 79th Congress, I arranged for hearings, held in executive session, on the question of Federal employees' loyalty, and a volume of testimony was taken. That hearing developed the pattern, which has become public within the intervening time, as to the individuals and the means by which the Communists had infiltrated our Government.

It has always been my view that the Federal employees loyalty program should be passed upon by Congress. Federal employee organizations, veterans' organizations, and many others, have supported legislation which would establish a Federal employees loyalty program. Legislation on loyalty, which I introduced in the 80th Congress, passed the House with the support of all of these organizations.

This administration acted wisely when it took immediate action to conduct a review of the cases of Federal employees where there had been a previous full field investigation. This emergency is approaching an end and I think we should now have legislation on this all-important subject.

The loyalty program should be separated from the program covering suitability of Federal employees. There should be no lumping together of those who are separated because of disloyalty and those who are separated because of doubt as to their stability or suitability as Federal employees, but which does not reflect at all upon their loyalty to the United States.

It is well known that I favor a reduction in the size of the Federal payroll. It has become unwieldy and completely unmanageable. It is unnecessary that there are more than two million Federal employees on the payroll. The people of the United States are also of the same mind.

We must reduce the total number of Federal employees and eliminate excessive layers of management. We should, however, strive to maintain and improve the quality of personnel in the Federal career service so that fewer employees can handle the work and

do a better job. This can be accomplished only if we have a sound merit system.

I am happy that we have been able to absorb a large portion of current staff reductions by attrition rather than outright separation. I have always favored personnel reductions being carried out to the greatest extent possible by attrition, and I have also favored employees being given the longest possible notice when they must be scheduled for separation. These two things in themselves have been and are continuing to be a good cushion in the changing situation which is bound to result wherever the Federal work force must be reduced.

A total of 371 bills and 14 resolutions presently are pending before my committee, about two-thirds relating to the postal service and one-third to the civil service. Well over 200 represent employees' legislation of one kind or another, including 15 on salary increases, 57 on retirement, 10 on leave, and the balance on a wide variety of miscellaneous or fringe benefits.

Nine of these bills would effect either general or special adjustments in the postal rate structure. One such general rate bill I introduced last session, and extensive hearings were held on this legislation. When these hearings were concluded at the end of the session, it was understood that this legislation would be the first order of business in the present session. Action on this rate legislation was again urged by the President in his state of the Union message.

It is expected that the committee also will hold hearings on employees' salary and classification legislation as soon as the committee schedule can be cleared for such action. I have followed the usual procedure by requesting reports on this legislation from the Bureau of the Budget, the Post Office Department, and the Civil Service Commission so that these reports—which we needed if this legislation is to be considered objectively—will be available at such time as the committee may hold hearings on these problems. Leave, retirement, and loyalty are, as I have mentioned, other employee questions on which it is very likely that the commitee likewise will decide to schedule hearings.

Any discussion of the Federal personnel program would be incomplete without paying a tribute to the President of the United States and the effort he is making to improve the civil service, and provide a merit system in career positions in Government.

You and I occupy a unique relationship in our employment. We are a part of the Government whom we serve. We have a dual responsibility. It is greater than that of any other employment anywhere. Let us remember that for one group to prosper, other groups likewise must prosper. We are a part of a great America—none equal to it anywhere in the world.

Let us be alerted to that responsibility and serve to the best of our ability. Nothing less will do. If we are not willing to serve to the best of our ability, then we should give way to someone else willing to do so. May we be reminded also that if our Government should be destroyed—and it will not be destroyed—it will come from within and not from without.

The greatest sin that besets the people of our country, and a sin that has disturbed humankind through the years, is the sin of indifference. Let us watch, that it does not get us down. Make sure we discharge our obligations of American citizenship. It is your challenge and mine.

The Constitution does not guarantee individual security. It does not guarantee a living. It does provide for the greatest opportunity for making a living. It does not guarantee happiness, but, again, it does provide opportunity, like none other in all the world, for the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Let me repeat, you and I as American citizens and as employees and representatives of the best government in all the world have a great challenge and a great opportunity to make our Government better and a finer one, not only for now but for generations to follow. Let us work together in the achievement of that goal.

Eisenhower's Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SID SIMPSON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Quincy Herald-Whig:

EISENHOWER'S STRENGTH

There will be a great deal of congressional sniping at President Eisenhower's legislative proposals. This is an election year. All Members of the House and more than one-third of the Members of the Senate must face the voters. Yet the citizens will demand action, and the opposition is unlikely to become stalemating obstructionism.

The President's strength rests in his sincerity, conditions which make it especially easy for him to win bipartisan support, and his vast experience in the fields which provide the major problems in American public affairs.

Those problems are foreign affairs and national defense. In these hardly anyone will deny Mr. Eisenhower is an expert. The American people elected the President because they recognize these to be the biggest problems. They believe his experience qualify him to make the decisions which may influence the future of mankind for centuries.

Many Members of the Congress on both sides of the aisle also believe this. They know the President to hold lofty ideals. They know his political career is only incidental to his main goal—the welfare of the American people and the Western World. Having won support of voters of many shades of political belief, the President is in position to hold the support of sincere Members of Congress in both parties.

Eisenhower has given new life to the bipartisan foreign policy, in the formation of which he had a secondary role. He enjoys a military reputation never held by another President since this country became a great power. Therefore, his recommendation for emphasis upon air power and new weapons will carry great weight in Congress.

Congressional approval also of Ike's proposal for support of the Nationalist Chinese is likely. This may become one of the most important points in our foreign policy. Ike thus has served notice that we will stick with Chiang, that we will not join our European allies in accepting the Red Chinese at this time, that we want a clear-cut victory in Indochina, and free allies in south Asia.

There was a thinly veiled warning to France that we expect that country to give freedom to Indochina, a warning which will not be forgotten in the Far East or in France.

Perhaps the major controversies will center upon domestic proposals. Greater tax reductions than now in effect will be sought. There will be demands for another freeze of the social-security tax at 1½ percent each for employers and employees. Certainly there is no reason, on the basis of present social-security payments, for an increase. The boost, effective last January 1, means that low-income workers will actually have higher taxes, despite the 10 percent cut in income rates.

The proposed extension of social-security coverage to 10 million additional workers probably will win favor. It shouldn't affect the possible freeze of the security rate since any additions will produce additional revenue

Eisenhower's argument for his farm program was persuasive. The 90 percent parity plan, he said, was a wartime program to boost production. The situation now is reversed. In urging a flexible-support plan which would encourage use, rather than storage, of farm produce he will face the opposition of many farm areas. His proposal to dispose of the present surplus before attempting flexible supports may offer the solution.

His proposals for greater foreign trade freedom are worthy, but they will run into regional opposition. Intertwined is the whole matter of international finance, domestic production and markets, and the ability of foreign nations to use our own surpluses. The chances for a broad trade policy at this session are slight.

Eisenhower's conservation program was one of his best. He proposed that Government do flood control, irrigation, power and water supply work where it is necessary and local interests cannot cope with the problems.

Home rule for Washington will run into trouble. To citizens of other cities, it appears fair, but the District is unlike any other political division in the Nation. It was set up as the Federal Government's territory, much on the plan of a military reservation. The Government wanted to be free of control by any subordinate unit. Most of the people living in the district either are Government people, those who supply them, or their guests. The Congress is unlikely to relinquish control over its own property.

Statehood for Hawaii should be approved.

Eisenhower's proposal that the voting age be lowered to 18 is undeniably fair. Certainly the privileges of citizenship shouldn't be denied those called upon to fight for the country. But this is a matter for State, rather than Federal, action. The Congress can, however, make recommendations.

There is much to be done in committees before the major portions of the program reaches the floor of Congress. Generally it is a good program, and most of it should be enacted.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a radio speech which I delivered on October 1 last, launching a citizens' campaign in Mississippi for the preservation of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The speech follows:

CITIZENS FOR TVA

It is, indeed, a privilege to be able to join fellow Representatives and Senators in the formal launching of a citizens' campaign for the preservation of one of our most cherished

possessions—our great Tennessee Valley Authority system.

Most of you, I am sure, have heard reports that TVA is under attack in Washington and is waging a life-and-death struggle for survival. The reports, I am sorry to say, are true.

Before proceeding further, I should like to present a few facts about TVA—what it means to the Nation as a whole, to our own area here in Mississippi, and some of the reasons why we can't afford to stand by idle and allow its efficiency to be reduced even a little bit.

TVA was created just 20 years ago this past May—its purpose to improve flood control and navigability of the Tennessee River; to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of the Tennessee Valley and for the national defense.

Nationwide, the Authority has surpassed the fondest hopes of its creators. During World War II, electric power from TVA averted a crisis in aluminum production and kept new bombers flowing from assembly lines. The prewar construction of TVA dams and powerplants likewise stood us in good stead for a war crisis no one predicted.

TVA power was used to build the first atomic bomb and to hasten the end of the war. Today vast additional quantities of power are being used at Oak Ridge and will be needed at another plant being built near Paducah, Ky.

In addition to preventing an estimated $45 million in flood damage in east Tennessee during the past 18 years, dams in the Tennessee Valley are capable of reducing floods at Cairo, Ill., by 2 to 4 feet and lesser amounts farther downstream. This provides security from flood to 6 million acres of Mississippi Valley productive land and will reduce the frequency of flooding on an additional 4 million acres.

Let me recite just a few of the accomplishments we have made during the past 20 years in the Tennessee Valley region.

From a backward area—downtrodden since the Civil War and caught in the throes of a depression—we have developed on a scale unequaled anywhere else in the country.

Industry has pushed ahead of agriculture as a source of income—from a ratio of 15–23 in 1939 to 20–13 in 1950. The standard of living for farm families, based on such factors as electricity, telephones, automobiles and the value of products traded, increased faster than in any other section.

Industrial expansion is further reflected in a doubling of the number of employed in manufacturing since 1929. This has been accomplished by rapid growth in general business, trade, service, finance, transportation, and construction.

The abundant and economical power supplied by TVA has been the base upon which this growth has been achieved. It has been a broad base and an ample base thus far, because the men who head TVA operations have had the foresight to anticipate our growing needs and have continually increased our power supply as our needs required.

How well we can continue to progress in the future depends entirely on the willingness of our national leadership to continue this expanding base for our power needs.

Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the TVA Board, has said:

"It is utterly useless to press for industrial development unless you think also of a growing, expanding power supply. If you would destroy a region, you destroy its power supply. If you would hold a region to a lower standard of living, you can do it by placing a limit on its supply of electric power. If you would build a region, you build an ever greater and greater supply of electric energy."

Few realize the completeness with which our region has allied itself with TVA power. The original act, as advanced by the Government, provided for TVA as the sole supplier of power, allowing local communities to forsake all private-power sources on the assurance it would provide all their needs.

Residents of the thousands of communities served, by a popular vote, accepted the arrangement in good faith.

In good faith they have invested some $400 million in distribution facilities of the local municipal and rural electric cooperative systems. These arrangements were made in the confidence that the arrangement would continue to meet the growing power needs of the people they serve. The pledges were made by TVA in 20-year contracts with 150 local distributors.

Further casting their lots with the good ship TVA, residents of the region have invested millions of dollars in power-using equipment, buying billions of dollars worth of home and farm appliances. Investments were made in new businesses, industrial plants and industrial plant expansion.

We are, in a word, so closely allied with the entire TVA system that any cut in its power potential is a direct threat to our own economic future.

Here in Mississippi, the sections served by TV power face the threat of an artificial depression if adequate supplies of power are not maintained—of higher rates if proposals already before Congress are realized.

Powerful influences are at work in a campaign which, if completely successful, will mean the ultimate destruction of TVA and which, at best, will mean higher electrical bills for everyone—too high for many of the farm families which today are enjoying the benefits of low-cost electricity.

Sparked by the well-oiled lobby of private-power companies, this crusade has already resulted in TVA's severest setback in its 20 years of existence, and by the admission of its leaders, this is only the beginning.

During the recent session of Congress, the TVA appropriations was cut back $66 million. This included $30 million which would have built two new generating units at Fulton, Tenn., a source of vital importance to west Tennessee and north Mississippi. The redevelopment program was also trimmed.

I'm happy to say, though, that our efforts, coupled with those of State and city officials from the Tennessee Valley States, resulted in restoration of funds for two other generating plants and enabled us to salvage some of the redevelopment funds.

The move to cut back TVA appropriations was the first step in a carefully laid plan. Its proponents hope to cripple the power supply so that TVA consumers will be forced to turn to private power companies for electricity.

The ultimate goal is to persuade Congress to break up the TVA system and to sell it to private interests.

The groundwork for this divide-and-conquer plan has been laid by my colleague, Representative GEORGE DONDERO, from Michigan, who has introduced a bill that would abrogate the power of the Tennessee Valley Authority as sole supplier of power contracts.

The result would be a hodgepodge mixture of power sources that would eliminate TVA's power system as an efficient and economical source. Customers would end up paying higher prices both for TVA and private power.

The threat of Mr. DONDERO'S proposal is emphasized by his position as chairman of the House Committee on Public Works. He has already announced that he will hold public hearings early next year and has written newspaper editors and publishers, mayors, and cooperatives officials outlining his plan.

Here is a quote from his letter:

"It is becoming clear that the cheap rates of the TVA, once considered a boon, may soon become an economic blight. The very cheapness of that power, due to tax and interest avoidance, seems to have led to increasing obduracy by Federal legislators representing nonbeneficiary areas to pleas for additional funds for further free-ride generating capacity in your area."

His use of such expressions as "tax and interest avoidance," and "free-ride generating capacity" reflect an attitude which I regret to say has penetrated the top echelons of our national leadership. Fortunately, much of it has been due to a lack of information rather than a prejudicial attitude.

I am also glad to report that some of our highest leaders, on both sides of the party fence, have refuted many of these charges.

President Eisenhower, in what may have been a spur-of-the-moment observation, cited TVA as an example of "creeping socialism." Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York told a Senate subcommittee it is no such thing.

Long-time enemies of TVA refer to it as being "subsidized." Yet Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews called it "a profit-making enterprise." The facts are that TVA has returned a $216 million profit to the Federal Treasury, makes payments to the States and counties in lieu of taxes and is required by law to repay every dollar advanced it in the way of Federal appropriations.

Last year TVA paid $3,036,207 to cities and counties in lieu of tax payments and distributors of TVA power paid an additional $4,333,240. Total payments of $7,369,447 compare with $3,233,792 which represents all former property taxes paid on private power property prior to the acquisition by TVA.

In a speech in Colorado Springs last Saturday, Walter H. Sammis, president of Edison Electric Institute, told a National Exchange Club convention that the Federal Government could erase part of the national debt by selling public power projects.

The facts are that public power projects have done more to strengthen the economy by increasing tax returns from a local area than any other single factor and this is certainly true of TVA.

Records show that as a result of increased earnings residents of the Tennessee Valley area now shoulder double the percentage of the national tax burden as formerly.

Mr. Sammis' proposal also ignores another factor—the vast amounts of economical power supplied for such Government-sponsored projects as atomic energy development.

So vast is the rate of power consumption by the AEC that a saving of a single mill per kilowatt-hour means a saving of from $45 million to $50 million a year to the taxpayers.

For the benefit of you who may not be familiar with Mr. Sammis' organization, allow me to quote briefly from testimony by Gov. Frank Clement, of Tennessee, before the TVA subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee last May:

"In 20 years TVA has never requested funds to start a single new power plant that did not prove to be needed—usually before it was finished. In the same 20 years private power experts have regularly predicted that these same plants would create unneeded surplus power. Will the new administration and the new Congress fail to read the lessons of history and listen now to these same mistaken, shortsighted prophets of doom?

"This propaganda, attributed now to the Edison Electric Institute, is the same that once emanated from its predecessor, the National Electric Light Association (still remembered by us in the Valley) that was discontinued after investigations of the Federal Trade Commission and others disclosed the practices in which it engaged.

"The Edison Electric Institute makes semiannual surveys of future national power requirements. These surveys represent simply

an accumulation of the estimates of the individual power systems. In 12 successive semiannual surveys made during the last 6 years, EEI has found it necessary every time to raise its long-range forecast. What better evidence could there be that the private power spokesmen cannot even forecast adequately the power requirements of their own service areas? How could it be assumed that they would adequately predict the needs of the Tennessee Valley?"

How well the private power guessperts evaluated our future needs will be brought home to us—possibly quite forciby—in about 3 years, when the Fulton steam generating plant would have been completed.

Unfortunately it is us—the people in the seven Tennessee Valley States, not the private power people—who will pay through the nose if they guessed wrong.

I am happy to tell you that the battle for the Fulton plant, though temporarily delayed, is far from lost.

Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the TVA Board, has announced he will ask the next session of Congress to restore funds for the project and I am confident of strong backing of this proposal by many of my fellow members.

I would like to tell you of a way by which you can help convince other Members of the House and the Senate and the President of the need for an adequate TVA appropriation.

There is an organization, recently formed in Nashville known as the Citizens for TVA, Inc. Today Representatives and Senators in the sister States of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama are joining me in the formal launching by this organization of a campaign to tell and sell the TVA story.

The organization has a twofold objective: To arouse and educate the people in our own area to support TVA and to give them a means of arousing interest in our problem in other sections of the country.

Numerous methods will be used, among them a "Stump America for TVA" program led by 2,500 valley leaders, an advertising program and a letterwriting appeal.

You can contribute to the success of the campaign by giving it your full support. Mayor George Dempster of Knoxville and some of our outstanding business and civic leaders here in Mississippi are members of the Board.

They include Mayor James Ballard of Tupelo, Mayor James B. Buchanan of Holly Springs, Mayor Leslie Horn of Corinth, Mayor W. J. Propst of Columbus, and R. V. Taylor, manager of the Natchez Trace Electric Power Association.

Every Senator and Congressman from the Tennessee Valley is fighting hard to maintain and expand the economic gains we have made since the advent of TVA. We know that the TVA has been a material factor in the economic advancement not only of our section but of the Nation as a whole. You can rest assured that your Senators and Congressmen will continue their fight in a vigorous fashion. However, it is not their fight alone. It is yours, too. They want your help. They need it.

This probably leads you to inquire "How can I help?" The answer is simple.

Interest yourself in this new organization—Citizens for TVA. It is your organization, founded for the purpose of providing you—citizens of the Tennessee Valley—with means of bringing the truth about TVA to the people of the United States. Inquire about its aims, its programs, its objectives. Give it your support. Cooperate with its leaders or better still become one of the leaders.

In unity there is strength. If we will all work, fight, and pull together, if we will do our best, we can—we will—win this battle against those who would for selfish reasons destroy that which has done the most for us, the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Government Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago our President directed that Government contracts be awarded to firms in areas of unemployment.

Without any desire to criticize, I am completely convinced that such order is impractical and further, it is in complete defiance of the principle of private enterprise. As a matter of fact, this order falls squarely within the term of "creeping socialism."

If this order is not revoked by Congress, the principle of that order can become a way of life. It is said that this order is for the purpose of aiding New England textile mills. The troubles the New England textile mills are confronted with have not just begun, or are their troubles of a temporary nature, and this statement cannot successfully be disputed. Antiquated machinery in the New England area tells its own story. No one derives any pleasure over this unpleasant truth, and I say it only because it is true. This Congress will have the opportunity and responsibility of determining whether that order will be continued, or whether the principle of private enterprise will be upheld and the order abrogated by congressional action.

Bill H. R. 6864, introduced by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BROWN], a most distinguished member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and H. R. 6903, by Mr. LANHAM, of Georgia, a distinguished member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, are each for the purpose of annulling that order, and I sincerely hope that one of these bills will be speedily passed. Certainly, our Government should not be the leader in destroying the principle of awarding contracts to the lowest responsible bidder, yet our Government is doing that very thing.

Such an order will not even relieve unemployment temporarily. Giving work to a certain area only means other areas, which can produce as good or better articles at a lower price, cannot get Government work and unemployment will surely result in those areas.

In the district which I have the privilege of representing are many textile mills. It so happens that the owners of those mills, instead of declaring huge dividends, elected to install modern machinery. Further, these mills have plenty of competent, skilled, and loyal American labor steeped in the traditions of Americanism and it is a sad commentary on our American system that our Government has elected that these mills and laborers must remain idle although they can and are doing better work at a lower cost.

In 1952 a Democratic President approved a similar order and I vigorously opposed it, and generally the Republicans opposed it. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BROWN] led the fight on that order at that time. The principle is the same now as then, and a shift in Administration in no wise makes the order of President Eisenhower any sounder than was the similar order under President Truman's administration.

If preferential treatment is continued to certain textile industries, it can be applied and no one doubts that it will in the future be applied so as to give preferential treatment to certain areas in all of our Nation's industries.

This order is so serious in its consequences that Congress must act now if we are not to give lip service to private enterprise while seeing that private enterprise is crushed.

Terms Poland Key to World Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article that appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on November 12, 1953, by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen.

It forcibly describes truthfully the manner in which Poland was crucified and I believe the article should be of widespread interest.

The article follows:

TERMS POLAND KEY TO WORLD SITUATION

(By Bishop Fulton J. Sheen)

The principal reading of the vast majority of people is the daily newspaper. This means that their thinking is to a great degree standardized, that their knowledge of the world is derived principally from one source, and that what has happened is of little importance, for nothing is as old as yesterday's newspaper. But the past is not a dead past, but a living past.

As our memory influences our present actions, and our future decisions, so what has transpired in our political world determines to a great extent what will happen in the future.

Among the past events, perhaps no one of recent years so much summarizes our problems as the forgotten tragedy of Poland.

We remember some years ago writing these lines for a radio broadcast: "Poland has been crucified between two thieves." By the two thieves were meant the Nazis and the Soviets.

The American people in those days believed that the Soviets were sincere, despite Lenin's dictum that "we must use every lie, deceit, and cunning in order to establish world revolution."

We received a telegram from one of our censors saying that we could not make that statement over the air because it would be offensive to the Soviets. We sent back a wire saying: "How would it be if we call Russia the good thief?" But the censor did not think it a bit funny.

The fact was and still is that Poland has been crucified between two thieves. Eighty-five percent of its homes were destroyed first by the Nazis, and 1 million were made homeless. Then came the Soviets to give per-

manence to ruin and add new links to the chains of slavery.

LAUNCHED WORLD WAR II

It was because of Poland that the Second World War began, and so it was understood as men spoke of "Dansig or the Second World War." Though journalists today speak of Russia and the third world war, a more just appraisal would be Poland or the third world war. Poland is the cameo of the world situation; the knot of political Europe; the key to whether we will have justice or force in the world for the next hundred years.

The uniqueness of Poland is derived not from the fact that the Soviets have raped Poland and taken it into their imperialistic harem, but because at the end of World War II Europe concurred in the crime.

What disappeared was the Poland for which England and France took up arms, the Poland which was at the heart of the Atlantic Charter to which Stalin subscribed.

The Atlantic Charter promised that every people and every nation would be allowed to choose the government it saw fit; Poland was denied this, first by the invasion of the Soviets and then by the concurrence of Europe in the murder of Poland.

The United Nations never seems to see the inconsistency of the Soviets stirring up trouble through Africa and Asia and South America by inciting nationalism, while at the same time denying it to Poland and the other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Russia had no right over Poland—that is elementary international ethics. For Europe to give juridical sanction to what was taken by force, was to agree in the robbery.

Just suppose that the whole emphasis of the free world in the United Nations was changed. Suppose that instead of organizing political forces against the enemy Russia, it changed the emphasis and reopened the question of Poland?

DEFENDING A RIGHT

The stress would then be not on resisting an evil, but on defending a right. No nation is strong when it opposes another nation because it steals; but every nation is strong when it affirms that honesty shall be the policy in all international relations. There is more vigor in uniting for the rights of Poland than in uniting against the imperialism of Russia.

If free nations take not the position of loving the good, then the hope of Poland must be beyond all hopes of politics.

Then there must be combined in our hearts a faithfulness to the duty of restoring Poland, along with the enormous inequality of the task. Our hopes then must be likened to the flowers and trees that shed their verdure in the long winters, only to be reborn in another spring.

One hundred years ago one of the heroes of Poland, Mickiewics, wrote: "Poland, you will be taken out of the tomb, because you are believing, loving and full of hope."

If the nations fail, then Poland must trust in the Christ Who wept over the tomb of Lazarus, and Who weeps now over Poland. Poland will then find its glory assured in Him Who says: "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

Surplus of Wheat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the most valuable asset of national defense that this or any other country can have is a surplus of wheat—bread. That we have a year's supply on hand at this time seems to have unbalanced the judgment of many of our top administrators. All kinds of devices are suggested for the purpose of getting rid of this surplus. Some say, give it away to countries having hungry people. Even this would be a wiser policy than handing out dollars by the billions. No one seriously questions the fact that these billions will never be paid back to the United States. Some say, convey this surplus—of bread—into something else—any scheme to get rid of our greatest wartime asset.

In a state of war, all admit that wheat is a great asset in national defense, but now that we are in peacetime the situation is different. Just when did we suddenly emerge into a condition of peacetime? No peace has been signed, and we are still preparing for a possible war; men are being drafted, and the present moment does not present a peacetime situation, yet we are all wrought up over the possession of the greatest defense asset of all—bread.

Wheat is not perishable, and history shows that all wars in recorded history have finally been settled because one side or the other was short of bread. Our war between the States illustrates this conclusively. The South had to surrender because they ran short of bread. In the First World War, the Allies starved Germany out. In the Second World War Germany was starved out again, and the program adopted by this country to stop the spread of communism will continue until the aggressors run short of food. Just why the present administration is so worked up over a God-given surplus indicates that those piloting the Government are utterly unaware of what a food asset means to freedom.

The President's message seems more concerned on how to get rid of this surplus than it is in the stability of our national economy. Some surprising suggestions were made by the President. He proposes putting us on a sliding-scale support program, but agrees that the change must be gradual, not more than 5-percent reduction of support prices for any one year after 1955. While the support price will be reduced after that date, with the authority in the Secretary of Agriculture to operate this sliding-scale program, the statement is made that this will give the farmers more take-home money. If the President can reduce the supports and at the same time give the wheat producers more money, he would make Houdini look like a novice.

Does anyone want another disastrous depression? We are moving in that direction now. The President thinks that the farmer will be prosperous if the rest of the country is. There never was a more confused statement. Did not the last depression mean anything? Did we not find that when the buying power of the farmers dried up that the whole country went broke? Did not banks close until there was an order issued by Roosevelt to close all banks and start over under a guaranty of bank deposits? Did we not find soup lines in every industrial center of the United States?

Did we not have 15 million people roaming the countryside looking for something to eat? Did we not have to offer work through WPA to avoid a hunger disaster? Have all these acts been forgotten by this generation? When buying power was put back in the hands of the farmers, when interest and mortgages were paid, dispossessions by foreclosure and execution ceased, mortgage holders and coupon owners received their money, banks and trust companies revived, and we emerged from the depression only because the farmers of the Nation, the food producers, again had buying power. Where would we have been if we had done nothing for agriculture and assumed that by some miracle the normal business of the Nation would be resuscitated?

Probably another depression would bring this fact home to the administration and others who want to entirely ignore agriculture.

I am confident, however, that Congress at this session is not going to shut its eyes to the history of the past, no matter how many Houdinis may contrive to do the impossible.

The Withrow Bill (H. R. 2344) on Postal Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a statement by the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in support of the Withrow bill (H. R. 2344) on postal salaries.

I personally favor the Withrow proposal as I have introduced an identical bill.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS, WITH RESPECT TO THE NEED FOR POSTAL SALARY INCREASES

During the past year numerous proposals have been made, both in and out of Congress, concerning salary legislation for postal employees. We have studied all of these suggestions very carefully. Such legislation is more than vital to the members of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. Their livelihood literally depends upon it.

With congressional consideration of postal salaries imminent, we wish to make perfectly clear our stand on some of these proposals, as well as salary legislation in general. The position which we will outline is based not only upon our study of the various suggestions, but also upon the mandate of our last convention.

An increase in postal salaries is manifestly necessary. Not only has the cost of living cut the real wages of postal employees far below their 1939 level, but other increased expenses, such as higher taxes, have greatly reduced the net spendable income of post-office clerks.

These factors must be taken into consideration by Congress when formulating salary legislation. But they are not the only

ones that require attention. Equally important, we believe, is the large rise in the productivity of post-office employees. From 1945 to July 1, 1951 (the last year for which accurate figures are available) the volume of mail handled by post offices has risen 27.7 percent while personnel has increased 14.3 percent. These figures demonstrate a great increase in employee productivity. An employee has the right to share in the benefits of his own better work; that right is granted in private industry. As a matter of justice this right should be extended to postal employees.

For this reason we shall support the Withrow bill (H. R. 2344) now before Congress. This bill will bring the income of post-office clerks up to the 1939 purchasing level and will give him the benefit of his own work improvement.

A proposal by our friend, Congresswoman KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, of New York, in an effort to solve the postal-salary problem, has frequently been mentioned as a possible substitute for the Withrow measure. We cannot agree with this view. We believe that the major feature of Mrs. ST. GEORGE's recommendation, the tying of postal salaries to the Bureau of Labor Statistics index through an escalator, is detrimental to the future welfare of postal employees for the following reasons:

1. While the bill as introduced does provide a floor beyond which wages might not be reduced, the elimination or alteration of such a floor during consideration of the bill is far from an impossibility. In that event salaries could continuously decline—at a rate faster than they have ever been adjusted upward—during a period which resulted in a lower cost-of-living index figure.

2. The St. George bill sets a figure equal to 2½ cents per hour for each point of increase or decrease in the cost of living. That would mean an immense fluctuation in postal salaries—two and one-half times as great as in private businesses using the escalator principle.

3. Acceptance of the escalator principle would mean acceptance of the principle that a wage should at all times be tied to a predetermined standard of living and that an employee has neither a right nor a hope to aspire to a better standard. This is not an American principle. We should all hope to improve our standards of living, both as individuals and as a group. The base of all escalator arrangements immediately becomes the maximum and minimum beyond which progress is impossible. This principle is neither new nor workable. It has been tried and rejected many times in the past and it is particularly interesting to note at this time that many of the groups now saddled with this arrangement are seeking ways and means of eliminating it.

4. Acceptance would also mean that in the future the wages of postal employees would be set, not by the Congress, not by an impartial third party, but by their employer. The employees themselves would have no voice in the matter. They could do absolutely nothing if the basis of computation of the cost-of-living index were suddenly changed to their detriment.

We oppose equally strongly the various measures which would abolish national wage scales and substitute area rates. The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has always advocated the principle of equal pay for equal work. We still believe that this is the best yardstick for deciding salaries. To discriminate against a man because of the area in which he lives is as wrong and as stupid as to discriminate against him because of race, color, or creed.

The proposals for area wage scales are based upon a serious economic fallacy—that living costs are lower in small communities than in the larger municipalities. Rents and fresh foodstuffs, to be sure, may cost less, but these form only a part of the necessities a family must buy. Most purchases, such as packaged, frozen, or canned foods; clothing; appliances and furniture, tires, and automobiles, for example, are fair traded. Their prices are the same throughout the country.

We also stand opposed to the so-called reclassification of postal positions and wages at this time. Such measures would provide different rates of pay for different jobs in the postal service.

Contrary to the assumptions behind this proposal, men in the postal service, especially post-office clerks, are not "one shot" specialists. The clerk behind the window selling stamps must know how to sort mail and in most all post offices he does. To classify a man according to one particular job not only would work a hardship upon the work system in all post offices, it would also do an injustice to a great many post-office clerks. It would create a state of confusion almost beyond description.

Actually, the reclassification clamor is, in most instances, only a delaying tactic which is being used by the opponents of much-needed salary increases. These people know full well that it is obviously impossible for Congress to pass a necessarily complex reclassification bill before adjournment in July. The consideration of the hundreds of different types of work in the post office alone requires far more time than the remaining 5½ months of the current session of Congress.

In short, we believe that the $600 increase provided by the Withrow bill, H. R. 2344, is the only means of bringing the purchasing power of post-office clerks back to the 1939 level, giving them some benefit for their increased productivity. All other measures work hardships upon clerks and other postal employees, rather than improving their present economic status.

Cost of Jury Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable T. Whitfield Davidson, United States district judge for the northern district of Texas, on November 9, 1953, directed a communication to the Honorable Will Shafroth, Chief of the Division of Procedural Studies and Statistics, Administrative Office, United States Courts, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D. C. This communication was in answer to a communication from Mr. Shafroth dealing with the cost of jury service and making recommendations as to how savings could be accomplished. I have long been alarmed at the trend in this country to subject the rights of individual citizens to the decisions of administrative boards and bureaus. Many who have supported this trend have sought to justify it on the grounds that savings could be effected. To me it is tragic that the free exercise by individuals under a democratic form of government of their rights, privileges, powers, and immunities guaranteed under the Constitution and the laws of our Government, should be dependent upon and measured by a dollar-and-cent yardstick.

Therefore, I feel that Judge Davidson's remarks on the subject are most apropos and should be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. His communication follows:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS,
Fort Worth, Tex., November 9, 1953.

Hon. WILL SHAFROTH,
Chief of Division of Procedural Studies and Statistics, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SHAFROTH: I have your communication with tabulated statements attached dealing with the cost of jury service and making recommendations how savings may be accomplished.

This communication is one of a series that have reached us and also the subject which we have discussed in previous meetings of our judicial conference.

I take it you would like to have the viewpoint of one of the judges out in the field where the work is being done.

I note from your tabulation that the northern district of Texas had 126 civil jury trials last year and that the next highest district in the Nation, the southern of New York, had 105. Since we carry the heaviest case load of jury trials a report from this district would not be amiss.

A POLITICAL INSTITUTION

The jury performs a judicial function in the trial of a case. The jury system performs a political function in the preservation of our country's institutions. We cannot overlook this dual service.

Standing on the sideline looking on we often see things from a more impartial angle. Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the soundest political writers of all time, sums up the jury service of America as follows, and I will crave your pardon for using excerpts from his writings:

"Trial by jury may be considered in two separate points of view, as a judicial and as a political institution. * * *

"My present object is to consider the jury as a political institution. * * * When the English adopted trial by jury they were a semi-barbarous people. They are become in course of time one of the most enlightened nations of the earth. * * * Wherever the English have been they have boasted of the privilege of a trial by jury. * * * A judicial institution which obtains the suffrages of a great people for so long a series of ages, which is zealously renewed at every epoch of civilization in all climates of the earth and under every form of human government, cannot be contrary to the spirit of justice. * * * However great its influence may be upon the decisions of the law courts, that influence is very subordinate to the powerful effects which it produces on the destinies of the community at large. The jury is above all a political institution, and it must be regarded in this light in order to be duly appreciated. * * *

"I am so entirely convinced that the jury system is preeminently a political institution that I still consider it in this light when it is applied in civil causes. * * *

"It penetrates into all the usages of life, it fashions the human mind to its peculiar forms, and is greatly associated with the idea of justice itself. * * *

"The jury contributes most powerfully to the judgment and to increase the natural intelligence of a people. * * * It may be regarded as a gratuitous public school ever open, in which every juror learns to exercise his rights, enters into daily communication with the most learned and enlightened members of society. * * * I look upon it as one of the most efficacious means for the education of the people which society can employ."

It will be remembered that Judge Seybourn Lynne, of Birmingham, called our attention to this matter.

What de Tocqueville wrote 112 years ago is even more true today. I dare say there

is not a Federal court in the Nation but that that some of the jurors from the outlying counties do every session of the court come forward to tell the judge what they have learned and how they have enjoyed serving in the court. This is not only true in the more rural sections of the country, but equally so in the metropolitan areas.

Pardon a personal reference. I held court for 4 weeks in a certain populous area and tried one case that took 2 weeks and then continued on for a total of 4 weeks. When their services ended my jury appeared with a letter signed by all twelve of them telling me how they had profited by their service and they followed that with an alligator billfold as a more tangible expression of their appreciation.

When a juror observes the expeditious functioning of a United States court and the earnest effort of the court and the jurors to administer justice, he goes home with a higher morale than that before he came. He spreads that to his neighbors.

The American jury system does a greater service as a prop to the perpetuity of the democratic government than the same amount of money spent in any other agency. In fact, I dare say that it produces ten times more returns than most agencies designed for propaganda purposes. When the morale among nations becomes low their security and existence is also low. Nothing holds it up better than the contact of the people with their courts of justice.

THE SYCAMORE JURY

One of the recommendations made in your last communication, and which I have heard made before, is that the jurors be selected nearby the place of trial, round the court, and thereby lessen the cost of mileage.

To do this the citizens of outlying counties lose the benefit of the morale of court attendance. And then from a judicial view it is very bad. Our State courts have tried this idea until litigants and lawyers have become threadbare on the subject. In a modest county of 50,000 people we have seen the sheriff and jury commissioner endeavor to save and allow the sheriff to fill in the panel with picked up jurors. This created a bunch of hangers on, usually unemployed men who in the summer days sat under the shade of the sycamore trees ready for the sheriff's call. No one knew what their verdict might be. They were interested in getting the jury fees which they could get by sitting on the jury.

Moreover, in the same connection we have seen litigants request all their friends to be standing around the courtroom on a certain day when they were going to have their case tried so possibly the sheriff might put them on the jury.

This is not an untried experiment. The results have been uniformly bad.

TOO MANY JURORS ON THE PANEL

You make some very correct observations about how this may be avoided, but I do not know of a Federal court who is not observing already these recommendations.

This is November 9, 1953. A week ago today we started a term of court. The first case called went to trial. It took 5 days to complete it, resulting in a verdict of $70,000.

The next case which was called Friday morning, while the first jury was out, was also an important case involving over $100,000. There were not enough jurors in attendance on the court, so we delayed the trial for the marshal to pick up five talesmen, completed the trial during Saturday, with the verdict for the defendant.

On the first day of court we had about 25 jurors on the panel. As soon as the jury was selected we sent the extra members home for a couple of days. On Tuesday evening we directed the marshal to tell them not to come until Friday morning. Friday morning we went into the trial of the second case. As soon as the jury was selected we excused the balance of them until the following Monday morning. Therefore, we got along with 25 jurors and 5 talesmen.

Four days out of the week we used only the 12 jurors in the box. Two days out of the week we used the full panel. By letting the jurors remain at home for the 4 days they were not being used, we reduced the cost of jury service, according to the marshal's figures, $1,152. We run our court this way the year around. We can conceive of no cheaper way of giving jury service.

To reduce the panel to a smaller number of jurors, you are confronted with an interregnum between the trials and you would have to sit until the first jurors return a verdict before you start a second case. As a result the court will dispose of much fewer cases.

According to the clerk's figures, in the past 12 months we have conducted 71 jury trials, and we can't look back and see where a single dollar has been wasted. These trials included civil and criminal cases.

THE JURY SYSTEM IS INEXPENSIVE

The problem that you have under consideration is not to increase the efficiency of the jury but to save some money. Let me say, by way of parenthesis, that I am of Scotch extraction and I am wholeheartedly with you but, before we start to save, let us go where it is being wasted.

Your figures, on page 1 of Agenda 13 (a), show that the petit jury for the 86 districts in the Nation was $2,325,000. In this Nation we have 160 million people. From this you can see that the jury system and the benefit of its service as such only costs the American people 1½ cents, or 0.015 of a dollar, per capita. The jury, as a system, we think, is very cheap at this basis. Now, if we added the cost of the grand jury to that of the petit jury, it is only 2 cents per capita for both services, and we think, as a system, that it is worth the money.

But you do not propose to abolish the jury system. You only propose to curtail the expense. The most sanguine that I have heard on this subject would not place the saving over 10 percent. So 10 percent of 2 cents would be 0.002 of a dollar per capita. It would take you several years to save enough to buy yourself a package of cigarettes or a cup of coffee.

I do not mean to be facetious, but I would emphasize the fact that you cannot crimp or cripple our jury service judicially or politically in order to effect so small a saving.

Sincerely yours,

T. WHITFIELD DAVIDSON.

Record Industrial Growth of Western North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an excellent and informative article on the industrial growth in western North Carolina, written by Mr. E. L. McKee, Jr., assistant vice president of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., of Asheville, N. C., and a lifelong resident of the district I have the honor to represent. This article appeared in the July 1953 issue of the Wachovia magazine, an official publication of the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., which is devoted with its sponsor to the development of North Carolina.

The article follows:

RECORD INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

Western North Carolina—long famous as one of the Nation's most beautiful and popular scenic vacationlands—is rapidly taking the lead in the State's dynamic industrial expansion and development.

Since 1949, 35 major industrial plants have been established in "The Land of the Sky," that extends westward from Marion to Murphy. Total investments in these plants is estimated to be well in excess of $50 million; new employment has added approximately 5,000 workers to industrial payrolls; and the sum of new payroll dollars will, it is believed, exceed $12,500,000 annually. It should be pointed out that this extensive growth is being added to an already well-established and broadly diversified manufacturing activity in the area. With this new growth, the western North Carolina section has become an industrial region of first-line importance in the expanding Southeast.

The history of industrial development in this area goes back beyond the turn of the century, and, in contrast with the story of some other Southern regions, has not been confined primarily to the modern age of industrial migration to the South. For more than half a century, beginning in the 1880's, the natural advantages of the area, its extensive resources, and the aptitudes of its people have together offered an attraction for industry which resulted in the establishment of numerous units of some of America's outstanding manufacturing organizations in and around Asheville. These same factors brought about the successful development of a great many locally founded and financed industrial enterprises.

Western North Carolina offers a prospective manufacturer a fortunate combination of characteristics. It has plentiful, and in some cases unusual, natural resources. There is an abundance of pure water for power and industrial processes, an exceptionally favorable climate, easy accessibility to major markets, good roads and railways, and stable and progressive local and State government. In addition, the people of the region have shown remarkable manufacturing train-ability. With centuries of experience in handicraft manufacturing, the Scotch-Irish mountaineers rapidly acquire high skill in manufacturing techniques. Over the years, this combination of factors and resources has produced an industrial environment of the highest order.

Modern manufacturing development in the western mountains of the State had its beginning in the usage of forest products and in the extraction and processing of industrial minerals. The building of railroads, beginning in the 1880's through the mountain passes to the Murphy district in the far west; to the Brevard-Rosman district in the southwest; and to the Spruce Pine district in the northwest, gave access to vast stands of pulpwood, acidwood, and hardwood timber and to extensive deposits of clays, feldspars, mica and other industrial minerals. The pulpwood and acidwood timber stands, combined with availability of unlimited quantities of pure water, provided the bases for the establishment of two distinct groups of industry. One of these units consisted of two of America's largest producers of paper and pulp. The other unit in this initial industrial development consisted of independently operated leather companies located in mountain communities from Old Fort to Murphy.

The extensive hardwood stands in the region gave rise to a thriving hardwood lumber industry. The lumber producers now serve hardwood users throughout the Nation. At the same time, there are numerous

local furniture manufacturers who use the native hardwoods of western Carolina.

Western North Carolina's rich endowment of industrial mineral deposits furnished the basic raw materials for numerous large and small companies which extract and process these minerals.

Additional manufacturing activities, of a more diversified nature, came steadily to western North Carolina through the years. In the textile field, some of the world's leading concerns are located in the area. These include manufacturers of cotton blankets, print cloths, rayon, nylon, hosiery, yarn, and various other products. The variety of manufacturing that came to the region also included cigarette paper, shoes, electrical components, rubber products, flour, and poultry and livestock feed.

The resources and attractions for industrial development that are found in the area accounted for most of the earlier development, but since the war years the pull of these factors has been supplemented by a significant trend in American industrial location. This trend, which is represented in the tendency of industrial concerns to seek rural and semirural locations, has found a natural development in the mountain coves and river valleys of western North Carolina, which offer exactly the type of setting many industries are seeking. Management has found it desirable to locate new plants in uncongested environments where a healthy, progressive relationship can exist between industrial capital, management, labor, and government at no economic or technological sacrifice. This has been the motive behind much of the extensive postwar development of the area, and the possibilities for further industrial expansion in the many communities in western North Carolina are practically unlimited in terms of desirable locations. This movement has produced in North Carolina—and nowhere more than in the western section of the State—a new population group, composed of families which live in rural locations and devote their economic effort partially to industry and partially to agriculture or other forms of rural employment. In this way the family unit gains the advantage of living close to the soil and in small communities while at the same time obtaining, through industrial wages, a means of acquiring the products of industry that give this Nation its high standard of living.

The significance of this later industrial development is evident in the fact that 35 important enterprises have located plants in western North Carolina since 1949. The names of many of these are nationally and worldwide famous, and their Carolina plants in many instances represent the finest in industrial engineering and planning. These newer plants are engaged in many types of manufacturing activities, such as production of textiles for industrial and consumer use, hosiery, cellophane, munitions, industrial machinery, office equipment, electronic devices, and various other products.

The communities of the western North Carolina area have been progressive in instituting industrial-promotion programs designed to interpret to industrial prospects the advantages their communities offer as plant-location sites. The primary objective of their organized cooperative effort has been to interest industry in securing stable, diversified, and permanent industrial development. They have sought enterprises which were economically suited to the area, as opposed to the attraction of opportunistic ventures that seek only temporary advantages. This policy has been in harmony with the industrial promotion thinking of State agencies which are engaged in attracting industries to the State, and the policy also conforms with the long-established traditions of North Carolina, where a favorable climate has always been assured to progressive industrial citizenship.

The Federal Gasoline Tax and Its More Equitable Allocation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a companion bill with Congressman RUSSELL MACK, of the State of Washington, which we feel is necessary in returning more money collected in the form of a Federal gasoline tax to the various States. We are very hopeful that our theory be approved by the Public Works Committee of which we are members, so that the various States will be encouraged to further improve the usability and safety of our highways.

I have taken into consideration the necessity for larger percentages of moneys to be provided the sparsely populated States such as Utah, Wyoming, Nevada, and others, and at the same time return to the larger States a more equitable amount of matching moneys.

DIVERSION OF FUNDS

Last year, the Federal Government collected nearly $867 million in revenues from the Federal gasoline tax of 2 cents a gallon. During that same time, they returned only $575 million to the States—diverting some $300 million for other purposes.

Under the formula we hope to establish in this legislation the various States would receive 50 percent more money than is now allocated. Even with this increased allocation, several millions of dollars would remain unappropriated—but the allocation would be considerably more equitable.

As an example in the present inequity, I would like to cite the case of the State of California which receives $30,269,263 each year as its share under the Federal aid to highways program. During the same year however, motorists of the State of California contribute $78,403,000 in Federal gas tax collections.

PROPOSED INCREASE

Under the bill in discussion at this time, the return to California would be increased by 50 percent—or $15,134,631—to a total of $45,403,894.

Our neighboring States would also receive increases in the same proportion. Oregon now receives $8,661,811 and under the bill would receive $12,992.716. The State of Washington receives $9,240,247 and under the bill would receive $13,860,370. The State of Nevada now receives $5,730,198 and under the bill would receive $8,595,297.

This would mean that those States, where highway transportation facilities are of prime importance, would receive increased allocations amounting to more than $27 million.

AN EXPLORED THEORY

Last year, when the general road bill was before our committee, the theory of allocating Federal gas tax funds to the States was quite well explored. When the matter of increased allocations to the various States was under discussion, a colloquy between Francis V. du Pont, Commissioner of Public Roads, Department of Commerce, and myself, is recorded as follows on page 23 of the hearings:

Mr. SCUDDER. That would indicate that we should give more attention, by authorizing more money to the highway systems of our country, of the gas and oil taxes that accrue to the Federal Government through taxation. One of the problems we had last year (1952) was trying to get a reasonable amount of the money paid in by motorists for highway purposes, although I know it is not earmarked for that specific purpose. Generally speaking, though, a motorist feels when he pays gas tax that he is paying a tax for the construction and maintenance of highways. We had quite a battle last year to raise the amount that had been set by the administration from $450 million to some $550 million. There still remained between 250 million and 300 million unexpended out of the gas-tax receipts. We should allocate all of the money that is collected in taxes from the motorists, on gasoline and motor fuel, to the construction of highways. Has there been a policy set up by this administration?

Mr. DU PONT. Mr. Congressman, it is our understanding that our responsibility is one of administration and not of policymaking as to where the best sources of revenue are to sustain the arteries, if you will call it that, for our economic system.

Mr. SCUDDER. Then from an administration standpoint there is no limitation on the amount of money that the Congress might see fit to appropriate for road construction. It becomes our policy to say whether this money is spent for highways, or whether it remains in the general fund and used for other purposes.

Mr. DU PONT. That is up to the Congress.

Owing to the fact that every State in the Union as well as the Territories of Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico will share in this increased allotment, I am quite confident that the proposal we make—or one similar thereto—will be developed to a point where the States will receive a greater amount of money from the gas tax than they do at the present time.

It is my firm belief that monies paid to the Federal Government in the form of gas tax should be applied to highway construction.

SAFER TRAVEL

Of course, we must always keep in mind the fact that transcontinental and coastal highways are vital to the interest of California and its citizens. Tourist trade is one of the largest industries of our State. Through the construction of better highways we encourage travel and, at the same time, make the highways safer and protect the lives and property of the users. Through this bill greater consideration and attention can be given to the Redwood Highway which consists of Highway 101, and 199. Also, these funds would be available for the secondary highways such as No. 1, No. 12, No. 28, No. 20—and many others.

Better and safer travel can be made available through the equitable and judicious application of funds collected from those who travel the highways and pay the taxes for their upkeep and improvement.

Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith excerpts from Pope Pius XII's Yule message which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on December 25, 1953:

Despite such a generous outpouring of divine light from the humble manger, man still has the terrifying power to sink himself in the former darkness caused by the first sin, where the spirit grows callous in works of evil. For such as thus blindly follow their own will, through lost or weakened faith, Christmas holds no other attraction than that of a merely human festival dissolved into hollow sentiment and purely earthly memories. * * *

TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

It is to these men whose spirit is in darkness that we wish to point out the great light radiating from the manger, asking them above all else to realize the cause which in our time is making them blind and insensible to the divine. It is the excessive, and sometimes exclusive, esteem for what is called progress in technology. This dream was first cherished as the omnipotent myth and dispenser of happiness, then pushed forward by every device to the most daring conquests; and it has finally imposed itself on the minds of men as the final end of man and of life, substituting itself therefore for every kind of religious and spiritual ideal. * * * The supernatural world and the work of redemption, which is above all natural things and was accomplished by Jesus Christ, remain wrapped in total obscurity for those men who walk in darkness.

TECHNOLOGY FROM GOD

The church loves and favors human progress. It is undeniable that technological progress comes from God, and so it can and ought to lead to God. In point of fact, while the believer admires the conquests of science and makes use of them to penetrate more deeply into the knowledge of creation and of the forces of nature, that by means of machines he may better master them for the service of mankind and the enrichment of human life, it most often happens that he feels himself drawn to adore the giver of those good things which he admires and uses. * * * Very far then from any thought of disavowing the marvels of technology and its lawful use, the believer may find himself more eager to bow his knee before the celestial babe of the manger. * * * He will even find it natural to place beside the gold, frankincense, and myrrh, offered by the Magi to the infant God, also the modern conquests of technology. * * *

Nevertheless, it can hardly be denied that this technology which in our century has reached the height of its splendor and fruitfulness, is, through certain circumstances, changed into a grave spiritual danger. For it seems to give modern man, prostrate at its altar, a sense of self-sufficiency and satisfaction of his boundless thirst for knowledge and power. In its many varied uses, in the absolute confidence which it awakens, in the extraordinary possibilities that it promises, modern technology displays before man so vast a vision as to be confounded by many with the infinite itself. In consequence, it is allowed an inadmissible autonomy, which in turn is translated in the thoughts of some into a false conception of life and of the world, known as the "technological spirit." In what exactly does it consist? In this, that what is most highly prized in human life is the advantage that can be drawn from the forces and elements of nature; whatever is technically possible in mechanical production takes precedence over all other forms of human activity, and the perfection of earthly culture and happiness is seen in it.

DAMAGES RELIGIOUS TRUTHS

There is a fundamental falsehood in this distorted vision. * * * From this results the deep anguish of contemporary man, made blind for having wilfully surrounded himself with darkness.

Much more serious is the damage in the realm of specifically religious truths and of his relations with the supernatural to the man who is intoxicated with the "technological spirit." * * *

Not that technology in itself requires as a logical conclusion the denial of religious values—on the contrary, as we have said, logic leads to their acknowledgement, but it is that "technological spirit" that puts man into a state of mind that is unfavorable for seeking, finding, accepting truths and goods for a supernatural order. The very remedy for this defect, which would consist in a redoubled effort to extend one's vision beyond the barrier of darkness and to stimulate in the soul an interest in supernatural truths, is made ineffective right from the beginning by the "technological spirit" itself. For this way of looking at life deprives men of their sense of judgment on the remarkable unrest and superficiality of our time.

It is evident that whoever adopts the method of technology as the sole way of seeking truth must give up any idea of penetrating the profound realities of organic life. * * *

RELIGIOUS FORMATION NEED

The technologist, whether master or pupil, who would free himself from this limitation needs not only an education of mind that aims at depth of knowledge, but above all he needs a religious formation, which, despite what is sometimes asserted, is the kind most apt to safeguard this thought from onesided influences. Then the narrowness of his knowledge will be broken through; then creation will appear before him illumined in all its dimensions. Otherwise, this era of technological progress will achieve its monstrous masterpiece, making man into a giant of the physical world, at the expense of his soul, reduced to a pygmy in the realm of the supernatural and eternal.

But this is not the only harm done by technological progress when it is accepted in the thinking of men, as something autonomous and an end in itself.

Look for a moment at this spirit already at work among the people, and reflect especially how it has changed the human and Christian concept of work, and what influence it exercises on legislation and administration. The people have welcomed and rightly so, technological progress, because it eases the burden of toil and increases production. But also it must be admitted that if such a way of thinking is not kept within right bounds, the human and Christian concept of work necessarily becomes distorted. Likewise from this distorted concept of life and hence of work, men come to consider leisure time as an end in itself, instead of looking upon it and using it as reasonable rest and recreation, bound up essentially with the rhythm of an ordered life, in which rest and toil alternate in a single pattern and are integrated into a single harmony.

AS APPLIED TO WORK

More evident still is the influence of the technological spirit applied to work, when Sunday loses its unique dignity as the day devoted to worship of God, or when professional work becomes so dependent on and subordinate to the efficiency of the machine and of the tools of labor that the worker is rapidly exhausted, as though 1 year of working at his trade were to use up the energy required in 2 or more years of normal life.

As our eyes constantly scan the horizon in anxious search of some enduring signs of brightening (if not of that full light of which the prophet spoke), there meets them instead of the gray vision of a still unsettled Europe, where the materialism of which we have spoken, instead of solving, only aggravates its fundamental problems. These problems are intimately with peace and order in the whole world.

In truth, materialism does not threaten this continent more seriously than other regions of the world. On the contrary, we think that countries which have been overtaken late and unexpectedly by the rapid progress of technology are more exposed to the dangers alluded to, and more vitally disturbed in their moral and psychological equilibrium. * * *

Nevertheless our grave fears for Europe are stirred by the repeated disappointments which the sincere desire for peace and a relaxation of tension cherished by these nations has for years met with; this is also due to a material approach to the problem of peace. * * *

The materialistic idea of life threatens to become the rule of conduct of certain busy peace agents, and the mainspring of their pacifist policy. They think that the secret of the solution lies in bringing material prosperity to all nations through constant increase in productivity and in the standard of living. * * *

FOR UNION OF EUROPE

But no materialism was ever an apt means to establish peace. * * * Secure and lasting peace is above all a question of spiritual unity and of moral dispositions. This peace demands, under pain of further catastrophes for mankind, that there be discarded that false autonomy of material forces which today are hardly different from war materials. The present state of affairs will not improve unless all nations recognize the common spiritual and moral ends of humanity, unless they help each other to attain them, and, as a consequence, unless they mutually agree to oppose the cause of division reigning among them in the discrepancy of the standard of living and of productivity.

This can and should be done in Europe by forming the continental union of its peoples, different, indeed, but geographically and historically bound together. A strong encouragement to such a union is the manifest failure of the contrary policy, and the fact that the ordinary people in these countries expect it and consider it necessary and possible. The time then seems mature for the idea to become reality. Hence we exhort to action first and foremost Christian statesmen, deeming it their task to promote every sort of peaceful union between nations. Why continue to hesitate? The end is clear; the needs of nations are obvious to all.

If anyone asks in advance for an absolute guaranty of success, the answer is that there is a risk, but a necessary one; a risk, but in keeping with present posibilities; a reasonable risk. One must proceed certainly with caution, advance with well-calculated steps; but why distrust at this point the high degree of skill attained by political science and practice? They are sufficiently capable of foreseeing the obstacles and preparing the remedies. The supreme incitement to action is the gravity of the moment through which Europe is struggling; there is no security for her without risk. To demand absolute certainty is to fail in good will towards Europe.

With this end ever in view, we also exhort Christian statesmen to action within their own nations. If order does not reign in the internal life of nations, it is vain to expect European union and the security of peace in the world. * * *

The Christian statesman does not serve the cause of national or international peace when he abandons the solid basis of objective experience and clear-cut principles and transforms himself, as it were, into a divinely inspired herald of a new social world, helping to confuse even more minds already uncertain. He is guilty of this fault who thinks he can experiment with the social order, and especially he who is not resolved to make the authority of the state and observance of the laws prevail among all classes of society. Is it perhaps necessary to demonstrate that weakness in authority, more than any other weakness, undermines the strength of a nation, and that the weakness of one nation brings with it the weakness of Europe and imperils the general peace?

Free-Swinging Critics Should Profit by This

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent of the Members of this great legislative body so to do, I am pleased to present an editorial appearing in the Los Angeles Daily News for Wednesday, January 6, 1954. Clinton D. McKinnon, former distinguished Member of this legislative body, is now the editor and publisher of this great daily newspaper. The editorial follows:

FREE-SWINGING CRITICS SHOULD PROFIT BY THIS

Mrs. Rae (Mable) Suchman has publicly apologized to radio commentator Chet Huntley for saying before witnesses that he is a subversive and has added a cash settlement to her apology.

It is not Mrs. Suchman as an individual but as a symbol that concerns us. She has probably satisfied the ends of justice, at least technically, by her apology and settlement and we are inclined to be charitable enough to assume that she will profit by her experience.

We must remember, however, that what Mrs. Suchman did may still be done by many other persons who think with their emotions and are misled by the propaganda of lynch psychology. Calling every dissenter a Communist or a subversive without facts with which to back up the charge is not only libelous but definitely contrary to the American tradition of tolerance and fair play.

If any citizen believes that any persons using the media of communication is a subversive and directing the media to sabotage democracy, there is a place for them to go and make their charges. Those charges can be heard by sundry committees or by the courts. Loose charges aimed at silencing speakers or writers with whom we disagree is not only anti-American but probably criminally libelous and moreover they can boomerang. The day could come when the people who now propose censorship will be unpopular and when those who disagree with them are in power. In such a case it could well be that those who now seek to silence and punish their opponents would themselves be silenced and punished. We would oppose that as much as we oppose the antidemocratic techniques now employed.

If America is really to be the kind of a Nation the Founding Fathers had in mind in the first amendment and which a majority of Americans now have in mind, we must accord full freedom of speech and press to all, regardless of their views, as long as they do not actually threaten the overthrow of the Government.

We hope some of those individuals here who have had so much enjoyment in attacking free speech take a hint from Mrs. Suchman's unhappy incident. If they fail to do it they are likely to learn a lesson the hard way as she did. She could make a commendable contribution to the cause of democracy here by doing a little missionary work among them.

Dr. Russell V. Lee, Director of Palo Alto Clinic, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given today before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at its hearing to develop a health program, by Dr. Russell V. Lee is highly important. Dr. Lee is a clinical professor of medicine at Stanford University School of Medicine. He was formerly Chief of Preventive Medicine for the Air Force and also was a member of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. Dr. Lee is the director of the Palo Alto Clinic, of Palo Alto, Calif., in which 60 physicians are associated, and which serves that community and particularly the faculty and the students at Stanford University through a program of prepaid medical care. Dr. Lee is a member of the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association.

Dr. Lee made the following statement on aid which should be extended by the Federal Government to prepaid medical care and hospitalization plans:

STATEMENT ON AID TO PREPAID MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITALIZATION PLANS

(By Dr. Russell V. Lee)

I. OBJECTIVES

The proper objectives of any program of this sort are threefold: First, to increase the supply of medical and hospital care where it is deficient; second, to improve the quality of such care; and, third, to make such care accessible to all those who desire and need it.

A reduction in the overall costs of these services might seem also to be a proper objective. This is not necessarily the case. In fact there are many and abundantly good reasons why the total expenditures for health should be increased. It is demonstrable that health, life itself, indeed, can actually be purchased. If America is to have the superb health care which modern medical knowledge makes possible, she must be prepared to pay for it; first in the provision of more personnel through the enlargement of medical and paramedical training programs; second in the provision of more and better facilities such as hospitals, clinics, etc.; and third, through generous support of research from which new knowledge is to come. More money, not less, should be spent for health. The better distribution of the load of payment is the real objective of a prepayment program. To be sure, in doing this organization task properly, many economies can be achieved and these are not to be disdained. Such devices as group practice not only make care of higher quality possible but also decrease costs.

II. CATEGORIES OF PREPAYMENT

In general the payment of the health bill is divisible into two parts, viz, the hospital bill and the bill for physician's services. In addition there is the bill for drugs, apparatus, and services of paramedical personnel but the first two account for the bulk of the money required. Prepayment plans for hospital care should be kept separate from those for medical services. The plans, and unfortunately there are many of them, that have combined hospital with medical and surgical benefits have not been altogether wise because of their tendency to encourage unnecessary hospitalization and unnecessary surgery. The two problems also are essentially different: that of the hospital being largely one of finding dollars; that of medical and surgical coverage being one of providing the services of physician-surgeons. Insurance methods are quite suitable for the solution of the hospital bill. The principle of prepayment for services to be rendered is also applicable to the physician's bill. It can be said, in general, that where the participation is very wide as in Michigan and some other places, the present hospital insurance plans are satisfactory and after help in starting can be made self-supporting. Help is needed for these plans to make it possible for them to insure groups at present regarded as impossibly poor risks, such as the aged, etc. And help is needed for those indigent and borderline indigents who cannot afford to purchase such insurance. With help of this kind, viz, to the plans to enable wider coverage and to the poor people to pay the premiums the hospital bill problem can be solved.

At the present time in this country hospitalization is provided largely at governmental expense if one includes the hospitalization of the mentally ill which accounts for 45 percent of the beds. In addition to the care of the insane by the States, local governments usually at the county level provide for the indigent and usually by the provision of the services directly. The Federal Government provides most of the hospitalization for veterans, all of it for the military, the merchant mariners, and in theory (but in very poor practice) for the indigent Indians. For the rest of us hospitalization is provided for in a variety of ways of which the principal one is rapidly becoming insurance. Over one-half of the population is covered in some degree at least by hospitalization insurance. This is issued by nonprofit physician-sponsored plans such as the Blue Cross; by cooperatives such as the Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound (Seattle); by commercial insurance companies; by industry directly as in the case of the Southern Pacific Railroad; and by unions as in the case of the United Mine Workers. There is the widest range of benefits and the widest range of costs. Study to lead to some kind of standardization of these plans is needed.

The payment for physicians' services is also made in a great variety of ways. Though, to be sure, the total coverage is much less extensive percentagewise than in the case of hospital care. Much the same agencies are involved as those involved in the provision for hospital bills but the different nature of the problem has led to different approaches. Disregarding the medical services furnished by Government at every level, one finds that for the general public two types of coverage are available: one that pro-

vides a cash idemnity for loss incurred for physician's services, and the other which provides the services as such directly. In most cases the private insurance companies provide the idemenity type of coverage; the cooperatives, the Blue Shield, and the unions service type. Under most Blue Shield plans, however, the physicians themselves are paid on a fee-for-service basis in accordance with an agreed upon fee schedule, which is, alas, often not met due to the total of the charges exceeding the total of the funds available. Another type, also a service contract, is that exemplified by HIP of New York and Kaiser of California under which more or less comprehensive services are rendered by a group of physicians directly to a group of patients for a fixed monthly or yearly fee—the so-called capitation system. This seems to be popular with the customers. There are other systems of lesser importance such as the various company plans under which a physician, usually on a salary, renders care to the employees of a company. Similar arrangements are frequently made for students in colleges. The old "lodge doctor" operated in a somewhat similar way.

III. DEMAND AND DEFICIENCIES

There is no mistaking the trend. The public is demanding prepaid plans for medical services. There is also unfortunately ample evidence that the public is not entirely pleased with the plans it has been offered. There are three valid objections to three real deficiencies: First, the quantity of the care available under a given plan is not enough; second, the quality is poor; and third, it costs so much it is inaccessible to those who need it. These deficiencies must be remedied if the objections are to be overcome. They can be.

IV. PROGRAM FOR GOVERNMENTAL AID FOR PREPAYMENT PLANS

1. Health Insurance Bureau

The first necessity is for study, then planning, and then projection of proper programs. To accomplish this there should be established a bureau in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare whose functions are, first, to study all available material which deals with presently offered insurance and prepayment for medical and hospital costs; second, to organize and analyze these offerings; and third, to present the findings to Congress, the President, and the people in the form of a definitive study of the situation as it now exists. Then, and on the basis of these studies, this bureau should draw up standards to which all plans should conform if they are to receive governmental assistance. In addition the bureau should not hesitate to indicate the form the new plans should take if they are to meet the needs adequately. This bureau in addition to its function of study, and its function of planning and projection should also act as a judicial body to determine if proffered plans meet acceptable standards.

2. Federal reinsurance of existing plans

Present voluntary nonprofit insurance and prepayment plans for hospitalization and medical care could expand their services, include more classes of people, and plan more boldly if the Federal Government would reinsure these plans against losses. This of course presupposes that the plans applying for this reinsurance met acceptable standards and are administered in an honest and prudent manner. The prepaid commission in the United States Public Health Service should have responsibility for processing applications and issuing the reinsurance.

3. Federal aid to indigents

It would be highly desirable from every point of view if medical care of indigents could be furnished through insurance rather than by the rendition of services directly by the governmental agency responsible for such people. There has been great concern about those not completely indigent but who need some assistance in order to be able to purchase proper coverage. The Federal Government might aid in the solution of this problem and encourage this highly desirable method of dealing with the depressing problem of the medically indigent by undertaking to match funds with States who are willing to initiate and administer a program of buying prepaid hospital and medical insurance for this class of people.

4. Federal purchase of insurance for its beneficiaries

The Federal Government and its various agencies could render great assistance to the present voluntary prepayment plans by purchasing insurance from such plans as meet proper standards in lieu of the direct provision of medical services. Such classes would include veterans, dependents of military personnel, merchant marinera, Indians, etc. Such a practice would place the care of these people in the hands of their own personal physicians, would permit the Government to get out of the hospital business to a great extent, and would greatly improve the facilities available for all the population.

5. Federal loans to prepayment plans

Loans, repayable with interest, should be made by the Federal Government to prepayment plans in order (1) to permit new plans to be organized where none exist; (2) to permit presently existing plans to expand to meet the present needs; and (3) to permit improvement in the services rendered.

6. Federal loans to groups and clinics

Many groups and clinics would be organized and would be willing and able to give comprehensive medical care to groups of patients on a prepaid basis if they had funds to build a proper physical plant and other facilities. Loans on an FHA basis should be made to such groups as show their willingness and ability to furnish such a service. This money would all be returned with interest and the building of such facilities would have a salutary effect upon the national economy.

SUMMARY

There is strong public demand for prepaid health care. The present plans need study, improvement, and standardization. The Federal Government can aid by establishing a Federal prepayment bureau, by reinsurance of voluntary plans, by aiding the poor to purchase such coverage, by utilizing such coverage for its own beneficiaries, by loans to present and projected plans, and by loans to groups for the provision of physical facilities for furnishing prepaid medical care.

3-D Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. MILLET HAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, we hear frequent complaints about double taxation resulting from the taxing of corporate profits and then taxing what is left as dividends to the stockholder. The Bridgeton (N. J.) Evening News points out that this is really triple taxation because the stockholder has originally paid taxes on his earnings prior to his investment in corporate securities. Their editorial, entitled "3-D Taxation," is appended for the interest of the House, and particularly for the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means:

3-D TAXATION NOTHING NEW

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States recently pointed out, in a statement prepared for the House Ways and Means Committee, that while 3-D is the newest thing in Hollywood it's an old story to millions of American taxpayers.

These taxpayers are investors—the people who put part of their savings in the stocks of corporations and thus make possible employment for tens of millions of other people, as well as themselves, and keep the vast economic machine running.

Here's how 3-D taxation works. First, the investor must pay a tax on whatever he earns—which includes the money he later uses to buy his stock. Second, the corporation in which he invests must pay a tax on its earnings before it can pay him any dividends. Third, whatever he gets in the way of dividends is taxed again. In short, the investor pays income tax on taxed dividends of taxed savings.

That this is a gross injustice to investors goes without saying. But the investor's interest is the smallest factor involved. In the long run, the main sufferers from such punitive tax policies are the American people as a whole. For when we discourage investment in enterprise, we discourage industrial expansion and progress—and everything which makes for more and better jobs, and higher living standards for us all. That's why 3-D taxation is a problem that affects everyone.

Governor Dewey Should Read His Own Book

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "Governor Dewey Forgets," which appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal on January 6, 1954:

GOVERNOR DEWEY FORGETS

In a recent political speech at Hartford, Conn., one that was widely quoted and discussed, Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, said:

"Whenever anybody mentions the words 'Truman' and 'Democrat' to you, for the rest of your lives remember that those words are synonyms with Americans dying, thousands of miles from home. * * * Remember that the words 'Truman' and 'Democrat' mean the loss of 450 million Chinese to the free world. Remember that the words 'Truman' and 'Democrat' mean diplomatic failure, death, and tragedy."

That ill-tempered blast was most unfortunate, and has been deplored by all Republicans save those chronic Acheson-haters who are blind and unreasoning as their opposite numbers in the Democratic Party, the Hoover haters.

The Hartford attack on a former President and his Secretary of State was unworthy of a man who enjoys some stature as a statesman, the able Governor of a great State who twice has been the nominee of a major political party for the Presidency of the United States.

Did Governor Dewey really mean what he said at Hartford?

A little more than a year ago, during a presidential election campaign, Governor Dewey published a book called Journey to the Far Pacific, a record of the New York Governor's conclusions after a rather intensive study of conditions in the Far East.

He has visited Japan and Korea and had opportunity, because of his official position, to talk to military leaders and civil authorities. He visited the Korean fighting front.

In that book Governor Dewey traced the background of Russian aggression in China and the historic inevitability of a clash between east and west in the Far East in a test of "freedom and absolutism." Governor Dewey wrote:

"I am deeply convinced that if we had not sent troops to defend Korea * * * all southeast Asia would have gone Communist."

Governor Dewey denounced sharply "unfounded or ignorant criticism" in the United States which left "an ugly trail of damage done our diplomatic services." He was referring to the charges made in this country that China went Communist because of the acts of American diplomats who must have been traitors, or "fronts for traitors."

Governor Dewey should read his own book and his own characterization of people, whose ignorance and ill-tempered criticism damage the cause of the free world in its continuing fight against communism.

Address by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, Before the Women's Press Club in Washington, on January 6, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM RAYBURN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an address delivered January 6 before the Women's Press Club in Washington by Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, senior Senator from Texas.

Senator JOHNSON, the able Democratic leader in the Senate, expressed wittily and convincingly in this address the feeling of many of his fellow Democrats about the trend of these political times. I believe his remarks will prove both edifying and informative to the Members, and I commend it to their attention:

For the past few weeks, I have been following the newspaper predictions on the coming session of Congress.

At times they have left me slightly bewildered. I cannot decide whether I am reading political writers or sports writers. I cannot make up my mind whether I am back in Washington for a legislative meeting or a prize fight.

I have been culling a few maverick phrases from the headlines. One describes the Democrats as returning to Washington "fighting mad." Another speaks of the Republicans as "preparing to defend their title." A third says that "Republicans and Democrats are squaring away for the opening round."

Sometimes the headlines make me think Vice President NIXON will have to throw away his copy of the Senate Manual of Rules and start boning up on the Marquis of Queensbury.

Actually, of course, we Democrats are going to take the only prudent course—the only course through we we can truly serve. It is to examine the President's program item by item and take our stand on the basis of the national interest.

In the last session we supported the President when we thought he was right and opposed him when we thought he was wrong. The word "support" is understatement. Frequently, when we looked at the other side of the aisle, we thought we were going to be the "sole support."

In that connection we understand the Republican National Committee has opened a drive to elect a Republican Congress next November. It is rumored that the President contends privately this is an anti-Eisenhower plot.

We were told last year that 1953 was a year of study and that there would be no program until 1954. Now that 1954 is here, I suppose we Democrats should ask for our study year to study the studies.

So far, all we know about the administration's domestic program is this: They say, "There isn't going to to be any recession—and, besides, we are doing everything we can to stop the one we have now."

We can promise this, however: It will not take us a year to make up our minds and act.

We have a number of thoughts already. For example, we are very pleased that the administration is not going to postpone for another year the 10-percent tax cut voted by a Democratic Congress.

Sometimes we wish—rather wistfully—that the administration would stop trying to claim the child. But I guess that no childless couple can be blamed for wanting to adopt a healthy infant.

Incidentally, we don't claim there were no achievements last year. One of the real accomplishments was the dismissal of 39 employees from the Republican National Headquarters. Chairman Len Hall reports that as of January 2 he has placed 32 of them in Government jobs. This is the great crusade at its best.

We are also rather curious about the future of reciprocal trade. Everybody is for it. But so far, only the Democrats have done anything about it. We will do it again if only the administration can assure us a handful of Republican votes.

We don't ask for anything more than a handful because we know that is all the Republican votes that we and the President can get.

The President will find that we have neither bitterness nor hatred in our hearts. When he presents his program, we will receive it in the spirit of thoughtful, and not vengeful, men.

When a firm stand is taken against communism anywhere in the world, the Democrats will rally behind it. But we will not sit idly by while our strength is whittled away.

When strong measures are taken to rally the Nation's economy, the Democrats will be in the forefront. But we will not be passive before acts which will promote some sections of the country at the expense of others.

When bold, new steps are proposed to strengthen our defenses against aggression, the Democrats will support them. But we will not remain silent if the Nation's power is sacrificed for political expediency.

When honorable men are attacked by innuendo and rumor, they will find the Democratic Party a bulwark of strength. But we will not make our defense a partisan question.

When proposals are forthcoming to strengthen the protections for our farm economy, the Democrats will vote for them. But we will not be persuaded by any means to weaken the props under agriculture.

When realistic efforts are made to strengthen the legitimate rights of any group in our country—be it labor or business—the Democrats will approve those efforts. But we will not stand by and permit the Government to become the tool of any one group—labor or business.

These—and other basic issues—we will meet as they arise. We will hammer out our program step by step because in our country there is no other way in which a minority party can write a program.

In no case will our attitude be determined by the political origins of a proposal. We will not support any measure just because it was first advanced by a Democrat. We will not oppose any measure just beacuse it is advanced by a Republican.

We are much less interested in the parentage than in the child.

The basic test will be—and must be—whether a measure best serves the interests of all our people.

That test will not be met simply by registering support or opposition for individual issues as they arise. The obligations that rest upon a minority party go beyond mere reaction to actions of the majority party.

Those obligations also require counterproposals—measures which we sincerely believe will best meet the needs of the day. The Democrats are fully aware of that responsibility. We will meet it as responsible Americans.

There is another role that is sometimes played by minority parties which we will not assume. We rejected it last year. We reject it this year.

It is the role of partisan obstruction—of opposition solely for the sake of opposition.

We will not become a wrecking crew regardless of the provocation.

Personally, I understand and sympathize with my friend Senator KNOWLAND and his problems. We have a few ourselves. But one problem we don't have is a party half of which believes in foreign relations and the other half of which believes there should be no foreign relations at all.

There will be times when we can cooperate in the defense of our country and to advance its interests. Upon such occasions, cooperation will be granted freely and willingly. When we disagree, we will state our disagreement openly, honestly, and, sometimes, loudly and at length.

But we will not question motives, integrity, or patriotism. There is no monopoly on those qualities. We are all Americans seeking the same objectives—peace and prosperity. We can and should differ on the course that will reach those objectives without bitterness or hatred.

There is a line beyond which partisanship should not go. It is the point at which rancor and recrimination creeps into political debate.

We drew that line last year. We have not shifted its location.

In the past session, the Senate Democrats were able to support the President on reciprocal trade; on taxes; on Government reorganization; on foreign policy; on his appointments. We did not raise artificial issues. We merely went ahead and registered our support.

We were compelled—by principle and conviction—to oppose the administration on weakening our defenses; raising the debt ceiling; protection and conservation of our natural resources. We did not accuse the Republicans of dishonesty and lack of patriotism. We merely went ahead and registered our opposition.

It so happened that we were able to give the President a greater measure of support than he received from his own party. If he sends us the same kind of proposals this year, the response will be the same.

We are facing a session of Congress that could be one of the most important in our history. There are decisions that can no

longer be postponed—decisions that will affect our lives and the lives of future generations.

As Democrats, we took a minority view on the selection of the captain who will steer the ship now and for the next 3 years. But we are anxious that the ship arrive safely at its destination.

We seek no favors or special consideration. We promise neither blind support nor unrelenting opposition. We make only one guaranty—we are determined to be responsible.

As a minority, we are going to conduct ourselves with decency and dignity. We are going to set an example for the minority in the Congress next year to emulate.

In a recent campaign, we have heard a perfect expression of the will of the American people. We heard of a desire to march to victory on the basis of country before party; American before partisanship.

We Democrats subscribe to those sentiments.

The free press, the free electorate, the free people of this country will separate the partisans from the patriots. The verdict will be rendered next November.

But whatever the findings, it will not alter the stand taken by the Democrats. We are hoping for a session of achievement. We will do all in our power to make it that way.

No Nourishment in Platitudes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "No Nourishment in Platitudes," taken from the January 14, 1954, issue of the Stars and Stripes:

NO NOURISHMENT IN PLATITUDES

The veterans of this country cannot be entirely displeased with the state of the Union message which President Eisenhower delivered to the Congress last Thursday; nor can they be especially pleased. The Chief Executive covered many areas of interest to them and, as usual, the content of the address was more general than specific. It discussed all phases of governmental activity—past, present, and future—told what might have been, analyzed instant preparations, and held out promises in what is to come. Because of generalizations, we are, therefore, not in a position now to be overly critical, and we must await the content of some 14 additional messages to the legislators before we can place a finger on the more important issues that will remain undefined.

Perhaps the very fact that most actual proposals are to come in those later communications made it possible for General Eisenhower to depart from custom and permitted him to fail to promise all things for all people. A close but hasty analysis of the speech that was stated to make for building a stronger America and a brighter future for its citizens indicated knowledge of foreign affairs and a bold desire to solve perplexing problems with the interests of our country to remain paramount; war veterans cannot quarrel with that position. It indicated a wish to bolster our economic standing abroad with an assured reduction of money aid to former enemies, an objective that will be hailed by former servicemen. Defense measures that will cut waste and duplication while getting the most value out of every dollar and still maintain needed military strength have their blessing, and assuredly our veterans support without equivocation generous treatment of those who wear this Nation's uniform. Economic measures proposed will have the strong support of those who have fought the country's wars, provided they are exercised with justness and humaneness and provided also that their spread is wisely administered without undue burden on the veteran as has frequently happened in the past. The exercise of stronger internal security measures is long overdue, and we think the time has come to cease hampering the efforts of those who are trying to do something about it.

Also, none among organized veterans will contradict the will to ease tax burdens, to assist agriculture, extend conservation improvements, adjust the lot of Federal Workers, aid in education matters, agree to labor-management relations adjustments, insure adequate and proper housing, broaden social welfare laws, improve the health potential of the people and revise the suffrage rights of our younger citizens and of those in territories where it is not yet exercised. All of these are matters in which war veterans have an abiding interest, but far from the direct beneficial treatment that should be expected to have been promised to the veteran class in the state of the Union message—proposals attuned to campaign promises—there was none held out. The message was glaringly deficient in this respect and almost in this regard alone.

Two sentences only convered the subject. Mr. Eisenhower approved reorganization of the Veterans' Administration which, when completed, he said, "will afford a single agency whose services, including medical facilities, will be better adapted to the needs of those 20 million veterans to whom this Nation owes so much." There is a platitude written in empty words unless a later message calls for a direct reversal of form already being followed by members of the Republican Party.

Both in last week's address and in his telecast chat a couple of weeks ago, General Ike said that all of us are concerned with the costs of food, clothing, and shelter and that they are also the deep concern of his administration, and he asserted that cheapening by inflation of dollars affects savings accounts, insurance policies, "and every pension payment." He further made the declaration, altogether contrary to fact, that inflation has been halted. Perhaps those on whom the President depends for information are misleading him deliberately in seeking to reduce costs of Government at any hazard, but certainly such expressions indicate that the President is not acquainted with the facts of life, excepting possibly in the lush halls of the White House or at his golfing lodge in Georgia.

Again, and regardless of what the Chief Executive has said, or has left unsaid, veterans are not altogether in accord with his belief that everything is as it appears to be at the Veterans' Agency. The thought of opposing recommendations of the Hoover Commission by keeping VA operations under one roof gains our applause because we have been fighting the rape of that institution for a long time, but the administration by the agency of veterans' laws has been far from satisfactory, principally thru lack of funds to operate effectively and justly and because of the new application of the pauper's oath that seeks to beggar men and women who have offered their all for the country and for the people they love.

Last year, in considering the Truman budget, the Congress sliced Veterans Administration allotments terrifically with the help of California's Congressman JOHN PHILLIPS and a nonpartisan coterie of his colleagues. Regardless of anything the Californian might infer to the contrary, many of the cuts were restored by the Congress only after conferences urged by high officialdom and over PHILLIPS' objections. Even then $300 million were arbitrarily sliced from the budget of direct benefit payments. It appears now that two-thirds of this amount will be available in a supplemental bill, but the net result has been the regulation by which a veteran must declare himself to be a pauper in order to get free hospitalization; staffs have been reduced and services curtailed; new construction has been suspended in part; compensation and pension payments have been reduced by the wholesale, and thousands upon thousands of new claimants have been denied relief. And that's a hell of a way to treat with those 20 million veterans to whom, General Eisenhower says, this Nation owes so much.

And so, as we say, we must wait for the new budget message to see whether or not this sort of thing is going to continue. We have seen it asserted that the VA budget will not be recommended for a paring down, and yet we know that orders went out months ago that the requests for the veterans' agency must be under those of a year ago, those that have already slapped down viciously thousands of warriors who are sick and broke and who have no place to go. It is not true that inflation has been stopped, and no Eisenhower effort, herculean as it might be, is going to halt it for some time to come. Wholesale food prices alone went up another notch only last week to the highest level in 28 months. Bread, the staff of life, rose in price another cent a pound. The cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows a rise of 20.4 in all costs since July 1, 1947. In the face of those figures, some White House adviser is lying by the clock and is serving the President a bum deal.

With costs going up and veterans' benefits going down, they also are being served an unnourishing dish regardless of how much the Nation owes them. That is what makes the lack of attention to them in the most important of this year's congressional messages so unpalatable. Tax relief does not help unfortunate pensioners who can pay no taxes. Soil conservation nor any other reforms will put bread in their bellies. No new social insurance will help, because war veterans by their very services were placed in a different class of Federal beneficiary. Cutbacks in appropriations mean throwing them for a further loss, and yet, when reporting on the country's state, farmers and almost every other type of citizen come in for beneficial treatment while those to whom the Nation owes so much are given nothing but honorable mention, which doesn't even buy cookies.

We have said before, and we are compelled to repeat here, that this session of the Congress is going to be a test insofar as our war veterans and their dependents are concerned. If, as we suspect strongly, no special provision is to be made for them with Presidential consent between now and July, somebody is going to rise up in righteous indignation. Cost-of-living pension increases are overdue, and they had better be forthcoming at the hands of the Congress if this administration hopes to have a Chinaman's chance of reelection. Hungry people find no nourishment in platitudes.

The Bricker Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 12, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, Dr. Arthur Dean, of New York City, a senior partner in the famous New York law

firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, who has recently been representing the United States in the Korean peace negotiations, has written a fine and incisive analysis of the Bricker resolution and the situation confronting the Senate as a result.

The Public Printer has informed me that the analysis, in its entirety, would require 4¾ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at an estimated cost of $403.75.

In view of the extreme importance of the pending question on the Bricker resolution, and the excellence of Dr. Dean's analysis, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of January 10, 1954]

GREATEST DEBATE SINCE 1788 ON DIVISION OF UNITED STATES POWERS

(By Arthur H. Dean)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Congress now commences "the greatest debate about the constitutional ordering of our foreign relations since 1788." Adoption of the Bricker amendment would profoundly alter the power of the Federal Government to conduct the foreign policy of the Nation. This change is so great a revision of the Constitution that the Washington Post has felt it advisable to publish in its entirety the most authoritative analysis of the amendment that has been made available so far. This is the excellent appraisal by Arthur H. Dean, initially published by Foreign Affairs, an American Quarterly Review. It is presented to our readers with the consent of Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of Foreign Affairs. An outstanding international lawyer, senior partner in the New York firm of Sullivan & Cromwell. Mr. Dean has been Deputy to the Secretary of State in preparations for the Korean political conference. He represented the United States in the Panmunjom repatriation negotiations.)

On June 15, 1953, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary favorably reported to the Senate by a vote of 9 to 5 a constitutional amendment which would provide the legal basis for radically altering the present division of powers between the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government in respect to the formulation and conduct of this country's foreign policy, and for necessary participation by State governments in the execution of such policy in certain areas.

The proposed amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 1, was introduced by Senator BRICKER on January 7, 1953, and is a revised version of Senate Joint Resolution 130 which he had introduced in the 82d Congress. The Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary held extensive hearings in both 1952 and 1953 on the proposed amendment. The text of the revised amendment, as reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee, is as follows:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 5. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission."

This proposed amendment, supported most actively by Senators BRICKER and WATKINS, Republicans from Ohio and Utah, has caused consternation in the minds of those who wish us to continue as a sovereign power with the initiative for foreign affairs in the hands of the President.

OPPOSED BY PRESIDENTS

President Truman's department heads and advisers vigorously opposed the original version of the Bricker amendment at the 1952 hearings. President Eisenhower's appointees have been equally emphatic in their opposition to the new versions at the 1953 hearings. Further, many Congressmen, led by Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, a Republican and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, have announced full opposition.

On July 22 President Eisenhower announced his unqualified support of a compromise amendment introduced by Senator KNOWLAND, of California, the Republican Senate majority leader. The compromise amendment reads as follows:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect. The judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases, in law or equity, in which it is claimed that the conflict described in this amendment is present.

"SEC. 2. When the Senate consents to the ratification of a treaty, the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate.

"SEC. 3. When the Senate so provides in its consent to ratification, a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress.

"SEC. 4. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission."

Senator BRICKER did not accept the Knowland compromise and no floor action was taken on either amendment prior to the adjournment of the first session of the 83d Congress on August 4, 1953.

The proponents of the Bricker amendment rest their case for amendment on the great danger of executive abuse of power, aided and abetted from time to time by an alleged unwary Senate, in imposing upon the Nation legal obligations that will deprive the people of constitutionally guaranteed rights and will invade the domain of power reserved to the States.

The opponents of the amendment vigorously deny the force of the first danger. As to the second, they confess and approve the power of a proper treaty to replace inconsistent State law. There is general agreement as to at least the theoretical legal risk of the President's bypassing congressional control through his power to conclude executive agreements. But sharp difference of opinion exists as to the extent of the risk and the necessity for remedial action.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

The primary function of the Federal Government in the conduct of our foreign relations has always been—but is much more consciously so today—that of providing a policy that will assure national survival. The manner in which survival will be brought about, whether by aggressive wars of conquest, by Quaker methods of submission and good will, or by some diplomatic compromise between those two extremes, is of vast importance.

We have chosen a combination of national strength and active diplomacy, achieving a compromise between the theory—perhaps exploded by scientific assaults on time, space and the atom—of an isolated continental fortress and the theory of some supranational policy.

This compromise has appeared to most persons to be the only practical way of life in an age of global military problems in which the free nations of the world must jointly meet the threat of a monolithic totalitarian dictatorship ruling one-third of the peoples and natural resources of the world.

In the broadest sense, then, the policy of the past decade has been that of an active diplomacy backed by military preparedness. This course has required active congressional support. The means selected by the Executive to carry out the active diplomacy, and heretofore supported in larger outline by the Congress, have been of three main sorts:

First, continuous communication and exchange of ideas and negotiation of differences through an enlarged Foreign Service and the United Nations agencies;

Second, a broad program of economic, technical, and military aid for those peoples who needed and wanted it and seemed likely to be friendly powers;

Third, an extensive network of treaties and executive agreements sometimes made ad hoc for problems of the instant, sometimes carefully planned as long-range solutions of continuing problems.

As to the first and second means selected, no pressing constitutional problems have arisen. It is clear that the President will nominate our principal diplomats. The Senate will then either consent to the nomination or not (consent is more likely if the President has sought the advice of interested Senators beforehand); and if the individual is consented to, the President will then appoint him. His conduct, once appointed, may be subject to occasional congressional questioning, but it is the direct responsibility of the President alone.

For the economic and military-aid program, the constitutional course is equally clear. The President will recommend a program. But the Congress must appropriate the money. The spending of the money by the executive departments along the lines established by the Appropriations Act is then a clear path so far as constitutional practice is concerned.[1]

It is the third primary means of conduct of our foreign relations—the conclusion of treaties and executive agreements—that raises the constitutional debate. Initiated and negotiated by the Executive, international agreements requiring the appropriation of moneys must be implemented by Congress whatever their formal nature (i. e. treaty or executive agreement); if cast in treaty form, then the Senate must give its consent by vote of two-thirds of the Senators present, before the President may ratify. Eventually a treaty or executive agreement may be tested in court as to its validity or meaning, but the great majority of international agreements are never subjected to judicial consideration.[2]

The policy of active diplomacy used in recent years to coordinate the military and economic strength of the free world in meeting the threat of Soviet power has produced a series of treaties and executive agreements of vast importance. Secretary of State Dulles in his testimony before the Senate subcommittee estimated that some 10,000 executive agreements had been entered into in relation to the NATO Treaty alone.

However, the treaties and other international agreements which have been or are

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being drafted by the United Nations or its specialized agencies, particularly the Human Rights Covenant and the draft statute for an international criminal court, have been those which the proponents of the amendments have cited as the most convincing examples of the necessity of constitutional protection against international agreements which deny or abridge the fundamental rights of American citizens or interfere in matters that are regarded as essentially local in character.

These fears are expressed despite the fact that the agreements most criticized have neither been ratified by the United States nor has the executive branch indicated any intentions of becoming a party to such agreements.

In view of the great volume of testimony before the Senate committee, the countless newspaper articles, the numerous reports by various law associations and other interested groups and the veritable maze of periodical literature on the subject, the interested layman may be pardoned if he assumes, though in error, that the subject of the Bricker amendment is an infinitely complex one about which only lawyers can talk with any degree of rationality and that it does not concern him.

In point of fact, the basic issues which the Bricker amendment presents, in terms of a proposed shift in the constitutional power of the various branches of the Federal Government and as between the Federal Government and the several States, are fundamental and may be simply stated; the provision included in both the Bricker and Knowland amendments that any treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect is essentially a provision for assuring that the judiciary's power to review the constitutionality of legislation and other governmental actions is also a power to review the constitutionality of treaties and executive agreements.

The provisions of the Bricker amendment that neither a treaty nor an executive agreement shall be effective as internal law in the United States together with the provisions that all executive agreements are to be subject to congressional regulation are essentially proposals designed to increase congressional control (and consequently to lessen executive authority) over international agreements in particular and the conduct of foreign relations in general.

Finally, the so-called which clause of section 2 of the Bricker amendment would limit the effectiveness of a treaty or an executive agreement or Federal implementing legislation as internal law to the area in which Congress, absent any treaty, could legislate. This is essentially a proposal to provide for vesting exclusively in the several States the power to effectuate our international commitments affecting matters not otherwise within the scope of Federal constitutional power.

It is these proposed transfers of power which underlie the greatest debate about the constitutional ordering of our foreign relations since 1788.

CONSTITUTION REMAINS PARAMOUNT UNITED STATES LAW

The provision that no international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution shall be of any force or effect, which is included in both the Bricker and Knowland amendments, is viewed by its proponents as establishing—or at least removing all doubts as to—the power of the judiciary to declare inoperative as domestic law an international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution. This proposal does not involve any shift in the constitutional division of powers with respect to foreign affairs. Indeed it is merely declaratory of existing law.

The whole history of our constitutional law, beginning with Chief Justice Marshall's opinion in *Marbury* v. *Madison* (I Cranch 137 U. S. 1803), indicates that the Court will not enforce governmental acts, be they executive acts or congressional acts, in violation of constitutional provisions. Why have a complex procedure of constitutional amendment if a simple statute, treaty, or executive agreement can override a contrary constitutional provision? As Marshall pointed out at that time:

"The Constitution is either a superior paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and like other acts, is alterable when the Legislature shall please to alter it.

"If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act contrary to the Constitution is not law: if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power in its own nature unlimitable.

"Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the Nation, and consequently, the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void."

This reasoning applies in at least equal measure to treaties and executive agreements. The danger that the judiciary will permit a treaty to override a conflicting constitutional provision is no greater than that the Supreme Court will overrule *Marbury* v. *Madison*, or that Congress will use its constitutional power to control the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction to bar inquiry into the constitutionality of international agreements, or that the President will ignore the Court's determinations.

While the Supreme Court has never struck down a treaty provision as in conflict with the Constitution, it has never held or even suggested that a treaty might override the Constitution.[3] Further a long series of dicta in judicial opinions[4] has stated the rule for treaties as fully consonant with the doctrine of *Marbury* v. *Madison*.

Thus, in *The Cherokee Tobacco Case* (11 Wall. 616, 620–621 (1870)) the Supreme Court declared that

"It need hardly be said that a treaty cannot change the Constitution or be held valid if it be in violation of that instrument."

Since it is established doctrine that a subsequent act of Congress will override the operation of a treaty as the law of the land, a contrary rule would lead to the anomalous result that a statute, itself clearly subordinate to the Constitution, could repeal a treaty superior to the Constitution.

It has been suggested by the proponents of the Bricker admendment that the freedoms of speech, press and religion may not be protected against impairment by a treaty or executive agreement since the first amendment in terms applies only to abridgement of those freedoms by congressional legislation.

However, the Federal courts have regarded the first amendment as limiting the other branches of the Federal Government as well, and it appears reasonable to assume that they would regard it as also limiting treaties and executive agreements.

The same freedoms may also be protected by the fifth amendment, which by its terms reaches every branch of the Federal Government under the provision that "No person shall * * * be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Clearly this does not admit of evasion by treaty or executive agreement.

While the concept of due process of law certainly has not yet reached its ultimate judicial definition, the Supreme Court has held the due process clause of the 14th amendment forbids abridgment by the States of the freedoms of press, religion, and speech. Thus the similar due process clause of the fifth amendment presumably forbids such abridgment by any branch of the Federal Government and by treaties and executive agreements.

CONGRESSIONAL POWER OVER FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The vast majority of formal executive agreements, that is to say written instruments embodying an international agreement or understanding of a somewhat formal and important nature, are entered into pursuant to prior legislative authority or are implemented by subsequent action by both Houses of Congress, and are appropriately designed as congressional executive agreements.

Most executive agreements involving the sole action of the executive branch—i. e., Presidential executive agreements—are not formal instruments but rather agreements and understandings arrived at in the course of the day-to-day conduct of United States foreign policy. They have been described by John Bassett Moore as follows:

"The conclusion of agreements between governments, with more or less formality, is in reality a matter of constant practice, without which current diplomatic business could not be carried on. A question arises as to the rights of an individual, the treatment of a vessel, a matter of ceremonial, or any of the thousand and one things that daily occupy the attention of foreign offices without attracting public notice; the governments directly concerned exchange views and reach a conclusion by which the difference is disposed of. They have entered into an international agreement; and to assert that the Secretary of State of the United States, when he has engaged in routine transactions of this kind, as he has constantly done since the foundation of the Government, has violated the Constitution because he did not make a treaty, would be to invite ridicule. Without the exercise of such power it would be impossible to conduct the business of his office."[5]

The power of the Federal Government to enter into international agreements other than treaties is implicit in article I, section 10, of the Constitution providing that "No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation * * *" and "No State shall, without the consent of Congress * * * enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power * * *." This power to enter into both Presidential and congressional executive agreements has been expressly recognized on various occasions by the Supreme Court.

Congress now has the legislative power to regulate executive agreements within the scope of its expressly delegated powers. Article I, section 8, of the Constitution provides in part that—

"The Congress shall have power—

"To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises;

"To regulate commerce with foreign nations * * *;

"To establish a uniform rule of naturalization;

"To establish post offices * * *;

"To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

"To declare war * * *;

"To raise and support armies * * *;

"To provide and maintain a navy;

"To make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces."

Under these provisions, it clearly appears that Congress already has the power to regulate vast areas of possible international agreement: (1) Taxation and tariffs; (2) commerce; (3) crimes under maritime and international law; (4) immigration and nat-

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uralization; (5) military procurement of personnel and supplies, and military justice.

Furthermore, the prohibition in article I, section 9, that "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law * * *" assures congressional participation in the implementation of any executive agreement requiring the appropriation of moneys.

Congress has not been hesitant to exercise its admitted power to regulate executive agreements within the scope of these delegated powers. The first congressional executive agreements were authorized during President Washington's first administration by the action of Congress in authorizing the Postmaster General to make suitable arrangements with foreign postmasters for the reciprocal receipt and forwarding of mail (1 Stat. 239 (1792)).

Reciprocal trade agreements are, of course, made under and in conformity with the Trade Agreements Act and the various amendments thereto. In the case of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946, Congress spelled out in detail the provisions of an executive agreement to be entered into with the Philippine Republic (60 Stat. 141 (1946)).

Many proponents of the Bricker amendment go further and assert that Congress now has full power under the Constitution to regulate all executive and other international agreements and that the provision in section 3 of the Bricker amendment expressly subjecting executive agreements to congressional regulation is merely declaratory of existing law.

The constitutional basis of this asserted plenary power in Congress is said to be the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution (art. I, sec. 8) under which Congress is given the power "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers (the specific delegated powers of Congress), and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or office thereof."

It is very doubtful if Congress now enjoys this asserted plenary power with respect to the regulation of executive agreements. The wording of the necessary and proper clause would seem to contemplate implementation and not regulation or even prohibition of the exercise of other powers expressly granted by the Constitution.

TWILIGHT ZONE IS LEFT BY OVERLAPPING FIELDS

The making of executive agreements is a national power which typically has for its constitutional basis the merger of the separate powers of the President and Congress. In view of the fact that they have exercised their power jointly in all but a relatively small number of cases involving executive agreements of any significance or long duration, it cannot be definitely stated what the President's powers might be in the event of a test of power between the executive and legislative branches.

Perhaps the most helpful approach is that suggested by Justice Jackson in his concurring opinion in the Steel Seizure cases, *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* (343 U. S. 579 (1952)):

"The actual art of governing under our Constitution does not and cannot conform to judicial definitions of the power of any of its branches based on isolated clauses or even single articles torn from context. While the Constitution diffuses power the better to secure liberty, it also contemplates that practice will integrate the dispersed powers into a workable government. It enjoins upon its branches separateness but interdependence, autonomy but reciprocity.

"Presidential powers are not fixed but fluctuate, depending upon their disjunction or conjunction with those of Congress. We may well begin by a somewhat oversimplified grouping of practical situations in which a President may doubt, or others may challenge, his powers, and by distinguishing roughly the legal consequences of this factor of relativity.

"1. When the President acts pursuant to an express or implied authorization of Congress, his authority is at its maximum, for it includes all that he possesses in his own right plus all that Congress can delegate. In these circumstances, and in these only, may he be said (for what it may be worth) to personify the Federal sovereignty. If his act is held unconstitutional under these circumstances, it usually means that the Federal Government as an undivided whole lacks power * * *

"2. When the President acts in absence of either a congressional grant or denial of authority, he can only rely upon his own independent powers, but there is a zone of twilight in which he and Congress may have concurrent authority, or in which its distribution is uncertain. Therefore, congressional inertia, indifference or quiescence may sometimes, at least as a practical matter, enable, if not invite, measures on independent Presidential responsibility. In this area, any actual test of power is likely to depend on the imperatives of events and contemporary imponderables rather than on abstract theories of law.

"3. When the President takes measures incompatible with the expressed or implied will of Congress, his power is at its lowest ebb, for then he can rely only upon his own constitutional powers minus any constitutional powers of Congress over the matter. Courts can sustain exclusive presidential control in such a case only by disabling the Congress from acting upon the subject. Presidential claim to a power at once so conclusive and preclusive, must be scrutinized with caution, for what is at stake is the equilibrium established by our constitutional system" (343 U. S. 635–638).

CONGRESS PREEMINENT IN DELEGATED POWERS

In what areas does the President have independent power to enter into executive agreements? The President's position as "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States" clearly carries with it the independent constitutional power to conclude such executive agreements as may be necessary to the effective discharge of his command responsibilities.

"Secondly, the diplomatic power of the President, including his power to appoint and receive ambassadors and other public ministers (art. II, sec. 2), gives him the power to recognize and then communicate and negotiate with foreign states and governments "as the sole organ of the Federal Government in the field of international relations" and conclude international agreements incident thereto." (See *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright* (299 U. S. 304, 320 (1936).)

The President's power to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed" (art. III, sec. 3) also gives him a certain power to enter into Executive agreements, particularly those which are essentially administrative in character, implementing congressional legislation where there is no express grant of authority in such legislation to enter into Executive agreements pursuant thereto. The President requires these independent powers to enter into Executive agreements both to meet national emergencies[6] and to handle the routine conduct of foreign affairs.

Congress, on the other hand, would appear to have preeminent constitutional power with respect to executive agreements within the scope of its delegated powers other than the necessary and proper clause.

Thus, an executive agreement contravening the provisions of a prior act of Congress in an area subject to regulation by Congress under its commerce power was held void by Chief Judge Parker writing for the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in the case of *United States* v. *Guy W. Capps, Inc.* (204 F. 2d 655 (1953)).

Moreover, the Constitution expressly vests "all legislative powers herein granted (art. I, sec. 1) in the Congress. The majority opinion in the steel-seizure cases confirmed that this constitutional language means exactly what it says—that Congress and not the President is the lawmaker within our constitutional division of powers.

Thus it would appear that to the extent any executive agreement is operative as law in the United States, Congress has primary constitutional power, and may, as in the case of a treaty, override the operation of the agreement as law by a subsequent statute.[7]

LEGISLATIVE DOMINANCE AGAINST SHARED POWER

The present article is not intended to be technical, and its object is not to delimit exactly the respective scope of presidential and congressional authority with respect to executive agreements. "The great ordinances of the Constitution do not establish and divide fields of black and white." (Dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes in *Springer* v. *Philippine Islands* (27 U. S. 189, 209).)

However, this article is intended to demonstrate that the present constitutional scheme with respect to the entering into of executive agreements is one not of legislative dominance but rather of shared power between the President and Congress as coordinate branches of the National Government.

It may be urged that it is only the residual or ultimate power that the Bricker amendment would transfer to the Congress. That is to say, until Congress directed the President not to enter into specified executive agreements, or to enter into them only on certain stipulated terms, he could continue to do so, as heretofore. But residual control is of the highest importance in a system of checks and balances.

This was sharply demonstrated after the Civil War when a well-nigh all-powerful Congress not only came within one vote of convicting an unpopular President in impeachment proceedings but also tampered mightily with the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court during the very pendency of an appeal to that Court.

Ex parte McCardle, 7 Wall. 506 (U. S. 1868) was a habeas corpus case which would have tested the validity of much post-Civil War reconstruction legislation. The test of congressional power never arrived; the Congress had regulated out of existence the power of the Court to review the legislation.

It is thus, at times of stress between the separate branches of government, that these residual powers become crucial. As Ex parte McCardle demonstrates, Congress is not free from the temptation to abuse power,[8] and the burden of proof is on those who assert the necessity for altering the present system of shared power in favor of congressional supremacy.

Easily the most difficult aspect of the entire problem of constitutional control of international agreements—that of defining the respective areas in which a treaty, a congressional executive agreement, or a presidential executive agreement is the proper or indeed the only permissible form in which a given international understanding should be cast—is totally unanswered by the Bricker amendment. That is, except to the extent that charging Congress rather than the President with the responsibility for making the determination may be regarded as a solution.

The doctrine that treaties and executive agreements are wholly interchangeable instruments of national policy may be heady fruit for an executive bent on bypassing the Senate, heedless of the policy of cooperative

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action which is a logical, if not necessarily a legal, corollary of the constitutional separation of powers.

However, it is difficult not to agree with Secretary of State Dulles that "this is an area to be dealt with by friendly cooperation between the three departments of government which are involved, rather than by attempts at constitutional definition, which are futile, or by the absorption, by, one branch of government, of responsibilities which are presently and properly shared."

Moreover, the pledge that he was authorized to make on behalf of the President—that "when there is any serious question of this nature and the circumstances permit, the executive branch will consult with appropriate congressional leaders and committees in determining the most suitable way of handling international agreements as they arise"—bespeaks full awareness of the implicit constitutional principle of maximum cooperation consonant with the President's discharge of his diplomatic and military responsibilities.

Section 2 of the Bricker amendment providing that "a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation * * *" represents, in part at least, an attempt to afford additional protection against the adoption of unwise treaties by providing for participation by the House of Representatives in the implementation of all treaties.

In view of the fact that no treaty may enter into force unless two-thirds of the Senators present [11] have consented to its ratification, the added protection achieved, if any, would not seem to justify the delays and procedural problems attendant upon the automatic imposition of this second legislative step in all cases.

If with respect to any given treaty, participation of the House of Representatives (in addition to that which would be necessary in any event if appropriations are required) is desired, a provision may be inserted in the treaty or the Senate may attach a reservation that the particular treaty in question shall not be self-executing.

The requirement of congressional legislation in all cases would also shift a certain amount of Senate power over foreign affairs to the House. In the future it would force the Executive, in negotiating any treaty, to consult House leaders in addition to Senate leaders. The dispersion of power would be particularly disrupting if the House majority were of a different party than the President and the Senate, a condition that has existed in 12 out of the last 90 years.

The application of section 2 to congressional executive agreements would not require a second legislative round if the Congress were to provide in the enabling act that such executive agreements would become effective as internal law when made by the President. Nor would much waste motion be involved in respect to those executive agreements inherently demanding further congressional action anyway (i. e. a special appropriation).

While in respect of congressional executive agreements, the proposed section may be regarded as making a largely innocuous, but at the same time completely useless and unnecessary change, yet in respect of Presidential executive agreements it raises a more fundamental issue.

It has been asserted that a Presidential executive agreement can operate as internal law affecting the rights and property of private individuals without congressional action of any sort. If so, the principle recently reiterated in the Steel Seizure cases that Congress, and not the President acting alone, is the lawmaker within our constitutional pattern would be a principle of narrower application than the language of the Constitution and the Court would suggest.

The basis for the fear of executive lawmaking through the instrumentality of Presidential agreements is not the language of the Constitution itself, for executive agreements are not the law of the land under the supremacy clause. Rather, it is the doctrine enunciated by the Supreme Court in *United States* v. *Pink* (315 U. S. 203 (1942)) and other cases involving the Litvinov assignment that a treaty is the law of the land and international agreements such as the Litvinov assignment should be regarded as having "a similar dignity" (Id. at 230).

The status of these cases as authority for the broad proposition that Presidential executive agreements are to be treated as the law of the land is weakened by the special circumstances there involved. The Litvinov assignment was an executive agreement under which the Soviet Government assigned certain claims to the United States Government and it was entered into concurrently with the recognition of the Soviet Government.

Furthermore, the Litvinov assignment though technically a Presidential executive agreement had received tacit congressional sanction. Acting in anticipation of the realization of funds under the resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission to determine the claims of American nationals against the Soviet Government, a legislative fact which the Supreme Court expressly noted in its opinion.

The ambiguity in the Supreme Court's doctrine is matched by the ambiguity in the term "effective as internal law in the United States." Would the courts regard even Presidential agreements which were nonlegislative in character as nullities if they became indirectly involved in a lawsuit? Would Government officials in the United States feel constrained not to implement the terms of a Persidential executive agreement, even though the necessary implementary action itself was clearly within the scope of their authority?

There has been neither a convincing showing that there is a real risk of lawmaking by Presidential executive agreements and judicial enforcement of such agreements in matters of private rights, nor a precise definition of the area in which Presidential agreements without supporting legislation would be treated as nullities. No compelling necessity or viable formula for amendment of the Constitution has been presented.

FEDERAL-STATE EFFECT OF BRICKER PROPOSALS

Besides vesting full regulatory power over executive agreements in Congress, the major effect of the Bricker amendment would be in the realm of Federal-State relations. The "which clause" of section 2 [12] in effect equates treaties and Federal implementary legislation with Federal statutory law by saying that the former shall be effective as internal law only where the latter would be. In view of the latitudinarian construction given by the Supreme Court in recent years to congressional powers and the increasingly marked State catholicity of outlook, this result may not be nearly so important as it might once have been.

The present constitutional arrangements in this area are illustrated by the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416 (1920)). The facts of the case were that after two lower Federal courts had held Federal migratory bird statutes unconstitutional, the United States and the United Kingdom (acting for Canada) in 1916 entered into a treaty to protect from extermination many species of birds which annually migrated across Canada and the United States. On July 3, 1918, Congress passed a statute to enforce the provisions of the treaty.

When Holland, a United States game warden, sought to enforce the statute, Missouri sued to enjoin him from doing so, on the ground that the act was an unconstitutional interference with the rights reserved to the States by the 10th amendment, which provides that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Justice Holmes answered this constitutionality of the treaty and statute, by reasoning as follows:

"1. If the treaty is valid there is no question but that the statute, is, since under article I, section 8, this is a law necessary and proper to execute a power—the treaty power—delegated to the Government of the United States, and expressly prohibited to the States.

"2. The treaty, dealing with a subject of international concern, is valid as within the treaty power expressly delegated to the Federal Government by article II, section 2.

"3. Since treaties made under the authority of the United States are the supreme law of the land the State of Missouri is bound by the treaty and the enforcing act."

Justice Holmes said this was true whether or not it were assumed that the older lower-court cases were correct that the same statute enacted by Congress, in the absence of a treaty, would have been unauthorized and unenforceable, pointing out that "the treaty in question does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution. The only question is whether it is forbidden by some invisible radiation from the general terms of the 10th amendment. * * * No doubt the great body of private relations usually fall within the control of the State, but a treaty may override its power."

He then cited various cases for this proposition and went on:

"Here a national interest of very nearly the first magnitude is involved. It can be protected only by national action in concert with that of another power. The subject matter is only transitorily within the State and has no permanent habitat therein. But, for the treaty and the statute, there soon might be no birds for any powers to deal with. We see nothing in the Constitution that compels the Government to sit by while a food supply is cut off and the protectors of our forests and our crops are destroyed. It is not sufficient to rely upon the State."

Under the Bricker amendment's proposed reversal of the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland*, while the Federal Government would still, in theory, be free to enter into a treaty on a subject of international concern, it would, to the extent the subject matter was not otherwise subject to the reach of Federal power, be required to depend on the acquiescence of each of the 48 States to enact necessary implementing legislation.

The reluctance of other countries to enter into a treaty with the United States where the fulfillment of the main purpose of the treaty would depend on the favorable action of 48 State legislatures would be understandable.

TREATMENT OF ALIENS GOVERNED BY TREATY

There are many other areas, such as collection of foreign debts, the right to carry on a business and local taxation, in which the traditional ordering of legal relations has been by State law, but treaties have been concluded which are contrary to the State law.

The most frequent such conflict has been over the right of aliens to inherit real estate. Despite the fact that of all legal matters, probably those dealing with real estate and rules of inheritance are most peculiarly within the reserved powers of the States, the court has always held that

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through the treaty power, the Federal Government may provide effective rules of inheritance for aliens.[12]

The transfer of power from the Federal to the State governments sought to be made by the Bricker amendment (but not by the Knowland amendment) is not as of great import as it once would have been in view of the Supreme Court's broad construction of the commerce clause and other constitutional sources of Federal power. Nevertheless, the result in some situations might be to prevent effective treaties securing and granting reciprocal rights to our citizens and to citizens of the other treaty nations and to hamper seriously the Executive's power over foreign policy.

Our need for the friendship and cooperation of many foreign nations in meeting the very real threat of Soviet aggrandizement suggests that this is not the time to add stumbling blocks to the implementation of our foreign policy or the time to disintegrate Federal power when dealing with a monolithic power like the Soviet Union.

It was long ago decided that subjects of international concern should be dealt with on a Federal level. To the extent it is thought desirable to check or reverse the trend toward centralized government, there are many other ways of shifting present Federal duties and power to the States—primarily via internal fiscal reform. The attempt to do it in the international sphere would appear to be the least logical and the most dangerous to our welfare.

BACKERS MUST PROVE NEED FOR AMENDMENT

The problem is simple and fundamental. It should not be reserved to lawyers to debate.

The locus of power to formulate and execute this country's foreign policy was intentionally concentrated by the founding fathers in the Federal Government, particularly in the President and Senate.

The specific provisions of the Bricker amendment are in sum a proposal radically to shift this constitutional ordering of authority over foreign relations by augmenting congressional powers and by requiring the necessary participation of the States for the execution of foreign policy in certain areas. The powers of a sovereign state would thus be emasculated.

The burden of proving strong and compelling necessity is incumbent on those who would so drastically alter the constitutional framework. That burden has not been discharged.

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[1] It is all but impossible to challenge in court the constitutionality of expenditures from general funds for any given object sanctioned by Congress. The doctrine is that a taxpayer's suit to enjoin United States governmental spending on the grounds of an act being in violation of the Constitution will not be heard by the court. The judicial explanation of this doctrine is that no one taxpayer (nor even any State as parens patriae) has such an interest in the matter as to give him "standing to sue." This proposition, by no means self-evident (and indeed the rule is otherwise as to municipal corporations), is now well established. The result is that the judicial branch has by its own restraint almost entirely removed itself from this large area of constitutional law. The construction of the Constitution in this area is thus left to Congress and the Executive.

[2] President Washington asked the Supreme Court for advisory opinions on a number of international legal problems. The Court firmly but politely refused to give such advice, pointing out that its constitutional role was restricted to the consideration of actual cases and controversies, and that the Constitution expresaly authorized the President to secure advisory opinions from his departmental officers. The Federal Judiciary has never departed from this practice, though the concept of what is a case or controversy has been in continuous development.

The provision in the Knowland amendment that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in which it is claimed that a treaty or other international agreement conflicts with the Constitution would not appear to extend judicial jurisdiction beyond that already granted by Article III of the Constitution. Nor is any relaxation of the case or controversy requirement indicated.

[3] The proponents of the amendment say *Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416 (1920)) was such a case. However, no constitutional conflict was involved in that case, the facts of which are set forth in column 5. Justice Holmes merely held that the treaty-making power was not subject to limitations by the 10th amendment since the 10th amendment by its terms only reserves to the States powers not delegated to the Federal Government and the treaty-making power is a delegated power. The Supreme Court has dealt similarly with challenges to the commerce power based on the 10th amendment *United States* v. *Darby*, (312 U. S. 100 (1941)).

[4] See the testimony of Attorney General Brownell at the 1953 hearings, p. 907–8, collecting those dicta.

[5] American Political Science Quarterly, vol. 20, p. 385, 389–390.

[6] Consider the international arrangements for the Berlin airlift.

[7] This will not, of course, relieve the United States of its obligation under international law to the other contracting nation. To the extent such obligations are not otherwise discharged, the United States may be subject to an international claim, which may be pressed through diplomatic or international arbitral or judicial channels.

[8] See for the subsequent history of that battle, The Power of Congress to Limit the Jurisdiction of Federal Courts, by Henry M. Hart, Jr., Harvard Law Review, vol. 66, 1362, June 1953.

[9] Statement of John Foster Dulles. Hearing before subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on S. J. Res. 1, p. 828 (83:1).

[10] The surface similarity of sec. 3 of the Knowland amendment, providing that "when the Senate so provides in its consent to ratification, a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States, only through the enactment of appropirate legislation by the Congress," is misleading. The Senate already has full power to attach reservations to its consent to ratification—a power which it has frequently and recently exercised. See footnote 13.

[11] Sec. 2 of the Knowland amendment, which, in effect, requires that a treaty-consent vote in the Senate should always be a record vote—thereby ensuring the presence of a quorum—seems entirely sound. No treaty should be slipped through via opportunistic timing. It appears, however, that a change in Senate rule XXXVII prescribing the treaty-consent procedure would be sufficient to ensure the presence of a quorum.

[12] "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty." The second sentence of sec. 4 applies this rule to executive agreements as well.

[13] To the extent the Senate does not desire that a particular treaty provision override State law, an appropriate reservation that effect may be included in its consent to ratification. As recently as July 22 of last year, the Senate, in granting its consent to the ratification of treaties of commerce and friendship, attached the reservation that the treaties should not grant to aliens the right to practice certain professions in any State that by law barred aliens from such practice.

The Impact of American Foreign Policy on Domestic Problems Facing Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech I made before the annual meeting of the California State Chamber of Commerce, on December 4, 1953, under the title "The Impact of American Foreign Policy on Domestic Problems Facing Congress."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ON DOMESTIC PROBLEMS FACING CONGRESS

(By WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senator)

The 2d session of the 83d Congress will be one of the most important in the recent history of our country. The new administration took office less than 11 months ago, and it was confronted by major problems at home and abroad which were not and are not easy of solution.

The longer I have been in the Senate, the stronger an advocate of State's rights I have become. It is of great importance to the future of our constitutional system that we prevent a concentration of power in the Nation's Capital.

In conformity with this policy, the new administration, with the help of both the Republicans and Democrats in Congress, enacted into law the submerged lands legislation, which restored to the States the historic boundaries that had been recognized by the Federal Government for more than 100 years. As a member of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee my colleague, Senator THOMAS KUCHEL, took an active and outstanding part in the drafting and passage of this legislation. Similar bills had been passed by Congress before, but had been vetoed by the then President.

Members of the present administration have also made it very clear that they do not believe in the doctrine of inherent rights under which the previous administration attempted to seize the steel industry without authority of law.

President Eisenhower believes in our constitutional system of the division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government.

I can also assure this audience that Congress will continue to occupy a coordinate and equal position with the Executive under this or any future administration, be it Republican or Democratic. Under the Constitution the Congress was established as the legislative branch of our Government and it will so remain.

We must constantly guard against efforts of those who would concentrate power in the Federal Government for the purpose of ultimate socialization of our economic system. Once a nation embarks upon that path, it is difficult to return, as has been demonstrated in Great Britain.

Many of the issues that came before the Congress in the 1st session, and which will confront us when we meet on January 6 of next year must be viewed and acted upon as Americans rather than as narrow partisans.

We must all recognize that we are in the same plane together. No one, in order to embarrass a new pilot, should tamper with the controls or build fires in the baggage

compartment adjacent to the gasoline tanks just to see what the reaction of the crew would be to a fire alarm. If the plane goes down, all passengers and members of the crew go down with it, regardless of their partisan affiliation.

Today, I speak in no narrow partisan sense. I want to acknowledge the fine support of moderate Democrats in the House and Senate who have joined with Republicans in the support of policies, foreign and domestic, which are essential for the national defense and functioning of our Government.

President Eisenhower took office 11 months ago after his party had been out of the executive branch of Government for a period of 20 years.

ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS

On inauguration day the new administration fell heir to a stalemated war in Korea which had already lasted for over 2½ years. This war has been brought to an end and the fighting up and down the hills of Korea, with heavy casualties, is no longer going on.

Our sick, wounded, and able-bodied soldiers and airmen, who were Communist prisoners of war have been returned to this country, with the exception of the 22 who have elected to remain in Communist hands.

International communism has suffered its greatest loss of face in the refusal of more than 20,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war to return to Communist control.

Secretary of State Dulles has not looked upon the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers," nor has he "waited for the dust to settle" before acting in the Far East.

President Eisenhower did not refer to the late Joseph Stalin as "Good Old Joe," nor has he since referred to the present ruler of the Kremlin as "Good Old Malenkov."

A reversal of the 20-year trend toward centralization of power in Washington has taken place. Wage and price controls have ended, and the free enterprise system has been encouraged.

The outgoing administration presented a budget in January, calling for appropriations of $74 billion, and made it very clear that in its judgment no funds could be cut from that huge amount. The new administration and the Congress working together reduced the appropriations by over $14 billion, the largest reduction ever made in the history of this Nation.

One of the economic facts that the Nation faces is that when the recent administration came to power in 1933, the Federal public debt was $22½ billion, and when the New Deal administration left office, in 1953, this debt was over $267 billion. This huge figure with interest carrying charges, is something that the American people are going to have to be concerned with for their lifetime and perhaps that of their children and grandchildren.

Have we yet faced up to the inherent dangers of indefinite deficit financing on the American political and economic system? I doubt it.

Can we now assure a constant value of the present day dollar or has the narcotic of inflation dulled the senses of our people in agriculture, business, government and labor? This is one of the great challenges confronting us as a people.

We have already reached a point in taxation where new investment is discouraged and growing business finds funds needed for plant expansion must be borrowed because of the huge "take" of the tax collector. The power to tax is still the power to destroy.

TAX REDUCTION

On January 1, the personal income tax rates will be reduced approximately 10 percent, and the excess profits tax will come to an end. Just what additional changes can and should be made at this time in our tax structure, will have to receive the attention of the House and the Senate.

Certainly any additional tax reduction will have to depend on the amount of reductions that we can make in the budget, without jeopardizing our national defense needs. For to reduce taxes over and above those which will expire in January, without first reducing the budget, would merely add to the huge national debt, and would be passing the problem on to our children. This would not be sound public policy.

New legislation in the field of agriculture will have priority attention when the Congress reconvenes. This legislation must be fair to the farmer, to the consumer, and to the American taxpayer.

Here in California the cotton farmer is faced with a crisis. There has been more cotton produced in the United States than the domestic and world market can absorb on a sound economic basis. Acreage controls are part of the liability of seeking and accepting Government price supports.

However, the western cotton farmer is penalized by archaic legislation which requires him to take a cut of 53 percent in Arizona, 50 percent in California, 40 percent in New Mexico, compared to 18 percent in Arkansas, 25 percent in Mississippi, and 28 percent in Louisiana.

It is as unsound to attempt to retard the development of cotton production in the Western States by artificial legislative obstacles as it would be to prevent the moving of industry from New England or the Northern States into the South by the creation of legislative barriers.

There will also be proposals made for changes in the National Labor-Management Relations Act, otherwise known as the Taft-Hartley bill. I do not believe that Congress will or should either repeal this act or emasculate it. The American people have a right to expect that, with power must go responsibility. This applies to labor, to business, and to government.

Legislation will be proposed which will encourage the return of many functions, now operated by the Federal Government, back to the States. This is a trend which should be encouraged.

There will be certain activities it will be difficult for the States to assume unless the Federal Government is prepared to release some of its tax sources back to them.

Because the national defense needs are so great, in view of the Communist menace throughout the world, the impact upon our domestic economy, of foreign and defense policy, cannot be ignored. In order to get a fresh look at the entire picture, and to determine what changes can be made to maintain our defense, and at the same time give some relief to our overburdened budget, the President selected an entirely new team to constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This group is now reviewing our defense needs and commitments in the light of existing conditions, insofar as they pertain to NATO and the European Defense Command, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East, and the Americas.

While we will, of course, live up to our treaty commitments, our aid should go to those who are doing their utmost to help themselves.

We do not have the resources to give assistance to those who want to sit on the sidelines to see how the struggle is coming out between the free world and Communist totalitarianism.

We have already waited too long, in my opinion, for action in bringing free Germany into the European Defense Command.

COOPERATION NEEDED

Unfortunately, France has been dragging her feet in this matter. Since most of our responsible officers recognize that you cannot have an effective European defense without the manpower of Germany being included, we should make it clear that Americans are not going to fill in the manpower gap which 240 million free Europeans should be able to take care of if they are working together in the common defense of their civilization.

The Bermuda conference about to get underway may clarify this situation. This conference and the proposed Big Four Foreign Ministers conference proposed for a later date may also give a clear indication to the American people as to whether we are going to be confronted with a proposal for a Far Eastern Munich.

In this age of airpower and the atomic weapon, this country can no more return to isolation than an adult can return to childhood, regardless of how pleasant the recollection may be.

If there was ever a time when it was essential for the Nation and the free people of the world to remain strong and firm, this is the time. The next few years will be decisive ones. Not alone whether we can avoid a war (or win it if one is forced upon us), but whether human freedom can be preserved.

In my judgment, we cannot and should not depend on a Maginot-line type of defense against potential aggression from the air. Such an outlook would drive our Nation underground with untold billions added to our defense costs for an unlimited period of time. We, our children, and grandchildren would be forced to live like moles and gophers.

A realistic viewpoint must recognize that it is highly unlikely that any method of defense will stop all attacking planes. This is true whether conventional or atomic weapons are used.

From the time of the development and use of the spear or bow and arrow for attack and the shield or personal armor for defense a constant struggle has been going on to find ways and means of inventing defense devices or finding new weapons to overcome the latest defense.

The men in the Kremlin are more likely to refrain from making the first Pearl Harbor type of attack if they know with a certainty that this Nation and the free world will still retain an overwhelming and devastating striking power that would bring their Godless Communist tyranny crashing down around their ears.

For us to be without overwhelming striking power and to sit merely behind radar warning networks and instruments of defense, however good, will present us with the problem of never knowing when and where international communism will strike next. Unless the free world has overwhelming strength in the air as well as adequate defense on the land and on the sea, it would result in communism roaming at will in Europe and in Asia.

While we might be able to exist under those conditions as an isolated independent state, it would not be with the same economic and political system which has made our Nation great. We would be reduced to living in an armed fortress with a completely regimented economy and a growing concentration of power in the central government.

COMMUNIST THREAT

Basically, our problem is that international communism may be likened to a conspiracy of arsonists in a community. With only a penny box of matches the conspirators can go throughout the community, cause untold destruction to life and property and, in time, could burn the community to ashes.

The United States of America and the free world is in the position of the law-abiding citizenry that is forced to maintain expensive fire detection, alarm and firefighting equipment, not only in each zone of the city, but, indeed, in each block. This not only would bankrupt any community, but until and unless the conspirators are brought under control, the fires would continue to be set from day to day and night to night.

As unpleasant as the comparison may be, we had better face up to the fact that it is not solved by being ignored.

There has been some talk in this country and abroad of the desirability of entering into a pact with the Soviet Union. I question the wisdom of any such proposal. This is a decision which must be thoroughly explored by both the Government of the United States and by the American people before any commitments are made. It will most certainly be subjected to close scrutiny and full debate in the Senate of the United States.

The facts of the matter are that during the 25-year period between 1925 and 1950, the Soviet Union has violated 9 nonaggression pacts, 11 alliances, 3 protocols, and other agreements committing the Soviet Union to a position against war and 1 neutrality pact.

I want to give a few specific examples of various pacts which the Soviet Union has violated. There are many others, but time will not permit me to read them all.

This list is exclusive of the fact that the representative of the Soviet Union in the United Nations had admitted that that Government has furnished arms and ammunition to the Chinese and North Korean aggressors in the Korean war which is certainly a clear violation of their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

Year	Pledge	Result
1926	Lithuanian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	The U. S. S. R. annexed Lithuania in 1940.
1929	The U. S. S. R. solemnly renounced war, signing a protocol to that effect with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania.	The U. S. S. R. attacked Eastern Poland in 1939 and in 1940 seized Estonia and Latvia.
1932	Finnish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	The U. S. S. R. invaded Finland in 1939.
1932	Estonian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	The U. S. S. R. annexed Estonia in 1940.
1932	Latvian-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	The U. S. S. R. annexed Latvia in 1940.
1932	Polish-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact	The U. S. S. R. seized Eastern Poland in 1939.
1937	Chinese Republic-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.	In 1945 the Soviets plundered the industries of Manchuria.
1939	Estonia-Soviet Alliance	The U. S. S. R. annexed Estonia in 1940.
1939	Latvian-Soviet Alliance	The U. S. S. R. annexed Latvia in 1940.
1939	Lithuanian-Soviet Alliance	The U. S. S. R. annexed Lithuania in 1940.
1943	The U. S. S. R. announced the dissolution of the Comintern.	In 1947 the U. S. S. R. promoted the establishment of the Cominform.
1943	Czech-Soviet Alliance	In 1948 a coup d'etat supported by the Soviet Union reduced Czechoslovakia to a puppet of the U. S. S. R.
1945	Chinese-Soviet Alliance	At the same time they made this alliance with the National Government of China, the Soviets were arming the Chinese Communists.

RESULTS OF PACT

Certainly this country should enter into no pact with the Soviet Union unless Soviet forces are withdrawn from the satellite states of Eastern Europe and the people of Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Rumania have the opportunity through free elections of selecting governments of their own choice. To enter into a pact until there has been such a withdrawal of Soviet forces and the guaranty of free elections would in fact condemn to permanent slavery behind the Iron Curtain the people of those nations. This, in my judgment, we have no moral right to do. It would, in fact, confirm all the evil results which have flown out of the secret wartime agreements. It would be capitulation by the West in the cold war and would be a decisive victory for world communism. We must have no more Munichs or Yaltas.

As of today, there are still several hundred millions of people in Asia who desire to remain outside of the Iron Curtain. It is essential, not only to the ultimate freedom of Asia but to the security of Europe and the United States as well, that communism does not fasten its hold upon all the 1,100,000,000 people of Asia and upon all the vast strategic resources of that area of the world. This has been and is the object of the men in the Kremlin. It was pointed out many years ago by the succinct statement of Lenin, "The road to Paris is through Peiping." Unfortunately, those in positions of responsibility here and abroad failed to grasp soon enough the grand strategy of international communism.

Even as we meet here, the battle for men's minds and souls goes on in the neutralized zone of Korea where communism is making a desperate effort to gain control of the Chinese and North Koreans who have renounced communism and are determined to never return behind the Iron Curtain.

Two weeks ago a disturbing suggestion was made by Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. It was to the effect that despite the terms of the armistice, the prisoners of war might be held beyond the 120-day period pending a decision by both sides.

It should be apparent to everyone that this would give a tremendous leverage to the Communists. They have some advantage now, inasmuch as the interviewed prisoner who elects to return to communism is immediately repatriated, whereas the prisoner who wants to go out the door to freedom is returned to the compound to wait out the 120-day period. Think of what the psychological impact would be if there was added to this the knowledge that further Communist procrastination at a conference might delay the release of these prisoners for months or years into the future. I can think of no subject which would be more comforting to communism and more disturbing to the friends of freedom than that made by Prime Minister Nehru, of India.

NEHRU'S POSITION

At this point I think it is important to point out that one mistaken view that has been held in some quarters in this country, both in and out of government, and in other nations of the world has been that Nehru is the authentic voice for all of Asia.

It is my observation that, while he is a voice in Asia, he is definitely not the voice of Asia. Nehru does not speak for the Republic of Korea, for Japan, for the Republic of China on Formosa, for Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia, for Thailand, the Philippine Republic, and most certainly he does not speak for Pakistan. He can perhaps be considered the spokesman for the neutralist nations of India, Indonesia, and Burma.

From the same source has come the recommendation that Communist China be admitted into the United Nations. To do so would be to reward Communist China for her aggression in Korea. We would have served notice on the world that one of the quickest ways of gaining membership would be to shoot your way in.

Communist China, in my judgment, will never be satisfied with merely membership in the General Assembly, but will also insist upon membership on the Security Council. Once having yielded on both of these two points, they will claim, with some justification, that they are still not satisfied since they have not been given possession of what they will call their lost province of Taiwan or the island of Formosa.

The passage of Formosa into Communist hands would mean the liquidation of a non-Communist army of approximately one-half million and a large part of the free Chinese population of over eight million. This population is approximately the size of that of Australia. It is larger than Austria, Albania, Ceylon, Finland, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Chile, Bulgaria, Denmark, Costa Rica, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Honduras, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yemen.

In addition, it would drive a wedge into our defense position which runs from Japan through Okinawa to the Philippines and Australia outflanking Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and outflanking the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south.

Throughout the entire Far East, the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be looked upon as a far eastern Munich and a great victory for international communism. The will to resist on the part of the free people of Asia would be weakened and governments would be inclined to go hat in hand to the Kremlin or Peiping to make the best deal that they could.

It is my strong belief that such action will set off a tragic chain of events which will not preserve the peace but will make almost inevitable world war III. Appeasement now, as at the time of the original Munich, is not the road to peace, but is only surrender on the installment plan.

There is still an opportunity to keep the balance of Asia from passing into Communist hands though the hour is very late.

The selection of President-elect Magsaysay in the Philippines, which has been recognized throughout the world as a great free election, offers a great opportunity for him to take a position of leadership in bringing about closer political, economic, and military cooperation between the nations of Asia that are determined to be free.

ASIAN PARTICIPATION

There can be no effective system of collective defense in Asia based on colonialism for the age of colonialism in Asia is dead. The only sound system that can be built is one in which the nations of Asia are considered as equal partners in a common effort to help maintain a free world of free men.

While the ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-United States) pact is a factor in the defense of the Pacific, it is not broad enough in scope to do the job that needs to be done. Since the three nations mentioned are western rather than Asian, it does not give the feeling of partnership that is so essential if all of Asia is not to fall into Communist hands. By the Asian nations taking a position of leadership it will eliminate the Communist propaganda that the defense of the Pacific is only a blind for western imperialism or colonialism.

The thing that struck me most forcibly in my trip throughout that area of the world was the determination of a considerable number of the countries I visited to maintain their freedom at all cost, and yet how little effective contact they had with others who had the same determination.

It was interesting to find out that the responsible leaders in Korea and Japan recognize the danger to them in the loss of southeast Asia or Formosa into Communist hands, and those in Vietnam, Thailand, and Formosa fully recognize the stake they had in the freedom of Korea and of Japan.

Without exception, I found all the countries I visited after the German elections to be greatly heartened by the victory of Adenauer in Germany and by the discontent which had taken place in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Within the past week a necessary and desirable preliminary step has been taken by the trip of President Syngman Rhee to Formosa to visit President Chiang Kai-shek. The Republic of Korea has an armed force of approximately 600,000 and the Republic of China approximately one-half million. These two nations together have a defense force larger than all the rest of the free nations of Asia put together, and it would be unlikely that any effective collective security in the Pacific could be built without these two nations being an important part.

The calling of a broader conference by President-elect Magsaysay after he takes office the first of the year would take the initiative away from the Communist world. The free nations of Asia should not delay while waiting for neutralist India to make up her mind for the international policy that Nehru advocates will, I believe, ultimately lead to the communization of all of Asia, including India itself.

With the same courage and commonsense that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and, under what I believe was divine inspiration, gave us first our Declaration of Independence and later our Constitution of the United States, there are none of our great domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Only the President Can End Civil Defense Apathy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Democratic Digest:

THE MAYORS CAN'T GO IT ALONE—ONLY THE PRESIDENT CAN END CIVIL DEFENSE APATHY

(By Joseph S. Clark, Jr., mayor of Philadelphia)

It can, I think, be assumed that a realistic system of Civil Defense is required to protect the American people and their economy from a clearly established and ever-present danger of atomic attack by Soviet Russia in the near future—a danger which is unlikely to recede in the foreseeable future.

Since it became known that Russia has the hydrogen bomb, there has been much talk in the newspapers of Operation Candor. Operation Candor, as I read the papers, is supposed to be the project of telling the truth to the American people about the deadly peril in which we live. One day I read Operation Candor is on. The next day it's off again. If the Federal Government has any real desire to help create a Civil Defense system which can save hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of lives, and prevent the destruction of hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of dollars of property, I think Operation Candor had better go into effect pretty quick.

It is said that the greatest deterrent to adequate Civil Defense is public apathy. The reason for public apathy is perfectly clear: The American people just do not believe they live in deadly peril from atomic attack; and until they believe it, they won't do anything about it. It is just as simple as that.

Now, in my judgment, there is only one man in the United States today who can persuade the American people that they do live in deadly peril and that they had better do something about it quick. That man is the President of the United States. If he speaks the people will believe him. Until he speaks the apathy will continue. You and I can talk from the housetops until the cows come home, but we will make no impression on public apathy. I have tried it and I know you have. The result is a few kind words and no action.

If we make the assumption that the American people can be aroused from their apathy by the President—and I think that assumption is a sound one—the next step is a drastic revision of both responsibility and organization. What are the basic facts about civil defense? In my judgment, they are very simple. Here they are:

The objective of any Russian attack by atomic forces on the American economy will come against one or more critical target areas. These areas are known to all of us. Their location has recently been published in the newspapers.

The attack will come, in all likelihood, by air, although possibly by boat, i. e., a bomb released by a freighter in port. Remotely or conceivably, it could come from a bomb released on land by a saboteur or spy who smuggled it into the country. The first defense must therefore be a Federal defense, in all likelihood the United States Air Force, although possibly the Coast Guard, the customs inspectors, or the FBI.

Our critical-target areas in many instances overlap State boundaries. Philadelphia, for example, is part of a critical-target area which includes the entire Delaware River Basin and parts, but not all, of the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The New York target area covers parts of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

The second line of defense against atomic attack must, of necessity therefore, encompass the entire metropolitan area in which the target is located. This second line of defense cannot prevent the attack from succeeding. Its mission is to minimize the damage to life and property which results from failure of the first line of defense to prevent the explosion.

Nonetheless, the required coordination between this first and second line of defense is so close that they must operate within the same chain of command if maximum efficiency is to result.

No State, no county, and no municipality, therefore, should break this chain of command or prevent it from going directly to the top, i. e., the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council. Anything else is unrealistic and ineffective.

We are all aware, you and I, of the many social and economic problems of our civilization where political units, the products of history, are quite incapable of dealing with the realities of the situation. Civil Defense is clearly one. This metropolitan-area problem cannot possibly be dealt with efficiently, in my judgment, on a city, county, or State basis. There must be a regional organization and the regional organization must go straight from the region to the Federal Government. Nothing else will work as a practical matter.

From what I have said, you will see that, in my judgment, it is nonsense to continue repeating that civil defense is a local problem. It is nothing of the sort. At the very least it is a regional problem and a regional problem which cannot be coped with by existing units of local and State government.

Let me give you an example to emphasize what I have just said: Each of the 17 civil defense organizations located in the Delaware River Valley has developed its own civil-defense plan under the concept that civil defense is local government's responsibility. Under such a setup, is there any wonder that uniformity and effectiveness fail to exist? Is there any wonder that in civil defense we have many chiefs but few Indians?

The existing confusion and complexity of what constitutes the "chain of command or control" is a result of lack of realistic leadership and direction by Federal and State Governments. Surely, the problem of civil defense for one of the Nation's most critical industrial targets cannot be solved by 17 separate civil defense organizations, each going its own way, and each without adequate financial means to properly prepare for what is commonly visualized as a civil defense emergency. Nor can it be solved by a Federal organization which places Philadelphia in the same chain of command as West Virginia, while our sister city of Camden, N. J., just across the Delaware River, is in the same channel as Boston, Mass. Add to this the fact that the full support of its citizens for civil defense is lacking in all these subdivisions, and you have a matter of supreme importance to the security of our country.

We had therefore best face the facts. Civil defense, in the first instance a Federal problem because the Federal Government is charged with the first line of defense, remains a Federal problem if that line fails because it must be handled on a regional basis, which neither the States nor the counties nor the municipalities have governmental authority to deal with. And it can't be handled effectively until the Federal Government organizes it on a critical target area or metropolitan area basis.

So the second thing which I think State and Federal authorities can do to help build adequate civil defense is to abandon current policies and adopt a new one under which the Federal Government assumes primary and secondary responsibility for Federal defense, and organize accordingly.

If this is done, the chain of command should run, in my opinion, from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council straight to a regional director of civil defense appointed by and paid by the Federal Government in each of the critical target areas. He in turn should organize his staff and his line of command throughout the critical defense area, totally ignoring city, county, and State lines. Until this is done, we will have no effective civil defense.

The third critical area of civil defense is fiscal. Public apathy, failure of the Federal Government to accept its responsibility in this area, and the unwillingness and inability of State and municipal legislatures to carry the heavy burden which the Federal Government has asked them to assume have all resulted in starving CD.

The total cost of an adequate program to give reasonable protection to our critical target areas is not high in light of the huge sums we are spending for national defense in other areas, but you and I know that it is completely unrealistic to ask State legislatures to pay any significant part of that cost, and I know, in addition, that it is impossible in the present state of public opinion, to persuade a city council to appropriate as much as one quarter of what our very able civil defense director in Philadelphia believes to be the minimum sum necessary for local participation in the present program, even assuming the State legislature and the Federal Congress will not carry their fair share of the total financial burden.

So the third thing which I think State and Federal civil defense administrators can do to help solve the overall problem is for the State directors to rethink the proper part the State should play in the whole picture.

Federal civil defense administrators can help enormously by revising promptly the whole concept of civil defense, building on the fact that the Federal Government must carry responsibility for the whole problem, that the metropolitan area in which the critical target is located must be the basis for organization, that the Congress of the United States must be the primary source of funds.

Impressions of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, sometimes the wish expressed by Bobbie Burns does find fulfillment and, in some measure at least, we are given the opportunity "to see ourselves as others see us." The experience can be enlightening and inspiring, particularly when it comes through a friendly medium.

Such is the case in a commentary on Americans and American life which has been written by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean ambassador to the United States, for inclusion in a book shortly to be published in Korea. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Impressions of America by Ambassador Yang:

I feel highly honored that the editor of this distinguished publication should request some of my impressions of America, this land so closely tied by bonds of mutual sacrifice to our own beloved and war-ravaged Korea.

Like the little schoolboy, however, who, when asked by his teacher to give a brief description of the Pacific Ocean, scratched his head, pondered a moment, then said: "Big * * * very big," I find myself somewhat in the same position. That description also was my first overall impression of America when, as a young man, I left Hawaii for the mainland and traveled from San Francisco to Boston, and I have had no occasion to change it since.

But America is much more than big physically. It is big morally and spiritually. No other nation of the past 1,000 years has made so deep an impress upon the rest of the world in so short a time as has the United States of America and it still has 22 years to go before it reaches its 200th birthday.

To foreigners who come here from the crowded lands of the older continents, such as Asia and Europe, and have the opportunity to travel over the United States, another impression immediately is apparent. And it is that despite the fact that while the United States now has a population in excess of 160 million, there remains so much unused space. There is so much open territory—some of it in forests, some in swamps and low places, subject to drainage and tillage, thousands and thousands of acres awaiting only irrigation to make them productive and countless similar situations to aid mankind in the eternal struggle to banish the specter of famine and starvation. America, almost from it founding, has been one of the few regions of the earth which has never experienced a food shortage.

AMERICA'S PAST

Before the industrial age, America was an agricultural land with cotton, rice and tobacco its chief exports; but America's growth as an independent nation parallels almost year by year the growth of industrialism per se. That, too, is apparent over here to anyone taking the time necessary to read a few pages of modern history.

The American people in 1776 were a fringe of 3 million persons along the Atlantic Coast. In back of them was the wilderness and the constant threat of war by the Indians, but the bounties of nature were right at hand and these enabled agriculture and industry to proceed together side by side. This happy marriage, with distinct responsibilities and obligations on both sides, was further strengthened by America's war for her own sovereign freedom and her dedication, which has never faltered, to liberty for all men who seek it.

Trails were blazed in the wilderness by the explorer and the hunter after furs. Soon they were followed by the farmer in search of new and better land. Then came the small factories to the little settlements, chiefly along the rivers and lakes, to better service the needs of these new communities and then came the railroad! Meantime, thousands of immigrants, already aware of this land of plenty, were crossing the Atlantic aflame with the vision of America—freedom and opportunity for all—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

PRESENT IMPRESSION

Now, these inspiring incidents I have just stated all are part and parcel of one's impressions of America of today. A century ago, America's cities were quite small; its roads were largely unpaved and the mileage of its railroads was limited. Unpaved roads, suitable to horse transportation or a man's use of his own legs, made for lonely villages and scattered farmhouses.

But if there is a less lonely place in the world than the United States of the present, I do not know it. For one is conscious of the miracle of wheels and wings here above all else. Powerful trains, speeding airplanes and the hum of millions of automobiles on the millions of miles of paved highways, are not conducive to loneliness. I do not mean there are not plenty of places of peace and solitude remaining, but except for the mountains they are within a few hours of travel for anyone by rail, plane, bus, or private motorcar. Also, loneliness hardly can thrive when some 50 million of the world's 80-odd million telephones are installed in United States homes, offices, factories, service stations, etc.

Another impression I have of this country and its people is that the American continues today to be a strangely independent individual. He goes about his business and he'll let you go about yours, but by and large he wants to preserve the properties and he expects others to do likewise. But call on him for help with a stalled car, or ask him for a direction in a strange city and you will be impressed and grateful, (as I have been times without number, at his interest and desire to help you. I wonder if this is one of his pioneer heritages—a great flashback to the wilderness where the code to help a fellow human being in trouble was mandatory for not to have helped would have been considered dishonorable by the people of that day.

ALARMING PROSPECT?

Were it not for the American's devotion to athletics, and this represents another aspect, I should as a physician and surgeon, perhaps be alarmed over what his appearance from the knees down might be in a couple of centuries. For he seems to me to use his legs less than anyone and Nature tells us that a part which falls into disuse atrophies in time. I forsee nothing wrong with his hands and arms for if ever a nation pushed buttons to get things done for it and used wheels to go places and do things, this one does. This might convey the thought that I consider Americans lazy. Quite the contrary, but Americans feel that if a piece of machinery is avalaible to do a job, why tire yourself out? Save that energy for the golf course or some other cultural or recreational activity. And save time! I'll have something to say about that a bit further on. Yet if a tractor and a bulldozer and a steam shovel can do so many man hours of labor in building a road, digging a foundation, plowing and seeding the fields; and if other steel monsters can hurry along a job and do it better and at less cost, why not use them? Make the machine serve man—not man the machine. Make it develop abundance, produce more than enough to go 'round, keep wages up and prices down. If there is a better recipe for progress it has not yet emerged from the mind of man. There is a spiritual phase to it, too, for man, toil-worn and weary, eats and sleeps and goes off to work again. But man, rested and thoughtful, knows within his soul that he has a duty to God and to civilization and society. And time to practice the eternal verities.

A MISAPPREHENSION

Now, there still is another phase to American life that one might retain as a misapprehension rather than a correct impression unless one had been here to see and observe for himself.

That is the conception some of the motion picture producers have contrived for excitable entertainment, so-called, and the films have been taken abroad and accepted there as true portrayals of the United States. America, the jazz land; home of the gangster; wild parties and so on and so on.

Well, an American gentleman answered that one for a foreign friend of mine when the subject was brought up in his home, which was in a typical midwestern city. Don't hold me to absolute figures on this as I can only give it to you in percentages. Also, I don't feel at liberty to tell you the name of the city.

It was the foreigner's first visit to America and he brought up the European misapprehension. The American said, and I quote:

"I will now prove the contrary to you. We have three night clubs on roads leading into here; we have some 10 or more motion picture theaters; we have a dance hall or two, but all told the seating capacity of all places of amusement do not come to more than 8 percent of our population. Now they're all not filled to capacity either. So where do you suppose the other 92 percent of the folks are who live here? They're home."

I have always carried that incident in the back of my mind because my own observation has shown me the vast number of people who are faithful churchgoers, who attend their grange meetings or their lodges, who accept and serve unpaid for community drives and other civic purposes, just as their counterparts do in Korea.

THE TWO PEOPLES

Born a Korean, I am fiercely proud of my native land and my own people. I was taken away from Pusan when I was a little boy by my parents who were able to flee Japanese tyranny. So a great deal of my life has been spent in this, my other country. I have a joyful reason for calling this my other country. It gave me what it is willing to give anybody—an opportunity. Now the ties between our two peoples are stronger than ever, but many Americans have a tragic reason for regarding Korea as their other country and that reason is the gallant American men who died, were missing in action, or were terribly wounded in helping us fight that evil of all the world, aggressive communism. Let us, as Koreans, never forget their sacrifices and let us always let them know that this impression will last as long as there is a Korean on earth.

But let me close this article with one final personal impression I have of America and one little note which I hope will not be construed as too critical.

THE MIRACLE

The miracle of America to me is that people from all over the world, with different backgrounds, different religions, different colors, have in so brief a period of history produced the amalgam that is today the American Nation. The very word Americanize says for one to take on the character of America. Whence came this character which is identifiable and recognizable around the globe? Is it the result of their early struggles? Is it to be found in the Declaration of Independence wherein men pledged their faith in God and their sacred honor to achieve freedom? Is it to be further found

in their great Constitution? What gives these people a national solidarity in times of emergency so that they never yet have failed to meet and conquer an emergency? Is it a part of the give-and-take of the two-party system, which despite the bitter barbs of campaign years, somehow effectuates in legislation the necessary compromises which make progress slow but very sure? As a foreigner I think the foregoing are some of the factors, but not all by any means and it is my earnest hope that some day a brilliant American student will sit down and come up with a complete blueprint. It might be wise for other nations then to go and do likewise.

HURRY UP

And now for my final note. I never saw a people who are always in such a hurry. This is especially obvious in the big cities. Motor cars are driven too rapidly. Street cars clang and buses honk at the slightest delay. People walk down the streets with long strides and intent faces. Except where there are strict ordinances, men and women risk life and limb crossing against traffic lights, dodging hurtling motor cars, and giving a visitor only one emotion—expectation of an early death by a heart attack on seeing a catastrophe before his eyes. However, it is not for me to prescribe for them a little less speed, but I sometimes tell them this story:

Shortly after the first New York subway was opened, and that's a long time ago, certainly in the early part of this century, a group of Korean dignitaries visited New York. The subway then was a novelty. The Koreans happened to be in the same classification, so the city fathers took them in hand for official entertainment and the subway was selected for the high spot.

ORIENTAL QUESTION

The Koreans were bundled into a crowded local train at 34th or 33d Street and Lexington Avenue (I never get my New York subways correct), and bundled out again at the first express stop, 14th Street. Then they were pushed and tugged into an express train which roared downtown toward City Hall, their ultimate destination. When slightly distraught and overcome by the crowds and the commotion, they finally reached the street, the beaming chairman of the mayor's committee said to the chief Korean visitor:

"I just want you to know that by leaving that local train and taking an express down here, we saved 5½ minutes."

"Five and one-half minutes, eh?" inquired the Korean gentleman gently. "Five and one-half minutes * * * now, just what are you going to do with them?"

"Well, now that you put it that way," replied the startled American, "I'll be damned if I know."

John J. Griffin, Average American, Who Battles Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, in the vanguard of the average American who has for years foreseen the Communist threat to our American way of life has been an outstanding Missourian, Col. John J. Griffin, of St. Louis. I recall that for many years Mr. Griffin, active in the civic life of his community, has consistently lectured on the evils of communism. He has been active in the American Legion in its program to combat communism.

It is my privilege to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech delivered by Colonel Griffin on July 28, 1946, at Heroes Day celebration, sponsored by the American Legion at St. Charles, Mo. It is interesting to compare Colonel Griffin's speech of over 7 years ago with the facts of today.

The speech follows:

Assembled here today for the purpose of paying public tribute to those who wore the uniform of the Armed Forces of this Government during the World Wars, both one and two, we are mindful of the fact that no feeble words of ours could add any glory to the record of victorious achievement that brought to a successful conclusion both World War I and World War II. We are also mindful of the fact that these men who served are not anxious or desirous of being looked upon as heroes and we with them agree that the awarding of a medal or a decoration or a citation to an individual in times of conflict is brought about by the fact that the particular time that he was performing the particular feat for which he is being decorated, someone made note of his act and brought it to the attention of the authority, who rightfully and honestly expressed to him the appreciation of grateful free people by presenting him with such a token of recognition. On the other hand, thousands upon thousands of you men who served and did not receive this public recognition from your Government enjoy with the individual who is fortunate enough to have received it, the distinction of knowing that you have been decorated in a manner that is probably not as dramatic as a formal decoration, but nevertheless it probably is more enduring, and that decoration is the love and the gratitude that shall live in the hearts of a free people just so long as human beings live, in grateful remembrance of the tremendous sacrifice that you have made in order that we might live and in addition to that you have the feeling within your own hearts that words cannot describe, that you in the time of your Nation's peril were willing to offer your life upon the altar in the temple of liberty as a sacrifice, if needs be, to insure generations yet unborn that they might have the right to enjoy the place of benediction that has been yours living in a free America.

To those who are not with us today, to that great army of silent Americans, whose spirits I am sure are hovering above and about us at this meeting, we could add nothing to the glory with which they have enshrouded themselves. They, like you, offered their lives in the defense of the liberty and freedom that we enjoy so much and seem to appreciate so little, which under divine providence they were privileged to give their last measure of devotion and in so doing they are today, in my opinion, basking in the sunshine and smile of the Heavenly Father, where they are receiving the just and well earned reward that has come to them.

In times of war it has been proven that a free people when aroused will arise in their might in the defense of their nation, their homes, and their loved ones and up to the present time no earthly power has been able to defeat our armies upon the field of battle because fighting on God's side and with God as our commander in chief, we cannot lose, so let us pray with all the earnestness at our command that we shall at all times keep ever before us the fact that Almighty God has been in His divine providence the protector of America. Recognise Him as our commander in chief, offering ourselves as being willing to fight under His leadership, let us not forget that in order to do so, we must let Him know that we are on His side and that we believe and practice the principles and ideals that are His and so continue to live in a manner that the God of right and might may never desert us.

You men who entered the Armed Forces took an oath of direct or indirect adherence to the Constitution of the United States of America and therfore, that document is of particular importance to you. Every commissioned officer, in any branch of the service took an oath of true faith and allegiance to this Constitution and pledged to support and defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic. And the oath of the enlistment of all noncommissioned personnel pledges obedience to the orders of the officers appointed over them, namely those that had sworn allegiance to the Constitution.

But, we must not forget, particularly those who have served in the Armed Forces must not forget, that the oath of allegiance did not end with your military service. We must not overlook the fact that we have a sacred obligation to protect and serve this Nation during times of peace from the destruction that is surely and positively being builded up by subversive elements within our shores that is as much a menace to the security of this Nation as were the threats of the countless thousands whom you have subdued upon the field of battle in a manner that left no doubt in the minds and hearts of these elements as to who were the victors. Therefore, I would suggest to you today that you again read that Constitution of this Nation and its Bill of Rights. Study and analyze it so that you might know what it means to you and defend it in times of peace with the same ardor and devotion that you exemplified in the defense of it in times of war.

It is my belief that opportunities such as this present to us the obligation to call to your attention the dangers that are ours today. We won the war but we have not won the peace.

There has grown up within our country today a menace, or a poison, that has reached the point of where it became necessary for J. Edgar Hoover to state that the growth of communism was threatening the security of this Nation.

I realize that in talking to you today and bringing Russia into the picture I am not talking on a very popular subject. I also realize that the intelligent propaganda of the communistic hordes within our shores guided from Moscow is turned loose upon those who would raise their voices against communism and communistic Russia. I wish to state, that in my opinion, it is none of my business, or your business, what type and kind and form of government they have in Russia—that is Russia's business. But, I do forcibly say that it is my business and your business when Russia attempts to force upon a free America what she has already forced upon unfortunate nations of Europe, and that is communism.

I would be a fool if I were to stand here tonight and say to you that I did not recognise the fact that Russia was a valuable ally in the war against Germany and that Russia's fighting forces in this war did not save thousands of American lives, but when I give Russia credit for everything she did in the war, I would be more than stupid were I not to recognise the fact that Russia's success in the war was made possible with tanks, guns, ships, munitions, planes, bombs and all of the other implements of war, furnished to her by a generous America all manufactured under a free enterprise system. But in giving Russia due credit for everything she did as an ally in the war, I must, as a liberty loving citizen of the Nation, assert myself forcibly by saying that Russia's war success, definitely with American goods, does not mean that it gave Russia any lease upon America.

There are those in America, either through unintelligence or lack of energy to look into and study the true facts as they exist, who would tell you that American communism is a different type and kind than Russian communism. They would try to lead you to believe that those in America who are trying to forge the chains of communism upon the wrists of a free people are really exercising a right that is theirs under the Constitution of this country and that communism is merely another political party such as the Democratic or Republican Party. That is not a true statement, and that is not a fact. If we are anxious to know what is in the minds of those who are the leaders of the Communist element in America, then we have merely to refer to the official document of this Nation as printed by the committees in Congress who have been appointed to investigate communistic activities and communistic leaders in America, and we can find from these documents that one William Z. Foster, who is the recognized leader of communism in America, testifying under oath before these committees in answer to a question, could a Communist serve as a President of the United States, and I quote from House Resolution 5 of the 79th Congress, 2d session: "No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become President of the present Government. When a Communist heads a Government of the United States (and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises) that Government will not be a capitalistic government, but a Soviet government, and behind this Government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat." Can a statement coming from Mr. Foster as quoted above, by any stretch of imagination lead you to believe that a member of the Communist Party in America, who has sworn allegiance to another government to destroy America, is exercising his rights under our Constitution when he attempts to promote such doctrines? Sure they promise you that conditions will be different when they are in power, but they do not tell you what the difference will be. There is no question but what they will be different. Now if there are those who, after listening to Mr. Foster, who is the leader, who are still not convinced, ask them if they still believe a Communist can be an American when as recently as 1943 the following so-called Communist pledge was in use in this country, and it is probably still in use, and I quote from the same document: "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Communist Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States." Let me here again remind you men who are veterans of the oath of allegiance that you have taken to the Constitution of this Nation and ask you if in view of the conditions that exist in this country today you do not believe that there is as much need to fight for its security now in times of peace as there were in times of war?

Are you still not convinced? Quoting to you from the same document, the sworn testimony in 1930 by the same William Z. Foster, he said, "The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag, and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution." And I am still quoting, "The workers—the revolutionary workers—in all the capitalistic countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments, and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of Soviet Government." Now, bear in mind, when Foster was testifying and quoting this, when he used the word "workers," he meant members of this Communist Party. Quoting Mr. Foster further, he states that the aims of the Communist Party in the United States are the same as those of Communists in Russia, Germany, and wherever they may be, and that "the conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of readymade bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeois resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination."

I could go on by the hour and quote to you the statements of Communist leaders, both here and abroad, as to what the aims and objects of the so-called Communist Parties in America are. The aims and the objects of the Communist Party are on record with the statement to create a Communist world with Moscow as its capital, and still there are those in America who believe that people who advocate or espouse the Communist Party in America are exercising their rights under our Constitution that communism is merely a political party.

Where will you find communism in America? Quoting from the same document, "The Communist Party of America operates on almost every conceivable battlefront of this country; it will be found in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies' clubs, in Harlem, in the deep South, among the intellectuals. All this busy and effective scurrying around is efficiently centralized." You will find its termites working industriously in labor organizations and I would say to you men who are members of labor organizations that, if you do not remove from office in your organization the Communist leaders who have entrenched themselves therein, they will do you more harm in a short period of time than all of your enemies could do in a lifetime. I do not want to be considered as condemning labor unions or the men thereof, but I do want to be forcibly understood as condemning communistic leadership that is throttling the labor unions and, further, the communism document of hate and intolerance.

You will find communism in your educational institutions, you will find it in your schools, colleges, and universities, they are teaching communism to your children. You will find that you are paying taxes to pay salaries to these subversive elements that are practicing a right as they claim of noninterference with the freedom of education.

You will find your Communist propagandist as radio broadcasters, you will find them in the Armed Forces of your Government. You will find if you turn to page 14 of the book I have been quoting from that a reference is made, and quite some space given to it, headed "Subversive Propaganda for Our Armed Forces."

You will find communistic entrenched leaders who have wormed their way into public life of America to where they can now be found in the halls of Government, some in high and some in low places. You will find hundreds upon hundreds of organizations with very innocuous names that would never lead you to believe in joining such an organization that you are being used as a front to carry out the deceitful documents of a deceitful purpose of subversive elements that seek to destroy liberty and freedom.

May I suggest to you, each and every one here present, that you now take your pencil and write your Congressmen to send you a copy entitled "(Committee Print), 79th Congress, 2d session, Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda and Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Pursuant to House Resolution 5 of the 79th Congress" and I further suggest to you that you write to the American War Dads in Kansas City, Mo., and ask that they send you a little document that they are purchasing and will furnish to you free of cost, called the Communist Cancer. And then may I suggest to you that you purchase a book entitled "The Constitution of the United States, Its Sources and Its Application," its author, Thomas J. Norton, a handbook for citizens and public officials. It can be obtained from America's Future, Inc., Bartholomew Building, New York 17, N. Y. Do this on these three documents. If you are still not convinced that communism is a threat to America and if you are still not convinced that membership in the Communist Party is un-American and opposed to the rights that are ours under our Constitution, if there are those in our midst who believe that Russian communism is a more desirable form of government than the liberty and freedom that has made this Nation under the free-enterprise system the savior of the world then I would say to you, let us furnish them with a one-way ticket to Russia where they may live under the type and kind and form of government that they seem to desire and we do not want.

In conclusion you probably are wondering what are we going to do about it? My answer to that is simple—remove communistic leadership from labor unions.

Remove communistic teachers and professors from schools, colleges, and universities.

Remove from public office all who have any love for or adherence to communism and what it stands for and replace them with Americans.

In closing let me again say that it was a high privilege to be permitted to address you today and if we are going to accomplish what we fought for, if we are going to be true to those who are never to return, if we are not going to fail those for whom the war will never be over, the hundreds upon hundreds of boys who are in hospitals and many of them never to leave there, if we are going to be true to ourselves—let us again renew today within ourselves the pledge of allegiance to America and what it stands for and to resolve that we are as determined to fight for its preservation with greater if possible, ardor and devotion in times of peace than we did in time of war, that we not only believe it is a sacred and holy thing for one to die for one's country, but we believe that it is just as sacred and holy for one to live for one's country.

A Remarkable Contrast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, King Saud, the new King of Saudi Arabia, was reported in a news dispatch as having stated, on January 9, at his royal palace in Ridyadh, capital of Saudi Arabia, that the Arab nations should sacrifice up to 10 million of their 50 million people, if necessary, to wipe out Israel. The report quoted him as stating:

Israel, to the Arab world, is like a cancer to the human body, and the only way of remedy is to uproot it.

He was also reported as stating that the Arab nations would never hold direct talks with Israel because they did not recognize Israel as a nation. He felt the Arabs lost Palestine to the Israelis in 1948 because they were not united and "not sincere in their actions and efforts. Had we united then, Israel would not have come into existence. Israel is a serious wound in the Arab world body,

and we cannot endure the pain of this wound forever. We don't have patience to see Israel remain occupying part of Palestine for long."

The above statement from King Saud is in remarkable contrast to the article printed in the U. S. News & World Report, in its issue of January 15, which speaks of the incomparable extravagance of the Royal House of Saud and the bankruptcy of his government, amidst a country which is "almost floating in a sea of oil." It states that—

King Saud in 1953 received more than $170 million of Aramco for his oil, plus $5 million as customs and other tax payments by the oil company.

Many more millions were paid to his father, Ibn Saud, and such fortunes have been frittered away on a lavish personal scale while "nine-tenths of the people continue to live the primitive existence that the Bedouin tribesmen have lived for 500 years." The text of the article from the U. S. News & World Report, called Floating Broke on Sea of Oil, follows:

JIDDA, SAUDI ARABIA.—On the outskirts of this hot and dusty seaport town, there is a huge new palace that looks like something out of an "Arabian Nights" fairy tale. It is 5 stories high, with a glass-enclosed sun deck on top, and it must have more than 100 rooms. It is painted gleaming white, with green and yellow trimmings.

This is the Jidda palace of King Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz. He has other palaces in his capital at Riyadh, his summer capital at Taif, and at the holy city of Mecca.

Across the road from the King's Jidda palace is a settlement known as Paper Town. It is called that because the people there live in tents made of old paper and cardboard. A family of 5 or 6 is crowded into a single tent.

Everywhere in Saudi Arabia, an American visitor is struck by this contrast between fabulous wealth and unbelievable poverty.

Flying across the desert to the Persian Gulf, you discover that this country is almost floating on a sea of oil. Every day the Arabian American Oil Co.—known as Aramco—produces more than 800,000 barrels of oil, and King Saud collects on each barrel. Ten years ago, Saudi Arabia's total foreign-exchange earnings were less than $7 million a year. King Saud in 1953 received more than $170 million from Aramco for his oil, plus $5 million as customs and other tax payments by the oil company.

THE UNCHANGING LIFE

Yet the government is perpetually broke. Saudi Arabia is living far beyond its means, borrowing constantly against future oil revenue. And nine-tenths of the people continue to live the primitive existence that the Bedouin tribesmen have lived for 500 years.

As you travel through the desert, you are surprised to see how little life has changed despite the oil boom and the invasion by American workers.

The population of this desert kingdom is estimated at about 6 million people. Perhaps 3.5 million are Bedouins who wander about the desert with their flocks of camels, sheep, and goats.

They are practically self-sufficient—but in the grimmest way imaginable. They live in tents homespun from goat wool. Their diet consists of a handful of dates and a small amount of camel's milk every day. The picture that most Americans have of the Arabs as strong, healthy warriors riding into battle on white chargers is purely fiction. Most of them are plagued by disease and undernourishment. Tuberculosis and syphilis are common, and the eye disease trachoma infects nearly everyone.

You do get a different picture in the Persian Gulf towns near the oil fields. Some of these places resemble America's old frontier boom towns.

UNITED STATES AUTOS: MARK OF WEALTH

Al Khobar, for example, was a sleepy little settlement of several hundred mud huts a few years ago. Today scores of new concrete buildings are going up. Streets are jammed with American automobiles, which have replaced the camel as the symbol of wealth and prestige among Arabs in that area.

Stores in the town are packed with refrigerators, washing machines, air-conditioning units, radios, Buck Rogers uniforms, comic books—almost anything you'd expect to find in an American department store.

These economic changes, however, don't come from the oil company's payments to the king, but from the millions of dollars the company is spending in that area with contractors and merchants and for labor.

The company's huge royalties to the Government are completely in the hands of King Saud. No one can question how he disburses official funds. His 34 brothers also have unlimited access to Government funds. They merely order anything they want—and send the bill to the Finance Minister.

RELATIVES BY THOUSANDS

In fact, the entire royal family is supported by government funds. This includes several thousand other relatives of the late King Ibn Saud. Each year the royal family grows by leaps and bounds, since the men all have many wives and may boast of anywhere from 10 to 20 children. And most members of the family have their personal followings of hangers-on whom they support.

No one knows how much it costs now to support the royal household—probably not even the king himself. But estimates run from fifty to one hundred million dollars annually. The daily food bill at the King's palace in Riyadh is estimated conservatively at $5,000. On his latest visit to Dhahran, the oil company's headquarters, the King was accompanied by 3,000 free loaders. They arrived with 70 American limousines, followed by 3 trainloads of more limousines and camp followers.

Financing the royal family is like a merry-go-round that is beginning to spin out of control. Each year the King collects more and more from the oil company, but each year the royal family increases in size and requires more and more money for support. And the Government ends the year broke—with practically nothing to show for it in the way of national development.

King Saud is now negotiating with the oil company for still another increase in revenues. Even if he gets it, the expectation is that the Government's coffers will be empty before 1954 is over, and he will have to float another loan against future earnings.

ECONOMY COMING?

Economic experts maintain that this can't continue much longer. Soon, they say, the King will have to curtail spending by the royal household.

This, according to political observers, could lead to trouble. Court intrigue is a normal part of life here. If the King cracked down on royal spending, no one would be surprised if a group of disgruntled relatives or camp followers were to eliminate King Saud and replace him with their own man.

That's the biggest worry right now for the United States, with its huge stake in Saudi Arabia's oil—the danger of a palace revolution that would overthrow the present ruler and add political turmoil to the country's financial chaos.

Unemployment Grows in Southern Illinois

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article taken from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 3, 1954, entitled "Fifteen Thousand Estimated To Be Jobless in 6 Southern Illinois Counties":

FIFTEEN THOUSAND ESTIMATED TO BE JOBLESS IN 6 SOUTHERN ILLINOIS COUNTIES—SECTION DESIGNATED FOR DEFENSE CONTRACTS—EMPLOYMENT DOWN ABOUT 4,200 IN LAST 2 MONTHS

WEST FRANKFORT, ILL., January 2.—This section of southern Illinois, heart of a six-county area designated by the Department of Labor as one of those to which defense contracts should be channeled to relieve unemployment, has long been plagued with labor surpluses due to a sick coal industry but now is faced with a more acute immediate problem.

What is currently disturbing is the slashing of payrolls in factories established in the last 7 years, primarily in the vicinity of Crab Orchard Lake, as part of a continuing campaign to obtain diversified industries to counteract the lag in the coal mines.

Industrial employment in this district, embracing Franklin, Williamson, Jackson, Perry, Union, and Johnson Counties, has dropped about 4,200 in the last two months. Reductions at several plants are attributed to tightening up of defense contracts generally.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND OUT OF WORK

Reliable estimates indicate the current surplus labor pool in the 6-county area to be between 15,000 and 16,000. About 20 percent of the district's labor force is jobless, including a basic surplus labor pool of approximately 10,000 which has existed since 1930, due primarily to the mine situation.

The decline in industrial forces has given rise to speculation here as to what defense contracts might be diverted to this area in view of a tendency to cancel national-defense contracts and an increasingly smaller amount of defense subcontracts and an increase in small contractors.

An example of a slump yet to be diagnosed fully is reflected at the Sangamo electronics plant housed in one of the buildings of the abandoned World War II ordnance plant at Ordill in Williamson County. The plant, which makes television and radio equipment, has reduced its force by more than a third, from 1,856 employees in September to 1,101 now, with some divisions working but 4 days a week.

OUTPUT AT 60 PERCENT

Laurence H. Kunz, plant manager and vice president of the parent corporation, Sangamo Electric Co., of Springfield, Ill., said overall production was at a 60-percent level. An 80-percent operation is necessary, Kunz said, to make the factory profitable enough to continue.

Kunz, who like other industrialists in the area has his fingers crossed hoping for a pickup this month, ascribed some of the recession to cancellations and reductions of military orders. Defense business, he observed, has not slumped so badly as have civilian orders in the last 3 months.

Kunz was of the opinion that some television and radio concerns may have overproduced in anticipation of the holiday

buying season and may require more supplies when surplus stocks are exhausted.

Another employment loss, small in relation to a metropolitan industrial area, but affecting economy of struggling factories in a rural community, has taken place at the Hoosier Cardinal Corp. at Ordill, which has transferred the bulk of its force to the company's main plant at Evansville, Ind.

The southern Illinois plant, which makes decorative metals and plastic, currently employs 45 workers. It formerly hired 235.

PAYROLL OF 200 DOWN TO 65

A nearby plant, that of Radionic Products, owned by Oxford Electric Corp. of Chicago, employed 200 a month ago. The current payroll is 65. Spokesmen for the company said there were indications of seasonal overproduction by customers but added that they had noted declining business since the end of hostilities in Korea.

Allen Industries at Herrin, manufacturers of rug cushions and automotive jute installations, reported that 50 or 60 defense contracts were terminated in August. About 300 women, employed on a special project, were laid off 2 months ago. The plant, which has employed as many as 600, currently has a force of 225.

Such trends reflect an overall condition in the six-county area. The surplus-labor pool, augmented by conditions in the mines, was fixed by the Illinois State Employment Service at 10,800 last August. Now reliable estimates indicate it to be at least 15,000.

Layoffs in such industrial centers as Gary, Ind., and in the Chicago and Peoria areas have caused numerous workers from southern Illinois to return to their homes, riding out weeks of unemployment under living conditions far better than encountered in the cities.

POVERTY NOT SHARPLY FELT

While relief rolls and unemployment compensation allowances in southern Illinois have mounted, the pinch of poverty has not reached a point providing many surface indications. Some retail merchants, especially owners of food stores, have reported that families are laying in cheaper stocks of provisions, buying staples rather than luxury items.

In a community accustomed to the fluctuations of the mines, unemployment is cushioned by home truck gardens. Many workers are homeowners or members of homeowning families. In wartime boom days, several members of a family would take jobs, some to earn extra money to buy television sets, automobiles, or other possessions not normally within the family budget.

Now most of those purchases have been paid for. Women, laid off at factories, have returned to household chores. The family circle is growing closer.

NEW INDUSTRIES SOUGHT

In the meantime, Southern Illinois, Inc., formed to promote industries throughout the Little Egypt section, is continuing its efforts with cooperation of chambers of commerce and civic bodies.

A new factory for making plastic hose is under construction in Carterville; in Eldorado an organization has been formed to obtain new plants. There is general recognition that the coal mines are steadily declining.

Many have closed in recent years. Most of them, especially in Franklin County, are running on a 2- or 3-day week basis. When new mines open up, they usually do so with expensive mechanical equipment, employing only a fraction of the miners required to dig coal under old methods, obsolete in a highly competitive industry plagued by the rise of substitute fuels and mounting labor and other operating costs.

PROPOSES PUBLIC WORKS

Geoffrey Hughes, executive director of Southern Illinois, Inc., said he thought the Government might encourage public works in the area in addition to sending what defense contracts may materialize that way.

Completion of Devil's Kitchen Dam, Hughes said, would guarantee the level of Crab Orchard Lake and supply cheap power to attract chemical plants and other large industries. Work on the dam was stopped in 1940 after concrete piers had been installed.

Hughes also suggested that a dam across the Big Muddy River, near Benton, would create a lake in Franklin County, similar to the one in Crab Orchard, and urged construction of a dam and reservoir on Beaucoup River, affecting Perry and Jackson Counties. The Big Muddy, he contended, with aid of a short canal, could be made navigable for barges from the Mississippi River to Murphysboro.

International Treaties Must Not Make American Domestic Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. Frank E. Holman, past president of the American Bar Association, entitled "Treaty Power Versus American Rights."

Mr. Holman is a recognized authority on constitutional law and the treaty power. Recently he was named "first citizen of Seattle." When an award was made by his fellow citizens, it was pointed out that he had worked diligently and long to preserve the right to own and enjoy the use of private property. He was also cited for his invaluable service to Seattle and the entire Nation by bringing to the attention of the public the fact that the essential freedoms guaranteed to our people by our Constitution could be abrogated by international treaties.

Mr. Speaker, in 1953 Mr. Holman received the gold medal award of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and only last August he received the highest award possible from the American Bar Association, of which he is a past president. Thus it appears that Mr. Holman is well qualified to discuss the merits of the so-called Bricker-American Bar Association resolution which aims to correct a blind spot in our Constitution. The article in question follows:

TREATY POWER VERSUS AMERICAN RIGHTS

(By Frank E. Holman)

During recent years, a new school of internationalists have planned and are now executing the most highly organized and heavily financed assault on American constitutional liberties ever made. Their instrument is the misuse of treaty power for the making of domestic law, openly advocated since the adoption of the U. N. Charter in 1945. The sole purpose and effect of the Bricker amendment is to prevent one-man rule and having international lawmaking imposed upon us in our internal affairs. The following is an answer to the recently organized New York committee to preserve omnipotence of treaty power.

This new committee was actually organized as a committee for preserving the treaty power. It calls itself a committee for defense of the Constitution. This is clearly a misnomer. To so name a committee obviously organized to preserve the treaty power in a form which endangers American constitutional rights is not only a misnomer but is in line with the technique of the new school of internationalists of attaching a fine-sounding name to a program that would actually undermine American constitutional rights. This was the propaganda technique followed with respect to the proposed Covenant on Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, both of which documents (as admitted by Mr. Dulles before the Senate Judiciary Committee) contain concepts alien to our American concept of basic rights as safeguarded by the Constitution.

This misnamed committee (apparently with ample funds for nationwide propaganda) has mailed to thousands of Americans a letter, a one-sheet circular, and a return postcard which is cleverly designed to provide the recipient only with the opportunity of voting against the Bricker amendment. The circular wrongly implies that the Constitution is under attack by supporters of the Bricker amendment, whereas the only purpose of the Bricker amendment is to protect American constitutional rights, American law, and the American form of government. This misnamed committee, therefore, attacks the good faith and loyalty of the American Bar Association, numerous State bar associations, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Marine Corps League, many other veteran organizations, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, thousands of patriotic women's groups throughout the United States, and dozens of other professional, civic, and patriotic organizations—all of whom support the Bricker amendment.

When this misnamed committee says the Constitution is under attack by the supporters of the Bricker amendment, it makes itself ridiculous. Were the first 10 amendments—our precious Bill of Rights—an attack upon the Constitution? Was it an attack upon the Constitution to close the loopholes which permitted slavery by passing adequate constitutional amendments against it? Was it an attack upon the Constitution to amend it to permit women to vote? Was it an attack upon the Constitution to close the loophole whereby an ambitious President could be elected again and again and even for life to that high office? Were any of the other amendments proposed and approved by the people of this country an attack upon the Constitution?

The sole declared purpose of this misnamed committee is to preserve the treaty power and to oppose the Bricker amendment. No word or mention is made of protecting American constitutional rights. It is clear, therefore, that the new committee is not organized in defense of American constitutional rights, but to preserve the present omnipotence of the treaty power which Mr. Dulles, the present Secretary of State, declared could "make domestic law," could "override the Constitution," could "take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President," could "take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body," and could "cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights." These are the matters which the Bricker amendment seeks to do something about. The only question before the Congress and the American people with respect to the Bricker amendment is, Do Americans for themselves and their children want to risk their precious constitutional rights and liberties and their domestic law, and even their form of government to international pressure groups

and to such treaties as they may concoct for us?

The misnamed committee's printed Statement of Position is a mere paraphrase of the discredited arguments originally advanced by the city bar of New York. This misnamed committee voices other fallacies originally furnished by the city bar of New York; for example, that the Bricker amendment would prevent the making of trade and commercial treaties and treaties for the control of narcotics without ratification by the 48 States. These arguments were all considered and held invalid by a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee and by a 4-to-1 vote of the members of the house of delegates of the American Bar Association. But let's have a look at them again.

It is said that America has fared exceedingly well for many years under the present treaty power. This was true as long as treaties were confined to their traditional purpose of dealing with international affairs, but following the organization of the United Nations in 1945 a new doctrine came into being that treaties should be used to reform the domestic law of the signatory countries and to deal with rights of citizens in relationship to their own government—a concept which Mr. Dulles told the Senate Judiciary Committee that he and President Eisenhower disapproved.

How was this extension of treaty law to cover our domestic affairs brought about? First, by a declaration to that effect by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations in 1948 and officially in 1950 by the pronouncement of the Truman-Acheson State Department that there is no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs (State Department Publication 3972—Foreign Affairs Policy Series 26 released September 1950).

It is clear that the framers of the Constitution did not intend that treaties should deal with the domestic rights of American citizens. This is definitely established by the words of Jefferson and the words of Hamilton. Jefferson said, "By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated. It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the States; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole Government is interdicted from doing in any way." Alexander Hamilton, who in most matters was opposed to the political views of Jefferson, also said that "Treaties are contracts with foreign nations which have the force of law but derived it from the obligations of good faith. They are not rules prescribed by the sovereign to the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign."

The foregoing indisputable historical facts with respect to treaties are entirely ignored by the new committee to preserve the treaty power and by the other opponents of the Bricker amendment.

The committee makes no particular objection to the first section of the amendment that a treaty provision which conflicts with the Constitution "shall not be of any force or effect." They say this is the law already but Mr. Dulles and many others say that it is not. Mr. Dulles says without reservation that "treaties can override the Constitution." Why should this important question remain in doubt? A simple provision in the Constitution settling this doubt is certainly wise and proper.

The new committee chiefly objects to the second section of the Bricker amendment declaring that treaties shall become effective as internal law "only through legislation" which would be valid in the absence of treaty. As to the requirement that treaties shall be effective as internal law only through legislation, this is the rule of law in every important country in the world. How can there be any valid objection to the American people having the same protection as to their internal laws as have the citizens of other nations? This requirement is not "cumbersome" as to other nations so why should it be "cumbersome" as to us?

Actually, it is the "which" clause that raises the most objections. However, the assertion that under this clause action will be necessary by the 48 States in treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation, narcotics control, etc., is also an old discredited argument of the City Bar of New York. The Senate Judiciary Committee found these arguments and the similar argument on the control of atomic energy unfounded.

The "which" clause was inserted for the simple reason that we have and are intended to have a government of constitutional restraints. The laws that govern the American people—all of them—are supposed to be invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution. Congressional laws and State laws must conform to the Constitution, but Mr. Dulles says that treaty law is "more supreme than ordinary laws" and that "treaty laws can override the Constitution." Therefore, by the simple device of first making a treaty on a subject Congress could pass laws otherwise unconstitutional which, as Mr. Dulles says, could take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government, or to some international body, and could cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights.

The new Committee objects to the third section of the Bricker amendment because it gives Congress power to regulate executive and other international agreements. Congress has the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and many other matters and has the power to pass all necessary and proper laws for carrying into execution the "powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof." Why should the treaty power be a kind of sacred cow, and certain high officers of Government the exclusive custodians of the sacred cow? Are we a government of law or a government of men? Shall we have more Yaltas, Potsdams, and Teherans with no powers in the Congress or, for that matter, even in the Senate to deal with executive and other international agreements? A part of the theory of the new school of internationalists is to allow the State Department, by merely calling an international agreement an executive agreement instead of a treaty, to bypass the Senate and the Congress entirely. To say that the third section of the Bricker amendment would destroy the President's power to make emergency arrangements like the Berlin blockade is sheer nonsense. Section 3 only vests in the Congress the power to regulate. Presidents have always been voted ample power to deal with emergencies. In most instances the Congress does not exercise its power to regulate, but either the power must be there or else it is nowhere, except in the uncontrolled discretion of the President. We may have a good President at one time and not so good a President at another time, and we finally get back to Jefferson's warning, spoken when Hamilton and others were opposing the Bill of Rights, "In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

The committee quotes Secretary Dulles to the effect that the Bricker amendment would be "calamitous upon the international position and prospects of the United States." This is pure rhetoric, but even if it were not, which comes first—the "international position and prospects of the United States" or the precious constitutional rights of the American people?

It is interesting to note that Mr. Owen J. Roberts, one of the prominent members of this recently organized New York committee for "preserving the treaty power" said at Ottawa, April 30, 1952, that "We must decide whether we are to stand on the silly shibboleth of national sovereignty"—explaining that we must yield our national sovereignty to some "higher authority—call it what you will." Our forefathers fought a revolution for what Mr. Roberts calls the "silly shibboleth" of national sovereignty.

Mr. John W. Davis and former Attorney General Mitchell, also members of this committee, admitted in a signed report to the New York State Bar Association, as did Mr. Dulles before the Senate Judiciary Committee, that the proposed United Nations Covenant on Human Rights contained concepts contrary to American law and American rights. But these gentlemen merely disposed of this great danger in such international proposals by saying that the administration or the courts could be trusted to protect the American people against such covenants or treaties. The American people are not accustomed to relying on the mere promises of men but prefer to rely upon constitutional safeguards.

Lastly, the new committee undertakes to hang onto the coattails of President Eisenhower. What the President said was that he opposed "any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs." The Bricker amendment as now phrased would do neither of these things. Contrary to frequent unfounded statements by the opposition press and now voiced by this new committee, the Bricker amendment will not restrict the President's treatymaking powers.

The amendment as recommended by a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee will in no way interfere with the free negotiation of treaties by the President and the State Department and their ratification by the Senate. Under the text of the Bricker amendment as adopted by the Senate Judiciary Committee the President will be as free to negotiate treaties and the Senate as free to ratify as they are now, and every treaty so negotiated and ratified will be immediately effective as an international agreement. The amendment has no restrictive effect whatever on treaties as international obligations, nor on the power of the President to negotiate them; it will only prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States until supplemented by appropriate American legislation.

Although the new misnamed committee has members listed in other parts of the country, it was organized in New York. It is undoubtedly financed there. Its office and the seat of its activities are located there. It will, of course, be a voice for the new school of internationalists who are more interested in what will be calamitous to the international position and prospects of the United States than what would be calamitous to the precious rights of American people. It will be a rallying center for all world government, half world government, and quarter world government enthusiasts. Its propaganda will be well organized and well financed but the important thing for all Americans to remember is that it makes no claim to preserving the rights and liberties of the American people. Its sole announced claim and obective is to preserve the treaty power which Mr. Dulles himself says is now omnipotent. There is no place in the American form of government for omnipotent power except in the people themselves, for all powers not delegated to the Federal Government are reserved to the States and to the people, and the people have a right to amend their Constitution whenever their rights and liberties are threatened by any claim of omnipotent power.

Champion of Public Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the name of Dr. Felix J. Underwood is synonymous with that of improved public health in Mississippi. The marvelous progress which has been made in public health in my State under Dr. Underwood's leadership is the best proof possible of effectiveness of the Federal program of grants-in-aid to States for public-health work.

As an extension of my remarks I include the following article from the Progressive Farmer of December 1953:

CHAMPION OF PUBLIC HEALTH
(By Anne Haney)

"My mother died when I was 10. She died of a preventable disease. It never should have happened. She contracted childbed fever because the doctor did not use sterile instruments and rubber gloves."

Thus was the seed planted in the mind of Dr. Felix J. Underwood—the seed that grew into the desire to be a physician and later led him into the field of public health. That inner drive has just made him the only man in the South to receive the 1953 Lasker Award of the American Public Health Association. The award is given by the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation for distinguished service in the field of public health.

For the past 30 years, Dr. Underwood has been executive officer of the Mississippi State Board of Health. The award comes to the 71-year-old leader for transforming what some once called a backward State, healthwise, into a national pace setter in public health achievement.

Back when he was a little boy, Dr. Underwood was very much impressed with the family physician. "I liked his neat appearance, his gentle manner, and his businesslike way. Besides that, he wore a Prince Albert coat, a little derby hat, and shiny black patent-leather shoes. He encouraged me to become a doctor."

When young Underwood was 16, he had definitely made up his mind to study medicine. At 17 he was teaching school in Lee County. At 18 he entered medical school at the University of Tennessee and finished at 22. After hospital training in Memphis General Hospital, now John Gaston Hospital, he returned to his hometown of Nettleton, Miss., in 1908 to take up active practice.

"A doctor in those days had to go it alone. When he would have welcomed consultation, there was no consultant. The nearest hospital was at Birmingham or Memphis, and either was 125 miles away.

"If an operation was called for, I did the operation in the home in emergency cases. I carried a little portable operating table in my car. I can't remember ever being caught after dark with a home operation to perform. Each time, it happened to be daylight, so I pulled the operating table over to the window to get enough light. If the operation wasn't an emergency, we piled the patient into a baggage car on a cot, and shipped him to the hospital."

The county where Dr. Underwood practiced was full of preventable diseases. He spent the summer treating malaria, dysentery, typhoid, and epidemics of smallpox. "Jenner had developed smallpox vaccine more than 100 years before, but there were no public-health facilities to make it known and available."

The winters he was busy keeping babies from choking to death with diphtheria.

"One of my hobbies is old cemeteries," says Dr. Underwood. "Each time I find one, I spend an hour or two walking around. And each time, I find that most of the graves are those of children."

Dr. Underwood's concern for mothers and children has carried on through all the years of his public-health service. After he served as health officer of Monroe County from 1918 to 1921, he became director of the division of maternal and child health in the central office until 1924.

"First, I began to educate mothers to have physicians and prenatal care. Then later on, with the coming of hospitals, I tried to teach them to go into hospitals for obstetrical care when at all possible.

"Next, we culled out incompetent midwives and encouraged younger women to go into the field. In 1921 there were 6,000 midwives in Mississippi; now, about 1,800. Many of that 6,000 were diseased or half-blind * * * some had venereal disease."

Now midwives must have an annual permit. Their equipment is opened and inspected, the neatness of their person is observed. They are trained at the hands of the public-health nurses.

"Still," observes Dr. Underwood, "there are many maternity cases who would have no attention at all if it weren't for these midwives. But now deliveries by doctors in hospitals are going up, deliveries by midwives are going down.

"Our next move was to push statewide efforts in sanitation of food and milk as well as home sanitation. We aimed for control of filth-borne diseases—dysentery, hookworm, typhoid, intestinal parasites of infants."

In the past 20 years so much progress has been made in producing milk for human consumption that it is not a health hazard but a health giver.

"We believe that permitting the sale of raw milk in a community is a backward step, one which will jeopardize the health of the residents. Mississippi's pasteurizing plants are turning out a very fine quality of milk, and it is safe. It is not hard to pasteurize milk at home. A home pasteurizer can be bought for between $35 and $60."

Dr. Underwood believes that education is the most important phase of public-health service. When he succeeded Dr. Walter S. Leathers in 1924 as executive officer of the Mississippi State Board of Health, he used newspapers to promote the educational campaign. Now radio, leaflets, pamphlets, and newspapers are all used. The director praises the ever-ready cooperation of the press.

"One of our major accomplishments has been bringing venereal diseases under control. There has been a 95-percent decrease in incidence of infectious syphilis in the past 8 or 10 years. This has been almost completely an educational campaign. Infectious gonorrhea is now about 65 to 70 percent controlled by education, case finding, and prompt treatment. The benefits of a public health service are easy to see when you realize how many people are living today who would be dead if the death rates of 20 years ago still prevailed."

In less than two generations there have been tremendous drops in number of deaths in Mississippi from preventable diseases. In 1916 there were 668 deaths per 100,000 from typhoid fever; in 1948, 1. In 1915 malaria caused 1,492 deaths per 100,000; in 1952, none. There were 364 deaths per 100,000 from diphtheria in 1921; in 1952, 2. From measles, there were 732 deaths per 100,000 in 1916; in 1952, 10. Deaths from tuberculosis have dropped from 2,798 in 1918 to 418 in 1952, and the number is going down now even faster.

But Dr. Underwood still places first the mothers and children of the State. "Lowering the maternal death rate has been the most satisfying thing in my service as public health officer," he says. In 1922 that rate was 7.2 per 1,000 births; in 1952 it had been forced down to 1.8.

"Another thing that has been a satisfaction to me has been the willingness of the people of Mississippi, through their representatives in legislature and on county boards of supervisors and city officials, to support public health work."

The State pays half the expenses for dental work for children of medically indigent parents.

Dental technicians all over the State are constantly treating children with sodium fluoride for prevention of dental cavities. "The State Health Department is thoroughly sold on it," says Dr. Underwood. Several towns have put sodium fluoride in the water.

In the school health program, in Marion and Holmes counties a study of eye diseases in children 5 to 18 is being carried on. Just some of the things that have been uncovered are cases of cataracts, diseases of eyelids and eyeball, and glaucoma. This study is being made with a Kellogg fund grant but the State will carry it on in a limited way. It is expected to reduce the incidence of blindness and the need for schools for the blind.

"Too, for our children we have mental-guidance clinics. The old way was to build a mental hospital—a so-called insane asylum—wait until someone became violent, then institutionalize him. Now we are working with children, guiding them properly."

Parents, public health workers, or teachers watch the children for tantrums or other indications of disturbance. Then, if the parents are willing, the child is taken to the clinic at the county health department. There a team of psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatrically trained social worker have regular visiting days, examine the child, and advise treatment. This program is unique with Mississippi.

"Now we're beginning a rabies-control program. The vaccination fee is carrying this in about 30 counties. I love dogs; they are one of my hobbies. But I love children more."

Just last September Dr. Underwood reached one of his main goals. At that time, the last of Mississippi's 82 counties provided a full-time public health department. Now the State has 100-percent coverage; in 1924, only 7 counties had full-time health departments.

"Another thing I wanted to see was 1 year in Mississippi without a single death from typhoid fever. I've seen that.

"Today I look forward to the goal of State, counties, and municipalities supporting in full the State health department. Sooner or later the Federal Government is going to stop providing a substantial portion of the money, so Mississippi should learn to take care of Mississippians. I would like to see the Federal Government take care of the research, and then let the State use the research."

The list of Dr. Underwood's honors seems almost endless. He has been president of the Mississippi Public Health Association; State chairman of the March of Dimes; president of the Southern Medical Association; president of the American Public Health Association; delegate to the second World Health Assembly in Rome, Italy; active in cancer, heart, and child welfare organizations. The Lasker Award which he received in November was his second; the first came to him in 1945 for promoting the planned-parenthood program.

This man with the firm jaw and the gentle voice has led Mississippi from the end of the ranks to a place of leadership in public health.

Treaty Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, because of the wide interest in the country on the issue of treaty law, I wish to include in the RECORD an excellent article on the subject by Don Knowlton, appearing in the current issue of Spotlight.

Here are some of the best arguments for the Bricker amendment with illustrations of the evils of treaty law.

The article follows:

WHAT SOCIALISTS IN ILO PLAN FOR THE UNITED STATES BY TREATY LAW

(By Don Knowlton)

The International Labor Organization is an arm of the United Nations. Each member nation sends delegates representing government workers, and employers to the annual conference. Over 60 nations participate.

The objective of the International Labor Organization (hereafter referred to as ILO) is presumed to be to help the workingman get better working conditions, fuller recognition of his rights, his problems, etc. But by 1951 labor had been relegated to second place. The big thing was more power for government, more control by government, more regulation by government, more dependence upon government.

The ILO is today completely in the hands of a Socialist coalition of government and labor which is proposing a whole series of international socialistic laws. Supposed in theory to confine itself to matters concerning labor, it is now arrogating unto itself the right to prescribe domestic legislation on any subject it selects, for nations the world over.

Now let me give you briefly just a few examples of the type of socialistic international laws drafted by the ILO.

In June of 1951 and 1952, I was a member of the United States employer delegation to the ILO annual conference in Geneva, Switzerland.

In 1949 the ILO passed a convention on fee-charging employment agencies. The intent of this convention was to abolish by law, and I quote, "Fee-charging employment agencies conducted with a view to profit," and make government the sole employment agency.

In 1951 the ILO passed a recommendation on collective bargaining agreements. This prescribes that government should be permitted to negotiate, conclude, revise, and renew collective bargaining agreements. It also provides that if most of the workers in an industry signed a collective bargaining agreement, government could compel the rest of the workers and companies in the industry to sign up also, even if they were not unionized. This would mean government take-over of collective bargaining, and determination of wages by government decree.

In 1952 the ILO passed a convention on minimum standards of social security. Under this proposed international law government would give people money for "all the ills the flesh is heir to," including sickness; any condition requiring medical care; a morbid condition, whatever its cause," unemployment; old age; injuries; maternity; invalidity, defined as "inability to engage in any gainful activity"; death; and babies. The more babies you have, the more money you get from government.

In its original form, this convention sought to outlaw private insurance companies and make all insurance compulsory and subsidized by government. As enacted, this convention contains a full-fledged program of socialized medicine, with patients allocated to doctors and hospitals under government direction.

In 1952 the ILO passed a convention on maternity protection.

Under this proposed international law a woman would be given 12 weeks off to have her baby, with government paying for medical care and hospitalization.

During this period she would receive from government, in cash, an amount equal to two-thirds of her pay.

When she gets back to work again, she brings the baby with her and puts it in a government-run nursery. At specified periods she leaves her typewriter or machine, and goes to nurse the baby. Such interruptions of work, says the convention, and I quote, "in cases where the matter is governed by or in accordance with laws or regulations," are to be counted as working hours and paid for by the company.

I, myself, sat in the ILO committee which worked out the terms of the maternity protection convention. It was an incredible experience. For example, here is one technical point that came up.

If a mother was unable to furnish her own milk for her baby, she would have to buy it. That would be too bad—so government would have to buy it for her. But if government bought cow's milk for one mother, was that fair to the mother who was able to furnish her own milk

This led to the conclusion that a mother who could furnish her own milk should likewise be paid by the government for doing so, and meanwhile she would also be paid an hourly rate by her employer for dispensing it.

Believe it or not, this was solemnly proposed, by representatives of nations from all over the world, as one of the provisions of an international treaty.

Now, I have given you these examples from the International Labor Organization because I was there and can report them as a matter of personal experience. Summing up, the ILO theory seems to be that government, under international laws, should supervise and regulate all phases of our local domestic and personal affairs.

The purpose of the conference is to draft suggested basic laws for member nations. Some of these are passed by the ILO merely as recommendations, but many are enacted as conventions.

Now, what is a convention? Keep that term in mind. A convention is an international law which, when ratified by member nations, stands as a treaty among the nations which ratified it.

In this connection Judge Florence E. Allen, judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, says in her book entitled "The Treaty as an Instrument of Legislation":

"Does the fact that the ILO in its Philadelphia declaration stated broad human objectives make it the legislative agent of the nations of the world in problems other than those affecting labor? That the ILO thinks so was clearly evidenced in the 1949 report of the Director * * * who said in his report, 'Today the role of the organization as an international parliament has become generally accepted.'"

At first I was not particularly alarmed about all this. I said to myself, "Well, these international Socialists can draft all the laws they want to, but it will not affect the United States." But then I learned two things I should have known before, but didn't. And these two things are the reason for the proposed Bricker amendment. Here they are:

1. Bear in mind, as I said before, that an international law called a convention is considered a treaty. In the United States treaties are submitted only to the Senate. They are not submitted to the House of Representatives. An ILO convention, for example, can be ratified as a treaty by a two-thirds vote of the Members of the Senate present on the day the vote is taken. Not two-thirds of the Senate—two-thirds of those present; and unless the question of a quorum is raised, only a handful present could put through the vote. That's how ratification of a convention might be slipped through.

2. Once a convention is ratified as a treaty, it becomes the supreme law of the land and takes precedence over any existing laws, and even over the Constitution itself. That is because paragraph 2, article VI, of the Constitution states, and I quote:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made pursuant thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

You may say, "Oh, it couldn't happen here." But think it over. Take the ILO Minimum Standards of Social Security Convention, the one that includes socialized medicine. You may say, "The Senate would never ratify it." But are you aware of the pressures that may be brought to bear?

At the Geneva Conference in 1952, both of the United States Government voting delegates, representing the Truman Administration, voted in favor of this convention. So also did the United States labor-voting delegate. Both the A. F. of L. and CIO officially backed this convention. Isn't it conceivable that at some future time, under a different administration, this convention, by prearrangement, might be slipped through the Senate by having just the right Senators present at the moment?

If that happened, we would have socialized medicine. The House of Representatives couldn't do anything about it. The people couldn't do anything about it. Neither would have a chance to vote on it. And it couldn't be declared unconstitutional, because under the Constitution treaties take precedence over the Constitution.

In Geneva I saw the international socialists at work. They want to socialize America. They know they cannot do it by legislation enacted in the usual way. Our people would oppose laws setting up socialized medicine and insurance, or nationalizing industry. But if socialistic laws can be disguised as treaties and ratified by two-thirds of the Senators present when the vote is taken, without the House of Representatives or the people being aware of what is going on, socialism can come in by the back door and take over.

I believe this threat exists not only in the ILO, but throughout the United Nations. I am informed that in addition to the 100 conventions enacted by the ILO, the United Nations and its other agencies have passed, or are proposing, a total of some 200 conventions, many of which have the same Socialist flavor, and represent the same type of subjection of local domestic affairs to international regulatory laws, as is evident in many of the ILO conventions.

I am familiar with only a few of these proposals, and furthermore, time will not permit me to go into them tonight. So by way of illustration I shall confine myself to the proposed Human Rights Covenant, as revised at the 1950 session of the Commission on Human Rights. If approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, our State Department said in June of 1950, the covenant would be submitted to member governments for ratification as a treaty.

According to my understanding, no action has been taken and the covenant is still being subjected to further redrafting. The 1950 draft, however, as published by our State Department, provides an outstanding example of the overall intent of the International Socialists and the proponents of the regimented State who apparently dominate the thinking of the United Nations.

The advocates of the Covenant on Human Rights say that it is an improvement upon the Constitution of the United States. Well, let's make a few comparisons.

Article I of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution states:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

There are no ifs, ands, or buts about it.

"Congress shall make no law." Now turn to the Covenant on Human Rights.

As to freedom of religion, paragraph 2 of article 13 of the Covenant on Human Rights says:

"Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are pursuant to law." As to freedom of speech and of the press, paragraph 3 of article 14 of the Covenant on Human Rights says:

"The right to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas carries with it special duties and responsibilities and may therefore be subject to certain penalties, liabilities, and restrictions but these shall be such only as are provided by law."

As to the right to peaceable assembly, article 15 of the Covenant on Human Rights says:

"No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law."

Under this interpretation of human rights, Hitler's Germany could have ratified this covenant. So could Russia today.

If such a covenant were to be ratified as a treaty by our Senate, making it the supreme law of the land, it would be the end of freedom.

We must plug this loophole in our Constitution. That is what the Bricker amendment is designed to do. It is designed to reverse the treaty supremacy clause in our Constitution. Under the Bricker amendment a treaty could not override the Constitution—the Constitution would override the treaty.

The first provision of the Bricker amendment states:

"A provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

That would prevent a treaty from overriding the Constitution.

The next provision of the amendment reads:

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

What this means is simply that one of these international laws affecting internal domestic affairs could not be put into effect in the United States merely by Senate ratification, but would have to pass both the House and the Senate, like any other law.

This is the way it is done in other countries. In this connection Judge Florence Allen says:

"It is the rule in all but a very few other countries generally that treaties take effect as municipal or domestic law only when implemented by legislation enacted by the full legislature. This safeguard does not exist for the United States."

The Bricker amendment will give us this safeguard.

The third vital provision of the Bricker amendment applies to executive agreements. An executive agreement is a formal arrangement with another nation concluded, insofar as the United States is concerned, merely by the signature of the President, or that of the Secretary of State as his agent. The third provision of the Bricker amendment states:

"Congress shall have the power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed by this article."

Note that this provision does not say that Congress shall regulate executive agreements. It says that Congress shall have the power to do so. Certainly it is not wise to close one door and leave the other open. It is not the intent of this provision to tie the hands of the executive branch of the Government. The intent, as I see it, is to give Congress the power to keep executive agreements within the spirit and framework of the Constitution of the United States.

In this connection I would like to quote Alexander Hamilton, who said, in Federalist No. 75:

"The history of human conduct does not warrant that exalted opinion of human virtue which would make it wise in a nation to commit interests of so delicate and momentous a kind as those which concern its intercourse with the rest of the world to the sole disposal of a magistrate created and circumstanced as would be a President of the United States."

These words were, in my opinion, prophetic of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

As you know, Secretary Dulles opposes the Bricker amendment. He said, in objecting to the amendment, that he did not think there was any danger of the Eisenhower administration making a bad executive agreement, or pushing for the ratification of a treaty that was contrary to the Constitution of the United States. In this I quite agree with Mr. Dulles. But there will be other administrations to follow, in future years—and who can tell, now, what way the wheel will turn? I think the amendment is required, to protect our liberties for all future time.

Mr. Dulles said also that he did not think we needed the amendment, because we could depend upon the vigilance of the people. In this I certainly do not agree with Mr. Dulles. I agree instead with Thomas Jefferson, who said—and I close with this quotation—

"In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

Clear All Decks for Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Eisenhower has taken over. This is the big news story of January 1954. After a year of taking soundings, the President is prepared to steer the ship into deep waters. In the past month, White House conferences with Congressmen have given the President a direct insight into the thinking of the folks at home, and the people on whom he must rely in Washington. Ours is a country which prides itself upon action. We like to know the facts and act. So does President Eisenhower. His whole history is a testimonial to this decisiveness. He hates fence sitting. But he does not like to become involved before he knows the situation.

We have reached a point in world history where no government can sit complacently on the sidelines and simply referee the game. Today, governments are active participants in the national economy, whether we like the role or not. Military expenditures are a large element of the Nation's budget; social-security payments serve as a floor under personal planning; farm price supports assure basic income to a vital element of our population; taxes impinge on every business and every family, daily, quarterly, and yearly.

To meet these problems, a firm hand on the tiller is necessary. As the year opens, we can be sure that this strong hand is there. President Eisenhower is running the show. In moments when indecision is fatal, it is good to know that he is there.

Memorials Passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks a joint memorial recently passed by the House of Representatives of the Arizona State Legislature, addressed to the Congress of the United States and refers to the Railroad Retirement Act; Senate Memorial No. 2, passed by the Arizona State Senate, first special session of the 21st legislature, and directed to the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture, relative to the cattle industry; and a Senate Concurrent Memorial No. 2, passed by the Arizona State Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, first special session of the 21st legislature, and directed to the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture relative to the granting of Federal relief to drought areas:

House Joint Memorial 1

Joint memorial relating to the Railroad Retirement Act and requesting favorable action on House of Representatives Bill 356

To the Congress of the United States of America:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

House of Representatives bill 356, introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Hon. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, Representative from Pennsylvania, provides for the repeal of the dual-benefits-restriction provision of the Railroad Retirement Act.

This measure passed the United States House of Representatives on July 24, 1953, by an overwhelming voice vote. The measure, as passed by the House, was sent to the Senate and was referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Due to the rush of business in the closing days

of the 1st session of the 83d Congress, the Senate committee decided to withhold action on the measure until the 2d session of the 83d Congress, to convene January 1954.

The dual-benefits-restriction provision provides that the retirement annuity of a retired railroad employee must be reduced by the amount of old-age benefit which he is receiving or is entitled to receive under the Federal Social Security Act. Thus the amount is deducted even though the annuitant is not receiving social security benefits to which he might be entitled.

As a result of this provision, at the close of 1952, there were an estimated 30,200 retired railroad annuitants and 10,500 wives of retired railroad annuitants who received reductions in their railroad annuities ranging up to $85 per month for the retired annuitant and $40 for his wife.

In addition to this cut, railroad annuitants found that when, in 1952, the Federal Congress raised social security benefits, their railroad annuities were again reduced by an amount corresponding to the increase in their social security benefits. The relief intended to be given retired workers to meet increased living costs was passed on to all retired workers with the single exception of retired railroad annuitants.

The inequities and injustice of the dual-benefits-restriction provision are contrary to all concepts of fair play and penalize one class of retired workers at a time when the ever-rising cost of living has reduced the living standards of that portion of our population which has, through its own industry, earned the right to a just and adequate compensation.

Wherefore your memorialist, the legislature of the State of Arizona, prays:

1. That the Congress enact House of Representatives bill 356.

Senate Memorial 2

Memorial urging the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture to take steps to restore confidence in the cattle industry

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

Whereas the condition of the livestock industry is approaching a state of economic disaster; and

Whereas there are numerous reasons for the decline in the price of both fat and feeder cattle, one of them being the failure of retail prices to come down in proportion to the drop in price of beef on the hoof, two consecutive years of severe losses, and the difficulty of operating on a free market when grains and other commodities fed to cattle are supported.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, prays:

1. That the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture consider:

A. Placing a support price of 90 percent of parity on all grades of fat cattle and canner cattle at all major markets until support prices on all grains or agricultural products used in the process of fattening cattle have been removed, or

B. A greatly accelerated, nonspeculative, government meat purchase program.

2. That if the decision is in favor of a support price on cattle that it be installed at once and maintained until such time as Congress convenes and the necessary steps are taken to establish a new agricultural program in which all phases of agriculture would be treated alike.

3. Copies of this memorial shall be sent to the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, both Houses of Congress, Governor of Arizona, Members of Arizona congressional delegation, and all interested persons.

Senate Concurrent Memorial 2

Concurrent memorial urging the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture to grant Federal relief to drought areas

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The Government of the United States has advanced to drought areas various kinds of feed at reduced prices for the preservation of breeding herds; and

The Governor of Arizona has had statistics compiled of Arizona's drought stricken areas and made recommendations on October 8, 1953, to the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture for relief thereof.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, the House of Representatives concurring, prays:

1. That the President of the United States and the Secretary of Agriculture immediately accept the October 8, 1953, recommendation of the Governor of Arizona for drought relief funds and that such relief be granted in accordance with those recommendations.

2. Copies of this memorial shall be sent to the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, both Houses of Congress, Governor of Arizona, Members of Arizona congressional delegation, and all interested persons.

E. G. Olszyk on Who Is Hysterical?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of confusion has existed about the so-called rights of Communist Party members to teach in American schools and also the advisability of placing books by Communist authors in our overseas libraries.

Much of this confusion has, of course, been generated by the Communist press itself as a very cursory perusal of such publications as, for example, the Communist Daily Worker will show.

Consideration of one important fact, however, should dispel this confusion. It is basic for a Communist to disregard completely objective truth—even the truth as he sees it and to adopt as his most important tactic the use of deceit and the lie to bring about the Marxian utopia for which he zealously works.

Such oft-repeated Communist claims should suffice, as for example, that South Korea attacked Communist North Korea in June 1950; that American forces engaged in germ warfare; that the Soviet Union is peace-loving, and so forth.

A conscious attempt to deceive is in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of Americans will, I believe, subscribe to the propositions that a classroom is a place where the truth is to be taught, and a library is a place where the truth may be learned.

What place, therefore, on the faculty of any school or university is there for a conscious purveyor of deceit? What place on the library shelf should be given to the Communist author who must deliberately disregard truth when it interferes with the party line?

Many of our students want to know, and should know, about communism. But they cannot learn the truth about communism from Communists. Law school students, for example, do not learn about crime from criminals.

A stand must first be taken for or against truth. A Communist is under discipline to deny truth, even as he sees it, and to promote falsehood.

Teachers and authors, on the contrary, are dedicated to the truth.

I wish to include in my remarks the excellent editorial that appeared in the Promoter, by Mr. E. G. Olszyk, editor, in the December 17, 1953, issue entitled "Who Is Hysterical?"

WHO IS HYSTERICAL?

(By E. G. Olszyk)

Blanket defense of the indefensible and blanket denials can be as vicious and do create as much alarm as so-called blanket charges.

Education elements are currently in the limelight of the furor over congressional investigations of subversion in this country. If there have been attacks on the integrity and loyalty of our institutions, with attendant dangers to academic freedom, then the answer to them should be intellectually honest and based on the facts and truth, rather than hysterical use of spurious slogans and headline-hunting techniques.

The recent convention of the Wisconsin Education Association provided cases in point. Dean Ernest Melby presented one of the major addresses and made front-page news in the politically biased press by saying that the problems of freedom can't be solved by giving way to fear, that the present time is filled with fear, and that some educators refuse to discuss controversial subjects, and that the reputations of hundreds of our citizens are ruined by charging them with disloyalty on the flimsiest evidence and, in some cases, no evidence at all.

Our representative assembly followed along this idea by passing a series of resolutions, one of them condemning bookburning.

Before discussing the merits of these two actions, it is necessary to establish that the investigations are not only the prerogative, but the sworn duty of elected legislators. They must have detailed—sometimes admittedly unpleasant facts—to strengthen or pass laws to serve and conserve our cherished traditional rights and freedoms. This factfinding is also important to insure correct and authentic history. How can educators, supposedly guardians and promulgators of truth, sponsor suppression of facts on this hand, and, on the other, condemn bookburning in the interest of full freedom and enlightenment? This inconsistency places them in a position tantamount to dictatorial selections of what should be suppressed and what should be allowed to flourish, depending on where their biased interests lie.

Concretely, Dean Melby's charges appear to be out of line with the record, or least, he failed to substantiate his own position. As a teacher, the writer of this editorial has had no fear to discuss any controversial subject in his classes. His colleagues in the same building do not seem to be inhibited in that regard either. In his reading and observations, he cannot find a single instance of any educator being intimidated by congressional investigators or by the con-

sequences of these investigations. Just who are these intimidated teachers?

On the other hand, it is interesting to note which element has been most vociferous in expressing itself on the investigators and investigations. If our daily press and other periodicals are factual indication of existing conditions, then it is the liberal anti-anti-Communists who seem to have the platform and the audience, occasions, and places no end! Dean Melby himself made his bold bid in the State of Wisconsin—home of Senator McCarthy, No. 1 target of anti-investigators. Dean Melby apparently had no restraints or compunction in voicing his ideas here.

Dean Melby could have named names and identified educators who have fears, and more so, even name one individual who has been charged with disloyalty on the flimsiest evidence or no evidence at all.

We would like to see Dean Melby show where investigations are thwarting ideas or interfering with academic freedom as such. What has happened is that certain individuals have been called to give an account of their activity and motives. All these subjects had to do was make honest and straightforward answers. Instead many have resorted to villification and abuse on their own; some have almost precipitated violence; and still others have chosen to exhibit their Americanism and ideological integrity by hiding behind the fifth amendment for fear of incriminating themselves. Some very unsavory elements have taken up the cudgel in their behalf—loudly and again without restraint. Are these the innocent victims Dean Melby refers to?

Regarding the WEA resolution, no one would question the principle opposing "book burning." But, one can question the motives for this resolution as being in line with spurious propaganda. No books have been burned by congressional action. Some have been removed from tax-supported, government-owned libraries overseas, and for good cause. There should be more substance to resolutions putting an organization of 22,000 members—educators, at that—on record.

Actually, these investigations, upon careful study, make it increasingly evident why certain individuals have fear and generate hysteria in their own behalf. We are in an all-out war against a relentless and unscrupulous enemy. We shall all be counted by our part in the effort. It ill becomes our educational and intellectual leadership to be found in the wrong camp—whether by conviction or ignorance.

Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, during recent weeks several wildlife and sporting groups have been issuing wild and untrue statements concerning Echo Park Dam and the danger which the construction of this project will inflict upon sportsmen's groups throughout our Nation. To refute and completely counteract these unfounded accusations, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to two very splendid editorials written by outstanding sports writers who are thoroughly familiar with the West.

The first editorial is by Mr. Don Brooks in his column Outdoors and his editorial appears in the Salt Lake Tribune for January 8, 1954. The second editorial is by Mr. Hack Miller and appears in his column Rod and Gun in the Deseret News and Salt Lake Tribune for January 9, 1954:

[From the Salt Lake Tribune of January 8, 1954]

OUTDOORS

(By Don Brooks)

It was just over a year ago. The chunky, bushy-browed man sat in an easy chair in his room at Hotel Utah, but for once Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, of Washington, D. C., had lost his usual calm, imperturbable manner. He was angry at the gent to whom he was talking. That gent was your reporter.

"Trouble with you is," said Gabe, "that you're fine at fighting conservation battles when the scrap happens to be across the Utah line. But when it's in your own backyard, you are too interested in trying to hear the future jingle of cash registers."

The argument was over proposed construction of Echo Park Reservoir on the Green River. We've sided with Gabe on a lot of issues down through the years. We didn't side with him on Echo Park. We told him so. And Gabe has never forgiven us.

IT'S GOING TO BE A SCRAP

You probably noted where Dr. Gabrielson chairmanned a meeting of powerful conservation groups the other day in Washington. The meeting was called to draw battle lines for the conservationists' scrap against Echo Park. And don't underestimate their power. This corner figures it's going to be a scrap. Charley Callison, head of the National Wildlife Federation, sounded the warning when he said, "They're in for one whale of a fight if they try to build Echo Park."

They pointed out that they represented millions of conservationists in many, many organizations throughout the Nation. They specifically mentioned the Utah Wildlife Federation as one. What they didn't mention was that the Utah federation is on record as favoring Echo Park. It was resolution No. 20 out of 31 adopted at the annual meeting in Salt Lake City on January 22, 1950. It reads in part: "We support a plan to construct Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument."

Gabe's big fear, he explained to us that night, is that once the reclamation people get a "foot in the door" they'll try to inundate every national park in the land.

ON INDIVIDUAL MERITS

And we couldn't go along with him on that one either. Rather, we expressed the belief that each proposed project must be weighed on the scales of individual merit. We held, for instance, that folks out West would rise in unified wrath if ever projects were proposed that would destroy scenic or conservation values in Yellowstone, Glacier, or Teton National Parks.

Then we tried to point out to him that from the western sportsman's angle there was everything to gain and absolutely nothing to lose through construction of Echo Park.

This writer was one of the very first construction workers assigned to Boulder Dam. We made the trip down from Boise and we can remember how barren, sun-baked, windswept and desolate Black Canyon was. And we know Lake Mead today and its tremendous recreational values.

Is it too much to presume that similar recreational advantages will result at Echo Park? We think not. Right now there isn't a bit of fishing in the stream because of the heavy silt, just like the Colorado was before Boulder was built. But look at the bass fishing now in Lake Mead and the trout fishing in the river below the dam. It's tops. That could happen at Echo, couldn't it?

WRITER'S CONSIDERED OPINION

Matter of fact, it is this writer's considered opinion that sportsmen aren't going to lose a thing, no matter how many dams are built on the Green and Colorado drainages. Let's face it. What have we got there now? A little catfishing is about all.

That opinion is shared by a goodly number of western fish and game officials. It won't hurt anything now to point out that it is shared by Ross Leonard, former Utah game director, who now is Idaho's fish and game director. And Ross was Gabe's western representative for the Wildlife Management Institute for years before he took the Idaho job.

Last summer 165 members of the Sierra Club of California boated through Echo Park Canyon. The Sierra clubbers are now joining the yapping against Echo Park. And it makes this writer just a little sore.

We'd like to point out that it is more or less our country over there around Echo Park and not the Sierra Club's.

They got their own worries they should attend to.

Last we heard they were in a big hassle over guys leaving tin cans around the high Sierra. That's a dandy project for them.

[From the Deseret News and Salt Lake Telegram of January 9, 1954]

ROD AND GUN

(By Hack Miller)

ECHO DAM WOULD OPEN NEW COUNTRY FOR RECREATION: FISHING, BOATING

The river had been rough through Whirlpool Canyon. I had broken one oar at Warm Springs Rapid and was feeling glad that the event had been no worse.

We had decided to put up at Hod Ruple's Ranch for the night—visit for a while. Someone had suggested that there was a collection of Indian relics there worth seeing.

Hod's house was a few hundred yards from the Green River—miles and miles from any road and upstream from Split Mountain Canyon. The folks were in the hayfield when we came up, putting up their first crop.

Hod wasn't home. But Billy, his daughter, was there, and her husband, a lanky and balding red-headed feller named Ernie Untermann. Ernie had the edge on the other hay pitchers. He was closer to the top of the pile.

That night we looked at the Ruple-Untermann collection. It's the same collection that is now in the Vernal Museum and Ernie is the same guy who manages the Vernal layout.

Since that time back in the year 1937, we've talked many times about the Yampa and Green River country; Echo Park, where I had spent an afternoon gathering arrowheads and other flint makings. We've talked about what the Echo Dam would mean to that country, recreationwise.

We've come to one conclusion—there's everything to be gained. When we first ran the Yampa and Green Rivers in 1937 in company with Dr. R. G. Frazier, Charles Kelley, Alton Hatch, Cap Mowry, Henry Millecam, and Dr. J. E. Broaddus, we realized then that this was country for boatmen only.

There was no way to get up or down the river except by boat. To build a road through that area would be a solid blast. Maybe 50 years from then. But not in our time.

MUST RUN THE RAPIDS

Since that time there have been many people through. Boatmen have done a land-office business in running the rapids of Ladore, Split Mountain, and the canyons in between. Yet few people have ever seen this wonderland.

It was like the famous Grand Canyon where Major Powell, Dellenbaugh, Julius Stone, Nat Galloway, Dr. Frazier, and others

went through in their restricted parties. Few people ever got the chance. Few again were the ones who made it once they started—especially in those early days.

Then came Boulder Dam and Lake Mead. Now countless thousands of people take their fishing and boating fun on the great expanse. Most of them never would have seen the area had it remained a mile-deep river.

Yet down under the lake are some valuable spots—the famous rapids where boatmen had their troubles, where parties broke up, where canyons entered the river. Sure it would have been proper to save these few bits of history, but a greater use has been put to a natural resource. A change has been made for the better.

LAKE MEAD TEST CASE

There were some questions about Lake Mead when the waters first lapped against the great dam. How would fishing be? Would the water be muddy?

The answers have been written. The backup waters engulfed some of the bass ponds along the way. Soon the lake was one of the world's hottest fishing spots and has remained that way.

The water was clear and it became a top recreational area almost overnight.

The same thing will happen at Echo Park. Maybe the water will be too cold for bass, too warm for trout. It should be O. K. for the latter. It is the same elevation as most of our mountain lakes. It will have many feeder streams—such big waters as Carter Creek, Sheep Creek, and others.

The damsite is located just below the turn of the river below Steamboat Rock where the Yampa and Green River come together. There's a grassy park there known as Pat's Hole (named after Pat Lynch, an old timer in Green River history). I've been in the remnants of Pat's old hut, seen the carvings he made on his crude walls. The area is not big enough to be a grazing asset.

According to the preliminary reports the lake would be about 660 feet deep at Steamboat Rock. The rock itself is 880 feet high—named by Dellenbaugh because it looked so much like a steamship as you approached it from the Green River run.

DEEP ENOUGH TO FISH

That 660 feet is deep enough for fishing—let out a lot of line for big macks. The water will back up to include Brown's Park, the old bandit hangout in the late 1800's.

It will wash against the base of Flaming Gorge and stop a few miles from Manila.

Recently, while on the elk hunt in this area, we asked several people what the dam would mean to them and their ranches. Steve Radosevich had the answer. "I'll lose my ranch on Willow Creek, when it comes. But the dam will be worth it all to all of us. So many people will be benefited by the use of the water. Might have to get the boat concession at this end of the lake," Steve said in jest.

All said, Echo Dam would take country that is now out of reach of most everyone and put it where all could use it. It would add a third again as much fishing water as the State now has and offer unlimited possibilities for boaters and fishermen.

I don't see how it could miss.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, how will the Senate Republicans manage responsibility with a Democratic majority? For answer, see Mr. WAYNE MORSE. He has the code.

Memorials Passed by the Arizona State Senate and House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks a Senate Joint Memorial 1, passed by the Arizona State Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, 1st special session of the 21st legislature, and directed to the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, and the Congress of the United States, relative to relief for the cotton farmer of Arizona; House Joint Memorial 4, passed by the Arizona State House of Representatives, the State Senate concuring, 1st special session of the 21st legislature, and directed to Arizona's Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and to the Congress of the United States relative to the extending of old-age and survivors insurance to Arizona employees in positions covered by retirement system; and Senate Concurrent Memorial 1, passed by the Arizona State Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, 1st special session of the 21st legislature, and directed to the President of the United States, Congress, and the Departments of State and Interior, relative to the maintenance of adequate tariff rates on copper:

Senate Joint Memorial 1

Joint memorial urging relief be given the cotton farmer of Arizona from the stringent limitations of the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, by raising the national cotton acreage allotment from 17½ million to 22½ million acres, and by providing that no individual State's allotment be reduced thereunder by more than 27½ percent of 1952 plantings

To the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, and the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

With the advancement of man's knowledge, the lands and climate of Arizona have proved Arizona to be one of the portions of the United States best fitted for the efficient and economical production of cotton. The full appreciation of this knowledge is of such recent origin that the major portion of Arizona's cotton production has become a reality only in the last 2 or 3 years.

The Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, places limitations upon Arizona's cotton production which are based on an analysis of only the infant stages of our present industry. If these limitations are applied, it will result in an overall decrease of Arizona's present cotton acreage by 54 percent: A reduction of approximately $100 million in Arizona's present cotton income, with a corresponding severe blow to Arizona's entire economy.

Rather than correcting farm problems by measures which produce such damaging impact, transition to improve farm programs should be made in an orderly manner so there will be continuous stability in the process of adjustment.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Arizona, urgently requests:

1. That the national cotton acreage allotment be raised from 17½ million to 22½ million acres and that no individual State's allotment be reduced thereunder by more than 27½ percent of the 1952 plantings.

House Joint Memorial 4

Joint memorial requesting the Congress to extend old-age and survivors insurance to Arizona employees in positions covered by retirement system

To Arizona's Senators and Representatives in the Congress; to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and to the Congress of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

That the 21st Legislature of the State of Arizona at its first regular session, being desirous of extending the benefits of old-age and survivors insurance to all State employees, enacted house bill No. 195. That said law provided for the termination of the Arizona teachers' retirement system and the extension of old-age and survivors insurance benefits and the supplemental State employees' retirement system to the members of such system as employees of the State of Arizona.

That notwithstanding such legislation, the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare refused to permit coverage of persons holding teachers' certificates issued by the State board of education who were in positions subject to the Teachers' Retirement Act of 1943 because of the prohibition to such coverage by section 218 (d) of the Social Security Act.

That the first session of the 83d Congress of the United States enacted House Resolution 2062 amending section 218 (d) of the Social Security Act so as to permit public employees of the State of Wisconsin subject to the Wisconsin retirement system to obtain old-age and survivors insurance benefits.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Arizona, respectfully requests:

1. That the Congress of the United States enact legislation amending section 218 (d) of the Social Security Act so that public employees of the State of Arizona who were in positions subject to a retirement system on the date of the agreement extending old-age and survivors insurance benefits to their coverage group may have extended to them such benefits in the same manner as was provided by the Congress for the public employees of the State of Wisconsin.

2. That the Arizona Senators and Representatives introduce such legislation in the next session of Congress.

3. That the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recommend to the Congress the adoption of legislation similar to that enacted in behalf of the public employees of the State of Wisconsin.

Senate Concurrent Memorial 1

Concurrent memorial requesting the maintenance of adequate tariff rates on copper

To the President, Congress, and the Departments of State and Interior of the United States:

Your memorialist respectfully represents:

The mining of copper is one of Arizona's chief industries, an industry so great that in point of copper production Arizona leads all of the States of the United States, and in fact is responsible for approximately 40 percent of all copper mined in the Nation.

The copper mining industry gives employment to many thousands of miners, artisans,

mechanics, and craftsmen, whose welfare and prosperity is in very large measure dependent upon this major activity—indeed, the economic welfare of the State is vitally affected by the status of the mining industry.

There are, in addition to the properties now being worked great areas and bodies of copper ore in the State which are susceptible of development, to the enrichment of the State and the Nation.

Should the price of copper be allowed to be determined by foreign countries with low wage standards and high grade deposits, the result would be a general shutdown of our mines, and a consequent deterioration of the industry both by the heavy damage to the mines and disbandment of working organizations.

Should the Nation suddenly be caught without the foreign supply and with a war manpower shortage to rehabilitate abandoned mines, the resulting copper shortage could be the cause of defeat to our Armed Forces.

It is therefore of major importance that the price of copper be maintained on a basis which will insure an active industry with normal production, fair profits, steady employment and a good standard of living for workers in the industry, and from which would result a continuation of the benefits which accrue to the national security and the State's economy by reason of the industry.

This can only be insured through the medium of an adeqaute import tax on raw copper to equalize the difference between the cost of producing the metal in this country and in the copper producing countries of South America, Africa, and elsewhere.

Wherefore your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona,

The house of representatives concurring, urgently requests:

1. That a 2-cent per pound tariff be placed on all foreign copper.

Eisenhower's Reassuring Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, my hometown newspaper, the Ogden Standard-Examiner, on Tuesday evening, January 5, published an editorial which I believe is worthy of calling to the attention of my colleagues here in the House. This editorial demonstrates the high regard which the newspapers and people of our country have for our great President, and it illustrates that they have taken hope and inspiration from the message which he delivered to this great body in his state of the Union address. The editorial follows:

EISENHOWER'S REASSURING MESSAGE

President Eisenhower's address last night to the American people as individuals and families was aimed at restoring peace of mind among men and women who have been reading about an economic adjustment and feared, perhaps, the country was on its way into a recession or depression.

If it is possible for a nation to worry its way into hard times, the President's reassuring words are calculated to stop an unhappy trend.

After declaring that his administration has laid the basic groundwork for the prosperity of the people, the President pledged that every legitimate means available to the Federal Government that can be used to sustain that prosperity will be used.

That solemn promise was one of the outstanding features of the message, because it means that the entire financial resources of the United States Government will be used, if necessary, to maintain a high level of economic activity in our country. It means the President will see to it that if jobs are not provided by private industry the Government will step in to provide them by public works or through stimulation of private industry with Government orders.

If an attack upon unemployment should have to be made, Mr. Eisenhower made it plain that the battle would start with renewed war upon slums and with programs for more and better roads and better schools.

It was heartening to hear the President declare that this country does not have to rely for prosperity upon war or the preparation for war to employ its people. This is true, of course, provided Congress can be persuaded to appropriate, if necessary, as large sums for production and construction as they are willing to appropriate in times of peril and destruction.

The Late Harold G. Lockwood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn this past Monday morning of the untimely death of Harold Lockwood, VA liaison officer of the House. Mr. Lockwood was one of the most cooperative and efficient public servants I have known since coming to Washington. His service and devotion to duty were a living tribute to all career civil-service personnel. My sincere sympathy is extended to his widow and other relatives. Following is the obituary which appeared in the January 12, 1954, Washington Evening Star:

HAROLD G. LOCKWOOD, VA LIAISON OFFICIAL AND ARMY VETERAN

Harold Greening Lockwood, 49, Veterans' Administration liaison officer with the House of Representatives, died Sunday at Suburban Hospital. He lived at 7811 Custer Road, Bethesda, Md.

From 1940 to 1945 he was in the Quartermaster Corps and was with the Office of Strategic Services in England, Africa, and Italy. He served also on the China mission and in the Marine Design and Construction Division. He had the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Mr. Lockwood formerly was in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress and later worked for the Social Security Board before he went into the Army.

Mr. Lockwood was vice president of the Men's Garden Club of Montgomery County, a member of the executive committee of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Harvest Show, president of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Camera Club and on the board of trustees of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Educational Foundation. He was also a member of the Army and Navy Club and the Military Order of World Wars.

Mr. Lockwood was born in Minnesota and attended Carleton College there. He got his law degree from National University Law School. He had lived here since 1928.

Survivors include his widow, Elizabeth Brady Lockwood; a foster daughter, Mrs. Helen E. Brady of the home address; three sisters, Miss Ruth H. Lockwood, 2124 I street NW.; Mrs. Lloyd W. Madden and Mrs. Merle L. Stearns, Modesto, Calif., and a brother, Francis J. Lockwood, Faribault, Minn.

Funeral services will be held at 2 p. m. Thursday at Fort Myer Chapel. Burial will be in Arlington Cemetery.

"Depression Cry" Traced to Selfish Politicians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, some of us are getting a little irked and weary of the crocodile tears being shed by many over what they believe, and perhaps hope, will be a major depression.

While they are not ladies, methinks they do protest too much.

The figures available show that the country's standard of living is higher than ever. In fact, consumers purchased goods and services amounting to $230 billion during the year, compared with $218 billion in the preceding year.

What is happening is a readjustment to a quasi-peacetime economy which in no way compares to a depression.

Mr. Speaker, it may be that some folks are indulging in wishful thinking in spite of their protests. The following article by Mr. Frank Kent draws the story in the Washington Star, of December 10, accurately and clearly:

"DEPRESSION CRY" TRACED TO SELFISH POLITICIANS—WRITER SAYS DEMOCRATS WANT SLUMP FOR PARTISAN USES

(By Frank R. Kent)

Perhaps it has not been pointed out with sufficient clarity, but it does seem that already there has accumulated sufficient evidence to prove to most detached persons that the one group in the country most strongly in favor of a depression is composed of the Democratic politicians of the New Deal-Fair Deal persuasion who see in it their big chance of regaining control of the Government.

That was the way they gained control in 1932. The theme then was that Herbert Hoover had brought on the depression. Totally false as was that contention, they succeeded in riding into office on it. Once in, the old Harry Hopkins formula of "tax, tax, tax, spend, spend, spend, elect, elect, elect," was put into operation. The result was that, aided by the war, a spurious prosperity was maintained and great groups of voters welded to the Democratic side. It was not until last year that with General Eisenhower as a candidate the Republicans were able to break through that formidable setup and elect a President who wants to keep in the middle of the road instead of traveling faster and faster to the left.

Considering the facts, it is natural the Democrats should concentrate on the effort to get back at the earliest possible moment. Natural, too, is their belief that the thing most helpful to them would be another nice depression. Accordingly, there seems a fairly well organized attempt to talk the country into one. Depression forecasts flavor all the

Democratic National Committee propaganda and few Democratic Members of Congress ever make a speech without stressing collapse and a vast army of unemployed.

Two of the most insistent of the depression prophets are Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Walter Reuther. Both are members of the so-called Americans for Democratic Action, whose publicity experts are spreading the depression doctrine far and wide. Others, including some of the more conspicuous Truman economic advisers, are doing what they can to promote the idea that a collapse of our economic system is just around the corner. Shortly, the ADA will hold one of its conventions at which its hero, Adlai Stevenson, will emote in his usual noble way, but the organization which so wholeheartedly supports him will pass resolutions about the deplorable state into which our economy has gotten and loudly call for prompt measures to save the country.

Most of the ADA proposals will be based on those which Mr. Reuther, who is also a member of Mrs. Roosevelt's new National Issues Committee, laid before the CIO convention 2 weeks ago and which, as usual with Mr. Reuther's conventions, were unanimously adopted. Fifteen of these Reuther resolutions involved large expenditures of Federal cash. The 16th urged that personal exemptions in the income-tax law be raised from $600 to $1,000. This would lower the Government revenue by $9.5 billion a year. In other words, the Government must spend more and take in less. This does not make sense and it never did. Nevertheless, it is basic in the New Deal philosophy and, despite the fact that the ultimate end of this road is national bankruptcy, one very dear to the hearts of the labor union demagogues. Some of them actually believe it—which raises the question: How dumb can you get?

When last week the President referred to the peddlers of gloom there is no doubt he was referring to the type of person who wants to promote himself politically at the expense of the American people. Because that is what it amounts to. If the country could be talked or maneuvered into a big-time depression, probably the Eisenhower administration would be blamed and the next election go against the Republicans. That is the way it worked in 1932 and it may be that will happen again. But there are several things that ought to be considered in connection with the present depression predictions:

(1) They largely come from politicians anxious to get back to power; (2) in the judgment of Secretary Humphrey and other informed men in the administration they are utterly without foundation; (3) the political self-interest of those who lead in the depression cry is so clear that it is not likely to have effect. Another thing worth noting is that the only persons who outdo these Democratic peddlers of gloom are the Communists. From the Soviet press in Moscow and New York come weekly outpourings to the effect that the United States is on the verge of economic disaster. As one clear-headed man of business expressed it—the answer to that is "Nuts."

Topsy-Turvy World Gets Topsier in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, some day some farsighted genius of world history will come up with another Arnold Toynbeeish analysis of what happens as the years go by. It will take somebody with the sardonic humor of George Bernard Shaw or the cynicism of Voltaire to do the job, because no normal gent would be able to decipher the life and times of the 1950's.

Witness the major trends of our day. The western world is vigorously alined with West Germany and Japan on the one hand, and with Italy on the other, in the struggle for world leadership against the eastern Communists. In World War II, these countries were our primary targets. Today, we are wooing them with all the ardor money can buy.

Consider, too, the other side of the picture. Our allies during the same war were France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. We are worried to death about France's apparent inability to stabilize her political organization. We have been scared stiff on numerous occasions by the British determination to trade with anybody, any time, for anything, even if it hurts us. As for the Soviet Union, the exchanges of verbal brick-bats between Moscow and Washington sometimes become so vigorous that we can feel them. Off in China, our friends of World War II are virtually exiles on Formosa, and it is often difficult for us to determine whether they are friends or enemies, and, in all honesty, they feel the same way about us. If you like your generation confused, this is the right time to be alive. If you have a kind of nostalgic hankering for orderliness, brother, did you pick the wrong time.

Management Role in Shaping a New Federal Tax Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, Fred Maytag II, of Newton, Iowa, and president of the Maytag Co., is an active member of the National Association of Manufacturers and is the chairman of its taxation committee. Recently he made a very timely address to the NAM's 58th Annual Congress of American Industry in New York City. Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Maytag's address in which he, among other things, admonishes the association to do some realistic thinking:

A new Federal tax policy: The words quicken the pulse and excite the imagination. They conjure up visions of fairness and equity in taxation; of reviving incentives for risktaking; of new horizons for business investment and expansion; of more and better jobs and a progressively higher standard of living for all Americans. The words spell the only kind of national security that means permanent security—a healthy, prosperous and growing economy.

Shall thoughts like these remain a dream or become a reality? I can give you no final answer. But I can tell you that the task of achieving a new Federal tax policy is both easier, and tougher, than many may think.

It is easier because it can be done with less effect on the revenues than is generally realized. It is tougher for two reasons: First, because budget reductions come hard; and, second, because so many voters believe things about our present tax laws which are not true.

What can you and I do? What is the role of management, of business leadership, in taking "penalty" out and putting "fairness" in our Federal tax structure?

Above all else, the role of management is to be responsible.

Responsibility, first of all, requires proper regard for the fiscal facts of government. We stand firmly on the principle that the only proper purpose of taxation is to raise the necessary revenue to pay the proper expenses of Government. But, we also accept the fact that the proper measure of revenue requirements is the level of Government expenditures. In other words, we reject deficit spending. It is much easier, of course, and generally more popular, to just say that "taxes are too high and ought to be cut." Too many, I fear, have done just that, and have tried to stir up resentment against taxation as such without giving proper regard to the consequences.

Almost a year ago a new administration took office in Washington—an administration pledged to reduce Government spending, balance the budget, cut taxes, and, above all, to restore fiscal integrity to our Federal Government. We have this noon heard first-hand reports from two able members of the Treasury team.

Randolph Burgess has told us of the new administration's determination to give this Nation a sound and honest dollar and of actions taken to accomplish this objective. We must never forget that the dishonest dollar, which the administration inherited, was a product of the twin evils of deficit spending and a deliberate easy-money policy. History can't be reversed, but this administration can make history which no responsible person would want to reverse.

Marion Folsom has told us of the difficulty of tax reform in the face of an inherited deficit of substantial proportions and of a national security program which stubbornly defies a drastic scaling down. He has told us that some of the major reforms the administration hopes to achieve must necessarily be deferred to a later date, when the need for defense spending will have declined.

Think, for a moment, of the measure of tax reforms which would have been possible if the administration had inherited a tax system soundly conceived and geared to fully meeting the spending commitments of the Government.

We should be grateful that men like George Humphrey, Randolph Burgess, and Marion Folsom have dedicated themselves to reestablishing responsibility in Federal fiscal affairs, and of righting the inequities of the tax structure. With this kind of example, we can have no excuse for irresponsibility on our part.

Responsibility on our part extends beyond the area of tax reform into the area of budget reduction. We cannot condone public expenditure of one unnecessary dollar; we have the right and the responsibility to insist that the Federal budget be ridded of every wasteful expenditure. But we must recognize that we, in our capacities as citizens of communities and States, as members of separate economic groups, as representatives of our individual companies, must set the example. Budget cutting in the other fellow's backyard gets nowhere. If we favor lower Federal spending, we must favor it wherever the cuts may fall.

The second phase of management's role in shaping a new Federal tax policy is to avoid the expedient and the opportunistic. It is not news to say that the Federal tax

structure has been based more on political opportunism than on a philosophy of fairness or respect for the economic facts and motivations which are wellsprings of our free competitive economy. All of you have suffered under the confiscatory income-tax structure; many have endured the idiotic persecution of the so-called excess-profits tax; many have the disadvantages of selective excises while others escape this burden; there are many other inequities in the tax laws. In short, the tax structure is a heterogeneous hodge-podge of selective and discriminatory levies. This is not news.

But it is news when business leadership decides that cleaning up the tax structure means more than just being for tax reduction; more than just favoring various gadgets and devices which will ease the load for some but not for all. Instead of taking this easy course, our association has developed a comprehensive program based on the general welfare.

In our advocacy of a flat-rate excise on the end-products of manufacture, in substitution for all the present selective and discriminatory excises except those on alcoholic beverages and tobacco, we have gone far beyond the short-range selfish interests of our own special group.

In advocating repeal, and replacement through the end-products tax, of present taxes levied at the retail level, of those levied on transportation and communication services, on amusements, and on other transactions, we have established a precedent of responsible programing without parallel. We may be certain that, without the leadership NAM has provided, more deficits and relatively higher income taxes would be inevitable. We faced the obstacles of misrepresentation and misinformation and have created understanding where only suspicion and antagonism had existed. In doing so, we have shown the way for Congress to really clean up the excise-tax system, if it will only do so.

The third phase of management's role is in the picking of a common target for tax reduction. If all the proposals for tax reduction that have been offered by business groups and businessmen were put into effect, there would be very little public revenue. We must, and this I believe with all the conviction of which I am capable, we must recognize that the scattergun approach to tax reform, running the entire gamut from special-interest relief to elimination of major sources of Federal revenue, is futile. We have no right to complain about the lack of statesmanship reflected in tax legislation if the voice of business is a babble of conflicting and competing theories and claims. If we are to curtail political expediency in tax-making, we must be united in offering reasonable and achievable goals.

What, then, is the common target? It is the individual-income-tax rate structure, and especially the progressive element thereof.

You and your fellow businessmen know better than I can tell you that initiative has been discouraged and success penalized by the present rate schedule. Eighty-three percent of NAM's 20,000 members have fewer than 500 employees. Seventy percent employ fewer than 250. Many of these small businesses are unincorporated. You who are in this category know the penalties imposed by an individual income tax which progresses from 22.2 to 92 percent—a tax which climbs most steeply in the middle brackets, and passes the 50-percent rate in the $14,000-$16,000 taxable income level.

But do you also know that the high progressive rates are primarily window dressing to create the false impression that Government soaks the rich to provide free Government to the poor?

Do you know that 84 percent of the revenue produced by the individual income tax actually comes from the basic rate of 22.2 percent? That only 16 percent is produced by the progressive element of the rate structure? In terms of dollars, the first bracket rate produces $27 billion, while the entire progressive rate structure between 22.2 and 92 percent produces only $5 billion.

Here is our major tax problem.

Proof of this conclusion is found in various proposals for special purpose relief. Many of these are simply devices by which certain groups of taxpayers, mostly for meritorious reasons considered alone, would escape some of the impact of the high rates. Yet, adoption of these proposals would merely underwrite the full burden of the high rates on others. A tax favor for one group is a tax disadvantage for another. And, in the gadgeteering, the indirect approach to relief from the high rates, there must always be groups which are left out in whole or in part. To illustrate, I know of no proposal which would provide relief to the group which has suffered the most from the ravages of inflation—those whose savings have been banked or invested in fixed interest bearing obligations.

No. Avoiding the issue of high rates will not get us a new Federal tax policy.

You can't change the structure by putting a slipcover on it.

This is not to criticize the proposed technical amendments, which Mr. Folsom has told us about. Quite the contrary. Many of the reforms under consideration have been recommended by our association as well as other groups. But the line between this kind of change, and broad reform of basic policy and philosophy, is clear and distinct.

We will have a good Federal tax policy only when the income tax rates are fair and moderate for all, consistent with the revenue requirements of the Government and balanced use of other tax sources.

To achieve this goal, greater proportional relief must be given where the rates move through the unconscionable to the confiscatory. This is where the system is most unfair, unsound, and discriminatory. This is where the minimal effect on revenue is involved.

Looking ahead from the general reduction scheduled to take place on January 1, starting at 10 percent at the bottom and tapering down to slightly more than 1 percent at the top, we have every right to expect that priority in the next step be allocated to the progressive area.

An initial 25 percent reduction in the progressive element would cost no more than $1.2 billion in revenue, or less than 2 percent of present Federal revenues. Successive 25 percent reductions would cost progressively less. Our goal should be a limited range of progression, ultimately to be validated as permanent Federal tax policy by a constitutional amendment. Such an amendment should not and need not limit the ability of the Federal Government to raise all necessary revenue.

The final phase of our mission has to do with the political realities. To put it bluntly, we should not hope nor expect that the evils of progression will be moderated by shifting income-tax burdens down the income scale. This may mean slower progress than we would like. We have every right to insist on and expect reasonable priorities in curing the evil of progression. But, within this framework, we must take our turn as budget conditions permit.

And, now to sumarize: To perform our role in shaping a new Federal tax policy, first, we must be responsible—which basically means that we must program with due regard for the fiscal facts of government; second, we must avoid the expedient and opportunistic; third, we must recognize and stick with our common target which so obviously is the individual tax rate structure; fourth, we must recognize that curing the evil of progression can be accomplished only as budget conditions permit.

In conclusion, let me say this. Business leadership has a responsibility in the tax area that cannot be delegated to others. As businessmen, we are custodians of an economic system which has provided more of the good things of life for more people than any other system known to men. From our own experience we know that the progressive individual income tax inflicts a terrific penalty on hard work and success; that it undermines the capacity of the Nation to provide the venture capital which is the lifeblood of a free economic system; and thus we are convinced that this tax threatens the survival of our way of life.

Yet, as a group, we have hesitated to meet this issue head-on because of our obvious self-interest.

This fact should not deter us. Use of the tax laws to penalize any segment of the economy is morally wrong, economically unsound, and inconsistent with the principles on which our Nation is founded. All we ask is that fairness and equity replace discrimination in the Federal tax system. This would be a new Federal tax policy.

We have every right to ask and expect that our Government move toward this goal.

Michigan's Marine Highway Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, we in Michigan are justly proud of our 3,000 and more miles of blue-water coastline which in addition to our more than 11,000 inland lakes truly make Michigan the "water wonderland" which we proclaim on our vehicle license plates this year.

To improve harbor facilities and provide ports of safety for the thousands of small craft that travel Michigan's marine highway annually, the Michigan State Waterways Commission has developed a plan which was reviewed for Michigan Members of Congress at a meeting here a few days ago.

Mr. Leonard H. Thomson, secretary of the Michigan State Waterways Commission, very ably described the situation at the meeting with the Michigan congressional delegation, and his address follows:

Possibly few of you have thought of recreation as commerce. It is easy to believe that they are somewhat different, especially when one thinks of the ordinary definitions given for commerce—such as "exchange of commodities" or "trading of goods" and so forth. But in Michigan many of us fully realize that recreation—and particularly recreational travel—is a major item in our commercial trade statistics.

Recreational travel is conceded to be one of the major industries in the United States reaching annual proportions of $12 billion and over. Michigan, ranking among the first five tourist States, recognizes recreational travel as its second largest industry, with an annual value reported to exceed $750 million.

What is the lodestone that attracts this great volume of tourist spending to our State? It is our famous water attractions. For many years the Michigan Tourist Council has been advertising and describing Michigan as a water wonderland and this phrase will now have even wider distribution

as our slogan on the automobile licenses of our Commonwealth.

Yes, it is the 11,000 or more inland lakes and the 3,000 and more miles of blue water coast line, with their sandy beaches and rock-bound shores, that make Michigan "the queen of the lakes."

But what has been done by man—or by Government—to improve these God-given assets of Michigan. Compared with other States and other areas, far too little as other speakers will confirm tonight. But it is the recreational harbor improvements that I believe have been neglected most of all and it is of these that I would speak.

First is recreational boating truly commerce, and therefore qualified to participate in Federal funds? By all means—yes. The United States Coast Guard and other sources indicate that there are over 150,000 small craft on Michigan's and adjacent Great Lakes waters.. The building of these boats and their equipment with power plants and other accessories have meant the spending of millions of dollars in plant equipment, purchase of materials and in labor payrolls. And bear in mind that nearly 80 percent of these craft—and in fact 80 percent of all power craft built in the United States today—are built in Michigan yards by Michigan labor and practically all of the inboard power plants with which they may be equipped are also Michigan products.

Records also indicate that these craft will use over 35 million gallons of gasoline yearly, plus many thousands of dollars worth of other boat supplies as well as employing legions of workmen in annual maintenance and storage activities. Should not all this be credited to commerce?

Just ask the merchants of any lake port, having adequate harbor facilities, whether or not the recreational boatsman is a commerical asset. Ask the storekeepers of Charlevoix or Cheboygan or Port Sanilac, or many other ports, and they will give you ample assurance that the volume of business they receive from this source is most significant.

The Federal Government, many years ago, accepted recreational boating as Commerce by the approval of the Fletcher amendment to the River and Harbor Act, which empowered the Corps of Engineers to include recreational travel in their surveys of harbor building justification. This amendment prompted the Engineers to submit their comprehensive recreational harbor program for the Great Lakes to Congress in 1937. Eight years later, in 1945, the 78th Congress also agreed, by approving this program (H. Doc. 446) which authorized 15 small craft harbors of refuge within Michigan's boundaries.

In 1947, the State of Michigan also gave its acceptance to "recreation is commerce" by agreeing to accept the Federal program and to provide the matching funds required as the State's share.

What has happened since 1947? The State of Michigan has done its part; it has created a public agency to implement this program; it has provided specific taxes—collected directly from recreational boatmen themselves—to supply the funds required from the State. And it has instituted a program of marine safety regulations that would insure the proper and safe use of these new facilities as well as all other State waterways as built or improved.

But somewhere along the line this great forward and progressive program hit a snag. Congress failed to follow up its authorization of 1945 with the necessary appropriations to permit this program to be carried out in its entirety. Only 2 of the 15 proposed harbors recommended by the Corps of Engineers have as yet been built—leaving 13 to go to complete Michigan's marine highway.

And now a word on this highway and what it means. Michigan—with over 3,200 miles of splendid navigable shoreline—finds nearly one-half of it unsafe for small craft, due to inadequate harbors where boats can find safety when bad weather strikes. It is to fill in these gaps with the essential havens of safety that this program was inaugurated.

And what would its completion mean? Not only many additional harbors where our commercial fishing boats could find safe mooring. Not only a safe and through route for small craft completely around the State, thereby opening all of our blue waters to thousands of our citizens and outstate visitors—but it would also link up the only major broken part of a 5,000-mile chain of navigable waterways around the entire eastern portion of the United States.

Bear in mind that from Detroit any seaworthy small craft, by taking advantage of facilities already provided—largely by Federal aid—can cruise the length of Lake Erie, through the New York Barge Canal, down the Hudson, and then south to Florida, by inland waterways (with but two short unprotected gaps), across Florida by connected rivers, north and west around the gulf coast by more federally provided inland waterways, up the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers—further improved at Federal expense—to Lake Michigan. Safe harbors are then found as far north as Frankfort. From the north, however, to the Straits of Mackinac and from the Straits south almost to Port Huron remain long exposed stretches that effectively break this otherwise completed marine highway.

And where is it broken? Right in the heart of Michigan's boasted water wonderland. Land highway engineers would not long permit sections of fine concrete highways to be isolated by impassable stretches in between, but that is precisely the situation in regard to Michigan's marine highway today.

Before mentioning the cost of this program, let me make a few more observations as to its justification. The boatmen of today are not the rich. The day of the palatial yacht is gone. Not over a dozen pleasure craft of 100 feet in length remain on the Great Lakes. The boats of today are the owner- and family-operated craft from 16 to 40 feet in length with only a comparative few exceeding that size. And who are these owners? My own experience of over 25 years in the pleasure boating industry qualifies me to assure you that the great majority are the factory workers—the clerk, the small store owners or businessmen, the doctors, the dentists, the great midle class of this Nation, thousands of whom have chosen the water for their recreation, realizing its healthful and tension relieving qualities, plus the opportunity it offers for all the family to enjoy their recreational hours together.

Also do you remember in America's wars, how these recreational boatmen became the bulwark of our amphibious armed forces and our naval reserves. Their experience and skill certainly stood us all in good stead in the South Pacific, the Atlantic convoy lanes, the beaches of Africa and Normandy. Our own director, Commander Robb, is a splendid example of the tens of thousands of Great Lakes boatmen called to serve successfully our Nation's wartime needs.

Tonight you will hear much about a five-year development program for Michigan which I hope you will look upon with favor in its entirety. I am speaking particularly for the recreational portion of this program—the estimated cost of this portion being approximately $5 million, or an average of $1 million yearly over a 5-year period.

The 2 cents Federal tax collected on the gasoline used by our Great Lakes craft during the past 3 years, when no Federal appropriations have been forthcoming, and during the ensuing 5 years of recommended construction, will more than equal this requested appropriation. If it is considered fair that this gasoline tax collected from motorists should be used for Federal highways, then it is equally logical that the boatmen's contribution be used to build marine thoroughfares which means so much to him and his family who are looking for safety afloat.

This $5 million, together with Michigan's share, will complete the necessary links in a 3,200-mile highway in our State—from New Buffalo to Monroe—from Mackinac to Menominee—from the Soo to Isle Royale and the western end of the Upper Peninsula—a highway that will make Michigan first in recreational boating facilities among all the States. Michigan today is first in marine recreation. Michigan tomorrow should be first in safe marine facilities, and can be when this harbor of refuge program is completed.

I sincerely hope that this session of Congress will reopen the door—first set ajar by the 78th Congress—and include this request in the current public works appropriation. To this end I earnestly beseech—in the name of thousands of water-minded Michigan citizens—the cooperation of all our Michigan Congressmen in the weeks ahead.

Soviet Violation of the United Nations Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith an article in the January number of the National Republic by Ira E. Bennett, in which he shows repeated violations of the United Nations Charter by the Soviet Union and suggests that the United States abrogate the treaty thus violated. Mr. Bennett shows how the United States terminated another treaty of alliance after that treaty had been violated. Congress by majority vote has power to end the dangerous alliance with the Soviet Union—an alliance made when the United States believed it was dealing with a friend and not with a deadly enemy.

Mr. Bennett's article follows:

Sinister events are driving the United States to the point where it stood in 1798, when it abrogated its treaty of alliance with France and prepared for war. By breaking off its entangling alliance it avoided war.

Now, as then, a former friend and ally has become an enemy. It has violated its treaty obligations and is planning war to destroy the United States.

In 1798 the Government of France consisted of gangsters, terrorists, and murderers. They, and not the French people, committed acts of war against the United States. Now the Government of Russia consists of gangsters, terrorists, and murderers. They, and not the Russian people, are committing acts of war against the United States.

There was no question of France's violation of the treaty of alliance with the United States. There is now no question of Soviet Russia's violation of its treaty with the United States and the treaty constituting the United Nations. It has been particularly hostile to its ally in the U. N., the United States.

The United States and the Soviet Union, in entering into the treaty creating the United Nations, declared that they were de-

termined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, including personal liberty and freedom from slavery; to maintain respect for the obligations of treaties; to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another, as good neighbors, and to insure that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest of the United Nations. Their purpose, they said, was to maintain international peace and security by taking collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression; to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action, and that there should be no interference by the U. N. in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

The Soviet Union has violated the U. N. treaty, to which the United States is a party, by starting war; by destroying human rights in many nations through the institution of slavery; by disregard and violation of the obligations of treaties; by failing to practice tolerance or to live in peace as a good neighbor; by sending spies into the United States and corrupting citizens of the United States, including public officials; by stealing secrets pertaining to the defense of the United States; by refusing to cooperate in the use of force against a nation declared by the U. N. to be an aggressor; by threats and the use of force against neighboring peoples, resulting in their subjugation and enslavement as satellites of the central slave state; by giving assistance to an aggressor against which the United Nations is taking preventive and enforcement action; by refusing to cooperate in the liberation and unification of Germany and Austria; by torturing, imprisoning and executing individuals on fraudulent charges in violation of fundamental human rights; and by inciting criminal intrigues in peaceful nations designed to provoke rebellion, revolution, and subjugation to the U. S. S. R.

In violating its obligations under the U. N. treaty embodying the charter, the Soviet Union follows its policy of betrayal of international law and good faith for the purpose of establishing the rule of the Soviet Union over all nations by intrigue, propaganda, threat and war. It is using the U. N. Charter as one of its means of conquest.

By persisting in the exercise of good faith and cooperation with the Soviet Union under the U. N. Charter, other nations are aiding and abetting the world's traitor in his betrayal of world peace, liberty, and the independence of nations.

Since the Soviet Union became a member of the United Nations more than 500 million individuals have become slaves or subject to slavery under Soviet law. The Soviet Union now demands that another slave state, Red China, shall be admitted to the U. N. with power to veto any antislavery measures or amendments of the U. N. Charter. This demand is in itself a violation of the treaty embodying the United Nations.

If Red China should be made a member of the United Nations, more than one-half of the individuals within those member nations would be slaves or subject to slavery in violation of the charter.

Pending such time as free nations may disentangle themselves from the alliance with the Soviet Union, it is the duty of the United States forthwith to preserve its own independence, protect its own government and territory, and to terminate all dangerous obligations in the treaty that has been violated by the Soviet Union.

When the United States was suffering under French aggression, the question arose as to how to terminate the treaty of alliance. In 1796 Mr. Justice Iredell, of the United States Supreme Court, said:

"It is a part of the law of nations, that if a treaty is violated by one party, it is at the option of the other party, if innocent, to declare, in consequence of the breach, that the treaty is void. If Congress, therefore (who, I conceive, alone have such authority under our Government), shall make such a declaration * * * I shall deem it my duty to regard the treaty as void."

Two years later Congress abrogated the treaties with France in the act approved July 7, 1798:

"Whereas the treaties concluded between the United States and France have been repeatedly violated on the part of the French Government; * * * and whereas, under the authority of the French Government, there is yet pursued against the United States a system of predatory violence, infracting the said treaties and hostile to the rights of a free and independent Nation;

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the United States are of right freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the treaties and of the consular convention, heretofore concluded between the United States and France; and that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the Government or citizens of the United States."

Regional pacts looking to security and maintenance of peace are not precluded by the U. N. Charter. The United States, by abrogating its obligations to the violated U. N. treaty, would remain a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and any ligament of that organization, which might attach it to the U. N., could be easily severed. The Pact of Rio, the Pact of Bogotá, and other arrangements for the security of the Western Hemisphere would remain intact; and of course the Monroe Doctrine, under the sole direction of the United States, is unaffected by the existence or nonexistence of the U. N.

Many members of the United Nations have suffered from the injustice and aggressions of the Soviet Union. Their peoples are in fear of that warlike, infidel, and slave-holding empire. These nations, like the United States, should, and many possibly would, terminate their obligations to the U. N. treaty by reason of its violation by the Soviet Union.

Another treaty, made exclusively by free nations animated by good faith in their cooperation in behalf of peace and freedom, should supplant the fatal experiment that now interferes with world peace.

Congress, in cutting the U. N. treaty entanglements that bind this Nation to the enemy, should declare that the United States desires to cooperate with all free governments for the maintenance of world peace, human freedom, and the independence of free nations. It should authorize the President to promote the creation by multilateral treaty of a new United Nations, composed exclusively of governments whose constitutions and administrations of government establish and provide individual liberty and prohibit slavery.

By taking the lead in excluding totalitarian slave-holding governments from participation in international security and peace arrangements, the United States can perform its duty, not only to the American people, but to the world. At present it is not an effective leader of the free nations. It is hampered, obstructed, and baffled by an enemy who misuses the present U. N. and turns the members into antagonist groups at a time when they should be preparing against threatened aggression.

At present mankind beholds the spectacle of majestic nations entangled in fatal meshes, unable to use their overwhelming powers for the world's good. By mistake and by treachery these nations, constituting all that is civilized in man, have tied themselves to a monstrous evil power, that denies Almighty God, enslaves man, and works with frenzied energy to destroy civilization. The tie that binds free peoples to their enemy is a shameful, hypocritical, distorted, fraudulent, and potentially fatal compact, operating differently from the intent of its honorable members, and repeatedly violated by its traitor member. All nations that observe good faith in their international relations are put to shame by this perverted compact. The United States can and should lead these nations into the right path.

Do Your Children Study in Crowded Firetraps?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the other day I came across an article in the January 1954 Democratic Digest which I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House. It relates some shocking facts about our American schools, facts which everyone of us should be aware of.

Our great democracy must rely on its schools to develop enlightened citizens who will carry on its highest traditions and work for the improvement of its institutions. We find today that our schoolhouses are deplorably antiquated and overcrowded, and that there is an acute shortage of teachers. These conditions are described in detail in the article to which I have reference entitled "Do Your Children Study in Crowded Firetraps?"

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including in the Appendix of the RECORD the above article:

DO YOUR CHILDREN STUDY IN CROWDED FIRETRAPS?

The sharp, insistent peal of the firegong stirred excitement in the hearts of the elementary school students in Albany, N. Y. It offered unexpected release from their desks and the thrill of a brief march out of doors. But for Miss Foster, whose 30 little pupils were squeezed into a makeshift basement classroom, the firebell struck terror in her heart.

This time it was not a real alarm, just one of the routine fire drills. But the near-tragedy that had occurred in the same city only a few short weeks before was fresh in her mind. The newspaper headlines told the story: Four hundred flee fire in Albany school. The children had all reached safety, but three of the teachers were injured when they leaped from windows of the flaming 62-year-old structure.

Miss Foster and her 30 little 2d-graders were not the only ones exposed to this hazard. One-third of all pupils are attending schools deemed firetraps by the United States Office of Education, exposed to that danger 5 days a week, 9 months of the year.

Added to this shocking picture are the overcrowded classrooms, the underpaid teachers, and their alarming exodus from the teaching profession.

Are American parents aware of the state of the schools their children attend?

A recent survey conducted by the Woman's Home Companion showed that most parents

can't answer such basic questions about their children's schools as:

Is your child's school more than 50 years old?

Does the school have dark damp corridors, peeling paint, and falling plaster?

Is your child squeezed into a room with more than 30 youngsters in charge of an overburdened teacher?

Is the school a tinderbox where even a false alarm will create panic and fire will cause disaster?

The answers revealed by the survey are disheartening:

One school in every six is more than 50 years old.

One child in every five is being educated in buildings that insurance experts and fire fighters refuse to rate acceptable.

Three out of five of the "insurable" classrooms are overcrowded.

America needs more than 600,000 new classrooms.

Summing up, the article states: "We're in a race against the collapse of our educational system—and we're losing."

Figures compiled by the National Education Association confirm the mounting crisis in American education. At least a quarter of a million children are attending school on a half-day basis and many thousand others are housed in basements, rented store buildings, and other quarters not suited for school purposes. Some schools have set up classrooms in tents, sheds, basements, stores, churches, garages and, in one instance, a morgue.

A byproduct of overcrowded, understaffed schools, educators say, is juvenile delinquency, born out of tensions and irritations among children. In the District of Columbia, a juvenile court judge reported that half of the juvenile delinquents now appearing before her are 13 years and younger, and recommended that delinquency prevention begin in the first grade.

While experts concede that classroom shortage is the biggest problem, the teacher shortage is running a close second. Each year, we are training only one-third as many grade-school teachers as are needed. Low salaries are considered the chief cause of the difficulties but there is another reason for teacher shortage, described by Dr. Samuel Engle Burr, chairman of the Department of Education at American University, Washington, D. C. He says:

"In various communities, teachers feel they are under constant surveillance by someone. Many small communities have their own self-appointed Mrs. Grundys and Paul Prys. On a higher level, certain Members of Congress have conducted investigations in a manner which has brought charges of character assassination from some teachers and professors."

What has brought this educational crisis on us?

First, for some decades school construction has lagged behind the needs of America's growing population. During the depression years it was because of lack of funds. During World War II it was because of a shortage of labor and materials. Since 1946, when the awaited drop in building costs failed to occur, the situation has been acute.

Second, there is the record rise in the birth rate. The great wave of children knocking on school doors during the past few years is the bumper baby crop that set new birth-rate records following World War II, and reached a record high in 1952. School enrollment this year hit a peak record of 34,383,000—nearly 2 million more children than last year.

High schools, as well as secondary schools are feeling the squeeze. The economic prosperity of the country has meant that more children are able to continue their education instead of having to quit school to help support their families. More than three-fourths of all children of high-school age actually attended high school today compared with only half of this same group in 1929.

What is being done about this crisis in education?

Many localities throughout the country are straining their financial resources to meet their school problems, but few are actually solving them.

In Dallas, Tex., for example, a school spokesman reports that despite the largest school budget the city ever appropriated, "we are just keeping our nose above water."

New York's record-smashing enrollment of 927,000 has sparked a $100 million building program. Yet in New York City alone overcrowded grade school classrooms must be packed with an average of over 32 children. In one borough a new, modern school completed in 1949 and designed to hold 713 students had to jam in 1,697 students last year.

In San Francisco both budget and enrollment hit new records.

Chicago also has a peak enrollment and peak budget. But its plans to erect classrooms to accommodate its children fall far short of the need. Overcrowding will increase.

The education of children in dangerous and overcrowded buildings is not confined to big cities. In Bay City, Mich., reports the Woman's Home Companion, 8 of 20 schools now in use were built between 1878 and 1896. Some of these schools are reinforced with posts to keep the sagging ceilings from collapsing.

Despite the efforts of local communities and States to meet these problems and to accept the financial responsibility of increasing their school facilities, the gap between children and classrooms is widening.

As many a mayor or city council, vainly seeking new local sources of school revenues knows only too well, the job of educating a fast-growing population has become too big for our States and localities to handle alone. Sooner or later some help will have to come from the Federal Government, through the States.

This is not a new realization. During the last 4 years of his tenure in the White House, President Truman persistently recommended that Congress enact an aid-to-education program amounting to $300 million annually. Such a bill actually passed the Senate in 1948 and again in 1949, but died in the House.

Last year's campaign gave reason to hope that Presidential backing of an aid-to-education program—at least help in school construction—would be continued. In a speech in Los Angeles last October, General Eisenhower spoke sympathetically of the overcrowded classrooms, and of the 1,700,000 American boys and girls without any school facilities.

"We must do better than that," the general said.

For those who took encouragement from the Los Angeles speech by Candidate Eisenhower, this year's state of the Union message by President Eisenhower must have been a disappointment. "This whole situation," said the President, "calls for careful congressional study and action." There was no hint that Presidential leadership would be forthcoming. On the contrary, President Eisenhower cautioned Congress that Federal aid to education would depend on "proved need and proved lack of local income."

Many thought the general had made a good case for proved need in his Los Angeles campaign speech, when he pointed out that "by 1958, it is estimated that our school system will have a shortage of 60,000 classrooms."

An even greater disappointment, perhaps, to the supporters of American education was the administration's request for a 10 percent cut in the funds for the Office of Education, the agency responsible for furthering education throughout the country. Rather than defend a budget which he considered inadequate and indefensible, Commissioner of Education Earl J. McGrath resigned in protest.

But perhaps the greatest disappointment of all to American educators came when Congress passed up an opportunity to earmark between $5 billion and $30 billion for aid to education.

That opportunity came in the form of the so-called oil-for-education amendment, which Democratic Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama, has been sponsoring now for several years. Senator HILL's plan is to earmark for educational purposes the revenues coming into the Treasury from the oil-rich lands beneath the sea beyond the so-called historic boundaries of the States. Geologists estimate, variously, that there is between $40 billion and $240 billion in oil and gas deposits in these undersea lands, from which the Federal Government could theoretically realize between $5 billion and $30 billion.

During the closing days of Congress, the Hill oil-for-education amendment was killed by the slim margin of 2 votes. Of the 45 votes against the amendment, 37 were Republican, while of the 43 votes for the amendment, 36 were Democratic.

Backers of the education amendment have indicated that they will continue the fight in the next session of the Congress. The next session is also likely to hear from the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations regarding its study of Federal-State relationships. Chairman of the group, Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame University Law School, is a firm believer in turning Federal programs over to the States.

In this connection, the National Education Association has predicted:

"We should be fully prepared to receive a report from this Commission recommending that the Federal Government withdraw from such well-established grants-in-aid programs as school-lunch assistance, land-grant college subsidies, and vocational-education grants."

Mr. Manion's belief, if put into practice, could jeopardize some of the most important efforts to help American children toward a decent education. Local resources are already strained to the limit, and State governments are often unwilling to take steps necessary to cope with their educational problems.

In Utah, for example, with teachers' salaries below the average for the Mountain States, teachers are leaving for better-paid jobs in other States. Yet, Republican Gov. J. Bracken Lee refused to call a special session of the legislature to raise additional funds for public schools. He was opposed to increasing taxes, he said, and local school boards should fight their own battles without running to the State for help.

All over the United States come warnings that our educational system is in desperate straits. Education is expensive, sometimes more than the States and communities can bear.

But, judging from the administration's attitude during its first 9 months, there is slim hope that the Federal Government will lend a helping hand in meeting America's crisis in education.

Helps 'Em

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine has sent me the enclosed

item entitled "Help 'Em." I am in favor of helping 'em in just the manner he suggests.

HELP 'EM

For many months I have read of our casualties in Korea, and the inhuman treatment our men received as prisoners of the Communists in northern Korea and Red China. Now I read:

"The University of Wisconsin reaffirmed the right of students to join groups of their own choosing and invite off-campus speakers. The move was prompted by criticism of campus appearances of two Communist Daily Worker editors."

It seems unfortunate that these splendid young fellows, campus playboys, cannot have a glimpse of communism in the raw.

I suggest that instead of being addressed by editors of the Daily Worker, Uncle Sam provide each one of these men seeking information as to communism with a brand new shiny uniform and ship them pronto to Korea.

This would release many good, solid American boys who pray to their God every night that they may return to their homes and our country.

PENDLETON TULNER.

The Growth of Industry in Alabama

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an excellent recent editorial from the Birmingham News. The new million-dollar gas range parts plant that will shortly locate in Oneonta, Ala., attests the fact that many industries are moving to the South:

MOUNTING ALABAMA INDUSTRY

During 1953, the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce reported, 83 new industries moved into Alabama. The new year of 1954 was less than a week old when the announcement was made of a $1 million gas-range parts plant coming to Oneonta. The plant will eventually employ about 300 persons.

If 1954 surpasses 1953 in the opening up of new industries in Alabama, it will only be doing what was done in 1953 compared to 1952. There were only 53 new industries in 1952.

There was also an increase in 1953 over 1952 in the investment represented and the number of additional jobs created. For 1952, the new industries involved an expenditure of $20,888,000 and offered employment to 3,350 persons. The comparative figures for 1953 are $30,991,000 and 7,074.

These figures, alone, of course, do not give an accurate picture of industrial Alabama. To complete the picture, we would need statistics on the number of industries closing down, and the number of workers thus thrown out of jobs. We need the shadows as well as the lights to see the picture fully. We need to know the net increase.

But there are figures to show that Alabama is experiencing steady industrial expansion. In September of 1953, according to the United States Department of Labor, there were 239,400 persons employed in Alabama's manufacturing establishments, as compared with 233,800 in September the year before. Each month in 1953 saw a gain over that month of 1952. It is estimated that for the first time, 1953 saw the value added by manufacture in Alabama industries pass the billion-dollar mark.

But there is further evidence that this is no fly-by-night growth in the face of its geographical diversification. The 83 new industries for 1953 located in 43 different communities in 30 separate counties. The 53 new industries of 1952 came to 33 cities and towns in 25 counties. A stronger industrial life, as well as a stronger State, will result.

The State's life is affected in many ways as industry spreads out. We are less sharply separated by industrial and rural interests when plants spring up in many small communities. There are fewer schisms and less political friction. We share more problems. The underlying unity of life becomes clearer.

So it is a good thing, therefore, for all Alabama when Oneonta gets a new industry, or when new plants come to Red Bay or Headland or Brundidge or Loachapoka or any of scores of communities, large and small, throughout the State. What benefits one benefits all.

Communism's Paradise: Hopeless Slavery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article prepared by me for the National Republic magazine for December 1953, on the subject of Declining Standards in Soviet Russia:

DECLINING STANDARDS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(By Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH, Representative to Congress from Wisconsin)

(EDITORS' NOTE.—As a ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman SMITH toured Europe and the Near East last summer, to inspect administration of United States assistance programs. His observations on living standards behind the Iron Curtain present the "workers' fatherland" in a new light.)

Few Americans realize the deplorable standards of living behind the Iron Curtain. Communist propaganda always depicts gigantic state projects under construction, but is significantly silent on wages and living conditions imposed upon the workers who are frozen to their jobs by police-state regulations.

One has only to look at a Communist zone in Europe or Asia to realize that living conditions are barely up to a subsistence level. But because of rigid Kremlin restrictions on official statistics and public information, the real picture has been withheld from the world. Only recently have our United States Intelligence agencies been able to get at the figures. They show, in a word, that living standards in Soviet Russia today are considerably below the 1928 level in the same areas. Stated another way, Russian production, under cruel state regimentation, has not even kept abreast of normal population increase for the last quarter century.

Since the comparative figures have become available, American working men and women are taking a new look at the "workers' paradise" behind the Iron Curtain. Nowhere else in the world do the great masses of farmers and workers get less for their money.

Although the Russian worker puts in 6 days a week at 8 hours each, his week's wages will buy for him only about one-fifth the amount of food a week's wages (here only 40 hours) will purchase for the average American workingman.

A few comparisons illustrate the tremendously higher standard of living enjoyed by the American worker and his family, as contrasted with life in the "workers' fatherland."

In Russia, for example, the average factory worker must give his entire pay for 6 hours and 13 minutes for 1 pound of butter, but the American worker can obtain a pound of butter for 31 minutes of his working time. In other words, the American worker can obtain a pound of butter for less than one-twelfth of the work required in Russia. Like comparisons may be cited for every food item, as well as every item of apparel and housefurnishing.

The American worker can buy a pound of white bread for 6 minutes' pay; in Russia, the worker gets 1 pound of black rye bread for 19 minutes' pay.

A pound of sugar costs the American wage-earner 4 minutes' pay; in Russia, a pound of sugar costs 1 hour and 58 minutes' pay—almost 30 times as much.

A pound of chuck roast costs the American worker 23 minutes' pay; in Russia, the same grade of beef per pound costs 3 hours and 10 minutes' pay—more than 8 times as much work.

A dozen eggs costs the American 22 minutes' pay, while the Russian worker lays out all his pay for 4 hours and 10 minutes, making eggs cost more than 11 times as much in Russia. On this basis, as measured in real wages, eggs cost the Russian worker exactly as much today as they would cost the American worker if they sold today in America for $9 a dozen.

A quart of milk costs the American worker only 8 minutes' pay; but the Russian peon must work 52 minutes for the price of a quart of milk, which he then gets only if he holds a live food ticket. For any infraction of factory working rules, his food ticket is revoked or suspended. Without the ticket he can't get into a Government grocery, even with a wheelbarrow full of rubles.

In America, the average factory worker can purchase a good pair of black work shoes for 6 hours and 10 minutes' pay; in Russia, the worker must lay out 116 hours' pay for a pair of work shoes. In shoes, the American can buy for less than a day's labor, an item which costs the Russian worker 14½ days' earnings.

Why does the United States have more motorcars on the roads than families in the entire country? The answer is found in low cost. The American worker can buy a nice 4-door sedan for 153 days' pay. In Russia, the lowest-priced bantam-type car costs the worker 458 days' pay.

In America, a good table-model radio costs 15 hours and 22 minutes' average factory pay; in Russia a cheaper model (locked at the wavelength the Kremlin wants you to listen to) costs 140 hours and 30 minutes' pay.

A detailed study of wages and prices behind the Iron Curtain, as completed recently by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, reveals that in 1953 the average Russian factory worker must work 145 hours to buy the same amount of food (in 5 basic items) he could have purchased in 1928 for 100 hours' wages. This means that the general standard of living in the Kremlin paradise has declined by 45 percent.

"In particular," this survey continues, "the Soviet worker now has to work about 67 percent longer to buy a pound of bread, about 43 percent longer to buy a pound of beef, and about 244 percent longer to buy a quart of milk."

These figures are eloquent testimony to the progress toward utopia achieved by the two-gun Russian master planners during the

last quarter century. But during those same 25 years, the real purchasing power of the average American family has almost doubled.

In hundreds of industrial counties throughout America today, 2 out of every 3 dwelling units are inhabited by the owners. In Russia no one ever may own his home. No matter what his income, every Russian worker is forever a renter—from the government. And if this all-powerful Russian landlord catches you listening some evening to Radio Free Europe, your lease is summarily revoked, and you get no more housing until you get back from Siberia.

Shall we buy the housewife a natty cotton dress for the kitchen? In America, it costs 2 hours and 22 minutes' work; in Russia it costs 31 hours and 51 minutes.

Or a woman's wool suit? Here, 12 hours and 54 minutes' wages; there, 252 hours, even.

In America, a man's suit of 100 percent virgin wool costs 28 hours' pay; in Russia it costs 550 hours and 15 minutes' work—if obtainable.

Women's shoes (top quality leather) cost the American worker 5 hours and 32 minutes' pay; but they cost Ivan Moscovite 107 hours and 30 minutes.

Here, a pack of 20 cigarettes costs an average 7 minutes' pay; in Russia that pack costs 2 hours and 4 minutes work.

The Labor Department survey points out that Russian wages, in money, have advanced sharply since the 1930's. But official price increases at the Government stores have more than absorbed the increase in wages.

"The rise in money earnings, taking the period as a whole, has not resulted in a higher level of living."

In the language of the street, this means simply that under communism you can't win.

More important, the figures mean that communism over the last quarter century has failed to lift the living standards of its vassals and slaves. Communism simply can't deliver the goods.

Without increased production of consumer goods (the things folks eat and wear, and use) living standards fall constantly, for population is always increasing from year to year.

Throughout America, we hear occasionally from secret friends of communism, that Russia has produced a new and bountiful way of life. Let every American ponder well such claims. The figures for the last 25 years show that communism leads only to hopeless slavery under a police-state system of Godless materialism. Communism is a hollow fake, and a cruel fraud upon all humankind.

Beware of Muscovites Accepting Gifts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Malenkov's acceptance of President Eisenhower's invitation to talk through the proposal for an international pool of atomic materials is by all odds one of the most constructive steps which have been taken since the end of World War II in the whole field of diplomacy. Beyond this, there is apparently some inclination to broaden the talks to include the possibility of ending any threat of atomic warfare. All the better, of course, but there must always be awareness of the past when one looks hopefully toward the future.

We are eager to end the tensions of current world history. We must not be willing to end them at the expense of America's position. That position is one of moral leadership, no less than of economic, military, or political strength. America's desire for peace has led us frequently to the scrapping of our ships, to the reduction of our standing military forces, to the elimination of planes, and the general weakening of our strength, long before anybody else was ready to follow suit.

It may be good and noble to set a wholesome example, but in matters of such great moment, only the foolish are ready to strip themselves bare while others remain mightily armed. Moscow will be glad to see Uncle Sam take the initiative in this regard. Let us be sure of simultaneous action before we prepare to turn in our equipment.

Thomas E. Braniff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, the news of the death of Thomas E. Braniff on January 10 brings a sense of profound grief to many Members of the House who were personally acquainted with this distinguished American. It was my privilege to know Mr. Braniff and to be identified with him in matters affecting the life of the great Southwest. His passing is a distinct loss to the Nation's civic, religious, and commercial life. The record of safety of the Braniff Lines, which he organized and actively directed, has not been excelled. It is estimated that his company's airplanes have flown a total of 3 billion passenger-miles without a single fatality.

Mr. Braniff was a much beloved citizen of Dallas at the time of his death and equally esteemed in Oklahoma, where he lived for many years. His interests were not bounded by regional or even hemispheric lines. His warm human sympathies found an outlet in many splendid enterprises. He and Mrs. Braniff had established a family foundation for benevolences in which they had a special interest, and his generous support of the charitable and religious institutions of this country was widely recognized.

He was a devoted and effective leader in his church, and had received national recognition for his outstanding service in behalf of the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, USO, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He was national Catholic cochairman of the last-named organization at the time of his death.

Tom Braniff's influence will live after him. His great talents were expended always in a constructive direction, and the impress of his inspiring leadership will remain.

Pledges and Hedges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following pledges and hedges appeared in the November 1953 issue of the Democratic Digest:

AMEND TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

The pledge: "I have complete confidence that amending the Taft-Hartley law can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of your group will consider the results unreasonable."—Eisenhower, AFL convention, September 17, 1952.

The hedge: "Durkin quits in labor row; charges Ike broke vow on Taft-Hartley."—Washington Times Herald, September 11, 1953.

GET RID OF THE 5 PERCENTERS

The pledge: "I pledge you that • • • I shall not rest until the peddlers of privilege • • • are banished from the Nation's house."—Eisenhower, Alanta, Ga., September 2, 1952.

The hedge: "GOP inaugural aide admits peddling secret United States procurement information."—Washington Post, September 10, 1953.

COMPLETELY ADEQUATE AIR POWER

The pledge: "• • • the one place in the current days and times we must not cut is the Air Forces • • •."—Eisenhower, June 28, 1947, as Army Chief of Staff.

The hedge: "Billion in plane orders canceled by Air Force."—New York Herald Tribune, September 4, 1953. "Nearly 1,000 craft, including combat types included in the reduction."—Washington Post, September 3, 1953.

PROTECT VETERANS' GOVERNMENT JOB RIGHTS

The pledge: "We propose • • • strict compliance with veterans' preference laws in Federal service."—1952 GOP platform.

The hedge: "Justice Department would exclude 250,000 from Veterans' Act."—Washington Post, September 11, 1953.

GET OUR BOYS HOME FROM KOREA

The pledge: "We will work without resting to end the war in Korea, to get our boys home."—Eisenhower, New Orleans, La., October 13, 1952.

The hedge: "United States forces will be kept at their present strength in Korea for several years, Army Secretary Stevens said."—New York Times, August 18, 1953.

BETTER HOUSING FOR SLUM DWELLERS

The pledge: "We must have better housing for those Americans who are now forced to live in slums."—Eisenhower, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 27, 1952.

The hedge: "President Eisenhower • • • defended congressional cuts in Federal aid to public housing."—New York Times, August 20, 1953.

AVOID REGIMENTATION OF FARMERS

The pledge: "I have pledged that the Republican Party will provide farmers with economic protection, without putting them in Federal chains."—Eisenhower, Omaha, Nebr., September 18, 1952.

The hedge: "Eisenhower administration farm leaders hailed today approval by Amer-

lean wheat farmers of rigid controls on their 1954 crop."—New York Times, August 15, 1953.

BEST MEDICAL CARE FOR VETERANS

The pledge: "And I shall exert every appropriate effort to achieve a Veterans' Administration program * * * including the best medical care and facilities obtainable."—Eisenhower, October 29, 1952.

The hedge: "Legion chief attacks proposed reductions in VA hospitals program."—Washington Star, May 25, 1953. "Thousands lose chance to get free dental service from VA."—Washington Star, August 10, 1953.

FULL PUBLICITY OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

The pledge: "We pledge not to infringe by censorship or gag-order the right of a free people to know what their government is doing."—1952 GOP platform.

The hedge: "A spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers yesterday sharply criticized the Bureau of Internal Revenue for failure to publicize its rulings on excise taxes."—Washington Post, August 12, 1953.

Local Service Airlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Col. Joseph P. Adams, a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Colonel Adams' speech on the future of our local service airlines and their need for State and community support is a timely and factual description of the problems facing an important segment of our domestic air transportation system.

The local service carriers serve hundreds of the smaller cities in the country and render a valuable public service to these communities. These carriers connect the metropolitan trade centers with many surrounding cities. Ordinarily they do not carry through passengers between the metropolitan hubs themselves, and do not enjoy the heavy traffic loads and favorable traffic revenue that our trunk airlines enjoy. Consequently, the local service carriers are short-haul, high-cost operators and will be dependent on Federal subsidy support until they can build up their commercial traffic. This is, in part, a responsibility of the local communities and States served by these carriers.

In pointing out deficiencies which have existed in relationships between the local airlines and the States and communities they serve, and in recommending specifically how these deficiencies can be eliminated, Member Joseph P. Adams has offered a sound, constructive approach whereby the States can offer support to our local service carriers, supplementing the support and encouragement given them by the Federal Government.

I regard the speech as a real contribution in the general area of Federal-State relationships and in pointing up the significance of increased passenger generation by cities receiving local airline service.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, colleagues, and guests, it is a distinct honor you have paid me in the invitation to address your closing banquet, and I am most appreciative.

My subject Future Local Airline Service Depends on State Support is, in my mind, a most appropriate subject, for I sincerely believe that you State Directors, you Commission members, and you staff employees here assembled, are the most important single individuals in the United States to the continuation of local airline service. This belief of mine is based on 3 years' service as a State Director of Aeronautics, followed by 3 years' experience as a Member of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Knowing, as you do, the responsibility of the Civil Aeronautics Board to promote and develop air transportation in the overall public interest, it is possible that my statement charging you with responsibility in this matter may prove puzzling. Please understand at the outset, however, that neither the Board as a whole, nor I as one member, intend in any way to deny our own very clear-cut responsibility for the original local service airline experiment, nor for its continued development. I want to discuss with you how that experiment came about and to review with you what your Federal Government has done in developing local airline service.

Two things, I hope, will be clear as I continue my remarks. First, the Board honestly believes that, overall, its efforts in developing local airline service have been well rewarded and have been of great benefit to the public interest. The second point, however, which is the principal purpose of this talk, is to stress how necessary it is from here on out for all of you State aviation officials to familiarize yourselves with the local airline service program, particularly as it affects your own State and area, and then to take very definite action by participating in passenger generating programs to guarantee the continuance of that local airline service.

THE RECORD OF DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL SERVICE BY YOUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS OUTSTANDING

Now, for the record, the first local service airline for passenger service began operations in August of 1945, a date coinciding with the month and year of the end of World War II. In August of that year Essair, the predecessor company of Pioneer Air Lines, inaugurated service in the State of Texas. In the fall of 1946, four more carriers began operations in the northwest area of the United States and on the west coast. Three more local air services began to operate during 1947 and an additional three in the next year, 1948. In 1949, seven more carriers inaugurated service, and the last local service carrier to begin operating did so in September 1950.

Since the cycle of certifications was completed in 1950, the Civil Aeronautics Board has not rested. Twelve renewal cases involving local service carriers have been processed. Involved in these renewals has been the additional award of service to 152 cities, the deletion of service to 111, a net gain of 41 cities. In addition to new cities and as part and parcel of route improvements, 6,788 new route-miles have been certificated to the presently operating carriers over and above those originally granted. With reference to this renewal program, I want to tell you that each of my colleagues and myself wishes to thank the State directors and State commissions that have intervened on behalf of the public. Your participation in every instance has been most helpful.

In addition to the tremendous amount of staff and board time that has been devoted to review of route improvement for the local service carrier program, the Board has also expended considerable effort in mail rate proceedings for these carriers. Board-approved mail payments for our local service airlines have increased rapidly, from $1,169,000 for the fiscal year 1946 to just over $23 million for fiscal 1953. The 9-year total of approved mail payments for this segment of the airline industry will exceed $130 million by June 30, 1954. Today 14 local service air carriers are serving 416 cities in 42 States, flying approximately 4 million miles a month and carrying approximately 2 million air passengers per year.

RECENT ECONOMIC TRENDS OF LOCAL SERVICE OPERATIONS ARE NOT SATISFACTORY

Now, returning to the title of this address, Future Local Airline Service Depends on State Support, I believe you will agree with me that the Federal Government, through the CAB, has done its utmost to foster and develop local air service. While the Board is constantly alert to possible improvements of practical benefit, I am at a loss to imagine the form which prompt additional Federal support and development might take. In light of the serious recent trends in local air service operating results despite the Federal Government's best efforts to encourage and develop those operations, the time has come for you gentlemen and all State aviation interests which you represent to actively support our local service airlines.

I have already mentioned briefly the phenomenal growth in public service achieved by these carriers. Their efforts, aided and abetted by the Federal Government, were crowned with marked success through 1951. Overall volume of service rendered increased much more rapidly than the increase in Federal subsidy support, so that all of us could honestly say in 1951 that they were in fact trending toward economic self-sufficiency.

Since 1951, however, these favorable trends have unfortunately not continued. In the recent period of almost 2 years the favorable trends have either flattened out or actually turned into favorable trends. That the local service financial picture is very dark is indicated by the fact that from our presently operating 14 local carriers, the Board has received, within the last 6 months alone, 6 petitions for increased final mail rates, and 10 petitions for temporary increases in mail pay.

There are several factors which explain why these unfortunate developments have come about but there is no single more important factor than that of passenger load per plane. After 7 years of the local air service experiment, the average passenger load on each airplane operated by these carriers was only about 8½ passengers during fiscal 1953. This number was roughly one-half the number required by these airlines to break even without mail pay subsidy support. The passenger load for these carriers has remained the same or declined slightly since 1951.

What I want to point out to you tonight is that this passenger load figure must go up in the future if the local service operators are to survive, and furthermore that this necessary increase in volume is a responsibility in which you gentlemen here tonight must share. In all seriousness, I believe that unless the average load for these local airlines can be increased, and appreciably so, without corresponding increases in cost, the local service air carrier experiment will fail. None of us here tonight wants that to happen and I am sure the 2 million passengers carried by these airlines during the last fiscal year do not want it to happen. I think I would be doing less than my duty, however, if I did not

point out these facts and what they mean to you, and urge you to plan State local service programs directed to passenger generation.

ANY INCREASE IN LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINE LOAD FACTOR WILL REDUCE PRESENT SUBSIDY NEEDS

I wonder how many of you know how important just one more passenger on every flight is to the local service airline in your area? In the case of Southern Airways, which serves this area to the north and east, the addition of just one passenger on each flight would mean an increase of $200,000 a year in revenue and a reduction in its mail subsidy bill of 10 percent. In the case of Trans-Texas Airways, serving the southern portion of Texas and more recently, additional points in Arkansas, the addition of 1 more passenger on each flight would increase revenue by $175,000 and reduce the carrier's subsidy bill more than 10 percent. Similarly, in the case of Piedmont Aviation, serving Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina, the addition of just 1 passenger on each flight would increase revenues more than $350,000 a year and reduce the carrier's subsidy need 20 percent.

These examples, in my opinion, are highly significant, as they indicate that passenger generation of only 1 or 2 passengers per flight would reverse the present trend of increasing subsidy; and the savings to the Government, industrywide would be several million dollars each year. I pinpoint this goal because I believe it makes a program of passenger generation reasonable of accomplishment by your State directors. I sincerely hope it will have real appeal to the States and communities.

STATE AERONAUTICAL AGENCIES DO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY IN LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINE PASSENGER GENERATION

In preparation of this address, it was at this point that I asked myself, Does such a program of passenger generation properly come within the concept of the legislation creating State aeronautics commissions? Based on the following considerations, my answer is yes.

First, the document Suggested State Aviation Legislation published by your association, has created in many States a Uniform Aeronautics Act. Development of aeronautics appears as a policy statement in such uniform acts that have been enacted into law. I quote from such policy statement as follows: "The commission shall cooperate with and assist the Federal Government, the municipalities of this State, and other persons in the development of aeronautics." I take this to mean that where, as in the case of the promotion of local airline service, the Federal Government will have spent some $130 million by June 30, 1954. It is perfectly proper for the State aeronautics agency to assist in developing the program and doing whatever is necessary to reduce this cost to the Federal Government and assure the successful continuation of the program.

Further, I attach great significance to the administration statement made on appointment of the distinguished members of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower said on September 18:

"Completion today of the membership of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations marks the commencement of an historic undertaking; the elimination of frictions, duplications, and waste from Federal-State relations; the clear definition of lines of governmental authority in our Nation; the increase in efficiency in a multitude of governmental programs vital to the welfare of all Americans."

Taken together with the words contained in most State legislation concerning State aeronautics commissions, "It shall cooperate with and assist the Federal Government," I believe the statement of the President in announcing appointment of the members of the new Commission, fully supports my faith in the value and wisdom of increased State cooperation in the local service airline program, to the end that Federal subsidies will be reduced by an increase in efficiency of the Federal-State program.

TODAY'S RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STATE AERONAUTICAL AGENCIES AND LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINES LEAVE ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

The next step in discussing the practicability of my subject, Future Local Airline Service Depends on State Support, was to determine the present status of this Federal-State relationship. Fortunately, your invitation to speak reached me in August and I have had several months to devote to a study of the matter. In this time I have corresponded with or personally interviewed the managements of every local service airline on the subject of passenger generation and the present participation of State aeronautical agencies in developing local airline service.

This study, together with discussions with State directors and my own experience in that capacity, leads me to believe that I can present to you an objective, if not altogether pleasing, appraisal of the relationship as it exists today. The proper form of presentation of these opinions, especially where the basis of the opinion may be ill-founded, or based on a misconception of the function of a State aviation agency, is a delicate matter, but I will resolve it by reading a cross section of comments as follows:

1. My study disclosed that in 19 States served by local service airlines, there has been no meeting of any kind between the top management of the local service airline and the director or the staff of the State aeronautical agency. (The significance of this fact is self-evident.)

2. "In the area served by our airline the State commissions, where in existence, have confined their major work to technical assistance regarding airports, flight safety, and ground safety. With the sole exception of one State, none of the State agencies of States served by us has done anything, to our knowledge, which would help develop local airline traffic."

3. "It is our opinion that while the States have efficiently assisted in solving airport problems and in developing sound route patterns, they have neglected to publicize and explain local airline service. They appear to have taken this position so as to avoid criticism from the trunk carriers which serve the major cities in the States."

4. "We have been serving this State for only 1 year at this writing, and during this period I have not seen evidence of any constructive contributions toward passenger generation or general acceptance of local airline service by the State aviation commission."

5. "It seems to me that we are accepted in this State because we pay taxes and landing fees and rent space in the terminals, but I find that nowhere are we singled out for any special treatment due to our local service character. Instead, my belief is that from what I have seen and what I have heard, State aviation commissions believe that their creation is for the purpose of producing more revenue for the State in the form of more taxes and fees and more regulation on the air carriers."

(While you and I realize this latter statement is a misconception of the purpose of a State aeronautical agency, it is important as a condition of mind.)

6. "They are deficient in not doing more promotion work at intermediate points. Frankly and confidentially, the State is as weak as a split 2 by 4 in holding up its end of the follow-up which would be productive in paying bodies on the airplanes."

("Follow-up" as used here implies that after the community or the State appeared before the Board, asking for the service, nothing more was done.)

So much for a sampling of verbatim comments from one party to the relationship. I want to be sure you realize that these statements were elicited by my probing and that there is no indication that local airline managements are attempting to pass on their management responsibility to State agencies. In fact, I am pleased to advise you that the record of my correspondence is replete with appreciative remarks of State agency support to local service airlines in fields other than passenger generation.

Further, before leaving this subject, I have a confession to make. During the 3 years of my service as a State director, a local service airline was starting operations in my State. Under my direction, our State agency activities were concentrated on the construction of four emergency fields in the mountain passes of our State and no formal meeting on passenger generation was ever held with the local service airline management. Had the study I am making now been made by another in 1947, I would have been one of the statistics that would have called for better Federal-State relationships on this program of local airline service development.

SOME SPECIFICS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIPS AND CONTRIBUTE TO LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINE PASSENGER GENERATION

Referring again to my subject Future Local Airline Service Depends on State Support and having previously stated that the Federal Government has fully supported the program; that current results of the program are disappointing; that State agencies do share the responsibility for success of the program; and that present Federal-State relationships in this field can be improved, it now resolves upon me to state specifically what direction future Federal-State actions might profitably take.

In so doing, I must state that any specifics mentioned that might prove helpful are a product of the thinking of local service managements, individual directors of aeronautics, all salted with my 3 years of board experience, following service as a State director of aeronautics.

No. 1. First, to correct the situation existing in 19 States where no contact between management and State agencies exists and to lay a groundwork for continued cooperation in all other States, I suggest that State directors call on the managements concerned to send their officials to the office of the director for a good indoctrination seminar. This personal contact and mutual exchange of information is vital to the success of any of the following specifics, and of itself, is of basic importance.

No. 2. Where to start, in the matter of passenger generation, is debatable, but I will suggest one course of action. Procure a monthly origin and destination report of the local service airline serving your communities and proceed from there. I did this with 1 airline serving 3 States and 32 communities. It indicated that for August 1953, the highest passenger generation point developed 5,667 passengers a month, on and off; the lowest point of generation, 133 passengers, on and off; with a station average of 1,114 passengers, on and off.

Next, it disclosed that 1 State had 2 communities generating 187 and 172 passengers, on and off; 1 State had 2 communities generating 175 and 164 passengers, on and off; and the third State 2 communities developing 267 and 133 passengers, on and off.

So, in this case, we have only 6 communities generating less than 300 passengers, on and off, monthly, which, in my opinion, is the line of demarcation between the sick and the well. These six cities are requiring

Federal subsidy completely disproportionate to the balance of the system and this great drain in dollars might well be determinative of the success or failure of local service in this entire area.

Here, my suggestion in the example given would be for each State agency to select the two points in its State where use of local air service is submarginal and proceed to arrange a use-it-or-lose-it type of campaign. The chamber of commerce, service clubs' elected officials, and key industries can all be invited to participate by the State agency.

This is how and where you might start.

No. 3. One of the most productive activities in creating passenger generation and acceptance of local airline service which the agency can perform appears to be in the area of publicity and public relations. To the extent possible, the State agency should explain through their publications, radio and TV programs, the type of service the local carrier is rendering, and that the continuation of local service is dependent upon full acceptance and support by the communities.

The State agency should maximize this public relations aspect by holding Commission meetings in communities served by local service carriers. On such occasions the Commission could point up the fact that Federal subsidy involved in local airline operation is a subsidy to the community, not the carrier, and that the community has a direct responsibility in the matter.

No. 4. State agency officials should fully endorse and encourage the use of local service by all State agencies for official travel.

In each State that has recently held a Governor's election, it is almost a certainty that one campaign issue was the multiplicity of State automobiles. In such a situation, claims for economies in travel and per diem could properly be made by showing how visits to State institutions from the State Capitol could be made by many employees using local service airlines. The State Director in such cases could properly work directly with his Governor.

No. 5. Another productive action which could be taken by the State agency is in the area of development of Air Educational Tours out of intermediate points, going to another intermediate point or to a terminal point over routes of local service carriers.

One carrier reports that his State director delivered speeches to youth groups in various cities and that in 1952, the carrier moved 2,584 people, mostly boys and girls under 15 years of age as part of this program.

Such a "grassroots" educational campaign through grade and high schools should be most productive, not only in immediate passenger generation, but in long range benefits to the community.

No. 6. Airline net revenue may be developed from passenger generation or conversely from decreased costs, and any combination of the two is most desirable. State agencies might well counsel the communities on the advisability of increasing their airport revenues by encouraging the additional boarding of passengers rather than by increasing airport charges to a federally subsidized industry. Many communities are paid landing charges amounting to 2 percent of sales, one way or round trip, so as airline ticket sales increase, airport revenues do likewise.

I hope it is apparent that none of my specific suggestions on actions which you could take will result in any budgetary problem. Along with their specific nature, in other words, I feel that their chief merit is found in the fact that even if they are all followed, no financial burden on the State will result.

This, then, is my case for State aviation agency participation in local service airline passenger generation.

In making this case, you are assured that I know that some individuals in the industry do claim that the local service airlines will succeed only when they receive a new plane; that some do say that only a removal of certain restrictions by the Board on local service operations will guarantee success; that some say that only a greater productivity on the part of local service airline management will guarantee success. These opinions may well be correct, but none of them deals with matters that can be resolved by a State aviation agency. When any, or all, of these suggestions might be proven practical and applied to the industry is anyone's guess.

Thus, in closing, I say that the most readily available, most practical, and most helpful steps that you can take, today, to assure successful continuation of the local service program in your State are in the field of passenger generation. That is why I end where I started, by saying, "I sincerely believe that you State directors, you commission members, and you staff employees here assembled are the most important single individuals in the United States to the continuation of local airline service."

Vocational Rehabilitation in Cullman County, Ala., During the 1953 Fiscal Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL ELLIOTT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include in the RECORD, a report of the rehabilitation services in Cullman County, Ala., during 1953. These accomplishments are, indeed, noteworthy.

Aside from the dollars and cents advantages of rehabilitating physically handicapped people, there are more important values. Before their rehabilitation, few of them were working, participating members of the community; now they are. These individuals now have more to eat, better clothing, and more adequate housing. They have, now, the satisfaction of being able to perform a job, perform it well. And, in a few years, they will have repaid, to the Government, the cost of their rehabilitation.

The report follows:

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION IN CULLMAN COUNTY

Vocational rehabilitation is a public service to prepare physically or mentally disabled persons for employment and place them in suitable jobs.

In Cullman County, during the past fiscal year, 73 persons were provided with some service leading to rehabilitation; 43 additional persons were known to be eligible for service, but due to lack of funds, no services were provided. Sixteen persons were rehabilitated into regular employment.

Of the 16 persons rehabilitated into regular employment, each had an average of 2 additional dependents; 13 of those rehabilitated were unemployed; 3 were on jobs unsafe, temporary or unsuitable.

Of the 13 unemployed, 10 were dependent on their families; 2 were receiving an average Welfare grant of $26.50 per month.

Average earned income per month before rehabilitation, $21.70.

Average earned income per month after rehabilitation, $144.90.

Average cost for each rehabilitant including administration and other costs, $338.

The taxes paid on the increased earnings will repay the cost of rehabilitation in less than 5 years.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

Appendix

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 15, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have in my hands the text of a most interesting article which appeared in the August 14, 1953, issue of the Minneapolis Star. The article was written by Prof. Charles McLaughlin, of the University of Minneapolis department of political science. It marshals what I feel to be extremely effective arguments against Senate Joint Resolution 1, known popularly as the Bricker amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADOPT THE BRICKER AMENDMENT?—NO

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—A proposed amendment to our Federal Constitution barely missed being acted upon in the last session of Congress and is certain to make a strong bid for action in the next session. Advanced by those who fear that treaties may be used by the Federal Government to avoid constitutional safeguards on the Federal legislative power, the amendment (sponsored by Senator JOHN BRICKER, of Ohio) would substantially change the treatymaking process and curb the President's power to make executive agreements with foreign nations. This is the second of two articles on the amendment. Prof. Charles McLaughlin, of the University of Minnesota department of political science, presents the case against the amendment.)

(By Charles McLaughlin)

The proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution is founded upon misconception, dangerous in its implications, and poorly drafted even to accomplish its announced purpose. The three operative sections of the proposed amendment are quoted below, followed in each case by analysis and criticism.

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Advocates of the amendment commonly take the position that valid, binding treaties can now be made which are inconsistent with the terms of the Constitution, provided only they are made according to the procedure therein prescribed, i. e., by the President "with the advice and consent of the Senate * * * provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

In support of this position they frequently refer to the late Justice Holmes' remark in the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland* (1920): "Acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land only when made in pursuance of the Constitution, while treaties are declared to be so when made under the authority of the United States. It is open to question whether the authority of the United States means more than the formal acts prescribed to make the convention."

Holmes was referring to the language of the so-called supremacy clause of the Constitution (art. VI, clause 2), which stipulates that the supreme law of the land, which is binding upon the courts and superior to State constitutions and laws, shall include three elements: First, the Constitution itself; second, statutes made in pursuance thereof; and third, treaties made under the authority of the United States.

Our courts have assumed the power of judicial review of statutes and can hold them to be unconstitutional and therefore invalid if not "in pursuance" of the Constitution. Since this language was not used of treaties, which need only to be made under authority of the United States, it was indeed open to question, as Holmes said, whether this language referred to anything but the treaty-making procedure.

But it does not follow that treaties may be unconstitutional and still be part of the supreme law of the land. Holmes went on immediately to add: "We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treatymaking power; but they must be ascertained in a different way."

What then are the grounds upon which a treaty could be held unconstitutional? It seems clear that the framers of the Constitution, a body of men noted for political and legal acumen, could hardly have intended that the three elements, Constitution, statutes, and treaties, could simultaneously be in force as the supreme law of the land if inconsistent with each other.

Nor do we lack authoritative assurances that our courts actually would hold treaties unconstitutional upon well understood grounds. These may be summarized as follows:

1. A treaty would be unconstitutional if it sought to accomplish an object expressly prohibited by the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton aptly stated the reason for this in his "Camillus" (a defense of Jay's treaty): "The only constitutional exception to the power of making treaties is, that it shall not change the Constitution; which results from this fundamental maxim, that a delegated authority (i. e., the national government) cannot alter the constituting act, unless so expressly authorized by the constituting power. An agent cannot new-model his own commission. A treaty, for example, cannot transfer the legislative power to the executive department."

The general principle has been stated in many Supreme Court cases.

2. The Court has also said that there are implied prohibitions in the Constitution which would limit the treaty power; e. g., an alteration in the structure of the governmental agencies and offices prescribed by the Constitution, or in the constitutional allocation of powers and functions to them, could not be effected by treaty.

3. Finally, the Court has indicated that the treaty power is one to be used with respect to genuinely international, not local, questions. It "extends to all proper subjects of negotiation between our Government and the governments of other nations"; it is "broad enough to cover all subjects that properly pertain to our foreign relations."

In view of these positions of our highest tribunal it is difficult to see why we need to add to our Constitution section 1 of the proposed amendment, since the Supreme Court has taken the same position throughout its history.

It may be argued that if this is so it can do no harm to make an agreed principle explicit, and with this I should agree. But the section does not clearly indicate that this is its only purpose.

Hence there is some danger that the courts, supposing that some more important consequences must have been intended, might read other less welcome constructions into it.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

The National Government is a government of delegated powers. Most of these are enumerated in the Constitution, although others may be implied as necessary and proper to carry out enumerated powers or functions, or may result naturally from the possession of a group of express powers.

The States, on the other hand, have the residuum of powers not delegated, or what are called reserved powers in the 10th amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

pie."

But there is no question about the location of the treaty power, for it is expressly delegated to the President, acting with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Constitution also expressly forbids the States to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, or to conclude without the consent of Congress any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power.

There has been no disposition, therefore, in our courts to confine the treaty power to the particular subject matter comprised within the grant of domestic powers to the National Government, so that there has never been any thought that treaties could not on occasion deal with subjects within the reserved legislative powers of the States.

Domestic powers are divided, but the treaty power is exclusively in the National Government. As Justice Holmes put it, a treaty is not to be considered as "forbidden by some invisible radiation from the general terms of the 10th amendment."

In fact, the courts have upheld the constitutionality of many treaties which invaded the field of the reserved powers of states because these treaties were found to deal with matters of national concern for which international action was appropriate, and they did not violate the Constitution.

Such treaties include those authorizing extradition of fugitives from justice, though within State jurisdiction; waiving State statutes of limitations; exempting foreign consuls from compulsion to appear as witnesses in State courts; regulating the hunting of migratory birds; and fishing in international waters within State limits.

Indeed there is no question about the law upon this subject. It is admittedly the intent of the framers of the proposed amendment to change the law so that hereafter it will not be possible for the Federal Government to put a treaty into effect in the United States unless it can do so by legislation normally within the national legislative powers.

Presumably a treaty in the field of the reserved powers of the States could then be put

into effect only by the separate legislative action of all 48 States, a practical impossibility.

Nor is it likely other countries would enter into treaties with the United States which would have to be implemented by so clumsy a procedure.

In fact, our Government has seldom made treaties invading the reserved power of the States except when the arbitrary local policy of certain States has led to international situations of concern to the whole country.

When, for example, California insisted upon excluding resident Japanese from such rudimentary privileges in earning a livelihood as were essential to live with dignity, and this led to friction between the United States and Asiatic countries, it certainly became a matter of national interest.

It is a sufficient answer to those who complained that a corrective treaty was unconstitutional to point out that in the end it was the obnoxious provisions of the California alien land law which were held unconstitutional.

Why should the peculiar and indefensible attitudes of the people of California on this point have been allowed to dictate the foreign policy of the whole country?

Yet this is precisely the predicament into which the United States would be thrown in similar situations by the amendment. It would be unable by treaty to develop a national foreign policy upon a point which happened to affect functions normally within State control if one or a few States objected.

The truth is that the National Government has been extremely tender of the feelings of States upon this point, and has frequently declined to enter into treaties which were thought unduly to interfere with State functions, even though of legitimate national and international concern.

United States representatives who participated in drafting the constitution of the International Labor Organization contained in the Treaty of Versailles insisted upon a provision relieving Federal states which accepted ILO conventions from any obligations other than to recommend legislative implementation by their member states.

Subsequently, our Government has ratified only 5 of about 100 ILO conventions, and only 3 of these are in effect. All three are concerned with maritime regulations which fall within national legislative powers.

Advocates of the amendment betray particular concern over conventions prepared by the U. N., e. g., the genocide convention, the draft covenants on human rights, the convention on freedom of information, etc.

It is a sufficient answer to alleged dangers to our local institutions to note that we are under no compulsion to ratify them, and that at present it seems a safe prediction the Senate will not consent to their ratification.

These conventions are generally concerned with stating standards or defining offenses; they do not authorize interference by international organizations with our local jurisdiction over these matters.

A lesser included fault of section 2 of the proposed amendment is the elimination of the well-settled distinction between self-executing and non-self-executing treaties. The courts have heretofore admitted the possibility that a treaty may be self-executing in the sense that executive or administrative officers can give immediate effect to it as the law of the land without the need for an implementing statute.

This effect is permitted only when the language of the treaty seems clearly to have been intended if and when provisions sufficiently detailed to provide a basis for direct administration appear. The courts have consistently declined to recognize treaties as self-executing when there appears to be any doubt whatever that this was intended.

Yet under section 2 no treaty could take effect in this country without congressional legislation. This seems a needless curtailment of flexibility.

It is true that some countries permit no self-executing treaties, but no compelling reason for following their example appears.

One-third of the Senate can now reject a self-executing treaty and compel the President to renegotiate it in non-self-executing form. Since the tighter party controls in the House of Representatives make it generally more amendable to administration leadership than the Senate, it would very seldom happen that a majority of both Houses could not be obtained to put into force a treaty already approved by two-thirds of the Senate.

An additional legislative step which gives no additional protection seems inadvisable.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

The legal status of executive agreements, which can be made by the President without congressional concurrence, is still a matter of controversy. If there are limitations upon the use of executive agreements, or subjects upon which international agreement must be effected by treaty, these facts cannot be ascertained from the Constitution.

It has been suggested that executive agreements should not be used in lieu of treaties, but since the appropriate scope of treaties has also produced differences of opinion this would not be helpful.

During the early history of our Government executive agreements were used sparingly, but use of them has greatly increased.

But it has been too lightly assumed that the accelerated use of executive agreements and relatively decreasing rate of treaty-making has resulted from the deliberate choice of the President to avoid difficulty and delay in obtaining Senate consent to ratification of treaties.

Although it is true that the President can conclude executive agreements without consulting Congress, the facts do not bear out the assumption that he often does. Frequently such agreements are made to carry out a legislative authorization. In other cases they are used to provide implementing regulations to carry out a policy agreed upon by treaty.

Even when there is no advance authorization by the whole Congress or the Senate, there is nevertheless evidence of congressional approval by subsequent resolution or by voting of appropriations to implement the agreements.

It has recently been estimated that about 95 percent of all executive agreements obtain some congressional authorization or assent.

Nevertheless the advocates of amendment are justified in arguing that a problem remains even though the number of exclusively presidential agreements is small because some of these have committed the country to courses of major political action or to international relationships which are a source of difficulty and embarrassment for years. They refer, of course, primarily to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

Even if one should concede those agreements were unwise, he must still face another issue. These were agreements made in times of national emergency and war by the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to accomplish what were generally considered valid military objectives.

It is difficult to see, as President Eisenhower pointed out, how the President could be deprived of power to cope with a great national emergency in this way without seriously endangering national safety. Such a power in one man does, indeed, entail a great risk, but it is a risk inescapable in the face of national emergency.

As in the case of treaties the Supreme Court has held that executive agreements declarative of the foreign policy of the United States must be taken to supersede inconsistent state policy. However, it may be assumed that this would not be permitted if the agreement were an intrusion into local matters not required by considerations of foreign policy.

Some limitations upon the executive agreement power in normal usage are probably desirable, but not the sweeping and ill-considered limitations expressed in section 3 of the proposed amendment. It is no protection to be subjected to the unrestricted whim of Congress any more than to the whim of the President.

Depressed Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 15, 1954

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Depressed Areas," written by John Chamberlain and published in Barron's Weekly of January 11, 1954. The article deals with the great work being done by many communities in reestablishing industry, and the mistake the administration or Congress would make in diverting industry to areas of unemployment.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPRESSED AREAS—THERE NEED BE NONE IF MEN TAKE ACTION FOR THEMSELVES

(By John Chamberlain)

As Congress opens, a battle looms over the Office of Defense Mobilization's plan to use military orders and quickie writeoff certificates as a means of combating unemployment in surplus-labor areas. This confusion of military procurement and social welfare has already aroused the wrath of Senator MAYBANK, of South Carolina, and Senator KNOWLAND, of California. The reason is not far to seek: The major surplus-labor areas are to be found in the Appalachian coalfields (both hard and soft) and in the oldest of the old New England textile towns. What the Senators fear is that defense may be used as an excuse to shore up New England and the coal kingdom of John L. Lewis at the expense of the newer, faster-growing industrial regions of the South and the Far West.

Actually, the senatorial worries would seem to be somewhat misplaced: The ODM policy allots only 20 percent of military procurement to surplus-labor areas, and the 20 percent must at least match the lowest bids offered by more prosperous regions. Under these terms a price-differential favoritism to Lawrence, Mass., or Scranton, Pa., is hardly possible. But if the Senators are seeing things under beds in their opposition to something that promises to do little damage to South Carolina mills or California airframe plants, it does not follow that the ODM policy is good.

As a matter of fact, it is a bad policy for two reasons. The first reason is strategic: Surplus-labor regions are notoriously congested and hence vulnerable to A-bomb and H-bomb damage; and if the ODM is committed by social welfare to subsidizing the continued overcrowding of mill towns, it is working at cross purposes with its man-

date to decentralize American industry. The second reason for objecting to the policy is that social welfare, when applied on a catch-as-catch-can political basis by the Federal Government, is not really welfare at all. The promise of defense orders to communities which would not normally qualify for them under strict standards of procurement efficiency, may buy votes for politicians. But it buys nothing in terms of long-term benefit to the communities themselves. All it does is to underwrite an attitude of local temporizing and procrastination, and put off the day when communities will begin to help themselves.

If any proof of the pudding is wanted, it is to be found in the extremely instructive history of what surplus labor communities have done on their own to solve their problems. Invariably, when the Federal Government has intervened it has only messed things up. The case of Lawrence, Mass., is peculiarly pertinent. As one of the oldest of United States textile towns, Lawrence waited for years for Washington to do something about recreating the great days of the woolen goods industry. Then, when it finally dawned that the South was in the textile business to stay, the town got busy on its own with a greater Lawrence plan. Under the able ministrations of Robert H. Ryan, Lawrence attracted some 30 new firms to the Lawrence-Andover-Methuen area within the span of 18 months. The town has been jolted recently by the troubles of the American Woolen Co., but in making its bid with local development funds for plastics, box springs, metal saws, paper boxes, iron lungs, plywood, and a whole host of variegated products—and all of them close to metropolitan markets—it is on the right track that leads to prosperity.

Indeed, the local methods for lifting communities out of the surplus labor category are tried and true—and it is a surprise that higher ups in Washington seem never to have heard of them. The methods have served in Louisville, Ky.; in Scranton, Pa., home of the famous Scranton plan; in Pottsville, Pa.; in Herrin, Ill.; and in 40 or more New England communities that got caught in the twenties and thirties on the twin hooks of declining industries and the movement of population centers to the West and South.

Fundamental to most all the successful self-help stories is a device pioneered in Louisville, Ky.—the device that has become known as the industrial foundation. The chief gimmick of the industrial foundation is to raise funds to provide usable factory space for industries in search of an easy labor supply. These funds can be raised politically, but that is not the best way to do it. It is when they are pushed by local businessmen on a private capital subscription basis that industrial foundations have been really successful agents for diversifying the employment base of a given community.

Take, for example, the western Connecticut town of Danbury, which has what is probably the second oldest industrial foundation in the country. Danbury, a small community of 30,000 is placidly known to thousands of skiers and other vacationers who drive through its bottleneck streets on the way to the Berkshires and Vermont. It is also known as the hat capital, for it makes 75 percent of the rough-fur felt-hat bodies and 30 percent of the finished hats sold in the United States." But few people have ever heard of how Danbury solved its industrial dilemma for the simple reason that it did it so forehandedly and so unobtrusively that the story never made the metropolitan headlines.

In the early 1900's Danbury had its labor troubles: the famous boycott of Danbury hats is a standard item in the history of the American labor movement. But by 1918 the Danbury hatters' case was all in the past. In that year, however, a Danbury hat tycoon named Frank H. Lee had an uneasy premonition. Though the period when hatlessness was to become a fashion was still in the future (in 1951 Danbury sold 1.2 million dozen hats as compared to 1.8 million dozen in 1939), Mr. Lee didn't like his home-town's dependence on his own hat industry. He had noticed that young men whose aptitudes were for other things than hatmaking kept growing up and leaving the community, and he didn't like it. Talking it up among his hatmaking friends, he finally prevailed upon 40 other community leaders to help raise $150,000 to create the Danbury Industrial Corp., with the announced policy of building factories for lease or sale to nonhat industries.

Because of Mr. Lee's remarkable $64 hunch, Danbury put itself in a position successively to discount (a) the 1929 depression, and (b) the growing addiction of hatlessness that came with the closed-in automobile and the increasing casualness of the American male. Where once the hat business accounted for practically all the city's industrial payroll, it now accounts for less than 50 percent of it. Mr. Lee is dead, but his movement is continued today by two able citizens, J. Searle Pinney, an engineer who doubles as secretary of the Industrial Corp., and Herbert S. Everett, a bright young man who came to the Danbury Chamber of Commerce after 5 years' work on the industrial rehabilitation of Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands.

Largely owing to the Industrial Corp.'s work, Danbury has spread out into precision ball bearings (the Barden Co.), special skin-grafting surgical instruments (Bard-Parker), electronic devices for testing rails (Sperry Products), steam generators (Preferred Utility Co.), sutures (Davis & Geck), electronic parts (Industrial Products Co.), rubber floor coverings (Danbury Rubber), threaded inserts (Helicoil), air conditioning (W. B. Connor Engineering), helicopters (Doman), and bicycle saddles (H. & P. Mesinger Manufacturing Co.). The interesting thing about the Danbury pattern is that, save for its hats (Mallory, F. H. Lee Co., Disney, etc.), there is practically no duplication in its list of industries. This has been a matter of conscious forethought on the part of the Industrial Corp., which has sought to provide Danbury with the best possible insurance against the incidence of cyclic disturbance. An added advantage of the Danbury situation from the manufacturer's point of view is that there is little local opportunity for labor pirating—different industries train and keep their own men.

The important thing to note about the Danbury pioneering experiment is that it grew out of business foresight and was conducted strictly in accordance with free enterprise principles. The Industrial Corp. has been run on privately subscribed funds, has paid frequent dividends, and has never depended on the local city hall. It has built factories, sold them to private industry, and used the sales money to build other factories. As Mr. Everett airily puts it: "If you have a building ready, you can compete. All you need is an answer to the question, 'have you 30,000 feet?'"

The Danbury venture in foresight paid off over a far wider area when the great depression of the thirties bore down on the antiquated towns, mainly textile, in northern and eastern New England. There the fullest use of the privately-financed industrial foundation has been made. Currently, there are forty-odd community-development corporations in business throughout New England, with at least half of them centered in New Hampshire. Laconia, N. H., used an Industrial Development Corp., formed by a pertinacious department-store owner named Arthur O'Shea, to make a successful leap from declining trolley-car manufacture to skis, general woodworking, alarm clocks, and dyeing. Manchester, a bigger New Hampshire community that was once committed wholly to the fortunes of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Co. (biggest textile plant in the world), got off its 1-company, 1-industry hook when a public-spirited hardware dealer, Arthur Moreau, sparked the creation of Amoskeag Industries to buy the mile-long procession of mills along the Merrimack River for lease or sale to small companies. When Royal Little's Textron, Inc., decided to quit Nashua, N. H., for the South, where wage differentials made textile manufacturing more profitable, a locally organized Nashua foundation saved still another Merrimack Valley community from becoming a ghost town. In all, New Hampshire has created some 20 local development corporations, most of which have paid cash dividends out of operations that began as public-spirited salvaging campaigns.

The New Hampshire story has been paralleled to some extent in Maine and Massachusetts. And recently the idea has taken on larger ramifications. The operations of the Tri-County Development Corp. in eastern Connecticut has pulled still another old textile region out of the red. Maine has pioneered a statewide Maine Development Credit Corp., based on privately subscribed capital. And currently, both Massachusetts and Connecticut are establishing statewide credit corporations on the Maine pattern. The idea behind the statewide corporation is to create a new-style buffer financial unit with both the legal authority and basic stock-subscribed resources to enable it to tap insurance company and savings bank funds for the benefit of small business.

From the record made by the industrial foundations certain generalizations stand out. In the first place, they have succeeded because their creators have rigorously refused to cry over spilled milk. They have taken the phenomenon of declining industries as a fact, and have not tried to rehabilitate their towns by futile attempts to restore the dead past. Just as Vermont saved itself by getting out of cheese and turning to ski slopes when the Wisconsin dairy country proved a more efficient generator of cheeses, so many an industrial foundation town has saved itself by radical changes in its industrial base.

The second thing to note about the successful industrial foundation is that, while it may be born in a burst of idealism, it grows by making its appeal to shrewdness. Mr. O'Shea, of Laconia, for example, may have been an utterly selfless person, but if he had not concerned himself with replacing Laconia's moribund trolley car manufacturing business with ski and woodworking and dyeing enterprises he would soon have been without any customers for his department store. Moreover, when all the noble speeches about community idealism have been made, it can be seen by any discerning investigator that the industrial foundation is actually nothing more than a canny dollars-and-cents extension of the real-estate business into the field of factory location. Regardless of original motives, an industrial foundation attracts new industries to a town because it has real site and labor advantages to offer. And, since advantages are worth paying for, industrial foundations have been able to operate in most cases according to the principles of the free market.

From the profit-making experience of the industrial foundations shrewd New Englanders have taken a tip and gone into the business of planned industrial location purely and solely for the money that is in it. A Boston firm, Cabot, Cabot & Forbes, has built new planned industrial parks for Cambridge, Newton, and Needham. Another Boston company has done the same for Natick.

Other groups—the Hingham Management Corp. and the Harborside Industrial Park group of Providence—have taken over wartime shipyards to lease as manufacturing space to private industry. Thus the idea of the industrial center is passing into the hands of professionals who make it a business of selling a package that includes industrial diversification, centralized utility services, and esthetically pleasing surroundings to conform to local zoning requirements.

The overall moral of the story is one that Washington should note. ODM's concern for the few surplus labor areas that are still mainly to be found in old textile and coal areas is wholly misplaced. In stressing salvation by defense orders, ODM can only act as a cowbird, distracting people from the real principles by which communities can wipe out even the most persistent pools of unemployment. Between Lowell, Mass., a town that has been certified by the ODM as surplus labor, and Nashua, N. H., which is just up the valley of the Merrimack River, there is actually no native physical, or historical difference. A Lowell can do what a Nashua has done. If the ODM policy halts the process of long-term local rehabilitation by reviving expectations that Washington will do it, it will only be postponing local decisions that must some day be made.

Burden of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Burden of Congress," which Mr. Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, wrote for the January 3 issue.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BURDEN OF CONGRESS

The sound of gavels will echo through the Halls of Congress Wednesday, summoning Senators and Representatives to take up a heavy burden of decisions on the Nation's business.

For all Members of Congress there will be unavoidable situation in which they must make a record for or against or "Let's put it off." They have already used up a large part of their supply of "Let's put it off" votes in last spring's session and are more apt to find it necessary to stand and be counted in this second session.

Theirs will be the responsibility for performing the first Republican farm program in more than two decades. The iron hoops bound by the Democratic majorities of old Congresses around the Federal farm policies will be broken when the calendar reaches December 31, 1954. High and rigid price supports from the Federal Treasury for products of the farm have many defenders among farmers, at least among organizations speaking for farmers and among farmers who have voted on specific crops for next season. But opposition has been heard from some farm voices and from many voices of the consumers of the farm products because of the encouragement rigid supports give to planting of more than can be sold at artificial price levels, and because of the taxes collected to build mountains of aging butter.

This year taxes, budget and Federal debt are snarled in a tangle of hard knots. With all the bright hopes for starting the debt on the downward track, the high point is still ahead and an embarrassing tilting of the debt limit is probable.

Some taxes are down, notably levies on personal income and excess profits, and some others are just as obviously going to have to be increased.

A budget for the year of governmental operation beginning July 1 will have to be made, although it may be as painful a procedure as it was less than a year ago.

In the same basket with these financial riddles is the Post Office and its political inclination toward stamps priced lower than the cost of mail service. It seems that this administration of businessmen would be touchy about a big business operation which uses buckets of red ink, but we read that administration men in Congress prefer the balance sheet in red to self-supporting postage stamps.

A far larger problem for the financial planners is defense of the Nation. The military, naval, and air forces have been using roughly three-fourths of the annual spending by the Central Government. A trend toward emphasis on the air and decreased emphasis on manpower has appeared in recent weeks. Silent guns in Korea are less expensive than they were during the struggle for possession of the peninsula. But defense remains, and will remain for years, the center of the budget, tax, and national debt situation.

Intertwined with debate on the nature and size of our defense will be the subject of foreign aid—helping our friends to keep their defenses strong. This is a declining portion of governmental operations, although mistakes now could cost us the fruit of years of expensive planting.

Somewhat related is the foreign trade policy, especially the matter of tariffs and import quotas. Reducing the restrictions on commerce flowing into our country probably has more advocates among businessmen than ever before, yet the protective tariff theory of older generations holds enough appeal among Members of Congress to force a 1-year delay in forming new policy. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act ran out last June. Pressure for ending this policy was strong enough for Congress to neither expand the idea nor renew it, but merely accept extension for 1 year. It now appears likely that another year of extension will result from this year's contest between free traders and protectionists.

As Senators and Representatives choose the pro, con, or straddle positions on such issues the whole world will be watching. A smaller, domestic audience will be on hand for the decisions on other issues, such as social security and the Taft-Hartley Act.

Social security is now more than 15 years old and probably due for a general overhaul, in the light of experience. There is general approval for expanding the protections of this new part of the task of government, but disagreement rages between those who consider large reserves necessary and those who consider pay-as-you-go better. Voters who have vague leanings one way of the other on tariffs or foreign aid are apt to have intense convictions on social security, especially if the stand their Congressmen take is going to alter the figure on green cardboard check in the voter's mailbox.

Taft-Hartley Act revision is another subject of intense feeling. This law has been near the center of the political stage through years of political campaigning and still gets so much of the spotlight that it has caused the only Cabinet resignation in the first year of the new administration.

This session of Congress probably will also have the question of how much to raise the minimum wage paid by businesses in interstate commerce, now 75 cents an hour, which is $30 a week.

These are some of the biggest items on the agenda of the approaching session of Congress. They are, in a way, the standard subjects of modern sessions of Congress.

But before the Congress can get to them there are apt to be votes on some less familiar portions of national policy. President Eisenhower's proposal for a United Nations pool of atomic resources for peaceful uses probably will need affirmative support from Capitol Hill.

The smoldering issue of the Bricker amendment to the Constitution for putting a fence around the authority of treaties may flare. Likewise, the St. Lawrence seaway issue of many years' standing, and the old question of whether Hawaii or Alaska, or both, are to become States, could demand early attention.

When Congress gets to the part of the budget making that determines whether the Tennessee Valley Authority builds additional steam plants, there will be special interest in this region. But regional interest in Congress will also be high when the President sends to the Senate his nomination for head of the TVA Board, since the term of Gordon Clapp expires in May.

Without regard to what Congressmen choose to discuss, the mere turning of the leaves on the calendar will bring to them more than a dozen questions, like expiration of the reciprocal trade agreements extension on June 12. Pay and allowances for missing servicemen run out February 1. Veterans' preference in public housing ends March 1. The President loses his power to use agricultural products for relief of foreign famines and other emergencies on March 15.

The present taxes on corporation capital gains and on corporation income, the present excise (Federal sales) taxes, all come to the end of their lives April 1. The remaining rent controls die April 30.

Emergency powers of the Federal Civil Defense Administration expire with the fiscal year, June 30, and so does the mutual-security program.

The next day the Federal Reserve Board authority to buy certain Treasury securities on the open market comes to an end, as does the Federal National Mortgage Association power to make commitments for financing certain housing.

Free-trade relations with the Republic of the Philippines expire July 3. Direct payments to farmers for soil conservation end December 31.

This is only part of the list of dates for expiration of old laws and a partial lineup of the struggles ahead for continuation of some of the powers granted by previous Congresses.

And, in case there should come a lull in the pressure for Congress to act, there are more than 9,000 bills introduced in the first session and carried over to the second. Most of them will die in the committee pigeonhole in which they are already buried, but life remains in some of them.

It is unfortunate that the first session delayed so much for second session decision. Republican personalities, gleeful during the first session because of having won the White House after two decades of adversity, are now more conscious of what a slippery hold they have on power in Congress.

Fortunately there has been an increase in strength of legislative leadership by President Eisenhower, the ebb tide in taxes has definitely set in, and the cold war seems to be cooling.

But at its best, this is going to be a hard session for Senators and Representatives. For them the biggest date of the congressional year will be November 2. From their uneasy seats, within sound of the gavel, many a Member of both Houses is going to see reelection as the main question—the most pointed issue of all.

Why a Congressman Quits, by the Honorable William C. Lantaff, of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, "The extent to which Congress can avoid war and promote the welfare of our people is the measure of its worth"—I overheard that remark here in Washington the other night, as I did this—"With war scheduled to break out in Europe, on the basis of history, in 1961–62, and with revolution a possibility in the next crash, foreign or domestic, what do you think we should pay Members of Congress not only to keep enemies from setting foot on our shores, destroying our treasure, killing us, bleeding us, with all the screams and sorrow wars bring—but to keep jobs open and the people thriving?" Thus, Mr. Speaker, two people not in Congress discussed congressional pay as they saw it.

Under leave to extend my remarks, cited below is an article on congressional pay, which my father sent me the other day from Dunedin, Fla. It appeared in the January 10, 1954, issue of the Tampa Sunday Tribune and concerns, regretfully, the announced withdrawal from Congress of our good friend, the Honorable WILLIAM C. LANTAFF, of Miami. His reasons for not seeking reelection are reasons people not in Congress are likely, not intentionally, however, to overlook. Self-interest generally prevails, does it not, in most such above observations?

WHY A CONGRESSMAN QUITS: SHORT TERM AND LOW PAY

Representative WILLIAM C. LANTAFF, of Miami, serving his second term in Congress, has been regarded as one of Florida's rising political stars. But a few days ago LANTAFF announced that he will not seek reelection and will return to the practice of law.

He is the third Florida Congressman since 1950 to quit Washington voluntarily. First, the veteran J. Hardin Peterson went back to his Lakeland law office. Then the man elected to succeed him, the late Chester B. McMullen, of Clearwater, stepped out after only one term.

Why is a Congressman's job seemingly losing its appeal? Low pay? The frustrations of living in two places? Too much campaigning?

The Tribune asked Congressman LANTAFF a few questions on the subject and he supplied some frank answers. The interview follows:

Question. From your experience can a Congressman maintain a suitable standard of living in Washington and keep up a home in Florida on his present salary of $15,000 a year?

Answer: The answer to this question is dependent upon many factors. It is feasible that a bachelor Congressman could maintain a suitable standard of living on the present salary. It is entirely possible that a congressional family of just two might do as well. The difficulty of making ends meet, so to speak, is experienced by Congressmen who have minor children.

A Congressman from a State with as moderate climate as Florida finds himself faced with outfitting his entire family with a complete winter wardrobe, a comparatively minor item to us in Florida. A Congressman from a State which has weather comparable to that of Washington does not have this added clothing expense at the immediate outset of taking office nor will he store this clothing in mothballs as will the Florida Congressman when he leaves Washington to return home to live. This expense, of course, affects all people and probably is one of the main reasons for Florida's continued growth.

In my particular case, since I have three minor children, it was indeed difficult to meet the financial requirements of keeping my family in winter clothing; maintaining a home in Washington and in Florida; traveling between Washington and south Florida on the many occasions the job demands; and caring for constituents from my district without embarrassment, on the present salary of the Members of the House of Representatives.

Question. What do you think would be an adequate salary in these times?

Answer. Cabinet posts receive an annual salary of $25,000 and the highest civil-service salary is received for grade 18, which is $14,800, for such positions as assistants to Cabinet officers. Both of these have larger appropriations for operating their offices than does the Congressman and advantages to compensate for other expenses.

The extremely high cost of living in Washington and the other expenses of a Congressman warrants, at least, an annual salary of $20,000.

Question. Do you believe low pay has become a serious obstacle in getting and keeping good men in Congress?

Answer. I believe it has had a definite influence on maintaining able and qualified Members in Congress. Many individuals have decided against serving in Congress because they know the financial hardships they will experience, and they compare the Congressional income to the income they receive in civilian life. There are those who believe they can make a go of it and they actually attempt to do so, but they discover in the long run the financial sacrifices great enough to cause them to retire.

Question. Apart from poor financial return, what do you consider the principal hardship of a Congressman's job?

Answer. The frustrating experience of trying to accomplish three jobs at once becomes almost beyond personal endurance at times.

A conscientious Member of the House has to try to divide his time between correspondence and assisting individuals with personal problems, on committee work, and on legislative matters, while actually he could spend all of his time on any of the three.

Another thing to be considered is that each Member of the House of Representatives receives the same allocation of funds for his staff, stamp, telephone, and telegraph expenses regardless of the size of his district. My district, of Dade and Monroe Counties, has a population of over 600,000 and is one of the 35 largest districts in the United States. While the present allowance might be sufficient for a district having 200,000 to 300,000 people, it is inadequate to properly serve a district as large as the Fourth District of Florida.

In the Senate there is a basic allowance for all Senators and then an additional allowance for each additional certain number of citizens in a State. This system should be applied to the House of Representatives so that Members of large districts are not compelled to dig down in their pockets and make further financial sacrifices in order to serve their constituents properly.

I have mentioned the frustrating experience of trying to maintain homes in both Washington and Miami. You might add to this that a Congressman with minor children finds the longer he remains in Washington the less acquaintances his children have in their home town. I do not believe it is fair to further deny my children their friends and roots in their home town.

Question. Do you think House Members should be elected for longer terms?

Answer. Definitely, yes. The term of a Congressman should be at least 4 years.

Under the present 2-year term, a Congressman has 1 full year to devote to serving in Congress, but in his second year, if he draws opposition, he must neglect a certain amount of his congressional duties in order to return to his district to campaign. Many an able Congressman has placed duty to country and district above campaign for reelection and, by the strange quirk of the voter, finds himself on the outside looking in after the election.

Look at it this way. We are presently faced with a world crisis that demands America's leadership. The actions of this Congress will contribute much to history. Congress convened for its second session on January 6. The Members of the House need as much time as possible this year to carefully consider the problems facing the United States and the world without having to think of other things such as elections. Yet, this is an election year, so that many Congressmen will find themselves constantly on the road between their districts and Washington, as they try to do their job to the best of their ability, and attempt to stay in Congress to do this job.

Albert Einstein College of Medicine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on October 25, 1953, it was my happy privilege to attend the ground-breaking ceremonies of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University in New York City. This will be the first new medical college opened in the United States in more than 25 years. It represents a great joint venture in municipal planning with the medical school being constructed as an integral part of a medical center.

Dr. Marcus D. Kogel, who served as a brilliant commissioner of hospitals for the city of New York, has relinquished that important post to become dean of the medical college.

On the occasion I refer to, Dr. Kogel delivered the following address:

I am very happy and very proud to play a part in this significant celebration today—symbolizing as it does, the end of the dreaming stage and the beginning of the building stage of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University.

Today marks the great milestone on the road to fulfillment. This afternoon the ground was broken for the first unit of the medical center.

From this hour on—on this magnificent site you will see the courage, faith, and the dreams of the university president, Dr. Belkin, and by the university trustees and their devoted supporters, translated first into a college of medicine, and ultimately into a great medical center.

We are now working on a timetable. The first class begins in September 1955. By an understanding with the medical colleges of the rest of the country, formal applications

for this class will be received beginning September 1954.

The slightest interference with the construction schedule which was placed into the motion this afternoon, and will require 20 months to complete, will make it impossible to complete the project in time. We must, therefore, permit nothing to stand in the way and move forward with iron determination toward the successful accomplishment of our goal.

A new college of medicine has a unique opportunity to benefit from the experience of the past and from the practice of the present, both in its curriculum and the physical structure which houses its laboratories and its classrooms.

The planners of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine have incorporated all that is good and all that has proven to be worthwhile in this new construction so that the physician of tomorrow will have the ideal environment in which to build the foundations for a career in medicine.

We are indebted particularly to three people for planning the structural organization of the school in conformity with the philosophy and objectives laid down by Dr. Belkin, by the university board of trustees and by the distinguished advisory councils.

I have reference to the brilliant neuropathologist, Dr. Harry M. Zimmerman, to the celebrated biochemist and medical educator, Dr. Abraham White, and to the very able architect, Mr. Joseph Blumenkranz who with Dr. White and Dr. Zimmerman made up the initial panel of the planning board.

There are two other architects of this project sitting on this platform. These are our mayor, Hon. Vincent R. Impelliteri, and the borough president of the Bronx, Hon. James J. Lyons.

They played major roles in the development of this splendid hospital center you see here before you, which will complement and supplement the college of medicine. Their enthusiasm for the college, shared by the entire membership of the board of estimate, the leadership of your mayor in pressing this major hospital project to completion and insisting on its affiliation with the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in order to insure the best quality of care for the sick of this city—constitute acts of high statesmanship and demonstrate on the part of our city fathers, a genuine concern for the welfare of our citizens.

The $40 million hospital center, which is New York City's magnificent contribution toward this great medical center of Yeshiva University, is almost ready and it will begin to accept patients on the 1st of July 1954.

Dr. Emanuel Lifshutz, the medical superintendent of the hospital center, is already at work with a small cadre of personnel, setting up the equipment and getting the hospital ready for the sick.

As you know, the faculty of the college will provide the professional care of patients and service the laboratories, so that even before the college of medicine admits its first student the faculty of medicine of Yeshiva University will be hard at work taking care of the sick and arranging for the reception of the first class of medical students.

Finally, I want to tell you how very proud I am to have been entrusted with the responsibility of heading the faculty of medicine of Yeshiva University; and yet, with what deep humility I enter upon my duties. There are limitless possibilities here for outstanding accomplishments.

I pray that I have the wisdom to measure up to my opportunities. However, I feel confident that with the help of God, with the guidance of the wise president of Yeshiva University, with the solid support of the university trustees, with the enthusiasm and generosity of the citizens of our great metropolis and of the country over—we will build here first one college, then others, dedicated to research, to creative teaching, and to the development of preventive and healing techniques for men and for the society of which it is a part.

Retirement of Judge Charles C. Lockwood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, as of January 1 of this year, my friend, Judge Charles C. Lockwood, official referee of the Brooklyn supreme court, has retired from the bench on which he had served for the past 22 years. He was originally elected to the supreme court in 1931 and was reelected in 1945. When he reached the statutory retirement age of 70, 6 years ago, he was named an official referee, and served 3 successive 2-year terms in the latter capacity.

Those of us who know Judge Lockwood intimately are not surprised to learn that he has no intention of retiring completely from all active work. He will be associated hereafter with the law firm of Guggenheimer & Untermeyer in private legal practice. Furthermore, I see where Governor Dewey, of New York, has named Judge Lockwood as a member of a special 12-man committee to formulate a code of ethics for public officials and political party functionaries. He is unquestionably the perfect man for such task.

Judge Lockwood is a native of Brooklyn, where he was born 76 years ago. He was a member of the New York State assembly in 1914, and served in the State senate from 1915 to 1922. Although a lifelong Republican, Lockwood was appointed by the late Governor Alfred E. Smith as a member of the State transit commission and was subsequently reappointed to that post by another Democratic governor, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. He held this post until 1931, when he was elected to the New York supreme court.

Prior to his election to the bench, Judge Lockwood served at various times as chairman of the Kings County Republican General Committee, and was Republican candidate for city controller and for Lieutenant Governor of New York. During his 22-year tenure on the supreme court he specialized in transit matters, condemnation proceedings, and pretrial settlement of cases. He is president of the board of trustees of Brooklyn Law School, a trustee of Brooklyn Hospital, Brooklyn Law Library, and of many charitable institutions in our borough.

On the occasion of his retirement from the bench, I extend to Judge Lockwood my sincerest wishes for a long and active life and for many fruitful years of constructive service to our community and to the people of New York. Men of his caliber and reputation are a source of great inspiration to all of us.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 15, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD four newspaper articles on the subject of the St. Lawrence seaway, published in the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, the Washington Evening Star, the Cleveland Press, and the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sacramento Bee of January 13, 1954]

SECURITY PLEA MAY BOOST ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

In 1932 President Herbert C. Hoover signed with the Canadian Government a treaty providing for the joint completion by the two countries of the St. Lawrence River Waterway project.

President Hoover characterized the project as "the greatest internal improvement yet undertaken on the North American Continent."

The proposal subsequently was given the repeated support of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. But it has been stymied for more than 20 years in Congress by the powerful opposition of railroad and east-coast shipping interests.

Now President Dwight D. Eisenhower has taken up the cudgels in its behalf. In his state of the Union message he said:

"Both nations now need the St. Lawrence seaway for security as well as economic reasons."

Why security?

Security is intimately allied with the extensive development of huge deposits of iron discovered in recent years in Quebec and in Labrador. It is from this region that the big American steel makers expect to get the easily mined high-grade ore to replace the rapidly dwindling stocks in the Lake Superior region which heretofore has supplied 85 percent of the American steel industry's iron needs.

Completion of the St. Lawrence seaway would provide the United States with a safe and economical means of access to this vast deposit of Canadian ore.

By 1960, the National Resources Board has estimated, 80 million tons of this ore must be had to supply American needs.

This situation apparently is the fulcrum President Eisenhower plans to use to the utmost in obtaining at long last a congressional go-ahead signal on the project.

Actually, the project involves only 115 miles of the 2,350 miles of the St. Lawrence from Duluth to the ocean. This lies between Ogdensburg, N. Y., and Montreal.

The American part on the construction of the necessary locks would be limited to the 46-mile river stretch from Ogdensburg to the point where the river ceases to be the international boundary line. This is commonly referred to as the International Rapids.

It will be a red feather in his hat if President Eisenhower succeeds in getting action where his three predecessors were unable to do so.

[From the Washington Evening Star]

PERHAPS THE LAST CHANCE

The St. Lawrence seaway project has been listed as one of the first subjects for con-

sideration in the Senate. President Eisenhower has urged, for economic and security reasons, that our participation with Canada should be authorized.

It would be naive to believe that this degree of priority necessarily implies a speedy or amicable disposition of an issue that has been pending in one form or another before every Congress and administration since the time of President Coolidge. Strong support for the development plan has been countered by equally strong and resourceful opposition. It is pertinent to point out, however, that the Canadian Government served notice last year that it is prepared to go on with the project alone if the United States does not decide soon whether to participate.

The State of New York is making plans, and has received Federal approval, to join with Canada in certain of the power development features. Construction of the seaway and the question of who is to control it remain as issues for further determination. Congress may be facing its final opportunity to fix the role, if any, of this Government. It should consider the matter in the light of the national interest, rather than that of sectional or private considerations.

[From the Cleveland Press of January 14, 1954]

LAST-DITCH STUPIDITY

Wouldn't it be silly if the United States suddenly surrendered control of the Panama Canal to some other country?

Of course.

But not much sillier than the curious arguments that the United States should leave the building—and the control—of the St. Lawrence seaway exclusively to Canada.

The seaway is now being debated in the Senate. The opposition, as usual, is intense.

Opposition comes from the railroads, from eastern ocean ports, and from the coal industry.

Their selfish interest is obvious.

Eastern ports don't want to lose shipping to lake ports like Cleveland.

Railroads don't want any freight they now haul into the Midwest moving in by water.

The coal industry doesn't like the idea of producing power with water, an important byproduct of the seaway.

But since the seaway will be built by Canada whether the United States comes in or not, what do the opponents really hope to gain now?

If they succeed in keeping the United States out, it only means:

The United States will have no control over what ships come into the Great Lakes.

The United States will have no control over the amount of tolls American ships pay.

The United States will have no voice in the military defense of the seaway, although it will be an important thoroughfare for ore moving to midwestern steel mills.

Seaway opponents have already lost their selfish fight to block construction.

Isn't it time they accepted the inevitable and withdrew their opposition to giving the United States the voice it must have in seaway management?

[From the Washington Post of January 10, 1954]

IT'S SEAWAY TIME

With President Eisenhower giving positive indorsement to the St. Lawrence seaway and with the Wiley bill scheduled as the unfinished business before the Senate, this project appears to have the best chance in its long history for congressional approval. The railroad, coal, and Atlantic seaboard interests opposing the seaway bill reportedly now concede that it will pass the Senate. Senator MILLIKIN, of Colorado, who voted 2 years ago to recommit a seaway bill, is now said to favor the present measure. As chairman of the Republican Conference in the Senate, he is expected to swing several votes to the project. And if the Senate acts promptly, the chance of pushing the measure through the House should be good.

There is no mystery behind the changing attitude of some legislators toward the seaway. In the first place the Wiley bill differs sharply from previous measures linking construction of the seaway with a gigantic Federal power project. Under the present arrangement, power development on the St. Lawrence, so far as the United States is concerned, would be left to New York State. Congress would commit itself only to construction of the seaway in the International Rapids of the St. Lawrence, as a self-liquidating project, with the understanding that Canada would build the other sections.

Probably more important is the certainty that Canada will build the seaway alone if the United States does not promptly assume a share in the project. This would mean, of course, Canadian control of the seaway, although American shipping will make the greater use of it and pay most of the tolls. Legislators are thus coming to see that it would be tragically shortsighted for the United States to relinquish its interest in this great waterway, particularly at a time when American steel companies are planning to draw increasingly upon Labrador iron ore that will move through the proposed seaway. The President and the National Security Council regard the seaway, moreover, as an asset to the defense of the North American continent that should be under joint United States-Canadian control.

Still another reason for the strength gathering behind the bill is that now is a propitious time for construction of the seaway. When the project was recommended during World War II, this newspaper opposed it on the ground that materials and labor could not then be diverted into a long-range undertaking that might have no bearing on winning the war. Even during the Korean war and the initial stages of our defense buildup, strong arguments against launching the seaway project could be made. Now the time is propitious. The downturn in economic activity makes it especially desirable to undertake public works that will ultimately pay for themselves, strengthen our economy and become great national assets.

In these circumstances the clear duty of Congress is to pass the seaway bill.

International Harmony

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, thoughtful men have long ago understood the true meaning of brotherhood for all human beings and, consequently, since the dawn of civilization men have preached the unity of the human race. Many centuries ago the erudite scholars of the Jewish Talmud asked:

Why were all men made to descend from the same human couple?

And they replied in these words:

In order that different tribes and races should not take it into their heads that they are better than the rest of humanity.

I was reminded of this thought recently when I read a most interesting article in the December 1953 issue of Reader's Digest entitled "A Rare Bit of Singing and Dancing." The article deals with the story of the international music festival at the little Welsh town of Llangollen, celebrated for a period of 5 days each year in the month of July, with an attendance reaching over 100,000 persons coming from many parts of the world. Last summer no less than 130 choirs and 30 dance groups from 22 countries, including the United States, participated in this event.

Mr. Speaker, I can think of no better way to create a great bond of friendship among the peoples of many nations than through such events as the festival at Llangollen. As I read the account of that festival, I kept thinking: Is it not high time for a certain leader of the world to realize that people everywhere love life and want to live it in their own way? Is it not time for this certain leader who claims to be peace-loving, to understand that guns and bombs—even the A-bomb and the H-bomb—cannot destroy the intense desire of people to live?

What can be a more ideal setting for true brotherliness and peaceful harmony than the festival at Llangollen? Perhaps, if peace-loving Georgi Malenkov of the Soviet Union could visit Llangollen and observe the festive spirit of the people representing the various nations, he would begin to understand the real meaning of brotherly relationship and appreciate the aspirations of people all over the world for true peace. It might even be a good idea for the people of Llangollen to extend an invitation to Mr. Malenkov, all expenses paid, to attend their festival and to observe everything at firsthand.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert into the RECORD the article referred to above in the hope it will strike a resounding chord in the human symphony for world peace:

A RARE BIT OF SINGING AND DANCING

(By George Kent)

For 11 months of the year the little Welsh town of Llangollen is as gray and sleepy as a cocoon. Then in July out comes the butterfly—and for 5 days there is wild dancing in the streets and top-of-the-lungs singing by men and women dressed to the last silver button in their native costumes.

These are the days of the Olympic games of music, the annual international Eisteddfod (pronounced es-teth-vod), when singers and dancers from Europe and America take over the town. Austrians yodel; Spaniards beat out rhythms with their heels; Irishment fife; Dutch, Norwegians, and Americans put their heads together in close harmony. And Welshmen, never loath to sing, roll out their hymnlike tunes in the competition of nation against nation.

This year more than 2,000 men, women, and children, representing 22 countries, competed in a great arena. There were 130 choirs, 30 dance groups, close to 100 soloists. Not one of them was a professional. The cash prizes they sought to win were trivial. The contestants took away with them something far more precious—a warm feeling of fellowship with the peoples of other nations.

You could not fail to see it if you watched them say goodbye to one another on the last day. Ukrainians, refugee millworkers living in England, tore ribbons from their costumes and wound them about the necks of Dutch and Breton friends. Spaniards gave away

their castanets. I saw a woman dancer put her exquisite tortoise-shell comb into the hair of the gaunt old woman who had been her hostess. Then the train came in and everybody was kissing everybody else and saying things in his own language. The words few understood, but the sentiment was the language of simple affection.

Llangollen is a lovely place in the Berwyn Hills, about 200 miles northwest of London. It has an old ruined castle, a wooded canal, and the frisky River Dee, from which fishermen take salmon within view of the main street. It is the home of the Yale family; Elihu Yale, who founded Yale University, is buried 14 miles away.

The International Eisteddfod is entirely Llangollen's party. More than 300 men and women give all or part of their time every day of the year; and except for permanent office help no one is paid a penny.

The housing of visitors is handled by a committee of housewives, schoolteachers, store clerks. With an attendance often exceeding 130,000, schools, churches, and union halls are converted into dormitories, and every spare bed within 20 miles is commandeered. Throughout the year there are thousands of letters to type, pamphlets and pieces of music to tuck into envelopes—and thousands of telephone calls to answer. Anybody with an afternoon or evening to spare reports at the offices for work.

Men and women pot the loveliest flowers from their gardens and bring them to the huge eisteddfod tent on the town's only level 5-acre tract, there to form a solid bank of living color in front of the big stage. When the foreign teams arrive, townspeople are at the station in London or at the docks in Liverpool to escort them to Llangollen.

Shopkeepers and hotel owners naturally make money out of the event: Deposits of some $75,000 above average have been recorded in the town's two banks. But for the great majority money is not the incentive. Scorces of homeowners, for example, refuse payment from their foreign guests. The show appeals to the idealism of the Welsh character and is done for the sake of international good will.

This affair at Llangollen, now 7 years old, is an offshoot of the Royal National Eisteddfod, a purely Welsh institution going back perhaps 800 years. "Eistedd" in Welsh means to sit; "fod" is a place. Together they make a word for a meeting of people to listen to poetry, singing, and the playing of musical instruments. Hundreds of eisteddfods take place in Wales every year. Abroad, wherever Welshmen live there are others. There was a huge eisteddfod at the Chicago World's Fair at the turn of the century and this year Utica, N. Y., celebrated its 97th.

The International was the brain child of a 40-year-old Welsh newspaperman, Harold Tudor. The idea came to him, he told me, during the war. One day when bombs were falling and ack-ack guns chattering he heard a farm boy singing, undisturbed by the noise and danger.

The song outlasted the bombardment and it seemed to Tudor that here, symbolically, was an answer to the problems of the world. Music, the one language all peoples understood, might make a chorus that would silence the guns for all time.

After the war Tudor enlisted the interest of Gwynn Williams, a composer and publisher of music, and together they talked to George Northing, mayor of Llangollen. He called a meeting; Llangollen then and there decided to launch the International.

A little figuring showed that such a gathering would cost the town about $40,000, an enormous sum for Llangollen with a population of 3,000. The committee passed the hat. A garage owner tossed in $150; a housewife gave a dollar, a schoolboy a penny. Finally there was a fund of $5,000. Hardly enough, but the credit of Llangollen was good. Tudor and his associates sent out invitations.

For a discouragingly long time no foreign group responded. Then the first entry—from Kalmar, Sweden. Others came in a rush—from Belfast in Northern Ireland, Oporto in Portugal, from Florence and Milan in Italy, from Winschoten in Holland. There were 14 altogether.

The committee put out an urgent call for chairs—enough to accommodate 8,000 persons. In response came upholstered chairs out of parlors, sturdy oak ones out of kitchents, settees, milking stools. Pews were borrowed from churches, benches from the schools.

The first year was an enormous success, spiritually and financially. The eisteddfod netted $6,000 from the sale of tickets, and it has continued to return a profit. Last year's show, for example, cost $165,000, but cleared $18,000. The profit goes into a fund for improving the festival and into a sinking fund to erect a permanent structure as a gathering place.

Competition in the singing follows rigid rules. All groups sing three songs: one in Latin, one a set piece assigned by the eisteddfod and a third of their own choosing. Listening to one-hundred-odd choirs sing the same piece of music may sound monotonous, but it is astonishing how different it sounds when rendered by a group of London policemen and by Austrian store clerks.

Evenings are pure entertainment: soloists and choirs sing, various groups dance, and always there is either a fine symphony orchestra or a ballet company from London.

The great attraction at Llangollen, however, is the spirit displayed. On both sides of the footlights, these are simple people. This year, for example, the Dutch singers were all factory workers, the French dancers vineyard hands, the women's choir from Bergen, Norway, office employees or housewives.

Fred Tomlinson, conductor of the Rossendale (England) winning choir, was asked if he were a professional musician. "Good heavens, no," he replied. "I'm foreman in a slipper factory."

All got to Llangollen the hard way. The Dutch made expenses by collecting and selling wastepaper. A choir from Lyons, France, made the trip with money from benefit concerts. One from Plymouth, England, sold rhubarb and gave bridge parties and rummage sales.

Of all this the audience is aware and intensely appreciative. Once listeners were casually informed by the chairman that Luigi Castolozzi, conductor of the Milan group, had sold his piano in order to defray expenses. The audience began to whisper and after a while there was $450—to help pay the cost of a new piano.

In villages near Llangollen, where many of the contestants are quartered, the choirs sing again after the big tent has gone dark. They sing in churches and on river banks. In Cefn Mawr the Spanish singers of Almadén and a choir of local factory workers sang to each other until 4 o'clock in the morning. In Glyn Ceiriog the Schleswig-Holstein group strolled up and down the lanes singing while the Welsh at windows and in doorways responded. I remember particularly one Dutch group singing on a night that was so black you could not see the faces of the choir. Their conductor donned white gloves, and it was thrilling to watch those apparently unattached hands marking the beat.

Last July's meeting was honored by the visit of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. Long before the royal couple arrived the tent resounded with the singing of hymns. On the slopes outside, 25,000 more listened to the music through loudspeakers. Below, in the town itself, there are amplifiers so that the music from the eisteddfod stage is audible to 50,000 persons.

On the stage to welcome the Queen were 10 choirs—about 800 voices—and when she made her way to the stage the massed singers rolled out Bach's All Honor, Praise and Blessing. The song was taken up by the audience and by thousands outside the tent. Down in Llangollen buses stopped and activity in the stores ceased as people in the streets and houses added their voices to the welcome. It was the loveliest musical ovation the ruler of a people ever received.

Tudor's idea grows each year. Spain now has its own dancing eisteddfod. Visits back and forth among groups in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are a development which may in time evolve into an all-Scandinavian musical assembly.

The wealth of high spirits that pours through the little market town on the Dee is creating a bond among peoples of different languages and backgrounds.

Are "New Look" Defense Policy Manpower Reductions Threatening Our Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues here on the floor of the House and my constituents back home know, I have always supported wholeheartedly a strong defense establishment for our country. This support is the outgrowth of my experience in the military service as a combat officer during World War II. I was in hopes then, as I am sure we all were, that never again would our sons, nor the sons of the mothers and fathers all over the country, be called upon to suffer the anguish and horror of another war, with its inevitable depletion of the Nation's irreplaceable young manhood and our diminishing national resources.

During World War I, this Nation suffered 364,800 casualties and spent $33 billion. In World War II the casualties rose to 1,066,938 and to the astronomical sum of $330 billion—3½ times greater in terms of casualties and 10 times as great in dollars spent; and then we had Korea, with its 27,711 casualties and untold billions still to be tabulated. That is why, Mr. Speaker, I voice my own and many of my colleagues' deep concern over recent announcements by the present administration on the reduction and rereployment of our Armed Forces, commonly referred to as the "new look." I, for one, do not intend to gamble with our national defense; nor do I believe the people of this country wants us to do so. Apparently this legislative body has been called upon to support this program without being informed of the circumstances or conditions upon which these decisions have been based.

Are we being led to believe the threat from Communist Russia has so radically diminished that we can afford to gamble with the security of this Nation as well as the free world? Do we have a peace treaty with Austria? With Germany? Or in Korea? Has the Kremlin agreed to any disarmament proposals or to any plan for atomic control, or in fact

honored any agreement among the community of nations?

If so, Mr. Speaker, I am not aware of it, and if there has been a radical change by the Communists, this legislative body and the people of this country should be so informed. Not only have there been no overt acts by the Communists leading to peace, but Communist Russia and its satellites are maintaining and building a war machine of tanks, planes, and submarines second to none. To augment this powerful striking force, it has been announced that Russia has atomic weapons and, in fact, may be ahead of the free world in nuclear and thermonuclear developments. Those of you who have witnessed an atomic explosion—and many of you have—do not have to be reminded what this means.

In the face of this threat to our way of life and to freedom everywhere, we have been called upon to support a program which is based upon the following premises:

(a) That a strong retaliatory air and sea power will deter aggression and blast the aggressor into submission if war is thrust upon us; and

(b) That the present combat effectiveness of our Armed Forces can be maintained by reducing the number of men in our military establishment through the development of new weapons and "slicing away the fat"—that is, reducing our support units.

Mr. Speaker, as one who has been privileged to lead soldiers into combat, I view with deep concern the effects of such a program based largely upon supposition rather than fact, which affects this Nation's ability to wage war and to win if war is thrust upon it. Are we not guilty of subscribing to the easier, more popular way to win a war as advocated by wishful thinkers? Are we casting aside what history recorded in all wars down through the centuries that wars, hot and cold, are waged for the purpose of controlling land areas, areas which are the source of the world's wealth. While control of the air above and the sealanes are vital, the decisive battle will be determined on the land. Nowhere in history has airpower alone been able to stop aggression. And Korea and Indochina have indicated no change in this pattern. The hard cold facts—unsavory as they may be—are that the ground forces must dig out the aggressor before victory can be achieved.

As part of the new look we are called upon to support a program which is also based upon the premise that greater combat effectiveness can be gained by reducing the number of men in our Armed Forces through the development of new weapons and reductions, primarily in our support forces. What are these new weapons that will make such a reduction possible? Can we reduce the Armed Forces and expect the Army, Navy, and to a lesser degree the Air Force to carry out their assigned missions equally effectively? History shows that with the development of new weapons, each more complex and destructive than its predecessor, more manpower, not less, is required to keep it in action. Is this truth no longer valid? Can we now engage in wishful thinking of the push-button warfare strategists who would lead us to believe that this day has arrived? I repeat, what are these new weapons? How may do we have? How are they used, and by whom? I realize the security aspects of this revelation, but certainly Members of Congress primarily concerned with military matters should have this information and I have no assurance from my colleagues that such is the case.

I know of no responsible official in the administration who discounts the ability of Russia to produce and use atomic and nuclear weapons. In fact, we are periodically warned by administration spokesmen that Russia is capable of delivering atomic and nuclear explosives to our continent. In addition to its arsenal of atomic and nuclear weapons, it is common knowledge that Russia maintains vast numbers of ground troops, great quantities of armor, and a rapidly expanding tactical Air Force. In substance, the administration is asking the Congress of the United States and the American people to believe that through some mysterious formula recently devised, our Nation, depending primarily on airpower and atomic and nuclear weapons, can deal successfully with an enemy which also possesses atomic and nuclear weapons, a numerically superior air force, tremendous numbers of well-trained, well-equipped ground troops, and their supporting units. It must be emphasized also, that in addition to the massive army which the Russians control directly, that they have access to unlimited supplies of manpower in their satellite countries, and particularly in Asia.

During the past few years, we have been repeatedly warned of the presence of a rapidly growing fleet of Russian submarines. We have been told that advance types of Russian submarines exist in such quantities that they could successfully challenge our control of the shipping lanes. In the face of a drastically reduced naval arm, what solution is being advanced in the "new look" to deal with this growing threat to our naval superiority?

Let me make it clear that I support the maintenance and expansion of a powerful Air Force. We must continue research and development of atomic and nuclear weapons. I raise the question, however, as to whether sharp curtailment in Army ground forces and naval arms will leave us an adequate Defense Establishment.

Most of you remember that well worn phrase of "slicing off the fat" of only a few years ago when the then Secretary of Defense started cutting the Armed Forces. As a result of this reduction our Armed Forces, especially ground combat and support units, when suddenly called upon to resist aggression in Korea, were woefully inadequate. Combat divisions were at half strength; regiments consisted of two battalions instead of three; and our combat support forces were seriously lacking. It was only through the heroic efforts and sacrifices of a handful of ground forces that gained for us sufficient time to prevent the aggressor from engulfing all of Korea.

As another part of the new look in our combat forces, the announcement has been made that two divisions will be withdrawn from Korea. Are we being asked to support another program of bring the boys home in the face of an armed truce? Will not this action be viewed by a ruthless aggressor as a sign of weakness? Are we going to break faith with those who have already made the supreme sacrifice, and to sacrifice needlessly the lives of thousands more of our youth because we did not have the fortitude to stick it out? We made that mistake in World War I and World War II and it appears to me we are doing it again and if this is unfortunately true, what will be the reaction of our allies as well as the Communists. Are we inviting further aggression? I should like to know the set of circumstances surrounding this decision and I feel it is the responsibility of Congress to determine the facts.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I, along with many of my colleagues, do not have the answers to the questions that have been raised. I do not pretend to be a military expert nor do I have the information that is available to the administration. I do, however, have complete confidence in our military leaders and before I can support such a program that has been laid down, there must be further assurance that such a program is sound and its adoption will not impair the safety of this country.

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 63 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Governm[illegible] publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a,

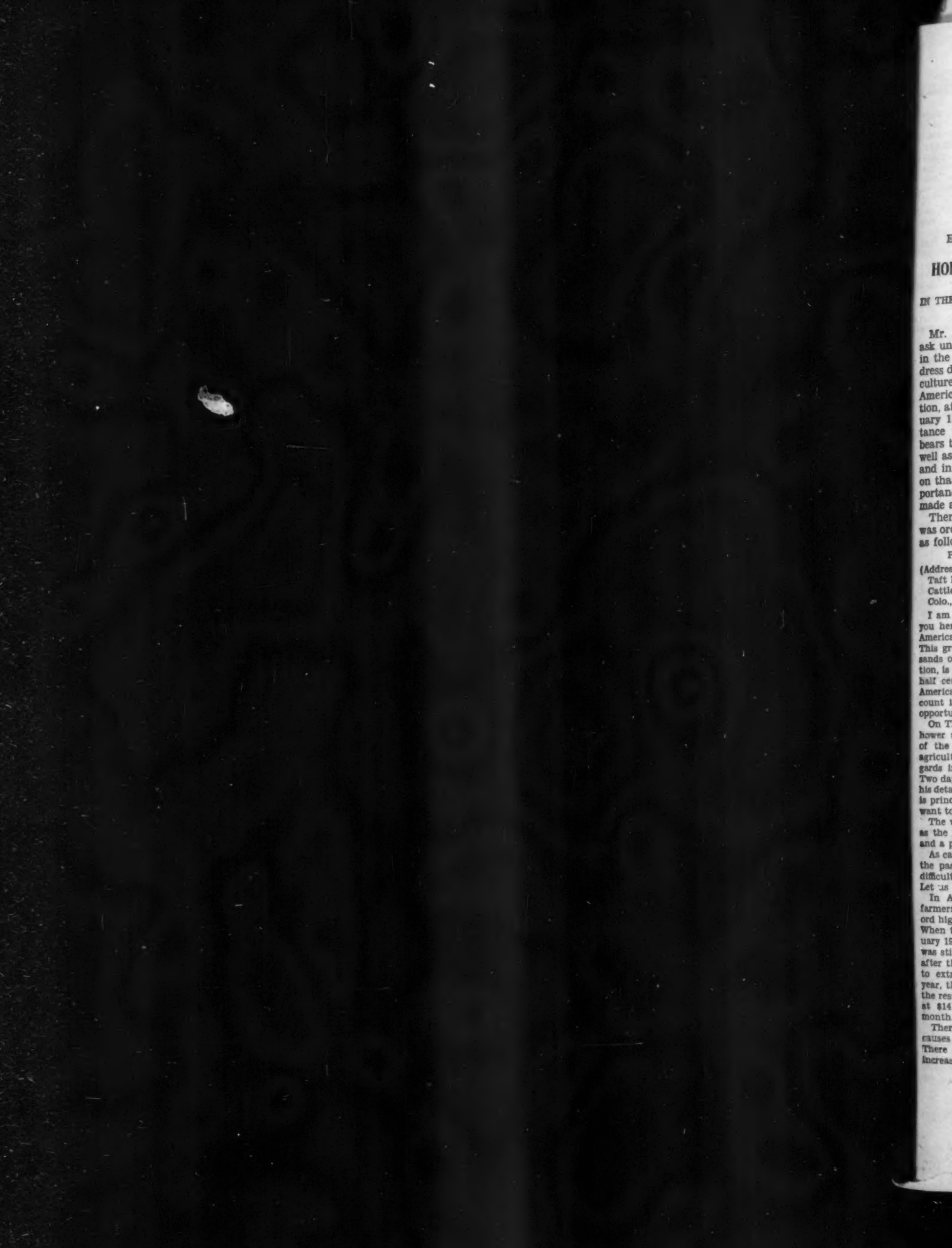

Appendix

Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, before the American National Cattlemen's Association, at Colorado Springs, Colo., on January 13, 1954. Because of the importance the entire agricultural program bears to the activities of the Senate, as well as of the House of Representatives, and in view of the President's message on that subject, I deem it of great importance that the Secretary's speech be made a part of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE, PLENTY, AND PROSPERITY

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the American National Cattlemen's Association, Colorado Springs, Colo., January 13, 1954)

I am highly honored to have a part with you here in this annual convention of the American National Cattlemen's Association. This great organization, representing thousands of cattle growers throughout the Nation, is today, as it has been for more than a half century, a major force for progress in American agriculture. I assure you that I count it a particular privilege to have this opportunity to be with you today.

On Thursday of last week President Eisenhower addressed the Congress on the state of the Union. In the section devoted to agriculture, he indicated his thinking as regards improvements in our farm programs. Two days ago he transmitted to the Congress his detailed recommendations in this field. It is principally these recommendations that I want to discuss with you today.

The well-being and security of our people, as the President has said, requires a stable and a prosperous agriculture.

As cattlemen, you are painfully aware that the past few years have brought you some difficult problems, not of your own making. Let us begin by examining a few facts.

In April 1951, cattle prices received by farmers average $30.30 per 100 pounds, a record high caused by the Korean war inflation. When this administration took office in January 1953 that price had fallen to $19.70 and was still sliding. In April 1953, just 2 years after the peak, the price was $17.30. Owing to extremely large marketings during the year, there were some further declines, with the result that prices at mid-December stood at $14.80, up slightly from the preceding month.

There is little need for me to repeat all the causes of the serious situation in beef prices. There were many factors involved: The big increase in cattle numbers, the decline in the demand for breeding cattle, liquidation of some cattle because of drought and lack of feed, a slight weakening in the general price level and a lack of confidence in the future on the part of some feeders, OPS fixed prices and compulsory grading, and in a small number of cases, perhaps, lack of credit resources.

Such were the problems—most of them years in the making—that confronted this administration when we took office last January. And we also acquired a big armful of other problems at the same time, all of them needing immediate action.

We moved vigorously, and we moved promptly. But I would call your attention especially to this. In our every action we have resolutely stayed on the road that leads to wider personal freedom, sounder public policies, and in the end, more farm prosperity. And you, the producers of livestock, faced up to the situation with real courage. I commend you with my whole heart. We realize the personal hardship caused by the drought and the declining market. Yet you did not call for the Government to take over, nor did you demand that we institute unwise methods of supporting beef-cattle prices.

The administration attacked this problem in sound and sensible ways—through the elimination of price controls and compulsory grading; through a vast beef-purchase program; through an emergency drought-relief program; through an aggressive beef-merchandising program carried on in cooperation with the Nation's food industry.

The beef purchase program diverted an estimated 865,000 head of lower grade cattle, mostly cows, from normal trade channels. This action strongly supported market prices of these grades of cattle, despite the enormous tide of marketings.

Through the emergency feed program, started last July, a total of more than 1,200,000 tons of feed have been, or will shortly be, made available to farmers from CCC-owned stocks.

Emergency credit assistance enabled drought-stricken farmers to maintain their foundation herds. More than 2,100 farmers and ranchers have obtained this kind of assistance, their loans totaling nearly $22 million. In addition, disaster loans were extended to 5,500 farmers and stockmen in the total amount of almost $9 million.

Taken together, these actions constituted a massive attack on the beef supply and price problem in 1953. Marketings of cattle and calves reached 36 million head, the greatest in all our history. As a result of the record volume of slaughter in 1953, cattle numbers at the start of the current year are probably no greater than a year ago.

Because of the adjustment that has been made, the task of stabilizing the cattle market is now easier than would have been thought possible a year or two ago.

Furthermore, this reduction in numbers has been brought about in the right way—through increasing the consumption of beef. The 36 million head of cattle slaughtered in 1953 were quickly channeled to consumers' tables, not into storage. Because this meat went into stomachs of consumers, it is no longer a sword hanging over the head of the cattle industry. And that it actually did go into consumption is testified by the fact that in the United States in 1953 we ate on the average about 75 pounds of beef per person—an all-time record.

Cattlemen are making the adjustments needed to give the prospect of a sound, healthy beef business, producing for use, winning customers, and widening markets.

By contrast, producers of the basic crops, with rigid price supports at 90 percent of parity, have found their commodities priced out of the market, their customers looking to other sources of supply, and the necessary adjustments still unmade.

We have carried out the law on price supports in every respect. In many ways we have even gone beyond the requirements of the law—with incentives for providing grain storage capacity—resealing of corn, wheat, and oats, and maximum support on dairy products. We have given the existing program every possible opportunity to prove itself. The only thing it has proved is that it does not have the answer to agriculture's problems in the 1950's. [Applause.]

Through the use of high rigid price supports, mountainous surpluses of farm products have been built up. At the same time, farm prices and incomes have continued the 3-year downtrend that began after the post-Korea peak in February 1951.

The storage facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation now bulge with our surplus stocks of wheat, corn, cotton, dairy products, and certain vegetable oils. These stocks are hanging over the market, depressing farmers' prices and incomes. They are costing the taxpayer heavily—storage costs alone are running at the rate of nearly half a million dollars per day. They are throwing farm production patterns out of gear and hindering our efforts to create and expand farm markets. They are leading to bitterness and misunderstanding between consumers and farmers.

This is our position at present. We are nearing the limits of the Commodity Credit Corporation's borrowing authority—$6¾ billion—even though this authority was raised by $2 billion in 1950.

In October 1952, CCC investments in farm commodity holdings totaled about $2 billion. In October 1953 they totaled $4½ billion. By next June they may well be at the legal limit with the need for further investments still mounting. We are forced to seek a higher limit on CCC's borrowing authority.

We have in prospect a carryover of wheat in the amount of 800 million bushels—a full year's domestic requirement. We have a prospective cotton carryover of 9.6 million bales—another full year's domestic need. We envisage a corn carryover of 900 million bushels—far above normal. The prospective carryover of food fats and oils is 1½ billion pounds—nearly double the carryover in October 1952. We entered the year 1954 with the biggest reserve of dairy products on record—about 8½ billion pounds of milk equivalent.

When demand is growing—as in World War II, or the early postwar years, or the period shortly after fighting broke out in Korea—then prices are good. High rigid supports are used but little, if at all. There are no real surpluses. Since there is ample demand for farm commodities, the production pattern is not affected. And to many it seems that this prosperity is the result of the support program.

When the pendulum swings the other way—when supplies outrun demand—when surpluses accumulate—when acreage must be drastically reduced—then, and only then, do

the real effects of high rigid supports show up.

This is the situation that now confronts us, and that has been confronting the Nation for several years.

I am sure that President Eisenhower had this situation in mind when he pledged to the people of America in September 1952 that he would do all in his power to develop an improved farm program.

Here is what he said at Kasson, Minn.:

"We now have at least 2 years in which to plan ahead. We must use this valuable time to figure out sound means and methods of maintaining and expanding both security and opportunities in agriculture. We must mobilize all of the brains in agriculture—farmers, your farm organization leaders, your farm-wise legislators, your agricultural specialists, and research workers—to join with us to build and improve our long-range farm policies and programs."

Very early last year—even before the new administration took office—we began to explore the program needs of agriculture. This was done at the request of President Eisenhower. Since then we have been working with farmers and farm leaders—with representatives of more than 60 colleges, experiment stations, foundations, and research organizations—with leaders in every segment of the agricultural industry, including over 30 commodity groups—with leading agricultural economists, and with Members of Congress. We have analyzed some 16,000 letters offering farm program suggestions. In addition we have reviewed past farm legislation. And we have had much consultation with the President and his staff.

The new farm program proposals of the President are his; they are the products of this administration. We in the Department of Agriculture are happy to have been of service to him in the enormous task of study and analysis that was involved. And his proposals have our 100 percent support.

Now, what are the elements of the new program that is proposed?

First, the President recommends that price supports be adjustable or variable rather than rigid. Congress provided for this flexible method of support in the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949. But it has never been permitted to operate for the so-called basic commodities—cotton, corn, wheat, tobacco, rice, and peanuts. Congress extended mandatory price support for these commodities at 90 percent of parity through 1954 as a wartime emergency incentive. Rigid supports were never intended for peace time use. [Applause.]

Under the proposed program, the adjustable price support provisions of the acts of 1948 and 1949 would be put into effect after 1954 for all the basics except tobacco, which would remain under its present program. In general, the adjustable system calls for price supports up to 90 percent of modernized parity. The support levels, and any necessary production controls, are adjustable according to the supply situation of the respective commodities. The price support level for a particular commodity would be lowered as the supply of the commodity increases above the normal supply. Price support would be raised again as the supply of the commodity is reduced.

Variable price supports offer many advantages. They promote shifts in production and supply to meet changes in demand—they encourage more production when more is needed and they put on the brakes when supplies are burdensome. They would avoid the difficulties of rigid supports that freeze production into the patterns of the outworn past.

Second, the President proposes that all price-supported commodities be placed on a fair basis by applying the new or modernized parity formula to all of them. This is the formula set forth in the acts of 1948 and 1949. Under present provisions, parity prices for the basic commodities—wheat, cotton, corn, peanuts, rice, and tobacco—are calculated either on the old formula (based on 1910–14) or on the new formula (based on a moving 10-year average), whichever is higher, until January 1, 1956. Since the new formula results in a higher parity for rice and tobacco, parity for these crops is now computed on the new basis.

It seems manifestly unfair to figure parity for most farm products by one formula and for others by another. Furthermore, the old formula is based on the pretractor days of 1910–14. It does not take account of changes in production techniques and shifts in consumer demand since that period as does the modernized formula.

Based on December 15 figures, the parity price for corn under the old formula is 11 percent higher than under the new; for wheat it is about 15 percent higher under the old formula; for peanuts 20 percent; and for cotton, 5 percent.

President Eisenhower proposes that use of the old parity formula for wheat, corn, cotton, and peanuts be allowed to expire as now scheduled on January 1, 1956.

But for most of these commodities the change would be too abrupt if it were made in just one year. The President purposes, therefore, that the changeover be gradual and cushioned by the adoption of transitional parity. This would be accomplished by limiting the parity level change to 5 percent per year until modernized parity would be completely in effect. This administration is solidly determined to do everything in its power to minimize any possible adjustment which might be occasioned by the transition to a sound and effective agricultural price support program.

Together, variable supports related to production, and use of the modernized parity formula offer definite attractions to livestock producers of all kinds—cattle growers, dairymen, and hog and poultry producers.

As cattle growers, you know what rigid high price supports for feed grains and concentrates has meant for you in the last 3 years of declining prices for beef cattle. With the costs of these feeds supported at high and rigid levels, you have been caught in a sharp squeeze between rigid feed costs on the one hand and lower prices for cattle on the other—a squeeze all the more painful and irritating because it was partly caused by the actions of your own Government and partly financed by your own tax payments. And this squeeze has come just at the period when you were most in need of a fair break.

In the past, you have seen the feed pile up in storage, while your own needs and those of the consuming public went unmet. The new farm program of this administration, if adopted by the Congress, will go far toward eliminating this situation and removing the present price discrimination against the livestock industry.

Third, the President proposes that the present excess reserves of wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly some dairy products should be frozen, or insulated, from the market in order to give the new program a chance to work. Unless this is done, any sound new program is doomed.

These frozen stocks would not be considered as part of the total supply at all. They would not be considered in determining price-support levels or acreage controls. So the new program could start off clean and not be faced with all the deficits left by the old program. We have recommended that up to two and a half billion dollars be allocated for setting aside reserves from present CCC stocks. This would permit removal of sufficient quantities of our major surpluses to allow the new farm program to begin operating successfully. Under the President's recommendations to Congress, this freezing plan would be applied to wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly some dairy products.

Of course, merely insulating our excess reserves will not solve our problems. But it would give farmers a chance to correct unbalanced production patterns without carrying this burden of huge surpluses on their backs. Moreover, the freezing of surpluses would reassure our commercial trade, and friendly nations as well, that we do not intend to dump them upon the market. The excess reserves must be disposed of in ways which will not interfere with normal markets.

Such an approach would be only a one-time operation to give the new program the chance to operate successfully from the beginning. Variable supports related to production should not permit such burdensome surpluses to accumulate again.

The mere insulation of our excess reserves is not enough to meet the real problem. It is a help in launching a sound, stable program. These products must be used, not wasted. Trade missions and high-level conferences of ministers of food and agriculture offer promise in this direction. New markets can and will be opened.

Fourth, the President has made a number of specific commodity proposals. The new program would place wheat, corn, cotton, rice, and peanuts under the adjustable price-support provisions of the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949.

The proposals would continue the programs for tobacco, meat animals, dairy products, poultry and eggs, fruits and vegetables, sugar, and feed grains other than corn. Mandatory price support would be discontinued for tung nuts and honey, which would be placed in the category for which price supports are permissive.

The President's proposal would provide an entirely new program for wool. The CCC now has in its possession almost 100 million pounds of wool. And, as we pile up our own wool in storage, our manufacturers are using mostly imported wool—in fact, twice as much imported wool as domestic wool. We need a program that will assure woolgrowers fair returns for efficient production—that will encourage efficient production and marketing—and that will require a minimum of Government interference. Such a program should involve a minimum of cost to taxpayers and consumers, and should fit in with our overall farm and international trade policies.

Here is the new wool program the President recommended:

First, domestically produced wool prices would be permitted to seek their own level in the market, competing directly with other fibers and with imported wool.

Second, American wool producers would receive direct payments. These payments would equal the difference between the average market price for the season and 90 percent of parity. In other words, these payments, when added to the average market price for the season, would raise the average return per pound to 90 percent of parity. Each producer would receive the same support payment per pound of wool, no matter how much he received for his wool in the market place. This would allow each grower to get his reward from the market for efficient production and marketing.

This system would not require Government loans, purchases, storage, or any other interference with the market. Besides that, there would be no need for periodic action to control imports in order to protect a domestic price-support program. Funds for the direct payments to wool growers would come from general revenues within the amount of unobligated tariff receipts from imported wool and wool products.

While the price-support proposals are the most significant part of the recommended

program, several other features of the President's message are also very important. One has to do with the approximately 25 million acres that are being diverted from cotton, wheat, and corn this year. It would be tragic if these acres were diverted to other crops in such a way as to cause serious surplus problems or if they were allowed to lose fertility through misuse. The President has proposed that in any area where acreage adjustments are especially difficult, Agricultural Conservation Program funds should be used to aid farmers in making wise land use adjustments.

The President is also concerned about the need for greater attention to the problems of our smaller farms.

Most of our agricultural production comes from our larger and more highly mechanized family farms—mostly efficient family-managed farms on which much of the work is by the family. These larger farms are the ones which price supports serve primarily.

But many of our farms are small and produce a relatively small amount for sale. Only about 2 million farms out of the total of more than 5½ million sold as much as $2,500 worth of farm products in 1949. Of course, there are many part-time residential, or abnormal farms. But even after eliminating these, and including only so-called commercial farms in which the operator's main income is derived from farm sales, over 40 percent of the commercial farms were in the under $2,500 class.

We must do more to help this relatively neglected group improve their economic condition.

The agricultural program which the President recommended can be accomplished with relatively little new legislation. It would be built on the foundation of the bipartisan legislation initiated by the 80th Congress in 1948, and amended by the Agricultural Act of 1949. Nevertheless, it is a new program. Its provisions have never been in effect on the basic crops.

The new proposal calls forth some important new legislative action and the best in past legislation designed to aid farm adjustments to peacetime conditions.

Prices will not be rigid under this proposed program. It allows for modest price fluctuations when they are needed to bring supply and demand into balance. At the same time it puts a strong floor under prices. Farmers can rely on that floor for both price and income stability.

This program is designed to open new market outlets at home and abroad for current supplies and for future production.

It will help assure equality of economic opportunity for farmers.

It will provide abundant supplies of farm products for consumers and all will reap the benefits of abundance.

It will encourage stability in farming operations and in farm markets.

It will promote the efficient use of agricultural resources.

It will encourage good farm management practices.

It will minimize the problem of diverted acres and production curbs.

It will provide added incentive to conserve and improve the soil and make wise use of our agricultural resources.

The whole agricultural industry will operate on a free, expanding basis, rather than on a regimented basis.

And it will achieve all of these aims with a maximum of reliance on the cooperative and competitive efforts of free men and a minimum of reliance on governmental control.

Let us go forward, asking the guidance and blessing of Providence, in the great task of strengthening our agriculture and our Nation.

Recession Can Be Prevented

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, a former distinguished and able Member of Congress, the Honorable Clinton D. McKinnon, is now editor and publisher of the Los Angeles Daily News. Mr. McKinnon is a skilled student of economics. This was proven time and time again when he served as a member of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following editorial written by Mr. McKinnon:

WHAT THE EDITOR THINKS—RECESSION CAN BE PREVENTED

Considerable unemployment exists and we may as well face it. Some of our leaders, notably Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, are facing it forthrightly and constructively. Unfortunately too few of the high echelon members of the current national administration are doing this.

Senator DOUGLAS lists five reasons for his opinion that a recession, which is a milder form of depression, is here or on its way. These are: there is a decline in the production in farm implements; automobile production is 12 percent below what it was this time last year; steel production for the week ending last December 19, was 67 percent of capacity compared with 102 percent at the same time in 1952; freight car loadings are down 12 percent compared with the same period last year and business failures are up 50 percent.

Incident to decreased production, especially in the automobile industry, unemployment is growing. Senator DOUGLAS has been criticized by some Republicans for his statement, but members of the American Economic Association, of which he once was president, agree with him. DOUGLAS is one of the Nation's leading economists, and taught economics.

Senator DOUGLAS' critics have called him a crier of doom. We do not beleive a man is necessarily crying doom when he is realistic and sees the picture as it is, particularly if he has a constructive approach.

Recessions and even depressions are to a considerable extent predictable and preventable. They usually follow wars. They follow wars because prosperity caused by wars through government buying always shrinks during a period of readjustment. Men returning from war remain unemployed for a while during this period of readjustment, along with those who are disemployed by reduced demonds for less urgent consumers' goods.

It may be impossible to estimate precisely the extent of unemployment because there can be many chain reactions and unanticipated developments. But some preventive measures can be taken by legislative bodies and private enterprise. We believe, for example, that the warning which Paul Ziffren, Democratic National Committeeman, sent to Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, asking him to put unemployment on the agenda of the special legislative session was entitled to a less cavalier reply.

The Governor said in effect that there is no need for unemployment; that there are plenty of jobs and that lemon pickers are needed. Unemployed bookkeepers and technicians might not do so well at picking lemons, and this kind of work is rather seasonal and not too attractive when transportation might eat up any wage profits involved. We believe that the Congress and the State legislature both should study unemployment seriously and take some kind of preventive action.

It is not going to solve any depressions to call men like Senator DOUGLAS and Paul Ziffren alarmists or to call men less well known Communists if they find fault with defects in the economy. We have it in our power to prevent a serious depression if the men who now operate our governmental machinery will take proper heed of the situation.

Factors in United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address entitled "Factors in the United States Foreign Policy," delivered by Mr. Paul H. Nitze at a conference on world problems held in Topeka, Kans., on December 4, 1953, under the sponsorship of the Governor of that State.

Mr. Nitze, who is now in private life after 12 years of distinguished public service, climaxed by his term as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department from January 1950 through the spring of 1953, ably reviews the past and lays down some significant benchmarks for the future. His address is factual in content, unpartisan in viewpoint, and dispassionate in tone. It provides a cogent answer to attempts to misrepresent the past. It sets in true perspective the problems and the achievements of the preceding administration; it emphasizes the elements which should unite rather than those which would divide us as Americans.

This manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing by the Public Printer of $283.35, as the approximate cost of publication.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

During recent months I have been enjoying two of those endeavors for which Kansas is particularly renowned—teaching and farming. At both of these I am still a neophyte. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I return to the subject which for 12 years, under the administration of 3 Presidents, has been to me an absorbing interest—the factors which underly the formulation and execution of United States foreign policy.

Fresh in my mind is an awareness of a great difference between being responsibly concerned in the conduct of foreign affairs and sharing in that general concern and interest which increasingly fail to all of us as members of the public. One's consciousness of the historical perspectives of emerging events, of the wealth of conflicting considerations, of the dilemmas to be sorted out, parried, or resolved, is sharper when one is under the necessity of participating in the making of decisions dealing with those events. The

interactions between developments in one area of the world and those in another, the interconnections between the past, the present, and the speculative future, the interrelation between what we do now and what we shall be able to do in the face of the exigencies of a later time, bear more constantly and pervasively upon those who give, not merely part of their passing concern, but all of their professional time and zeal to working on the problems of foreign policy. The health of our democracy, in the new situation of great power responsibility in which this country finds itself, requires that an increasingly wide segment of the public understand these perspectives and interconnections lest a dangerous gap arise between the decisions of our policymakers in Washington and the comprehension by the public of the necessities underlying those decisions.

Perhaps this juncture—with the professional approach not yet faded from my mind and the viewpoint of the private citizen on foreign affairs not yet quite settled on me as a habit—is an opportune time to attempt to serve as an interpreter between Government and public.

I should like to form my discourse in three general parts: First, a summing-up of those historical perspectives which lend meaning and intelligibility to the deeper issues underlying our foreign policy; second, an appraisal of present circumstances in world affairs; and third, certain general implications for the United States in the conduct of its foreign policy.

It has been the destiny of the United States in our day to emerge as a world power in circumstances of great stress—circumstances which seem sometimes altogether too vexing and fearful to the timorous and which test the balance and fortitude of even the best.

The burdens and the dangers imposed on us by these circumstances are not the consequence of weakness. Nor are they the wage of error. Among many Americans there is a tendency to interpret the stresses of our times as the consequence of deficiencies and wantonness in action on our own part or on the part of those who have represented us.

That view is worse than an oversimplification. It is a misappreciation of the broad forces which have shaped the circumstances out of which have grown the problems now confronting the United States. The great forces in motion in the world, the world trends of change, of conflict and contradiction, and of strain among the nations arose from deeper causes than the past actions, wise or unwise, of individual United States statesmen.

Moreover, our concern in these great world developments and the interaction between them and us are a consequence not so much of our own choice but of our great position in the world. The geographical expanse of our Nation is a pivotal area in world affairs, lying in both the Northern and Western Hemispheres. We have direct and vital concern in the security both of the Atlantic and of the Pacific. Our base is matchless in its resources with respect both to industrial strength and to agricultural richness.

The image of the United States projected onto minds of those who govern and are governed in other parts of the world is today one of the major factors in the destiny of nations everywhere. On the other hand, the actions and the intentions of peoples all over the globe have become matters of daily concern to us. All this, I repeat, is not because we are weak but because we are strong. This is what it means to be in fact, not just potentially, a world power.

The scope and status of a world power are new to us.

The filling in of our continental position, the laying of the foundations of our great economic strength, and the maturing of our political institutions took place under protected circumstances. The accident of history gave to our forebears the opportunity for a new start of our Nation in a continent full of undistributed and unencumbered wealth. It was our national good fortune to grow up as a nation at a time of exceptional stability and peace in world affairs—the great century from the Napoleonic Wars until World War I—a century in which the relatively even capability for force among several great powers, coupled with British command of the sea, made of our continent a reserve area protected from the necessity of playing any large role in world affairs.

Americans habitually assumed these circumstances to be intrinsic and permanent. This gave our Nation in earlier times a sense of absolute exemption from peripheral dangers.

That protective situation began to break up and to vanish in a series of historic changes contemporaneous with the completion of the filling out of our national position.

You know the general character of world affairs in the decades of this century of which I speak.

Among the multifarious trends and changes of these past few decades it is often difficult to distinguish between causes and effects. Roughly, and with due apologies for oversimplification, one may try to interrelate the main factors.

The world's frontiers closed a little more than half a century ago. This intensified colonial rivalries.

Simultaneously ethnic nationalism was intensified.

In consequence of this, old multilingual empires, such as the Turkish, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Russian were weakened and new drive and significance were given to the more unified national entities, such as Japan and Germany.

Japan successfully challenged Russian power at sea and on the East Asian continent a half century ago. Her success in this was due in large part to changes in her capability wrought by her rapid acquisition and adaptation of imported scientific and industrial techniques.

Advances in techniques, notably the growth of modern industrialization based on ferrous metals, greatly enhanced the importance of the Rhine and Ruhr areas and brought Germany to a position of rivalry with Great Britain and of preponderance over France.

General war broke out in 1914 in consequence of international rivalries over the territories of the disintegrating Turkish empire between imperial Russia and Austria and of the Anglo-German rivalry for maritime and colonial supremacy.

It is worth noting, that historians pouring over the exchanges of notes, telegrams and messages between the European statesmen prior to the outbreak of that war find not a single reference to the probable attitude of the United States.

During its course, the Austro-Hungarian empire disintegrated and the Turkish empire was finished off.

Russia, enervated by efforts far beyond her physical and moral resources, collapsed and fell prey to a conspiratorial group—the Bolsheviks—who subsumed control of the state to their conspiracy.

Germany made a bid for total victory that proved beyond her reach as it served only to bring the United States into the array of powers against her. The counterthrust by the Western allies brought the forms but not the substance of victory.

The First World War left Britain and France depleted and exhausted. It left Italy frustrated by unfulfilled ambitions. It left Germany defeated but unreconciled to defeat. It left Russia transformed into a power base for revolutionary communism. It left Japan aggrandized in territory but with the main problems of her economy unanswered.

Following a 20-year truce, Germany's return to paths of conquest, this time in company with Italy and Japan, brought the renewal of general war and again the United States was drawn in.

As Germany collapsed, the Russian armies moved westward into Eastern and Central Europe. Following the knocking out of Japan, political power in depleted China gravitated to Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communists. The depletion of manpower and economic strength further undermined the position of the United Kingdom and France as responsible great powers.

The old colonial and imperial patterns, which had provided a mode of relationship between metropolitan Europe and the Oriental peoples was largely sundered in consequence of that war—continuing a process that had set in with World War I. This was both a cause and an effect of the decline in power of the Western nations, notably Britain and France.

In the wake of World War II, two states had moved into positions of primary strength as world powers, the Soviet Union, still firmly in the grip of a Communist conspiracy masquerading as a government; and the United States.

To the Communist rulers in the Kremlin the world at that juncture must have appeared to present opportunities of enormous scope.

The erasure of German power had brought Russian forces into Central Europe, overrunning the Eastern European tier states which had been the historic buffer area between Russia and the West, and bearing on positions in the Eastern Mediterranean in such a way as to make control of access to that sea by Russian power a definite prospect.

In the Far East, the defeat of Japan had given to Russian arms the opportunity to occupy areas in Manchuria and North Korea theretofore beyond Russian grasp though not beyond the scope of Russian ambition.

In China, the Nationalist Government had survived, but only barely survived, the hostilities with Japan. The removal of the Japanese threat had ended one of the main circumstances tending to the support of the Nationalist leadership among the Chinese. In the wake of the Japanese hostilities, moreover, American support of the Nationalist regime became in part a political liability to it in Chinese influence. The political as well as the military initiative in China was rapidly passing to the Chinese Communists.

In most of the countries occupied by German, Italian, and Japanese forces native Communist elements had established themselves in positions of great power and prestige in the resistance movements, and now, with hostilities over, were carrying on their political designs to make over the various countries in the Communist image.

The old powers of Western Europe and the United Kingdom had been still further enfeebled by war. Their populations were morally and physically exhausted. Their manpower had been cut down by attrition, and their economies reduced by battle and obsolescence.

The United States was still strongly influenced by traditions and attitudes developed in the time when it was a reserve area, not a primary power.

With hostilities over, the United States was mainly concerned to restore itself to what it took to be the normal course in world affairs, devoting its energies to dismembering its armed forces and retracting its strength as rapidly as possible.

The Americans—and this is an attitude which Americans in general shared—simply were not adjusted in their minds to the political realities of a world which had undergone such huge disarrangements and

whose destiny thenceforward was to be so largely determined by the role which the American Nation chose to play.

In essence the new situation confronting the world and confronting the United States was this: That no combination of nations capable of standing up to the new threat represented by Russian power was possible without active and permanent participation and leadership on the part of the United States.

By the same token, the United States could no longer afford to take a passive attitude regarding its own security. This Nation could no longer leave to other nations the task of preserving a world balance protective of our situation, for it was beyond the capabilities of others to do so.

As some look at it by hindsight, the United States was slow to respond to these new realities. The changes from our historic situation and our habits of thinking in that historic situation were so drastic, however, and so upsetting to our old habitual ways of looking at the world that the wonder is probably in the rapidity with which the Nation readjusted. Seldom in history have a government and a people had to learn so much that they never knew before—and to learn it in so brief an interval.

We had tended to regard the two World Wars as merely rude interruptions of the normal course of a happy world. We attributed those interruptions to the evil character of German and of Japanese ambitions. In an over-simplification we tended to assume that with the erasure of Germany and Japan as repositories of power the fundamental problems leading to those wars had been resolved. We assumed further that a new accommodation among nations could be established through a new world organization. In this thought we were impelled in some large measure by twinges of bad conscience growing out of the belief that only our own return to aloofness and our consequent desertion of the League of Nations had prevented a permanent world solution in the sequel to World War I. In brief, we accepted now the necessity of participation in a world organization after World War II, but wrongly we viewed the United Nations as a substitute for national power—as being somehow a source of power in its own right.

Along with our habitual distaste for the problems of power, and along with our excessive faith in world organization as a source of grace among nations, a third aspect of our attitude in the period immediately following World War II was our excessive reliance on a temporary monopoly of atomic weapons.

Our hopes for a push-button peace were soon confronted by the baleful realities of Soviet behavior. In violation of its plighted word the Soviet Union coerced and suppressed non-Communist parties in all the areas over-run by its armies. Behind the facade of so-called people's governments the areas in the Soviet military sway were attached to Moscow by the leading strings of a new imperialism. Toward the defeated countries the Soviet Union showed only vengeance. To former allies beyond its orbit the Soviet Union showed only suspicion and hostility and the ambition to preserve its own interests by using every weakness and necessity wtihin these countries as an opportunity for aggrandizing the strength of local Communist forces. In the United Nations the Soviet Union showed only arbitrariness and obstruction.

When did the United States begin to take the measure of the realities of this new world situation? I think we cannot pinpoint this to any particular hour, or day, or month. The readjustment took place over a considerable span of time. I should call attention, however, to the critical significance of the year 1947. In the long sweep of our national history that year may go down as a year of decision—a year in which the Government and the public of the United States set their face fully to the necessities, the obligations and the opportunities of being a world power. In this sense it may go down as a year of decision of such significance as that year 101 years before—the year 1846—when the United States had taken the decisive steps toward the filling out of its continental position and committed it self to the destiny of becoming a great power.

Let us recount some of the significant episodes of the year 1947.

It brought the decision to interpose American power to bolster Greece and Turkey in the face of threats and encroachments by the Soviet Union—a step made necessary by the inability of the United Kingdom to continue to shoulder the main burdens of propping up the beset governments in those areas.

Besides the specific acts in aid to Greece and Turkey the year 1947 brought forth our policy of assisting all governments and peoples facing internal or external threat from the Soviet quarter and willing to stand against such threat.

The spring of 1947 brought also the Marshall plan. This was a decision to use the economic strength of the United States by careful design to help mend and strengthen the faltering economies of the free nations of Western Europe so as to make possible a rebirth of some sense of confidence in themselves and thus reduce the anxieties making them vulnerable to internal subversion and peripheral pressure from Soviet quarters.

The year 1947 brought the initial steps whereby the Western Powers in occupation of Western Germany concerted their policies in administering their respective zones, reversed the course of dismantling the industrial plant of Germany, and began the steps looking toward the reestablishment of Germany in the fellowship of nations as an asset to, rather than parasitic upon, the defensive strength of the West.

At Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 1947, the United States entered into the permanent defensive arrangements of the Inter-American Treaty of Recriprocal Assistance. This marked a departure from a tradition, as old as the Nation itself, of avoiding permanent alliances. It foreshadowed the actions of the next 4 years in weaving a system of alliances to encompass not only the American Hemisphere but also the entire North Atlantic, cutting through Europe from the North Cape to the Mediterranean, and encompassing the Mediterranean itself and extending eastward to the eastern-most limits of Turkey, then extending across the Pacific to embrace Japan, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. An alliance of similar character is now in the making with the Republic of Korea.

The year 1947 brought significant changes within our own structure as well as important undertakings beyond the periphery.

Within the State Department, for example, it brought the establishment of a group advisory to the Secretary devoted exclusively to dealing with the long-range and more complex aspects of American foreign policy. My own service of 3½ years as director of that group is the source of the greatest personal pride to me.

But here I stress not the personal point of view but the import as a sign of a new recognition of the enduring responsibilities of American foreign policy.

That same year, 1947, saw the enactment of the National Defense Act, which established the National Security Council in recognition of the vital importance of integrating the foreign policies of the United States and the military undertakings of the United States so that the Nation might be organizationally better equipped to keep its policies and its military power in balance with each other.

In the year 1947, the evidence that its own councils had been infiltrated by Communists, finally overcame the reluctance to believe that responsible Government officials might be guilty of disloyalty. New procedures and a different point of view toward weeding out those who might actually be functioning under thrall to hostile interests date from that year. It is my firm belief, after all the furors of recent years, that no Government official that I worked with or had occasion to meet during my years in Government after 1947, was actuated by other than patriotic motives.

We have a record of about 7 years since the great rounding of the turn in our post-World War II policies. I should stress the continuity and the elements of unity in policy in those years. We have had a change of Government in Washington in this time. So far as foreign policy is concerned—the changes have been marginal and are not significant in comparison to the elements of continuity. This fact is not an occasion for unrest or misgivings. Continuity of policy, based on a careful appraisal of the major long-term factors bearing on the national interest, is an essential condition for a successful foreign policy.

Notwithstanding the change in administration I think we can, therefore, fairly deal with this 7-year period as a unit.

I should stress six elements of the national effort in this period.

First, I should list the undertaking of making as much peace as we can notwithstanding the intransigence and obstruction on the part of the Communist realm—and along with this the undertaking, still in progress, of bringing Japan and Western Germany along as factors contributory to the general security.

Second, I should list the bolstering of confidence of the non-Soviet nations by providing them that help, both of economic and technical character, which they need for their own security but which they cannot supply for themselves.

Third, I should list the undertaking to halt Communist inroads. This story begins with our support of Greece and Turkey in 1947. It continues with our moral and material support of Yugoslavia in its defection from the Communist orbit, with our reposts to the Berlin blockade when the Russians tried to squeeze us out of that vital area, with our assistance to the French and the indigenous forces in Indochina, and with the vexing and bloody countering of Communist aggression in Korea.

As a fourth point I should stress the importance of our efforts to redress the imbalance of forces. Under this heading I would put first the stepped-up domestic rearmament program which only really got under way after the Korean attack, but the necessity for which could be clearly foreseen at a much earlier date. Here I should also stress not only the whole pattern of our alliances but also the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, under which our program of contributing to the building of concrete military strength in other free nations has gone forward.

As a fifth element I should stress our mediatorial role in trying to work out a better basis of accommodation between the metropolitan powers of Europe and the former colonial or quasi-colonial areas of the Middle East and the Far East new to freedom and to responsibility—a role which has confronted us with many vexing problems in Iran and in the entire span of the Arab world.

As a final element I should stress the importance of keeping open the door to peace through negotiations. Ultimately, some abatement of our differences negoti-

ated with the adversary would be the surest alternative to war—war which under the conditions of modern times would leave neither side with true victory and which could bring in its wake only such ruin and dismay and delinquency as would mean the long eclipse of civilized life. No sane mind can envisage such a war and welcome it. Yet, no man can clearly foresee the occasions and the means whereby the adversary may be brought to greater tractability and without the surrender of interests vital to our cause.

The lesson to me of my own participation in the line of foreign policy has been that the easiest portions of the task relate to the establishment of desirable goals and to the laying out of the avenues along which one might proceed to those goals. The real difficulties—the difficulties which test the mind of the policymakers and the will and the resiliency of the Nation arise when policy considerations—good and valid in themselves—come into conflict with each other.

The carrying on of a foreign policy is in a basic sense the business of handling dilemmas.

This is reflected not only in the dilemma between facing the Soviet Union with firmness sufficient to progress toward a juster world and maintaining prudent care to avoid a tightening of the issues in such a way as to impel the world toward a general war.

This element of dilemmas reflects itself also in our relations with our friends. For example, our purpose to foster accommodations between the West and the nations new to independence runs into the necessity of preserving a position vital to the security of the West in the contention between the United Kingdom and Egypt over the Suez area. A similar contradiction between accommodation and the upholding of responsibility has followed along a difficult course in the dispute over the Iranian oil expropriation.

The purpose of bringing Germany back to a position of armed strength runs counter to French anxieties which, in turn, are aggravated by the drain on French resources occasioned by the resistance to the Communist threat in Indochina.

In like fashion, the need of bringing our United Nation allies along with us in the Korean struggle has occasionally run acutely counter to the accompanying necessity of maintaining unity with the Korean Government whose security we have been defending.

As still another example, our interest in improving the modus vivendi with Tito's Yugoslavia and our desire to preserve and strengthen collaboration with Italy intersect at Trieste.

The most basic dilemma of all is, of course, the dilemma between the requirements in military strength, in money, and in political maturity and fortitude that flow from being the only great power strong enough to lead a coalition of the free nations, and carrying the domestic costs, economic and political, of meeting those requirements.

Despite all assertions of editors and commentators to the contrary, there is no easy way out of the main problems in foreign policy. That characteristic is what makes them problems. The most important of them can be dealt with only with patience and fortitude in long periods of time, and the test of the Nation's greatness is not only its capability to arrive at wise decisions, but perhaps even more its capability to carry heavy burdens.

This is one of the main points of significance in this close of the year 1953.

It has been a difficult year, full of some successes but also replete with surprises and reverses, as any year is likely to be.

It has brought, at least for the time being, an end to the hostilities in Korea, but it would be an exaggeration to say that it has brought us peace. Within the Soviet Union, immediately after the death of Stalin earlier in the year, there were new gestures of peaceable intent—a milder propaganda tone, a series of accommodations on secondary and tertiary issues and a verbal emphasis by the new Premier, Malenkov, of the desire for businesslike relationships with nations beyond the Soviet orbit.

Such talk of peace, coupled with the continuing burdens of the cold war, aggravated the problems of maintaining unity and steadiness among the western allies. These problems were aggravated in part by ill-considered actions of our own and by courses at home which tended to reduce the image of the United States projected into the minds of those who live and who rule in friendly countries.

The year has brought gains to us and losses to the adversary in the overwhelming electoral decision of the West Germans to support a policy of cooperation with the side of our interests.

The year brought us gains and our adversary losses in the overwhelming majorities in which the prisoners of war in Korea have chosen the side of freedom and have spurned return to their Communist homelands—an indication of what the populations of those homelands might choose if not oppressed by the sullen rule of communism.

The year has brought us a similar lesson in the uprisings behind the Iron Curtain, notably in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia—revealing a thirst for freedom still persistent.

Yet it would be an exaggeration to say that the year has brought us around a significant turn. After a long interchange of notes over the issue of the future of Germany, the Soviet Union now appears willing to have a four-power conference. But the content of its notes, the renewed hostility of its internal propaganda, the coupling of its last note with an initiative by Ho-Chi-Min toward discussions with the French about Indochina, indicate that its objective is not to make peace with respect to Germany or with respect to Austria but to exacerbate in every possible way the internal difficulties of France and thus put a spoke in the wheels of progress in the welding together of a strong coalition among its prospective victims.

It is in point to make a few suppositions about probable Soviet conduct in the future. It is probably guided by a desire to achieve its objectives without general war. Its course is further conditioned by internal stresses and necessities. The regime itself probably continues, as in the past, to feel itself under continual latent challenge from within. This creates the requirement of a concept of danger and of a hostile exterior world to maintain the internal climate essential to the continuance of the dictatorship. Hence the internal political situation may foreclose the regime from real accommodation with the outside world even if such accommodation should be otherwise desirable. As a third point, following the theories laid out by Stalin, the Soviet Union is probably seeking a hoped-for victory without fighting for it—banking on the emergence of disunity in the exterior world, hoping for a return of the opportunity to deal with its adversaries separately, or better still, one against the other.

For the non-Soviet portions of the world the situation still imposes the requirements to keep its strength up, to add to that strength both intensively and extensively, to maintain its unity, and to insure that in the long run the greater burden of dilemmas will confront the Soviet Union rather than the free world, keeping the Soviet rulership in a stew over whether to accommodate with the West, to the facts of Western unity and strength, or to keep on playing for the hope of dividing the outside world.

The requirements which the situation imposes upon us Americans as leaders of the free world are clear.

We must get ahead with the lagging business of developing an adequate continental defense to protect the military integrity of the central base of free world strength.

We must keep clear in our minds the necessity of maintaining a proper variety to our strength, avoiding the danger of putting all of our strategic eggs in one basket by concentrating on one type of strategic weapon. There is dangerous and fallacious talk of shifting our military effort so that it will consist mainly of atomic and thermonuclear strategic weapons. Under such arrangement any possible military phases of the struggle must be total and ultimate of scope in devastation—leaving us in particular instances no choice between submission to the adversary's encroachments and putting the world through the wringer of total atomic war. Such a situation could only serve to deter the forces of peace even more than the aggressor, and inherent in it is the danger of reaching a point where the atomic capabilities of the antagonists cancel out and leave all the advantage to the side which has strength in greater variety.

The moral tests for us, however, are even more exacting than material tests. Maintaining the unity of powers exterior to the Soviet Union so that in the long historic pull it must be the men of the Kremlin who must accommodate is a matter of the internal will and confidence and the mutual trust among the members of the free world's coalitions. There is not the slightest chance of success in this if we should fail the test of leadership. The fostering of our alliances requires of us the establishment of patterns of interest among the free nations of durable mutual character. The ultimate success of the free world alliances can be served only when the member nations have been brought to a community standing on its own affirmative merits rather than being merely a group of nations acting in an expedient combination in reaction to the Soviet Union.

The year 1953 has brought out one inherent weakness in the collaborations on the side of our interests. It is the characteristic that the concord among the participating nations grows strong only when the Soviet manifests intransigence and tends to fall off in response to passing gestures and words from the Kremlin. Our alliances still have a little too much of the character of "Sweet Alice" in the traditional song who "wept with delight" when someone gave her a smile and "trembled with fear" at his frown.

This points up the cardinal importance of better and more enduring accommodations in trade between the United States and its friends of the free world. And one of the great tests of the national will ahead of us in 1954 is on the question whether the United States will face up rationally in its trade relations to the necessities of its strategic leadership or continue to be bemused by the old economic attitudes developed in the days when it was a secondary power.

Lastly, there is the importance of maintaining the image of the United States in the minds of those who live and who rule in other nations. Those who govern here—and I mean those who govern in the executive and in the legislative establishment as well—and those who participate in our national affairs as citizens share a responsibility in this. The tasks imposed upon the United States are too great for a divided nation to carry. They require all that we have and all that we are for their successful conclusion. The character of the image of the United States in minds abroad is too important a factor in our destiny to permit us the luxury of impairing that image by destroying bonds of confidence between great groups of Americans.

It is important for us to recognize what really combats communism and what really fosters it in the world. Combating communism is not merely a verbal exercise, not merely a forensic and sentimental display.

Rather it is a task requiring the greatest fortitude, patience, and urbanity, and he who reduces the image of the United States in the minds of other nations—however he rationalizes his efforts—is not combating communism. We do not combat communism—we only foster its success—when we make war upon our past. The main task, the real issue of history and destiny lies in the future.

Comment by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, on President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, immediately after President Eisenhower delivered his annual message on the state of the Union, I issued a statement of comment on the message. I ask unanimous consent that the statement may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The President's message and his recommendations deserve and will indeed require the most sober and objective consideration on the part of all of us. He said in his message that both of our great political parties can support the general objective of his recommendations, namely, the building of a stronger America. I concur wholeheartedly in this view. Insofar as his recommendations when translated into specific proposals, contribute toward this objective, I for one, will give them unstinted support. There is a growing awareness that the dangers which confront our Nation both at home and abroad, both in economic and in political matters, cannot be resolved by a partisan approach. They can be solved only through a nonpartisan approach.

I am gratified indeed to note that the President has accepted and endorsed the basic objectives of both the New Deal and the Fair Deal, namely, the responsibility of Government for the prosperity and welfare of the individual citizen. I hope that the proposals which will be made to implement the President's enunciation of these basic principles will measure up to and not pervert these principles.

Despite the almost encyclopedic number of recommendations contained in this message, some of the most important and urgent issues were only sketchily covered. Some were omitted altogether.

Thus, I regret very much that the President saw fit to omit any reference to the need for drastic amendment of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act.

While the President vaguely referred to progress made in the field of civil rights, there is no reference in the message to the need for fair employment legislation and other Federal civil-rights measures. Indeed, his report and recommendations in the civil-rights field are bare and discouraging.

While the President made a number of recommendations, which we must consider very carefully, for cutting down on civil liberties, he made no reference whatever to the need for recovering ground already lost in the field of civil liberties and in broadening the horizons of individual rights and freedoms.

There was regrettably no reference to the need for approving the Genocide Convention. While he did recommend action on statehood for Hawaii, he very eloquently refrained from referring to statehood for Alaska.

I have grave reservations regarding his assumption that we can get more strength for less money, that we can cut taxes, reduce defense expenditures, and still grow stronger. I am open to conviction on this, but I will ask to be shown that we are not sacrificing preparedness to serve political ends.

I look forward with great anticipation to the detailed recommendations which the President has promised in the fields of health, of labor, of housing, and of economic policy. To all these he referred in only general terms and promised special messages. I hope that the specific proposals will actually carry out the generalized recommendations.

This is a message which cannot be digested and evaluated at first sight. This will need not only days but weeks and months of study and evaluation. The proof of this pudding will be in the eating. I am ready to support the President with all my strength in those proposals and programs which go forward to the goals which he described—"the advancement of the security, prosperity, and well being of the American people"; to the achievement of a condition in which "every citizen has a good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure."

Toward these goals and the achievement of these objectives, with the reservations which I have suggested—and there are many others—I am prepared to support the program of the President of the United States.

Statement by Hon. William T. Granahan, of Pennsylvania, on Private Immigration Bill for Former Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced, on January 14, 1954, a private bill, H. R. 7221, for the relief of Anders Taranger, a young man who has just completed 2 years of service in the United States Marine Corps, including action in the Korean theater, to give him eligibility for American citizenship—an honor and privilege to which he is entitled by virtue of his service to our country in time of war.

Anders Taranger, a Norwegian seaman, was stranded in the United States several years ago when the Panamanian ship on which he was a radio operator was sold in the United States. He registered under the draft as an alien in the United States, was inducted into the Marine Corps and was honorably discharged on January 6, 1954. He immediately attempted to file citizenship papers, but was rejected because he had lived in the United States only 10 months, instead of the required 12 months, prior to joining the Marine Corps.

Taranger's home address is 5000 Pacific Avenue, Wildwood, N. J. I am interesting myself in his case at the request of veterans organizations in the Philadelphia area, who believe that his case is a meritorious one. I was pleased to read on January 12 an editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer endorsing my plans to seek special legislation for Taranger so that he may qualify for citizenship papers, despite the technicality involved in his lacking a mere 2 months of additional residence in this country prior to enlistment.

It would be a shame if such a technicality were to deprive this young man of the opportunity of citizenship.

I have asked Chairman CHAUNCEY REED, of the House Judiciary Committee, to schedule an early hearing on my bill.

Engraved Art Preferred Over Offset Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about the proposal to replace engraved art in producing United States currency and stamps with the process of offset printing.

I think offset printing has its place in this modern industrial world of ours, but it should not be used where such use is not an improvement but a retrogression.

The engravings produced by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are not only great works of art, but the method has proved to be the safest guaranty against counterfeiting yet devised. No other process can duplicate all the positive guaranties of the present system.

I would like to include in my remarks the following letter to the Washington Star from an expert, a veteran engraver, a man skilled in his art, whose arguments for engraved art must command our attention—Mr. C. Melvin Sharpe, a long-time civic leader and outstanding citizen of Washington, D. C., and presently chairman of the Board of Education in Washington. The letter was published in the Sunday Star, January 11, 1954. It follows:

ENGRAVED ART PREFERRED BY A VETERAN

To the EDITOR OF THE STAR:

I am amazed at the suggestion that has been made from apparently responsible sources that our Government contemplates making United States stamps by photolithographic, offset, or some other cheaper method than by hand-engraved dies.

I was associated in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing for many years, after having been induced to come to the Bureau of Engraving from the American Bank Note Co., by John Rowland Hill, who was then in charge of the Engraving Division of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Mr. Hill was a splendid musician and a man of eminent culture, refinement, and proven skill as an engraver. He was either a son or grandson of the eminent Sir Rowland Hill who had introduced the penny postal system in Great Britain, and I believe to the world, and had an intimate, certain, and exact knowledge of the process and skill in design

and performance that was necessary to create a "multum in parvo" on steel. I was associated in those days in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing with a coterie of great artists in the engraving art. There were Frederick P. C. Smillie, Mark Baldwin, Robert Ponichau, George W. Rose, Jr. (The latter afterward left the Bureau to take charge of the British manufacture of bank notes for the Bank of England on Threadneedle Street.) There were also Charles M. Chalmers, Harry Charlton, Louis A. Hill, my intimate friend, who was afterward Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Robert Warren, E. M. Weeks, Frank Lamasure, and Franklin T. Howe, and a host of other artists, some of whom I personally induced to come to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing from the American Bank Note Co. and other reputable bank-note companies in this country.

We had as our able designer, who like myself was a former student at the Pensylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Aubrey Clare Huston, who was an artist of repute and personal charm and who designed some of the most beautiful stamps we have in our Federal files.

I quite well remember the days when our American currency was engraved from designs by Walter Shirlaw, Kenyon Cox, and other great artists whose works adorn the walls in the Library of Congress. While it is true that it is a difficult and tedious process in the transformation of a United States stamp, from the original hand-engraved die until the expert plate printer does his beautiful work in completion, the objective was then and should be now something in final result that is beautiful, creative, and above all, a safety factor for all our people.

Lurid, brilliant colors that are vague in definity can be seen in newsprint and in nearly everything that we now have in the cheap marts of commercial art. But the infinite skill and design created in small area on steel, by hand, of a picture of historical interest, is one of broad educational value, intrinsic beauty and protection to the thousands of our people here and abroad, to treasure as a valuable work of art.

I well recall the very pleasant interviews that I had with President Woodrow Wilson and President Franklin D. Roosevelt regarding the method involved in creating our stamps and the ultimate beauty and protection afforded in the accomplished result. On one occasion, Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, who hailed from the great State of Texas, had a special delivery stamp created from a very excellent design made by his daughter. The then director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Joseph E. Ralph, Mr. Huston and myself had many interesting discussions with him before we had redesigned and completed the finished engraved stamp.

I cannot see, from the artistic or protective angle, any real advantage in departing from the time-honored method that has been pursued so carefully and so beautifully throughout the history of our country with regard to our stamps and currency. There have been innovations, particularly those made at the time that the smaller Philippine currency was created under the careful and personal observation of the then Governor General of the Islands, Maj. Gen. Frank McIntypre, and the resulting difficulty the Treasury had in selling the idea to our American banking circles regarding the smaller type of hand-engraved note which followed the pattern of the Philippine notes in size. I consider the Philippine currency notes, designed and created in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, among the most beautiful in the world.

These recent innovations on the theory of economy may lead to the lowering in standards of protective value and the great probability of the loss of employment by a considerable number of competent men and women who have devoted themselves to the advancement of the engraving and plate printing of all our engraved securities, including postage stamps.

I well recall Secretary of the Treasury William G. MacAdoo asking me to chaperon the then governor of the Bank of England, whose name now escapes me, but who looked so much like Buffalo Bill that one could have almost taken him for our own Col. William F. Cody, on a trip around Washington to see our buildings and parks. When we arrived at the old Corcoran mansion his lordship grew very angry when I took him within the walled gardens and the beautiful old architecture of that home and told him that we were about to tear it down and place the new building of the United States Chamber of Commerce on the site. He stamped his foot, looked at me severely, and said, "Mr. Sharpe, do you Americans not admire the old, the tried, the dignified, the beautiful?" I assured him that we tried to in every manner and he then said, "Well, if you are going to tear down this gorgeously staple, dignified, well-designed home to put something hideously modern thereon, you must have little respect for your beautiful and dignified old ladies."

And so it seems to me, as one who labored diligently for improvement in our production in hand work of steel engraved securities, which also included hand plate printing with the finest of materials utilized at that time, a great loss to all of our people will occur if such desecration is to come about, solely for economy reasons, by replacing hand steel engraved and printed stamps by any other method than now in use. The idea is not new and I well recall during the First World War that Thomas A. Edison and Dr. Hutchinson spent days and weeks trying to evolve a successful electrolytic wartime method of production of money plates in the Bureau of Engraving and printing. The one great danger that I see apparent in such an economy effort will be that the next step will involve making our currency notes by some inferior and cheaper method than is now pursued so admirably to the credit and protection of our Nation and its people.

C. MELVIN SHARPE,
President, Board of Education.

Massive Atomic Retaliation and the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article by the distinguished columnist, Mr. James Reston, which appeared in the New York Times on January 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASSIVE ATOMIC RETALIATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, January 16.—The moods of Washington change as quickly as a child's and the Communists would be well advised to note the mood of the present Congress.

It is different, in an extraordinary way. Not so many months ago the Republicans were challenging the right of the President to send troops into Korea without the consent of Congress.

More than that, even after the Senate approved of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Republicans and quite a few Democrats staged a major protest against the authority of the President to implement that treaty by sending garrison troops to Europe.

Yet in the last few days both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles have announced a "new strategy," potentially graver than anything ever proposed by any United States Government, and this has not produced a single important comment on Capitol Hill.

BEYOND THE HUMAN DOCTRINE

The President and the Secretary of State did not say, as President Truman had said in the Truman Doctrine, that the United States must be prepared to oppose Communist aggression wherever it occurred. They went beyond that. They said that the United States must be free to retaliate instantly, not necessarily against the Communist troops in the field but anywhere we chose with any weapons we chose.

In other words they told Moscow and Peiping, as clearly as governments ever say these things, that, in the event of another proxy or bushfire war in Korea, Indochina, Iran, or anywhere else, the United States might retaliate instantly with atomic weapons against the U. S. S. R. or Red China.

This was not, like the Truman Doctrine, a mere paragraph out of a speech. It was a decision by the President and the National Security Council which determined the size and disposition of the armed services of the United States, and which will inevitably affect the type of weapons to be developed, the future of NATO and the EDC and the strategy to be employed in the event of another Korean-type war.

"The way to deter aggression," said Mr. Dulles in New York last Tuesday, "is for the free community to be willing and able to respond vigorously at places and with means of its own choosing."

He made clear that the United States was not going to disperse its strength all around the world or follow the policy of hitting the octopus wherever its tentacles lashed out along the periphery of the Red Empire. Instead, Mr. Dulles indicated, our power and our policy were to be changed, so that the octopus might be struck at the head.

"Before military planning could be changed," Mr. Dulles said, "the President and his advisers, as represented by the National Security Council, had to take some basic policy decisions. This has been done. The basic decision was to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing."

WHO WOULD PULL THE TRIGGER?

This raises some fundamental questions. Suppose the Chinese moved into Indochina in sufficient mass to tip the balance there against the French. Who would give the order to trigger an atomic attack against the China mainland?

Or suppose the Red army moved into Azerbaijan, in Iran, as they did once before. Who would order the massive retaliatory power of the United States Strategic Command to hit the Kremlin?

Would the President do it on his own? And if he decided against taking personal responsibility for the counterblow, how could he seek the consent of the Congress without alerting the Kremlin and risking a sudden atomic blow upon the United States?

A year ago these questions would have been asked here without a moment's delay, but what was the reaction in Washington to Mr. Dulles' speech? There was no reaction. Nobody said a word, and this wasn't because

the Congress has reconciled itself to the growing power of the White House.

On the controry, Mr. Dulles made his speech precisely at the moment when the Congress was in the midst of a frontal attack on the President's treatymaking powers through the so-called Bricker amendment. A powerful group of Senators in the President's own party were trying to strip him of certain legal authority to make treaties with foreign powers, but not a soul complained about his "new strategy" of sudden atomic retaliation.

"The fundamental issue in the great debate," said the late Senator Taft in his book, A Foreign Policy for Americans, pages 21–23, "was, and is, whether the President shall decide when the United States shall go to war or whether the people of the United States themselves shall make that decision. * * *

"The matter was brought to an issue by the intervention of the President in the Korean war without even telling Congress what he was doing for several weeks. * * * I do not think that the American people have ever faced a more serious constitutional issue."

The mood, however, has now changed, and so has the party in power. Any policy directed against the Communists is a good policy just so it is tough (and comparatively inexpensive).

A. J. Hayes, International President, International Association of Machinists, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee Analyzing Nation's Health Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Friday, January 15, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. A. J. Hayes, international president of the International Association of Machinists, is highly important. Mr. Hayes, who was born and educated in Wisconsin, first joined the International Association of Machinists in Milwaukee in 1919. From 1924 to 1934, he was president of District 7 of the International Association of Machinists, covering all machinists' lodges on the Chicago and North Western Railroad System. From 1944 until 1949 he was general vice president of the association. He was elected international president in 1949 and was reelected to this high office in 1953.

Mr. Hayes has a deep and abiding interest in health problems. He served as a member on President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. He is a director of the American Heart Association, and a member of the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped.

Extracts from Mr. Hayes' testimony analyzing our Nation's health problems were as follows:

I greatly appreciate this opportunity to appear before this committee on a matter of such vital importance as the health of our people—actually the health of our Nation.

I appear here as a consumer of medical services, and as a representative of nearly 900,000 like consumers who are members of the machinist's organization which I represent.

I am not a medical expert. Therefore, my knowledge and views emanate from the problems of those who need and those who use health services, men and women in my organization, in my family, and among my circle of friends.

My knowledge and views are based upon personal experience, and the established experience of others—upon studies of many types of negotiated health and welfare plans, private and group health insurance, group practice plans, and other attempts to meet the health needs of our people—and upon my service on the Advisory Committee to the Division of Occupational Health of the United States Public Health Service; also as a member of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation.

I have prepared my views to cover the following four broad categories:

1. Our health problem;
2. Why we must be concerned about it;
3. The inadequacy of present methods, programs, and facilities for solving our health problem;
4. Better methods for solving it.

The views which I will express are not prompted by selfish motives, or in the major interest of the members and families of labor unions. If labor unions were motivated by selfish interests, they would perhaps discourage health legislation, devote themselves to the improvement of their own negotiated health and welfare plans, and utilize these plans to exploit the dire health needs of wage earners for organizing purposes. In addition, unions could also use that issue as a demand for more wages.

We believe, however, that our health needs are grave, and that we, as well as other public-spirited groups of citizens must be concerned with the health problem as it affects all of the people—not only the members of trade unions or the members of the medical profession.

In this conviction, I am not influenced, misled, or confused by crafty catchwords which are so frequently used to obscure the facts and confuse the uninformed. Loose, definitionless phrases like "socialized medicine" certainly fall into the category of things which in Shakespeare's words are "full of sound and fury, and signifying nothing." Propaganda and philosophy cannot abide together, and certainly a subject as serious as the health of the American people deserves our calm, dispassionate consideration.

The existence of our health problem is obvious—in the fact that between July 1950 and June 1951, 15 percent of our draftees were rejected for medical reasons only, despite lowered health standards—in the fact that findings of periodic physical examinations of school children indicate serious health deficiencies in the health status of our young people—in the fact that white males in the United States have a higher death rate than males in many Western European countries—in the fact that some sections of our Nation show higher death rates from communicable diseases than others—in the fact that the life expectancy of Negroes, although increasing, is still shorter than that for white people—in the relatively high incidence and long duration of disease among people in low-income families. (NOTE.—All cited from President's Commission Report—vol. I, p. 10.)

The evidence and effects of our health problem can be found in every section and community in our country. The report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation spells out the facts. We are short of health personnel and health facilities, and what we have are poorly distributed among the various sections of the country, with critical shortages in our rural and remote areas. Our health personnel and facilities are poorly organized, compartmentalized, and isolated geographically and professionally. Health research, despite vast gains in the past decade, still has neither the funds nor the facilities to compete with other types of research for top-notch personnel. Our traditional fee-at-the-time-of-service system of financing personnel health care has broken down under the increasing complexity and the mounting cost of modern health care. And our attempts to find a substitute for that traditional system have been haphazard and inadequate.

The existence of the health problem reflects seriously on our status as a civilized, cultured Nation, upon our ability to produce, and upon our position is a leader in the struggle of the free world against communism.

It is unthinkable that a nation such as ours, with its high devotion to the dignity of man and the intrinsic value of the individual, can continue to tolerate a situation which permits millions of its citizens to languish in the twilight of ill health or to slip prematurely into the grave.

Beyond its affront to our national ideal of human dignity, the health problem has a serious impact upon the national economy.

Dr. Howard Rusk, Chairman of the Health Resources Advisory Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization, estimated that we lose approximately 500 million man-days a year of production time as a result of nonoccupational illness. To workers and their families this represents $4.2 billion a year in lost wages. And, of course, there is a corresponding loss in production and profits.

This drain upon the Nation's manpower, income and production would be serious enough in normal times. But in the face of the harsh realities of the world today, the need for action becomes imperative.

Regardless of temporary lulls in the cold war between the free world and communism, and in spite of the blessed cessation of hostilities in Korea, we should realize, from the very nature of communism and from its past record, that tension between the two worlds will ebb and flow, with the ever-present danger of widespread armed conflict, until the slaves of the Communist taskmasters have thrown off their yokes and achieved the ways of freedom.

This being the case, we must be constantly aware of the effect of what in ordinary times would be purely domestic problems upon our ability to face the Communist world in maximum strength.

It certainly would be conservative to say that insofar as natural resources go, the free world and the Communist nations are on even terms. This may even be underestimating the potential resources of the Communists.

So far as manpower goes, the Communists have the advantage in sheer numbers.

The strength of the free world—and it is largely centered in the United States and Canada—lies in industrial know-how and quality of manpower.

If we are to remain strong—as we must—we have not only to maintain, but constantly to improve, the effectiveness of our industrial techniques and the skill and general quality of our work force.

The development of technical improvements is not a primary concern of a union official. But I am concerned, by the very nature of my union position, with the men and women who carry out the techniques and work the machines of industry. The health of those men and women is a vital factor in how much and how well they produce, now and in the future. And one of the surest ways to assure their presence on

the job and to improve their productive capacities is to cut down on the absences and the inefficiency which result from illness.

Now, we of the United States are not in the habit of seeing a problem and ignoring it. Traditionally we do something about it. And we have been doing, or attempting to do, something about their health problem.

Let us analyze the effectiveness of what we have done to meet the health needs of the American people in the light of how various segments of the population fare in meeting their health problems.

At the top of the list comes that relatively small group of people who have a knowledge of the assets of good health, and the economic resources to take full advantage of existing health care services—covering prevention, early diagnosis and treatment, physical therapy, and rehabilitation.

In the second category go the veterans, merchant seamen, and wards of the Federal Government for whom the Nation makes available health services of a high quality at no cost to the individuals concerned. This is a commendable function of Government on behalf of deserving groups in our country. It demonstrates beyond any doubt that we, through our Government, do understand the fundamentals and advantages of good health care. In my judgment, it is a blot on our Nation's conscience when we are not willing to apply this knowledge and experience in one way or another to the millions of our people who need health care most.

Third are the fortunate citizens who have available the comprehensive service of such prepayment, group practice plans as the health insurance plan of Greater New York, Permanente, the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, and Group Health here in Washington.

According to a recent survey of accident health coverage in the United States by the Health Insurance Council, this group numbers a little over 5 million.

Fourth are those workers and their families who are covered by negotiated health and welfare plans, usually underwritten by commercial carriers or the Blue Cross-Blue Shield type of organization, on the indemnity principle.

Fifth come workers and their families covered by other types of group insurance provided without union participation.

Under the fourth and fifth groups, there are about 73 million people, according to the Health Insurance Council's recent survey, covered by commercially underwritten group insurance plans under Blue Cross and other plans sponsored by medical societies.

Next in the order mentioned, come persons with individual health insurance policies (some 22¼ million according to the survey); those people who take advantage of existing health service only in cases of extreme injury or serious illness; the indigent, who have access to free clinical care of some sort; those who depend upon quacks and patent medicine; and, finally, those who, because of ignorance of the value of health and financial inability to pay for care, neglect their health almost entirely.

Health problems exist in varying degrees in every one of the 10 categories mentioned except the first. The fortunate people in that category combine knowledge of the essential ingredients of good health and the ability to pay for the services which make good health possible.

In none of the other nine categories do we find this combination in such complete form, and in some there is little trace of either factor.

Our existing plans designed to make health services more generally available through the prepayment of medical care costs are, with few exceptions, notably inadequate.

In the first place, despite the startling growth of prepayment plans over the past decade, and in spite of the fact that more than 50 percent of all Americans are covered by some sort of health insurance, the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation reported that "such plans cover only 15 percent of private expenditures for medical care" (vol. I, p. 43).

The so-called health insurance issued by both commercial insurance companies and the Blue Cross-Blue Shield type of organizations is written on the indemnity basis. This means that it pays limited benefits for limited items of health care, and that, in so doing, it neglects completely the fundamental need for preventive medicine and early diagnosis and treatment. It does nothing to minimize the development of illness to more serious stages, and thus it fails to get at one of the basic causes of the high cost of medical care. To the contrary, there is evidence to indicate that the development of indemnity type health insurance has actually played a part in increasing that cost.

In addition, indemnity type insurance plans issued on an individual rather than a group basis has another—practically a fatal—shortcoming from the viewpoint of providing adequate health services to those who need such services.

As reported in the latest issue of our weekly newspaper, the Machinist, our union has recently had complaints from a number of members concerning a fine-print feature of individual health insurance policies which permits insurance companies to refuse to renew such policies at their option. All of the complaints boil down to one simple, tragic experience: That inevitably when a holder of an individually issued health policy submits a claim, he is told either one of three things: that the company will refuse to renew his policy at the next renewal date; that coverage will be continued only if he agrees to waive future benefits for claims resulting from the illness which caused his claim; or that full coverage will be continued in the future upon the payment of increased premiums.

The net effect of this practice—and it is so common that it is a policy—is to deprive people of their protection against the cost of medical care at the very time when the need for such care is imminent.

On the basis of some of the complaints we have received, I wrote to one of the leading underwriters of individual health insurance asking for a statement of their views and practices in the matter. In reply I received, with a very brief covering letter, a printed explanation of what the company calls the problem of renewal.

Because the explanation reveals so completely the total inadequacy of the individually issued type of health insurance, and because it demonstrates so well the type of propagandistic prattle which clouds the fact in this field of inquiry, I am going to read it in its entirety:

"As yet no one knows what it costs to provide hospital, medical, and surgical care limited only by the needs of the patient.

"In two of the provinces of Canada, in England, and in France, hospital and medical care is being provided free to all who need it and the cost is being paid by a tax imposed on everyone whether they like it or not. The cost has been found to exceed all estimates, and may continue to increase.

"In Soviet Russia, health care, such as it is, is also available to all who need it, and it will probably continue to be one of the services provided by the masters in the Kremlin, in the quality and to the extent they deem necessary to keep the Russian people on the job.

"Of course the Russian people are hardly in a position to make any objections to this health care. If they do, they will probably find themselves provided also with board and room in a labor camp. Even in the western democracies it will require more than 50 percent of the voters to make any effective objection to either the health care or to its cost.

"An insurance company is different. Be it stock, mutual, or nonprofit, it is still a voluntary association of free people to distribute the cost of health care over the whole group in the form of premium payments rather than to have it borne entirely by the victims of illness or accident. If any individual in the group feels that the cost is unreasonable, he is free to withdraw. If costs are allowed to become too high, some individuals will withdraw, and because our people are free people, motivated by an enlightened self-interest, the individuals who withdraw will be those who do not expect immediate benefits from their membership. Those who expect immediate benefits will continue, thereby again increasing the cost. This process will continue until those members who remain are all in the hospital attempting to pay hospital and medical bills each for the other.

"So the costs must not be allowed to become too high. Premiums must be kept within the budgets of large numbers of people. Normally those who can afford it can buy a better product and pay a higher price. But in insurance you are paying your money for services to be delivered far in the future. As demonstrated above, it is entirely possible that the more you pay the poorer is your insurance. Because it won't be there when you need it.

"For health insurance you must be associated with healthy people, not sick ones. If your health is below par, or becomes below par, you cannot expect to continue indefinitely in the group. Furthermore, when the time arrives that you meet with an accident or that your health fails, you must be prepared to accept benefits not based entirely upon your needs, but based upon your needs and limited by an amount which bears a reasonable relation to the amount of your current contributions, bearing always in mind that your contributions in previous years have been consumed in payment of claims, taxes, expenses, and the accumulation of reserves for contingencies.

"In an insured group, then, the members have a right to expect certain things from the management.

"1. They expect the management to design a plan, the cost of which large numbers of healthy people are able and willing to pay.

"2. They expect the management to see to it that new members are healthy people.

"3. They expect the management to see that members unfortunate enough to become claimants are paid, promptly and fairly.

"4. They expect also that the management, having paid fair and reasonable benefits out of the funds of the group, will see that the member who has benefits will, if his health is impaired and he continues in the group, thereafter make extra contributions to the funds of the group consistent with the extra benefits he may thereafter expect to derive from the funds of the group.

"To fulfill this last expectation your company has provided in its policies that the company may decline to renew any policy at any renewal date. This right to decline to renew is only exercised under two circumstances:

"(a) When it develops that the insured was actually not in good health when the policy was issued and was never actually qualified for membership.

"(b) After benefits have been paid in such amount that the plan may be said to have fulfilled its function.

"Furthermore, the company has always been willing to rescind a decision to decline to renew in those circumstances under which it is possible to modify the policy by excluding benefits for loss due to a particular cause, provided, of course, that the policyholder is willing to accept such modification.

"Now after some years of preparation the company can also offer in many cases to continue policies without modification of coverage if the policyholder agrees to make

an extra contribution designed to pay his share of the extra benefits to be derived from the funds of the group by those members having similar health history.

"In a different future it is possible that, without dictatorial or taxing powers, people may be persuaded to contribute much more than at present while they are healthy in order to derive greater benefits when they become ill. At present the rates necessary to enlist the membership of larger numbers of healthy people must necessarily put a limit on benefits both as to amount and as to duration.

"BANKERS LIFE & CASUALTY CO.

"CHICAGO, ILL."

The tragic side of the story lies in the vast difference between the glowing advertisements and glib sales patter which is used to sell such policies, and the stark realities of their shortcomings in time for medical need.

It must be great comfort, indeed for a person on the threshold of possible serious illness to receive a statement like the one I just read, informing him of his freedom to be without protection at a time of need, and telling him how fortunate he is not to live in a country where such protection is provided on a national basis. I doubt that the reading of such a statement would do anything to improve the mental outlook or the physical well-being of the reader.

The only type of prepaid health costs in our existing set-up that comes anywhere near meeting the needs of the American people is the comprehensive-service, group-practice type of plan like Permanente, HIP of New York, Group Health of Washington, and a number of others I have mentioned earlier.

Such plans provide opportunities for prevention through early diagnosis and early treatment which nips illness in the bud. Experience under such plans shows that in this way they reduce the incidence of serious illness and hold down medical costs. It is this feature which is so sadly lacking in other plans.

Incidentally, as a result of the effect of preventive medicine and early treatment the costs of such plans are not so high as one might believe. Dr. Baehr of the HIP of Greater New York has testified that the latest figures showed that medical care is being rendered at an annual cost of $36.36 per enrolled member. Even adding in some $20 a year for hospitalization insurance, we reach a total cost of only about $56 a year. This is comparable to the figures reported for 1950 by the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, which showed that costs per enrolled member in that year were $38.26 for medical and $12.73 for hospital care, or a total of $50.99 per year per person.

The sad fact is that, with the exception of the extremely few comprehensive group practice plans, our attempts to meet the problem of financing personal health services, impressive though they may appear in statistical tables, are woefully deficient in providing the American people with the kind of medical care they want and need.

The sincere desire of the American people for a method of prepaying medical care costs is evidenced by the phenomenal rise in the sale of health insurance and the rapid spread of union negotiated health and welfare plans. The need is apparent in the fact, reported in a recent survey made for the Federal Reserve Board by the Michigan Survey Center, that 1 out of every 4 families of factory workers has medical debts.

Many of these debts are relatively small in size. But some of them are fantastically large. I am submitting as a part of the record as an example of the crushing burden of medical costs, statements recently received from several members of the Machinists' Union which indicate the high cost of medical care, in some cases, over and above insurance benefits.

A. J. Hayes, International President, International Association of Machinists, Proposes Health and Rehabilitation Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Friday, January 15, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. A. J. Hayes, international president of the International Association of Machinists, is highly important. Mr. Hayes, who was born and educated in Wisconsin, first joined the International Association of Machinists in Milwaukee in 1919. From 1924 to 1934, he was president of district 7 of the International Association of Machinists, covering all machinists' lodges on the Chicago & North Western Railroad system. From 1944 until 1949 he was general vice president of the association. He was elected international president in 1949 and was reelected to this high office in 1953.

Mr. Hayes has a deep and abiding interest in health problems. He served as a member on President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. He is a director of the American Heart Association, and a member of the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped.

Mr. Hayes submitted to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee the following recommendations with regard to a health program for our people:

I am convinced that the American people cannot have what they need and desire in the field of health service except through a national health program which includes some form of national health insurance.

The first requisite of any effective solution to our health problem is that it must be a comprehensive, coordinated attack on every one of the problem's various phases—shortages of medical personnel and facilities, the organization for maximum efficiency and economy, medical research, and prepayment of health-care costs.

Eventually, I believe we shall come to the conclusion that the only final solution to our health problem lies in a rounded national health program incorporating some form of national health insurance.

I know of no other way in which the American people can prepay their medical-care costs on a widespread basis. Certainly our present haphazard attempts have only scratched the surface lightly.

As a member of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, I found myself in complete agreement with all of the Commission's findings and with all but one of its recommendations.

Miss Elizabeth Magee, of the National Consumers League, Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, and I joined in the following dissent on the Commission's recommendations of financing personal health services:

"We are recording herewith certain objections and a dissenting opinion to the Commission's recommendations regarding the financing of personal health services.

"Throughout its report the Commission has quite thoroughly analyzed the status of our Nation's health, and recorded its findings in a comprehensive, courageous, and forthright manner. This, however, is not true with reference to the majority recommendations regarding the financing of personal health services. The majority recommendations on these matters will not accomplish the objectives of the Commission as stated throughout the report. Those objectives are stated as 'that all persons in the country should have ready access to high quality comprehensive personal health service.'

"Any legislation which would leave participation in a health or health-insurance program to the option of each State, or which would be dependent upon special kinds of organizations of medical personnel, could not possibly accoplish the objective of giving all persons in the country ready access to high quality comprehensive personal health services. In fact, such legislation would discriminate against those persons whose States chose for any reason not to participate.

"If the basic recommendations in the Financing of Personal Health Services section of the Commission's report are to be considered as a means of achieving the objectives set forth throughout the report, then the participation of every State must be assured by Federal statute, or the Federal Government must make such health services available in those States which for any reasons do not participate. In the event this cannot be accomplished for any reasons, then the objectives set forth throughout the report and heretofore referred to should be accomplished through a National Health Insurance Act supported by joint employer-employee contributions and tax revenues."

That still represents my viewpoint on the subject.

We are practical people, however. Union officials get that way in the give and take of collective bargaining. And, since it appears that the chances of achieving the ultimate solution in the near future are fairly remote, we will cooperate in any program which is a step in the right direction.

Any limited program—like the ultimate program—should be considered as a unit, rather than on a piecemeal basis. The companion bill approach which the Chairman of this committee has undertaken is one method of handling the matter on an integrated basis.

The minimum program which should be undertaken at this time, it seems to me, should incorporate the following features:

1. Federal grants to schools of medicine, dentistry and, nursing, and institutions for training of other medical personnel and Federal scholarships to worthy young people who would not otherwise be able to bear the financial cost of a medical education.

2. A continuation and broadening of the existing Hill-Burton hospital construction program, with more emphasis on modernizing existing facilities, and some provision for the establishment of hospitals in rural and remote areas, perhaps as branchs of metropolitan hospitals.

3. Some means of fostering and promoting the development of group medical practice. This is essential to the more effective use of existing personnel and facilities. Despite strong objections from the medical profession, and laws prohibiting group practice in some States, group practice is made essential by the complexity of modern medicine. As a matter of fact, the medical profession is already engaging in group practice, especially in metropolitan areas, with patients being referred from one specialist to another at considerable inconvenience, delay, and expense. It would be much more efficient and far less expensive to integrate all facilities under one regulated administrative body. This also would do away with the very objectionable fee-splitting arrange-

ments now practiced by some physicians who send a patient from one specialist to another.

4. The research and community programs of the United States Public Health Service should be further developed. It is tragic, I think, that in the past year the Service has suffered cuts in appropriation which drastically curtailed existing programs. The cut in the Service's Occupational Health Division alone totaled $125,000—nearly a third of the preceding year's budget. As a result the Service was forced to abandon a number of essential surveys, research programs, and informational activity, which had a particularly adverse effect upon the majority of employees who work in smaller plants. Surely this type of so-called economy is more truly parsimony.

5. A national system of insurance for catastrophic illness to help people bear the extreme costs which result from the long neglect of their health under our existing inadequate facilities. The need for this type of program will diminish as more and more of our people have access to health education, preventive medicine, and early diagnosis and treatment, and will completely vanish with the institution of national health insurance.

6. Federal assistance to existing commercial and nonprofit health insurance systems to enable them to offer comprehensive health insurance at reasonable cost. This may be done either in the form of subsidies or through a system of reinsurance as proposed in H. R. 6949 (WOLVERTON'S bill). In either case the assistance must be accompanied by strict Federal standards governing the types and costs of insurance offered and the practices of the companies offering them.

7. Some form of assistance in obtaining proper health care to the millions of Americans whose incomes are so low as to prohibit their taking advantage of even the types of protection made possible by the sugegsted Federal assistance to insurance companies and nonprofit health organizations.

The number of persons in this category is great. According to the Bureau of Census of the Commerce Department there were in 1949, some 38 million persons in nearly 11 million families whose incomes were less than $2,000 a year. In addition there were over 3 million people outside of family groups earning less than $500 a year.

Certainly no program would be complete without making some provision for this large group of more than 40 million Americans who would be unable to take advantage of the other parts of the program because of their severe financial limitations.

We suggest that the problem could be met through some sort of national health loan agency which would make loans available to low income families and individuals for the purchase of comprehensive health insurance.

Loans would bear low rates of interest, and be made with the understanding on the part of the Government that a percentage of the money loaned—perhaps a large percentage—would eventually take the form of grants.

I can see no objection to this proposal on the basis that the Government would be subsidizing a group of its citizens. Certainly the Government through the Commerce and Interior Departments renders continuing aid to business. And loans have been made to sick business over a period of years through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

I have no objection to aid to business by the Federal Government. Indeed, such governmental activity, properly designed and administered, benefits the entire economy. In the same way the entire Nation stands to gain from the improved health of its citizens, and funds devoted to the health of the Nation will result in widespread economic benefits.

Of course, such a program as assistance to low-income families and individuals will entail cost to the Government, just like all other phases of the proposed interim program.

But when we discuss the cost of taking care of our health problem we must be constantly cognizant of the fact that we do not avoid costs by failing to deal with the problem. It is not a question of whether or not we pay for our health—but how we pay, and what we get in return.

The loss of time, manpower, production, and income that result from illness, physical deficiencies, and premature death is a total loss. There is no future benefit to be realized. It is a net drain upon our economy, our manpower, our productive capacity, and our defense potential.

The cost of solving our health deficiencies, on the other hand, is not net cost. Rather, society stands to gain markedly, in financial as well as human values, by solving the problem. Let me illustrate.

In 1951, 66,193 physically handicapped men and women were rehabilitated and placed in gainful employment—by the State-Federal rehabilitation program.

Three-quarters of these handicapped were unemployed when they began the rehabilitation process. Nearly one-half were dependent on their families. One out of every eight was on relief. Their combined annual incomes totaled $16 million—less than $250 apiece.

Largely, then, they were an unproductive group, dependent in large measure upon their families or on society.

It cost society, through the State and Federal Governments, about $100 million to rehabilitate them physically and vocationally and place them in suitable jobs.

That was the gross cost of restoring 66,193 handicapped persons to the status of self-respecting, self-supporting members of society.

Certainly that was a small price to pay for such a gain in human values. But there was a financial gain, too.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation estimates that the income of the group increased from $16 million in the year before rehabilitation to $116 million in the year after. Thus, in the first year, the increased earnings of the group exactly equaled the cost of the rehabilitation process.

But that is not the whole story.

It is also estimated that Federal income taxes paid by these people in the first year after rehabilitation amount to $9,200,000. At that rate the Federal Government will recover its entire share of the rehabilitation cost in about 6 years—solely from such income taxes.

The real cost so far as the handicapped are concerned lies, not in rehabilitation, but in failure to rehabilitate.

Much the same thing is true in the field of health. To say, as some do, that we cannot afford the cost of solving the national health problem is to evade the issue. We are paying the cost now—a tragic cost, a wasteful cost—in needless suffering, early death, and the loss of income, profit, and production.

This is the cost we cannot afford. The cost of meeting the health problem would be a temporary outlay which would be more than recovered in the better health, greater productive capacity, and increased earning power of the American people.

An official of 1 on the 200 St. Louis firms who are paying for comprehensive medical care for their employees under the Labor Health Institute summed it up recently when he said: "We're in this for selfish as well as humanitarian reasons. Healthy workers certainly are better than sick ones."

And healthy citizens are certainly better than sick ones from the national viewpoint. Through a well-rounded and eventually complete national health program we can make our Nation more truly than ever before a symbol of the value of freedom in bringing hope and progress to its people, and a strong bulwark against the forces of communism.

Mr. Kennedy and the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting editorial entitled "Mr. KENNEDY and the Seaway," published in the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times of Friday, January 15, 1954. There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. KENNEDY AND THE SEAWAY

JOHN F. KENNEDY, Massachusetts' youthful United States Senator, has announced that he favors the St. Lawrence seaway and will vote for the bill now being debated in the Washington upper House.

He thus became the first Massachusetts Senator or Member of Congress in history to support the controversial waterway project but, even more than this, he set forth, in disclosing his position, a philosophy of representative government that his colleagues would do well to imitate.

In a speech on the Senate floor Thursday, Senator KENNEDY said and meant what too many public servants honor more in the breach than in the observance. This was that the national good outweighed the regional and that as between regions, there should be no dog-in-the-manger attitude on the part of one toward the other.

Mr. KENNEDY said New England had suffered by reason of its failure to support benefits for other sections simply because it did not stand to gain by those benefits. He put it this way:

"I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of so many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections of the country which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own area by the representatives of other areas."

The Massachusetts Senator saw no great benefit to his home State by reason of the seaway's construction. But he demolished with facts and statistics the contention of opponents that New England in general and the port of Boston in particular would be hurt by the St. Lawrence navigation project.

This being the case—namely, that seaway's effect would be negligible on New England—it was time that Massachusetts lined up for it. To do otherwise would be to reassert that arbitrary attitude which Mr. KENNEDY thinks has hurt New England so much in the past.

In other words, there has heretofore been too much negativism in the approach of New Englanders—to wit, if it doesn't help New England, then New England should oppose it even if it benefits some other region. Mr. KENNEDY reverses this kind of thinking in a reasoned and refreshing expression.

About the port of Boston he had this remarkably frank observation: If New Englanders who complain that the port of Boston would be hurt by the seaway would use the port of Boston to ship their goods, then the port of Boston would boom. He offered compelling statistics to show that New York does a large share of New England's port business.

We do not say it simply because Mr. KENNEDY now supports a project long dear to our hearts, but this young fellow is going places. Such long-headedness is admirable and cannot fail to win the recognition it merits.

Defense Cutbacks Would Be Poor Idea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a survey, conducted by the Minnesota Poll of Public Opinion, and published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune on Tuesday, November 19, 1953, be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD. The poll indicates that 78 percent of the people in my home State of Minnesota believe that defense cutbacks would be a poor idea and poor economy.

I make note of that, because as the junior Senator from the State of Minnesota, I voted against the defense cutbacks, which I intend to do from now on; and I am happy to note that 78 percent of the people of Minnesota, according to our most accurate poll, feel that my position on this matter is correct.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE CUTBACKS WOULD BE POOR IDEA, 78 PERCENT IN STATE SAY

Most Minnesotans say it would be a poor idea for us to start cutting down on our defense program, even though fighting in Korea has ended.

A Minnesota poll survey indicates 78 percent of the State's men and women are opposed to defense retrenchment. Fifteen percent favor it. Two percent give qualified answers, and 5 percent are undecided.

At the same time, a large majority of State residents say America's military strength should not be reduced. Fifteen percent, in fact, think the armed forces should be expanded.

Sixty-six percent want them kept at their present strength, 9 percent believe they should be cut down, 5 percent offer qualified judgments, and 5 percent express no opinions.

A representative cross-section of voting age men and women, living in cities and towns and on farms throughout the State, was asked:

"Now that the fighting in Korea has stopped, do you think it would be a good idea or a poor idea to start cutting down on our defense program here at home?"

The replies:

	All	Men	Women
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Poor idea	78	78	78
Good idea	15	17	13
Qualified	2	3	1
No opinion	5	2	8
Total	100	100	100

A few think "the defense program should be reexamined" or say "we should keep on training the boys" or suggest "that depends on what Russia is going to do."

Many people insist "we must keep up our defense program because of Russia."

Interviewers also asked the cross-section sample:

"Would you favor keeping our Army, Navy, and Air Force at their present strength, or making them larger, or cutting them down?"

The answers:

	All	Men	Women
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Keep at present strength	66	64	69
Make them larger	15	16	14
Cut them down	9	11	7
Qualified	5	6	4
No opinion	5	3	6
Total	100	100	100

Most of the men and women qualifying their answers say "keep them as they are or expand them," or "increase the Air Force and let the Army and Navy stay the same."

Nearly one-fifth (19 percent) of the city people interviewed think we should increase the strength of our military forces.

The St. Lawrence Seaway Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Sounding Off in a New Seaway Debate," published in the Baltimore Sun of January 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUNDING OFF IN A NEW SEAWAY DEBATE

The St. Lawrence seaway debate is an old one and both parties to the controversy can probably agree that the time has now come to settle it one way or the other, and for good. Both sides could probably agree, too, that the arguments in favor of the seaway are now stronger than in the past. The President's advocacy of the seaway in his state-of-the-Union message will swing many wavereers.

And yet the case for the seaway has not even yet grown so strong that the opposition is rendered speechless. On the contrary, Senator BUTLER of Maryand took 5 hours of closely reasoned argument on Friday to state the opposition side. Some points Senator BUTLER may have exaggerated. The net effect of his address was certainly to raise questions to which the pro-seaway people must give close attention.

Among the impressive points raised by the Senator was that one about the Canadians going ahead and building the seaway alone if the United States doesn't come along. But is that bad, Senator BUTLER asked? Are we Americans likely to be deprived in any way of seaway advantages if the new channel is cut by our neighbors to the north? Certainly this question will have to be examined in the debate. Our fiscal situation is not so strong that we can afford to spend money where we do not really have to.

At another point the Maryland Senator was less impressive. He claimed that the seaway would have no value whatever to American defense. But is this really true? Many people have been impressed by the claim that the seaway would provide an interior passage for the new Labrador iron ore en route to steel mills in the Great Lakes area. In a time of war with enemy submarines perhaps lurking off our eastern ocean coast, this seemed like a powerful point for the seaway people.

In the basic arguments, however, Senator BUTLER restated many familiar yet still highly relevant points. Baltimore has objected to the seaway because it threatens Baltimore's port business. Baltimore enjoys that business because of natural advantages which didn't cost the rest of the country anything. Now Baltimoreans and the citizens of other natural ports similarly affected are asked, as Federal taxpayers, to help build an artificial facility which would compete with theirs.

It is quite true that this regional, even parochial, argument cannot stand against claims made in the national interest. That is why it is so important to clarify the point about the seaway aiding national defense. It is true, too, that Baltimore and other ports have survived earlier threats from man-made competitive facilities.

Baltimore survived the Erie Canal, which diverted trade to New York. She survived the steamboat, which so largely aided New Orleans as a port. Baltimore survived these ealier threats because the country was growing and enough business developed for all. Nobody is selling the future American business prospect short.

Yet the extent to which the seaway would divert business from natural ports; the extent to which it serves the national, rather than merely non-Baltimore regional interests; the extent in general to which the several points in its favor have been exaggerated or misstated—these continue to be valid subjects of debate. Senator BUTLER has done well to open the debate with his firm and inclusive statement of the traditional Baltimore and Maryland position.

Republican Crusade

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

(Mr. CURTIS of Missouri asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, listening to the comments of the gentleman from Ohio, if he would only specify and outline some of these charges, perhaps he would not be able to get away with this statement. Those statements that he made were obviously incorrect.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Yes; I certainly will yield.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. The statements were not obviously incorrect. You did cancel the contract with American Locomotive and you did cancel the tank contract with Chrysler.

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. I am stating this, that the overall picture the gentleman tried to present is incorrect, that there is any favoritism to General Motors or anybody else, and if you will look at the contracts you will see it is so.

Recommendations Submitted to the President on Behalf of the United States Conference of Mayors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask the unanimous consent that a statement which was submitted to the President by the United States Conference of Mayors be printed in the Appendix of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the recommendations were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECOMMENDATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

CIVIL DEFENSE

Civil defense is as basic to national survival as military defense. Both the Preamble to the Constitution and section 8 of article I make clear that the "common defense" of our country is a fundamental responsibility of the Federal Government. It is essential, therefore, that sufficient funds for this purpose be requested by the administration of the Congress. Congressional action on the budgetary recommendation submitted will determine with finality whether or not an adequate civil defense program is to go forward in 1954.

City and State governments also have grave responsibilities for the protection and care of their people in the event of enemy attack. It is emphasized, however, that the degree to which their accepted responsibility can be carried out depends largely upon the extent to which affirmative and positive action is taken by the Congress. Existing public apathy can be attributed mainly to the fact that to date the legislative branch of the Government has not taken civil defense seriously.

SLUM CLEARANCE AND REDEVELOPMENT

One national program of most vital concern to cities is slum clearance and redevelopment. We urge a continuing attack on urban blight which exists in practically every city in the Nation. The present Federal-city partnership in this field is legislatively sound and is being administered efficiently. If as much Federal funds were expended on this activity as is being disbursed for the purchase of surplus butter, the worst slum areas in major cities could be wiped out in 2 or 3 years. We urge the administration to vigorously support an expanded program including relocation housing.

HIGHWAYS AND STREETS

We deplore suggestions which have been advanced to turn over the Federal highway program to the 48 State governments. It is inconceivable that Congress would ever approve legislation of this character. Development of our unified nationwide network of interstate highways, fundamental to national defense and to the economic life of our country, is only possible under Federal supervision and matching of funds. We urge continuation of the present Federal program which has contributed so much to our internal development.

WAR PRODUCTION FACILITIES

Scores of industrial properties in all sections of the United States are not now paying local taxes because title to these war production plants is vested in the Federal Government. The assessed value involved totals hundreds of millions of dollars. Equity and justice demand that these installations pay their pro rata cost of municipal services. We urge the administration to sponsor legislation authorizing payments in lieu of taxes by the operators of these facilities.

ELMER E. ROBINSON,
Mayor of San Francisco, President The United States Conference of Mayors.
THOMAS A. BURKE, Jr.,
Former Mayor of Cleveland, Immediate Past President, The United States Conference of Mayors,
PAUL V. BEITERS,
Executive Director, The United States Conference of Mayors.
WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 5, 3953.*

Dangers Implicit in the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times, of January 7, 1954, commenting upon the grave dangers implicit in the Bricker amendment; and a statement of position on the proposal by the Committee for Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power. Both of these items merit the consideration of all thinking Americans.

There being no objection, the editorial and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of January 7, 1954]

BRICKER'S FOLLY

The dogged campaign led by Senator BRICKER and the dominant elements of the American Bar Association to hobble the President's treatymaking powers will soon be fought out on the floor of the Senate. It seems incredible that this proposal, at once so revolutionary and so retrogressive, should have received enough support to make it the major issue it has now become. Stripped of its legal complexities, it represents an effort to transfer from the President to the Congress a vital part of the conduct of foreign affairs and thus to disrupt the historic balance between executive and legislature that has served our country so well for the better part of two centuries.

Every citizen who takes his Government seriously ought to familiarize himself with the Bricker amendment, a brief document of half a dozen sentences in which the really dangerous provisions are condensed in less than 60 words. They would prevent any treaty from becoming effective as internal law unless both Houses of Congress passed appropriate legislation—this, of course, after the Senate had already ratified the treaty in question. They would also in many important cases prevent the Federal Government from making any effective treaty at all unless each of the 48 States approved its provisions. They would furthermore give Congress the "power to regulate all Executive and all other agreements with any foreign power or international organization."

These three proposals wrapped up in one short constitutional amendment would make our treatymaking procedure unbearably cumbersome, would deprive our Nation of its sovereign power to make certain kinds of treaties, and would destroy the essential function of the President to conduct foreign relations decisively and expeditiously. The additional provision of the Bricker amendment stating that any part of a treaty that conflicts with the Constitution shall be void is already part of our constitutional law and practice and is therefore unnecessary.

President Eisenhower stated last July that he was "unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs." Secretary Dulles said in August that adoption of the amendment would have "a calamitous effect upon the international position and prospects of the United States." A committee of distinguished citizens, headed by such eminent authorities on constitutional law as Edward S. Corwin and John W. Davis, has been specially organized to fight this insensate proposal. Twenty-six deans and professors of law from universities all over the country have publicly denounced it.

The Bricker amendment is thoroughly bad and there is no reason to compromise with it. It is true that the Senate should require at least a rollcall vote when a treaty is up for ratification, but this reform could be effected by a simple change in Senate rules. What the Bricker amendment does is to return to the Articles of Confederation and to express the Senate's profound mistrust in itself as well as in the Chief Executive. It is a counsel of fear and retreat when courage and boldness are needed.

COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION BY PRESERVING THE TREATY POWER—STATEMENT OF POSITION ON THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

We are opposed to amending the Constitution as proposed by the so-called Bricker amendment (S. J. Res. 1 as reported June 15, 1953).

Our Constitution has served our country exceedingly well for 165 years. It should be changed only on the clearest showing of actual need. No such need has been shown in this connection. Yet the proposed amendment would cut down the treatymaking power of the Federal Government and alter the existing division and balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches. In so doing it would write into the Constitution three new and dangerous provisions.

First, the proposed amendment would require that a treaty become effective as internal law "only through legislation." Thus, after the President negotiated and signed a treaty, and after the Senate by a two-thirds vote of those present consented to it, as now provided by the Constitution, the Bricker amendment would require, in addition, that Congress pass a law by a majority vote of each House and that the President approve it, in order to make the treaty effective as internal law. This requirement would make our procedure for carrying out our treaty obligations the most cumbersome in the world, impose needless delays, and seriously weaken our bargaining position in dealing with other nations. Throughout its history the Senate has exercised its treaty function so cautiously that it has been called the "graveyard of treaties." It has not in the past failed in its trust, and we have no reason to believe it will do so in the future.

Second, the proposed amendment would limit implementing legislation to that "which would be valid in the absence of treaty"—the so-called which clause. This is an attack upon the Union itself. It would confine the Federal Government's power to make effective treaties (as well as to implement treaties) to those subjects on which

Congress may legislate under the powers otherwise delegated to it by the Constitution. Since the birth of the Republic it has been our practice to deal in treaties with numerous matters entirely appropriate and usual in international agreements though not within the expressly delegated legislative powers. The Bricker amendment would thus make acquiescence of the legislatures of the 48 States necessary to the effectuation in the United States of such vital international agreements as the traditional treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation, narcotics control conventions, and possible arrangements for international control of atomic energy. The preservation of peace and the maintenance of international trade are difficult enough without incapacitating ourselves to deal with such essential matters.

Third, the proposed amendment would give Congress the "power to regulate" executive and other international agreements. It would go beyond the extensive powers which Congress already has and exercises in this field. It would make the power of Congress complete and impair if not destroy the independence of the executive branch in the conduct of foreign affairs. It would let Congress destroy the President's power to make necessary international arrangements to meet emergencies, like the Berlin blockade, as they occur.

In addition to these three changes, the Bricker amendment would declare that a treaty provision which conflicts with the Constitution "shall not be of any force or effect." This is the law already, and there is no need to amend the Constitution to say so.

Each of the three changes proposed by the Bricker amendment is objectionable and all are unnecessary. Their cumulative effect, as stated by Secretary of State Dulles, would be "calamitous * * * upon the international position and prospects of the United States." We fully endorse President Eisenhower's statement regarding the Bricker amendment:

"I am unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs. Today probably as never before in our history it is essential that our country be able effectively to enter into agreements with other nations."

Lake Superior to the Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Lake Superior to the Sea," published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 16, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAKE SUPERIOR TO THE SEA

The logic of history ever since, perhaps, the Louisiana Purchase has argued that the magnificent 2,400-mile waterway from where Duluth now stands to the Atlantic would some day be opened to oceangoing traffic. National security, national self-interest, and national pride have argued that the United States would have a hand in that project. Today that accomplishment under joint Canadian-American auspices seems in sight.

Every President, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, has urged United States participation in construction of the canals, channels, and locks necessary to open up the last 120 miles to ships able to carry Dakota wheat to Liverpool, and Genoa and Labrador iron to Indiana Harbor and Cleveland. Yet, so strong has been a combination of opposing forces that within the last 30 years only once has the issue come to a vote on the floor of Congress.

Little by little the factual bases for this multiple hostility have been altered or dissolved by the march of events: The prime ores of Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range are nearing exhaustion, turning Pennsylvania and Midwest steel mills toward overseas sources. Canada, deeming the waterway of overriding importance, has decided to build and control it alone if necessary. The submarines' record of World War II and Russia's emphasis on the same weapon have underlined the needs of national security.

The administration has stepped aside in favor of New York on the matter of developing St. Lawrence hydroelectric power, thus removing the issue of Federal operations in this field. The cost to the United States has been lowered by Canadian initiative, and tolls should make it self-liquidating. Labor and material shortages have vanished, and inflationary pressures retreated, thus removing a valid argument for postponement. In fact, deflationary factors now argue the other way.

All of this has pretty well narrowed down the opposition to certain special interest groups—railroads and railway labor, and shipping and other business interests with a stake in Atlantic and Gulf ports.

There is no denying that the seaway will set up new competitions between transportation systems, cities, and regions. But so did the advent of the railroad in its day, the highway truck, the river barge lines, and the airplane. We like to think that Americans as a people have grown in their understanding that despite the new competitive challenges always introduced by technological progress, anything which significantly improves facilities and lowers the costs of transportation ultimately benefits the whole Nation's economy.

If, as now seems unlikely, the remaining opposition should yet triumph, Canada's 13 million people will build the waterway and control its operation. With so friendly a neighbor, Americans could live with this, to be sure. But we doubt that even a decade from now 160 million Americans, with many times that neighbor's wealth and productivity, would be proud to reflect that they let the short-range self-interest of a few deprive them of a part in so historic a project.

The Bricker Amendment Would Paralyze Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the New York Times on Sunday, January 17, which points out that the Bricker amendment would take our country back to the days of the Articles of Confederation—before there was a United States.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACK TO 1787?

When the fathers of the Constitution met in Philadelphia in 1787 they had confidence enough in the future Presidents and the future Senators of the United States to give them certain powers. They gave the President power to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present voted to ratify. They provided that "all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land" and that "the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." The system thus established has worked reasonably well for nearly 165 years. But it is under attack in the proposed Bricker amendment, revised last June but not essentially improved, and now soon to be voted on in the Senate.

The Bricker amendment would impose paralyzing restrictions on the treatymaking power. In the first place, it would prevent any treaty from becoming "effective as internal law in the United States" except after the passage of "legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." Second, it would give Congress "power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization." The "international organization" is, of course, the United Nations. Thus, the proposed amendment, now in the form of a joint resolution, would take powers from the President that have been his since the establishment of the Republic. Likewise it would take powers from the central Government, since it would in effect require some treaties to be ratified by each one of the 48 States.

It is easy indeed to understand why the Bricker proposal came up at the time it did. The power of the Presidency under two Democratic Chiefs of State grew because emergencies demanded the swift exercise of the Executive function. The country had to pull out of a depression, it had to prepare for war, it had to fight the greatest war in its history, it had to return in an orderly fashion to peacetime life, it had to aid its allies in economic recovery and, finally, it had to join with other nations for mutual defense. For all this a strong Executive was necessary. But at no time were the liberties of the citizens in danger from anything done in Washington. At all times a majority in either house of Congress could reject an Executive request. The courts, as a number of decisions show, were never terrorized.

Many mistakes were doubtless made in the field of foreign policy, into which the Bricker amendment would introduce a greater congressional power. The name Yalta has come to have an unhappy meaning because it is now clear that some of the decisions taken there were unwise. But there is no reason to suppose that if Congress had regulated the Yalta agreement, or any other wartime agreement, these transactions would have been without error. What is more likely is that they would have been made more slowly or not at all. The Bricker amendment is not really an amendment for the execution of foreign policy. It is a proposal to paralyze foreign policy.

This resolution had the support of 64 Senators when it was submitted. It has had the support of respected citizens outside of the Senate. It has likewise been denounced by respected citizens. It cannot be defended or attacked purely on the basis of personalities. One can, however, say this: that those drives toward isolationism that persist

in this country, those forces that treat American association with the United Nations as dangerous—these influences are supporting the Bricker amendment. If this amendment were adopted and taken literally the United States would have to draw back its strategic and diplomatic defenses to its own imperiled shores.

The last question one asks as one thinks of this subject is much like the first. Are Presidents and Senators less trustworthy than they were 165 years ago? Do we need to paralyze an essential function of the Executive in order to prevent the President—and the Senate—from doing something erroneous or wrong? The answer seems to us to be clear. It seems to us to be "No."

The End of Farm Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Ike Asks End of Surpluses," written by John D. Black, and published in the Boston Globe of January 12, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPERT EXPLAINS FARM PLAN—IKE ASKS END OF SURPLUSES

(By John D. Black, professor of economics at Harvard)

In the final minutes of its session, the Republican-controlled Congress of 1948 passed the Hope-Aiken Act, which went a good way toward giving our country a farm program fitted to the greatly expanded agriculture that came out of World War II.

It was bitterly opposed, however, by the Congressmen from the cotton and tobacco South, and by many from the wheat States of the West.

They voted for it in the last minutes, firmly resolved that it would never go into effect. And it never has.

First, it was twisted badly in the Agricultural Act of 1949. The succeeding Congresses then postponed the application of what was left of it from year to year.

What President Eisenhower mainly proposes to do is put an end to this postponing, of the flexible price part of it after the 1954 crop, and the modernized parity part of it on January 1, 1956.

What are these flexible prices? Nothing more than what we are used to—prices that rise when supplies are short and fall when supplies are large. Many of the prices set by the United States Department of Agriculture before the war, during, and after it, were the same no matter row big the crop. All of us remember that it cost the Government more than $200,000,000 to support the big 1947 crop of potatoes at high fixed prices. The only thing special about the flexible prices of the acts of 1948 and 1949 is that these acts state how much the price goes down as the supply goes up—prices 1 percent down for 2 percent up in the supply. In the actual market place, they commonly go down at a faster rate than this, so that farmers get a lower total return for a big crop than an average crop. The flexible price plan not only keeps this from happening, but puts an absolute bottom of 75 percent of parity below which prices are not to be allowed to fall. The President's message proposes that these flexible prices will apply to wheat, corn, cotton, rice, and peanuts. Tobacco is exempted as in the earlier acts.

The parity prices in effect until a few years ago were mostly prices per bushel of wheat or corn, or pound of cotton, and the like, that would buy the same amount of groceries, clothing, farm equipment, and other things that farmers spend their money for, as these same bushels or pounds bought in 1910–14. They therefore rose as the index of prices paid by farmers rose. And the parity prices of all the different farm products rose by the same percentage amounts. But prices of meat and dairy products have risen much more in the market place since 1910–14 than have prices of wheat, cotton, and corn. Why so? Partly because of different rates of advance in the technology of production, partly because of different rates of growth of demand in relation to supply. The acts of 1948 and 1949 proposed to bring the parity prices of the different products into line with the average relative levels of the last 10 years to modernize parity prices.

ONLY 5-PERCENT DROP ASKED

How much would this change parity prices? For wheat, 20 percent lower; for corn, 10 percent lower. To keep these price drops from being too sharp, the acts that will go into force in January 1956 under the Eisenhower proposals, will lower the price supports only by 5-percent drops each year.

It is easy to see how holding wheat prices one-fifth above up-to-date parity levels from now on would cause much too much to be produced unless rigorous marketing quotas are enforced. The present administration wants to get away from these artifically induced surpluses and quotas.

But what will be done with the surpluses that will result from the 1954 crop? Congress is going to be asked to raise the present limit of $6,750,000,000 of Commodity Credit Corporation operating funds to $8,500,000,000. Also, it will be requested to set up reserves of $2,500,000,000 to be invested in farm products that are to be insulated from the market so that they will not depress prices as ordinary carryovers do.

BEEF HIGH PARITY IN EFFECT

It should also be explained at this point that the higher modernized parity prices for beef and dairy prices are already in effect. Congress a few years ago provided that either the old or the modernized parity prices, whichever is the higher, should prevail.

The full message also makes provision for prices and disposal of a dozen other products—beef, dairy products, wool, fruits and vegetables, potatoes, sugar, etc. Only for a few of them are the changes important. The present wool program is holding prices so high that our mills are operating mostly on imports, and the Government is holding the domestic clip in stockpile. The Eisenhower plan is to drop wool-price supports and make up the deficit below 90 percent of parity by payments out of the Treasury—a'la Brannan plan. Potatoes are to have their prices supported like those of fruits and vegetables—by marketing agreements, diversion to school lunches, and to shipments abroad.

Is this the best program that can be devised at this time? By no means. But it is a better one than will be accepted by Congress. Most of the improvements in it that anyone would suggest would stand even less chance of getting by Congress. It ought, therefore, to be supported vigorously by all well-intentioned citizens everywhere. It is highly important that city folks do so, because, after all, it is the narrow, short-sighted and selfish interests of producer groups that will give it its hardest tussle in Congress.

No doubt President Eisenhower is fully aware of the opposition his proposals will evoke. But he seems resolved to go forward with them just the same. The discussion that will be aroused by this should go a long way toward giving the people of this country the understanding which they need in order to achieve for us the kind of farm legislation which is in the interest of the farm people themselves as well as the Nation as a whole.

Congress as Full Partner in Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Arthur Krock and published in the December 11, 1953, issue of the New York Times, in which Mr. Krock discusses a paper prepared by Dr. Eli E. Nobleman, who is a member of the staff of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION

(By Arthur Krock)

CONGRESS AS FULL PARTNER IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, December 10.—The recent attempt of a single Senator to invoke an imposing national poll in favor of his stand against a major foreign policy endorsed by the President was notably unsuccessful. But this result does not obscure an underlying fact that the President and the Secretary of State will be wise to keep constantly in mind. This is, that Congress—the House as well as the Senate—has now achieved full partnership in the foreign relations of the United States.

The Senate was specifically made a full partner by the Constitution, which requires that before a treaty can be ratified it must receive the approval of two-thirds of that branch. But the House trod a long and troubled road before it could persuade Presidents that its power to originate money bills made it dangerous for the Executive to consult the Senate alone on proposed foreign policies that come into force only through appropriations. And all our current foreign programs belong in that category.

President Eisenhower has profited by the experience of some of his predecessors who failed to realize (or, if they did, slighted) this patent fact. He has regularly included House leaders in his consultations on foreign as well as domestic projects, and they are to be present as equal participants with Senate leaders when the President reviews with a Congressional group his State of the Union message, for delivery early in January. For, while only the Senate can accept or reject treaties, including those which call for large expenditures, the House's countersignature is needed to make a reality of such commitments.

DR. NOBLEMAN'S STUDY

This vital point in our governmental procedure, and the history that has driven it home in he consciousness of the Executive, were the subjects of a recent paper for the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The author is Dr. Eli E. Nobleman,

a member of the professional staff of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, who also was counsel to a Senate subcommittee that surveyed the costs of our participation in international organizations. His conclusions as to the role of Congress in foreign policy were:

"Congress has never hesitated to use its fiscal powers freely in an effort to control or direct foreign policy and relations. Significantly enough, the basic question during the first 150 years of the life of the Nation rarely involved money or the conservation of the Nation's resources. For the most part, these actions, some of which were successful, were designed either to force the hand of the Executive in a particular matter or to assert legislative equality with the executive branch in the foreign relations field.

"In nearly every instance, the question at issue was whether the Founding Fathers intended to give the President powers and authority over foreign relations superior to that given to the Congress. Finding itself unable to take the initiative, and fully realizing the futility of a joint resolution expressing policy if the President was not in accord, the Congress has resorted to its appropriations power as a controlling or directing device."

BIRTH OF THE ISSUE

The issue first took form in 1792 when Washington wanted to negotiate a treaty with Algiers for the ransom of American captives of the Barbary pirates. Washington asked his Secretary of State Jefferson, whether he should depend wholly on the attitude of the Senate or seek advance assurance that the House, too, was amenable. Jefferson pointed out the money would have to be repaid to the Treasury—if taken from that source—by a subsequent act of Congress, and the Representatives might refuse it. So he urged the President to get the prior sanction of both branches.

The Senate, Jefferson reported, was willing to approve the ransom plan, but unwilling to have the lower House previously applied to. * * * To consult the Representatives on one occasion would give them a handle always to claim it, and would let them into a participation of the power of making treaties. Washington then asked Jefferson if the treaty stipulating a sum and ratified by him, with the advice of the Senate, would not be good under the Constitution and obligatory on the Representatives to furnish the money. Jefferson said this was indeed the duty of the House, but they might decline to do what was their duty.

THE HOUSE ASSERTS ITSELF

Washington decided to put up the matter to the Senate alone, and the House made the money available after Senate approval. But in 1796, when Washington asked for money to carry out the Jay Treaty, the House formally reminded him of its constitutional right to grant or reject appropriations. And, though it also furnished this money, the House set down its authority firmly in the record.

"The outbreak of World War II," continued Dr. Nobleman, "and the subsequent assumption by the United States of world leadership have had a profound effect on the role of Congress in this field. Because basic foreign policy objectives * * * have involved vast sums of money, the Congress has become a full-fledged partner. * * * Appropriations riders and policy declarations are still resorted to * * * as a means of taking the initiative."

As long as this conditions exists, concluded Dr. Nobleman, "only at their peril will Presidents embark upon such programs without prior consultation with the Congress."

Assault on Ike's Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post, Sunday, January 17, 1954, pointing out that the "Bricker resolution is essentially an assault upon American leadership in world affairs" and that "the only thinkable course is to defeat it."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSAULT ON IKE'S LEADERSHIP

The failure of all efforts to bring about a compromise between the Eisenhower administration and Senator BRICKER on the treaty-making power is loudly lamented in some quarters. To our way of thinking, it is cause for rejoicing. It means that the administration refuses to fritter away its authority to direct our foreign relations. It faces up to the fact that in this age of American world leadership the power to negotiate and agree with other countries cannot be recklessly diffused without disastrous consequences. Certainly that is a net gain. Now it remains for the legislators who thoughtlessly indorsed the proposed Bricker amendment when it appeared to be a popular and harmless reform to jar themselves into realization of their grave error.

The steam behind the Bricker proposal is easy to understand. In some instances the treaty power has been abused in the last decade. The Yalta agreement is a glaring example. People who are emotionally aroused over that indiscreet use of authority naturally look for some means of trying to prevent similar occurrences. What would be simpler or more direct than to curb the power to make treaties and executive agreements? The only difficulty is that the Bricker resolution for this purpose would curb the power to make good treaties as well as bad ones and thus cripple the efforts of the administration to maintain peace in this atomic age.

There is no greater error in government than to hamstring the servants of the people out of fear that they may abuse their power. If a football player loses the ball on a fumble, the coach doesn't send him into the next game in a straight jacket. The United States can hold its own in the world struggle only if it has wise and fearless leaders and if they have authority to make decisions and carry them out with reasonable dispatch and certainty.

Senator BRICKER and his supporters have stirred up fear that unless his proposal is adopted the people will lose some of their precious rights through the negotiation of treaties. They say, truthfully, that a treaty becomes the supreme law of the land and, erroneously, that a bad treaty might prevail over the Constitution. This is a sort of nightmare that flies into the face of both experience and reason. The facts are that we have never had a President who has bartered away any fundamental rights in a treaty with other powers. If any President should be disposed to do so in the future, he could be stopped cold by the Senate. Even if a majority of the Senate should go off the deep end, the threatened disaster could be prevented by the votes of one-third plus one of its Members.

Nor is that the end of the safeguards now in effect. The Founding Fathers built into our system a whole series of protective devices against any abuse of the treaty power. If the President and two-thirds of the Senate should try to barter away any segment of the Bill of Rights, the offending treaty would be upset by the Supreme Court. The court's opinions in the past seem to leave no doubt on this score. Even if the Supreme Court should lose its senses, Congress could pass a law that would deny the treaty any standing as domestic law. And if Congress failed so to act, the people could elect a new Congress that would carry out their wishes.

It should be evident from these facts that any blunder in treatymaking or any abuse of power can be corrected without the Bricker amendment. There is no need to amend the Constitution for this purpose. What the Brickerites are saying is not that any possible errors should be corrected but that blind fear of the future should induce us to clutter the path of all treaties with needless procedures, complications and restrictions. In some degree at least they would place the United States in the position of Jonathan Swift's helpless giant in the land of Lilliput.

This is the central issue that will soon be before the Senate. It is not a question on which any responsible administration can compromise. To be sure, the President has indicated a willingness to accept several fringe proposals reasserting the present law and tightening up certain procedures. But these are apart from the real controversy. The Bricker resolution is essentially an assault upon American leadership in world affairs. The only thinkable course is to defeat it. To inflict this denial of power upon the administration would be to vote no confidence in President Eisenhower's conduct of our international relations and in the Senate's own judgment. It would be a turning away from the world responsibility this Nation has accepted. In our opinion, the firmness of the President in resisting this sort of disaster is the most hopeful aspect of the situation, and we cannot believe that the Senate will let him down.

Conscription as Liddell Hart Saw It, 1944

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, B. H. Liddell Hart, a distinguished British military authority, wrote a book entitled "Why Don't We Learn From History?" The book was written in 1944 and the author points out that it is easier to adopt the compulsory principle of national life than to shake it off. Once compulsion for personal service is adopted in peacetime, it will be hard to resist the extension of the principle to all other aspects of national living, including freedom of thought, speech, and writing. Mr. Hart goes on to say that we ought to think carefully and to think ahead before taking a decisive step toward totalitarianism and he raises the

question as to whether or not we are so accustomed to our chains that we are no longer conscious of them.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I will insert the pertinent extracts from Mr. Hart's book on the subject of conscription and I commend it to the attention of the Members of the Congress:

CONSCRIPTION

We learn from history that the compulsory principle always breaks down in practice. The principle of restraint, or regulation, is essentially justifiable insofar as its application is needed to check interference with others' freedom. But it is not, in reality, possible to make men do something without risking more than is gained from the compelled effort. The method may appear practicable, because it often works when applied to those who are merely hesitant. When applied to those who are definitely unwilling it fails, however, because it generates friction and fosters subtle forms of evasion that spoil the effect which is sought. The test of whether a principle works is to be found in the product.

Efficiency springs from enthusiasm—because this alone can develop a dynamic impulse. Enthusiasm is incompatible with compulsion—because it is essentially spontaneous. Compulsion is thus bound to deaden enthusiasm—because it dries up the source. The more an individual, or a nation, has been accustomed to freedom, the more deadening will be the effect of a change to compulsion.

These logical deductions are confirmed by analysis of historical experience. The modern system of military conscription was born in France—it was, ironically, the misbegotten child of revolutionary enthusiasm. Within a generation, its application had become so obnoxious that its abolition was the primary demand of the French people following Napoleon's downfall. Meanwhile, however, it had been transplanted to more suitable soil—in Prussia. And just over half a century later, the victories that Prussia gained led to the resurrection of conscription in France. Its reimposition was all the easier because the renewed autocracy of Napoleon III had accustomed the French people to the interference and constraints of bureaucracy. In the generation that followed, the revival of the spirit of freeedom in France was accompanied by a growth of the petty bureaucracy, parasites feeding on the body politic. From this, the French could never succeed in shaking free; and in their efforts they merely developed corruption—which is the natural consequence of an ineffective effort to loosen the grip of compulsion by evasion.

It is generally recognized today that this rampant growth of bureaucratically-induced corruption was the dry-rot of the Third Republic. But on deeper examination the cause can be traced further back—to the misunderstanding of their own principles which led a section of the creators of the French Revolution to adopt a method fundamentally opposed to their fulfilment.

It might be thought that conscription should be less detrimental to the Germans, since they are more responsive to regulation, and have no deeply rooted tradition of freedom. Nevertheless, it is of significance that the Nazi movement was essentially a voluntary movement—exclusive rather than comprehensive—and that the most important sections of the German forces—the air force and the tank force—have been recruited on a semi-voluntary basis. There is little evidence to suggest that the ordinary mass of the German army has anything like the same enthusiasm; and considerable evidence to suggest that this conscripted mass constitutes a basic weakness in Germany's apparent strength.

Twenty-five years spent in the study of war, a study which gradually went beyond its current technique to its well-springs, changed my earlier and conventional belief in the value of conscription. It brought me to see that the compulsory principle was fundamentally inefficient, and the conscriptive method out of date—a method that clung, like the ivy, to quantitative standards in an age when the trend of warfare was becoming increasingly qualitative. For it sustained the fetish of mere numbers at a time when skill and enthusiasm were becoming ever more necessary for the effective handling of the new weapons.

Conscription does not fit the conditions of modern warfare—its specialized technical equipment, mobile operations, and fluid situations. Success increasingly depends on individual initiative, which in turn springs from a sense of personal responsibility—these senses are atrophied by compulsion. Moreover, every unwilling man is a germ carrier, spreading infection to an extent altogether disproportionate to the value of the service he is forced to contribute.

Looking still further into the question, and thinking deeper, I came to see, also, that the greatest contributory factor to the Great Wars which had racked the world in recent generations had been the conscriptive system—the system which sprang out of the muddled thought of the French Revolution, was then exploited by Napoleon in his selfish ambition, and subsequently turned to serve the interests of Prussian militarism. After undermining the 18th century "age of reason," it had paved the way for the reign of unreason in the modern age.

Conscription serves to precipitate war, but not to accelerate it—except in the negative sense of accelerating the growth of war-weariness and other underlying causes of defeat. Conscription precipitated war in 1914, owing to the way that the mobilization of conscript armies disrupted national life and produced an atmosphere in which negotiation became impossible—confirming the warning, mobilization means war. During that war its effect can be traced in the symptoms which preceded the collapse of the Russian, Austrian, and German Armies, as well as the decline of the French and Italian Armies. It was the least free states which collapsed under the strain of war—and they collapsed in the order of their degree of unfreedom. By contrast, the best fighting force in the fourth year of war was, by general recognition, the Australian Corps—the force which had rejected conscription, and in which there was the least insistence on unthinking obedience.

A system of conscription entails the suppression of individual judgment—the Englishman's most cherished right. It violates the cardinal principle of a free community: that there should be no restriction of individual freedom save where this is used for active interference with others' freedom. Our tradition of individual freedom is the slow-ripening fruit of centuries of effort. To surrender it within after fighting to defend it against dangers without would be a supremely ironical turn of our history.

An argument in favor of conscription has long been the rule in the continental countries, including those which remain democracies, we need not fear the effect of adopting it here. But the deeper I have gone into the study of war and the history of the past century, the further I have come towards the conclusion that the development of conscription has damaged the growth of the idea of freedom in the continental countries, and thereby damaged their efficiency, also—by undermining the sense of personal responsibility. There is only too much evidence that our temporary adoption of conscription in the last war had a permanent effect harmful to the development of freedom and democracy here. For my own part, I have come to my present conviction of the supreme importance of freedom through the pursuit of efficiency. I believe that freedom is the foundation of efficiency, both national and military. Thus it is a practical folly as well as a spiritual surrender to go totalitarian as a result of fighting for existence against the totalitarian states. Cut off the incentive to freely given service, and you dry up the life source of a free community.

We ought to realize that it is easier to adopt the compulsory principle of national life than to shake it off. Once compulsion for personal service is adopted in peacetime, it will be hard to resist the extension of the principle to all other aspects of the nation's life, including freedom of thought, speech, and writing. We ought to think carefully, and to think ahead, before taking a decisive step toward totalitarianism. Or are we so accustomed to our chains that we are no longer conscious of them?

Guilt by Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the January issue of the Journal of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia entitled "Guilt by Association," by Carl L. Shipley, a practicing lawyer in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Shipley is a young man with a penetrating mind who was not afraid to write on a subject that has been widely discussed these past years by many people, and I believe he has made a distinct contribution to the discussion. His article reminds us of the old warnings to the effect that a man's character and actions are governed to a large extent by those with whom he associates. His observation in his article that "a man who consorts with disloyal persons could hardly expect to enjoy the unrelieved confidence of the community" is surely an understatement.

Mr. Shipley is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and has been an active Republican all his life. He was at one time general counsel of the Young Republican National Federation and president of the District of Columbia Young Republicans. He is a member of the Republican State Committee of the District of Columbia and vice chairman of its finance committee. During the war he was in the Navy and served at sea as a lieutenant, senior grade. Those who know him admire his sincere Americanism and quiet thoroughness. This article, Guilt by Association, has sound reasoning and is good reading:

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

(By Carl L. Shipley, of the Massachusetts and District of Columbia Bars)

One of the chief propaganda techniques of Communists and Communist sympathizers has been the cry of "guilt by association" whenever one of their supporters finds himself the object of a loyalty proceeding or the central figure in a Congressional investiga-

tion. Constant repetition of the phrase is apparently intended to produce in the public mind a conditioned reflex, so that the charge of "guilt by association" will automatically conjure up in the imaginations of the citizenry a notion of denial of civil rights, or a violation of some constitutional right, or the infringement of some legal right, or, at least a despotic and tyrannical inquisition where an innocent person is being victimized for political or other reasons. The campaign has succeeded so well that widely-read newspapers lend their prestige to the outcry.[1]

Strangely enough, however, the concept of "guilt by association" is neither new, invidious, nor illegal. It has long been accepted as both a social [2] and a legal precept, and found expression in State [3] and Federal [4] statutes and in court decisions [5] on numerous occasions.

A SOCIAL CONCEPT

Recently George Wharton Pepper, a distinguished Philadelphia lawyer, gave recognition to the old adage that "a man is known by the company he keeps." [6] This modern maxim is an almost exact quotation from a passage in Euripedes' Phoenix,[7] and seems to express a conclusion premised on the long social experience of mankind. The same idea finds expression in the proverb, "Keep not ill company lest you increase the number," [8] and Shakespeare made allusion to the concept in Henry IV.[9] These are but a few examples of the commonplace truism that, for better or worse, society tends to judge a man by measuring the quality and kind of his associates. And a man who consorts with disloyal persons could hardly expect to enjoy the unrelieved confidence of the community.

A STATUTORY CONCEPT

Many States [10] have enacted laws giving legislative force to the concept of "guilt by association." For example, in such States as California,[11] Idaho, and, Utah a person who merely associates with known thieves is, in and of that fact alone, guilty of a crime. Thus, the Idaho law provides: "* * * every * * * associate of known thieves * * * is * * * punishable * * * by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding 90 days." [12]

The Utah law follows the same general pattern: "Every * * * associate of known thieves * * * is punishable by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding 6 months and may be sentenced to hard labor in the discretion of the court." [13]

In other States ordinary association with dissolute persons, such as prostitutes, is a crime.[14] Association with dangerous or criminal characters by frequenting the establishments where they hang out has been a crime under English law [15] and in other countries,[16] as well as some American States,[17] for a long time.

The Federal Government has recently gone beyond the requirements of association to establish guilt and made a person's mere presence in an illegal establishment a crime.[18] From the viewpoint of those who consider "guilt by association" a calamity, "guilt by presence" must be infinitely worse. Yet Congress was merely enacting into law a social and legal concept of long and reputable standing among civilized societies when it passed the statute.

The significant element in these examples of "guilt by association" or guilt by mere presence is the fact that criticism of congressional committees on the ground that they promote "guilt by association" by investigating the associates of known Communists is patently absurd, if such criticism is supposed to cast a shadow on the legality of such proceedings. Persons who keep company with Communists can be properly suspected of being Communists.

A JUDICIAL CONCEPT

The courts have long upheld the idea of "guilt by association." In one case where a defendant was accused of a crime and a principal link in the evidence was the character of his associates, the court upheld conviction, saying:

"There is no truer saying than the 'birds of a feather flock together,' and, in this class of cases, the law recognizes it." [19]

In ever so many cases courts have permitted testimony of witnesses as to the reputation of an accused's associates as tending to prove guilt.[20] In a typical case the court pointed out that where an accused person was shown to have associated with doubtful characters, it "had a tendency to compromise her claim of innocence." [21] The basis for this conclusion is sometimes explained by a statement that association with a disreputable person makes the person involved in such association disreputable himself.[22] Thus, association with known Communists might fairly be evidence of Communist tendencies.

A CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPT

The concept of "guilt by association" has been adjudged constitutional by numerous courts. As long ago as 1908 in California the question of the constitutionality of a statute which made a person a criminal if he was an "associate of known thieves" was raised. The court held the law constitutional.

"Any practice, the tendency of which, as shown by experience, is to weaken or corrupt the morals of those who follow it * * * is a legitimate subject for * * * prohibition by the state." [23]

"Guilt by association" was again held constitutional in 1918 in Louisiana, where a law prohibiting association with prostitutes was upheld:

"If it (the State) may, in the interest of public morals and health, regulate * * * houses of prostitution, why may it not * * * prohibit male persons from associating with prostitutes?" [24]

And as recently as 1937 the courts of Virginia upheld the constitutionality of a law which not only established guilt by proof of association with wrongdoers, but also founded guilt upon association with persons having a reputation for wrongdoing.[25] This case is of particular significance, because the claim of unconstitutionality was based squarely on the proposition that a person has an inalienable right to select his associates, but to no avail.

When it is considered that a Communist who advocates overthrow of the Government by force commits a crime under the Smith Act,[26] it would seem that association with such a Communist, or one who had a reputation as being that kind of Communist, would be criminal under a Federal or State statute similar to that held constitutional in Virginia. Certainly if it is constitutional to make a person guilty of a crime when he associates with a person who has a reputation as an idler,[27] there can be no reasonable objection to doubting the loyalty of those who associate with Communists or reputed spies.

CONCLUSION

From the above it may be seen that, whatever the merits or demerits of guilt by association as a philosophical inquiry, it is an established and accepted concept in the social, statutory, judicial, and constitutional realms. Against this background, it is entirely logical that persons who are known associates of Communists and Communist spies should have some modicum of doubt raised against them. The newspapers [28] and other vehicles of communication which constantly harp on the theme that guilt by association is a new and terrible heresy do no public service by their actions. Actually, the sooner people understand that association with traitors may justify an imputation of their own guilt, the sooner such associations, except in actual guilty cases, will cease. Lawyers can perform a public service by pointing out that guilt by association as bottomed on good law, and violates no legal or constitutional principle.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] The Washington Post, Wednesday, November 11, 1953, a front page headline reads: "Reading One's Way Into Guilt by Association Is New Chapter."

[2] American Bar Association Journal, vol. 39, p. 701, August 1953, George Wharton Pepper, Esq., a well-known Philadelphia lawyer, alludes to the adage "that a man is known by the company he keeps."

[3] See notes 10, 11, 12, and 13 Post.

[4] Public Law 85, 83d Cong., sec. 208 (a), makes it a crime merely to be present in an illegal establishment, regardless of whether one is committing a crime. Guilt is necessarily predicated on association with wrongdoers.

[5] E. g., *State* v. *Starr* (57 Ariz. 270, 113 p., 2d 356 (1941)).

[6] See note 2, *supra*.

[7] Euripides' Phoenix, "Every man is like the company he is wont to keep."

[8] Fuller, Thesaurus of Quotations, p. 173.

[9] Shakespeare, Henry IV, "Company, villainous company, hath been the spoil of me."

[10] E. g., *Benson* v. *State* (247 S. W. 510); *Lingenfelter* v. *State* (163 S. W. 981); Arizona Code Ann. 1939, art 59, sec. 43–5901; Montana Revised Code 1947, sec. 94–35–248; Nevada Compiled Laws 1929, sec. 10302.

[11] Deerings California Penal Code, par. 647.

[12] Idaho Code, section 18–7101.

[13] Utah Code Annotated 1953, ch. 61, sec. 76–61–1..

[14] See note 10, *supra*.

[15] *Rex* v. *Regan* (14 B. C. 12, 14 Can. Cr. Cas. 106, 8 Waly, L. R. 525).

[16] *People* v. *Mirabian* (50 Philippine 499). See also 66 C. J. 1, et seq., and note 10 above.

[17] See note 10, *supra*.

[18] Public Law 85, 83d Cong., sec. 208 (a).

[19] *Brannon* v. *State* (16 Ala. App. 259, 76 So. 991).

[20] *Snitzer* v. *State* (29 Ala. App. 597, 199 So. 745); *Robinson* v. *State* (15 Ala. App. 29, 72 So. 592).

[21] *Robinson* v. *State* (note 20, *supra*).

[22] *State* v. *Earlowe* (174 Wash. 227, 24 p. 2d 601); see also Lacey, Crimes of Personal Condition (66 Harv. L. R. 1203).

[23] *Mater* v. *McCue* (6 Calif. Appr. 481, 96 p. 110 (1908)).

[24] *State* v. *McCormick* (142 La. 580, 77 So. 288 (1918)).

[25] *Morgan* v. *Commonwealth* (166 Va. 731, 191 S. E. 791 (1937)), citing the Virginia Code, sec. 2808, which made vagrants of: "All persons * * * who consort with idlers, gamblers, bootleggers, * * * persons engaged in * * * any * * * illegal enterprise of any kind, or persons having the reputation of any of the above named."

[26] See note 25, *supra*.

[27] 18 U. S. C. A., No. 2385.

[28] See note 1, *supra*.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Marbles and Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, at St. Marys, W. Va., Marble King, Inc., has for many years operated a glass industry, producing among other specialties common glass playing marbles. Where previously this product was shipped to west-coast distributors for ready sale, the company now is faced with Japanese competitive products, produced at one-

sixth of the prevailing cost of American labor. Needless to say, the trained employees of this plant face unemployment.

This is only one of many instances of work slowdown in glass, pottery, and ceramic industries located in West Virginia, resulting primarily from laxity in administration of foreign-trade agreements and lack of proper consderation of local small-business enterprise on the part of the Tariff Commission.

The administration's full-employment goal cannot be maintained by tariff regulations favoring foreign industries at the expense of hundreds of local enterprises employing skilled workers, most of whom feel that their specialized training eliminates them from jobs they know little about.

Nothing will contribute more to business recession than failure to protect the interests of small industries, which, in the aggregate, furnish the livelihood for the bulk of our employables.

It is high time our Tariff Commission gives more consideration to the welfare of small industrialists and the wage group of steady, homeowning, loyal citizens who make up and sustain the small communities that grow around such industries.

Dillon S. Myer, Executive Director of Group Health Association of Washington, D. C., Testified Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in Support of Plans To Provide Assistance in Meeting Expense of Medical and Hospitalization Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of this House had the privilege of hearing Dillon S. Myer as a witness in the hearings being conducted by the committee at this time on the subject of voluntary insurance to cover the cost of medical and hospitalization care.

Extracts from testimony of Mr. Myer follow:

STATEMENT MADE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, REGARDING THE GROUP HEALTH ASSOCIATION, INC., OF WASHINGTON, D. C., BY DILLON S. MYER

Mr. Chairman, the Group Health Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C., is a nonprofit membership corporation, chartered in the District of Columbia.

There are at present 7,500 members and 19,600 participants being served by the organization.

The service area is the territory within a radius of 15 airline miles from the White House.

Any person 18 years of age or older is eligible to become a member of the association by the individual admissions procedure or as a member of a group.

The business of the association is managed and controlled by a board of nine trustees elected by and from the members of the association. The chief administrative officers are the medical director, a physician who is a nonvoting member of the board and serves as chief of the professional staff and the executive director who is the chief lay administrator and nonvoting executive officer of board of trustees.

The Group Health Association provides prepaid comprehensive medical services and hospitalization within the area and dental service for members based upon a schedule of charges for services rendered. It provides hospital coverage outside the area but not medical service unless recommended by the chief medical officer.

The association has its own fulltime medical staff and, in addition, has retained the services of a number of part-time physicians, mostly specialists.

It also has a staff of full-time dentists and a number of part-time dentists on its staff.

It maintains its own clinic and clinical facilities, including medical laboratory, equipment for electrocardiograph and basal metabolism tests, X-ray, physical therapy, optical shop, pharmacy, and dental laboratory.

It also operates a health room under contract for the convenience of the employees of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

SERVICES TO MEMBERS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS

All members and their listed and qualified dependents are eligible for services, subject to any limitations imposed on the membership and providing the member's account is in good standing.

The services provided to all full service members are as follows unless limitations are imposed:

Medical and surgical examinations and treatments, physical therapy treatments, surgical operations, and obstetrical care. (These services are provided at the medical center of the association, in the hospitals in the service area, and in the home.)

Professional consultations when approved by the medical director.

Refractions of eyes, X-ray diagnosis, superficial X-ray treatments, laboratory tests, and examinations, when provided in the medical center.

Hospital and ambulance services to full service members.

Hospitalization services are limited to a period not exceeding 90 days in any one calendar year or in any one illness, or in any continuous period of hospitalization. These services include (a) bed and board in semiprivate room and general nursing care included in daily room charge; (b) use of operating or delivery room; (c) services of anesthetist; (d) surgical dressings, including casts; (e) limited routine medications; (f) routine laboratory tests (urinalyses, blood counts, serology tests).

For hospitalization procured outside the area not more than $11 for semiprivate room and operating room or delivery room, and anesthetist's charges not to exceed those within the area are provided.

LIMITATION ON SERVICE

Hospitalization and services relating to the termination of pregnancy are not provided unless husband and wife have both been listed for services for a period of 10 months immediately prior to delivery.

Elective surgery is not provided during the first 10 months of membership.

In cases of members or dependents enrolling by the individual-admissions procedure, the association, upon recommendation of the medical director, imposes limitations for services, including hospitalization, for conditions which existed prior to admission to membership. All acute conditions existing at the time the applicant's final acceptance of membership has been received will automatically be restricted without the process of notification.

The following special services are provided but, at present, only upon payment of charges by the members: Medicines, drugs, X-ray films, and materials; surgical appliances, such as orthopedic devices and crutches, eyeglasses, artificial limbs and eyes, and hearing devices; laboratory services not available in the medical center; such services and use of equipment and materials in connection with deep and superficial X-ray treatment, radium treatment, laboratory services, physical therapy; oxygen tanks or tents and materials; blood transfusions and intravenous infusions; the services of a special nurse; treatment, services, supplies, and other items prescribed or ordered by physicians not in a contractual relationship with the association and its members but employed by an individual member, including fees of such physicians; hospitalization in excess of that provided for in the bylaws except that in any case involving the termination of pregnancy by normal delivery or otherwise, the member shall bear the first $125 of the hospitalization expenses. A charge of $3 is made for the first house call in any one illness.

Services not furnished by the association are the following:

1. Treatment or hospitalization of industrial accident cases or other cases if such services are provided under Federal or State employees compensation laws, or under other laws or Government regulations, to the extent of such provisions.

2. Plastic surgery, correction or treatment of deformities and birthmarks, if not malignant, chiropody and psychiatry, but hospitalization for these services, except psychiatry, may be provided subject to the applicable provisions of the bylaws.

3. Any treatment or hospitalization for tuberculosis, drug addiction, or alcoholism after the time that the Medical Director recommends commitment to, or hospitalization in, an institution.

The Group Health Association is now 16 years old, having been organized in 1937 within a single Government agency. In 1938 membership was opened to all Government employees and later it was opened to anyone in the area. The association has had many problems to face throughout the years. In spite of the problems it has grown both in size and in the kind and amount of services rendered.

Three years ago the association purchased the Arlington Building in midtown Washington and finally brought all of the clinical services under one roof in November of 1952.

The financing of the building was a real problem but with the aid of a special membership assessment the problem has been met even though the mortgage payments are still a bit burdensome.

We find it difficult to present information about the work of the association in such a way as to insure that it will be read and absorbed by all of the members. Consequently, two general membership meetings are held annually and numerous small meetings have been arranged in order to interest members in the work of the association and to provide needed information.

We have not yet solved the problem of how to level out the cost of services to our members who are restricted because of preexisting conditions without raising the cost to other members unduly.

We do not render medical or surgery services to members when away from the area. Some study is now being made of the problem to see whether reasonably adequate protection can be provided for members when away from home.

The cost of prepaid comprehensive medical care and hospitalization services is such that a large segment of the population feel they cannot afford such coverage. An intensive study is now being made of our rec-

ords to develop some actuarial figures on cost of services to various types of participants. These actuarial figures will be useful in reviewing our dues structure and other charges.

We are also hopeful that a practical method can be worked out in cooperation with groups of employees and their employers for providing services to groups on contract or develop plans whereby payments may be based upon a percentage of the payroll so that the total amount will provide comprehensive service to all members of the group and their dependents without imposing a hardship on the lower paid members of the group.

It appears that some such group approach is essential if the Group Health Association is to effectively broaden its services so as to include a larger segment of the community within their program of comprehensive prepaid medical and hospital care.

'Ten-shun

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Kansas VFW Bulletin of January 1954, an editorial by the State commander, Richard L. Trombla:

'TEN-SHUN

(By Richard Trombla, department commander)

One of the blind spots of many of us is our inability to perceive any personal responsibility for good government.

We boast of self-government and pity those who live in slave countries, we protest any threat to our freedoms, but we apparently see no inconsistency in failing to contribute anything as a citizen to insure them.

The usual rejoinder is something like this: "I vote part of the time at least; I pay my taxes, though under protest; and I obey the laws; what more do you want?"

The more that is wanted is the difference between enjoying the blessings of our Republic at the expense of others, and trying to do our share as a fellow citizen to perpetuate them.

It is often said that we get the kind of government that we deserve. But in the United States we usually get better government than we deserve.

It is really remarkable that our Nation has been so successfully administered when we realize how small a portion of our people take any genuine and sustained interest in government.

How can be we bring more and more of our citizens to understand that the greatest peril to self-government is the indifference of the people?

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Kansas, has formed an un-American activities committee as our most recent step to preserve our freedom.

This committee will strive to give real force to these mandates of the VFW adopted at national encampments over the years:

Outlawing the Communist Party.

A thorough review of schoolroom texts and the adoption of legislation to compel inclusion of American history studies in school curricula.

Alerting the public to the dangers of communism.

Removing the books of Communist authors from overseas servicemen's libraries.

Opposing certain phases of the UNESCO program.

Combating world federalists and other advocates of a "world state."

Preserving American sovereignty.

We are blind optimists if we remain complacent and fail to realize the increasing menace of communism, and if we remain indifferent to the worldwide struggles between two conflicting philosophies of life, those of democracy and dictatorship.

Communism is the greatest threat to our freedoms—yet most of us know far too little about what communism really is. That we might all be more informed on the subject, is the reason for this un-American activities committee.

Prisoners of War of Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address I delivered at the parade and public reception honoring three Lawrence men who returned after being held as prisoners of war by the Communists in Korea, at the Campagnone Memorial Common, Lawrence, Mass., on Sunday, November 29, 1953:

It is good to see friends after a long absence.

Conrad Provencher, Phillip Bourbeau, and Leo Dwyer, however, are in a special category, and that is why we are celebrating their return on a communitywide basis.

There were times when we felt that we would never see you again, because anyone who falls into the hands of the Communists have very little chance to escape.

The fact that you are with us here today is something of a miracle, proving that the prayers of your relatives and friends have been answered.

You men had to fight two wars: The first in the field against enemy troops; and the second as prisoners of war, against every effort of the Reds to undermine your belief in yourselves and in your country.

It was such a one-sided fight that you fought, with all the weapons in the hands of your captors.

You were defenseless, with nothing to resist Communist pressure except the armor of your spirit and your fond memories of the United States, its familiar places and its decent people.

Your faith proved stronger than the cruel methods that were employed to break you.

The Communists tried and failed, now they know what freedom means to those who have enjoyed it; as necessary as the very air we breathe.

We, your countrymen, like to believe that the way we live as Americans gave you the willpower to survive your ordeal.

This, in the long run, is the source of our Nation's strength. As it came to your aid under the most trying circumstances, so it will help all of us to be steadfast in our duty, no matter what may come.

Now that you are back in the friendly company of your fellow citizens we hope to show our humble gratitude for what you have endured to keep our Nation's honor bright as a beacon to the rest of the world.

You have helped in more ways than one, as time will eventually prove, to unmask the weakness of communism.

Korea was to be the testing ground.

Captured Americans were to be subjected to every indignity and every demoralizing influence, to every psychological pressure that would show how the human spirit can be dominated by materialism.

They thought they had you crushed, but it was they, who lost.

Because you had the faith that was invincible.

The city of Lawrence has paid you a fine and deserving tribute.

I have been called upon, as your Congressman, to express the thanks of the Nation.

Such words as I may summon can never match the joy that fills your hearts. From the closed door of Communist captivity to the open house of freedom is a happy liberation that only you three men can fully appreciate.

In the days to come, as you walk down Broadway and Essex Streets, renewing old acquaintances, and seeing the pride in people's eyes as they stop to chat with you, I hope you won't be too hard with us.

Perhaps we don't fully realize the danger that threatens our Nation, but we are trying our best to live up to those principles that gave you such courage and devotion.

With your example before us I know we can and will do better.

The Nation salutes its fighting men who resisted Communist aggression and Communist indoctrination.

To you, Conrad Provencher, Phillip Bourbeau, and Leo Dwyer, special honors from your home city and hearty congratulations from us all.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Development of the Trade Union Movement in Underdeveloped Areas of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an informative and challenging speech based on experience made on December 29, 1953, by Victor G. Reuther, assistant to the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, at the annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association of Washington, D. C.

In a letter to me of January 7, 1954, Mr. Reuther said:

I share with you completely the feeling that there is far too little understanding and appreciation of the important role which democratic labor is playing around the world in the struggle against Communist infiltration and penetration. Were there a better appreciation of the fact that communism represents far more than a military threat, were there a better appreciation of the character of the force which opposes us, perhaps the method of attack on communism would be substantially altered and would be made far more effective.

Those of us in the labor movement have always given prompt and firm approval of

every step which our Government has taken to meet Communist agression with democratic military resistance. We have always felt strongly, however, that it was not enough to rally military force alone; that in a real sense the struggle against communism would be won in the social, in the economic, and in the political fields. The victories which the free-trade unions in Europe have been scoring over the Communists are ample evidence of the fact that every encounter with the Communists need not end in stalemate.

The views of Mr. Reuther, which are affirmative and not negative, are worthy of deep consideration.

His address follows:

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS OF THE WORLD

(By Victor G. Reuther, assistant to the president, Congress of Industrial Organizations)

Never, I am sure, has so long a title been applied to an organization so little known to the average American. Even in these days of alphabetized titles for everything and everybody, I am sure the initials ICFTU would bring less recognition from the average individual than would the name of the latest "pop, bang or crackle" cereal.

But as a matter of cold fact, the ICFTU is presently or potentially more important as a political and social instrumentality in the free world than almost any other peoples' organization any of us could name.

Since I am sure tht today you are less interested in eloquence and oratory than you are in just having the facts, mam'm, let me tell you the whys, the whats, the wheres and the hows of the ICFTU and omit the window-dressing and the slick slogans.

As I am sure you all remember, the ICFTU was born in December of 1949, in those days when the harsh realities of international affairs were replacing the optimistic dreams we all shared in those too few years of international cooperation following the end of World War II.

It was established to replace the World Federation of Trade Unions, which we in the CIO hopefully expected would be an organization in which the East and West could work toegther—an expectation we shared with all who looked for the East and West to work together constructively and cooperatively in the United Nations.

By December of 1949 there was no longer even a faint hope that the World Federation of Trade Unions could ever be anything more than a political arm of the Communists. So the ICFTU was formed as an organization dedicated to melding the free trade unions of the world into an effective brotherhood which would bring the great power of worker solidarity to the task of winning peace, bread and freedom for workers everywhere.

The ICFTU from the day of its formation faced, it seems to me, two alternatives. It could become either an organization which existed only to hold an annual world congress at which the representatives of the free trade unions could meet, discuss, debate and adopt resolutions. Or it could become a working organization, which not only adopted resolutions but sought to translate those typically well-rounded expressions of opinion into practical reality.

Of course the latter was a much bigger, much harder task, and there was a calculated risk involved. An organization which merely resolves shares no blame for possible failures. An organization which attempts to act courts always that danger.

To the eternal credit of those practical men and women who make up the free trade-union movement, it was the latter, more dangerous but more valuable, pathway which was chosen—chosen unhesitatingly and with a full knowledge of the pitfalls ahead.

In testifying to the effectiveness of the ICFTU and the rightness of this choice, I speak not as a theorist but as an eyewitness. For, as the European representative of the CIO, I have seen the ICFTU in operation at both the strategic and the tactical level.

The determinations have been practical—not fantastic. The operations have been of the hard, prodding, determined sort which produce results and not mere sensational headlines. And the results have been more dramatic and breathtaking than any other single venture in the continuing struggle between democracy and despotism.

We in the CIO, and I am happy to say we in the ICFTU, share a sincere conviction that the battle against communism will be won in the ricefields, not the battlefields, of the world.

The history of our struggle against communism proves that. Where we have met the Communist menace on the battlefield, there has been death and destruction and deadlock. Through force of arms we have reached—and the most we can ever hope to reach—is a stalemate.

All of us, I am sure, subscribe to the only realistic approach to aggression—the approach which former President Truman made a doctrine of international relations.

That doctrine is, of course, that when the first armored columns of an aggressor roll across a frontier bent on conquest, there must be immediate collective resistance. All potential aggressors know that will be the answer to the use of armed might and we know that is the only possible policy for our Government and for the governments of of the other freedom-loving countries to adopt.

But such a policy is essentially the negative approach to the problem of beating communism. And beat it we must.

For that job—the No. 1 task of all who believe in individual freedom—demands a positive approach and such is the program and the policy of the ICFTU. It is a positive approach to the task of winning men's minds, hearts, and loyalties.

It is a policy which has proven itself in West Berlin, and even in East Berlin last June. It is a policy which has proven itself in isolated Austria, in troubled France—proven itself wherever the forces of totalitarianism, either of the far left or far right, have sought to undermine freedom.

It is a policy built on the simple thesis that where hunger, misery and individual despair exist, there exists too a fertile field for the evil seeds of communism—or fascism. It is based on the simple belief that a free, democratic labor movement can be both a bulwark of democracy and en effective attacking force for democracy.

It is predicated on the simple theory that workers, standing together, can build a better life for themselves and their families and their country; that free unions can prove that bread and freedom are compatible; that liberty and individual security, of necessity, go hand in hand; that brotherhood, social and economic justice can only be realistically achieved where people are free to determine their own political and economic destiny.

Working from that premise—and no one has ever or can ever prove it invalid—the ICFTU has moved.

Operating through its regional organizations—the Asian Regional Organization, the Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT) and the European Regional Organization—the ICFTU has attempted to work in those areas where work was most needed by supporting, financing, even undertaking the organization and education of workers.

Where free unions existed, the ICFTU has worked to strengthen, expand, and assist. Where no free unions existed, the ICFTU has not been satisfied to sit back and wait, but has undertaken to fill that void in the democratic structure.

These regional organizations, which were launched in 1951, have been financed through a special fund of $700,000 with the largest, single contribution and pledge coming from the British trade unions—a sum nearly matched by the CIO's contribution of $160,000.

These regional organizations are manned by the leaders of the free labor movement in the areas involved. The supervision of the fund activities was delegated by the ICFTU executive board to a special seven-man committee, of which I had, while stationed in Europe, the honor to be a member.

The ICFTU and its regional fund have not operated as a superbureaucratic organization. Its projects have been decentralized—actually they have been local in character. They have been democratically determined at the local level and wherever possible have been locally administered.

I do not have time here to detail the literally hundreds of activities which have been undertaken.

They run the gamut from preliminary surveys, like those which lead to the establishment of bona fide labor establishments in Turkey and Egypt, to missions of trade unionists to the rubber plantations of India and Ceylon, Venezuela and Bolivia.

They resulted in the extension of union privileges in Libya and Brazil and the organization of oil workers in Arabia and the establishment of labor schools in Calcutta and Puerto Rico.

In France and Italy, the free trade unions have been assisted in organising drives and schools to train organizers have been established where needed.

There is far more that I just don't have the time to list that has been accomplished with this $700,000.

We look upon it as an investment—an investment never to be repaid in cash, but certain to result in those immeasurable dividends which we call a better life for millions of people.

And for those who can only visualize a credit column in terms of dollars and cents, let me point out this investment has been multiplied hundreds of times in additional wages and improved working conditions for workers throughout the world.

And on the rubber plantations in Malaya, in the barracks where textile workers live in Calcutta, and in the oil fields on the other side of the Red Sea, men and women have learned that their fellow workers can help them bring an end to exploitation and hunger, without erecting a single barricade in the streets.

Mimeograph machines—not machineguns, sound trucks—not flame throwers, pamphlets and bicycles instead of armored columns—these are the weapons which we in the ICFTU have used to combat communism and to build the kind of world where communism withers and dies.

No, it is not dramatic, it is not sensational. It will never make a headline in the Chicago Tribune or the Washington Times-Herald.

But it is the kind of earnest, day-by-day activity, the kind of positive, affirmative work that we are convinced can eventually build that better world—that world where freemen can live in peace and where brotherhood and justice can be achieved through ballots instead of bullets.

No, the initials ICFTU may never be as universally known as, say LS/MFT.

But in the important task of winning friends for democracy, it is my considered opinion that the ICFTU has few, if any, equals—and certainly no superiors.

Sale of Canned Fruits to the United Kingdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, most of the canned fruits produced in the United States are grown in California. The largest single item of canned fruits is cling peaches. California produced 17,166,000 cases of cling peaches—2½ basis—last year. My district—the 11th—consisting of the counties of San Joaquin and Stanislaus produces about one-half of the cling-peach crop of California.

Current stocks are considered to be excessive in the amount 2 million cases. California's cling-peach industry operates under State marketing orders which provide means for crop curtailment. Two million cases is the equivalent of approximately 50,000 tons of cling peaches. Therefore, unless the excessive carryover is liquidated prior to harvest, producers will be required to eliminate some 50,000 tons of peaches in order to maintain market stability.

Under the policy established by the 83d Congress under section 550 of the Defense Production Act, opportunities have been created for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities to foreign countries with provisions of converting currency under this section.

The United States Department of Agriculture through its Foreign Agricultural Service and the Foreign Operations Administration under the authority granted to it under section 550 have made canned cling peaches and several other canned fruits eligible under the 550 program. The participating nations have been advised of this action.

British trade has evidenced a great interest in this program and report that there is currently a deficit of 2 million cases of canned fruits in the United Kingdom. Sterling-area sources are unable to furnish supplies of canned fruits in volume adequate to meet the demands. The British people have not had an opportunity to purchase California canned fruits since before the war, in quantities that they would like to. The British Food Ministry requested of California processors in the quantity and range of prices of canned fruits, eigible under the program, that might be offered to the Kingdom. This information has been forwarded through diplomatic channels to the British Ministry of Food. California processors have indicated a desire to supply in excess of 2 million cases to this historic market.

Prior to World War II, the United Kingdom was one of the principal markets for California canned fruits. Between 2 and 3 million cases were sold to that market annually. In the case of cling peaches, approximately 17 percent of the total production went into export channels, most of this to the United Kingdom. Since the war, practically no exports of canned fruits from California have been made to historic outlets, with the exception of a modest volume in 1946.

Under the 550 program, the first real opportunity exists to reestablish historic foreign markets for California producers of canning fruits.

Discussions have been had with various Federal agencies in Washington concerned with this export. All have been most cooperative and have done everything they possibly can to expedite the sale of this fruit.

The Food Ministry is interested. But to get the money required to make the purchase will require the support of the British Treasury.

It seems to us that this matter should be taken up by Mr. Stassen, the head of the FOA. It requires a man of his station and ability to consummate the transaction. Also, it is right down the line that Mr. Stassen has been preaching, namely, to utilize American surpluses where possible to bring about foreign trade and help our friends in foreign countries get back on their feet.

Needed: A Bold, Sustained Highway-Building Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Highway Builder:

NEEDED: A BOLD, SUSTAINED HIGHWAY-BUILDING PROGRAM

(By Robert M. Reindollar, president, American Road Builders' Association)

This is an appropriate time to briefly review the status of American highways in relation to needs. We are bombarded on all sides with cries of alarm over the inadequacy of our roads, accompanied by sounds of despair that we can't afford the improvements that we know we must have. Numerous current proposals for relieving traffic congestion, financing new expressways, and correcting road deficiencies reflect an intense national interest in more efficient highway transportation.

Despite the fact that we spent about $3¼ billion in new road construction in 1953 and an additional $2¼ billion on maintenance, administration, debt service, highway police, and associated matters, there has been only spotty improvement in the general traffic picture. We're adding new motor vehicles at the rate of 1½ million a year and the demand for safer and swifter highway transportation is constantly mounting. With nearly 55 million vehicles, including 10 million trucks and buses, now in use, our economy, social system, and national defense are more than ever dependent on efficient street and highway movement.

CONTRIBUTION TO NATION'S ECONOMY

It is important that all governments—Federal, State, and local—keep foremost in mind the contribution of highway transportation to the Nation's wealth. Our gross national product is estimated at an all-time high of $372 billion, of which one-eighth, or $46½ billion, is contributed annually by all phases of highway transportation. Of this $46½ billion, we are investing roughly, one-ninth, or $5 billion plus, in all highway activities, and only one-fifteenth, or $3 billion plus, in new construction. Considering the needs, it is something less than a bold program of action.

In light of the contribution of highway transportation to the Nation today, even discounting the tremendous dollar drain of accidents and delays due to congestion, it is apparent that it's plain, hardheaded good business to bring our roads up to standard and thus assure greater transportation efficiency and hence an expanding economy.

The call for vision, leadership, and action must be heeded by planners and builders who serve the mass of highway users and the public generally.

There is no basic flaw in our present governmental approach to highway building. The fundamental difficulty is in our collective failure to develop financial techniques to meet the growing requirements. The bedeviling truth, as observed by Thomas H. MacDonald, retired Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, is that good roads cost us money whether we have them or not, and we actually pay less if we do have them. For example, according to estimates of the Automobile Manufacturers Association, while we are directly spending $5½ billion a year on road improvements, actually we are paying out $3 billion additional through the combined costs of wasted fuel and oil, vehicle wear, traffic accidents, and man-hours lost due to congestion, that can be attributed to highway deficiencies.

And so it is understandable that increasing pressure is felt, at all levels of government, for expanded programs of road building.

STATES TURN TO TOLL ROADS

In an effort to finance badly needed expressways, States are turning to self-liquidating toll roads. Half the States now have legislative authority to plan and undertake this type of project. Nine States have toll roads in operation and others are in construction in four States. Nine hundred miles of toll roads are in use; 1,000 more miles are being built; and about 500 more miles are authorized for construction. Thus far, these modern-designed throughways have been eagerly used by a traffic-frustrated public.

While it's acknowledged that toll roads, by their very nature, can never hope to satisfy more than a small percentage of our street and road requirements, they are providing an answer to a portion of the demand.

Highway financing by tolls is not to be regarded as a panacea but it should take its proper place in broad planning for ways and means of providing an efficient highway plant for the Nation.

SURVEYS AND STUDIES

State and local governments have cooperated in an increasingly effective way in recent years in highway fact finding. One-third of the States have completed special general surveys since World War II; at least 13 have finished comprehensive engineering studies; and 11 have made exhaustive finance inquiries. In most of these States the studies have led to laws for administrative improvement and pointed the way to sounder fiscal policies. Last year one-fourth of the State legislatures authorized new, or continued former legislative studies of various phases of highway needs.

In the Federal Government, Congress, through its road subcommittees in the House and Senate, conducted hearings last session into highway matters and will now resume its examinations of these problems, preliminary to legislative action. Several study groups have been named by the executive branch, some of which will develop recommendations affecting highways. One of the study units is the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which, among

other things, is charged with making an impartial investigation and report on programs of Federal assistance to the States and communities, including the Federal-aid highway program which has been in effect since 1916. The Commission may recommend that some Federal-aid programs are justified, some should be limited, some should be discontinued and the responsibility referred to the States.

From all of the various Federal, State, and local studies that have been completed, or are now in the process of completion, a clear picture of highway realities is fast emerging. It is now to be seen whether there will be realistic measures taken by Congress and the State legislatures based on actual current needs.

EXPAND THE FEDERAL-AID PROGRAM

The Federal-aid highway program, conscientiously administered by the Bureau of Public Roads, currently generates a $1 billion construction program (99 percent accomplished by the contract method), in which costs are shared equally by the Federal and State governments. Funds from the general treasury are appropriated to help improve the Federal-aid system which consists of the Nation's major arterial highways—interstate, primary, secondary, and urban in character.

The 664,000 miles of the Federal-aid system comprise a scientifically selected network of roads of vital importance to the Nation. Approximately two-thirds of the system is in need of immediate improvement. The interstate system alone is in a condition where only approximately one-fourth of its 37,800 miles meets required standards. The secondary system, including roads in many urbanized areas, consist of over 438,000 miles of which approximately 265,000 miles are now deficient.

It would cost at least $11 billion to bring the interstate system up to desired standards and $8½ billion to meet requirements of the secondary system. The American Association of State Highway Officials, at the close of 1951, estimated that it would require $32 billion to correct deficiencies in the entire Federal-aid system and that figures can be revised upward in view of today's increased costs.

That is the status of just one-fifth of the Nation's streets and roads, although an extremely important segment.

If we consider the cost of making desired improvements in all of the Nation's 3,326,000 miles of highways, a conservative estimate would place it in excess of $50 billion. Figures like these indicate the extent of the task confronting us.

As an important step in the solution of our highway problems, from every reasonable standpoint, including practicability, the Federal-aid program should be expanded. This proven arrangement for Federal-State cooperative action vests initiative and construction in the States and provides for national uniformity in standards and an assurance of proper future road maintenance. No support can be given to loose and ill-founded charges that would depreciate the soundness of the Federal-aid program.

TEN-YEAR PROGRAM NEEDED

The American Road Builders' Association has already suggested to the appropriate bodies of Congress that a joint legislative committee of the House and Senate be created to survey current highway needs, bringing together all the facts available from State Highway Departments, the wealth of research data available from the Bureau of Public Roads, and the legislative recommendations and reports on file. Most of the necessary information is readily obtainable and a joint committee could develop a workable formula in a limited period of time.

We at the ARBA have been carefully watching progress, or lack of progress, throughout the country, particularly during the past year. We have patiently followed proposals and counterproposals for accelerated programs of highway improvement—and how the bill can be paid. We have observed the incredible and increasing traffic toll, mounting motor vehicle registrations, and appalling highway congestion. We know that any curtailment, any retrenchment, in established methods and programs for highway building could mean a disastrous blow to the Nation's economy. Rather, the pressing need is for application of a vigorous, long-term program of highway rehabilitation. We think at ARBA in terms of a 10-year construction program, with an annual Federal-aid program on an expanded scale.

No matter how we may attempt to talk ourselves around and around this problem, to temporize, to put it off another year, to seek out painless ways of financing, eventually we reach the hard core of reality. And that is that with every 12 months of indecision, we create a greater final task that cannot be shirked. In the emergency of the last war, we let most highway construction rest. Despite postwar programs of some magnitude, we have never been able to effectively deal with the deterioration that took place in the war years. Now, with today's immense traffic volume, we cannot tolerate additional road depreciation—we must work together for adequacy in the shortest possible time.

Whatever our immediate highway interests, in larger devotion to the Nation's needs, we must strengthen our respective organizations and, through them, present the highway facts objectively to the legislatures, the highway users, and the public. Our constant aim must be to work energetically for an equitable, long-range national program of road building that will command the combined and sustained support of Government and the public.

The Atom and Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, January 16, 1954:

Have you ever seen an atom?

No.

But you have probably seen pictures of the destructive power it can unleash.

In the minds of most people it means that man has found the secret of an explosive energy that can doom him and his kind unless ways are found to control it for peaceful uses.

The A, or atom, bomb is a terrifying weapon, but there is an even deadlier one, the hydrogen bomb. This, in turn, will be dwarfed by the cobalt bomb which is on the way.

At this point some people may throw up their hands and say, "What's the use? We haven't got a chance."

The emphasis so far has been on the military applications of atomic energy. Incidentally, A-power is necessary to trigger the hydrogen and the cobalt bombs.

We haven't heard much about its constructive possibilities.

The fear of it may yet force all the world, including the Russians, to find some way to prevent another war, which could only bring varying degrees of ruin to all.

If mankind has to be scared into its senses, perhaps it will be for the best, for all other means have heretofore failed to prevent the periodic mass slaughter and destruction that is known as war.

It was back on June 14, 1946, that the United States offered the Baruch plan to the U. N. for international control of the atom. This would provide a foolproof system of inspection that would prevent atomic aggression by any nation. Soviet Russia refused to accept this plan, demanding in turn the unconditional banning of atomic weapons without adequate guaranties of international control. We would not "buy" such a tricky proposal that would put us in an inferior position before the large standing armies of Russia and its satellites.

The deadlock has continued for over 7 years. During that time our stockpile of bombs has increased. We still hold a comfortable lead. In that same period, however, the Communists have succeeded in producing their own atomic and hydrogen bombs. The pressure on both sides has been building up and the danger to the world has mounted with it. Tension sometimes leads to impatience and desperation. One impulsive decision could bring chaos.

The President of the United States made a dramatic move to ease the crisis. On December 8 he went before the United Nations with a plan to "help solve the fearful dilemma of the atom." To smooth out irritations and mutual suspicions he proposed that, and I quote: "The governments principally involved begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles to an atomic energy agency set up under the aegis of the U. N. to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind."

The free world cheered this concrete evidence of our peaceful intentions. Moscow was caught napping and took time to reply. After 2 weeks the Russians cautiously announced that the President's suggestions would receive serious consideration.

At this stage it would seem that world opinion would force Russia into talks on the atomic question.

How far they will cooperate toward a solution of the problem is anybody's guess, because the motives behind Communist policies are never clear.

In our own country some people may fear that we will bargain away our present margin of security by making too many concessions. We ourselves don't know the details of the President's plan for an international atomic pool. The talks, when and if held, will be private or secret. This is the one disturbing note. We can only hope that our leaders won't blunder us into oblivion.

A report coming from Paris, without verification, claims that the United States has discovered a process to denature atomic materials, and thus remove their destructiveness. It stated that President Eisenhower was prepared to turn this secret over to the Russians, and thereby eliminate Russian fears that pooled atomic material might sometime be used against the Soviet Union.

Whether this report has any basis in fact is not known.

We would like to believe it, for then no nation would have any excuse for refusing to participate in a joint effort to develop atomic power for peaceful purposes.

What a dazzling future would open up for mankind, if the horror of the atom would give way to a positive program that would harness the atom for the benefit of all peoples.

This is the greatest challenge to leadership in all of recorded history.

It comes down to the simple question of life or death for this earth and all of its inhabitants.

David Lilienthal, who was Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission from 1946 until 1950, has proposed that the United States proceed immediately with the Eisenhower atomic-energy plan among Western nations at once while negotiating with the Russians.

He emphasized that winning a propaganda point by anticipating possible failure of the plan due to Russian delays and evasions was far less important than eliminating "the desperate dangers that hang over the human race."

"Our objective should be to get going, immediately," he declared, "with the Russians as full participants if they promptly agree to join; but without them for the time being, if they don't."

Atomic energy, he said, is the business of every private citizen.

This is certainly true, as we consider how it can be used to help, instead of harm, humanity.

We have spent and are spending billions of dollars to process nuclear energy for military purposes exclusively. Lately, however, we have begun to perceive that world tensions might be solved by a different approach. Why can't the atom be changed from a curse to a blessing? The first atomic-powered submarines are ready, but how about using this power in other ways also, to cure the illnesses of man and to provide him with the means to raise the standard of living everywhere on this earth?

We need it for defense; yes; but why neglect its possibilities to build for peace?

Last May, the British announced a project designed to put the atom to work for industry. Fifteen or more reactors are in the process of construction throughout Europe. Nations that cannot compete militarily are going in for the commercial development of the atom.

Our own AEC has decided to build a plant that will generate at least 60,000 kilowatts of electricity for a beginning.

Under the new policy, the United States will keep ahead in atomic weapons and at the same time broaden its peacetime applications.

However, the Atomic Energy Act will have to be liberalized by Congress, within the limitations of national security, to allow private ownership of atomic materials and access to technical data. Federal financing in part must also be authorized to spur the construction of powerplants by American industry.

No one will dispute that the military should have first call on our atomic resources. Our supremacy in this field since our Armed Forces were cut to the bone at the end of World War II was the one factor that kept the Communist armies in check and gave the free world time to rearm.

This is no reason, however, why this great power should be monopolized by the military.

Nuclear energy can open up vast new horizons of better living. When used to conquer disease and poverty and substandard conditions, it will eliminate the major irritants that breed war itself.

With atomic fission byproducts, cold sterilization is now possible. This means that radioactivity can put out of action the organisms that cause decay in fruits, meats, and vegetables. At the same time, all the vitamins are brought nature fresh to the table because this form of preserving foods does not require temperature changes.

Radioactive material also adds a magic eye to cameras, enabling them to show up defects in metal or machinery that cannot be seen with human sight. The field for new and special instruments to measure, and explore, and test where our senses cannot reach is almost limitless.

There are great possibilities in medicine. "Atomic cocktails" of radioactive iodine now cure 15 to 20 percent of thyroid cancer cases. They are also being used to treat certain types of heart disease, restoring some cardiac cripples to sound health.

Atomic energy makes other fuels look weak by comparison.

One pound of this amazing ore is equal to 1,300 tons of coal, 360,000 gallons of gasoline, or almost 2½ million kilowatt-hours of electricity. Within 20 years atom-powered electricity in abundance may be available to all peoples of the earth. As a result, the standard of living 50 years from now will make the people of 1954 look like hardy pioneers to those who glance back from the year 2003.

We don't mean to be overoptimistic regarding Russian cooperation in such a program. The record of Communist deceit and treachery is too substantial to expect a sudden reform.

We must discount their evasions and delays and proceed anyway on the free world's development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Together with our atomic weapons, this will put us so far ahead that the bankruptcy of communism will be clearly exposed to all the world.

Progress can never be held back for long by fear.

The United States will lead the world in the development of atomic energy for peace.

Conscription as Daniel Webster Saw It in 1814

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Daniel Webster was one of our greatest American statesmen. On December 9, 1814, he gave a speech on the floor of this House in which he presented his views on the matter of enforced military training—conscription as we know it. The period was shortly before the end of the War of 1812 between the United States and England. Under the pressure of war needs for men and money, a conscription bill was then before Congress, supported by the Secretary of War, in order to further the conflict for the conquest of Canada.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD this great speech by Daniel Webster:

This bill indeed is less undisguised in its object, and less direct in its means, than some of the measures proposed. It is an attempt to exercise the power of forcing the free men of this country into the ranks of an army, for the general purposes of war under color of a military service. It is a distinct system, introduced for new purposes, and not connected with any power, which the Constitution has conferred on Congress.

But, sir, there is another consideration. The services of the men to be raised under this act are not limited to those cases in which alone this Government is entitled to the aid of the militia of the States. These cases are particularly stated in the Constitution—"to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or execute the laws." But this bill has no limitation in this respect. The usual mode of legislation on the subject is abandoned. The only section which would have confined the service of the militia, proposed to be raised, within the United States has been stricken out; and if the President should not march them into the Provinces of England at the North, or of Spain at the South it will not be because he is prohibited by any provision in this act.

This, then, sir, is a bill for calling out the militia, not according to its existing organization, but by draft from new created classes; not merely for the purpose of "repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, or executing the laws," but for the general objects of war—for defending ourselves, or invading others, as may be thought expedient—not for a sudden emergency, or for a short time, but for long stated periods; for 2 years, if the proposition of the Senate should finally prevail; for 1 year, if the amendment of the House should be adopted. What is this, sir, but raising a standing army out of the militia by draft, and to be recruited by draft, in like manner, as often as occasion may require?

The question is nothing less, than whether the most essential rights of personal liberty shall be surrendered, and despotism embraced in its worst form.

I have risen, on this occasion, with anxious and painful emotions, to add my admonition to what has been said by others. Admonition and remonstrance, I am aware, are not acceptable strains. They are duties of unpleasant performance. But they are, in my judgment, the duties which the condition of a falling state imposes. They are duties which sink deep in his conscience, who believes it probable that they may be the last services which he may be able to render to the Government of his country. On the issue of this discussion, I believe the fate of this Government may rest. Its duration is incompatible, in my opinion, with the existence of the measures in contemplation. A crisis has at last arrived, to which the course of things has long tended, and which may be decisive upon the happiness of present and of future generations. If there be anything important in the concerns of men, the considerations which fill the present hour are important. I am anxious, above all things, to stand acquitted before God, and my own conscience, and in the public judgments, of all participations in the counsels which have brought us to our present condition, and which now threaten the dissolution of the Government. When the present generation of men shall be swept away, and that this Government ever existed shall be a matter of history only, I desire that it may then be known that you have not proceeded in your course unadmonished and unforewarned. Let is then be known that there were those who would have stopped you in the career of your measures, and held you back, as by the skirts of your garments, from the precipice over which you are plunging and drawing after you the Government of your country.

It is time for Congress to examine and decide for itself. It has taken things on trust long enough. It has followed executive recommendation till there remains no hope of finding safety in that path. What is there, sir, that makes it the duty of this people now to grant new confidence to the administration and to surrender their most important rights to its discretion? On what merits of its own does it rest this extraordinary claim? When it calls thus loudly for the treasure and the lives of the people, what pledge does it offer that it will not waste all in the same preposterous pursuits which have hitherto engaged it? In the failure of all past promises do we see any assurance of future performance? Are we to measure out our confidence in proportion to our disgraces, and now at last to grant away everything, because all that we have heretofore granted has been wasted or mis-

applied? What is there in our condition that bespeaks a wise or an able government? What is the evidence that the protection of the country is the object principally regarded?

Conscription is chosen as the most promising instrument, both of overcoming reluctance to the service, and of subduing the difficulties which arise from the deficiencies of the Exchequer. The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular Army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take one out of every 25 men, and any part or the whole of the rest, whenever its occasions require. Persons thus taken by force, and put into an army, may be compelled to serve there, during the war, or for life. They may be put on any service, at home or abroad, for defense or for invasion, according to the will and pleasure of Government. This power does not grow out of any invasion of the country, or even out of a state of war. It belongs to Government at all times, in peace as well as in war, and is to be exercised under all circumstances, according to its mere discretion. This, Sir, is the amount of the principle contended for by the Secretary of War.

Is this, Sir, consistent with the character of a free Government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, Sir, indeed it is not. The Constitution is libelled, foully libelled. The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not purchased at a vast expense of their own treasure and their own blood a Magna Charta to be slaves. Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war, in which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage it? Under what concealment has this power lain hidden, which now for the first time comes forth, with a tremendous and baleful aspect, to trample down and destroy the dearest rights of personal liberty? Who will show me any constitutional injunction, which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life, and even life itself, not when the safety of their country and its liberties may demand the sacrifice, but whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous Government may require it? Sir, I almost disdain to go to quotations and references to prove that such an abominable doctrine has no foundation in the Constitution of the country. It is enough to know that that instrument was intended as the basis of a free Government, and that the power contended for is incompatible with any notion of personal liberty. An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free Government. It is an attempt to show, by proof and argument, that we ourselves are subjects of despotism, and that we have a right to chains and bondage, firmly secured to us and our children by the provisions of our Government.

The supporters of the measures before us act on the principle that it is their task to raise arbitrary powers, by construction, out of a plain written charter of national liberty. It is their pleasing duty to free us of the delusion, which we have fondly cherished, that we are the subjects of a mild, free and limited government, and to demonstrate by a regular chain of premises and conclusions, that Government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every sort and degree of misery, than has been exercised by any civilized government, with a single exception, in modern times.

But it is said that it might happen that an army would not be raised by voluntary enlistment, in which case the power to raise armies would be granted in vain, unless they might be raised by compulsion. If this reasoning could prove anything, it would equally show that whenever the legitimate powers of the Constitution should be so badly administered as to cease to answer the great ends intended by them, such new powers may be assumed or usurped, as any existing administration may deem expedient. This is a result of his own reasoning, to which the Secretary does not profess to go. But it is a true result. For if it is to be assumed that all powers were granted, which might by possibility become necessary, and that government itself is the judge of this possible necessity, then the powers of government are precisely what it chooses they should be. Apply the same reasoning to any other power granted to Congress and test its accuracy by the result.

If the Secretary of War has proved the right of Congress to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the militia into the Regular Army, he will at any time be able to prove, quite as clearly, that Congress has power to create a dictator. The arguments which have helped him in one case will equally aid him in the other. The same reason of a supposed or possible state necessity, which is urged now, may be repeated then, with equal pertinency and effect.

Sir, in granting Congress the power to raise armies, the people have granted all the means which are ordinary and usual, and which are consistent with the liberties and security of the people themselves; and they have granted no others. To talk about the unlimited power of the Government over the means to execute its authority is to hold a language which is true only in regard to despotism. The tyranny of arbitrary government consists as much in its means as in its end; and it would be a ridiculous and absurd constitution which should be less cautious to guard against abuses in the one case than in the other. All the means and instruments which a free government exercises, as well as the ends and objects which it pursues, are to partake of its own essential character and to be conformed to its genuine spirit. A free government with arbitrary means to administer is a contradiction; a free government without adequate provision for personal security is an absurdity; a free government, with an uncontrolled power of military conscription, is a solecism, at once the most ridiculous and abominable that ever entered into the head of man.

Sir, I invite the supporters of the measures before you to look to their actual operation. Let the men who have so often pledged their own fortunes and their own lives to the support of this war look to the wanton sacrifice which they are about to make of their lives and fortunes. They may talk as they will about substitutes and compensations and exemptions. It must come to the draft at last. If the Government cannot hire men voluntarily to fight its battles, neither can individuals.

Into the paradise of domestic life you enter, not indeed by temptations and sorceries, but by open force and violence.

Nor is it, sir, for the defense of his own house and home, that he who is the subject of military draft is to perform the task allotted to him. You will put him upon a service equally foreign to his interests and abhorrent to his feelings. With his aid you are to push your purposes of conquest. The battles which he is to fight are the battles of invasion; battles which he detests perhaps and abhors, less from the danger and the death that gather over them, and the blood with which they drench the plain, than from the principles in which they have their origin.

If, sir, in this strife he fall—if, while ready to obey every rightful command of Government, he is forced from home against right, not to contend for the defence of his country, but to prosecute a miserable and detestable project of invasion, and in that strife he fall, 'tis murder. It may stalk above the cognizance of human law, but in the sight of Heaven it is murder; and though millions of years may roll away, while his ashes and yours lie mingled together in the earth, the day will yet come, when his spirit and the spirits of his children must be met at the bar of omnipotent justice. May God, in his compassion, shield me from any participation in the enormity of this guilt.

The operation of measures thus unconstitutional and illegal ought to be prevented, by a resort to other measures which are both constitutional and legal. I express these sentiments here, sir, because I shall express them to my constituents. Both they and myself live under a Constitution which teaches us, that "the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind." With the same earnestness with which I now exhort you to forbear from these measures, I shall exhort them to exercise their unquestionable right of providing for the security of their own liberties.

A military force cannot be raised, in this manner, but by the means of a military force. If administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army. The Government was not constituted for such purposes. Framed in the spirit of liberty and in the love of peace, it has no powers which render it able to enforce such laws. The attempt, if we rashly make it, will fail; and having already thrown away our peace, we may thereby throw away our Government.

Dollar Savings in the Veterans' Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I have received from Mr. Harvey V. Higley, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., January 13, 1954.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: The following statement of actions taken in the Veterans' Administration during 1953 which have resulted in savings was recently prepared and is submitted because of the interest of your committee in the subject matter:

An attempt has been made to identify the improvements which have resulted in actual dollar savings during the past year. Many improvements which have probably resulted in savings or in which there are potential savings are of such a nature that it is difficult to translate them into dollar amounts. On the other hand, there are a number of changes and improvements that translate themselves readily into dollar savings. It is estimated that during 1953 there were changes instituted that will result in savings at an annual rate of approximately $48 million. Of this amount approximately $24

million is attributable to revisions in the out-patient dental treatment policy; approximately $18 million is attributable to reduced payments under veterans' benefit appropriations; the remainder of approximately $6 million is attributable to administrative improvements. These savings are summarized by department as follows:

1. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) Reduction in telecommunication personnel and equipment	$44,000
(b) Increased efficiency in utilization of electric accounting machines	170,000
(c) Improvements in supply management	90,000
Total, general administration	304,000

2. DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE

(a) Savings due to installation of machine accounting	400,000
(b) Improvement of insurance accounting record system	185,000
(c) Improved insurance billing technique	750,000
(d) Simplification of renewal requirements and procedures	645,000
(e) Elimination of forms	30,000
(f) Institution of refresher training courses	60,000
(g) Improved system of evaluating underwriting risks from a medical standpoint	75,000
(h) Combining duties of underwriting positions	10,000
Total, Department of Insurance	2,155,000

3. DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY

(a) Reduction in personnel requirements due to more effective utilization of staff and improved procedures	417,000
(b) Reduction in operating costs due to improved procedures	479,000
(c) Reduction in the out-patient dental program by limiting treatment to one episode for the great majority of veterans	24,000,000
(d) Expansion of home-nursing care for veteran patients, thereby reducing the number of days of hospitalization required	1,500,000
(e) Other	230,000
Total, Department of Medicine and Surgery	26,626,000

4. DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS BENEFITS

(a) Savings due to changes in legislation	18,209,000
(1) Sec. 265, Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 prescribed payment at the rate of $1.50 for each required certification submitted covering attendance of veterans in training under Public Law 550, 82d Congress. The "Second Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1954" reduced this rate to $1 for all certifications covering attendance on or after Sept. 1, 1953. Estimated savings, $300,000.	
(2) The Second Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1954, eliminated payment of the 4 percent gratuity on loans authorized by title III, Public Law 346, committed on or after Sept. 1, 1953. Estimated savings, $17,909,000.	
(b) Savings due to other administrative improvements	$1,032,000
Total, Department of Veterans' Benefits	19,241,000

There were also numerous accomplishments during the year for which the dollar amounts of savings are not available. However, some of these items have resulted in substantial savings which are reflected in overall cost of operations. A detailed listing of these accomplishments as well as those summarized above is enclosed.

The foregoing analysis does not take into consideration potential savings due to the reorganization of the Veterans' Administration which is currently in process. The new organization has not been in operation for a sufficient period of time to fully evaluate savings that may accrue therefrom. However, from January 31, 1953, through November 30, 1953, there was a reduction in central office administrative employment of 1,876. Of this number approximately 1,100 was due to a reduction in central office insurance operations. A substantial portion of the remaining 776 reduction can be considered as attributable to the reorganization. During the same period there was an additional reduction in employment of 1,982 in regional and district offices.

The fiscal year 1955 appropriation request gives effect to anticipated savings from reorganization and also takes into consideration the reduction in other costs as reflected in the enclosed lists.

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY V. HIGLEY,
Administrator.

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1. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, $304,201

Telecommunications	$43,367
(a) Mount Alto Hospital, Washington, D. C.: Conversion of manually operated telephone PBX switchboard to automatic operation	4,681
(b) Fort Logan Hospital, Colorado: Effected change in type of telephone PBX switchboard and reduced personnel cost	5,018
(c) New York teletype net control station, New York: Changed system to semiautomatic operation and reduced personnel cost	3,600
(d) Camp White Domiciliary, Oregon: Conversion VA operated telephone PBX system to individual business lines	3,100
(e) Salisbury Hospital, North Carolina: Reduced telephone cable distribution system and maintenance cost	3,910
(f) Brockton Hospital, Massachusetts: Reduced telephone cable distribution system and maintenance cost	6,238
(g) Pittsburgh Hospital, Pennsylvania: Reduced telephone cable distribution system and maintenance cost	6,160
(h) Dublin Hospital, Georgia: Conversion of manually operated telephone PBX switchboard to automatic operation	7,000

A survey of current needs, central office, resulted in the following savings as shown in paragraph (a) through (c) below:

(a) Elimination of excess telephone trunk lines and switches, $2,100 per year.

(b) Four switchboard positions placed in standby status pending expiration of contract period, $420 per year.

(c) Eliminated two TWX teletypewriters, November 1953, $240 per year.

A review of operations showed that many of the messages refiled by commercial wire as full-rate messages in late afternoon or evening could not be delivered until the following day. A saving has resulted since these messages are now sent as night letters.

(a) Lowered rate classification on refiled Western Union telegrams, July 1953, $900 per year.

Machine tabulating equipment, $170,584

As a result of the regular semi-annual review of electrical accounting machines used in the Veterans' Administration, increased efficiency in operations and decreasing Central Office workload a reduction of 187 pieces of tabulating equipment was effected involving a savings of $170,584 in annual rental, including excise tax.

Miscellaneous Operating Expenses

Relocation and consolidation of the Eastern Publications Depot, the warehouse space at 1430 South Capitol Street, and the warehouse space at Perry Point will result in an estimated savings of $17,102 annually. Since this project has not been completed, it is believed that monetary savings for this calendar year 1953 cannot be reflected.

There are excluded from this report those personal management improvements which, though resulting in more effective and economical operations, are of such a nature that actual money savings cannot be estimated with any reasonable certainty. An example of these improvements is:

(a) A considerable reduction in paper work was achieved by the elimination of the requirement for central office clearance on the appointment and reappointment of approximately 8,100 consultants and attendings utilized by the Department of Medicine and Surgery.

Supply management, $90,250

(a) By revision of the forms furnished to artificial limb manufacturers for submitting quotations for furnishing artificial arms and legs to the Veterans' Administration and by improving the methods of procuring such quotations and distributing the contract data to the field, the Supply Service was able to perform the work with less personnel. Estimated annual saving—$7,000.

(b) As a result of changing from proprietary drug items (name brands), to competitive items for the Contract beginning April 1, 1953, the drugs are being obtained at $1.47 per thousand as compared to $4.80 per thousand for an approximate savings of $83,250, based on an estimated requirement of 25,000 bottles during the contract period of 1 year ending March 31, 1954.

2. DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE, $2,155,000

(a) Improvement in the administration and management of the insurance program is designed primarily to render more effective service to the veteran and reduce operating costs. As an indication of the accomplishments in this field, it may be of interest to note that on January 1, 1953, there were 9,685 persons engaged in the insurance activities of the VA. Projected employment as of December 31, 1953, is estimated at 8,435 persons, a reduction of 12 percent. During this same period the number of active insurance accounts has remained consistent. It is therefore apparent that this reduction in personnel cannot be attributed to reductions in workload, but as a result of careful staff planning and consideration of management improvement practices such as improvement

in the organizational patterns established to carry on the work, refinement, and simplification of procedures, and improvement of employee performance through training and experiences.

(b) The insurance management improvement studies encompass such matters as consolidation of existing offices, simplification of organization, decentralization of activities and authorities, research into private commercial insurance practices, development of new or revised systems and procedures, installation of more accurate accounting methods, mechanization of accounting operations, development of work measurement techniques and production control, standardization of forms, widening of supervisory-employee ratios, and extension of employee training to obtain unity of purpose and consistency of approach.

(c) Active efforts in these fields frequently produce intangible savings such as improved service to veterans, establishment of procedures to meet legal or regulatory requirements, and development of submissions to meet planning purposes. However, in the past calendar year many improvements have been accomplished within the areas included above which can be measured in terms of dollar savings. Typical of these improvements are the following:

(1) Machine accounting for insurance dividend credit and deposit accounts: Dividend credit accounts numbering in the neighborhood of 1,250,000 established for national service life insurance policyholders under the provisions of Public Law 36 became increasingly costly to maintain and keep under proper accounting control due to the manual system of accounting in use. Accordingly, it was determined that a punched card test would be established in the Philadelphia district office. This test was made on 10 percent of the accounts and was subsequently determined to be not only satisfactory from an accounting standpoint but also gave all indications of effecting substantial budget savings. It was further felt that better service to the policyholders would result because of the system's ability to preclude backlogs. For the foregoing reasons the procedure was approved for extension in the Philadelphia office to include all dividend credit and deposit accounts, and in the remaining district offices.

The punched card system provides for accounting control over all transactions with periodic reconciliation of detail accounts to the control accounts. Provisions were also made for mechanical posting of the dividend credit history records, preparation of disbursement vouchers, and statements of account to the policyholders. A set of control accounts has been established from which monthly statements will be prepared.

It has been estimated that the new machine accounting system for dividend credit and deposit accounts in all of the district offices offers a potential annual savings of approximately $400,000.

(2) Improvement of insurance accounting record: The premium record card form has been revised to provide space for posting premium payments for a period of 6 years rather than 4. Since all term policies are for 5-year terms, each such policy required the preparation, handling, and filing of one continuation card during the term. It is expected that savings approximating $185,000 will accrue from this revision by the reduction in number of continuation cards required not only for term contracts but also by reducing those required for permanent plan policies by one-third.

(3) Improved insurance premium billing: The test of direct pay premium billing for policies on which premiums are paid monthly (packet billing) has been evaluated and authorized for installation in all district offices. The procedure provides for the mailing of 12 premium notices in one envelope to the policyholder once a year on the anniversary of the policy. He is requested to send in one premium notice each month with his remittance. The test has indicated that savings will be realized primarily by the reduced cost of postage (estimated that a saving of $750,000 on postage only will accrue in the first full year of operation) and a reduction in the time required to compare notices with policy records.

(4) Simplification of renewal requirements and procedures: Under recently enacted legislation renewals of certain national service life insurance term policies became automatic upon the timely receipt of the last premium on the old contract. Procedures were simplified within the VA for the renewal of other national service life insurance term policies in such a way that the entire process is now handled within one organizational unit in those cases where the renewal premiums were timely received. The requirement of a formal application for renewal was eliminated. A further saving was also effected by eliminating the letter of advice to the insured. It is estimated that the simplified renewal procedure will produce annual savings of approximately $645,000.

(5) Elimination of forms: A project of reviewing all insurance forms was undertaken and as a result about 100 (of the 680 forms) were declared obsolete. Another 60-odd forms were eliminated by consolidation, an example of which is the 8 different underwriting worksheet forms used to effect various transactions. This resulted in savings amounting to approximately $30,000.

(6) Institution of a refresher training course for professional adjudication personnel in the disability insurance claims activities of the district offices: Results stemming from this program and subsequent changes in instructional issues were reductions in the length of decisions, reduction in the number of review decisions, and an immediate change in the ratio of review adjudicators to initial adjudicators from 2.4:1 to 3:1. This was accompanied by reduction in force of the surplus personnel. A ratio of 5:1 has been tested, approved, and will shortly be placed in all offices, with a corresponding reduction in the number of adjudicators required for disability claims work. Approximately $60 million will be saved.

(7) A new system of evaluating underwriting risks from a medical standpoint was developed and installed in all insurance activities. This change involves a numerical rating system which follows closely the methods used by private insurance companies with certain adaptations to fulfill the requirements of Government insurance. Responsibility has been placed in one position for the complete activity, including examination of applications, determination of acceptability (medical or otherwise), and approval. In addition to making for a more effective and speedy underwriting activity, this change resulted in savings of $75,000.

(8) Combining duties of underwriting positions: Under previous organizational arrangements, the work of the insurance underwriter and correspondence clerk were checked by reviewers. The preparing and reviewing duties were combined in a single position, eliminating the need for a detailed review. Additionally all correspondence activities of the Underwriting Division and Premium Accounts Division were consolidated into a Correspondence Section within the Underwriting Division. In addition to improving work operations, this resulted in a saving to date of approximately $10,000.

(d) In addition to the projects and savings indicated in the above, many other management, procedural, and systems projects have been completed. Some of the savings accruing from these accomplishments have a high potential while others are more difficult to measure. Included in this category are the following typical examples:

(1) Insurance allotment accounting control: During the year the insurance accounts of armed services members whose national service life insurance premiums are paid by allotments from service pay were converted to punch cards. These punched cards are susceptible to a mechanical audit against the punched card records of the several services of the Department of Defense. A premium receivable control card has been established over these punched cards, taking into account those suspense items which are pending.

This procedure provides for a rapid association of punch card data received from the armed services and tighter controls over in-service accounting operations. This will eventually reduce administrative costs in connection with maintaining and servicing in-service accounts.

(2) Improvement of insurance vouchering procedures: Revised accounting procedures have been developed relating to the simplification of vouchering operations and elimination or consolidation of various individual refund and disbursement vouchers have been formulated.

(3) Improvement of insurance dividend procedure: Procedural changes in connection with the payment of the regular annual dividends were effected to simplify and expedite operations. The more significant changes consisted of: (a) the two forms used to notify insureds of the establishment of dividend credits and withdrawals from dividend credit accounts were combined as one form; (b) the preparation of subvouchers for certain noncash withdrawals of dividend credits was eliminated, and the use of a transfer posting type of voucher to schedule cash withdrawals was provided; (c) the procedure for computation of interest on dividend credit account balances was simplified; and (d) the filing system under which dividend credit and deposit records are maintained was simplified.

(4) Insurance interest calculations simplified: A change was made in the basis on which interest calculations are made with respect to dividend credit and deposit accounts. Under the simplified procedure, interest is computed on the remaining balance annually rather than on each transaction on a monthly basis. Thus, interest is computed and added to principal on the policy anniversary at the same time the new year's dividend is added to the policyholder's account. This procedure has resulted in considerable administrative savings as it eliminated approximately 600,000 calculations in 1953.

(5) New methods of numbering and filing national service life insurance records: Procedures have been developed to provide that where a policyholder has insurance in force under two or more accounts, all the premium records for his accounts will be filed together under a designated file number in the same location. In addition to other advantages, this change will make unnecessary any involved procedure to transfer money credits from one account to another in order to avoid lapse. Also, routing will be considerably simplified in connection with "split remittances" cases. Further, it will lessen or expedite the work involved in the requisitioning, searching, and association of various types of records such as premium record cards, insurance folders, DIB folders, addressograph plates, and loan and lien record cards.

(6) Improving insurance operations: Operating procedures were revised making it unnecessary to recall United States Government life insurance policies in connection with recording beneficiary and/or settlement option changes on the policies. Instead, provision was made for sending photocopies of such changes to the insured, thereby achieving increased economy and efficiency

as well as uniformity of operations with national service life insurance.

(7) Streamlined procedure for insurance adjustments: Arrangements have been completed with the Department of Defense to withdraw, by set-off from the monthly insurance allotment payment, the amount reflected in retroactive discontinuance notices. Subsequent claims against the service allotment officers will be made by the VA in those cases only where VA overpayments have been made on the assumption that allotments were in effect at the time of overpayment. This arrangement simplifies considerably the procedure required under the old Retirement Register agreement and will result in appreciable administrative savings.

(8) Disposition of insurance posting media for collections: A study was made in connection with the practice of retaining posting media for collections after the posting and microfilming operations were completed with the result that it was decided to retain only a small percentage of the posting media for purposes of internal audit. This decision releases over 70 percent of the insurance space formerly required to house those records.

(9) Elimination of processing of insurance policies: Staff plans were developed and completed which eliminated the need for insurance policyholders and their beneficiaries to submit insurance policies in connection with all types of surrenders. These decisions make unnecessary the handling and filing of surrendered or matured policies within the Department of Insurance and the General Accounting Office. This involves approximately 75,000 policies per year.

3. DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE AND SURGERY, $26,626,000

Part I. Staffing, $417,000

(a) As a result of more effective utilization of staff, a reduction of 200 personnel has been accomplished in regional office outpatient clinics, excluding personnel engaged in dental and mental hygiene activities, without impairment of service to the veteran or reduction in workload.

(b) Staff of Audiology and Speech Correction Clinic at New York regional office reduced from 20 to 14, resulting in annual salary saving of $27,690, without affecting service to veterans.

(c) Use of qualified graduate students as part-time employees in Chicago Regional Office Audiology and Speech Correction Clinic has eliminated need for 2 full-time audiologists, with resultant annual salary saving of approximately $3,500.

(d) Elimination of librarian positions in 3 regional offices resulted in annual salary saving of approximately $15,000.

(e) Utilization of contract part-time nursing service in lieu of full-time staff nurses in 3 regional office clinics accomplished an annual salary saving of approximately $7,500.

(f) Finance Division staff in stations under Department of Medicine and Surgery jurisdiction was reduced by 20, resulting in an annual salary saving of approximately $80,000.

(g) Reduction of 7 positions in personnel divisions was accomplished by consolidation of personnel activities, whereby 1 division serves 2 stations in the same community, with a resultant annual salary saving of $27,500.

(h) Elimination of 6 positions in VA orthopedic shops at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., and Denver, Colo., resulted in an annual salary saving of $22,000.

(i) Conversion of full-time chaplaincy positions to part-time employment at a number of stations represented an annual salary saving of approximately $20,000.

(j) Chemotherapy of tuberculosis program in central office effected economies by reducing secretarial staff from 2 to 1 and eliminating all professional assistance to the doctor in charge. Information required from 46 hospitals participating in the program was reduced by 50 percent.

(k) Reduction of 4 professional and 2 clerical positions in the psychiatry and neurology service accomplished an annual salary saving of approximately $55,000.

(l) Reduction of 2 positions in the prosthetics and sensory aids service accomplished an annual salary saving of $7,390.

(m) Reduction of professional staff in the medical service resulted in an annual salary saving of $13,300.

(n) Surgical service has not filled a vacant secretarial position with resultant annual salary saving of approximately $4,000.

(o) Central office staff responsible for selecting and contracting for motion pictures reduced from 18 to 12.

(p) Central office staff responsible for procurement of library books and periodicals for all VA stations reduced from 27 to 22 by decentralization of certain functions.

(q) Central office responsible for handling transportation claims against carriers reduced from 6 to 1, by decentralization of handling of all except unusually involved claims.

(r) Procurement Division, supply service, abolished 20 positions by consolidation and combination of duties.

(s) Inventory Management Division, supply service, eliminated 5 positions by consolidation and combination of duties.

(t) Inventory Management Division, supply service, reduced 4 positions by decentralization of certain procurement functions to depots without any increase in depot personnel.

Part II. Procedures, $479,000

(a) Increased use of VA and contract audiology and speech correction clinics for issuance of hearing aids saved approximately $325,000 during calendar year 1953, by decreasing the numbers issued to less than half the previous maximum issue, without decreasing service to veterans, despite an increasing number of beneficiaries.

(b) Due to utilization of audiology and speech correction clinics for examinations of questionable cases in receipt of compensation, an average of 15 individuals per month have been determined ineligible for compensation, a saving of approximately $100,000 a year.

(c) Use of dry-milk solids and evaporated milk in lieu of fresh milk for cooking and baking resulted in a saving of 44 cents per gallon.

(d) Medium size in lieu of large eggs for table use saved 8 to 10 cents per dozen.

(e) Publication of a new Manual of Administrative Procedures for Psychiatric Services introduced new and improved methods and reorganization of functional responsibilities, for better utilization of staff skills and training and more economical accomplishment of objectives in all areas of activity in VA psychiatric hospitals and services.

(f) New procedures for screening lists of veterans awaiting hospitalization in VA psychiatric institutions reduced administrative work involved by up to 75 percent.

(g) Discontinuance of procurement of emergency prints of 16-millimeter feature films resulted in an annual saving of approximately $50,000.

(h) Discontinuance of use of standard visitor's permit in other than psychiatric hospitals resulted in saving of approximately $4,000 in annual printing costs, in addition to time saved in reception of visitors to patients.

(i) Adoption of hectograph process for preparation of authorizations for fee-basis out-patient services in lieu of previous manual operation accomplished an estimated saving of approximately 1,000 man-hours monthly in regional office out-patient clinics.

(j) New form for authorization and invoice for medical service reduced typing required by approximately 80 percent.

(k) Improved procedures relative to utilization and disposal of excess stocks enabled reduction of four positions in central office.

(l) Test on use of remote control dictating equipment conducted at Chicago Regional Office resulted in 64 percent increase in efficiency and staff reduction of nine.

(m) Use of bid invitations in lieu of Federal schedule price enabled securing of remote control dictating equipment at 30 percent reduction in price.

(n) Stations have been instructed to procure photoroentgen units utilizing 4-inch by 5-inch films in lieu of continuing use of 14-inch by 17-inch films for chest X-rays, providing the cost of the new unit can be amortized in 3 years.

Part III. Reports and records

(a) On February 3, 1953, the Chief Medical Director appointed a committee to review the Depatment of Medicine and Surgery reports program. The committee submitted its findings to the Chief Medical Director on October 9, 1953. The following were among the major recommendations which have already been effected or which will be carried out in the near future:

(1) The frequency of preparation and submission of the following reports have been changed from monthly to quarterly: Report of pharmacy operations; report of medical illustration laboratory activities; report of certain tropical diseases.

(2) Monthly report of bed capacity and patient load in domiciles is now being completely revised. Upon publication of the revision, a presently required narrative report will be discontinued.

(3) A study is now under way to revise the report of hospital dental activities, to enable reduced frequency of preparation and submission which is now monthly.

(b) Fifteen linear feet of records maintained by special boards since 1947 were destroyed in accordance with regulations, and 32 linear feet of records were sent to general records.

(c) Peparation of an extra file copy of the prosthetic service card was discontinued. Savings were effected by eliminating preparation and filing of approximately 10,000 of these cards annually, and permitting destruction of 100,000 cards on file.

(d) Preparation and maintenance of a copy of record of domiciliary care for eventual submission to central office was discontinued. Savings were effected by eliminating preparation and filing of approximately 1,700 of these forms monthly.

(e) The number of reports of annual physical examination required to be submitted to central office was reduced from 19,000 to 2,500 annually.

(f) Discontinuance of maintenance and submission to central office of rehabilitation summary records, TB patients, resulted in an estimated annual saving of 20,000 forms and 10 man-years.

(g) Streamlining of Medical Rehabilitation Board functions at hospitals resulted in savings of approximately 1,000 man-hours monthly and receipt of approximately 100 fewer reports in central office.

(h) Finance Division work measurement report from Department of Medicine and Surgergy installations reduced infrequency from monthly to quarterly, with an estimated annual saving of 4,800 man-hours.

Part IV. Miscellaneous, $25,730,000

(a) Closing of 5 physical medicine and rehabilitation clinics in regional offices during calendar year 1953 resulted in elimination of

13 positions at an annual saving of $54,900 in salaries, saved $33,000 in equipment, and approximately $15,000 in annual rental for space previously occupied.

(b) Reduction in the number of items used and stocked in depots for the educational therapy program resulted in saving of approximately $15,000 annually.

(c) Expenditures for the procurement of books for the library program for the first quarter of fiscal year 1954 were $77,355 under expenditures for the same period in fiscal year 1953.

(d) Savings of $9,867 in regional offices and $25,266 in hospitals were effected since July 1, 1953, by re-evaluation of the dental consultant and attending programs.

(e) During calendar year 1953 out-patient treatment was kept to a minimum. Consequently there was a steady decline in the extent of treatment authorized on a fee basis (approximate 7 percent reduction in number of patient-days per patient authorized). There was a resultant reduction in cost per case treated from $13.29 to $11.98. For all out-patient fee basis work the cost per case was reduced from $12.76 to $11.65.

(f) Staff physicians in out-patient clinics administered to more out-patient visitors as reflected by the following figures:

Monthly average, calendar year 1952.. 126,020
Monthly average, calendar year 1953.. 128,371

This enabled the clinics to absorb a greater part of the workload resulting in a reduction in fee basis treatment authorizations, without any increase in staff in the clinics.

(g) Revision of policy, following passage of Public Law 149, 83d Congress, and publication of EM 10-48 which provides for only one episode of out-patient dental treatment for the great majority of eligible veterans, has resulted in a saving of approximately $2 million in the monthly requirements for this program, since the new policy was placed in effect.

(h) For fiscal year 1953 there was a 36 percent increase in veteran patients receiving home nursing care and 61 percent increase in home visits. The average cost per patient for home nursing care was $86.34 as contrasted with a projected cost of $2,106.03 if the patient had been hospitalized. For the 739 patients who participated in the program, the cost was $63,806.10. Care in a GM & S hospital would have cost $1,556,503.15, which reflects a saving of almost $1½ million for this period.

(i) Approximately 50 percent of the money allotted to surgical service and 25 percent of the money alloted to medical service for long distance telephone calls was saved by careful review and consideration of need for this medium of communication.

(j) Many thousands of dollars were saved by carefully screening requests for medical and surgical instruments against items available through the Standard Supply Catalogue.

(k) Increased emphasis on the foster-home care program for psychiatric patients resulted in placements for 200 additional patients, thus releasing this number of beds previously occupied for as much as 20 years.

(l) Combination of former D. M. & S. and supply service elements concerned with development and standards into a single organization element under D. M. & S. enabled elimination of 10 positions.

(m) During calendar year 1953 consolidations of out-patient clinics into hospitals in the same community were accomplished in Chicago, Ill., Birmingham, Ala., and Phoenix, Ariz. Although monetary savings have not yet been reflected by these actions, they have resulted in better care to the veteran by providing more complete clinical facilities in a single location.

(n) Bed utilization in VA hospitals showed a significant increase as reflected in the following table:

	Dec. 31, 1952	Oct. 31, 1953
Operating beds	108,208	113,809
Average daily patient load	94,902	103,201
Ratio of average daily patient load to operating beds	87.7	90.9
Eligible veterans awaiting hospitalization	21,496	17,720
Contract hospital beds in use	5,670	4,786

This table reflects more effective utilization of available beds coincident with a reduction in waiting lists and utilization of beds in non-VA hospitals at VA expense.

(o) Better bed utilization was effected by transferring selected psychiatric patients to vacant beds in general medical and surgical hospitals. This also enabled the movement of VA patients from contract beds into VA hospitals.

4. DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS' BENEFITS, $19,241,000

Estimated savings in the Department of Veterans' Benefits during the calendar year 1953 totaled $19,241,000. The following is a summary description of these estimated savings:

a. Savings due to legislation, $18,209,000

(1) Section 265, Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 prescribed payment at the rate of $1.50 for each required certification submitted covering attendance of veterans in training under Public Law 550, 82d Congress. The Second Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1954, reduced this rate to $1 for all certifications covering attendance on or after September 1, 1953. Estimated savings $300,000.

(2) The Second Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1954, eliminated payment of the 4-percent gratuity on loans authorized by title III, Public Law 346, committed on or after September 1, 1953. Estimated savings $17,909,004.

b. Savings due to administrative improvements, $1,032,000

(1) Vocational rehabilitation and education: (a) Elimination of 15 chief-of-section positions. Estimated savings, $65,000. (b) Closing of training facilities area office, St. Paul, Minn. Estimated savings $12,000. (c) Reorganization of the educational benefits sections, vocational rehabilitation and education, required to effectively administer Public Law 550, 82d Congress. Estimated savings $369,396.

(2) Compensation and pension: (a) Installation of remote control electronic dictating and recording equipment in the Chicago regional office. Estimated savings, $8,134.

(3) Supply service: (a) Utilization of procedure for circularization of excess property for use within the VA. Estimated savings, $269,523. (b) Utilization of $19,362 worth of excess property of other Federal agencies at a VA cost of $4,753. Estimated savings, $14,629. (c) Consolidation of regional office and hospital supply activities:

Wilkes-Barre, Pa	$35,475
Syracuse, N. Y	17,055
Chicago, Ill	35,800
Total estimated savings	88,330

(4) Office methods service: (a) Elimination of Assistant Chief, Administrative Division position at 21 stations. Estimated savings, $94,500.

(5) Personnel service: (a) Consolidation of regional office and hospital personnel activities at Syracuse, N. Y., and Chicago. Estimated savings, $9,400.

(6) Fiscal service, controller: (a) Consolidation of regional office and hospital finance activities:

Providence, R. I	$13,870
Wilkes-Barre, Pa	13,740
Syracuse, N. Y	13,750
Chicago, Ill	13,750
New Orleans, La	13,840
Oklahoma City, Okla	12,875
Albuquerque, N. Mex	10,000
Wilmington, Del	10,000
Total estimated savings	101,825

Religious Persecution in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in the anxious days preceding the proposed four-power conference, when the people of the free world tend again to be encouraged about the prospects of finding a solution to the problems and threats facing our world, we must once again look back upon the record of Communist performance to see whether that record justifies any optimism on our part. We must look at that record and see if there is anything in it which would encourage us to hope that those agreements that may be reached at the pending four-power conference will be honored by the Soviet Union. This reappraisal of the Communist record is particularly necessary because there appear to be some indications that the people who are in a position to shape our Nation's policy may be inclined to enter into agreements, and accept compromises, even at the cost of direct concessions to the Soviets including tacit acquiescence to the status quo in eastern and central Europe.

That any formal recognition or acquiescence to the status quo in that area can never be condoned by our Nation is a fact which ought to be borne in mind by everyone of us. The enslavement by the Communists of the countries presently behind the Iron Curtain, accomplished in violation of explicit international agreements, must continue to be condemned by our Nation and by all freedom-loving countries. We ought to do all that we can to see that freedom and the right to democratic self-government are restored to those countries in pursuance of those agreements which the Soviet Union had violated.

This consideration ought to warn our Government to proceed with caution in entering into any agreements with the Soviet Union. We have had enough instances of bad faith and of broken promises on the part of the Communists. To confer with them with view to bringing about a solution of the problems which they have largely created is both advisable and necessary in view of the deteriorating international situation. But to commit our Nation to any obligations, or any specific course of action which would have to be taken by us before the Communists show concrete evi-

dence of their good will, would be an entirely different matter.

To test the Communists' intentions with regard to their cooperation with the free world in solving the major problems which confront us today, we can, for instance, urge that they put an immediate end to the religious persecution in Poland, and promptly release from prison the Primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and the ten or more Polish bishops who have been incarcerated by the Communists. The termination of this reign of terror which has prevailed in Poland and in the other countries behind the Iron Curtain would be an important indication that the Communists are coming to the Four Power conference prepared to talk sense, and not merely to waste our time.

The Communist persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland, just like their activities directed against men of other faiths and intended to suppress the worship of God in the lands behind the Iron Curtain, has aroused considerable resentment and bitterness in this land of ours in which freedom of worship is safeguarded by our Constitution. Only recently, at a mass rally sponsored in my district by Council No. 6 of the Polish Roman Catholic Union and by the Polish Veterans of World War II, over twelve hundred people gathered at Milwaukee's South Side Armory to protest, by their presence there, the persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland and the imprisonment of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. This mass protest meeting was supported by the Most Reverend Archbishop Albert Meyer, the Archbishop of Milwaukee, the Most Reverend Bishop Roman Atkielski, and by members of the archdiocesan clergy, and by many prominent laymen in our city. In the course of the meeting, Dr. Jerzy Lerski, of Washington, D. C., gave a comprehensive and factual account of the religious persecution campaign directed by the Communists in Poland against the Catholic Church, and a resolution was adopted strongly condemning these Communist actions. At this point in the RECORD, I would like to call this resolution to the attention of the membership of this House:

We solemnly protest before the people and Government of the United States, and before the delegations of all free Governments, represented at the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, against the infamous unlawful internment of His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, and other representatives of the church hierarchy, whose arrest by the Communist authorities in Poland has been recently reported.

Violence inflicted by the Communist regime in Warsaw upon Cardinal Wyszynski constitutes a climactic development in the continuous struggle against religion, churches and clergy; it is an assault on the highest moral authority in Poland; it is also an outrage against the majesty of the Polish Republic, because for centuries the Primate was not only the first dignitary of the church, but also represented the nation in times when the head of state was unable to perform his functions.

Through its assault upon the office and person of the Primate, the Communist regime in Poland proved even more flagrantly than ever before its true character of an agency of the Kremlin, bent on the destruction of the best tradition and the spirit of the Polish Republic.

Violating the basic principles of justice and human rights the Communist regime in Poland erased itself from the family of recognized civilized governments irrevocably and in a way which should be obvious to everyone in the Western World.

Appealing to the delegations of the free Governments represented at the eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly to condemn the Communist acts of violence perpetrated on Cardinal Wyszynski and other church dignitaries, we simultaneously express our conviction that these Governments will reconsider their attitude toward the Soviet puppet regime in Poland and its representatives in the United Nations, whom all true Poles in the homeland and abroad refuse to recognize.

We also respectfully request our Secretary of State, the Honorable John Foster Dulles, to take under consideration a suspension of diplomatic relations with the Communist government of Poland at least until such a time when the Primate of Poland is released from prison and free to perform his functions.

Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that similar protest meetings have been held in many other communities in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other States of the Midwest, as well as in the eastern section of our country. I sincerely hope that the resolutions adopted at these meetings will be heeded by those officials in the executive branch who are entrusted with the task of conducting our foreign relations.

Some months before this popular campaign of protest against religious persecution in Poland gained momentum, I personally urged the President and the Secretary of State to formally condemn the imprisonment of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, and the other contemptible acts of the Communists, directed at the suppression of the freedom of worship. I should like to include my letter to the President, and the replies received from him and from the Secretary of State, at this point in the RECORD:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., October 14, 1953.

Hon. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The people of my district, as well as, I am certain, all the people of the United States and of the free world, were shocked and aggrieved by the recent imprisonment of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, and of seven Polish bishops, by the Communist regime of terror which has ruled the people of Poland since 1947.

To all men who respect the freedom of worship and the dignity of man, this most recent Communist perfidy was revolting and contemptible.

It is my purpose in writing this letter to urge you strongly to speak for the people of the United States in forcefully protesting to the Communist regime in Poland this deliberate attempt to deprive the people of Poland of the freedom of worship.

The case of Cardinal Wyszynski follows the pattern established during recent years by the Communist regimes of terror in Europe as well as in Asia. It parallels the Communist treatment of Hungary's Cardinal Mindszenty, of Czechoslovakia's Archbishop Beran, of Yugoslavia's Cardinal Stepinac, and of China's Cardinal Tien. In directing their wrath at these high religious dignitaries who have been the symbols of unyielding resistance to the evils of Marxist communism, the Communist regimes are aiming at the last bastion of the Christian civilization within the lands which they have enslaved: the Christian religion of the Communist-dominated countries.

Free men cannot ignore and by their silence give tacit approval to these deliberate acts against basic human rights. We cannot remain true to our conscience, and to our professed task of working for lasting and just peace in the world, unless we raise our voice in protest against these heinous acts depriving our fellow men, through terror and persecution, of the freedom of worship and belief.

I respectfully urge you to give your earnest consideration to this grave matter.

Respectfully yours,
CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
Member of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, October 29, 1953.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ZABLOCKI: I have your letter of October 14 regarding the action taken recently against a courageous leader of his church, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, primate of Poland. The arrest and interment of Cardinal Wyszynski is profoundly discouraging to those of us who look for signs of Communist willingness to respect basic human rights of freedom of thought and conscience. Without evidence of such willingness, it is difficult to believe that the Communist governments intend to honor agreements which might be reached to reduce world tensions. You may recall that I spoke of this in connection with the arrest of Cardinal Wyszynski at my news conference of September 30th.

The calculated repression of all religious organization in the Communist states makes it apparent that wherever Communists are in position to use force and violence, they will do so in an effort to win domination not only over the body and mind of man, but over his soul as well. I share very strongly the conviction which was expressed in the condemnation of the action against Cardinal Wyszynski issued by the Department of State on September 30th, that the religious spirit of man will never be subdued or extinguished, and that it will remain a sustaining force in Poland during the present tragic suffering of the Polish people. It is my intention that this Government continue to take all appropriate steps to see to it that Communist violations of the inalienable rights of man under God do not go unopposed, and that they are effectively exposed in every forum.

Sincerely,
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 4, 1953.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,

MY DEAR MR. ZABLOCKI: I have your letter of October 14, 1953, urging earnest consideration of the situation brought about by the continuing repression of religious organization in countries under Communist rule, culminating in the recent arrest and internment of the Primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. I am deeply concerned about the persecution of religion in Poland and the other Communist states. The cause of human freedom is indivisable, and wherever it is under attack, the effects extend to all of us.

In connection with these acts of terror in suppression of religious freedom in Poland, it will be noted that Poland, like all other members of the United Nations, pledged itself to promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The deliberate steps of the present Communist regime in Poland designed to bring religious organization under the subjection of the police state clearly violate these standards. As such, these acts are resented and condemned by the people of the United States. The United States delegation to the current session of the United Nations General Assembly has been requested to make every effort to see that this flagrant denial of religious freedom is effectively exposed before the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

Mr. Speaker, in closing this address, I again want to urge the Secretary of State to press, through the United States delegation to the United Nations, for immediate and full consideration of this grave matter by a special committee of the United Nations General Assembly. The world ought to know about the full ramifications of religious persecution in Communist-dominated countries. Since this persecution is a direct violation of the pledges made by the Communist regime of Poland as a member of the United Nations, that international organization ought to investigate this matter thoroughly and press for immediate cessation of religious persecution in Poland, and for the release of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, of Bishops Adamski, Baziak, Bednosz, Bieniek, Biernacki, Baraniak, Kaczmarek, Maria Splett, and Rospond, and of the other members of the Polish clergy who have been imprisoned by the Communist regime. I earnestly hope that this will be accomplished without further delay.

Jerry Voorhis, Executive Secretary of Cooperative Health Federation of America, Testifying Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Advocates Health Program To Provide Adequate Medical and Hospitalization for Our People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce had as a witness our former distinguished colleague, Jerry Voorhis, now executive secretary of Cooperative Health Federation of America. Those who served with Mr. Voorhis in the 76th, 77th, 78th, and 79th Congresses are well aware of the sincerity that characterized his service. He zealously and intelligently at all times sought to advance the welfare of his fellow man. He is now engaged in a service that can well utilize the ability and intelligence that is so characteristic of him.

Today he testified in favor of voluntary health group insurance to assist our people in carrying the burden of medical and hospitalization expenses. In part, his testimony is as follows:

The American method of problem solving is experimentation. When we don't know exactly what to do about a situation, we try one thing after another until we hit upon a method that works.

The people of the United States have become very health conscious in recent years. Discovery by selective service of the tremendous number of young men disabled from preventible causes is one reason for this.

Increasing concern over the 500 million man-days lost to industry each year because of illness is another. Increasing skill of the medical profession and the wide publicity given wonder drugs are other reasons.

On the average American families now spend 5 percent of their incomes for medical care. If they have no insurance protection, that 5 percent may leap to 25 or 50 percent or more in a year when serious illness strikes. The very scientific progress of modern medicine, coupled with the rise of specialization, have made the average family—and how much more the low-income one—less and less able to meet the cost of sickness on the old emergency fee-for-service basis. No wonder a majority of families list the cost of illness as their No. 1 financial danger.

Much of this sickness could actually be prevented if the families had the advantage of comprehensive care, including preventive care. And much of the economic disaster to the families could be avoided if that care were paid for on a predictable, periodic prepayment basis. More families go broke, I suppose, from sickness than from any other single cause unless it be mass unemployment—and fortunately we have not had mass unemployment for a number of years.

This is bad enough. What is worse is that the American people are actually paying as much for medical care as they would have to pay for comprehensive care, if only the money were spent in the right way. Figures developed by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation and other reliable authorities show that we spend approximately 4 to 5 percent of our income for medical care. Five percent of the income of a low-income ($2,500) family, or $125, is sufficient to cover fairly comprehensive care as provided by the best prepayment plans in existence today. So it is all a question of how we spend the money. At present we spend it something like this: We hope that there will be enough rich people among those who get sick so that there will be income enough for doctors and money enough for health facilities. The only trouble is that there are not enough rich people, and they don't get sick often enough, and most of them even aren't quite rich enough when they do get seriously ill.

Yet these are the only people who can afford to pay for modern medical service on the present basis of fragmented service and fragmented bills. They are the only people who can afford to pay, in addition to the family doctor, the fees of the 5 or 6 specialists who might be brought into a difficult case. Yet modern medicine means having available the specialized knowledge and specialized skills of these men. Modern medicine means a body of knowledge and science and skill that can be provided only on a teamwork basis. Modern medicine means a science that saves lives—that can effectively treat almost any condition, if you get to the right doctors, and in time.

So that's the problem.

And in good American fashion we have started out to solve it in a dozen different ways.

Each of these ways of attacking the problem of how to pay for medical care has helped toward solving it. This is true of public-health service, commercial insurance, Blue Cross, Blue Shield, industry plans, labor plans, doctor-owned group practice clinics.

Some of these programs include many people but cover only a fraction of the need of these people. Nearly half the population has some form of hospitalization insurance—and about a quarter of us have insurance against costs of some medical or surgical care. But hardly more than 15 percent of the total cost of medical care to the people is paid through insurance, broadly defined.

Most of the insurance plans are limited to care in the hospital after the sickness has become acute. But two-thirds at least of what families spend for medical care goes for the day-to-day nonacute illnesses—for basic doctors' care and medicines in the early or chronic stages of disease. The real catastrophe thus far is that we have done so comparatively little about preventing the catastrophes of illness from occurring.

But it is hard to do this with commercial insurance or with any type of plan which fails to give both doctor and patient a positive and financial incentive to keep the patient well. It is the first calls upon the doctor which are the most risky field of health insurance from a commercial point of view. Yet they are the most important calls of all from the standpoint of the Nation's health.

What we need most of all is a method whereby we can pay our doctors for keeping the people well. At present the problem is that doctors generally receive their income only when people get sick, and the sicker the people are, the bigger the doctor's income. This is really backward. It is not the way the doctors want it. It certainly is not the way the people want it. I am sure it is not the way the members of this committee want it. Corporations pay very good salaries to corporation lawyers who are able to keep the corporations from being involved in lawsuits. Wise corporations would much rather pay salaries to their corporation attorneys for keeping them out of trouble than for fighting lawsuits after they are in trouble. We want to treat our doctors in the same way and thus enable them to practice the kind of preventive medicine and health maintenance which they really want to practice.

As to about 3 percent of the Nation's population, this has been done. As to that 3 percent of the Nation's population, the first calls upon the doctor and the regular examinations and the early detection of the disease are already paid for. This 3 percent of the people are members or subscribers to comprehensive health plans. Most of these plans are owned and were started into action by the people themselves. This is the method of providing the protection against the cost of illness about which this testimony is given.

My testimony will be confined to those voluntary medical plans in which the people themselves, as consumers of medical care, assume initiative and take the responsibility for attacking their own problems. I want to assure the committee that the limitation of my testimony in this way is done out of no disrespect for plans which are sponsored, controlled, and initiated by the medical profession, the hospitals, or any other agencies. Even aside from the important contribution being made by Blue Cross and the activities of Blue Shield, there are many examples throughout the country of group-practice clinics and prepayment health plans sponsored by forward-looking doctors which are proving invaluable to the people in their communities. Indeed, some such doctor-owned clinics are associate members of the organization for which I have the honor to speak today. But my testimony will, as I say, be confined to a discussion of plans which resulted from action of groups of the people themselves or action of organizations in response to their members' needs. Such plans are certainly in the best of American tradition and their very variety is proof that what is happening here is an application of the American principle of experimentation to one of the outstanding problems of our time. And certainly all of us desire to see the peo-

ple in groups attack their problems voluntarily and seek their solution through the application of the sound and tested principle of risk sharing and mutual aid.

These voluntary plans for the protection of the people against the high cost of illness arise directly out of the keenly felt need of the people for such protection. This need becomes more clearly recognized as the skills of the modern medical science become more refined, more costly, and more specialized.

For the most logical of reasons, these voluntary plans are built upon the five principles outlined below. These are (1) group practice; (2) prepayment; (3) comprehensive care, preventive as well as curative; (4) sharing of risks by a reasonable cross section of the population; (5) responsibility and initiative in the people, control by the consumer over the economic aspects of the plan, and nonprofit operation.

The people are attacking this problem of medical economics through their own voluntary action. In this they should be encouraged, not combatted; their doctors should be honored, not discriminated against; and doors should be opened for broader application of these sound and tested principles to the needs and problems of the groups of people not yet reached.

Now we would all think it very bad, I am sure, if instead of our well-stocked food markets our wives had to go to a dozen or more stores every time they needed to purchase groceries. We'd not want them to have to go to one store for potatoes, another for bread, still another for cereal, and yet another for canned goods. Yet in the absence of organization of medical services on a rational basis, this is almost exactly what we are doing when it comes to medical care.

The average family cannot possibly have the advantage of medical specialization unless it can get it through group practice, unless it can get it under circumstances where a group of doctors practice as a team, so that referral by the family physician, who must be the central person on the team, does not become a matter of exorbitant expense. We should be permitted to pay for medical care as we pay for other things, on an orderly, budgeted basis, and we should be able to get service on an organized basis. This principle of teamwork or group practice is No. 1 in the solution of the American people's health problems.

Now for principle number two. The average family simply cannot pay for modern medical care on an emergency fee-for-service basis. It can't be done. The family that tries to do it that way sees the budget get hit for unbearable expenses in an emergency. Moreover, under this system, there is no control of costs and not even any predictability of costs. In fact where fee for service is in full flower it is questionable how much good it does a family even if it is covered by certain types of commercial insurance. Because unless there is agreement with the doctors as to the charges to be made for certain types of service, the family may find that the fee has simply been increased by all or a substantial part of the insurance claim. That is why, even while we are spending 4 or 5 percent of our overall average income, most of the people are not getting adequate care, especially in the smaller communities.

Prepayment plans have been the means of bringing needed doctors to many communities, especially rural ones, because they can provide some assurance of income. Prepayment is the best, if not the only entirely satisfactory base for group practice. And anyway almost every student of this problem agrees, at the very least on this one point—that there must be prepayment. And there is increasing agreement that the closer we can come to prepayment on a percentage of income basis, the nearer we will be to a general solution of the total problem.

There has to be a scheme whereby people can pay a fixed amount each month in return for which they are entitled to the care they need. People have to have the means for fitting their medical care costs into an orderly budget just as they budget their housing, clothing, food, and other living cost items.

The next question in this problem of medical economics is, prepayment for what? For just when you are in the hospital? Well, prepayment for hospital care is a very good and necessary provision if this problem is ever to be solved at all. But most of us don't want to have to go to the hospital. So it is even more important to have prepayment for the services we hope will be given in time to make hospitalization unnecessary. In other words, we need prepayment for comprehensive care, to keep people out of hospitals and keep the cost of medical care as reasonable as we can. For we must remember that while the cost of general medical care in 1951 was 157 percent of what it was in 1940, the cost of hospital care was 235 percent of the 1940 figure. Obviously, one big way to deal with the problem of costs is to give the doctor a chance to practice preventive medicine, by seeing him regularly for periodic checkups and examinations, and by consulting him for small as well as serious symptoms.

Of course, the way to do this is to have an arrangement with your doctor so that these services are already paid for, so that you do not have to stop and consider the expense before you go and see him. If you pay each month into a health plan for services that include annual physical checkups for the family and consultations when they are needed, then you are giving the doctor a chance to practice preventive medicine. Also, you are giving the doctor an income that does not depend upon your getting sick, and you are giving him a workload that is lighter as you keep well, and heavier as you grow ill. You are giving the doctor a number of incentives and rewards for keeping you well. This is what a comprehensive prepayment plan gives you. So the third principle is comprehensive care.

Now, none of this is possible unless a substantial and representative cross section of the community bands together to provide themselves with this service. You can't start with just those who are in immediate need of the service. You have to have the healthy people, too, and in large numbers. In one small midwestern community, they have 70 percent of the community, voluntarily pooling the hazards of life, sharing the risks of sickness so that all will pay an average cost and none will be hit hard when illness strikes. You have to have group action, cooperation and mutual aid.

Finally you have to have the initiative of the people—the people insisting on the right to act for themselves, on the right of mutual self-help to meet their problems.

I have always believed that this was in accord with the principles upon which the United States of America was founded, and upon which it has grown great. But to hear some people talk, you would think that we had repealed these American principles; that the solution of these problems has to be delegated to a small group that has staked out a claim on the people's health; that if you get more than two people doing things together, there is something communistic about it. Of course, it is the opposite of communism, because under a Communist or Fascist system no two people dare get together at all except by permission of the government. The individual does exactly as he is told.

But in the United States we don't want that sort of thing. We want to do things for ourselves. We are concerned with the application of Christian and moral principles in which mutual aid of man to man is fundamental. And so the idea of people acting for themselves is the fifth principle. This means consumer responsibility and consumer control in the matter of the availability and quality of medical care, its cost, the manner of paying for it, and such matters.

In speaking of "control of the quality of medical care," it must be made absolutely clear that this is not at all a proposal for laymen in any way to interfere with the practice of medicine. By "control of the quality of medical care" we mean the right to pick good doctors instead of poor ones, the right to provide good diagnostic and therapeutic equipment, the right to bring enough general practitioners and specialists to a community to meet the needs of the people. We mean the right to have 5 doctors in town where they had 2 before, the right to bring in specialists on a part-time basis instead of making people go to a distant city, the right to insist that the doctors keep medical records and otherwise conform to good standards of practice, the right to install $50,000 worth of X-ray and other equipment so that the doctors can practice better medicine.

So you have group practice, prepayment, comprehensive care, sharing of risks, and consumer initiative and control. Put these things together, and the problem of medical economics can be solved. Modern medicine can be brought even to the small communities, and it can be put within the reach of very modest family budgets.

Naturally it helpts to accomplish these objectives if the plan is a nonprofit one, because this, too, helps to reduce cost. And where consumers or their organizations put the plan together they naturally set it up on a nonprofit basis. They must, of course, provide for at least as good an income for the doctors and other professional people involved as they could obtain elsewhere. And what is said here is in no disparagement whatever to the fine group practice clinics and prepayment plans organized and owned by doctors. It is just that all other factors being equal, nonprofit operation can bring somewhat greater benefits at somewhat less cost.

The next question that arises is whether 1 or 2 or 3 of these 5 principles cannot give considerable benefit even if the others are not present. The answer to that, from the viewpoint of the Cooperative Health Federation would be this. While we do not believe the best solution can be found short of a combination of all 5 principles, we think that wherever any 1 of these is applied it is that much clear gain. I have already paid well-deserved praise to some of the doctor-owned group practice clinics which have provided organization of medical care for their patients. This was our own number one principle.

It must certainly also be said that there are a number of cash indemnity insurance plans which are making an outstanding contribution to solution of this problem of health economics so far as their subscribers are concerned. These are the indemnity plans which make agreements with the doctors to whom their subscribers go for care that the doctors total charge for his services of various kinds will not exceed the amount of the insurance claim payment for that service. In other words they make sure that the insurance really does insure against financial disaster.

Again no reasonable person could do other than give unstinted praise to the general practitioner in the rural community who works out a plan so that families for whom he cares can pay for basic medical services at least on an orderly prepayment schedule.

Obviously, too, plans which provide something less than comprehensive care are to be heartily welcomed so far as they go and for all they do—even though it is not the whole

job. It is vastly better to have prepayment of hospital costs, for example, than to have no prepayment at all. And plans which provide protection against in-hospital charges are likely to help pay for most of the more expensive illnesses.

So we come back to the statement that we are experimenting along many lines to try to find an answer to a great unsolved problem of the American people. Every sincere, well conceived, honest effort to contribute to the effectiveness of that experimentation should be welcomed. We are only sure that we must do considerably better than we are doing now. And, so far as the Cooperative Health Federation of America is concerned, we are also sure that the five hopeful paths to progress are (1) more group practice, (2) more prepayment, (3) more comprehensive and preventive care, (4) more sharing of the risks of illness by more cross-section groups, and (5) more responsibility and initiative on the part of the people as consumers.

Testimony of Jerry Voorhis, Executive Secretary of Cooperative Health Federation of America, Discussing Basic Reasons for a General Plan To Help Our People Carry the Burden of Medical and Hospitalization Expenses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, at another point in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today there appears, in addition to the following, further views of Jerry Voorhis, former Member of Congress, now executive secretary of Cooperative Health Federation of America, discussing basic reasons that justify and make necessary a plan or method that will assist our people in meeting the burdensome cost of medical and hospitalization expenses.

The following is a further extract taken from the testimony of Mr. Voorhis, given before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 18, 1954:

I now come to a discussion of the five specific points listed in the letter from the distinguished chairman of this committee on which he invited us to present the testimony.

1. THE EXTENT AND COST OF PROTECTION AGAINST THE COST OF ILLNESS PROVIDED BY VOLUNTARY PLANS

The scope of protection afforded by the various voluntary health service plans is varied, to say the least. Some of the very oldest plans established by labor organizations and which are the pioneers in this whole field provide diagnostic services and treatment for ambulatory cases. An example of this type of service is the Union Health Center in New York City, established by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, now serving upward of 200,000 persons. This union has similar plans in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and a number of other cities. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers operate services along similar lines in a number of cities as well. In New York City the Sidney Hillman Health Center provides not only all types of medical examinations but also minor surgical treatment for practically all sorts of illnesses of patients who are able to visit the center. It is estimated that this center provides 75 percent of the health needs of the union membership and their families. The United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund provides complete payment for all types of care given miners or their families when they are hospitalized. But at the present time it does not attempt to cover the medical expenses outside of the hospital, although some beginnings in this are being made where groups of doctors have established group practice clinics in the mining areas.

Probably the most comprehensive care being provided by any of the labor unions is that provided by the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, Mo. Here, in a clinic building belonging to them, the 14,000 workers and their family members who are covered by this plan can obtain all types of medical care including services of general practitioners and all the major specialists. Dental care is also provided. The members are also provided with hospitalization through the hospital payment plan conducted by Labor Health Institute itself. The cost of this plan is met by contributions to the fund of 5 percent of payroll where whole families are included, and 3½ percent of payroll where the worker only is covered.

Alongside the labor health plans are the community and cooperative type health plans. The largest of these is the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York through whose 33 medical groups about 5 percent of the population of New York City receives comprehensive medical care of every sort. There are practically no exceptions or exclusions from the scope of services provided by H. I. P. One reason this is possible is because only groups are enrolled—never individual families—so that an effective population cross-section is assured.

On the other side of the country in Seattle the Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound provides almost as comprehensive care for 5 percent of the people of that metropolitan area. Here, however, the plan does enroll individual families as well as groups.

A good many other examples could be given—some in rural areas such as the Community Hospital-Clinic in Elk City, Okla.; some in large metropolitan areas such as the Group Health Associates in Washington, D. C.; some in small industrial towns like the Community Health Center in Two Harbors, Minn. In all these plans the subscribers or members receive for their monthly dues payments not only basic medical care, including preventive care, but also care for catastrophic illnesses. Seattle plan, for example, provides 120 days of hospitalization. Concerning Washington, D. C., and Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, the committee will have heard directly.

Approximately 57 percent of our population have some kind of protection to cover the cost of illness. But only about 3 percent of our people have what might be termed a virtually complete form of comprehensive care. A considerably larger number of people, however, are included if we add the number who receive diagnostic and ambulatory care from the labor union health centers and if we also add those plans providing varying degrees of less than comprehensive care.

As for the cost, there is again wide variation, depending on the benefits provided and the comprehensiveness of care. Members of the Elk City, Okla., plan pay only $40 per year per family. For this they receive, without further charge, basic doctors' care, including surgery for catastrophic illnesses as well. They pay, however, though at reduced rates, for other services, including hospitalization. At Two Harbors, Minn., the monthly dues are $9 per family of unlimited size, or $84 a year. For this the member families receive all types of doctors' care, both in and out of the hospital. They also receive 90 days' hospitalization per year. For complete services to ambulatory patients the A. F. of L. Medical Service Plan of Philadelphia receives from the health and welfare funds of the participating unions $37.50 per year for families of unlimited size. This, of course, does not include hospitalization nor surgery. For comprehensive care of every kind, including 120 days' hospitalization for any one illness, the Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound charges $162 per year to a family of unlimited size. At the risk of repetition of what the committee has already heard from Dr. Baehr and Mr. Dillon Myer, health insurance plan costs for complete comprehensive care are $128 a year (half or more paid by employers) for families of unlimited size, plus Blue Cross hospital insurance, while Group Health Association's annual per family dues, including hospitalization, are $195.

Let me remind the committee that these are examples only, many more of which could be given, and that the number of dollars involved must always be compared with the scope of services provided.

One additional comment, however, must be made. None of these plans that provide for hospitalization are, so far as we know, worried about abuse of the hospital benefits by their members. Indeed, it has been estimated by one plan that the rate of utilization of the hospital by its members is barely half the national average, and we know of no instance where it exceeds the national average, despite the fact that it is already paid for. The reason is simple, obvious, but frequently overlooked. It is this: Where people have ready, prepaid access to basic medical care, they simply don't have to go to the hospital as often nor for as long periods of time; nor do they suffer catastrophic illnesses nearly as frequently.

2. THE AVAILABILITY OF PROTECTION AGAINST MAJOR OR CATASTROPHIC MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL EXPENSES

This question has, I believe, been fairly well covered in my answer to question No. 1. It is only necessary perhaps to repeat the statement that these group practice, prepayment, democratically controlled plans make no distinction between basic medical care and the care of catastrophic illness. They take care of both—except for some limitations on the length of hospital stay that is covered by prepayment. Even where such a limitation intervenes, however, doctors' care is still provided without additional charge.

This comment, however, might be made. The type of medical and health care which is most difficult to insure against through cash-indemnity insurance is basic medical care. To protect itself, the insurance company usually excludes from coverage the first several visits to the doctors in any illness.

But these are the very visits which are most important from the standpoint of health maintenance and preventive care. They are the ones that actually save expense to a direct service prepayment plan.

On the other hand, we are practically at the point where enough data has been collected so that insurance against catastrophic illness could be provided at not too great a cost on a sound actuarial basis. Moreover, every prepayment service plan is compelled to load its monthly charges or dues of its subscribers and members to a sufficient extent to cover a few very expensive illnesses for a minor fraction of its subscribing families. If this factor could be removed by some form of insurance or reinsurance of these plans on a $400 or $500 deductible basis, the monthly payments by subscribers could be reduced, perhaps substantially.

So it is at least worth exploration of the sort Group Health Mutual of St. Paul, Minn.,

is making on a practical level and of the sort which Congress might make to see whether part of the answer to our problem may not lie in a combination of widespread direct service group practice prepayment plans for all types of basic medical care together with insurance against the hazards of catastrophic illness. Such insurance might be purchased by the plans. Or the plans might provide for their members to purchase such insurance individually, either on a voluntary basis or as a requirement of membership.

3. THE NATURE OF ARRANGEMENTS UNDER EXISTING PLANS WITH PHYSICIANS AND HOSPITALS

Here again there is no universal or categorical answer possible to this question. Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York contracts with groups of doctors to furnish comprehensive care to its subscribers and pays the groups so much per year per capital. It requires its subscribers to purchase Blue Cross hospital insurance. Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound pays salaries to a staff of doctors (who also have the opportunity for private practice, however) and owns and operates its own hospital. The Elk City, Okla., and Two Harbors, Minn., plans both pay their doctors' salaries, both operate their own hospitals, and in both cases care for as many or more nonmember patients from the community as they do of their own members. Labor Health Institute of St. Louis carries its own hospital insurance plan and saves money by so doing compared to Blue Cross rates. Its doctors are all part-time doctors, paid on an hourly basis, all of whom have their own private practice in the city of St. Louis, and few of whom spend as much as a third or a half of their time at the LHI clinic. Some other plans simply make agreements with any doctors in the community who care to do so to provide services to their members for an agreed-upon schedule of fees. The Washington, D. C., plan has an agreement with the hospitals whereby they care for the plan's members and bill the plan.

So there is a very wise variation indeed, both in the arrangements for hospitalization and in the compensation of doctors and the relation of the doctors to the plan and to practice outside the plan.

4. EXPERIENCE WITH EXISTING PLANS, INCLUDING PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

This question invites testimony far longer than I would dare or presume to give. One problem which faces almost every one of these plans is that of providing additional staff and facilities fast enough to keep up with membership growth. Some of the plans have had to place limitations on their growth, refusing to accept any additional subscribers except as replacements for existing subscribers. Since these are nonprofit plans, the problem of raising capital is, to say the least, not an easy one.

If two measures were taken, therefore, the number of people who could be provided with comprehensive care through these voluntary plans could be reasonably increased. The first of these measures would be the provision of financial assistance to medical schools, to enable them to train more doctors, nurses, and other professional personnel. This, of course, would not directly place additional people on the staffs of these prepayment service plans. But by easing the national shortage of trained medical professional people, it would constitute a fundamental answer to this problem over a period of time. The second measure is, in substance, the basic provision of H. R. 6950 recently introduced by the chairman of this committee, or the Humphrey-Hagen bill (H. R. 4593). These bills, if enacted, would provide low-interest repayable loans to voluntary health plans to enable them to build or acquire necessary physical facilities. I shall have more to say about this measure later on but an appeal for its enactment certainly belongs here, because the problem of not being able to expand physical facilities as fast as new members or subscribers want to enroll is a serious limitation on the scope of usefulness of many of these plans today.

A second problem which these plans share with many other institutions of every sort is that of rising costs—particularly hospital costs. There is not time to go into the reasons for this, nor do I quite see just what Congress could do about it. But it presents a problem to any plan which must depend for its entire income upon monthly payments by subscribers. It is not always easy to increase those payments. But subscribers have on the whole readily agreed to it wherever they were shown its necessity. An outstanding example of such willingness is that recently had by the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. However, plans must be extremely careful not to make their dues structure a rigid one and above all not to write it into their bylaws. This is especially the case with newly organizing plans.

The third difficulty is one which is indeed hard to understand. It arises out of the discrimination from which the doctors associated with many of these plans suffer. One would think that the American Medical Association and all of its State and county affiliates would welcome the progress made by these plans and the forward-looking doctors who make such progress possible. One would think that organized medicine would welcome this as demonstration of what well conceived voluntary action can accomplish. And in some places, of which the District of Columbia is perhaps the best example, such is the case. Elsewhere, however, a running attack has been carried on, if not by national AMA, at least by State and county societies against any kind of health plan which is not under direct control of the medical society itself or which departs in any way from the solo-practice, fee-for-service system. These attacks have been directed not only against cooperative and other types of prepayment plans, but in many cases against group practice clinics wholly owned by doctors. The principal weapon used has been denial of membership in medical societies or refusal of hospital privileges or both to doctors associating themselves with group practice, prepayment plans—especially if they have any elements of democratic control and initiative by the people. In a number of areas legal action has been taken by the plans to end this discrimination and open the way for their doctors to medical society membership. And in every such case thus far the plan has won.

This, however, is by no means the way we want to see this problem solved. We want to see—and believe we should see—an end brought to this discrimination through spontaneous action of the AMA and its constituent organizations themselves. We think that professional qualification and observance of ethical standards should be the only necessary qualifications for medical society membership. We do not believe association with progressive methods of organizing medical care, or economic competition, or engaging in group practice should be grounds for keeping well-qualified doctors out of medical society membership. Denial of such membership is just about equivalent to refusal to allow a lawyer to take the bar examinations. It is a very serious matter to a man or woman in a profession. The fact that many doctors have stood up against this discrimination and gone forward to explore new and better ways of practicing their profession is a tribute to the vision and fortitude of an increasing segment of the great medical profession of this country. So is the fact that these doctors are receiving an increasing measure of support and recognition from both organized professional circles and the general public.

At present, however, it is still tragically true that in many parts of the country medical society discrimination constitutes a severe limiting factor on the staffing of group practice, prepayment, health service plans and hence prevents voluntary methods from contributing nearly as much as they otherwise could and would to solution of the problem.

A fifth difficulty and barrier to the development of effective voluntary health plans is restrictive legislation on the statute books of a number of States. I shall not discuss this at any length at all, because with me here today is the one man in the whole United States who is probably best qualified by experience and study to do so. This is Mr. Horace Hanson, of St. Paul, the legal counsel of the Cooperative Health Federation, distinguished Minnesota attorney. I would only like to say that in some score of States it is apparently against the law for groups of American citizens to organize any kind of prepayment health plan for their own benefit at all. Up until 1951 Illinois had such a law, but when certain labor organizations saw the value of establishing health plans for their members and found that they could not proceed legally to do so, a successful drive for amendment of the law was launched. The State medical society did not oppose this new enabling legislation. Five years earlier the Wisconsin State medical society, be it said to its great credit, actively supported what is probably the best enabling act for voluntary health plans on the books of any State. But in some other States the situation remains at the very least an extremely cloudy one as to whether or not the people can legally act in their own interest in this all-important health field. These laws should be repealed or amended so that voluntary, constructive action by the people in attacking this severe problem of health economics can without question go forward.

Mr. Hanson is prepared to answer any questions in this field which the committee may want to put to him.

5. HOW VOLUNTARY PROTECTION CAN BE IMPROVED AND BROADENED

Voluntary protection of the people against the ever-present hazards of ill health and the high cost of modern medical care can be improved and broadened in three ways: (1) Through the growth of existing prepayment, group practice, comprehensive health-service plans, (2) through the improvement of their methods of operation as this experimental process develops new and better answers, and (3) through establishment of many new plans in rural areas, among organized groups of people, and on a community-wide basis in the larger cities.

As one measure to these ends, some means must be found to enable the lower income families to become enrolled in such plans if they are to make the maximum contribution of which they are capable. One method of doing this for employed workers and their families is by means of employer contribution of 50 percent or more—in some cases up to 100 percent—of the premium charges. This same method can and is being applied to the inclusion of employees of cities and States. It could well be used for the inclusion of employees of the Federal Government among the subscribers to these plans. This method has the advantage of group enrollment, which is so important a factor in making these plans actuarially sound.

There would seem to be no insurmountable obstacles—though admittedly these are thorny problems to be solved—to the payment by welfare agencies of premiums for families in receipt of public assistance. And while it is doubtful that this committee would have jurisdiction over such legislation, one of the most logical steps would appear to be to make provision for the enrollment in such plans of groups of people covered by the Social Security Act. And certainly we have not yet explored fully the possibilities in a re-insurance scheme, such

as I believe, the chairman of this committee has proposed, whereby plans willing to cover certain especially needy groups could be reinsured by a governmental agency against unusual expenses involved in so doing. (See H. R. 6949.)

In short, one way to greatly broaden the usefulness of these plans and their impact on the total national problem is by employer payment or public agency payment of part or all of the premium for groups of families which cannot otherwise afford the cost of even well-organized nonprofit group-practice comprehensive care.

Second the financial problem faced by both existing plans and especially by groups of people seeking to establish new plans must be eased if their progress is to be encouraged effectively. Here, certainly, this committee could take very significant action. It could pass a bill such as the Humphrey-Hagen bill (H. R. 4593) or the Wolverton bill (H. R. 6950) in order to provide for very low-interest repayable loans to be made to plans new or old to enable them to obtain the physical facilities they must have. To many rural communities such a measure would make the difference between their being able to attract doctors to their community or not being able to do so. In many other instances as I have already said, existing plans could greatly expand the numbers of families covered by their comprehensive care if only they could find ways to finance the additional facilities needed. And no one knows how many community groups would organize voluntary health plans on sound basis if they could see a way to provide themselves with necessary clinics or health centers without having to raise locally and immediately all the capital funds required.

Such loans should only be made, as the legislation so wisely provides, to groups which can demonstrate their ability, financial and otherwise, to develop and carry on an effective health plan, given the encouragement and assistance of a loan, for the physical facilities. Other proper standards of eligibility would, of course, be necessary, but these two are included in the Humphrey-Hagen bill. Indeed some of them may even be somewhat more stringent than the committee would want them.

Another way of encouraging growth and development of voluntary plans would be to provide either long-term low-interest loans or perhaps even grants in this case, to community groups which had demonstrated their apparent ability to set up an effective plan but which were in need of modest amounts of funds for planning and organization expenses. I could name at least one major city where a plan similar to the great Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York is a real prospect and where the availability of even $15,000 or $20,000 for planning and organizing right now might make the difference between their going forward or not doing so.

All these suggestions are based on the assumption that it is sound policy to encourage the people to act on their own behalf, and to take initiative in working out answers to their own problems. Only in cases where such initiative has been clearly demonstrated by groups and where they appear willing and capable of carrying on over the long run through their own efforts and resources would the measures just suggested seem to recommend themselves.

Another measure that would appear essential to any orderly approach to this insistent health economics problem is provision for a thoroughgoing, long-range study of the health service needs of the Nation, broken down by areas and population groups and aimed quite specifically at formulation of a well-rounded and complete plan for meeting those needs by both private and voluntary as well as necessary public action. Such a study could carry on from where the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation left off with the very good work which it did.

As I have said earlier it seems almost incontrovertible that assistance to enable medical schools to train more doctors, nurses, and other professional people and technicians is needed from the standpoint of the Nation as a whole. And certainly the voluntary plans can only expand and improve if there is an adequate supply of doctors and nurses to staff them.

Finally, every proper moral or other influence should be exerted to encourage repeal by the States of legislation which restricts the right of people to form voluntary health plans and take direct action in their own behalf.

* * * * *

There is abroad in the land today an idea that insurance against the hazard of ill health has now been purchased by so large a percentage of the people that the problem is close to solution on a nationwide basis. This in our opinion is a very false idea. Actually no more than 15 percent of the total medical bill of American families is now being paid by all the insurance plans put together.

The real measure of the extent to which the health economics problem is being advanced toward solution by voluntary action is only to be found in the number of people who have the benefit of comprehensive and preventive care through prepayment plans. To adequately meet the problem such plans must either provide direct service through group practice staffs or else indemnity payments under agreements with cooperating doctors to furnish services for the amount of the insurance claims payment—and no more.

As has been pointed out no more than about 3 percent of the population has the benefit of such plans today. This is not to discount or fail to recognize the tremendous benefits which have accrued from plans which solve part of the problem rather than all of it for participating families. But it is to urge that we get our sights properly focused and that we make up our minds that if we are going to depend mainly on voluntary action and voluntary plans, then every encouragement be given them which it is proper and reasonable to give and every barrier in the way of their full and free development be removed.

Russian Foreign Policy: Will of Peter the Great

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the foreign policies of the great powers, when viewed in the light of isolated incidents, have often appeared as enigmas. However, when studied from significant actions over long periods of time, definite patterns are easily discernible.

In an extension of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 97, part 11, January 9, 1951, page A79, I dealt at considerable length with Russia's challenge and the United States military policy. I quoted three prophetic statements of unique historical value: One by De Tocqueville about 1835, a second by Lord Palmerston in 1853, a second by Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1856. These clearly indicated the pattern of recent events—the rise of two giants, Russia and the United States.

Before those prophesies, however, and more basic, was the will of Peter the Great, written in 1725. This vividly presents in simple terms the main points that have been so consistently followed in Russian foreign policy in the succeeding centuries.

Peter's will was published in the December 1953 issue of the American Mercury on page 77 in an article by Marie Van Amstel. To make this significant document more readily available in connection with the study of the other celebrated declarations above referred to, I include its full text:

THE WILL OF PETER THE GREAT

(By Marie Van Amstel)

Peter I, of the House of Romanov, Czar of Russia from 1696 to 1725, left a will which, in spite of all that has transpired since, still appears to be the foundation and law of Russian politics.

This will was deposited in the archives of the palace of Peterhof, near St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). In 1757, it was confidentially deposited in the hands of the Abbé de Barnis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and also in those of Louis XV. A copy is also in the diplomatic archives of the French Empire, and a transcript appears in the volume, Politique de la Russie en Orient, by Victor Morpugo.

"THE WILL

"In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, we, Peter the First, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias [etc.], to all our descendants and successors to the throne and government of the Russian nation:

"God, from whom we derive our existence, and to whom we owe our crown, having constantly enlightened us by his spirit, and sustained us by his divine help, allows me to look on the Russian people as called upon hereafter to hold sway over Europe. My reason for thus thinking is that the European nations have mostly reached a state of old age, bordering on imbecility, or they are rapidly approaching it; naturally, then, they will be easily and indubitably conquered by a people strong in youth and vigor, especially when this latter shall have attained its full strength and power. I look on the future invasion of the eastern and western countries by the north as a periodical movement, ordained by Providence, who in like manner regenerated the Roman nation by barbarian invasions. These emigrations of men from the north are as the reflux of the Nile, which, at certain periods, comes to fertilize the impoverished lands of Egypt by its deposit. I found Russia as a rivulet; I leave it a river; my successors will make of it a large sea, destined to fertilize the impoverished lands of Europe; and its waters will overflow, in spite of opposing dams, erected by weak hands, if our descendants only know how to direct its course. This is the reason I leave them the following instructions.

"I. Keep the Russian nation in a state of continual war, so as to have the soldier always under arms, and ready for action, excepting when the finances of the state will not allow of it. Keep up the forces; choose the best moment for attack. By these means you will be ready for war even in the time of peace. This is for the interest of the future aggrandizement of Russia.

"II. Endeavor, by every possible means, to bring in, from the neighboring civilized countries of Europe, officers in times of war, and learned men in times of peace, thus giving the Russian people the advantages enjoyed by other countries, without allowing them to lose any of their own self-respect.

"III. On every occasion take a part in the affairs and quarrels of Europe; above all, in * * * Germany. * * *

"IV. Divide Poland, by exciting civil discord there; win over the nobility by bribery; corrupt the diets, so as to have influence in the election of kings; get partisans into office, protect them; bring to sojourn there the Muscovite troops, until such time as they can be permanently established there. If the neighboring powers start difficulties, appease them, for a time, by parceling out of the country, until you can retake in detail all that has been ceded.

"V. Take as much as you can from Sweden; and cause yourselves to be attacked by her, so as to have a pretext for subduing her. To accomplish this, sever Denmark from Sweden, and Sweden from Denmark, carefully keeping up their rivalries.

"VI. Always choose as wives for the Russian princes, German princesses, so as to increase family alliances, to draw mutual interests closer, and by propagating our principles in Germany, to enlist her in our cause.

"VII. England requiring us for her navy, and she being the only power that can aid in the development of ours, seek a commercial alliance with her in preference to any other. Exchange our wood and the productions of our land for her gold, and establish between her merchants, her sailors, and ours, a continual intercourse: This will aid in perfecting the Russian Fleet for navigation and commerce.

"VIII. Extend your possessions toward the north, along the Baltic; and towards the south, by the Black Sea.

"IX. Approach as near as possible to Constantinople and its outskirts. He who shall reign there will be the true sovereign of the world. Consequently, be continually at war—sometimes with the Turks, sometimes with Persia. Establish dockyards on the Black Sea; this being necessary to the accomplishment of the plan. Hasten the decline of Persia; penetrate to the Persian Gulf; reestablish, if possible, the ancient commerce of the Levant through Syria, and make your way to the Indies—they are the emporium of the world. Once there, you can do without the gold of England.

"X. Seek, and carefully keep up an alliance with Austria; acquiesce, apparently, in her ideas of dominating over Germany; at the same time, clandestinely exciting against her the neighboring provinces. * * *

"XI. Give the House of Austria an interest for joining in banishing the Turks from Europe; defraud her of her share of the booty, at the conquest of Constantinople, either by raising a war for her with the ancient states of Europe, or by giving her a portion which you will take back at a future period.

"XII. Attach to yourselves, and assemble around you, all the united Greeks, as also the disunited or schismatics, which are scattered either in Hungary, Turkey, or the south of Poland. Make yourselves their centers, their chief support, and lay the foundation for universal supremacy by establishing a kind of royalty or sacerdotal government; the Slavonic Greeks will be so many friends that you will have scattered amongst your enemies.

"XIII. Sweden severed, Persia and Turkey conquered, Poland subjugated, our armies reunited, the Black Sea guarded by our vessels, you must make propositions separately and discreetly—first to the court of Versailles, then to that of Vienna, to share with them the empire of the universe.

"If one of them accepts—and it cannot be otherwise, so as you flatter their pride and ambition—make use of it to crush the other; then crush, in its turn, the surviving one, by engaging with it in a death struggle, the issue of which cannot be doubtful, Russia possessing already all the east and a great part of Europe.

"XIV. If—which is not likely—both refuse the propositions of Russia, you must manage to raise quarrels for them, and make them exhaust one another; then, profiting by a decisive moment, Russia will bring down her assembled troops on Germany; at the same time, two considerable fleets will set out—the one from the sea of Azov, the other from the port of Archangel—loaded with Asiatic hordes, under the convoy of the armed fleets from the Black Sea and the Baltic. Advancing by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, they will invade France on one side, whilst Germany will already have been invaded on the other. These countries conquered, the rest of Europe will easily pass under the yoke, without striking a single blow.

"XV. Thus Europe can and ought to be subdued.

"PETER I,
"Autocrat of all the Russians."

All this was written by Peter the Great, in 1725—7 years before George Washington was born.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director of Social Insurance Activities, American Federation of Labor, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Basic Health Needs

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Friday, January 15, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of social activities for the American Federation of Labor, and secretary of the federation's standing committee on social security, is highly important. Mr. Cruikshank has written numerous articles and statements on behalf of the American Federation of Labor on the subjects of health insurance and social security.

Mr. Cruikshank's statement analyzing the health needs of the Nation and setting forth the basic approach to these needs on the part of the American Federation of Labor, is, in part, as follows:

The American Federation of Labor agrees with President Eisenhower in being flatly opposed to the socialization of the medical profession. Also in common with President Eisenhower, the American Federation of Labor supports the principle of social insurance as a method of dealing with social problems. We believe that this sound and tested principle should be extended to the field of health on a national basis, so as to make it possible for all of the citizens of America to have access to, and a means of meeting the costs of, high-quality medical care, without the imposition of an undue economic burden upon any person or class of persons.

The official policy of the American Federation of Labor was most recently restated by a resolution adopted unanimously by the 72d annual convention, held in St. Louis in September 1953. That resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas the health and physical well-being of its citizens is one of the most important gages of the general welfare and social progress of any nation; and

"Whereas good health is the greatest asset of the working man and woman whose livelihood is entirely dependent upon the physical ability to work; and

"Whereas the health of the people of America is suffering as a result of the serious shortage of doctors and other medical personnel and he unfilled need for more and better hospital facilities, clinics, and health centers; and

"Whereas even where physical facilities are available, the high cost of adequate medical, surgical, and hospital services places high quality medical attention and health care beyond the economic reach of many large groups in our population and imposes a heavy burden of debt and economic insecurity upon workers and their families; and

"Whereas the so-called voluntary health insurance plans promoted by insurance companies and medical societies are grossly inadequate to meet the needs of the public, are not available to millions, neglect vital areas of health care, are unduly costly in terms of benefits derived from premiums paid, tend to push up the cost of medical care, and are subject to widespread abuse by members of the medical fraternity as well as others; and

"Whereas these facts have again been emphasized and underscored and placed before the attention of the public after exhaustive study, in the final report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation; and

"Whereas organized labor, as the spokesman for the interests of the working people of America and their families must accept a large share of the responsibility in a democracy for the development and promotion of programs, policies, and methods of organization to enable wage earners and their families to overcome the hazards of ill health: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the delegates to the 72d American Federation of Labor convention assembled in St. Louis, Mo., call upon the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to expand public-health facilities and programs, to promote and assist the expansion of medical training and educational facilities, hospitals, clinics, and health centers, and to provide a nationwide system of national health insurance to assure that good medical care will be mad available to all of the people of America."

On November 12, 1953, the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, following a meeting in Washington on that day, issued a statement which declared, in part, that—

"The health needs of the Nation are still urgent. They cannot be ignored. They continue to exact a heavy toll in human lives, suffering, and economic distress. They do not evaporate and disappear with a change in political parties in control of the instruments of Government. They demand action, through a constructive program for the expansion of health services, personnel, and facilities, and for a method of payment which will alleviate the crushing burden of cost now borne by the American people, and make possible the broader distribution of high-quality medical care. This can best be done through a sound and democratic system of national health insurance, coupled with a program of Federal aid to medical education, medical research, and the expansion of hospitals, clinics and other health facilities and services. This is not socialized medicine, but a logical extension

of the established principle of social insurance.

"We call upon the administration and upon Congress for action now, through the presentation of a constructive, comprehensive health program to the people. The Nation cannot afford further inaction or delay in this vital area of public responsibility."

The members of the committee are: Mr. William P. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of Labor, chairman, AFL Social Security committee; Mr. George Meany, president, American Federation of Labor, ex officio member of committee; Mr. James A. Brownlow, president, metal trades department, American Federation of Labor; Mr. Gordon W. Chapman, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Mr. William H. Cooper, secretary-treasurer, Building Service Employees' International Union; Mr. J. Scott Milne, secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Mr. George Q. Lynch, president, Pattern Makers League of North America; Mr. Lee W. Minton, president, Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada; and Mr. Matthew Woll, first vice president, American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor favors a Federal program of national health insurance, not because we are in any sense committed, as a matter of philosophical principle, to governmental action as against private voluntary action, but because, as practical people, we are convinced that this is the only practical way in which the job that needs to be done can be done, within the framework of a free and democratic society. If the existing pattern of private voluntary plans could do this job, or could do it as well, we would be content to place our hopes in the further development of such plans. But, unfortunately, that is not the case.

Our authority for this statement is the experience of many of our affiliated unions. No other group in this country represents a greater amount of accumulated, firsthand experience with all types of voluntary prepayment plans than does the trade-union movement. The majority of our members are now covered by group health plans of one sort or another, established through collective bargaining with employers. We have a tremendous stake in the quality and performance of these plans. And, with a few notable exceptions, we have found them to be grossly inadequate as an answer to the essential health needs of our members and their families.

The most important health need of industrial workers and, I believe, of the public generally is preventive care. A constructive, progressive medical care program is one which seeks to improve and to maintain the health of those who are served by it, rather than merely to patch up and repair their disabilities after they have reached an advanced stage. Every system or program of medical care should be tested by the attention which it pays to this vital aspect of the total national health problem. No program or approach which neglects it can be considered adequate or satisfactory.

This point cannot be overemphasized. Your committee has devoted much of its time to a study of chronic illness, and of the problems of those with disabilities and diseases which involve prolonged periods of hospitalization and medical attention. The promotion of so-called major medical expense or catastrophic insurance coverage, providing partial reimbursement of, or indemnity against, the heavy hospital and medical costs incurred by the victims of such conditions, has been suggested by some who have appeared as the best and final answer to this very serious problem.

We disagree strongly with that contention. We agree, of course, that such protection is a significant contribution to the economic welfare of those who are faced with catastrophic medical and hospital expenses. Protection against such expenses is an essential ingredient of an adequate health program—for there are very few people in this country, even among the well-to-do, to whom the cost of prolonged disability and medical treatment does not come as an economic catastrophe. But even if the entire population were covered by a major medical expense policy, the real problem presented by chronic or long-term disability and disease would still be with us, and it would still be a catastrophe to its victims.

No commercial insurance policy alone can overcome the physical and mental suffering, the loss to the individual of his power to contribute to and enjoy the pleasures of life, the loss to the Nation of his production, and all of the other consequences, both concrete and intangible, which flow from the loss of health. A policy which helps to pay a part of the bill, even a substantial part, after the disaster occurs, still leaves the individual, the community and the Nation with the problem of the disaster itself.

The only really constructive and hopeful approach to that basic problem is one which seeks to preserve health, to prevent disease, and to check its progress at the earliest possible stage. It is upon this approach that the major emphasis of any national health program properly belongs. It is the only way in which the actual cost of medical care can be progressively reduced, and the health of America progressively improved.

A constructive health program, based upon the principle of prevention as well as cure, should encourage, prepay the costs of, and provide facilities for regular physicial examinations and the earliest possible diagnosis and treatment of symptoms and ailments. It should make the services and facilities of all the various specialties as well as of general practitioners, working together, readily and conveniently available to the individual. It should provide for the continuing education and guidance of the individual in the use of the facilities available to him and in the proper care of his own health and that of his family. It should provide those who suffer from chronic conditions ready access to the kind of attention and advice they need in order to prevent their condition from growing worse, and, if possible, to improve it. All of these services and facilities should be closely integrated with those which are provided for the hospitalization, care, and treatment of more advanced cases of illness and disability.

It is in precisely this area of preventive service that the system—if it can be called a system—of medical enterprise which currently prevails is most glaringly deficient. I refer both to the solo-practice, fee-for-service method of offering medical services as such, and to that arrangement as it has been modified—or, rather, embodied in—the prepaid insurance plans which the medical societies and commercial insurance companies have placed on the market.

We believe that a large part of the health problems which now confront this Nation can be traced directly to this deficiency. Because this fundamental need is neglected, individuals are discouraged—by costs, inconvenience, and lack of knowledge—from seeking the care and attention they need, until their condition becomes so acute that they can no longer avoid recourse to medical services.

An adequate health insurance program must be comprehensive in its scope, and must provide complete family coverage. The health insurance plans which are most prevalent today largely ignore the most important areas of cost. They do not cover the day-to-day health needs and conditions which are most common to every family, nor do they cover those conditions which, though relatively infrequent, are most burdensome and costly when they do occur. They are limited largely to partial coverage of an in-between area—short-term hospitalized disabilities.

In industry today, thousands of different arrangements exist, whose variations in scope of benefits are not justified by any criteria, despite the prevalence of the appeal to "fit the insurance benefits to the needs" of a given group or industry. The needs are always comprehensive health services and medical care. This piecemeal approach means inequality of benefits for workers even in the same community or neighborhood.

Medical care without detriment to its quality cannot be fragmentized. Its component parts must be integrated into a comprehensive continuous whole. Diagnosis cannot be abritrarily separated from treatment, surgery cannot be isolated from pre-operative and post-operative care, care inside of the hospital cannot be provided as a thing entirely apart from care in the home, office, or clinic. Anything short of a comprehensive, unified program is to that extent an inadequate program.

Full family coverage is likewise an essential criterion of adequacy. Many of the plans in existence today cover only the wage-earner himself, and exclude his wife and children. The contribution which such plans make toward the solution of his health problems is very small, even if these plans were adequate in all other respects—which they are not—for the medical expenses of the worker himself are but a small part of the total family medical bill.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director of Social Insurance Activities, American Federation of Labor, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Developing a Health Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Friday, January 15, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of social activities, American Federation of Labor, and secretary of the Federation's standing committee on social security, is highly important. Mr. Cruikshank has written numerous articles and statements on behalf of the American Federation of Labor on the subjects of health insurance and social security.

Mr. Cruikshank criticized the inadequacy of coverage given by commercial insurance policies and enumerated some of the principal needs that must be met by a satisfactory health program. His testimony was, in part, as follows:

A satisfactory health program should at the very least provide a means of making possible the full prepayment of the costs of the services offered. The application of the social insurance principle also requires that the rate of payment bear some direct relationship to the income of the persons covered. The so-called voluntary plans

offered by commercial insurance companies and medical societies fail on both counts. This is particularly true of cash indemnity plans.

In other words, here we have the ironic example of prepayment plans which in many cases do not prepay, and insurance plans which, though costly, do not insure. The most obvious evidence of this may be found in the wide disparity between the large percentage of the populace which these plans claim to cover and the very small percentage of the total medical costs of the Nation which they actually pay. While 56.6 percent of all families in the United States have some form of insurance protection, the record shows that only 15.2 percent of all medical costs were paid by such insurance.

The typical cash indemnity or reimbursement plan does not cover all the costs even of those services which it undertakes to cover. It does not even cover a predictable portion of those costs. It places a ceiling on benefits, but there is usually no ceiling on the actual charges made for the services rendered. Unhappy experience has shown that those charges all too often tend to vary, depending upon whether or not the individual is insured against them.

Few experiences have been more frustrating to our members than that which many union groups have encountered in the fruitless effort to catch up with the will-of-the-wisp of rising medical and surgical charges by negotiating expensive increases in the benefit schedules of cash indemnity plans. Increases in benefit schedules negotiated in the effort to approach full prepayment of costs have served only as an excuse for further increases in hospital charges, room rates, and medical and surgical fees, leaving the members confronted with the same extra charges, over and above their insurance benefits, that they had to pay before.

Through this process, in some areas we have seen surgical benefit schedules in the plans negotiated by union groups rise steadily over a few short years from a maximum of $150 to maximums of $450 or $500, without actually improving the position of the membership in relation to their medical bills. In fact, in some cases, grounds exist for a very strong suspicion that individuals covered by such plans have been left no better off than they had been without it.

To the extent that this tendency exists, these plans may properly be described as "doctors' benefit" plans, rather than employee-benefit plans. For they enable doctors to receive higher fees for services to low-income workers than would otherwise be the case, without sacrificing their ability to charge what the traffic will bear to others, regardless of the schedule of maximum benefits contained in the plan.

I know that there have been many pious condemnations by spokesmen of the American Medical Association of this practice of hiking fees for insured patients. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove a deliberate hiking of fees. And until the officials of the AMA and local medical societies throughout the country show a greater willingness to sit down and work out with consumer groups a reasonable schedule of fees which they will accept as a standard and as full payment for services rendered, their self-righteous disclaimers will remain singularly unconvincing.

Moreover, if you accept the traditional attitudes of the medical fraternity as expressed in the fee-for-service approach which the AMA defends so vigorously, it is hard to blame individual doctors for raising their fees. It is a reaction which is entirely consistent with their traditional sliding-fee scale based upon the patient's ability to pay, and what the market will bear.

On that basis, it is only natural for a doctor to look upon an indemnity insurance policy as an additional financial resource of the patient. If the patient could afford to pay $50 for a given operation before he had the insurance, and the insurance policy provides a benefit of $50 for that operation, surely he should still be able to afford $50 out of his own pocket. Therefore, by this kind of reasoning, he should be able to pay up to $100 now that he has the insurance policy.

This attitude persists, despite the fact that the spread of insurance has gone far toward wiping out the theoretical rationale for the sliding-scale system. Organized medicine offers a sort of Robin Hood theory in justification of this system. According to their argument, they must soak those who are able to pay, in order to compensate themselves for the vast amount of free or reduced rate services they render, or allege that they render, to the poor. The spread of insurance plans has undoubtedly served to reduce the amount of charity work that is done and to raise the fees that doctors are able to obtain for services to lower income groups. Yet, this changing situation on one side of the scale has not been matched by a compensating change on the other. Organized medicine continues to insist upon the right to charge what the traffic will bear, even though the effect is to nullify the value of insurance plans, save as a source of guaranteed income and insurance against nonpayment of bills for the members of the medical profession.

The fact is that, as long as insurance benefits are paid in cash with no guaranty of the medical services they will actually purchase, this constant upward pressure on fees can be expected to continue. That is one of the major reasons why the service, rather than the cash indemnity principle, is so essential to a constructive, effective health program.

But, regardless of whether a plan undertakes to offer services or cash payments, there can be no adequate check upon costs in the absence of effective consumer representation in the administration of the program. This applies particularly to medical-society plans which play up their nonprofit character and yet are controlled exclusively by the very doctors who give the services at fees which they themselves establish. Under such circumstances, the use of the term "nonprofit" is surely a meaningless technicality, a mere antic of semantics. However honest, no one can be entrusted with spending another person's money economically when it is primarily a matter of paying himself.

The inflationary effects of these plans upon costs to the consumers of medical care operate in a threefold manner: (1) By creating an upward pressure upon medical, hospital, and surgical fees and charges, as noted above, which is reflected in extra charges and in steadily rising premium rates; (2) by increasing the demands upon available hospital and medical facilities and personnel with no compensating program for the increase and expansion of facilities needed to meet these demands; and (3) by tacking on top of purely medical costs a heavy structure of administrative, promotional, and other expenses. Thus they exact a very high—and, we believe, an unnecessarily high—price for the advantage of providing a means of budgeting an unpredictable and variable part of the costs of medical care.

Our concern is not limited to what is happening to the costs of medical care today. We are equally concerned with what is happening to the quality of medical care. In its propaganda against any governmental action in the health field and in favor of the status quo, the instruments of organized medicine have placed great emphasis—rhetorically, at least—upon this important factor of quality. Yet the harsh and unfortunate fact is that the quality of medical care is suffering today under the impact of commercial insurance and medical society plans, and it is not likely to improve in the forseeable future, insofar as most of the people of this country are concerned, without timely and appropriate action on the part of the Federal Government.

One of the reasons why the hospitals of this country are overcrowded today lies in the fact that the most prevalent type of insurance plan pays benefits only for hospitalized illnesses and disabilities. More authoritative persons than I have testified to the fact that a great many persons are being hospitalized unnecessarily, simply because that is the only place in which they can receive prepaid treatment, within the scope of their insurance plans. The resultant pressure upon hospital facilities and personnel can have only one result—deterioration in the quality of care.

Most of this unnecessary hospitalization could be avoided by the provision of adequate preventive care, and by the provision of facilities, within the scope of the insurance program, for diagnosis and treatment in outpatient clinics and health centers. This has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of those comprehensive-service plans which do provide for this type of care, where the rate of hospitalization has been materially reduced below the level of plans which provide for hospitalized conditions only.

There is much evidence, including observations by prominent members of the medical profession, of the performance, for pecuniary purpose, of unnecessary or overly hasty operations, many of which may be detrimental to the welfare of the patient. We do not mean to imply that such conduct is typical of the medical profession, but we do believe that it is much more widespread than the captains of organized medicine are prepared to admit.

While the responsibility for this must be placed directly at the door of the individual doctor who is guilty of such practices, its extent can be attributed largely to the growth of insurance plans which place a premium upon shady ethics and questionable practices. These plans guarantee the payment of liberal fees to doctors for the performance of such operations, while containing no protections to safeguard the interests of the patient.

In short, while those who oppose Federal action and point to commercial insurance and medical society plans as a substitute profess great concern over quality and the rights of the individual, the facts are that these plans do nothing to protect and promote either the quality of medical services or the interests of the patient in his relations with the members of the medical profession. In fact, there is much evidence which indicates that their end results may be detrimental to the quality of medical care.

This state of affairs is particularly serious in the light of the fact that the individual layman, when left to his own resources in his search for good medical care, is almost entirely at the mercy of the medical profession. He must take the word of the doctor for everything, including the professional merits of other physicians. The reluctance of doctors to speak to a patient of other doctors in terms that might be considered derogatory is notorious; it is generally viewed as a breach of ethics.

Medical ethics itself seems to have come a very long way from the day when it was designed and served primarily as a protection for the lay patient. Professional medical associations have come to direct more and more of their attention toward the economic and political self-interest of their leading members, a trend which perhaps reached its culmination with the era of Whitaker and Baxter. With this shift in emphasis, there seems to have come a subtle change in the character of medical ethics, until today it is a debatable question whether the ethics of the profession as applied in some cases is a safeguard for the patient or an instrument

for the mutual protection and benefit of the medical fraternity.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in the question of free choice of doctors. On this point I would like to say that, contrary to the common allegation, the type of national health insurance program favored by the American Federation of Labor would not restrict the patient in his free choice of doctors. It would in fact enhance it, by offering him a much wider range of choice, as a practical matter.

It is, however, significant that this argument about free choice which is commonly and erroneously employed against both group practice plans and national health insurance has its origin in and is most strongly championed by the spokesmen for organized medicine, rather than the actual consumers of medical care. It is both ironic and indicative that those who most strongly insist that no one is competent to judge or to exercise discretion or authority over anything related to medicine except the members of the profession, are the same ones who insist that the uninformed individual layman must be left entirely to his own devices in the selection of a doctor; one of the most important medical decisions of all.

I believe that the average workingman is much less concerned about this question of free choice than are the high priests of the medical association. He is much more concerned that there be some objective, dependable assurance that his doctor is qualified, skilled, and sincerely concerned with his welfare. The worker knows that in actual fact, as matters stand today, free choice too often means the freedom to thumb through the phone book at random in search of any nearby doctor, one being just as good as another for all he knows. To many citizens of this country, it means the freedom to choose the only doctor to be found for miles around, or one of the 2 or 3 in the local community, or one who is willing to come to the home or make an appointment in a reasonable time.

The fact is that, as used by medical spokesmen, the term "free choice" has a very limited meaning, and one which is slanted toward the narrow interests of certain segments of the medical profession, rather than those of the patient or the public at large. It has nothing to do with the quality of medical care. It is a defense of the status quo for the solo practice, fee-for-service method of offering services, which—in conjunction with insurance schemes which guarantee the collection of liberal fees and the payment of bills—many practitioners have found so profitable.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the people of America should have the freedom to choose, not only the services of an individual physician engaged in solo practice, but medical groups offering comprehensive services as a team operation, if he prefers such a group. We believe that they have the right to use the instruments of a democratic government to aid them and to enhance their ability to exercise that freedom of choice. Full free choice is the only real free choice, and it is a fact that, by discouraging and hampering the growth and development of comprehensive, group practice plans in this country today, the official chieftains of organized medicine are stifling free choice of doctors and methods of service, and restricting the people in the full exercise of their right of free choice.

Furthermore, the only real free choice is an enlightened choice. In the absence of reliable, expert guidance and assistance, the choice of a doctor is a gamble at best. Under the common type of commercial insurance and medical society plans, the layman is left to fend for himself in his search for medical services. He must take his chances in a world where, according to informed reports, such things as fee-splitting, ghost surgery, and unnecessary operations are not unknown; where doctors do not speak unfavorably of other doctors; and where he can never be sure that referrals and recommendations are not based upon some sort of clandestine mutual-benefit arrangement rather than sheer ability.

This is not a necessary or inevitable state of affairs. There are a number of consumer-controlled, comprehensive, direct-service plans, employing the advantages of group practice, where it is not the case. One of the major advantages of such programs is the fact that the doctors who comprise the group are carefully selected by doctors who are competent to judge their training, experience, and abilities in accordance with the highest standards. The member can have full confidence in their technical ability. He knows that he has been ably represented in their selection and in the terms under which the service is to be provided. He knows that he will be treated as an individual who must be kept well or restored to health as soon as possible, and that the character of the treatment will be determined by his physical needs and not by his ability to pay.

As our members continue to gain experience with the orthodox type of commercial insurance and medical society plans, that experience is being reflected in increasing dissatisfaction and disillusionment. They are daily becoming more aware of the failure of these plans to live up to promises and expectations, of their serious gaps and deficiencies, and of the limitations inherent in them. Evidence of this is to be found in the fact that more and more of the local and national organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are setting up health and welfare committees or taking other steps to explore alternative avenues of approach to a solution of the pressing health problems of their membership.

Some unions have found the answer by joining comprehensive, group-practice prepayment plans, such as HIP and Permanente. Others have undertaken to establish their own health centers and clinics. Among the latter are the Labor Health Institute in St. Louis, the health centers which the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has established in a number of cities, the AFL Health Center in Philadelphia, and service plans established by certain locals of the Butcher Workmen, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and a few other unions.

I believe that plans of this type have a great potential and hold great promise as one avenue toward a solution of the health problems of a substantial number of the people of this country. They stand as an example of what can be done, and of what the commercial insurance and medical society plans so notably fail to do. These programs are all going in the direction which we in the labor movement wish to go, providing a sound base for local, consumer-controlled, comprehensive medical services which will be able to continue even more effectively with the stimulus of national health insurance.

But they are still too few, and the difficulties involved in their establishment too great for many groups. Among the most serious obstacles is the difficulty involved in securing the initial capital needed for the acquisition of suitable buildings and facilities. One of the most constructive steps that Congress could take to encourage the expansion of programs of this type would be through legislation to establish a source of credit, readily available upon advantageous terms, to enable groups desiring to establish such programs to secure the initial capital required for such an undertaking. I believe that this would lead to the creation of comprehensive service programs in many localities where they do not now exist.

These programs have shown us, by actual practical demonstration, that the health needs of our members can be met economically, efficiently, and well. They have shown that the quality of medical care and the health of our members can be improved through such an approach. They have shown that laymen and physicians can work together in harmony, as a team, without detriment to either group, and with real benefit to both groups. They have demonstrated that comprehensive, high-quality health services are a practical possibility; that they are not pie-in-the-sky; and that the arguments and dire predictions that have been leveled against complete prepaid medical care have little if any foundation in fact. Now that we know what can be done, with the right kind of program, we do not believe that the people of this country should be short-changed by being made to settle for much less.

In discussing these programs, I would like to pay particular tribute to the many fine public-spirited members of the medical profession without whose advice, guidance, cooperation, and participation none of them would have been possible. I believe that there are a great many doctors in this country who are awake to their broader social responsibilities as physicians and who, as individuals, are in sympathy with our basic aims and objectives. I believe that there would be more of them, and that more of them would be willing to participate actively, if it were not for the official attitude of their medical associations.

Were it not for the negative, obstructionist attitude which the medical associations have expressed, both overtly and covertly, toward every effort that has been made to find a real and constructive solution to the health problems of the people, those problems would be much closer to a solution than they are today. If they would abandon their rule-or-ruin approach to this matter and extend their positive cooperation, or at least abandon that role of negative opposition which keeps many doctors from cooperating more actively, great strides could be made.

But I am afraid that, under its present leadership, there is little hope that the official arms of organized medicine will ever join in a positive effort to meet these needs. It is a tragic and ironic fact that the greatest single barrier that stands between the citizens of America and ready access to good medical care for all is the obstructionist attitude of organized medicine itself.

In this statement I have tried to indicate some of the reasons why the American Federation of Labor believes that the only program which promises to meet the health needs of all the people is a system of national health insurance. While we believe that the only ultimate answer lies in the adoption of such a program, ours is not an all-or-nothing position. As practical people, we are interested in practical progress, and we will support, on its own merits, any sound proposal which will result in material, practical progress in the health field.

I have tried to show why we believe that the conventional type of commercial insurance and medical-society prepayment plan are very weak reeds to lean upon in the search for an answer to the health needs of the Nation. A sound national health program cannot be built around plans of that type as they stand today. I have tried to indicate some of the standards and criteria which should be used as a measure of the adequacy of any plan deemed worthy of promotion and assistance. Short of national health insurance, the most constructive steps that can be taken in pursuit of progress in the health field would be those which thelp to promote the expansion of democratically controlled, comprehensive direct service plans which offer preventive as well as curative and rehabilitative care, and which employ the advantages of group medical practice.

The ultimate success of any steps that are taken to make good medical care available to more people will ultimately depend upon the availability of facilities and personnel to provide the care. That is why, as an integral and essential part of the health program of the American Federation of Labor, we support an adequate program of Federal aid to medical education, aid to promote the construction of more hospitals, clinics and health centers, the expansion of medical research and of public health facilities and programs, as well as other measures needed if we are to have the tools and the workers to do the job. All of these measures are necessary parts of the same broad program.

Plight of a Widow of a World War I Veteran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I should like to submit, for the information of my colleagues, the following letter from one of my constituents, Mrs. Alice Mundy, which shows the sad plight of a widow of a World War I veteran insofar as her ability to make ends meet in these days of high living costs, under the present laws:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *December 9, 1953.*
Hon. FRANCIS E. DORN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: It is with faith and confidence that I write to you at this time. Permit me to draw to your attention the rather sad plight I find myself in as a widow of a World War I veteran (2d Lt. Harry T. Mundy). Under the present pension laws, I am permitted to earn $1,400 a year. As a part-time worker at the Brooklyn Eagle (newspaper) I believe I would not exceed this amount, but due to a sudden and unexpected raise on November 20, 1953 (I work on an hourly basis, not salary), I found it necessary to remain at home three-fourths of my regular time during this the last month of 1953. In order to keep within the earning amount allowed I am only working one full day each week until December 24. This has made things difficult for me and has caused much concern and worry. My motive in writing is to please ask you, as one representing us at Washington, to please place before Congress a further need of changing the present laws pertaining to veterans' widows' pensions. I am asking not for an increase in the pension, but just the great American privilege of earning at $100 or $200 more each year. Had this been allowed at this time I would not have been denied the right of earning that which was being offered me for the remainder of this year. I sincerely desire to work hard and support myself as much as possible while I am still physically able to do so. I am 58 years of age and because of that a full-time position is very difficult to get, and if I were fortunate enough to find one, such positions only pay $35 to $45 weekly. As this money would be taxable in the end it would amount to the same as my part-time work plus my pension.

Next year in order to keep within the allowance I am permitted to earn in order to accept the pension I will have to work 20 hours weekly until May 21, 1954, and the rest of the year I will only be able to work 16 hours a week for the remainder of the year.

Hoping I may have made my case clear to you and that you will find it possible to discuss it at the 2d session of the 83d Congress, I remain,

Most sincerely yours,
Mrs. ALICE MUNDY,
Widow of Lt. Harry T. Mundy.

Mr. Frederick F. Umhey, Executive Secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Testifies Before the House Interstate and Foreign Com-Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Friday, January 15, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Mr. Frederick F. Umhey, executive secretary, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is highly important. Mr. Umhey has long been active in many phases of health work. He is secretary-treasurer of the Union Health Center of New York, sponsored by his union. This is the oldest operating union health plan. He is also secretary of his union's Health and Welfare Foundation, which operates 14 health centers and clinics in various parts of the country.

Mr. Umhey's statement with regard to the health activities of his union and the requirements of a national health program was as follows:

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has a long and proud history as a pioneer in the field of health protection. Today that history is capped by an integrated system of health centers and health benefits which provide at least basic protection to 3 out of every 4 of its 436,000 members. And yet, useful as our achievements have been, we are aware that they have only touched the bare surface of a deep and pressing problem. It is that awareness which brings me here today. For it is clear that if our Nation is to have a really comprehensive program of health protection, that program must be laid down by the type of legislation now before the committee.

Before I go into our position on such legislation, the committee may find a brief description of our own health activities helpfull in its consideration of the problem. Basically, they date back to 1913 when our first Union Health Center was established in New York City. It was then, as it is now, designed not to solve the total health problems of our members but to furnish them with at least minimum medical services on an ambulatory basis. Until 1945, the medical services were paid for almost wholly by union members at a nominal charge of $1.00 a visit and by direct subsidies from the union's general funds. Since then, most of the services furnished by the health center are paid for by contributions from our union-administered employer-financed health and welfare funds.

Our New York Center occupies 6 floors of a 27-story building which it owns in the heart of the Manhattan garment area. A staff of 176 physicians services the center. It is directed by a physician, who reports to a board of directors made up of union officials. It carries on the usual diagnostic work common to an ambulatory clinic, with special emphasis on routine screening procedures as a preventive medical measure. A limited amount of therapy is also done. The underlying need for even such minimum medical services was vividly brought home to us when we inaugurated the employer-financed prepaid plan in 1945. Individual services rose from 125,000 in 1944—before the institution of the prepaid plan—to 566,000 in 1952.

The New York Health Center has served as the pattern for the 14 other centers we operate throughout the country. In addition to these health centers, we operate several mobile units which consist of teams of trained technicians who visit our factories and are equipped to take diagnostic specimens and chest X-rays of our members. Results of such tests are then submitted to our physicians who then consult with the member's private physician. We have been anxious to expand the services we render our members but in some areas have been hampered by the reluctance of local medical societies to permit us to go beyond simple diagnostic work. For example, in one area we were told that we could tell a worker her eyes were bad but could not issue a prescription to correct the defect.

In all cases, the centers and mobile units serve as adjuncts to our health and welfare plans. The benefits under these plans are provided by trust funds which are financed wholly by employers who contribute from 1 to 5 percent of their payrolls to such funds. They include cash payments for disability, hospitalization benefits, surgical and maternity benefits, eye-conservation care, and tuberculosis benefits. In almost all cases, because of the large demand for such benefits and the relatively limited funds available to meet this demand, the benefits our funds pay cover only part of the costs incurred by the sick or disabled worker. Even within these limits, our funds expended approximately $11½ million in 1952 for such benefits.

Proud as we are of the ILGWU's achievements in this area, we recognize that they represent, at best, only a partial answer to our members' health needs. For it must be remembered that they were designed to fill a vacuum; that they have all the drawbacks of a stopgap approach. They do not take care of really long-term illnesses. For the most part they make provision for only our members, and not for their families. Wide areas of needed assistance, such as dental care, are completely omitted. In many areas we have been limited by the organized medical aristocracy to diagnostic services, and have not been permitted to follow through with therapeutic care. Our surgical benefits in many cases cover only a small part of the worker's bill for surgery.

We are proud of our achievements, but we are realistic enough to recognize that they do not represent anywhere near the complete answer to our members' needs; nor do they represent a pattern which would necessarily be feasible for all other organized groups. We recognize that the answer must lie in a national pattern applicable to all persons, whether organized or not, and that such a national pattern can come only in the form of Federal legislation.

It is for this reason that our membership, at its last convention in May 1953, urged the adoption of a national health insurance program which would, in their words, "assure every person in the country ready access to high quality, personal health service." Our convention unanimously stated that "We believe that national health insurance is one of the most important matters of unfinished

business facing the Nation. We strongly urge that it be made a reality quickly." Toward that end our convention strongly supported the enactment of the recommendations outlined by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. We believe that only by such a comprehensive program, involving a broad program of taxation which will directly aid individuals seeking health services rather than subsidizing groups which provide such services will a truly comprehensive program of health insurance be really effectuated.

I take it, however, that whatever the ideal proposal may be, the two types of bills for health legislation which are most likely to engage the attention of this Congress are those which would give income-tax exemption for medical expenses and those which would in one way or another subsidize voluntary prepaid health insurance plans.

As to the tax-exemption proposals, their attractive features should not blind us to their limitations. Some bills, such as Representative KEATING's proposal, would permit the deduction of all contributions made to any kind of health insurance plan. Others, such as Senator ECTON's bill, would eliminate limitations on the amount of medical expenses which may be deducted. While these proposals recognize that something must be done to ease the burden of medical costs, their value is extremely limited.

First, they would help only those persons who pay on income tax. And out of every 7 income-tax returns, about 2 do not entail any tax payment at all because the taxable income is too low. Families with over 3 children would not gain from these proposals unless their income is well over $3,000. Moderate income families would not gain substantially because their income tax is likely less than the $60 to $125 they are already paying for private health insurance programs. Couples over 65 who do not pay taxes unless their income exceeds $2,400 would gain little since most of them have incomes less than this. Those who would benefit most are the 1 out of 5 whose incomes are over $5,000. Even the benefit to these would be of little value under the proposals which would permit the deduction of contributions to voluntary health insurance plans if such persons do not live in areas which provide plans covering most medical expenses.

In short, income tax deductions for medical expenses or contributions to health insurance plans would be of real benefit to very few—and then to those who need it the least. The benefit would be at the direct expense of the United States Treasury and therefore at the expense of every United States taxpayer. Moreover, the enactment of such proposals might, from a purely political point of view, undermine the drive for a really comprehensive national health insurance program.

I take it that at the moment the two proposals for such a national health insurance program which have any realistic chance at this session are those embodied in the proposed National Health Act of 1953, sponsored by Senators IVES and FLANDERS and Representatives HALE, JAVITS, and SCOTT and Representative WOLVERTON's reinsurance program. I believe that both are basically sound in their intent and are worthy of the serious attention of the Congress and the support of all who are interested in a truly effective national health insurance program. I feel that their approach is right because both proposals offer a plan of insurance which is nationwide in application; both exclude the outmoded means test and both require comprehensive medical and hospitalization service.

However, both the Ives-Flanders and Wolverton proposals suffer from one basic drawback, which I believe this committee should seriously consider. Both programs are designed to subsidize not individuals but voluntary health insurance programs. And yet it has been our experience that the vast majority of those who are in most need of such health insurance have, in fact, not found it easy or feasible to join such programs, without a direct and immediate incentive. Thus, despite the tremendous increase in private insurance plans, only about three in every 100 Americans are protected by really comprehensive insurance plans. When a serious illness strikes, four out of five Americans still need some form of financial help to get adequate medical care. Therefore, unless some form of direct incentive is given to the individual—not just to the health plan—it may well be that the worthy aims of the Ives-Flanders and Wolverton plans will largely be dissipated.

Moreover, it will do very little good for Congress to provide funds to voluntary health-insurance programs if such programs are not permitted to exist by organized medical groups. The present roadblocks set up by medical groups in the path of independent health plans will make circumstances, whatever legislation is passed by Congress, a deadletter as far as millions of Americans are concerned. Therefore, as I shall detail later in my statement, I suggest that as part of any plan to subsidize voluntary health-insurance programs the Congress must make certain that its intent is not thwarted by the organized medical aristocracy.

Turning to the bills themselves, I believe there are specific areas in which the proposals can be improved. The Ives-Flanders bill, for example, requires that all approved prepayment health plans be administered by corporations. In point of fact, many such plans, particularly those which have been set up under collective-bargaining agreements, have taken the form of trusts rather than of corporations. Such plans would be excluded under the terms of the bill. I suggest, therefore, that this section be amended to permit the inclusion of nonprofit prepayment plans which are not corporate in form.

The Ives-Flanders bill also requires that such plans provide benefits not only to covered persons, but to their dependents as well. In many cases existing collective-bargaining plans provide for benefits only to employees and not to their families. I suggest that this provision be amended to make the coverage of dependents permissive rather than mandatory.

The Ives-Flanders bill places a great deal of emphasis upon enabling acts by the States. At the same time the bill excludes from the administrative State agencies—and properly so—persons directly concerned in furnishing medical services. This exclusion will without doubt create a great deal of opposition to such legislation in the State legislatures where the local medical societies have an even greater influence, if that is possible, than their national counterpart has had on the Congress. I fear that unless a more direct incentive is given the States, the necessary enabling legislation will never be passed by many States and the congressional intent will never get beyond the statute books. A pattern for such a direct incentive exists in the Federal-State unemployment insurance system, under which a tax is imposed upon the State, substantially all of which is repaid to the State if it enacts an enabling statute which meets the requirements of the Federal law. Perhaps a similar approach should be used in the area of health insurance to make sure that the local medical lobbyists do not defeat the intent of Congress.

The Ives-Flanders bill puts a ceiling of $15 per capita on the Federal Government's contribution to an approved plan. The State must pay the remaining deficit. In many of the poorer States, the State's contribution would be considerably larger than a Federal contribution, if a really comprehensive service is offered and if a substantial proportion of low-income citizens is enrolled. I believe, therefore, that this committee should consider the effect and wisdom of raising the ceiling to a figure above $15.

The emphasis upon small localized groups contained in the Ives-Flanders bill, as well as in Representative WOLVERTON's proposal, means that the risks of illness will be spread over relatively small and localized groups. This means, of course, that the insurance risks will necessarily be greater and the costs more expensive than they would be under a comprehensive, truly national program. I believe that the committee might well consider means of encouraging the spreading of such risks over wider areas. We have found that in experience with unemployment insurance and disability benefit statutes there is an ever present need for some appellate procedure by which persons dissatisfied with the decisions of the administrative officials may file complaints and appeal from such decisions. We suggest that any proposal for subsidizing voluntary health programs contain some provision for such an appellate procedure.

Again my I reiterate that the emphasis in the Ives-Flanders bill and the Wolverton bill on subsidizing private voluntary plans raises one serious question. Neither proposal will do much good in areas where people are not permitted by the machinations of the organized medical aristocracy to join in a voluntary plan or where, as a result of organized medicine's efforts, such plans are limited in scope and expensive in cost. The obstacles which the medical aristocracy has continued to place in the path of free enterprise self-help in the field of health insurance belies its claim that all it wishes to prevent is socialized medicine. I therefore believe that the time has come—particularly if Congress is to effectuate the proposals contained in the Ives-Flanders bill and the Wolverton bill—when the Congress should consider the imposition of specific legislative prohibitions on the restraints which organized medical groups have imposed on the growth of voluntary health insurance programs.

If the steel magnates or the tobacco tycoons got together to restrain business competition and labeled their program Principles of Ethics, they would be greeted the next morning by a grand jury indictment under the Sherman Act, ethical label or no label. There is no reason why the same reason should not be applied to the medical profession. True, previous administrations and some of the States have attempted to apply the antitrust acts to the American Medical Association and its local affiliates, but such attempts have been somewhat inconclusive. One major stumbling block on the Federal level has been the fact that the Federal antitrust laws apply to trade or business in interstate commerce. The one major case in which the AMA has been slapped down by the Federal courts took place in the District of Columbia in which the courts did not have to find interstate commerce to acquire jurisdiction. In the Oregon case, in which the indictment of the local medical societies was ultimately thrown out, the United States Supreme Court accepted without extended comment the lower court's finding that interstate commerce was not involved. There may be a serious constitutional question about the extent to which the Federal antitrust laws could, in their present terms, be extended to cover the restraining activities of the AMA, and particularly such activities of its local affiliates. However, even within constitutional limits, I believe that the following legislation is in order if any real effect is to be given to the proposals for encouraging voluntary self-help in the field of health insurance:

1. In the Oregon case, the United States Supreme Court did hold that the activities of a group plan constituted trade for purposes of the antitrust act, but specifically avoided the question as to whether the professional medical services of a single practitioner constituted trade. However, a great many of the most effective restraints on voluntary health insurance plans which the AMA and its local branches have been able to impose, have been those directed against individual doctors. To lay at rest any question whether such conspiracies against any individual doctors are as much a violation of the law as restraints against group plans, I propose that section 1 of the Sherman Act be amended to provide explicitly that, for purposes of the act, the provision of medical and hospital services shall constitute trade or business. Therefore, to the extent that the practices of the AMA and its local affiliates do restrain interstate commerce, there would be no question that their activities against individuals as well as groups are covered by the act.

2. If it is the congressional policy to encourage the development of independent voluntary health insurance programs, then I believe that the Congress can quite properly restrain the organized medical aristocracy from imposing any restraints on the development of such programs by explicitly forbidding any individual or group from using the mails and other instrumentalities of interstate commerce in the furtherance of any contract combination or conspiracy in restraint of the development of such plans.

3. Finally, I believe that any organized group which makes the restraint or limitation of voluntary health programs one of its basic objectives should be deprived of any exemption to which it might otherwise be entitled under the Federal tax laws.

I fully appreciate the severity of these proposals. But I am sure that this committee is very much aware of the severity of the restrictions imposed by the medical aristocracy on free enterprise in the field of social insurance. I respectfully submit that only such a program will permit free and independent health insurance plans to flourish and that only such a program will give meaning to the sound proposals contained in the Ives-Flanders and Wolverton programs.

VFW Notes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I should like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this item from the Flatbush Times of November 12, 1953, written by Leon and Elvira Elterman:

VFW NOTES

(By Leon and Elvira Elterman)

As a result of the economy move in Washington, the ax has fallen upon the Veterans' Administration to the extent that moral if not contractual obligations of the Government have been breached. If the move in the Veterans' Administration to reduce service-connected treatments is permitted to go unchallenged, in a short time the entire program of the VA will be eradicated.

We are referring particularly to the recent directive that provides that once a veteran received dental treatment from the VA never again would he be entitled to further treatment even though the condition was determined to be service connected. Drawing this directive out to an absurdity, we submit that under the same rules the VA could issue a directive that once a veteran receives disability pension for 1 year he is no longer entitled to any further pension. It is high time that the economy minded gentry in the Veterans' Administration and in Congress are reminded that the provisions for dental care for service-connected disabilities is a moral contract made with the GI's and should not be arbitrarily abrogated.

County Commander Charles R. Lewis announced last Monday evening that he was examining the directive that was just issued and would have a statement with respect to this latest in a series of curtailments of benefits guaranteed by Congress.

In the meantime letters have been written to the national VFW legislative officer in Washington, D. C., for a clarification of the current ruling. At the Brooklyn VA dental clinic it has been stated, in accordance with this directive, that although service connection was established and previous authorization granted, if the veteran received prior treatment he is no longer eligible for further treatment.

Senator Taft's 8 Weeks To Live

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "The Great Untold Story of Senator Taft: Eight Weeks To Live." The article was published in the magazine This Week for January 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT UNTOLD STORY OF SENATOR TAFT: EIGHT WEEKS TO LIVE

(By Jhan and June Robbins)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—When Robert A. Taft died both his friends and political enemies agreed that we had lost a great American, but few knew the magnificent story of how the Senator faced death. This Week assigned reporters Jhan and June Robbins to talk to Senator Taft's friends, associates, and, with the permission of his family, his doctors. The result is one of the most moving articles it has been our privilege to print.)

Just 1 year ago this week the late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, smiled gamely as Dwight D. Eisenhower took the oath that made him President of the United States. Taft had tried heartbreakingly hard to win that office for himself. He wanted to follow his father into the White House and he had dedicated most of his adult life toward that ambition. Now, his chances were gone and he knew it.

He was too honest to pretend he didn't care. When someone complimented him on his Inaugural Day good humor he grinned wryly and said, "I'm a three-time loser now. I ought to be getting pretty good at it!"

His courage supported him through a quarter-century of political activity. What he had to say, he said. If it made him unpopular, he shrugged it off. He once remarked that tact was for people who knew they were wrong. Often his outspokenness got him into trouble with friend and foe alike but it was seldom that either public abuse or private pressure could pry him loose from an opinion. Quite literally he was a man would would rather be right than President.

Of Taft's political methods, Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, said, "What Taft taught us was to stay on the job day after day, chipping away until the opposition crumbled. That's the kind of courage Bob Taft had—a dogged, stubborn ability to grin and bear it."

But the real test of his courage was still ahead. It came, a few months later, when he faced the growing mass of evidence that pointed to the presence of a rare form of cancer, and he settled down to fight his last magnificent losing battle—this time against death.

A POWERFUL PHYSIQUE

It is odd to report that Taft was an exceptionally healthy man. A preconvention checkup in the early summer of 1952 pronounced him physically perfect. He was minus only his tonsils, extracted the previous year. Medical records show that the Senator's only serious illness occurred at the age of 12 when he had scarlet fever.

He stood 6 feet tall, normally weighed 200 pounds and was physically powerful. He had tremendous stamina. Reporters half his age used to beg him to take a break because they needed one. But the Senator's idea of a rest was to go out and play 18 holes of golf.

The story of his fatal illness begins with a golf game. In the third week of April, President Eisenhower was resting at Augusta, Ga. Taft flew down to consult him on some minor political issue and on April 19, their confab over, the two golfing enthusiasts hurried out to the links. It was a balmy spring day.

Taft played spiritedly through the first six holes. Then, as he teed off on the seventh, he clapped a hand to his hip and complained of being stiff. They finished the round. President Eisenhower won by several strokes. Taft went home complaining about his hip and that he was short of breath and felt weak in the knees.

DOCTOR BAFFLED

On April 29, Taft kept an appointment with his personal Washington, D. C., physician. The doctor was unable to account for the symptoms immediately but he saw enough to make him suggest a series of hospital tests.

For the next few weeks Taft shuttled back and forth between his home, the Capitol, and the Army's Walter Reed Hospital. Tests revealed a constant, low fever and moderate anemia, but X-rays failed to show what was wrong with the troublesome hip socket. He was warned, however, that the disturbance was serious. It might be due to arthritis or even a tumor. Further diagnostic treatment was urgent.

By the end of the first week in May the Senator was limping and in considerable pain. His doctor urged him to move down from his third-floor bedroom to a room on the second floor that was serviced by an elevator, but the advice was not taken. "All my detective books are up there!" Taft protested.

Taft's bedroom was as magnificently disordered as its occupant's mind was orderly. He seemed to have left behind in it all the chaff of his complicated days. There were twin beds. In one he slept. Piled high on the other were dozens of detective novels scrambled in with back copies of Senate proceedings. Pinned to a curtain was a leftover campaign button that he particularly liked: "Don't be daft—vote for Taft."

The room was reached by a steep flight of 23 steps. The increasingly miserable Senator hobbled up and down them unaided. Watching him, but waved firmly away when they tried to help, the household staff decided that he had bursitis. The pain didn't seem to slow him down. He continued to spend full time at his strenuous job as Sen-

ate majority leader and to show up regularly for conferences at the White House.

In the middle of May, Taft went to the photographic studios of Harris and Ewing in Washington to pose for what proved to be his last formal portrait.

"Don't pretty me up!" he joked to them. "Remember I'm a Senator, not a TV star!"

At the end of the week he hurried down to Hot Springs, Va., where his wife was resting. He had already made up his mind that Mrs. Taft was not to worry about him. But she was hard to fool. Married 39 years, Bob and Martha Taft had achieved one of those entirely devoted marriages that seem to have gone out of style with the Victorian era. A stroke which had made Martha Taft a wheelchair invalid 3 years before had only brought them closer.

Taft wheeled her everywhere himself and always lifted her in and out of their car. Now, at the Hot Springs railroad station on the homeward trip, he made one last attempt to carry on as usual. He picked her up and carried her up the steps of the train and down the aisle. Then, white and perspiring, he half fell into a seat and confessed that he was having "a little trouble" with his hip.

HIS LAST SPEECH

On May 20 Taft went to Walter Reed Hospital, this time for a 3-day series of tests and blood transfusions designed to help his anemia.

"Well, but what's really the matter with me?" Taft demanded. He was told that further tests were needed for an exact diagnosis.

"You're making me into a human pincushion," he grumbled amiably. Then he added that he had to go to Cincinnati at the end of the week. A date was made for him to see his Cincinnati physician.

The following day he departed by plane, carrying under his arm a 5-pound bundle of medical records, X-ray plates, and political papers. He was going to deliver a speech at the annual dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on the 26th of May. But the moment he presented himself to his doctor at Holmes Hospital he was put to bed and told to stay there.

Meekly, for him, he asked if he could deliver his speech by telephone, and they agreed. At the last moment the electrical connections failed. His son, Bob, Jr., who was present at the dinner, jumped to his feet with a typewritten copy of his father's speech and read it off.

It was the last major political address of Taft's career. In it he urged that the United States forget about United Nations niceties and "go it alone" in Korea. The speech had tremendous impact. Diplomats at home and abroad were rudely jolted. The White House was embarrassed. Taft's own grassroots constituents applauded.

Taft himself grinned when he saw the headlines. "Boy, are they jumping on me," he said ruefully. "Well, somebody had to say it."

When doctors at Holmes Hospital looked Taft over, there were a new development in the case. A small lump had risen on his forehead— dark colored with a hard core. There were two more on his abdomen close to the bad hip. The lumps were removed immediately and shoved under a microscope. More than a dozen experts, some of whom did not know the name of the patient involved, examined them. The diagnosis: widespread, malignant cancer. The prognosis: not too hopeful.

Many cancer patients are told part truths or nothing at all, but it was clear that Taft, because of his crucial political position, had to know. A committee of three, headed by his personal physician, told him.

It was late in the afternoon. The Senator was working a crossword puzzle.

The doctor said briskly, seriously, "Senator, we have arrived at a diagnosis. I am extremely unhappy to inform you of its nature."

Taft took it without the flicker of an eye. The doctors expected him to ask how long he had to live. But he did not ask. Instead, Taftlike, he began to cross-question them and ask for more information.

He was told that he had an extremely rare form of cancer, mysterious in origin. All the painful and irritating tests and examinations to which he had been subjected in Washington and Cincinnati had failed to reveal the one thing his doctors wanted to know—where it started. Unless they could find out, a cure could probably not be expected.

ROMPED WITH GRANDCHILDREN

Taft asked, "What shall I do now?"

He was advised to choose another hospital—one of the Nation's 5 or 6 great cancer treatment centers. There, the diagnosis could be checked again, a general, hold-the-line course of treatment gotten underway, and the search renewed for the source of the cancer.

Taft left Holmes hospital a week later, on crutches. He spent that evening with his grandchildren, romping, teasing, telling stories. One granddaughter took her current problem to him: "Grandfather," she asked, "was Jesus ever President of the United States?" Taft laughed so hard his glasses flew off.

The next day he was back in Washington. He went straight home and sat down in his favorite armchair. After a moment he said quietly to Mrs. Darrah Wunder, an old family friend and constant companion of Mrs. Taft, "Well, I guess I have cancer. I'm going to take it easy and do as the doctor says."

That afternoon Taft appeared in the Senate on his crutches. He told an evasive truth: "It's my hip muscle." Cortisone treatments in Cincinnati had removed much of the pain. He looked rested and cheerful. No one suspected the truth. Taft felt a little uncomfortable about the deception but had decided upon it for two reasons. First, he wanted to spare Martha Taft. Second, he earnestly felt that the success or failure of the Republican administration's first year in office rested on his ability to get the congressional decks cleared and ready for the President's extensive new legislative program, due in the fall. He had counted on a year for the job. He knew that he had much less time than that but, given a chance, he believed he could still do it. He let official Washington jump to the conclusion that he had arthritis.

VISIT FROM TRUMAN

Taft made his first social appearance on crutches the following evening at a formal dinner party at the home of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. He showed the crutches to all the guests. They were made of light-weight magnesium alloy. He waved them gaily and showed how nimbly he could hop up and down stairs. Someone there asked him how long he was going to be using them.

"I don't know," he said truthfully.

He continued to attend Senate sessions. His old fellow-Senator, Harry Truman, visiting on the Senate floor, stepped over to Taft's desk and greeted him warmly.

"I noticed the crutches," Truman told us "but to tell you the truth I hardly thought to ask about them. You'd never have thought he was sick. Bob Taft was a man with a lot of guts."

Taft realized that he could no longer put off another hospitalization. Steered by an old Yale classmate, he selected New York Hospital. It seemed an excellent choice. Only an hour by plane from Washington, it was a general hospital, not stamped in the public mind as a cancer refuge, yet it was close by Memorial Hospital, one of the world's leading cancer-research centers.

He was playing hide and seek with the press. His doctors advised him not to register under his own name. He finally decided on Howard Roberts, Jr., as an alias. He seemed to enjoy it hugely.

BACK TO WASHINGTON

In New York, cortisone treatments were continued for the hip, which had begun to pain him again, and the grueling routine of X-rays, tests, and prodding examinations began again. The cortisone, at least, was successful.

The Senator kidded his physicians. "Now I know what ACTH stands for," he challenged. "After Cortisone try Hadacol."

But no treatment could really hide what was happening. On June 10, Taft flew back to Washington. He arrived at the Senate 20 minutes before the bell. On his crutches he swung heavily down the aisle to his front row seat. He was now very pale. He had lost weight. His collar looked too big. He leaned over to whisper in the ear of California's Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND. At the same moment a bulletin from Taft's office alerted the Press Gallery. His hip ailment was serious, it said, and for the remainder of the session the Senator was turning over the floor leadership to Senator KNOWLAND.

The following day he got a telegram from President Eisenhower: "Take every step to restore your health. The country needs you." He made his will. He spent 7 hours at a committee hearing on labor and social welfare legislation. That evening he took Martha to a party. Then he went back to New York Hospital. This time he registered under his right name.

TWO FAMOUS VISITORS

Taft had two notable callers that week. One was Herbert Hoover who, at 79, is still respectfully called the Chief. Taft had begun his political career as Hoover's protege on the Allied famine relief organization in Paris in 1917. The two talked earnestly for some time. When Hoover returned to his apartment in the Waldorf-Astoria, he called a friend among the doctors at the hospital and worriedly demanded to know what was wrong with Bob Taft. They told him.

Taft's second visitor was New York's governor, Thomas E. Dewey. Although each respected the other tremendously, Taft was not quite ready to forget that Dewey had thrown a decisive amount of weight against him in the Republican convention. They chatted amiably enough, however. It was only after the Governor had departed that Taft turned to a nurse with a wink and said, "Tom came around to see whether I am really out of the running."

STILL AT WORK

He did his best to prove he wasn't. The last week in June he got himself out of bed and returned to Washington. It was sweltering hot, but the Senator bustled busily in and out of committee rooms. Herbert Hoover, who had been shocked to hear the doctors' verdict only a few days before, dropped into a meeting in Vice President NIXON'S office and was astounded to see Taft there.

After the meeting, Mr. Hoover scolded the Senator for having left the hospital. Taft replied, "You know what is the matter with me. I know what is the matter with me. But I'm going to die with my boots on."

The Senator attended a "brunch" where he ate waffles, asked for beer, and told a joke about an old lady who confounded her doctors by refusing to have fits. He made a 10-cent bet with a Senate page boy that the Yankees would play in the series and win in six games. He bought four new shirts and spent several hours with a Sears Roebuck & Co. catalog picking out a new refrigerator for his Georgetown house.

He was postponing a decision. His doctors had advised him to undergo an exploratory operation. They felt that the cancer source must be somewhere in the abdominal cavity, quite possibly in the pancreas, and that it was worth taking a chance to find out.

Taft was not afraid of the operation but he was reluctant to sacrifice the time. Meanwhile his old friend, Lewis Strauss, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, found it hard to believe that Taft's case was so desperate. In an agonized conversation with President Eisenhower he insisted that science ought to be able to do more. The President advised him to investigate. Strauss called doctors at Memorial Hospital and urged them to see if some of the newer cancer treatments could save Taft's life.

MAKING HIS DECISION

That week a group of New York specialists came to Washington. Taft willingly submitted to another exhausting series of tests. When they had finished, he called them together with his other physicians at his home to hear the results. The news was bad. There was no sign, they told him, that his case would respond to any of the new treatments.

In the silence that followed, the Senator passed around a tray of drinks. Then he said, "Well, I am not satisfied just to sit around absorbing cortisone. If I want a fighting chance, I've got to do something more radical. I guess I'd better have that operation."

On July 4 he flew back to New York. Checking back into the hospital he paused long enough to tell the press that he had advised Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen to prepare to submit to the next Congress a program to wind up foreign aid. Thus he cleverly drew a veil of political and journalistic excitement over his now crucial physical condition.

LIKED THE VIEW

The weather was uncomfortably warm now and the hospital put its distinguished patient into a room that boasted a window-sill air conditioner. Taft had it removed at once. He said it spoiled his view. He liked to look out at the tugboats and barges cruising up and down the East River.

The exploratory operation took place on July 8. An incision was made in the abdominal cavity and the organs and tissue thoroughly examined. But although the cancer was widely distributed there was no indication whatever of the place where it had started.

The Senator was calm about the failure of the operation. He had not allowed himself to hope too much. When one of the surgeons visited him the next day and complained that he had mislaid his glasses, Taft clapped a hand to his belly and chuckled, "Goodness, I hope I haven't got them."

He recovered from the surgery faster than anyone thought he could. Gen. Albert Wedemeyer visited him. Taft clutched his arm and told him, "I've got to snap out of this in a hurry now. Eisenhower needs me."

A FLOOD OF LETTERS

Taft liked to read the mail that came flooding in from the public. Nearly everyone recommended cures. He was advised to rub himself with camphor oil, drink sea water, go on a diet of rice and watermelon. Dozens of baskets of fruit and flowers arrived daily and he sent them to the children's wards. Many offered to give blood.

He grew restless and homesick. His condition seemed to him to be stabilized. Once more he began saying impatiently, "What am I doing here? I ought to be back at work. I'm much too well."

His doctors used every kind of persuasion to keep him where he was. A young resident physician was very successful—he involved him in long political arguments. The two covered, point by point, all the major issues around which the Senator's long political life had revolved. When they ran out of rebuttals, they worked at crossword puzzles.

One morning Taft was unable to complete the puzzle that appeared in one of the three newspapers he read each day. He was hurt and bewildered.

"Why, I know those words" he protested. "I just can't seem to remember them."

To his doctors the failure was significant. Within a day or so the Senator began to draw more and more mental blanks. The cancer had reached his brain. He lapsed into brief periods of coma.

Word was sent to his family that the end was near. Mrs. Wunder gently told her old friend Mrs. Taft that her husband's condition had taken a grave turn for the worse. Martha took it so calmly that the family decided she had probably suspected the real nature of his illness for a long time.

"I didn't think Bob could fool Martha," they told one another. "They were too close. She was just playing the game the way he wanted it."

On July 28 a chartered plane carried Martha Taft, the Senator's sister, Helen Taft Manning, Jack Martin, Taft's able administrative assistant now on the White House staff, and others of the family, from Washington to New York. Taft was only half-conscious. A nurse said, "Mrs. Taft is here to see you."

MARTHA'S LAST VISIT

An amazing change came over the Senator. Doctors in attendance were startled. He raised himself on an elbow and called out strongly, "Crank up the bed. Get me an extra pillow. Here, help me sit up."

It was a mighty effort. When his wife was wheeled into the room, he said, "Well, Martha." He leaned forward and put both arms around her. He kissed her and laid his cheek against hers. He told her he was glad to see her looking so well.

The visit lasted 15 minutes. Martha Taft's last glimpse of her husband showed him sitting up, waving cheerfully and smiling his famous win-or-lose, campaign grin.

A few minutes later he collapsed. He closed his eyes and slid into a coma from which he never really emerged. He was unconscious all the next day and he died on July 31 at 11:30 a. m.

An autopsy was performed a few hours later and the hospital report finally revealed the hiding place of the mysterious parent cancer. It was lodged in one of the branches of the air tube leading to the lower half of the right lung. It was about the size of the rubber tip of an ordinary lead pencil.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

In April Taft's condition had been just bad enough to make him feel short of breath in the middle of a good game of golf. Now, just 3 months later, the man of whom it was said, "He was born to be President" was dead. Piled on a chair in the light, airy hospital room where he died was a very small heap of unfinished Senate business. He had wanted to get it all out of the way before he went, and he almost made it.

One of the doctors told us, "He was about the best loser I have ever seen. He gave us all a lesson in how to die."

Accent on Immunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 6899 is a consolidated bill providing for the granting of immunity to witnesses who plead their fifth amendment privilege against self-incrimination before congressional committees, Federal courts, or Federal grand juries. The bill differs from other pending legislation in that it gives the Attorney General absolute control over immunity grants to witnesses before congressional committees, as well as over grants in court and grand jury proceedings. This is in accord with the position strongly taken by the Attorney General in recent public statements on the subject.

I have consolidated these two measures, immunity grants for witnesses in congressional proceedings and in the Federal court system, because the only thing which made it necessary to treat them separately was the difference in power accorded to the Attorney General. I feel very strongly that there should be no such difference. The Attorney General, as the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, should have the same absolute control over immunity grants proposed by Congress as he would have over grants to be made in courtrooms and before grand juries. I recognize the possibility that embarrassing situations may arise from vesting such power in the Attorney General with respect to Congress. But the need for control seems to me to outweigh this risk.

Immunity grants are necessary to get at the truth in two very intricate fields: the empires of organized crime and the activities of subversives and Communist conspirators. Both these groups are clever, tough, and very devious in their modes of operation. Only the Attorney General, directly in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the enforcement efforts of his United States attorneys, can possibly have access to all the facts about witnesses in these categories. Only he can tell whether evidence has been painstakingly collected, and whether a prosecution is about to be launched against some hoodlum or saboteur, when the congressional committee comes along with a proposal to hand out immunity. Only he can fairly weigh the possible value of the testimony that could be elicited from the witness against the importance of the crimes which might be exonerated.

I still have some misgivings about this whole immunity device. I think we should not lose sight of the fact that in every case it amounts to buying testimony from a witness in return for a blanket pardon from crimes he has actually committed. That looks like a questionable bargain most of the time. But, in any event, if we are going to go ahead and make such bargains with wrongdoers, it is absolutely imperative that we do not do so blindly. And the only Federal officer who can avoid that is the Attorney General.

This consolidated bill retains the other safeguards which have been developed by Congress in recent considerations of this problem, such as the requirement that immunity can only be granted by a congressional committee after approval of two-thirds of the committee's membership, including at least two members of each of the two major political parties represented on the committee; the limitation that immunity shall only be accorded to a witness who has pleaded the privilege and thereafter answered the questions under compulsion; and the exclusion of prosecutions for perjury and contempt committed by the witness dur-

ing the course of otherwise immune testimony.

Under leave granted, a copy of the proposed bill is attached, followed by an editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle:

A bill to permit the compelling of testimony under certain conditions and to grant immunity from prosecution in connection therewith

Be it enacted, etc., That title 18, United States Code, section 3486, is amended to read as follows:

SEC. 3486. Compelled testimony tending to incriminate witnesses; immunity

"(a) No witness shall be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers, or other records or documents before either House, or before any committee of either House, or before any joint committee of the two Houses of Congress on the ground that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture, when the record shows that the Attorney General has adjudged the testimony of such witness or the production of such evidence to be necessary to the public interest and —

"(1) in the case of proceedings before one of the Houses of Congress, that a majority of the Members present of that House, or

"(2) in the case of proceedings before a committee, that two-thirds of the members of the full committee, including at least two members of each of the two political parties having the largest representation on such committee,

shall by affirmative vote have authorized such witness to be granted immunity under this section with respect to the transactions, matters, or things concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify by direction of the presiding officer or the chair. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is so compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise.

"(b) Whenever in the judgment of the Attorney General the testimony of any witness, or the production of books, papers, or other records or documents by any witness, in any case or proceedings before any grand jury or court of the United States, is necessary to the public interest, such witness shall not be excused from testifying or from producing books, papers, or other records or documents on the ground that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise.

"(c) The judgment of the Attorney General that any testimony or the production of any books, papers, or other records or documents is necessary to the public interest shall be confirmed by him in a written communication addressed to the House of Congress, committee, grand jury or court of the United States concerned, and shall be made a part of the record of the hearing, case or proceeding in which such testimony or evidence is given.

"(d) No witness shall be exempt under any provision of this section from prosecution for perjury or contempt committed while giving testimony or producing evidence under compulsion as provided in this section."

SEC. 2. The analysis of chapter 223 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out "3486. Testimony before Congress; immunity" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "3486. Compelled testimony tending to incriminate witness; immunity."

[From the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle]

ACCENT ON IMMUNITY

If assurance of immunity from prosecution will gain more cooperation from witnesses at congressional hearings, Representative KENNETH B. KEATING has a sound proposal to prevent abuse of the privilege.

He himself believes that grants of immunity are necessary to get at the truth in the "intricate fields" of organized crime and Communist subversion. The bill he has just introduced in Congress provides, first, for approval of the grant by a two-thirds vote of the committee concerned, and final approval by the Department of Justice.

Communists and racketeers are, as he says, "clever, tough, and very devious in their modes of operation. Only the Attorney General, directly in charge of the Federal Bureau of Intelligence, and the enforcement efforts of his United States attorneys, possibly can have access to all the facts about witnesses in these categories." There can be no quarrel with that reasoning, if Congress is willing to defer to the executive branch of Government. What has to be proved is to what extent fear of prosecution is responsible for the present popular practice of hiding behind the fifth amendment.

It seems probable that some resistance to questioning can be charged to a change in the character of the congressional investigation. The traditional purpose is to summon witnesses for information upon which to write new legislation or to learn how existing laws are operating. It has been possible to get that information in the past without turning the inquiry into a trial and the witness into a suspect, with the committee acting as judge, prosecutor, and jury.

The unresolved question is whether today's witnesses fear prosecution so much as they resent persecution. But nevertheless, Mr. KEATING'S proposal has value.

Toward Atomic Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post of January 9 published an editorial and letter under the caption "Toward Atomic Agreement."

The author of the letter Mr. James R. Newman is, in my opinion, one of the best informed persons on original attitudes and reasons which were responsible for the Atomic Energy Act. Mr. Newman was general counsel to the special Senate committee which reported the so-called McMahon Act.

Mr. Newman has maintained his original interest in atomic matters not only in the field of scientific development but in the field of sociological and political effects throughout the world. He develops in this letter some basic and, I believe, original premises which are challenging and which should be thoughtfully examined.

I ask unanimous consent that both the Washington Post editorial and Mr. Newman's letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD:

TOWARD ATOMIC AGREEMENT

We publish today a challenging letter by James R. Newman discussing the essential criteria of an international atomic agreement which would serve to give men some surcease from the tensions now leading them toward self-destruction. Mr. Newman begins with a recognition that a control system must be "made effective by some form of inspection." The significant contribution which his analysis makes, however, lies in its suggestion of a control system of limited proportions. "It is not important," he remarks, "to know everything; it is important to know only important things."

And what is important in this context is to know when a nation is mobilizing for war—an effort of such magnitude as to be readily discernible to small inspectorates strategically located. These can serve to provide not absolute and perpetual insurance against aggression but a practical alarm system—a warning which could at least forefend the danger of a sudden, calamitous attack. If the specter of surprise destruction could be exorcised from the atmosphere, a relaxation of tension would ensue; and with this relaxation, perhaps rationality would again flourish. An alarm system, it should be recalled, was one of the important aims of the Acheson-Lilienthal plan on which American foreign policy respecting atomic armaments was initially based. It is, as Mr. Newman notes, a limited objective but a vital one.

Perhaps the exchange of views on atomic energy control in which the Russians have now agreed to engage with the United States may take place under more hospitable auspices than in the past. The Russians can now bargain as equals; perhaps this will make them more willing to bargain than they were before. The United States, on the other hand, rid at last of the appalling sense of magnanimity that animated the Baruch proposals, may be more disposed to participate in the give and take of negotiation. There is an indisputable mutual interest in reaching some effective agreement. By concentrating on essentials, by aiming at limited yet significant objectives, the awful hazard of atomic war may be measurably diminished.

TOWARD ATOMIC AGREEMENT

(The author of the following letter was general counsel to the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy which drafted the McMahon Act and was coauthor with Byron Miller of The Control of Atomic Energy.)

For the second time since 1946 the United States has taken the lead in presenting a plan for atomic-energy control. President Eisenhower's speech to the U. N. is an earnest effort to dissolve a tragic impasse. No one can fail to take heart from his words. They are hopeful; their tone is moderate; they show an awareness of the problem and a sincere desire to reexamine it.

Above all, it is encouraging that the President did not permit himself to be distracted by the often-heard argument that the Russians behaved so badly in the U. N. armaments discussions that it is not up to us to take the initiative in breaking the deadlock; that they have no desire to achieve accord, that even if they agreed to a convention limiting weapons they could not be trusted to abide by it.

These objections, as he recognized, are for present purposes at once irrelevant and mischievous. The duty to press forward in the search for peace binds everyone. This is the dictate of common sense and of morality.

The task of assessing blame for past failures can be left to historians, and publicists, and politicians; those concerned with survival have more useful work to do.

The Soviet Government has now indicated a willingness to resume discussion of atomic controls. They have responded favorably to the President's invitation to enter into "private or diplomatic talks." The Soviet reply insists that these talks should concern themselves with unconditional pledges not to use atomic, hydrogen, or other weapons of mass extermination; the President's proposed international pool of fissionables is criticized because it fails to come to grips with the problems of military development and use of atomic weapons, and because it in no way reduces the danger of atomic attack.

One may indeed be permitted to doubt that the proposal to establish an international atomic stockpile is adequate to present needs. It is a constructive suggestion as regards the nonmilitary aspects of nuclear energy; it has no bearing, however, on the use of atomic weapons. And if we are to negotiate fruitfully we cannot avoid this overriding issue.

It is clear the United States in preparing for this fateful debate must rethink its position. The President has opened the way for reexamination not only by his conciliatory tone, but by the plain implication that the United States does not feel itself bound in future negotiations to adhere rigidly to the 1946 majority plan. We are no longer obliged, therefore, to insist on the provisions regarding the use of the veto and the execution of the control plan in stages; we need not grapple with the vexed problem of the strategic allocation of power reactors so as to achieve an atomic balance of power. We can, in short, eliminate provisions made obsolete by the happenings of the last 7 years and address ourselves to the essentials of armaments control in light of present circumstances.

What are these essentials? The President, striving to avoid thorny paths, stressed the fact that his plan does not require the creation of a system of inspection and control. The Soviet reply may be said to accommodate itself to this more limited objective by proposing a bare convention outlawing the use of atomic weapons.

Thus, unfortunately, what most needed to be said was left unsaid. For if our generation is ever again to breathe easy—let alone survive—nothing will suffice short of an agreement which will mitigate the danger and fear of a sudden holocaust. We cannot escape the necessity of establishing a control system made effective by some form of inspection.

The fundamental objective of a prudent control plan must be an agreed level of atomic and conventional armaments, and of armed forces, a level which would not permit the surprise unleashing of a major attack, not to say the waging of a major war. Proof that this level has been established and is being maintained should be furnished by an inspection system directed to key points of national activity, which would inevitably reflect clandestine preparations for war.

It is commonly supposed that the operation of an effective inspection system entails almost insurmountable difficulties. It is assumed, for example, that a very large inspectorate would be needed for each country and that would seriously hamper the conduct of internal affairs—Government and private. These assumptions are unjustified. The several inspectorates need not be large. A small group of inspectors at key points, can keep major production activities under surveillance. It is not important to know everything; it is important only to know important things. It is important to know if a country is mobilizing. If an international agreement fixes levels of armaments production, levels thought to be adequate for defense but inadequate for waging war, it is important to know whether the levels are being adhered to.

These levels will be reflected in certain critical indices: steel and aluminum production, the use of electric power, shipbuilding, mining of strategic metals, the manufacture of machine tools, airframes, jet and internal combustion engines, electronics equipment. Any significant departure from agreed-upon levels of production can be detected. It is unnecessary to keep every mine and factory under observation. The economy of a large industrial nation is so integrated, its parts are so interdependent, that a sharp increase in rate of output at one point is visible at every point. The inspectors need not concern themselves over leaks; their task is to watch for floods. War mobilization is a flood. The notion of hidden preparations for a major war is absurd.

After the last war the Foreign Economic Administration made a group of studies which showed how Germany could be kept under surveillance to guard against secret rearmament. These analyses indicated not only that the task could be accomplished with a limited force, but that a high level of German economic activity could be permitted without incurring the risk of Germany engaging in large scale clandestine arms production.

There are three essentials to keep in mind. First, both conventional and atomic weapons are needed to wage war. Second, small scale illegal production of weapons in either category is pointless as a preparatory measure; simply not worth the risk of detection. Third, illegal manufacture of fissionable is no more difficult to detect than illegal manufacture of any other item requiring a large industrial effort.

The question of what to do with existing stores of fissionables is not easily answered. Three main courses are open: the materials can be destroyed, physically transferred to the custody of an international neutral commission, or left in possession of their owners, under international guard. The third course has much in its favor. It is politically more acceptable than the other alternatives. It is simple and inexpensive. It can be designed to incorporate technical safeguards which will delay for several months at least the military utilization of fissionables if they should be illegally seized.

Physical or chemical treatment could effectuate this purpose without permanently diminishing the value of the fissionable material. In any case no further production should be permitted for a specified period.

What is sought is a practical alarm system which would give weeks or months of warning of a planned attack, rather than minutes or hours. This was one of the original concepts of the Acheson-Lilienthal plan, a concept now almost forgotten. This type of warning constitutes one of the main benefits we hope to derive from the rearming of Europe. General Gruenther has observed that while the NATO forces could not possibly prevent the overrunning of Western Europe, the Russians would be required to undertake total mobilization in order to do so. Thus precious time would be gained, and a sudden, totally unheralded attack would be impossible. It is on this crucial point that the nations of the world now seek reassurance.

The people of the United States have been told that Russia has or soon will have a sufficient atomic stockpile to destroy 30 or 40 major cities, inflict 20 to 30 million casualties in a single assault. They have been told that the present warning system is capable at best of giving 1 or 2 hours' notice of attack, but more likely only 15 minutes.

A vast and costly continental defense system might extend the grace period to 6 hours, and make possible the interception of, say, 50 percent of the invading bombers instead of 10 or 20 percent. It is admitted that the bombers that got through would probably suffice to destroy the cities, but the lengthening of the warning period would allow some of the inhabitants to save their lives by fleeing to the hills.

This is not a rational solution to the problem of our own survival, much less the survival of the nations of Western Europe. Therefore, the United States continues to place primary reliance on the deterrent effects of our atomic bombs. It is not claimed, to be sure, that American or European lives would be saved by destroying Russian lives; nor is it altogether certain that deterrents can be relied on to deter. Fear is more apt to drive men to war than to keep them peaceful. Moreover, it is unsafe to depend on the widespread realization that an atomic war would be mutually suicidal. A world war is more likely to start accidentally, the result of a small conflict, than by deliberate design. "It is an old proverb," wrote William Penn in 1693, "Maxima bella ex levissimus causis: the greatest feuds have had the smallest beginnings."

We face the danger of a catastrophic war. The danger grows as the armories grow, as fear grows. We can neither avert war nor mitigate its effect by building ingenious engines. Only man makes wars and only man can prevent them. It is imperative that we reduce the tensions that lead to war. They can be lessened by establishing an adequate warning system. It is a limited objective but if we achieve it we may hope for more. It is the first step that counts.

JAMES R. NEWMAN.

WASHINGTON.

Revised Constitution and Bylaws of AMVETS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS OF AMVETS, AS AMENDED SEPTEMBER 6, 1953, BY THE NINTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION

PREAMBLE

We, the American veterans of World War II, fully realizing our responsibility to our community, to our State, and to our Nation, associate ourselves for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States; to safeguard the principles of freedom, liberty, and justice for all; to promote the cause of peace and good will among nations; to maintain inviolate the freedom of our country; to preserve the fundamentals of democracy; to perpetuate the friendship and associations of the Second World War; and to dedicate ourselves to the cause of mutual assistance, this by the grace of God.

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of this organization shall be AMVETS (American Veterans of World War II), and it shall be hereinafter referred to as AMVETS.

ARTICLE II. AIMS

The aims and purposes of this organization are as follows:

1. To serve our country in peace as in war; to build and maintain the welfare of the

United States of America toward lasting prosperity and peace for all its inhabitants.

2. To encourage, in keeping with the policies of our Government, the establishment of a concrete plan to secure permanent international peace and to assist in the maintenance of international peace.

3. To inspire in our membership a sense of responsibility, and to develop leadership for the preservation of our American democratic way of life.

4. To help unify divergent groups in the overall interest of American democracy.

5. To train our youth to become purposeful citizens in a democracy with full knowledge of the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

6. To cooperate with all duly recognized existing veteran organizations in the furtherance of the aims of World War II veterans.

7. To insure the orderly return of the veteran to civilian life by protecting his rights as an individual while he is still in uniform.

8. To expedite and assist in the rehabilitation of the veteran by maintenance of employment services, sponsoring educational opportunities, and providing counsel on insurance, housing, recreation, personal problems, hospitalization, and veterans' benefits.

9. To act as a liaison agent between the veteran and the Government.

1. To provide an organization to encourage fellowship among all veterans of World War II.

11. To keep the public forever reminded that the veterans of World War II fought or served to preserve peace, liberty, and democracy for their Nation.

ARTICLE III. ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. AMVETS shall be organized with a national headquarters, located in Washington, D. C., and a department in the District of Columbia and in each State and Territory of the United States. Local posts shall be formed within such departments, and intermediate administrative groups may be created by the national executive committee and the department executive committees, to function within their respective jurisdiction where such action is deemed advisable.

SEC. 2. The national headquarters shall be composed of the national officers, both elective and appointive, and the members of the national executive committee. It shall be the duty of the national officers to advance the cause of AMVETS, to carry out its aims and purposes, and to provide the machinery for realization of the plans and policies established by the mandates of the national convention and the national executive committee.

SEC. 3. The United States is divided into the following districts:

District I: Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

District II: Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the District of Columbia.

District III: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

District IV: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

District V: Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, and Montana.

District VI: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and California.

ARTICLE IV. MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any person who served in the Armed Forces of the United States of America, or any American citizen who served in the armed forces of an allied nation of the United States, on or after September 16, 1940, and before the legal termination of World War II, is eligible for regular membership in AMVETS, provided such service when terminated by discharge or release from active duty be by honorable discharge or separation. No person who is a member of, or who advocates the principles of, any organization believing in, or working for, the overthrow of the United States Government by force, and no person who refuses to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, shall be privileged to become, or continue to be, a member of this organization.

SEC. 2. Honorary memberships shall not be granted. In lieu thereof certificates of merit may be awarded by a suitably inscribed award given to those rendering distinct service to the community and the veterans of World War II. Such awards may be made by posts, intermediate administrative groups, State departments, the national executive committee, or the national convention. Awards by posts and intermediate administrative groups must be approved by department executive committees. No member of AMVETS shall be entitled to receive a certificate of merit.

ARTICLE V. NATIONAL CONVENTION

SECTION 1. A national convention shall be held annually, prior to October 1, at a time and place fixed by the previous convention, and in the absence of the selection by the convention, then by the national executive committee, and shall constitute the legislative body of AMVETS.

SEC. 2. The national convention shall comprise the following delegates:

(a) Each local post shall elect one delegate and one alternate.

(b) Each department shall choose one delegate and one alternate at its convention, which shall be held at least 30 days prior to the opening date of the national convention.

(c) Each member of the national executive committee shall be entitled to one vote at the national convention, but the national commander shall vote only in case of a tie.

SEC. 3. Each delegate shall be entitled to one vote. Alternates shall have all the rights and privileges of their delegates, except they shall vote only in their delegate's absence.

SEC. 4. No delegates of accredited posts or departments shall be seated at the national convention unless their respective posts or departments shall be fully paid up in all their accounts with national headquarters and their accounts and membership shall be certified as of 30 days prior to the opening date of the national convention. No post or department delegate or alternate shall be permitted to register as such without a membership card or other satisfactory evidence identifying him as a member of the post or department from which he is registering.

SEC. 5. Two hundred voting delegates registered at the national convention shall constitute a quorum. At least 50 percent of the delegates registered at the national convention must be present on the floor of the convention to constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI. NATIONAL OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The national convention shall elect a national commander, finance officer, provost marshal, judge advocate, and a surgeon general. All women delegates in meeting assembled at the national convention shall select a nominee for the office of vice commander at large, who shall be a woman, which nomination shall be acted upon and ratified by the convention. Each district in meeting assembled at the national convention shall select a nominee for the office of national vice commander, which nominations shall be acted upon and ratified by the convention. No elected commander or vice commander shall succeed himself or herself in office unless they are filling such office by succession or election to a vacancy ocurring between national conventions.

SEC. 2. All the elective national officers shall be members of the national executive committee. Any national executive committee elected or appointed to a national office by a national convention or the national commander shall, if he accepts the national elective office or appointment, be deemed to have resigned his office as national executive committeeman.

SEC. 3. The national commander, with the consent and approval of the national executive committee, shall appoint an executive director, a service director, a legislative director, and a program director whenever vacancies occur in such offices. The national commander, with the consent and approval of the national executive committee, shall also appoint and have the power to remove a national inspector general, national historian, and a national chaplain.

SEC. 4. (a) No salaried appointed officer may be discharged without the approval of the personnel committee, which shall be composed of the national commander, the two immediate past national commanders, and two members chosen by the national executive committee at the first meeting of the committee following the annual national convention. Salaries of elective and appointive officers shall be fixed by the personnel committee subject to the approval of the national executive committee.

(b) The national commander shall have power to suspend any appointed officer for cause and to appoint an acting officer to perform the duties of the suspended officer until the next meeting of the personnel committee. At the time of such suspension the national commander shall set forth in writing the cause for such suspension and shall forward this to members of the personnel committee and the suspended officer. Such written cause shall constitute the complaint upon which the personnel committee shall pass in determining whether the suspended officer shall be removed from office. An appointed officer shall not receive salary during the period he is suspended from the performance of his duties.

(c) Hiring, firing, and establishment of salaries of all national headquarters employees shall be vested in the executive director. An appeal from the decision of the executive director may be taken to the personnel committee, provided this section shall not apply to service officers.

(d) An elective officer may be removed from office only by a two-thirds vote of the national executive committee after written charges against such officer shall have been preferred and furnished by registered mail to the officer concerned and to the members of the national executive committee. A full hearing shall be held by the national executive committee on charges preferred by an elected national officer or by three members of the national executive committee. Such hearing shall be held within 30 days after the charges are preferred and mailed.

(e) Procedure for removal from office of elected officers shall be prescribed by the national executive committee upon recommendation of the national judge advocate.

SEC. 5. A candidate for public office shall resign his national elective office. A national officer in AMVETS shall not hold any paid public office. National officers elected at a national convention shall be installed in office at the same session at which they are elected, but their terms of office shall coincide with the fiscal year as herein provided.

SEC. 6. The national executive committee shall, at its initial meeting following each national convention, establish the line of succession to the post of national commander in the even of a vacancy in that office from among the national vice commanders.

SEC. 7. In the event a vacancy occurs in the office of the national vice commander other than the vice commander at large, the

departments within the respective districts shall hold an election to fill such vacancy. If no election is held within 30 days of notification to the departments by national headquarters of the vacancy, the national commander shall fill the vacancy by appointment, subject to approval by the national executive committee.

SEC. 8. In the event of a vacancy in any elective office other than the national commander or the national vice commander, the national commander shall fill such vacancy by appointment subject to approval of the national executive committee.

ARTICLE VII. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The administrative power between national conventions shall be vested in the national executive committee, which shall be composed of the national commander, the immediate past national commander, the seven national vice commanders, all other elected national officers, and the national executive committeeman from each organized department. Each of the above members shall be entitled to one vote, except the national commander, who shall vote only in case of a tie. Each department shall elect an alternate national executive committeeman to serve in the absence of the national executive committeeman from that department.

SEC. 2. Each national executive committeeman shall take office upon the adjournment of the department convention at which he is elected and serve until his successor is duly elected and qualified. Each such national executive committeeman shall serve for a term of 2 years, one-half of the departments electing committeemen each year.

SEC. 3. Members of the national executive committee shall be delegates to the national convention, each entitled to one vote.

ARTICLE VIII. DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. Each State or territorial area of the United States shall constitute a department and shall be chartered as such provided they have a minimum of 5 chartered posts and a minimum of 200 members within their State or territorial area. The minimum requirements must be constantly maintained to preserve this status. New departments shall be chartered by the national commander upon the approval of the national executive committee. Each department shall submit a copy of its department constitution and by-laws and any amendments thereto to the national judge advocate for approval. The recommendations of the national judge advocate shall be submitted to the national executive committee for its approval. Each department shall conduct its own convention, to be held not less than 30 days before the opening date of the annual national convention, at which time it shall elect department officers and its delegate and alternate to the national convention and its national executive committeeman and alternate.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of each department to aid in the organization of local posts and to carry out the plans and policies delegated to it by the national headquarters in adherence to the provisions of this constitution.

SEC. 3. No fund raising activities shall be undertaken by or on behalf of any State department or any subsidiary thereof within the geographic confines of any other State department.

ARTICLE IX. POST ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. Local posts may be formed by 10 eligible individuals, by making application to their department, and if there be no organized department, by making application directly to the national headquarters. If the department approves, the application shall be forwarded to the national headquarters and a charter shall be issued.

SEC. 2. Posts shall be governed locally by their own officers chosen according to their own constitution and by-laws. They shall be subject and subordinate, however, to the jurisdiction of the national and department headquarters; and any provision of a department or post constitution found to be in conflict or contrary to the provisions of this constitution shall be null and void. Officers of posts and departments shall use the equivalent titles provided for national officers in this constitution.

ARTICLE X. FINANCES

SECTION 1. All national finances of AMVETS shall be under the control of the national executive committee, which shall delegate sufficient general and specific authority to the finance committee to carry out the usual duties of a finance committee. The finance committee shall make periodic reports at all stated meetings of the national executive committee, and an annual report to the national convention. Revenue shall be derived from annual dues and other sources approved by the executive committee.

SEC. 2. An annual budget shall be submitted for approval at the November meeting of the national executive committee. It shall be prepared by the finance committee, which shall have received a proposed budget from the new national commander. In the event that the budget is not approved, a budget committee consisting of three members of the executive committee shall be appointed by the national commander to prepare such budget for presentation to the executive committee at the said November meeting.

SEC. 3. The finance committee shall consist of 5 members, 1 of whom shall be appointed by the retiring national commander, 1 by the incoming national commander, 2 will be elected by the national executive committee, and the fifth will be the national finance officer. The finance officer will be the chairman of this committee.

SEC. 4. The fiscal year shall be October 1 to September 30.

SEC. 5. Any resolution eminating from a national convention involving the expenditure of funds or any financial commitment shall be referred to the national finance committee for determining as to the availability of funds. In the event the finance committee disapproves the expenditure, then and in that event, such disapproval must be submitted to the next meeting of the NEC for ratification or rejection.

ARTICLE XI. DISCIPLINE

SECTION 1. Disciplinary rules relative to local posts shall be prescribed by the departments.

SEC. 2. The national executive committee, after notice and hearing before a subcommittee, may cancel, suspend, or revoke the charter of any department for good and sufficient cause to it appearing. Procedure for such action shall be prescribed by the national judge advocate. In the event of the cancellation, suspension, or revocation of any charter of any department, the suspended body shall have the right of appeal to the next national convention.

SEC. 3. In the event of such action, the national executive committee is empowered to take over the operation of the department whose charter is suspended or revoked until the next department convention, but is bound by the constitution and bylaws thereof. At the next department convention, new department officers must be selected to carry on the work of the department.

ARTICLE XII. POST TRANSFERS

SECTION 1. Any member in good standing may change his post or department and may join a new post without repaying the current annual dues.

SEC. 2. Such transfers shall be subject to the approval of the posts and departments involved.

ARTICLE XIII. SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

SECTION 1. A subsidiary organization of AMVETS may be established only by a provision of this constitution.

ARTICLE XIV. AUXILIARIES

SECTION 1. AMVETS recognizes a subsidiary organization known as the AMVETS Auxiliary.

SEC. 2. (a) Eligibility for membership in AMVETS Auxiliary is limited to the mothers and wives, regardless of age, and to daughters and sisters not less than 18 years of age, of regular members of AMVETS; and mothers and widows, regardless of age, and daughters and sisters not less than 18 years of age of deceased veterans who would have ben eligible for membership in AMVETS. The term mother shall be construed so as to include any female member of the family of, or any female guardian of, such person or deceased veteran who has exercised or is exercising the care and responsibility for the rearing of such person or deceased veteran.

(b) Any member of the auxiliary who has been duly recognized as a member of the auxiliary under the provisions of section 2 (a), article XIV, shall be allowed to remain a member of the auxiliary so long as she remains a member in good standing.

SEC. 3. (a) The auxiliary shall be under the control of the national commander and the national executive commitee, provided, however, that nothing contained in this section shall in any way remove the jurisdiction hereinafter given to the national organization and to departments over corresponding units of the auxiliary.

(b) Each department auxiliary shall be under the jurisdiction of the department whose name it bears. Each department auxiliary shall be identical in geographical limits within the respective department of the AMVETS and shall be known and identified by the same name.

SEC. 4. (a) Every auxiliary shall be affiliated with an AMVETS post, and carry the corresponding number of that post.

(b) No auxiliary to any post shall be formed until approved by two-thirds vote of the members present at a stated meting, due notice of the proposed formation having been given the entire membership of said post 15 days prior to such meeting.

(c) Each local auxiliary shall be under the jurisdiction of the post whose number it bears.

(d) No auxiliary shall be formed when no post exists.

(e) On and after January 1, 1949, any auxiliary not affiliated with an existing AMVETS post shall not be recognized and shall surrender its charter and such properties it may possess to the duly recognized auxiliary officer or officers.

SEC. 5. (a) A post may, by vote of two-thirds of its members present at a meeting following a printed or writen notice mailed or delivered to each member of the post in good standing at least 10 days before said meeting, vote to disband its auxiliary, such notice to show contemplated action and the reason therefor. Following such action by a post, this action shall be certified to and forwarded through the State department of AMVETS with proper notice in writing, to the national auxiliary liaison officer and to the national commander, who shall direct the cancellation of the charter of the auxiliary only after investigation by him that it is to the best interest of the AMVETS to do so.

(b) In case of the discontinuance of a post by voluntary surrender of its charter or by a forfeiture or revocation of the charter, its auxiliary, if any, shall continue in being for a period of not more than 1 year.

(c) The national commander may direct a suspension or cancellation of the charter of any auxiliary upon recommendation of the department commander having jurisdic-

tion, when it is shown that the auxiliary has become a detriment to the post.

SEC. 6. In the event of a surrender, cancellation, or forfeiture of an auxiliary charter to a post, all moneys, official records, property, and other paraphernalia shall be surrendered to such officer or officers as the rules and regulations of the national auxiliary provide; however, in case such auxiliary is reinstated or recognized within a period of 3 years, such moneys, papers, etc., originally forfeited by such auxiliary shall be delivered to such reorganized or new auxiliary in connection with the charter.

SEC. 7. (a) The national president of the auxiliary, within 30 days after her induction to said office, shall transmit to the national commander a complete itemized report of the financial standing of the national auxiliary for the information of the national commander and the national executive committee.

(b) All books and records of the national auxiliary shall be made available to the national commander or national executive committee on request for either examination or audit.

SEC. 8. AMVETS recognize a subsidiary organization to be known as Sackettes, a fun and honor organization of the AMVETS Auxiliary, which shall exist on the national, department, and local levels.

SEC. 9. No national fund-raising activities can be sponsored by the national auxiliary, or any of its subsidiaries, without prior approval of the national executive committee of the AMVETS.

ARTICLE XV. SAD SACKS

SECTION 1. AMVETS recognizes a subsidiary organization known as AMVETS Sad Sacks of American Veterans of World War II.

SEC. 2. Membership in Sad Sacks shall be limited to members in good standing of AMVETS.

SEC. 3. Sad Sacks shall be governed by a constitution and bylaws approved by the national executive committee.

SEC. 4. No national fund-raising activities can be sponsored by the national Sad Sacks organization or any of its subsidiaries without the prior approval of the national executive committee of AMVETS.

ARTICLE XVI. SERVICE FOUNDATION

SECTION 1. AMVETS recognize a subsidiary organization known as AMVETS National Service Foundation.

SEC. 2. Authority is hereby given to State departments to authorize and create subsidiary organizations to be known as AMVETS Department of _____ Service Foundation. Each foundation so created shall adopt a constitution and bylaws which shall be submitted within 30 days thereafter to the National Service Foundation for approval.

ARTICLE XVII. CONVENTION CORPORATION

SECTION 1. AMVETS recognizes a subsidiary organization known as AMVETS National Convention Corporation.

SEC. 2. Authority is hereby given to the state departments to authorize and create subsidiary organizations to be known as AMVETS Department of _____ Convention Corporation.

ARTICLE XVIII. PUBLICATIONS

SECTION 1. All publications bearing the name AMVETS, published by the national organization, state departments, posts, auxiliaries, Sad Sacks, or any other branch or affiliate of AMVETS, shall be under the supervision of the national executive committee, which shall delegate sufficient general and specific authority to the publications committee to carry out the necessary duties. Copies of all such publications shall be sent to the chairman of the publications committee.

SEC. 2. The publications committee shall consist of three members, one of whom shall be appointed by the new national commander, one by the retiring national commander, and one elected by the national executive committee. The new national commander shall designate the chairman.

ARTICLE XIX. AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the total authorized delegates present at any AMVET national convention. Proposed amendments for action of the national convention must be submitted by a department convention, department executive committee, or the national executive committee to the national commander, and by him and/or the proposing body to the several departments and members of the national executive committee, by mail, at least 30 days prior to the convening of the next national convention. This constitution may, however, be amended by any national convention without notice, by unanimous vote.

BYLAWS OF AMVETS

ARTICLE 1. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. In case of death, removal from office, or resignation of a national executive committeeman, his duly elected alternate will serve the unexpired term of said committeeman. Each department shall elect an alternate national executive committeeman. In the event of the absence or disability of the national executive committeeman to participate in the proceedings of the national executive committee meeting, the duly elected alternate shall cast the vote of the said national executive committeeman.

SEC. 2. Stated meetings of the national executive committee shall be held as follows: One immediately preceding the national convention, one immediately following the national convention, one in the month of November, and one in the month of April. Special meetings may be held upon reasonable notice at the call of the national commander. The national commander shall call a meeting of the national executive committee upon the written request of the national executive committeemen from at least 25 percent of the organized departments.

SEC. 3. A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum of the national executive committee.

SEC. 4. The national commander shall name such committees as he shall deem advisable and he shall also appoint delegates to the World Veterans' Federation and to the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, subject to ratification by the national executive committee, at its next meeting succeeding the appointment. Such appointees shall serve during the pleasure of the administration appointing them and shall terminate upon the inauguration of a new national commander.

SEC. 5. The national finance committee shall be charged with the preparation of the annual budget, and the handling of funds, subject to the approval of the national executive committee.

SEC. 6. The national executive committee shall approve the appointment and employment of proper officers for the administration of the affairs of AMVETS and prescribe their duties and compensation.

SEC. 7. Any national officer, committee chairman, member of a committee, or other authorized representative, may receive reimbursement for his authorized activities on behalf of the organization. At each meeting of the national executive committee, the finance officer shall report all such disbursements since the last meeting of said committee for its approval.

SEC. 8. All questions affecting the eligibility for office and conduct of national officers shall be referred to and determined by the national executive committee. All questions affecting the eligibility for office and conduct of the national executive committeemen, department officers, or members of department executive committees may be referred to and determined by the executive committee of the department involved.

ARTICLE II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The national commander shall be the executive head of AMVETS, with full power to enforce the provisions of the national constitution, the national bylaws, and the will of the national convention and national executive committee. He shall perform such other duties as are usually incident to the office.

SEC. 2. National vice commanders: The national vice commanders shall act as representatives of the national commander in all matters referred to them by him, and shall upon his request preside over the meetings of the national convention or national executive committee, and perform such other duties as are usually incident to the office.

SEC. 3. National executive director: The national executive director shall be charged with the administration of the policies and mandates of the national convention, the national executive committee, and the national commander. He shall supervise the activities of all divisions at national headquarters, issue such directives as may be necessary to departments and posts, act for the national commander during his absence from national headquarters, and perform such other duties as are usually incident to the office. He shall serve at the pleasure of the national commander and the national executive committee. He shall be the personnel officer for all employees at national headquarters.

SEC. 4. The national finance officer: The national finance officer shall be custodian of the funds of the national organization. All checks disbursing the funds of the national organization shall be signed by two or more persons as designated by the national executive committee, and the finance officer shall make reports on the condition of the national treasury when called for by the national commander or national executive committee. The national finance officer shall furnish a surety bond as hereinafter prescribed. He shall perform such other duties as are usually incident to the office.

SEC. 5. National judge advocate: the national judge advocate shall advise the national officers and the national executive committee on all legal matters, including the construction and interpretation of the national constitution and bylaws, and shall perform such other duties as are usually incident to the office.

SEC. 6. National service director: The national service director shall be the service and welfare officer of the national organization. He shall be responsible for the proper handling of claims of veterans and their dependents or survivors before the Veterans' Administration; employment problems, prosecution of rights under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act and Selective Training and Service Act; civil-service questions, and other legislation concerning veterans' affairs; and the answering of individual requests for assistance or information from members, posts, and departments. It will be the duty of the national service director to formulate a rehabilitation program and to direct the activities of staff members charged with implementing the program. A part of this program will be the formation of a staff of trained national service officers and their assignment to the various regional offices of the Veterans' Administration.

SEC. 7. National legislative director: The national legislative director shall be responsible for preparing the national legislative program in accordance with the mandates of the national convention, the national executive committee, and the national legislative committee. It is his further responsibility to draft the necessary bills in connection therewith and to cause such bills

to be introduced in Congress and actively urge the consideration of legislation thus proposed. He shall at all times be fully informed when hearings are to be held on bills in which AMVETS is interested and be prepared to present testimony before the committee or committees handling such bills. It shall be his duty to maintain close liaison with Members of the House and Senate in order to secure the enactment of the AMVETS program. He will make every effort to cooperate fully with other groups favoring proposed legislation which is supported by AMVETS, and it shall be his responsibility to maintain adequate legislative information when requested by individual members, posts, or departments of AMVETS. He shall serve at the pleasure of the national commander and the national executive committee.

SEC. 8. National program director: The national program director shall be responsible for the administration and coordination of national programs, projects, and campaigns of AMVETS, exclusive of the national service and legislative programs; for developing ideas for local programs suitable for post projects; for the dissemination of information regarding such projects to departments and posts; and for planning and coordinating national activities to aid posts and departments in their annual membership campaigns. He shall be responsible for the planning, formulation, and development of a public-relations program, including publicity, organizational publications, and other promotional material. He shall be responsible for efficient and proper liaison with all public-relations media—press, radio, motion pictures, periodicals, and television—and all forms of advertising.

SEC. 9. National chaplain: The national chaplain shall perform such divine and nonsectarian services as may be necessary, adhering to the appropriate ceremonial rituals, and discharge the other duties incident to the office.

SEC. 10. National historian: The national historian shall compile from year to year all records of historical value and interest for the national headquarters of AMVETS. He shall also assist department and post historians so as to coordinate and unify the work of these officials, and perform such other duties as the national commander and the national executive committee shall prescribe.

SEC. 11. National provost marshal: The national provost marshal shall maintain order at all meetings and conventions. He shall perform such other duties as may be requested by the national commander.

SEC. 12. National surgeon general: The surgeon general shall perform such special duties as are assigned by the national commander, as well as the usual duties incident to the office.

SEC. 13. National inspector general: The national inspector general shall be the investigating officer of the organization. By direction of the national commander or the national executive committee he shall make any necessary investigations pertaining to grievances, disciplinary cases, fraud, or dishonesty within the organization, charges of conduct unbecoming an AMVET, and shall be empowered to have access to all records, financial and otherwise, of all departments or post officers or members when necessary for the carrying out of his duties. He may be compensated for his actual expenses in carrying out these duties, subject to the approval of the national executive committee.

ARTICLE III. CHARTERS

SECTION 1. A department executive committee may suspend, cancel, or revoke a post charter and such action shall be final and conclusive, unless an appeal is taken to the national executive committee within 30 days from the date of said suspension, cancellation, or revocation. Action taken by the national executive committee upon appeal shall be binding, pending appeal to the next national convention.

A post charter which has been thus suspended may be reinstated by action of the department executive committee if the post purge itself of the offense within 60 days of its suspension. If the delinquency is not cleared to the satisfaction of the department executive committee within 60 days, appropriate action shall be taken by that committee to effect revocation or cancellation of the charter.

In the event that a department fails or refuses to discipline a post after the national commander has requested such action, it is violating the rules of the constitution and bylaws. After demand has been made upon said department for action, the national commander may suspend the charter of such post by notice, accompanied by written notice, a copy of which shall be forwarded to the department and the national executive committee. The determination of whether the charter shall be canceled shall be considered at the next meeting of the national executive committee.

SEC. 2. Any post failing to meet the obligations imposed upon it by the constitution and bylaws, or ceasing to function for 6 months as a post of AMVETS or voluntarily ceasing to function as a post, or merging with one or more other posts, or refusing or failing to pay the department and national per capita dues within 60 days after collection by the post, shall, upon order of the department executive committee, surrender its charter.

SEC. 3. Upon revocation, cancellation, or suspension of the charter of a post in any department of AMVETS, said post shall immediately cease operation, and upon revocation or cancellation shall turn over its charter and assets to its department commander or department executive committee. The department executive committee is authorized, empowered, and directed by and through its duly authorized agent to take possession, custody, and control of all records, property, and assets of said post. So much of the said assets as are required for the purpose shall be allied to any indebtedness of the said post: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring any department to take over or to assume any financial responsibility of such post. Said department executive committee may provide for the transfer of the members of said post to other posts of their choice, subject to the approval of such other posts. At the request of the individual member involved, where no other post exists in the same area, he may become a member at large within the organization.

SEC. 4. The national executive committee shall provide a uniform code of procedure to be followed in the revocation, cancellation, or suspension of post charters, and a method of appeal to the national executive committee.

ARTICLE IV. DISCIPLINE OF POSTS AND POST MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Each post of AMVETS shall be the judge of its own membership, subject to the provisions of the constitutions and bylaws of the national and department organizations: (a) *Provided, however,* that when the conduct of any member of AMVETS is such that it in any way will reflect discredit or invite criticism of the organization, or who belongs to or joins any group, organization, or party that is not compatible with the aims and principles of AMVETS, the department commander shall immediately bring the matter to the attention of the post of which the individual is a member. If the post fails to act and protect the name of AMVETS, the department executive committee may suspend the charter of the post involved, pending a hearing and final action by the department executive committee.

(b) In the event that the department executive committee fails to act in accordance with paragraph (a) of this article, the national executive committee may suspend the charter of the post involved, pending a hearing and final action by the national executive committee.

SEC. 2. Members may be suspended or expelled by a post, upon a proper showing of cause. Written charges, which shall be furnished the member involved at least 15 days prior to that date set for the hearing, shall be based upon disloyalty, neglect of duty, dishonesty, and conduct unbecoming a member of AMVETS.

SEC. 3. Any member who has been expelled has the right of appeal to his department executive committee, according to the provisions in the by-laws of such department. The decision of the committee shall be final with the right of appeal to the department convention.

SEC. 4. Membership shall be on a fiscal-year basis and shall run from January 1 through December 31. A member whose dues have not been paid 30 days after the expiration of a year's membership shall be suspended and if not paid within 60 days of expiration date, his membership and all his rights and privileges shall be forfeited.

SEC. 5. Nothing contained in this article shall be construed to limit in any way the powers conferred by section 1 of article III of the bylaws.

ARTICLE V. MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Membership in AMVETS constitutes membership in the national organization of AMVETS through post affiliation or membership at large. All AMVETS shall, prior to their acceptance as members, pledge allegiance to the United States of America and its Constitution, and certify that they have read, or have had read to them the AMVETS declaration of principles, and that they accept and subscribe to the same, and that they shall not advocate or belong to any group or organization advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force.

ARTICLE VI. MONEYS AND COLLECTIONS

SECTION 1. All national, department, and post officials handling AMVET funds, shall be properly bonded with a good and solvent bonding and surety company, acceptable to the United States Treasury, as surety to cover the average amount of AMVET funds handled by such individuals in a single year. In case of deliquencies in the payment of accounts due department or national headquarters, action shall be taken at once by the proper officials to bring about an immediate and complete settlement. The bonds provided by national officials shall be approved by the national executive committee, and those provided by department and post officials shall be approved by the department executive committee. The blanket bond carried by national headquarters covering post and department officers shall not include the officers or employees of any corporation, business or other enterprise operated by and within the post or department. A separate bond covering such operation shall be carried by the post or department involved.

SEC. 2. No contracts involving expenditure in excess of $1,000 of national AMVET funds shall be negotiated without inviting a reasonable number of competitive written bids, and where the required products are of equal quality the contract shall be awarded to the lowest bidder.

SEC. 3. (a) Any contract entered into by any post with any individual, firm or corporation, providing for a division of profits, shall first be submitted to the department judge advocate for approval. If rejected by him, an appeal may be made to the next department executive committee meeting. Its action shall be final.

(b) Wherever post club rooms are maintained and operated for the convenience and pleasure of its members and the name of AMVETS or its insignia are displayed or used, a board of trustees shall be elected from among the members of the post to supervise its activities, operation and finances.

SEC. 4. All posts and department accounts shall be kept in accordance with a uniform accounting system established by national headquarters. The accounting system forms are to be provided by national headquarters to the posts and departments at a nominal cost.

SEC. 5. The minimum annual membership dues shall be $4 payable to the post, of which sum $2 shall be forwarded to national headquarters, $1 to the department headquarters, and $1 retained by the post. Dues above the minimum set forth here shall be fixed by the post and/or department. Where no department exists, $3 shall be forwarded to national headquarters and $1 retained by the post. Of the $3 sent to national headquarters, $1 shall be set aside in a separate fund pending the establishment of a department. Members at large will remit the minimum dues direct to national headquarters, of which sum national will retain $3 and $1 will be returned to the respective department. Where no department exists, national headquarters will set aside the $1 for return when a department is formed. Any veteran who is eligible to joint AMVETS and whose primary occupation is fulltime attendance as a student at a university, college, or trade or technical school may join any post for a $1.50 membership fee per year, of which 50 cents shall be remitted to national headquarters, 50 cents to department headquarters, and 50 cents retained in the post. The method of forwarding dues to the national headquarters shall be prescribed by the national convention or the national executive committee. All members on active duty shall be permitted to retain their membership without charge, provided, however, that this provision shall apply only to those members who are carried in this manner on the official rolls of the organization as of midnight, September 30, 1952, except that those members of AMVETS in good standing who enter the Korean conflict subsequent to the September 30 cutoff date may be entitled to be carried on the rolls free until their discharge.

SEC. 6. All contracts to be executed by the national headquarters shall be approved by the national executive committee and signed by the national commander and attested by the national executive director.

ARTICLE VII. DEFINITIONS

SECTION 1. The word "he" wherever it shall appear in either the constitution or bylaws of AMVETS shall be construed as referring to both sexes.

ARTICLE VIII. RESTRICTED USE OF ORGANIZATION

SECTION 1. AMVETS, or any component part thereof, shall not be used to promote the interest of any individual who is a candidate for public office, or to promote otherwise, any individual, organization, political party, faction, or product. Any violation of this provision shall be sufficient cause for disciplinary action against the offending member, post, or department.

ARTICLE IX. MEETINGS

SECTION 1. All business meetings of this organization shall be conducted under Robert's Rules of Order.

ARTICLE X. NATIONAL FLOWER

SECTION 1. The national flower shall be the four-leaf white clover, meaning "think of me."

ARTICLE XI. DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a division of international affairs of AMVETS. The division shall be composed of 3 directors, 1 of whom shall be the executive director, and the other 2 shall be associate directors. The directors shall be appointed by the national commander with the consent of the national executive committee.

SEC. 2. The directors shall serve at the pleasure of the national commander and the national executive committee.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the directors to be informed on matters of international affairs, perform research and investigation in such affairs, inform the national executive committee and the membership of the organization of all matters found to affect the peace, and make recommendations thereof, and provide representation at any peace conference, subject to the approval of the national executive committee. Funds shall be provided upon approval of the executive committee for the operation of this division.

ARTICLE XII. ACCOUNTING FOR MONEYS

SECTION 1. All moneys received by this organization shall be strictly and accurately accounted for, and a report shall be made available annually to all members, showing the sources of all such income and the expenditure thereof. All posts, departments, and national accounts shall be kept in accordance with a uniform accounting system as established by national headquarters.

ARTICLE XIII. POLICY

SECTION 1. The policy of AMVETS shall be fixed (a) by the national convention as reflected in the resolutions adopted; (b) by the national executive committee when not in conflict with convention mandates; and (c) by the compilation of the result of periodical polls of posts on current issues. Departments, posts, subsidiaries, and auxiliaries shall be notified by national headquarters of policy so fixed.

SEC. 2. No member of AMVETS shall represent or purport to represent any department, post, auxiliary, or subsidiary of AMVETS in opposition to, or other than in complete consonance with, policy so determined and notified.

ARTICLE XIV. AMENDMENTS

SECTION 1. These bylaws may be amended at any national convention by a majority vote of the delegates present and voting at said convention; *Provided*, That such proposed amendments shall be submitted by a department convention, a department executive committee, or the national executive committee, to the national commander; and by him to the several departments and members of the national executive committee, by mail at least 30 days prior to the opening date of the national convention. These bylaws may be amended without prior notice by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present and voting at any national convention.

The Same Spirit Keys All Our Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an excellent editorial entitled "The Same Spirit Keys All Our Progress," which appeared in the Tupelo Daily Journal, of Tupelo, Miss., on January 7, 1954. The editorial follows:

THE SAME SPIRIT KEYS ALL OUR PROGRESS

The city of Tupelo on February 6 will observe the 20th anniversary of its signing of the first contract with TVA for distribution of low-cost public power.

The event will be an historical day for the local electrical department. For during those 20 years it has made remarkable progress in increasing power sales at the same time that it reduced costs per unit.

Twenty years ago, for example, Tupelo residents paid an average of more than 7 cents for a kilowatt-hour of electricity. Today the cost is only a tiny fraction above 1 cent.

And whereas 20 years ago the average Tupelo family used only 600 kilowatt-hours of electricity a year, it now uses more than 3,800 kilowatt-hours in completely transforming its way of life.

These are facts of which those who have served as officials of our electrical department and the city of Tupelo through the years can be proud.

But there is more to Tupelo's observance of the 20th anniversary of its TVA contract than mere recognition of a job well done by the local electrical department.

For running through Tupelo's development during the last 2 decades has been the same spirit that marked the signing of that first TVA contract.

The spirit of TVA has permeated every phase of our community life and every phase of our economy has reacted with corresponding growth.

How remarkable has been this growth of our community is not generally recognized. For progress has grown so commonplace that we forget just how far we have come since that winter day of 1934 when that first TVA contract was signed.

Herewith, therefore we offer a few reminders that emphasize what achievement is possible over a period of years when the people of a community have faith in themselves, look ahead, set worthwhile goals and work steadfastly toward them.

Twenty years ago all the retail stores in Tupelo did a business of only 3 million dollars. Today such sales are just under 30 millions.

Twenty years ago deposits in the Tupelo banks totaled only $1,300,000. Today the figure is $27,800,000—an increase of more than twentyfold in 20 years.

Twenty years ago only about 600 people were employed in the factories of Tupelo. During the current years the total is expected to exceed 2,500.

Twenty years ago the average pay of the Tupelo industrial worker was less than $500 a year. Today it is more than $2,000.

Twenty years ago the total industrial payroll of the city of Tupelo was less than $300,000 a year. Today half a dozen plants exceed this payroll. And the total for our city's industrial workers during 1954 will top $5 million—15 times as much as it was in the year the first TVA contract was signed.

Such is the growth of Tupelo during the 20 years since it signed the Nation's first contract for low-cost TVA power.

Such is our city's growth not because of this TVA contract but because the same venturesome, forward-looking, public-serving spirit which led to its signing has dominated our community's thinking in all other phases of economic activity.

It is this spirit which actually is the secret to our community's progress.

And it is to this way of thinking that the people of Tupelo should now rededicate themselves for another 20 years as we prepare to renew our contract with TVA for a similar period.

With such a spirit we can overcome all obstacles.

As proven by the written record, we can overcome even such seemingly insurmountable problems as existed in that winter of 1934 when our people were near the end of their rope but didn't know it because they were so busy looking up they didn't have time to glance down.

The spirit of TVA—the spirit of Tupelo's last 20 years—can thus during the decades ahead lift us as high above today's level as that of the present excels our standards of 1934.

Such a spirit is too valuable to be lost; too essential to be permitted to die from lack of cultivation; too much a part of our community's past to be omitted from the future.

It is the key to all we have done; the inspiration of what we may become. It is, in fact, Tupelo, the first TVA city—a good town growing better, a friendly, active, forward-looking town that has come far but which still has its best days ahead.

The Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, following the presentation of the President's farm program to the Congress, there have been numerous views expressed as to its workability.

Recommendations calling for price supports of a more flexible nature and the gradual modification of same, have generated considerable comment on the part of interested parties here and elsewhere throughout the Nation.

The problem of rigid price supports, disposition of surplus reserves and the prevention of such accumulations in the future—must be met. I believe President Eisenhower's recommendations to that end are logical and sound.

In support of that view I desire to include with my remarks the following editorial entitled "Why in Such a Hurry To Dislike Farm Plan?" as it appeared in the January 11, 1954, issue of the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat:

WHY IN SUCH A HURRY TO DISLIKE FARM PLAN?

In the complex number of reasons for the dissatisfaction that led to defeat of the Democratic Party in the last presidential election, not the least in importance was falling farm prices and dislocation of the agricultural economy of the country.

The immutable law of supply and demand finally caught up with the parity system of farm price support. The few basic commodities which drew a Government price guarantee of 90 percent of parity had been so spectacularly over-produced that normal storage facilities could not hold them all. There seemed no way to end the vicious circle of Federal tax money buying commodities that could not be disposed of, meanwhile encouraging production of even more of the commodities.

Along with this, farmers whose products did not enjoy price support, but who had to buy grains for feed, were caught in a squeeze of buying supplies on an artificially high market and selling their products on an open competitive market.

In view of these facts, it is difficult to understand the insistence of Midwest Republican "farm belt" leaders that the present system be continued for several years. The system discourages developing markets and selling protected products. With the Government as a certain customer, all incentive for creating normal markets is removed.

In its Santa Rosa hearings, the House Agricultural Committee heard testimony from northern California farm interests urging that the present system be ended. And this was not the only region in which it heard such testimony.

The last session of Congress extended high parity until December 31, 1954. There was no alternative. Ending price supports with the existing tremendous surpluses would have ruined agriculture. It was necessary to continue the present setup, unsatisfactory as it is, until a workable substitute could be mapped out.

In his State of the Union message to Congress, President Eisenhower sketched in the highlights of that plan, 5 days in advance of his detailed recommendations. The President said the plan was intended to "build markets, protect the consumers' food supply and move food into consumption instead of storage." He said the plan was aimed at "a higher and healthier financial return."

Substitution of flexible for rigid price supports, he indicated, was a basic part of the plan.

Without even waiting to see details of the plan, the attitude of many Congressmen seemed to be, "Whatever it is, we won't like it."

Why they should like the present system, which has dislocated American agriculture and priced the products of our good earth so high that we have lost traditional export markets remains to be explained.

Income-Tax Exemptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the 83d Congress, in January 1953, I introduced H. R. 1092, which amended the income-tax laws. This amendment provided that each taxpayer should be allowed an exemption of $1,000 for himself and each of his dependents, instead of the $600 as now provided by law.

It was my thought in introducing this measure that $1,000 represented a more realistic approach to a cost-of-living exemption than does the current $600, especially in view of the tremendous increase in our cost of living in the last several years. Although I tried as hard as I could to get some real consideration of this measure, I must admit that I have made little headway, due principally to the fact that the Treasury Department interposed serious objections, claiming that the passage of this measure would reduce the national income $8½ billion—a loss that could not be justified under the necessary expenditure program of our country.

While not abandoning my hope and efforts to secure consideration of the $1,000 exemption for all, I have today introduced a resolution providing that each taxpayer shall be entitled to an exemption of $1,000 for each dependent who is a son or daughter, stepson or stepdaughter, who, during the major part of any taxable year is in attendance at an institution of higher learning.

My purpose in introducing this resolution is to extend some measure of relief to many families in this country who are anxious to see their children obtain the best education possible and upon whom the added burden of sending their children through college and other institutions falls heavily. Many families have serious difficulty in providing the necessary funds to properly educate their children, and the adoption of this resolution would, in some measure, help to alleviate this condition. While I realize that the passage of this resolution would deprive the Government of some tax revenue, yet I feel that it would be a sound investment on the part of our country to stimulate and encourage the education of our young people, and would, in the long run, amount to the accumulation of great wealth in our country, as by far the greater portion of our wealth consists in the educated ability and know-how of our people to properly utilize our natural resources and to deal with the many problems that confront us as individuals and with which our country and the world are faced.

The TVA Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, Tenn. The editorial follows:

THE TVA RECORD

The Tennessee Valley Authority has issued its report for the fiscal year ending June 30. Copies of this document will be well thumbed within a few weeks by both friends and foes of this 20-year-old organization for use of natural resources of a specific region under unified control.

Parts of the report are apt to be discussed in long detail and in various forums during the months ahead. For the present we call attention to only three items.

Congress directed that the electric business of TVA be self-supporting and self-sufficient. The report says: "The consumers of TVA electricity are thus expected to pay the costs incurred in its production. In the 20 years to date, consumers have done this—and more. * * * TVA has been required by law since 1948 to repay to the Treasury all appropriated funds invested in the power system within 40 years from the time the facilities are placed in operation. TVA is ahead of schedule on repayments."

Drought and other circumstances in 1953 reduced TVA power earnings last year, but it still retired 5 millions in bonds and paid 10 millions into the Treasury.

(On the last day of the calendar year 1953, which is midway of the fiscal year 1954 to be reported a year from now, TVA took to the Treasury another $7½ million from power sales and more than 4½ millions from other parts of its business.)

We also like the TVA report's emphasis on cooperation of all levels of government. TVA results, the report says, have been

"achieved by methods calling for less Federal control and more State and local responsibility. The region has been strengthened institutionally by a strong and growing partnership embracing TVA and other Federal agencies, the States and their departments, counties, and municipalities, cooperatives, private enterprise, and individuals. * * * States have enlarged and broadened the scope of their activities concerned with resource development. * * *

"Operating expenditures of State agencies dealing with agriculture, forests, fish, and wildlife, and parks multiplied 6 times between 1929 and 1952."

The third item attracting our attention is TVA production of 24 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity and purchase of 3 billion more to serve its present customers. Agencies for defense of the Nation, especially the Atomic Energy Commission, used seven billion kilowatt-hours of it.

We wonder whether the Congress that, in its first session, lifted a generating plant out of TVA plans, will in its second session authorize TVA to build what the future requires.

Willis W. Bradley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many of you served in the 80th Congress with Capt. Willis W. Bradley, who represented California's 18th Congressional District, the district which I am now honored to represent. You who served with him loved and respected him as do his many friends throughout our Golden State. I am pleased to insert in the RECORD recent editorials from the Long Beach, Calif., newspapers which will bring you up to date on the captain's continued record of honorable public service:

CAPTAIN BRADLEY HONORED

In being appointed by the Governor to the State Fair and Exposition Board, Capt. Willis Bradley will take up the post long held by the late Fred Bixby. It will end his years of service as Congressman and Assemblyman. But being a member of this five-man State board brings honor to him and Long Beach. No man in our community is more deserving of that honor.

Willis Bradley has, for 50 years, served his country in many capacities. His record is one few Americans can equal. It is so amazing we think our readers would like to read it:

Entered the Naval Academy May 6, 1903, from North Dakota. Graduated September 11, 1906. Graduated George Washington University (M. S., 1914). First visited Long Beach in 1908 when serving on the battleship *Virginia* of the Great White Fleet. Awarded silver medal by Italian Red Cross for service at the Messina earthquake 1908–09. Awarded Congressional Medal of Honor, World War I, service on U. S. S. *Pittsburgh* in Atlantic.

Governor of Guam, 1929–31. Granted bill of rights to people of Guam. Established citizenship of Guam by proclamation. Created bicameral Guam Congress. Granted suffrage, including women, and held first elections. Established mail service in Guam, through the Guam guard mail (only living American who has issued postage stamps, now collectors' items). Inspected and accepted approximately 1,000 ships for United States Navy just prior to and during World War II.

Member of Congress, 18th California District, 80th Congress. Responsible for House action stopping gift and sale of American ships to foreign nations. Responsible for House amendment requiring 50 percent of goods purchased for relief in the United States be shipped in American ships. (This has been the salvation of American ocean shipping.)

Largely responsible for stopping Army engineers' project of converting the Panama Canal to a sea-level canal at the expense of several billions of dollars to the American taxpayers.

Further data is shown in Who's Who in America; International Who's Who, London publication; World Biographies, an American publication; Who's Who on Pacific Coast; Who's Who in American Politics; and other reference books.

Surely that record is one most of us would like printed if it applied to us individually. It will give each of us much satisfaction to know one of our residents has given so much and is now honored so greatly.

L. A. C.

NEW SERVICE OPPORTUNITY FOR BRADLEY

All who know Capt. Willis Bradley's ability and eagerness for public service will recognize his appointment to the State fair board as assurance of an outstanding contribution to the work of that State agency.

Governor Knight could not have chosen better in filling a vacancy on the board to which another Long Beach man, the late Fred Bixby, gave yeoman service for many years. It is gratifying that this further recognition has come to Long Beach.

Captain Bradley's knowledge of State affairs has been developed through years of residence in California and in service to his community as a prodigious civic worker, a Member of Congress, and a member of the State assembly. He goes on April 10 into the new work from the post of assemblyman for the 70th district, which he is ably representing at Sacramento.

A graduate of the Naval Academy in 1907, Captain Bradley won the Congressional Medal of Honor for an act of outstanding courage while serving as a gunnery officer aboard the U. S. S. *Pittsburgh* in 1917. He also holds the Silver Medal from the Vatican for his service as Governor of Guam, the Silver Medal from the Italian Red Cross for service during the Messini earthquake, and the Cuban Pacification Medal. After many years of honorable service in the Navy, Captain Bradley retired in the mid-1940's and immediately became active in civic and political affairs in Long Beach, his home for 23 years.

The fair-board position opens a new avenue of service for this able citizen. It need hardly be said he will give it vigorous and intelligent attention.

It Could Happen Only in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, with the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I am pleased to insert material appearing in a recent issue of the Los Angeles Times. Although it concerns a person with whom I am acquainted, it is not inserted for that reason, but because it is another example of the opportunity that exists for all Americans to compete successfully in a free-enterprise economic system. No economic system in mankind's history has given more people more things. In view of the subversive attacks on that system which we have suffered, it occurs to me that we should be ever alert to publicize its excellence, as is illustrated by Mr. Poole's story:

Only with our American system of free radio could KBIG, the Catalina station, have been born. In most countries, government monopoly prohibits private citizens from building or operating a broadcasting station. Listeners hear only government-selected programs—and they pay a tax on every receiver for the privilege.

But in America, when free and independent enterprise goes into action, it works miracles.

In Los Angeles County alone, this broadcasting system gives the public a choice of more than 20 different radio stations with a wide variety of entertainment, news, and other services vital to public interest. Listeners do not have to pay for the privilege of receiving programs, because advertisers provide the revenue necessary to keep stations in operation.

The KBIG story is the story of a man's lifelong belief in radio. Like many a youth, John Poole was captivated by its magic. As a 15-year-old ham operator, he built up his own transmitting and receiving sets, and was caught by the thrill of shortwave contacts all over the world.

Then followed 3 years' service as a ship's radio operator and 4 years as communications officer in the United States Army Air Corps. Poole's first venture into the business of broadcasting came shortly after World War II in Santa Maria, where he operated the 250-watt radio station KSMA. Later he established a larger station, KALI in Pasadena. Both these stations were sold when he built KBIG.

POOLE'S UNIQUE PROPOSAL

John Poole was almost alone in his belief that Los Angeles County, with 23 radio stations plus 7 television stations, needed yet another radio broadcasting station. Because radio waves travel best over salt water, he knew that a powerful Catalina-based transmitter would broadcast a better signal throughout southern California. The Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D. C., approved his idea of a 10,000-watt station at Avalon, using the excellent mid-dial frequency of 740 kilocycles. When his new station began broadcasting in June 1952 reception reports poured in from Los Angeles, San Diego, Santa Barbara, hundreds of other southland communities and even distant Arizona and Nevada.

Due to its unique island location, KBIG reached remote areas never before serviced by Los Angeles County radio.

PROGRAM POLICY WINS BIG AUDIENCE

KBIG went on the air with the program formula, "Music you like and just enough news." This, according to an extensive survey, is what the public prefers. Furthermore, the station featured frequent time signals and avoided excessive talk by announcers.

Mail response and audience surveys soon proved this formula right. Fan letters called KBIG the freshest influence in radio. The same program policy continues at KBIG and has been extended to Poole's new station, KBIF, now covering Fresno County and the San Joaquin Valley, America's richest agricultural area.

WINS RADIO OSCAR FIRST YEAR

Just a year and a half old, KBIG already has assembled awards of public recognition.

The Radio and Television News Club of Southern California judged KBIG's hourly 5-minute news strips the best news reporting of any nonnetwork station. The Avalon Rotary Club gave John Poole its annual award as head of the organization contributing most to the welfare of Catalina Island. The Association of Advertising Men, New York, gave him runner-up honors in its annual outstanding advertising man-of-the-year awards. Minute magazine presented the 36-year-old broadcaster its up-to-the-minute award. Billboard magazine accorded KBIG promotion activities runner-up position, the only western radio station honored in this annual nationwide competition.

JOHN POOLE BROADCASTING ADDS TELEVISION

With two radio stations successfully on their way, John Poole Broadcasting Co. turns its attention to television. This month KBID-TV, channel 53, Fresno, will begin operations. Early this year, KBIC-TV, Los Angeles, first commercial UHF station, will begin testing on channel 22. Poole has also been authorized to build a television station in Sacramento.

The John Poole broadcasting story is another American miracle of dynamic expansion.

TEPS in New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

TEPS IN NEW ORLEANS

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

While many will remember New Orleans as the world's most unusual city, or as the place where charming Miss Ruthanne Marr, of Warrensburg, Mo., twirled for Georgia Tech, the writer, his mother, and Mr. Jeff Davis Moore will always remember the regional Conference of Teacher Education and Professional Standards as having met in the Jung Hotel on January 4 and 5. The writer and Mr. Moore represented Arkansas A. and M. College at this meeting.

The subject was Competent Teachers for America's Schools. Dr. George H. Deer, professor of education, Louisiana State University, presided at the opening session. Dr. N. B. "Red" Hackett, executive secretary, Louisiana Education Association, gave the words of welcome. Dr. T. M. Stinnett, executive secretary, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, gave a long but outstanding keynote address.

Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee were represented. Arkansas had 37 representatives.

While Rev. Ralph Templin, a Methodist minister, was fasting last summer on fruit juice and dry cereal for 12 days "in sorrow and repentance for the sin of my country," this conference took a positive point of view.

The eight group topics were: Projecting Enrollments and Personnel Needs, Increasing the Total Pool of College Students, Developing Selective Recruitment Programs, Improving Teacher Education Programs and Facilities, Utilizing Adjustments To Alleviate Teacher Shortages, Increasing the Attractiveness of the Profession, Developing Community Standards for Good Schools, and Developing Certification Policies. The writer served on the fifth group, while Mr. Moore was a member of the sixth group.

The writer had a rare opportunity of serving with Dr. Walter Harrington Ryle, president, Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo. The last year that Dr. Ryle was superintendent of schools of Holden, Mo., which was 1926–27, the writer was a student in the first grade.

Dr. J. B. White, dean, college of education, University of Florida, presided at the second general session, while Dr. Forrest W. Murphy, dean, college of education, University of Mississippi, presided at the final session.

Meetings of this type indicate the fine, positive leadership in American education. God willing, the future can be wonderful for all American children in America's schools.

Lawrence, Mass., Prisoners of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the address I delivered at the dinner reception by the city of Lawrence, Mass., to three local men who were prisoners of war in Korea. This event was held on Saturday, November 28, 1953, at St. Mary's Auditorium, honoring Conrad Provencher, Phillip Bourbeau, and Leo Dwyer, in celebrating their return.

The address follows:

I bring you the Nation's tribute from Washington, a city that may seem to be far away and impersonal.

It was the executive department of the Federal Government that made the decision to send American troops to Korea.

The President did not make this decision lightly. He thought of the soldiers and their families, of their duty, and his duty. There would be suffering for some to protect the many. All along the world situation had been most serious. The Communist aggression, swift and bold, had to be met and stopped in its tracks or we would be forced into successive appeasements toward that final day when we would stand alone.

Communism as of today has been contained at a price.

We have suffered casualties, including the sufferings of our men who were prisoners of war.

Tonight we celebrate the safe return of young men from the land of the walking dead.

The Federal Government rejoices, together with your city and your State. From Washington you receive greetings somewhat different from the greetings that summoned so many to the Armed Forces of our country.

A grateful Nation has a program of benefits to make up, in part, for the sacrifices you made for us.

More than this it will forever hold in its heart the memory of your courage and your patience.

If we did not have young men to fight and endure for us when danger threatens, it would not be long before all men, women, and children in the United States would be enslaved by the permanent captivity of communism.

To be in the hands of such a merciless enemy is frightening to think of. Thanks to you and all your gallant comrades we have been spared such a fate. You bought us time in which to repair our weakened defenses. As the free world becomes stronger day by day, the danger of attack lessens. We may have to retain our security forces for many years to come so that aggressors will be held in check. We can never afford to be as weak as we were 3½ years ago.

From June of 1950 until the summer of 1953 the people of the United States were not indifferent to the trial by fire that our men were going through in Korea.

Perhaps we did not show it. On the surface, life in the United States went on as usual. In the quiet solitude of the night, looking up to the stars, every American in turn felt anxiety for you out there on the other side of the world fighting a cruel and fanatical enemy.

Your families bore the brunt of worry.

Other folks, from Alabama to Kansas to Montana, were prisoners too, even here in the States—prisoners of fear. Not knowing what was happening to you, our fellow Americans.

Tonight we offer a prayer of thanksgiving because you have come back to us.

The curtain is closing over the past and your harrowing experiences. A new chapter of living is opening up for you, bringing peace, security, and happiness.

In this joyous family reunion, there must be some room for Uncle Sam.

So move over, mom and dad, and the missus and the children, for a lot of people want to shake the hands of Conrad Provencher, Philip Bourbeau, and Leo F. Dwyer.

They are soldiers first, but tonight we can overlook military formalities to put our arms around the shoulders of three friends.

As a representative of the United States Government, I want to get somewhere in the line—anywhere—so that I will have a chance to say to each of them: "We are so glad to welcome you home."

Statement by David J. McDonald on the President's Message on the Taft-Hartley Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD the following statement issued by President David J. McDonald, of the CIO Steelworkers Union, on the President's message on the Taft-Hartley Act:

President Eisenhower's message to Congress proposing amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act utterly fails to achieve the justness and fairness which the President pledged during his election campaign.

The few minor proposals which purport to mitigate only some of the many harsh provisions of the act are completely overshadowed by other proposals of major consequence which would make the act even more antilabor than at present.

In contradiction of his campaign promise to lessen the extent of Government interference in labor relations, the President's recommendations for Government conducted strike ballots would substantially increase such interference on the part of employers.

As detailed in Senator SMITH'S bill implementing the President's message, a vote would be conducted by the NLRB during a strike to determine if a majority of the employees desire continuation of the strike.

Such a provision can only lead to intensified and prolonged industrial strife. Heated and emotional election campaigns by both parties to a dispute would replace the calm, sober judgment and good faith bargaining which are essential for expeditious resolution of the dispute.

This recommendation of the President is aimed at discrediting the leaders of a striking union and, in effect, provides the procedure for decertifying a union during a strike. It would thus be a powerful weapon on the side of struck employers.

Surely, the recommendation does not gibe with the President's prior statements concerning the necessity for having free and responsible unions.

It should be kept in mind that the steelworkers union has its own democratic procedure for authorizing strike action. No strike may be called without the sanction of the steelworkers' wage-policy committee. This committee consists of elected officials of the union and elected representatives from local unions throughout the Nation.

Furthermore, in strike votes held under the discredited election provisions of the Smith-Connally Act, members of the steelworkers voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike action.

The President also recommended changing the checkoff provisions of the act to permit employees to revoke voluntary checkoff authorization at any time. At present revocation is permitted once a year. Certainly this is sufficient protection for an employee who signs a voluntary authorization card.

This proposal would also weaken the union's security and would upset industrial stability, since campaigns for revocation might be started at any time during the life of the contract. In addition it would create manifold bookkeeping and administrative problems for unions and employers.

Other provisions of the message, such as those dealing with Federal-State responsibility, also represent a backward step. Certainly Congress should take no action on these far reaching recommendations without hearings.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, much serious thought and a good deal of sober attention is presently being given to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover calls it the most pressing problem of our day. I know that my colleagues here in the House of Representatives recognize the severity of the problem and the proportions to which it has grown. The Providence Visitor, of Providence, R. I., in its issue of December 10, 1953, carried an interview on the subject which I commend to the attention of all my colleagues. The interview explores the thinking of Rev. Daniel Egan, S. A., of Graymoor Garrison, who has a wealth of experience in the field, and traces the roots of delinquency to their various sources. I believe that a review of his comments will prove fruitful to all of us:

PRIEST, TEEN-AGE EXPERT, TRACES GUILT FOR DELINQUENCY TO VARIOUS SOURCES

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Who is to blame for juvenile delinquency? A priest who has given teen-age missions to thousands of youth—tough ones, too—gave this answer:

"A generation of broken homes and divorced parents, a cowardly minority of corrupt officers of the law, a daily press that glorifies vice and crime, a Hollywood that debases virtues, a billion-dollar business in filthy literature, a school system that graduates spiritual morons—all these have joined hands to make teen-agers the scapegoat for their own failings."

Some of the testimony at a current congressional committee probe of juvenile crime has struck Father Daniel Egan, S. A., of Graymoor Garrison, N. Y., as the "buck passing" variety.

"One gets the suspicion that teen-agers have suddenly become responsible for all the ills of modern society," he commented. "An older generation seems bent on deliberately passing over to teen-agers the blame that rightfully belongs to itself."

Father Egan with more than 100 teen-age missions and retreats as background, outlined the sources he believes are the principal causes for crime increases among youth.

Parents: "Lack of spiritual food in the home" will gradually weaken a young person. Bad parents "leave God, religion, prayer out of home life; they feed and clothe their children's bodies but take little or no care for the spiritual life, exposing their children to the germs of a sin-infested society."

Even good parents sometimes make no "real effort to understand and guide their children through the difficult temptations of youth which exist today on every corner, at every date, every party, every high school."

Schools: The American school system is telling youth—"Knowledge is goodness; the more you know, the better you are * * * Yet if this were true, America would be a land of saints."

Without God in the schools, youths receive no training of the will, no teaching of principles of right and wrong. "By logical suggestion, teen-agers now have the idea that morality depends on customs; goodness and badness are as changeable as high-school fads; whatever the crowd does is right."

"What then are we to expect of our teen-agers? In the hands of too many pagan educators during the formative years of their life, they learn nothing about God, nothing about the soul, nothing about life's purpose * * * And the tragic results are just beginning."

The press: "Through the medium of lurid pictures and realistic stories of all forms of vice and crime, today's newspapers are actually selling crime to teen-agers. And when the teen-agers buy the very articles they advertise, the same newspapers then condemn the teen-agers. * * * Today's newspapers are advertising crime. Teen-agers merely falling for the advertisements."

The police: Evidence of corruption in Government, and police who abuse their authority create resentment among youth. "It just doesn't make sense to a teen-ager when a policeman drives them off the street and yet is blind to the real crimes that stare him in the face."

"I've had the experience several times as a priest of standing on a corner just talking with teen-agers when suddenly a police car pulls up and tough cop yells: 'Okay, you guys, beat it. Get moving!' Even as a priest I felt within me a burning resentment."

As for being in gangs, "teen-agers just have to be together—That's part of growing up."

Where are teen-agers to go to recreate? "If half the billions spent on crime detection were spent on its prevention there would be far less so-called juvenile delinquents."

Filthy literature: "No one seems too much concerned, but the business of filthy literature is doing more harm to teen-agers than the whole narcotics trade. Taking narcotics has fearful physical consequences that people can see. But sex literature sold at corner newsstands and drug stores is responsible for more crimes than most people suspect. When purity goes, it leaves a teen-ager with such a weakened personality that he quickly and easily becomes a victim to all forms of vice. I doubt if the average parent has even the slightest suspicion of what can be bought at the corner drugstore."

Summing it all up, Father Egan said: "Teen-agers are more sinned against than sinning."

Then, returning to his teen-age mission of Brooklyn youths, he apologized, "Pardon me. I have 900 kids here now. Tough ones, too!"

The Paradox of Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein the following editorial which appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on January 17, 1954:

THE PARADOX OF SURPLUSES

Last week there came out of Washington official word that the Federal Government can do nothing about allocating business to so-called distress areas of New England unless manufacturers in this region can bid successfully for the orders in the open competitive market. It is not a new story. It is just reiteration of what we have been told before.

In other words, the Government will not order cloth from mills in New England just for the purpose of stockpiling to keep our textile workers on the job. The answer, again, is no. We got it from the Democrats and we got it from the Republicans.

Yet, the Republicans, just like the Democrats, keep on buying butter. Producers of butter keep on turning the stuff out in merry fashion, knowing that all they make over and above the market demand will be bought by the Government for 65 cents a pound and stored away. The surplus is now being stored away at the rate of one thousand tons a day. Uncle Sam now is the world's greatest butter-owner. He has one hundred and thirty-one thousand tons of it.

While New England was being told last week that the Government will not send orders to distress areas, a businessman in Minnesota asked the Department of Commerce if he could buy a quantity of Uncle Sam's surplus butter at 50 cents a pound to ship behind the iron curtain. The answer was no. Not qualifying as an international economist, we can't say whether the refusal was justified or not. It is the opinion of a lot of Americans that someone (besides the producers) should derive some benefit from all that butter we have stored away. We must have friends somewhere who could use it; and it may be said that the Government has taken a loss on so many things that it certainly could not squirm over giving a bountiful supply of it to public institutions in the United States—first.

The butter situation brings us down to the question of giving producers of cloth an

equal consideration. If we can keep 131,000 tons of surplus butter, which is perishable and is expensive to keep in storage, why can't we produce cloth and let the Government buy the surplus at a fair support price?

We—all of us—are giving money away, anyway, to the butter producers, and we might as well give away the butter, too. And, if we could do that, why not give away a lot of good American cloth? Put both butter and cloth on our mothballed merchant ships and dump them both in the countries of our friends to help to feed and cloth them. It certainly would be good, substantial propaganda in favor of the democratic form of government. It certainly would show up the Communist part of the world, which couldn't even try to equal the gift.

Not only do we need to keep the friends we have, but we need to adopt tactics which will stop the steady progress of communism among the underprivileged, underfed, underclothed peoples of the world who will listen to any elaborate promises in the hope that their lot will be improved.

It is recalled that, during World War II, we sent large quantities of butter to our Soviet Russian allies as an outright gift. But, rather than distribute it among the starving people in Soviet-dominated countries, the Russians—after the "brass" had taken what it wanted, used the butter to lubricate their military vehicles.

We believe that textile manufacturers and the hundreds of thousands of persons who have depended on that industry for a livelihood in the United States are as much entitled to consideration in price supports and the handling of surpluses as are the producers of butter.

Not to be selfish about it, why not give existing textile manufacturing firms all over the country, North and South, a go-ahead signal to produce a standard type of fabric, with the first objective being to get the looms turning, and the second objective being to use the surplus to spread the doctrine of democracy all over the world, by showing people everywhere that our productive machinery and our way of life have no equal in any totalitarian or socialistic state.

Over the years, we have spent perhaps uncountable billions of dollars in almost futile efforts to publicise America as a force for peace, to show ourselves as we really are—a generous, as well as a productive neighbor who is willing to give liberal quantities of what he does not need himself, to improve the well-being of his fellowman.

At every turn, the Communists have endeavored, sometimes successfully, to frustrate our efforts. They actually were stunned by the success of our give-away program in Germany. Food and clothing for people everywhere, shipped over the seas in our great but almost completely idle merchant fleets, would be a knife in the back for communism.

Indiana Popcorn Production Leads Nation for 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an article from the Indianapolis Star under date of December 23. Indiana is proud of its many accomplishments:

INDIANA POPCORN PRODUCTION LEADS NATION FOR 1953

WASHINGTON.—Indiana is the popcorn-growingest State in the country, the Agriculture Department disclosed yesterday.

Hoosier cornfields this year provided 74 million pounds of succulent kernels so highly prized by the Saturday matinee set. The Hoosier popcorn harvest came from 40,000 acres.

The Indiana production was equal to 24 percent of the entire output of the 11 commercial popcorn States for 1953. Illinois ran second to the Hoosiers with 48 million pounds. The national production was listed as 308 million pounds.

The popcorn harvest was the second largest on record. The Hoosier production was a record for Indiana. Yellow varieties made up 83 percent of the popcorn grown in the Nation.

National Debt Burden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, it is entirely appropriate in connection with that wise and vigorous effort to have economy in Government, which should be the ideal of the Federal Government, to know that we may proceed in a confident—not in a panicky—spirit, first, to pay our bills which dictates the proposed increase in the debt limit and, second, to provide what is needed for the Nation's security without shortchanging its human and material resources at the same time. The appended analysis of the national debt burden shows that the American economy is vigorously and effectively holding its own year after year and that we are on top of our debt burden and it is not on top of us:

[From the New York Times of October 4, 1953]

NATIONAL DEBT BURDEN SHOWS DROP

(By Burton Crane)

Despite an increase in net public and private debt in this country since the end of 1946, the national debt burden has actually fallen. At the end of 1952 it stood at 190 percent of national income, against 187 percent at the end of 1951, 221 percent at the end of 1946, 184 percent in 1943 and 425 percent in 1933.

New debt compilations were published in the September issue of the Survey of Current Business, prepared by the Department of Commerce. They show a slight upward movement in public net debt since 1946—only $6,700,000,000—with Federal debt dropping and borrowings by States and municipalities gaining $13,200,000,000.

RISE IN FARM DEBT

They show a rise in farm debt from $7,700,000,000 to $15,100,000,000 in that same period. They show corporation debt—under the impetus of the excess-profits tax to a large extent—almost doubling from $85,300,000,000 to $167,400,000,000. But they show other private debt zooming upward at a terrific rate. In this category nonfarm mortgage debt has jumped from $32,500,000,000 to $74,800,000,000. Other debts of individuals rose from $20,600,000,000 to $45,400,000,000. Noncorporate and nonfarm private debt expanded almost 2½ times in 6 years.

Consumer credit, according to Federal Reserve Board figures, has expanded about 2.7 times in this period. It stood at $25,705,000,000 at the end of 1952. Other statistics indicate that auto loans outstanding rose from $900,000,000 to $6,700,000,000 between the ends of 1946 and 1952 and loans on sales of major household goods jumped from $3,200,000,000 to $9,800,000,000. In these 2 categories about 60 percent of all sales were made on time last year. They accounted for roughly two-thirds of all consumer credit.

Two figures are commonly used in discussing the Federal debt. The first—not shown in the accompanying charts—is the gross debt. The second is the net debt, making adjustments for the assets held by Government corporations and agencies.

In 1929 the gross debt stood at $16,300,000,000, which was 18.7 percent of the national income of $87,400,000,000. By the end of 1932 Government deficit borrowing had raised it to $20,800,000,000 but national income had fallen to make this debt 49.4 percent. Although the end of 1937 saw the debt at $37,300,000,000, this was only 50.7 percent of national income, so greatly had the latter increased.

When the war broke out at the end of 1941, the percentage was 55.8. At the end of 1945 Federal gross debt had been expanded to $278,100,000,000, which was 152½ percent of national income in that year. That proportion has dropped steadily in every year since then. At the end of August, 1953, with the debt higher than it has been since early 1946, its percentage of national income was only 87.6.

PRODUCTIVITY IGNORED

Arguments of the past regarding the debt burden have customarily ignored the rising productivity of the American economy, for which the lowest estimate is 1.7 percent, compounded annually. If our gross Federal debt remains inside the $275,000,000,000 debt limit and if productivity raises national income by 1.7 percent a year for 27 years, the debt burden will return to the 55.8 percent level of the end of 1941.

In other words, increases in national income will have wiped out the entire burden—although not the apparent amount—of World War II Federal debt. Our debt will rest no more heavily on the earning power of the people than did that of 1941.

If 2½ percent is used as the annual improvement factor, the debt burden will be back to the 1941 level in 18½ years.

Following are representative figures on net public and private debt at year-ends since 1929:

Net debt figures of United States

[Billions of dollars]

Year ends	Total					Debt as percent of national income
	Public and private	Public	Federal	Private	Corporate	
1929	190.9	29.7	16.5	161.2	88.9	218
1932	174.6	37.9	21.3	136.7	80.6	419
1933	168.8	41.0	24.3	127.5	76.9	425
1937	182.0	55.3	39.2	126.7	75.8	248
1941	211.6	72.6	56.3	139.0	83.4	204
1945	406.4	266.4	252.7	140.0	85.3	223
1946	397.5	243.3	229.7	154.2	93.5	221
1947	418.0	237.7	223.3	180.3	108.9	211
1948	434.3	232.7	216.5	201.6	118.0	195
1949	447.9	236.7	218.6	211.2	117.8	206
1950	488.2	239.4	218.7	248.8	139.6	204
1951	521.2	242.0	218.7	279.2	158.8	187
1952	552.7	250.0	224.2	302.7	167.4	190

Changes in net private debt since the end of 1946 have been as follows:

Net debts of private borrowers

[Billions of dollars]

Year end	Total private	Corporate		Farm	Nonfarm mortgage	Nonfarm other
		Long term	Short term			
1946	154.2	41.3	32.2	7.7	32.5	20.6
1947	180.3	46.1	62.8	8.6	38.7	24.1
1948	201.6	52.5	65.5	10.8	45.1	27.7
1949	211.2	56.5	61.3	12.0	50.6	30.8
1950	248.8	60.1	79.5	12.2	59.4	37.6
1951	279.2	64.6	94.2	13.6	67.4	39.5
1952	302.7	69.9	97.6	15.1	74.8	45.4

Government statisticians measure the nonfarm noncorporate mortgage debt—mostly on 1- to 4-family dwellings—and consumer credit against disposable personal income. The aggregate of the two ranged upward to about 56 percent of disposable personal income in 1932 and 1933 and dropped to about 16 percent in 1945, due both to rising income and to wartime restrictions on consumer finance and nonessential construction. By the end of 1952 the figure was at 37 percent.

Unfortunately, the mortgage figure for August of this year is not available but a comparison on consumer credit is possible. In 1929 it accounted for 7.6 percent of disposable personal income. In 1940 it went to 10.8 percent. In 1945 the figure was 8.7 percent. If one estimates disposable income for the third 1953 quarter as the same as that for the second quarter—gross national product is expected to be virtually unchanged—and uses the consumer credit figure for August, the proportion turns out to be 11.7 percent.

TVA Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following resolution:

Whereas the Tennessee Valley area is threatened with a power shortage, which if permitted to materialize, will adversely affect the growth and development of the area in the entire country, and will also impair national defense in cases of an emergency; and

Whereas the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) has materially contributed to the development of the Tennessee Valley area, which in turn has redounded to the benefit, development, and growth of the entire Nation; and

Whereas the program being undertaken by the TVA is of such a comprehensive nature that it benefits the entire Nation and not just the section in which the TVA facilities are located; and

Whereas adequate appropriations are needed to maintain, operate, and further develop the TVA to provide sufficient facilities to meet the needs of the Tennessee Valley area and national defense needs in case of an emergency; and

Whereas it is the belief of the mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Corinth, Alcorn County, Miss., that the TVA is a national asset and should be further encouraged and fostered: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Corinth, Alcorn County, Miss.—

That the President and Congress of the United States are hereby respectfully requested and petitioned to continue supporting the TVA by adequate appropriations to carry out and develop the TVA program.

That copies of this resolution be mailed to the President of the United States; to the Honorable JOHN C. STENNIS and the Honorable JAMES O. EASTLAND, United States Senators from the State of Mississippi; to the Honorable THOMAS G. ABERNETHY, United States Congressman from the State of Mississippi; to the Citizens for TVA., Inc.; and to the Daily Corinthian.

LESLIE HORN, *Mayor.*
GERALD HARRISON,
City Clerk.

Beware of the Sales Tax Under Any Name

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the following address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, November 21, 1953:

It will be a pleasant change for the average American to get a 5- or 10-percent reduction in his income tax at the next session of Congress which begins early in January.

It is not much, but at least it is something.

It may pay for the kids' dental bills, or make it easier to have a week's vacation at the beach, or help to replace dad's suit which is getting stringy at the cuffs and the heels.

That is, if they let us keep this savings in taxes.

However, I am not so sure that they will. I think it only fair to warn you ahead of time of a plan afoot to turn this giveaway into a takeaway. So that you, the consumers, can block it before it becomes law.

The whole plot reminds me of the pickpocket who presented a large bouquet to his victim with one hand while he relieved him of his wallet with the other.

Now don't misunderstand me. I have no intention of putting the Federal Government and a petty thief in the same class. Far from it. We need a great deal of money to provide for defense and other public services. The people in Washington would prefer to collect this money in a way that would not hurt or anger people. They often employ the device of hidden taxes or the method of taxation in disguise on the theory that what you don't know won't trouble you.

The forthcoming income-tax reduction will be most welcome as long as they don't try to cancel it out by imposing a sales tax on us.

They may call it a manufacturers sales tax and make it appear that business will assume the burden and not the consumers. There was a time when this would fool people. Experience has since taught us that this and similar taxes are passed along through increased prices. The family budget, as always, is the one that takes the licking.

Administration spokesmen have hinted at a Federal sales tax on a number of occasions and in a roundabout way.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce have come out for it in no uncertain terms.

The NAM president called for a uniform tax of 4¼ to 5 percent on all manufactured goods, except food and food products, to begin on April 1, 1954.

Organized labor, small business, and consumer groups are opposed to such a levy.

Income taxes are based on the ability to pay. The more money you make the more money you pay, not only in amount but percentage-wise also. Most people will agree that this is the fairest formula. The sales tax works the other way. As an illustration we may take movie, cigarette, and gasoline taxes that are presently being collected by cities, States, and the Federal Government. If a man earns over $7,500 a year he has to give up 4.6 percent under this form of sales tax. If he makes between $3,000 and $4,000 he is clipped for 8.4 percent. But if his income goes down below $1,000 the tax goes up to 11.8 percent.

You can imagine what it will be like if they blanket most of the things that you buy with this type of tax bite.

Here's the way it works: They will probably avoid a retail sales tax whereby you would know at once, at the time of the purchase, just how much you would be paying to the United States Treasury on every article. That would be too open and direct. Everywhere you turned you would find the Federal Government reaching for extra money from your pocketbook. This would lead to a storm of public protest and perhaps a buyers' strike.

To get around this, the masterminds will try to conceal the raid on your purse by calling it a manufacturers' sales tax.

Let's take some even figures to explain it, realizing that these would be applied right down the line to a long list of products, even those selling for less than a dollar.

Suppose a 5 percent retail sales tax is collected on a $200 product. The Government would get $10. You would pay $210. Under a manufacturers sales tax, however, $10 more would be collected by the manufacturer, middlemen, and retailer, each charging a profit on the tax. Twenty dollars would be the final hidden tab that the consumer would have to pay, bringing the total cost of the product up to $220, or 10 percent above the original selling price.

If the manufacturer is made to pay a $10 sales tax, he adds it to his price. Then comes the markup along the way, boosting the final retail price until it levels off at $220. You would pay $220 under a manufacturer's sales tax and $210 with a retail sales tax. Both are harmful. The only difference is that one is worse than the other.

We already have nearly 100 Federal retail and manufacturers' assessments. Now, they want to add more.

To take the sting out of it, so that the public won't realize what's going on, they may side step any mention of a general sales tax and cover up their moves by simply asking Congress to add on many more products to the present list.

Those who favor this means of raising revenues believe that we should not rely too much on taxing incomes but should transfer some of this burden toward consumption taxes on what we buy and use.

They argue that it is unfair for our National Government to get 84 percent of its revenues from income taxes on persons and corporations while relying upon all other sources for the remaining 16 percent. They point to the example of great Britain, where the levy is better balanced, they claim—56 percent of revenues from incomes and 44 percent from indirect taxes on sales.

The reason that a manufacturers' levy is more costly to the consumer is that it pyramids. It is the practice of business to

add a certain fixed percentage to the price it pays for each article.

As between the two types of sales tax, the one applied at the factory is much easier to collect. There are less than 300,000 manufacturers, but more than ten times that number of retailers.

Consumers will rebel, and it is better for them to do so now, to kill off this method of taxation before it becomes law.

Retailers will object because they figure it will restrict buying power.

The 48 States will complain because they see the Federal Government invading the last province of taxation left open to them.

As that able newspaper, the Christian Science Monitor, observes: "But a uniform tax overlooks some important considerations. Should a bottle of perfume and a pair of work shoes both be taxed 4½ percent? Different products belong in different levels of necessity and utility.

"But we fear the NAM is not thinking merely in terms of removing discriminations and inequities from Federal excise taxes. Mr. Sligh, of the NAM, says his proposal would bring in no more revenue from this source than do existing levies. And he refers to it as the first step on a firm road to fiscal security.

"What then? Is the maufacturers' sales tax to be urged as a whole or partial substitute for the graduated income tax? There has been no little talk of this in conservative circles. But the NAM must know surely that along this road lies political dynamite. And the word 'political' cannot always be brushed aside as connoting mere demagoguery. What breaks out into politics usually has roots down into the facts of living. But it is one of those facts of living that the smaller the income the less margin there is above the necessities of life until the margin becomes minus. And, conversely, the larger the income the greater is the margin for luxuries, for savings, and for support of government. Any proposal which ignores this fact is in for a fight."

So comments the sage Christian Science Monitor.

The excess-profits and income taxes bear heaviest on the rich, in contrast to the sales impost—or imposition—which hits those who can least afford it.

It will be opposed by myself and most Congressmen from industrial areas. But we need help from every consumer if we are to block this hidden attack on the average person's pocketbook.

A sales tax, however levied, however concealed and disguised, is a wage cut for workers, and a cut in income for farmers. Large families would suffer more than small families.

The last time it came before Congress was in 1932 when the administration of Herbert Hoover desperately needed new revenues. The Republicans were joined by some Democrats, but the proposal was crushingly defeated.

Today, however, a group of industrial, business, and financial leaders are determined to put it through. They will coat it with sugar to make it easy to take. If it is ever swallowed by the American public, it will cause a belt tightening in the budget of every average family. And it will be a long time, if ever, before the damage is undone.

In plain terms, the scheme is to transfer more of the tax load to those least able to pay.

If they ever sneak over a sales tax, either at the retail or the manufacturers' level, the sky will be the limit.

That is my opinion. You make have another.

But you owe it to yourselves as consumers to investigate this issue and make your views known before time runs out.

Thank you for listening and good evening.

An Economy Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include editorials from the Reno (Nev.) State Journal and the Lynchburg (Va.) News in support of a proposed amendment to the Constitution to permit executive disapproval of specific items in general appropriation bills.

There has been much discussion over the course of the years concerning this problem. It is not a partisan matter. Every President in the last 50 years or so has made the same complaint, that he is often forced to sign into law bills calling for the expenditure of funds which he does not approve. If he refuses to sign, he runs the risk of depriving the particular department or agency entirely of the wherewithal with which to operate.

At least 39 of our States permit their governors to veto separate items, and in some cases, simply to reduce an item.

It is true that the power of the purse lies in the Congress and should be jealously guarded. It is equally true that, at times, appropriations are voted for expenditures that are not warranted, many of them for worthy purposes, but which could be eliminated or deferred.

The dollar is our first line of defense. Unless we have the courage and the self-control to protect its value and its buying power, we have lost the very economic system which we are fighting to save. Our power to resist Communist forces abroad will be fatally undermined if we fail to preserve a basically sound economy here at home.

To do this will require great sacrifices on the part of each one of us.

To do this and to make a real effort to reduce governmental expenditures Congress should be buttressed by power in the President to eliminate individual items which he feels are unwise, or, at least, deferable. Today that power does not exist. The President must accept or reject the complete bill in its entirety. He is often faced with a dilemma. He is practically forced to sign an appropriation bill. Otherwise he leaves an important Government department without funds. But he is frequently compelled to approve individual items in the bill he would never sanction if they were incorporated in separate legislation.

I appreciate the fact that adoption of this proposal for a constitutional amendment could not be effective to help our immediate situation due to the fact that ratification by the required number of States would take substantial time. I see no prospect, however, except that this will be a continuing problem. The sooner we come to grips with it, the better.

To accomplish real economy in Government operation requires the full cooperation of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government. The President has voiced a sincere plea for strict economy. Congress should not deny him any weapon he can employ to bring about drastic reductions in nondefense, nonessential spending. We should open up our anti-inflation, pro-tax-cut arsenal by prompt enactment of legislation to enable the President to disapprove individual expenditures in appropriations bills.

In addition to House Joint Resolution 43 proposing a constitutional amendment, I have also introduced House Resolution 484 which would amend a basic act passed in 1842 by providing that for the purpose of the Executive veto, each separate item appropriating money shall be considered a bill within the meaning of the Constitution.

Whether the necessary approach to this problem is by the constitutional amendment route is a debatable point. I lean toward the view that amendment to the Constitution is necessary. There can be little dispute, however, it seems to me, over the proopsition that we should set out at once down one or the other of these alternative roads toward fiscal reform. If a constitutional amendment is necessary, the time element involved furnishes an additional reason for early action.

Opposition to this legislation may be voiced in that it centers too great power in the President. Any step to enlarge Executive authority is certain to be viewed, and very properly, with some skepticism. Generally speaking, it is the position of many members, including my own position, that curtailment rather than enlargement of Executive powers is desirable. Particularly in the field of appropriations, the Congress has historically been reluctant to yield any part of its control of governmental operations. When we are faced, however, with an operating deficit year after year, greater than the entire cost of running the Federal Government 20 years ago, the time has come for us to reappraise our attitude. Right at this critical moment, it seems to me the most constructive service we could render would be to adopt every reasonable suggestion advanced to cut down the cost of running the Government.

Although as a general principle, I am opposed to the grant of more power to the executive branch of our Government, I think we have reached the point where, on balance, the stern necessities of fiscal solvency should outweight our concern, proper as it is, for legislative sovereignty.

It is true, of course, that the President might strike out some pet project of an individual member and that action would stand, unless revised by a two-thirds vote. But that is a chance I am prepared to take. I believe that, by and large, the people of this country would prefer to run the hazard that some particular Federal project might be curtailed if they were reassured by the prospect of achieving a substantial overall reduction in spending.

I can think of no single action which the Congress could take which would be more likely to bring about long range and substantial savings of the taxpayers' dollars than to provide for the Executive item veto.

This is our opportunity to prove that we mean what we say about economy and are not rendering lipservice only. Admittedly, from time to time, the item veto will step on congressional toes. Do we have the courage to endure that pain in order to serve the larger good of the entire Nation? I believe we do and that we would be applauded for evidencing that fact.

The editorials referred to follow:

[From the Reno (Nev.) State Journal of Tuesday, October 6, 1953]

AN ECONOMY PROPOSAL

The proposal to give the President of the United States the power to veto individual items in appropriation bills is likely to come up when Congress meets again. Many Presidents have favored it.

Any Member of Congress who wants to put a brake on wild Government spending would have a strong motive to support it. But will the measure sponsored by Representatives KEATING and BENNETT fare better than its predecessors? With President Eisenhower's public support, it might.

The lack of this presidential power has often made it possible for Congress to force expenditures a President—including Presidents Roosevelt and Truman—would have preferred to avoid. In order to make sure of the essential appropriations contained in a bill and to avoid the often appalling consequences of killing them, Presidents have accepted unwise expenditures and Treasury raids that could hardly be justified.

But a Congress genuinely bent on economy might well deprive its less scrupulous Members of their power of blackmail over the Chief Executive.

But this is not the sort of issue over which voters and taxpayers become emotional. Even those who are aroused over economy in the abstract find it hard to get excited over the mere mechanics of government.

[From the Lynchburg, (Va.) News, September 26, 1953]

ITEM VETO POWER

"At present, when Congress passes a bill to spend money, the President cannot approve just parts of that bill, but must approve it in full or turn it down in full. Should this be changed so that he can turn down some parts of the bill without turning down the entire bill?"

This question was the subject of a recent Gallup poll and, as might be expected, the result was overwhelmingly for such a change, with more articulate expression from the public than is usual in a topic of this legal, technical nature.

Only 13 percent of those interviewed voiced no opinion, in fact, with a bare 24 percent against the change. The description of the survey fails to note any of the reasons given by individual citizens for opposing the change, but our surmise would be such comments as "it would complicate enormously the passage of the bill," "the system has worked well enough nearly 200 years," "it might increase the Executive power over Congress, which is already too great," "it would make even more complex the complex subject of appropriations." None of these comments strike us as particularly valid.

But constitutional experts and students of political science have long contended that elimination of the expensive and often useless little riders attached to huge appropriations bills will save the taxpayer millions and results in better legislation.

Presidents of both parties have expressed the need for an item veto power. Democrats and Republicans alike agree on its desirability, reflecting the nonpartisan nature of the issue. President Eisenhower has expressed the view that it would be of great assistance to him.

How can such a change be brought about? The cure, says Congressmen BENNETT (Democrat, Florida) and KEATING (Republican, New York) is a constitutional amendment which they have drafted. That means a long road ahead, even if the battle isn't strenuous—and it is unlikely that it would be in view of the overwhelming weight of public opinion for the change.

It is interesting to note that the Confederate Constitution provided for an item veto, leading Adlai Stevenson in last year's campaign to remark that the provision was "a classic example of the political genius of the South."

Repeal of Federal Tax on Gasoline and Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from a speech delivered by me at a meeting sponsored by the Young Republicans of Clinton County, Iowa, December 15, 1953:

During the past 2 decades, the American people have endured taxation by expedience. Federal taxes have been levied, not with regard to justice or to sound economic principles, but by impulse and improvisation. As a result, our Federal tax structure is not really a structure at all but a tangled jungle of taxes that have sprung up without any plan or overall direction.

It is time to call a halt to this trend of expedient taxation. And I submit that a good place to start—an excellent place to start—is with the Federal tax on gasoline.

Here is an outstanding example of overlapping taxation, of Federal invasion of a tax field that was originated by the States, thoroughly preempted by them and relied on by them to finance one of their major activities—highway development.

The Federal gasoline tax was first imposed in 1932, after every State in the Union had imposed its own tax on gasoline for highway purposes.

It is interesting to go back and explore the motives that led the Federal Government to levy such a flagrantly duplicating tax on a product that had already achieved great practical economic importance. Why was the Federal tax on gasoline first imposed?

It was imposed because the Federal Government found itself faced with a budgetary crisis in 1932 and felt an immediate need for additional revenue to tide it over a particular emergency. It was imposed with the strict and clear understanding—indeed with the public promise—that this most undesirable and indefensible measure would be retained for 1 year only and then permitted to expire.

The preliminary report on "double taxation," issued by the subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee on December 29, 1932, describes the passage of this tax by Congress. It states:

"When the gasoline tax was first discussed in the House of Representatives of the United States, it was felt by many that this field of taxation was fully occupied by the States and should be left to them. The House did not include this tax in the revenue bill as transmitted to the Senate. The Senate, however, in the light of later figures as to the deficit and as to the probable tax yield, was obliged to amend the bill by including a tax upon gasoline."

In January 1933, when the Ways and Means Committee was holding hearings on the extension of the Federal gasoline tax for the following year, Chairman DOUGHTON said: "This was an emergency tax. I am sure Congress was reluctant to impose a tax on gasoline, but in order to balance the budget, Congress felt that it was necessary temporarily to impose a tax of 1 cent a gallon on gasoline."

I could go on with many more quotations to show the misgivings of Congress about this tax and its determination that the tax would be permitted to expire immediately.

But the promise that was made in 1932 remains to be kept. Twenty-one years have passed, and we still have a Federal tax on gasoline. The only difference is, the rate of this tax today is twice what it was back in 1932 when Congress reluctantly imposed this levy.

Now the question may arise, why single out the gasoline tax for discussion? Congress imposes many different types of excise taxes. That is true. But gasoline is in a very different category than most of the other products taxed by the Federal Government.

For one thing, many of the Federal excise taxes are levied against luxuries, products like jewelry, perfume, cabaret entertainment, cigarettes, and liquor.

For another thing, gasoline stands alone as one product that is heavily and necessarily taxed by the States to support the construction and maintenance of their highway systems.

It is an ironic commentary on our tax structure that such a luxury as a mink coat is taxed at 20 percent of its retail price, but here in Iowa a gallon of gasoline carries a total State and Federal tax burden of nearly 33 percent of its retail price.

Iowa needs its gasoline tax to build roads. It has levied a tax on gasoline for this purpose since 1925. It is seriously hampered by the fact that its major road-revenue tax is encumbered by the weight of an additional Federal levy.

That is one of the reasons why our State legislature this year memorialized Congress to keep its long-deferred promise and repeal the tax on gasoline. A memorial to the same effect was adopted and sent to Congress by the Fiftieth Iowa General Assembly in 1943.

I would like to make one very strong point about this matter of keeping the promise Congress made when it first imposed a Federal tax on gasoline.

There is a saying now, a joke, that nothing is so permanent as a temporary tax. It got to be a popular saying because many people believe it is true. We wonder why there is so much cynicism about government. We wonder why people seem to have lost faith in the motives and the intentions of public officials. I think the case history of the Federal tax on gasoline goes a long way to explain this trend of thinking.

Congress imposed the Federal gasoline tax with the frank admission that it was unfair and with the clear intention that it would be repealed. A promise that has been broken for 21 years—more than broken, shattered, by increases in the rate of this tax—cannot help but undermine the faith of the people in their Government.

This breach of faith is underlined by these who now maintain that the Federal gasoline tax must be preserved because it is the source of Federal highway aid grants to the States. Some persons make this claim because they sincerely believe it. But others make it even though they should know better—they must know better.

They must know that the Federal Government has a distinct responsibility to contribute to the support of our highway system, a responsibility that was recognized from the early days of this Republic. As far back as 1806, Congress passed an act to "regulate the laying out and making of a road from Cumberland in the State of Maryland to the State of Ohio."

From this beginning developed our system of Federal highway aid to the States, which assumed its present form in 1916—16 years before the adoption of the Federal gasoline tax. But Congress did not venture into the field of highway aid grants out of a spirit of sheer generosity. Roads, let us remember, are of critical importance to the national defense. If we did not have roads for any other purpose—if we had no private automobiles, no trucks and no buses, we would still need roads to defend our country. We would need them for other matters which are distinctly Federal responsibilities—namely, carrying the mail and promoting interstate commerce, whether by gasoline vehicle or by stagecoach and oxcart.

When it adopted the present Federal highway aid policy in 1916, and when it imposed the Federal tax on gasoline, 16 years later, there was not in the mind of Congress the slightest intention of linking a tax on gasoline, or any other tax, with road grants to the States.

It is twisting logic as well as breaking faith to pretend a connection between a basic Federal policy of such long standing and this Federal tax. I would like to point out that the history of the Federal gasoline tax in itself denounces the theory that this measure is linked with Federal highway aid.

This tax was imposed in 1932 at 1 cent per gallon to meet a Federal deficit. It was increased to 1½ cents a gallon to meet another fiscal crisis in 1933, and then reverted to its original 1-cent rate at the end of the year. In 1940, with the defense crisis upon us, the Federal gasoline tax was again increased to 1½ cents a gallon. In 1951, during the Korean war, the rate was boosted to 2 cents a gallon.

I might say that in 1940 and 1951, when this tax was increased, we heard no talk about it being connected with Federal highway aid. We hear that claim only when an effort is made to repeal the tax. Yes; when more revenue is wanted, this is a general revenue tax that can be increased to finance any and all activities of government. But if someone talks of repealing the Federal gasoline tax, then it suddenly becomes directly linked with Federal highway aid.

I'd like to add that if there were any real linkage between this tax and Federal highway aid, then the Federal highway program would not be aid at all but a profitmaking proposition for the Federal Government. Our present Federal aid program is at the all-time maximum level of $575 million a year. But the Federal gasoline tax costs motor-vehicle owners alone some $800 million a year. On this basis, the motorist puts up a dollar in Federal gasoline taxes for every 72 cents of Federal highway aid.

Those who try to intimidate the taxpayers with the threat that repeal of the Federal gasoline tax will mean an end to Federal highway aid grants either don't know what they are talking about or don't care much for the facts. To my mind, there isn't any reason whatever why Congress should abandon its 147-year-old practice of forwarding highway development, when it finally keeps its word and repeals the 21-year-old temporary tax on gasoline.

As a Member of the House of Representatives, I sponsored a bill in the 81st Congress to repeal the Federal tax on gasoline and the automotive excise taxes. I failed to secure enactment of this measure, and the Korean war made its passage out of the question. But now we are thinking about tax reduction again, I intend to press for Federal gasoline tax repeal. I intend to do what I can to see that our Government keeps its promise.

This will be an important measure of tax relief to the people of the United States as a whole, who are paying close to a billion dollars a year in Federal gasoline taxes for both highway and nonhighway use of this product. It will be an important measure of relief to the people of our own State, who are paying about $16 million every year on this one tax. It will be an important measure of relief to all people who must bear the heavy burden of this tax just because they have to use cars and trucks to earn a living. I mean people like the farmers of Iowa—89 percent of them own cars and use cars in their work, 29 percent of them own and rely on farm trucks. These are the people the Federal gasoline tax hurts. These are the people who have been injured by the failure of Congress to keep its word about repealing this tax.

Repeal of this tax will be a big help, too, for the States in their efforts to carry forward their highway policies. For they will no longer be competing with Washington for revenue for the gasoline which they must tax heavily to support their roads.

Repeal of this Federal gasoline tax will put renewed vigor into the States' rights movement—for it will mark the withdrawal of an unwarranted Federal encroachment upon a vital State-tax field.

Repeal of this tax will go a long way toward clearing up the hodgepodge of duplication in State and Federal tax policies. It will end one of the most horrible examples of multiple taxation.

But I think perhaps as much as anything repeal of this tax will restore the faith of the people in their Congress and will convince them of the sincere intention of the Federal Government to pull itself out of the 20-year rut of makeshift legislation and expedient taxation.

Feeling now is strong against the Federal gasoline tax. Just this year the legislatures of more than 20 States—including our own—memorialized Congress to repeal this levy.

At the 45th annual meeting of the Conference of State Governors last August, the chief executives of the States reiterated their appeal for the Federal Government to withdraw from the field of gasoline taxation. Similar sentiments have been voiced by many leading organizations of farmers, businessmen, manufacturers, and highway users.

Yes, public opinion and State government opinion stands firmly in opposition to the Federal tax on gasoline. What is needed now is congressional action. When elected a Member of the United States Senate from Iowa, I pledge myself to keep up and to intensify in that influential body the efforts I have already made to bring about the long-delayed removal of the Federal Government from the field of gasoline taxation.

I believe in keeping promises—and I believe our Government, too, should keep its promises to the sovereign people of this Nation.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Tuesday, January 12, 1954, edition of the Independence Examiner, Independence, Mo.:

MATCHES NATION'S MOOD

President Eisenhower's first state of the Union message was a thoughtful expression of his middle-of-the-road philosophy of government.

He believes that under recent Democratic administrations the Federal Government had grown much too big and had taken far too strong a managerial hand in the individual American's affairs.

So the President would return to the States and the local organizations as much as possible of the administration and operation of programs affecting the citizenry. He would put control at the level where the problems exist and are best understood.

At the same time, through the medium of tax reductions and similar adjustments, he would widen the individual's control over the money he earns.

Mr. Eisenhower also would introduce business-tax and incentive policies to encourage the further growth of individual and corporate economic enterprise in America. For he believes that the basic strength of the country lies in the productive results which follow when many men are free to make their own decisions.

As part of this same aim, a trimmed-down Federal budget brought gradually toward balance must inevitable be envisaged.

All these things favor a lifting of restraints upon the freedom of the individual and the economy as a whole, and a corresponding contraction of the area of government control. Yet the President does not mean by these proposals to suggest that he would thereby abandon the average American to the cold winds of chance.

He recognizes that in this difficult age, when not only the economic fate but the very life of a man in Independence may depend on a decision made in Moscow or Peiping, measures must be taken for the protection of the people.

So he would continue, in modified form, a system of price supports for the farmers, who are at the mercy of market and weather conditions beyond their control. He would extend social security to cover an additional 10 million Americans not now secure in their declining years. He would stretch unemployment insurance to blanket in another 6.5 million unprotected workers.

Similarly, he would recommend certain changes in the country's basic labor law—the Taft-Hartley Act—to correct what he thinks are inequities revealed by experience. And he would continue public housing, slum clearance, and suggest other measures to improve housing conditions for the American populace. Schools, health, and highways are not neglected in Mr. Eisenhower's broad plan for safeguarding the individual's welfare in an atmosphere conducive to his freest and fullest development.

Using a reasonably elastic gage, one might say that the same balance of considerations governs the President's foreign policy recommendations.

His goal is peace, enforced by a defense impressive to any potential enemy. He believes that defense, coupled with the armament of our allies, is now sufficient to give the West the initiative in the struggle against communism.

But Mr. Eisenhower is troubled lest that world initiative be maintained at the cost of a declining individual initiative at home. He wants free Americans kept secure from outside peril, but he does not wish them to be safe simply to endure the crushing weight of a mountainous tax load, or the octopus-like controls of the Federal bureaucracy.

So he would have us shift our defensive reliance to greater air power and nuclear weapons, away from large ground armies, with the conviction that in time this tighter, more mobile force would not only be superior but an easier burden to bear.

This is the middle of the road as Mr. Eisenhower sees it. It is not a spectacular course, but it appears as safe and sane as humans can make it. And there are large indications that this is the part of the highway the American people are most eager to travel in this time of trial.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from a recent issue of the Daily Star-Journal, Warrensburg, Mo.:

AN END TO BIG GOVERNMENT

More than likely big government is due for a trimming down in size. Many thinking Americans have appealed for this for some time. Why? Exhorbitant costs. Dominating influence. And then America grew on the idea of local and State independence. On the idea of individual initiative and enterprise.

In the past year two independent boards of citizens, similar to the original Hoover Commission, were set up to devise sound ways to reduce the overgrown executive branch of the United States Government. What their findings will indirectly accomplish will, we believe, be beneficial to us all.

The original Hoover Commission came up with some shocking revelations. Among them were:

The Federal Government spent more than $500,000 in an effort to fire one employee.

It required $10 worth of clerical effort for the Government to buy a 50-cent typewriter ribbon.

The books of the post-office system were maintained by another agency—in Asheville, N. C.

The Army tore down a camp in Alaska which had cost $16 million. The lumber was shipped to Seattle, where it was taken over by the Interior Department and reshipped to a point in Alaska only 10 miles from the Army camp site.

Agreement by military services on underwear specifications alone would save the Government $7 million a year.

Veterans Administration was taking four times as long as private companies to pay insurance claims to dependents and was using five times as much manpower per policy.

More than 12,000 Federal employees were administering the affairs of 393,000 Indians, or 1 Federal employee for each 32 Indians.

Ever hear so much tomfoolery?

Well, it may be nearing an end. The recent commission has broader, more far-reaching authority than the first one several years ago, although it did a fine job, too. The new one was empowered to deal with policy as well as procedure. President Eisenhower is for decentralizing Government. Many in Congress now are.

The trend is definitely turning in the other direction. It looks like we may see the stuffings knocked out of big Government.

A Call to Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, from August 28 to September 2, 1953, the annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference met at Camp Cejwin, Port Jervis, N. Y. The National Jewish Youth Conference is a permanent nationwide body representing 300 local councils and is sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board.

During the assembly, Seldon M. Kruger delivered to the delegates an address entitled "A Call to Leadership," urging American youth to be vigorous defenders of freedom and liberty. Mr. Kruger has served as chairman of the National Jewish Youth Conference and the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, the coordinating body for youth organizations in the United States, such as the National Student Association, United Christian Youth Movement, YMCA, YWCA, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Mr. Kruger is also a member of the board of directors of the National Jewish Welfare Board and the National Council of the American Joint Distribution Committee. Currently, he is serving as the United States representative on the executive committee of the World Assembly of Youth, the international anti-Communist youth organization, and is an accredited observer to the United Nations.

His excerpted address is as follows:

A CALL TO LEADERSHIP

(Address by Seldon M. Kruger, chairman, National Jewish Youth Conference, at the annual assembly, National Jewish Youth Conference, August 28–September 2, 1953, Cejwin Camps, Port Jervis, N. Y.)

INTRODUCTION

It is really a pleasure for me to come before you, the representatives of American Jewish youth, and to give to you an accounting of our stewardship over the past year. You have received my annual report, which I hope you have all had a chance to read because it summarizes the major activities of the conference since the 1952 annual assembly. The report indicates a record of progress in face of what often seemed to be insurmountable difficulties. The chief problems we faced were the need of more budget, achieving a sound basis cosponsorship, and the international situation which has effected the lives of us all and the general apathy and indifference which seems to have settled in our communities.

Tonight, instead of repeating what already appears in my annual report, I should like to discuss with you a problem which is of considerable importance to us as young Americans.

Today we are passing through a period in which there is altogether too much fear, suspicion, and hate in the atmosphere. Never since the days of the alien and sedition laws of 1798 has there been a time when freedom to think, freedom to inquire, and freedom to speak were in greater jeopardy; never a time when pressures for conformity to the prevailing mores were heavier.

We have no thought police in the United States, but discussion, criticism, and debate can be stifled by fear as well as by force. School teachers, Government clerks and officials, and even businessmen can be frightened out of their rights under the first amendment as effectively as if that amendment were repealed. Of all forms of tyranny over the mind of man, none is more terrible than fear—to be afraid of being one's self among one's neighbors.

Judge Learned Hand warns us of the danger we face today in these eloquent words: "I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only insofar as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving."

There is an obvious explanation for the wave of fear which has engulfed too many of us. We are faced with real dangers. There is a conspiracy directed from Moscow aimed at undermining our security and the security of all free peoples and countries. Communist agents have infiltrated into high places in organizations, Government, labor, and the arts. There has been a determined effort to get our people to accept the Communist ideology. And, as we meet here tonight, the agents of the Kremlin are busy—very busy indeed—trying to create dissension among the free nations and peoples and disunity within each of the target free nations. The goal of the Russian leaders is world conquest—nothing less. These are facts which we must keep in the forefront of our minds.

Another real danger which we must wrap our minds around is the danger from the use of the wrong methods in combating the Communist menace. Of late some of our people—often good people—in their zeal to combat communism have been betrayed into using methods and measures which impair the sources of our strength. They are attempting to make criticism socially dangerous and trying to force conformity through fear. Unless we wish to succumb to totalitarianism, we must not use totalitarian techniques in battling against communism.

The question is how to meet most effectively these real dangers with which we are faced. It is the supreme duty of those of us living in America today successfully to meet these challenges to our security and our freedoms. A large part of the answer, I believe, lies simply in being brave. This does not mean that we ignore the dangers

nor that we be unconcerned, but we must get on top of our fears and be unafraid. Frightened people are too often irresponsible and some times dangerous. Only by being unafraid can we protect this land of ours and keep it the land of the free.

Being unafraid has a significant advantage in our fight for freedom. It immunizes us against those who would exploit our fears for their own political advantage. Hitler could never have taken over the German people if he had not first terrorized too many of them and then exploited those fears. It is difficult to disunite brave people because there is a camaraderie of courage which provides a shield against those who try to set friend against friend—who try to fill us not only with fear but with suspicion and hate.

Being unafraid means for us, as it did for our forefathers, something more than a willingness to die on the battlefield. We must have the courage of our convictions. We must be for something—not just against something. We must be willing to speak out for freedom and for justice. When I say we must be willing to speak out for freedom, I mean quite specifically to speak out for every one of the rights defined in our basic document, the Constitution.

We must not only be willing to speak up for freedom but also be willing to speak out against injustice. Our forefathers knew that a free society to endure must be a just society. Therefore, everyone concerned with freedom in America must be concerned about justice, too. One reason why we must encourage criticism is that we must encourage people to point out such injustices as remain in America and to fight for their elimination. An unjust society cannot long endure. An injustice against one person puts all in danger. Only by safeguarding the rights of minorities do we safeguard the rights of majorities. Racial and religious discrimination, special privilege, and inequality of opportunity for growth are on the wane in this country; but, where they still exist, these and other injustices must be discovered and rooted out.

INTEGRITY IS THE HEART OF THE MATTER

Freedom can be lost by subversion from within just as readily as by intrusion from without. Therefore, integrity must be coupled with freedom if the battle is to be won.

Occasionally one runs across men who seem not to know the significance of integrity and its relation to freedom. These are they who bring to the process of any endeavor not an open mind but a prejudgment. They stand on some theory, conviction, or dogma which claims absolute validity, and which in its nature is not amendable to revision in the light of evidence. They often wear the scholar's garb and go through the motions of scholarly competence, but they lack that basic desideratum without which there is no integrity in thought or action: they are not ready to revise their convictions in the light of verified fact and experience. They do not engage in inquiry and teaching for the purpose of testing a hypothesis and revising assumptions in the light of the evidence. Instead, they insist that all inquiry and all instruction are merely instruments to their preconceived end. This is the game of the Communists.

Consider an example. The lengths to which the dogmatic compulsions of the closed mind will drive its slaves are shown in the criminal absurdities of Kremlin anti-Semitism.

Integrity is the heart of the matter. Given integrity, freedom has foundations; without it, all freedoms are endangered. No man should be put in jeopardy for holding an opinion; that is the meaning of freedom. But when an opinion holds a man freedom for him has become impossible because there is no integrity in him. Free inquiry into the evidence in the continuing search for truth is beyond the capabilities of the closed mind. Thus, the man who lacks integrity disqualifies himself as a candidate for the fraternity of the free. He is committed in advance to the betrayal of freedom to whatever dogma he espouses. He has the same standing in the citadel of democracy as any other traitor, and his treasonable presence within the college, organization, or government does not give him the right to claim the protection of the freedom which he has violated and which he seeks to destroy. It is not possible to give freedom to those who would destroy you with it. That is not democracy but anarchy. The Communists, for example, say that any restriction on their activities is not democratic. Yet, if we granted undisciplined freedom to Communists, they would model us after the satellites of Russia and make us Russia's servant. They would destroy our free institutions—deprive us of our rights and freedoms. The United States Communist Party and its assorted front groups are nothing more than the United States branch office of the Kremlin reacting only to the strings pulled by those "pompous, posturing practitioners of terror" who sit in the Kremlin.

In the present hour, we must avoid two extremes of error. On the one hand there are those who say that, in order to protect the innocent, we must let the guilty go unidentified. Others claim that they would rather victimize some who are innocent, to make sure that all the guilty are caught. Surely both these attitudes are counsels of despair.

If we believe that bank robbers are bad men, are we then justified in stationing police at the door of every bank to shoot every person emerging from the bank on the theory that eventually we shall shoot a thief? And is it not equally absurd to argue that because most people who come out of banks are honest customers, we should never arrest anyone coming from the bank for fear of stigmatizing honest customers among whom a thief has mingled? And finally, before we yell, "Stop thief," we had better be sure that the man accused is actually running with the loot, not merely trying to catch a bus. Once the thief is caught with the goods, we must be sure he is properly punished.

For my part, I will have none of the dragnet methods of trial by accusation which are being proposed in some quarters. Neither will I stand aside and refuse to act when the evidence is clear, merely because some men allege that action against the guilty is an infringement of freedom. Freedom rests on the careful safeguarding of the innocent and the equally careful identification of those not innocent. To act otherwise is to be morally irresponsible.

COMMUNISM AND M'CARTHYISM—FOES OF FREEDOM

Those who support the Communist cause will tell you it's undemocratic, hysterical, reactionary, and fascistic if you refuse to associate or work with the Communists. They will tell you that for the sake of unity, it is imperative that Communists have a right to participate in all group activities. What they will forget to tell you that their sole purpose for participating in any organization is to inject their poisonous propaganda and indoctrination into the well-meaning people around them. By cleverly talking the language of liberalism, they have persuaded many that they stand for everything that is humanitarian while all their opposition is evil and bad. It is not unusual for Communists and fellow travelers to shout "McCarthyite" at those who refuse to fall for their vicious line. Knowing full well that many people do not like to be associated in any way with the junior Senator from Wisconsin, they have by a clever device of calling all opposition McCarthyites, Fascists, reactionaries, and imperialists, made many liberals and other citizens immobile in the fight against communism. For fear of being branded a McCarthyite, many people have done nothing to combat godless communism. It would seem to me that those of us who dislike McCarthyism have a special responsibility to employ those measures and methods in rooting out this totalitarian evil which are consistent with the democratic and judicial processes in which we believe.

To be anti-Communist is not to be pro-McCarthy, undemocratic, hysterical, fascistic, or reactionary. This indeed is the equation the Communists and fellow travelers would have us accept. That is, 1 anti-Communist is equal to 1 McCarthyite. They hope that this false equation of theirs will be implanted in enough decent people so that we will sit back and do nothing rather than be called a McCarthyite. It seems clear that there are twin evils. One is the fascism of the right while the other is the fascism of the left

DECALOGUE OF COMMUNISM AND M'CARTHYISM

It is interesting to note that the methods used by the Communists, fellow travelers, and McCarthyites are identical. Let us analyze the characteristics of those who blindly follow both doctrines:

1. They use and abuse the constitutional protections for the free exchange of ideas, but seek to deny these protections to all others.

2. They insist that they and they alone possess the power to determine what is right for everybody.

3. They appeal to fear and passion, never to reason.

4. They are intolerant of opposition or deviation, identifying all opposition as heresy. The Communists call all their opposition Fascists and McCarthyites, while the McCarthyites call all who oppose them Reds.

5. They use and justify the use of any means to achieve their particular ends, ends which they consider absolute and unchallengeable. Without scruple or compunction, they ride roughshod over integrity, democracy, and freedom.

6. They drape themselves in the cloak of freedom, but cynically destroy the soul and spirit of the freedom whose name they invoke.

7. They avow respect for religion but stamp ruthlessly underfoot all standards of morality; they threaten to subject to their inquisitions even the clergy and the ministry.

8. They are, in short, the arrogant and the absolute, who sit in solemn judgment on the loyalty and morality of their fellow citizens, all unhumbled by the sheer effrontery of such a usurpation of conscience and of God.

WE MUST FIGHT COMMUNISM

What confronts us is fear and nameless anxiety and insecurity which grips the inner souls of many of our people. On this heavy tide McCarthyism and communism float free, looming before us and threatening dangerously to overwhelm us.

We must fight the onrushing forces of communism which are loose in the world. Against these two forces, both drawing their strength from the same factors, we must contend with all our might, with all our resolution, with all our faith and devotion.

If we surrender, we deserve to go under. But I hope that is not the temper of this audience. It is not my temper. Effectively to oppose these forces, we must oppose them together. We must not allow our numbers to shrink or our spirit to weaken.

We must be united in our resolve; we must draw to our ranks all who love freedom.

But even this is not enough. We must not stand huddled and irresolute until the evil forces are upon us. We must attack. We must advance. We must strike out while we have the freedom to strike out.

We must rid ourselves of fear and prejudice.

We must drink deep of the courage and boldness which characterized our past as Americans and Jews. Let us show our abiding faith in the freedom whose praises we sing.

Indeed, as our great President Franklin Roosevelt said, "We have nothing to fear save fear itself." We can and must meet the challenge of the present hour. We fight in freedom's name, and in the name of freemen everywhere. This land of ours is the rock upon which all free mankind rests. We must defend freedom on it, as well as in the world beyond it.

Let us unfurl our banners. They are proud banners. They have never been shamed by defeat. Freedom has been set back but never vanquished. She is unconquerable.

In this spirit, we can advance against any enemy. Let us be humble only before the Lord, who, when He created man, created him free and unafraid.

This is our challenge. It is a call to leadership. It is, in a sense, a call to survival. I beseech you to meet that challenge and answer the call.

State of the Union Message Acclaimed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Everett Daily Herald, of Everett, Wash., on Friday, January 8, 1954.

It is my belief that the thinking expressed in this editorial is a very fair criterion of the opinion of a great majority of the people in the Pacific Northwest:

CHALLENGE OF RESPONSIBILITY SEEN IN IKE'S STATE OF UNION MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

In his state of the Union message to Congress President Eisenhower presented the people of America a program geared to our hopes and our aspirations for a prosperity based on peace instead of preparations for war. The message could be divided into three parts: The prevention of any serious interruption in American prosperity, providing national defense in the atomic age at lower cost, and retention of the initiative in the battle against the Red tide of communism. Throughout his message our President emphasized that these objectives could be ours to have and to hold through efficient government.

Congressional Democrats were said to have greeted the message with reserve with Republican Congressmen fully endorsing some points and expressing opposition to others. The Democrats promised to support the program whenever it serves the national interest even if this sometimes means political sacrifice in this election year. This attitude is to be commended. Senate Republican Leader WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND promised that the Congress will be no rubber stamp. The general attitude therefore can be construed to mean careful consideration of Ike's proposals for the good of all.

We believe that the President's message will prove historic in a new area of governmental and economic reconstruction. We believe further that Mr. Eisenhower threw down the gauntlet to the Congress, challenging it directly and explicitly as to whether it will or will not be recorded as a Congress of responsibility.

Again the element of the crusade promised the Nation by the President entered into the state of the Union address. Again one could sense that the Chief Executive asked us all to increase our faith in the future of our country and its ability to meet the problems and answer the questions of the hour. Listening to him, we felt that we were being addressed by a close friend, offering us, as epitomizing the Nation, friendly bits of advice, advice based upon deep conviction and abiding confidence in our reactions.

When it was all over there came to us the conviction that we and our leader will receive a new measure of bipartisanship as Republicans and Democrats alike consider the message as thoughtful men and women.

Within the message are suggestions that demand careful study. These are far-reaching in their implication and in their end results. The message did not bypass any phase of domestic and foreign affairs. President Eisenhower gathered them all up and presented them in one package for the Congress and the Nation to see and to consider. He continued on the premise of his crusade that the problems of the White House are ours and the problems of the people are his to share and to share alike and to solve together.

We asked for this restoration of this part of our American heritage and we can now proceed to prove that we are a people of responsibility and that we are represented by a Congress of the same degree of responsibility. We have long asked for the right to know of the things affecting our future and the Chief Executive laid them on the table in the clear light of day. We have asked and we have, in the state of the Union message, received and we should be gratified.

The Man Who Sentenced Beria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, can the man who sentenced Beria give us a clue to what might happen in Russia? Liquidation of the Bolshevik clique by the professional military?

Reports indicate Beria was sentenced to death by the man he made eat crow in 1945–46, General Konev, Soviet opposite number to Gen. Mark Clark, on the allied commission in Austria. Konev, proud oldtime professional, took his orders from Zheltov, bullnecked Beria hatchetman in Vienna.

Konev, short, well liked by his troops, was friendly to the West. He didn't last long in Vienna. Zheltov saw to that. Then, the tables turned. Stalin died (?), Beria is tried. Konev sentences him. Where's Zheltov?

Does this mean that the professional military of Russia has had its fill of the crum-bums in the Kremlin? Does it spell a better break for the Russian, his wife and family—for all the men and women who spilled blood in the hopes of a better tomorrow, except the crum-bums. One wonders. One hopes. One prays.

Amend and Defend the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article from the New York Journal-American under date of January 11, in which Mr. George E. Sokolsky sets forth an able argument in opposition to the position taken by the Committee for Defense of the Constitution. He charges Lucius D. Clay, Edward S. Corwin, and John W. Davis under guise of the above-named committee of setting out to frighten the American people by misstating the case, exaggerating the premise, and engaging in fantasy.

I commend this article to the attention of all Members of Congress:

THESE DAYS
(By George E. Sokolsky)

AMEND AND DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION

I received a letter signed by three important names, Lucius D. Clay, Edward S. Corwin, and John W. Davis. It is a form letter, probably sent to thousands of citizens, and came from the Committee for Defense of the Constitution, a laudable purpose, indeed. The very first sentence hit me with all the vehemence of an advertising agency calling attention to a body odor. It read:

"The Constitution is again under attack."

Naturally I assumed that here might be another committee to fight the Communists, perhaps for their abuse of the fifth amendment, but I was in error. This committee was organized to fight Republicans and Democrats who favor the Bricker amendment.

From the general tenor of the statement signed by these gentlemen, one would imagine that the American Constitution had been prepared by the Persians and the Medes and is unchangeable in every comma and semicolon. Actually, the Constitution makes ample provision for amendments and has been amended 22 times, including once to eliminate alcoholic beverages from our lives and another time to restore such liquid refreshment, after a campaign in which one of the objectives was freeing beer from the bootleggers and racketeers.

Misstating the case

Therefore, it must be reported that when the lawyers and laymen of this committee set out to frighten us by announcing another attack on the Constitution, they were misstating the case, exaggerating the premise, engaging in fantasy, which may be characteristic of pleading lawyers, but is not likely to influence hard-headed Americans who recognize a fact when they see one. The fact they see is what while the Constitution provides that the legislative function of this Nation is designated to Congress, it can be and is being performed by foreigners in the United Nations because of treaties signed for what appears to be one particular purpose but becomes expanded to be all-inclusive. Cases have already been in our courts concerning this and in most of them the United States has lost to the foreigners.

The Constitution needs to be amended to protect this country from alien powers whose activities neither Alexander Hamilton, John Jay nor James Madison could have foreseen. In fact, none of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention could have imagined that the United States would ever become involved so deeply in the affairs of Europe,

Asia, and Africa, they, the delegates, just having freed themselves from Great Britain and European tutelage.

The difference of opinion here is a hidden one—not at all the one that is generally discussed. What is really at stake is this: The internationalists have learned nothing since 1945. They have not truly appraised the events that have happened since our Government finally discovered that Soviet Russia is not an ally but an enemy. They have learned nothing from the failure of the Marshall plan and the development of neutralism among nations to which we contributed billions of dollars; they have learned nothing from France's sabotage of the European Defense Community; they have learned nothing from the Korea war and the Indochina war; they have learned nothing from the inability of NATO to form a European army or from the establishment of 1 overt and 2 covert Communist governments in Latin America. They do not seem to realize that the Panama Canal is in peril.

Disaster and humiliation

And having learned nothing, they proceed as though the United States can afford to pursue a policy devised in the first 5 years of the 1940's and which brought to our country disaster and humiliation.

These matters these internationalists do not wish to have discussed openly on the floor of the Senate in relation to treaties written between this country and some others. They can avoid such discussions by secret executive agreements which bind the American people to conditions of which they are not cognizant. They generally hold that such legislation as Senator BRICKER now proposes, and John Foster Dulles supported before he became Secretary of State but now rejects, is unnecessary because Dwight D. Eisenhower is President. How can anyone consistently support in the Eisenhower administration what he opposed in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations?

The United States will continue after Eisenhower is no longer President as it is continuing after Roosevelt and Truman are no longer President. If John Foster Dulles favored the principles of the Bricker amendment when Truman was President, why does he oppose them now?

Report on Recent Trip to India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address which I made over radio station WABC of New York on Saturday, January 16:

This I can safely say after my recent trip to India. If you cannot succeed, once you are in India, in divesting yourself of western standards and measurements, then trust no judgment you make.

In Bombay, an American woman, married to an Indian, said to me, "I have lived here 20 years and I am still fascinated and bewitched." And, she might have added, "bothered."

If I were to be limited to one word descriptive of India, I would choose, "vibrant." This, in the main, springs from the marriage of the ancient with the new. If we are to understand India at all, we must understand how the patience of antiquity mingles with the restlessness of our own age, like the slow, lumbering of the water buffaloes through the streets of Indian cities, while the automobiles horn their way through. Or, perhaps, this marriage is even clearer when we understand that the village spinning wheel is as important to the development of India as is the irrigation project, both of which are significant parts of India's 5-year plan.

India, full of color, full of movement, alive with men and women of searching, sensitive minds, bears a gruesome burden—hunger. India, only at the beginning of industrialization, must maintain and sustain two and a half times the population of the United States in a country one-half our size. There is no hiding from the ugliness of hunger.

It is my purpose tonight to dwell on what the Indian leaders told me. A good part of every discussion was devoted to American-Indian relations. That they have deteriorated steadily and visibly for the past year cannot be gainsaid. It pleased me that the Indians with whom I spoke refused to indulge in noncommital comment. In his directness, the Indian spares neither his own country, nor ours—mostly, of course, ours. These are the views, as nearly as I can summarize them:

1. The United States is naive.

2. The United States is frightened out of all proportion of the Soviet threat.

3. That a country like the United States, with its wealth and power is unbecomingly permitting itself to be manipulated by not only the colonial powers, but by a country like South Korea.

4. That by insisting upon labeling all aid as anti-Communist, the United States has convinced the recipients that they are being used merely as pawns in the East-West cold war. Would the United States extend aid to help less fortunate countries and people were there no Communist threat? They doubt it.

5. That visiting Americans insist that receiving Governments bow low in praise and gratitude for the aid given. Such attitude, they maintain robs the receiver of his pride and the giver of his grace. How would you like to be the poor nephew being constantly reminded by the rich uncle that he is sending him through school?

6. The United States is losing fast its civil liberties at home, and we are behaving like trapped animals in a cage held tight by Senator McCarthy.

7. That we are pushing China further into the bosom of the Soviet Union by our refusal to recognize her. Recognition is not approval, but the acknowledgment of the existence of a government which is conducting the affairs of that state.

These are the views I heard over and over again whether in Bombay, Agra, Jaipur, Delhi, or Calcutta. For the sheer fun of it I would recite them every time some Indian began, "Now, Mr. Congressman, tell me why the United States. * * * " This would start them laughing, but they held fast to their views.

It is not good, not good at all. We have neither of us moved forward to understanding. We have both failed. Our own failure is ironic. Anticolonial, we stand accused of favoring colonialism. Welded firmly to the tradition that the individual is served by the state rather than the state by the individual, we stand accused of totalitarian practices. How did this come to pass? There are two roads, one positive, the other negative, we have taken that have led to it. Our overriding consideration has been the threat of war, properly so, but, and this but is of the utmost significance, but we have refused to recognize that a country may have external problems of her own apart from the East-West tension. For example, tension exists between Pakistan and India. When we speak of giving military aid to Pakistan and establishing bases there, India sees it in light of her relationship with Pakistan.

We may say it is absurd for India to view Pakistan as a threat, but the fact is that she does. Pakistan views India as a threat, in her turn, spending 60 percent of her budget on the military, and admittedly, because of her fear of India, which relatively is so much more powerful than she is. We exist, India asserts, as a nation with identity of our own, not just in line with the East-West tug of war. And she has her own shape, color, form, and wants to speak with the voice and judgment that is her own. Freedom consists also, does it not, she asks, in freedom to make mistakes?

Our second road of failure has been not to acknowledge that an idea is on the march, an idea that no name calling, no war itself, can stop. The United States has long known that idea for herself. We have called it various names, such as equality of opportunity, democracy, the four freedoms, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That idea has marched painfully, slowly, and even bloodedly forward since the end of feudalism in the West. The oppression of the many by the few is the yoke the East seeks to yank from its neck. And it is to this idea that the Soviet Union, for its own sinister purpose, has addressed itself in the East. It is in this strain of idealism that the Soviet Union has found its most potent weapon. We, the United States, founded in idealism, pursuing a way of life in that idealism, have failed to identify ourselves with it abroad. It is the United States which has brought its idealism into action in these countries of the East through point 4 and economic assistance.

The Soviet Union has done nothing about the poverty, the disease, the illiteracy; only pointed at it through a worldwide and centrally directed organization. But we have won few hearts with our aid, because somewhere along the line, despite its inherent nobility, expressed in the deed, it has become identified as a military maneuver. Our aid, I was constantly being told, was born out of desperation, not out of hope for a world aborning.

India is so desperately in need of peace, so desperately in need of time to meet her own economic and social needs that I believe she has unfortunately forced herself into a state of mind which recognizes no Soviet threat. If she can say with such assurance that the United States aggrandizes such threat, it can be said with equal assurance that India, wishfully minimizes it. Despite the invasion of Tibet, despite the steady infiltration of Communists into India through common borders, despite the fact that India has had to remove quietly Communists from sensitive government posts, despite the hard facts of Communist manipulation in the Korean prisoner issue, India openly acknowledges no threat. I have heard Indian leaders say, "We will fight if need be." The obvious question is, of course, with what? How militarily prepared can you be for a threat which to you does not exist. This insensitivity to Soviet aggression is, in my opinion, Nehru's blind spot.

The conversations I had with Nehru were a revelation to me. He did most of the talking in an engaging openness of manner. "Dynamic neutralism," he called Indian's foreign policy, meaning that India will move as each situation demands, that she will not set herself in any rigid pattern and become its prisoner. "It is possible," he said at one point, "that India's position has been misunderstood in the United States. There is no unbridgeable gap between the two countries. There are only differences in approach." "Feudalism," he stated at another point, "is breaking up in the East. How shall that process be accelerated?" The Communists propose force—revolution and

then Kremlin domination. Nehru wants the change accelerated by democratic means. Because of this he has earned the enmity of the Communists. He is in no camp, so each camp assails him, the right and the left. Nehru, within his own mind, has set a neat little pattern, the West on one side, the Soviet on the other, and between them Mother India, leading each to shake hands with the other. The enigma of Nehru is that with his own keenly developed sense of values which always implies preferments and judgments, he has withdrawn to the frayed commonplace that every story has two sides, implying in turn that each story has only two sides equally wrong and equally right. Are there equal rights and wrongs in freedom versus tyranny?

I talked to Nehru about the refugee problem since that was one of my objects in visiting India. I believe that few of us in the United States understand the magnitude of the refugee problem faced by both Pakistan and India.

Some 15 million people crossed from India into Pakistan and from Pakistan into India at the time of partition, 8 millions going the first way and some 7 millions the other. The bitterness over partition has not by any means evaporated, and the refugees in both countries who fled from riots and bloodshed in religious differences are a constant reminder of the bitterness. There is still a constant crossing, sometimes by as many as a thousand a week. In the beginning the refugees settled on whatever land they could find, building their huts of sticks and mud, thousands upon thousands in a single colony. Very few came with any possessions at all. Most of them were untrained for the economy into which they were pouring. Only the hot sun of India and Pakistan averted disease epidemics. Both countries have started large housing projects for the refugees. In India, a training and educational program is under way. The program is split into many levels, from the training in weaving to the training in engineering skills. The refugees have added innumerable problems to problems already innumerable. Yet neither country has asked for aid in their programs of housing, rehabilitation, and education. They are struggling with a gigantic social and economic task. It is here, perhaps, that the Western World, including the United States, can give evidence of its concern for humanity and for humanity's sake.

There are refugees, uncounted, throughout all of the East. The problem can be regionalized by all affected nations of the East combining in association to exchange knowledge, data, resources, drawn each from its own experiences and pooled for the common benefit of all. To such regional association the Western powers can give such aid as it deems able, proper, and necessary. Such an association among these countries could work toward the dissolving of rivalries and enmities, ancient and new. It could lead to further regional cooperative efforts which would more surely spell peace for themselves and the world.

This is a job to be done with no ax to grind. This is a job to be done for and with people. The foes are poverty, disease, hunger; the conquerors, men and women of good will.

Trade, Tariffs, and Shipping Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an address by Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, before the Hampton Roads Foreign Commerce Club recently.

Mr. Strackbein's speech follows:

Not in many years has the subject of tariffs and trade excited the widespread interest that is evident throughout the country today. This is not an accident. The fact is that we have reached a point in our tariff history when a thorough reexamination of our trade policy is highly urgent.

This is because we have been going in one direction, i. e., toward free trade, for nearly 20 years. Many of our industries are being injured and others are worried about this trend. Therefore we should take time out to see whether the long strides that we have taken have carried us to a desirable economic destination. If the distance traveled thus far has been in the right direction, have we gone as far as we should? Should we continue down the same road? If, on the other hand, we have strayed or have gone too far, then, of course, the question is in what direction we should turn now.

It happens that you who live in Norfolk or its environs and make your living here are in many respects on the very spot where the forging hammer strikes the red-hot iron. Yours is a shipping community; but you also build ships; and coal is one of your important items of commerce.

What, it might be asked, is so extraordinary or unique about such a combination? I shall try to explain. We are talking about trade and tariffs.

As a port your interest is in trade. The more there is of it the better it is for you. The more railway freight cars that roll in from the interior with coal and other cargo, the higher your port activity. The greater the number of oceangoing vessels that come and go with incoming and outgoing materials and goods, the more prosperous your community. All this would make it appear as if your whole interest lay in commerce. This would, in turn, predispose you toward free trade as against a system of tariffs.

But your situation is not that simple. You also build ships in this area. This puts you into competition with foreign shipbuilders.

American shipbuilders know what wage-rate competition means. Foreign ships are not imported as are many other products but the demand for merchant ships, like the demand for many other things, seeks the cheapest sources of supply. Without a shipbuilding subsidy, your shipyards would soon find themselves empty and falling in ruin. This is because without a subsidy your construction costs would be so high that ship operators would seek their new ships from foreign builders.

These comparatively high costs are duplicated in most American industries; in fact, in about all except the highly mechanized, mass-production plants. Our high wage levels are not sufficiently offset by higher productivity in all our industries and agricultural pursuits to enable them to compete in the open market with foreign producers. Any domestic industry in which wages represent a high percentage of total cost of production is at a disadvantage in foreign competition. Shipbuilding is one of many such industries. It is not a production-line operation.

In that industry, where a tariff is not applicable, the disadvantage is, as already indicated, offset in some degree by a subsidy. The aim is to overcome the differential in wage costs here and abroad. In industry and agriculture the same function is performed by the tariff. Of course, where imports do not compete with domestic production no tariff is necessary. For example, we levy no duty on coffee, tea, tin, crude rubber, bananas, and other products, which together account for nearly 60 percent of our total imports.

We have spoken of shipbuilding. Consider for a moment now the shipowners and operators. They are in a similar position with respect to operating costs. Wages of our seamen are higher than on foreign merchant ships. Moreover, our laws relating to merchant seamen require higher standards aboard than do other countries, thus leading to a further competitive disadvantage. Ship supplies and maintenance charges are higher too. Altogether these factors would lead to freight rates so high that few or no cargoes would be carried.

Here again we see distinctly the competitive disadvantage that arises from the higher American labor and living standards. The shipping world is a world of keen competition. The competitive frontier is on the high seas where ships under all flags freely pass each other as they ply back and forth. Point-blank wage competition is visible in its nakedness, unobscured by the crossing of national boundary lines. There are no customs houses where duties might be levied in amounts sufficient to equalize cost differences.

Our merchant marine therefore can only exist if the differential is made up, as in the case of shipbuilding, by direct grants or subsidies.

Our shipping has also been helped in recent years by statutory requirements that at least 50 percent of foreign-aid shipments be carried in American bottoms. This is somewhat on a par with the so-called "Buy American" Act that requires that the Government purchase American goods when these are available and when the quoted prices are not unreasonable.

You are aware, no doubt, that those who favor "trade not aid," those who would have us move yet farther in the direction of free trade, seek the elimination of the Buy American Act. Their position is also in opposition to continued subsidization of ship lines and ship builders.

Lest this statement be questioned by some who have recently heard of proposals made by the free trade group to subsidize industries which have been, or will be injured by foreign competition, I hasten to point out that the subsidies they talk about are of a quite different species. Mr. John S. Coleman, head of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Henry Ford II, and several others have indeed advocated so-called subsidies. But what they advocate is something entirely different from the shipbuilding and other similar subsidies.

For example, the purpose of the shipbuilding subsidy is to keep alive our shipbuilding industry.

The objective of the Coleman-Ford subsidies, on the contrary, would be to help liquidate an industry that some bureau in Washington would classify as inefficient or marginal on the simple ground that it cannot meet foreign competition. They would merely offer industry a temporary prop to lean on while it wound up its affairs and its employees looked around elsewhere for a job.

Thus the Coleman-Ford subsidy is no more than morphine for a dying man. Its purpose is not to keep him alive, but to help him expire quietly and without too much moaning and groaning. It is actually the reverse of what the free traders purport to stand for since it would hand the power of life and death over hundreds of communities to planners in Washington. Its sponsors well know that their program would spell ruin for area after area in this country.

In their book, the shipbuilding and merchant marine industries are not entitled to a life-sustaining subsidy, but rather a liquidating subsidy to ease their path to the graveyard.

Here then you as a community will find your interest on the side of the protectionists.

But this is not all. As a center that purveys much American coal your interests are linked with the carriers that haul the coal and the ship operators who buy it. You are aware that the importation of residual fuel oil has cut deeply into the consumption of soft coal. It is estimated by the National Coal Association that imports of residual fuel oil have displaced 35 million tons of our own coal. This has meant that the railroads that haul coal have lost that much of a paying load.

How has this come about? It is, again, a simple matter of lower costs. Coal operators can no more compete with low-cost residual fuel oil than your ship yards can compete with foreign shipbuilding yards. They can no more compete on an equal basis than our merchant marine can compete with ships sailing under foreign flags.

Here once more it is a question of upholding the American standard of living or watching an industry, the coal industry, already beset by other problems, driven to bankruptcy.

There can be little question that if American producers paid wages as low as those that prevail in other parts of the world, foreign competition would be easy to meet. If that is out of the question, as it appears to be, protective measures in the form of subsidies, as in the shipping industry, or tariffs or import quotas are necessary according to the varied needs of different industries.

Now, there are many reasons beside considerations of national security why it is imperative that we maintain a high level of economic activity, including shipbuilding and coal mining. Our national obligations are unprecedentedly high. Our debt is about to butt its head against the present ceiling of $275 billion. The interest on this debt alone is over $6 billion per year, or higher than our national budget of prewar years. Our national defense calls for outlays in the neighborhood of $50 billion per year. The total national budget today is nearly as high as was our total national income in 1939.

Obviously we cannot go back to the prewar level of prices, or anywhere near it. To do so would spell complete insolvency. We need a national income well above $250 billion per year in order to carry our burdens. Prices are high, but they must remain high. Production is at high levels, but it must remain there. The same is true of employment and of wages.

Certainly, economy in Government is desirable. We can all agree that waste must stop. But let us not get so far out of perspective as to believe that we can go back to 1939 economically without going through a wringer and a disastrous deflation beforehand.

All this has a strong bearing on the problem of tariffs and trade.

Our exports have been high these past 10 years. We not only made our own munitions of war but supplied our allies in great volume. After the war we shipped vast tonnages of food, materials, equipment, and supplies to the war-ravaged countries. This called for a vast increase in our output and led to rising prices. Inflation was in the making. Beyond this we were called upon to supply many of the markets that had previously been supplied by the other great exporting nations such as Britain, Japan, and Germany, which were in different degrees of prostration. Thus was our postwar export volume brought to record-high levels; and our prices and national income went up still more.

However, by 1949 this feverish activity had begun to wane. In fact, we experienced a recession.

The dollar gap, which was a measure of the unbalanced trade situation, was on its way out in 1949 and 1950. From an excess of exports that in 1947 stood at $8.6 billion, we had dropped to an excess of only $1.4 billion in 1950.

The Korean outbreak, on the other hand, upset this trend and the dollar gap reappeared in aggravated form. Prices resumed an upward trend. Nevertheless today all the evidence is that exclusive of military shipments our foreign trade is again approaching a balance.

It is understandable that our export interests—cotton, tobacco and wheat growers and our large mass-production industries such as automobiles, office appliances, machinery, movie films, etc., and the large labor unions in such industries, should desire to hold their markets abroad.

The combination is, however, a curious one. In order to work together, this triumvirate must ignore certain things.

The mass-production industries, for example, must ignore the little known fact that cotton and wheat producers enjoy almost complete protection against imports.

Not only do they have Government support prices, but, to prevent foreign cotton and wheat from injuring them, they are protected by rigid import quotas. Otherwise Canadian wheat and Brazilian cotton would flood our domestic markets.

Many industries that are exposed to injurious foreign competition wonder how spokesmen for cotton and wheat producers can so freely ignore their own protection whilst advocating more import competition for the other fellow.

Labor leaders in the large mass-production industries have been prone to overlook the interests of such of their members as work in the industries which cannot compete with low wage foreign labor.

Big business, big agriculture and big labor, in other words, have combined in a politically powerful free trade program. Their propaganda would have us believe that the freetraders are on the side of the angels but it must be evident that, like most economic groups, they are simply looking after their own selfish interests.

The freetraders generally demand now that imports should be brought up from the present level of nearly $11 billion to balance our exports of about $15 billion, regardless of whether we need the imports or not. The fact is, however, that our exports were highly stimulated by noncommercial shipments while our imports, with the exception of stockpiling, were not. It was our exports that went out of bounds (for very good reasons), not our imports, even though the latter, i. e., imports, increased from an average of $18.45 per capita from 1936–40 to $70 per capita in 1952.

As the war-torn nations are making their recovery, they are naturally supplying much more of their own home requirements than several years ago. Also, they have resumed exporting to their prewar markets. This they must, indeed, do if they are not to remain forever dependent upon us for help.

Our exporters, desirous of holding their high export volume, as already said, have concluded that we should open yet wider our own market so that the other great exporting countries could find a greater outlet here in place of their accustomed prewar markets overseas.

This demand poses a real question and has given rise to the great struggle over the tariff that we are witnessing today and will witness in the next Congress.

One of the questions is what would happen to our highly vulnerable and inflated economy under such circumstances. We are poised high and have far to fall. It is very easy to see what would happen to our shipbuilding and our merchant marine if the subsidy were removed. While visibility is not as good inland as on the high seas, it is, nonetheless, true that many of our industries are just as vulnerable to foreign competition as are shipbuilding and our merchant marine. The freer-trade advocates seek to minimize the importance of such industries and agricultural pursuits, but don't let them fool you. This minimization is one of the most actively used weapons and it is already backfiring.

Now, let us look at some of the tariff and trade facts that are available to us. Perhaps we can then better answer the question.

Since 1934 the United States has entered into about 35 foreign trade agreements. Our average level of protection is down from 50.02 percent during the 1931–35 period to a little over 12 percent at the present time on all dutiable imports. This is a reduction of about 75 percent. Mind you, between 55 and 60 percent of all our imports are and for 40 years have been wholly free of duty. If we average our duty collections of about $575 million over our total imports, we come out with an average duty burden of only a little over 5 percent.

The fact is that our average duty is lower than that of nearly all the leading trading nations of the world. We are about eighth from the bottom among 43 countries. Above us are Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Switzerland; nearly all of Latin America and most far eastern countries. Below us are the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Japan; also Argentina. That is all.

One thing we should not forget: and this is very important in view of the present inflated and vulnerable condition of our economy, mentioned above. These tariff reductions have not yet been tested in a buyer's market. Therefore we do not yet know how badly our industry, agriculture and labor have been exposed to destructive foreign competition. Why should we then be in such a hurry to strip our economic defenses still more? The prudent thing to do, in all good sense, would be to wait and see what may soon come upon us before we resume our unguided safari toward the free trade goal. Warning signals are being hoisted by more and more domestic industries, including some that themselves are exporters.

Also we should ponder well the wisdom of a course that would produce for this country even greater dependence upon exports. Countries that already experience such dependence, such as Britain, Germany, and Japan, regard it as weakness and a curse and not as a goal to be programmed and consciously sought.

Further, we should consider well the fact that in trade liberalization we owe no other country an apology. Those countries that protest what they continue to call our high tariff wall have in no case done more than we in slashing away barriers to trade. Many of them have erected other barriers, nontariff barriers, to take the place of their reduced tariffs. I refer to exchange control, devaluation, import licenses, quota, embargoes, etc. Such restrictions may be much more deadly than tariffs in choking off trade.

The real point in all this debate is this: The United States must stand by its friends among the nations of the world in the struggle against communism. Upon this point there can be no disagreement.

The question then narrows itself to one of how best to do this. There can again be general agreement upon the view that a strong Uncle Sam—a country strong economically no less than militarily, offers the best assurance to the free world against the Communist threat.

We come then to the final question, namely, What will most likely assure this economic strength? Will it help us to expose our propped-up and inflated economy, cushioned by price supports for farm products, by minimum wages, unemployment insurance, compulsory collective bargaining and other devices—will it help us to remain strong if we expose this structure to the devastating economic onslaught of low-

priced competition from abroad? If we are about to move into a buyer's market on a broad front, the answer seems clear. We are more vulnerable by far than ever before to such competition. Shall we then recklessly in a time of fair weather take down our defenses, hoping to run for cover if the storm strikes?

It may flatter our ego to say that we can outproduce and outcompete the world—but is it true? I leave the answer to your shipbuilders who well know the answer to that question.

What we need is a basis for fair import trade. No better approach to a high volume of trade has yet been found than the one of fair competition. Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks recently said that he was willing to accept foreign competition, even tough competition, in all the competitive factors except one, namely, wages. I agree with him. Fair competition will bring us the highest volume of profitable trade available. It will help retain for this country the economic strength that all agree is best both for ourselves and our friends across the seas.

Climate of Confidence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the New Haven (Conn.) Register of January 5, 1954.

President Eisenhower's talk to America, as his state of the Union message, was forthright and constructive, assuring our population that we do not approach economic disaster and lean years, as consistent critics of the administration would have us believe. The leadership of America realizes its responsibilities for the ensuing years and is prepared to meet them squarely with positive, progressive programs in its partnership with the American people.

The editorial follows:

CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE

The most important thing about President Eisenhower's speech to the American people is the fact that it defines—and underlines—the mood of confidence with which the administration is preparing to present and apply its answers to the major national problems. The President's words are a direct challenge to those political critics and economic soothsayers who would like to stampede both the White House and the public as a whole into the frightened idea that hard times are ahead.

President Eisenhower is refusing to accept any of these prophecies of "doom and gloom." And it is his most ardent hope that the citizens of the United States will also put aside the tools of fruitless and negative opposition and support him and his Government in an affirmative, constructive attack upon whatever problems arise for the Nation during the months to come.

The Eisenhower talk provides a heartening antidote to the dubious picture that has been presented of late by an increasingly partisan Democratic opposition. It is a firm and refreshing reply to the polite demagoguery by which so many prominent Democrats have consistently attempted to link the Republican Party with the concept of economic depression.

The speech it not distinguished by anything startlingly new in the way of proposals or by anything unusually dramatic in the way of slogans or rallying calls. But it does urge upon the American people a quiet, unified, unhysterical approach to the job at hand. It assures them that the administration is prepared to meet and defeat all problems—never to ignore them. It pledges an intense effort to forestall economic depression—if economic depression threatens. And, most important of all, it bases its whole approach upon a partnership with the American people rather than upon a paternalistic and superior ladling-out of emergency nostrums.

As a prelude to the state of the Union message and to the other crucial program announcements to be made within the next few days, it sets a tone to which the American people should find it possible to respond constructively and with confidence—regardless of party. As President Eisenhower said, his scheme for American progress is based upon no false promises, upon no bribes for special groups upon no threats. After almost 20 years of class legislation; after a whole generation, for instance, in which taxation has been viewed as much as a social weapon as a source of Federal revenues the people of the United States are now being offered a leadership designed to rally all groups to a single purpose—the general welfare. This is an opportunity that must be seized.

The Eisenhower talk will now be followed by a series of specific blueprints for action—and improvement—throughout the Federal Government. If the blueprints can reach the level of this introductory credo, if confidence and constructive unity can be achieved in Washington through the general support of the American people, there is—quite obviously—nothing that any of us should fear.

Free Enterprise in Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of January 13, 1954, describing an example of free enterprise in the field of foreign aid:

PRIVATE FOREIGN AID—A LARGE AMERICAN CORPORATION EXTENDS A TYPE OF FOREIGN AID TO OTHER NATIONS WITHOUT DIPPING INTO TAXPAYERS' POCKETS

(By Charles Stevenson)

The United States Government need not keep on forever giving away the taxpayers' money as foreign economic aid; there is another way to help nations. Slender, 52-year-old Bill Knox has proved it. He is president of Westinghouse Electric International Co., world marketer for the 300,000 products—from toasters to dynamos—of the 12th largest corporation in the United States.

"Let American industry show other countries how they can prosper as we have," Mr. Knox pleaded after World War II. "Don't spend tax billions doing it."

When Washington refused to give heed to Mr. Knox, he and Westinghouse International went ahead on their own and evolved a foreign-aid program that has no equal in government. This program is creating industries and jobs and higher standards of living all over the world, and it isn't costing American taxpayers a cent. It is a profitable private business enterprise that inspires foreign nations to help themselves.

The Philippines is a case in point. After the war Mr. Knox heard of rivers there that could be harnessed to produce electricity. He didn't immediately try to sell generators to the new Republic. Instead, he sent a mission of engineers and economists to survey the country's power resources and show Filipinos how they could use these to found a self-supporting economy.

VOLCANO CRATER USED

Nearly a year of effort went into blueprinting a program for stage-by-stage development of the Philippines. In searching for an ideal site for the first hydroelectric plant a survey party reached the sparsely settled, mountainous island of Mindanao. There they found a spot where an extinct volcano crater formed a lake that spilled over the 300-foot Maria Christina Falls.

"Put your hydro plant here," advised Conrad Myhre, Westinghouse's electrical engineer.

"You must be joking," a Filipino protested. "In Manila we cut off electricity at night because there isn't enough to go around. Why produce power that no one needs so far from civilization?"

Mr. Myhre, a thin, quiet man, stood his ground. "Because it will be cheap and earn an immediate profit," he replied. "You Filipinos now pay $4 million a year to import fertilizer for your rice crops. Put just a little more than this amount for 1 year into imported equipment and technical assistance and build both a powerplant and a chemical factory here.

"The factory will use just part of the new electricity to transform native iron pyrites into all the fertilizer you can use. The rest of the power can go into other industries—steel, maybe."

After studying the Westinghouse plans, Filipinos raised enough cash locally to start work. Then Westinghouse outbid competitors who proposed to supply just certain items for the Mindanao project.

"It will be difficult for you to collect all the essential parts and tools for this project," said Mr. Knox. "We'll assemble them for you. We'll supply technical assistance to build the factory, and then we'll teach your people to run it."

At the edge of the bay below camp steel frames of the fertilizer factory grew in what had been a field of palms and bananas. Higher up the mountainside the powerplant took form after a year was spent blasting roads out of rock. Nearly a thousand Filipinos were at work.

Today, while the hydro plant grinds out power for the fertilizer factory and a mine produces iron pyrites, enthusiastic Filipinos are building the nearby steel mill recommended by Westinghouse. And the second largest dam of its kind in the world is going up in Luzon to end Manila's power shortage. This is also in accordance with the Westinghouse recommendations.

All over the world there are countries whose industrial progress was retarded by war. Others of agrarian background have wanted to industrialize. A weakness of the United States Government's aid is that while it could give American machines to these countries, it could not similarly make available the experience of American private enterprise in the essential techniques of manufacture and distribution. Westinghouse, though, found a way.

"We'll go into the package business," said Mr. Knox. "After we've made broadscale surveys and shown nations what they need,

we'll deliver not just equipment but entire plants as packages. And we'll distribute not only our own but many types of industrial know-how."

Westinghouse International sent out a corps of salesmen-engineers to spread the message.

One of them asked a Turk why his country did not build airports so it could profit from air transport. They didn't have technicians, the Turk replied. And even if they got the parts they couldn't be assembled.

"Look," the American said, "we've developed package airports—208 separate stock assemblies, including lighting systems, electronic landing systems, prefabricated hangars. We can fly these airports to you in pieces."

NEW CHAIN OF AIRPORTS

The Turks, with Westinghouse aid, are now building a chain of 10 ultramodern airports.

Egypt wanted a powerplant to pump water from the Nile to irrigate more than 200,000 acres. Westinghouse is delivering it complete as a package. The company has presented Iran with a cement industry, and provided the university at Bangkok with the same laboratories that it puts in United States engineering schools.

"Our capital city has no fresh drinking water," complained the Shiek of Kuwait, an oil principality on the Persian Gulf. "There is only brackish stuff that is hawked by peddlers from goatskin canteens. Bring my people water that is good."

So at the edge of the gulf, amid an expanse of hot sand, Westinghouse erected a grotesque package of giant stacks and twisted pipe which every day transforms a million gallons of sea into pure distilled water.

Westinghouse gathers together scattered know-how and materials that might require people abroad years to assemble. The company's own products account for as little as 35 percent of the materials that go into package projects; it buys the rest from 200 or more other concerns. And it combs all fields of natural science and industry for engineers to supplement its own.

The package deals reach their ultimate in Westinghouse's licensing of foreign firms to manufacture the same electrical products that it makes in America. Other American companies also have licensing systems; what is unusual about Westinghouse is that it does more than make blueprints and patents available.

Instead of establishing its own overseas branches with United States capital, it sets up foreigners in businesses of their own, shows them how to produce and market their wares.

Mexico, for instance, wanted an electrical industry, so Westinghouse laid out a $10 million factory of glass and steel near Mexico City. It brought 135 Mexicans to its Pittsburgh plant and trained them to teach other Mexicans. By 1952, 7 years after Industria Electrica de Mejico was born, the company was employing 2,000 Mexicans, did a $10,500,000 business making everything from home appliances to public-utility equipment.

COSTLY RESEARCH

The story of Industria Electrica is in varying degree the story of what Westinghouse has done for more than 70 licensees in 21 countries. In Italy, where most homes have never possessed an icebox, the builders of the Fiat automobile are each year manufacturing 18,000 Westinghouse-licensed electric refrigerators, and have started on washing machines.

A licensee in Brazil has become the third largest builder of elevators in the world. One European licensee has $40,900,000 sales annually.

A good reason for this growth in that Westinghouse spends as much as $85 million a year on research and development, all the results of which are available to licensees. They may have their own engineering observers at Westinghouse plants.

The United States Government is proud of bringing foreigners to America to learn how to operate the American type of factory. Besides doing this for years without cost to the taxpayers, Westinghouse gives to its licensees' engineers the same postgraduate training that it provides for its own outstanding men.

Hundreds of students from all over the world have since been introduced to their Westinghouse studies via the movies. The company finds living quarters for each man, then for a year gives him $222 a month, plus medical care and transportation within the United States to more than 80 company plants.

For all these services to licensees Westinghouse charges only a royalty, which sometimes ranges lower than 3 percent of their gross sales. These firms compete with Westinghouse and sometimes outbid it, yet the system makes for a type of cooperation which adds to Westinghouse's direct sales abroad and to foreign recovery as well.

In Australia, postwar immigration and an expanding economy put such a strain on electrical generators that they couldn't handle the loads. Public use of electricity had to be drastically curtailed. Rosebery, Westinghouse's licensee and distributor for Australia, told the Australian Government of a thermal generating plant which could be delivered complete as a package that took up a city block. Orders were immediately put through for 22 of these plants to cost approximately $20 million.

RECORD INSTALLATION

Rosebery constructed the buildings in consultation by radiophone with New York. Westinghouse rushed the equipment, some of it by planes. Its engineers flew in to aid from as far away as India and South America. The first of the plants was operating within a record 13 months.

"Come to us if American technical knowledge can solve your problem," Westinghouse advertised in the foreign press after the war.

A young engineer from India came with problems concerning a hydroelectric system that he hoped would be built some day in his country. The resulting Nangal project is now taking form on the Sutledge River in Punjab between the Himalaya Mountains and the Indian Desert. It will send hydroelectricty 240 miles through northern India, where farmers are expected to be able to raise an additional 4 million tons of precious food on 3,600,000 irrigated acres.

Equipment which Westinghouse has installed abroad since the end of the war generates as much electricity as there is available in 16 of our 48 States. This power will provide jobs for thousands. Another 100,000 are directly employed by the overseas licensees, making products that create jobs for still more multitudes.

The value of all these accomplishments is incalculable. The greatest single contribution of the program has probably been to give people the will—and show them the means—by which they may help themselves.

Retirement Pay Bills Discussed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES H. MORRISON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Times-Picayune Tuesday, December 8, 1953, which gives an analysis of a bill introduced by me, H. R. 2553, to amend section 691 (d), title 5, United States Code, so as to provide that disabled employees engaged in hazardous occupations who, due to disability, are compelled to retire prior to completing 20 years' service shall receive an annuity for the time actually served in proportion to the annuity received by those not disabled.

My bill, H. R. 2553, primarily, is designed to help those who cannot help themselves, the disabled Federal law-enforcement officer.

One of the most flagrant illustrations of hardship, injustice, and discrimination that has come to my attention in connection with the application of the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act is the retirement benefits accorded to law enforcement officers under 5 United States Code Annotated 691 (d) where, if the employee, due to disability, is compelled to retire before he completes 20 years' service is allowed an annuity of only 75 percent of the sum he would have received but for his disability. The editorial reads as follows:

RETIREMENT PAY BILLS DISCUSSED—WISDOM SUPPORTS AIMS TO END INEQUITIES, REPORT

Two bills now pending before Congress aimed at removing discriminations in retirement pay of Federal employees have the support of John Minor Wisdom, Republican National Committeeman from Louisiana. So said David W. Palmer, legislative representative of the New Orleans chapter of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees, at a meeting of that group in the Civil Courts Building Monday.

"Mr. Wisdom, who is a personal friend of President Eisenhower, as we all know, has studied the bills and says that he supports them in principle," Palmer said.

H. R. 2553, according to Palmer, was introduced by United States Representative JAMES H. MORRISON, of Louisiana. "This bill is designed to eliminate discrimination and to provide certain retirement rights to those disabled on an equal basis as the benefits enjoyed by those who were not disabled before retirement."

SAYS DISABLED PENALIZED

L. V. Landry, president of the local chapter, and others at the meeting joined in a general discussion of the bills. Palmer a former president of the local organization, has made a number of trips to Washington to discuss legislation favorable to the group, it was pointed out.

He said that retired disabled Government employees receive an average of $78 per month, while those not disabled get an average of $103 per month.

"An employee with less than 20 years of service, injured in the line of duty and retired for disability, is being penalized under the present law by the allowance of an annuity of only 75 percent of the sum he would have received but for that disability," Palmer said.

"H. R. 2553," he explained, "would correct such discrimination and place those retired on disability on the same footing with those not disabled. The other bill, H. R. 5180, providing for a tax exemption on annuities up to $1,500, should be adopted for several reasons."

TAX ON ANNUITIES HIT

A tax on annuities, he said, is contrary to the general principle on which the income tax law is based and Congress has recognized the principle of exemption specifically in the Railroad Retirement Act by exempting annu-

ities under such act from income tax, according to the speaker.

"Congress has acquiesced in administrative rulings exempting certain retirement income from income tax, notably in the case of payments under old age and survivors insurance. Other exemptions have been provided by law or administrative action, notably the first $3,500 of retired pay of military and naval personnel retired for disability, certain veterans' benefits and pensions, and beneficiaries of some private organizations.

"In the interest of equity and justice among like groups of citizens," Palmer said, "the present extensive discrimination between groups of annuitants and pensioners should be rectified."

Pension and Welfare Plans Raise Buying Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following interesting Associated Press report appearing in the Wall Street Journal of January 12, 1954, on the subject of pensions and welfare plans raising buying power, and also some comments thereon:

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 12, 1954]

SEARS OFFICIAL SAYS PENSION, WELFARE PLANS TO RAISE BUYING POWER—CLAIMS RESERVE FUNDS RELEASE MORE OF FAMILY'S CURRENT INCOME FOR SPENDING

NEW YORK.—Continuing increases in the standard of living and individual incomes in this country are promised by pension and welfare plans, an official of Sears, Roebuck & Co. said.

T. V. Houser, vice chairman of the board of the Chicago mail order house and retail chain, said plans affording protections against hazards of life provide a vast new deferred buying power.

Speaking in connection with the 4-day 43d annual convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, he said they permit expenditures by consumers "not prudent if the protection afforded by these funds did not exist."

"Thus the average family can more nearly use current income for the immediate enjoyment of better living standards," Houser told a luncheon of the Association of Buying Offices, Inc., held in conjunction with the NRDGA convention.

"To look at the other side of the coin," he continued, "families having to draw on such funds when extended illness or retirement comes, have more current income for a sustained living standard than would otherwise be the case."

Pointing to rapidly growing private and public pension plans, he said, "there is an accumulated buying power, increasing year by year, which in previous decades did not exist at all."

"This accumulation today is about equal to the public's entire annual purchase of goods such as distributed by the institutions represented here, and the annual increase in such funds is around 9½ percent of the national total of general merchandise sales," he continued.

The number of employed civilians has increased in greater ratio than the total population increase, so there is an increase in buying power due merely to the greater proportion of people working.

There has been, and still is, an important shift in the pattern of employment toward the more highly trained, more highly paid occupations.

Even for those remaining in the lower wage brackets, there has been a sizable increase in earnings per worker measured in real value.

Mechanization has given the individual farmer the ability to increase his output per man-hour to an even greater degree than industry has accomplished with all its research and specialized equipment.

The convention, which runs through Thursday, is being attended by hundreds of retailers from throughout the Nation as well as visiting merchants from France, Austria, and Ireland.

A preconvention poll by NRDGA of more than 250 stores found 42 percent expecting to increase their business the first half of this year compared with a year ago, 38 percent expecting to equal 1953 levels and 20 percent expecting to fall behind.

COMMENTS ON PENSION AND WELFARE PLANS TO RAISE BUYING POWER

T. V. Houser, vice chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co., in an address at the 43d national convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 1954, in New York, reached similar conclusions to those in the foregoing report.

Pensions are good for business in that they create a vast buying power which otherwise would not exist.

Retail business institutions are primarily interested in one thing—selling goods to consumers.

The greatest single obstacle to the enactment of a social security system that will provide the kind of pensions people ought to have in America is the idea that such pensions would be too great a burden on the taxpayers.

Now, in his address in connection with the above mentioned convention, Mr. T. V. Houser declares the opposite to be true, namely, that pensions create buying power—and sales for business—that otherwise would not exist at all. In other words, rather than being a burden to the economy, pensions constitute a strengthening of the economy in general and over and above their great benefit to the recipients of pensions.

This is a view now being taken very seriously by these business people because, otherwise, it would not have found any place in the agenda of such a convention.

With these thoughts in mind, let us look at some of the statements Mr. Houser made, as reported by the Associated Press and the Wall Street Journal, January 12, 1954:

"Plans affording protection 'against hazards of life' provide a vast new deferred buying power."

Such plans "permit expenditures by consumers not prudent if the protection offered by these funds did not exist."

"Thus the average family can more nearly use current income for the immediate enjoyment of better living standards."

"To look at the other side of the coin, families having to draw on such funds when extended illness or retirement comes have more current income for a sustained living standard than would otherwise be the case."

"There is an accumulated buying power, increasing year by year, which in previous decades did not exist at all.

"This accumulation today is about equal to the public's entire annual purchase of goods such as distributed by the institutions represented here, and the annual increase in such funds is around 9½ percent of the national total of general merchandise sales."

In the light of the view that pensions are not economically burdensome, but, as Mr. Houser says, economically beneficial to business as well as to the recipients of pensions, there is no sound reason why pensions high enough to put an end, once and for all, to the social-security problem in the country should not be enacted as part of our national social-security system.

As to the need for better pensions than we now have, for the elderly and disabled citizens of the United States, recent observations by Dr. Peter O. Steiner and Dr. Robert Dorfman, University of California, in connection with findings by that university's institute of public relations based on a study there provided for by grant from the Rockefeller Institute—here is the position of the aged:

Two out of three single women and half of the single men, aged 65 and over, are dependent on relatives or endure submarginal living conditions.

A third of the married couples, aged 65 and over, are also living subject to these same conditions.

Further, income inadequacy for the aged is real and current—not just a theory or danger, but a hard, present fact of life.

Further, Dr. Steiner described the condition of the aged in this respect as shocking.

Dr. Dorfman concluded that efforts to provide employment in private business for the aged men do not touch the heart of the problem of the aged. Almost half of the men 65 and over have lost their employment because of failing health or because they are considered too old to work, according to Dr. Dorfman. No campaigns, studies, or programs are going to solve the problem of employment for these elder workers, in other words.

Now, the important thing to be realized at this date is this: This drastic state of poverty endured by the aged in America exists despite our present social-security system of old-age and survivors insurance—our present Federal-State system of public assistance for the aged; the vast system of pension funds in business and industry; the Federal, State, and local retirement systems for public employees; the railroad-retirement system; the tremendous financial business of life insurance; and, despite all the efforts of the American people to save and to invest.

In view of Mr. Houser's statements on the economic bearing of pensions, and in view of the great area of such economic good to be done that the plight of the aged and disabled offer, it is time for Congress to come to grips with the answer to this whole situation that is presented in the Townsend bill, H. R. 2446.

Unemployment a Serious Problem in Detroit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Sunday Star yesterday performed a notable public service by printing an extensive report from Detroit by one of its staff members, William Hines. It outlines the present unemployment distress in Detroit today, with more than 7 percent of the labor force—107,000 out of 1,533,000—jobless and with no immediate prospects for returning to work; with estimates on the future predicting an increase to 7.5 percent by midyear

and perhaps as much as 14 percent by next winter.

This article reports how a downturn in automobile sales threatens not only the economy of Detroit but of Toledo and Akron and Pittsburgh and Gary and Cleveland and Youngstown, and, in fact, the entire Nation.

This is nothing new to us in Detroit. It is nothing new here on the House floor, where many of us—particularly those of us on the Democratic side—have been trying to awaken the Eisenhower administration to what is happening to our economy and to urge it into action in meeting the dangers of recession or worse.

It seems, however, that the administration leaders have been too busy decimating our military-preparedness program and canceling contracts for tanks and other equipment to pay any attention to the changes which have been occurring in our economy since the new administration took over a year ago this week.

In several recent speeches the President has forcefully declared his determination to use all the resources of the Federal Government to prevent another depression such as we had in 1929–33. This is encouraging.

But is it necessary to have 15 million or 20 million or 25 million unemployed in this country before the Republican administration takes notice of the fact that something is wrong somewhere?

Perhaps the officials of the administration are not aware that over 100,000 workers walk the streets of the Detroit area today without work, going from $95 or $100 a week paychecks to $27 unemployment compensation checks. It hardly seems conceivable that this information would be unknown to the Secretary of Commerce, or the Secretary of Labor, or the President and his staff of economic advisers.

If that is the case, however, then I am grateful that one of the Washington newspapers has gone out to Detroit and dug up the facts and presented them in a full page of text and charts in the Sunday Star. Perhaps someone in the administration not averse to reading newspapers—at least Washington newspapers—might have seen it.

Mr. Speaker, when the automobile dealers of the country say in desperation that they cannot sell more than 4,700,000 or 5 million cars this year, as against 6 million last year, they are advertising the failure of the Republican Party to maintain prosperity in this country.

Under the Democrats, people actually started to build houses with two-car garages. But where are the cars now?

Postal Employees Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues can be informed of the attitude of the Legislature of the State of California with respect to the pay of Federal postal employees, I am inserting below Assembly Joint Resolution No. 24 filed with the secretary of state of the State of California on April 15, 1953:

Whereas postal employees have received only one wage increase since 1949, and that increase was not equal to the increase in the cost of living that has occurred since 1949; and

Whereas most employees in both public service and private industry have received wage increases enabling them more nearly to catch up with the increased cost of living; and

Whereas the wages of postal employees are so low that any increase in the cost of living hits them with particularly great force; and

Whereas aside from the obvious inequality of treatment there is a serious possibility that postal employees will not long be able to resist the lure of greater reward for employment in defense and other industries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress of the United States is respectfully memorialized to enact legislation for an increase in the compensation of postal employees commensurate with the existing cost-of-living level; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Postmaster General, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Air Force Academy Should Be Located in Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, there is no other location in the United States which offers as many advantages for the adequate training of the future air cadet as southern California. Southern California is tailormade as a location for the new Air Force Academy. It has all of the necessary facilities to properly educate and train the future air cadet.

THE EDUCATION OF THE FUTURE AIR CADET

He will be an important man—that future air cadet. Some day his judgment, his skills, the scope of his thinking may be the decisive factors in determining the Nation's survival.

What kind of man will he be? How shall he be trained?

He should be strong in body, mind, and spirit. He should be soundly schooled in the military sciences. These are basic requirements for any national military leader.

The future air cadet should be familiar with and understand the world in which he lives.

To understand today's complex world, academic training alone is not enough. It must be augmented by direct exposure to the world at work.

The future air cadet will get a high caliber of classroom training at the Air Force Academy no matter where it is located. But only in southern California can he get stimulating firsthand experience in a combination of all the fields—industry, business, finance, engineering, economics, and science.

Only if he is educated in southern California can the future air cadet be equipped to meet the full specifications.

INDUSTRY

In southern California, the future air cadet can learn about the operations of a wide range of successful and significant industries.

More important, he can learn, by direct observation, about the industry which most directly affects him—the aircraft industry. For southern California leads the Nation in airframe assembly and in the production of aircraft parts.

Southern California's aircraft industry will, needless to say, be at the disposal of the future air cadet, no matter where the Air Force Academy is located.

But if the future air cadet receives his education in southern California, that cooperation will be direct and closely integrated. He will develop his understanding of the aircraft industry in close and continuous association with the Nation's most productive pool of aeronautical specialists—designers, engineers, executives, pilots.

He can visit nearby plants—the Nation's largest—and observe the work of these experts. They can come to his campus as guest lecturers and directors of research projects.

Here in southern California the future air cadet can become an active participant in the development of the Nation's airpower.

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

Southern California can provide the future air cadet with dynamic case histories in the fields of business and finance. He can watch business problems as they arise and are solved, in an active, expanding environment.

Because southern California and its people are forward looking, top management throughout the country has migrated here. Today more than 70 well-known business organizations have located their national headquarters in southern California. The chief executive of one of these firms—an organization which does an annual volume nationally of $180 million—said:

"I believe it is possible to put together a better top executive team here in Los Angeles than in any other region of the United States."

Proof of the effectiveness of the region's management skill is the fact that 26 industries in the Los Angeles metropolitan area rank third or higher nationally in value of product.

In southern California the future air cadet can share in management experiences and develop from them a broad and alert understanding of the world of business and finance.

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

The future air cadet should be familiar with the ultimate findings of science and engineering. It is equally important that he understand the scien-

tific method and the techniques of its application.

In southern California, he can work with technicians and with facilities which will train him at both the theoretical and the applied levels. A continuing and well-rounded program of aeronautical research and development is in progress here. Indicative of its range is the following inventory:

The California Institute of Technology at Pasadena, and the associated Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory. Research at these institutions includes studies in aerodynamics, structures, metallurgy, computing techniques, jet propulsion, and heat transfer.

Manufacturing research sponsored by the aircraft and petroleum industries in the fields of radar, pressure and high altitude equipment, guided missiles, jet propulsion equipment, fuels, and lubricants. The level of manufacturing research is indicated by the presence in southern California of such organizations as Aerojet Engineering Corp., AiResearch Manufacturing Co., Schwien Engineering Corp., and the Rand Corp.

Development contracts now being fulfilled by the University of California at Los Angeles and the University of Southern California.

Seminars, group sessions, and technical meetings held by the National Advisory Council for Aeronautics at the Institute of Aeronautical Sciences.

Official proving grounds at Point Mugu, Edwards Field, and Inyokern for guided missiles and aircraft.

Nowhere else could the future air cadet share in the development of so advanced and diversified a program of aeronautical research as is being carried on in southern California. Nowhere else could he draw upon so high a level of personnel and facilities for guest lecturers and joint research projects.

ECONOMICS

Southern California offers the future air cadet a continuous exhibit of the workings of the modern economic scene. The economy of the region is one of great diversification, providing him with the opportunity to understand all phases of the production and consumption of goods and services.

The region is well developed in both manufacturing and distributive activities.

Its manufacturing covers durable and nondurable goods. Plant size ranges from 3,500 plants with fewer than 5 employees to 35 plants with more than 1,000 employees.

Its employment pattern shows a healthy balance between manufacturing and trades and services, with good representation in all the other fields.

In southern California the full story of economic interrelationships can be observed and studied by the future air cadet.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Southern California contains a concentration of universities and colleges of high academic standards. These include the University of California at Los Angeles and the University of Southern California, both offering complete professional and graduate training; California Institute of Technology, one of America's finest scientific centers; a group of excellent smaller universities, colleges, and technical schools.

Here the future air cadet can receive his academic training in a community which has a tradition for academic achievement and which has attracted to it some of the world's most learned men.

From this academic pool, southern California's distinguished scholars can collaborate as exchange faculty members and guest lecturers in the academic enrichment of the future air cadet.

A TRADITION IN AVIATION

In no other community will the future air cadet find people as air-minded as southern Californians are. Aviation history has been made here, and the community feels closely identified with its progress. This air-mindedness can contribute effectively to the esprit de corps of the Air Force Academy.

A devotion to the tradition of aviation and a dedication to its future are indispensable attributes of the future air cadet. These can be developed in southern California in an exceptionally compatible personal environment. Many of the Nation's foremost plane builders, aeronautical engineers and flyers live and work here. More than 20 well-known aeronautical organizations conduct active programs in southern California. Their members are keenly air-minded, alert to the position of air power in America's future. They will cooperate in the training of the future air cadet.

Southern California's tradition of aeronautic achievement dates back to 1884 when the first glider flight made in the United States occurred here. In 1910 the Nation's first air meet was held at Dominguez Field. Through the years scores of newsworthy events in aviation have occurred in southern California.

In southern California the future air cadet will find that his interests are shared, his problems understood, his future plans supported.

PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

The future air cadet will enjoy, during his training period in southern California, a climate which is both healthful and pleasant. The average temperature over a year's period is 69.6 degrees. Such climate makes its possible for southern Californians to benefit from outdoor activity all year 'round.

The future air cadet will accordingly be able to take part in a recreation and athletic program more continuous and more diversified than would be possible in any other area. Southern California's enthusiastic interest in athletics will provide a stimulating environment for the development of great Air Force Academy teams to rival those at West Point and Annapolis. The Academy's athletic prowess will be sharpened by the presence on the Pacific Coast of strong competitive teams, by the tradition for big games at the Rose Bowl and the Los Angeles Coliseum.

Southern California's recreational pattern is complete—football, basketball, winter sports, swimming, fishing, track and field meets, tennis, golf, ice hockey, polo, riding, baseball, soccer, sailing. All these can contribute to the physical well-being of the future air cadet.

THE STIMULUS OF METROPOLITAN LIFE

The city of Los Angeles is the urban hub of the entire southern California area. Third largest metropolitan area in the country, it offers the future air cadet well-developed facilities—social, cultural, spiritual, recreational. Here he can enjoy the diversified, challenging experiences which only a modern American city can offer.

LOW COSTS

The building and operating of an Air Force Academy can be achieved at lower cost in southern California than in other metropolitan areas.

Construction costs are estimated to be 20 percent less here than elsewhere. Further building economies are possible because no air conditioning need be installed; the heating system need not be a costly one. Once the building is completed, it can be maintained at less cost in southern California than in any other large metropolitan area. This region offers operating advantages in terms of power, fuel, and water.

To a budget-minded Air Force, these savings can be a telling advantage. What the Air Force saves by building and operating its Academy in southern California can be used in the direct training and equipping of the future air cadet and the men he will lead.

THE SPIRIT THAT GETS THINGS DONE

Southern California offers the future air cadet one final—and perhaps most important—advantage. It's an asset that cannot be supported by statistics, but it is nonetheless very real. It is southern California's energetic, resourceful spirit.

It's an attitude which is openminded, ready to experiment. It is a willingness to try a new approach. It is the ability to develop fresh solutions to old problems.

It is what enabled southern California to build a manmade harbor at San Pedro and develop it into one of the Nation's major ports. It is what made it possible for the community to seek out its water supply 250 miles away and bring it in across mountains and deserts so that a great metropolitan area could live and flourish. It is what boomed the west coast's relatively undeveloped aircraft industry into a dynamic arsenal which produced 44 percent of America's warplanes between 1942 and 1945.

It's the spirit that gets things done.

The spirit of southern California generates the vision, drive, and leadership which are indispensable to the future air cadet.

Loss of United States Nationality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks,

I wish to include in the RECORD at this point a letter written to the editor of the New York Times by Mr. Walter M. Besterman, legislative assistant of the Committee on the Judiciary, in which he extensively analyzed the constitutionality of the provisions my bill seeks to amend. Mr. Besterman's letter was printed in the New York Times on January 17 in an abbreviated form, but, because of the importance of the subject I believe that it is worthwhile to have it printed in full in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

JANUARY 13, 1954.

The EDITOR, THE NEW YORK TIMES,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: The amount of attention devoted by the Times to President Eisenhower's proposal to provide, by statute, for the loss of United States nationality by persons who are convicted of participating in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force, proves that you recognize the importance of the issue at stake.

It is therefore that I venture to invite your attention to a number of errors which crept into Mr. Cabell Phillips' article printed in the Times last Sunday, January 10, 1954.

Mr. Phillips was in error when he wrote that the President suggested an amendment to the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1940. There is no such law, and there never was one so named. There was on the statute books the Nationality Act of 1940, but it was repealed on June 27, 1952 (effective December 24, 1952) when the Congress overrode President Truman's veto and enacted the Immigration and Nationality Act (commonly referred to as the McCarran-Walter Act).

Section 349 of this act (title 8, U. S. Code, sec. 1481) governs the matter of loss of nationality by native-born or naturalized citizens of the United States. At this point Mr. Phillips made two more errors. He reported to the Times' readers that existing law provides for the loss of nationality by naturalized citizens only, and "through court action."

No; it is not so. Section 349 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, very similar to the repealed section 401 of the Nationality Act of 1940 (formerly 8 U. S. C. 801), specifies 10 instances in which the loss of United States nationality occurs automatically, without court action, in the case of native-born and naturalized citizens alike.

Briefly stated, the 10 points include: (1) Naturalization in a foreign state; (2) taking an oath of allegiance to a foreign state; (3) serving in foreign armed forces without a written authorization by the Secretary of State; (4) accepting an official position with a foreign government if such office entails the acquisition of foreign nationality or declaration of allegiance to a foreign sovereignty; (5) voting in an election held in a foreign state; (6) renouncing United States nationality while abroad, or (7) renouncing it in the United States while this country is at war; (8) deserting United States Armed Forces in time of war; (9) committing treason against, or attempting by force to overthrow, or bearing arms against, the United States, if convicted of such crime by courts; (10) leaving the United States in time of war or national emergency in order to evade military service.

The constitutionality of some of these provisions was often under attack in cases brought before courts, but the preponderance of decisions, including Supreme Court decisions, sustains the basic principle of the statute as it was, and is now, expressed in the law. A classic on this respect is Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes' decision in the *Perkins* v. *Elg* case (307 U. S. 327).

Said Justice Hughes: "As at birth she (Marie Elizabeth Elg, a native of Brooklyn, N. Y.) became a citizen of the United States, that citizenship must be deemed to continue unless she has been deprived of it through the operation of a treaty or congressional enactment or by her voluntary action in conformity with applicable legal principles." The words "or congressional enactment" clearly uphold the power of Congress to provide by law for the loss of American citizenship acquired by birth in the United States.

The Constitution, as adopted, is silent on the matter of citizenship acquired by birth in the United States, except for providing that the President shall be "a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution." It was since the adoption of the Constitution that it has been recognized that citizenship of the United States may be obtained in two ways—by birth within the country, or by naturalization, and the Congress (the high courts of the land concurring) has construed its power to legislate in matters pertaining to United States citizenship as being constitutionally circumscribed solely by clause 4, section 8 of article I of the Constitution which reads: "The Congress shall have power * * * to establish an uniform rule of naturalization."

The raising by Mr. Phillips of the question of President Eisenhower's proposal in relation to the 14th amendment appears to be one more grave error on his part.

The history of the 14th amendment—with its roots in the Dred Scott case—shows that its prime purpose was to grant full citizenship rights—in the several States—to the Negro, its other purpose being to assert that national, or Federal, citizenship is paramount to State citizenship. There are very few legal authorities that would disagree that the 14th amendment deals with the matter of interplay between Federal and State citizenship of the native-born and the naturalized citizen. It is held to be wholly irrelevant to the matter of the power of Congress to legislate on nationality matters.

Hence, since no part of section 401 of the Nationality Act of 1940 has been invalidated by the Supreme Court, and since section 349 of the McCarran-Walter Act carries its provisions practically verbatim into the statute now in effect, there could be little doubt that should the Congress in its wisdom decide to enact the President's proposal into law, the legislative course of action would be clearly charted. An amendment could make section 349 (a) (9) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U. S. C. 1481) read as follows:

"SEC. 349. (a) From and after the effective date of this act a person who is a national of the United States, whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his nationality by—

* * * * *

"(9) committing any act specified in section 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, or 2385 of Title 18, United States Code; or."

Title 18, United States Code (Crimes and Criminal Procedure), has been enacted into positive law by the act of June 25, 1948, and the 5 sections above cited refer, respectively, to treason, misprision of treason, rebellion, or insurrection, seditious conspiracy, and advocating overthrow of Government.

It is truly difficult to believe—Mr. Phillips' report to the contrary—that the proposed enactment could lend itself to an attack on the ground of unconstitutionality.

It will be most interesting, of course, to watch what promises to be an extensive and rather heated debate whether the Congress should carry out President Eisenhower's recommendation. However, while discussing advisability, let's not confuse it with feasibility.

The law providing for the loss of United States citizenship by a native-born citizen for the commission of overt acts of hostility toward his country has long been—and is now—on the statute books, to wit, sections (8), (9), and (10) of section 349 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The problem now is not whether a novel provision affecting native-born citizens be enacted, but should the scope of an existing law be broadened.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER M. BESTERMAN,
Legislative Assistant.

Proposed Cut of 142,000 Men Will Seriously Reduce Combat Strength of the Army

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, for those Members of Congress who desire an insight into the "more for less" theory being advocated by the Defense Department, I commend for reading an article which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch by Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, United States Army (retired.), entitled "All Noncombat Support Units in Army Won't Equal 142,000 Men Wilson Wants To Cut Out." This thoughtful analysis of the manpower predicament of the Army deserves the most serious consideration by the Congress.

The article follows:

ALL NON-COMBAT SUPPORT UNITS IN ARMY WON'T EQUAL 142,000 MEN WILSON WANTS TO CUT OUT—OVERSEAS FIGHTING FORCES MUST SHARE IN REDUCTION—SECRETARY'S "DIVISION SLICE" MISCASTS MANY GROUPS AS SUPPORTING, IGNORES 313,000 UNAVAILABLE TROOPS

(By Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U. S. Army, Retired)

WASHINGTON, December 5.—The current dispute between the Army and the Defense Department as to the feasibility of reducing Army strength 10 percent without impairing combat effectiveness or reducing troops overseas is not due to any unwillingness on the part of the Army to reduce its strength to that degree.

The Army maintains, and can prove, that if the proposed reduction of 142,000 men is made, it cannot support the present overseas deployment of about 650,000 men or the year-end overseas deployment of 600,000 men. Overseas forces would have to be reduced by another 100,000 men by the end of fiscal year 1955. The Army's position is that if the reduction is ordered, the overseas commitments of the Army must be reduced too.

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson does not agree with the Army. He was asked at his press conference Tuesday if he thought that the Army could make the cut and still meet its world-wide commitments. He answered: "I do." He also stated that he would not think there would be any impact on the forces in Europe.

The Secretary's position is that support and back-up forces can be reduced very greatly and this reduction, together with over-all improvement of utilization of manpower, would warrant a cut of 10 percent in Army troop strength.

MENTIONS DIVISION SLICE

In the course of the discussion, Wilson mentioned the division slice (the total strength of the Army divided by the number of divisions), which he said was more than 50,000 and asked what the other 33,000 who stood behind each division were doing.

"It is my understanding," he said, "that we have the largest support forces of any nation in the world in relation to their army."

He was asked then if it was in the 33,000 support forces for each division that he thought the cuts could be made and answered: "That's right."

Wilson also made a comparison of our strength in the spring of 1950 before the Korean war started. At that time, he said, we had 10 divisions and 12 regimental combat teams and the Army troop strength was less than 600,000. Today, he pointed out, the Army has 20 divisions and 18 regimental combat teams and he implied that there was no reason why the Army needed more than double the former strength to maintain only twice the number of combat units.

All this is a plausible case. It sounds like an irrefutable argument to persons with only a superficial knowledge of the Army's problems. Wilson, however, has more than a superficial knowledge.

COMPLEX PROBLEMS

The real problems involved are complex, but are worth inquiring into. It is also necessary to consider reductions now to be made in Army forces.

The Army's strength on June 30, 1953 was 1,533,800. The revised budget of the Eisenhower administration provided for a strength of 1,423,000 by June 30, 1954. The Army is therefore in the process of reducing its manpower 110,000 without reducing its combat units. The reduction, General Collins said in March, would come from support units.

In the budget now being prepared it is proposed by the Department of Defense to reduce the army manpower to 1,281,000 by June 30, 1955, which will be 142,000 men fewer than the strength next June. This reduction is also to come mainly from supporting forces.

Just how large are the supporting forces? Do they comprise 900,000 men as Wilson indicated from consideration of the division slice?

The term "division slice" was originated by Gen. George C. Marshall during the last war, when he was Chief of Staff of the Army, during his studies to try to get more combat units from the Army's manpower. It is obtained by dividing the combat end products, which were taken as divisions for convenience, into the total Army strength.

But there are several ways of figuring the division slice. By using the current 20 divisions as a basis, the division slice next June 30 will be 71,000 men.

OTHER COMBAT UNITS

But there are 18 regimental combat teams, the equivalent of 6 more divisions, in the Army. If the figure of 26 is used, then the division slice is 54,700.

But there are also other combat units, such as 117 antiaircraft battalions and more than 150 battalions of heavy artillery, tanks, combat engineers, combat signal troops which furnish just as much to the combat effectiveness of the Army as do the divisions.

If these are converted into terms of divisions at the ratio of 15 battalions to 1 division, an additional equivalent of 18 divisions should be considered, making the total combat strength of the Army equal to 44 divisions. In this case, the division slice becomes 32,300.

The result is that Wilson's figure of more than 33,000 supporting troops to back up each division has been reduced to 14,800.

Even this is not a true picture. Approximately 30 percent of the Army manpower is never available to the Army and is not assigned to units. This is accounted for as follows in approximate percentages: 12 percent constantly undergoing basic training or being processed in or out; 8 percent on leave; 1 percent undergoing advanced training in special schools; 6 percent being transported by ship or rail from one station to another (since the Korean war the Army has averaged 50,000 men on board ship at all times); 3 percent sick, absent without leave, confinement, compassionate leave beyond normal leave, etc.

THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN THOUSAND UNAVAILABLE

The men who are unavailable and unassigned to units, not considering the 8 percent on on furlough, number approximately 313,000, based on a total strength of 1,423,000.

This leaves an effective force of about 1,100,000 on which the division slice should be based. Divided by the combat equivalent of 44 divisions, the division slice turns out to be 25,000 men. Subtracting 17,500, the strength of a division, gives the figure of about 7,500 men as the actual backup or support forces per combat division.

This is a very low figure when it is considered that not only does it include all the noncombat supporting units in the Army such as hospitals, medical battalions, truck companies, repair and maintenance units, but also the overhead for camps and stations, the training divisions, military missions, schools and the hundreds of other noncombat operations that are involved in maintaining an army.

It is obvious from this figure and what it comprises that the so-called support and backup units are not an easy field, from which to save 10 percent of the military manpower.

READINESS ALREADY CUT

Instead of comprising twice the strength of the division in the division slice, they comprise less than half of it. They already are being milked to such a degree that the combat readiness and capacity to continue fighting of our troops overseas has been seriously reduced.

What is happening is what happened to the Army before Korea, and it is interesting that Wilson should have brought the subject up as an example of what we should be doing now. Only 1 division of the Army's 10 was at full strength then, kept that way uniquely as the only ready unit.

General MacArthur's four divisions in Japan were about half strength. Each regiment had 2 battalions instead of 3, each artillery battalion was short a battery. The 24th Division, from which the first troops were flown to Korea, had only 2 batteries of the division artillery active instead of 16. All the units that were active were understrength.

KOREA ALMOST LOST

The 7th Division, which participated with the Marines in the Inchon landing, was in a similar condition. One artillery battalion in the 7th Division had 10 officers and 210 men against a needed strength of 35 officers and 600 men. This unit and others had to be filled up before the Inchon landing could be made. Our lack of combat readiness, due to inadequate manpower, cost thousands of lives and almost lost Korea.

There are not now 142,000 men in the entire Army in noncombat support units from which to make a reduction of 142,000 men.

So when Secretary Wilson talks about support and back-up troops he must be also thinking of the combat battalions and regiments which are not included in division.

If he starts to reduce them, the loss of combat effectiveness is obvious. The same loss of combat effectiveness occurs when noncombat support units are eliminated, but this is not so obvious.

If Army strength is reduced 142,000, strength overseas must be reduced 100,000.

To explain this requires an examination of the sources from which replacements for overseas duty come. Replacements are required overseas at the rate of 36,800 monthly. Selective Service calls are to be cut to 21,000 monthly to get down to prescribed strength by the end of the fiscal year. The monthly flow of volunteers is from 6,000 to 7,000.

Some men are lost in training and others who are qualified go on to advanced schools for technical training. The result is that roughly 22,000 men are available monthly from these sources to fill a requirement of 38,600.

REST FROM OTHER UNITS

The remainder must come from levies on other units in the United States. First, must be eliminated from consideration the 313,000 previously deducted from available strength. Another 100,000 are stabilized—that is not available for overseas assignments; they comprise the 82d Airborne Division, antiaircraft units, certain assignments for which continuity is essential and men who have just come back from overseas and have been guaranteed a certain period of duty at home.

The Army has 13 divisions and an equal proportion of other combat units overseas. Leaving out the 82d Airborne Division, which is not available for overseas levies, only 6 divisions and a proportion of other combat units are available to supply levies of about 17,000 men monthly that must be made beyond the input from selective service and volunteers. It is physically impossible to obtain this number if the strength of the Army in the United States must take the whole burden of the reduction proposed.

As it stands today, the civilian command is demanding that the Army do the impossible, that is, to reduce its manpower without reducing overseas forces. The Army has no authority of its own to reduce overseas forces; all are in unified commands subject to the control of the Secretary of Defense.

The Army believes that a political decision must be made which will reduce its overseas commitments, if the reduction desired is to be made. It suspects that the civilian command is unwilling to make such a decision, which would be contrary to the professions of the President and the Secretary of State, and deliberately blinds itself to the realities of the Army's problem.

The civilian command suspects that the Army is attempting to keep its current strength by advancing the thesis that reductions cannot be made without reducing the forces overseas. It contends the services always cry "Wolf" in the fashion when cuts are involved.

There is no real feeling of bad faith on either side, but there is as yet no meeting of minds. Wilson is determined to reduce military expenditure. The Army says we are with you but this is the only way it can be done. The Army feels that it is having a hard time educating the new civilian chiefs in military problems.

As one frustrated officer remarked:

"You cannot take a hill by business methods."

Competent Indians: First-Class Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today seven bills submitted by the Department of the Interior in response to House Concurrent Resolution 108, which was unan-

imously approved by the House and Senate last session. These bills provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the Indians of western Oregon; certain Indian tribes in Kansas and Nebraska; the Klamath Indians of Oregon; the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Mont.; the Seminole Tribe in Florida; the Indians of California; and the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana.

Careful study has been made throughout the years to ascertain whether these Indians are ready for removal from Federal wardship. In transmitting the proposed legislation, the Department of the Interior advises that "It is our belief that the Indians subject to the proposed bills no longer require special assistance from the Federal Government, and that they have sufficient skill and ability to manage their own affairs."

Thorough hearings will be held on each bill by a joint committee of the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs. The language suggested by the Department is not necessarily the language that will be reported by the committee. This is merely the suggested frame-work within which the final details of the legislation may be fitted.

The bills are our honest attempt to put competent Indians in the class of being first-class citizens.

Marketing Electrical Energy, by the Honorable Harold O. Lovre, of South Dakota

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, with permission to revise and extend my remarks, I submit a copy of a speech given by the Honorable HAROLD O. LOVRE, Representative from South Dakota, at the annual convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperatives Association, at Miami, Fla., on January 13, 1954.

As chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I had directed that hearings be held on the new power marketing criteria announced by the Bureau of Reclamation last September. The hearings were held by the Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee headed by the Honorable WILLIAM H. HARRISON, of Wyoming. I am happy to report that those hearings did much to clarify the policy as announced by the Secretary of the Interior.

I sincerely hope my colleagues will be able to take a few minutes and read this very informative speech:

I come from a part of the country where the REA program is of direct and vital concern to practically everyone. The district I represent consists of all of South Dakota east of the Missouri River. There are 22 electric cooperatives with headquarters in my district and the entire area of 44 counties is honeycombed by REA-financed lines. Most of my constituents who live in the farming areas and rural villages get their electricity through the REA program. Practically all the rest are very much aware of the program and close to it in one way or another.

Because of all this, I have a direct interest in the program and how it is conducted. I have watched it move ahead through the years. I have come to know the program well and to have great admiration for the people in it and for what has been accomplished.

So today it is a pleasure and a privilege for me to present some of my ideas as to the type of REA program I think the Nation should have.

The type of REA program I foresee is, first, a program that moves forward with determination and vision toward the goal established by Congress—central station electric power and dependable telephone service for all of the farmers of this great Nation.

Second, I expect an REA program whose economic principles—principles that recog-progress is based upon sound and proven nize both the financial needs of rural electrification and communications and the financial limitations of our national pocketbook.

Third, the new REA program will be squarely aimed at the eventual debt-free ownership by the farmers of the electric and telephone systems they helped to build.

Fourth, your REA program wil be carried out with a clear realization of the magnitude of the job ahead—and with recognition that the job can be done beter in a spirit of mutual understanding, confidence, and helpfulness than in an atmosphere of mistrust, fear, and antagonism.

Finally, I expect the REA program to be one which will keep its ranks free of those who would use it for selfish personal or political gain, and so will merit and receive the continued bipartisan congressional support so importanat to its future well-being.

Before I discuss what is being done and what can be done to accomplish these great objectives, let me say first, as a Member of Congress, a citizen of the United States, a resident of South Dakota, and as an owner of an REA electrified farm, that I want the REA program to continue. Certainly no program sponsored by the Federal Government has extended more benefits to more people and to the Nation as a whole. Here's the way the idea was expressed in a little unsigned verse that I found in one of the co-op newsletters:

"The REA has done a lot,
For us poor country sinners.
Power milks our cows and grinds our feed,
And even cooks our dinners.
It cleans our rugs and washes clothes
And pumps water for our chickens.
We just would like to tell you all,
We're grateful as the dickens."

The depth of feeling for the rural electrification program, as expressed in that little verse, isn't local to my home State of South Dakota. It's the same in every State of the Union. The men and women of rural America, who supply this great Nation with the foodstuffs and fibers it must have, to live and grow strong, are united in their feeling of pride in and gratitude for the REA program they have helped to build.

In Congress, too, this feeling for the rural electrification and rural telephone programs runs deep. It cuts across political party lines. Since its inception the REA has had staunch support from Republicans and Democrats alike. It is my firm conviction that the sound, forward-looking leaders of both major political parties want this congressional support for REA continued and strengthened.

There is no doubt in my mind that this worthy objective can be attained—yet we who represent the rural areas of this vast country cannot afford to blind ourselves to the pitfalls which are being dug along our pathway of progress toward this end.

Let us examine the most dangerous of those pitfalls, that we may understand fully and clearly the motives for its digging and the effect it might have upon the future of rural electrification were we to fail to recognize our danger.

Since the change of national administration on last January, and for the first time in the 18-year history of rural electrification, determined efforts have been under way to make a political football out of REA. Individuals and groups, without authority to speak for either of the major political parties, have tried to make it appear that the present administration was talking with tongue in cheek when it drafted a party platform that pledged its continued support for rural electrification.

The REA program, these self-appointed spokesmen have said, is being scuttled. The farmers, they have said, are being sold down the river.

What are the facts? The simple, straightforward fact is that during the past 12 months, under the present administration, the REA program has been strengthened and improved and carried forward with fresh vigor and renewed determination.

Let's examine a couple of the charges that have been made—made in radio broadcasts, in printed leaflets, in published stories, in whispered conversations. Here's one: "REA is going to raise the interest rates."

There isn't a person in this room, I am sure, who doesn't know full well that REA can't raise the interest rates. The rate is set by law enacted by Congress. The present administrator of REA has spoken clearly and unmistakably against an increase in interest rates. He has urged that the Congress not raise interest rates. As a Member of Congress I can assure you that any proposal to increase the REA interest rate would, to put it mildly, meet with such overwhelming opposition from Democrats and Republicans alike that it would die a sudden death.

Here's another of the charges which have been given wide circulation: "REA is going to sell the electric cooperatives to the utility companies."

In this huge audience today there are, I am sure, hundreds of directors of electric cooperatives—farmers and rural business and professional men—representing their neighbors in the important business of planning for the future of rural electrification.

Every one of those directors knows that the Rural Electrification Administration couldn't sell the cooperatives to the utility companies even if it wanted to. The Rural Electrification Administration doesn't own the cooperatives. The people of rural America own the cooperatives. Only they, through their boards of directors, could sell the cooperatives to utility companies or to anyone else.

Those are facts and we all know they are facts. Why, then, is this determined campaign under way to spread confusion and panic and misunderstanding among our people? Why are these vicious untruths being thrust constantly before the eyes, and fed into the ears of the people of the rural areas?

Is someone seeking to use us as catspaws? Trying to make stooges of us for some purpose we can only guess at?

Is this all a part of a deliberate, planned campaign to wreck the rural-electrification program by dividing its people—and its supporters in Congress—into two antagonistic, battling political camps?

If that is its purpose, it can succeed only if we who believe in REA are gullible enough to fall for the groundless rumors, the half-truths, and the untruths that are being spread. If we are foolish enough to bite on this flimsy bait, and to get to warring between ourselves, there lies the real danger to our program of rural electrification. If we divide our REA support into two political camps we will have cut our strength in half. That way lies disaster.

I am going to discuss politics for a few moments. It is difficult to discuss politics without becoming partisan, yet I do not want this discussion to become partisan. The fact that I am a Republican is incidental to what I am about to say, but I believe it must be said to underscore the point I would like to make.

REA came into being under a Democratic administration, but it has had Republican support from the beginning. The late Senator George Norris, of Nebraska, a Republican, won the title of "daddy" of the REA Act. During most of the REA's life the Congress has been Democratic, yet the program had strong Republican support throughout. Similarly, during the 80th Congress, a Republican majority Congress, strong Democratic support was available for the most substantial REA loan appropriations in history.

During the 1st session of the current 83d Congress, with a Republican majority in both Houses, Democrats joined with Republicans in appropriating more than $200 million for electrification loans and almost $75 million for telephone loans during the current fiscal year. That's more REA loan money than has been appropriated for several years and the most telephone loan money in the brief history of that program.

I have named political parties, not to praise one and condemn another, but to reiterate and expand what I said earlier about the rural electrification program being a truly bipartisan program.

I think that the figures I have used provide the best evidence that the Congress will continue to supply adequate loan funds for these two vital programs. I am equally sure that the present administration will provide efficient and aggressive leadership within REA.

Evidence of this is at hand in the appointment by President Eisenhower of Ancher Nelsen as administrator. If the administration had any desire to halt or hamper the program, about the last thing it would do would be to appoint a man so steeped in the history and tradition of the program.

In the new administrator, the farmers of this country can be sure that they have a dedicated man, a farmer who wanted and needed electricity on his farm and who got together with his neighbors to form a rural electric corporative. He has been heart and soul in rural electrification since the program started. When he comes up to Capitol Hill to talk with us about REA matters, he commands the respect of a highly appreciative audience.

Our new administrator has made a solid impression in Washington—in the very places where it matters. He's as effective an emissary with the White House and the Congress as the program could have. He's been tireless in his contacts and meetings with other Government officials in the interest of rural electrification and he gets things done with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of waste.

Yes, I want to see the rural electrification program continue, and so do a majority of my colleagues in Congress, on both sides of the political fence. I expect—and so do my congressional colleagues—that it will be conducted on a businesslike basis. To my way of thinking that means maximum efficiency in administering the program. It means careful attention to the feasibility of loans and the cost of construction and operation. It means speedy action in processing loan applications. It means elimination of waste. It means sure progress toward the goal of central station electric power for every American farm.

My observation is that your present administration of REA is off to a good start in achieving this businesslike approach that is essential to the continued success of the program. It seems to me that your status as independent businesses is being increasingly recognized. This is shown in the determination to take the Government out of the borrower's business wherever possible. It is also shown in the efforts to insure that farmers will eventually own, clear of debt, the electric and telephone systems they have created.

I believe considerable progress has been made in creating a friendly atmosphere with the power industry, so that we will be better able to use the industry's facilities when it is good business for us to do that rather than to build our own.

Just as I want to see the taxpayers get 100 cents worth of value for every dollar they invest in the REA program, I also want to be sure that farmers are getting full value for every dollar they spend for power. In other words, I want the quality of electric service provided through the REA program to be second to none.

I know that there are some difficult problems in this field of power supply—problems that are more difficult in many respects than those faced by the urban power suppliers. In my State of South Dakota, REA progress was held back for years by the fact that there simply weren't adequate supplies of power available for distribution by the rural systems.

Often, there is close question as to whether the co-ops should generate their own power or should purchase it from the industry. Right here, let me say that REA's right to make loans for generation and transmission is something that must never be surrendered. When exercised, it meets the farmer's need for power. Even when not used, it gives weight to rural bargaining power at the conference table. But let's also remember that a bad generation and transmission loan is a black eye for the whole program. Let one generation and transmission system fail and you expose farm people all over the country to unnecessary criticism.

Let's get some of the propaganda dust out of our eyes and face the facts. Before we take the big risk with the many millions of dollars involved in generation and transmission loans, let's practice what we preach. Members of Congress have long felt that we should extend our area of cooperation to include all suppliers of electricity, commercial companies, the Federal Government, State government, municipalities, and industrial plants. By integration and inter-connection it is oftn possible that we can make our dollars do more work at less expense.

Some will say it won't work. They would not even want to think about it. However, there's plenty of evidence that REA borrowers and commercial utilities can meet and do business as other businessmen do, without going on a crusade.

We who are directly and vitally concerned with rural electrification must realize that we've outgrown our swaddling clothes. We've grown up. We're an integral and important part of the American enterprise system. It's time we took our places at the conference table, confident of our ability to bargain successfully and in a businesslike manner with those who share our responsibility for bringing light and power into every nook and corner of this Nation.

Many of you, I know, are concerned about public power policy and have been led to be fearful of what the future holds for you in this important field. I think this situation has been greatly distorted.

After all, the Nation's hydroelectric possibilities are not unlimited. It seems to me it makes good sense to be looking ahead to the time when these facilities are in full use and to begin planning as to how our needs for new power are going to be met at that time. That essentially is what the Interior Department has been trying to encourage. There may be some disagreement about the details, and some modifications of the overall plan are perhaps in order. If so, I am sure these changes can be made. I don't think we ought to let differences about some of these details blind us to the need for long-range planning in this field.

After the smoke of battle has cleared I'm sure that we'll find that most of the supposed wrongs were imaginary. We'll find that our big job will consist of calmly and intelligently appraising the long-term problem, and sitting down around the conference table to tie together the facilities and finances and capabilities of the whole industry of which we are a part, in order that our supply of power may be assured indefinitely into the future. And by whole industry I mean those who represent the power generated at Federal dams, the power produced by the utility industry, and the power that REA cooperatives will themselves have to produce to complete a solid, unified supply structure.

Another thing I expect of REA is good progress in rural telephone development. Some might contend that telephone service is less essential to the farm than electric service, but certainly it does not lag far behind. REA is certainly to be commended on the progress it has been making in recent months in this field, I am told that its telephone loans amounted to more than $32,500,000 in the first half of the fiscal year. That's 25 percent more than the amount of telephone loans made in the same period a year ago.

In the telephone program, as in the electric program, I am impressed by what has been done to encourage industrywide cooperation. In fact, that is even more important in telephones because every telephone system must have contracts and connections with other organizations if its people are to get full use of their telephone system. The advantages of such cooperation are well illustrated by a series of REA loans recently made in our neighboring State of North Dakota. I am told that this is one of the most intricate situations in which REA has ever participated, involving a large number of interrelationships among co-ops, Bell companies, mutuals, and independents. The fact that the whole transaction was worked out with a minimum of confusion and difficulty is a tribute to what an attitude of cooperation can accomplish.

You people are doing great work for America. Your organization and your executive manager, Clyde T. Ellis, have assisted tremendously. Our past Administrator, Claude Wickard, was never found wanting.

I pledge to you that as a Member of Congress I'll do my level best to further the REA program on a sound, constructive, progressive basis. I am confident I speak for a substantial majority of all Members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, in giving you that assurance. From that point on it's up to you. By carrying forward in a spirit of harmony and intelligent cooperation, with all of the dignity of your full stature, the lights will never grow dim in rural America.

Senator Vest's Eulogy to the Dog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a reprint taken from the National Magazine of that classic of American prose entitled "Senator Vest's Eulogy to the Dog." This eulogy seems timely in view of the hearings scheduled this week by the District of Columbia Commissioners on a proposed order which would allow vivisection in the District of Columbia:

SENATOR VEST'S EULOGY TO THE DOG

Senator Vest, of Missouri, was attending court in a country town, and while waiting for the trial of a case in which he was interested, he was urged by the attorneys in a dog case to help them. He was paid a fee of $250 by the plaintiff. Voluminous evidence was introduced to show that the defendant had shot the dog in malice, while the other evidence went to show that the the dog had attacked the defendant. Vest took no part in the trial and was not disposed to speak. The attorneys, however, urged him to make a speech, else their client would not think he had earned his fee. Being thus urged, he arose, scanned the face of each juryman for a moment, and said:

Gentlemen of the jury, the best friend a man has in the world may turn against him and become his enemy. His son or daughter that he has reared with loving care may prove ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those whom we trust with our happiness and our good name may become traitors to their faith. The money that a man has he may lose. It flies away from him, perhaps, when he needs it most. A man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill-considered action. The people who are prone to fall on their knees to do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads. The one absolutely unselfish friend that man can have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never proves ungrateful or treacherous, is his dog. A man's dog stands by him in prosperity and poverty, in health and sickness. He will sleep on the cold ground where the wintry winds blow and the snow drives fiercely, if only he may be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer; he will lick the wounds and sores that come in encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince. When all other friends desert, he remains. When riches take wings and reputation falls to pieces, he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens.

"If fortune drives the master forth an outcast in the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of accompanying him, to guard against danger, to fight against his enemies, and when the last scene of all comes, and death takes the master in its embrace, and his body is laid away in the cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by the graveside will the noble dog be found, his head between his paws, his eyes sad, but open in alert watchfulness, faithful, and true even in death."

Senator Vest sat down. He had spoken in a low voice, without any gesture. He made no reference to the evidence or the merits of the case. When he finished, judge and jury were wiping their eyes. The jury returned a verdict in favor of the plaintiff for $500. He had sued for $300.

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting subject at the moment to Members of this body is the proposed and widely recommended increase in salaries for Members of Congress. Are we equally concerned with the economic hardship of another and much larger group of public servants—the postal workers? I believe so, and while we await with great interest the recommendation of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee chairmanned by our beloved and respected colleague from Kansas, Mr. REES, I offer a thought-provoking analysis which came to me from my district on the $800 wage adjustment provided by H. R. 2344. It reads as follows:

In the year 1939 the average salary of a post-office clerk, based on the report of the Postmaster General for July 1, 1939, was $2,165.21. On August 15, 1939, the BLS Index stood at 98.6, so the ratio between salary and the BLS Index was $21.96 for each point of the index. Since the Federal income tax provided for an exemption of $2,000 for a married man, plus $400 for each dependent, the average post-office clerk with a family of three paid no income tax and the entire salary of $2,165.21 was available for normal living expenses.

The man-hour output of all postal employees has shown a tremendous increase in recent years. During the period from 1945 to July 1, 1951, for example, the post office handled an increase in volume of 27.7 percent with an increase in personnel of only 14.3 percent. It is proper that this productivity be rewarded in public employment as it is in private employment because in no other way can the employees of the Federal Government keep abreast of the improvements brought about in recent years to take advantage of the modern standard of living. Figuring this improvement factor at a mere 5 percent over 1939 we find that the 1939 wage (including the 5 percent improvement factor) amounted to $23.06 for each point in the BLS. Index.

At the present time, the average annual salary of a post office clerk is $4,040 according to the report of the Postmaster General for July 1, 1952. From this amount, the employee with a wife and a single dependent, pays Federal income tax of $405, leaving available for normal living expenses, (take-home pay) the sum of $3,635 per annum.

The index for October 15, 1952 was 191.5 and at $23.06 for each point, the current take-home wage for post office clerks should be $4,414.07 which is $779.07 less than the actual take-home pay at this time. Allowing for a further increase in the Federal income tax, which would result from an increase of $779.07 per annum, the take-home pay would still be short of the amount necessary to equal the 1939 average.

From the foregoing, it would appear to be relatively easy to justify a flat increase of $800 per annum or 40 cents per hour for all employees, plus the elimination of the two present lowest salary grades (which would tend to increase the average wage) and a provision to provide an overtime rate for substitutes and hourly rate employees.

Reversing the Trend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's efforts to reverse and correct unsound and dangerous New Deal and Fair Deal trends of the past 20 years are further reflected in his recent messages to Congress on farm and labor policies.

As I have previously remarked in connection with the President's state of the Union message, the inevitable disagreements over detailed methods and the natural impatience because progress is not always as rapid as desired, must not obscure the all-important fact that the Republican administration is dedicated to cleaning up the unholy mess it inherited.

The difficulties and complexities involved in working out the farm problem underscore the fact that it is a great deal easier for a patient to start the dope habit than it is to stop that habit.

Without overworking the analogy, there are certain striking parallels between attempts to correct problems incident to the economic law of supply and demand through price supports and other legislative devices and atempts to ease a patient through a period of severe pain and shock by use of opiates.

In either case the aid which is given is basically artificial. In either case it undoubtedly is sometimes necessary to resort to such treatment. In either case expert application of the artificial aid is required if the cure is not to create more distrous problems than it corrects. In either case there is the ever-present danger that the fine line between a necessary, temporary aid and a deadly habit will be crossed. In either case the problem of getting the patient off the habit is a difficult and delicate one and, if carried out too abruptly, may also be disastrous.

Perhaps the more telling point of comparison is that administration of narcotics is always disastrous when it falls into the hands of the quacks and the unscrupulous. And that, of course, is precisely what happened under the New Deal and Fair Deal when the price supports and other farm measures were openly and deliberately used to control votes and to sustain the political power of the Roosevelt-Truman administrations.

The most hopeful aspect of the Eisenhower-Benson farm policy is the obvious determination not only to avoid political exploitation of price supports but to make the transition from artificial aids to a sound and healthy free economy as rapidly as can be done with safety. It is an important gain that the adminis-

tration recognizes and seeks to offset the evils of the economic "dope habit."

The keynote of Mr. Eisenhower's labor message is his determination to strengthen the law's safeguards of the public interest, including the rank and file membership of organized labor itself.

This determination is reflected in his secret strike vote proposal, his advocacy of higher standards of regulation for union welfare funds and his insistence that the authority of the States to deal with labor dispute emergencies be clarified and strengthened. The President displays a regard for the public interest in making these recommendations and, in view of the noisy opposition which can be expected from some quarters, he also displays a type of courage which has been lacking in the White House for many years.

Resolutions of National Jewish Youth Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, from August 28 to September 2, 1953, the annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference, a permanent nationwide body representing 300 local and regional Jewish youth and young adult councils, met at Camp Cejwin, Port Jervis, N. Y. The conference sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board adopted several resolutions. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the resolutions so adopted:

1. GENOCIDE CONVENTION

Whereas the peoples of the world have long looked to the United States for approval of the United Nations Genocide Convention which upholds the spirit of the Bill of Rights and the concept of the sanctity of human life; and

Whereas our failure to ratify the Genocide Convention is sharply contrasted with the fact that 43 nations have ratified and adopted it: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference calls upon the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Senate of the United States to take whatever steps are necessary to insure immediate ratification of the Genocide Convention.

2. MCCARRAN-WALTER IMMIGRATION ACT

Whereas we believe that our immigration and naturalization policies have traditionally offered sanctuary to the persecuted and displaced and to those who have made substantial contributions to the social, economic, and political welfare of our Nation; and

Whereas we are disturbed by the provisions of the McCarran-Walters Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952; and

Whereas both President Eisenhower and Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson condemned the act during the presidential campaign; and

Whereas the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization composed of prominent Americans from all walks of life expressed dissatisfaction with the act because of the following defects: (1) It is a law of exclusion rather than of immigration and continues special national preferences inconsistent with traditional American concepts of democracy; (2) it creates individual discriminations between native-born and naturalized citizens; (3) it establishes unnecessarily harsh rules for deportation, violating the basic concept of due process of law; (4) it exhibits favoritism toward potential immigrants who supported nazism and fascism: Therefore be it

Resolved by the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference, That this act be rewritten so as to bring our immigration and naturalization laws in accord with our American ideals; and be it further

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference pledges its full support to S. 2855, a humane immigration bill introduced by Senator LEHMAN and seven of his colleagues in July, 1953, in order to eliminate the inequities of the McCarran-Walter Act.

3. WATKINS LAW

Whereas the United States of America has traditionally been a haven for the oppressed people of other lands; and

Whereas these people have always regarded our Nation as the fountainhead of liberty, and an ever-present sanctuary of freedom: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference recognizes that the Watkins law to allow 214,000 Iron Curtain refugees to immigrate to the United States in the next 3 years independent of existing quotas will strike a resounding blow for the cause of freedom and human decency; and be it further

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference enthusiastically commends the President and Congress of the United States for enacting this bill into law.

4. SUPPORT OF UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Whereas we believe in the division of responsibilities for determining the foreign policy of this Nation that was set forth by the Founding Fathers in the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas the United States cannot rely upon distance or good fortune to protect us from Communist aggression; and

Whereas we must make the United Nations the keystone of our foreign policy and shy away from the temptation of unilateral diplomacy: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 Annual Assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference urge the Congress of the United States to support no proposal that would limit the treatymaking power of the Federal Government or change the traditional division of powers in this field; and be it further

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference views with deep concern the unreasoned attacks being made upon the United Nations and UNESCO by those who seek to destroy public confidence in these fortresses of freedom and peace and international goodwill, and be it further

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference reaffirms its faith in the efforts of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war * * * to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights * * * to establish conditions under which justice and international law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life."

5. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Whereas we believe that today the dangers to freedom of thought and speech have multiplied, and the protections which guard these freedoms are being weakened; and

Whereas forces of growing power attack all who defend freedom and encourage an alarming tendency to abrogate the first amendment of the Constitution in the name of patriotism; and

Whereas the liberty to examine, to discuss, and to evaluate phenomena in all fields of learning is basic to academic freedom; and

Whereas colleges and universities are capable of running their own affairs and deciding who shall instruct or who may be incompetent, and what ideas and philosophies shall be taught: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference believes that academic freedom is fundamental to our democratic society and that academic freedom must be preserved for the benefit of future generations of students and teachers; it is only through open and free discussion and inquiry that we in a democracy can remain free and defeat the internal and external menace of communism and fascism.

6. SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

Whereas anti-Semitism has long been present in the policies of the Soviet Union and its subjugated countries; and

Whereas the injection of anti-Semitism into the case of the six Russian doctors and into the Prague trials is renewed evidence that Soviet anti-Semitism is similar to patterns of Hitler's anti-Semitism; and

Whereas communism has long done its utmost to destroy Jewish life, and all spiritual life; and

Whereas anti-Semitism is for the Communist not an end, but a tactic devised to further their ultimate goal of world domination: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference declares its unqualified opposition to communism and fascism and all forms of totalitarianism and denounces the continuing destruction of Jewish communal life in those countries behind the Iron Curtain.

7. YOUNG ADULT COUNCIL AND WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH

Whereas the Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly composed of 15 national youth organizations has, by fostering cooperation among youth groups, stimulated the development of community-wide youth councils and advanced youth participation in community life; and

Whereas the Young Adult Council, by providing the channel for participation of United States youth in the World Assembly of Youth, has enabled young Americans to join the youth of the free world in fighting totalitarianism, poverty, and disease; and

Whereas the World Assembly of Youth has made significant contributions to the strengthening of ties of the youth of the free world through programs designed to meet the needs of young people: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference supports the program and purposes of the Young Adult Council and the World Assembly of Youth and expresses their commendation to both for their many accomplishments.

8. CENTENNIAL AND TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION

Whereas 1954 marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Jewish community center movement in the United States; and

Whereas the tercentenary (300th celebration of the origin of the American Jewish community) will also be observed beginning in 1954; and

Whereas both the centennial and tercentenary observances mark significant mile-

stones in the history of American Jewish life; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference calls upon American Jewish youth to plan to participate in both these important celebrations.

9. NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

Whereas the National Jewish Welfare Board during the past 6 years has performed an invaluable service to American Jewish youth and the American Jewish community by sponsoring the National Jewish Youth Conference; and

Whereas the National Jewish Welfare Board has given American Jewish youth the opportunity to work together and share their problems and points of view; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the 1953 annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference expresses its gratitude and appreciation to the National Jewish Welfare Board for the significant contribution it has made to Jewish life and survival and for the sponsorship and assistance the National Jewish Welfare Board has given to the National Jewish Youth Conference.

Niagara Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which I was privileged to deliver before the annual convention of the New York State Publishers' Association on January 14, 1954:

LEHMAN-ROOSEVELT BILL NOT FEDERAL PLAN

In most of the discussions of Niagara power development, the Lehman-Roosevelt bill has been referred to as the Federal plan. This misnomer has resulted in a widespread impression that we support Federal ownership and operation of the project. This has never been true. While we have favored construction of the project by the Army Corps of Engineers, our bill has always provided that after completion the Niagara project was to be turned over to the State of New York at cost for New York's ownership and operation under a contract of sale which would require the State to distribute the power in accordance with long-established power-marketing policies.

There were two reasons why the bill was drafted in this form. The first was to insure the proper marketing safeguards, the second was because the power authority of the State of New York was merely a paper organization; it had no trained personnel and no experience in the construction of hydroelectric projects.

But no matter how often Senator LEHMAN and I tried to make it clear that we were merely calling upon the construction experience of the Army Corps of Engineers, and no matter how often we set forth our support of having the project owned and operated by the State, Governor Dewey's Republican administration has persisted in claiming that we were fostering a plan of Federal ownership and control.

The Power Authority of the State of New York recently has been granted a license to build a hydroelectric project at the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. In proceeding with the construction of the St. Lawrence project it will acquire the experience and the trained staff necessary to undertake the construction at Niagara.

Therefore, within the next week, Senator LEHMAN and I will introduce a new Lehman-Roosevelt bill. This bill will provide for State construction and for State operation under a license from the Federal Power Commission.

OPPOSES DEWEY PLAN

Initially this may sound much like the Dewey plan for Niagara but do not be misled. The millennium has not arrived. This proposal will be very different from the Dewey plan because our bill will require the Federal Power Commission to condition the license so as to assure the marketing safeguards which are so essential to any reasonable program of public power. Senator LEHMAN and I are determined that the people of the State of New York and not the private utility monopoly reap the greatest possible benefits from the development of this valuable public resource. By obliterating the difference between Dewey and us over who will build the project, I hope that public attention will focus on the major difference—the question of how the power is to be distributed and therefore who is primarily to benefit.

PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT NOT A PARTISAN ISSUE

The issue of whether the Niagara hydroelectric potential is to be developed by a Government agency or by the utility monopoly is not an issue of partisan politics.

The principal spokesman for public development at the turn of the century was Theodore Roosevelt, the great architect of America's policies for the conservation and proper use of our natural resources. The concept of public development of Niagara has been advocated by Charles Evans Hughes, Alfred E. Smith, Herbert H. Lehman and Franklin D. Roosevelt. In fact, every Governor of this State since the beginning of the century, except one, has supported public development of Niagara power.

But despite bipartisan advocacy of public power at Niagara by so important a group of loyal Americans, the proponents of Congressman MILLER's private-company plan contend that public construction and operation of the Niagara project is socialism.

It is no more socialism for the people to produce and distribute electric power generated from public resources than it is socialism for the people to provide for public protection through a public police force instead of hiring a private detective agency. It is no more socialism for the public to develop Niagara's hydroelectric potential than it is socialism for the government to operate a public post-office system. But socialism has today become the convenient label which desperate men put on anything to which they are opposed.

After their barrage of platitudes and invective, the opponents of public development then go on to say, "Isn't private enterprise generally more efficient? Doesn't private enterprise do things more cheaply?"

Generally speaking, this is true, and I'm a devoted advocate of the private-enterprise system. But in the field of electric power where private enterprise has a monopoly, it has often shown itself to be either inefficient or greedy.

PRIVATE POWER COSTS MORE BUT NOT BECAUSE OF TAXES

The Federal Power Commission and Mr. Earle Machold, president of Niagara Mohawk are agreed that the cost of producing electricity at Niagara by New York's five large private companies would be almost three times greater than it would be if the project were constructed and operated by a public agency.

And contrary to the propaganda of the private companies, this difference in cost is not because the private power companies pay taxes.

The amply financed propaganda campaign carried on by the utility companies would seem to be deliberately contrived to confuse the public. On the one hand the electric utility companies make a great virtue of paying taxes and on the other hand the telephone company recognizes that the consumer is the ultimate taxpayer and directs its advertising to blaming taxes for increased consumer rates. The fallacy of the electric companies' argument is obvious because taxes are never production costs.

PRIVATE PLAN MORE EXPENSIVE FOR TAXPAYERS

But let us look at their rather sudden devotion to the idea of paying taxes. They have estimated that they would pay $23 million a year in taxes if they were to develop Niagara. Of this amount, $9.5 million would be Federal taxes.

But they fail to point out that because these same companies charge almost the highest rates in the Nation, the Federal Government has paid out, only since Korea, almost $200 million in the form of direct and indirect subsidies for electricity used in the fulfillment of defense contracts. Yes, if in the last 3 years the defense materials fabricated within the area to which Niagara power could economically be transmitted had been produced elsewhere in the Nation, Uncle Sam would have saved almost $200 million of what he paid for electricity on his cost-plus defense contracts. And the $9.5 million which private power companies would pay in Federal income taxes, if we give them Niagara, will not begin to offset the higher cost of fulfilling defense contracts in the future.

These same companies which claim a great anxiety for the well-being of the taxpayer have, since Korea, through tax-amortization certificates, been allowed to write of $114 million in taxes. And President Eisenhower's endorsement of this practice in his state of the Union message assures them of tax-amortization writeoffs of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty million dollars if they now get the Niagara project.

The arguments of the private companies about paying taxes are completely without foundation.

The major reason for the difference in cost between private and public development is the fact that under any of the three plans the project would be financed by a bond issue and the private utility bonds will pay the bankers a much higher interest rate than the public bonds. These charges are ultimately paid by the consumer.

PROPER DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IS WHAT SAVES MONEY FOR CONSUMER

As I stated previously, it is not only important who builds and operates the Niagara project. The question of how the electrical energy is to be distributed and marketed is of even greater importance.

Herein lies my basic difference with Governor Dewey and Mr. Burton. The Governor would have the State own and operate the project, but he would turn over at the project the electricity to the private companies for distribution. He says that he wants to integrate the cheap hydroelectric power of Niagara with all of the existing high-cost steam facilities. He, in effect, would give the private companies almost all of the benefit of the project without their even having to pay the cost of construction. The Dewey plan of so-called integration will so dilute the savings to be derived from public operation of the project as to make them infinitesimally small, and impossible to detect on a monthly bill.

NEW YORK CONSUMER PAYS TOO MUCH FOR ELECTRICITY

The average cost of electricity to residential consumers in the area to be served by the project is presently the highest in the

country. It is almost twice as high as the price charged by private companies in States such as Tennessee, Washington, and Oregon where they have the competition of public power projects. Even where there are no public power projects, there is an inexplicable difference between the rates charged by the private companies in different areas. Why, for instance, are the rates in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin about 25 percent lower than the average rate in New York State? Why is it that in Newark, N. J., which is served entirely by a private company using steam-generated power, a consumer pays $3.61 a month for 100 kilowatt hours of residential electricity, while across the river in Manhattan and the Bronx, the same service costs $4.56 per month—over 25 percent more. And yet in Queens you can buy 100 kilowatt hours of residential electricity for about the same price as Newark, N. J.?

In Tonawanda this same service costs only $2.78 per month, while in Lockport, less than 20 miles away, the consumer pays $3.28 per month, and in Rochester, $4.59 a month. Compare these figures with a cost of $2.50 for 100 kilowatt hours of residential electricity in Knoxville, Tenn., $2 per month in Fayetteville, Tenn., and $1.70 per month in Tacoma, Wash.

The Lehman-Roosevelt bill would require that, in disposing of Niagara power, the State give a preference to municipalities, other public bodies, and cooperatives. This is a preference not in price but only in the right of acquisition. This so-called preference clause, in one form or another, appears in every single congressional enactment involving public power since President Theodore Roosevelt proposed it in 1906. It has been accepted as a cardinal principle in 10 Federal statutes during these last 48 years. It is expressed in essence in our own New York State Power Authority Act which was passed in 1931. But Mr. Burton changed the interpretation of that act when he assumed office in March of 1950. Had he accepted the interpretation of his predecessor, Major General Wilby, who was himself an appointee of Governor Dewey, there would be no difference between us.

DEWEY WOULD DEPRIVE PUBLIC OF PROJECT'S REAL BENEFIT

But in not providing for the needs of municipalities, other public agencies, and cooperatives, Governor Dewey would deprive the public of the real benefits of the project. The State of New York has no ownership in Niagara Falls apart from the people themselves; it is only representative of the people. If the Government owns Niagara Falls, it means that the people own Niagara Falls and that the ownership necessarily gives them and their agencies the right of first use.

There is no need to look to the TVA area and to the Pacific Northwest to see what benefits can be derived from public development with preference distribution. We need only look across the Niagara River where the people of Ontario have already adopted such a plan and compare the level of consumption and the price to the consumer in the Province of Ontario with that of the State of New York. Whereas in New York State the average domestic consumer uses slightly more than 100 kilowatt-hours of electricity a month, which is enough only for electric light, small appliances, and refrigeration, the average consumption in the Province of Ontario is approximately 350 kilowatt-hours per month and allows for the use of electricity for hot water heating, and cooking as well. In Lockport, N. Y., Congressman MILLER'S hometown, which is on the Niagara frontier and where electricity is 35 percent cheaper than the average rate for New York State, a domestic consumer pays approximately 3 cents per kilowatt-hour. The average cost per kilowatt-hour for similar service in the Province of Ontario is less than 1.1 cents.

Wholesale electric rates are not regulated in the State of New York. If the State were to construct the project and turn the electrical energy over to the private companies without enforcing the right to first acquisition by public agencies, it would place these agencies of the people at the mercy of the utility companies from which they would be forced to buy power without giving them the bargaining strength they require.

And permitting public agencies and cooperatives to acquire their full needs will not drain off large quantities of power generated at Niagara. If all of the municipally owned systems and all of the cooperatively owned systems in the northeastern region of the United States were permitted to acquire all of the electricity they need, it would take less than 10 percent of the output of the Niagara project and less than 5 percent of the combined output of Niagara and St. Lawrence.

YARDSTICK DISTRIBUTION IMPORTANT

The utility industry is a monopoly industry. Prices cannot be determined by the ordinary dynamics of the marketplace such as competition and supply and demand. When public power has been distributed with the preference, it has developed a competitive yardstick which has forced down the rates charged by private companies in the same area. This is the only way you can inject competition in an otherwise completely monopolistic industry, and where it has been used it has not in any way resulted in the deterioration of the prosperity of these companies. But without this pressure of competition, the utility companies would never reduce their rates. I am delighted to be the advocate of competition while Governor Dewey is the handmaiden of monopoly.

DEWEY'S CYNICAL "STRADDLE"

I favor public construction and operation of the Niagara project because I believe that this is the only way to protect the public interest in this great public resource. I favor the so-called preference clause because this is the only tried and tested method by which rates for electricity in the State of New York can be brought down nearer the level charged in other areas of the country.

The private company plan will not accomplish either of these objectives. Neither will the Dewey plan. The Dewey plan is an acceptable second line of defense for the private utilities, just as much as it is a cynical straddle of the issue for the Governor. He continues to claim his support of public power by advocating State construction and operation of the Niagara project, but at the same time he caters to the private utility monopoly by giving them full control over the distribution of the electricity.

This issue of who is to develop Niagara and how the power is to be distributed is not new. It has been raging since the turn of the century.

In your review of these several plans, I commend the remarks of Theodore Roosevelt on this very issue of Niagara power:

"You have elected too many men in the past who have taken what belongs to the Nation. Coal and oil barons cannot compare to water power barons. Do not let them get a monopoly on what belongs to this State * * * Do not give up your water power for a promise of quick development. We are poor citizens if we allow the things worth most to get into the hands of a few."

The City of Shreveport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I was certainly delighted to learn from the editors of Look magazine that my home city of Shreveport, La., had been named as one of the 11 all-American cities entitled to an award for this honor. This contest, which was sponsored by the National Municipal League and Look magazine as cosponsors, reviewed the status of 115 other cities throughout the United States. One of the reasons why the city of Shreveport was selected for this award was due to the survey of the Negro community which was conducted in Shreveport by 1,000 white and Negro volunteers. This survey originated by the Shreveport Council of Social Agencies and before the comprehensive project was finished, almost every civic group had cooperated and participated to lend assistance.

The survey dealt with all phases of life among the city's Negro population. This selection of the city of Shreveport was such a coveted honor that undoubtedly it will have the effect of spurring other southern cities to make progress in the direction of removing unlivable quarters from their midst and working out more acceptable programs to take care of the colored population living in their midst.

Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the recognition which has been given my home city of Shreveport. It is a city of 140,000 people, resting along the banks of a great stream, and is the queen city of the Red River Valley. Its streets are wide and paved and its buildings and people are modern. It is most appropriate that Look magazine and the National Municipal League would give this place of honor to the city of Shreveport.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a,

Appendix

Should Voting Age Be Lowered?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Should Voting Age Be Lowered?" which was published in the Detroit News of January 14. It is on the subject of voting rights for 18-year-old persons. I believe the viewpoint expressed in the editorial is worthy of the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

SHOULD VOTING AGE BE LOWERED?

No one should get the idea that President Eisenhower's advocacy of a constitutional amendment to let citizens start voting at 18 was a sudden inspiration.

Detroiters at least should know otherwise. His first public statement of his position was made here in June 1952, before his nomination for President. Soon after his inauguration the Republican National Committee at his suggestion launched a campaign to lower the voting age either by constitutional amendment or by action of the States.

As a matter of fact, his remarks here left it clear his concern with the subject dates from his observation of young American manhood in action on the Normandy beaches. Along with many others, including the late Senator Vandenberg, he saw injustice in the denial of voting rights to soldiers under 21. And, as also with others, his interest may well have been spurred when in 1950 and onward voteless youngsters again were asked to serve their country on the battlefield.

Mr. Eisenhower's inclusion of the subject in his legislative program submitted to Congress found immediate response in the introduction of resolutions to carry it out. Just as prompt, however, was the unfavorable reaction. For example, Representative EMANUEL CELLER, top Democrat of the House Judiciary Committee, made the somewhat unjudicial comment that wisdom teeth are not cut until age 21. The New York Times worried over the inexperience which, it said, has made of the young the easiest victims of such demagogs and tyrants as Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, and Mao Tse-tung.

Less frank opposition may be expected also from certain home-grown demagogs, fearful of the proposal as a precedent-setting Federal invasion of the State right to restrict the voting privilege to those deemed racially qualified for it.

A constitutional amendment is necessary because the Constitution has reserved specifically to the States the setting of qualifications for voters for Federal office. One State, Georgia, now allows 18-year-olds to vote, under a law change enacted in 1943. But, despite efforts made, there has so far been little evidence that other States may follow Georgia's example. Politicians like things cozy and are disposed to resist any enlargement of the electorate.

The News hopes the amendment will be submitted, and preferably with a provision by which the people themselves, rather than their representatives, would determine the wisdom or unwisdom of the step proposed. This could be managed if Congress would call for ratification of the amendment by State conventions, instead of State legislatures. It is a question, we think, that is peculiarly personal to every present voter.

A Fair Tax Shake for the Little Fellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, all of us are very much interested in taxes. Along that line I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star written by a retired Treasury employee. It deals with the work of the late Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FAIR TAX SHAKE FOR THE LITTLE FELLOW

To the EDITOR OF THE STAR:

I read with interest the Thomas L. Stokes column, December 16, entitled "Elimination of Tax Favoritism." He plainly champions the cause of the rank-and-file taxpayer, or the small taxpayers, as against the wealthy and the rich and powerful. In the present struggle for the elimination of tax favoritism, he seeks to draw a fatal analogy between the present situation and the conduct of the Harding administration after World War I, and particularly with the tax-reduction program of the late Andrew W. Mellon, then Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Mellon was Secretary of the Treasury, commencing March 4, 1921, for about 10 years. Mr. Stokes adopts the theme that the Mellon tax plan started an era of special tax privilege for the rich and powerful which lasted until the 1929 depression. Unfortunately, Mr. Stokes does not tell the full story. Mr. Mellon was the greatest champion of tax reduction for the small taxpayer within my memory. Let's have a look at the record.

The Revenue Act of 1918 was enacted by a Democratic Congress and approved by a Democratic administration. Its provisions, as applicable to the year 1920, are what the Harding administration found when it took over on March 4, 1921. What do the income-tax provisions of that act provide for the little fellow? Let us take a little fellow having a salary up to $5,000 a year, married, with two children. The married man's credit was $2,000. The dependency credit was $200 for each dependent. If such married taxpayers had no other deduction whatever, and we all know they would, their taxable net income would be $2,600 on the basis of a $5,000 salary. (For comparative purposes, it is assumed that ordinary deductions would have substantially the same relative effect in the lower income groups throughout the years.) The rates for 1920 were as follows: The normal tax rate was 8 percent of net income, which on the assumptions above made would produce a normal tax of $208. The surtax would be zero, because it began with 1 percent on the net income bracket from $5,000 to $6,000. Under the assumed facts, my little fellow would have to have earned a salary of over $7,400 per year, before he would begin to owe any surtax.

Now, in all fairness, let us compare the above result with the Mellon tax plan, and see how our same little fellow fared. One reading the Stokes article would assume that he would be unmercifully taxed to make up a deficit occasioned by the special tax privileges to the rich and powerful. But let us have another look at the record.

The late Secretary Mellon reached the height of his power about 1928, the last year under President Coolidge. The personal exemption for a married couple in the taxable year 1928 was $3,500 per couple. The dependency credit was $400 per dependent. Therefore, in 1928 under the Pittsburgh tycoon, our same little fellow earning $5,000 per year, and having no other deductions (as above predicated), would find himself with a taxable net income of $700 ($5,000 less $4,300). The rates applicable to 1928 present an even more startling comparison. On a net income of $700, the normal tax rate is now only one-half of 1 percent, or the amazing sum of $3.50. There is no surtax, because the surtax starts at 1 percent on the net income bracket of $10,000 to $14,000.

While these tax reductions were being accomplished for the little fellows, the Treasury was taking in more taxes and reducing the national debt by over one-half. Obviously, the little fellow was not paying income taxes, so they must have come from the rich and powerful, for whom Secretary Mellon is represented as having such a fond solicitation.

Now after 20 years of rule under the liberal doctrines espoused by Mr. Stokes, what is the picture? Assume the same annual salary of $5,000, which now makes our taxpayer a real little fellow. The code provisions in effect for the taxable year 1953 were enacted and approved in a Democratic administration. The usual exemption for a married couple is now only $1,200 ($600 for each). The exemption for each dependent child is $600. Therefore, our little fellow would have a taxable net income of $2,600 ($5,000 less $2,400). But see how the rates have grown: Normal tax, 3 percent; surtax, 19.2 percent on the first $2,000, and 21.6 percent on the next $600. I figure the combined tax at the regular rates as $577.20. On this showing the Pittsburgh tycoon need make no apologies to any small taxpayer. In other words, the Mellon tax plan benefited everybody (including the little fellows) and brought in more revenue.

The income-tax policies of Secretary Mellon were financially sound and adequate for those days. They benefited the small taxpayers as well as the rich. The only valid objection to them is that the base was not broad enough. They were too liberal in behalf of the little fellow. They granted virtual exemption from income taxation to

everybody until they reached the income level of the middle and upper classes.

RETIRED TREASURY EMPLOYEE.

How Much Is a Dime?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "How Much Is a Dime?" published in the Provincetown (Mass.) New Beacon of January 13, 1954. It is one of the best editorials I have read on the March of Dimes campaign.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW MUCH IS A DIME?

They say you can't buy anything for a dime any more.

Time was when John D. Rockefeller's favorite coin started many a kid's savings account. That was in the old days.

Yet even today the 10-cent piece represents a potent force. A handful of them 16 years ago created something that today is becoming a multimillion dollar vial of vaccine. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis through its March of Dimes has embarked on a new polio prevention front in addition to its programs of scientific research, patient aid, and professional education.

If we actually can stamp out polio with millions of dimes, what glory for those 10-cent pieces. But there have been other rewards as well.

The March of Dimes has affected our daily lives in ways we rarely think about.

There is the idea itself—an idea that has proved highly catching. The March of Dimes started a whole new kind of thinking about fighting disease. It proceeded on the theory that if enough people got behind research they could, by sheer force of intelligent determination, solve the polio problem. That idea may be proved soon. And we are fighting other diseases in the same way today—and winning.

The March of Dimes has trained thousands of physical therapists who are helping people recover from diseases other than polio. It has helped educate many doctors who are using their knowledge in many varied fields. It has lent tremendous impetus to new public health programs by sponsoring young men and women in professional education. It has given the public an awareness of its responsibility in fighting all diseases of mankind. It has helped open the doors of hundreds of hospitals to thousands of patients.

The March of Dimes has done much to keep the patient with polio on a sound economic basis. Polio is one of the most expensive diseases, but the March of Dimes has saved thousands of stricken families from suffering this ordeal alone.

The March of Dimes sponsors world conferences among scientists and these have led to an interchange of information in the medical field on a highly diversified number of subjects. It has distributed information to doctors and has lessened fear of all diseases by showing how progress can be made against one of the most baffling.

It has provided a model example of how men of different races and creeds can live and work together for the benefit of all.

The purchasing power of the individual dime admittedly has decreased. But millions of them invested in the March of Dimes may purchase for all of us a new dimension in the fight against disease—of which the imminent conquest of polio is only the forerunner.

The Perón Government of Argentina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why Squander Good Will?" published in Collier's magazine for January 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY SQUANDER GOOD WILL?

Three years ago this month the Perón Government in Argentina, after a series of harassing and increasingly flimsy pretexts, closed La Prensa, one of the world's great newspapers. For almost 81 years La Prensa, under the enlightened leadership of José Clemente Paz (its founder), Ezequiel P. Paz (his son), and Alberto Gainza Paz (the founder's grandson and La Prensa's last editor-publisher under free management), was a symbol of freedom. It was ever a guardian and champion of a free press and of Agentina's constitution. It was proudly patriotic in the best sense of the word. It promoted education, provided free medical service, and performed many other worthy, selfless services that long since had made it a monument to the profession of journalism. So Juan D. Perón closed it, then seized and confiscated all its properties.

The anniversary of that unhappy event seems an appropriate time to take a brief look at the Perón Government today, and to give some thought to the United States attitude and policy toward that Government.

The Perón regime is still a Fascist police state—operating, as most such states do, behind the transparent façade of phony legality, but with all the familiar, insidious trappings of totalitarianism.

There is a Congress, but it is only a mouthpiece for Perón. There are opposition parties, but they are not allowed to meet. There are labor unions—which include Communists who consistently support Perón—but the dictator runs them. There are courts, but the judges receive telephoned instructions from the Government on the disposition of their cases.

There are secret police, and sudden, dead-of-night arrests, and unexplained disappearances, and tortures. There is no right of habeas corpus since Perón declared a wholly unconstitutional "state of internal war" after the military rebellion of September 1951.

Economically, too, Perón follows the totalitarian pattern, and in doing so, he has put his country in a bad way. Borrowing a page from the Soviet book, he tried to boost his country's industry at the expense of its agriculture, and at the same time subsidize the industrial expansion out of agricultural profits. But, now world wheat prices are down. Argentina cannot live up to its meat-export commitments. Perón is losing money. He cannot make his coal- and oil-deficient nation self-sufficient, so he must import much of the lifeblood of industry. That takes dollars. We hope he will not get any more from the United States.

In the last few years this country's attitude toward Perón has gone from the tough realism of Ambassador Spruille Braden through appeasement to aloof politeness. Now, there may be another change in the making. Since Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother, decided to include Argentina in his good-will tour of South America there has been a notable abatement of anti-Yankee propaganda in the Argentine press and Government agencies. We can't say we are pleased by the visit or the reaction.

The United States, as the world's arch-foe of dictatorship, owes Perón no good will. We think that diplomatic correctness, to borrow a diplomatic term, is as far as the American Government ought to go. And, let us give Perón no more dollars, which would only serve to bolster and prolong his power. Present events indicate that Perón's regime is weakening under the weight of its political cruelties and its economic ineptitudes. Its eventual collapse will be accomplished only through internal upheaval, but come it must and come it will. Let it be soon. And let our Government do nothing to impede or delay the liberation of a proud and once-free people.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, retired, United States Army, on January 12, 1954, in which he points out that he feels that the Bricker amendment would not be in our national interest in these days of rapid communication.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 12, 1954.

The Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KEFAUVER: Thank you for your letter of January 6 relative to my conviction that the adoption of the Bricker amendment would not be in our national interest.

Under the provisions of the amendment, prior approval could be required by the Congress of all international agreements, however routine or urgent they might be. If Congress had to be called into special session, or even, if in session, committee hearings were required before the President could authorize such urgent and vital agreements as the arrangements with Great Britain and France for the Berlin airlift, I am afraid it would never have been placed in operation in time to have been effective.

Likewise, the submission of a treaty accepted by the Senate to the Congress or to State legislatures for it to have the effect of law creates a ponderous procedure which

would restrict our bargaining power at the international table.

In these days of rapid communication by radio and jet airplane, with the world threatened with the possible use of atomic power to destroy life and property, we cannot further restrict the power of our Chief Executive except to court disaster.

With high regard,

Sincerely yours,

LUCIUS D. CLAY.

Summing Up the Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I have here an editorial entitled "Summing Up the Situation," by Sidney J. Phillips, which appeared in a recent issue of the Tribune, a weekly newspaper published in Roanoke, Va. This editorial is written by an outstanding Negro who has an intimate and practical knowledge of the education of the Negro in the public schools of the South. The wise and understanding approach to this question as reflected by this editorial is commended to the people of the Nation. For this reason, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMING UP THE SITUATION

(By Sidney J. Phillips, Booker Washington Birthplace, Va.)

As far back as the days of Thomas Jefferson, the question of the education of the Negro has been a national problem. That eminent Virginian, father of the Declaration of Independence, even before slavery was abolished, felt that owners should permit their slaves to be prepared by instruction and habit for self-government and the honest pursuit of industry. In his plans for a modern system of public schools, Jefferson included the training of slaves in industrial and agricultural branches to equip them for a higher station in life. Today's problem in connection with the constitutionality of segregation in our public school system seems but the shadow of unfinished business which has been on the national agenda for a long, long time.

In summing up the situation for the past several weeks, much thought and space has been given to this problem because of the large implications it has—or could have—on our way of life, particularly in the southland where the Negro and his white neighbor are, at long last, learning to live and work together for their mutual welfare. It will be a tremendous loss to all parties concerned—particularly to the party of the lesser part (the Negro)—if the existing goodwill is disturbed and nothing equally stabilizing is substituted in its place. Too, the future welfare of the children of both groups may suffer for the reason that it has taken years of research and study on the part of the Nation's educators to bring our public school system to the level of efficiency which it maintains today. This may be seriously impaired by some of the measures that are being discussed. We can do nothing about the case pending before the Supreme Court; but we can try to get together as good Americans and see what can be done to make the most of any decision the court hands down.

For a long time the Negro has bent his energies toward securing better schools, better facilities, better paid teachers, and a larger educational outlook for his youth. For an equally long time the white South has stated its willingness to give the Negro those educational improvements he sought—if money could be made available. Educators and legislators all over the South are setting machinery into action to provide money necessary to equalize school facilities for the Negro.

Throughout the South today millions are being spent on modern school facilities for Negroes which, in many instances, are not only equal to but better than like equipment existing for the white. There are thousands of Negro youth at study in colleges and universities in preparation to man these better and larger facilities which are being brought about in result of the Negro's just demand for equalization. For the present this, we believe, should be a sufficient solution to the problem. Our two great racial groups, working together to secure for each the opportunities that will produce contentment and chances for mutual progress, should definitely continue an atmosphere of good will in which both can set about to give to our Republic the very best they have.

As Negroes we enjoy association among ourselves—provided we are given the same opportunities for development that other racial groups enjoy. We should not wish to force ourselves upon others who have the same right as we to choose their friends and associates. Given equality of opportunity for development, the Negro can set about the job of earning for himself the respect and goodwill that is due every worthy American. Judging by the strides the Negro has made—even under an inferior educational system—it will be, perhaps, only a few short years before he will so achieve that men North and South will accept him for his intrinsic value as a citizen. Such acceptance, free and ungrudgingly given, will be of far greater value to the Negro than any status that may be attempted through antagonizing legislation.

In a final analysis of the situation, I would like, if permitted, to advise those who are responsible for the allocation of funds for public education to leave no stone unturned that will help to make equality of educational opportunities possible. And to my own people, I would say: "Use the better tool which is about to be placed in your hands to earn for yourselves the contentment and fullness of life that is open to every American who is willing to pay the price of success." Like Booker T. Washington, I believe that if these principles are followed, a solution of the problem will come. So long as the Negro is given the opportunity to get education, to acquire property, to secure employment, and is treated with the respect he merits, I have the greatest faith in his ability to work out his own destiny in our Southland. And that destiny will be on a much higher plane if permitted to develop in an atmosphere of cooperation and goodwill rather than be forced to grow in soils of ill will and antagonism.

More Opposition to Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the Denver Post, in which he expresses his opposition, as well as that of his newspaper, to the Bricker amendment.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DENVER POST,
January 9, 1954.

The Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ESTES: In reply to your letter of January 6, the following is the Denver Post's most recent reference to the Bricker amendment, and you are privileged to use it as a statement from me:

"The proposed Bricker constitutional amendment, promoted as a necessary protection for American rights, has arisen from the fear of presidential misconduct of foreign affairs. To relieve that anxiety and to somehow provide a burglar alarm against diabolical alliances or a basement-window invasion of foreign ideologies, sponsors of the Bricker amendment want to superimpose the authority of Congress upon that plainly provided by the Constitution for the presidency.

"The move represents a serious and unwarranted weakening of Executive power at a time when that power is of inestimable value in preserving peace and in constructing the mechanisms of collective security and world law. Those demanding passage of the amendment have faith neither in President Eisenhower nor in the constitutional balance and separation of powers which has served this republic well from the time of its origin.

"The passage by Congress of the Bricker amendment would require subsequent ratification by three-fourths of the States. That would delay final action by several years, and perhaps permit the education or re-education of the people in some basic principles of government and constitutional law. The danger to our system of government is not worth the risk, however. The time and the place to spike the Bricker amendment is in 1954, in the Congress of the United States."

Sincerely,

PALMER HOYT.

Senator Butler's Speech on the St. Lawrence Seaway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "BUTLER SPEAKS," published in the Baltimore News-Post of January 18, 1954. The editorial deals with the speech of the Senator from Maryland on the St. Lawrence seaway project.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUTLER SPEAKS

Senator BUTLER of Maryland is making a valiant fight against participation by the United States in the St. Lawrence seaway enterprise—a long-mooted project. Realization of this project, there is reason to believe,

would be adverse to the port of Baltimore, as well as some other ports.

But Mr. BUTLER bases his arguments, set forth in a lengthy address, on no such narrow ground. His conclusion, drawn from the data he has sedulously amassed, is that the proposed seaway would not benefit the American economy as a whole.

And, he asks, since Canada is prepared to go ahead with the project on its own, why should the American Congress "appropriate over $100 million of money we do not have in order to get a project that we may have without spending anything"?

To the argument that joint participation is necessary if America is to have joint control, he refers to treaties with Canada as a protection of our rights. He notes, further, that the proposed seaway would be mostly in Canadian territory and that in the last analysis we should have to depend upon the continued good will and friendship of our Canadian neighbors for the protection of our rights.

Whether or not the Senator's logic will prevail in the matter of senatorial votes, we think he deserves from the people of Baltimore and Maryland a vote of thanks. But in arguing that there is no use in spending $100 million upon a thing which you can get for nothing, we are not sure but what the Senator, in making a logical point, has overlooked a psychological factor which operates in our economy—the lavish disposition to spend, especially when the money is not in hand.

Canning Industry Reports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose the script of a radio program in which I had the privilege of participating with Mr. Louis Ratzesberger, Jr., president of the National Canners Association, presented on radio station WFBM in Indianapolis last fall.

Indiana and the Fifth District are especially proud of the tomato products that are processed and canned, and it is for this reason that I wish to bring this interesting report to the attention of the other Members:

CANNING INDUSTRY REPORTS

Miss WAGNER. Two very interesting gentlemen are visiting Indianapolis today. One of them may be known to many of you for he is JOHN V. BEAMER, of Wabash, Representative to Congress from the Fifth District and member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The other gentleman, not so well known to you, perhaps, but one who plays an important part in your life, is Mr. Louis Ratzesberger, Jr., a canner from Hoopeston, Ill., who is the president of the National Canners Association of Washington. Mr. BEAMER is here to attend a meeting of the Indiana Manufacturers Association. Mr. Ratzesberger has just come from French Lick where he addressed the convention of the Indiana Canners Association. I've asked them both to be here today because they have something in common with each other—and with you, especially if you are a housewife who has to prepare three meals a day. Both of these gentlemen have done much to take the drudgery out of your job—but I'm going to let them tell you about it. In fact, after I've introduced them I'm just going to sit by and listen carefully and I know you will, too. First, Congressman JOHN V. BEAMER.

Mr. BEAMER. Thank you, Ann, it's a pleasure to be here.

Miss WAGNER. And Mr. Louis Ratzesberger, Jr.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. Thank you, Ann, and good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. And I'd like to start this discussion by telling you what JOHN and I have in common, with each other—and with you. We are both concerned with producing wholesome, inexpensive, and clean products—cannned foods. You, JOHN, are interested in this because, I understand you represent in the Fifth District, the largest concentration of tomato and tomato juice canners in the country. Is that correct?

Mr. BEAMER. That's correct, Lou. And I might add the interesting fact that over the years Indiana has been the second largest State in the country in production of canned tomatoes and juice. In fact, we have much to be proud of in our State's agricultural achievements. We Hoosiers also enjoy a reputation as innovators. One innovation in particular of which we are especially proud was the introduction of canned tomato juice. It was a Hoosier canner, Ralph Kemp, who was the first to turn out tomato juice in cans. So now perhaps you can understand why I'm interested in any action or legislation that has to do with our fair State's reputation for producing the Nation's finest canned foods.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. You could also have mentioned with pride the work of the Indiana Canners Association and your Purdue Experimental Station which is credited with pioneering in such developments as the direct seeding of tomatoes and the mass-scale certification of tomato seed. We at National Canners Association are with you 100 percent in maintaining high standards for canned foods. It is only because of our rigid standards for canned foods. It is only because of our rigid standards of purity that our industry has been able to expand and to offer so many products to so many people. At this time, JOHN, I'd like to publicly compliment you not only in behalf of the canning industry but also, if I may, in behalf of the public, for the service you have rendered in activities to protect and maintain these high standards.

Mr. BEAMER. Well, thank you, Lou.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. I'd like to refer specifically to your efforts during the last session of Congress in bringing about a certain amendment to the Federal Food and Drug Act. Would you like to tell us about that.

Mr. BEAMER. All legislative action is complex but I'll try to make this as clear as possible. The amendment in question was one that would provide the Federal Food and Drug Administration with authority to inspect food and drug factories. It's an important part of the work of the Food and Drug Administration to have strong food protection laws on the books and to have these laws enforced. However, I felt that this particular amendment was obscured by legal phraseology. I don't like that. I wanted an amendment that was legally clear and clearly understandable. One that would spell out in plain English just what rights and powers the Government had in its jurisdiction over our canneries. Well, I believe that because of my insistence, that we have just that type of an amendment. I felt that the Federal inspector should be helpful to the manufacturer and should give the food manufacturers and canners a copy of his inspection report. I also felt that the Food and Drug Administration should give the canner a copy of any analysis of his products that they made. By doing these things the Federal Government would be of help, not only to the canner, but also to all the consumers. The canner would get the benefit of the inspector's report and be able to take advantage of the inspector's suggestions. The canner also would obtain the Government analysis of his products and have that information as a check on his own work. These reports and analyses are beneficial to consumers by contributing to the betterment of the canned product.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. What Mr. BEAMER has done, ladies and gentlemen, will go a long way to help us do our job with the minimum of Government red tape and interference. And that means more and finer canned foods at lower prices to you, the consumer.

Mr. BEAMER. I'm very happy that I was able to do my share in this important work, Lou—and now I must, in turn, express my respect to the National Canners Association for the job it does, year after year, to protect the family table. You know, ladies and gentlemen, its only because of the work of the National Canners Association, and the State groups, such as the Indiana Canners Association, that canners in this State, and all over the country, for that matter, are cooking the family dinner in a more sanitary manner than the average housewife can do it in her own kitchen. This praise for the canning industry went into the official record of the hearings when the Food and Drug Commissioner, C. W. Crawford, stated that the canning industry boasts—and the boast is justified—that the industry is doing a better job than the housewife.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. The reason, of course, that we can make the boast, is that our canners are using modern scientific equipment to achieve a higher degree of sterilization and cleanliness than is possible even in the best of kitchens.

Mr. BEAMER. Now, Lou, I think our listeners would be interested in hearing some of the very interesting facts about your organization. For instance, how large is it?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. The National Canners Association includes in its membership about 1,000 of the Nation's leading canners.

Mr. BEAMER. They must turn out a great quantity and great variety of products. Do you have some figures on that?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. Yes, JOHN, I have. Its a big industry and the figures are necessarily also big. For instance, in 1935 each person in this country consumed 52 pounds of canned foods. Last year, this figure had risen to 101 pounds, almost doubled. In 1952—and hold on to your seat—in 1952 the industry used about 20 billion cans and jars to hold its products.

Mr. BEAMER. Twenty billion. It sounds fantastic.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. With a retail value of about $4 billion.

Mr. BEAMER. I can see where the canning industry makes a definite contribution to our national economy through payments to farmers and labor. What figures do you have on that, Lou?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. There are around a half million persons directly employed by the canners—and that does not include those thousands who make the labels, the cans and jars, the machinery and the supplies, nor those who transport and distribute our products, the retailers and so forth. The industry payroll, I should say, runs to around 235 million annually. And we pay over a billion to farmers and growers.

Mr. BEAMER. It seems to me, Lou, that just about every day we hear of a new canned food item coming on the market. There seems to be no end of them. Tell me, do you people at National Canners Association headquarters keep track of all these and all your other products?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. JOHN, the industry is continuously expanding—and that's a healthy sign—and I will admit that I, personally, find it a bit difficult to keep tab on all new products. Let me give you an example of our growth. Twenty-five years ago our directory listed only 25 products and

these were grouped in such categories as fish, berries, meats, and soups. Today, that same directory lists over 500 varieties and includes vegetables, fruits, juices, milk, meat, fish, and seafood, soups, baby foods, dietetic foods, specialties, and combinations of foods.

Mr. BEAMER. Very interesting. How about the edibility and purity of all these products—how do you check on that?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. Our research division has three laboratories across the country to which our members may submit their products for analysis. In addition, these laboratories and many other laboratories in the industry conduct studies of canning procedures and techniques and pass this information along to the industry so that canners can utilize the latest knowledge in bettering their canning methods. With better production methods come lower prices.

Then we have a home-economics division at our Washington headquarters with a staff of food experts who test the edibility of our products, prepare menus, study the nutritional value of foods—and otherwise help canners to produce a better product.

Incidentally, I'd like to extend an invitation to the ladies in our audience to visit our kitchen the next time any of them are in Washington. Our home-economics director, Katherine Smith, will be most happy to welcome you and show you around.

Mr. BEAMER. Your industry has certainly come a long way in the 46 years since your organization was started—to a point where the housewife now takes the can of food on her kitchen shelf for granted, as though it has always been there.

Mr. RATZESBERGER. We're very happy about that casual acceptance. It means we are giving her a product she knows, subconsciously perhaps, a product that is wholesome, tasty, safe, and lower priced than any food product on the market.

Mr. BEAMER. A great tribute to a great industry. Now, I've one other pertinent question, Lou. Just how is the industry faring in the face of competition from other processing methods?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. We'll let the record speak for itself in answer to that question. The use of canned foods has been increasing steadily since the first can was commercially produced. Since the war, consumption has jumped 40 percent. Here are some specific examples—canned frozen citrus juices are now being consumed at the rate of 13 pounds per person per year, as compared to less than 4 pounds before the war. The use of canned soups has trebled in the past 17 years. In the same period the use of canned meats has doubled and doubled again. As for baby foods—that's increased 1,200 times. And so on to illustrate the continuing growth of the canning industry. And it will continue to grow just so long as we continue to give the public something it needs at a price that compares favorably with that of other food products.

Mr. BEAMER. What about the price of canned foods?

Mr. RATZESBERGER. Of all food products the price of canned foods has remained the most stable, but I can sum that up in a report which has just reached me—according to official Government figures the price of canned fruits and vegetables today is 10 percent less than ceiling prices under OPA. Canned foods always have—and I think always will—be the best buy on the market.

Miss WAGNER. I'm sorry to interrupt you gentlemen in this very interesting discussion on the canned-foods industry and how it affects the consumer. I know that it has been as interesting to all of you who have listened as it has been to me. My guests have been Congressman JOHN V. BEAMER, of Wabash, and Mr. Louis Ratzesberger, Jr., president of the National Canners Association.

Meeting the Increasing Burden of Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, in his message to the Congress today, the President rightfully points out that we must take action on the rising costs of medical care. A long-term illness today represents a financial catastrophe to the average American family. Heart disease, cancer, tuberculosis, arthritis, rheumatism, polio, blindness, diabetes, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, muscular dsytrophy, and like diseases represent a crippling burden, even where the best in medical care is available.

With this problem, one of the most serious and important facing our people today, your Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce properly has been concerned. We have been trying to see just what might be done about it.

Last October, during the recess of the Congress, this committee conducted hearings in which it received extensive testimony on the present state of research into the causes and control of some of these principal scourges of mankind. The committee had the unstinted and cordial cooperation of outstanding men and women who had devoted their lives to research in the fields of these major diseases; in the committee's effort to find out just where we are in knowing what the causes might be, in preventing or curing the disease, in mitigating its effects, and what further might be done to bring successful culmination to this research.

It is obvious that in many of these fields we do not yet know how we may provide a complete cure, yet alone in others, know just what we are fighting. On the other hand research activities have produced marvelous results in the prevention and treatment of some of them, and we may be well along the road to a solution in some.

Yet the very fact that we are now able to treat many of these diseases and prolong human lives, has resulted in new problems of an economic nature. Extended hospitalization and medical attention prove exceedingly costly, and such costs are mounting astronomically. While society makes some provision for the very poor to be taken care of, if they require extended hospitalization and medical treatment, and while the very rich are able to take care of themselves in such regard, the large majority of our people does not appear to be protected adequately from the high cost resulting from extended serious illness.

Many plans are in existence in this country which seek to give protection against hospital and medical expenses. Last fall, and again starting the first of last week, this committee has inquired into how extensive the protection afforded by this coverage may be. The committee likewise has has considered plans which are in existence abroad by a survey conducted during the recess of the Congress.

We are concerned with the cost of the protection given by these various plans, and more especially, with whether this protection extends to major or catastrophic medical and hospital expenses. We have been interested in the arrangements under these plans which have been made with hospitals and physicians, the experience which has been gained under these plans, the difficulties which have been encountered, and suggestions arising from their operation. Out of such study the committee has hoped to learn of ways and means by which voluntary protection can be improved and broadened.

There are numerous approaches which may be made to the problem of providing protection against such major illness. Some of these approaches, of course, are alternatives. But so significant and far-reaching is this problem, that it is probable that it must be attacked on several fronts.

One of these is contained in the bill which I have introduced today, which has been drafted by the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education, under the leadership of its Secretary, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, to meet part of the program advanced by the President in his message today on health.

This has to do with the broadening of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, so as to provide for the construction of facilities to take care of the chronically ill, either through special hospitals, supervised nursing and convalescent homes, or rehabilitation facilities for the disabled. In addition, provision is made for construction of nonprofit diagnostic or treatment centers for ambulatory patients, so that greater help is given in getting at these diseases at their start. The importance of facilities of these types goes without saying, for it is not necessary that these patients all be treated in general hospitals which are more costly to build, and it is self-evident that we do not now have enough facilities to give proper care.

Other approaches to the problem of long-term illness are contained in the 4 bills which I introduced 10 days ago, and more will be presented in bills which I will introduce in the future on behalf of the administration.

To assist in expanding of hospital facilities, clinical and diagnostic centers, and the like, I introduced bills which would provide in one case for loans, and in the other for Government guaranty of private loans, made to associations offering prepaid health-service programs.

To assist in stimulating voluntary health protection through prepaid health plans, I have introduced a bill which would permit an individual to deduct up to $100 payments made to such plans as expenses in the computation of his income tax, in addition to the medical expense deductions now authorized by law.

Also to assist in stimulating a broader coverage in the protection offered by

these voluntary prepaid health plans, I have filed a bill which would provide for Government reinsurance of the risk assumed by these plans arising from long costly treatment.

These and other measures will be considered by our committee in an effort to reach some sort of solution of the problem of catastrophic medical costs. Any solution obviously has with it attendant requirements, such as adequate number of physicians and nurses, strengthening of our medical schools, extension of preventive medical care, intensification and coordination of medical research, and the like.

In this field now, as in the past, the physical and mental health of our people is a subject on which there is no partisan division. From our committee in the past, whether under Republican or Democratic leadership, there has come in the past the Public Health Services Act, the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, the various acts which have created the different research centers on heart, cancer, and other diseases that are now part of the National Institutes of Health, and many others dealing with health matters. Of these we are justly proud.

The program just forwarded by the President on health needs of the Nation, therefore, will receive every consideration at an early day.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Reverend Edward A. Conway, associate editor of the magazine America, has clearly and forthrightly set forth the great dangers which lie in the proposals contained in the Bricker amendment. I ask unanimous consent that this article, entitled "'Darling Daughter' Amendment," appearing in the January 23 issue of America, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"DARLING DAUGHTER" AMENDMENT

(By Edward A. Conway)

At long last, and none too soon, the counteroffensive against the Bricker amendment has begun on all fronts. The Washington Post, for instance, devoted a page and a half January 10 to the full text of Arthur H. Dean's devastating article against the amendment in the October issue of Foreign Affairs. President Eisenhower let go a heavy-caliber salvo against it in his press conference on January 13.

Mr. BRICKER's revolutionary proposals, on which he has steadfastly refused to compromise, are contained in Senate Joint Resolution 1, approved 9 to 5 by the Judiciary Committee during the last session. It reads:

"1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of [a] treaty.

"3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

In the voluminous literature circulated by the pro-Bricker propagandists during the past 2 years, the same formula is always followed in order to establish the need for each article. First, a real or alleged fact is adduced; then it is viewed with alarm as either an actual or potential invasion of national sovereignty or individual rights. An amending provision is then offered in order to plug this constitutional loophole. Let's see how this formula works.

CONFLICTS WITH THE CONSTITUTION

Building up to section 1, the Bricker proponents allege that the U. N. is trying to get the United States to accept conventions and covenants that would riddle our Bill of Rights. The majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee actually accepted this charge as a fundamental and controlling fact. It said in its report:

"The committee is informed that over 200 treaties are in various stages of preparation in the United Nations or in its affiliate agencies. * * * Such conventions, if ratified as treaties, would govern the economic and political relationship between the citizen and his own government, and, as a result, other contracting nations would be given the right to interfere in matters that are essentially local in character."

Who so informed the committee? It was Frank E. Holman, Seattle lawyer, who has been the driving force behind Senator BRICKER from the beginning, in and out of the American Bar Association.

It is odd that no one has ever challenged the accuracy of his figures. I have it on the authority of the U. N.'s General Legal Division that the number of conventions under consideration by the U. N. and its specialized agencies "amounts to about a dozen drafts." Twelve is a far cry from 200.

But suppose that even one convention infringing on our Bill of Rights were signed by the President and ratified by the Senate. Would it not perforce become the law of the land? The Brickerites make much of a statement by Secretary Dulles before he took office that the treaty power is subject to abuse. And didn't he say that "treaties could cut across the rights given the people by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights"? Mr. BRICKER and his backers insist that the Supreme Court be given the power to declare inoperative as domestic law any international agreement—such as the 200—that conflicts with the Constitution. Their opponents, however, including such leading constitutional authorities as Mr. Dean and Princeton's Prof. Emeritus Edward S. Corwin, reply that the Court already has that power.

The American Bar Association's committee on constitutional aspects of international agreements submitted to its parent group, the section on international and comparative law, a strong report against the Bricker amendment. The section voted 64–12 against the amendment, but was overruled by the association's house of delegates at the Boston convention last August in a late-hour maneuver. It is rumored that a poll of all members of the bar association will be demanded at the next convention. The suspicion that a majority of the Nation's lawyers are actually opposed to the amendment is heightened by the fact that 25 of 27 law-school deans and professors who answered an inquiry of Senator ALEXANDER WILEY expressed emphatic opposition to the change.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION

The backers of the amendment insist that a treaty should operate as internal law only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of [a] treaty. They point with alarm to the famous Fujii case in California. This turned upon the question as to whether or not the U. N. Charter is self-executing. If it is, as a lower California court held, then it becomes the supreme law of the land and supersedes State law. The California State Supreme Court unanimously overruled this decision and thereby averted the alleged conflict between the charter and California's alien land law. Nevertheless, the Bricker proponents want every treaty to be considered non-self-executing, so that everyone would take effect in the individual States only if implemented by Congress.

Secondly, they propose in the so-called which clause of section 2 that if the treaty calls for the exercise of more power than the Congress has by specific delegation, each State must implement it by legislation.

To see what the Bricker amendment would do to the Constitution through the which clause, let us analyze its words: A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of [a] treaty. A constitutional revolution lies hidden in these words.

From 1781 to 1787 the United States stumbled along under the Articles of Confederation without any real National Government. One reason was that the articles reserved to each State every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States. In other words, the feeble National Government had no implied powers.

The Federal Constitution of 1787 eliminated that debilitating word "expressly." To insure that, within its proper jurisdiction, the new National Government would have every power it needed to carry out the powers expressly delegated to it, Congress was given power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, etc.," (art. I, sec. 8). This constitutional principle is firmly imbedded in our whole system of law—State and National, legislative, executive and judicial. It means that every organ of government has those powers which result, as Hamilton declared, "by necessary and unavoidable implication" from explicitly granted powers.

As applied to the treatymaking power, this has to mean that when the Federal Government enters into a treaty—and it alone can do so—it has by necessary implication the power to make that treaty effective. In countless cases this means making it binding as internal law in the United States. For example, we enter into numerous commercial treaties with foreign nations guaranteeing certain property rights to their nationals living here, in return for similar guaranties from them relating to the property rights of Americans living in their countries. We could not enter into such treaties unless the Federal Government had the power, as it now has in our Constitution (explicitly, as a matter of fact, under the "necessary and proper" clause), to require of the States the same observance of treaty law as of any national law or of the Federal Constitution itself. This effect, as relating to treaties, is obviously dependent on the treatymaking power of the Federal Government. That is the specifically delegated power from which it results by necessary and unavoidable implication.

The Bricker amendment would empty the Federal Constitution of this power to make treaties effective. It would amputate the

Constitution by declaring that a treaty could become effective as internal law (i. e., in many cases, simply become in fact effective) only through legislation valid in the absence of a treaty. It says in effect: "You can make treaty law effective internally only if the legislation making it effective would be valid apart from the treatymaking power." This is like saying: "You can now get drugs if your doctor gives you a prescription; henceforth, you can get drugs only if you would have that right in the absence of a prescription." This would simply nullify the authority of a doctor to carry out the purpose of a medical prescription, which is to enable you to procure drugs you couldn't get without a prescription.

The Bricker amendment nullifies the purpose of the treatymaking power, which is to enable the Federal Government to do things (i. e., make treaties effective) it couldn't do and would have no need to do if it couldn't enter into treaties. It should be called the "darling daughter" amendment: "Yes (you may go out to swim) my darling daughter; hang your clothes on a hickory limb, but don't go near the water."

Thereafter State legislatures would have to pass the laws necessary and proper to carry out many treaties. This would do nothing less than rend asunder the Federal Government's authority to enter into effective treaties by making it share its constitutional power with 48 States. Nothing, of course, could be more disruptive of our relations with foreign powers. We would be an utter anomaly in the community of nations: a nation whose national government could make effective agreements with other sovereign powers only by the concurrence of 48 subordinate jurisdictions, the States of this Union.

This radical and ruinous redistribution of power over the conduct of our foreign affairs is demanded in order to avert dangers that are highly hypothetical. "No such act of mayhem on the Constitution," Professor Corwin assures us, "is required to meet existing perils."

EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS

The alleged fact from which the Brickerites argue to the need for congressional control of executive agreements is what happened in the case of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Certainly the Russians' refusal to execute those agreements is rightfully execrated. So are the agreements to uproot millions of innocent civilians. It is easy from there to fly on emotional wings to the conclusion that the agreements would not have been entered into if Congress had enjoyed the last say about them. As against this simplist reasoning, the opponents of disrupting the balance of governmental powers must offer their arguments in a field where even the distinction between treaties and executive agreements is still far from clear, and in which, to quote Mr. Dean, "the respective scope of Presidential and congressional authority with respect to executive agreements" is not clearly established.

It is not likely that those who demand a law as soon as they discern a danger will stop to listen to Mr. Dulles when he says:

"This is an area to be dealt with by friendly cooperation between the three departments of Government which are involved, rather than by attempts at constitutional definition, which are futile, or by the absorption, by one branch of Government, of responsibilities which are presently and properly shared."

Not only Mr. Dulles, but Mr. Dean and Professor Corwin would agree, I believe, that something should be done to clear up the uncertainties regarding Presidential Executive agreements, especially in view of certain ambiguous dicta by the Supreme Court anent the power of Presidential agreements to affect individual rights without congressional action of any kind. But none of the three would demand anything so drastic by way of solution as the Bricker remedy.

Mr. Dean, for example, concludes his foreign affairs article thus:

"The specific provisions of the Bricker amendment are in sum a proposal radically to shift this constitutional ordering of authority [concentration of power in the President and Senate] over foreign relations by augmenting congressional powers and by requiring the necessary participation of the States for the execution of foreign policy in certain areas. The powers of a sovereign state would thus be emasculated. The burden of proving strong and compelling necessity is incumbent on those who would so drastically alter the constitutional framework. That burden has not been discharged."

Indeed, on the evidence to date, the Brickerites seem to want to burn the barn down to get rid of the rats.

Plight of the Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article, in the form of an interview with William White, president of the New York Central Railroad System, entitled "Plight of the Railroads," published in the December 18, 1953, issue of U. S. News & World Report.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article will exceed the two printed pages allowed under the rule, and that the cost of printing it in the RECORD will be $403.75. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, notwithstanding the cost.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PLIGHT OF THE RAILROADS—INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM WHITE, PRESIDENT, NEW YORK CENTRAL SYSTEM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—What do top railroad men think about the downturn in business conditions? Can railroads afford to give big wage increases at this time? Will there be a strike over wage demands? What is the railroads' attitude toward Government regulation, truck competition, and subsidies? To get answers to question such as these, U. S. News & World Report invited William White, head of one of the big eastern railroads, to its conference room for an interview. The questions and Mr. White's answers follow. William White has devoted his entire career to working on railroads. He went from high school at the age of 16 to the Erie Railroad and a job as a clerk. He became successively stenographer, office manager, trainmaster, superintendent, vice president, and district manager before he left the Erie in 1938 to take a position as general manager of the Virginian Railway. In 1941, Mr. White was named president of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western and, in 1952, he moved over to the New York Central as president. He is now 56.)

Question. What has been happening on the railroads, Mr. White? We hear that carloadings have dropped off. Is that right?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What is the nature of the decline?

Answer. Of course, when making comparisons, one should consider all the facts. Last year at this time we had a little inflation in business brought about by the steel strike. The strike was in June and July and, when it ended, there was an awful lot of ore that had to be moved in a short time by water and rail and by all rail. Also the United Mine Workers had a so-called memorial holiday in October 1952, and as soon as that was over coal was quite heavy for a while. But, aside from that, there is quite a dropoff.

Question. Aren't your loadings also running below 1951?

Answer. Oh, yes. Business is off.

Question. Manufactured goods are running below a year ago, aren't they?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is it very much below 1951?

Answer. It's about 5, 5½ percent below 1951 and about 9 percent off from 1952.

Question. Have you had these fluctuations before?

Answer. Of course, you always have those fluctuations when they are brought about by unusual conditions like strikes But, definitely, business is off a bit.

Question. What types of business do you think are off?

Answer. All types.

Question. How about the military business?

Answer. That is off. The heavy stuff is off. There is more concentration now on aircraft and so on, not so much on the heavy guns and tanks.

Question. Is the downtrend growing month to month?

Answer. I can't answer that just at this moment, because it has taken a very considerable drop since about the 20th of October. Up to that time, carloadings were off 3, 3½, 4 percent——

Question. As compared with——

Answer. I'm comparing them to 1952. Carloadings have dropped down about 9 percent from 1952. A good many businesses are living on inventories. Take, for instance, the scrap business. For 2 months there's been no scrap business.

Question. They are using up what they have on hand?

Answer. That's right.

Question. How about crop movements? Is there any tendency of farmers holding back their crops, storing them instead of moving them to market?

Answer. I don't know. Grain isn't moving—not export. It has been moving off the farms and out of the country elevators and into storage, even to the emergency fleet parked up in the Hudson River. That's all been loaded with grain, you know.

Question. That's pushing itself into the market?

Answer. No, it's going back into storage but having to move. That's the one commodity that's been holding up a bit, but grain products are down.

Question. What about passenger travel, is that off?

Answer. Yes, but it isn't dropping.

Question. Off compared to what year, 1952 or 1951?

Answer. Well, along about 1949 the decline seemed to level itself out and held until about the summer of 1952. The summer of 1952 we began to see some more decline in the passenger business, and that continued until a few months ago. Now it seems to have leveled itself off again a little bit. We attribute this last decline almost entirely to the air-coach business.

Question. In what way?

Answer. The air coach has grown so tremendously. A lot of long-haul business is going to the air coach.

Question. Do you know whether people are traveling as much? Is that the reason?

Answer. We just don't know that.

Question. The railroads used to be able to tell, but now with private autos and aircraft you can't tell——

Answer. We know they are using their private automobiles. We know they're using airplanes. We know how the air coach has grown.

Question. What about bus travel?

Answer. That competition is not as serious. There is some on shorter distances, but the proportions there aren't so great. Last year, in 1952, the airlines, for the first time, handled more passenger miles than rail pullman. Our coach business is holding up very well—improving a little bit, in fact. But there's a little shorter haul on it.

Question. But your pullman business is off?

Answer. Yes.

Question. This trend you speak of, this decline and then leveling off, has that been the case with all railroads?

Answer. Yes, that's what I'm talking about—railroads generally.

Question. Railroads seem to be ordering fewer new cars. What's the reason for that? Is it connected with the fact that your 5-year tax amortization is going to expire next year?

Answer. No. I don't think so. Even if it were to expire, you see, if we get the orders in now and get certificates, we would still be able to write it off in 5 years. But all railroads bought an awful lot of passenger cars in the postwar period and some just a little before the war, and we're pretty much loaded up with equipment debt. The passenger business is a sensitive business and the trend has been somewhat downward, so we are going to take it a little easy.

Question. Even if the tax amortization were extended, then, it probably wouldn't have much effect on the car ordering next year, say?

Answer. I don't think so, not passenger cars.

AIR COACH VERSUS PULLMAN

Question. You say your rail pullman is off, your coach is standing up, and yet the air-coach business is your chief competitor. Do you think the air-coach business is being patronized by people who used pullman.

Answer. Yes, who would otherwise use pullman.

Question. This air coach requires an overnight journey, and they stay up all night in these air coaches?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Otherwise they would have to spend 2 or 3 days on the journey.

Answer. Yes, but they are using it for short haul, too. That poses a serious problem for the air industry, you know. The air-coach long haul is all right for them, but, when they get into the short-haul air coach, the fare is too low and they don't like it so well.

MEETING COMPETITION

Question. What can the railroads do to meet that competition?

Answer. We can't do anything to meet the speed of air travel.

Question. What can you do on rates?

Answer. On rates we can't do very much. They are now lower than 20 years ago—but we might do a little.

Question. Isn't your passenger business profitable?

Answer. No. According to the formula by which we report our passenger operations, the railroads have a deficit of around $640 million.

Question. On what?

Answer. On passenger operations. That's all passenger services—passenger, dining, mail, express, baggage. But that doesn't mean that if the railroads went out of the passenger business entirely, they would save that much money.

Question. But even so there are some direct expenses you would save, aren't there?

Answer. Oh, yes. We estimate that we would save about half of that. That's the rule of thumb we use pretty generally throughout the railroad industry.

Question. If you can't do much on time and can't do much on rates to compete with the air travel, what can you do in other ways?

Answer. We have to try always to make our service more comfortable, and we have to try to find a passenger-carrying car that won't cost so much. Also, we have to get rid of local, branch-line, and other trains that lose money and for which there is no hope. We might do a little bit with our coach rates, perhaps. We're experimenting with it now on our railroad. The New York Central and B. & O. are experimenting with a low-rate round-trip ticket between Detroit and Cincinnati and intermediate points. We're both doing it because we compete in there.

Question. What do you hope to prove by it?

Answer. It hasn't been going long enough to make any actual determination as to whether it is profitable or otherwise. What we're doing it for is simply to find out whether a decrease in the coach rate will create enough additional volume so that we'll have more gross income when we get through.

Question. Of course, there isn't much competition between your coach and the air coach in there——

Answer. No. What we are doing there is trying to find out whether we can increase our volume sufficiently at a reduced rate so that we come out with more money in the end and get those people out of their own automobiles. That's our big competitor.

Question. Isn't that your biggest competitor of all?

Answer. Oh, yes; by far.

TREND BACK TO RAILS?

Question. With the congestion of automobile traffic on the roads growing and highways not as safe as they are reported to be, do you see, with the increase in population, a trend back to the railroad?

Answer. No. I can't say that. People haven't necessarily left the railroads, but there has been a tremendous increase in population since the 1920's and we just haven't—in the total travel potential—we just haven't kept our place because of the competition that's come in. We had a virtual monopoly in those days.

The biggest competitor of all is the private automobile. That's the mode of travel at which we have to direct our competitive pricing and try to get people out of their own automobiles back to the railroad. However, it might surprise you to know that our passenger-miles today are quite a bit higher than they were in the early 1920's although we thought then we were doing a fine passenger business.

Question. You are saying that, unlike 1920, you no longer have 100 percent of the long-distance travel?

Answer. That's right.

Question. You've tried various innovations to attract a greater share of passenger travel to the railroads, streamlined cars, through cars, and so on. Which of them seems to pay off the most?

Answer. When you say "pay off," you pose a difficult question. What pays off best is the better, newer coach. The pullman, with the individual rooms and the individual air-conditioning and heat control, provides a much-improved comfort on a passenger train. But the sad fact is that if our traffic in a pullman car is full load, constantly, we still can't make that thing pay. Cost of the car and its maintenance is just too great to make it pay.

Question. What can you do about it?

Answer. What we have to find is a car that can be more cheaply built without sacrificing safety and without sacrificing comfort. We're busy at that thing, and there are some developments coming along.

One of the car builders has built what they call a siesta coach that will handle about 40 people. They deliberately call it a coach. The people who used it would be charged the coach rate rather than the pullman rate for rail travel and then a certain sum for overnight sleeping privileges. That thing could sleep about 40 people. That's a good number compared with the 20 to 22 we get in a pullman roomette today. And the way they do is that one person lying down sleeps with his head, or probably all of his torso, above the legs of the person next to him.

Question. Are they individual rooms?

Answer. Yes. You would be a coach passenger traveling overnight, sitting in a coach seat during the day and flopping the seat down at night and lying down. In that we see some possibility in long-haul coach business.

Question. Are you losing business travel or personal travel?

Answer. I think it's both. There's no denying the fact we lose a lot of business travel when you consider that private companies today own about 7 times more planes than are operated by the domestic airline carriers.

Question. Are the railroads making any general investigation of this subject of the future of the passenger service?

Answer. That is going on constantly.

Question. Individual railroads doing it?

Answer. Yes.

CUTTING OFF LOSING TRAINS

Question. Have they come up with any conclusions on whether passenger business is on the way out?

Answer. Oh, we know it isn't on the way out. We know it is still going to be a mass carrier. We realize fully there is no use trying to compete with the family automobile for the short distances, and that all the short-run, losing trains must come off despite the opposition of towns because of local pride or of labor who are going to lose jobs—and that's where the most serious opposition usually arises in hearings before State commissions. Therefore, the State commissions are very reluctant to authorize them in many cases. But they are realizing more and more that those losing trains have got to come off.

Question. You are not free to determine that yourself?

Answer. We determine it ourselves, but if there is much complaint, then we are restrained by the State commission until they have a hearing. In 8 out of 10 cases that is what happens—it finally goes to a hearing. But the State commissions are doing much better than they used to do.

Question. How much trackage have you cut off? Isn't there less trackage in the United States than there used to be?

Answer. Yes. I think there's been about a 10-percent reduction in road mileage—I mean railroad mileage. That doesn't mean tracks, but miles of lines.

Question. That is compared with what?

Answer. Compared with the 1920 period.

THE EARNINGS OUTLOOK

Question. Considering all this loss in the passenger business, what is the condition of the railroads as far as profits are concerned? Was 1952 a profitable year?

Answer. It depends upon what you mean by profit. The net income this year will probably be one of the high years.

Question. This is 1953?

Answer. Yes.

Question. After taxes?

Answer. Yes. The rate of return will still be well under 5 percent, 4½ percent, probably about 4.35 as it looks today.

Question. What should it be to attract capital? What percent should you return?

Answer. Well, the regulated utilities, such as gas, electricity, telephone, can attract equity capital, and they do it with a return of 6 percent and over.

Question. Have the railroads ever in the last 25 years reached 6 percent?

Answer. 1942.

Question. A war year.

Answer. Yes.

Question. What was the result?

Answer. The Interstate Commerce Commission immediately reduced freight rates.

Question. So they don't recognize the need of capital in railroads?

Answer. I wouldn't say that. I'm sure the Commission does. But we think the Commission's sights are set too low. We had an increase in freight rates in the spring of 1942 as a result of wage increases that happened in 1941, and when the 1942 figures came out and showed that the railroads as a whole had earned slightly in excess of 6 percent for the first time in a great many years, the Commission took away from us the increase that was granted. We had it about 1 year.

We think the Commission made a mistake. We hope they recognize it as a mistake. We were not expecting to make exorbitant profits out of a war period. We were subject to the excess-profits tax, so that any individual railroads that got high up would be subject to the excess-profits tax. The industry as a whole was doing heavy business and at least shouldn't have been prevented from making a 6 percent or little higher return.

Question. Have you made any since?

Answer. No.

Question. What's been the highest you've made since?

Answer. 1943 was 5¾ percent but, postwar, this year will be the highest—about 4.35 percent.

Question. How low have you gone?

Answer. Around 2¾ percent—the year 1946.

Question. And in the thirties you were below that——

Answer. Oh, yes.

Question. Will all the railroads make money this year?

Answer. Do you mean: Will there be any in red figures?

Question. Yes.

Answer. I don't think there will be any in red figures, and I am referring to the approximately 55 railroads that have a gross revenue of over 25 million. There are about 132 class I railroads. That's revenue of over a million. Well, you can recognize that many of those are short lines.

Question. What is your approximate figure of the net income that those 55 railroads will make?

Answer. I don't know, but for all class I railroads it will be about 850 millions.

Question. Hasn't that increase in earnings been slipping away in a good many of the roads in their latest month's reports?

Answer. Yes, it's showing some decreases now. Naturally. Carloadings dropped from last year. In the East, especially, the figures for last year are somewhat inflated because of the flush that resulted from the earlier steel strike and the coal shutdown.

FREIGHTS KEY TO PROFITS

Question. Once you've said that you don't make any income from carrying passengers, then this profit comes from carrying freight?

Answer. Oh, yes, entirely so.

Question. How is your competition on the freight side? Is that getting worse or better for you?

Answer. The competition is getting keener all the time because of the trucks. Air freight is hardly a factor yet. How much that might grow we don't know. Trucks are serious competition. They have been throughout the whole postwar period.

Question. Do you favor putting truck trailers on the back of your flatcars, piggyback?

Answer. Well, it seems there is a great demand in some quarters that the piggyback operation should start and the railroads would have a good thing. But one important thing that we haven't yet been able to determine about that is whether truckers in sufficient number are willing and able to have their trailers transported on flatcars on rails at a price that will offer a measure of profit to the railroads. That's a No. 1 question that has to be answered, but that's the one that everybody seems to ignore.

Question. Has anybody started to determine the answer?

Answer. Yes; we're trying to determine the answer—some of us. People—I don't know who they are—keep talking about the pressure for this piggy-back operation. A lot of the financial writers think it is the answer to a lot of problems of the railroads. Newspaper writers and editors also seem to think, in many instances, that that's the answer to the problem. So far as we are concerned, we would like to get traffic on the highways back on the rails, even in that manner, as long as we can do it at a measure of profit. There are no operating problems involved.

Question. You just drive the truck on the car and drive off at the other end?

Answer. Yes. There are different ways to do that. One way is just to put a string of flatcars down and drop an apron between the cars and then start loading from a ramp on one end and load up from end to end. Another way is to do some side loading with a little lift crane that will swing the trailer body around onto a car. There are no great problems about doing this.

Question. What about the bridges? Aren't some of these trucks too high for your bridges?

Answer. Yes; but a depressed center of a flatcar will take care of that.

Question. Could you get all the trucks off the highway onto the railroad cars?

Answer. I don't think we could handle them all today, and I don't think that will ever happen. I'm not in any way minimizing this thing. I am just pointing out to you that the American Truckers Association, at its annual meeting in Los Angeles, went on record as being opposed to this thing.

Question. Why?

Answer. I don't know, because I do know that there are some people in the trucking business—and large truckers—who say they would like to have that service available, between some points at least, and they think that they could save some money where we could make some money. Well, that's the important thing—just bring the two together, the rails and the truckers, offer that service at a price that the trucker can afford to pay and we can make a little profit at. That's the No. 1 question that hasn't been answered. Most of the people don't write about that.

Question. What kind of business would be most susceptible to this?

Answer. Any kind of trucking business.

WHO SAVES IN PIGGYBACK PLAN

Question. How does the shipper come out? Would it be cheaper for him to transport this way?

Answer. No. For instance, if his business is going by truck now, he's paying the truck rate according to the trucker's published tariff.

Question. And the rates would be the same?

Answer. Just the same.

Question. What would be the advantage then?

Answer. The advantage to the trucker would be that his cost from a given point to a given point would be cheaper than his present cost.

Question. Would the shipper benefit from the long-haul traffic because of the reduced handling when the less-than-carload lots are loaded on the truck, and the truck then loaded on the train——

Answer. Of course, that happens today. The shipper is sending a lot of that stuff by truck for that very reason. I think what you mean is wouldn't it pay the railroads to transfer their own less-than-carload freight in trailers on flatcars, and I think the answer to that is, "Yes, it probably would." It probably would offer some economies. The Southern Pacific is doing it between San Francisco and Los Angeles with their own less-than-carload freight in which the trucker is not involved at all.

Question. In other words, you save the unloading?

Answer. It saves handling at transfer points, the stowing—it is more free of damage. The Canadian railroads are doing some of it, too.

Question. Does that mean that the Southern Pacific is operating trucks? The trailer goes on the platform, and, when it comes off, does the Southern Pacific operate it?

Answer. Yes. It picks up and delivers, both.

Question. It's a complete delivery service—

Answer. That's right.

Question. You do that now even though you don't put it on, don't you?

Answer. Yes. The railroads provide a pick-up and delivery service, but usually they hire a local trucker to do it.

WHY A RECESSION?

Question. Looking ahead into 1954, what do you expect—this decline to continue in your revenues?

Answer. All we can judge by is the opinion of businessmen and economists and, as you know, they all predict that we are going to have a recession which seems now to have set in slightly and is going to last for a couple of years. Most of them with whom I have talked to, attribute it all to the fact that we had a low birth rate during the early years of the 1930's, which results now in fewer family formations, and will for a few years. Family formations are important these days when people can't afford to have domestic help or can't get it. It means that not only a young married couple but older ones too have to have appliances of many kinds to keep going. We are geared for a very high rate of production, and with a lower rate of family formations for a few years we can probably look for some lighter business.

Now, then, if their predictions are true, we can look forward to a number of years of very good business when the increasing birth rate that started along in the late thirties and is carrying on right up to the present time results in an increase in family formations. We ought then to be able to look ahead to quite a long period of good business, after we get through with this adjustment that seems now to have started.

Question. But that upturn won't start until 1960 really, will it?

Answer. 1957, 1958, they expected it to get really going.

Question. What are you going to do about cutting costs?

Answer. We have the opportunity always, of course, of cutting our freight costs, our yard costs. The fixed costs are what are so difficult, and that's largely the passenger end of the business, and you just can't cut that cost because freight business drops off.

Question. Are your labor costs going up?

Answer. They have been to the extent the cost-of-living escalators run the rate up. The employes just got 3 cents an hour October 1. There is only one cost, in my opinion, and that's labor. You start with the raw materials in the ground. Most everything comes from the soil in some form and has to be converted and transported. So everything is labor cost. Hourly wage rate

goes up and naturally labor costs increase. We haven't been able in our industry to offset higher wage costs to the full extent, because we have a kind of constant round of wage increases. There hasn't been a surcease from that very much since 1941, until the moratorium which started in 1950 and just ended this October.

Question. Now you face quite large demands?

Answer. Yes. In this almost 3-year period, our people were subject to the cost-of-living clause and benefited by that some 15 cents an hour. Between 1950 and 1953 wages have gone up 29.5 cents an hour.

Question. What percent is that?

Answer. That's about 20 percent in 3 years.

Question. Well, if these proposed increases go into effect, what percent would you add to that?

Answer. The engineers are asking a 30-percent increase, the trainmen and firemen are asking for 37.5 cents. That's another 20 percent.

Question. It has been estimated that these increases would cost the railroads a billion dollars. Is that figure an accurate one?

Answer. Well, each cent per hour costs about 30 millions. That is right, about a billion dollars.

Question. Relatively is that an unusually heavy increase? Have railroads ever been confronted with that much of an increase in any one year?

Answer. No. I think the highest increase that the railroad employees ever got was 16.5 cents an hour.

CANNOT STAND WAGE RISE

Question. Would the railroads be able to stand this billion-dollar increase?

Answer. Oh, no, positively not.

Question. Would it wipe out the profits of the railroads?

Answer. It would pretty much wipe them out entirely. As you know, we are a high-labor-cost industry just naturally. Our wages take about 50 cents out of our revenue dollar. We add about 2.5 cents to that, roughly, for railroad-retirement tax and unemployment insurance, and then other employee benefits that are different on different railroads. So that the employees today take well over 50 cents out of the revenue dollar. That is one of the high-cost industries. Steel runs in the neighborhood of 40 cents, the chemical industry runs in the 20's, varying but probably 25 cents is a good average. In oil refining, where they both produce and refine, you find it somewhat under 20 cents. But, of course, those industries buy a great many materials in which there are labor costs for which they pay.

Question. But you are talking about their direct labor costs?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What happens to the other 50 cents of your dollar?

Answer. We have to buy materials and supplies, fuel—pay taxes, rentals, and interest on our debt.

Question. How would you break down this other 50 cents that does not go to labor? What does the investor get out of it, for instance?

Answer. The investor does not get very much out of it. He gets about 5 cents out of the dollar. That is for bond interest and dividends.

Question. As for the proposed wage increases—do you think the issue can be settled without a strike, or do you look for a strike?

Answer. No, we never look for a strike. We hope certainly, realizing what damage a railroad strike can do to this country, that we never get to that point. Whether we can agree on some figure remains to be seen. Negotiations are just about to start on this 37.5 cents. Negotiations with our nonoperating group are in progress. You see, they asked for no wage increase at the moment. They asked for a health and welfare plan to provide them with life insurance, sickness, accident, health insurance for themselves and members of their family. They include vacations and what is generally known as fringe benefits, but which add up in cents per hour to a very considerable sum.

Question. How much?

Answer. It will cost about 20 cents an hour for these fringe benefits.

Question. What would that mean in dollars to the cost of the railroads?

Answer. Each cent would mean about $30 million.

Question. Would this apply to all labor? If the nonoperating get it, then operating would want it, too?

Answer. Yes; that has been the experience.

Question. Is this an inopportune time, from the railroads' standpoint, to be increasing the costs when the revenues are falling off?

Answer. I think that's a good question. We can't expect railroad employees to work for less wages generally than employees of other industries. But certainly, with the competition which the railroads face—and which we insist is to a great extent subsidized competition—and the declining proportion of the total business that we are transporting, we think it would be in their own interest to recognize the economic facts of life in the industry and not ask for wages higher than we can afford to pay, because we can only pay for that by increasing our rate structure, and we are now pretty close to the law of diminishing returns.

The more we have to raise our price, the more business we chase off the railroads, the more railroad labor is hurt in the matter of jobs. I say again we can't expect them to work for substantially lower wages than the rest of the American workmen, but their leaders would be well advised to look the economic facts right square in the face and see if it wouldn't be smarter to take a little less for a time and not cause this decline to grow——

Question. Unless the Government comes along and subsidizes you. Aren't you ready for a subsidy yet?

Answer. No; we don't want a subsidy.

FUTURE OF LABOR PROBLEM

Question. Getting back to the labor question, what do you think is going to happen in this future labor negotiation? When will it be settled? How long will it be before it is adjusted?

Answer. I really can't venture a guess about that, because, when those things go through all the process of the Railway Labor Act, they take a bit of time. If we could negotiate a reasonable settlement with our friends in the labor field, that might be done rather quickly. But if we can't agree, and the thing goes through all the process of the Railway Labor Act, including hearings before an emergency board, I would expect it to be January before it got to that status.

A STRIKE COMING?

Question. So we might be faced with a strike next year if you didn't agree?

Answer. Yes, probably. Our nonoperating group are right now in the process of spreading a strike ballot around the country.

Question. To take effect when?

Answer. To give the leaders the right to call a strike.

Question. Do you think the present labor-mediation machinery has become too cumbersome and outmoded?

Answer. I think it could still have been very useful had not President Roosevelt in 1941 virtually repudiated the findings and recommendations made by one of his own emergency boards. That was the first time, in 1941, that the labor people refused to accept findings and recommendations of an emergency board. You will recall Mr. Roosevelt called in the emergency board again and handed the thing back to them and virtually said to them, "Go and find something else."

Since then we've had struggles at every one of these labor negotiations, and at none of them have the labor people accepted the findings and recommendations of the emergency board. We think that's very unfortunate. That is the best machinery that to this time has been devised, and if we both would accept those findings and recommendations, which are made by these boards, which are supposed to be neutral, we would have a little more peaceful situation in the labor field.

The only alternative to this that I can see in order to protect the public interest is to have compulsory arbitration, which nobody likes, but which we think in the public interest has become necessary in our business.

Question. It was practically all voluntary arbitration before 1941, wasn't it? Both sides always accepted——

Answer. That's right.

Question. And the next step is compulsory, and if the railroads accept that, other industries might also be forced to?

Answer. Yes; and nobody likes it, neither management nor labor.

Question. If you arrive at any settlement with the unions that involves any increase in pay, are you going to have to go to the ICC and ask for a rate increase?

Answer. I wouldn't be able to go that far.

Question. But aren't your earnings going down even without the raise?

Answer. That's right. If there's a substantial increase in wages, then there is no other recourse for us but to go to the Commission and ask for an increase in our rates, which we are reluctant to do. If the increase were a modest one, then we might be able to sweat it out if we could get more business. I wish we could sufficiently impress these labor leaders to see the economic fact of diminishing returns. You understand, however, there's been a lot of talk about increased freight rates, and we've had a lot of proceedings, and therefore it has occupied a lot of newspaper space.

There have been 4 general increases, but the Commission gave some interim increases in each 1 of the cases. The result has been about an 85-percent increase in the general level of class rates. But then there have been holddowns on specific commodities and adjustments in the rates of other commodities, and, of course, most of the traffic of the country moves on commodity rather than class rates.

So the true index of how much freight rates have gone up is the revenue per net ton-mile, and that's gone up since 1939 about 50 percent, from 0.97 of a cent per net ton-mile to 1.45 cents per ton-mile.

Question. What do trucks charge on an average ton-mile?

Answer. It's very much higher than the rail.

Question. But then they take only class freight, don't they?

Answer. They take only class freight, the high-class stuff. That's where they hurt us so much by being able to select the traffic they want to handle. They are not true common carriers.

Question. You mean they don't carry the coal, sand, and gravel?

Answer. Well, they carry coal, but always for short distances, because they can't get a return load.

NEW POWER ON RAILS

Question. Apropos of that, aren't the railroads in a rather rapid and significant trend into new means of propulsion? You are moving out of coal and into Diesel. Are you going anywhere else, experimenting with any other forms of power?

Answer. The railroads today throughout the country are about 75 percent Diesel. That has been done largely postwar.

Question. Is that more economical?

Answer. Very much more so. We get a much higher utilization out of Diesel locomotives. We don't need as many units as we do with steam. They are easier to maintain and cheaper to operate. The fuel cost is much less.

Question. But is Diesel the final answer?

Answer. We don't know. We are experimenting. We are doing research with turbines, with oil-fired gas turbines. The Union Pacific has some 25 oil-burning gas turbines.

There are a number of the railroads of which the New York Central is one, largely the coal-carrying railroads of the East, and some of the coal producers are doing a considerable amount of research on the coal-fired gas turbine. Our trouble is elimination of fly ash from the gas. That we haven't yet been able to lick.

Question. What's the advantage of the turbine over the Diesel?

Answer. As of today, on the oil-fired gas turbine operating on the Union Pacific, we don't know if there is any advantage over the Diesel—at least, if there is any at all, not sufficient to warrant a revolution in motor power as occurred in the change from steam to Diesel.

Question. These economies that you got through dieselization—do you agree that that means increased productivity for labor or is that an economy for the railroad?

Answer. If you mean does it take more out of the sweat of their brow, "No." Then it doesn't mean increased productivity. If you mean that we handle more tons per train-hour or more tons per train-mile, the answer is "Yes." You can do that with the Diesel, but it doesn't require any more effort on the part of our employees. In fact, it requires much less.

Question. Does it result in fewer crews?

Answer. Sure.

Question. To the extent that trains are lengthened?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Isn't it argued that the longer the train, the more skill in handling it with a diesel?

Answer. I don't think any railroad locomotive engineer would say it required more skill to handle a longer train with a diesel than a shorter train with a steam locomotive. Now, when I say a shorter train, I don't mean substantially shorter. We handle trains with steam locomotives of 125 cars; some railroads possibly 150 depending upon their grade conditions. And I don't think there are any railroads where the diesels are handling more than 150 cars per train, but the average has increased somewhat with the diesel.

With the diesel so much is automatic. It wasn't true with the steam locomotive. On the steam locomotive an engineer had to be quite skillful in knowing how to work his throttle in relation to his cutoff, which was done with a reverse gear.

Now, that would get a bit involved if we got into that subject, but it required a good deal of skill on the part of an engineer to know just how to operate that locomotive to get the best out of it with the minimum use of fuel.

Question. Don't the others argue that the increased number of gadgets and the increased length of the trains increase the responsibilities of the locomotive engineer?

Answer. Not so much so. The trainmen contend that more than the engine crews. You see, the engine crews for many years have been paid a graduated scale of pay based on the weight on drivers, which meant that for a longer train they would get more money—not necessarily for the longer train, but to handle that longer train you had to have a heavier locomotive, more weight on drivers, and that was the basis that was agreed upon—the weight on drivers. Now the conductors are asking for that right at the moment. They are not asking for an increase in their pay, their mileage rate, or their daily rate. They are asking for a graduated scale of pay for freight conductors based on the length of the train.

Question. But aren't the engineers also asking for more money for the increased weight of the haul?

Answer. Yes. When they ask for a 30-percent-wage increase, they are asking that the whole scale be increased.

Question. It has been contended that that was one of the reasons for asking for the increase—the increase of responsibility on these longer trains due to dieselization.

Answer. Well, it is natural they should make that contention, but it is not one on which we agree.

SUBSIDY, TAX PROBLEM

Question. Why, if your competition—the airline—has a subsidy, don't you feel that you should have a subsidy?

Answer. We don't think that the American taxpayer should support our business. We don't think that's the American way. We don't think that's the capitalistic profit system. We think that our competitors should lose their subsidies.

Question. You are in favor of the removal of those subsidies?

Answer. Yes, absolutely.

Question. On both the airlines and the trucking industry?

Answer. Yes, both.

Question. The trucking industry argues that they don't get a subsidy; don't they?

Answer. Yes, but all they have to do is pay an adequate user charge for the use of the highways.

Question. And you have to build your own highways?

Answer. Just let me point that up to you. It costs the railroads to own and maintain and pay taxes on their rights-of-way about 23 cents out of a revenue dollar. Truckers pay a tax in all forms except a Federal income tax—which means their gasoline tax, their user charge of the highway, their property taxes—a tax of about 4 cents out of their revenue dollar.

Question. So yours is five times as high?

Answer. Five times as high.

Question. That doesn't mean necessarily that they're subsidized, does it? Couldn't that mean they have a more economical method of transportation in terms of fixed investment?

Answer. Yes, of course. The highways are provided for them. They never have to invest a dollar in them.

Question. Don't they pay a tax on the highway?

Answer. We don't think they pay adequate tax. In some States they are beginning to pass laws that require them to pay taxes based on the weights and the distances.

Question. Haven't a lot of States repealed those ton-mile taxes?

Answer. I don't know of any that have repealed them. Ohio's just went into effect a couple of months ago. New York's went into effect about 18 months ago.

Question. How do you remove this subsidy? The roads are there and you can't keep them off the highway. Would you increase the tax and make them pay more of their share?

Answer. Make them pay a proper user charge, whatever that might be. I don't mean to charge them any duty. I mean just make them pay an adequate user charge.

NATIONAL-DEFENSE JOB OF RAILROADS

Question. What is the difference between the public's maintaining that highway for all practical purposes and the public's maintaining the tracks on the railroads for national defense? Why aren't they military highways, in other words, entitled to as much of a subsidy as the other highways?

Answer. Well, of course, they're military highways to some extent because they are always available to the military in time of need. But that just isn't the American way of doing business.

Question. And wouldn't that open them up to the general public?

Answer. Well, I'm sure when you ask the taxpayer to own and maintain the railroad right-of-way, that that's just a foot in the door to Government ownership of the railroads.

Question. It doesn't make Government ownership of the highways, does it?

Answer. Yes; but they are used by the general public free of charge, except for the gasoline tax. Our rights-of-way are at least under our jurisdiction and the people who use them pay to use them. That is what I am talking about, that the user of all forms of transportation should pay the full cost of that form, whichever he elects to use. Then you have real competition and let the chips fall where they will, and when that happens we are not at all concerned about the railroads.

Question. But aren't rates being increased constantly on the railroads, and will you not price yourself off the market? Among your competitors you have a Government subsidy which keeps the prices to the public down. How can you resist asking for a subsidy much longer with the condition of the railroads today?

Answer. I can't agree with that at all. It might be awfully oldfashioned, but I believe the user of whatever form of transportation he elects to use should pay the full cost of that form of transportation, just like I think the citizen should pay for his own keep. Never let him unload any of his individual burdens on the taxpayer. The more we look to Government for subsidy and help and have the general public pay the bill, the nearer we get to socialism in my book.

Question. Along that line of competition, you pointed out that the main competition is with the passenger automobile and the truck. Can you find a noticeable impact on railroad traffic with the opening of a superhighway, such as the Jersey Turnpike, that speeds up that competitive travel?

Answer. Oh, yes. That creates more competition, but we can't find much trouble with that as long as the user pays for it. Now, if the private automobile pays more than he should and the truck less than he should, then, of course, we have a complaint.

We are going to have the New York State Throughway, we are going to have the Ohio State Turpike—they are all in the process, going along. They provide an easier means and more expeditious means for the truck, but the truck has to pay for use. We can have no legitimate complaint with competition as long as the user pays the full cost thereof without subsidy.

We aren't naive about these things. We believe that trucks can't be driven off the highways. I think, perhaps, 25 years ago railroad men thought it would never come and they could be driven off. We've learned that the truck is here to stay and, also, that the truck is necessary for the American economy. All we ask is to fix the rules so that the user pays full cost, whatever form he elects to use, let the chips fall where they will.

Question. Why don't you go into the truck business?

Answer. We are pretty much restrained by the ICC as to how far we go into the trucking business.

Question. Might that not solve your problem?

Answer. Well, a good many railroads tried that. Some tried to go in the airline business. But the CAB stopped them from going into the air business and the ICC stopped them from going into the trucking business, except where they provide a substituted service parallel to their own line.

FUTURE OF RAILROADING

Question. How do you feel about the future of the railroads in America? Is it a growing industry?

Answer. It certainly is. I don't have a negative attitude about the railroads—I have a very positive attitude. I personally think—and the evidence points this way—that more and more the American people are going to require all these transportation agencies to pay their own way, and then we have no fear about the competition. The diesel has done great things for the railroads during this period of inflation.

We hope that inflation period is about over, because there is nothing in the picture to enable us to reduce costs rapidly like the diesel did when costs were going up fast. But there is a great deal that can be done. In fact, there is a constant evolution going on in the railroad business and there are possibilities to improve methods and procedures by the use of industrial engineering. But that comes a little slower.

Getting back to constant evolution—I have been in the railroad business 40 years now, and when I look back 40 years, and especially the 30 years since right after World War I when things started to change a great deal, and I sit down and list the things that have happened to improve the art of railroading, the changes that have resulted are amazing. But people don't see that. They are in the track, in the cars, in the locomotives, in the offices—all the result of continuous research and study.

I don't suppose there is any industry—this statement may surprise you—any industry in this country where there is more research conducted constantly than in the railroad industry. That's because we have about 55 railroads individually and, through the Association of American Railroads, collectively, working constantly on research.

Then there are the railroad suppliers with their own laboratories and farming out their own research problems, all that research going on all of the time for the benefit of the railroads. It is constantly increasing through the Association of American Railroads. We have just built a second unit of our research laboratory in Chicago. We are planning a third one and it looks as though we will have to have a fourth unit. Then the railroads and the association are also farming out research problems. The association farmed out one a little over a year ago. That was the question: How can we use the friction bearing successfully to overcome hotboxes?

Question. Aren't they using them now? Do you mean the ball bearing?

Answer. No, the other, the friction bearing. How can we use the friction bearing successfully? Can it be done? Because obviously if it cannot be done, we've got to go to roller bearing, and that's very high cost. We have farmed out that problem to fresh minds entirely.

Question. What has been the result?

Answer. It hasn't been completed.

Question. Is capital going into the railroad industry?

Answer. About a billion dollars a year for the last 7 years.

SPENDING FOR NEW EQUIPMENT

Question. What's your 1954 plan for equipment and plant investment? How will it compare with 1953?

Answer. I can't state, in percentage, how much lower. But, you see, we've been spending on an average, putting into the property, about a billion dollars a year—a little over.

Question. That's the industry as a whole?

Answer. Yes. Dieselization is now 75 percent completed, so that is going into a decreasing rate. Some railroads are short of freight cars and they should buy. We need about 100,000 more freight cars in the country—that is, to have an adequate number of cars for what we all hope will never come—a real serious emergency.

Some railroads still need new passenger cars, but I don't look for any big purchasing in passenger cars for a little while until we have done a little more research to see if we could find the car that can be built a little more cheaply without sacrificing safety or public acceptance.

Question. What about the Government stockpiling about 100,000 freight cars and selling them to you if we ever get into an emergency?

Answer. That, I think, is a very reasonable thing. Some of my colleagues will differ with me about that, but personally, I believe to the extent that we need standby cars, insurance against an emergency, the Government should buy those cars and we'll be glad, while they have no other use for them, to lease them from the Government and pay a rental. We are standby enough now. Too much of our business is standby. I don't think we should be standby for defense purposes.

If you call that subsidy, I'll agree with you to that extent. But we don't want them to give us those cars, for we are willing to pay for their use.

Question. Much of the industry went through the wringer in the early thirties. Is it pretty sound now?

Answer. It sure did. We don't expect anything like that again. The railroads are in much better shape to stand a depression. In the early part of the 1932 depression it took 20 cents out of every dollar to pay fixed charges. Now it takes about 4.5 cents.

The Vice Presidency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, Americans are coming to know a new kind of Vice President. The outstanding service which Vice President RICHARD NIXON is rendering our country in a wide variety of assignments has made him in the words of Time magazine, "one of the busiest, most useful and most influential men in Washington."

I wish to place in the RECORD at this point, an interesting article from the January 18, 1954, issue of Time magazine which discusses the Vice Presidency:

THE VICE PRESIDENCY—A BRIDGE BUILDER

Reminiscing last week about the job that took him to the White House, Harry Truman told a piece of personal history in homely barnyard simile: "I tried to argue with those fellows at Chicago [in 1944] that I didn't want to be Vice President. I told them, 'Look at all the Vice Presidents in history. Where are they? They were about as useful as a cow's fifth teat.'"

When he first said it, Harry Truman was roughly right; but today, any generalization about the uselessness of Vice Presidents falls over the example of RICHARD NIXON, 36th Vice President of the United States, who is one of the busiest, most useful and most influential men in Washington.

Nixon has made himself into a projection of President Eisenhower. He builds bridges from the White House to Congress, to Government departments, to the officials and people of other lands, to the press and to the United States public. Much of his work is outside the spotlight's edge. But his unique achievement in making a real job out of the vice presidency is signalized by a sharp fact: he is the first Vice President in history to preside over meetings of the Cabinet and of the relatively new (1947) National Security Council. When press of other business calls Ike away in mid-meeting, Ike turns to NIXON and says, "DICK, you take over."

One day last August, during the President's Denver vacation, Vice President NIXON was scheduled to be chairman of a full NSC meeting for the first time. Staffers sitting around the room whispered among themselves about how Junior will do. Recalls one of them: "After 2 minutes we had forgotten we called him Junior. Everything seemed natural."

It seemed natural, because NIXON (unlike Harry Truman, who was not even told about the atomic bomb, until he became President) has become, with Eisenhower's enthusiastic encouragement, steeped in knowledge of the United States strategic position and policy. His advice also carries as much weight as that of any of the men around Ike on such questions as internal security (including the McCarthy problem), labor policy, and general political tactics and timing.

TO BE AND NOT TO DO

The amazing redefinition of the Vice President's job can be appreciated by a glance at the records of some of the first 35. They included a generous proportion of nonentities, some able men, and four towering figures: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, and Theodore Roosevelt. Not one, not even the four greats, made anything of the job of Vice President.

Adams, who knew world political history as few men before or since his time, said that the Vice Presidency was "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." Jefferson found the post "tranquil and unoffending," assuring him of "philosophical evenings in winter" and "rural days in summer." When Henry Clay, defeated for the presidency, sourgraped, "I'd rather be right than President," John C. Calhoun, just elected Vice President, said: "Well, I guess it's all right to be half right—and Vice President." But it wasn't all right. Calhoun quit in disgust and got elected to the Senate. Teddy Roosevelt referred to his election to the vice presidency as "taking the veil." Later, when he had succeeded President McKinley, Teddy was annoyed by the tinkling of the enormous "Jefferson chandelier" in his office and ordered it removed. "Take it to the office of the Vice President," he said, "he doesn't have anything to do. It will keep him awake."

The trouble is that the Constitution does not give the Vice President much work to do. His sole, specific mission is to preside over the Senate. Since the jealous Senate has always made it plain that "preside" was to be interpreted in the narrowest possible sense, anybody who can stay awake can do that job.

If the Vice President is a strong character or has a political following independent of the President's, he can easily get into trouble. (Calhoun and Henry Wallace are two who got too big for their vice presidential boots.) Most Vice Presidents, great and small, have accepted the apparently inevitable and used the office as a stepping stone to oblivion. They have resigned themselves to a part in which the sole importance is being around if the President dies or is incapacitated.

ON THE BALL

So firmly was the Vice Presidency fixed in the American mind as the symbol of uselessness that it was easy for the musical satire, Of Thee I Sing, to establish Alexander

Throttlebottom as the quintessence of Vice Presidentiality.

RICHARD NIXON, heir to the Throttlebottom dynasty, realized the painfully narrow limits of the job and, in the best vice-presidential tradition, made jokes about it. On election day 1952, Candidate NIXON and a friend were tossing a football on Laguna Beach, Calif., with three marines who happened by. Chasing a fumble, NIXON and one marine collided. Recognition lit up the marine's face. He exclaimed: "Good God, you're some kind of a celebrity." Answered DICK NIXON: "No, I'm not a celebrity. I'm running for Vice President."

But NIXON refused to have Throttlebottomness thrust upon him. Now 41 (last week), he is the first Vice President to be born in the 20th century. He is a new kind of politician and, with a fresh approach, he was able to see that the mid-20th century problems and responsibilities of the Government's executive branch created an opportunity for a new kind of Vice President.

The Chief Executive now presides over an enormous bureaucracy of civilian and military experts whose work cannot be closely shaped by the President. Each service tends to go its own way, pursue its own interests and those of the citizen group most directly interested. How can a President maintain unity and cohesion of policy? In recent years, Presidents have had growing staffs of White House aides. But an aide has no authority, little prestige. He cannot really represent the President. And the President cannot spread himself thin over his thousands of responsibilities.

Eisenhower and NIXON are engaged in an effort to strengthen the executive branch at the top, to enlarge the presidential influence in the Congress and the bureaucracy. If it works—and it seems to be working—the new function of the Vice President may help to solve a crisis of modern government: The conflict between the unity of national policy represented by the President and the divisiveness and multiplicity represented by Congressmen, specialized administrators and their attendant pressure groups.

THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE

The young man who has undertaken this formidable task was born at Yorba Linda, Calif., to Hannah Milhous and Francis Anthony Nixon. When DICK was 13, his older brother Harold contracted TB. Hannah Nixon took him to Arizona where, on visits, DICK earned money as barker for a wheel-of-fortune carnival booth. In Whittier, Calif., where the Nixons had moved after their Yorba Linda lemon grove failed, Frank and the boys kept the home, grocery store and filling station going. After 5 years in Arizona, Harold died [1] and Hannah returned to Whittier, where she worked 18 hours a day in the store. As the oldest surviving son, DICK had to carry a heavy burden of family responsibility. Recalls his brother Donald: "None of us had too much time to play. DICK had a lot to make him serious."

At Whittier College, young DICK NIXON showed two qualities that are still conspicuous in his make-up: hard work, and a passion for simplified expression. One evening the political history students had a party. For a time the ice cream was missing, and so was one the invited students. Presently, in rushed the missing boy—RICHARD NIXON. He dumped the ice cream on the table, said that he could not stay because he had to make more deliveries for his father's grocery, and left. Whittier's President Paul Smith remembers that NIXON used to write very brief answers on exams. "At first you thought that he couldn't answer the question in that short a space. But, by golly, he had gone to the heart of the problem and put it down simply." NIXON got an A. B. degree from Whittier (second in his class), won a scholarship to Duke University Law School (in faraway North Carolina), where in 1937 he finished third in his class.

Back home in Whittier, NIXON practiced law and married Thelma Patricia Ryan. When war came, he went to Washington as a lawyer for the OPA. Soon fed up with bureaucracy, he got a Navy commission and went to war—in Ottumwa, Iowa, in the Solomon Islands, and in Hagerstown, Md., emerging a lieutenant commander.

MUD AND RABBITS

He went back to Whittier—and promptly ran for Congress against able, New Dealing Jerry Voorhis. It was a tough, bitter campaign. Southern California politics has not yet discovered Technicolor: white is still white and black is mud. Voorhis' record included some respectable anti-Communist credentials, but he was vulnerable as a friend of the CIO, and of its national Political Action Committee. Although the Los Angeles PAC, which was Communist-dominated, did not endorse Voorhis, NIXON pinned the PAC label on his opponent, who had the support of many California PAC leaders.

Another Nixon charge: Voorhis had his name on only one piece of legislation, a bill transferring responsibility for the rabbit population of the United States from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture. Before laughing crowds, Candidate NIXON made the most of it. He beat Voorhis (who quit politics and California).

Congressman NIXON, a husky (5 feet 10 inches, 180 pounds), black-browed young man with a fire in his eyes, typified an eager new generation of Republicans. Spared the bitterness of futile opposition during the long, lean years of the New Deal, NIXON went to Washington with a positive approach. He voted with the bulk of his party on 78 percent of the issues; most of his deviations from the party were on the liberal side. To become an Eisenhower Republican, NIXON did not have to twist away from his voting record. What Eisenhower stands for today is remarkably like what NIXON was voting for in 1947–52. But NIXON was just another promising young Congressman when the the Alger Hiss case broke in the summer of 1948.

"THAT RICHARD"

So convincingly did Alger Hiss deny Whittaker Chambers' charges, that the House Un-American Activities Committee was about to call off the investigation and run for cover. But Committee Member NIXON detected ominous hedging in Hiss' testimony. "I was a lawyer and I knew he was a lawyer," NIXON recalls. "I felt [he] was just too slick. * * * If Hiss was lying, he was lying in such a way as to avoid perjury, with a very careful use of phrasing. * * * It was very possibly an act, it seemed to me."

To get facts, NIXON worked around the clock, often traveling to Chambers' Maryland farm. Sometimes he would stop at the York (Pa.) farm where his parents were living temporarily. Says Hannah Nixon: "That RICHARD looked so tired I thought he would break apart. Then he'd go to the piano and play for maybe an hour. When he sat up, he looked refreshed and ready to go on down to the Chambers farm." In the second Hiss trial, NIXON's efforts paid off.

Armed with his Hiss case success, NIXON ran for the Senate in 1950 against Helen Gahagan Douglas, and won by a 680,947-vote margin.

"YOU'RE MY BOY"

Less than 2 years later, DICK NIXON was the Republican nominee for Vice President. He was running a smooth, effective campaign when a thunderstorm burst over his head: disclosure of a private fund raised by backers in California to pay some of his political expenses while he was a Senator. Democrats bellowed that the money was (1) raised from favor-seeking California fatcats, and (2) used to provide NIXON with luxuries. They demanded that Ike drop his running mate. Some Republicans did, too. Ike called for the facts and let the storm blow.

National emotions were at gale force when NIXON took to a nationwide TV hookup with the memorable Checkers [2] speech. The Democratic charge appealed most to those who did not know the laws and rules governing United States politics. NIXON could have made a technically solid defense by expounding the rules. Instead, he met the attack at its own untutored, emotional level. In a masterpiece of political showmanship, NIXON explained his fund in simple terms, projected his engaging personality onto thousands of screens, and turned a desperate back-to-the-wall defense into a victory. NIXON got a sensationally favorable audience response, flew to Wheeling, W. Va., where Ike threw his arms around him and said: "You're my boy."

Until campaign's end, NIXON's enemies tried to smear him with new charges of bribery and corruption. None was even remotely proved, and one was based on forged evidence. When Ike and NIXON were elected, a favorite Democratic crack was: "The country can probably survive it as long as Ike lives out his term, but the thought of NIXON being one heartbeat from the presidency is terrifying." Much of the anti-NIXON feeling stemmed, consciously or unconsciously, from the resentment of those who were wrong about Alger Hiss, when NIXON was right.

MR. FIXIT

Soon after he took office as Vice President, NIXON became the administration's "Mr. Fixit," the handyman with a ball of friction tape who bound up leaky pipes and raw wires. This job was one for no mean plumber, for it involved some explosive fixtures, notably JOE MCCARTHY. As an investigator with a far, far better record of success, NIXON was in a position to argue with MCCARTHY. His most effective tactic was to persuade JOE that some of his projects would backfire and hurt JOE. As a result of such warnings, MCCARTHY called off his investigation of Allen Dulles' Central Intelligence Agency, his threat to make a Senate floor fight against confirmation of Harvard President James B. Conant's appointment as German High Commissioner, and his demand for a statement by Ike on the delicate details of East-West trade restrictions.

At least once—when MCCARTHY took credit for forcing Greek shipowners to stop their China trade—NIXON decided that MCCARTHY's efforts in the case were, on balance, for the good. Backing JOE, NIXON served as catalyst in working out a MCCARTHY-Dulles communiqué, in which the Secretary of State agreed that what JOE had done in the case was all right.

During last year's congressional session, NIXON made his voice heard more and more. He arranged military briefings for congressional leaders, lobbied in the House of Representatives for the Hawaiian statehood bill, and saved the foreign-aid bill from impending defeat at the hands of junior Republican economizers. When the Bricker amendment to curb treatymaking power came up, the Cabinet thought the whole issue would blow over if Ike denounced it. Not so NIXON, "You'll be running into a buzz saw," he told the Cabinet. He knew the bill was not a passing senatorial fancy. Result: the Cabinet decided to work for a compromise.

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[1] A younger brother, Arthur, aged 7, died in 1925.

[2] Regardless of what they say, NIXON told listening millions, he would keep cocker spanial Checkers, a gift from a Texan. Last week Checkers gave birth to five mongrel pups.

In the fight over Defense Secretary Wilson's cut in the Air Force budget, NIXON shrewdly counseled that the Democratic attack would overcome Wilson's exposed position unless Ike threw his full weight behind it. As it turned out, no less was needed. NIXON broke a Cabinet deadlock on the St. Lawrence seaway project by telling Ike that Canada will build the seaway without United States participation if necessary. Since the seaway was both right and inevitable now, instead of delaying further, the President promptly proposed United States participation in the seaway.

MR. STAND-IN

Successful as Mr. Fixit, NIXON gradually assumed the more important role of Mr. Stand-In for the President. No man can push himself into that position, and DICK NIXON did not push. He let Ike take the initiative at every stage. NIXON's part was to demonstrate that he could take responsibility, wade through mountains of factual homework, handle older and more powerful men tactfully, and above all, that he had no policy but Ike's policy.

As the No. 2 man in the executive branch of the United States Government, as Ike's stand-in, Vice President NIXON, accompanied by his wife, last October set off on a 46,539-mile, 10-week, globe-girdling trip to spread good will in the Far East and to find some facts. As usual, the NIXON method was to keep it simple and work hard. NIXON's simple way to express friendship: shaking hands with close to 100,000 amazed Asians. Aloft between countries, while Pat wrote thank-you notes to the last stop, the Vice President prepared for the next stop with intensive briefings by embassy officials.

* * * * *

Back in Washington, NIXON found that his prestige had grown with the success of his trip. He took up his role of adviser on domestic policy, argued the Cabinet into proposing changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, reversing a decision to duck such political dynamite in an election year. Sold on NIXON's view, the Cabinet asked Ike to plump for the amendments in a major speech. This time the Vice President sounded a note of caution: save the President for the real fight; don't waste his prestige where it isn't needed. The Cabinet agreed. Then it assigned the Vice President the job of nursing the improvements through Congress.

On Capitol Hill, NIXON is a presidential agent, not a congressional leader. His fellow Californian, WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the Senate majority leader has immediate access to the President when he wants it, so NIXON would never dream of telling KNOWLAND, "This is what the President wants." KNOWLAND must decide what bills the Senate will take up; NIXON can only advise the President on what to ask for. KNOWLAND must worry about every administration program; NIXON leaves many of them to White House liaison men. Another difference: KNOWLAND may, on occasion, disagree publicly with the President; NIXON submerges his views if they conflict with Ike's.

THE COMMON TOUCH

Vice President NIXON and his wife Pat (she hasn't used the Thelma since grade school) live in a $41,000 home in Washington's Spring Valley. Their two exuberant daughters, Tricia, 7, and Julie, 5, wake NIXON every morning at 7:15. From then until after breakfast is his only time to play with them. At 8 he leaves for the Capitol and a full day of meetings, handshaking, appointments, and phone calls.

Pat's day is almost as full as her husband's. She does most of the laundry and housework, half the cooking and all the marketing. The live-in maid's job is mostly baby-tending. With NIXON seldom home, Pat has learned to repair squeaky stairs, sticky doors, faucets, light fixtures. She even tried to install one of her husband's Christmas presents, a new shower head, but her pliers failed her. In an average week, she answers 200 letters, many of them requests for recipes (her favorites: tamale pie, walnut clusters). Pat's afternoons are crowded with lunches, charity benefits, bazaars.

For both the Nixons, most evenings involve formal dinners. A NIXON New Year's resolution is to try to hold such engagements down to four a week. NIXON would like to spend the time thus saved with his family and his friends—but that is not how he will spend it. He has more homework to do, more preparation for the Cabinet and NSC meetings, and for the quiet, persuasive 2-, 3-, and 4-man conferences held in his office under the Jefferson chandelier. If it tinkles, as it did in Teddy Roosevelt's day, DICK NIXON will probably not notice. He is too busy understanding the complex problems well enough to state them in simple language, too busy concentrating on how the thousands of details fit the big picture in Ike's mind, too busy being the first incumbent in the vice presidency to upgrade it into a man-size job.

The Bad and the Beautiful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following item from the Reporter magazine of January 5 might be entitled "How Times Do Change" or "What's in a Word?":

THE BAD AND THE BEAUTIFUL

When, in a country that takes pride in its rapid growth, the output of industry goes down by 6 percent in 8 months, nobody laughs any more. Instead, bankers, business magazines, and politicians can be seen eating their past words of optimism. Something closely resembling the much talked about recession has begun, and the talk has turned to what we should do about it.

First of all, you have to call it a readjustment, not a recession, a Treasury official tells us. Besides, this is a good recession, not a bad one. The chairman of the First National Bank of Chicago, who managed to assemble 1,400 bankers from 44 States early in December to exchange views about business prospects, said the decline is highly desirable and necessary.

Since it's quite easy to get too much of a good thing, the bankers discussed what could be done if the recession got too good. They talked about the Federal Government pumping money into the economy through larger deficits. They looked for lower interest rates and easier mortgage money. Just like that old villian Lord Keynes and his New Dealing American disciples, they seemed to believe that when business gets bad, the Government ought to get some more money into the hands of the spending public.

There is no contradiction here. It's just that there are two kinds of deficits, at least according to U. S. News & World Report. The one that is good happens to be Republican, and the one that is bad is Democratic. A bad deficit comes about through spending more than you take in. A good deficit, on the contrary, is the result of not taking in as much as you spend. "Deficit spending, once a threat to cause fear and trembling, now can be accepted calmly as a condition necessary to the country's welfare."

The new line of demarcation between good and evil was illustrated in a more technical form in the mid-November newsletter of a prominent New York investment counsel. "It may be wise * * * at this point * * * to reemphasize what appears to be the fundamental difference between cheap money and easy money." "Easier money," which is good, "means action to provide the economy with the credit it needs necessary for normal growth of the economy." Cheap money, which is bad, seems to be about the same thing, except that it is brought about by the pegging of Government bonds—something the Democrats used to do.

Try this yourself. Once you learn how to play it, the game can be lots of fun, and it's good training for active citizen participation in our national elections. Here are a few examples to help you get started:

Public works like WPA are bad: All they do is spend money and put people to work. Under the Eisenhower anti-recession program worked out by the President's Council of Economic Advisers, good public works will put money into the hands of the people and maintain a high level of employment. But the difference is that at the same time money is spent on public works the Government receives less money in taxes. See?

The welfare state, with its dole for jobless workers and its rigid high minimum wage, is clearly bad. But Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell is out in the country selling the idea, as a better shield against economic reverses, that unemployment compensation should be broadened and the amount and coverage of the present minimum wage should be increased. But, where is the additional money coming from?

The game can be played with nearly any subject. High and rigid farm-price supports are an affront to our free-enterprise system, but a two-price system for wheat, which would require even more control, is fine. So far only wheat is mentioned, probably because of the farmers' grumbling. But if we are going to have a two-party system in the South, can cotton and tobacco be far behind? Giveaway foreign aid is bad, but dumping our farm surpluses abroad and giving friendly countries the money to buy them with is the salvation of the American farmer.

Housing should be left to the real-estate men, and the Government should stay out of business and banking. But, Mitchell told the United Auto Workers that the administration is considering the most effective ways for it to participate in loan-guaranty programs should private capital sources begin to shrink. Obviously, Mr. Mitchell is for public support of private-housing projects.

The national debt is an intolerable burden and should be reduced. But there can be a good increase in the debt, too, if the administration is Republican and strapped for cash. Secretary Humphrey says it's the debt ceiling that is burdensome, and he wants it lifted to avoid a near panic.

Policies, like women, can evidently be both bad and attractive. Good and bad, obviously, are questions of the heart.

More for Less

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, there is increasing concern about the dangers of the more-for-less defense policy adopt-

ed by the administration. I am inserting for the RECORD a column by Harold G. Staff, editor, Army Times, in which Mr. Stagg questions the soundness of the more-for-less theory.

TALK OF THE TIMES

Let's go from the sublime to the ridiculous.

I'm becoming more and more intrigued by President Eisenhower's and Defense Secretary Wilson's insistence that the United States daily becomes militarily stronger even as the armed services appear to being shortchanged on men, money, and materiel.

The Eisenhower-Wilson theory—more defense for less dollars and "a bigger bang for a buck"—could be described as exactly what the doctor orders, but we have a slight suspicion that the doctor who wrote the prescription is somewhere in the "quack" category.

Conceding, however, that it might work, why not apply it to things other than defense and security.

For instance, I'd like to see Ike and his advisers show us all how to get more food for less money—a bigger belly for a buck. Going on the Eisenhower-Wilson theory, perhaps the best way to accomplish this would be to plant fewer crops and raise less cattle.

And I can think of nothing which would have greater appeal to the American family than to extend the more for less theory into the field of housing. I assume that if the same practice we appear to be following in defense matters is used, this too, could be achieved by training fewer carpenters, bricklayers, painters—or what have you—and by reducing the number of homes being built each year. Just think of it, a bigger house—a smaller mortgage.

The whole idea of more for less might even sweep the country as Coueism did after World War I when Emil Coue, the famous French psychotherapeutist, came over here and had everyone chanting "every day, and in every way, I am becoming better and better."

The improvement in American behavior was scarcely noticeable.

I get hungry, greedy, and just plain lazy kicking the thoughts around in my head—thinking of the possibilities that could lie ahead.

There is a picture in my mind of a nice, big, thick, juicy sirloin steak for the price of a slice of bologna. And I can see a sprawling home of vast acreage and great beauty for the cost of a chicken coop—a Cadillac car for the price of a bicycle—all these and more for less.

Then—before we wake up—let's fix it so that everyone (particularly veterans) gets a bigger Government pension at a younger age for less taxes.

About the only thing we can think of at the moment that we don't want more of for less—is more work for less money.

H. G. S.

Completion of Generating Unit at Shawnee Steam Plant, TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news statement from the Tennessee Valley Authority in which they report the completion of a fourth 150,000-kilowatt generating unit at the Shawnee steam plant to serve the atomic energy program. The TVA deserves great praise for a construction feat in which their plants serving power to this vital installation were completed far ahead of schedule and as a significant contrast to those being built by a group of private utilities known as Electric Energy, Inc., constructing plants for the same operation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY,
Knoxville, Tenn., January 11, 1954.

Initial operation of the fourth 150,000 kilowatt generating unit at the Shawnee steam plant was described today as "an important milestone in TVA's contribution to the Nation's atomic energy program," by Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman of the TVA Board. The fourth unit at Shawnee went into commercial operation over the past weekend.

The first 4 units of the Shawnee plant, with a total capability of 600,000 kilowatts, represent the plant originally designed by TVA to meet half of the initial power requirements for AEC's new uranium separation plant at Paducah, Ky. Construction of these units was started in January, 1951.

Since that time, TVA has been called upon to more than double the original supply for the AEC plant. Construction of six additional units, started at a later date to meet the expanded AEC demand and other TVA load growth, is continuing on a fast schedule.

"As increased power from the Shawnee plant becomes available to supply the AEC demands it substitutes for other higher cost power, including some imported from outside the region, thus reducing the cost of the power to AEC," Clapp pointed out.

"Once again TVA construction forces have demonstrated, as they did during World War II in building the plants which supplied power for the initial Oak Ridge operation, their ability to meet the Nation's defense needs."

"The completion of the first four units at Shawnee in a period of 3 years, under conditions that often were discouraging, is a tribute to the efficiency and determination of the TVA design and construction organization under Chief Engineer C. E. Blee, the labor forces directed on the job by Project Manager Fred Weiss, and to the efforts of the firms which supplied equipment and materials for the plant," Mr. Clapp declared. "Moreover, the job has been done within our estimates and at comparatively low cost, saving money for the Nation's taxpayers, who pay the costs of the Atomic Energy Commission's power bills."

The first unit of the Shawnee plant went into operation in April 1953, about 2 years and 3 months after start of construction, and two additional units were placed in operation also during 1953. The plant when completed will rank high among the largest steam plants in the world. It will have 10 units with a total installed capacity of 1,350,000 kilowatts and a capability of 1,500,000 kilowatts. The cost per kilowatt of capability for the completed plant is estimated at $146.

Construction of the first 4 units was undertaken to supply about 500,000 kilowatts of power for the AEC plant. At the same time, AEC contracted with a private company, Electric Energy, Inc., to supply 500,000 kilowatts from a new steam plant which the company is building at Joppa, Ill. Two of the first four units in the Joppa plant, of about 160,000-kilowatts capability each, the first of which was originally scheduled ahead of the TVA plant, are now in operation. Actually TVA's Shawnee plant was producing power 3 months before the first unit at Joppa went into service.

Subsequently, the AEC expanded the plans for its Paducah plant, with the result that the requirements for TVA power were increased to more than 1,200,000 kilowatts. Construction of six additional units at Shawnee plant were started in the summer of 1952. The 10th unit is scheduled for initial operation in 1955. At the same time, the requirements from the private company were increased by AEC to a total of about 735,000 kilowatts and the private company Joppa plant is being enlarged to include 2 additional units, or 6 in all.

The Shawnee plant is located on the Ohio River, about 10 miles northwest of Paducah, Ky.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Speech by Hon. Barry M. Goldwater, of Arizona, Before National Retail Dry Goods Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent speech delivered by my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER], before the 43d annual banquet of the National Retail Dry Goods Association in New York on January 14.

The remarks of the Senator from Arizona point to the need for Americans to sell the principle of free enterprise to the American people.

I commend the speech to my fellow Senators and, indeed, to the people of our Nation.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

There is a time-honored, well-worn phrase which says "Let's look at the record." Certainly, this expression should be familiar to the people of the city that plays host to your distinguished convention this week; for it was a famous New Yorker and a great American, Al Smith, who first said "Let's look at the record." So, if I may borrow from the pages of his glory, I should like to suggest tonight that we "look at the record."

The record of American business is written clearly in the standards by which we live. These standards are the highest the world has ever known; so it naturally follows that our business system, operating in the free manner it knows best, is likewise the greatest in all history.

That much of the record is clear and unmistakable, but the evidence of our allegiance to that free system of enterprise is not entirely without blemish. It is of these defects that I wish to talk with you this evening; because, as an American, as an American businessman, and as a Member of the United States Senate, I am deeply concerned over them in my heart and in my mind. Indeed, it is because of this concern that I have combined all three of these high callings to the dedication of helping to solve the problems which have thus been created.

I must tell you now, at the outset, that this discussion tonight will involve politics, and I make no apologies for that. I make none, because one of the blemishes on our record stems from the inattention of businessmen and women to government and politics and the relation of both to our free enterprise sytem. This lack of interest, this negligent attitude, must come to an end. As a result of its existence in the past, the Government and politics grew to positions of influence and control in the fields of business never intended by our Constitution. You probably felt this encroachment, almost to a man, or at least suspected it, when you joined with others over a year ago and said to the Republican team "Get in now and head us again on the true path of free enterprise."

In a few days, a year will have passed since the Republican administration took office with this mandate from the people of America to accomplish certain goals. During the course of our campaign in 1952, we made certain promises to you. What accomplishments have there been, to date, in the keeping of those promises? I do not propose to discuss all of them here, because time does not permit any such extensive evaluation, and the occasion does not call for it. But I do think it would be appropriate for us to consider those issues that most immediately affect your businesses and the economy of our country.

This Republican administration is pledged to reduce taxes. Under the law as enacted by Congress a reduction of 10 percent in individual income taxes occurred on January 1, and the corporation excess profits taxes expired on December 31 of the year just ended.

You might well ask why individual income taxes were not reduced earlier and why it was necessary to extend the excess profits taxes at all. We can find the answers to those questions when we realize what this administration found under the several coats of paint which our predecessors in the National Government had applied to conceal the decaying timbers of our economic house. Instead of building on the strong foundations of this house and instead of replacing rotting walls and roofs with the firmness of honesty and integrity, they proceeded to apply more and more coats of a glossy and highly flammable paint we know now was inflation.

In peeling off this paint during the past year, we began to learn the true condition of this vital structure. We found that we had inherited about $81 billion in c. o. d. orders. This was money appropriated in other years and committed to be spent, although the actual spending does not take place until the goods contracted for have been delivered. This $81 billion was the largest installment plan debt ever inherited by any administration.

A difficult choice had to be made. Either the budget would have to go further out of balance and inflation given another boost, with a consequent lowering of the value of the dollar, or the promised tax reduction would have to be temporarily postponed. This administration preferred to follow the alternative of wisdom and principle, rather than, in reckless haste, to yield to the lure of political expediency. It chose, first, to halt the inflation which was eating deeper into the value of the dollar. A tax reduction was, therefore, postponed. We had pledged to check inflation and this decision constituted positive proof of our desire to abide by that promise.

Inflation, under the previous administration, took a heavy toll, not only in daily living expenses, but also in the value of savings, insurance, and other investments. The dollar that would buy 100 cents worth in June of 1939, was worth less than 52 cents in January of 1953—a loss of almost 50 percent in the value of the dollar in 14 years.

To put a stop to this disastrous decline in the worth of our money, this Republican administration has done several things.

First, by heavy cuts in spending, it reduced the Treasury's need for borrowing additional money. We simply acknowledged something that retailers have known all of our business lives: that, if you spend more than you earn, you have to borrow; and borrowing by the Government contributes to decreases in the value of money.

Second, this administration recognized the independence of the Federal Reserve System in properly handling the money and credit supply of the Nation. In the immediate past administrations, the Federal Reserve System, under Treasury domination, contributed to the decline in the value of the dollar by artifically maintaining the value of Government securities. This kept interest rates low for the Government, but, by decreasing monetary values, robbed Americans of billions of dollars.

Third, the Republican administration took steps to control the gigantic Federal debt so as not to lessen further the value of money. The previous method of handling the debt was to place too much of it in short-term issues, which is practically the same as printing more money. The public debt is now close to $275 billion, and nearly three-fourths of it matures within less than 5 years, or is redeemable at the holder's option. The Republican administration is converting more of the debt into long-term issues, where it is much less inflationary. We are also getting the debt into the hands of private investors, where it will not contribute to lower money values, as it does when it is placed too extensively with the banks.

The activities of this administration in this area are of extreme importance to people in business. While we must recognize that there will always be variations up and down in different lines of the Nation's economy—that nothing is, or can be, completely stable—it is nevertheless true that if the purchasing power of the dollar can maintain relative stability, so that its value is not largely or wholly wiped out in the passing of years, then we will always have sound, honest money.

We have already acknowledged the fact that under the previous national administration the Government made inroads into our free system of business; inroads which it had no right to make, either morally or constitutionally. Yet there the Government sat, dominant in your daily business lives by virtue of countless regulations, controls, reports, investigations, and even by competition.

In looking at this portion of the record of this Republican administration, one cannot deny that even if nothing else had been accomplished, the fact that Government is being removed from its position of authority over business represents a measure of good for our people now and in the future, which is beyond description.

During the early weeks of the past session of Congress, price and wage controls expired; and the administration successfully opposed efforts to maintain over your heads the threat of standby price and wage regulations.

The Secretary of Commerce has sold a Government barge line for 69 million. During the 29 years that it had been operated by the Inland Waterways Corporation, it had cost the taxpayers more than $15 million through losses sustained in its operation.

Congress has provided legislation whereby the Government will sell 28 synthetic rubber plants.

The Atomic Energy Commission is creating a wider opportunity for private investments in the building and operation of atomic energy plants to produce electric power.

For the first time in 20 years, the demand that the Government receive a dollar's worth of value for every dollar spent, is being emphasized as a primary goal.

This country is building up a real defense and at the same time pursuing a firm and progressive policy toward peace. I say this with the knowledge born of my own experience. I am an Air Force veteran, who has maintained an interest in the well-being of that portion of our armed services, and I am convinced beyond any possible doubt that our Air Force has never before been at such a peak of efficiency and striking power as it is today.

This Republican administration is returning the government to the people, by whose will and genius it was created, and by whose strength it will be sustained. We have just begun to do the job to which we are dedicated. Much work lies ahead. It will be done.

The men and women who represent you at the various levels of government, from the school board to the Nation's Capital in Washington, who believe, with you and me, in the American way, have a deep-seated desire to see that these goals are achieved. They are, however, the first to recognize that the task cannot be fulfilled without the help of all Americans.

It was easy—and I suppose, from history's lessons, it was a natural reaction—for the American people to lapse into an apathetic state after November 4, 1952. Their will had been done and there seemed, at first glance, to be no further need of their interest. But let me warn you tonight that those persons in our country who were so intent on abandoning our Constitution and altering our economic system did not retire on that date. Their efforts still persist. Apathy will never be the weakness of our enemy. Socialism, which is that enemy's name, came as a creeping darkness; and it was already late afternoon when the floodlights of public opinion were focused on it. However, one brief illumination will not destroy this enemy any more than any one good clearance sale will make a year. It will take consistent, earnest effort on the part of all Americans to overcome this threat.

The kind of sound governmental structure that will give impetus to a sound business structure can only be achieved when all of the people who are engaged in business in this country come to realize that good government requires the interest of all the people.

We, as retailers, know that the Government has a solid impact upon our businesses, but too few in our field have done anything to indicate a positive recognition of this fact. We have not paid the same attention to this situation, nor have we been as vociferous about it, as our brothers in manufacturing, in agriculture, and in organized labor.

Because of this lack of interest, we, as a trade, have not been taken into the confidence of the Government, nor has the Government paid any particular attention to the viewpoint of the retailer when studying important domestic and international matters.

How many of you make it a point to acquaint yourselves with the city councils of your respective communities and with the legislators of your State governments? How many of you take the time to tell those public officials of your thoughts and of your experiences, and to counsel with them on the important decisions involved in their responsibilities to you, and to themselves? You know, and I know, that too few of the members of our craft have bothered themselves with the vital details of politics. Such a situation might be natural, but it is not excusable.

There was a time when Government did not thrust itself into our daily lives to the extent that it has in the last 20 years. There was a time when Government, and the expense of Government, constituted only a small portion of our daily problems. But, that time is long past and we must recognize the changes that have occurred and be prepared to assist in solving the gigantic problems that have arisen in Government.

Government today needs you and it needs your interest. Did you know that since 1939 the number of Federal employees has increased from 970,000 to 2,400,000? At the same time, the tax receipts of all governments—Federal, State, and local—have gone from $12 billion to an estimated $86 billion for this year. Add to these staggering figures the fact that Congress now introduces some 10,000 bills each session, and you can see even more clearly the force with which Government strikes you in your everyday pursuits.

Government's place in our scheme of life is as an occasional umpire, and to assist in the creation of a healthy atmosphere in which this economic system of ours can work. Those who wrote our Constitution recognized this and gave certain powers to the Congress in the fields of business. They said, for instance, that Congress shall have the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States; to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States; to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and fix the standard of weights and measures. That was the extent, however, to which our founding fathers thought the Federal Government should intervene in our daily business lives.

It was never intended that the Government should use its power of regulation over money to create and maintain inflation.

It was never intended that the Government should upset the law of supply and demand by the imposition of controls over prices.

It was never intended that the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States should be so broadly interpreted as to make it practically impossible to find any businessman who, by present construction, is not engaged in interstate commerce, thereby being subjected to a multitude of Federal laws and regulations in no way designed to apply to his particular business.

It was never intended that the Government should enter into direct competition with any private enterprise. Yet the Government has been doing these things for years.

Your interest alone can keep Government in its proper channels. Without it Government becomes like a buyer without a budget. Strange things happen under such circumstances and expensive clearances always occur. This kind of inattention, then is another blemish on our business record, and only you can correct it.

Those who most loudly advocated Federal supremacy over business, which we recognize in its basic form as socialism, said that when price controls were removed, prices would jump astronomically. They said that when the Government was taken out of competition with free enterprise, free enterprise would falter. These dire predictions were made by those people who still hold to the theory that only Government can spark and maintain a high economic activity. And, unfortunately and disturbingly, many—in fact, too many—businessmen of this country, believed them. The constant infiltration of the free American business mind by the advocates of Government-in-business and Government-over-business, has taken a surprising toll among the business people of this country.

Woeful prophecies of economic disaster have been coming from the mouths of the spokesmen of this group for many months, so it becomes necessary that we pause once more to look at the record.

We find, first of all, that today there are only 1,800,000 unemployed, as compared with 3 million in 1950. We find a gross national production of $370 billion, as compared with one of $286 billion in 1950. This record discloses that the purchasing power of America hovers around $308 billion, as against $240 billion in 1950. Certainly, this does not indicate any depression as being imminent, or any sizable recession, or adjustment, as being present. We must, of course, expect a continuation of the period of moderate adjustment, but this can be an orderly process, and can be kept within the proper bounds by the constant interest of the American people in their Government and in its economic system. One sure way to weaken the economy at any time is for these forecasters of doom to broadcast their black words in the public places of America, without regard to the facts as we have analyzed them here.

We have examined the records of the past and the present, so I suggest that we now take a look at what the record might be next year, or, more important, what it might be several years from now.

It is one of the blessings of our economic system that we are not required to live contentedly with the past, or smugly with the present, but rather can constantly look ahead and think ahead. The motivation of the businessmen of this country has always been toward a better tomorrow for their country, which inevitably means a better tomorrow for their businesses.

I like to anticipate that when our children examine your record and mine in the years to come, they will be aware of that indomitable spirit which moved an empire westward; which developed an economy of proportions never before reached in history; and which created a standard of living that only a free people can achieve. With such a realization, our children can be grateful for our recognition of those high precepts which made our country and our economic system the greatest in all the world.

The unique position which we, as retailers, occupy in the economic framework of this Nation is clearly emphasized by this challenge to us to write a record of accomplishment of which the future can be proud. We are the only part of our economy that is in daily contact with both the consumers and the producers of our material goods. We represent both of these important segments of our economy—the consumer when we tell the producer what products to make, how many to make, and at what price they should be sold—and the producer when we fulfill our responsibility of distributing the products of his factory.

All of us here understand our country's great production potential. Today, we produce consumer goods at a far greater rate than in prewar years; and it is your duty and mine to find the ways and means better to distribute the consequent abundance of this increased production capacity, if we are to do our part in maintaining a high standard of living in this country.

Our responsibility, then, comes down to a rather simple thing. We merchants have an effective tool to use in the advancement of such a responsibility. This tool is the hallmark of our success. This tool is selling. It is as simple as that. It is merely a matter

of doing a better job with the most important factor in your business and mine: salesmanship.

What does it matter if this country can outproduce any other country, if you and I, as salespeople, do not sell the manufactured goods to the American customer? Purchasing power, in itself, is not the sparkplug of our economy. The transfer of that purchasing power into consuming power is what keeps our factories at top production. True, one begets the other, but you can have recessions in spite of high available purchasing power; while dips in our economic plane do not occur when the American customer is satisfying his constant desire for a better standard of living.

Now we saw a few moments ago that purchasing power is high. We saw the high rate of employment and the general stability of our economy. Certainly those figures must whet the natural selling instinct that is yours. Surely they must tell you that it is now up to you to get your share of this business that is just waiting to be had. It is only normal for you to want to do so; and I am sure that, even now, you realize that we, as merchants, must go home and pay more attention to this basic phase of our business, which is selling.

The days of sloppy selling are at an end. The days of taking the American customer for granted are over. The money is there. The consumers' desire for better living is there. But the merchant who gets this money and who satisfies the consumers' desire for a better way of life will be the merchant who goes after it, who uses better selling methods, who uses better and more constant advertising, who is honest and steadfast in the ideals of our profession. All this is good. It will help to start a great new phase of our economic history; for it will mean a return to greater competition, which means, in turn, more oil for the wheels of free American enterprise.

Selling, then, is our problem—but not alone the selling of merchandise. Remember that we want to build this record for posterity's sake. The mere maintenance of a high economic activity will not be the only thing our children will expect to find in our chapters of the book of human progress. They will also be concerned with the condition of our economic processes—with the free-enterprise system. How free, indeed, will it be 20, 10, or even 5 years from now? How good will it be? The answer, of course, depends upon the kind of job that you and I do in selling this system to the American people.

We, as business people, have not always put forth our best effort to sell our economic system. We have hidden our heads, ostrich-like, in the sands of complacency. We have been afraid to stand up against the assaults of radicals upon the system that has made us great. We have not responded when free enterprise has been attacked in its ramparts by those who would put an "ism" after every description of man's endeavor. We have backed away from the fray. We have not come forward to be counted on the side of individual liberty, initiative, and free enterprise. It is well past time that we stood firm and explained to the American people the wisdom and the wonder of our system and the part that you and I, as merchants, have played in sustaining it.

Our obligation is to tell, in the language with which we are most familiar—the language of selling—the wonderful story of America, born out of the miracle of God-given freedom. We must proclaim our reverence for that freedom. We must carry this devotion into every part of our daily lives. We must subscribe fully to the fundamental truth that our economic greatness rests upon the solid rock of freedom—the freedom of men to follow their own economic interests, and to respond to the universal profit motive unhampered by Government edict and regulation; to go where they choose; to work where and for whom they desire; and to do, in all things, as they wish, so long as their actions do not infringe upon the rights of others to those same freedoms.

We, the merchants of this country, must tell our fellow Americans how free markets, working with the law of supply and demand, establish price, quality, and production. Under a free economy, government cannot do these things. Americans must not assume that the Government is capable of performing any of the intricate processes of this system that has created for us the highest standard of living the world has ever known.

The alternative to the successful operation of the free enterprise system is State collectivism; and recent, not ancient, history, shows us the futility of that approach. Germany, through Hitler; Italy, through Mussolini; and Great Britain, through socialism—all point a warning finger that American businessmen must heed. Government does not produce. Government take away. We must count on our own capacities, and not the benevolent overtures of Government, for our success.

Tonight, then, as pe look at our record of the past and the present, and as we ponder what the record of the future might be, our responsibilities appear clear and unmistakable. It is not just enough for us simply to do a better job of selling the manufactured goods which we maintain for our customers. We must also do a "super-special" job of selling the principle of free enterprise to the American people.

It is my confidence that we will respond to this obligation with the full measure of that strength and devotion which is ours. I know that the American dream is not ended, that our frontiers are not expended, that the faith of our fathers has not been forgotten, and that there has never been a time in our history when opportunities for all were greater than they are today.

I believe, with all my heart, that we shall be—in a word, in thought, and in deed—always Americans. We will rise to the fullness of this great calling, because we know that this task—this opportunity—of ours is the key to our country's future. How well we respond to it will determine the pride, or lack of it, with which our children will receive the record and the inheritance which we pass on to them. What will their reaction to this record be? With what emotions will they remember us? It is ours to decide.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful article on the Bricker amendment, written by the columnist, Walter Lippmann, and published on January 19, 1954. I make this request because I believe that every Member of this body should read the article before debate on the Bricker amendment commences.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

For those who have not yet paid too much attention to the controversy, it must be very confusing to find that the supporters and the opponents of the Bricker amendment both contend that they are trying to preserve the Constitution. Both of these conflicting claims cannot be right, and we may well ask ourselves how this has come about.

When we look at section 1 of the Bricker amendment we read that "a provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." Now no President, no Congress, and no court has ever held or suggested that a treaty could be in conflict with the Constitution and could override it. Therefore, in regard to the words of section 1 there can be no dispute.

As it happens, however, the words have a double meaning. When the Bricker amendment speaks of "this Constitution" it is not speaking about the Constitution as it has stood for a century and a half since it was adopted. Senataor BRICKER means a Constitution which has been radically altered by the Bricker amendment.

This radical alteration is to be found in section 2, which says that "a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty." This is a radical and in the literal meaning of the words a reactionary alteration of the historic Constitution. For it would restore to the States, to each and every State, that power to nullify treaties which they relinquished when they adopted the Constitution.

There are other features of the Bricker amendment which deal not with the powers of the Federal Government but with how those powers shall be exercised by the organs of the Federal Government. These features are, one may believe, clumsy and inexpedient. But at least they do not subvert the fundamental structure of the Constitution.

But the deep and fundamental objection to the Bricker amendment is that it strikes at the sovereign power of the Nation in its dealings with foreign powers. Section 2 ordains that for almost all treaties the approval of the 48 State governments would be necessary. That is what it means to say that under the Bricker amendment the Federal Government would lose the sovereign power to negotiate and to agree with foreign governments.

When Senator BRICKER is talking to the public he likes to give the impression that he is out to preserve the historic Constitution under which the Nation has lived for a century and a half. Only last week, for example, he charged the President with believing that by the simple act of making a treaty with another country the Federal Government is "able to clothe itself with authority inconsistent with the Constitution."

But at other times, when he is in the presence of competent lawyers—as, for example, before the Judiciary Committee—he does not pretend that the treaty power clothes the Federal Government with authority inconsistent with the Constitution. On the contrary, he admits that his objection is to the Constitution as the American people have known it, and that what he is meaning to do is not to preserve but to change in a fundamental way that Constitution.

Early in the extensive Senate hearings, which began on February 15 of last year, on yage 4 of the printed record Senator BRICKER testified that "from the decision of the Supreme Court in *Ware* v. *Hylton* (3 Dall. 199) in 1796 to the present time, the treaty-making power has been a persistent threat to the liberties of the American people * * * Senate Joint Resolution (the Bricker amendment) would preclude the result reached in that case. *Ware* v. *Hylton* is a good place to join the issue."

If *Ware* v. *Hylton* is where he wishes to join the issue, let us join the issue there, using his own summary of the facts in the case.

In 1774, Hylton & Co. gave a promissory note to two British subjects. To help defray the cost of the Revolutionary War, the State of Virginia passed a law providing that debts to British subjects should be discharged by payment to the State. In 1780, Hylton & Co. paid $3,000 of its debt to Virginia. More than 3 years after this partial payment, the treaty of peace with Great Britain was made. Article IV of the treaty provided: "It is agreed that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bonafide debts heretofore contracted."

Ware, an assignee of the British creditor, sued Hylton & Co. for the full amount of the original debt. In the Supreme Court the validity of the Virginia statute was not questioned. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court held that article IV of the peace treaty, having become the supreme law of the land, operated to revive that part of the debt which had been extinguished by valid payment to the State of Virginia.

Senator BRICKER says, and no doubt truly, that this was a harsh result so far as Hylton & Co. were concerned. No doubt, justice required that the British creditor should be reimbursed by Congress instead of by Hylton & Co. But that is not the question on which the issue is really joined. For there is ample precedent all through our history for the provision of that kind of compensation.

The real question surely—if we are to join issue on *Ware* v. *Hylton*—is whether a statute of the State of Virginia could set up a "lawful impediment" to the treaty in which the United States had agreed that there would be "no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value * * * of all bonafide debts."

This is the crux of the controversy which turns upon section 2 of the Bricker amendment. Shall we now restore to each State the power, which Virginia and the other States had under the Articles of Confederation but gave up when the Constitution was adopted—namely the power to nullify within its own jurisdiction a treaty made by the Federal Government?

This radical and drastic and reactionary change in the American constitutional system is necessary, says Senator BRICKER, in order to "preclude * * * a persistent threat to the liberties of the American people." How does his amendment go about precluding these allegedly persistent threats?

By making it as difficult as possible short of the ouright prohibition of all treaties, to carry out a treaty. Under BRICKER's proposed constitution, a treaty would first, as is the case now, have to be approved by the President and two-thirds of the Senate. Then, in addition, it would have to be enacted as an internal law by majorities of both Houses of Congress. Then if, as is so often the case, the treaty deals with property rights, commercial rights, fisheries, the taxation of aliens, it also would have to be enacted—remembering that Nebraska has a one-chamber legislature—in 95 legislative chambers of the 48 States and to be approved by the 48 Governors.

Absurd as it sounds, can or will Senator BRICKER say that this is not what section 2 means? Will he or any other supporter of section 2 explain how such a process could be avoided?

The crowning argument against the amendment is that the Constitution already has an unquestioned and conclusive remedy against any conceivable abuse of the treaty-making power, against any error be it deliberate or accidental which could in any way threaten the rights and liberties of our people. This is the indubitable power of Congress to pass an act setting aside as internal law the provisions of any treaty.

This power was exercised by Congress in the so-called Chinese Exclusion cases, and was completely sustained by the courts. "A treaty," said Mr. Justice Miller, "then is a law of the land as an act of Congress is * * * there is nothing in this law which makes it irrepealable or unchangeable. The Constitution gives it no superiority over an act of Congress in this respect, which may be repealed or modified by an act of a later date."

This power of Congress to repeal the provisions of a treaty, insofar as they are internal law in the United States, provides a remedy which is always available against any of the abuses which the amendment professes to be trying to prevent. Thus, under the American Constitution we now have the power to make treaties and we have a remedy if they go wrong. But under BRICKER's constitution we would have lost the greater part of our power to make treaties, and there would be no remedy available for the evils resulting from our own self-imposed impotence.

Senator Williams Is Right

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which was published in the Cedar Rapids Gazette on January 14, 1954. The editorial is entitled "Senator WILLIAMS Is Right," with which sentiment I am in entire accord.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILLIAMS IS RIGHT

Once again Senate Republicans have refused to give one of their own members, Senator WILLIAMS, of Delaware, the same leeway to investigate tax matters as the Democrats gave him. Senator WILLIAMS doesn't like it and he is saying so every chance he gets. We think he's right.

Senator WILLIAMS is the man whose investigation under the Democrats of tax scandals led to a full-scale investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau and conviction of several key tax officials in the Truman administration. He was drawing fulsome praise of the Republican Senators then and Democratic Senators were doing nothing to block his progress.

When the Republicans gained control of Congress it was assumed Senator WILLIAMS would be given another green light but, oddly enough, the Republican Senate Policy Committee put some hobbles on him. The freedom he had under the Democrats to make public on the Senate floor his subcommittee's findings was withdrawn over his protest that the action would make his work ineffectual. His point was well taken as the last session of Congress proved. We didn't hear much about Senator WILLIAMS' work even though it was going on all the time. When the public doesn't know what's going on it is impossible to carry out reforms as swiftly as when the public is in on the know.

At any rate the decision of the GOP policy committee to continue clamping the silencer on Senator WILLIAMS is something that won't win the favor of any except those guilty of tax evasion. From our vantage point it appears to be a stupid blunder for Senator WILLIAMS had established himself as one of the best fact ferrets in the Senate and one who did not make accusations unless he had the facts to back them up. His type of man is a rare one in modern society and rarer still in politics, which makes it all the more difficult to understand the Senate Policy Committee's reasoning. You'd think the committee would give a careful and experienced investigator like Senator WILLIAMS his head, especially when it allows other Members whose investigative records suffer in comparison to go about unbridled.

I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer, United Steelworkers of America, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on His Union's Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, January 19, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. I. W. Abel, secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America, is highly important. Mr. Abel worked at various jobs for a great number of years in basic steel and fabricating plants. He was elected president of his local union in Canton, Ohio, and he served in that capacity until 1942 when he was elected district director of the Central Ohio United Steelworkers of America. He served in that position until 1953 when he was elected international secretary-treasurer.

Mr. Abel's statement, outlining his union's health program, is as follows:

My name is I. W. Abel. I am the international secretary-treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America. On behalf of myself, the other officers of the union, as well as our members and their families, I want to thank you for this opportunity of presenting information regarding our own experience in the field of insurance, medical care, and pensions.

Our organization has about 1,180,000 members throughout the United States and Canada. We have about 2,600 local unions and about 2,200 separate collective bargaining agreements. We have members not only in the basic steel industry, but also in a wide variety of other industries: iron ore mining, noferrous metal mining and smelting, quarries, foundries, steel fabricators, aluminum manufacturing and processing, can manufacturing, etc.

After many years of hard and persistent work, we have been able to secure in the overwhelming majority of our collective bargaining agreements throughout these industries, some assistance for our people in their efforts to deal with the problems of life insurance, accident and sickness insurance, hospitalization, surgical benefits, and pensions. We have had, therefore, a great deal of first-hand experience in this entire field.

In addition, in these collective bargaining agreements, we have safety and health provisions to prevent injury to the employees who are at work. These programs are not uniform, but have been adjusted to meet the needs of employees in the light of conditions within individual companies. While we are proud of the progress we have made, I can assure you that there is much still to be done in this field not only by private groups but also by the Government.

HISTORY

Perhaps I can best begin a recitation of our experiences by relating some historical developments within the industries in which we represent employees. This organization came into being in 1936 as the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The first major collective bargaining agreements were secured in 1937. Our entrance into the field of health and safety began with a modest provision in the early agreements requiring the employer to make reasonable provision for protecting the safety and health of his employees while they were at work. The employers did not go any further than that on a joint program. There were no collective bargaining provisions protecting or assisting the employees in connection with age and health hazards resulting from events outside the plant. There were no collective bargaining provisions protecting or assisting their dependents.

It became increasingly evident that we had to do something about improving our program. Some plans were agreed to here and there, but the progress was spotty.

In 1947 in most of our major contracts the safety and health provision was strengthened by allowing the individual employee to reject an assignment where he felt that the hazards under the circumstances were beyond those normally inherent in the job.

The first major programs throughout our industries were adopted in 1949 (I might add that prior to 1949 various social insurance plans were incorporated in some 380 collective bargaining agreements between our union and companies in various industries. In over 80 percent of these plans, the employer bore the entire cost).

In the 1949 collective bargaining negotiations with the principal companies, our members requested that the company provide the following health, insurance, and pension benefits to the employee and that the company bear the entire cost:

1. Life insurance equal to 1 year's pay for each employee while he remained an employee.

2. A $1,250 paid-up insurance policy for each employee when he retired either because of old age or permanent disability.

3. Benefits of $31.50 per week payable immediately in case of disability resulting from accidental injury while off the job and payable on the eighth day in case of temporary disability resulting from sickness. Maximum duration of payment would be 26 weeks.

4. A National Blue Cross contract covering hospitalization for the employee, his wife, and unmarried children under 19 years of age.

5. Reimbursement for surgical costs for the employee, his wife, and minor dependents up to a maximum of $200.

6. Pensions of $150 per month for workers who had 10 years' service or more if retired because of permanent disability. This was to be reduced to $125 a month when the man reached 65.

7. Pensions of $125 a month for workers retiring after the age of 65.

Notification was sent to various major companies in May of 1949. Negotiations began in these instances in the middle of June and continued on into July without any success. President Truman appointed a board of inquiry to investigate the situation and to suggest ways and means for arriving at an amicable solution. Hearings were begun on July 28 and the report of the Board was issued September 10, 1949. During all this time the men remained at work.

The Board rejected the union's request for a general wage increase. It unanimously recommended, however, that the companies involved set aside an amount equal to 4 cents per man-hour worked for social insurance and 6 cents per man-hour worked for pensions. It agreed with the union's position that the employees should not be required to bear any portion of the cost of these two programs. The Board would not specify the types of benefits which should be provided, but left the matter to the parties themselves. In reaching these conclusions, the Board made the following significant comments concerning the proposal:

"Social insurance and pensions should be considered a part of normal business costs to take care of temporary and permanent depreciation in the human machine, in much the same way as provision is made for depreciation and insurance of plant and machinery. This obligation should be among the first charges on revenues.

"The concept of providing social insurance and pensions for workers in industry has become an accepted part of modern American thinking. Unless government provides such insurance in adequate amount, industry should step in to fill the gap. Government (except in four States) has failed to provide social insurance (as defined herein) for industrial workers generally, and has supplied old-age retirement benefits in amounts which are not adequate to provide an American minimum standard of living."

Although the Board denied the union's request for a wage increase, the union accepted the Board's recommendations in the dispute. We felt that the need for getting started on a broad program of insurance and pensions was so vital that we were willing to swallow the unpopular recommendation on wages. The companies involved accepted that portion dealing with the denial of a wage increase, but rejected the recommendation on insurance and pensions. When further collective bargaining on the basis of the Board's recommendations proved fruitless, the men had no alternative but to cease work in support of the Board's recommendations. This stoppage occurred on October 1, 1949, and continued in most of the industry for some 6 long hard weeks even though our union reached an agreement with the Bethlehem Steel Co. on October 31. These agreements marked a significant step forward in the field of insurance and pensions.

CURRENT STEELWORKERS' PROGRAM

On October 31, 1949, the Bethlehem Steel Co. agreed to contribute 2½ cents for each hour worked by each employee to an insurance fund, for the purpose of establishing a social-insurance program. The employees agreed to contribute a similar amount. In addition, the parties agreed to certain pension benefits. In essence a basic pension of $100 per month was provided for an employee retiring on or after age 65 with 25 or more years of continuous service. This included his primary social-security benefit. If, however, an employee became totally and permanently disabled before age 65 and had 15 or more years of continuous service he was provided with a disability pension of $50 per month. Operations were then resumed. Within the next few weeks the other major basic steel producers followed this pattern.

We were then confronted with the problem of developing a program of insurance benefits that could be provided by this joint contribution of 5 cents per hour. The programs with the various companies differ to some degree in order to meet different cost factors brought out by differences in age distribution, marital status, sex, geographical location, etc. It is impossible to discuss in detail all our programs involving over 2,000 companies. However, I will describe the benefits provided by our program with the United States Steel Corp. that employs almost 200,000 of our members. It can be considered typical of agreements with our union. These benefits are as follows: Life insurance for employees; sick and accident benefits for employees; hospitalization benefits for employees, their wives, and children; surgical benefits for employees, their wives, and children.

Life insurance is provided on a graduated scale in accordance to the employee's hourly wage rate, but the average amount is $2,500 while the worker is actively employed. Upon retirement his life insurance is reduced to $1,250 and is completely financed by the insurance fund.

Sickness and accident benefits are $26 a week regardless of earnings and are paid for a maximum duration of 26 weeks for each disability. Benefits begin on the first day of an accident and on the eighth day of an illness.

The above benefits are provided through contract with the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States.

Hospitalization benefits are provided through a plan with the Blue Cross called the national 70-day steel plan. This National Steel Plan disregards local variations in Blue Cross benefits and provides a uniform benefit for all of our workers throughout the United States. This plan provides 70 days of semiprivate care for each period of confinement for the worker, his wife, and unmarried children under 19 years of age. It also provides for full payment of the use of operating and delivery rooms, drugs, medicines, dressings, X-rays, and numerous other services commonly referred to as extras. However, it definitely excludes payment for any hospitalization primarily for X-rays, laboratory examinations, or other diagnostic studies.

Surgical benefits are provided for the worker, his wife, and unmarried children under 19 years of age through a uniform surgical fee benefit plan throughout the United States by the Blue Shield. These benefits provide reimbursement for operations up to a maximum of $200.

As I have previously stated, these benefits are typical of those provided throughout the steel industry. However, approximately 50 percent of our workers are provided hospitalization and surgical benefits through commercial-insurance companies. The essential difference, so far as benefit formulas are concerned, is that Blue Cross provides service and benefits, regardless of cost, while the insurance companies provide dollar indemnification up to a fixed amount. Our experience over the past 4 years leads us to conclude that hospitalization as provided by Blue Cross is preferable to that as is provided by commercial-insurance companies.

We chose Blue Shield with the anticipation of developing with that organization a form of service benefits for surgical procedures, so that our members would be guaranteed that doctors would accept the Blue Shield reimbursement as payment in full. So far, we have met with little or no success and we see no major difference between indemnification as practiced by Blue Shield or the commercial-insurance companies.

* * * * *

These insurance programs are administered by the employer. However, our agreements provide for joint committees on insurance and pensions composed of an equal number of representatives of the union and the company. The primary function of the joint committee is periodically to review the operation and administration of these programs in order to make sure that they are

being conducted in the best interest of the employees.

In the conduct of our periodic reviews during this period of 1949 to 1954, we have found it increasingly difficult to finance even these limited benefits. The cost of providing the benefits for the employees of the United States Steel Corp. currently is approximately $9.70 a month per employee, as compared with a cost of $8.30 in 1950. All costs have risen to some extent because of increased utilization of the benefits of the program and because of the progressive aging of the work force, but the most significant increase has been in the cost of providing hospitalization benefits. In 1950 we were able to provide this benefit at a monthly cost of $3.25 per employee. Our current cost is $4.49 per month. We believe these Blue Cross rates have increased more than any other costs, largely because of the increased cost of living from which the general public and hospitals, as well, have suffered. Of course, the addition of new and expensive drugs has added to the costs. Increases in wages and salaries of hospital personnel certainly have added to hospital costs. May I say at this point that I am not being critical of these wage increases since these wages have been unjustifiably low in the first place.

Currently aggravating the problem of increasing cost is the fact that operations in the steel industry have now dropped to 75 percent of capacity. Since this program is partially financed by contributions from the employer per man-hour worked, this curtailment of operations automatically reduces the income available for financing our programs. Therefore, a greater portion of the cost must be borne by the employees.

OUR OBJECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

As for the future, I can best summarize our position on health care by quoting from a speech made by Mr. David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, before the annual conference of Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans, Hollywood, Fla., April 13, 1953:

"We, in the United Steelworkers of America, believe a true prepaid hospital and medical plan is one which provides for the advance collection of premiums to establish a fund from which is paid participants' bills in full, for the range of services covered by the plan. Any time a hospital or surgical bill is only paid in part, I am forcefully reminded by the affected person that he thought the plans we had negotiated were supposed to cover his bill. He is not interested in excuses, theories, or difficulties. He wants to have a prepaid hospital and medical plan as I have defined it, and furthermore, I believe he is entitled to it."

We believe we are entirely justified in calling for an over-all prog.am which will provide early diagnostic and preventive medical care, payment of all medical, dental, drug, and appliance bills, the payment of all hospital bills; substantially increased life insurance and sick and accident benefits; realistic pension benefits for the aged and the permanently disabled; a program of medical care for the retired and unemployed; and the development of a rehabilitation program for the disabled, among other things.

In May 1954, we intend to open contract negotiations with the employers to achieve these justifiable improvements.

As a preliminary step in this direction we are already in the process of conducting our own independent survey of our experiences in this field throughout the various companies with which we have collective bargaining agreements. In addition, we are engaged in joint studies with the major steel producers in order that both parties can be properly informed, so that intelligent and constructive improvements in insurance and pensions can be formulated for consideration in our forthcoming collective bargaining conferences.

In seeking to achieve these aims I regret to say that a chief stumbling block, even more than industry, is the medical profession itself, which is one of the principal financial beneficiaries of our program. Our efforts to secure the assistance of the medical profession in the development of a program of prepaid medical care have been completely unsuccessful. In his speech, to which I have already referred, Mr. David J. McDonald extended the following invitation to the medical profession:

"It is not my desire, nor the desire of the United Steelworkers of America, to change the pattern of medical practice in our country. The great and growing demand of steelworkers, and of all workers, for comprehensive prepayment medical programs gives the medical profession and your organizations the chance to demonstrate the kind of leadership the world today seeks from the United States. Yours is the opportunity to develop within the framework of private practice and freedom of choice for the patient a method by which the burdensome costs of medical care may be met through privately organized prepayment plans."

To this date our only reply has been a deafening silence.

CONCLUSION

The social insurance programs of the United Steelworkers of America and of other unions have helped to remove the burden of large medical bills from many millions of persons and have brought medical and hospital care to many who could not previously individually meet the great costs involved. I feel confident that we shall make further progress toward the goal of fully prepaid medical and hospital care for our members in our forthcoming negotiations.

Notwithstanding the progress which has and will be made, there remain many areas in which progress cannot be made by private efforts. Until the Federal Government takes necessary and appropriate measures many millions of Americans will go without necessary medical care.

There are many groups in America who cannot participate in private medical and hospitalization care programs because it is beyond their means or because such plans are not made available to them at all. People living in rural areas, the indigent, the unemployed, and persons retired are large groups to whom proper and necessary medical care is often denied because no medical or hospital plans are available to them.

When our sixth constitutional convention met in May 1952, there was available a Senate Subcommittee on Health Report which revealed that in 1949 less than 8 percent of the Nation's $9 to $10 billion annual medical care bill was met by voluntary health insurance. At that time only half the American people had some protection against some part of their medical bill. No doubt some improvement has been made in this picture since then, primarily through union-negotiated health and welfare plans.

Our convention urged that Federal insurance be established for older pensioned persons, that expanded Federal aid be given to medical research and to State and local health units. We also recognized that the tremendous cost of educating medical doctors and nurses will continue to prevent any improvement in the present serious shortages until Federal aid is given to medical and nursing education. The convention asked that more generous aid be given for the construction of hospitals and other medical care facilities. It also supported Federal aid for maternal and child health care, for preventive and medical treatment services, and for a mental health program.

The health needs of Americans must be recognized as a social problem requiring appropriate Federal action. As millions of Americans retire on inadequate social-security benefits, the problems of the older citizens become more serious as the years go by. The medical plight of the unemployed is doubly aggravated when high prices press on low unemployment compensation benefits. This is neither a Democratic nor a Republican problem, it is a problem for all Americans and for their Government.

We are proud of the progress we have made. We do not believe we have reached the millenium in this field. We plan to make substantial improvements in our negotiations this year. We intend to cooperate with any private organization interested in this subject of health care. We, steelworkers—and, I'm sure, others even less fortunate—will be grateful to the members of this committee and the Members of Congress for any substantial assistance the Federal Government may provide to supplement our own efforts.

Letter of Appreciation of Education Under the GI Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mr. Louis E. Corsi, to the Senate and the President of the Senate, Vice President NIXON. Mr. Corsi will graduate this June from Western Reserve University. I ask to have his letter printed in the Appendix of the RECORD because of the unusual appreciation shown in the letter by this young man, who is securing his education under the GI bill of rights.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST CLEVELAND, OHIO,
January 12, 1954.

The UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

(Through the President of the Senate, Vice President RICHARD NIXON.)

GENTLEMEN: On February 3 I will graduate from Western Reserve University, receiving my bachelor of arts degree, thus completing study I began in 1938, before the war.

Since the GI bill of rights made this possible, I want to express my gratitude to the American people for this opportunity and am doing so to the Congress as the elected representative of the people, who made this possible for me, and for many others.

The greatest benefit to me from education has come since the war, when my education in a university was made more valuable by maturity gained in the Armed Forces.

These fruitful years were made possible by the GI bill of rights, an opportunity I cannot be fully thankful for, since the generosity of the people, through their Congress, is greater than any thanks can repay.

Without such a bill of rights I would have had to postpone, or (more probable) forego my study for a degree.

This gift is not one that is lost in its use; the habit of education remains. I will continue my education, this time in another institution of learning, and this time at my own expense. Again, the GI bill of rights has made it possible for me to improve my

own financial status so that I can now support my own continued education.

My thanks, gentlemen, to the American people, through you, for this high faith expressed in the veterans of the Nation.

Sincerely,

LOUIS E. CORSI.

Dr. Morris A. Brand, Medical Director, Sidney Hillman Health Center in New York, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the Health Program of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, January 19, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearings to develop a health program, by Dr. Morris A. Brand, medical director of the Sidney Hillman Health Center in New York, is highly important. For 7 years Dr. Brand was acting medical director and associate medical director of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York.

Dr. Brand's statement, outlining the health program of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and making recommendations with regard to Federal action, is as follows:

THE ACWA PRINCIPLES FOR A NATIONWIDE HEALTH PROGRAM

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America at its annual meeting in 1952 reaffirmed the following principles for a nationwide health program it had adopted at its convention in 1950. These principles called for:

1. Establishment of a coordinated and integrated national health program, including national health insurance, which will give all Americans, in health as well as sickness, access to the highest quality of medical care.

2. Aid to the professional schools through grants for training health personnel, including scholarships to students.

3. Aid in the building of hospitals and group medical practice clinics with a minimum of State and local matching funds.

4. Aid for the extension and expansion of State and local public-health services.

5. Aid to maternal and child-health services and expansion of programs for physically handicapped children.

6. Development of a mental-health program to improve our mental hospitals and for the training of psychiatrists and other mental-health personnel.

7. Aid in the understanding and prevention of chronic diseases and in increasing facilities and services for care of the mentally ill.

8. Extension of rehabilitation services to provide aid for those who become disabled each year.

Similar principles for legislative action have been adopted by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Federation of Labor, and the International Association of Machinists. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America adopted these principles because it believes that the unmet health needs of its members reflect those of labor in particular, and the Nation's population in general. And today, in anticipation of its annual meeting in May 1954, the ACWA maintains that a healthier America cannot be hoped for unless the above principles are adopted and implemented.

In 1951 a report by Senator LEHMAN's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare stated that about 50 percent of the population had some form of medical insurance and of this percentage only 3 to 4 percent had comprehensive type of coverage, that 15 percent had hospital insurance benefits, 21 percent had both hospital and surgical insurance, and only 11 percent had hospital, surgical, and some form of limited medical coverage. Last week Dr. Magnuson revised the overall figure when he stated that 90 million Americans are enrolled in some form of voluntary medical or hospital plans. In all probability there has been very little change in the percentage breakdown as given in Senator LEHMAN's report. However, in spite of the fact that 60 percent of the population have insurance coverage, Dr. Magnuson stated that only about 15 percent of private expenditures for medical care is covered by these insurance programs.

Furthermore, the Amalgamated believes that the lack of any positive action in this direction, coupled with the recent trend of government to avoid expenditures in the health field will spell continued hardships to a large number of the people in need of medical care now out of their reach both because of a lack of sufficient facilities and personnel and the ever-rising economic barrier.

The Amalgamated therefore views with some skepticism any stopgap legislation because such measures do not provide the necessary solution to a vital problem.

Although labor has been aware of its unmet medical needs for some time its primary concern was to improve the standards for living. Working hours had to be decreased and wages increased. As the workers unionized to become coherent vocal forces it sought and obtained labor-management grievance machinery, workmen's compensation legislation, child labor laws, unemployment, retirement and social security benefits. Recently the trend in the labor movement is to obtain hospital and medical care benefits not only for the worker, but for the dependents also.

The workers want to provide themselves and their families with a medical security which will make available when needed and unhindered by the spectre of unpredictable high medical costs, the knowledge and skills of the American medical profession. Mr. Louis Hollander, cochairman of the New York Joint Board of the ACWA has said:

"Labor views the whole matter of a worker's health fundamentally as an economic problem. The efficacy of even the most perfectly planned and most perfectely administered system of (industrial) medicine and hygiene is necessarily limited by the economic level of men and women who are potential patients of the (industrial) physician. I need not cite the statistics showing the coincidence of a high rate of mortality and morbidity with a low income level."

LABOR MOVES INTO THE HEALTH FIELD

Deeply aware of and driven by the need for medical care labor has decided that it cannot and must not wait for legislative action and the medical profession to give it a practical solution for its medical care needs. Mr. Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America said:

"Since government is not ready to assume this responsibility . . . (the health of the Nation) * * * then enlightened industry and labor must do for themselves what the Government will not do for them."

Also, Mr. A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, recently stated:

"It appears that labor unions must carry the ball as far as possible and prove by concrete example and experience the necessity for a much more adequate national policy."

Labor is taking such steps as it deems necessary to improve its health status. It has included in its negotiations demands for hospital and medical care benefits for the workers and in some instances obtained coverage for the workers' dependents.

Management has acknowledged that the medical programs to which they are contributing have been instrumental in reducing the amount of illness in workers, decreasing their length and incidence of absenteeism, prolonged the working years of their workers, decreased labor turnover, improved plant efficiency and improved labor-management relationship. Industry agrees that it is a good business practice to provide the workers with health maintenance, health repair and preventive services as well as to their equipment and buildings. The skilled worker is worthy of management's investment in his health. The cost of providing medical care benefits is offset by the lessened demand on community resources and a decrease in costs to the community. This investment has given a good dividend return to the workers, to the industrialists, and to the Nation.

In the last few years that labor has become an organized purchaser and consumer of medical care it has learned that when possible the following features should be incorporated in all medical plans it purchases or establishes:

1. Service: Medical and hospital services, rather than cash indemnification should be a primary feature regardless of the scope of benefits rendered. This permits members to seek medical attention when needed without fear of unpredictable additional costs and without the necessity of an immediate cash outlay to meet the doctors' bills which although reimbursable in part create a large hole in the savings accounts and daily budgets. Studies have shown that most indemnification programs are inadequate, for on the average patients with catastrophic conditions have had to pay about 50 percent of the medical expenses incurred. Thus the financial barrier is dented, but not removed. Labor therefore wants service, not only to avoid the fees above and beyond the indemnification, but also to permit persons to obtain early diagnosis and treatment rather than to wait until such time as the accentuation and multiplication of symptoms and signs of illness force them to seek medical attention. Delayed action because of the lack of sufficient funds to meet the high cost of modern medical care has all the potential destructiveness of a delayed action bomb—it can cause a great deal of damage.

2. Scope: The medical service must include a health maintenance program and preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic services. These should be provided by general physicians and specialists in the home, hospital, or the office. The services should also include dental care, psychotherapy, ambulance services, rehabilitation, social services, and public health nursing. The service should come as close to the meaning of "comprehensive medical care" as is possible.

Medication can be dispensed as part of the benefits or at a marked reduction of cost from a pharmacy in the center. Surgical and orthopedic appliances and eyeglasses can be provided at very reasonable costs by cooperative and nonprofit organizations.

3. Group medical practice: The organization of professional knowledge and skills, equipment, and personnnel in a single facility is in the best interests of both the patients and the physicians. Group practice assures the patients of the integration and coordination of professional opinions and a personal relationship not only with one

physician but a team of physicians: The group physicians derive certain economic, social, and professional benefits inherent in group, but not possible in solo practice.

4. Control of policies: Consumers should have representation on the policy making level. David J. McDonald, president of the United Steel workers of America, recently stated: "In order to succeed, the plans (Blue Shield and Blue Cross) must become community organizations based on wide public representation on your governing boards."

Also, the CIO convention in 1952 included in its resolution the following statement: "We support more effective representation of labor and other consumer groups on the governing boards of voluntary health insurance plans, of hospitals and similar organizations."

Professional policies should be the responsibility of a medical board which may act in an advisory capacity to the board of directors or may be responsible also for the carrying out of the adopted policies.

5. Limitations: There should be no limitation because of preexisting disease or conditions, age, sex, creed, color, number and extent of services in the provision of medical care, whether in the home, center, or hospital. All active and retired members of the union should be eligible and also, if possible, the spouse and unmarried dependent children. Sufficient reserves should be established to provide service during periods of unemployment.

6. The medical staff: The staff should be selected in accordance with professional standards adopted by a medical advisory board.

The physicians' standards of living must not be encroached upon but must be maintained always at a level which will permit them to maintain their dignity and responsibility in their communities. This would include appropriate payment for their services, tenure, and such social insurance benefits which labor enjoys for itself.

7. Quality of medical services: The quality and adequacy of medical care should be under the constant review of the administrative physician and the Medical Board.

These are the fundamentals of a good medical plan. However, since legislative action is remote, labor is attempting to achieve better health either by the purchase of existing medical plans or by establishing its own direct service medical plans. The trend toward the latter is evident from the following:

In St. Louis, the Labor Health Institute provide comprehensive medical care to about 14,000 persons.

In New York City, the ILGWU Union Health Center which has been in existence for 32 years serves 200,000 persons; and in the past 3 years the Sidney Hillman Health Center was opened in the heart of the men's and boys' clothing industry to serve its 40,000 members; the hotel workers opened a center in the midtown area to serve 40,000 members; the Amalgamated Laundry Workers Union is building a center in Manhattan to serve 18,000 members; the Joint Electrical Board, a lithographers' local and a butchers' union have opened centers to provide partial services with the expectation of expanding the scope at later dates.

In Philadelphia there are the ILGWU, the Sidney Hillman Medical Center, and the A. F. of L. union centers serving about 50,000 members.

In Chicago the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' and the Janitors' Union are opening centers to serve about 18,000 members.

The San Francisco Labor Council of the A. F. of L. is surveying the needs of its members with the hope of organizing a direct medical service program in one or more centers.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Rochester, Los Angeles, and Allentown, Pa., have also taken steps to determine ways of organizing medical service.

The United Mine Workers' hospital and medical program is making great progress.

There are many other medical centers throughout the country serving union members. All of these are manifestations of labor's restiveness with the lack of a proper solution to its unmet health needs. Labor has established many of their programs as expedient measures with the hope that they will be supplanted or integrated in a national comprehensive health plan.

THE SIDNEY HILLMAN HEALTH CENTER OF NEW YORK

As an example of what can be accomplished, the experiences of the Sidney Hillman Health Center in New York City will be cited. The center has been open for service since April 1951. It provides the following services in the center only: Allergy; cardiology; chest; clinical laboratory; dermatology; diabetes; electrocardiography; gastroenterology; general medicine; general surgery; gynecology; internal medicine; neurology; ophthalmology; orthopedics; otolaryngology; peripheral-vascular; physical medicine and rehabilitation; proctology; psychiatry (diagnosis only); radiology: diagnostic, superficial therapy, deep therapy; social hygiene; urology.

A staff of 24 general physicians and 50 qualified specialists plus qualified technical assistants, registered nurses and therapists have provided the following services for the 32-month period ending December 31, 1953: 18,959 members used the services; 87,691 services by general physicians (including health examinations, emergency care and revisits); 106,072 services by specialists; 15,603 radiographic examinations; 142,958 laboratory procedures; 39,310 physical and rehabilitative treatments; 9,561 other therapeutic services provided by paramedical personnel; 86,611 prescriptions dispensed in the center at cost of pharmaceutical plus the container.

The costs of the services in the center are borne both by the members and the employers.

The above impressive record of services rendered in the Sidney Hillman Health Center of New York is paralleled in the other labor-management sponsored medical centers.

This humanitarian activity can neither be weighed nor measured, but the labor leaders and industrialists who have been instrumental in making these services possible are more than rewarded when they witness the number of members who avail themselves of services which are there as a matter of earned right and are provided in modern centers on a personal level in a pleasant atmosphere and surroundings far removed from the outdated cheerless outpatient departments many have been forced to use in the past. Rarely is there a union member who does not voice his or her appreciation for a degree of medical security which otherwise they could not begin to purchase.

At the first anniversary of the Sidney Hillman Health Center, Mr. Isidore Grossman, president of the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange, said:

"The ill face their lot with erect self-respect knowing that they will receive the best that medical service can provide and that is their due. I am glad to have lived and witnessed this change, and to have participated, to a slight degree, in forwarding such a progressive step."

Since home and hospital care are not included in its services the center provides physicians who provide home and occasional office care to the members with diagnostic procedures and consultations they may need to assist them in the care of members outside the center.

In addition, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America includes in its Nationwide social-insurance program hospital, surgical, and maternity benefits, life insurance, sickness disability, and retirement benefits.

There is one more interesting aspect to this direct action program and that is the research programs. Labor, like industry, believes that it has a responsibility not only to its members, but to the community in general. At the Sidney Hillman Health Center in New York City $250,000 was allocated to a research fund and the Sidney Hillman Foundation added another $50,000. At the present time a study is being made in the center by a special research team of the relationship of diet and ethnic background to the development of arteriosclerosis. Another research program is in progress at the Philadelphia Sidney Hillman Medical Center and a special study is in progress at the Hotel Workers Center in New York.

Labor's interest in this field of direct medical service plans has made it aware of the need to establish a central agency which would collect and maintain information from existing plans on a current basis and analyze the statistics and other pertinent information, recommend the establishment of uniformity in cost and service accounting, make the information available to interested persons and also perhaps provide actual assistance toward the organization and establishment of plans and facilities. At a meeting of union officers and administrators of labor and management direct service programs in 1952 a committee was appointed to draft the bylaws for an organization which will have for its functions the above-mentioned purposes. It is expected that by making such information available to labor-management health and welfare trustees and to the administrators of medical care plans it will demonstrate the feasibility and practicability of direct service plans, indicate how the consumer dollar can be used most efficiently, and provide a forum for discussion of problems encountered in the operation of their programs.

The Sidney Hillman Health Centers of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, and the Amalgamated Laundry Workers Center and all the other programs mentioned are part of a significant movement which seems to be gaining momentum. The attack on the health problem will not wait for legislators or organized medicine to join with labor, the consumer. Dr. Allan Gregg of the Rockefeller Foundation wrote:

"One of the most heartening and to me significant forces influencing the practice of medicine today is the intelligence and the conviction with which health is being helped by the labor unions."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

The Federal Government can be of further assistance in this progressive movement:

1. By passing legislation which will provide loans to labor-management health and welfare funds, to consumer sponsored plans, hospitals, and other nonprofit organizations for the establishment of group practice medical centers.

2. By urging the repeal of State laws which have been obstructing the establishment of nonprofit consumer sponsored group practice medical plans.

3. By taking appropriate action to convince the officers and leaders in the medical profession to cease their constant and more recently accelerated campaign of harrassment of voluntary medical insurance plans sponsored by consumer groups.

4. By establishing a method of providing funds to purchase from existing community nonprofit plans prepaid comprehensive medical and hospitalization services for the unemployed workers and their families.

5. By making grants to schools so that sufficient physicians, dentists, and other professional and technical personnel could be trained.

6. By increasing the facilities to provide medical and rehabilitative services to persons with mental and chronic ailments.

7. By establishing a coordinated and integrated national health insurance program.

A vigorous health minded legislative program is a positive preventive measure which will result in a vigorous healthy America.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials and a letter to the editor of the Harrisburg Evening News, as follows:

An editorial entitled "Seaway Is Weak Defense, No Economy," which was published in the Philadephia Inquirer on January 9, 1954.

An editorial entitled "Plugs for Seaway," published in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News on December 28, 1953.

A letter from Edward T. Moore, consulting engineer of the General State Authority, of Pennsylvania. The letter was addressed by him to the editor of the Harrisburg Evening News, and was published in the January 13, 1954, issue of that newspaper, under the headline "St. Lawrence Plan Seen Visionary."

There being no objection, the editorials and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 9, 1954]

SEAWAY IS WEAK DEFENSE, NO ECONOMY

Because we subscribe wholeheartedly to the broad principles in President Eisenhower's state of the Union message to Congress does not, of course, mean that we say "yes" to every recommendation he makes.

To put it bluntly, we think the President has been sold a bill of goods on the St. Lawrence seaway, and we hope Congress will save his administration from making the serious mistake of spending billions on that boondoggle.

Mr. Eisenhower supports the seaway for security as well as for economic reasons. He does not go into detail on those reasons, but we believe he has been badly misinformed concerning this proposal, which, the facts show, would promote neither our defense nor our economy.

Let's first look at the economic facts. The United States Army engineers, in 1948, estimated that the St. Lawrence seaway, at that time, would cost over $800 million for a 27-foot channel, and over $1¾ billion for a 35-foot channel. This did not include the cost of deepening harbors, dredging harbor approaches and dock construction. Obviously, all those costs would be much higher today than in 1948.

There is a second set of economic facts. The St. Lawrence seaway is purposely designed to divert shipping from east-coast ports, including Philadelphia. It is frankly intended to benefit another section of the country at our expense. It is admitted that if the hopes of seaway backers are realized, millions in the eastern Atlantic States will find their commerce, industry, and livelihoods undermined.

Easterners have been called selfish for objecting to that. But if there is any motive more selfish than a proposal to tax the whole country for a seaway of limited benefit to a limited area, then we don't know what it is.

In short, the seaway is not only costly and uneconomic in itself, but one of its avowed goals is to undermine the economy of one of the largest taxpaying areas of the Nation.

We will be told that all this is outweighed by the value of the seaway to national defense.

Let's look at the facts here, too. Let's consider, first, a fact which the most ardent seaway propagandists do not deny—that the seaway will be icebound, frozen up, out of business for at least 4 or 5 months of each year.

Its construction calls for several dozen locks, all of which would be vulnerable targets for a bombing mission, and any one of which, disabled, would shut down much of the seaway for an indefinite period.

Finally, as to the argument that the seaway is needed to transport iron ore from Labrador and Venezuela, ore shipments over the long and tortuous route would be highly vulnerable in wartime; and that very slow haul would, again in wartime, probably force use of faster and better protected means of transport not only for ore but for all defense shipping in the St. Lawrence area.

Now suppose a defense emergency does not arise in warm weather. Suppose it arises in winter. Then the seaway would be as useless as a fifth wheel on on a two-wheeler bike.

That's why we believe the President has been misinformed. To cut expenditures for our armed services on one hand, and spend billions for a vulnerable seaway is a concept of defense mighty difficult to understand save in the light of political pressure from Midwest politicians.

Above all, it is difficut to see how the proposal to spend vast sums on the seaway can be reconciled with the administration's tax and economy policies.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-News of December 28, 1953]

PLUGS FOR SEAWAY

The National Geographic Society has prepared a new map of the Great Lakes, pointing out that these bodies constitute about a third of the earth's sweetwater and nearly a third of the United States population is in the area, including 3 of the Nations 7 largest cities.

This is one of several plugs that have appeared in recent weeks. Maybe we are unduly suspicious or sensitive, but this emphasis on the importance of the Great Lakes seems to be more than coincidence. With a new drive for the St. Lawrence seaway due at the session of Congress opening next month, could it be part of the buildup to soften opposition?

Advocates of the seaway have tried just about everything legitimate and illegitimate to foist the seaway on the American people. It has been misrepresented as a war project and as a peacetime necessity. Its proponents hope with the strength of the new administration behind it the scheme will be forced through Congress and the United States taxpayers will be saddled with the costs at a time when economy is supposed to be practiced.

We are told the Great Lakes, in all likelihood, can be seen from the moon. The St. Lawrence seaway can be seen from the anthracite region as a fraud on the American people.

[From the Harrisburg (Pa.) Evening News of January 13, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE PLAN SEEN VISIONARY

EDITOR: Referring to your editorial of January 9 stating: "Although Pennsylvania does not have immediate interest in the controversial St. Lawrence seaway * * *," since when has Pennsylvania ceased having an abiding interest in this project? Since when has Pennsylvania ceased relinquishing its efforts to defeat this visionary monstrosity?

All of the great ports of the eastern seaboard, most of the chambers of commerce, the coal industry, the railroads, and a host of others are vigorously opposed and the writer has repeatedly appeared before committees of Congress in opposition. This can be verfied from the record. My reasons for opposing this project after studying the matter for over 25 years are:

1. The estimated cost of the seaway and power project is $818 million. However, this does not include the cost of deepening harbors on the Great Lakes, providing turning basins, rock excavation of which there would be an immense amount, or enlarging the capacity of the present Welland Canal. These considerations plus rising costs of labor and material, plus increasing the proposed 27-foot depth of channel to a more adequate one of 30 to 35 feet will cost over $2 billion. Remember, a 27-foot channel would only permit entrance to less than 10 percent of American flag ships while permitting entrance to 95 percent of foreign flag ships.

2. Revenue derived from tolls and electric power will not be sufficient to carry the annual charges, for the reason that the tonnage capacity of the seaway and therefore the income to be derived from traffic is limited by the capacity of the present Welland Canal—not more than 25 million tons per annum. The project is financially unsound and a distinct liability.

3. The seaway can never be considered as a military asset, for it would be extremely vulnerable, besides being a vast and difficult area to defend.

4. As a direct public-works program to bolster unemployment, it might be stated that public works are notoriously slow as a contracyclical device. Projects sponsored early by the New Deal were not fully effective until 1936, or well after the depression had touched bottom.

Indeed, we opponents will continue our efforts to defeat this project for there is no sound basis—either financial, economic, engineering, industrial, or commercial—on which to promulgate legislation leading to the construction of the seaway. There is no solid basis for supposing that the St. Lawrence seaway and power project would result in any overall economies whatever.—Edward T. Moore, consulting engineer, general State authority.

A Coffeeless Wednesday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there is considerable talk about the high price of coffee. I think we are all concerned about it. I know that the workingmen in my district are deeply concerned and they are demanding a

good cup of coffee for 5 cents and it should be available to them at that price.

The question seems to be, What can we do about it? I think we can do something about it. We do not want to return to Government price controls again but if the people will voluntarily refrain from using coffee for 1 day a week, supply and demand will compel a reduction in the price of coffee.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to propose that the people of this country voluntarily agree not to use coffee on Wednesday of each week. My plan is, therefore, a coffeeless Wednesday. If we do that, good coffee will be available at reasonable prices.

Joseph W. Childs, Vice President, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, CIO, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on His Union's Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, January 19, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. Joseph W. Childs, vice president of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, CIO, is highly important. Mr. Childs worked practically all of his life in the rubber industry. For a term of 2 years he served as a member of the Akron city council. He is now vice president of the United Rubber Workers of America and a member of the executive board of the Congress of Industrial organizations.

Mr. Childs' statement, outlining the health program of his union, is as follows:

My name is Joseph W. Childs. I am vice president of the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum, and Plastic Workers of America, CIO. Our organization is the collective-bargaining agent for approximately 200,000 people in the rubber and several allied industries. These workers are organized into 330 locals in 32 States and 2 Provinces of Canada.

I want to express my appreciation to the committee for the opportunity to present the views of our organization on voluntary health programs. We feel this is a subject of great importance not only to the workers who are represented by our organization but to all citizens.

We have been dealing with the problem of voluntary health protection for a number of years. It is our hope that the experience which I will relate to the committee will help in formulating legislation that will contribute to a fuller and more adequate program of voluntary health protection for all Americans.

I. EXTENT OF COVERAGE

Before April of 1953 the vast majority of our members were covered by health programs which provided for the payment of $7 to $9 a day for a hospital room for 31 days, $70 to $90 for miscellaneous hospital expenses, and a maximum of $150 in surgical benefits. These programs were financed, for the most part, by the employees.

For years we had recognized that these benefits were far too meager to provide adequate protection against hospital and surgical bills. In our negotiations from 1947 on, we stressed improving hospital and medical protection.

On the basis of spot checks, we found the hospitalization insurance, at best, covered only 50 percent of the bill. Also, surgical benefits covered approximately 60 percent of surgical charges.

Need for higher wages, pensions, and the improvement of other economic conditions absorbed the total money settlements we were able to win from 1947 to 1952. Thousands of our members who had experiences with the inadequacies of health programs urged the negotiating teams in 1953 to emphasize substantial improvement in the hospital and medical insurance programs.

In April of 1953, we won an entirely new program from the United States Rubber Co. on hospital and surgical coverage. That company was not obligated to bargain on these issues at that particular time, but to its credit, it voluntarily negotiated improvement in these programs.

Under the agreement reached, all employees and their dependents receive 120 days of hospital care in a semiprivate room plus full payment of all hospital charges. A second part of the program provides for a $3 allowance for medical visits while an employee or his dependent is confined to a hospital. A surgical schedule was adopted providing for a maximum fee allowance of $250. The surgical schedule was arrived at through a study of the surgical schedules which medical societies in 27 States have adopted under Blue Shield arrangements. These are accepted as full payment schedules for individuals within certain income brackets. The full cost of this protection was underwritten by the United States Rubber Co.

Generally, this program was the pattern for the other rubber companies with whom we bargained during the remaining months of 1953.

In summary, coverage for hospitalization, surgical, and medical expenses for our organization is as follows:

(a) One hundred thirty-five thousand employees in the rubber and allied industries in the United States now have insurance which provides semiprivate room accommodations for 120 days, a $250 surgical schedule, and $3 daily in-hospital medical visit program. The total number of people covered by this program amounts to approximately 450,000 when the number of dependents are included.

(b) The remaining members of our organization in almost every case do have some form of hospital, surgical, and medical protection. For this group, protection still is far from adequate. As contracts covering these members reopen, we will attempt to negotiate the same program we have gained for about 70 percent of our members.

(c) Approximately 100,000 of the group under (a) above also receive up to $70 for X-rays outside of a hospital for diagnostic purposes.

The cost of the programs covering the 135,000 workers and their families comes to about $8.50 per employee per month, or approximately $100 per employee per year. In other words, the rubber companies which have placed this program into effect are paying approximately $13.5 million annually for the protection for employees and their dependents.

The cost of the protection for those members who have the less adequate type of program is naturally far smaller. Overall, the average cost for the more limited programs amounts to about $40 to $50 per employee per year.

II. MEDICAL PROTECTION AGAINST MAJOR ILLNESS

We are very proud of these full hospitalization and surgical programs. We recognize that they do not cover serious medical expenses, especially when an employee is not confined to a hospital. If an employee were hospitalized, our programs would cover expenses no matter how high, for 120 days. Beyond that period, unless an employee had a complete recovery, and was later readmitted, he would receive no further benefits from our programs.

I would like to say one word at this time, and I will elaborate further on it in my statement, that the emphasis on protection against major medical and surgical expenses, we feel, is somewhat misplaced. Many such expenses arise from illnesses and diseases which, if detected in their early stages, would not have the chance to develop into serious cases. I am thnking especially of the early detection of such diseases as cancer, diabetes, heart conditions, and other such chronic illnesses. Money spent for insurance against major medical and surgical expenses is money spent to cure a condition that might have been prevented if diagnostic care were available.

In most of the forms of such catastrophe insurance which I have seen, the insurance companies have insisted that the individual pay a percentage of the total bill. Even where the percentage seems small—for example, 25 percent, the burden upon the individual becomes far too severe when the total bill runs into the thousands.

But even if this aspect of the insurance could be remedied, it still seems to us that a more sensible use of the money needed for castrostrophe insurance would be for a well-integrated health program including early diagnostic care.

III. ARRANGEMENTS WITH DOCTORS AND HOSPITALS

Relationships with doctors and hospitals have not been good. In Akron there are about 50,000 rubber workers who, with their families, make up a group of somewhat over 150,000 persons out of a total population of about 275,000. We have had a number of meetings with the medical society there. All attempts to come to an agreement with the executive council of that society on a surgical schedule which would be accepted as a full payment schedule failed.

We were willing to have surgical allowances paid directly to the doctors if the doctors were willing to accept the fees as full payment for services performed. You will note that in an early part of my statement I mentioned that the $250 surgical fee schedule we developed during our negotiations was as high or higher than those schedules accepted as full payment by doctors in 27 other States for persons within certain income brackets. Unfortunately, the Ohio State Medical Association has consistently refused to adopt any such schedule.

Under our programs, workers are permitted to choose any surgeon. We know that a number of surgeons are charging no more than is specified in the schedule. On the other hand, just as under the $150 schedules, and the $200 schedules, there is a large majority of surgeons who now charge over and above the amount provided by the $250 coverage. Thus, increasing the surgical allowances has not benefited the employee concerned. In other words, a $150 operations schedule left an employee with a $25 to $50 doctor bill; a $200 schedule still left a $25 to $50 bill. We now find the $250 surgical schedule still falls short by upwards of $25. Even in some localities where a $300 schedule was effected, doctor bills are greater than the schedule provides.

Apparently, what we have been doing in the past several years by increasing surgical

fee allowances is raising medical incomes and not increasing protection for our members.

We recognize that this has important implications for those in the community who do not have insurance against surgical expenses.

In contrast, we are encouraged by those medical societies which are revamping their practices. They are adopting service programs, both for operations and in a number of cases, for home and office visits.

We are also impressed and encouraged by what physicians in Canada have agreed to do. The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. in Canada, where we represent the employees, has just agreed to a new type of health program incorporating some of the improvements I have discussed above. Interestingly enough, the Ontario medical societies have formed an organization known as the Physicians' Service, Inc., a nonprofit, provincewide organization as a method of bringing medical, surgical, and obstetrical service to the people of the province on a low-cost, monthly prepayment basis.

In short, the doctors in Ontario have agreed to a complete service plan. Under this program for a fixed monthly premium, the individual can merely present his identification card to any participating medical practitioner, who then sends his statement directly to Physicians' Service, Inc. Benefits under that program are very comprehensive, indeed. They include the personal services of a doctor in the office, home, or hospital; they include diagnosis; medical care for illness; consultation; all surgical operations, and a wide variety of other medical care.

Under our health programs, most of which are written with insurance companies, money for hospital expenses may be paid directly to the patient. Experience has shown that most members assign the benefits to the hospital directly.

There have been a number of problems in our relationships with the hospitals. In Akron there is not one single representative from labor on any of the hospital boards of trustees. These boards exercise all policy-making decisions, and yet the largest group for whom they make such decisions have no representation.

We recognize that gaining representation on hospital boards is our problem, but we would like to note the freezing out of labor representation that has taken place in the Akron area as typical of the attitude we have encountered on the part of many hospitals in most communities where we have members.

Another aspect of hospitalization coverage which is quite disturbing to us is the constant increase in hospital charges. Though our members are now insured full payment for a semiprivate room and all other expenses incurred while in the hospital, we still feel a strong responsibility to the community in seeing to it that hospital charges are kept reasonable for everyone.

In the past, as hospital rates were increased, workers were required to purchase additional insurance to help cover their hospital bills. The underwriters of this hospital insurance, both private companies and Blue Cross, were unable and/or unwilling to check this upward spiraling of room rates.

Actually, higher room rates meant higher premiums and thus higher total income for the carriers.

I have been told that what has been happening to hospital rates in Akron is not unusual. In the four main hospitals, semiprivate room rates have increased tremendously. In April 1949, the average semiprivate room charge was $9 to $10 a day. Today, the semiprivate rooms average from $15.50 to $18 a day. Thus, in less than 5 years, semiprivate rooms in Akron have increased a minimum of 55 percent, and in some cases, as much as 100 percent.

Even taking the comparison with early 1951, the increase has been quite substantial. At that time, semiprivate rooms ranged from $12.50 to a high of $14.50. The January 1954 rates show an increase of a minimum of 10 percent to 25 percent. Comparable figures for increases in ward and private room accommodations can also be cited.

In the following short table, we have shown the increase in the rates for hospital rooms in the Akron area from April 1949, to January 1954:

Akron hospital-room rates from April 1949 to January 1954

	Ward	Semi-private	Private
Children's Hospital:			
April 1949	$8.00	$9.50	$11.50–$13.00
March 1951	12.50	14.00	17.50– 19.00
January 1954	14.00	15.50	20.50
Peoples Hospital:			
April 1949	7.00	10.00	11.00– 14.50
April 1951	9.50	12.50	14.00– 17.00
January 1954	12.50	15.50	16.00– 24.00
City Hospital:			
April 1949	7.50	10.50	16.00
January 1951	10.50	14.00	19.00
January 1954	14.00	17.00	20.00
St. Thomas Hospital:			
April 1949	7.25	9.00	11.00
August 1951	12.00	12.00	15.50
January 1954	14.00	18.00	22.00

We recognize that some of these increases are made necessary by factors over which the hospitals have no control. On the other hand, we cannot but wonder when we see hospitals substantially increasing their rates for certain services immediately after such services have been covered by newly written insurance programs. In Akron, in 1948, there was a nursery charge of $1 a day for the newborn baby. In the early part of 1951 that fee was raised to $3. Shortly thereafter, the Blue Cross hospitalization programs were in process of being revised to cover nursery care (effective September 1, 1951). Within a few months of that announced change on the part of Blue Cross coverage, nursery care rates were raised to $5 a day, and by the end of 1952 they were raised still further to $7 a day.

Similarly, as more and more people were covered by more comprehensive programs, as the table on hospital charges indicates, rates continued to move up. Perhaps this was merely coincidence, but there is a growing feeling among many of our members that any increase in hospital benefits merely results shortly thereafter in an increase in hospital rates.

Besides the actual room rate that is charged, a look should also be taken at the miscellaneous charges. In Akron, for example, we found that where the daily hospital room rates were somewhat lower in one hospital as compared to another, the miscellaneous charges for drugs, etc., were somewhat higher. The total charges made by the hospitals per day were very, very similar, comparing one hospital to another even though the daily room charges might have varied. (We were fortunate to get such data from one of the largest hospitalization programs in effect in the Akron area, which had received from all the hospitals information on both the average daily room rates as well as the average daily hospital charges over and above the room rate.)

Accurate cost figures of hospital administration are not published by Akron area hospitals, though these organizations are, in a sense, community bodies. They are all supposedly nonprofit organizations and, in theory, at least, devoted to serving the needs of the citizens. However, a few years ago, the head of one of the largest groups in the Akron area covered by hospitalization insurance had this to say about the way hospitals were being run:

"Hospitals have continued to take advantage of the changes we have made in our benefit programs for people who are hospitalized. The hospitals have lost the common touch they once had. They have lost the main purpose for which they were once organized. Instead of being organizations of mercy dedicated to helping the people of the community they have, more and more, turned their atention to becoming high profitmaking institutions."

Certainly, it is not too much to expect that hospitals have their records audited and made public so that the community can have any doubts cleared concerning financial aspects of hospital administration.

IV. SOME OF THE GAPS WE SEE IN VOLUNTARY HEALTH PROGRAMS

From our experience, we are convinced there are some major weaknesses in voluntary health programs as they now exist.

(a) Perhaps the biggest failing in these programs is that they do not cover most medical expenses. At present insurance for either home or office medical visits is either not available or is far too expensive.

We know that our program, advanced as it is, pays only 50 percent of our members' medical bills.

No program which does not permit rather extensive diagnostic and preventive medical treatment can meet the major medical expenses that an individual is sure to incur.

A typical example of some out-patient care and therapy came to our attention recently. There are 30 treatments required in this cancer case which are then stopped for 30 days, and then another series of 30 treatments is needed. The cost of each series of 30 treatments is $250. Thus, within the 3-month period, this member of our union will be faced with a $500 medical bill which in no way is covered by our programs. This is the more spectacular kind of expense. There are the countless small items of office visits and home calls for a worker and his family which amount up to considerable sums each year.

(b) Continuity of coverage after employees have been separated from the company is another problem faced in voluntary health insurance. In the past year 20,000 rubber workers lost their jobs. Many of these workers had protection against hospital and medical expenses under our programs. After a short period of layoff, their health insurance ended. To be protected, they are compelled to buy individual hospital and medical insurance for themselves and their families on an individual policy basis, which is far more expensve than under the group arrangements. Much of the same holds true for thousands of workers who retire each year from American industry.

(c) Under voluntary health programs there is practically no control over hospital rates. These rates have been soaring upward rapidly since 1946. In order for a worker to maintain the same degree of protection, he is compelled to pay larger premiums each time hospital rates are increased.

(d) Much of what I have noted above with respect to hospital charges holds true for doctors' fees. Under voluntary health programs now in effect, unless doctors have agreed to service schedules, experience has shown that their fees have increased sharply which has again caused people to pay greater premiums without receiving the benefits of additional protection.

(e) The constant upward adjustments of both hospital rates and health insurance premiums is particularly harmful to those persons on fixed incomes. Moreover, as hospital charges and premiums have increased, those who are not covered are harmed to a far greater degree than those with some coverage.

(f) Another glaring fault in voluntary health programs is the reluctance of private

carriers to write service plan protection. It is our information that the coverage offered in the URW health program is among the first such underwritten by private carriers.

(g) We have been very impressed by what some organizations have been able to do in the way of providing health care on a completely integrated basis. A complete health plan is operated by the Endicott-Johnson Co. in Binghamton, Johnson City, and Endicott, N. Y. A mention of this program in the book, Doctors, People, and Government, by Dr. James Howard Means, points to a cost to the company for a complete health service for the year 1950 of $116.80 per worker. There are no restrictions as to the kind of disease or type of service that is provided. All the people covered by the program—approximately 50,000—are treated for any and all types of illnesses (pp. 132, 133).

A somewhat similar type program is operated on the west coast by Kaiser Foundation health program. I note in the New York Times' report, January 12, 1954, on Mr. Kaiser's testimony before this committee that he put forth in some detail the benefits under that program. Basically, those programs are similar to the ones we have negotiated most recently, with the important addition that all workers have complete outpatient care and that all bills are paid in full, both hospitalization and medical.

It is interesting to note that the cost per year for an average group of employed workers would come to somewhat less than $100 a year. I am sure comparable figures might be advanced for other groups that have similar programs throughout the country.

What impresses us is that the rubber companies are also spending approximately $100 per year per employee. The rubber companies' coverage is definitely limited to hospitalization, surgical, and in-hospital medical expenses. Might not these sums of money be sufficient to support a well-integrated health program if organized along the lines of some of the successful integrated plans, such as the Kaiser Foundation health plan and other programs.

At this time those integrated health facilities are not available in many of the areas which we have bargaining rights, and in their absence we are forced to go along with those voluntary health protection programs which are available. But these other integrated programs, with comparable costs for far greater service, do serve to throw some question on the form, the coverage, and the method of operation of the vast majority of the voluntary health programs written by insurance companies today.

These more prevalent types of programs might well look toward the integrated health programs, techniques, and administration, and seriously consider ways to revise their own programs to provide the well-integrated health protection that Americans need and deserve at reasonable rates, without increasing costs.

Endorsement of Senator Kennedy's Stand on the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the Woonsocket Call of January 16 of this year. The Call is an influential newspaper in the northern part of my State, and is in support and praise of the speech made recently on the floor of the Senate by my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], his speech being in support of the St. Lawrence seaway plan.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COURAGE OF CONVICTION

For the past 20 years no Member of Congress from Massachusetts ever took a stand on the proposed St. Lawrence seaway except to oppose it. The project has been fought for that length of time by the port of Boston interests for fear that New England in general, and Boston in particular, would suffer. Since then, Canada has given broad hints that she will go ahead with the project regardless of what the United States does.

That is one reason why Massachusetts Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY became the first Member of Congress from the Bay State to stand up and be counted in favor of the St. Lawrence project. He wants to be sure that the United States is going to be in on the proposal since it's going through anyway. And he insists the loss to the port of Boston will be negligible.

Senator KENNEDY has more than once given evidence that he is a practical thinker. In favoring the St. Lawrence seaway he has shattered a Massachusetts tradition. For many years the St. Lawrence seaway has been anathema to Atlantic ports, and particularly to Boston, and for that reason opposition to it has been traditional among Massachusetts Members of Congress.

But Senator KENNEDY bolsters his decision with documented logic. He notes among 17 reasons for supporting the seaway, that the evidence is conclusive that Canada will build it anyway, regardless of the action taken in this country; that the loss of trade to the port of Boston would, at most, be negligible and that railroads might even gain in traffic if the seaway were built.

One striking point that the Senator makes is this:

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation in the construction of this project for the national security merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere, I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas."

We know of the opposition of the South and West to plans for channeling defense contracts to economically distressed areas hereabouts. No doubt Mr. KENNEDY, was referring to this. He, himself, is opposed to provincialism and gives evidence that he puts the needs of the Nation ahead of the needs of one area.

It's too bad more Members of Congress don't adopt that same view.

An Integrated Supply System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of Defense:

JANUARY 19, 1954.

Hon. CHARLES E. WILSON,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: My great interest in the O'Mahoney amendment to the Department of Defense Appropriation Act of 1953, which is now the law, will naturally be understood.

I would appreciate very much your office advising me what has been done in the way of implementing section 638, to bring about an integrated supply system as indicated by the Senate Report 1861. I shall place this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and your reply when it is received.

Thanking you for your usual prompt attention and with high esteem, I am

Sincerely,

HERBERT C. BONNER.

James Brindle, Acting Director, Social Security Department, United Automobile Workers of America, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Developing a Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, January 19, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. James Brindle, acting director of the social security department, United Automobile Workers of America, is highly important. Mr. Brindle has an extensive background of public welfare administration in the State of Pennsylvania. He has been active in the American Public Health Association and the American Public Welfare Association, and was chairman of the medical care committee of the latter organization. He is now acting director of the social security department of the United Automobile Workers. His department advises the officers, directors and local unions on negotiated pension and health security programs.

Mr. Brindle's statement, outlining the needs for a health program, is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, my name is James Brindle. I am acting director of the social security department of the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO.

Labor's interest in developing better health protection for workers dates back to the very beginnings of American trade unions. The earliest programs were cash income arrangements to help tide workers over during periods of illness. Unions were also concerned over problems of job-connected illness and sought the provision of medical care for these disabilities.

Labor knew there was need for more than minimum income during sickness, but there were no programs which provided comprehensive health care. To fill this gap, a few unions began to operate their own health facilities. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union established its health center

in 1912. Shortly afterwards the Amalgamated Clothing Workers also established health centers.

Commercial insurance companies did not begin to write health and accident policies until 1921. It was another decade before the prepayment principle was utilized for hospital and medical-surgical benefits, and only in the last 10 years has such protection for dependents become commonly available.

Not until the depression of the 1930's did unions become generally aware of the magnitude of the problem and of the inability of the individual worker to meet the hazards of illness. Up to this point labor had little interest in Government programs—but the shock of the great depression provided the necessary impetus to reverse this position. From that time on, labor leadership began in earnest to explore the possibility of health programs through governmental actions. But with the reluctance of Congress to assume responsibility for comprehensive social security, including health insurance, it is not surprising that unions felt it necessary to seek health protection at the collective bargaining table.

It was natural for unions to become concerned over the ever-present threat of unpredictable and often disastrous medical and hospital expenses. Long ago labor realized the futility of attempting to meet this problem by "passing the hat" for unfortunate members and the inhumanity of permitting the afflicted to bear the burden alone. Prepaid hospital-medical care has become a key feature of collective bargaining. The responsibility of employers for health security has been established; under numerous collective bargaining contracts, employers either pay for completely or make substantial contributions toward health protection.

Throughout the country, the Health Insurance Council recently reported, some 91.7 million persons had protection from hospitalization insurance in 1952; 73 million had surgical protection; and 36 million had medical expense protection. These are indeed impressive figures on coverage. But what do they mean in terms of the real problem we are here to discuss today? Is it enough to say that 3 out of 5 have hospital insurance and that we are therefore making great progress in this area? We think not. These figures simply show the phenomenal growth which has taken place in health insurance in the last decade: only 16 million persons had hospitalization insurance in 1941. Under collective bargaining programs, in 1948, 3 million persons had some health protection; today, 10 million workers and their families have it. This growth demonstrates that the American people are interested in and are willing to spend substantial sums for assurance that when they are hit by illness they will get care and will be protected against large financial outlays.

But we must evaluate what these people have in the way of protection. The report of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation last year stated that prepayment programs in this country cover only 15 percent of all nongovernmental expenditures for medical care. Some attack the use of this 15-percent figure, saying that it includes such items as toothpaste and embraces other unimportant or uninsurable items—but even if we rule out items for which the need of a prepayment health program is questionable—there are still vast gaps in prepaid health protection. Where are we falling short? To find this out we look at the levels of prepaid protection available today in most communities. Since I am most familiar with our own program, I will describe the health features of the UAW-CIO's social security program, and then examine how our programs fall short of the needed level of protection.

Today over a million workers and over two million dependents are covered by health programs negotiated by the UAW-CIO. Each month last year workers and their dependents received more than $10 million in benefits. The total exceeded $150 million in 1953. In 1949 and 1950, when these programs were conceived, the UAW explored the kinds of arrangements which could be made through both nonprofit prepayment and commercial insurance plans. Where available, the union chose hospitalization plans which pay for specified services in full. Substantial progress has been made in lifting some of the barriers to health security, at least so far as hospital care is concerned. Today, the majority of UAW families in Michigan are entitled to full payment of their hospital bills for as many as 120 days. In other industrial States we can get roughly similar service benefits, though there are still many areas where available benefits fall short of full coverage for hospitalization, and where hospitalization benefits are still available only on a cash indemnity basis with relatively low limits.

The union has found that in very few communities are there plans under which the full range of necessary and insurable surgical-medical services can be secured on a prepayment basis. The exceptions—the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, the Kaiser Health Foundation in California, and a few other plans—are noteworthy exceptions to this generalization. In Michigan, virtually all auto workers who are covered under commercial surgical-medical plans and Blue Shield are covered only by cash indemnity allowance for medical services. Prepaid surgical-medical plans, on the whole, have chosen to cover risks which are most easily insured, rather than those which reflect the most urgent need for health services.

Most Blue Shield plans have a straight cash indemnity program like commercial insurers. A few provide income ceiling plans, whereby subscribers with annual incomes under a specified ceiling are assured that the fee paid by the insurer will be accepted by the physician as full payment of his bill. In Michigan, for example, physicians participate in the Blue Shield plan by agreeing to accept the Blue Shield payment in full for those subscribers with income under the ceiling. In 1951 Michigan Medical Service (Blue Shield) introduced a $5,000 income ceiling contract for families. Formerly they provided only for a $2,500 ceiling. Full payment of surgical and in-hospital medical care is now also offered for single workers whose earnings are $3,750. These earnings ceilings are too low. Furthermore, this contract is expensive, which accounts for the small proportion of Michigan medical service members who have subscribed for it. And, already, surgeons are beginning to press for a still higher schedule of fees and are beginning to charge added fees even to those with income below the specified ceiling.

The cost of this health protection varies, of course, with the area. The financing arrangements which have been established under collective bargaining vary with the particular bargaining situation, but the pattern in the auto industry has been to win at least a 50-50 split between worker and employer of the cost of hospital-surgical-medical insurance for the worker and his family. In Michigan, the annual premium for Blue Cross-Blue Shield for a family runs now to approximately $110. Thus, the worker and his employer each spend about $55 a year for this protection. In other areas where costs may be lower, or protection less comprehensive, premiums are slightly less.

Does this expenditure of $110 a year in behalf of a worker's health insurance mean that he is assured of full protection? It does not. Restriction of Blue Cross coverage to hospitalized illness rules out practically all preventive and diagnostic care. The plans are in the unsound position of paying for costly illnesses often too late when the subscriber is hospitalized, but ignoring his needs when illness first shows itself or when it may be avoided entirely.

And even where the hospital bill is paid in full there is still a sizable direct supplementary expenditure on doctor bills. In Michigan only about 3 percent of the auto workers with surgical-medical coverage are entitled to fully paid benefits for in-hospital medical and surgical care. In practice many surgeons take for granted the insurance money is already earmarked for them. Too often they consider it as "free." In virtual disregard of the insurance, they charge such additional amounts as they judge the patient can be persuaded to pay. Although the workers have already paid for insurance, either through payroll deductions or by employer payments in lieu of wages, the benefits are not given the same weight by the physician as the out-of-pocket payments by the worker.

The UAW-CIO has tested the actual protection provided by surgical insurance. One group of 20,000 employees and dependents increased its surgical insurance to a $200 maximum schedule. This plan paid $100 for an appendectomy, $30 for a tonsillectomy, $125 for a double hernia, etc. Every surgical operation which occurred in a sample period was recorded. The average allowance paid by insurance was $51.52. The surgeon's charges averaged $80.13, requiring the employee to pay an additional $28.61. In only 1 case out of 12 was the bill paid in full.

Another group tried a higher schedule of benefits—the fees prescribed under the Michigan Veterans' Administration schedule, which were accepted as full payment by physicians under the Veterans' Administration home-care program. Here insurance payment to doctors ran $77.08. However, the surgeons charged $100.07 on the average, leaving the employee with bills averaging $22.99. Although, under this schedule, doctors received about $26 more than in the first group, from the workers' standpoint the higher-fee schedule brought about relief of only $6.

Efforts to negotiate still higher indemnity schedules to doctors in the hope of securing full payment are futile. Two years ago Nash-Kelvinator workers at Grand Rapids received verbal assurance that their $300 benefit schedule would mean full payment of surgical care; today the physicians are no longer honoring this schedule as full payment.

I have made these points in connection with your inquiry about the extent and cost of present protection only to point up one important fact—simply to cite impressive aggregates of coverage and show that the "ABC Automobile Corp." is expending so many millions of dollars on insurance premiums does not tell the story. Behind these data we must examine the comprehensiveness of care to which people are entitled and the true extent of their protection.

As has been pointed out by other CIO union representatives testifying here today, their members have problems similar to those of auto workers. While hospitalized, they need not worry too much about the hospital bill, but they have the same thorny problem of doctors making unreasonable overcharges and of not getting truly comprehensive medical protection. They have few programs for the early detection of disease, diagnosis, rehabilitation, or preventive care.

Through his union, the worker has allocated in collective bargaining a certain amount of money to the purchase of health protection—money which he prefers to have spent on health protection instead of in the form of take-home pay. By his experience in the programs now available, he has been

gaining the conviction that this money doesn't buy what he needs. The rank and file of the typical UAW local union want better health protection than they now have, and they are willing at some sacrifice to pay for it through the allocation of additional collectively bargained money or by added individual contributions. But they must be offered the right type of program.

I want to spend some time now describing the kind of program workers want, indicating where most presently available programs fall short, and considering how we can move toward improving health services for active workers.

We want prepaid medical-care programs which will provide preventive, diagnostic, curative, and rehabilitative care, both inside and outside the hospital. For maximum coverage, health education and health counseling need to be included. Such programs, if generally available, would assure the worker and his family of real health security, and such a comprehensive service is the only kind that will be acceptable ultimately. Moreover, prepayment programs with the most inclusive services are likely to be the most economical in the long run.

Medical service prepayment plans furnishing a broad range of needed services require an integrated, effective, and efficient organization of highly qualified medical and ancillary health personnel, and adequate hospital and clinic facilities with up-to-date equipment. Modern medicine needs the team approach typified by a limited number of existing group practice clinics and hospitals. There are convincing demonstrations that nonprofit voluntary prepaid group medical plans furnishing practically all needed health services can operate successfully. The Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, the Kaiser Health Foundation in California, and similar smaller plans in other communities provide most needed medical services at a cost within the reach of the typical American workingman. As a matter of fact, the Kaiser program in Oakland costs less than the Blue Cross hospitalization and medical-surgical plan, and it provides substantially more service. Moreover, its premiums have not had to be increased as much as those of the less comprehensive hospitalization programs.

The basic problem of how to provide this needed range of services through prepayment for those working and able to pay is the problem of how these health services are organized.

A person with unlimited resources and expert medical guidance can now get the best medical care that medical science knows how to provide. But the ordinary citizen, in today's unorganized medical-care market, is shopping blind with far too little money to buy what he needs even though, by dumb luck, he can find out what he ought to buy. The President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation characterized the situation thus: "The genius for organization so characteristic of American life in general is conspicuous in health services by its absence." It is evident that the integrated way in which the services in the Kaiser plan and in HIP are organized promotes economy and efficiency. Screening, preventive services, health education, and counseling lead to early treatment for potentially dangerous health conditions which, neglected, would be very expensive to treat. Diagnosis and treatment on an outpatient basis or at home can substitute, where medically indicated, for such service on an in-hospital basis and result in substantial savings. These few plans offer really integrated health services, broad in scope, and relatively inexpensive. Some of the advantages of this integrated type of service could be offered by the nonprofit prepayment hospitalization programs that operate in most communities.

Insurance carriers, both commercial and nonprofit, too often rather than seeking ways to extend their programs, are turning in the opposite direction—toward further restrictions.

Faced with rising costs and the necessity for repeated premium increases, Blue Cross and Blue Shield are running an intensive campaign to reduce overutilization. They are asking doctors and subscribers to limit their demands for inpatient diagnostic services, and they are tightening up on payment for services that, by strict construction, are not included in their contracts. Further limiting services in these programs merely intensifies the problem. The answer lies in further extension of services. It is idle to hope that physicians will successfully resist the temptation to hospitalize a seriously ill or difficult-to-diagnose patient who has Blue Cross coverage when the patient can't afford to pay for expensive diagnostic procedures outside the hospital. If the patient's prepaid protection included hospital outpatient diagnostic services there would be no such problem. The extension of coverage to out-patient diagnostic services is a must if there is to be control of inpatient hospital care demands.

This further extension of services under prepaid health service programs needs to be hospital oriented. Provision of these added services by a fee-for-service benefit—for example, a fixed dollar allowance for X-ray—that does not constitute full payment is moving in the wrong direction. These needed extensions of available medical care should be provided in such a manner that hospital equipment and organization are fully utilized and that the professional personnel who give the service are adequately compensated. Indemnity fees in partial payment for these extensions of service, such as outpatient diagnosis, would merely serve to enrich a few specialists. It wouldn't provide needed service at reasonable cost to subscribers.

Another backward step is the recent tendency on the part of some plans to cut costs by introducing such features as coinsurance or deductible insurance. Representatives of the commercial insurance companies strongly urged such programs in earlier hearings before this committee. Nearly all commercial carriers and a few nonprofit plans are hailing coinsurance and deductible insurance as the answer to the problem of increasing medical care costs. But what these carriers fail to mention—and they surely must be aware of this—is that workers have been coinsuring all along. For, after all, if a program does not provide full service benefits—and most of them don't—the worker is always coinsuring by paying added fees out of pocket.

One of the worst of the coinsurance techniques is where the program offers a flat cash allowance and 50 or 75 percent of additional costs up to a fixed limit—like $1,000. The worker has absolutely no insurance under such schemes—actually, only the carrier is insured. Recently the New Jersey Blue Cross plan introduced a so-called deductible feature, whereby the patient pays $5 for every day he spends in the hospital. For the worker who is hospitalized for a long period—say 100 days—this costs him $500, when he is least able to afford it. The savings in premiums for a family in 1 year would amount to $7.08. Significantly, unionized workers in New Jersey have unanimously rejected the coinsurance option, preferring the full coverage even at the higher cost.

Proponents of such programs say they will cut utilization and thereby cut costs; they cite automobile insurance as an example of the success of the deductible feature. But a human being is not like a car: he cannot function with a broken arm or leg. A car with a smashed fender may not look attractive but it works. We deplore these retrogressive steps. The tactic of reducing the cost of needed medical care by erecting economic barriers to it is unacceptable. We must find ways to remove the barriers to optimum health services.

Deductible or coinsurance features are being widely advocated as methods of meeting the problem of specific catastrophic illness—polio for example. But we believe that most diseases must be provided for in an orderly and complete system of prepayment. The disease-category approach in prepayment is a blind alley—a further fragmentation of the problem of health care, when further integration is needed.

One of the most formidable obstacles to the solution of our health problems is the attitude of the American Medical Association—an organization which should be providing the leadership to develop more extensive programs for meeting the health needs of the population.

When this organization some years ago stopped opposing Blue Cross, the weekly news magazine Time said: "The AMA has finally brought itself up to only 20 years behind the times." Organized medicine has not only opposed nearly every legislative suggestion for Federal financial aid to a wide range of health programs, but it even fights voluntary efforts to provide effective medical care through prepayment nonprofit group practice plans. In this latter battle, local and State medical societies are perversely doing all they can to bring about a public demand for true nationalization of medical care by attempting to kill off effective voluntary efforts to solve the medical-care problem. Fortunately, sincere and devoted physicians persist despite AMA censure in helping to develop forward-looking programs.

It is not just the Walter Reuthers and the George Meanys who are asking the AMA to square up to its responsibilities. Benson Ford, vice president of the Ford Motor Co., general manager of the Lincoln-Mercury division and president of the Henry Ford Hospital, recently said publicly: "Only progressive thinking and concrete action * * * can guarantee that private medicine will stay in private hands. While progress toward the ideal of an inclusive health system must be evolutionary, it must evolute visibly at something more than a snail's pace."

With growing conviction, representatives of both labor and management are anxious to experiment further with the possibilities of prepaid group practice comprehensive medical programs. In a west coast health conference last fall, I found myself in conflict with a former AMA president who maintained that these programs provide inferior assembly-line medicine and that they would lead to socialism. In the debate, the vice president for personnel administration of a major American business firm joined me in demanding that organized medicine stop name calling at every attempt to improve voluntary health services and pitch in to make these experiments in comprehensive prepayment programs work.

In its December 1953 convention in St. Louis, the house of delegates of the AMA reaffirmed a resolution first adopted in 1937 which opposes the rather common practice of hospitals to provide to patients the services of certain medical specialists unless these specialists are allowed to charge an individual fee to the patient for each service performed.

It is interesting, but painful, to note that a 1937 attitude of the AMA expressed in a policy statement which sought to narrow and restrict the scope of services provided by hospitals, has persisted over a period of 16 years; 16 years during which notable technical and organizational advances in hospital administration have been made; 16 years during which voluntary prepaid hos-

pitalization came into being and flourished. Inclusion under hospital care of the services of anasthesiologists, radiologists, pathologists, psychiatrists, and other specialists has been the natural outgrowth of experience demonstrating the efficiency and economy of integrating these with other hospital services. AMA is proposing that the arrangements flowing out of this evolutionary progress be outlawed; is insisting that its sole preference be followed in the method by which these services are furnished and paid for. To yield to this insistence would be to block the continuing development on a voluntary basis of increasingly effective, efficient, and economical hospital care.

It is apparent that Congress, at present, is unwilling to institute a system of universal national health insurance to provide adequate financing of minimum health services. Such a program has long had the consistent support of major labor groups. In rejecting such a system and at the same time agreeing that all Americans irrespective of ability to pay must have access to adequate medical care, Congress has, in effect, pledged itself to take action toward solving the health problems of the Nation.

In certain of the recommendations of former President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, there are suggestions for increasing the Federal Government's expenditures for civilian health activities which were completely acceptable to Walter Reuther, president of the CIO; A. J. Hayes, of AFL's International Association of Machinists, and the other consumer representative, Mrs. Elizabeth Magee. These recommendations would meet some of America's pressing health needs.

The whole Commission agreed that physicians and other health personnel were in short supply. Further Federal funds were seen as being necessary to modernize and expand the physical facilities of schools for training physicians and other health personnel and for offering scholarships to capable young men and women so that all qualified candidates, and not just the children of the well to do, could enter the health professions.

It was also seen, as necessary by the Commission to further extend the provisions of the Hill-Burton Construction Act to modernize obsolete health facilities as well as to construct needed new hospitals. It is especially important that money for construction and improvement should be made available for the types of medical care clinics and centers around which can be organized efficient systems of medical care.

Another Commission recommendation that should be followed is to increase Federal grants-in-aid to State and local public health departments so that the many American communities without minimum adequate public-health services can be covered.

Instead of the suggested cuts in budget for support of medical research, substantial expansion of allocations is needed—not only for research and exploration in the field of medical science, but for similar work in the difficult field of medical-care administration.

The Commission's suggestions for developing better organization of health services through regional coordination of hospitals into a hierarchy of facilities heading up to a university medical-school hospital would pay great dividends in helping to rationalize our organization of medical-care services.

The Commission's suggestions for Federal financial support for more complete industrial health programs and for meeting the health needs of special groups also merit serious consideration.

One of the recommendations made by the Commission which has aroused most comment is its proposal for Federal subsidies to provide personal health services, with individual States and local communities electing whether or not to participate. We cannot agree to such a suggestion because we believe that success in this area is contingent on assuring coverage of every citizen in every State.

Large labor organizations have supported a system of universal health insurance as a means to this end. Since Congress is apparently unwilling to accept this method for assuring complete coverage it should at least tackle the problem of enabling citizens who are retired, unemployed, or for other reasons without adequate income, to avail themselves of the kind of complete prepaid health protection a worker is able to purchase for himself and his family under a well-designed plan. Obviously, pioneering and experimentation is needed in this direction.

Certainly prepaid hospitalization or broader health coverage could be included in the OASI system.

Consciousness of the need for prepaid hospitalization has been evidenced among UAW pensioners. Nearly 70 percent of those eligible have elected to pay from their pensions for continuing coverage after retirement.

Numerous legislative proposals have been submitted to Congress in the past few years to use Federal funds in various ways to bolster up the operation of voluntary prepaid health plans. There has been some suggestion that commercial insurance companies as well as the nonprofit plans be covered by reinsurance or subsidy schemes. We are convinced that the insurance industry is rich enough to handle its own health reinsurance without Government help. In any event, the types of coverage sold by commercial insurers do not offer broad or complete enough protection to meet the needs of American people.

One suggested method for subsidizing nonprofit health plans would grant Federal funds to the States to enable those with insufficient funds to participate in the existing plans and thus to extend coverage. Some of these legislative proposals include a yardstick for measuring the scope of protection offered but unfortunately such criteria are not mandatory. A second legislative proposal—and one which the chairman of this committee supports—would reinsure private plans against the cost of unusually expensive cases—I believe the amount is $1,000.

Whatever the method used, subsidy or reinsurance, we in the UAW–CIO do not believe that Federal funds should subsidize inadequate and inefficient medical care. We believe that, as a condition of Federal funds, a law should require voluntary nonprofit prepaid health plans to provide truly comprehensive health protection, that they have consumer representation on their governing bodies at least equal in numbers to representatives of those who provide the services, and that they are efficiently and effectively organized and administered. Only in this way can there be assurance that the workers' tax dollars are being effectively used to supplement their health protection premium payments and to cover those who are by themselves unable to purchase care.

It is not easy to be specific about the exact form which such legislation should take. These committee hearings can, no doubt, give sound direction to action contemplated. We do believe, however, that the criteria indicated here must be met in any legislation that is enacted.

The Federal Government must aid and encourage the development of adequate health services—if not as a matter of humanity, then as a matter of economy—for the entire population.

We urge this committee to recommend legislation which wil mean substantial improvement in the health status of all Americans.

The Congressional and Judicial Relief Bill of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Commission appointed by the President to make a study of the needs of Members of Congress and the courts for further salaries have now filed their report, suggesting $27,500 annually for Members of Congress and the Federal courts. With this recommendation before the Congressmen, as a public motive, it is quite likely that the recommendation will be enacted into law.

In the debate on this proposition I propose three things: First, require a rollcall vote on the passage of the bill. In the House last time I could not get a rollcall on final action. Any Member can demand a rollcall vote, but it takes a certain percentage of those present voting for a rollcall vote to get it.

Now it seems to me that any Member wishing to vote more pay should not be ashamed to vote "Yes" and have the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD show it. Then when this Member comes home for reelection the voters will know just where he stood on that question. Second, to make sure that an increase is not figured in in making up salaries for this session, there should be an amendment placed in the bill making the raise effective after the next election. In other words, let the people know before a Member is elected just what the pay will be. There certainly ought to be no objection to this. Third, I propose to offer an amendment providing that those citizens now being supported by Government assistance, such as the aged, the blind, and the crippled, as well as dependent children, be voted an increase in pay in the same ratio that the pay of Members of Congress is increased. For example, I now receive $12,500 annually and the pay is increased to $27,500 as suggested by this salary Commission, then an old-age person now receiving from local, State, and Federal assistance say $42 or $58 per month shall have his pay increased 120 percent, the same as the proposed congressional salaries are increased. The man or woman, therefore, now receiving $42 would under this percentage receive $92.40 per month; the man or woman now receiving $58 per month would have his pay increased 120 percent and receive $137.50; if such person were now receiving $90 per month, he would receive under the percentage $198 per month.

There certainly should be no objection to letting the infirm, the blind and the cripples and dependent children in on this congressional and judicial relief proposal.

The point is made by the advocates of this proposal that a high salary would bring to Congress better men. Those

who make this argument admit, therefore, that they are not the best men, and I presume will retire if the 120-percent increase in salary passes.

All over the United States, there seems to be evidence of layoffs in labor that may reach alarming proportions. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad normally employs 55,000 workers in the 13 States which the road serves. In the first week in January this year, 6,000 employees were laid off; now on January 18, another 5,000 were laid off. In other words, in this month alone, 20 percent of the normal employment list was laid off.

The reasons assigned are that the business of the road has shrunk. The carloading is now 1,500 cars less per day than last year. At the present time, the officials say, there are 10,000 freight cars idle due to lack of traffic.

If this situation prevails on the Baltimore & Ohio system, other railroads either are or will soon feel the same impact of falling business. I am not citing this case as an alarmist, but to call attention to a situation that is most dangerous if we are to avoid an out-and-out depression.

Word comes from small manufacturing plants in various sections of the United States that employment lists are gradually being cut down. Just how widespread this situation is, I do not undertake to say, but there is sufficient evidence before us now to indicate a drastic drop in business and the consequent increase of unemployed.

This Congress may not avoid having to adopt some widespread-employment program, as we are heading again to the old relief days of the thirties.

If the Republican Congress wishes to retain the confidence of the voters, it will not offer its first relief bill for judges and Congressmen. Congressmen can very well get along on their present salaries until the general picture of unemployment looks more assuring than it does now. They will at least be in a more favorable position than the discharged worker, for the worker will have no job at all. The job of Congressman at $12,500 annually looks better to me than no job at all.

My guess is that if Congressmen vote for this increase of 120 percent in their salaries and the vote is a rollcall vote, that after the next election the unemployment ranks will be increased.

Dr. Dean A. Clark, General Director, Massachusetts General Hospital, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Health Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Wednesday, January 20, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Dr. Dean A. Clark, general director, Massachusetts General Hospital, is highly important.

Dr. Clark has administered a variety of medical care programs, some under public and others under voluntary auspices. He has made studies of methods for the provision of medical services among many different population groups and he has written extensively in the field of medical care administration.

After receiving his degree in medicine at Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1932, Dr. Clark had several years of graduate medical education at hospitals and clinics in New York and Baltimore. In 1939, he was commissioned in the United States Public Health Service, and he has been senior surgeon for the Public Health Service. In the early days of World War II he was detailed by the Public Health Service to the Office of Civilian Defense where he was chief of the hospital section, and later to the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, where he was chief medical officer.

Dr. Clark was active in developing the framework for the health insurance plan of Greater New York. After its initiation he served for 4 years as its first medical director. In 1949 he resigned his position to become general director of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

For several years Dr. Clark has been president of the Cooperative Health Federation of America, an organization of about 20 consumer-sponsored group health plans. In 1950, he was appointed by the Subcommittee on Health of the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to be consulting director to the subcommittee's staff in making a nationwide survey on voluntary health insurance and in preparing the report of that survey.

Dr. Clark is a member of the governing council of the American Public Health Association and chairman of the association's subcommittee on medical care. He was also a member of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, and he is the fourth member of that Commission who has appeared before our committee to give us the benefit of his thinking with regard to a health program.

Dr. Clark's statement concerning the health needs of the Nation is as follows:

It is an honor which I greatly appreciate to be invited to appear before your distinguished committee to discuss the health needs of the Nation. In making this statement, I should explain that I appear as an individual and not as a representative of the trustees or staff of the Massachusetts general hospital nor of any other organization of which I happen to be a member or an officer.

It is a particular privilege to be here so soon after the submission of the President's health message, and I shall refer at times to the issues discussed therein, but there has not been time for me to prepare any full written comment upon it, although if desired, further reference to it might be made in informal testimony later. Since it is my understanding that what your committee desires is comment upon the general issues rather than upon any specific legislative proposals, I shall refer to such proposals for purposes of illustration only and not in advocating or opposing them.

At the outset, may I say that I am in full agreement with the President's underlying principle that "The means for achieving good health should be accessible to all," and that "a person's location, occupation, age, race, creed, or financial status should not bar him from enjoying this access."

Three questions then arise: (1) How far short, if at all, are we of fulfilling this principle? (2) If we are short, what are the gaps, specifically? and (3) if there are gaps, what should be done to fill them?

In answer to question No. 1, I do not think, in spite of our spectacular progress in health, so eloquently described by the President, that it would be seriously argued by any one that we have already achieved the President's principle completely. The aged people living in many rural areas, certain races, and people in poor financial circumstances, to name but a few groups, are too well known to lack the opportunity for comprehensive health services to need further documentation here.

Specifically, what are the gaps? Summarizing them briefly, I should say the principal gaps fall into 3 groups: first, shortage of trained personnel, and of facilities, both in general and, in particular, in certain geographical areas; second, inadequate organization of existing services to meet successfully our major needs for preventive medicine, early diagnosis, adequate treatment, and rehabilitation; third, inadequate methods of financing the needed services so that all may enjoy them.

Finally, granting the presence of the gaps I have mentioned, what, if anything, should be done about them, particularly by the Federal Government?

My series of proposals—none of which is new or original with me—would here fall into 2 categories, not entirely separable from each other in either time or place. The 2 categories might, however, be identified, in a rough sort of way, as those dealing with preparatory measures—a tooling-up phase, as it was put by one of the members of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, on which I had the honor to serve in 1952—and those dealing with the continuing distribution of services, an "ongoing phase," as it might be termed.

Among the measures needed for tooling up, the most important have to do with personnel, facilities, and the organization of services. Certainly, some form of assistance to increase our supply of doctors, nurses, dentists, and public health workers is necessary. With the contiued growth of the population, and with the continually increasing complexity of the services needed, more health personnel of almost all types are urgently needed if we are to approach the goal set forth by the President.

Facilities, too, are required. Such measures as a continued and broadened Hospital Survey and Construction Act, as suggested by the President, and the proposal of Mr. Wolverton in H. R. 6950 (and the comparable Senate bill introduced by Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota) seem excellent to me.

These same measures, with their emphasis on statewide and regional planning, organized group medical practice, and prepayment for comprehensive medical services, would also be of assistance in improving the organization of our health services and in financing them, too.

Another important element in tooling up is the continuation of Federal grants for medical research, also mentioned by the President, including, in my judgment, assistance in the construction of facilities for such research.

While there are differences of opinion about the proper role of the Federal Government in the encouragement and financing

of these tooling-up measures, I do not think many people would question the need for some means to be found to accomplish them. My own view is that it is possible as well as desirable for the Federal Government to take the lead in solving what is, after all, a nationwide problem without, at the same time, threatening the freedom of the medical schools, hospitals, research laboratories, and individuals involved.

The ongoing phase is far more complex, more difficult, and more controversial. In this regard, I noted with great satisfaction as a former chief medical officer of the Federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the President's emphasis on enlarging and strengthening our Federal-State program for the rehabilitation of the disabled. Certainly no program in the health field illustrates more distinctly than does rehabilitation that good health pays off: in lower dependency and relief costs, in productivity, even in personal income taxes.

This will assist the handicapped, but there are other groups for the improvement of whose health the Federal Government might, I believe, properly take some direct leadership. I refer particularly to Federal employees, people in receipt of federally aided public assistance, and persons dependent upon old-age and survivors insurance. By contributing part or, if need be, all of the premiums for prepaid medical care insurance for these groups, on what might be called the employer contribution principle, the Federal Government would be aiding where aid, in many instances, is badly needed and, indirectly, would be stimulating the growth of prepaid medical and hospital care plans.

The groups just mentioned are easily identified and are, one way or another, already related rather closely to Federal Government operations. But there is a group, much harder to define, variously estimated at from 20 to 40 million in number, who may need assistance, at one time or another, in meeting medical costs, or even in paying medical care insurance premiums. There is also the problem of encouraging the development of the best and most comprehensive prepayment plans. Should the Federal Government have any part in solving these problems? The President's Commission, already referred to, felt that at least stimulation from the Federal Government was desirable in these areas and suggested grants-in-aid to the States, on a matching basis, for these purposes. The idea was to provide grants large enough to attract the interest of States and local communities, and thus to stimulate local initiative, but not so large as to be a burdensome Federal expense nor to threaten any Federal domination. This still seems to me to be an idea worth careful study.

Yesterday I had an opportunity to confer with Mr. Jerry Voorhis, with whom I am associated in the Cooperative Health Federation of America, after he had testified here. He asked me to say that since he had not been able to study the President's message before testifying, I would be speaking for both of us in presenting this part of my testimony. Specifically, we would urge that means be found to place particular emphasis upon encouraging the establishment and growth of comprehensive, direct medical service prepayment plans, with organized medical groups to provide the services and with the public strongly represented on the governing bodies. I refer to plans similar in character to the health insurance plan of Greater New York, with the establishment of which I am proud to have been associated. ciated.

These plans, though small in number, have already amply demonstrated in widely scattered parts of the country that it is both financially and professionally possible to provide comprehensive direct services of high quality within the means of large segments of the community, particularly when aided by employer contributions.

Mr. WOLVERTON's bill for loans to construct facilities for such plans would be one helpful measure. Another would be loans or grants of capital sufficient for organizing purposes where a group of citizens has given indication that, if financed, it could establish such a plan. Certain restrictive legislation in the States, and certain opposition tactics against such plans by local medical societies, would, in some way, have to be eliminated for the best promise of success.

Finally, the proposals for reinsurance for certain health insurance plans might be an encouragement to the comprehensive, group-practice type of plan, if satisfactory arrangements could be worked out. For one thing, a reinsurance scheme would need careful safeguards to make sure that it was rewarding the most efficiently operated plans and not rewarding inefficient or extravagant ones. For another thing, care should be taken, as is indicated in H. R. 6949—which I realize is a bill drawn in 1950 and reintroduced for discussion purposes—that premiums be in some way related to the subscriber's ability to pay. But, on the other hand, in the same bill appears a clause (sec. 10 (C), p. 16, line 4), "that all licensed physicians in the State where the association is located shall be eligible to render professional services to subscribers" which would seemingly eliminate comprehensive group practice prepayment plans by definition, since virtually all of them must of necessity contract with limited panels or groups of physicians. Here the phraseology might be altered to assure freedom of the subscriber to select such a closed panel plan or not, as he desires. Moreover, the possible implied limitation of compensated physicians' visits to 12 in any 12-month period (p. 15, lines 20–21) would be undesirable, from the point of view of a comprehensive service plan.

Perhaps a reinsurance schedule could be devised to which the premiums paid by an insurance plan would be reduced in amount as the comprehensiveness of its benefits to subscribers was broadened. This might be financially justifiable, I should think, on the grounds that in a plan where basic preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic medical services of high quality were available to subscribers, there would be a much smaller (though still appreciable) risk of overwhelming expenses connected with catastrophic illness. In other words, where a prepayment plan is helping to keep its subscribers well, treating them early in illness, furnishing health education, visiting nurse service in the home, and so on, the chances of very heavy costs for many serious cases would be fewer.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish again to express my appreciation for the opportunity of appearing before you. I wish also to summarize my views in this important matter by stating that I would urge your committee to keep constantly in mind not only the financial factors in obtaining medical services, important as these are, but also the factors directly influencing the health of the population and the quality of health services it receives. To this end, I would emphasize the need for measures to assure an adequate supply of well-qualified professional personnel; sufficient modern facilities; research; and encouragement of medical service organizations designed to supply comprehensive preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic medical services of the highest quality.

Ten Eagleson Brothers Establish Record for Military Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. SECREST
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, Mr. and Mrs. Dwight A. Eagleson, of near Winterset, Ohio, have a distinction I do not believe is equaled anywhere in the United States. Ten of their sons have served in the Armed Forces of the United States, including service in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. The record of each has been set forth in an excellent article in the Daily Jeffersonian of Cambridge, Ohio.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this article which is as follows:

From the hills of Madison Township to the shores of New Guinea, the Solomons, Wake Island, Iwo Jima, the Philippines, Okinawa, Korea, Scandinavia, and South America went fightin' men, name o' Eagleson, in the farflung rough and rugged conflict known as World War II.

Ten of them, brothers, established a record of military service probably unequalled in American history—a single family's unexcelled contribution to Uncle Sam's might in the titanic struggle against tyranny and oppression.

Seven of them served in combat units. Happily, they came through unscathed. Three are presently in military training camps in this country.

So if the Dwight A. Eaglesons—dad and mother—have a great pride in this record, and they naturally do have, they're entitled to it.

The boys, now men of course, were born and reared at the Bo Eagleson homestead on Route 286, near Winterset. He was their grandfather—and one of the most unusual characters in Guernsey County history.

From this farm—where Reverend Bo repaired after exchanging his pulpit for the plow—was wont to issue forth, usually astride his old mare, in dignified pursuit of his agricultural activities.

For some 30 years in his new calling he went his way among the people of Cambridge and the countryside, a farmer with ministerial bearing and a great sense of humor. Along the way he left a great fund of stories, incidents and sayings which today, 30 years after his passing, are repeated with relish by those who knew him.

Madison Consolidated High School can point to its part in this unusual record. It is doubtful if any other sent out as many alumni and ex-students to the Nation's wars. The Eagleson platoon in its entirety went to school there, and left their marks, physically and otherwise, there.

The Eaglesons have 13 children, 11 sons and 2 daughters. The 11th boy, Bernie, is 12. A daughter, Mabel, is in school at Columbus. Mrs. Helen Anderson, the other daughter, lives in Oxford township.

A rundown of the decemvirate's service records shows: John, 34, and Edward, 32, were with the 37th Ohio (Buckeye) Division in the Philippines and the Solomon Islands and South Pacific theater during World War II.

Walter, 33, served with the 8th Infantry Division in the latter part of the war in Europe.

Hervy, 31, saw active service with the Sixth Army Engineering Battalion in New Guinea, the Philippines, and Korea.

Clifford, 28, was with the United States Marine Corps at Wake Island, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa.

Donald, 27, was in United States maritime service in South America and the Scandinavian Peninsula.

Craig, 24, was recently discharged after serving in the Army in the Korean conflict and occupational service in Japan.

Pat, 21, currently is at the United States Naval Station, Hutchinson, Kans., studying aircraft engineering.

Denny, 20, is an aviation cadet in the United States Air Force training program at Vance Field, Enid, Okla. He spent the holidays at the home.

Bill, 19, is with the United States Navy Hospital Corps School at Bainbridge, Md.

Three of the boys' uncles live in Cambridge, John, Dave, and George. Reverend Hodge, Methodist minister at Pittsburgh, and Reverend Walter, Washington, D C., minister, are two more uncles, all sons of Rev. Bo Eagleson.

John W. Edelman, Washington Representative, Textile Workers Union of America, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on CIO's Attitude Toward Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, January 19, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. John W. Edelman, Washington representative of the Textile Workers Union of America, is highly important. Mr. Edelman, who is also a member of the national CIO committee on legislation, was born in my State of New Jersey in 1893, and I am proud to state that in 1924 he worked on newspapers in my home city of Camden, N. J. From there, he went to Pennsylvania where he became research director of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

Mr. Edelman has had many years of experience in framing social and labor legislation, both State and Federal. Mr. Edelman became the Washington representative of the Textile Workers Union of America in 1945 and he has continued in that post until today.

Mr. Edelman's statement outlining the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations with regard to a Federal health program is as follows:

On behalf of the legislative committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, I wish to express our appreciation for this opportunity to present testimony during this constructive series of hearings being conducted by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. We have been impressed by the serious concern, demonstrated by the chairman of this committee and the various members who serve with him, with the very real problem arising out of the health needs of the American people.

The CIO fixes its policies on all basic social issues by adopting resolutions at its annual conventions, after close study and lively debate of proposed policies by the convention resolutions committee. Standing committees give continuing study to the subject matter of these resolutions during each year. Staff and expert recommendations are made to the officers and members for revisions of policy from time to time.

We mention this fact to emphasize to the Members of Congress that our 1953 convention resolution on health was not adopted perfunctorily and does represent a carefully considered conclusion, based on a realistic and adequate analysis of the pertinent evidence.

Let me also add that in CIO there is general rank and file familiarity with these formal convention resolutions. And at countless local union meetings each year and at our hundreds of educational institutes we invite discussions by which we determine whether the ordinary union member does in fact concur with and support these top policy declarations. We can say with assurance that on this matter of health, our convention resolutions do express the real feelings of the great majority of our millions of members. Indeed, we can say to the Members of Congress that there is no subject on which the average trade unionist and his wife will more quickly speak up than on the costs and quality of the health protection which is now available to the average wage earner. We would not say to this committee that most CIO members would be able and willing at a moment's notice to testify here on the details of National Health Insurance legislation, but we do say with complete conviction that one could pick almost any CIO family at random from any place in the United States and find a witness who would energetically and convincingly tell you that on the basis of personal experience, sound and dependable health care is now beyond their means and that they feel strongly that this critical need cannot be met without governmental intervention.

We say in all seriousness to the Members of Congress that there is widespread and deep uneasiness among working people everywhere over the fact of constantly increasing costs of illness and ordinary health protection. There is a mounting sense of resentment against the failure of our Nation's leadership to offer a practical and acceptable plan which will protect and improve the health of all our people irrespective of income.

The witnesses who will follow me here today will represent a group of unions whose total numerical strength will add up to a majority of the 5 million members affiliated with national CIO. For the record we wish to state that we know of no CIO union, even the smallest and most recently organized, that has not had a rather extensive and intensive experience with some effort to afford health protection to its members. In some cases this experience has been confined to the purchase from commercial insurance companies of group policies providing a given scale of medical or hospital benefits. Most CIO unions have contracts with Blue Cross; many, if not most, have contracts with other voluntary bodies such as Blue Shield. The figures on this type of coverage have been made available to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. The point we wish to make is that we could, if time permitted, offer here firsthand testimony which would support this same point of view and conclusions from all the rest of our CIO Internationals.

There would be, of course, many variations in the illustrations which additional witnesses could offer, due to widely different types of employment involved and the geographical location of the employees. For instance, if I were testifying for my own union, the Textile Workers Union of America, I should stress, among other points, the serious doctor and nurse shortage in many of the Southern and outlying communities in which textile plants are located. A careful analysis of the health problems of cotton-textile workers might, and probably would show a more serious unbalance as between income level and average cost than is the case with other workers whose average earnings are higher. If the CIO Maritime Workers were to testify, a different set of facts would present themselves; if loggers in the Northwest or the clerical employees in New York City were to write testimony for this committee, widely different experiences would be presented.

Despite these variations in ways of life among our farflung membership, the amazing thing is the essential agreement among all of us regarding the proper solution for this pressing problem of caring for the health needs of the American worker and his family. This solid agreement and vigorous support for the CIO position and program, among our many unions and our widespread membership, is only due to the fact that responding to the pressures from the rank and file there have been literally thousands of separate and distinct efforts to find means of alleviating or solving the health needs of these differing groups of workers. It is hard economic fact and not theory that has led us to the position which we advocate.

Our continued advocacy of national health insurance is based on no doctrinaire basis. CIO unions have for years now experimented with practically every type of alternative plan which is offered as a substitute for national health insurance. We have enthusiastically participated in different types of voluntary plans, some of which are acceptable, and indeed excellent, as far as they go. Yet our final conclusion is that national health insurance is the only finally adequate answer to this basic need of our people.

Condemnation of Film The French Line by the National Legion of Decency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram from Rev. Thomas F. Little, executive secretary of the National Legion of Decency. Now that the Supreme Court has denied to the States the right to protect their citizens from immoral exhibitions—and I do not quarrel with their interpretation of the Constitution—we must depend upon the motion-picture industry to regulate itself. This industry depends upon the public for support, and is very sensitive to public reaction. It is in this connection that such alert and responsible organizations as the Legion of Decency serve not only the public interests, but in the long run serve the best interests of the motion-picture industry as well. Since the States and cities are impotent, the people will be compelled to assert their views through such organizations as the Legion of Decency.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, N. Y., *January 18, 1954.*
Senator EDWIN C. JOHNSON,
Washington, D. C.:

Permit me to inform you that the National Legion of Decency today, January 18, condemned the controversial RKO film the French Line for the following reason: "This film contains grossly obscene, suggestive and indecent action, costuming and dialogue. In incidents of subject matter and treatment it is gravely offensive to Christian and traditional standards of morality and decency and is capable of grave evil influence upon those who patronize it, especially youth."

Rev. THOMAS F. LITTLE,
Executive Secretary,
National Legion of Decency.

President's Health Program Gains Warm Reception

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, indicative of the warm reception which has been accorded the President's message of last Monday proposing that "the means of achieving good health should be accessible to all," are the following editorials from the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Washington Star:

[From the New York Times of January 19, 1954]

THE RIGHT TO MEDICAL CARE

President Eisenhower, as was expected, rejected any thought of the socialization of medicine in the message he sent to Congress yesterday. However, the President did lay down one principle. That principle, as the President stated it, is:

"The means for achieving good health should be accessible to all. A person's location, occupation, age, race, creed, or financial status should not bar him from enjoying this access."

The President does not advocate a program which will directly achieve this end. He does not go as far as the late Senator Taft, who would have extended free medical care to the estimated 25 percent of the population who cannot pay the whole cost themselves. But the official recognition of a principle should also be a recognition of whatever methods are necessary to put the principle into practice.

The Nation's health, as the President said, has been improving. The span of life has lengthened by 19 years since 1900; deaths from infectious diseases have dropped by 90 percent since 1900; the maternal death rate is down to less than one-eighth of what it was; only 3 percent of the babies born in this country die in their first year as against 10 percent in 1916. These results have been attained by the partnership and teamwork of many practitioners and specialists. However much we exalt the general practitioner of medicine, he, working by himself, could not have achieved this miracle.

But no final victory has been won over disease, nor have we made progress enough to satisfy us. The President reminded us all of the dreadful toll taken by such diseases as cancer, heart disease, arthritis, and rheumatism. He pointed out that there exist in our Nation the knowledge and skill to * * * give us all still greater health protection and still longer life. The difficulty in the situation is that the knowledge and skill are expensive and are not available to to everybody.

To overcome this difficulty the President recommends certain specific programs. He would strengthen the existing Public Health Service, especially in its research activities. He would set up a limited Federal reinsurance service to guarantee private and nonprofit health insurance plans. He would simplify the system of grants-in-aid for health services, making them dependent on need rather than on matching funds, relating them to population and expanding them in certain special medical projects. He would expand the program of rehabilitating disable persons—it is a scandal that only 60,000 disabled individuals are now being restored to normal life in a single year, whereas there are 2 million such persons, with 250,000 added each year, who might be returned to productive work. He would greatly expand through Federal-State cooperation the facilities for caring for the sick. We have now, as he said, 1,060,000 acceptable beds in non-Federal hospital services in the country. The Nations needs at least another half million. It also needs special and perhaps less costly accommodations for the aged, the chronically ill, and others not requiring full hospital services. It needs more nonprofit diagnostic or treatment centers for ambulatory patients.

In the final part of his message, as in the early portions, the President rejected Government regimentation of medicine. Very few of us would want that sort of thing, anyway. But this phase of the problem is not the important phase. The task is to improve and maintain the health of the Nation. We cannot afford to be sick in a time when we need strong men for the Armed Forces and vigorous men and women to face the physical and intellectual tasks at home. If we can strengthen the Nation's health without socialization and without regimentation we can rejoice. The chances are we can do this. But no theory ought to stand in the way of making us as well as possible and keeping us well as possible. One might say that a healthy nation, even with a certain amount of Federal interference in its medical care, is more likely to be free than a nation decentralized, chaotic, and dyspeptic.

The President has shown his earnestness and his sincerity. He has gone beyond the promise of his party's platform. There should be no unnecessary delay or impediment in putting through the essence of his proposals.

[From the Washington Post of January 19, 1954]

HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

President Eisenhower's health program is a forward-looking but very modest attempt to bring better medical care to more Americans. It centers its efforts on aiding private health insurance plans and on helping States and communities to improve rehabilitation and hospital facilities. Only by a semantic distortion could this be construed as socialized medicine. Indeed, the most justified criticism will be that the program is not bold enough. It makes no apparent provision to improve care of the medically indigent—the persons who cannot pay for health insurance—and many of its recommendations are so general that they cannot be fully appraised until budget figures are disclosed.

It is unfortunate that the President was not so specific as was the Commission on Financing Hospital Care (which issued its report on Sunday) in recognizing the need for help beyond that which is possible under voluntary prepayment plans. Certainly the voluntary plans deserve the utmost encouragement. The proposal to set up a limited Federal reinsurance service to back up what the President calls "better and broader" private benefits is a worthwhile experiment if it will permit the coverage of conditions not now underwritten—though we doubt whether the $25 million capital fund will be enough. Even if this scheme would succeed, however, it would still leave unprotected millions of persons not on relief but still unable to afford medical care.

The President's plan makes sense in attempting to standardize grant-in-aid programs on the basis of the greatest help to the States with the least financial capacity to meet their needs. The emphasis on rehabilitating disabled persons for useful work is constructive (and in this connection it is important to take note of the private efforts of Dr. Paul B. Magnuson in Chicago to prevent persons injured in industry from going on relief rolls). There also is a sound point in the President's request for additional aid in the construction of diagnostic centers and hospitals for care of the chronically ill so as to relieve some of the burden on general hospitals.

These proposals are good as far as they go, and they place proper stress on local and State responsibility. But the program is deficient in that it ignores the need to train more doctors and dentists and skirts the No. 1 problem of care for the medically indigent. The clamor for more drastic remedies arises in direct proportion to the degree to which such needs are unmet.

[From the Washington Star of January 19, 1954]

THE PRESIDENT ON HEALTH

President Eisenhower has placed before Congress a relatively modest starting program for improving the Nation's health. But modest as it is—in the sense that its recommendations are not so ambitous as those contained in the impressive Magnuson report of 1952—it is nonetheless a program that promises to accomplish a lot of good. And it has the added virtue, from the standpoint of practical politics, of being conservative enough to be safe from serious attack by either the economy-minded or the foes of "socialized medicine."

To begin with, the President has based his recommendations on the demonstrable fact that the United States, although it has made striking progress in warring against disease and increasing average life expectancy, is not yet doing nearly as much as it can and should do to become stronger, richer, and happier by bettering its physical and mental health. There are still far too many unnecessary, preventable American deaths every year, and the Nation continues to pay a tremendous annual economic penalty in the form of lost production and lost wages resulting from sickness and incapacitation that could be sharply reduced by intelligent concerted action on the part of the Federal Government, the States, the cities, and all the private and public institutions concerned.

Such action, as the President has said, is needed to deal primarily with the fact that "Two of the key problems in the field of health today are the distribution of medical facilities and the costs of medical care." The facilities, together with the professional personnel to man them, are far from being adequate enough to meet present requirements, especially in poorer communities and rural areas. As for personal expense, since nearly 50 percent of our homes receive $3,000 or less in annual income, great numbers among us simply cannot afford to be hospitalized for long or to pay out much to doctors or dentists. Indeed, in the President's words, "Major, long-term illness can become a financial catastrophe for a normal American family."

It is because of these and similar considerations that the President has recommended,

among other things, (1) continued Federal aid, plus matching State, city, and private funds, for hospital construction, but with a new emphasis on building relatively non-costly special-purpose facilities to deal with nonacute illnesses and ambulatory cases; (2) additional joint expenditures and cooperative action to speed up the rehabilitation, year by year, of the Nation's 2 million disabled citizens—a speedup that would rehabilitate at an annual rate of 200,000 by 1959, as against the present rate of 60,000; and (3) establishment of a Federal reinsurance service, with a capital fund of $25 million, to encourage private and nonprofit health-insurance organizations to take the extra financial risks involved in offering broader protection to more families

In asking for prompt and favorable action on this program, the President has been at pains to emphasize that his recommendations are designed to rule out "socialization." And they certainly seem to do that by making the whole enterprise basically voluntary in character and by keeping major control in State, local, and private hands. As to costs, he has been specific only on his reinsurance proposal, but the general tenor of his message plainly indicates that he envisions outlays considerably smaller than those suggested in the Magnuson report. In any case, Congress should respond affirmatively to his request, bearing in mind, as he has said, that "The health of our people is the very essence of our vitality, our strength, and our progress as a nation."

Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Wausau Daily Record-Herald, Wausau, Wis., of Thursday, January 14, 1954. The editorial reads as follows:

PRICE SUPPORTS

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, who represents in Congress the district which includes Wausau, makes a strong point in advocating that whatever program of price supports is finally adopted, dairy products should be supported under the same system as other major commodities.

The program involving flexible farm supports proposed by the President would seem to do that, but sentiment is strong for continuation of high mandatory supports for some crops, and the odds are that that's the way it will be.

Representative LAIRD notes that the dairy industry is now operating under a flexible support program, while the so-called basic commodities are supported under fixed mandatory supports with provisions for production controls.

Such a setup discriminates against the dairy industry.

Crops designated as basic are corn, cotton, peanuts, rice, tobacco, and wheat. The list seems to have been chosen more on a basis of politics rather than on the basic importance of the crops. Certainly milk is basically more important to the American people than either tobacco or peanuts, for example.

As Representative LAIRD has pointed out, "In order to be just and fair this legislation [price-support legislation] should not merely be enacted to favor those agricultural commodities that have the most representation in Congress." And that's exactly what seems to have been happening in the past.

A Flat National Manufacturers' Excise Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 6907, that proposes to substitute a flat national manufacturers' excise tax of 5 percent as a substitute for, and in lieu of, our present hodge-podge system of national excise taxes. A great deal of "dust" and misinformation is being stirred up and handed out in connection with my bill. In order to help clear the atmosphere, correct the misinformation that is current, and remove the political apprehension that has been created, I offer the following discussion of the subject. The author is George Ericson, financial editor of the Christian Science Monitor. The article was carried in the November 12, 1953 issue of that paper:

ARGUMENT AGAINST SALES TAX HELD LARGELY FALSE

(By George Ericson)

This week Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey told an organization in Detroit that expenditures of the National Government had to be reduced or additional taxes of some sort would have to be imposed if the country was to avoid a big deficit in the next fiscal year. The Treasury faces the loss of $10,000,000,000 in taxes early in 1954 following the expiration of the excess profits tax, the cut of 10 percent in individual income taxes, and the lowering of other levies to which the administration is committed. Just what will be done to try to fill the gap between expenditure and income must await the convening of Congress. In the meantime the talk for and against a sales tax as an answer to the Treasury's prayer fills the air.

A great cloud of political dust has been and is being raised in the discussion of this problem. The dispensers of budget wisdom would do well to presume that the public has intelligence enough to realize if our defense expenditures cannot safely be reduced further, then new taxes must be levied to offset those eliminated. The question resolves itself largely to this: How shall the additional money be raised? And this introduces the controversial problem of a general sales tax.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST SALES TAX

No one likes taxes, but since they are a necessary accompaniment of orderly government they must be endured. The overriding considerations are that they must not only be adequate but fair. If they are not adequate, deficits follow, prices go up, and the dollar value goes down. If they are not fair—that is, if they are not wisely distributed—resentment grows and a political overturn is likely to take place, among other things.

Can the sales tax be condemned offhand by the statement that it is, as put by Senator WILEY, of Wisconsin, "unfair and discriminatory"? The writer of this article believes, to the contrary, that it is the present excise taxes that are unfair and discriminatory, since they arbitrarily burden one class of goods and let others go scot-free. Why pay on light bulbs but not on heating pads?

Let us see what is being said against a Federal sales tax, and what is written here has reference solely to a manufacturers' sales tax:

1. It is stated that such a tax is regressive (a much-overworked word) in that it falls heaviest on the lower-income groups, whose income is largely spent for necessities.

2. Then it is pointed out that it invades a field of taxation hitherto reserved for State or local governments.

3. It is also argued that such a tax will be pyramided on the way from the manufacturer to the retailer, thus increasing the price to the consumer unduly.

4. Moreover, it is feared that it will result in demands for wage increases to offset any price rise.

5. It is being labeled a hidden tax.

6. Finally, it is charged that it will hurt business.

UNIFORM SALES TAX HELD TO BE FAIR

This column has previously advocated a sales tax of some sort to supplement the individual and corporate income taxes, as these have approached the limits of their usefulness. Taking the foregoing points in order:

As to regressive characteristics, it may be pointed out that exempting food, rent, and medicine would in great measure remove the burden of such a tax from those in the lower income tax brackets. It could hardly be argued that people with small incomes should pay nothing for their Government's services. What you pay nothing for, you are likely to regard as worth nothing. Merely for the privilege of being an American citizen should call forth a regular, if small, cash tribute.

It cannot truthfully be said, therefore, that such a tax, exemptions considered, is discriminatory or unfair. The rich and well to do are still taxed at steeply progressive rates up to 92 percent of income. A consumption tax affects them on their much-reduced income as it does the poorer person, since both are then taxed in proportion to what each buys. The way to tax the wealthy person equitably, therefore, is first to reduce him to size, which the income tax does, and then treat him as everybody else—by a tax which no one can or should escape. Millions of people are exempt from paying any tax whatever. It is reported that $150 billion was legally exempted from taxation in 1952.

PYRAMIDED TAX CAN BE AVOIDED

The second point is hardly weighty enough to merit much discussion. Under a manufacturers' tax the States would be left in much the same position as now. They already have had to struggle with dozens of Federal excise taxes, which are but another name for selective sales taxes. If a manufacturers' tax is imposed, the excise taxes could be dropped, except those on tobacco and alcoholic beverages. Thus it would not compete with a State retail sales tax.

As to pyramiding, this is largely a bogey man introduced to frighten the electorate. Canada has a manufacturers' tax statute in which pyramiding is guarded against by the legal provision that when one licensed firm sells to another licensed firm no sales tax is charged. The tax is charged when the article is sold to the unlicensed purchaser. It may be said, too, that this tax causes no excitement whatever.

It seems feasible for this country to adopt some similar legal procedures so that only one tax will be met by the consumer. In

any event, competition is still a potent force to hold prices down. An outstanding superiority of this tax over a retail sales tax is that the former would be vastly easier to collect and much cheaper to administer. This would be so because there are not more than 300,000 manufacturers, while there are about 3 million retail and service establishments, the checking of which would require a new army of Federal employees.

The charge that a sales tax would cause unions to ask for wage rises doesn't seem impressive. Unions always demand wage increases if they see a chance of getting them. Many have escalator clauses which take care of higher living costs. This argument is disposed of by pointing to the $8 billion the Treasury is already collecting in sales taxes, only it calls them excise taxes. It is apparent they have no real bearing on union wage objectives.

UNITED STATES SEEN IGNORING VALUE OF CONSUMPTION TAXES

As for being a hidden tax, it is the excise taxes which are hidden—such as the 3 percent levy on freight bills, the 10 percent tax on the manufacturer's price of new autos, etc., none of which is seen by the public. Once a uniform manufacturers' tax is applied, everyone knows it and remembers it because it is universal.

There doesn't seem much substance to the charge that such a tax will hurt business. The high excise taxes do not appear to have caused any diminution in spending. Taxes have to be included in the price of everything. Hence a sales tax should be regarded as a logical supplementary levy to the income tax. Only in a depression would it be felt as onerous.

Experts say that the United States depends too much on income levies and not enough on consumption or excise taxes, which today furnish only about 16 percent of its revenue. Western European countries obtain from 25 to 75 percent of their revenues from sales taxes. Except for the Civil War period, this country's only source of revenue up until 1913 was consumption taxes. They did not retard business. In fact, the absence of incomes taxes fostered savings and expansion.

The advocacy of sales taxes today, however, is regarded by those seeking to retain office as political suicide. The merit to be found in this entirely reasonable method of meeting the costs of Government and defense is lost in the fog of past misstatements and fallacious argument. Courage is needed to present the true picture. But political courage generally shows its colors after the moistened finger has shown which way the wind is blowing. A campaign of economic enlightment is assuredly in order.

Wolverton Talks From the Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, it is my great honor and real privilege to serve as a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and I am most grateful for the opportunity to share in its important work.

It is my purpose today, Mr. Speaker, to recall to the attention of the Members of the House the outstanding ability and leadership given to the work of this important committee by our beloved and able chairman, Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

Our friend and colleague, Representative WOLVERTON, gives unstintingly and unselfishly of himself and his ability in planning the work of the committee and conducting the hearings. He treats every witness before the committee with every courtesy, understanding, and consideration and yet he also draws from the witnesses all of the information they are able to contribute to the hearings. If there is a criticism, the criticism would be that the great number of witnesses called and the consideration of their testimony requires great and unusual amounts of time daily from all members of the committee. Since, however, our chairman is always the first one in the hearing room and the last one to leave, none of us can criticize and all of us must praise his outstanding ability and dedication of himself to his responsibility. The Congress of the United States, our Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and our Nation is greater and richer for the services and ability of our friend and colleague, Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

Recently, Mr. Speaker, an able commentator and columnist, Thomas L. Stokes, wrote a fitting tribute to Chairman WOLVERTON. I would like to include Mr. Stokes' article at this point in my remarks and have it printed in the RECORD;

WOLVERTON TALKS FROM THE HEART—NEW JERSEY REPRESENTATIVE IS SINCERE IN WANTING TO SEE SOMETHING DONE FOR NATION'S URGENT HEALTH NEEDS

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

President Eisenhower's proposals for health legislation in his annual message to Congress, which are to be spelled out in more detail in a special message next Monday, are getting prompt hearing and consideration in Congress. This is thanks chiefly to two men who have pioneered in this field. Both have given particular attention to Government reinsurance of private and nonprofit health plans as a means of sharing the risk and making such medical services available more widely, which was included among the President's recommendations.

One is Representative WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, who not only began public hearings this week by his committee, but also introduced a series of bills, one to carry out specifically the reinsurance plan, others to authorize Government loans for medical and hospital facilities and equipment and Government mortgage guaranty for new private hospital construction. In his questions and comments as the hearing progresses, the veteran New Jersey Congressman reveals a deep and devoted interest in the increasingly serious health problem, an interest obviously whetted by what he saw in inspection of Government health programs during the recess, in Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Indignantly he singled out, at one point, the charge of socialized medicine which he said is too frequently thrown about when any legislation to help the average citizen is proposed. He included the American Medical Association in his indictment of those who play this string.

The other pioneer who gave impetus to General Eisenhower's health program was Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, former chief medical officer of the Veterans' Administration. He was Chairman of the Commission on the Nation's Health, appointed by President Truman, which explored the reinsurance principle now espoused by Mr. Truman's successor and recommended it in its voluminous, five-volume report. Dr. Magnuson explained that "there is nothing new in the reinsurance principle." It has been applied for years by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in guarantee of bank deposits, and in guarantee of home mortgages both by the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration. Dr. Magnuson said he had advocated the principle for health plans for "a long, long time."

His Commission, recommended it to enable private-payment health plans "to extend their services and still be protected from financial catastrophe," as he quoted the Commission's report. Thus it would work, according to the Commission's report:

"Each participating plan would pay into a Federal Insurance Agency a certain proportion of the premiums collected from its members. The Government would then guarantee to meet any liability exceeding a certain maximum, in a manner similar to the reinsurance principle as applied to other forms of risk."

Dr. Magnuson explained that the really difficult problem is the health catastrophe, entailing heavy expenditures by a family. Little thus far has been done about that, he told the committee, by existing health plans. They clearly recognize the need, but are afraid to write much catastrophe insurance because of the lack of actuarial data.

"A Government guaranty will give them the needed shot in the arm to experiment and develop sound premiums and policies," he said.

As for low-income groups, Dr. Magnuson suggested grants-in-aid from the Government to health insurance plans to help take care of them. Grants-in-aid for old persons were suggested by another witness, Dr. H. Clifford Loos, of Los Angeles. He appeared to discuss the Ross-Loos medical group operation, a private health insurance plan which he and Dr. Donald E. Ross started in 1929 and which survived attacks by the American Medical Association and now has 26,000 group subscribers and 9,000 individual subscribers and employs 118 doctors on a salary basis. The committee also heard about the privately operated plan of the Kaiser Health Foundation, started by Henry J. Kaiser, the industrialist, which now serves 400,000 persons on the Pacific coast.

Chairman WOLVERTON sounded off for about 10 minutes deploring the overworked socialized medicine wolf cry against proposed health programs, his ire being aroused by mention of criticism of the Magnuson report by the American Medical Association. The AMA criticism was not constructive, he said.

"I hope the day will come when the American Medical Association wil recognize this problem and challenge it and come to Congress with a solution," he declared, adding with a grin:

"Maybe I've said too much. But I spoke from the heart, and I've never revised any remarks that came from the heart."

He did indeed speak from the heart, and to one who heard him it seemed most encouraging for getting something done.

The Eisenhower Initiative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to insert in this RECORD two editorials from the January 18 issue of Life

magazine, which to my mind contain facts and opinions of major importance to the Nation:

FROM EREHWON TO SOMEWHERE

Now that the President has delivered his state of the Union message, what were some of his so-called friends squawking about? "Ike personally is all right," they were saying, "but his administration hasn't done much and it doesn't know where it is heading."

Some talk could have been put down to plain dumb ignorance. No one any longer has an excuse for not knowing what Eisenhower and Company are up to. His television chat and the message to Congress spell out a very broad program of human welfare as well as national and international policy.

In his first year the President said "real momentum" has developed toward a goal in which each citizen has "bold hope." The momentum is tremendous. Inflation has been stopped. Government expenditures have been cut by more than $12 billion. Bureaucracy, the universal curse of the age, has been curbed here—and nowhere else in the world. We have taken the initiative in foreign affairs and put ourselves in a position to talk with the Russians without too much risk of being skunked.

Despite all this accomplishment there are still a few headwaggers and doomsayers who impress ignorant people by saying "the Washington mess is worse than the public ever knew." In the manner of ham actors they weep tears over something called the tragic plight of Dwight Eisenhower.

If there is anything amusing about all this, it is that most of the wails come from Republicans—from the handful of reactionaries or demagogues. What they want is not just liquidation of the mess in Washington. What they really want is the liquidation of modern America. They would like an America where there were no more taxes, where every man and woman was free to starve. They would like all the rest of the world to go away. And it might be nice (except for the reactionary columnists) if the printing press were abolished and nobody could read a book. Democracy of course is a terrible mistake.

To say that these Republicans want to go back to McKinley is to underrate them. They want to go back to Erehwon (spelled backward). They would like to abolish history.

Ike, on the other hand, is coping with history. He's doing fine. He's feeling fine. He faces—with full knowledge, and neither fear nor illusion—the most dangerous and most complex period in man's history. By hard-working, conscientious, and intelligent coping we shall win through to an era of less danger and of greater opportunity than man has ever known. America will do its full part toward that certain goal. That's Ike. That's America. That's the great majority of the American people.

It's also, we think, good Republicanism. It is the Republicanism of Abraham Lincoln (who saved the Union) and of William McKinley (an advocate of world trade) and Theodore Roosevelt (advocate of conservation, public works and social reform) and Elihu Root and William Howard Taft (advocates of world institutions under law), and Robert A. Taft (advocate of responsible labor unions and good labor relations and Federal concern for medical care and housing).

Ike is in the great Republican tradition—but up to date. However, the great majority of the American people don't care too much about Republicans (or Democrats).

It's time these Republican reactionaries (many businessmen among them), who are trying to make a god of what they think is the Republican Party, were told that the American people don't give a damn about that god. And furthermore that their god never existed.

The Republican Party will succeed if it does right—and Dwight D. Eisenhower has got a wise and healthy and courageous notion of what's right.

FREEDOM TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE

There is no greater opportunity for accomplishment by the administration than in creating a real policy for national defense. Apart from the fact that survival always takes precedence, defense will dominate the budget for years to come, controlling the ebb and flow of our lives from service in youth to taxation until death. What the President hopes to do in this field has been defined in his state of the Union message.

By so defining it, the President sharply breaks with the past. Mr. Truman, as we have often said, responded to crises with courage. But essentially his policies were improvised rather than planned or projected for a long pull. The Truman administration's defense policy alternated all the way between reductions for economy's sake to full mobilization just short of war. As the administration oscillated between crises so did the Pentagon planners. The result was a continuing and frustrating compromise by which the three services roughly divided up whatever money Congress appropriated. Because of the dogfights that arose out of constant squabbling for the dollar, each of the services seemed often to plan to fight future wars as if the other arms did not exist. Some planning took little or no account of the new and developing nuclear weapons; other planning concentrated exclusively on atomic Armageddon. Mr. Eisenhower has begun to pull them all together.

Now that the Korean war has ended, the President—the natural man for the job—has asserted firm civilian command over the Pentagon. He has done this by raising the National Security Council (a civilian body) to its rightful position of supreme authority in matters of strategy. The strategy is to avoid limited wars with their wasteful drain on manpower and money for nothing more decisive than what happened in Korea. The strategy is also to persuade the Communists' leaders they invite disaster if they provoke war.

If war must come, we plan to use nuclear weapons, terrible as they may be, everywhere they serve a useful military purpose—from infantry assault on battlefield to strategic bombardment. But the most important part of the strategy is the President's decision to disengage our manpower wherever possible and to concentrate it in a central mobile reserve. Such a policy not only conserves our most priceless asset—men—but it gives us freedom to take the initiative rather than to conform to that of the enemy. Necessarily this means giving more dollars to the Air Force and less to the other services.

Ultimately the decisions already taken should result in a firm and consistent projection of American policy that will dissipate the climate of crisis.

Golden Jubilee of Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edmund D. Daly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address I delivered at the reception to Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edmund D. Daly, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Lawrence, Mass., on his golden jubilee as a priest, Sunday, December 6, 1953:

In some quarters they refer to south Lawrence as the sacred soil.

Not without reason, as we observe the flourishing condition of our parish.

At the outset, and begging your indulgence, I feel that it is more friendly to refer to Monsignor Daly as "father" because that is what he means to all of us.

From the motion picture of his memory he can recall so many thousands who have come up the aisle of St. Patrick's Church in piety, in quiet happiness, in life, and in death.

From babes in arms to blissful brides, to the aged, meditating; from those who go to church to pray, even on weekdays; to those who straggle in on Sunday late; all, all are his children.

Ordinary parents have enough troubles of their own, but what a job it must be to look after the welfare of a family as big as St. Patrick's which is the largest in Lawrence.

Not that size is everything. Or wealth.

There are few other churches from New York City to Los Angeles that seat more people and even have millionaires in their congregations, where we have none, but there is no parish that excels ours in the reverent kinship that unites us with our gentle and understanding confidant—Father Daly.

He speaks our language; encouraging and comforting us. At the same time he is just a step ahead of us, showing, by the grace of his example, how to follow the true road of our faith.

Most of us start off on the journey of life with blood relatives. These are connections that we cannot change, much as we might wish to at times.

As we grow up, we acquire friends, and it is the popular custom, also, to become partners in marriage.

These affinities are somewhat limited in numbers and sometimes disappointing in loyalty.

The relationship we honor tonight, however, is one that is very special and dear to us. On the one hand, thousands of communicants; on the other, a beloved spiritual leader.

And the bond between is the two-way communication of faith, hope, and charity that brings parishioners and pastor together in mutual respect and affection.

Outside of the confessional, where we are given a chance to talk or whisper but, under the circumstances, make it as short as possible, it is usually Father Daly who speaks while we listen.

Tonight the shoe is on the other foot, and the members of this parish have their biggest opportunity in 50 years to talk back.

It is not easy to walk up to your own dad and tell him that you think he's the greatest guy in the world even when you believe it sincerely.

It is much more difficult to open up in public to a father of the church who is wise to all our human ways and words.

So, I hope you will overlook my stage-fright when I start off this tribute to Father Daly from a financial springboard.

Churches and rectories and schools and convents and all the good works that reach out from the city of God to help and inspire the secular world do not suddenly appear some fine morning, complete and fully paid for by somebody else, like a Christmas present.

They do not keep going under their own power, like perpetual motion. A certain amount of that material called money is necessary to build, maintain, and develop them.

Our parish has made such excellent and visible progress because it has one of the best of skippers at the wheel.

The people, appreciating Father Daly's wise and prudent management, respond voluntarily and generously.

I have no way of knowing for sure, but they tell me that some parishes in other parts of the country are constantly troubled by the problems of collections, which is hardly the proper atmosphere in which to contemplate higher values.

Thanks to Father Daly's ability, these earthly necessities are put in second place where they belong.

A parish is more than a church or the people who attend the services.

We of St. Patrick's consider ourselves as twice honored in having for our heavenly guide a priest who has been elevated by the church and whose saintliness has brought thousands of us close together as one large Catholic family in the harmony of our religion.

There are so many, Father Daly, who want to shake your hand on this notable anniversary of your ordination.

It is impossible for each and every one of them to express to you the gratitude that fills their hearts.

So they have asked me, speaking for the parish and for all the people devoted to it, to tell you of the happiness we share with you on your golden jubilee.

I feel like the awkward schoolboy who has been chosen by his classmates to say "Thank you," to the teacher.

In spite of careful rehearsals, when the big moment comes he chokes up and, thrusting the bouquet forward, manages to say, out of nowhere: "Here, Teacher, you know what we want to tell you."

As I think, Father Daly understands.

For in the service of this parish he is providing us with the most beautiful spiritual home that we could ever expect to find on this earth.

In all humility, we pray God to bless you, Father Daly, and to keep you for many years to come as the good shepherd of St. Patrick's.

Veterans' Administration Hospital, Long Beach, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, there has long been an increasing need for replacement of the temporary structures at the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Long Beach, Calif., with permanent-type structures. It is my pleasure to set out below, for the information of my colleagues on this matter, a resolution adopted by the American Legion, Department of California, in executive committee meeting assembled at Merced, Calif., January 9–10, 1954:

NEED FOR PERMANENT CONSTRUCTION AT VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Whereas the Veterans' Administration's 1,600-bed hospital at Long Beach, Calif., was originally built by the Navy for their wartime need, some 10 years ago; and

Whereas with the exception of the administration building containing approximately 300 surgical beds, the other 1,300 beds are in temporary construction; that is, in very poor condition, rapidly falling to pieces, with leaky roofs, buckling and splintering floors, inadequate toilet facilities, extremely difficult and costly to keep clean, is unsanitary, unsightly, a fire hazard; and

Whereas the importance of this hospital is further brought out by the fact that it is the second largest general medical and surgical Veterans' Administration hospital in the Nation; is the paraplegic center for the West, caring for 200 paraplegic patients, 400 tuberculous patients and 1,000 general medical and surgical patients; and

Whereas we believe the President of the United States and the Congress should be advised of these deplorable conditions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Rehabilitation Commission the American Legion, Department of California, in regular meeting, assembled at Merced, Calif., this 9–10 day of January 1954, That we advise our California Congressmen, and request our National Rehabilitation Commission, to call this to the attention of the Veterans' Administration and other appropriate Federal agencies, with the request that immediate steps be taken to replace all temporary construction with permanent construction at this hospital.

Some Storm Signals Over the Air Corps Academy

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I regret time was not available during the debate this afternoon to ask the chairman of our distinguished Armed Services Committee, Mr. SHORT, one or two small questions on H. R. 5337, dealing with the establishment of an Air Corps Academy. Under the 5-minute rule, I rose to my feet several times, but as my observations would not alter the language of the bill, I did not press for recognition. What I say will change no votes. Perhaps my remarks will, in some measure, prevent storm signals from appearing over the Air Corps Academy.

First, I hope that all concerned will do what they can to spare the Academy from ever being charged with being a feeder supply line for commercial pilots, however much we desire crack pilots at the controls of commercial lines.

Second, I hope that the dean and the faculty of the Academy ever remember the deep humiliation felt by the Air Corps for its questionable performance in support of ground forces in Korea. May its dean and faculty ever be spared the Korean infection of thinking the Corps' mission is exclusively in the great blue yonder away from boys dying, civilians working, transport moving, and homes thriving.

Third. In the use of vocabulary, may the Academy, for its own benefit, its own appropriation grants, tie in as much as possible with lay language and concepts. Squadrons and wings mean little. Fire engines, police sirens, and ambulance gongs tell their story. I hope the faculty sells, in its sphere, a fire-engine, police-siren, ambulance-gong understanding about its corps.

Fourth. I hope that the dean and the faculty of the Academy, in gearing themselves to the twin concepts of surface combat, be it on land or water, the concepts of "fire and maneuver," are not bashful in coming forward with improved techniques for combat effectiveness, no matter where; that it will pirate the brains of industry continuously. One would have thought that the day of a Billy Mitchell type fight had long since passed; that Americans by now at least in the armed services, had developed an eagerness to grasp and try the novel and the new. Yet, when the story is told of Colonel Dyer's inch-by-inch fight to put the helicopter in the Marine Corps—an item which proved so magnificent in Korea, especially in the evacuation of the wounded—one will realize to what extent Colonel Dyer put his courage and his career on the block, most diplomatically, let it be said, however.

Fifth, in pressing for success, I hope that the dean and the faculty of the Air Corps Academy are able to point out, with conviction, that in this age of cinerama, in this 3–D approach to attack and defense, that the Academy is the missing lens needed to focus our Military Establishment on the broadest possible field. To take a political analogy, if I may; our Voice of America, in its battle against the Reds, in the field of religion: I wonder whether we have ever broadcast the Sixth Commandment, Remember the Sabbath, to keep it holy? Instead, do we not seem like this debate, to have taken a splinter approach? On the Voice of America we have talked of God, of the freedom to worship and of atheistic communism. On this, in Poland, the Reds seem to have outflanked us. Churches are open and people go to them on Sunday, but at night, in Warsaw, especially. During the greater part of Sunday, the Communists schedule political rallies, field trips, and hikes to wear down the people, to destroy the concept of a holy Sabbath. They even work the people on Sunday. Legally, the Reds can say 'you are free to worship in Poland, you have freedom of religion', but actually they do everything to choke its spirit in the Poles. Perhaps a blast on the Sixth Commandment would blow the Reds out of Sunday. Likewise, in this debate, a fragmentary approach to defense seems evident. I hope that the Air Corps Academy locks tight this third lens, giving us that broad cineramic 3–D, on land, on sea, and in the Air establishment so we can harness for our greatest benefit, in or out of combat, the mysteries of altitude, speed, temperature, weather, and pressure.

Army Engineers Uphel[illegible]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Memphis

Commercial Appeal, for January 17, 1954:

ARMY ENGINEERS UPHELD

The Advisory Committee on Army Organization has unanimously concluded that the Corps of Engineers should retain its flood control and other civil functions—a responsibility it has had for more than a century.

Inasmuch as another perennial effort will soon be made to transfer such activities to some other Government agency, the committee's recommendation, contained in its recently released report to Army Secretary Stevens, is of paramount importance.

The committee, headed by Paul L. Davies, west coast industrialist, was created by Secretary Stevens at the suggestion of President Eisenhower. In its comprehensive report covering every phase of Army activity the group, in recommending that the Corps of Engineers retain its civil function, said:

"Some other studies have suggested that the Corps of Engineers be relieved of its responsibilities for civil works. They have proposed that the activities be transferred to a civilian department of the Federal Government.

"The proposals are founded on two bases: i. e., these activities unfortunately tend to inject the Army into domestic political affairs. On the other hand, it is contended that these activities provide essential and desirable means of developing skill and training officers in related engineering functions during peacetime.

"After careful analyses and recognizing the added problems posed for the Department (Army) by continuing responsibility for these functions, we believe that they should continue as a responsibility of the Department of the Army."

That recommendation, of particular concern to the lower Mississippi Valley area where Army engineer activities have been so greatly beneficial, certainly agrees with the thinking of President Eisenhower as it was in 1947 when he was Chief of Staff of the Army. While visiting Vicksburg in an official capacity that year he said, as part of an evaluation of the work of Army engineers:

"Without them and their magnificient achievements, the war (World War II) would have dragged along, and many of its phases would have been impossible to carry out as we did. The building of airfields, restoring of roads, building railways, bridging rivers, it was something remarkable. * * *

"There is no question in my mind that the great and wonderful training our Engineer Corps has gotten, and the fact that it has always been up to snuff, is because of its great work on rivers and harbors. * * * The civil affairs work of the Engineers has been the thing that has made it one of the outstanding bodies of its kind in all the armies of the world in modern times.

"This fact remains—our Engineers go to war completely ready to use all of the great equipment that they use right down these rivers, and no other engineer corps ever thought of taking giant bulldozers, pile drivers and all sorts of earth-moving machinery to war."

The Advisory Committee's recommendation and the evaluation of the leader who is now the country's Commander-in-Chief ought to constitute the long overdue "last word" about stripping the Corps of Engineers of its civil functions.

The American Legion's 1954 Legislative Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the 1954 legislative program of the American Legion,

The Public Printer has informed me that the program in its entirety would require 3¼ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at an estimated cost of $276.25.

The program follows:

The American Legion's 1954 legislative program

Legion resolutions are arranged according to subject matter, wherever practicable

Legion resolution No.	Where adopted	Digest of resolutions	1st sess., 83d Cong.
		AMERICANISM	
		Citizenship, immigration, etc.:	
303	New York, 1952	Aliens exempted as such from military service shall not later become eligible for naturalization	S. 816.
610	do	Deny social security numbers to illegally entered noncitizens	
31	National executive committee, May 1953.	Oppose legislation designed to weaken McCarran-Walter Act (Public Law 414, 82d Cong). Such as:	H. R. 220, 2999, 3014, 462, and others.
303	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms preceding resolution	
296	do	Prevent illegal entrance at Mexican border	
403	do	Oppose overquota admission of displaced persons, refugees, etc	
36	National executive committee, October 1952.	Preserve naturalized United States citizenship of veterans	
47	National executive committee, May 1953.	Constitution Day: Designate Sept. 17 as "Constitution Day"	H. R. 623; H. J. Res. 221.
		Education:	
203	New York, 1952	Eliminate subversive activities in VA educational programs	H. R. 1840.
31	National executive committee, October 1952.	Oppose Federal control of public schools	S. 277, 444, 537, 969, 1397; H. R. 523, 1060, 1857, 3094, and others.
150	St. Louis, 1953	Withhold Federal funds to educational institutions failing to furnish proof of loyalty	
416	New York, 1952	Firearms control: Oppose general firearms registration laws	H. R. 3367; S. 1089.
32	National executive committee, May 1953.	Flag: Clarification of Public Law 829, 77th Cong., Flag usage and etiquette	Pending White House action.
		Indians:	
83	New York, 1952	Repeal laws discriminating against American Indians	H. Res. 89; S. J. Res. 4.
192	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms preceding resolution	
218	do	Rifle marksmanship: Urge increased appropriations for National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice.	
		Un-American Activities:	
231	New York, 1952	Investigate American Civil Liberties Union	
151	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms preceding resolution	
254	New York, 1952	Commend and support House and Senate committees investigating subversive activities	S. Res. 40; H. Res. 119
273	St. Louis, 1953	Reemphasizes preceding resolution	
41	National executive committee, October 1952.	Deny use of United States Mails to Communists	S. 1824; H. R. 4365.
48	do	Oppose importation of certain films	
356	St. Louis, 1953	Outlaw the Communist Party	S. 200; H. R. 5941.
		CEMETERIES—MEMORIALS—PILGRIMAGES	
289	New York, 1952	Gold Star pilgrimage for next-of-kin to visit overseas graves	H. R. 580, 2537.
205	do	Additional national cemeteries in each State and/or Territory, where needed	H. R. 224, 490, 1409, 2251, 5009, 4792, 5277, 5365; S. 88, 1372.
567	do	Set aside parts of national cemeteries for memorial markers for those missing in action	H. R. 4690.
568	do	Creation of a civilian cemetery commission for all national cemeteries	H. R. 4775.
569	do	Grave markers for those whose burial places are unknown	H. R. 518.
571	do	Government defray expenses of next of kin to attend funerals in national cemeteries	
4	National executive committee, October 1952.	Erect chapel at Fort Snelling Cemetery	H. R. 3648.
15	do	Preservation and restoration of U. S. S. *Hartford*	H. R. 4295; S. 1274.
66	St. Louis, 1953	Provide memorial markers for deceased servicemen whose bodies are not recovered	H. R. 518; S. 1503.
103	do	Provide suitable memorial to Gen. John J. Pershing	
322	do	Burials in Fort Snelling Cemetery to be allowed on Saturdays and Sundays	
361	do	Provide additional national cemeteries in Pennsylvania	H. R. 5365.

The American Legion's 1954 legislative program—Continued

Legion Resolution No.	Where adopted	Digest of resolutions	1st sess., 83d Cong.
		CEMETERIES—MEMORIALS—PILGRIMAGES—continued	
420	St. Louis, 1953	Provide a national cemetery in Nevada	
421	do	Provide a national cemetery in Los Angeles County, Calif	
484	do	Enlarge national cemetery at St. Augustine, Fla., or establish a new one in central Florida	
549	do	Provide a national cemetery in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, or Connecticut	
8	National executive committee, October 1953.	Chicago West Side VA Hospital be named "Col. A. A. Sprague Hospital"	
		CHILD WELFARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY	
382	New York, 1952	Academy appointments: Increase military and naval academy allotments for sons of personnel killed in service, and include sons of men killed in Korea.	H. R. 4231.
230	St. Louis, 1953	Hygiene Clinic, District of Columbia: Establish children's mental hygiene clinic in the District of Columbia.	
		Maternal and infant care:	
156	New York, 1952	Urges maternal and infant care program similar to World War II	S. 1495; H. R. 4642.
72	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and expands preceding resolution	
		Narcotics:	
155	New York, 1952	Prevent smuggling of narcotics into the United States and stiffen penalties	H. R. 4777.
243	do	Amend Federal narcotic laws to provide more severe punishment and penalties for offenders	H. R. 4770.
847	St. Louis, 1953	Obscene literature: Enforce present laws re publication and distribution of lewd, pornographic, obscene, indecent and bawdy literature and expand laws, if necessary.	
		Social security:	
110	do	Amend social security laws to make "Definition of a child" same as used in VA for benefits accruing from in-service death of parent.	
210	do	Increase monthly military wage credit to $250 for veterans	
2	National executive committee, May 1953.	Amend social security laws to preserve wage credits of those who are unable to remain in covered employment by reason of disability.	Numerous bills pending.
458	New York, 1952	Grant social security benefits to the people of Puerto Rico on the same ratio and basis as for the several States.	Twice defeated in Congress.
610	do	Deny social security numbers to illegally entered noncitizens. (Also under Americanism.)	
1	National executive committee, May 1953.	Eliminate wage ceilings for widows of veterans supporting minor children and who are otherwise entitled to old age and survivors insurance benefits.	Numerous bills pending.
71	St. Louis, 1953	Eliminate social security law provisions limiting retroactive payments to World War II and K-veterans' widows and children.	
		CONGRESS	
615	New York, 1952	Veterans' Affairs Committee be established in U. S. Senate	S. Res. 24, S. Res. 60.
391	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
		ECONOMICS	
		Agriculture:	
630	New York, 1952	United States program to lessen flood dangers	S. 117; H. R. 195, 309, 1082.
22	National Executive Committee, October 1952.	Revise subsistence payment schedules for on-the-farm training	H. R. 2978; S. 1553.
132	St. Louis, 1953	Adequate funds for Farmers Home Administration	
458	do	Apprenticeship: Adequate funds for the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship	
		Civil service and veterans' preference:	
87	New York, 1952	Penalty for failure of agencies to comply with decisions of U. S. Civil Service Commission	
247	do	Oppose legislation adversely affecting veterans' preference	H. R. 296, 297, 298, and others; S. 44.
470	do	Strengthen law granting leave to participate in military funerals	
13	National Executive Committee, May 1953.	Retention of veterans' preference in reorganization and reclassification	
14	do	Violation of Veterans' preference Act of 1944	
15	do	Reinstatement of Federal employees on discharge from military service	
17	do	Compensation in cases of demotion where veterans are demoted illegally	
224	St. Louis, 1953	Oppose any changes in the veterans' preference laws	
225	do	Oppose riders in appropriation bills to permit dismissal of Government employees without due civil service protection and the provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act.	
801	do	Continuation of the 25 percent Territorial cost-of-living allowance for Federal employees in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.	
805	do	Oppose action taking away from veterans any preference granted them under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944.	
806	do	Board of Review in Civil Service office for cases where a veteran is passed over by an appointing officer.	
		Employment and Veterans' Employment Service:	
843	New York, 1952	Federal reemployment law which will facilitate speedy return of ex-servicemen in the Nation's economy.	
1	St. Louis, 1953	Retain Veterans' Employment Service as separate unit	
357	St. Louis, 1953	Adequate funds for Veterans' Employment Service and State employment services	
9	National executive committee, October 1953.	Reemphasizes Resolution 357, above, and urges Manion Commission on Intergovernmental Relations strengthen USES and VES to more effectively assist States in veterans employment programs.	
		Housing:	
(1)	National executive committee, May 1953.	Construction of homes for veterans in Hawaii	H. R. 5607.
10	St. Louis, 1953	Continue direct-loan program to Jan. 1, 1955	H. R. 6582.

[1] No number.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign-relations statement of policy approved at the St. Louis convention contains elements which may be considered legislative, as follows:

1. Continuing support of the United Nations.

2. Continued study of UNESCO and other independent agencies in the United Nations. (UNESCO hearings will be continued in the new Congress. The Legion will be heard.)

3. Favors an amendment to the Constitution of the United States by including therein a stipulation that no treaty, contract, or pact, between our Government and any foreign power shall ever operate or be construed to adversely affect or diminish in any way the rights of any citizen of the United States under the Constitution. (The present Bricker amendment, S. J. Res. 1, appears to meet the above requirement.)

4. Urges Congress keep constant check on recent NATO agreement so as to insure continued rights of our Armed Forces personnel serving in NATO countries who are charged with offenses against civil laws.

5. Urges the military, political, and economic strengthening of the North Atlantic Community; the continuance of military and essential economic aid to those countries demonstrating their determination to defend their freedom.

6. Urges legislation to effect return to German nationals of properties seized and now in hands of Alien Property Custodian.

7. Reiterates NEC Resolution 62, November 1949: Morocco be required to comply with all terms of its treaty with the United States and cease all acts tending to place United States nationals and trade in Morocco in less favorable position than that of any other nation.

8. Urges necessary action to insure that trade and traffic with enemy countries be ended.

9. Legislation authorizing United States cooperation with Mexico toward erection of monument along border honoring Abraham Lincoln and Benito Juarez.

10. Support United States Information Agency (formerly Voice of America).

The American Legion's 1954 legislative program—Continued

Legion resolution No.	Where adopted	Digest of resolutions	1st sess., 83d Cong.
		NATIONAL SECURITY	
		Aeronautics:	
(1)	New York, 1952	The principle of flight pay for all flying personnel to be continued.	
410	do	Establish a teenage Air Force enlisted reserve flight training program.	
208	St. Louis, 1953	Establish Air Academy	H. R. 329, 285, 2328, 5337; S 1457.
438	do	Cutback of Air Force procurement program be reexamined	
439	do	Air Force heavy press program fastest and most efficient approach to aircraft construction	
605	do	Achieve and maintain air superiority	
		Civil defense:	
338	New York, 1952	Funds to implement Ground Observer Corps	
626	do	Civil defense safeguards and implementation	
627	do	Civil defense funds to finance a full-scale nationwide program	
(1)	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirmed the above 3 resolutions	
54	do	Continue strong military and civil-defense program following truce in Korea	
483	do	Workmen's compensation coverage for Civil Defense and Ground Observer Corps workers	
		Merchant marine:	
803	do	Encourage and support expansion of merchant marine as 4th arm of defense	
		Military:	
616	New York, 1952	National Security Training Corps—UMT	S. 605.
289	St. Louis, 1953	Enact legislation to implement Public Law 51, 82d Cong. (UMT)	
414	New York, 1952	Oppose privileged tretiment accorded conscientious objectors (UMT bill)	S. 605.
52	St. Louis, 1953	Support adequate funds, equipment, and supply for active Reserve units	
294	do	Oppose the use of personnel of the Armed Forces as laborers to rebuild Korea	
443	do	Maintain and build up all our military forces to the fullest strength in keeping with our national resources.	
808	do	Oppose discontinuance of overseas per diem allowance of troops permanently stationed outside the continental limits of the United States.	
585	do	Approve action of Congress to investigate the source and accessibility of critical raw materials during a time of war.	S. Res. 143.
		Naval affairs:	
(1)	do	Calls for a Navy second to none	
131	do	"Parents dependency affidavits" be based on present dependency	
172	do	Urge adequate defenses and fortifications in the Philippines and the Far East	
330	do	Preserve present status quo of post exchanges, ships' services, and commissary operations	
		Philippine Scouts:	
149	New York, 1952	Increase retirement pay of retired Philippine Scouts to equal retirement pay of Regular Army veterans.	
177	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
173	do	Nonnaturalized former Philippine Scouts be permitted to reenlist	
174	do	Commissary and post exchange privileges to retired and disabled Philippine Scouts now residing in the Philippines.	
175	do	Recognize former Philippine Scouts as a component of U. S. Army or its Reserve	
176	do	Legal tender of the Philippines be used in lieu of military payment certificates by U. S. Defense Department.	
178	do	Retired Philippine Scouts be permitted to serve in Government of the Republic of the Philippines	
581	do	Reactivate Philippine Scouts as part of the U. S. Armed Forces	
597	do	Pay to Philippine Scouts during periods of parole from Japanese military authorities	
		Selective service:	
12	National executive committee, October 1952.	Veterans who have served be credited with such service if redrafted	H. R. 438, 1721, 1822; S. 129.
75	St. Louis, 1953	Congress investigate deferments granted to registrants for higher education	
		Single catalog:	
617	New York, 1952	Perfect single catalog system in accordance with intent of law	H. R. 1522, 204.
54	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues Resolution 610, Los Angeles, 1950, and same subject as Resolution 617, New York, 1952, above.	
		POSTAL AFFAIRS	
26	National executive committee, October 1952.	Exempt Legion publications from postal rate increases	S. 1090; H. R. 4405.
36	National executive committee, May 1953.	Commemorative stamp for Gen. John J. Pershing	
42	do	"In God We Trust" be printed on all postage stamps	S. 1482; H. R. 5178, 4308.
454	St. Louis, 1953	Commemorative stamp for Francis Bellamy, author of Pledge of Allegiance	
566	do	Commemorative stamp for 35th birthday of the American Legion	
		REHABILITATION	
21	New York, 1952	Oppose legislation in Congress aimed at dismemberment of VA	
209	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
574	New York, 1952	In same vein as Resolution 21, New York, 1952, above	
580	St. Louis, 1953	Continue interest in the 2d Hoover Commission program to the end that legitimate interests of war veterans shall not be adversely affected.	
		Claims and ratings:	
90	New York, 1952	Presumption of service-connection for psychoses and sclerosis developing in 3 years	S. 702; H. R. 5636 supersedes H. R. 33.
522	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
268	New York, 1952	Parity for all widows and orphans	S. 934; H. R. 34.
524	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
514	New York, 1952	Burial allowance be increased to $225	H. R. 1305.
468	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
2	National executive committee, October 1953.	Government to transport bodies deceased veterans from State veterans homes to place of burial	
16	St. Louis, 1953	Extend time for filing World War II prisoner-of-war claims to Aug. 1, 1954	
100	do	Increase compensation to widows and dependent parents of service-connected veterans	
604	do	Continue combat pay for service personnel for period detained as POW (unless POW collaborated with enemy).	
		Compensation and pensions:	
190	New York, 1952	Compensation for service-connected disability	H. R. 37; S. 1406.
337	do	Reservists' death benefits under United States Employment Compensation Act to be equalized with those of VA.	
421	do	Retroactive award of additional disability compensation	H. R. 32; S. 760.
450	do	Disability pension to be paid to all veterans with TB	Sec. 1 of H. R. 340; S. 935.
513	do	Dependent parents to be considered in income ceiling application affecting pt. III or death pension	Sec. 3 of H. R. 340; S. 935.
548	do	Redefines 10-year clause affecting pt. III pension	Sec. 2 of H. R. 340; S. 935.
96	do	Increase disability pension awards to $75 and $90	Do.
118	do	Misconduct—eliminate restrictions on payment of disability pension	Sec. 4 of H. R. 340; S. 935.
555	do	Amend sec. 302, Public Law 346, 78th Cong., to mandate review of cases where release from active duty with physical disability but not because of physical disability.	H. R. 40, 2110, 2223; S. 1067.
562	do	More favorable interpretation of Public Law 149, 83d Cong., affecting helpless, and/or pension cases.	

Footnote at end of table.

The American Legion's 1954 legislative program—Continued

Legion Resolution No.	Where adopted	Digest of resolutions	1st sess., 83d Cong.
		REHABILITATION—continued	
601	New York, 1952	Payment of VA benefits to veterans residing in foreign countries to be corrected	H. R. 6570.
9	National executive committee, October 1952.	Honorable discharge to veterans discharged during World War I because of alienage	H. R. 41; S. 217.
431	St. Louis, 1953	Augment Armed Services Review Board to relieve great backlog (administrative—but added funds may be needed).	
24	National executive committee, October 1953.	Line of duty physical disqualification not to bar promotion (for retirement purposes) that would otherwise have been effected.	
432	St. Louis, 1953	Delimiting date for remarriage of widows for pension and compensation purposes	
606	do	Pensions start at 55 instead of age 65	
		Income limitations:	
43	New York, 1952	Exclude life insurance payment from any source as annual income for death pension purposes	H. R. 6181.
288	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
		Insurance:	
89	New York, 1952	Assure right of judicial review of any decisions of the Administrator of Veterans Affairs in suits brought under sec. 617 of N8LI act.	H. R. 50; S. 1405.
170	do	Relieve liens on USGLI policies	H. R. 36; S. 761.
39	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
269	New York, 1952	Restore former insurance rights of certain veterans to apply for insurance, etc	H. R. 51; S. 1407.
41	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
8	National executive committee, October 1952.	Insurance suits, court costs	
8	National executive committee, May 1953.	Insurance suits, may be brought in United States district court for the district in which claimant resides.	H. R. 6578.
9	do	USGL and N8L insurance, automatic renewals, etc. (enacted in part)	H. R. 2278, 6580, 6581, and others.
209	St. Louis, 1953	Loco parentis, define stepparent in Servicemen's Indemnity Act	
		Medical and hospitals:	
74	New York, 1952	More equitable program of salaries and promotion in VA Medical Service	
475	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
205	New York, 1952	Hospital care and medical treatment for service-connected disabled temporarily residing abroad	H. R. 35; S. 1068.
19	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
368	New York, 1952	Outpatient treatment of retired personnel	H. R. 5803.
455	do	Hospital and domiciliary home to meet need of approximately 100,000 veterans in Puerto Rico	
577	do	Oppose socialized medicine	
7	National executive committee, October 1952.	Establish a Federal Board of Hospitalization	H. R. 2862; S. 1436.
527	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues preceding resolution	
7	National executive committee, May 1953.	Increase Federal annual allotment to State soldiers' homes from $500 to $700 for each qualified resident veteran.	H. R. 5802.
11	do	Chapel in each VA hospital	
5	St. Louis, 1953	Medical and dental care of outpatients' treatment for service-connected disabilities	Sent to House Veterans' Affairs, Sept. 10, 1953.
26	do	Domiciliary and convalescent center in Fort Logan (Colo.) Reservation	S. 242.
328	do	High standard medical service accorded veterans (including Korean veterans) be maintained	
544	do	Eliminate abuses militating against proper care and adequate compensation for service-connected disabilities.	
		Policy, Veterans' Administration:	
322	New York, 1952	Provide statutory award for Hansen's disease	
182	St. Louis, 1953	Provide award of disability compensation by VA for Hansen's disease (leprosy)	
576	New York, 1952	No impairment of the care of the disabled veteran, nor loss of veteran identity	
96	St. Louis, 1953	Oppose any proposal to reduce or eliminate benefits to veterans and dependents—oppose change in rating schedule reducing or eliminating veterans' benefits.	
324	do	Federal Government responsible for the care of sick and disabled veterans	
435	do	Justify veterans' benefits against attacks	
535	do	Support adequate funds for VA budget for administration, medical, hospital, and domiciliary services	
25	National executive committee, October 1953.	American Legion policy re hospitalization—oppose changes in controlling basic law	
		Vocational rehabilitation and training:	
511	New York, 1952	Training entrance date extended for disabled veterans	H. R. 1303.
512	do	Tuition and subsistence allowances—amend Public Law 550, 82d Cong	H. R. 1304.
526	do	Vocational training ending date, extension of Public Law 16	H. R. 2070; S. 1060.
10	National executive committee, October 1952.	Training entrance date extended for World War II veterans reentering service	
335	St. Louis, 1953	Qualifying time under the GI bill be extended for those recalled to active duty. (Includes education and other GI bill benefits and allowances.)	
		STATEHOOD	
6	National executive committee, October 1953.	Favors Alaska statehood	S. 50; H. R. 20, 207, 1740, 2684, 2982.
		TAXES AND TAX EXEMPTIONS	
370	New York, 1952	Tax exemption for Legion junior baseball games	H. R. 4679, 6610.
30	National executive committee, October 1952.	Constitutional amendment to limit power of Congress to levy and collect taxes	S. J. Res. 23; H. J. Res. 103, 217, 61, 62.
300	St. Louis, 1953	Purchase cigarettes tax free for distribution in non-VA hospitals	H. R. 4391.
583	do	Oppose tax exemption for foundations that seek to develop or influence ideas or ideologies on a national or international level.	
		VETERANS' STATUS	
547	New York, 1952	WAAC—provide that service in WAAC shall be deemed active military service, providing there was subsequent service in WAC.	S. 502; H. R. 56.
465	St. Louis, 1953	Reaffirms and continues above resolution	
572	New York, 1952	Oppose granting of veterans' benefits to former members of the Russian Railway Service Corps, American Red Cross, etc.	Oppose H. R. 16, 73, 1065, 3161, 4490, 6313.

[1] Statement of policy.

The Right to Health—A New Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, an article, entitled "The Right to Health—A New Concept," by Dr. Evarts A. Graham, appearing in the 75th anniversary issue of St. Louis Post-Dispatch, dated December 13, 1953, is of interest not only because of the views expressed, but, particularly so because of the person who wrote the article and expressed the views.

The writer was Dr. Evarts A. Graham, emeritus professor of surgery at Washington University Medical School and the recipient of many national and international honors, including his election recently at Lisbon, Portugal, as president of the International Congress of Surgeons.

The fact that he also was a member of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, of which Commission Dr. Paul B. Magnuson was Chairman, creates additional interest because the report of the Commission aroused the ire of the board of trustees of the American Medical Association which characterized the findings contained in the report as defining "welfare state" and "socialistic."

Of course this effusion of the board of trustees would not be given any consideration by those who know the character and standing of Drs. Magnuson and Graham and the other distinguished doctors and laymen and women who served on the Commission.

However, it is because of the standing of Dr. Graham, who is the author of the article entiled "The Right to Health—A New Concept," that I have included it as part of my remarks. It is evidence that officials of the American Medical Association have not always correctly expressed the views of the rank and file of the membership of that body. The article written by this distinguished doctor, is as follows:

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH—A NEW CONCEPT

(By Evarts A. Graham)

What the responsibility of the medical profession to society is would be answered in many different ways by different members of the profession. In other words it is a very controversial question. Probably, however, there would be general agreement that the function of the profession is to maintain society in as good a state of health as possible. The difference of opinion would arise in considering the implications involved in this responsibility, or obligation.

Along with any discussion of this subject many questions are provoked. For instance: What does one mean by health? Does every member of society have an inherent right to health? Is it to the advantage of all members of a community that everyone should be healthy? Is society willing to pay the price to keep itself in a state of health?

Health means something more than absence of disease. It means maximum well being from the standpoint of physical and mental states. Nowadays, the word also implies a normal condition of nutrition.

The concept that every member of society has an inherent right to health is so new that it has been given practically no consideration until very recent times. There is by no means any general agreement among those few who have discussed the question. It is unthinkable that such a concept could arise in any form of government other than a democracy or a socialized state. Jefferson could hardly have had health in mind when those famous words of the Declaration of Independence were written: "* * * that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness * * *." So little was known in those days about the causes of disease and a lack of health, it would have been practically impossible for any physician to foresee the day when the right to health would even be discussed as a possibility. That such a possibility can now be talked about is due to the almost miraculous progress which has occurred in medicince since Jefferson's memorable document was written.

The concept of a right to health implies, of course, that a citizen will be defended against disease as he might be defended against a foreign enemy. This idea is especially applicable to infectious diseases. It was chiefly the recurrent pandemics of cholera in Europe which furnished the impetus in the middle of the last century for compulsory governmental measures to protect the public against the ravages of that disease.

In the United States, according to Fielding H. Garrison, there were no advances in public hygiene, except for some regulations about smallpox, until after the second cholera pandemic which ravaged the world in the decade between 1840 and 1850. In 1849 a survey of Massachusetts was made by the Massachusetts Sanitary Commission under the inspiration and direction of Lemuel Shattuck, who is generally considered to be the father of public health activities in this country. The report of the survey issued in 1850 emphasized the serious consequences of the crowding and unsanitary conditions of the cities. Shortly after the publication of this report, certain health regulations and controls were set up in various States and independently in some municipalities. In 1876 Congress set up a National Board of Health which died of starvation for lack of appropriations. The United States Marine Hospital Service then (1883) took over the activities of the defunct National Board until the formation of the present United States Public Health Service. Now every State and all large cities have departments of health.

Despite the recent origin of this whole movement to protect the individual against disease by governmental action, there is little or no opposition to it except on the part of various health cranks, who particularly oppose vaccination against smallpox. The entire medical profession has enthusiastically supported Government action in the control of infectious diseases. It is unthinkable that there would be any serious opposition to the program as a whole. Yet at the time it seemed to be a very radical step for the Federal Government to interfere with the private practice of medicine.

The concept that every citizen has a right to have good health implies that he also has a right to have adequate food, clothing, shelter, and safe working conditions. Should one go further and say it implies also that, in order to maintain its citizens in as good a state of health as possible, the Government should take steps to protect them against harmful excesses of food, drink, smoking, and yes, even against overwork? Everybody knows that the spirit of the last consideration has been rather successfully carried out by the child labor laws. Should similar protections be set up for adults? It is hard to imagine Government (Federal, State, or local) in such a paternalistic role. But I wonder if such a role seems any more radical to us than compulsory education did to our ancestors.

Until very recently the interest of Government in the health of the people, whether on a national, State, or city level, has been largely confined to protecting them against infectious diseases. The easily recognized advantages of public health activities have led to the financial support of the whole public health movement with little or no complaint from the taxpayers. Indeed, there has even been an increasing pressure to expand tax-financed health measures through Government agencies at national, State, county, and community levels.

This pressure culminated in the plan for compulsory complete Federal health insurance proposed during the Truman administration. Under such a plan, theoretically every citizen would be entitled to be in as good a state of health as possible. It would be his inherent right to have that health. Those who would carry out the plan would, of course, be the medical profession. As paid Government employees, or virtually that, the doctors would then truly have the responsibility or obligation to maintain the public in as good a state of health as possible.

The repercussions aroused by the controversy over the legislation for compulsory health insurance have not yet completely died down. It is still difficult to have a discussion of this subject among groups of the medical profession without causing emotional outbursts. Similarly, it is difficult to have a quiet discussion of any further expansion of tax supported medicine. Yet if the concept that everybody has a right to health becomes generally accepted, the only way that it could have meaning would be for the Government greatly to increase its present activities because it is the only source of sufficiently large funds. Also, it should not be forgotten that the concept implies the maintenance of adequate nutrition, clothing, and housing, all of which would require huge sums of money.

The defeat of the legislation proposed for compulsory Federal health insurance and the expressed opposition to the plan in the last Republican platform seem to indicate rather strongly that not only the majority of the medical profession, but also the majority of the people are not yet ready to look with favor upon an idea which would make nearly all, if not all, the doctors employees of the Government. Another apparently logical conclusion to draw would be that the country is not yet ready to concede the inherent right to health.

Perhaps some of the reluctance to make any fundamental changes in handling health needs may be charged to the fact that never in our history have we Americans shown such evidence of good health. The amazing increase in life expectancy from birth is often quoted in this connection. In 1900 it was 47 years and in 1949 it had risen to 68 years. This increase, however, has been largely caused by a decrease in infant mortality rather than to a lengthening of life beyond the Biblical three score years and ten.

Actually, the death rate for men from 45 to 64 years of age has declined comparatively little over the last 20 years, although for women it has been reduced nearly one-third.

The increase of the life expectancy constitutes a splendid achievement by all the forces responsible for medical progress. On the other hand, as fine as this record is, we are still far short of what apparently can be accomplished in the future. For example, a study of draftees examined between July 1950 and June 1951 showed that 15 percent had been rejected for solely medical reasons.

The question can be raised, would it be of advantage to try to lengthen life indefinitely? Would it be desirable, if possible, to increase the life expectancy much beyond the pres-

ent 68 years? Suppose it were lengthened to 78 or 88 years. The complications presented to society would be enormous. The population of the world has increased to such a point that the business of providing food for so many hungry mouths has already caused serious concern. Such a question cannot be discussed at length here.

President Truman was reluctant to abandon completely his desire to improve the health of the country. Accordingly, in December 1951 he appointed a Commission of 15 members, known as the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. The Chairman was Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, who had become prominent in Washington because of the excellence of his work while in charge of the medical activities of the Veterans' Administration. The Commission had to work under pressure to complete its work in 1952 before President Truman would go out of office. On the whole, however, the analysis of the medical needs of the country made by the Commission seems adequate. The recommendations often represent some degree of compromise because the members of the group came from various categories of activity. Only 6 of the 15 had the doctor of medicine degree.

Several basic principles were agreed upon as an approach to the more specific recommendations. The first one was that access to the means for the attainment and preservation of health is a basic human right. Another one was that responsibility for health is a joint one, with the individual citizen and local State and Federal Governments each having major contributions to make toward its realization.

In the final report many specific recommendations were made. For lack of space they cannot all be stated here. An important one, however, has already been adopted by the Congress and the present Republican administration: a Department of Health with cabinet status. It is remarkable that the United States has been about the last civilized nation to have a Federal department of health, particularly when the individual States and even the larger cities had such departments.

The Commission realized that the various needs of medicine and the conditions of practice are not static but are constantly changing. It was recommended, therefore, that a permanent Federal Health Commission be created by Congress of from 12 to 18 professional and lay members appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. This Commission would differ from the Federal Department of Health in having no administration function. It would collect information, act in an advisory manner and fill the role of critic and evaluator.

As a means of financing personal health care, some system of prepayment is becoming more and more popular. More than 50 percent of the public have some sort of prepaid protection, but the total amount covers only 15 percent of private expenditures for medical care. Prepaid protection is of comparatively recent development—15 years or so. Sudden unexpected illness is often catastrophic in its financial effects. Some form of prepaid insurance seems to be the best safeguard against financial disaster. The Commission, therefore, recommended that the principle of prepaid health services be accepted as the most feasible method of financing the costs of medical care.

In order to get away from some of the criticism directed at the plan of compulsory Federal insurance, a new and different proposal was made. This was to establish a cooperative Federal-State program. Under this program, a single State health authority would be set up in each participating State to draw up an over-all State plan for assisting the development and distribution of personal health services for all persons.

It would use public or private agencies and resources, or a combination of them. State plans would be developed in cooperation with local or regional authorities and would be linked with the planned expansion of health resources so as to provide ultimately more comprehensive, more efficient, and more economical services.

It was recommended that Federal grants-in-aid be made from general tax revenues to assist the States in making personal health services available to recipients of public assistance and to all persons declared eligible with no discrimination as to age, race, citizenship, and with no means test at the time care is needed.

Another important recommendation concerned the controversial matter of whether or not the medical schools should accept Federal financial aid. The Commission made a positive recommendation that they should accept such aid because there is not anywhere in sight enough money from other sources to save our educational institutions from the financial crisis they are in. Medical education is the most expensive kind of education there is. Several studies have shown that the medical schools need from 10 to 40 million dollars in increased operating revenue each year, and a minimum of several hundred million dollars for new construction and expansion.

The most important element in the whole health picture is the physician. Nothing should ever be permitted to happen that would lower the quality of his education. More physicians are needed to care for our expanding population and that means more of a financial problem to the schools because the tuition fee paid by the student represents only a small part of the cost incurred by the school in educating him. The number of graduates in 1952 was about 6,100. The class of 1953 approximated 6,400, and it is estimated that in 1960 the number will reach about 7,000. In addition, a host of dentists, nurses, and technicians of various kinds must be educated. There is a shortage of all those various participants in the program to keep people healthy.

Just as the universities more and more are feeling the pinch of the increased costs of medical education, so are the medical students, both graduate and postgraduate, also feeling the increased costs of medical education. In order to insure a supply of medical personnel of high intellectual quality, it is necessary that the possibilities of education should be open to all young people of suitable moral and mental caliber, regardless of their financial status. For that reason, many scholarships are needed to help in the financing of the students; and private philanthropy is no longer able to provide the necessary funds.

Progress in medicine is dependent upon research. Vast sums are needed if we are ever to conquer some of the present-day scourges such, for example, as cancer. Although private funds have been generously given for this purpose, additional large grants from the Federal Government will be needed for an indefinite period.

This discussion of the responsibility of the medical profession to society has concerned itself largely with the concept of whether or not everybody has an inherent right to health. Those who deny that right will argue for a continuation of the status quo and will be blind to the fact that medicine in all respects, both scientific and practical, is dynamic and refuses to go along unchanged. To be convinced of this statement, one needs only to examine the record of the first half of this century. On the other hand, sudden economic changes of great magnitude and of far-reaching consequences seem to be repugnant to the American people. We prefer to make them more gradually, if we can.

That more and more Government aid, both Federal and State, will be used in improving and maintaining the health of the people, cannot be doubted. It is to be hoped that the medical profession will cooperate to insure that such aid will be wisely used.

The Tangled Web

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by the distinguished columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop entitled "The Tangled Web," which appeared in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

THE TANGLED WEB

Since he return from France to seek the Presidency, Dwight D. Eisenhower has been sold a good many lemons in the name of smart politics. But about the worst lemon he has been sold yet is the strategy, worked out by certain of the administration's amateur Machiavellis, for dealing with the Communist issue.

As an example of this strategy in action, take the administration's repeated boasts about the 1,456—now 2,200— people who have been fired from the Government as security risks. The privately admitted purpose of these security firings has been to grab the commie issue away from JOE MCCARTHY.

The idea has been to undercut MCCARTHY by broadcasting the notion that the new administration found the Government crawling with subversives; promptly fired the lot; and thus left MCCARTHY with nothing further to do but twiddle his thumbs. The story of the State Department's security firings demonstrates how this was to be accomplished.

A grand total of 306 State Department security firings has been announced. According to reliable report, this impressive—even frightening—total was arrived at in the following manner. In the first place, the word was passed down through Assistant Secretary Scott McLeod's security and personnel offices that what was wanted was the largest possible total of such firings.

Two techniques—both palpably dishonest—were therefore used to swell the total. The files of those State Department employees who were in the process of resigning—always a considerable number, since there is a constant turnover—were carefully scrutinized. In the raw files of any Government worker who is not a zombie, there is pretty sure to be some morsel of gossip which can be labeled "derogatory information." Wherever the raw files provided the slightest excuse for so doing, the names of those who were resigning anyway were added—without their knowledge—to the grand total of State Department security firings.

About half the State Department total was arrived at in this way. If the same proportion holds throughout the Government, there must be more than a thousand Government workers who have resigned with a clear conscience and what they thought to be a clear record, and who were nevertheless listed officially as having been fired as security risks.

The second technique was just as dishonest. Large numbers of people were being transferred from the administrative control of the State Department to Harold Stassen's foreign aid outfit and to the newly independent Information Agency. Many of these people were transferred "with the warning flag up" and then listed as State Department se-

curity firings—although the great majority were cleared on further investigation, and never fired at all.

In the vast majority of these cases there was no question whatsoever of disloyalty or procommunism. In about 10 out of 20 cases, the reason, if any, for the firing was heavy drinking, temperamental unsuitability, or the like. Where there was some pro-Communist charge, it was often on the order of the charge against one female Government worker, who was accused of "sympathetic association" with her husband. This woman appealed the charge, and on further investigation her husband turned out to be a rather mousy fellow, who had never taken an interest in politics.

In short, there was not a single case of actual subversion in all the State Department's security firings—and it is doubtful if there was one such case throughout the Government. Yet to 99 out of a 100 people, the news that there have been a large number of security firings means that this number of Communists and subversives have actually been uncovered in the Government.

Under the circumstances, it is surprising that any self-respecting person will work for the Government at all. What is even more surprising is that anyone should have thought that this amateurish political fakery should not be exposed for what it is. Apparently it never occurred to the geniuses who thought up the scheme that someone might ask for a breakdown of the security firings. Thus when reporters asked Civil Service Commission Chairman Phillip Young for such a breakdown he could only reply fatuously that he was not interested in such matters, and did not believe the average person was interested either. The story of the State Department firings make the reason for this awkward evasion perfectly obvious.

But what is downright incredible is that anyone could have supposed that this sort of slick numbers game was an effective way to undercut McCarthy. McCarthy has already, of course, profited heavily from the whole business—such as he profited heavily from Attorney General Brownell's attack on former President Truman, which was also supposed to steal the show from McCarthy. McCarthy has used the administration's fake figures to prove his own ancient, discredited charges against the State Department.

According to report, the President himself, and Chief Presidential Aide Sherman Adams, are beginning to realize that they were sold a lemon, and are by no means pleased by the realization. If so, this may help the administration's amateur Machiavellis to understand that they are no equals to Senator McCarthy when it comes to slick political flimflammery.

Airplane Age: Born December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, N. C., U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, December 19, 1953:

Any American celebrating his 50th birthday this year—is right on the beam with the air age.

Half a century ago, on December 17, 1903, the airplane was born.

Two bicycle mechanics invented a frail contraption made of sticks, baling wire, and cloth and a tiny 12-horsepower engine.

On the sand dunes at Kitty Hawk, N. C., they dared to make their strange looking craft fly like a bird trying out its wings for the first time and succeeded.

Thus began one of the most adventurous eras in American, and world, history.

A popular fiction story of the time was called Around the World in 80 Days. Purely imaginative, of course. Make-believe. Folks used to wonder how the author ever dreamed up such impossible ideas. Something like the space-ship stories of today which nobody ridicules. We have seen so many theories become workable facts that it doesn't pay to scoff at anything.

Just the other day a girl flew around the world as a passenger on various airliners in some ninety odd hours.

The Wright brothers, Orville and Wilbur, made 30 miles an hour on that first flight. Last Saturday Maj. Charles E. Yeager flew a rocket plane through the California skies at 1,650 miles per hour. Last August, Lieutenant Colonel Carl flew that same plane 15 miles up into the wild blue yonder.

The first airborne plane was sold by the Wright brothers to the United States Government in 1909. Despite opposition by diehards, who had no courage and no vision, the United States Government has given real, although not enough encouragement to the development of aviation.

The first flight across the Atlantic Ocean was made by a United States Navy flying boat the NC-4 in 1919. The first flight around the world was accomplished by two United States Army biplanes in 1924. Lt. Comdr. Richard E. Byrd and Floyd Bennett conquered the North Pole by air in 1926. Col. Charles A. Lindbergh made his epochal solo trip across the Atlantic in 1927. Air Force Maj. Charles E. Yeager, then captain, became the first human being to fly faster than the speed of sound, when he breached the barrier in 1947.

In 1953 the United States has far more airports than seaports to service the growing volume of air passengers and air cargoes.

Still this is not enough.

Like the automobile, the airplane will have a tremendous impact upon our way of life, and upon the construction and appearance of our cities.

We had fair warning from the millions of automobiles that were pouring off the assembly lines during the past 30 years, but we failed to make adjustments in time.

As a result, cities are being ripped open to make way for automobile traffic and to provide off-street parking facilities.

I hope that city planners will keep the airplane in mind while they perform this major surgery; otherwise, a second operation might be necessary in the not-too-distant future.

Even now we hear the complaint that the airports, for obvious reasons, are too far from the centers of our larger cities. Bear in mind that the commercial airlines and the military have a monopoly on planes now in use. We must look forward to the day when planes will be privately owned and operated and a new traffic problem will be upon us. Helicopters, ideal for passenger and freight transportation on short hauls and in congested areas will be a common sight within a few years.

The Federal Government should anticipate this problem and make a thorough study of the changes that will be forced upon our communities by these inevitable developments. Reports and recommendations, encouraged perhaps by a limited program of grants-in-aid, will help States and cities to prepare the way for this transformation. Convenience and safety and prudence require that we accommodate ourselves gradually to the Air Age and grow up with it. We waited too long to adjust our cities to the swarm of automobiles and the result has been a major and continuing headache. We cannot afford to repeat this costly mistake by delay in meeting the needs of air traffic.

The States regulate the automobiles within their borders, but planes travel so much faster and on limitless highways in the sky, at least for the present, that the United States Government must supervise the growing traffic upstairs.

Even now you cannot roam the skies at will as free as a bird. As an airline passenger, or as the operator of your own private plane, whenever you take a trip you are subject to control by the Civil Aeronautics Administration. First, a flight plan must be submitted by the pilot for approval. Route, height, and time must be specified. The CAA will check to make sure that no other plane has duplicated your plan, before it will issue a traffic clearance. The pilot will ride one of the CAA radio range beams, and, at intervals, he will report his position. In turn he will be advised concerning weather or traffic conditions. At 166 major airports he is told when to take off and when to land.

Congress passed the Civil Aeronautics Act in 1938. Its purpose is "to encourage and foster the development of civil aeronautics and air commerce in the United States and abroad and to encourage the establishment of civil airways, landing areas, and other navigation facilities."

This requires a staff of 15,800 and a budget of almost $139 million. Most of this is for building and operating the airways network. A smaller staff of 1,700 works in the Office of Aviation Safety under the CAA. They are responsible for inspecting and certifying, for safety's sake, the 52,000 civil aircraft operated by Americans.

The CAA, through its regulatory powers, its financial assistance, and its high standards of airworthiness, has done much to make our airline industry the biggest and best in the world.

In 1938, when the Civil Aeronautics Board took over the administration of the act, the domestic airlines carried an annual total of 1,197,000 passengers. In 1952 they carried 25 million fares. In 1938 all our domestic air carriers flew 423 million passenger-miles. Last year they flew 12,500,000,000 passenger-miles. This represents an increase of almost 2,200 percent within 14 years.

This makes available to the military forces in time of emergency an airlift considerably greater than the one which helped us to victory in World War II.

Airplanes are fast becoming the key to national defense. It was only this past week that Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, announced that emphasis would be given to airpower, with the Army and Navy as such gradually assuming auxiliary roles.

What of the future?

Those who laughed at the Wright brothers 50 years ago now wish that they could live for the next 50 years because progress in this field will be truly sensational. That there will be man-made space stations up there among the planets is no longer in dispute. Atom-powered planes are not too far away. Theorists can prove that a trip to the moon is possible, even though it might be advisable to make reservations for your great-great-grandchildren instead of yourself. The only drawback is that the birds may stop singing—victims of traffic neurosis—as they try to dodge the huge, strange objects crowding their once-free skies.

Helicopters will hum above like airborne family cars and those of us who are still grounded in automobiles, may find traveling through Boston a little easier on the nerves.

Any city that now measures its prestige by the length of the runways on its airport, had better start revising its plans. Take-offs in the future will be almost vertical from roof-

tops, or downtown heliports. In fact, many planes will be guided by electronics, and we won't have any front-seat or back-seat drivers as we do with our earth-bound jalopies of today. The accident rate is sure to go down as science takes over from imperfect human reflexes.

If we could only be sure that drunken drivers and hotrods in their air age could be controlled by automatic electronic devices we would know that nothing is impossible.

The president of one of our largest airlines is authority for the prediction that by the year 2,000 air transportation will be the safest form of travel. And a chief of our guided missile division says that "by the year 2,003, man will have set foot upon the moon, and plans will be under serious consideration for the exploration of the nearer planets."

Don't smile at some of the gadgets you see in the comic strips of your newspaper.

You yourself may be a birdman within a few years.

Fantastic?

So were the Wright brothers 50 years ago and see what they started.

A personal helicopter, a one-man affair, is being produced experimentally by several manufacturers who specialize in the egg-beater type of aircraft. It is a flying machine much simpler than your automobile. It consists of a rotor, a shoulder harness, and a tiny engine or engines for you must have power to push you up, and then push you forward. The United States Navy awarded a development contract for such a device some time ago, but the project so far is hush-hush.

The wholesale deaths and injuries caused by the automobile are serious enough, but what are we going to do about collisions in the skies with the debris causing double damage by falling on our homes?

This possibility is not as remote as it seems.

The Government of the United States will have to plan now if it ever hopes to prevent chaos in the skies.

On this 50th anniversary of powered flight, it would be well for us to give serious thought to a future with its problems that is nearer than we realize.

If the Wright brothers were alive today they would tell us to look up and look ahead.

The ILO: Threat or Opportunity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, a concerted attack has been underway for some years against United States participation in the International Labor Organization. The attack has reached a new peak of intensity most recently in the form of misleading propaganda, and includes an article which found its way into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD within the last few days.

In order to set the record straight on the ILO and to emphasize the importance of the remarkably good work the organization is doing, I ask that there be inserted in the RECORD an article in defense of its principles and methods. The article appeared in the Harvard Business Review in a recent issue. It was authored by Mr. George P. Delaney, labor member of the ILO from the United States. The Public Printer has estimated the cost of printing the article at $297.50.

Among the many allegations made against the ILO, and included in the article inserted in the RECORD on January 14, is the charge that "Socialistic" legislation and practices can be forced on the United States without Congress or the people of the United States having anything to say about it. That charge is patently not true. It is strictly a bogeyman erected by reactionary employer interests in the United States who are afraid of the moral influence the findings of the ILO have had and will continue to have in condemning some of the unholy practices still existing in labor-management matters. The fact is that recommendations or conventions adopted by the ILO are no more than proposals, without binding force or power within any signatory nation unless and until the proposals are put into effect by constitutional means. That fact is made clear in Mr. Delaney's article.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no question but that the ILO has been a potent force for good throughout the world. Not all of the problems with which it deals are of direct concern to us. We may quarrel with some of the conclusions it reaches. But for us to undermine its work by withdrawing from participation in the organization would be a sin and a shame, particularly if such withdrawal were based on the falsehoods spread by those whose vicious self-interest would be served by such action.

Mr. Delaney's article follows:

THE ILO: THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY?

(By George P. Delaney)

The International Labor Organization, which brings together labor, employer, and government representatives for the declared objective of improving the conditions of life and labor throughout the world, holds the record for endurance and practical service among the major forums of today's world.

Dependent on persuasion rather than on power, the ILO is a cautious and deliberate body, not given to precipitate haste or doctrinaire methods in the pursuit of its aims. The mere fact of survival is a testament to its delicacy of approach and flexibility of method. Should it undertake too much too soon, it risks the instant wrath of employers and the many conservative governments which comprise a large and vocal part of its mechanism. Should it content itself with too little too late, it faces the alienation of other vital members and the disenchantment of the peoples who are the primary objects of its concern. Either course might bring an end to its usefulness, if not its existence.

THE SETTING

Delegates from the ranks of labor, conscious of the pressure of the needs that exist, are naturally inclined to take the stated purposes of the ILO quite seriously. They come disposed to urge early positive action, and hold a dim view of any obstacles or difficulties that may argue for hesitation or delay. They do not want to watch the mountain labor and bring forth a pamphlet.

Employer delegates, on the other hand, incline to dwell more upon the obstacles than upon the objectives, and even upon occasion, where expedient, to magnify those obstacles. In their capacity to withstand the strain and torment of any protracted delays which the elevation of labor standards may encounter, they have the patience of Job. Following their natural bent, they come prepared to stand at the barricades, in defense of the status quo.

Delegates from the member governments must assume the task of reconciliation, as well as that of adopting the ILO's actions to the limitations of what is currently possible. Never a bold breed, and acutely sensitive to domestic criticism, government officials are, if anything, less eager to be caught with their necks extended at conferences in Geneva than they would be in their home capitols, under the eye and hatchet of local legislators and investigating committees.

Management criticism

As a consequence, one would expect the march of progress the ILO way to be a hesitant, careful, and tedious one. Yet, according to an articulate and powerful body of opinion, this has not been the case.

Indeed, the ILO has become, in recent years, a favored target of abuse and the object of cries of "socialism" from the more conservative elements in this country—especially employers, their spokesmen in Congress, and their satellite organizations. They allege, for example, that the ILO—in its origins, structure, and design—is in reality a sort of Socialist contraption, serving either (a) to spread the doctrines and methods of socialism among the innocents abroad or (b) to contaminate the United States, the "last citadel of free enterprise," with the virus of foreign ideologies.[1]

It is further asserted that within the ILO the "cards are stacked" against employers—that they "can't win." Finally, ominous forebodings are expressed that ILO conventions, catching Congress napping and unawares, might be used as a devious means of supplanting domestic legislation and of circumventing our constitutional processes. These fears have been expressed in Congress in the form of the Bricker resolution, designed to "correct" the Constitution by restricting the treaty power of our Government and its ability to enter into cooperative intercourse with other nations.

Labor doubt

Criticism and doubt about the ILO and its activities are not confined to the ranks of management, however. They are heard in labor circles as well, although on quite different grounds. As opposed to the employer argument that the ILO is going too far too fast and exercising too potent an influence on this or other nations, labor officials are often heard to complain that all it does is talk, talk, talk.

Many feel that Government delegates are too susceptible to employer intimidation and too often yield to employer pressure, with the result that ILO actions are watered down to the point of becoming meaningless. Others often ask why American trade-union officials should expend their time and energy at a debating society abroad which produces no concrete results insofar as labor conditions in this country are concerned. The effort to get along with bullheaded employers is hard enough at home, they say, without trying it on an international scale.

How much basis is there for these fears and criticisms? Where among the conflicting claims and accusations does the truth lie? What should we do about the ILO? I shall try to answer these questions and others in the pages that follow.

THE IDEA

Let us begin with the ILO idea itself. Let us look at the people who originated and

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[1] See George V. Moser, The International Labor Organization, Harvard Business Review, July-August 1952, p. 109.

upported it, at its nature and objectives, nd at the assumptions on which it rests.

Origin and principles

The International Labor Organization was reated by the treaties of peace following the First World War in recognition of the contribution of workers to the victory of democracy and their right to a share in its fruits.

Its guiding principles, as stated in the Declaration of Philadelphia Concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labor Organization, are fourfold:

"(1) Labor is not commodity.

"(2) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress.

"(3) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.

"(4) The war against want must be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare."

The declaration went on to state that the central aim of national and international policy should be the establishment of conditions where all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity.

At the time the ILO was created, the revolutionary movement, triumphant in Russia and feeding everywhere upon oppressive working and living conditions, was threatening the destruction of the existing social, economic, and political order. In supporting the ILO idea, many thoughful conservatives, as well as others of a more liberal persuasion, expressed a belief that, in the face of this threat, timely and orderly reform—preserving the best in our world society while correcting its most grievous faults—would prove to be the most truly conservative and stabilizing force, and that this would strengthen the foundations of economic and political freedom by making it more tolerable to more people and by expanding the number of those with a stake in its survival.

Participation of free-enterprise supporters: And among any stargazers, Utopians, and bleeding hearts who may have favored the ILO principle were many hard-headed, profit-minded employers who had learned from their own experience that they could not, on their own, maintain minimum standards of decency in their relations with their employees so long as they were constantly undercut by competitors in other areas who happened to care nothing for considerations of common human decency. It is interesting to note that, in a section of a recent ILO pamphlet, Lasting Peace the ILO Way, discussing early exponents of the principle of international minimum labor standards, the name of Blanqui—a radical thorn in the side of the French body politic—is sandwiched between the names of a British textile mill owner and an Alsatian manufacturer.[2]

As for the role of governments, the first to propose an international conference looking to the improvement of factory conditions was an undeniably free-enterprise nation, Switzerland, in 1880. Moreover, the states which joined in the initial formulation of the ILO were at that time all basically free-enterprise in character. Thus, the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference was led by Prime Minister Lloyd George, the government in power at that time being Liberal, not Labor.

[2] Geneva, International Labor Office, 1951, pp. 12–13.

Political complexion

The decisive question, however, is not the character of the individuals or groups who originally supported the ILO idea, but whether or not the idea in and of itself is right or wrong. That is the acid test. For example, is the concept of the ILO consistent with our ideals of voluntary association and private enterprise? Or is it, as some have charged, "socialistic"?

The whole basis of the ILO rests upon the assumption that private enterprise economies, free societies, and democratic systems of government will survive and retain their essential character. Otherwise the instrument of tripartitism—the participation of management, labor, and government acting through their appointed representatives—would be pointless. What place would there be for an organization like the ILO among nations in which all sectors of the economy were subject to government control or domination? Delegates from such a nation, whether they professed to represent government, workers, or employers, would all in fact be minions of their government. What use would they have for a body which undertook to speak for freedom of association?

This has been most clearly demonstrated by the manner in which the Iron Curtain countries have attacked the ILO, because of its anti-Communist character, as a tool of capitalistic imperialism and have sought to block and to delay its procedures. Soviet Russia left the organization in 1939, having been a member for only 4 years, and those of its satellites which remain are there solely for the purpose of propaganda, obstruction, and obfuscation.

In reality, the large majority of the Nations participating in the ILO are—allowing for variations in economic conditions and stages of industrial and political development—predominantly free-enterprise in character, with production and distribution carried on mostly under private auspices. This majority has increased because of the fall of labor governments in a number of countries in recent years. It is true that, in many of these countries, private enterprise is so highly cartelized as to have assumed the character of a sort of exclusive within-the-family type of private socialism, with the regulation and control of production and markets carried on by and for the mutual benefit of management and owners. But this merely serves to make the existence of an organization such as the ILO all the more useful and necessary if the people as a whole are to share in the fruits of free enterprise.

Neither in its conventions nor in other areas of activity does the ILO undertake to exercise control over production or to influence its member states in their policies in that regard. It does draft model legislation pertaining to minimum labor standards and proposes fair employment policies for the guidance of governments, workers, and private employers in their respective areas of competence.

If policies and programs of this type constitute "socialism" per se, then every country in the modern world is socialistic and has been for years—the United States, perhaps, the most of all. For those matters with which ILO conventions deal—workmen's compensation, night work for women, hours of labor, minimum ages in employment, maritime labor conditions, and so on—have been the object of governmental attention in this country ever since more enlightened concepts of industrial and human relations first began to replace the law of the jungle; and our own country is well ahead of other nations in these respects.

Emphasis on raising productivity: In recent times the ILO has been placing its major emphasis, not upon redistribution of wealth, but upon the necessity for raising productivity as the only long-term avenue to higher living standards for all. This is certainly a thoroughly American concept. In many of its recent publications the ILO has gone out of its way to praise our methods. A large part of ILO documentation is spent in showing how free enterprise gets things done. For example:

"Documents of the last coal mines committee stated that the pioneer spirit of the operators was probably more important as a cause of higher productivity in United States mines than mechanization or open seam mining."

A study of the Director General's reports of the past 4 years, the speeches in the general debate, and many other important documents shows clearly the extent to which the ILO helps to inform delegates from all nations of the facts about American progress. The ILO is an ideal medium for bringing about a wider and deeper appreciation of American aims, ideals, and methods among the masses as well as the classes throughout the world.

If an international labor organization is, in fact, a slice of Socialist pie in the sky, then it can only be said that—far from representing their triumph—the ILO as it has developed must stand as a classic failure of Socialists to achieve their design. The great disparity that exists between the list of conventions adopted by the ILO and the platform of any real Socialist Party is ample evidence of this failure.

Legislative powers

But is it not possible that the ILO could be used some day to saddle this country against its will with an alien philosophy? To answer this, let us turn to the powers and procedure of the ILO. Two points are particularly significant:

"1. Action by ILO: The ILO is not, in any proper sense, a world parliament; rather, it is a world forum, totally lacking the power of compulsion. It deals with specific issues and particular problems, looking toward their solution by the most practical means available that can be agreed on by at least a two-thirds majority of the delegates to the conference. In the light of the rules and composition of the conference—to say nothing of the tremendous difficulty of securing agreement among representatives of very diverse backgrounds and interests—it is a virtual impossibility for any imaginary coalition of forces to ram a bad convention down the protesting throats of any substantial minority. But even if it were, the greatest hurdle would still remain.

"2. Action by member nations: After the adoption of a convention by the conference, it can proceed no further toward fulfillment unles it is framed in such a manner as to be acceptable by the member nations. To be thus acceptable, it must be compatible with their existing national forms and procedures, with their customs, traditions, and ideals, and with the political, economic, and social systems which they have elected and wish to maintain.

"No 'alien philosophy' can be saddled upon any nation through the channels of the ILO without the free and deliberate consent of that nation. The ILO has no means whatsoever of 'imposing' its decisions on any nation. Its effectiveness depends entirely upon the extent to which the member nations choose to go along with its program. The issue of sanctions—of whether or not the ILO should have any power of enforcement or economic pressure against nations which fail to live up to their obligations under its conventions—was settled in the negative a long time ago and has never been revived. It is, in fact, a dead issue."

The voluntaristic character of the International Labor Organization, as its structure emerged from the peace conference, was largely the work of the American members of the Commission for International

Labor Legislation, which drafted its constitution. It represented a substantial victory for the American view over that of some representatives of European nations—Italy, for example—who desired a much larger element of compulsion and greater reliance upon legislation, rather than cooperation, in the promotion of international labor standards.

The viewpoint of American employers was ably represented on the Commission by Henry M. Robinson, the president of the First National Bank of Los Angeles, who played a very important role in the actual drafting work. The chairman was Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor and long-time bitter foe of doctrinaire Socialists, who more than counterbalanced any Socialistic inclinations among European labor representatives on the Commission. The third American member was Prof. James T. Shotwell, who was, in every sense, a spokesman for American tradition and practice.

But, although there was successful resistance to all proposals designed to give the ILO any real legislative powers, there was wide agreement that the new organization should be able to do more than merely make recommendations. Under the plan which finally emerged, conventions were to have the status of proposed treaties, with each member obligating itself to submit all conventions adopted by a two-thirds majority or more at international labor conferences to its government for consideration and possible ratification, and to report back to the conference on action taken to give effect to them. There was agreement in the American group that this approach was a desirable one, and entirely suitable for American participation.

THE RESULTS

So much for the ideas and concepts upon which the ILO is based. Now, what tangible accomplishments can the organization show for its work? Are the results worth the effort?

Review of operations

The organization machinery on which results depend is, in outline, fairly simple:

"The primary policy organs of the ILO are the International Labor Conference and the governing body.

"The Conference normally meets in June each year in Geneva. Each member state of each year in Geneva. Each member state delegate, and 1 worker delegate, in addition to advisers for each. The ILO constitution requires that the employer and worker delegates be chosen by governments in agreement with the most representative organizations of employers and workers, respectively, in their countries. In the United States the employer delegates and advisers are nominated by the chamber of commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. The worker representatives are nominated by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. On the committees of the conference, where, as in our Congress, most of the actual work is done, each of the three groups also has equal voting strength. In the plenary sessions of the conference, where final decisions are made, the governments have a voting strength equal to the employers and workers combined.

"On the governing body there are 16 government, 8 employer, and 8 worker members, with deputies for each. It meets three times a year and performs the functions of an administrative council. It has created 10 tripartite committees, and 1 bipartite commission to deal with special problems of particular industries or occupations.

"The International Labor Office in Geneva functions as the secretariat. It has a staff of about 650 people, some of whom are located in a permanent mission to the United Nations in New York and others in 6 branch offices in major world capitals and in field offices in Bangalore, Rio de Janeiro, and Istanbul."

The ILO program of work takes in three major spheres of activity: the collection and dissemination of information relative to labor; the development of international minimum labor standards in the form of conventions, recommendations, and resolutions; and the provision of technical aid on labor problems to governments requesting such assistance.

Up until World War II, the major emphasis was placed on the formulation and adoption of labor standards. Since the war, even before the introduction of the expanded technical assistance program of the United Nations, this emphasis has been shifting to operational activities involving the application of labor standards.

Through these activities, the ILO is making a direct and very substantial contribution to the improvement of productivity in the lesser developed countries. As of July 31, 1952, the ILO had sent out, upon the request of governments, 106 experts to assist with vocational training, employment services, industrial safety, and other technical problems. It had granted 108 fellowships and scholarships to representatives of underdeveloped countries for study in the more advanced nations. Receiving assistance were 17 countries in Latin America, 12 in Asia, and 9 in the Middle East. Next year's program anticipates still greater emphasis on such assistance.

Influence of conventions

Some people have argued that conventions are a waste of time—at least for the present. In support of these views, they point out that, because of variations in conditions among different nations, only a limited number of states can ratify any given convention. They also sometimes argue that even where countries do ratify conventions, there is no intention to live up to them.

It is a fact that very few conventions over the past 15 years have received more than 10 or 15 ratifications, and that even the earlier conventions have not been ratified by more than about half the member states. The largest number of ratifications on record is 43, which was given for the convention on equality of treatment of foreigners under workmen's compensation. The nations with the largest number of ratifications as of March 1952 were: Bulgaria (62), France (61), and the United Kingdom (50). Some countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, Lebanon, Iran, and Vietnam have ratified no ILO conventions.

Without closer analysis these figures tend to give an erroneous impression as to the practical extent of the failure to ratify. Not all of the 103 conventions are still in force, some having been superseded by modernized versions. Several of the member countries have a federal constitutional structure, under which conventions dealing with subjects within the authority of states or other political subdivisions rather than the federal government are referred to the states for consideration as recommendations, instead of receiving simple ratification at the federal level. Nations of this type include the United States, Canada, Australia, and Switzerland.

Furthermore, many conventions deal with industries or kinds of work that scarcely exist in certain countries. Many relate to the maritime industry, for example. Nations with little or no merchant shipping would hardly have any interest in such matters.

To expect all 66 member countries to be able to put into effect all the standards represented by the 103 conventions adopted by the ILO over the last 34 years would be most unrealistic. Only a perfectionist would expect anywhere near 100 percent ratifications or contend that the actual percentage of ratifications shows that conventions serve no useful purpose. Actually, in view of the complete freedom of choice and action enjoyed by the member states, the number of ratifications that have been accomplished—a total of 1,315 as of September 1953—represents a remarkable achievement indeed.

It is, of course, not possible to measure exactly the influence that conventions have exerted in improving working and living conditions over the past 35 years. But the very fact that conventions do not become effective unless they are voluntarily ratified by the member states is a significant one. Normally ratification will not be undertaken by a country unless it has serious intentions of doing something about the standard in question. Also, a country which has ratified a convention has a greater incentive than it otherwise would have to act on its intentions to apply and maintain the standard for at least 10 years, after which it is free to renounce the convention if it so chooses.

Flexibility of compliance: The fact that the methods of putting a convention into force are left flexible is also significant. It means that procedures can be adapted to local conditions and customs. For example, the ILO Convention concerning fee-charging employment agencies suggests two alternative procedures—one for their progressive abolition and the other for regulation—with a country wishing to adhere to the convention having a choice of either one or the other of these methods.

Again, the convention on minimum standards for social security, adopted at the last Conference, leaves the means of implementing the standards up to the individual nation. Thus, in the case of the United States, for instance, the convention could be made completely compatible with our present methods of providing social-security protection. Full recognition and credit is given to both state and private voluntary social-insurance programs, as well as to Federal programs. Moreover, a member of the ILO wishing to ratify the convention may do so by selecting only 3 of the 9 branches of social security covered by it. This country has already legislated in at least three branches, but many nations have not; the convention leaves them freedom of choice as to where to start.

Employers' interests

But do the conventions enacted by the ILO Conference militate against the interests of American employers? Do the employer representatives of this country find themselves consistently and hopelessly outvoted by a hostile antiemployer majority?

Voting setup: Let us briefly examine the voting setup before turning to the voting record:

"Under the ILO's Constitution, government delegates have two votes at plenary sessions of the international conferences to one each for employer and worker delegates. Delegates from the Soviet satellite states have vigorously attacked this arrangement—claiming that it places too much of the final power of decision in the hands of capitalistic governments. By an odd coincidence, American employer representatives have adopted a similar line of attack. They have claimed that the 2–1–1 system of voting deprives employers of any effective voice at ILO Conferences, that it is part of some Socialist master plan to do just that, and that it has developed a pattern of voting under which employers are consistently and invariably snowed under by a coalition of labor and government delegations.

"In the light of history, the strange twists of logic involved in these arguments have an ironic flavor. During the course of the original drafting of the ILO's Constitution in 1919, Samuel Gompers, with the support of the French, Italian, and Cuban government members of the Commission, argued that delegates should have equal voting strength. What he feared, on the basis of

what labor in America had experienced up to that time, was a coalition of government and employers to frustrate the aims of workers. If the governments were to have half the votes, in his view, this would give them the power of veto and workers would consequently have no faith in the organization.

"Other members of the Commission, however, argued successfully for the system of voting which emerged. They noted that since governments would have to ratify the conventions adopted by the ILO, governments should have voting power at least equal to worker and employer delegates, in order to enhance the chances of ratification. It was also felt that since the governments were to contribute the funds to run the ILO, then those who paid the piper should have a larger voice in calling the tune. Government delegates, after all, would have to do the job of defending the budget and appropriations for that purpose before their executive and legislative bodies.

"So far as I am aware, this was the full extent of any sinister plan or design which lay behind the voting system that evolved from the deliberations of the drafting Commission."

Voting record: Beyond making the blanket assertion that an unholy alliance of government and labor has stacked the cards against them, employer representatives, so far as I have seen, have never troubled themselves further with the facts necessary to establish their major premise. The truth is that no such rigid voting pattern as they describe exists. A brief review of the actual voting record will make this clear:

"(1) Since the entrance of the United States into the ILO in August 1934, American employers have participated in all the tripartite meetings attended by the United States, have always been elected by the employer group at the Conference as one of the 8 employer members on the governing body, and have voted for 31 of the 59 conventions adopted since 1934. It is quite true, therefore, that they have deliberately withheld support from nearly half of the Conventions.

"(2) Significantly, however, in many of these cases the United States employer representatives voted against a convention simply because of its form, stating that, if the standard or proposal had been in the form of a recommendation, they would have supported it. In other words, there has been a wider area of agreement among the employer, worker, and government groups on the content of conventions than the final record votes indicate.

"(3) Moreover, the above pertains only to the final record votes on the adoption of conventions; it does not show the picture with regard to the frequently more important and significant votes taken in committee or plenary sittings concerning decisions on matters of substance to be included or excluded from the standards. For example, a tabulation of committee votes on the controversial social-security item at the 1952 Conference shows the following results:

"(a) When the United States delegation vote was divided between votes for and against, the government's vote coincided with that of the worker 40 times, and with that of the employer 35 times.

"(b) The employer representative abstained 7 times when the worker and government agreed and 4 times when the worker and government disagreed; the worker abstained twice when the employer and government agreed; the government abstained 12 times when the employer and worker disagreed.

"(c) The employer and government abstained 6 times on votes in which the worker took a position, with the worker and government abstaining 4 times when the employer took a position, and the employer and worker abstaining once when the government took a position.

"In short, the worker representative does not appear to have dictated the government's position in his favor when he disagreed with the employer position. In divided votes, the government coincided with the employer and with the worker almost equally. The final vote on the adoption of the convention, however, shows the United States employer voting against, with the worker and government voting for."

A matter of opinion

To be sure, some American employers may honestly feel that the conventions adopted by the ILO are not in their interest as a group. Whether they are right or not is, of course, a matter of opinion. Yet certainly it can be said that, at least in the opinion of the delegates whom American employers have sent to the ILO Conferences to represent them, a majority of the conventions have been in management's interest. (As for the rest, certainly there is no compulsion whatever on the United States Senate to pass them by the necessary two-thirds vote.)

Moreover, it is a telling commentary on the slipshod tactics of those who have accused the ILO of socialism and worse that they have cited some of the same conventions to support their case that the employer representatives voted for. For instance, William McGrath, an adviser attached to the employer delegation to the ILO, stated in recent testimony before a committee of Congress, in support of the Bricker resolution, "The ILO has gone far beyond the field of labor and is seeking to set itself up as a form of international legislature to formulate uniform domestic socialistic laws which it hopes, by the vehicle of treaty ratification, can eventually be imposed upon most of the countries of the world." As examples of these socialistic laws, McGrath listed 18 of the conventions of the ILO. What he conveniently neglected to mention, however, was the fact that American employer delegates had voted in favor of the adoption of 12 out of these same 18 conventions.

According to Mr. McGrath, "some of the proposals being pushed at the ILO include ideas like nationwide collective bargaining (which would mean actual communism, with a small 'c'), abolishment of all private employment agencies, and legislation of the closed shop." He is also reputed to have said, "A treaty * * * could, theoretically, slip through the Senate alone and create law that Congress as a whole has rejected." But here are the facts:

"(1) Nationwide collective bargaining has not been proposed or endorsed by any responsible group for action by the ILO, and in no convention, recommendation, or resolution of the ILO is it being pushed as a standard.

"(2) Convention No. 96, dealing with private employment agencies, would not, if ratified, abolish them. As noted earlier, it provides for two alternative approaches—their progressive abolition or their regulation—and a ratifying nation may elect either method it desires. The United States employer delegate voted for this convention at the 1949 Conference. There were only 19 opposing votes—cast by the Government and worker delegates of Argentina (the Argentine employer voted in favor), the full delegation of the Communist satellite states (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland), 1 Government delegate from Haiti, and 1 from Mexico.

"(3) There is no ILO convention that would legalize the closed shop where it is now forbidden, or which deals with union security one way or the other. After a debate at the 1949 Conference during which United States employers attempted to wedge a blanket open-shop provision into convention No. 98, on the right to organize and bargain collectively, the delegates adopted the following report:

"'The Conference finally agreed to express in their report their view that the convention could in no way be interpreted as authorizing or prohibiting union security arrangements, such questions being matters for regulation in accordance with national practice.'

"'This convention was never even presented to the Senate for ratification. It was considered as appropriate in part for action by the several states, and, therefore, not appropriate for ratification."

CONCLUSION

Freedom, under democracy, must look for its salvation not just to faith alone but to works as well. In this embattled age, pious testaments of devotion to the precepts of liberty will avail us little unless matched by good works performed in its name. Through the instrument of tripartite participation, with the representatives of workers and employers serving as a constant goad and check upon it, the ILO has evolved as a practical, workable formula for international collaboration to this end. It is an agency through which the whole range of views and emphases that exist among countries of diverse social, economic, and political attitudes and characteristics may be accommodated, without duress, to a common goal.

It is time for United States employers themselves to come out of their isolation and take positive steps to communicate the philosophy of progressive business thinking that the best of them try to practice to those in other lands who associate private enterprise with exploitation. For it is a fact that in many areas workers do labor for private industry under oppressive, subhuman conditions. If American employers have a message to deliver in behalf of private enterprise, then let them deliver it where it can do the most good, among employers abroad who now accept these subhuman conditions with such complacency.

The persistence, under private enterprise abroad, of the conditons which the ILO seeks to correct is of no benefit, and much injury, to that majority of American employers who have no great foreign holdings and who employ only American workers, under American standards. The very fact that our standards are so much higher than those of the rest of the world makes it all the more desirable, from the standpoint of our own dollars-and-cents economic interests, that other countries should progressively approach standards of labor which approximate our own. By supporting the ILO we are helping to bring this about, step by careful step. As Professor Shotwell stated in his book, Origin of the International Labor Organization:

"The laws governing labor must reflect the conditions of the society with which they deal, and these conditions vary from nation to nation, according to geographic conditions, natural resources, and the history and capacity of the peoples themselves. International labor legislation must build upon this fact. It is not a substitute for domestic legislation, but, on the contrary, grows out of it. Its scope is limited to those problems which nations have in common. It does not interfere with the normal process of lawmaking but only seeks to make it more effective by raising the common standard of the conditions of life, so that those nations which lead the world in social reform may not be placed at an undue disadvantage by those which compete with them by the exploitation of their labor."[1]

Not only does the improvement of labor standards in other countries competing with our own help to insure the maintenance and stability of our own standards; higher labor standards in foreign countries will also aid

[1] James T. Shotwell, editor, Origin of the International Labor Organization (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934), vol. I, p. xix.

in the establishment of stronger and more stable economies abroad and in the development of greater markets for the many American products which are sold overseas. The facts show that the more industrialized countries, with the higher labor standards, have been our best markets.

No matter how strong and permanent they may appear at the top, international alliances and friendships cannot be relied upon to endure, under stress, where they are weak and insubstantial at the lower levels. By supporting and promoting the work of the ILO we can—without gifts, grants, or largess—demonstrate our concern for the freedom and welfare of the many as well as the few, and receive credit and recognition for it accordingly. In so doing, without cost to us, we can give the free peoples of the world the most lasting and vital aid that lies within our power, by helping them to help themselves—to elevate their own conditions, through their own efforts, by methods of their own free choice.

Neither labor, nor management, nor the public at large has anything to lose through a policy of more constructive and energetic support of the ILO. We all have much to gain.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of telegrams and letters which have just been received in my office from various associations in my State, such as church associations, the League of Women Voters, and so forth, in relation to the position of these organizations with respect to the so-called Bricker constitutional amendment.

There being no objection, the letters and telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 18, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

The League of Women Voters of the District of Columbia opposes the Bricker amendment. During past year we have studied issues involved and believe it dangerous. It would restrict power of National Government to conduct foreign relations and would upset constitutional system of checks and balances. Constitution should be amended only when need is clearly shown amendment would make effective international cooperation impossible.

Mrs. JOHN F. LATIMER,
President, League of Women Voters, District of Columbia.

OCONOMOWOC, WIS., *January 18, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

League of Women Voters of Oconomowoc urges you to oppose Bricker amendment. We feel would impair United States conduct of foreign affairs; create discord; State against National legislation, alter intent of Constitution on separation of powers; cast doubt on ability to speak as Nation in international affairs; is not needed.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF OCONOMOWOC,
Mrs. C. J. DEBBINK, *President.*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS,
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington D. C., January 14, 1954.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILEY: The League of Women Voters of the United States is opposed to the Bricker amendment. The weight of league opinion, based on study during the past year and expressed to the national Board now in session, is clearly against the Bricker amendment because it is considered not only unnecessary but dangerous for the future security of our country. We are enclosing the league's statement.

We respectfully urge you to vote against the proposed amendment and to use your utmost influence to prevent its passage.

Sincerely yours,

PERCY MAXINE LEE
Mrs. John G. Lee,
President.

LA CROSSE, WIS., *January 18, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

The large majority of Leagues of Women Voters in the State of Wisconsin, after careful study, oppose the Bricker amendment. We believe it would damage the power of the Federal Government to conduct foreign relations as provided in the Constitution. The Bricker amendment would alter the balance of powers as provided in the Constitution by transferring executive functions to the Congress. The proposed amendment would create procedures that would make negotiations and ratification of treaties so cumbersome as to cast doubt on the ability and willingness of the United States to carry out its international obligations. The Bricker amendment is based on fear that our individual and States rights may be placed in jeopardy by the United Nations charter and other international agreements. We do not share this fear. The League of Women Voters believes in a foreign policy based on the principle of international cooperation. The Bricker amendment would impair this principle. We urge you to use your influence to defeat the Bricker amendment.

Mrs. ALF H. GUNDERSEN,
President, League of Women Voters of Wisconsin.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF PLYMOUTH,
Plymouth, Wis., January 18, 1954.
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: We are sure that you are already familiar with the stand taken by the League of Women Voters of the United States in opposition to the proposed Bricker amendment. According to press reports this action is in harmony with your attitude on this issue.

As one of the Wisconsin leagues it is a source of satisfaction to our members that our senior Senator will be an influence on the side of this controversial measure which we believe to be the right one.

We hope to see the Bricker proposal defeated in the Senate.

Respectfully,

GENIVERA E. NUTT
Mrs. C. R. Nutt, *President.*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF WAUWATOSA,
Wauwatosa, Wis., January 18, 1954.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILEY: Following a study of the proposed Bricker amendment, a great majority of league members throughout the United States have expressed opposition to it.

The Wauwatosa League urges you to vote against Senate Joint Resolution 1, which we believe would deprive the executive of necessary authority in our foreign relations, particularly in times of crises.

Our present constitutional safeguards are sufficient and more congressional control over negotiation of treaties would be dangerous.

Yours very truly,

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF WAUWATOSA,
LOUISE C. FOLTZ
Mrs. Ross M. Foltz, *President.*

WAUPUN, WIS., *January 18, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Wish to voice approval for your opposition to Bricker amendment which we consider unnecessary and detrimental to our country's welfare.

Dr. and Mrs. H. HULL.

KAUKAUNA, WIS., *January 11, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate:

Re Bricker amendment.

Feel its reactionary intent will adversely affect our national welfare.

C. R. SEABORNE.

SPARTA CLINIC,
Sparta, Wis., January 6, 1954.
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am happy indeed that you are standing with our President and Secretary of State on the Bricker amendment. Do not get the idea that all physicians are for the amendment. Rather recently there was a joint debate in Madison on this subject—the debate taking place at a meeting of the physicians of that city. My information is that the debate was an excellent one—but no vote taken.

I shall follow the debate on this subject—as it is reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—and I am sure those opposed to the amendment will then amply clarify their position. More power.

Very respectfully,

SPENCER D. BEEBE, M. D.

WAUKESHA, WIS., *January 12, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

We are against passage of the Bricker amendment because it raises risk of serious evils.

WAUKESHA YWCA.

WAUKESHA, WIS., *January 12, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER M. WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

Urge you vote against crippling Bricker amendment as unnecessary risk.

WOMEN'S SOCIETY CHRISTIAN SERVICE, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, WAUKESHA.

WAUKESHA, WIS., *January 12, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

United Church Women, Waukesha, oppose Bricker amendment. Fear prevent international agreements necessary for world peace.

Mrs. ORVILLE SWAIN,
President.

APPLETON, WIS., *January 11, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building:

After study, we voted against Bricker amendment continue your fight.

APPLETON LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 8, 1954.*

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

We commend your firm stand in regard Bricker proposals for constitutional amendment. You should know that the churches are behind you on basis of recent action of National World Order Study Conference at Cleveland.

CLIFFORD EARLE,
Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church in United States of America.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS,
Waupun, Wis., January 18, 1954.

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The membership of the League of Women Voters of Waupun has spent many weeks studying the available information regarding the proposed Bricker amendment. We have used in our study material presenting both sides of the issue. Recently, following a complete discussion, our members voted unanimously to oppose the measure.

We feel that not only is it unnecessary because of existing safeguards, but that it would actually be detrimental to the United States in its dealings with foreign countries, as well as destructive of the fundamental division of powers between executive and legislative branches of our Government as set forth in the Constitution.

We wish to assure you of our recognition of the fine service you are performing in your courageous fight against this measure. You may be certain of our support in the stand you have taken.

Very truly yours,

CORNELIA H. HULL
Mrs. Harmon Hull,
President.

List of Clergymen Persecuted or Executed by Communists in Countries Behind the Iron Curtain

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, recently there was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement, by Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle, of Washington, D. C., entitled "The Fight on the Communist Peril." There was also published a report on facts obtained from the National Catholic Welfare Council on the execution and persecution of clergymen of different faiths by Communists in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

At this time I desire to insert into the RECORD the report of the National Catholic Welfare Council News Service on the breakdown, by countries, of the list of archbishops, bishops, and monsignors.

I ask unanimous consent to have the list published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHINA

Thomas Cardinal Tien, S. V. D., Archbishop of Peking (in exile).

Archbishop Anthony Riberi, Papal Internuncio to China (expelled).

Archbishop Paulin Albouy, M. E. P., of Nanning (expelled).

Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroeck, S. V. D., of Lanchow, (expelled).

Archbishop Dominic Capozi, O. F. M., of Taiyuan (expelled).

Archbishop Joseph Chow Chi-shih, C. M., of Nanchang (imprisoned).

Archbishop Alexander Dercuineau, M. E. P., of Kunming (expelled).

Archbishop Jean Joseph Deymier, C. M., of Hangchow (expelled).

Archbishop Francis Xavier Jantzen, M. E. P., Administrator Apostolic of Chungking (expelled and died in France).

Archbishop Cyril Jarre, O. F. M., of Tsinan (died of prison rigors).

Archbishop Theodore Labrador, O. P., of Foochow (expelled).

Archbishop Petrone Lacchio, O. F. M., of Changsha (expelled).

Archbishop Jean Larrart, M. E. P., of Kweijang (expelled).

Archbishop Frederick Melendro, S. J., of Anking (expelled).

Archbishop Louis Morel, C. I. C. M., former Archbishop of Suiyuan (expelled).

Archbishop Ignatius Pi-Shu-Shih, of Mukden (presumed to have died in prison).

Archbishop Gaetano Pollio, P. I. M. E., of Kaifeng (expelled).

Archbishop Maurice Rosa, O. F. M., of Hankow (expelled).

Archbishop Paul Yu-Pin, of Nanking (in exile).

Bishop Zenon Aramburu, S. J., of Wuhu (expelled).

Bishop Michael Arduino, S. D. B., of Shiuchow (expelled).

Bishop Assuero S. J. Bassi, S. X., of Loyang (under house arrest).

Bishop Stanislaus Beaudry, M. E. P., of Ningyuan (expelled).

Bishop Lorenzo Bianchi, P. I. M. E., of Hong Kong (barred from Red part of diocese).

Bishop Rene Boisguerin, M. E. P., of Suifu (expelled).

Bishop Theodore Breher, O. S. B., of Yenki (expelled; later died in Switzerland).

Bishop Alessandro Carlo, M. E. P., of Lanjung (expelled and died en route out of China).

Bishop Ferruccio Ceoi, O. F. M., of Kichow (expelled).

Bishop Job Chen, C. M., of Chengting (in exile).

Bishop Mario Civelli, P. I. M. E., Weihwei (expelled).

Bishop Patrick Cleary, S. S. C., of Nancheng (expelled).

Bishop Philip Cote, S. J., of Suchow (American) (expelled).

Bishop Andrew Defebvre, C. M., in Ningpo (in prison).

Bishop Leo de Smedt, C. I. C. M., of Siwantze (died in prison).

Bishop Jean de Vienne, C. M., of Tientsin (expelled).

Bishop Peter Joseph Fan of Paoting (imprisoned).

Bishop Alfonso Ferroni, O. F. M., of Laohokow (imprisoned).

Bishop Francis X. Ford, M. M., of Kaying (American) (died in prison).

Bishop August Gaspais, M. E. P., of Kirin (expelled; later died in France).

Bishop Edward Galvin, S. S. C., of Hanyang (expelled).

Bishop Peter Grimm, O. F. M., Cap., of Tsinchow (expelled).

Bishop Edgar Haering, O. F. M., of Shohchow (expelled).

Bishop Gerard Harrero Garrote, O. E. S. A., of Changteh (expelled).

Bishop Francis Hoowaarts, S. V. D., of Tsaochow (expelled).

Bishop Rembert Howalksi, O. F. M., of Wuchang (American) (expelled).

Bishop Francis Kramer, O. F. M., of Luan (expelled).

Bishop Ignatius Krause, C. M., of Shunteh (expelled).

Bishop Lucien Lacoste, S. C. J., of Tali (expelled).

Bishop Ignatius Larranaga, O. F. M., Cap. of Pingliang (expelled).

Bishop John V. Lesinski, O. P., of Tingchow (expelled).

Bishop-elect Gaspar Lischerong, S. J., of Taming (under house arrest).

Bishop Joseph Maggi, P. I. M. E., of Hanchung (expelled).

Bishop Gaetano Mignani, C. M., of Kian (expelled).

Bishop Cuthbert O'Gara, C. P., of Yuanling (expelled).

Bishop August Olbert, S. V. D., of Tsingtao (expelled).

Bishop John O'Shea, C. M., of Kanchow (American) (expelled).

Bishop Joseph Oste, C. I. C. M., of Jehol (barred from see).

Bishop Adolph Paschang, M. M., of Kongmoon (American) (expelled).

Bishop Fulgence Pasini, O. F. M., of Sanyuan (expelled).

Bishop Henry Pinault, M. E. P., of Chengtu (expelled).

Bishop Ambrose Pinger, O. F. M., of Chowtsun (American) (imprisoned).

Bishop-elect Anthony Pott, S. V. D., of Sinyang (expelled).

Bishop William C. Quinn, C. M., of Yukiang (American) (expelled).

Bishop Arthur Quintanilla, O. R. S. A., of Kweiteh (expelled).

Bishop Theodore Schu, S. V. D., of Yenchow (expelled).

Bishop Faustino Tissot, S. X., of Chengchow (expelled).

Bishop Kenneth Turner, S. F. M., of Lishui (expelled).

Bishop Peter Valentin, M. E. P., of Kangting (expelled).

Bishop Karl van Melckebeke, C. I. C. M., of Ninghsia (expelled).

Bishop John Baptist Velasco, O. P., of Amoy (expelled).

Bishop Andrew Verineux, M. E. P., of Yingkow (expelled).

Bishop Charles Vogel, M. E. P., of Swatow (expelled).

Bishop Charles Weber, S. V. D., of Ichow (expelled).

Msgr. Matthew Buchholz, M. S. C., Prefect Apostolic of Shihtsien (expelled).

Msgr. A. Cikoto, Apostolic Administrator of Harbin (imprisoned; further fate unknown).

Msgr. Angel de la Calle Pontecha, O. E. S. A., Prefect Apostolic of Yochow (expelled).

Msgr. Dominic Desperben, M. SS. CC., Prefect Apostolic of Hainan (expelled).

Msgr. Julius Dillon, O. F. M., prefect apostolic of Shasi (American) (expelled).

Msgr. Eugene Fahy, S. J., prefect apostolic of Yangchow (American) (expelled).

Msgr. Stephen Fan Kai-ping, perfect apostolic of Chaotung (impeded in the exercise of his office).

Msgr. Joseph Fogued, C. M. F., prefect apostolic of Tunki (expelled).

Msgr. Jerome Haberstroh, S. V. D., prefect apostolic of Sining (expelled).

Msgr. John Herrijgers, C. M., apostolic administrator of Yungping (expelled).

Msgr. Hermenegild Hintringer, O. F. M., Cap., prefect apostolic of Kiamusse (expelled).

Msgr. Paul Hugentobler, S. M. B., perfect apostolic of Tsitsihar (expelled).

Msgr. Joseph Kerec, S. D. B., former apostolic administrator of Chaotung (expelled).
Msgr. Ignatius Koenig, S. D. S., prefect apostolic of Shaowu (expelled).
Msgr. Blaise Kurz, O. F. M., prefect apostolic of Yungchow (barred from see).
Msgr. Ferdinand Loy, S. V. D., prefect apostolic of Sinkiang (expelled).
Msgr. Peter Maleddu, O. F. M., Conv., prefect apostolic of Hinganfu (expelled).
Msgr. Tarcisius Martina, C. P. S., prefect apostolic of Yihsien (sentenced to life imprisonment).
Msgr. Hippolyte Martinez, O. E. S. A., prefect apostolic of Lichow (expelled).
Msgr. Peter Moretti, O. F. M., prefect apostolic of Tungchow (expelled).
Msgr. Gustave Prevost, S. F. M., prefect apostolic of Lintung (imprisoned).
Msgr. Gabriel Quint, O. F. M., prefect apostolic of Weihaiwei (imprisoned).
Msgr. John Romaniello, M. M., prefect apostolic of Kweilin (American) (expelled).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Archbishop Josef Beran, of Prague (banished from see and detained).
Bishop Paul Gojdic, Byzantine-rite ordinary of Presov (sentenced to life imprisonment).
Bishop Joseph Hlouch, of Budejovice (banished from see and detained).
Bishop Robert Pobozny, vicar capitular of Roznava (detained in unknown place).
Bishop Charles Skoupy, of Brno (detained in unknown place).
Bishop Stephen Trochta, of Litomerice (detained in unknown place).
Bishop Jan Vojtassak of Spis (sentenced to 24 years in prison).
Bishop Stefan Barnas, auxiliary of Spis (reported forced from See and detained).
Bishop Michael Buzalka, auxiliary to the apostolic administrator of Trnava (sentenced to life imprisonment).
Bishop Basil Hopkow, auxiliary to the Byzantine-rite See of Presov (imprisoned without trial).
Bishop Stanislav Zela, auxiliary of Olomouc (sentenced to 25 years in prison).

ESTONIA

Archbishop Edward Profittlich, apostolic administrator in Estonia (imprisoned).

HUNGARY

Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, primate of Hungary (sentenced to life imprisonment).
Archbishop Joseph Groesz of Kalocsa (sentenced to 15 years in prison).
Bishop Vilmos Apor of Gyoer (killed by Russian soldiers).
Bishop Joseph Petery of Vacy (detained in unknown place).
Bishop Zoltan Meszlenyi, former auxiliary of Esztergom (in concentration camp).

INDOCHINA

Bishop Louis de Cooman, vicar apostolic of Thanh-hoa (under arrest by Communist rebels).
Bishop John Baptist Tran Huu Duc, vicar apostolic of Vinh (under arrest by Communist rebels).

KOREA

Bishop Patrick J. Byrne, M. M., apostolic delegate to Korea (American) (died as a prisoner of Reds).
Bishop Francis Hong, vicar apostolic of Pyongyang (imprisoned).
Bishop Boniface Sauer, O. S. B., vicar apostolic of Hamhung (died in Red prison).
Msgr. Patrick T. Brennan, S. S. C., prefect apostolic of Kwangju (American) (taken prisoner; fate unknown).

LATVIA

Bishop Anthony Urbas of Liepaja (in exile).
Bishop Joseph Rancans, auxiliary of Riga (in exile).

LITHUANIA

Archbishop Joseph Skvireckas of Kaunas (in exile).
Archbishop Miecislaus Reinys, auxiliary of Wilna (imprisoned).
Bishop Vincent Borisevicius, of Telsiai (murdered by Soviets).
Bishop Theophile Matulionis of Kaisedorys (reportedly died in Soviet prison).
Bishop Vincent Padolskis, former auxiliary of Vilkaviskis (in exile).
Bishop Vincent Brizgys, auxiliary of Kaunas (in exile).
Bishop Francis Ramanauskas, auxiliary of Telsiai (imprisoned).

POLAND

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland (under arrest).
Archbishop Eugene Baziak of Lwow (under arrest).
Bishop Stanislaw Adamski of Katowice (under arrest).
Bishop Ceslaus Kaczmarek of Kielce (sentenced to 12 years in prison).
Bishop Karl Maria Splett of Gdansk (Danzig) (confined to monastery).
Mishop Herbert Bednorz, coadjutor of Katowice (under arrest).
Bishop Anton Baraniak, auxiliary of Gniezno (under arrest).
Bishop Lucian Bernacki, Vicar General of Gniezno (under arrest).
Bishop Julius Bieniek, auxiliary of Katowice (under arrest).
Bishop Stanislaw Rospond, former auxiliary of Cracow (under arrest).
Msgr. Wojciech Zink, Vicar Capitular of Olsztyn (under arrest).

RUMANIA

Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta (American) (expelled while Regent of Papal Nunciature in Rumania).

LATIN RITE

Archbishop Alexander Cisar of Bucharest (under arrest).
Bishop Anthony Durcovici of Iasi (imprisoned).
Bishop Aaron Marton of Alba Iulia (imprisoned).
Bishop Augustine Pacha, of Timisoara (sentenced to 18 years in prison).
Bishop John Scheffler, of Satu Mare (died in prison).

BYZANTINE RITE

Bishop John Balan, of Lugoj (under arrest).
Bishop Valerian Trajan Frentiu, of Oradea Mare (imprisoned).
Bishop Julius Hossu, of Cluj-Gheria (imprisoned).
Bishop Alexander Rusu, of Maramaros (imprisoned).
Bishop John Suciu, Apostolic Administrator of Fagaras and Alba Iulia (imprisoned).
Bishop Basil Aftenie, Auxiliary to Apostolic Administrator of Fagaras and Alba Iulia (died of Communist maltreatment in prison).

RUSSIA

Archbishop John Cieplak, Auxiliary of Mogilev (sentenced to prison; died in exile).
Bishop Boleslaus Sloskans, Apostolic Administrator of Minsk (exiled).
Msgr. August Baumtrog, Apostolic Administrator of the Volga (imprisoned).
Msgr. Michael Juodokas, Apostolic Administrator of the Kazan (exiled).
Msgr. Casimir Naskrecky, Vice-Administrator Apostolic of Zytomir (exiled).
Msgr. Ivan Roth, Apostolic Administrator of the Caucasus (imprisoned).
Msgr. Theolphile Skalski, Administrator Apostolic of Zytomir (exiled).
Msgr. Ivan Swiderski, Apostolic Administrator of Kamieniec (exiled).

UKRAINE

Archbishop Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviw (died under suspicious circumstances).
Archbishop Joseph Slipy of Lviw (reportedly died in Rusian labor camp)
Archbishoph Jon Buczko, former Auxiliary of Lviw (in exile).
Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky, Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainians in Poland (in Russian prison).
Bishop Gregory Chomyshyn of Stanislaviv (died in Siberian concentration camp).
Bishop Josephat Kocylowsky, of Peremyshl (died in Russian prison).
Bishop Theodore Romzha, of Mukaciv ("accidentally killed," Russian tank).
Bishop Niceta Budka, Auxiliary of Lviw (in Russian prison; fate unknown).
Bishop Gregory Lakota, auxiliary of Peremyshl (reportedly died in Siberian labor camp).
Bishop John Latyshewsky, auxiliary of Stanislaviv (in Siberian labor camp).
Msgr. Peter Verhun, apostolic visitor for Ukrainians in Germany (kidnapped by Soviets).

YUGOSLAVIA

Aloysius Cardinal Stepinac, archbishop of Zagreb (impeded in exercise of office).
Archbishop John Saric of Sarajevo (in exile).
Bishop Joseph Carevic, former bishop of Dubrovnik (reported murdered by Tito partisans during World War II).
Bishop Peter Cule of Mostar (sentenced to 11 years in prison).
Bishop Joseph Stefan Garic, O. F. M., former bishop of Banjaluka (died in exile in 1947).
Bishop Charles Nezic, apostolic administrator of Parenzo and Pola (inducted into army).
Bishop Gregory Rozman of Ljubljana (in exile).
Bishop John Shimrak, ordinary of the Byzantine-Rite See of Krizevci (murdered in prison).
Bishop Francis Franic, auxiliary of Split (inducted into army).
Bishop Joseph Pavlisic, auxiliary of Senj (inducted into army).

The Role of Higher Education and Research in the Economic Development of the State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT RAINS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, on November 30, 1953, Mr. Thomas D. Russell, president of the State chamber of commerce, delivered an address before the Auburn Kiwanis Club entitled "The Role of Higher Education and Research in the Economic Development of the State."

Mr. Russell is one of the outstanding industrialists of our State, being the president of the Russell Manufacturing Co., Alexander City, and is a member of the board of trustees of several institutions of higher learning in Alabama. I commend the reading of his speech to each Member of Congress who is interested in higher education and research:

It has become apparent to just about everyone that the State of Alabama has developed economically by leaps and bounds. The influx of new industries as well as the expansion of existing industries has more than doubled our industrial output during the past decade.

At the same time that this industrial revolution has taken place in our State, agriculture has made tremendous strides, and in the same category I would place forestry. Scientific knowledge and research have been put to work in these fields of endeavor and the results are nothing short of amazing. Your extension and research departments here at Auburn have taken the lead in this program and the results are apparent on every hand.

Science and research have played the leading role in our industrial progress. Vast new industries are opening up with undreamed-of opportunities for the future. Many of our largest industries of today are producing products which we accept as a necessary part of modern living, yet which were unheard of a generation ago.

Research may be broken down into two main groups—fundamental research and applied or practical research. Industry and agriculture depend entirely on the results of the practical researcher, while the practical researcher depends on the fundamentalist. Both are absolutely essential. From the test tube comes the idea, from the idea comes the product or process.

In the textile industry, with which I am familiar, our schools and research institutes are stressing both fundamental and practical research. As a result, cotton is more in demand today than ever before in history. New finishes, new treatments, better methods of manufacture have been developed from the test tube to the looms.

Not only have cotton fabrics been improved to a marvelous extent, but scores of new synthetic fibers have been developed and they are finding acceptance in today's usage. All of these fibers were end results of fundamental research.

I could go on and on naming new products, new machinery, new processes which have developed recently as a result of painstaking research but my time is limited and I must touch briefly on these subjects.

Business of all kinds requires college-trained men. That need is just as great in Alabama as it is in other States. Lately the emphasis has been on men trained in the scientific and engineering fields but that is only a small and limited demand. Business wants above everything else, minds trained to think.

You can teach a man to do almost anything within the scope of his ability. Men are being schooled daily to do the most complicated jobs which are necessary in our mechanized age. But as far as I know very little effort has ever been made to train men's minds to think and reason. Somehow in our complicated civilization of today, we have failed to guide men's minds in such a way that they will operate along orderly and sound procedure.

A man may be letter perfect in the performance of his daily tasks provided these tasks do not require sound reasoning and ordinary tact and initiative. However, when he departs from the routine of his job and sound decisions are required, the average man finds he is inadequately equipped to handle most situations which arise.

Has it ever occured to you how very few people ever take the time or trouble to reason things out for themselves. How careless and tactless most people are in their dealing with each other—how prone they are to accept as truth most anything they hear or read without bothering to question or use their judgment.

In my humble opinion, there is only one way in which we can affect a cure for this malady, and that is through a process of education all along the line. Somewhere our schools and institutions are falling down on the job. We are cramming facts into the heads of our people but there is no provision being made to see that these facts are understood and assimilated. We are educating a generation of parrots but not worthwhile citizens.

I am no educator, but I do believe that some method must be devised whereby our youth can be taught to reason. We are all too prone to dump our educational problems in the laps of professional educators and let it go at that. Under this present setup, our schools and colleges are always going to be inadequate, and instruction will follow the same old paths that have proven so unequal to the task and have so far fallen short of good, sound, and well-rounded education.

In making these statements I am not criticising our educators or teachers. They can only do what we, as businessmen, make provision for. We have to provide the tools with which they can work. We have got to furnish the leadership that will arouse people to the crying need for better education and more thorough training. We have got to see that the educational profession pays salaries which will attract our best brains. We cannot and must not sit on the sidelines and criticize the way our schools are run and do nothing more. We must not go on paying only superficial attention to our schools, which are the most vital factors in every business and in every community.

I realize I have wandered somewhat far afield from my subject, but I had to get this off my chest.

The businessmen of Alabama want better-equipped men to carry on the great upsurge that is developing in industry and agriculture. A lot of you have no idea how desperate is the need for properly trained men. By properly trained, I mean men with well rounded and well developed minds; men who can see what is to be done, and do it; men who not only have the technical know-how but who have the cultural background to progress to bigger and better jobs.

All too often we businessmen encounter young men who get out of college, supposedly equipped to go into their particular field of endeavor, yet who are absolutely ignoramuses in most everything else except their specific subject. We do not want men like that. We don't need men like that. If colleges are to turn out only craftsmen, then I say let them learn their crafts in trade or vocational schools. Don't send us men who murder the king's English, who can't write a decent letter, who do not have the ability to explain their ideas, who don't know Henry VIII from Henry the barber; whose sole musical knowledge is the latest tune on the hit parade, and whose favorite literature is the comic books or detective stories; whose knowledge of art is limited to the pinup of Marilyn Monroe, or who think that the Acropolis is a Greek restaurant.

The same thing is true in agriculture. How can we hope to advance in the many branches of agriculture if we send out men of insufficient education? Where are our leaders today coming from? To be a leader you must have much more on the ball than a knowledge of one particular field. Either you must get this background in college or you must study and observe after you have finished college.

Of course, no man leaves college a finished product. Colleges can only give a man the background to work with and the thirst for an even more thorough knowledge which he himself will have to acquire.

Alabama must look to the future as never before in her entire history. Her industry and agriculture is developing so fast that unless we know the actual statistics, we have no conception of the progress being made. To keep abreast of this program we have got to depend on our colleges to provide the culture and technical know-how that is so vitally needed.

Rule of the thumb and hit-or-miss methods are no longer adequate. Men trained in research and men with well rounded educational backgrounds are sorely needed in every line of endeavor. Without these men, our progress will stop. Other sections, other States, who realize the importance of research and education will forge ahead of us. We cannot stand still.

Already Alabama businessmen are doing something about this situation. The Southern Research Institute in Birmingham is busily engaged in research work with the idea in mind of developing our resources and our industrial potential as well as mining, forestry, and agriculture. More and more of our people engaged in agriculture are depending on the research and extension departments here at Auburn. And I want to add that these departments are doing great things. Recently the textile manufacturers of Alabama met and agreed to give substantial financial assistance to this textile school in order that it may develop the research program in the textile field and provide us with better trained men for our textile mills.

These are but a few examples of where we are heading and what we can do if we all work together and if we all recognize the vital importance of better education and educational facilities.

I have pointed out the shortcomings of the colleges in furnishing business with the type of men we need and the services that colleges should render to industry and agriculture. But this is no one-way street. Business too has a responsibility to colleges and they have fallen down sadly in their obligations.

Far too many businessmen are looking at only the job to be done today and are overlooking the jobs to be done tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. They are taking the shortsighted view. They forget that every job from the president of the company to the man who sweeps the floor must be filled sooner or later. There is no such thing as an indispensable man. When one man dies or retires, another man must be ready to take over and carry on. If he does not do a better job than his predecessor, then something is wrong. That is progress for you. One generation succeeding another. Each taking up where the other left off and building better and greater and always growing and progressing.

And where can we find these future leaders but in our college graduates? How then can business close its eyes to the importance of college education? Our State funds are limited. It can only provide for the minimum educational needs of our youth. Alabama is still a relatively poor State but is spending a much larger share of its total income on education than most other States and still our educational institutions are handicapped for lack of funds to carry on the research that our State needs and the more thorough education of our youth.

Businessmen must wake up and face these facts. Businesses need highly trained men—our colleges need the funds to train these men. They also need to know what kind of training is necessary and how can these institutions of learning find out these things if we the businessmen in Alabama do not provide the answers.

It is not a question of philanthropy but of self-interest and common horsesense. Are we going to provide our local youth with opportunities, or are we going to see them go into other sections to get their training and seek their careers? Are we going to lose the cream of the crop and have to put up with the mediocre? If we are content to do this, then Alabama's forward progress is going to be severely handicapped.

I hope that the day is not far distant when businessmen and educators can sit down together and discuss their mutual problems and arrive at some definite conclussions as to ways and means of solving our dilemma.

Of one thing I am quite sure—we are not doing the job that should be done in Alabama. The need for better education and more research is urgent. The future of Alabama is as great as the ability of its people to make it great. We cannot make a first-class State out of second-class people, and we cannot have first-class people unless they have first-class education and first-class institutions to give them that education.

The Harry Dexter White Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, during adjournment I had occasion to read two very interesting editorials on the case of Harry Dexter White. They appeared in the Riverdale Free Press, Riverdale, Calif., and were written by the publisher and editor of that paper, M. Holt.

These editorials are particularly important because they reflect what might be termed grassroots reaction to the White case.

The editorials follow:

BACKGROUND FOR HARRY DEXTER WHITE

Amid all the charges and counter charges raging over the case of Harry Dexter White, most people fail to understand the working of the forces that made White possible. And any investigation of the forces back of White is not possible without first understanding just who was White in the first case. According to the report in Life magazine, who went to considerable expense to examine this case, Harry Dexter White was the son of a Jewish refugee from the Ukraine, of a Baltic Russian state, claimed to be Lithuania. They came to this country before the great revolution, but seemed to have all sympathy for the Communists during the organization of the present regime in the hectic days of the early twenties. Having an unpronouncable Russian Jewish name in the first place they just changed it to White.

White graduated from Harvard, Ph. D. and Phi Betta Kappa, then took a job teaching economics at Lawrence College. He was known as a brilliant young intellectual with strong socialist leanings. In 1934 he was recommended to President Roosevelt, who was looking for men of White's type, and given a job in the Treasury Department. He was a close friend of Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, and another brilliant Jewish intellectual. In Washington he made friends of other men of his type, especially Abraham George Silverman, a leading American Communist. Also he was closely associated with Whittaker Chambers, and it is through the testimony of Chambers that we know most about White. As White progressed with the New Deal he was given more and more authority. Probably no other man had as much influence on the thinking of Morgenthau as did White.

There was never any doubt about White's friendship for Russia. He helped urge the recognition of the Soviet in the first place. He helped urge on Washington the Morgenthau plan for complete destruction of Germany. He proposed a starting loan to Russia of $250 million and helped run it up to 10 billion. It was White that gave the Russians the plates for the German occupation money; Russia used these plates to dump millions of marks on the already inflated Germany. This item alone has cost the American taxpayer over $200 million.

Just what he gave the Russians as a spy may never be known. We do know, however, that most all Russians know about atomic weapons and radar they gained from espionage in United States and Canada. Much of this information could have been supplied by White; as a high-ranking Treasury official he could have easily checked all our spending on these projects.

White is now dead and so are many of his colleagues, and we trust Communist espionage has been eliminated from our Government. The fact that he was promoted to high office in face of expert testimony as to his true status is a grave indictment against the Truman administration.

There is nothing unfair about the exposure of the White case. The people have every right to know the workings of our Government, and the exposure of dangerous men—past, present, or future, is the only method we have of protecting our liberties. Too much light cannot be shed on such subjects.

However, the background of White goes away beyond the Truman administration. He was first appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, and he was one of the fair-haired darlings of the New Deal. He came to Washington with the brain trust. He was a symbol of the exact type of person the New Deal most wanted. Thousands upon thousands of men of Mr. White's type were given fine jobs at the expense of the American taxpayer. He suited F. D. R. right down to the ground. He was part of his famous left of center policy. A brilliant Socialist, a dreamer, a man with a head capable of schemes, a hatchetman for the New Deal, a loyal follower, a yes man for the fantastic—in short a perfect Rooseveltian.

The mere fact Mr. White went all the way to communism is only incidental. He and his type were more dangerous to the Republic as loyal Americans (?) than as Communists. The paths of socialism lead but to communism. Any critical examination of the historicity leaves this conclusion inescapable. We saw it happen in Italy with Mussolini, it happened in Germany with Hitler, in Spain with Franco, and lately in South America. In each and every case totalitarianism was the outgrowth of benevolent socialism. Each and every one of these dictators promised the voters a New Deal, something which they did not earn, the robbery of one class to aid another class. Each and every dictator had a full corps of Harry Dexter Whites. They furnished the idealism, the fine thinking, and the driving power to hold less intelligent men in line.

Harry Dexter White made news in America only after he was accused of being an agent for a foreign nation. But so far as I am concerned he was just as dangerous to the American way of life if he had never sold out to Russia. He and all his kind have led this Nation a long way down the road of socialization. The thousands of men of his type that were brought into government in the past 20 years have done much to undermine constitutional government. They have filled jobs from clerk to Cabinet members and Supreme Court justices. The same "fuzzy" thinkers. The little men who advocate class hatred, public ownership of industry, regimentation of the public, the robbery of one class for the benefit of another. The type of thinking that says the Government owes them a living. The type that demands more and more pay for less and less effort, bigger and better pensions, more social security, free medical care, and all the program of the welfare state. They cannot think of orderly democratic government, they must have a "Deal," a New Deal one year, a Fair Deal the next year, they must go from emergency to emergency, piling debt on debt, shrugging off any mention that debts must be paid.

When people gamble, no new wealth is created. The winners simply take wealth from the losers. The welfare state does exactly that. The emphasis is not on the creation of wealth; it is a system of transfering wealth from the losers at the polls to the winners. Worse, it discourages production and reduces total wealth. Like gambling, the welfare state is destructive to character. It is based on the theory one man can eat his neighbor's bread that he can have wealth and security without working for it, it is a scheme of despoiling the loser in favor of the winner.

There is little fundamental difference between the many 'isms that plague modern society. British and American Socialists have the identical aims of the Russian Communists. They all promise a "new deal." They all propose to attain this "new deal" by robbing another class. In Russia the process has been carried to its logical conclusion. In Britain it is about halfway along. While I was there, British Conservatives tell me that their socialization has cost more than both World Wars, and has reduced the once proud Empire to the status of a sixth-rate nation that exists only because of the generosity of her colonies and the American taxpayer. Their wealth has been dissipated and the poverty spread. There is no place for energy and ingenuity. All people share alike, live in identical houses, eat identical food—rationed to the ounce—draw the same amount of pay and do the same amount of work. (As a matter of fact, almost no work at all.)

American socialism as spearheaded by Roosevelt had the same ends in mind. We have gone a long way along the road to totalitarianism. When one understands these facts, the true value of the Harry Dexter White exposé becomes crystal clear. What difference does it make if he was a Russian spy? In any case he, and all his brothers, had for their aim the subjection of America. First the New Deal, then the welfare state, then socialism, and last communism. Yes, "the paths of socialism lead but to communism."

IMPORTANCE OF WHITE CASE

Now that most of the facts in the Harry Dexter White case have been exposed and exploited it is well for the American people to examine the case closely, and see it in the light of its importance.

Briefly, the known facts are these:

Attorney General Brownell made a speech in Chicago in which he stated that White was "known to be a Communist spy" by the very people who appointed him to the International Monetary Fund. He spoke of the blindness of the Truman administration on this issue.

This was not the first time such charges had been aimed at the last administration, it is not likely to be the last. The Brownell statement made no reference to Mr. Truman, and no one's patriotism or loyalty was impugned. Had the statement been ignored it might have been forgotten by now. Under similar circumstances F. D. R. would no doubt have assumed a broad grin and pulled a fancy wisecrack out of the air which would have put an end to the matter.

The next day Democratic national chairman Stephen A. Mitchell rushed into print with a statement Mr. Brownell was charging a former President of the United States with treason. This was the first use of the word, and it was used by Steve Mitchell, not the Attorney General.

Then the explosive little man from Missouri rushed on the air to say he was being accused of "knowingly betraying the security of the United States." In a frantic and bombastic TV-radio hookup he tried to duplicate the performance of DICK NIXON. However, it was a sorry performance, poorly staged and timed and only led to more doubt and confusion. Previously Mr. Truman had said it was all a "lie" and used for political purposes to influence the recent elections, then it was pointed out to him that with the exception of one contest in California, the by-elections were all over, he changed his story and said that he had no knowledge of any adverse reports on White, but when former Cabinet members pointed out that they had all known of not 1 but 3 reports on White, and that they had pled with the President not to make the appointment; once again Mr. Truman changed his story. This time he claimed that he shifted Mr. White to the International Monetary Fund so he could be watched.

This story was torn to shreds by the investigating committee, and the solid testimony of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, was absolutely contradictory to all Mr. Truman's statements. It establishes the fact that the transfer of White to the International Monetary Fund placed him beyond the reach of the FBI (and not nearer as Truman had claimed).

Nobody now denies that Harry Dexter White was a spy, that his activity was reported in detail to the White House and all evidence brought direct to the attention of the President. Nobody denies that over the protest of James Byrnes, the then Secretary of State, and other members of the Cabinet, White was promoted to one of the most important posts in America. Everybody knows he held that post over a year and quit only on the eve of a grand jury investigation in New York City and upon his quitting Mr. Truman wrote him a long, loving letter of commendation and praise. And lastly, that Harry Dexter White saved himself from conviction by a timely death.

Strange as it may seem, Mr. Truman has been charged with nothing more serious than stupidity and poor judgment. Two charges that had already been very well established in the minds of most Americans. It is ironic that his stanchest defender to date has been President Eisenhower, who with great wisdom and charity has assured the American people that Mr. Truman would be incapable of betraying his country.

To date, this has been the worst calamity the Democrats have suffered since the death of F. D. R. It has robbed them of the psychological triumph of their recent victories at the polls, and thrown them back on the defensive. They have on their hands an irresponsible and blatant leader that knowingly promoted at least one dangerous man to high positions and has made the poorest possible explanation of an action that would be unthinkable to most ordinary people. And they have been caught in a web of their own weaving. The statement of the Attorney General that started all the "sound and fury" contained less than five lines of type. Never has the Republican Party gained so much from so little.

The last line of defense is the plea that a past President should be shown more respect and the more dubious plea that this is hurting our prestige abroad.

Of course, past presidents should be shown respect. But we Americans, along with other democratic peoples, do not believe in the divine right of kings. And there is no reason at all for President or past President to refuse to testify to a legally constituted congressional committee. Truman would not have been the first or last to give such testimony. It is reasonably certain that had he gone promptly before the committee and told all he knew about White in a forthright manner he would have strengthened his case with the public. But here again, the Democrats are caught in a web of their own weaving. For over 20 years they have heaped a steady stream of abuse on the head of past President Herbert Hoover. They have never spared him any dignity, they have attacked his character and integrity on every possible occasion. Now they are drawing interest on a sorry investment, and the end is not in sight. Maybe we have heard the last of White but it is a positive fact that "Give 'em Hell Harry" will be with us for quite some time.

The last plea is amply covered in this quotation from the liberal San Francisco News:

"Now about our prestige abroad, or what there was left of it at the end of the Truman administration:

"We can't manage much of a leadership in the world, and, more important, maintain our own security, if our own Government is infested by spies and officials whose first loyalty is to Soviet Rusia. The only effective way to get rid of them is to expose them, whether they are past, present, or future. The mistakes of the past are guides to present and future vigilance."

And Europeans, or other friends, are much more likely to think we have gone crazy, as one pundit put it, by coddling our internal enemies than by fingering and eliminating them.

Moreover, do other countries, when they cope with a grave internal problem, worry about the reaction of the American public? They do not. They just go ahead and cope with the problem, or try to. If most people overseas had nothing more to worry about than how Americans wrestle with their domestic problems, they'd be lucky.

Aside from a few Old World newspapers—who get more news out of this country than they get from their own—the principal fretters of this issue are the fogmakers here at home.

A Note of Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, while all of us applaud the President's recommendations with respect to broadening and strengthening social security, there is a note of caution running through editorial comment on the program, which reflects credit on the American press and public and which we should all bear in mind. Where are we going with this program? These are not obligations which we are assuming for a few years or for a few decades, but in perpetuity. Unless the foundations are carefully and firmly laid to carry not only the superstructure of tomorrow, but also of the distant future, we shall have built in vain.

That the press and public are aware of these considerations is evident in editorial comment on the program and the President's proposals with respect to it.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD two editorials from the Rochester Times-Union and the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle bearing on these points:

[From the Rochester Times-Union of January 15, 1954]

COMPULSORY SAVINGS FOR OLD AGE

What happens to President Eisenhower's social-security expansion proposals will furnish a rough barometer on how security minded people have become.

Most Americans past 30 were brought up to work out their individual formula for taking care of themselves. Some accepted great risks in the hope of large gains. Others devised amazingly varied patterns of systematic savings and investment to provide for themselves.

Millions of them made it. Others didn't. But win, lose, or draw they had the freedom to take their own chances and use their initiative.

The cornerstone of the social-security system is compulsory savings. To the degree that government compels you to save, your liberty to work out your own salvation is abridged.

The portion of earnings the Government compels employed persons to save went up to 2 percent January 1. That was on the first $3,600 of earnings. The President yesterday suggested that this be increased to the first $4,200.

Two percent of $4,200 isn't a lot of money—only $84. But such an extension of the law would mean that employed persons would lose control over that much of their savings.

As the President says, the social security system isn't intended as a substitute for private savings, pension plans and insurance protection. Still, an $84 annual bite is a fair chunk out of private savings. It reduces private arrangements by that much.

Not all young fellows earn $4,200 a year. But there are few employed young people who could not manage to save $84 a year. That's only $1.61 a week—cigarette money.

If a young person 21 years old paid $84 a year for an annuity payable at the age of 65, insurance men tell us he would draw $49,- plus a month for the rest of his life.

But, of course, the $84 maximum that social security compels him to save is only half of it. His employer "matches" that amount. So his social security stake is twice $84.

Some are naive enough to think the second $84 is for free. It isn't. You pay for it the rest of your life in prices 2 percent higher—often pyramided—than they would need to be without social security. That 2 percent social cost of production might be extremely important if other producing nations ever get back to a competitive position with the United States.

Most people are convinced of the value of minimum social security. How much liberty over their own financial plans they are willing to surrender to Government is the main question in its extension. It's a barometer of their feeling about freedom as against compulsion risk-taking as against security.

[From the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle of January 16, 1954]

CEILING ON SECURITY

There is a theoretical critical point—a sort of point of no return—in boosting social-security taxes and payments.

Not that this point is yet in sight. President Eisenhower is on good ground in asking for broader coverage by social security; for increased benefits, and a raise in the social-security tax to finance the benefits. Such legislation would merely help millions of our older citizens to adjust an economic dislocation created by the fact that social-security payments have remained unchanged while living costs have risen.

Probably there will always be pressure to increase social-security payments. This is natural. So it is at least a fair guess that

some day we will have to take a long look at the intent of this form of security, and decide whether to permit it to expand any further.

What is prickly about the problem is really a byproduct of it. This is the question of what would happen to the national character and habits if social security was expanded to a size where it, and it alone, could take care of older persons pleasantly and comfortably. Sociologists have pointed out that if this day arrived, there would be a mass upheaval of traditional American habits of thrift, of saving for the future, of investments, in fact a tearing of the fabric of America.

Or to put it in the more common form, it would spell socialism.

However, most of those who point to this danger are quick to agree that social security is excellent up to the "critical point." It preserves human dignity, buoys the spirit, and assures the recipient that while he must work to supplement this income after retirement if he wants to retire comfortably, nevertheless he will never suffer the tragedy of being a public ward.

At the moment, the argument is academic. The average social-security payment now is $50 a month, and who can live on that? The "critical point" is far distant. Larger social-security payments will shrink welfare rolls proportionately, a financial gain to every community as well as a hitching post for human dignity.

Lucy Somerville Howorth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, Lucy Somerville Howorth is a member of a distinguished Mississippi family who has added many new honors to an illustrious family name. Under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the Washington Post of January 15, 1954, following Judge Howorth's retirement from Government service:

WINDS UP FEDERAL LAW CAREER HERE

The most blessed people in this world are those who know at the outset what they want to do with their lives—and are able to do it, believes Lucy S. Howorth, who yesterday wound up a distinguished career as a Government lawyer in Washington. She has resigned as counsel of the War Crimes Commission, to return to private practice here.

Mrs. Howorth counts herself particularly blessed:

"From the beginning I wanted to be a lawyer. With all due modesty, but without an excess of it, I've done very well in my profession. I enjoy meeting people and working with them. I've had a wonderful life doing both."

She's second vice president of the American Association of University Women and has held many local and national posts in the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, Women's National Democratic Club, and a variety of professional organizations.

Lucy Howorth comes from a long line of lawyers and is known around Mississippi courtrooms as Judge Lucy. She has been in Government nearly 20 years. Before she came to Washington, her career also embraced a term in the Mississippi Legislature and a joint private practice with her husband, Joseph Howorth, now a lawyer with the Department of the Army.

She looks back nostalgically to those days. "No, my husband and I didn't quarrel over cases. After all, we were paid to quarrel for other people."

The next thing on her calendar is a visit to Bonn, Germany, where at the invitation of the Federal Republic she'll study law as it is administered in the courts. She hopes to have more time for her golf. "No, I'd rather tell my age than my golf score." And her books, biography and history, mostly. But no cooking or household chores for Lucy Howorth.

"I don't like doing either and I am entirely without talent for them," she admits frankly. "Of course, if a button flies off I'll fix it, if no one else is around who's willing or able.

"It has always seemed to me that the best thing for me was to do as well as possible the things for which I have some talent. And leave the rest alone."

The Economic Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, perhaps never was there a time when so much publicity was given to the economic forecasts of individuals and organizations as the present time.

It appears to me at the same time, Mr. Speaker, that the preponderance of publicity has gone to the statements of the self-appointed peddlers of gloom and doom.

My home city of Detroit and the State of Michigan have been pointed up by these prophets of gloom and doom, as a prime example of a falling and failing economy.

It appears to me also, Mr. Speaker, that in many cases these harbingers of bad times to come seem to take a wholesome delight in forecasting the collapse of our economy. We do know that there are those few within our shores who are happy at any time to do the bidding of the Russian masters.

Because human nature is so fragile, we find others who would, if they but could, put this Nation through the wringer in order to catapult themselves into power, and thereby give this great country of ours the kind of government they think it should have. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, these are not the people who made America great. Nor will they contribute to its forward advancement in the future.

Progress and the advancement of civilization are dependent upon faith in the future, faith in ourselves, faith in our country, and faith in God. This is the history of America. This is the creed of those who have built our country great and strong.

We are presently in a transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. Inevitably this will create some adjustments. We know that these adjustments are not always entirely painless.

Again, there are those few who would rather that the blood letting in Korea be continued than to undergo economic adjustments that involve them personally. The great preponderance of American people however, I believe, Mr. Speaker, are entirely different. Our future and our destiny are clear. We are not a nation of defeatists or of cowards. We will go forward. We will continue a united nation. Our beliefs and our prayers will sustain us.

I have three articles which I am inserting in the RECORD which may buoy up the hopes of those who have been honestly troubled with depression psychosis. One is a statement from the president of Ford Motor Co.; one a statement by the president of General Motors; and one an economic analysis by the statistician of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

Address by Henry Ford II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Henry Ford II, president of Ford Motor Co., at the annual dinner of the Poor Richard Club, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., January 16, 1954:

I am deeply honored by this award of the Poor Richard Club. In fact, I don't know how to protest my innocence of the virtues which would entitle me to it, without seeming to protest too much. So I hope you will settle for a heartfelt and sincere expression of thanks.

I suspect that guests appearing before this organization are always at great pains to get in some reference to Philadelphia's many revered institutions. Unfortunately, the effort to cover them all places a considerable strain upon a man's ingenuity. So, with apologies to all concerned, I'll take the easy way out and talk to you about a subject which seems to me as far-ranging as Benjamin Franklin, as inspiring as the Liberty Bell, meatier than the finest scrapple, and packing all the wallop of a Fish House punch.

I want to talk to you as a private citizen—a businessman—who recently had a close-up view of part of our country's foreign relations, as a United States representative to the United Nations. While the experience hardly qualifies me as a seasoned statesman, it did suggest a few thoughts which I would like to talk about this evening.

When I took the U. N. assignment, I was skeptical about the value of the United Nations. From what I read in the papers, the U. N. seemed to be a place where an awful lot of talking went on but nothing much got done—and I, for one, somehow expected a lot more.

My views have changed considerably. I have a feeling that too many of us have expected too much too quickly from the United Nations.

The United Nations is not a superstate and it cannot—nor should it attempt to—do the things which only a superstate might be able to do. But it is a great world forum in which dangerous issues can be forced out into the open light of world opinion, and

the real pressure of world opinion can be brought upon nations to talk out—rather than fight out—their differences.

On several occasions the U. N. has prevented the outbreak of armed fighting; on others it has stopped fights in progress; and on still others it has confined hostilities and kept them from spreading into a global conflict. We should remember that the techniques for doing these things are still new.

Had there been no U. N., the world might even now be locked in atomic war. And, at the very least, it's probable that millions more of the world's people—many of them Americans, perhaps—would have died violently in the past 8 years.

The fact that such a forum does exist has kept alive the spark of human liberty in many parts of the world where otherwise it would have flickered out. Perhaps we Americans are not very happy about the present state of affairs in the world—as we see it from here. But without the United Nations, our position might be much more lonely and precarious than it now is.

Although this performance justifies many times over our support, the United Nations holds even greater promise as a means of mobilizing free nations to the task of peaceful world development.

For example, where could President Eisenhower have made a more effective appeal to the world's peoples to pool their atomic resources for the peaceful benefit of all than before the U. N. General Assembly? That proposal could be the first real step toward easing world tensions.

I would like you to put yourselves for a moment in the place of a delegate to the U. N.

One of the really rewarding experiences you have—it seems to me—comes from working closely with people of as many as 60 different nationalities. You spend hours every day sitting and talking with people—delegates and their staffs—in committee, in the delegates' lounge, in the dining rooms. Through a little plastic headphone you listen to hours of speeches and endless haggling over technicalities until you get a sweaty ear. It's quite a contrast to the usual business conference, where things get done with a minimum of fuss and bother.

But gradually you become aware that something is getting done—something not only important but exciting. Hundreds of people of different races, creeds, and languages, of different political and economic outlook, are working doggedly in a dedicated effort to achieve just one goal—to advance peace and international understanding, if only a hair's breadth.

If you keep your eyes and ears open, you also begin to get a rather revealing picture of how the United States of America appears to others. That picture—whether fair or false—is valuable to us. At the least, it can help us to find out where we stand in the eyes of the nations of the world. And next, by listening to these diverse views, it will make us look at ourselves objectively and decide what it is we really do want to stand for. I would like to talk about these two subjects tonight.

I found, for example, that many of our foreign friends feel we're too hipped on the idea that we have the right and duty to assume moral and spiritual leadership of the free world. It's the sort of idea that suggests that because we're strong and richer than most nations, we think we are also wiser and better and even more cultured. If we do feel that way, perhaps we ought to keep that feeling strictly to ourselves.

They also think we have a passion for popularity. We feel hurt, they say, when people don't respond to our generosity with an immediate and unmistakable show of gratitude. Of course, Poor Richard was well aware that there's no better way to make a man resent you than by putting him in your debt. The foreigner may agree that the goals of our foreign policy are generous enough—but he suspects they are not solely generous. He feels that when we spend money abroad, we do it for good practical reasons, and that we shouldn't expect more than ordinary thanks.

In the eyes of many foreigners, we also seem to view the struggle with communism as a total ideological conflict—an all-or-nothing struggle—rather than as a complex situation in which progress may be made piecemeal on many fronts without bringing about a world crisis. Many nations can't help but feel that they might be crushed in the working out of the total conflict that we keep talking about.

A much more serious criticism is directed against the general character of our foreign policy. There is a feeling that up to now, the United States has been rather negative and defensive in its outlook.

To take a specific example, I recently saw published in a French magazine a nationwide survey of French public opinion about America. It showed that the French people have, in general, a friendly and favorable attitude toward us, but they believe that the dominant tone of America policy is fear and hatred of communism. A large majority, about 64 percent, agreed with this statement: The Americans are overhypnotized by their hatred of communism.

It's my impression that this feeling is shared in general by most foreign nations. It reflects what foreigners read about us in their newspapers and magazines, and hear over their radios. Three things generally seem to stand out in sharp relief, as they look at us.

First is the view that we have been so preoccupied with military defense that we are overlooking the more positive approaches to peace—in effect, that we are prepared to spend billions for defense against Soviet Russia, but only pennies for world progress.

Second is the feeling that the present economy-in-government drive—something which I happen to favor very strongly—has been taken over by an isolationist wrecking crew, which runs under the slogan: No trade, no aid, no cooperation, no nothing.

Third is what many peoples regard as an overeager, blunderbuss pursuit of the Reds and a rather hysterical attack upon freedom of thought. Apparently the world sees us as a great giant peering nervously under his bed—and occasionally bashing with a huge cudgel, a small and frightened mouse.

So far, I have perhaps painted an overly black picture of where we stand in the eyes of the world. But that picture may help us see what we should—and I believe do—want to stand for.

It seems to me that we want to stand for steadfastness and courage and constructive imagination in our approach to world problems. We relate those qualities to strength in a man. We relate the qualities of fear and hatred and negative thinking to weakness. And so, if we want our influence in the world to be as strong as it should be, we only need to think and act as befits our strength.

I am convinced that the American people want a positive foreign policy and the administration is trying to provide one. Secretary Dulles made that very clear when he announced this week a new United States policy designed to give us much greater initiative and flexibility in deterring Communist aggression. It is a policy which gives us great retaliatory power at minimum cost. In effect, it raises a protective umbrella over the free world. Of course, that is not the last step—it is only one step—on the road to a lasting peace. Under that protective umbrella, we and other free nations must begin the arduous task of building a permanent peace.

Unfortunately, our positive initiative is being hampered by a powerful and grimly negative group in American politics. Speaking, I hope, as a good Republican, surely we can have sound and efficient policies at home without throwing international cooperation into the ashcan.

We can and must have economy, for example, but we cannot afford to have it at the expense of peaceful progress.

Economy does not always mean not spending money. Right after the war, Ford Motor Co. found itself in a pretty rundown condition. Instead of hoarding what we had, as soon as we could, we started spending quite a lot of money to modernize old plants, build new ones and engineer new products. The result is that today, we believe that Ford Motor Co. is in an outstanding competitive position—in terms of product as well as from a manufacturing cost standpoint. That is one investment which proved to be very good economy.

Next, we can fight subversion at home in the only really efficient way—quietly, systematically, and without all the public tumult of a four-alarm fire. In fact, I believe that this situation will gradually correct itself, whether from want of fuel or from want of an audience.

Above all, it seems to me we can refuse to let our past preoccupation with military defense continue to dominate our thinking. It seems to me that there is only one sensible attitude for Americans to take toward this atomic age. We have greatly strengthened our own and the free world's defenses. Our new defense policy enables us to bring our defense program down to a more or less permanent level.

We must accept the fact that we can't ever have absolute security. Moreover, we must also accept the fact—the mathematics of the atom being what it is—that our relative security probably won't increase greatly.

If we are doing all we reasonably can do defensively, then, I say, let's not worry ourselves to death. Let's not make a fetish of security, whether in our private, national, or international lives. It doesn't become a man; and it certainly doesn't become a great nation.

But, more importantly, let's not use our heavy defense burden as an alibi for avoiding the positive approaches to peace which are now open to us.

It seems to me that today, as never before, the time is ripe for a vigorous demonstration by Americans of our deep belief in the future of mankind.

I believe, specifically, that the United States should now step forth with a hard-hitting program to speed the peaceful and orderly development of the underdeveloped areas of the earth, and help them adjust to life in the new age of technology.

I think we should invest in this constructive adventure a very small part of the effort and imagination we have so freely spent in developing our own resources and preparing our defenses against war. Here is why I think we should do this.

First of all, the underdeveloped areas pose a real challenge to American leadership, and offer us a chance to do a good deed which coincides very satisfactorily with our own self-interest.

Obviously, a rich world means good business, and a poor world means poor business. The faster we help these areas to advance, the sooner will our farmers and workers and businessmen be able to start meeting their unlimited hunger for all that we produce.

More important still, many of these areas, representing the decisive balance of world power, are in a state of upheavel and revolt against subhuman conditions of life. They are being hotly courted and could fall into the Soviet sphere, quite soon, without any great exertion on the part of the Communists.

But let's not approach this problem only as a grim moral obligation or as another crisis—another fire to be put out. Instead, we have every reason to look upon it as an opportunity and challenge—one which we are uniquely prepared to meet.

Our generation has seen a tremendous growth of basic knowledge and technological progress in science, in management, and in industrial methods. We have come so far so fast that we scarcely begin to consolidate today's progress before it becomes obsolete.

And like an old prospector who suddenly strikes it rich, we are a little befuddled by our fortune. We don't quite know what to do with ourselves. But we sense that a profound change has taken place—that many of our old notions about the nature of the physical world, of economics and society, are going to wind up in the wastebasket. There's no place for static thinking in our dynamic society.

Those who suffer from a depression psychosis, for example, are gradually being moved toward a more optimistic outlook. For our new technology offers unlimited opportunities for the imaginative and venturesome. And we have only begun to nibble at the edges of what we know.

With the opportunity that lies before it, and the good of competition at its back, industry is forced to move farther and faster, to support advanced scientific research, and to discard methods and machinery at a rate which would have seemed preposterous just a few short years ago.

But as we adjust ourselves to our own technological progress, we slowly realize that the knowledge we possess can reshape the face of the world. We know how to multiply the yield of the earth and the sea so that men need no longer go hungry. We are learning how to harness the energy of the sun, the ocean tides, and the atom to provide all the power man needs to give him warmth and lift the burden of brute labor from his shoulders.

Today only a few of the earth's people are beginning to enjoy the real abundance which that knowledge makes possible. With imagination and the will to put that knowledge generously to work, we can bring about greater progress in decades than man has achieved in all the past centuries of his history.

I would not venture any blueprint for a program to accomplish these purposes except in a very general way.

Such a program should be far-reaching enough to capture the world's enthusiasm. It should be long range, assuring the underdeveloped areas of a substantial, coordinated program for many years to come. To be effective it must, as former Ambassador Chester Bowles has put it, do good with people rather than to people.

The basic elements of such a program are fairly familiar.

First is technical assistance—a tremendously powerful, low-cost force. It covers a wide range of basic education enabling people to move from more or less primitive circumstances toward a semi-industrialized society. I have seen this force at work through my assignment in the United Nations and through various activities of the Ford Foundation in the Middle and Near East. I know it can do tremendous things. Philadelphia's own American Friends Service Committee has been carrying on this type of project for many years.

A second element might be called basic capital development. It would involve us in self-help projects of a basic nature—roads, harbors, dams, electrification projects, and so on—which private capital cannot normally undertake, and which show dramatically tangible results. The problem of financing such projects does not seem insurmountable. It might be possible, for example, to broaden the scope of action of the Export-Import Bank, and to promote revision of the charter of the International Bank, so that it can liberalize its lending policies.

A third part of this program would be—and we've sat on this one long enough—a real effort to encourage United States private investment abroad.

In this connection, the underdeveloped countries themselves must recognize the fact that they themselves have the responsibility to create the kind of climate in which private investment from abroad becomes a practical possibility. Investments should be allowed to earn a suitable return. A genuine effort should be made to work toward convertibility, and some understanding must be reached to guarantee investments against the risk of confiscation or nationalization.

Our company is often asked why we don't make more dollar investments abroad. We do, of course, invest our local profits in new facilities and modernization programs. The reason we don't generally invest dollars is that the climate abroad, both political and economic, is not particularly favorable. It is obvious, of course, that the United States cannot create more favorable conditions in other countries just as we cannot meet singlehandedly the whole world's economic development needs. We can't go it alone, either economically or politically. But this evening I am talking about the job we can do—one which might stir the free nations to a much more vigorous effort on their own part.

And, finally, it would help a good deal if we put into effect a sound and liberalized trade policy. I might mention that I've been accused of various dark purposes in joining this trade issue. On the one hand, I'm said to be cynically advancing the secret interests of Ford Motor Co. On the other hand, some of our dealers in protectionist areas are convinced that I'm out to sabotage the company.

The truth is that I'm convinced our trade policy, as well as our foreign investment program, is a vital ingredient of a worthwhile program of economic development. The slogan, "Trade, not aid," is oversimplified. It ought to say something about investment. What economic development really requires is lots more trade, lots more investment, and a minimum giveway aid to oil the gears and do a few essential things which private funds can't do.

Only so long as our imports and foreign private investment continue at low levels, must aid be an important part of an economic development program. But it need not and should not be giveaway aid except under the most unusual circumstances. Nor would we have to add to our budget in order to achieve a very generous program.

As we cut back our defense spending, we can apply each year a small part of what we save to expand our development program. Since our defense budget may drop as much as $10 billion, it is simple arithmetic that 5 or 10 percent of that drop would ultimately yield half a billion to a billion additional dollars annually for economic development. That may be more than a sound program would require. Actually the question of cost is secondary to setting up the machinery necessary to get the job under way.

In an inspiring speech last April, President Eisenhower expressed the heartfelt desire of many Americans to channel much of the effort now devoted to defense into peaceful and constructive international programs. The Senate strongly endorsed that proposal. According to a Gallup poll, a substantial majority of the American people approved it. The President's later U. N. proposal to share the benefits of the atom has stirred new hopes throughout the free world.

It seems to me that it would be a mistake to tie our action rigidly to conditions which are almost impossible to attain in the foreseeable future. If we do so, our pronouncements might seem little more than empty propaganda gestures. We cannot withhold our positive peaceful efforts until—if ever—the Soviets change their ways. Not if we want to go on exerting a really constructive influence in the world.

I believe it is not too early to start acting now on such a program.

I am convinced that, if we do so, the United States will receive a new measure of support throughout the free world. And we will be calling the shots on our own terms—not on those dictated by the lords of the Kremlin. It seems to me, moreover, that this is a matter above politics and above partisanship. I believe it is a practical idea which would appeal strongly to our people.

I believe finally that the basic idea is one which reflects overpoweringly the logic and challenge of our present situation. If we fail that challenge, we shall prove ourselves inadequate to the great underlying needs and opportunities of our generation and, more importantly, as the present leader of the free world. If we meet it head on, then we shall prove our worth as a people, and as a truly great nation.

Detroit's First Quarter Outlook Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Times-Herald, news article by the Associated Press, and an article from Detroiter, weekly publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of January 18, 1954]

FORD SCOFFS AT REPORT OF JOBLESSNESS

PHILADELPHIA, January 17.—Henry Ford 2d, young president of the Ford Motor Co., said Sunday reports of unemployment in Detroit as a result of layoffs by the automobile industry are greatly exaggerated.

"Unemployment in Detroit doesn't amount to a hill of beans," Ford said at a press conference. "Sure there have been some layoffs, but they are only temporary."

Ford said his company could cut production "drastically, to our way of thinking," without being forced to lay off a single person—merely by eliminating overtime.

His company, Ford said, currently is turning out 6,400 passenger cars a day, with this rate of production scheduled for the first 5 months of this year. To turn out this volume, he said, the company is operating at 9½ hours a day, 6 days a week "and some plants even are working 7 days a week."

This production, he continued, could be cut some 18 percent to 5,000 cars a day "without our being forced to lay off a single person."

The 36-year-old executive said he is "at a loss to understand" how anyone could predict a recession this year.

"There is no cause for pessimism or gloom," he said. "This year should be a good one."

His own company, he added, will have a good year. Asked if it would be as good as last year he replied: "I hope it will be better."

He made no secret of the fact that he expects Ford production and sales to pass Chevrolet this year for top honors in the industry "if the demand continues at the present rate."

[From the Associated Press]

NEW YORK, January 19, 1954.—General Motors today announced another billion-dollar expansion program.

Sixty percent of the funds will be spent this year and the remainder by the fall of 1955. The program is designed mainly to provide additional capacity for General Motors automotive divisions.

Harlow H. Curtice, General Motors president, disclosed the undertaking along with an optimistic outlook on business prospects in an address prepared for delivery before 500 business and industrial leaders at a luncheon preliminary to the opening Thursday of General Motors Motorama of 1954.

He said General Motors has spent $2 billion on expansion since World War II.

Curtice predicted a gross national product this year approximately equal to the $365 billion estimated for 1953.

"No depression is in my vision," he said. "It is my belief the national economy will be strong and healthy throughout the year."

He predicted General Motors volume of sales, in physical and dollar terms in 1954, should not be far from the high level attained in 1953. Last year, he reported, General Motors dollar sales exceed $9 billion by a substantial amount.

For the auto industry specifically, the General Motors president said, "I estimate the domestic market should absorb in the area of 6,300,000 cars and trucks. Unit production, including Canada and for export, should approximate 7 million cars and trucks.

Curtice did not detail just where General Motors will spend the billion dollars involved in the expansion program.

Curtice said General Motors defense sales last year totaled nearly $2 billion.

Of taxes he said, "In the last 4 years, excess-profits taxes alone payable by General Motors totaled about $700 million."

"Considerable credit is due the new administration," Curtice said, "for the many constructive steps it has already taken in the direction of restoring the foundations of a free economy. With the end of controls, the initiative now has passed to private industry. Business leaders have the responsibility and must accept the challenge of building on these foundations an economy that will continue to be sound and dynamic.

"In General Motors we are accepting this challenge."

[From Detroiter of January 18, 1954]

DETROIT'S FIRST-QUARTER OUTLOOK GOOD

(By John R. Stewart)

Car and truck production in the United States in the first 3 months of 1954 is expected to total 1,955,000, according to estimates made this week by Ward's Reports. This output, a substantial cut from earlier estimates, will, if attained, be only 25,000 units below previous first-quarter peak, that of 1951. It will exceed like 1953 figure by about 6 percent.

In Detroit, output of 2 of the area's 3 top employers is expected to be up sharply, relative to a year ago—the rise substantially exceeding prospective decreases by other automobile assemblers in the area. Output of local parts and accessory plants should follow a trend at least as favorable as that shown for the United States for motor-vehicle production.

With the automotive workweek this year probably at, or below, last year's 41.6 hours, a 6-percent increase in car output normally would generate a rise of perhaps 4 percent in the industry's employment total. For the Detroit area this would mean an average employment of 411,000 persons in its motor vehicle and parts factories in current quarter, against 406,000 a year ago, after allowing for a 10-percent drop in defense employment.

If employment in local automobile factories were to average 411,000 in the first 3 months of 1954, it would represent an increase of 54,000 above the like figure for December 1953 and boost total manufacturing employment in the Detroit area to about 757,000.

Unfortunately, there are certain factors today that resist attainment of a level of employment commensurate with the area's current output of automotive products. Foremost is seniority which tends to restrain a worker laid off by one plant from applying for work at a more active factory. Nevertheless, this changing of jobs is going on at the present time. In the week ending January 7, 25,347 persons received benefit checks as compared with 45,152 in prior week. These 10,000 workers who went back to work received no publicity although another group of 12,000 who were laid off at that time hit all the headlines.

Throughout the remainder of the current quarter, the factory employment trend should be upward with some firms adding to already peak payrolls while other firms call back temporarily laid-off workers. Allowing for some optimism in automobile manufacturers' projected schedules and some drop in the ratio of employment to car output, it still seems probable that the manufacturing employment average for this quarter will not be below 715,000, an increase of 12,000 over last month's figure but 45,000 below like figure for the first 3 months of 1953.

Nonmanufacturing employment usually declines by about 20,000 subsequent to the Christmas rush. Last year there was an acute shortage of nonfactory workers. This year, with more workers available, the early year drop from the December figure should not exceed 10,000, indicating about 612,000 average for the first quarter. Total employment would be 2,000 higher than it was at mid-December.

The area's labor force normally drops between 10,000 and 20,000 after Christmas. In view of the fact that most of the 82,000 persons added to the labor force over the past 14 months represent housewives and marginal workers not normally part of the labor force, and in-migrants, it seems probable the drop this year will be greater than average—at least 22,000.

This combination of an increase of 2,000 in employment and a drop of 22,000 in the labor force would cut unemployment rolls to 60,000 persons, on average, for the 3 months ended March 31, 1954. This amounts to only 4 percent of the labor force, a very slight increase over the 3 percent recorded in 1953 but otherwise lower than in any previous full peacetime year in Detroit's history.

Foreign Oil Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am including a resolution of the Foreign Oil Policy Committee, composed of management and labor representatives from the bituminous coal, anthracite, oil, railroad, small business, and related service industries, adopted at their meeting in Chicago on December 11, 1953. In view of the serious situation in which the independent oil producers find themselves because of the competition of the ever mounting imports of crude oil, it is extremely important that action be taken to curb this excessive import of crude oil from foreign countries. The resolution is as follows:

1. Reexamine the Nation's foreign trade policies with a view to determining whether such policies are serving the best interest of the Nation's economy and security;

2. Initiate an executive investigation of our foreign trade policies for the specific purpose of determining whether or not present "free-trade" policies, or foreign-inspired free-trade slogans may, in part, have been adopted without adequate inquiry as to the sponsors thereof, or sufficient understanding of the danger to our domestic economy and national security inherent in the increasing United States dependency on foreign sources for its necessary oil supply;

3. Direct the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (Randall Commission) to supplement said executive investigation by giving special attention to the problems created by excessive oil imports and determine their impact upon industry, employment and the security of the United States, and;

4. Afford the Foreign Oil Policy Committee the opportunity, heretofore denied, to present by personal appearance before the President or the Randall Commission the facts which document the contention that present foreign trade policies affecting oil imports are inimical to the best interests of the United States.

Justice for Both: Federal Judges and Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial, entitled "Justice for Both," by Henry H. Heimann, from the January 1954 issue of Credit and Financial Management:

JUSTICE FOR BOTH

Two items in parallel columns in the press in the past months are arresting. They should give pause to every loyal American.

"A Federal judge left a net estate of $1,000."

"Labor racketeer exacts $350,000 from members of his union."

Something ought to be done about these situations.

It is a fact that Federal judges and their families are called upon to make financial sacrifices for service to their country that are a reflection on every one of us. Surely we should be fair to these men and their families. Surely a country as rich as ours ought not to ask great men to deny themselves and their families elementary security in carrying out their enormous duties.

Federal judges who are called upon to administer justice to their fellow men receive little justice from us. When Congress reconvenes it should be a first order of business to correct this intolerable situation. The least that should be done is to set up an

adequate compensation and retirement plan that would relieve the minds of our judges from anxiety over the welfare of their families when they no longer can serve. It is a disgraceful situation that should not be tolerated another day.

In the field of labor surely the workingman's right to hold his job should not depend on a racket assessment. Labor-union dues and fees for the most part are fair in amount and character, and they ought not be jeopardized, nor sound labor-union management smeared, with situations of this kind.

Let the full freedom of publicity play upon these exortions. Let the Internal Revenue Department vigilantly audit these ill-gotten shakedowns. It is time the American workman be protected from these robberies. How can he have peace of mind or a normal life when his very livelihood and care of family are subject to the demands of a racketeer. The public officials who for political reason condone these activities, or whitewash the investigations for fear of political reprisal, should be driven from office in disgrace.

Let us have justice for both our Federal judges and our workingmen. This is our duty; let us see that we have the courage to do it.

Discharge Petition on Alaskan Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I am today placing a discharge petition on the Clerk's desk to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Alaskan statehood bill, because that appears the only avenue left for getting Alaskan statehood before the House of Representatives. Our information is that the Rules Committee does not intend to grant a rule on Alaskan statehood.

It will be recalled that Alaskan statehood has already once passed this House. During the 81st Congress the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with only one dissenting vote reported the Alaskan statehood bill to the House, and that measure passed the House on March 3, 1950, by a vote of 186 to 143. The Senate companion committee voted 8 to 2 to vote the measure favorably in the 81st session of Congress, but the bill did not receive consideration on the Senate floor. On several previous occasions our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has favorably considered and reported Alaskan statehood. The first Alaskan statehood bill to receive committee action was approved unanimously by the House Public Lands Committee and reported to the House on April 14, 1948, in the 80th Congress. On April 3, 1951, in the 82d Congress, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted 7 to 6 to report an Alaskan statehood bill to the Senate. A motion to take up the statehood bill for debate was discussed throughout the month of February 1952, and was finally recommitted to the Senate committee by 1 vote—the vote being 45 to 44.

In June 1953, 83d Congress, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported an Alaska statehood bill favorably to the House. The committee vote on this measure was 19 to 4. This bill is still pending before the Rules Committee and is the subject of the discharge petition which I have placed on the Clerk's desk. I wish to urge those who believe that Alaska statehood should be considered along with, even though not connected to the Hawaii statehood bill to sign the discharge petition.

The first Alaska statehood bill to receive committee action was approved unanimously by the House Public Lands Committee and reported to the House on April 14, 1948, 80th Congress, with no further action taken.

During the 81st Congress, the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs voted with only one dissenting voice to report an Alaska statehood bill to the House, and this was done on March 10, 1949. That measure passed the House on March 3, 1950, by a vote of 186 to 146. The Senate companion committee voted, 8 to 2, to report the measure favorably to the Senate, and the report was filed on June 29, 1950. No further action was taken.

On April 3, 1951, in the 82d Congress, the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee voted, 7 to 6, to report an Alaska statehood bill to the upper House, and the report was issued on May 8, 1951. A motion to take up the statehood bill for debate and vote was discussed throughout the month of February 1952, and on February 27 the measure was recommitted to the Senate committee by a vote of 45 to 44.

On June 26, 1953, 83d Congress, the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported an Alaska statehood bill favorably to the House. The committee vote on this measure was 19 to 4. Previously, on May 14, 1953, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had voted, 8 to 7, on Senator ANDERSON's motion to add Alaska statehood as an amendment to the House-passed Hawaii statehood bill and to hold hearings on such a measure.

How Democrats Wrecked Communist Threat in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the February 1954 issue of the Democratic Digest entitled "How the Democrats Wrecked Communist Threat in United States," summarizing and analyzing the major steps taken by Democratic administrations to root out all Communists from Government posts and to eliminate all internal Communist threats to American security. In fairness to the executive leaders and Members of Congress who cooperated to make these gains in our internal security possible, I think it is desirable to make this record of achievement widely available.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BEST INTERNAL SECURITY RECORD IN THE FREE WORLD—HOW DEMOCRATS WRECKED COMMUNIST THREAT IN UNITED STATES

Question. Was the Communist threat in the United States dealt with effectively by the Truman and Roosevelt administrations?

Answer. Yes. The facts show that the United States Government has the most successful record of any free country in the world in crushing the Communist apparatus within its midst. That operation against the Communist threat to our internal security was originated and directed by Democratic administrations. This is the situation today, compared with 1932 (when Democrats took office):

The number of Communists is less than one-fourth of what it was in 1932.

The top leadership of the Communist Party has been wiped out (prosecuted, and imprisoned by Democratic administrations).

Democrats have added laws to the statute books with which the Government has dealt with internal subversion.

The FBI gets 30 times as much money, has 18 times the staff it had when the Democrats came to power in 1932.

The Federal loyalty program, initiated by the recent Democratic administration, is a great shield against infiltration.

Question. Has the United States Communist Party itself been crippled by these measures?

Answer. Yes. In fact, the Communist Party in this country has been wrecked by the internal security system fathered by Democratic administrations. When the Democrats left office in 1953, the number of United States Communists had been reduced to a new low of 24,796, according to the testimony of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover before the House Appropriations Committee on February 25, 1953. There had been a decline of Communist Party membership in each of the 4 preceding years, from 54,174 in 1949 to 31,608 in 1952, according to the FBI chief.

In contrast, the number of Communists in the United States had doubled during the Herbert Hoover administration, as shown by their votes in presidential elections. In 1932, the last year of the Hoover administration, 102,991 voted the Communist ticket, as against 48,770 in 1928 when Hoover was elected.

Question. Were Federal prosecutions directed by Democratic administrations a major factor in breaking up the Communist conspiracy?

Answer. Yes. Prosecutions conducted by the Democratic administration shattered the Communist leadership at all levels. Eighty-three Communist leaders have been prosecuted under the Smith Act. Convictions were first obtained against the 12 top national Communist Party leaders. This was followed by the trial and conviction of 11 second-echelon Communist Party leaders. Others prosecuted include: 10 New York State Communist Party leaders, 2 convicted, 4 additional persons indicted but not apprehended, 2 indictments pending, 2 indicted but later acquitted; 14 top west coast Communist Party leaders (sentenced to jail); 7 Hawaiian Communist Party leaders (convicted); 6 Michigan Communist Party leaders (indicted 1952, trial pending); 5 Missouri Communist Party leaders (indicted 1952, trial pending); 7 Washington Communist Party leaders (indicted 1952, trial pending);

6 Pennsylvania Communist Party leaders (indicted 1951, reindicted 1952, trial pending).

Question. Were other Communists besides party leaders prosecuted?

Answer. Yes. Nine Communists, including Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (who were electrocuted for their crime) have been convicted of espionage and related activities. There were 9 convictions out of 14 cases of perjury or making false statements related to Communist activities. There were 46 convictions in contempt of court cases related to Communist activities, 14 of which were affirmed, 32 reversed. There have been 32 convictions out of 47 contempt of Congress cases. There has been a large proportion of convictions in the other cases relating to Communist activities thus far brought to trial.

All of these prosecutions were started and carried forward by the Democratic administration.

Question. Has the Republican administration originated any cases against espionage or other illegal Communist activities?

Answer. No. In 10 months the new GOP administration cannot claim a single conviction of a Communist for which the investigation was not initiated by the Democratic administration in the first place.

Question. Were adequate internal security laws added to the statute books by Democratic administrations?

Answer. Yes. The GOP administration now in power has been given a set of strong legal teeth for use against subversive activity and all of these laws were passed under Democratic administrations.

Question. Have Republicans ever passed any Federal laws designed to catch Communist subversives, spies, or others seeking violent overthrow of the United States Government?

Answer. No.

Question. What are the principal laws passed by the Democrats for protection of the United States against espionage and subversion?

Answer. This legal armory includes the Espionage Act (Wilson administration, 1917), under which the Rosenbergs were convicted; the McCormack (foreign agents) Registration Act (Roosevelt administration, 1938); the Hatch Act (1939), to bar Communists from Federal employment; the amendment to the Nationality Act (1940), to prevent naturalization of persons who are members of organizations advocating overthrow of the Government by force or violence; the Smith Act (1940), making it a crime to teach and advocate violent overthrow, under which the Communist Party leadership was convicted; and the Atomic Energy Espionage Act of 1946, specifically directed against espionage in connection with atomic energy development.

Question. Have Democratic administrations made maximum use of the FBI in combating the Communist threat?

Answer. Yes. The real buildup of the FBI came under Democratic administrations.

By 1940 the FBI had been expanded into a Bureau of 2,443 jobs, with an appropriation of $8,775,000. In 1941, President Roosevelt gave the FBI responsibility for Government loyalty-security and antiespionage work, and the Bureau in that year grew to 5,558 jobs, with an appropriation of $14,743,900.

When President Truman established the Federal loyalty program in 1947 he opened another expansive phase for the Nation's security police. It was in this period that the FBI received its peak appropriation, $90 million, and attained its record size, 15,181. That was in 1952.

Question. How big was the FBI under the GOP?

Answer. In 1939, the last year of Herbert Hoover's administration—the peak year of the internal threat from communism—the FBI was a Division in the Department of Justice, with a personnel of only 801, an appropriation of $2,978,520.

Question. Did the Truman loyalty program set up effective bars to Communist infiltration of Government?

Answer. Yes. Life magazine, on October 1, 1951, stated: "If Houdini were a suspected Communist he couldn't get near a sensitive Government payroll today. In short, Communist infiltration of Government is no longer a legitimate worry."

Under the program established by President Truman, 6,444,496 persons were checked for loyalty and security up to December 1952; 25,748 were given full FBI field investigations, 2,589 left the service or withdrew applications before adjudication, 490 were dismissed or denied employment as ineligible on loyalty grounds—in all, 6,411 were dismissed, denied employment, resigned, or withdrew applications.

Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, presently Under Secretary of State and formerly Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, summed up the record of the Democrats on October 13, 1952:

"I know both the Presidential candidates and I have the most profound respect for the integrity and character and ability of both of them. If either one of them does as well as President Truman has done in supporting and encouraging the activities of the security agencies of this Government, then the American people will be able to congratulate themselves and will have nothing to worry about."

Question. Have any constructive additions to the loyalty program been made by the Republican administration?

Answer. No. The administration's achievement in this field to date consists of the statement that it has discharged 1,456 "security risks." The administration deliberately seeks to create the false impression that all 1,456 were related to Communist activity or espionage. It has ignored requests that it give a breakdown showing how many were actual dismissals and how many were resignations.

Under the loyalty program, causes of dismissal may relate to personal habits like excessive drinking, loose talk, keeping dubious company or plain incompetence. The administration has placed itself under obligation to back up its insinuations with prosecutions for espionage or other illegal Communist activities. Its failure to do so will convict it of irresponsible treatment of the loyalty program.

Question. Have Democratic administrations taken other important measures to root out subversion and infiltration of Government?

Answer. Yes. The Truman loyalty program was built on the broad foundations of the internal-security system established in the Roosevelt administration. The Hatch Act, passed in 1939, barred Communists from Government service and required the discharge of such persons from the Government, under the Civil Service Commission's interpretation of that act in June 1940.

In 1941, all appropriation acts barred payment of Government salary to anyone advocating violent overthrow of the Government. That same year, the Attorney General directed the FBI to investigate the loyalty of Federal employees and 3,000 suspected employees were investigated under that order. As a result of FBI investigations, 101 persons were discharged, 21 resigned, and administrative action was taken in 75 other cases. In 1942, war service regulations of the CSC disqualified Government servants where a "reasonable doubt" as to loyalty existed. As a result of CSC investigations, 1,307 persons were disqualified on loyalty grounds.

Question. What has the Republican administration done to alter the United States security system built up by Democrats?

Answer. The chief change for which the Republican administration is responsible is the injection of the FBI into politics. Attorney General Brownell's selective use of FBI files in support of a partisan political attack, as in his effort to impugn the loyalty of former President Truman, is the heaviest blow ever delivered against the Nation's internal-security system. Brownell personally reversed the national policy of protecting these files against violation. Public disclosure of FBI files for a partisan political purpose is subverting the Government police power to private ends. Such actions impair the usefulness of the great investigative agency on which this Nation depends for internal security against communism and crime.

Question. Is President Eisenhower "soft on communism" as has been openly insinuated by Senator McCarthy?

Answer. Certainly not. President Eisenhower, a great soldier and sincere patriot, is as dedicated as Harry Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt were to the defense of America and the defeat of communism. He is now being assailed in his own party by the same forces which sought, for narrow partisan or personal reasons, to discredit the Roosevelt and Truman security measures.

An Open Letter to Congress About Your Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by J. K. Lasser, the famous tax accountant, that appeared in the American Weekly on January 3, 1954.

This article contains recommendations for 10 changes which this Congress can make in the tax laws to make the income tax less burdensome and less irritating to the average taxpayer. Since this is something which we are all anxious to achieve I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

AN OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS ABOUT YOUR TAXES

(By J. K. Lasser)

To the 83d Congress of the United States.

GENTLEMEN: I've been hearing from the people. Thousands of letters have come to me from men and women in every part of the country. All of these letters say, in effect:

"We've been reading your advice on how to make out tax returns. O. K., we will follow that advice. But can't something be done to give the average income taxpayer a break?"

With your permission, I am going to tell you that a good deal can be done, and that if it is done, as you undertake this month your revision of the income tax law, you will achieve two great objectives.

You will eliminate some burdensome irritation taxes. You will see an end of much taxpayer resentment.

I therefore make the following recommendations to you in the interest of the people.

1. Let them, in computing their tax, deduct from their taxable income the cost of getting from home to work, and back. This is a sum they have to pay to keep their jobs. It is properly a job expense. Let them also, when necessary, deduct the loss they may have to take on the sale of a house when moving to a new job in a new town, and let them deduct the cost of moving. These, too, are job expenses—and the country wants people employed, or they would have no salaries on which to pay taxes.

2. Allow them to deduct medical and dental expenses. Or at least give them some relief from the present law that permits them to deduct only that part of medical expenses that exceed 5 percent of their adjusted gross income. This would be no mere gift to them; it would be a recognition that it costs money to stay healthy and remain employed.

3. Permit working mothers to deduct expenses incurred for child care. They have to pay these expenses if they are to remain employed. If they don't remain employed, they won't continue to produce any taxable income.

4. Allow all workingwomen to deduct the sums they have to pay for the running of their homes while they are producing income. For example, a widowed worker should be allowed to charge off the wages she pays to domestic aids. A career wife should be allowed to charge off the sums she has to pay for help at home while she is away.

5. Permit all taxpayers to deduct the cost of improving themselves (and their positions) by buying books and helpful magazines, paying for coaching or spending other money for education.

6. Let all those who have to buy work clothes or uniforms, customarily adopted by trades, deduct the cost of the garments as an employment expense. Let them also deduct the cost of any personal safety devices for which they have to pay. Let them deduct the cost of having clothes and devices cleaned and kept in working order.

7. Devised a fairer law relating to exemptions for dependents. If a dependent now has a gross income of $600, for example, a taxpayer can't claim any exemption for the dependent, even though the dependent's net income may be almost nothing. For example, a father now may own a house giving him $700 in rentals, but costing him $500 in interest, taxes and maintenance. His net is $200. But a son and taxpayer, who wants to claim the father as a dependent, cannot do so because the father's gross was more than $600.

8. Permit a taxpayer to claim not only relatives as dependents, but also any person living in his household and receiving more than 50 percent of his support from the taxpayer.

9. Permit two or more taxpayers who split the cost of the support of a dependent to claim part-support and exemption for it. Under the present law, two or more children may divide the cost of supporting their mother, but none can claim her as a dependent.

10. Allow interest payments to be charged off on many ordinary obligations. For example, those not specially segregated in installment purchases; those added to life insurance loans without payment. Business men are wary enough to handle these intelligently to get the deduction, but not the average taxpayer.

Gentlemen of the Congress, there you have it. I respectfully submit that if you transform these suggestions into law, you will not deprive the Government of any prodigious sum.

You will, however, make a multitude of people much more willing than they are now to fill out those blanks when the month of March comes around.

Hard Money—High-Interest Policy—Control Over Monetary and Credit Policies Should Be Restored to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, because of the unwise and unnecessary hard-money policy instituted by this administration at the behest of New York bankers, we are now in the middle of a spiraling recession. Production, employment, and incomes are falling. Unemployment is growing. The farm crisis is extremely serious.

In the midst of this recession the New York bankers, thanks to the success of their interest-boosting crusade, are enjoying the most profitable era in recent times. This is the report of the New York Times, Sunday, January 17, 1954:

Earnings of leading New York City banks rose substantially in 1953 to the best levels in many years.

The Times reports that the 15 largest New York banks increased profits "despite heavy taxes, higher operating costs, and an easier tendency in general business late in the year."

The National City Bank of New York, largest in the country, whose former executive head is the administration's debt-management and credit policymaker, the unconfirmed Deputy to the Secretary of the Treasury, Dr. Burgess, increased its aggregate interest income by $16.2 million in 1953. Ten million dollars in increased interest was earned on business loans, and $6.2 million extra interest came from Government and private-securities investments. Net profits after taxes jumped $2.5 million, or 9 percent. Stockholders' dividends were increased $850,000.

The banks benefited themselves by selling their Government securities at a high price before they went down, and then buying more at reduced prices later, some as low as 89.

Chase National Bank, the second-largest New York bank, whose former head officer is now our Ambassador to England, increased its interest income on business loans by $11.2 million in 1953, or 16.3 percent above 1952. This rise took place because of the rise in interest rates. Loans outstanding on December 31, 1953, were $118,270,441 below a year ago. Net profits after taxes were increased $1,250,000, or over 4 percent above a year ago.

Despite much talk to the contrary, the high interest rate trend has not been abandoned or reversed, although the money managers did take an about face on the scarce-money policy. But the damage had been done before the change in policy, and it has not been repaired yet. Data released by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York show that large New York City banks charged an average interest rate of 3.52 percent on term loans to business during the first 15 days of December 1953. This compared with 3.43 percent in September 1953, and 3.23 in December 1952. It was the highest rate recorded since the bank began collecting such data in 1939. Despite the decline in open market rates on short-term bills and commercial paper, New York bank rates on short-term business loans averaged 3.44 percent in the first half of December 1953, about one-fifth of 1 percent higher than the 3.25 percent charged a year ago, and only two-tenths of 1 percent less than the average rate in September 1953.

EARNINGS OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS INCREASED

The hard-money high-interest-rate policy has also increased the earnings of the Federal Reserve banks. Record earnings of $513 million in 1953 represented an increase of $57 million over 1952. Almost all of the rise was due to the higher average return on Federal Reserve holdings of Treasury securities. What happened to this increase in earnings made possible in the first place by Federal Reserve credit restriction? Current expenses—salaries, and so forth—in 1953 at $114 million were raised $10 million from the year before. The books of the Federal Reserve are not subject to Government audit. Then the Federal Reserve paid $16 million in dividends to member banks. This more than repaid the member banks for the cost of their Federal Reserve borrowings, which amounted to $15 million during 1953. Dividends were also $1.3 million greater than the amount paid in 1952. The rest was turned back to the Treasury. The Federal Reserve once voluntarily assumed the obligation of returning 90 percent of its net earnings to the Treasury. Out of 1953 earnings, which were substantially increased at the expense of the taxpayers, they have been generous, first with their own requirements, then overly generous with their member banks, whose check-clearing expenses are already well paid for by the taxpayers at a cost of over $100 million a year; but when it came to the Treasury, the Federal Reserve paid back 89.5 percent instead of the 90 percent of net earnings they are supposed to pay. Does this mean the Board of Governors is declaring its independence from the 90-percent obligation? I wonder if this is a forerunner to a much bigger reduction for 1954.

PRODUCE A LITTLE DEPRESSION

This Congress owes a responsibility to the people who elected it. That responsibility is to all the people, not just the bankers and bank stockholders. The responsibility which this Congress assumed is that of maintaining full employment, maximum production, and maximum purchasing power. This is clearly required under the Employment Act of 1946. But the high-interest hard-money policy was instituted to thwart the Employment Act's objective and to produce

a little depression. The bankers and others seeking to tear down the economic and social gains built up by the people under Roosevelt and Truman in the last 20 years need this little depression to weaken labor, weaken the farmers, weaken the little-business man, and put the country through a wringer so that so-called stronger hands can acquire certain properties.

The only way to stop this conspiracy is for the Congress to wrest away from the power hungry and profit greedy the control over monetary and credit policies which has been given away by this administration. It was started in 1951 when the Board of Governors and the Open Market Committee violated their promises to the President at that time, defied him, and declared their independence from the President. After their declaration, they did not act swiftly to abuse their new powers, but they acted slowly—in low gear—until the present administration was elected, then they got into high gear very quickly. When their hard-money high-interest policies commenced to hurt the present administration, they took an about-face. They will not dare go against the President as long as he is popular with the Congress and the people. If the President should become unpopular, they will defy him, like they did President Truman.

The Federal Reserve System has never been known to take the people's side on any major issue with the big banks when there was a conflict of interest. Control over the growth of the money supply is the way in which the opponents of social and economic advances for the people plan to thwart the will of the Congress. Restriction of growth of the money supply halted the expansion of the economy last spring. Congress must restore to itself power to control the growth of the money supply which is now delegated to a banker-dominated Federal Reserve. In turn, Congress must also reserve for itself the authority to prescribe the maximum rate of interest which the Treasury shall be permitted to pay for borrowed funds. These are crucial powers without which Congress is unable to discharge its responsibility under the Employment Act of 1946.

I ask to have inserted at this point two articles from the New York Times and three from the Wall Street Journal on the growth of bank profits last year.

[From the New York Times of January 17, 1954]

BIG BANKS' PROFITS ARE BEST IN YEARS—GAINS HERE ACHIEVED DESPITE HEAVY TAXES, HIGHER COSTS, AND LATE DIP IN ECONOMY

(By J. E. McMahon)

Earnings of leading New York City banks rose substantially in 1953 to the best levels in many years, December 31 condition statements indicate.

There was also an improvement in incomes in the final quarter over those of a year earlier for most of the banks.

The 15 largest institutions here achieved the gain in earnings despite heavy taxes, higher operating costs, and an easier tendency in general business late in the year.

Higher average interest rates on a larger volume of loans; lower reserve requirements, which made more funds available for lending, and more profitable trust business enabled the banks to more than offset the drains against their incomes.

The net gain in earnings made it possible for the banks to pay larger dividends to shareholders in the year.

While deposits and resources of the 15 banks were mostly higher on December 31 than on September 30, a more mixed pattern was shown in the comparison of these figures with those of December 31, 1952. Most of the banks registered declines.

The combined deposits of the banks were $27,447,759,000 on December 31, 1953, against $26,601,249,000 on September 30, 1953, and $27,859,737,000 on December 31, 1952. Resources of $30,564,830,000 compared, respectively, with $29,652,260,000 and $30,970,423,000.

The National City Bank of New York, with deposits of $5,538,214,000 and resources of $6,049,022,000 on December 31, maintained its leadership as the city's biggest bank. The Chase National Bank, with deposits of $5,062,067,000 and resources of $5,562,462,000, placed second.

Ten of the fifteen banks showed larger loans and discounts at the end of December than on September 30, but declines in the remaining five institutions limited the gain in such outstanding credit to $166,049,000, or 1.3 percent, for the last quarter. The total was $12,609,420,000 on December 31, 1953.

LOANS, DISCOUNTS OFF 1 PERCENT

Eight of the banks had a smaller amount of loans on December 31 than a year earlier, while seven institutions showed gains.

The combined total of loans and discounts of $12,609,420,000 was off $104,925,000, or less than 1 percent, in the year. Loans and discounts of the banks accounted for 41.3 percent of total resources on December 31, 1953, compared with 41.1 percent on December 31, 1952.

The bank's holdings of United States Government bonds increased for the third successive quarter, but the gain in the last 3 months was smaller than in the preceding quarter.

Acquisitions amounted to $293,367,000, or 4.1 percent, against $801,926,000, or 12.6 percent, in the September quarter. The banks held $7,430,124,000 of these securities on December 31, for a gain of $94,393,000, or 1.3 percent, from the level of December 31, 1952. The ratio of such holdings to total resources rose to 24.3 percent from 23.7 percent a year before.

A greater portion of the banks' assets was in cash as the year ended than 3 months earlier. Holdings of cash and related items were $8,006,601,000 on December 31, or 26.2 percent of total resources, representing a rise of $435,300,000, or 5.7 percent, during the quarter. However, cash was down $377,036,000, or 4.5 percent, from the level of December 31, 1952, when it accounted for 27.1 percent of total resources.

RESOURCES BROKEN DOWN

Combined assets of the 15 banks are classified according to percentages of total resources and compared for 3 periods in the table below:

	Dec. 31, 1953	Sept. 30, 1953	Dec. 31, 1952
Loans, discounts, etc.	41.3	42.0	41.1
Cash, etc.	26.2	25.5	27.1
U. S. Government securities	24.3	24.1	23.7
Other securities	6.6	6.8	6.6
Miscellaneous assets	1.6	1.6	1.5

The banks added little to their holdings of securities other than Federal issues in the last quarter. The total of such holdings, $2,026,878,000, was up $12,945,000, or 0.6 percent, in the quarter, but down $32,638,000, or 1.6 percent, on the year.

Miscellaneous assets of the banks—principally banking properties, real estate mortgages and accrued interest and accounts receivable—were $491,807,000 on December 31, 1953. This was $4,909,000, or 1 percent, more than on September 30 and $14,613,000, or 3.1 percent more than December 31, 1952.

[From the New York Times of January 18, 1954]

NEW YORK BANKS CHARGED 3.44-PERCENT INTEREST AS SHORT-TERM RATE LAST MONTH, UP 0.2 PERCENT

Large New York City banks charged an average interest rate of 3.44 percent on short-term loans to business during the first 15 days of December. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York showed the rate compared with 3.46 percent in the first half of September but about one-fifth of 1 percent higher than the 3.25 percent rate in the first half of December 1952.

Fewer short-term loans were granted in December than in the earlier periods, according to the bank's quarterly report. Aggregate dollar volume of loans was slightly larger than in September 1953, although somewhat smaller than in December 1952.

For term loans, those due in more than 1 year, the average rate was 3.52 percent in December, compared with 3.43 percent in September, and 3.23 percent in December 1952. The average rate for December was the highest recorded since the quarterly interest rate survey began in 1939. The increases over previous periods, however, seem to reflect largely changes in the character of loans placed, rather than increases in interest charged for comparable loans, the bank explained.

Both the number and dollar value of term loans made during December were greater than in September. Although the number of term loans made in December was smaller than that of a year ago, the dollar value equaled the record level of December 1952.

The following tables summarized the results of the bank's survey:

Demand and due in 1 year or less

	First 15 days of December 1953	First 15 days of September 1953	First 15 days of December 1952
Number of loans placed	2,165	2,310	2,490
Amount loaned	$625,000,000	$590,000,000	$745,000,000
Average rate charged (percent)	3.44	3.46	3.25

Due in more than a year

	First 15 days of December 1953	First 15 days of September 1953	First 15 days of December 1952
Number of loans placed	235	215	315
Amount loaned	$195,000,000	$120,000,000	$195,000,000
Average rate charged (percent)	3.52	3.43	3.23

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 8, 1954]

FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS' EARNINGS HIT A RECORD $513 MILLION LAST YEAR

WASHINGTON.—The 12 Federal Reserve banks chalked up record earnings of $513 million in 1953, the Federal Reserve Board said.

The earnings total was some $57 million higher than the 1952 record.

Officials explained that the boost in earnings was due mostly to higher earnings on

United States Government securities. This reflected a larger volume of holdings as well as a higher average yield on the securities.

Earnings from loans to the 6,800 member banks of the Federal Reserve System rose to a 21-year high in 1953. Earnings from discounts for member banks totaled $15 million—$900,000 over 1952.

Current expenses in 1953 were $114 million, or $10 million higher than in the previous year. This left net current earnings of $399 million—$47 million above 1952.

The 12 "Fed" banks turned over the bulk of their net earnings to the United States Government. In accordance with system policy, the banks turned in $342 million of net earnings to the United States Treasury. This was $50 million more than in 1952.

Dividend payments to member banks, totaled $16 million—about $1.3 million above 1952 payments.

CHASE NATIONAL BANK NET IN 1953 INCREASED $1,250,000 OVER 1952.—IT EQUALED $3.56 A SHARE, AGAINST $3.48 THE YEAR BEFORE; DEPOSITS DECLINED

NEW YORK.—Net earnings and profits of Chase National Bank in 1953 amounted to $27,014,000, or $3.65 a share, an increase of $1,250,000 over the $25,764,000, or $3.48 a share earned in the previous year.

Deposits at the end of the latest year amounted to $5,062,087,048, showing a decline of $184,912,984 from the end of 1952.

Loans outstanding on December 31, 1953, were $2,393,667,410 indicating a drop of $118,270,441 from the end of the previous year. Investments in Government securities at the year-end were $926,919,119, compared with $1,053,413,575 at the end of 1952.

Interest on loans during the latest year totaled $79,888,000, an increase of 16.3 percent over the year before.

Chase National Bank (New York) report for the year ended December 31:

	1953	1952	1951
Earned per share [1]	$3.65	$3.48	$2.91
Interest on loans	79,888,000	68,717,000	53,191,000
Other interest, dividends, etc.	45,403,000	45,057,000	43,357,000
Total operating earnings	126,291,000	113,774,000	96,548,000
Operating expenses	63,267,000	56,116,000	49,720,000
Operating earnings	62,024,000	57,658,000	46,828,000
Net loss on securities	3,530,000	2,154,000	[2] 195,000
Provision for thrift incentive plan contributions	3,837,000	3,321,000	
Profit before income taxes	54,958,000	52,183,000	47,027,000
Federal and State income taxes, etc.	27,944,000	26,419,000	25,531,000
Net earnings	27,014,000	25,764,000	21,496,000
Number capital shares	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000

[1] Includes results of securities transactions.
[2] Profit.

Principal items from the bank's statement follow (000 omitted):

	Dec. 31, 1953	Sept. 30, 1953	Dec. 31, 1952
Total assets	$5,862,462	$5,853,147	$5,742,760
Cash and due from banks	1,478,274	1,386,732	1,553,000
Loans	2,393,667	2,378,255	2,511,938
U. S. Government securities	926,919	1,110,553	1,053,413
Other investments [1]	622,575	542,307	488,676
Deposits	5,062,087	5,046,752	5,247,000
Surplus and undivided profits	271,321	272,376	264,106

[1] Excluding mortgages and real estate.

Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal for Tuesday, January 19, 1954, carries an article about the higher net of Chase National in 1953, on page 20, in which it states:

NEW YORK.—An increase in average loan volume and higher rates of interest were chiefly responsible for the rise in net earnings and profits of Chase National Bank last year, according to the bank's annual report.

Achievement and Brotherhood: Our Jewish Community in Cleveland, Ohio

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, a community in America is made up of many component parts. We have the people themselves, their groups or affiliations, their religions, their political parties, their races, and their families. All these groups, which overlap and complement one another, make up the pulsating life of our American communities.

We, in Ohio, feel that Greater Cleveland represents the best of cities in the United States and no little credit for its position belongs to the integrity of its many component parts. Today, I should like to speak of just one of those parts, the Jewish community within the larger body.

In this year of 1954 will be observed the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in America. Since the first landing in New Amsterdam of 23 Jews in search of freedom in 1654, members of this distinguished religious group have made many outstanding contributions to the culture of this country.

In observance of that tercentenary, I should like to insert in the RECORD a brief history of the Jewish settlement and achievements in Cleveland, Ohio.

Members of that faith, since their first believer arrived in the Cleveland area in 1837, have become an integral part of our community. They have made their mark in business and in the arts, in government and in the professions. There is hardly a phase of community life in which they have not participated with distinction. Through their firm adherence to their own religion they have earned the deep respect of their Christian neighbors.

For the subsequent history, I am indebted to Mr. Leo Weidenthal, editor of the Jewish Independent, of Cleveland:

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

In this year of the 300th anniversary of the arrival of the first Jewish settlers in the vast area of North America that is now the United States of America, Cleveland's Jewish community of 100,000 persons may review a local communal story extending back over a period of 117 years.

This had its beginning when Simson Thorman of Unsleben, Bavaria, left his early home to build anew among the friendly settlers of the New World.

In the year 1837, Cleveland was a city of 5,000 souls. It was a depression period, but Thorman, then 26 with pioneering spirit, sought and found a foothold. As a dealer in hides and furs, he traveled from Cleveland to points as far as St. Louis to trade with the Indians.

A bachelor at the time of his arrival, Simson Thorman was to become Cleveland's first Jewish bridegroom at his marriage to Regina, daughter of Abraham Klein, who arrived in Cleveland in 1839. Simson Thorman's leadership in the rapidly growing Jewish community, soon extended to the city's civic and religious life. He was chosen to head the Israelitische Society and later was elected to the Cleveland city council. Thorman was chosen by the city council to act as a member of the guard of honor named to represent the city at the arrival of the remains of President Lincoln in Cleveland, prior to the final obsequies in Springfield, Ill.

A year prior to Thorman's arrival in the Cleveland area, came Dr. Daniel Peixotto of New York, to assume the post of president of the Willoughby Medical College to which he had been called. His son, Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, prominent in Cleveland's early civic, cultural, and Jewish religious life, became associate editor of the Plain Dealer and in later years was appointed consul general to Rumania by President Grant. It is believed that it was Peixotto's able and forceful presentation of conditions in that country, that finally brought about the decision of the Berlin Congress of 1878 to grant Rumania the status of a sovereign kingdom only upon the condition that the civil and political rights of the Jews were given official recognition. Disraeli, it will be remembered, as Prime Minister of England, took a leading part in the deliberations of the Berlin Congress.

The year 1839, marked the arrival in Cleveland of the first Jewish family, when Samson Hoffman and his children reached the little city and established their home.

The Hoffman home was soon the gathering place of the small Jewish community and not many days elapsed before steps were under way for the organization of a religious body. Here the Israelitische Society which Simson Thorman was to head, came into being with 20 members. After some organizational changes, the Anshe Chesed Israelitische Society came into being and the erection of Cleveland's first synagogue followed. It was built on Eagle Street, now in the downtown area of the city. The Anshe Chesed Congregation, with its large, beautiful house of worship on Euclid Avenue, is now the Euclid Avenue Temple Congregation.

The Temple, which like the Euclid Avenue Temple Congregation, is a reform congregation, was formed when 47 members of the Anshe Chesed seceded in 1850. Its great house of worship is now located at East 105th at Ansel Road.

Benjamin Peixotto was one of the teachers of the Temple Sunday School when its first house of worship was established on Huron Road in the downtown area of Cleveland.

Two other congregations with memberships ranking them among the large Jewish religious bodies of the country, are the Temple on the Heights and Park Synagogue, both of the Conservative Jewish body. While the other Jewish congregations are not as large in membership, all branches of the Jewish faith in the United States, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, are represented by strong, active, influential bodies.

Among the older orthodox congregations are the Knesseth Israel, Taylor Road Synagogue (Oheb Zedek) and Heights Jewish Center.

Affiliated with Cleveland's Jewish congregations are many active men's clubs, sisterhoods, and junior congregations which are a vital element of Cleveland's religious and cultural life.

Progressing hand in hand with Cleveland's Jewish religious institutions have been the city's Jewish religious schools, the first of which came into being in 1850. The earliest

schools were directly identified with individual synagogues and temples and the religious institutions, from the largest to the smaller bodies, maintained schools for the teaching of the Jewish faith.

In 1894, came the establishment of the city's first Talmud Torah and the beginnings of the present Cleveland Hebrew schools took place in 1906. Merger of the Talmud Torah and Cleveland Hebrew Schools took place 2 years later. Organization of the Bureau of Jewish Education to bring about coordination and to promote the city's educational facilities, mainly for children whose parents were unaffiliated with temples and synagogues, was effected in 1924.

Thousands of Jewish children receive religious instruction in Greater Cleveland today, largely through the facilities of the temples and synagogues and the Bureau of Jewish Education. Recently, the bureau erected a new building in the Heights area of Greater Cleveland.

Of primary importance in a survey of the history and activities of Cleveland's Jewish community, is the story of the development of its welfare and philanthropic institutions. The initial central body, which, in its earliest stage was the Federation of Jewish Charities, ultimately, after broadening its scope and becoming the Jewish Welfare Federation, was unified with the Jewish Community Council, under the combined name of the Jewish Community Federation. This merger took place in 1951. The federation is now observing its 50th anniversary.

The diversified interests which the federation now represents, enables it to serve as a forum through its delegate assembly, to conduct recreational and cultural activities through its community centers and to be identified with educational functions through the Bureau of Jewish Education.

Among the earliest of Jewish organization activities, was the B'nai B'rith, national Jewish fraternal body, which in Cleveland operated through Solomon Lodge, formed in 1853.

B'nai B'rith of Cleveland, now comprising many lodges and chapters, in 1953 conducted its centennial celebration in Cleveland, an event which included the establishment of a Brotherhood Shrine, dedicated to the memory of the four chaplains who died at the sinking of the *Dorchester* during the Second World War. Arm in arm, two Protestant ministers, a Catholic priest, and a rabbi went to their death after giving their life belts to soldiers. The shrine in located in Cleveland's Cultural Gardens in Rockefeller Park. Guest speaker at the dedication was Dr. Daniel A. Poling of Philadelphia, father of one of the four chaplains. The plot selected for the shrine adjoins the Hebrew Cultural Garden, which is a unit of the Cleveland Cultural Garden chain.

From Cleveland's Jewish community have come forth men and women destined to attain national fame in medicine, the law, arts and the sciences. In the city's early art life, Louis Loeb and George D. M. Peixotto, son of Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, were prominent figures. Born in Cleveland in 1859, Peixotto became nationally famed as a portrait painter. Included among his subjects of his paintings were President McKinley, John Hay, Sir Moses Montefiore, Victorien Sardou, and Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland.

A man of national renown in his chosen field of law, Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, father of the artist, became widely known in the diplomatic field because of his service in Rumania and later as consul in Rumania. It was while serving in the latter office that the death of President Garfield occurred. Peixotto's grief was profound, as the two had been lifelong friends, both having been reared in the Cleveland area and identified with similar interests in the city's life.

Another early Clevelander who was to become nationally renowned was Simon Wolf, later of Washington. Prominent in early B'nai B'rith activities, during his career in Washington he became a leading figure in the life of the Nation's Capital and was a friend of Lincoln and succeeding Presidents. Wolf served as Consul General in Egypt during the Garfield administration. His death occurred in 1923.

For many years a leading figure in Cleveland's Jewish philanthropic service, Martin A. Marks formulated principles which were later to be incorporated in modern methods of conducting joint efforts in behalf of welfare causes throughout the country. Much of his study in this field of public service was made by Marks as chairman of a special committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

Abraham L. Erlanger, in later life identified with the theatrical organization of Klaw and Erlanger, was a member of a family that was prominent in Jewish organizational activities in Cleveland's early years. As a boy he worked at John Elsler's famous Academy of Music as an opera glass renter and peanut vendor. Later he was named treasurer of Elsler's Cleveland venture, the Opera House, and following this became the manager of Effie's Elsler's starring tours.

Martha Wolfenstein, daughter of Dr. Samuel Wolfenstein, superintendent of the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, became noted in America's literary life as the author of Idylls of the Gass and other works.

At the dawn of the year 1954 Cleveland's Jewish community is preparing to participate actively in the observance of the national American Jewish tercentennary. A committee has been named for this purpose and plans are being made for various activities.

From the day of the arrival in New Amsterdam in 1654 of the first group of Jewish pioneers to the day of the arrival of Simson Thorman in Cleveland, a period of 183 years was to elapse, but Cleveland itself had been in existence only 41 years when he joined Cleveland's early citizenry.

Cleveland's Jewish communal life has progressed with the general communal life of Cleveland.

Working hand in hand with the many groups of diversified backgrounds and origins that made up the city's life, the Cleveland Jewish community has sought at all times the city's best interests and the upbuilding that has made Cleveland a mirror of national progress and growth.

Meat for England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am including an editorial from the Wichita Eagle of January 15, 1954, entitled "Meat for England."

I think this brief editorial points out a situation that is not only interesting but important. The United States under the Mutual Security Act appears to be favoring England by sharing our surplus meat. On the other hand, England appears to be rather liberal in trading with Russia.

The editorial follows:

MEAT FOR ENGLAND

Negotiations are under way to give Great Britain some of our surplus meat. Give is the proper word. While a nominal price will be paid under the Mutual Security Act, the money will be returned to Her Majesty's Government for use in connection with the defense effort. England has just purchased $20 million worth of tobacco under a similar arrangement.

England continues to be a dependent nation so far as the United States is concerned. In behalf of European security we continue to spend millions in behalf of that nation. While it is desirable to get rid of surplus commodities there can be little profit for the Government to play Santa Claus in such transactions. There must be an end to our liberality eventually.

All this would have a better taste if England wasn't dealing with Russia on what amounts to a cash basis. Johnny Bull will receive no gratuities from the Soviet Government. Nor will he need any so long as he can turn to Uncle Sam for whatever he needs.

What's Going On in Public Roads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an address by the Honorable Francis V. du Pont, before the American Road Builders' Association annual convention at Atlantic City, N. J., on January 5, 1954.

Mr. du Pont has done an outstanding job as Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Roads. His observations on the planning, design, and operation of our highways, as well as the critical need of highway finance, which, of course, includes Federal aid, are most edifying and merit the attention of Congress. I believe it important that his speech be made a part of the RECORD.

The address follows:

WHAT'S GOING ON IN PUBLIC ROADS

(Address by F. V. du Pont, Commissioner of Public Roads)

Gentlemen, to be invited to speak to the membership of the American Road Builders' Association is an honor. To address you as Commissioner of Public Roads is a responsibility which makes me feel quite humble.

Those who are assembled here jointly possess more knowledge about highway construction than any other conceivable group that could be assembled. For me to attempt to expand on your fund of knowledge would be presumptuous. While I am still a neophyte in public roads, and only know a comparatively few of those present, I should not be considered a stranger to your fraternity, nor a debutante in a pack of wolves, because of my indulgence, as a hobby, in highway construction which commenced in the days of mules and drag shovels.

I feel we are most fortunate in having with us at this convention Congressman GEORGE A. DONDERO, chairman of the House Public Works Committee, and Congressman J. HARRY MCGREGOR, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads.

It is the prerogative of these men and the administration to determine the policy and legislation under which public roads will function 6 months hence. It may be opportune to inject a pertinent illustration at this point. I have been repeatedly asked what is Public Roads policy with respect to toll roads. I have heard it expressed that Public Roads is opposed to toll facilities. The facts are, Public Roads is authorized by law to extend Federal aid to toll bridges, on the Federal-aid system. Conversely, it is not authorized to extend aid to toll roads, and the existing statutes would have to be amended to permit the granting of aid to toll roads. Public Roads is an administrative agency, and has no legislative responsibility or authority. These circumstances should be recognized, and it should not be inferred that Public Roads does not recognize that toll roads have a place in our highway picture, as they afford an expedient means of solving specific problems in those areas where the traffic is so great that the cost of creating adequate facilities is either beyond the financial ability of the State to supply, or politically inequitable to expend such amounts in a given area. However, it is our conviction that the sponsoring, construction and operation of toll roads should be delegated to existing State highway departments in preference to the creation of separate authorities, in order to assure maximum coordination of toll facilities and the operation thereof with the free highways.

Approximately a year ago the American people elected to change the administration in Washington. As an incidental consequence thereof, there was a change in the administration of public roads, and it has become my responsibility to assume those duties formerly and for many years performed by Mr. Thomas H. MacDonald. It was my pleasure to have known Mr. MacDonald during the majority of the years he served as Commissioner. His administration from the inception of public roads has been a unique one, the progress made during those years outstanding, and the integrity and honesty of his administration has never been questioned. While I obviously cannot parallel Mr. MacDonald's administration, nor dictate or control what may be ahead of us, I can guarantee you need have no concern as to the honesty and integrity of public roads. There are certain changes and policies being initiated which I would like to discuss with you.

On April 1, I hope there is no significance in the date, I assumed the responsibility of administering public roads. I did not avail myself of the prerogative of bringing any new personnel into the Department nor have I done so to date with one exception, namely, in the appointment of our solicitor, Mr. Kaltenbach, who succeeded Mr. Boykin after his retirement. I came to the Department without any preconceived ideas of reorganization and only the conviction that changes would be made in the interest of economy, efficiency, and maximum cooperation and latitude in dealing with each State consistent with our responsibility as directed by the Congress. What has been done to accomplish these ends?

On assuming my responsibilities as Commissioner, I quickly discovered the nature of the organization within the Bureau of Public Roads was such that the deputies did not share in the responsibilities of management nor were their efforts coordinated. While this type of organization is highly desirable in some instances, I felt the staff type of organization superior and immediately arranged for weekly meetings with the deputies and solicitor who, together with myself, are responsible for the formulation of policies, making decisions, and so forth.

Because the organization is an old one, too many top positions, in my opinion, were held by men who had served the Department well for many years, but who should have retired on reaching the retirement age of 70, but who by special extension of the retirement age were continuing to serve. This policy adversely affected the promotion of younger men, and has been discontinued. We are considering means to insure a logical promotion and retirement policy which will preclude a concentration of any age group in important positions or levels.

In order to have an unbiased study of our procedures, we retained the firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, management counselors, to review our operations. A report has been submitted by said firm suggesting numerous changes. We have now carefully evaluated their suggestions and are adopting every feasible proposal.

In evaluating our research work we have been fortunate in securing a committee of outstanding men who are well known to the majority of those present, namely, Messrs. Baldock, of Oregon; Needles and MacDonald, of the respective engineering firms which bear their names; and Professors Davis, of the University of California; and Petty, of Purdue University. These men are contributing their services in reviewing our current research program, and will recommend any possible changes in making our future research more effective. We have recently retained a recognized consultant from industry who is evaluating our internal research organization and central methods, and some of our staff have visited industrial research laboratories, and will continue to do so in our endeavor to keep abreast of modern research procedures and practices.

In the matter of economy, I am glad to report progress has been made and our efficiency has been improved, and will continue to improve with further economies to be effected. In the past our overhead was increasing by about $400,000 per annum. This trend has not only been reversed but our expense of operation will be $400,000 less for the 12 months commencing July 1, 1953, as compared to the previous 12 months. To predict what our ultimate overhead and organization set-up will be is impossible until we know the nature and extent of our responsibilities as may be given us by the Congress. Regardless of what our responsibilities may be, our objective will be the same, namely, to create a bureau which will administer its responsibilities with the maximum recognition of individual State problems and the minimum of red tape, review, and delay, to the end that public roads shall attain a continuing higher position of competency, understanding, and respect of all the States and Territories.

So much for what is going on in public roads.

And now for the $64 question: What is in store for public roads, and what will be the Federal highway program? This, I am unable to answer.

As I have previously stated, public roads is purely an administrative agency. It has no policymaking or legislative responsibility. These are the joint responsibilities of the administration and the Congress.

Our staff has been called upon to supply much factual and statistical data to the White House and the Congress.

We have cataloged for the Subcommittee on Roads of the House, all of the testimony given at the hearings last spring. In addition, we will make recommendations for the consideration of the Congress for certain changes in future legislation, which if enacted would simplify those administrative problems which currently cause the majority of our difficulties in administration.

Regardless of what may be said at this and subsequent meetings during this convention we all, I am sure, agree, that first, our highways are not adequate for the present usage; and secondly, that highways are essential to our economy, and must be expanded as our population and economy increase. To concede for one moment that we have not the engineers, the contractors, the manpower, the equipment and wherewithal to solve this problem is, in my judgment juvenile, pessimistic and unrealistic. The only problem is to determine to what extent the Federal Government and the State governments should assume the responsibility, and this decision rests with the Congress and the administration.

National Guard Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to insert an editorial taken from the Fond Du Lac Commonwealth Reporter.

Our Governor, Walter J. Kohler, has issued a special proclamation urging the sponsorship of community-wide programs throughout the State of Wisconsin in honor of the National Guard. As stated in the editorial, the National Guard has played a most important part in the defense of this Nation. During these times when our future is clouded with the overcast from the atomic mushroom cloud, this type of military training should receive our utmost support. For here is a type of training that men enlist voluntarily without disrupting their home life, and become familiar with the modern implements of war.

I congratulate our Governor in issuing this special proclamation.

NATIONAL GUARD MONTH

Gov. Walter J. Kohler has issued a special proclamation urging the sponsorship of communitywide programs throughout Wisconsin this month in honor of the National Guard, a military organization which is older than the country itself.

The National Guards men of Fond du Lac and nearby counties have fought with distinction in all of the conflicts in which this country has engaged during more than a century.

Volunteer companies sent to the Civil War by the Fond du Lac community occupy a prominent chapter in the country's military history. It has furnished some outstanding officers and some of its guardsmen have won the Nation's highest military honors. History repeated itself in the Spanish-American War, the Mexican campaign, and in all of the other wars which have been fought since then.

For years Fond du Lac had its Company E and it was from that organization that Armory E, National Guard headquarters on East Second Street, took its name. World War I brought a need for increased military manpower and it was in that conflict that Fond du Lac reshuffled its National Guard unit and sent two separate companies overseas. Both distinguished themselves on the battlefields of Europe. The same was true in World War II and while no organized units were sent from Fond du Lac into the Korean emergency scores of young men from this county and others fought as members of the country's vast defense organization.

Company E, at least the name, passed with the reshuffling of the national defense system, but the city still has two Guard units, Company M and Headquarters Company. More than 215 men are members of the two units. Ripon has a Headquarters Company of nearly 90 men and officers, and Waupun has a medical unit. Other counties in the area have similar units of comparable strength.

The National Guard has served the United States since the days of the Revolution and on countless occasions since then has proved its worth as a fighting unit in defense of the country.

These men give a part of their time every week to train for the defense of their community and their country.

With more than 6,000 units in the Nation, the National Guard is ready at all times to supplement the Army and Air Force with competent forces anywhere in the world. Not only has the guard written a glorious past in defense of the country, but it also has provided splendid disaster service whenever the need arose.

These services have covered floods, forest fires, hurricanes, and explosion emergencies.

Thus during this month it is only fitting that the average person pause a while and think about the National Guard which may have a relative, neighbor, or acquaintance on its roster. It is a constantly ready friend when the need arises. It can only become more efficient if more eligible men in the county and nearby communities enlist.

GOP Trying Hard To Justify 1,456 Security Figure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an article from the Washington Star of January 3, 1954.

The article represents a commendable attempt to discover the actual basis for the report that 1,456 persons classed as security risks have been either fired or forced to resign under the Government's loyalty program. The article points up the fact that the term "security risk" may be completely meaningless without a breakdown of how many dismissed or resigned employees actually were disloyal and how many left the Government under the security program for other reasons.

This article is typical of the comments contained in many articles and editorials appearing in the press of the Nation. It expresses clearly the sense of responsibility felt by newspapermen to fufill their obligations of properly informing the American people, thus preventing widespread misunderstanding. It is my firm conviction that without further delay the administration and the Civil Service Commission should remove the cloud of doubt hovering over the hundreds of thousands of loyal employees of the Federal Government by making available to the press, to the American people, and to the Members of Congress the complete facts regarding the many categories into which the 1,456 persons must fall. To do otherwise is to create a false impression in the minds of the American people. Let us without delay have this issue clarified.

GOP TRYING HARD TO JUSTIFY 1,456 SECURITY FIGURE

(By L. Edgar Prina)

The Eisenhower administration, which points with public pride to its new Federal employee security program, is privately embarrassed these days by the ill-considered use it has made of an almost meaningless figure—1,456.

That is supposed to be the number of security risks fired or forced to resign from the Government in the four months beginning last May 27, the day the current security program was launched.

What the figure actually signifies, however, has been the subject of heated debate since the White House first used it in an announcement October 23.

CRITICISM BACKED

In attempting to analyze the makeup of this highly publicized sum, the Star has found administration officials extraordinarily reluctant to talk. It also has found evidence supporting two principal criticisms of the disputed figure and the use the administration has made of it.

These are the criticisms:

1. The figure is a catch-all—security risks include not only persons believed disloyal but a wide range of other unsuitable types ranging from sex deviates to employees who falsely work application forms. Yet the administration has used the figure in such a way as to imply that almost 1,500 Reds—perhaps even spies—have been rooted out by the Eisenhower administration after escaping detection in the Truman era.

2. Even on this catch-all basis, the administration figure appears to be heavily padded. The Star's survey indicates, in this connection, that included in the 1,456 are cases where the individual concerned had never been confronted with derogatory information.

SOME DEAD INCLUDED

The figure includes, it appears, persons who never were fired or forced to resign, as the White House announcement implied, but who instead were separated through voluntary resignations, reductions in force—even by death—without ever knowing they had been accused of anything. A few apparently had left the Government before the Eisenhower security program was launched.

The arithmetic which produced the 1,456 sum was done at the Civil Service Commission, which supposedly was aided by other departments and agencies in collecting the Government-wide statistics used. Actually, however, the Commission seems to have done a good deal of its own figure gathering. The embarrassing result has been that several agencies have had great difficulty making their own figures square with those relied on by the White House in making the October announcement.

FIGURES CONFLICT

Thus, when the individual departments were asked to back up the Civil Service Commission by announcing their own figures on security-risk dismissals, at least three big ones—Post Office, Navy, and Air Force—came up with different figures than the ones assigned them by the Commission and incorporated in the 1,456 total.

Something of a crisis was reached recently in the administration's efforts to publicize the issue. The Air Force, after lengthy argument with Civil Service as to how many security risks had been removed from Air Force rolls, rebelled against conforming with the already announced "official" figure. "For policy reasons" it canceled a press release on the subject.

Privately, Air Force officials tried to get the CSC to announce the Air Force figure on the ground that only the Commission knew exactly how the October total had been arrived at and what it meant. But the Commission declined to make the announcement itself. And there the matter rests.

NAVY HAS TROUBLE

Earlier the Navy had run into similar trouble. The Civil Service Commission, which, under National Security Council-White House direction, had quietly set up a press-release schedule for the various agencies to announce their share of the 1,456, asked the Navy to issue a statement on November 2. (Originally it had asked the Navy to be ready on October 31, but the Post Office Department, which was first to announce, also had figure trouble and requested a delay.)

The Navy prepared a release stating that 8 civilian workers had been fired and 12 others suspended as security risks. The Commission immediately replied that it had counted 192 for the Navy and had included that figure in the total reported to the White House. More than a month of wrangling, reexamination, and discussion followed. The result: On December 7 the Navy issued a vaguely worded release, open to a variety of interpretations, which said that 192 persons, "against whom a security question existed," had been separated.

An official, conceding that Navy headquarters did not have details from its more than 700 field offices, said the Navy went to the absolute limit to go along with the Commission. "They (the Commission) took advantage of everything the broadest interpretation of the Executive order would allow," he asserted.

ORIGIN OF POLICY

How did the new program and the figure 1,456 actually come about?

In his state of the Union message last January, President Eisenhower announced that a security system, based on the idea that working for the Government was a privilege rather than a right, would be put into effect at the earliest moment.

Attorney General Brownell and his Justice Department lawyers then took over. Robert Minor, first assistant to Deputy Attorney General William Rogers, met with security officers of the various agencies in a series of give-and-take sessions. Out of these meetings came the basis of Executive Order 10450.

The President announced the new program on April 27, to become effective a month later. This ended the old Truman loyalty setup which, in its more than 6 years of life, fired or denied employment to 557 persons about whose loyalty a reasonable doubt existed.

The Eisenhower order was aimed at a much broader target. Besides disloyal persons, it included individuals who are dishonest, untrustworthy, unreliable, or immoral; alcoholics, drug addicts, those with serious mental or neurological disorders; those who conduct themselves disgracefully; and those who may be subjected to coercion or pressure which may cause them to act contrary to the interests of national security.

EXTENDED FIRING POWER

Executive Order 10450 extended provisions of Public Law 733 of 1950 to all departments and agencies of the Government. This law had given the Secretaries of the armed services and several other sensitive agencies the power to remove summarily persons suspected of disloyalty or who were believed to be threats to the national security.

The new program gives the accused an opportunity to present his case to a security hearing board, made up of three individuals from agencies outside his own. The Secretary of the accused's department selects

these board members from a panel maintained by the Civil Service Commission.

The board recommends action to the department head, who may or may not abide by the recommendation. There is no further appeal. Under the Truman system, a central Loyalty Review Board heard appeals from regional boards and its decision was final.

Executive Order 10450 charges the Civil Service Commission with a continuing study of the manner in which the agencies carry out the security program. Also, the Commission is directed to report to the National Security Council at least semiannually on the results of this study.

At a Security Council meeting 3 months ago, Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and adviser to the President on personnel matters, was asked how many persons had been dismissed as security risks. Mr. Young had no figure available. (Under the order he had until late November to make his first report). He returned to his office and sent out a call to the agencies for reports. This was on October 5. He asked for replies within 2 weeks. With these, and the Commission's own investigative records, he counted 1,456.

OFFICIALS IN DOUBT

Several security officers have declared that they were not certain as to just what figures the Commission wanted—and still aren't. This undoubtedly explains part of the confusion over figures between the agencies and the Commission. One of the security chiefs asserted that Mr. Young's extremely hurried call for statistics, which had to be gathered from thousands of offices in all parts of the world where Government employees are hired and fired inevitably produced numbers with different meanings.

Mr. Young made his report to the National Security Council on October 22. The next day the White House made its announcement that 1,456 persons had been ousted.

Since then, Republicans from Mr. Eisenhower to Senator McCARTHY have referred to the 1,456 often and lovingly. These references, almost invariably have been made in connection with discussions of the Communists-in-Government problem.

BREAKDOWN REFUSED

While administration officials, like Mr. Young, readily grant that the public generally attaches the same odious meaning to "security risk" and "disloyalty," they have declined repeatedly to give a breakdown of the 1,456 cases. And their public statements have not helped to draw the distinction they conceded is there. For example, the President read the following prepared remarks at a press conference on December 2:

"I repeat my previously expressed conviction that fear of Communists actively undermining our Government will not be an issue in the 1954 elections. Long before then this administration will have made such progress in rooting them out under the security program developed by Attorney General Brownell that this can no longer be considered a serious menace. As you already know, about 1,500 persons who were security risks have already been removed. * * *

"By next fall I hope the public, no longer fearful that Communists are destructively at work within the Government, will wish to commend the efficiency of this administration in eliminating this menace to the Nation's security."

M'CARTHY USES FIGURE

And Senator McCARTHY, in a nationwide radio address on November 24, declared:

"For example, while almost daily from the time I mentioned the 57 Communists and 205 security risks in Government, until the time the Truman-Acheson regime was removed from office—almost daily some leader of the Democratic Party would proclaim to the country that there were no Communists in Government, and that my attempt to dig them out was dishonest and a hoax. The new administration has now gotten rid of 1,456, all of whom were security risks and practically all of whom were removed because of Communist connections and activities or perversion."

Chairman Young denies that statements in which security-risk dismissals are mentioned in the same breath with the Communists-in-Government issue confuse the average citizen and give many the impression that the Government is crawling with Reds and fellow travelers.

YOUNG BLAMES PRESS

Instead, Mr. Young blames the press for failing to make the public understand that a person may be a security risk without being a member of the Communist Party or in any way disloyal.

Mr. Young does not seem anxious to aid in this education process. The Star tried for a week to learn from Civil Service Commission the date Mr. Young sent out his request to the agencies for statistics. Commission information specialists said they would have to check with Mr. Young personally. The answer finally came back: This information is not releasable. (It was obtained elsewhere.)

This reluctance to talk about the program, in its obviously unclassified aspects, occurs in the face of the President's statement of December 2. Speaking of the security program and the Red issue, General Eisenhower said:

"The people must have the facts on this important subject in order to reach sound conclusions. As provided for in the liberalized regulations of this administration, established facts, so far as the national security permits, will continue to be made available."

DIFFICULT TO BREAK DOWN

The Star asked Mr. Young how many of his 1,456 security cases involved loyalty. He replied:

"I, as a taxpayer, am not interested in whether a person was discharged for being disloyal or for being a drunk, and I don't think the average person is. They just want to know that we are getting rid of this type of person on the Government payroll."

He also pointed to the difficulty of dividing the cases under headings of loyalty and nonloyalty because some persons may have been charged on both counts.

The Star first called attention on December 8 to the fact that the 1,456 figure had been padded with voluntary resignations, reduction-in-force cases, and other persons not fired after having been proven security risks. Proof of this fact was contained explicitly in the release in which the Navy announced its own contribution to the October total. This is what the Navy said:

"Separations in some instances were affected after preferment of charges and hearings. Others were separated through resignation or reduction-in-force prior to final processing of derogatory information, or by other administrative action during the employee's trial period."

PROCEDURE IN DOUBT

The logical question, of course, is whether the procedures followed in the Navy case were followed in producing the purge figures for other agencies. No one in the administration will say that handling of the Navy figures was typical of the way the whole list was produced. But, on the other hand, nobody will say it wasn't.

James Hatcher, head of the Civil Service Commission's security appraisal unit, was asked whether the figures for other agencies also included voluntary resignations, reduction-in-force and other administrative separations found on the Navy list. He said he was not at liberty to discuss the matter and suggested that Mr. Young was the only one who could. Perhaps Mr. Young could. But he wouldn't.

The same kind of thing is encountered in trying to estimate the percentage of the 1,456 figure which actually has to do with loyalty cases.

NAVY RATE LOW

The bulk of the Navy's security separations were blue collar workers—laborers and helpers and the like. Navy officials know of only 17 cases involving subversive associations or questionable loyalty. They spot checked civil service records on the 175 others—every fifth one—and found no additional loyalty cases.

According to an Air Force official, instances of questionable loyalty were no higher in his department, percentagewise, than they were in the Navy. The Air Force employs 289,000 and the Navy 435,000 civilian workers—a total roughly one-third of all Government employees.

The Star has been told by sources it believes to be reliable that the Army and Veterans' Administration also have low rates of loyalty cases. No information on other agencies is available.

One of the reasons for a low percentage of loyalty cases in the military is that for 3 years the Army, Navy and Air Force have had the authority under Public Law 733, to fire summarily any employee believed to have subversive connections. The State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, and several others also have had this authority.

NEW REPORT FORM USED

Of late, the administration apparently has recognized that the reporting system which it has been using has produced confusion and numbers with no clear meaning. The Civil Service Commission, with the advice of the Justice Department, and agency security officers, has developed a new monthly report form. This makes clear what statistics are required.

The Commission, however, will not tell the press what information the new report form seeks. Nor will it say whether the form is now in use.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Young and Mr. Brownell met with Government security officers at the Justice Department to take critical stock of the program and to discuss, among other things, the new reporting system.

And the Justice Department's Mr. Minor, who perhaps had as much to do with the actual writing of the employee security program as any other, told the Star the administration is not forgetting that dismissals under the Executive order are to be made only in the interests of national security.

"If the order is being used for any other purpose, we want to know about it," Mr. Minor said.

"Ole Miss" Gets Hugh Clegg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, as an extension of my remarks, I include an editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, expressing a sentiment held by alumni and friends of the University of Mississippi. Hugh Clegg

is ending a distinguished career in government, but we know that his work with Ole Miss will be even more productive for our great State and Nation.

"OLE MISS" GETS HUGH CLEGG

The University of Mississippi has chosen well, we believe, in its appointment of Hugh H. Clegg as director of university development, a new post with manifold responsibilities related to the growth and well-being of "Ole Miss."

Mr. Clegg, long an assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is retiring from that agency after 27 years of continuous service, during which his "loyal and untiring efforts" as cited in a commendation from FBI Director Hoover, "made a real and lasting contribution in the building of the FBI."

The two fine training academies maintained by the FBI were developed and operated under Mr. Clegg's supervision, and thus he is no stranger in the educational field. He is a native Mississippian, with the interests and progress of his State genuinely at heart. Fifty-five is no age at which to be starting an inactive life, as Mr. Clegg recognizes, and there remain for him many years in which he can devote the exceptional talents the record shows him to possess to the new work he is undertaking.

The Late Dr. Alfred Lafayette Ridings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM RAYBURN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I knew Dr. A. L. Ridings, of Sherman, Tex., all of my life. He had a host of friends in his community and was a splendid physician. He was my friend and I shall miss him always. He was the father of Mrs. Hope Ridings Miller. As a part of these remarks, I include the funeral sermon delivered by the Reverend Luther Holcomb, pastor of the Lakewood Baptist Church, Dallas, Tex., on December 19, 1953, at Sherman, Tex. The sermon follows:

"HE WAS OUR DOCTOR"

Seventy-four years ago Alfred Lafayette Ridings was born at Ivanhoe in Fanning County, near Bonham, Tex. In some countries of the world this would not mean very much, but in America the birth of every baby is a significant event, because Americans regard life as the most sacred of all possessions.

This baby boy was brought up on a farm; educated in the rural schools of Texas. Early in his life he began to dream of a life of usefulness; of service to humanity. Upon completing school he went to Louisville, Ky., for medical training. Afterward, he returned to Texas, and in a little cubbyhole in the rear of an old-time drugstore at Dorchester, near Sherman, Tex., he began practicing medicine. He soon became affiliated with a leading medical clinic.

Dr. Ridings was a captain in the Army Medical Corps of World War I. During World War II, he served as a member of the medical advisory board for the selective service system. For his outstanding efforts he was awarded a presidential citation.

In recognition of his experiences and superb training, Dr. Ridings was elected to the American College of Surgeons in 1935. He was a former president of the North Texas Medical Society and a former vice president of the State medical association. His name is widely known, and for good reason. Dr. Ridings was a member of the First Baptist Church, Sherman, the local Kiwanis Club, and the Masonic Lodge.

The greatest tribute of all to Dr. Ridings was the silence which preceded this service today. The only audible words I heard were, "He was our doctor." As the son of a former pastor of this church, I also proudly say, "He was our doctor." When a physician lays down his work it is not like the passing of an ordinary citizen. He has held a peculiar relationship to the community. He is not simply a public agent for the transaction of business. He is a public friend. He deals not with the simple, external goods of man. He holds the most sacred trust. He watches over our entrance and exit from this world. He is a family friend.

I recall my childhood days in Sherman. They were busy days for my father. He was frequently engaged in revival meetings in other places, and twice he was sent to foreign countries through the courtesy of this church. When it was necessary for him to be away from home, Dr. Ridings would say to him, "Do not worry. We will look after the family."

Dr. Ridings was always willing, always gentle; so strong, so kind. When you survey his whole life it makes the impression of solid strength. Like the mountains which rise above the surface of the earth, abiding steadfast in their places, enriching human existence, purifying the air about them and sending it it cooled and renewed over the heated plains and through the streets of the city, such men as Dr. Ridings stand as monuments to more courageous living. And as the mountains serve as reservoirs and fountains of water, sending streams leaping down their rugged slopes with a momentum that carries them far over the earth, so did the rich philosophy and right living of Dr. Ridings pour forth, bearing fruit in all witnesses. Yes, Dr. Ridings practiced more than medicine—he practiced Christianity at its best.

Luke the physician was called the beloved. When I think of Dr. Ridings, I think of Luke. They were so much alike. And I think of this poem:

"Stars over the land,
Stars over the sea,
The stars look up to Almighty God,
The stars look down on me.

"The stars may live a million years,
A million years and a day.
But God and I will live
When the stars have passed away."

Jurisdiction of Congressional Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I recently asked Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, what the Supreme Court has held in relation to the position taken by any witness appearing before a committee, or investigating committee, that the committee does not have jurisdiction over the subject matter, and that the committee may not exercise power on the ground that Congress, or each branch, has not delegated it to such committee. I have received a memorandum prepared by Frank B. Horn, of the American Law Division, dated January 12, 1954, and as it may be informative to committees, I include it in my extension of remarks.

Recent decisions of the courts indicate that it is very difficult to attack successfully the jurisdiction of congressional committees.

See *Morford* v. *U. S.* (1949, 176 F. 2d 54), *U. S.* v. *Di Carlo* (1952, 102 F. Supp. 507), and *U. S.* v. *Aurippa* (1952, 102 F. Supp 609). We believe the writer of the editorial had in mind decisions such as *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* (1881, 103 U. S. 168) and *Marshall* v. *Gordon* (1917, 243 U. S. 521). However, we do not believe these Supreme Court decisions are now proper guides, because later decisions have qualified materially the propositions stated in those cases.

With the exception of perjury cases, such as *Christoffel* v. *U. S.* ((1949) 338 U. S. 84), courts are disinclined to go beyond the journal entries of the House or the Senate to search for procedural deficiencies. See *U. S.* v. *Ballin* ((1892) 144 U. S. 1, 4) and *Field* v. *Clark* ((1892) 143 U. S. 649, 669–670 and 673). Accordingly, if the Senate Committee on Government Operations reports a failure of a witness under U. S. C. 2:194 and the Senate votes to report the matter to the proper United States Attorney for prosecution, a court is unlikely to substitute its judgment for that of the Senate which, by certifying the case, in effect, certifies also the jurisdiction of the committee. Witnesses challenging the jurisdiction of a congressional committee and refusing to answer on that, or any other ground, even on advice of counsel, do so at their peril. See *Sinclair* v. *U. S.* ((1929) 279 U. S. 263, 299).

Archbishop O'Boyle's Reparation Day Sermon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a powerful and effective and challenging sermon delivered by Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, D. C., archbishop of Washington, D. C., at the Reparation Day Mass at St. Matthews Cathedral, Washington, D. C., on December 27, 1953.

The sermon delivered by Archbishop O'Boyle deserves the attention of all persons, particularly so in view of the fact that it is affirmative and not negative in character.

TEXT, ARCHBISHOP O'BOYLE'S REPARATION DAY SERMON—COMMUNIST WAR ON RELIGION

"It is written: 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.'" (Matthew, 26: 31.)

In the year 1937, Pope Pius XI warned the world against the fearful dangers of atheistic communism in these words: "For the first time in history we are witnessing a struggle, cold-blooded in purpose and mapped out to the least detail, between man and 'all that is called God.' Communism is by its nature antireligious. It considers religion as 'the opiate of the people' because the principles of religion which speak of a life beyond the

grave dissuade the working people from the dream of a Soviet paradise which is of this world." (On Atheistic Communism, No. 22.) In another message, he warned that when communism seeks "to achieve these objectives, there is nothing which it does not dare, nothing for which it has respect or reverence; and when it has come to power, it is incredible and portentous in its cruelty and inhumanity." (On Reconstructing the Social Order, No. 112.)

A WARNING

When the Holy Father wrote these words, many persons did not choose to read or attend to his warning. Some were taken in by the glittering promises and ideal pattern of government. Others rejected communism, but held that it was a weak growth in backward countries and could never be a menace to the great powers of the world. There were even those who rejoiced at the bloodbath of the church in Spain, holding that it was the excesses of Catholicism and not the barbarity of communism which provoked the cruelty of the commissars.

Today, the thoughtful person will admit that the Holy Father spoke with the voice of prophecy. What he saw clearly in the 1930's only the blindly partisan will deny in the 1950's. A war is raging today—not the cold war between the Western Powers and the forces behind the Iron Curtain—but the even more deadly war between the atheistic leaders of the Kremlin and "all that is called God." Communism today is seeking nothing less than the total destruction of religion in the areas under its control.

We cannot stress this point too strongly. The first victim of this war was our ancient and venerable sister church in Russia. Next was the Catholic Church in Spain. Then Jew, Moslem, Buddhist, and Protestant were each singled out as victims. For a while the defenders of Marxism could say that they were not opposed to religion as such, but only to the abuses in the Orthodox Church of Russia. They would argue that they did not attack the Catholic faith, but only the so-called politically minded hierarchy, subject to the Vatican. Their attack on the Jewish faith was thinly veiled as a repudiation of Zionism. With the Moslems, it was supposed to be Arab imperialism which was fought. So the refrain went, but the relentless unveiling of the truth has demolished the lies of the propagandists. Communism stands indicted and convicted today as the foe of human freedom and dignity, a violator of our basic rights, an arrogant upstart whose clenched fist is raised in defiance of the Almighty.

Religion is the enemy, not the trumped-up political crimes of church leaders. It is the faith of the ordinary man which is the object of attack; the leaders of the church are singled out merely to dramatize the terror of the regime and to strike fear in the hearts of all believers. Prominent names make headlines, and the trials of Cardinals Stepinac, Mindszenty, and the arrest of Cardinal Wyszynski were dramatic and newsworthy. But millions of victims suffer silently, unknown to the press of the world. They are numbers, not names, buried in the cold anonymity of a silent execution or the living death of slave-labor camps.

The voices of these silent victims would cry in tones of thunder were their story to be known to the world. Let me speak for a moment to tell the tale of these silent sufferers. Go with me to a slave-labor camp in the desolate wastes of Siberia. See the picture of an old man, bearded and bent, shuffling along carrying heavy logs. The work is beyond his strength, but he dare not falter lest the savage dogs of the guards be set upon him. Who is this man? He is a rabbi, a leader of a small congregation of Jewish believers. What was his crime? He insisted on gathering the faithful in his house to worship in the manner that God had revealed to His chosen people. For this awful crime he was accused of Zionism and sent to join the army of the silent.

JEWS ATTACKED

Is his case exceptional? On the contrary, only a few years ago the Jewish Labor Committee submitted to the United Nations a documented charge that every phase of Jewish life is being stamped out among the 2½ million Jews behind the Iron Curtain. Schools and synagogues are being obliterated. The crowning atrocity of all—thousands of Jews who miraculously survived the concentration camps of Hitler are back in these very same camps as prisoners of the Communist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania.

Let me pick out another victim. This time it is a young man in his middle thirties. He was a Lutheran pastor from Latvia. In the year 1947 he defied the government edict forbidding the celebration of Christmas. He gathered his small congregation to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Peace. For this offense he was condemned as an enemy of the people. He and his flock were summarily packed off in the bitter cold of winter, in unheated cattle cars, for the long trip to a life of prison labor.

RECORD IS CLEAR

Protestant religious life, in an organized fashion, has been practically wiped out in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria. It survives only with the greatest difficulty in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Protestant missions and works of mercy in China have been closed. The record is clear; any believer in God, any person whose conscience rebels against the gross injustices of communism, is considered an enemy of this regime.

Cruel as these stories are, they are mild compared with the afflictions visited upon the religious women in China. Nuns who had given up their lives to ministering to the sick, the orphan, the homeless, and abandoned poor were beaten by howling mobs. They were accused of being foreign spies, murderers of children, enemies of the people. If ever we wanted a clear demonstration of the satanic nature of communism, it is found in the "brain washing" that has debased the Chinese Reds. The people of China, as we know, are gentle and cultured. They respect the aged and revere family life. Yet under this fiendish system, children denounce their parents. They hurl curses upon their elders. They beat and spit upon their benefactors, such as the unselfish nuns who gave so much to that ancient land.

Of them we can say, as St. Paul thundered against the pagans of his day: "And as they have resolved against possessing the knowledge of God, God has given them up to a reprobate sense, so that they do what is not fitting, being filled with all iniquity; * * * being full of envy, murder, contention, deceit, malignity; being whisperers, detractors, hateful to God, irreverent, proud, haughty, plotters of evil; disobedient to parents, foolish, dissolute, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy" (Romans 1:28–32).

It is clear that the struggle between communism and religion is worldwide. It is directed against all faiths, against the simple believer as well as the leaders of churches. If tolerance is practiced at some times and in certain places, it is only an expedient dictated by the tactical needs of the moment. The long-term strategy of communism envisions only one goal, the complete destruction of religion.

Faced with this enemy, all believers should join in a crusade of prayer and protest, of common prayer to the Almighty that He might spare us this scourge; of protest to the nations of the world, that they might denounce this crime against humanity. Such a plea was made 16 years ago by Pope Pius XI. He said: "In this battle joined by the powers of darkness against the very idea of divinity, it is our fond hope that, besides the host which glories in the name of Christ, all those—and they comprise the overwhelming majority of mankind—who believe in God and pay Him homage may take a decisive part. We, therefore, renew the invitation * * * invoking their loyal and hearty collaboration in order to ward off the great danger that threatens all alike." (On Atheistic Communism, No. 72).

INVITE ALL

May I respectfully and humbly repeat this invitation to all believers in God, indeed, to all who recognize the dignity and worth of man, to unite in a crusade against atheistic, imperial communism. First of all, this should be a crusade of prayer and reparation to Almighty God for the evils perpetrated upon believers of all nations and creeds. We can make our own the prayer of the dying Saviour: "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do." We can pray that the blessings of peace once more descend upon the world as a gift of the Prince of Peace. Let us never forget, in our preoccupation with political controversy and world affairs, that our struggle is not merely against flesh and blood, but against the spirits of evil who seem to have taken possession of the Communist blasphemers.

Let us not be diverted in this crusade by the antagonisms and grievances which too often divide us. This is not the occasion to enter into the issues which have unfortunately caused incidents of religious intolerance in our land. With half the world in flames, should we argue over precedence in putting out the fire? Or should we rather all walk humbly before God, admitting our sins, and pleading that the scourge of communism be lifted from the earth?

Together with prayer, the churches and synagogues of America should raise their voices in protest against the terrible persecution of believers behind the Iron Curtain. Our Government can proudly boast its concern for the rights of man and the basic freedoms which flow from human dignity. Is it too much to ask that we join with other free nations of the world in a request for a formal investigation by the United Nations of this diabolical attempt to exterminate all religion? May we not call upon our delegates to international conferences to remain steadfast in holding to safeguards for basic human rights in all agreements among nations?

EFFECT OF PROTEST

We know that the rulers of the Kremlin respect only force of arms, and not principles of right or wrong. But there are tens of millions of peoples in the world who have retreated to the sidelines in this struggle. Against such indifference or neutralism, the voice of protest for the right of faith will have a powerful effect. Even behind the Iron Curtain—and it does not completely cut out the voice of the free world—there will be millions heartened by our solidarity with them in their hour of trial.

The power of arms is great, and we do not underestimate the tragedy of atomic warfare. But let us not underestimate the power of the spirit and the greatness of truth. The church has known in other ages the dark hours of persecution. Thousands of martyrs have sealed their faith with their blood. Yet the church has emerged from the Catacombs to rise to new heights of achievement. So it is today. If now the darkness of Calvary seems to prevail over vast regions of the earth, let us remember that Calvary was followed by Easter morn and the glory of the Resurrection. Christ told His followers to take courage, for He had conquered the world. This is the certainty of our faith. With such a faith, we shall not despair. Rather we go forward in trust and hope,

knowing that He who has begun in us His good work will perfect the same; that He who founded His church upon the Rock of Peter will be with us as a faithful protector, even to the end of the world.

Address by George W. Gibbs Before the Propeller Club Regional Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include and call to the attention of the membership of the House a most interesting and significant speech by George W. Gibbs, of Jacksonville, to a regional conference of the Propeller Club:

Mr. President, gentlemen of the Propeller Club, I appreciate very much your invitation to talk to you regarding the indispensability of the American merchant marine to the freedom of America. I regret that my background with shipping in no way approaches the experience of your last speaker, Mr. Hugh Gallager, and that I cannot speak to you with the intimate knowledge of the subject that he did in his magnificent address at our last annual meeting. Mr. Gallager told you of the crusade that has been made in behalf of the American merchant marine and why it was essential to our safety.

Since Mr. Gallager spoke to us a year ago, much has happened to justify his statements. I shall not and cannot discuss specific legislation, as did he, for the strengthening of our merchant marine. I shall endeavor to show you, however, that the American merchant marine is more important to the freedom of America today than it ever has been, principally because the America that we have known is in a fair way to join the other great nations that have become impotent and hopelessly dependent. I also shall endeavor to show that in order to bolster our merchant marine, it is necessary to bolster the strength of our Nation in all directions and cause our people to think with the facts at their disposal, rather than propaganda which has been issued by the enemies to our freedom. There is much of a specific nature which could be done to strengthen our merchant marine. In order to accomplish our objective, we must have an intelligent statement of the requirements made to an informed Congress. We must recognize the fact that Congress gets its information most simply from the electorate and from no other source. We, therefore, must make up our minds to inform the people of the crisis before them and of practical methods for the defense of our land.

After World War I, I had the pleasure of hearing the great English statesman, Lord Balfour, deliver his historical Washington address on the capacity of the British merchant marine to take care of the commerce of America. He convinced many Americans of the wisdom of using English ships for this purpose. Shortly after this speech, not only was much of our merchant marine scrapped but a large portion of our Navy as well. Time has shown the folly of our action. Neither England nor France is the nation it was at the time Mr. Balfour spoke and neither is likely to be in a position to rally to our aid, should a war become imminent, with ships or anything else.

Last summer I had the pleasure of attending the annual meeting of the International Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, held in the British Isles, and the International Shipbuilders Council held in London. During our voyage to England I read a very interesting book by a Frenchman, Rene Sedillot, The History of the World in 300 Pages. Reading this summary was like looking at a forest from a distance—I wasn't too close to the trees to see the forest. This concurrent outline of history emphasizes the fact that the ruling nations of the world from the earliest times were rulers because of their shipping. Ships were the tools of commerce. Without them a nation was dependent upon its local resources. With them the resources of the world were at its disposal. Man's ingenuity could be given a free rein. We need only to think of Crete, Egypt, Venice, Portugal, Spain, England, and many others to realize that their merchant marine was an indispensable part of their greatness.

When I reached England, for nearly 1 month I was thrown with members of the two societies from all over the world, with the exception of those from behind the Iron Curtain. I had an excellent opportunity to see America through the eyes of the foreigner. I also learned of the importance of a merchant marine to these countries and of their tremendous shipbuilding program. Although I had daily contact with the men of these societies, and with literally hundreds of Englishmen, nearly all of them conservative, I was horrified to learn that there was little thought of a possible war in Europe. Scarred London and destroyed industrial plants convinced me of the fact that if a war were possible in Europe, the people I was with would have been concerned. I also reached the conclusion that in the vulnerable position of England and France, that these countries would be of little value to us in their present dependent condition. I firmly believe that this is the conclusion of the Soviet Government. I saw little defense work, but I did see material destined for Russia. While it is undoubtedly true that our former allies are sympathetic with the viewpoints of America, I am reasonably certain that by the time we have spent enough money in Europe to restore those nations to a position of economic independence under their socialistic governments, that America, herself, will have been bled white. This bleeding, plus the subversive actions within the borders of America, will render us an easy prey to the Soviet Government if we do not recognize this, their pattern of attack. Russia witnessed the near conquest of Europe twice, only to have the would-be conquerer destroyed by a mighty America. She does not propose to waste her strength in Europe, only to have the process repeated. Her intention, I believe, is to concentrate on America. When America is sufficiently weakened, she will be in a position to take over the rest of the world. It is my belief that if we prepare for the defense of our country with a knowledge that direct action against Russia is more effective than action through militarily weak allies in exposed positions, that our job will be simple and that our action will be effective.

This country, great though it is because of its inherent wealth, faces a period where it is absolutely dependent on a merchant marine of its own. Our resources have been depleted. We must now import most of the basic essentials of American industry which, only a few years ago, seemed to be inexhaustible. The world's greatest steel mills are now being built not near American ore or coal fields, but at ports readily reached by shipping. We import from foreign countries iron ore, aluminum ore, copper, lumber, and innumerable other materials, once plentiful in America.

I have said that I would make no suggestions for specific legislation to strengthen our merchant marine because I do not wish to confuse the simple message of this paper by a discussion of details. I do wish simply to call attention to the fact that your country, including its merchant marine, in its present crisis, can survive if you will make a realistic appraisal of its true status. Our people and our representatives will not hesitate to check our mad rush to destruction when confusion gives way to a knowledge of our present situation. Whereas it is commonly believed that the people of the earth are at loggerheads because of opposing schools of thought, actually America, your country, is being attacked in a cold and a hot war by a small band of leaders which control the Soviet Government. This Government is a dictatorship first, and a Communist nation second. It has done much damage to America with the hot war being waged in Korea. Its cold war has damaged us from within and without. Some of the allies of the Soviet Government are innocent American do-gooders, who are simply ignorant of the part they play in serving their country's enemies. I refer to the people who support various degrees of the doctrine called socialism. Many call themselves liberals. A large percentage of the people dissatisfied with their station in life and jealous of one more fortunate than they embrace socialism in some of its forms. They compose the majority of the electorate of America. These people must be told that socialism has invariably led to the destruction of countries wherever it has been tried.

Examples can be exhibited of nations living, dying, and dead. Never was there a better time than now to teach this lesson to the people of the world. Whereas a few people are temporarily benefited by socialism, the benefits are never permanent and always completely destructive to the country at large. This is not a theory. History is written in the ashes of countries that have been destroyed by socialism and the world today has a living example of countries rendered dependent with little hope of survival. I say little hope. In my opinion, England and France and Italy can regain their former status of independence only when America has thrown the cancer of socialism from its own vitals and has become strong enough to demonstrate that there is but one path to national strength and that is the competitive system of free enterprise. The workings of the free enterprise system must be explained in primer form. It is no accidental formula. It is the only method whereby leaders can be developed. A country or an enterprise without leaders will soon be in a chaotic condition. The conclusion is elementary. Few, however, understand this simple fact. Although most of you are familiar with the condition of near starvation that exists in England, unless you have lived amongst the people, it would be difficult for you to appreciate the hopelessness of their position. The old platitude, "coals to Newcastle," can no longer be used. We actually sent more than a million tons to England last year. There is a great food shortage, when food would be available from Denmark, if the English would dig their own coal and trade it for the poultry and dairy products that they have enjoyed for centuries by this process. Although the country is overpopulated, Italians are being imported to mine this coal. Old people from all over the world are returning to England to enjoy the so-called benefits of socialism, thus increasing the number of mouths to be fed. Young people are leaving the country. Needless to say, the electorate is largely socialistic. One Conservative told me that his party would go back into power in October, but that he was not overoptimistic of anything that could be done because of the promises that must be made to the electorate of "something for nothing." Are we in America facing a similar fate? I think not. We are waking up.

If America should go to war with Russia, victory would be on our side—due not so much to the material strength that we may have acquired, but more to the fact that we, with our system of free competition, have an unlimited number of potential leaders, the product of the only school where they can be produced—the school of American free enterprise.

It has been said that things must get worse before they get better. In my opinion, that time has arrived. If we businessmen, firm believers in free enterprise, will speak today, our voice will be heard. Times are not as they were after World War I when we emerged as victors, with but little national debt, where, with no worry, we could experiment with socialism and other isms, and indulge in vilification of those people who happen to have more money than we. The American people now are not apt to vilify the industrialists and to outlaw defense plants, or to call the industrialist a warmonger or profiteer, as they did in 1920. The word "profit" need not be a stigma, but the measure of one's intelligence and evidence of the workings of a system that has resulted in the good of all. It is seldom that one can achieve success without enriching others, and, without exception, his country. The attitude of our Government toward the industrialist may or may not have been caused by subversive elements. The fact remains that its outrageous treatment of the industrialist was one of the direct causes of World War II and the death of millions of people. One need only review the hearings of the Senate committee investigating the Morgan Co. to appreciate the unfairness of the attack. The Johnson Act, which put foreign countries on a cash basis and caused the munition plants of America to close, had much to do with the fact that Germany replaced England and America to a large extent as the manufacturer of munitions. World War II had been in progress for some time before this country had a single plant that could make powder for war purposes. These plants had to be built at tremendous cost in West Virginia and Wisconsin.

It may appear to you that I have strayed from my subject. To my mind, one cannot consider the problem of strength for our merchant marine, the all important factor in the development of our country, without investigating the strength and weakness of our country itself. If a man with a bad appendix were drowning, we would pull him out of the water before we started to operate. We cannot help but feel that the merchant marine and its present status is the victim of the same subversive elements that are destroying our country itself and that, having licked these subversive elements, the development of our merchant marine can readily be accomplished. Most of the practices which are destroying our country are factors that are weakening our merchant marine. Recently we had to cancel construction of 12 of the 25 fast ships desperately needed in our merchant marine, for lack of steel. It was shown at the last annual meeting of the American Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers that there was no shortage of steel, which was not due to improper allocation by the Government. In spite of this cancellation, we agreed to send to England one million tons of steel—10 times enough to prevent this cancellation.

What could we do for the American merchant marine if we had some of the moneys that we are sending to so-called backward nations? How much more effective would be money spent on our merchant marine and in other forms of defense, than spent on people throughout the earth who are allegedly threatened by so-called communism? How much stronger would our country be if we protected the property of our citizens' abroad. By permitting the confiscation of our citizens' property, we weaken ourselves financially and incur the contempt of the foreigner, whether he be a friendly neighbor, or not. American citizenship is the greatest heritage that a human can have—let us see that the world has a full knowledge of this fact and the respect that our country will demand for its citizens if they or their property rights are threatened.

The time allotted to me this morning will not permit me to discuss in detail the ways of fighting socialism. When an enlightened people are aware of the part that it plays in their planned destruction, the obvious tools of socialism will become apparent. There are many. I shall mention but two. One is organized labor as a monopoly, as it was under the Wagner Act, and as it would be if the Taft-Hartley Act were repealed. The other is the FEPC, a law designed not to promote friendship between two great races, but discord, and, incidentally, the wrecking of orderly American business. The two races do not want laws which result in artificial social contacts. They desire only equality of opportunity which will permit the progress of their respective races to be limited only by their intelligence, industry, courage, and integrity.

In closing, I wish to express the belief that America's safety lies in her might and that there is still time to augment and perpetuate this might. The material is here: the brains, the leadership, and the courage. I trust, my friends, that we also have the will.

Request United States Delegation to United Nations and State Department Take Action on Egypt's Arbitrary Restrictions on Israeli Goods Through Suez Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the Arab nations, members of the Arab League, are bent upon the destruction of Israel. A series of events confirm this determination. King Saud of Saudi Arabia calls Israel a cancer which must be cut out of the Middle East even at the sacrifice of 10 million Arab lives if necessary. Syria, through the United Nations, seeks to prevent the diversion of the waters of the Jordan for hydroelectric purposes although the area affected lies entirely within Israeli territory. Jordan refuses, in violation of the Armistice terms, to sit down with Israel at a peace table. Iraq proclaims continued war against Israel. Now Egypt tightens up the boycott against goods destined to and from Israel by way of the Suez Canal.

Egypt's action is in violation of the resolution of the United Nations Security Council of September 1, 1951. That resolution stated that Egypt's restrictions on Suez Canal shipments to and from Israel were an abuse of the exercise of the right of visit, search and seizure on Egypt's part, and that the practice cannot be justified on the grounds of self-defense. It also stated that Egyptian sanctions applied to Israeli shipments through the canal represent unjustifiable interference with the rights of nations to navigate the seas and to trade freely with one another. The resolution firmly called upon Egypt to terminate these restrictions. Heretofore, Egypt proscribed and confiscated what she termed strategic goods bound for Israel, particularly oil. Now she has widened the restrictions to include food and clothing and has actually confiscated vast quantities of these essentials. Though Israel has voiced her protest to the Security Council of the United Nations, there has been no followup by that body.

The United States has a stake in Israel. Our Export and Import Bank has loaned Israel considerable sums of money. We have made grants-in-aid for Israel's economic advancement. Our point 4 experts have helped in technological development. Egypt's action militates against and retards the objectives of our grants-in-aid and our point 4 help. It is pertinent, therefore, to ask what our delegation to the United Nations is doing with reference to this flagrant violation of the Security Council's resolution. I call upon Ambassador Lodge and the other members of our delegation to raise this question before the Security Council. Furthermore, what action has been taken by our State Department?

The United States is included in the terms of a treaty or international convention which goes back to 1888 that guarantees the free use of the Suez Canal by ships of all flags and all nations in time of war and in time of peace. Since 1947 the Egyptian Government has placed an embargo on all traffic on the canal to and from Israeli ports. The United States is one of the largest users of the canal. United States traffic has increased tenfold in the last 15 years. In 1952 we shipped through the canal more than 10 million tons of cargo. The United States, therefore, has a special interest in the integrity of the operation of this canal in accordance with international comity. Today Egypt arbitrarily excludes Israel from access to the canal. Who knows but that the time may come when Egypt would arbitrarily proscribe any other nation, including the United States, from access? This treaty violation is too important for our Government to disregard, and suitable action should be taken by our State Department.

What Is United States Delegation to United Nations Doing To Bring Jordan to Terms as in Peace With Israel?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, noting the amazing swiftness with which the United Nations passed resolutions of condemnation against Israel over the Kibya

incident, I seriously question its subsequent delay in instituting immediate peace talks between Israel and Jordan. Such peace talks were urgently requested by Israel under the terms of the charter and article 12 of the Israeli-Jordan armistice agreement. Can it be that the United Nations will admit urgency in the tense Israel-Jordan situation only when it is Israel who is to be called to task?

Many weeks have passed since Israel asked that direct talks be arranged with Jordan to discuss the question of peace. Certainly this is a move toward relieving the present impasse. On January 11 the Jordanian Ambassador, Abdul M. Rafai, meeting with Secretary of State Dulles, indicated that Jordan rejects any idea of a conference with Israel on peace talks. The duty of the Security Council, therefore, should be clear. First, it must demand a peace conference under the armistice agreement. Second, should Jordan refuse, a resolution of condemnation would be in order. Third, if Jordan continues its intransigeant attitude, sanctions should be invoked.

The United Nations must not evade its responsibility in seeking a peaceful solution to this conflict. Evasion would bring a loss of confidence in the United Nations as an instrument of peace.

What is the position of the United States delegation? It took the lead in offering a resolution of condemnation over the Kibya incident, without making mention of provocation. Why is it so silent now? I believe it is incumbent upon our delegation under Ambassador Lodge to demand immediately that the Security Council act to bring Jordan to terms.

The American Legion Reader, by Victor Lasky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a book review by William Du Bois covering the new book, the American Legion Reader, by the outstanding author, Victor Lasky. The review by Mr. Du Bois appeared in the New York Times Book Review of November 15, 1953.

WITH SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY
(By William Du Bois)

This jumbo collection of pieces from the American Legion magazine covers a wide spread, from the between-war decades to day before yesterday. Entries range from a bull-baiting piece by Barnaby Conrad to an extended discussion by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur of the role of the citizen-soldier of tomorrow; from a bit of whimsy from Alexander Woollcott to an analysis of communism by George Sokolsky; from a rather improbable poem by Grantland Rice to denunciation of Charlie Chaplin by Editor Victor Lasky; from a shaggy-dog item by Albert Payson Terhune to a discussion of communism vis-a-vis our educational system by ex-Communist Louis Budenz; from a discussion of our experiments with a camel corps in the 1850's to a piece by Columbia's football coach, Lou Little, on how to keep in GI condition.

Also included are pieces explaining the Legion's role in motion-picture censorship; various estimates of the Russian military potential that would make us odds-on favorites in the next world war; pieces in a familiar inspirational vein on various aspects of our culture; and some accounts of heroes and heroism in our past wars that are truly inspirational when the facts are allowed to speak for themselves.

Editor Lasky, who has selected the items between these covers and supplied a lively running comment, has been inclusive in his taste within the limits of his magazine's overall policy. As the partial list of contributors may indicate, there is far greater variety here than meets the eye at first glance. None of the entries can be described as left of center, and the continuous faith in American invincibility may prove a bit terrifying at times even to the best Americans. Readers who have called the Legion the greatest pressure group in our history will find proof of their contentions here, but it is worth noting that the proof is invariably presented with pride. Readers who consider the Legion the shield and buckler of our liberties, on the other hand, will not come away emptyhanded. This, in short, is an impressive potpourri and one that contains stimulation for almost any taste, including the stimulation to argue, which is, after all, the best sign of national health.

If This Is Creeping Socialism, America Needs More of It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following very enlightening speech by Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, at the annual conference of the American Municipal Association held in New Orleans, La., on November 30, 1953:

As always, it is a pleasure to be at a gathering of the American Municipal Association—a rare privilege—particularly so for a man like myself, who has served 10 years as mayor of a large city, and spent almost as much time in the city council, the school board and in those other municipal bodies vitally concerned with the everyday problems of our Nation. It is almost as good to be here as it is to be coming home.

The American Municipal Association has become the clearing house—the forum—for the basic problems that confront America. It is—in my humble opinion—one of the most effective forces of government. Beyond that, I think it is a place where the answers to tomorrow's problems can be found today.

You all know why I am here. I am here to make a case for public housing. That case needs to be made.

I have just returned from a 30,000 mile trip that took me into every part of the country. On that trip I saw more of the diseased sections of America than most men do. I found myself continually in the position of saying "There cannot be a worse slum" and the next day being faced with just that.

In compensation—I found out, firsthand, in place after place, what public housing can do for your cities if you use it properly. Where you administer it properly—where you combine it with redevelopment, with expressways, with parks and playgrounds—it works. It means health and wealth to your community and at very low cost.

But I found also that the people understand less about public housing than they do any other major problem of government.

Most people think of it as a costly program. It is not. True, it costs something—this year its subsidized payments will reach $40,000,000. That is just 1 percent of what we are spending on foreign aid alone.

I think the approximately million people living in public housing today are worth it. I think they are each worth the 40 to 50 dollars a year we are spending on them. I think they are worth a lot more than that.

Our Government subsidizes a lot of things. Our mail service—over 300 million for that—420 million for highways—234 million for rivers and harbors—169 million for reclamation and irrigation—115 million for commercial aviation—82 million for the school-lunch program—67 million for our 450,000 Indians. This year's housing program costs much less than any of these. The average taxpayer, the man making $4,000, put up 6 cents this year, through his income tax, to keep it going. He paid twice as much for wildlife restoration according to the last available figures.

But think of public housing in other terms. Think of it in the practical terms of what it means to your city.

Public housing has meant to date—to the cities that have it—the payment of $2, in lieu of taxes, for every dollar previously collected in taxes, from the slum sites now occupied by healthful public housing. Further, it has been responsible for the payment of delinquent taxes equal to a year's full tax levy on these same slum properties.

This is the overall picture as far as we can check it to date, but it is not the whole picture. Any of you who have struggled with municipal finance know how much of your fire, police, and health budgets are spent in your slum areas. The dollars are wholly disproportionate to those collected in taxes from those same slum areas.

The United States Municipal News reports that, although slum and blighted districts comprise about 20 percent of our metropolitan residential areas, they account for 31 percent of the population, 45 percent of the major crimes, 55 percent of the juvenile delinquency, 60 percent of the tuberculosis victims, 50 percent of the arrests, 35 percent of the fires, 45 percent of city service costs—and 6 percent of real estate tax revenues.

Every one of us today is paying for most of the slum dwellers' rent.

Public housing means fewer fire and police calls, better health and more jobs, higher morale and increased self respect in those families who move from slums and blighted areas to public housing.

At one eastern seaport city the fire protection costs for one slum area alone amounted to $47,000 annually, just $2,000 less than the entire tax assessment for that area. Public housing was first built in 1942 in that city, and there have since been exactly two very minor fires within the limits of the public-housing projects.

You gentlemen are as familiar as I am—if not more so—with the problem of declining real property values, especially as it is reflected in your tax revenues. In traveling about the country, I frequently encountered the argument that public-housing projects are bad neighbors in that they tend to lower adjacent property values.

It just is not so.

Here is one example of the effect of public housing on adjoining property values.

This occurred in a Pacific Northwest city with two public-housing projects. In an area 12 blocks adjacent to one project, there was a 112 percent increase in assessed land values; in the case of the second project, there was a 96 percent increase in assessed land values in an area 20 blocks adjacent to it.

Here is another instance where public housing acted as a stimulus to adjacent property values. In a California city, the housing authority acquired land in 1942 for a project at a cost of $750 an acre. Recently a corner lot across the street from this project sold at a value of $75,000 an acre. The area within a 1-mile radius of the project has, over the past 10 years, shown a higher appreciation of value than any other residential area in the city.

I believe that many of you can cite similar examples where public housing projects have not only proved to be good neighbors, but also have been directly responsible for improving surrounding property values through stimulating the development of new commercial and residential areas.

But the people outside public housing, the people who do not struggle with municipal budgets, do not know or have never been shown what public housing means to their community. I think they should be told, and I think it is the job of every municipal authority, that has found that it can work with public housing, to tell them.

Our citizens are ashamed of our slums. They know we need housing of all kinds. Give them information and aggressive municipal leadership and they will respond.

Do not, however, let me give the impression that this has been universally lacking. It has not. But the leadership given has been the tireless, selfless, hard-working type that avoids the limelight in working for civic betterment. We need to know, as I came to know, the men and women who are really working for the realization of public housing in the best interests and traditions of this Nation.

It has been charged that public housing is creeping socialism. If so, I have never in my travels met so many Socialists disguised as Republicans. Bob Taft was such a one.

Invariably, in the cities which I visited these past 3 months the members of the public housing commission or authority have been the town's leading citizens, the people who guide their community's business and professional life. These are not social theorists. These are hard-headed, tough-minded, practical people who refuse to let their cities decay. They need a voice, and until they get a better one they will have—for so long as it holds out—mine.

There are, of course, those that say all housing should be a matter for private enterprise. I am for that so long as a profit can be maintained, and certainly no one but private enterprisers are contracting to build public-housing units. On the other hand, public-housing tenants are, because of the prescribed income limits we maintain, those people who, by and large, could not represent profit to a landlord unless he were making it off slum property.

The only money that comes out of slum properties is that made from human misery.

The man who says that he can provide new housing for low-income families at a profit has yet to prove his case. If there is one who can do it outside of the slums, I would like to have his name, because he holds a housing formula that the whole Nation has to date sought fruitlessly. The Congress will be interested.

Families who can afford to buy or rent decent private housing are not in public-housing projects. Our income limits keep them out. The average annual income of families in public-housing projects is only $1,988.

I think I should lay before you one more matter in connection with public housing. That is with regard to public-housing financing. I have said on other occasions that I do not think the Federal Government should carry alone the entire cost of financing public housing, and that I would welcome any State or municipal financial assistance to keep the program moving. At the same time I am aware that the Federal Government has dried up many tax resources that would otherwise be available to local governments. Even in States which levy their own income taxes the Federal Government is taking at least 2 tax dollars for the State's 1 dollar. Our cities, as we all know, are even worse off. Until that situation changes radically, I think the Federal Government is the only body, with certain notable exceptions, that is in any position to establish sufficient credit to enable us to provide public housing.

There you have my case for public housing.

1. It is the best tool we have for rehabilitating the slums of America and the people that live there.

2. It is an investment that pays large municipal dividends in its reduction in police, fire, and health costs in the areas in which it operates.

3. It represents a net gain in municipal income without the cost of collection that normal taxes entail.

4. It means a better life for all of us. Every citizen profits from slum eradication. Public housing improves adjacent property, stops its deterioration.

5. Its costs are negligible, far outweighed in size by any other number of Government subsidies.

This is a story, my friends, which I think needs to be told all over America. I leave it in your hands, and to your voices.

Rules of Procedure for Congressional Investigations—Fort Monmouth Investigation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the effort to establish rules of procedure for congressional investigating committees which has the support of leading bar associations and other authorities it is important to appraise the results of the procedures now employed. There is appended hereto the first of three articles on the investigation of security problems at the United States Army's Signal Corps radar and other research laboratories at Fort Monmouth, N. J.

The New York Times is a newspaper with a worldwide reputation for objective reporting. This evaluation as to the procedures followed in connection with the hearings and the results of the investigation concerning the national security and individuals is important information for every Member:

[From the New York Times of January 11, 1954]

MONMOUTH SECURITY WOES ANTEDATE MCCARTHY VISITS

(This is the first of three articles on security problems at the Signal Corps' Fort Monmouth.)

(By Peter Kihss)

The troubles of Fort Monmouth, where the Army Signal Corps thinks out some of the Nation's crucial defenses, first hit the headlines through the doings of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

But a study by the New York Times indicates that the Monmouth story involves a problem far broader than the activity of the Wisconsin Republican and his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—namely, the Nation's entire security program.

There has been confusion between tales of past and present employees of the 2,000-acre installation in northern New Jersey, and the Army veils the story in secrecy. But the facts that can be gleaned appear as follows:

The Army has suspended 19 present Monmouth employees on charges of being security risks under President Eisenhower's April 27 Executive order—chiefly for association with relatives and other persons, sometimes long before their Federal service. None is accused of espionage or disloyalty. All deny any Communist taint and are fighting back with pledges to answer all questions.

Thirteen other employees have been suspended since last August, but reinstated without charges. Two of these have resigned. Many remain without clearance for their former work. About 15 others have suffered loss of clearance without charges in periods ranging back to 2 years.

On its part, Senator MCCARTHY's subcommittee has turned up 7 individuals employed at Monmouth up to 1947 or earlier who refuse to say if they were ever Communists.

The McCarthy subcommittee has introduced a statement that Julius Rosenberg, executed atomic spy, who trained at Monmouth in 1940 as an inspector, boasted to a coconspirator that Signal Corps secrets had been stolen. Two ex-employees and two other witnesses refused in public hearings to say whether they tried to get Monmouth secrets even in the last year.

The Army charges are sometimes so general that one electronics engineer of 11 years' service must now disprove an accusation that "during the period prior to 1942 you were characterized by several of your fellow employees as having the general reputation of being Communist."

Employees are under suspension for alleged past membership in organizations in which Communists have taken part, in one case to buy poultry feed; for relatives' enrollment in the still-legal American Labor Party in New York; for attending even one unpopular meeting, perhaps in curiosity; for their reading and political comments, sometimes distorted.

They are automatically dismissed unless they fight back within 30 days with a reply to a security hearing board, which advises the Secretary of the Army. The criteria under the Eisenhower order, applicable to all Federal employees, require that, when doubts have been raised, the investigations must find that Federal employment is "clearly consistent with the interests of the national security."

The Monmouth story erupted into headlines last October 6, when the Army disclosed that several employees had been suspended "for security reasons." Senator MCCARTHY had begun investigating possible Communist infiltration in the Signal Corps last August

31, starting with the Photographic Center in Astoria, Queens.

QUESTIONING BEGUN OCTOBER 8

On October 8, the McCarthy subcommittee began questioning Monmouth employees. Headlines—depending on stories based on the Senator's version of what went on in closed-door sessions—went like this:

"Spying Is Charged at Fort Monmouth" (October 13); "Army Radar Data Reported Missing" (October 14); "Rosenberg Called Radar Spy Leader: McCarthy Says Ring He Set Up May Still Be in Operation at Monmouth Laboratory" (October 16); "Radar Witness Breaks Down: Will Tell All About Spy Ring" (October 17); "Espionage in Signal Corps for Ten Years Is Charged" (October 18).

"More Than 12 Out in Radar Spy Case" (October 21); "McCarthy Charges Soviet Got Secrets" (October 23); "Monmouth Figure Linked to Hiss Ring: Foreman in Signal Labratory Questioned—27 Suspended Now in McCarthy Inquiry" (October 27).

In fact the suspensions resulted from inquiries opened by the Army and all other Federal departments under the Eisenhower April order. Formal charges in one case date as far back as August 10; 5 cases, September 23; another October 5. They were not "spy" cases, but far milder accusations of security risk.

On November 13, Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens said an Army investigation had been "unable to find anything relating to espionage" by present employees. This, Senator McCarthy said, made public hearings necessary to show that "there was espionage in the Signal Corps after the war."

SOME INQUIRIES DATE TO 1946

Hearings started November 24. They branched beyond Monmouth into companies with Signal Corps contracts. They recessed for the Christmas holiday after 21 witnesses of various backgrounds had declined to answer questions on communism as possibly self-incriminating. Another declined on only free-speech grounds.

Senator McCarthy now says his aim is to prove potential espionage, so as to alert security officers of defense establishments.

Investigations and reinvestigations of individuals still employed at Fort Monmouth date back at least to 1946. Some employees who are suspended now have been suspended and then cleared under earlier loyalty standards. Others were witnesses for fellow employees.

The history has led to some unproved contentions about vendettas and religious and racial bigotry; to some concern lest McCarthy attacks intimidate hearing boards; and to debatable—but inevitable—effect on the defense program and Monmouth morale.

The latest suspension may at least reflect McCarthy pressure. Last week, Army charges were served on Hans E. Inslerman, an electronics section chief of 19 years' labratory service, who had recently received the latest of many commendations for loyal and faithful service.

The engineer was the unfortunately headlined "Monmouth Figure Linked to Hiss Ring," questioned by the McCarthy staff October 26. He was suspended—without charges—next day. (The subcommittee denies any recommendation.) On November 18, he was restored to duty. Last week, he was resuspended with charges dated December 22, effective January 6.

The Army charges that he registered as a Communist voter in New York in 1933 and that he maintains a close and continuous association with his brother, Felix A. Inslerman, a witness in the perjury trial of Alger Hiss, former State Department official. Through his attorney, Harry Green, of Little Silver, N. J., Hans Inslerman calls the charges against him as false.

Felix Inslerman, the charges say, registered as a Communist in 1933; was identified by Whittaker Chambers, ex-Communist courier, as a Communist underground photographer in 1937 and 1938 in Baltimore; had physical contacts with Hans between 1936 and 1950, despite Hans' alleged denial; and received a loan from Hans in 1950 to defend himself against espionage charges.

The Monmouth engineer's version is that he saw his brother perhaps six times between 1936 and 1946, and knew nothing of his activities. He asserts his denial of contacts covering approximate periods, and he now finds the post-1946 meeting was on December 5, 1949, when his brother appealed for help because repeated investigations and family illness had left him unable to work. He says he lent his brother $1,400, of which $800 has been repaid.

BIG SIGNAL CORPS CENTER

Fort Monmouth, with headquarters at Eatontown, N. J., is the Signal Corps' principal research, development, and training center, with 7,488 civilian employees as well as troops. Its laboratories—Evans, Coles, Squier, and the Watson area—have 4,290 civilians, of whom about 200 are in the radar branch.

Research and development in radar, countermeasures, nucleonics, meteorology, thermionics, and applied physics are the jobs of Evans Signal Laboratory, at Belmar, 10 miles from the fort proper. Nine of the now suspended employees and four who have been reinstated were working at Evans, with the rest widely scattered.

Still a rural area behind the resort towns along the Atlantic beaches, Monmouth County was the scene of Ku Klux Klan activity in the 1920's and German-American Bund rallies in the 1930's. As late as 1948, a 12-foot cross was burned on the newly purchased Wall Township home of a Negro employee at Evans.

Wartime recruitment—which ballooned the laboratories from 150 employees to 14,000—brought in many Jewish and Negro technicians. Many were settled in the Washington Village and Grant Court housing projects.

THREE BALK AT COMMUNIST QUERIES

As veterans returned after the war, some Monmouth employees became targets of an unsuccessful effort to evict them from Washington Village in the housing shortage, on the ground that their incomes exceeded the project limits.

Other frictions arose when some Monmouth employees succesfully fought racial discrimination in schools and elsewhere, and when they joined what some older residents considered unduly liberal groups.

These included the postwar American Veterans Committee, instead of older veterans' organizations; a chapter of the Federation of American Scientists, which faded away after arguments about a loyalty oath in addition to the Government oath; and the United Public Workers, expelled in 1950 from the Congress of Industrial Organizations as Communist-influenced.

Such activities became the subjects of loyalty charges under the Truman administration and of present security risk counts.

Some present charges refer to association with certain neighbors and fellow union members, including three wartime Monmouth employees who left there in 1947—Louis Kaplan, Albert Socol, and Marcel Ullmann.

In McCarthy public hearings these three ex-employees refused to testify on possible Communist activities. Only Mr. Kaplan was willing to deny ever engaging in espionage.

Senator McCarthy and Roy M. Cohn, his chief counsel, have asserted that the Federal Bureau of Investigation sent the Army long reports on Monmouth employees in 1949 and 1951.

Secretary Stevens said last November 13 that out of the thousands of Monmouth employees, there had been "about 167 cases" since 1946, involving "some derogatory information, so-called." These included the employees suspended last fall, he said.

Senator McCarthy has threatened to track down members of the Army appeal board under the old loyalty program, which he says cleared all but 2 of 35 Monmouth employees after the former First Army board termed them "unfit because of Communist activities."

ATTORNEY WON REINSTATEMENT

In a McCarthy public hearing, Samuel Joseph Snyder, a Signal Corps patent attorney here from 1949 to 1951, testified he won reinstatement May 27, 1952, on such an appeal. But he refused now to say if he had ever attended Communist meetings.

This refusal contrasts with the all-out claims of innocence by present employees, such as a mechanical engineer of 11 years' service who appeared before Senator McCarthy in a closed-door hearing. This engineer has been suspended under the Eisenhower program on basically the same charges that led to his ouster in 1948, and his reinstatement after a hearing in 1949, with promotions since.

The Army charges, dated November 18, say that from 1932 to 1941 he spoke openly of attending Communist meetings and believing in communism; that in 1934 or 1935, he took part in a May Day parade; and that he belonged to a Communist-dominated local of the then Congress of Industrial Organizations United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and to the International Workers Order.

Other charges are that he and his wife registered as ALP voters in New York from 1938 to 1947; that she was in the Communist Party in 1943; that his sister registered as a Communist in 1933 and an ALP voter later; and that he gave two signers of Communist petitions as references and associated with five reputed Communist sympathizers.

In his sworn answer, the engineer denies ever attending Communist meetings or believing in commnuism. He says he went to the May Day parade in a union action; had to belong to the union from 1934 to 1940 to hold his job, and had no knowledge of Communist domination; and kept an IWO membership from 1934 to 1943 simply for cheap insurance.

He recalls ALP enrollment only in 1941, when he did not consider the party Communist; denies his wife was ever a Communist; quotes a similar denial by his sister; and depicts only a neighbor's acquaintance with the men whom he might have cited as references.

The engineer says the reputed sympathizers are "totally unfamiliar to me."

ONE ACCUSED ABOUT FATHER

A physicist of 4 years' service was suspended November 19 on charges virtually identical to those on which he was suspended April 17, 1952, and cleared September 12, 1952, after a First Army hearing.

The charges contain only one accusation—that "you have lived with and have maintained a continuing association with your father." Then follow 10 specifications against the father, which the physicist's answer says shocked him since he knew only of his father's activities as a college professor.

The father, the sworn answer goes on, denied ever having been a Communist party member; observed he had written for many publications, including one called Communist in the charges; and admitted he lent his name to various appeals before the Attorney General listed them subversive. He explained that a $3.05 check in 1940 from the Soviet Bank on Foreign Trade represented interest on a $180 Russian bond he bought when floated through the Chase National Bank in 1934 or 1935.

Expressing his own abhorrence of communism in detail, the physicist offers his father's explanations without in any way accepting or endorsing the same. His affidavit adds:

"Although many characteristics are inherited from parents by their offspring, polit-

ical opinion is certainly not one of them. The world would be a stagnant place if a major fraction of offspring did not adopt viewpoints different from their parents."

JEWISH GROUPS DISTRESSED

Jewish organizations have been distressed because all of the 19 employees who are now suspended are Jewish, except 1 Negro and Mr. Insierman, a white Protestant. All of the 13 who were suspended and then reinstated are Jewish, and so are all but 3 of the 15 who lost clearances.

Maj. Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, Monmouth commander since December 19, 1951, insists he knows of no interfaith or interracial bickering at the fort, and asserts "we never distinguish between Jew, gentile, and colored."

In his office, General Lawton has hung with pride a distinguished service plaque awarded him by the Jewish service organization, B'nai B'rith. Last October 7, Rabbi Arthur H. Hershon, the fort's auxiliary Jewish chaplain since 1934, wrote the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, praising General Lawton's support for religious work of all denominations.

General Lawton is admittedly hard about security. He himself heads one of several teams that periodically ransack desks after hours to catch loose handling of classified material. Since about October 1952, he says, such searches have found virtually no violations.

Post morale the general calls wonderful. But the post newspaper, the Monmouth Message, describes a December 11 award to the chief engineer of Squier Laboratory. The engineer, who came to Monmouth in 1917, in a diplomatic comment on the security situation, vowed General Lawton's leadership will restore morale "from the depression we have now."

TWENTY-FIVE RESIGNATIONS IN 3 MONTHS

Of the fort's 1,700 civilians in professional grades, only 25 are officially reported to have resigned in September, October, and November. This contrasts with about 30 in the same months of 1952. The lower turnover might reflect some hesitation to depart in the course of the investigations.

General Lawton contends there has been no serious impact yet on the defense program from the Monmouth suspensions, although he envisions the possibility that the Signal Corps may some day have to put more emphasis on outside research and development.

Any other estimate would depend on knowledge of the often highly classified projects and the potential, for instance, of one reputedly stalled basic research project on which $300,000 has already been spent.

The quality of the suspended and declassified men, however, is indicated by appearance of 14 of their names among the 225 civilians with posts paying $8,400 and more annually, listed in the laboratories' Who's Who of last January 31.

One fear in scientific quarters is that the prospect of investigations and the types of charges used may keep high-caliber experts from taking Government posts in the future.

The Central Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include two recent editorials from the Sacramento Bee discussing developments in California before a subcommittee of the State assembly charged with the responsibility of investigating the desirability and the feasibility of State purchase of the Central Valley project. During recent months, a well-organized campaign has been launched in California aimed at promoting State purchase and at creating the illusion that the citizens of California back such a proposal.

These editorials clearly show that the testimony before the State assembly committee, from the water users themselves, proves that those water users do not want State purchase. They have confidence in the ability of the Bureau of Reclamation to operate the project in a manner satisfactory to them and in a manner which adequately protects the interests of the growers who are dependent on CVP water in the continued production of crops. No advantage can accrue to the water users of California through State purchase not already held by the group.

The project which the people of California own as Federal taxpayers cannot produce an additional acre-foot of water nor a single new kilowatt of power under operation by the State, while, on the other hand, the State, in extending its credit to acquire the project, seriously hampers its own ability to undertake development of additional supplies of water which are vitally needed in California.

I have always opposed the idea of State purchase because of these facts. I hope that responsible State officials and the new officials of the Federal Government in the Department of Interior will carefully study the testimony before the California Assembly's subcommittee and recognize the fact that the water users themselves are not now nor have they ever been in the position of pressuring for State acquisition. They recognize that State acquisition would, in all probability, result in a slowdown in developing additional storage and some of the distribution works so vital to the continued growth of my State.

The editorials follow:

[From the Sacramento Bee of January 18, 1954]

THOSE WHO KNOW BEST PUT RECORD STRAIGHT ON CVP

Let well enough alone.

The people of California got this good advice from competent observers Friday at an assembly subcommittee hearing in Visalia on proposals that the State take over the Central Valley project.

Those who have the greatest stake in the future of the CVP—the water users—and their spokesmen made it unmistakably clear they desire neither State purchase nor a State operational setup.

In their considered opinion, and in the emphatic words of one hearing witness, California just cannot afford to purchase and complete the CVP.

Good economic sense, in short, counsels strongly against the State taking the risk financially or disregarding the danger which elimination of the Federal Government from the CVP picture would involve.

The onesided weight of the testimony at this public hearing is impressive.

Sound arguments against the State acquisition idea predominated. Witnesses declared without qualification that they fear the consequences should California attempt to go it alone with this vast undertaking.

There also is the question whether unity of purpose could be accomplished under State ownership. Would not regions not now in the CVP service area feel entitled to an equitable amount of water in repayment for their share of the purchase cost, the upkeep expense and the outlay for completion of all CVP units?

It is hard to imagine a State setup which would be accepted as equitable. Moreover, the Central Valley project is just what the name implies—a central valley project—intended to contribute directly to the welfare of this area and indirectly to the national economy.

Far better arguments than the proponents of the purchase plan ever have advanced are going to have to be put on the record if they expect to sell Californians on the idea.

The evidence that they will be unable to do so accumulates, backed by facts and figures such as were presented in testimony at the Visalia hearing.

The session was described by Assemblyman Francis C. Lindsay of Placer County, chairman of the assembly committee on conservation, planning, and public works as "the first attempt on the part of the legislature to hear from those who now use or desire to use the products of the project."

They were heard from.

In fact the record of the hearing is so overwhelmingly opposed to State purchase that even the advocates of the plan should temper their insistence on California acquiring the CVP.

The farmers in this area have said their piece. It will be difficult to rebut.

[From the Sacramento Bee of January 19, 1954]

WHO ARE THOSE WHO WANT STATE PURCHASE OF CVP?

Testimony before a State assembly subcommittee in Visalia last week provided proof abundant that the farmers who are using water from the Central Valley project are overwhelmingly opposed to State purchase of the federally built and operated CVP.

From where then is the impetus coming for this deal?

Assemblyman Stanford C. Shaw, of San Bernardino County, asked the question of practically every water user witness but got his answer from the only one who unequivocally favors State purchase—W. H. Harrison, of Delano, chairman of the statewide committee for California ownership of the CVP.

Harrison told the committee his group is made up of 36 persons, 6 representatives each from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the State chamber of commerce, the Irrigation Districts Association of California, the Agricultural Council of California, the Central Valleys Flood Control Association, and the State farm bureau federation.

And for whom are these organization representatives speaking? Certainly, if the assembly committee testimony is the criterion it appears to be, not for the grassroots farmers and water users of the central valleys.

The assembly subcommittee has done much in one sense to clarify the air with respect to sentiments for State purchase, but at the same time it has raised many corollary questions.

It has shown the customers of CVP, those who should be given the greatest consideration, are well satisfied with Federal operations of the CVP and fear State control would work adversely to their interests.

They also are apprehensive that State ownership and operation would jeopardize necessary expansion of the project.

These are important and apparently well-founded fears.

Who, then, are behind this State-ownership agitation.

What are the real reasons why certain interests are so anxious to remove from the California scene the Federal Government, with its restrictive laws regarding water and power sales from the project?

Who are they, indeed?

Perhaps the State assembly subcommittee, now that it has got the answer to the question whether the water users want State ownership, well could conduct another series of hearings to try to find out the why and the wherefore of the well-organized and well-ballyhooed movement for State purchase.

That, too, would prove enlightening, and highly interesting.

Excise Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following letter sets out the thoughts of the Lake County (Ind.) Jewelers Association regarding the excise tax which is greatly curtailing the sale of a number of articles of necessity handled by jewelers and other business institutions.

The information set out therein is very valuable in revealing the facts concerning the handicap which this tax imposes:

JANUARY 13, 1954.

The Honorable RAY J. MADDEN,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MADDEN: To cover the 15 percent manufacturers' tax, the Sheaffer Pen Co. is contemplating the authorization of a dealer mark-up, which, of course, in everyday language, means an increase in price for the consumer.

The Sheaffer plan falls into the pattern of a trend in the jewelry business. Unless the manufacturers' and excise taxes are removed this year, we shall be compelled to reprice our merchandise upward at a time of weakening economy, rising unemployment, and falling income.

Congress was prepared to withdraw the 20 percent excise tax before the Korean war, but, of course, that emergency lent new emphasis to the arguments for their continuation. For that matter, the enactment of the tax in 1941 and its imposition on jewelry was dictated by the understandable determination to conserve war-needed materials, rather than by considerations of revenue.

Jewelers, as other patriotic Americans, support the United States Government in its efforts to honor domestic and international obligations. We do not begrudge a cent of the tax money we pay for the economic well-being of the American people, and for the maintenance of peace in the world. Nor do we ask for concessions not allowed to other industries, trades or professions.

Both wars are now over. So, too, apparently, are the free-spending days of post-war reconstruction and intense defense and foreign spending. At the very least, were we to assume an optimistic attitude, we would be compelled to conclude that the period of easy-selling has become a part of the past and that it is the customer who must be now courted and lured into the market place. A more pessimistic, and, perhaps more realistic, analysis suggests the beginnings of economic deterioration, which, I believe, we should try to arrest.

Items of luxury are no less vital to a sound economy than articles of necessity. Men who make and sell watches, silverware, rings, cigarette lighters, clocks, pens, pencils and pocketbooks work at their trade and business in order to buy their families bread, milk, and potatoes.

A worker at Elgin loses a day's work with every watch that is not sold. A silversmith in Providence will be compelled to give his children a little less food because his Government keeps the price of silverware up and thus keeps it beyond the means of those who would buy it. And, in Attleboro, Mass., home of the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, fewer youngsters will go from high school to college because the factories of that city are chilled into inactivity by a prohibitive wartime tax imposed to expedite victory in a war now ended victoriously for 8½ years.

I know, of course, that the world in general and this country in particular are beset with dangers of communistic aggression. I know that this country must remain strong and that taxes are needed to keep our defenses at their maximum effectiveness.

Yet, I am gravely impressed by the possibility that a recession, however moderate, would prove no less disastrous to the national welfare than reduced defensive preparations. The effect of an American economic decline upon the nations of the free world whose economies are geared to ours could conceivably result in high advantages for Malenkov and company. And, in any economic "slide," the jewelry business, gasping under the tremendous burden of a 20 percent excise and a 15 percent manufacturers' tax, would find itself in ruins long before businesses, free of this load, would be even aware of changed conditions.

An excise tax, supplemented, of course, by the formidable competition of television, succeeded in the virtual destruction of what was once America's third largest industry—motion pictures. In very short order the weight of this wearisome tax will break the back of the jewelry business also, leaving the American economy the poorer by billions in income.

We ask you to save us. You can keep our businesses and factories open by voting to terminate the 15 percent manufacturers' excise tax as soon as possible in 1954, and, at the same time, by removing the 20 percent war tax from other wares sold in jewelry stores. The amount to be surrendered by the Government in these excise taxes would be but a small part of the ultimate loss of revenue that would follow the collapse of our industry.

Sincerely,

R. W. JACKSON,
Chairman, Vigilance Committee,
Lake County Jewelers Association.

The Role of the Catholic in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a fine address given by the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States, before the Saint Paul Guild in New York City on January 11, 1954.

The address follows:

I have been asked to speak to you on the role of the Catholic in politics. I am before you because I know something of politics, having spent much of my adult life in politics. Of course, I stand before you as a Catholic. I regard my religious faith as my greatest blessing. I cherish a fierce love for my parents and family and, among other blessings, I have warm affection for my political party.

Let me make it clear that I do not stand before you as an orator, or as a philosopher. I have ever envied those who can sway the minds of men by the combined magic of the dramatic marshalling of arguments and limpid accents. I can only give you the facts as I see them. I am certainly not here as a man of special learning, because my education stopped far short of my desires. Yet, I like to think I know something of my fellowmen.

In my youth I sought the company of my elders to learn the ways of life. In my manhood I was fortunate in having been part of the tremendous drama of my time. I was privileged not only to play a role, but to meet and know most of the great figures of our time. But there is no snobbery in man's greatest study, which is man. We can learn as readily from the humblest of our fellows as from the most respected among us.

My times have been eventful indeed. They have known the twilight of kings in World War I and the twilight of the dictators in World War II. Kings lost their thrones by establishing hell on earth in war. They perished because they treated politics and morality as things apart. In World War II the days of two of the most powerful dictators ended shamefully because they attempted to put politics above morality. Even now we are confronted with the grim terror of another and even more awful conflict. Let us hope that the terrible totalitarianism which raises this threat may be vanquished from within without resort to a third world struggle.

At the moment, the east and west are locked in a mighty conflict. We know we are armed with right because we are concerned with the dignity of man. Yet, because of our concern we must not take the role of aggressor even for the right. A world system based upon any one country's idea of freedom stifles freedom by denying others the choice which is essential to freedom.

Politics is the science and ethics of government. The science deals with the administration, organization, and regulation of political entities from the town meeting to the state in both internal and external affairs. In its best sense political ethics are as rigid as the moral code. The same ethics, it may be noted, apply alike to Catholics and non-Catholics. There is no wavering on the line of morality. In its worse sense political ethics are the artful and expeditious management of political affairs for personal or party advantage.

It must be recognized that politics and morality are one and indivisible. Merit and good works are the end of man and they are the end of politics. Power to do good is the true and lawful end of political aspiration. This power to do good is not to be confused with political zeal, which can be good but which is often mistaken. Politics should bring man ordered progress toward general convenience and usefulness.

In following politics as a career man adopts the most dangerous as well as the most noble wordly career. It is noble because the power to do good is noble. It is dangerous because the practice of politics is beset by hazards, temptations, and delusions by which man may well lose his immortal

soul. This is of gravest concern to any man. It is of special concern to Catholics.

I have no intention of turning my attention to a public examination of my own political conscience or to a dissection of the weaknesses of my fellowman. Let it suffice to say that as Catholics we should be most meticulous in observing the code of our religion in our public conduct, most especially we should not treat politics and morality differently because once we attempt to differentiate we lose understanding and honor.

Political power is a terrible force. Wisely and judiciously handled it can do untold good. Abuse of power corrupts and destroys. By the uses of political power man can lead his fellows out of the mire of dejection into the light of freedom. And by the same uses, if unbridled, he can lead his fellowmen from the light of freedom into the darkness of slavery.

I say to you, seek power but love liberty. In the search Catholics must not only avoid the evils of power but any suspicion of the evils. Because we are a minority, we are in a sense marked men. In our ideal, which we share with non-Catholics, our Government should rest upon Christian ideals of love and the brotherhood of man. This does not mean that we must all be perfect before we can have a truly free government. Man can be free if he only has the wisdom to understand himself. We can even be selfish and promote free government by allowing self-interests to balance one another. But we cannot be vicious in self-interest even though we persuade others that we are doing so merely to advance the common good. The truth is we are trying to justify absolute irresistible power for its own sake.

We may recognize that freedom must give way to power in time of great internal or external danger. Revolution or war must find the government clothed with powers sufficient to muster the resources of the country for its own protection. Once the danger is passed these powers should be returned to the people where they belong. They should not be retained. Power feeds voraciously upon itself, growing ever hungrier until at length it imprisons reason in self-interest and destroys the capacity of judgment to the great danger of the people.

Abuse of power is the root of all political evil for those who govern as well as for the governed. Abuse of power encourages corruption, breeds delays, fosters incivility, and makes for insincerity. Unhappily, Catholics in power have been as prone to abuse their trust, if not more so than their non-Catholic brethren. We cannot evade facts. We should not bury our heads to the truth after the manner of the ostrich hiding in the sand.

In recent scandals involving men in public life the identification of Catholics among the betrayers of trust came so often as to bring us a heavy sense of shame. By no means does this mean that Catholics are not to be trusted in government, even though as a people we are prone to place conduct of our Government in any hands. We are careless of into whose hands we place our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, when we are most careful and exacting in entrusting our watches for repair, demanding qualification and experience.

We would be something less than honest if we did not recognize that many of the most notorious political machines in America have been built by Catholics and operated by Catholics. These machines did much good. No one can deny this. They fulfilled a need for expression of perhaps submerged interests in the community, interests which power of wealth may have sought to trample. Nonetheless, the ends, no matter how commendable the machine leaders, too often did not sanction the means by which power was won or the means by which power was returned.

Political aspiring is entirely commendable, no one can quarrel with ambition no matter how lofty. The way to even modest political heights is long and laborious. Power in politics is not a license to do good and evil. Its only justifiable end is good and it can be truly successful only when it shuns evil.

Machines tend to grow arrogant and contemptuous of the rights of those outside their orbit. This is true whether machines are entrenched or lately come to power as the result of a reform wave. They resort to force or threats. There is no place in their thinking for those who oppose the machine. Too often the philosophy of the machine is what is good for the machine is good for the people, which is another way of maintaining the end justified the means.

In time, machines tend to become the creatures of one man or at best a clique of men. Too often the leader regards himself as an uncrowned king and refuses to surrender power even when faculties are impaired by the relentless course of time. They become capricious in their distribution of favors and scornful of interests not identified with the machine. They become exacting in their demand of loyalty, so much so as to confuse personal loyalty with true political ethics. We have known men returned to power even after having betrayed their trusts.

Corruption is the most familiar of the evils of the abuse of power. Man will ever be tempted by easy money even if he has to steal it. From early days some men have looked at bribes as the proper reward of public office. Some regard fees they collect as their own funds. In their enthusiasm to win office, men frequently spend far more than they can hope to take home. They turn to making up the difference and a little bit more by demanding or accepting returns for favors.

In all fairness it must be noted that many men see so little wrong in such conduct that they do not try very hard to cover up their operations. As a result such cases are frequently easy to develop in court. Many men in public office who are entirely reputable in their business dealings are most careless in their official conduct. Too often, especially among Catholics, men in public office feel that there is one code of conduct for their private lives and an entirely different code for their public lives. One cannot be a good Catholic on Sunday and a bad Catholic during the week.

Procrastination is a particular evil of political power. It is easy to delay doing a public good, especially in a nonelection year. It is easy to forget political promises until the next election. It is easy to put off doing what is right when courageous action might cost votes. It is easy to keep feeding on power and to forget the public good.

Incivility is no less frequent a fault. We have all known men to grow pompous and arrogant in power. I am sorry to say there have been and are many Catholics among those who are brusk, rude, and even contemptuous in dealing with those who come before them. Such men come to regard themselves as masters of the people rather than as servants of the people. It is perhaps too much to ask that every man in public life be free and easy of access. Many public men are harassed by the press of their duties. It is proper even that a public man be brusk in private and resentful of any invasion of his privacy, but when he assumes his public functions he must become another man, fair, patient, understanding, and above all, just.

Insincerity is the last of the mortal sins of abuse of power. Many espouse causes not because they believe them to be good but solely as the road to power. Many bury convictions to retain power. Some seek temporary power in order to reap financial reward by joining with those they opposed and even persecuted while in public service. Others pretend to be friends of the poor and needy, but have only been interested in heaping power upon power.

All of these evils and a host of lesser ones can be avoided by those who scrupulously preserve the single standard of morality for public office against the double standard of one code of ethics for private life and another for public life. The ends of politics should not be personal advancement and self exaltation. The means should not be logrolling, back scratching, and favors for favors received.

Politics should be directed toward bringing security and prosperity for a people. In politics the majority rules, but does not dictate. Not everything a majority does is right any more than anything a leader might do would be right of itself. It is entirely possible, to give a far-fetched example, that a majority of one might decree a return to slavery, but that would not make slavery right.

Fortunately for us, I think, we have a two-party Government. Each party is made up of various groups. Some of these have interests which sharply conflict and may be difficult to reconcile. Yet each of these interests has a voice in making and executing laws through the party. Much of what is done is achieved by compromise among the interests, which is good. There should be no compromise with principle, but there can be recognition of those who are honestly and sincerely in the opposition.

Under our system both parties must recognize and allow for the interests of farmers, labor, financiers, and industrialists, as well as for racial and religious groups. I would be less than honest if I did not think that the Democratic Party offers the most effective programs for security and welfare. Yet, I would not do away with the opposition party, nor would I see any fragmentation of the party system such as that which has brought confusion to many European nations.

Security and prosperity have been promised by dictators and are still being promised by the most powerful dictatorship of our time. In Soviet Russia the security of prison is being offered to those who dare to question the accomplishment of any of the various 5-year plans. This is the road of fear. Almost a 100 years ago we gave us security by force, the security of slavery which, while for the most part benevolent, was purchased at the price of freedom.

The Socialists promise the same ends of security and prosperity. They madly throw away money and avidly confiscate private property, seemingly unmindful of the fact that the three greatest experiments in socialism ended in dictatorship in Russia, Germany, and Italy. They would have us believe that it was the fault of men rather than the fault of a system which is long on materialism and short on faith.

The people must guard their liberties most jealously. If men go wrong in public office part of the responsibility is ours in not being more vigilant against concentration of political power into the hands of a few. It is our good fortune to be part of a nation which has given its citizens a greater degree of freedom than has been enjoyed in any other nation at any time in the history of the world. It is our responsibility to keep this torch of liberty lit in a dark world. Millions in bondage must be heartened to know that this great candle gives light in darkness.

We must not despair because a few men have gone wrong from time to time. It is sad that some of these have besmirched our code by their conduct but the fact that they did does not bring disrepute upon the gentle

code of the most revered among men any more than it should bring disrepute on the many men who have been devout and humble in the exercise of power.

I have known men, Catholic men, who have yielded to temptation in public office. I wish that any person so tempted and so beset by insatiable ambition could have seen, as I have done, these poor, miserable, shattered men. I have seen them shed bitter tears of remorse, of regret, and of repentance. I have seen them stunned by the realization of the weight of their disgrace, not so much on themselves as on the ones they loved—their parents, their families, and their friends. And I have seen them numbed by the realization that they had seen the value of morality too late. For them disgrace was forever.

It is a frightening fate to comtemplate. The judgment of history and the judgment of men are alike, unyielding for the violator of morality in politics. It is of utmost importance that men in public life, especially Catholics, exercise power most judiciously for the common good. They must not only shun temptation but avoid the suspicion of temptation. There is no greater crowning jewel in public men than true virtue. Virtue in politics can bring eternal fame, but it always gives the reward of a clear conscience and a deep sense of accomplishment.

Leadership is a precious and favored gift. We cannot al aspire to it in politics. It is not essential that we have it in the heroic mold of a Washington, a Jefferson, a Jackson, a Calhoun, a Lincoln, or a Cleveland. Yet, we can all be politicians. They truly serve who do no more than cast their votes. It is important that we see to it that we are jealous in doling out power and that we are exacting in our demands on those in power, so that they will not fail us.

It seems to me that so long as we maintain intellectual honesty by measuring our own interests against the rights of others we perform an important political role. We will serve by demonstrating faith in our country by going to the polls to tell our political leaders what we think of them and their programs. In that way we exercise a vital role in maintaining our freedom and working to advance our own security and well-being.

For most of us this will be the sum total of our political activity. That is good in itself, but it is not enough for all. The great and crying need of our country is for more good men and good women—especially young men and young women—to make at least part-time careers of politics. In the earlier days in our country, it was a common feeling that men of families of wealth and position owed some portion of their lives to public service. This feeling brought generations of public service from various families. We are thankful that such traditions of service still continue among us.

Such service is to be encouraged not only among persons of position and wealth but among families at all levels in the social structure. It is particularly important among young people who have a deep and abiding faith in the teachings of the Catholic Church.

My generation is passing. Maybe we did not handle our problems too well. Maybe we were too tolerant of political transgressors among us. That could be. If so, as a member of an older generation, I would be most remiss if I failed to appeal to young people to take up politics so that the world may go on to its rendezvous with moral destiny.

We must not shrug off our responsibility by washing our hands of politics as a dirty business. Politics is not a dirty business unless we allow it to become so. It is rather a most serious business which has need of the most highminded and the most generous hearted among us.

Politics should be a joyous, dedicated companionship toward advancement of man on earth, just as religion is a glorious companionship toward bringing final, happy fulfillment in eternity. Moral strength must arm the political leaders of the future if we are to keep the country free and by example set the world free.

It is our good fortune that we had among us many men and women in politics who were motivated in their public lives by not only good political considerations but by highest moral principles. To these we owe our survival amid varying difficulties, misfortunes, and calamities. We are beset by fears and doubts and difficulties of highest magnitute, although if we will but look back in history we will find that every generation or every country was threatened by disaster. Some generations met the challenge and other succumbed. If we look closely enough we find that progress was ever forward although man at time seemed to fall back.

We today should take heart for the future. It is for our leaders today and the many noble young people we will recruit for political careers to bring us greater and more rewarding service. We must not despair. Let us dedicate ourselves for as long as our way goes here below to seeking the best among us—mentally and morally—as leaders. Let us give of our faith to win through faith to ideals of faith that is our final heritage as freemen.

Independent Merchants Interested in Protecting Robinson-Patman Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith a copy of a letter I have just received from L. J. Salter, of North Rose, N. Y., which is self-explanatory. I am also inserting a copy of a letter that he has written to a Member of Congress concerning the Robinson-Patman Act and freight absorption.

SALTER CANNING CO., INC.,
North Rose, N. Y., January 18, 1954.
Representative WRIGHT PATMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: I enclose copy of a letter I have addressed to the Committee on the Judiciary, re Chairman Howrey of the Federal Trade Commission versus the Capehart amendments and freight absorption.

We are one of the oldest family members of the National Canners Association—over 40 years—but inasmuch as it has refrained from polling its members on the amendments, which we believe would reveal strong opposition to them, and since NCA's counsel has leaned in favor of them, we recently canceled our membership.

We are subscribers to the Dun & Bradstreet service and some time ago I had discovered from its data that the so-called "roaring twenties" was the blackest time in our economic history (excepting a few years around the Civil War, data on which is not accurate). You may be interested in the attached clipping from the New York Times of January 4, 1954. I have marked the period between two red lines. From more recent data furnished by Dun & Bradstreet there is strong evidence that our healthy economy traces back to the Robinson-Patman Act.

Sincerely yours,

L. J. SALTER.

The letter written to a Member of Congress is as follows:

JANUARY 18, 1954.

DEAR SIR: Last June Chairman Edward F. Howrey, of the Federal Trade Commission, addressed a letter to you expressing his desirability of the Capehart over the Kefauver amendments to the Robinson-Patman Act. This letter was reprinted in the information letter of the National Canners Association, and I have it before me.

This letter contains a great deal of folklore and economic misguidance, such as is found in the opinions of those who have never actually run a competitive business. Ours is one of the most competitive businesses in the Nation, so when I talk of competition I trust you will realize I know of what I talk.

I do not believe I am divulging any secrets when I say that the Sherman, the Clayton, and the Robinson-Patman Acts were adopted to help protect small business; and in so helping small business, they necessarily curbed and thereby hurt big business. Big business has always been "on trial" in this country and now that it has corraled the Nation's wealth in a few large cities, it has exposed our economic system to atomic bombing like a sitting duck. Yet in certain quarters the folklore exists that bigness means efficiency, which was disproven years ago in the investigations of the TNEC under O'Mahoney. My father-in-law was with Edison Electric, then the General Electric, for 42 years, and his tales of inefficiency would have filled a book, and in this connection I can recommend T. K. Quinn's Giant Business: Threat to Democracy, the author himself being next to Gerard Swope for the presidency of GE. Mr. Quinn refused the presidency, also decided to quit as he was fed up with the monstrosity. What I wish to point out is that the present Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission argues, basically, that the Robinson-Patman Act curbs (hurts) big business by interfering with its pricing system. At no point does Mr. Howrey suggest that the act interferes with the pricing system of small business.

Mr. Howrey's position is further proven where he then goes on in his letter to defend freight absorption. Freight absorption is a technique applied by Big Business only. The steel interests started it long ago in what was then known as Pittsburgh-plus. The step was to prevent the building of steel mills further West—in other words, a curb to competition. This has proven highly injurious to those living west of the Mississippi, also to those in the Southwest. We run into freight absorption in the buying of our corrugated cases. Salesmen from several boxmakers call on us, and 2 or 3 years ago I asked of each salesman that he leave his card with us, with the box prices recorded on its back. The prices were all identical, delivered our plant. I thereupon mailed the cards to a Senator and asked him which boxmaker we should buy from, from the competitive angle. Frankly, there was no choice, and pricewise, from our position as buyer, there was no competition. We had to take it or leave it, and, in fact, we were tempted to toss the cards in the air and buy our boxes from that concern whose card hit the floor first. The bad aspect of this type of freight absorption is that our nearest boxmaker is only 50 miles away, and we are cocksure that the only reason it desires to sell to Salter is so that Salter will have paid a fair portion of the freight to the boxmaker's most distant customer in the Mid-

west, that customer being one of Salter's keenest competitors in the canned-foods line. We refuse to pay the freight on our competitor's corrugated boxes and so purchase our supply from a small boxmaker who's trying to get a toehold in our so-called free-enterprise system. This small boxmaker sells also at the same delivered prices, as he is scared to underprice the big boys. Such is the wisdom and benefits to our society of freight absorption.

If I were to debate this issue with Mr. Howrey I would propose this: He no doubt goes into New York from Washington, the distance being about a third of my distance from New York. His carfare is about a third of my carfare. I would suggest that this carfare be evened up so that his short trip costs $10, say, and my long trip costs $10. The defense would be that it thereby, in his own argument, gives the railroads a chance to price all passengers alike and so promote rail travel. Of course our mail is carried on a uniform rate and it is definitely socialistic. I am of the opinion Mr. Howrey would object to the uniform 10-buck passage on grounds that it was not only socialistic but that it penalized him personally, in that he was paying for a portion of my fare. Well, in his defense of freight absorption Mr. Howrey has definitely suggested a form of socialism for big business and I'd delight in seeing him argue around this point.

Industries have always built in locations that give them competitive advantages; that's the history of our economic system. Mr. Howrey would suggest that such is unfair. The truth is that freight absorption actually keeps potential competitors from building at distant points as revealed in the history of the steel mills. The monopoly overprices its customers at home so as to discourage new enterprise at distant points.

It seems to me that Mr. Howrey is quite naive in his discussion of competition. It looks like something out of the books or the schools, rather than out of experience.

Very truly yours,

SALTER CANNING CO.,
L. J. SALTER,
President.

World Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an article written by Mr. Heinz W. Rollman, industrialist from Waynesville, N. C. Mr. Rollman is president of Wellco Shoe Corp. in that town, which employs in excess of 350 people, and manufactures every day 6,000 pairs of shoes. Mr. Rollman is also president of Ro-Search, Inc., of Waynesville, N. C.

Mr. Rollman has been working on a plan to raise the standard of living all over the world. His plan is called world construction, and he has written a book which is entitled "My Plan for World Construction." The following contains his ideas for making the world a better place in which to live:

World construction seeks to put into everyday practice the ethical, moral, and spiritual concepts that are universally accepted by all creeds to be the proper and decent relationship of man to his fellowman. Not just with kind thoughts and noble words and sentiments, but with practical effort. World construction believes that any nation, regardless of its climate, soil, or geographic features can produce for its inhabitants and progress in the same manner that this country of ours has produced and progressed. All that the inhabitants of less prosperous lands need is a practical way to acquire the know-how that has enabled Americans to build a paradise out of the wilderness.

There are several claims which world construction seeks to accomplish through this effort. The first, and most pressing need, is to stop the spread and growth of communism among the underprivileged by proving with action, not just vague promises, that America stands ready to help them lift themselves out of their misery and poverty. Secondly, we would be insuring our own continued prosperity by creating purchasing power abroad. Our governmental records and statistics show that the richer a nation is, the better customer it can be. We need not fear any undue competition from manufacturers abroad resulting from their expanded industrial capacity. Lower wages abroad will become a thing of the past as living standards rise in those countries. The worker abroad will insist on, and will receive, wages approximating our own as these foreign economies increase. Besides, we will always be several steps ahead of the rest of the world in productive skills and capacity. Thirdly, and certainly of equal, if not prime, importance, we would be doing our duty to the Creator by actually living according to the Golden Rule as people are instructed to do, not only in the Christian religion, but according to the teachings of every civilized religion in the world—"do unto others."

In the comparatively short span of 300 years, the American people have made use of the natural resources available in our land, in our water and from the air, to an extent unequaled in the history of civilized man. The natural resources within the geographical limits of the United States are no richer than they are elsewhere in the world; in fact, many other lands are far richer in raw materials and natural resources. It was a combination of initiative, energy, cooperation, a will to do, and the freedom to do it, that made this progress possible.

We are now spending billions of dollars and thousands of lives each year to set up a bulwark of military strength against the spread of communism. World construction believes that a continued program of military preparedness is essential to protect our way of life, but only because we have not tried any other positive way. If war remains the only instrument and policy of defending freedom and democracy, there will be precious little left to defend after another great war has started.

World construction believes that the only way to end war as an international instrument of settling ideological or political differences, is to eliminate the causes of war. Since the beginning of time, want has been the prime cause of war. The slogans have differed, the banners have differed, the precipitating events have differed. But the common people in all lands and nations that have been sold on the desirability of starting a war have all been convinced that it was the only way they would ever gain certain material advantages.

The American people have never sought an aggressive war because they have always known that there was only one sound, sensible way to improve their own standards of living: By using their ingenuity to create newer and better things, by working conscientiously, and by maintaining an atmosphere that is conducive to progress.

Fortunately, our pioneering forefathers left behind them the outworn and restricting traditions, superstitions, and initiative-stifling complacency that gripped the societies and cultures from which they came. Naturally, it would not be feasible, nor practical, to transplant the entire world's populations to virgin lands to start afresh as our forefathers had done. But we can assist the peoples in all lands to overcome their own inertia. This has been proven in a very small way in isolated parts of the world. But it will take a concerted effort in all parts of the world to achieve any worthwhile results.

In order to accomplish such a vast program of teaching our know-how to populations all over the world, the services of approximately 3 million persons will be required. These 3 million would constitute a peace army who would go abroad, not with hate and guns, but with love and respect for our fellow human beings and bring their civilian skills with them. Each teaching member of the peace army will not be required to teach more than an average of 200 persons during his or her 3-year period of service with the peace army. Teaching would be conducted with small groups or even individuals. Subjects to be taught would not be limited to industrial techniques or agricultural techniques. The program, in order to create a sound basis for spiritual and political growth and maturity of the recipient countries, would have to encompass every phase of life and activity that should be a part of a democratic way of life. In this manner we could teach 600 million persons to live and produce the way we do here within a very short period. The members of the peace army will teach subjects which they are qualified to teach on the basis of their regular civilian skills and occupations.

To quote from the book My Plan For World Construction, "Not only must we send overseas experts in banking to teach people how to bank, grocery clerks who know how to run super-markets, engineers who know how to build steel mills, but it is equally important to send people overseas who know how to milk cows, how to put on diapers, and how to run a democratic government."

It would also be advisable to train and indoctrinate 5 million foreign students each year, in this country, to teach them with the necessary skills that they will eventually teach others in their own lands.

Creating such a peace army would not constitute any overbuilding strain on our national economy. Since all efforts will be productive, instead of destructive, the venture will be profitable to all concerned. The nations benefiting from this vast training program will be able to afford and will be willing to bear most of the costs involved. Just as today one foreign business enterprise profits from its technical assistance agreements with some American business firm, it also pays for the costs involved in exchanging the technical know-how out of the profits it derives from the exchange. On a larger scale, nations will increase their gross national product, and out of that increase be able to pay for the technical assistance received.

One very valuable aspect of the program is that it could provide gainful employment for hundreds of thousands of persons who have been arbitrarily retired because of age or other factors that have reduced their employability in industry. Since the main object of the peace army will be to teach, not to perform the actual work, an active mind and a wealth of practical experience will be of more value than mere youthful strength.

Our present working population is 65 million. It would not lower our ability to maintain our present standard of living if even a million persons were drafted from this number of actively employed to serve with the Peace Army. An additional 20 minutes

per day added to the present 8 hour day of our working population would make up for the loss in manpower. It would certainly be a greater drain on the working force required to produce our consumer goods and services if we had to draft 10 or 15 million persons into a fighting army instead of a peace army.

When the populations abroad come into daily contact with typical Americans who are working with them on a basis of mutual friendship and respect, the Kremlin will find it very difficult to poison the minds of those peoples with its lies about America and its aims.

A vital part of the program will be an educational indoctrination of the members of the peace army regarding the customs and cultures of the people among whom they will work. Such understanding will be necessary to avoid unnecessary frictions that can arise when even the best-intentioned persons unwittingly act contrary to the established customs of an alien culture. Our present record of Americans sometimes needlessly offending the sensibilities of the people they are trying to assist abroad has seriously undermined our best efforts in our foreign relationships. Proper education and indoctrination can reduce such friction to a minimum.

World construction does not propose to foist our American habits, customs, or spiritual beliefs upon the peoples of other lands. However, we should be ready to assist those peoples in adopting those aspects of our way of life which they will find pleasant and desirable. If they wish to adopt our methods of running a democratic government, or of converting to our predominant religions, or to adopt our methods of economic free enterprise, or our enlightened principles of labor relations, we should be ready to show them how.

World construction also believes that it will be necessary for the vast majority of the American people to fully understand the aims and principles of such a program so that they can urge our Federal Government to enact the necessary legislation. The initial impetus for initiating such action will have to come from a popular movement among the American people; not as part of a partisan political platform, but a universal desire to do our duty as a nation.

In essence it will differ from all past policies of offering aid of technical assistance as the result of bartering negotiations among the diplomatic heads of governments, in that it will come from the hearts of the American people themselves and will be received and understood by the peoples abroad in just that spirit—deeds, not words.

In order to coordinate the activities and provide a central organization to formulate the policies to be recommended to our duly elected representatives, world construction has established an organization to provide facilities for people to get together to learn about world conditions and problems, to learn how to weigh the various issues involved, to determine just what legislation they wish Congress to enact, to act jointly in instructing their duly elected representatives regarding the will of the peope, and to be vigilant of the governmental agencies carrying out the program. The goal of world construction is 5 million well-informed members of voting age.

For unless the people themselves understand what is needed and take action to do something practical about the world situation, our Government can do little else but bungle along, hampered by the lack of understanding and the complacency of their constituents. Good intentions that are misguided by ignorance and bogged down by inaction resulting from complacency can never accomplish much real good.

Rules of Procedure for Congressional Investigations: Fort Monmouth Investigation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the second article in the series on security problems at the Signal Corps installations at Fort Monmouth, N. J., published by the New York Times on Tuesday, January 12, 1954, is appended hereto:

MONMOUTH EXPERT BARRED IN KEY JOB—ENGINEER'S CASE SHOWS HOW SECURITY POLICY AND VALUE OF CAREER MAN MAY CONFLICT—DISLOYALTY NOT CHARGED—COLEMAN DENIES SYMPATHY FOR REDS AT ANY TIME—LAUDED BY HIS ARMY SUPERIORS

(By Peter Kihss)

(This is the second of three articles on security problems at the Army Signal Corps' research center at Fort Monmouth.)

For 2 years an engineer—authoritatively called the spark plug of one of the most crucial postwar research projects—has been divorced from secret work at the Army Signal Corps center at Fort Monmouth, N. J. He had been for the previous 5 years a keyman in planning centralized information and control systems against attack by air.

The engineer's case, somewhat more spectacular than most, typifies a basic problem in the Nation's drive for security and against the threats of communism, a New York Times study of the much-headlined Monmouth troubles indicates.

The problem is the relative weight that should be given, on the one hand, to past associations and perhaps poor judgments, and, on the other hand, to actual and potential work in a Government career. Caught in the middle are the fates of individuals.

The engineer, Aaron H. Coleman, 35 years old, of Long Branch, N. J., is now fighting Army charges—filed last September 23, 21 months after his loss of clearance—seeking his dismissal, as a security risk, from the laboratories he first joined in March 1939.

The charges, leveled under President Eisenhower's security order of last April 27, center on his past associations and a mishandling of documents in 1946. As in other cases of suspended or declassified present Monmouth employees, there is no accusation of disloyalty or espionage.

Meanwhile, Mr. Coleman, who vehemently denies ever having had any Communist sympathies, also has become the only present Monmouth employee thus far called into a public hearing by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY and his permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigations.

The Wisconsin Republican has doubted Mr. Coleman's explanations to the point of threatening perjury charges, while denouncing Army superiors who not only accepted the explanations in the past but lauded and promoted the engineer.

Senator MCCARTHY further wants the Justice Department to consider the admittedly careless handling of classified documents in 1946—which cost Mr. Coleman a 2-week suspension—to see if it might come under the Espionage Act.

OFFICERS UPHOLD ENGINEER

Mr. Coleman has filed statements with the First Army's Security Hearing Board, in which high-ranking Army officers uphold him. One says his work on the highly classified system for centralized antiaircraft defense "was outstanding and he was recognized by all to be the spark plug of this project." Another says that in recent years he has become "among the most security-conscious" employees.

A declassified Army description of Mr. Coleman's job until January 1952, as $9,600-a-year Chief of the Systems Section at Evans Signal Laboratory, says he has been:

"* * * responsible for planning, organizing, directing, coordinating, and programing the work of a large organizational segment engaged in the research, development, design, and construction of large-scale antiaircraft systems for employment by the Army all over the world.

"The urgent need for the centralized direction of large numbers of various antiaircraft weapons, guided missiles, rockets, guns, countermeasures for defense against atomic bombing attacks has been repeatedly emphasized by Army field forces.

"This organizational segment is also engaged in the design and development of new computers, displays, tracers, and similar equipment required for completely integrated systems.

"The dollar value of the total internal and external effort on these systems is at approximately $32 million for fiscal years 1946 to 1953, inclusive."

ROSENBERG ASSOCIATIONS

The Army security risk charges against Mr. Coleman say he was a reported associate of Julius Rosenberg, executed atomic spy, and attended a meeting of the Young Communist League with him in approximately 1937. He is also accused of having admitted attending several meetings of the league while a student at City College and expressing approval of the theories of the league.

Mr. Coleman, represented by Richard P. Green, an Elizabeth, N. J., lawyer, has filed a sworn reply that his sole contact with Rosenberg occurred from 1936 to 1938. It was limited, he says, to City College classes, except that on Rosenberg's persistent urging, he did attend one meeting of the Young Communist League in the 1937 fall semester.

This first-hand contact and later Rosenberg explanations, Mr. Coleman asserts, confirmed my previous suspicion that the American Communists were highly undemocratic and controlled from Moscow. He swears he never took part in any other Communist activities, and is anti-Communist.

At the MCCARTHY public hearings, a New York businessman, Nathan Sussman, testified that he had known both Rosenberg and Mr. Coleman as fellow-members of the Young Communist League at City College.

Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel for the subcommittee, read testimony by Rosenberg, a Signal Corps inspector from 1940 to 1945, under questioning in his spy trial, that he had met Mr. Coleman subsequent to graduation * * * at Fort Monmouth when I was assigned there.

Mr. Coleman replied that Rosenberg told me that Mr. Sussman was a Communist, and said he had so informed the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But he insisted, despite threats of possible perjury prosecution, that he had never belonged to the league.

He denied ever seeing Rosenberg at Monmouth, and said he was in Panama from July to late November 1940, when Rosenberg might have been undergoing orientation at the post.

The documents charges against Mr. Coleman fall into two parts. One came in the MCCARTHY public hearings through Fred J. Kitty, an admitted member of the Young

Communist League at Cooper Union from 1938 to 1941.

Mr. Kitty worked at Evans under Mr. Coleman from 1942 until Mr. Coleman entered the marines as a 25-year-old volunteer in January 1944. Mr. Kitty testified that on Mr. Coleman's request through Jack Okun, a fellow Monmouth worker, he had mailed to Mr. Coleman classified Evans radar data in writing and sketches until September 1944.

Mr. Coleman's contention is that as a radar officer on Guadalcanal, he found marine radar was more primitive than equipment he had worked on at Evans. So he says he wrote back for material—admittedly without going through channels—to aid the combat effort.

The Army security-risk charges against Mr. Coleman cite reports that "in 1946 while you were employed at the Evans Signal Laboratory, 48 classified documents were found in your home, and that on two other occasions during 1946 you attempted to violate security regulations by removing papers or bringing papers into the Evans Signal Laboratory without proper authorization."

Mr. Coleman's sworn reply is that he knows nothing of the latter two occasions. But the first incident, he says, occurred September 27, 1946, because he had been "working overtime at home" in Bradley Beach, N. J.

Mr. Coleman submits statements showing 43 documents were involved. Thirteen were unclassified, including personal notes, and the rest were marked restricted, confidential, or secret. Only 8 were documents obtained in 1946, according to these statements; 6 he had received in the Marine Corps, and some of the others dated as far back as 1940.

Mr. Coleman contends he had proper authorization for every document removed from Evans, under either a blanket "white" pass, a specific "wiz" pass or a library pass. He says the reprimand was for failure to keep the documents in a safe with a three-combination lock and for neglecting to record declassification—since only two documents should actually have been rated confidential.

REPRIMANDED IN 1946

The formal October 21, 1946, reprimand called Mr. Coleman's failure to respect security regulations "especially reprehensible in view of your long and outstanding record of achievement in the research development of some of the most important radar sets used during World War II, in that such action on your part serves to set an example of security carelessness to other members of the organization."

Mr. Coleman's protest that he had followed a common practice won him a November 18, 1946, letter reaffirming the reprimand but adding that "the motives which led to your having had classified documents in your possession were highly praiseworthy."

In the public hearings, Senator McCarthy asserted that a man who roomed at Mr. Coleman's apartment for part of 1943 had been a Communist. The Senator urged that the Justice Department ponder whether leaving material at home, where it might be available to anyone with a key, might have been a violation which would be equivalent to turning it over to an enemy agent.

The Army charges that Morton Sobell, convicted in 1951 as a coconspirator in the Rosenberg spy ring, had listed Mr. Coleman in 1947 on an employment record as a reference known to him for 12 years.

Mr. Coleman's reply is that he knew Sobell as a fellow City College student from 1936 to 1938. In late 1946 or early 1947, he says, he found Sobell working at the General Electric Co. in Schenectady on classified projects. From 1947 to 1950, he says, he met Sobell as a Reeves Instrument Corp. worker on Signal Corps contracts in Manhattan.

THE SOBELL CHARGES

Mr. Coleman says he cannot recall whether Sobell asked his permission to use his name as a reference. But he concedes he answered a First Army security questionnaire, and had no derogatory information on Sobell at the time.

The Army also charges that Mr. Coleman associated with reputed Communist sympathizers including Fred Kitty and Joe Percoff, and that two relatives registered with the American Labor Party in New York between 1946 and 1948.

Mr. Coleman says he had not seen Mr. Kitty after 1948, and had no reason to suspect him before, while he only had infrequent 1943 business contacts with Mr. Percoff in his section. (Mr. Percoff refused to tell a McCarthy hearing if he had been a Communist.) Mr. Coleman asserts his relatives dropped ALP registration after he told them the party was Communist-dominated.

At the public hearings, Senator McCarthy went into 1950 Federal Bureau of Investigation interviews with Mr. Coleman after Rosenberg's arrest. Mr. Coleman said he signed a statement the first time that Rosenberg had told him he was a Communist, but admitted it was only on the second interview that he told how Rosenberg took him to the Young Communist League meeting.

Mr. Coleman contended that as early as 1943 checkups on his Marine Corps application showed that either Naval Intelligence or the FBI knew he had attended the meeting.

In his reply to the Army charges, Mr. Coleman includes statements showing him favoring selective service and the defense program in 1940 and the Korean war in 1950, as opinions opposed to the Communist line.

Rosenberg's trial comment about meeting Mr. Coleman at Monmouth was one of the items that led the McCarthy subcommittee last September to turn its attention to the Monmouth situation.

Mr. Cohn, subcommittee counsel, who was coprosecutor in the Rosenberg case, says a majority of persons linked to the Rosenberg ring during the trial were physically tied up with Monmouth. He lists Rosenberg himself, Joel Barr, Alfred Sarant, William Perl and Vivian Glassman as employees and Sobell as a visitor on contracts.

The inquiry, he says, has had four aims—to show Communist infiltration, actual past espionage, potential present espionage, and laxity in Army administration of security regulations. It was a question, he says, of how a pattern developed and what should be done about it.

Results of the Monmouth inquiry, due to be resumed later this month, should be appraised thus far in terms of what the subcommittee has learned about related Signal Corps contractors as well, Mr. Cohn says.

However, he says Communist infiltration at Monmouth itself has been shown not only by the presence of the Rosenberg group but by former Monmouth employees who in public hearings have invoked the fifth amendment to bar possibly self-incriminatory answers on Communist activity.

All were wartime employees who left before 1948. They include Marcel Ullmann, who was told by Senator McCarthy that you very obviously have been engaging in espionage work, and Albert Socol, who was told by the Senator that there was evidence that you indulged in espionage.

Others included Mrs. Eleanor Glassman Hutner, who refused to answer whether her sister Vivian Glassman had been a member of the Rosenberg spy ring at Monmouth, and Harry Grundfest, Louis Kaplan, and Mr. Percoff, who denied ever engaging in espionage.

Mrs. Sylvia Berke said she was no Communist while at Monmouth in 1942 and 1943 or since mid-September.

On alleged past espionage, the subcommittee offered an affidavit by David Greenglass, confessed Rosenberg coconspirator, now in Lewisburg (Pa.) Federal Penitentiary. Greenglass said that about 1947 Rosenberg had told him Barr, a Monmouth and later Sperry Gyroscope Co. employee, had informed him about a secret thinking machine for interceptor guided missiles.

Greenglass repeated his trial testimony that Rosenberg had said he stole the proximity fuse and gave it to the Russians while a Signal Corps inspector at the Emerson Radio & Phonograph Corp.

Senator McCarthy also has reported still closed-door testimony that an East German technician, who fled in 1951 from a laboratory in Pirna, heard Soviet scientists boast of data obtained from Evans. This man is said to have seen microfilms of Monmouth documents, and to have described Evans' apparatus manufactured in 1947, well after wartime lend-lease ceased.

The Army has denied that any classified Monmouth documents have disappeared. But it is the subcommittee's contention that documents could have been photostatted when taken temporarily off the premises.

WITNESS DECLINED TO REPLY

As to potential 1953 espionage, the McCarthy subcommittee in public hearings heard Mr. Ullmann refuse to say if he had been obtaining classified information from Monmouth employees as late as last September 15 and passing it on to Communist espionage agents.

Joseph Levitsky, a wartime Signal Corps employee, declined to say if since last February he had asked any persons working at Monmouth to commit espionage. Harry Hyman, a former defense worker and now an insurance man, declined to say if he had asked Monmouth employees last October to give him classified Signal Corps information.

Contending that the subcommittee's work has alerted security officers, Senator McCarthy has asserted that "it becomes more and more clear that, at least up until the first of this year, there apparently was practically no concern for the securing of our secrets."

The Senator also has forecast that perjury and contempt charges will remove some of the fifth-amendment witnesses from circulation.

Nevertheless, neither the subcommittee nor the Army has yet charged any present Monmouth employee with being a Communist now or an espionage agent now. The subcommittee's intimations on possible past or present espionage remain far from courtroom evidence.

The record is that the Army and the Eisenhower administration had already tightened security regulations and opened investigations under the President's April 27 Executive order before the McCarthy inquiry turned toward Monmouth last September.

Thus, Mr. Coleman's transfer from his key Evans job to writing nonclassified radar correspondence courses at the Signal School took place in January 1953. Declassifications in effect for other Monmouth employees—some of them never given any charges at all—date back in many cases for months, and reportedly in 2 other cases for 2 years.

Winthrop Zionist District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address I delivered at a public community function at the Winthrop Jewish Community Center, Winthrop, Mass., on Sunday, November 29, 1953, sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America, Winthrop district and the Hadassah women of this district:

Through the fog in Washington we begin to see the faint outlines of a new foreign policy regarding the Middle East begin to take shape.

It is hesitant, uncertain; changing from day to day.

First they cut off aid to Israel and then they gave it back.

What they will do tomorrow nobody knows and I won't attempt to catch up with this phantom.

The fog or smokescreen, for the clouded visibility may be caused by human interference, has its origin in one fact. The present administration seems to be of the opinion that the Democrats were too friendly toward Israel. As a member of that party which is in the minority—temporarily—I do not deny that charge. Moreover, I am proud of it because I believe that the case for Israel, apart from minor irregularities, stands on very solid ground. If the rest of the Middle East would only wake up and put freedom to work in the name of human and material progress, there would be no fear of Communist expansion in that area.

Earlier this month, the strong man of Arabia died from natural causes. He was reputed to be the richest man in the world. The pity is that he did not employ this fortune to build up the economy and the living standards of his people. He had the means to open up new horizons of opportunity for his backward nation—opportunities that would liberate tribesmen from the poverty, and feudalism that have yoked them for centuries.

The Arab world is jealous of Israel's accomplishments.

It fears that this example may become contagious, causing profound economic and social changes throughout the lands that serve as a bridge between Europe and Asia. When the Arab peoples realize that they have been kept in bondage by leaders who were only concerned with their personal wealth and princely privilege they will demand greater opportunities for themselves, seeing with their own eyes what the Jewish people are building through work, and initiative, and free faith in themselves, they will be challenged as human beings to rouse themselves from hopeless acceptance of their present lot in life.

The overlords of the Arab world stubbornly refuse to compromise. Jordan and Syria will not permit development of the Jordan River project and irrigation project proposed by the United States which could be of mutual benefit to all concerned. The United States and Mexico recently opened up such a joint project. New York State and Canada will soon begin work on a similar one.

Syria's protest to the U. N. that Israel's start on a hydroelectric and irrigation project constitutes "a threat to the peace" is far fetched and a roadblock in the way of any possible accord.

The Jordan is not a big river in comparison with others. It won't be able to power or irrigate any large area, but in that part of the world where water is so precious any such improvement is of tremendous value.

Along part of its course this historic river is the boundary between Israel and Syria, then between Israel and Jordan, finally flowing through Jordan into the Dead Sea.

Under a plan approved by the United States, Jordan would get more than half of the irrigation water, Syria would use a small quantity, and Israel would get what's left. Now Syria complains that Israel plans to divert water from the upper reaches of the river.

The Arab leaders don't want to cooperate with Israel on anything, even if it should benefit them.

"We of the Arab world," says the secretary of the eight-nation Arab League, "while also aware of the threat of communism to our way of life, are nevertheless more immediately and directly concerned about the threat of further Zionist aggression."

The Premier of Jordan unashamedly states that "this government will consider no scheme involving departure from its policy of no peace with Israel."

It cannot be that they are afraid of the small population of Israel who are trying to make their newly regained homeland self-sufficient.

It must be that they fear the progress being made by the young Republic in spite of discouraging odds.

Fear that this shining example of what can be done by self-help will expose the bankruptcy of their own leadership, and force reforms within their own nations which they do not wish to make.

We do not avoid the problem of the Arab refugees.

It can be solved, and when it is this issue which is also being used for political purposes will cease to be a point of conflict.

I believe that the United Nations should take a hand in this matter and by providing funds for resettlement eliminate this tension, that is, if the Arab leaders will accept help for their own people. At the moment there is some doubt about this. By keeping attention directed toward Israel as a supposed enemy of the Arab world they cover up their unwillingness or inability to lead their people along the road to freedom and prosperity.

Since the armistice agreement of 1949, the four borders of Israel have been as hot as the sands of the desert, with charges and countercharges of infiltration and border raids. Until the lines are drawn permanently by the Security Council of the United Nations, there will be unrest, and danger along these frontiers. The prospect is as uncertain as the truce in which we find ourselves involved on the other side of the Pacific. An armistice is one thing. A peace agreement that will stick is sometimes more difficult to arrange.

It should be plain by now that the uneasy situation in Palestine cannot be solved by the principals themselves. The U. N. must assume the initiative to outline permanent frontiers, to settle the refugee problem, to induce the Arabs to call off their economic boycott, to warn off sanctions in the event of any further aggression, and, as a constructive step toward reducing tensions, provide material help to stimulate the economies of all nations in the Middle East. Improvement in the standard of living is bound to relieve the pressure.

A man from another planet, looking at this world as a whole, would see this problem as part of a larger struggle. Such names as the United States, Russia—democracy, communism—might mean little to him. Apart from all the emotion and the propaganda, he would understand that each would be justified in setting up defenses against possible attack from the other.

Realistically, he would agree that the United States would have to have stable and dependable nations around the perimeter of the free world, where forward bases would be established to fend off aggression, and then retaliate.

Defense is an urgent and practical matter,
Upon it may hinge our survival.

If we insist that our allies should follow our leadership in every detail, or conform to our way of life in every respect, we might wind up without any allies.

I simply point to the presence of Spain and Yugoslavia in our plans for defense, to indicate the contradictions that arise.

A similar situation confronts us throughout the Middle East.

Egyptian pride and Egyptian nationalism must be reckoned with. If Britain should have to withdraw her troops from the Suez Canal Zone to remove friction in that area, there would be a dangerous gap in the defense of this region.

Israel and the Arab nations have the manpower for a combat force to fill the vacuum, but the rivalry between them makes cooperation unlikely for a while, and time is precious.

Therefore, western military men now consider Turkey and Iran as the key nations in any Mideast defense plan. Turkey is strong and reliable, but Iran is having domestic troubles.

My purpose in drawing this brief picture is to show how important it is for us to work for an Israeli-Arab peace.

Not by retreating into the past, for changes have come to Palestine that were inevitable, but by making both parties see that a little give-and-take will help both.

In this connection we should be encouraged by the report given to the President by Eric Johnston, our special envoy to the Middle East.

He stated that in spite of face-saving assertions that have gained widespread publicity, Israel and her Arab neighbors are studying "with an open mind" a United States-U. N. plan for unified development of the Jordan River Valley's water resources.

It could be that he is overoptimistic, or indulging in wishful thinking, but Mr. Johnston has the reputation of being a successful businessman, who has had some experience in bringing rebellious facts into harmonious adjustment.

Anyone familiar with American history recalls the bitter fight that went on for water rights between cattlemen and homesteaders when settlers first moved into the Western States. Echoes of those bloody feuds are heard in many of our moving pictures of today.

A solution was found to that problem. In fairness to both claimants, as I am sure that reason will finally prevail on the Jordan River question.

Johnston said he had "reason to believe" that the governments concerned—Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan—would conclude that the river development project represents "a sound and constructive approach to some of the most critical issues contributing to present tensions in the area."

This plan is linked to a scheme for resettling many of the 850,000 Palestinian Arabs who claim to be refugees from the 1949 Arab-Israel war.

Even Egypt, although not directly involved in the plan, indicated it might use its influence in the Arab league, to promote co-operation.

Mr. Johnston estimated that the plan might not be accepted before late next year.

If explosive incidents can be checked during that time, there is real hope that experi-

ence in working together, and sharing in the benefits of this development will eliminate much of the mistrust and antagonism that keeps this part of the Middle East in ferment.

The United States should make it clear that it wants a permanent peace settlement. Instead of shifting its policies to the confusion of itself, and all others, it must take the forthright stand that it will use all of its political and economic influence to help both sides come to an agreement.

Positive leadership in settling the refugee problem, and the Jordan River resources on a mutual-aid basis, will smooth the way for negotiation on other matters in dispute.

The existence of the Israeli state is an accomplished fact. Sooner or later the Arab nations will have to admit this reality and learn to live with their new and industrious neighbor.

As others before them, they will come to realize that progress can never be stopped.

Brooklyn Music Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, a very challenging and intriguing idea has recently been brought to my attention. Although it concerns my home Borough of Brooklyn, I am certain that many of my colleagues will find the idea interesting and may wish to bring it to the attention of civic-minded people and cultural leaders in their communities.

It is a proposal suggested by Rabbi Eugene J. Sack, of Congregation Beth Elohim—House of God—in Brooklyn, to establish a music foundation in the Borough of Brooklyn to serve the entire community by making it a center of musical culture. Rabbi Sack envisions the establishment of a symphony orchestra under the auspices of the music foundation, a cultural building in the new Civic Center of Brooklyn to house the symphony orchestra and opera, and a center of music and culture for people of all faiths and national origins.

Rabbi Sack is a native of Gloversville, N. Y., where he was born in 1912. He was graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1933 with a bachelor of arts degree, and was ordained as rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 1936. His first pulpit was in Scranton, Pa., then for a year at Topeka, Kans., and later he served as assistant rabbi at Congregation Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia for a period of 8 years. In 1946 he assumed his present post in Brooklyn. During World War II, Rabbi Sack served as Army chaplain for 3½ years and spent 1 year in New Guinea with the 32d Infantry Division.

His article on the Brooklyn Music Foundation, published in Temple Times, and also an editorial dealing with the subject matter in the same issue are as follows:

A CHALLENGING PROPOSAL FOR A MUSIC FOUNDATION IN BROOKLYN

(By Rabbi Eugene J. Sack)

The musical culture, the musical will, and the musical genius of America has been decaying for over a quarter of a century. Ironically this decay has taken place under the greatest outpouring of musical sounds since men have had ears.

The jukebox, radio, television, phonograph, have immersed us in every conceivable type of sound, in every conceivable place under every conceivable condition.

When these inventions were first developed it was thought that when every child could listen to Beethoven in full orchestral cry from the very cradle onward—music would grow beyond all precedent. But the reverse has been true.

What has happened to music in America is the same as what would happen to baseball if there were only major leagues and no minor leagues. With no opportunity for fair- and middle-size talent, big talent would fail to develop. Major-league play would become worse and worse. People would stay away. Eventually the big league would disappear and all that would be left would be children playing sandlot ball.

MELANCHOLY FACT

In the realm of American music this nightmare has become a melancholy fact. In symphony there are only the big-league orchestras. In the mightiest and richest civilization in history you can count American symphonies on your fingers.

Gone are the hundreds of small professional orchestras engaged by movie houses and vaudeville shows of the past. The showboat and minstrel show and local-citizen band are memories of the childhood of our aged people. There are only 2 or 3 worthwhile concert-artist circuits. And an artist must have more than talent to be placed on one of these circuits.

It is necessary to get fired by Arthur Godfrey as well.

The churches and temples of our great city are filled with hundreds of voices any one of which could delight and thrill great audiences. But there are no such audiences in America. And the professional instrumentalists are worse off than the vocalists.

Napoleon said that every French soldier carried a field marshal's baton in his knapsack. My mother said that if I practiced I could be a Jascha Heifetz. So, I carried my violin case with the same secret joy that filled Napoleon's soldiers.

EVERYTHING BUT TALENT

I had everything but talent—that was a little sad and a little funny. But it's no joke that thousands of talented youngsters today carry no musical instruments at all. It's no joke when James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians pleads with mothers from coast to coast by TV not to give their children music lessons because there is no career in music anymore.

Where will our music come from? Tomorrow's music cannot come from the juke boxes or the high-fidelity phonographs of today, or from Hollywood, or from Radio City. Tomorrow's music can only come out of the violin cases filled with little boy's dreams of glory. And the little boys will not dream if there is no opportunity for grown musicians to play before audiences and to pursue careers in music.

Surely, if the great musicians and conductors and composers and vocalists of today walk the streets, unheard, unappreciated, unpaid; their talent and years of devoted preparation wasted, there will be no music tomorrow.

FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLAR GIFT

Recognizing this profound problem the Rockefeller Foundation has just announced a $400,000 gift to the Louisville Philharmonic Orchestra to help maintain an outpost of American music to give work to musicians and to stimulate composers to produce new music.

What's good for Louisville is even better for Brooklyn in this case. But perhaps we can do it without Rockefeller money. Louisville has less than half a million people. We have 3 million. And when it comes to musical tradition they are not in the same league. Think of the great Italian community of Brooklyn wherein still burn the embers of that musical flame that makes Italy the most passionate lover of music among the people of the earth, where even the smaller towns each boast their civic operas, where music is as popular as wine. Brooklyn, with its Irish heart filled with wit and song. Brooklyn, with its great Jewish folk who so loved the violin that they gave the first half of this century nearly all of the greatest virtuosi. Brooklyn with its Academy of Music built and cherished by the descendants of the Dutch and English. Brooklyn with its great Negro people that breathes and lives music.

CULTURAL BUILDING

When we have our Brooklyn Music Foundation we can ask our government, city, State and Federal to build us a new music and culture building in the new civic center in Cadman Plaza at the Brooklyn Bridge.

And our bankers will give thousands of dollars, and our merchants, too. Because when people come to Brooklyn because it is a great new American center of culture there will be more money in the Brooklyn banks and more people buying in the stores of Brooklyn than today when people are fleeing Brooklyn because of its decadence.

It is true that efforts have been made before to establish a Brooklyn symphony. It is true that many local and worthwhile organizations already exist such as the Brooklyn Community Orchestra, the Doctors Orchestra, and others. The purpose of a Brooklyn Music Foundation would be to join all of these valiant but scattered efforts into one common all-out Brooklyn assault on the problem of the decay of our musical culture. And if we have failed before, and if the whole project is an impossible one then let us remember that this is Brooklyn. This is America where "we do the difficult right away; the impossible takes a little longer."

Let us all together, those of us who have gone down trying and those who haven't tried yet, get together and do the job.

HARMONIOUS PLAN

Elsewhere on these pages there appears a thought-provoking and intriguing idea advanced by a member of our board of governors, Rabbi Eugene J. Sack. The good rabbi envisions a Brooklyn Music Foundation with the purpose of ultimately founding a Brooklyn Symphony Orchestra.

We of the Temple Club heartily applaud and endorse this worthwhile nonsectarian community endeavor. We owe it to ourselves and the people of Brooklyn to give this challenging proposal the full measure of our support.

Long have members of the Jewish faith contributed in large measure to the musical lore of our great Nation. It was Leopold Damrosch who founded the New York Symphony Society in 1873. It was as the symphony's conductor that Walter Damrosch, the son of Leopold Damrosch, earned the title of "dean of American conductors." In 1880 the Metropolitan Opera Co. employed Oscar Hammerstein to place that enterprise on a paying basis, and he immediately introduced opera in the English language.

Who has not heard of the successes of his son, Oscar Hammerstein II? A young Jewish boy by the name of George Gershwin wrote, among other things, the first piano concerto created in jazz—Concerto in F. The list can go on and on. It behooves the members of the Temple Club to perpetuate this rich heritage, and there is no finer medium than the proposed Brooklyn Music Foundation.

Civic-minded people of good will have a great opportunity to contribute richly to the cause of democracy by organizing this great musical project. What greater con-

tribution can be made to a free world than the organization of a nonsectarian symphony orchestra supported by the masses and reinforced by public officials, civic workers, industrialists, and philanthropists. A symphony orchestra in Brooklyn will serve not only as a fountainhead of culture and music but as a bond which will unify peoples of all faiths.

The vision of thousands of people flocking to a beautiful opera center which would house a Brooklyn symphony orchestra to hear divine music created out of God's heartstrings is a dream worth dreaming and from which eventually will emanate a song of democracy dedicated to a world of peace and good will to all men of all faiths.

Price Discrimination: The Greatest Enemy of the Little-Business Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by Richard Y. Giles, which appeared in Printers' Ink under the heading "Washington Newsreel" in its August 7, 1953, issue. This article clearly discloses how quickly the Federal Trade Commission took an about-face recently, after the change in Commissioners. Before the change, a majority of the Commission favored carrying out the law which gives to the little man an equal opportunity. After the change in the Commission, a majority of the Commissioners favor a policy that is not only detrimental but ruinous to the little-business man.

It appears that big business has captured the thinking of a majority of the members of the Federal Trade Commission. Big business does not need a Federal Trade Commission. It is big enough to look after itself. It is only the little fellows and independents who need such an official agency to protect their rights and interests. The little man is not asking for special favors. He is only asking for a square deal along with his competitors.

The article is as follows:

PRICE DISCRIMINATION: HAS FTC KILLED ROBINSON-PATMAN?

The Federal Trade Commission has turned its first post-election somersault.

The new majority—Howrey, Mason, and Carretta—has reversed the opinion of the old majority—Mead, Spingarn, and Carson—on the question of good faith as a defense against charges of price discrimination.

As recently as March, the old majority declared in a letter to Congress that the good faith defense recognized as valid by the Supreme Court in the Standard of Indiana case was a fatal loophole in the Robinson-Patman Act.

Now, in a letter signed by FTC Chairman Edward F. Howrey and addressed to Senator WILLIAM LANGER, Republican, of North Dakota, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the new majority declares that it accepts and approves of the Supreme Court decision, and would welcome passage of the Capehart bill putting the Supreme Court decision into statute.

It is a knotty problem, this question of good faith, with a checkered history. There is no question that the Standard Oil decision softened the Robinson-Patman Act. It is not easy to determine, however, what the effect on competition will be. Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, father of the price discrimination law, told the House Judiciary Committee last week that the Supreme Court decision nullifies the Robinson-Patman Act—"The favored buyer will have a low price and independents, big and little, will have a higher price at the start of their function in competition—equality of opportunity will have vanished * * * we will be right back where we were before the Robinson-Patman Act was passed."

DEFENSE: GOOD FAITH

The legal point that the Supreme Court decided in January 1951 was that good faith is an absolute defense. This point had never been ruled on before. Both the Clayton Act and the Robinson-Patman Act allow that against a charge of price discrimination, good faith may be pleaded. "Nothing herein continued," says the Robinson-Patman Act, "shall prevent a seller rebutting the prima facie case * * * by showing that this lower price * * * was made in good faith to meet an equally low price of a competitor."

It was never the intent of Congress, however, said PATMAN last week, to make this good faith defense an ironclad protection against charges of doing substantial damage to competition. Meeting lower prices in an emergency has always been legal, PATMAN argued, as in the case of a seller confronted by a competitor trying to raid his market. Substantial injury to competition occurs when a two-price level is established as a day-to-day rule, and this is what the Robinson-Patman Act was to prevent.

Whether such an interpretation is implicit in the law is something for lawyers to argue. The Supreme Court did not find it. The Court majority found, instead, that denial of the good-faith defense would lead to impossible difficulties in doing business.

MATTER OF SURVIVAL

"For example," said the Court, "if a large customer requests his seller to meet a temptingly low price offered to him by one of his seller's competitors, the seller may well find it essential, as a matter of business survival, to meet the price rather than lose a customer. It might be that this customer is the seller's only available market for the major portion of the seller's product, and that the loss of this customer would result in forcing a much higher unit cost and higher sales price upon the seller's other customers. There is nothing to show a congressional purpose in such a situation to compel the seller to choose only between ruinously cutting its prices to all its customers to match the price offered to one and refusing to meet the competition and then ruinously raising its prices to its remaining customers to cover increased unit costs. There is, on the other hand, plain language and established practice which permits a seller * * * to retain a customer by realistically meeting in good faith the price offered to that customer, without necessarily changing the seller's price to its other customers."

This simple and persuasive statement of the problem does not throw a very searching light on the actual competitive situations with which Patman is concerned. In the Standard Oil case the facts were more complicated. Standard, like other refiners selling in the Detroit area, sold at tank-car prices to wholesalers, many of whom also operated retail outlets. There was no question that Standard had lowered its tank-car prices to meet the realities of competition, no question that the tank-car customers were in a strong position when competing with independent retailers without wholesale rating, and no question that the good faith defense perpetuates a two-price level in the Detroit gasoline market. A similar dilemma appears whenever the manufacturer is selling to a large customer who carries on both wholesale and retail operations—in other words, whenever he is selling to a chain. Since the Robinson-Patman Act was meant to protect independents against chains, what protection is left?

PROTECTION FOR INDEPENDENTS

It is also hard to see what protection can be provided for independents against chains in the form of price-discrimination legislation that does not run up against the problem outlined in the court's opinion. At any rate, the battle lines are drawn. Upholding the court's opinion are bills introduced by Senators CAPEHART, EDWIN C. JOHNSON and MCCARRAN. Attacking the court's opinion is a bill introduced by Senator KEFAUVER.

Now the Federal Trade Commission has changed sides and joined the Capehart group. "The view recently, but no longer, urged by a majority of the commission, and which is the basis for the Kefauver bill," said chairman Howrey, "is that meeting the equally low price of a competitor should not be a defense whenever it injures competition. As a practical matter this completely nullifies the defense, and it would then never be available to any seller, for the Supreme Court has already held that every substantial difference in price may injure competition. The view formerly expressed by the Commission * * * is withdrawn."

A hot political issue is in the making for the election year of 1954.

RICHARD Y. GILES.

Our Farm Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very timely article entitled "Farmers and Consumers Hurt by Two-Way Price Stretch" which appeared in the January 1954 edition of the Democritic Digest. This excellent article deals with farm policy and the developing recession in agriculture, and I believe it should be read carefully by every Member of Congress:

FARMERS AND CONSUMERS HURT BY TWO-WAY PRICE STRETCH

There exists in our economy today a peculiar situation which affects not only your own pocketbook, but which could also have very serious effects upon the future stability of the entire economy. That troublesome situation is this:

While the prices paid to the farmer for his products are falling, the prices you pay for food and other farm products at the retail store are rising.

The effects of this could be very serious. Obviously, if the trend continues, the farmer will be able to buy fewer and fewer of the articles manufactured in the city, because the farmer will have less and less to spend as prices fall on what he produces.

On the other hand, if retail food prices keep on rising, city families sooner or later will find that they cannot afford to buy as much food as they are now buying, thus compounding the farmer's troubles.

What we all want is more food, not less. We want the farmer to get a fair price for his crops, and we want to pay a fair price for our groceries. But every day sees us moving farther away from both of these desirable goals.

At the end of the first 9 months of Republican rule in 20 years, this was the situation:

Farm prices had taken their worst slump since World War II, and farm income was down 7 percent, compared with the first 9 months of 1952.

Yet the cost of living had reached all-time highs 4 months in a row.

The farmer was getting the smallest share of the consumer's dollar he has gotten since World War II, and officials say there is little prospect of an improvement in the farmer's lot.

The big question is: When the food bill goes up while at the same time the farmer gets less for his products, who is getting the extra money?

The answer is: The middlemen—the unseen hands that process farm products into the kinds of food you get at the grocery store, who pack and ship it, and who sell it in bulk to the local grocery stores so that they in turn can sell it to you, the consumer.

The trouble is, no one knows which middlemen get how much of that spread between farm prices and consumer prices. All we know is that farm prices are falling, consumer prices are rising, and the spread is growing wider.

We also know that the farmer is getting a smaller and smaller share of every dollar the consumer spends. While last year the farmer got 48 cents out of every consumer dollar, this year he's only getting 45 cents—the lowest since World War II—and the Agriculture Department sees no prospect of improvement in the farmer's lot for at least another year.

The shrinking share of the farmer is evident in a wide variety of foods the consumer buys every day. In dairy products, his share is 4 cents below what it was last year; for every dollar the consumer is spending on fruits and vegetables, on milk and butter and on beef, the farmer is getting 3 cents less than he got last year.

The growing spread between farm and consumer prices is not confined to food. The Agriculture Department has estimated that the spread between the farm price of cotton going into 42 articles of clothing, and the retail price of those 42 articles, is slightly higher in the first 6 months of 1953 than it was during 1952, and the farmer's share of every dollar the consumer spent on those 42 articles of clothing was down from 14 cents in 1952 to only 12½ cents in the first half of 1953.

The same is true of tobacco products. Since July 1952 the spread between the farm and consumer price on a pound of leaf tobacco has risen to record heights. Two-thirds of the increase went to middlemen, the other third to higher Federal and State excise taxes.

Some or all of the increased middlemen's charges may be accounted for by higher costs, and the middlemen's profits may not be up as much as these increased margins indicate. In some cases there are indications that this is not the case. A recent report of the Securities and Exchange Commission showed that the profits of food processors after taxes went up 18 percent—from $166 million to $219 million—between the first 3 months and the second 3 months of 1953. Their profits had already risen 11 percent, after taxes, between the first half and the last half of 1952.

Similarly, the after-tax profits of tobacco manufacturers, which had risen 7 percent between the last half of 1951 and the last half of 1952, rose another 25 percent between the first and second quarters of this year.

The point is, though, that no one can tell just who is getting the lion's share of the added spread between farm and consumer prices without a careful study.

Such a study was proposed over a year ago by President Truman when he directed the Federal Trade Commission to make a detailed study of just who gets each cent of each dollar the consumer spends on bread, flour, milk, butter, cigarettes, and fertilizer. And in the budget he presented to Congress last January he requested $186,000 for the Federal Trade Commission to carry out the study.

But when the House Appropriations Committee acted on the FTC funds bill it not only cut out the $186,000, it took the pains to add to the bill what they call a "rider" forbidding the FTC to use any of its funds to try to find out what happens to the consumer's dollar.

When the bill got to the Senate, an effort was made to strike out this rider so as to permit the study to go ahead. The move was defeated, 45 to 30. Out of the 45 votes to kill the study, 36 came from the Republican side of the aisle, and 25 of the 30 votes to save the study came from Democratic Senators.

So the consumer dollar study has been killed—for this year at least (although after cattle prices had taken a dramatic nosedive, Agriculture Secretary Benson announced he was going to look into the farm-to-consumer spread on meat products alone).

With the FTC study dead, several Senators, including Montana's JAMES MURRAY, are pressing for a congressional study of the farm-to-consumer price spread, and Senator GILLETTE, of Iowa, and many of his colleagues are continuing their fight to have Congress establish a congressional committee on consumer interests. So far, however, these pleas have appeared to fall on deaf ears.

The Democratic Digest believes that it is to your interest that our Government find out why farm prices are dropping while grocery prices are rising. The situation poses an ugly problem, which cannot be met without a clear understanding of the facts. The dangers to the economy if we just drift and let the spread between farm prices and grocery prices keep on growing are obvious—ultimately it would bring depression and great hardship to farmer and consumer alike. But it appears that unless the American consumers get behind the proposals to study this problem, there will be no facts, no action, just drift.

Edward E. Jaffee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein an excellent eulogy which appeared in the editorial column of the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., on January 18, 1954, in reference to the unfortunate passing of the city editor of the Essex County publication. I know that in my humble capacity that there is nothing that I can add to this beautiful tribute, which was evidently written by one of his close associates on that newspaper.

I am satisfied in my mind that this news item has covered my thoughts on the late Edward E. Jaffee and that very little can be said in addition to this statement. Although my acquaintanceship with Ed Jaffee was of short duration I had an opportunity to observe this young man on several occasions. I took particular notice of his ability some time ago as he was presiding at one of the meetings and banquets conducted by the B'nai B'rith, an organization which was close to his heart.

I admired him as a friendly, upright, and conscientious person. He was a quiet and modest gentleman at all times. He was a leader in the fraternal and civic life of the city of Lynn, an outstanding newspaperman, an excellent organizer, a leader in all of his undertakings. I, together with the people of greater Lynn wish to extend our sincere and deepest sympathy to his wife and the members of his family, knowing deep down in our hearts that due to his contribution on this earth, he will enjoy eternal happiness.

The above-mentioned follows:

EDWARD E. JAFFEE

Edward E. Jaffee, city editor of the Item who died today, was truly a newspaperman's newspaperman. He would have asked no finer tribute.

He had a wholesome and abiding pride in his profession and a craftsman's passion for perfection and detail. He was incapable of slovenly work himself and by the mere power of example discouraged it in those who came under his supervision. Few stories that came to his desk did not leave it better because of his editorial alertness and his faculty for converting a lifeless phrase or sentence into one with impact, clarity, and sparkle.

Even after nearly a quarter century of continuous journalistic service, newspapering still had something of the same romantic auro for Ed Jaffee that it did when he began his career as a student correspondent for a Worcester paper while still an undergraduate at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He was never bored by his job; each day unfolded for him new adventure, new experience in an ever-fascinating calling. He brought to each task the enthusiasm of the novice tempered by the judgment and restraint of the veteran.

Imbued with strong civic consciousness, he found time to serve in important posts in the B'nai B'rith, the Lynn YMHA (now the Lynn Jewish Community Center), the Boston Anti-Defamation League and as a member of the Swampscott Finance Committee. An able speaker, he had presented his popular "rumor clinic" program before countless organizations in eastern Massachusetts. He was also active for a number of years in the American Newspaper Guild. His energy, stamina and versatility seemed inexhaustible.

To his associates in the Item's newsroom it seems unbelievable that Ed Jaffee has written his last story and edited his final piece of copy, even though some months ago it became known to the staff that his illness had been diagnosed as leukemia and that its termination must inevitably be fatal. Those doleful tidings remained a closely guarded secret throughout the months that followed, and when Ed made his recurrent visits to his desk, performing his tasks only by sheer courage and maintaining his waning strength only by repeated blood transfusions, not a single coworker let drop the slightest hint of the real nature of his illness.

An incident which occurred at Lynn Hospital during the early part of his final ill-

ness pointed up two facets of Ed Jaffée's character. As he was awaiting a blood transfusion, a Lynn fireman who had been seriously injured in the performance of his duty, was brought into the same room, also for a transfusion. Forgetting his own discomfort, Ed solaced the fireman, assured him he would feel much better after the treatment and chatted with him about the details of the fire. Before he got through, Ed had full details for a news story for the Item. He never disregarded the traditions of his calling, despite repeated efforts by the Item management to get him to remain at home and forget his job.

The Item has lost a talented, diligent and popular employee in Ed Jaffee's death, and the Greater Lynn community a dedicated civic worker. The sympathy of this newspaper goes out to his family in full measure, accompanied by an expression of admiration for Ed's wife, Mrs. Ruth E. Jaffee, who for the past several months heroically carried on while her heart was heavy with a dread secret that she dare not divulge to her beloved husband and their two young sons. With Milton, one can also say to her: "They also serve who only stand and wait."

Award of Government Contracts to Foreign Manufacturers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand two telegrams I received late yesterday afternoon. The telegrams protest against the Army Corps of Engineers entertaining bids from a Japanese firm on contracts for purchase of turbines and other equipment for the new powerhouse at The Dalles, Oreg., power project. The telegrams read as follows:

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
House Office Building:

Associated Press release January 12 indicates Japanese firm low bidder turbine governors the Dalles Dam powerhouse invitation CIVENG 35-026-54-58. This company vigorously protests award Government contracts foreign manufacturers while American concerns subject wage and hour regulation that do not apply foreign concerns. To ignore such inequity would mean eventual elimination American concerns from field Government contracts.

CLOYD GRAY,
W. R. AMES CO.

Congressman J. SHELLEY,
House Office Building:

Policy on part of Corps of Engineers of entertaining bids by foreign companies for turbine and allied equipment required for west coast power development is posing serious threat for American industry. Because of differential in wage rates impossible for local industry to compete. Situation brought to head by recent disclosure of bids received by Portland District Corps of Engineers for the Dalles powerhouse in which Japanese firm submitted low bid. If Government adopts policy of awarding such jobs to foreign competition net effect will be to completely destroy local manufacturers because of recognized inability to compete due to factors stated above. Urge your support in formulating policy which will protect American industry. Western States now faced with serious problems arising from increasing unemployment due to cutbacks in Government jobs. Your cooperation in securing for American industry protection it is entitled to will be greatly appreciated.

MILO G. SPAICH,
Vice President and General Manager,
American Forge Co.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time in recent months that I have been forced to protest vigorously to the Corps of Engineers against an award of a substantial contract to a foreign firm. I hope that the proper congressional committees will take action to assure that it is the last. We are spending enough American dollars abroad on our various overseas programs without asking foreign competitors to come over here and compete directly with American industry on Government projects here at home.

The objections raised against this Corps of Engineers policy by Mr. Gray and Mr. Spaich are completely valid. The United States, through the coordinated efforts of labor, industry, and the Government has established the world's highest standards of pay and working conditions for labor in industry. These standards are protected by legislation we ourselves have enacted. There is no excuse for permitting the Corps of Engineers or any other Government agency to be a party to actions which penalize American industry for maintaining these standards. That is exactly what the engineers are doing when they ask low-labor-cost-foreign firms to bid on contracts in competition with the high-pay-scale American firms.

If we were not faced with a critical unemployment problem and a prospective depression there would still be no justification for letting Government contracts on domestic procurements abroad. But what can the Secretary of the Army be thinking of when he even considers sending work out of the country at this critical time? Has he not heard of the many industrial areas in the United States that have been officially classed as depressed areas with heavy unemployment? Has he not heard of the President's recent directive ordering placement of Government contracts in these areas? In the face of these conditions we find the Corps of Engineers placing a contract 7,000 miles away. How inconsistent can you get?

Perhaps there is some consistency in the situation, as far as administration policy is concerned. A great part of their highly publicized economy program has had the effect, if not the aim, of economizing highly necessary programs to death. We now find a Government policy which, if pursued, will economize American industry out of business. It will also build up our unemployment rolls and create more surplus labor areas, and before we know it our so-called recession will have snowballed into a full-scale depression. Perhaps the administration should recall some of the economists they have lopped off the payroll if they themselves cannot grasp the simple economic facts as to how depressions start.

Mr. Speaker, I do not yet have the full facts regarding award of the Dalles power project turbine contract. But if the facts are as stated in the telegrams I have read to the House, the appropriate committees should go into the situation immediately and exhaustively with a view toward nipping this practice in the bud. We cannot stand by and permit our hard won wage-and-hour standards to be undermined. We cannot stand by and let American industry take a kick in the teeth from shortsighted Government officials intent on saving a few dollars today and without the vision to see the effect tomorrow will reveal.

Service to Humanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 19, 1954

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the January 16 issue of the Escanaba Daily Press, Escanaba, Mich. Mr. J. J. Herbert, an outstanding citizen of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, has been most active for many years in promoting medical research and health education, and in rendering service to the medical profession of Michigan. It is a particularly fitting tribute for a man who is himself not a doctor, but a lawyer.

The article follows:

STATE HONORS FOR J. J. HERBERT RECOGNIZES SERVICE TO HUMANITY

The entire Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the many friends of J. J. Herbert, throughout Michigan join in congratulations to the Manistique attorney for the signal honor accorded him this week by the Michigan Health Council.

Attorney Herbert was selected for special tribute in recognition of his work over a period of many years in promoting medical research and health education and in rendering service to the medical profession of Michigan. It is a particularly fitting tribute for a man who is himself not a doctor but a lawyer.

Mr. Herbert has been legal adviser for the Michigan Medical Society for many years. His interest in medical research, his position as counsel for the doctors and his service as regent of the University of Michigan, one of the great medical research centers of the country, all are combined in a unity of purpose by Mr. Herbert for contributing to the betterment of mankind through developments in the field of medical research.

It is characteristic of Mr. Herbert's modesty that many of his friends in his home town and neighboring communities who have known Joe Herbert for years as an outstanding attorney were not as aware of his contributions in the field of medicine until the Michigan Health Council focused statewide attention on Mr. Herbert by the signal honor accorded to him in Saginaw Thursday night.

It is an honor well deserved and appropriate recognition of services rendered.

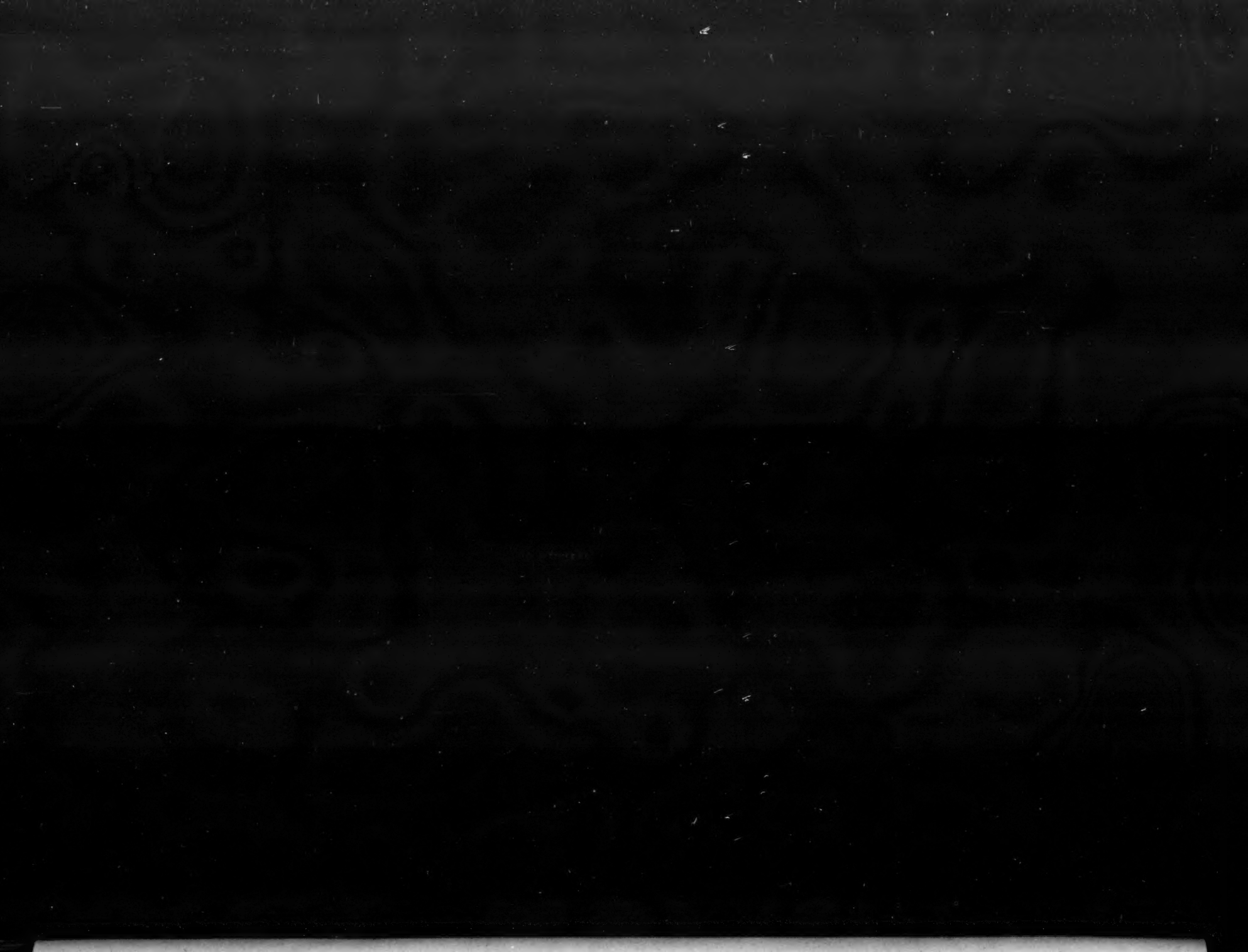

Appendix

Young Farmers Must Take Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following speech which I delivered before the young farmer group of the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City, Mo., on the evening of October 16, 1953:

I appreciate sincerely the honor of being on your program tonight and welcome this opportunity to discuss with you some of the problems and questions which are confronting the farmers of our country at this time.

I come to you directly from a series of hearings which the House Committee on Agriculture is conducting in all the agricultural areas of this country during the interim between congressional sessions. So far the committee has conducted hearings in New England and in the middle South and Southeast. This week and a part of next we are in the Middle West. Just a few hours ago I left our hearing in Des Moines to take a plane for Kansas City, and early tomorrow morning I will fly to Bloomington, Ill., to participate in our hearing there. This series of hearings and conferences will conclude next Tuesday in Columbus, Ohio. Later we will go to the Mountain and Pacific Coast States and still later we will conclude our field hearings in the Southwest with meetings in at least three farm centers in that area.

The purpose of our hearings is threefold—First, we want all members of our committee to have the opportunity to become familiar with agriculture in a nationwide way. We feel that far from being one big industry, agriculture embraces a number of industries some of which are in competition with each other or have conflicts of interest between them. We feel that we will not be in a position to deal with the many problems confronting agriculture at this time unless we know of the problems existing in all parts of the Nation.

Second we want to hear from farmers themselves as to their views on farm problems, policies, and programs. This is in accord with President Eisenhower's idea of bringing farm programs closer to the farmers themselves. Our committee feels that since farmers themselves know more about their problems and needs than anyone else could possibly know, the ideas and suggestions relating to Government policies on agriculture should come directly from the grassroots.

A third reason why we feel that these hearings are a good time is that they tend to bring the Government closer to the people themselves. To most people the Government at Washington is something remote and nebulous. You may know your own Congressman or 1 or 2 Government officials, but you don't feel that you really have a voice or a part in what goes on there. In our hearings we are trying to bring a part of the Congress into direct contact with the people themselves. I think that's worthwhile.

While our hearings have not progressed to the point where the committee feels that it is ready to announce any conclusions or findings, we have gone far enough to realize that the farmers of this country are keenly aware of their problems and want to have a part in formulating any necessary Government programs to meet them.

Our efforts, of course, along the line of ascertaining farm sentiment and ideas, are only a part of what is being done in that field. The Department of Agriculture is conducting a study of our present farm programs and of the problems confronting agriculture, which in its scope, goes farther than we have ever gone before. The Secretary of Agriculture has asked the great farm organizations of this country to get in touch with their members and secure their ideas and views as to what our agriculture program should be in the future.

In view of all of these efforts I think it can safely be said that when the next session of Congress begins its consideration of agricultural legislation, it will have before it more definite concrete information on the subject than any Congress has ever possessed. It will have, in addition, the accumulated experience which comes of 20 years of farm programs.

Of course, the problems of agriculture comprise only a part of the difficulties which confront this country and the world today. We are living in trying times. World-shaking events, or what would have been considered world-shaking events in the past, have become commonplace. Nationally and internationally it seems that all of our problems today are big ones. We are forced to think and talk in global terms. Government has become bigger and bigger—too big, I am sure most of us think. We talk in terms of billions where it used to be millions.

There are great and powerful forces at work in the world today. This is one of the periods of history when mankind, as a whole, is inclined to seek new ideologies; when many things that were formerly accepted as inevitable are being questioned. Perhaps the greatest change that has taken place in the world picture has been the end of colonialism. Great new nations have been established throughout the world—many of them without the benefit of experienced political leadership and composed of people who have had no experience whatever in self-government. Some of these nations have tremendous population problems. Many of them are poverty stricken although they may have great undeveloped natural resources. Hunger and disease are universally prevalent. Thus, these nations constitute a fertile field for Communist meddling and interference, something which we, as the leader of the free nations of the world, cannot, overlook or ignore at a time when communism is challenging free government everywhere.

The world has survived similar periods of stress before and it will this one. Our Nation has successfully met many crises in the past. I think we might well compare the condition of our country today with that of a ship at sea in a heavy storm. There is nothing that can be done to diminish the storm. It must blow itself out. The problem is how to manage the ship so that it will ride out the storm safely. That is primarily the problem of those who have the responsibility of government, but it is also the problem of all of us, because this is truly a country where the people rule. It is a situation which requires understanding, foresight, and above everything else, patience because there is no quick or easy solution of these great problems which confront us.

Agriculture, as an industry, has been affected by the great forces I have mentioned, and, in addition, it has its own peculiar problems. Ever since 1940, agriculture has felt the stimulus of war and inflation. In the main, these years have been good years for those engaged in agriculture. They have placed great responsibilities on the part of our farmers and they have responded magnificently to those responsibilities. Upon the request of their Government, they have increased their production almost 40 percent above prewar levels. They have shifted their type and mode of farming in many cases. Farm income during this period went to the highest level ever known, partly because of higher price levels, and partly because of increased productivity brought about by increased mechanization and better farming methods as well as long hours and hard work on the part of farmers and their families.

But now we have entered into a period where the effects of war and inflation have just about spent themselves as far as agriculture is concerned. As a matter of fact, we are in about the same situation now that we were in 1948 and 1949, when the effects of World War II were passing. The Korean war and its inflation changed all that, however, and brought about the highest level of farm prices we have ever known.

There has been a steady decline in farm prices from the high point of February 1951. This would not be serious if the prices of things which farmers buy had declined in proportion. That is where the squeeze comes in. However, I think we should take encouragement from the fact that in recent months the parity ratio has remained about the same. Farm prices on the average are now 93 percent of parity, which, of course, means they are 7 percent less than what we have come to consider a fair price. This shows that an adjustment is taking place, but it is nothing like as sharp and as serious an adjustment as we have usually had following a period of war and inflation. It is a long way from a depression.

Of course, one reason that farm prices have declined, and the principal reason aside from the fact that we are adjusting to a peacetime economy, is that we have large supplies of many farm products. The supply of wheat and cattle, for instance, is the greatest ever known. Corn and other feed grains are in about the same category. The supply of fats and oils is tremendous, and we have ample stocks of many other agricultural commodities.

I do not refer to these supplies as surpluses. I prefer to consider them reserves. I think we are fortunate to have them, and yet I think we must all recognize that the time can come when reserves become so large as to become unmanageable. It then becomes a problem of how to handle them.

The fact that these large supplies of farm commodities have not further lowered prices is due to two things. The first is our basic price-support program which has held the

prices of the basic commodities and some other commodities to a fairly high level. The second is our increased population and the fact that we have more people employed now at good wages than we ever had before in our history. This greater buying power has kept up the prices of most commodities which are not supported.

Our problem now is to make our adjustments in shifting to a peacetime economy in such a way as to cause the least harm.

One thing which we must take into consideration is that our export markets have declined a third during the past year, and when that happens we begin to see how important foreign markets are to our agricultural economy.

I think these are times which require a firm, strong policy in agriculture as far as Government is concerned. I do not believe the Federal Government can afford to overlook the fact that, particularly during this period of adjustment, it must furnish leadership in helping farmers to solve their problems, and one way to give such help is to furnish the machinery which will help farmers do the things which they cannot do themselves.

I do not want to be misunderstood. While we have many problems in agriculture now—more than we have had since the beginning of World War II—yet I think we can take a lot of comfort in the feeling that the overall situation is good. It is good primarily because we are a growing, dynamic nation with a rapidly increasing population and a steady upswing in our standard of living. Our consumption of food and other agricultural products is steadily increasing. This is true not only because we have more consumers but because per capita consumption is far higher now than before the war. As long as our people have the buying power, I am sure that they will insist not only on maintaining but increasing their present standards of living and eating.

Not only is our own population and consumption increasing but world population is growing more rapidly than the world's food supply. There will be more people going to bed hungry tonight than on any previous night in the world's history. This is a cause of profound concern. We all know that hungry people are dangerous people and that they are easily exploited by purveyors of Communist and Fascist ideologies.

During the years following the end of World War II we used agricultural commodities as very effective instruments of foreign policy. It seems to me it is desirable to continue to do so. Thus while we may at the present time have what appears to be surpluses of agricultural commodities, yet when our own increase in population is considered and when we keep in mind that two-thirds of the world's people are seriously undernourished, our surpluses appear to be small indeed.

It seems to me that if our future agricultural policy is to be successful and meet the needs of our people it must be based upon two things: One is to increase the productivity of our farms through conservation, flood prevention, production research, and increased mechanization. The other is to carry out whatever steps are necessary to bring about a reasonable stability of farm prices. These objectives tie into each other because farmers cannot increase their productivity with all the costs and risks which that entails under present conditions unless they have an assurance of stable prices and income.

If the objective of our policy is to expand production to an extent necessary to maintain our present or a better standard of living, then it is obvious that we must consider our capabilities from the standpoint of soil and water resources.

We must keep in mind that for all practical purposes we have in this country today about as many acres of good land as we will ever have. Some new land will be brought into use through reclamation, mostly at a rather high cost, but this new land will be counterbalanced by the good land that goes out of use through the expansion of our highways, the building of airports, the construction of dams and reservoirs, and the normal expansion of our cities. All this means that expanded production can come only from increased productivity per acre.

At the present time our population is increasing at the rate of 1½ percent per year. That means that if we are simply going to maintain our present standards we must increase the productivity of our existing acres by at least 1½ percent per year. This calls for the utmost that we can do in the development of soil and water conservation, in the field of production research, in the development of further mechanization and in expanding educational programs to make all the information developed through research available in a practical and usable form to the farmers of this country.

We must do everything possible to improve our marketing and transportation systems.

We must expand and develop the neglected field of marketing research. Much can be done in that field and I am pleased to note that Secretary Benson in his reorganization of the Department is emphasizing marketing research and marketing services and the expansion and development of markets for farm commodities, both at home and abroad. This is a field in which the Congress has been considerably ahead of the Department of Agriculture in the past.

And we must not overlook the fact that if farmers are to be able to meet the great demands which this country will be placing on them in the years ahead, they must have some assurance of a stable income. In spite of improved and more efficient methods, in spite of all our research and education, it seems likely that capital investment as well as operating expenses in the field of agriculture will continue to increase.

It is going to cost money to restore the fertility of our soil. Farmers are going to have to buy more equipment. The better farming methods that they will follow to improve and maintain the productivity of our land will be added expense. This means that we cannot overlook the financial side of agriculture. Our policies must be such as to give the farmer more assurance of stability of income. If he is to do his job he must have some assurance that if he produces all that we need, and a reasonable reserve for safety, he will not be wiped out by sudden and sharp drops in prices due to the fact that a bountiful season has caused farmers to produce more—perhaps only a little more—than the current market can absorb.

I am sure that all of you are familiar with most of the important questions which our committee is considering in connection with its study of the agricultural situation. In the course of our hearings we have asked farmers to consider with us a number of questions. Some of the more important of these are as follows:

Do farmers favor a price-support program of 90 percent of parity on storable commodities although this means controls on marketing and production at least part of the time and possibly all of the time on some commodities?

Would a flexible price-support program ranging from 75–90 percent of parity adjust production and require less controls over the operations of farmers than the present 90-percent supports on basic commodities?

Would producers of such storable commodities as wheat and cotton prefer to try a two-price system that would avoid restrictions on production? Under such a system that part of the crop consumed in this country would get support prices based on parity and the export part would go at the lower world price.

Of the perishable farm commodities, only dairy products are now subject to mandatory price support. In view of the difficulties of stabilizing supplies of perishable products, such as fruits, vegetables, and animal products, should the Government attempt a price-stabilization program in this field? How can the program for the dairy industry be improved?

What suggestions do you have for long-range stabilization of prices for the livestock industry?

A large factor in the increase in supplies of farm products has been the falling off of exports of wheat, cotton, tobacco, and other products. Unless export markets are restored and expanded, major adjustments must be made in the production of these and other important crops. What changes, if any, should be made in our foreign-trade program?

The need for better integration of soil and water conservation activities is generally recognized. What is the best approach to this program? What part should Government payments for conservation practices play? Would Government-insured loans by banks and other private lending agencies at reasonable interest running up to 10 years speed up conservation work?

What do farmers think of Federal all-risk crop insurance now operating on an experimental basis in over 900 counties? Are they willing to pay for this insurance, and do they want this program expanded?

Do farmers now have adequate sources of credit and on satisfactory terms?

Should we give greater encouragement to research to find new uses for farm products? How much would expanded marketing research help in bringing about better prices?

These are only some of the many questions upon which we are seeking to obtain farmers' views. It will be noted that they deal with programs as well as policies, and perhaps more with the former than the latter. I think the general implication in these questions is that there will not be any great change in farm policy but that we are looking for better and more effective ways of carrying out the policies which are already in effect.

In what I have been saying to you I have spoken as if Congress determined agricultural policy. It does, of course, make final decisions as to those policies. But in a country like our own the real decisions as to policies must be made by the people themselves.

Our agricultural policy in the past has been the result of the thinking and work of many individuals and groups. The farm organizations have contributed their part. The land-grant colleges, both directly and indirectly, have wielded much influence. The scientists and economists in the Department of Agriculture have done much. The agricultural press has done its part. We expect to call again on all of these groups for the many suggestions and great assistance which they can give us.

Farmers themselves are today in a better position to advise as to farm policies than ever before and we are expecting them to play a major part in our revisions in the next session.

Consumers also will be heard, because their interests must be considered.

Members of Congress will work hard to weld and forge the ideas and suggestions which come to us into legislative form.

Let me repeat again that we in Congress want the help of all of you in our reconsideration and evaluation of farm policy and programs. I hope that you will not only make your contribution in the discussions which are going on here, but by passing on to our committee any further suggestions and ideas which you might have.

The American farmer in these recent years has been faced with a great challenge. I think he has responded to it in a magnificent way. The fact that a little over 15 percent of our people can produce enough food and fiber for themselves and all the rest of us permits the other 85 percent to carry on industry, education, the arts and sciences, the professions, and all other activities of a civilized nation, thus making possible all of those things which give us a richer and better life in every way. In no other nation does this occur to the extent that it does in America.

We on the Committee on Agriculture feel that the farm problem is everybody's problem. We think that consumers have just as big and as definite a stake in agricultural prosperity as do farmers. We think it is of the utmost importance to them that the financial rewards of farmers be such as to retain on the land efficient, practical, and productive farmers so that the American people may maintain and improve their present standard of living, and that the fertility and productivity of our soil may be increased so as to produce enough for the 2½ million new consumers whom we are adding to our population every year.

But I am afraid that all too small a number of our nonfarm people understand the problems of the farmer and the importance to the Nation of a fair farm policy, implemented by sound, practical programs.

That is where a group like your own has a great opportunity. The need for leadership in all fields was never greater than it is today. It is particularly important in the field of agriculture. And we need especially the leadership of youth. I have already referred to the tremendous changes which have taken place in agriculture in recent years. I remarked just the other day that anyone who had left the farm 20 years ago and who went back there now without having had close contact in the meantime would be absolutely at a loss as to how to conduct farming operations.

There has been a good deal of comment in recent years about our aging farm population. In other words the percentage of farmers in the older age groups seems to be greater than might be expected to be the case. Agriculture today with its high degree of mechanization and its use of improved methods is particularly a young man's job.

There are many reasons why young men find it difficult to get a start in agriculture in these times. One of them of course is the financial reason—the large amount of capital which is required. I think that one of the soundest farm programs which we could establish and one that perhaps is needed more than any other would be to make it easier for young people to secure a start in agriculture. I can assure you that that is a matter to which our committee is giving its most sincere consideration.

Groups like your own, with your intense interest in agriculture, your knowledge of modern techniques, are particularly fitted to undertake leadership in agriculture. In fact you are going to have to take it. And meetings of this kind which develop leadership are important not only to you but to the country as a whole. You can help the nonfarming people in this country to learn more about the problems and to have a more sympathetic interest toward those problems. And as active alert young men you are in a position to secure an understanding of the problems of other segments of our population. Both are important because our future as a nation depends in a large measure upon unity—how well all of us put our shoulders to the wheel and work together as citizens to solve the many serious problems which will continue to confront the Nation.

I know that you must sometimes have the feeling I do—that some of these problems are so great as to defy solution. Certainly they constitute a tremendous challenge to all of us. They can be solved only if all of us— farmers, businessmen, workers, Government officials, men, and women everywhere—do our part. The President and Congress alone cannot make the great decisions and find the right answers to the critical questions which confront us without the help of patriotic citizens everywhere.

Honest Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial by Thurman Sensing:

HONEST MONEY
(By Thurman Sensing)

There is one fundamental fact which the people of this country should realize once and for all—that we cannot have a thoroughly sound economy again until we have honest money to back it.

We have not had an honest dollar now for 20 years—and we still do not have it. Until we get it, it will be exceedingly difficult to keep the politicians—and we mean the politicians of either party—from spending and squandering the people's money.

A gold standard and a redeemable currency are the only policemen that can keep the politicians from doing these things.

It is difficult for some people to understand why a gold standard is necessary. What a gold standard actually means is an honest standard. It means the dollar has a tangible value back of it—not just a printing press. If something else could be used as well as gold, then it could replace gold as a standard and have the same effect. Throughout history, however, nothing has yet been found so universally adaptable as gold for this purpose, and it is therefore only sensible to continue to use it.

The main thing to be noted is that urging a return to a gold standard is a matter of morals; it is a matter of honesty between a government and its people.

When our Government abandoned the gold standard in 1933, it robbed the people of 40 percent of their savings. The Government, by this act, violated sanctity of contract and repudiated its pledged promise to the people. It took from the people their gold—which they had earned and which they owned and which was theirs—and since then, just as is the case in Russia, the people of this country have not been allowed to own gold. Since then our dollar has been a piece of paper that is a dollar simply because the Government says it is a dollar.

The submission by the people to this dishonest act by their Government and their acceptance of an irredeemable paper currency illustrates more significantly perhaps than any other phase of our activity in recent years the tendency of the people to surrender control of their affairs to the Government. And it might be noted at this point that taking over control of the money supply is always one of the first steps taken by any government in gaining complete control over the people.

This control of the money supply enabled the Government of the past 20 years to pay no attention to the national debt, to pay no attention to a balanced budget. The Government simply ran the printing press at full speed and with the money thus produced granted unlimited favors to unlimited numbers of persons, both at home and abroad.

As a result, of course, the value of the dollar constantly depreciated. The money which the people now receive for the Government bonds they purchased 20 years ago has less than half the purchasing power of the money with which they bought the bonds. The insurance policies being paid now provide less than half the security that they were bought to provide 20 years ago.

The platform of the present administration advocated the restoration of a domestic economy "of such stability as will permit the realization of our aim of a dollar on a fully convertible gold basis." The sentiment in this statement is good, but it is putting the cart before the horse. The way to get that stable domestic economy is to return to the gold standard first. Those who attempt to achieve a sound economy without honest money have two strikes against them to begin with.

We can return to a gold standard and a sound currency now—if we only want to do it—and we must return if we are ever to have a stable economy again. Perhaps the one finest thing the present administration could do for the welfare of the people of this Nation—and of the whole world, for that matter—would be to restore honesty to our currency by returning immediately to a gold standard.

Bills have been introduced in Congress to bring this about. They deserve your active support.

Excerpts on Parcel-Post Size and Weight Limitations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts on parcel-post size and weight limitations from the report of the advisory council to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and an editorial from the Washington Times-Herald of January 18, 1954:

EXCERPTS ON PARCEL-POST SIZE AND WEIGHT LIMITATIONS FROM THE REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL TO THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE PURSUANT TO SENATE RESOLUTION 49, A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE CERTAIN MATTERS RESPECTING POSTAL RATES AND CHARGES IN HANDLING CERTAIN MAIL MATTER

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III. WEIGHT AND SIZE LIMITATIONS ON PARCEL POST

Recommendation No. 28: Public Law 199, 82d Congress, should be repealed, and weight and size limitations should apply uniformly to all post offices.

The only nationwide package service in existence is post-office parcel post. The private-package services make deliveries in only a fraction of the areas served by the 41,000 post offices and rural routes.

It is apparent that this service makes a specific contribution to the general welfare. Public Law 199 represents a serious limiting factor in this service.

These limitations, which are applicable only to parcel-post packages entered in first-

class post offices, are contained in Public Law 199, 82d Congress. The purpose of the law was to reduce the costs of handling parcel post but the actual result has been to produce a depressant effect on business and services to small merchants and, in fiscal year 1953, a net loss of some $52 million in parcel-post revenue. Public Law 199 has been discriminatory because it applies these limitations only to patrons of first-class post offices.

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G. Limitations on parcel-post size and weight

Users of fourth-class mail are concerned not only with rates but also with weight and size limitations on the packages, as indicated by a substantial number of responses. The most frequent comment is to the effect that the present weight and size limitations have resulted in a substantial increase in cost and is made by 28 firms, one-half of which are manufacturers. (See table 35.)

TABLE 35.—*4th class mail: Number of comments on nonrate aspects by industry groups*

4th-class mail	All industries	Publishers	Manufacturers	Finance and utilities	Retail trade and other service trades	Other [1]
Results of reduction in weight and size limitation:						
(A) Substantial increase in costs	28	2	19	----------	5	2
(B) Substantial reduction in use of parcel post	11	----------	4	----------	6	1
(C) Shift to other means of transportation	21	1	13	----------	4	3
(D) Additional expense to customer	5	----------	3	----------	1	1
2. Parcel-post insurance frequently impractical to use	5	----------	4	----------	1	----------
3. Damage to parcels excessive	8	1	6	----------	1	----------
Total comments	78	4	49	----------	18	7
Number of section 11's received	616	65	261	70	135	95

[1] Consists of mining, contract construction, transportation (except rail and air) and wholesale trade.

Source: The Conference Board.

Some comments indicated that weight-and-size limitations had resulted in a reduced use of parcel post. For instance:

"The 20-pound limitation on packages between first-class post-office stations is a definite burden to any business. It makes it necessary to break up shipments into two and more separate units with resulting waste in material and manpower." (Manufacturing.)

"We have taken away from postal services a considerable amount of fourth-class mail due to postal increases and weight limitations. This has increased our transportation costs considerably in that we are shippers of predominantly small shipments." (Chemical manufacturing.)

"We feel the changes in 1951 Postal Regulations re parcel-post weight and package-size reduction amounts to a direct handout to Railway Express. We purchase many small- and medium-sized and weight items and this parcel-post change referred to adds substantially to our costs." (Service trade.)

"The weight-and-size limitations on parcel-post shipments from first-class post offices is another problem. Since these limitations went into effect, the number of packages that must be shipper per $1 of business has risen 10 percent, which means an increase in use of packaging material, an increase in packaging labor, an increased use in handling labor, both for the shipper and for the post office, and an increased use of clerical labor for predetermination of size limitation on the shipment involved. These weight-and-size limitations have also forced more shipments from parcel post to truck, thus again cutting post-office volume." (Greeting-card publisher.)

"Parcel-post size and weight limitations have cut our use of parcel post by 25 percent and increased costs. Example: A package that would have been sent via parcel post at a cost of $1.05 was sent via express at a cost of $2.63. Weight of package, 22 pounds." (Manufacturing.)

"We want very much to have the restrictions lifted for the use of parcel post. These restrictions have nearly eliminated our use of parcel post in comparison with our use prior to the restrictions." (Retail trade.)

All told, more than 20 firms, chiefly manufacturers, stated that weight and size limitations on parcel post had resulted in a shift to other means of transportation.

"Because of the high parcel-post rates, more and more shipments are going express or truck as the difference in cost is negligible and express and truck have proved faster in some cases. By the time you add special delivery and insurance to the new parcel-post rates they are in most cases more expensive than minimum truck rates which in distances up to 300 miles give overnight service." (Stone, clay, and grass products.)

"In recent years on account of fairly good limits as to size on parcel-post packages and favorable rates, it placed us in competition with other wholesalers where we ship into their trading area; or, even in our own trading area where parcel-post rates were a reasonable amount, it didn't add too much onto the amount the customer had to pay. The rates are so exorbitant now, particularly the last increase, which was a large amount, and has put us at a very decided disadvantage where our dealer now notices how much transportation is costing him. In zones 2 or over we find it cheaper to ship by truck than by parcel post." (Wholesale trade.)

"Changes in parcel-post rates and in size and weight limitations greatly affect our operations. Weight and size limitations as presently in effect create much additional expense, more handling, and additional expense to our customers. We would request their removal, reverting to previous limitations, even if it would require higher parcel post rates. However, high parcel post rates tend to limit our market to nearby territories." (Textile mill products.)

"Rates have not contributed to changes but parcel-post size and weights have caused us to route about 40 percent of our business to other carriers than parcel post." (Manufacturing.)

"Size and weight limitations on parcel post prohibit the use of postal services for part of our shipments. We think taking away this sizable amount of revenue from the post office contributes to deficits. Also, the higher charges for railway express ($1.15 to $1.40 per package more), which is the only other service available for many of our shipments, reduces our profits correspondingly; and this has caused the Federal Government to receive smaller income-tax revenue corresponding to the reduced profits." (Retail trade.)

"Due to the higher costs and smaller package requirements we were forced to use other means of transportation. • • • We would double our use of parcel post if the pound limit was increased regardless of a cost increase." (Apparel.)

"Increased rates on parcel post, together with tighter limitations on size and weights has encouraged us to give rail express and air freight top priority. We use parcel post now only for small, nonfragile shipments." (Manufacturing.)

"Changes in parcel-post weight and size limits in the past have caused us to reduce the overall size of our package units, thereby increasing the number of shipping units per order and consequently increasing our labor, material, and postal costs. Also increases in postal rates, when put into effect, caused us to divert postal shipments to other means of transportation." (Manufacturing.)

However, the shoe is on the other foot in the case of at least one firm which states—

"Rate increases in Railway Express have resulted in our using parcel post somewhat more." (Paper and allied products.)

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D. Legislative handicaps

Size and Weight Limitation on Parcel Post

Public Law 199, 82d Congress (39 U. S. C. 240A), limits the size and weight of parcel-post shipments by first-class offices, with certain exceptions, which is discriminatory, costly, and confusing to the public and difficult for the Department to administer. The question is, Where should the line be drawn on maximum size and weight limitations for parcel post?

The former 70-pound limit was first inaugurated 35 years ago (March 15, 1918) for the first, second, and third postal zones. For more than 20 years (from August 1, 1931, to January 1, 1952) the weight limit on parcel post was 70 pounds to all postal zones, and the size limit (a measure of combined length and girth) was 100 inches. Over the opposition of the Post Office Department the Congress, in October 1951, wrote into law reduced size and weight limits permitting only 40-pound packages to be sent in the first and second zones and 20 pounds for further zones when mailed between first-class post offices The size limit was placed at 72 inches; apparently this mathematical fact was not appreciated: That cutting the dimensions of a cube from the former to the latter measurement reduces the cubic content not to seventy-two one-hundredths of the original but to seventy-two one-hundreds; in other words, reduces the cubic content by almost two-thirds—to 37.8 percent of the original permissible volume.

Congress anticipated that "getting the Department out of the freight business" would help the financial picture of the Department. Experience has shown this was a costly error of judgment. Figures of the Post Office Department which were submitted by the Department's own cost experts in the recent Interstate Commerce Commission hearings on parcel-post rates showed that the new size and weight limits had resulted in a net deficit of $52,400,000 for the Department in 1952. In other words, the heavier parcels carried the larger revenues, and when revenues declined from these packages being barred from the mails costs could not be cut commensurately.

The importance of parcel-post revenues in sharing the fixed and overhead expenses of the Post Office Department should not be overlooked. One of the primary reasons why the Post Office Department has been able to maintain first-class-mail rates without substantial increases over the years in the face of a rising price level and vastly increased costs is simply due to the fact that parcel post has come into the picture as a major

source of revenue of the postal system and parcel post shares a substantial part of the fixed and overhead expenses which would otherwise have to be borne by first-class mail. This is equally true of other secondary classes of mail. A first-class 1-ounce letter actually costs one-half as much to mail now as it did in 1879, when the present mail classification was established. A first-class letter cost 3 cents per half ounce then, and it should be recalled the general price level has more than tripled since 1879.

Apart from the physical aspects, a very serious discrimination factor is involved in the present size and weight limits. Patrons of first-class post offices cannot get the same service that can be obtained in second-, third-, or fourth-class offices. No matter what maximum size and weight limits are determined as a matter of policy to be proper for parcel post, there is no good justification for discrimination between different classes of post offices.

Three anomalous situations with respect to the present size and weight limits should be pointed out:

1. The international parcel-post weight limit is greater than the present domestic weight limit. A 44-pound parcel can be sent from Washington, D. C. (or any United States post office), to most parts of the world, but no more than 20 pounds can be sent from Washington, D. C., to Chicago, for example, under present limits.

2. The 40-20 pound limits of Public Law 199 apply also to first-class mail—although no one intended it so to apply. By previous statute (39 U. S. C. 223) the weight limit of first-class mail is linked to that which is applicable to fourth class. The Solicitor of the Post Office Department confirmed this in a special ruling on October 31, 1951 (opinions of the Solicitor, vol. 9, No. 213), stating that Public Law 199 and of the 82d Congress does apply to first-class mail. Since the Government retains for itself a monopoly on the handling of all first-class mail (which includes sealed packages), and since by this ruling such first-class parcels in excess of these limits are prohibited from the mails, it is clear that, in effect, such first-class parcels are prohibited completely from being shipped, by the Post Office Department, or by private carriage. There probably were very few 20-pound first-class parcels regularly sent in the mails prior to the effective date of Public Law 199—but, of all types of mail, none could be more lucrative to handle than a sealed package of first-class surface mail at the rate of 48 cents per pound (3 cents per ounce): And the Department is prohibited by Public Law 199 from handling this.

3. The same ruling of the Solicitor of the Post Office Department cited above, confirms that penalty mail also is bound by the same limitations. Here, then, is the absurd situation that when a Government department has a 21-pound package to be sent from Washington, D. C., to a first-class city in the third postal zone or beyond, it must turn to railway express to do the job for it.

One further comment should be made concerning parcel-post rates and services. The Government is obligated to provide parcel-post service wherever the Post Office Department operates. That means that the Department must handle much traffic that is relatively uneconomic and must balance those costs with the profitable business obtained from large-volume shipments between first-class post offices. When this profitable business is deliberately given away to competing carriers, who assume no responsibility for service to the remote uneconomic areas, then surely the parcel post system is doomed as a low-cost parcel service. This policy is the direct opposite of that applied in the case of first-class mail, where the Government in order to assure for itself the "cream traffic" as well as the uneconomic business imposes a monopoly which retains carriage of all first-class mail by the Department. The present size and weight policy can result only in a series of parcel-post rate increases which, in turn, will drive further "cream traffic" from parcel post.

It is wholly erroneous to argue that the present size and weight limits are justified because the reduction of volume has relieved the congestion in certain post office facilities. The Post Office Department has meant too much to the economic growth of this country to embark on a policy of service curtailment, so that the postal business can be made to match available postal facilities. The fact is that the postal facilities have not kept pace with the population and economic growth of the country—and the increase in fourth-class mail volume has lagged behind most of the indexes of national growth, including the index of first-class mail volume.

It is erroneous, too, to argue that stringent size and weight limits are desirable because diversion to private industry furthers the philosophy of free enterprise. No private enterprise is in a position to duplicate the facilities of the Post Office Department. The Post Office Department can provide an economic parcel service because such service is a logical complement to share the overhead expenses of the Department. The Department uses private enterprise in the carriage of its traffic. The statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that the railroads fare much better in the carriage of parcel post than they do in the carriage of identical matter by railway express.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of January 18, 1954]

WASHINGTON SCENE

(By George Dixon)

Representative KATHARINE PRICE COLLIER ST. GEORGE, of New York, is one of the most level-headed Members of Congress, male or female, but the other day she found her brain spinning crazily over the postal laws.

The GOP gentlewoman from fashionable Tuxedo Park is chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Starting out on what was intended to be more or less a routine study of postal regulations, the lady wound up in a state of dizzying flabbergastage.

Her investigations disclosed that our postal laws and regulations are so confusing and idiotically contradictory they read as if they'd been compiled by a legion of madmen.

POSTAL LAWS WASTE MILLIONS

Mrs. ST. GEORGE immediately summoned high officials of the Post Office Department before her subcommittee and demanded they restore some vestige of sanity to postal operations. They shook their heads sadly and muttered that they could do nothing because "The law is the law."

Because of a wild, uncorrelated welter of laws governing weight, size, length, and content of mail; class of post office, local zoning, and method of delivery, postal clerks waste millions of man-hours deciding how a piece of mail should be handled before sending it on its way.

Here, for example, are some of the contradictions a postal clerk in Washington would encounter every day:

1. A 21-pound parcel could be sent to any Philadelphia address, but a 21-pound parcel could not be sent to a New York City address.

2. A 21-pound parcel could be sent to 1520 Ash Street, St. Louis, because it's listed as a rural address, but it could not be sent to 1620 Pine Street, St. Louis, because it's listed as a city address.

3. A 41-pound parcel could be sent to a soldier at Fort Bragg, N. C., but not to him at his home in Fort Dodge, Iowa. (Don't worry too much about this one, Mrs. ST. GEORGE. I hear he's hardly ever home anyway.)

4. A 30-pound parcel of oranges could be sent to New York, but a 30-pound parcel of orange juice could not.

5. A 21-pound parcel could not be sent to a San Antonio address served by the San Antonio post office, but one of 70 pounds could be sent to an address served by the Air Force base outside San Antonio. (Warning to Postmaster General Summerfield: Remember the Alamo.)

6. A 70-pound package could be sent to Juneau, Alaska, but the limit to Seattle is 20 pounds.

The Post Office Department favors uniform weight and size limits in all zones and from and to all classes of post offices. So does Representative ST. GEORGE. But before any kind of sense can be brought out of all this chaos the postal operations will have to go through the laborious process of being revised and passed by both Houses of Congress.

In the meantime, the people at 1620 Pine Street can fret themselves to a frazzle wishing they were living out in the sticks.

Usefulness of Man, 65, Admitted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of Saturday, January 16, 1954:

USEFULNESS OF MAN, 65, ADMITTED

Inflation has ruined the rosy dreams of comfortable retirement for millions of Americans. It has been the great enemy of social security and other retirement programs.

Funds which 10 years ago appeared adequate, no longer provide a living. While salaries and prices have climbed in an inflationary spiral, pensions and social security benefits have lagged.

The Eisenhower administration has stabilized the dollar, but this yet leaves a gap created by past inflation.

The President's program for expanded social security, therefore, strikes a welcome note for those concerned with the problem of what to do at the age of 65.

Mr. Eisenhower has given new recognition to the fact that a man does not become useless automatically at the age of 65. Failure to recognize this is one of the fallacies of the present law. Limiting wage factors of social security have forced many capable men to abstain from even part-time jobs, lest they lose the benefit of their own past contributions to the security fund.

The question of liberalizing the amount a person may earn while receiving social-security payments is not new. In 1952 Republicans, led by Representative DAN REED, of New York, sought to increase to $100 the amount retired persons might earn in monthly wages without losing benefits. Democrats urged a $70 limitation. Since they were in a majority, they yielded little and a compromise figure of $75 was agreed upon.

President Eisenhower's proposal goes beyond this. It provides exemptions up to $1,000 a year and then offers a sliding scale for additional wages. This is realistic in terms of present-day dollars.

The President's entire social-security program is laudable for the added protection it offers individuals.

Social security is not and should not be a giant government dole. Mr. Eisenhower wisely has retained in the program the key principles of a system supported by employer-employee contributions. Social security provides only a base for retirement—not necessarily the entire means.

We believe the President's program is sound. It merits early enactment.

Aren't Good Citizens Practical?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix the following editorial by Editor Sag Kash, of the Cynthiana Democrat, who is recognized as one of Kentucky's leading editors, on a subject in which he is greatly interested and one which is of grave concern to all communities:

AREN'T GOOD CITIZENS PRACTICAL?

The annual report of the Cynthiana Police Department, published elsewhere in this issue of the Democrat, points up once again an unsolved problem extending beyond the borders of Harrison County, and is one which, we feel, should occupy the attention not only of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky but also the Congress of the United States.

While we have only figures taken from the local police department files upon which to base our premise, we do not feel that Cynthiana or Harrison County is an exception in any comparison which might be made of it and other communities throughout the Nation.

During the year just closed the local police department made a total of 957 arrests, 69.9 percent of which were on charges of drunkenness, there being a total of 669 on this offense alone. But, before one jumps to conclusions too quickly, we caution that 75 percent of these arrests concern a minority group which repeats the offense within 7 days after paying a fine or being released from the city jail after "laying out" a fine.

The Democrat does not advocate the return of prohibition as a solution to the problem which this minority group poses, and neither does it feel that higher tax upon the legal source of supply would afford any change in the pattern which these unfortunates follow. Prohibition would drive them to an illegal source of supply and an increase in the cost of the product would afford the same avenue of escape.

Either, of course, would result in a greater outlay of tax funds for law enforcement officials and the attending danger of graft, throwing the solution of the present problem farther out of focus and creating newer and more serious problems with which the lawmakers of the land would be forced to cope.

No man becomes an alcoholic by choice. At the outset he has no intention of allowing alcoholism to take over his life any more than he would think of deliberately stepping into the path of a mad dog and becoming a potential victim of rabies.

The rehabilitation of the alcoholic would enable him to become a self-supporting member of society and a contributor to the economy which must support him and his family a greater part of the time.

Taxes derived from the sale of alcoholic drinks and beverages, if earmarked for salvaging alcoholics through a research and rehabilitation program, could ultimately resolve the problem which not only Cynthiana and Harrison Counties but the entire Nation faces.

And, why wouldn't such a plan be feasible? The Federal and State highways are built and maintained largely from the gasoline tax which is earmarked for this particular purpose. Aren't good citizens just as practical as good roads?

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is seldom that I avail myself of the privilege of the Appendix for the insertion of my remarks. I receive so many requests to insert articles in the RECORD that I have been forced, although regretfully, to decline. But, when a man gives almost half a century of his life to philanthropic and hospital activities, I feel, in this instance, I must set aside the policy I established. Max Abelman, who has very recently retired from the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, is indeed worthy of mention in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We of the 10th Congressional District of New York are proud of Max Abelman, and we hope that God will bless him and give us the benefit of his services for many years to come. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the tribute the Brooklyn Eagle has paid Mr. Abelman in its news story and editorial of January 3, 1954:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of January 3, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN'S YEARS OF SERVICE HAILED AS HE LEAVES HOSPITAL POST

Trustees of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital last week attended a dinner in honor of Max Abelman, the hospital's long-time public relations director, on his retirement from active service as of the first of the new year.

The dinner was held in the Unity Club of Brooklyn, 101 Eighth Avenue. Former Supreme Court Justice Emil N. Baar, president of the hospital, announced Mr. Abelman's retirement, with a life pension, after many years of faithful and devoted service not only to Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, but to the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the community in general as well.

Mr. Abelman, Justice Baar pointed out, could look back to almost half a century of active community service, his connection with the hospital dating back to 1909. He was hailed by the diners, as he has been from time to time publicly referred to in the past, as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will.

RAISED MILLIONS FOR NEEDY

Mr. Abelman, it was mentioned, counts among his friends some of America's outstanding personalities in all walks of life. Born in Rumania 67 years ago, he came to New York at the age of 5, arrived in Brooklyn in 1909, and soon became active in community betterment projects. He spearheaded many drives to help meet Brooklyn's quotas for the war chest, war relief work, charity, and philanthropic enterprises, resulting in the raising of many millions of dollars to help the less fortunate.

Mr. Abelman did a major portion of the work organizing the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities and was its executive director for 14 years. He organized the Big Brother and Big Sister movements. In 1915, when $100,000 was sought for Jewish war sufferers, Mr. Abelman raised the funds one night at two mass meetings. In 1918 he brought $1,250,000 for the Liberty Loan at a dinner at the Unity Club. The following year, under the auspices of 44 banks, he raised $43,960,000 toward Brooklyn's Fifth Liberty Loan quota.

In 1923 Mr. Abelman became assistant secretary of public relations and new business in the trust department of the Manufacturers Trust Co. He continued to organize drives for many worthy causes. In recognition of his many communal endeavors, he was the recipient of numerous honors. Recently he was elected president of the Brooklyn Library Association.

Justice Baar, Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss, Louis M. Rabinowitz, director, and Mrs. Grace Bachrach, former president of the women's auxiliary of the hospital, in a joint statement, paid warm tribute to the guest of honor as an outstanding public leader, who has devoted his life for the welfare of the less fortunate.

Mr. Abelman has brought to the Jewish Hospital the greatest personalities of the world, thereby making the institution internationally renowned. The directors in accepting Mr. Abelman's resignation expressed their deep regrets and hoped that his health would permit him to continue to serve his fellowman with the same selflessness and distinction as he has done for almost half a century.

The arrangement committee consisted of Edward Lazansky, former presiding justice of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, as chairman; Dr. Moses Spatt and Justice Moss.

Mr. Abelman, after a short rest, will devote his time to writing a book on his 50 years' experience in communal work. He will also act as consultant to educational and philanthropic activities. He will continue his efforts to bring about more medical schools to meet the current need of doctors to tend the sick.

Mr. Abelman lives with his wife, Bessie, at 35 Tennis Court. His summer home is in Neponsit.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of January 4, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN RETIRES

The announced retirement of Max Abelman as public relations director of the Jewish hospital, is a mere figure of speech in more ways than one. True this champion of Brooklyn causes is approaching the half-century mark in philanthropic and hospital activities and feels the need of a well-earned rest but it can be taken for granted his kindly and unselfish influence here in humanitarian efforts will continue in the role of elder statesman.

Abelman, who has been called Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, has served the hospital since 1909. Speakers at the Unity Club dinner in his honor recalled his devotion to his job, his participation in Federation of Jewish Philanthropies affairs and other charitable causes, war chest drives, and the strong friendships he has made through the years.

The tone of the tributes to him reflects a deep regret that he must curtail his activities. We share in that and express the hope he may find a little leisure time, a luxury he never enjoyed before, a most pleasant experience. But he will be heard from again and people will listen to his sage counsel.

Who Is Belittling Now?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on every occasion that the matter of congressional salaries has been considered by other than Members of Congress the agreement has been unanimous that they are underpaid.

The Hoover Commission, former President Truman, and now the Eisenhower Commission recommend salaries of at least $25,000 per year. Bar associations from one end of the country to the other urge such an increase. The American Bar Association has made available to every Member of Congress a brochure of editorials from newspapers throughout the country urging such action.

Nevertheless, some commentators have rushed to their broadcasts with statements that some Members of Congress—not naming them—will be afraid to increase their salaries, while others—again not named—have intimated that the recommendations are too high.

I cannot bring myself to believe that there is any substance to such claims.

The United States Constitution, article I, section 6, requires the Congress to fix its own salaries. I am sure its Members will not shirk that duty. I am just as certain that in performing that duty they will not minimize the value of their services. Surely no Member can expect his constituents to think more highly of him than he, himself, does. If his own estimate of himself is too low, he may give his constituents cause to seek a person on whom they will place a greater value.

Apropos to this discussion are the following editorials; the first is from the New York Times and reads:

THE CHIEF JUSTICE LEFT $1,000—HIS REWARD WAS NOT MONEY

For better or worse, this is a country where much credit attaches to personal wealth ethically gained. Not honor particularly, but the respect and admiration of a good many people. After all, what are most of us doing during a large part of our waking hours? Look about you on the street any Monday to Friday from 9 to 5. Most of the people you will see in one way or another are attending to the task of making money, and as much of it as they can without undue hardship. And this is good. It is the way the world's work gets done and the way the results of that work are turned back to the people who do it. There are other fashions of producing and consuming. But since this way has proved itself, by the supreme economic position of our country to be the most efficient, most of us give it our approval.

Thinking of this, it seems strange to compliment a man who has died for the poverty of his estate. Fred Vinson, for 7 years Chief Justice of the United States, with most of his life spent in important public service, has left an estimated $1,000 to his heirs. If each of us were to take stock of his own position would not any of us willingly change our jobs for double our present incomes? Then consider what a man like Vinson, with his integrity, knowledge of law and tax matters, friends and acquaintances, might have had in the way of money had he cared to leave the small rewards of public life and turn his hand to business. Probably he could have been a millionaire more than once. This, then, is simply another shining mark on the record of a fine American statesman and jurist.

The second is from the New York Herald Tribune, as follows:

INCREASED GOVERNMENT PAY

The Presidential Commission Investigating the Pay Scales of Congressmen and Federal judges has confirmed the existence of a state of affairs which has alarmed many observers. "There is a distinct trend," the Commission reported, "for persons with legislative and judicial ability to stay away from the Federal service, which, if permitted to continue, will only further demoralize and weaken essential areas of national leadership at a time when national responsibilities were never more grave." Increased salaries may be only part of the answer to this problem, but certainly it is an essential part. In recognition of this fact, the Commission has recommended increases in the pay of Congressmen from the present $12,500, plus $2,500 in expenses, to $27,500 a year with corresponding rises for members of the Federal bench.

It may not be easy for Congressmen to set an exact value on their own services—particularly in an election year, when they are under the most exacting scrutiny of the voters. Nevertheless, the national interest demands that Federal salaries be brought closer into line with services performed by and the heavy demands made on legislators and judges. For a Representative, for example, to stay in close touch with his district and at the same time to attend committee meetings and legislative sessions is very costly; moreover, his 2-year tenure makes it difficult to set up long-term arrangements for housing and the like, while requiring at frequent intervals the additional expense of a campaign. This is a grave handicap in attracting able men and women to Congress—except for those who have means aside from their governmental salary and who, in effect, subsidize their own services to the country.

In terms of the total cost of running the National Government, the increases proposed by the commission mean very little—they could be paid with only one-one hundredths of 1 percent of the Federal budget. The return to the country, by keeping experienced public servants and attracting new, able candidates for office, can hardly be measured in dollars. Whether or not the precise figures of the commission are adopted, the general intent of its recommendations should be put in practice.

The third, written by Robert M. Grannis, appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle, as follows:

NEEDED: REALISTIC VIEW OF GOVERNMENT PAY

There's a little figuring of Senator Snort on my desk—the famous Washingtonian created by the incomparable Lichty whose broadly satirical cartooning is good for what ails people. The Senator wears a tiny hat and a string tie. His belly sticks out and his mouth is wide open and all in all he is a very ludicrous figure. In Moscow an artist probably would be shot for lampooning a Government official. I've always thought that one of our finest moments here in the United States of America is when we laugh at ourselves. And there are no exempt targets—no one is out of bounds.

But behind the occasional laughter over the antics of the Snorts and others whom we elect to make our laws and govern us there is a deep respect for the method. Right now it probably strikes most of us as "hot stuff" because of the Congress wants to raise its own salary particularly when an election is coming up. Well maybe it does sound a bit thick but nevertheless no one else can do it for them. And I hope they don't lose their nerve at the last minute.

We who work in businesses are prone to see a touch of larceny in the salaries paid to officials including judges and so on. We look at a judge making $30,000 a year and say what a racket. And it is hardly fair. People who represent us can't live like you and I. They have a position to maintain as the penalty for achieving the distinction of public office and we wouldn't want to see it any other way. And when they get through paying their income taxes and higher living costs there really isn't much left. The late Chief Justice Vinson devoted his life to government service and he was nearly broke when he died. And no one could ever accuse him of being a heavy or foolish spender.

As we grow more and more enlightened on the subject of good government we want better and younger men to serve us. And it makes no sense at all to bar a qualified man because he is loathe to work for his country when rewards in other professional fields are so much higher. Vinson could have made a fortune as a lawyer. An upward adjustment of wages for Members of Congress, members of the Cabinet and the President too might seem imprudent at a time when the national debt is where it is. But the total cost would be one of the smallest items in a budget that deals in billions.

I think it is unreasonable to expect any talented man to give the best years of his life working for the public at the expense of his family and his future. Of course there is no compulsion for them to do it, but that's beside the point. In the entertainment world producers attract the best talent by assuring men and women performers high incomes. I believe the same theory should prevail in Government—local, State and national. A more liberal policy would have the end result of improving the caliber of the work being done. Many men who are forced to say no to an offer now would be inclined to change their minds. All too frequently an important assignment falls to an individual and his reward may run between $3,000 and $15,000. There's nothing very realistic about the practice.

Voters are always clamoring for more efficient and intelligent representation. But they get their backs up when there is talk of across the board raises. And I have been just as guilty as anyone else. But when you think it over and remember that there are only a few Senator Snorts and others who are more ludicrous than helpful to us, doesn't it make sense to favor a more liberal view of the wage question? Surely this Nation can afford to be generous. In a sense an investment in good pay here is just as important as a fabulous investment in neighbors abroad.

The Delaney Statement to Senate Committee on ILO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, on January 20 I addressed some remarks to the House in defense of the ILO and inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Harvard Business Review by Mr. George P. Delaney, United States labor member of the organization.

I now have a copy of Mr. Delaney's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, presented in February of last year when the committee was holding hearings on the so-called Bricker amendment. Mr. Delaney spoke from his experience as a delegate to the International Labor Organization and his knowledge of the sources from which attacks on the constitutional treatymaking powers of our Government have come. Mr. Delaney, in clear, concise terms, and with illuminating facts and logic, refutes what he rightly terms the horror stories wittingly spread by certain interests opposed to the ILO. These interests are willing to go to any lengths, including handcuffing our Government in its handling of foreign affairs, to destroy the ILO. There can be no better way to thwart their schemes than to give full publicity to the true facts. For that reason I include Mr. Delaney's testimony following these remarks:

Acting within the limits of my competence and interest as international representative of the American Federation of Labor, and as American worker delegate to the International Labor Organization, I should like to register, and to place upon the record, my strong opposition to Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, and to respectfully express the hope that this resolution will not receive the approval of your committee.

The adoption of the proposed amendment would, I believe, seriously weaken the hand of the United States in its relations with other nations. As a new source of weakness and impotence, in time of danger, it would constitute a step toward self-defeat in our efforts to fulfill our responsibilities in the modern world.

The possible consequences of this resolution are all the more a cause for concern because they cannot at this moment be fully foreseen. The ambiguity of language and the variety of interpretation to which it lends itself, coupled with the natural imperfections of our view of the future, combine to make it an unknown quantity in the extent of its potenial effects—though not in their direction.

That this direction is entirely a negative one becomes apparent from any consideration of what the effects of the resolution upon the course of our history might have been had it been operative in years past. It would have obstructed, and perhaps defeated, the power of this Nation to bargain effectively, to negotiate and to conclude many of those historic instruments of our foreign relations which have brought to America and its people many great and lasting benefits and which have served to enhance rather than diminish the scope of our vital freedoms.

I should like, therefore, to state what I suppose to be, essentially, a conservative position on this issue—a position in defense of the constitutional provision governing the treaty power as it now stands, and as it has been throughout our history. I have no reason to believe that I can exercise a clearer perception of the proper direction of our national interest, or a more exalted concern for the welfare of America and its citizens than that of the Founding Fathers, who overwhelmingly rejected just such a proposition as that advanced by the resolution, more than 165 years ago.

I do not believe that this rejection, or the wording of the treaty clause in the Constitution, constituted an error on their part, which now stands in need of correction by this generation. Nor do I believe that changing times, circumstances and conditions have weakened the compelling force and logic of the reasons which led them to their action. On the contrary, I believe that those reasons apply with even greater force and validity today—and that they more than vindicate both their foresight and their understanding of the practical requirements of life in the family of nations.

The acid test is the test of experience—not that of groundless speculation. Nowhere in the record of experience can practical justification be found for the proposed amendment. Nor can any legitimate extension of logic, on a basis of actual fact, make up that deficiency.

On the contrary, experience has shown that the treaty clause has worked exceptionally well. By and large, this Nation has emerged very favorably from the major treaty negotiations to which it has been a party.

As to the allegation that the rights of the individual States are jeopardized by the treaty power, it should be noted that most of the 48 States would never have come into being had it not been for the exercise of the treaty power. Most of the States owe their very existence to treaties negotiated by the United States with foreign powers—treaties which were, in their day, regarded by many as highly controversial.

One hundred and sixty-five years ago, affairs proceeded at a much more leisurely pace than they do in this atomic age. If the ability to act with expedition and dispatch was then properly regarded as a desirable feature of the treaty power, then it would be all the more dangerous, through the proposed amendment, to preclude it now. If the ability of our National Government to stand as a unit and to speak with one authoritative voice—as a nation—in its transactions, with other nations was a necessary attribute of the treaty power 165 years ago—with the separate interests and emotions of only 13 States to consider—how much more necessary it is today with 48 States under the common flag.

To be able to speak with authority and force in our relations with other countries, our representatives must know what is possible of acceptance and ratification, and where the limits, beyond which the danger of repudiation emerges, lie. Under the Constitution as it stands, this requires consultation with spokesmen of the Senate. To extend the area of consultation further would—through the multiplication of numbers alone—introduce onerous burdens and new elements of doubt and instability into the conduct of foreign affairs—handicaps which would far outweigh anything that might be gained by such an extension. If the framers of the Constitution were justified in this view 165 years ago, when the membership of both House and Senate was very much smaller in numbers than now, then an even greater justification exists today for the preservation of the procedure whereby ratification is the prerogative of the Senate alone. For, in the pursuance of international transactions which may extend over a period of years, how do you effectively consult and exchange assurances with a House of 435 members up for election every 2 years?

The framers of the Constitution properly regarded the Senate as the body best qualified and equipped—by tenure, basis of representation, and numbers—to share the treaty power with the Executive. The introduction of the House into this process would weaken, rather than enhance, the relative role of the States as such—for each State has equal representation in the Senate, regardless of size or population.

The basic premise underlying the proposed resolution appears to be the fear that the Senate cannot be trusted to exercise a proper regard for the rights and interests of the States, the Nation, and its citizens in our relations with other nations; and that two-thirds of the Senate present is less trustworthy in this regard than would be a simple majority of both House and Senate. This is an argument which I find it impossible to accept. It is at best absurd; at worst, it strikes at the very heart of our representative system of government. The day that two-thirds of the Senate is so blind, or negligent, as to be unable to see its duty and perform it when a vital treaty is up for consideration, then the contents of treaties may be the least of our troubles.

The requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Senate present for ratification is an adequate check upon the exercise of powers of the executive branch. It appears to me to be a more stringent check than a simple majority of House and Senate would be—particularly where social and economic issues are involved in pending treaties. And, if this is not enough, further checks and safeguards are also available, without the necessity of further additions or amendments to the Constitution. In the process of ratification, the Senate can stipulate certain reservations. If following ratification, the treaty turns out, in effect, to be a harmful one, nullifying legislation can be enacted—by a simple majority of House and Senate. For, if treaties can alter statutes, then it is equally true that subsequent statutes can alter or terminate treaties.

To guard against the distant possibility that we might someday negotiate and ratify a bad treaty by making it impossible to negotiate many good treaties, would be equivalent to burning down the house to get rid of a hypothetical mouse that does not yet exist. Treaties should be judged on a case-by-case basis, on their substance as they are presented to the Senate—not negatively, before the fact—through any blanket abdication of powers which every sovereign nation requires and should rightfully have. I, for one, am quite prepared to trust two-thirds of the Senate to judge each treaty on its merits and to yield a verdict compatible with our constitutional rights and liberties.

Various witnesses have come before the committee, in support of the resolution, with horror stories of one sort or another, about the International Labor Organization. Their testimony has relied heavily upon misrepresentation and distortion, and has ignored the essential facts about the ILO—facts which show that, far from being a case in support of the resolution, the ILO and its procedures provide a good example of why the resolution is neither necessary nor desirable.

The rights of the individual states certainly have nothing to fear from the ILO. It is the only major international organization whose charter at the present time recognizes the federal-state relationship existing in member states having a federal type of government. The ILO constitution specifically provides that the government of such nations shall itself decide whether a convention is "appropriate under its constitutional system for federal action," or whether it is "appropriate, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent states."

Only in the former case, where States' rights are not involved, is the possibility of ratification considered. Consequently, our Federal-State relationships are fully protected.

Furthermore, very few ILO conventions are self-executing. Even if ratified, their implementation would require legislative enactments by both Houses of Congress in the usual manner. Only in rare cases would action by the Senate alone give effect to ILO conventions in this country—and if, in those few cases, the subject matter happens to be objectionable, the Senate has in its hands a very simple remedy. One-third of the Senate present, plus one, can kill a convention completely. The very small number of conventions which this country has ratified does not appear to give evidence of any danger that they may be slipped through wholesale, while the Senate is napping. It would be much easier to slip a camel through the eye of a needle.

The Convention on Minimum Standards of Social Security, adopted at the last conference, has been pointed to as an example of sinister socialistic influences operating through the ILO. This is sheer nonsense; the convention makes no effort to impose any rigid pattern or procedure on any nation. In the first place, of course, ratification is wholly voluntary—any country that doesn't like the convention does not have to take it. Secondly, the means by which the convention would be implemented is up to the free choice of the individual nations, and are entirely compatible with the American system and practice. Full recognition is given both State and private voluntary social insurance programs, as well as Federal programs, in meeting the standard set forth in the convention.

Third, a member nation wishing to ratify the convention may do so by endorsing only 3 of the 9 branches of social security covered by it. If it does not like the maternity-benefit aspect, for example, it does not have to adopt it, even if it does elect to ratify.

Furthermore, the chances are that the convention will be judged appropriate in part for State, rather than Federal, action and will be referred, as a recommendation, to the States for whatever steps they may choose to take, instead of being submitted for ratification by the Senate. And finally, even if it is judged appropriate for ratification by the Senate, it is not self-executing, so that legislative action by both Houses of Congress would be necessary to give effect to the convention.

I submit that a superabundance of checks, balances, and safeguards already exists under our present procedures—and particularly so with respect to the ILO.

If the ILO is socialistic, as some have alleged, then it can only be said that the United States today, without having ratified any appreciable number of conventions, is already even more so. For we have in this country already committed ourselves, by one means or another, to standards of life and labor which are well in excess of those contemplated in the vast majority of the conventions of the ILO. To us the ILO is primarily an avenue through which we can without intrusion, support the efforts of other nations to improve their own standards and conditions.

Any failure on our part to continue to give full cooperation and support to the ILO would have little, if any, effect one way or the other upon the domestic standards, rights, and liberties which we now enjoy. But it would seriously handicap us in the pursuit of a policy of support, encouragement, and assistance to other nations in their efforts to elevate and enlarge their own domestic standards, rights, and liberties. We have everything to gain from the successful operation of the ILO and nothing to lose.

And therein lies much of the danger inherent in the philosophy of the proposed resolution that "domestic issues should not be the subject of international cooperation." Subhuman conditions of life and labor and the denial of the basic liberties in other nations are matters of grave concern to us, and we must be free to join in concerted action with other nations to deal with these problems.

For our own standards do not exist in a vacuum, insulated from external forces and pressures. We can never be confident of our ability to maintain them in time of economic stress in the face of unfair competition from abroad from products turned out by sweated labor under subhuman conditions of work.

Furthermore, we have an interest in the promotion of those higher levels of employment and prosperity which can only come with expanding world markets for our products, and expanding world markets can only come with steady and consistent improvements in the condition of the peoples of other lands.

We have a vital interest in the preservation of world peace, and world freedom. Yet we know that neither peace nor freedom can be established on a foundation of world poverty and unrest. Nor can they grow out of conditions where the basic human rights and liberties are denied.

Times and conditions have thrust the role of leadership, in the free world, upon the United States. In our dealings with other nations we must be able to speak with the authority which should properly go with that responsibility. We should have the same power to engage in international negotiations and undertakings as do other nations; we should not be handicapped where they are not.

I would not undertake to pass judgment upon the motives and intent behind the proposed resolution; I assume that they are of the highest and most praiseworthy order, though misguided in their direction. But when all is said and done, the amendment, if adopted, could have but this effect—to place new impediments, new handicaps, and new delays in the course of our relations with other nations, and to strip ourselves of a portion of that sovereignty which other nations assert in full measure, leaving only a vacuum of irresponsibility in the vacated area.

The adoption of the proposed amendment would be interpreted, throughout the world, as, what it does in fact appear to me to be, a long step backward, toward isolationism and away from a mature acceptance of our national responsibility. The path of leadership is difficult enough without undertaking, through the adoption of this amendment, to negotiate it in a straitjacket of our own creation.

A New Dimension in the Fight Against Disease—Editorial From the Times-Observer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a dime is no longer what it used to be, and it appears now it will not even buy a cup of coffee any more. However, as the Times-Observer, of Westmoreland County, points out in a recent editorial, the 10-cent piece represents a potent force when directed through the March of Dimes to the great fight against infantile paralysis.

In an excellent editorial, in keeping with the standards being set by the new editor and publisher of this valuable Westmoreland County weekly newspaper, Mr. Abe Beter, the Times-Observer urged full public support this year for the March of Dimes campaign in the following words:

HOW MUCH IS A DIME?

They say you can't buy anything for a dime any more. Time was when John D. Rockefeller's favorite coin started many a kid's savings account. That was in the old days.

Yet even today the 10-cent piece represents a potent force. A handful of them 16 years ago created something that today is becoming a multimillion-dollar vial of vaccine. The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, through its March of Dimes, has embarked on a new polio-prevention front in addition to its programs of scientific research, patient aid, and professional education.

If we actually can stamp out polio with millions of dimes, what glory for those 10-cent pieces. But there have been other rewards as well.

The March of Dimes has affected our daily lives in ways we rarely think about.

There is the idea itself, an idea that has proved highly catching. The March of Dimes started a whole new kind of thinking about fighting disease. It proceeded on the theory that if enough people got behind research they could, by sheer force of intelligent determination, solve the polio problem. That idea may be proved soon. And we are fighting other diseases in the same way today—and winning.

The March of Dimes has trained thousands of physical therapists who are helping people recover from diseases other than polio. It has helped educate many doctors who are using their knowledge in many varied fields. It has lent tremendous impetus to new public health programs by sponsoring young men and women in professional education. It has given the public an awareness of its responsibility in fighting all diseases of mankind. It has helped open the doors of hundreds of hospitals to thousands of patients.

The March of Dimes has done much to keep the patient with polio on a sound economic basis. Polio is one of the most expensive diseases, but the March of Dimes has saved thousands of stricken families from suffering this ordeal alone.

The March of Dimes sponsors world conferences among scientists and these have led to an interchange of information in the medical field on a highly diversified number of subjects. It has distributed information to doctors and has lessened fear of all diseases by showing how progress can be made against one of the most baffling.

It has provided a model example of how men of different races and creeds can live and work together for the benefit of all.

The purchasing power of the individual dime admittedly has decreased. But millions of them invested in the March of Dimes may purchase for all of us a new dimension in the fight against disease—of which the imminent conquest of polio is only the forerunner.

Food and Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL C. KING
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

FOOD AND HUNGER

Under its price-support program the Federal Government today owns outright more than $3 billions' worth of basic crops—wheat, corn, butter, cotton, cheese, dried milk, peanuts, pasture seeds. By next summer these surpluses are expected to exceed $5 billions—a fantastic accrual of surplus products which are feeding and clothing no one, and are destined for no one, even including products which may spoil.

President Eisenhower discussed this phase of the farm problem in his special message to

Congress and recommended, among other things, the reduction of these huge surpluses through "aid to the people of other countries." Last year, when the President sought broad authority in this matter, Congress wrote a ceiling of $100 millions' worth into the act—a minute part of the surpluses—which for the most part have yet to be distributed.

For years private welfare organizations have demonstrated that international relief can be administered honestly and justly so that the needy of many countries benefit without harm to their economies. Perhaps the most outstanding agency is CARE, which since 1948 has distributed $160 million worth of food, textiles, and self-help equipment to 52 countries, and is probably this Government's best-known goodwill ambassador. It has long been known that CARE has offered its distribution machinery throughout the world to the Government for channeling surpluses to the world's needy.

The authority of the President to distribute these agricultural surpluses to friendly countries expires on March 15. It is demonstrably clear (1) that, given Government cooperation, CARE can do the job of distribution, (2) that this authority should not be allowed to expire. Those bulging storage bins point the moral.

Increase of Bicycle Importation Tariff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein resolutions favoring increase of bicycle importation tariff, which was adopted by the Massachusetts House of Representatives on January 14, 1954:

RESOLUTION FAVORING INCREASE OF BICYCLE IMPORTATION TARIFF

Whereas the bicycle industry represents the backbone of business in several small towns and represents considerable business to several cities within the Commonwealth; and

Whereas many bicycles are being made and brought into the United States from several foreign countries; and

Whereas the rates of pay in these countries for the fabrication of materials and the building of the bicycles is greatly less than the prevailing rates in the United States, therefore making it impossible for the manufacturer in this country to compete in this business; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has through one of its committees a proposal to further reduce the tariff: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby strongly protest any tariff reduction, and favor an increase on the bicycle importation tariff; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the Members of Congress from this Commonwealth, and the commission now studying the subject of tariffs.

House of representatives, adopted January 14, 1954.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, *Clerk*.

A true copy.
Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Threat to Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, on December 28, 1953, a thought-provoking editorial appeared in the Hudson Dispatch, a daily paper published at Union City, N. J., which pointed out a danger confronting the country, arising from the tendency toward monopolized control of all facilities of communication in the United States. The editorial in question relates more specifically to a recent announcement by the Federal Communications Commission that it will probably liberalize its present rules respecting multiple ownership of television stations. The dangers of such proposed action by the Commission are pointed out in the editorial, which follows:

THREAT TO FREEDOM

On the threshold of a new year, which like all future years, is unpredictable, we think that one of the most important resolves the people as a whole can make is to be ever vigilant lest freedom be stealthily stolen from us.

This is no new theme. It was the burden of Patrick Henry's vibrant and eloquent warnings in pre-Revolutionary days. It has been the concern of all true lovers of freedom who reject the spurious kind of liberty that political demagogs have endeavored to inflict upon America since the Colonists wrested independence from the tyrannical rule of England.

There have been so many instances in our history since which have demonstrated the lack of vigilance that it is well for the people to be apprised of even implications of a threat to their freedom.

Such, we think, is the announcement by Federal Communications Commission that at a meeting after February 1, it will take action on a proposal to liberalize its rule on multiple ownership of television stations. This appears to be a move to increase the monopolistic ownership of TV, which, like the press and radio, is a fundamental method of influencing public opinion that should not be monopolized by any person or any group. We have seen licenses for radio stations granted to monopolistic groups, such as chain newspapers, or other syndicates, controlled usually by one man or a small group of men or interests. This practice has proved to be a sinister, although stealthy and insidious development that has not seemed to alarm the people for the serious implications that should be obvious.

It would not be hard to convince the people that if all the newspapers in the country were owned by one man, or one group, the fundamental freedom of a free press would be gone. It is the same on a smaller scale where a large city has no competitive press, where all the newspapers are controlled by one man, or a small group, whether that group represents a particular religious or economic viewpoint that it desires to impose upon the people.

Today, we have fewer daily newspapers in this country than 10 years ago, yet a population increased by 10,000,000. We have more large cities where all the newspapers are controlled by one man, or a small group that seeks to control public opinion. That, we think, is a hidden threat to freedom that most people don't realize. In New Jersey, we have fewer daily newspapers than 5 years ago, and more controlled by fewer owners.

The same insidious threat is implied, we believe, in this proposal of FCC to liberalize its rule so as to permit another inroad of monopoly into a field of communications that is so important in forming public opinion. There is always a good excuse for these moves to restrict the expression of the people to the views or opinions of one man, or group.

The FCC gives a seemingly plausible reason for its proposal to amend its rules to permit multiple ownership or chain ownership of certain TV stations. These chains, like chain newspapers, have absentee owners, who seek to control the public opinion in areas far removed from their homes. They dictate the policies of all the newspapers in a particular big city or county, even in a State in which they do not live or a State in another part of the country. Here's the plausible reason the FCC asserts is the motive behind this monopolistic move:

Such a change is warranted "in order to encourage the rapid and effective development of the UHF band." These initials stand for ultra-high frequency.

The FCC would change its rule to permit multiple ownership in this band. It would permit 1 person or group to own part or all of 7 TV stations, provided no more than 5 were VHF, which stands for very high frequency.

The present antimonopolistic rule provides for multiple ownership in not more than five stations, and does not distinguish between VHF or UHF. This would seem to be pretty liberal, if not entirely too monopolistic. The new rule would simply be a further departure from the principle of preventing monopolies in this very important medium of controlling or influencing public opinion.

United States Senator Johnson (Democrat, Colorado) is among those who see a danger in this so-called liberalization proposal.

FCC Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock dissented from the Commission's proposal, saying she believed there is "no justification for relaxing the multipe-ownership rule for television."

Commissioner Robert T. Bartley said that, on the basis of arguments presented so far, he was not convinced "that the public interest will not be served merely by raising the ceiling on television-station ownership."

We think it is time that individuals and liberty loving groups study this proposal and act before February 1 to oppose this seemingly promonopolistic move in the control of an important medium of public expression.

1953 Accomplishments of Savings and Loan Groups Hailed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Andrew S. Roscoe, president of the South Brooklyn Savings and Loan Association, which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of January 6, 1954:

1953 ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF SAVINGS AND LOAN GROUPS HAILED—ROSCOE CALLS SAVINGS ASSOCIATIONS KEY TO AMERICA'S FREE-ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

(By Andrew S. Roscoe)

The year of 1953 was a period of challenge and substantial accomplishment for the

savings and loan associations in the Nation and the State.

Savings and loan associations by their charter are charged with the responsibility of attracting the savings of their members to finance the homes of other members and to distribute the net earnings fairly to all. Thrift and home ownership constitute an important part of our free-enterprise system and also provide sound social stability, which is the backbone of our democracy.

Savings and loan associations continued to discharge their charter obligations; the result is a vastly enhanced asset structure, indicating continued huge increases in member savings and attesting that they have again merited the unqualified approbation of the American people.

While final figures for the year ended December 31, 1953, are not yet compiled and published, sound estimates indicate that savings and loan resources now exceed $26 billion in the United States and that the increase in member savings is at least equal to the combined increase in thrift and savings deposits in the other two types of banking organizations. Indeed, the increase in savings share accounts in the savings and loan associations was second only to the increase in life-insurance companies.

The principal reason underlying the gigantic success of savings and loan associations can probably be attributed to the willingness of these organizations to make their facilities available to every segment of the people. There seems to be a parallel between the pattern of the business development efforts of life-insurance companies and the savings and loan associations. Life-insurance companies have for generations extended themselves to bring life insurance into the most modest home and to serve every income class.

A TYPICAL INSTITUTION

South Brooklyn Savings and Loan Association, which is a typical savings and loan institution, prides itself with a membership numbering more than 50,000. Analysis of savings shows that accounts of $500 or less represents 73.83 percent of the total accounts, but only 11.57 percent of the dollar volume.

The average in this group of accounts of under $500 is $105.25 even though the overall average is $671.36. Comparative statistics also indicate that the averages of accounts of the most modest size have again increased during the past year.

The proper servicing of small accounts requires high skill and great expense. The requirements surrounding the treatment of small thrift business have been met by the savings and loan associations through the continued good will and patronage of the citizens of higher income groups and of corporate executives and, as well, the support of the leadership of the community.

More and more businessmen recognize the convenience, service, safety, and attractive return that savings and loan associations offer. Institutional and corporate welfare funds, pension funds, accounts of fiduciaries are being placed in savings and loan associations in impressive proportions.

SAME TYPE OF BUSINESS

During 1953 the State of New York placed the savings and loan associations on a parity with the savings banks with respect to taxation, following the lead of the Federal Government with a declaration of a public policy that savings and loan associations should be subject to the same taxation as savings banks because essentially they are in the same type of business. This tax burden, however, could create a serious impediment in the progress of thrift development among the most modest income groups.

The cost of servicing a savings account is estimated at approximately $9 per account. It is obvious that, if small accounts can only be maintained at a loss, the development of volume of such accounts can only be justified by the desire on the part of the savings and loan associations to make a capitalist out of every family within the sound framework of our free economy and our free society.

Home mortgage lending has continued at a high level, with savings and loan associations now providing approximately one-third of all home mortgages in the State of New York.

The savings and loan concept considers the family as the basic economic and social unit of a nation. The soundness of this concept has been tested through the ages. Strong families, established in their own homes, mean a strong nation, a very important factor in the challenging times of 1954. The purpose of these institutions is thoroughly social. Their steady growth in savings is a testimonial from the American people.

Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an excerpt from a letter sent me by Mr. John F. Haser, who is an official of the United States Steelworkers of America, living in my district. This letter is typical of the complaints I am receiving from all over my district. The efforts made by this administration to stop inflation has resulted in this situation as outlined.

The letter follows:

At the present time there are 2,058 people laid off in the Brackenridge plant of the Allegheny Ludlum Steel Corp. and another 2,000 dividing time down to anywhere from 1 to 4 days a week. These figures are for production and maintenance employees. The total employment at this plant was 5,650 people.

I realize that this plant is not in your district, however, you can multiply this figure a thousand times and get the answer as to what is going on all over America and as you know, unemployment does not respect State lines or congressional districts.

Last week I stopped in at the unemployment office in New Kensington and it put me in mind of Hoover days. The only things that were missing were the kids' red wagons in the three full lines signing up people for unemployment compensation. Mr. Curran, the manager of the office, told me that they paid out $250,000 in the month of November for unemployment compensation to glass workers, miners, steelworkers, and many other classifications.

This downward trend in unemployment, which the Republican Party calls a readjustment, has to be stopped now before it gets completely out of hand. The fact is instead of shrinking employment we should have expanding employment to take care of the young men and women who are coming out of schools each year onto the employable labor market.

The answer to this whole problem is increased buying power for the working population of our country. If people have money, they will buy the products being produced; if they don't have the money, they can't. So the first thing Congress should do is to increase the income-tax exemptions from $600 for each dependent to $1,000 for each dependent.

The second thing they should do is to pass a bona fide housing program for America. The President stated in his state of the Union address, that every American should have a decent home. I think we all agree that he is right, but such a program he is going to talk about in his future message to Congress on this subject will take 3 years to go through Government redtape if Congress should go along with such a program. We can't wait 3 years, the unemployment trend has to be stopped now.

I know that the Democrats are up against a stone wall as far as legislation is concerned; however, I believe that we are not in a readjustment period but a starting of creeping unemployment which to me means a depression, recession, panic, or any other name the daily press can coin to keep from using some ugly name for unemployment that the people understand.

The Right of Free Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John Crosby, whose column as television critic for the New York Herald Tribune is published in a number of newspapers throughout the country, recently wrote an article which deserves far wider recognition than has been given it thus far. I, therefore, include the complete article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks.

The article deals specifically with the cancellation of Mr. Gerald Johnson's contract as commentator for the American Broadcasting Co. However, Mr. Crosby goes from there to set down some biting truths about the atmosphere of fear which now prevails in this country. Since we in Congress are not wholly without responsibility in generating this atmosphere, it would be well for every one of us to read and take heed.

When man's natural inclination to discuss freely the issues of the day is stifled, as appears to be happening today in many areas of thought, we are a long way from living up to the principles on which this country was established and developed. The Bill of Rights was not written into our Constitution with the thought that any citizen of the United States would have to look over his shoulder to see who might be listening before exercising the right of free speech which it guarantees. Yet that seems to be the situation we are approaching, particularly in such media of public information as radio, TV, and the press. Unless what is said conforms to the accepted conservative viewpoint a man can be yanked off the air, as in Mr. Johnson's case, or branded as a leftwinger and a security risk. When people in public life use the cautious "don't quote me" in expressing views a little to the left of center, as they do all too frequently these days, it certainly indicates that this unhealthy trend has spread too far.

I am convinced that this situation is the result of the activities of an exceedingly vocal minority of well heeled reactionaries with access to or control over segments of public information media. The best antidote for the poison they are distilling is for each and every one of us to insist on his right to stand up and speak his piece in public or in private without fear. Unless we exercise that right, and publicly defend the rights of others to do as Mr. Crosby has done in his article, we stand in a fair way to lose it. When that time comes, God help us all.

The article follows:

ABC DROPS GERALD JOHNSON, BUT COMMENTATOR IS LIKED

(By John Crosby)

Gerald Johnson, the wise, not so very old man from Baltimore, has been canceled as a commentator by the American Broadcasting Co. I'm not sure why this happened. The letter to Johnson simply said that there had been a reshuffling of schedules and that his program had to be dropped.

Perhaps, that's all there was to it. Or perhaps not. Johnson is a liberal; he is also a Democrat. Both are at low tide at the moment. About his political affiliation I have no thoughts, one way or another. About his liberalism I have.

It seems to me that the term liberal—and especially those who are tarred with that term—needs redefinition and possibly an entire change of scenery. It seems odd to me that the most "liberal" commentators—I put those quotation marks in there for a very good reason—have been forced into defending traditional values, which is essentially the role of the conservative, instead of espousing new causes, which is traditionally the role of the liberal.

AGAINST BOOKBURNING

Johnson, in his brief tenure on the air, spent much of his time defending freedom of speech. He was against bookburning. He was violently opposed to innocent men being pilloried without due process of law. ("A great American," he declared, in one of the most biting of his broadcasts, "stated our doctrine in eight words nearly a hundred years ago, and there is no un-American activity more vicious than to reverse that doctrine, proceeding with malice toward all, with charity for none.")

Johnson, in short, was simply restating principles which the Pilgrim Fathers would have heartily agreed with, principles that are older than the Constitution—and embodied in the Constitution—as old as the first Thanksgiving.

In fact, much older, Edward R. Murrow has just won wide acclaim for his defense of Lieutenant Radulovich. It took great courage to take up the cudgels on behalf of the lieutenant. But why should it have? Murrow, in essence, was simply standing up for the right of a man to face his accuser, to know the charges against him, and to be tried by his peers—rights which were first laid down in 1215 in the Magna Carta, the godfather to all our rights as free men.

THINGS TOPSY-TURVY

I cannot understand why a defense of these ancient principles for which our forefathers founded a new Nation should be considered un-American or why especially those who are attacking our hard-won rights as Americans should not be attacked as un-American. But that's the way things are nowadays—topsy-turvy.

I liked Gerald Johnson's broadcasts for the clarity of their style and the sanity of their point of view. There is precious little sanity on the air waves and almost no clarity these days.

He was not handcuffed by any single cause or any party or any individual. He was as wont to praise President Eisenhower as to censure him; to censure ex-President Truman as to praise him. Most thinking Republicans, I imagine, could have derived as much comfort from him as Democrats. I think most Republicans and Democrats alike would have applauded his spanking of * * * for blasting at the churches for preaching "economic and political doctrine under the heading of social welfare and social justice."

SOCIAL DOCTRINE

Declared Johnson: "I hold no brief for the clergy but I must say I don't see how a person can touch on social welfare and social justice without preaching economic and political doctrine, since most injustice is either economic or political. But the gentleman * * * is emphatic in his opinion that religious leaders should leave those subjects alone; otherwise they will lay themselves open to the suspicion of being under Communist influence.

"This works out to an implication that social welfare and social justice are communism. That, of course, is what the Communists have been claiming all along. * * * It seems to me pretty bad business for an American to countenance that claim even by implication.

Fortunately, Johnson will be replaced on January 17 by another voice of great sanity and clarity—Elmer Davis, winner of three Peabody awards, who has been sorely missed. But I think there should be room on the air for both men.

Foreign Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KEAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee for a National Trade Policy, which consists of more than 300 leading American businessmen, has made a careful study of our foreign-trade policy and made certain interesting recommendations. Though I do not necessarily agree with all their suggestions, they are well worth studying; and I am, therefore, asking to have their recommendations included in the RECORD.

They follow:

THE COMMITTEE'S PROPOSALS

1. In order to increase predictability in matters of trade, the President should be authorized to extend existing trade agreements and to negotiate new ones having an assured duration of at least 5 years.

2. The statutory provisions and administrative regulations governing the valuation of imported goods should be revised to allow simpler and more easily computed assessments of duties by customs authorities.

3. The present complicated system of classifying imported goods to determine the applicable duty should be substantially revised and simplified.

4. Discrimination against foreign goods by Government procurement agencies should be reduced by administrative action under existing authority, and Congress should consider eliminating preferences by the repeal of "buy American" legislation.

5. The reduction of trade restrictions should be based on an assessment of the total national interests, and reductions should not be precluded merely by reason of the single test of caused or threatened serious injury to particular private interests, as existing legislation requires.

6. Where special measures are required in the interest of defense or national security, efforts should be made, wherever possible, to use means other than trade restrictions to protect these intrests.

7. In negotiating trade agreements, the President should be authorized to accept as reciprocal concessions from other countries not only the reduction of foreign tariff duties but other economic measures that will promote higher levels of economic activity, international trade, and international investment.

8. Additional authority should be provided for the progressive reduction of trade restrictions, where such reductions are found to be in the national interests. This additional authority would permit further reductions with respect to particular items where such action is found to be to the net national advantage, but would not require a reduction across the board.

9. Assistance should be provided to enterprises, communities, and employees affected by reductions in import restrictions where it is needed to help them adjust to dislocations. Such assistance should be provided so far as possible through or in cooperation with local and State agencies.

Proposed Strike Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the dynamic, progressive program which President Eisenhower promised to lay before Congress and the people this year has rapidly been taking shape in a series of major messages to Congress spread over the current month. This is the program on which the President said Republican Members of Congress will be expected to run for reelection.

To say that the President's party supporters in the Congress are disappointed in the program their administration is charting for them to follow is to put it mildly. As each of these messages has come up to Capitol Hill, preceded by a big propaganda buildup as to how dynamic and progressive it was going to be, many of my Republican friends in the House have all but groaned over the lack of anything really dynamic or progressive in the proposals.

Particularly was this true when the President submitted his long-awaited program for revision of labor-management relations legislation on the vital issue of replacing what the President himself has called the union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act with more equitable and more effective legislation to achieve labor-management harmony and cooperation.

The President's proposals, on the whole, call for little more than minor legalistic changes in the present statute. John L. Lewis, chief of the United Mine Workers Union, has called them "pid-

dling." Other labor leaders have expressed complete disgust with the inadequacy of these suggested changes. Some of the more significant changes drafted and agreed upon within the administration last fall by Martin P. Durkin, then Secretary of Labor, and the President's special counsel, Bernard M. Shanley, were, of course, not included in the final message. It was because of the White House repudiation of these proposed changes that Mr. Durkin subsequently resigned from the Cabinet.

Two aspects of the President's newest proposals on labor-management legislation, however, deserve special attention in any analysis of the administration's approach to what the President said would be a "dynamic, progressive" program.

They are, first, the proposal that the Government hold special strike votes before the members of a union could go on strike; second, the call for a special investigation of union health and welfare programs.

The first of these was based, I really believe, on a complete lack of understanding on the part of the people around the President and advising him on labor-management matters as to how collective bargaining actually operates in the United States. The second, I believe, was put in by the President at the demand of antilabor forces hoping to undermine or wreck the developing system of health, welfare, and pension plans for industrial employees. In either case, the President was not only taken advantage of, he was, you might say, "suckered" by people around him who are doing their best to see to it that the Eisenhower record is neither dynamic nor progressive. They are doing him a bad turn.

THE STRIKE-VOTE PROPOSAL

The President said, in calling for Government-conducted votes before any strike: "In the employer-employee relationship there is nothing which so vitally affects the individual employee as the loss of his pay when he is called on strike." Of course, that is very true. Men belonging to unions are well aware of what it means to strike. It is not something they undertake lightly or irresponsibly. Yet the idea still persists among some antilabor groups that workers can be stampeded into striking as some kind of lark—rushing off the job just for the fun of it.

It was apparently with this misconception in mind that the President accepted the suggestion of Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks—reputedly the real author of this part of the message—and added:

> In such an important decision, he (the worker about to go on strike) should have an opportunity to express his free choice by secret ballot held under Government auspices.

The idea that workers are faceless ciphers pushed around by their union leaders to go on strike or do other things against their will has been exploded so many times in so many dramatic ways that one would think the President or his advisers would know about it.

For instance: During the war, under the Smith-Connally Act, workers did have to ballot in secret on whether they would authorize their union leaders to call a strike. We were at war, and strikes in war production were unpopular not only with the public but among workers, too. They, too, had sons and brothers in the service; they, too, recognized the urgency of defeating the enemy and preserving our freedom.

Yet, in answer to the question required on these ballots: "Do you wish to permit an interruption of war production in wartime as a result of this dispute?" the overwhelming majority of union members polled in 2,168 separate elections involving 26,630 employers said "Yes." The exact figures were: 1,593,937 votes for; 332,874 votes against.

Of course these did not all result in strikes—far from it. But it was plain that the union rank and file, after electing union officers, insisted upon giving to those officers the responsibility and the powers necessary to represent them effectively in collective bargaining.

Even more dramatic was the experience of the National Labor Relations Board in conducting the union-shop elections previously required under the Taft-Hartley Act. A union could not demand a union-shop contract unless a majority of all the employees in any plant voted for it. The NLRB conducted 46,146 separate elections on this issue between August 1947 and October 1951.

The results: Out of 5,548,982 ballots cast, only 475,740 voted against the union shop; the others voted for. In less than 3 percent of the plants involved was the union shop rejected.

And what did these generally useless and unnecessary elections cost the Government before Congress finally decided to drop the whole idea? The cost, in those 4 years, was more than $3 million.

Last year—one of the best in many years in labor-management relations—there were about 5,000 strikes. Think what it would cost each year to determine what any union member already knows—that when negotiations for a new contract break down, union members will empower their leaders to call a strike if that is the only way management can be persuaded to bargain the issues out to a satisfactory conclusion.

No wonder the President's proposal fell like such a dud. Everyone familiar with labor-management relations recognized it as a "smart" idea thought up by someone who didn't know what he was talking about.

HEALTH, WELFARE FUND PROBE

The President's call for an investigation of health and welfare funds will strengthen the hand of forces in Congress which have been attacking the United Mine Workers and other welfare funds for aiding employees to meet the financial hazards of illness, accident, or old age.

Support Asked for United States Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, a most discerning statement of facts was supplied to the editor of the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican in a letter written by Florence Hilda McGrath.

The subject discussed is the threat to employment of American workers by indiscriminate lowering of our tariffs.

Although the report of the so-called Randall commission has not yet been made public it has been the subject of much speculation, and there is widespread opinion as to the probability of the commission's endorsement of lowered tariffs.

The letter included with these remarks tells vividly what will happen in our domestic industries should this happen. I commend it to the attention of the Congress. The views expressed by the writer coincide with mine in the fear of severe unemployment in the Naugatuck Valley area should we follow a misguided policy of permitting floods of imports to saturate the American market.

The letter follows:

To the EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

"*Resolved*, That from this day forward I shall buy American; that is, only products manufactured by American workers in this great United States of ours."

Do you good Americans realize how this determination on your part can in some small way help the future unemployment in our country?

Well, I, as a housewife, am going to try and explain to you as clearly as I can, this threat to our economic system.

I was shopping in Hartford a few days ago and I visited Fox & Co.'s huge department store. I was trying to buy a chrome teapot. I was told that they were all out of stock, but would have some in the near future; as I turned in another direction I observed some flashy skillets painted orange color, and as I was nearby I turned one over and saw to my great surprise they were imported from Holland; the weight of a medium-sized one was very heavy and I came to the conclusion that they were dolled-up cast-iron skillets as we in America have made and sold for many years; the prices of these were to my mind out of all proportion.

On the table nearby was another lot of merchandise from Italy, and during the past holiday season the tree trimmings that were sold to the American public came from Japan and Germany; golf balls from Czechoslovakia, and I could go on and on about foreign imports.

Now here I am going to tell you why those foreign-import transactions are harmful to American business; and that means you and me, the consumer.

When our American markets are flooded with foreign merchandise, the products that our workers are paid a high living wage for producing do not move; so surpluses become so great that little by little the workers pro-

ducing such goods are laid off for lack of work.

Now we Americans know that our Nation can outproduce any nation on the face of this earth, and no nation can surpass us as to quality. Now to complicate matters, our good President, in his message to Congress and the Nation, told us that we were undergoing a change, or transition; we read daily of layoffs, and this could be serious if not checked; however, there have always got to be adjustments from a wartime to a peace economy; but don't let us muddle our system by boycotting American products in favor of foreign ones. I hope I am making points crystallize.

Before I finish this document I want to quote a few statements from an article on the front page of the Waterbury American, January 9. The headline read: "United States Facing Lower Tariffs, Loss of Jobs."

I do hope most of you Americans read every word of it, and if you did my humble explanation of what I have written will be easily digested; however, for the benefit of those who did not read same, I shall take a few quotes: "The President's foreign trade commission neared completion of a report calling for United States tariff cuts that would throw 100,000 Americans out of work. They give as a reason that there has been an annual deficit piled up by friendly nations of $1,200,000,000." That statement to me is Greek I must confess.

Point 2:

Please read carefully: "The commission feels that if tariffs were lowered the increased flow of foreign goods into this country would result in temporary unemployment for about 100,000 United States workers."

Those in the commission that are for lower tariffs argue that after the first 100 years everything will be all right. (How true.)

Point 3:

A touch of good news.

There are two dissenters to this cracked program—Representatives DANIEL A. REED, Republican, of New York, and RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Republican, of Pennsylvania. They are both important figures on the committee where tariffs must originate. Let us all hope that such bugaboo legislation shall not pass.

If you can find time please write to both of these honorable gentlemen and protest; our fight may be won.

FLORENCE HELDA MCGRATH.

WATERBURY, *January 16, 1954.*

Trading With Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., of December 17, 1953:

WEST GERMANY AND CHINA

Evidently it is not Britain alone that is trading heavily with Red China. A statistical report published by a leading economic journal of West Germany reveals that West Germany, in the first 9 months of this year, did business with the Soviet and their European satellites, and transit trade through Hong Kong with Red China amounting to $144,000,000.

It is not specified whether the goods were strategic or non-strategic. But give them the benefit of the doubt; the fact is that this trade must have been of great aid to the enemy. They do not buy from the free world except under the pressure of necessity, so that all the trade what they buy and what they sell to us, helps them. If we are to be in earnest in the struggle with them, we should neither buy from nor sell to them anything, strategic or non-strategic. This would bring them to their knees more effectively than threats of atom bombs.

Providence and Panic: Religion and Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to place in the RECORD a copy of a sermon by the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of Washington Cathedral, delivered at the cathedral on January 17. I am certain that those who will have the opportunity of reading it here will find that he made an outstanding contribution in his reasoned and inspiring discussion of a vital problem confronting us all.

The sermon follows:

"Grant us Thy peace all the days of our life." (Collect for the second Sunday after Epiphany.)

I wish to speak this morning about an extremely practical aspect of our faith, and a vital one. It may at first seem to some a far cry from our recent celebration of Christ's birth to thoughts of civil defense. And yet the two are in reality as intimately connected as man's spirit and his body—the interaction of which, by the way, has more than once been the occasion of irritation to the mystic on one side, and of impatience to the materialist on the other.

The link that joins faith and defense is a phenomenon that is called panic. For panic is at once the denial of faith and the defeat of defense. It is the final negation of both—the undoing of body and soul alike.

This destructive unraveling of reason which can animate large groups of people to suicidal franticness is by no means a remote possibility. In the first shock of unpremeditated disaster, real or imagined, any of us might find ourselves borne upon the wave of frustrate terror. It is an occurrence that punctuates all history with memorable scenes of fright. All the way from the plains of Marathon when the mighty Persian army fled in deadly rout before a little band of determined Greeks, half a thousand years before Christ. Down to the most recent debacle in Texas City, when 40 percent of the population wildly fled an explosion in their harbor, doing at least as much damage to themselves as did the fire itself.

"Panic," says the United States Administrator of Civil Defense in a recent article, is "the weakest point in the world's strongest nation." It can nullify the best-laid defenses. It can spread more destructively than the most devastating of bombs. And it can be deliberately sown by an enemy which might well consider it the ultimate weapon in his arsenal.

Now it strikes me to be of surpassing significance that the teams of experts, psychological and military, who have been studying the causes and effects of panic in such disasters as the Cocoanut Grove fire in Boston, the explosion at South Amboy, N. J., in 1950, and the Orson Welles broadcast about the invaders from Mars, have come to the conclusion that those are panicked easily who have not been habituated to reckon with facts. At bottom, they say, it depends upon how steadily a man contemplates his destiny, with all the good and evil possibilities that may befall. Or, to put it in the Bible's language, "Has he made his peace with God—beforehand?" If he has, then he will not be swept with the tide; if he hasn't, then he will be a victim too. As the Defense Administrator puts it, "the best panic stopper of them all costs nothing, and its power is limitless. It is faith."

Does it come as a surprise to you that those who have charge of the physical safety of the Nation are the ones who these days announce most urgently that our basic protection lies in faith? The body is lost without the spirit. Even the scientists have come to realize that. But what shall be the quality of that spirit and the nature of its faith? And whence does it come? This is the real question which no expert or administrator can answer for us. As always when we are in need of strength, we must return to the deep springs of living water which God himself has opened to us. Let us try, then, once more to trace our ancient faith and bring it to bear on the contemporary problem.

Fear is a common thing. It is normal and even healthy in the sense that sometimes if a man isn't afraid he's an awful fool. Fear itself is neither good nor bad. It is only a natural and universal response to certain stimuli. What matters is what you do with fear. When you give way to it, that is panic. But when it is controlled, then it may become an asset—the motive force of achieving unbelievable things. The question is then, What controls fear? What kind of faith can overcome it?

There is a clue, I think, in the collect appointed in the prayer book for today. It is an amazing prayer:

"Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth; mercifully hearing the supplications of Thy people, and grant us Thy peace all the days of our life; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Notice, first of all, that no mention is made in the prayer of whether the days of our life shall be long or short. God is asked for peace, not for the prolongation of existence. For faith never blinks the vicissitudes of life. It is willing to reckon with disease or motor accidents or, if need be, hydrogen bombs. It only asks that having confronted these possibilities, we may not be afraid, but may have peace, inward and complete. And this it beseeches of a God who, as the ancient collect puts it, "dost govern all things in heaven and earth." This is the amazing part of the prayer, and the secret of it. For if we did not vividly believe that God does guide and love all things, then how indeed could we ever really face the ever-besetting terror of death?

The very history itself of this prayer illustrates the nature of its faith. As we find it in our liturgy, it was edited and inserted by one Alcuin, a scholar from Yorkshire who in the eighth century was the tutor and counselor of Charlemagne. He lived in an era just as frightening and uncertain as our own. Pagan barbarians threatened all he had learned to call precious just as ruthlessly as the Russians of our day. Hungarians to the east; Normans on the north; Saracens to the south and west. How much seemed to depend in that moment upon the Christian arms of the great Frankish emperor, crowned in the year 800 by the Pope at Rome. Yet, Alcuin's faith is at last not in man's defense but God's, in whose hand is the governance of all.

The assurance of this is certainly the beginning of faith. It is the idea of God's

providence: That just as the natural world shows order and not chaos, so even man's history is filled with an eternal meaning that nothing can obliterate. Behind all the accidents and threats and possible catastrophies there is a will that is good and that has the power to turn even the most untoward events to divine purpose. This is the infinite love of God, which never guarantees the duration of anything, but yet always inspires its quality.

God does not ever infringe our liberty—even the freedom to destroy ourselves, if we choose—but yet He sets the final limit of all possibility, whether through judgment or through mercy, for in the end we remain His creation, and His will will prevail on earth as it does in heaven.

I wonder whether we as a nation have lost faith such as that. If a bomb should fall, would we, like the residents of Chungking, on June 5, 1941, stampede to some shelter where, safe from the bomb, we would, nevertheless, trample over a thousand of our fellows to death in unreasoning frenzy; or does the knowledge of God run so deep in us that we are able to know that even in death is His life; even in disaster His victory discerned?

If fear is conditioned by such a faith, vivid and long continued, then there is no fact in the world, however horrible, that cannot be squarely faced, calmly prepared for, and staunchly met when it arrives. A good many have wondered in our day what it was in so false a system that gave the Russians strength and supported their appeal to the undecided citizens of the world. A large part of the answer lies in their allegiance to a perverted and secular form of the doctrine of providence. Marx taught that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable. No matter what men think or nations do, the economic process is inexorable that tends to communism. To believe that is, of course, to lose all possibility of choice. It undermines the significance of individuals and their decisions. But, on the other hand, it provides a framework of certainty that passes for security. By their lights, Communists can afford to wait, since they believe the tide is automatically running in their direction. Calmness and deliberate preparation are the fruit of faith, even when that faith is illusory, growing out of the wishful speculation of Karl Marx.

If even so sordid a god as economic determinism can infuse a people with such seeming determination, then had we not better look to our own? We, who are the heirs of a faith so much more glorious and true. Have we, indeed, forgotten the destiny which God has prepared from the beginning? Have we forgotten that in Jesus Christ, God has given us an eternal assurance, just as long before in time of dire catastrophe He reassured Noah with a rainbow in the sky?

Body and spirit—they do go together, and if we are in danger of losing them both by panic, by the same token faith shall be the preservation of each. Let the rainbow be for us still the sign that God does "govern all things in heaven and earth," and that we who are His disciples will do our utmost to defend what God has wrought. It is not enough for us merely to be the arsenal of faith. We must through our churches also give leadership to our people in civil defense. By God's good providence, let us without fear face clearly the terrible facts of our day. Then with good will and patient work let us make ready for any eventuality. Let us ask of our Government full measure of help for civil defense, but then may we ourselves make of our churches confident centers of orderly and thorough preparation. So shall we implement our prayer and realize in useful measure "Thy peace all the days of our life."

Japanese American Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to amend the Japanese-American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, in order that final determination of such claims may be expedited. It is my understanding that as of January 1, 1954, 3,297 claims are pending with a total of $68,165,227.83 claimed. Practically all of these remaining outstanding claims are for considerably larger amounts than the $2,500 limit presently imposed on compromise-settlements, several are for more than a million dollars each.

Since the amendment of August 17, 1951, applied only to compromise-settlements of $2,500 or less, and since virtually all claims that qualify under that formula have been awarded by this time, the problem is to find some method by which the remaining larger claims can be settled expeditiously, lest the program drag on for years, possibly for decades. To expedite this program is the principal object of the proposed amendment.

It provides a threefold election for all the remaining claimants: First, they may elect to compromise and settle their claims regardless of amount up to three-fourths of the total of all compensable items thereof as determined by the Department of Justice; second, they may elect to have the court of claims determine the amount of their claim; and, third, they may elect to have their claim adjudicated by the Department of Justice as under the existing law.

The administrative determination proposed is patterned after the compromise-settlement procedure that proved so effective in the handling of more than 19,000 smaller claims. The most that any claimant may receive will be 75 percent of the compensable items thereof. In order to protect the claimants' interests, however, a floor of 50 percent of the original amount is stipulated in the amendment. If any compromise-settlement offered by the Government is more than this 50 percent floor, and still 75 percent or less of the compensable items, the claimant will be required to accept the offer automatically. If, on the other hand, the offer is less than 50 percent of the total of the original amount claimed, the claimant may reject the Government compromise and have his claim adjudicated by the Department according to the prescribed regulations.

The judicial or Court of Claims alternative allows those claimants who prefer to seek a legal determination of the validity and amount of their claims to do so.

BACKGROUND

Mr. Speaker, in 1942, the War Department, acting under Executive Order No. 9066, ordered the exclusion of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast of the continental United States, Alaska, and a portion of Arizona. Most of them were removed to relocation centers administered by the War Relocation Authority. They were joined later by over 1,000 persons evacuated from Hawaii. For approximately 2½ years, these American citizens and their alien parents, more than 100,000 in number, were exiled from their homes.

After January 2, 1945, the majority of them were allowed to return to the evacuated areas and to pick up the raveled ends of the life they knew before the forced evacuation. By the end of 1945, about half of these people had so returned. The remainder have been scattered throughout the country, or in the case of the thousands who are in the Armed Forces of the United States, are serving with the army of occupation in Europe or Asia. It is too early as yet to make a final estimate of actual financial and property losses sustained by the Japanese-Americans because of the evacuation, but it is well established that the losses have been heavy. Some lost everything they had; many lost most of what they had.

The chief military justification for the removal of these 110,000 persons was the possibility of the existence of a disloyal element in their midst, the critical military situation in the Pacific which increased uneasiness over the possibility of espionage or sabotage, and the lack of time and facilities for individual loyalty screening. The persons evacuated were not individually charged with any crime or with disloyalty and subsequent experience has clearly demonstrated that the vast majority of them were and are good Americans. This is convincingly indicated by the outstanding record of our 23,000 Japanese-Americans who served in the Armed Forces in both the European and Pacific theaters, and by the fact that the records of the intelligence agencies show no case of sabotage or espionage by Americans of Japanese ancestry during the entire war.

The evacuation orders gave the persons affected desperately little time in which to settle their affairs. The governmental safeguards that were designed to prevent undue loss in these circumstances were somewhat tardily instituted, were not at once effectively publicized among the evacuees, and were never entirely successful. Merchants had to dispose of their stocks and businesses at sacrifice prices. In a setting of confusion and hysteria, many evacuees sold personal possessions for a small fraction of their value. A large number had to accept totally inadequate arrangements for protection and management of property. Valuable lease-hold interests had to be abandoned.

Continued exclusion increased the losses. Private buildings in which evacuees stored their property were broken into and vandalized. Mysterious fires destroyed vacant buildings. Property left with "friends" unaccountably disappeared; goods stored with the Government sometimes were damaged or

lost. Persons entrusted with the management of evacuee real property mulcted the owners in diverse ways. Tenants failed to pay rent, converted property to their own use, and committed waste. Prohibited from returning to the evacuated areas even temporarily to handle property matters, the evacuees were unable to protect themselves adequately. Property management assistance given by the War Relocation Authority on the west coast, although it often mitigated and sometimes prevented loss, could not completely solve the problem there, complicated as it was by difficulties in communication with absent owners and local prejudice.

In relocation centers the only income opportunities for evacuees lay in center employment at wage rates of $12 to $19 per month, plus small clothing allowances. Many felt compelled to discontinue payment of life-insurance premiums. Some found themselves unable to make mortgage or tax payments and lost substantial equities.

All of the foregoing examples of tangible loss to the evacuees were directly attributable to the evacuation and continued exclusion of these persons from their homes.

As a matter of fairness and good conscience, and because these particular American citizens and law-abiding aliens have borne with patience and undefeated loyalty the unique burdens which this Government has thrown upon them, I strongly urge that the proposed legislation be enacted into law.

As the only member of the Committee on the Judiciary from California, I am pleased to introduce this legislation.

Hon. Louis E. Graham—A Congressman's Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY W. REED
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an excerpt from a column written in the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times of January 16, 1954, by our colleague, Mr. O'BRIEN of New York:

I read a piece in a Washington paper the other day that a Congressman from Kansas had been honored as the public official of the year by the Federal civil-service workers.

He probably is a good Congressman, as are others who have been chosen for similar honors by various groups.

My choice for an award of merit, based purely on personal observation, would go to a Member of the House whose name probably is not known to a single reader of the Times. He is Representative LOUIS E. GRAHAM, Republican, of Beaver, Pa.

He first was elected to the 76th Congress and he has been re-elected every 2 years since. His margins of victory usually are small, but his standing in the House of Representatives is very great indeed.

That's probably because the Judge, as he is known, is a sort of Congressman's Congressman. Loyal to his own party, he commands tremendous respect from Members of the other party. It is a common sight, when an involved or controversial bill is being debated, to see a Democrat lean over and ask advice from LOU GRAHAM. I have done it myself.

With the exception of the Speaker, no Member of the House has an assigned seat. Nevertheless, a tradition has developed with regard to Judge GRAHAM. A special seat on the Republican side of the middle aisle is known as LOU GRAHAM'S seat. No one else ever sits there.

That may seem like a small thing, but it is quite an honor among 435 Congressmen who are jealous of their own standing and prerogatives.

I doubt very much if any of the awards will go to LOU GRAHAM. But, if one was to be voted annually by the House itself, I'd wager a small sum that the gentleman from Beaver, Pa., would be among the top three year in and year out.

Partition of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I wish to include the following letter which was published in the Lynn Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., on Sunday, September 13, 1953, by Mr. William James Conlon, 23 Breed Street, Lynn, Mass., to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles:

CONLON WRITES LETTER TO SECRETARY DULLES

An open letter by William James Conlon, 23 Breed Street, to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles follows:

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: On Thursday evening September 3, I listened to you on television and you said that the continued partition of Germany by Soviet Russia was not only a scandal but a heinous crime. When President Truman was in the White House you said in Dublin, Ireland, while you were on a visit there that Ireland should not be partitioned. There is not a word out of your mouth now about England's continued partition of Ireland with her 50,000 British troops in and around the city of Belfast. Your boss, President Eisenhower, not long ago told a committee in Washington, D. C., that the unification of Ireland would serve no useful purpose. This is an about-face statement from what President Eisenhower told the people of this Nation when he was campaigning for President—that he stood for free peoples everywhere. This statement he made to catch the Irish vote and while he was in command of the European armies in SHAPE, Paris, France, he made a pro-partition speech in Belfast City, Ireland, in the uniform of an American general.

"This, in my opinion, was an unfriendly act toward a friendly nation that sent 50 percent of Irish manhood into Washington's army to fight against the British for American independence and to add insult upon injury the Honorable Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON told the Irish people of Boston while he was campaigning there that they could put him down as being definitely opposed to Irish partition by England and now that he is elected (like his boss, President Eisenhower) he does an about face and has lost tongue on the Irish issue.

"England has been trading with Russia and Communist China with American-borrowed money and has even officially recognized Red Communist China because of her greed and financial holdings in Hong Kong and Singapore. The Honorable Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY has been loudly praised by the head of the FBI, the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, and Senator MCCARTHY has exposed England in a masterly fashion.

"To the American public I say this: That the United Nations is an international farce and this is the opinion of the late Senator Robert A. Taft and General Douglas MacArthur, two of the cleverest American diplomats of their time. The United Nations will die the same death that befell the old British manufactured League of Nations at Geneva. It is my honest opinion that Russia and Communist China and North Korea will not permit the unification of all Korea. President Eisenhower favors the unification of all Korea but all Russia and North Korea has to do is to point their finger at England's continued partition of Ireland with her 50,000 British troops in the north of Ireland and the brutal way that England has partitioned that little nation. England had five times as many troops in Ireland as she had in Korea, which proves beyond any doubt that Russia, Red China, North Korea and England are all international rats of the one breed playing the game of divide and conquer. President Eisenhower, sometime in the very near future you will agree with the late Senator Robert A. Taft. When the Korean political conference gets going America will then think of Senator Taft and General MacArthur. President Eisenhower will then say the same things about Korea that he said of Ireland, that the unification of those two countries will serve no useful purpose. With President Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Vice President NIXON aggression in any part of the world is a most heinous crime but under the British Union Jack in the north of Ireland, it has the O. K. of the aforesaid gentlemen. Their knowledge of American history is very vague. I would like to ask all three of them what percentage of George Washington's Army that fought the British under Lord Cornwallis were Irish? Oh God, President Eisenhower, is American gratitude dead?

"Mr. President, Henry Grattan's Government in Dublin, Ireland, did not tell Benjamin Franklin, when he appealed there for aid to fight the British, that the unification of the American Colonies would serve no useful purpose as you, Mr. President, now tell the Irish Government in Dublin.

"Mr. President, action speaks louder than words. Reciprocation is all we ask.

"Respectfully yours,

"WILLIAM JAMES CONLON,

"LYNN, MASS."

United States Air Force Academy

SPEECH
OF
HON. COURTNEY W. CAMPBELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. R. 5337, 83d Congress, providing for the establishment of a United States Air Force Academy. I am glad to see that this long-awaited legislation has received favorable action by the House Armed Services Committee. All of us recognize the purpose of the Academy, having seen the products de-

rived from those great institutions in the States of New York and Maryland, the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies.

As you know, on July 21, 1953, I introduced H. R. 6433, to establish a United States Air Force Academy at Henderson Field, Tampa, Fla. Henderson Field's 9,000 acres, its three runways of 5,000 feet each, its easy access to the city and to MacDill Air Force Base, and the housing, cultural, and recreational facilities all add up to an attractive proposition for an air academy. Also the ideal weather in the Tampa area should be appealing to those who make the final selection. Inasmuch as section 3 (a) of H. R. 5337 provides "That the Academy shall be located at such place within the United States as the Secretary of the Air Force shall determine. The Secretary of the Air Force is authorized to establish a commission, and to appoint the members thereof, to advise him in connection with the selection of a permanent location for the Academy," I hope that due consideration will be given by this commission to the Greater Tampa Bay area.

The establishment of this academy is urgently needed to train the hard core of our future Air Force leaders. Now that an airplane is becoming a million-dollar investment and groups of them cost many, many millions of dollars, I think it just as important that moneys be expended in training the future officers who are to lead and direct the Regular Air Force Establishment. An organization is only as good as the people who are in it, and the people who are in it do deserve the best in leadership.

While we have many fine civilian institutions in this country, such as the University of Florida, Florida State University, the University of Miami, and the University of Tampa, the latter of which is located in my district, that are turning out future businessmen, scientists, engineers, lawyers, and doctors, there are none that are specifically training Air Force combat leaders. An academy gets young men at the most formative years of their lives and indoctrinates and molds them into skilled Air Force specialists, who are motivated to a career of service with the Air Force. Such men do not seek great financial rewards or to amass great amounts of property. Rather, they dedicate themselves to a life of service for their country and their reward is our continued security.

Additionally, by the passage of this bill, we are being asked to buy an insurance policy on the defense of this Nation. The cost is not cheap, as it is estimated the contemplated Air Academy will, over the years, cost around $125 million. The cost in terms of assurance that this Nation will have an Air Force that is second to none is cheap. When you compare the billions we spent last year for Air Force equipment, bases, and related items to the $125 million that this Academy is going to cost, spread over a long period of years, I think that the returns in leadership well worth the expenditure. This is one thing on which we cannot afford to be pennywise and pound-foolish as our very existence is dependent on the offensive and defensive role of today's Air Force.

I think every effort should be made to get this bill and the necessary appropriations through the Congress this session in order that the Air Force may start construction of the Air Academy without further delay.

Benjamin Lorber, Director of Insurance of Universal Pictures Co., Inc., Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Health Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Thursday, January 21, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Mr. Benjamin Lorber, director of insurance of Universal Pictures Co., Inc., is highly important.

Mr. Lorber brings to the attention of the committee the health plan that is now in effect in that company for the benefit of its employees.

It has been exceedingly gratifying to this committee to learn during the hearings conducted by it in October 1953 of the wide recognition that has been given by industrial organizations in providing plans and programs to indemnify and secure persons in their employ from the high cost of medical and hospitalization expenses.

Mr. Lorber gave the committee a history of the plan which he worked out for the Universal Pictures Co. and made certain recommendations to the committee with regard to the development of a health program.

Mr. Lorber's statement, in part, is as follows:

Chairman WOLVERTON and gentlemen of the committee, I am immensely gratified at this opportunity to discuss with your committee one of the many aspects of the great problem with which you are concerning yourselves, namely, the improvement of the national health, and the provision of adequate medical care and medical services to all segments of the American people, regardless of economic or income status. I can think of no other question of national interest which transcends in importance the question of national health, for upon the attainment of the highest level of national health rests the attainment of the ultimate in national security and well-being.

Before proceeding with my statement, I would like to place upon the records that I am the Director of Insurance for Universal Pictures Co., Inc., and have occupied that position since 1938. During the past 15 years, I have organized and administered a comprehensive group insurance program in which 3,500 of its employees throughout the country participate. I might point out that these 3,500 employees and their families are spread in metropolitan areas throughout 30 States with large concentrations in the cities of Los Angeles and New York, and with income levels from a low of $2,500 annually to a high in excess of $50,000 annually. The type of people included in this group are both white collar and labor, skilled and unskilled, and made up of varying ages. This group, though not particularly large in numbers, seems to be a representative cross-section of the American people employed in industry in an income level to some degree higher than the national average income level. This group is representative of that large part of the American people who are daily fearful of what a sudden, major illness or accident to a member of their family with its attendant major medical expense, will do to their financial solvency.

* * * * *

The development and growth of hospitalization and surgical benefit plans during the past 20 years has been phenomenal, and in a large measure can be attributed to the tremendous support given to and public acceptance of Blue Cross and Blue Shield, but more importantly, came as a result of the inclusion of health and welfare matters as subjects of collective bargaining * * *.

Early in 1952, after examining a large number of cases among our employees and their families, we came to the conclusion that while we had developed as complete and comprehensive a hospitalization and surgical plan as any that were offered in the market, that even though we were pioneers in the extension of coverage provided by and definitions within such plans, all too often we came face to face with a situation where an employee, because of sudden illness or accident within his family, would be on the verge of bankruptcy or at least ready to hock the future of his children to meet the emergency. All too often we found it necessary, as employers, either directly or through some sort of welfare fund arrangement, to perform an act of charity and come to the rescue, or even worse, to pass the hat around. All too often we found that our wonderful hospitalization and surgical benefit plan fell entirely short of the mark and offered no benefit at all under certain circumstances. There obviously was a great void in the setup. We came to the conclusion that we were not providing a full measure of security to our employees against the financial ravages of illness and accident, and that our employees and their families were still open to the financial knockout punch caused by such contingencies. * * *

We realized that in the areas of the costs for hospital room and board and other hospital charges and for surgical fees, subject to the limitations outlined and discussed in detail later in this statement, our existing plans were adequate and did in some measure meet the problems created by such costs. However, in the area of medical fees for nonsurgical services in and out of the hospital, neither our plan nor any existing insurance plan attempted to provide the needed protection so as to enable the average family to obtain whatever medical care was necessary without bankrupting that family unit and mortgaging its future. This same conclusion was true when applied to the cost of special nursing care and the renting or purchasing of medical services and supplies outside of the hospital.

Much has been said and written during the past decade on the question of providing such protection on the cost of medical care. The growth of medical expense protection in limited form during the past few years has more or less kept pace with the expansion in the field of hospitalization and surgical benefits insofar as the number of people covered was concerned. The Health Insurance Council reports previously quoted shows that at the end of 1952 about 36 million people were covered by some sort of medical expense plan, most of which were of the service type. From the available

statistics 50 percent of those covered have protection under the insured benefit plans which generally provide a fixed reimbursement (usually $3 or $4 for each office or hospital visit and $5 or $6 for each home visit), with most plans providing for the exclusion of either the first or second visit. While the lower-income groups nationally have come within the scope of the service type plans (since most of these limited participation to low-income groups, under $3,000 annually), the great majority of the American people were completely without any form of protection against the great raider of family security—the doctor's bill in a major illnes, either at home or at the hospital.

In discussing the existing medical expense plans (described above providing for limited reimbursement for a limited number of visits) I have frequently and publicly maintained that this type of coverage has no merit as a socially desirable form of insurance nor is of any real economic value to the people insured. Such plans are difficult and usually expensive to administer.

We have often characterized this form of insurance as being analogous to insuring the grease job or oil change on an automobile and leaving the entire automobile itself uninsured; or insuring the shoe sole repair job and not insuring the contents of the entire home against disaster.

What was needed to round out our program was a plan that would provide protection against those large costs for medical care in and out of the hospital that were not covered under the existing forms of insurance, yet which could be set up on a sound financial basis at reasonable cost, so that all of our employees, at all income levels, even the lowest, could afford to avail themselves of its benefits. Keeping these basic principles in mind, we, together with our insurance carrier, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., proceeded with the development of such a plan of major medical expense insurance. This type of plan has recently been referred to by many as "catastrophy medical insurance" or some such name to indicate that it was intended to provide coverage against unusual, sudden costs arising out of an accidental disaster. We believe that the use of the term "catastrophy" is misleading, since the type of plan we were trying to develop was one that would provide protection against the cost of medical care, all types of medical care, where such costs were major within the definition of our plan and the nature and extent of which could create major financial burdens and possible distress upon even the lowest of the income groups.

We first established the basic principles that this plan did not intend nor was it socially or economically feasible to include the cost for every headcold, headache, or other run-of-the-mill type of illness, the cost of which was considered everyday going overhead—the shoe repair, grease-job type of cost. We accepted the thesis of "deductible" which has long been established in the field of automobile insurance and other fields of general insurance. This deductible had to be large enough to eliminate the run-of-the-mill cost described above, yet it had to be low enough not to prove burdensome to any income group, not even the lowest. After a great deal of thought we set this deductible at $100 in any one disability, as defined.

We then came to the second basic principle—that of a partnership between the insured employee and the plan. The reasons for such a partnership are many and obvious, and all who are at all familiar with the subject have agreed that the establishment of such a partnership is essential for the stability and success of the plan. We fully subscribe to this thesis of partnership and believe that is the American way of handling the problem. The American people are a proud people who like to pay their own way and don't want anyone to pick up their bills or to give them a receipted-in-full bill. We are a prudent people, and we insure our exposure to catastrophic loss. The American people are a very human people, subject to all the human frailties, so that it becomes essential that proper safeguards and fences be established to reduce to that minimum which is dictated by economic and underwriting necessity those possible abuses of this wonderful package. We made the plan the senior partner in all costs—and the plan pays 75 percent of all such medical costs. These two principles, that of a nominal, salutory deductible, and a reasonable, sensible coinsurance factor are the foundation of the plan. We then proceeded with the structure and examined each element of medical cost to determine where, if at all, such element of cost fitted into the picture.

First to have our attention was hospital room and board and hospital charges for additional services other than room and board.

An examination of these costs across the country indicated that the average room and board charges for semiprivate facilities was in the neighborhood of $15 to $16 per day. We also found that private facilities were available, particularly in the larger cities, at varying rates up to $60 per day for deluxe suites. This enormous gap in cost of hospital facilities from $15 per day to $60 per day highlighted one of the basic questions that must be answered and which should be faced to a greater or lesser degree in each of the areas of medical cost; namely, can we set up a plan that would permit the selection of $60 per day facilities and have such selection and consequent cost paid for by the major medical expense plan. Obviously, we came to the conclusion that there was no way in which the $60 per day facility could be insured. There was no sociological, economic, or medical reason to provide insurance for room and board facilities beyond those which the person in an income bracket of less than $10,000 annually would normally use if he were paying the entire bill himself. We, therefore, decided to change our existing hospitalization plan to a $12 per day room and board benefit. We extended the period of coverage from 31 days to 180 days, and after careful study we were convinced that in more than 98 percent of the hospitalized cases such a period of coverage was adequate to meet any catastrophic contingency or medical requirement.

In the area of hospital charges for services other than room and board which include operating room, anesthesia, X-ray and laboratory examination, drugs and medications, etc., we felt that the patient was not in a position to make any selection whatever as to type, quantity, frequency, or cost of the services listed above, and that the cost for such services in a large measure were standard as to a particular hospital, and would not to any material extent be influenced by the presence or absence of insurance protection to pay for such costs.

We, therefore, after careful examination of a large cross section of hospital cases came to the conclusion that an allowance of $1,000 for case room fees in any one hospital confinement was tantamount to an unlimited benefit for such costs, and in the great preponderance of cases was adequate. We, therefore, adjusted our existing hospitalization plan to provide $1,000 benefit for case room fees for each disability.

We then excluded from the major medical expense plan all hospital charges, since such charges were adequately taken care of on a catastrophic basis under the adjusted hospitalization plan.

We next gave our attention to surgical fees (in and out of hospital).

This was the most crucial area of medical expense and one which has seriously troubled all underwriters in the field of health insurance. Here was an element of cost that had no standards, which could vary, for the same service, from a charge from $100 to $2,000 or more; that was predicated in a very large measure, not upon the type of service rendered but most usually upon the patient's ability to pay and his available financial resources. How could one determine how much an appendectomy was worth? Was it worth as much for a person earning $5,000 a year as for a person earning $15,000 per year? Unfortunately, there is no fixed pattern or standard and there is no way to apply a mathematical formula.

In planning the setup of our major medical expense plan we examined about 500 surgical claims in all areas of the country. We eliminated from our survey the claims submitted by people whose earnings were in excess of $15,000 per year. We also eliminated the claims of those people whose earnings were $5,000 or under per year. We therefore, obtained a cross section of surgical fees charged for almost all types of surgery (whether performed in or out of the hospital) for people in an income bracket of between $5,000 and $15,000 annually.

Excepting for a few types of surgery, we found that to a large degree the benefits provided in what is commonly known as the $300 Surgical Benefit Schedule paid for between 65 percent and 75 percent of the surgical bills. This survey also disclosed that in a majority of surgical cases, the surgeon geared his fee to the benefit provided under the insurance schedule. Recognizing this indicated practice, and with tongue in cheek, we increased our schedule to a $350 maximum benefit. The purpose of this change was to attempt to bring the schedule up to the level of 75 percent of the average bill.

We then excluded all surgical fees from our major medical plan, and thus eliminated one of the greatest dangers to the solvency of the plan.

We are convinced that in keeping surgical benefits on the scheduled basis we were not prejudicing the position of the insured person nor were we in a great preponderance of cases failing to provide the adequate and needed protection. Our experience in the operation of our plan has proven this conclusion sound.

The plan has now taken shape. We said, and proclaimed it loudly, without fear, that any and all medical bills, for all illnesses, without exclusion, in excess of $100, would be paid for by the plan to the extent of 75 percent thereof up to a maximum of $5,000. After studying more than 100 existing major medical expense plans, both those written on an individual basis as well as those established on a group basis, and after examining the operation of many of the so-called service type plans, I am proud to report to you that our plan is the only one that does not contain a single exclusion as to type of illness. There has been much shaking of heads and signs of warning as to the dreadful things that would happen to our plan if we included psychiatric treatment, or treatment of alcoholism or drug addiction, but we maintain our firm position that if it is an illness, any illness, without exclusion or limitation, treated by a qualified physician, the cost of which exceeded $100, we would take 75 percent of all such bills up to the maximum of $5,000. In summarizing our major medical expense plan, may I say that this plan provides reimbursement for regular and customary charges, within the limitations of amount indicated above, resulting from any noncompensable injury or disease for:

1. Medical treatment by a legally qualified physician—in or out of the hospital.

2. Private duty nursing by a registered graduate nurse in or out of the hospital.

3. For services and supplies when not confined in a hospital such as: rental of iron

lung or other mechanical equipment, rental of hospital-type bed, oxygen and rental of equipment for the administration of oxygen, prosthetics, braces, crutches, X-ray examination (other than dental X-rays), anesthetics and the administration thereof, and/or therapeutic services and supplies.

In preparing a paper on the subject for Best's Insurance News about 1 year ago, and only after 4 months of experience with the plan, I said, "We have set forth the following rules as a test to determine whether an item of medical expense comes within the purview of the plan:

1. Is it an item of major expense for medical care?

2. Is there a social or economic reason other than that "it is convenient and a good thing to get" for the assured to be reimbursed for the expenditure within the principles set forth?

3. If there is such a social or economic reason, how can we fit such an expenditure into the plan?

When such a plan is established on sound, basic insurance principles it can be maintained at a sound cost within the economic reach of every income level. We firmly believe that such a plan, soundly conceived and sanely administered could be the ultimate answer and solution to the ever-present fear and dilemma of the unpredictable, undeterminable, unforeseeable possibility of financial bankruptcy that faces each family as a result of major medical expense.

Gentlemen, that is how major medical expense insurance works. I am happy to report that after 16 months of operation it has worked—it has done in every respect the job that we intended it to do, at a reasonable cost. We have not encountered any of the pitfalls that so many of the underwriting or actuarial fraternities were afraid we were inviting. As far as we are concerned, sound major medical expense insurance is no longer an experiment, but a successful reality.

In conclusion, may I respectfully submit that the provision of adequate protection against the financial devastation resulting from a major illness or injury presents a serious challenge to management, labor, the medical profession, to the insurance industry, and to government.

To management I must say, that either on its own initiative or if its labor relations require cooperative effort with organized labor, it must move forward and meet this growing and inevitable challenge. It must take the initiative, it must use its good offices, administrative facilities, and know-how to make it possible for the many millions of Americans in all industry to take part in this great social development which eases the way for them to take care of themselves.

To the medical profession, I must say that it must do its full share to keep these medical expense plans sound by keeping its own house in good order. The threat of socialized medicine, with all its inherent evils, with all its inherent financial burdens upon the American body politic can be averted only by the medical profession's self-policing—by its own house cleaning—by its own voluntary elimination of existing abuses with which it is only too well familiar.

To the insurance industry, I must say in the vernacular that it must get the "lead out of its pants." Time is running out on it. The insurance companies, both life and casualty, cannot forever keep playing it safe. Testimony recently given before this committee by the representatives of the insurance industry was replete with statements that catastrophy medical insurance was new in concept, that it was an experiment, that the insurance industry must move slowly, that it must be careful, that it must establish fences and hedges, that it must exclude psychiatric treatment; that it must exclude the cost of treating alcoholism, drug addiction, contagious diseases, diagnoses and others, so that instead of a comprehensive, all-inclusive plan, all they could offer was one of limited value.

The time for all that is past, and the time for a positive approach—positive leadership is at hand. The insurance industry must take the initiative, it must use the imagination that it has and by which it became the great economic and social empire that it is and must provide the vehicle for the establishment of sound, adequate insurance-protection plans, so that the greatest number of the American population may reap the benefits of such a program.

Whether the insurance industry likes it or not—whether it thinks it possible or not from an underwriting point of view—whether it cares or does not care if the American standard of living and medical service is kept at its highest level—of one thing we and it can be sure, major medical expense insurance in one form or another is here to stay.

As to the place of Government in this picture, I respectfully submit to your committee that the expansion and extension of this program of providing adequate medical care to all segments of the population, in all parts of the country, at all income levels, must be a primary objective. It is a legitimate function of Government, and this I believe to be the greatest area of governmental effectiveness, to provide material aid toward increasing the supply and quality of medical care, all types of medical care. Government must help in the area of medical education, as it does in the establishment of greater hospital facilities, so that the supply of medical service in all parts of the country may be increased. In conclusion, may I suggest, that within the wonderful framework of free enterprise, our Government must embark upon a great educational program, and if necessary, provide the necessary subsidies in all areas of medical care in order to assist the operation of such hospital and medical educational facilities. With the intelligent and active cooperation of industry and labor along with the wholehearted participation of the insurance industry and the medical profession, all of the American people may reap the benefits of the highest level of medical care.

Army Contract Given to British Firm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., of December 17, 1953:

UNFAIR COMPETITION

There's not much point in trying to use economic persuasion to stop British trade with Red China when the Army goes out of its way to award contracts for generating equipment to British firms.

The other day a $8,561,000 contract for two generators for the McNary Dam on the Columbia River was given to a British firm by Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens. He ruled that, although the British bid was less than 25 percent below that of the General Electric Co., the legal requirement of a 25-percent differential would be disregarded in this case.

The economics of this sleight of hand prove that someone's ga-ga, and we hope it isn't us. After pouring out billions to put Britain on its feet, and, in the process, running America's tax bill up so high that American industry couldn't possibly compete with this indirect subsidy, members of the Cabinet go out of their way to make certain that American industry suffers the loss of business which belongs to them, and American workers are thrown out of jobs.

Cotton and Wheat Acreage Allotments and Marketing Quotas

SPEECH
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the cotton acreage allotment bill before this House is far from desirable and, in fact, contains certain fundamental inequities to which I seriously object. The bill we are considering here is somewhat better than the Senate version in that it does provide State and county committees some flexibility in distributing acreage allotments and giving relief in hardship cases. Unfortunately, most of the undesirable elements of the Senate bill have not been changed.

This bill amounts to sectional legislation, where one section of the country is being deliberately favored over another. In this case certain new cotton-producing areas in the West will be given preferential treatment over the established, traditional cotton-producing areas of the South and Southwest. Existing legislation provides that acreage allotments be made on the basis of a 5-year history. I am certainly in agreement that the acreage allotment of 17.9 million acres for the Nation is inadequate; however, the acreage increase from 17.9 to 21.3 million should be handled on the basis of a 5-year history of cotton production, just as the original 17.9 million acres was handled. There is no justification for parceling out special acreage allotments to certain sections of the country. The large cotton surplus on hand at the present time came about because certain western growers ignored the advice of the Department of Agriculture during the last 2 or 3 years and have planted greatly increased acreages in cotton. These western growers expanded their acreage at a time legislation existed to provide for equitable cotton acreage allotments and have no case when they contend that allotments on the basis of a 5-year history is too severe.

The bill which we are considering will result in most of the increased acreage going to these new cotton producing areas, which have contributed in large part to the present cotton surplus. The bill seems to ignore the fact that certain of the larger producers in the established cotton producing areas of Texas and the South will be cut severely. This would not be so bad if only the landowner was

affected, but in most instances tenant families which derive their livelihood from cotton production will be moved off of the farm. The landowner will probably find a way to turn his productive land to another crop, such as livestock, but the tenant family will suffer for lack of employment.

I consider it a most serious matter, Mr. Speaker, when the Congress of the United States deliberately contrives legislation for benefit of one section of the country at the expense of the other. Most central Texas farms have been producing cotton as a chief crop for 50 years. It seems most unfair to penalize these established cotton farmers for the benefit of western cotton farmers who have moved into newly reclaimed areas and planted large acreages of cotton despite the warnings of the Secretary of Agriculture that they were not protected by law and would receive a heavy cut in acreage allotment on the basis of their 5-year history.

A great deal has been said about the tremendous expense involved in installing irrigation equipment for cotton in certain of the reclaimed western areas.

Advocates of the western cotton farmer have raised a great cry that economic disaster confronts the western farmer if he is not given special consideration, yet it is a fact that these western irrigated areas have a great deal more flexibility in selecting crops on acreage not used by cotton than do the traditional cotton-producing areas, for the simple reason that they control their own water supply and can participate in vegetable production. What it amounts to, Mr. Speaker, is that the taxpayer has spent tremendous sums of money to build dams and irrigation facilities to reclaim these western areas and now the cotton farmers of the South are being expected to relinquish their cotton acreage to these new western farmers.

Air Power in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I ask unanimous consent to include an editorial appearing in Planes—a publication of the Aircraft Industries Association of America—of recent date.

The editorial follows:

THIS IS FOR KEEPS

Several months ago, Planes quoted Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, commanding general of the USAF Strategic Air Command, as saying that "every important target in even the world's largest nation can be reached at the most within 2 hours after bombers cross its frontier. Time is of the utmost value. There may not be enough of it once an atomic attack is launched."

Now that war is strictly 3D—soldiers are no longer groundlings, and sailors no longer restricted to the sea—preparedness and defense require some redefining.

It will be no news to point out that, in this atomic age, a nation's defense is no stronger than its airpower. And it should be equally obvious that a nation's airpower is no stronger than its aviation industry.

Twice in our history, at the end of the two world wars, we possessed the priceless advantage of world leadership in air power, and twice we let it wither and die in the pious hope that mankind had learned the futility of armed combat.

Once more, in recent years, as the rising tide of communism threatened to engulf the world, we called upon the remnants of the industry we had dissipated to perform again new miracles of expansion and production. And again, for the third time, the weakened and impoverished aircraft builders have brought our air power back to a competitive level. But, as always, the task of catching up has been performed at staggering and unnecessary public expense.

But, in the past, we have had time—which we will never have again. The fact that we can deliver a devastating aerial blow anywhere in the world within hours, means that we can be on the receiving end in as brief a time. And, another equally hard fact is that it takes from 5 to 7 years to develop a single new combat plane from drawingboard to production. Thus, the failure to keep abreast in air power is an invitation to defeat.

Survival in this villainous age demands readiness. And readiness requires a national air-power policy that maintains long-range, continuous aircraft research, development, and production. It requires maintenance of the engineering and assembly teams that have been so costly to recruit and to train. And it requires recognition of the fact that only the competitive resourcefulness of healthy, financially strong private industry can give the taxpayer his money's worth and effective protection against the tremendous odds the Red half of the world arrays against us.

No longer is half a loaf better than none.

Parcel Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following statement made by Hon. James W. Cassedy, a former Mississippi attorney now practicing in Washington, before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, on January 13, 1954:

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, my name is James W. Cassedy. I am a member of the law firm of Halfpenny, Hahn & Cassedy, of Chicago, Ill., and Washington, D. C. I am appearing here on behalf of the National Standard Parts Association, a national organization, comprised of nearly 300 manufacturers and approximately 2,000 wholesalers of automotive products and supplies. The members of this organization are located in every State of the United States and the distribution of their products and supplies is nationwide.

The members of this association, through their channels of distribution, provide an indispensable service to the people of the United States. The products and supplies which they manufacture and maintain in inventory for sale to the consuming public are frequently unobtainable elsewhere. They are key products and supplies in the sense that the functioning of the millions of motor vehicles of all makes and models, automobiles, trucks, tractors, fire and ambulance equipment, stationary motors—almost every power engine, are dependent upon the service of the members of this organization.

We are grateful for this opportunity to present the views of this association on the measure before you dealing with parcel post size and weight limitations.

The bill before the committee would restore the former limitations of 70 pounds in weight and 100 inches in combined length and girth. The present weight and size limitations on fourth-class (parcel post) mail have grievously hurt the members of this association by curtailing severely their use of parcel post. As between first-class post offices the size of all shipments has been reduced to 72 inches in combined length and girth. Within the first 2 zones the maximum weight is 40 pounds and in zones 3 to 8 no more than 20 pounds may be shipped. Excepted from these limitations are: (a) parcels sent to or from rural or star routes; (b) parcels mailed from or addressed for delivery to patrons at second-, third-, and fourth-class post offices; (c) parcels containing baby fowls, live plants, trees, shrubs, agricultural commodities (not including manufactured products thereof), or books.

The alternative open to parcels within former limitations but larger than those permitted under present law is the Railway Express Agency whose rates are greatly in excess of what self-sustaining postal rates would be for the same service.

There is therefore, strong reason why the members of this association favor the Broyhill bill which would repeal the present discriminatory restrictions and restore the former limitations which were in effect for approximately 20 years prior to the enactment of Public Law 199 on October 24, 1951.

A substantial portion of the costs of doing business to the members of this association consists of transportation costs. The damage done to them by the existing weight and size limitations is great, but that is by no means the sole basis upon which we ask you to consider favorably the legislation before you.

As Members of Congress you are not concerned with the welfare of any special class or group. You are concerned, rather, with the welfare of the country as a whole. It is plain beyond dispute that in this instance the best interests of the Nation coincide with the best interests of the members of the association for which I speak.

A major concern of our Government today is the balancing of the budget and establishing and maintaining a sound Government fiscal condition. Restrictions now existing on the weight and size of mailable parcel post add to the ever-present postal deficit. This was established by the testimony of the post office official charged with the duty of ascertaining and reporting postal costs. Only a few months ago, Edmund J. Walsh, Assistant Comptroller of the Post Office Department, testified before the Interstate Commerce Commission that the postal deficit was increased in excess of $52 million per year by Public Law 199 under conditions prevailing at the time of its effective date. Congressman BROYHILL, the sponsor of the measure before you, has accurately pointed out that conditions since then have further increased the net revenue loss so resulting to a sum in excess of $75 million annually.

The committee in reporting favorably Public Law 199 stated its opinion that "the legislation will be advantageous to the Post Office Department and will represent a savings." Experience has proved that theory unsound.

Also of major concern is the confusion which has resulted within the Post Office De-

partment, as well as among members of the public, in attempting to apply an unworkable law lacking uniformity and consistency. The average postal clerk—the average shipper of a parcel—is required to know and to apply an intricate, complex set of regulations governing the simple act of putting a parcel in the mail.

The present effects of Public Law 199 were predicted by the Post Office Department in its report to this very committee at the time of its consideration. That report in part stated:

"While the provisions of this measure would meet the needs of rural patrons and other persons in communities and towns dependent upon parcel-post facilities, serious difficulties would be encountered in administering this legislation. Window clerks at first- and second-class post offices would have to ascertain the class of office shown on each parcel before determining its mailability. References to two separate lists, an alphabetical and a State, would be necessary to determine the class of office and the proper zone, or it would be necessary to revise and merge these lists. Because of numerous changes, a new list would have to be supplied each year. In those instances where the name of addressee, city, and State normally constitute a good address, it would be necessary to question the patron as to whether the parcel would be delivered from a box, general delivery, or a rural route emanating from the office address. Any increase in the time required to accept parcels would be a substantial increase in the expenditures for handling this class of mail.

"Experience gained many years ago, when the limit of weight for parcel-post matter was not uniform for all zones, showed that numerous irregularities and difficulties arose, such as the forwarding of parcels from the office of original address to another office in a zone for which a different weight limit applied; or, in connection with the returning of a parcel to an office in a distant city other than the one from which originally mailed.

"This legislation also would result in discrimination against patrons served by post offices of the first and second classes."

As stated in that report, confusion has resulted from the present legislation. The natural consequence of the discrimination against shipments between first-class post offices has been the diversion of the parcels to post offices of the second, third, and fourth classes as points of origin and points of destination. These offices are in many cases physically unable to cope with the bulky volume of parcel post thus artificially deviated to them. The result is such confusion that of itself leads to greater costs, since the added handling required to be given these deviously routed packages has unquestionably caused even more cost to the Post Office Department, and as well as delay to the public.

It is self-evident that the restrictions established by Public Law 199 deprive the public of service. It is equally plain that as a result the service remaining is furnished to the public at a higher cost. The less the public gets the more it pays. That, we submit, is not fair play, is not justice and is not sound government.

The choice is clear. On the one hand we have higher cost, decreased service, and greater confusion. On the other hand, we have lower cost, better service, simplicity and uniform operation. Is there really any choice to make? Do not the facts compel only one answer? The objective to be reached is a uniform, better service at lower cost—not a complicated, poorer service at higher cost.

One last point which we believe has not yet been called to the attention of the committee. Fourth-class mail is required by law to be carried at rates which will "pay the cost of such service" (U. S. Code, sec. 695). While not now contending this principle to be unfair, we do contend that whatever fairness it possesses is limited to the recovery of legitimate and proper costs namely, those costs incurred in rendering service to the public. As matters now stand, parcel-post users are not only compelled to pay for the cost of the service taken away from them by Public Law 199 but also to pay for the service they receive. This inequity will be corrected by the passage of the Broyhill bill.

The National Standard Parts Association therefore strongly urges this committee to recommend passage of H. R. 2685 which would repeal Public Law 199.

Build the Air Force Academy Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, I favor the immediate passage of H. R. 5337. The records will indicate that on November 29, 1949, I personally instituted action designed to bring about an Air Force Academy, and I introduced H. R. 6517 in the 81st Congress, 1st session, to establish a United States Air Force Academy in the Mobile Gulf Basin of the Tombigbee River. I am including copies of correspondence relating to this subject which attests my long and continued interest in this highly important matter. Also, I include a request by the then Secretary of Defense, Hon. Louis Johnson, dated July 29, 1949.

We are on the threshold of one of the most stupendously important eras in our Nation's history. A nation without air power is a nation without military power. A Nation without the best air power is a nation without the best military power. If we are to provide the best fliers for the most intricate planes ever designed, it is highly important that there be a separate Academy dedicated to this national proposition.

Mr. Speaker, every conceivable type of plane and of guided missile is coming into being daily, requiring intricate skills and vast technological training and experience. If we are to equip our youth to handle these planes and operate these missiles, we must immediately dedicate an institution to this use. At this very moment there is being launched an atomic submarine. Who knows that in the very near future there will not be an atomic airplane capable of flying the entire distance of the world nonstop? Who knows that with the coming few months missiles will be designed that can traverse the distance to the Moon or Mars?

Mr. Speaker, we are faced daily with the stupendous task of keeping abreast of Russia's growing and astronomical air force, far outnumbering the planes we possess. If we are to meet this growing menace it is necessary that we have superiority of manpower and superiority of plane power. In order to meet all of these commitments with destiny, an institution dedicated to airpower alone is the highest order of the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to include the following: A letter from Hon. CARL VINSON, addressed to me under date of November 29, 1949; copy of letter from Hon. W. STUART SYMINGTON, Secretary of the Air Force, to Hon. CARL VINSON, dated November 25, 1949; a letter from Hon. Louis Johnson to Hon. SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives, dated July 29, 1949:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D. C., November 29, 1949.

Hon. FRANK W. BOYKIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BOYKIN: There is enclosed a copy of a report received from the Department of the Air Force on your bill H. R. 6517 "To establish a United States Air Force Academy."

I am also enclosing a copy of the departmental letter on H. R. 5834 mentioned in the Secretary's report.

Sincerely,

CARL VINSON,
Chairman.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, November 25, 1949.

Hon. CARL VINSON,
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We refer to your recent request to the Secretary of Defense for a report on H. R. 6517, a bill "To establish a United States Air Force Academy." The Department of the Air Force has been designated to present the coordinated views of the Department of Defense on the bill.

The purpose of the subject bill is to establish a United States Air Force Academy in the Mobile Gulf Basin of the Tombigbee River, State of Alabama.

Recently the Secretary of Defense submitted to the Congress, on behalf of the Department of Defense, proposed legislation to establish an additional service academy. On August 1, 1949, this proposal was introduced in the House of Representatives as H. R. 5834 and in the Senate as S. 2355. The cited bills embody the position of the Department of Defense on the needs and requirements for an additional service academy; consequently, it is recommended that action on the subject bill be held in abeyance until the Congress has acted upon H. R. 5834 and S. 2355.

This report has been coordinated among the departments and boards within the Department of Defense, in accordance with procedures prescribed by the Secretary of Defense.

The Bureau of the Budget has previously interposed no objection to similar reports on various other bills relating to the establishment of an Air Force Academy.

Sincerely,

W. STUART SYMINGTON.

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, July 20, 1949.

Hon. SAM RAYBURN,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: There is attached a draft of a bill to provide for the establishment of an additional service academy, and for other purposes, which it is requested be enacted into law.

The purpose of this legislation is to authorize the establishment within the National Military Establishment of an additional service academy to provide undergraduate instruction and training comparable to that provided by the United States Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy for service in the Armed Forces of selected persons. For the purpose of providing permanent facilities for the Academy the Secretary of Defense would be authorized to utilize, with the consent of

the heads of the departments concerned, available lands owned by the United States, and to acquire lands and rights pertaining thereto or other interests therein, including temporary use, by donation, purchase, or otherwise. The Secretary would also be authorized to construct and maintain such buildings, appurtenances, facilities, and so forth, as he might deem necessary. For the purpose of providing temporary facilities and to enable early operation of the Academy, the Secretary of Defense would be authorized to utilize, adapt, and maintain existing facilities, to contract with civilian institutions, and to appoint classified civilians for the administration of the Academy as circumstances might require.

The bill further provides that all appropriate provisions of law not inconsistent with the purposes of this act which pertain to the United States Military Academy shall also pertain to the Academy established under this act. The organization of the Academy shall be prescribed by the Secretary of Defense, and he is empowered to limit, by means of competitive examinations, the number of cadets to be appointed annually to the Academy, in order to permit an orderly increase in the number of such cadets. Under the terms of the bill the Secretary of Defense would be authorized to effect a transfer to the Academy during the initial year of its operation, and with the consent of the individuals concerned, of certain cadets from the two existing service academies.

One of the great problems confronting the National Military Establishment at the present time is the provision of adequate facilities and services to provide for a system of undergraduate education to prepare officers for lifetime careers in the Armed Forces. While the existing Academies are able to provide for the career officers requirements of the Army and the Navy, their facilities are inadequate to make available sufficient career personnel for the entire Military Establishment, including the Air Force.

The principal sources of career personnel for the Air Force in the past have been the aviation cadet program, the Air Reserve Officers Training Corps, and officer candidate schools, which are presently unable to provide the number of career officers with the educational qualifications required by the Air Force. The Air ROTC is the main source of college graduates, but the dependability of this source, as well as of the others mentioned, varies substantially with changes in economic and world conditions.

The Air Force, like the Army and the Navy, has a definite requirement for a system of officer procurement that will provide an adequate and continuous flow of college-educated, uniformly trained young men possessing the desired character and personal attributes, who have a firm and considered desire to become and remain officers, a system that will give stability to the officer corps and unity to the objectives of the Department.

Currently an attempt is being made to alleviate the problem of officer procurement within the Air Force by the integration each year of a certain portion of each class graduated from the United States Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy. To continue this procedure, however, the existing service Academies would have to be expanded to enable them to meet the needs of their respective services as well as of the Air Force. Recent studies have established that such expansion is not feasible, and that the only practical solution to the problem is the establishment of an additional service academy.

It is contemplated that the Academy will be an undergraduate institution that will confer an appropriate degree upon those successfully completing the prescribed course of instruction. The curriculum will be designed to offer a broad general education and to provide a course of instruction that will (1) equip graduates with the training, experience, and motivation that will prepare them to graduate with the knowledge, character, and qualities of leadership required of a junior officer; and (2) provide a basis for continued development of the graduates throughout a lifetime of service to their country, and a preparedness for military responsibilities of the highest order.

An accurate estimate of construction costs can be made only after full investigation of the actual site selected for development and a determination of the type of architecture and materials to be used in the construction. In the absence of this specific information, an estimate based upon national average costs at a hypothetical site and presenting average construction conditions has been prepared. This estimate amounts to approximately $171 million. It is further estimated that the cost of operating such an academy for the first year at a temporary site, assuming full utilization of an existing military installation with minimum modification, pending construction of a permanent installation, would be approximately $5 million.

For the reasons hereinabove enumerated, I strongly urge the favorable consideration by the Congress of the attached draft bill and recommend that the proposal be enacted into law.

The Department of the Air Force has been designated by me as the executive agency of the National Military Establishment to sponsor this proposal in its presentation to the Congress.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the submission of this report.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS JOHNSON.

Farmers Oppose State Purchase of Central Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, there have been some recent developments concerning the proposed State purchase of the federally financed Central Valley project in California which deserve critical review by every Member of Congress. For some time we have had proposals for State purchase of this project by various groups in California who purport to represent the people of the area in a desire to transfer ownership of the project from the United States to the State of California.

I have vigorously opposed these suggestions for more than a year on the ground that we need Federal assistance in the solution of California's water problems and because the heavy increase in population in California brings about problems which are of national interest. In the past 10 or 12 years 1 out of 5 of every addition to the Nation's population has been in the State of California. The population of that great State is still increasing at a rate of more than 1,000 people a day, according to the best information. One thing is certain, if we are to provide the basis for more farms, more homes, and more jobs for these people, we must have more water and power development. I assert that if the State of California has bonding capacity for this type of development that it should go ahead and build water and power projects as rapidly as possible, at the same time continuing Federal ownership of the Central Valley project and Federal assistance on the construction of future water and power development.

Recently a State legislative hearing was held in the city of Visalia, in the heart of the San Joaquin Valley. It comes as a revelation to many people that practically every representative of a water and power user that attended the hearing opposed using State money to buy the Central Valley project. They know, as I have stated previously, such an action would not add a single drop of water or one kilowatt of additional power to the already short supply in California. Naturally, the question is raised, "Who is supporting State purchase of the Central Valley project, and why?" In a newspaper article which I am enclosing and making available to our members, it says:

Assemblyman Stanford C. Shaw, of San Bernardino County questioned practically every water user witness about where the impetus for State purchase of the project is coming from.

The report goes on to state:

None reported knowing any water or power user group supporting and promoting the idea.

It seems to me that the State engineer of the State of California, the California officers and representatives approving this proposal should step forward and tell the people who it is that wants California's limited funds used in this manner, and why they support California ownership of a great project that has been made possible by money from the taxpayers of the other 47 States. For your information, Mr. Speaker, and the information of the Members of Congress, I ask that the following two articles from the Sacramento Bee of January 15 and January 16, respectively, be inserted in the RECORD. The articles follow:

[From the Sacramento Bee of January 15, 1954]

FARMERS SAY CVP PURCHASE IS PIG-IN-POKE DEAL

(By Gordon Nelson)

VISALIA, TULARE COUNTY.—The farmers of California's central valleys today told the State legislature in no uncertain terms they do not believe California can afford to buy the central-valleys project and still meet all the demands of its people for more schools, more and better highways, and more water-development projects.

They also said they are not interested in any pig-in-a-poke propositions for the State to take over the project and run it without cost under State law.

EXPRESSED VIEWS

The farmers' views were expressed at a hearing of a State assembly subcommittee investigating possible purchase of the CVP. About 200 persons jammed the hearing room in the Visalia Municipal Auditorium.

The witnesses, all of whom represented organizations favoring continued Federal ownership of the project were Gordon H. Garland, a former speaker of the assembly and president of the Stone Corral Irrigation District; Leroy McCormick, a Visalia attor-

ney representing several irrigation districts served by the Friant-Kern Canal and the Alpaugh Irrigation District; Irvin H. Althouse, secretary of the Friant Water Users Association; H. K. Nelson, the president of the Delano-Earlimart Irrigation District; H. V. Eastman, the secretary-manager of the Chowchilla Water District; and H. E. Dillinger, of Placerville, a former State senator, representing the El Dorado Irrigation District.

Attorney General Edmund G. Brown also appeared as a member of the water-project authority and made a brief statement in support of the views expressed by the other witnesses.

STATED OPPOSITION

Eastman appeared as the chairman of a committee of the Friant water users which was appointed to appear to express the organization's opposition to the proposed State purchase of the project.

"We are alarmed by the presumption on the part of many people in the State and many legislators that all of us here are satisfied with the idea of the State taking over the project," Eastman commented. "Our operating relations with the Bureau of Reclamation, while not always smooth, have been quite satisfactory."

Garland presented a prepared statement in which he said California just cannot afford to purchase and complete the Central Valleys project.

He made it plain he does not believe in the 160-acre-limitation clause in Federal reclamation law and asserted the CVP should be excluded from the limitation but declared this should be done by an act of Congress.

NOT THE ANSWER

"State purchase most certainly is not the answer to this problem," Garland declared. He also noted landowners on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley are hoping to obtain the supplemental water supply of as much as 600,000 acre-feet from the Trinity River project, an authorized but unconstructed feature of the CVP. He questioned whether the State would build the Trinity project if it bought the CVP.

Nelson and Garland both called attention to the fact the irrigation districts' contracts with the bureau provide for a maximum payment of $3.50 an acre for class 1 water and said in times of economic distress the farmers would be better able to get a downward adjustment from the Federal Government than from the State.

Nelson declared the irrigationists are not interested in having the State operate the project under State law with ownership to remain in the hands of the Federal Government because he does not think the State has taken much of an interest in helping the farmers get water during the last 20 years and he is uncertain what kind of treatment he would get under State operation.

OBNOXIOUS REGULATION

McCormick declared the 160-acre limitation is part of reclamation law and even though it is obnoxious, it is not likely to be avoided by any method short of outright purchase of the project.

Althouse declared:

"The implied thoughts of some propaganda would have us already to believe that the transfer of the CVP to the State of California is about to occur without even considering or counseling with the holders of contracts who are now purchasing about 90 percent of the total irrigation water sold by the CVP.

"The question arises whether if the State takes over the CVP it can also complete the great Feather River project.

SHOULD DEVELOP NEW PROJECTS

Dillinger declared if the State has money to buy the Central Valleys project, it should go ahead and develop new projects rather than to buy one which is already adequately financed and in full operation.

Dillinger declared it is doubtful if portions of the State out of the CVP service area would tax or bond themselves to buy a project with little or no direct benefit to them. He asserted the central valleys would have to carry the financial load alone.

"Even worse, if southern California did contribute to the purchase of the CVP," Dillinger declared, "they would expect to control the project accordingly. With their overwhelming vote, they could take the water if they need and want it. With the desperate need that some areas have for water, that is more than a mere academic question.

WHAT IS SURPLUS?

"We are entirely willing that surplus water be exported, but we want very definitely, a voice in deciding what is surplus.

"What reason is there for any change? We could not hope for a better deal from the State, and might well end up with one far worse. Apparently the persons anxious for the purchase are those opposed to the acreage limitation. If the limitation is wrong, the place to settle that is in Congress or the courts, and not to jeopardize the interests of every water user in California.

"We respectfully urge that this entire proposal be dropped, before it does further and irreparable damage to the development of California."

The hearing was conducted by Assemblyman William W. Hansen, Republican, of Fresno County, the chairman of the assembly subcommittee probing possible State purchase of the CVP.

Congressman HARLAN HAGEN said in a statement State ownership would submit the project to political control.

HAGEN represents the 14th, Kings, Kern, and Tulare Counties district. His statements were in a letter written at the request of W. M. Harrison, the chairman of a committee favoring State ownership. HAGEN'S letter was presented by Robert Hagen.

TRACED HISTORY

The letter traced the history of the CVP, noting the opposition originally raised against it by areas of the State not directly to be served by the project, and commenting that under State ownership conflicts over the project would have a more decided political flavor.

He went on to say the Federal Government is largely neutral regarding the selfish needs of areas within a State but that under State ownership it is likely justice would yield to the relative strength of the different State and legislative offices.

The primary consideration of feasibility is that of maintaining a standard of cost to water and power users at least as low as that presently existing.

DOES NOT MEET NEEDS

"I think it can be said truthfully that the existing features of the CVP do not fully meet the water needs of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys and the San Francisco Bay area and that further projects are necessary in California to meet those needs."

HAGEN declared he does not believe the sections of the State outside the project would be any more in favor of new projects than they were in favor of the CVP in the referendum held in the early thirties.

"In my opinion the attitude of people outside the area of proposed benefit for Federal projects, including the power company representatives and spokesmen in the State legislature, would be the same as that at the time of the referendum," HAGEN wrote.

EVIL INFLUENCE

"I know of my own knowledge that the power companies exert an evil and inordinate amount of influence in certain committees of the State legislature and I question the possibility of State action for necessary water developments in spite of the fact the Feather River project is in the planning stage."

HAGEN went on to cite the preferential status of public agencies in the purchase of CVP power, the financing benefits under Federal ownership and the interest costs which would result if the States attempted to purchase the project outright.

[From the Sacramento Bee of January 16, 1954]

FEW AT PROBE BACK CVP PURCHASE IDEA

(By Gordon Nelson)

VISALIA, TULARE COUNTY.—Thirty-five public agencies and water and power user organizations in the Central Valleys project area are on record as opposing State purchase of the CVP.

Their stand was established at a hearing here yesterday by an assembly subcommittee studying possible State purchase or operation of the project.

The subcommittee, a part of the assembly committee on conservation, planning and public works, is headed by Assemblyman William W. Hansen, Republican, of Fresno County, who presided.

TELLS OF PRESSURE

Assemblyman Francis C. Lindsay, Republican, of Placer County, chairman of the full committee, said "substantial pressure" was put on Hansen to call off the hearing when it was learned the testimony would be overwhelmingly in opposition to State purchase.

Hansen insisted on going ahead with the hearing as scheduled, however.

"It's remarkable to me how little interest there was in taking over the project," commented Assemblyman Bruce F. Allen, Republican, of Santa Clara County, at the conclusion of the hearing.

CALLS HEARING PREMATURE

In addition to the 35 groups not favoring or strongly opposing State acquisition, the South San Joaquin Municipal Utility District, according to witness Bert Green, took no position in the controversy.

Green called the hearing premature.

The Westlands Water District, comprising some 400,000 acres on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley, said it takes no position but is opposed to any move which will delay bringing a supplemental water supply to land in that district.

Green endorsed the principle of State purchase and minimized the financial problems, saying future projects "can be handled by the bureau and the Federal Government as they have in the past."

WHO BACKS MOVE?

Assemblyman Stanford C. Shaw, Democrat, of San Bernardino County questioned practically every water user witness about where the impetus for State purchase of the project is coming from.

None reported knowing any water or power user group supporting and promoting the idea.

Shaw got his answer, however, from the only witness who spoke unequivocally in favor of State acquisition, W. M. Harrison of Delano, chairman of the statewide committee for California ownership of the CVP.

He did not appear as a director of the south San Joaquin utility setup, although he is one.

Harrison told the assembly group his committee is made up of 36 persons, 6 representatives each from the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the State chamber of commerce, the Irrigation Districts Association of California, the Agricultural Council of California, the Central Valleys Flood Control Association and the State farm bureau federation.

DISAGREES WITH STATEMENT

He explained no water user district contributes to the expenses of the committee but disagreed with Shaw's statement that most of the drive for State purchase comes from "outside the orbit of Central Valleys Project water users."

Harrison declared his expenses in connection with the committee are paid by the State farm bureau.

Some witnesses criticized Federal Reclamation Bureau water supply contracts because farmers do not acquire water rights under them.

Testimony was presented by Gordon H. Garland, former speaker of the assembly, that the State offered the Lindsay-Strathmore district a contract 15 years ago which provided for water at $5 an acre-foot but which did not give the district a water right either. He offered to provide copies of the contract.

Harrison, the final witness, contradicted point by point practically every issue raised by the witnesses representing water user groups.

QUESTION OF BONDS

He declared the purchase would not jeopardize the State's credit for future water, school, or highway developments because the project would be bought with revenue bonds which would be paid off by income from the project but he said in answer to a question by Assemblyman Lloyd W. Lowrey, Democrat, of Yolo County, he has not talked to bond houses about the financing problem.

Shaw earlier said bond-house experts told the committee CVP revenue bonds would be unmarketable.

Harrison presented letters from several Members of Congress declaring State purchase would not hurt the State's chances for future Federal appropriations.

These lawmakers include Republican Congressman OAKLEY HUNTER, of the 12th Fresno District; BEN F. JENSEN, of Iowa; LEROY JOHNSON, of the Stanislaus and San Joaquin Counties district; W. S. MAILLIARD, of San Francisco; JOHN PHILLIPS, of Riverside County; and JOHN P. SAYLOR, of Pennsylvania; Republican Senators HUGH BUTLER, of Nebraska, and GUY CORDON, of Oregon; and Democratic Senator PAT MCCARRAN, of Nevada.

In answer to a question by Lowrey, Harrison stated the action to have the State buy the CVP "very definitely comes from the grassroots" and sprang up from local farm bureau centers.

POSSIBLE PROPOSALS

Witnesses were asked specifically to comment on these possible proposals for State operation of the project:

1. State operation under Federal ownership through Federal reclamation law.

2. State operation through State law under a lease-purchase agreement, with the State to own the property after present 40-year contracts expire.

3. Outright purchase.

Most of the water user witnesses expressed a fear that under any program for State acquisition, control would become a subject of political struggle between the rural and metropolitan areas.

They generally see no value in the first proposal, saying it would result in a situation in which the Federal Government would be watching the State, which would be watching the district, which would be watching the farmer.

It would, they said, add just one more administrative layer to an already complex situation.

CANNOT SUPPORT PLAN

The witnesses were unwilling to support the second proposal because they want to know what is going to happen to their water and power rates.

Some districts whose CVP contracts have not been validated by the superior courts are uncertain what their contract rights would be if the State took over the project.

The idea of outright State purchase did not appeal to any of the water or power district spokesmen.

They said if the State has that kind of money it should be building new projects, not buying one which is already built.

Some witnesses were unalterably opposed to State purchase under any conditions and others were willing to have the study continue just in case a workable plan could be devised.

DISTRICTS OPPOSING

Districts speaking in opposition included Friant-Kern and Madera Canal area—Chowchilla Water District, Delano Earlimart, Stone Corral, Exeter, Madera, Ivahoe, Lindsay-Strathmore, Lindmore, Saucelito, Tulare, Lower Tule, Porterville, Terra Bella, Orange Cove, and Alpaugh Irrigation Districts, and the Friant Water Users Association.

Delta-Mendota Canal area—Hospital, Kern Canon, Del Puerto, Salado, Orestimba, Davis, Foothill, Sunflower, Mustang, Romero and Quinto water districts in San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Merced Counties.

Others—Trinity River Development Association, made up of potential users of surplus water of the Trinity River project; Sacramento Valley Irrigation Committee of Red Bluff, Tehama County; Buckeye County Water District of Redding, Shasta County; Shasta Dam Area Public Utility District of the Central Valleys, Water and Power Users Association of the Santa Clara Valley, Contra Costa Canal Water Users, Solano County Flood Control District, Fairfax Grange No. 570 of Bakersfield, Kern County Labor Council, and California Farm Research and Legislative Council of Santa Clara.

O.W. Fillerup, representing the California Farm Bureau Federation, said his organization is committed to State purchase of the project if it is feasible.

He said outright purchase "would be preferable from all angles" and added he understands "revenue bonds would be the answer."

1953 Progress Report From Turkey by Its President, Celal Bayar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, good news has been in extremely short supply during the past few years. We have heard so much about people falling under the yoke of Communist tyranny that we have tended to lose sight of the fact that liberty is gaining strength in many areas of the world.

Within the last few years we have witnessed the emergence of two democratic governments in the historic and important Near East area. The Republic of Turkey and the new State of Israel have evolved as spearheads of the forces of freedom in the Near East. Turkey is, to my knowledge, the only country in modern times in which a dictatorship has permitted itself to be removed from power by the bloodless processes of the ballot box and where state socialism in industry is voluntarily giving way to private, competitive enterprise. The Turks have not only stubbornly resisted diplomatic bullying tactics by the Soviet Union but they have actively supported the successful attempt of the free world to halt Communist aggression in Korea.

The Turkish people are taking full advantage of their increased freedom to improve their economic well-being, their health and social welfare, their education, their fine arts, and last, but not least, to strengthen their ties with the free world through increased economic, cultural, and military cooperation. Details of Turkey's domestic progress and of her cooperative effort in maintaining world peace and promoting social, political, and economic progress for underprivileged peoples are admirably set forth in the recent state of the nation message delivered by President Celal Bayar to the Turkish Grand National Assembly. President Bayar is a most welcome guest in the United States, and, since his state of the nation message reflects the dynamic, freedom-loving, and progressive character of the Turkish people, I am inserting it in the RECORD:

Honorable Members of Parliament:

I am inaugurating the fourth and last session of the ninth term of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

I consider it my duty to express at the outset my sentiments of respect and appreciation for the most valuable services rendered by this honorable Assembly in its capacity as the sole and true representative of the Turkish nation. These services include the guarding of those reforms which have enhanced the honored position that the Turkish nation occupies in contemporary world civilization. Your watchful attitude was substantiated by means of the laws enacted in previous parliamentary sessions against those who desired to exploit the freedom of religion and conscience.

In view of the fact that this honorable Assembly will turn over its functions to the 10th Grand National Assembly at the end of the current session, this speech will be my last inaugural address of the current 4-year legislative term. Consequently, I feel sure you will deem it both natural and useful for my speech to deal not only with the activities of the past year but also to review, rapidly and as a whole, the work that has been done during the more than 3½ years since the Democratic Party government was elected to office in May 1950.

Let me hasten to add that, like the other years of this ninth legislative term, the past year was most fruitful as regards developments in our national life.

JUSTICE

The democratic regime upon which we have embarked assigns particularly important duties to our judicial apparatus with regard to the safeguarding of justice and public order.

The exceptional vigilance and sense of justice demonstrated by our judicial apparatus in the face of acts and activities aiming at shaking the principles of our reforms and the basic order of the state is beyond all praise. I am certain that in expressing these sentiments I am interpreting also the views of this honorable Assembly and of the Turkish nation itself.

By raising to 1,463 (an increase of 40 percent) the 1,079 courts that were in existence in 1950, the Ministry of Justice has brought the benefits of justice within closer reach of our fellow citizens and has also insured the more effective application of the legislation which you have enacted.

While endeavoring to provide all citizens with every protection of law and justice, the

Government has also given much thought to the enforcement of penalties in a manner compatible with the aim and purpose of such measures: 131 new penal institutions have been constructed within the short period of 8 years, as against only 89 during the 21-year period between 1929–50.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

One of our most important national problems concerns the raising of the material and moral standard of our social structure to its highest degree, and the protection of such an extremely valuable factor as the health of our fellow countrymen.

It is with this object in view that we are continuing the intensive campaign against tuberculosis, malaria, syphilis, and trachoma, each of which constitutes a potent danger to individual life no less than to our social structure in general.

B. C. G. inoculations, one of the most valuable factors in the present-day fight against tuberculosis, are being carried out in every part of the nation. At the same time, the number of TB dispensaries has continued to be increased in 1953; their present number is 39, or 17 more than last year. The extent of the progress made by opening 17 new dispensaries in a single year can be realized better when it is recalled that we had only 8 such dispensaries at the end of 1950.

The construction of TB hospitals, too, continues at the same pace; while the number of such hospitals was only 7 in 1949 and contained no more than 1,097 beds, the figure at the end of 1953 will have risen to 6,357 beds in 63 hospitals.

Model and State hospitals, maternity homes, and children's nurseries too have been expanded during 1953 from the viewpoint of the means and resources placed at their disposal. At the same time, work continues apace on the construction of new health centers which are extremely useful to the public for preventive as well as curative health services: 226 health centers were constructed during the past 3 years, compared to the total of only 16 that were in operation at the end of 1950.

The fight against malaria, syphilis, and trachoma is being expedited by the addition of new installations and the providing of mechanized mobile units placed at the disposal of the organization.

EDUCATION

It is by way of raising the cultural level of the people that the security and stability of civil and economic development can be maintained. That is why the Government attaches great importance to the development of elementary education in its quantitative as well as qualitative aspects. Large sums are being spent and great efforts are being made for this purpose.

During this ninth term of the National Assembly, Turkey has constructed 2,649 new elementary schools. The average annual increase in the number of such schools has been 883 during the past 3 years (as against 298 per year in the period up to 1950), along with an increase of 134,000 in pupil attendance.

There has been a gratifying increase in the number of secondary schools. Budgetary appropriations for secondary education in 1953 totalled over $12,678,000 compared to the $9,642,000 set aside for the same purpose in 1950. One hundred and twenty-five additional secondary schools, and 9 new lycees, were opened during the past 3 years, as against the total of 213 secondary schools and 36 lycees opened prior to 1950. This means an average of 42 secondary schools and 3 lycees per year for the 1951–53 period, whereas the average was 8 secondary schools and 1.5 lycees for each of the 27 years from 1923 to 1950.

The Government is decided to open at least one secondary school in every district and one lycee in every province. It is hoped to realize this program in full within the next 3 years.

The rapid expansion of technical installations and equipment used in every branch of Turkish activities continues to increase the demand for technical personnel. A start was made last year on the construction at Izmir and Adana of new machine and motor schools to train mechanical and automotive technicians. The one in Izmir, now completed, will start instruction this year. The Adana Machine and Motor School is still under construction. The construction of a similiar institution at Eskisehir is under consideration.

The expansion in facilities for university education has paralleled the progress perceived in other branches of public education. The fact that more than $15,214,000 was allocated to universities in 1953 as against $9,107,000 in 1950 is sufficient to indicate the extent of the importance that the Government attaches to this subject.

Also included in this category are the measures adopted to increase rapidly and in large measure the ability of our Technical University to train a larger number of qualified engineers and technical personnel.

Preparations have been completed, and construction started, to establish a new university in eastern Turkey. This institution will bring a great center of culture and civilization to eastern Anatolia. The veterinary department and department of fine arts of this university will be located in Erzurum, the departments of the social sciences at Van, the college of engineering at Diyarbakir, and the departments of geology, biology, agriculture, and forestry in Elazig. I find it appropriate that this great new cultural institution will be named Ataturk University, after the founder of the new Turkey and the creator of its reforms.

THE FINE ARTS

The cultural level of nations can also be gaged to some extent by the superiority of their esthetic taste. Throughout its history the Turkish nation has demonstrated its sensitivity to the arts. It is necessary for us to attach importance to the fine arts if we are to develop this natural talent in accordance with contemporary requirements.

You had previously approved the allocation of $3,571,000 with which to complete the construction of the new theater and opera building in Istanbul. When ready, it will come within the framework of the state theaters administration.

Steps have been taken to train the artistes who will be employed by the new opera and theater.

A school of music has been opened in Izmir and will later be expanded and converted to a conservatory.

Action is being taken in accordance with the law enacted during the past session of Parliament to insure that radio programs may be clearly heard in all parts of the country. Bids have been invited for the construction of three new radio broadcasting transmitter and studio stations at Erzurum, Adana, and Izmir.

Historic research and archeological excavations constitute sources for material proof of the services rendered to the history and civilization of mankind by the Turkish Nation. New museums were opened at Istanbul and Izmir this year, and a fourth gallery was added to the department of precious jewels at Topkapu Museum.

Planned and systematic excavations continue to be carried out in different parts of our homeland, site of great civilizations since the earliest ages of history.

AGRICULTURE

The flourishing advance in agricultural production has been one of the most important factors contributing to the economic recovery of Turkey.

Grain production totaled 13,600,000 tons in 1953, a rise of nearly 100 percent over the 1950 figure of 7,704,000 tons.

Cotton production rose to 165,000 tons for 1952, compared to the total of 104,000 tons at the end of 1949.

Tobacco, another important item in the economy of Turkey, has undergone noteworthy development in recent years. Many technical and economic measures are being applied to improve even further the already world-famous quality of Turkish tobacco. At the same time, acreage suitable for tobacco cultivation is being increased. It is estimated that tobacco production will have risen to 120,000 tons in 1953, as against the 1951 yield of 62,000 tons.

There has been a considerable increase in the production of the industrial crops which are important to our agricultural economy. Some 2,415,000 tons of crops for industrial use were produced in 1952, compared to 1,700,000 tons in 1950; and it is estimated that the yield for 1953 will exceed last year's tonnage.

Every effort is being made to increase the quantity and improve the quality of our fresh and dried fruit produce which has become an important source of income during the past few years.

Not only the mechanization of agriculture, but also the practical application of the modern farming techniques learned by our rural population, have combined to bring about the auspicious advance of nearly 100 percent marked in all branches of agricultural production. That is why we continue to attach importance to the establishment of new agricultural training centers in all parts of the country, and particularly in the eastern provinces.

At the same time, expanded credit facilities have made it possible to increase to 40,000 (from 6,000 at the start of 1950) the number of tractors purchased by Turkish farmers, not to mention large quantities of other agricultural machinery, all of which have played an important role in the increase of agricultural production.

Livestock raising, one of the more important sources of national wealth, is also showing rapid development. Livestock in Turkey, which numbered some 56 million in 1950, has increased to 62 million head in 1953. It is obvious that further progress in this field requires close cooperation with the farmers. Our veterinary organization is giving more attention than ever to the varied aspects of stud breeding, combating animal diseases, organizing stock shows and competitions, setting up model sheep folds and cattle pens, displaying and demonstrating modern feeding and feed-storage methods, establishing pastures and trefoil areas, etc.

Despite the fact that the new draft bill for forests has not yet been legislated into law, the better application of existing laws in a manner compatible with the best interests of the people has brought about satisfactory results. The new forestry bill, now in process of being debated by your honorable Assembly, is one of utmost importance.

LAND DISTRIBUTION

The matter of distributing land to farmers and villagers that have none of their own is an important matter which has been greatly accelerated.

Last year we distributed 1,773,000 dönüms (about 177,300 hectares) of land to 41,500 families, with the additional grant of $1,265,-dönüms (about 126,500 hectares) of communal pastureland. Previous distribution up to the beginning of the present term of the National Assembly (May 1950) had totaled 830,000 dönüms (about 83,000 hectares), whereas our distribution of farming and pastureland during the past 3.5 years alone has totaled 6.5 million dönüms (about 650,-000 hectares). This means that the distribution of land since mid-1950 has averaged

about 2 million dönüms (200,000 hectares), compared to the annual average of 160,000 dönüms (about 16,000 hectares) distributed in the years preceding 1950. The work of land distribution will be further accelerated in future years.

Recipients of free land have also received financial credit facilities out of a special fund with which to meet the initial cost of operation and the purchase of new equipment. Groups of tractors placed at the disposal of the land-distribution commissions have helped farmers to break the new ground.

The Government has also paid special attention to speeding up the work of land surveying. A start has been made to employ the aerophotogrametric method of surveying land, with indications that this will ensure a saving of 50 percent in time and financial outlay.

PUBLIC WORKS

I will now broach the subject of public works which constitute one of the major factors in the economic development of Turkey.

The construction work entered into and the results already achieved to meet the public works needs of the country are contributing to the constant and rapid development of economic activity in every field.

Appropriations for the Ministry of Public Works, inclusive of supplementary allocations, will have totalled nearly $178,570,000 for 1953, compared to $53,570,000 in 1950.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Everybody in Turkey is fully familiar by now with the extensive work being done relative to the construction and repair of our roads; and a start has been made to reap the beneficial result of this activity.

Roads which afford comfortable all-weather travel to motorized traffic now total some 13,227 miles in length.

The construction of bridges, which forms the most important part of the road-building program, is being continued on a more extensive scale. The following figures should serve to give an idea as to the magnitude of this work and the speed with which it is being carried out: whereas only 289 bridges with a total length of 14,170 yards were built during the 27 years prior to 1950, work was started on no less than 732 big bridges totalling 40,875 yards (and 203 of them, totalling 13,300 yards, were completed) since 1950. Work continues on the remaining bridges, and a large number of them are nearing completion.

IRRIGATION AND FLOOD PREVENTION

It is obvious that we have registered great success in matters related to water works. We consider it one of the most important of our economic and social problems to obviate the damage caused by floods, while at the same time harnessing water power to productive ends.

Instead of the uncordinated and localized work done in previous years, we have adopted the principle of increasing allocations and resources, and of planning for whole areas rather than for isolated sections.

The construction of dams is essential to regulate rivers and to derive benefit from the source of potential power and irrigation which they afford. It is in the light of this basic principle that a start has been made on the construction of the Seyhan Dam at a cost of over $35,714,000.

Rapid progress continues to be made in the construction of the dam and hydroelectric powerplant at Sariyar which will have an initial capacity of 80,000 kilowatts, and can be increased to 160,000 kilowatts.

All necessary preparations have been completed for the construction of a dam of comparable importance in the Gediz River Valley. The Government is in touch with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the purpose of financing the foreign-currency payments for this dam.

Aside from the above-mentioned large-scale projects on the Sariyar, Seyhan, and Gediz Rivers, preparations have advanced and are now in their final stages for equally important power and irrigation installations at Hirfanli on the Kizilirmak River, at Almus over the Yesilirmak River, and over the Akcay River. It is only a matter of time before construction starts on these installations.

Work on a large scale continues also on smaller and individual waterworks to meet local needs: 87 of these were completed between 1950–52, and attention is being concentrated in 1953 on another 607 projects of varying size and importance.

You are naturally aware of the importance of the work to develop our subterranean water resources. This is a new field of activity in which favorable progress is being made.

Successful results are being obtained in efforts to provide villages with facilities for good drinking water. The sum of nearly $16,430,000 has been allocated for this purpose during the past 3 years, in contrast to the total of $536,000 spent during the whole period prior to 1950. Some 7,877 villages were provided with adequate drinking water facilities by the end of 1952; we are now working on similar facilities for another 5,000 villages. As a result of these efforts, the major portion of the problem of drinking water for villages will have been solved by the end of the present legislative term.

ELECTRIC POWER AND LIGHT

We are engaged in extensive work to provide abundant and inexpensive electric power. Twelve of the medium-sized hydroelectric stations planned by the Electric Research Administration, with a total capacity of 44,750 kilowatts, are already under construction. These powerplants, scheduled to go into operation 1 at a time by the end of 1956, are located in 14 Provinces (Amasya, Konya, Erzurum, Osmaniye, Siirt, Isparta, Egridir, Usak, Maras, Gaziantep, Burdur, Hatay, Elazig, Erzincan) to provide a plentiful supply of cheap electricity to many cities, towns, and villages in their areas. Apart from these 12, the overall program provides for a start to be made this year on the construction of another 4 electric-power stations, with a capacity of 12,300 kilowatts. The cost of these installations will total about $27,500,000.

As for the really big hydroelectric stations, it is estimated that they will cost over $285,714,000, and, by 1956, will add some 2 billion kilowatt-hours to the annual output of electric energy generated in Turkey, which never, since electricity was first invented, exceeded 800 million kilowatt-hours in any 1 year.

The electrification of villages is another of the problems of prime importance, which like village roads and drinking water, is being studied and blueprinted by the Government.

PORTS AND HARBORS

Important progress has been made in the construction of ports, harbors, and piers.

In addition to the ports of Eregli, Trabzon, and Inebolu, where work had already been started, a beginning has been made at the ports of Istanbul, Izmir, Samsun, and Iskenderun; and a bill has been submitted to the National Assembly for construction of the port of Mersin.

RAILROADS

Work continues to extend the Elazig-Van railroad line in the direction of Mus, which it will reach by 1954. The program for railroad construction during the current year includes the extending of the eastern line as far as Kars.

PUBLIC BUILDING

A new mentality devoid of all tendency toward luxury or extravagance governs the construction, repair, and maintenance of public buildings. Some 1,403 new buildings (which included 734 hospitals, TB clinics, and health centers, and 519 primary schools) were constructed in 1953.

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS

The new airport at Yesilkoy, in Istanbul, one in a series equipped to handle international air traffic, went into operation this year. The Esenboga Airport in Ankara is nearing completion. Work continues on the construction of the airports at Adana and Trabzon. Contracts have been let for the construction of three other large airports at Konya, Eskisehir, and Diyarbakir. Preparations have been completed to start work on additional airports at Malatya, Bandirma, Batman, Merzifon, and Izmir. A draft law has been submitted to Parliament for authority to allocate some $16,071,000 for a program to construct more airfields at Samsun, Van, Erzurum, Kars, Iskenderun, Urfa, Gaziantep, Antalya, and Agri. The completion of this program will assure great and rapid development for Turkey in the field of domestic as well as international aviation.

AID FOR EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

Profound concern has been displayed and efforts have been made to mitigate the losses sustained by citizens in earthquake-stricken areas, and to rebuild devastated communities. We may cite, as an example, the recent earthquake in the Canakkale-Balikesir region: Aside from the immediate aid extended at the outset, the earthquake damage has been almost entirely repaired with the aid of some $428,600 appropriated for the purpose. Moreover, the Real Estate Loan Bank has advanced building loans to facilitate the construction of new homes for earthquake victims.

FINANCE

The financial policy of the Turkish Government aims at achieving a balance compatible with maximum productivity between our steadily increasing and varied needs on the one hand and our available financial means and resources on the other. This positive policy has made it possible to close rapidly the gap between State revenues and expenditures.

The budgetary deficit which amounted to 11 percent of the expenditures provided for in the budget for 1950 was reduced to 6.5 percent in the budget for 1953. The draft budget for fiscal year 1954, scheduled to be submitted to the National Assembly in about a month, will be a balanced budget.

The success of efforts to draw up the balanced budget, which has been a long-standing aspiration, is the auspicious outcome of all the steps taken to insure economic recovery, coupled to the sound and healthy financial policy of increasing public services without crippling our sources of revenue.

Thanks to the application of such a policy, it has been possible to increase each year the amount set aside to finance specific projects of a productive nature calculated to expand economic activity in every field. This investment fund, which totaled $113 million in the budget for 1950, rose to $144 million in 1951, to $16 million in 1952, and reached the record sum of nearly $240 million in 1953 (an increase of 111 percent over the 1950 figure).

The above figures become all the more significant when it is remembered that these investment allocations were made alongside expenditures for the reinforcement of our Armed Forces which were 55 percent higher than the largest sum appropriated for the same purpose in any year (including the Second World War period) prior to 1950.

It is also gratifying to note that State revenues continued to increase this year as rapidly as has been the case since 1950. Total revenue in 1953 is approaching the $714 million mark ($463 million in 1950).

It should be pointed out in this connection that the increase perceived in state revenues during the last 3 years is unprecedented in Turkey's financial history.

Although state revenues increased by no more than 7 percent during the 3-year period preceding 1950, this increase was in the proportion of 50 percent during the 1950–1953 period. In other words, the total amount of state revenues went up from $435 million in 1947 to $463 million in 1950 (a 3-year increase of $28 million); but the 3-year increase from 1950 to 1953 was from $463 million to over $700 million, an increase of more than $236 million.

It will be recalled that certain reductions and adjustments were effected in taxes after 1950. This means that the actual 3-year increase in revenue is not $236 million but closer to $304 million.

It should be pointed out that this rapid and more-than-tenfold increase stems from the fact that sagacious measures were adopted to ensure the speedy recovery of our previously stagnant economy. On the other hand, the application of taxation based on the principles of justice and productive ability to pay has also contributed to this end. Thus the present situation relative to state revenues makes it possible to draw up annual budgets that will be incomparably bigger and more productive than the current one.

The system used in levying incomes taxes constitutes the foundation of modern financial practice. The success of every step to be taken in the practical application of taxation depends on the soundness of the system itself, and on the care with which that system is applied; therefore no effort is being spared to improve our system of taxation and to adjust it to our needs in the most suitable manner possible.

CUSTOMS

The draft of a new bill to make certain changes in our current customs regulations will be submitted to the National Assembly. Under the law in its modified form, customs duty will be levied in accordance with the ad valorem system, using the international text as a basis for determining dutiable values.

PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt has been steadily reduced in appreciable degree by means of amortization and liquidation during the past 3 years. The significance of this decrease in the national debt becomes more clearly apparent when studied in the light of the annual increase in state revenues and the rise in Turkey's economic potential. It is a fact that the proportion of public debts had dropped to 99 percent of annual state revenues in 1953, from the previous ratio of 153 percent in 1950.

Not only has the amount of debt been reduced and its ratio to revenue been decreased, but favorable results have been obtained also in the rate of interest paid on and in the issue price of internal loan bonds. The demand for bonds issued at par and bearing interest at the reduced rate of 5 percent constitutes proof of the enhanced prestige of the state, a development that promises well for the future.

Furthermore, an end has been put to the practice (resorted to on a large scale in the years preceding 1950) of negotiating short-term loans from the Central Bank with which to meet budgetary and treasury expenditures. A large portion of the fluctuating debt incurred and accumulated in this manner has been liquidated during the past 2 years, and steps have been taken to amend the Central Bank law in order to consolidate the balance and redeem it in a regular manner.

In short, our basic formula relative to the issue of bonds for public loans rests on the principle of encouraging the investment of the greater part of national savings in private enterprise, restricting the allocation of proceeds from internal loans to such needs as are most productive, and keeping in mind the ability to repay of future generations.

Also in line with this principle, and as a result of negotiations carried out in an atmosphere of mutual friendship and understanding with the British Government, it has been possible to lighten in large measure the burden of the debt for armaments purchased from Britain during the Second World War.

MONETARY POLICY

The true basis and guaranty of the value of Turkish currency at home and abroad is made up of the healthy economic structure achieved by Turkey during the past 3 years, continuing development in every field, the rapidly expanding volume of production and export, and the confidence of our citizens in the strength of Turkish currency concurrent with the sound financial policy applied by the Government.

As stated last year, the volume of currency in circulation is being maintained at a level calculated solely to meet commercial and economic requirements, and under no circumstances are we issuing new currency to meet current state expenditures.

It is a fact that the rate of increase in general national production and gross national income is always way ahead of the increase in the rate of issue of new currency. That is why the index of wholesale prices continues to show exceptional stability despite the normal increase in currency issue.

BANKING AND CREDIT

Our policy relative to bank loans and credits has been regulated to conform to the requirements of our present economic development and volume of production. Far from resulting in lower balances, the reduction effected in the rate of interest paid to depositors by banks has produced an even larger volume of deposits. In fact, total deposits in major Turkish banks stood at $867.1 million as of June 30, 1953, an increase of 117 percent over the June 1950 total of $399.6 million.

Today we are in a position to observe more clearly the beneficial results of the reduction effected by the Central Bank in the rate of interest charged on loans, and of the possibilities for inexpensive credit arising therefrom. The volume of credit extended by banks had reached $1,245 million by the end of June 1953, an increase of 123 percent over the June 1950 total of $558.5 million.

This volume of credit includes a steadily increasing proportion of the type of agricultural and industrial loans that presently make up the most urgent requirement of our national production.

I would like to inform you at this point of a most auspicious development: the Agricultural Bank of Turkey has decided to grant villagers long-term loans at the exceptionally low rate of 3 percent per annum for the purpose of building homes, hay lofts, grain silos, and so forth. On behalf of our village population, I wish to thank the bank in question for this step which is of great economic as well as social importance.

One of the major duties of a government functioning to serve the people is to give due attention to the credit needs of small shopkeepers and artisans. There is no doubt that here also we have a matter of great social as well as economic importance. It behooves us to lose no time in extending a helping hand to these hard-working and productive people who make up a substantial portion of our population. The People's Bank and People's Savings Banks have been entrusted with this function, and measures will be adopted to facilitate their success in this field.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

The economic equipment and structure of the country has reached the stage where we discern a great need to cooperate with foreign capital and foreign technical "know how." Because it is realized that present laws and regulations are inadequate to provide sufficient incentive for foreign investments in Turkey, a new bill, drawn up on the basis of entirely new principles, will be submitted to your approval very shortly.

FOREIGN TRADE

There is cause for pride in the impressive level attained by our volume of foreign trade which now occupies an important place in international commerce, in contrast to the years before 1950 when it played a very minor role in world trade and accounted for less than 10 percent of our own national income.

The volume of Turkey's foreign trade in 1952 marked an increase of 228 percent compared to 1949 totals, and it is gratifying to note that this increase is moving toward the 300-percent mark for 1953.

One major result of this development is apparent in the fact that our exports went up from the 492,110 tons of the 1949–50 period to 2,376,000 tons for 1952–53, with the 1953–54 volume of experts estimated at about 4,500,000 tons.

Grain exports: Another significant result is that Turkey, which was still importing grain from abroad in 1948–50, became a grain-exporting country in 1951, and in 1953 ranked as the fourth largest grain-exporting country in the world. Our exports of grain during the current season will total 2,700,000 tons.

Cotton, minerals, tobacco: Parallel to the rise in grain exports, there has been an increase of 60 percent in our cotton exports compared to 1949, and an increase of 130 percent in the export of minerals. Our exports of tobacco also continue to rise steadily.

Favorable export outlook: Another pleasant feature of the increase in Turkey's exports is the fundamental change in its overall character.

For one thing, our prices are more closely in line with world-market prices, the quality of our export products is improving, and there is greater and better standardization.

For another, a change has taken place in the nature of the products that make up our export volume: the list is now headed by such staple items as wheat, cotton, oilseeds, and minerals for which there is always a demand on world markets.

The development attained in our foreign trade is full of promise for the future.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The basis of our industrial policy is to attract the investment of private capital by encouraging private enterprise and providing adequate safeguards. A new and admirable trend in this direction has begun to make itself felt in Turkey; and the new sugar and cement factories, not to mention the textile mills, presently under construction are the outcome of this new economic policy.

Sugar: It had been decided to establish 10 new sugar factories (at Adapazari, Konya, Kutahya, Amasya, Burdur, Erzurum, Erzincan, Kayseri, Malatya, and Balikesir), and add them to the 4 which are already in existence, both to supply the demand created by growing sugar consumption and to open up additional fields of productive activity for the farmers who will raise the necessary sugar beet for these factories to process. The new plant at Adapazari started production last month; work is progressing on the construction of the three factories at Konya, Kutahya and Amasya which will be ready to enter into production in 1954; and bids have been invited for the construction of the other six plants, of which the foundations are scheduled to be laid during 1954.

Our policy with respect to the sugar industry not only aims to attract private capital to this field but also plans to make the sugar-beet farmers the virtual owners of the new

sugar factories; and this is being done by extending substantial loans to cooperative societies of beet growers, thus enabling them to put up the investment capital that is required, and permitting them to repay the loans on the installment plan out of the money to be received for their crops of sugar beet.

Cement: Also in cooperation with private enterprise and capital, steps have been taken to put up new cement factories in different parts of the country with which to meet the steadily growing demand for cement. Thanks to the construction of a new plant at Izmir and to the expansion of production facilities at other existing installations, cement output will total over 1,000,000 tons by the end of 1953 (410,000 tons in 1950).

However, the increasing need for cement that stems out of increased building activity in Turkey will result in estimated consumption of nearly 2,000,000 tons of cement in 1953 (535,000 tons in 1950). Measures have been adopted to meet this greatly increased need. Three banks have joined with two cement-producing enterprises to form the Cement Industry Limited Liability Co. with a capital of $17,857,000. The new organization is cooperating with private capital invested by the public, and has already invited bids for the construction of 15 new plants in different localities. This will be followed by awarding contracts for the construction of another 5 factories; and a total of 38 producing units is planned to parallel increasing consumption.

Local participation in the financing of these ventures has already totalled nearly $12,500,000. It is a gratifying fact that local investors have put up the capital required for a number of these factories, and only require aid with which to finance certain purchases of technical equipment, and for operational capital.

Textiles: The textile industry is one which obtains its raw materials wholly from domestic sources, and also enjoys a ready market for its output. At the end of 1952 we had 440,000 spindles operating in the field of cotton textiles, as against 260,000 in 1950. It is estimated that the number of spindles will go over the 500,000 mark with the new mills which have either gone into operation or are about to start production this year.

The woolen textiles industry also follows a similarly satisfactory pattern of development.

Increased output in the textile industry resulting from new and expanded production facilities, coupled to other measures that have been adopted, has served to lower cost prices at source and make it possible to reduce prices at retail level.

Other industries: Much is being done to improve the operation of the iron and steel works at Karabuk. The second coke plant, and the second blast furnace, which have started production at Karabuk have doubled the output of coke and pig iron. Work is in progress to increase twofold the production capacity of the rolling mill there. Construction of the centrifugal cast-iron pipe factory will be completed by the end of the year, when production is scheduled to begin on an experimental basis.

Facilities for the production of sulphuric acid are being added to the copper mines at Murgul, and a plant is being constructed at Iskenderun, in cooperation with foreign capital, to utilize this sulphuric acid in the manufacture of artificial fertilizers.

Plans are being formulated to establish a nitrogen industry at Kutahya to produce not only the nitrogenous fertilizers that play such an important role in agricultural development but also to meet the national-defense requirement for nitric acid.

Minerals: Mineral production in general shows a steady increase. Substantial benefit will accrue when this honorable assembly acts with utmost despatch on the new mining bill which has been submitted to your approval with a view to obviating certain drawbacks pertaining to insufficiency of capital and technical equipment, as well as to proper legislation.

Oil: A contract has been awarded to an American firm to construct a refinery at Batman where the crude oil produced at Raman and Garzan will be processed. Production by this refinery (which is estimated to cost about $12,500,000) will be worth some $9,643,000 per year, with initial output scheduled to reach the market in 1955.

New oil code: There is no lack of evidence proving the existence of plentiful supplies of oil in Turkey. We have modified our oil policy and given it an entirely new character in order to utilize this valuable source of national wealth in the service of economic recovery and progress in Turkey. We desire to cooperate with domestic and foreign private capital and initiative in order to obtain results with the least possible delay. To this end we have retained the services of an (American) expert to prepare the draft of a new oil code which will conform to the interests of our country as well as to similar legislation and to its practical application in several other countries. This draft law will shortly be submitted to your approval.

At the same time, permits to conduct geological surveys in Turkey have been granted to eight oil companies of worldwide repute whose experts have now been prospecting for 4 or 5 months in different parts of our country.

COMMUNICATIONS

The effects of economic expansion are beginning to make themselves felt on our system of communications. In Turkey, where transportation in general is increasing and becoming more important every day, it has become an imperative necessity to run railways, airlines, and means of maritime transport, as well as postal, telephone, and telegraph services, in conformity with advanced commercial practice and mentality, compatible with the economic structure of the country. Great benefit has been derived in this respect from the laws enacted by the National Assembly during the past legislative year.

RAILWAYS, POST OFFICE SERVICES

Operating under their new administrative codes, both the state railways administration and the post office, wire, and telephone services have found it possible to expand and improve their equipment and facilities as required by circumstances, and without constituting a drain on the treasury.

The volume of freight transported by the state railways administration in 1953 will show an increase of nearly 30 percent compared to figures for 1950.

Traffic in all services performed by the post office, telephone and telegraph administration has increased by 60 percent in 1953 compared to 1950.

MERCHANT MARINE

The Maritime (Denizcilik) Bank has stepped up the productivity of its shipyards and started to build ships of various types and tonnage, a development which we consider to be an auspicious beginning. Income earned by the Maritime Bank increased by about 25 percent in 1950–51 and by some 31 percent in 1951–52. Returns for the first 6 months of the current year indicate revenue that exceeds by $3,928,000 the income for the corresponding period last year. These figures constitute clear and satisfactory proof of the success attained in the field of maritime transport.

LABOR

Problems related to the regulation of labor activities, the improvement of the standard of living for workers, the establishment and maintenance of harmonious relations between employers and employees, full employment, and the provision of social security are major points which are becoming increasingly important in direct proportion to the increased activity perceived in every sector of the country's economy. The government is studying drafts for new labor legislation to supplement the laws already enacted by the national assembly during its current legislative term.

Modified versions of the labor and social security insurance laws, revised to meet new requirements, have already been submitted to the National Assembly; and the maritime workers' bill will be submitted for your consideration during the first days of the current session.

The Social Security Insurance Administration, whose duty it is to provide social security for workers, is benefiting greatly from the excellent cooperation given it by employers and employees alike, thus enabling it to perform its task in a more rapid and satisfactory manner. Medical examination and treatment for workers' families has been started in areas where sickness insurance is in effect. Sickness insurance has been put into effect in Ankara, and preparations have been completed to extend similar benefits in the Provinces of Seyhan and Kutahya. Furthermore, work is progressing on studies to make identical social protection available to workers in the Province of Samsun. There are already 1,295 beds in health institutions administered by the Social Security Insurance Administration in areas where sickness and maternity benefits are in effect.

The question of workers' housing occupies first place among social problems. I commend the efforts which have already begun to produce results toward the solution of this problem that is connected with the health, prosperity, stability, and productive capacity of our workers.

INTERIOR

During 1953 the people of Turkey continued to occupy themselves with their affairs in complete peace and tranquility. Thanks to comprehensive and strictly enforced measures taken to combat criminal acivity, violations of public law and order show a marked decrease as compared with past years. Application of the revised provisions of the Turkish penal code that apply to the unauthorized use of firearms, knives, and narcotics has also yielded satisfactory results.

Efficacious measures have been adopted to provide security agencies and personnel with modern equipment calculated to safeguard the rights and freedoms of citizens to the utmost degree. A bill is now ready to be submitted for your approval for the establishment of a unified system of direction and administration of our security forces.

The time has come to review the administrative division of the country in the light of present-day conditions. Many new developments have taken place in our general way of life since our present administrative and civil-service system were first put into operation; the population of Turkey has almost doubled, the volume of economic activity has increased many times over, and democratic order has been established.

The memory has been erased of the era when government services were performed as though they were acts of kindness and benefaction, and when those in charge of government were supposed to be infallible and free of all blame. We have chosen the path of identifying ourselves with the man in the street in our efforts to insure the proper performance of public services. It is with this object in view that, in accordance with the legislation enacted during the past session of Parliament, we have established 1 new province, 26 new administrative districts, 9 new subdistricts, and 50 fully organized boroughs.

More than $37,857,000 has been allocated and loaned to local municipalities by the Municipal Bank and the Ministry of the Interior during this past year for city mapping,

development planning, drinking water, electricity, and other public services.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Turkey's armed forces are being improved and made stronger with each day that passes. Despite the heavy burden which this entails on our financial resources, our awareness of the situation that faces us necessitates the making of every possible effort to maintain our national defense potential at a level calculated to safeguard our national existence.

That is why more than $642,850,000 per year is being spent for our heroic armed forces (including direct and indirect appropriations for national defense services in the budget for 1953, sums allocated to other ministries for projects in support of defense services, and the aid extended by our friend and ally the United States of America in the form of military materiel as well as in that of monetary contribution in Turkish liras to our defense budget).

The sum allocated to national defense out of our own resources in a single year is far larger today than the amount allocated to the army in even the most critical years of the Second World War; in fact, it constitutes the largest sum ever spent for national defense in the history of the Turkish Republic. I wish to express in your presence our appreciation of and gratitude for the exceptional importance attached by the Government of our great friend the United States of America to the strengthening of our heroic army.

Having benefited from the lessons of the Second World War and of the Korean fighting, and studied the new techniques being adopted by different nations, we are establishing smooth and harmonious cooperation among our land, sea, and air forces to raise their mobility and fighting abilities to their highest possible level.

Training in the armed forces is being conducted in accordance with the most modern methods. The demonstrated ability of our land, sea, and air forces in the use of modern weapons and materiel is above all praise.

Great efforts are being made to meet in a short time the extensive demand of our air force for more pilots. Aside from the instruction provided at our own military aviation schools, a large number of Turkish pilots are being trained in military aviation schools in Canada and the United States. Moreover, a training school has been opened for reserve flight officers.

Rapid and efficient training of the personnel needed for the use and maintenance of the steadily increasing variety of weapons and equipment of war is one factor that has assumed great importance. Therefore, apart from the training of expert petty officers, the question has been studied of using unit sergeants to help meet part of the need for petty officers. A draft bill extending to unit sergeants the rights presently recognized for petty officers has been submitted to the National Assembly.

Almost all of the military weapons and equipment allocated to our land, sea, and air forces within the framework of American military aid in 1953 has been delivered in Turkey.

We are about to start on the construction of new and modern airports, communications networks, oil pipelines, and storage facilities with the help of aid secured by way of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Our armed forces, which now possess new type weapons and equipment, also have a modern organizational and cadre setup.

The Allied armies are carrying out joint exercises within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These joint exercises, in which our armed forces participate from time to time, are proving most beneficial from the viewpoint of joint command and combined operation. These exercises constitute present proof of the fact that the forces which make up this Organization will act as one army in the event of future aggression.

At the present time when an armistice has been concluded in Korea, it is fitting to remember the heroism, already legendary, with which the brave Turkish brigade in Korea has distinguished itself in serving the cause of the United Nations. This glorious quality which is characteristic of our nation has become the valuable assurance both within and without our own boundaries of the fact that we will fight for our freedom and future with everything that we have.

Always and on every occasion, Turkish soldiers have proven that they constitute a force to be relied upon; and this stems from the fact that they represent the noble character of the nation to which they belong.

FOREIGN POLICY

The international situation: The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has directed every effort since 1950 to reinforce the front for peace and security while at the same time insuring Turkey's own national security, with signal success in both fields.

Turkey's unhesitating action in making every possible contribution and sacrifice for the establishment of a United Nations front to resist and suppress aggression in Korea, and our membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in conformity with the provisions of the U. N. Charter, whose ideals it was organized to serve, are two examples of this activity. Thus Turkey is included in the most united and progressive system for international security that has so far been devised. There is no need to underline the importance of this development in the troubled state of the world today.

The peace offensive: For about 8 months now, a relative softening has been observed in the language and tone employed by Soviet Russia and by the other Cominform states, or rather, these countries have been resorting to certain actions calculated to emphasize that they are applying a more moderate policy.

It is greatly to be desired that these countries are sincere in these policies. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it would be wrong to pronounce final judgment so long as material proof is lacking; preparation for war and subversive activities within peace-loving countries continue to be carried on behind this apparent facade of a peace offensive.

Because of this unsettled aspect of world politics, not even for a single moment does it occur to us to relax our efforts for national defense.

Deeds as well as words: We know that world peace is an indivisible whole, that international problems are interrelated and closely connected one to the other. When allegedly isolated incidents are studied solely from the viewpoint of private and specific interests, it merely serves to endanger the overall security which it is desired to establish. On the other hand, merely to abstain from such a narrow concept is not sufficient in itself to ensure the establishment of peace and security, for we should dwell also on the characteristics that are common to all factors which give rise to unrest. Seen from this perspective, it is essential to wait for clearcut occurrences and positive actions before we can consider ourselves in a position to make a final evaluation of the declarations relative to good-neighborly relations (to which we listen with keen interest), of the conciliatory statements (which please us), or of the peace offensive (of which the manifestations become apparent from time to time).

Motivated by considerations of a realistic nature, we desire that talking should not be done by means of words alone, but also by deeds.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: As has been reiterated at every opportunity, for our own part we are working earnestly to make the North Atlantic Treaty Organization more effective, and to make it easier for this positive and efficacious organ for peace and security in our century to attain its high objectives arising out of the United Nations Charter.

We consider it essential that ways and means should be devised for Federal Germany, which constitutes a factor of prime importance from the viewpoint of implementing the joint efforts of the Atlantic Pact community, to participate cooperatively with member-nations of this organization as soon as possible.

Cooperation in the Balkans: We are convinced that the tripartite treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded among Turkey and Greece (to whom we are bound with ties of alliance within the Atlantic Pact in addition to those of the close friendship that exists between us), and Yugoslavia (in whose sound judgment and realism we have complete confidence), represents an invaluable factor for peace, security, and stability, not only for ourselves and the Balkans alone, but also for the whole community of peace-loving western nations.

Security in the Mediterranean: We attach great importance to the complete inclusion of the Mediterranean area within the framework of plans for joint security. That is why Turkey welcomes with pleasure the economic and military agreements recently concluded between the United States and Spain, this being the outcome of admirable realism and foresight evinced in that corner of the Mediterranean.

The United Nations: We are determined to remain loyally attached to the United Nations organization, and to continue our active service to its high aims and ideals. Our acceptance of a new term on the U. N. Security Council constitutes additional evidence of the sincerity of our decision in this connection. We hope and desire that the activities of the U. N. will be freed from the obstacles which presently impede it, enabling it to become a sounder and more influential executive instrument for peace and justice.

Iran: We are following with greatest attention and affection the determined efforts being made by our friend Iran which occupies an important position in the Middle East. I can say that recent relations between Turkey and this neighbor state are characterized by mutual trust and respect.

Diplomatic and military talks: During the past year we have found the opportunity for personal contacts whereby to reinforce even further our relations with friendly and allied countries, and to discuss international problems face to face with the most responsible statesmen of what we consider to be this most critical phase in world history.

These contacts and discussions have been invariably beneficial and pleasurable. Included in this category are the talks conducted in London and Paris with the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of our friends and allies Great Britain and France, and the opportunity and honor to have M. Laniel, French Premier, and French Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Bidault as our guests in Ankara. These visits were the occasion for renewed demonstrations of the traditional friendship between Turkey and France.

Very shortly we are to have the pleasure of a visit by M. Pella, Premier and Foreign Minister of our friend Italy.

It goes without saying that Marshal Papagos, Premier of our friend and ally Greece, and Greek Foreign Minister M. Stephanopoulos, were two guests of particularly eminent standing among those who honored us with their presence. The discussions between us served to make our already very close friendship even stronger.

I would also like to mention the fact that, also during this past year, we have found opportunities for personal contacts, both in Turkey and abroad, with military figures from friendly and allied countries and from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. These discussions concerned matters of common interest to the security and strengthening of Turkey as well as of the remainder of the peace-loving world, and invariably re-

suited in complete identity of viewpoint with the prominent military commanders concerned, who demonstrated their deep friendship and admiration for our Nation and Army.

The NATO community: Our existing bilateral and friendly relations with other member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization continue to develop in a satisfactory manner.

The United States: The close and cordial relations between Turkey and the United States increase and grow stronger with each day that passes. We are receiving valuable aid from this powerful country, and great understanding in every field.

His visit to the United States: It gives me pleasure to inform this honorable Assembly of the fact that I have decided to visit the United States, starting on January 27, 1954, upon the courteous invitation extended by President Eisenhower whose high personal character and merits are well known to, and have earned the affection and trust of, the Turkish Nation.

During this visit, it will be my pleasurable duty to inform the great American people, major support of the cause of freedom, of Turkey's faithful friendship, and confidence in them.

BASIS OF TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY

As pointed out at every opportunity, both the foreign policy of which I have outlined the salient points and our line of action in view of the world situation are based on the desire to be on friendly terms and to cooperate with those who reciprocate our own good intentions and also prove their good will with actual deeds.

Without losing our grip on the yardstick of realism, we unhesitatingly turn to any and every side where we perceive these conditions and opportunities to exist. What we desire is to have reciprocated the absolute sincerity that we ourselves display, and the moral discipline which we apply to ourselves.

We shall persevere on this course which we are convinced is both right and sound.

CONCLUSION

The facts and figures which I have submitted to your attention serve to show that Turkey has entered a new phase of development in an atmosphere of complete security and confidence which makes it possible to raise the standard of living and enhance the social status of the people; and they point to the fact that our political prestige and capacity for national defense have assumed a character of which we can be proud.

However, parallel with these observations, we should remember that it is a prerequisite of continued existence for every progressive society to be faced with new needs in proportion to the level of civilization which it has attained.

I conclude my statement with the expression of the firm conviction that, in the future as in the past, the Grand National Assembly will continue to resolve our national problems with foresight and success. May the great inspiration of our beloved Nation be your constant guide.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, what's the difference between Republicans and Democrats after 1 year of the big change? In 1933 the Democrats created 56,000 new Federal jobs. In 1953 Ike abolished 183,000 unnecessary jobs created by the Dems for their boys.

Pledge of Allegiance Commemorative Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a letter concerning the issuance of a commemorative stamp in recognition of the pledge of allegiance, which was sent to me by Mr. James C. Smith, the postmaster of the United States post office at Pittsburgh, Pa.

The letter is as follows:

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE,
Pittsburgh, Pa., December 9, 1953.

Hon. EDWARD J. BONIN,
United States Congressman,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The Americanism committee of the American Legion in Allegheny County supported legislation toward having the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America sanctioned officially, under a bill known as Joint Resolution 160. The bill was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, and on December 28, 1945, the President of the United States approved the measure and it became Public Law 287. All organizations of veterans throughout the United States supported this resolution.

Since that date the Americanism committee of the American Legion sought to secure further recognition of the pledge of allegiance through the issuance of a commemorative stamp, having for its theme the pledge of allegiance. The design of the stamp would include the Capitol Building, the flag of the United States, and overprinted with the words "With liberty and justice for all."

We, the American Legion in Allegheny County and in the Department of Pennsylvania, banded together with all patriotic groups of veterans and nonveterans to assist in salvaging Italy from Russian communism. We have been fighting the battle against communism in a very active manner. We feel that it is fitting and proper, also timely, that a commemorative stamp be issued, because then it would be placed upon millions of letters going into the homes of all Americans and upon millions of letters that go abroad into countries where communistic lies and misrepresentations are being made. Then, people in foreign lands and people in our own United States looking upon an official stamp with the words printed thereon, "With liberty and justice for all," will know this is a declaration by the United States Government that our one desire is peace, with liberty and justice for all, and they will be apprised that our attitude is the enforcement of the law of humanity.

In 1949, 1950, and 1952, a concerted effort was made by letters and by personal contact to have former Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson issue a commemorative stamp. In replies received from former Postmaster General Donaldson under dates of May 24, 1949, and April 21, 1952, he advised, "the present time is completely unfavorable for any commemoratives, and your suggestion and request will be filed for future consideration." At this time request is being made of the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General, to give consideration to the issuance of a pledge of allegiance commemorative stamp. At present when the United States is attempting to have peace in Korea and peace all over the world, it is appropriate and fitting that now is the time for an official declaration by means of this pledge of allegiance stamp.

We are writing you as an influential member of the Civil Service and Post Office Committee, to lend voice to our plea to the Postmaster General. I would appreciate hearing from you so that I may advise our members of the progress being made. We would like you to bear in mind that we, as the Americanism committee, do not desire the pledge of allegiance stamp to be thought of as only for a single veterans' group. We feel that this stamp is not for the American Legion, nor the Veterans of Foreign Wars, nor the AMVETS, nor the Catholic War Veterans, nor the Jewish War Veterans, but it is to commemorate all Americans, living and dead, and especially to say, indirectly, to those who fought in the wars of 1898, 1917, 1941, and 1950, that they had not sacrificed without our Government carrying a message to the entire world that all we want is peace, with liberty and justice for all humanity.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. SMITH,
Postmaster, Pittsburgh, Pa., Vice Chairman, Allegheny County, Department of Pennsylvania, Committee on Americanism.

One Hundred Republican Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

ONE HUNDRED REPUBLICAN YEARS AGO AREA MEN HELPED PIONEER OHIO GOP

(By Dick Cull, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, January 16.—On Monday evening, February 13, 1854, the notice of a public meeting appeared in a Columbus newspaper, the Ohio State Journal, in these words:

"Those who are opposed to the violation of existing compromises between the free and slave States of this Union, or, in other words, the Douglas-Nebraska bill, are invited to attend a meeting in the basement room of the First Presbyterian Church on Tuesday evening, February 14, at 7:30 o'clock."

If you'll take the word of an 1898 publication found in the Library of Congress this week, that was the first whimper in the life of the Republican Party in Ohio.

Here are the exact words from that half-century-old publication, which carried the title, "History of the Republican Party in Ohio," and was the first of two volumes on the subject by Joseph Patterson Smith:

"In the light of subsequent events this meeting was of the utmost importance, for it led directly to the organization of the Republican Party of the State of Ohio.

"Fewer than 100 citizens attended and it organized on the motion of Joseph Ridgway by electing Judge Joseph R. Swan, chairman, and William Blynn, secretary."

So, from a start that can be traced to opposition to using men as slaves, the Republican Party in Ohio—a party that gave seven native sons to the White House—is now on the threshold of its 100th birthday.

Actually, as a long search of other time-faded volumes in the Library of Congress show, Ohio Republicans did not officially adopt the party name they use today until a year after they held their anti-Nebraska convention at Columbus on July 13, 1854.

The Republican Party's actual birthday is a matter of dispute. Some put it in Ripon, Miss., while others say it was Jackson, Mich., or some other place.

The use of the anti-Nebraska label by those opposed to repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820—legislation which forbade slavery in the western Territories—turned out to be magic at the polls all over Ohio in 1854.

In their first test of popularity, these early Republican pioneers swept the State by 80,000, cleaning up at the same time in every congressional district where an anti-Nebraska bill candidate was on the ticket.

In the Third Congressional District, which included Montgomery, Butler, and Preble Counties, Lewis D. Campbell, an opponent of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise, was elected.

Campbell defeated Democrat Clement L. Vallandrigham of Dayton, 9058 to 6493.

What made the 1854 statewide sweep of the new party so striking was that Democratic President Franklin Pierce carried Ohio in 1852 by 13,000 votes and the Democrats won 12 seats in the House.

Although the event apparently is not to be gaily celebrated this year by the Montgomery County Republican Party, Dayton and the Miami Valley had equal parts with the rest of the State in the birth of the Ohio GOP 100 years ago.

Here is the story of that start from the date of the first newspaper notice in the winter of 1854 to that State convention given months later:

After the meeting of February 13, which had only limited attendance, a State convention was called for March 22 to discuss opposition to the slave question.

The idea had caught on and about 1,200 earnest men were on hand, according to the Columbus Journal and State Democrat.

Another newspaper, the Statesman, put the figure at 400 or 500, however.

When the convention got down to business, John Howard of Montgomery County and Dr. Judson Jaqua of Darke County were named to the resolutions committee.

David K. Carter, of Stark County, delivered one of the main addresses, which included:

"I am here to act with freemen to prevent an untold evil. The public mind has been shocked by the introduction in Congress of the bill to organize Nebraska and Kansas.

"I have a plain, honest question to ask of those who defend this bill. If it is not designed to introduce slavery into the Territories, then why ask to repeal the clause forbidding slavery there.

"You can give any man a week to answer that question. It can't be done.

"I have great veneration for old names and old parties, but when they do wrong we must not follow them. Let us unite together in a new party, if necessary, to secure a return to the primary principles of free government.

"If we do not resist slavery, all will be lost."

Edwin A. Parrott, of Montgomery County, was named to the convention's committee on permanent organization.

As the hopped-up conventioneers left the hall, tragedy struck. Steps leading into the unfinished church hall gave way and several persons were injured badly. No lives were lost, however.

The founding convention of what was to be the Republican Party in Ohio was held at Neil's New Hall in Columbus on July 13, 1854.

The committee on resolutions included David Heaton of Dayton's Third Congressional District.

After getting a foothold in Ohio elections in 1854, the Republicans won Ohio in 1856 and 1860 on a platform that included limitation of slavery, "nationality of freedom," freedom of worship, temperance, free schools and free labor.

Other history books in the Library of Congress tell of Republicans from Dayton and the Miami Valley who were prominent in the early history of the party in Ohio.

One was William H. Young, born in Dayton on March 2, 1860, and became a lawyer there with the firm of Young and Young after passing the bar in 1884. He was the son of Edmond Stafford Young, who in 1855 was defeated as a Whig candidate for Montgomery County clerk of courts.

Joseph Warren Keifer, a soldier, lawyer, and statesman, was born on Mad River in Clark County in 1836. He was with the Springfield law firm of Anthony and Goode.

D. M. Fleming of Piqua edited the daily Dispatch and weekly Piqua Journal. He was a Democrat who switched to the Republicans in 1860. He played a big part at the Baltimore convention in 1860.

Jesse N. Oren was born in Clinton County on Christmas day, 1835. He was a school teacher who was first elected to the Ohio General Assembly in 1866. He helped passage of a law to convert toll roads into free pikes.

Elias D. Harlan, also born in Clinton County, was known as a believer in strong United States foreign policy.

John P. Taylor of Mechanicsburg in Champaign County was one of Ohio President McKinley's electors.

It was these and many others from the Dayton area who helped write the history of the Republican Party in its first 100 years in Ohio.

Uncle Sam and Our States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, one of the earmarks of the Democratic national administrations which dominated our thinking for the 20 years from 1933 to 1953 was an overemphasis upon the Federal Government and a corresponding deemphasizing of our 48 States. On everything from aid to the needy through to airport construction, States, municipalities, and local governments were directed to Washington, and a constant parade of public officials to Federal agencies was not only stimulated but also encouraged.

President Eisenhower is interested in reversing this trend, and many of our States, fed up with the business of conforming to redtape regulations in Washington, are shouting, "Amen." There is evidence of a new feeling of self-sufficiency and reliance in our State capitals. Connecticut has begun its own program to provide $26 million worth of hospitalization facilities. North Carolina is launching a $50 million program of public-school construction. Ohio is projecting a $500 million highway program after approval of the voters last November. The same story comes from Missouri, Oklahoma, and the New England governors' conference. These are healthy signs of life in our Republic. Long may they burgeon throughout the land.

Farm Programs Are Important to Everybody

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a speech which I delivered before the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce in Des Moines, Iowa, on October 16, 1953:

I sincerely appreciate this opportunity to speak at this luncheon of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce. It is always a pleasure to come to Des Moines, the capital of our great midwestern farm empire. Our committee is conducting a most interesting series of hearings, none of which are of any greater importance than the one which we are holding in Des Moines today. As you know, this is one of a series of hearings which are being held in all parts of the country.

These hearings have two objectives. One is to better acquaint the members of our committee with American agriculture in all areas and in all of its phases. The second is to give farmers themselves in every important agricultural area in the country an opportunity to present their views directly to the committee.

I might discuss something in connection with our hearings, but I have felt for a long time that many businessmen in the agricultural areas of this country should give more consideration and more support to farm programs than has been the case in the past. Perhaps what I am going to say doesn't need to be said to members of the chamber of commerce of Des Moines, situated as you are in the heart of the farm belt. But I feel so strongly that businessmen even in the most important agricultural parts of our Nation are not as familiar as they should be with farm problems and farm programs; and because I do feel this so strongly I feel that I should not overlook an opportunity to point out how important farm programs are to everyone, and particularly to businessmen in the important agricultural areas of the country. That is the reason that I have chosen my subject for today.

The farm problem, if we want to call it that for want of a better word, with all of its ramifications is one of the most important issues confronting the country today and I fear one of the least understood. That has not always been true. There was a time when we were largely an agricultural nation. One hundred and fifty years ago 85 percent of our people lived on the farm. One hundred years ago almost 70 percent were farmers and even as late as 1910 a third of our people were directly engaged in agriculture. During these periods our national policies were in the main those which were appropriate for a rural people and we heard little about the interests of the farmers as distinguished from those of the rest of the population. But today only a little over 15 percent of our people are engaged in agriculture.

Back in the days when a large proportion of our people lived on the farm or in rural areas, such problems as the farmer had were matters of general knowledge. Of those who lived in our cities many had been born and reared on farms and were familiar with farm matters.

Now with our farm population so small a part of the whole, it is probable that more than half of our people have had no opportunity whatever for contact with rural life. Furthermore, so rapid have been the changes in agriculture that many who left the farm 20 or 30 or 40 years ago have an utterly erroneous idea of farm life and its problems today. It seems to me that it is entirely possible that three-fourths of the people in America now have no knowledge of agriculture and its problems or are misinformed on those problems in many particulars.

I think this is a good place to refer to some of the erroneous ideas which the public, including a lot of businessmen, has with respect to farmers and some of the economic aspects of farming. One of these ideas is that farmers as a class are all getting rich. Allied with that is the idea that for some reason it is wicked for a farmer to make money. I know of no reason why the opportunities which other Americans have to achieve material prosperity should not also apply to farmers. In the past, some of them through frugality and good management have achieved a competence. But the answer to those who think that farmers as a class are unusually prosperous is given by the cold figures compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Those figures show that for 1952 the average per capita income of persons living on arms from both agricultural and nonagricultural sources was $924. This included cash from marketings, Government payments, value of home consumption, and rental value of dwellings. For the same period the per capita income of the nonfarm population was $1,627 from all sources or practically twice as much.

Another prevalent fallacy is that farm prices and food prices are high with respect to other prices. Let's divide that into two parts because there is a difference.

Farm prices are now 93 percent of parity which means 93 percent of a fair price. I'll let that one stand that way—if 93 percent of a fair price is extortionate then the farmer is guilty.

But consumers as such are interested in food prices. I'll discuss that in a moment. Now I simply want to point out that the farmer's share of the consumer's food dollar is steadily going down. In 1946 it was 53 cents—today it is 44 cents.

But although the farmer is getting less and less and the middlemen more and more of the consumer's food dollar, the fact remains that considering the quantity of the food consumed by the American people today they are paying no greater proportion of their income for food than they have on an average during the last 25 years, and when quantity and quality is considered they are paying a less proportion than the average during that time.

There is another way to check on the question of food costs and that is to ascertain the quantity of various items of food which can be purchased with 1 hour of factory labor. Let me give you a few typical examples.

In 1914, which was supposed to be back in the good old days, 1 hour's factory labor would purchase 3½ pounds of bread. Today an hour's factory labor will purchase 10.7 pounds, or 3 times as much.

You think butter is high but today an hour's factory labor will buy 2.2 pounds of butter. In 1914 it would have bought six-tenths of 1 pound.

Let's go along a little further with the statisticians. In 1914 1 hour of factory labor would buy 1 pound of pork chops. Today it will buy 2 pounds.

In 1914 it would have bought six-tenths of a dozen of eggs. Now it will buy 2.7 dozens of eggs.

It would have bought 12¾ pounds of potatoes in 1914. Now it buys 31.8 pounds—if anybody can eat that many.

It would have bought nine-tenths of a pound of round steak in 1914. Now it will buy 2 pounds in spite of all the talk about high meat prices.

And you can take the figures for every year from 1914 to date and you will find that there has never been a time in prosperity or depression that an hour's factory labor would have bought as much food as it will today. The fact is by every standard of value, agricultural prices and food prices in comparison with other prices in this country are low.

You've been told that the appropriations for the Department of Agriculture have been increasing. As a matter of fact, the Department of Agriculture is the only important agency of the Federal Government whose appropriations and personnel have decreased since 1940. The regular appropriations for that Department for the fiscal year 1953 are 33 percent below those of the fiscal year 1940. That compares with increases in appropriations for other Federal departments ranging all the way from 54 percent for the agencies covered by the Independent Offices Appropriation bill to 1,370 percent in the Department of Commerce.

As far as personnel is concerned, the decrease in the Department of Agriculture since 1940 has been 36.7 percent. Every other important agency excepting Agriculture has had an increase between fiscal year 1940 and fiscal year 1953 ranging all the way from 30 percent in the Interior Department to 336 percent in the State Department. These figures do not include any changes which have been made by the present administration.

Then you are told that Agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government. The definition of a subsidy is often a matter of dispute and for that reason it is difficult to cite figures. The best and latest figures on that subject are to be found in the Federal budget and I would like to point out that the 1953 Federal budget under "Special analyses and tables—Investment and operating and other budget expenditures" lists actual expenses for 1952 for "Aids and special services" as follows:

Total agricultural aids and special services	$463,000,000
Total business aids and special services	1,041,000,000
Total labor aids and special services	200,000,000

So whatever may be said about subsidies in the Federal budget, it must be admitted that Agriculture is not alone in this respect.

I have mentioned these misconceptions because there has never been a time in our history when it was as important for the average citizen to be informed on agricultural policies as today. It is most important that city people understand that the farm problem is their problem too.

Back in the days when most of us were farmers, people looked after their own food reserves. The housewife, whether she lived in the city or country, had a cellar full of food—canned, preserved, smoked, or salted. We didn't have the problem of financing and storing our farm production because individuals took care of that themselves.

Today it is entirely different. It is said that in New York City there is never enough food to last its people a week if incoming supplies were entirely cut off. The same thing is true of every other large city. I say this to point out that it is necessary in these times that we have large reserves of food. Yet these reserves so essential to our safety are frequently called surpluses, and, under our marketing system, unmanaged surpluses, no matter how badly needed, mean low and in many cases ruinous prices for farmers. And so closely is our economy tied together that the existence of surplus agricultural products resulting in low prices to farmers may contribute to bring on a general depression. It isn't just a figure of speech to say that we have our longest breadlines in the cities when our supply of wheat in the country is the greatest. Most of us have seen that thing happen in our lifetime.

The kernel of our farm problem is how we can assure the American people the abundant food supplies which they need for safety without bringing economic ruin to the producers of this abundance. One of the singular difficulties in this regard is that frequently just a small surplus—not more than 5 or 10 percent—will depress prices to ruinous levels.

Today we have more wheat, cotton, and butter than we actually need for immediate requirements.

What I want to make clear is that our surpluses are temporary. As far as butter is concerned, if every person in this country would consume an additional ounce per day, the entire surplus would be gone in a little over a month. That is true also of other commodities of which we have large supplies.

I know that it is the policy of President Eisenhower and his administration that not one pound of this surplus food is going to be wasted or destroyed if there is any way to move it into consumption, either at home or abroad. There are some problems in this connection—problems which I do not have the time to discuss now.

But our real problem for the future is not surpluses. It is the matter of having enough for our rapidly increasing population. Just the other day the Census Bureau announced our population had passed the 160-million mark. It is increasing at the rate of 2.5 million per year, or 1½ percent. That means almost 7,000 more breakfasts tomorrow morning than were served today, and the next morning there will be 7,000 more new stomachs to fill.

Not only has our population increased but our per capita consumption of agricultural commodities has gone up as well. During World War II it increased 18 percent—perhaps the first instance in history where a nation fought a great war and increased its standard of food consumption at the same time.

Significant also is the fact that this increase in consumption is in the protein foods such as meat, milk, eggs, and poultry products. These are the costly foods both from the standpoint of production and the effect on the consumer's pocketbook. Nutritionists and physicians say that our increased use of these goods has not only improved our health but has increased our longevity.

I do not believe the American people want to reduce their food consumption or lower the nutritional standards to which they have become accustomed. I think they want our farmers to continue to supply them in the abundant way they have come to expect in recent years.

I have been speaking about our abundance in this country but in most places of the world people are hungry and as a nation we have been sharing our abundance with the world's hungry people. We've done this primarily from a humanitarian standpoint. But it has also been possible for us to use these food supplies in such a way as to strengthen ourselves and our allies in the free world.

A recent illustration of this is the gift of 1 million tons of wheat which the people of this country made to Pakistan. This wheat is going to Pakistan as a gift without any strings on it and for humanitarian reasons, but in sending this food there we are helping an ally and a friend to remain strong.

But we have gone further than this. Pursuant to legislation passed by Congress, some of our surplus food supplies are being made available to the people of East Germany.

These people are our friends, although unfortunately they are temporarily controlled by an unfriendly government. No more striking insight into the situation in the satellite countries of Europe has occurred than has been the response of the people of East Germany to these gifts of food from the American people. In these fluid times no one can say what influence gifts of this kind may have in determining the future history of mankind.

I have referred to the fact that the farmer's situation today is quite different from what it was a hundred or even 50 years ago. The difference is that until comparatively recently, farming was practically a self-contained industry. The farm itself produced most of the family food; woodlots and forests most of the fuel. Horses or oxen produced on the arm furnished the power. They were fueled by hay and grain grown on the farm. The farm produced its own fertilizer. It produced most of the clothing worn by the family. There was little expense for hired labor because families were large and work was interchanged with neighbors. Taxes were negligible. Capital investment was low. Interest charges were unimportant. In other words, until comparatively recently, the farmer had little need for cash income.

Contrast that situation with that of the farmer today. Not only the big farmer or the middle-sized farmer, but the little farmer as well requires a heavy cash outlay. He must purchase his power in the form of tractors and other farm equipment. He must buy gasoline or distillate as fuel. He must buy fertilizer. Hired labor is costly, if he can get it. Often he cannot get satisfactory labor, which in most cases must be skilled labor familiar with intricate modern machinery. He has a large investment in plant and equipment, and requires much working capital, upon which interest must be paid. He has large sums tied up in transportation facilities. He has a heavy outlay for insurance and for taxes. The annual depreciation on his machinery and equipment often amounts to more than his entire cash expenditures a few years ago.

In other words, the farmer today is in the same position as any other businessman. He must have substantial cash receipts to meet his current operating expenses, and his prices must be high enough to pay these charges and lay aside a reserve for depreciation, to say nothing of the reasonable profit to which he should be entitled as legitimately as any other businessman.

So while the market price of farm products might have been an unimportant factor in the past, today it is everything, and it detrmines whether or not a farmer is going to be able to stay in business.

The farmer's greatest problem is to have something to say about the price of the things he buys and the things he sells. With few exceptions his costs are determined by someone else. He has no bargaining power to enable him to reduce them. If he consumes electric power, the price of that is fixed by a public commission. The wages of his hired labor are fixed by competition with industrial enterprises where wages, hours, and working conditions are determined by collective bargaining between well-entrenched labor unions and industries which can pass high labor costs on to consumers.

His taxes, his transportation rates in getting his products to market centers, his insurance rates are all fixed by law or by the action of State or Federal agencies. The price of his fuel, his fertilizer, and his farm machinery and equipment is not the subject of bargaining as far as he is concerned. He pays what the seller demands.

On the hand, with certain unimportant exceptions, the farmer has nothing to say about the price of his products. If he ships his cattle and hogs to Omaha or Chicago he takes what the buyers offer him and they all offer him substantially the same. His alternative is to ship his livestock back home again.

When he takes his grain to market he does not say how much he will take for it—he says "How much will you give me?"

Thus, generally speaking, the farmer in the normal course of events has nothing to say about the price of the things he buys or the price of the things he sells. Someone else determines both figures. Furthermore, his unit cost of production in the case of crops depends very largely on the yield. The weather, insect pests and plant diseases have much to do with this, no matter how good a job of farming a man does. His corn may make 75 bushels an acre one year and 25 bushels the next. In the latter case, assuming that his expenses are exactly the same, the cost per bushel is three times as much as it was in the previous year.

That is not to say good farming doesn't pay or that efficiency doesn't reduce costs. The point is that no farmer can tell in advance what his costs are going to be. What other businessman could stay in business if his costs and selling prices were determined by someone else and the quantity and quality of his product was determined in most cases by weather and other factors beyond his control?

Thus it can be seen that the most direct approach to the farmer's most serious problem is to devise some way that he can have something to say about the price of his products like all other businessmen. Essentially this means that the farmer must have some way to maintain a fair balance between supply and demand. It is easy enough for a steel manufacturer to do this or for all the steel manufacturers in the Nation to do it without collusion. They know about what the market will absorb and no manufacturer of steel is going to be so foolish as to place on the market such quantities of his product as will force prices down below the cost of production.

The same thing is true of a manufacturer of breakfast food, of fertilizer, of clothing, etc. He can control what moves on the market. It may be true that he will in some cases overestimate the market need and he may offer some of the product for sale at reduced prices but in doing so he can segregate it from the remainder of the product so that it does not affect the price of that which moves into normal consumptive channels. Unfortunately the farmer cannot do this and if supplies are more than the market demand, the price which the surplus must be sold at becomes the price of the whole quantity of the product.

Farmers have recognized this situation for years and fundamentally most of the efforts that have been made since the early 1920's in the way of farm programs have been based upon the idea of devising some method by which desirable and needed reserves of an agricultural commodity would not bring down the price of all of the commodity to a ruinous level.

This has been the fundamental principle of practically all legislation dealing with farm prices from the McNary-Haugen plan down to the present. The objective was to remove or segregate the reserve or surplus in such a way that the part needed for current consumption could be marketed in a normal manner.

The McNary-Haugen plan proposed to segregate the exportable surplus. The export debenture plan favored by the Grange proposed the same thing but in a different manner. The Agricultural Marketing Act passed in the Hoover administration was based on the idea that farmers, through their cooperative organizations, could take over the marketing of a commodity and handle it in such a way that the surplus would be out of the market and not depress going prices. This was to be supplemented by stabilization corporations to take the surplus off the market in emergency or depression periods.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 proposed to prevent or reduce surpluses by paying farmers to limit production. The payments were to be derived by a tax upon the processing of the commodity.

There is the Sugar Act of 1935, as amended and reenacted, which gives the Secretary of Agriculture the power to control surpluses by production quotas and controlling imports.

There is the Marketing Agreement Act, with which many farmers are familiar because it is used so frequently in the marketing of milk. It deals with surpluses by limiting the sales of fluid milk to consumptive demand at a fair price and by taking the remainder off the fluid-milk market at a lower price for secondary uses, such as the manufacture of butter, cheese, and other products. It is also used extensively in the marketing of fruits and vegetables.

Eventually the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 was enacted. This law, although often amended, is the basis for many of our agricultural programs today. It is based on the idea of supporting farm prices by means of Government loans or purchases with a provision that farmers will, when supply begins to get out of hand, put restrictions upon the production and marketing of commodities to which it is applicable.

Under certain conditions the Secretary of Agriculture has authority to carry out price support programs on practically all agricultural commodities. In the case of certain minor products, the program operates through purchases of surplus commodities by the Secretary of Agriculture. The products so taken off the market are used for school-lunch programs, go into the export market, or are donated to charitable institutions.

The thing I want to emphasize and I am repeating it for emphasis, is that the fundamental basis of all our agricultural programs is to give farmers an opportunity to do the same thing that every businessman does in one way or another; namely, adjust supply to demand to bring about orderly marketing and to prevent ruinous prices caused by an oversupply in the market place. These methods of adjusting supply and demand except in the case of minor commodities purchased impose restrictions upon the activities of farmers in the production or marketing of their products. It amounts to enforced cooperation on the part of farmers if they want the benefits of the program. Such programs, however, are never put into effect without giving farmers affected an opportunity to vote whether they will accept or reject the plan and two-thirds of those voting must accept the plan before it goes into effect.

Programs of this kind have been criticized on the ground that they are restrictive of production. That is true to the extent that they prevent wasteful overproduction. It is not true in the larger sense as shown by the fact that there has been a 45-percent increase in agriculture production during the time we have had these programs.

The American farmer in these recent years has been faced with a great challenge. I think he has responded to it magnificently. The fact that a little over 15 percent of our people can produce enough food and fiber for themselves and all the rest of us permits the other 85 percent to carry on industry, education, the arts and sciences, the professions and all other activities of a civilized nation thus making possible all those things which give us a richer and better life in every way. In no other nation does this occur to the extent that it does in America.

Farmers like to make money just as much as anyone else. But I think it is obvious that money is not everything with them, or we would have no farmers left. Why should they stay on the farm when the per capita income of nonfarmers is twice that of farmers? Practically any farmer or farmworker can leave the farm and make more money in industry with less work and with better living conditions. Why don't they do it? Primarily, because they love the land and the way of life that goes with farming. They are willing to accept less remuneration than they can earn elsewhere.

But that isn't the whole question. Farming takes a constantly increasing amount of capital. Our land is wearing out. It can be restored, but that takes capital, too. If the farmer is to do his job, he must have stability of income—some assurance that if he produces all that we need and a reasonable reserve for safety he will not be wiped out by sharp and sudden drops in prices due to the fact that a bountiful season has caused farmers as a whole to produce more—perhaps only a little more—than the current market can absorb.

Agricultural economists tell us that whereas a generation or so ago a farmer could operate at a loss for 9 or 10 years before finally being forced out of business, under present conditions he can't last through more than two bad seasons at the most.

I am sure I do not need to say that with only a little over 15 percent of our people on our farms no farm plan can succeed if it isn't fair to consumers and doesn't have the approval of customers. That has been recognized in the writing of farm legislation and all of it contains consumer safeguards.

Keeping all of these things in mind, don't you agree with me that consumers have just as big and as definite a stake in agricultural prosperity as do farmers? Don't you think that it is of the utmost importance to consumers that the financial rewards of farming be such as to retain on the land efficient, practical, and productive farmers so that the American people may maintain their present standard of living and the fertility and productivity of our soil may be increased so as to produce enough for the 2½ million new people whom we are adding to our population each year?

Our present farm programs have been worked out through trial and error. They lack much of being perfect. That is admitted by everyone. That is why Secretary Benson and his associates in the Department of Agriculture are making the most comprehensive study of farm plans and programs that has ever been made. That is why Congress is devoting so much time to the subject and why the House Committee on Agriculture is holding a hearing in Des Moines and will devote several weeks this fall making a grassroots survey of agriculture and its problems.

We want your help and the help of all businessmen who are sympathetic with farm problems in considering what our future agricultural policy and programs should be. As I have already stated, I believe sincerely that one of the most important things which can be done to bring about a better agriculture in this country is to have a better understanding of farm problems by the people who live in our cities and who are connected with agriculture only as consumers.

I don't know of any group better fitted to assist in bringing about a better understanding between farmers and nonfarmers than a live-wire, aggressive chamber of commerce in a great agricultural city. That's the reason that I have taken the time today to discuss some of the matters which I feel the general public should know about agriculture.

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram; also an editorial from the Mobile (Ala.) Press of January 16, 1954:

MOBILE, ALA.,
January 18, 1954.

Hon. FRANK BOYKIN,
House of Representatives.

DEAR FRANK: We wish to take this opportunity to urge you to support the bill for the increase in salaries for our judges and Congressmen and all representatives of the various branches of the Government because we can readily understand that people in all walks of life are fast outstripping the antiquated salaries being paid these most efficient and faithful employees of our Federal Government. It will be absolutely necessary for Congress and all our Representatives to support this bill in order that we may continue to send to Congress and have them offer themselves for service to the Federal Government and receive monetary consideration equivalent to those paid in private industry and who are getting the best men that are available in the field that would be most beneficial to the general public for services rendered by our Government. Very few men enjoy your position or would make the sacrifices you have made to remain in the services of the people of this district as well as all the people of the United States and we wish to take this opportunity to thank you for past services rendered and for your untiring support in soliciting other support to the above-mentioned salary increases for our Federal judges, Senators, and Congressmen. We are asking this in the name of labor from this district, who as you well know will constitute a very vast majority of the people in this district.

MOBILE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL,
S. A. ALSUP, *Business Manager.*

[From the Mobile Press of January 16, 1954]

TWELVE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLAR RAISE FOR CONGRESSMEN AT ONE WHACK IS UNREASONABLE

A special commission set up by Congress to study congressional pay has recommended a $12,500-a-year raise for Federal lawmakers.

The commission says present pay is insufficient. Representatives and Senators get $12,500 a year plus $2,500 for expenses. In addition, they are allowed to deduct $3,000 a year for income-tax purposes. They get this for having to maintain two homes, one in Washington and the other in their district.

Federal lawmakers ought to get $27,500 a year, says the commission. It also recommends raises for judges, the Vice President, and other Federal officials.

Few will deny that Congressmen deserve a raise. The heavy expenses of Washington living, the entertaining of constituents in the Capital, the need for frequent trips back to the district, and the necessity of running every 2 years eat up the $15,000 a year, and more.

But we don't believe the lawmakers could justify such a sharp boost. Originally a $10,000 raise had been discussed. Now it is for $12,500.

This is an election year and lawmakers will be hard pressed to explain to the folks back home why they need a $12,500-a-year increase in pay. A $5,000 raise to $20,000 would be understandable. But we don't believe Representatives and Senators could get away with a boost to $27,500 without incurring the bitter wrath of voters.

Congressmen should be reasonable about their pay raise. A $12,500 raise at one whack does not seem reasonable.

Dilemmas Are Not Solved by Adding To Them

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, when the House adopted this afternoon the conference report on House bill 6665, increasing cotton and wheat allotments and marketing quotas, it took action which I predict will return to haunt those who supported it.

I grant that we were confronted with a dilemma. This is the inevitable result of the existing system of high, rigid price supports. But I suggest that trying to solve a dilemma by compounding it never has worked and never will work.

What are the basic facts? If this report had not been accepted, the 1954 national acreage allotment would be 17,910,448 acres. This report adds 3,468,894 acres, or a total national allotment of 21,379,342 acres.

The Department of Agriculture advises me that the national average of cotton production per acre is 271 pounds. On that basis, we will have 940,070,274 more pounds of cotton.

Measured another way—a bale contains approximately 480 pounds gross weight. So we will have 1,958,480 more bales.

For what purpose? Is there a shortage or a prospective shortage?

That statement accompanying the report does not say so. Rather it says that since July 31, 1953—

A cotton crop had been harvested which exceeded by approximately 2 million bales the estimate of the 1953 crop that was available to the House when it acted upon House bill 6665.

In his message on agriculture, President Eisenhower said:

Cotton, like wheat, is an export crop whose price is currently supported above the world price. Carryover stocks in the United States has been accumulating rapidly in the past 2 years. These stocks, probably close to 9 million bales by next August, will approximate a full year's domestic requirement.

What about current inventories? I do not have any information as to amounts in private hands but I assume that is substantial. The last report of the Commodity Credit Corporation is for the period ending October 31, 1953. It shows on hand 235,598 bales of upland

cotton valued at $33,167,990.27 and 478,211,709 pounds of cotton linters valued at $47,637,863.

It is significant that reserves for losses have been set up in the amount of $4,264,000 on the upland cotton and of $24,928,000 on the cotton linters—a total of $29,192,000.

In all fairness, I must add that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] is characteristically right when he states that the Commodity Credit Corporation has not lost money in its cotton operation. In fact, overall, the record shows a gain of $268,229,114 as of October 31, 1953. But I must add that the gains have been dropping sharply since June 30, 1946. With a gain of only $9,637 in fiscal 1954 through October 31, 1953, a reasonable question may be raised as to the future.

Moreover, when it is placed in the framework of the whole program, there is a principle of great importance involved.

Have we so soon forgotten the excellent and profoundly important question of the President's state of the Union message? Or is it that there is a disposition to avoid facing up to a difficult problem?

Let me remind you of what President Eisenhower said to us just 2 weeks ago in the Chamber. He said:

> Agricultural laws now in effect successfully accomplished this wartime purpose of encouraging maximum production of many crops. Today, production of these crops at such levels far exceeds present demands. Yet the laws encouraging such production are still in effect. The storage facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation bulge with surplus stocks of dairy products, wheat, cotton, corn, and certain vegetable oils; and the Corporation's presently authorized borrowing authority—$6,750,000,000—is nearly exhausted.

All of us recall that the President explained in his message on agriculture 10 days ago that under existing laws and conditions he had to request additional borrowing authority for the corporation in the amount of $1,750,000,000. There is legislation pending to do that.

The President went on to say:

> Some products, priced out of domestic markets, and others, priced out of world markets, have piled up in Government hands. In a world in which millions of people are hungry, destruction of food would be unconscionable. Yet, surplus stocks continue to threaten the market, and in spite of acreage controls authorized by present law, surpluses will continue to accumulate.

Surely, we recall the two alternatives he placed before us.

One, to permit the market price gradually to have greater influence on the planning of production by farmers, insulating existing surpluses, and by building on the agricultural laws of 1948 and 1949, establishing a price-support program with enough flexibility to attract the production of needed supplies of essential commodities and to stimulate the consumption of those commodities that are flooding American markets.

Is what has been done here today a step in that direction? Surely, no one would argue that it was.

Rather, I insist that it was a step to the second alternative outlined by the President—one of imposing still greater acreage reductions for some crops and applying rigid Federal controls on the use of diverted acres, which would regiment the production of every basic agricultural crop, placing every producer of those crops under the domination of the Federal Government in Washington. He added:

> This alternative is contrary to the fundamental interests, not only of the farmer, but of the Nation as a whole; neither is it a real solution to the problem facing us.

I grant that no one here supporting this conference report would approve of this second alternative. But, if we persist in these exceptions, we shall be taking that path.

Moreover, as long as we continue to ignore the impact of these artificially created surpluses and this blind insistence that the Government encourages their growth, we are overlooking a vitally important psychological factor.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson pointed this out Monday when he testified before the Senate Agriculture Committee. He said it was about time to ask ourselves a few pointed questions and suggested this one:

> At what point will the 140 million Americans who do not live on farms rise up—as they did in the potato fiasco of a few years ago—and demand not revision but outright elimination of all direct aid to agriculture?

Those are plain words, honestly and courageously spoken. They needed to be said and they deserve the most careful consideration.

I represent a district with important agricultural and industrial activities. I know that my constituents who do not live on farms have a sincere interest in the welfare of those who do live on farms and recognize the problems and difficulties peculiar to agriculture. But I am confident that they share the President's belief that there is a better way of solving the problem than the one under which we have operated so far. And I am equally confident that the great majority of my constituents who live on farms recognize the glaring defects in the present programs and are anxious that these defects should be removed as soon as possible.

Therefore, I do hope that as this session progresses, we will not be confronted with a series of added acreage allotments, but rather that our Committee on Agriculture will make a prompt study of the President's recommendations and will report legislation in support of them.

Failure to do that will bring the real possibility of an overwhelming demand for the elimination of the present program. While I know that those who are supporting the present program and opposing the President's recommendations do not intend to bring that result about, it will be they who would have to accept full responsibility for it, if it happens.

How Shall We Produce Our Scientists?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent approved by the House, I am including an article that recently appeared in the magazine Phi Delta Kappan. It is a journal for the promotion of research, service, and leadership in education. This article is written by Dr. Ray C. Maul, one of our leading educators. Dr. Maul is assistant director of research of the National Education Association with offices in Washington. Dr. Maul is regarded as an authority on this subject matter. In view of the interest in the problem involved, not only by educators and Members of Congress but by the public generally, I believe the Members will be interested in reading this statement.

The article follows:

HOW SHALL WE PRODUCE OUR SCIENTISTS?

(By Ray C. Maul)

This question of how we produce scientists has far greater implications for the American school system—elementary, secondary, and higher—than is perceived at first glance. It has a direct relation to the work of every teacher of every subject at every grade level, but one segment of the teaching corps carries a special kind of responsibility. To elaborate this point is the intent of the folowing paragrapha.

WHO IS A SCIENTIST?

Many of our citizens seem to regard a scientist as one set apart from the general run of human beings—a special and perhaps exclusive category of persons with unique talents of an inborn nature. This fallacious assumption frequently goes so far as to imply that these unique creatures exist in greater numbers in our society perhaps because we are born under western skies, or under a democratic form of Government, or, more vaguely, just because.

The fact is, of course, that America has a more plentiful supply of all types of scientists only because the American system of education has done a better job of identifying youth with scientific aptitudes, orienting these youth at the optimum moment of emerging interest, encouraging them to explore their interests and capabilities, and making possible their continued study to the most advanced levels.

These steps, which add up to college graduation of a far greater percent of our youth than in the case in any other country, have provided this Nation with a constantly expanding stream of inquisitive researchers—those at the perimeter of a field of knowledge, extending the fingers of pure science into the unknown, and those bent on the development of more practical ways to apply new discoveries to the procedures of the everyday life of all the people. These two groups, with an individual sometimes shifting from one to the other and back again as his particular insights and imagination dictate, have come to be an accepted part of our society. The American people, as a Nation, assume a complacent attitude that of course we not only have but will continue to have enough builders of the technical know-how to keep us out in front of

other nations. In this smug assumption may lie one of the greatest dangers to our future national life.

UNSCHOOLED GENIUS WILL BECOME RARER

The very fact that this has been so true, that America has contributed so many of the material things which add to our safety, health, comfort, and convenience, for example, has lulled us into the presumption that such will always be the case. At this moment, however, we are in a period of transition which is fraught with danger.

We are already well into what may be an indefinite era of international tensions. Our children today may spend their adult lives in a world divided into two ideologies. It may be necessary for us to live as an armed camp for an indefinite period. We may be hard put to maintain our present position. Surely, we will need to depend upon our technological leadership in a more vital manner than in the past.

With this obvious need for scientific leadership, we return to the question, How do we produce scientists? The American way is to depend upon our educational system to supply the opportunity to each generation of youth to come up with its share. Under our system we must feed into our national life a constant flow of qualified personnel for each phase of our complex activities. This is particularly true in the fields contributing to national defense. The role of the scientist thus stands out in even bolder relief. We cannot skip a school generation—not even a year—in this production of highly trained personnel.

Not only is there a need for increased numbers, but the training of our men of science must be more comprehensive. As the complexities of modern life increase, the formal preparation must provide a broader base of understandings and appreciations. The unschooled genius of the past will be an even more rare creature in the future. Tomorrow's successful leaders will be more highly trained or they will simply cease to be leaders in a competitive world. This may well be the distinguishing characteristic of the coming era.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL?

This question points up the entire matter. In America, where every person has the opportunity to compete for the highest levels of service, we want—and must have—the talent, wherever we may find it. We know that a contributor to tomorrow's progress may come from any stratum of today's society. A basic purpose of the American public-school system, therefore, is to provide the opportunity for talent to emerge, wherever it may be. We literally place all of our youth in a giant sieve, in the hope and the expectation that those with particular talents for each kind of activity will be identified as trial experiences and explorations are provided. In a controlled educational environment the youth of this Nation literally sort themselves into groups for vocational purposes. From our schools—and particularly our high schools—emerge groups of young people bound for the various activities which comprise our national life.

By his own choice each youth selects his future occupation. Some will continue in preparation while making further explorations and while conducting further tests of interests and aptitudes; some will plunge directly into intensive preparation for a chosen occupation.

To provide the stimulation of potential interests, to recognize those emerging interests, to discover aptitudes, to identify students with a bent for continued study of the basic sciences of mathematics, biology, chemistry, and physics—these steps underline our future supply of scientists in unmistakable fashion. These steps are best taken during the years of high-school attendance. That has been shown to be the optimum time for effective vocational counseling.

And who, above all others, can take these vital steps? Without question, the teachers of mathematics and the sciences not only can but must do so. They not only discover and encourage future teachers of these subjects; they discover and encourage the students who will later constitute the leadership in all phases of science in our national life. It is this corps of high-school teachers, supported by teachers of other subjects and at other grade levels, who carry a unique responsibility for our national welfare in the realm of science. And the effectiveness of these teachers depends, in no small measure, upon the comprehensiveness of their own training.

The high-school student of today is confronted with a bewildering array of vocational opportunities. Meager flashes of many occupations come to him. A host of things to do impinge upon his consciousness. In general, his bases of judgment are woefully limited. He needs and looks for help. Here the teacher stands preeminent. The teacher must recognize the gleam of interest, provide the tests of aptitude, and encourage further study.

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR TEACHER SUPPLY?

But if this vital function is to be accomplished in high school we must have enough thoroughly prepared teachers in each of the fields of science to carry on. These teachers inspire confidence, challenge student interest, and lead effectively only as they are themselves masters of their respective fields. The very heart of the problem, therefore, lies in the present and future supply of qualified candidates for high-school mathematics and science teaching positions. Competent teachers of these subjects, being the ones who, above all, must spark the oncoming generation of science students, must be available in expanding numbers because the number of students to enter high school is about to turn upward, after a period of more than 15 years of stability.

The 1953 edition of the annual national teacher supply and demand report provides up-to-date information on this point. It shows that for the past 3 years the colleges and universities have produced fewer and fewer graduates qualified for teaching. More distressing, however, is the diminishing number of potential mathematics and science teachers. In 1950 the colleges produced 433,734 (bachelor's degree) graduates, of whom 86,890 met the requirements for high-school teaching certificates. Of this latter number, 4,618 were potential mathematics teachers and 9,096 were potential science (general science, biology, chemistry, or physics) teachers. Three years later, in 1953, the total number of college graduates had fallen 30.8 percent, the total number meeting high-school certificate requirements had fallen 36.2 percent, the total number prepared to teach mathematics had fallen 41.3 percent, and the total number prepared to teach science had fallen 48.7 percent.

In 3 years, while the fresh supply of potential candidates for teaching high-school science was being cut in half, new areas of demand for manpower arose. Industry, geared to the stepped-up defense production, expanded its call for science-trained college graduates. The call to military service, reactivated in late 1950, will continue to curtail on into the indefinite future the supply of men available for teaching positions immediately after college graduation. This latter factor particularly affects the fields of mathematics and the sciences, as normally about three-fourths of the college students majoring in these fields are men. The competition of fields other than teaching continues to be keen for women trained in these fields.

The accompanying table, which shows a 3-year trend in the production of new teaching candidates, presents a gloomy picture in the sciences. At the same time, these data point directly to the nature of the task if the situation is to be remedied. The entire approach to the supply problem must be conceived in new terms. It is no longer a problem of the teaching profession. Every citizen interested in the immediate and long-range welfare of the Nation has a stake in our supply of scientists, and thus has a stake in the supply of teachers to produce scientists. The loss of this vital manpower is, indeed, cause for grave concern.

Total number of college graduates, number prepared to teach in high school, number prepared to teach mathematics, number prepared to teach science, with percent of year-by-year changes since 1950

Year	Total bachelor's-degree graduates	Percent change from 1950	Total graduates prepared to teach in high school	Percent change from 1950	Total graduates prepared to teach mathematics	Percent change from 1950	Total graduates prepared to teach—					Percent change from 1950
							General science	Biology	Chemistry	Physics	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1950	433,734		86,890		4,618		3,000	3,473	1,460	964	9,096	
1951	384,353	−11.4	73,015	−16.0	4,118	−10.8	2,772	2,815	1,342	578	7,507	−17.5
1952	331,924	−23.5	61,510	−29.2	3,142	−32.0	2,216	1,995	842	373	5,426	−40.3
1953	[1]300,000	[2]−30.8	55,408	−36.2	2,710	−41.3	1,796	1,830	722	317	4,665	−48.7

[1] Estimate.
[2] Calculated from estimate.

Source: Figures in col. 2 were taken from Robert C. Story, Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1951-52. Circular 360s. December 1952. U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. All other basic figures were taken from annual NEA reports on teacher supply and demand.

Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the passage of the bill by the House today to establish an Air Force academy by the vote of 328 to 36 is significant of the feeling which exists in America today that our country must move forward as a Nation to keep abreast in the air age in which we are living.

The need for the passage of legislation in this regard is long overdue. The establishment of an Air Force academy will serve to provide future officers in the Nation's air arm with full and adequate training in the skills and tech-

niques which today are greatly needed and which will continue to be needed in the future.

It is significant that this legislation is being considered and passed 1 year after the 50th anniversary of the celebration of air-powered flight. In 1903 the Wright brothers at the little spot of Kitty Hawk, N. C., flew the first powered aircraft, and last year—1953—we celebrated the 50th anniversary of that occasion. Today aircraft can circle the globe in the matter of hours and can be refueled while in flight. Today truly we are living in the air age, and no longer is America or any country isolated from the rest of the world.

Other nations of the world have air academies for the purpose of training officers in the techniques and skills of aircraft and we must keep abreast—in fact, America should excel and exceed. Time, Mr. Speaker, is a matter of great importance in the building of America's air supremacy. I want to commend also the action of the committee in recommending the establishment of a temporary Air Academy pending the completion and staffing of the permanent Academy. By such action we can move more rapidly into training skilled officers for the Air Force.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I take pride in pointing to the fact that in my own State of Tennessee and in the district which I have the honor to represent there is being built the great Arnold Air Engineering Development Center, recently dedicated. This great air center is designed to test aircraft at supersonic and hypersonic speed—speed faster than the speed of sound—and it is certainly important that we train adequate Air Force personnel to be able to man aircraft in this modern age and to have a Reserve component of properly trained air officers and airmen.

The measure which the House has today passed and which I trust will receive speedy approval by the membership of the other body is certainly a most forward-looking and important measure. The implementing of education and training which this measure provides will mean much to keeping America ahead in aircraft officer personnel and in maintaining our position of defense and strength in the free world.

Stabilizing Our Labor Laws—About Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, it is some little while since any major labor leader sounded off in public about the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" act. Most of the responsible people on both sides of the labor-management table have reached the conclusion that stable relations in their highly personal field require the guidance of some legislative formulas based upon experience.

President Eisenhower's recent message to Congress has now crystallized into legislative proposals contained in a bill introduced by Senator SMITH of New Jersey, as chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Under this plan, when a strike threatens to explode into an all-out national emergency, employers and union representatives must sit down for 30 days to talk things over and negotiate. If they fail to agree, Federal mediators then move in for a second 30 days to take a crack at the job. If this doesn't work, the President then appoints a board of inquiry to determine the potential scope of the strike. If the board says that the strike would constitute a national emergency, the Government may obtain an 80-day court decision enjoining the strike. During these 80 days, the board of inquiry has 40 days to report on the progress of mediation efforts. After 55 days of the 80-day period, the Government may poll the workers involved on their willingness or otherwise to accept the last offer proposed by the employer. The results are not technically compulsory so far as the union is concerned. If the offer is rejected on this secret vote, the President may call on his board of inquiry to propose its own terms. After 80 days, if all has failed, the union may call its srike.

Anybody and everybody, could anything be fairer to everybody and anybody?

Millions for Foreign Airports—Raw Deals for Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial from the January 18, 1954, issue of the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier. I concur completely in the views expressed in this editorial.

When the new administration came into control in the Department of Commerce I communicated with Under Secretary Robert B. Murray and tried to retain in the budget sufficient funds for equipping the Waterloo Airport control tower.

Stripped of superfluous language, the answer was that for reasons of economy the Department could not support the request. There was no denial that the previous administration had recognized the need for air-traffic control at the Waterloo Airport and had urged construction of a control tower as well as supplied funds for that purpose.

The Department of Commerce, in refusing to budget funds to make operative this completed tower, is playing fast and loose with life and limb at the Waterloo Airport and it is condoning discrimination as between Waterloo and cities with adequate Government-provided control facilities, but less air traffic.

As the editorial well states: "Waterloo has had a raw deal."

There is no record that foreigners come to Washington on bended knee for assistance in equipping their airports. The role of second-class world citizens seems to be reserved for American taxpayers.

The editorial follows:

WATERLOO AIRPORT'S EMPTY TOWER

This is an almost incredible story of how the citizens of Waterloo have been made the victims of unfair political discrimination in the Department of Commerce and congressional appropriations committees. The control tower at the municipal airport stands empty today because Waterloo has been given a raw deal.

To begin at the beginning, the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 directs the Administrator to establish civil airways and to provide the necessary facilities for the regulation and protection of air traffic. Any attempt to establish air traffic control by Waterloo authorities, therefore, would be ineffective and, in some respects, illegal because control is a Federal function and because it must start well beyond the city limits where Waterloo has no jurisdiction.

Back in March of 1951 the Civil Aeronautics Administration published a brief on the "Establishment, continuance, or elimination of interstate airways communications stations." The agency used Waterloo as the outstanding example of an airport that needed control facilities. "A very strong need for flight assistance service is apparent," this official publication said.

Yet that report was based on figures for a period when Waterloo had only four scheduled airline flights daily. It now has 11 flights daily.

Later that year the CAA inserted funds for a communications station and tower control facility at Waterloo; but this item was stricken from the budget by Secretary of Commerce Sawyer. The same item was placed in the 1953–54 budget and approved by Sawyer, indicating full recognition of the desperate need for air traffic control at Waterloo.

At this point, however, the Republicans took control in Washington and Under Secretary of Commerce Robert B. Murray, only a short time after taking office last year and with no study of the need for air traffic control in Waterloo, arbitrarily struck this item from the budget.

Waterloo Airport officials are as much in favor of governmental economy as Murray and would have been less angered by this decision if all American cities were treated alike. But that has not been the case. Right here in Iowa, Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Mason City, and Ottumwa—with less airport traffic than Waterloo—have aircraft communication facilities. Des Moines and Sioux City—with slightly more traffic—have both control towers and radio facilities.

But that is only part of the story. A total of 111 American cities with fewer scheduled departures than Waterloo have CAA-operated radio facilities. And 25 cities with fewer scheduled departures than Waterloo have both CAA controltower and radio communications. Only in Waterloo, apparently, is economy justified even if it means endangering human life.

Yet in the face of this statistical evidence and in the face of the strong recommendations of CAA safety officials, air traffic control facilities for Waterloo are omitted from the pending Department of Commerce budget. This is despite the fact that the omnirange equipment currently being installed at the Waterloo Airport, at a cost of $115,000, cannot be fully effective without traffic control. And it is despite the fact that Waterloo officials, at the urging of the CAA, erected a

control tower at a cost of $45,000, of which Waterloo taxpayers paid half.

This is the statistical, factual proof that Waterloo has had a raw deal. Surely, "meat ax" economy procedures should not operate in the safety field; and even so, the policy should be consistent. Moreover, there is no justification for the United States providing abroad facilities which it refuses to provide for domestic air traffic. Yet the country is spending millions of dollars for foreign airport development while the control tower at Waterloo stands empty, a silent monument to political bungling.

Clare Luce Foresaw Events in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Bridgeport Post which commends our Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, for her astute comprehension and her foresight regarding events in China. Had Mrs. Luce's warnings, issued as far back as 1947, been heeded, perhaps one of the largest nations in the world today would not be Communist dominated.

The editorial follows:

MRS. LUCE CALLED THE TURN

The American China Policy Association calls attention to a statement of policy made by Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, our present Ambassador to Italy, on October 23, 1947, upon her election as president of the association.

Mrs. Luce urged our Nation to continue its traditional open-door policy in China as defined in 1899 by John Hay and pledged in the Nine Power Treaty of 1922. It was a policy guaranteeing the independence and territorial integrity of China and equality of all foreign powers in every part of the Chinese Nation.

She urged economic and military assistance to the Republic of China based upon the friendliest of relations, and she urged that our Government insist that the Soviet Union strictly and promptly observe the terms of the Sino-Soviet pact of 1945, removing all its forces and personnel from Manchuria except Port Arthur, taking back all arms given to Communist forces there contrary to that pact, turning them over as promised to the National Government of China, and restoring the loot stolen from Manchuria; failing in which we urged renunciation of the pact.

Mrs. Luce also urged our Government to remove from their positions the officials who advised and implemented the policies which were leading us perceptibly into disaster in the Far East, especially in our coddling and favoring of Communist Russia. But, no; the international idiots who were then ruling in the State Department and the White House knew better. We went to war with Japan in order to turn Manchuria over to Russia on a silver platter and afterward paid the penalty in a bloody war in Korea.

In view of the fact that some of the apologists for these bunglers today are trying to defend them on the ground that "nobody could have foreseen the way things were going to turn out there," it is interesting to observe that Mrs. Luce foresaw the trend of events, warned us what we should do, and that we are now paying the penalty for ignoring her warning.

Treaty-Made Law and the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, the big news story of early 1954 will be the debate on the Bricker amendment. My annual questionnaire of May 1953, which was distributed to my constituents, contained this question:

Are you in favor of the Bricker amendment to the Constitution which would prohibit treaty agreements impairing rights of United States citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution?

Of the "yes" and "no" answers, 70 percent voted "yes." Besides this concrete example of the very definite approval of Senator BRICKER's proposal among the people of the 11th Congressional District, many persons have talked to me, and I have also received a great many letters, urging my support of this amendment. In line with my political philosophy to express the will of the majority of my constituents—assuming, of course, this will is not contrary to the general welfare or the Constitution—and remembering Abraham Lincoln's words in a congressional speech that "the primary, the cardinal, the one great living principle of all democratic representative governments—the principle that the representative is bound to carry out the known will of his constituents," if it passes the Senate and is not materially changed when it comes to the House of Representatives, I expect to support the Bricker amendment.

Article VI of the Constitution says:

And all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land.

The crux of the matter is whether a treaty affecting the rights or property of our citizens takes precedence over the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. So there will be no possibility that the rights guaranteed citizens under the Constitution could be taken away from them under treaty law, the Bricker amendment seeks to clarify this point of procedure. To illustrate: By treaty, we are now members of the United Nations and are bound by U. N. agreements. Suppose the United Nations passes a law or resolution to the effect that no newspapers can criticize the heads of governments of their member nations. Some people hold that we in the United States are then bound by such an agreement despite the fact that under our Bill of Rights—the first 10 amendments to the Constitution—Congress cannot legislate against freedom of speech or freedom of the press. The Bricker amendment provides:

SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

In no other major country in the world is a treaty self-executing; that is, the treaty does not become effective immediately as does a domestic law nor does it become the supreme law of the land, until enacting legislation is passed by the lawmakers. The Bricker amendment concerns itself solely with the domestic or internal effects of treaties. The framers of our Constitution certainly evidenced their feeling that treaties should not affect our internal life when Thomas Jefferson said:

By the general power to make treaties, the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaties, and cannot be otherwise regulated. It must have meant to except out all those rights reserved to the States; for surely the President and the Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole Government is interdicted from doing in any way.

Alexander Hamilton, who many times disagreed with Jefferson, concurred with Jefferson's treaty view when, in the Federalist papers, he said:

It relates neither to the execution of the subsisting laws, nor to the enaction of new ones; and still less to an exertion of the common strength. Its objects are contracts with foreign nations, which have the force of law, but derive it from the obligations of good faith. They are not rules prescribed by the sovereign to the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign.

I believe the above views clearly express the principle that treaties were never meant to negate our constitutional guaranties. Until the time of Roosevelt and Truman, our Presidents restricted treaties to agreements between sovereign and sovereign. Only in the last two decades has the Executive sought to enlarge on its time-accepted restrictions. As Mr. Acheson and the State Department bluntly stated in September 1950: "There is no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs." There is urgent need to protect our Constitution and our American citizens against treaty-made law and the Bricker amendment will provide this protection.

Korean Prisoner Release Victory for Our Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, "Malenkov & Co." may be great hands at the subtle art of making the worse appear the better reason, but they will have to go some to explain what happened in Korea. North Koreans and Chinese prisoners of war, given their choice of

returning home or taking their chances in a new coutry have chosen so overwhelmingly against going back to communism that Marx, Engels, and Lenin must be turning double somersaults in their collectivist graves. Somewhere along the line something has sure gone wrong with the Communist ideology.

By sticking to our guns on this crucial issue of the war, President Eisenhower and our advisers have won a major propaganda victory in the battle for men's minds which will certainly not be lost on the people of the East where the big war of communism versus freedom is now being waged. The 22,000 prisoners who preferred unknown Formosa to their native China or South Korea and Syngman Rhee to North Korea and the Communist "heaven" are the best answer yet to the claims, counterclaims, and endless dialecties of the Marxists. These men saw communism in action and chose an unknown future in preference to what they had.

Korea may be divided politically for some time to come by reason of the unsettled condition of events in the world today, but the sympathies of the Korean people and the place of their heart's desire are clearly not with Malenkov and Moscow.

Resolution of VFW

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD J. BONIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include a copy of the resolution adopted by the 11th district, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at its meeting on January 16, 1954, in Kingston, Pa. The Pennsylvania Department VFW Commander Elmer D. Christine, of Monroe County, presided at this meeting and gave the assurance of the cooperation of his district.

The entire membership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the State of Pennsylvania is pledged to help provide jobs for the unemployed, not only in my own district but throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The resolution, which was sent to me by VFW Commander Robert W. Wood, of the 11th district, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, speaks for itself, and is as follows:

Whereas Luzerne County, Pa., is one of the distress areas in the United States; and

Whereas there are thousands of war veterans in Luzerne County who are unable to find local employment; and

Whereas our distressed anthracite region's young men and young women entered the Armed Forces in numbers greater than the national average, and all contributed enormously to the protection of free enterprise; and

Whereas they, and we of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, want free enterprise to survive and expand for the benefit of all our people, and since they will be assured jobs through free enterprise, we are opposed to the socialization of anything and are opposed to so-called handouts; and

Whereas we strenuously object to allegations of Texas and California and South Carolina's allegations that Federal Government encouragement of industry in our region would be socialization; and

Whereas the Federal Government's announced policy in this atomic age supposedly envisages dispersement, rather than concentration, of industry for better national security, and since the huge industrial concentrations in Texas and California, particularly, are nationally dangerous; and

Whereas the President of the United States has stated that the Federal Government should be vitally concerned in providing employment in the distress areas of the Nation; and

Whereas the Pennsylvania delegation in the Congress of the United States has appointed a committee from among its members to consider ways and means to provide this Commonwealth's areas with job opportunities, not handout relief; and

Whereas the Federal Government can help Luzerne County, Pa., through concessions similar to those given elsewhere in more prosperous areas, and since this help would attract and establish new industries on the same basis as it did in the mushroomed industrial areas, particularly in Texas and California: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 11th district of the Department of Pennsylvania of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, which comprises Luzerne County, Pa., urges its Representative in the House of Representatives of the United States, the Honorable EDWARD J. BONIN, to vigorously insist that the appropriate departments of the Federal Government immediately provide contracts, on an equal competitive basis, to existing plants in Luzerne County, and open negotiations with industry with a view toward granting prospective employers tax amortization plans that will make possible the establishment of new industry in Luzerne County; and be it further

Resolved, That the members of the Pennsylvania delegation in the Congress cooperate to the fullest extent with the Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission, of which Victor C. Diehm, Hazleton, Pa., is president.

Adopted at a regular meeting of the 11th district, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in the city of Kingston, Pa., January 16, 1954.

ROBERT V. WOOD, *Commander*.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on January 20, 1954, my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HENDRICKSON], addressed the Pennsylvania Citizens Association, in Philadelphia, on the subject of juvenile delinquency. I believe it was a very important address; therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, OF NEW JERSEY, BEFORE THE PENNSYLVANIA CITIZENS ASSOCIATION, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1954

It gives me a great deal of pleasure and neighborly satisfaction to be with my friends from across the Delaware today. I always feel at ease discussing mutual problems with people whom I know—not necessarily intimately or even personally—but people whose basic outlook on life is well known to me and whose habitat, here on the west bank of the Delaware, is definitely part and parcel of my own background.

It is especially fine to be meeting with you here because I know you share with me the keenest interest in our troublesome and multiplying problems of juvenile delinquency.

Your speaker has the honor of being chairman of the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. I serve on this special subcommittee with such splendid colleagues as Senator LANGER, of North Dakota, Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, and Senator HENNINGS, of Missouri.

Yes; we are a subcommittee of men vitally interested in the problems of our young people, but as I stand before you today, I know full well that without an accompanying ground swell of interest from such groups as your own, the work of a handful of Senators is not going to make very many inroads on what appears to be a worsening situation in our national life.

I would like to discuss with you rather briefly today some of our aims and objectives in addition to some of our early findings.

But before I do, your speaker would make a few general observations concerning his chairmanship of this subcommittee. I am not an expert in this field. There are undoubtedly many of you who have worked longer and more knowledgeably in the field of juvenile delinquency than have I. It is my purpose to listen to the experts for awhile, and not set myself up as one.

However, when I undertook this work, I sincerely believed that everyone wanted to do something about juvenile delinquency. Now, it is not quite so apparent.

We have found a good deal of parental and adult indifference to the problem. We have found vested interests who do not much care whether they knock a child down in their pursuit of a dollar. For example, we have heard from nearly three thousand judges, police officials, welfare officials, and educators who work with the problems of our young people in their daily lives. They are near-unanimous in noting an increase in the consumption of alcohol by juveniles.

We have noted strained feelings between agencies dealing with delinquents, and while they squabble, the children who get into trouble slip in between them, unnoticed.

As chairman, I have even received a threat of personal violence—not from a crackpot quarter, but from one whose path our investigation crossed.

Our subcommittee is seeking an extension of time and funds so that we may complete our work. I just want to state to you that if the Senate of the United States permits us this extension, we will go ahead without fear or favor, visiting various areas of the country without any desire other than to explore the areas of need and to bring home the facts on juvenile delinquency to the people.

In these early stages of our work, the subcommittee has held public hearings into various national aspects of the problems of juvenile delinquency. We have heard from the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Narcotics, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in the belief that we should reexamine our own Federal programs involved in the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

Tomorrow, we will begin hearing from our major church, civic, and national youth-serving organizations, which will present their approaches to the problem.

Our subcommittee has held community hearings, with the aid and advice of local community leaders, in Denver and Washington, D. C., and next week we will visit Boston for another hearing, prior to issuing a report. This community approach, incidentally, has the blessing and support of President Eisenhower, as well as have the basic objectives of our work. The President has written me, as chairman, pledging the support of his executive agencies, and applauding our plan for a city-by-city study, on the scene.

That would bring my attention to Philadelphia where your present-day problems have been noted by our subcommittee. If the people of Philadelphia believe we can be of help, we will probably hold public hearings here. I should add that it is the purpose of the subcommittee to also highlight the good that communities do, so that others might benefit by the interchange of knowledge made possible through the use of our public forum.

The efforts of your relatively new youth development center here in Philadelphia are known to our subcommittee. We have already received assistance from groups located here. We are in receipt of response to questions concerning delinquency which we raised with such organizations as the Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia and the subcommittee on juvenile delinquency of the State commission on children and youth, with whom Mr. J. Francis Finnegan is associated.

Advice has been received from Judges John A. Boyle, Adrian Bonnelly and Herbert E. Millen of your municipal court.

In addition, Mr. Sidney Markey and Mr. Stephen Angell of the Philadelphia office of the health and welfare council, and Mr. Walter T. Townsend, of the local office of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, have also replied to our letters of inquiry.

It is true that recent juvenile-gang problems of your great city have attracted attention around the Nation.

But the growing seriousness of our delinquency problems are reflected in many areas throughout this country.

It is not just a matter for big cities alone.

By way of illustration, let me quote from a report which we received from the chief of police of a small city in the State of Washington.

It read:

"Gang warfare has reared its ugly head in our community, and already reports have reached our ears of a number of beatings having taken place."

He goes on to say that "numerous dangerous weapons, which include whips made from car battery cables, car fan belts, along with a large collection of assorted knives and homemade .22 caliber pistols, have been seized."

Yes, the problems of juvenile delinquency are to be found in the small towns as well as your city of Philadelphia, and we must obviously find ways to meet the challenge on a broader front than through specialized programs in just a few urban centers.

We have received evidence conclusively establishing that juvenile delinquency is a problem of sharply increasing severity.

Annually, since 1948, both its volume and rate have mounted.

Younger children in larger numbers are becoming involved in serious crime.

Nationwide, juvenile delinquency, as measured by offenders in juvenile courts, increased almost 30 percent between 1948 and 1952.

But even larger rises are occurring in many States and communities.

From my own State of New Jersey I have just received a report showing that juvenile delinquency increased a disturbing 18⅝ percent, according to preliminary estimates.

It is hard for us to realize that children, sometimes of a very tender age, are found evermore frequently involved in such serious crimes as housebreaking, personal assaults, narcotic violations, murder, and rape.

"Shakedown rackets" and "predatory-gang activities" are becoming schoolyard words in our large cities.

Our subcommittee is concerned over an increase in heroin production in the Communist-held Orient and what this may portend for our young people in the next few years.

On our west coast, closest to the source of the Far East production, drug addicts are dying because the heroin they are taking into their veins has not been cut, which is a sure sign of oversupply in the black and bloody markets of illicit narcotics traffic.

Iowa is an agricultural State. Yet 25 percent of the girls admitted to its State training school for girls have used marihuana.

Still other youngsters in search of a thrill, or kick as they call it, have turned to barbiturates and amphetamines.

Many of these delinquents come from the better neighborhoods of our communities and not from the wrong side of the tracks.

In less than 5 months the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency has not been able to produce the whole answer to what is wrong, but many factors have come to light.

We know that juvenile delinquency has its roots in family life and in the life of the neighborhood of which that family is a part.

And many forces are operating in present-day America which work against stable and satisfying family and community life.

Let me mention a few of these forces. We have become a highly mobile people. Such mobility is the product of, and in many ways necessary to, our high industrial and agricultural productivity.

But it also uproots families and sends them into new communities among strange people.

Our vigorous economy draws many mothers into the labor market where they add to our national production and to the incomes of their own families.

But the latchkey children of some of these mothers suffer lack of proper supervision and care as a result.

Modern urban life with its impersonal relations among neighbors and its attractions which pull family members away from the home is also a factor.

The strained international situation makes it impossible for young people of today to look forward with certainty to higher education, to entering a trade or business, to plans for marriage, a home, and family.

This ofttimes adds up to added restlessness, added tension, and encourages a philosophy of eat, drink, and be merry among our young people.

Neither mobility, nor industrialization, nor modern urban life, nor an uncertain future alone creates a delinquent child.

But they do add to insecurity, to loneliness, to fear.

The evidence before our subcommittee also indicates that we as a society have been deficient in developing and enforcing the laws necessary to better protect children from delinquency.

We have been equally deficient in developing the machinery necessary to giving help to children in trouble.

Early testimony before the subcommittee indicates that much of our basic thinking may be misdirected as to prevention and cure.

Challenging questions have been raised as to methods and approaches.

Are we reaching the truly delinquent child with our programs?

Are they beyond the pale in our society?

Speaking for myself, I would urge greater stress on reaching the unreached among our children.

We spend money on the two extremes—those children impoverished, neglected, or left behind by parents, and those young people who end up in the juvenile courts, accused of actual crimes.

In some of our programs, we are trying to reach the middle ground—the twilight areas where our youth have not reached the destitute or a delinquent stage and where help is denied although the symptoms of future trouble may well be present.

But are we reaching enough of them?

I remember a letter from a frantic woman who feared her son was straying into bad company; was taking to dope; had hidden a gun.

She turned to the police of her community, but there was no help for her there.

Her boy had done nothing overt.

She was helpless and so was her community through its lack of resources for reaching this boy in potential trouble.

To be sure, many of our programs are indeed excellently channeled.

But if everyone is doing a 100 percent effective job, why is delinquency among our youth increasing?

Juvenile delinquency is primarily a local problem, although there are significant interstate factors to which I will refer shortly.

It develops in a child's own home and community and must basically be prevented at that level.

But it is not an indictment of local communities, nor of old and tested methods to say they do not meet new problems.

What is needed then is a new focus upon this problem—a clear-cut and factual definition of the problem and a marshaling of community resources to meet it.

Individual communities are experimenting with new techniques and approaches.

But no effective way exists for one community to benefit from the successes or failures of another.

In this connection, I believe our subcommittee is performing an invaluable service by turning the spotlight of public attention upon the problems of juvenile delinquency.

We hope to provide the leadership necessary to alert the people and to help them help themselves.

Local as it essentially is, juvenile delinquency is not one which can be entirely handled within individual communities or States, however.

Juvenile delinquency crosses State borders, and the solution of certain aspects of the problem will require direct Federal action.

As among States, for example, we permit the deserting father from one State to find refuge in another.

Senator LANGER, joined by all of us on the subcommittee, has just offered legislation to help combat this serious contributing factor to delinquency.

We permit the runaway child from one State to be committed as a delinquent to the institution of another State because we lack the machinery to return him to his home.

Many hundreds of such runaways are apprehended in single States, such as California and Florida, every year.

Our subcommittee is now studying alternative approaches to the solution of this interstate problem.

One of the important lessons we of the subcommittee have derived from these early hearings is an increasing awareness of the complexity of this problem.

We are learning the dangers of pointing too accusing a finger at the one-answer solutions to our troubles.

It seems to me that it is not just delinquent parents alone, not just comic books, not just television, and not just the moving pictures that are causing our troubles; although these mass media may indeed be matters of concern.

But there are no easy answers, and hence there are no one-shot solutions to make our task easier and to make it simpler to point at the other fellow and to examine less into ourselves.

The road is difficult, but the stakes are high, indeed, because they are our very future.

The American people have the will and the knowledge to go forward.

In closing I would remind you of this great need and the necessity of mustering the total strength of our communities.

I would remind you what we have been taught by a Great Teacher when He said centuries ago, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Farm Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 22, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received yesterday from the wife of a young man who operates a small farm in Minnesota. I do not believe any better or more impressive description of the difficulties confronting young couples now engaged in farming could be given. As a matter of fact, I have been so impressed with the statements contained in the letter that I felt I should like to call it to the attention of all my colleagues in the Senate. Therefore, I am asking unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAKE CITY, MINN., *January 8, 1954.*

Senator EDWARD J. THYE,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Am writing in regard to the farm problems. My husband and I are both 34 years old. Both our parents paid high prices for their farms and we both remember all the worry and struggle they had trying to pay for them. So when we started farming we made up our minds to start on a small scale and work up. I believe my husband is a good farmer, he believes in doing things well though he may not be as speedy as some. This month our herd was first in our testing association. We both think conservation farming is the only way to farm. This farm is quite hilly and he convinced his father to try strip cropping, liming, and fertilizing. And believe me I know how many hours he talked trying to convince him. On land that hardly raised anything it now raises fine crops. But now we are in trouble. Our bills are coming in faster than the money to pay them. We've both worked hard to make a go of it. I don't believe we're living extravagently. Neither one of us smoke or drink. We go to about 3 or 4 movies a year otherwise we go to very little else. Besides the housework I help with the chores in the barn, have a big garden, and drive tractor in the field during the busy seasons. I think I know where the money goes and where it comes from. I bake my own bread, cakes, and cookies, sew quite a bit of my clothes and for our two children. I have just finished coats for both of them from old coats. My husband and I couldn't give each other Christmas gifts because there just wasn't any money left after giving our children what we could. And that wasn't $10 worth, besides a skirt and blouse for Christmas program at school and church. Now, we've worked to build all this up and it's going to be a bitter pill if we lose it. We are working in partnership with my husband's father, a 50–50 partnership. We thought in this way we wouldn't have to go deeply into debt. This summer we rebuilt a shed on the barn which was in very bad shape before it was rebuilt. We really found out what lumber prices were then. We have been paying $50 a month off on that, but there just isn't anything there, after paying a bill at the elevator and car insurance. In the house we have a cookstove for winter use, a gas stove (used only in summer), a refrigerator, an oil burner and last fall—1952—we put in a pressure pump, water heater and softener. Until then I hauled wash water from the barn and heated it in a wash boiler. We have no bath room or toilet, can't possibly afford a television set. We just wonder what is going to happen to us. We haven't increased to about 50 or 60 cows as so many have. In fact we haven't increased in anything. We have 16 milk cows, about 30 or 40 hogs, and 140 chickens. But they say we must be efficient. The only thing that means is to raise more and invest more money. We know that in order to make money we need money. Is it only the big farmer that is going to survive? But what about us inefficient farmers? What are they going to do with us?

Now about subsidies. According to Drew Pearson's article subsidies paid to business was $1,041,000,000 in 1952, while subsidies to farmers amounted to $463 million. If subsidies are so bad for us farmers why aren't they bad for business? Where do these subsidies come from? Does Congress vote on all these subsidies? Why isn't this amount the business receives headlined in all the newspapers and publicized as much as the subsidy the farmers receive?

The last issue, January 4, of Life magazine was devoted entirely to telling us all how big a year we've had and proceeded to show us we could expect a bigger future. Wages bigger than ever, yet they have no money to buy our products. Yell bloody murder at the price of butter. Yet practically all the men and women in cities smoke. No one complains about the price of beer and liquor, and they buy plenty. The cost-of-living index given out each month is nothing but a comedy. Why are luxuries such as beer and television included in this index?

Can't anything be done about these strikes for high wages, shorter hours, paid vacations, and all the other benefits the laborers think they have coming to them? Someone pays for all these things and that's why the things we buy don't come down. People say prices can't come down. We're getting along on less, why can't the rest? The farmer's share of the consumer's dollar is down to 42 cents while the food processors and handlers get 56 cents. It just doesn't make sense.

To us it seems that Secretary Benson's plan is just like going around in circles. We believe in giving him a chance, but it doesn't sound workable to us.

We have no solution to this mess and will rely on you to make a good decision in this matter. This is not intended to be a sob story, just our particular problem and we are surely worried. We are certainly thankful to have you representing us in Washington.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Erwin Freiheit.

Proposed Chesapeake & Ohio Parkway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the editors of the Washington Post and Supreme Court Justice William Douglas have recently disagreed about the desirability of a parkway along the historic Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

This is a project which has long been of interest to me and which I have worked on ever since coming to Congress. All necessary legislation, both by the United States Congress and the Maryland General Assembly, has now been passed and in time we may see the parkway completed.

Justice Douglas, a famed lover of nature, believes that a parkway would spoil the beauties of nature and that the scenic wonders should be left untouched, to be enjoyed by those who could explore the region on foot. Being a mountain climber of distinction, a hike along the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal would be merely a pleasant morning or afternoon walk to Justice Douglas.

The editors of the Post, however, agree that a parkway would make the area more accessible to the vast majority and not so athletic citizens. In an effort to convince the Post, Justice Douglas challenged the editors to walk the towpath along the canal with him. Apparently he feels that once the editors have made the journey on foot they will be confirmed nature walkers and will abhor the thought of constructing a parkway.

The editors of the Post manfully—but perhaps rashly—accepted the challenge and will walk the 185 miles from Washington to Cumberland, Md., on a date to be named by Justice Douglas.

Mr. President, I am very pleased that these gentlemen are to explore the beauties of the Maryland countryside, and while I doubt that either the Justice or the editors will change their minds, I am sure that they will arrive in Cumberland spiritually enriched by the experience and possibly weary and footsore. Since my home in Frostburg is only a little farther up the mountain from Cumberland, I invite the hikers to continue along the Braddock Trail—laid out by George Washington and General Braddock during the French and Indian wars to Fort Necessity—until they reach my home in Frostburg, where I promise a place of rest and comfort, food and drink to restore them, and medicinals for their aching feet.

Mr. President, I ask that the editorial from the Washington Post of January 21, accepting Justice Douglas' challenge, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We Accept

Mr. Justice Douglas wrote in a most charming manner about the beauties of the Potomac River and the old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in his letter to the editor which we published on Tuesday. We hasten to add a few words on the subject because we should not want it to be supposed that we are insensitive to the call of a warbler, the blush of buds in late winer, the crunch of autumn leaves under hiking boots, or the drip of water from canoe paddles. On the contrary, we directed attention to this delightful wilderness at the Capital's back door and supported the plan to build a parkway along the canal so that the people might enjoy it.

Our idea, and that of at least some of the sponsors of the proposed C. & O. Parkway, we are sure, was not to make the littoral of the Potomac an artery of traffic. It is not the place for motorists in a hurry. Rather, the parkway is designed to make the area accessible in the way that the Skyline Drive has made the delights of the Blue Ridge Mountains accessible to many thousands of people who otherwise would have never been able to enjoy their vistas, to hike their trails, or to camp in their unspoiled woods and meadows. Skyline Drive is doubtless more heavily traveled than the proposed Potomac Parkway would be, but it has not destroyed the beauties of the Blue Ridge. On the contrary, it has brought to the people immeasurable enjoyment from closer contact with nature, familiarity with mountain trails and relief from summer heat.

We are pleased to accept Justice Douglas' invitation to walk the towpath of the old canal—the entire 185 miles of it between Washington and Cumberland, if that meets with his pleasure. He has only to name the time and the starting point of the journey and to prescribe the equipment to be taken along. But it is only fair to warn the Justice that we are already familiar with some parts of the beautiful country that will be traversed. We are sufficiently enthusiastic about it to wear some blisters on our feet, but we do not believe that this backyard wilderness so near to Washington should be kept closed to those who cannot hike 15 or 20 miles a day.

Military Experts Resist Budget Ax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1954

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Military Experts Resist Budget Ax," published in the Christian Science Monitor of Wednesday, January 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Military Experts Resist Budget Ax—Peril Cited in Reducing Troop Total

(By Roland Sawyer)

WASHINGTON.—Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, speaking out from Paris, establishes that there is another side to the new Eisenhower military program which never has been publicized in Washington.

General Gruenther is President Eisenhower's successor, once removed, as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers in Europe. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, now Chief of Staff, who speaks with stiff support of the reduced Eisenhower military budget, was Mr. Eisenhower's successor and General Gruenther's predecessor.

The reduced Eisenhower military budget is predicated on expanding airpower, armed with atomic weapons and a reduced military power, land and naval, also armed with atomic weapons. It is a program which Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has called "mobile, versatile combat forces in readiness."

More With Less

The thesis is that with new atomic weapons, which never have been explained or described openly because of secrecy, the Army can be reduced 110,000 men this fiscal year and 142,000 men in fiscal year 1955 without reducing combat forces, and simultaneously increasing its firepower.

General Gruenther, a man of vast military experience and one of the hardest workers in recent Army history, says that no one yet knows if this can be done or not. Atomic weapons never have been tested in warfare. Consequently no one really knows whether atomic weapons will require fewer troops or actually more.

In effect, this raises the question as to whether or not the planned GOP defense budget cuts really are justified. It was assumed that atomic weapons would make it possible to have a cheaper defense.

General Gruenther and other top Army leaders believe more troops will be required. No high general has spoken out in the United States, however, where the pressure from Washington can be felt.

This correspondent asked a high officer, who agrees with General Gruenther, why this is so. His reply was:

"People will think we merely have the old Army ax to grind if we voluntarily speak out. But since you have sought us out, we are happy to tell you how we feel."

In a word, the Army doesn't agree with the orders which it is carrying out from President Eisenhower, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, Under Secretary of Defense Roger M. Kyes—a particular thorn in Pentagon flesh—and others in the administration.

"You can't take a hill by business methods," an officer commented in a starchy tone.

From what this correspondent has been able to learn, the Army is not disgruntled that it must cut its forces by approximately 250,000 men in the next 18 months, per se. Generals recognize that the Korean war is over and that there certainly is less immediate need for such a large Army.

WILSON FIRM ON CUTDOWN

But what disturbs Army men is that the public has been told that the Army will be as fully combat ready as before. The Army says this cannot be done. Mr. Wilson says it can. And here one gets into a battle of statistics in which it is probably safe to say both sides can make a case.

Mr. Wilson intends to cut down the supporting forces. He wants to cut them much lower than, it is held, they can be cut and still support the present combat divisions. The ratio of supporting forces to combat soldiers is figured on a division-slice basis. These figures can be juggled around to make it appear a very simple thing to achieve what Mr. Wilson wishes. But Army sources say flatly, if confidentially, it is not that simple.

There is probably room for some give and take on both sides here. But there is no doubt that Mr. Wilson, who is tough in his approach to the generals, is going to do everything to have his way.

MILITARY CRISIS

If there is no military crisis in the next 3 years, Mr. Wilson's position will be vindicated. If there is, that position will be tested.

The possibility that atomic weapons can give support to combat strength is, so far, chiefly a hope as Admiral Radford himself has said. In his speech to the National Press Club in December, the admiral was careful to qualify his remarks.

Speaking of improved combat methods and use of new weapons and new techniques, the admiral said that "we hope ultimately to achieve" these things. Today's emphasis, he said, actually is pointed toward the creation of modern airpower.

Obviously the day of atomic weapons is just where General Gruenther says it is—some distance off. There seems to be no doubt that most of the atomic weapons about which so much is heard in general but so little specifically are still on the drawing boards.

There is no question about their versatility. The science of nucleonics is truly remarkable in the various adaptations of uranium, deuterium, lithinium, tritium, and other elements of both light and heavy atomic weights. All sorts of devices are now in the minds of nuclear engineers.

But this multiplicity of them is not in military hands as yet and won't be for a long, long time. That is why Army men charge in confidence that while there are grounds for cutting the military budget, the explanations offered are the wrong ones; that combat strength will be weakened and that atomic weapons, except for the cumbersome big ones such as the 280-millimeter gun, are not in hand or scarcely in sight, and are totally untested.

There have been some military games held in the past 2 or 3 years in which atomic bombs and the atomic cannon have figured. But these exercises have hardly scratched the new military science that atomic weapons will evoke. And these games, thus far, as General Gruenther pointed out from Paris, strongly suggest that atomic warfare must be carried on on such a vast scale that everything related thereto must be expanded; great problems of communication, supply, and, therefore, manpower.

This is, in general, the Army's position, even if no one nearer than Paris steps out in public and says so, for it would be a breach of discipline. General Gruenther has made it indelibly clear that there are two sides to the budget problem. Few military men doubt the need for reducing the cost of the military services for the long pull. But they do question, and with some plausible reasons, the grounds on which this economy program is being sold to the country.

Army men argue Americans cannot get more for less and that atomic weapons provide no easy way out of the present dilemma.

Railroad Retirement Legislation—Agreement Among Railroad Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 22, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I have felt deep concern about the plight of many of our railroad annuitants and the need for further improvements in the Railroad Retirement Act. It has just been brought to my attention that agreement has been reached by all but one of the standard railroad unions to join their efforts in working out a program which they will recommend to Congress containing as many liberalizing amendments as they believe to be financially possible at this time. Those of us who have worked on railroad retirement legislation in the past know that one of our greatest problems has been the sharp division over policies, primarily between the operating and nonoperating unions. The fact that they are sitting down together to work out a suggested program should be of real encouragement to us all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the newspaper Labor, dated January 23, 1954, announcing this agreement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RAIL UNIONS GET TOGETHER ON PENSION IMPROVEMENTS

All the operating and nonoperating railroad unions, except the trainmen, have reached an agreement to join in asking Congress to put into the Railroad Retirement Act as many liberalizing amendments as are financially possible at this time.

The rail union chiefs have been working on a program of amendments, and will hold further meetings to complete the detailed proposals they will present to the Senate and House. When the program is in shape for publication, it will be reported in Labor.

The parties to this pact are three operating brotherhoods—the engineers, the firemen and enginemen, and the conductors—and the following organizations affiliated with the Railway Labor Executives' Association: switchmen, telegraphers, dispatchers, machinists, boilermakers and blacksmiths, sheetmetal workers, electrical workers, carmen, firemen and oilers, signalmen, railway clerks, maintenance of way employees, masters, mates and pilots; marine engineers, dining car employees, yardmasters, sleeping car porters, and railway employees' department, AFL.

National Debt—Federal Reserve—Open Market Committee More Power Than Congress — What Kind of Recession?—Government Bonds—Farm Depression—Wool and Cattle Program—Mode of Living—Tight-Money Policy—Depression Signs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith excerpts from my weekly letters the past several weeks, which are self-explanatory:

[One thousand and eighty-third weekly letter, January 28, 1954]

DEBT LIMIT

It is not unusual for a member of a legislative body to try to make a good record for himself by voting for all appropriations and against all tax bills. A few in each body can do this and get by with it, since the great majority of the members are not so intellectually dishonest, and, therefore, vote for the bills that are necessary to raise the money to pay the appropriations.

On the question of raising the national debt limit, we have a similar situation. If Congress votes for appropriations that are in excess of the $275 billion debt limit, this being the latest expression of the Congress, the debt limit is automatically raised. However, the Secretary of the Treasury and the President have a right to expect the Congress to affirmatively raise the debt limit to take care of the increases voted by the Congress. In the event of a failure to do this the Congress will doubtless be charged with the same kind of intellectual dishonesty as voting for all appropriation bills and against all tax bills.

[One thousand and eighty-second weekly letter, January 21, 1954]

NATIONAL DEBT

The national debt issue is almost a phony. Any fixed amount does not apply to all indebtedness of the Nation. For instance, Federal Reserve notes are the direct obligation of the Government and they are not included. If Congress appropriates according to law and requires expenditure of money more than the debt limit, it will become the latest expression of the Congress, and, for all practical purposes, will amend the debt limit to take care of it. Amendment 14 to the Constitution of the United States provides "the validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law * * * shall not be questioned." Although the debt limit is more or less of a fiction, it is a good marker or signpost of

warning for the Congress to have; but its legal effectiveness is very doubtful, to say the least. The reason I opposed the raising of the national debt last year was to require the Treasury to use $9 billion deposited in banks, for which the Government was receiving no interest, and if the money was used, the raising of the debt limit was unnecessary. In times gone by, the Government received 2 percent on these balances, which would amount to about $180 million a year on the $9 billion; but now it receives nothing, and there is no reason why the taxpayers should pay interest on Government money that is permitted to be idle in the banks.

PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP

The President seems determined to try to push his program through the Congress. It is being submitted to Congress broken down into many different messages. It is expected that the President will have more trouble within his own party than he will have with the Democrats, since the Democrats have a long and traditional policy of supporting many of the principal proposals submitted. At the same time, the Republican Party basically is isolationist—the President is not. It is agreed now, after our unfortunate and bitter experiences in the past, that two world wars—1917 and 1941—were caused by our military weakness. If we had spent enough money to have had our country adequately prepared, we would not have become engaged in either one of these wars and the money spent would have been a small fraction of what the cost of the wars was, not counting the more important losses of lives. For instance, World War II cost all participating nations $4,000 billion ($4 trillion). The United States alone spent $400 billion. Interest on war-created debt, veterans' pensions, veterans' hospitals, and other expenditures will bring the total cost of World War II to the United States to $1,500 billion. Even these staggering figures do not include the 40 million people who were killed (15 million military personnel and about 25 million by military action and those in concentration camps who were killed by starvation or disease. Nearly a million and a half lost their lives in air raids alone). Measured in these terms, the expenditures we are now making for defense represent a good bargain as they will help to prevent another world war, and if the war should come anyway, the more capable we will be of defending the Nation.

FEDERAL RESERVE

It sounds very much like the Kremlin in communistic Russia when we point to a situation existing in our own country wherein the 160 million people under the Constitution grant the Nation's credit and money powers to 531 Members of the House and Senate; then these 531 delegate the powers to 12, not elected and not directly obligated to serve the public interest; then the 12 to 5 of their own number; and then the 5 to 1 of their own number, who was selected by the private commercial banking interests. It is rather difficult to explain the difference in this particular respect. It is true that the private banks own all of the stock there is in the 12 Federal Reserve banks. It is merely called stock; it is not stock at all. It is merely an investment on which the banks receive a return of 6 percent a year. Such so-called stock ownership does not carry with it any control or supervision whatsoever and it can be neither sold nor hypothecated, so it is not stock although it is called stock. These banks operate exclusively upon the credit of the Nation. They create or manufacture the money on the Nation's credit, using the property of the people and the taxing power to support the Nation's credit.

[One thousand and eightieth weekly letter, January 7, 1954]

OPEN MARKET COMMITTEE MORE POWER THAN CONGRESS

Many people have never heard of the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve System. Very few Federal Government officials know anything about it or even know who compose it. Yet, from the standpoint of national prosperity and economic well-being, the Open Market Committee, composed of 12 members, could meet in Washington and have more weight and influence over economic matters than the Congress. The reason is that Congress has, over the years, gradually given up powers and, at the same time, yielded these powers to smaller and smaller groups until now this Open Market Committee possesses more power over economic matters than the United States Congress. This committee is composed of the Board of Governors (7 members—there is 1 vacancy which the law says the President shall fill, but he has not filled) and 5 presidents of Federal Reserve banks that were selected by the private commercial banks. It is shocking to think how much power this committee has. This committee can trade the Government's printed money for United States Government bonds; can hold the bonds in the Federal Reserve banks and continue to draw interest on them. To make the matter more shocking, a smaller committee, composed of five members of the Open Market Committee, really runs the show. In effect, it is just as unreasonable as permitting the railroad owners to have charge of the Interstate Commerce Commission or the big industrialist and monopolist to have charge of the Antitrust Enforcement Division of the Department of Justice.

WHAT KIND OF RECESSION?

The economists and business leaders generally agree that our country is in some sort of a recession or deflation and that something must be done to get it back on an even keel. Some refer to the present situation as a rolling readjustment, an orthodox recession, a brief adjustment period, a mildly downward business trend, and a business contraction on the order of 1949—a mild slump. Regardless of the name, the hard-money policy that reached high gear soon after President Eisenhower came into office is really creating some difficult and troublesome problems to handle. The money masters have taken an about face on their high-interest, hard-money program, but did they do it soon enough? It looks like they waited too long, unless some quick remedies become very effective.

GOVERNMENT BONDS

One of the first things that was attempted was causing high-interest rates by letting United States Government bonds go down in price because of a lack of support of the Open Market Committee. These bonds went down to 89. A reversal of the high-money policy has caused the bonds to go back in price until now they are higher than they were when President Eisenhower took office. But confidence has been so shaken by the Federal Reserve System and the Open Market Committee—governmental agencies—preventing the purchasers of these bonds from taking a loss after they were promised protection against such a loss when they bought them during the war that it will take some time for this confidence to be restored.

[One thousand and seventy-eighth weekly letter, December 24, 1953]

FARM DEPRESSION

On the domestic front, the farm depression must be stopped as quickly as possible, otherwise our whole country will likely be seriously affected soon. The farm recession is so deep at this time that workers are being laid off by industries making farm supplies. Everything must be done that can be done to retain good prices for farmers and fair wages for workers in order to keep adequate purchasing power to sustain a Nation of 160 million people. In addition, we must increase our gross national product each year by at least 3 percent or 4 percent to take care of new workers and those displaced by labor-saving machinery each year. Production and purchasing power alone are not the answer although they are both necessary for a prosperous economy. The things that are vital in our economy to sustain a reasonable prosperity are production, and its use or consumption, and the availability of purchasing power and its use.

There is much talk about the manufacturer's sales tax. There are so many good arguments against any kind of a sales tax it can now safely be predicted that such a tax will not pass the next session of Congress.

WOOL AND CATTLE PROGRAM

The farm-parity program will receive much attention but in the end, an extension of the present law for 1 year is very probable. It is unlikely that a two-price system will be invoked. Secretary Benson is recommending that wool producers receive a subsidy from the Government to the amount of the difference between what the woolgrower receives in the open market for his product and parity price. The same kind of a program would completely cure the problems of the cattleman. It is a good way to allow the actual producer to get the benefit of any Government aid. The man who grows the cattle should be allowed to sell them in the open market and then collect the difference in the public interest, on what he receives in the open market and what a fair price at the time is in consideration of parity formulas.

[One thousand and seventy-sixth weekly letter, December 10, 1953]

MODE OF LIVING

Much is being said about inefficiency among small businesses and among small farmers. Many people would like to apply a stopwatch or a slide rule to the operations of little people to make sure that they can justify their existence. In some parts of the United States, and in the South in particular, most of the people who have been engaged in farming have not expected to get rich, lay aside substantial savings or even be permitted to earn a very good standard of living, but they were farming because they were not qualified to do other things and engaged in it not as an occupation but as a mode of living.

Some of our most distinguished men and women of the United States came from small farms where they suffered the ordinary inconveniences and hardships and existed only by reason of the fact that their parents gave them a minimum standard of living by operating a farm, not as a profitable business but as a mode of living.

Secretary Benson has said that we must eliminate the inefficient farmer. He has not as yet announced, to my knowledge, the answer to the question of what will happen to these 10 million people who are now engaged in this mode of living—farming—that is considered inefficient and should be eliminated. What will they do? Where will they go? They represent a large segment of our consuming population who are also necessary in keeping our economic wheels turning so the Nation generally can enjoy prosperity. What will they use for purchasing power? What will happen to them?

The Ma and Pa stores over the country, operated by a man and wife and open at odd hours when the big stores are not open, furnish a good living to millions of people in our country. They are rated inefficient operators, but they, too, operate a mode-of-living business and are in the class that has reared and educated some of our finest and best citizens.

When we are asked to consider the elimination of all businesses that are not considered efficient, let us also consider what the alternative will be.

[One thousand seventy-third weekly letter, November 19, 1953]

TIGHT-MONEY POLICY

Soon after President Eisenhower was inaugurated, the tight-hard-money policy was put into effect. Long-term Government bonds were forced down to 89 cents. Many of the larger banks in New York are accused of buying up huge quantities of these bonds at the lower price in a way that the money for their purchase was manufactured on their books for that purpose. The tight-money policy has been changed regardless of what is said; actions speak louder than words. Government bonds have been going back up in price until now the bonds that were 89 are up to 95 and 96. The hard-tight-money policy has violated the confidence of the people who bought long-term bonds in the justified belief that they would not be allowed to go down below par. This great shock will require time to heal. The harm has been done.

[One thousand and seventy-second weekly letter, November 12, 1953]

DEPRESSION SIGNS

We have almost full employment and many optimistic signs of continued prosperity. However, we should continue to point out danger signs in order that they may be corrected, if possible, before reaching disturbing proportions.

We must keep in mind that production and purchasing power are absolutely necessary. At the same time, production is not sufficient without consumption, so it is necessary to do what is necessary to cause consumption of the production.

Likewise, purchasing power is essential, but it is not sufficient to get the job done unless it is actually used. Our program of continued prosperity must certainly feature consumption of goods and use of our purchasing power.

Rules of Procedure for Congressional Investigations—Fort Monmouth Investigations

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the third and concluding article in the series on security problems at the Signal Corps installation at Fort Monmouth, N. J., published by the New York Times on Wednesday, January 13, 1954, is appended hereto:

MONMOUTH AIDES REPLY TO CHARGES

(By Peter Kihss)

A Signal Corps technician has been suspended at Fort Monmouth, N. J., on Army charges of being a security risk because, among other things, he belonged to the Young Pioneers of America in 1933 and 1934. He was then 12 and 13 years old, and he says his mother put him in the left-wing organization.

An electronics engineer has been suspended because, among other things, he favored the leftist policies of Max Lerner. Mr. Lerner, a New York Post columnist, declares his writings show his abhorrence and contempt for communism, and have made him a frequent target of the Communist press.

A physicist has been suspended because, among other things, he attempted to transmit a reprint to a Czechoslovak professor who requested it. He shows he had told his superior, who suggested adding a prodemocratic propaganda letter, but the reprint was never mailed.

These, a New York Times study shows, are among the 19 Monmouth employees now suspended without pay as security risks. The charges were filed by the Secretary of the Army's Security Screening Board under President Eisenhower's executive order of last April 27.

Such charges—none involving espionage or disloyalty, and all vigorously rebutted by the employees—are generally a far cry from the headlines of possible Monmouth spying raised by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. In fact, the Wisconsin Republican's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has thus far called only one present Monmouth employee in public hearings.

So far as can be determined, only two of the employees now suspended have been charged with even past membership in the Communist Party. They and all others deny any Communist sympathy.

CHARGES FACING ENGINEER

Thus, an engineer of 12 years' service—call him case A—faces the following charge, virtually identical to one on which he answered an Army interrogatory on January 23, 1948:

"A self-admitted former member of the Communist Party has named you as a member of the Communist Party while you were employed by the Department of Welfare, New York City. Another informant described you as a 'definite Red' during that same period of time."

Other Army charges against him are:

He admitted that from 1932 to 1934 he took a course at the then workers school in New York, labeled Communist; that he and his wife spent 3 weeks at the reputedly Communist-run Camp Unity, Wingdale, N. Y.; and that he attended several Communist Party meetings in New York.

His wife was reported to have Communist sympathies in the early 1930's, and as late as 1950 to have made pro-Russian and pro-Communist statements, including one to the effect that many things the Communists advocate she desires for herself—views and statements she denies.

He reportedly associated with a man who admitted Communist Party activity from 1940 to 1949, and himself reportedly attended meetings of the Walt Whitman Club, known as a Communist meeting place. He says he had never heard of the man or club.

He was reported active in the United Federal (later Public) Workers of America in the Monmouth County area where most officers and many members were reported Communist sympathizers. He says he never belonged to this or any other union after about 1938.

EMPLOYEE GIVES REPLY

In his sworn answer, Case A, now 47 years old, says he became a welfare department investigator in December 1934 after depression job difficulties. He joined a union whose most active members he says talked most about communism. To study the movement, he says he took the workers school course advertised as open to any active unionist.

He and his wife, the answer goes on, went to Camp Unity for 2 summers between 1935 and 1938 after seeing it advertised as a very exclusive vacation camp. The second year, he relates, he decided the camp was primarily Communist.

He says he voiced arguments against communism, to the extent that I was called before a group of camp leaders, informed that no Trotskyist bastards were wanted, and would we please leave. We left.

During the same era, he says more than 20 union members at his office were invited to attend an open Communist Party meeting. They received application cards, he says, but he never filled one out.

His story goes on to relate that, as abuses were alleviated, he gradually dropped out of union activity until about 1938 or 1939, when he ceased his membership. The 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact, he says, "finally convinced me that the Communists were not in fact the native American Party that I had thought they were, and I began opposing their statements."

Case A observes his $8,760 Monmouth job made him responsible for coordinating basic research in physics. He reports he directed development in 1943 and 1944 of the first truly quiet hand generators that could not be heard at 100 yards, whereas the old type could be overheard by the enemy 3 miles away and cost many lives in jungle warfare.

AT MONMOUTH SINCE 1946

Case B, employed at Monmouth since 1946, is accused of 1933 and 1934 membership in the Young Pioneers, termed a Communist youth organization, in Paterson, N. J.

Observing he was then aged 12 and 13, his sworn reply says his mother "saw to it that I became a member," but "I was too young to appreciate its meaning" and "any indoctrination which was attempted was completely beyond me."

There are other charges that he lived until 1941 with his mother, reported an active Communist since 1933, and thereafter maintained "a continuing association with knowledge of your mother's Communist activities," which are then listed.

He says he knew she was a party member in 1933. He adds she took him to meetings at party headquarters in Paterson in 1933 and 1934 as a place to wait until she went home. He says she also sent him to Young Communist League meetings, which left no effect and which he broke off in 1937.

He says he was in his mother's custody under a divorce decree until 1941, but has not seen her in the last 4 or 5 years. He says he disagrees with her thinking and actions, but has "no control over them" and she has "absolutely no control or influence over me."

To a charge of continuing association with his stepfather in knowledge of his Communist activity since 1933, Case B replies he does not acknowledge the man as his stepfather, always despised the man and never associated with him. He says he also severed relations 5 years ago with his mother's brother and the brother's wife, reported Communist members, in complete disagreement on their philosophies and actions.

The technician denies vehemently a charge that his wife allegedly made pro-Russian statements, defended the Communists residing in the United States, and indicated that she believed Judith Coplon, a suspected Communist, has been "framed" in connection with her trial for Soviet espionage. His wife's loyalty, he says, has never been questioned.

As to a charge of associating with a reported active Communist who conducted a Young Pioneers school, Case B says this could only have been in the 1933 school, and he never knew whether the man was a party member.

The other charge is admitted membership in the American Student Union, called a Communist front, in 1936. He says he understood this to be a recognized high-school club, with a faculty adviser. Meetings he attended never discussed politics, he says.

SERVED IN THE ARMY

Case B notes he served in the Army. Citing activity in his synagogue, he says no person with basic religious beliefs could possibly be a Communist.

Case C, a Monmouth physicist since 1941 except for 3 years wartime military service, says he reads Mr. Lerner as he reads other columnists "not out of sympathy but in fact to understand and reserve the right in each instance as with Mr. Lerner to criticize and disagree."

The Lerner count, the sworn reply says, appears to have grown out of attending lectures by the Men's Club of Red Bank, N. J., several years ago, in which the columnist spoke on the founding of the Jewish State of Israel and world political issues. Before the speech, Mr. Lerner was cleared as acceptable by public-school authorities, the physicist says, and he denies that Mr. Lerner expressed any leftist policies.

The physicist also is charged with listing as a reference a reputed member of the Young Communist League, who was removed as a Monmouth employee on security grounds in 1951.

His answer is that he did give the man—then cleared for Monmouth work—as a loyalty reference in 1948 after he was told to list somebody who could attest financial reliability.

The man, the physicist says, wrote checks for his veterans' life insurance, which he repaid—the only times he had then ever borrowed money. They never discussed politics, he adds.

ALSO LINKED TO BROTHER

The remaining charge against Case C is close and continuing association with his brother, Case D. The brother, a Monmouth chemical engineer, has also been suspended with charges which include associating with the physicist.

Case D himself is charged with telling a fellow-employee in 1949 that he fell for the Communist party propaganda while in World War II military service. The engineer terms this a distortion of a discussion with a fellow-employee who had condemned Russians as a people, rather than Communists.

The engineer says he thereupon recalled an Army orientation film—apparently one of a Why We Fight series—which showed the good points and the strength of the Russian people. He affirms his opposition to the Communist minority forcibly ruling Russia, and even more to American Communists, since they are traitors, taking orders from a foreign government.

The other Army charges against Case D are:

Asserting he attended a rally in Yankee Stadium, New York City, in 1948, at which Paul Robeson spoke. His answer is he attended a Progressive Party rally out of curiosity to hear Henry A. Wallace as Presidential candidate, without knowing Mr. Robeson, a singer and actor, would appear.

Signing a 1940 nominating petition for the Workers Party, now designated as an organization coming under the President's order on security risks. The engineer recalls no such signature, and says the board of elections here reports it has no records more than 2 years old.

Listing as a reference a man whose name appears on mailing lists of two Communist fronts and who was reported a treasurer of an alleged front. The engineer says he never knew the man's politics, and wouldn't have listed the man if he had known the man belonged to subversive organizations.

A GOOD RISK, HE SAYS

Case B, a Monmouth physicist since 1942, says the Czechoslovak story shows "I am a good, rather than a poor, security risk." A Czechoslovak professor, he relates, wrote asking for a reprint of an article in the Physical Review.

While customary scientific courtesy would have been to comply, the physicist says he discussed the request with his superior, who concurred with me in the belief that security was not involved as the article was available behind the Iron Curtain, and that a reprint and some prodemocratic propaganda in the covering letter should be sent.

The physicist's affidavit says that he wrote such a letter, and the action was approved by his superior, the laboratory's technical director and the research director for all the laboratories. But Army Intelligence disapproved the move, and the reprint was never sent.

Case E, an Evans Laboratory section chief, with 7 patents and 7 pending, all turned over to the Government, also is charged with introducing the speaker at a May 15, 1947, Shore Conference on Atomic Energy. The speaker is termed the founder of the American Peace Crusade and the husband of a reported Communist Party member.

"You held," the Army charge adds, "the official position of representative of the Association of Monmouth Scientists to the national organization of the Federation of American Scientists, one of the organizations which sponsored the Shore Conference.

"The American Peace Crusade has been reported by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, as an integral part of the Communist peace offensive. The Association of Monmouth Scientists and the Federation of American Scientists are reported to have been infiltrated by Communists or Communist sympathizers."

NO SUSPICION OF SPEAKER

The physicist replies that he met the speaker just before the meeting, and had no suspicion he could ever be a Communist sympathizer since the man had worked at Los Alamos, N. Mex., on the final construction of the atomic bomb. He notes the American peace crusade was organized 4 years after the meeting, and reports he opposed it because "I considered our intervention in Korea a necessity, and gave blood to the Red Cross for our boys over there."

The Monmouth scientists' group, he goes on, was composed exclusively of cleared personnel, and shared the FAS program on national and international atomic controls, which became United States policy and which the Soviet Union opposed. Communist control of these groups, he says, is a myth.

The physicist asserts the source of the alleged infiltration report about the Monmouth association, dissolved in 1948, is a former officer who he says has declared "there are only 2,000 true Christians in this country, he being one of them," and who had tried to convert him.

The other charges against case E are:

Associating with three persons—a reported Communist sympathizer whom he says he met perhaps six times as a Jewish theological seminary classmate's fiance in the 1930's; a man he had never heard of, and his rabbi in New York. The latter, a national rabbinical leader, files a statement recounting his public opposition to communism.

Working at a camp run by a woman reported to have been associated with a Communist-created organization. The woman denies any Communist sympathy, and says the organization arranged a Western European field trip with Columbia University's Teachers College for a course she took in 1936.

Making a speech at another camp in which you advocated certain aspects of communism and spoke favorably of Stalin and the Russian system of government. The physicist says he worked at the camp in 1940 and 1941, and never could have made such a speech in a time following the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Attending a Russian war relief benefit at which Communist sympathizers were present. He says he did attend with misgivings in 1943 or 1944 because Russia was an ally. He notes Russian officers were then cleared for secret information at the Evans Signal Laboratory where he worked, and sponsors of Russian war relief included Dwight D. Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover, and John Foster Dulles.

The physicist has filed statements reporting his managing of a 1937 anti-Communist victory in the Menorah-Avukah conference, Jewish cultural organization at City College here; other anti-Communist stands and a background of religious activity.

ANOTHER ENGINEER INVOLVED

The opening charge against case F, a Monmouth engineer since 1940, is that his brother-in-law was reported to be a Communist Party member in 1947, treasurer of the New York County Communist Party in 1949 and an employee of the New York Communist Party through July 1950, living since 1941 at the home of case F's mother with whom you have continued to be closely associated.

The engineer, who returned to Monmouth last September after 2 years as a highly commended exchange engineer with the British Government, replies that he has had few dealings with his brother-in-law, except that several years ago when I had an argument with him and tried to dissuade him from pro-Communist sympathies expressed by him.

"At the direction of my attorneys," the reply goes on, "I called upon my brother-in-law in New York City, showed him the charges served upon me herein and particularly called his attention to charge No. 1. He refused to discuss the matter with me.

"I reminded him of the things I told him several years ago, that he should have nothing to do with these people because of the vicious things they stood for, and that my family and I were completely innocent in the situation and even though we detested communism and everything it stands for, we were being ruined because I happened to be related to him by marriage.

"I told him he ought to repudiate it, but he said it was none of my business and that he would not discuss the matter with me further."

* * * * *

With all the suspended employees facing generally similar charges, 11 are represented by Harry Green of Little Silver, N. J., and Ira J. Katchen of Long Branch, N. J. Mr. Green is a libel lawyer who has represented Republican governors and attorneys general of New Jersey. Mr. Katchen has been active in Americans for Democratic Action.

Attorneys for other employes include Charles Frankel, first assistant prosecutor of Monmouth County, a Republican; Sidney J. Meistrich, city attorney of Asbury Park, a Democrat, and Montague Casper, of 20 Pine Street. Mr. Casper since 1947 has successfully fought a number of security and loyalty cases for Government employees.

The attorneys and others queried generally express concern over the type of charges and the procedures used by the Army under the Eisenhower program. They do so even while recognizing the threat of a Communist fifth column in defense installations. (Mr. Green and Mr. Katchen have promised to denounce publicly any client they find to be a Communist.)

Commenting on the Eisenhower security program in general last June 15, Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, warned that its success would depend on its administration by Government officials—particularly their attitude toward preserving civil liberties while safeguarding national security.

The civil liberties group's statement had urged that the only organizations used in security-risk charges should be those listed as subversive by the United States Attorney General after hearings.

ORGANIZATION NOT CITED

Many organizations referred to in the Monmouth charges have never been cited by the Attorney General.

Three of the suspended employees are charged, among other things, with having belonged to allegedly Communist-infiltrated chapters of the American Veterans Committee. One is further accused of having failed to take a positive stand on the issue of admitting Communists. The employees repudiate any Communist sympathies.

Meanwhile, the AVC—which President Eisenhower himself joined last October—points out its national record has been vigorously anti-Communist. Noting a 1946 resolution of its national planning committee opposed membership by Communists, the AVC says that by the end of 1948 it had succeeded in expelling all known Communists and Communist-controlled chapters.

The AVC contends that membership in and of itself, is not per se an indication of the loyalty or disloyalty of any employee, and adds:

"The only valid rule should be a determination by the governmental agency involved of the member's role during the period in question. In those cases, whenever it was requested by a governmental agency, AVC has always ascertained the facts and supplied the necessary information."

Lawyers like Mr. Green and Mr. Katchen point out that a final decision by the Secretary of the Army may take 6 months to a year, under past experience. The employees may get a hearing—if they wish—from the First Army's Security Hearing Board, an advisory body.

During their ordeal, however, the suspended employees go without pay. The Government bears no expenses in the employees' side of the cases, giving them—if they win reinstatement—only back pay to the extent that outside earnings may have failed to reach their regular Government salaries.

CHARGES DENOUNCED

In a letter to Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens last November 30, Mr. Green denounced the charges as guilt by association and family or blood ties, thought control, and character assassination.

Neither the hearing board nor the employees have power of subpena, and Mr. Green noted that the board could not furnish names, addreses, or even descriptions of accusers.

Even if the accusers attend the hearings, Mr. Green now observes they may be classified as confidential witnesses. In this event, the defending employees are unable to cross-examine them, and may not even know their testimony.

On December 16, John G. Adams, Army Department counselor, wrote Mr. Green that the charges were prepared on information from sources considered reliable.

On December 18, Mr. Green replied that one hearing had been held December 14. In the light of the testimony, he urged that the Secretary of the Army investigate the accusers themselves.

"From information which I have on hand," Mr. Green wrote, "there appears to have been, and still are, antiracial bigots of which local G–2 [Military Intelligence] either knew or should have known and that many of the charges stem from racial prejudices."

The present security provides for only one hearing board, made up of Government employees, with no appeal from the decision of a department head.

FEW HOSTILE INCIDENTS

In its June statement, the ACLU had protested that elimination of the former loyalty review board, composed of nongovernmental employees, reduced the number of appeals and jeopardizes an employee's right to independent and impartial review.

"Under the new order," the group then said, "Government employees who must sit in judgment on other Government employees may be prejudiced against them, because to pass favorably on these cases, especially sensitive borderline cases, could result in themselves being called security risks."

The suspended and declassified Monmouth employees appear thus far to have found their communities either withholding judgment or frequently sympathetic. Only three have had a rare hostile incident, such as a nasty sign attached to home or car, or a jarring remark by one child to another.

Local newspaper comment has turned against the investigators. The Asbury Park Press, in a November 28 editorial, labeled most Army charges then known to it as ridiculously thin accusations, and said Senator McCARTHY's tactics can easily become a threat to American principles of liberty and justice.

The Long Branch Daily Record, in a December 16 editorial, denounced the specter of McCARTHY daily sitting in sole judgment on free American citizens, like a demigod.

The Record criticized what it called the Senator's reckless charges; his masterful dissemination of half truths, insinuations, and innuendos; his assumption of the roles of prosecutor, judge, and jury; and now his threatened intimidation of the Army's loyalty review board; his callous disregard of the reputations of American citizens who have never been convicted of anything, much less accused; his snide ad lib comments; his abrogation of time-honored civil liberties.

For the McCarthy subcommittee, Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel, insists the Monmouth investigation is still only in the middle, with more public hearings due soon. Although only one present Monmouth employee has been called into public hearings thus far, the subcommittee reports many others have been questioned among the 194 witnesses heard in executive sessions since it started an inquiry into the Signal Corps and related defense activities last August 31.

Moley Favors the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. Raymond Moley which appears in the current issue of Newsweek. Mr. Moley has consistently supported the Bricker proposal, and in this particular article he submits a statement by a former State Department official, J. Anthony Panuch, which lends considerable force to the argument that the Bricker amendment should be adopted without any question.

The article follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT—II

(By Raymond Moley)

That it is possible, even inevitable that any President and Secretary of State become the helpless victims of the State Department bureaucracy is the firm contention of J. Anthony Panuch. Experience gives this man an authority that arrests attention.

Panuch served the Federal Government from 1938 to 1950. In 1943 he became the special and confidential assistant to General Clay in the War Department and the Office of War Mobilization. In 1945 he was appointed by Secretary Byrnes as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. When Byrnes resigned, Panuch was drafted by General Clay to serve with him in Germany. In the State Department, his job, by direct order of the Secretary, was to coordinate the huge war agencies that were dumped after the war into that Department. The size of that job is shown by the fact that this transfer by Executive order enlarged the State Department threefold.

Despite Panuch's vigorous effort to screen this immense personnel, the Department when he left was, according to him, "a huge bloated organization with a confused mission swamped with inexperienced, untrained, unscreened personnel." Things grew worse after Panuch left.

Meanwhile, a new pattern of conducting foreign affairs evolved, which was described by Panuch last week in the following language: "Since World War II the traditional easily controlled country-to-country treaty-making power has been shifted to a system of uncontrollable executive agreements, negotiated on a mass-production basis, in secret. The actual negotiation of these agreements is the product of a tortuous, labyrinthine, bureaucratic assembly line which formulates, determines, interprets, and administers our foreign policy on a day-to-day basis through (a) the huge postwar State Department bureaucracy in Washington; (b) its farflung system of foreign embassies and special missions abroad; (c) its missions, representatives, and liaison officers to the United Nations organization, its numerous councils, standing committees, and affiliated international agencies here and abroad.

The thousands of more or less anonymous men on this assembly line never see the President and Secretary of State and seldom see an Assistant Secretary but they do make the mass of daily decisions that constiute our foreign relations. The President and his Secretary of State can announce policies and historical changes in policy. But the State Department elite can make, break, or sabotage them. * * * These elite are not Foreign Service officers of the pre-World War II variety, trained in the national-interest approach to foreign affairs. Only a handful of them remain in key possitions. The overwhelming majority in key positions are members of the New Deal-Fair Deal who assembled and mobilized by the thousands during the war in temporary war agencies.

The actions and decisions made on that assembly line are so numerous and complicated that no President, occupied with a thousand duties, or Secretary of State, away from his desk a great deal of foreign conferences or making speeches, can possibly know them. Moreover, this process of legislating by thousands of agreements almost completely by-passes Congress.

The problem here is not the occasional Communist who gets into a strategic point on this assembly line. The real danger is in (a) people who are committed to what they call liberalism, but what is really international socialization, and (b) just officeholders, barren of ideology but greedy for power.

The Bricker amendment or a reasonable compromise would at least partially restore the traditional constitutional role of Congress in the conduct of foreign affairs and also make certain that agreements and treaties do not breach the Constitution.

Panuch's illuminating testimony on this subject before the Jenner committee is in part 13 of the hearings and can be secured from a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In another article I shall specifically describe the sort of international agreements now on the assembly line.

Political Patronage and Veterans' Preference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, since taking office, the administration, and particularly the Justice Department, has made a continuous assault on the Veterans' Preference Act. During the 1st session of the 83d Congress, the Department of State, the Commerce Department, and the Justice Department attempted to place a rider on the department appropriation bills which would give the Secretaries and the Attorney General absolute discretion and authority to "terminate the employment of any officer or employee when it is determined that such termination is necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States." Proponents of the proposal argued that this sweeping authority was necessary to get rid of security risks. This argument was advanced despite the fact that the administration had just published its new security program, which gave an agency head authority to remove persons who were considered to be unsatisfactory security risks. The obvious effect of the provision, had it been included in the appropriation bill, would have been the creation of a political patronage device for the heads of these three departments. The proposal was rejected in the House; however, its proponents were not content with their defeat in the House and attempted to secure its inclusion in the Senate, where it was again defeated.

At the time the proposal was under discussion in the House and Senate, warnings were issued that favorable action on the proposal would, in fact, eliminate protection for veteran employees of those departments under veterans' preference laws. The true motives of the Department heads, and particularly the Attorney General, are now clear. Not content with his failure to obtain blanket authority from the Congress to fire veterans without regard to the Veterans' Preference Act, the Attorney General summarily fired a young lawyer by the name of John P. Witsil without regard to his veteran status and his rights under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944. Witsil was a GS–9 attorney in the Department of Justice, receiving an annual salary of about $5,060 per year. It is apparent, therefore, that Witsil did not occupy a policymaking job in the Department.

Witsil filed an appeal with the Civil Service Commission under the provisions of section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act. After investigation and consideration of the evidence, the chief law officer of the Civil Service Commission recommended that Witsil be retroactively restored to active duty in his position and grade in the Justice Department. The Attorney General declined to accept the recommendation of the chief law officer and filed an appeal from the finding and recommendation of the chief law officer with the Civil Service Commission.

The Civil Service Commission considered the case and advised the Attorney General that his action in discharging Witsil was illegal and invalid and directed that Witsil be restored to his position and grade. The Civil Service Commission was acting under the provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, as amended, the pertinent part of which is as follows:

> After investigation and consideration of the evidence submitted, the Civil Service Commission shall submit its findings and recommendations to the proper administrative officer and shall send copies of same to the appellant or to his designated representative, and it shall be mandatory for such administrative officer to take such corrective action as the Commission finally recommends.

Despite the fact that the Veterans' Preference Act clearly gives the Civil Service Commission authority to make the final administrative determination in such a case and further provides that it shall be mandatory for the administrative officer to take such corrective action as the Commission finally recommends, the Attorney General refused to comply with his statutory duty and return the veteran to his former position, as recommended by the Civil Service Commission.

As a result, Witsil filed a complaint for relief, in the nature of a mandamus, in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, in an effort to compel the Attorney General to comply with the law. The Attorney General apparently was reluctant to allow his actions to stand the test of a court action, and reinstated Witsil. Shortly thereafter, the Attorney General, acting under section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act, which he had previously denied was applicable in Witsil's case, preferred charges of incompetency against Witsil, as follows:

First. He used Government telephones for personal business.

Second. He talked to Federal employees about non-Government business during office hours.

Third. He had an inability to organize data.

To date the Civil Service Commission has not held a hearing on Witsil's case to determine the validity of the Attorney General's charges.

The Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 gives the veteran no special privilege other than protection from being fired without cause. Specifically, it protects the veteran from just such an attempt as is being made by the Attorney General to turn the Justice Department and the Federal service into a political-patronage device. Mr. Speaker, we have here the sad spectacle of the Attorney General of the United States, the officer who is charged with upholding and defending the laws of the United States, willfully ignoring existing law and legally constituted authority for the express purpose to turning his Department into a political-patronage haven.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times recently carried an editorial on the Bricker amendment which expresses my views and sentiments on that issue. I feel that adoption of this amendment will not only constitute a dangerous step backward in our relations with the rest of the world, but it may well disrupt such relations for many years to come and will cause our country untold harm.

I commend to the attention of all my colleagues the editorial in the New York Times of January 7, 1954, which reads as follows:

BRICKER'S FOLLY

The dogged campaign led by Senator BRICKER and the dominant elements of the American Bar Association to hobble the President's treatymaking powers will soon be fought out on the floor of the Senate. It seems incredible that this proposal, at once so revolutionary and so retrogressive, should have received enough support to make it the major issue it has now become. Stripped of its legal complexities, it represents an effort to transfer from the President to the Congress a vital part of the conduct of foreign affairs and thus to disrupt the historic balance between executive and legislature that has served our country so well for the better part of two centuries.

Every citizen who takes his Government seriously ought to familiarize himself with the Bricker amendment, a brief document of half a dozen sentences in which the really dangerous provisions are condensed in less than 60 words. They would prevent any treaty from becoming effective as internal law unless both Houses of Congress passed appropriate legislation—this, of course, after the Senate had already ratified the treaty in question. They would also in many important cases prevent the Federal Government from making any effective treaty at all unless each of the 48 States approved its provisions. They would furthermore give Congress the "power to regulate all executive and all other agreements with any foreign power or interenational organization."

These 3 proposals wrapped up in 1 short constitutional amendment would make our treatymaking procedure unbearably cumbersome, would deprive our Nation of its sovereign power to make certain kinds of treaties, and would destroy the essential function of the President to conduct foreign relations decisively and expeditiously. The

additional provision of the Bricker amendment stating that any part of a treaty that conflicts with the Constitution shall be void is already part of our constitutional law and practice and is therefore unnecessary.

President Eisenhower stated last July that he was "unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs." Secretary Dulles said in August that adoption of the amendment would have a calamitous effect upon the international position and prospects of the United States. A committee of distinguished citizens, headed by such eminent authorities on constitutional law as Edward S. Corwin and John W. Davis, has been specially organized to fight this insensate proposal. Twenty-six deans and professors of law from universities all over the country have publicly denounced it.

The Bricker amendment is thoroughly bad, and there is no reason to compromise with it. It is true that the Senate should require at least a rollcall vote when a treaty is up for ratification; but this reform could be effected by a simple change in Senate rules. What the Bricker amendment does is to return to the Articles of Confederation and to express the Senate's profound mistrust in itself as well as in the Chief Executive. It is a counsel of fear and retreat when courage and boldness are needed.

Taft-Hartley Act Should Be Amended To Give States More Control in Labor-Management Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in a recent decision by the Supreme Court, Justice Jackson commented on the exercise of Federal power in labor-management relations in which he held that the Federal law was supreme in that field and could not be curtailed or circumvented by State procedure. He did, however, in that same opinion suggest to Congress that it might do something about it. His words were, and I quote:

Of course, Congress, in enacting such legislation as we have here, can save alternative or supplemental State remedies by express terms, or some clear implication, if it sees fit.

It would seem, Mr. Speaker, that here is a challenge to the Congres in a very important phase of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a timely editorial from the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette on this very subject:

STATES NEED LABOR CONTROL AUTHORITY

Changes in the Taft-Hartley Act are reported under consideration by the administration to loosen the straitjacket that the law, plus Supreme Court interpretations, has placed upon the States. This particular phase of labor regulation is said to have been raised in a conference between the President and congressional leaders by the recent judicial ruling that only the National Labor Relations Board could seek to enjoin unfair labor practices.

It is understood the conferees discussed giving the States broader freedom to legislate on strikes, boycotts, and picketing. In one important particular there is pressing need for relief of the States. That is enabling them to deal with their own labor emergencies.

A dozen or more States thought they had legislated fairly and effectively to protect their citizens. Then, in February 1951, the Supreme Court invalidated Wisconsin's public utility antistrike law on grounds which impaired similar State laws.

Up to that time there had been only one limitation, other than a constitutional prohibition, on the power of States to deal with "injurious practices in their internal commercial and business affairs." That limitation was simply that State law must not be in conflict with Federal law. But in the Wisconsin case the Court, in an opinion by the late Chief Justice Vinson, added another and extraordinary limitation.

The opinion held that because Congress had eliminated compulsory arbitration from the Taft-Hartley Act as a means of dealing with national emergencies, the State law, by the inclusion of such a provision, contravened the Federal law. In short, a State could not adopt a remedial device that Congress had rejected.

That Congress can easily correct this situation was indicated by the opinion of Justice Jackson in a recent unfair practice case. Stating that when Federal power is constitutionally exerted it becomes the supreme law and cannot be curtailed or circumvented by State procedure, the opinion added this significant qualification: "Of course, Congress, in enacting such legislation as we have here, can save alternative or supplemental State remedies by express terms, or some clear implication, if it sees fit."

That probably didn't escape notice of the White House conferees.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 60 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a,

EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Safeguarding Both Freedom and Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the question of communism in the United States and the control of Communist Party and Communist-front activities daily consumes much public attention.

I think that this has been evidenced by the fact that the Akron, Ohio, Civic Forum devoted a 2-day conference in early December 1953, to the overall question, who and what is a Communist? Many distinguished persons participated in that conference.

I believe that one of the most important contributions made to the discussion was one by a former colleague of ours, Harry P. Cain, the former Senator from the State of Washington, who now serves in an impressive manner on the Subversive Activities Control Board. In his address, Safeguarding Both Freedom and Security, Harry Cain gives a review of the legislative history of Communist control legislation, the function of the Subversive Activities Control Board, and a preview of the Government's policies in the enforcement of the Communist control laws.

I believe that this is an historic document. It shows that there can be control legislation, with an enforcement agency, and yet every safeguard will be given to the protection of our basic constitutional rights and to our freedom.

This able analysis refutes those criers of gloom who, when Congress was considering the Mundt-Nixon bill, said that freedom would be lost if the Government took action against the Communist Party and front organizations.

Senator Cain points out that the basic legislation for the Internal Security Act, the Mundt-Nixon bill has been instrumental in exposing Communist infiltration in Government and in our efforts to curb and curtail the expansion of the Soviet-dominated political movements represented by the Communist Party and the Communist-front organizations.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the cost of printing this article will be $320. Because of the value of this contribution, I ask unanimous consent to have this outstanding report inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAFEGUARDING BOTH FREEDOM AND SECURITY

(By former Senator Harry Cain)

The study of communism by this forum until now has dwelt largely upon its development as a political force in the Soviet Union. It is fitting that in this closing session we consider communism in our own land.

The growth of Soviet communism into a vast power-complex has been analyzed by experts. Mr. Watson of the British Embassy in Washington agrees with Mr. Nincic of the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations that Soviet diplomacy is unscrupulous. Professor Schuman, of Williams College, and Professor Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago, both assert that Soviet power is soulless mechanistic imperialism. There has been no dissent from these judgments.

This forum, in its closing hours, remains divided however as to whether the American arm of Soviet communism, the Communist Party, U. S. A., is a rusted limb or a claw still well oiled and dangerous. Are we, in girding against its grip, riveting the armor on too tightly? Does the warm blood of freedom still course freely in the Nation's arteries, or is the flow being blocked? These questions have engaged the forum's interest as deeply as has the mechanics of Soviet Marxism.

In questions from the floor, the term "McCarthyism" has cropped up frequently.

Our British friend, Mr. Watson, when asked to comment on the investigating methods of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. MCCARTHY, declined a direct answer. He said he could remark only that the British Government, in dealing with security risks in its employ, often just quietly transfers such people to other work without detaching them from the government service.

I am sure that in his mention of British security measures, Mr. Watson intended no invidious reflections on our methods, but since he did mention British methods, perhaps I may mention ours. Americans were shocked by the disclosure that the British scientist, Klaus Fuchs, sent over here under his government's auspices to work in American atomic-energy plants, had passed vital atomic data to the Soviet Union, and question the light punishment he incurred.

If we are more strict about espionage than some of our allies, there is a reason, for we are still the fount and center of the world's atomic production and research on which the free world's survival depends.

Some of us are also concerned about the state of security against general subversion, and with good reason, too. Professor Morgenthau has remarked that McCarthyism is the present minority party's legacy from its own laxity while it was in power, and in so saying, he evoked echoes of a charge directed recently by the present Attorney General of the United States at the former President. Whether Mr. Truman was blind to Communist infiltration in his administration, as Mr. Brownell asserted, is not for me to say, for this is a political question. I am not now in politics and do not appear here in a political role.

But when Professor Schuman, commenting also on McCarthyism, declared that this phenomenon is driving us to hysteria, he gave a measure of how deeply this security issue divides us. Those of us who have for years felt misgivings about Communists in Government and who now see our fears confirmed, do not take kindly to the charge that we are hysterical.

But some of you here obviously share Professor Schuman's view that zeal is carrying congressional investigations too far and the concern on that score is not confined to this hall.

Underlying the conflict of opinion boiling up in this Forum over freedom and security, however, I discern a ground of unity, a wish and purpose that both freedom and security be maintained. It is, I venture to assert, the national will also that we as a people maintain a balanced posture in the contest with the Soviet power-complex, parrying such thrusts as it directs at our internal security without permitting those thrusts to upset our traditional rights and freedoms.

Forums such as this, by mirroring the national attitude, help us discover whether we are maintaing a balanced posture.

As to the concern about over-zealousness in Congress, it seems to me three points should be made. The first point is that so long as our struggle with the Soviet power-complex continues and while the Communists in our midst persist in cherishing the Soviet Union as their homeland, just that long communism will remain a target of congressional inquiry. Providing for the common defense, let us remember, is a duty imposed on Congress by the Constitution.

The second point discriminates between the investigating power of congressional committees and the lawmaking power of Congress as a whole. Congressional investigations sometimes seem to run rampant, but how seriously they can impair our freedoms is debatable. When confronted by contemptuous or untruthful witnesses, congressional committees may propose punishment, but the power to punish is vested in the executive and judicial branches.

It is self-evident, however, that if a security law enacted by Congress infringes the Bill of Rights, our freedoms are impaired.

The best test of the health of freedom lies then in the content of our security laws, in the manner of their enforcement, and in the judgments upon them of the courts.

For me, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, to have sat in silence through this heated discussion of security and freedom has called for self-restraint. An arm of the executive branch, the presidentially appointed Board administers a security law designed expressly for control of elements of the Soviet-directed conspiracy in this country; that is, Communist-action organizations and Communist fronts, and all of its decisions are reviewable by the courts.

I know of no better test of whether freedom and security are in balance than in the operation of the Subversive Activities Control Act.

Under a proceeding lately concluded, the Board found the Communist Party to be a Communist-action organization and ordered it controlled. If we can credit the party's national chairman, William Z. Foster, the controls may compel the party to disband.

Twelve organizations alleged by the Attorney General to be Communist fronts are now on hearing before the Board and they claim, as the Communist Party has claimed, that they too are being unconstitutionally harassed.

While the complaints of these interests would suggest that the law strikes at the roots of subversive danger, the Communists have not been alone in attacking the law. When in September 1950 Congress sent the control bill to Mr. Truman for his signature he interposed a veto in which he denounced the criteria by which Communist fronts are

defined as dangerous to us all. These, he declared, were so broad that, under them, the brand "Communist front" could be applied even to non-Communist labor unions and to the entire liberal left. If Mr. Truman viewed it rightly, here was a law by which the balance between our security and our freedoms would, indeed, be upset, transferring Government from an arbiter of industrial disputes into a tyrant smashing at collective bargaining rights, by branding even anti-Communist unions as "fronts" for communism.

But notwithstanding Mr. Truman's trepidation, Congress overrode his veto, and with the law enacted, Mr. Truman appointed the required five-member Board. His Attorney General then started an action before the Board for registration and control of the Communist Party as a Communist-action organization; that is, one under the Soviet Union's control.

Now, 3 years after the veto of the law, the specter of the union brandings has not materialized. For though the 12 organizations alleged by the Attorney General to be Communist fronts describe themselves as standing for a variety of interests, none is a labor union.

The Board has exercised no jurisdiction over labor organizations, nor does it see anything in the act that would warrant its claiming the right. In my considered judgment, as a responsible member of the Board, the act, as it stands, permits control of confirmed Communists and members of unadulterated Communist fronts only. The sole issue before the Board in the case of the 12 organizations now on hearing before it is: Are these organizations under the Communist Party's domination and control?

I suggest that the act not only maintains security but it also maintains freedom, and in the affirmative sense, that it scrupulously maintains the constitutional rights of Communists themselves. This will hold true, I suggest, even if the weight of the controls sinks the Communist Party, as the party claims it will.

I suggest this without affirming it, for to do that would be to anticipate the judgment of the courts. The party, in asking the courts to set aside the Board decision in its case as unconstitutional, has gained a respite, for enforcement of the control order stands in abeyance until the Supreme Court disposes of the party's appeal. Only when the highest tribunal has given judgment will we know for certain whether the controls are enforceable and whether they maintain freedom and security in balance, as I think they do.

But, meantime, we are not foreclosed from forming an opinion on this vital question, for abundant evidence is at hand.

Besides Mr. Truman's broad argument that the controls endanger general freedom, we have the Communist Party's specific complaint that its constitutional freedoms are abridged. And on this claim we already have judicial opinions, for the party's appeal is but the latest of four lawsuits brought to invalidate the control law. And beyond the court decisions in these earlier lawsuits, we have the record of three previous legislative attempts to control communism, efforts which, because they failed, were taken into account by Congress in striving to build a balance between freedom and security into the existing control act.

That internal security has for some years demanded some kind of control of communism seems to me beyond dispute. By its own Marxist-Leninist definitions communism is, after all, a revolutionary conspiracy, owing its primary allegiance to the Soviet Union and striving incessantly to establish a Soviet-type dictatorship here. But the Communist Party operates as a political party as well, and is thus entitled to practice the freedoms which the Constitution guarantees. The degree of control should then depend upon the capacity of communism to inflict damage, a factor governed by the power and the intentions of its Soviet homeland, and I think it can be demonstrated that in each of the control measures previously considered, Congress took account of this factor, along with the maintenance intact of the freedoms communism invokes.

The McCormack Act of 1938 and the Voorhis Act of 1940 marked the first efforts at the party's control. However, since the party's home base, the Soviet Union, did not then command the power nor show the malice it now displays, the party was not then the menace it afterwards became. These laws merely aimed at exposing the Communist Party's domination by the Soviet Union and in noway affected its political rights. The McCormack Act required registration at the Department of Justice by all private firms and organizations representing foreign principals, and the Voorhis Act extended the registration requirement.

Had the Department of Justice been able to secure compliance by the party or any of its units with either act, domination of its activities by the Soviet Union would have been confirmed. When called upon to register as an agent of the Soviet Union, however, the Daily Worker, which had faithfully published all Soviet official documents supplied to it, rid itself of the teletype machines through which the material reached it and rearranged its corporate setup. It defied all efforts to make it register.

Hundreds of reputable firms and individuals representing foreign commercial interests did register and continue to do so under either the McCormack or Voorhis Acts. But no unit of the Communist apparatus has yet done so.

The explanation for the anomoly whereby these two laws, directed mainly at one type of activity, succeeded only in reaching another type, lies in two seemingly contradictory provisions in the Constitution, which the party has always invoked. On the one hand, the Constitution says Congress shall pass no bills of attainder; that is, no laws written in such a manner that their application is expressly directed to and thus attaints particular groups of people. On the other hand, the fifth amendment requires that where a law is directed to the regulation of a certain type of conduct, it shall be administered under due process, which, among other safeguards, requires that the conduct be narrowly and specifically defined.

In defining the kind of foreign representation which was to be subject to registration, the McCormack and Voorhis Acts were precise enough to reach many legitimate interests, but proved too narrow and rigid to cover the evasive tactics in which the Communists took resort.

World War II was over and the brittle Soviet-American military alliance had been shattered into the ugly shards of the cold war before Congress undertook another effort at control. In 1948 the House passed the Mundt-Nixon bill, which, applying to "Communist political organizations," was more explicit than the McCormack or the Voorhis Acts, and a great deal more drastic.

Those of you who remember the 1948 Republican presidential primaries will recall the debate between two of the contestants, Governor Dewey and Governor Stassen, as to whether the Mundt-Nixon bill would have controlled the Communist Party or declared it outlawed. Actually the outcome would have turned on the party's ability to disprove that it was tied up with the Soviet Union, as the Mundt-Nixon bill intimated it might be.

A Communist political organization was defined in the bill as one engaged in political operations under foreign Communist dictation, and such operations were outlawed. But organizations believed by the Attorney General to be thus dominated and cited by him for public hearing could, if they proved to him that they were autonomous, continue to function under control.

Such were the provisions of the measure which, while avoiding attainment of the party, presumably would have accorded it due process of law. Passed by the House and referred to the Senate and there referred to the Judiciary Committee, the bill underwent a searching scrutiny.

When the Senate committee called hearings, party leaders conjured up a fantastic theory as to the purpose of the bill. According to party chairman William Z. Foster, it was contrived by Republican and Democratic leaders in concert with Wall Street lawyers to eliminate Communist competition in the 1948 presidential campaign. Foster contended that any hearing involving the party at which the Attorney General became the judge as well as the prosecutor could have but one outcome, so far as the party was concerned—a finding of Soviet domination. He predicted that the party would be forced to dissolve.

Foster's prophecy was not fulfilled, of course, for, conscious of its obligation to maintain freedom and security in balance, the Judiciary Committee solicited expert opinions on the bill's constitutionality. For these it turned to John W. Davis and Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., lawyers eminent in the very Wall Street circles to which Foster ascribed the plot. But far from upholding the measure, Messrs. Davis and Hughes held that proposed procedure of making the Attorney General judge as well as prosecutor would deny another requirement of due process; that is, a fair and impartial hearing. The bill was shelved.

Why the Congress waited 2 years before again considering control legislation, I am not certain, but the Mundt-Nixon bill carried an implicit warning to the party, and congressional leaders may have hoped that this would serve to moderate its disloyal attitude. That no warning would suffice became glaringly apparent, however, when in June 1950, with the outbreak of the war in Korea, the party treasonably ranged itself on the side of the Red aggressors. As our heavily outnumbered forces were squeezed down into the Pusan beachhead the party applied its considerable propaganda resources to spreading defeatism and despair as to our cause and to extolling the cause of the Reds.

Alert to the danger from this bold inside thrust at the common defenses, the Senate Judiciary Committee responded quickly but coolly, and, taking the Mundt-Nixon bill as basis, within not too many weeks produced a measure affording a firm answer to the threat.

Omitting the alternative of outlawry, the new bill provided for control only, but control broad enough to include all branches of the world Communist apparatus in this country, without, however, attainting any organization or denying due process. The bill made no mention of the party and hence did not attaint it. But, to assure full compliance with due process, it stated the reasons for the legislation in detail, defined the controllable conduct explicitly, and provided a means of fair and impartial hearing for any organizations that might be cited for control.

Set down as a reason for the legislation was a finding that there exist in this country elements of the world Communist conspiracy which sought, by tactics that had overthrown democratic governments elsewhere, to encompass the downfall of our Government and erect a Soviet dictatorship in its place. The conduct to be controlled was defined as of two kinds, that under direct control of the world Communist conspiracy being termed "Communist action,"

with those organizations subsidiary to the main conspiracy termed "Communist fronts."

The counsels of Messrs. Hughes and Davis as to the hearings were given recognition. In view of their doubts as to the constitutionality of empowering the Attorney General to make findings, this responsibility was entrusted instead to an independent quasi-judicial board, appointed by the President, subject to Senate confirmation. To assure complete fairness and impartiality, the Attorney General and respondents were to stand equal before the Board, with respondents entitled to counsel, to cross-examination of the Attorney General's witnesses, to rebuttal of his evidence, and to help of the Board's powers of subpoena when necessary to bring in its own witnesses. The party, at the hearing of its case, exploited these rights of due process to the full, as we shall see.

The party nevertheless maintained that it was denied due process under another of the aspects of the bill. It asserted that the legislative finding that the world Communist movement operates in this country, in effect, constituted a "built-in verdict of guilt." Since similar misgivings about the act were voiced in the former President's veto message, when he raised an alarm lest non-Communist organizations be entrapped as alleged fronts, the definitions of Communist action and Communist fronts are worth studying in detail. They are all important tests of whether the Congress fudged on due process in writing the control law. If, at the Communist Party hearing, the Board felt itself bound by the legislative finding, then indeed due process would have been denied. If, as Mr. Truman said, an organization could be cited as a front merely for advocating some policy corresponding to the Communist Party's higher wages, for example, then, indeed, the act was an unconstitutional device endangering the freedoms of us all.

But the issue before the Board at the hearing on the Communist Party was determined and the scope of the evidence limited by the act's definition of Communist action. So also, in the cases of the alleged fronts now before the Board, the question whether they are controlled will turn on whether they are fronts as defined in the act.

These definitions are spelled out by 2 sets of criteria, 8 applying to Communist action and 4 applying to fronts. Since these criteria are the heart of the control system, let us see what they provide.

The eight criteria for a Communist-action organization are:

1. The extent to which a cited organization's policies are formulated and its activities carried out pursuant to directives of the foreign government or organization which controls world communism;

2. The extent to which the organization receives financial or other aid from that foreign Communist government organization;

3. The extent to which the organization sends its members to any foreign country for instruction or training in the principles and policies, strategy and tactics, of the world Communist movement;

4. The extent to which it reports to the foreign government or organization controlling world communism;

5. The extent to which the organization's leaders and members are subject to the disciplinary powers of such foreign government or organization;

6. The extent of measures used to conceal the foreign Communist domination, if any;

7. The extent to which leaders or members of the organization subordinate their allegiance to the United States to their obligations to a foreign Communist Governmnt or the world Communist movement; and

8. The extent to which its views and policies do not deviate from those of the foreign government or organization which controls world communism.

In its conduct of the hearing, the Board took no judicial notice of the congressional finding that a branch of world communism operates in this country. Rather, it limited itself to determining whether, under the eight criteria I have enumerated, such a world organization does exist and whether the Communist Party is its American arm. The guilty verdict, reached only after a hearing of all the evidence, was based on that evidence alone.

Now let us examine the four criteria for a Communist front, which are:

1. The extent to which those active in the management of the alleged Communist front are active in the management of a Communist-action organization, or represent a Communist government or the world Communist movement; and

2. The extent to which the alleged front gets support, financial or otherwise, from a Communist-action organization, from a Communist government, or from the world Communist movement; and

3. The extent to which the funds, resources, or personnel of the alleged front are used to promote the objectives of a Communist-action organization, a Communist government, or the world Communist movement; and

The extent to which positions taken or advanced by the alleged front do not deviate from those of a Communist-action organization, a Communist government, or the world Communist movement.

To make his point that non-Communist organizations could be branded as fronts, Mr. Truman, in his veto message, singled out the last of these four front criteria, ignoring the other three. It was in thus assuming that nondeviation by an organization and the Communist Party on a single issue governed that he concluded that non-Communist organizations could be branded fronts.

In enumerating the four criteria for fronts, however, I linked each to the next one following with the conjunction, "and," as you observed. In so doing, I followed the language of the act. Had the act used the conjunction "or," or had the criteria not been connected, one criterion could be taken as enough to define a front. With the criteria linked by "and," the rules of law and grammar permit no other course than the application of all four, collectively.

Mr. Truman's argument that non-Communist organizations can be ensnared as Communist fronts was then no more valid than the Communist Party's claim it stood convicted of Soviet domination before the hearing began. In finding the party to be a Soviet puppet, the Board was governed by the evidence and that only. In judging whether the 12 organizations now before it are fronts, the test will be whether they are under the party's control.

The charges of frameup, leveled at the act by Mr. Truman and the Communists, respectively, were not the only ones raised against the controls. Protected throughout its history by the constitutional guaranties of free speech, free press, and freedom of assembly, the party, while the Senate Judiciary Committee labored to fashion controls which would respect those freedoms, sneered that any system devised would impair those freedoms and impose thought control.

Seldom has a legislative measure been more thoroughly smeared before enactment, but seldom, I should add, did any gain stronger bipartisan support, than did the control bill when, in mid-September 1950, a little short of 3 months after the outbreak of the Red aggression in Korea, the bill was brought to a vote. In the Senate, 32 Republicans joined 38 Democrats in voting for control, leaving only 7 Democrats opposed. The House majority for controls was even more overwhelming.

Just as action, not thought, is the test of whether an organization is controllable, so it is to actions, not thoughts, that the controls apply, as we shall see. What then are these controls which, as I suggest, can be imposed only under due process, which respect freedom, and which nevertheless safeguard security?

The question can best be answered if we first ascertain the pattern of behavior the controls were fashioned to fit. When, having learned the nature of the Communist conduct which Congress considered dangerous to security, we measure the controls against the conduct, we can better judge their effectiveness. Congressional inquiries into communism over the decades and the mass of reports thus accumulated underlay the control act, and these present a pattern of Communist behavior. Useful as it is, what Woodrow Wilson termed the "informing function" of Congress might not be regarded by everyone in this forum as completely objective, however, and it is my aim to keep this discussion objective, for that is my obligation as a Board member.

I know of no more unbiased and objective report on Communist behavior than the record compiled in the 15-month Board hearing in the party's case. Governed by the principles of due process, the hearing afforded the party every opportunity to refute the Attorney General's evidence and present its own case.

True, the party called but three witnesses as against the 22 called by the Attorney General. However, its attorneys, Vito Marcantonio, a former Congressman, and John J. Abt, a former Federal official, shrewd and resourceful lawyers both, cross-examined the Attorney General's witnesses exhaustively; nor did the party lack for means to summon more witnesses than it did call. Of the 3 who appeared, 2 were heard in virtue of the Board's accommodation. One, John Gates, a former editor of the Daily Worker, after conviction under the Smith Act, was serving a sentence in the Federal prison at Atlanta when called, and the second, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, since convicted on the same charge, was then on trial before a Federal court in New York City.

To procure Gates' appearance in Washington, the Board served a subpena upon the Director of Federal Prisons, who, of course, honored it; and to hear Miss Flynn, a hearing panel journeyed to New York City. Such was the character of the Board's effort to insure fairness to the party in its presentation of its case.

What pattern of conduct was shown at this impartial hearing which amassed a transcript covering nearly 15,000 pages of oral testimony and hundreds of volumes of documentary evidence, most of it published by the party itself? The Board found the evidence overwhelming that the party's policies and operations were dictated by the Soviet Union. Here are just a few of the proofs.

At its founding, 1919, the party adopted as its own the monolithic structure of the Soviet Communist Party, including the system called democratic centralism, which vests all power in the leadership, and it accepted the program of world revolution proclaimed by the Communist International, the holding company through which the Soviet bosses controlled all Communist parties; it became a section of the Comintern.

When, in the early years, factionalism caused divisions, the quarreling party leaders took their disputes to Moscow, submitting them to Josef Stalin for judgment, accepted his decisions and meted out the punishments he decreed.

In line with Comintern policy and directives, the party infiltered labor unions, foreign language groups, and racial minorities,

striving to make them fronts for the planned revolution; among the Negro minority the program was carried to the extreme of sending American Negroes to Moscow and there training them in the revolutionary techniques by which, so they were told, they could foment civil war for the establishment in the South of a "black republic."

Soviet funds financed many of these moves, notably an infiltration of the United Mine Workers, which, happily, that union's leadership beat back, and one of several of the party's campaigns in which it offered a presidential ticket.

The pattern was unfolded, not by outside observers, but by evidence from the party's inner core, for nearly all the 22 witnesses who traced the pattern for the Attorney General were ex-Communists, some once high in its hierarchy.

They included a number who, under assumed names, shuttled back and forth between New York and Moscow, reporting progress to and taking orders from the Soviet or Comintern leaders.

Some of those orders, when executed, slashed deep rents in the Nation's security. The testimony showed, for example, that a directive hatched in the Comintern headquarters in Moscow during an interval of labor unrest in San Francisco, in 1934, was followed by the general strike which paralyzed that great city, and that another such Comintern directive was followed by the San Francisco waterfront strike of 1936.

This calculated subversion of our national interest was not confined to peacetime, for the early years of World War II and the cold-war period found the operations stepped up. The interval of the Soviet-American alliance, it is true, marked a hiatus, but this served merely to emphasize that it was only when the American interest happened to parallel that of the Soviet Union that the party would give our interest its support. A Communist-inspired strike in a plant supplying war materials to Britain—this is in the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact when Soviet policy supported Nazi Germany—showed that for the party the Soviet interest came first even when fascistically allied. Ballyhoo in the press of the party and Communist-front publications for the cynical Stockholm peace petition, launched in the cold-war interval when communism moved against our forces in Korea, testified that for the party the Soviet interest still stood first even when it sought to compromise our national honor.

Had the pattern of Communist conduct developed at the hearing been exposed at the time the control bill was sent to Mr. Truman, he might, I think, have signed it instead of arguing, as he did in the veto message, that the bill would "not hurt the Communists * * * (but * * * help them." No one who had thoroughly studied the subversion problem and understood it could have made such a statement. The controls Mr. Truman inveighed against apply squarely to the conduct which the hearing exposed.

Thus, against the free-wheeling journeys of subversives to world Communist conclaves there is erected a control barrier which forbids any application for or use of a passport by a member of the party or of a front group, under penalty of a maximum $10,000 fine or 5 years in prison, or both.

Against the infiltration of Government or of defense plants there is another barrier, which forbids Communists to seek or hold employment in either Government or defense plants—in the case of front members the ban applies to Government employment only—with the same penalties in force.

Against the foisting on the public of such Soviet propaganda as the Stockholm peace petition through supposedly disinterested publications, there is a requirement that all publications of the Communist party and its fronts be labeled as Communist or front sponsored. All broadcasts so sponsored must be identified likewise.

Discouraging the receipt of subsidies from world Communist sources or the interchange of such subsidies between the party and its fronts is a requirement for submission yearly by all such organizations to the Attorney General of financial statements, setting out all receipts and expenditures in such detail as he prescribes.

Of paramount importance in the control system is the registration feature, actually a compulsory annual census. Under it, all officers and members of the Communist Party, together with officers of fronts—though not members—must register annually with the Attorney General by name and address—the register to be made available to the public.

In arguing that the controls wouldn't harm the party, Mr. Truman, in the veto message, contended that the Federal Government already denies Communists employment in Government offices and in defense plants, and withholds passports from them. The statement is not quite correct. Applicants for such employment or for passports are required to swear that they have never belonged to organizations advocating forcible overthrow of the Government, it is true, but the Communists deny they advocate force and violence. Experience has shown that in these circumstances, enforcement, which depends on convictions for perjury, can be extremely difficult. In effect, juries are required to determine what was in a defendant's mind when he took the oath.

The control system cuts through these legal complexities. The defendant cannot make an issue of his concept of communism. The jury is not required to read his mind. The sole issue is his membership in the party, and on that point evidence procured through the FBI's undercover surveillance should be adequate. This matchlessly efficient agency recently estimated the party's strength down to the last of its 24,796 members, indicating that its count of Communists is complete.

But Mr. Truman carried his argument much further, for at one point in the veto message, he asserted that none of the controls could ever be enforced. Assuming, he said, that the party was found to be Soviet-dominated, that the courts upheld the finding, and that a board registration order thereupon became enforceable, he predicted that the party would then change its name. That done, he said, the Government would be left powerless unless it chose to proceed against the new organization, repeating what he described as the long, dreary proceedings, over and over.

If Mr. Truman was right, the party, each time a registration order became final, would need only repeat the chameleon-like change to evade it, continuing the process until the Government dropped the proceedings in despair. Under his theory of the act, the balance between security and freedom would now be in danger of destruction, with the party in a position to frustrate all efforts to control it, while non-Communist organizations writhed under the threat of being branded fronts.

Through statements of its highest officers and in those injunction suits I mentioned at the outset by which its members and friends tried to enjoin enforcement of the control system, the party has taken a different view. Its national chairman, Foster, in appearing before the Judiciary Committee, said that the party will never register, but he did not mention evasion or defiance. The comrade doubtless had in mind a penalty section of the act which Mr. Truman must have overlooked.

As we have seen, any breach of the employment and foreign travel barriers is punishable by a $10,000 fine and 5 years in prison, but these punishments enforce not these two controls alone but all controls of the act. Moreover, each day's noncompliance with any Board order is declared a separate offense, so that 1 week's noncompliance would see the fine mounting to $70,000 and the imprisonment to 35 years.

To what extent these penalties inhibited Foster from revealing how the party intended to avoid registration we can only surmise, for the record merely shows him stating the party would not register.

We are not without clues to the party's intentions, however. Injunction suits brought against the Board, in the one case by 103 individuals, including Communists and non-Communists, and in another by the party itself, were quite revealing, not alone as to the party's intentions but on the deeper, underlying question whether the controls upset or maintain that balance between security and freedom which most of us desire.

The 103 who brought their suit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia upon the Attorney General's announcement that he intended enforcing the act, included labor unionists and professional people among others, and they contended that the registrations, if ordered, would cause them irreparable harm. Some, said they, had already lost their jobs, clientele, and business opportunities in consequence of the Attorney General's announcement.

How much they were actually injured we shall never know, for, with their suit pending, the Attorney General proceeded before the Board against the party itself, which then, before a three-judge statutory court, filed its own suit, superseding the other.

Were you to read the party's case for a restraining injunction made by Messrs. Abt and Marcantonio, as I have, you might well conclude that freedom was lost. They and the party's national secretary, Gus Hall, said the act was spreading a miasma of fear.

They described its purpose as the suppression of all political dissent; by legislative fiat, communism, they said, had been declared political heresy. They said the party would be denied freedom to speak, publish, and assemble, Hall contending that on the mere enactment of the controls the party found itself hampered in recruiting members and raising funds.

"Many Americans have declined to become members or contribute gifts in fear that they will become subject to criminal taint," said Hall, and he added that press and radio outlets for its programs were closing up while landlords were denying it rental of their meeting halls.

The Attorney General did not undertake to answer all these claims, apparently doubting the need. The text of the act was available to the court, consisting of District Judges F. Dickinson Letts and David A. Pine, of the district court, and their senior, Judge David L. Bazelon, of the United States circuit court, before which, incidentally, the party's appeal from the Board's finding is now pending.

As we have seen, the act declares none of the conduct to be controlled criminal, punishment being imposed only for disobedience to orders of the Board. That the controls would expose the party's operations the Attorney General's counsel did not deny, nor did he dispute that the party might already be suffering from ill repute. He absolved the act as the cause of that suffering and thus made a point which is worth repeating here, for it goes to the heart of that question of security and freedom we are considering, and though made more than 3 years ago is valid today.

"The country is engaged in a struggle of global proportions against worldwide Communist aggression," said the Attorney Gen-

eral's counsel. "This country's Armed Forces are engaged against that aggression in Korea. The party attaches no significance to these facts, (but) further documentation is not necessary to make the obvious point that any ill repute in which the party is held is not the result of the act."

To that weighty argument for controls, the party made no reply, for the court, having considered the preliminary arguments, summarily denied the party an injunction, so the case did not go to trial.

The party did, however, give some indication of the course it may follow should the Supreme Court find the act constitutional, the controls become enforceable, and the party nevertheless not register, as Foster declared it would not.

"No organization can register under the act and survive," said a sentence in the brief filed in the injunction case by Messrs. Abt and Marcantonio, and from this key statement certain deductions may be drawn.

The statement implies no intention on the part of the party leaders to undergo the possible life terms in prison that could result from refusal to register, nor does it suggest the evasion envisaged by Mr. Truman. Prosecution would result here too. Taken in conjunction with Foster's declaration that the party will never register, it seems to me that the reasonable inference from the statement is that, should the controls be affirmed valid, the party will simply disband.

How will the balance stand between security and freedom should the party dissolve and go out of business rather than live under the exposure which the controls provide? As for security, there can be no doubt that, considering the party's record, its dissolution would remove a major security threat.

But what of the arguments that the act riddles the Constitution by denying due process and imposing thought control? Would the party, by dissolving, in effect establish its claim that freedom is being destroyed?

The statutory court passed no judgment on any of the constitutional points raised by the party in its injunction suit. The court refused a trial of the issues on the well-established principle that the Board itself afforded an avenue of remedy which the party should first exhaust.

The decision, itself, said no more than that, but Judge Bazelon, in a separate concurring opinion, defined the act and the congressional purpose behind it in a statement as clear and succinct as any I have yet seen written about the act. Let me read you a few passages from that opinion before I close.

"The case before us crystallizes a conflict of interest as critical as any which has ever confronted this Nation. Plaintiffs would have us view it as an instance of liberty being stifled by arbitrary authority; of the democratic process being undermined. It is said that (plaintiff) has already been and will be deprived of members and contributions, of the good opinion of the public, freedom of speech and assembly; that these alleged violations of constitutional rights will deprive the Nation of those unpopular ideas of today which have so often in our history become the majority doctrine of tomorrow.

"If there were no more to be said in the matter, plaintiff's case would seem overwhelming."

But, said Judge Bazelon, "much more is involved," and he went on:

"Defendants (the Board and Attorney General) contend that the act * * * represents an attempt to balance the interest of liberty with the interest of the Nation in combatting what was believed to be a clear and present danger to its security. Since it was felt that the label 'political party' should not be used as a cloak to shield foreign-controlled groups, the problem was how best to remove the cloak and yet leave unchecked any bona fide participation in the political process. This Congress sought to meet."

I am sure you all now recognize the control act as the touchstone on this matter of whether freedom and security are in balance. To any who doubt that the act maintains that balance I commend the opinion of Judge Bazelon.

Report of Commission on Foreign Economic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I issued yesterday dealing with the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PRESCOTT BUSH, OF CONNECTICUT

The report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, with its recommendations for positive action to remove obstructions in the channels of world trade, is a stride forward toward a major objective staked out by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message. He described that goal as "the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments within the free world—a system in which our allies can earn their own way and our own economy can continue to flourish."

Achievement of that goal is essential if we are to win the cold war and lay the foundations of a lasting peace. It will require determined action by our allies as well as ourselves, as the Commission has emphasized. If the other free nations sincerely desire to cooperate, and give satisfactory evidence of their intention to do so, I hope that the Congress and the executive departments will act promptly to carry out the Commission's proposals.

Public interest has centered largely on the Commission's work in the area of tariff and trade policy. While this is understandable, it should not obscure the Commission's recommendations in other fields which are of greater importance.

In the broad picture, action taken in other fields than the tariff may be more effective in achieving the objective of stimulating trade in the free world. Of all the impediments to trade which now exist, the American tariff is among the least restrictive.

The report includes proposals for—

1. Continued participation by the United States, under the President's leadership, in trade agreements with other nations.

2. A gradual lowering of American tariffs, especially those in the highest ranges, on a carefully considered step-by-step basis.

3. Amendment of the Buy American Act to place foreign and domestic producers on a mutually competitive basis in bidding for Government contracts.

4. Simplification of administrative procedures in the collection of customs and improvement of tariff classifications.

5. Stimulation of American private investments in friendly nations by increasing incentives both at home and abroad.

6. Establishing the sound principle that, as a general rule, the United States will grant economic aid to other nations only when our own security is involved. (For example, Korea, Formosa.)

7. Continued United States participation in technical-assistance programs in undeveloped nations, with emphasis on our contribution of technical knowledge instead of large sums of money.

8. Removal of conditions which bring our domestic-agricultural programs, including rigid price supports, into conflict with foreign economic policy.

9. Insuring an adequate supply of the raw materials needed by our expanding economy.

10. Encouraging progress toward the convertibility of currencies.

In connection with the Commission's recommendations on the tariff, close attention should be given to the fact that they are subject to essential safeguards. The Commission has properly stressed the fact that the United States no longer is among the higher tariff countries in the world. The average level of our duties has been cut by 50 percent, or more, in the past 20 years. The Commission has recognized that a careful approach must be made toward further reductions.

Accordingly, the recommendations take into account the necessity of avoiding sudden and severe shocks to communities with industries which are vulnerable to foreign competition.

In my judgment, the Commission did not go far enough in its recommendation for meeting the problem raised by low wages in foreign countries. We should always keep in mind the necessity of maintaining the living standards of American working men and women.

For this reason, Representative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio, and I joined in the following supplementary statement:

"We believe that in negotiating trade agreements, our negotiators should consider not only substandard and depressed wage levels, as described in the Commission's report and in Mr. McDonald's dissent, but also wage differentials, in order to protect American labor."

Mr. VORYS and I also felt that the Commission should have regarded the maintenance of a strong industrial mobilization base as essential as the availability of raw materials.

We therefore added the following statement to the appropriate section of the Commission's report:

"We believe the Commission should make definite recommendations on the security considerations involved in defense production facilities, as well as in the supply of raw materials.

"Our productive power is our mightiest weapon in war. Defense plants and workers cannot be stockpiled.

"Industries vital to our national defense should be maintained at reserve strength levels. Tariff protection may be necessary. Other steps, such as placement of defense orders, may also be needed. There may be cases where such measures would be more effective for the industry concerned, and better for the economy, than import restrictions."

However, the report recommended the continuation of certain safety valve provisions now contained in the Trade Agreements Act. These safeguards, if wisely administered; will insure that increased imports desirable to help our economy and make our allies self-sustaining can be channeled so as to result in the most benefit and the least harm.

The Commission's report will not satisfy those theorists who advocate unlimited free trade nor those who would have us return to extreme protectionism. I am confident, however, that it will have the support of the great majority of the people who favor a moderate approach. If adopted, the Commission's recommendations can make possible the benefits of an increased flow of imports, with a consequent reduction and eventual elimination of the need for foreign aid programs, and at the same time stimulate a strong and healthy domestic economy.

Federal Power Policy in the Rural Electric Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech which I delivered before the 12th annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association at Miami, Fla., on January 11, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, it is an honor to be able to talk to you today about the rural electrification program in the United States. You have come long distances. You will study and discuss and make policy for the coming year for the 4 million rural consumers who get their power from REA borrowers, and particularly for the 3.5 million rural consumers who are the actual membership of your own association. You have assembled here in the finest of American traditions. You will get the facts. You will make your own decisions and prepare to push this great program forward regardless of the obstacles in your path. Some of those obstacles grow out of the difficulty of electrifying and serving remote rural areas, and others grow out of the greed of visionless interests who have always opposed your program.

I can assure you that I am not come lately to my interest in your program. I have worked with you and for you in this program as long, I believe, as any person here.

In 1933, when I was mayor of Charleston, President Roosevelt appointed me to the Public Works Administration Board. As a member of that board, I worked diligently for the promotion of the development of the Buzzard Roost project. Not only did I work for the development of REA projects in South Carolina, but I worked very closely with the then Secretary of the Interior Mr. Ickes for the development of this program throughout the United States.

Following that, as chairman of the South Carolina Public Service Authority, I was active in the development of the plans for the Santee-Cooper project which was constructed under my administration.

In 1939, when I became Governor of South Carolina, the REA was under the direction of several college presidents. Without casting reflection on the conscientious efforts of these fine gentlemen, it was obvious that the REA was not in the hands of men with the time or the background to cope with the problems of the farmers for whom this service was intended. It was my pleasure to recommend to the State legislature the first real REA cooperative law to be passed in South Carolina. As a matter of fact, it was one of the first of its kind in the Nation.

When I came to the Senate in 1941, I took active part in the passage of a flood-control bill which created Clark Hill. In its inception we tied in REA lines with the generating facilities to feed the lines.

It has been through such developments as these that electric rates have been reduced all over the United States to the rural people who are able to live more comfortably as a result of cheaper power.

None of the enemies of the program and few of its friends would have thought—18 years ago—that by 1953 we would have electrified 9 farms out of every 10 in this Nation; that we would have built a great new industry worth over $2 billion; that we would have been able to create over a thousand farmer owned and controlled electric enterprises, locally owned, locally controlled. And all of this without expense to any existing enterprise, without sacrifice on the part of anybody except those nameless thousands of rural people who gave of their time and effort to bring power to the farms. This is a great achievement. It is an achievement of which any people and all people should be proud. I am proud of the part I have had in it. I know you are, or you would not be here today.

I am, in a sense, regretful that I have come today to talk to you about problems because I feel, as I know you do, that a program which has achieved as much as this one should have no major policy problems. You should be concerned with the normal tasks of fighting the brush in the rights-of-way, repairing storm damage, and expanding your capacity for even greater achievements, as farmers use of power grows. But you do have problems other than these operating problems. You face the biggest challenge to the continued existence of your program in its short history. It is of this challenge that I must speak.

I do not need to tell you that you cannot distribute power if you do not have it to distribute. I do not need to tell you how large a factor power costs are in your systems. Nor do I need to tell you that it is by all odds the biggest flexible cost item in your systems.

I would remind you that over the years, since the inception of this program, the Congress of the United States has deliberately and purposefully made efforts to provide you with a supply of low-cost power. It has done this in a number of ways. The REA act provides that loans may be made to build generation and transmission systems. The act has been interpreted to mean that you could generate your own power any time you could do so and make a saving. The Congress has provided the money to make that right to generate real, to make the right also an opportunity. As a result, in areas removed from Federal power marketing systems, you have been able to bargain realistically for lower rates, and your rates have come down steadily. You must never permit this right and opportunity to be impaired. If you do, you become the helpless appendages of your power supplier. I pledge you my utmost as long as I shall be a Member of the Congress in seeing that you have this right.

There are dependable rumors that the administration's request for REA loan funds for the coming year will be so low that acceptance of that low figure will effectively kill the generation and transmission program. This must not happen.

The most serious threat to the rural electrification program in its history has emerged this year. This is the threat to your bargaining power, the power supply of many of your members, and the future power supply of the entire Nation.

An industrial economy is an energy economy. We produce by feeding energy through machines. Electricity is the most usable and flexible form of energy, and it is the form of energy with which we are concerned here today. If we are to make good the American promise of economic progress and rising levels of living for our own people, and if the systems serving the rural people are to survive, we must plan for ever-increasing quantities of electric power. This power will come from several sources. The best authorities believe that our future supply will come from the development of water-power sites, steam plants, diesel plants, and very shortly from atomic fission.

For two decades the Democrats pushed forward a tremendous program of water-power development. We built the great dams and transmission lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority, turning an economically poor region into a progressive and rich region; we built Santee-Cooper, Clark Hill, Buggs Island, and many others; we harnessed the great rivers of the Northwest and poured out the energy which—added to the TVA supply—saved the lives of untold thousands of boys during the war and laid the basis for one of the most rapidly growing economic areas in the United States; we supplied the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers with the funds they used and are using to harness the rivers in the mountains and plains States of the West. Despite wartime shortages and the difficulties thrown in our way by men of little faith, we pushed forward one of the greatest wealth-creating programs in the history of this old planet.

But we did more than this. Borrowing from our enlightened predecessors, particularly the great conservationists who grouped themselves around Theodore Roosevelt, we provided that these great natural resources should be made available to the people through the preference clause which gives the people through their nonprofit power systems the right to buy the power generated. We not only provided for preference in the laws; we administered those laws honestly and saw that the preference right became real. We formed a great partnership between the people's local electric systems and the people's Federal power generating and transmission facilities.

We didn't talk a lot about that partnership because we just accepted it as the right way to do things, but it looks like we are going to have to talk about it now because some people in this administration are talking about a partnership between local interests and the Federal Government. But when they speak of local interests, they are not using our dictionary. Heaven protect the American farmer from the partnership they have in mind.

It is my sincere conviction that the partnership between the Federal Government and the local rural systems is being destroyed and a new partnership of dubious extraction is being substituted for it. If you do not recognize this, if you permit your people to be bamboozled with cleverly phrased legal documents, and by all the other tricks available, your systems are in for serious trouble. At best your rates will go up, and you will lose your marginal systems; at worst only a handful of the most fortunately located and financed systems will survive. I know I can see what is coming. I only hope I can convince you that what I see is real because, if I can convince you, the worst will not happen. In a democracy we can prevent most evil if we can only foresee it in time to prevent its triumph.

Let me give you an incomplete list of the fronts on which your power supply is being attacked:

The first assault was upon appropriations for generation and transmission facilities for Federal power.

The Interior appropriations bill provided funds for only 8 months for the continuing of the Southwestern Power Administration, and the language used by the House Interior Committee has been construed as ordering the Secretary of the Interior to abrogate the contracts between the rural electrics in the southwest and the SPA. This, in my opinion, is a repudiation of contracts between the Government and its people. The result of this repudiation is to jeopardize the financial solvency of many of your systems in the southwest. It also promises to deliver to the power companies the Federal power which they could not otherwise legally obtain.

In the same bill funds for the Southeastern Power Administration to deliver power to the southeastern rural electrics from Government dams were slashed, and SEPA became practically a paper agency. All through the years here in the southeast, we have fought to develop our waterpower wealth against practically every propaganda trick that could be dreamed up. Then, once the dams were authorised, the battle began over who would get the power—the nonprofit preference customers or the very companies which had fought development. They have fought our transmission lines; they have enjoined us in the courts and forced the sale of one line in South Carolina; they have refused to wheel power. In other words, they have insisted that this power should not be developed as a public resource, and when it has been developed, they have insisted that it be sold to them in order that they might levy a toll on the consumer and maintain their hold on generation facilities.

The House of Representatives has voted to give away Niagara Falls to five private power companies with no preference clause. This bill, if passed by the Senate, would give away one of your greatest hydro sites.

St. Lawrence power has gone to the State of New York with no preference protection.

The situation in the Congress was bad last year, but the worst attacks came from administrative action. In May, Secretary of the Interior McKay withdrew the Department of the Interior; that is, he withdrew the Federal Government from the battle to get full development of the hydro power on the Snake River and recommended that the power sites on the upper Snake be turned over to the Idaho Power Co. The dams proposed by the Idaho Power Co. would develop only a small fraction of the power potential of the upper Snake compared to a Federal project at Hells Canyon. Moreover, under the tax-writeoff program Federal taxpayers will pay for the cost of at least 2 of the 3 private power dams plus a fat bonus. Under the McKay program there will be a tragic loss of power from the Snake, and the cost of the uneconomic dams of the private company will be borne by the Federal Treasury anyway.

The next greatest evidence of the renewed influence of the great private electric corporations occurred after the Congress had left Washington last summer. In August the Secretary of the Interior, with the approval of the President, issued a new power policy statement which is a wide departure from the policies of the last 50 years. The most significant feature of this policy was hidden behind a phrase which stated that the Department of the Interior denied any "utility responsibility"; in other words, it denied any responsibility for meeting the power needs of any areas.

The true significance of this phrase showed up only later when it became apparent that it was to justify several actions. In the first place, it freed the Department from planning Federal development of river basins in such a manner as to increase power supply to meet growing needs. You folks from the TVA and Missouri Basin areas know what that means. In the second place, it was to be used to justify Mr. Aandahl's actions in insisting that in the future Interior will not only not build any steam plants to firm up the intermittent flow of energy from its dams, but that Interior will buy only enough steam power to firm up its hydro power to an average water year. This decision has been made without regard to the needs of the rural electric systems and without any regard for what it does to power costs or the finances of the Government. They did not decide that this limitation of electric sales would increase Government revenues or decrease expenses; they did not consider its effects on farmers' electric supply; they only decided that as a result of brain-washing propaganda it was better to let them have their way.

A month later, in September, the Department of the Interior announced new criteria or rules for the marketing of power in the 10-State Missouri Basin area. These criteria are cleverly written, but it didn't take eight Philadelphia lawyers to see that they put into the rules many of the demands of the power companies over many years. In the first place, the new rules ordered the rural electric to show up 90 days later with a request for power. In the second place, it stated that any power the preference customers didn't contract for would be contracted away to the private companies on long-term contracts. In the third place, it warned the preference customers that if they tried to contract for enough power to keep the private companies from getting it, they would be severely penalized by so-called demand or capacity charges. In the fourth place, the new rules announced the intention of the Department of the Interior to abrogate the preference clause and sign long-term, nonrevocable power contracts with private power companies.

There was a roar of anger from the Missouri Basin which is still turning hair gray in Washington. Of course, the power company representatives charged that the people in the Missouri Basin were not really angry about the new criteria, they "just didn't understand and were being agitated by disappointed Democrats." Despite this smug denial, however, the tumult in the Missouri Basin didn't subside. Senator LANGER held hearings on the matter. The Missouri Basin people poured protests in to their Representatives, the administration, and anybody else who would listen. As a consequence—I reiterate—as a consequence of the cries of the farmers in the basin, as a result and only as a result of your organizing, hiring you some lawyers, and shouting from the housetops, the Department of the Interior made some concessions. They didn't postpone the 90-day deadline, but they said it wasn't really a deadline; it was just kind of, sort of, a deadline. They did promise to hold back some power beyond your immednately foreseeable needs. They did yield ground.

But do not be deceived. The Department of the Interior has insisted that it intends to abrigate preference on the basis of administrative discretion, whatever that is, and sign away a part of your power supply. They also insist that they will not firm up power beyond an average water year, thereby severely limiting the amount of power available to you. They intend to sell the low-cost secondary energy to the private power companies. The Interior, of course, insists that this is all for the good of the rural electrics, that it firms up the rights of the rural electrics, and I hope the amiable Administrator of REA will permit me to disagree with him when he told the House Interior Committee that he agrees with the Interior on this point.

My friends, the marketing criteria for the Missouri Basin is a giveaway of the people's energy resources and an abrogation of preference rights. Stick by your guns. Don't give up a kilowatt, and don't leave yourself at the mercy of any public officer or his discretion where your clear legal rights are concerned, whether that administrator be an upright Republican or Democrat, or a creeping form of either.

For 6 months now power has been pouring out of the plant at Clark Hill Dam on the Savannah River between Georgia and South Carolina, pouring into the transmission lines of the Georgia Power Co. because no contract has been signed with the rural electrics. I am sure you know at least one of the sides to that story. The Georgia Power Co. insists that it will not wheel power to the rural electric cooperatives, but wants to buy the power at the bus bar. The rural electric cooperatives have insisted that that power belongs to them under the preference clause and that they will have it at whatever price. The Georgia cooperatives have advised the Secretary of the Interior that they will fight this one right into the Supreme Court of the United States. Since this appears to be a legal question, the Georgia cooperatives are following the proper course in going to the courts for a legal determination. As usual, I support the course of government by law. I will oppose always any form of administration by edict of executive order.

You are a great democratic force that has come out of rural America. United you are unbeatable regardless of the extent to which some sources pollute public opinion because you can purify it. Do not allow yourselves to be divided by partisan squabbles or by regional differences in your immediate needs, for in the long run you and the REA power programs set up to serve you will survive or die together. A man is not a friend of your program because he says he is or because somebody else says he is. Stick to the facts. Never mind the publicity tricks or smooth speeches. Stand by the old Biblical injunction: "By their works shall ye know them."

Reds Torture Women Prisoners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Des Moines Register which was published by the International Latex Corp. in the New York Times. The article, written by Leland Stowe, director of Radio Free Europe's news and information service, tells of the conditions at Kistarcsa, Communist Hungary's infamous concentration camp for women.

The article speaks for itself. I might only add that, during the 2 years I spent in Communist Hungary, I heard of many similar experiences. I am also reliably informed that several Hungarian ladies whom I knew there are today confined in this same camp. I can only pray that God will be with them in their misery.

Conditions such as described here are a blot upon mankind, a blot which will remain until that day when those prison doors everywhere behind the Iron Curtain are opened and the millions of Communist victims are once more restored to freedom.

The article follows:

REDS TORTURE WOMEN PRISONERS

(By Leland Stowe)

MUNICH, GERMANY.—At last the truth is out about the Communists' women's concentration camp at Kistarcsa, Hungary. Many hundreds of unfortunate women have been incarcerated there since 1946—without any court trial or sentence; with no intimation of how long they would be imprisoned. After the Budapest Reds' security police, the AVH, took over Kistarcsa in May 1950, only four inmates were released during 3 years. Not one has ever escaped. Now a single survivor has reached the West, and told a Radio Free Europe correspondent what any woman or girl—arrested by the satellite Communist police—can expect.

Because she was Hungarian of German descent, Gerda Kohler was sent to 5 years of slave labor in Russia in 1944. On her

return, still in her 20's, the Reds threw her into Kistarcsa. A few weeks ago they began releasing a few prisoners—part of the Communists' current "soft face" policy.

DULL, BROKEN VOICE

This is how Gerda Kohler is able to reveal what really lies behind the Soviet-satellites' new "soft" faces. She tells it in a dulled, broken voice. For 9 years she clung to life in order to rejoin her mother. She reached West Germany 48 hours after her mother died from prolonged anxiety over her only daughter.

Before her release the AVH (Hungary's dreaded twin of Russia's MVD) made Gerda Kohler sign an oath that she would never tell anything she had seen in Kistarcsa.

"If you do, you will get 10 years' imprisonment," warned the AVH. "We can find you easily enough in East Germany." But Gerda was determined to escape from the Soviet zone, and did.

"We lived in one small room, from 20 to 80 women," Gerda says. "As soon as the AVH took over, its windows were nailed and painted. We could never see the sky. There was only one tiny slit, high up, for ventilation. They let us out for fresh air only twice a day for half an hour. They took away all good mattresses."

NO VISITORS

"For a whole year no one could have a single visitor. Then we could have one visitor once a month—for 10 minutes. But we stood behind bars on one side; the visitors behind other bars 4 feet away; armed guards beside them and behind us. Then, from late in 1952—no more visitors. No more letters also. Once a month we could write eight lines on a card—no more.

"The women in Kistarcsa are from 18 years old upward. The oldest woman I knew was 75, but we could never talk with those in the other cells. You ask what crimes they had committed? I never met one woman who had committed any crime. Many are there because some relative escaped to the West; or because they had friends whom the Reds' police regard as enemies. Some are the wives or widows of former cabinet ministers. One of these is Nora Solyom. She has no news of her two children since 1950. The wife of former President Szalasi is now a prisoner for 9 years. A Countess Bethlen is there—I don't know her first name."

ARRESTED AT BORDER

"Monica Esterhazy, of the famous Esterhazy family, was in our room. She is 23. They imprisoned her for saying publicly: 'These conditions can't last forever.' Elizabeth Donacs never even made a remark like that. Her crime was returning from Germany in 1945 to visit her mother. At the border they arrested her.

"The same happened to a number of our cellmates—including one who is a naturalized Belgian citizen. You remember the Hungarian skating champion, Kekesi and Ede Kiraly? All four of their parents are in prison because they fled to the West. Maria Kovac's fiance did this. Now she is in her 4th year in Kistarcsa.

"But these are among the lucky ones, as I was. Magdalena Kaufman was arrested for trying to get a visa at the United States consulate in Budapest. They put her in solitary confinement for 6 months. When they brought her into our room she was a wreck of skin and bones, screaming and sobbing. Her eyes were wild with terror. The guards laughed at her and said: 'Why don't you write to Truman and ask him to get you out?' When I left Magdalena was still there."

BEATEN BY GUARDS

"In October 1952 Maria Csido broke out at mealtime in a loud voice: 'This food stinks.' AVH guards took her away. Later that night they dumped her in our room. She was bleeding from her nose and mouth; her clothes almost torn off; her fingers swollen from some torture instrument. She was black and blue where they had kicked her in the stomach. Nobody gave her any medical care. She lay on her bunk until she could manage to crawl. She has a wandering mind. She will never be really sane again."

Many women in Kistarcsa sought death as their only escape. "Some swallowed pins, needles or spoons," Gerda Kohler reports. "They used anything which might possibly end their lives. One thing I never could understand. The AVH would torture women to the very margin of death—but whenever they tried suicide the same Red fiends did everything to prevent them from dying. Their victims were forbidden to tell anything about what the guards did to them. They were in such anguish and terror I never knew one who dared describe the tortures she had endured."

MEANINGLESS GESTURE

These things happened—and continue to happen—to women who had never committed anything faintly resembling crimes as they are inscribed in civilized statutes of the law. Does the Red regimes' new 'soft face' mean that systemized brutality and sadism have been ended or appreciably reduced in hundreds of satellite prisons and slave camps? From Stockholm down to Istanbul Radio Free Europe's news and information staffs interview almost every escapee from the curtain countries.

Not a single refugee has yet turned up offering evidence that the Reds' secret police torture system has been reformed or relaxed. Among several millions of prisoners only a tiny fraction has benefitted in 'show-window' amnesties. Only a slight sampling of the most innocuous and obviously harmless prisoners, as at Kistarcsa, have been released.

Gerda Kohler spent 8 years—one-fourth of her life to date—imprisoned or at slave labor solely because her parents, although Hungarian by birth, were of German descent. Just as her release was being prepared 60 new women prisoners were delivered at Kistarcsa. They were all put in irons and placed in solitary confinement immediately.

The Soviet-Communists' "soft face" is merely a mask to impress gullible outsiders—people who can hear Gerda Kohler's first-hand experience and still remark: "But do you think it's possible that such things still happen?"

There seems to be no answer for these gullible people.

On Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following statement which I made on the occasion of a mass meeting, sponsored by the Ukrainian organizations of New York, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the Ukrainian declaration of independence, Sunday, January 24:

As Americans of Ukrainian descent gather throughout the country today to commemorate the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic, it is fitting that we, here in the capital of the free world rededicate ourselves to the proposition that freedom is the right of all nations, and that we again pledge our utmost support towards that ultimate goal.

In New York City, today, Americans of Ukrainian descent have gathered for a giant mass meeting on the 36th anniversary of the Ukrainian declaration of independence.

The Ukrainian National Republic was a noble foundation for a free nation in a world slowly being overrun by aggressor nations. The Ukrainian National Republic resisted these forces with courage and valiance born of love of liberty. But alas, the foundling republic fell before the Communists in 1922.

Since that time many other nations dedicated to freedom have fallen. But, like the Ukrainian people, the people of these nations still are imbued with the love of liberty. And they are determined that this liberty shall be regained.

The free world has pledged that its moral and economic power will be used in this fight. The Eisenhower administration has affirmed its dedication to peaceful liberation of those oppressed nations.

As long as the love of liberty burns in the hearts of men such as the Ukrainians gathered in meeting today, the prospects for a return to self-government and a return for the respect of the dignity of man will not die.

Remarks by Benjamin Franklin on the Salaries of Public Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, one of the wisest men who ever served this country was Benjamin Franklin and now since this relief bill for Congressmen is now being discussed, it will do no harm to present the speech of Mr. Franklin in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787. The commonsense therein expressed is as vital today as it was on the day he made these utterances. Here follows the speech:

DANGERS OF A SALARIED BUREAUCRACY

(By Benjamin Franklin)

It is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan for which we are so much obliged to the honorable gentlemen who laid it before us. From its first reading I have borne a good will to it, and, in general, wish it success. In this particular of salaries to the executive branch, I happen to differ; and, as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty, that I hazard it. The committee will judge of my reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniences in the appointment of salaries; I see none in refusing them, but, on the contrary, great advantages.

Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are ambition and avarice—the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but, when united in view of the same object, they have, in many minds, the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of honor, that shall, at the same time, be a place of profit, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is that renders the British Government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are

the true source of all those factions which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace.

And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable preeminence, through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fitted for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your Government and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation, for their vanquished competitors, of the same spirit, and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavoring to distress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people.

Besides these evils, sir, though we may set out in the beginning with moderate salaries, we shall find that such will not be of long continuance. Reasons will never be wanting for proposed augmentations; and there will always be a party for giving more to the rulers, that the rules may be able, in return, to give more to them. Hence, as all history informs us, there has been in every state and kingdom a constant kind of warfare between the governing and the governed; the one striving to obtain more for its support, and the other to pay less. And this has alone occasioned great convulsions, actual civil wars, ending either in dethroning of the princes or enslaving of the people.

Generally, indeed, the ruling power carries its point, and we see the revenues of princes constantly increasing, and we see that they are never satisfied, but always in want of more. The more the people are discontented with the oppression of taxes, the greater need the prince has of money to distribute among his partisans, and pay the troops that are to suppress all resistance, and enable him to plunder at pleasure. There is scarce a king in a hundred who would not, if he could, follow the example of Pharaoh—get first all the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants forever. It will be said that we do not propose to establish kings. I know it. But there is a natural inclination in mankind to kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from aristocratic domination. They would rather have 1 tyrant than 500. It gives more of the appearance of equality among citizens, and that they like.

I am apprehensive, therefore, perhaps too apprehensive, that the government of the States may, in future times, end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe, I think, may be long delayed, if in our proposed system we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our posts of honor places of profit. If we do, I fear that, though we employ at first a number and not a single person, the number will, in time, be set aside; it will only nourish the fetus of a king (as the honorable gentleman from Virginia very aptly expressed it), and a king will the sooner be set over us.

It may be imagined by some that this is a Utopian idea, and that we can never find men to serve us in the executive departments without paying them well for their services. I conceive this to be a mistake. Some existing facts present themselves to me which incline me to a contrary opinion. The high sheriff of a county in England is an honorable office, but it is not a profitable one. It is rather expensive and, therefore, not sought for. But yet it is executed, and well executed, and usually by some of the principal gentlemen of the county. In France the office of counselor, or member of their judiciary parliament, is more honorable. It is, therefore, purchased at a high price; there are, indeed, fees on the law proceedings, which are divided among them, but these fees do not amount to more than 3 percent on the sum paid for the place. Therefore, as legal interest there is 5 percent, they, in fact, pay 2 percent for being allowed to do the judiciary business of the nation, which is, at the same time, entirely exempt from the burden of paying them any salaries for their services.

I do not, however, mean to recommend this as an eligible mode for our judiciary department. I only bring the instance to show that the pleasure of doing good and serving their country, and the respect such conduct entitles them to, are sufficient motives with some minds to give up a great portion of their time to the public, without the mean inducement of pecuniary satisfaction.

Another instance is that of a respectable society who have made the experiment and practiced it, with success now more than a hundred years. I mean the Quakers. It is an established rule with them that they are not to go to law, but in their controversies they must apply to their monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings. Committees of these sit with patience to hear the parties, and spend much time in composing their differences. In doing this they are supported by a sense of duty and the respect paid to usefulness. It is honorable to be so employed, but it was never made profitable by salaries, fees, or perquisites. And indeed, in all cases of public service, the less the profit the greater the honor.

To bring the matter nearer home, have we not seen the greatest and most important of our offices, that of general of our armies, executed for 8 years together, without the smallest salary, by a patriot whom I will not now offend by any other praise; and this, through fatigues and distresses, in common with the other brave men, his military friends and companions, and the constant anxieties peculiar to his station? And shall we doubt finding 3 or 4 men in all the United States with public spirit enough to bear sitting in peaceful council, for, perhaps, an equal term, merely to preside over our civil concerns, and see that our laws are duly executed? Sir, I have a better opinion of our country. I think we shall never be without a sufficient number of wise and good men to undertake and execute well and faithfully the office in question.

Sir, the saving of the salaries that may at first be proposed is not an object with me. The subsequent mischiefs of proposing them are what I apprehend. And therefore it is that I move the amendment. If it be not seconded or accepted, I must be contented with the satisfaction of having delivered my opinion frankly and done my duty.

Personal Income-Tax Exemptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which provides each single taxpayer a minimum income-tax exemption of $3,500 and each married taxpayer a minimum of $5,000.

In presenting this proposal, I have several purposes in mind. One of these is to give recognition to the fact that present exemptions are far below what is necessary to insure a minimum decent standard of living. Before we deliberately set out to tax family income, we ought at least to recognize that there is a minimum below which family income should not be taxed. My bill gives such recognition.

To those of you may think my proposal somewhat radical, I ask you to recall that under the Revenue Acts of 1913 and 1916 exemptions were $3,000 and $4,000. Taking into account the great changes in the cost of living since that time, my proposal is only a mild equivalent of the exemptions enjoyed four decades ago.

I also call to your attention that many taxpayers with low income are paying very substantial hidden excise taxes into the treasuries of the State and Federal governments. If we are going to have excises at all, it is inevitable that they will fall hardest on the low income group. The least we can do is to relieve them from the heavy burden of income taxes.

Another reason for my bill is to get the Federal Government more and more away from taxing low incomes. The States are finding it progressively more difficult to raise sufficient revenue to support State and local government—the bulwark of our democracy. Let us give them a chance.

Still another point is that my proposal will relieve the Bureau of Internal Revenue from great administrative burdens and also lighten the task of millions of employers and low income taxpayers. If the exemptions proposed by me were adopted, the Bureau could devote its efforts as it should to ferret out the large income taxpayers who are avoiding millions of dollars of taxes every year. At the same time, the small mill owner and shopkeeper will be relieved of the necessity and expense of computing his employees' taxes.

Finally, I know of no other opportunity that this Congress will have which could do more to prevent a depression than this proposal of mine. As a recession approaches or grows deeper with a tendency to become a real depression, it is important that money be placed or left in the hands of potential consumers. That means the millions of low income families. Instead of bringing money to Washington and then dispersing it to the States, let us leave it where it is. Let the people spend their own money. This proposal will leave billions in their hands which otherwise they will lose to Uncle Sam.

Surplus Food Demands High Within State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following

article published in the Clarksburg Exponent, Clarksburg, W. Va., January 22, 1954, giving a report from the West Virginia Department of Public Assistance as to the increased demand for surplus food by the unemployed in my State:

SURPLUS FOOD DEMANDS HIGH WITHIN STATE—THIRTY CARLOADS OF CANNED BEEF AND 25 CARLOADS OF BUTTER GIVEN TO NEEDY

CHARLESTON, January 21.—Coal-mine unemployment has helped swell the demand for surplus food obtained from the Federal Government and distributed free to needy families in West Virginia.

It was learned from the department of public assistance today that about 30,000 persons in West Virginia now are receiving monthly allotments of surplus food. This is an increase of some 10,000 over a year ago.

The heaviest demand is in coal field areas, where employment is down. In addition to unemployed miners, the rolls of surplus food recipients also include many miners unable to provide for their families otherwise on only 2 or 3 days of work each week.

Department of Mines figures show average employment in West Virginia's coal industry last year was 75,965, down from an average of 92,713 miners employed through the previous year.

The DPA's division for distribution of Government donated foods, headed by William Waggy, is the State agency responsible for distribution in West Virginia of food received from the Federal Government's surplus warehouses.

Waggy explains, however, that the actual distribution to recipients is handled by private welfare agencies, chiefly the Salvation Army.

He said the Salvation Army has been active in food distribution at Charleston, Williamson, Logan, Welch, Bluefield, Beckley, Clarksburg, Fairmont and Morgantown. The same organization also is beginning such work at Wheeling, Huntington and Parkersburg.

Other agencies aiding in the food distribution include the Open Door Mission and the Mountain Mission, both in Charleston.

Food distributed under the program includes canned beef, powdered milk, butter and cheese.

Waggy reported that 30 railroad carloads of canned beef and 25 carloads of butter were distributed in West Virginia in the 4 months from Septembef through December last year.

Under the distribution procedure in effect, the Salvation Army or other private agency makes up lists of applicants for food and submits the lists to the DPA for approval.

Congressman Polk Urges the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio as the Site for the Location of the United States Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert a copy of a letter I have sent to Mr. Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the Air Force, suggesting and recommending that the United States Air Force Academy be located in the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., January 21, 1954.

Hon. HAROLD E. TALBOTT,
Secretary of the Air Force,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TALBOTT: May I respectfully suggest and recommend to you the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio for the location of the new United States Air Force Academy.

The area of which I speak and to which I wish to call your attention comprises nine counties in south-central and southwestern Ohio; namely, Adams, Brown, Clermont, Fayette, Highland, Pickaway, Pike, Ross, and Scioto Counties. Four of these counties, Adams, Brown, Clermont, and Scioto, border the Ohio River and each of these four counties have an ample expanse of water for seaplanes. In fact all types of amphibious aircraft can take off and land on expanses of water far smaller in area than that offered by the Ohio River from Portsmouth, Ohio, to Cincinnati.

There are many other features of this area which make it exceptionally desirable as the location for the new Air Force Academy. I wish to enumerate a few of these advantages we in southern Ohio have to offer.

First, as mentioned above, we have ample and satisfactory water areas for seaplanes and all types of amphibious aircraft.

Second, the southern Ohio counties comprise an area that is free from tornadoes and other serious air-current disturbances.

Third, this is an area comparatively free from fogs as the elevations in most of the area between the Scioto and Miami Rivers and north of the Ohio River range from 800 feet to 1,000 feet elevation.

Fourth, the claimate is equable, but one providing sufficient variations in weather to give student pilots experience in flying under both good and bad weather conditions.

Fifth, we are far enough from large cities and densely populated areas to eliminate flying hazards over metropolitan areas. The nearest large cities are Cincinnati and Columbus and parts of the Sixth District are more than 100 miles distance from both Cincinnati and Columbus.

Sixth, there is presently no commercial airfield in the district.

Seventh, seven United States highways traverse the district. United States Highways 50 and 52 cross the district from east to west; United States Highways 23, 62, and 68 extent from north to south; and United States Highways 22 and 35 traverse a part of this region in diagonal directions. Consequently, all parts of the Sixth District are easily accessible for motor car, bus, and truck transportation. In addition, all parts of the district are well served by railroad transportation.

Eighth, ample electric power facilities and ample supplies of water can be provided at many locations within the nine counties to which I refer.

Ninth, the cities of Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio, provide cultural and recreational facilities of the highest type. In both cities are located several colleges and universities nationally recognized as among the best in the country and the facilities of these educational institutions would be available for use by students at the Air Force Academy.

Tenth, this area is near enough to Wright Air Force Base, where experimental aircraft work is carried on to enable students to avail themselves of these Government experimental laboratories. It is also near General Electric's new experimental jet engine laboratories at Cincinnati, and furthermore Lockbourne Air Force Base adjoins this district on the north. In fact, a part of the land now owned by the Government at Lockbourne Air Base lies within the borders of Pickaway County.

I believe you will find upon thorough investigation that no State can offer so many advantages for the location of the United States Air Force Academy as this area in the southern and southwestern part of Ohio. Certainly it would be a very fitting and proper tribute to Wilbur and Orville Wright to locate the new academy in Ohio and in the Sixth Congressional District.

Before making your final decision I hope you will fully evaluate and verify my arguments in favor of locating the new Academy in the area I represent.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES G. POLK,
Member of Congress.

County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas Opposed to Sale of National Forests to Private Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following certified copy of resolution No. 3 as adopted by the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas at their annual convention in Dallas, Tex., December 6–9, 1953:

"Whereas the Federal Government with the prior approval of the Texas Legislature established in 1936 the Angelina, Davy Crockett, Sam Houston, and Sabine National Forests in east Texas for the purpose of demonstrating scientific reforestation, protection, cultivation, and harvesting of pine timber from cut-over land; and

"Whereas these forest lands consisting of 650,000 acres (less than four-tenths of 1 percent of Texas) were at that time very nearly worthless and producing no revenue, but have become under national-forest management beautiful forests of pine, yielding rich harvests of 100 million board feet per year; and

"Whereas these national forests constitute the greatest public recreation area left in Texas, abounding in game and fish, with 445 miles of fishing streams, 752 acres of lakes and numerous free camp and picnic sites with shelters, swimming, boating, and other facilities, and are enjoyed by hundreds of thousands of Texas citizens who hunt, fish, and play there each year; and

"Whereas the national-forest lands which are unfenced are open free of charge for grazing cattle of the citizens living in those areas or may be fenced and leased for a small rental, helping many local residents to gain a livelihood; and

"Whereas the National Forest Service has built and maintains many hundreds of miles of excellent forest roads at no expense to the counties in which these forests lie; and employs hundreds of Texas citizens in fire protection, planting, marking, road building, and other activities; and

"Whereas many local citizens of the counties where these forests are located are engaged in the cutting, hauling, and milling of the timber and pulpwood sold to the public each year; and

"Whereas the Federal Government pays to the respectfve counties containing national forests each year for public roads and schools, 25 percent of the gross receipts from the sale of timber in lieu of property taxes on said

land by counties and school districts amounting to $510,774 in 1952 and $475,317 in 1953, or on an average more than 4 times what the forests would have yielded in county and school taxes if privately owned; and

"Whereas, legislation is being proposed in some quarters, supported by selfish interests seeking these valuable forests for their own use, which would ask the Congress of the United States to dispose of our east Texas national forests under the guise of paying off the national debt: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the County Judges and Commissioners Association of the State of Texas in convention assembled at Dallas, Tex., this the 9th day of December 1953—

"That we believe the sale of our national forests in Texas to private interests would be unwise and against the best interests of the economy and welfare of the people of this State and the United States; and we do respectfully urge our United States Senators and all Members of Congress from Texas to oppose any legislation which would result in the sale of our east Texas national forests."

I, T. B. Ellison, secretary-treasurer of the County Judges and Commissioners Association of Texas, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of Resolution No. 3 passed at the association's annual convention held in Dallas, Tex., December 6–9, 1953.

Given under my hand and seal of office this 15th day of January, A. D. 1954.

T. B. ELLISON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

It's Sounder To Nip Ill-Advised Treaties in the Bud Than To Erase Them Later

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of January 25, 1954, for insertion in the RECORD:

IT'S SOUNDER TO NIP ILL-ADVISED TREATIES IN THE BUD THAN TO ERASE THEM LATER

In their efforts to fob off the Bricker amendment to forbid the negotiation of treaties which would override American domestic law, State Department functionaries resort to some queer arguments. For example, Assistant Secretary Thruston B. Morton in a speech at Kingsport, Tenn., declared that there was really nothing to worry about because "the Senate and House of Representatives can erase a treaty of any kind by passing a bill to that effect." He added that even if Congress didn't go that far the American people had the whole affair in their hands because by casting ballots on election day the American people can vote in those whom they want to conduct their foreign affairs, as well as vote out those with whom they are dissatisfied. No ill-advised treaty—should it by some rare chance slip through the many checks designed to prevent it—could for long withstand the wrath of the people.

Mr. Morton apparently did not mention executive agreements, which would also be controlled by the Bricker amendment. If he had done so, it might have occurred to him that the people have already voted out of office the administration which did its country such poor service at Yalta and Potsdam. Nevertheless, the fruits of Yalta and Potsdam are still on the books. The Russians have the Kurile Islands, and even if Congress should take Mr. Morton's hint and erase these agreements, it is hard to believe that the United States could undo the damage without war.

The State Department's principal argument against the Bricker amendment is that it would disrupt orderly negotiation with foreign countries. To our way of thinking, American relations with foreign countries would become completely chaotic if the representatives of the nations with which we were negotiating were faced with the possibility that the Senate and the House of Representatives might erase the treaty they were negotiating, should some American demagogue raise a storm against it.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 19, 1954, a splendid editorial appeared in the Albany Herald, Albany, Ga., written by its editor and publisher, Hon. James H. Gray.

This editorial is entitled "Restraining Treaty Powers," and endorses the Bricker amendment.

An endorsement of the Bricker amendment in my section is not unusual. This editorial is outstanding, however, because of the brevity and the ability of its author to so clearly present the true issues in so few well-chosen words. The editorial is as follows:

RESTRAINING TREATY POWERS

Senator KNOWLAND'S statement that a compromise will "probably be reached" between the White House and Congress on the question of the Bricker amendment is encouraging. There has been a concerted effort, by some so-called liberal parties, to make a political football of this issue. Actually, the matter goes beyond partisan politics. It has been an honest effort to define the proper spheres of treaties and executive agreements, as the Senate Judiciary Committee recognized when it recommended the adoption of Senator BRICKER'S proposal.

For some time now people who were aware of the trend of government by treaty—that is, doing things through the treaty power which could not otherwise be done because of constitutional limitations—have been pressing for this kind of amendment. Foremost among proponents for limiting the powers of treaties and executive agreements has been the vast majority of lawyers of the country—men who by training and by practice know about laws and their effects. The American Bar Association for some years has pointed to the dangers to American freedoms and rights embodied in the deadly leveling philosophy of some of the proposed United Nations treaties.

Another group of people who saw danger in the growing concept of government by treaty—and spurred by a State Department dictum that there was really no longer any difference between domestic and foreign affairs—happen to work in the United States Senate. More than 60 Senators have joined Senator BRICKER in a resolution to amend the Constitution to define the powers of treaties and executive agreements.

Opponents of the amendment are aiming their fire chiefly at Senator BRICKER'S proposals. But, in the main, Senator BRICKER'S ideas coincide closely with the suggestions initially advanced by the American Bar Association.

Section 1 of the Bricker amendment says that "a provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." This means that no treaty can change or override the Constitution.

Section 2 says that "a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in absence of treaty." This means that no Congress can increase its legislative power through a treaty to do things the Constitution denies it the right to do, such as injure the rights to free speech, a free press, peaceful assembly, and the right of petition.

Section 3 says that "Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article." Briefly, this means that the Congress will have a voice in all international agreements such as Yalta and Potsdam, which plague us to this day. It means, further, that no executive agreement can be made by men sitting around a table secretly moving peoples and borders of countries about and be binding on this Nation. The Congress wants a voice in such proceedings, and the Congress should have it.

It is proper that executive agreements should be placed in the same field as treaties. It is proper, too, that the use of treaties should be returned to their original concept—that a treaty is a device for agreement among sovereign nations, and not a vehicle to be used by people who want to do through treaties what the Congress is forbidden to do by the Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, certainly the statement "that a treaty is a device for agreement among sovereign nations and not a vehicle to be used by people who want to do through treaties what the Congress is forbidden to do by the Constitution," is beyond dispute.

Considering the fact that treaties have already through court interpretations annulled State laws that were precious to those States and were in themselves constitutional, plus the added fact that the U. N. has approximately 200 proposed treaties which would, if adopted, destroy state sovereignty completely and override and bypass our Federal Constitution and Federal laws should be sufficient evidence that Mr. Gray was writing upon a subject he fully understood and that he keenly felt the people of the Nation should be advised if they want to live under our Constitution and preserve the rights of the States that the Bricker amendment has no other purpose than to protect those precious rights.

Tribute to Gen. J. D. Caldara, Commander, Forbes Air Force Base

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, it is not often that an outsider going into a community endears himself to the citi-

zens of that community to the extent that not only is he honored by the Rotary Club but is honored by the Governor of the State also.

Nevertheless, such a man is Gen. J. D. Caldara, Commander of the 21st Air Division at Forbes Air Force Base, in Topeka, Kans., who last week was cited by the Governor and the community of Topeka for outstanding community service, and for promoting cooperation and sound understanding between both Forbes and Topeka.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the talk made on the occasion of the award presentation by Oscar S. Stauffer, editor of the Topeka State Journal, in Topeka, Kans.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

General Caldara, since you have been at Forbes, you and your associates have kept Topeka and the base in an orbit of abiding friendship; in spite of minor frictions that are bound to arise occasionally, harmony and concord prevail; which each is a separate and distinct entity there has developed between them largely through your direction, mutual respect, sympathetic understanding, and thorough good will; you have in turn acquainted Topeka with the grueling discipline and rigorous teamwork necessary to maintain the highest Air Force ideals, aspirations, and efficiency; and the young men at Forbes, also, influenced by your guidance, have learned that this community's well being, its humanities, and progress are the responsibility of us all.

I say with measured words, General Caldara, that the airmen at Forbes have exhibited a most unusual concern for Topeka's welfare in helping with the community chest, in the observance of traffic safety regulations, and in fact in nearly all of the varied activities of this city. Although it is history, we shall never forget in 1951 but for the unselfish, tireless, and timely help of the Forbes airmen during the flood, Topeka might have lost its municipal waterpiant. You have been a bright flame of guidance inspiring Topeka's citizens to become better acquainted with the base's activities, resulting in a much wider and deeper interest in Forbes.

So, General Caldara, for your meritorious accomplishments which have been so outstanding in promoting cooperation and sound understanding between both Forbes and Topeka, this Rotary Club does hereby cite and name you as Topeka's No. 1 citizen of the month. The honor we do you today developed spontaneously and unanimously before we knew you were to leave. And since your next mission is in Japan, I know I speak for all when I say please accept our sincere thanks for your moving inspiration of good citizenship and remember our good wishes go with you always.

Why the Russians Won't Run Out of Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in the January issue of the National Independent Labor Journal published by Chester M. Fulton, of Chicago, Ill., there appeared an interesting article entitled "Why the Russians Won't Run Out of Money." This article is based on disclosures revealed by a subcommittee of the Senate of which I was chairman and which showed how the Communists utilized American monetary plates to pay for a substantial portion of their occupation costs after the fall of Hitler's Germany. I think Americans generally will be interested in this article so I am asking that it be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY THE RUSSIANS WON'T RUN OUT OF MONEY

Just how long-suffering can a rich uncle be? The United States and Great Britain furnished Russia $10 billion worth of war material which included 21,886 aircraft; 12,218 tanks; 416,780 motor vehicles, plus locomotives, freight cars, cargo vessels, etc. Without this help, the Russian war machine would have collapsed.

Not satisfied with giving them all this material, for which we will never get paid, some of our people in Washington figured out that the Russians should have a little spending money, so they made available to them plates from the Treasury Department to print their own occupation reichsmarks. Comes now, Senator KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota, with a report exposing this aid to Russia.

Some of our bright minds in Washington got to feeling sorry for the Russian troops who were always from 6 months to 3 years in arrears in their pay, and turned over to the Russians United States engraving plates to print American occupation currency. These were given to the Russian command together with ink and negatives from which plates could be made. The estimate is that Russia printed more than $255 million of American occupation currency in Germany. Once these plates had been turned over to the Russian Army, the United States lost all control of them. No one can even guess how many of these occupation reichsmarks they printed. This developed into quite a wonderful racket. The Russians found that they could buy watches, etc., with these marks, so a big trade developed especially in wrist watches. A $20 watch brought 10,000 occupation reichsmarks. These were cashable at the finance office at the legal rate of 10 cents per mark, so a $20 watch actually brought $1,000. The top Russian brass didn't fool around with watches, cameras, etc., but bought real estate with their marks.

One patriot in Washington was smart enough to see that there was a mark in front of the serial number of these reichmarks printed by the Russians from plates we furnished. This was in front of the serial number and identified them.

It took Senator MUNDT about 6 years to dig up the dope on this, and his findings are published in a Government report called Transfer of Occupation Currency Plates—Espionage Phase, printed for the Subcommittee on Government Operations Abroad.

Our comment on this particular shenanigan is that it is a pretty soft touch for the Russians when they can clip us for the major share of $10 billion worth of material and then instead of borrowing money from us, get plates so they can print their own. This particular method of operation beats all the ground and lofty acrobatics of any financing which has come to our attention.

If any of our readers are interested enough, if they will write Senator KARL E. MUNDT, chairman, Subcommittee on Government Operations Abroad, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and get a copy of this report, they will find it interesting reading.

Christian Solution to Problems of Old Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, in the town of Tulia, Tex., a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Mr. C. John Westhof, writes a weekly column of philosophy and comment for the Tulia Herald, one of the State's outstanding weekly newspapers. Mr. Westhof has become well known to the readers of the Tulia Herald for his sound thinking on problems of current interest.

An advance copy of the column scheduled to appear in the January 21 issue of the Herald has been sent to me by Mr. T. G. Heyhurst, who believed, and rightly, that I would be interested in Mr. Westhof's comments on social-security legislation due to be considered at this session of Congress.

Mr. Westhof expresses the opinion that there is a Christian solution to the problems of old age. I commend to Senators his presentation of that solution; and I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Westhof's column, as scheduled to appear in the January 21 issue of the Tulia (Tex.) Herald, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Social security legislation is among the major issues before the current session of the Congress of the United States. While the emphasis will be on greater benefits and broader coverage, the basic philosophy of the program could be examined with profit.

Two introductory remarks must preface all other observations. First, the problems associated with old age are of increasing importance. More people are living longer than ever before. The indications are that this trend will continue. Geriatrics, the medical study of old age and its diseases, is becoming a specialized field. Ministers, social workers, psychologists, and others are increasingly concerned with the problems associated with retirement and the inactivity often following upon it. Insurance companies, actuaries, legislators, and welfare agencies show vital interest in the financial problems attendant upon the sunset years of life. It is a major problem, one which has little or no precedent in other civilizations.

A second observation is in order. Our Nation, from the standpoint of wealth and principle alike, cannot afford to ignore the problem. It boils down to a question of seeking the right avenue to approach and reach a solution.

Social security legislation is an effort to meet this problem. Many independent solutions have also been advanced. Most religious denominations have pension plans in effect to which both churches and ministers contribute. Industries have set up plans to provide for their employees. Insurance companies offer many attractive plans. It is not our purpose to weigh their respective merits, but to concern ourselves

with the legislative approach known as social security.

Three major questions arise in this writer's mind. One, how secure is the program? The young man enrolled under the program today can read the list of benefits which are now being paid. But what guaranty does he have that those same benefits will be paid to him 30 years from now? The scale of benefits can be changed at any time by legislation. With the expanding economy of the present, the benefits have been increased. In case of financial crisis they could be swifty decreased through the same legislative process. When a person takes out retirement insurance with a private company he receives a contract of guaranteed returns. But a total of 4 percent of the worker's income now goes into a plan which has no guaranties behind it. This is a major defect.

Consider, secondly, the matter of financing. Sould social security be put on a pay-as-you-go basis, or should a fund be accumulated as is presently being done? The theory of present operations is that the money is loaned to other Government agencies and the interest they pay builds up the social security fund.

This whole line of reasoning is very deceptive. When money is invested by private insurance companies, they take mortgages or buy stocks and bonds. Behind these are tangible assets, such as hotels, railroads, and factories. But the Government agencies which borrow from social security funds do not use that money for capital additions. The money is just spent, not invested. In short, there is no real, tangible asset behind the social security fund. Right now this does not seem serious, since the social security tax covers the benefits being paid. But the number of beneficiaries is increasing as the population ages. It is estimated that in a couple of decades the benefits will total $55 billion per year. The fund will not be able to cope with it. Additional taxes will be the only source of financing. It is a problem to be faced.

A third question revolves around the matter of employment while drawing pension benefits. A person may have unlimited income from investments and draw his pension. But a sharp limit is placed upon the amount of wages he is allowed to earn without forfeiting the pension rights. This demands correction. A worker who has paid his dues is entitled to the benefits. If these benefits become payable at a specific age, no other considerations should be involved.

Equally serious attention is needed to the problems of inactivity which follow upon retirement. We might find out how much experience and wisdom is lost because of worker retirement. In short, the entire problem needs to be restudied, not by politicians, but by leaders from every walk of life.

The declining years can be a rewarding time of life. Men of Christian interests and hope have compensations for this time of life which others lack. We believe there is a Christian solution to the problems of old age.

Disposal of Farm Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "SCHOEPPEL Hits Farm Nail on Head," published in the Wichita Eagle for January 16, 1954. The editorial relates to the position I have taken on farm surpluses. The editorial is most timely and is deeply appreciated.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SCHOEPPEL HITS FARM NAIL ON HEAD

"Surpluses," Senator ANDREW M. SCHOEPPEL, of Kansas, told the Senate, "are like burst appendixes. We have to get them out of the market to restore its health."

The Kansan said that in applauding an administration proposal to exchange our farm surpluses for foreign airbases. That extends the purposes of a bill which SCHOEPPEL piloted through the Senate last year and is now in the House. It allows the surpluses to be sold up to a stated amount to friendly countries in exchange for their currencies instead of requiring payment in dollars which few of them have. The foreign currencies we receive would be used in our mutual assistance and defense programs abroad. It is helpful all around, giving the underfed countries something to eat, and putting to use our stored farm crops which would otherwise rot.

"Every department and every agency of Government," said SCHOEPPEL, "should be constantly alert to every possibility to use the public investment in surpluses for constructive purposes whenever appropriate. * * *

"Surpluses sold to the Commodity Credit Corporation have not been marketed—they have only been swept under the rug. * * * CCC is not a market. It is only a market stabilizer. * * * Farm products have not been marketed until they have been eaten, fed, or worn and paid for. The place for surpluses is in the stomach and on the backs of people who need them. These people are in foreign countries. They have the capacity to pay, if we will just buy and make intelligent use of what they can offer."

You can go much further and get less sense than is contained in those words. SCHOEPPEL gets to the heart of the matter. We need more markets to keep our acres in production, farmers prosperous, and citizens less tax ridden. Food and clothing markets in the United States are pretty well saturated. Millions of people abroad need both food and clothing. Therefore, devise the means to sell them the surpluses in exchange for what they have we can use. Otherwise we will continue to have shrunken farm operations in this country and farmers subsidized and controlled by the Government. We export our surplus crops or we do not solve the farm problem.

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, a Mr. Ralph McGill, a columnist writing in the Atlanta Constitution under date of January 18, in his zeal to support the 120 percent raise in congressional salaries, attacks me personally and has many disparaging remarks to make about my personal appearance. He says I go around with patched trousers held together with safety pins. I expected to be attacked. No one ever sat in Congress who tried to represent the people of the United States and opposed unconscionable grabs like an increase of 120 percent in congressional pay, escaped from the vitriolic pen of the opposition. If this reporter thinks this helps his cause, let him put out more of it.

I do not go around with patched trousers held together with safety pins, and everyone with whom I associate knows it. I am not what you would call a dandy in dress, but on the salary I now receive I can and do wear good clothes. I may not wear them well, but they serve the purpose. This garbling reporter probably believes that clothes makes the man, but I think there are other elements to consider besides clothes. That no doubt is the reason he wants higher salaries so that those who, like himself, are lacking in other elements may make up for it in brilliant colors and magnificent imported haberdashery.

This reporter bemoans the fact that I want a record vote when the bill comes up for passage. That is the only true statement he made in his whole tirade against me. Why should he or anybody else object to going on record? Does he not want the people to know how their Congressmen voted? Is he afraid to let them know? I presume he would have a better way—he would have a voice vote, which is unrecorded, and if the bill did pass, no one could tell how a Member voted. This looks like an underhanded method of legislation. This would naturally appeal to Mr. McGill. Well, it makes little difference to me what the gentleman says as long as he follows his present policy of saying so many things that are not so. It will take more than the dribbling pen of reporters like Mr. McGill to stop my opposition to this congressional relief bill.

Negro Bus Operators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Negro Bus Operators," which appeared in the Evening Star of January 21, 1954. I should like to call attention to the comments in this editorial dealing with the proposed amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would classify as an unfair labor practice discrimination involving race, religion, color, or national origin.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEGRO BUS OPERATORS

There is little, if any, reason to believe that either the Capital Transit Co. or the great majority of its patrons would object on racial grounds to the employment of Negroes as bus and streetcar operators. There is considerable reason to believe, however, that such a step might result in a strike by the union which represents the white operators.

In view of this situation, members of the Senate District subcommittee investigating Capital Transit should not be pressuring the company management to take a step which, in its judgment, would jeopardize its relations with its employees.

The Senators are not without a remedy, however. Senator MORSE hinted at it when he said Congress can't tolerate coercion by a union in the District of Columbia in support of racial discrimination. But why just in the District of Columbia? Why not forbid such action anywhere in the United States?

Senator IVES, of New York, supported by several other Senators, proposed an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act last year which would have had the effect of classifying as an unfair labor practice any strike in support of an objective involving racial discrimination. If the members of the Senate District subcommittee are serious, this is the direction in which they should be moving. The Taft-Hartley Act will be up for revision at this session, and there will be opportunity to forbid the kind of union coercion to which Senator MORSE objects. But the Senator should apply the remedy, by law, to the country as a whole. They should not use pressure tactics to make the Transit Co. the subject of an experiment which might have very serious consequences for this community.

Deflating the Overstuffed Federal Payroll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Lightening the Load," which was published in the Oil City Derrick, of Oil City, Pa., on January 21. The editorial deals with the tremendous strides made by the Eisenhower administration in deflating the overstuffed Federal civilian payroll inherited from the Truman administration.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIGHTENING THE LOAD

The tremendous strides made by the Eisenhower administration in deflating the overstuffed Federal civilian payroll inherited from the Truman Squanderlust is shown in the latest report of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures.

Up to December 1, 1953, the number of civilian employees had been whittled down to 2,366,710. This was a reduction of 198,897 from the total number holding down jobs when the Little Man packed up and left his bureaucratic headquarters on the Potomac just a year ago.

Typical of the way the administration has been whacking away at the civilian surplus feeding at the taxpayers' trough are the figures for the first 5 months of the current fiscal year which began last July 1. Month-by-month reductions as reported by the committee headed by Senator HARRY F. BYRD, Virginia, Democrat, were: July, 14,936; August, 23,284; September, 29,620; October, 29,065; November, 6,035. Total for these 5 months alone was 102,930. Another 96,000 civilian employees were eliminated from the payroll in the first months of the Eisenhower administration to bring the overall reduction up to the 1st of December to 198,897.

The full import of these figures is realized when viewed in the light of what would have taken place in Government during the current fiscal year if Harry Truman had had his way. In the last budget which he submitted to Congress before leaving the White House a year ago, expenditures were set up to provide for adding some 300,000 employees to the Federal civilian payroll.

The reductions already made by the Eisenhower administration not only have resulted in the saving of hundreds of millions of dollars in taxpayer funds, but they have been accomplished with a resultant increase in the efficiency of Government operations. The program has borne out what experts in government management have claimed all along—that as much as a 10-percent cut in the civilian payroll could be made without in any way reducing the service of efficiency of Government.

Things really have changed in Washington. And hard-pressed taxpayers, trampled and kicked around for 20 years by a gang of bungling and stupid spendthrifts, now can smile at the promise of the future.

The Influence of Sunday School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the month of January is being observed in the city of Dallas, Tex., as Sunday School Emphasis Month, under the sponsorship of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce. In connection with this observance, one of our famous Texas football players, Duane Nutt, star quarterback of the Southern Methodist University team, and a Sunday-school teacher in the Park Cities Baptist Church, wrote for the Dallas Times-Herald a personal message telling of the influence of Sunday school on his own life.

Mr. Nutt's simple message is so inspiring that I commend it to the attention of all Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUNDAY-SCHOOL INFLUENCE TOLD

(By Duane Nutt)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dallas' Junior Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring in January a Sunday-School Emphasis Month. To stimulate the interest of young people in church attendance, Duane Nutt, star quarterback of the Southern Methodist University football team, and a Sunday-school teacher at the Park Cities Baptist Church, has written this personal message.)

I have gone to Sunday school ever since I can remember and I can't think of a thing that has influenced my life more.

At first I went to Sunday school because everybody else did, but now I can see where just the fact that I was in Sunday school helped more than I realized. There I met and was around the right kind of people—the ones who influenced my life the most.

Going to Sunday school in my earlier days made it a lot easier for me to be active in my church when I grew up. One develops a feeling of wanting to learn about Christ and what He means; if a person didn't go to Sunday school, he probably would never know this.

I could never tell how much my faith in the Lord means to me now, because everything that I am or ever hope to be is a result of Him. Therefore I feel like I can tell each and every young person who is just getting interested in Sunday school that it is the greatest thing that could ever happen to a person.

If he would but stick with it, he will receive a feeling of deep satisfaction that will last throughout his life.

Mr. Eisenhower's First Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "Mr. Eisenhower's First Year," which appeared in the Baltimore Sun of January 24, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. EISENHOWER'S FIRST YEAR

President Eisenhower has just completed his first year in office. As of this moment the impression he gives is that of a man holding firmly to the wheel of a swift-moving vehicle, determined to hold the course he believes the safe one. To make the metaphor more nearly complete, it is necessary to conceive of a group of Democrats struggling to keep the vehicle further to the left and a group of Republicans of equal strength tugging as hard as they can to turn it farther to the right than the driver thinks it wise to go. The road over which the vehicle is traveling is a rough one and at every few yards new obstructions loom ahead.

The journey up to now has been a momentous one. The pressure of events has been unceasing. Two notable happenings may be mentioned in the very beginning: the death of Senator Taft and the death of Joseph Stalin. Senator Taft was a great loss to the President. This opponent-turned-friend-and-supporter was expected to act as mentor in the field of practical politics to the inexperienced man in the White House. Others have sought valiantly to bridge the great gap that Mr. Taft left, but the truth is that his place has not been filled. Stalin's death may have been good or evil for the world; no one yet knows. But it did produce new hazards and opportunities in our foreign dealings and the efforts to meet them have so far been tentative.

In other fields, other happenings have tested the man entrusted with so great a share of the Nation's burdens. Put first among these the very mild down-curve in business which has occurred during the past few months and remember the proneness of some hysterical Americans to begin to howl "depression" when the economic curve even so much as flattens a bit. Consider also the voting strength of the farmers and the anger of labor leaders when their demands are not immediately met. Consider also that the Republican Party, of which the President is titular leader, has two divergent wings, no majority in the Senate, and a pitifully small one in the House of Representatives. When

these factors are brought into the equation the difficulties of Mr. Eisenhower's position are all too clear.

Yet the record shows that despite such difficulties, the list of actual accomplishments is a long one and that the course being followed is that of the Executive's choosing. We are traveling down the middle of the road. We have given up none of the good things accomplished during the long Democratic tenure, and we have corrected in whole or in part some of the more egregious mistakes made during that tenure.

Nor is that all. No administration which merely continues existing good policies and corrects bad ones can claim success. Mr. Eisenhower has laid before the Congress his first program for the national welfare. It is still too soon to say how much of it will be adopted. Indeed, it is too early even to say that it is all good. Much of it should be debated at length until it is fully understood. But it is a program, and it sprang from the mind and heart of a man of profound integrity, directness of approach, and true patriotism. There is nothing up the Eisenhower sleeve.

Before considering the program now being debated in the Congress, let us list briefly the accomplishments to date in both the foreign and the domestic realms.

Beyond a doubt, the conclusion of the Korean armistice is the achievement which received the greatest popular acclaim. The bloodletting in that far-off, inhospitable land has ceased. Real peace, to be sure, is still a dream of the future. There is no certainty even that the fighting will not break out again. But the killing is ended for the time being and subsequent events have proved that the Korean adventure added to the authority of the United Nations. It also diminished the prestige of both Russia and China and lessened communism's appeal to the peoples of Asia. Mark the armistice down as a personal triumph for Mr. Eisenhower and his policies.

Next in importance for its effect on world opinion, put the President's high-minded proposal before the U. N. that the nations cooperate at least in the peaceful uses of atomic power. It is perhaps overstating the case to say that this suggestion gave us the full initiative in the struggle for the hearts and minds of men. But the world response was so overwhelming that the Russians dared not ignore it. They were forced to agree at least to discuss it at the present four-power meeting in Berlin.

We have little hope that the Kremlin will yield easily to this or any other proposals of ours. But it has been maneuvered into discussion and the world will be quick to place the blame if its habitual misrepresentation and outright lying are continued in these new talks. Mr. Eisenhower has won a moral victory in this area.

As for the overall aspects of foreign policy, our objectives have not changed. To argue that we have abandoned containment and substituted instant retaliation and therefore gained something is to be befuddle ourselves with words. Our policy under Eisenhower and under his predecessors is first to maintain an honorable peace and, secondly, to counter Russian moves to enslave the remaining free world. Add to this our hopes of achieving a present modus vivendi with Russia and her satellites and, in the future, some degree of two-way friendship and trade—add these, and the essence of our program has been stated. Debate can concern itself only with methods.

As to methods, Mr. Eisenhower and his advisers have made one outstanding decision. This is that our main reliance in the future shall be upon our superiority in atomic weapons in their various forms. This implies reliance on the air arm first of all and secondly on the Navy. It implies some reduction in the strength of ground forces in the various theaters in Europe and Asia and the maintenance at home of a mobile force prepared for action in any part of the world. Instant retaliation, of which we are hearing so much, means that if the Russians attack us or our allies, we shall be able to make a devastating reply.

This is a purely military decision and one which laymen are not equipped to criticize with real force. But it should be noted that some of our allies in Europe are disturbed by it and fear that it implies a partway return to traditional isolationism. We do not believe this is the case but it is easy to understand why the shaken and confused peoples of France and Italy so interpret it.

Indeed, it could be argued that one of the disappointments of the Eisenhower regime in the foreign field is its failure to instill more vigorous life into the European Defense Community. This is the basis upon which our hopes for the future of the Western World are built.

Here we impinge upon an issue which has domestic as well as external implications. Western Europe's eyes turn toward the United States not merely in the hope of military assistance and dollars to buttress their strained economies. The bolder and more farseeing European statesmen dislike both military and economic dependence. They hope for a better access to the great United States market for their exports. Unless that is granted, their doubts as to the permanency of American friendship will continue.

But this is precisely where Mr. Eisenhower comes face to face with one of his most harassing internal political problems. He believes in the expansion of two-way trade; in earnest of his belief he persuaded the Congress to continue for another year at least the reciprocal trade program. Its further enlargement is being studied by a distinguished Commission. But what the Commission will propose and what the Congress will accept remains to be seen.

We turn now to the complicated field of domestic accomplishments and prospects. Here it is necessary to take into account the divisions inside the party whose support gave Mr. Eisenhower his opportunity.

The first thing to be noted is that the President, though he wears the Republican label, by no means conforms to the ideal cherished in their hearts by many of the members of that party in the Congress. They did all they could to prevent his nomination and may prevent the full execution of part of his program.

Moreover, though some of them were swept into office on his coattails, others are in possession of sure seats to which they are elected and reelected regardless of the general trends in the country. Mr. Eisenhower's influence with such Senators and Representatives is limited.

The perfect expression of this division in the party is found in the current debate over the ill-considered Bricker amendment. This proposes a crippling limitation upon the powers of the Executive as set forth in the Constitution. The President is opposing it with all the means at his command. But many Republicans in both Houses are active in its support. If it is defeated, it will be only by the help of Democrats.

Of course, the fossilized Republicans do not oppose the President in all his endeavors. Some of them permitted themselves to be persuaded to go along in his plan to extend the Reciprocal Trade Act. They acquiesced in his desire to keep the excess-profits tax in effect until the end of the calendar year. They were only sorry that the tax reductions to which he agreed were so limited and this despite the loud preelection demands for a balanced budget. It remains to be seen what they will do with his proposals for changes in the Taft-Hartley law, for an elastic system of farm price supports, for an expansion of the social-security program, and for helping out modestly with the voluntary medical-insurance undertakings. At this point it should be noted that neither the President nor the Republican majority in the Houses has taken any overt step to redeem the platform advocacy of a return to the free convertibility of gold in our currency system.

In all such matters the President proposes and the Congress disposes. In other fields, the decision lies with the White House. Most of the actual accomplishments have been frequently discussed in these columns. Others have been far from dramatic and have received but little public notice.

At the top it is fitting to put the remarkable reductions made in Federal spending. The Truman budget, which was before the Congress when Mr. Eisenhower took office, was trimmed no less than $7 billion. In the budget now pending the additional saving will be $5 billion. At the same time the number of persons on the Federal payroll has been reduced by 183,000.

This is equivalent to saying that the long-time trend toward centralized government has been slowed down if not stopped altogether. Few Americans concerned with the maintenance of our traditional liberties would deny that this is a major gain.

Still, candor compels the admission that such a sharp reduction in the flood of printed money from the Government has some deflationary effect. It may well be that the present reductions in the working force of the Nation derive in part from this policy. What the President called "the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy" is certain to produce some strains and dislocations.

What may not be thoroughly understood is that the current reduction in the individual income tax and the elimination of the excess-profits tax put additional money in many pockets and this goes a long way toward maintaining the national purchasing power. Add these to the existing cushions against unemployment and the extensive program of public works either in operation or planned in nearly every community in the country, and the outlook is heartening. The announcement only last week by General Motors that they plan plant expansions to cost at least $1 billion is evidence of a feeling of optimism which is supported by most of the best economic brains of the country.

Making the transition which the times require is one of the major responsibilities of Mr. Eisenhower and his Cabinet. They have planned well so far and other plans are in reserve in case of necessity.

These are the major accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration in the field of fiscal affairs. They are important in themselves but even more so in the manner in which they reflect the basic character and convictions of the man who engineered them. Our President, it is now clear, is no idealogue, no experimenter in unorthodox economic or social doctrine. Rather he is a true believer in the limitation of governmental power and in preserving the widest possible field for the expression of the citizen's own abilities, ambitions, and desires. Granted he believes that it is the function of Government to temper in some degree the rigors of a completely unregulated economy. What man of humane instincts can believe otherwise?

In conclusion, here is a brief comment upon the President's own statement that he is not too smart a politician. If by politician we mean an unscrupulous schemer and contriver, willing to sacrifice principle for personal advantage, this is certainly true. But there is a higher kind of politics, an art which implies using to the utmost the lawful powers of office to enhance the general good.

Mr. Eisenhower is learning this higher art. He is learning how to use most effectively the powers delegated to him in, for

instance, the broad field of patronage. He has stuck firmly by his resolve not to descend to personalities but at the same time he has found ways to lessen the influence of some of his more blatant critics. He has shown skill in compromise, which is basic to the successful practice of politics.

Above all, he shows increasing mastery of the various media open to him for stating his case directly to the people. He may never be the kind of orator which Franklin Roosevelt was. He will never adopt the give 'em hell tactics of Mr. Truman. But he has discovered that the people of the country have faith in him and he therefore dares make his appeal to their reason and judgment.

So far he has not failed them and they have not failed him.

End of Cash Deficits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by David Lawrence, entitled "President Ends Cash Deficits."

Although President Eisenhower took office over 1 year ago, the budget that was presented to Congress last week was the first budget presented by the President. Last year the budget which was presented to Congress was prepared by President Truman.

The expenditures in this year's budget are more than $12 billion under the spending that was proposed under the Truman administration for 1954. This budget was prepared and sent to Congress with a view to reducing Federal expenditures, lowering taxes, and a goal of a balanced budget.

The President and this administration are determined to reduce Federal expenditures so as to bring about a balanced budget. As a matter of fact, we are making very substantial progress toward that end.

In cutting nonessential expenditures and refashioning our military program, this fiscal year we will have a deficit on July 1 of approximately $3.3 billion and the fiscal deficit proposed in the President's budget for 1955 will be $2.9 billion.

It was because of good housekeeping that we were able to reduce Federal expenditures so we could reduce taxes by about $5 billion already and had these cuts not gone into effect, we would not only have balanced the budget on June 30 this year—we would have had a surplus of $2 billion.

Then too, there is a difference between the regular budget and the cash budget. The regular budget does not include receipts from social security and other trust funds. If you count them as revenue to the Treasury in 1955, we will have a balance in the cash budget—in fact, a surplus of over $200 million.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT ENDS CASH DEFICITS—GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE IN MORE THAN IT WILL SPEND IN FISCAL 1955, AND WILL HAVE $100 MILLION LEFT

(By David Lawrence)

President Eisenhower has balanced the cash budget. The Government will take in more cash than it will spend for the year beginning July 1 next.

This is an achievement of major importance, not merely to the taxpayers of America, but to the world in which the integrity of the dollar plays a principal role today.

The details of a budget are complex and the methods by which the Federal Government keeps its books are wholly unlike those of private business. Capital outlays and loans are regarded as expenses, along with current operating expenditures. So the important thing to look at is whether the Government is collecting more money than it is spending and whether it is being forced to keep on borrowing to get funds to pay deficits.

The Eisenhower administration came into power just a year ago and was confronted with the operation of only the second half of the 1953 budget. This terminated on June 30, 1953. The budget for the fiscal year July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954, was already so far grooved into the operating system of the Government—with contracts let far in advance and obligations already incurred—that there was no chance to do any major cutting. Where there was still discretion left and cuts could be made, the new administration was able to economize substantially.

But everyone who has followed budget matters knew that the real test would come in the so-called 1955 budget. This is the one on which work started in the summer of 1953 and has continued until this week, when the document was issued, showing what estimated receipts and expenditures would be for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1954, and continuing until June 30, 1955. This is what's called the 1955 budget.

Examining this—the first Eisenhower budget—it will be discovered that there will be a $100-million surplus on a cash basis. This isn't large, but at least the cash deficits have been ended.

From a bookkeeping standpoint, too, using the same classifications that have been employed in previous presidential budgets, the Eisenhower message reveals that, although the Truman administration's fiscal experts predicted a deficit of approximately $15 billion, the Eisenhower prediction is for a deficit of only $2.9 billion.

All this has been accomplished despite a tax cut that means about $6 billion less in revenue previously received from certain sources.

So what has happened is that the Eisenhower administration has borne the brunt of a tax cut, which reduced receipts from corporation and individual income taxes, and yet has come up with an actual cash surplus and a bookkeeping deficit of only one-fifth of what had been estimated for fiscal year 1955 by the preceding administration.

"These reductions (in expenses)," says the President, "justified lower taxes. Without tax reductions a budget surplus was in sight for the fiscal year 1955."

This is big news for the American people. But a budget message is only what the President recommends. It is not law until Congress acts. The House and Senate can upset the applecart by increasing the expenditures or they can cut still further and bring the bookkeeping budget down closer to a balance.

Certainly, as the Republicans go into the 1954 congressional campaign, their record on appropriations will be scrutinized. Will the majority have aided in bringing the budget closer to a balance, or will they have widened the gap?

The pressure on Congress to spend money for local projects or to benefit special interests is always strong. Hence, the drive to keep the debt limit from rising is one that may have a psychological effect in forcing a balance on the bookkeeping side. Senator BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, says he is convinced that the facts disclosed by the budget message confirm his attitude in refusing to see the debt limit increased.

There are occasions when a higher debt limit is necessary for brief intervals. If the law could be amended so that the debt limit could be increased temporarily during a fiscal year, provided a certain limit was achieved at the end of the fiscal year, it might give the Treasury the flexibility it needs in refunding or refinancing its debt.

But the facts of the budget, as revealed, are on the whole encouraging and it may be said that in a practical sense President Eisenhower has fulfilled his campaign pledge when he presents a budget in which the money to be spent is less by $100 million than the money that is to be collected from the taxpayers. Receipts may grow larger than have been anticipated, because the incentives to business expansion through revision of the tax laws may give America the same kind of lift that Britain got when the same principle—incentive taxation—was adopted last year at the suggestion of Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler.

The Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DWIGHT GRISWOLD
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "An Utter Failure," published in the evening edition of the Omaha World-Herald, January 13, 1954, which, I believe, presents a very substantial view held among thinking people in our section of the great Midwest agricultural community on the subject of farm problems presently before us for action in the current session of Congress.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN UTTER FAILURE

In his remarks on the Eisenhower farm program, Secretary of Agriculture Benson made one point which should be understood by all who have any interest in this problem, to wit: The present price-support program has failed to provide a stable income for farmers.

Figures prove that point conclusively.

In spite of the fact that the Government has invested $5 billion of the people's money in a futile attempt to support prices, the total farm income today is lower than at any time since 1940. As a matter of fact, farm income has dropped during 5 of the past 6 years.

That slump was not caused by Ezra Taft Benson or yet by Dwight Eisenhower.

It occurred while the Roosevelt-Truman farm policies were in effect, and it is a clear indication that those policies have failed.

While providing no real help for the farmers, the support program has created an impossible economic situation.

It has caused the Government to buy and hoard huge stores of surplus commodi-

ties which, as Secretary Benson said, "endanger the free market system." It now costs the taxpayers $14 million a month—$168 million a year—merely to store these commodities which nobody wants to buy and the Government is afraid to destroy.

Does that make sense?

Does it in the long run help anybody?

Obviously not. As this newspaper often has pointed out, the price-support program is simply and only a scheme for hiring people to produce stuff which isn't needed in this country and can't be sold abroad. In times of surplus it results in the creation of even greater surpluses, and thus the original disease is aggravated and the infection is caused to spread throughout the entire farming community.

The longer the situation is allowed to continue, the larger the overhang of surpluses will become—and the greater will be the confusion and the suffering when the eventual crash comes.

The point to be remembered is this:

President Eisenhower, Secretary Benson, and others who are trying to change the price-support system are not enemies of the farmer, as emotional partisans sometimes charge.

They are not trying to deprive farmers of their fair share of the national income.

On the far contrary, they are seeking a sounder system, one which will be fairer and more helpful to the farmers than the present hodgepodge has proved to be.

They are groping for a system which can be continued, year after year, for the benefit of all real farmers—and which at the same time will not bring them into competition with hordes of suitcase farmers.

This isn't an easy task. No economist, no professor sitting in an ivory tower, can devise a perfect farm plan or outline a painless way of getting from here to there. The difficulties, both economic and political, are huge.

But those difficulties will be eased greatly if all concerned will recognize the simple truth of what Secretary Benson said—that the price-support system, as a permanent way of life, has proved an utter failure and, for the sake of the farmer as well as other taxpayers, must be replaced with something better.

Discharge of Employees as Security Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN O. PASTORE

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President I am informed that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], the ranking minority member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, will address the Senate on the subject of the separation of 2,200 Government employees on the ground of being security risks.

This morning a very provocative editorial dealing with the same subject appeared in the Providence Journal.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S HAVE THE FACTS ON SECURITY RISKS

There is no shred of excuse for the administration's persistent refusal to give out impersonal breakdown figures on the results of its employee-security program.

From the President on down, no one has been reluctant to quote the total of security risks separated from the Federal Government since the Republicans took over. But, also from the President on down, not a one of these same sources has been willing to say exactly how many of the total separated were dropped for Communist or espionage activities and how many for the numerous other reasons that are grounds for dismissal under the Eisenhower security formula.

Washington newsmen, among them Journal-Bulletin Correspondent Edward J. Milne, have been working for months to pry loose the breakdown figures, not out of idle curiosity or just to make news, but to put an end to what has looked more and more like a deliberate deception of the American people.

After the White House announced last October that a total of 1,456 employees had been removed from the Government as security risks, that figure was cited repeatedly as evidence of the success of the new security program. The impression was spread—perhaps innocently by Mr. Eisenhower, but very deliberately by others—that most of these separations involved spies, Communists, or Communist sympathizers. Senator MCCARTHY has been particularly diligent in propagating that view.

Yet the overall figure covered dismissals for every one of the many reasons specified in the security order—overtalkativeness, alcoholism, sexual perversion, and several others in addition to actual espionage or Communist Party activity. Some commentators have also charged that the total was inflated with some cases that were in fact routine transfers or reductions in strength rather than security risks. In the interests of accuracy and to prevent further misuse of the overall statistics by such professional exploiters as Senator MCCARTHY, the total figure needs to be broken down to indicate exactly what proportion of the dismissals represented the removal of spies or Communists.

But no one in the administration would release such a breakdown. The President was asked for it, Attorney General Brownell was asked for it, the Civil Service Commission was asked for it. Yet it remains an airtight secret to this day.

And now the overall figure has been upped to 2,200 by a presidential reference in the state of the Union message. Mr. Eisenhower was careful to indicate that this total included separations for all reasons under the security policy, not just Communist activity or espionage. But he didn't offer any breakdown, and neither did Mr. Brownell when he was pressed for one at his press conference last Thursday.

When he took over the Presidency Mr. Eisenhower said the question of subversion in Government would be handled openly and efficiently by his administration. Is this coverup the frankness he promised?

When the President issued his modification of the Truman order on secrecy of information, he pledged his administration not to hoard up unnecessary secrets. Is this how he observes that pledge?

When the Harry Dexter White case finally began to simmer down Mr. Eisenhower said he hoped that subversion would soon disappear as a political issue. Is the secrecy on security dismissals, which gives the Red hunters a free hand to magnify the Communists-in-Government problem, consistent with that presidential stand?

We can see no justification for the administration's attitude. If an erroneous impression has been fostered by the coverup of the breakdown figures, let Mr. Brownell and the President admit it now and do what they can to remedy the damage rather than compound it by maintaining the secrecy cloak any longer.

A Tribute to a Labor Statesman, George W. Lawson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an editorial from the Minnesota Union Advocate, of January 7, 1954, entitled "Tribute to George Lawson," printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The editorial reflects the judgment of all citizens of Minnesota, in manager, labor, and public life, who have come to know Mr. Lawson and to respect him. I am proud to consider him my friend. I wish him many years of long life and happiness.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE LAWSON

The retirement of George W. Lawson as secretary-treasurer of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor marks the close of a career that began just a few years after the federation was chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Lawson was active in the St. Paul labor movement long before he had any ambitions to the secretaryship of the federation. He was a charter member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union when he became a delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, which he later served as its secretary.

It wasn't easy in those days to be identified with the labor movement, and unionists were not already as willing to wear their union buttons as they are now. Nor were there such provisions in union contracts as health and welfare allowances, paid vacations, sick leaves, and paid holidays. Lawson lost his first job in a St. Paul shoe factory because he wasn't afraid to let it be known that he was a trade unionist.

The map of the world has been changed since George Lawson brought his organizing genius and personality to the labor scene. He has seen the 10-hour day reduced greatly; he has seen both State and national legislation enacted to raise the American standard of living to the highest levels in history; he has seen the house of labor built and then rent apart. He knew a time when there were less than 2 million members of the A. F. of L.; today the membership is crowding 10 million. He participated in the campaign for the enactment of the first Workmen's Compensation Act in the State, and he has played an important part in securing many amendments to that vital statute.

Many honors have come to George Lawson in the intervening years—honors he has shared with labor because he has always felt that whatever came to him was by way of recognition of labor and his efforts in labor's behalf. He is one of the few members of organized labor who have ever been named to the regency of any State university, and in all his associations with the outside world he has brought a dignity that has increased labor's prestige.

A man of many parts, Mr. Lawson has made a contribution to labor that will not be equaled for many years, and his retirement will be noted with regret by many, both in and outside of the labor movement. Never a seeker of headlines for personal glory, George Lawson has served labor well and his policies will live long after him. In his half century of service to the labor movement he has taught younger men to be

patient, tolerant, and unselfish; he has taught many to exercise judgment, to demonstrate good will, and to always be cognizant of the rights of others.

Never spectacular, never given to expediency, and never forgetting the plane of his origin, George Lawson has left his mark on a movement that was close to his heart at all times, and he will be remembered with affection long after his last detractor is dead and justly forgotten.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Urgent St. Lawrence Seaway," published in the Kansas City Star of January 19, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

URGENT ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Middle Western agriculture and industry have a tremendous stake in the St. Lawrence seaway. And the bill that is now before the Senate will accomplish a large part of the job at virtually no cost to the American taxpayers.

The logic of developing the interior is so completely one-sided that the project is bound to come. The question now before the Senate is who will build it. Canada is ready and able to take over the whole job if we hold back much longer. The United States would then have no voice in the allocation of tolls to the various types of freight. And the toll pattern could have a far-reaching effect on the farm, industrial and shipping interests of this country.

Over decades of debate the nature of the seaway proposal has been changed from time to time. The present Senate bill would commit the United States only to a $100 million piece of the project. Becaues tolls would make it self-liquidating virtually the whole $100 million could be financed with revenue bonds.

The immediate goal of this bill is to let the big ocean ships through the St. Lawrence River and a canal into Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Toledo would automatically become a western seaport. And a large share of the ships would be able to get through the connecting lake channels to Chicago.

This means Labrador iron ore could reach the Middle Western steel mills with a direct impact on the industry of the area. It would give Middle Western products a 1,000-mile shorter route to northern Europe. From the tremendously important standpoint of national defense, shipping can be much better protected in the St. Lawrence than on the open sea. The vital iron ore could have a reasonably safe route to steel mills that are among the farthest from enemy attack.

The only real basis for opposition is the immediate self-interest of some seaports and coastal areas that don't want to lose any special advantage. This is understandable but a nation isn't built by narrow, regional self-interest.

Canada is prepared to bear the heavy end of the cost in any case. If the United States opponents prevail Canada will do the whole job and control the seaway. It is time to wake up.

American Relations to China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Mongolian Frankenstein," written by Granville A. Chatfield and published in the January 16, 1954, issue of the Denver Democrat. Mr. Chatfields' clearcut and realistic observations should be considered seriously by every Member of Congress and the State Department. He is so right.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR MONGOLIAN FRANKENSTEIN
(By Granville A. Chatfield)

On page 30 of the January 11, 1954, issue of Newsweek, you will find:

"After questioning many Japanese who have been in Communist China, Compton Pakenham, chief of Newsweek's Tokyo bureau reports: 'All sources definitely agree that the Korean war is regarded as a crusade. Chinese unshakably believe the Americans started the war and used germs. * * *

"'Hatred of America and the Korean war—these are what enabled the Communist regime to fasten its grip on a vast territory, begin to transform an agricultural country into a major industrial power, turn the world's biggest rabble in uniform into the world's largest fighting army, smash the family system, and start to transform the intensely individualistic Chinese character into the faceless image of authoritarianism.'"

I think that Mr. Pakenham has cited rightly a Mongolian menace to these United States. And I believe further that we have created it—its Frankenstein character.

I have pointed out, heretofore, that when China was fighting the Japanese, there were two Chinese forces in action against the Japs: 1. The recognized Nationalist Government at Nanking. 2. The rebel Chinese Eighth Route Army which fought both the Nanking Chinese Government and the Japanese forces.

After the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor forced us into the war against Japan, it was right and proper that we should ally ourselves with the Chinese who were also fighting the Japs. And we made no mistake in supplying arms and military know-how only to the recognized Nanking government until Japan capitulated.

Thereafter, we should have ceased immediately to furnish military supplies to the Nationalist government. Why? Because the civil war in China went on as it had before and during the war against Japan. We should have kept our hands off that civil war, other than to sell, not donate, whatever either side of the civil conflict wanted to buy.

We were right in continuing to recognize the established Nationalist Government at Nanking until after Nanking, the capital city, was evacuated. But not after the Nationalist Government was driven off the Continent of Asia.

Even Communist Russia recognized that government that far. When the Chinese government and its army under the command of Chiang Kai Shek evacuated Nanking and retreated to Canton, the Russian ambassador went to Canton just as the British and United States Ambassadors did. But, after the Nationalist Government left continental China and set itself up on Formosa, it was evident that it no longer represented the Chinese nation. It was then that Britain, Russia, and some other countries recognized the new regime at Peking. That is when we should have recognized the latter also.

That is when we began building our Mongolian Frankenstein. We completed that fearsome job when we ordered the U. N. army, under the field command of General McArthur across the 38th parallel and on across the length of North Korea to the Manchurian border.

Then it was that Communist China, believing that our forces were about to invade Manchuria, as the Japanese had done in 1931, entered the Korean war.

That they believe falsely that we used germ warfare, is, of course, unfortunate. But it's not the only case of a great people being mislead by a few of their warmongers. The American people fought Spain in 1898, believing Spaniards had blown up the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Even now it isn't generally known that the explosion was set off inside the vessel.

Summing up the fact, it is easy to understand why the Chinese people and their government are intensely angry at us: First, we intervened in the Chinese civil war by supporting one side after the Jap war ended. Second, we continued to recognize that side after it no longer could lay claim to the support of the Chinese people. And we still do. Third, we invaded North Korea in the face of repeated warnings issued by the Chinese Government in Peiping.

And, probably most provocative of all, we have insisted upon consulting prisoners of war concerning their desires about repatriation. As one of the terms of a peaceful settlement of the war, prisoners of both sides should have been, or should be, returned without question.

So, by almost every means at our command, we have made ourselves the hated enemy of the most numerous people on earth. And we have given their Government ample reason for allying itself with Russia.

We have at last completed the creation of the Yellow Peril which, until very recently, our best international sense taught us to avoid as we would a plague.

Communist China is becoming rapidly the most potent and militarily conscious power in the world.

Fear of Police State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting news story entitled "Police State Here Feared by Mumford," which appeared in this morning's Washington Post.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICE STATE HERE FEARED BY MUMFORD

Lewis Mumford, writer, art critic, and philosopher, yesterday warned that "in the name of freedom we are rapidly creating a police state."

Mumford, who lectured before the Institute of Contemporary Arts at the Corcoran

Gallery, continued, "In the name of democracy we have succumbed, not to creeping socialism but to galloping fascism, in which official scandal sheets spotted with anonymous lies, fabrications, distortions, have been used overnight to destroy the reputation and political effectiveness of honorable patriotic men."

Mumford made these remarks in the course of a discussion of what he termed "irrationality" in modern art and politics. He called the "contradiction between our military purposes and our political ends" the "full measure of the irrationality of our time."

He cited the success of the Marshall plan as an instance of the success of what he called "our works of love." Works of power, on the other hand, have failed, he added.

He cautioned that human beings, "subject to sin and error, being of plainly limited intellectual capacities," have taken control of such destructive forces as atomic energy. He said this danger has been made more dangerous by the secrecy that has surrounded atomic power.

"Nowhere have moral judgments been more completely paralyzed than in the very field where moral judgment alone could preserve our humanity," the critic said.

The threat of catastrophe that hangs over mankind cannot be removed "until we recover as a Nation the capacity to be human again," Mumford said. The preliminary step toward this goal, he explained, "is the capacity to feel love in our hearts and to bestow love even on our enemies."

Tribute to the People of Sussex County, Del.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, recently an increasing number of my Senate colleagues, seeking recreation, have sojourned to the cool and embracing seaside resorts along the Delaware coast. I am certain, whether they stopped at Lewes, Rehoboth Beach, Bethany Beach, or any other of the many places along the coast, they became more and more aware of the simplicity of the people who reside in the surrounding area.

This simplicity, as well as the very cordial hospitality of the people of Delaware is hereditary. It is known and recognized as an attribute of those who have been born and reared in good old Sussex County, down in little Delaware.

In order that each of my colleagues may have an insight into the simple creed by which the people of Sussex County live amiably with their neighbors, I ask unanimous consent that a poem entitled "In Good Old Sussex," taken from the September 11, 1953, issue of the Bridgeville News, printed in Bridgeville, Del., be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN GOOD OLD SUSSEX

(Mrs. Charles Kinder lent the Bridgeville News a copy of Mr. Hyson's poem "In Good Old Sussex." We have not seen the poem in print for many years, and felt that many of our readers would enjoy reading it.)

In good old Sussex County
Down in little Delaware,
I often say to Sary Ann,
I'm glad we're living there.
The country's kind o' humble.
Stretchin' onward to the sea;
It ain't a stylish lookin' place
And don't pretend to be.
There ain't a mountain anywhere
A-holdin' up its head;
There ain't no rocks, but only sand
A-shinin' there instead;
But there's allus welcome for you.
You can feel it in the air
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

The sweetest kind of music
Is the rustle of the corn
And the whippoorwills a-callin'
In the early of the morn.
When the bees are in the clover
Hummin' such a lovely tune
That it sets a feller sighin'
For an everlastin' June.
I like to watch the glowin' sun
And then the summer rain
That touches up the dusty grass
And makes it smile again;
With happiness for every one
And just a bit to spare,
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

I like to be in Sussex
In the watermelon time—
For that's the place to get 'em
If you want 'em in their prime.
Some say the finest melon
Is the good old "Mountain Sweet."
And others say "Tom Watson"
Is rather hard to beat;
But the finest watermelon
Ripens early in the morn
All nice and cold and wet with dew—
You eat it in the corn
You take it from a neighbor
Who has plenty and to spare,
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

I reckon there ain't nothin'
That a feller could compare
To the red and juicy peaches
That you find a-growin' there;
Just help yourself, it's all the same
If you should take a few
The fruits of earth belong to man,
And that is why they grew.
They say in good old Sussex
That, since the air is free
And not a cent to pay for it
Why, peaches ought to be.
So help yourself; I reckon
There's a-plenty and to spare
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

We're modest here in Sussex
And we've got a simple creed,
Good honest folks for neighbors
With a helpin' hand in need;
A friend to cheer and comfort
You when troubles intervene—
Not sayin' much, but standin' by
Well, you know what I mean.
We're preachin' every Sunday
And singin' is the best.
So "not a wave of trouble rolls
Across our peaceful breast"—
Good company, enough to eat,
And quite enough to wear,
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

It's comfortin' to hear 'em talk
Down to the village store
Of hosses and of politics
And why the land is pore—
Of rabbit dogs and setter pups,
And, social like, you know,
And your neighbors' business
And all the debts they owe.
Then some one gets to talkin'
Of the boys what went to war.
You doze a spell, and then wake up
And wonder where you are;
Then off to home where Sary Ann
Is dozin' in her chair,
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

I like to see the purple grapes
A-hangin' from the vines;
I like to hear the rabbit dogs
A-yelpin' in the pines—
When the shoats are all a-thrivin'
And the turkeys gettin' fat
With jowl and sweet potaters
For your mouth to water at;
The boys a-gatherin' hickory nuts,
The men a-huskin' corn
The women gettin' dinner
With the gals to blow the horn
The glory of the autumn
'Round about us everywhere
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

And 'long in winter evenin's
I like to stay at home
Beside the fire and toast my shins,
And have the neighbors come;
And there we'll set and talk for hours
Of folks we used to know,
And mebbe mention some old chum
That's underneath the snow—
And have some meller apples then
With cider just to waste,
With a lettle drap o' somethin' else
To give the stuff a taste;
Then all our troubles melt away
And vanish in the air
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

I ain't as spry as once I was;
I guess I'm getting old,
The tasks are now for younger men
And not for me, I'm told.
My children all have left the farm
And gone in town to stay,
They pester me to sell the place
And then to move away.
But here at home with Sary Ann
I'm happy as I be,
With all the fields and all the flowers
A-smilin' back at me;
It's good to know that we shall find
Eternal slumber there
In good old Sussex County,
Down in little Delaware.

Minnesota 4–H Club Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the list of Minnesota's 4–H delegates to the National 4–H Club Congress in Chicago, together with a brief statement of their activities, be published in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Minnesota is justly proud of its great 4–H Club program. We have 2,200 4–H Clubs with some 48,000 members—one of the highest percentages of participation among rural boys and girls of any State in the Nation.

Climaxing an impressive record of participation in county fairs and our great

Minnesota State fair, our 4–H Clubs sent 34 delegates to the National 4–H Club Congress near the year-end. They did a very capable job of representing Minnesota.

All of our delegates were selected on the basis of their longtime achievements in 4–H Club work. Leadership plays an important part in their overall record of achievement, even though they may be selected for recognition in a specific project field. Our delegates represented a vast array of different types of 4–H projects.

Throughout the 4–H Congress, Minnesota won outstanding recognition.

Myron Clark, our State commissioner of agriculture, was honored at a special banquet as one of the eight outstanding 4–H alumni in the country. At one time Commissioner Clark was president of the Minnesota 4–H Federation, and was an outstanding 4–H member in our State. He later served as a local 4–H leader for several years, and has continued a very active interest in the 4–H Club program.

We are one of the few States that always includes an extension agent in our delegation. This year, Caroline Frederickson, county home agent at Mankato, was selected to represent the extension agents and to go with our delegation.

In recognition of the outstanding volunteer work being done by rural 4–H club leaders, we are one of the few States that sends a local adult leader along with our delegation each year. In Minnesota we conduct a contest to select the 4–H Club of the year, and an adult leader from this club is chosen by club members in the winning club to represent the more than 6,500 local leaders of Minnesota at the club congress.

The Newhouse Horsemen 4–H Club was our club of the year this year, and it selected Mrs. Harry Lommen of Spring Grove as the local leader to be honored as an official member of the delegation.

Very few States are invited to submit talent numbers for the annual share the fun breakfast on the final morning of the club congress. There are only about 8 or 9 entertainment numbers that are brought in from over the country, yet Minnesota was fortunate in having the first place talent number from our State's search for 4–H talent—a fine quartet from Wadena—was selected to appear on the program this year.

Minnesota was further honored by having one of its participants in the International Farm Youth Exchange program, Marlene Mattila of Sebeka, who recently returned from Finland, speak at the club congress banquet for all the delegates. Marlene spoke on her experiences as 1 of 4 International Farm Youth Exchange delegates from Minnesota going overseas last year.

The delegates were accompanied by Osgood Magnuson, Bernard Beadle, A. E. Engebretson, Gwen Bacheller, and Elaine Tessman from the University Farm as chaperones.

Our 4–H Club work is being effectively carried out under the direction of Leonard Harkness, State 4–H Club leader, to whom I am indebted for the information in this report.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Minnesota's delegates to the 1953 National 4–H Club Congress included: Edward L. Maier, Sauk Rapids; Caroline Frederickson, Mankato; Keith W. Thurston, Madelia; Mary Lee Schotzko, Sleepy Eye; Vernon Kitzberger, New Ulm, route 2; Shirley Demm, Waconia, route 1; LuAnn Lewis, Excelsior, route 1; Janet Swanson, Moorhead, route 1; Janet Grant, Jeffers, route 2; Harris L. Byers, Westbrook; John W. Conzemius, Cannon Falls, route 3; Evelyn Johnson, Blue Earth, route 2; Richard Sample, Spring Valley, route 2; Roland Kohlmeyer, Fountain, route 1; Phyllis D. Hanson, Ellendale, route 2; Ann Therese Busch, 915 N. Boone, Minneapolis; Mrs. Harry Lommen, Spring Grove; Kathryn Stinar, Lakefield, route 2; Ronald E. Johnson, Windom, route 1; Willis Schoemaker, Kasota, route 1; Rodney G. Malo, Fairmont, route 2; Dennis R. Forsell, Twin Valley, route 1; Richard Swanson, Byron, route 2; George Rabehl, Rochester, route 1; G. Dianne Lendobeja, Thief River Falls, route 4; Roger E. Keller, Faribault, route 1; Victorin Ruhland, New Prague, route 1; Jeanne Ellen Deal, Wheaton, route 3; Marlene Mattila, Sebeka; Lavern Eckert, Wadena; Edwin Eckert, Wadena; Eldow Eckert, Wadena; Lola Jean Krueger, Wadena; Ann Bangsund, Montevideo.

I Saw It in the Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "I Saw It in the Times," written by Jeanne Somerville, and published in the January 1954 issue of the National Republic.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The reputation of the New York Times for conservatism, trustworthiness, and objectivity is widespread. Many an argument has been won by stating simply, and with an air of finality—"It must be true. I saw it in the Times."

But is it? Is an investigation "ill-timed" because the Times says so? Is an attempt to root out subversives "a sniping attack"? Is a Congressman doing his job conscientiously a "witch hunter"? You'll answer affirmatively if your opinions are influenced by the New York Times.

On the question of communism in far away places, the Times is firmly against it and says so eloquently and frequently.

However, when a story concerning domestic communism arises, a study and analysis of the Times leads to the conclusion that its slogan. "All the news that's fit to print," might better read "All the news that's fit for brain-washing." One marvels at the consistency and conformity of the Times' approach to this problem, whether the subject to be treated is education, the clergy, the United Nations, or Senator McCARTHY.

In the educational field, for example, "Inquisitors' menace United States schools and way of life" made page 1 with a picture of Mrs. Agnes Meyer. The fact that she denounced McCARTHY, JENNER, and VELDE was convincing proof to the Times that she understood the Times' approach and therefore merited ample space to express herself.

At the June convention of the National Education Association, among the resolutions adopted were the following, as published in the Times: A resolution condemning book burning and the restriction of free thought, and a resolution denouncing educators who hid behind the legal protection of the fifth amendment when called before congressional investigating committees. Teachers were urged to cooperate with such committees.

Confronted with a choice between pointing up the resolution which aids the exposure of communism and the resolution which conforms with the Times' approach to "book burning," the Times chose as its headline, "Teachers Condemn All Book Burning."

On August 19 the New York Herald Tribune published a statement made by Mrs. Thelma M. Borchardt, described "as Washington legislative representative of the teachers federation." At the convention of the AFL American Federation of Teachers, Mrs. Borchardt said, "Teachers who testify—and because they are teachers, they have a special responsibility toward the Government—should certainly testify fully concerning activity in the Communist Party."

According to the Times' report of the same day, a Miss Selma M. Borchardt challenged investigators and was critical of investigative committees. The Times carried no mention of the above statement urging cooperation and the unsuspecting reader was left with an unfavorable impression of congressional committees.

Because the Times' attitude has been one in favor of leaving the problem of Communist infiltration to the Department of Justice and the FBI, one would think the editors would have a keen interest in the opinion of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

But on September 1 the reader learned of the acute doctor shortage in China, an information plan on NATO, anti-Communist hysteria, the stiffened French stand toward Cambodians, and the influx of Indians alarming Rhodesia, before finding on page 11 that the Attorney General believes domestic Communists are "a greater menace now than at any time." To the Times this was of less importance than, for example, the views of Mr. George Kennan, when he "decried witch hunts and loyalty oaths." For his opinions the former American Ambassador to Russia received front-page headlines, a story complete with picture, and editorial commendation. This was to be expected, for Mr. Kennan is another who has mastered the Times' approach. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he is doing what comes naturally.

The clergy are not immune. The Times' manner of dealing with them depends upon the ideas they express. "Clerics Vehement on 'McCarthyism'" was front-page news. The subhead read, "Protestant Leaders Here Take to Pulpits To Assail 'Absurd' Charge of Red Influence."

In the above-mentioned story, Dean James A. Pike was quoted as saying, "if this systematic smearing of our fellow citizens continues to go on, more than the Rosenbergs will have died in our land." This thought made page 1. But 10 days later, when the Times carried a story that Dean Pike and a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, KIT CLARDY, agreed that a few clergymen probably had embraced communism, it was tucked away on page 13.

Dean Pike and Representative CLARDY, Republican, of Michigan, also agreed, according to the Times, that the extent of Communist influence among the clergy was not known, and that congressional investigations to find out could not be considered a state invasion of religion. Interestingly enough, just above this brief and obscure item was a story featuring Rev. Dr. George

H. Talbott, who received ample space to question the competence of investigators and the accuracy of their sources of information.

"Oxnam Denounces Critics of Church" and "McCarthy Terror Assailed by Rabbi" receiver headlines twice the size of "Bishop Bids Church Oust Its Subversives." The Protestant Episcopal bishop of Long Island, who called upon church officials to clean their own houses of subversive clergymen, is the Right Reverend James P. de Wolfe. Bishop de Wolfe said that he felt there were subversive forces in the church and in education, but he asserted that 97 percent of the clergymen with whom he came in contact in his diocese were loyal. The coverage of this story, implying that perhaps 3 percent were not loyal, was brief and not of front-page interest to the Times.

When it comes to Senator McCarthy, the Times makes no pretense of objectivity. In 1953 the Times continued its long-time attack on the Wisconsin Senator, devoting much unfavorable editorial comment to him and his fight against the Communist conspiracy.

A recent editorial entitled "Is McCarthy Slipping?" concluded "that he is, in fact, slipping." To make certain the news fit the editorial, on a back page (p. 16) a story of the McCarthy investigation of the Government Printing Office was headlined "United States Printing Aide Silent at Inquiry." The Times was careful not to give headline credit to McCarthy for exposing a Government employee who refused to answer whether or not he had been engaging in espionage against the United States.

But when a story can be headed "McCarthy Finances Still Under Study," the Times is quick to give him prominence. Buried in this same story was the mention of a reported statement by J. Edgar Hoover that he regarded the Wisconsin Senator as earnest and honest. With all the facilities available to the Times, apparently no effort was made to check the reported statement of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, thus leaving doubt in the reader's mind as to whether or not something complimentary to the Senator had really been said. Thus the Times is able to editorialize in a supposedly straight news story, unbeknown to the average reader.

A professor, politician, or clergyman, who attacks McCarthy can get top billing in the Times—but not the head of the FBI who says something in McCarthy's favor. The Times' first mention of Hoover's statement concerning McCarthy was found on page 11, August 24, in a column headlined "Editors Disagree on McCarthy Role."

For their disagreement and a chance to pan McCarthy, they were given 58 lines. Beneath this was an item headed "Inquiry on Senator asked," which began "Alan Max, managing editor of the Daily Worker, the Communist newspaper, yesterday urged a Federal inquiry into the financial background of Senator McCarthy." This item rated 18 lines.

Under this, in the same size type as "Inquiry on Senator Asked," was "Hoover Applauds Efforts." Whose efforts? Those of Senator McCarthy, of course. This item merited 23 lines.

Which goes to show that perhaps we worry unnecessarily about the policy of the Times. After all, they still consider the opinion of J. Edgar Hoover deserving of five more lines than that of the editor of the Daily Worker.

When one veteran said he was disgusted with Senator McCarthy, he rated space and a picture, but when the Senator received a certificate of good citizenship at a dinner given by World War I and II veterans and attended by 300 persons, it received one-eighth the space given to one disgusted veteran.

"McCarthy Accused of Franking Abuse" gave the Senator prominence, but the headline "Fifteen in Red Inquiry Shifted as Risks," carefully avoids crediting McCarthy with any useful work although it was the result of his committee's efforts in the Government Printing Office inquiry. The Subcommittee on Investigations is McCarthy committee if someone attacks it, but when its praiseworthy activity must be reported, the Times plays down the role of the Wisconsin Senator.

When, according to the Times, Harold Stassen "indicated that he disagreed with a charge of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Permanent Investigating Committee that Western trade with Communist China was a 'shocking policy,'" but that "Mr. Stassen did not state a flat disagreement with this report," the Times chose to headline the story "Stassen Rebukes McCarthy." The headline implies Stassen rebuked McCarthy the individual, whereas, according to the Times own account, he did no such thing. No doubt wishful thinking on the part of the Times. And when wishing doesn't make it so, the Times has its own remedies.

The treatment accorded former Communists depends upon whether or not they have the Times approach and attitude. When Ex-Red Sees Peril in School Inquiries, he merits the front page to express his opinion and is described as an active foe of communism. But former Communists who do not see this peril are self-styled.

Another who received sympathetic consideration from the Times was James Wechsler, former member of the Young Communist League. Mr. Wechsler was described as being "prominent in anti-Communist movements" and participating in "bitterly anti-Communist organizations" which goes to show that when the Times sees fit to make them, it does not quibble about unsubstantiated statements. Mr. Wechsler is best known for his editorship of the New York Post which continually chastizes exposers of communism.

On September 8, a Times editorial said, "We are gradually learning that the Communist program is designed to be more than an attack on men's bodies," and "We need to know more about our adversary if he is to be met successfully." This is a hopeful sign, indeed, but one can only wish that the Times would not proceed so majestically.

The Times might have assisted in this process of educating its readers concerning the Communist conspiracy by devoting some editorial comment to the report by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, entitled "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments."

After one announcement of this impressive and disquieting document, the Times ignored it. On August 24, the Times reported, "Senators Say Reds Still Hide in United States Jobs; Ask New Laws." But, apparently, the editors did not find this a provocative disclosure. The editorial pages throughout the week found space for "More Noise in the Subways?", "Exit Raymond Street Jail," "Broadway's 'Big' Week" (featuring Rodgers and Hammerstein), "Radios in Taxicabs," "Traveling on a Belt," "A Penny's Worth," "The Best in Tennis," and "Taking Cars Abroad." But nary an editorial concerning the all-important Senate report.

On Sunday the anxious anti-Communist looked eagerly for mention of the report in "The News of the Week in Review." He looked in vain. But the Times did have room for an editorial on "Pickles," enlightening the uninformed as to their proper picking, sorting, and juicing.

And "The News of the Week in Review" found space to express the thought that some non-Communists remained in the National Lawyers Guild "because they have not yet. * * *" In a comparison of the guild program with the Communist Party line, the report mentions the date of "December 1939 when (the guild) still included a sizable number of non-Communists who have since resigned." Attorney General Brownell has recently taken steps to proscribe the guild as a subversive organization.

The Times shows extraordinary sympathy for the present members of the National Lawyers Guild who have had the information contained in the House report available to them since 1950.

It is thought provoking that when the week's news included both the revealing Senate report on interlocking subversion in Government departments and the Attorney General's attempt to have the National Lawyers Guild declared subversive, "The News of the Week in Review" ignored the former, but devoted space to excuse members for remaining in the National Lawyers Guild.

For a paper that states "we need to know more about our adversary," the Times appears to be extremely reluctant to educate its readers. A report on "Organized Communism in the United States," dated August 19, was released by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The New York Herald Tribune carried a story on August 20 concerning this 150-page history of the American Communist Party which alerts Americans to the menace of communism.

In reply to an inquiry as to why the Times failed to mention the House report, the managing editor wrote that an "article appeared in most of our editions, but unfortunately it was dropped from our last editions, along with other material, to make room for late-breaking news."

A trip to the Times office to purchase back copies brought no satisfaction. The would-be purchaser was told that there are only two editions, the "City" and the "Late City," and that there were no "City" editions available because very few are printed.

If, as the managing editor wrote, "it is inevitable in making room for late news that material is dropped" * * * "but we must be guided by our judgment as to which is of greater importance," it is disheartening to find that in this same issue items, considered more newsworthy included "Sutton Technique Seen in Bank Theft." "Dionne Quintuplets to Go Separate Ways" and "Repaving Holland Tube." This is no tribute to the so-called "Journal of Record."

The best understanding of the Times' approach is gained from the publisher himself, Arthur Hays Sulzberger. He wrote: "I would not knowingly employ a Communist on the news or editorial staff of the New York Times. On the other hand, I would not institute a witch hunt to determine if one such existed. * * * Even if we found a Communist or two * * * in doing so we would run the risk of destroying the atmosphere needed for the production of the kind of newspaper we are publishing." After a study of the Times, one must agree that an investigation would be a risk and indeed might destroy the present atmosphere of the Times.

November 15, 1952, was a memorable day for all readers of the Times. The lead editorial of the day was Time for a Change, which concerned "the sordid story being sketched before the State crime commission by witnesses' testimony and by their silences."

The Times was distressed that "the bad names keep showing up alongside top city officials and Tammany district leaders on the seating lists at the large public dinners. We continue to hear the old threadbare excuses and fiction of slight and passing acquaintances. But there comes a time, and it is here and now, when the plea in extenuation against conviction of guilt by association can no longer be accepted. The testimony is too sweeping, too overwhelming, affects too many people in Tammany and official ranks. The most gullible public can no longer have faith in city government that rests upon the rotten foundation of the Tammany wardheeler system, of favors bought and sold."

The Times editorial continued, "The State crime commission has only begun its continuing story, and there will be time later to assess the degree of guilt of various politicians, present and past, after the whole record is put in and there is ample time for rebuttal. But the public has already made up its mind on certain important matters."

One may rightfully wonder why the Times has one standard of values for witnesses testifying before a State crime commission, and a different standard for those testifying before congressional committees; why a gangster-political tieup arouses the righteous indignation of the Times more readily than a Communist conspirator-political tieup; why an investigation into the private affairs of a local gangster is approved, but not an investigation into the personal life of a potential traitor.

Why this double standard of the Times which editorially condoned guilt by association for New York Tammany leaders but is against it when applied to witnesses questioned about their Communist affiliations?

A rewrite of the editorial, Time for a Change, substituting "Communist" for "gangsters and Tammany leaders," would reassure anti-Communist readers of the Times. To quote the editorial: "There comes a time, and it is here and now."

The Increase in Coffee Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the January 23 issue of Hanson's Latin American Letter which sets forth some very illuminating statements of fact relative to the present coffee situation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In 1949–50 a subcommittee of the Senate Agricultural Committee, headed by the distinguished Senator GILLETTE, investigated a raid on the United States coffee market which in less than 2 months had resulted in a rise in the price of coffee to the United States of $600 million per year. The subcommittee suffered through a volume of falsification and apparent perjury by businessmen, speculators, Latin spokesmen, and State Department witnesses such as has seldom been heard by a Senate investigating committee. (See Inter-American Economic Affairs, vol. 4, No. 1, for an analysis of the hearings.)

But the subcommittee emerged with the facts: That there had been no basis in the statistical position to warrant the price increase. That there had been an obviously organized effort to bull coffee. That the structure of the United States end of the industry is ideally adapted to the manipulation of prices at the expense of the consumer: the absence of control over the New York Coffee Exchange, which provides the gambling facilities for Brazilian speculators, the eagerness of the United States end of the industry to identify itself with the interests of producers and speculators rather than with the consumer on whom it lives, the freedom from taxation of gambling gains of foreign interests, the resistance by the United States members of the industry to unbiased crop and stocks reporting lest price raids be discouraged thereby, a statistical apparatus controlled by the producing countries and shaped to their purposes, and cartellike controls over the flow of coffee by certain Latin-American entities encouraged by the United States State Department. The reporting of the coffee situation by the American press was incredibly bad, culminating in disclosure by the Department of Justice that one of the editors of the Journal of Commerce (New York) was a registered foreign agent in the employ of foreign coffee producers.

The subcommittee made recommendations that would have corrected the situation and prevented recurrence of the raids. But the State Department insisted that Brazilian speculators must be protected. * * * As a noted Washington columnist, Constantine Brown, said: "The mere fact that a senatorial committee was getting to the bottom of coffee speculation, which affects the pocketbooks of all Americans and particularly of the little man, has brought official protests that we are jeopardizing the good-neighbor policy." So the speculators * * * won at a cost of $600 million per year to the American consumer. And the National Coffee Association of the United States promptly went into the orgy of self-congratulation: "We told a story and made it stick." The consumer and the Senate had been defeated. Now coffee has passed $1 per pound in another sensational raid by speculators on this market, with every cent per pound rise costing us $27 million. * * *

The one source of unbiased analysis of the coffee situation the world over is the United States Government. We have therefore examined all official material relating to coffee, ranging from memoranda submitted privately to Milton Eisenhower to the smallest bits of reporting from our embassies, and even to the medical files which might contain material on the possible relationship of coffee to cancer. This is the same body of material which a congressional committee would rely upon. We find: There is no justification for the recent rise in the price of coffee. There is no shortage of coffee. The statistical position forward does not warrant the increase. The present rise cannot be ascribed to the Brazilian frosts. Before the frosts, the oversupply of coffee in prospect was so great that a terrific fall in prices was likely. The frosts merely postponed that decline. But they left a statistical position that in no way warrants the recent price boosts on what was already a very high price level for coffee.

Further, the State Department's insistence that the consumer must again be sacrificed to the speculators on the altar of the good-neighbor policy has no foundation in a sound concept of policy, since the long-range interests of Latin America and the financial and social stability of the area will not be promoted by this sacrifice. State Department officials told us privately this week that they may seize on a defense of the Brazilian speculators as a means of avoiding a complete fiasco at the Inter-American Conference. To buy a few votes for resolutions which will thereafter have only paper support is a poor trade for the vital interests of the United States consumer. Please examine the facts with us now:

1. On December 2, 1953, the United States Government forecast export availabilities from the 1953–54 crops would exceed demand so as to produce another increase in the carryover of coffee of perhaps 0.2 million bags. On December 18, the United States Embassy in Bogota accused the Colombian official cartel of deliberate falsification of crop data and concealment of data on enormous stocks with a view to preventing a decline in prices. Embassy pointed out the federation had promoted the idea that labor shortages, disturbed politics, and bad weather had cut the 1951–52 crop low, when actually in releasing the 1951–52 data recently the figure turned out to be a terrific 6.7 million bags. Embassy put 1953–54 crop to 6.3 million exportable range hereafter, million used in the December 2 forecast and predicted Colombia would have around 6.0 to 6.3 million expotrable range hereafter. This boosts the excess supply indicated by December 2 forecast by another million bags. Embassy noted that on September 30, 1952, stocks of Federation were at least 2.2 million bags, making enormous load of 8.5 million to be disposed of then. It is significant that no member of the United States industry saw fit to publicize the Colombian facts although they have been feeding reporters the data on mythical Brazilian shortages. At about the same time Amembassy Rio to be on safe side cut its estimate of exportable supplies from Brazil by a million, so that the net fact is that in year ending June 1953 Brazil added to its carryover, in year ending June 1954 it will lower carryover slightly, and in year ending June 1954 world exportable supply excess over world demand is likely to increase. At no time is the excess of exportable supply likely to be less than 15 percent of United States annual requirements and it may be more. In other words, we are again confronted with a completely phony scare-buildup by interests in New York joined with Brazilian speculators to injure the American consumer.

2. Even before the recent price rises the profits in coffee production were perfectly fantastic. A few months ago the producers' spokesman, Pan American Coffee Bureau, mourned publicly about the cost-price squeeze being suffered by producers. But Amembassy Rio answered this effectively when it said Brazilian producers in the less-efficient areas are netting an average profit of 46 percent over costs, while the more efficient bulk-producing areas average profits of 300 percent on costs. The story of profits is the same all over the hemisphere. When Milton Eisenhower was in Brazil, he was handed a memo (available in Washington) by a Brazilian banker-coffeeman telling of the fabulous profits. The banker said that even small Jap farmers had lost their natural sobriety and were jamming the planes each season loaded with an average of at least $10,000 in United States currency, acquired despite high quotations for cruzeiro conversion, unloading their loot in Japan and then hurrying back for another fabulous profit-making year. He cited petty farmers making $40,000 per year on miserably small operations, so high was the profit margin. And now prices have been boosted again. It was clear even before the latest gouging by speculators that prices had ceased to have any relationship with costs of production. The only limit to price therefore had become the ability of the producer to understand his long-run interests and the willingness of the United States end of the industry to make clear the effect on demand.

3. Here the United States end of the industry enters the picture with a betrayal of United States interest which require close congressional scrutiny. The National Coffee Association has continuously chosen to underestimate supply and to overestimate consumption. It has steadily minimized the effect on demand and insisted that United States consumption was not being affected by price. Even last week, faced with the latest raid, the association had the gall to tell Brazilians about rising consumption. In other words, the association is bulling coffee. Why? Is this not a fit subject for congressional inquiry? During the Gillette hearings, members of the association kept telling the press that there are two groups in the association, one wicked and one good, and each claimed to belong to the good side. But there were no withdrawals from the association and no attempt to change the line of the association to coincide with the interests of the United States consumer. The saner elements in Brazil had tried to emphasize the failure of consumption to hold and grow dur-

ing a period of maximum boom and rising population in the United States, but the National Association, a United States organization, bulled coffee by an opposite and false position. Nor can it be said that European consumption is rising. Even the facts presented by the producers' group do not bear out this supporting factor as significant. The French colonial authorities have only recently said they must find outlets for their expanding supplies outside of France since France cannot absorb more. But the United States group feels it must stress that the high prices do not affect consumption. Why? Let the Congress examine this situation.

United States military and civilian consumption of coffee

[Millions of pounds]

1949	2845
1950	2497
1951	2677
1952	2627
1953	2625

Here is more, on the United States bulls. Earlier in the year when over-supply threatened, the Colombians were badly depressed, but were relieved when they heard an executive of General Foods Corp. say "it should be possible to hold up prices in the United States despite the statistical position." How are prices held up? Surely, Justice Department should be interested in the procedure.

4. When Gillette held his hearings, the Latin Americans sobbed about the low wages paid coffee workers and the need to raise their standard of living. But embassy reports stress that the wagearners never got their share of the fabulous rise in prices. An official Colombian survey stressed that the wages of coffee workers had not only failed to rise as much as the price of coffee, but that real wages had actually declined. And the Brazilian memo to Milton Eisenhower emphasized that the fabulous profitability of then-current prices was in large measure responsible for the dangerous inflation that was wrecking Brazil. So let no one think that the best interests of the good-neighbor policy require this Government to accept speculative activity without counter action. We may ourselves be wrecking the best interests of all the American republics by not protecting the United States market from the attacks of the coffee speculators.

5. Some months ago the head of the Grocery Manufacturers Association of America said that "the great supply of coffee is a monopoly controlled by cartels." As the State Department is aware, the Central American countries have discussed price-controls through cartel activity linked with the Colombian federation, and editorials pro and con have appeared in leading Latin newspapers as to the desirability of this new attack against the United States market. Each postponement of effective action by the United States bolsters the strength of the cartel movements and the likelihood of greater and greater damage. Here again the Justice Department has authority to act even without a congressional prodding.

6. Members of the National Coffee Association have persistently refused to permit the United States Government to compile stock figures and have not supported effective unbiased crop reporting by this Government. The only understandable conclusion is that they fear anything which might check speculative activity or cause a decline in prices. The Coffee Exchange has resisted proper Government control on the theory that it might discourage Brazilian speculators from using the New York facilities for a gambling joint and might turn them to what is known in other gambling fields as a "floating crap game." Yet, here again the body of disinterested United States judgment is completely on the side of proper regulation.

There is a recommendation with respect to coffee-and-cancer for which we lack space this week. Since an academic journal has scheduled an article on the subject, we will return to it in a subsequent issue.

Congressman CLEVENGER, chairman of the potent House Appropriations Subcommittee for State Department, correctly said some time ago that the way to control this situation is to stop buying coffee and have another "tea party." Congressman SMITH is out this week with a proposal for a coffeeless Wednesday each week. And a prominent radio commentator is suggesting a 1-week boycott, to be followed if not fully effective, by longer boycotts. It is clear that these steps would be effective. Yet it is important to note that the structure of the coffee market is what needs permanent correction. It would not take a new detailed inquiry. If the Gillette committee's recommendations were carried out, this new threat to the consumer would never have materialized. The longer we delay in implementing the Gillette recommendations the worse the situation will get and the stronger the action that will be needed. It is time to act now.

Address by Sam C. Hyatt Before the American National Cattlemen's Association

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the splendid address by Sam C. Hyatt, president of the American National Cattlemen's Association, delivered at the association's annual convention in Colorado Springs, Colo., on January 12 last.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fellow cattlemen, Cow Belles, Junior Cattlemen, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen; it is hard to express in words my deep appreciation for the loyal support that has been given me. By the very nature of our democracy, it is impossible for everyone to enjoy the responsibilities, the prestige, and the honors which fall to the cowhand who has been chosen to be foreman.

I have had the honor of being your foreman; it is an honor that I won't neglect or forget.

My job would not have been possible without the reliable and enthusiastic help of many, many hands.

Men and women who gave much of their time and their efforts far beyond the ordinary demands of our industry.

Men and women who were always ready to put aside their own problems and worries to do the jobs which need doing so badly.

Men and women who have the fortitude to speak out for the beliefs of their hearts and their minds.

Particularly effective in helping your officers in meeting the problems of the past 2 years, and in preparing for tomorrow, were the executive committee, general council, standing committees, the office staff, and many people who volunteered in the true American way.

You know, you must work with men when the going is rough to really get to know their worth. For his counsel and advice and for his devotion to the industry—to you and me, I cannot say enough for Mr. Mollin.

During my 2 years as your president I have learned many things—one of the important facts is that no matter who is chosen to be "foreman" he will receive the same constant and sincere help and guidance from all the men and women of this great cow business.

We have closed the books on the year 1953. We are now opening them on 1954 and on the years ahead.

We know what was in the past. But what 1954 holds in store for us and for all humanity, only God and time can tell.

Let us scan briefly back through some of the pages of the past and see if some of our actions were for the best good of our industry and our Nation as a whole. Let us check deeply to see if we have built on a solid rock foundation, or if we built on sand.

I doubt if any of us, in looking back, can remember each page of each year as they roll by, but certain pages and chapters stand out for all of us.

Open a page in early 1952. Your organization was alert to the symptoms of a price break in the making. The signs were there. But had the industry as a whole noticed them? During the summer and fall the American National called together representatives of all phases of the beef production, processing, and distribution business. The problems were apparent—the alarm was given. The solid cooperation of the entire industry to meet the crisis was achieved.

I don't have to jog your memory that underlined on all the pages of 1952 and the beginning of 1953 was the fact that we were under the ill-conceived and administered restrictions of the OPS. And other factors, such as the imports of New Zealand beef, were in the picture.

So, when the first pages of 1953 began to be turned, the cattle industry was confronted with a price decline that was fast becoming an economic crisis to our industry.

Before I go into some of the things we tried to do and did do in checking the terrific price decline and help move our product, let us analyze a few figures.

In 1947 there were 36 million cattle and calves slaughtered under Federal inspection. In 1952 the slaughter came to 28 million cattle.

Compare the civilian population in 1947 and 1952—compare the wage scale and employment. It is not hard to see that 1952 was the greater of the 2.

To me, there is only one answer—we lost our consumer. Many factors contributed to that; primary among them must be listed the OPS and the unevenness of demand and supply which stemmed from that, and other arbitrary Government actions.

There is only one place for the edible part of the beef, and that is in the human stomach.

So the first objective of the cooperative program, sparked by the American National, was to get our consumer back, and to keep him back.

You can see that we have on display many of the results of this campaign to serve the public—the publicity on the tremendous bargains in beef, the promotion material which gives the homemaker true facts about the value of beef in the diet of her family.

I want to call to your special attention when you study those displays, the samples of the advertisements which have contributed most effectively to the consumption of beef and veal during the past year. These advertisements are only samples of those run in thousands of newspapers, day after day, by the retailers—the part of the industry which has the beef finally on sale to the public.

It has been estimated that the Nation's retail food stores are currently spending more

than $12½ million every year in promotion of beef and veal. Others are also spending big money for beef and veal advertising.

Let us be realistic. Let us truly assess the potentials and the assets of our local, State, and National organizations. Let us see what roles we can take in this vast program of promotion from our end of the line as the producers of this beef. That is one of the major projects yet to be written on the pages of 1954.

I cannot fully express my deep appreciation for the wonderful work that has been done—and is now getting even greater emphasis as the spirit and organization spreads to all corners of the industry. The Cow Belles, the Junior Cattlemen, the retailers, packers, wholesalers, American Meat Institute, Western State Meat Packers, National Livestock and Meat Board, the Department of Agriculture, the State and local cattlemen's organizations, and to the many individual cattle people who entered into this nationwide beef-promotion program a great world of thanks should be given.

The results of all of our efforts have paid off. Today we can look at the per capita consumption records written on the pages of 1953 and see that the American people really prefer to eat their beef—instead of storing it or letting it rot.

The cooperative industry program started so early in 1952 also had other phases. Down through history it has been proven that food is a better "diplomat" than bombs or dollars. To this end we sought to accomplish an orderly reduction of our surplus by providing beef to foreign lands under the millions of dollars set aside for that purpose. We also wanted to assure our own children of better diets, so we set out to see that beef was included among those surplus commodities which are provided to school-lunch programs under section 32 funds.

I want to emphasize that those section 32 funds are not at the expense of the taxpayers. That money comes from duties on imports of commodities which would unfairly compete with the production of our own people.

The American National also intensified its efforts to point out to the Nation's cattle producers that the beef factory was getting out of line with demand and that if the cattle numbers continued to rise it would be almost impossible to bring them in balance without a major catastrophe. The association urged—and continues to urge—producers to strive for orderly marketing and to cull their herds to improve the quality of cows left as the beef factory and to bring about a better balance between demand and production potential.

On the first pages of 1953 we brought to the attention of the Government the need for credit that was fast developing because of one of the worst price breaks in the history of the cattle business. Then later when the drought developed and became acute, we were on the job seeing that feed, finance, and reduced railroad rates were made available for the drought areas as fast as possible.

A cowman and his family living close to Mother Nature are accustomed to all the varied changes in the elements, droughts, hard winters, grasshoppers, along with a flexible market, experiencing its ups and downs. The rougher the pages of 1953 became, the less panic you found. Furthermore on the pages of 1953 were written the glorious records of how the men and women of this industry closed their ranks to meet the problems immediately before them and to anticipate those yet to come.

As an example, last spring, summer, and fall saw the opening guns in a politically inspired clamor for price supports and controls—a clamor which would have had the Nation and the Government believe that the cowman was abandoning his birthright of freedom for a few dollars. In the face of all this clamor, I called a meeting of the American National's Executive Committee in April and another in October. Although the committee had very short notice for either meeting, members of the committee came from border to border and coast to coast at their own time and expense. They pondered the problem from all angles—and they assured the Nation that the cattlemen they represented—the true producers of the Nation—had reaffirmed their belief in the heritage of freedom. And they denied the pitfalls of "easy dollars" to stand firm against price supports and controls. They declared in no uncertain terms that "Free markets make free men."

History proves beyond argument that when free enterprise is destroyed, free men go with it and that goes for free labor. And you cannot expect progress under an ironclad Government monopoly as to private enterprise. I am getting tired of a farm program that requires management by a bureaucracy that exists fat and strong only when taxes are fat and strong, and a program that politicians ride to power on by using it as a dole system. No government, federal, or state, can give you anything which it has not first taken from you. Furthermore, though government waste and extravagance you get back much less than what it takes from you. Knowing the government is the people, how for can we go in guaranteeing things to ourselves?

The executive committee knew more was at stake than just the controversy over supports. They knew that this minority group was aiming for much bigger stakes, aiming at high price supports for all farm products and with them the way would be paved for complete socialization of American agriculture and in the end would inevitably control everything a farmer sells or does.

The response to these meetings is just an example of the way the entire American National has held together—State by State, county by county—in one of the most crucial decisions facing our industry and the world.

We have been looking through the pages of years gone by. One them we have found that there are certain pages of the future which must be written now—plans and decisions which must be made.

Those plans and decisions will fall to us here, but as we go speeding along life's highway with our windshields clouded over—it is time for us to stop and do a good job of cleaning so that we shall have a clear vision ahead. Looking out this morning at the young men and women of the cow business—the junior cattlemen—I can't help being happy that so many are here to help us consider the coming years. Those are the years which are theirs. They will have to make many decisions as the pages of their years pass by.

And it is important to them and to their children that wise decisions be made now for them—and not just for the tomorrow of 1954.

The Cow Belles—it is their wise counsel and advice that will help us with the many things in 1954 which we need to do to insure that the future years will be bright and hopeful for our junior cattlemen and for all the "Juniors" of the world.

We have two huge goals this year!

The first is the need for more research. More research to help us be more efficient and economical in our operations. More study on how to do a better job of marketing our cattle, and to do a better job of distribution of our beef and leather.

Certainly, there have been studies applied to these fields, but we are only on the threshold of tomorrow. That is why so much emphasis has been placed on research on this convention program. Let us sincerely devote our tremendous energies and talents to solving some of our basic economic problems.

The other big project of 1954—and for all future years—must be the strengthening of our determination to hold firmly to the beliefs of our forefathers, and we must sharpen up our tools of learning and bring forth the priceless information of what has made America.

Is it not great to live in a country where every man has a "crack" at any line of endeavor he desires, where there is a wide-open competition of ideas based on wide-open access to knowledge? In a country where you can do something and rear back and look at your accomplishment, to hold it for your own, or to share, as you please?

The time is here now, stronger than any time in history, when the American people must return to the do-it-yourself habits of their ancestors and revel in their new-found powers of "self-help" and when a man must be looked up to for what he knows and does and not for whom he knows.

The American people must be shocked to the point where they will regain enough clear hard common sense that they will quit inviting curtailment of their individual liberties and the encouraging effects for excessive and destructive tax rates. Furthermore, demand that the Government functions be restricted and compel it to surrender the controls which are eating the insides out of our economy.

We should give humble thanks for the courage and foresight of our forefathers who founded a country where a man can work, think, speak, and worship as he desires—the dedicated men and women who founded a country to which the world now looks for guidance.

Indeed, the eyes of the world are watching the cattlemen of America. What are the cowmen going to do in view of their adverse economic circumstances?

I know in my heart that the cowmen, among the last stalwart defenders of freedom, will continue to stand up and be counted as freemen.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote:

"For what avails the plow or sail, or land,
or life,
If Freedom fail."

Is the man of the soil willing to "swap" his independence for continuing Government handouts? Are the livestock producers getting weak-kneed and wanting to get on the gravy train along with a powerful bloc of politicians who seem unlikely to support any proposed solution to our immense farm problem which would mean surrender of any of the vote-inducing Federal benefits? Certainly not.

Inefficiency in any line of endeavor should not be subsidized, and a free people should not be placed in a position of working for Government bounty.

I say to you that at stake are the prosperity of agriculture and the American family's food supply * * * as well as the American family's freedom.

Oh, Yes. There is so much more at stake than the value of a cow.

If this country is to remain strong, then our agricultural economy must remain strong. And there is no question that the people of a well-fed nation are both healthier and more intelligent than those poorly fed, and they are not so easily swayed by the whims of the few.

It is today, and not tomorrow, that we are on the brink of almost the last chance to put sense into a farm program—a program of freedom and equal economic treatment and less dependence on government. And I do not underestimate the difficulties that stand in the way of putting such a program to work.

Did the agencies which were set up in the thirties to relieve the admitted distress of the depression disappear when pump-priming was no longer necessary? Not at all. On the contrary, they continued to grow bigger and bigger with no end in sight.

You know, Thomas Jefferson once said:

"A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned—this is the sum of good government."

What are those among us who are clamoring for Government supports and controls doing, but taking the bread from the mouth of our Nation? There is but one place for food—the stomach.

The clamor for the tax dollar in subsidy hurts the consumer two ways—it increases his tax burden and raises his cost of living.

And the producer of food is hurt in still another way—the stored surpluses which seem to inevitably follow a support program, will be a constant threat against his production and his well-being.

A valuable lesson in basic economics, if the American people care to learn it, is floating before our eyes. High, rigid, support prices promote surpluses by encouraging abnormal production practices and interfering with the normal workings of the law of supply and demand, thereby throwing out of balance our agriculture and general economy.

Look at the wheat situation. There is so much wheat in Government bins that we could go through a full year without growing a single bushel. And what are the wheat people going to do with the land the Government has told them they cannot plant now?

Today the Government has cotton running out of its ears and, moreover, by high supports on cotton we have tended to discourage the use of that valuable fiber. What are the cotton growers going to do?

What are the tobacco, the peanut, the corn-growers going to do with their surplus lands? With people around the world starving every minute * * *

We have been paying huge subsidies for crops we do not use. And it has all been at the expense of the land—our precious heritage of national wealth and security.

Our Nation's economy is infested with artificial influences and feigned forces and Government activity in practically every phase of American life, which in turn has altered the workings of natural forces and shifted initiative and responsibility to bureaus and bureaucrats.

The situations in butter, corn, cotton, and wheat are in direct contrast to that in beef where surpluses have been moved as fast as developed—moved because despite the sacrifice, the cowman insisted on a free, flexible market and demanded that he be allowed to prove once again that artificial curbs just do not work.

All good citizens are worried about our national unbalanced budget. We are forced to conclude that, although a start has been made, deeper slashes must be made in our Government spending in order that we can get our Nation on a sounder basis.

To that end economy in Government should be our watchword.

The time is here for the taxpayer to awaken to the things that are happening to his tax dollar—in more ways than one—especially in the pursuit of regulations and in building stronger bureaucracy and leading us further down the road to socialism.

Our Nation is faced with a powerful and dangerous enemy—dangerous because its strength rises from our midst under many guises. An insidious movement which eventually will completely restrict private enterprises and personal liberty, and is only one step from maturing into communism. A movement that is handled by a bunch of persistent ruthless minds.

Living in an atomic age, not knowing what it holds in store, whether it will be used for the destruction or the well-being of mankind, we must see that men who sit in high offices directing and making our laws are men who will dedicate their lives to upholding our Constitution and Bill of Rights, be loyal to our system of government and to the principles of individual liberty—they must be free men.

The bold, ringing proposal of the President of the United States to contribute to world peace by sharing nuclear power for good, brought forth a program not dedicated to man's death but for the well-being and safety of humanity.

This is a heartening, stirring program that has as much appeal to the backward outposts of civilization as to the advanced centers.

The leaders of the powers of the world must heed this deep impulse toward peace, or bear the responsibility for plunging the world into the depths of desolation.

We are traveling on a sea of turbulent waters and the tides are too strong with the rush of conflicting currents for us to rest on our oars.

As individuals, as well as a Nation, it is a must that we forge ahead. In our quest for progress we must not lose sight of the fact that there is a ruling hand over the destiny of man—a hand which turns the pages of our years.

Since the first shining of Bethlehem's Star, its radiant glow has lighted the dark nights of life, helping humanity with its long climb up from barbarism.

In all of our problems of today, or those on the pages of tomorrow, one of the major tasks of men who would remain free is to keep our faith in a spiritual being always throbbing in our hearts.

Why Red China Should Not Get Into U. N. (Attlee); Refusal Affronts the Chinese People (Judd); a Seat for Mao Is a Seat for the Kremlin

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, some of our European allies and the Kremlin are constantly pressing us to vote Communist China into the United Nations under the illusion that making it more powerful will somehow make it less dangerous. They do not explain why the Soviet Union should be making admission of Communist China to the U. N. its major goal if such a step would, in fact, induce the Chinese Reds to turn against the Soviet Union and thus deliver a devastating blow to the Communist world conspiracy.

It is important that we analyze clearly all these subtle temptations to act against our own security interests. So I welcomed the opportunity to reply in the columns of U. S. News & World Report to an article by Clement Attlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, and head of the British Labor Party. His article first appeared in the January issue of Foreign Affairs and is reprinted along with my reply in the January 15, 1954, issue of U. S. News & World Report.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the introductory and closing paragraphs of Mr. Attlee's article and the section dealing with Communist China, followed by my refutation of both his premises and his conclusions:

PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT THE EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

(By Clement R. Attlee, former Prime Minister of Britain; leader, Labor Party)

I have been invited to write about the reasons for misunderstandings between the British and American peoples. This is rather a delicate subject, for any criticism of the United States may be taken out of its context and used by those who do not desire friendship between the two peoples to suggest that I am personally unfriendly to the United States. This would be entirely untrue. Therefore, I think that it is well that I should start by putting on record that I have nothing but good will toward the great nation across the Atlantic and that I am very sensible of the great contribution which America made during the war and afterwards to the furtherance of those democratic ideals which both countries hold. Further, I enjoy the friendship of many Americans, including both Democrats and Republicans.

For many years I have held the view that close cooperation between the two great branches of the English-speaking peoples is vitally important for the peace of the world and for the defense of democracy, and I know that this view is held by the majority of British people whatever their political persuasion may be. This cooperation depends not only on agreement between governments but upon mutual understanding between peoples, for in both countries public opinion is, in the long run, the decisive factor.

It is, of course, inevitable that even where long-term objectives are the same, differences of opinion in international affairs on particular questions are bound to arise between allies from time to time; and this has occurred between Britain and the United States. Accommodation is generally reached, though sometimes not without some friction, and there is apt to remain a certain soreness and a feeling of grievance that the one party cannot accept the other's point of view. When this happens, old memories are revived and old disputes recalled, just as when two people have a tiff and, in the course of it, each brings up former vexations which the other had hopen were buried in oblivion.

It is, therefore, worth while to corsider some of the reasons for these disagreements. It would, of course, be presumptuous of me to try to indicate the feelings of Americans, but I must show that I am aware of them lest this article should seem to be a mere recitation of Britain's grievances.

TWO SIDES OF HISTORY

First of all, we should take note of the kind of picture which the people of one country have been taught to form of the other and for this we have, I think, to go to the schoolroom and perhaps to the cinema and the newspaper.

American history, naturally, while not disregarding the colonial period, tends to regard it as a mere preliminary to the emergence of the United States into nationhood. It tends to start with the Boston Tea Party, the American Revolution, George III, and all that. The picture the young American forms of Britain starts with this struggle of a freedom-loving people fighting against an oppressive colonial imperialist power.

To the Englishman, on the other hand, whose history goes back at least to 1066 and all that, the revolt of the American colonies is a regrettable episode. He learns that George III and his ministers were stupid and wrong. Lord North [Prime Minister during the American Revolution] is condemned and Chatham [William Pitt, Earl of Chatham] eulogized. He learns that the lesson of the loss of America has been well learned, as is shown by the subsequent

development of the British Commonwealth into a free partnership of equals. To him the American Revolution is an old unhappy far-off thing, but, to the American, it is still vivid as the birth of a nation. People tend to forget unpleasant things. The average Englishman would like to forget some of his history, especially the more predatory phases of British imperialism, just as, I expect, Americans don't care much for remembering the Mexican War.

It is difficult to shake off the influence of what has been learned in childhood. I have found well-educated Americans who did not understand the evolution of the British Empire into a free Commonwealth. A friend of mine, not so long ago, was lecturing to an audience of New York businessmen and was actually asked how much Canada paid in taxes to Britain. This conception of Britain as an imperialist, colonial power exploiting large areas of the world is still very potent. It gives a background of suspicion about all British policy. I think that even President Roosevelt was not wholly free from this prejudice.

The Briton, on othe other hand, has seen the steady expansion of self-government overseas, first to the colonies inhabited by people of European stock, then to the great Asiatic countries of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and gradually to African colonies such as the Gold Coast, and to the islands of the Caribbean. He knows that many of the colonies have been for years run at a loss to the home country. He has come to look upon the colonial peoples, not as objects for exploitation, but as subjects for trusteeship, and he feels that he is misunderstood. He is indeed sometimes irritated by what he feels to be a degree of self-righteousness on the part of people who have not to take responsibility.

He is apt to recall that, after all, the British Empire in the old colonial days was freely open to American traders and missionaries, while Britain carried the burden in blood and treasure of preserving order and bringing in settled government. He feels that perhaps in these matters Britain has a very wide experience and that the average American is a little apt to apply first principles without adequate knowledge. He thinks that some Americans are prone to think that all colonial peoples are in the same stage as were the 13 North American Colonies, ripe for full self-government.

On the other hand, the American has a perfectly just grievance in the fact that in earlier days the British ruling classes, or some of them, were apt to take a superior and supercilious attitude to Americans which must have been very infuriating. One can find this attitude in 19th-century newspapers. The same people were, of course, pretty scornful of the pretensions of their own working-class people.

DISTORTIONS ON BOTH SIDES

Things have changed a good deal since then, but the tradition of a noble lord dies hard. Similar mistake sare made over here (in Britain). There are people in the Labor and Socialist movement who really believe that all American policy is dictated by Wall Street. The hidden hand of American finance is seen behind every move on the international chessboard. I think this comes from a certain pleasure in depicting one's opponents as diabolically clever and unscrupulous persons plotting evil in secrecy. The Wall Street gang of well-dressed capitalists plotting the downfall of the workers is paralleled by the picture of the bloodthirsty Reds of the Labor Party. One may say that these are the mistakes of the ignorant, but they form part of the background.

There is a rather similar myth relating to the British, and even to any member of a European diplomatic service, as being a terribly clever and experienced person liable to pull the wool over the eyes of the innocent American. The parallel here is the British conception of the American businessman as being far superior to our homebred industrialist who is sure to be outsmarted by the clever Yankee.

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IV

Let me now turn to the Far East and, particularly, to the question of China. Here again, we must consider how opinion is influenced by historical and geographical considerations. We have had long trading relations with China and we have many Chinese living under the British flag in Malaya and elsewhere. We have also had many years of rule over Asiatic peoples.

On the other hand, Americans have for years sent many missionaries to China and given great material aid to the Chinese people. Furthermore, there is a point which the Briton may easily fail to appreciate, namely, that the west of America faces China across the Pacific with only scattered islands in between. More than that, the Americans bore the heaviest burden in the war against Japan and have the memory of Pearl Harbor. Americans, therefore, are likely to be more conscious of the danger of a strong hostile power on the eastern [i. e., oriental] shores of the Pacific.

Britain was, until recently, a great Asiatic power and is today the equal colleague in the British Commonwealth of three great Asiatic countries—India, Pakistan and Ceylon. She still has colonial possessions in Asia. She is, therefore, in a sense in Asia. Despite its connection with the Philippines, the United States is not in Asia, but is concerned as living in a neighboring continent.

Britain brings to the consideration of the Chinese problem her experience of other parts of Asia. Now, one of the outstanding events of this century has been the rise of Asiatic nationalism. I think the emergence of Japan at the turn of the century as a great power was one of the stimulants; but the education of Asiatics in European and American universities has been another, especially in the latter where they naturally imbibed the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Here was the beginning of the end of colonialism in Asia. In India, the nationalist movement grew in strength; and ultimately, under a Labor Government in Britain, four great countries in Asia attained their independence. Two major wars quickened the demand for independence. Experience shows that, unless this demand is met in time, reasonable men get thrust aside and the extremist takes control.

It is just here that communism has its chance. The Communist is always ready to use the language of freedom and democracy the better to enslave people. I have no doubt that, had not timely action been taken, communism would have taken hold in India. I think that the Dutch acted just in time in Indonesia. I think the French delayed too long in Indochina and are suffering the penalty in a long and exhausting war there.

What relevance has this to Anglo-American understanding? I think that it is of prime importance in considering the attitude to be taken up in respect of the People's Government of China.

COMMUNIST WEAPON: HOPE

The struggle between the Kuomintang faction under Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists ended in the complete victory of the latter. The remnant of Chiang's forces survived in Formosa only owing to their protection by the United States. I think that this victory was due to the corruption of the old regime and to the fact that the Communists offered something that appealed to the mass of the Chinese people. The evidence seems to show that where the Communists gained possession of territory in the course of the civil war they gave a new hope to the masses of the people.

It was at least clear that the Communists had become the effective Government of China, and the British Government, though totally opposed to communism, recognized this as a fact. The United States took a different view, as it was perfectly entitled to do. The disagreement between Britain and the United States arose on the question of the filling of the seat assigned to China on the Security Council of the United Nations.

It was mainly due to President Roosevelt that China had been assigned this seat as one of the great powers. She was certainly not one at that time. She was weak and torn with dissension. I thought it an unwise decision at the time. Now, when she has become powerful, the seat is filled by the representative of a discredited faction. The People's Government was denied this right because it was a Communist government, and this before there was any question of aggression in Korea. The inevitable result has been to make the Chinese Government draw closer to Russia as its only friend and to strengthen Communist control, for communism is now reinforced by nationalism. The Chinese feel affronted because America denies China her rightful place in the world's councils.

I think the American attitude unwise. It seems to resemble the shortsighted attitude of the British Government after World War I when it supported Adm. Alexander Vassilievich Kolchak and the reactionaries against the Bolsheviks and thus rallied to Nikolai Lenin the support of Russian nationalist feeling. There are other precedents in history, such as the support of the émigrés against the French revolutionaries at the end of the 18th century. One can imagine what the effect would have been in America at the time of the Revolution if European powers had-supported a rival government in, say, Bermuda against President Washington.

It may well have been that had China been given her seat in the United Nations the Korean war might never have been started. In dealing with Asiatic countries the matter of self-respect or "face" is of great importance. The refusal to recognize the effective Government of China affronted the self-respect of the Chinese people.

We in Britain recognize as clearly as do the American people the danger of communism, but we differ as to the right way to deal with it. I think it unlikely that the Chinese people with their ancient civilization are likely to swallow the whole Communist doctrine. Still less do I think that China is likely to become a docile satellite of Russia. But the more China is shut away from the Western World and forced to ally herself with Russia, the more strength will be given to her Communist masters. The greater the contacts with the Western World, the less will be the danger of the integration of the great Asiatic mass in a Communist bloc.

GIVE RED CHINA U. N. SEAT

I consider that as soon as support for aggression has ceased, the People's Government should be given the Chinese seat on the Security Council. I hope that thereafter an attempt might be made to get a real settlement in the Far East.

I recognize very fully the feeling in the United States that Korea and Formosa might become advanced bases for an attack on the American Continent by the Communists, but equally I recognize that from the point of view of the Chinese Government these two places are regarded as bases whence an attack on China might be launched by a hostile power. The United States has very vivid memories of the attack of Japan against her, but China has memories of the Japanese war launched from these very bases. My view is that the only solution is that they should be neutralized.

Above all, I am sure that it is vital to the peace of the world that we should be very careful to avoid any action which would seem to set Asia against the West. Colonialism is dying, but in the new relationship between the Asiatic peoples and the West there is an immense work to be done in helping to raise standards of living in the East. This is, in my view, the best way of preventing the spread of communism.

I think that here we should recognize that there is a certain difference of outlook between the British and American people. I think that Americans tend to see things in black and white where we see shades of gray. For instance, many Americans tend to lump together all kinds of left-wing movements as Communist. They do not discriminate between democratic socialism and communism. Some even look with horror on what we consider to be very mild liberalism.

This absolute view is paralleled by the attitude of some people on the left who lump together every government that is not Socialist as being Fascist or reactionary. On this ground, the extremists of the left and right meet, for the one only sees everything with which he disagrees as black and the other as red.

It is unfortunate that much more publicity is given in the press to the extremists than to reasonable people. In America you get reports of anti-American sentiments expressed by a writer or speaker in Britain without realizing that he represents a small minority, while we hear a great deal about a speech by some Senator who is not highly regarded in his own country.

* * * * *

AGAINST CHIANG, RHEE, FRANCO

Another difficulty is the support given to those whom we consider undemocratic reactionaries, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and General Franco. We know that one cannot always choose just the associates one would wish in the international sphere, but we feel that there is a danger lest there should be disregard for the fundamentals of the democratic alliance.

As I have said, I want to see the utmost cooperation between Britain and America. I have stated frankly some of our difficulties, but they do not really affect our wide measure of agreement. In the thought of the Labor Party there is a wide range of ideas, idealistic, anti-imperialist, antiprivilege, and social reform, which are held by many Americans.

These ideas really stem from our common heritage of the Christian ethic. The difficulty is to get the personal contacts between like-minded people. The number of labor people who can visit America is at all times very limited by financial considerations, and the dollar situation increases the difficulty. No doubt the same thing applies, but in a lesser degree, to Americans. Yet it is only by visits to each others' homes that real understanding can be reached by the unprivileged classes. I am certain that this understanding is vitally important for the preservation of our democratic and free way of life.

WHY MAO'S GOVERNMENT THREATENS WORLD PEACE

(By Representative WALTER H. JUDD, member of House Foreign Affairs Committee; authority on China)

Former Prime Minister Clement Attlee is to be commended for endeavoring to describe and explain some of the differences of opinion and attitude that exist between Britain and America. Furthermore, he is to be congratulated on the moderation and good temper with which his article is written.

We in America, I think, will agree with most of the first section of his article. There will be substantial disagreement with portions of the second and third sections.

But our sharpest differences arise in section IV, on the question of whether to expel from its seat on the Security Council the legitimate Government of China which has faithfully fulfilled its obligations under the United Nations Charter, and admit to that seat the Moscow-dominated and supported Communist government which has imposed itself on the Chinese people.

That is an accurate description of the question, but Mr. Attlee states it differently, using semantics to prejudice the reader in favor of the Communist Government and against the Nationalist Government.

For instance, Mr. Attlee refers to the legitimate Government of China by the smear term, "the Kuomintang faction under Chiang Kai-shek." But he does not speak of the Communist faction under Mao Tse-tung. No, he calls it by its own propaganda designation of itself as the People's Government of China.

Again, when Mr. Attlee merely says the struggle in China ended in the complete victory of the Communists, he gives no indication that the struggle was other than what he describes as a civil war between two internal factions. But in fact it never was such a civil war. From the beginning, as events have proved, it was a Communist international war. The Soviet Union gave decisive help to the Communists, but the United States held back the Chinese Government forces when they had the upper hand and were chopping the Communists to pieces. The Soviet Union gave its ally the enormous supplies of Japanese munitions captured in Manchuria, plus thousands of tons of American munitions shipped across the Pacific to Vladivostok supposedly for Russia to use in the war against Japan. In contrast the United States placed an embargo on supplies to its ally, including .30-caliber ammunition for the .30-caliber American rifles previously given by Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell and Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer to the best Chinese divisions. The United States thereby effectively disarmed Chiang's best troops.

Furthermore, Mr. Attlee makes no reference to the Yalta deal in which control of the ports and railroads of Manchuria, which means control of Manchuria, was given to the Soviet Union. If Chiang's Government had been three times as good as it was, it could not have pulled through the difficult postwar period without the resources of Manchuria.

May I quote Mr. Sumner Welles [former Under Secretary of State] on this point: "These concessions * * * will make it altogether impossible for a new, unified China to exercise full sovereignty within Manchuria."

Mr. Attlee earlier in the article refers to the "shattering effect which two world wars have had on Britain's economy." But he makes no reference to the shattering effect on China's economy and social fabric produced by 267 years of control by a foreign dynasty, the Manchus, followed by 20 years (1911–31) of almost continuous civil wars among the war lords, followed by 22 years (1927–49) of war against the Communist rebellion, accompanied by 14 years (1931–45) of struggle with an external aggressor, Japan, including 8 years of invasion (1937–45). Could Chiang reasonably have been expected to overcome the combination of Yalta, Russian aid to his enemies, intervention against him by the U. S. A., on top of 8 years of Japanese invasion with the inflation, corruption, and social disintegration which always accompany such invasion? Yet no mention of these by Mr. Attlee; he is disposing of just a Kuomintang faction.

Despite all the difficulties with which the Government of China struggled, the people of China did not withdraw their support from it until after they saw that the American Government had withdrawn our support. They knew perfectly well that their weakened government could not recover without extensive American aid of the right sort—any more than could Greece, or France, or Italy, or England herself. The Chinese are a realistic, even fatalistic people. What was the use of further resisting the Communists? Why not try to make the best terms possible with them?—the same argument one hears today from some in Japan, Southeast Asia, Burma, India—and in England.

HOPE FROM REDS: FALSE

As one who had intimate contact with the Communists in South China for months in 1930, and again in North China in 1937–38, I can report, as I have on innumerable occasions, that their troops were the best-behaved I have ever seen anywhere, and they did give a new hope to the masses of people. But it was by the same deceptions that they successfully used later to give new hope to the masses in the countries of Southeast Asia. Fortunately, 3 years of delay in the Communist program due to the war in Korea gave opportunity for the truth to leak out about what actually happened in China—what happens anywhere as soon as Communists have established secure control of an area.

Mr. Attlee pays more attention to the new hope which the Communists inspire by their false propaganda, than to the ashes to which the hopes turn once the Communists are in control. He does not even mention the ashes. On the contrary, he believes we should reward the Communists for their deception—by admitting them to the U. N. under the guise of a peace-loving nation.

Mr. Attlee says the British Government recognized the fact that the Communists had become the effective government of China, but that the United States took a different view. This is not correct. The United States does not deny that the Communists are today in effective control of mainland China any more than Mr. Attlee denies that Franco is in effective control of Spain. Yet he still opposes admission of Franco's Government into the U. N. Why?

Nothing in the article better illustrates the inconsistency than the next-to-last paragraph of his article. After expounding the reasons why he believes we should embrace Communist China, he expresses his opposition to giving support to those whom we (the British) consider undemocratic reactionaries, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and General Franco.

Yet he favored aid to Stalin and urges support now to Tito and Mao. What does he call them? Democratic liberals?

He chokes on patriot Rhee and swallows gangster Mao.

We do not deny that gangsters have on occasion established effective control of an American city here or there. We do not conclude that, therefore, we should give official recognition to the gangsters or install them on the city's security council whose duty it is to prevent gangsterism.

SEAT FOR MAO; SEAT FOR RUSSIA

If the Chinese Communist Government had supported the action of the United Nations against Communist aggression in Korea, it would thereby have gone a long way toward demonstrating its eligibility for admission to the United Nations. Instead, it supported and then joined in the aggression against the United Nations. Its hands now drip with the blood of United Nations soldiers. That is the conduct which is supposed to qualify it to fill the seat assigned to China on the Security Council of the United Nations. Mr. Attlee puts it too mildly when he states that there is "disagreement between Britain and the United States" on this question.

Mr. Attlee thinks Communist China should be admitted because she is powerful. We believe that is a very practical reason why she should not be admitted.

He speaks of China's seat on the Security Council as now being "filled by the representative of a discredited faction." Being defeated by forces outlined above is not synonymous with being discredited. The Government of Norway was defeated, but it was not discredited. And England did not recognise the government of the Norwegian named Quisling even though the defeated Norwegian Government had not a foot of Norwegian soil on which to stand. Instead, England, to its credit, received and succored the Norwegian Government-in-exile. Why abandon such a policy with respect to Free China?

If the Communist government of China were to be admitted to the United Nations, would the seat then be filled by a representative of the Chinese people? No, by a representative of the Kremlin.

Mr. Attlee says the "People's Government" was refused admission because it was a Communist government." That is not the fact. The United States and most of the peace-loving members of the United Nations reject the admission of Communist China, not just because it is Communist but because it does not pass the necessary tests. (1) It is not an independent Chinese Government, but an acknowledged and avowed satellite of the Soviet Government. (2) There is no evidence it has the freely given support of the Chinese people. When has an election been held? Has Mr. Attlee talked to the refugees in his own Hong Kong? Or to Chinese prisoners of war in Korea? (3) It has not demonstrated the capacity or the willingness or the disposition to adhere to and to fulfill international obligations. (4) It has refused to act as a law-abiding member of the family of nations, or to live in peaceful relationship with the other members of civilized society. At this moment it is giving vital aid to armed Communist rebellion in two friendly neighbors, Vietnam and Laos. In short, it is its own action, not action by anyone else, which disqualify it for membership in the United Nations.

Mr. Attlee says that refusal to admit Communist China to the United Nations has made it draw closer to Russia as its only friend. It is not possible for it to get any closer to Russia than it has been all these years. Its own statements and actions are the definitive proof. Its closeness to Russia is not the result of its exclusion from the United Nations, but one of the many clauses thereof.

Mr. Attlee says that another result of exclusion is to strengthen Communist control of China, for communism is now reinforced by nationalism. There is no evidence to support such a statement. On the contrary, it was the Communists who destroyed China's true nationalism by making her a satellite of the Kremlin. For the free world to accept Communist control over China would be the surest way to strengthen that control. How could any Chinese hope to overthrow that which is accepted and supported by the free world as well as by the Communist world?

He says the Chinese feel affronted because America denies China her rightful place in the world's councils. Again, not one iota of testimony or evidence is offered.

The argument is apparently based on the assumption that Chinese Communists are true patriots, working primarily for the well-being of the Chinese people. The reverse is true. They cannot be Communists without rejecting all the highest values that have been developed by the Chinese in their rich and mature civilization. The thing that has humiliated and "affronted the self-respect of the Chinese people" has been the barbarous behavior, in violation of every Chinese teaching and precept, of persons who were born of the Chinese race but have disgraced it and its culture.

The definitive answer on this point has been given by the Chinese themselves, those who are free to express their views and act on them.

First, the million-plus refugees in Hong Kong, especially the scholars. Why would they flee utopia?

Second, the more than 10 million persons of Chinese ancestry in the major cities of southeast Asia. One cannot blame them any more than one can blame the war-weary and exhausted Chinese in mainland China, for being deceived at first by the Communist propaganda giving "new hope to the masses." * * * However, the overseas Chinese soon recovered from their illusions regarding Chinese communism—again, in contrast to some in England and America. During a recent trip to southeast Asia, testimony was universal from both Chinese and others, that the sentiment there today is overwhelmingly for the "discredited faction" on Formosa as the hope of freedom and dignity and decency for the Chinese people.

Third, even more unanswerable has been the behavior of the Chinese prisoners of war we have taken in Korea. They fought with reckless abandon against our troops because of fear of the ruthless masters driving them from behind. But once free from their Communist torturers, 75 percent of them said they would fight with their bare hands against any attempt to return them to their own homes in Communist China—an almost unbelievable repudiation of the Communist regime by its own highly indoctrinated armed forces.

Yet we are supposed to believe that that regime has the support of the Chinese people, and therefore we should recognize it, build it up, strengthen it, and further fasten its hold upon the unfortunate victims of its tyranny.

Perhaps the most fantastic bit of wishful thinking in the whole article is Mr. Atlee's statement: "It may well have been that had China been given her seat in the United Nations the Korean war might never have been started." This is to ignore the whole nature and objectives of the Communist world conspiracy. It assumes that Communist China would be satisfied with a seat in the United Nations, that such a seat would be the end of its ambitions, rather than merely a means toward the end—the never-changing end of world conquest. Does anyone, anywhere, know anything to refute this?

REDS CONQUER OR COLLAPSE

Mao Tse-tung could not and cannot give up the basic Communist objective of world conquest without renouncing himself and his whole life's work. Can anyone really believe that recognition of Mao as head of the expanding Communist empire in Asia will cause him to halts its expansion? It cannot halt its march without ceasing to be Communist. It cannot cease to be Communist without collapsing.

Mr. Attlee thinks it unlikely that the Chinese people with their ancient civilization are likely to swallow the whole Communist doctrine. I am certain they will not swallow it. But what does that have to do with the danger which Communist control of China presents to the rest of the world? The Russian people have not swallowed the whole Communist doctrine, nor the Poles, nor the Czechs, nor the Hungarians, nor the Baltic peoples. Does that mean that the Communists therefore do not have effective control over those countries and are not able to use their manpower and resources against all of us in the free world?

Mr. Attlee seems to assume that Mao Tse-tung and his henchmen were brought up on the codes of chivalry of the Knights of King Arthur; that Communists go to war not as part of their world program but only if "affronted." Once again, this is against all the evidence. It has never proved possible to get them into war by firm opposition, or to soothe them into good behavior by appeasement. Witness the futile efforts at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam—and Britain's recognition of Communist China. On the contrary, they go to war only if and when they think they are strong enough or we weak enough so that they believe they can win. So we are urged to make them stronger and our side weaker—as the way to peace.

MYTH OF A CHINESE TITO

Mr. Attlee continues to judge the Chinese Communists by our Western ideas rather than by their own standards in his unsupported statement that "the more China is shut away from the Western World and forced to ally herself with Russia the more strength will be given to her Communist masters." That motion is based on a series of myths of which the following are a few:

1. That Chinese Communists are not the same as Communists in Russia and everywhere else. What evidence does anyone have for such an assumption?

2. That Communist China's alliance with Russia is due to some external compulsion by Russia, rather than a voluntarily given allegiance by Mao and his comrades. Again, no evidence.

3. That if we will recognize Communist China and thereby enormously strengthen it, that will somehow weaken it. I assume Mr. Attlee must want to weaken it since he says he is totally opposed to communism. But the way he proposes to us to make the Communists lose in China is to help them win.

4. That if we will treat our proved friends, the Chinese Nationalists, as if they were our enemies, that will persuade our avowed enemies, the Communists, to become our friends—so that we can then treat them the same way.

5. That if we will just be nice enough to the Chinese Communists, we can detach them from the Russian Communists, or can drive a wedge between Peking (Peiping) and Moscow, or can woo Communist China away from the Soviet Union, or can make a Tito out of Mao Tse-tung. This has been a popular theme song for years, but no one produces anything in Communist theory or doctrine, or in historical experience to justify the naive notion. Yet much of the foreign policy of the United States during the post-war years, as well as that of Britain, has been based on this completely wishful thinking. All the evidence is on the other side.

For example, our recognition of the Communist regime in Russia in 1933; sacrifice of our own principles and other people's rights and territories at Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam; the pretense for years that the Communists in China were just a political party rather than an armed rebellion directed from Moscow; our imprisonment of the Chinese Nationalists on the island of Formosa after the Korean war began in order to reassure the Chinese Reds and not provoke or affront them; our refusal to attack the bases in China from which the war in Korea was being carried on against our own soldiers—all were based on the fanciful notion that being nice—or soft—to Communists at the expense of our own interests would convert them into benevolent democrats. The policy has invariably failed, yet we are counseled to continue it. The same general course of appeasement that got us into our predicament is now urged as the way to get us out of it.

Again, it is implied that we had something to do with producing Titoism in Europe. The reverse is the truth. Tito did not break with the Soviet Union; he was kicked out by Stalin. We gave no aid to Tito until after the break with Russia. It came at the very time when we were being toughest with him as the result of his having shot down an American plane with loss of American lives.

MAO A LOYAL SATELLITE

There is no evidence that Mao Tse-tung would be a Tito if he could. He is as loyal a satellite as the Kremlin has ever had. Through 20 years of defeats he never wavered; now that he has won one of the greatest victories of all history, why should he desert the side which has been winning in Asia, to join the side which has been losing!

Of all the possibilities in China, this is the least likely. Mao did not become head of the expanding Communist empire in Asia to preside over its liquidation. That is as fantastic as to imagine Mr. Churchill could be persuaded or bribed to turn against the British Empire.

But even more important, there is no reason to believe that Mao could be a Tito if he would. Why? Because the Kremlin has a stranglehold on Manchuria. That was fixed up at Yalta. And Mao Tse-tung cannot make a go of it in China without the resources and industry of Manchuria, any more than Chiang Kai-shek could.

If Mao should deviate in the slightest from what the Kremlin wants him to do, it would close down on his jugular vein, the ports and railroads of Manchuria, and he would be done for.

Mao conceivably might pull away from the Kremlin, if through following its guidance he began to fail—and the first aim of our foreign policy in Asia should be directed toward that end.

NO EXCUSE FOR A DEAL

In section III of his article, Mr. Attlee properly chided the American statesmen whom he saw at Potsdam for being "rather too ready to think they could make a deal with Russia." Yet in section IV he expresses the hope that once the "People's Government" has been given the Chinese seat on the Security Council, "an attempt might be made to get a real settlement in the Far East."

Now, if it was bad, and it was, to think that we could make a deal with Communists in 1945, what can be said for still imagining we can make a deal with them in 1954?

Let me sum up the reasons why the United States resolutely opposes admission of Communist China to the United Nations. They are not grounded in emotional prejudice, or mere stubbornness. They arise from the proved character of the Chinese Communist regime.

1. Such admission would destroy the United Nations as an effective instrument for justice and freedom and peace in the world. It would make a mockery of both its letter and its spirit.

According to the Charter, a nation to be eligible for admission must be peace loving, have respect for human rights, and for fundamental freedoms. How can anyone with a straight face pretend that Communist China meets those qualifications?

If it is said that neither does Russia, there are two answers.

First, two wrongs do not make a right.

Second, at the time Russia was admitted, she was at least pretending to be peace-loving and democratic and willing to respect human rights. There can be no such excuse in the case of Communist China now. It was bad enough to be fooled into admitting Russia when the mask was on. What is there to say for admitting a country which has already taken the mask off and is brazenly violating practically every principle on which the United Nations is founded?

If it is argued that the United Nations should admit to membership all existing governments, that is in opposition to the plain language and intent of the charter. If the U. N. were intended to be a universal organization, why were elaborate procedures established to determine when and how a new member should be admitted and how a member in default of its obligations should be expelled? In fact, to admit Communist China would only make her eligible for expulsion.

Almost all Americans want to see the United Nations succeed as an instrument to insure justice and security and peace in the world. To convert it from a union of peace-loving nations into a league with murderous gangsters could only destroy it.

2. Admission of Communist China would weaken our own security and that of the free world. The Communist world conspiracy is dedicated to our destruction. We are at war with it in every sense except open hostilities. If we are not at war with it, why are we straining ourselves so dangerously to help Britain and about 50 other countries in the world build up their strength and maintain their security against its threats? If we are at war with it, then how can anybody justify strengthening our enemies?

Admission to the United Nations would give the Communist dictatorship legitimacy, respectability, enormously increased prestige and power and influence. It would lead to recognition by most, probably all, other governments and thus enable Peiping to turn every Chinese Embassy and consulate in the world into a center of espionage, sabotage, and conspiracy against the governments and peoples still free and independent.

In a jungle world such as ours, survival depends primarily on the capacity to distinguish friend from enemy. When our choice is between the Chinese Government now on Formosa, a proved friend of the West, and the Chinese Reds, an avowed enemy of the West and of human freedom everywhere, most of us in America do not have the slightest difficulty in making our choice. It is extremely clear: We must do nothing that will assist or build up the enemy. We must assist whatever will weaken the enemy.

In Europe the United States has supported England unequivocally. In the Middle East we have supported her even against peoples and governments friendly to ourselves, although it has made us swallow hard. We are unable to see any benefits to England, commercial or otherwise, that justify her refusal to support us in Asia against the proved enemies of both of us. Americans have had enough of opposing communism in Europe and appeasing it in Asia.

3. Admission of Communist China to the United Nations would represent the abandonment of one-fifth of all the human beings on this planet to Communist enslavement. That we are not willing to do.

We cared enough about Communist prisoners of war having freedom of choice to delay the Korean truce for months.

How can we accept for 450 million Chinese people the enslavement we reject for 15,000 Chinese prisoners of war in Korea?

In our view, such a course would be not only morally wrong—it would be shortsighted and foolish. The strongest ally we have against communism is the oppressed peoples who live under it and know it for what it is. Yet Mr. Atlee counsels us to abandon the oppressed and put our faith in deals with the oppressors. The United States cannot go along with what to many of us would be a betrayal that neither God nor man nor history could ever forgive.

National Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the President's health program as implemented by Chairman WOLVERTON'S—Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—bill is strongly buttressed and supported by the survey just released of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago under a grant from the Health Information Foundation. A report of this survey from the New York Times of January 24, 1954, together with an editorial from the New York Times of January 25, is appended. The exigencies are very great and the Nation needs to facilitate voluntary means by which the problem may be met. As a coauthor with Representatives HALE and SCOTT and Senators FLANDERS and IVES of the National Health Act which pioneered in the Congress this approach of Federal-State aid for nonprofit voluntary health plans and group practice units, I feel that this factual survey shows the clear, present, and urgent need which cannot be satisfied unless the Government does its fair share to meet it.

The above-mentioned follows:

[From the New York Times of January 24, 1954]

ILLNESS COSTS 10.2 BILLION A YEAR, PUTS 8 MILLION FAMILIES IN DEBT

(By Murray Illson)

In 1 year illness costs the families of the United States $10,200 million. It also put 8 million families, or 16 percent of the country's total, into debt to hospitals, physicians, dentists, loan companies, and others.

Last July, the total of this debt was $1,100 million. Of this amount, $900 million was for direct charges for treatment, while the balance was owed to financial institutions and individuals who advanced money to pay the costs of illness. About 1 million of the families had a medical indebtedness of $195 or more. The average family debt for such service was $121.

Voluntary health insurance of some type is held in this country by 89,500,000 persons, or 58 percent of the population. Fifteen percent of the total cost of illness in the year ending last June was covered by such insurance.

These are some of the findings of the first nationwide consumer survey of medical costs in 20 years. It was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago under a grant from the Health Information Foundation.

Last Monday, President Eisenhower in his message to Congress recommending a program to improve the health of the American people, said: "The total private medical bill of the Nation now exceeds $9 billion a year—an average of nearly $200 a family—and it is rising." This was borne out by the foundation's study.

With headquarters at 420 Lexington Avenue, the foundation is supported by 165 drug, pharmaceutical, chemical, and allied companies. Adm. W. H. P. Blandy, retired, was president of the foundation until his death 2 weeks ago. Former President Herbert Hoover is chairman of its citizens advisory committee.

The field work of the survey was conducted during July 1953, covering the prior 12 months. It was based on interviews with 2,809 families in their homes. The families comprised 8,846 individuals and were said to represent a national sample of the country's population subdivided by age, sex, income, size of family, occupation, and region.

The method used to obtain the findings was described as the same as that of the United States Bureau of the Census in its current population estimates. "Estimates derived from it are, therefore, reliable within calculable and generally small margins of error," a spokesman for the foundation declared.

In making public the results of the survey, officials of the foundation declined to draw final conclusions from the mass of statistics. Declaring they would make no specific recommendations on the basis of the findings, they asserted that the foundation's only purpose was to present the facts to the American people to act on as they saw fit.

The findings are divided into four reports dealing with the extent of voluntary health insurance, expenditures for personal health services, use of these services and debts due to costs of the services, as follows:

EXTENT OF VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE

Of the 89,500,000 persons who have some type of health insurance, more than 87 million have some hospital insurance, while 74 million have some surgical and other medical coverage. The report noted that the expansion of this kind of coverage since 1940 has been phenomenal.

In 1940, about 9 percent of the population was enrolled in hospital insurance as against 57 percent today, and 4 percent was covered by surgical insurance compared with 48 percent now.

Hospital coverage is divided almost equally between Blue Cross and private insurance companies. In surgical or medical insurance the enrollment with private companies exceeds that of Blue Cross and Blue Shield. Only 4 percent of persons having surgical or medical insurance are covered by substantially complete physicians' services.

For families having less than $3,000 a year income, 41 percent have some type of coverage; for $3,000 to $5,000, the proportion increases to 71 percent, while for $5,000 and above it is 80 percent.

Persons employed in mining and manufacturing have the highest enrollment with 80 to 90 percent. At the bottom of the list are those employed in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, with 30 to 39 percent. Eighty percent of families with some coverage obtained it through their place of work or some other group.

The self-employed and persons employed in very small groups are "a particular problem facing health insurance plans today," the report continued. Voluntary health insurance must devise means whereby such persons "can be grouped in order to be enrolled with as low an acquisition cost, as few limitations in benefits, and the same premiums as those now experienced by large employed groups."

EXPENDITURES FOR PERSONAL HEALTH SERVICES

The $10,200,000,000 cost incurred by families for personal health services did not include $1,800,000,000 spent for medical and dental services by such local, State, and Federal Government agencies as welfare departments, workmen's compensation, the Veterans' Administration, and private charity.

Of the former figure, physicians charges accounted for 37.2 percent, hospitals 19.8 percent, prescriptions and medicines 14.7 percent, other medical goods and services, 12.7 percent, and dentists, 15.6 percent.

The average charge for all personal health services was about $205 per family; 3,500,000 families, or 7 percent, incurred charges in excess of $495; half of the families had charges amounting to 4.1 percent or more of their incomes. About 1 million families incurred charges equaling or exceeding one-half of their annual incomes; of these, 500,000 families had charges equaling or exceeding 100 percent of their incomes.

"Families with insurance incurred greater charges for personal health services than those without insurance, a median of $145 compared with $63," the report noted. "This is in part due to greater utilization of medical facilities by those with insurance and possibly also utilization of a more expensive type of service, for example, a private room in a hospital instead of semiprivate or ward.

"Obviously, the higher costs incurred by the insured group have great implications for the national costs of personal health services, if voluntary health insurance continues to expand."

In dental care, the report said that 44 percent of all the families incurred no bills, while 4 percent had charges in excess of $195. "Differences among income groups are sharp, particularly when charges in excess of $45 are included," the report declared. "No expenditures for personal health service appear to be so closely correlated with income as dental services."

Fifty-nine percent of families that had hospital costs and who also carried hospital insurance had 80 percent or more of their costs covered. On the other end, 18 percent of the families had 60 percent or less of their hospital costs covered by insurance.

"If there is any consensus as to how great a proportion of the surgeons' charges should be covered by insurance," the report asserted, "it is accurate to say that families below certain incomes should have all or nearly all of the costs of surgery covered."

UTILIZATION OF PERSONAL HEALTH SERVICES

The general hospital admission rate for all families was 12 to 100 persons a year. Those with insurance had a rate of 13 and those without insurance 10. The average stay 9.7 days for those with insurance and without it.

The number of surgical procedures to 100 persons a year for all families was 6; among insured families the rate was 7 and among the uninsured 4.

The report observed that insurance as such was followed by increased use of hospital and medical facilities and that this was the chief reason why there is still debate as to whether personal health services are insurable or not.

"Fire insurance does not necessarily increase fires nor does life insurance increase the death rate, but health insurance does increase the utilization rate of personal health services," the report observed.

The findings indicated that when the family income was $7,500 or more annually, the hospital admission rate for the noninsured equaled the admission rate for the insured. In income groups below $7,500 the admission rate generally was 25 percent higher for the insured group.

[From the New York Times of January 25, 1954]

THE COST OF ILLNESS

Several different interpretations can be placed upon the findings of the University of Chicago's consumer survey in the field of medical costs. At first glance it seems shocking that Americans are obliged to spend more than $10 billion a year for illness. It seems pitiful that 8 million families are obliged to go into debt for medical needs. It seems almost incredible that half a million families should have medical bills larger than their total income.

There is, however, another side to the picture. The same survey showed that almost 90 million persons had some form of health insurance. It showed that Americans paid more than 15 percent of their health costs for better care of their teeth—and this does not include the expense of dentifrices, but refers to the service of dentists. It shows that American families can and will make use of hospital facilities, with its general record of 12 hospital admissions for each hundred persons in the course of a year.

The fact of the survey, just as the emphasis in the President's recent message, shows a greatly increased awareness of medical needs and problems and a greater readiness to cope with them. If we are spending ten billion on illness, this reflects the conviction that the ten billion ought to be spent.

That we are getting substantial and important returns goes without saying. Life expectancy is steadily going up. And if there appear to be alarming increases in the incidence of some degenerative diseases, it should be remembered that one reason for this is the fact that individual persons live long enough to contract them, rather than dying in childhood or youth from measles, diptheria, or whooping cough, and in middle age from pneumonia.

There is no reason to be complacent about our health problems and the cost of meeting them. A better job can be done. But there is similarly no reason for a bleak or unduly alarmist outlook. Our medical establishment, as a whole, is functioning more competently than ever before in its history. Some spectacular gains have been made and more are in the immediate offing.

These gains are of two sorts. The first are the tremendous scientific advances in the cure and prevention of disease. The second lies in the better organization of our social and economic resources so as to bring these advances within the reach of an increasingly larger number of persons. This survey report is concerned with the second of these fields and it indicates what can be done and what remains to be done.

Visit of the Ambassador of Ireland to Delaware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, over the past weekend, the State of Delaware was honored by the presence of His Excellency the Ambassador of the Republic of Ireland. This distinguished visitor, John Joseph Hearne, spent almost 3 days in our State, meeting and talking with citizens of all walks of life. During the visit, he became the first person to be awarded the status of Honorary Citizen, a title conferred upon him by the Governor of Delaware, Hon. J. Caleb Boggs.

We were happy to have this outstanding representative of the Republic of Ireland with us, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement entitled "The Irish Tradition in Delaware" which was prepared in connection with the Ambassador's visit.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IRISH TRADITION IN DELAWARE

The annals of the State of Delaware are interwoven with the contributions of many native sons of Ireland and descendants of Irish immigrants who found the Delaware soil fertile for freedom, individual opportunity, and patriotism.

It is difficult to pin down the name of any one family that could be honored as having been the first to come here from Ireland but it can be said that one of the first was that of Cornelius Hallahan who in 1730 purchased a 250 acre tract on the Red Clay Creek from the Penns. It was known as Cuba Rock and

one of the earliest, if not the first, Catholic services in Delaware were held in his home.

Another pioneer from Ireland was the intrepid Father Patrick Kenny who landed at New Castle and was so disgusted with the heat and mosquitoes that he would have immediately returned had he not been persuaded to wait until the next ship for his native land. By that time, Father Kenny realized the need of a priest to administer the needs of the Catholic families in northern Delaware, particularly the increasingly large number of Irish families that were rapidly settling here. Father Kenny never did return to his Ireland but remained to hold services at little Coffee Run Church on the Lancaster Pike, where he is buried, and also to start present day St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral in Wilmington in 1816.

Another immigrant from Ireland who landed at New Castle—destined to become one of the great men of the American Revolution—was Charles Thomson. He was known as the perpetual secretary of the Continental Congresses and was influential in holding together the various factions of the Congresses through some of the trying years of the country.

The first printer in Delaware was James Adams, a native of Ireland, who worked for a while in the print shop of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia and in 1761, set up his own establishment in Wilmington where he published early law books, religious tracts, and possibly the first newspaper of the State.

Commodore Thomas Macdonough who gave the British such a severe and decisive trouncing in the War of 1812, was a Delawarean of Irish parentage.

Gen. Thomas A. Smyth of Wilmington and a native of Ireland was at one time commander of the famous Irish Brigade in the Civil War—and was the last general of the Union troops to be killed in that war.

A check of the men who were not only high in the military ranks but among the statesmen, literary men, and industrialists were either natives of Ireland of both Catholic and Protestant faiths or descendants of Irish immigrants.

At one time, Wilmington was a haven for one of the noted Irish patriots, Alexander Hamilton Rowan, who escaped from Newgate Prison, fled to France, came to Philadelphia in 1795, and eventually found refuge in Wilmington where he lived in relative poverty but became rich in friends here. Among them were the Rodneys, Pooles, Dickinsons, Bayards and the well-known Delaware physician, Dr. Tilton. He earned his money by printing calico and selling birchbeer from a barrow, and he even worked as a gardener.

Years later, when he was permitted to return to Ireland and received his pardon and his property, he attached to the door of one of the turret rooms of his castle home a large label bearing the word, "Wilmington" where, it is said, he would often retire for hours of relaxation and revery.

But these were the men of the headlines. Just as important were the hundreds of Irish families who settled in Delaware and participated in the development of their new State and Nation. And certainly these notes of the Irish tradition in Delaware, brief as they may be, would not be complete without reference to the Irish families who lived on the banks of the Brandywine and worked in the powder mills and worshipped in old St. Joseph's-on-the-Brandywine. Their loyalty and devotion are part of the annals of the Du Pont Co.

And down to this present day, we find in Delaware many native sons and daughters of Ireland and their children who supported the Irish cause in our time. They, too, in their way, contributed to the cause of freedom and independence in keeping with American ideals.

Revision of Our Federal Tax Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, during the first session of the 83d Congress the Committee on Ways and Means held 2 months of public hearings on revision of our Federal tax laws. Testimony was received from over 600 witnesses and over 1,000 statements were submitted for the RECORD. The entire committee membership spent long hard hours to complete the hearings.

At the present time the Committee on Ways and Means is meeting in daily executive sessions to prepare major tax legislation which we intend to present to the House before too many weeks have elapsed. This legislation will contain a complete recodification of the Internal Revenue laws in equitable and simplified form.

Mr. Aubrey R. Marrs, formerly head of the technical staff, Bureau of Internal Revenue, has prepared an excellent summary of the testimony presented at the committee hearings. It is my opinion that this summary should be available to all Members of Congress. To that end, Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and including therewith a summary of the General Revenue Revision Hearings which is a reprint of an article contained in the Standard Federal Tax Reports published by Commerce Clearing House:

REVISION OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

(By Aubrey R. Marrs, attorney, Washington, D. C.)

The Crusade in Europe is not the only crusade of recent times. There is another one going on right here in these United States. It is being conducted against heavy odds by Congressman DAN REED and his associates in the House of Representatives. I am referring to the "Crusade for tax simplification, tax equity, and tax understanding," now being waged under the auspices of the Ways and Means Committee. The crusades abroad have been costly in blood and money. Congressman REED's crusade may actually result in reducing the tax burden of our people. If it fails so to do, the reason will be largely the fiscal necessities of the Government.

His labors for a revision of the Internal Revenue Code do not represent an eleventh-hour conversion for DAN REED. In fact, one might say that he is a "B. C." revisionist, that is, before change in the administration. Chairman REED considers that "a sound and efficient revenue system is an essential to a healthy American economy." He has a three-point program:

"The present administration is confronted with three major problems. First, Federal expenditures are at too high a level. Second, Federal, State, and local taxes are so high that they are taking almost 30 percent of our national income. And this, despite the fact that prominent economists have repeatedly stated that it is dangerous for a government, by taxation, to take more than 25 percent of the national income. Third, the Internal Revenue Code has grown to such a degree through numerous patchwork amendments that it has become complicated, unfair, and in many situations completely unworkable."

It is the revision of the code with which this article is concerned. The internal revenue laws have not had a thorough reexamination and analysis since the compilation of the revised statutes, about 80 years ago. The code must be examined from stem to stern. The substantive provisions of the code, as well as the procedural provisions, need to be carefully scrutinized to see if they are fair, workable, and understandable. "We must make a complete revision," says Chairman REED. It will be an undertaking of the first magnitude. He recognizes that due to budget limitations, "we may not be able to go as far as we would like in all respects," but we can at least adopt sound, equitable, and understandable principles in the law. Just because it can't be done in one Herculean operation is no reason why it may not be done by feasible stages. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase once told Horace Greeley that "The only way to resumption is to resume." Or as the Chinese would put it, a 1,000-mile trip begins with the first step.

PRECODE ERA

Prior to the Revenue Act of 1928, the general scheme of internal revenue legislation was to make each revenue act a self-contained body of statutory law. For example, in the Revenue Act of 1926, there were reenacted all the provisions of the proceeding 1924 act, both substantive and procedural, with such changes and omissions as the current policy of Congress dictated; the preceding act was then repealed, with certain exceptions. The substantive law provisions of each revenue act would remain in force for the years to which applicable, except as subsequently amended; but as to adjective or procedural law, such provisions were restated as to open cases under prior acts and new provisions included for all cases to arise under the then current revenue act. The method did create some confusion especially in procedural problems. As explained by the Ways and Means Committee: "The effort in each new act to put in the same place all the law relating to the assessment and collection of taxes for earlier years, as well as the law relating to the method of assessment and collection of the taxes imposed by such new act, has resulted in many complications. Striking examples of the difficulties encountered may be found in sections 277 and 278 of the 1924 and 1926 acts, dealing with the statute of limitations, section 284 of the 1926 act dealing with refunds and credits, and section 283 of the 1926 act, dealing with appeals to the Board of Tax Appeals in cases arising under the 1924 and preceding acts. If this process is continued, it will produce more and more complexities. The committee is impressed with the importance of making a fresh start." (1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 391, at p. 421.)

The plan of the early revenue acts accounts for the arrangement employed in internal revenue laws, a compilation once issued by the Treasury Department at convenient intervals, the last one containing the internal revenue laws in force on April 1, 1927. The 1927 compilation combines the appropriate sections of the Revised Statutes, the Revenue Act of 1926, approved February 26, 1926, and such prior acts as had not become obsolete. For example, chapter 19, "Income Taxes," contains all such provisions in the Revenue Act of 1926, followed by every prior revenue act, back to and including section 38 of the act of August 5, 1909.

As a result of the study of the situation by the staff of the joint committee and others, particularly a voluntary committee the members of which served without compensation,

certain changes were recommended which took shape in the Revenue Act of 1928. This act differed materially from previous revenue acts. After reciting the difficulties above explained, the Senate Finance Committee report says:

"Therefore, the provisions of the income tax title of the present bill apply only to the taxable year 1928 and succeeding years. They have no effect whatsoever on taxes imposed for prior taxable years, nor do the provisions of the 1926 income tax title have any effect on the computation of tax for 1928 or later years. For this reason the income tax title of the 1926 act is not repealed by the bill and remains in force for the collection of taxes for 1925, 1926, and 1927, as well as taxes under prior acts except as modified by title III, of the present bill, containing express amendments to such title, and by title IV, containing various administrative provisions, and by title V, containing a few retroactive provisions intended to relieve certain cases of hardship under prior acts. It is to be noted in particular that provisions such as those in titles X, XI, and XII of the 1926 act as well as other titles thereof remain in full force and effect (except as amended by the new act) for the taxable year 1928 and subsequent taxable years. For instance, section 1107 applies to income taxes for 1928 and future years. Its application is not restricted to 'internal revenue laws' in force at the time of its enactment.

"It is planned ultimately to combine provisions of this general nature into a compilation or code apart from the revenue acts." (1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 421.)

At the same time the 1928 act made a distinctive change in the typography and style of printing of the revenue acts. This was explained by the Ways and Means Committee Report, as follows:

"The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation in its report recently submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means and to the Finance Committee of the Senate, endorsed a recommendation that one of the most helpful steps in the simplification of the income tax would be the use of a new typograprical setup making use of bold face headings and subheadings and also making use of indentions, so that the reader may more easily find the matter he is in search of. The style approved by the Joint Committee for use in the publication of the law, when enacted, is set forth in volume II, appended to its report. The present bill makes use of the system recommended for the printing of the law, as nearly as the styles of type in bill size available at the Government Printing Office will permit." (1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 392.)

The new idea was a simplification so long as the revenue measures did not come too fast and there were few retroactive amendments. The adoption of a continuing statute applicable to the current years, with only occasional intervening amendments and few retroactive amendments, rendered it comparatively easy for taxpayers (and lawyers) to ascertain exactly what the law was during any given year. The statute applicable to the taxable period under consideration would give one the statutory law, subject to a rundown on retrospective amendments.

Meanwhile, in 1922, there appeared on the market a publication which remains to this day the most convenient medium for ascertaining the statutory law in Federal income, estate and gift taxation, applicable to past years. It is the correlation of the revenue laws by Walter E. Barton. This work is now in its 10th edition, and certain editions taken together cover the entire period from 1913 to 1949. This work is a correlation, that is, the corresponding provisions of a series of revenue acts are laid alongside each other in verticle columns so that they may be readily compared. [The same result can be accomplished through use of CCH Internal Revenue Code.] Since a period of above 6 years occurs between editions, a large portion of the retroactive amendments appears along with the original provisions. Unfortunately, this laborious though convenient method cannot be follower by legislative bodies.

CODE ERA

As foretold above, the Internal Revenue Code was prepared and was approved by the President on February 10, 1939 (53 Statutes, pt. I). (See the explanatory Mimeograph 4909, 1939–1 (pt. 1) CB 391.) Then more revenue acts came in rapid succession, with hundreds of retroactive amendments. From the enactment of the code on February 10, 1939 to the end of 1943, there were 737 different amendments, 83 of which became effective on the date of their enactment or on the following day; 77 of which became effective from 10 days to several months after their enactment; and 577 of which were retroactive for periods ranging from less than 1 year to approximately 4 years. The same policy of frequent amendments to the code continued during the 6-year period 1944–49, when there were 380 amendments, a large number of which were retroactive.

Only a small number of the amendments since February 10, 1939, have been made by reenacting the amended sections in their entirety. Most of them have been made by striking out some language and inserting other language, the consequence of which has been that taxpayers were required to make the necessary eliminations and substitutions. The result of so many amendments to the code in such patchwork fashion has been to create unavoidable, if not unnecessary, confusion, even with the improved system inaugurated by the 1928 act. There is no way of avoiding this kind of confusion with annual and semiannual amendments of the code, sprinkled with many retroactive provisions. Such a method of revenue legislation continued over a period of years is conducive to many inequalities, complications, and unsound practices. It is no exaggeration to say that the present Federal tax structure has been thrown together by disconnected enactments, usually under the pressure of real or fancied national emergencies. Chairman REED recognizes that situation. A general revision of the code is overdue.

REVISION OF THE CODE

The staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation was instructed by the chairman to undertake a revision of the Internal Revenue Code. Accordingly, the staff conducted a survey to elicit suggestions and comments from the general public relating to improvements in the internal revenue laws and their administration. The survey was conducted on the basis of a widely distributed questionnaire, the response to which was immediate and widespread from all parts of the country. On April 21, 1953, the staff released a preliminary digest of the thousands of suggestions which had been received from individual taxpayers, businesses, tax practitioners, professional groups, and trade associations. Anyone desiring to study the matter might well begin with this preliminary digest.

Based upon replies to the questionnaire, the preliminary digest set forth 40 carefully selected subjects upon which to conduct public hearings. This numerical list, which gives the order on which the hearings were held, is as follows:

1. Qualifications for the dependency credit (including such problems as to whether dependency exemptions should be granted for foster children, whether a dependency exemption should be apportioned where two or more taxpayers are providing the support, and the problem arising where an individual who otherwise would be a dependent earns over $600 of income).

2. The expenses of child or dependency care for working wives, widows, etc.

3. The deduction of medical and dental expenses (such as problems relating to the 5 percent minimum, the maximum dollar limits, and the coverage of the deduction).

4. Deductions of charitable contributions, interest, and taxes:
   (a) Charitable contributions.
   (b) Interest.
   (c) Taxes.

5. College and educational expenses (including the unusual school expenses of dependents and also the professional educational expenses of the taxpayers themselves).

6. Business expense deductions from adjusted gross income (such as traveling expenses, entertainment expenses, work clothes, and the relationship of these deductions to the standard deduction):
   (a) Adjusted gross income.
   (b) Traveling expenses.
   (c) Entertainment expenses.
   (d) Work clothes.
   (e) The standard deduction.

7. Alimony and separate maintenance and support payments.

8. Income-splitting and head-of-household provisions.

9. Averaging of income (such as modification of section 107 to provide a different type of averaging and coverage of types of income not now provided for by that section).

10. Earned income credit.

11. The time and manner of filing returns, and declarations for individuals:
   (a) Time and manner of filing returns.
   (b) Declarations for individuals.

12. Withholding.

13. Employee death and disability benefits:
   (a) Employee death benefits.
   (b) Employee disability benefits.

14. The 3-percent annuity rule.

15. Stock options and deferred compensation plans:
   (a) Stock options.
   (b) Deferred compensation plans.

16. Pension and profit-sharing treatment provided by sections 165 and 23 (p).

17. Techniques for alleviating double taxation of dividends.

18. Accounting principles (such as those relating to timing and correlation in reporting income and expenses).

19. LIFO inventory accounting.

20. Depreciation and amortization.

21. Research and development expenditures.

22. Capital gains and losses including problems relating to basis:
   (a) Capital gains and losses.
   (b) Problems relating to basis.

23. Income taxes of lessor paid by lessee.

24. The net operating loss.

25. Cancellation of indebtedness.

26. Consolidated returns and intercorporate dividends:
   (a) Consolidated returns.
   (b) Intercorporate dividends.

27. Corporate reorganizations and distributions:
   (a) Corporate reorganizations.
   (b) Corporate distributions.

28. Statute of limitations, assessment, and collection of taxes and penalties:
   (a) Statute of limitations.
   (b) Assessment and collection of taxes.
   (c) Penalties.

29. Partnerships.

30. The various provisions relating to income derived from foreign sources.

31 Income tax treatment of estates and trusts.

32. Treatment of bad debts (bad-debt recoveries, bad-debt reserves, and deduction of nonbusiness bad debts):

(a) Bad-debt recoveries.
(b) Bad-debt reserves.
(c) Deduction of nonbusiness bad debts.
33. The determination of taxable income inclusions and exclusions.
34. Gift and estate tax problems:
(a) Gift tax problems.
(b) Estate tax problems.
35. Excise tax problems (exclusive of those relating to rates, to new taxes, or to removal of existing taxes).
36. Retirement funds for self-employed and others not covered by existing pension plans.
37. Exclusion of pension and retirement income for specific types of employees.
38. Depletion and exploration expenditures:
(a) Depletion.
(b) Exploration expenditures.
39. Improper accumulation of surplus (section 102).
40. Excise tax rates.

In a recent study, made by Commerce Clearing House, of the nine-thousand-odd petitions filed between November 8, 1951, and January 19, 1953, the most recurrent issues appealed by petitioners to the Tax Court were: (1) dependency exemptions; (2) partnerships; (3) capital gains and losses; (4) miscellaneous "business" deductions; (5) depreciation; (6) travel expenses; (7) medical expenses; (8) entertainment expenses. It is revealing to note that the number one issue taken to the Tax Court was the number one subject on the committee's list; also, that every one of the most recurring issues above named were covered in the committee's schedule of hearings.

The public hearings began on June 16, 1953 and were concluded on August 14, 1953. It may be that, under present conditions, the primary object of Federal revenue legislation is to find new and ever-expanding sources of taxation. But sometimes the taxpayer needs a break as well as the Government. These hearings were the first opportunity offered to the public to express itself before the Ways and Means Committee on the code in its entirety, rather than on the specific matters involved in a current revenue bill.

The entire list of 40 subjects was recited above not only for the convenience of interested readers but also for the purposes of this article. Each subject hereinafter will be briefly discussed in its numerical sequence. Each busy reader may pick and choose the subject in which he may be interested and thus conserve his time. The plan of treatment of each subject is as follows: (1) An historical note pointing out the origin of the item in our Federal tax structure, usually going back no further than the act of October 3, 1913,[1] which is the first enabling act under the 16th amendment; and (2) a brief statement of the existing law.[2] Then follows a brief résumé of the public testimony developed at the hearings. In this way, it is expected that the coverage will be sufficiently informative to put one on notice as to the scope of the hearings. Anyone desiring to go exhaustively into the matter is free to do so.

The testimony and the submitted statement did not always coincide with the subjects set for hearing.

Dependency credit

Historical note: The dependency credit first made its apeparance in section 1203 of the Revenue Act of 1917. It granted the head of a family an additional exemption of $200 for each dependent child. The subsequent amendments have been numerous. Under present law, an exemption of $600 is allowed for each dependent in a specified degree of relationship,[3] for whom the taxpayer provides over half the support. However, the dependent's gross income for the year must be less than $600, and, if an alien, he must reside in the United States, Canada, or Mexico. (Sec. 10 (b), Individual Income Tax Act of 1944, approved May 29, 1944.) The dependency exemption is now wholly free of the concept of head of a family. (Code sec. 25 (b) (1) (D) and code sec. 25 (b) (2) and (3).)

Testimony at hearing, June 16, 1953: Numerous House bills have previously been introduced relative to this subject. Much of the testimony under this topic confuses the dependency credit with the expenses for child care for working wives. It is evident that the middle class and the laboring class have no appreciation of the budget requirements of the national debt and national security. Most of the testimony was directed to increasing the credits for dependents. The joint committee staff estimates that to increase the personal exemption from $600 to $1,000, not to mention dependents, would cost approximately $9.5 billion in revenue. The American Bar Association recommended that wages paid to the dependent by the taxpayer be disallowed, where an exemption is claimed for the dependent by the taxpayer. Considerable support developed to grant foster children dependency status on the ground that it would stimulate the adoption of children. The legislative representative of the Panama Canal Zone recommended that section 25 (b) (3) be amended to include a dependent who is a resident of the Canal Zone. The recommendations to increase the amount of the dependency exemptions sometimes had a maximum limitation based upon adjusted gross income and/or age of the dependent. The trend was to increase the amount of the dependency exemption from $600 to $1,000, which would involve an amendment of section 25 (b) (1) (A) of the code.

Expenses of child or dependency care for working wives, widows, etc.

Historical note: Medical expenses excepted, the code has never provided for the deductibility of the personal expenses of a child, nor has it permitted the deduction of expenses incurred by a working wife or by a widow for the care of a dependent.[4]

The dependency credit is supposed to represent the extent of income-tax benefit to be derived from the care of dependents.

Hearings, June 16, 1953: The unmistakable trend of the testimony was to allow a deduction as a business expense, under section 23, for child care occasioned by either parent being engaged in gainful occupation.

H. R. 305 would allow a widow or widower to deduct amounts paid in providing care for children while the parent is employed. A limitation was suggested that the amount otherwise allowable under this bill should be reduced by the amount by which the adjusted gross income exceeded $5,000. H. R. 4394 would allow the expense of providing care for children under 16 years of age, where the mother is gainfully employed. H. R. 2861 would amend section 23 to allow child care expense, but would limit it to $40 per week and require the children to be under 16 years of age and to live at home.

Medical and dental expenses

Historical note: This deduction was added to the code by section 127 of the Revenue Act of 1942. (Code section 23 (x).) This principle opened the floodgates for the retroactive deductions of the 1942 act. Prior to that time medical care was regarded as a purely personal expense, expressly made nondeductible by section 24 (a) (1) of the code. When the deduction for "extraordinary medical expenses" was added, section 24 (a) (1) was amended to conform. Originally, the deduction was allowed for medical care of the taxpayer, spouse, or dependent, but only to the extent that such expenses exceeded 5 percent of adjusted gross income. The deduction has been expanded in behalf of elderly people. The 5 percent restriction is inapplicable to such expenses for the care of the taxpayer and his spouse if either has attained the age of 65 years. There are also maximum limitations on the amount of the deduction. The statute expressly allows amounts paid for accident or health insurance. The statute has been liberally construed, but the line has to be drawn somewhere.[5]

Hearings, June 17, 1953: Numerous bills have been introduced bearing upon this subject. All were directed to a liberalization of the deduction for medical care, particularly the removal or alleviation of the 5 percent rule. There was little agitation to lift the maximum limitations. Several organizations of persons who are physically handicapped or permanently disabled presented claims for greater tax relief by way of both deductions and exemptions.

One witness would free the cost of health insurance from the 5-percent rule and from the standard deduction, on the ground that it would reduce the possibility of socialized medicine. The president of a Washington, D. C., Dye-Dee Wash concern urged an amendment to the definition of medical care to include antiseptic diaper service.

Charitable contributions, interest, and taxes.

This is an unrelated combination of deductions, although in the absence of statutory authorization, and when not connected with business or the production of income, they would all be regarded as personal or nondeductible disbursements. They now appear in the code as section 23 (o) and (g) (contributions); section 23 (b), and 24 (c) (interest); and section 23 (c) (taxes).

Historical note (contributions): The deduction to individuals for charitable contributions first appeared as section 1201 of the act of October 3, 1917, amending the act of September 8, 1916. It is now limited to 20 percent of the taxpayer's adjusted gross income. As to corporations, the charitable deduction was first granted by section 102 (c) of the Revenue Act of 1935. This deduction is still limited to 5 percent of the corporation's net income.

Hearings, June 18, 1953: The president of Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., urged that the present allowances remain in effect, at least at their present levels. Other witnesses recommended that the charitable deduction to corporations be increased from 5 percent to 10 percent on the assumption that it would stimulate the flow of funds from successful corporations to private charities.

Historical note (interest): The interest deduction to individuals first apeared in the act of October 3, 1913, section II B (second). Today the deduction covers all interest paid on indebtedness except indebtedness incurred to purchase exempt obligations. The interest deduction to corporations began with the act of August 5, 1909, section 38 (second) (third), and, in the early acts, was subject to a maximum limitation which the courts upheld.[6] Today the deductibility of this item is geared to several restrictions respecting promptness of payment and the relationship of the taxpayer and the payee. (Code sec. 24 (c).)

Hearings, June 19, 1953: Although this section relates to a limited number of business expense deductions, occasion may be taken to bring in other matters more or less related. One witness favored H. R. 1021 which is a bill to amend section 127 (a) of the code relating to war losses, giving the taxpayer a wider choice in the treatment of such losses. (See *Shahmoon* v. *Commissioner* (50–2, U. S. T. C., par. 9500, 185 F. (2d) 384 (CA–2); I T. 4086, 1952–1 CB 29); *Kenmore* v. *Commissioner* (53–1 U. S. T. C.,

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par. 9434 (C. A.-2), affirming CCH Dec. 19, 110, 18 TC 754 (1952)).)

The Federal Tax Forum, Inc., and the American Bar Association recommended the amendment of section 24 (c) to provide that no deduction would be disallowed thereunder for an expense or interest item where the related taxpayer included the accrued item in his return and signed a binding election to be taxed thereon.

H. R. 1018 and H. R. 4166 were also urged for favorable consideration. These bills would amend section 23 (e) to allow the deduction of losses and other expenses occasioned by abnormally high-water levels in any body of water, including a river.

Historical note (taxes): This is a complicated subject. On its face it deals with the deductibility of taxes and not their imposition. The deduction to individuals for taxes began with the act of October 3, 1913, section II B (3d). To corporations, it began with the act of August 5, 1909, section 38 (2d) (4th). In the 1917 act, Federal income and profits taxes were eliminated as deductible items. By section 111 of the Revenue Act of 1943, Federal excise and stamp taxes, not deductible as business expenses, were eliminated from deductible taxes. (Sec. 23 (c) (1) (F).) To summarize the present law on this item would carry the writer beyond necessary space limitations.

Hearings, June 18, 1953: The Independent Natural Gas Association of America recommended that the stamps purchased in connection with stock issues be allowed as deductions from gross income. I. T. 3806, 1946-2 CB 41, ruled that stamp taxes on bond issues were deductible on an amortized basis over the life of the bonds. (See *Hirshon* v. *United States* (53-2 U. S. T. C., par. 9499 (Ct. Cls.)).)

An individual witness recommended an amendment to section 23 (c) which would provide that taxes will be deemed to have been paid or accrued in respect of the vendor and the vendee of real property, in accordance with the adjustments made between them on the settlement date.

College and educational expenses

Historical note: Section 23 (a) (1) (A) allows as deductions all the ordinary and necessary expenses in carrying on a trade or business. Section 24 (a) (1) expressly prohibits any deduction for personal, living, or family expenses. Educational expenses, either for the taxpayer himself or for a dependent, usually fall under the prohibition of section 24 (a) (1). However, in recent years a breach has been driven in the Government's defensive wall. In *Hill* v. *Commissioner* (50-1, USTC, par. 9310, 181 F. (2d) 906 (CA-4)), the fourth circuit reversed the Tax Court (CCH Dec. 17,166, 13 TC 291 (1949)) and held that where a public school teacher was required under State law to either attend summer school or take examination on five selected books as prerequisite for renewal of her teacher's certificate, the cost of attending summer school was an ordinary and necessary business expense. In *Coughlin* v. *Commissioner* (53-1, USTC, par. 9321, 202 F. (2d) 307 (CA-2)), the second circuit reversed the Tax Court (CCH Dec. 19,034, 18 TC 528 (1952)) and held that the expense of attending New York University's Tax Institute, incurred by a practicing lawyer, was a business expense.

Hearings, June 18, 1953: The president-elect of the American Medical Association urged an amendment to the code authorizing the deduction of postgraduate educational expenses.

Support was urged for two bills, H. R. 1274, which would allow a deduction without limitation of expenses for the education of a dependent; and H. R. 3469, to provide a deduction for expenses for the taxpayer's own education or that of another person but not below the college level. Another witness urged the deduction of both secondary and college educational expenses.

A certified public accountant made a very interesting contribution. He recommended that no deduction be allowed to a taxpayer for educational expenses paid for dependents. The deduction should be allowed to the person receiving the education, and be written off as a capital expenditure similar to the depreciation of fixed assets. The deduction should be allowed against either employment or self-employment income in an amount not to exceed the lesser of 10 percent of cost or 25 percent of actual employment for the year. Any amount remaining after 10 years would still be available under the same rules of deduction. Refresher courses and seminar expenses of persons already started on their careers should be either fully deductible when paid or incurred, or added to the unamortized base similar to the handling of a major overhaul of assets for future amortization.

Business expenses

Historical note: The necessary expenses actually paid in carrying on any business were allowed as deductions beginning with the 1913 act. Section 214 (a) (1) of the 1918 act changed the wording to "all the ordinary and necessary expenses paid or incurred during the taxable year in carrying on any trade or business." The concept of adjusted gross income was adopted by section 8 (a) of the Individual Income Tax Act of 1944, in connection with the simplified tax table, and for use in determining the standard deduction, medical expenses, etc. Section 22 (n) of the present Code creates a discrimination between taxpayers similarly situated for all practical purposes. A self-employed person in business, or an employer, may deduct all his section 23 expenses in arriving at adjusted gross income. He may then take the standard deduction where it is not beneficial to itemize other deductions. By contrast, a salaried employee or a person working on a commission basis may deduct business expenses other than travel, meals, and lodging while away from home, in arriving at adjusted gross income, only to the extent of the reimbursement arrangement with the employer. This places the salaried or commission salesmen at a disadvantage in respect of unreimbursed expenses, in that he must item them to obtain the deduction under section 23. This offsets much of the tax advantage connected with the standard deduction.

Hearings, June 23, 1953: The discrimination above described was attacked by several witnesses, primarily from the standpoint of the commission salesman. In this respect the commission salesman seems to be regarded as an employee. It was submitted that in arriving at adjusted gross income and in using the standard deduction, there should be no distinction as between the self-employed or an employer, and an employee. Different solutions were advanced, one of which would repeal the restrictions in respect of an employee's expenses not reimbursed by his employer.

A similar discrimination exists as between city salesmen and traveling salesmen. Traveling expenses while away from home are deductible in arriving at adjusted gross income. A salesman who is assigned to city and suburban territory incurs the same type of expenses but cannot so treat them because he is not away from home. The removal from the statute of the words "while away from home" was urged in that connection. And one witness went so far as to suggest that personal commuting expense to his place of employment should be allowed on the theory that it is imperative to be at work to earn the income taxed. The last-mentioned suggestion would apply to a number of items presently regarded as purely personal. For the traveling man, however, the foregoing suggestion is not as radical as that made by another witness to the effect that home should be deemed to be the place of the taxpayer's family residence. (See *Commissioner* v. *Flowers* (46-1 USTC, par. 9127, 326 U. S. 465).)

Alimony, etc.

In *Gould* v. *Gould* (1 U. S. T. C., par. 13, 245 U. S. 151 (1917)), the Supreme Court held that support and maintenance payments under a decree of permanent separation was not income to the former wife under the 1913 act; nor were such payments deductible from the income of the husband. Thus the matter stood until the 1942 act. (Secs. 22 (k), 23 (u), and 171 of the Internal Revenue Code.) The constitutionality of this legislation was upheld, and its provisions interpreted in *Mahana* v. *U. S.* (50-1 U. S. T. C., par. 9164, 88 F. Supp. 285 (Ct. Cls.), cer. denied, 339 U. S. 978; rehearing denied, 340 U. S. 847).

Although considerable interest was shown in replies to the questionnaire, over the many tax inequities which still beset the divorced, or legally separated man, the hearings developed nothing of significance except a recommendation by the Federal Tax Forum that section 22 (k) be amended to provide that payments for support of the wife under a private separation agreement be given the same treatment as alimony, provided the parties do not file a joint return.

Income splitting

Historical note: Since the Revenue Act of 1948, married couples are allowed to split their combined incomes in computing their tax liability. (Sec. 12 (d) of the Internal Revenue Code.) Section 301, Revenue Act of 1951, extended some of the benefit of income splitting to heads of households by giving them approximately one-half of the benefit received by married couples from full income splitting. (Sec. 12 (c).) The "head of a household" is defined by the statute as being, in general, a formerly married, but now unmarried, person who maintains a household consisting of himself, children, stepchildren, and grandchildren. The splitting of income is the solution provided by the code for the serious discrimination which formerly obtained between spouses of community-property States and those of the common-law States. After several abortive efforts to take away the tax benefit from the division of income between spouses in the community-property States, the problem was successfully approached from the standpoint of granting to common-law States substantially the same income-tax advantages enjoyed by the community-property States. This may afford a good object lesson in any attempts to iron out the inequalities in the code. Take no unfair advantage away from anybody; but extend it to everybody.

(The heads of households and certain unmarried persons who cannot qualify as such, but who have a serious burden in caring for relatives claim they are being discriminated against.)

Hearings, June 23, 1953: One witness bemoaned the fact that no benefit whatever was received from the income-splitting provisions by married couples subject only to the minimum rate of tax. (With equal force it could be said that no benefit whatever was received from sec. 12 (d) by married couples in the community-property States who fell in the highest surtax brackets.) The witness sought to correct the alleged inequality by granting a special personal exemption of $300 to heads of households in all categories, and to married couples whose adjusted gross income is less than $5,000.

The purpose of income splitting was not to reduce the tax rates but to level off the serious discrimination which obtained for so long between the community-property States and the common-law States. If everybody were taxed at one constant rate, income

splitting would not have been necessary and the community-property States would not have enjoyed any advantage over the taxpayers in the other States. It was the progressive surtax rates on combined income of spouses which brought about the disparity. The splitting of income did not change the rates of taxation but to the extent above placed all spouses on a community-property basis. Under the proposal, the upper bracket spouses in the community-property States could also claim some special benefit from section 12 (d). If the lower income groups are entitled to relief from income taxation, it should be accomplished by a change in the minimum rate or in the exemptions. Since all married couples subject to the minimum rate have always, in effect, had the benefit of splitting income, there is no occasion to do more on that score.

It was also contended that the splitting of income created an inequality as between married couples on the one hand, and heads of households and single persons on the other. This was the occasion in the 1951 act for giving the head of a household about half of the advantage enjoyed by spouses. It was accomplished by a change in the rates for surtax. Historically speaking, the income-splitting provisions have their origin in the marital status of the civil law. Naturally the attributes of the marital status under civil law have no application to unmarried heads of households or single persons generally. In the community-property States, where spouses have always been able under Federal income taxation to divide their incomes, no great movement arose to grant similar benefits to the heads of households and single persons within those States. Now that the community-property system, as regards Federal income taxation, has been extended to the entire country, it is not clear to this writer just how far Congress should go in respect of unmarried persons. The problem does not exist so long as surtax net income is not over $2,000, and does not become serious until the unsplit surtax net income steps into the progressive rates. At least one solution is available to the taxpayer—get married. That's what the other fellow did.

Averaging of income

Historical note: The refusal of the Government to prorate the gain on capital transactions over the period of time in which the asset was held proved to be as costly as it was inequitable. To subject to the ordinary surtax rates the gain realized in the year of sale but which had been accruing over a period of years, was pretty rough. The result contributed in no small measure to the alternate method of taxing capital gains, first adopted by section 206 of the Revenue Act of 1921. A somewhat analogous situation was presented by compensation received for personal services rendered over a protracted period of time. That situation was recognized by section 220 of the Revenue Act of 1939, which added a new section 107 to the Code. By section 107, under certain circumstances, the compensation is prorated over the prior years in which the services were rendered so that a computation at the rates applicable for those years may be made, and the aggregate tax so computed becomes the maximum tax in the year of receipt. This method of proration has been extended to the gain derived by the taxpayer from a particular artistic work or invention by him; and, also, to certain kinds of back pay. The foregoing relief is probably inadequate in that it does not provide for lump-sum payments made at infrequent intervals on continuing as distinguished from completed projects; nor does it take into account lump-sum payments received as cumulative dividends and delinquent interest.

Hearings, July 8, 1953: At the hearings there was considerable agitation for different methods of averaging and for covering a wider front. One proposal was to reduce the period during which personal services must be rendered from 36 to 13 calendar months and, also, permit the exclusion of taxable periods during which a small percent of the total services are rendered. H. R. 6126 has been introduced along such lines.

Another proposal would permit lifetime averaging of income by all individuals. It recommends a moving average base for the averaging of taxable income. It is claimed that this method will improve the tax structure (1) by removing the repressive effect of imposing the tax on the annual income as if each year stood by itself unrelated to any other year, and (2) by equalizing the tax burden among individuals who earn the same amount of income over the same extended period of time.

Various other methods of averaging were suggested to find the income for the taxable year, each with its distinctive features. The Associated Actors and Artistes of America recommended an amendment to the Code which would allow the averaging of irregular and fluctuating income. It presented three methods for so doing, with a preference expressed for the simple averaging method. This method contemplates that, at the end of a given period, the taxpayer shall be entitled by proper election to a credit against the tax otherwise due for the current year, measured by the excess of taxes actually paid for the averaging period over the taxes that would have been paid for such period, had the income in each year of the period been the average of his entire income for all years within the period.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States made a strong justification for extending the principle of section 107 to all types of fluctuating income, including interest, rents, dividends, royalties, bonuses, etc., applicable to two or more years, or attributable to subsequent years. They point out that the business operating loss carryback and carryover provisions (section 122) constitute a limited and incomplete recognition of the need for a more comprehensive income averaging device. The injection of the accountant's concept of deferred income, that is, income received in the current year but attributable under accepted principles of accounting to subsequent years, is a unique contribution to this subject. The chamber also points out that a great deal of the necessity for an averaging device is due to the highly progressive rates of surtax. The best cure for the problem would be to attack the high rates.

The incentive motive as a guiding principle was also injected into this topic. Of course incentive can be raised in every detail of taxation. One witness recommended that the Federal Government offer all taxpayers a rate cut as a business incentive, to the extent that their annual earnings exceed their moving average earnings of their last 4 years. Another witness recommended as a method of incentive taxation that any employer of labor, collecting and reporting withholding taxes, may deduct from its taxable income varying amounts per worker per fiscal year, provided such amounts were reinvested in capital assets during the taxable year. Were some such provision adopted, it might also be regarded as an indirect reimbursement for all the tax collection activities to which the employers of labor are subjected.

The American Newspaper Guild recommended an amendment to section 107 (d) (2), relating to back pay, in order that severance dismissal pay, such as is provided for by American Newspaper Guild contracts, may be allocated to taxable years in which the income may be assumed to have been earned.

Earned income credit

Historical note: The underlying theory of income taxation is to place the burden of tax upon ability to pay. It would seem that, dollar for dollar, unearned income is as able to pay income taxes as earned income. Particularly, since the enactment of section 206 of the Revenue Act of 1921, giving special treatment to gains from capital transactions, the taxpayer who earns his income by the sweat of his brow or other personal services, is at a disadvantage.[1]

The first provision attempting to compensate for the unfavorable position of the taxpayer who earns his income was section 209 of the Revenue Act of 1924. It took the form of a credit of 25 percent against the tax on earned net income (not in excess of $10,000). The principle of the credit was continued in the 1926 and 1928 acts. It was eliminated in the 1932 act; but restored by the 1934 act in a limited way.[2] It was then continued in every act until repealed by section 107 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1943.

Hearings, July 9, 1953: There was very little interest shown in the hearings over this topic. This was in sharp contrast with the fine presentations made where the topic was of vital interest to well-organized businesses and professions.

The National Association of Manufacturers submitted an adverse statement on the subject. They pointed out that the major income-tax problems stem from the high rates and especially the steep progressivity of the structure. An earned income credit would not benefit retired persons, and others dependent upon income from pensions and investments. It would further complicate the tax laws and constitute a dangerous precedent to introduce gimmicks in the law which tend to divert attention from the basic problem. The association strongly recommended that excessive income taxation be dealt with directly, and not circumvented by special relief provisions for various classes of taxpayers which would have the effect of perpetuating the high-rate policy.

A lawyer in private practice submitted a statement which pointed out that one of the most significant social changes brought about by our present rates of taxation is that it has become virtually impossible for a person to accumulate out of earned income a substantial reserve for his old age, or an estate of sufficient size to support his widow or other dependents. He maintained that the Government should never take more than half of a taxpayer's earned income. He recommended a 50-percent maximum limitation on earned income, and a reasonable earned income credit for taxpayers below the 50-percent average tax rate. Under present conditions, the writer agrees with that approach to the existing inequity.

The United States Chamber of Commerce took the position that there should be a reasonable differentiation between earned income and other income. Therefore, consideration should be given to the development and allowance of "a substantial credit for earned income."

Time and manner of filing returns, and declarations for individuals

Historical note: The filing of returns of income has always been a required feature of Federal income taxation, beginning with the Civil War Acts. In fact, most all taxes except those paid by stamps require periodic returns. In the act of August 5, 1909 (sec. 38, 3d), and the act of October 3, 1913 (sec. II D and G (c)), the due date of the return was March 1 of the following year. Such date was changed by the Revenue Act of 1918 to "the 15th day of the 3d month following the close of the fiscal year, or, if the return is made on the basis of the calendar year, then the return shall be made on or before the 15th day of March." (Sec. 227 (a) and sec. 241 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1918.) Since that time (1919), the regular filing date on the final income returns for both individuals and corporations has not been

Footnotes at end of speech.

changed. A great deal has happened since that time.

The Current Tax Payment Act of 1943, approved June 9, 1943, inaugurated a new supplementary system of collecting income taxes. Section 2 of that act requires collection of income tax on wages at the source. Section 5 requires current payment of tax not withheld at the source. Section 2 imposed additional collection duties upon employers of labor. Section 5 required a type of return theretofore unknown to the American taxpayer: a declaration of estimated tax by individuals. The code provisions in respect of the withholding of taxes at the source on wages are found in sections 1621–1627. The provisions dealing with the current payment of tax not withheld at source, which require the filing of declarations of estimated tax, are found in sections 58, 59, and 60.

Hearings, July 9, 1953: This is probably the most serious mechanical problem involved in the various phases of income taxation, and considerable interest was shown. H. R. 985 has been introduced, advocating two important changes that have been endorsed by the committee on Federal taxation of the American Institute of Accountants. This bill would postpone by 1 month the dates for filing final returns for the past year and declarations of estimated tax for the current year. For example, calendar-year taxpayers would file on April 15 rather than on March 15. It would also change the date of filing the final estimate for the previous year from January 15 to February 15. The latter is considered particularly beneficial because many taxpayers cannot, within the short space of 15 days, obtain the information needed to determine whether an amended declaration is necessary. Under code section 1625, employers need not furnish forms W–2 to their employees before January 31. With a shift of the deadline to February 15, more taxpayers will be able to file final returns instead of amended declarations. The proponent of the bill recognizes that the necessities of the Government's fiscal year which ends on June 30, require that the date of June 15 remain undisturbed for certain taxpayers.

The general purposes of H. R. 985 were supported by other witnesses. The National Association of Manufacturers advocated that the time for payment of the fourth installment on declarations be extended from January 15 to January 31. The carefully prepared statement made on behalf of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute advocated the extension by 1 month of the date for filing corporation income tax returns. It pointed out that under the present-day requirements for record-keeping on the part of employers of labor, a large number of taxpayers find it necessary to request extensions of time for filing. This makes for more paperwork in all directions. In recognition of the Government's fiscal situation, the Cotton Institute would amend section 56 (b) (2) of the code (as amended by section 205, Revenue Act of 1950) so that the extended date for filing would not entail any loss of revenue in any 1 fiscal year.

Supplement T (code sec. 400 and following) provides for an optional income tax return, form 1040A, for individuals with adjusted gross income of less than $5,000. Under section 51 (f), an individual entitled to elect under supplement T whose gross income is less than $5,000 and is entirely from wages, dividends, or interest, and whose gross income from sources other than wages does not exceed $100, is relieved from computing the tax on his return. In such case, the district director computes the tax.

A witness claimed that it would simplify the task of filing optional returns if the 3 separate forms, namely, D–2, W–4, and 1040A, were combined into a single form. The detailed filing procedure would be as follows: (a) the combined form would consist of an exemption section to be filled out by the employee and in which he lists every dependent. This exemption section would be turned over to the employer before the beginning of the year. (b) The combined form would be retained by the employer for withholding purposes during the year. This replaces form W–4. (c) After the close of the year the employer would insert on the combined form the total wages and the tax withheld. The employer would then give the original and duplicate of the form to the employee, and the triplicate would be forwarded to the district director. This replaces form W–2. (d) The employee completes the original copy, reporting any additional income, signs and forwards to the district director. The merits of this new form were claimed to be the simplifying of the task of filing returns, reduced work to the employer, and reduced paper and printing costs to the Government.

Withholding

Historical note: As previously explained under filing returns, the statutory provisions respecting the withholding of taxes on wages were enacted in the Current Tax Payment Act of 1943. The withholding of tax in respect of employment by carriers (Railroad Retirement Tax Act) was originally based on the Carriers' Taxing Act of 1937, approved June 29, 1937. (See code sec. 1500 and following.) The withholding of taxes in respect of employment by others than carriers, had its origin in title VIII of the Federal Social Security Act, approved August 14, 1935. The Social Security Act was amended in this and other particulars by the Social Security Act amendments of 1939, approved August 10, 1939. These taxation provisions were designated the "Federal Insurance Contributions Act" by the amendments of 1939. (See code secs. 1400–1432.)

The collection of tax by withholding at the source is not new in our internal revenue system. From an early period, income-tax laws and the regulations thereunder have required, under certain circumstances, the withholding and payment of the tax at the source. Generally speaking, such provisions in Federal law have been directed to payments of interest on bonds which contain a tax-free covenant clause, and payments of certain types of incomes to nonresident aliens and foreign corporations.[8]

Hearings, July 9, 1953: One witness recommended withholding on dividends, interest, pensions, annuities, and royalties. In order to avoid hardship to persons in the low-income groups, provision should be made for the filing of exemption certificates with the payors of such income. To this writer, it is hard to see how that would simplify administration although it might produce more revenue from those sources. For the higher income groups, it would be impossible to find a withholding rate except as a starting point for subsequent audit of liability.

The National Association of Manufacturers went on record as being opposed to withholding of forms of income other than wages and salaries.

The representative of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., asked that sections 143 and 144 be amended to exempt rentals from the use of motion-picture film from the withholding tax of 30 percent. By way of argument, it was stated that this 30 percent tax assumes, at present corporate rates, a net income equal to about 60 percent of gross income from the rental of motion-picture films. The argument is sound on the basis of the present 52 percent combined corporate rate. The 30 percent withholding rate began with the year 1942. In prior years, it was 15 percent and below, at times when corporate tax rates were far below present levels.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The Motion Picture Association of America frankly admitted that as a matter of first impression it might seem strange that their companies should seek an exemption from withholding tax for foreign producers who might be their competitors, but they have found that this 30 percent gross income tax which our country imposes upon foreign producers is the greatest obstacle to their ability to secure fair income tax treatment in foreign countries. They find country after country insisting that, since the United States apparently thinks a 30 percent gross income tax on film rentals leaves the producer a fair return, it is doing an American company a favor by evidencing a willingness to accept a little less. It is interesting that, according to figures furnished the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., by the United States Department of Commerce, the total amount withheld from all sources under sections 143 and 144 in the year 1949 was only about $5½ million. Only a small part of this could have come from the taxes withheld from the gross film rentals of foreign motion-picture producers.

The proponent of H. R. 65 sought support for his bill designed to grant limited or conditional relief from income tax withholding in respect of merchandise prizes awarded by employers to retail commission salesmen. The representative of the Burroughs Corp. recommended that the code be amended to provide a table for the combined withholding of the taxes collected under section 1622 (wages) and under section 1400 (employment tax on employees).

Employee death and disability benefits

Historical note: (a) Emloyee death benefits: Since the Revenue Act of 1913 (sec. II B), the proceeds of life-insurance policies paid upon the death of the insured have been excluded from gross income. (Sec. 22 (b) (1) of the code.) Section 302 of the Revenue Act of 1951 amended code section 22 (b) (1) to exclude from gross income death benefits not in excess of $5,000, paid under a contract of an employer to beneficiaries of the deceased employee. The death benefits from policies with insurance companies are not subject to the aggregate limitation of $5,000.

(b) Employee disability benefits: Since enactment of Section 213 (b) (6) of the Revenue Act of 1918, there have been excluded from statutory gross income amounts received through accident or health insurance or under workmen's compensation acts, as compensation for personal injuries or sickness. (Sec. 22 (b) (5) of the code.) In the case of self-insured private plans, where the employer has the sole discretion to determine who shall receive benefits and where the entire expense is borne by the employer, a recent ruling has held such plans not to be plans of insurance, and the payments are taxable and subject to withholding. (I. T. 4107, 1952–2 CB 73; Rev. Rul. 103, 1953–13 IRB 2 (June 22, 1953).)

Hearings, July 14, 1953: The president of Michigan Bell Telephone Co. urged amendments to the code providing that sickness, death, and job-incurred accident payments made under private plans such as that of the Bell System be accorded the same tax treatment as the statute provides for similar payments under commercial insurance policies.

Some States have enacted laws intended to secure temporary disability benefits for employees for sickness and accidents not covered by workmen's compensation. The Rhode Island law provides only for such benefits to be paid from a State fund financed by a tax on employees. In New York, New Jersey, and California, such benefits may be paid either from a State fund or under a private plan which complies with the State law. An approved private plan in any of these three States may be set up either

in the form of a contract with an insurance company or on a self-insurance basis satisfactory to State authorities. As explained above, I. T. 4107, modifying several prior rulings, has ruled that certain types of self-insured plans, although meeting the requirements under State laws, do not constitute plans of insurance within the meaning of code section 22 (b) (5).

Under these circumstances, a practicing attorney recommended that the code be amended to exclude from the employee's gross income disability benefits paid under self-insured private plans whether or not the employer is insured. The same party recommended that the code be amended to allow a deduction under section 126 (c) with respect both to installment payments and to lump-sum payments to beneficiaries of deceased members of employee retirement plans, if such payments are not made under joint and survivors' annuities described in section 113 (a) (5).

Three percent annuity rule

Historical note: The 3 percent annuity rule first appeared in section 22 (b) (2) of the Revenue Act of 1934. (See 1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 569, at pp. 604 and 628 (amendment No. 14).) It continues at code section 22 (b) (2). The 3-percent rule is not too important to retired Government annuitants since owing to their relatively small contribution their cost is recovered ordinarily in somewhat over 2 years. To a person who has acquired his annuity on less favorable terms, or by purchase from an insurance company, the rule may take on some importance. The result is that many annuitants are never able to recapture their outlay tax free, while others, through such recapture, incur a sharp rise in taxable income in the year following that in which the total cost has been recovered.

Hearings, July 14, 1953: The section of taxation of the American Bar Association proposed an amendment substituting a constant yearly exclusion for the life of the annuitant, based on his life expectancy. This is the same method contained in the Reed-Camp bill. That bill also contained provisions relating to annuities in discharge of alimony; amounts received other than annuity payments; and annuities having a refund feature.

The American Life Convention and other witnesses submitted a proposal for annuity taxation which involved changing the 3-percent factor to a 1¼-percent factor to determine the interest element in annuities, and the application of this factor continuously throughout the life of the annuity rather than terminating it upon the recovery of the capital investment.

The National Association of Life Underwriters earnestly recommended a return to the pre-1934 method of taxing annuity income, under which an annuitant would be permitted to recover, tax-free, the purchase price that he has paid for the annuity and, thereafter, be required to report all annuity as taxable income. The association favored as a strong second choice the method advanced by the American Life Convention.

Stock options and deferred compensation plans

Historical note (stock options): The proper treatment of employee stock options has always been uncertain.[9] Section 218 of the Revenue Act of 1950, added a new section (130A) to the Code, in respect to restricted employee stock options. (1950–2 CB 586–587; code sec. 130A.) A "restricted stock option" means an option granted after February 26, 1945 (the date of the Supreme Court's decision in the Smith case), to an individual for any reason connected with his employment by a corporation to purchase its stock if: (a) The option price is at least 85 percent of fair market value of the stock when the option is granted; (b) the option is not transferable inter vivos; and (c) at the time the option is granted, the employee does not own, directly or indirectly, more than 10 percent of the optionor's voting stock. Where the employee exercises a restricted stock option after 1949, and no disposition is made of the stock within 2 years from the date of granting the option nor within 6 months after the transfer of such stock to him, then (1) no income shall result at the time of acquisition of the stock upon the exercise of the option, (2) no deduction under section 23 (a) shall be allowed the corporation, and (3) no amount other than the option price shall be considered as received by the optionor; provided, the optionee, at the time he exercises the restricted stock option, is an employee of the optionor, or the option is exercised by him within 3 months after he ceases to be such employee.

Hearings, July 14, 1953: H. R. 4311 has been introduced to amend Code section 112 so that the gain shall not be recognized to the corporate employer upon a sale of treasury stock to an employee pursuant to a restricted stock option plan as defined in section 130A (d) (2) and (3). A director of the Wilcox Oil Co. urged favorable action on this bill.

An official of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company recommended that the tax position of capital-raising employee's stock purchase plans as opposed to incentive option plans for top management be clearly set forth in the law. He suggested adding a provisions to the code which would deal expressly with the capital-raising type of plan. The provision would exclude from gross income the entire differential between purchase price and market value of stock when issued to employees under the plan, even though such differential is in compensation. This would permit the reasonable underpricing of the stock required to induce employee participation, without fear of tax complications. Of course, the cost basis of the stock presumably for all purposes, would be the price paid by the employee.

Another recommendation was made which would permit employee's stock options granted prior to the 1950 act to be modified to prohibit their assignment without being treated as new options under section 130A (e). The full effect of such an amendment is not clear, but no objection is seen where the option can qualify under the other provisions of section 130A.

Historical note (deferred compensation plans): This subject includes employees' annuities, pension and profit-sharing plans. (Code secs. 23 (p), 165 and 22 (b).)

Code section 165 had humble origins. It began as section 219 (f) of the Revenue Act of 1921, a new subdivision providing that an irrevocable trust created by an employer as a part of a stock bonus or profit-sharing plan shall not be taxable, but that the amounts actually distributed to any employee shall be taxable to him when distributed, to the extent that they exceed the contributions made by him. (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 192, at p. 218.) The pension concept was added to the exemption status by the 1926 act. It was renumbered to section 165 by the 1928 act. In the 1942 act, it underwent a major overhauling and enlargement, which with certain amendments represents its form today. (Code sec. 165.)

Section 165 establishes the exempt status of the trust. Section 23 (p) allows a deduction to the contributing employer. It began as section 23 (q) of the 1928 act which allowed the employer reasonable amounts in addition to the contribution needed to cover the pension liability accruing during the taxable year. The subsection was later relettered as section 23 (p), and as such, it was enlarged by the 1942 act to substantially its present form. (Code section 23 (p).)

Section 22 (b) contains the provisions respecting the taxation of annuities and the exclusions from income of death benefits to the employee's estate or beneficiaries.

The foregoing provisions contain the broad outlines of the system for tax treatment of employees' annuities, pension, and profit-sharing plans. The system now goes much further than any exact correlation of deductions and income receipts could reconcile. Business and social policy have entered into their formation. The applicable provisions are already so complicated that the complete explanation of detailed recommendations to change inequities, imaginary or real, is beyond the necessary limits of this survey. (See discussion in the joint committee's preliminary digest of suggestions, dated Apr. 21, 1953, pp. 35–40.) A number of proposed amendments will be briefly mentioned.

Hearings, July 15, 1953: Considerable interest was shown in this topic and numerous amendments were proposed, largely of a technical nature.

The section of taxation of the American Bar Association made four recommendations all of which were contained in the Reed-Camp bills introduced in the 2d session of the 82d Congress. They are:

1. The exclusion from gross income of the amounts paid by employers for life insurance protection plans created for the benefit of employees.

2. Employers on the accrual basis should be allowed 75 days, instead of 60 days, within which to make contributions to trusts for their employees—amend section 23 (p) (1) (E) accordingly.

3. Payments to union welfare funds created under the Taft-Hartley Act should be deductible under section 23 (a), whether or not they qualify as deductions under section 23 (p).

4. Provide capital-gains treatment for lump-sum payments received by employees or their beneficiaries from an employee's trust or from employee's annuities in connection with nontrusted plans—amend section 22 (b) (2) (B).

All of these recommendations were also urged by one or more other witnesses.

It was believed desirable by one party to extend the coverage of such plans to individuals who are not employees under the strict common law concept or within the statutory definition. He suggested that the definition of "employee" set forth in code section 3797 (a) (20) be amended to include all persons who perform services for a life insurance company as commission salesmen. It would be interesting to consider this suggestion from the standpoint of commission salesmen generally. Another witness recommended code amendments which would give an employer seeking to establish a pension plan greater time within which to obtain an advance ruling on the qualification of the plan under section 165 (a); also, clarify section 165 (a) (4) as to the extent to which contributions or benefits under a plan may be provided for shareholder employees.

Techniques for alleviating double taxation of dividends

Historical note: Beginning with the 1913 act, dividends were included in the statutory definition of income. (See II B of the act of October 3, 1913.) In recognition of the unfairness of the double taxation involved by including dividends in the shareholder's income, the 1913 act allowed as a deduction in computing net income for the purpose of the normal tax (sec. II B, seventh):

"The amount received as dividends upon the stock or from the net earnings of any corporation, joint stock company, association, or insurance company which is taxable upon its net income as hereinafter provided."

Footnotes at end of speech.

In the 1916 act, the relief took the form of the allowance of a credit for normal tax purposes only. (Sec. 5 (b).)

In the Revenue Act of 1918, the relief continued to take the form of a credit for normal tax only, imposed upon individuals. (Sec. 216 (a).) In the 1918 act, corporations secured relief by way of a deduction in computing net income. (Sec. 234 (a) (6).) The 1928 act made it clear that all section 25 credits to individuals, including the dividend credit, were "against the net income." Thus the matter stood until the Revenue Act of 1936, when the relief was withdrawn completely as to individuals and reduced to 85 percent of the dividends in the case of corporations. That is the position today. (Code secs. 25 and 26 (b) (1).) Several bills are pending on the subject.

Hearings, July 16, 1953: There is a great amount of literature on this topic and from the number and character of those who testified, or submitted statements for the record, it is regarded as a major problem. Everybody was against the so-called double taxation of dividend income. The National Association of Manufacturers pointed out that aside from the discrimination against stockholders, the most serious aspect of the taxation of corporate profits which are disbursed as dividends is the bias created in favor of debt financing. If a corporation borrows at 4 percent, and has a 6 percent dividend rate, it requires three times as much gross to service new stock as it would in the case of a debt. This is doubtless one of the reasons why net new corporate stock issues during the period 1946–51 averaged only $1.6 billion a year, while new corporate borrowing averaged $11 billion a year. If that trend continues, this writer suspects that Congress will restrict the corporate deduction for interest on indebtedness, as it once did. See sec. 12 (a) (Third) of the Revenue Act of 1916.)

All interest on indebtedness is now deductible, with a limitation not here important. The trend to debt financing may have led an accountant witness to suggest that corporations be allowed to deduct dividends paid in determining their taxable income. By contrast, another witness would cure the double taxation of dividends by elimination of the second tax on noncorporate stockholders.

Many other suggestions were made to alleviate the tax pain on the stockholder. In apparent recognition of the fiscal necessities of the Government, most of the recommendations went at it by stages. Several witnesses urged lifting the corporate credit from 85 percent to 100 percent of the dividends received from domestic corporations. As to individual stockholders, the usual remedy took the form of a credit, although it was not always clear whether the witness meant a credit against tax or against net income.

Several stock exchanges were represented, the general approach being to allow as a first step a 10-percent credit against tax, that is, a credit against tax of 10 percent of the amount of dividends received. In other words, an investor with $500 of dividends would compute his tax exactly as he now does and then deduct 10 percent of $500, or $50, from the tax. This would amount to taxing dividend income at 10 points less. As soon as the Federal budget permits, a second step could increase the credit to the percentage representing the lowest combined normal and surtax bracket, presently 22.2 percent. A variation of this method would allow as a deduction from gross income a minimum amount of say $200, with an option in the taxpayer to take the percentage credit or the dollar deduction. The amount of the percentage credit varied as between witnesses.

To this writer, the best rounded-out recommendation came from a practicing attorney, as follows:

"Recommendation: Give stockholders other than corporations a credit against income tax equal to 20 percent of dividends received from domestic corporations. Such a credit should not exceed the amount of the tax imposed before allowance of the credit and it should not be allowed with respect to dividends from section 251 corporations or China Trade Act corporations. No credit should be allowed with respect to capital-gain dividends received from regulated investment companies. If the credit is allowed to nonresident aliens, it should not exceed the tax rate on their dividend income. The credit with respect to dividends received by an estate or trust should be allocated between the fiduciary and the beneficiary on a basis similar to that provided in section 163 (b) of the Internal Revenue Code with respect to partially tax-exempt interest."

Accounting principles

Historical note: This is one of the most elusive subjects in the entire field of Federal income taxation. The lawyer and the judge think in terms of equal protection of the laws. The law shall apply to all alike and have the same meaning for everybody. The accountant thinks in terms of reflection of income for a specific business. His approach is more flexible. A method of accounting may be satisfactory for one business but not for another. The same busines may change from one method to another as new management desires or new accountants advise. This explains the recurring attempts of the accounting profession to have the tax statutes recognize, without question, the net income statement of a certified public accountant as being in conformity with sound accounting principles. To a lawyer, that is like saying that the professional opinion of a member of the bar shall be accepted by the revenue authorities without question as to the state of the law. By legal standards, such an opinion may serve as an exposition of the law of a foreign jurisdiction, but not as authoritative on the law of this country. To apply the same code differently depending upon the broad limits of "generally accepted accounting principles" is to have different codes for different taxpayers.

Since the 1916 act, there has been a statutory provision in respect of the basis of keeping accounts. (Sec. 8 (g) of the Revenue Act of 1916.) Even at that time, there was a caveat that the taxpayer's method must clearly reflect his income. A clarification of the provision occurred in Section 212 (b) of the Revenue Act of 1918, and has continued to this date. Code section 41 reads:

"General rule: The net income shall be computed upon the basis of the taxpayer's annual accounting period (fiscal year or calendar year, as the case may be) in accordance with the method of accounting regularly employed in keeping the books of such taxpayer; but if no such method of accounting has been so employed, or if the method employed does not clearly reflect the income, the computation shall be made in accordance with such method as in the opinion of the Commissioner does clearly reflect the income."

As we see, the code does say, in part, that net income shall be computed in accordance with the method of accounting regularly employed in keeping the books of the taxpayer. However, those who seek to open wide the floodgates for accounting convenience fail to note that setion 41 also states that, when the method employed does not clearly reflect the income, the computation shall be made in accordance with such method as in the opinion of the Commissioner does clearly reflect the income. The decision as to whether a particular method of accounting does or does not clearly reflect the income is left to the administrative authorities with appeal to the courts. The certified public accountant thinks that should be his prerogative.

Hearings, July 21, 1953: The National Association of Manufacturers think that existing revenue practices are needlessly arbitrary in their invasion of managerial prerogatives and interference with sound business practices. They contend that where management is following accepted standard accounting procedures, modified consistently in some cases to reflect the taxpayer's own operating experience, the results should be conclusive as to the taxpayer's net income. In my opinion, that philosophy of tax administration is unsound. Getting down to cases, however, the association gave several specific examples where they seem to be on solid ground.

Under the elusive topic of "accounting principles," several witnesses advocated changes at complete variance with the present state of the law as to what constitutes income. For some reason, under this subject, several witnesses urged a change in the basis of depreciation which amounts in effect to a kind of percentage depreciation. Most of such witnesses recognized that the Code itself would have to be amended, although they relied heavily upon sound accounting practice in justification for their stand.

This writer has always regarded discovery depletion and percentage depletion of minerals as a tax subsidy, not based on legal principles of income derivation. The Treasury Department has attempted on several occasions to eliminate or curtail those provisions in the statute. That approach is futile. With oil, gas and minerals, in general, setting the pace, it is curious that commerce and industry has not launched a drive for percentage depreciation, or its equivalent. One witness so did, using impressive terminology. He urged an amendment to the Code to permit a realistic and equitable computation of the cost of plant consumed. He recommended the use of an authoritative price index as a means of converting the recorded cost of varying dollars into a homogeneous deduction for tax purposes. Although suggesting the Consumers Price Index, he recognized that the Government should prescribe the indices to be used in converting recorded plant costs into allowable depreciation deductions.

Several other witnesses urged changes in the tempo of capital recovery under existing law, but the most significant contribution was the concept that the depreciation base should be adjusted from time to time to reflect changes in the purchasing power of the dollar. This method would occasion annual changes in the basis for capital recovery, measured by fluctuations in the price indices. It revives memories of the valuation problems as of March 1, 1913, and under the early revenue acts. The problem of fully depreciated assets still in use will be difficult. Perhaps the percentage depletion method with which the Revenue Service has had experience, would offer the best solution.

To a lawyer one of the most intriguing principles of income taxation is the accountant's concept of deferred income. The legal authorities are almost unanimous in saying that you cannot derive gross income after the date of receipt. You may accrue it before receipt when it becomes a fixed liability, but when received, that is the end of it. (*Automobile Underwriters, Inc.* (CCH Dec. 6065, 19 BTA 1160 (1930)); G. C. M. 20021 1938–1 CB 157; I. T. 3496, 1941–2 CB 107); *Your Health Club, Inc.* (CCH Dec. 14, 250, 4 TC 385 (1944)); Montgomery, Federal Taxes (1949–50), vol. II, pp. 354–356.) A fine technical brief was submitted urging that the code be amended to provide that

amounts received for the servicing of television receivers and apparatus over a period of time be considered taxable income over the same period of time. It was argued that the reporting of taxable income would then match with the expenses incurred, and would reflect true economic income.

The representative of the American Institute of Accountants testified in favor of the same basic idea but in different words. He advanced the philosophy that sections 41, 42, and 43 of the code should be cross-referenced and keyed to section 22 (a), having to do with gross income, and to section 23, having to do with deductions. The Federal Tax Forum, Inc., would accomplish the same objective by a general amendment of section 42, with specific amendments providing that a successor corporation in a tax-free reorganization should step into the "tax shoes" of the predecessor corporation for all tax purposes.

LIFO inventory accounting

Historical note: The first statutory provision dealing specifically with inventories was section 203 of the Revenue Act of 1918. It has continued in almost identical language to this date. (Code sec. 22 (c).) The original regulations 45, promulgated April 16, 1919, provided that, in order to reflect the net income correctly, inventories at the beginning and end of each year were necessary in every case in which the production, purchase, or sale of merchandise was an income-producing factor. The regulations were based largely upon regulations 33, promulgated under the 1916 act. At that time, the two bases recognized for the valuation of inventories were cost, or cost or market, whichever was lower. (Where inventories are kept at cost, the effect is the same as computing the gain or loss on the sale of each item of merchandise on the basis of cost.) To a limited extent an average cost method was recognized. (See A. R. R. 18, 2 CB 50.) (Where inventories are kept on the basis of cost or market, whichever is lower, the effect is to allow a reduction in gross income of the unrealized shrinkage in value of goods on hand at the end of the year.) Article 1586 of regulations 45 (1920 edition) permitted livestock raisers and other farmers to value inventories by the "farm-price method," which provided for a valuation at market price less cost of marketing. Article 1585 of regulations 62, approved February 15, 1922, permitted dealers in securities a third method of inventory pricing, namely, market value. (To value inventories at market, is to report gain or loss on the fluctuations in market value of goods on hand in the closing inventory.) A similar result is involved in the farm-price method. The "retail method" of pricing inventories, authorized by article 1588, regulations 62, is an approximate cost method. The special method granted miners and manufacturers is an allocated cost basis of pricing inventories.

In finding cost for inventory purposes, taxpayers must use the actual cost of the particular goods in inventory, when such costs can be identified, or the latest purchase invoices when identification is not possible. The use of latest invoices has the practical result of putting inventory costs on a "first-in, first-out" basis, which, in general, has been required to the exclusion of average cost. Certain industries which carry large inventories subject to wide price fluctuations, long desired to use the "last-in, first-out" method (LIFO) of determining cost, since that method tends to prevent inflated profits in a rising commodity market, with the inevitable losses when prices turn downward. The Treasury declined to amend the regulations to accommodate such industries. The 1938 act permitted a limited use of LIFO to producers and processors of nonferrous metals and to tanners. (Code sec. 23 (d).) Finally, the 1939 act amended code section 22 (d) to permit all taxpayers using inventories to elect to use a prescribed LIFO cost for the valuation of all or part of their inventories, subject to the Commissioner's approval. The LIFO method is a substituted cost method, which uses the highest recent cost to compute profits, irrespective of which goods are sold, and keeps the low costs in inventory. The rationalization of LIFO cost is that it provides a means through which the increased cost of carrying the same required inventory investment, due to price rises, would not be considered business profits. Of course, they are business profits under the closed and completed transaction principle of income derivation. This writer admits that LIFO cost and the so-called involuntary liquidation and replacement provisions of section 22 (d) (6) are a departure from the closed and completed transaction principle of income derivation. Nevertheless, in a nation noted for its booms and its busts, it is good policy to narrow in some way the drastic income and loss effects of those extremes. When the drop in price level occurs, the losses are then computed with reference to sales of the lowest cost merchandise and inventory is replenished in a falling market.

The LIFO taxpayers soon found themselves in a jam. They had used the years 1939, 1940, and 1941 to work out their mounting high-cost goods. So, on the outbreak of World War II (not to mention the Korean war), they found themselves liquidating their original low-cost inventories at mounting prices with serious economic and governmental restrictions on the ability to replace at any cost. They ran to Congress for relief and got it. (Sec. 119 of the Revenue Act of 1942; Senate Finance Committee report, p. 82; sec. 110 of the Revenue Act of 1943; Public Law 756, 81st Cong.; sec. 306 of the Revenue Act of 1951; Montgomery, Federal Taxes (1949-50), vol. II, pp. 404-461.)

Although practically all of the inventory provisions are in theoretical conflict with the legal principles of income derivation, the writer defends them as a means of smoothing out the fiscal extremes to which this country seems addicted. Judging from some of the difficulties in administering the involuntary liquidation provisions, the objective might have been better accomplished by an income averaging device over a period of years.

Hearings, July 21, 1953: The substituted cost of LIFO is beneficial, taxwise, in a rising market; but, on a receding market which falls below the LIFO cost, LIFO loses its tax glamour. Apparently some business men are concerned lest the price level fall below their LIFO cost. Numerous witnesses testified in favor of permitting LIFO taxpayers to elect to inventory at cost or market, whichever is lower. It is presumed they mean to use the basis of LIFO cost or market, whichever is lower. This would combine the tax advantages of both systems. In an inflationary market, it would reduce income and stabilize inventory replacement; in a receding market, it would minimize losses and also permit the reduction in income of unrealized depreciation in inventory below the cost under LIFO.

One of the witnesses favoring LIFO cost or market, whichever is lower, went a step further. In order to remedy an injustice done to taxpayers who might have elected to use LIFO in the past, "but who were dissuaded from doing so by the advice of the Bureau of Internal Revenue," it was proposed to permit them now to elect LIFO cost or market, whichever is lower.

One witness made a lengthly statement in defense of LIFO as a management control tool. He contended that it is erroneous to look upon LIFO as a tax deferment device. The normal operations of business cycles can induce involuntary liquidation during peacetime, which produces extraneous charges or credits to income which tend to mitigate against the effective use of LIFO as a management control mechanism. He recommended that the code be amended to enlarge the present definition and treatment of "involuntary liquidation." (Section 22 (d) (6) (B).)

Another recommendation would amend section 22 (d) (6) (A) to provide for the payment of interest on refunds arising from adjustments occasioned by replacement of involuntary liquidations. It was also urged that the time within which replacements could be made of World War II liquidations of LIFO inventories be extended from January 1, 1953 to January 1, 1956, so that the time for replacement of World War II and Korean liquidations would expire at the same time.

Depreciation and amortization

Historical note (depreciation): Although there is respectable authority to the effect that the depreciation deduction is entirely a matter of legislative grace, the revenue acts have always treated it as a deduction from gross income in arriving at taxable net income. In the Corporation Excise Tax Act of 1909, and the regulations thereunder, the depreciation deduction was regarded as a type of loss. (Sec. 38 Second (secod).) The 1909 regulations provided that "This estimate should be formed upon the assumed life of the property, its cost value, and its use." Beginning with the Revenue Act of 1913, depreciation has been granted the dignity of a separate deduction. (Sec. II B (sixth) and sec. II G (b) (second).) By article 161 of original regulations 45, promulgated under the Revenue Act of 1918, the stated purpose of the allowance was to provide an amount which, with salvage value at the end of its useful life, would provide, in place of the property, its cost, or its value, as of March 1, 1913, if acquired by the taxpayer before that date. Prior to the Revenue Act of 1921, the statute did not specify the basis for the depreciation allowance. After the Frierson concession and the Supreme Court's decision in *Goodrich* v. *Edwards*,[11] the 1921 act attempted to remove all doubt about the matter, and, where the property was acquired prior to March 1, 1913, based the allowance upon fair market value as of that date; otherwise, the allowance would be based upon cost. (Sec. 214 (a) (8) and sec. 234 (a) (7).) In that respect, the statute has remained unchanged to this day. (Code sec. 114.)

In the purchase and sale of property, the cost must be recovered in arriving at gross income.[12] In keeping with the principle that deductions per se are a matter of legislative grace, the regulations, until recently, expressly provided that depreciation was not to be regarded as a part of the cost of goods sold. This was recently changed by T. D. 6028, promulgated July 6, 1953, 1953-16 IRB 3. Revenue Ruling 141, 1953-16 IRB 5. Even so, the allowance itself is still based upon cost, or adjusted cost. The new policy of revenue in respect of depreciation adjustments is set forth in Revenue Rulings 90 and 91, 1953-11 IRB 4-5.

Hearings, July 22 and 23, 1953: There was probably more activity concerning depreciation and amortization than any other topic except excise-tax rates. To read the oral testimony and statements submitted is to take a course in economics. The American Federation of Labor opposed most of the reforms suggested by industry. The testimony at the hearings unfolded in two directions: first, more liberal deductions under the existing conception of the depreciation allowance; and, second, an elective departure from investment cost as the basis for the allowance and the injection into the subject of replacement cost, or other

Footnotes at end of speech.

standards, as an optional method. Taking them up in order:

1. A private practitioner observed that, in an expanding economy, a business must be able to recover the current high cost of investment out of current earnings. Today, rising prices have resulted in replacement costs far in excess of depreciation reserves. The tax policy in respect of depreciation should stand on the basic principle that the purpose of the allowance is to permit the tax-free recovery of the cost of investments. This is the orthodox conception of depreciation for tax purposes. He, therefore, recommended (1) that taxpayers be permitted, at their election, to deduct 50 percent of expenditures for depreciable property either in the year made or over a 5-year period, with the remaining 50 percent subject to the ordinary depreciation deduction; and (2) that depreciation, whether allowed or allowable, should not reduce basis unless it resulted in a tax benefit. (See Code sec. 113 (b) (1) (B) and (d), as amended by sec. 102 of the Technical Changes Act of 1953.)

The representative of the National Machine Tool Builders Association proposed a system of optional depreciation for durable productive equipment acquired after December 31, 1952. The taxpayer would have the election to write off all or any part of the cost of new equipment in the year acquired and placed in operation, the balance to be written off in a manner designated by the taxpayer.

The Association of American Railroads recommended annual depreciation, at a new rate up to a maximum of 20 percent, with respect to depreciable property acquired after December 31, 1953, until cost less the estimated salvage had been charged off. The maximum 20 percent limitation would not apply where the useful life of the property was less than 5 years; but the deductions would, in no event, exceed cost less salvage value upon retirement. It should be noted that rapid recovery of invested cost is only a palliative in an inflationary period.

Other witnesses urged various methods of accelerating cost recovery, without abandoning the present cost basis for the allowance. In general, the taxpayer would be permitted to determine the life of the asset and the manner of cost recovery. H. R. 2128 would allow depreciation to be taken on a private home. H. R. 2720 would provide for accelerated depreciation of devices, buildings, machinery and equipment for the collection at the source of atmospheric pollutants and contaminants, based on a period of 60 months. There are other similar bills. There were many statements urging relief on that and allied grounds. The smog problem and pollution abatement are getting into the act.

2. The most exciting testimony was in connection with the replacement-cost theory of depreciation. To compute depreciation on the basis of changes in price level is the same as allowing full amortization of the present economic value of capital investment. The changes in price level determine the present economic value, or the fair market value, of an asset. We hope its advocates do not mean to base the allowance on the average daily price index for each day of the year. The representatives of certain public utilities recommended that, where the regulatory body determines in its rate-making process that the tax depreciation is inadequate, and that a larger amount is necessary to keep intact the service capacity of the plant, then the public utility, at its election, may deduct for tax purposes the additional amount of depreciation, so determined by the regulatory body. To this writer, it all adds up to the same thing. It is an elective abandonment of the cost recovery basis for the depreciation allowance. In all fairness, however, it must be conceded that these unorthodox theories for computing the depreciation allowance are as sound, or more so, than the triumphant argument for discovery value and percentage depletion of natural resources. (Code secs. 114 (b) (2) (3) and (4) and 117 (k) (1).) The "gross income from the property," whether we regard the price in the immediate vicinity of a well, or the selling price of extracted and treated ores, is substantially the same as the economic value or replacement cost at the time, of depreciated assets exhausted in business during the taxable year. It all represents a departure from the theory of recovery of investment cost. It would seem that industry and public utilities have as much justification in pressing their claim as anyone else. Under present conditions, they labor under a gross discrimination when compared with the tax position of natural resources. To smooth out the existing discrimination, all industrial and commercial businesses should be granted a depreciation allowance measured by the full economic or service value of all plant consumed.

One witness stated that the principle of removing inequities in the computation of depreciation, resulting from varying price levels, is not new. It is recognized, he asserted, by the use of March 1, 1913 value of all plant constructed prior to that date. Of course, that is a complete misconception of the significance of the March 1, 1913 valuation date. It had nothing to do with price levels as such.

The 16th amendment is a comparative newcomer to the United States Constitution. It was proclaimed adopted on February 25, 1913. The first enabling act under the new amendment was the act of October 3, 1913, which selected the date of March 1, 1913 as a convenient time for its effect. After the Frierson concession and the decision in *Goodrich* v. *Edwards*, above, the 1921 act based depreciation upon fair market value as of March 1, 1913. (Sec. 214 (a) (8) of the Revenue Act of 1921.) Only constitutional law and statutory construction are responsible for the March 1, 1913, valuation date.

Historical note (amortization): Amortization provides for exhaustion by the efflux of time. The terminology is applicable to bonds sold at a premium or at a discount. (See art. 544 of Regulations 45 (1920 edition); code sec. 125.) In income taxation, the word is generally associated with the rapid recovery of capital expenditures made for facilities necessitated by virtue of war emergency. (Sec. 124 (a) (9), and sec. 234 (a) (8), Revenue Acts of 1918 and 1921.) The rearmament program preceding World War II brought forth a new code section 124 dealing with the amortization of the adjusted basis of any "emergency facility," based on a period of 60 months, or a shorter period if the emergency sooner terminated. (Title III of the Second Revenue Act of 1940.) With amendments, section 124 still remains in the code. By section 216 of the Revenue Act of 1950, a new section 124A was added to the code, providing for a special, 60-month amortization period for certified properties, acquired or completed after December 31, 1949, in lieu of regular depreciation. Section 124A is generally similar to section 124 which was enacted for World War II purposes.

Hearings, July 22, 1953: H. R. 421 purports to allow relief to small businessmen by permitting a taxpayer, who has not heretofore elected to take an amortization deduction under section 124, to apply for the proper certificate retroactively. The sponsor of the bill and several witnesses urged its passage.

A practitioner recommended that section 124A be amended to provide, at the taxpayer's election, for "compression" of the emergency period if the emergency ended before the close of the 60-month period, or if the certifying authority determined that the facility was no longer necessary in the interest of national defense. In respect of World War II (sec. 124), the President issued a proclamation on September 28, 1945, terminating the emergency period as of September 30, 1945. It is contended that section 124A, applicable to the Korean war, is less effective than section 124, in that it contains no provision for shortening the 60-month amortization period in the event the emergency sooner terminates.

In conclusion, it is fair to state that, in every controversy over the rate of recovery of capital investment, the Government is always faced with the problem of some form of special relief.

H. R. 5694 would extend the amortization allowance to facilities, certified by the Secretary of Labor as a distressed area facility. The vice chairman of the Connecticut Development Commission urged accelerated depreciation and amortization as industrial inducements in areas subject to continuing economic decline. In any event, he recommended that code section 23 be amended to recognize the deductibility of rentals paid by a business concern to State-sponsored development corporations.

The Reynolds Metals Co. urged the amendment of code section 117 (g) by eliminating paragraph (3), which, in effect, treats the gain from sale of section 124A facilities as ordinary income.

Research and development expenditures

Historical note: The revenue authorities are not primarily responsible for the discontent over this subject. The original Regulations 45 recognized a liberal optional treatment of the cost of developing or protecting patents. (Art. 843 of Regulations 45.) This policy was upset by the former Board of Tax Appeals in *Goodell-Pratt Co.* (CCH Dec. 1025, 3 BTA 30 (1925)), and allied cases. In one of the most damaging blows ever struck at revenue administration, the Board held that, even though a taxpayer had expensed the development of patents, processes, etc., it could, nevertheless, restore them to surplus for invested capital purposes "upon a clear showing that they were in fact capital expenditures." Of course, development expenses would usually be capital expenditures under that view. In respect of the drilling and development costs of oil and gas wells, or the maintenance of a mine's regular output, the taxpayer influence was sufficiently great to make the optional treatment hold. (See *F. H. E. Oil Co.* v. *Commissioner*, (45–1 USTC par. 9200, 147 F. (2d) 238 (CCA–5)); *King Oil Co.* v. *Commissioner* (46–1 USTC Par 9178, 153 F (2d) 690 (CCA–5)); Concurrent Resolution 50, 79th Congress, first session, 1945 CB 545; Revenue ruling 170, 1953–18 IRB 6; T. D. 6023, 1953–15 IRB 10. Both the Bureau and the Tax Court have since relented voluntarily to some extent. (Mimeograph 6030, 1945–2 CB 45; J. H. Collingwood, CCH Dec. 17,878, 20 TC—, No. 132, (1953).)

Hearings July 28, 1953.—The National Association of Manufacturers believed that the taxpayer's consistent practice of expensing research and development costs should be accepted for tax purposes. The Federal Tax Forum urged substantially the same thing. They maintained that a clear statutory provision to that effect would encourage industry to make large expenditures for the research required by present conditions. The Western Union Telegraph Co. made a convincing presentation. They pointed out that, in many cases, the treatment of research and development expenditures is impracticable of determination. They recommended a specific provision in the code allowing the taxpayer, "in his sole discretion," not only to determine whether to expense or to capitalize an item but, also, to determine the rate of recovery of any balance of capitalized expenditures not previously written off. Such a code provision would undoubtedly eliminate considerable confusion and controversy, and would tend to encourage outlays for research and development work.

A large delegation representing the farm bloc urged the enactment of bills which would authorize the expensing of amounts incurred in soil and water conservation. This includes the prevention of erosion, and similar things, rather than attempting segregation as to the expenses of contouring and crop plowing.

The American Federation of Labor considered that expenditures for research and development should be made as capital expenditures. They opposed the allowance as expenses of amounts designed to increase capacity, develop new products or material, or extend activities into new territories. Apparently labor is opposed to a tax policy which would reduce taxable net income of employers.

This writer is in complete accord with the taxpayer position on this topic, but does not think that the taxpayer should then be privileged to restore such expensed items to invested capital for excess-profits tax purposes, or excite sympathy on that account for special relief purposes. The taxpayer should keep his end of the bargain. (See *Guggenheim* v. *U. S.* (48–1 USTC, par. 9232, 77 F. Supp. 186 (Ct. Cls.), cert. den., 335 U. S. 908).)

Capital gains and losses and problems relating to basis

Historical note (capital gains and losses (sec. 117)): In *Merchants Loans & Trust Company* v. *Smietanka*[13] decided March 28, 1921, the Supreme Court upheld the taxation of capital gains under the sixteenth amendment. Beginning with Section 206 of the Revenue Act of 1921, capital gains were given special treatment involving the alternative computation device which, with few exceptions, has continued in effect. There, the maximum rate was 12½ percent. At that time, the justification for this action was based on the fact that gains accruing over a series of years were, under the law, taxed as a lump sum "and the amount of surtax excessively enhanced thereby." (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 176 and 189.) Since that time, the statute has been repeatedly amended and the subject has become one of the most litigious in the entire Code. A good summary of the statutory law starts at page 84 of the Preliminary Digest, prepared by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. (See code sec. 117.)

Hearings, July 28–30, 1953: The National Association of Manufacturers submitted a statement condemning the taxation of capital gains as being harmful, particularly in that its principal impact is on venture or equity capital. Pending the ultimate elimination of the tax, the association recommended (1) that the rate be reduced, and (2) that the excess of capital losses over capital gains be deductible with the maximum tax benefit limited to the maximum rate applicable to long-run capital gains. They regard liberalization of the loss offset rule as of prime importance "as the first step toward ultimate elimination of the tax."

Various suggestions were made to liberalize the treatment of capital losses. It will be recalled that the limitation on the deduction of capital losses in the 1932 and 1934 acts was occasioned largely by the stock-market crash of 1929. The offsetting of capital losses against ordinary income was having a serious effect upon the revenue yield from income taxation. (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 465, 503, 540, 561, 594, and 632–633.)

The testimony of the Federal Tax Forum had more to do with recognition problems. The forum had three recommendations: (1) No gain or loss should be recognized on the sale of all the assets of a corporation, followed by the liquidation of the selling corporation within a reasonable period of time, if the sale is a step in the complete liquidation of the seller. This principle, from the standpoint of the buyer where it buys the stock of a corporation with a view to acquiring the assets, has been judicially recognized. (*Commissioner* v. *Ashland Oil & Refining Co.* (38–2 USTC, par. 9580, 99 F. (2d) 588 (CCA–6)); H. B. Snively (CCH Dec. 19,458, 19 TC —, No. 102 (1953), and citations).) (2) In determining deductibility under section 23 (g) (4), as an ordinary loss, of a loss from worthlessness of stock in a subsidiary, a corporation's "gross income" from sale of stock-in-trade shall be defined to mean its "gross receipts" from such sales. Of course, this definition of "gross income" from sales is contrary to *Doyle* v. *Mitchell Brothers Co.*, above and *Lela Sullenger* (CCH Dec. 16,735, 11 TC 1076 (1948)), and many subsequent decisions. (3) A transfer of substantially all the assets of a corporation to another corporation, receiving in exchange the voting stock of a parent company of the transferee corporation, should be regarded as a "reorganization" under section 112 (g) (1) (C). Admittedly, this would require an amendment to the code, as construed by the Treasury Department and the Supreme Court.

The president of the New York Stock Exchange recommended that the holding period for capital assets be reduced from 6 to 3 months; that the effective rate of tax on capital gains be cut in half; and that the amount of captal losses which may be offset against ordinary income should be increased to $5,000 annually, with the carryover period continued at 5 years. Many other stock and commodity exchanges and investment houses made substantially the same recommendations. Several argued for the immediate repeal of the capital gains tax.

A stock brokerage house suggested the amendment of code section 117 (e) in respect of so-called "puts," or options to sell securities at a fixed price, the acquisition of which is now defined as a short sale. This would except from the present definition such puts as are purchased on the same day as the securities, to which the puts relate, are purchased. It would tie together the securities purchased with the puts purchased. This would make it possible to purchase securities with the loss-protection feature of puts, and still avoid the abuses to which the present definition was aimed.

H. R. 5597 is designed to grant relief to the farmers who were "entrapped by the * * * Revenue's about-face" in respect to the taxation of gains from the sale of farms and orchards, with growing crops. (*Watson* v. *Commissioner* (53–1 USTC, par. 9391, 73 S. Ct. 848).) Section 323 of the Revenue Act of 1951 is applicable prospectively from January 1, 1951. The proponent of H. R. 5720 urged its passage; H. R. 5720 would make the 1951 amendment retroactive to 1942.

The representative of the Iron Ore Lessors Association, Inc., St. Paul, Minn., proposed the amendment of code section 117 (k) (2) to provide that the disposition of iron ore under lease for specified royalties per ton is the sale of a capital asset in installments. The amendment is incorporated in H. R. 604 and H. R. 2691. The disposition of timber and coal under cutting contracts and coal leases is now recognized as a capital transaction under section 117 (k) (2). The reduced tax rate on this activity would no doubt tend to stimulate the discovery and development of new deposits within the continental United States. It is probable that, in time, this treatment of timber and coal will be extended on as broad a scale as the percentage depletion. Support also developed to amend section 117 (j) to extend the advantage accorded livestock breeders to breeders of poultry and fur-bearing animals.

A number of witnesses in the construction business stated that the law should be clarified in respect to the classification of gains from certain housing and rental operations. The extent of present litigation on this subject warrants an attempt in that direction, although the rates as between ordinary income and capital gain will necessarily occasion serious controversy over any definition.

The tax benefit theory was invoked in the support of H. R. 5067 and H. R. 6572, which would adjust the basis for taxes and other carrying charges on unimproved and unproductive real property paid out in prior years and deducted without any tax benefit.

Historical note (problems relating to basis): One of the most unjust provisions of the code, at this time, limits a donee to the basis of the donor. This provision has existed since section 202 (a) (2) of the Revenue Act of 1921, irrespective of the varying fortunes of the gift tax. It was upheld constitutionally in *Taft* v. *Bowers*.[14] (Code sec. 113 (a) (2).) The provision is inconsistent with itself because where the donor's basis was greater than the fair market value of the property at the time of gift, such value becomes the basis for loss purposes. The appreciation in value involved in donated property, if it had been realized by the donor, would generally be subject to the capital gain rate of tax. The highest bracket in the gift tax is now 57¾ percent. (Code sec. 1001 (a).)

Hearings, July 28–30, 1953: An individual witness urged an amendment to code section 113 (a), which would make the basis of capital gain or loss on a sale by a donee the fair market value of the donated property at the time of its gift. As an alternative, he suggested an amendment which would credit against the tax on any gain based on cost to the doner the amount of any gift tax that has been paid, except to the extent that such credit has been given in computing the estate tax on the estate of a deceased donor. (Code sec. 813 (a).) The recommendation was made, in connection with the losses disallowed under section 24 (b), that the basic rules applicable in the case of gifts be applied to such transactions.

An analogous situation exists with respect to inter vivos transfers in trust or otherwise, which are included in the gross estate as being a transfer in contemplation of death or to take effect at or after death. An attorney urged that code section 113 (a) (5) be amended to enable the trustees or other transferees to use as their basis the values on which estate tax has been paid, instead of the decedent's basis. Such an amendment would apply only to inter vivos transfers which are included in the transferor's estate for estate tax purposes. This inequity was only partially remedied by section 203 of the 1953 Technical Changes Act. There remains a broad area where income and estate tax laws do not synchronize properly.

The American Bar Association had several recommendations respecting section 117, the basis provisions of section 113 (a) and the loss provisions of section 24 (b). For the most part, these were incorporated in the Reed-Camp bill. The Pennsylvania Bar Association and individual lawyers supported the same changes in several instances. One recommendation would provide that all property included in gross estate should have that tax-reported basis.

There were many carefully prepared and exhaustive statements or briefs submitted in connection with topic 22, which the student of economics and law would find of value.

Income taxes of lessor paid by lessee

Historical note: In *West End Street Railway Company* v. *Malley* (246 F. 625), decided by the first circuit court of appeals on December 10, 1917, it was held that payments made by the lessee under a long-term lease, direct to the stockholders of the lessor, constituted income to the lessor. Article 102 of regulation 33 (revised), promulgated January 2, 1918, expressed the same principle

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and applied it not only to payments to the lessor's stockholders but also to taxes, interest, insurance or other fixed charges under the lease indenture. Article 102 has been substantially embodied in all subsequent regulations. The regulations were fully upheld in *Old Colony Trust Company* v. *Commissioner* (1 USTC, par. 408, 279 U. S. 716 (1929)). Section 29.23 (a) (10) of regulation 111 provides that taxes paid by a tenant to or for a landlord for business property are additional rent to the landlord and a deductible expense to the tenant. In such a situation, the administrative practice has been to take the taxes into the lessor's income only once and not resort to an algebraic formula. However, in mimeograph 6779, 1952–1 CB 8, as supplemented by IR-mimeograph 51, 1952–2 CB 65, it was ruled that the lessor is deemed to have received as rental income not only the stipulated rental, but, in addition thereto, all Federal income taxes paid by the lessee to or for the account of the lessor. For Federal income tax purposes, the amount to be included in the gross income of the lessor, by reason of the Federal income taxes paid by the lessee, will be determined by reference to the construction given by the parties to the contract under which such taxes are paid. Since Federal income taxes are not a deductible item to the lessor, it is understandable that the parties might make an adjustment as between themselves carrying the matter beyond the first step of computation. Apparently, the Government now intends to carry the computation through as many steps as the parties do.

Hearings, July 31, 1953: The Western Union Telegraph Co., which has always held a very practical interest in this subject, submitted a statement explaining in some detail the necessity for legislation limiting tax pyramiding to the first step. It cited recent legislation enacted by the Dominion Parliament of Canada to provide prospective relief for taxpayers faced with tax pyramiding.

The Association of American Railroads suggested that the solution to the problem is, by statute, to exclude such taxes from the lessor's income and to deny the lessee the right to deduct as rental any taxes it pays for the lessor railroad. This is the treatment accorded long-term lessors and lessees for excess profits tax purposes. (Code sec. 433 (a) (1) (E) and (b) (11).)

Net operating loss

Historical note: The net operating loss is a crude but effective device for averaging incomes. It first appeared as section 204 of the Revenue Act of 1918, and, in that form, such net loss was allowed as a deduction from net income of the preceding taxable year, and then the succeeding taxable year. In the 1921 act, the net loss could be carried forward for the two succeeding taxable years. In the 1932 act, section 117 (b) curtailed the benefit to the succeeding taxable year. The net loss provisions were repealed as of January 1, 1933, by section 218 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933. It was restored by the Revenue Act of 1939 as section 23 (s) and 122 of the Code. (1939–2 CB 517.) The law has been amended frequently, the last time by section 205 of the Technical Changes Act of 1953. Under section 122, as amended, the net operating loss for any taxable year beginning after 1949 is now carried back for 1 year and carried forward for 5 years.

Hearings, July 31, 1953: The Federal tax forum pointed out that the evident tax purpose of carry-backs and carry-forwards is to spread an operating loss over a 7-year business cycle, or an aggregate of 84 months. However, section 122 is expressed in terms of "taxable years" and, where taxpayers have fiscal periods of less than 12 months, they do not benefit from a full 84-month spread. This discrimination is inequitable, says the forum, and should be corrected in such a way as to treat a predecessor or successor of the taxpayer in a tax-free reorganization as identical with or part of the taxpayer itself. The forum also took the position that in computing the net operating loss deduction there should be no economic adjustments or inclusion of exempt income.

The American Mining Congress and others also opposed the adjustments made in determining the deductible "net loss." They argued that a taxpayer with some years of losses and some of profit should not be taxed on more net income than is taxable to one with the same net income realized in a single year or over several years. This would change the theory of the relief from that of operating loss which has always dominated its computation. When the deduction was first granted by the 1918 act, it was described as a net loss resulting from "the operation of any business regularly carried on by the taxpayer." (See, also, 1939–1 (Part 2) CB 210, Amendments 71–76.) It retained that characteristic down through the 1932 act. Upon its restoration in 1939, section 122 was entitled "Net *Operating* Loss Deduction," (italics supplied), and the limitation on deductions is still measured, in part, by deductions attributable to the operation of a trade or business regularly carried on by the taxpayer.

Other witnesses argued for a lengthening of the spread from 7 to 10 years, with particular reference to a 3-year carryback. The discrimination in section 122 (d) (5) as between corporations and individuals was opposed. (See H. R. 4775.)

The statement of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute seemed very effective. It explained that, under the current corporate tax structure, a firm which is making an investment decision knows that the Government will take over one-half of its potential earnings. However, if the averaging period is long enough, the firm can be assured that the Government will also share to the same extent in its losses. Consequently, the risk of a new investment is more attractive the longer the period of averaging. Unfortunately for all taxpayers, the Government will take over one-half its budget and appropriations on that basis. It cannot wait a lifetime for revenue from the taxation of income. (*Burnet* v. *Sanford & Brooks Company* (2 U. S. T. C., par. 636, 282 U. S. 359 (1931)).)

Cancellation of indebtedness

Historical note: There was originally no specific legislation on this point. By statutory definition, gross income included income derived from any source whatever. The departmental regulations did the rest.[12] In *U. S.* v. *Kirby Lumber Company*,[13] the Supreme Court reversed the Court of Claims and upheld the regulations in respect of the accession to assets brought about when a corporation purchased its bonds at a price less than issuing price. The statutory development of this subject is set forth in the footnotes to *Commissioner* v. *Jacobson*.[17] (Code secs. 22 (b) (9) and (10) and 113 (a) (20) and (b) (3); regulations 111, sec. 29.22 (a)–13.)

Hearings, July 31, 1953: There were no requests for personal appearances on this topic, but certain material was submitted for the record.

The Association of American Railroads urged that code section 22 (b) (9) and (b) (10) be continued as a permanent part of the code. If any changes are to be made, the section should be liberalized. To that end, the association advocated the elimination of the requirement that the basis be reduced by the amount of gain realized upon acquisition by a corporation of its own bonds at a discount. The association als recommended that elimination of the time limitation in section 22 (b) (10).

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The American Bar Association explained that code section 22 (b) (9) permits a corporation, in certain situations, to elect to exclude from gross income the income which would otherwise be taxable to it upon the cancellation of indebtedness, on condition that the basis of its property under section 113 be correspondingly reduced. This provision, in situations to which it applies, relieves hardship by deferring an additional tax burden upon a taxpayer already embarrassed financially. However, the provision does not apply to noncorporate taxpayers or unless the canceled debt was evidenced by a security. The association recommended an amendment which would make the statute applicable to all taxpayers and would eliminate the requirement that the debt be evidenced by a security. The American Institute of Accountants urged the same thing. A certified public accountant suggested that Congress define the conditions under which gain would be realized upon cancellation of indebtedness, because the courts have made a mess of their interpretation.

The American Federation of Labor would not favor any changes in the present law except such as would meet a definite need or correct a demonstrated inequity and would not result in the possibility of any tax evasion by any particular group of taxpayers.

Consolidated returns and intercorporate dividends

Historical note: Consolidated returns were authorized by section 240 of the Revenue Act of 1918, although certain parent-subsidiary relations had been recognized by Regulations 33 (revised), paragraphs 386, 394, 417, 614, and 617. After a decade of uncertainty, the use and legal effect of consolidated returns under the revenue acts was stabilized by sections 141 and 142 of the Revenue Act of 1928. In the 1932 act, the privilege to file consolidated returns was subjected to an increase in the tax rate. The privilege was entirely withdrawn by section 141 of the Revenue Act of 1934, except as to railroads. (1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 633, amendment No. 73.) Section 159 (a) of the 1942 act restored the privilege, in general, to its former extent, subjecting its exercise to an increase of 2 percent in the tax rate. Thus the matter stands today. (Code sec. 141.)

The tax on intercorporate dividends grows out of a dividend credit to corporations of only 85 percent of the amount received as dividends. (Code sec. 26 (b).)

Hearings, August 3, 1953: Many witnesses urged repeal of the 2-percent penalty tax, the elimination of the tax on intercorporate dividends and a provision for an annual election to file either a separate or a consolidated return. The 2-percent premium on filing consolidated returns does seem rough on public utilities which are required by State law to perform some of their services through local subsidiaries. The American Cotton Manufacturers Institute thought that, where the 2-percent penalty tax is eliminated, it should be accompanied by compulsory filing of a consolidated return in the case of 95 percent ownership. To avoid triple taxation of intercorporate dividends, the institute advanced an alternative solution of eliminating the credit to the receiving corporation and permitting the paying corporation to deduct from gross income the amount of all dividends paid.

The American Bar Association recommended the adoption of section 147 of the Reed-Camp bill relative to the exemption from tax on personal holding companies (code secs. 500 and following) of corporations joining in consolidated returns. Other witnesses recommended that intercompany items received by a corporation in a consolidated return should not constitute personal holding company income.

The Association of American Railroads and the Western Union Telegraph Co. sug-

gested that code section 141 be amended to permit the inclusion in the consolidated return of lessor corporations regardless of stock ownership where the lessee corporation is obligated to pay the taxes of the lessor. The Bell Telephone System thought the 95 percent ownership test should be reduced to not more than 50 percent.

Corporate reorganizations and distributions

Historical note: When a taxpayer exchanges one item of property for another, or receives a distribution from a corporation of which he is a stockholder, there are two basic questions to be resolved: (a) whether income within the meaning of the 16th amendment has been realized, and (b) whether the income realized is to be recognized in computing taxable net income. The decision of the Supreme Court established early that exchanges of property were productive of income in the constitutional sense and that corporate distributions from profits were taxable income. The reorganization and dividends sections of the Code are generally relief provisions which either defer the taxation of the income presently realized from exchanges, or exclude from gross income certain corporate distributions which otherwise would be taxable income. The reorganization provisions in simplest form began with section 202 (b) of the Revenue Act of 1918. The deferment of tax on income realized in connection with reorganizations was expanded by the nonrecognition provisions of section 202 (c), (d), and (e), of the Revenue Act of 1921, and was fully developed in section 203 of the Revenue Acts of 1924 and 1926. The recognition of gain or loss from exchanges in general, and reorganizations, in particular, is presently governed by Code section 112. It is supplemented by the adjusted basis provisions of Code section 113.

After the 16th amendment, the first statutory definition of a dividend for income tax purposes occurred in section 2 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1916. The statutory definition has been continuously refined and enlarged in all subsequent revenue acts. The present statutory coverage of distributions by corporations is code section 115.

Hearings, August 3–4, 1953: This topic covers what is probably the most technical area of income taxation and a sharp interest was manifested. A statement submitted by a tax practitioner opened with the remark that code section 112 was in need of a complete legislative overhauling. Some of its provisions are stated to be inadequate, and the meaning of others has become confused as a result of legislation by the courts in an attempt to compensate for real or imagined inadequacies. Other witnesses agreed. The numerous changes recommended reveal the intricacies, the inconsistencies, and the interrelations of the income-tax structure. The amendments urged are roughly summarized:

1. Amend section 112, to substitute specific statutory standards for the vague court-made tests such as the business-purpose doctrine and the continuity-of-interest rule. (*See Gregory* v. *Helvering* (35–1 USTC, par. 9043, 293 U. S. 465); *Helvering* v. *Alabama Asphaltic Limestone Co.* (42–1 USTC, par. 9245, 315 U. S. 179).)

2. Clarify the meaning of the term "recapitalization." (*Bazley* v. *Commissioner* (47–1 USTC, par. 9288, 331 U. S. 737).)

3. In connection with a tax-free reorganization, the successor should stand in the "tax shoes" of the predecessor in all respects, with appropriate safeguards in the case of carrybacks. (*New Colonial Ice Cream Co., Inc.* v. *Helvering* (4 USTC, par. 1292, 292 U. S. 435 (1934).) Cf. *Helvering* v. *Metropolitan Edi-Co.* (39–1 USTC, par. 9432, 306 U. S. 522).) This recommendation would cover the allowance to the successor of such items as operating net losses; interest on deficiencies against predecessor; the tax benefit rules with respect to recoveries on bad debts, taxes and losses; expenses paid by successor on account of predecessor; pension contributions; credit carryovers; capital-loss carryovers; unused excess profits credit carrybacks and carryovers; inventory replacement (LIFO) in the case of involuntary liquidation; and amortization of emergency facilities. These changes were urged by several parties including the American Institute of Accountants, the Chamber of Commerce, the Western Union Telegraph Co., the National Coal Association and the Association of American Railroads. The railroad association would balance the proposition by including items of income reportable by the predecessor had it remained in existence. Here might be mentioned the recommendation of the American Institute of Accountants that where upon liquidation a cash-basis corporation is required to recognize accrued income (see code sec. 42 (a)), it should also be permitted to pick up deductible accrued expenses.

4. Define the word "securities" to include the types of corporate obligations commonly considered to be securities, excluding debts whose maturity is so short as to make them the practical equivalent of cash (*Bazley* v. *Commissioner*, above). The Chamber of Commerce joined in this change.

5. Define "a party to a reorganization" to include a corporation exchanging its stock and any subsidiary of such corporation which receives properties in exchange for such stock. (*Helvering* v. *Bashford* (38–1 USTC, par. 9019, 302 U. S. 454).) The accounting institute, the Chamber of Commerce and the American Bar Association urged the same thing.

6. Make section 112 (b) (7) a permanent provision of the code. Many organizations supported this idea. Under this heading came the suggestion that the period for exercising the election privilege be extended up to the time of the filing of the return for the taxable years.

7. Provide provisions similar to those in supplement R (secs. 371–373) and section 112 (m) for transactions resulting from antitrust decrees or orders of administrative agencies. The Chamber of Commerce supported this proposition.

8. The tax effect of a corporate liquidation followed by the sale of its assets, or vice versa, came in for considerable discussion. The existing uncertainty [10] both as to the buyer and the seller calls for statutory action. Many individuals and organizations supported such legislation. The recommendation would provide that gain to a corporation on the sale of its assets (other than sales of inventory to customers in the ordinary course of business) should not be recognized if the proceeds of the sale be promptly distributed in a taxable liquidation. Such a provision would make it immaterial whether the corporation first sold its assets and then liquidated, or liquidated and the stockholders made the sale.

9. Viewed from the standpoint of the buyer, the situation is equally disturbing. The buyer usually prefers to buy the assets direct so as unquestionably to benefit by its own cost basis, but, frequently, it is compelled to buy the stock in order to get the property. Where the buyer's objective was the acquisition of the assets, the courts have considered such to be the net effect of a purchase of stock with immediate liquidation in mind. (*See H. B. Snively*, above, and authorities cited; this view has not prevailed where consolidated returns were filed.) One witness roundly criticized this judge-made test as focusing attention solely upon the intent of the buyer in complete disregard of the equally material intentions of the seller who may have resolutely refused to sell the assets and insisted throughout upon a sale of the stock. The statute must be made certain.

Several different methods were suggested to accomplish this purpose, but, in effect, section 112 (b) (6) would be amended to provide that, after a purchase of stock in order to take over the assets of another corporation, the purchasing corporation may use, as the basis of the assets purchased, the cost so paid for the stock.

10. The special treatment accorded dividends, paid by public utilities upon their preferred stock issued prior to October 1942, is apparently too restrictive. It was recommended that the definition of a "public utility" under section 26 (h) (2) be extended to include under certain conditions the parent of 95-percent-owned public utility subsidiaries.

11. Several suggestions were made to extend the time limit under section 115 (g) (3) within which stock may be redeemed to pay estate taxes, without the risk of the redemption being treated as essentially equivalent to a taxable dividend. An excellent presentation was made on this subject. Several incidental modifications were urged: (a) to broaden the exemption of redemptions to include the amounts owed by an estate for debts and administration expenses; and (b) to remove the 35 percent limitation since the decedent may have held large blocks of stock in more than one closely held corporation.

12. The Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc., urged an amendment to section 27 (g) or (h) making it clear that the credit limitation on preferential dividends is not applicable to amounts paid in liquidation of stock interests. This change would overrule *May Hosiery Mills, Inc.* v. *Commissioner* (41–2 U. S. T. C., Par. 9571, 123 F. (2d) 858 (CCA–4), and preferential liquidations would form a dividends' paid credit for section 102 purposes and for the computation of undistributed subchapter A net income (sec. 504).

There were other significant changes recommended, such as: (a) Define in greater detail the content of "earnings and profits" for dividend purposes; (b) redefine the term "reorganization" to provide that the transfer of a portion of the assets of a corporation to another corporation constitutes a reorganization so long as the transferee corporation is controlled by either the transferor or by persons who are or were stockholders of the transferor; and, among others, amend section 112 (b) (5) to remove the rule of proportion.

Statute of limitations, assessment and collection of taxes and penalties

Historical note (statute of limitations): Beginning with the Corporation Excise Tax Act of 1909, there has always been a statute of limitations against both the Government and the taxpayer. It has never applied to fraudulent returns or where no return has been filed. It has varied from time to time both in length and extent. There have been two important departures from the orthodox conception of a statute of repose: (a) the extension of the regular 3-year period to 5 years where the taxpayer omits reporting 25 percent of his gross income (sec. 275 (c) of the Revenue Act of 1934); and (b) the mitigation provisions (first adopted by sec. 820 of the Revenue Act of 1938). The limitation statutes are now contained in code sections 275, 276, 311, 322, 3748, and 3801.

Historical note (assessment and collection): In respect of income, estate and gift taxation, the assessment and collection of deficiences therein stem from the statutory provisions in sections 273 and following of the 1924 and 1926 acts, adopted in connection with the newly created Board of Tax Appeals. As to miscellaneous taxes, the old statutory provisions still obtain, although the department has extended its internal appellate procedure to certain ones. The penalties, of course, vary and keep pace with the different kind of taxes, but their assertion and

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collection follow generally the requirements of the taxes to which they relate.

Hearings, August 4, 1953: The most colorful witness under topic 28 was a public accountant who came in at his own expense. The tenor of his testimony may be gathered from this extract:

"I fervently hope that it is not necessary to stress the enormities committed against defenseless taxpayers in order to prove the urgent need for remedies. It should be sufficient to point out that although the Bureau's enforcement personnel are all made in the image of God, they have not been endowed with His attributes."

As a former Bureau employee, I must admit he had something there. His main opposition was directed to the monthly production quotas of deputy collectors. As he said: "Rights without remedies are vain things." The expense which a low-income taxpayer must incur to protect himself against a Bureau 90-day wonder, destroys his procedural rights. He quoted Abraham Lincoln: "To consent by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men." This man really protested. He suggested the appointment of summary appeal agents on an honorary and volunteer basis somewhat in the manner of appeal agents appointed to check the decisions of draft boards under the Selective Service Act. As a matter of fact, this system obtains in England. Retired military and civil service employees are used for the purpose. As an alternative, if the power of decision is not to be vested in such summary appeal agents, then he suggested that it could be vested in an appointee for each administrative district, on a salary basis. The American Bar Association also has, in the past, made several recommendations concerning the handling of small deficiencies pending before the Tax Court. It is true from the standpoint of the little fellow that a prospective victim of the Bureau has got to be able to go to some person or board in their own locality. Has anyone given a moment's reflection as to how many persons or boards would be required to accomplish that state of administrative perfection?

In connection with the supposed evil of monthly production quotas, Congressman KING (California) pointed out that there was anything but uniformity at some of the policy levels throughout the country.

A tax lawyer from Newark, N. J., made several interesting administrative recommendations: (1) That in all cases involving assessment of taxes, the procedure for miscellaneous taxes should parallel income tax procedure; (2) that jeopardy assessments should not be good for more than a limited period and be subject to some form of judicial or quasi-judicial review; (3) that the Tax Court judges be granted authority, in their good discretion, to extend the 90-day period within which a timely petition to that court could be filed; (4) that the underestimating penalties (sec. 294) (d) (2)) should be based on the prior year's return and not on the finally determined tax of the current year; (5) that the lien under code section 3672 (a) with respect to real estate should be adequate if filed in the office of the clerk of a United States district court once, rather than in the various county offices; (6) that the Government be granted statutory authority to subordinate its liens under section 3674; (7) that the right of transferee assessment be permitted with respect to all miscellaneous taxes; and (8) that the Federal Government have the right to levy for unpaid taxes against both Federal and State employees.

The Pennsylvania Bar Association recommended (1) that the 5-year limitations period under code section 275 (c) be eliminated where a reasonable disclosure was made on the return and (2) that, under code sections 3670, 3671, and 3672, the collateral of banks ahead of tax liens should be broadened to include accounts receivable and insurance policies, and that a bank's liabilities in respect of the lienee's deposits by clarified by statute.

Another witness recommended that the mitigation section (sec. 3801 (a) (3) be amended to add 100 percent affiliated corporations to the definition of related taxpayers. An official of a building and loan association suggested an absolute statute of limitations of 5 years in all cases; that the period of examining tax returns be reduced to 2 years; and several other propositions which are already officially recognized.

The American Bar Association recommended: (1) a 6-year statute of limitations where the failure to file an income return was due to innocence, and not to fraud; (2) that the Commissioner and the taxpayer should be granted authority to enter into an agreement extending the assessment period in respect of estate and gift taxes; and (3) that the limitation of 6 years in criminal fraud cases (sec. 3748 (a)) should not be suspended where the taxpayer resides in a district different from that where the return is filed.

Several witnesses supported one or more of the above propositions. One witness declared the operation of the limitations period on criminal prosecutions for tax fraud to be one of the most unfair statutes in existence today, and certainly should be corrected, or eliminated entirely. (See code section 3748.) The institute also objected to certain unreciprocal aspects of the interest provisions in respect of deficiencies and refunds.

The American Institute of Accountants, in addition to certain items before mentioned, also made several recommendations in respect of section 3801 (mitigation). It appears that the mitigation statute has worked much more smoothly than its critics first anticipated. Within its scope the honest mistake has virtually disappeared in revenue administration.

Partnerships

Historical note: Beginning with section II D of the 1913 act, the revenue statutes have contained provisions respecting the taxation of partners. Only in the year 1917 were partnerships as such subject to any form of income taxation. In that year, partnerships were subjected to an excess-profits tax. (Sec. 201 of the act of Oct. 3, 1917.) The partnership has always been an income-computing entity, but, except as above noted, it has not been the subject of income tax incidence. The individual partners have always been subject to tax on their respective shares of the partnership income, whether or not actually distributed to them. The present code provisions relating to partnerships are sections 113 (a) (13), 181–191 (Sup. F) and 3797 (a) (2).

Hearings, August 4, 1953: There is clearly a real need for comprehensive legislation on this subject. The most important contribution was made by the American Bar Association, which submitted an overall statute covering the income taxation of partnerships to supplant the few code sections that barely sketch the tax pattern. The representatives of the association explained that although partnership taxation is one of the most complex subjects in the code, everybody has been floundering for years in a sea of doubt. The Treasury Regulations have been inadequate, the courts have been inconsistent, and the Bureau has never succeeded in formulating a complete policy. The association's committee spent over 5 years on the work and they presented a set of rules which would add several pages to the code.

In general, the association recommended a statute which is based upon the present concepts of the code. The partnership would remain essentially as an information-reporting entity, with the tax imposed upon the individual partners for their respective distributive shares of the partnership income. In most areas of the partner-partnership relationship, the partners are treated as co-owners of the partnership property on the assumption that this approach most nearly conforms to the understandings of the parties in the usual small business. In the interest of flexibility and simplicity, however, there is provided a series of elections based upon an "entity" approach, which probably would be exercised by the larger and more complex partnerships. The recommended legislation was introduced with an accompanying explanatory report, to which all interested readers are respectfully referred. It covers many of the points made by other witnesses.

The American Institute of Accountants, as a partial solution to the whole problem of the double taxation of corporate dividends, recommended that a corporation be granted the option of being taxed as a partnership, provided (1) it had only common stock outstanding, and (2) at all times during the year, all of its outstanding stock is owned, directly or indirectly, by not more than 25 individuals. This is obviously for the benefit of the closely held corporations which, in fact, closely resemble partnerships.

A farmer submitted a plan whereby a sole proprietorship or partner should, at his election, be permitted to separate his income into two classifications: (a) the income obtained from his venture capital, by the direct operation of his business; and (b) the income he receives from investment capital in stocks, bonds, or other investment items.

Upon doing so, the proprietor or partner would pay corporate tax rates on the income from his business-venture capital and individual rates on the income from his investment or nonbusiness capital. The plan contemplates that venture capital should be permitted to flow in and out of the business as needed, without penalty, so as to avoid the lack of necessary capital to conduct the business or the accumulation of unnecessary capital.

The American Federation of Labor recommended that provisions in the 1951 act, under which minors may be admitted as partners, should be eliminated; but another witness recommended that they be given retroactive effect.

Income derived from foreign sources

Historical note: The Federal Government has always professed a sympathetic concern over our foreign trade. Of course, the Constitution itself forbids the taxing of articles exported from any State. The income-tax statutes, however, have gone much further. The allowance of a credit for income taxes paid to foreign countries began with sections 222 (a) and 238 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1918; the present provisions are in code section 131.

Section 262 of the Revenue Act of 1921 granted exemption under prescribed circumstances to income derived from sources within possessions of the United States. (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 197 and 207.) That subject is now governed by code sections 251–252 (supp. J).

The China Trade Act, approved September 19, 1922, amended the 1921 act by adding thereto a new section 264. By this act, a special credit was granted to individual citizens of the United States, resident in China, with respect to special dividends paid to them by corporations organized under the China Trade Act. The subject of China Trade Act Corporations is now covered by code sections 261–265 (supp. K).

Section 213 (b) (14) of the Revenue Act of 1926 provided that, in the case of an individual citizen of the United States, a bona fide nonresident of the United States for more than 6 months during the taxable year, the amounts received from sources without the United States constituting earned in-

come should be exempt from income taxation. This exclusion from gross income went through many corrective amendments, but became the subject of such abuse that section 204 of the Technical Changes Act of 1953 limited the amount of annual exclusion to $20,000. The present code provisions treating of this subject are in section 116 (a), as amended.

Section 141 of the Revenue Act of 1942 added a new code section 109, dealing with Western Hemisphere Trade Corporations. By sections 109 and 15 (b), exemption from surtax was granted certain domestic corporations deriving their income principally from the active conduct of trade or business within the Western Hemisphere, that is, within the Americas or adjacent areas. This had the effect of exempting a qualified corporation from surtax on its income derived from sources other than sources within the United States. A similar but much broader exemption was granted by code section 727 from World War II excess profits taxation. At this time, the relief granted by the code to Western Hemisphere Trade Corporations takes the form of a credit in respect of both normal and surtax. (Code secs. 13 (a) (2) (C), 15 (a) (3), 26 (i) and 109). Section 454 grants a similar exemption in respect of the excess profits tax presently imposed.

Hearings, August 4–5, 1953: A live interest was shown in this topic. The National Foreign Trade Council submitted a number of recommendations which revealed a profound study of the subject and covered most of the ideas developed at the hearings. They were:

1. Income derived through a foreign permanent establishment or from a foreign subsidiary should be taxable only where earned. The code should provide for the exemption of income derived by a United States citizen which is allocable under section 119 to a permanent establishment in a foreign country. (This might raise the question of the responsibility, if any, of the United States Government for their protection in the foreign country.)

2. As an alternative, the credit in respect of income from foreign branches or subsidiaries should equal the United States tax thereon, as if it had been the corporation's only income. This would produce substantially the same result as recommendation 1.

3. As a second alternative, an incentive rate should be granted income from permanent establishments abroad which would place the American-owned enterprises in a competitive position vis-a-vis foreign enterprises; extend the geographical limits of section 251.

4. The per-country limitation in code section 131 (b) should be repealed as an anachronism inserted in the revenue statute in a time of trade contraction. The overall limitation should be retained to prevent the reduction of the domestic tax on domestic income. If the per-country limitation is to be retained, taxpayers should be permitted to choose between it and the overall limitation on an annual elective basis.

5. Credit for foreign taxes paid in lieu of income taxes should be liberalized. (Code sec. 131 (h).)

6. Defer tax on foreign-branch income until it is remitted to the home office. (H. R. 611.)

7. Several minor amendments to the code providing: (a) relief for alien employees of foreign branches of American corporations who are presently at a disadvantage as contrasted with alien employees of foreign subsidiary corporations; (b) adopt war loss provisions essentially similar to section 127, applicable to World War II losses; (c) extend the due dates of income tax returns of China Trade Act corporations (sec. 3805); (d) allow the filing of foreign tax credit refund claims without limitation as to time; and (e) amend section 109 (Western Hemisphere trade corporations) to permit purchases and incidental economic contacts with countries outside the Western Hemisphere.

The above recommendations were explained orally and by written statement. The American taxpayer is sitting on a mountaintop of taxation trying to do business in competition with companies that are on foothills or lowlands of taxation. Many witnesses and organizations urged one or more of the foregoing recommendations, using different arguments but arriving at the same place.

Several witnesses urged the amendment of section 109 to include an express definition of the "source of income" of export sales so as to avoid the "passage of title" test. Under section 109, to qualify as a Western Hemisphere Trade Corp., 95 percent or more of its gross income must be derived from sources without the United States. In fixing the source of income from purchases within and sale without the United States under section 119, title must pass outside the United States in order to classify the gross income as having been derived without the United States. This necessitates the maintenance of a warehouse or branch office in the foreign country to which the property could be shipped and title transferred to the purchaser. The cost of that action is prohibitive to a smaller corportation, and, in addition, is contrary to the long-established trade practices to which the foreign purchaser is accustomed. An amendment, such as above suggested, is necessary to effectuate the legislative policy of section 109 concerning export trade.

Section 204 of the Technical Changes Act of 1953 corrected an abuse growing out of code section 116 (a) (2), by limiting the exemption accorded income earned abroad to $20,000. Even so, the American Mining Congress considers the present law fails to do full justice in the case of an individual citizen of the United States who is legitimately carrying on his business activities in a normal fashion in a foreign country by the rendition of services there, and whose earned income from foreign sources exceeds $20,000. It recommended that such income be fully exempted. The International Chamber of Commerce recommended increasing the $20,000 limitation to $30,000.

By section 332, the term "foreign personal holding company income" includes dividends, interest, royalties and annuities. This prevents a United States business from organizing an investing company in a favorable foreign country with a view to establishing subsidiary manufacturing corporations in other foreign countries. A witness recommended the amendment of section 332 (a) to exclude from foreign personal holding company income, dividends and similar income received from foreign manufacturing and operating companies not of a purely investment character.

Income tax treatment of estates and trusts

Historical note: The taxation of estates in process of administration, and of trusts, whether testamentary of inter vivos, is a tricky subject. This is one branch of law where the office lawyer can turn the meaning of words upside down.

Under the 1913 act, many operating trusts, particularly of the Massachusetts type, were taxed as "associations." Section 2 of the Revenue Act of 1916 expressly taxed the income of estates in process of administration, and of trusts, to the executor, administrator or trustee, as the case might be, except when the income was returned by the beneficiary. Section 219 of the 1918 act clearly established the status of estates and trusts as independent taxable entities. Their net incomes are determined pretty much as the net income of an individual, except that they are allowed another type of deduction referred to as distributions of income. The deduction for distributions which is available to estates and trusts is a distinctive attribute of these types of tax entities. This plan of having the tax follow the income has been used in modified form in other respects, such as the treatment of Supplement P income, but, generally speaking, the treatment of estates and trusts has been unique. The income taxation of estates and trusts is now determined by supplement E of the code (sections 161–172).

Hearings, August 6, 1953: A New York practitioner declared that what is supposed to be a code for the establishment of a system of Federal taxation has turned out in many of its parts to be a system of restrictions on the liberty of the American citizen or taxpayer to do the perfectly normal things that he has always done and is still allowed to do under the laws of every State in the United States. He objected to the present taxable position of revocable trusts and to the line of authorities illustrated by the Clifford doctrine. He recommended the outright repeal of code sections 166 and 167. Another New York practitioner recommended that section 115 (g) (3) be made applicable to the payment of all indebtedness of an estate in process of administration where other free assets are not available to meet the indebtedness. (This suggestion was more fully considered under topic 27 (b). He complained that, in the face of the language of section 29.115–9 of Regulations 111, the Commissioner declined to rule that the acquisition by a close corporation of all the decedent's holdings therein would not affect the distribution of a taxable dividend. He proposed that the law be amended "to make certain that such administrative interpretation is not possible."

Several witnesses from Boston urged support of H. R. 5418. This bill would provide for special taxation of real-estate trusts and associations with transferable shares or certificates of beneficial interest. Almost all such trusts are now classed as associations, taxable as corporations. The imposition of a corporate income tax on such trusts is especially unfair when it is considered that the purpose of such trusts is principally to provide unified management and that, usually, substantially all their income is distributed annually to the beneficiaries. In this respect, real-estate trusts are conduits of income, just as are stock investment trusts whose unique status has been specially recognized under the regulated investment company provisions of supplement Q (Code secs. 361–362). These witnesses argued their case well.

A representative of the United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc., proposed the amendment of code sections 812 and 162 to provide total exemption from both estate and income taxation of legacies or trusts set up for the upkeep of totally disabled persons, during their lifetime. In assessing such taxes, the Government is interfering with a natural and moral duty. He also proposed that an additional $600 income-tax exemption be granted to taxpayers supporting dependents who are permanently disabled from whatever cause.

A private witness made some very significant suggestions in respect of code section 162 (b), (c), and (d). Basically, what is involved is the taxing of A on account of what is really B's income. In general, an estate or trust is entitled to deduct from its gross income all amounts distributed or distributable as income to the beneficiaries. This witness contended that the only logical and equitable approach was to find out first how much could reasonably be charged to the income of each beneficiary, and then to allow the estate or trust to deduct the total of these amounts. This would always prevent charging one beneficiary with income that is, in fact, the income of another beneficiary.

A practicing lawyer recommended that code section 22 (a) be amended to prevent any possible application of it to the question of who is taxable on trust income. Supplement E should contain specific rules to the effect that trust income be taxed to the grantor only if (1) the trust is for a period which must end in less than 5 years, and the trust assets must revert to the grantor or his estate or must be disposed of as he directs, or (2) the grantor retains the power to determine who shall receive the trust income. (Cf. T. D. 5488, 1946–1 CB 19, amended by T. D. 5567, 1947–2 CB 9; *Commissioner* v. *Clark* (53–1 USTC, par. 9217, 202 F. (2d) 94 (CA–7); 1953–55 CCH Standard Federal Tax Reports, par. 8655).)

The chamber of commerce thinks that section 22 (a) should have no application to the taxation of estates and trusts. (See section 29.22 (a)–21 of Regulations 111; *Ruth S. Clark* (CCH Dec. 18,794, 17 TC 1357 (1952), aff'd 53–1 USTC, par. 9217, 202 F. (2d) 94, certiorari not authorized).) Also, there should be no Federal statutory concept of distributable income. Items which are not taxable in the hands of the fiduciary should not become taxable through distribution to the beneficiary. (*McCullough* v. *Commissioner* (46–1 USTC, par. 9140, 153 F. (2d) 345 (CCA–2).) The existing 65-day and 12-month rules under section 162 (d) (3) have proved to be administratively unworkable and should be eliminated. In connection with the Clifford problem, the chamber recommended that the grantor of a trust should not incur tax where he has divested himself for 5 years or more of ownership of the principal and income of the trust and of any power to control the beneficial enjoyment of such principal and income. The 5-year rule should also be applied to cases of irrevocable assignments of income in situations such as the *Blair* (37–1 USTC, par. 9083, 300 U. S. 5) and *Schaffner* (41–1 USTC, par 9355, 312 U. S. 579) cases. The chamber also recommended that a distinction be drawn between administrative powers over the trust under which the grantor may obtain economic benefit and administrative powers under which economic benefit for the grantor is not possible or is so incidental or intangible as to be disregarded. It also suggested that no attempt be made to define by relationship persons having certain powers who are sufficiently subservient to the grantor to give him, in effect, the power involved. Such subservience should be established by the facts and not by relationship to the possessor of the power.

The chamber further recommended that the credit against net income provided for trusts under section 163 (a) (1) be increased from $100 to $300. Section 153 requires that annual information be required from certain tax-exempt organizations under section 101 (6) and section 162 (a), and, also, in respect of employees' trusts under section 165. It was proposed that the ordinary statute of limitations against the assessment of deficiencies against such trusts and entities, commence with the filing of such information.

A representative of privately financed colleges recommended that code section 166 be amended to permit the creation of a revocable trust on a tax-free basis to the creator, provided the income is paid to a tax-exempt institution. This is a serious problem, because some colleges teach principles which necessitate high taxes.

Treatment of bad debts

Historical note: This topic embraces (a) bad-debt recoveries, (b) bad-debt reserves and (c) deduction of nonbusiness bad debts.

Article 110 of regulations 33 (revised) provided that bad debts, charged off as worthless and subsequently recovered, constitute income for the year in which recovered, regardless of the date of charge off. (Art. 52 of original regulations 45.) The Treasury Department, on its own volition, initiated the concept that a recovered bad debt should not be regarded as income unless the deduction had accomplished a reduction in tax liability. (G. C. M. 18525, 1937–1 CB 80; I. T. 3172, 1938–1 CB 150.) The tax benefit rule received statutory sanction in section 116 of the Revenue Act of 1942, entitled "Recovery of Bad Debts, Prior Taxes, and Delinquency Amounts," and added a new paragraph (12) to the exclusion provisions of code section 22 (b). The new statute provided for the exclusion from gross income of amounts, otherwise includible, which are attributable to the recovery during the taxable year of a bad debt, prior tax, or delinquency amount, to the extent that the same did not operate to reduce the income tax liability of the taxpayer for any prior year.

The 1921 act first permitted the deduction for bad debts to take the form of a reasonable addition to a reserve for bad debts. (Secs. 214 (a) (7) and 234 (a) (5) of the Revenue Act of 1921.)

Section 124 of the 1942 act added a new provision for special treatment of nonbusiness debts in the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation. (Code sec. 23 (k) (4); 1942–2 CB 431 and 572.) The primary reason for this amendment was the abuse growing out of so-called loans to friends, relatives, and dependents where there were no reasonable grounds for or expectation of repayment. (1942–2 CB 426 and 565.)

Hearings, August 6, 1953: The regulations deny the tax benefit provisions of section 22 (b) (12) to reserve-basis taxpayers. (See sec. 29.22 (b) (12)–1 (a) (1) of Regulations 111; 1942–2 CB 427 and 566.) Accounting authorities seem to agree that this works a discrimination as between the reserve method and the specific charge-off method. The First National Bank of Chicago recommended that this discrimination be eliminated by striking from the regulations the objectionable sentence, and, if that is not feasible, amend the statute.

A national public accounting firm recommended the amendment of Code section 23 (k) (4) to exclude from the definition of nonbusiness bad debts, loans made to a business organization in which the taxpayer has a financial interest as an employee, stockholder, officer, or creditor. Such losses should be deductible as business bad debts, but they are now being classified by the Bureau and the courts as nonbusiness bad debts, deductible only as short-term capital losses. Other parties urged the same action.

The Commerce and Industry Association of New York objected to the Bureau's interpretation of section 23 (k) (4) to include among nonbusiness bad debts, debts which actually arose in the course of a taxpayer's trade or business but which, at the time of worthlessness, were not directly connected with a trade or business of the taxpayer suffering the loss. (Sec. 29.23 (k)–6 of Regulations 111.). The statute should be amended to provide that debts arising in the course of business should be treated as business debts regardless of circumstances at the time of worthlessness. The association also objected, where mortgaged property is bid in by the mortgagor, to dividing the transaction into two separate elements. (Sec. 29.23 (k) (3) of Regulations 111.) The American Institute of Accountants agreed that the splitting of that transaction into two parts should be changed.

Determination of taxable income inclusions and exclusions

Historical note: The title of this topic is something of a misnomer. Congress may not include in taxable income that which is not income. This subject deals, therefore, primarily with statutory exclusions from taxable income of items which Congress has full power to tax.

The expanding adventures of governments and authorities into proprietary functions, in direct competition with taxable free enterprises, have created a serious policy problem in national and local taxation. An utterly unfair discrimination grows out of the freedom from income tax of governmentally owned electric-power projects. The Government is actively competing on a tax-free basis with the taxpaying portions of the electric utility industry. Tax inequality between different lines of endeavor is bad enough, but tax inequality within a single field is indefensible. Since the South Carolina Dispensary case,[19] there is no doubt but that the Federal Government may tax the business activities of States and their subdivisions.[20] As a bookkeeping matter, the Federal Government could demand of its own instrumentalities the same accounting for taxes which it exacts of private parties. Although reciprocal immunity from taxation of the salaries of governmental employees has been destroyed as a principle of Federal constitutional law,[21] there is considerable doubt whether the reciprocal immunity in respect of interest on governmental obligations has been seriously weakened.[22]

An even more serious situation may be developing as a result of organizations, exempt under code section 101, entering fields of endeavor in competition with private business. Title III of the Revenue Act of 1950 coped with this tendency and made some progress in respect of organizations which come under section 101 (1), (6), (7), and (14), except churches. Section 101 (12) (cooperatives) was tightened up some by section 314 of the Revenue Act of 1951. However, Congress has not dealt with the entire problem, particularly social clubs and fraternal organizations. (Code sec. 101 (3) and (9).)

Hearings, August 6, 1953: The testimony and statements were very instructive. The representative of the Edison Electric Institute urged the removal of the tax exemption which Federal, State, and municipal bodies now enjoy in conducting proprietary business in competition with their own taxpayers. This includes the issuance of tax bonds to finance such enterprises, the recent trend to issue industrial development revenue bonds, and the REA electric cooperatives who are competing for business with the taxpaying utilities. The insitute urged amendments to sections 22 (b) (4), 101 (15) and 116 (d) to that end.

An accountant submitted a lengthy study and argued effectively for the taxability of industrial-development revenue bonds and authority bonds. He recommended the amendment of section 22 (b) (4) to subject to Federal income taxation without question the interest on industrial-development revenue bonds and the interest on the obligations of authorities which engage in proprietary ventures and which do not pledge the faith or credit or taxing power of their State or municipal governments. Along similar lines, the National Association of Real Estate Boards protested against the tax exemption granted to bonds sold to finance Government-owned housing projects, called public housing. These bonds take the form of a local public-housing bond issue, but they have the substance of tax-exempt Federal bonds issued by authority of the Public Housing Administration.

The representative of the American Hotel Association objected to exempt social clubs and fraternal organizations competing with taxable hotels by offering food, beverage and lodging to the public. There was inserted in the record a formidable list of tax-exempt establishments bidding for public patronage. (Sec. 101 (3), (7), (8), and (9) relate to privately operated and controlled organizations.) They are supposed to be powerful politically. They may ultimately weaken the taxpaying hotel and

Footnotes at end of speech.

restaurant industry, but they are acting as a spearhead in furnishing certain services free from high taxes and without private profit.

The Coca-Cola Export Corp. made a thorough exposition of the discrimination which now exists against nonresident alien employees of United States corporations who visit the United States for business training or consultation. The ascertainment of income from sources within the United States is covered by code section 119, subsection (a) (3) of which provides that compensation not in excess of $3,000, received by a nonresident alien individual while temporarily in the United States, for the redition of services to an alien entity, shall not be deemed to be income from United States sources. Where the nonresident alien renders the services here to a United States corporation, he must pay the tax thereon. A statement was submitted containing a brief summary of some general provisions in income-tax conventions with respect to the exemption of temporary visitors to the United States from treaty countries. The witness stated that the most satisfactory solution to this problem would be to amend sections 211 (b) and 119 (a) (3) to exempt labor or services performed on behalf of a foreign branch of a United States corporation. It went further however, and urged that the present 90-day period be increased to 183 days, and that the limitation on the amount of exempt remuneration be increased from $3,000 to $10,000.

In behalf of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, a statement urged support of H. R. 3690, which would amend section 22 (b) (3) to treat as an exempt gift, amounts paid to an individual by a section 101 (6) organization to enable the recipient to improved or to complete his education or training or to engage in research or creative activity. An individual witness, purporting to speak for the owners of small corporations, recommended that the surtax exemption under section 15 (b) be increased from $25,000 to $50,000. This change was urged to keep with the corporation the tax savings with which to expand, instead of relegating the operators of small business to a permanent position of smallness.

Section 22 (b) (2) (A) provides, among other things, that, in the case of a transfer for a valuable consideration, by assignment or otherwise, of a life insurance, endowment or annuity contract, or any interest therein, only the actual value of such consideration and the amount of the premiums and other sums subsequently paid by the transferee shall be exempt from taxation. If the policy is not transferred, the entire proceeds are exempt under section 22 (b) (1). The National Association of Life Underwriters thinks this result inflicts "great hardship," especially where the transferee has an insurable interest in the life of the insured. They strongly urge its change. The American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America agreed with this contention, and, also, protested against the misapplication of the doctrine of constructive receipt to life insurance transactions.

Section 126 deals with income in respect of decedents. Subsection (a) (1) provides that, where gross income is not includible in the return for the period in which the decedent died, or a prior period, it shall be taken up (1) by the estate of the decedent, (2) by the person who acquired the right to receive the income, by reason of the death of the decedent, or (3) by the person who acquired from the decedent the right to receive the income by bequest, devise, or inheritance. Subsection (a) (2), however, provides that, where the right to receive income above described is sold or transferred, there must be included in the gross income of the transferor the fair market value of the right at the time of the transfer plus any consideration in excess thereof. This prevents the legatee widow of a life insurance agent from bequeathing the uncollected renewal account to their children without taking up its fair market value in her final return. The National Association of Life Underwriters urged the amendment of section 126 (a) (2) to place such a request on the same footing as obtains under subsection (a) (1).

A Washington practitioner recommended: (1) Provide specifically that treasury stock shall not be considered as an asset and that its sale shall not give rise to gain or loss; and (2) make section 128 applicable to the recovery of any taxes previously deducted under section 23 (c). Another practitioner supported a proposed amendment to the code which would give relief to certain banks required to issue preferred stock to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in connection with mergers arranged by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, by allowing them a deduction for amounts paid in retirement of said preferred stock.

Gift and estate tax problems

Historical note: Section 301 (b) of the Revenue Act of 1924 allowed a credit to Federal estate tax of the amount of any similar tax paid to any State in respect of property included in the gross estate. The credit was subject to a 25-percent limitation. The report of the Senate Finance Committee records the receipt of a letter from Secretary Mellon which says that inheritance taxes are properly sources of revenue for the States. The letter also declares that the far-reaching economic effect of high inheritance taxes is not properly understood. They siphon off capital for current operating expenses, the cumulative effect of which will prove harmful to the country. (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 270, 289, and 308.) The limitation was increased to 80 percent by section 301 (b) of the Revenue Act of 1926. (1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 324, 338, and 376.) Section 401 of the Revenue Act of 1932 imposed an additional estate tax to which the aforementioned credit was specifically made inapplicable (sec. 402 (a)). At the same time, title III of the 1932 act restored the gift tax as a supplement to the estate tax. With technical refinements and ever-increasing rates in both estate and gift taxes, the matter stands today. At this time the basic estate tax has a maximum rate of 20 percent (code sec. 810). The additional estate tax has a maximum rate of 77 percent (code sec. 935). It is not difficult to see what happens to an estate when the two are added together. The maximum gift tax rate is 57¾ percent.

Hearings, August 10, 1953: Everyone except the American Federation of Labor seems to agree that the rates are too high. Even with the numerous alleviating provisions of the past 10 years, one must have strong leanings toward state capitalism to recommend lower exemptions and increased rates in these taxes. The chamber of commerce has this to say about the present estate and gift taxes:

"In any revision of the Federal tax structure there should be earnest attention to the consequences of the present estate and inheritance taxes, which are levied by the Federal and State Governments.

"The effects of present high rates, low exemptions, and inequitable provisions are damaging socially and economically. There is a serious impairment of incentive and discouragement of the natural desire to make family provision. Successful family enterprises are broken up and family ownership and control destroyed. There is dissipation of productive capital with all of the public detriment that follows. The consequences bear heavily upon small enterprises which must continue to have an important place in the business structure.

"The Federal Government should take the leadership in adjustments to avoid these destructive effects. It should remove itself from the whole field of estate and gift taxation.

"Meanwhile, the additional or supplementary estate tax should be repealed, leaving only the basic estate tax in effect with its 80 percent credit for death taxes paid the States and larger exemption. With such lowering of rates the need for a policing gift tax would disappear and it should be repealed or at least reduced to be consistent with the lower estate tax rates."

Several parties testified or submitted statements in support of that outlook. Most of the testimony, however, was directed to technical amendments designed to cure existing discrimination or imagined injustices.

The insurance business is considerably exercised over the taxation of the proceeds of life insurance. Under section 811 (g) (2), the estate of an insured is taxed if he owned the insurance policy or if he paid the premiums. The premium-payment test has the effect of including in the decedent's gross estate a policy to which he never had title or which has been irrevocably assigned by him, and in which neither he nor his estate has any interest. By contrast, the gift tax applies only to the cash value of an interest actually owned by the insured and donated by him. From many quarters, it was recommended that the premium-payment test be discarded, and that insurance proceeds received by beneficiaries, other than the executor, should be included in the decedent's gross estate only to the extent of the cash value, immediately prior to death, of the interest in the insurance actually owned by the decedent.

As a measure of simplicity, one witness declared that every gift should be taxed when it is made, regardless of whether it is direct or indirect, whether it is revocable or irrevocable, and that there should be no further question concerning the corpus of the gift or trust. The statement seems to be an oversimplification. For example, what is the fair market value of the gift involved in a revocable trust? How would the donee's conditional liability be measured in case the donor later exercised his right of revocation? [23]

A practicing attorney pointed out that, under certain circumstances, the relief intended by the optional valuation of estates under section 811 (j) is nullified and converted into a hardship. These situations arise in audit after the election has been made to use the optional date. Items difficult of valuation, or unexpectedly included in the gross estate, may be valued by the examining agent at a figure higher than that provable value at date of death. An amendment to the code was recommended which, upon such an increase in the value of the gross estate, would provide that the executor of the estate should have a new election.

Section 22 defines gross income. There are really two definitions or conceptions contained in section 22. Subdivision (a) is more like the constitutional concept of income. Its language is very broad and general, even though not as terse as the 16th amendment. The entire section 22, however, gives the statutory definition of income. It is detailed and covers a multitude of items. The Ways and Means Committee hopes it can come up with a better general definition of income, and we wish them luck. A research engineer who appeared before the committee urged that no inanimate entity, such as a business, be regarded as having taxable income. His conception of taxable income is that "which is received by natural persons as ultimate consumers; it includes wages, salaries, dividends, legacies, and gifts." He paid his respects to Karl Marx by saying that commu-

Footnotes at end of speech.

nism in the Internal Revenue Code is the source of all our tax problems.

Section 1003 (b) (3), in arriving at net gifts, provides a $3,000 annual, per donee exclusion. This was designed to permit a donor to make small gifts without being required to file a gift-tax return. However, gifts of future interests are expressly excepted from this exclusion. There has arisen a great deal of confusion in the case of gifts in trust. It is difficult to determine in a particular case whether a gift in trust for a minor child will be entitled to the $3,000 exclusion or regarded as the gift of a future interest. One witness pleaded that, in such a situation, in order to retain the benefit of his annual exclusion, a father must abandon the reins over his infant. One recommendation would allow a donor to make annual gifts up to $3,000 (or $6,000 with spouse's consent) to minor donees without considering such gifts as applying against the specific lifetime exemption of $30,000 provided by section 1004 (a) (1). Another proposal would allow each donor an annual $3,000 exclusion for all his gifts of future interests.

A Washington practitioner suggested that section 812 be amended to allow a deduction for the amount of the estate tax. It was explained that, mathematically, the amount of such a deduction would be computed in a manner similar to the computation of the charitable deduction where there is a specific bequest with the residue, after estate taxes, going to charity.

A private citizen suggested the complete elimination of the baffling reference to property that is subject to claims but not to general claims in section 812 (c) and, also, the elimination of the tracing rule which denies any allowance for property acquired unless it can be identified as having been acquired in exchange for the property previously taxed. If there is going to be an allowance in one case, there should be a similar allowance in the other case, even if there is no direct connection between the property included in the first estate and that left by the second decedent. These two simplification measures cannot be accomplished without the substitution of a tax credit for a deduction from the gross estate. The suggestion was also made that, in lieu of the present allowance of a full deduction if the second decedent dies 4 years and 364 days after the first, there be provided a sliding scale by which the credit or deduction would range from, say, 20 percent to 100 percent according to the number of years intervening—for example, less than 2 years, 100 percent; 2 to 4 years, 80 percent, etc., up to 20 percent from 8 to 10 years.

This was an actively considered topic. The record contains significant proposals.

Excise tax problems

Historical note: Excise taxes are among the oldest forms of internal taxation used in this country. The first internal revenue statute laid duties upon spirits distilled within the United States. (Act of March 3, 1791, 1 Statutes 199, 202.) It is not surprising that the taxation of liquor and tobacco is regulated today by statutes drawn to fit a bygone age. Excise taxation was widely used during the Civil War period, and, to a considerable degree, in World War I. Its present extensive use dates primarily from the Revenue Act of 1932 and the requirements of recent wars. (See code sec. 1650.)

Hearings, August 10–11, 1953: The excise tax problems relating to rates, to new taxes, or to the removal of existing taxes, are not treated at this point but all such are gathered together under topic 40.

The tax representative of the Western Union Telegraph Co. presented four inequities or discriminations imbedded in the code, as construed by the Bureau, which are harmful to his company and create customer resentment: (1) and (2) The amounts paid for the installation of instruments, wires, poles, switchboards, apparatus, and equipment are expressly exempted from the 15 percent tax on local telephone service (code section 3465 (a) (3); the installation charges of the telegraph company, including the salaries of operators, should likewise be exempt. (3) By section 3465 (b), common carriers are exempt from the tax on leased wire, teletypewriter, or talking circuit special service utilized in the conduct of their business; this exemption does not apply to the taxes on telegraph and telephone messages imposed by subsection (a) (1), and the telephone companies have a competitive advantage in respect of their teletypewriter service. (4) The competitive disadvantage under which Western Union's Intrafax operates as against other intercommunication and interior systems, located within a local exchange area, should be removed.

The recommendations urged by the Associated Tobacco Manufacturers were unique in that they asked for no cut in the tax rates. Their representative also believed that his recommendations were entirely noncontroversial. He proposed three principal administrative changes and a list of minor adjustments which may be found in the record. The three principal ones were: a stamp method of procollecting tobacco taxes; a simple statement to take the place of the multiplicity of requirements in respect of statements, registration, bonding, certificates, and so forth; and a modernization of the recordkeeping requirements. Counsel for the Cigar Manufacturers Association, Inc., offered a complete recodification of the archaic statutes relating to the collection of excise taxes on cigars.

The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. urged the removal of the present requirement of prepayment of cigarette and tobacco taxes, since the financing of its stamp purchases was becoming a hardship. A proposed amendment of sections 2001 (a) and 4047 was submitted. The American Tobacco Co. suggested a similar change. The freezing of capital in the form of excise tax payments was further exemplified by a witness representing the National Association of Independent Tire Dealers. The tax on tires and innertubes is high and, where the manufacturer has a company-owned retail outlet, the competition is serious to the independent dealer.

The importers of alcoholic beverages think they have a perfect case for tax revision. In the first place, the applicable statutes are antiquated and need modernizing. Section 2800 (a) (1) taxes distilled spirits at the rate of $10.50 on each proof gallon, "or wine gallon, when below proof." The quoted phrase works a discrimination against imported distilled spirits. It grew up like Topsy and the history of it is explained. Various amendments to section 2800 are proposed.

The manufacturer's excise tax on radio receiving sets and accessories was first imposed by section 607 of the Revenue Act of 1932. The tax on television receiving sets was first imposed by section 605 of the Revenue Act of 1950. These taxes are now imposed under Code section 3404. The Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association urged passage of H. R. 6314, which would remove from the tax all electronic devices used for commercial and technical purposes. In addition, it would remove the tax for all components, except tubes. While H. R. 6314 would solve the administrative tax difficulties peculiar to this industry, there remain problems which are general to all manufacturer's excise taxpayers. They were all listed in a prepared statement. One of them dealt with the lack of adequate review in this field of taxation. It was suggested that the Tax Court be given jurisdiction to determine deficiencies in excise taxes and to review the departmental rulings on the subject.

Section 617 of the Revenue Act of 1932 laid a producer's excise tax on gasoline. Section 603 (c) of the 1934 act broadened the definition of gasoline to include naphtha. (Code sec. 3412 (c) (2).) Because the generic word naphtha is contained in the definition of gasoline, a large number of specialized petroleum products must be meticulously accounted for, gallon for gallon, all the way from the refiner through intermediate distributors down to the manufacturers who use them as raw materials. The American Mineral Spirits Co., Chicago, asked to be relieved of the enormous burden of accounting involved, by eliminating the word naphtha from the definition of gasoline. H. R. 5989 and S. 2238 would accomplish the purpose. These bills were also supported by the American Petroleum Industries Committee.

Recognizing the need for a restatement of basic principles of sound excise tax administration, whether selective or uniform, the National Association of Manufacturers established a subcommittee on manufacturer's excise tax administration comprised of experts in this field drawn from the major industries now subject to such taxation. They made a fine oral presentation and submitted an excellent brief, which are highly commended. A specialist in income, estate, and gift taxation has no conception of the administrative burdens connected with excise taxes. The association suggested many reforms, one of them being an internal appellate procedure which has already been adopted in part by the Bureau.

The Sheaffer Pen Co. protested the discrimination in respect of the lack of a termination date for the excise tax on writing instruments. (See code sec. 3408.) They requested that an April 1, 1954, termination date be put on the tax on writing instruments. With some force, the company contended that writing instruments are in much greater use by school children than wrestling head harnesses, push balls and water polo equipment. The Fountain Pen & Mechanical Pencil Manufacturer's Association objected to the taxation of an ornamented mechanical writing instrument as a luxury item, and urged the immediate termination of the tax on pens and pencils.

The automotive industry formed an industry-wide committee which urged the elimination of the discriminatory automotive excise tax. In regard to section 3403, they protested, especially, the tax on parts required to keep cars in repair. The Treasury holds that repairing, rebuilding or reconditioning of used automotive parts is the manfacture of automotive parts, and is taxable under section 3403 (c). The reconditioning of some automotive parts is taxable, not so others. The enforcement is not uniform. A lengthy brief was submitted in behalf of the various associations, which stated bluntly that the Treasury Department has not kept its promises to correct its errors by administrative regulations and that further promises cannot be relied upon. In the name of justice and equality, Congress was earnestly beseeched (1) to amend section 3403 (c) by adding the words "other than repaired, reconditioned or rebuilt parts or units when sold as such, or (2) to repeal section 3403 so as to eliminate the tax on automobiles, trucks, parts and accessories. Several members of the industry-wide committee spoke in support of the brief. One of them said: "These people are hopelessly lost on a sea of uncertainty."

The Royal Typewriter Co., Inc., directed attention to a discrimination in the tax as applied to rented typewriters. (Code section 3406 (a) (6).) There is a 10-percent tax on the sale of a new machine, but, where a machine is rented and then sold as secondhand,

the Bureau invokes section 3441 (c) to apply the 10 percent rate to both the rental payments and the secondhand prices. The witness proposed that section 3441 (c) be amended to make it clear that the total tax payable with respect to any article, even though payable in installments as rental payments, should not exceed the tax measured by the manufacturer's wholesale price, thus putting all transactions on the same basis.

Two individuals prominent in the trailer rental business urged legislative clarification of the manufacturer's excise tax on the lease of utility automobile trailers. (Code secs. 3403 and 3440.) Their testimony was convincing. It elicited from Chairman REED the observation that one point is fundamental in all tax bills: "There shall be certainty in taxation." This is particularly true in excise taxation, where the tax must be collected when the transaction takes place. Short-term trailer rentals are not the equivalent of sales and could very well be eliminated from the type of leases mentioned in sections 3440 and 3441.

The Participating Sports Association of America protested vigorously against the 20-percent admissions tax on privately operated enterprises, in competition with similar facilities operated by States or political subdivisions. The witness pointed out that recreation involving physical exercise is taxed in the same manner as any luxury entertainment or spectator sport. He urged passage of H. R. 3421. The representative of the National Screw Machine Products Association submitted a problem involving the application of section 3413 to a group of oils known commercially as cutting oils. H. R. 5606 would specifically eliminate cutting oils, used in manufacturing processes, from the general category of lubricating oils. The representative of manufacturers of ticket games sought relief from the taxes on wagers and substitution therefor of a stamp tax as on playing cards.

A large number of statements, full of meaty suggestions, were submitted for the record by parties who made no personal appearance.

Retirement funds for self-employed and others not covered by existing pension plans

Historical note: The Social Security Act provides for a governmental system of basic pension benefits. First, there are the grants-in-aid to the States to help them pay old-age pensions to needy elderly persons. Second, under the old-age and survivors insurance program, which covers most employed persons, the employers and employees are required through Federal payroll taxes on each jointly to pay the cost of retirement benefits for such employees and their survivors. (Code secs. 1400–1432 (Federal Insurance Contributions Act).)

The maximum benefits, under this program, for an individual are $85 per month, and, for a husband and wife who are both over 65 years of age, the maximum is $127.50. If a person earns more than $75 a month, he is disqualified for the benefits. Third, in addition to their coverage under the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program, some 8 million employed persons receive supplemental pension benefits under approximately 17,000 tax-favored pension plans set up by employers for their employees, either voluntarily or as a result of bargaining with labor unions. These private pension plans constitute a second layer of pensions built on top of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program. (Code secs. 23 (p) and 165.) If a pension plan is approved under the cited code provisions, the employer obtains a deduction in the current year for his contribution to the fund, but the employee is not taxed currently on what the employer pays into the fund in his behalf, even though such payment is in the nature of additional compensation for services. The employee is taxed only when he gets the money at retirement, as and when it is received. This tax deferment is also extended to the accretions of the employer's contribution resulting from the investment of the trusteed funds or the purchase of deferred annuity contracts from an insurance company.

This preferential tax treatment for private pension plans, some of which antedate the entire Federal social-security setup, has now become an established national policy. However, it is presently restricted to employee pension plans. The self-employed persons in the country, such as farmers, professional people, shopkeepers, etc., cannot come under these tax-favored pension plans since technically they are not employees. Therein lies the discrimination. In the same predicament with the self-employed persons are millions of employed persons whose employers have not set up private pension plans. It is obvious that if such persons had the same right of tax deferment on a portion of their income as millions of employed persons have under section 165, they would be in a similar position to provide for their old age. In all fairness, they are entitled to that much. Self-employed persons would ask nothing from the Government or anybody else.

Hearings, August 12, 1953: Several bills are pending to relieve this discrimination. The purpose of the Jenkins-Keogh-Camp bills is to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by individuals. These bills would accomplish the purpose by permitting such persons a postponement of income tax with respect to a limited portion of earned income (as distinguished from investment income), paid into a restricted retirement trust fund or to an insurance company as premiums for a restricted retirement-annuity contract. The limited amount so excluded, plus each participant's share of the interest on his fund, would be taxed in later years, when drawn down as retirement benefits. Such is the essence of the plan, and those seeking details of the proposed legislation are referred to the record of the hearings.

The Associated Actors & Artistes of America, the American Bar Association, and other legal bars, the American Medical Association, the American Institute of Accountants, the Authors League of America, the American Veterinary Medical Association, the New York Stock Exchange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the insurance industry, and many others, urged its passage and submitted formidable supporting data. This legislation is very necessary at least as a starting point. One witness, although agreeing on principle with its general objectives, disagreed with the plan of the pending bills and submitted his own alternative solution. The representative of the National Association of Investment Companies thought the pending bills too restrictive in providing that the trustee of restricted retirement funds of an individual must be a bank. The representative of the Investment Counsel Association of America agreed with the principle of self-employed retirement funds, but would grant the trustees of such funds much broader investment powers.

Although not directly pertinent, at the beginning of the hearings on topic 36, the committee welcomed Judge Herbert F. Goodrich of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. Judge Goodrich explained in considerable detail the good work being done by the American Law Institute. The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation made a grant to the institute to undertake a study of the income-tax laws. The main object of the institute's income tax project is an improvement of the technical provisions of the present statutes. They disavow any attempt to write a complete income tax code. A clarification of definitions is one of their objectives. The accurate definition of terms either prevents or puts an end to unnecessary disputes.

Exclusion of pension and retirement income for specific types of employees

Hearings, August 13, 1953: Old-age pensions received under the Social Security Act or under the Railroad Retirement Act, and also pensions received under any act relating to disabled war veterans, are entirely exempt. All other pensions and annuities received for past services are taxable. The exemption of retirement income should apply to all types of retirement income and thus eliminate the present discrimination. H. R. 5180 would go a long way toward equalizing the tax treatment of retired people.

Many educational groups and various associations of Government employees, retired officers, and retired Government employees testified in support of H. R. 5180. Under this bill the first $1,500 received as retirement income would be excluded from gross income in the case of all taxpayers who are at least 65 years of age and retired, or who are retired under a public or private retirement plan regardless of age. However, the $1,500 exclusion is to be reduced in proportion to the taxpayer's current earnings, if he works after retirement and earns more than $900 a year. This reduction is on a sliding scale similar to old-age and survivors insurance (OASI) provisions. The ceiling is $125 per month and any pension that a person would get (except service-connected disability) would be counted with OASI payments and railroad retirement in computing whether the ceiling is reached. The philosophy of the bill is to treat everybody's retirement income the same, whether it is derived from a pension plan, a privately purchased insurance annuity, or from investments. The National Education Association testified in support of the bill and submitted a brief technical analysis of its provisions.

Some organizations went much further. For example, the policemen contended for a lower retirement age and more liberal provisions respecting the work clause or supplementation of retirement income in the case of enforcement officers. Others went the whole distance and urged the complete exemption of all retirement income. The strong interest taken in this subject may lead to some degree of general relief from income taxation in respect of retired persons.

Depletion and exploration expenditures

Historical note: The Corporation Excise Tax Act of 1909 permitted the deduction of "a reasonable allowance for depreciation of property," but made no reference to depletion. (Sec. 38 Second (second).) The Supreme Court construed the 1909 act as denying any deduction for depletion of the mineral content of a mine, but, notwithstanding such interpretation, the Court upheld the constitutionality of the act.[34] The act of October 3, 1913, which is the first income tax act under the power of the 16th amendment, granted individuals a reasonable allowance for the exhaustion, wear and tear of property arising out of its use or employment in the business, "not to exceed, in the case of mines, 5 percent of the gross value at the mine of the output for the year" (sec. II B (sixth)). As to corporations, the 1913 act granted, in the case of mines, "a reasonable allowance for depletion of ores and all other natural deposits, not to exceed 5 percent of the gross value at the time of the output for the year" (sec. II G (b) (second)). The constitutionality of the 5-percent limitation was upheld by the Supreme Court.[35] Although not specifically mentioned as such, oil and gas properties were allowed depletion under the 1913 act. The Revenue Act of 1916 was the first to make specific reference to the depletion of oil and gas wells (sec. 5 (a) eighth (a)). The deducation was based on "actual reduction in flow and pro-

Footnotes at end of speech.

duction." In the case of mines the 1916 act substituted for the 5-percent limitation a depletion allowance not to exceed the market value in the mine of the product thereof, which had been mined and sold during the year (sec. 5 (a) eighth (b)). The statute expressly said that where the depreciation or depletion allowances shall equal "the capital originally invested" (or the fair market value on March 1, 1913), then "no further allowance shall be made." It is thus seen that the 1916 act had practically arrived at the point of full depletion allowances for the year, without limitation, although the statute used cumbersome yardsticks.

The Revenue Act of 1918 improved the language of the allowance by including within its scope other natural deposits and timber, and based the deduction according to the peculiar conditions in each case, all under Treasury regulations. The 1918 act, however, went much further. It contained the first breach in the principle that cost (or March 1, 1913, value) constitutes the limit of capital value recoveries by way of annual allowances. It introduced a new basis for the measure of capital to be recovered in the case of a discovery, on or after March 1, 1913, of mines, oil and gas wells. (Secs. 214 (a) (10) and 234 (a) (9).) The unlimited use of discovery value was found to cancel profits from unrelated sources, so the 1921 act limited the depletion on that score to an amount not in excess of the net income from the particular property. (Secs. 214 (a) (10) and 234 (a) (9); 1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 191.) And, in the 1924 act, the limitation was still further restricted to an amount not in excess of 50 percent of the net income from the discovered property. (Sec. 204 (c); 1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 254 and 280.) The discovery value basis was replaced in the 1926 act, so far as oil and gas were concerned, by a flat allowance of 27½ percent of the gross income from the property, limited further to an amount not in excess of 50 percent of the net income from the property. (Sec. 204 (c) (2).) An enlarged definition of discovery was retained as one of the depletion bases for mines. (Sec. 204 (c) (1).)

In the Revenue Act of 1932, the benefits of percentage depletion were extended to coal, metal mines and sulfur, and the discovery value basis was withdrawn as to them. (Sec. 114 (b) (2) and (4).) Since that time, percentage depletion has been extended no slower than might be expected, and consistent with precedent. The present provisions concerning depletion are found in code sections 23 (m) and 114.

Hearings, August 14, 1953: The testimony and statements submitted under topic 38 make good reading. Mining and prospecting for natural resources is an inspiring subject in itself, aside from problems of taxation. From the nature of the testimony, the writer gained an impression that, for some reason, the mining industry was fearful lest all or part of their depletion benefits would be taken from them. On the basis of past experience, they need have no fear and nothing presently imminent need cause alarm. This writer favors the levelling out of the percentage allowances to eliminate rank discriminations, and the extention of the unique theory into the field of all capital investments which are destroyed by use and obsolescence.

There were but few dissenting voices in the long parade of witnesses and statements urging retention and/or extension of the principle of percentage depletion. Those opposed to this form of tax exemption were the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Federation of Labor and the Counsel for the National Oil Marketers Association.

Chairman REED explained that section 130, relating to "hobby" losses, seriously interferes with oil and gas and mineral exploration and development, as well as farms in drought areas. Such losses arise from physical conditions not within the control of the taxpayer. He instructed the staff of the joint committee to prepare a bill to remedy the situation, which was done.

The American Mining Congress made several points regarding depletion and exploration expenditures, which they considered to be essential allowances for the mining industry. In the first place, the term "net income from the property" for purposes of the 50 percent limitation is not satisfactorily defined. The Congress suggested that, in arriving at that concept, deduction should be made only for those expenses directly connected with the production of income from the property and for such indirect or overhead expenses as definitely contributed to the production of income from such property. It is the contention of the Congress that the deductions in computing net income from the property should not be increased by expenses applicable to other property, by interest paid on indebtedness, or by taxes or other charges which are not formal costs of producing net income from a particular property. A code amendment was submitted which would add a new subparagraph (C) to section 114 (b) (4), and would limit the deduction to those items which have a direct bearing upon the production of income from the particular property.

The American Mining Congress also considers that the definition of "mining property" is in need of clarification and simplification. Section 29.23 (m)–1 (i) of regulations 111 leaves much to be desired. Many different situations are encountered as to mining property. An amendment at the end of code section 114 (b) (4) was suggested, which apparently would leave this matter largely within the taxpayer's discretion.

Under topic 17, we observed the various devices by which it was sought to alleviate the double taxation of dividends. The mining industry has a unique problem in connection with corporate distributions. Since percentage depletion allowances are not taxable to the corporation, the Congress considers that distributions therefrom should not be taxable to the stockholders. (Cf. sec. 29.115–6 of regulations 111.)

In connection with code section 23 (ff), the American Mining Congress recommends that both the $75,000 annual limitation and the 4-year limitation be removed. Expenditures for exploration should not receive less favorable treatment than is now accorded those for intangible development expenses. The Congress also recommended that following the example of Canada, new mines be allowed a 36-month exemption from income taxation. The idea is a good one and should apply to all new business.

The slate industry made a good case for increasing their rate of percentage depletion from 5 percent to 15 percent. They based their plea largely upon the rate already allowed for competing products.

The chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission, speaking as a citizen-soldier in the cause of national defense, urged the committee not to change the 27½ percent depletion allowance to oil and gas, nor to reduce it in any way. He stated that the system is working; it is producing the oil; and it means national security. His oral testimony was quite lengthy and well documented by tables, charts, and supporting statements, including a letter dated May 22, 1953, from the Secretary of the Navy, which estimated the current United States daily production of crude oil, distillates, and gas liquids, with restrictions removed, at 8,159,000 barrels per day, and which then stated that "This figure is not sufficient to meet the United States and allied requirements in time of a national emergency." The substance of the witness' testimony was that this country needs all the oil it can get and the percentage depletion deduction should not be withdrawn or reduced.

Another witness discussed the stripper-well segment of the oil industry and explained the water-flood method of secondary recovery. All oil wells eventually become stripper wells. He stated that the percentage depletion deduction is a real help to the secondary recovery operator and absolutely essential to the small operator if he is to expand his business. He urged the retention of the present incentive provisions in the code and the rejection of any proposal to reduce the oil depletion allowance.

A representative of the talc industry made an indignant presentation about the obstinate refusal of the Treasury Department to give full effect to the percentage depletion deduction of that industry. The feeling seems to grow out of the decision of the Tax Court, favorable to the taxpayer's position, in *International Talc Company, Inc.* (CCH Dec. 18,016, 15 TC 981 (1950) (NA)), which the Treasury Department seeks to curtail by regulation. (T. D. 6031, 1953–16 IRB 6.) Apparently the Department sought to apply the 15 percent rate for talc on the basis of a hypothetical sales price for the chemically pure content of the talc ore at the head of the mine. The Department, by T. D. 6031, now seeks to exclude "fine pulverization" from the statutory definition of "ordinary treatment processes."

The salt industry made a very interesting and effective presentation. The Salt Producers Association brought in a five-man team to appear before the committee, and, of all things, one of them was assistant to the chairman of the organizing committee, District 50, United Mine Workers of America. He spoke for the employee's point of view and backed up management's plea for an increase in the percentage depletion allowance for salt from 5 percent to 23 percent, as in the case of sulfur. (Code sec. 114 (b) (4) (A).) A second witness directed his remarks primarily to the effect which the percentage allowance has on the smaller producers. He made this observation: "In the long run, the way to keep our salt industry strong and healthy is to permit it to retain a greater portion of its earnings to plow back into exploration, development, plant expansion, and modernization." But, in every case, the way to keep any worthwhile activity strong is not to tax it to death. The witnesses for the salt industry made out a good case of discrimination in view of the allowances made to other minerals. They dispelled the idea that salt is as common as sand or as easy to get. They also set the average reader straight on the fact that 90 percent of this country's salt production goes to industry, particularly our giant chemical industry, and only a small part ever gets into the saltshakers on the dining table.

The representative of the Gypsum Association pointed out that gypsum (calcium sulphate) is the only important nonmetallic mineral that is not specifically accorded percentage depletion under section 114 of the code. There have been no discoveries of commercial deposits of gypsum in many years with the exception of one in southern Indiana, which is a relatively small deposit. The gypsum industry, particularly in the eastern part of the country, exists in its present volume because of substantial importations of gypsum rock from Canada and Mexico. The industry asks for a 15 percent depletion allowance, and, on a competitive basis, seems entitled to it.

The Refractories Institute declared that section 319 of the Revenue Act of 1951, which extended the percentage depletion allowance to refractory and fire clays and quartzite, had contributed substantial benefits to the national economy. They urged retention of the allowance. The Lake Superior Iron Ore Association stated that it is of national importance that the re-

serves and production facilities of the Lake Superior area be built up and maintained. They recommended the removal of the $75,000 annual and the 4-year limitation on exploration expenditures. (Code section 23 (ff).) The kyanite industry urged the extension of the 15 percent depletion rate to kyanite, which is one of the aluminum-silicate minerals. They averred that, to the best of their knowledge, every mineral that is used along with, and in competition with, kyanite receives the 15-percent allowance. Many other interested parties submitted material for the record, without oral appearance: industries, such as slate, timber, sand and gravel, oil and gas, clay pipe, crushed stone, bituminous coal, etc.

Improper accumulation of corporate surplus (sec. 102)

Historical note: Under the Internal Revenue Code, as well as all the prior enabling acts under the 16th amendment, the plan of taxing corporate income to the corporation and dividend distributions to the stockholders has been employed. It is sometimes alluded to as double taxation, that is, the same dollar of profit is taxed first to the legal entity which earns it and, when anything left over is distributed to the stockholders, the latter become subject to the tax on taxable dividends. By comparison, where the business is conducted as a partnership, it is not liable for income tax, as such, but the owners are liable only in their individual capacity. (Code sec. 181.) In computing the net income of each partner, his distributive share of the partnership net income is included, whether or not distribution thereof is actually made to him. (Code sec. 182.)

With low corporate rates, the corporation-stockholder plan of taxation would offer a lawful means for deferring indefinitely, or escaping entirely, the dividend tax to the stockholders on earned surplus. Congress, therefore, placed in the act of October 3, 1913, a provision designed to discourage corporations from accumulating a surplus beyond the reasonable needs of the business, and a similar provision, in various forms, has obtained in all subsequent income-tax legislation. By section II A, subdivision 2, of the 1913 act, it was provided that for the purpose of the additional tax, or surtax, the taxable income of any individual should embrace the share to which he would be entitled, whether distributed or not, of the profits of every corporation, formed or fraudulently availed of for the purpose of preventing the imposition of the surtax through the medium of permitting such profits to accumulate instead of being distributed. The income-tax rates imposed by the 1913 act were insignificant compared with present exactions. The corporate rate was 1 percent; the individual normal tax rate was 1 percent; and the individual surtax brackets ranged from 1 to 6 percent. The improper accumulation section as a whole has passed through several mutations over the years, and today it is in the form of a tax on the corporation measured by 27½ percent of the first $100,000 of undistributed section 102 net income, and 38½ percent of all such net income over $100,000. (Code sec. 102; see, also, Otto, "Sec. 102: The Tax on a Corporation's Psyche," Taxes—the Tax Magazine, June 1953, p. 432.)

An excellent statement of the original and continuing purpose of the legislation is found in the decision in *Helvering* v. *Chicago Stock Yards Company* (43-1 USTC, par. 9379, 63 S. Ct. 843):

"As the theory of the revenue acts has been to tax corporate profits to the corporation, and their receipt only when distributed to the stockholders, the purpose of the legislation is to compel the company to distribute any profits not needed for the conduct of its busines so that, when so distributed, individual stockholders will become liable not only for normal but for surtax on the dividends received" (p. 846).

Although this statute has been on the books continuously since 1913, only two cases thereunder have been decided by the United States Supreme Court. They are: *Helvering* v. *National Grocery Company*, (38-2 USTC, par. 9312, 304 U. S. 282), which arose under the comparatively low rates of the Revenue Act of 1928, and *Helvering* v. *Chicago Stock Yards Company*, above, which arose under the Revenue Acts of 1928 and 1932. Under those acts, the corporate rates of tax were 12 and 13¾ percent, respectively. At that time, it is evident that the lion's share of corporate profits could escape surtax on the stockholders in the absence of some gimmick to compel distribution.

It has been said that the "punitive force" of such a provision is less where the surtaxes are higher. The writer prefers to say that, the higher the taxes on corporate income, the less need or justification there is for such a provision. For example, suppose that corporate taxes alone, including excess profits taxes, take 60 percent of the earnings of the corporation. The undistributed section 102 net income, then, could not exceed 40 percent of the corporate earnings for the year. This practical turn in both the theory and effect of section 102 is important. One of the gravest aspects of the application of section 102 has always been the need of the corporation for new capital, especially for expansion purposes. In the National Grocery Company case, above, the Supreme Court answered this difficulty in the following language:

"Since Kohl was the sole owner of the corporation, the business would have been as well protected against unexpected demands for capital, and assured of capital for the purpose of any possible expansion, by his personal ownership of the securities as by the corporation's owning them" (p. 938).

The same answer was given by the same court in the Chicago Stock Yards case (p. 847). Such answer was plausible and defensible within bounds under the moderate rates of the Revenue Acts of 1928 and 1932. Under present rates, however, the conclusion is contrary to fact. It is a good illustration of how changed conditions alter the validity of one's prior approach to a problem.

It is plain that the reasoning adopted by the Supreme Court in the National Grocery and Chicago Stock Yards cases, in regard to the anticipated or unexpected corporate need for additional working capital, has lost its validity, under current income taxation. Under low rates of income taxation, the Court's reasoning is roughly correct; but, under existing rates today, it is dead wrong. Furthermore, with the free use of its own income, remaining after taxes, the corporation would probably pay, because of increased earnings, as much more tax as the stockholders would pay thereon had it been distributed. It is hard to see how section 102 serves any useful purpose at this time. The revenue which the Government hoped to get as surtax on dividends is now being gathered in directly by heavy taxes against the corporation. When the Federal Government alone takes over half of a company's profits in income taxes there is no occasion to invoke section 102. The only apparent justification for its retention is in respect of corporations which have a substantial exemption from tax, such as percentage depletion.

Hearings, August 14, 1953: The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, in cooperation with the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, recommended certain amendments to section 102. They feel that the intent of section 102 should be retained. However, section 102 should be revised so that:

(a) The tax will apply only to that portion of the undistributed section 102 net income which was unreasonably accumulated. The incidence of this tax is upon "the undistributed section 102 net income," which is determined without regard to the degree of unreasonable accumulation. This clearly establishes the penal character of the tax. In this respect, it is like the 50-percent civil fraud penalty which is imposed upon the total deficiency, irrespective of the portion thereof to which the fraudulent intent is ascribed. (Code sec. 293 (b).)

(b) The burden of proof will be upon the Commissioner with respect to both the fact and the amount of the unreasonable accumulation of surplus. The burden of proof is now upon the Commissioner in respect of the civil frand penalty and the transferee liability. (Code secs. 1112 and 1119 (a). Cf. Code sec. 700 (1) (unjust enrichment) and Code sec. 811 (1) (rebuttable presumption in estate tax).)

(c) Dividends paid within 75 days of the close of the taxable year may, at the taxpayer's election, be deducted in computing section 102 net income for such year. This is a very important administrative remedy, and the chambers of commerce were entirely too timid in their suggestion. In the case of personal holding companies, provision is made, after the event, for a deficiency dividends credit against an unpaid deficiency. (Code sec. 506 (a).) There remains a 10-percent differential in tax on the undistributed subchapter A net income of the personal holding company, but the brutal impact of the deficiency is mitigated. It seems that, when the Government is attacking the judgment and state of mind of a businessman, the taxpayer should be privileged to make a contested distribution, demanded by the Bureau or decreed by the courts, without any section 102 liability, after the manner of the deficiency dividends credit.

The chamber of commerce of Charlotte, N. C., urged the reforms above suggested and also recommended that deficiency dividends be allowed as corrective measures similar to those provided in Code section 506, mentioned above. No brief is held for the surtax dodger, but the present section 102 poses a constant threat to a businessman who is thrifty and prudent. The American Mining Congress urged the repeal of section 102, but, in the alternative, suggested that, in the event of imposition of surtax under section 102, the corporation should be permitted to relieve itself of such tax by a deficiency dividend similar to section 506 or by filing consent dividend papers as provided in section 28.

The Machinery and Allied Products Institute pointed out that section 102 represents a psychological barrier to sound business policy. It has perverse cyclical effects because it prevents companies from establishing a cushion against booms and depressions. They objected particularly to the immediacy doctrine whereby an examining agent with benefit of hindsight is in position to condemn accumulations for indefinite but real business needs. They have no faith in the efficacy of changes in administrative policy, citing the 70-percent rule. When the Government takes over half of a corporation's income in taxes, the 70-percent rule is entirely too severe. In addition to the oral testimony of its representative, the institute submitted a carefully reasoned statement on the whole subject.

The American Institute of Accountants said that, under our present system of taxing dividends, the principle of section 102 is undoubtedly necessary, but that assurance of a wise and sympathetic administration of the section is equally necessary. They also recommend placing the burden of proof upon the Commissioner, and allowing the taxpayer to meet the liability by deficiency dividends or by filing consent dividend papers.

The Georgia State Chamber of Commerce filed a comprehensive statement which went into the matter in considerable detail. It must be read to be appreciated. They submitted a series of proposed amendments which would require that surtax avoidance be a substantial factor in inducing the accumulation and would greatly expand the concept of assets reasonably needed in the business.

A Washington practitioner recommended an amendment to provide that the reasonable needs of the business shall not exclude investment in a new or different enterprise so long as it is represented by 100 percent ownership of the operating assets or 95 percent of the voting stock. He also made the novel suggestion that there should be a temporary moratorium on section 102 to permit small businesses to build up reserves against bad business conditions. In violent contrast, the American Federation of Labor made the amazing statement that "The penalty rates under section 102 are notoriously low."

Excise tax rates

Hearings, July 28-31 and August 3-12, 1953: Topic 40 was covered by evening sessions of the committee. Since there are scores of excise taxes in addition to the old standbys of liquor and tobacco, there will be no historical treatment of them.

The American Home Laundry Manufacturers Association stated that the home laundry equipment industry is a sick business, closing down plants and laying off people. It may be triggering the explosion which could rock the whole appliance field. The witness ascribed the predicament of the industry to the 10 percent excise tax on ironers and dryers which he insisted forced the manufacturer to price the product out of the consumer's market. (Code sec. 3406 (a) (3).) He also stated that former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon proved conclusively that you can get more revenue by lower tax rates than by rates that are too high. He urged passage of H. R. 2963 which would repeal the excise tax on household ironers and clothes dryers. On interrogation, the witness explained that this is a young industry whose products have not reached the public saturation point. The 10 percent tax adds about $25 to the retail price and has a critical impact on the market in moderate income homes.

An official of a concern which developed and manufactures household gas and electric dryers, noted that there was no excise tax on farm machines which ease the work of the men in the fields. Nor is an excise tax put on machine tolls which make the job easier for the men in the factories. Neither should there be an excise tax on household appliances which ease the work of the homemaker. He stated that "We've run into a stone wall of consumer resistance." From the most careful consumer analyses, he ascribed the foundation for the consumers' reluctance to buy to extra cost imposed by the excise tax. He urged Congress for relief, and despaired of any help from the Treasury. Several other witnesses appeared in behalf of this industry. They were pretty blunt and plain spoken. The mechanics of manufacturers' excise taxation was explained. A manufacturer's excise tax inflates the price on each transaction at every stage of distribution. The tax must be financed and it increases the cost of financing inventory. In the end, it usually comes out of the consumer although, in a falling market, distributors stand their share. The British have reduced their purchase tax on appliances and other consumer goods. Another interesting angle is that, where the people think there is a possibility of the excise tax being removed, they stop buying and wait it out. The housewives sit on their pocketbooks. The Government, including the executive branch, should act fast whenever it encourages the people to think tax relief is in sight.

The Institute of Cooking and Heating Appliance Manufacturers urged the repeal of the 10-percent excise on electric, gas, and oil ranges, and water heaters. (Code sec. 3406 (a) (3); H. R. 4843.) The tax on certain household appliances was defended during war conditions as discouraging production of nonmilitary articles, thus conserving men, critical raw materials and machines for the war effort. Such thinking seems out of place at this time. The present excise tax system has piled discrimination upon discrimination over the past 20 years and, as Chairman REED says, it cannot be corrected overnight. Among the household items not taxed are washing machines, vacuum cleaners, draperies, floor coverings, sinks, sewing machines, and most consumer soft goods. Yet the kitchen contains a concentration of taxable items. The witness said that when Canada eliminated its 25 percent tax, its cooking business on gas and electric ranges spiraled to an all-time high. He further explained that, when an excise tax is levied at the manufacturer's level, the cost of financing the tax by the dealer takes the form of a customary markup of 75 percent. In other words, by the time it reaches the consumer, this 10-percent excise is 17 or 18 percent of the retail dollar. This point was developed by several witnesses. A dollar of cost is the same whether it represents raw materials, wages, or taxes. It must be financed until the machine is sold to the consumer. A manufacturer of electric food-waste disposers also urged relief from the 10-percent tax under code section 3406 (a) (3). This business is solving the garbage disposal problem in urban areas. A representative of the retail appliances dealers made a picturesque witness. He asked the question: "Who is in favor of these excise taxes anyhow?" Nobody; but the Treasury. "Forgive them their trespasses, for they do not have to run for reelection in 1954." Coming to the business community, he said the only group that appears to love a manufacturer's excise is our old friend, the National Association of Manufacturers.

The representative of the Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association made the best social argument against discriminatory excise taxation: It makes possible discriminatory regulation by the Government of the industries affected; it reserves to the Government the power to determine whether a young or small business shall be permitted to grow to the full position it might achieve in a free competitive system; it substitutes political control and political penalties for the judgment of the consumer. The witness also commented on some strange inconsistencies. We are on a horse riding in all directions at the same time. The Federal Government aids low-cost housing projects; the same Government increases the cost of such housing by taxing items which are a necessity to completed housing units. The Federal Government supports prices in aid of agricultural production of food; in the same breath, it taxes the preservation and preparation of food. The witness agreed, however, if you have to have the revenue, an excise over all production activities, except food and medicine, would be more equitable.

The Association of American Railroads urges the elimination of the 15 percent transportation tax on persons. (Code sec. 3469.) The tax is definitely discriminatory in that it applies to transportation by common carrier. Private carriage escapes the tax. The rail passenger transportation is a depressed industry. This tax drives intercity travel from common carriers to private carriage. This tax was an important part of the plan during World War II to discourage civilian common-carrier travel, and it is still helping to accomplish that purpose. The witness believes that every railroad in the United States is showing a deficit in net railway operating income from their passenger service operations. The railroads are doing everything they can, and the governmental brakes on their efforts should be removed. Another representative of the association urges the immediate repeal of the excise tax on the transportation of property. (This came in under sec. 620 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1942; code sec. 3475.) In general, it is a 3-percent tax. It discriminates between long and short hauls and between public and private carriage. It is readily avoided at the expense of the railroads and other public carriers by operating a truck on one's own account. The tax is not justified in time of peace and the present competitive situation. There is also a considerable markup in respect of this tax. A lengthy statement discussed the need for more transportation facilities to take care of wartime conditions.

The president of the American Retail Federation submitted a statement which was summarized by a witness in his behalf. He made an argument unanswerable on principle, except that the Government needs the money. The economics of his argument were sound. He argued that the wartime excise taxes, both retail and manufacturing, are barriers to an expanding economy; and that the adverse effect of the discriminatory retail excises on sales of taxed items is clearly shown where we compare such tax collections with other economic data. He made another statement which commands attention: Retailers believe that our American economy and standard of living are hung upon the successful production and sale of the categories of goods which our people are not compelled to buy, and that the difference between full employment and serious unemployment depends upon the efficient distribution of goods and services beyond the necessities of life. The witness opposed the campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers for a national manufacturer's sales tax on the end products of all manufacturers, excepting only food.

The clock manufacturers urge the repeal of the retailer's excise taxes on their products. (Code secs. 2400 and 1650.) They claim that clocks and ulitarian watches are not luxuries, but are necessities in both peace and war. The witness pointed out that their products are sold through a wide variety of outlets such as drugstores, specialty shops, and newsstands and the necessity of keeping records and accounting for collections causes the retailer to discontinue that line of stock. The association urged the discontinuance of excises on clocks and low-priced watches.

The Lawn Mower Institute, Inc., Washington, D. C., protested the tax on power lawnmowers. (Code sec. 3406 (a) (3).) They claim it is causing a serious reduction in sales and loss of employment. Besides, it was tacked on to the code by section 485 of the Revenue Act of 1951 without consultation with industry and without due regard to the economic factors involved in this industry. This is one instance where the manufacturers absorbed part of the tax. The institute urged favorable action on H. R. 4900 which would have repealed the tax.

The witness for the Rubber Manufacturers Association recognized the accepted principle of taxation that luxuries are fair tax targets, and observed that, today, tires and tubes are not a luxury but rank along with the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. This tax is based upon weight and not upon selling price. (Code sec. 3400 (a).) When translated into terms of an ad valorem tax, it is considerably higher than the 8-percent excise on automobile parts and accessories. It was recommended that the rates be reduced to the pre-1941 level of 2½ cents per pound for tires and 4½ cents per pound for inner tubes, with provision for credit on floor stocks.

Probably the most unique suggestion to come from the hearings was made by the counsel for the Cigarette Lighter Manufacturers Association, Inc., New York City. It grows out of the markup by jobbers and retailers, because of the manufacturer's excise tax on mechanical cigar and cigarette lighters imposed by section 3408 (a). Apparently, in this industry, there is a general markup from manufacturing to retail level of slightly more than 100 percent. The association suggests shifting the existing 15-percent manufacturer's excise tax on lighters to the retail level at a reduced rate of 7½ percent. The tax would be paid by the retail customer on the sale to him. Since there is no tax financing cost to the retail merchant, the article can be sold at a reduced price. Therefore, the customer pays less for the commodity and the Government gets the same amount of tax, maybe more, should sales increase as a result of the price reduction. H. R. 5733 was introduced to make the lighter industry a pilot case for the application of the plan. One of the large labor unions, the International Association of Machinists, supported the proposal. H. R. 5733 fell by the wayside, as did most other revenue bills, in the closing days of the last session. It is recognized that the retail merchants might object to the extra paperwork. In the case of lighters, however, most retailers already handle other items subject to the retailer's tax, so that it would only require a little more of the same kind of records. Also, the Treasury would have to await the retail sale for the tax. The association was highly commended on its presentation because of the public spirit in which they tried to solve the tax situation.

The National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N. Y., made a logical but unpopular presentation. They start from the historically sound proposition that the Federal Government must always make use of excise taxation. With almost confiscatory rates of income taxation in the upper brackets, the Government has still been compelled to resort to excise taxes. There is no logical basis for the selection of most of the goods and services now taxed, nor for the range of tax rates imposed. Our excise system is a mass of discriminations and inequities. The next fundamental position taken by the association is that equity in taxation is achieved through broad bases, uniformity of tax treatment, and low or moderate rates according to revenue requirements, rather than the narrow bases, selectivity and crushing rates that characterize the existing structure. To this end, they recommend that the present Federal excises, except those on alcoholic beverages and tobacco, be replaced by a flat-rate tax (suggested at 4½ to 5 percent) on all end products of manufacture, except food and food products. They prefer the levy of this flat-rate tax at the manufacturer's level but do not foreclose support of the tax at the retail level if it should prove more feasible of enactment. They defend the flat-rate tax at the manufacturer's level on the grounds (1) it would be fair to everyone and eliminate the existing discriminations, (2) it would be substantially less than nearly all the present excise rates because of the broad base of incidence, (3) it is far easier and cheaper to administer the tax, because less than 300,000 manufacturers would be involved as compared with up to 3 million retail and service outlets, and (4) it would not compete directly with State use of retail taxes which are now used in 33 States.

With respect to coverage, the plan would subject to the excise all end products of manufacture (other than food), thus securing the maximum coverage and lowest rate. A good case can always be made for various tax exemptions, but once the door is opened to any exemption beyond food, the door would never be closed. We would then approach the selective system now on the books, that is, tax discrimination by exemption instead of by direct selection. (This writer doesn't believe that even food should be exempted under either the manufacturer's or the retail plan.)

There are many criticisms that will be made of the association's proposal: (1) It would extend the list of taxable articles. The clear answer is that, short of repeal of all excise taxation, the cure for arbitrary discrimination is to level it off by a flat rate on all commodities. (2) Excise taxation reduces total purchasing power. The association denies this on the specious ground that the process of taxing and public spending is basically one of transfer of purchasing power from private to public hands: The private citizen spends less because he has less, but the Government spends more. That answer is like the claim of the radical economists that it makes no difference how big the national debt is. The country is no poorer, we merely owe it to ourselves. Exactly so, but the holders of Government bonds will gradually lose their savings in that process. High progressive taxation is also a method of redistributing the country's wealth and current earning power. This writer prefers to do his own spending and not have the Government do it for him. It seems to me that the advocates of high income taxes and no sales taxes are very illogical. All taxation reduces the purchasing power of those taxed, be it income tax or sales tax. What they are really talking about is a social philosophy which encourages the voting majority to hide behind an arbitrary minimum standard of living, to support alluring governmental projects, and throw the tax burden on the minority who are assumed to be better able to pay. (3) Excise taxes are regressive. This argument goes to the abolition of most excise taxation, which the Treasury probably cannot afford at this time, if ever. (4) The manufacturer's excise tax is included in inventory and is pyramided by the time it reaches the retail consumer. That is true of all taxes wherever the Government wants its revenue as soon as possible. As for pyramiding, it is like any other element of cost which the retailer must finance. (5) It is a hidden tax. A retail sales tax paid as such at the counter is brought home more forcibly to the buyer, but a flat-rate tax would soon become known to everyone and would usually be smaller than a retail excise on a selected article.

The flat rate manufacturer's excise deserves serious study before it is rejected. Those who oppose excise taxation should inquire more deeply into the causes of our perennial emergencies. Is the United States doomed to a permanent status of emergency and high taxes? If that is the new normalcy, then it appears inescapable that excise taxation must be retained. Under those conditions, the suggestion of the National Association of Manufacturers is the easiest to administer. The spokesman pointed out that, 21 years ago, the Ways and Means Committee reported out a uniform manufacturer's excise tax bill, but it was beaten on the floor.

The photographic manufacturers called attention to the excessively high rates on photographic equipment and sensitized material. They urged partial relief now and as quickly as conditions permit to eliminate entirely the excise tax on photographic products. (Code sec. 3406 (a) (4).) Upon interrogation by the committee, the witness heartily endorsed the general manufacturer's excise tax at a uniform rate.

The National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners recommended the repeal or reduction of the excise taxes on transportation and communication services. (Ch. 30 of the Internal Revenue Code.) The Western Union Telegraph Co. objected to the disadvantage suffered by the Nation's telegraph system in competition with the tax-free and Government-subsidized airmail service. The airmail has made heavy inroads on long-haul message service. While other regulated public-utility services like gas, electricity, and water are free from excise taxes, the telegraph service bears a 15-percent Federal tax. (Code sec. 3465.) Western Union made a good statement of its case.

The luggage and leather goods industry had a field day at the hearings. The various trade associations and several manufacturers in this industry urged repeal of the 20-percent tax on luggage, handbags, and leather goods imposed by code sections 1651 and 3406 (a).

Cigars, milk, safety deposit boxes, copra, coconut oil, vegetable oils and fats, soap, synthetic detergents, automotive vehicles, gasoline, truck trailers, electric, gas and oil ranges, water heaters, athletic goods, bowling alleys, skating rinks, swimming pools, amusement parks and beaches, theaters, museums, actors, musical artists, mechanical amusement devices, jewelry, furs, cosmetics, beauty parlors, and many others—each came in for its share of attention in the presentation of its particular excise tax problem. They all ran along the same lines.

The producers of things and services object to the Government classifying them as luxuries with the consequent excise tax results. In fact, many items regarded as luxuries a few decades ago are now generally accepted as necessities of modern living. Owing to the haphazard way by which the crazy-quilt pattern of excise taxation has been developed, there are many unjustifiable and discriminating situations. The high individual rates necessitated by the selective procedure also set up a customer sales resistance which affects adversely the volume of production and employment. The most prtisan member of union labor can see that; whereas he thinks the near confiscatory rates of income, estate, and gift taxation merely put a beneficent government in funds with which to create prosperity. It would seem that, in the field of excise taxation, labor and mangement have some chance of constructive teamwork.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The committee hearings were completed on August 14, 1953. In that vast, bewildering jungle which is the Government of the United States, the area of taxation is surely one of the most important. These hearings gave everybody the opportunity to say what they thought about the entire Federal tax structure. More than 600 witnesses were heard. The complete repeal or overhauling was urged as to many sections of the Internal Revenue Code. As Chairman Reed said, their testimony stands as "a shocking indictement of the unfairness and confusion of our antiquated revenue system." One witness described it as "an utterly chaotic condition." To those of us who have known it all along, this result came as no surprise.

The committee received many compliments on the systematic way in which the matter of revenue revision was approached, as well as on the procedure adopted whereby insofar as practicable, individual topics were discussed one at a time. The topic-by-topic presentation was very helpful to the members of the committee and the staff of the joint committee, although inconvenient to many witnesses who desired to testify on more than one topic. It is apparent that some of the testimony and submitted statements were examples of pleading for special interests, but the majority of those who appeared entered into the spirit of the occasion and endeavored to point out the many discriminatory and confusing provisions of the code.

Some of the witnesses made colorful presentations. This was characteristic of those

who testified on the subject of excises (topic 40). They came up swinging and laid it right on the line. One witness had the courage to say that a lot of barnacles have accumulated upon the hull of the Federal tax ship, by reason of previous congressional action or inaction.

Chairman REED stated that the revelations of the committee's hearings called for a comprehensive tax revision [36] and that such a bill would be the first order of business for the Ways and Means Committee at the next session. Some tentative decisions regarding such revision have already been made, including two which were publicly announced by Mr. REED. They concern:

1. An amendment to allow children, including those attending college, to earn over $600 a year without a resulting loss of the dependency credit to the parent (topic 1).

2. Amendments to improve the present system of filing declarations of estimated tax which will remove some of the present penalties and will relieve about a million taxpayers of the necessity of filing such returns (topic 11).

Aside from the provisions of the Constitution which grant the legislative branch control over taxation, it is my opinion that general tax revision and recodification should be accomplished by Congress. The secrecy surrounding the executive branch renders it unfit to manage the job. The system of open hearings before their elected representatives would seem preferable from the standpoint of the public at large. (The People's Right To Know, by Harold L. Cross, ch. XVII (the Statutes and the Regulations); Next Steps in Congressional Reform, by George B. Galloway.) If Congress is unable to initiate, finish, and control the direction of revenue revision, and recodification, then, as one commentator said:

"Congress is simply forfeiting to the better organized executive branch its proper participation in moulding public opinion and making national decisions" (Columbia Law Review, June 1953, pp. 889–890.)

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[1] The historical notes and annotations with respect to published editions of the Internal Revenue Code generally began with its original content when adopted in 1939.

[2] For those interested in a broader but concise statement of existing law, a dependable summarization may be found in Master Tax Guide for 1953, published by Commerce Clearing House, Inc.

[3] M. D. Harrison, CCH Dec. 19,036, 18 TC 540 (1952) (foster children).

[4] See Mildred A. O'Connor (CCH Dec. 15,004, 6 TC 323 (1946). Cf. Katherine K. Thurston (CCH Dec. 18,505 (M), 10 TCM 809 (1951)); Eugene W. Lorenz (CCH Dec. 17,155 (M), 8 TCM 720 (1949)).

[5] Estate of Jacob Hentz, Jr. (CCH Dec. 19,564 (M), 12 TCM 368 (1953) (nonprofessional attendant at home)); Frances Hoffman (CCH Dec. 18,805, 17 TC 1380 (1952)); Samuel Ochs (CCH Dec. 18,452, 17 TC 130 (1951), affirmed 52–1 USTC, par. 9271, 195 F. (2d) 692 (C. A. 2), cert. den. 344 U. S. 327).

[6] *Anderson* v. *Forty-two Broadway Company* (239 U. S. 69, 36 S. Ct. 17 (1915)); *Tyee Realty Company* v. *Anderson* (1 USTC, par. 15, 240 U. S. 115 (1916)); *Brushaber* v. *Union Pacific Railroad Company* (1 USTC, par. 4 240 U. S. 1 (1916)).

[7] Report of Ways and Means Committee on revenue bill of 1924, 1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 245.

[8] 1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 558; sec. 25 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1934.

[9] See code secs. 143 and 144; Montgomery, Federal Taxes, Vol. II, pp. 603–614.

[10] *Commissioner* v. *Smith* (45–1 USTC, par. 9253, 324 U. S. 177, rehearing den. 324 U. S. 695).

[11] 1 U. S. T. C., par. 45, 255 U. S. 527 (1921); 1939–1 (pt. 2) CB 187 and 191.

[12] *Doyle* v. *Mitchell Brothers Company* (1 U. S. T. C., par. 17, 247 U. S. 179 (1918)); see, also, *Gambrinus Brewery Company* v. *Anderson* (2 U. S. T. C., par. 675, 272 U. S. 638 (1931)).

[13] 1 U. S. T. C., par. 42, 255 U. S. 509 (1921).

[14] 1 U. S. T. C., par. 368, 278 U. S. 470 (1929).

[15] Regs. 45, art. 51, and all subsequent regulations.

[16] 2 U. S. T. C., par. 814, 284 U. S. 1 (1931).

[17] 40–1 U. S. T. C., par. 9133, 336 U. S. 28.

[18] Compare *Commissioner* v. *Court Holding Company* (45–1 U. S. T. C., par. 9215, 324 U. S. 331) with *U. S.* v. *Cumberland Public Service Company* (50–1 U. S. T. C., par. 9129, 338 U. S. 451).

[19] *South Carolina* v. *U. S.* (199 U. S. 437, 26 S. Ct. 110 (1905)).

[20] See, also, *New York* v. *U. S.* (46–1 U. S. T. C., par. 9138, 326 U. S. 572) (Saratoga Springs mineral water).

[21] *Graves* v. *O'Keefe* (39–1 U. S. T. C., par. 9411, 306 U. S. 466).

[22] *Commissioner* v. *Shamberg's Estate* (44–2 USTC, par. 9446, 144 F. (2d) 998 (CCA–2) (Port of New York Authority bonds), cert. den. 323 U. S. 792).

[23] *Nasquin* v. *Humphreys* (39–2 USTC, par. 9237, 308 U. S. 54). Cf. *Sanford's Estate* v. *Commissioner* (39–2 USTC, par. 9745, 308 U. S. 39).

[24] *Von Baumbach* v. *Sargent Land Company* (1 USTC, par. 10, 242 U. S. 503 (1917)) and cases cited.

[25] *Stanton* v. *Baltic Mining Company* (1 USTC, par. 8, 240 U. S. 103 (1916)). For its effect on subsequent years, see *Burnet* v. *Thompson Oil & Gas Company* (2 USTC, par. 707, 283 U. S. 301 (1931)).

[26] See committee reports on the Internal Revenue Code, 1939–1 (pt. 2), CB 532–533.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Yeshiva University—Address by Hon. Charles H. Silver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, 25 years in the annals of an American university or college is still a mark of youth. But the quarter century mark can also be an indication of vigor, vitality, and the potential for more and greater service to the country and the community which the university serves. Such is the case with Yeshiva University, one of America's younger and expanding institutions of higher learning, located in the district which I represent. Appended is the address by Hon. Charles H. Silver, a distinguished New Yorker one of the founders, at Yeshiva University's 25th anniversary dinner held at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York City on Sunday, December 13, 1953:

I am especially honored to preside at this dinner because it marks an important milestone in the history of Yeshiva University. In a broad sense we are here to pay tribute to an ideal which began as a vision and hope and became a living reality.

It was 25 years ago that a group of men called on me and asked me to join with them in a movement to create the first American University under Jewish auspices. Among them was Dr. Bernard Revel, whose very being was dominated by a wonderful spirit of zeal and courage that inspired all of those with whom he came in contact. He was accompanied on this visit to me by three other distinguished American Jews—Judge Otto Rosalsky, Harry Fishel, and Samuel Levy. They spoke with strong conviction and confidence in the ultimate attainment of their goal.

These men, my friends, are not with us this evening. All of them have passed to their eternal reward. Tonight we celebrate the 25th anniversary of Yeshiva College, which they helped to found, and this event must be linked with their names and their achievements, for they shall always be a part of this institution.

It is with a feeling of deep personal satisfaction that I am privileged to raise my voice in praise of Dr. Revel, for I knew him well and I shared with thousands of others a high regard and sincere affection for him. It could not be otherwise. He was that rare individual who was completely wrapped up in a cause that was projected with a high and noble ideal. We American Jews may well be proud that in him we had one of our faith who was respected by men and women of all creeds, for his humanity was as broad as the horizon of life itself.

We are indeed fortunate that his successor is recognized as a great scholar and able administrator. We all know what Dr. Samuel Belkin has done as president of Yeshiva University, for it was under his guidance that Yeshiva College expanded into a full-fledged university, and I want to publicly congratulate Dr. Belkin on his magnificent achievement. We American Jews, and indeed all Americans, owe him a debt of gratitude for his work in the field of education.

It is well to recall at this time that Yeshiva University really began as a theological seminary on the lower East Side in 1879. In this respect Yeshiva's history runs apparel with other great American universities such as Princeton, Yale, and Harvard which also started as theological seminaries and through the years broadened their scope of educational activities.

And as you know, in the recent past, ground was broken for the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, the first under Jewish auspices in this country, but one which will admit students of every race and strain with the single provision that only merit will be the condition for admission.

We are entering our second quarter of a century. The past has been for Yeshiva a series of joys and sorrows, a period of hard planning and solid accomplishments. I wish that I could read the names of those able and courageous individuals who have followed the banner that was raised by Bernard Revel and is now being held aloft by Dr. Belkin. The men and women in the ranks have been the powerful components which fused all those elements of strength and vitality and understanding that were so essential to the progress of Yeshiva University. In this hour of our rejoicing that we have brought Yeshiva to maturity, we must not permit our feeling of deserved satisfaction to overshadow the problems of the future. We look to our educators to mold the basic ideas and characters of the young men who are emerging into a world that is torn by strife and confusion. It is a world that is being slowly but inexorably being remade by the tide of events that must ultimately be resolved so that the new values which are being created shall yield up the greatest good to the greatest number.

As American Jews we have a solemn duty and responsibility to the land of our birth or adoption, but I am sure that we are opposed to those who would create a climate of suspicion and fear among the educational institutions of our country. It is the philosophy to our people, the tradition which we have inherited that no man shall be accused unless there is valid and certain ground for accusation. There has been too much loose talk about subversion in our schools and colleges. We Jews hate the very

thought of communism. It is opposed to our religion which holds that respect for God is the beginning of all wisdom. But we cannot and must not condone baseless charges and wild threats.

May I express the hope at this time that the critical problems which face our kith and kin in the new Republic of Israel will be solved in a spirit of peace and mutual understanding. They look to us for support and sympathetic perception of their difficulties and we shall not let them down. For we, as American Jews, also long for a peaceful and harmonious world. Is that too much to hope for; I do not think so.

And so in this hour of gladness, I greet you and say to you that this is not a time for self-praise but rather a reminder that while we have done much in the span of 25 years, it is less than a fleeting second in time. We shall go on together as loyal Americans and devoted Jews to reach even higher goals and more significant and worthy achievements and may God guide us as we stand at the beginning of the path toward the next 25 years. Thank you.

The International Economic Outlook for 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the submission of the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy—the Randall Commission—this week has focused attention on the vital importance of our foreign economic policy and our position in world trade in determining high levels of economic activity within this country, keeping the free world united for freedom and assuring strategic material supplies for our country and our allies in free world defense. Appended is an address by the Honorable J. D. Zellerbach, formerly Chief of the ECA Mission in Italy with the rank of Ambassador and distinguished president of the Crown-Zellerbach Corp. of San Francisco, delivered at the sixth annual business outlook conference at Los Angeles, Calif., on January 12, 1954, which deals with this subject:

It is a pleasure to be with you here in Los Angeles to join in today's discussion of the business outlook for 1954. I have been asked to talk to you on the international economic outlook—probably because I have been spending a lot of time—off and on—since the end of the war in international activities. I was given a practical insight into European affairs through my work with the International Labor Organization and as administrator of the Marshall plan in Italy. From these and subsequent experiences I developed the firm conviction that America's interests are inseparably linked with and dependent upon economic developments in other parts of the world.

I approach this discussion in the cautious language of some of my diplomatic friends who would say it about this way: "Provided the United States does not in its actions renounce its leadership of the free world, one can be cautiously optimistic towards international economic developments this year."

What is the situation as we enter the new year?

First, lets take a look at free world trade. Free world trade levels are about one-third higher than in 1948, and behind that trade lies the growing production activity that both gives rise to trade, and is sustained by trade. The price levels are more stable. The inflation has been checked. In most countries of Western Europe dollar and gold reserves have increased to the point where the convertibility of currencies can be seriously considered. National incomes throughout the world are rising; slowly it is true, but nevertheless rising. Virtually all countries in Western Europe are entering 1954 with production indexes well above, and in some instances, far above prewar levels.

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The Communist world also enters the new year with good production and trade levels so it is claimed, and I am inclined to feel that the claims would be borne out if we had access to the facts. Such evidence as is available does indicate that production is on the increase, as is trade, although the trade is now primarily among the various members rather than with the free world countries. It would be a disastrous mistake to be complacent about the growth of the Communist world economies. We need to be concerned over the fact that the development of capital-goods industries at the expense of a rising standard of living for consumers, however much me may deplore economic distatorship, does build industrial strength for possible use against us.

The prospects of the free world economies in 1954 really turn on the developments in the North American economy. As we go, so will go our friends and allies. This is because our great economic strength, as evidenced by the levels of our production and consumption, in part is sustained by a flow of materials, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods from our allies and friends. We are both a market and a source of supply for the free world. Thus it is that all eyes are turned on us. Let our economy start dipping seriously and the chain reaction will be rapid and far reaching—to such an extent that the repercussion will roll back upon us and amplify our problem still more. To prevent such an occurence there are three requirements which, in my judgment, must be faced immediately—three policies which, as a businessman, I think our own political and economic interests require of us. These are, first, the policy of providing technical assistance and cooperation to underdeveloped areas of the world. The second is the provision of military assistance to Western Europe and the Far East for both defense and economic reasons. And third, taking those actions which will support and facilitate the expansion of the free world economy, namely the expansion of foreign trade, the expansion of private foreign investments, and the restoration of convertible currencies throughout the free world. Let me discuss each of these major policy issues and explain why I think it is good business for us to conclude on a positive course in support of these policies.

First, with respect to technical cooperation and assistance, it is easy for us to dismiss this program all too casually as a "do-gooder" activity. It is difficult for us, with our tractors and combines, our automobiles and concrete highways, our water systems and our electric equipment, to envision what other economies are like. But in other economies human beings serve as tractors; flails serve as combines; running water doesn't exist for human needs, let alone irrigation; the highways of commerce are beaten paths travelled on foot or by oxen. We do not live in a world alone and apart from the primitive and backward areas; our long-run welfare depends upon the friendships we build. If we now extend a helping hand it is not because we are "do-gooders" and philanthropists; it is rather because it is necessary that we make a long-term investment in building future relationships which will redound to our own advantage. In our own businesses we do long-range planning and we make investments today that will not come to fruition for decades. In my company, for example, we are planting trees today to be harvested 60 or 70 years from now. We call that good business policy and in the broader international realm it is also good business policy to initiate, to protect, nourish and bring constructive projects to fruition. We do not sell plumbing supplies where there is no sanitation. We do not sell automobiles where there are no good roads. We do not sell agricultural equipment where there is no knowledge of its benefits. Technical assistance must be thought of as it is: as an insect-control and drainage program in Honduras; as engineering consultation on a dam in Lebanon; as advice on the development of an agricultural school in Ethiopia; as the drilling of deep water wells in Iran; as the education of Indians on the use and benefits of fertilizer on wornout land. It is hundreds of technicians from abroad absorbing our methods, philosophy and friendship, and it is hundreds of our technicians in the field demonstrating American know-how. I emphasize that this is not a one-way street; this is a joint venture whose costs and benefits are shared by the recipients and ourselves in the present generation. And we are creating the conditions for mutual friendship, respect, and intercourse for future generations. Finally, I would point out that many of the raw materials which are of the utmost importance to us today come from the undeveloped areas of South America, Asia, and Africa, hence it is to our own interests to foster the development of those areas. I shall speak further on this point a bit later.

The second policy is that of continuing to provide military assistance to Western Europe and the Far East because it is good business to do so. We all recognize the necessity for a defense structure that binds us and our allies into a unified force that may by its presence prevent aggression in the world. However, if all-out aggression does come, we shall have no respite in which to prepare our defenses; they must be defenses in being.

But more than military defense is directly involved. Our military assistance is facilitating the economic integration of Western Europe. As Americans we like to get things done quickly, and we question the seemingly slow pace with which Western Europe moves. We forget the years of internal adjustment and strain between the end of the Revolution and the adoption of our Constitution, which were years when we were endeavoring to integrate. Further, we are now so accustomed to the blessings of a mass market made possible by the absence of economic barriers between States that we rarely remember that our own economic history did not develop in the presence of complete economic unity, as witness the Civil War. Today Western Europe is patiently struggling toward economic integration, and with success. The Schuman plan created a single mass market for coal and steel. There is hope that agricultural products and electric power can next be so accommodated. Success in this struggle will mean the abolition of tariffs and other economic barriers; it will means the reduction of cartels which plague Europe by price fixing, market sharing, and production agreements, all of which restrict output; it will means the freeing of enterprise with the consequent benefits of broadening markets, higher production, and rising standards of living. This, I say, strengthens the free world, including ourselves.

One can hope that in time political federation will follow economic integration, and already there are some signs that this is not an idle diplomatic dream. When one considers that national sovereignty is involved,

then one can appreciate that even slow progress is progress indeed. A unified Military Establishment, reflecting the common problem of defense which we share with Western Europe, is today the most powerful instrument to facilitate and promote economic integration and political federation. Thus, in our own defense and economic interests we must support the continuation of military assistance.

I am not unmindful of the budget problems in Washington, and this is not to say that Western Europe should not do its utmost to share equitably this joint defense burden. This is to say that our continuation of military assistance is in our own interest and worth the cost.

The third policy we must follow this year is that of taking those actions which will expand the world economy rather than restrict it. I have indicated that this means raising the levels of our foreign trade, facilitating more private investment abroad, and promoting currency convertibility. As you recognize, these three are all of the same family of economic relationships, but I shall treat them separately.

As businessmen, we know that the dollar gap must be closed one way or another. We can do it in several ways.

First, we can reduce our exports. I dare say the Hollywood producers who sell United States films abroad and those who would become unemployed in this area wouldn't find this an attractive course of action. Lower exports also hurt our wheat farmers, who then receive Government support loans for which you and I must pay taxes; the production lines in Detroit move more slowly when exports fall, our machinery producers raise protests as their production decreases and their unemployment grows when the foreign market disappears.

We hear a great deal these days about how imports will injure the American workman. True—but we should expose clearly for all to understand the greater injury we shall do the American workman, the farmer, the businessman, and the taxpayer if we do not import and thereby create dollar exchange so that our export markets are maintained and our production goes on.

We can also close the gap by great increases in private investment, which creates dollar exchange. But here there are two factors to consider. First of all, the volume of investment needed would be so great that in all likelihood that which will take place can only help but will not in itself be adequate. And, second, we hardly encourage further capital investment on the part of our own citizens when we give serious consideration as some would now have us do, to the adoption of policies which would reduce the United States market for foreign production. This attitude persists despite the fact that in the period 1946–50, about one-fourth of our imports had their origin in our own overseas investments.

If we do not reduce our exports and if our investments are inadequate, another possibility is to provide dollars as gifts and loans, and this we did to the extent of about $36 billion following the end of World War II. True, this assistance was necessary and we got a good bargain in terms of results. But we cannot engage in this kind of aid indefinitely, nor do the recipients of this aid want or expect it.

This brings me to the fourth possibility, and that is to open our market, on a free, competitive basis, to those goods and services which foreign producers want to offer us and which we, as citizens, ought to have an opportunity to buy without artificial pricing created by tariffs and other barriers erected against trade. When we give up dollars to a foreign producer for his goods, these dollars do not somehow just disappear. They come back to us in payment for our own export goods and services. Southern California, with its great industrial growth, could not exist for 30 days if it did not have export and import relations with the other States of the Union, and the same advantages which result from our own domestic trade are also obtained as we develop trade volume on an international scale.

Earlier I mentioned the dependence of the United States upon the rest of the world for raw materials to sustain our output. Without these raw materials our costs would rise, our standard of living would fall, and some production would possibly not go on at all. Yet we have a penchant for talking—and sometimes acting—as if we were a self-sufficient nation. And here I am not thinking of such things as coffee and sugar. Rather, I am thinking of cobalt and columbium from Africa, without which we would not have today's jet engines; the nickel, of which we have virtually none and without which we could not process fissionable materials to make nuclear weapons, not to speak of our requirements for the steel and chemicals industries; the iron ore we bring from Canada and South America, and the tungsten and chromite from the Far East to blend with the iron ore; the tin from Bolivia and Malay for our cans. I am remembering that of the 13 pounds of manganese required for each ton of steel, we produce here only one-half pound. Sixty percent of our bauxite comes from abroad to be processed into aluminum. Large proportions of our copper, lead, and zinc come from abroad. We are dependent upon Africa for industrial diamonds which are required for our various machining industries. We import the greater proportion of the wool we use. A nation whose international dependence has caused it to stockpile some $7 billion of scarce materials can ill afford to blind itself to business and international realities. Others, of course, look to us for wheat and cotton and autos and machinery. Thus there exists a mutual interdependence between ourselves and the free world which our policies and actions should recognize.

From every hard, business point of view, it is to our advantage to adopt and foster policies which will lead to higher export and import levels and thereby enable us to maintain employment, reduce taxes, balance budgets, and restore our own and our friends' self-respect by foregoing further gift and aid projects. The policies called for are not only those involving the level and extent of tariff barriers; but equally we must eliminate quotas and simplify customs and import procedures so that these are not a bar to the conduct of business by the usual means and practices.

In urging that we reduce restrictions against higher import levels I am aware that we have a long list of items on the free list, and another long list where tariff rates are hardly restrictive. But we appear to have built the duties structure in favor of raw materials we need and against competitive manufactured goods. This is, innocently, the American 20th century counterpart of the British colonial policy of the 18th century against which Americans successfully rebelled. Further, I am aware that action by us without similar action by others will do little to alleviate the world's economic distress. But if the world's greatest economy makes a substantial move, even if unilateral at the time, it conveys to the whole world that we are actively promoting world economic expansion and that multilateral trade and nondiscrimination are not mere preachments. Others, such as the British Commonwealth, can then follow; but against our own unwillingness to move in our own self-interest they cannot lead, and quite obviously we know from our business experience that if we do not take care of our customers they will turn to producers who offer that prospect.

Perhaps you are thinking that hardship would be imposed upon some of our industries if we follow the policy of liberalising trade. I recognize that outright abolition of the tariff structure would create dislocations and such precipate action I would oppose. But we can work toward our objective and as the hardships develop we can devise means to alleviate them.

The reduction of trade restrictions should be based on an assessment of the total national interest, and reductions should not be precluded merely because of the single test of caused or threatened serious injury to particular private interests, as existing legislation requires.

Assistance should be provided to enterprises, communities, and employees affected by reductions in import restrictions where it is needed to help them adjust to dislocations. Such assistance should be provided so far as possible through or in cooperation with local and State agencies; it should be in forms which will promote a more economic and efficient use of resources and will permit the avoidance of injury where possible. The real economic cost to the country involved in any dislocations caused by gradual reduction of trade restrictions would be less than the costs of continuing protection at present levels. On the other hand costs of any assistance required in adjusting to such dislocations will be more than compensated for by saving in Government expenditures and increased revenues that will result from the favorable effects of a higher level of United States foreign trade. The point is that we must recognize the problem and how our own interests are best served; and we must make a start toward solving that problem.

Let me return, briefly, to the necessity for United States private investment abroad. A flow of private investment abroad would aid in providing dollar exchange and help close the dollar gap. As I have indicated, the benefits of this action can only be fully obtained if we reduce trade restrictions. But we face another serious problem. The production of our economic plant is now so great, and will be so much greater in the years ahead, that to be assured of the raw and semiprocessed materials we shall chew up each year we must expand our foreign investments in order to increase production in the areas providing these materials. Not only are our own individual private interests served by such investments; our national interests are also well served because when we do invest abroad we raise living standards and expand the market for United States goods, and create closer United States ties. I do not minimize the difficulties associated with foreign private investment. They include complicated tax structures and exchange controls, interference with management, and the hazard of expropriation. In part these spring from world economic dislocation; in part they spring from the efforts of nations to control their own developments. These difficulties may be deplored but more than that is needed to overcome them. At the recent session of the General Assembly of the United Nations I advocated and worked for an International Code for private investment that would be applicable to both developed and underdeveloped countries. We have made a beginning and I am optimistic that we shall make progress.

I come finally to the necessity of the free world restoring currency convertibility. When currencies are managed, when they are subject to the judgment of individuals rather than of the market place, then only uncertainty prevails, and trade and other economic activities are driven down the path of bilateral deals and clumsy barter transactions.

Trade between countries tends to break down into separate economic areas, destroying the advantages of multilateral trade and a broad world market. Currency difficulties, however, usually reflect the existence of deep, underlying economic dislocations. To facilitate our own international transactions as well as those of others we should support those policies which will provide underlying economic strength for currencies; and we should work toward convertible currencies through our monetary policies so that stable currencies will also promote underlying economic strength.

Gentlemen, leadership is a perishable item. Whether we like to contemplate it or not, our very leadership means that the tide of world affairs could flood against us if we fail our responsibilities. And if it does, we may be quite sure that it will be a red tide. So, in closing I cannot too strongly urge the suggestion that as American citizens and businessmen we have both a great stake and inescapable responsibility to help our Government sustain its strength and world regard. Through whatever personal sacrifices may be necessary, with whatever executive vigor and wisdom we possess, the American businessman must continue to demonstrate to the world that the American way of doing things has brought the most blessings and security to the most people. It will not be enough that Americans are blessed and secure. We must demonstrate an unselfishness which goes beyond aid through government. Gentlemen, it is axiomatic that the Red Communists gain ground and converts where people are hungry and see no prospects of bettering their conditions. They lose ground and converts where people are free and can see opportunities for improved conditions of life. For as long ahead as any one of us can foresee we must keep these stark facts in mind—and do something about them. For the time, at least, we would seem to hold mastery over the situation. Yet short of the miracle of a successful revolt against the Kremlin leaders, there is no magic in sight which will remove the dangers. The world tide is at such a point that it can turn on an error in international judgment on the price of tin or rubber, on bowls of rice, or on restrictive tariffs against such things as a French shawl or a decorative dish from an Italian potter's wheel. It is almost as simple as that. Let us as members of the business community support those policies which will help turn the tide to the benefit of America and all mankind.

Cultural Diplomacy: An Art We Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Aline B. Lochheim, associate art editor of the New York Times Magazine, has recently written a thought-provoking article on cultural diplomacy.

Her point is that in the present world-wide struggle for men's minds we must not overlook the appeal of the cultural pursuits which are the cornerstone of our civilization.

She notes that we Americans are accused of being cultural barbarians interested only in dollars and materialism—and that Communists capitalize on this accusation and say that we believe we can buy friends.

She suggests that it is time to reexamine the whole problem of our international cultural relations. She says that one of the ways in which we might gradually turn reluctant and uneasy military allies into friends would be to earn their respect for our contemporary culture.

Such a reexamination would come with passage of any of the several bills now before both the House and Senate to establish an American National War Memorial Arts Commission.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the article from the New York Times Magazine of January 3, 1954.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: AN ART WE NEGLECT—HOW UNITED STATES ARTISTS MIGHT WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE ALLIES IS SHOWN IN A SOUTH AMERICAN EXHIBIT

(By Aline B. Louchheim)

SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL.—The largest and most important international exhibition of modern art ever held in the Western Hemisphere opened recently, not in New York, not in Los Angeles, not even in Mexico City, but far, far away on the other side of the Equator. Over 4,000 works of art and important personages from 39 countries traveled across the vast jungles of a country as big as the United States, with an extra Texas, to São Paulo, Brazil. Here, in a city which boasts of being the "fastest growing city in the world" (Paulistas tell you only half jokingly that "a new house is completed every 5 minutes"), they figured in the second biennial exhibition of the Modern Art Museum of São Paulo.

Is such a cultural event the concern of any but artists in intellectuals? In this world of cold war, of efforts to capture loyalties and allegiances, of dollar diplomacy, are such cultural activities a strategic part of foreign policy?

If you had been in São Paulo, especially the week before the opening, you would have been convinced that a great many countries care a very great deal about such international art festivals. Big Brazilian industrialists (like Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, who originated the idea and contributed generously from his own pocket to the biennial) realized that this occasion brought Brazil the kind of international prestige that it seeks, and as host Brazil was justly pleased that almost all of its invitations had been accepted.

The guests not only accepted but you were aware of the dedicated—and often frenetic—effort of most of them to put their best foot forward. They respect modern art at home; it had extra importance abroad. Especially for the Europeans, this seemed a chance to impress the New World with the fact that there could be good neighbors across the Atlantic, perhaps more cultivated, too. For the Latin-American countries, it seemed a golden opportunity to try to show Europe they were not backward barbarians overshadowed by a powerful neighbor.

The 39 guests, with the exception of those from the United States, were sent with the official blessing of their Governments and most of the latter paid at least part of the cost which acceptance of the invitation involved. Ministries of Foreign Relations, Ministries of Public Education, Societies for Cultural Relations, the British Arts Council—the details differed, but appropriate permanent agencies made arrangements and official sponsorship lent prestige to the offerings. In Brazil, embassy and consular offices were primed to lend not only helping hands but, more significantly, their stripe-trousered, homburg-hatted presences at all the social and diplomatic occasions which were connected with the exhibition.

Interestingly, with a few conspicuous exceptions, officialdom sanctioned avant-garde expression in the work chosen for the exhibit, aware, apparently that international critics and the international jury would pay this the most heed. And recognition was what each ardently sought. The commissioners of the various nations were frantically busy not only hanging and rehanging paintings, installing and reinstalling sculptures, but also, as if charged with the responsibility of a serious diplomatic mission, trying to figure out how to bring home at least one of the major prizes as proof of their country's glory. They cagily tried to see which way the wind was blowing; which jury member might be counted on for what; which of the horses in their respective stables was the best bet. It mattered very much to them.

France was particularly agile, anxious to regain the artistic influence which she once held in Brazil, and wise in the knowledge that culture and couturiers give France special distinction. With the single-minded energy of a mother launching a debutante daughter, the French commissioner explained, expounded, and plumped for French superiority. The effort was superfluous: France had made an all-out effort and her exhibition was a galaxy of riches that spoke eloquently for itself. The other big countries—Italy, England—also made calculated bids for attention and prizes.

But the smaller ones were not to be outdone. The cultural arena is one of the few in which they can compete on equal terms with the big powers. Holland scrubbed and rescrubbed the walls with white paint to show off to best advantage a remarkably astute selection. The Austrian commissioner, shyly handing out invitations to a cocktail party sponsored by his embassy, helped call attention to the exceedingly interesting offering from his native land. When contemporary production seemed somewhat inferior certain nations cannily brought in famous names as sure-fire attractions; thus, Germany adopted Paul Klee; Norway depended on Munch; Belgium was bolstered by Ensor.

One country in particular realized how emphatically art can make a point. Yugoslavia, keenly aware that the Western World queries how philosophically deep the break with Russia is, shrewdly eschewed the over-life-size bronze of Tito and the academic depictions of peasants happily toiling in flower-strewn fields which dominated the Yugoslavian pavilion in the Venice international show 3 years ago. Here all its eggs were put effectively in one modern basket—the work of Petar Lubarda. It was perfectly clear that these semiabstract, expressionist and extremely forceful works indicated a freedom of expression and a modern idiom which (at least before the potential shift of cultural line under Malenkov) would not have been acceptable in the Soviet Union. But lest there be some misunderstanding, Yugoslavia also sent the bereted artist himself and a young articulate journalist-public relations man who told you that Lubarda had also painted a mural in the Yugoslavian Congress Building.

The climax of national pride, of international sympathies and antagonisms and of frantic desire for prizes came when the international jury—10 foreigners and 4 Brazilians—began its deliberations. Leaks from the jury room revealed such blunt declarations as that of the member who, when called upon to decide between two artists tied for a prize, allegedly said, "As a German, I can do nothing but vote for the German." But any art-world person need only look at the list of prizewinners to realize the extent of pressures, deals, and bloc voting.

What of the United States in all this? Artistically, we could certainly hold up our heads. Our main drawing card was the exhibition of mobiles by Alexander Calder, perhaps the most original, personal, and American statement in modern art.

Whether one agrees or not with the choice of our painters, draftsmen, and printmakers, certainly their work compared favorably with the wares from abroad, and as a total exhibit—with such few exceptions as Mexico's Tamayo room—outshone the other nations of the New World.

Moreover, our host paid us the special compliment of giving us the most prominent place in the Pavilion of the Western Hemisphere and accorded Calder 1 of the 2 rooms of honor (the other going to Picasso).

But what kind of impression did we make?

In the first place, everyone was aware that our exhibition was not sponsored by our Government. They knew not only that it had been selected by the Museum of Modern Art and installed by its director, René d'Harnoncourt, who served as the American commissioner, but also that it had been paid for out of that institution's Rockefeller brothers fund. Although certain members of the State Department came to the official opening as individuals, the American Ambassador neither appeared nor sent a duly authorized delegate to stand with and formalize a receiving line in the American exhibition as his colleagues did with great show for the other leading countries. (One Brazilian cynically remarked, "He's probably playing golf. Isn't that what Americans in public life do?")

Unfortunately, the lack of official sponsorship surprised neither Europeans nor South Americans. they all speak quite openly of our woeful indifference to culture and specifically of the attitude of our Congress and State Department toward modern art. Without being hypersensitive, one cannot help feeling that certain foreigners are rather delighted with our official Philistinism. It reinforces the accusation that we are cultural barbarians interested only in dollars and materialism. They know that our attitude offends most of the nations whose friendship we seek and emphasizes the impression that we believe we can "buy" friendship and alliances.

Those foreigners who are friendly to us deplore our official attitude. They watch the Communists capitalize on it and are powerless to defend us. No, they were not surprised—neither the Europeans nor the South Americans in São Paulo; they did not find the experience unique. They have met it in many places and in many guises. But one wound was still especially sore: whereas the embassies of other foreign groups in São Paulo have contributed something to the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city, the United States, with the largest and richest population there, gave a smiling, curt refusal to any such official cultural gesture.

As an American one finds one's self in a dilemma. On the one hand, one would like to see our Government accord the dignity, respect, and sponsorship to the activities in modern art which other nations hold dear and important. On the other hand, one hesitates. One remembers vividly the virtual inquisition to which Congress subjected members of the State Department in 1946 when the latter sent a moderately modern art exhibition abroad. One thinks of the prevailing, violent antagonism of the majority of Congress toward modern art today. (Ironically, whereas the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD contains many damnations of abstract art as part of a disruptive Communist plot, in Brazil, when the social-realist Communist painters want to castigate the Brazilian abstract art which they hate with the worst possible epithet, they call it Arte Americana.)

So, one hesitates. Is it worse to lose caste because our State Department eschews official sponsorship of international activity in modern art or to make fools of ourselves by sending abroad the kind of art which would safely please our Congress?

Obviously, there are two other solutions. The first represents only a stopgap. It would mean simply that the State Department take the risk of overtly and enthusiastically supporting those exhibitions which have been chosen and circulated by such respected and competent private, non-profit groups as the Museum of Modern Art and the American Federation of Art. The second, and more desirable, solution would be a reexamination of the whole problem of our international cultural relations to the end that the State Department could have a well-organized, adequately financed program of cultural relations run by experts in the fields of all arts in which contemporary expression would not be taboo.

Perhaps foreign nations, who resent having to accept our aid and to acknowledge our power, will always find grounds for criticism. But one of the ways in which we might gradually turn reluctant and uneasy military allies into friends would be to earn their respect for our contemporary culture. We can never do this if we are officially indifferent to their cultural efforts and if we remain officially antagonistic to our own most advanced, imaginative and best achievements in modern art and modern architecture.

Partnership Isn't Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Carl Rydberg, editor of the Treasure State Labor Journal, of Kalispell, Mont., took a look at the dynamic, new partnership plan for water resource development in the Northwest and came up with an observation about the kind of business the people of Montana are going to get as a result. Mr. Rydberg's editorial follows:

PARTNERSHIP ISN'T ENOUGH

The Eisenhower-McKay partnership plan of river development proposes that the Government go into partnership with private-utility companies on such things as dam construction where power is developed. The plan is to use tax-payers money for all items such as flood control, reservoir clearing, road building, right-of-way purchase, engineering costs, fish ladders, irrigation, and any other costs where no profit is likely to ever be made. The power companies part of the partnership will presumably call for the dam construction itself and for the power facilities, which, when completed, will be owned by the private-power company or companies involved.

If past practices are any criterion, taxpayers' money will in all probability be used on the private company construction through the gift of "certificate of necessities," and if so, the taxpayer will have footed the bill on the entire deal and later would be stuck with an altogether anything but cheap power rate.

In speaking of this partnership plan recently, a Kaiser Aluminum Co. official is reported to have said: "These new contracts push into the misty distance any new industrial expansion in the Pacific Northwest."

This official evidently was concerned over the cost of power sold by private utilities. The inference is made that private-utility power is too expensive for industry to use in a high-freight-rate area. It was apparent also, that he meant people wouldn't get the jobs that would become available if the Government had gone ahead and produced really cheap and plentiful power.

In Montana, the Montana Power Co. has always claimed it had a surplus of power and had to wheel power out of the State. We believe they are telling the truth but we also believe the Montana Power Co. has priced the power so high that no new industry could come to Montana and use it. Certainly they didn't have enough cheap and plentiful power for the Anaconda Aluminum Co. to build a plant and provide 400 or more permanent jobs. It took Hungry Horse, a Government dam, to provide the profit incentive.

The people, if they have a choice, will take the power that keeps 400 or more families eating even if it's Government power, and all the propaganda the private power companies put out isn't going to change it.

The only way private power is going to progress without criticism is by serving the people instead of the dividend hungry stockholders and no Eisenhower-McKay partnership plan will take the private companies off the hook of public displeasure.

It's taken us quite a while to figure out the difference between creeping socialism tax money and partnership tax money but we think we've got it.

Creeping socialism is when the taxpayer provides the money for dams and keeps the dams and the power after the dam is built.

Partnership is when the taxpayer provides the money for dams and gives the dams and the power to free enterprise, taxpaying, privately owned utilities.

You might say that the Eisenhower-McKay partnership plan for free enterprise power companies means you get the business and you don't get the business.

Ah, yes.

Boost for ROTC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN B. BENNETT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a news article from the January 14 issue of the Ironwood Daily Globe, respecting a proclamation by Mayor Albert Jacobson, of Bessemer, Mich., paying tribute to the Bessemer unit of the ROTC.

I would like to join with Mayor Jacobson in his tribute to the Bessemer ROTC unit.

PROCLAMATION CITES THE VALUE OF TRAINING PROGRAM OF ROTC

BESSEMER, MICH.—Mayor Albert Jacobson today issued a proclamation publicly recognizing the value of the Reserve Officer Training Corps program as an educational asset; and expressing appreciation to the A. D. Johnston unit and its administrative staff, for its many services to the community.

He congratulated the unit on the acquisition of the new shoulder patch, which will henceforth distinguish it from all other units in the United States. The patch, he said, with its insignia featuring the pick, ax, and spade, is expressive of the major industries, mining, lumbering, and farming, which have carved civilization out of this wilderness, and function to maintain the citizenry. He noted that the gold and blue colors are distinctive of the A. D. Johnston School.

Mayor Jacobson commended Cadet Gary Backman, creator of the patch design, the high school students who took part in the competition, and the administrative staff for inspiring interest in the project, and the County Seat Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, for its action in offering the award to the contest winner.

He directed public attention to the exhibit, this week, in the Calligaro hardware store window, which shows the distinctive patch placed on a uniform. The display also exhibits numerous ROTC instructional aids, including the various weapons studied, manuals, and other equipment and materials.

Citizens of Bessemer have reason to be proud of the A. D. Johnston ROTC unit for the part it has taken both in high school and community activities, he said. Since its establishment, almost a quarter of a century ago, the ROTC has figured prominently in the educational life of the high school and in community activities.

Through the years it has benefited hundreds of our youth, for each year 9 out of 10 boys enrolled in high school have enlisted in ROTC. They have had the advantages of the citizenship training, character building, and leadership training that could not help but prepare them for life, he said.

Mayor Jacobson noted that asset of leadership training, pointing out that leadership is the driving force of civilization. The quality of leadership is the quality in a person that inspires others to do their best. The world needs leaders—not only in military service, but in government, industry, business, and all other pursuits of living.

He highly commended the present administrative military staff, headed by Capt. H. E. Poynter, and all staffs of the past, for the high rating of achievement maintained by the local corps.

The ROTC has become an integral part of the life of this community, said Mayor Jacobson, expressing appreciation for the many services rendered.

He noted that the corps appears in the various parades, and public demonstrations, serves to bring the colors at various programs; corps members serve as ushers for numerous events; and as patrols, maintaining order at public affairs; and its color unit, firing squad, and buglers serve the community in honoring the war dead, when laid to rest in Hillcrest Cemetery.

Wherever the ROTC or any of its units appear, he said, they inspire a deep feeling of patriotism, reverence for the American flag, symbol of the American way of life, and a sense of security impressed by the fact that men of America will be ever ready to don the uniform to guard and defend that flag and all it stands for.

John Novascone, president of the Bessemer Chamber of Commerce, reiterated the mayor's sentiments, saying that his community is deeply indebted to the ROTC and its guiding staff of officers, for their patriotic inspiration, fine cooperation, and willing assistance in all community affairs.

There is no greater thrill, he said, than that provided by the ROTC on parade, and that afforded with the majestic advance of colors at the opening of athletic games and programs. It impresses deep and reverent appreciation for the freedoms enjoyed under the American banner, and a feeling that those freedoms must be guarded at all costs.

In rendering community service, whether it be ushering, patroling, or representing the community at military funerals, the ROTC has always given ready and willing response. We have come to depend so heavily on the ROTC that we do not know what we would do without them, he said.

Vernon Carr, exalted ruler of the Bessemer Lodge of Elks, and Walter Nemecheck, King Lion of the Bessemer Lions Club, on behalf of their organizations, expressed sentiments of appreciation of the educational values of the ROTC and its activities in the civic life of the community.

Mr. Carr said, "The noble purpose of the ROTC, that of preparing youth to face the stern realities of citizenship, and of the defense of the Nation when needed, receives the heartfelt tribute of the Elks Lodge."

Arthur Novascone, commander of the County Seat Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, said, "The ROTC and its program for high-school boys, is one of the many fine segments of the public-school system. The training received is a valuable aid to their role of citizens wherever they may be."

Leslie Anderson, commander of the Gedda-Cychosz Post, American Legion, noted the advantages of the military training received. With world conditions, as they are today, the problem of defense is paramount, he said. Perhaps the strengthening of the ROTC program would aid in the proposed program of universal military training which is greatly debated at this time.

Supt. E. J. Oas and Walter Newman, principal of the A. D. Johnston High School, noted the educational assets of the ROTC program.

Superintendent Oas said the primary purpose of the ROTC program is to train youth to be responsible citizens, rather than to train soldiers. It not only teaches the privileges of citizenship in a democracy, but impresses the duties and responsibilities which citizens must assume in order that the rights and privileges may be enjoyed. The program that citizens must face poses problems, especially from a defense angle. History and civics take on new meaning, when viewed from the standpoint of the responsibilities of citizens.

The ROTC program, he said, is the most democratic of the high school programs. Students rise through merit alone, each student having an equal opportunity to achieve.

There are numerous auxiliary benefits, he said, noting physical development, training in leadership, and in self-control, for no man can be a leader unless he can control himself. Students are trained in judgment, making quick decisions, a sense of humor, courtesy, personal neatness, respect for others, and many other character building factors.

He noted that a great deal of practical knowledge is gained in the course, referring, among other things, to that of the care and use of weapons, which serve in civilian as well as military life.

Mr. Newman noted among the educational advantages training in physical fitness, mental alertness, respect for authority, and the ability to take as well as to give orders.

From the military standpoint, Mr. Newman noted that youth entering military services, after graduation, have found the ROTC training a distinct advantage. He recalled that former ROTC students, who were called during World War II, made rapid progress in military training. Many of them were accepted for Officer Candidate School, after basic training, and many others received battlefield commissions.

More Pay for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of Wednesday, January 20, 1954:

MORE PAY FOR CONGRESS

Pay increases for Members of the Congress should not be any sort of issue in this election year. The whole question has been explored over and over again by competent commissions. The unanimous opinion of all the studies is that Members of Congress should get more pay. Therefore, Congressmen and Senators should have no hesitation in voting themselves a pay increase.

The annual salary of a Senator or Congressman is $12,500 with a nontaxable allowance of $2,500 for expenses. Pay of a Member of either branch is utterly inadequate for a fulltime job which requires the individual to maintain two residences. Frequently the objection is voiced that the Senate is a rich man's club and that only rich men can afford to run for Congress.

Actually, only an individual with outside income can afford to serve in Congress at the present pay scale. But there are many Members of Congress who live perilously close to penury because their duties take all their time and they have no time to earn anything other than the congressional salary.

The value of a dollar is cut almost in half. Where $12,500 was once a princely stipend, it today is compensation earned by a large number of semiprofessional or higher skilled artisans. All the caution and timidity about voting for a salary increase in an election year presupposes a complete ignorance among the electorate of the onerous duties of a Member of Congress. Congress deserves a pay raise, and should get it—even if they have to vote it to themselves.

Eleventh Report on Legislation of the 83d Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include my 11th report to my constituents in the 2d District of Illinois on the legislation of the 83d Congress. The report follows:

ELEVENTH REPORT ON LEGISLATION OF THE 83D CONGRESS

DEAR FRIEND: During the 2d session of the 83d Congress I shall continue to report to you on the new laws of the land. As quickly as possible after bills have been passed by both House and Senate and signed by the President, you will be given (a) a summary of the new laws, and (b) the how and why of your vote as cast by me as your Representative.

In the 1st session of the 83d Congress the public laws enacted reached a total of 288. Many of these were passed by Congress in the closing days so that an unusually large number were left on the President's desk for action after the adjournment of Congress. These are covered in this report, which begins with Public Law 243 and ends with the last act of the 1st session, Public Law 288.

My previous reports were printed for permanent record in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the following dates:

Public Laws 1–45, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 13, 1953, pages A4543–A4548;

Public Laws 46–76, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 16, 1953, pages 4654–4656;

Public Laws 77–100, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 30, 1953, pages 5056–5058;

Public Laws 101–124, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 26, 1953, pages A5550–A5553;
Public Laws 125–169, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 28, 1953, pages A5598–A5601;
Public Laws 170–201, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 28, 1953, pages A5722–A5723;
Public Laws 202–242, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 28, 1953, pages 5740–5742.

PUBLIC LAW 243

H. R. 5877. Customs Simplification Act of 1953: Time was (prior to income tax) when duty on imports was one of the four most important sources of Government income. It now brings into the Federal Treasury less than a billion dollars annually—actually about three-quarters of one billion dollars, compared with the $65,218,000,000 annual yield from income tax. To collect the customs tax Uncle Sam has been spending a little less than 20 cents out of every dollar collected. Reason: Too much unnecessary paper work, excessive red tape. Public Law 243, making no changes in classification or rates of duty and avoiding everything of controversial nature, effects a saving of several million dollars a year by striking out obsolete and unnecessary provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930. I am confident you will approve of my support of Public Law 243.

PUBLIC LAW 244

H. R. 6039. College ROTC credit for training in 55c schools: Section 55c is used to describe schools authorized to give junior ROTC training as provided for in section 55c of the National Defense Act. There are 65 of these schools. The only difference between junior ROTC and 55c schools is that junior ROTC schools have their professors of military science and tactics furnished by the Regular Army while the 55c schools select their own military professors from qualified reserve or retired officers and foot the salary bill. Heretofore, however, the training received at the so-called 55c schools could not be credited against the equivalent courses in the senior units at the college level. Public Law 244 corrects this inequity with a good law.

PUBLIC LAW 245

H. R. 6382. Extends period of negotiated sales of surplus property: This is stopgap legislation, extending for 1 year (to June 30, 1954) the authority of General Services to dispose of surplus Government property by negotiation instead of by advertising for sealed bids. It is sound and prudent policy to award public contracts after open competitive bidding (mandatory by law in Illinois). But in the case of Federal surplus property disposals the Congress has felt there is an exception when the property is being taken over (for the public benefit) by State and local governments or is being repossessed by its former owners. Public Law 245, among other things, makes it possible for approximately 1,000 former owners to reacquire at prevailing market values 36,600 acres of farm lands in the installations to be abandoned at Camp Ellis, Ill., and High Point, N. C. Also enables veterans and occupants of housing units in Lemmon, S. Dak., to retain possession of their present homes.

PUBLIC LAW 246

H. R. 6049. School construction assistance: In the 81st Congress I voted for Public Law 815 under which some $341 million was spent in the construction of 14,500 classrooms housing 440,000 children. This met the responsibility of the Federal Government for aiding school construction in communities that had been burdened with large increases in school attendance as a result of the inmigration of defense and other Federal workers. Public Law 246 of the 83d Congress provides for a continuance of this program. About $150 million will be spent in caring for an estimated further increase of over 500,000 children in the school enrollments of federally affected school districts, 230,000 more than can be accommodated in present school buildings. Title IV of the act authorizes $20 million school construction assistance in areas inhabited mainly by Indians. I know you agree with me that money spent in public education is money wisely invested.

PUBLIC LAW 247

H. R. 6354. Lanham Act housing at Cape May, N. J.: Coast guard and navy personnel can continue in undisturbed occupancy of those 50 Lanham Act houses at Cape May, N. J., thanks to Public Law 247. For a while it was intended to declare the housing units surplus and dispose of them as such. Better plan was adopted of turning them over to the Coast Guard, which maintains a receiving station at Cape May.

PUBLIC LAW 248

H. R. 6078. School maintenance assistance: As a Member of the 81st Congress I supported legislation (Public Law 874) providing financial assistance for the maintenance and operation of schools in areas affected by Federal activities. Assistance provided under this act served to prevent serious deterioration in the school situation generally and in some Federal projects areas a complete breakdown in the public-school system. Cost: In 1951, $30,100,000 for 442,000 children; in 1952, $47,750,000 for 620,000 children; in 1953, estimated $60,500,000 for 750,000 children. Public Law 248 of the present Congress extends the assistance, with some changes, to June 30, 1956.

PUBLIC LAW 249

House Joint Resolution 250. Bicentennial of founding of Columbia University: Establishes a commission to cooperate with Columbia University in the celebration of its bicentennial. Similar legislation honored Harvard's tercentenary (1936), Princeton's bicentennial (1946), and Washington and Lee's bicentennial (1948). It was in October of 1754 that a charter was granted to King's College, later Columbia University. Alexander Hamilton was an alumnus of King's College, and Columbia has given to the Nation 2 Presidents, a Vice President, and 3 Chief Justices.

PUBLIC LAW 250

S. 1397. Saving atomic energy supply program by validation of mining claims: In Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado is the Colorado Plateau, principal source of our supply of fissionable materials so important to our atomic energy program. Vanadium, with which uranium is often associated, was discovered there some years ago. Urged on by the Atomic Energy Commission (it offered bonuses for new discoveries, pointed out likely locations for prospecting, distributed working manuals) prospectors did a good job in locating new mining claims. But it turned out that many of the places where the much-desired fissionable materials were located was on land known to be valuable for gas and oil. For years the Department of the Interior has ruled that valid mining claims cannot be located on gas and oil land. Hence the uranium miners were in the position technically of trespassers. Congress cleared up the muddle and saved the atomic energy supply by enacting Public Law 250, which with certain limitations and reservations validates all mining claims located between December 31, 1938, and March 20, 1953.

PUBLIC LAW 251

H. R. 5328. Ute Moutain Indian tribe: The Ute Indian tribe in the Ute Mountain Reservation, located in portions of Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, numbers some 600 people. It is a nomadic tribal group, 97 percent of which is full blood, only 5 members with a high school education and most of the tribe, including all the members of the tribal council, unable to speak English. By virtue of a 1950 Court of Claims judgment and a 1951 act of Congress the tribe now has $6,250,000 cash money. Public Law 251 permits a per capita distribution of $500 and the undertaking of a rehabilitation program under direction of the tribal council aimed at raising social and economic standards.

PUBLIC LAW 252

S. 2383. New Jersey-New York Waterfront Commission Compact: Because the port of New York extends into both the State of New York and the State of New Jersey efficient law enforcement was difficult with the result that the district came under the domination of gangsterism, harmful to labor, to the shipping industry and to the good reputation of the United States throughout the world of commerce.

While it was a situation capable of being handled through concerted action of the two States in which the harbor lies, the States were powerless to proceed until Congress gave the nod. Why? Article I, section 10, of the Constitution of the United States, reading: "No State shall, without the consent of the Congress * * * enter into any agreement or compact with another State."

All that Public Law 252 does is to grant congressional consent, pursuant to the Federal Constitution, to an interstate compact between New York and New Jersey setting up a bi-State agency to improve waterfront labor conditions in the port of New York area. The Senate passed the bill without rollcall, the House on the Consent Calendar.

PUBLIC LAW 253

S. 2220. Natural-gas pipelines: Existing law required that natural-gas pipeline companies crossing public lands must be common carriers and that they must either carry or purchase the oil or gas produced from Government lands in the vicinity of the pipelines. Public Law 253 knocks that wise provision into a cocked hat. This is one of the bad measures rushed through in the closing days of the session. Secretary of the Interior McKay's excuse: "Particular urgency."

PUBLIC LAW 254

H. R. 1383. Money distribution among Indian heirs: Among the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma are some 700 accounts of less than $500 owing to undetermined heirs of deceased members. Public Law 254 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to do the best he can without incurring the usual expenses of probate and formal judicial proceedings.

PUBLIC LAW 255

H. R. 1152. Loans to fur farmers: Following World War II the fur farmers were hard hit by foreign competition and increased production costs. Congress authorized a program, under which over $4 million was loaned by the Government and less than $3 million has been repaid to date. In 1949 it was estimated there were 7,000 bona fide fur farmers in the United States; trade journals say the number now is down to 5,000. Public Law 255 extends the fur loan program for 5 years, largely restricting it to those already indebted to the United States in the hope of helping them to get clear. May be throwing good money after bad.

PUBLIC LAW 256

S. 285. Committee for weather modification study: I was interested to learn from the committee report (H. Rept. No. 1022, p. 3) that rainmaking is big business (one rainmaking contractor had 300 million acres in the United States under contract) and is international in scope. The committee reports that weather control promises tremendous benefits, its activities may have far-reaching and catastrophic effects. Cited illustration: a single pound of dry ice, triggered off a heay rainstorm, could cause an energy release equivalent in magnitude to the energy of several atomic bombs. Public Law 256 creates a committee to study and

evaluate public and private experiments in weather modification. Purpose is to separate the true from the false, encourage scientific advance, protect farmers from the fakirs.

PUBLIC LAW 257

S. 677. National Conference on Citizenship: In 1946 a small group of men and women met at Philadelphia in a conference on citizenship. Since then some 1,000 public and private organizations have joined up. Public Law 257 grants a Federal charter to the conference.

PUBLIC LAW 258

S. 887. Permits exchange of farm units on irrigation projects: Merely modernizes section of existing law providing for exchange of farm units on Federal reclamation projects where original entry was found to be insufficient to support a family.

PUBLIC LAW 259

S. 1105. National Safety Council: This act incorporates the National Safety Council, organized in Chicago in 1913, the only national organization exclusively devoted to the prevention of accidents in all fields of activity. As a Chicagoan, I experienced a thrill of pride at having the opportunity to vote for this measure. During World War II, 100,000 more Americans were killed in accidents within the United States than died in combat. Accidents cause one death in the United States every 6 minutes, an injury every 8 seconds. The National Safety Council works efficiently in an important field. Another Chicago contribution to the welfare of the Nation.

PUBLIC LAW 260

S. 2097. $33 million development project in Alaska: In 1950 the Congress authorized the expenditure of $20,365,400 in the construction of a hydroelectric project in the vicinity of Anchorage and Palmer in Alaska. The project is but 60 percent completed and most of the money authorized is gone. Reason: the high cost of construction in Alaska, actually 2.35 times that prevailing in continental United States. Congress increased the authorization to $33 million, conditional, however, on an agreement with the city of Anchorage turning over to the Federal Government the present hydroelectric facilities of the municipality.

PUBLIC LAW 261

S. 1367. Crop insurance program: Extends authority of Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to expand the crop insurance program into additional counties.

PUBLIC LAW 262

S. 671. State taxation of Atomic Energy Commission activities: In 1952 the United States Supreme Court held (*Carson v. Roane-Anderson Co.* (342 U. S. 232)) that under the last sentence of section 9 (b) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 private contractors employed by the commission were exempt from State and local taxation. Public Law 262 strikes out the offending last sentence of section 9 (b) as requested in resolutions adopted by the Conference of State Governors.

PUBLIC LAW 263

Senate Joint Resolution 62. Three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of founding of Jamestown, Va.: This measure creates a commission of 11 members to plan the celebration in 1957 of the 350th anniversary of Jamestown, Va. You will want to mark down this historic celebration in planning your 1957 vacation.

PUBLIC LAW 264

S. 41. Forfeiture and disposal of property seized under the Espionage Act: Statutes governing exports from the United States have increased greatly [narcotic drugs, fissionable materials needed for the atomic-energy program, arms and ammunition]. Because of the increased burden upon the customs personnel, Public Law 264 was enacted at the request of the Treasury Department. It simplifies and brings up to date the procedure for forfeiting property intended to be exported in violation of law and for effecting forfeiture of transporting vessel, vehicle, or aircraft.

PUBLIC LAW 265

S. 2163. Transfer of Cottonfield Station: Authorizes transfer of Cottonfield Station at Statesville, N. C., to State of North Carolina in return for use by Federal Government of certain State facilities.

PUBLIC LAW 266

H. R. 307. Bridge at Ogdensburg, N. Y.: Authorizes the construction and maintenance of a toll bridge across the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburg, N. Y.

PUBLIC LAW 267

H. R. 1219. Railroad bridge at Hidalgo, Tex.: Another bridge authorization.

PUBLIC LAW 268

H. R. 1245. Armory site for Wisconsin National Guard: Conveys to Wisconsin State Armory Board 8.8 acres located at Truax Field, Dane County, Wis.

PUBLIC LAW 269

H. R. 4151. Amendment to Social Security Act: Under the old-age and survivors insurance system, individuals in the active military or naval service of the United States are provided certain wage credits. Public Law 269 extends this privilege to include service rendered prior to July 1, 1955.

PUBLIC LAW 270

H. R. 5662. Monroe County, Mich.: More than 130 years ago French settlers of Monroe County in Michigan staked out claims along the waterfront of the Raisin River. In 1819 the Federal Government surveyed into townships and sections. Most of the settlers continued to occupy the land as originally staked out, neglected to submit proof of ownership. In 1928 Congress caught up with the unhappy situation, enacted a law providing for the issuance of patents. Public Law 270 extends this for another year. Farms in Monroe County remain in the same family for generations, hence the delay in locating all the legal defects.

PUBLIC LAW 271

H. R. 6185. Preference accorded to veterans in Federal employment: Veterans may have 5 or 10 points added to their earned ratings in civil-service examinations for Federal positions, but only after they have received a passing grade. Under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 veterans who did not actually make a passing grade were placed on the eligible register if their actual ratings plus the 5 or 10 veteran preference points equaled a passing grade. Public Law 271 amends the act in this respect.

PUBLIC LAW 272

H. R. 6252. Girl Scouts of the United States of America: Charter of the Girl Scouts of the United States of America is amended to (1) make it certain that only a citizen of the United States shall be a member of the national council (language in original charter is ambiguous), (2) permit national council to meet once every 3 years instead of 2 years, and (3) change beginning of fiscal year to October 1 instead of January 1.

PUBLIC LAW 273

H. R. 6813. Water supply for Denison, Tex.: Modifies Flood Control Act of 1938 as regards Denison Dam to permit of contract with city of Denison for use of storage space in Lake Texoma for purpose of providing city with a regulated water supply.

PUBLIC LAW 274

H. R. 6402. Abatement of jeopardy assessments: Jeopardy assessment is an arbitrary proceeding by the Bureau of Internal Revenue when it fears that ultimate collection of a tax is in danger. Once such an assessment was made the Bureau had no authority to revoke it even though later it found that a mistake had been made. Public Law 274 permits the revocation of a jeopardy assessment whenever it appears that there is in fact no danger of losing any tax which may be due.

PUBLIC LAW 275

House Joint Resolution 268. Bi-State park on the Big Sandy River: Located in Virginia a short distance from the Kentucky State line is the Breaks area, where the Russell Fork of the Big Sandy River has cut a deep gorge though Pine Mountain. Seemingly perpendicular sandstone cliffs rise 800 feet from the stream bed. It is an area spectacular scenically and of large tourist appeal. Public Law 275 grants the consent of Congress to the negotiation of a compact for the establishment of a bi-State park in this area by Virginia and Kentucky. The two States will foot the bill, but the consent of Congress is required nevertheless in compliance with the constitutional provisions forbidding States to enter into contracts and agreements with one another without first getting clearance from Congress.

PUBLIC LAW 276

Senate Joint Resolution 96. Liquidation of Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration: PRRA was established in 1935 to provide relief and work to Puerto Rico, sadly stricken by hurricane and depression. Some $70 million was appropriated for the work during the intervening years. Since 1942 its activities have been financed out of the revolving fund and have consisted mainly in the management of housing. Public Law 276 requires that the liquidation of the administration be completed within 18 months.

PUBLIC LAW 277

H. R. 1055. Eliminates discriminatory legislation against Indians: This measure, repealing Federal statutes relating to sales of intoxicants to Indians, is in line with the present trend to treat the Indians as all other segments of our population are treated.

PUBLIC LAW 278

S. 2094. State and water conservation facilities: When States and municipalities undertake the construction of water conservation facilities they first must obtain permission of the Federal Government because navigable streams are involved. It is the same procedure required when the city of Chicago builds a bridge over the Chicago River. The Federal Power Act, however, contains a recapture clause under which the Federal Government after 50 years can come into possession of all water power and conservation projects, including those financed and owned by municipalities and States. Public Law 278 eliminates the recapture clause in the case of public facilities.

During the last 6 days of a session of Congress, one of the permitted but extraordinary ways of getting a bill up for a vote is by suspension of the rules. The motion is within the discretion of the Speaker. It was in this manner that Public Law 278 passed the House in the closing hours.

The proponents of the measure said that the recapture clause was making it difficult for the States and municipalities to finance and refinance necessary bond issues.

Nevertheless, the recapture clause for years has been thought an essential protection of the Federal domain. In 1912 President Taft vetoed a bill providing for a dam across the Coosa River because it did not contain a recapture clause, the presidential message holding that to pass such a bill without a recapture clause would be to throw away the assets of the Government.

I did not vote for Public Law 278. It was not in the same major league with the tidelands oil surrender of the Federal domain; it belonged to an affiliated minor league.

PUBLIC LAW 279

H. R. 2062. Coordination of Wisconsin retirement fund with the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system: The Wisconsin retirement system was formulated to dovetail with the Federal system. To meet an unusual situation, not present in any other State, Public Law 279 was enacted. It does not change in any way the principle of existing law.

PUBLIC LAW 280

H. R. 1063. Indian affairs: This confers jurisdiction on California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin in criminal offenses and civil causes of action on Indian reservations within the respective States. It is along the present trend (1) to withdraw Federal responsibility for Indian affairs, (2) to terminate subjection of Indians to Federal laws applicable only to Indians.

PUBLIC LAW 281

H. R. 3409. Terminates Federal restrictions upon Indians: At long, long last the trade barriers are being burned down for our most abused and discriminated against minority group. Public Law 281 repeals some obsolete and ridiculous laws, such as a ban on trading with Indians and the loss to an Indian trader of his license if he traded in guns and ammunition with "uncivilized and hostile Indians."

PUBLIC LAW 282

H. R. 4508. Sale of lands to Oklahoma for park: Oklahoma is planning a $1,300,000 recreational development for the Quartz Mountain State Park. To finance the undertaking with a bond issue the State must have fee title to Federal lands now under lease to the State. To accommodate, Public Law 282 authorizes the sale of 87.5 acres of rocky, mountainous land near Altus, Okla., at $6.50 an acre.

PUBLIC LAW 283

H. R. 4980. Drawback of taxes on distilled spirits: Accelerates refund to manufacturers of non-beverage products of authorized drawback allowances. Administration legislation requested by the Treasury Department.

PUBLIC LAW 284

H. R. 4483. Compensation to Indians for lands of Riverton project: In 1904 the Shoshone and Arapahoe tribes ceded to the United States a large portion of the Wind River reservation in Wyoming. Later the land became part of the Riverton reclamation project. Public Law 284 authorizes a payment to the credit of the Indians of $1,009,500 for the 161,500 acres of land involved.

PUBLIC LAW 285

H. R. 5603. Loans on forest lands: Time may determine this to have been the most important legislation, in a realistic sense, to come from the first session of the 83d Congress. I supported it with enthusiasm in committee (Banking and Currency) and was happy when it passed the House without opposition. All that it does is to permit national banks to make 10-year loans on forest tracts. Its importance lies in the fact that we have a diminishing timber supply, in part responsible for the mounting cost of home construction in Chicago and elsewhere. Some timber can be grown in 10 years. All that is needed to assure a continuing supply of lumber is to give the timber farmers financing to carry over the period of growth. Most of the commercial forest land is owned by small individuals (average acreage about 60) who have not the means to replant. Loans made possible by Public Law 285 (1) will make it unnecessary to cut timber prematurely (2) will facilitate the practice of thinning which takes out the trees that are suitable for removal and leaves others for increased growth (3) encourage fresh plantings.

PUBLIC LAW 286

H. R. 6281. Reimbursement for franked mail matter: This is a typical case of how a record for economy is built up without actually saving the taxpayers a dime. The post office carries about a million and a half dollars of official franked mail annually. There is to be no charge of any sort in the franking privilege, but hereafter each department of the Federal Government (including the Congress) will send in a check to cover what the post office calculates the bill to be at the regular postal rates. It will all add up to reducing the post-office deficit one-fourth of 1 percent (by the method of taking money from one pocket to put it in another.) There of course will be some extra expense in maintaining a system of accounting so that the right bills can be sent to the various departments of Government. The taxpayers can put that down as the price of being orderly.

PUBLIC LAW 287

H. R. 6426. Technical Changes Act of 1953, Internal Revenue: Section 116 (a) (2) of the Internal Revenue Act was designed to encourage the flow abroad of American technical knowledge. It afforded immunity from United States income taxes for Americans remaining outside the United States for 17 out of 18 consecutive months. Movie stars with other individuals with large earnings seized upon the provision of section 116 (a) (2) as an inducement to go abroad to perform services customarily performed at home, thus holding onto their princely incomes without sharing any part with the Federal Government. Public Law 287 puts an end to the racket by repealing section 116 (a) (2). It makes a number of other changes which the experiences of time in the administration of the income and estate laws have suggested.

Of interest to Chicagoans (if any) who buy their cigarets by mail is the provision which fixes the venue of action for violation of State cigarette tax law. Please note that the venue is in Illinois, not the State from which the cigarettes are shipped. Thought you would want to know.

House Report No. 894, 1st session, 83d Congress, is an unusually well-prepared document setting forth the background and character of all the various technical changes of the 1953 act.

PUBLIC LAW 288

H. R. 6441. Facilities private financing of new ship construction: This measure has the distinction of being the last act of the first session of the 83d Congress to become a law of the land. It flew through the halls of Congress as quickly and as quietly as a summer's zephyr. The House passed its own version on July 31, the Senate amended by substituting its version on August 1, and the same day the House agreed to the amended bill. The President, left with a large basket of bills to read when Congress folded up on August 3, finally cleaned up the job on August 15 with his signature approving Public Law 288.

The purpose of the act is to encourage private financing for new ship construction for operation in the foreign trade of the United States. Since 1936 by far the greater part of ship construction has been financed under title V of the Merchant Marine Act, the owner paying 25 percent of the cost of the vessel and the Government taking a 20-year mortgage on the balance. Public Law 288 liberalizes title XI, which provides government insurance of private ship mortgage, with the hope that to some modest extent it will encourage the utilization of private funds for ship construction. The amount of Government insurance provided for is limited to 90 percent to leave to the private lender some share of the financial responsibility. I hope it is a good bill even though not too much is expected of it. But with your Representative, as with all his colleagues not members of the committee, it was all a matter of faith. You cannot learn much from a summer's zephyr.

BARRATT O'HARA.

Is the Price of Milk So High?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, much has been said lately about the high price of coffee. As one who enjoys a good cup of coffee. I can sympathize with the worried housewife who is attempting to make her budgetary dollar stretch.

I also note that some of my colleagues in Congress have expressed themselves rather emphatically on the subject of increased coffee prices. In fact, I believe that one of my colleagues from Wisconsin even suggested coffeeless Wednesdays as one means of balancing supply with demand.

I can go along with this suggestion if American consumers—including my congressional colleagues—will substitute a few glasses of good, wholesome, and nutritious milk on Wednesdays instead of coffee. I believe that this would also help reduce the alleged surplus of dairy products in the country.

To this end I wish to commend an editorial from the January 21 edition of the Durand (Wis.) Wedge-Courier on this subject.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the editorial:

IS THE PRICE OF MILK SO HIGH?

Just last month newspapers in Chicago reported that the price of a cup of coffee served at tables was going up to 15 cents. Coffee served at the counter still would cost a dime. Reason for the raise: Creeping cost of the coffee bean.

It is certain that protests against 15-cent coffee never will be as strong or widespread as the yammer which follows a 1-cent boost in the price of a quart of milk. Any time milk prices shift around people react like they would to a national crisis.

Public reaction to the prices of coffee and milk illustrates a paramount problem of the dairy industry—consumer attitude. People apparently do not want to understand that supply and demand have a direct bearing on the cost of milk, cheese, and butter. It is exactly the same supply and demand which affects the price of coffee, whether in the grocery or in the restaurant.

Unfairly, the public has become acutely aware of some dairy surpluses. There are a great many other commodities in surplus supply which also are supported by Government purchases. Few of them receive publicity. About all some people realize is that dairy prices are being manipulated, little reasoning that a major source of food is being protected for the day of bigger consumption ahead.

As long as prejudice exists against the dairy industry manufacturers of imitations gain favor in the market place. Surpluses of dairy

products tend to irritate the consumer. He feels prices should be lower. So he quits buying dairy foods and gulps imitations. An existing problem is multiplied.

Prejudice on the part of the public is one of the greatest overall problems of dairying. More should be told about cause and result. It behooves the dairy industry to educate the public concerning the value it receives from dollars spent on foods and beverages concocted from milk. Dairymen have no quarrel with the coffee industry. But is there any comparison, considering food value, between the price of a glass of milk and a cup of coffee?

Wisconsin farmers have joined hands this year to fight every competitor for the food dollar through the American Dairy Association. If the ADA spends wisely the funds it is collecting, the job of selling dairy products may be well done. It will take more than music and jokes, however.

Price Supports for Farm Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a letter from Walter P. Reuther, president of the CIO, written to Hon. CLIFFORD R. HOPE, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, on price supports for farm products.

This letter is of interest in that it shows the Secretary of Agriculture who is supposed to represent the interest of the farmer is shown here attempting to excite the city people against the farmer.

JANUARY 21, 1954.

The Honorable CLIFFORD R. HOPE,
Chairman, House Committee on Agriculture, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HOPE: We denounce Secretary of Agriculture Benson's attempt to incite city workers against farmers and farmers against city workers by falsely stating that city workers are opposed to price supports for farm products.

Having pursued a virtually do-nothing policy for the past year when farm surpluses, so-called, were piling up to $5½ billion while millions of people have gone hungry in this and other countries, Secretary Benson now puts a question to the Senate Agriculture Committee that reeks with irresponsibility and lack of courage:

"At what point will the 140 million Americans who do not live on farms rise up—as they did in the potato fiasco of a few years ago—and demand not revision but outright elimination of all direct aid to agriculture?"

We do not believe the 140 million Americans who do not live on farms are now or are likely to become opposed to all direct aid to agriculture.

They are aware, as specifically pointed out in the Eisenhower administration's budget sent to Congress January 20, that the direct Federal money aids to business exceed direct aids to agriculture, including net costs of price supports. The business aids do not include billions in additional subsidy given business apart from direct appropriation.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has appeared at House Agriculture Committee hearings across the country in support of farm programs that will meet the standards proposed by House Agriculture Committee Chairman CLIFFORD R. HOPE, Republican, Kansas:

"1. Productivity must be maintained at a level to insure at all times (a) a supply of food sufficient to meet the needs of an expanding population at home and (b) whatever obligations this nation may assume abroad; and

"2. Agricultural prices must be stabilized at levels that will afford farmers a fair share of the national income."

CIO members know that the American people are now being sucked into a spiralling recession that is farm-led and farm-fed, and that can only be checked and reversed by bold action.

Creeping unemployment that began in the farm-implement plants early in 1953 has now increased to more than 50 percent, and overall employment in the communities where these plants are located is now more than the 11 percent reported.

Notably, in the quad cities of Moline, East Moline, Rock Island, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa, where normally 55,000 men and women are employed, today more than 1 out of every 5 are out of work. In the 14 farm-equipment plants in these four cities, more than 17,000 production and maintenance workers are normally employed. Today only half are on the payroll, many downgraded to jobs paying 40 cents an hour less than they were making a year ago.

We know that the 16-percent drop in prices paid to farmers in the past 2 years and the $2.1 billion drop in net farm income, amounting to 14 percent, while the consumer price index rose from 112 to 114, have not only depressed the market for farm implements, automobiles, and trucks, but likewise have shrunk the markets for other products all across the industrial map. And this shrinkage has, in turn, resulted in cutbacks, shutdowns, layoffs, and short-time that further shrink purchasing power for both manufactured goods and farm products. We know that uncertainty and fear about future farm programs are making farmers postpone buying, even when they have funds, as proved by a transfer, during 1953, of $500 million from farmers' checking to savings accounts or bonds.

We want the members of the Senate and House Agriculture Committees and every Member of both Houses to know that we shall not be split away from and put in opposition to the working farm families of America.

As set forth in resolution 30, adopted at the CIO's 1953 convention, we shall support the development of farm programs that will insure continued abundant production and, at the same time, put adequate floors under the incomes received by these families for producing that abundance.

We suggest that, instead of trying to set American citizens at each other's throats, as Secretary Benson is attempting to do, the Eisenhower administration quickly address itself to this simple proposition:

That food is grown to be eaten and fibers are grown to be worn and used.

That those who produce the foods and fibers should not be penalized for abundant production, but must be assured adequate incomes.

That consumption should be increased by bringing about, through investigation, exposure and, if necessary, antitrust prosecutions, reductions in exorbitant markups of food prices from the time they leave the farm gate to the time they arrive at the retail counter.

That so-called surplus foods and fibers should be moved into consumption and use within this country and abroad by methods that will strengthen, not weaken, our own and our allies' economies.

Bushels of wheat, gallons of milk, sides of meat, and bales of cotton are the cheapest and most effective munitions that can be used here at home and in the worldwide fight to strengthen freedom against the open and concealed attempts at totalitarian infiltration, subversion, and aggression.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER P. REUTHER,
President.

Newspapers Hide Their Mooching on Uncle Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when American farmers receive a subsidy to support their falling prices, the world knows about the subsidy. In fact, farmers are openly and subtly lambasted from one end of the country to the other for accepting support prices.

However, when industry and business is the recipient of a subsidy in one guise or another, the public is not so well informed about these handouts.

This point is clearly illustrated in an editorial of the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times for January 20.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including this editorial which reads as follows:

NEWSPAPERS HIDE THEIR MOOCHING ON UNCLE SAM

American newspaper editors are a bunch of happy warriors when they take out after subsidies paid to farmers by the Federal Government. They print slanted news stories, cartoons, and editorials designed to picture the farmer as a blue-ribbon moocher at the public trough.

What these papers are careful to suppress is the fact that they themselves are dipping into the Federal Treasury for one of the fattest subsidies handed out by the Government—the second class mailing privilege. In 1952 it cost the taxpayers $242 million to subsidize mailing of the publications in this country.

An excellent clinical study of how the newspapers treat the news about their own special privileges was provided this week when an advisory council to the Senate Post Office Committee submitted its report on what to do about the Post Office Department deficit.

The council is composed largely of people who are engaged in business enterprises that benefit from the mailing subsidies—publishers, mail order house executives, and others. Quite naturally the report ignores the major cause of the deficit—the subsidy to the press. It recommends some housekeeping reforms that would result in savings and suggests that first-class mail bear the brunt of any increases in postal rates. This means, of course, that the average citizen who mails letters would carry the cost.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield has taken a courageous position on this issue. He has recommended that the free-loaders in the publication field accept an increase to make up the deficit, pointing out that letter mail shows a profit now while the big losses are in the mailing of publications.

This is the real issue between Summerfield and the council. But you would never know it from reading the stories in Tuesday's papers about the council's report.

When the report came out, it was promptly denounced by the Postmaster General as ridiculous and the product of fallacious reasoning.

Summerfield said that his Department would submit its own recommendations to the Senate on what to do about the postal deficit.

But the public was carefully shielded from the Postmaster General's views by the press. With few exceptions the radio commentators looked the other way. They have a professional interest to protect.

Tuesday morning's Milwaukee Sentinel had a long story on the council's report. But it failed to mention Summerfield's denunciation of the report. Down deep in the story on page 2 of the first section is carried a paragraph saying, "The Post Office Department has contended that letter mail shows a profit, but that newspapers and magazines (second class), advertising circulars (third class), and parcel post (fourth class), are responsible for the agency's big deficit."

The Chicago Tribune, which thinks that even Secretary of Agriculture Benson's program is too generous for the farmers and which says that farmers show lack of character and intelligence by accepting Government subsidies, ran a story on the council's report on page 1 of its second section. But it, too, ignored Summerfield's blast at the council.

On page 8, the Chicago Sun-Times devoted 2 paragraphs to the report, saying that a twice-a-day delivery had been recommended, but mentioning nothing about Summerfield.

The Wisconsin State Journal was more honest. It put Summerfield in the head on the front page story and carried his picture. It devoted 2 paragraphs of the 7-paragraph story to Summerfield, but there was no mention of the fundamental dispute between the Cabinet member and the council.

But all these papers gave great prominence to Secretary of Agriculture Benson's testimony on Monday warning against a revolt of city dwellers if farmers continued to get high rigid price supports for their products.

Another Weapon for the Government's Anticrime Arsenal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 7404 introduced January 20, 1954, is a bill which would give the Federal Government a right of appeal in criminal prosecutions after the court has knocked out evidence on which the Government relies.

This is a part of the crime legislation program in which the section of criminal law of the American Bar Association is deeply interested.

It is a very dangerous mistake for us to go on ignoring the challenges of big-time crime and criminal activity, which affect every community in our land.

This bill only has 18 words but it packs a wallop against the criminals. What it does is to plug an important loophole through which guilty defendants are now escaping. In some types of criminal prosecutions, such as narcotics and stolen property cases, the Government must depend almost entirely on evidence seized at the time of the arrest to win a conviction. If the defense succeeds in obtaining a pretrial order to suppress such evidence, there is no point in going ahead with the trial for all practical purposes. The case is lost before it even begins. At present, the Government has no appeal from this.

H. R. 7404 would permit such appeals. It would thus help save many prosecutions which are now lost by the Government on technicalities without ever reaching a trial on the merits.

The last phrase, "when the defendant has not been put in jeopardy" is necessary to avoid a constitutional difficulty—for the Government cannot appeal from an acquittal, once the trial has commenced.

A copy of the bill is attached:

A bill to amend section 3731 of title 18 of the United States Code relating to appeals by the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3731 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended by inserting after the fifth paragraph of such section (relating to appeal by the United States from the district courts to a court of appeals) the following new paragraph:

"From a decision sustaining a motion to suppress evidence, when the defendant has not been put in jeopardy."

Third Set of Remarks on George Delaney's Presentations on ILO

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, on two recent occasions I have presented to the House arguments in defense of United States participation in the activities of the International Labor Organization and in opposition to the misleading campaign waged by its opponents. I now propose to insert a third statement in the RECORD with regard to the ILO, as presented to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in its consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 1, the Bricker amendment. This statement was also prepared by Mr. George P. Delaney, international representative of the American Federation of Labor, and labor member of the ILO representing the United States.

In this statement Mr. Delaney deals with charges that the ILO has acted outside its proper scope in considering problems relating to employees' social welfare and security. He also refutes the allegation that the organization is "socialistically" controlled through a coalition of worker and government members. By citing the actual record of votes on issues and conventions in ILO proceedings the statement clearly demonstrates that the charge, as repeated in an article recently inserted in the RECORD, is built up out of whole cloth.

Mr. Speaker, my purpose in presenting this series of articles on the ILO is to clear away any misconceptions which may exist in the minds of my colleagues as a result of the false and tricky propaganda to which they have been subjected. It is my firm conviction that not only labor, but industry in the United States has benefited substantially from the workings of the ILO. The accomplishments of the organization in improving working conditions and raising pay levels abroad have done and will do much to create new markets and to reduce competition from the products of underpaid labor abroad. For the United States to weaken its support of the ILO would be more than a denial of the humanitarian principles which the organization has supported since it was founded in 1919. It would work practical damage to United States industry in maintaining our foreign trade position, a matter of much concern to the Congress and American industry and labor today.

The statement follows:

I appreciate very much this opportunity to appear before your committee to supplement the statement which I submitted on February 25. A meeting in Geneva of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization, where—in my capacity as a worker member—my attendance was required, made it impossible for me to appear personally at that time.

Since my return, I have had the opportunity to study some of the other statements submitted to this committee, particularly those which relate to the manner in which Senate Joint Resolution 1 bears upon the work of the International Labor Organization. I have been very much disturbed by certain allegations made here by employer representatives, and consider it my duty to do what I can to correct some of the serious errors of fact contained in their representations on this issue. I should like, therefore, at this time to supplement my previous statement with some further observations concerning the role and function of the ILO, as I understand that role and function.

It has been alleged, by Mr. McGrath, that the ILO today presents, and I quote, a "growing threat of the use of treaties as a means of transferring legislative authority over our domestic affairs from our own lawmaking bodies to an international agency." This statement has no foundation in fact. The ILO exercises no "legislative authority" whatsoever. It has no power over the domestic or international affairs of any nation, and there is no threat that any of this or any other nation's sovereignty will be "transferred" to that agency.

The ability of the ILO to influence the policies of its member nations depends entirely upon persuasion and the inherent virtues of the proposed standards drafted at International Labor Conferences, as the governments of the member nations view those virtues when they are submitted for their mature consideration.

The ILO is not in any sense a legislative agency or parliamentary body. It is a world forum of opinion, totally lacking any power of compulsion or coercion. The votes of delegates and the standards adopted at the annual conferences are in no way binding upon governments. If there is any threat of legislation in the domestic field, it lies at home, in the character and composition of our Government, where the sovereign power lies and where the final decision must be made, and not in Geneva, where there is no power to legislate.

The charge has been made that in recent years the ILO has gone far beyond its original purpose and has taken action in new areas which are outside its proper scope. Everyone

is, of course, entitled to his own opinion and interpretation as to just what matters are within the legitimate concern of the ILO. But I submit that if all of the items referred to in Mr. McGrath's testimony are to be regarded as outside these limits, then there would be very little left of any real importance or mutual interest to labor, management, and governments for that Organization to discuss. And I further deny that these items represent any new departure from established practice or an unwarranted expansion into new and hitherto unexplored fields.

Employer representatives have alleged, for example, that the adoption of a convention relating to social security matters involves a radical new departure from past precedents. This is not true. The subject of social security is not new to the ILO. Since its inception the ILO has dealt specifically and at length with many questions in this field. In 1925, it adopted two workmen's compensation conventions dealing with accidents and occupational diseases; in 1924, it adopted a convention relating to sickness insurance, and in 1933 it adopted three separate conventions in the fields of old-age insurance, survivors insurance, and invalidity insurance. The new social security convention was formulated because, in view of the number of such standards that had been adopted on the subject over the past 30 years, the governing body of the ILO decided that it would be advisable to review the field as a whole in order to correlate and modernize the various separate standards.

Furthermore, it is difficult for me to understand how this convention has any real bearing upon the resolution before this committee, or to any dangers which that resolution seeks to safeguard our established processes against. It would give the Federal Government no legislative powers that it does not now possess. Insofar as it may be appropriate for Federal action, it is not self-executing; it would require not only ratification by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, but the enactment of implementing legislation by both Houses. I submit that this is a more difficult hurdle than that which would be faced by a social security or health insurance bill introduced in Congress in the ordinary manner. And, insofar as the subject matter of this convention is deemed appropriate for State action, it will not be subject to ratification or Federal legislation, but will be forwarded to the States for such action as they may see fit to take of their own free wills. What precisely is there to fear in this procedure, and how does it relate to the substance of the pending resolution?

Witnesses have come before the committee, in support of Senate Joint Resolution 1, with horror stories of one sort or another, about the International Labor Organization. Their testimony has relied heavily upon misrepresentation and distortion, and has ignored the essential facts about the ILO—facts which show that, far from being a case in support of the resolution, the ILO and its procedures provide a good example of why the resolution is neither necessary nor desirable.

The rights of the individual States certainly have nothing to fear from the ILO. It is the only major international organization whose charter at the present time recognizes the Federal-State relationship existing in member States having a Federal type of government. The ILO constitution specifically provides that the government of such nations shall itself decide whether a convention is appropriate under its constitutional system for Federal action or whether it is appropriate, in whole or in part, for action by the constituent States.

Only in the former case, where States' rights are not involved, is the possibility of ratification considered. Consequently, our Federal-State relationships are fully protected.

Furthermore, very few ILO conventions are self-executing. Even if ratified, their implementation would require legislative enactments by both Houses of Congress in the usual manner. Only in rare cases would action by the Senate alone give effect to ILO conventions in this country—and if, in those few cases, the subject matter happens to be objectionable, the Senate has in its hands a very simple remedy. One-third of the Senate present, plus one, can kill a convention completely. The very small number of conventions which this country has ratified does not appear to give evidence of any danger that they may be slipped through wholesale, while the Senate is napping. It would be much easier to slip a camel through the eye of a needle.

Mr. McGrath has made a statement before your committee that completely misrepresents the position taken by labor and government representatives at the International Labor Conference as regards the Maternity Protection Convention. The issue was stated as one of whether or not employers should be allowed to provide maternity benefits to their female employees, and it was further stated that Government and labor representatives took a position in opposition to this. Liberties were even taken with the English language, when this employer representative asserted that a clause in the convention, which states that the employer shall not "be individually liable for the cost of such benefits," meant that employers would not be permitted to provide such benefits, either on their own volition or through collective bargaining, no matter how anxious they might be to do this. I submit to you that this a complete misstatement of fact and of the intent and effect of the convention. To me, and I believe to most people, there is a world of difference between the term "shall not be liable" and the term "shall not be permitted." I assure you that if I for one moment thought that this clause would outlaw arrangements made through collective bargaining or would prohibit employers from paying out as much in the way of benefits to their employees as their hearts desire, I not only would never have voted for it—I would have vigorously opposed it. And I believe that I understand the English language and the purpose and intent of the conference in approving this convention fully as well as does Mr. McGrath.

I do not believe that employers should be made legally liable for the payment of maternity benefits out of their own funds, and I believe that most employers would agree that such an approach would constitute an "undesirable practice." This was the basic issue involved in that phase of the discussion of the convention, and not whether an employer should be allowed to pay such benefits if he chose or could be persuaded to do so. I assure you that I, and every other sincere and conscientious delegate to the ILO, would be only too happy at the display of such humanitarian considerations on the part of employers. I only wish that such an attitude and such a willingness to meet this real human need was more prevalent—in actual practice as well as in pious phrases among the employers of the world.

But here again, after all is said and done and regardless of the merits of the content of the convention, it is hardly an appropriate case in point in support of the resolution before your committee. It is not self-executing, and simple ratification by the Senate would not put it into effect. Implementing legislation by both Houses of Congress would be required.

Similarly, Mr. McGrath referred to a number of ILO recommendations and resolutions in support of his position in favor of Senate Joint Resolution 1. For the purposes of the issue which your committee is now considering, the treaty power of the Government under the Constitution, these recommendations and resolutions are entirely with mendations and resolutions are entirely without bearing, for they have no status as treaties—proposed, suggested, or otherwise—and they are not subject to ratification. It is difficult to understand why the employer spokesman should have chosen to inject them into these hearings, unless it was for the purpose of making an irrelevant emotional appeal.

Now, sweeping allegations have been made to the effect that the International Labor Organization is a hotbed of socialism, and that it is dominated and controlled by a Socialist government-labor coalition, bent upon forcing Socialist programs upon the United States. One might reasonably expect, in view of the very loose usage which has been given to the term "socialistic" in recent years, that anyone sincerely interested in establishing an honest case to this effect would accompany such a charge with his own particular definition of the term. Otherwise it becomes virtually impossible to check these charges against the actual facts, in order to determine what specific merit, if any, attaches to them.

Certainly any blanket assertion that most of the member governments are socialistic in character should be called to account, before any serious credence is given to any arguments which proceed from such a premise. What are these socialist states? Does the term apply to the Conservative government of Winston Churchill in Great Britain—or to Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, the Philippines, Switzerland, Turkey, South Africa, or in one sweeping characterization, equally and in like degree to all the rest of the 66 member nations, save for the United States?

To some persons, any proposition which looks in the direction of the social or economic improvement of the conditions of life and labor is socialistic. If this is the definition that is to be employed in this instance, then I suppose the ILO must plead guilty, for that is the purpose of it.

But that is not what I understand by the term "socialism." In the most generally accepted usage of the term it applies, I believe, to an economic and political system in which the tools and facilities of production and distribution are predominantly under some form of public ownership and direction. Far from being in the majority, the member nations which could, by any reasonable stretch of the imagination, be regarded as conforming to that description constitute a very small minority, and might themselves be described as islands in a sea of free enterprise governments.

The large majority of the nations participating in the ILO are, allowing for variations in economic conditions and stages of industrial and political development, predominantly free enterprise in character, with production and distribution carried on, for the most part, under private auspices. And the political trend, if there is one in most countries in recent years has been in favor of governments of a more conservative character.

In fact, the very basis of the International Labor Organization rests upon the assumption that private enterprise economies, free societies, and democratic systems of government will survive and retain their essential character. Otherwise the instrument of tripartitism would be pointless.

There would obviously be no place for an organization like the ILO among nations in which all sectors of the economy were subject to government control or domination. Delegates from such a nation, whether they professed to represent government workers or employers would all in fact be minions of their government, and they would have no

use for a body which undertook to speak for freedom of association.

This has been most clearly demonstrated by the manner in which the Iron Curtain states have attacked the ILO, because of its anti-Communist character, as a tool of monopoly capitalism, and have sought to disrupt its procedures. The Communist satellite states which belong to the organization are there solely for the purpose of propaganda and obstruction.

Employer representatives have further asserted before this committee that the employer point of view has no opportunity to make its weight felt in the ILO because of an alleged pattern of voting under which employer delegates are invariably voted down by a government-labor coalition. One employer spokesman whom you have heard stated this, as follows, and I quote:

"Since, in ILO voting, government has 2 votes, labor has 1 vote, and employers 1 vote, employers were always voted down 3 to 1. On almost all of these proposed international socialistic laws, the United States delegation as a body voted 3 in favor as compared to 1 against."

This employer allegation is simply not a true representation of the facts, as those facts stand on the record. Suppose we consider that record for a moment.

Since the entrance of the United States into the ILO in August of 1934, American employers have participated in all the tripartite meetings attended by the United States, have always been elected by the employer group at the conference as one of the 8 employer members on the governing body, and have supported most of the decisions taken at those meetings. Employer delegates, for example, have voted for 31 of the 59 conventions adopted since 1934.

In the employer testimony to which I referred, a list of conventions which this gentleman professed to regard as covering matters which did not properly belong within the scope of ILO, and which he, therefore—by inference, at least—condemns, was presented. What was not presented to you at that time was the most insignificant fact that American employer delegates voted in favor of most of these conventions at the International Labor Conferences at which they were adopted.

This still does not show the full picture. Equally, if not more important, are the votes taken in committee or plenary sittings concerning decisions on matters of substance to be included or excluded from the standards.

For example, a tabulation of committee votes on the controversial social-security item at the 1952 conference shows that when the United States delegation vote was divided between votes for and against, the Government's coincided with that of the worker 40 times and with that of the employer 35 times. This certainly would not support any charge of undue bias on the part of Government delegates in favor of the worker position and against employers, nor does it indicate any impotence on the part of employers in the ILO. The final vote on the adoption of the convention, however, shows the United States employer voting against, with the worker and Government voting for.

While on this subject, in all fairness to the Government representatives to the International Labor Conference, another erroneous implication left by employer testimony should be cleared up. Throughout the discussions on the social-security convention, the American Government delegation took a position against and voted against the proposal that voluntary insurance must be subsidized by the Government in order to qualify as meeting the standards of the convention. As a result, under the revised draft which was finally adopted, voluntary insurance without any subsidy can be regarded as a measure in fulfillment of the terms of the convention.

Of course, the existence of a need for the improvement of any labor standard tends to be a much more controversial matter in the minds of employers than among workers or almost any other group. Employer delegates are naturally under greater pressure to register at least a record dissent on any formal vote. It is, therefore, quite remarkable and a testament to the reasonableness and moderation of the ILO approach, that in 32 out of 59 final record votes on conventions since the United States entered the ILO, the 3 groups in the American delegation were unanimous.

In closing, let me merely state that the American Federation of Labor does not look upon the ILO as an avenue for the attainment of any domestic legislative program that we cannot achieve in the ordinary way. To imply that such is our design, hope, or intent is to insult our intelligence and common sense, for it should be obvious to anyone who gives the matter any serious consideration that any measure for which we could not secure a favorable, simple majority in both House and Senate we could never hope to secure through a two-thirds vote of the Senate alone. So that, even if we were interested in such an approach—which we are not—it would not, as a practical matter, be open to us.

We view the ILO primarily as a means through which we can lend our constructive support to the efforts of other nations to elevate their own standards, through methods of their own free choice, to a more decent and humane level. Any failure on their part to accomplish this will injure not only their own workers, but the competitive position of the United States in the world economy, as well.

It is contradictory and inconsistent for any person to employ the cheap foreign labor argument to advocate higher tariffs on imported goods, and yet to oppose the efforts of other nations, with the aid of the ILO, to bring their labor standards up to a level approaching our own. Continued active support of the ILO is the only positive and constructive approach to this real problem. It is the approach which we of the American Federation of Labor endorse and prefer.

Up-to-Date Picture of Calumet-Sag Waterway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article in the December 1953 issue of Marine News, by William W. Huggett, president of the North Pier Terminal Co., chairman of the Chicago Regional Port District Board, and director and member of the executive committee of the Mississippi Valley Association. The article, which is entitled "The Billion-Dollar Mile—and Sixteen Sad Ones," presents the up-to-date situation as regards the Lake Calumet-Sag development, concerning which I have spoken so often during my years of service in this Chamber. Mr. Huggett's authorative and illuminating article, which follows, merits the careful reading and serious consideration of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle and from all sections of the Nation.

To the man who wishes to get some idea of the potentials of Chicago as a great inland port, I would say, "Take a trip to Calumet." Here, where the Great Lakes shipping enters the Calumet River, is a spectacle calculated to impress the observer with the vigor and vitality of this city of ours—for here has arisen what is possibly the heaviest concentration of industry to be found in any comparable area in the Midwest.

Taking justified poetic license, folks call this industrial strip the billion-dollar mile. Dominated by the huge plant of Republic Steel with its furnaces capable of turning out 1,500 tons of steel a day, this golden mile is something to stir, even awe the beholder. For here we have the steel and iron plants and allied industries. Here in a huge grain elevator and soybean-processing plant we have the biggest operation of its kind in the world.

Along this strip lie the huge ore boats and tankers from the Great Lakes shipping lanes. Here are tied up the oceangoing carriers that load and unload after traversing the St. Lawrence canals and the lakes.

But, unfortunately, I could not advise the visitor to probe too far inland. For, if he did, he would find as weird a set of contrasting conditions as he could find anywhere in the United States. Leaving the amazing spectacle of the billion-dollar mile behind him, he would find a situation that would so completely baffle him as to raise in his mind the wonder if perhaps we in Chicago were not quite as bright as we have been reputed to be. No one could blame the man who arrived at such a conclusion, for certainly all evidence exists to justify it.

Leaving the magnificent billion-dollar mile the visitor would enter the Calumet-Sag Channel. There he would be facing the potential link between the huge industrial concentration at Calumet and the inland sources of raw materials upon which this industrial giant must draw. He would never guess this to be the fact as he traversed the narrow, winding stretches of our 16 sad miles of ineptitude as they crawl under low bridges, pass through the obsolete and crumbling installation that can only be called a lock by one with a large bump of tolerance.

Along this twisting, narrow, shallow channel, barge operators by superhuman efforts push about 4 million tons of freight a year. The most conservative estimate by Army engineers is an immediate 18 million tons when the channel is made adequate for current needs.

To anyone who is familiar with the situation the contrast is a disheartening one, for along the strip of the Calumet River where the passage from Lake Michigan is adequate has arisen the industrial giant that looms so largely on the Chicago scene. Leaving the shadow of the towering mills and elevators one leaves all sense of activity, progress, and growth. The prospect along the Cal-Sag Channel is as sad as the 16 miles themselves, for here the silence is unbroken by sound or motion. On either side of the channel stretches a jungle of scrub oak, golden rod, and marijuana. In this stretch of ineptitude we have one of the worst bottlenecks existing anywhere on any transportation line in the Nation.

The situation is almost unbelievable in view of the historic significance of this channel's location, for this stretch of meandering and crippling channel lies squarely on the strip of land between the Great Lakes and the greatest inland waterway system on earth, a system that veins the incalculably rich Mississippi Valley that lies between the two great continental mountain chains. Along this system of waterways has arisen the greatest industrial empire in the world. That industrial empire has arisen because of

water, water for the insatiable appetite of industry and water to move bulk freight via the lowest cost system of transportation in existence.

And at the head of that system stands Chicago, acknowledged capital city of the whole vast empire, attempting to link the mighty system of inland waterways to the teeming Great Lakes with that apology for a channel, the Cal-Sag. The situation is really one to make all of us wonder if we are as bright and as forward-looking as we have always prided ourselves on being.

One of the strangest things about the whole situation is that it is absolutely, inexcusably wrong, not merely from a commercial and industrial standpoint but also from a purely historical one. Every thinking man, from the time of the explorer, LaSalle, to the present day industrialist, has always perceived clearly the unique position of Chicago as a key transportation center. Here, at the southernmost extremity of the great inland seas, Chicago sits on a narrow strip of land that separates the shipping of these seas from the natural inland waterway system that leads to the Gulf of Mexico and the oceans beyond.

Everyone from LaSalle down to the present time has always envisioned that strip of land as properly canalized to allow for the full, untrammeled flow of water-borne traffic that the situation made not only possible but inevitable.

That strip of land had to be canalized. Early in her history as a great city, Chicago realized that this had to be done if the city were to continue to grow. Just as this narrow strip of land on which she stood impeded the natural flow of traffic so it threatened to pollute and poison the city. Chicago had to stop the flow of sewage into the lake from which the city drew its drinking water. To do this the city cut through the strip of land, reversing the flow of the Chicago River, thus protecting the water of the lakes by diverting the flow of sewage inland.

It is rather indicative of the vision of the city fathers that when the canal was dug it was named The Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal. While the sanitation problem made the canal a must those who dug it were fully aware that a ship channel was almost as vitally necessary as was the sewage canal.

Later, when the present Calumet-Sag Channel was put through, the same drive of necessity governed. However, this channel, since it did not cut through the heart of a great modern city, was the logical one to become the vital link between the Lakes and the inland waterway system. There can be no doubt that this knowledge at least partly motivated the great industrial growth at the mouth of the Calumet River.

The amazing part of the whole story is that for more than 30 years everyone having anything to do with the situation has been fully aware that in the Cal-Sag Channel we have had a bottleneck that must be eliminated if Chicago were to realize its full potentials of growth. Every report on the channel turned in by the Corps of Engineers has strongly advocated the modernization of the channel. When it was brought before Congress the validity of the need was again recognized. In 1946, Congress formally authorized the project. Unfortunately no one in Congress or out of it seems to have exerted himself to the point of demanding that this absolutely necessary job be done. For instance, after authorizing the work, Congress never did get around to allocating funds for the project.

Because of this, the whole project stayed in the realm of a dream on drawing boards that continued to gather dust over the years. However, a ray of hopeful light has at last been directed to this stepchild of the waterways. This year the Mississippi Valley Association, an organization representing agriculture, industry, finance, and labor throughout the Mississippi Valley, began to turn the searchlight of honest publicity upon this almost moribund project.

It should be noted at this point that, as far as the Cal-Sag project was concerned, the Mississippi Valley Association, up to this time, had not shown what could be called aggressive leadership. But, this year, realizing the critical nature of the problem facing our inland waterways, the association sought to get an outstanding personality to enter the picture and supply the dynamic leadership and organizational ability which the situation demanded. This organizational reawakening was brought about by the appointment of Anthony G. Allison as special assistant to the President. The task assigned to Mr. Allison was that of revitalizing the whole program of the Mississippi Valley Association. The Cal-Sag project, quite naturally, became the first definite step to be taken in the broad, overall program. Almost immediately the effect of this move was felt throughout the Mississippi Valley area in the ensuing dynamic action and organizational results.

In the past many Chicago civic and business organizations, while interested in the Cal-Sag, had each gone its separate way and followed its own necessarily limited program. One of the first moves made by the new leadership was that of harmonizing all other organizations under the banner of a single program. The second major step was that of creating a Chicago committee of outstanding business and labor leaders. This committee was formed to give meaning and substance, first to the Cal-Sag project, and, second, to the overall constructive program of the association.

Nothing quite comparable to the Cal-Sag campaign has ever struck Chicago. Public as well as official reaction was instantaneous. The press, for instance, received the story, not as a local one but as one having real national significance.

In view of the discussion that has been aroused by the current campaign, let us take a look at the whole situation. Let us consider for a moment the "billion-dollar mile" of Calumet, and what it means to industry, finance, labor, and everyone involved.

To repeat, the carriers of the Great Lakes and from the Atlantic now tie up at the docks and piers in the shadow of the great mills and elevators. These carriers bring in the vast flow of iron ore and other raw materials needed to keep the industrial machine in production even as other such carriers take to the Lakes with their cargoes of finished products, and even as the volume of freight hauled by the railroads continues to mount.

But railroads and lake shipping constitute only part of the story. For, inland from this "billion-dollar mile," lie other raw materials just as essential to efficient production. Inland lies the coal, limestone, oil, sulfur, chemicals, and the long list of raw materials that are essential to industry. These are the raw materials which should reach the "billion-dollar mile" via the system of inland waterways.

Much of these raw materials reach it today via the antiquated Cal-Sag—but the handicaps imposed upon barge operators and towboat men are almost insuperable. Back along the inland waterways move the new units of transportation that have taken over during the past few years. Wherever freight moves on the inland waterways these units do the moving. These are the huge integrated tows of multi-thousand-ton loads pushed by the powerful, efficient diesel towboats. These are the units that have made of our inland waterways the most efficient carriers of bulk freight, such as coal, ore, grain and similar raw materials.

But the Cal-Sag Channel lies in its shallow and narrow length as a bar to sound operations. Approaching the Cal-Sag efficiency ceases. The big diesel towboats halt at the entrance to this channel. Tows have to be broken up and taken over by smaller towboats. Loads have to be inefficiently made up to meet the handicaps laid down by this miserable channel. It has even been necessary to develop and build a new type of towboat, one with a collapsible pilot house, to allow passage under antiquated bridges that also govern the height of loading on barges.

Any money spent on the modernization of this channel to allow the efficient tows to continue an uninterrupted journey from the sources of raw materials to the consuming industries would be money placed in the soundest kind of investment.

However, the huge savings possible in more efficient handling of freight, and the resultant rise in volume carried, is but part of the story. With the modernization of the Cal-Sag an even greater possibility of profit to the whole Chicago area immediately becomes inescapably apparent. We are talking now of the jungle of scrub oak, goldenrod, and marihuana that now lines the inept length of the Cal-Sag. This situation exists because of the condition of this neglected channel and will vanish when the condition has been removed.

The "billion-dollar mile" of Calumet didn't just grow by happenchance. It arose because there existed a proper channel for the movement of waterborne freight carriers. This industrial concentration grew inland just as far as this improvement allowed it to grow. And the growth stopped where the waterway improvements stopped.

The possibilities of the future along a modernized Cal-Sag are obvious. Along the weed-infested and idle banks of the present channel lie some 3,000 acres awaiting industrial development. They happen to form the one logical and unequaled area for industrial expansion within the Chicago area. No comparable acreage exists anywhere within the congested metropolitan area. And it lies there today, empty, a jungle of noxious growth simply because the present inadequate Cal-Sag Channel lies as a barrier to any industrial growth.

The rather amazing part of the present wide public demand for action on the Cal-Sag is that this is not, as too many people have believed, an issue that is purely local, for as the demand for action grows it becomes apparent that many people are interested. Men and industries all along the system of inland waterways, from the headwaters of the Missouri to the gulf ports of Mobile and New Orleans and the great inland port of Houston, are uniting in the demand that the disgraceful Cal-Sag Channel be put right.

This is so because the Cal-Sag is something more than a mere hindrance to Chicago's industrial development. The present Cal-Sag Channel is a transportation bottleneck that affects every carrier, every industry, every producer and consumer throughout the great midcontinent area. For this is the area of which Chicago is the natural capital and the connecting link between all sections and trade areas. As long as the Cal-Sag Channel lies in its present paralyzing and restricting condition the whole midcontinent area feels the effect of it in industrial and transportation activities.

This is so because the shipper of sulfur from the Gulf of Mexico is vitally concerned with delivering his vital mineral to the steel industry of the Chicago area and beyond to the other industries that must have sulfur all around the Great Lakes. Throughout the midcontinent area the large coal producers, quarry owners, refiners, as well as all the heavy industries are affected by a bottleneck that lies squarely athwart the system by which and upon which they have grown in efficiency and prosperity.

The project of modernizing the Cal-Sag Channel is today a "must." We cannot allow it to exist in its present deplorable con-

dition and expect to see continued industrial expansion and growth of trade and commerce in the midcontinent area. Of all the major challenges that face us in this area today, the Cal-Sag Channel rates at the top of the list. The money needed to carry through the Cal-Sag project becomes insignificant when we balance this cost against the benefits that will accrue to the whole Nation.

In this respect, it might be well to point out that national defense still remains the predominant consideration throughout industry. Our inland waterways have baled the Nation out of transportation emergencies in two world wars. This system of waterways is as necessary today as it was when it was moving the vast freight tonnages of World War II when no other agency could have moved them. Should we become involved in still another war, this one most certainly a real struggle for survival, our inland waterways system could spell the difference between victory and defeat. And on the whole of this critical and vital system there is no more immediate and pressing problem than that which exists in the Cal-Sag Channel.

Salaries of Post Office Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Honorable Martin H. Kennelly, mayor of the city of Chicago, Ill., with the accompanying resolution adopted by the city council, urging favorable consideration for an increase in the salaries of the post office employees.

I have long been an advocate for an increase in the salary of these loyal workers. They are a deserving group of people and should receive immediate relief under House bill 2344.

The matters referred to follow:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR, CITY OF CHICAGO,
January 21, 1954.

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: At the request of the Chicago City Council I am submitting for your consideration copy of a resolution adopted by the council in support of a bill now pending before the Congress, H. R. 2344, providing for a salary adjustment for post office employees.

Sincerely,
MARTIN H. KENNELLY, *Mayor.*

"Whereas there is now before the Congress of the United States a bill H. R. 2344, which bill provides for a salary adjustment for post-office employees; and

"Whereas the newer employees in the postal service, a majority of whom are veterans of World War II, have to work for years at substandard wages to reach a salary level commensurate with the effort and educational standard required for postal duty: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the City Council of Chicago, county of Cook, State of Illinois, That in view of the present mounting cost of living, that postal employees be provided with the means to live according to accepted American standards; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States hereby respectfully is memorialized to enact H. R. 2344 into law; and be it further

"Resolved, That suitable copies of this resolution be forwarded by the mayor of Chicago to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to each United States Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives elected from the State of Illinois."

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
County of Cook, ss.

I, Ludwig D. Schreiber, city clerk of the city of Chicago, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of that certain resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Chicago at a regular meeting held Friday, the 15th day of January A. D. 1954.

Witness my hand and the corporate seal of the said city of Chicago this 20th day of January A. D. 1954.

LUDWIG D. SCHREIBER,
City Clerk.

National Federation of Independent Business Opposes Hudson-Nash Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the squeezing of independent business through merger and monopoly is a constantly growing menace to all the free institutions of this country.

I submit herewith a recently published statement by Mr. Ed. Wimmer, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business:

HUDSON-NASH MERGER VIOLATES ANTI-TRUST LAWS—"ECONOMIC COLLECTIVISM"

(By Ed. Wimmer)

Approval of the announced Nash-Hudson merger, by the Federal Trade Commission, could easily become the straw that will break the Commission's back. I say this because enforcement of the antitrust laws, as they affect the merging of competing corporations, has become such a collosal farce, that Congress doesn't dare tolerate the situation any longer.

The Nash-Hudson merger is publicized as the only means of survival against the competition of the Big Three, and if this is true, then Studebaker and Packard would have to follow the same course. This would leave the auto industry with no independent, and hundreds of dealers, designers, engineers, salesmen, small suppliers, et cetera, would lose their businesses and jobs.

Is this America? Is this capitalism at work? Or is it a process of collectivism patterned after the British, Japanese, German, and Italian cartels, that ended in socialism, communism, fascism, and nazism?

The auto industry needs these independents desperately even though they do an infinitesimal share of the business, and we (the auto buying public) need them as a bulwark against a Big Three or Big Four monopoly. Instead of permitting this economic murder to take place, the Government should grant special tax concessions to the independents to enable them to compete until Congress gets around to unwinding their giant competitors.

Nullification of the antitrust laws began almost with their inception in 1895, when Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, for the express purpose of halting and preventing the growth of monopoly power. When the earliest cases reached the Supreme Court, majority opinions favoring the tycoons were handed down under what the justices called a rule of reason, or, in other words, a little monopoly here and there isn't going to hurt anybody. The end result of this philosophy caused Woodrow Wilson to say, in 1914, that "combinations of combinations in industry and finance are now bigger than State governments," and he called upon Congress to initiate legislation to "save the Nation" from trustification.

Following Wilson's appeal in 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Act which contained provisions clearly stating that the intent of the legislators was to prevent all mergers of competing corporations where there was any real tendency to lessen competition. At the same time, Congress created the Federal Trade Commission with the idea of its becoming a rampart against all forms of business practices or mergers tending to lessen competition in any field; but, 40 years later, the Commission stands almost helpless before corporate Frankensteins that dwarf the little economic States Wilson deplored.

It is argued that a Hudson-Nash merger would bring about economies which would enable these two independents to compete with the Big Three, and thus they might hang on a little longer, but is all this economic collectivism followed by big labor collectivism and the collectivisms of centralized government, what we want in this country? Are we going to swallow the economic tripe about big business efficiency that is dished out by the Lilienthals, Galbraiths, and Sumner Slichters, until the Goliaths take even our slingshots away from us?

The slack in our line is running out.

The Randall Commission Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, the report of the Randall Commission recommends that the President be empowered to lower our tariff at the rate of 5 percent a year for 3 years.

This is a strange recommendation.

It represents what the report describes as a gradual removal of remaining trade barriers. What it would actually mean would be stagnation of many industries and a slow death for others.

How can we hope to maintain full production, high employment, and a healthy flow of investment, if we confront many of our industries and agricultural pursuits with an unfavorable market outlook?

If we are to maintain an expanding economy or even one that will hold its own we cannot issue a warrant of economic strangulation to hundreds of our producers. We cannot afford to say to them that they are inefficient and uneconomic and better dead by exposing them to a form of competition that is based on much lower wages and other costs and burdens than our own industries are

forced to bear. Not only would it be unfair, since many of the burdens of our producers are the result of conditions and obligations that they themselves did not create but were forced upon them as a result of national policies; but the injury would not stop with just a few industries. It would spread from industry to industry. Distress areas have a way of spreading.

We saw it in 1949 and 1950. The Korean outbreak saved the day. Surely we do not want to depend once more upon such a circumstance.

The question is asked what would happen to our friends among the free nations of the world if we closed our door to imports. That would be a catastrophe indeed; but no one proposes to shut our door to imports. All that anyone asks is that imports be placed on a basis of fair competition, not that they be cut off or materially reduced.

Fair competition in the end will lead to a higher volume of trade than will destructive competition. We have learned that in this country. We outlawed sweatshop competition and we hear no one advocating that it be brought back. Our economy is much better off without it. What is good at home will also be good in our foreign trade. Fair import competition will lead to a higher volume than destructive competition.

What good will it do other countries that sell to us if they break our market and undermine our economy. If they tear us down by underselling our producers in our home market they will ruin the best market in the world. Free trade will be a hollow shell. It is as much in the interest of our friends across the seas as it is in our own interest to keep our own economy on a high level.

Reducing our tariff 5 percent per year or by any other arbitrary figure is at best unscientific and completely out of order. Nothing could be more clear than the difference in the amount of protection needed by different industries. Any across-the-board tariff reduction, even if further reductions might be justified here and there, would be the worst possible approach.

The Woman's Home Companion Calendar of American Freedoms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to append here to the article on The Companion Calendar of American Freedoms from the February 1954 issue of the Woman's Home Companion. Members are invited also to see the magnificent illustrations which cannot be reproduced here. Austin S. Igleheart president of General Foods and author of the calendar, has chosen his dates significantly and with balance. Here, indeed, is the memory, majesty, and mission of our country:

THE COMPANION CALENDAR OF AMERICAN FREEDOMS

WE THRILL TO THESE THINGS: OUR FLAG, THE BRIGHT HOPE OF A CHILD, THE SECURE WARMTH OF OUR BED, A HYMN'S SOARING STRENGTH—THESE ARE THE REAL FREEDOMS IN EACH DAY OF OUR LIVES

(By Austin S. Igleheart, president of General Foods)

When we worship as we please, when we take a job or quit a job, when we grumble about the men we have elected to positions of power, when we move freely from place to place, say what we think, write what we please—the exercise of such basic freedoms does not seem extraordinary to us. But it is. In the long tear-and-blood-stained history of the human race, the lamp of liberty has flickered only intermittently. Even today it illuminates only a few areas of this planet. Freedom is as fragile as it is priceless.

Here in this country the freedom of the individual has been protected for almost 200 years, a superb record. But this state of affairs did not come about by chance. In the beginning men were willing to die to establish it. Throughout our history other men have died to protect it. This spirit of sacrifice must be maintained at all costs. For if it dies, freedom will die with it.

It becomes, then, the sacred obligation of each generation to pass along to the next an awareness of the value of freedom. This calendar has been created with that object in mind. It does not pretend to be complete or final; other dates, equally valid, might have been chosen. But its designers hope that it may serve a useful purpose; that families will study it, that discussion groups will find in it the basis for thought, that teachers will talk about it, criticize it, pin it up on bulletin boards—all in an effort to keep alive and strengthen an appreciation among us of the great intangibles that have made our country great.

Beginning with my boyhood days on a farm in Indiana, my life has been spent in the food industry. No one has to remind me that where there is hunger, there is no freedom. People well fed are reasonable human beings; people half starved are an easy prey for totalitarianism. When we solve the world's food problems, we shall have gone far toward freeing ourselves from wars and the clash of ideologies.

In the meantime, we must guard our liberties jealously, remembering that people who set the highest value on freedom are those most likely to win and keep it. That has been true of Americans in the past. It must continue to be so in the future.

January 16: Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786)

All freedoms have their roots in religion. For this reason: if you concede that all men have a common Creator, the fatherhood of God implies the brotherhood of man.

The American belief in the right of freemen to worship according to their own conscience was clarified when Thomas Jefferson rose up in Virginia to claim that it was unfair to compel people to support by taxation an "established" church in whose forms of worship they might or might not believe. The tremendous assertions of his Statute for Religious Freedom might well be pondered today: that thought is not subject to coercion, that civil rights have no dependence on religious beliefs, that the opinions of freemen are not the concern of civil government. It is one of the great cornerstones of American freedom.

March 12: Truman Doctrine versus Communism (1947)

When World War II ended, many people hoped that our Russian allies would remain our friends. Disillusion came swiftly. By 1947 it became evident that we were confronted with a deadly tyranny.

The Truman Doctrine, which checked Russian expansion southward by offering military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, was one of the earliest postwar demonstrations of firmness that have since included the Marshall Plan, the Berlin airlift—and finally, Korea. The future may well call for similar action.

The forces of tyranny are clever and know how to twist words—even such a word as freedom. But they cannot alter facts. Next time you see an American cop shepherding school children across a busy street compare your feelings with those of a parent behind the Iron Curtain when someone mentions the secret police.

That, essentially, is the difference between tyranny and freedom.

February 22: Washington's birthday (1732)

It is rare that the birth of a Nation can be traced, even in part, to the birth of an individual. But that is the relationship between these United States and the monolithic figure of Washington.

Much of our freedom, we know, we owe to him but it is hard to see the man clearly. We have a way of dehumanizing our heroes with all sorts of myths and exaltations. We are more familiar with the cherry-tree legend than with the daring of the decision on Christmas Day to attack at Trenton or with the anguished doubts and prayers for guidance at Valley Forge.

And so to most of us his birthday is simply a holiday, a time to forget about work, pile the children into the family car and head for the open spaces. It may well be that we sense dimly that without the faith and fortitude of the stern-faced man on our dollar bills we might not have the opportunity to enjoy such a holiday or the freedom to spend it as we please. And perhaps, unconsciously, we try to transmit some of those qualities to our children, who will have to face the crises of the future.

April 6: United States entry into World War I (1917)

When this country abandoned its traditional policy of aloofness and entered the First World War, it was a date of tremendous significance on our calendar of freedoms. Realization had come to America that her own freedom is endangered when free nations anywhere are attacked.

It was an idealistic war to end war, a struggle to make the world safe for democracy. Neither objective has yet been realized. But it was demonstrated, powerfully and for the first time, that Americans would go anywhere to fight for freedom.

Freedom from war is peace—a freedom passionately desired by men and women everywhere—and especially by women. Woman holds in her hand the torch of life, and war is darkness and destruction and death. But there are worse things than war; one of them is slavery. Americans have always known this and ultimately acted on this knowledge. It is dangerous for tyrants and dictators to assume the contrary.

May 9: Mother's Day

Let's remember, too, the freedom of the family. The center of most families is the person who, when asked to give her occupation, hesitantly and not too happily writes down: housewife.

Was ever a title so wildly inadequate? Homemaker, dietitian, economist, psychologist, pediatrician, machinist, accountant, hygienist, hair stylist, clothes designer, laundress, taxpayer, voter, civic worker, organizer of charities, keeper of consciences, transmitter of ideals, hearer of small prayers—the American mother is all these things—and more. Her freedom to be them is one of the most important freedoms we possess.

Knowing this, then, Americans have set aside a day for her. Behind the telegraphed roses, beneath the sentimentality of Mother's

Day cards, runs a strong clear message of affection and gratitude.

"You are the mainspring," says that message, "you are the balance wheel. Without you all freedoms would be worthless."

June 14: Flag Day (1777)

It is no accident that our national anthem is a hymn to the flag. There is no more powerful symbol of the unity, purpose, and character of a nation. More than the flags of other countries, ours reflects our growth and origins. Its power to stir the emotions is legendary.

It has been said that women are not so quick to honor the flag as are men. If so, there can be only one reason: they associate the flag with war. It is not hard to see why this might be so.

But our flag is a symbol of peace as well as of war. It stands for justice and tolerance as well as courage and patriotism. It represents what we hope to become as a nation, not merely what we have been and what we are.

Anyone who likes to ponder symbols might do well to consider the emblems of those who, behind their Iron Curtain, oppose us. The hammer, the sickle, the clenched fist—all are potential weapons. There is no menace to humanity in a field of stars.

July 4: Independence Day (1776)

Americans can show their independence in ways unknown in many other lands. If they do not like their job, they can quit; if they do not like their wages, they can strike; if they do not like their politicians, they can vote them out of office; if they get fed up with one political party, they can join another; if they disapprove of a law, they can speak openly against it and work to change it. They learn, while still young, to stand on their own two feet. They celebrate Independence Day with family picnics and patriotic speeches, with hot dogs, traffic jams, sunburns, fireworks that blaze bright against the summer night; and in the fiery tracery of the rockets and Roman candles, anyone with eyes to see can read an ancient message: "Freedom breeds independence; independence guarantees freedom."

It's quite a heritage, at that.

August 26: Nineteenth amendment, woman suffrage (1920)

In this day and age, with women in the Cabinet, women in both Houses of Congress, women active in industry and the professions, it seems fantastic to recall that only a few years ago a great debate raged over whether women were fit to vote at all. Then suffragettes had to combat a set of prejudices going back to the Stone Age. They were arrested, laughed at, vilified, thrown into jail.

But today their work lives in countless subdivisions of freedom: pure-food laws, prison reform, free clinics, better schools, more libraries, abolition of child labor. If men had been as superior as they thought, some of these needs might have been attended to a little earlier.

November 2: Election day

The most serious responsibility of a free people is to remain free. They can do this only by governing themselves. Just one satisfactory method for self-government has ever been devised: the ballot, with each individual casting one vote.

Even so, our record at the polls is none too good. There are obviously too many people who enjoy freedom but will not support it. Next to freedom of worship, freedom to vote is the most basic of all freedoms. "While the people retain their virtue and vigilance," said Lincoln, "no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the Government."

That is true. But it will remain true only so long as we keep the right to vote freely and secretly, and we will keep that right only so long as we use our right to vote.

September 22: Emancipation Proclamation announced (1862)

"As I would not be a slave," wrote Abraham Lincoln, "so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy."

No nation is perfect and our failure always to respect the rights of minorities has given distress to our friends and ammunition to our enemies. What our enemies fail to mention is the rate of improvement of race relations in our country. In the last decade the Negro, for example, has made mor real progress than he made in the previous 80 years.

It seems incredible, when you watch Jackie Robinson blast a home run, that Negroes should ever have been excluded from major league baseball. Someday other forms of discrimination may seem equally incredible. This is inevitable in a climate of freedom.

October 24: United Nations Day (charter effective 1945)

If war is to be abolished, if our children are to grow up in the sunlight, unshadowed by the terrible mushroom cloud, nations must sit down voluntarily to discuss and debate the great issues of the planet. Some form of world government is essential in which nations retain their individuality, their identity, all their proud traditions, and yet submit to international law based on supranational morality.

Toward this ideal we are groping slowly. Still unrealized is the vision Tennyson had of a future where "the war drum throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World." But we are closer to it than anyone living 50 or 100 years ago dared hope. We may not live to see it ourselves. But unless in the meantime we halt the march of civilization completely, our children will see it. Or their children will.

December 7: Pearl Harbor (1941)

This is not a date for Americans to be proud of, but it belongs on the Calendar of Freedom. Pearl Harbor belongs here as a grim reminder that on this date, a dozen years ago, through carelessness and complacency, we camp terrifyingly close to losing our freedoms.

"A day that will live in infamy." So it will. But it should also live in our national memory as a day of solemn warning.

"The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt." So spoke John Curran in 1790. His words are just as true now as they were then. We would do well to remember them, all of us, all the days of our lives. And teach them to our children.

TVA After Two Decades—Some Questions for the Critics of TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Mr. Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, delivered before the Kiwanis Club in Memphis, Tenn., on September 30, 1953. This splendid address is replete with facts and information concerning the important work and functions and accomplishments of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and many answers are provided to the critics of the TVA.

I commend the reading of this address to Members of the Congress and the Nation. The address follows:

SOME QUESTIONS FOR THE CRITICS OF TVA

I

In the next few months a wider understanding of the facts about the TVA and the Tennessee Valley, an old story to many of you, will become more and more important to the future of this region and the future of the Nation. In speaking to you, the citizens and businessmen of Memphis, I want to talk about the contribution of the Tennessee Valley to the people of the whole country. For what goes on here in the Tennessee Valley has importance far beyond the confines of this region.

Why does TVA continue to be the object of so much sound and fury? I suggest the answer lies in the simple fact that the TVA continues to be successful in what it was set up to accomplish for the public interest with the people of this region and for the greater strength of the United States.

Let me recite the story briefly: TVA has harnessed the Tennessee River and its major tributaries with a system of 29 dams, 20 of them built by TVA.

Floods have been controlled; we can measure the benefits in dollars.

A new waterway has been opened; we can calculate the savings to shippers.

Malaria is all but eliminated; how do you put a dollar value on that?

A thriving multimillion dollar recreation industry has appeared, sparked by the attractiveness of TVA lakes.

Electric power has been developed economically and its widespread and abundant use encouraged by a dynamic low-rate policy in the hands of locally owned and locally managed distribution systems. TVA power has paid its way and more; its revenues cover all costs and provide a substantial return on the power investment; Federal funds invested in the system are being repaid to the United States Treasury ahead of schedule.

Chemical research and experimental production of fertilizers have led the way to more efficient farming and better protection of the land on thousands of farms. Planting of seedlings, protection of woodlands from fire, and more intelligent private management of the forests have been encouraged to reestablish the beauty and economic value of this great asset. A carefully nurtured habit of cooperation with other agencies, as suggested in the TVA Act, has helped States, local agencies, and private enterprise to show more initiative and to shoulder more responsibility for conservation and wise use of the valley's natural resources.

II

If a region has been strengthened and made more prosperous and productive from the wiser use of its natural resources, then clearly the whole Nation has gained.

The Tennessee Valley is becoming one of the more important production areas of the Nation. The generation and use of electricity is a significant index of increased industrial and economic activity. In 1933 the region now served by TVA power produced and used 1½ billion kilowatt hours of electricity. In the fiscal year 1953, the TVA area used 18 times as much—27 billion kilowatt hours, and the growth in power requirements continues year after year.

Between 1929 and 1950, employment opportunities in manufacturing establishments in the Tennessee Valley increased 72 percent, as compared to an increase of 41 percent in the Nation as a whole.

Since 1929, there has been a net increase of some 1,600 new manufacturing and processing plants in the Tennessee Valley and the areas supplied by TVA power.

These new manufacturing plants represent an expansion of the privately owned productive capacity of the Nation. They are not plants stolen from other regions.

A sweeping change in farming—the strongest bulwark of private enterprise in the valley—is literally rebuilding the agricultural economy of the Tennessee Valley.

One of the better indices of economic growth or decline is per capita income payments to individuals. In the United States it has been increasing since 1929. But it has been increasing at a much faster rate in the region served by TVA. In the prosperity peak of 1929, the average per capita income in the region (201 counties) was only 44 percent of the average for the Nation. But by 1952, it had risen to 61 percent of the national average.

In round dollars, here is what has happened: The income of the people living in the Tennessee Valley region in the single year of 1952 was about $5.9 billion; this was $1.65 billion more than it would have been had the per capita income for the valley increased at a rate no faster than it did in the Nation.

Has this increased income helped the rest of the country? Let's look at a few facts.

1. This $1.65 billion extra income in 1952 increased the purchasing power for consumer goods made throughout the country—most of it was spent for things made in other areas. As an example, the people of the valley spent about $110 million more for the purchase and operation of automobiles than if they had received the same proportion of the national income as in 1929. The market for food, a portion of which is produced in the Middle West, Far West, and Florida, was expanded by $440 million.

2. Nor is that all. Even a larger proportion of the money provided for the TVA has, in fact, gone to other parts of the country. Through the fiscal year 1953, the TVA had used nearly $1.4 billion for manufactured or processed articles (ranging from turbines and generators on down), for raw materials, and for miscellaneous services. Of this total, about $866 million, or more than half, was expended outside the Tennessee Valley States.

3. The low electric rates that fully cover all costs, and more, have made this region the bonanza market for electrical appliances. Since the war, the electric consumers of the TVA service area have spent a billion dollars for electrical appliances, practically all of them made outside this region—in the North, the East, and the Middle West—where your dollars keep men at work.

4. And then I ask you to think about this: Since 1933 the 7 States of which the Tennessee Valley is a part have been paying an increasingly larger proportion of the total individual Federal income taxes of the Nation. In 1933, the income taxes paid to the Federal Government by individuals in these States amounted to 3.4 percent of the total of such taxes in the country; in 1952, the individual income taxes from the 7 Valley States amounted to 6.2 percent of the national total. The proportion thus paid by this region has almost doubled.

Having pointed to these facts, I can predict that some unfriendly or misguided critics will promptly assert, as they have on previous occasions, that these encouraging things would have happened without the creation of the TVA.

Even the most ardent boosters of the TVA, myself included, claim no more than a modest share of acknowledgment for the TVA in this record of results. But no amount of argument can wish away the far-reaching effect of taming the Tennessee River and putting it to work, a task too large for any agency other than the Federal Government to undertake. And you can be sure that some of these same critics talked differently in 1933 or even in 1939. Then they were saying: "All these dams TVA is building will be a waste of money; the people of the Tennessee Valley can't possibly use more electricity; the farmers can't afford electricity; navigation is a sham; industry will be scared away by this horrible venture into socialism"—and so on.

The people of the Tennessee Valley moved right ahead, and the TVA moved ahead with them. The facts of the valley's accomplishment now embarrass the prophets of failure, so they change their tune. But they can't argue both ways. And either way they argue, the facts stand up and talk back.

The facts apparently were persuasive to our utility neighbor across the river in Arkansas. I read in Business Week a while back that the very able and industrious president of the Arkansas Power & Light Co., Mr. Hamilton Moses (and here I quote from the May 30, 1953, issue of Business Week), "has been afraid of something like an Arkansas TVA for 20 years. He has fought it by pushing rural electrification, by selling power to rural cooperatives cheaper than the Government's power system could, and by building Arkansas." Such emulation is an eloquent compliment to the influence of the TVA example. What better proof of the fact that the benefits of the investment in TVA are felt and enjoyed outside the Tennessee Valley?

III

With the world in trouble we must not forget national defense. The facts of TVA's achievement spoke so loudly during World War II that some of TVA's most vocal critics were willing to concede that TVA's prewar developments served the Nation well in hastening the end of the war. The Tennessee Valley was literally a wartime arsenal. TVA built dams on the double quick to supply power for aluminum required in the manufacture of our giant bombers. The atomic energy plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn., took great quantities of power supplied by the TVA. The navigation channel helped relieve the wartime pressure on other forms of transportation. New forms of highly concentrated fertilizers helped to increase food production, both at home and abroad. TVA's experience and facilities in phosphorus production enabled it to supply 60 percent of the elemental phosphorus needed by the United States Armed Forces for smokescreens and bombs.

If TVA's performance shortened the war by a mere few days—and some observers assert that and more—the dollars, to say nothing of the lives, thus saved would more than equal every dime invested in the TVA to date.

Low-cost TVA power has saved money for all the taxpayers because Federal projects, such as the atomic energy plants and the Tullahoma wind tunnel, could count on TVA.

The taxpayers' bill for aluminum for planes and for chemicals to be used in munitions is lower because of power from TVA.

By 1956, when the giant steam plants TVA is building are in full operation, TVA will produce more than 60 billion kilowatt-hours a year; almost one-half of this electricity will go into the atomic-energy plants.

Because TVA was able to provide power for the development of the atomic bomb and later installations of AEC, that agency of the Government was not forced to pay the standard rates of private companies. When you read in the trade journals of low rates charged by Electric Energy, Inc., an association of private companies providing power to AEC at Paducah, Ky., or Ohio Valley Electric Co., organized to provide power to AEC in Ohio, you might ponder whether the rates at which TVA is able to serve AEC may not be a factor in the lower-than-average rates offered by the combined companies. And remember that even as little as a mill-a-kilowatt-hour difference will mean about $50 million less a year on the power bills for the several large installations AEC is building. And do not forget that the taxpayers pay the electric bills of the atomic-energy plants.

These are a few of the facts of record which reveal the national-defense value of the Federal Government's investment in the Tennessee Valley.

IV

The Tennessee Valley's fast-growing development is paying off. And so is the TVA.

The Federal Government has, of course, put a good deal of money into the Tennessee Valley-TVA development during the past 20 years. This investment in the TVA is paying off in many ways. There is the direct return from TVA's power investment, and there is the indirect return from the nonrevenue-producing facilities devoted to navigation, flood control, and the like. The investment is amply justified on the narrower basis of the direct return, and on the broader basis of indirect benefits, I venture to predict that historians will judge it as one of the best investments this country has made since the Louisiana Purchase.

The TVA navigation facilities are part of the same dams that control floods and produce power. If the Tennessee River had been made navigable by a system of single-purpose low, navigation dams, it would have cost about $230 million. The TVA made the Tennessee River navigable for $156 million. And that investment is paying out in various ways.

Today's traffic on the Tennessee River, where almost none existed before, is an example of a good return. River traffic increased from 33 million ton-miles in 1933 to approximately 834 million ton-miles in 1952. Shipments terminating here in the Tennessee Valley also benefit the shippers at the other ends of the line—automobiles from Michigan, coal and gasoline from Illinois, wheat from Kansas, oil and gasoline from Louisiana—all along the Missouri or the Ohio or Mississippi Valleys. Savings to shippers last year alone reached $10 million.

Your sister city of Chattanooga knows something about the return on the flood-control investment in TVA dams: Since 1936, floods prevented at Chattanooga alone have saved the equivalent of more than one-fourth of the flood-control investment in the entire TVA system. Here again, TVA's multiple-purpose dams provide a windfall in low-cost flood control. The same flood-control benefits from a system of dams without power or navigation would have required more than $250 million. The TVA system has provided it for $178 million. In flood prevention in the Tennessee Valley and on the lower Ohio and on down the Mississippi, we can now measure the return on the investment by the flood damage that does not happen, the levees and farmlands that are saved, because the TVA dams have the Tennessee River under control. Our engineers estimate the value of TVA dams for flood control on the lower Ohio and Mississippi to be some $200 million.

But let's get down to the question which invites debate whenever TVA electricity is mentioned beyond the boundaries of this region. Do the taxpayers of the country help you pay for your electric-light bill in Memphis? The private-utility propagandists say they do, because TVA pays no Federal income taxes and but little interest. But what do the facts say?

The investment in power facilities in the Tennessee Valley consists of two parts: (1) A federally owned generating and transmission system and (2) locally owned distribution systems.

1. The completed dams, generators, heavy transmission system and related assets that produce and deliver power to the city gates and substations of the 148 municipal and rural electric cooperatives are owned by the Federal Government through the TVA. The

original cost of these assets is $977 million. Their present depreciated cost is $856 million.

The Federal Government's portion of this system has been financed in part by appropriations, in part by bonds, and in part by use of TVA's revenues. To finance this investment TVA has secured $723 million in funds directly from the United States Treasury in the form of appropriations or bonds. The remaining $133 million, representing 16 percent of the net investment, has been provided from the net proceeds of the power business. This has reduced the amount of appropriated funds which would otherwise have been required to finance the present system. In the past 20 years the net income from TVA's power operations was $235 million. This represents a return of more than 4 percent on the net average investment (original cost less depreciation) of the Federal Government in the TVA power system. This return is what's left after paying all costs of operation, depreciation, and payments in lieu of taxes to State and local governments. This return more than covers the cost of money to the Government.

2. The distribution facilities that carry electricity from TVA delivery points to more than 1,300,000 retail consumers are owned by the public distributors—the cities, towns, and rural cooperatives. These properties originally cost some $400 million. Their present depreciated cost is $330 million.

The investment made by the people of the valley in its distribution systems is likewise paying out. Your own Memphis distribution system has been paying interest on its bonded debt, earning a very respectable net income, and has retired a substantial portion of the debt incurred at the time you purchased your system. The same can be said generally for all distributors of TVA electricity. In the past fiscal year the municipal and cooperative systems had combined receipts in excess of $119 million. The combined net proceeds from their operations after all expenses, including depreciation, taxes, and tax equivalents, were $26.3 million. The average rate of return on the net investment was 8.5 percent.

And what about TVA's cash payments to the Federal Treasury? Up through June 19, 1953, the TVA has paid back to the Federal Government $81 million from power revenues. This $81 million is in addition to the $133 million of power revenues invested directly in TVA power facilities.

Under plans now given effect by law, the TVA will return to the United States Treasury amounts out of surplus proceeds sufficient to repay, within 40 years, the funds provided by the Congress to build the TVA power system. Our payments under this law are well ahead of schedule. As our system gets larger and our revenues increase, our payments of cash into the United States Treasury will soon and frequently exceed $50 million a year.

TVA tax payments on power sold to municipal and cooperative systems, plus the payments of these systems themselves, amounted to some $6.7 million in 1952; this was about 6½ percent of the total revenues from the ultimate consumers served by the local agencies. In comparison, State and local taxes paid by 12 large private utilities in neighboring areas averaged 7.8 percent, according to 1951 records of the Federal Power Commission. As consumers of TVA power, you pay in your rates about the same contribution to the costs of State and local government as your neighbors in private utility territory.

TVA is not required to pay Federal income taxes. All of TVA's income belongs to the Government. But if a share of TVA's power earnings, after setting aside the equivalent of interest, were earmarked for income taxes in the same proportion as for private utility companies, there would still be something left for a dividend to the taxpayers.

If you want a measure of what the consumer of TVA electricity pays toward the costs of running the Federal Government—that is, a tax equivalent—ponder this fact: In the past 12 years (since TVA began large-scale power operations), each consumer, on the average, has paid for the cost of producing the electricity and enough more to cover the Government's cost of money and, in addition, has paid about $13 each year, through TVA, to the Federal Government; this is to be compared with an average of about $10 per consumer paid to the Federal Government through private power companies in the form of income taxes.

v

Those who loosely throw the label of subsidy at you, the electric consumers served by your city and TVA, ought to talk more candidly about their own sources of funds. Perhaps you have heard of tax certificates for accelerated amortization. This arrangement makes interest-free loans from the United States Treasury to private corporations. This device, available by Federal law and enacted when the Korean war started, is designed to encourage private business firms to build facilities for national defense which cannot be justified by ordinary investment standards. The House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, in the report issued in May 1951, described this scheme for production for national defense as the biggest bonanza that ever came down the Government pike.

I am not trying here to appraise the need for this arrangement for business in general. I can well understand that a munitions company might hesitate to expand its munitions productions unless protected against the risk of peace. The same thing might well be true of chemicals, metals, and other materials used in the weapons program.

The justification in the case of electric utilities is not so clear. The demand for power in this country increases steadily. The utilities have been loath to talk about this big bonanza they have been receiving. For example, the Virginia Electric Power Co. has been trying for years to get Federal Power Commission approval for the construction of a dam at Roanoke Rapids on the Roanoke River. They have engaged in years of litigation with the Federal Government in order to maintain their preferred right to construct this dam—the power from this dam was needed in their system, they said. Finally, success crowned their efforts and they received a license from the Federal Power Commission. You would have thought that this was the clearest kind of case of a project that was required for peacetime purposes and where no special national defense incentive was necessary, but Virginia Electric Power Co. nevertheless requested and received a tax amortization certificate for this project. When the American Public Power Association protested, the president of the Virginia company responded blandly that there was no reason for any one to get excited, that what was involved was only postponement from one period to another of tax payments that would eventually be made in any case. He said, and I quote, "That's all there is to it." Let's see if that is all there is to it.

As of June 1953, according to the Defense Electric Power Administration, 636 electric power projects have received certificates for rapid tax amortization. These projects will increase United States electric power capacity by some 22 million kilowatts. Incidentally, that is the equivalent of about 48 Fulton steam plants.

The total cost of these private utility projects is estimated at $8.9 billion, of which, and this is the important figure, $1.8 billion, or nearly one-half, has been certified for rapid tax amortization. What does this mean? It means that private utilities are granted tax savings in the intial 5 years totaling $770 million as an interest-free loan from the Federal Government.

The earnings from this $770 million, at 6 percent a year if left in the business, could increase the stockholders' equity by almost $2 billion by the time the loan is repaid. Or, if the earnings are taken out as dividends, the stockholders get a windfall of some $730 million, financed by United States taxpayers.

You may be interested in some of the figures by individual States: The private utilities in Mississippi have some $25 million covered by these Federal tax saving certificates; in Alabama, $44 million; in Louisiana, $37 million; in Michigan, $101 million; in Ohio, $199 million; in New York, $151 million.

Over in Arkansas, for example, the Arkansas Power & Light Co. has been granted certificates for rapid tax amortization totaling some $33 million. Under this plan of Federal aid, through an interest-free loan from the Federal taxpayers, the Arkansas Power & Light Co. can extract a special benefit for the stockholders of the company ranging from $13 million to more than $40 million, depending upon how they use the money.

The utilities are proud of the growth of their power systems. Their pride is natural. However, when they tell you about their plans for new power projects they do not tell you how the Federal Government has underwritten the financing of a large part of their program. They do not explain that their faith in the future growth of the regions they serve is not sufficiently strong for them to build plants without a tax amortization certificate.

You and I are helping, through our Federal income taxes, to provide this windfall for our utility neighbors. Now, perhaps some people would call the interest-free feature of these loans a subsidy from the Federal Government. If it is, it is a Federal subsidy not to the power consumers of the Arkansas Power & Light Co.; it is a subsidy from the Federal Treasury, the taxpayer, to the stockholders of the company.

The utilities can pay these interest-free loans back to the Governoment over the next 30 or 40 years in the form of normal taxes, whatever they may be. During that time, TVA power consumers will be paying back through your city and rural cooperative systems and TVA every dime of appropriated funds invested in the TVA power plants. But here's the big difference: When the interest-free loan is paid by the utilities they will still own the plants; and the revenues therefrom, including the windfall from the use of the free money. When the TVA appropriations are repaid, the taxpayers, through their Federal Government, will still own the TVA plants, and the revenues therefrom.

When you hear the word "subsidy" again as applied to your power bill, ponder this magic Federal-aid program—these interest-free loans from the taxpayer—for the private utilities and ask the user of the word "subsidy" to explain it.

Incidentally, I read in the papers that Mr. Moses, the president of the Arkansas Power & Light Co., had some unflattering things to say about the TVA recently. He apparently believes that the TVA wholesale rates are too low, so low that they represent an alien philosophy. I looked into the matter a bit and found that in 1951, the latest year for which the figures are available, the REA reports that the Arkansas Power & Light Co., in service to 12 REA electric cooperatives, charged an average of 5.2 mills per kilowatt-hour. Now the average rate charged by TVA to cooperatives in this area was 5.1 mills per

kilowatt-hour—that's one one-hundredth of 1 cent less than the Arkansas Power & Light wholesale rate. Apparently, you and I are expected to believe it is that one one-hundredth of 1 cent that makes the TVA rate an example of alien philosophy. And it is this TVA wholesale rate that covers the cost of operation, including depreciation, covers the cost of money to the Government, provides tax equivalents to States and counties, and, in addition, collects $13 per consumer each year for the Federal Government as compared with $10 from the private utilities.

Having looked that far into the matter, I got interested in some other comparisons. This past year Memphis paid TVA 3.9 mills per kilowatt-hour, which is only six one-hundredths of a cent less than the lowest price charged by the Arkansas company to a rural electric cooperative; it is only 1.3 mills less than their average 1951 wholesale price to cooperatives. Yet a residential user in Little Rock who buys 250 kilowatt-hours must pay the Arkansas company 2.95 cents per kilowatt-hour as contrasted to the 2 cents that the Memphis consumer pays for that same amount of electricity. Here is a price differential of about 1 cent paid by the ultimate consumer; yet the wholesale price charged by TVA is only six one-hundredths of a cent less than the Arkansas company charged one of its wholesale customers.

TVA's wholesale rate is not much different from other wholesale rates. The rub is in the low rate charged by the distributors of TVA power—that's where the yardstick is. And Major Allen, the president of your electric system here in Memphis, can tell you that the Memphis resale rate is ample to keep the distribution system in the black.

VI

The TVA is a program to strengthen a region in the interest of the whole Nation.

Some of the things being demonstrated here—low electric rates, for example—have an important influence on the price of electricity in other parts of the country. The low TVA rates prompt many electricity consumers to ask why they have to pay more for electricity where they live. This question makes some private utility executives uncomfortable and occasionally very vocal.

In fact, there is a well-organized campaign—it has been going on a long time—now in full cry, trying to make people believe that you in Memphis and throughout this region, where TVA electricity sparks a growing private enterprise, are getting a Federal handout—a subsidy from the Federal Treasury—through your power contract with the TVA. This view has been expressed in high places and along the street. Some who voice this notion are no doubt well intentioned, but they are also misinformed. Others, such as private power-company spokesmen, have an ax to grind; they would like to make you ashamed to pay so little for electricity; they are cunning enough to realize that if they can smear the TVA, the TVA may have difficulty obtaining capital for new powerplants. If TVA cannot expand power supply, if it cannot build new capacity, such as the proposed Fulton plant just north of Memphis, the region will have to buy power from neighboring private utilities at whatever price the utilities name. They hope that will boost retail rates in Memphis; in Knoxville; in Johnson City; in Bristol, Va.; in Tupelo, Miss.; in Decatur, Ala.; in fact, all over the area served by TVA. If the private utilities can accomplish that, they remove the irritating, provocative example of low-cost electricity—where public records illuminate the elements of cost and price, that is the TVA yardstick. Its influence has saved electric consumers over this Nation many millions of dollars in these past years.

The private utility brethren are busy again trying to indoctrinate the electric consumers of the Tennessee Valley into the glory and prestige of high electric rates—pay more, they say, and you can get off your knees, stand up straight, and be free again—free to pay whatever the power companies decide you must pay for electricity.

Let me say in all seriousness that whether the people of Memphis, who voted the private utility company off its streets and off its backs 19 years ago by a vote of 17 to 1, want to return to the old system is your decision. But, may I add, we who have been in this hassle quite a while do not believe the people of Memphis or the Tennessee Valley, or the United States, are as gullible as the power company gentlemen seem to believe.

The world is searching for better and more efficient ways to use natural resources without loss of individual freedom or the destruction of real, competitive private enterprise. We are demonstrating here in the Tennessee Valley that this can be done; that the people—farmers, workers, businessmen, and citizens generally—can mobilize their energies around the use of a great river and the more productive development of the forests and the minerals and the soil. The people of this valley have proved that as they do these things agriculture and industry thrive and diversify and the individual finds greater freedom of opportunity for his talents. We are successfully demonstrating that this development helps the whole country; it is paying off in a big way.

The people of the Tennessee Valley are hard at work. They are proving the reality of a great vision—a vision of the productive strength this region can add to the economy of the Nation. But as we go about our tasks we are constantly reminded of a persistent paradox that plagues the busy people of this valley: The more successfully the Tennessee Valley does its job, the more it is called to task by the critics and adversaries of the TVA development.

The facts of this valley's performance are visible to the eyes of those who come to see. The TVA welcomes every appraisal as an opportunity to let the facts demonstrate the wisdom and national importance of what this valley is doing. It is a record of achievement we can all be proud to share as a record of our joint, cooperative achievements.

Hugh H. Bennett Says: "They've Cut the Heart Out of Soil Conservation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the January 1954 issue of Country Gentleman by Hugh H. Bennett, founder of the Soil Conservation Service and its Chief until his retirement in 1951. Probably no man in America is better qualified than Dr. Bennett to speak on this subject.

His article is as follows:

HUGH H. BENNETT SAYS: "THEY'VE CUT THE HEART OUT OF SOIL CONSERVATION"

They're at it again—the short-sighted people who, in trying to reorganize our soil-conservation program, may well wreck it. You haven't felt the results yet back home in your local soil-conservation district, but you won't have to wait long.

I'm not referring to lime and fertilizer payments or other subsidies. I'm worried about the program that brings you farm-by-farm technical help in building and developing such soil-and-water-conservation methods as terrace systems, gully control plans, range-management plans, ponds, and others. I believe that the reorganization plan put into effect in November by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson cuts the heart out of soil conservation.

As you know, Secretary Benson's plan called for abolishing the 7 regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service. On the surface, this probably seems like nothing more than a simple administrative shift. But actually it means tearing down a carefully built organization of skilled technical men and dispersing them to Washington, to State offices, or to the winds. The Secretary started putting this plan into effect almost immediately, despite strong protests from many of the Nation's farm leaders.

In pushing through the reorganization, Secretary Benson said that he was a friend of soil conservation, that he wanted to strengthen it, that his aim was to make the Soil Conservation Service more efficient in its work with farmers.

It would be nice to think that's what the reorganization really means. But let's take a look at the record—especially the record on efficiency.

For a long time now the Soil Conservation Service has been world renowned for the way it goes about its job of bringing technical help right to your doorstep. Other nations have copied its methods.

In this country it is recognized as one of the most efficient Government organizations ever put together. For instance, it betters by 30 percent the required standards of efficiency for Government agencies as set by the President's Bureau of the Budget. About 9 out of 10 of all its technical men are in the field—visiting farmers day in and day out, going over their soil and water problems with them field by field, figuring out the answers farm by farm.

Nor is the Service a big, overgrown, mushroomed agency. Last year Congress gave it about the same amount of money as the Navy needs to build a new cruiser. In terms of higher crop yields alone, the Service has saved farmers many times the amount spent on it.

This kind of efficiency didn't just happen. Years of thought and experience on the best way to do the job went into the building of the Soil Conservation Service.

For example, shortly after the Soil Conservation Service was formed from the old Soil Erosion Service in 1935, we came to realize that the demonstration area method of bringing conservation measures to farmers' attention was costly—that it was too slow a way to spread their use outside of the demonstration areas. So we suggested to the different States that they pass enabling acts making it possible for farmers to set up their own local soil-conservation districts anywhere. In this way they could get needed help not only from the SCS but from other Federal, State, and local agencies as well.

Even before that, a research program had been set up so that new and better soil-conservation methods could be developed and tested. There were a lot of people who knew about agronomy, engineering, forestry, soils, range, or biology—but this knowledge had never been gathered and focused in a way that could be put to use in a complete soil-conservation plan that would fit conditions on your farm. No one knew, for instance, just how wide the contour strip fields should be on different soils and different slopes. No one knew how far apart terraces should be on one field, how close in another—or how to build a terrace that would be easy to farm over.

In building an organization to help you with your soil-conservation problems, we found also that we had to establish nurseries to bring certain grasses into culture and use

on a wide scale. Can anybody forget how these grasses helped tie down the Dust Bowl? Yet the seed had never been available to farmers in amounts sufficient for large-scale planting.

We even tried to set up State technical offices like those proposed in the present reorganization plan—then found that they were too expensive and that we could not find enough technical brains to staff them anyway.

So we left our State offices with only one or two men whose main job was to work with the agricuultural colleges and all the other State agencies. They were to find ways for these other agencies to give more help to the local soil-conservation districts which farmers had organized. They also were charged with tying in the program of the SCS to the broad crop and livestock patterns of their State.

Then, because we had found it so expensive to try to set up technical offices in each of the 48 States, we decided instead to group these technical services into regional offices—one for each of the 7 major agricultural regions of this country. In this way, our local SCS men working directly with farmers in the field could call on the help and advice of men who had region-wide experience—not just statewide experience.

We were constantly making improvements in the way we carried our service to farmers. We were an organization whose members had an abiding faith in the importance of their work and a determination to find better ways to do it.

When I retired from the Soil Conservation Service in 1951, we had already gone a long way in helping farmers with their soil- and water-conservation job. From a standing start less than 20 years before, we had actually helped them get this work finished on nearly a million farms and ranches covering more than 140 million acres On this vast area—almost as much land as in all Texas—the job has now become only one of the year-by-year maintenance necessary.

And the whole conservation job is even further along than that—at least 25 percent finished for the whole country. For there are tens upon tens of thousands of other farms where conservation measures are at least partly installed and necessary land-use changes under way.

Actually, the work has gained so much acceptance among farmers that it is more than a quarter of the way done. I think that with the present staff of the Soil Conservation Service it would have been possible within the next 35 years for our technical men to have worked on every farm and ranch where soil and water problems are troublesome.

And the job could be stepped up to a 20-or 25-year pace, if Congress wished, by allowing the Service to hire, train, and equip the equivalent of just one more technical man for each of the Nation's 2,570 soil-conservation districts.

But now I fear that the reorganization is casting much of this to the winds—that it is disperaing and disorganizing one of the finest technical organizations ever to help farmers with their special problems.

In short, a winning combination is being broken up in the interests of what is called efficiency. Is it then efficient to substitute 48 State technical offices for 7 regional technical offices? I say that we have already found out that it is not efficient—that it will cost 3 to 4 times as much for this technical help to come from State offices as from regional offices. That is, it will if the same high quality of work for which the service has become famed is to be maintained.

Unfortunately, I am afraid that this same high quality of work is not going to be maintained. I am afraid that you will find, even in as short a time as the next 12 months, that you are going to miss the regional offices.

When there is a particularly tough soil or water problem that you and your local soil-conservation man could use a little outside help on, I am afraid you are going to find that such help is hard to find—or slow to come. Unless the State legislatures greatly increase their own appropriations for soil conservation, the special technical help you need from a State office just won't be there for the asking.

I am afraid, too, that you are going to miss the work of the inspection teams that used to travel regularly out of the regional offices. Their job was to see to it that your local soil-conservation man hadn't made any mistake on your particular farm that would end up by costing you time, money, or labor. People do make mistakes in such difficult things as soil and water problems, as you know, and the regional inspection teams helped keep these to a minimum.

The idea that you can make big savings and be more efficient by operating partly from a regional office setup isn't a new one—or exclusive to the Soil Conservation Service. Many other organizations, Government and private, agricultural and industrial, have adopted it. More are coming to it all the time. There's nothing really controversial about it—except in the minds of those people who want to cut down the Soil Conservation Service and think this the best place to start.

At the local level, the interests of farmers and ranchers—and the land itself—are being represented through the soil-conservation districts better than they have ever been represented before. Yet the districts, themselves, have been all but left out in developing the reorganization plans. In fact, the new scheme—as well as I can understand it—complicates the whole program that has operated so splendidly in supply technical assistance to farmers in districts.

As you may have heard, there are also men in high places who say that soil conservation is out-of-date on the farms of today. Nevertheless, as I fly over this vast country of ours and travel the roads to talk to farmers, I see the signs on the land that despite all that has been done there is still a half million acres of good soil washing away every year—that there are portents also that the dust clouds could gather again over vast areas which have been cropped too heavily.

I see great regions where the very wisest possible use of water is becoming ever more important, not less important. I see countless valleys where the yields per acre would be much greater if the land were treated with a knowledge of the science of soil conservation as has been done in a thousand other valleys.

There are also, from time to time, huge acreages of land farmers are taking out of cultivation to meet Government crop-acreage allotments. With the basic crops we have been taking them out on a historical-use basis. Would it not be better to consider taking them out of cultivation on a wise land-use basis—a soil-conservation basis? And, if this decision were made, would it not be best to have some highly trained organization like the Soil Conservation Service to help farmers bring this about?

I wonder, particularly, about the wisdom of dismembering a technical organization like the Soil Conservation Service when I see the people of this Nation coming to realise that flood control doesn't mean dams and dikes and reservoirs alone, but the tying down of water and of soil in the areas upstream as well. There are hundreds of watersheds and river valleys where this new kind of flood-control work has commenced, or is about to commence. Who, then, is going to represent farm people in working with the Army engineers and the city people on a watershed basis if you scatter the men from the regional offices who understood best how to deal with such problems? You will have 48 different programs of flood control with no one this side of Washington to iron out the differences whenever the watershed crosses a State line.

In defense of the reorganization of the Soil Conservation Service, it has been said that there is competition between the soil-conservation man and the county agricultural agent—that this reorganization of the Soil Conservation Service would eliminate such competition.

Perhaps there is such competition. I know that it exists in some places. But in most places it is a healthy, friendly sort of competition—each man trying to do his own particular job the best so that the other man won't get ahead of him in the opinion and esteem of farmers.

Is this a bad sort of competition?

Is it harmful when the county agent does his part of the soil-conservation job by arranging for tours, demonstrations and meetings to acquaint farmers with soil-conservation methods—and then the Soil Conservation man does his part by giving technical help, farm-by-farm, to assist each farmer to fit these methods to conditions on his particular farm?

No, I don't think this is duplication. I find it hard to believe that the county agents of my acquaintance are afraid of this sort of competition, either. Their own educational job is so important, they are such uniformly fine men, they have so much to do already—surely they don't want to take over the big technical job of farm-by-farm conservation too.

So let's not make a political football of soil conservation when every farmer knows it should be a nonpartisan matter. Let's not destroy the Soil Conservation Service by a drastic reorganization of the work it is already doing very efficiently.

Instead, let's try and repair the damage quickly, shake hands on the matter, and get those soil-conservation men back on the job armed with the same pride and crusading zeal that has stood us in such good stead already. You need them, and the Nation needs them too.

Statement of Hon. Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio, Upon Introducing Resolution Requesting Proclamation of National Nurse Week

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been a serious shortage of professional and other nursing personnel in this country since World War II. Nurse power has become a health resource of vital importance to military and civilian patient care and other health services. Although it is difficult to estimate accurately the number of professional nurses currently needed, data has been collected on the number of budgeted positions which are now vacant. The vacancies in hospitals reported for the Nation as a whole is 52,000; in the official health departments, approximately 2,700. Additional nurses are needed for private duty, in industry, and for leadership positions in nursing education and administration in

the several fields. This poses a serious problem to the people of the Nation, who when ill, need a nurse to care for them, or when well, should be benefitting by preventive nursing services. A solution to the problem is complicated by the fact that schools of nursing are not graduating more than approximately 30,000 nurses a year. On the other hand, the professional nursing organizations estimate that 55,000 should be graduated in order to keep up with increasing demands and annual attrition.

During World War II, this Congress passed the Bolton Act which established the United States Cadet Nurse Corps. During the program which ran from July 1943 to October 1945, 1,100 basic schools of nursing and 57 graduate schools received Federal aid. Under this program schools were partially reimbursed for the cost of room and board for students and received payment in lieu of the amount which students paid for tuition, books, and uniforms. Students were given a small monthly stipend and an official uniform. The program graduated 125,000 basic students and provided advance instruction to 17,000 graduates. It cost $149 million.

In this resolution we are not requesting an appropriation, but rather a proclamation. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the American Nurses Association, and many citizen groups who are concerned with the seriousness of the nursing situation, believe that a national observance in honor of nurses would be the means to interpret nursing more fully and more interestingly than it has ever been brought to the public before, and would serve as a basis for a wide variety of community-action projects throughout the Nation which would stimulate student-nurse recruitment. Equally important is the opportunity which this national observance would provide to dramatize by radio, television, and in the various other communications media the dramatic service which nurses are performing in all types of health and hospital programs.

Since World War II, the public has been told very effectively that there are not enough nurses of all kinds to meet their needs. National Nurse Week would change this emphasis to the positive one of what nursing really is. For example, nurses today are performing many of the tasks which formerly could be done only by doctors. This is not to say that nurses are practicing medicine but rather to point out how vastly medical practice has grown and how much it has progressed beyond former methods of therapy. As the doctors have undertaken new and more complicated methods of treatment, nurses have had to absorb those which the doctors no longer had time to perform and which did not need their particular medical skills. Nursing has changed vastly since medical and scientific advances have expanded its scope. This is one of the reasons why a nurse shortage has continued so long despite all efforts to overcome it. Among other reasons is the fact that the number of patients admitted to hospitals has increased faster than the population—as a matter of fact, from 11 million in 1938 to 21 million in 1951. Also, each patient leaves the hospital sooner, and thus requires more intensive nursing care during his stay in the hospital and more care at home after discharge.

It is my firm belief that if the public who needs nursing service can be well informed on these significant developments in the nursing profession, we can logically expect that public to give effective support to the recruitment problems of nurse employers, and to accept with some understanding the increasing costs of nursing care and of nursing education.

National Nurse Week will give the citizens of our local communities the opportunity to support the need for nurses and the needs of nurses with the same vigor and enthusiasm annually applied to a large number of other health campaigns. Nursing service is implicit in all the nationwide campaigns which have dramatized cancer, tuberculosis, polio, and heart disease. Yet nursing service has never been given the nationwide attention—the radio marathon, the telethons, the widespread newspaper and magazine publicity—which these campaigns have merited.

National Nurse Week will tell what nurses are doing to meet the demands of modern medical science. It will describe the new responsibilities they are carrying in caring for the sick and the new roles they play in health education. It will portray the drama of the art and science of nursing as it advances to keep pace with the antibiotics, plastic repairs, and radioisotope therapy, as well as the need for nurses to be familiar with such therapeutic wonders as gamma globulin, the giant X-ray, and surgery on the heart itself. It is hoped that by this nationwide program, we can portray nursing as one of the essential elements of health and welfare.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four is the logical year to launch this nationwide observance because, among other things, it is the 100th anniversary of Florence Nightingale's historic work in the Crimea.

I therefore respectfully submit for your consideration and approval this joint resolution proposing the first full week in October 1954, as National Nurse Week. I believe this is an important step for us to take in our effort to provide more and better care for the people of this country.

The Task Ahead for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, "A Large Task Ahead for Congress" is the subject of an editorial appearing in the January 18, 1954, issue of the Napa (Calif.) Register.

The editorial expresses the hope that Congress will exercise statesmanship, rather than partisanship, in enacting a program devoted to the national welfare.

I desire to include the editorial with my remarks as an item of interest.

It is as follows:

A LARGE TASK AHEAD FOR CONGRESS

It may be too much to hope that Congress will display less partisanship and more statesmanship in the 1954 session, but unless it does the country will suffer the consequences.

The vital domestic issues—putting farm prices on a more flexible basis, holding taxes at their present level, keeping next year's budget tight, raising the national debt limit, and so on—need to be approached not from the standpoint of party interests but of the national welfare.

This does not mean that the Democrats should be expected to put their stamp of approval on the administration's entire program, but it does mean that this program must not be opposed solely for political purposes.

The Republicans, too, should realize that although technically the majority party, they are going to get nowhere in this session without the aid of the Democrats, and it is no less incumbent on them to cut out the political shenanigans.

President Eisenhower is making a sincere effort to fortify the national economy against possible future hazards. For the first time in decades a genuine effort is being made to cut useless Government spending. The President is also trying to strike a balance between the laissez-faire thinking of the predepression era and the welfare state idea which flourished in the thirties and forties. He will present various proposals to achieve these ends.

The American people have the right to expect—yes, demand—that Congress approach these proposals as Americans, not as partisan politicians. In November the people will express their approval or disapproval of congressional conduct in this session.

John Daniel Rust

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of John D. Rust of Pine Bluff, Ark., the South loses a respected friend and leader. About 20 years ago he invented and completed the building of the first successful mechanical cotton picker. In 1949 Ben Pearson, Inc., of Arkansas, and the Allis Chalmers Co., of Wisconsin, began manufacturing pickers based on Mr. Rust's patents. This invention represented a notable contribution to the South's progress.

Just as notable was the effort made by this distinguished Arkansawyer to avoid hardship among thousands of people employed in the harvesting of the South's cotton crop. Mr. Rust established a foundation to which he assigned a large portion of the income from this invention to finance various projects designed to help farm laborers with the adjustments necessitated by the introduction of the machine. Mechanical genius and social idealism were blended in his personality. He and his wife ably developed the policies of the philanthropic and educational organization which bears his

name, and we owe him a debt of gratitude not only for a significant invention but for leadership in the field of philanthropy. He will be greatly missed.

The Bolling Housing Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a comprehensive housing bill.

My bill has as its twin objectives a solution of our national housing problem and the restoration of our national economy to the full vigor from which I fear it is rapidly receding. It has as its social objective the providing of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for all American families and as its economic objective a reversal of the present economic downturn, be it labeled depression, recession, or rolling adjustment.

There are those who contend that even to discuss our present economic plight is to aggravate it. They charge that those of us who would discuss these problems frankly and dispassionately and endeavor to find a solution for them are either the prophets of gloom and doom or carping partisans. I am unable to concur in this philosophy. I do not believe that by pretending it is not there the recession will disappear. I do not believe that I can be successfully challenged when I state that all is not well with our national economy. There is certainly room for argument as to the degree of our economic deterioration. There is also room for argument as to what measures should be taken to reverse it. No one, however, can successfully refute the statistics which make it increasingly clear each day that the national economy has moved downhill.

The construction industry is one of the basic mainstays of our economy. The record of what happened to that industry last year is therefore quite alarming. The number of new housing starts declined steadily from 111,000 in April to 88,000 in October. In October 1952, 101,000 starts were made. If construction is to be used as one of our chief antideflationary weapons, as is apparently the hope of the present administration, it is clear that this downward trend must be arrested immediately.

Mr. Cole, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, has stated that about 1 million new starts will be made this year. I believe Mr. Cole is overly optimistic.

But even should Mr. Cole be correct, housing at the rate of a million starts, would fail to act as a brake against our present economic downturn. In 1925 when our population was only about 115 million, 937,000 units were started. Since then our population has increased by over 40 percent. An expanding population requires an expanding economy. If housing is to make its proper contribution to our material economic welfare, we might best return to the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Housing of the Eightieth Congress which found that the construction of 2 million units per year through 1960 should be regarded as a bare minimum national housing program. At the very least, we should follow the advice of the late Senator Taft's postwar Committee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment which urged 1½ million housing starts per year.

I wish it clearly understood that I do not claim my bill to be the complete or final answer to our housing and economic needs. It is offered merely as my idea for the initial step in the right direction.

Title I of the bill would act to restore the public housing program of the Housing Act of 1949. The Housing Act of 1949 was a bipartisan measure, the result of years of exhaustive study of the country's housing needs by both executive and legislative branches of our Government. The most notable investigations were made by Senator Taft's postwar Committee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment and the Joint Committee on Housing of the Eightieth Congress. Their findings acknowledged a clear need for the continuation and expansion of the low-rent housing program initiated in the United States Housing Act of 1937. As it passed the Congress, the Housing Act of 1949 authorized the construction of 810,000 units of low-rent public housing at a rate of 135,000 units per year. Because of riders on various appropriation acts, however, it has been possible to construct only a small fraction of the authorized units. Title I of my bill would repeal those riders and thus reactivate the public housing program authorized by the 1949 Housing Act.

Title II, I believe, provides a long overdue answer to the housing problem of the middle-income group. This is a very large segment of our population which, unfortunately, is not adequately served by our existing Federal housing programs. Their incomes are too high to make them eligible for admission to public housing projects. Yet the mortgage insurance programs of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans' Administration have tended to produce houses which are beyond the financial ability of these people. The program envisioned by title II would make use of the cooperative or nonprofit corporation together with an amortization period of 50 years, a low-interest rate—probably about 3 percent—and a down payment of not over 5 percent to decent, safe, and sanitary housing within the financial grasp of the middle-income group.

There would be established a system of financial aid to cooperative housing based on the principles of the Federal home loan bank system and the FHA mortgage insurance system. It is designed to channel private investment into cooperative housing. This type of housing is the only form of private enterprise housing as yet devised through which the economies and savings achieved in the financing, construction, and operation of housing are transmitted directly into corresponding reductions in the monthly charges which families pay for housing. It is therefore the most promising plan offered so far for the provision of adequate housing for middle income families. Title II would also provide technical assistance to cooperatives, and loans for planning their projects.

Title III would amend the slum clearance and urban redevelopment title of the Housing Act of 1949 so that local communities would have to bear only one-fifth, rather than one-third as presently required, of the net cost to them of making slum cleared land available at fair value for approved new houses.

In city after city throughout the country extravagant waste of human and other resources arising from slum conditions is apparent. Slums and blighted areas foster delinquency, disease, and crime, the effects of which can only be partly measured in the statistics available. They create demands for welfare, fire, police, and other financial outlays greatly in excess of the revenues which cities receive from them.

An excellent beginning toward the elimination of slums has been made under the Housing Act of 1949. Many smaller cities, however, do not have the resources to provide one-third of the net cost. Increasing the amount of the cost to be borne by the Federal Government from two-thirds to four-fifths will enable those cities to participate in the benefits of this highly necessary program .

Title IV would repeal a provision of the First Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1954 which required the liquidation of the housing research program. The housing research program was instituted in the Housing Act of 1948 and substantially enlarged and broadened by the Housing Act of 1949. The purpose of the program is to assist in reducing housing costs and to increase the production of better housing.

The housing research program fills in the gaps in housing research now conducted by producers of housing materials and the housing industry. It served as a clearing house for ideas, information, and data in housing technology, economics, finance, and administration of adequate local public controls over housing construction, use, and occupancy. Basic research was provided by the Bureau of Standards and other Government agencies, educational institutions, and other organizations. Title IV would fully restore this program.

Title V provides for the reorganization of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. It would divest the Housing and Home Finance Administrator of all functions, powers, and duties and place them in new or existing constituent agencies of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The heads of the constituent agencies would be subject to the supervision and direction of the Administrator. I believe that by taking operating duties away from the Administrator and transferring them to the constituent agencies we shall obtain improved control and coordina-

tion of the constituent agencies by the Administrator. He then would be able to devote full time and attention to those tasks rather than to administering these programs as is the case at present.

Title VI provides a warranty to buyers of 1- or 2-family houses built with Federal assistance, that their houses were built according to the plans and specifications on which Federal assistance was based. The provision is identical with the bill on this subject introduced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS] last year. It would also direct the FHA and VA local offices to permit purchasers of such houses to inspect or copy the house plans or specifications on file in the FHA or VA local office. Title VI would, as I see it, protect the equity of both the Government and the home buyer. I should like to state that the requirement of a warranty is not a reflection on the honest builder. In fact, providing the buyer with a warranty is a common practice in many other lines of industry, ranging from a popcorn popper to an automobile. When a person buys a house he is, as a rule, making a lifetime investment and he is entitled to protection by the same Government which provides financial assistance to the builder or seller to construct that home.

Title VII of the Housing Act of 1954 would provide a new standby, direct loan program in the FHA for loans to low- and middle-income nonveterans for the purchase or construction of homes. The program would be based on the same principles as the standby, direct housing loan program of the Veterans' Administration. Under the provisions of this bill it would expire at the same time the veterans' direct loan program would expire, June 30, 1957. Like the GI direct loan program, under which loans are made only to veterans who cannot obtain GI loans, the FHA direct loans would be made only in areas where FHA insured loans, or loans on terms equal to FHA insured loans, are not available from private sources. The proposed FHA direct loans would not exceed $10,000 in original principal amount, would be at a rate of interest prescribed by the Commissioner of FHA, and would mature in not more than 30 years. The FHA would be authorized to sell these loans to private lending institutions and to insure those loans sold under the regular FHA sections 8 or 203 mortgage-insurance programs. I believe that title VII should do much to prevent either a "money strike" by lenders such as we witnessed last year, or another unreasonable rise in interest rates on Government-insured mortgages.

Title VIII would extend and expand the VA's direct home-loan program. It would be extended until June 30, 1957, and its authorization would be enlarged by $500 million. The total authorization would become available immediately.

The record of the direct loan program leaves no doubt as to Congress' wisdom in enacting it. It proves that the Veterans' Administration has done an excellent job of administering it. Most of all, however, it is a tribute to the character, energy, and self-reliance of our veterans. As of December 31, 1953, a total of only 54 direct loans had been terminated by foreclosure or voluntary conveyance in lieu of foreclosure, representing about 1 out of every 800 completed loans as of the same date. Of the 39,907 direct loans outstanding on that date, a total of 1,284 were in default by one or more installments, with 158 or 0.4 percent in default by 4 or more installments.

In conclusion may I repeat, my bill is not advanced as a complete or final answer to this Nation's housing or economic needs. I offer it in the belief that it will provide a modest but long over-due step in the right direction. I believe it imperative that this Congress act immediately both to provide decent safe and sanitary housing for all our people and to reverse the present downward spiral in our national economy. I invite all members of this body, without regard to party, to join me in the attainment of those twin objectives.

A Cruiser in Honor of Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, for many years it has been the custom of the United States Navy to have one of its cruisers named after the Borough of Brooklyn, which is today the second largest community in the country. To be exact, there have been at least 3 ships in our Navy during the past 100 years that proudly bore the name Brooklyn, and every one of them had an illustrious war record.

The first of these ships, bearing the name U. S. S. *Brooklyn*, was launched in 1858. It participated in Commodore Farragut's capture of New Orleans, Galveston, and Mobile, and in other actions during the Civil War period. The second *Brooklyn* was launched in 1895 and served as the flagship of Commodore Winfield Scott Schley in the Battle of Santiago during the Spanish-American War.

The third and most recent of these ships was a light cruiser which was launched in the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1936. During World War II it saw 15 months of combat in European waters, including 4 landings and 4 major engagements, and served as the flagship for United States Naval Forces in north African waters. The ship returned unscathed to the United States after the war and was subsequently sold to Chile in July 1951.

For the first time in many years the United States Navy has no crusier named *Brooklyn*. The people of our borough, who are very proud of their community, are keenly aware of this fact and are disappointed that to date the Department of Defense has not seen fit to bestow the name of Brooklyn on another cruiser and thus maintain the glorious tradition of the past 100 years. Various civic groups and veterans organizations have urged that the Navy commission another vessel in honor of our borough.

I am, therefore, introducing a joint resolution into Congress which simply provides that the next crusier to be commissioned in the United States Navy shall be named Brooklyn. I am doing so particularly at the request of the Kings County Council of the Jewish War Veterans, which recently passed a resolution urging that a new cruiser be named in honor of Brooklyn. I urge the committee to give my resolution prompt consideration and take favorable action.

The Polish Heritage, Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on numerous occasions I have spoken on the large contribution to the American national pattern of men and women of Polish blood and descent. Adela Lagodzinska, president of Polish Women's Alliance of America, covered the subject with such completeness and dynamic force in her address of November 23, 1953, at the University of Chicago College that I am extending my remarks in two instances to include the complete text of an article worthy of the widest reading. It is a classic contribution to the thrilling literature of Americana. The first portion of this noteworthy article follows:

THE POLISH HERITAGE AND THE FUTURE OF CHICAGO

(By Adela Lagodzinska)

My topic this evening aims to consider in a brief historical and inventory form the enviable record of the Polish-American's services that were blended into the American national pattern through his religious, educational, social, civic, and economic development in Chicago and elsewhere, not only in war but also in peace. Looked at from this historical perspective—and because of this vast heritage—I will further attempt to consider certain possibilities of growth and improvement of this legacy by future generations of Poles in Chicago and America.

By tracing the immigration record and development of the Polish-American, it is possible to discover not only what he is, from the viewpoint of history, but also how he has developed through the years into what he is today.

THE POLES OF COLONIAL DAYS

Of the earliest Polish movements in America records exist. Still fresh in our minds is the recent observance of the 345th anniversary of the landing of the first Polish settlers in America at Jamestown, Va. These Poles planted the first seeds from which has grown the greatest industrial and democratic nation under God. "These pioneer settlers proved such an asset to the first English colony," to quote from the recent speech delivered by Adm. A. D. Chandler, at Jamestown, Va., during the ceremony commemorating the first landing of the Poles in America, "that more of their fellow countrymen were invited to settle here." In a few years 50 Poles were living in Jamestown.

Long before that ark of American tradition, the *Mayflower* touched upon the Massachusetts coast, Polish artisans, planters,

and pitchmakers saved the lazy Jamestown colony from starvation by their competent, industrious, and patient work.

In the year 1659 Dutch pioneers on Manhattan Island employed a schoolteacher, and that teacher was a Pole.

Three years later there came to New Jersey one Albert Zaborowski. He was a man trusted by the whites and natives, and his name is entered as that of an official interpreter. He inherited some fine talents, for in his veins was the blood of King John Sobieski of Poland, the deliverer of Europe.

From this Albert Zaborowski came descendants worthy of his illustrious ancestry, worthy of the old Republic of Poland and the new Republic of the United States. Chancelor Zabriske, of New Jersey; Dean George Gray, of Harvard, were descendants of this Polish freeman. And there are strains of the same fine blood, according to Miss Emily Green Balch, of Wellesley, in the American families of Astor, Bayard, Jay, Morrison, and Gouverneur Morris.

Virginia, New Jersey, and other States have colonial Polish records.

The whole of our Middle West, in the days of Queen Anne's War, is touched by the memory of the Sodowski family. A descendant, James Sodowski, made one of the first settlements in Kentucky in 1774. His brother, Jacob Sodowski, was the pioneer, after the French explorers, to go down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

Some historians claim Sandusky in Ohio is named after the Sodowskis. Their lives bring us close to the eve of the American Revolution. During this war, about 100 Americans of Polish ancestry served in the revolutionary forces of the Continental Army and militias. This war recalls again the valiant figures of Kosciusko and Pulaski, and the historian Niemcewics, who wrote a Polish life of Washington as an inspiration to the lovers of liberty in Poland. Thus we see that Poland in her days of freedom and in her days of partial freedom sent her sons to serve this land.

The sons of free Poland or Imperial Poland crossed the ocean to aid America in its wars and later its national development. But after Poland lost her liberty came a new type of men, asking shelter.

Fleeing their native country from the sharp claws of the terror-provoking Russian bear, some of the 1830–31 revolutionary leaders—such as Count Gurowski, Major Tochman, Dr. Henryk Kolusowski, and others—found refuge in America, which welcomed them with open arms.

Yet their lot was not an easy one. Men of noble birth or professional life—and failing to adjust themselves to a strange land—and because of English language and other difficulties—many endured harsh privations, working even as street laborers in New York and elsewhere. At this time the population of Poles in the United States must have numbered about a thousand, if we may judge from the frequent allusions to the various groups in the American press of the time.

"Since many of the early Polish settlers were also military men by profession, they engaged in every major American conflict of the period: the Florida campaigns against the Seminoles, the liberation of Texas, the war with Mexico and finally the Civil War." (the Polish American Story, Swastek).

Following the nationalistic movement of 1846–48, and the economic crisis of 1850, and because of the systematic program of Germanization, many Polish families in Prussia and Silesia were forced to seek shelter and livelihood in other countries, and especially America. These Poles engaged in commercial and industrial work in New York, or founded farming settlements in the middle and far west.

Some illuminating facts shine out in the early records. In the eighteen-fifties—1854 to be exact—the first Poles settled permanently in Texas, and a few years afterward still other large groups immigrated to Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

During the Civil War, the Poles fought on both sides, but the overwhelming majority of them was for the Union. Like Kosciuszko, who liberated many Negroes with the net proceeds from the sale of his governmental grant, the Poles loved liberty and democracy too well to fight against them.

According to historian Haiman and others, the Polish element in the rank and file of the Union Army numbered a few thousand. Gen. Vladimir Krzyzanowski was the most famous Pole in the Civil War. Other officers were Gen. Joseph Karge, Capt. Alexander Bielawski, Capt. Joseph Gloskowski, Capt. Louis Zychlinski, Capt. Peter Kiolbasa—first Polish teacher in Texas, and later city treasurer in Chicago—and many, many others.

Even the Polish women played an important role in the Civil War. Sister Veronica, of the Sisters of Mercy (nee Klimkiewicz and related to Kosciuszko) worked for some time in the military hospitals. She died in Baltimore, Md., in 1930. Her sister, also a Sister of Mercy, worked as a nurse during the Civil War. Similar work was done in the South by Mrs. Sosnowski, of Columbia, S. C., a widow of a Polish officer of the 1831 Polish insurrection.

More exiles reached the shores of the land of the free after 1863. Like their forerunners, they settled mostly on farms.

From the late seventies of the past century until the dawn of the present twentieth century, the Galician Poles immigrated to America by the thousands. Here they formed the great mass of the working proletariat that is responsible for America's gigantic rise in industrialism. These Poles with their sinews hewed the wood in lumber camps, bedded the railroad tracks of America, dug her coal and other raw materials, worked her soil, furnaced her steel, and worked in her numerous factories and institutions.

Not only laborers, farmers, and artisans sought homes in America. In every group arriving, there were many numbers of the intelligentsia class, such as clergymen, teachers, artists, physicians, engineers, journalists, and others.

Though at first many of these immigrants came to America as seasonal workers, with the intention of returning to Europe after saving some money, nonetheless the majority made homes here permanently, and had no intention of leaving the United States.

At this time, however, let us not have the distorted impression or idea that the lot and position of the Polish immigrant coming to America—the land of freedom and promise—was an easy one. Surrounded by people who spoke a different language, professed a different religion and observed, to them, strange customs and traditions, the Poles in America confronted a rather strange race.

Despite all hardship, the Polish immigrant faced the new life in America with a heroic courage in his heart, a fervent trust in God, and a strange, but stubborn will to survive and make good in his new environment.

"The result," to quote Rev. Joseph Swastek, in his newest booklet entitled "The Polish American Story," "was that the Pole soon after his arrival in America invariably sought to organize and build the foundations of community life * * * the Polish American community called 'Polonia Amerykanska.'" "In its finished forms this Polonia," says Father Swastek, "was not an alien Little Poland reconstructed in the American environment; neither was it a synthetic imitation of the Anglo-Saxon Yankee community. It was rather a complex entity composed of Polish Catholic institutions, traditions, and values coupled with American urban, industrial conditions and democratic ideals.

"The four most characteristic institutions of the Polonia Amerykanska, evolved during this period as the foundations upon which the Polish immigrants built their life were: The parish church, the school, the press, and the society. Each had a special character and development."

Poland is a religious nation—and practically all Poles are Roman Catholics. Thus we need not be surprised that when immigrating to America the first thought of the Pole was to build a church. Every American Polish colony had its own parish, and the larger cities, with more Poles, had several. The parish house, as Father Starzynski pointed out here in this hall several weeks ago, became the center of a Polish immigrants life, and the parish priest was not only shepherd of their souls, but also acted as a counselor, judge, and confidant in all matters. Further, the parish house was a center for exchange of ideas, for entertainments, theatricals, and mutual acquaintance.

CHICAGO

The historic tale of the Chicago Poles is the same as the story of other Polish groups in America.

Ever since 1834 small numbers of Poles were present among the inhabitants of Chicago, and up to the Civil War exercised a rather minor role in the growth of the metropolis.

With the outbreak in 1870 of the French and German wars in Europe, the Poles took advantage of the situation by seeking passage to America. They came by hundreds in the 1860's, but by the 1870's and thereafter immigrants flocked to America by tens of thousands.

Haiman in his book Polacy w Ameryce (The Poles in America), states that in 1860 the United States numbered aproximately 30,000 Poles; by 1870, 50,000, and of this number 10,000 inhabited the city of Chicago. These numbers grew steadily, so that today nearly 700,000 Poles live in our city—on the shores of Lake Michigan. Without a doubt it is only fitting and proper that we proudly call Chicago the largest Polish-American city—the capital of Americans of Polish descent. Further, few will question this statement, namely, that Chicago owes much of its growth—civic, social, and economic development to the honest, courageous, and industrious labors of its noble Polish population.

The Polish church

Little wonder then that by 1867, the Chicago Poles consolidated their plans, efforts, and finances to build a church. This first Polish Roman Catholic parish in Chicago was St. Stanislaus Kostka—at the corner of Noble and Bradley Streets (Potomac Avenue today). Soon after 1867 other Catholic parishes were organized by the Poles. Again referring to the recent lecture of Father Starzynski, we recall that he mentioned, namely, that the Catholic archdiocese of Greater Chicago today numbers 58 Polish-language parishes—43 in the city proper and 15 in the suburbs.

Practically in each instance the Poles planned to build a Polish church, not because of the language difficulties in the other Roman Catholic churches—truly this was one reason—but mainly because they wanted their ancient and beautiful religious ceremonies, customs, and traditions to be preserved—customs which are deeply rooted and integrated in the life of every true Pole. They were eager to sing the hymns and carols in their Polish language. They longed to see their own religious motifs—such as statues and pictures of Polish saints in the church decorations.

The new Polish churches for the most part were large and elaborate edifices. The pio-

neers wanted them to be landmarks and monuments to future generations. Expenses were not spared, and whenever possible, artists of renown were hired to decorate them.

As an example of this artistic work, the frescoes and paintings in St. Stanislaus Kostka Church deserve special mention. This church edifice was decorated by Thaddeus Zukotynski—a pupil of the famous Polish artistic genius—Jan Matejko. Zukotynski, like the earlier Polish artists living in Chicago and elsewhere, came originally from Poland.

St. John Cantius Church, 825 North Carpenter, Chicago, is another example of the labors of Zukotynski. In St. Hedwig's Church, 2226 North Hoyne Avenue, Chicago, the paintings of Stanislaw Grocholski may be found.

Much later, for about 1920, Sister M. Stanisia of the Academy of Our Lady, Longwood, and a pupil of the above named Zukotynski, distinguished herself in the field of religious art in Chicago and elsewhere.

Those acquainted with folk art will admit that religious rites through the centuries greatly influenced the creative instincts of countless anonymous peasants who carved religious figures and wayside chapels—who built numerous unique village churches, and created originally beautiful and exquisite paintings on glass.

Now if we include the rich and unique decorations made during the Christmas and Easter religious festival observances, as for example the sharing of the blessed wafers at Christmas time, the blessing of food on Easter Saturday, the elaborate and colorful church processions on the Feast of Corpus Christi, the blessings of the fields and flowers on the Feast of Our Lady of the Fields, and many, many other joyous and gay Polish festivals and customs—we can then readily understand why the American Pole, like his grandfather and grandmother eagerly and sincerely—with great devotion—planned and built a Catholic church in his own tradition and design.

The Polish School

The second stage in the interplay of the Polish heritage, alongside the church, was the formation of the parish elementary and secondary school systems.

"The first Polish parochial school in the United States was opened at St. Stanislaus parish, Milwaukee, Wis., in 1868, under the direction of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, a non-Polish sisterhood which, however, had a Polish member, Sister M. Tyta—the first nun to teach in the Polish American school system.

"Shortly after the above date, another parochial school was started at Panna Maria, Tex., where the Sisters of Divine Providence, also non-Polish, served as teachers" (Polish American Studies).

To the Felician Sisters, who came to Polonia, Wis., in 1874, goes the honor of being the first Polish community of nuns to come to the United States and, in due time, becoming one of the leading progressive teaching groups in the huge edifice of Polish American educational systems—in the land of the Stars and Stripes.

The first Polish school in Chicago was organized at St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish about 1870 by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Too, soon after this date, other Polish parishes, such as Holy Trinity, organized in 1873; St. Adalbert's, organized also in 1873; Immaculate Conception, organized in 1882; and many others established schools for the need of their parishioners, with the cooperation of the various religious orders and congregations such as: Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, the Felicians, Sisters of St. Joseph, Sisters of the Resurrection, Franciscan Sisters of St. Cunegunda, Resurrection Fathers, Priests, and Brothers of the Congregation of Holy Cross, and many others.

These privately endowed parochial schools, operating each year for the most part with capacity enrollments, based their educational standards and methods on sound Christian teaching and moral principles that teaches love, honor, and respect for God, man, and country.

In the 1880's and 1890's some of our Chicago Polish American secondary schools were established—and like the grammar institutions, were for the most part staffed and administered by the above-named religious orders and congregations.

In due time these schools were recognized and sanctioned by local, State, and National educational accrediting agencies.

From modest and humble beginnings many of these schools successfully survived numerous lean years, and today show great progress, hope for the future, and wealth. Their scholastic standards rank with the highest and most modern similar educational institutes in America.

As the Poles became wealthier, their standard of living improved, and their ambitions for the future were satisfied when they began sending their sons and daughters to colleges and universities. This interest in higher education was highly commendable, for it resulted in large native born Polish American intellectual and professional groups: Priests, teachers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, scientists, engineers, plus other religious, civic, social, and business leaders.

The first Polish Conservatory of Music was established here in Chicago—in 1870—by Napoleon Ledochowski who was a member of the Apollo Musical Club and appeared as a soloist in their concerts. Too, about this time, Silvester Lewinski organized a Chicago musical instrument store. Lewinski was an accomplished violinist. When Henryk Wieniawski, world renowned violinist, presented his first concert in Chicago in 1872, this little musical colony of Poles was on hand to greet and welcome him to our city.

Much can be said and written about the work and activities of our Polish organists, choral groups, choirs and other music schools of those early pioneer days, but time does not permit us now to deliberate upon that subject. This topic would offer ample material for an M. A. or even Ph. D. dissertation.

Politics as a Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present to your attention, and that of my colleagues, what appears to be a very interesting story in the field of politics as a career. This story appeared in the Democratic Digest for September 1953, and relates to Miss Rosalind Weiner, several months ago elected as a member of the Los Angeles City Council. As a protion of the great 23d District of California, which I have the honor to represent this, beginning my 8th year, in this House, extends far into the city limits of the city of Los Angeles, it is deemed appropriate that I comply with the requests from admiring friends of the young lady written about to present this article to your attention.

The article follows:

IT'S A GIRL IN THE LOS ANGELES CITY COUNCIL—AN INSPIRING STORY OF YOUTH IN POLITICS

By choosing politics as a career, only 1 year after she became eligible to vote, Rosalind Wiener has won more friends and influenced more people than anyone her age in the country and—as a helpful byproduct—cured her mother's insomnia in the process.

At 22, Rosalind Wiener is the youngest legislator in America. She is one woman among 14 men in the Los Angeles City Council, making laws and policy for 2 million citizens of the Nation's third largest city.

The campaign serves as a good text on how to break into politics, and how to get elected.

Rosalind started with the advantage of not sharing the widespread attitude that there is a vast mystery shrouding the doorway to political action. It's actually quite simple, she proved. You just sign up and go to work with the political group or organization closest to your liking and most conveniently at hand. Roz joined the Young Democrats of Los Angeles, to which she was drawn through her admiration for then Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas.

Among Roz's major assets is her charm—she's a vivacious brunette. Her brown eyes sparkle when she talks and she talks at a machinegun rate. It all makes a highly agreeable impression on the bystander's eyes, ears, and mind.

Combined with this, Roz has the volunteer spirit. She plunged into Mrs. Douglas' 1950 campaign for the United States Senate and was put to work mailing out campaign literature, doorbell ringing and, on a few occasions, baby sitting for mothers who were bound for the polling places. She was called on to pinch-hit as chauffeur for her candidate. There was some drudgery in the work, of course, but what she remembers is the excitement and the good companionship, along with the enduring satisfaction that comes from the feeling of being politically useful in a democratic society.

Within a year, Roz was elected president of the Los Angeles Young Democrats. She was only 20 years old, but the maturity of her intellectual interests, her energy, her cooperative spirit and her record as a worker established her firmly in party councils. Two years later she was elected by the people of her district to the Democratic county committee and shortly thereafter was named to membership on the State committee.

At this point, there were more than a few Los Angeles citizens who began to look upon youthful Roz Wiener as a significant figure. She was, in fact, an important representative of a new American generation, the Roosevelt generation. She and many other thoughtful youngsters had matured rapidly in a time that required fast assimilation of facts and ideas. She had grown up in the knowledge that politics is the great reality of our time, and she found politics endlessly fascinating as well as important.

Roz was only 2 in 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt first raised the New Deal banner for the forgotten man, but she has some recollection of the stir that was created that year in the Wiener pharmacy. Her father's store was neighborhood campaign headquarters for F. D. R. There is in the Wiener home today a picture of young Roz gazing up at a campaign poster of Roosevelt.

At 20, when she began to take political work in earnest, Roz was a student majoring in public administration at the University of Southern California. After graduation, she had planned to enter law school, but there was a counter-attraction—the 1952 presidential campaign.

"I knew I'd be closing my law books to campaign," she said, "So I decided to wait another year."

Roz demonstrated once more that she was an effective campaigner, working for the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket statewide and helping to elect Congressman SAMUEL W. YORTY in her own district. She also got herself elected to the top office of the Young Democrats — National Committeewoman — that same year.

Up to her pretty brown eyes in politics, Roz was named to a citizens' committee to select a candidate to the city council from Los Angeles' fifth district. The committee canvassed the likely choices, rejected a few, and by common consent, turned to the imaginative choice—Rosalind Wiener. She filed for the office just 5 minutes before the deadline. Once more law school plans were pushed into the background. Roz turned to the campaign task in dead earnest.

"I didn't run just to get my feet wet," she says. "Once I had made up my mind to run, I also made up my mind to win."

From this point on the story reads like a primer for Americans who desire to make their citizenship effective in the field of popular government. It's easy reading. Better than that, it's inspiring reading for all citizens who have that listless, melancholy feeling that comes for letting the real-estate lobby or the old city hall organization hand pick the candidates.

It did not appear, however, that the story would have a happy outcome when Roz Wiener made her first survey of her bailiwick. She was running against eight other candidates, all men. Old hands estimated that the chances for a bright young woman aspirant in this free-for-all were about 1 to 8. But 22-year-old Rosalind Wiener was not dismayed. The odds against her simply heightened her determination to work as she had never worked before (rule No. 1).

Miss Wiener devoted major attention to delineation of the major issue in the campaign (rule No. 2).

She looked for and found an effective device to dramatize this question in the public mind (rule No. 3).

Roz had observed that the American distaste for soap opera in politics did not extend to the use of soap. She brought a lot of soap to the hustings.

Her main emphasis was on that hardy perennial, clean municipal government, and she rubbed it in with sweet-smelling soap, sample bars of soap handed to housewives. No coupons, but a firm pledge with each bar.

Volunteer workers walked briskly up to the front steps of homes in Los Angeles' expansive Fifth District, each one carrying a bag of cellophane-wrapped soap samples. When the door opened, the volunteer held the startled householder's attention with this spiel:

"Are you interested in clean, fresh government for Los Angeles? If you are, you'll vote for Rosalind Wiener for city council. She's young, energetic, and fully qualified for the job. She majored in public administration at the University of Southern California. She will bring a clean, fresh approach to our city's problems."

The whole pitch lasted 40 seconds, no longer. When it was over, the volunteer answered questions, presented the housewife with the bar of soap wrapped in a Wiener-for-councilwoman leaflet, and went on to ring the next doorbell.

Miss Wiener's success in this type of campaigning resulted from her strict observance of rule 4. That is, of course, the formation of a high-spirited and tireless campaign organization.

Candidate Roz met this test handily. Friends, neighbors, classmates, and school teachers, including a professor from her college, came forth as volunteers. There are 254 precincts in her district, and none of them was overlooked in the recruiting of volunteers (rule 5).

Rule 6 came into play when the response seemed to indicate a sure vote for Roz. The telephone number for each sure voter was noted for a phone-call reminder to vote on election day.

When the doorbell was not answered a return call was scheduled (rule 7). Volunteers soon discovered that Monday nights were best for doorbell ringing. Everybody—well, almost everyone—stayed at home that night to see I Love Lucy.

Each precinct worker was given a map of a precinct, a list of the precinct residents and a supply of soap. Not a doorbell was to be missed.

The hard footwork and the button-holing paid off handsomely, Roz ran first in the primary, showing her high heels to 8 amazed men.

Now came the big test: She and the runner-up would face each other in the final run-off election, which was only 6 weeks away. Excitement in the Wiener camp gathered momentum daily.

The Wiener's 7-room house in the center of the city's residential area was transformed into Rosalind Wiener campaign headquarters. Every time the family sat down for a meal there was a caucus. Rose bushes surrounding the front lawn sprouted campaign posters. A large "Welcome—Walk In" sign was tacked above the front door.

A fresh way of emphasizing the cleanup theme was devised: Precinct workers presented citizens a small book of eyeglass cleaners, to wipe away the smog from Los Angeles politics.

New workers reported at headquarters and spirits rose following the primary victory. The Fifth District was buzzing with Rosalind Wiener volunteers.

The Wiener home was buzzing too. Living room furniture was packed off to the second floor to make space for the "typi..g room." Typewriters were clicking away at all hours of the day and night. All that remained in the dining room was the table, shoved up against one wall, for stacks of campaign literature. Pop Wiener's den became the map room, its walls covered with precinct maps. Doors were open from 8 a. m. to 2 a. m., and there was a continuous convention of workers reporting, working, resting, eating.

"We had a regular soup kitchen going throughout the campaign," Miss Wiener said, "Mother served dinner to at least 25 precinct workers every night and coffee and cake to a lot more in the small hours of the morning."

To keep up with the late snacks, Mother Wiener posted this sign over the kitchen sink: "The management kindly requests that you wash your own cup and saucer."

Her mother thrived on the campaign Roz reports. "It cured her insomnia," she says.

Roz acted as her own campaign manager but that didn't keep her from ringing doorbells along with the volunteers (rules 8, 9, and 10). She made an estimated 4,500 personal calls. Many of the citizens she talked to told her that this was the first time they had ever received a personal call from a candidate.

This was, above everything else, the secret of Roz Wiener's success at the polls. Her campaign was political action of, by, and for the people and the people loved it. It stands as a heartening demonstration of political initiative at the local level. The seeming indifference of the citizens vanished quickly when they were given an earnest invitation to participate along with an engaging young candidate who obviously had her community's welfare at heart.

For God and Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD Junius Americanus Letter No. 4, a critical review of our domestic and foreign policies and of other matters relating to the administration of government, dated December 5, 1953, as follows:

[Letter No. 4]

"MCCARTHYISM" IS AMERICANISM—SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, OUR GREATEST AMERICAN INVESTIGATOR, IS A FAITHFUL, ABLE, AND FEARLESS LEADER IN THE CONFLICT AGAINST SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES, COMMUNISM, AND ESPIONAGE—SMEAR ATTACKS BY HIS POLITICAL ENEMIES

To the President and Vice President of the United States, Cabinet Officers, Senators, and Members of the House of Representatives:

"McCarthyism" is a new word coined by clever Communist conspirators and fellow traveler propagandists, cunningly meant to ridicule and to discredit anything and everything Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY does, says, or writes. It is the product of a lying conspiracy of smear, unconcerned with fact or truth, and bent on merciless sabotage to prevent his patriotic and fearless investigations of Communists and subversive activities in the United States.

Such virulent smear techniques of deceit and falsehood of the Communists and their Pink allies are nothing new. They have been used viciously and extensively against the chairmen of all congressional investigating committees who exposed the un-American and traitorous activities and propaganda of the Communists and their Red fronts. This originally was used against Representative Fish, chairman of the first House committee (1930–31) to investigate Communist activities in this country. The Fish House Report No. 2290 is still the foundation stone of all succeeding congressional reports on the aims and objectives of communism in America. His committee did the pioneering work in exposing the insidious and subversive activities of the Communists and their allied fronts. Most of the recommendations of his committee either have been written into law (except one to outlaw the Communist Party), or have been followed and their principles sustained by the Federal courts.

The full venom of the perfected Communist smear attacks, constantly supported by both F. D. R. and Mrs. Roosevelt, was unloosed against Chairman MARTIN DIES, of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Representative DIES was subjected to outrageous vilification because he exposed 2,000 Reds or Communist sympathizers on the Federal payroll. Time and events have proved that he was right. All the Roosevelt left-wing stooges combined with the Commies to conduct a relentless smear campaign against MARTIN DIES for having the courage to tell the truth and letting the chips fall where they may.

Representative DIES literally was persecuted and politically purged by President Roosevelt for exposing the Communists and Red-fronters in the Federal service. F. D. R. called DIES, a fellow Democrat, to the White

House a number of times to soften him and to condition him on his Communist exposures. On one occasion in 1939 President Roosevelt told him, according to an article in the American Mercury magazine of September 1953, "I don't regard communism as an evil. Some of my best friends are Communists. I think Russia is a fine, great country and I admire Stalin." Who were those friends?—Alger Hiss, whom he took to Yalta; Harry Dexter White, Laughlin Currie, Lawrence Duggan, Nathan Witt, Lee Pressman, and Maj. William Ludwig Ullman (I refuse to answer on the grounds, etc.) all Harvard Law School grads or otherwise connected with Harvard University, or did he refer to his host of fellow traveler friends numbering in the thousands, appointed by him?

The next to undergo the smear barrage was Chairman RICHARD NIXON, who exposed the traitorous activities of Alger Hiss, the friend of Dean Acheson in the State Department. At the present time Chairman HAROLD VELDE of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Chairman WILLIAM JENNER of Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and above and beyond all, Chairman MCCARTHY of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, are the targets of Communist and left-wing abuse, vilification, distortion of the facts and perversion of the truth. From the time each of these chairmen undertook to investigate and to expose communism in the United States they were subjected to cowardly and contemptible smear attacks. The Communists are the vilest of vilifiers but the fellow travelers and other radicals and Communist appeasers are not far behind. This type of calculated and conspiratorial smear attack is something new in America and is a foreign importation from Soviet Russia and Communist sources. It has been spreading rapidly all over our country until no one is immune, no Member of Congress nor public official who openly exposes the evils of communism.

The Communists and fellow travelers started their vicious and malicious smear and hate attacks 20 years ago. They have now reached a crescendo of vileness and falsehoods against public officials and the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States. It is part and parcel of the Communist political program based on hatred and attempts to purge their active and outspoken opponents and to discredit Congress and all democratic and parliamentary assemblies. These Red termites and their pink allies are shamefully working night and day to undermine the confidence and the faith of the American people in their Congress and in our republican constitutional form of government. Representative Starnes, Democrat, in House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, said: "The issue simply stated is whether the Congress of the United States shall be the reality or the relic of American democracy."

The venomous, virulent, and never-ending smear campaign against Senator MCCARTHY is prosecuted because he has been successfully exposing and driving out of the Federal Government Communists and their sympathizers in ever increasing numbers. The more successful MCCARTHY becomes, the more violent and desperate become his traducers. The more outspoken and courageous he becomes, the more contemptible and vicious become his detractors.

The more MCCARTHY expose spies, traitors, and other subversives, the more the Commies, fellow travelers, left-wing Socialists, and their pink allies rave and rant.

The more MCCARTHY accomplishes to safeguard America and the security of our people and Nation, the more our enemies from within gnash their teeth and exude poisonous propaganda against him.

The more he exposes nests of spies in our radar projects and Signal Corps, the louder is the chorus of hatred from un-American sources.

It took a murder to expose the scandalous racetrack alliance between crooked labor leaders, gangsters, and the greedy influence peddling of New York State Republican politicians. Senator Wicks was forced to walk the gangplank into political disgrace, but as yet the racetrack and the throughway scandals have been scarcely scratched. It took the dramatic resurrection of the FBI report sent to the White House in December 1945 condemning Harry Dexter White as a Soviet spy and other Government officials as members of an espionage ring to explode and to blow into atoms the misguided, reckless, and very generally un-American opposition to the constitutional investigations by congressional committees of subversive activities within the United States. Former President Truman who denounced the infamous Alger Hill case as a red herring, is trying the same tactics again—this time it is politics. Time will never efface the baneful effects of President Truman's red herring remark or that of Secretary Acheson that "I do not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss."

Lenin years ago laid down the Communist doctrine: "We can and must write in a language which sows among the masses hate, revulsion, scorn, and the like toward those who disagree with us." Up until Attorney General Brownell, backed by President Eisenhower, set off the high explosive Harry Dexter White spy bomb under Harry Truman there had not been a ripple of criticism from the leftist press against either Mr. Brownell or President Eisenhower. Once the Communist spy issue was raised there was an instantaneous outcry from the so-called liberal, leftist and Communist press. From now on the Red smear brigade will shoot their poisonous arrows and darts of hate against the President and the Attorney General. Mr. Brownell has done a fine public service in reviewing publicly the White spy case and the Red penetration under the New and Fair Deals. Now what about Laughlin Currie and David K. Niles, both executive assistants to President Roosevelt and the two assistants to Secretary Morgenthau?

The do-nothing Eisenhower administration, elected because the people wanted a change, has finally discovered after the voters had been heard from in Wisconsin and New Jersey that the substitution of the two-faced Dulles for Acheson is little improvement and no change in foreign policies. The detonation of the White spy bomb is at least a change and any change will relieve the monotony. Harry Truman's refusal as a private citizen to comply with a congressional subpena is poppycock. The precedents he quoted applied only to incumbent Presidents.

"McCarthyism" is not on trial but "Trumanism" is. Former President Roosevelt, however, who appointed over 2,000 Commies and fellow travelers is really responsible for the whole stinking rotten mess of Communist spies and traitors and for our tragic China policy. Roosevelt invited Communism into our Government. Truman tolerated Communism in our Government.

The efforts of certain church groups to undermine and to sabotage congressional investigations is not only deplorable but despicable and is the height of stupidity. Why should not clergymen, priests, rabbis, or any ecclesiastic be exposed as Communists, subversives, or as playing the Commie game if to do so is God's truth? In America the clergy is not a privileged class and clergymen have no greater immunity than other citizens. In free America no sacred cows are recognized. Every American knows that there are Communists preaching in the pulpits today and that innumerable fellow travelers wear sacred robes. Should they have a preferred and protected status as opposed to Government employees, school teachers, college professors, movie actors, or labor union officials? The answer is an emphatic no. There must be no distinction in favor of men of the cloth of any religion. This publication could, if it so desired, name numerous Communists and fellow travelers who by furthering the Communistic thesis abuse the word of God—a shocking and revolting blasphemy on God and on all religions.

It is well to remember that it was Chairman VELDE and his House Un-American Activities Committee, and not Senator MCCARTHY, who investigated Communist activities under the guise of religion. Under our Constitution and our laws there are no untouchables in America, whether in religious or professional garments. Every time that MCCARTHY exposes a college professor as a Communist there is an uproar from the Intellectuals, Radicals, Pinks, Facist liberals and their press organs. Left wing college professors rush to the defense of so-called academic freedom. Since when has academic freedom been synonymous with advocating the overthrow of our free institutions by force and violence, or with treason or spying for Soviet Russia? Take the case of Prof. Wendell H. Furry who refused to tell MCCARTHY'S investigating committee whether he was a Communist before 1951 but instead hid behind the provisions of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

It is difficult to comprehend the attitude of Harvard University in protecting and tolerating a college professor who refuses to answer whether he is or has been a Communist on the ground that his answer would tend to incriminate him. This is justifiable assumption of positive proof that he is or was a Communist. Up to the present time Harvard authorities have been defending Professor Furry despite his refusal to defend himself. Why should Harvard appease communistic professors or make untouchable sacred crows of them? The record discloses that Harvard University and particularly the Law School have produced such well-known Communists and fellow travelers as Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Lee Pressman, Lawrence Duggan, Laughlin Currie, Nathan Witt, Abraham George Silverman, Harold Glasser, Maurice Halperin, Noel Field, Major Ulman, and many others who infiltrated onto the Federal Government payrolls since the advent of F. D. R. in 1933 but most of them departed from their governmental jobs since the advent of Senator MCCARTHY in 1947. But why should loyal and patriotic Harvard cater to Commies and former Commies when other universities and schools are dimissing their professors who refused to testify as to their alleged subversive activities before congressional committees?

Professor Furry also refused to say whether he had indoctrinated his students in Communist philosophy. Do loyal American parents pay hard earned money for tuition to help communize their sons at Harvard? Do they do it to subject them to such un-American propaganda and activities? Harvard overseers had better take another look at the record of Professor Furry and several other alleged Communist infiltrators before public opinion and Harvard grads become aroused. There is no compromise in free America between espionage, communism, and human slavery on one side and loyalty, democracy, and freedom on the other. Time is running out on Harvard and other centers of education that cater under the false guise of academic freedom to disloyalty, un-Americanism and to subversive and Communist propaganda by hiring or retaining Communists or former Communist professors, particularly those who hide behind the fifth amendment when charged with discussing radar secrets with Communists. The main scheme of the Communists in the United States is based on infiltration into colleges, schools, movie industry, Federal Govern-

ment, systems of communications and radar projects, and into defense top secrets. That is where the nests and cells of highly educated Communists flourish. Thank God for Senator McCarthy who recently exposed a radar espionage ring of stealing top military secrets designed to protect the American people from atomic attacks. Such a nest of spies and traitors could jeopardize the lives of millions of American men, women, and children.

There is rightly in the United States room for an honest difference of opinion with respect to economic, political, social, and international questions, but there should be none on obviously un-American, subversive, or Communist issues. The Communists, Red fronters, and rabid internationalists join forces in not conceding anything or any rights to their sincere opponents. Their creed is to smear them mercilessly, continuously, and falsely if necessary. The end to them justifies the means. The slogan of the internationalists, like that of the Communists, is that their foes must be destroyed at all costs. That is why the rabid internationalists, a considerable segment of our eastern seaboard population, joins with the Commies, Red fronters, and leftwingers in a campaign of hatred against Senator McCarthy. Such internationalists froth at the mouth because Senator McCarthy exposed the British trade in strategic materials to Red China to help kill our sons in Korea. They gnash their teeth in dismay when he exposes Communist sympathizers among our State Department officials in Germany. They cry out to high heaven when he urges a reduction in the funds for mutual security, and exposes Commie fellow travelers on the Voice of America. They howl with sheer madness when he exposes American Communists infiltrating into key positions in the United Nations. This hurts the internationalists in a tender spot. The United Nations is the apple of their eye and their own darling pet. It is the breeding place of internationalism and one worldism. To the internationalists the U. N. is sacrosanct. Any criticism is lese majesté. The U. N. can do no wrong. To them it matters not whether our sovereignty is jeopardized and our laws and Constitution are superseded by the U. N. It matters not if the U. N. is a nest of Communist conspirators spewing hatred and spreading subversive propaganda against the heart of America from its headquarters in New York City. But to Joe McCarthy and millions of loyal Americans this makes a vast amount of difference. It was a tragic blunder ever to have located the U. N. in America. It should be moved out bag and Red baggage to a small neutral nation like Switzerland or Sweden. Under no circumstances should it be in Moscow or New York.

Senator McCarthy is also unpopular in England, France, and other subsidized European nations because he does not believe in bankrupting America, squandering our resources abroad, or sending our soldiers to fight and to die for nations which refuse even to defend themselves.

Despite repeated falsehoods Senator McCarthy is scrupulous in protecting the constitutional rights of every person who appears before his investigating committee. He presides as chairman with judicial temperament and fairness. He seldom raises his ordinarily low voice. No innocent person has ever been harmed by his investigations despite the bogus propaganda to the contrary. The favorite pastime of pseudo-liberals, leftwingers, Commies, and Red fronters in order to disrupt his investigations is to depict Senator McCarthy as a devil with horns persecuting innocent liberals. Junius Americanus has no sympathy for any fellow traveler who has played the Communist game in the past, and if he gets burned publicly because of his associations with our enemies from within or without, no injustice will have been done to him. Anyone who was free of any such associations has nothing to fear from Senator McCarthy. In fact Senator McCarthy would be the first to defend their loyalty and Americanism. McCarthy has enemies among the groups referred to in this letter but by and large he is loved for the enemies he has made. The persistent articles and editorials in the Daily Worker ferociously maligning and abusing McCarthy are direct proof of the success and importance of his investigations. The following is an extract from a pamphlet issued by the Communist Party of Maryland: "Defeat McCarthy or face the threat of political annihilation. At all times remember the fact that the main enemy is McCarthyism. We must direct our main fight against it."

Chairman Richard Simpson (Republican, Pennsylvania) of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, stated that Brownell's charge involving ex-President Truman in the Harry Dexter White case "further vindicated McCarthy's position and that the Eisenhower administration will urge a still more intense effort" by McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee to uncover Communist infiltration into the Government. It is time for loyal Americans to come out from their hiding places and turn from the defensive to the offensive in support of the battle Senator McCarthy is waging against Communists and Red frontiers in the Federal Government, in our schools and colleges, in our press and radio, vital defense projects, and in the sacrosanct United Nations.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is a great and fearless American investigator and public servant who has dedicated himself to the task of preserving America from our Communist enemies and their allies from within and from without. To accomplish this result he has been obliged to use firm methods * * * not just slaps on the wrists. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has publicly commended the investigating efforts of Senator McCarthy. Director Hoover pointed out that "the danger of un-American activities is a real present menace. Sneaking subverts work in the dark with lying propaganda to undermine freedom and the struggle in which we are engaged calls upon every man, woman, and child to be American first, last, and always. "Millions upon millions of loyal Americans of all political parties, rich and poor, important and humble, are steadfastly behind Senator McCarthy and want him to continue the fight to drive the Reds and all subversives out of positions of trust from which they can sabotage or injure the American people or their freedom."

The New York World Telegram and Sun of November 9, 1953, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, stated editorially:

"This (White) case should settle once and for all time the contentions of such persons as Mr. Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Senator Monroney that congressional investigators are unnecessary in situations of this kind and that all such matters be left to the FBI. The FBI did its full duty in this case, and its findings are completely ignored. Had it not been for congressional investigations the public wouldn't have known anything about Harry Dexter White's pro-Russia activities until last Friday when Attorney General Brownell turned the spotlight on one of the Justice Department's secret archives. Those who have raised the public outcry against McCarthyism have their complete answer in this revelation of Trumanism."

"McCarthyism"—coined by the Communists as a word of opprobrium—means in reality loyal Americanism. What America needs more in these critical days are more fearless and outspoken leaders and champions in the continuing battle between freedom and slavery, like Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin. Well done, good and faithful servant.

Junius Americanus suggests a New Year's resolution that Americans irrespective of partisanship, combine to help purge every last American Communist, fellow traveler, subversive, spy, or traitor from holding any position of trust in the Federal Government, the United Nations, and our schools and colleges during 1954. Let's stop playing the Red fake propaganda game of fighting "McCarthyism" and really fight our Communist enemies and their allies in our midst. Let the purge go on until all Communist conspirators and their fellow travelers have been exposed and driven out of public office.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Junius Americanus urges a complete investigation of the infamous Amerasia case which has hitherto been covered up or whitewashed.

2. Investigation of the list of contributors to the Alger Hiss defense fund.

3. Publication of the entire report of President Eisenhower's Committee on Mutual Security.

4. Investigation of the alleged subversive activities of Harry Dexter White, Laughlin Currie and David K. Niles, the two latter, executive assistants to President Roosevelt; Harold Glasser, top aide to then Secretary Morgenthau, and Frank Coe, Victor Perlo, and Solomon Adler, also then in the Treasury Department.

5. The Communist Party should be outlawed as an alien subversive party (not American) taking its orders from Moscow and be prohibited from mailing its propaganda or using our schools for their meetings or having its name on the State ballots.

Veritas magna est et praevalebit. Delenda est communism.

Junius Americanus.

Opposition to Congressional and Judicial Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose a raise. The Special Commission appointed to make a study of judicial and congressional salaries has made its report, and I am amazed that it has recommended the sum of $27,500 annually for Federal judges and Members of Congress. I, for one, certainly do not favor the adoption of this report.

The Commission, and many others who believe such a raise is reasonable and advisable, seems to feel that the business of our Government in this crucial time is so grave and burdensome that salaries ought to be in direct relationship to the responsibilities. I cannot agree with this theory. Very few officials who hold high Government positions receive pay comparable to the responsibilities of their jobs. I do not think the founders of our Republic ever intended that they receive such pay. In the beginning of our Government, one of the leaders said: "Salaries should be fixed in the middleground where dignity blends with economy." I believe this statement is practical and based on commonsense. The present salary of Congressmen—$12,500 per year, plus $2,500 expense allowance—is a middle-

ground salary, which permits a Congressman to live in dignity provided he is economical. And certainly we should all be economy minded today with exorbitant taxes and a public debt of almost $275 billion.

It takes about all of a Congressman's salary to live, I agree, since it is necessary for him to maintain one home in Washington and another in his district. However, in my opinion, Members of Congress are sent to Washington to make laws and not to make money. Congressmen are supposed to be public servants of the highest caliber. To me, the high honor of representing my people in Congress is worth more than all the salary, whatever it might be.

The point is made by this special commission that higher salaries would bring better men to Congress. I think this argument is unsound, because throughout the history of this Nation many men and women have served their country admirably and heroically, often without any monetary compensation whatever. For example, during World War I and World War II many patriotic citizens served their country for $1 per year. To be sure, they were men of wealth who did not expect or need any salary, but, at the same time, they made great sacrifices in order to serve. Some members of President Eisenhower's Cabinet gave up jobs in industry, which provided them tremendous incomes, so that they might accept positions of greater honor, trust, and service in Government.

No; it is not money or big salaries that brings the best men to Congress. It is simply love of country and one's willingness to give up some of the material things in life in order to be the people's Representative in this great democratic Government.

Another reason why I object to this proposed raise is because it is out of proportion to the average salary increase in the business world. It is almost unheard of in industry for an employee to get an increase in pay of 80 to 90 percent at one time. Wages and salaries are customarily increased by degrees, not almost doubled in one jump, so to speak. This money belongs to the taxpayers, and it should not be spent so extravagantly.

All over the United States people are complaining about high taxes, and they have a right to complain. But the only way to reduce taxes is to first reduce spending. This Congress, I thought, was pledged to lower taxes and governmental economy in general, yet it appears that many of the leaders expect to vote to nearly double the salaries of Members of Congress. This is inconsistent to me. Therefore, I not only propose to continue my efforts for economy in Government, but I shall practice what I preach and vote against a salary raise.

Why should we raise the salaries of Congressmen when the farmer's income is less than it has been for several years? Why should we raise the salary of Congressmen and Federal judges when thousands of miners in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and several Western States are not working at all? Why should we raise these salaries when numerous New England textile mills are closing up shop and going out of business, and some southern mills are operating only 3 or 4 days per week? Why raise salaries of Congressmen when some postal employees are delivering newspapers to supplement their incomes so as to adequately support their families? Why raise salaries at a time when scores of expert economists predict a recession and probably a depression?

I hope and pray that these economists are wrong and that we will not have a depression or even a recession. However, if we start another series of wage increases, that alone will lead to further inflation, and steps of this kind ultimately bring us to a recession, or worse.

One Senator says, "It would be an affront to the American people if Congress votes itself a pay raise now." And at least one Congressman has said this pay raise would blow the lid off increased Federal spending and definitely accelerate inflation. I believe we have inflation whipped if we will just hold the line and continue to reduce spending and taxes. But if Congress sets an inflationary example by raising the pay of its own Members, then all other wage earners would be justified in demanding more money for their work.

Can we afford to raise the relief checks of the blind, crippled, aged, and disabled? If we do not expect to do that, then let us forget this question of raising our own pay. These unfortunate souls are at the mercy of charity and their Government, with no means of earning a livelihood.

If Congress expects to hold the respect and confidence of the voters, it should not give relief in the form of higher salaries, first to its own Members. A national poll on this question shows that a large majority of the people in this country are opposed to Congressmen and Federal judges receiving $27,500 annually.

Congressmen can live very well on what they are now paid and, in addition to the salary, they have the high honor of representing the people in the world's greatest deliberative body.

Historic Event at Groton, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, on last Thursday, it was my pride and very great privilege to be an eyewitness to an historic event that took place in my own district, at Groton, Conn.

I would like to use the permission kindly granted to me to extend my remarks by including in the RECORD today two of the significant and memorable addresses which were made on the occasion of the launching of the nuclear-power submarine *Nautilus* by officers of our Government who have had, and who are to continue to have, an important part in the developments in which this launching was an important milestone.

I think that no person among the 20,000 present in the yards of the Electric Boat Division of the General Dynamics Corp. at Groton when the *Nautilus* went down the ways could fail to feel that he or she was having a part in living history, and that this event was one, not only on which we would have cause to look back upon during our whole lives, but that it would be an event numbered in the future among those which are meant to remember.

The remarks at the *Nautilus* launching ceremonies by Adm. Robert B. Carney, the Chief of Naval Operations, and by Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, were distinguished for many things, but most of all, it seemed to me, because, in each instance, they gave voice to what is in the minds and in the hearts of many Americans.

The *Nautilus* was sponsored at its launching, as you know, by the gracious first lady of the land, Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, whom we were most happy to welcome back to Connecticut. So that a permanent record may be made here of this historic event, I include now the addresses by Admiral Carney and Rear Admiral Strauss:

ADDRESS BY ADMIRAL ROBERT B. CARNEY, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, UNITED STATES NAVY

I attend this ceremony with mixed emotions—mixed, not by reason of confusion, but rather because I stand here as a profoundly impressed sailor, as a proud American, and as a very humble human being, all wrapped up in one package, and all striving to understand the significance of this occasion.

As a sailor, I recognize this ship as the beginning of a new chapter in the history of sea power. Revolutionary thing that she is, the technicians and tacticians will strive to wring the greatest military advantage from this latest product of American genius. The fleet is hungry to put her to work. As the first of a radically new type, everything in her will be tested in the gruelling processes of the fleet's operational evaluation; that is the fate of every new arrival in the fleet.

However, again as an American sailor, I also look beyond this newcomer, as marvelous a product as she is, and see the succeeding generations of atomic submarines and other atomic-powered ships, and, as I look, new vistas of American seapower unfold.

As an American I feel an intense pride in the vision, the brains, the ingenuity, the sweat, and the teamwork that went into the creating of the *Nautilus*. Research, science, industry, labor, and the civilian and military elements of the Government all teamed up to produce this ship for which the Navy's operating people had expressed a need.

As one small human being, I am lost in my own musings as to what this occasion may signify in terms of the things that are in store for humanity. A natural tendency toward very grave speculation is partly offset by the hope that springs eternal and the optimism that is an American heritage. Aside from any military significance, this ship is a symbol of many things clearly discernible and other things as yet obscure.

Patently, this sleep ship, with her wonderful propulsion plant, is symbolic of American understanding of the importance of seapower and American ingenuity in inventing new tools for the exercise of seapower. And, believe me, control of the seas is as vital to us—and to those who oppose us—as it ever has been in the past; possibly more so.

But *Nautilus* is far more than just a manifestation of United States seapower. She stands for many things.

Nautilus is a symbol of man's dreaming—his bright dreams, certainly; and, if man is not wise, nightmares, too.

She is a symbol of man's outreaching imagination; his willingness to embark on a Jules Verne voyage over the hazy horizons of the imaginative future; his restless and creative instinct to challenge the fringe of the known and to explore the uncharted waters.

She is a symbol of man's continuing genius; his encyclopedic and opportune grasp of nuclear physics, at a time when the world must contemplate the possibility of serious depletion in other fuel sources.

She is symbolic of man's fundamental search for truth. Every step of this herculean undertaking has required probing, searching, and researching for irrefutable fact.

The *Nautilus* is a symbol of United States determination to fight, when and if fighting becomes necessary, for the preservation of the principles for which we stand.

But her revolutionary power plant also symbolizes our country's desire to use science for good in this era of fantastic change.

Not only does this scientific creation stand as evidence of a national desire usefully to harness the power locked in the atom, it also eloquently testified to a greater power inherent in this great free community of ours—the power that radiates from ideals, constructive thinking, and the curious American genius for voluntary teamwork. It was that same spiritual power which brought forth our infant republic, which today enables us to contribute greatly to the cause of freedom throughout the world, and which gives us a golden opportunity to serve humanity in the future.

Nautilus, then, is really a symbol of a national philosophy of liberty and a national determination to successfully defend and preserve our pattern of liberty.

Let us pray that she is also proof of a fundamental ability to produce the men of brains, judgment, and character needed to guide us in the portentious years ahead.

As remarkable as this development seems to us now, *Nautilus* will probably appear to our sons and grandsons as a quaint old piece of machinery which introduced the transition to a new age of power. This is sure to happen, for this is only the beginning. But I am proud to share this momentous beginning and I believe that we are witnessing one of history's great milestones.

I earnestly hope that *Nautilus* and her successors will become a symbol of the protection of our country and all it holds dear.

REMARKS OF LEWIS L. STRAUSS, CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

In a few minutes a gracious lady will christen a new unit of our fighting fleet and send it down the ways to the element for which it was destined. A launching is always a prophetic and romantic occasion, but this launching literally transcends all which have gone before. For the *Nautilus* is not simply another vessel in which the brave men of our Navy will be ready to defend our liberties—to fight if we be attacked, to die in her if need be. The *Nautilus* is all this—and far more. The *Nautilus* is something new under the sun.

Like the eagle on the great seal of the United States which offers in its talons either the olive branch of peace or the thunderbolts of defense, this new vessel is in the same way symbolic. It typifies the spirit of America at the time of its founding, and the spirit of America in this 12th year of the atomic age. We are strong with the strength of atomic thunderbolts to resist aggression and to forestall tyranny while at the same time we extend the olive branch of a worthy peace—of peace made even more worthy by our purpose to see it enriched with the fruits of man's inventiveness and ingenuity and good will.

This is not the first time in history that progress made in the weapons of defense precedes the development of new tools for the fuller enjoyment of peace. Conventional explosives now have far more extensive uses, in agriculture, mining, and engineering, than in war. Without them we could not live as happily nor as comfortably as we do. The age of metals, reaching back into remotest antiquity, almost surely resulted from man's primary need for better armor and armament. Yet today our whole way of living would be impossible without them. The sword has always yielded to the plowshare.

Now comes *Nautilus*, powered by a revolutionary new force, akin to that which lights the stars, and which at some not distant day will speed the argosies of commerce across the seas and far up into the blue distances of the heavens. Already much has been learned from her building to advance the engineering design of power stations to generate electrical energy for peaceful civil use. Much more information will be gained as she is put into operation. For though her engines are for her special purposes and though economy was a consideration which was surpassed by other factors of more military importance—yet her powerplant is the world's first significantly useful application of atomic energy on such a scale, and will have much in common with future systems.

Nautilus realizes the hopes and dreams of men—the discoveries of men of science, the experience of engineers, the managerial talent of industry, the skill of American workmen, and the devotion and perseverance of American naval personnel.

The scientists gave us the nuclear knowledge and the basic data upon which the project rests. Much of the early design was performed in the great Argonne National Laboratory and carried out at the National Reactor Testing Station of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Two great industrial organizations, the Westinghouse Corp. and the General Dynamics Corp., translated the concepts and experiments into the dramatic result we see here today. Hundreds of contractors and suppliers spread across the States of the Union contributed to the success, and even then success would have been wanting but for the skill of many craftsmen who labored on this pioneer enterprise.

Finally, the *Nautilus* is the fruit not only of a working team between science, industry, labor, and Government but of a unique partnership within Government. The Navy Department and the Atomic Energy Commission selected the same man to be the head of the units in both agencies directly in charge of this difficult program. It is a pleasure to voice a "well done" to Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover on this occasion of such supreme gratification to him.

Today's historic event strengthens the means of security of all free nations. Simultaneously, it gives new impetus to the peaceful potential of the atomic force which turns the engines of the *Nautilus* and which we trust, before too long, can be put to the service of all mankind.

In conclusion, may I say that the most fitting words with which to mark this launching have already been spoken, and by President Eisenhower. He said, "We will be strong. We will be strong to keep the peace. To that end we will equip our men with the most effective weapons that science and technology can devise. We will never cease, however, to work to the end that the fruit of man's imagination shall be turned not to his destruction but consecrated to his life and happiness."

Thus, as *Nautilus*—forerunner of many ships—is launched today, our prayers are for peace and the strength to maintain peace—for victory if we must defend peace.

Says Eisenhower People Are Poor Hands at Estimating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include a significant excerpt from the lead editorial in the Chicago Tribune—Republican—of January 22, 1954, which follows:

The deficit for the current year may turn out to be considerably larger than Mr. Eisenhower has just estimated, for the Eisenhower people are poor hands at estimating. In early June 1953, his Treasury Department issued a bulletin which estimated the deficit for the year at $5.896 billion for the year which had less than a month to go. The actual deficit turned out to be $3½ billion more than this. It is probably true that the administration speeded up the outgo in June in order to make that year's record look as bad as possible, but on the face of it, it was the poorest estimate known. If these people couldn't do better than that with only 3 weeks to go, how can they be right when estimating over a 5-month term?

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Appendix

Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, at Distinguished Service Award Banquet of Newcastle Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered last Friday evening to the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Newcastle, Pa.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD BANQUET OF THE NEWCASTLE JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEWCASTLE, PA., FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 22, 1954

It is a high honor and a happy privilege to meet with you tonight.

You are the young leaders to whom we entrust the future of our country. Individually and as an organization your influence will be most powerful in deciding the kind of city, State, and Nation we are to have in the years ahead.

The welfare of our people and our progress toward a brighter, better, happier America depends almost entirely on the public spirit, the civic-mindedness, and the moral leadership that is developed in groups such as yours.

The job which lies before you can be compared to the monumental task to which patriotic young men of our early history were called by their love of freedom. It is appropriate on this occasion to recall the part that young men—men of your age—took in building the foundation of our Nation's greatness.

Thomas Jefferson, the great advocate of human liberty, was only 33 years old when he drafted the Declaration of Independence.

Alexander Hamilton was only 30 when he served as one of New York's delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

James Madison was 36 and was regarded as the most learned man in the Constitutional Convention next to Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin.

Another youthful delegate was the 34-year-old Governor of Virginia, Edmund Randolph.

South Carolina sent as one of its delegates Charles Pinckney, then a Member of Congress, at the age of 29.

The secretary of the Convention was William Jackson, of South Carolina. He was about 30 and had been a lieutenant in the Continental Army before he was 18.

Thus, the Constitutional Convention had the energy, the bold thinking, and the vital spark of youth—the courageous spirit of youth—that has served our country so brilliantly in peace and war.

I am not exaggerating when I say that the problems you must be prepared to meet are just as difficult and just as important to the future of America as those faced by any generation of the past.

Many of you can look back upon 20 years in which there spread out over our country a philosophy contrary to the ideals upon which our Nation was established.

You have seen widespread acceptance of a doctrine directly opposed to the principles which made us the greatest nation on earth.

You have lived in a time when your generation and others yet unborn were mortgaged by the heaviest burden of national debt in all world history.

You have lived in a time when the cost of government at all levels climbed higher and higher until one-third of all the national income was consumed by government spending.

You have lived in a time when the purchasing power of every dollar you earned was forced lower and lower by the dangerous pressure of inflation.

You have lived in a time when the Federal Government entered into direct competition with private enterprise in many business activities.

You have lived through a time of false prosperity, built on borrowed money and the tragic sacrifice of brave American boys on World War II and Korean battlefields.

And more dangerous to your future and the future of all young people was the widespread destruction of self-reliance, industry, initiative, and thrift by the false promise of security to be provided by a paternalistic government.

Back in the days of the WPA, when unemployed men were given work on road building and construction projects, we laughed about the "shovel leaners."

They have their counterpart today in those who would lean on the Government for support rather than stand on their own feet. Too much dependence on government would make us a nation of shovel leaners.

In many parts of the world today people are cold and hungry—struggling to keep alive—because they yielded to the false promise of demagogs that government would insure for them a life of ease and comfort without effort and without cost.

Never in all the history of mankind has that promise been fulfilled. From the ancient days of Rome's greatest glory to our own times great and powerful nations have been led to destruction by that treacherous appeal to man's selfishness and greed.

The fate of Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini are prime examples of the process by which the hearts and minds of men are corroded by the vain hope of life without obligation and without sacrifice.

Turning back the pages of history we find that a group of early settlers, here in the new world, experimented with a somewhat similar system of government.

The Pilgrims, who landed on Plymouth Rock, thought they could better their condition by a plan which resembled the Communist methods of today.

Under Governor Bradford they instituted a collectivist system by which all the products of the field and fo est were gathered in a central storehouse. Each settler was entitled to share in these stores according to his need.

But it did not work out—there was not enough food to go around.

Why? Simply because the lazy, shiftless members of the community learned to depend upon the industry of the willing and energetic workers. Also many who otherwise would have been willing to work saw no advantage in it and they, too, joined the nonproducers.

The leaders of the settlement recognized their error. They divided the land among their members. Each was made dependent upon his own efforts. Incentive was created to spur men on. They were free to work for themselves and to enjoy the fruits of their toil.

In that way free enterprise replaced collectivism and there was plenty for all.

The growth and development of the American continent, under free enterprise, may be said to have had its beginning in the system first tried in 1623, in the colony of Massachusetts, founded at Plymouth Rock.

It is not necessary for me to remind this audience that the unparalleled success of the United States is the result of that system.

Our material, cultural and spiritual attainments are unequaled anywhere in the world.

Our living standards are the highest of any people on earth.

American inventive genius has revolutionized every phase of industry, transportation, and the daily lives of all the people.

Our research workers are constantly revealing new miracles of science for the benefit of mankind.

All of these magnificent achievements and many others I have not enumerated are the envy of the world.

They are ours to enjoy because the American system of government gave us freedom of the individual, strengthened by freedom of enterprise and supported by individual responsibility.

I hope every American will come to realize the full significance of his individual responsibility for the preservation of our heritage of freedom.

I hope every American will learn that he has obligations as well as rights as a citizen of this free Republic.

There is a great truth inscribed on the wall of the Library of Congress in Washington by which I have been deeply impressed. It is this:

"Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppression will vanish like evil spirits with the dawn of the day."

Tyranny and oppression will never overwhelm people who dedicate themselves to the principles of good government and then go out and fight for it.

That is the fight to which I want to direct your attention—the fight for good government—and I appeal to you now to make that objective your personal and individual concern.

We have only ourselves to blame if bad government is the result of failure to accept our share of civic responsibility.

In the final analysis we cannot have clean, decent, honest government unless we have clean, decent, honest citizens.

It is a tragic fact that too many of our people take too little interest in government. They avoid participation in political affairs.

Nearly one-third of our people do not even take the trouble to vote. And many who do vote do not study the issues. They make no attempt to learn the background of the candidates so as to decide whether they are men worthy of support or whether they are demagogs who would promise anything in return for votes.

All the faults in our Government can be blamed upon the people because in the United States the people are the Government.

We, the people, choose at the polls those who govern us.

We, the people, are to blame if we elect men who have no regard for honesty in the conduct of public affairs.

We, the people, are to blame if our Government spends more than we can afford and taxes us beyond the limit that can be sustained by our economy.

We can have good, clean, honest, efficient, economical government if we have the will and determination to fight for it.

We would never have crooked, costly, inefficient government if all of us would take an intelligent, patriotic, and militant part in civic affairs at the local, State, and National level.

That means taking part in politics because the kind of government we have is decided at the ballot box.

Yes, my fellow Americans, under the two-party system by which we reach political decisions, the battleground for good government is in the arena of politics.

We need a deeper understanding of practical, patriotic politics, the kind of political activity that is based on the highest standards of morality, honesty, sincerity, and love of country.

Just as we hold sacred the principles of our religious faith, so must we hold fast to the highest ideals of political action.

I do not say that any one party has a monopoly of good, clean, honest men. I am not suggesting that you join one party or another. This is not a political speech.

But I do say that you can serve your city, county, State, and Nation by joining the team that best represents your hope for a better America.

Let me advise you further that team play is one of the vital factors that make for success. The individual star may have his moments of brilliance but the team player, in the long run, makes a greater contribution to victory. The team player, in politics, never abandons his principles, even if it means giving up personal ambition for the benefit of the team.

I make this appeal to you because you are ready to step into places of leadership. I know you do not take that responsibility lightly.

In his recent state of the Union message President Eisenhower, as you know, proposed a constitutional amendment reducing the voting age to 18 years.

That proposal brings into sharp focus a duty which your membership is highly qualified to perform. I mean the duty of carrying to our boys and girls the true message of American freedom, American patriotism, and American sacrifice.

I would strongly recommend that your organization give special attention to preparing the youth of our land for the responsibilities that go with the right of franchise.

Make it your special mission to spread the doctrine of clean, decent, honest government. Talk with the young voters, the new voters, the young men and young women who at the age of 18 may soon share in the decisions of government.

Impress upon them the real meaning of American freedom and the heroic sacrifice that established our greatness as a nation.

Point out to them that the fundamental elements of civic morality—truth, honor, self-reliance, personal responsibility, individual initiative, thrift, courage, and religious faith—are just as valid today as they have been in every generation of the past.

Teach them that dependence upon government is a vain delusion, contrary to all sound principles that bring security and prosperity.

Convince them that the politician, of any party, who promises something for nothing is a dangerous demogog.

Impress upon them the importance of electing to public office men of integrity and upright character who will work at the job of government without thought of personal power or selfish gain.

Make them fully aware that the most serious threat to national existence grows out of debt and taxes—that excessive Government spending is the road to national bankruptcy and the loss of all freedom.

Make it plain that the American plan of government gives equal opportunity for every boy or girl to reach the highest place in business, industry, the professions, the church or the Government.

As I stand before an audience such as this I can realize the tremendous potentialities of the future.

I think of the magnificent sweep of achievement that can be attained under the simple virtues of real Americanism—honor, courage, self-reliance, hard work, thrift, faith in our country and faith in God.

Who knows what greatness is around the corner? Who knows what wonders of nature will be revealed in the atomic age that is just ahead? Who can visualize the new frontiers to be explored in industry, science, and research?

For young people of today, willing to accept responsibility for America's future, new opportunities beckon from a thousand directions.

I look upon the junior chamber of commerce as a crucible of good citizenship and patriotic Americanism.

You have within your ranks the power and the ability to reach heights undreamed of today.

Your paramount duty is to keep America a land of freedom and opportunity.

Remember always it is your country and your Government. It will be what you make it.

Senator Butler Cites Need for Sea Subsidy Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Senator BUTLER Cites Need for Sea Subsidy Legislation," written by the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], and published in the Baltimore American of Sunday, January 24, 1954. As we all know, the senior Senator from Maryland has long been a proponent of sound legislation to bolster the American merchant marine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR BUTLER CITES NEED FOR SEA SUBSIDY LEGISLATION

(By Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, Republican, Maryland)

WASHINGTON, January 23.—As a member of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, it is my deep conviction that the Congress and the administration must now squarely face the question of new maritime subsidy legislation.

The gradual forced abandonment of our shipbuilding and ship repair facilities and shipbuilding and ship-repair facilities and chant marine must not pass unchallenged—else our position in the community of free nations shall be subject to serious jeopardy.

Subsidy is truly an inappropriate word when applied to the American merchant marine in much the same sense that one rarely considers that all branches of our military services are completely subsidized.

Even though I am an unwavering advocate and supporter of free enterprise, and strongly opposed to the general principle of subsidy, I will readily concede that private capital alone cannot assume the full burden of financing and maintaining these tremendous military forces and that the responsibility for national defense and security rightfully rests with the Government.

Yet, from a logistical standpoint, the American merchant marine, as was so effectively demonstrated in World War II, constitutes our "fourth arm of defense" and should, therefore, be coordinated and integrated with our long-range military and economic objectives and afforded a degree of adequate financial assistance to insure that a sufficient nucleus with which to meet any future contingency or emergency is always available for immediate expansion.

My recent travels in Europe confirmed beyond refutation the propriety and exigency of this position.

This situation has a very serious effect upon the economic life of Baltimore.

I can best emphasize this point by referring to various statements in the public press on January 13, 1954, indicating that only 48 ships remain on order or under construction in United States shipyards at the present time.

Of these, 10 are under construction at the Bethlehem shipyards at Sparrows Point.

All but 3 of the total of 48 are due for completion this year, and it is obvious that unless very direct action is soon initiated by the industry, the Government, or the Congress, practically all American shipbuilding facilities will be closed or shut down by the end of 1954.

Already, many shipyard employees who are engaged in those skills, which are essential in the early stages of ship construction, have either been released or notified that they will be discharged in the very near future.

This matter should be of very grave concern for everyone in Maryland who appreciates the dependence of the entire State upon the prosperity of the great port of Baltimore.

Far beyond any local concern, however, is the danger to national security and to the American economy inherent in any policy which refuses to recognize the costs of merchant marine neglect over the last half-century.

Savings made now to the detriment of industries which rightly are termed the "fourth arm of defense," are a gamble of the worst order.

World conditions are threatening enough now. They could worsen overnight, and this time atomic bombs and long-range bombers in the hands of our enemies would deny America the months afforded her in the last two world conflicts to ready the shipbuilding industry and build the thousands of critically needed ships.

We must be ready, instantly, if and when war strikes again. To spend billions now on certain phases of defense, while we are economizing falsely on shipping and shipbuilding that will be essential necessities in the global warfare toward which armaments are being produced so feverishly, is utter folly.

During my visit to European shipyards several months ago I was impressed by the fact that people abroad have a keener appreciation of the need for an adequate merchant marine than we do.

Everybody I talked with said that had it not been for the American merchant marine and the American capacity to produce ships, their countries would not have been able to survive World War II.

I sometimes feel that the people of this country do not realize the importance of a merchant marine and of a capacity for producing ships in an emergency. I intend to do all that I can to stimulate American interest in an adequate, balanced fleet.

However, American shipbuilding yards cannot hope to compete with foreign yards, where costs on an average are 40 to 45 percent lower than in this country.

The necessity for continued subsidy of ship construction naturally follows, but the question is how much. I don't think we can ever be competitive. If we are to have a merchant marine, it must be subsidized.

The Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which I am a member, is now preparing a detailed analysis of the overall problem of providing for an adequate American merchant marine to meet the requirements of our security and our commerce and I feel certain that corrective and constructive legislation will be introduced in the very near future.

The President's Message on Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. Eisenhower May Have Ended Great Debate on Medical Care" published in the Courier-Journal of January 19, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. EISENHOWER MAY HAVE ENDED GREAT DEBATE ON MEDICAL CARE

President Eisenhower serves up a tasty dish of better medical care and invites Congress and the country to try it. It looks good. It could be just the thing for what ails our present system.

At any rate, it avoids the rich Ambrosia of compulsory health insurance on one hand; and on the other, the a la carte offerings in which generally you have a choice of getting what you can pay for, or spending beyond your means, or going without.

The first and main ingredient of the Eisenhower recipe, as far as novelty is concerned, is Government reinsurance of private medical and hospitalization insurance. This is like the Government's insurance of bank deposits or of mortgages through the FHA and Veterans' Administration.

It is offered as a way to make sure of the capacity and performance of private insurance companies. It could be the way to make sure of their dependability and to help them (1) to lower costs or (2) to give wider services. By supervision and fixing standards, as FDIC and FHA operations require, it could protect policyholders and watch irresponsibles among those who have moved in to seek a share of the great business to which health insurance has grown in a few years.

The President's plan is to start the reinsurance with a capital fund of $25 million. This, he proposes, would be retired by reinsurance fees paid by the private companies. The FDIC fee of one-twelfth of 1 percent of total deposits was enough to retire the system's original debt to the Government in 1949 and to acquire total assets of $1.3 billion as of the first of 1952.

The Eisenhower plan to bolster private health insurance is not new, at that. It was forecast in May 1949 by a bill introduced in the two branches of Congress by Senator IVES and Representative JAVITS, of New York. It was aired again in 1952 by the Magnuson commission appointed by President Truman to study the Nation's needs for improved medical care. In neither case did it come to anything, and this is a great point to recall when one comes to analyze the stalemate which has caught all proposals in this connection.

It is not too much to say that much of the failure of these proposals is due to the stubborn conflict between the two extremes of the discussion. The New Deal-Fair Deal position was to hold out for public health insurance or nothing. Under President Truman, especially there was no disposition to move into a middle course. On the other hand, the hierarchy of the American Medical Association was just as immovable in refusing to accept Federal invervention in any part of their professional methods. Even Federal contributions to medical schools was opposed, though the need of more schools and more doctors was hardly debatable, even on the basis of AMA doctrine.

In the end, both sides of this irreconcilable argument helped defeat their own purposes. Compulsory health insurance might have been practically adjusted to some such formula as comes out now, but it never was. Organized medicine, which had opposed even voluntary health insurance some years ago when Dr. Fishbein was expounding the line, was nudged into a loud championship of private voluntary insurance. Anything else was "socialized medicine," said its spokesmen.

Today, the AMA already is claiming victory for its support of voluntary insurance, absolutely and unqualifiedly private. Its spokesmen claim some 85 million persons covered by private plans. But the great question is, To what extent are they covered? Hospital per diem allowances are generally but a small part of the charge. Provisions for general medical services are little or none. The burgeoning business of private health insurance is still so new as to volume that the count of risks and premiums is not complete. Will private companies ever feel themselves, without some such cushion as Mr. Eisenhower proposes, able to take over a substantial part of the $9 billion medical bill?

Of course, the reinsurance plan will not solve the problem completely. If it serves the purpose of inducing more people to buy insurance, under the impetus of Government protection and larger benefits which this makes possible, it will bring several more problems. Mainly there is the question of how hospitals may accommodate the new patients. Mr. Eisenhower goes into this with a plan for larger Federal support of private, nonprofit hospital building; and also of a system of clinics and health centers which would serve more people and free more hospital beds. He does not, however, touch on the needs of medical education, and the likelihood of Federal help for this, also.

Perhaps he has said enough for 1 day. He has shown himself aware of the needs and the disparities. He has offered a program neatly pieced together; a stronger insurance plan which still is dedicated to free enterprise and to free choice of doctors; grants-in-aid for the poor and disabled for whom no insurance is available; a look toward the chronically ill, now uninsured and uninsurable, to be served by State programs and special centers. He suggests only putting the Government in the position of patron and protector, not of operator. It could well be the answer to arguments of both sides, and in light of today's mood, it might well bring suspension, if not the final end, to the debate.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "In the Nation—If the Debate Is Worthy of the Issue," written by Arthur Krock, and published in the New York Times of January 26, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION—IF THE DEBATE IS WORTHY OF THE ISSUE

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, January 25.—The issue over the treatymaking power that was raised by Senator BRICKER and a group of lawyers in American Bar Association has already been serviceable to the country by rearousing national interest in the subject. This service can be increased by a Senate debate conducted on the high plane where discussion of constitutional questions belongs. But to do that the orators on both sides, and in good temper, must concede some of the valid points against their position, and thus equip the people and Congressman still in the middle with the criteria for sound judgment.

Some of these valid points are:

By advocates of the Bricker amendment: There is a loophole in the treatymaking machinery through which a President and two-thirds of a Senate conceivably could thrust an abuse of the power. The Secretary of State is only one of the eminent lawyers who have recognized this, and the loophole can be closed only temporarily by his pledge, on behalf of the President, that this administration will never make use of it.

FURTHER BASIS

The Supreme Court has said repeatedly that no treaty can override the Constitution, but treaties can and have overridden one section of it under the sanction of another. Despite tortuous arguments to the contrary, the effect of the decision in *Missouri* v. *Holland* was precisely that. It validated as internal law an act of Congress, passed as necessary and proper in pursuit of a treaty with Canada on migratory birds, that the courts, prior to this treaty, ruled Congress was without power to enact.

It is true that the Supreme Court has held without further dispute that Congress, by subsequent legislation, can override a treaty commitment that it previously legislated. But, since a President can veto such subsequent legislation, it would require two-thirds of each branch of Congress to make this into law over his veto.

Executive agreements made by the President with other governments sometimes have actually been treaties, and were put in the other form for the purpose of bypassing the Senate. It is true that Congress already has the power to regulate some of these agreements with foreign governments and international organizations (the United Nations), as section 3 of the Bricker amendment proposes. But this regulation falls far short of the sweeping supervision BRICKER proposes for agreements as well as for treaties.

By opponents of the Bricker amendment: Its section 1—"A treaty provision which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect"—is not merely a reiteration for the courts of an established fact, as the advocates of the amendment contend. *Missouri* v. *Holland* demonstrated that treaty legislation as internal law can conflict with

one part of the Constitution (the 10th amendment, limiting the legislative area of Congress) and yet be valid by conforming to another (making treaties the supreme law of the land). Section 1 is therefore a threat to this legal philosophy and to the vital part it plays in giving to the President and the Senate the latitude needed in foreign affairs.

THE "WHICH" CLAUSE

Section 2, preventing Congress from effecting treaty commitments by any internal law outside its legislative area as set forth in the Consitution, would indeed make the treaty process of the United States cumbersome and often hardly worth the effort by other governments to invoke it. Twelve of the 23 treaties approved by the Senate at its last session would have been subject to agreements by the legislatures of all 48 States if this "which" clause had then been a part of the Constitution. And in many conceivable future instances one or more State legislatures under this clause could exercise a veto over treaty commitments legislated by Congress as their internal law.

If executive agreements hereafter were to be subject to the Bricker Amendment, the President would not have that flexibility in the conduct of foreign affairs which his responsibility for concluding them plainly requires—prompt action covering the duration of any emergency being high among the benefits of that flexibility. And nothing in Bricker's plan could prevent another Yalta, because it ventures no check against the commander-in-chief authority of the President.

In the proposal by Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican leader in that branch, section 3 (a substitute for Bricker's "which" clause) closes the loophole conceded by Dulles and others. It provides that the effect of a treaty as internal law shall come only after appropriate legislation by both branches of Congress whenever the Senate, in approving a treaty, so declares. The safeguard could be even more thoroughly provided, and without tampering with the Constitution, by changing Senate rule XXXVII to require the Senate, as part of the process of treaty approval, always to state by the same two-thirds majority whether the treaty is or is not self-executing as internal law. This would also close a loophole left by the courts in interpreting when treaties are self-executing. But the Republican split has obliged the President to agree to some kind of constitutional amendment.

Flood-Control Funds Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, Florida was disappointed the other day when it learned that this administration proposed a woefully inadequate appropriation this year to continue work on the giant system of levees and canals and other works in the long-range flood-control and water-conservation system.

That this is false economy, in my opinion, has been amply demonstrated many times. I hope Congress will share this view when it comes time to make appropriations for this project for the next year.

In this connection, an editorial which appeared in the Miami Daily News of January should be of interest to us all, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLOOD-CONTROL FUNDS VITAL

Study of the details of President Eisenhower's 40,000-word budget message reveals that south Florida will fare better on flood control than this year if the President's recommendations are carried out by Congress.

The $3,620,000 proposed in the message is less than half the amount sought by Army engineers to continue work on the vast Everglades project now under way. However, no new funds were provided at all this year on the ground that there were unused funds which could keep the work going, though at a slower pace.

Advocates of adequate flood control have long contended that it is false economy to defer completion of this work. That was clearly demonstrated last fall when 17 south Florida counties were declared disaster areas entitled to Federal aid as a result of flooding of much of the vegetable and cattle areas.

At the time it was estimated that floods had done damage of more than a million dollars to roads alone in this area.

Congress should make available every cent the engineers can spend until this project is completed. It will cost less in the long run.

The President's Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Old Wine in New Bottles," which deals with the President's message on agriculture. The editorial was published in the Los Angeles Times of January 13, 1954.

I also ask unanimous consent that there be published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The New Farm Plan and Smart Politics," written by Mr. Stewart Alsop and published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 13, 1954]

OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES

The most apt comment on Mr. Eisenhower's message on a farm program is that the President proposes and Congress disposes. It is safe to say that there will be more wrangling over farm legislation than anything else that comes up in this session, not excepting the Taft-Hartley amendments, and it is possible that there will be little of Mr. Eisenhower's message in the law that is finally passed.

NEW FEATURES INCLUDED

What Mr. Eisenhower has proposed is basically not new, but he has succeeded in imparting some understanding of sound principles which were embodied in the Agriculture Acts of 1948 and 1949. The proposed program, while based largely on those principles, contains certain new features, improvements, and modifications. The amendment to the 1949 act which provided for mandatory rigid supports attuned, as the President put it, to war needs and demonstrably unworkable in peacetime, would be permitted to expire, and modernized parity would become effective for all commodities on January 1, 1956, under the new program.

Parity is the word for a standard used for measuring farm prices in the terms of what farmers pay for what they buy. Under the present law the Government guarantees the producers of basic crops 90 percent of parity. If the market price of the crop falls below 90 percent of parity the Government lends the farmer the difference, or the value of that part of the crop he cannot sell. If the farmer doesn't repay the loan the Government takes the unsold crop.

PRINCIPLE EXPOUNDED

An attempt is made under the law to prevent farmers from raising huge surpluses merely to sell them to the Government at high prices; if they accept Government subsidies they must accept Government acreage control. Even so, Government warehouses hold billions of dollars worth of surpluses at prices fixed by law so high that they cannot be sold at home or abroad.

What Mr. Eisenhower is trying to do is discontinue rigid 90-percent-of-parity support prices. When crops were small the price supports would be 90 percent to encourage production, but when crops were large supports might go down to a minimum of 75 percent of parity to discourage continued overproduction.

The principle Mr. Eisenhower illuminated in his message is this: that it is a false idea that the prices a farmer gets for his production are necessarily a measure of farm prosperity. (The present support law with its rigid supports and crop limitation did not prevent the farm slump that began during the last year of the Truman administration.)

Mr. Eisenhower said, in effect, that the farmer's prosperity was more a matter of the volume of his business than of the unit price he receives for his crop. The effect of Henry Fords' mass production of automobiles furnishes a parallel. When cars could be made in great quantity the amount of profit on each car was less but the total profit on a great number of cars sold was much greater than it had been in the old market when a few cars were made by each manufacturer for necessarily higher prices.

HIGH PRICE, LOW SALE

So goes the Eisenhower argument; if the parity percentage were lower in a good farm year consumers would buy more of what the farmers produced because the prices in the market would be lower.

High supports limit markets. Mr. Eisenhower would say that it is possible to sell many more bushels of wheat at $1.75 a bushel than at $2.20, and to make more money. The administration also suggests that high supports, with acreage reduced until farmers were producing only what could be sold at the high prices, would bring the farmers much less income.

Indeed, the backers of high support prices insist that Government acreage controls eventually will prevent surpluses, but they ignore the fact that reduced consumption, which already has resulted from high prices, eventually will have the farmers on a subsistence basis. The law cannot make the consumer buy.

The Eisenhower case is a good one and it will appeal to the average citizen and taxpayer. But all the Members of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senators will be standing for reelection this fall and the farm vote will be vital to many of them. It may be hard for the candidates to persuade their rural constituents that there

is something better than a high Government guaranty—plus a bureaucratic ruling on how much they may plant.

Anyway, Mr. Eisenhower has succeeded in making the farm problem seem clearer than it has been since Senator McNary and Representative Haugen long, long ago started to tinker with agricultural economics.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1954]

THE NEW FARM PLAN AND SMART POLITICS

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower has announced that he intends to fight for his farm program. It is already obvious that he will have to fight with every weapon at his command—from patronage to the veto threat—to get anything remotely resembling this program through Congress.

The heart of the Eisenhower program is, of course, flexible price supports, to be determined within certain limits by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson. Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, of North Dakota, a tall, soft-spoken man who may conceivably cause the administration more trouble than any other Senator except JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, intends to make mincemeat out of the whole program with an amendment making 90-percent supports mandatory. YOUNG claims with absolute assurance a bedrock minimum of 49 votes in support of his amendment.

BASIS FOR HIS CLAIM

YOUNG counts—no doubt quite correctly—on virtually all the Southern and border State Democrats, plus a smattering from the Middle West and farm States. He also counts on at least 13 Republicans to oppose the Republican administration on this issue.

These are CAPEHART, of Indiana; CASE, of South Dakota; COOPER, of Kentucky; CORDON, of Oregon; GRISWOLD, of Nebraska; JENNER, of Indiana; LANGER, of North Dakota; MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin; MUNDT of South Dakota; SCHOEPPEL, of Kansas; THYE, of Minnesota; WILEY, of Wisconsin; and, of course, YOUNG himself. The list is interesting. It includes a large number of those who in the past have most fervently denounced giveaway programs and the welfare State. For example, Senator MUNDT very recently deplored the fact that some Republicans from large eastern cities voted for the welfare State program under pressure from constituents with a southern European background.

It would be difficult to deny that rigid, high farm price support has a certain welfare State coloration. Yet the most conservative politicians from the Middle West and wheat and corn area have been able to rise above principle in this regard, and for a simple reason. The reason was bluntly stated by Senator MCCARTHY at the Republican conference a few days ago.

BLUNT REMINDER

Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, of Illinois, chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, was giving an unctuously optimistic picture of Republican electoral prospects when MCCARTHY brusquely interrupted him. In the recent special election in his native Wisconsin, MCCARTHY pointed out the Republicans had the best-known candidate and the most of the money in a traditionally Republican district, and yet they lost. It was time to face a few facts about the farm vote, MCCARTHY said, including the fact that the Republicans were rapidly losing it.

MCCARTHY has repeatedly warned Republican colleagues that the Communist issue will never win the election, if the Republicans lose the farm vote—and whatever else they may think of him, his colleagues have respect for MCCARTHY's political cunning. Indeed, the notion that anything less than rigid 90 percent farm supports will doom the Republicans is becoming almost an article of faith among farm State politicians.

Yet the President was persuaded to favor flexible farm supports for a very simple reason. He was warned by many experts—notably including his borther Milton Eisenhower—that a rigid support system, continued much longer, would end in the collapse of the whole farm-support system. It is not generally known that the system has already broken down in certain areas. In some States, farmers are selling supposedly price-supported commodities way under 90 percent of parity. This is not because they are indifferent to receiving full parity prices. It is because the warehouses and elevators are already bulging with the mountains of commodities the Government has acquired, and there is simply no more storage space. To receive the parity price, the farmer must find storage space for his produce.

Given many more months of rigid supports, according to such an expert as Senator CLINTON ANDERSON, former Secretary of Agriculture, and there is likely to be no more storage space anywhere. Thus the rigid support system could very well turn out to be a tragic fake—and the farmers, ANDERSON believes, are hardly likely to be grateful to the politicians who foisted the fake on them.

WHAT IS SMART?

In discussing his farm program at his recent press conference the President remarked that perhaps he was "not too smart politically." The Democrats are happily preparing to beat him over the head with his campaign speech at Kasson, Minn., in which he seemed to offer 100-percent parity. Farm State Republicans like YOUNG will fight him harder than the Democrats. In these circumstances the prospects for the President's program are certainly not good, no matter how hard he fights for it. Yet one cannot help wondering whether the President's flexible program may not turn out in the end to be smarter politics than a program which could simply disintegrate, even before next November.

The Postal Deficit and the Record of Postmaster General Summerfield

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, Postmaster General Summerfield has performed an outstanding service and has established an enviable record during the first year of his stewardship of the Post Office Department.

It occurs to me that arguments in support of eliminating the postal deficit are excellently set forth in two articles contained in the Washington Daily News of January 25 and 26. In further support of this record an editorial in that same newspaper was carried yesterday.

For the edification of all Members of the Senate and House, I ask unanimous consent to print the editorial and the two articles by Douglas Smith in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of January 25, 1954]

THE DEFICIT'S ENEMY

The Post Office Department has been in the red so long that some people think that's where it is supposed to be.

Actually there is no reason why it shouldn't collect enough postage to pay for carrying the mails. These deficits simply have become a habit, if not a tradition.

But the man President Eisenhower picked to head this important department—Arthur Summerfield—is different.

He says the postal system can pay its way and he will see to it that it does, if Congress will let him.

He is standing firm on his request for substantial postage-rate increases, and meanwhile is carrying out economies within the Department that are saving the taxpayers a lot of money.

Naturally he has encountered plenty of opposition. Not from the public—a poll shows that a large majority of Americans think mail should pay its way—but from magazines, newspapers, and others who are being subsidized by the taxpayers.

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer Douglas Smith describes the situation today in the first of two articles.

This newspaper, which benefits like all others do from this subsidy, agrees heartily with Mr. Summerfield that it is wrong, and ought to be eliminated. We commend his proposals to Congress and to the taxpayers, who have been paying for subsidies too long.

[From the Washington Daily News of January 25, 1954]

POST OFFICE IS NO GAME TO SUMMERFIELD

(By Douglas Smith)

(First of two articles)

If the Post Office Department doesn't start paying its way during President Eisenhower's term of office it won't be the fault of Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield.

The hard-driving man from Michigan is sticking to his guns in demanding that magazines and newspapers—long subsidized by the Government—pay more of what it costs to carry their copies through the mails, and that senders of advertising circulars do the same. He also has asked for a 1-cent increase for letter mail.

The Post Office Department is operating at a deficit of $430 million for the current year—which disturbs Mr. Summerfield greatly—but that deficit was estimated at $596 million when the fiscal year began last July 1.

The year before that the deficit was $669 million, and for the fiscal years 1951–52 it was $727 million.

ECONOMIES

With the volume of mail increasing yearly, there isn't much opportunity to save on manpower. The economies, achieved and planned, include the use of trucks instead of railroads for some short hauls, cutting out unprofitable small post offices, combining short rural routes, moving terminals out of expensive locations, charging other Government departments for free mail, and more decentralization of operations.

But it is impossible to balance the Department's budget without higher postage rates, Mr. Summerfield says.

He declares that 4 out of 5 Americans polled in a nationwide public-opinion survey believe the Department should pay its way.

He has asked a 1-cent increase for letter mail, a 32-percent increase in the rates on magazines and newspapers, and a 25-percent boost for third-class mail—largely advertising circulars.

Parcel post and international mail rates have been boosted already, and a 10-percent raise for periodicals will go into effect April 1.

OPPOSITION

Magazine publishers and others who would have to pay the higher rates asked by Mr. Summerfield have criticized them vigorously. They argue that it is long-established postal policy to carry their products at low rates in order to educate and inform the public, that the cost of doing so isn't as great as Mr. Summerfield says it is. And that they have taken heavy increases already—30 percent in the last 3 years.

A report by an advisory committee of private citizens to the Senate set off the latest fireworks. It was headed by Walter D. Fuller, chairman of the board of the firm which publishes the Saturday Evening Post and other magazines.

It said that any rate increase should be applied first to letter mail, and that hundreds of millions could be saved by modernizing the Post Office Department. It also declared that the Department is "fundamentally a public service to the people of the United States and should be so considered"—a genteel way of saying that it is not supposed to pay its way.

EXPLOSION

At this Mr. Summerfield exploded. He described Mr. Fuller as a leading champion for subsidized postal rates for magazines; declared that the report "obscures the facts * * * tries to justify further inaction and delay on postal-rate increases," and that the report did not make a single new proposal for economy and efficiency that he has not put into effect or is not in the process of putting into effect.

The Postmaster General says he is going to present his own plan and recommendations to the Senate later this month.

[From the Washington Daily News of January 26, 1954]

MAGAZINES ACCOUNT FOR BIGGEST CHUNK IN THE POSTAL DEFICIT

(By Douglas Smith)

Many magazines can be bought by mail for half what they sell for on newsstands—and not just because mail orders bypass the middleman.

The Post Office Department charges magazine publishers only a part of what it actually costs to deliver the magazines.

Newspapers get the same kind of subsidy on their mailings, but it is less important because most people get their papers at newsstands or by carrier, except in rural areas.

MAGAZINES EXPENSIVE

Magazines, according to Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, are responsible for 68 percent of the $240 million a year Government is losing on second-class mail. That is more than half the Department's current deficit of $340 million. He is asking Congress to raise second-class rates by 42 percent, including a 10-percent boost scheduled April 1.

Life magazine, which sends nearly 1 million copies through the mail each week, pays about $5 million a year postage on them. The Post Office Department says it costs over $13 million to deliver them to subscribers.

The Saturday Evening Post pays a second-class postage bill of less than $3 million, whereas the Post Office Department puts its distribution cost at more than $9 million.

The Department figures it loses $3,668,000 per year carrying the Reader's Digest through the mail, and $1,632,000 on the Ladies Home Journal.

Magazine publishers are, naturally, leading the opposition to the proposed increases, though distributors of advertising circulars are concerned, too—Mr. Summerfield wants to raise the rates on that class of mail to cut down the losses the postal system takes on it.

THE OTHER SIDE

The opponents claim Government's cost figures are all wrong—that more overhead ought to be charged against letter mail—and also that it always has been public policy to carry periodicals at low rates in order to help educate and inform the public.

Mr. Summerfield backs up his cost figures strongly, and says the "education" argument is a relic of horse-and-buggy days when most people lived in the country and had no way of getting reading matter except through the mails. Government helped them to get magazines and newspapers cheaply in order to encourage more people to learn to read, he says—hardly a proper function of today's postal service.

Perhaps what makes the Postmaster General the angriest is the argument that his Department is "fundamentally a public service," to use the language of a recent committee report opposing postal rate increases.

"If it is nothing but a public service, why should we charge any postage at all?" he says.

SURVEY CITED

He declares that publishers and others who send mail ought to pay what it costs to deliver it, and that the people—at least—are willing to pay for service. He cites a nationwide public opinion survey by a Princeton organization which showed that 4 out of 5 people believe the Post Office Department should be self-supporting, and 2 out of 3 say each class of mail should pay its own way.

Mr. Summerfield says he is not fighting Congress in his campaign, because Congress never has declared that the postal system should have a deficit. "If it does, and says what the deficit should be, I'll do my best to follow its wishes," he explained. "As long as it doesn't, I proceed on the assumption that it is my job to get this Department out of the red as soon as I can."

He figures that if he gets the postal rate increases he is asking, and carries out the economies he has scheduled, he can bring the deficit down to $100 million or less for the next fiscal year.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Budget Must Be Translated in Terms of National Policy," published in the Courier-Journal of January 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BUDGET MUST BE TRANSLATED IN TERMS OF NATIONAL POLICY

President Eisenhower's budget, proposing to spend $65.6 billion in the fiscal year beginning next July 1, is best to be judged as a statement of the administration's aims. In this respect it is conservative.

It does not renounce any activity of the last year or of the administration which went before, though approaching every one with a paring instrument (a keen blade, it should be noted, rather than a meat ax). Mainly, it shifts emphasis in some respects of method, notably the defense program.

There is even the familiar note of deficit, which already had been acknowledged as unavoidable in view of conditions in the world. Not since 1930 has this note been missing, save in the years 1947, 1948, and 1951.

Mr. Eisenhower proposed cutting expenses to $65.6 billion from the current year's budget of $70.9 billion. This is still not enough to make up for the decline of receipts from $67.6 billion to $62.7 billion for the next fiscal year, forced by the expiration of emergency additions to personal and corporate income taxes January 1.

The prospective deficit of $2.9 billion would be greater if taxes scheduled to expire April 1 are permitted to run out on schedule. The President is caution itself in his words to Members of Congress (some old Republicans most articulate among them) who would cut taxes though the heavens fall, mindful of campaign promises. He wants to put off for a year the scheduled cut in general corporate income taxes and a variety of excise taxes. He invokes the splendid image of the sound dollar—or as sound a dollar as a deficit permits—and seems to uphold it as more appealing to the country than more dollars, presumably less sound, in the pocket.

Even the lesser deficit means that the public debt will go up again to an approximate $273 billion. Here is a condition of reality, which should be looked at in the light of reality. Raising the debt limit becomes a matter of convenience, of avoiding embarrassment, not one of dogma.

The item marked for largest reduction is that of national security, which means defense and the Military Establishment. It would come down by $4 billion, to $44.8 billion. And this, probably above all else in the message, will call for the broadest discussions, and, it is to be hoped, the most enlightened. This is a point on which demagogery and partisan clamor (as, say, the taunts for the unbalanced budget) ought to be quieted. It is important as a matter of fateful strategy before any consideration of economy.

It seems that the President has decided on airpower and a larger program of atomic development as the bastion of defense. Of the $37.5 billion proposed for the military arms, more than 40 percent is for the Air Force. Plane quotas set on the target date of 1957 are increased by 20 percent. Appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission would be nearly $2.5 billion in fiscal 1955, from the $1.8 billion in 1953. It is, as Mr. Eisenhower pointed out, "a new concept for planning and financing our national-security program."

It is an aim at a planned and organized military position, to be maintained over an extended period, the President explains, rather than one subject to the ebb and flow of fear and optimism. There is an eye to finances in the President's proposal, to be sure. He speaks of a strong military force which is within the financial capability of a sound economy. He says, "We cannot afford to build military strength by sacrificing economic strength."

When the debate on the security item comes, as come it must, much weight must lie with the President, he being who he is, the Military Commander. The burden of his message in this connection is not a promise of more for less but rather the outline of a new system of defense.

A budget message is a massive thing. This one, we see, has 1,032 pages, and weighs 5¼ pounds. In its vast detail it is overpowering. It is a mystic maze of cost accountancy and specifications. But first and last it is also a statement of intentions. Mr. Eisenhower draws a fair, and not surprising, representation of his aims in this one.

Self-Government—Essays by District of Columbia High School Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, recently students of the Washington public high schools competed in an essay contest on the subject of self-government for the District of Columbia. The winners have been announced; and I request unanimous consent that the winning essay by Miss Odessa Chase, of the Washington Vocational High School, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that the essay by Miss Ruth Abrams, of the Coolidge Senior High School, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that the essay by Miss Egan O'Connor, of Western Senior High School, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also ask unanimous consent that the essay by Miss Julie Walker, of Eastern Senior High School, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essays were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUR WINNING ESSAYS ON "WHAT HOME RULE MEANS TO ME" IN 1953–54 HIGH-SCHOOL CONTEST SPONSORED BY THE GOOD CITIZENSHIP AWARD COMMITTEE, ADA

FIRST PRIZE WON BY ODESSA CHASE, WASHINGTON VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL

Throughout the world, men and women are concerned one way or another with governing themselves. The United Nations Assembly considers many problems related to the freedom, independence, and self-governing rights of large and small nations. There are some countries that have been forced to accept communism as a form of home rule. Other countries are struggling to establish their democracies wherein an election is a true expression of the people's feelings. Yet, nearly a million people live in the District of Columbia and suffer behind the iron curtain of legal technicalities that keep them from governing themselves.

I have read and have been told that home rule means the right of the District of Columbia's citizens to vote for the President, to send representatives to Congress, and to choose public officials such as the mayor, a city council, and other individuals whose services are needed to run the city. At present there are two plans for home rule. One advances the idea of national representation. The proponents of this idea feel that the most importance objective is for the District to be represented in Congress. Only by this means do they feel that the good of the District can be served. Those who support the other plan concentrate on local officials. According to them, we can rather easily overcome the legal barriers in the way of local self-government, and national representation is their long-term objective.

I think these two home-rule plans should be combined into one with the best features of each. This new plan would benefit me and my fellow citizens in many ways. If we could vote for representatives to Congress, perhaps Congress would devote more time to our problems and would appropriate more money to run our government. In this way, there would be salaries for more policemen, thus making our city safer for me and others who must be in the streets at night, going to church, to meetings, and visiting friends. Our dominant civic problem, juvenile delinquency, could be more adequately dealt with by the police department as there would be more officers to work with young people and to understand them. The sad story of inadequate agencies for problem youth might not go on for another 30 or more years if Washington people were represented in Congress.

On the local level, if we could choose the members of our school boards perhaps we would have more confidence that our school administrators truly represented the will of the community, and we were getting full value for every dollar spent for schools.

A mayor of Washington elected by the people of Washington could take over the President's duties concerning the city. Our world organization is such now that the President of the United States is also 1 of the 4 or 5 most influential men in the world. It is not right to ask him to turn his attention from world affairs to sign a bill regulating the keeping of goats in the District of Columbia.

How would several major problems facing Washington be affected by local self-government? One major problem is the southwest rehabilitation project. Another is the matter of additional bridges leading into the city. The control and regulation of our public transit system is a third problem, demanding immediate attention. In all of these matters, the only way the public can express an opinion is through civic associations if they have time to attend the meetings, indignant letters to newspaper editors—which only let off steam but do no real good, or by attending public hearings—if they can get time off from work. What happens in other cities? Every year or two the polls are open and through their votes the public can express their opinion. When a decision is made about constructing a new bridge, the public has nothing to do with where that bridge will go up or how much should be spent for it. If we disapprove of a PUC decision concerning Capital Transit, there is nothing we can do about it, for we did not elect the members of the Commission and we cannot unseat them. There is hardly anyone in the city who would deny that the southwest is a blighted area and needs cleaning up. But, as our city is organized now, there are precious few people who have had anything to say about the plans for redeveloping the area. It seems to have been more of a businessman's problem than a householder's. True enough, we citizens of Washington are spared the economic burden of bonded indebtedness that plagues the people in many cities. They may complain about their city debt, but at least they can go to the polls and vote for or against the new tax assessment. Our tax burden is none the lighter though, for we pay more taxes into the Federal Treasury than do the citizens of some 24 States.

I believe that the citizens of Washington should have more voice in how their money is spent. Perhaps because I am a thrifty person ,who counts my change carefully, I dislike reading accounts in my newspaper of how Congress skimps when it should be generous and is extravagant when it should be thrifty.

There is no wonder the people of Washington have a don't care attitude toward their city. We want to have a say in our government, but we can't as long as the real power to vote in genuine, not mock, elections is withheld from us. We must come to some terms on home rule and insist that Congress give up its powers as city council to a bona fide local governing group.

SECOND PRIZE WON BY RUTH ABRAMS, COOLIDGE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

It was my misfortune to be born a Washingtonian, although it was not until recently that I began to understand just what the disadvantages of this will be. For instance, if today I were living in Georgia I would be exercising my privilege and right as an American citizen—the right to vote. I could help select the local officials and Congressmen. In presidential election years I could decide who would be most capable to handle the highest office in our land and then cast a ballot that would aid in getting him there. But as the situation stands in the Nation's capital today, I may never be allowed to do any of these things.

The framers of our Constitution were denied taxation with representation as are the inhabitants of our capital city. The colonials did something about it. The Declaration of Independence says all persons should possess equal rights and liberties; this seems to exclude citizens of Washington. We are denied the right to select representatives in government in frequent, certain or regular elections. We are also deprived of the right to turn for office and our part in operating a popular government is not accepted. In spite of the fact Washingtonians are voiceless, they pay 92 percent of the cost of running Washington.

Seventy-nine years ago as a temporary measure the vote was withdrawn from Washington. Actually, at that time the temporary act harmed no one because each person living in Washington claimed residence elsewhere. Today, however, with a population of 802,179 (which is greater than that of 13 States) the residents have their laws made by out-of-town Senators and Representatives whom they can neither reelect nor retire. These men have no real interest in the way our city is run.

We hear of referendum and recall but both are meaningless words. They cannot be applied in Washington. It is almost amusing to know that 4 committees, involving 16 Senators and 30 Representatives, are currently sifting Washington ordinances and holding hearings. A subcommittee of one of these four spent 2½ hours wrangling whether to set Washington dog licenses at $3 or $5. A still more comical incident occurred one day while Senate was holding session. Senator MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, is reported to have said, "Once when we were considering the British loan, we had to quit to decide whether rockfish 10 inches long could be sold in Washington."

Self-government in Washington would mean our streets and sewers would have immediate improvements; we could clean up our slum areas or build an ordinary bridge, courthouse, or high school stadium without waiting for an act of Congress. Recently I received a letter from my friend in North Carolina. She was "kidding" me about the high rate of crime and delinquency found here. These acts can be attributed to the fact that Congress, not being aware of our need, has spent our tax money for tourist attractions rather than help in the essential community services. Home rule would bring a government run by people who recognize most what needs to be done and then have enough interest to see that it is accomplished. It would give Washington the chance to set up our own taxes and budget. Most important of all, it would give us the chance to be equal with other American citizens and vote.

I am proud to be an American because of the way our country is run and of our democratic way of life. I want a chance to prove this by helping America to stay democratic; I can do this with the right to vote. This is what home rule would mean to me.

SECOND PRIZE WON BY EGAN O'CONNOR, WESTERN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The Capital of the United States has one of the most undemocratic governments in the world. Its citizens never touch a ballot. Although they may pay taxes and fight wars,

they may not govern themselves. Their laws are made for them by Congressmen whom they cannot elect or retire. Their government officials are appointed by a President for whom they cannot vote.

In Washington, Congress is the city council. But what sort of a city council is it that doesn't know what we want and doesn't even care very much? It may not be the sort we would elect, but it's the sort we get.

For instance, a locally elected official would have to know all about District of Columbia schools, sewers, police, and buses. But what does a Congressman from a State 2,000 miles away know about such things? Nevertheless, he is helping to run them.

Furthermore, an elected official would have to do his best for Washington if he wanted to be reelected. But if the Congressman from 2,000 miles away neglects Washington, it makes no difference. The people 2,000 miles away don't care; yet they, not we, are the ones who vote for him.

Congressional rule in the District of Columbia is inefficient. It takes 28 legislative steps, including the Presidential signature, to pass a simple city ordinance such as weed extermination.

Suppose that Washington were afflicted with a weed problem. What would happen? The District of Columbia official in charge of weeds would make a recommendation to his supervisor, who would make one to his supervisor. The second supervisor would make a recommendation to the assistant head of the department dealing with weeds, who would make a recommendation to the head of the department, who would pass it on to the Commissioners. It's about time for action, but this is just the beginning.

The Commissioners make a recommendation to Congress. It is filed with the House and Senate District Committees. It is then passed on to their subcommittees, which hold hearings where the District of Columbia officials try to explain to the Congressman from 2,000 miles away what it is all about. At last a bill is drawn up and checked by lawyers. It is passed back to the full committee, which usually sends it to the floor for a vote.

In the House and Senate bills are different, a joint committee is formed, and hearings are held again. Compromises are made. The revised bill goes back to the floor. Usually it is passed, because if Congressmen don't know what it's about, they assume it's O. K. Then the President signs it.

Obviously there is no such thing as emergency action for the District. It takes months to unwind red tape. When Washington had two competing sets of streetcar tracks on the same street, it took 32 years of congressional investigations to remedy the situation.

It is apparent that Congress is too busy. We could do a better job governing ourselves. Then why don't we have home rule—a local government run by locally elected officials? We did have it for more than 70 years, but it was taken away by Congress during the emancipation period after the Civil War. According to a survey taken in 1948, 70 percent of Washingtonians want it back.

The home-rule bill now before Congress provides for an elected mayor, council, and school board. Congress would retain power, as required in the Constitution, to amend or repeal District of Columbia laws and to act on its own initiative if it felt it was necessary. The Supreme Court agreed this spring that such a system would be constitutional. What is more, the home-rule bill provides that it would have to be approved by District of Columbia residents in a referendum vote before going into effect.

To secure and maintain home rule would mean work. It is essential to the success of any democratic government that citizens do their share. Some lazy people say that the present government is "good enough." To improve it would take too much effort, they say. Those who oppose home rule on this basis are really saying that democracy takes too much effort.

Yet government—politics—is an enriching endeavor. Through community activity people can make new acquaintances and get out of their daily rut. They can broaden their minds and enrich their personalities. They can learn to cooperate as well as to compete, and they can get pleasure from promoting a worthy cause. Most of all, they can learn the meaning of democracy.

It has been so long since Washingtonians had a chance to practice democracy that they are forgetting what good citizenship is. How can they possibly pass it on to their children if they do not have it themselves?

Not only would home rule mean a better local government, but it would rekindle the fire of democracy in the Capital of America. By uniting in a campaign for home rule, Washingtonians could rededicate themselves to democracy. It will never fail while people understand it.

That is what home rule means to me.

SECOND PRIZE, WON BY JULIE WALKER, EASTERN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

A year or so ago the gentlemen of Congress were finally persuaded to pass an act investing the Commissioners of the District with the authority to proclaim the annual adoption of daylight-saving time.

This action on the part of the Members ended a lengthy and rather anomalous precedent by which each year considerable time, talent, and taxpayers' money was lavished upon the great debate. It is to be hoped that the passage of the daylight-saving bill will lead the Members—or anyone possessed of the power or inclination to act—to a fuller examination of the District's position.

The government of the District, as of all Federal Territories, is delegated by the Constitution to Congress. This, however, does not prevent that body from taking action to give Washington a fuller measure of self-government, if it so desires.

It has been argued that, as the Federal Government pays the District's expenses, it should maintain full authority. Although true at one time, this is no longer the case. For some time only 9 percent of the funds used by Washington have been of Federal origin. A larger percentage of District land is Government-owned, and on that account exempt from taxation. So perhaps it is only just that the District should receive some compensation for a loss of revenue that would be highly important to any other municipality.

And not only that part of the District budget supplied by the Government is under congressional control. When the 2-percent sales tax was initiated an unestimated revenue surplus accrued in the first year. Since the District was not allowed to utilize these funds, they reverted, of necessity, to the Federal Treasury.

A third financial grievance is caused by the pay-as-you-go policy endorsed by Congress. This prevents the allocation of funds from one project to another and also forbids the raising of money by local bonds. While it is true that in a 3-year interval of independence in the early 1870's the District bonded itself into receivership, an incident of almost a century ago should not be allowed to counter forever the reform of an antiquated practice. Washington has grown in those 80 years, as the Nation has grown, and the responsibilities of its government. And all this has brought District affairs to a point where even constructive action is made ineffective by the sheer inertia of accumulated time and the press of events; the obligation of Congress to act as the District's municipal council is almost as unfair to the Members—especially those who make the attempt conscientiously—as it is to the city. This, however, is a condition within their power to correct.

And a consideration transcending all local ones is that Washington is now, rightly or wrongly and come of it what comes, a world capital. Behind the Government buildings that symbolize such authority, the contradiction of dependence is far too inevitably apparent.

The city is too prominent now, too complex, too much the world power, for things to be let drift in the fashion prevalent in recent decades.

Times change; Washington's people have expressed themselves as desirous of independence. With good planning a system of popular government can be created, and this time it would not be let fail. Times do change, and it is time by now to face a fact which happens to be irrefutable: Washington has grown up.

New Budget Emphasizes New Look in Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, Mr. Hanson Baldwin, of the New York Times, has made a succinct and enlightening analysis of the President's military budget in an article published in his newspaper on January 24.

In my opinion, this portion of the budget is paramount in importance because it is the key to our national strength and, therefore, to world peace.

Because Mr. Baldwin's analysis reaches so deep into the meaning of the figures in the budget, and provides a basis for thinking on the policy of this administration implied by the budget plans, it will benefit us all to read this article.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be posted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW BUDGET EMPHASIZES "NEW LOOK" IN DEFENSE—CUT IN MILITARY SPENDING REFLECTS STRESS ON ATOM AS DETERRENT

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The President's budget message to Congress last week emphasized the "new look" of the Nation's foreign and strategic policies.

The defense appropriations requested for the 1955 fiscal year (starting next July 1) represents the first step in the implementation of the Eisenhower politico-military policy, based primarily "upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing."

The budget requests were a logical follow-up to the speech delivered 10 days ago by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

The Dulles talk and the budget requests drew together and explained the fundamental concepts that underlie the new policy. These, as developed by the Eisenhower administration, include the switch from the "crisis year" concept to preparations for the long haul; disengagement of our ground forces, as far as possible, from the Asiatic

mainland; reduction of our fixed overseas commitments; emphasis upon airpower and seapower; creation of a stronger strategic reserve in this country and of a more mobile and flexible strategy; reduction of military costs and greater reliance upon atomic weapons as a deterrent to aggression.

EMPHASIS ON DETERRENT POWER

Mr. Dulles summed all this up in words which will influence the history of tomorrow. The new policy, he said, implied "more reliance upon community deterrent power and less dependence upon local defensive power."

We still need collective security and allies overseas, he said, and "local defense will always be important." But the basic military decision taken by the Eisenhower administration—the one around which the new budget has been formulated—was to prepare primarily for one type of war rather than to prepare for all kinds of war everywhere—"to depend primarily," as Mr. Dulles put it, "upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing."

This, Mr. Dulles went on, permits of a selection of military means instead of a multiplication of means. And as a result it is now possible to get and to share more security at less cost.

The need for less costs, for a reduction of the terrible burden of national defense, underlay all of Mr. Dulles' argument, and last week's budget, with its $4 billion reduction in defense spending, reflected the belief of the Eisenhower administration that we cannot allow the Russians to win a victory by bankruptcy. This economic, or dollar, motivation is probably the strongest of many reasons for the development of the "new look."

"NEW LOOK" NOT SO NEW

Yet the "new look" is not as new as its cognomen implies. Prior to Korea, our military policy had been based upon deterring war by the threat of massive atomic retaliation by strategic airpower against the Soviet Russian heartland. Former President Herbert Hoover and the late Senator Robert A. Taft had both urged in 1950 and 1951 that we should cut our land commitments overseas, build up our strength in this hemisphere, and rely primarily upon airpower and seapower.

Our possession of atomic weapons did not prevent Communist aggression in Korea and did not halt the Indochina war. After war started in Korea we refashioned our military policy to give greater strength to the Army and to the Navy; now that the fighting in Korea is finished and the costs of maintaining very strong land, sea, and air forces overseas seem prohibitive, we are reverting once again to a military policy based essentially upon much smaller land forces, a somewhat smaller Navy, and a strengthened Air Force keyed to the threat of massive and instant atomic retaliation.

RAMIFICATIONS

There are some definite inconsistencies in this new foreign and military policy as so far developed, and the new policy has implications of future major dangers which have not yet been fully faced.

The inconsistencies are several:

1. The "new look" emphasizes strategic air warfare and implies the instant readiness of the Air Force's Strategic Air Command. Yet the limitations imposed upon Air Force manpower in the past year; the elimination of 169 B–47 Stratojets from the current Air Force budget and the transfer of B–47 combat crew training functions from the Air Training Command to the Strategic Air Command probably mean, taken collectively, some reduction—or at least limitation, rather than an increase—in SAC's readiness and in its immediate capabilities.

2. The "new look" emphasizes mobility, yet troop carrier aircraft are very sharply cut in the new program, as compared to the Truman program, thus reducing materially the Army's airborne capabilities.

3. The "new look" emphasizes seapower, yet in future years the Navy will have to decommission some of its combat ships, probably including some aircraft carriers, types considered of key importance in controlling and utilizing the Mediterranean.

4. The "new look" emphasizes more flexibility and reduction of fixed land commitments, yet the announced impending withdrawal of two Army divisions from Korea has not been accompanied by any increase of either sea or air power in the Far East; nor do these forces have any greater mobility than previously.

5. The "new look" emphasizes the need for a stronger strategic reserve in the United States. This will be fulfilled in the case of an improved continental defense. But land forces in this country, because of the reduction in the Army, probably will remain at about present level, although their readiness, but not their mobility, may improve.

6. The President has suggested a new peaceful pool plan as one possible approach to the vexing problem of international atomic control. Yet the "new look" emphasizes so greatly our strategic dependence upon atomic weapons and underscores so strongly the necessity for integration of these weapons at all levels of our Military Establishment that any plan for the international control of atomic energy may soon be doomed by the extensive nature of our military dependence upon such weapons.

7. As Arnold Wolfers has written in the November issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science: "Secrecy which hides our (atomic) strength, whatever other benefits it may bestow, runs directly counter to a policy of (atomic) deterrence."

These and other inconsistencies may be eliminated as the new-look policy is developed. But there are other looming dangers. In one sense the new policy increases our strategic flexibility; in one sense it decreases it. If we depend too greatly upon air power and the atomic bomb to deter war or to win it if it starts, we have certainly reverted to the much crititcized "one weapon, one service, all the eggs in one basket" concept of some years ago. The A-bomb and air power provide neither a military nor a political answer to such forms of Soviet aggression or military danger as the recent guerrilla conflict in Greece and the current war in Indochina.

We may not be able economically to prepare for any type of war anywhere, but unless all of the services at least keep alive the are of amphibious and airborne war, of so-called conventional warfare in many difference climes and areas, we shall be committed essentially to one basic strategic concept, and our strategy will be in reality less flexible rather than more so.

POLITICAL MEANINGS

Moreover, the emphasis upon "retaliation" and "deterrent" power can have, if carried to extremes, an adverse political effect. In the eyes of our allies overseas there is no good political or psychological substitute for the American ground soldier. Our allies cannot forget, moreover, that Soviet Russia, too, has deterrent atomic power and that the cities of Europe and Asia lie virtually defenseless against the threat of atomic attack.

But the greatest danger implied by a strategy of atomic retaliation is the ultimate political bankruptcy of this course of action. Such strategy might deter general war, though as Mr. Wolfers points outs, "Unfortunately, there is no way of making sure that any amount of superiority will deter an opponent."

And while the strategy of retaliation might nominally win a war if it came, it offers no political objectives for victory. An atomic war, with its mutual devastation and destruction, could certainly not result in a more stable peace; the ultimate outcome might well be the triumph of extremist doctrines and a reversion of large areas of the earth to the Dark Ages.

Right of Discharge of Government Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I have always maintained the belief that no one has a vested right in public employment, and that it is the right and, indeed, the duty and obligation of the Government to discharge any persons against whom a reasonable suspicion exists.

A very fine editorial, published in today's issue of the Baltimore Sun, lends support to that view, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT CAN FIRE A MAN EVEN IF IT CAN'T CONVICT HIM

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON falls into a common confusion in his criticism of the Attorney General in the matter of the 2,200 security firings. Why, the Senator wants to know, has not the Attorney General moved to indict anybody? Each Government employee signs an oath of loyalty. If men are fired as disloyal, why aren't they prosecuted for violation of this oath?

This is a new version of the misunderstanding which from the beginning has darkened the debate about Government personnel policy. The earlier version led some people to protest that nobody ought to be fired as a security risk if he had not been proven so in court. To paraphrase the late Chief Justice Vinson, it was assumed that until he had been convicted of espionage, every American had a right to the job of keeper of the arsenal.

The rule, of course, is quite otherwise. Without minimizing in the least the chance of abuse and injustice, the rule is that the Government has the right and indeed an obligation to fire when reasonable grounds for suspicion exist. Those grounds and that suspicion may not be of a kind to stand up in court. But if the Government couldn't discharge from its employ until it could convict the employee in court, things would be in a bad way indeed.

Mr. Brownell himself has recently pointed up one very vivid aspect of this problem. He may have wiretap information about a Government employee which proves past any doubt that the employee is a risk. But the rules of evidence prevailing in the Federal courts exclude wiretap information. Thus if Mr. Brownell couldn't fire until he could convict, he might have to carry a man as to whose unsuitability he was perfectly sure. This would be a poor way to run a sovereign government in a time of cold war.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Seaway in Nation's Interest," published in the Tampa Morning Tribune of January 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEAWAY IN NATION'S INTEREST

The Senate can be proud of what it did in approving legislation to authorize the United States to join with Canada in making the St. Lawrence River a seaway for oceangoing vessels traveling to and from the Atlantic and the Great Lakes.

President Eisenhower also can take great satisfaction in the bipartisan 51–33 vote. Every President for 30 years has blessed the controversial project. So the Eisenhower administration has succeeded where others have been rebuffed. Favorable action on the first major item of his program is a tribute to the President's leadership.

But it is more than a credit to Senate proponents and the administration. It is a victory in the national interest.

Herbert Hoover recognized the economic and defense potentialities of the St. Lawrence seaway back in 1924 when he headed a commission which drew up a plan for the project. It was pointed out that a navigable waterway would make cities like Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, and Cleveland literally Atlantic seaports and allow midwestern industrial and farm products to be shipped directly to European and other foreign countries. Indeed, the whole north central part of the United States would be strengthened economically, and a better protected shipping route between the United States and Europe would be available in time of war.

The defense argument has become even stronger in recent years. Undoubtedly that point, driven home hard of late by Mr. Eisenhower, the Defense Department, and the National Security Council, influenced a number of Senators, heretofore on record against the project, to approve the new bill.

It happens that new and immensely valuable iron ore deposits have been discovered in Labrador. Construction of the seaway will provide a safe interior passage for the ore from the Canadian province to American steel mills throughout the Great Lakes area. In a time of war, with enemy submarines perhaps lurking off our eastern ocean coast, this is a most powerful point.

Still another reason for the strength behind the measure in the Senate, and an argument which is certain to be emphasized as the bill is taken up in the House, is that now is a good time for construction.

Materials and labor are readily available for building the several locks and guard gates and deepening the channel in the International Rapids section of the river. It is especially desirable, what with the slight economic downturn, to undertake a public project that will be both self-liquidating and a national asset.

We agree with the comment made by Senator SMITH of New Jersey during Senate debate on the bill. He said the seaway's overall benefits to our Nation as a whole transcend the alleged immediate interests of the ports on the Atlantic seaboard and our railroads. If House Members vote in the same broad spirit of national interest, we have no doubt that a project which should have been in operation years ago will finally be authorized at this session of Congress.

A New Medical College Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have previously referred to the significant event which took place on October 25, 1953, in the city of New York, attendant upon the ground-breaking ceremonies for the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University.

Among the speakers at the afternoon ceremony was the very distinguished American representative to the United Nations, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. His remarks on that occasion were indeed inspiring and worthy of our attention. They were as follows:

It is a great privilege to be able to participate in this ground-breaking ceremony and I thank the attorney general of New York, Mr. Goldstein, the members of the national committee of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Borough President Lyons for the invitation which brings me here.

In my view, it is no exaggeration to say that history of no small importance is being made here this afternoon. For this ceremony records another inspiring chapter in the development of American democracy. We may reflect, and most profoundly, on the symbolic significance—not only for our Nation, but for free peoples everywhere—of what is transpiring here. A great humanitarian project now takes root and will grow on this ground, dedicated exclusively to the service of man. This project is conceived, supported, and controlled by free people in a free society. It is a voluntary effort, expressing, in the finest sense, man's compassion for man. It proudly bears an illustrious name—the name of a man of outstanding genius, a colossus among scientists, whose contribution to mankind's knowledge and advancement is so vast as to defy contemporary appraisal. How fitting it is that this new medical college, expressing in full dimension the spirit of tolerance and brotherhood, should take its name from a man who himself, to the undying shame of our times, had been exposed to unspeakable bigotry.

I think it particularly appropriate to emphasize that it is something more than the ground breaking for a great medical college that we celebrate, though this is of tremendous importance in view of the critical shortage of physicians. We are witnessing practical application of one of our noblest ideals, the equality of man. We may well ask, who could be better qualified than the Jewish people to appreciate the true meaning of equality and good will in human relations, since throughout their history they have suffered so tragically—and with unparalleled fortitude—from bigotry and malice. Who, indeed, could be better qualified to teach well and sincerely the lessons of nondiscrimination than those who have so often been discriminated against? I cannot help but reflect, as I contemplate the integrity which inspires the conception of the Albert Einstein Medical College, to what shame it must put those of our Nation's institutions—and there are still far too many—which discriminate against men and women, both in their faculties and their student bodies, solely because of race or religion. Nor can I help but recall, on this occasion, my first visit to Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem in 1947, and my happiness on observing that even amidst the great tension then prevailing, that Jewish sponsored and controlled hospital ministered to the Arab sick on the same basis as to the Jewish sick.

It is significant that this institution is under Jewish auspices. It is significant that it will constitute a vital contribution from the American Jewish community to medical science and to the health of the Nation; this being, however, but one among countless and invaluable contributions of the Jewish people to the progress and development of our country. But I hope you will pardon me if I say, quite frankly, that to me the greatest significance of the Albert Einstein Medical College is to be found in the fact that in its very conception its operation is based squarely upon principles and policies of nondiscrimination. These are the only principles and policies worthy of an institution of learning in a free and democratic society. The students and faculty of this medical college will be subject to one qualification only—merit. There will be no religious or racial barriers, no invidious "quotas," overt or tacit. A man or a woman looking toward association with this institution will not have to ask himself or herself: Will my religion keep me out; will the form of worship I embrace determine my prospects for being a doctor or a teacher of medicine; or, will my race exclude me; am I of the wrong color to cherish the ambition to minister to the needs of the ill? The only question to ask oneself when one seeks to enter the welcoming portals that will open here will be: Have I the ability; can I deliver the intellectual goods?

This is good. This is the way it must be in democracy, the finest design for dignified living among free and self-respecting men ever devised. But there is cause for concern also. For if there is reason for elation that an institution voluntarily undertakes to fulfill the real promise of our democracy, this in itself is a measure of how long still is our journey along the road to good human relations, how wide still the gap between ideal and practice. What this institution is doing ought not be unusual anywhere in our society. It ought not even be news. It should be natural, casual and taken for granted. But there can be no doubt that in our country we are on the right road and are going in the right direction. We make progress in our human relations, and in recent years at a greatly accelerated rate.

It is a splendid coincidence that this ground breaking takes place during United Nations week—at the very beginning of the ninth year of the historic United Nations effort to preserve peace, to conserve human resources, and to promote human freedom and well-being. What is being undertaken here is at once symbolic of and gives expression to fundamental ideals of the United Nations—the equality, dignity and well-being of men and women of every race, creed, and station.

In the ultimate sense, the spirit behind this medical college is the key to man's salvation—the application of the pristine spirit of good will and brotherhood to the relations among men. This good deed gives hope and encouragement to all who believe that there can be a far better world, that noble ideals can be converted into living reality.

In the years to come, great men of science will work for the good of humanity in the classrooms and laboratories to be erected here. And more important still, they will work in an atmosphere of true harmony.

May the Albert Einstein Medical College ever prosper in a world of free and peaceful peoples in which all men will walk with dignity and security.

Mr. Speaker, the day's activities were concluded at a dinner in the Commodore Hotel that same evening. Among those who addressed the gathering was our very distinguished Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Nelson A. Rockefeller.

His very enheartening remarks were as follows:

It is indeed an honor to be here tonight, and a privilege to participate in this rare and solemn occasion. Secretary Hobby regrets greatly her inability to be with you personally, and has asked me to convey on her behalf congratulations and best wishes from President Eisenhower. His pleasure in witnessing the start of this new medical school equals yours and mine. It springs from his deeply held convictions on the need to conserve and extend human life, to preserve the health, dignity, and self-dependence of the individual—the same convictions which made the creation of the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare his first order of business.

A little over 2 years ago the New York State Board of Regents granted a charter to establish a new medical college. This historic event made possible the building of the first new medical school in the world's largest city in 55 years. It set the stage for the creation of the third medical college in our Nation in 26 years.

Tonight, hundreds of earnest, farsighted people are gathered here to honor those who have contributed toward the establishment of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

I can't let this moment go by without paying special tribute to my good friend, Nat Goldstein, the attorney general of the State of New York. This great endeavor is the work of many people, but I know you will all agree with me that it would have been much more difficult, perhaps impossible, without the drive, the zeal, and the courage of Nat Goldstein. Nat's career is a shining example not only of the American dream but of the American promise.

The task that lies ahead is a great one. But it is in able hands—a group of people, many of whom I am proud to count among my friends.

Moreover, it is inspired by Jewish traditions which gave western civilization its first sanitary code, its first assurance of the right of all individuals to legislative protection, and its first formulation of the duty to obey moral law, limiting the rights of the individual in the interest of the community. It is fully in keeping with these traditions that the doors of the new Albert Einstein College of Medicine will be open to all qualified applicants, regardless of race, creed, or color.

In this task, you will also be inspired by the great tradition of Albert Einstein whose name this college bears. The scientific achievements of Dr. Einstein are known wherever civilized men gather. This school is thus faced with both a challenge and an inspiration. The name of Albert Einstein should be a beacon to all the young men who will come here in quest of learning. It should be a stimulus to outstanding accomplishments in the realm of research and in the service of man.

The physical aspect of the college is still on the draftsmen's boards, and in legal, architectural, and contractural documents. But today a milestone was passed in making the college a reality. Ground has been broken. A start has been made.

As Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the Federal Government, I must emphasize the urgency of the task on which you have embarked. The Nation's health, education, and welfare will be greatly enhanced by the building of America's 80th medical college. It will make an outstanding contribution to the solution of today's major health problems—education, and the application of knowledge.

In a recent speech on the need for expanded medical education and facilities, Secretary Hobby pointed out that, "Before World War I we were graduating roughly 6,000 doctors a year. And now we are graduating only about 7,000 a year. While the population has jumped from 105 million to 160 million, the number of doctors graduating each year has climbed only 1,000." She went on to say, "The teaching hospital needed by an understanding administrator is essential to a sound expansion of any program for training next year's doctors. We need to face the fact that we need more doctors of all kinds and that we need many doctors trained to the newer fields of medicine-geriatrics and rehabilitation to name only two."

Thus today when our population has reached above 160 million we are graduating only 1 new doctor for each 30,000 inhabitants.

This situation, if permitted to continue, must inevitably affect the public health and welfare. Unless medical facilities expand rapidly enough to keep pace with our growing population, we face a dangerous potential. It means that our fight against disease may be impeded. It means that the science of medicine may not keep pace with human progress.

The need for new medical facilities is obvious. We stand on the brink of great new discoveries in the age-old battle against cancer, poliomyelitis, and heart disease. Without adequate research facilities the fight is hampered. This great new college will provide the Nation with the finest and most modern tools to help bring the battle to a triumphant conclusion. It will turn out able physicians and scientists. You will have created a 20th century weapon to thwart disease. In what more worthy cause could we unite?

We are living in an era of pulse-quickening changes. Sometimes the changes come slowly, like the search for a panacea for society's complex problems. At other times the changes are eruptive, like the swift advent of the atomic bomb.

But through it all we witness social and scientific progress wherein man learns and evolves. We look hopefully toward the day when world peace and security will be our lot. We anticipate the time when scientific achievement will lead us to sound physical well-being and to real brotherhood among all peoples and races.

We have met today for a common purpose. While headlines are filled with threats of war and disaster, you are creating an island of hope and healing. While whole nations stand in mortal fear of the future, you are serving as a catalyst for the growth of human welfare. You quietly work to build a symbol of peace and progress.

The significant gains made in medical research in the last few decades are usually evaluated in the saving of human lives. Of importance, too is the fact that medical research also pays off in dollars.

In the period between 1937 and 1950 the death rate in the United States declined 15 percent. This was largely the result of medical research discoveries of the sulfa drugs and antibiotics. If the 1937 death rate of 11.3 percent had prevailed through 1950 nearly 2 millions more people now living would have died.

This spectacular decline has resulted in the addition of about $2½ billion to the national income. As a result of this increment, the Federal Government has gained an additional $165 million in taxes each year, plus millions in other revenues.

The opening of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine is a recognition of the concrete values of medical research and education. It will rise shortly as an imposing landmark in these fields. You are making it possible for mankind to make further advances in an arena dedicated to increased longevity. This achievement is a treasure which we can leave to our children and to humankind with quiet pride.

One of the reasons for pride is that this college will incorporate the latest developments in medical training. It promises, for example, to experiment in methods of clinical teaching and to study the social and economic problems involved in medical care. Students will learn to see their patients as people in their family and cultural settings, not just as cases of disease, or as possessors of malfunctioning organs. I have noted with great interest the school's plan to introduce clinical teaching from the very start, to use home case programs as a means of introducing medical students to a patient's family and surroundings, and to study the methods of group practice and of voluntary prepayment for medical care.

Of great importance also is the unique partnership which exists between this institution and the city of New York. The city has made available to the medical school the complete facilities of its new $40 million 1,350-bed municipal hospital center, now nearing completion. This means that the college and hospital will serve the metropolis, the State, and the Nation as one of the finest and most modern facilities in American medicine.

While I am on the outside looking in at this occasion, I feel that I am one of you. I share your emotional thrill in being present at the birth of a great medical school. As Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, I am particularly aware of the importance of the task on which you have embarked. We here tonight are asked to contribute to the realization of that task. I am happy to extend my felicitations and best wishes to all of you in this notable endeavor.

Flood Control in Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "False Economy," published in the Orlando Star of January 23, 1954, dealing with flood control in Florida.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FALSE ECONOMY

The Nation's budget cannot be pared down unless expenditures are reduced, but there are some savings which can prove costly, and the flood-control project to prevent flood disasters in the Everglades seems to be one of them.

President Eisenhower's proposed budget calls for something more than $300 million for this work in the next year, which is quite a sizable sum. However, a program laid out under previous appropriations, which were dependent upon followup appropriations, will be seriously affected if more money is not supplied.

This will mean that work already started will have to be halted for uncertain periods or until more money is forthcoming. Such work deteriorates rapidly, and in many in-

stances has to be redone, making almost a double cost.

It is well to be economy minded, but there are some instances where too much economy might prove costly, and the flood-control project for the Everglades appears to be an example.

The Inequitable Tariff Rate on Imported Wines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, last July when the bill to extend the Trade Agreements Act was before the House, I spoke on the subject and pointed out that consistent reductions in the tariff rates imposed by the United States on imported products has had detrimental results on numerous domestic industries.

The bipartisan vote recorded on July 23, 1953, in establishing a rule for the consideration of the bill then in question was very heartening in that it indicated a growing view in Congress that a more realistic approach must be made toward our tariff problems.

I also pointed out at that time that the United States has the lowest tariff rate on imported products of any nation in the world. Where our average tariff collection amounts to only 5½ percent on the imported product, the duties established by other countries range as high as 25 percent, in addition to other restrictions imposed, such as licensing, embargoes, and currency manipulations.

One of the industries consistently in danger by the lowering of tariffs during the past several years is the wine industry, which is located to a great extent in my congressional district. We cannot continue to submit this or any other American industry to unfair foreign competition through the indiscriminate reduction of tariffs on competitive products. American labor, industry, and agriculture should be assured of fair competition on the domestic market and in support of that viewpoint, I desire to include with my remarks the following resolution adopted by the Napa Valley Vintners on December 9, 1953:

Whereas imported wines are in general competition with American wines in the United States and with the advantages of lower production costs and freedom from many of the statutes and regulations which govern the production and distribution of domestic wines: Be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby urged to restore the rates of tariffs on imported wines to the levels existing in the year 1930; and be it further

Resolved, That imported wines be subject, in like manner as American wines, to the same standards of quality, fill and appelation of origin and in general to all Federal requirements and regulations relative to the production and distribution of American wines, including the requirements and regulations of the Pure Food and Drug Administration and the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, recognizing the necessity of a reasonable time for compliance therewith.

Dated this 9th day of December, 1953.

NAPA VALLEY VINTNERS.

I, the undersigned, assistant secretary of the Napa Valley Vintners, do hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was introduced and read at a regular meeting of the Napa Valley Vintners duly held on the 9th day of December, 1953, at St. Helena, Calif., and thereupon was unanimously passed and adopted.

HAROLD J. THORSEN,
Assistant Secretary, Napa Valley Vintners.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, at Roosevelt Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "In Defense of Liberty," which I delivered in Boston, Mass., on Sunday, January 24, at the Roosevelt Day dinner held by the Massachusetts chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is an impressive and an important occasion. It is one of the first Roosevelt Day dinners of the year, honoring the memory of the greatest President of the United States of modern times.

The birthday of that monumental figure, synonomous in history with concern for the forgotten man, and with the unity of all freemen everywhere, is actually on January 30. But it is appropriate that here in Boston, we observe Roosevelt Day a little ahead of time. Boston, after all, has a tradition of holding its tea parties early.

I am especially happy to be here at this Boston observance, under the auspices of ADA, an organization of which I am a national vice president. In recent weeks, ADA has received some criticism and advice from supposedly friendly sources. I am glad to be able to be here to reply to that advice and criticism.

ADA was criticized as a political Old Man of the Sea and was advised to disappear. My judgment is somewhat different. As far as I am concerned ADA is a strong and constructive force for political good. I have never seen an organization so obviously unready to dissolve. The ADA has never seemed more vigorous and dynamic than it does here tonight.

I am convinced—and I think you are convinced—that ADA, like the automobile, television, and the Democratic Party, is here to stay.

I am glad that this is so. I consider ADA to be one of the barometers of the health and vigor of the liberal movement in the United States today.

To paraphrase Voltaire's famous epigram, if there were no ADA, it would be necessary to create it.

I think it is no secret from you that I am a Democrat. I regard myself as a regular Democrat and am proud of it.

I know that many of you are independents, and take pride in your nonaffiliation with any political party. Some of you undoubtedly are Republicans.

I, myself, believe firmly that the Democratic Party is, and must remain, the main political vehicle in this country for liberal political thought and action.

I believe it would be desirable for all liberals to work within the framework of the Democratic Party. But I feel that those who wish, for reasons of their own, to remain free of party affiliations, and to work for liberal principles while maintaining their political independence, have a right to do that, too. And I recognize that those who regard themselves as political independents play a vital role in the political life of America.

They are the balance wheel. They comprise the balance of power between the two parties. It is their support which frequently spells victory or defeat. This is a plain fact of political life in this country, even though this fact seems to be kept secret from some professional politicians.

There is, indeed, an important place for ADA in the American political scene. That is why I, a regular Democrat, am proud to be a member and an officer of ADA, and to be associated in ADA with independents, and even with Republicans.

ADA includes in its membership and its supporters some of the most notable thinkers and doers in America today—pioneers in liberal thought, and liberal, independent action. It includes the responsible leaders of many of our great labor unions. It includes eminent clergymen, scientists, writers, and artists.

This elite corps has served America well in the ideological battle for men's minds. ADA has been one of the chief components of what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has so aptly called the "vital center," offering valiant and effective opposition to both the totalitarians on the right and the totalitarians on the left. Engaged in the classically difficult operation of a two-front struggle, the ADA has, of course, suffered smears and attacks from both sides. The scars ADA bears from these attacks are its medals of honor.

ADA has been in the forefront of the struggle against communism, and has been called the pro-Communist for its pains. It has led the fight against the reactionaries, and has been called pro-Fascist as its reward.

I believe that the ADA has done more to expose and to weaken the effective Communist forces in this country than Senator MCCARTHY and all his cohorts together. And ADA has not, as Senator MCCARTHY and his associates have done, left behind a wreckage of ruined lives and of liberty, itself.

There is no more appropriate place than Boston to make this reference—this reference to the State of our liberties, the heart and soul of our American way of life.

Gathered here in this room, we are within sight of Boston Commons, cradle of the Revolution. We are not far from Breed's Hill, and from Lexington's Village Green. This is the city of Sam Adams and John Adams, of James Otis, of Josiah Quincy and John Hancock, of the invincible Sons of Liberty. This city and its vicinity was the seedbed of the revolutionary struggle which resulted in the founding of our Republic.

What did those men and the other heroic patriots of that day struggle, fight, and die for? What dreams did they dream of this country of theirs and ours? What was America to them, and what heritage did they leave for us?

Chief of all was the tradition of liberty, the tradition of free inquiry and free discussion, of which Boston Commons is even today an everlasting symbol. An independent judiciary. Freedom from tyranny, from star-chamber justice, and from the Writs of Assistance. Freedom of conscience, freedom of dissent and freedom to speak, to write, to assemble, to teach, to inquire, to petition, and to worship freely.

That was the America they conceived, created, and established to secure certain inalienable rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It was a glorious experiment at the time, and none knew whether it would succeed or fail. George Washington said: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

And today, 177 years later, we must still profess in all humility that we do not know the final outcome of our experiment—this Government of limited powers, deriving its powers from the consent of the governed, but forbidden in all its branches from violating those basic individual rights which men enjoy not as a grant from government but from God.

No, the final outcome of this experiment is not for us to see. But for the brief span of our individual lives we owe it to those who went before, and who will come after us, to preserve the heritage of liberty, to hold high the standard of freedom, regardless of the peril to which we are exposed.

We confront perils today—the deadliest, the most difficult, and the most complex of our epoch. The peril of communism is real and near. We dare not minimize or disregard it.

But the danger from those who would subvert our liberties in the name of the struggle against communism is also real and near. In a sense, it is closed. Indeed, it threatens to overwhelm us—the more so because most of us are unaware of the nature and extent of the inroads already made upon our liberties.

I pray that I am wrong and that my alarm is unjustified. But I am convinced that the basic fabric of our liberties has already been greatly weakened, and that we are confronted, in this year of 1954, by challenges to our freedoms which, unless resolutely answered by a vigilant American public, can lead our country to disaster.

The areas in which great compromises have already been made are in the field of both law and of government procedure. The great damage that has been done is reflected in our tacit acceptance of that which not long ago would have shocked us into decisive protest.

In the field of law, we suffer on our statute books today two epic pieces of malevolent legislation—the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

In the field of government procedure, we have seen the vital process of congressional investigation perverted into a process of individual inquisition.

We have seen the executive branches of government stampeded and terrorized, and the Government civil service thrown into a panic and crippled with paralysis.

We have seen one of the critical scientific laboratories of our Armed Forces, at Monmouth, N. J., become a plaything for headlines, its morale destroyed, its vital research disorganized.

We have seen the press attacked, the radio networks intimidated, our greatest universities assaulted and maligned, and even the clergy villified.

We have seen congressional subcommittees engaging in unashamed and undignified scrambles for the choicer morsels of sensationalism, crowding each other like street urchins for first place in line—in the headline.

We have seen an Attorney General of the United States, the chief law-enforcement officer of the Nation, use and disclose selected portions of an FBI report—selected to suit his purpose and calculated to advance the interests not of the Government of the United States but of his own political party.

We have heard the Governor of a great State—my own State of New York—recklessly charge the preceding administration with wanton responsibility for the death of American soldiers in Korea.

We have heard the Attorney General—and even the President—play with the public a devious numbers game, claiming to have discharged 1,400 or 2,000 or 2,200 civil servants as security risks, when it has been clearly established that many of this number, perhaps the overwhelming majority, resigned of their own volition, were dismissed as part of reduction in force required by budget cuts, or were separated from the service for purely political reasons. The process by which these numbers were arrived at, and the way in which they are being used, is shameful and inexcusable.

Altogether we have witnessed a sustained attempt by the party in power to impugn the patriotism and good faith of the entire opposition party, thus seriously imperiling bipartisan cooperation in the Congress without which the Government itself could be paralyzed in these perilous times.

From these and other developments, our prestige abroad has fallen like a plummet, and throughout Europe and Asia our leadership has become overcast with shadows of doubt, mistrust, and even fear.

These are but some of the marks and effects of the concerted assault against the structure of our liberties and upon our very standards of political decency and morality. This assault has been going on for several years, as a guerrilla activity until 1953, but in the open and at full-scale during the past 12 months.

The previous administration opposed these attacks. The present administration, far from opposing them, has either yielded to them or, more recently, has actively participated in them.

I have said many times that I hoped President Eisenhower would assume leadership in the fight against the encroachments upon our liberties. His public words reflect a personal devotion to liberty and an opposition to its violations. But we have had no action from him. And from his administration, we have had plenty of action but of the wrong kind.

In my heart I could forgive the administration almost any other fault. But this fault, this timidity in the face of evil, which has merged into a tacit partnership with evil, cannot be condoned.

I keep hoping that the President will, at long last, take real leadership in this field, and give open battle to the enemies of liberty, both in his party and in mine. I would certainly support him and, what is more important, the American people would support him. But my hope diminishes with the passing days and weeks.

In this struggle, I fear that we must look solely to our own resources and furnish our own leadership.

The love of liberty is natural to Americans. It arises from the soil. It stems from our national heritage. It is rich in the air we breathe.

But liberty, itself, is just a word, unless its actual rights may be and are exercised, and are not denied by powerful pressures of any kind. Statutory assurances of liberty are tributes to hypocrisy, if, in actual practice, liberty is permitted only to the expression of ideas which are popular and generally accepted. The test of liberty lies in the right to express and advocate unpopular ideas—even hateful ideas.

Daniel Webster once said that "God grants liberty only to those who love it and are always ready to guard and defend it."

The first encroachments upon it must be a signal of alarm not only to those who are deprived of it, but to all who cherish liberty.

Liberty can be taken from us not only by a single tyrant or dictator, but also by congressional committees which transgress the powers and prerogatives of the executive and the judiciary, and consider themselves charged with the functions of judge, jury, and prosecutor, of executive and administrator.

The Declaration of Rights, written into the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, and drafted by John Adams, comprehended this danger in saying—and I quote:

"In the government of this Commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judiciary shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men."

These sentiments have been tragically lost sight of in recent times.

In our philosophy of government, all powers derive from the people, and all liberties remain in the people, in all the people, forever and inalienable.

But the book-burners and the congressional inquisitors consider themselves to be the judges of what powers they should exercise, and what liberties and freedoms various individuals may enjoy.

They support the Bricker amendment which would destroy the power of the Executive to conduct our foreign affairs in a turbulent and changing world, all in the name of preserving the constitutional guaranties of the rights of the people. But at the same time they would trample upon the right of dissent, of untrammeled inquiry, and of free association for lawful purposes, which are the soul and heart of the rights and liberties guaranteed under the Constitution.

Even without lawful authority they have revived the crime of sedition, but reserve to themselves the power to brand whom they will as seditionists and traitors.

By no strange coincidence, these enemies of liberty are also allied with those who would ravage our national resources, the birthright of all the people and of generations still to come.

This is one of their few consistencies, for freedom is the most precious of all our national resources.

We must not underestimate our opponents. They include men who use and justify the use of any means to achieve their particular ends; who are completely intolerant of opposition or deviation; who drape themselves in the cloak of patriotism but cynically move to destroy the soul and spirit of the Nation whose name they invoke—they are, in short, the arrogant and the absolute who sit in solemn judgment on the loyalty and morality of their fellow citizens, all unhumbled by the sheer effrontery of such a usurpation of conscience and of God.

Our allies in the fight for liberty are the hosts of freedom-loving men who have fought for liberty through the ages; they are also the vast majority of the men and women of America, drawn, as the founders of this Republic were, from many lands and many races, whose faith is founded in the bedrock of freedom but who are unaware today of the corroding influences at work upon it.

We need not one, but a hundred, a thousand, Paul Reveres to see the warning light in North Church steeple, and to ride through the countryside arousing and awakening our people to the danger that besets them.

We need a score of modern Samuel Adamses to excite and transfix the Nation in support of the cause of liberty.

These are, indeed, as Tom Paine wrote, "the times that try men's souls, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

It is true that there are no present legal restraints upon the right to think and speak freely. The fact that I can speak to you today as I have is proof of our statutory freedom.

But those who speak such words as mine do so at their political peril. I have faith that the people will vindicate and support those who defend the sacred cause of liberty. But whether I am right or wrong in this, I firmly believe that all who are convinced as I am must speak out, regardless of the political consequences.

Those who fail to do so from fear of political consequences not only betray the cause of freedom, but will not, in the long run, escape those same political consequences.

We fight not only for the rights implied by the concept of liberty. We fight also for decency and integrity, for truth and for justice, not only for some of us, but for all of us, and for all men everywhere.

We fight for reason and moderation; we fight with passion against the rule of passion, against ignorance, against prejudice, against hate; in short, against surrender at home to the evils which we oppose, and must continue to oppose, abroad.

We fight under the banners of all that is best in our civilization against the forces of reaction, of darkness, and of fear.

Under these banners, with untarnished faith in our traditions and in our future, we cannot fail.

United States Passenger Fleet at New Low

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, once more I call the attention of the Senate to the dreadful situation in connection with our merchant marine. An article, appearing in today's issue of the Baltimore Sun, tells that there are now only 35 privately owned passenger vessels in service under the American flag. That is a deplorable condition, and something must be done about it if we are to maintain our position on the seas. Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES PASSENGER FLEET AT NEW LOW—PRIVATELY OWNED VESSELS NOW TOTAL ONLY 35

WASHINGTON, January 25.—This country's privately owned fleet of active passenger ships reached a new low of only 35 vessels in operation at the first of the year, the American Merchant Marine Institute announced today.

In the prewar merchant marine as of September 1939, the trade association's report said there were 117 operating ships.

The association noted, however, that the overall privately owned dry-cargo fleet remained relatively stable in 1953 despite a serious decline in United States overseas trade and growing foreign competition.

MARKET FELL PRECIPITOUSLY

"It is all the more remarkable," the institute's report stated, "since 1953 was the second successive year in which the market for ship services, worldwide, fell precipitously."

The institute's figures showed that today's passenger fleet has a capacity for 9,321 persons in contrast to 35,954 passengers which could have been carried in 1939.

Government-owned ships on active service were not included in the survey.

While the American passenger fleet has stabilized at 39 percent of prewar, with no new ships being built or on order, the worldwide passenger fleet has climbed to 69 percent of prewar, and will go up to 76 percent of the prewar status with the completion of ships now being built, the institute said.

Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Water, Water Everywhere," published in the Daytona Beach (Fla.) Evening News of October 8, 1953. This editorial deals with the subject of flood control.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE

With the unusual rainfall the past 2 months, this area has suffered a near approach to floods, and in some places it has been more than just an approach.

At any rate, we are all mighty water conscious at the moment. During the drought in May we were also water conscious.

We can sympathize then with other States which have a far more drastic and a far more regular water problem than we have. However, Florida's flood and drought problem is nothing to be scoffed at. It is the serious concern of engineers at State and Federal levels. Eventually, we hope, something will be done about it.

It's a national problem. It's an interstate challenge. Every State has its individual flood and drought situation, but each is only an angle of the whole.

Able, alert, best-for-all-the-people minded Senator HUMPHREY, of Minnesota—a State way up there on the map where the Mississippi floods begin—is among those broad-thinking persons in Government who see the problem as a whole. Not to be confused with Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, also an able man but one whose thinking about conservation runs in other channels. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, has this to say about flood control, in a letter to his constituents:

"Ever since I returned to Minnesota I've accumulated first-hand evidence of serious losses in the State by high water and floods. We've had more than normal rainfall, but our trouble is more than extra rain. Plain truth is, Minnesota's rivers and streams are silting in badly. One of Minnesota's major problems—deserving priority attention—is adequate flood prevention. It can and should be coupled with statewide water resource control and development; not just patchwork taking care of an emergency here and there. Unless we act wisely we're going to have more and more floods, with heavier toll each year.

"From a Federal standpoint, I'm doing my best to step up flood control activity by Army engineers. * * * Good to report Minnesota got about a fifth of the total amount available in the Nation for flood control surveys, but it is still far from enough. It is not economy to allow the huge annual flood loss we are suffering. I regret some think these appropriations are only 'pork barrel' items to win votes. Such people have not lived in areas where their homes are flooded annually. * * * We badly need a competent State water resources commission for an overall program in which Federal, State, and local governments can all share.

"This must be planned on a river basis or watershed area basis. Effective flood control is more than dikes and dams. The answer lies in a balanced program of soil conservation, reforestation, channel clearance, water resources management—and checking water flow and runoff from field to stream."

Pity poor Minnesota and the other States of the Missouri and Mississippi Valley. Theirs is far more than merely a problem of storm sewers and better enforced building restrictions—plus getting people to stop the pernicious habit of bulldozing lots and building their houses at the bottom of a basin—such as we face locally in order to meet such unusual emergencies as we have run into this year.

How Tax Loopholes Increase Your Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, a very constructive article entitled "How Tax Loopholes Increase Your Taxes," written by T. C. Carroll, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, appeared in the January issue of the Railway Journal.

To the extent that tax loopholes can be plugged, we can make progress in getting rid of the burden of excise taxes on business, and lower the entire tax burden on low-income and middle-income groups. In view of the consideration that will be given tax revision at this session, I commend the article for study. It quotes at length from my own study on this serious question of tax loopholes, published by the Public Affairs Institute in 1952.

I ask unanimous consent that the article referred to appear in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TAX LOOPHOLES INCREASE YOUR TAXES

(By T. C. Carroll)

When Congress convenes the administration is expected to present its new tax program. Taxes form such a great part of the present-day cost of living that every citizen should be genuinely concerned in what taxes are paid and by whom. But the tax laws are so complex that the average taxpayer is often unaware of the extent to which wealthy taxpayers are able to avoid the payment of taxes on substantial portions of their income through loopholes in the Federal income-tax laws.

BURDEN SHIFTS

It doesn't take a tax expert, however, to understand that when one group of taxpayers is able to escape payment of its fair share of taxes, the deficiency must be made up by other taxpayers. The adoption of a Federal sales tax, as has been rumored, either openly or in the disguised form of an excise tax, would place a still greater tax burden on the average taxpayer. If additional revenue is

needed, why isn't it obtained by eliminating the present inequities in the income-tax laws in favor of the wealthy taxpayer? This is more than a fair question.

Of the numerous loopholes in the income-tax laws, the special allowances to the owners of gas and oil wells are the most glaring example of favoritism. In a statement to the House Committee on Ways and Means in 1951 on needed changes in our revenue laws, the Honorable John W. Snyder, then Secretary of the United States Treasury, said:

"One of the major structural defects is percentage depletion available to oil and mineral producers. This is costing the Government, and, therefore, taxpayers in general, hundreds of millions of dollars each year. * * *

"In addition to the highly favorable depletion allowances, oil producers can immediately deduct for tax purposes a substantial part of their outlays for drilling and development. * * * This results in a double deduction with respect to the same capital investment. The combined impact of percentage depletion and the privilege of deducting drilling and development costs as a current expense is to wipe out the tax liability on incomes running into millions of dollars."

HOW THE GAIN

These special allowances place the oil and gas industry in an extremely advantageous position from the income-tax standpoint as compared to other business enterprises. Here is the reason: It is recognized that property used in business—machinery, building, automobiles, etc.—depreciates in value through wear and tear, and the law recognizes depreciation as a legitimate business expense. For example, if a company buys a truck for $4,000 which has a useful life of 5 years, it would be permitted to deduct $800 depreciation on the truck each year for a period of 5 years as a business expense on its Federal tax returns. After that time no furter deduction for depreciation would be allowed, for it would have recovered the cost of the truck.

It is also recognized that the mineral contents of mines and oil and gas wells are exhausted as the contents are removed. This process, called "depletion," is quite similar to the depreciation of business equipment or property. If allowances for depletion were computed on the same basis as those for depreciation, we could raise no objection. Under the Federal income-tax laws, however, the fantastic allowances for depletion go far beyond the bounds of logic or necessity. Owners of mines and oil or gas wells are permitted to deduct from gross income from such property before taxes the following flat percentage depletion allowances: Oil and gas wells 27½ percent, sulfur mines 23 percent, metal mines 15 percent, coal mines 10 percent, and other ores or deposits 5, 10, and 15 percent. There is no rhyme or reason to these arbitrary allowances.

A MYTHICAL CASE

To illustrate, if a factory owner invests $1 million in machinery which is expected to have a useful life of 10 years, he could deduct $100,000 a year as depreciation on his income tax returns. After 10 years he would have recovered the cost of this machinery and could make no further deductions. Let us take on the other hand the case of an oil well in which $1 million is invested and which produces $5 million of oil for each of 10 years. The owner of this well can deduct from gross income on his tax return each year as a depletion allowance, 27½ percent of the $5 million, or $1,375,000. In the 10 years, he can deduct a total of $13,750,000 or almost 14 times the amount he actually invested.

The principle with respect to the deduction of depreciation applies whether the taxpayer owns a grocery store, drives his own taxicab, operates a manufacturing plant, or runs a railroad. When he has recovered his cost, the deductions for depreciation must cease. It is only the owner of a mine or an oil or gas well who can continue to claim unreasonably large allowances for depletion far beyond the original cost or investment. The fabulous extent of this favoritism to oil producers is pointed out by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, in his booklet, Tax Loopholes (Public Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C., 1952):

"The Treasury has made an exhaustive study of percentage depletion and has produced these startling figures: (1) In 1947, oil companies were able to deduct 13 times more through percentage depletion than they would have been allowed to deduct if they had been required to use ordinary depreciation methods. (2) Twelve millionaires owning oil wells paid an average income tax of only 22½ percent on their incomes in the period 1943–47, just one-half of 1 percent less than the wartime rate on the first $2,000 of taxable income. (3) One oil operator was able to develop properties yielding $5 million in a single year and he didn't pay a cent of income tax in that year.

"* * * If percentage depletion had been eliminated, the entire tax increase on people earning less than $4,000 a year could have been dropped from the last tax bill."

Whatever the need for unusual allowances to the oil and gas industry many years ago, the vast market which the industry now finds for its products and the tremendous profits it is enjoying have long since made this special treatment an imposition on other taxpayers. The probable extent of current tax losses because of special allowances to oil and gas companies is illustrated by the Public Affairs Institute in the August 21, 1953, issue of Washington Window:

"It is possible * * * to draw a picture of what percentage depletion on crude oil—disregarding natural-gas production—means in tax losses to the United States. Based upon an average price for oil, $2.65 a barrel, and reported domestic crude-oil production, four major oil companies could legally make the following claims in 1952:

Company	Average depletion claim	Tax loss to United States
Standard Oil of New Jersey	$190,000,000	$84,000,000
Socony Vacuum	63,000,000	33,000,000
Shell	67,000,000	34,000,000
Standard Oil of California	64,000,000	33,000,000

"The drillers of oil and gas wells also have a second tax allowance. They can deduct from their taxable income, as a normal business expense, most of the cost for drilling and developing their property. Tax losses to the Government here normally equal percentage depletion losses, studies show.

"* * * Percentage depletion (on last year's crude oil and natural gas production) cost the United States $1.5 billion in taxable income or tax losses of $760 million. Add to this the $1.5 billion which may be written off taxable income for drilling and developing cost. This means another loss of $760 million in tax revenues or a total tax loss of over $1.5 billion."

This is the story of only one of the important loopholes in our present tax laws. Repeated attempts to have these loopholes closed have failed not only because of organized resistance from the favored few who benefit by these loopholes, but because the average taxpayer has not taken the trouble to demand equitable treatment from his representatives in Congress. It is high time we recognized that a tax dollar has the same value as any other dollar and did something about it.

You will have this opportunity when Congress convenes in January. Write to the Congressman from your district and the two Senators from your State asking that they close the loopholes through which many wealthy taxpayers are avoiding payment of their rightful share of the heavy tax burden. More about tax loopholes will appear in a later issue of the journal.

Thoughts on a Recent Visit to France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, of Carrollton Manor, Md., which appeared in the winter, 1953, issue of World Affairs magazine.

Dr. Thorning is an associate editor of World Affairs magazine, and an advisory editor of the Americas, a magazine of inter-American cultural history. Recently he was awarded the highest national decoration of the Republic of Cuba for his effective contribution to the good-neighbor policy.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANCE: SOME THOUGHTS ON A RECENT VISIT
(By Joseph F. Thorning)

Can France be described as "the sick man of Europe"? An affirmative answer to this question was given by a Frenchman, Paul Reynaud. Perhaps he believed what he said. Or he may have wished to startle his fellow citizens into constructive action. In any event, it may be useful to analyze this diagnosis in the light of a recent survey of French social and economic conditions undertaken under the leadership of one of the most brilliant members of the United States House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman THURMOND CHATHAM, of North Carolina.

In the first place, it may be acknowledged that French income is not fairly distributed. The average wage for factory workers, miners, and white-collar classes is $80 a month. In a country where many varieties of cheese sell for more than a dollar a pound, this monthly stipend simply won't spread out over 30 days. The result is that the French wife and mother, who is still a highly civilized human being, is hard put to it to supply enough stale bread and vegetable soup to keep her household alive for the last 4 or 5 days of the month. To be sure, rents are low and some social security measures cushion the worst shocks of life, but few laborers or clerks have money to bury in the garden or to store away in a woolen sock. As one stagehand in the Paris Opera put it to me, "when there aren't sufficient francs to buy a glass of wine for lunch, the burdens of the afternoon seem to be doubled." At the very moment this complaint was being voiced, delicious wines were being handed out free to travelers blockaded along the roads of the Narbonne-Montpelier region where overproduction and low prices (for wine) were the chief problem.

The fact is that, during World War II, a whole system of middlemen sprang up in order to cope with the horrors of the Nazi occupation and Nazi confiscations. Sabo-

tage and pilferage, involving mere boys and girls, became the order of the day. Habits are not easily changed. Consequently, long after the need for intermediaries and brokers has passed, there are individuals who have a vested interest in having goods produce a commission for every interchange. Worst of all, many manufacturers appear more concerned about huge profits on a limited volume of business than about modest benefits upon the sale of millions of units of a given product, in an ever-expanding market. A girl student in the University of Paris dreamed up an interesting analogy for this situation. "Imagine a man trying to keep warm in the dead of winter," she said. "One method would be to swing into rapid action with arms and legs: this would mean swift circulation of the blood. The other technique would be to wrap arms and legs about the body and to remain motionless. That is the French way. You in America believe in keeping every organ in motion. The smaller the profits are, the greater is the turnover. As a result, the Americans eat better in all seasons and keep warmer in the winter."

On the credit side of the French economy, it must be recorded that the French artisans have the talent and the good taste to fabricate quality goods. Novelty in style and elegance of presentation are a French tradition. On a single afternoon, I saw an American lady, with a keen sense of discrimination, select an assortment of costume jewelry which will render her circle of friends happy at Christmas. Not one of the item would have been available on Fifth Avenue, New York, or on Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles. At another shop (not on the expensive Rue Faubourg St. Honoré), white, brown, and black gloves were available with detachable cuffs (themselves reversible in two colors) which, at the present writing, are completely unknown in Saks-Fifth Avenue or Bonwit-Teller. Here was a case where a smart French enterpriser, by plunging into mass merchandising, could have not only created a new vogue, but also furnished wide employment to French men and women in search of jobs. In a similar fashion, French milliners and dressmakers could expand their markets a hundredfold by catering to the millions instead of to the hundreds of foreigners who would like to be chic. This type of development is not something that need be restricted to the products of Paris.

Every region of France has its food delicacies or artistic novelties that could amuse or delight the world. Congressman CHATHAM, who has visited all of the important nations on all continents, often assured me that "France should never be sold short, because the genius of the French people had made, and was continuing to make, a unique contribution to the esthetic satisfactions of mankind."

It is good to add that, although our visit to France coincided with the outbreak of the strikes, our course of study and observation in all regions of the republic suffered no serious setbacks. The postal slowdown was the sole major inconvenience. On the positive side, the Government showed its good sense by admitting that the strikers had some valid grievances. At the same time, it was emphasized that work stoppages aggravated almost every evil. Most significant was the return to normal work schedules when the non-Soviet labor organizations felt that their protests had been heeded, if not implemented with the adequate remedies. Despite the agitation of Kremlin agents, the trains resumed service, the Métro functioned once more, and the technicians in various industries returned to their jobs. During the strikes, the French armed forces showed admirable discipline and courtesy in the operation of improvised systems of transport. Some tourists, who practiced patience, got superior facilities at rock-bottom prices to points within and without France. It was a case of good administration in an emergency. As one United States Embassy official expressed it, "Here we see, indeed, that to govern is to foresee."

Motoring through the orchards and grazing lands of Normandy, one can see another manifestation of French vitality. The farmers cultivate the soil with religious zeal. Herds of beef and dairy cattle have been reestablished; vegetable gardens are worked for every millimeter of ground; and flocks of chickens, ducks, and geese abound. Little or nothing is wasted throughout the countryside. On the highway to Bordeaux, fields of artichokes show the effects of almost infinite care. The same is true about the vineyards and forests. France's capacity to produce good food is intact.

The Frenchman is also developing as a tourist. Twenty years ago, the people spent little money for travel. Now the exodus from cities to countryside is matched only by the stream of visitors from villages and farms to the seaside or to the capital. Biarritz vies with Cannes as a center of attraction. With their famous appetite for the enjoyment of life, the French are discovering the scenic marvels of their own country and the delights of foreign travel. Naturally, this gives them a broader view of Europe, if not of the world.

In this connection, it may be recalled that most of the plans for European integration originated with the French. The Coal and Steel Community was nurtured by the patient skill of Robert Schuman; the modernization of machinery with a view to supplying mass markets was the idea of Jean Monnet; the Continental Defense Community was proposed by René Pleven; while, on repeated occasions, a one-time Premier, René Mayer, rhapsodized about France's "world mission."

Recently, France's Foreign Minister Georges Bidault took his political life in his hands by urging a Schuman policy; the ratification of the European Defense Treaty. "Our choice is clear," Mr. Bidault declared. "It is a problem of conscience for each one of us and I have spoken in accordance with mine."

This emphasis upon moral and ethical values is what France can use, most fruitfully. Where expediency might dictate a surender to slavery, a consideration of what is right will call for understanding and unity. The Nazis were unable to destroy the French soul: her language, her literature, her engineering ability, her love of freedom and progress survived a terrible ordeal. As Harold Callender remarked not long ago, "France's destiny is bound up with Europe's." It is superfluous to add that Europe's fate will tip the scales of world destiny. Therefore, the more Americans understand France's aspirations and problems, the better will be the solutions that will be offered, in a spirit of cooperation and partnership, in order to reinforce France's position in Europe. The strength of the Fourth Republic may well prove to be the measure of European integration and world peace.

Proposed Court-Martial of Colonel Schwable

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

(Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I speak somewhat reluctantly, but I am concerned about the Army's purpose in convening a court-martial so hurriedly in the case of Colonel Schwable. This man went through many hells in Communist prisons. If my information is correct, when he finally arrived in this country he gave himself unreservedly to testifying before motion-picture cameras to make possible accurate testimony for the use of the United States to refute the accusations of the U. S. S. R. that we used bacteriological warfare in Korea. You should see the Communist films of the so-called confessions, of which his was one. Then you should see the pictures that we saw at the United Nations taken when he gave his testimony freely. You should read the full testimony before Dr. Charles W. Mayo's committee in the United Nations on bacteriological warfare and then realize what a very real part the colonel's testimony played in making Dr. Mayo's statement effective.

Mr. Speaker, I know nothing about the other men under discussion today. But I hope that we would be human toward a man who showed great courage in his effort to make amends.

The Polish Heritage, Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the second installment of Adela Lagodzinska's scholarly address at the University of Chicago College:

THE POLISH HERITAGE AND THE FUTURE OF CHICAGO

(By Adela Lagodzinska)

(Continued)

Parallel with the growth of the Polish parishes and school system a large network of local and national Polish societies and fraternal organizations were planned and formed. Father Swastek points out in the booklet quoted above, namely, that these groups served every age level "and nearly every imaginable purpose—religious, political, cultural, social, recreational, scholarly, professional, humanitarian, and economic." He further points out that "some were exclusively parochial, others exclusively Polish, and some formed part of the larger non-Polish, American, and Catholic framework. They provided various benefits to the members: protective, insurance, social contacts, library facilities, and other forms of diversion. Their membership often overlapped, making any numerical estimate hazardous and unreliable; this, however, might safely be said: that it was a rare Polish-American who did not belong to at least one of the many organizations."

Among the oldest fraternal societies is the Polish Roman Catholic Union, founded in 1873.

Their first convention was held in Chicago that same year, 1873, and it very clearly set forth Polish Roman Catholic Union aims and objectives, namely, to preserve the religious and Polish national spirit; aid the education

of youth in America—and for that purpose to establish Polish parochial schools throughout the United States.

After overcoming many initial trials and financial setbacks, today the Polish Roman Catholic Union is aknowledged as one of the foremost and leading beneficial societies in America.

Polish Roman Catholic Union has its headquarters in Chicago and it is housed in an elaborate self-owned three-story office building that also is the location of the internationally known Polish archives and museum. This building holds an extensive Polish and Polish-American library and reading room with the largest collection of books on Poland in the English language. Polish Roman Catholic Union publishes a bimonthly fraternal newspaper, Naród Polski (Polish Nation).

At the present time Polish Roman Catholic Union has a membership list in excess of 160,000 men, women, and children, with assets totaling $33 million and benefits paid in excess of $36 million.

The museum and archives of the Polish Roman Catholic Union was established 16 years ago by Joseph L. Kania, the late president of Polish Roman Catholic Union. The museum also is a tribute and result of the labors of the late Mieczyslaw Haiman.

A shy, humble, and unselfish worker, Haiman submerged himself into the often thankless task of original and scholarly research. To this job he devoted a major part of his career. His numerous firsts on the history of the Poles in America justly award him the undisputed claim of being till now the foremost Polish-American historian in the world.

To reside in Chicago and not visit the museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union and see its fabulous collections of Polish and Polish-American culture and art, in my opinion, is a cardinal offense.

Last year, under the direction of Mr. Kania, the late president of Polish Roman Catholic Union, the museum was enlarged and a gallery of Polish-American paintings was installed, holding many top prize paintings, sketches, and drawings of the Polish artists in America.

The establishment of the museum and archives, in turn, was the reason for the birth of the Polish American Historical Commission, now known as the Polish American Historical Association.

The Polish American Historical Association was established in December 1942 as a part of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America to collect, compile, and publish information about Polish Americans. In October 1944, it was reorganized as a national American society for the promotion of study and research in the history and social background of Americans of Polish descent.

The association strives to assist and cooperate with all individuals and organizations interested in Polish American life and history. It publishes Polish American Studies, a journal that appears twice yearly, containing scholarly articles, bibliographical lists, historical notes and comments, and reviews of books.

Membership in the association is open to all who are interested in Polish Americans and their heritage.

Only 7 years younger than the PRCU is the Polish National Alliance of America, and today, the largest organization in the United States for men, women, and children of Polish descent.

The Polish National Alliance arose from the original plan of Agaton Giller, an author and a political refugee in Europe. It was subsequently organized by a group of Poles in America, for the specific purpose of promoting patriotic action, especially in behalf of the cause of independence for Poland. It operates under the fraternal benefit system.

In 1880, Polish National Alliance had 109 members and assets of $160. Today, the membership is in excess of 335,000; with assets totaling over $66 million—benefits paid—$65 million.

The Polish National Alliance owns its own home office buildings in Chicago; publishes a daily newspaper the Dziennik Zwiazkowy (the Polish Daily Zgoda); and also publishes its own fraternal organ, Zgoda (Unity).

The crowning point of their achievements to date is the founding of the Polish National Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, Pa. Here boys and girls of America can obtain not only an excellent education in an accredited college, but at the same time are given the opportunity to learn things Polish, plus, the ideals and objectives for which this institution was established.

The third largest organization in the Polonia—and the largest group of women of Polish descent—is the Polish Women's Alliance of America. It was founded in 1898—and significantly at the time when the universal movement for emancipation of women was being widely debated and promulgated.

The Polish Women's Alliance, in its infancy, was exclusively an organization for women only. At a later date of its life, children too were admitted to membership, regardless of sex.

Although the organizations—fraternal, I have in mind, namely, those mentioned previously in this lecture—admitted women to their membership, it was not until the PWA was founded and organized that certain equality rights on the same level with masculine groups were granted to the females of those societies.

The Polish Women's Alliance features American and Polish patriotic objectives, with emphasis on the spiritual, moral, and economic concern for the future of the Polish women and children in the United States.

The Polish Women's Alliance had a very modest beginning. The original group consisted of 11 members, with first assets—without exaggeration—amounting to $11.

Stefania Chmielinska, the Polish Women's Alliance founder, lived to an advanced age. During her lifetime she saw the abundant fruits of her plan and zeal.

The Polish Women's Alliance grants various scholarships to needy members; conducts recreation centers and activities for young members; offers instructions in Polish folk dances and singing. It takes active part in almost all major American, Polish, and social local and national projects and activities.

The Polish Women's Alliance of America owns its home office building in Chicago; has its own library and museum. Publishes a weekly paper Glos Polek (the Women's Voice). It has a membership of 83,000 women and children, and assets totaling $15 million. Benefits paid to date, $8½ million.

During the two World Wars the Polish Women's Alliance established an enviable record of philanthropic accomplishments by their vast and generous material and financial aid to countless orphans, homeless men and women in Poland, Europe, and elsewhere. Most of this work and activity was carried out as a war relief program, especially during the Second World War, in cooperation with the facilities of the Polish Civilian War Relief Unit of the American Red Cross. The Polish Civilian War Relief Unit formed the largest production unit of the American Red Cross in the United States.

Of the organizations with smaller membership lists and total cash assets, the largest is the Polish Alma Mater, founded in Chicago in 1897 by the Reverend Francis Gordon, a Resurrection priest. With headquarters in Chicago, the Polish Alma Mater aims to promote Christian ideals, standards, and Polish culture—primarily among the youth of America. At a later date after its founding, the Polish Alma Mater adopted the fraternal benefit system.

Today it, too, holds title to a Chicago home office building. Polish Alma Mater has a membership of 7,200; with assets totaling $1½ million.

The United Polish Women of America is another fraternal group, with headquarters in Chicago.

Too numerous to take into consideration and discussion at this time are the smaller and larger clubs—societies—in the religious, economic, professional, and civic groups. Note, however, deserves to be made of the Chicago Polish Arts Club, founded in 1926, for the encouragement, appreciation, and support of the plans and programs of amateur talent in art, literature, science, music, and drama. It, too, has a long and outstanding record of achievement in the successful promotion of various cultural and social programs and activities in the city of Chicago.

Still other groups of note in Chicago are the Polish Teachers Club, the Advocates Society, the Medical and Dental Society, and many, many others.

In the pioneering days the average Polish worker in America earned a very meager wage. In many instances the wages were 25 to 50 percent below the average paid workers of other national groups or lineage. Nonetheless for church, educational, and humanitarian benefits the early Polish pioneer—and we must admit that this same spirit exists and is cherished among most Americans of Polish descent even by the modern young generations—gave very willingly and generously of his time, effort, and cash.

SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN, AND CIVIC ENDEAVORS

Little wonder then that they and the Polish pioneer priests and religious communities of America are the founders, builders, and administrators in Chicago and elsewhere of many giant and extensive networks of humanitarian institutions and agencies.

In Chicago, for example, among others, the Poles built and established: St. Mary of Nazareth Hospital and School of Nursing; Guardian Angel Day Nursery; St. Joseph Home for the Aged; St. Hedwig's Orphanage; St. Andrew Bobola Home for the Aged; the recently opened, luxuriously modern, and massive Resurrection Hospital; numerous day nurseries, etc.

Here, I'd be remiss in my task if I failed to mention the Polish Welfare Association of the archidiocese of Chicago. This nonprofit organization was founded in 1921. Today it is well organized and equipped for combating juvenile delinquency and antisocial attitudes. It is supported for most part by voluntary donations of the Chicago Poles.

The material and moral assistance to impoverished Poles in Chicago is known throughout our city and elsewhere. Countless hundreds of Poles here have benefited much from the Polish Welfare's systematic case work by trained workers, observations in various courts, particularly the juvenile, women's domestic relations, and boys' courts.

Truly, here is a work that can never be adequately evaluated in dollars and cents—for its accomplishments are so vast that only God knows all the general social betterment of the Polish community in Chicagoland that has benefited from the labors and programs of the Polish Welfare Association.

With the church and school, other important institutions the Poles joined hands in preserving and fostering the spirit of Americansim, citizenship, democracy, and the extension of American ideals of freedom throughout the world.

In recent years the programs and activities of these Polish-American organizations, groups and societies were greatly augmented as they readily and in many instances—gratuitously—made available many and all of their services and facilities to the thousands of displaced Polish persons and others from Europe and elsewhere.

Because the main concern of Polonia and its affiliated organizations and institutions has been on future development, expansion, and growth, all the previously mentioned groups, in lesser or greater form, have stressed the importance of youth memberships. Thus, to attain their desired goals, many of these societies and groups have child and tenn-age summer programs and workshops for their Polish-American boys and girls. Further, efforts are made to maintain various scout units for their youngsters. Still more, secondary school and college level scholarship funds are granted to the bright and needy. They also conduct special courses in Polish history, literature, and languages. American customs and literature are not neglected; these subjects are encouraged and promoted.

THE POLISH PRESS

The establishment of the first Polish newspaper in Chicago was another indication of the growth and expansion of the Polish community. Many and varied was the level and direction of the first publications. All were a gage—or measure—of the religious, social, and political robustness of the group. Time and space, again, does not permit any discussion or analyses of facts or statistics. Mention need however be made, namely that today, only two of the Chicago dailies are extant—the Dziennik Chicagoski (Chicago Polish Daily News); and the Dziennik Zwiazkowy (Polish Daily Zgoda). Both are printed in Polish and English. Each has a wide circulation in Chicago, in various States of the Union, and abroad, especially in Europe. In addition, as I have mentioned previously, the three largest fraternal organizations publish their own organizational journals, but these are primarily limited to organizational interests—and limited in circulation to membership lists.

The journalists on these Chicago newspapers have their own Polish Newspapermen's Guild, that includes Polish radio announcers and organizers.

Of significance in the early days of the pioneers during the past and present centuries was the Polish Publishing House. These printed—even as they do now—many thousands of Polish textbooks; journals, historical and fictional novels; religious, social, political, scientific, etc., pamphlets and brochures, that were used in the Polish American parochial and private schools in the United States. Many were sold or distributed in foreign nations to the Polish groups residing there.

Another very interesting factor in the life of the Poles in Chicago was their early interest and active participation in the public and civic programs of this city.

In 1837 Polish names can be found on the voting registers of the tiny Chicago settlement. In 1883, Victor J. Karlowski was elected a member of the Illinois State Legislature. In 1888, August J. Kowalski became the first Polish alderman.

From 1894 to 1897, Max J. Drezmal was a member of the board of education. There were many others, including our Polish civic leaders of the present era. However, to mention their names and discuss their records of achievement at this time would simply be a repetition of the facts and statistics mentioned here recently by the Honorable Judge Thomas A. Kluczynski.

CHICAGO POLES IN WORLD WAR I AND II

The concern over the political situation in Poland during the partitions was a common bond uniting all groups of Poles in America and in Poland.

Many of our Polish organizations very often raised the question and made efforts for a possible intervention by the United States and her allies in behalf of Poland.

In 1910, the leaders of the Polish organizations in the United States went to Poland for the 500th anniversary of the famous victory of the Poles over the German Crusaders at Grunwald. Upon their return, rumblings of war already could be detected here and abroad.

With the outbreak of World War I, the consolidations of the Polish community in Chicago and throughout the country were much in evidence when they spontaneously created and unselfishly volunteered to serve in a humanitarian program executed by and through the facilities of various institutions, especially the Polish Red Cross, and the American Red Cross.

Enthusiastic over America's desire to fight for democracy, the Poles throughout the United States very willingly enlisted in the American Army in very large numbers.

The first battle casualty in World War I was a Chicagoan—Peter Wojtalewicz. The first war prisoner was captured by two Polish Americans—one of them was a Chicagoan. Hundreds of soldiers' graves and monuments in our cemeteries in Chicago and elsewhere, very vividly mark and testify to the large number of Chicago Poles who made the supreme sacrifice in behalf of the aims and principles of American military intervention in the European—world conflict.

Once the Allies authorized the formation of an independent Polish Army, and the American Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, gave it the Department's official blessing, the Poles of Chicago and other cities of America and Canada answered the call to arms.

Many of these recruits were physically handicapped; many were too young or too old to qualify for service in the United States Armies. Further, the groups were also composed of other Poles born in Germany or Austria—and because of this factor were automatically barred from United States military service—by lack of citizenship.

In the newly formed Polish Army all these United States Army rejects found place and were eagerly accepted into the Armed Forces under the leadership of Gen. Joseph Haller.

This Haller army was partially equipped and maintained by funds and supplies donated by American Poles and their sympathetic friends in the world.

On October 16, 1917, the first detachment of the Haller army assembled in Chicago in the Polish Women's Alliance Building, and left from there for Niagara-on-the-Lake, in Canada, for military training and indoctrination. In other centers in America the Polish colonies cheered them as they formed spectacular files on parade. Over 22,000 of these men drilled in Canada.

The First and Second Divisions fought on French soil under the Polish colors, the White Eagle on a red field. In Poland the Haller musketeers, reinforced by auxiliaries, were the mainstay of the eastern front.

Mr. Speaker, even Polish-American womanhood, not to be outdone by men, joined the ranks of the Grey Samaritans for nursing the pestilence stricken, homeless, and crippled families of Poland. These Polish Florence Nightingales also proved of invaluable service to the American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross.

Psychological Snafu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent editorial that appeared in the Monday morning edition of the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., January 25, 1954, which warrants the consideration of every Member of the Congress demanding an investigation by the Department of Defense.

The feelings of the people appear to be reflected by the telegram of Vincent A. Harrold, commander, Massachusetts chapter, American Prisoners of War, Inc., which I am enclosing, since I am certain the Members will be interested in its contents:

PSYCHOLOGICAL SNAFU

When the Defense Department gets into a high-level foulup of policy it is bound to be a complete snafu like the courts-martial and inquiries into the behavior of released prisoners of war while they were in Red hands.

The other POW's who didn't knuckle under to Red blandishments, threats, and brain-washing can declare with justifiable bitterness that if they could endure it those now under charges could also endure it. And it's a perfectly valid argument if individuals all had identical breaking points under stress. Some are strong. Some are weak, and some collapse under pressure. It would seem the real test now should be whether or not they are truly repentent for having failed their country.

If the action against a marine colonel and an Army corporal is harmful to the country from a psychological warfare viewpoint, it must be that our psychological warfare is woefully weak and ill defined. When the United Nations command in Korea tells the POW's to come home—all is forgiven, and the Defense Department qualifies that, after the POW is back in our hands, there is certainly a snafu.

To get back to basic causes of this snafu all too little is said about the barbarous treatment of prisoners of war by the Communists in violation of the Geneva convention which induced the weakminded POW's in question to curry favor with their captors.

BOSTON, MASS., *January 25, 1954.*
Congressman THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and call to the attention of Defense Department officials the Boston Post editorial of this date entitled "Psychological Snafu" which clearly expresses the sentiments of this organization of prison camp veterans. In our opinion the Defense Department persists in throwing a smokescreen of confusion over the entire POW problem merely to mask its complete failure to effectively secure the release of hundreds of Americans still held prisoners by Communist scum. This current policy of aggressiveness might better be directed toward our Communist enemy. Your untiring efforts to secure the release of captured Americans has earned our heartfelt gratitude.

VINCENT A. HARROLD,
Commander, Massachusetts Chapter, American Prisoners of War, Inc.

Poll Taken by Facts Forum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK A. BARRETT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, January 26, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD the latest poll taken by Facts Forum.

I am aware of the fact that charges have been made by a good many people to the effect that the program is not impartial and unbiased. I have listened to the program on several occasions, and it seemed to me that both sides of the question had been presented for the consideration of the people. I have noticed many times, Mr. President, when broadcasters are reporting athletic events, such as football or baseball games or prizefights, they are charged with being prejudiced one way or the other. The same charge is frequently made against commentators no matter how objective they might be in their approaches. The same is true sometimes even of the news columns of newspapers and magazines, and after all, Mr. President, the people themselves come to sound conclusions and the force of public opinion is a powerful factor in working the will of the people.

Mr. President, since the attack has been made on Facts Forum, it is interesting to note that while it has lost in some places yet I am informed that it has made great headway in most sections of the country. Facts Forum does not pretend to be a cross-section poll but it does cover every section of the country.

There being no objection, the poll was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Facts Forum results

	Yes, percent
Will the executive branch surpass the legislative branch in exposing suspects?	23
Did pro-Communists in government foresee the torture and death of our boys?	67
Will the prestige of F. D. R. be destroyed?	61
Are big business and large foundations combating United States Communists?	51
Is the 3-member Civil Service Commission helping rid the Government of pro-pinks?	32
Will the Wilson and Kyes team sacrifice security in effecting savings?	19
Could more harm be done by tolerating treason than traitors inflict?	73
Should the withholding for social security be increased?	30
Should the Bricker amendment limiting treatymaking powers be enacted?	81
Will the Democrats win control of the lower House in 1954?	41
Should Hawaii be granted statehood?	60
Will organized labor eventually govern the Nation?	24
Will anti-Communists remain impotent victims of smears?	50
Should jail sentences for drunken driving be mandatory?	87
Do you favor Ike over the probable Democratic nominee?	77

The popularity of Eisenhower for President over a probable Democratic nominee remains overwhelmingly high with 77 percent in his favor. This figure has shrunk 4 percent from the 81 percent favoring Ike in the November poll.

Eighty-one percent now favor the Bricker amendment, which closely parallels the 80 percent in May when the question was last posed.

Few of the Facts Forum voters fear that Wilson and Kyes will sacrifice national security, nor do many anticipate the executive branch will surpass the legislative branch in exposing subversion.

U. S. S. "Nautilus"—Atom Power for the Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, entitled "Atomic Victory Depends on the Navy," which appeared in the February 1954 issue of Nation's Business:

ATOMIC VICTORY DEPENDS ON THE NAVY
(By Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations)

Our Navy is on the threshold of a revolution. Dreamed of for decades, planned for years, the revolution will be spurred on only a few days from now—on February 15—when a unique engine is installed in a newly launched submarine at Groton, Conn. The engine produces atomic power; the atomic power will propel the submarine.

Thus the U. S. S. *Nautilus*—a joint product of the Navy, Atomic Energy Commission, Westinghouse, and the electric boat division of General Dynamics Corp.—becomes the first nuclear-powered warship of the fleet, forerunner of the Navy of tomorrow. For surely, as the sail gave way to steam, diesel power will give way to atom power as tomorrow's means of ship propulsion.

The revolution ignited aboard the *Nautilus* some day will literally sweep our present-day fleet—mightiest in the world though it is—off the seas and replace it with task forces of incredible speed, limitless cruising range, and crushing striking power.

True, one atomic ship—one atomic sub—doesn't make a fleet. But it's a start, a vitally important start, because in the atomic era, control of the seas—and with it, survival of the free world—may well go to the nation which first converts its navy from oil to atoms.

Even as the U. S. S. *Nautilus* prepares to receive its revolutionary engine, a sister submersible, the U. S. S. *Sea Wolf*, is under construction, and already studies have been made looking toward the possibilities of a nuclear-powered carrier. Tomorrow—but not overnight—it is inevitable that all of our major ships of the line will be given a virtually limitless flow of power from atomic reactors, or furnaces.

The big problem—getting over the hump in regulating atomic fission so as to produce controlled power—has been licked. We knew that if an atomic engine could be developed for the submarine it would be feasible to harness nuclear fission to the propeller turbines of our surface ships. Today, the *Nautilus* gives our Navy, we believe, the lead in atomic seapower; yet the *Nautilus* is but the model T of our Navy of tomorrow.

Security precautions necessarily prevent me from disclosing in detail the impact of the atomic engine on our fleet. Such a disclosure would only serve to aid our enemies. Nevertheless the significance of atomic power harnessed to our fleet can be seen in sharp focus through a single statistic: The potential energy in a lump of uranium the size of a golf ball is equivalent to 465,000 gallons of oil, or 6,000,000 pounds of coal.

Until today, the cruising range of a warship has been limited by the amount of oil it can stow away in its hull. When the oil is consumed, the ship must head for a fueling station or fueling vessel. During World War II, in developing the fast carrier task force, the Navy set up a mobile refueling base which followed the task force. This innovation has considerably extended the striking power of the task force, but requires an endless chain of supply ships to replenish the mobile base. Furthermore, refueling at sea is hazardous, time-consuming, and costly.

The atom-powered fleet of tomorrow—again I emphasize tomorrow, but not overnight—will need neither refueling stations nor refueling ships. The ship will have unlimited cruising range. The ships will be enabled, through nuclear power, to utilize the tremendous hull spaces, now given over to oil storage, for more planes, for more aviation gasoline, for more weapons, ammunition, and other material. The ships of tomorrow, because of atomic power, will be lighter, more powerful, and cheaper to operate.

Atom power will convert our submarines into true submersibles. Our World War II subs which performed such Herculean labors against enemy vessels were severely restricted in their underwater activities by the frequent need to surface to replenish oxygen and recharge batteries. Development of the snorkel breathing tube by the Germans—since improved by our own naval engineers—has permitted longer periods of submersion, but, except for brief spurts, the snorkel submarine has to be operated at a comparatively low speed.

The atom-powered submersible, requiring no oxygen supply for its atomic furnace, eliminating the problem of expelling deadly fuel gases, will be capable of operating below surface indefinitely—limited only by the endurance of the crew.

On this score, the Navy has undertaken a series of studies to make the *Nautilus* more habitable than any submersible ever built. "Operation Hideout," recently conducted at New London, Conn., by a volunteer crew, demonstrated that the hardy, disciplined submariners can live below surface for at least 2 months. The *Nautilus* and its sister submersibles to come will not only be comparatively comfortable; they will be radioactivity-proof. The atomic engine, like the atomic bomb, gives off deadly radioactive rays. The *Nautilus* is so shielded that even a luminous wrist watch would contribute radioactivity sufficient to be detected by the ship's monitoring system.

The most modern of our nonatomic submarines quickly swallow up their available fuel and oxygen supply when operating at top speed. The *Nautilus*, the *Sea Wolf*, and the atomic sub pack to follow will have no such difficulties. These craft will be able to run at terrific speeds for as long as necessary, above or below surface.

Atomic fission will give our underseas fleet of tomorrow not only more power and speed, it will also cloak the submarine with a mantle of invisibility. The frequently surfacing, battery-powered submarine was fairly easy game for hunter planes. The more elusive snorkel submersible was detectable by radar the moment it raised its breathing tube above the water. So long as it stays deep below the surface the atomic sub is a phantom of the seas, for practical purposes invisible to radar and other detection devices.

The power, speed, and invisibility of the atom-powered sub gives us a weapon as fantastic as those in the world of Buck Rogers, but one that is real, practical, and—combined with equally fantastic weapons which we already have and are using—devastatingly destructive.

Our Navy has in operation three (nonatomic) submarines which fire guided missiles instead of torpedoes. One of these missiles, the Regulus—powered by rockets and turbojet engines—travels faster than conventional fighter bombers and can hit targets 400 miles away.

The Regulus is but one of the missiles being developed for Navy use. Already we have discarded as obsolete its predecessor—the Loon—an improved version of the World

War II buzz bomb fired by the Germans from the Dutch coast into London. American scientists are working on guided missiles which race through the sky at speeds several times that of sound—missiles which, like the cigar-shaped Regulus, can be launched from the surface and directed from a submarine submerged except for its antennae. In merging the atomic-powered submarine with the supersonic guided missile, we will be wedding the split atom with the split second. Such a missile is capable of carrying devastating warheads to the target—hundreds of miles away.

Even before we learned how to utilize A-power in submarines, our Navy had made great strides in the tactical use of the undersea warships, such as killer (antisubmarine) subs, radar-picket (plane or missile warning) subs, and attack (underwater ships of the line) subs, armed with newer, truer, target-homing torpedoes. Now that we have atomic-powered engines, there appears to be no end of possibilities in the future of the submarine.

For example, in World War II a conventional submarine carried Carlson's Raiders on a successful island assault against the Japanese. In the Korean conflict one of our subs landed 100 British marines on a tunnel-plugging, rail-cutting raid behind Red lines. Surely these two isolated events herald the possibility—in the light of nuclear power—of phantom, underwater troop carriers.

To some farsighted Navy men the A-powered submarine has no end of possibilities. These men insist that a submersible which can carry and launch pilotless planes can carry and launch piloted planes.

The Japanese actually built during World War II a submarine twice the size of the *Nautilus* from which three small planes could be launched. Some Navy dreamers foresee a future when the atom-powered submersible carrier, capable of launching 100 warplanes, will be part of the fleet. I make no such prediction for the immediate future, but a dynamic navy, whose very essence is flexibility, cannot afford to kick aside as impossible or silly any seemingly fantastic dream or notion. Only a few years ago cynics guffawed at the possibility of an atom-fueled fleet.

Yes, the submarine is definitely a vital element in our Navy of tomorrow. The trouble is that the sub's horizons are widening so fast that one hesitates to freeze a design for mass production lest it become obsolete in the making.

As the nuclear-powered submarine assumes greater importance in the fleet of the future, so does the atomic-powered carrier. It is the carrier task force which assures our Navy's control of the sea and air above. At sea there can be no separate air force and sea force. They must be integrated in one force as is our Navy. America's vaunted sea power is in reality air-sea-undersea power.

Already our carriers are being equipped with the supersonic, jet-propelled Sky Rays. Atomic power will give the carriers and their striking task force unlimited reign to sweep the seas and concentrate at one point an unequaled mass of airpower. In the latter days of World War II, Task Force 38 threw 1,100 warplanes into one phase of the fighting. Our fleet of tomorrow will be capable of unleashing a far greater assault, launching jets four at a time.

With the advent of handier sized atomic weapons, we may get some relief from the pressure to build bigger planes for bigger bombs and, therefore, bigger carriers.

We are already converting two cruisers, the *Boston* and the *Canberra*, into missile-firing men-of-war, by replacing the traditional gun turrets with launching platforms. We have transformed one battleship, the *Mississippi*, into a missile-testing ship. We have developed a series of missiles for varying purposes.

The German V1 and V2 buzz bombs were the only guided missiles used in World War II. By the time the Korean war broke out, the Navy had developed its own special-purpose missile by converting the F6F Gruman Hellcats into television-controlled bombing missiles. The missile-planes, carying television transmitters in their noses, relayed the picture of the target area to the mother plane or surface station as much as 500 miles away, and were guided straight into the target.

We have also developed anti-missile missiles which, together with improve firing power, will give our carrier task force a high impenetrable shield against enemy attack. Task Force 38 threw up an antiaircraft defense in the Pacific during World War II which was equal in firepower to the combined AA fire of all of Great Britain. Now our task forces will be even more formidable.

Our Navy of tomorrow will include a swifter-than-sound seaplane which, launched from a vessel or dropped over its side, can carry an atomic warhead hundreds of miles away. It can refuel at sea, from subs as well as surface craft. It can take off and land in a water-filled ditch—the simplest kind of airstrip, virtually indestructible from the air. Our fleet is already equipped with such a plane, the Sea Dart, jet propelled and almost wingless.

To defend our fleet and our shores from sudden onslaught by air, our Navy of tomorrow—even as does our Navy of today—will maintain vigil hundreds of miles away through a system of radar-equipped planes. And because the enemy can be expected to attack under the cover of storm and bad weather, our Navy of tomorrow—as does our Navy of today—will train and operate squadrons of all-weather jet fighter squadrons.

Tomorrow's Navy is in the making today, but as I have stressed, it will not become a completely atom-powered, missile-equipped fleet overnight. Such a move would be economically unsound, and technically unacceptable. We must transform our fleet from oil to atoms, from guns to missiles, slowly and carefully, experimenting, testing, analyzing as we go. We must make use of the ships we now have, through conversion and integration, and we must avoid plunging into a new building program only to discover we are acquiring a new stockpile of technologically obsolescent warships. We must convert slowly—but we must convert surely and steadily.

For our security's sake, we cannot afford to postpone or delay the conversion.

We Americans must not forget for 1 minute that Russia is capable of producing atomic power and every one of the other weapons we are seeking to make our own fleet faster and more powerful.

The Soviet Union today has the second largest fleet in the world, second only to our own.

The Soviet Union today is building more cruisers than all the NATO nations combined.

The Soviet Union today is operating between 250 and 350 submarines, and is known to be building more at a furious rate. The Russians seized the German sub fleet, captured a number of German submarine scientists, and literally dismantled the German sub-building yards and rebuilt them behind the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet Union today is working at top speed to support its massive armies and its massive air force with a navy which can challenge our own for control of the seas. The masters of the Kremlin have learned the lesson that Hitler ignored. No matter how powerful his panzer divisions and air armadas, Hitler could not win—and was eventually beaten—because he could not gain mastery of the seas. This the Kremlin knows.

Our dominant seapower permitted the Military Sea Transport Service to land 72 million tons of arms, food, equipment, and other material for a fighting force in Korea; Navy supremacy assured delivery by sea of 3,100 tactical aircraft needed by our Air Force in Korea—and in addition 3 million tons of aviation gasoline and jet fuel. The Navy sealifted 4,750,000 men in Korean operations. The United Nations would never have been able to halt the Reds in Korea without American control of the seas.

In the past 4 years, the Navy carried 93 million tons of cargo safely. For me to imagine that immense tonnage is like taking the 93 million mile jaunt from the earth to the sun.

In World War II, the Navy—and American control of the seas—gave our carrier force the opportunity to sterilize the enemy's airpower at its home bases. Carrier planes shot down 12,000 enemy planes in World War II—3 out of 4 over, or on, enemy airfields.

In world war III, should it come, one of the Navy's principal tasks will be to sterilize the enemy's plane and sub bases—the two potential sources of danger to our major coastal cities.

In the atomic age—In the age of the so-called pushbutton war—the need for control of the seas is more imperative than ever. We could not fight a pushbutton war for long without the ability to transport from points over the world the more than 50 rare and critical items, ranging from agar and antimony to vanadium and zinc, needed to make our weapons.

The American fleet is the lifeline of the free world. Europe well understands that the specter of starvation would be hanging over the continent were the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries to lose control of the Atlantic and Mediterranean. It is apparent that the struggle in southeast Asia would be hopeless were the free world denied the use of the seas.

Loss of the sea—loss of American supremacy, the one sure margin we have today over our potential enemy—would mean the end of freedom in the world. Our Navy of tomorrow must be built fast enough and strong enough to prevent such a total disaster.

Illinois Audubon Society Opposes Echo Lake Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a letter from the Illinotis Audubon Society which opposes Secretary McKay's proposal ordering construction of Echo Lake Dam in Dinosaur Monument in Colorado:

ILLINOIS AUDUBON SOCIETY,
Chicago, Ill., January 10, 1954.

DEAR SIR: Our board of directors, of liberal and conservative persuasion, voted unanimously to oppose Secretary McKay's proposal ordering construction of Echo Lake Dam in Dinosaur Monument in Colorado.

We feel this dam is most indefensible.

We are opposed to it because:

1. It invades public domain.
2. Alternate sites are available.
3. It is excessively costly.
4. Legislation has been introduced to make this area a national park.

5. The dam will destroy areas of great scientific and educational value.

Our society is vigorously opposed to this order.

We ask you to oppose it with equal vigor. Further, we ask that you introduce our opposition into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

We are carrying on a strong educational campaign in our State against this unfortunate order by Secretary McKay. We shall not rest until it is reversed.

Very truly,

RAYMOND MOSTEK,
Vice President,
Chairman, Conservation Committee
(For the Board of Directors).

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided,* That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Congressional Committees and the Communist Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Congressional Committees and the Communist Danger," written by my colleague [Mr. JENNER], and published in the Church Militant.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND THE COMMUNIST DANGER

(By Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, of Indiana)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—As explained in the letter from the board of publication, we wrote Senator JENNER asking for an article in view of his forthcoming investigations in Boston, saying, "We think it would be interesting if you would develop such matters as whether a clergyman's spiritual concern for mankind gives him rights other than those of an individual citizen and whether the form of investigation should be different for the clergy than for other private citizens.")

There is a great debate going on in this country, especially in religious and educational circles, but it is a debate between two teams which never hear each other. Each side goes on repeating the arguments which convince its followers, but neither answers the arguments of the other side. It is like a debate between two teams separated by a thick glass wall.

I refer to the debate between the people who want Congress to find every possible way to rid this country of the Communist fifth column, and those who criticize the congressional committees dealing with communism because of something very wrong—but never expressly defined—with their "methods."

Congressional committees are accused of "persecuting the innocent," refusing to give the "accused" the safeguards of the American Constitution, pushing their way into matters that the FBI has under control, and so on and on.

It is a very serious thing to persecute the innocent, or refuse in the smallest degree to give accused men all the rights of our Constitution. This would properly be a serious charge against congressional committees except for one little stubborn fact. Congressional committees are not courts. The witnesses are not "accused" of anything by anybody. They are not in the slightest danger of imprisonment, fine or execution, because Congress has absolutely no power to punish any violations of the law.

Congress has one responsibility in meeting the threat of communism. It must find the areas in which the Communists are endangering our country by acts which have never in the past been made unlawful.

Where any acts have been prohibited as unlawful by local, State, or Federal legislative bodies, our attorneys general and our courts have the responsibility and all the powers necessary for dealing with them. But where the Communists have found new ways to break a nation apart and turn its people against each other—as they have—the courts and the prosecuting agencies of the executive branch cannot act. They can do nothing unless they have a law to sanction their actions.

It is the responsibility of Congress to explore the areas where new dangers threaten us, and write the laws which empower the executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government to act.

It is the responsibility of congressional committees dealing with communism to explore the areas in which we are faced with new dangers from Communist military and political conspirators, and write the law which will enable the Justice Department or other executive agencies, and the Federal courts, to protect us by punishing the criminals.

Now, in my opinion, this has nothing whatever to do with religion or the churches. They are not involved. I would go further and say that I canont imagine a situation in which Congress should have any responsibility for investigating any body or group which was in truth a religious congregation or a church.

Our people govern themselves, and there is no reason why Congress should interfere in the right of a church or a college or a fraternal order to manage itself, as it would not interfere in the right of a family to manage its own affairs.

Now we come to the real difficulty. Communists operate always behind a mask. If a Communist looked and acted like a Soviet agent, he would not influence one American in a million. But they never act or speak in their true role except in dealing with a few fanatical party members.

It is their practice, as they have admitted over and over again, to disguise themselves as good Americans—labor leaders, teachers, businessmen, editors of magazines and radio commentators. Of all the weapons they use, this skill in hiding their actions is the most dangerous.

The Communists have a clear and simple purpose. They are planning to destroy America, as the German General Staff used to plan to destroy France, except that they intend to break up our Nation from within before they attempt to attack us from without by force of arms.

The Communists realized early that they could never destroy the United States by attacking religion. So they decided to put their agents in the churches, to bend the work of the churches in the direction they wanted it to go. This is exactly the same as their chief reason for penetrating our Government offices. Espionage is not their main interest. It is far more important for them to have men so high up in the State Department that they can bend our policies to Soviet ends, than to have spies who merely steal or copy secret documents.

We have the testimony of ex-Communists and of FBI agents who worked inside the Communist apparatus, telling how the Soviet leaders planned and carried out their plan to penetrate the ranks of American clergymen, to get control of their publications, to influence their group activities, and finally to bend their religious doctrines.

They found three ways to penetrate the churches. Philbrick tells us how the Communists picked their brightest young men and sent them to theological schools. This is exactly what they do with training schools for teachers, and with Government service. That is how most of our top Communist agents entered the Federal Government.

A second group they exploited were clergymen who did not really have the faith to be spiritual leaders. When they found such men—and they were always looking for them—they told them not to leave the church but to remain in it, and help turn it the Communist way. Then the Communists helped put these people into important positions in church publications or youth organizations or other key places, by their skill in praising their secret friends or denouncing their opponents.

A third group—very small we all hope—were church leaders in difficulties of one kind or another. The Communists are always looking for men who need money, those in fear of exposure, or others who are not their own masters. They try to win or threaten them to help Communist plans.

The young Communists sent into the theological schools are not Christian clergymen, and they never could be. They are militant atheists committed to continuous undermining of Christianity. They are wolves in sheep's clothing.

The men who once were dedicated Christian leaders, but have fallen from grace, are another and more pathetic problem.

The answer is, however, the same in both cases. Every question of who should or should not hold positions of leadership or responsibility in a church body must be decided by the churches, just as the question of who should hold teaching positions in colleges is wholly the concern of the educational community. It is no business of any branch of Government to judge the leaders of our great self-governing private organizations.

We still have a problem. Congress is investigating known Communists, experts in communism, or agencies which are in fact part of the Communist apparatus. What shall we do, if, in pursuing inquiries which have nothing to do with the question of religion we come upon a clergyman who is a member of, or is a willing associate of, the Communist political machine?

Here again the answer is the same in religion as in education. Our subcommittee was not investigating education or any particular colleges. But if we found a man actively working with the Communist apparatus, who pretended to be a free and honest college teacher, we treated him like any other member of the Communist conspiracy.

If we should find a member of the Communist apparatus, which is actively engaged in destroying our country, who pretended to be still a true Christian clergyman, we would treat him as we treated any other witness.

We would not consider that his spiritual concern for mankind entitled such a man to any legal privileges, because we would not have any reason to hope he retrained any spiritual concern for anyone.

Christians cannot ask that Communist agents be permitted freedom to work undisturbed in the guise of clergymen, because,

if they do, the Communists will place more and more agents in religious groups at every point they can enter.

There is no real difference of opinion between congressional leaders and church leaders on the questions involved. Members of Congress have no slightest wish to investigate religion or the clergy. Church leaders can have no possible desire to protect Soviet agents masked as servants of God. Our people need all the wisdom of Congress and the church leaders, working in fullest harmony, to deal with an attempt to destroy both our country and our Christian faith.

Letter in Opposition to Proposed Constitutional Amendments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I have recently received an extremely intelligent and well-written letter from one of my constituents. This is the kind of letter that makes one proud of the constituents back home. Mr. Lambert's analysis of the proposal by the President regarding the extension of the right to vote to 18-year-olds and his discussion of the Bricker amendment are very penetrating, and I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAGNOLIA, ARK., *January 23, 1954.*
Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: I am writing to you on two matters of concern to our country, both are proposed constitutional amendments. In each instance I am going on record as disapproving these amendments, giving a few of my reasons, and asking you to use your influence and vote in the Senate against them both.

The State of Georgia says, "If you are old enough to fight, you are old enough to vote." This is specious reasoning, the fallacy of which on a national scale is unrealistic. If extended, this reasoning, applied in terms of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, enables one to say, "If you are too old to fight you are too old to vote" and thereby eliminates all those who are over 38 years of age.

Let us look at this for a moment. We currently draft young men up to the age of 26. The President wants those 18 and over to have the vote in each State by constitutional amendment. Does he realize that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's records show that the highest incidence of crime is among this age group? Does he realize that extension of the reasoning granting them the vote eliminates those over 38 years of age from voting—by reasoning, that is? Does he realize that by further extension office-holding in the United States can also be included? By this reasoning, Senator FULBRIGHT, you and your fellow Senators could only sit in the Senate from the ages of 30 to 38 years, a President and a Vice President could only serve from 35 to 38 years, and would have to resign (as would members of the other branches of the Government—Congressmen, Federal judges, etc.) when the age limit was reached. Now, extend this on into the 48 States and their branches of government.

Under the law, a person under 21 cannot ordinarily enter into a valid contract. Yet, by reducing the voting age to 18, he who cannot legally act for himself can contract to bind the country.

Under the Constitution, ours is a Federal plan of government. Yet, in one breath, Congress would destroy federalism by making voting requirements a national matter, and in the next breath it would so extend federalism as to make it inoperative—by undercutting the Executive's powers in foreign relations by the Bricker amendment.

I disapprove of this latter proposed amendment also. I do so on many counts but will mention only two of them to you now. In the first place, by it a basic safeguard which the people have from the Founding Fathers would be eliminated. I speak of the separation of powers and checks and balances concept. By the Bricker amendment we would usurp the Executive's independence and bring about a legislative supremacy concept which is alien to our political philosophy. Each branch of our Government needs to be in balance. We must not have supremacy by any one of these branches. If this Bricker amendment becomes a part of the United States Constitution, Congress would arrogate to itself virtual supremacy.

In the second place, this amendment would so extend federalism as to cause our country to cease to be a Federal Union and to become a weak confederation. It was the very weakness of the antecedent Confederation (1781–89) that had caused the building of constitutional federalism in our country.

By the doctrine of unanimity no sovereign countrn is bound by an international decision unless it completely agrees to it. Tell me, Senator FULBRIGHT, if each State of the Union must approve a treaty which the United States enters into, will other countries be dealing with a powerfud single country, or with 49 different countries, will these 49 different countries speak with the same authority and speed as the existing single country, and will the mobility and defense of the continent be as great as before?

Executory treaties need, like a performance contract, to have things to be done under them to be completed. While congressional appropriations, exchanges of goods and services between the signatories, and the myriad other matters treaties deal with are being carried out, is this treaty immutable? Read article VI again, sir. The treaty is not immutable, and a subsequent law passed by Congress can supersede it. It is only when everything that has been contracted to be done under the treaty has been done—when it is executed—that the treaty becomes a part of the supreme law of the land—before this it is not authoritative, for Congress can legislate to supersede or change it. Since Congress could always act if execution of the treaty were inimicable to the United States interests, what are the Bricker amendment sponsors concerned about?

The Founding Fathers wanted to make a strong country and at the same time wanted to protect the people from arbitrariness. Independent as the Executive is—and, you might check other countries to see where the responsibility for quick and decisive action in foreign affairs lies (then, be sure to think of France and EDC,) in the United States that executive independence has effective legislative and judicial checks upon it and its action which safeguard the people. By passing the Bricker amendment, its supporters would remove the protection of the separation of powers and checks and balances and the safeguards it gives the people, and would at the same time breed distrust in our foreign friends, destroy our basic Federal system, and initiate the alien principle of legislative supremacy with all of its evils into our country.

I urge you, then, Senator FULBRIGHT, to vote against the Bricker amendment. You do not now appear to be one of its sponsors. Your cogent influence upon your colleagues and your vote can help bring about its permanent defeat. Should it appear to have any chance of passing, inject into it an amendment that it must be ratified, not by State legislatures, but by special ratifying conventions in the States. Thus the people can have their chance specifically to defeat it.

I urge you also to use your influence and vote against extending the franchise to 18-year olds. That they can fight is a credit to their physical maturity and their realization of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship to protect, as their older brothers, fathers, and ancestors have protected, their country. In terms of the international education program which you originally sponsored, I feel sure that your educational philosophy holds that intellectual maturity is a more important basis for democratic citizenship and responsibility than physical maturity is. The catalytic action of physical maturity and duty and responsibility to defend the country physically does not bring about that intellectual maturity, nor the feeling of responsibility not to commit crimes, nor the political maturity to vote.

I would like to have a recorded vote taken in the Senate on both of these amendments so that the people can know how each Senator stood on these two matters.

Yours truly,

W. C. B. LAMBERT.

Toward Greater Tomorrows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid address delivered by our colleague the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] before the recent convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America. It is a firm statesmanlike affirmation of a national program for America which, if followed, would indeed mean "greater tomorrows" for the United States and for the American people. It is furthermore an outstanding statement of the program which unites the Democratic Party today in every State of the Union, north, south, east, and west. Coming as it does from one of the most brilliant young men in public life today, I commend it to the attention of the Senate as an excellent example of true Americanism and of the constructive role which a minority must play in a democracy.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD GREATER TOMORROWS

(An address delivered by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY to the Biennial National Convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, St. Paul, Minn., November 13, 1953)

It is a pleasure for me to address this great gathering of young men and women from all parts of the United States.

It is inspiring to see your enthusiastic spirit. It reaffirms my own faith in our country's future.

A meeting of young men and women dedicated to honorable political activity is fully within the American tradition. This is a young country. We are a Nation of youthful spirit—a spirit of ambition, of change, of progress, and mission.

A key to the secret of American strength and vitality is the blending of maturity that comes with experience, along with the spontaneity and vitality that comes from youth.

We Americans are proud of our youth. Thomas Jefferson, when only 32, gave to us the immortal creed of democracy, so brilliantly stated in the Declaration of Independence.

We know it is the young who inspire our Nation in every activity from the 4-H Clubs, the Community Chest, the scientific laboratory, the world of business and finance, and, yes, the area of politics.

Our task is not easy, but who would want it so? The thrill of life comes from its challenges—challenges that are met and overcome—problems that are solved and understood. Our vision of greater tomorrows may seem like a dream to those of lesser faith. But to us of this generation and this day and this time, it is only a call to action, an inspiration to do more magnificently and confidently that which others have done before us.

What is it that seems to set our country apart from others? In one phrase, it is our idealism.

We should be proud to be called idealists. An overdose of idealism in one's youth will stand us well in the days to come, when the pressures of life often turn those of lesser idealism and faith into skeptics and cynics.

The soul of democracy is its idealism. The black heart of totalitarianism is its cynicism.

Yes, youth is idealistic and proudly so. But we must also be realistic. The realism of which I speak requires that we know ourselves—our assets, our virtues, our liabilities, and our weaknesses. It is a realism that requires we know the community in which we live and work; the community of our immediate environment and the broader world community that encompasses all of us.

It is a realism which requires that we know our job and our responsibilities, that we make realistic appraisal of what we do and what we can do.

As delegates of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, you are young people destined for leadership in the political life of this Nation.

Leadership necessitates a spirit of confidence that springs from a knowledge and understanding; a sense of persistence and determination; all this is derived from a realization of the justice of our cause and the imperative necessity of victory.

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

Our country today faces the gravest challenges of its existence.

(1) We are threatened by a totalitarian tyranny from without.

(2) We face economic difficulties within. We are tormented by a small but insidious minority which seeks to hammer us into conformity by destroying our self-confidence and our belief in individual liberty.

And, unfortunately, we are saddled by a Republican administration in Washington which has done little—very little—to meet any of these threats.

Our responsibilities as Democrats would be great even if these threats did not exist. They are even greater because they do exist.

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

American politics is not a game; it is not a national sporting event to be entrusted to those who merely enjoy the competition.

American politics is a fundamental part of representative government. The two-party system represents the arteries and veins of the body politic. It is the connecting link between the theory and the reality of government.

Let me take a moment to make a few observations on the political party system of this country.

I shall use as my example the Democratic Party, the party of Jefferson, of Jackson, of Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman. These great men reveal the dynamic nature of our political party, its responsiveness to the needs of our Nation, its long line of life in the history of our country.

The great virtue of the Democratic Party—yes, indeed, its secret to life—is its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions to meet the needs of the people in this day, and in each and every generation.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNITY

We are not a party of rigid discipline. We do not ask from those who join with us blind obedience and disciplined reactions. Our party is not motivated by the frustrations of class warfare. It is a party of all the people. It has grown with this great Republic. It is a national party, bringing into its confines every section and every interest of this Nation.

Yes, our party embraces every section of the Nation, both geographic and economic. Within it there will be differences—differences based on economic development, social customs, and political practices.

This is to be expected—we live in a big and great country.

A truly national party must represent all interests, all regions and have that political mobility and flexibility that accommodates all.

Therefore, let us be tolerant with one another. Let us recognize that our differences are of degreee, not of basic principles. They are the differences that are normal and healthy, springing from a great and dynamic nation.

Let us be thankful we are not in a party narrow in vision, strict in discipline, molded into a stereotype pattern and gripped by theoretical doctrine that leaves no room for individuality. Whether we be from the North or the South, the East or the West, we have as our purpose and our objective the general welfare. A general welfare that leaves room for the welfare of a specific region or a particular area.

The Democratic Party is proud of the great leadership that has come from all sections of our country. We are proud of Speaker RAYBURN, of the House of Representatives, and of the Senate Minority Leader, LYNDON JOHNSON, both of Texas. There are no finer leaders in the Congress than Senators LISTER HILL and JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama. Let us not forget that the housing program of 1949 was sponsored by that able Senator from South Carolina, Senator MAYBANK. A real champion of the underprivileged and the small-business man is found in Senator RUSSELL LONG, of Louisiana.

Then there is the brilliant and effective Senator from Georgia, Richard Russell, who has again and again led the fight for a sound agricultural program. He is truly a friend of the Nation's farmers. In the field of foreign policy where could you find more able statesman than Senator George of Georgia, and the former Senator from Texas, Tom Connally. Add to this distinguished list the courageous and creative Senator from Connecticut, the late Brien McMahon, and his partner in the Senate, former Senator William Benton.

In the West we acclaim the leadership of former Senators Joseph O'Mahoney and Elbert Thomas, of Utah, Senators Hayden and McFarland, of Arizona, Senators Murray and Mansfield, of Montana, Magnuson and Jackson, of Washington. Then there is the one and only Alben Barkley, long-time leader in the Senate, Vice President of the United States, and Mr. America to everyone. Nor should we forget such great public figures as Senator Fulbright, of Arkansas, and former Senate Leader Joe Robinson of the same State.

When you add these illustrious names to such men as Senator LEHMAN, of New York, DOUGLAS, of Illinois, KEFAUVER and GORE, of Tennessee; HENNINGS and SYMINGTON, of Missouri; and Senators GREEN and PASTORE, of Rhode Island; KENNEDY, of Massachusetts; Senators KILGORE and NEELY, of West Virginia, it is obvious that the Democratic Party brings into its ranks leadership from every section of the country. Every area has contributed to our greatness. These are but a few of the great names that grace the threshhold of the Democratic Party.

Unity of purpose does not require unanimity. It needs only cooperation and accommodation. Let this convention dedicate itself to that spirit of cooperation and accommodation. Let its spirit of unity be directed toward the great national and international goals of freedom, peace, and prosperity.

A nation that split the atom should not belittle itself by splitting hairs. Let us set our eyes on goals and objectives worthy of our attention and our efforts. Let us light a candle of hope and direction, rather than curse the darkness of despair and disunity. We owe it to the party, to ourselves, and to the Nation to set a good example—to prove that the youth of our day can reconcile its differences without compromising principle.

Our work is cut out for us. The road ahead is not easy. We suffered a major political defeat in 1952 and we must recognize it as such. That defeat was not due entirely to the popularity of Eisenhower. If we were to compare candidates, and if one were to have made a political prophecy on the basis of candidates, victory would have been ours.

The stirring and brilliant messages of Governor Stevenson reawakened in America a new sense of political consciousness and morality. We drew strength from a great program of 20 years of accomplishment and a political platform designed to meet the challenges and needs of today and tomorrow.

The candid truth is that we had grown soft from repeated victories. Our organization had broken down in State after State, in city after city. We let those who would divide us consume our time in a fruitless effort of reconciliation.

The blaring propaganda trumpets of our Republican opposition filled our ears and our minds with doubt and defeatism. We were just plain out-worked and worked-over.

The Republicans were organized, and we were disorganized. The Republicans were confident and we were merely complacent. This we must change.

We can be proud that our candidate for the Presidency, Governor Stevenson, talked sense to the American people. The Republican nonsense has come home to plague them.

The people are reacting. Witness the results in the Ninth Congressional District of Wisconsin, and the key contests of New York, New Jersey, and Virginia—yes, even in California, where the Democratic candidate in a traditionally Republican district made a remarkable race.

The Republicans know from now on that it will take more than an Ike button to win an election.

I would not suggest that what happened in the recent election races necessarily means that it is all over but the shouting, in either 1954 or 1956.

I don't think that is the case. We have our work cut out for us indeed. We must rebuild the Democratic Party from the precinct to the city hall to the Statehouse to the Nation's Capital.

Effective political leadership calls for clearly stating the problems of today with practical solutions and answers at hand. It

calls for pointing to greater tomorrows, with confidence and optimism that the tomorrows will be better.

This is why youth is needed in politics. Because young men and women of this generation are not filled with the memories of yesterday. They are anxious for today and tomorrow. They seek to pioneer new frontiers, to win new victories.

The Democratic Party needs the political plasma of this youthful spirit. The leadership of our party welcomes such a transfusion. The door is wide open; the opportunities are unlimited. And there is plenty of room for everyone. We need not crowd out those who have carried the banner for years. Our responsibility is to help hold high that banner; to relieve tired hands, and to inspire willing hearts.

We dare not forget that the American people demand both a positive political program, and the leadership which can carry it through.

We must show that we can give them both.

They are certainly not getting either in Washington today.

REPUBLICAN FAILURES

The Republican administration in Washington has been like a Cadillac—a General Motors product you know with an engine at each end and going nowhere at 100 miles an hour.

It has been referred to as government by commission. It ought to be called government by omission.

There are those who have tried to apologize for the lack of leadership in the White House. Poor Ike, they say, is caught between the two wings of the Republican Party.

Well, he is caught. He is caught between those who would turn back the century, and others who would simply turn back the clock.

But, Mr. Eisenhower is the Republican President of the United States. He was the Republican candidate for election in 1952. He has made it clear that he thinks of himself as a Republican. And he gave a blanket endorsement to all Republicans running everywhere prior to the most recent elections.

He and the Republican Party cannot be separated.

I guess there are times when the President wishes he could be separated from his party—or should I say from his several Republican parties.

Now, the President is a kind man—considerate and friendly. However, when he joined into that hurried and harried political wedlock with the Republican high command, he apparently did not take the time to look over the list of political relatives. He had lived so long in the friendly environment of Democratic administrations he undoubtedly thought that all people in public life were such good folks. He had never attended a Republican caucus. He had read in the American press about American politics, but that press with its Republican objectivity, made most all Republicans appear as "kind hearts and gentle people."

The political honeymoon was such a delightful experience, but like other honeymoons, it had to come to an end. And then the President carried his Republican bride over the threshhold and met the family. Poor man. Such an experience should not have to happen to one who was so well treated by the Democratic Presidents.

The word is out that things are not just right in Washington. The crusade has yielded to confusion. Hardly a week passes without one Cabinet or sub-Cabinet member saying something which another is forced to contradict.

The President is constantly having to clarify, correct, or spell out something he said last week. He seeks to have harmony in a party of conflicts. When he gets in tune with the majority leader, he is out of tune with the Secretary of State. When he supports Ezra Taft Benson, his Midwest Republican contingent calls for the Secretary's scalp. When he condemns book burning, the smokescreen of congressional bonfires compels him to choke and run for cover—but the bonfires still burn. When he assures the public that inflation is checked, his own administration announces that the cost of living is at an alltime high.

I suggest the next time the Republican Cabinet has a song fest, that it adopt as the party's official anthem that great song of stage and screen, "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered."

DOMESTIC DISAPPOINTMENTS

If campaign promises were achievements, the Republican administration would today have the most glorious record in history.

They promised an expansion of social security programs, sound farm price supports, fair labor relations, decent housing, aid to small business, public power and other progressive programs which are the very fabric of American democracy today.

They have delivered only dismay and disillusionment to the great majority of Americans. The hopes and aspirations of November 1952 have turned to fears and frustrations in November 1953.

Imagine the GOP that had been criticizing the Democratic administration for 20 years, now confessing that it did not quite know what was wrong. Listen to the GOP orators crying for more time to unfold their program when they have had 20 years to prepare one.

The first 100 days of the New Deal administration brought forth an era of memorable legislation.

Mr. Roosevelt did not ask for more time. He acted. The Democratic majority in Congress cooperated.

I suggest that this Republican administration try to emulate this noble example. Nor did the committees of the Congress subpena the former President, Mr. Hoover. The dignity of the Presidential office was respected. Instead of trying to stir up confusion, conflict and diversion—the Democratic leadership acted to meet the real challenge and build solidly for the future.

The campaign speeches of 1952 have been filed away in the archives of the Republican National Committee.

It has remained the repeated duty of the Democratic Digest, like the Big Ben alarm clock, to firmly awaken our Republican friends to their daily tasks.

The budget still remains unbalanced. The Republican goal of a reduced national debt has been revealed in the request for raising the debt ceiling.

The promise of reduced taxes brings forth the proposal of a national manufacturers sales tax. The assurances that inflation would be stopped is met with the administration's announcement of an ever-rising cost-of-living.

The politically calculated GOP promise of full parity for American agriculture is being fulfilled by a critical decline in farm prices.

The farmer's share of the national income is now at 1932 levels.

With American agriculture in economic trouble, the administration says it is studying the problem.

But when it came to a policy of higher interest rates—a form of price supports for the money lenders, the commercial banks, the investment trusts, and the large insurance companies—there was no commission—no delay—but prompt and costly action. This administration can act if it wants to.

The promise of extension and expansion of social security has been turned over to a committee for study. And the chairman of that committee is a Congressman who in 1949 called social security unmoral.

The Republican promise for a better housing program again has taken the form of a committee. The housing agency is under the direction of a former Congressman who has a record of vigorous opposition to slum clearance and low-cost housing. It is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop.

Then listen to the Republican promise on TVA. The Republican candidate said: "If I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency. TVA will continue to preserve and promote the prosperity of this great section of the United States."

After his election, Mr. Eisenhower was reported in the press as having referred to TVA as "creeping socialism." Reactionary Republicans in Congress are quietly preparing for the early passing of the great Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. Eisenhower told the AFL national convention in New York last year that he stood for amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Today, Taft-Hartley is exactly where it was prior to Eisenhower's election.

The only man in his Cabinet with labor's interest truly at heart has left.

The equal voice which labor was promised is now no voice at all.

These, then are some of the many Republican promises—promises that have not been kept.

FOREIGN POLICY RECORD

I have spent a good deal of time talking about domestic economic issues. They needed to be talked about. But I should now like to turn to the Republican record in foreign affairs.

The Republican administration has, in general, been adhering to the broad foreign policy principles laid down by the Truman administration.

The Democrats in Congress have supported the great majority of the administration's foreign policy and economic aid programs.

In fact—on a number of key votes—we have saved the administration's foreign policy from being gutted by the Republican reactionaries and isolationists.

We have recognized that the foreign policies which Mr. Eisenhower took over from Mr. Truman represent the key to our national survival.

A PROUD DEMOCRATIC RECORD

History will record that the great decisions in the field of foreign policy made during the Truman administration represent American statesmanship at its best.

The creation of the United Nations, the establishment of the Greek-Turkish aid program, the relief and rehabilitation of the suffering millions following World War II—these achievements alone command the respect and the admiration of people everywhere.

The Marshall plan, a product of the great vision and understanding of Gen. George Marshall, supported and implemented by President Truman, represents an unprecedented development in international policy.

The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the extension of military assistance to our allies, the mutual-security program with its economic aid and technological and scientific assistance, buttressed by military aid, represents a national policy the likes of which no other nation has ever dared dream, much less execute.

These great accomplishments fall under the banner of Democratic leadership and administration.

The courageous decision to check Communist aggression in Korea may well be referred to as the turning point in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

It is an insult to the people's intelligence when our Republican opposition accuses the Democratic Party of being soft on Communists. Every move and step of our foreign policy has been directed to stop and roll back Communist infiltration and aggression.

The rebuilding of our defenses, the mobilization of world opinion against Communist totalitarianism—these were the results of great leadership. Then, add to this remarkable record such significant programs as the exchange of students, the program of information and truth, the generous gifts of food and fiber, and of unrelenting opposition to Communist brutality and aggression—the record becomes unmistakably clear.

Such are the policies that have served humanity in these difficult post-war years.

Yet, at every step along the way, a vocal minority of reactionaries and isolationists has harrassed our leadership, falsely accusing such great men as George Catlett Marshall and Dean Acheson—and heaped their abuse on Mr. Truman.

It was this firm foundation of foreign policy that was passed along to the Republican administration. As Americans and as Democrats, we stand ready in Congress and before the American public, to support it. We call upon President Eisenhower to lead the fight in strengthening these programs and policies; to chart new courses if they are found necessary. We implore the President never to yield to that harping, barking, criticizing minority in his own party that would wreck all that has been painstakingly established at such great sacrifice.

There is need for bipartisan support of our foreign policy. But that bipartisan support can come only when the President exercises leadership and rebukes and repudiates those who jeopardize our progress.

The President is the chief spokesman in foreign policy, nad he must speak out—speak plainly and convincingly.

There are signs of the times that should deeply concern us. The reduction in our Airforce in light of Soviet airpower and atom and hydrogen bomb developments.

Sometimes it appears as if the desire for tax reduction is greater than the desire for security and defense.

Our point 4 program is living an uneasy existence.

There is an uneasiness among our allies, an uncertainty. They wonder about the many conflicting statements that come from high places in our Government.

Are we going to store atom bombs in Spain, or aren't we? Who knows? Already there have been conflicting stories reported in our press.

Are we going to reduce our divisions in Western Europe? Who knows? One day maybe; the next day maybe not; and the third day we are are studying it.

Are we on friendly terms with India, or aren't we? One day high administration officials condemn her, and the next day the President greets Madame Pandit.

And what about foreign trade? The Soviet Union is signing one trade agreement after another. Our Secretary of State gives assurances to Congress that if the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is extended for 1 year no new agreements will be signed.

This is not leadership. This is not a policy. It is standing still and doing it in a world that moves relentlessly to an uncertain future.

If ever there was a time for firm and strong leadership it is now. We must not content ourselves with doing less or lowering our guard in the hope it will cost less.

We must not relax in our efforts to build a shield of strength that is impregnable. Then, from behind that shield of strength, let us move out to fight the war against poverty and disease, against ignorance and intolerance.

Our party has a solemn duty to be responsible. Our party has proven itself to be a friend of the American people in their hour of need and in their desire to progress.

We must also be a friend of freedom-loving people everywhere who seek the same goals and have the same desires. We have no apologies for being what some people call internationalists. Isolationism is nothing more nor less than mass selfishness, greed, and arrogance.

Internationalism, as we know it, represents the brotherhood of man and the dignity of the individual.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S CHALLENGE

I have spoken of broken Republican promises and of Republican blunders. I have spoken of foreign policy and of domestic issues.

I have spoken as a Democrat, to a Democratic audience.

But I have also spoken as an American seriously concerned for the safety of his country and for the future of our people.

I am a Democrat because I think ours is the party which can and will lead the way to peace and security and a better life for the American people.

As we Democrats approach the next electoral campaign, I think we need to keep in mind the grave challenge that faces us.

We want victory.

We can achieve victory.

But we must achieve it honestly, and in keeping with the great free traditions of our country.

Earlier I spoke briefly of the vicious few who seek to use the Communist threat to whip up our fears and thus to turn us into cringing creatures of conformity. I spoke of the threat to those liberties which are basic to the structure of American democracy.

The Democratic Party must stand firm against communism, and against any other force which seeks the destruction of our freedoms.

We must stand for freedom—freedom of speech, of press, of worship. And we must act accordingly.

We must win at the polls on a clear-cut platform dedicated to the dignity of the individual as well as to the social and economic progress of the group.

We must stand for freedom of conscience even as one of our party's founders stood for it. It was Jefferson who said, and I quote:

"It behooves every man, who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own."

To that, I would only say "amen."

Upon such principles our country was created.

For the furtherance of such principles our party is dedicated.

Only by adhering to those principles can the Democratic Party most usefully serve the country.

And only by exerting our leadership, our energy, and our intelligence toward wiping out the dark clouds of today, can we achieve the greater tomorrows that we all seek.

Probes by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Probes by Congress," written by my colleague [Mr. JENNER] and published in the Evening Star of September 17, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBES BY CONGRESS—REDS SEEN AS THE ONLY WINNERS IN MOVE TO CURB INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES

(By Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Constantine Brown is on vacation. His guest columnist for today is Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, of Indiana, with a stout defense of congressional investigating committee procedures.)

Congress necessarily does most of its work through committees. We have to deal with hundreds of subjects, and in that way a few men can do intensive work on each problem.

Recently we have heard many curious criticisms of congressional committees, especially those investigating subversive activities. We hear that our methods are unfair. We hear that the accused are denied their rights, and that American civil liberties are in some vague undefined danger. Anyhow, the story goes, the work of the congressional committees investigating communism is unnecessary because the FBI knows all about the Communists, and the accused should be given their day in court, and convicted, or cleared, as the evidence requires.

The American people have a deep sense of fair play. They do not want anyone harassed by congressional committees to make headlines, or pilloried to make a politician's holiday. If the charges against our committees are true, the condemnation by the voters will be swift and deserved. But are they true?

We can all agree that any one who is fairly charged with a crime should not be tried by rumor or hearsay. He should be brought into court where a judge can decide, according to the rules of evidence, whether he is innocent or guilty.

Congress has no power to punish lawbreakers. In fact if Congress even attempted to do so, it would be flouting the firmly established constitutional principle of the separation of powers. Congressional committees have no more right to prosecute a criminal than the Attorney General would have to amend a law, or the Chief Justice to act as commander of our Armed Forces.

The congressional committees which investigated racketeering were not prosecuting criminals. They knew that racketeers are always inventing new kinds of violence and fraud to deceive their victims, and they wanted to amend the law so these new attempts to escape the law would be illegal. The congressional committees investigating Communist activities are not prosecuting criminals. They know the Communists are always inventing new violence and fraud to deceive our people and escape the meshes of the law. They want to make sure even the newest trickery of the Communists will be punishable by the courts.

The line between executive responsibility and congressional responsibility is as clear as the line between the sea and the shore. The executive branch protects the Nation by searching out, arresting, and prosecuting individuals who break the written laws. Congress protects the Nation by exploring those areas where new dangers are arising, but are not yet forbidden by law. Our committees investigate how these new dangers can be met by drawing up new laws or strengthening old ones.

Totalitarian countries let the executive power write its own laws, and permit the police to decide what they think should be crime. It is our greatest civil liberty, that no matter how powerful our executive branch may be, with armies, police, and jails, our Government officials will not take one step unless their right to act is sanctioned by law.

Neither courts nor attorneys general nor all the power of the executive and judicial

branches can protect our country against new crimes, or new legal trickery by the enemies of the peace. Only Congress can do it.

Once that point is clear many things fall into place. No one called before a congressional committee is accused of anything. So he cannot possibly be denied the rights of the accused. The executive branch can arrest. The judicial branch can punish. Congress can do nothing but ask questions.

The men who come before our congressional committees are not the accused, but the witnesses. They have all the rights witnesses ever have. Witnesses have to testify whether they like it or not. Of course, racketeers do not like to be called before congressional committees to tell about waterfront killings. Of course, Soviet agents do not like to be called before congressional committees to tell whether they stole top-secret war plans. But Congress is not concerned with individual acts. It is concerned with finding dangerous loopholes in the law and closing them.

One witness before our subcommittee admitted that in taking Government jobs he had signed and sworn to 14 affidavits stating that he was not a member of any organization trying to overthrow our Government. Asked if he was a member of the Communist Party at the time, he declined to answer on the ground his answer would incriminate him. He did not enjoy testifying, but we were not trying to punish him. We needed the information to help rewrite the law on affidavits for Government jobs.

Another man who refused to answer the question on Communist membership had been in the OSS, our hush-hush wartime agency. Before that he had been a Soviet agent in the Spanish War, where innocent volunteers who woke up to the Communists' real plans were often executed. Asked if he had ever ordered the execution of Americans in Spain, the witness declined to answer under the fifth amendment, that is, on the ground that to answer would incriminate him.

His reputation may have been injured by that admission, but I do not think it is honest for writers of professional standing to suggest that such men were victims of publicity-seeking politicians, or that the methods of our committees injured them.

I suspect all this hullabaloo about congressional committees is merely a skillful attempt by propaganda artists to suggest the emotionally charged symbol of the hare and the hounds, and thus induce readers unconsciously to take the side of the hare against his cruel pursuers. Note how the criticism soon leads to suggestions that the methods of congressional committees be restricted to procedures proper in a judicial trial.

That is the heart of the matter. We cannot restrict the exploratory powers of Congress, the broad investigative powers of its committees, by a false analogy with the judicial branch, without stultifying the power of the people to defend themselves against new dangers in new forms. Who would gain but the Communists?

A Bill To Amend the Pension Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to revise and amend the laws relating to pensions.

In effect, it provides that for all veterans in the future who may qualify for the pension rolls their entitlement will be determined by the entitlement today applicable to veterans of World War I, World War II, and Korea. That means that a man must be disabled to a specified degree depending upon his age; must earn less than $1,400 income if single, or $2,700 if with dependents. And in addition, the veteran must generally be unemployable.

It should be emphasized that this bill would not, in any way or manner remove any person who is now on the pension rolls or who qualifies between now and the time the bill would become effective—1 year after the date of enactment. It would not raise the pension of any individual and neither would it lower the pension of any individual.

If there are any Spanish-American War veterans who have thus far not qualified for a pension, they will have 1 year from the date of enactment to so qualify under the present law.

Perhaps the most important feature of this bill is that it would place in one law nearly all of the applicable pension features as they relate to veterans of the Spanish War, World War I, World War II, and Korea. It should make for simplified administration in the Veterans' Administration and may possibly save some money. Certainly it will not involve the expenditure of any greater amount of funds than presently available for pensions.

I am hopeful that the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pensions will hold hearings on this matter in the near future, and that we may see its enactment prior to the adjournment of the 83d Congress.

The Ohio Axle-Mile Truck Tax Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, a crisis is developing in the motor transport business.

One of the 48 States has passed a law which, if carried to its ultimate possibility, would wreck the trucking industry, hurt other industries, and above all, cost American consumers incalculable sums of money. This State law could seriously disrupt our mobilization program and our defense preparedness in case of a national emergency.

I am referring to the axle-mile tax law enacted by the State of Ohio which levies a new tax on all commercial trucks with more than two axles for each mile traveled on Ohio roads. This is over and above all other Ohio motor vehicle fees and taxes paid by persons operating trucks within that State.

Already, repercussions have been felt in the form of retaliatory measures by surrounding and nearby States. Missouri, Wisconsin, Nebraska, North Dakota, Virginia, and Kentucky have made their motor carrier taxes applicable to Ohio trucks using their roads. This is a reversal of the reciprocity principle that Ohio trucks used to enjoy in those States and is an example of how Ohio's axle-mile tax law could touch off a chain reaction, resulting in an outrageous pyramiding of transportation costs.

I come from the very heart of the automotive industry. Hundreds of thousands of motor trucks are built every year in Detroit and Michigan, the motor capital of the Nation, and the automotive transport business is a vital cog in the manufacture and sales of these vehicles. Truckers transport approximately 90 percent of all automobiles manufactured in the United States from assembly plants to dealers. In 1952, trucks hauled 4⅓ million passenger cars out of the 5 million produced.

More than 6 million persons are employed in manufacturing, selling, servicing, and operating motor trucks in the United States. Trucks haul more than 11 billion tons of goods a year, or more than three-quarters of the total tonnage transported by all forms of transportation.

If Ohio's unfair and short-sighted axle-mile tax is allowed to remain and other States continue to retaliate by cancelling reciprocal tax benefits, it takes no soothsayer to predict that a cataclysmic outcome is in store for the trucking industry and American consumers. As truckers refuse to cross Ohio boundaries, and Ohio truck operators are discouraged from operating in other States, it is easy to see that thousands of persons who have depended on trucks will be out of work.

Historically there is a precedent which would indicate Ohio's axle-mile tax law is unsound. In 1951 the State of Illinois enacted such a law and met stiff opposition from consumers and truckers alike. Two years later, under tremendous voter pressure and the opposition of hundreds of companies and the Illinois trucking industry, the Illinois Legislature repealed the law.

In my opinion, Congress should consider the possible need for Federal action ahead of the catastrophe that may confront us. To this end my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. AYRES] has introduced a resolution—House Resolution 407—authorizing the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the barriers to the free flow of interstate commerce on the highways resulting from enactment of a unilateral State tax law and a refusal to grant reciprocal exemption to out-of-State truckers.

I again wish to announce my support of this resolution. I sincerely hope that the Rules Committee will report favorably on the proposal and that the House will speedily approve the investigation. We must act with dispatch and determination to save the system of reciprocity which has prevailed for more than 25 years among all our States. The matter is of utmost importance to the American consumer and the Nation as a whole.

[From the Washington Daily News of January 25, 1954]

GOVERNORS BACK AWAY FROM TRUCK-TAX BATTLE

(By Lowell K. Bridwell)

ATLANTA, GA., January 25.—A plan to force a showdown fight between States over truck taxes was falling apart here today.

This become evident after the executive committee of the Governor's Conference voted to hold a special meeting of all 48 governors in Washington in the spring—probably in April—to discuss highway taxation policies.

Seven governors decided fights among States over truck taxes and reciprocity were becoming so serious they are threatening the highway taxation programs of the States and the welfare of the trucking industry.

The executive committee members, including Conference Chairman Dan Thornton, Governor of Colorado, said the States must settle the fight themselves or risk the Federal Government stepping into the truck-tax field.

A committee on 10 Southern States at first refused to heed the hopes of the governors for a calm discussion of the problem without "rows, controversy, or retaliation." But, 1 by 1, the States indicated they were backing off from a plan for immediate action.

IT STARTED IN OHIO

The crisis was brought on when the 10-State group decided to declare economic war on Ohio because of a new Ohio tax charging all truckers for the use of Ohio's highways—regardless of what State they were from. The 10-State committee demanded that truckers from the 10 States be exempted from paying Ohio tax.

Ohio refused to grant any exemptions and the 10 States announced they would cancel all reciprocal truck-tax agreements with Ohio on March 1. This would mean Ohio truckers would have to buy license tags and pay other taxes in each of the 10 States in which they might operate.

The Governor's executive committee meeting was called at the request of Ohio Gov. Frank J. Lausche in an attempt to stop an economic war which, he said, would be the same as inviting the Federal Government to step in.

Governor Lausche charged that the crisis was brought on by the trucking industry which, he said, propagandized the 10-State committee into threatening action against Ohio. He said it was done in an attempt to force Ohio into granting exemptions under the new axle-mile tax.

Advantage of an Open Mind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WINT SMITH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, Hon. Alf M. Landon, of Kansas, delivered a speech yesterday in Topeka, Kans.

I believe the Members of this body will find his approach to certain definite problems most interesting.

Coming as Mr. Landon does from the Middle West, I do not believe anyone can read his speech and say "rank isolationism." In all probability the next great debate will be on the question of the admission of Red China into the United Nations. No one yet has come out openly for this; but already signs are beginning to appear above the horizon; and, of course, these hazy streamers of recognition come from the internationalists. But Mr. Landon's speech is worth reading:

The speech follows:

What might be known as the World War I generation is living in the midst of its fourth world crisis. The second, of course, was the cataclysmic depression which swept the world as a result of World War I. The third was World War II. The fourth is the present high-tension world, living and doing business in the prospect of a touch-and-go third world war. Needless to say, in order to avoid that catastrophe, we are faced with constant momentous decisions. That, in my judgment, requires an open public mind on many explosive, emotional issues now confronting America's new and unsolicited leadership of the free world. There is an obvious advantage to all the free world if the leaders of a country in America's position are not fettered by a costly rigidity in foreign policies by hallelujah thinking on the part of their public at home.

I have said on many occasions that the Secretary of State had in his hands the strings affecting America's national interest and that he should know better than anyone how, if you pull one string, it affects the rest.

To illustrate concretely the importance of the open mind, about a year ago, the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions passed a resolution in favor of the admission of Red China to the United Nations. Some months ago, a bypartisan organization composed of principally Republican and Democratic leaders known as the Committee of One Million was formed to oppose the admission of Red China to the United Nations.

Now, if public sentiment is built up for either policy, it would tend to freeze our position and handicap our negotiators. Any administration under any system of government must take into consideration public sentiment at home. Even the Soviet is not entirely immune. In the Communist countries, the cruel tyrants of the Kremlin are afraid to allow ideas from the free world to get through the Iron Curtain. The slightest details of private lives and remarks are regularly reported by the secret police. Anyone attempting individual thinking is immediately branded as a Trotskyite, tortured and condemned to the slave camps in Siberia.

While we do not have slave camps in America, our public officials in Washington seem to have a reluctance about being sent back home by voters.

Of course, it goes against my grain to admit the Chinese Communist satellite regime to the United Nations, but I do not believe we should nail ourselves down one way or another on this or any other question involving our foreign policy. There was a time when we were known as a Nation of Yankee traders. We certainly are not acting that way now, on this and so many other questions.

It seems to me good sense not to show our cards in the poker game such as we are playing in the world today. In the end, we may decide one way or another whether Red China should or should not be admitted to the United Nations. But we certainly should not take an irrevocable position while we are in a maneuvering and dickering stage. That is only elemental horsesense. But horsesense is the one thing that we want our leaders to use.

I refused to sign the petition against the admission of Red China to the United Nations. I like the idea of its admission as little as anyone, but my belief is that one cannot base a national foreign policy on likes and dislikes, and it seems to me that this matter is one of the bargaining points in which we hold the cards.

Therefore, I am concerned over the emotionalism that leads to a million signatures of protest and to the resolution of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions on a matter of international policy that is so grave, so complicated, and so difficult.

I believe that all the decisions should be made with long-range objectives in mind, and strictly on a quid pro quo basis for the United States of America. Emotional thinkers out to reform and rebuild a new world have already brought America to the brink of ruin with their give-away policies.

Aside from this national habit of surrendering our bargaining position by building up public sentiment in this country on foreign issues—one way or another—so as to weaken the hands of our negotiators, are other big questions. On them I do not see my way through to the end, and I do not know of anyone else that really does.

Take this issue of trade with the Communist countries, and in particular Red China. Early in the Korean war, I urged an embargo enforced by a naval blockade, if necessary, on all trade with China.

Assuming that fighting in Korea has ended and with the increasing desire among all the western democracies to trade with the slave states, I see no practical possibility of restricting that trade in nonstrategic goods to the extent that it was achieved prior to the truce. In attempting that, we would only create additional discord with our allies.

I recognize that in this day and age, there is a very dim line between strategic and nonstrategic materials. Also, increasing trade in so-called nonstrategic goods may mean an increasing amount of definite and clear-cut strategic materials will be purchased by the slave states.

It does not make much sense to me for us to maintain an embargo on all exports to Red China while the rest of the free world is shipping all kinds of goods and materials to all the slave world. As a practical matter, I have no doubt that this trade will expand. Still further—the Japanese are urgently in need of the Chinese market, and if they are deterred from developing it are likely to be a long-time burden on us or else be afflicted with economic depression accompanied with political instability.

However, I again emphasize that the possible relaxation of trade restrictions should be used as a bargaining point in connection with settlements in other points of differences with Peking and Moscow. For example, first in any discussion must be the release by Peking of the 900 American boys still imprisoned in violation of the Korean armistice terms.

There is something to be said in defense of the policy of our allies in carrying on trade of nonstrategic goods with the slave states.

If—as the old saying goes—trade follows the flag, it is equally true that ideas follow trade.

The terrible tyrants of the Kremlin will attempt by inhuman torture and murder to stamp out any infection of the blessings of freedom. But some knowledge is bound to seep through the Iron Curtain in the course of any considerable trade.

To me the principal advantage in revival of trade with the slave countries is that it cracks the Iron Curtain to some extent so that their crushed masses can see the infinitely greater advantages of life under the capitalistic system.

For a generation Communist propaganda has taught the inevitable collapse of the decadent democracies—despite the billions of tons of equipment we gave them to prevent their defeat in World War II. Our left-wing Government of those days made no attempt to label our magnificent gifts as made in America or to inform the Russian masses where they came from. We permitted Com-

munist generals to set the stage and make movies showing the Japanese surrendering to them.

We have been spending millions of dollars to counteract all that vicious propaganda.

But seeing is believing. That is the best way of all. Let our goods display to the exploited masses behind the Iron Curtain the high standard of living and a true understanding of the western democracies, and by the same token the weakness of their own economy under communism.

Therefore, doubting the practical possibility of restricting increased trade with the slave countries, I believe it is important the free countries insist that the goods should be so labeled that all will know their origin.

I doubt if the new trade relations will mean any improvement in diplomatic relations. The Soviet has not shown any change in its plans to conquer all the free peoples of the world.

There is, however, another probable gain in trade relationships with the slave countries. In and out of all the slave countries are sizeable patriotic national groups eagerly awaiting the opportunity to lead their oppressed, down-trodden, and underprivileged masses of humanity in revolt against their Communist rulers.

Trading through the Iron Curtain will facilitate to some degree contacts between those groups. They should be encouraged in every way by the western democracies to plan and work for the liberation of their countries from Communist slavery. We must always bear in mind the effect of our policies on those resistent groups.

A change in trade policies does not necessarily mean that it is the forerunner of our diplomatic recognition of the present Peking Communist statellite regime as a government, or to our consent to its admission in the United Nations.

We must maintain our bargaining position until Mao's imperialistic gangster regime and the Kremlin mobsters at his elbow show more desire for world peace than they have so far in the Korean truce negotiations, and than I think will be shown by the Kremlin at the Berlin Conference that is meeting today.

That is why I like Secretary of State Dulles' recent speech on foreign policy. He outlined what I think is a sound and basic concept for our position in international affairs. That is, we are willing to negotiate for settlement of points of differences with anyone, any time, any place. But that does not mean that we believe either the Peking Communist regime or the Moscow Communist regime is there to stay for long. Diplomatic discussions do not mean that we accept the status quo, or that we are going to let down on our defense program.

Instead of Being an Asset to National Defense, the St. Lawrence Seaway Would Be a Frozen Liability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the statement by advocates of the St. Lawrence seaway that its construction is justified as being necessary to our national defense is discussed briefly in the following editorial appearing in the January 24, 1954, issue of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer:

UNITED STATES FROZEN LIABILITY—THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Those of us who live on the Eastern Seaboard have been derided as provincial for objecting to the St. Lawrence seaway on the ground that it would injure business, commerce, and employment in this area.

Let us pass over the fact that the seaway itself is a provincial project aimed to benefit one section, the Great Lakes region, at our expense. Let's examine the seaway on the two broadest claims of its sponsors:

One, that it wouldn't cost much. Two, that it is vital to national defense.

There has been some mighty fancy figuring by the seaway lobby. In a pamphlet just issued it gives these estimates:

Total United States investment.. $95, 780, 475
Total Canadian investment..... 190, 258, 125

Sounds cheaps, doesn't it. But back in 1948—when prices were much lower—the United States Army Engineers estimated that the cost would be $800 million over-all. And for only a 27-foot channel.

Obviously, an effort is being made to fool the American people with this $95,780,475 figure. But the biggest deception of all is giving our people the idea that a 27-foot channel would be worthwhile. It wouldn't.

Estimates show that only about 4 percent of United States flag ships could operate efficiently to foreign ports over a 27-foot seaway. The purpose in talking in terms of a 27-foot channel is to get one foot in the door. Then, when the 27-foot channel proves inadequate, there will be a new drive for an estimated $4 billion to dig a 35-foot channel. This would also necessitate deepening almost all the harbors along the route.

Would the seaway promote national defense?

We have before us a brochure put out by the seaway lobby. It admits that the seaway would be frozen at least 5 months of the year. It simply says: So are the Great Lakes.

Could a seaway thus rendered useless almost half the year be of much benefit to national defense? Would an enemy wait until winter was over to attack? To the contrary, as Senator Lodge has said:

"One well-aimed bomb could very easily put the proposed St. Lawrence seaway out of commission for at least a year, perhaps 2 years. Then what would happen to all those millions of tons of cargo * * *?"

Instead of being an asset to national defense, the seaway would be a frozen liability.

We hope the House of Representatives will do what the United States Senate should have done: Defeat this boondoggle.

The Soil Conservation Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said pro and con over the past several months since our Secretary of Agriculture announced the reorganization of the Soil Conservation Service.

I have now had sufficient time to analyze that reorganization program, how it is working out in practice and in dollar savings in needless expenditures, such as the several million dollars which have up to this time been expended annually for maintaining regional offices which had outlived their usefulness. Since coming to Congress I have taken an active, continuing interest in the preservation of our priceless soil, the good work of the Soil Conservation Service and by the farmers of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I now am happy to go on record in support of Secretary Benpreservation of our priceless soil, the compliment him for same, and, under unanimous consent, insert the following in the RECORD:

STRENGTHENING AMERICAN AGRICULTURE THROUGH RESOURCE CONSERVATION

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, November 23, 1953.

In view of the forthcoming midcentury conference on resources for the future, it is my earnest desire to set forth Agriculture's views and goals regarding resource conservation.

The Department of Agriculture recognizes a strong national program of soil, water, forest, and range conservation as one of the basic necessities of American agriculture. The demands upon our agricultural resources will grow heavier in the years ahead.

The statement on the following pages summarizes what we believe people want in a dynamic national program of resource conservation.

I hope these proposals will stimulate full and frank discussion. Comments and suggestions will be most welcome.

EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture.

Foundation of the national economy

The soil, water, range, and forest resources of the United States are the foundation blocks in the structure of our national economy. From that base comes our food, most of our clothing, paper and other fiber, and much of our shelter.

How well we protect and improve these resources in the years ahead will have a direct bearing on our standard of living in the towns and cities as well as on the farms and ranches.

Rising demands on land resources

The long-term needs of American agriculture are to reduce production costs, to improve quality, and to expand markets. The effectiveness with which these needs are met will depend in a large measure on how well we care for and improve our soil, water, range, and forest resources.

The demands upon agriculture will grow heavier. By 1975 we shall likely need the production equivalent of an additional 115 million acres of improved cropland to keep pace with the demands of a growing population. Present estimates are that we will fall short of that requirement by as much as 70 million acres. We do not have enough new land to fill that need.

Must increase per-acre yields

To meet rising demands, we shall have to depend mainly on increasing the per-acre yields on our crop and pasturelands, and on our range and forest lands.

We know this can be done. The best farmers in all parts of the country are making their soils produce about double what the average farmer is producing. A major job ahead is to narrow that gap.

MODERN RESOURCE CONSERVATION HAS BROAD MEANING

Progress made in learning solutions

In recent years we have learned a great deal about the causes of soil, watershed, forest, and range deterioration. We have learned a great deal about methods to combat these problems.

Modern conservation involves proper land use, protecting the soil against erosion and

other forms of deterioration, correcting deficiencies of lime and plant nutrients, rebuilding eroded and depleted soils, protecting and improving forests and farm woodland, improving grasslands, conserving moisture for crop use, reducing flood and sediment damage, improving the quality and regularity of water yields, installing proper agricultural drainage and irrigation, and increasing crop yields and income—all at the same time.

Combinations of practices required

It means putting into use on the land combinations of good practices—combinations fitted to the soil and water resources of each piece of land, and to the human resources and capabilities of each landowner or operator.

The practical attainment of conservation objectives involves the use of scientific knowledge in soils, engineering, agronomy, forestry, biology, geology, economics, and other agricultural and related sciences.

Use and treatment must fit the land

Modern resource conservation means putting land to the uses for which it is best suited and applying the necessary practices to prevent deterioration, increase production, and build up soil productivity. It means making soils yield abundantly year in and year out for an indefinite period. It means a high-level sustained yield from forests. It means a more dependable supply of clear water in our streams.

The needs of the people

In all this, modern programs for resource conservation take into account the problems of the people who use the land in making a living or in getting a return from the land as they strive to meet ever-changing consumer needs. The job we are doing in resource conservation involves human relationships, economic factors, and public welfare, as well as physical conditions.

Makes use of other technologies

Resource conservation is not fully effective without the wise use of machines, the breeding of better animals, the development of new and improved plant varieties and new chemicals, and improved technology in the utilization and marketing of the products.

Modern conservation geared to watersheds

Modern resource conservation further includes the planning and treatment of entire watersheds. That job is to gear together the management of crop, range, and forest lands, and the treatment of watercourses in the upper watersheds to minimize the damage of floods and sedimentation, and to improve the quality and regularity of water supplies. In watershed-protection programs, local people and organizations, both on the farms and in the towns and cities must team up with local, State, and Federal Governments to share the cost and work out improvements to benefit them all.

LOCAL PEOPLE HAVE FINAL RESPONSIBILITY

Everyone has a stake

Soil and water problems are urgent and their solution is difficult. The scientist and the legislator, the technician and the businessman, the educator and the sportsman—each has an important part of the job. All the people have a vital stake in the success of the national resource-conservation program.

Soil conservation districts

The final responsibility, however, for carrying out a sound, vigorous program of conservation rests with the people who own and operate the land. Soil conservation districts, and other groups, locally organized and locally directed, provide effective mechanisms by which the conservation program can be locally managed and kept close to particular local needs. Teamwork is the key to a successful, productive program that will build and maintain strength in the land.

GOVERNMENT MUST SUPPLEMENT LOCAL EFFORTS

Research and education essential

It is the responsibility of Federal and State agencies of government to bring to farmers, ranchers, and other landowners the kind of assistance in resource conservation they cannot provide for themselves.

In Federal research agencies and State experiment stations we are constantly finding better ways to protect and improve land resources. Through extension services, in vocational agricultural programs and other organizations, information and training are given to farmers and ranchers so they may profit quickly from the results of research.

Technician joins farmer in planning

An effective conservation plan for any farm is unique for that farm. In developing and applying the plan farmers need skilled technical assistance in fitting and applying the technology of soil and water conservation to the individual farm.

Credit and cost sharing

A well-planned program for resource conservation on a particular property often comprises practices requiring considerable capital investment or temporary economic sacrifices. Therefore, public and private credit better geared to the repayment potentials of conservation practices would aid materially on many farms.

Many farms and ranches urgently need conservation practices that will bring enduring benefits to the public as well as to the individual landowner. In such instances, cost sharing by the Government—particularly in the solution of community or watershed problems—may be necessary if the work is to be done in time to prevent further or irreparable loss of land resources.

USDA's part

It is the overall responsibility of the United States Department of Agriculture to make fullest and most economical use of basic technical data and knowledge for the Nation and for its varied resource areas by integrating technical assistance, cost sharing, and such other phases of conservation as may be in the national interest.

THREE MAIN RESOURCE-CONSERVATION JOBS ARE AHEAD

1. Accelerate both research and education so that improvements in agricultureal resources are obtained and passed quickly on to those who can use them.

2. Improve technical aid to landowners and operators and help speed up the survey of soil resources and the planning and application of needed conservation measures on the farm, ranch, and forest lands of this country—acre by acre and watershed by watershed.

3. Encourage local leadership such as is provided by soil-conservation districts, watershed organizations, and other community and neighborhood teams of people.

Conserving our resources is high-priority business for all

It will be our purpose to strengthen in every way possible the resource-conservation activities of the Department of Agriculture, including recommendation to the Congress of such legislation as may be considered necessary to improve that work.

Conserving and improving our soil, water, range, forest, and wildlife resources is high-priority business for all of us.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, October 27, 1953.

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, SOIL-CONSERVATION DISTRICTS.

GENTLEMEN: Enclosed is material regarding the proposed reorganization of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Since you are so vitally concerned with soil conservation, you will naturally be especially interested in the proposal to reorganize SCS. Therefore, we want particularly to call your attention to the material entitled "Explanation of the Reorganization of the SCS" and the "Questions Concerning the Proposed Reorganization of the SCS and the United States Department of Agriculture's Answers Thereto."

Because of the great amount of confusion caused by the wide dissemination of false and misleading information, we have prepared this explanatory material in order that you might have accurate information firsthand.

We welcome your suggestions and any questions you may have about the proposed reorganization.

Sincerely yours,

EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary.

EXPLANATION OF REORGANIZATION OF SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., October 27, 1953.

President Eisenhower's July 31, 1953, message to the Congress relative to conservation and improvement of natural resources gave emphasis to soil and water conservation, to watershed management and flood prevention, and the place of soil-conservation districts in carrying out the program. This message provides guidelines which I am following in carrying out the Department's responsibilities in the Nation's soil-conservation program.

The President submitted, and the Congress approved, Reorganization Plan No. 2 for the United States Department of Agriculture. Under this authority the Department of Agriculture has prepared proposed reorganization plans to bring about greater efficiency and better service to farmers and the general public.

These plans propose certain changes in the Soil Conservation Service organizational structure to improve services to the districts. There is no intent to dissolve or destroy the Service, nor to change our relationship to the soil-conservation districts. It has never been our intention to place the SCS or any of its functions in the Extension Service. I told congressional committees during the past session of Congress that:

1. "I have no desire to see them (Soil Conservation Service and Extension Service) combined."

2. "These agencies have different functions and therefore the work ought to be done in separate organizations, separate agencies."

3. "I feel that the Soil Conservation Service must continue. It is an important one."

I am fully aware of the need for conserving and improving our agricultural resources. It is my intention that the SCS shall continue as a separate agency of the Department and that it shall continue to serve farmers through technical aid to soil-conservation districts. The Department of Agriculture has signed a memorandum of understanding with each soil-conservation district. We shall continue the cooperation provided for in these memoranda.

Our objective is to place on the State conservationists the responsibilities now in the regional offices for assistance to farmers in meeting their conservation problems.

The State offices of the Soil Conservation Service would be strengthened by the addition of technical personnel including a State conservation engineer, a soil scientist, and a soil conservationist. In addition, other specialists would be located at appropriate points throughout the country from which they can best work and serve in problem areas covering more than one State. No change is contemplated in technical person-

nel now largely in area offices assigned to work units.

In the initial stages of getting the techniques of soil and water conservation understood and accepted, regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service provided supervisory services and administration of State programs necessary to get the program under way. In the 18 intervening years since the Soil Conservation Service was established, great accomplishments have been made in building up competent staffs in all the States, and soil-conservation districts have been organized in practically all of the agricultural areas of the United States.

Creating an awareness of the need for conservation has been well done. The wholehearted interest and a general effort in advancing the soil-conservation movement is already evident in the work of the soil-conservation districts and in the support given by the farm press, radio, advertising media of commercial interests, and many other organized groups. Most important of all, of course, is the competence of the farmers and ranchers who are demonstrating on their own land the values of soil- and water-conservation work.

The need for regional supervisory offices has, therefore, diminished to a point where it is now more efficient for the State conservationist and his staff to assume full responsibility for the program in the State under the general policies of the national program. These State SCS offices, which have been a part of the organization for years, are staffed with highly qualified personnel headed by the State conservationist. Technical personnel will be added to each State office.

The watershed and flood-control projects will continue to be emphasized. Where these projects involve more than one State, the work on them will be coordinated. So important is this work that every effort will be made to get under way and complete as soon as possible the previously authorized projects.

The wise use of our agricultural resources is essential to our national strength. We need, and must have, a constructive program of flood prevention, sound land, forest, and water management, with greater emphasis on local leadership. It is important that farmers band together in local soil-conservation districts and watershed associations, and that they take the initiative in protecting and developing our agricultural resources. The work of land and water conservation is a major task now and for the future.

EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE AND THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE'S ANSWERS THERETO

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., October 27, 1953.

1. Question. What effect would the reorganization plan have upon soil conservation work on American farms?

Answer. We are undertaking to streamline the functions of the United States Department of Agriculture in as many areas as is possible. For example, we propose to eliminate the regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service because we believe the most effective line of operation is from the Federal Government directly to the States, counties, and local communities where the service is rendered. Technicians would be placed in the States in order to be nearer to the individual farms where the soil conservation work must be done. We doubt if farmers over the country will miss the regional SCS offices. Like farmers, we are interested first in conservation of the soil—all that we can get for the dollars spent—and not so much in maintaining more Government offices.

2. Question. Do you plan to consolidate the Soil Conservation Service with the Agricultural Extension Service?

Answer. No.

3. Question. Do you plan to turn over to the Agricultural Extension Service any functions or activities now carried on by the Soil Conservation Service?

Answer. No.

4. Question. Do you plan to contract with the Land Grant Colleges for technical assistance to Soil Conservation Districts?

Answer. No. Technical assistance now being supplied from the regional office would come from the State SCS offices and Washington SCS office.

5. Question. What would be the status of the State conservationist in the proposed reorganization?

Answer. No change is proposed in the title of the State conservationist. This position would continue to be a career civil service job. Additional responsibilities would be assigned this position. He would report directly to the head of the Soil Conservation Service. The State staff would be strengthened, and provision would be made for assistance in special technical fields and supervision of watershed projects which cross State lines.

6. Question. What effect would the reorganization have on Soil Conservation districts?

Answer. There would be no change in the services to the soil conservation districts. With the responsibility for the program in the State conservationist, direction of activities within the States would be more responsive to local needs and thus result in more effective service to the districts. By putting the technical control under the State SCS office, the program would be more closely alined with soil conditions within the State and better adapted to the livestock and cropping pattern.

7. Question. How would the technical services to districts be handled? Would the reorganization reduce the number of technical personnel?

Answer. Reorganization would not necessarily affect the number of technical personnel available to districts. However, as in the case of any Government activity, the level of operation for the next fiscal year will be governed by funds available. In view of the necessity to work toward a balanced budget, it may be necessary to effect further economies in the Soil Conservation Service as well as in other agencies of Government. No final determination has as yet been made.

8. Question. Would there be a reduction in force in the Soil Conservation Service?

Answer. The total personnel in the Soil Conservation Service consists of 14,029. Of these, 11,824 are in work units or directly serving the 2,570 soil conservation districts. In area offices serving more than one district, there are 660 employees, not counting technicians serving work units. In State offices there are 449; in regional offices, 892; and in the Washington office, 204. A great deal has been said about the technical specialists in the regional offices. Actually, there are only 300 such persons. Most of these would be transferred to the State and to Washington. The economics in reorganization would permit some reduction in force. However, the total change in numbers of personnel would depend on the level of funds available for 1955.

9. Question. Would some of the area offices within the States be eliminated?

Answer. There would be some consolidation of area offices. Such action would be consistent with and a continuation of past policies and practices to improve the efficiency of operation and is not necessarily a part of this reorganization. Consolidation of some area offices within the States is under study for the purpose of getting a larger percentage of activities allocated to work units.

10. Question. In what way would State offices of the Soil Conservation Service be strengthened?

Answer. These would be strengthened by the addition of some technical personnel, as well as additional personnel to handle administrative services required for budget, personnel, and fiscal matters. In most States the State conservationist would have a three-man technical staff—a conservation engineer, a State soil scientist, and a soil conservationist. He would have the services of plant technology field specialists in agronomy, range, planting materials, forestry, biology, and research liaison who would each serve a number of States. They would be attached to the Washington office of SCS and would be located in the different areas of the country. Seven cartographic laboratories will be maintained to serve the cartographic needs of the various State programs. Seven field servicing units would be maintained to provide engineering design and watershed planning services to the flood prevention and watershed programs in States.

11. Question. How would watershed and flood prevention work be handled?

Answer. Technical personnel would be located in the field to serve these projects. These persons would be attached to the Washington office, but many of them would be located where the Service maintains cartographic laboratories. They would give technical assistance on this work as well as other phases of the soil and water conservation program.

12. Question. Were the reorganization proposals discussed with individuals and groups outside the Department before they were announced?

Answer. Yes. These include the Senate Agriculture Committee, the House Agriculture Committee, the Senate and House Subcommittees on Agriculture of the Appropriations Committees, representatives of the farm organizations—The National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union, and the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives—the National Agricultural Advisory Commission, representatives of the land grant colleges, officials of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, commodity groups, representatives of the President's Committee on Reorganization of the Government, representatives of the Budget Bureau, the Civil Service Commission and many others both inside and outside Government.

13. Question. When would this reorganization be put into effect?

Answer. It will require several weeks to work out sufficient of the detail before a start can be made in actually implementing the reorganization. We will welcome any suggestions during this period that people may have regarding their ideas as to the type of organization that would best serve the farmers of the Nation.

Man of the Year: Robert A. Taft

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD my state-

ment of December 6, 1953, nominating the late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio, as Man of the Year for 1953.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

My nominee for the man of the year in 1953 is the late Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio. Sometimes a nation's illustrious dead remain among its most influential men. Their character and personality are sometimes so strong and all pervading that their influence continues to endure after death.

I sat on a different side of the aisle in the Senate from Senator Taft and across the table from him on the Labor Committee. As a member of a different party, I did not agree with him on all issues, but we could always rely on him to state his views ably and frankly. His greatest value, however, was in his integrity as a leader of diverse elements, as one whose responsibilities of leadership were fulfilled with such fidelity and fairness that his loss was a heavy blow to all Americans.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three brought to the forefront those shining qualities which place him for all time in the company of Webster, Clay, and Norris and the other great leaders of the Congress. For his valiant effort to be to America what Churchill is to Great Britain, for being so right in his mind that he kept the respect of those of us who thought him wrong in some of his ideas; for showing the Nation how a man who is big enough to deserve victory knows how to take defeat; for the inspiration his career must be to all those who share in his patriotic aspirations—I nominate for the man of the year the late Senior Senator from the State of Ohio—Robert A. Taft.

The Republican Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Republican Revolution," written by my colleague [Mr. JENNER] and published in Human Events of December 30, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION

(By Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, of Indiana)

In a few days we shall enter upon the second year of the Administration elected in the popular uprising of 1952. It is a good time to take the measure of our achievements and also of the work that remains to be done.

First, we can be grateful to our President for restoring once again the dignity of our National Government. The American people will tolerate levity from their movie stars and baseball heroes, but they want dignity in public office.

The return to good taste in the present administration is as welcome as the return to quiet at a concert after a noisy vulgar group has taken itself off. A political party which prefers good taste cannot boast of its achievements. Those who are so inclined can brag of their determination to crack down on their fellow citizens. But those who create must work quietly, and depend on the intelligence of the voters to recognize the change. That recognition will surely be forthcoming.

The Eisenhower administration has made another important change. It has put competent men into Government again. For 20 years our public affairs were directed by men skilled in promises. We are replacing them with men skilled in performance. This too is an old-fashioned idea. When we operated under the Constitution, with a strictly limited Government, most of our men of talent turned to fields where rewards depended on achievement, and where incompetence was rewarded by displacement. For 20 years, however, we were governed mostly by men who had failed in the world of achievement.

A quiet, dignified administration staffed by men with long records of achievement has already tackled difficult problems. We have a Secretary of Agriculture who knows it is a lie to promise farmers that they can for long be paid more than their crops are worth to others, by gifts from the public treasury. We have a Secretary of the Interior who knows that so-called public power was really the buildup of a vast political machine designed to give the Government a monopoly of industrial capital and return the socialists regularly to office.

Our Secretary of Treasury knows the fallacy of the New Deal's "low interest rates." That was a political booby trap which permitted the Federal Government to borrow vast amounts of capital it never intended to pay back. Secretary Humphrey is confronted with difficulties attendant to the return to sound policies. First, he must clean up the economic debris of 20 years of socialist mis-government with its Communist inner core. He has inherited an overhang of a hundred billion of spending which has been "charged," so to speak, by his predecessors, but not yet billed. That outstanding charge account, of more than a year's total tax income, has made it difficult for the Republicans to reduce taxes as fast as we hoped; but a big step has been taken on the road to economic unity.

We have a Secretary of Defense skilled in the national art of organizing men and money and machines, science and invention and daring, into a team to produce a continuing flow of goods more abundant than any nation's workers have ever produced before. Our enemies know, if we do not, that when this American productive genius is applied to military needs, it gives our fighting men a wealth of weapons no other nation can match.

The outstanding achievement of the Eisenhower administration has, however, been little noticed. One of the first acts of the new President was to set about replacing the Joint Chiefs of Staff who had permitted the loss of China and the stalemate of Korea with a new Joint Chiefs who have the ability to devise the best military strategy for the age we live in, and the patriotism to insist that that strategy could not be modified by political servitors of the Soviet Government.

For 12 years the United States had a military program subservient to the Acheson State Department. This was deliberately mis-called subordination of the military to the political arm. It was no such thing. There has never been an American general or admiral who questioned the principle that top military policies must be subordinate to our political principles. That is unchallenged constitutional doctrine.

Harry Hopkins and Dean Acheson asserted a quite different principle. They asserted the right to establish a secret American foreign policy, which committed us to world government without the consent of the American people. Then they demanded that the military make no proposals which would interfere with their plan for entangling us in a world super-state, where American interests no longer counted and defeat was almost preferable to victory. A long succession of great American admirals and generals, men like Densfeld, MacArthur, Wedemeyer and Van Fleet, were retired or transferred to "Siberia" or left brokenhearted and useless, to feed the colossal egotism of these political adventurers.

We cannot ask President Eisenhower to do anything more important for our country than he has done in freeing the Defense Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff from the machinations of the socialist-minded one worlders who distorted our State Department. The President has appointed the best military men and given them what they must have, direct access to him, so they can give without hesitation their honest professional judgment about what is best for the safety of our country.

In fairness we should give Senator Taft his share of the credit for insisting that this was the most important of all reforms. That, however, takes nothing of the credit from President Eisenhower for choosing the same course.

It is important to those of us in Congress engaged in investigating Communist penetration within our borders that we now have an Attorney General who will vigorously prosecute every violator of the existing laws against subversion. We know, as Mr. Brownell has said, that our legal powers for indictment and punishment of traitors, spies and saboteurs is far from complete. Completion of the system of legal powers is the work of Congress, but vigorous enforcement of existing laws is the share of the partnership carried by the Attorney-General. Alien Communists are being rounded up, the Subversive Activities Control Board is being energized, and old records left to gather dust are being opened for evidence that will cause at least a few of the betrayers of our country to spend a while in jail.

Attorney General Brownell has done another important service. He has turned the searchlight of truth on the secret area at the very top of our executive establishment where someone made the decision to disregard the reports of J. Edgar Hoover. The American people have been deeply confused by the fact that the FBI had full information about Communists and their subversion of our institutions, but the top officials never acted on it. This gap was cleverly used by pro-Communist publicists to prove that the accused must be innocent, or the FBI would have punished them. We in Congress knew of the dark administrative area, above the FBI, where the hush-hush decisions to protect the traitors were made, but we could get no proof.

Now we have an Attorney General who is trying to uncover the story. We know now where the most important FBI reports on subversion in Government departments were sent. We know the reports were received. Democratic officials who have testified before our committees were shocked by these reports, as all good citizens would be. But somewhere, in the darkness which still covers the operations of Cabinet officers and White House officials in the Truman regime, someone was able to prevent the dismissal of these traitors and even to insist on their promotion. We do not have the full story yet, but by cooperation between the Attorney General and Congress we shall find the man who was powerful enough to block the recommendations of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and an Assistant Attorney General, and to protect subordinates who had been faithful to the Soviet Union.

If the Eisenhower administration has done so much, what remains to be done? Obviously much remains to be learned about the full story of Communist subversion in Government, but that is well under way.

The great task of the Republican regime—the promise most important to the voters in 1952—is the task of making a new American foreign policy, one wholly untainted by Hopkins, Acheson, Hiss, and Harry White, a foreign policy which will never again assume that a stalemate is a substitute for victory.

I do not put that task first, in time, however, in my outlook for 1954. Preceding the work of making a new American foreign policy is another problem. Neither the present administration, nor any government we can elect, is ever going to make a sound foreign policy or a sound economic, financial, and tax program until we make one other change. We must return unreservedly to the principle of local self-government and States' rights, on which all representative government rests. We must ocmplete the constitutional revolution President Eisenhower has already begun.

Before we can solve the great problem of foreign policy in this dangerous and disorganized world, Congress must give back to private industry, to private reform and private education, and to local government, every activity which can be surrendered by the Federal Government. We must adopt as our first principle the total dismantling of that colossus on the Potomac, the welfare state, erected by the New Dealers who controlled the Democratic Party, not to help the poor, but to give themselves absolute irresistible power.

The one result the welfare state never achieves is welfare. It gives people more dollars to handle by making each dollar worth less and less. Dismantling the welfare state is the essential step to true welfare for the people, as it is the essential step in preserving our liberty.

The Federal Government today has about two and a half million employees, not including the military. No government can direct a bureaucracy of two and a half million obedient servants and remain free. The Federal Government has a budget of about 65 billions. No government can spend any such share of the national income from one single center and preserve an economy in which the people can remain free men. The budget and the bureaucracy are power over you and me. They must be demobilized.

The President has appointed a commission under a distinguished citizen of Indiana, Dean Clarence Manion, to report on the core of this very proposal—to decide what powers and duties shall be reserved to the States, and what taxes shall be relinquished to the States, so they can carry on their constitutional duties. This will be, I am sure, a good report. Other committees are working on other aspects of the overriding issue—the return of our Federal Government to its constitutional role.

I say this is the No. 1 responsibility before Congress, to restore limited government and revitalize all the forms of private and local initiative and voluntary cooperation which made our Nation great.

About 12 years ago, Judge Hatton Summers, a distinguished Congressman from Texas, and long chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, warned, in an article in the Reader's Digest, that Congress would never be able to keep its constitutional role unless it cut away most of the extraneous problems belonging to local and private agencies, which the New Deal had forced on it, not unintentionally.

It is equally true that the executive branch cannot preserve its constitutional role unless present responsibilities for local and private action are contracted. Under the Constitution, our executive is directed by an elected President and his personal appointees. Under a welfare state, the bureaucracy (not responsible to the voters) becomes more and more intrenched and absorbs both legislative and executive functions from elected officials.

Now is the time for Congress and the administration to complete the restoration of States' rights, of local and private self-government, so well begun by President Eisenhower. Then we shall be free to make a foreign policy, a military policy, and an economic policy that will carry us forward as a nation to heights not yet imagined.

Address by Wilson A. Heaps at 38th Annual Convention of the Maryland Farm Bureau

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, it is indeed encouraging to note that the farmers in Maryland for the most part support the agricultural program which was recently proposed by President Eisenhower. In this regard, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the keynote address by Mr. Wilson A. Heaps, president of the Maryland Farm Bureau, before the recent 38th annual convention of that fine organization.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The highway of life has for an organization, as it does for an individual, many alternative routes and many crossings.

There is the ever-present danger that we will end on a quiet lane that may seem tranquil but, for the organization, leads nowhere.

We have the choice of still another road—one filled with bumps and ruts and generally in a sad state of disrepair. The organization that selects this artery upon which to travel is headed for disintegration. Then, like so many of our roads across this country, we farmers can choose one that seems suitable for basic needs but is actually obsolete for increased modern usage—one that is filled with hazards to safe and rapid transit.

Finally, there is the superhighway, parkway, or turnpike employing only the most up-to-date engineering facilities, smooth for traveling and leading off into the horizon toward ever-widening opportunities. This highway is the way of farm bureau, the biggest and strongest organization for agriculture ever devised, the organization with the greatest potential of accomplishment for America and for farmers.

As evidence that Farm Bureau is the best highway to success we may point proudly to new heights in membership both on a State and National level. Reports from those responsible for the various phases of our organization program show increased membership participation—especially in the very recent experience of policy development.

The growth in Farm Bureau at a time when farmers were suffering some adjustments in balancing income and expenses and particularly the rapid strides made in membership acquisition in the Southern States in the past year indicates the strength of Farm Bureau as the best organized voice for agriculture.

As farmers, we realize that the big issues facing today's generation, and certainly tomorrow's, are such problems as world trade and its stimulation, greater effort in agricultural research, a balanced Federal budget and a gradual reduction in taxation.

In our home communities we recognize problems of zoning, improved public education, the elimination of waste in State and county governments and better administration in some of our courthouses as primary considerations.

To accomplish the desired results in any of these categories, we must be on the right road.

As we contemplate the prospect of moving out to meet an unpredictable future with this broad highway that we call Farm Bureau, we must keep in mind the need for accommodating all segments of our economy.

This suggests that we would do well to plan a safety program that will insure us against accidents and perhaps a traffic bottleneck.

The lights at the crossings where we make our decisions should be synchronized.

Basically, we usually plan a safety program to provide limited regulations which will protect us from damaging ourselves as well as others. I have often thought one of the best slogans on the highways is the one that reads: "Drive carefully, the life you take may be your own."

How dangerously true this is in the field of national economics. A little reckless abandon by farmers demanding uneconomic government aid can easily wreck the entire farm-assistance program. Likewise, careless management of our farms and our natural resources could leave us destitute and homeless.

We must be prepared for the unforeseen emergency—the emergency which originates without our advance knowledge but for which we must, as farmers, assume a share of responsibility.

I am thinking, specifically, of this past fall when a handful of individuals calling themselves cattlemen, and with various motives, created a great furor in agriculture through some ill-advised demonstrations and recommendations.

The type of exhibition which made up that march on Washington created serious misunderstanding among consumers as well as farmers as to the real purposes of the national farm program.

We must always keep in mind the importance of acquiring and keeping the public on our side. At the same time, vast segments of that public seek and should receive every consideration farmers can offer. Mutual understanding of problems that affect us all must be the keynote for progress in the months that lie ahead.

Let us, therefore, try to envision a program—a safety program, if you please—that will not only permit but encourage farmers to provide for themselves and for all people everywhere in the world a happier and more satisfying life. This is the first essential of a sturdy national economy and a permanent world peace.

I would first suggest that our economy cannot remain static but must always be kept sufficiently free to expand in order to serve the increasing demands of all people.

Secondly, prosperity cannot be permanently legislated to any group and that includes agriculture. It must be earned through high productivity by all our working citizenry in return for a well-distributed spendable income throughout the land.

Any program that guarantees a profit may seem like the millenium to the group which benefits but is doomed to total failure in a democracy such as ours. One of the inherent factors of a free society is the profit-and-loss system of economics. If you are to have the opportunity to make a profit, you must also accept the possibility of loss. It may sound like a gambler's philosophy, but it is fundamental.

At this point I cannot help but think of those who bemoan the farm-labor shortage that plagues us now. Serious as they are, we must realize that when farm labor be-

comes plentiful it usually reflects industrial unemployment and is accompanied by dwindling markets, where we lose far more than we gain.

That is the nature of the profit-and-loss system. We work hard, without much help around the barn these days, to fill the needs of an ever-expanding market. Some may not think so, as they fill out their tax forms for 1953, but this situation shows that a profit has been made. The alternative would be to have lots of farm help and few purchasers of our production—obviously a severe loss.

Our national economy must be free from monopolistic practices that allow one group to benefit at another's expense, whether it be in agriculture, labor, industry, or business.

Secondary boycotts must be prohibited. The general public must not be paralyzed by such practices which primarily serve those few who would blackjack the majority into submission. At the same time, business and corporate giants must not be allowed to fix our standard of living by eliminating competition through strong-arm methods.

To prosper nationally, we must realize that international trade is essential. We are truly one world, and the boundaries of India and Norway as just as important to us today as were the borders of Texas and Alaska in our past history.

We need the rest of the world as a market, and they need our output. In the battle against communism some of our food production, particularly, may well be used like it was in Berlin as an effective weapon for freedom.

In friendly areas of the globe, still free from domination by an alien philosophy, we must work toward a program that will permit them to share in our bountiful production and at the same time make it worth our while to develop our full productive capacity.

I regret the statement, but it is an undisputed fact that the only real agricultural prosperity we have known in this generation was purchased in large part by the blood of our brave sons. May we never lose sight of this fact, regardless of the many claims made by some political leaders of both major parties that they, as politicians, had devised programs that gave farmers a better income.

In the name of human decency, we must provide a worldwide prosperity that assures peace and is supported by opportunity rather than by charity. No nation can long survive, that must rely on global strife or world unrest for a prosperous economy.

With these concepts in mind, let us very briefly consider the philosophy which Farm Bureau offers for a workable national program for agriculture.

Farmers prize dearly the right to decide the kind of operation considered best suited to their needs. The farmer chooses this freedom knowing full well that freedom to succeed may also mean freedom to fail.

Farmers want Government to assist only in getting American agriculture back on the track of stability and give us the opportunity to earn our share of the national income through 100 percent of parity in the market and not 90 percent by selling to Washington.

This was demonstrated at the recent annual convention of our American Farm Bureau Federation, where only 9 States asked for unqualified Federal aid. True it is that the AFBF delegates modified their previous stand by recommending acceptance of 90 percent guaranteed support, limited to 1 year, on a few basic crops, because of the problems of surplus and maladjustment that have developed under politically inspired programs. Our programs thus far have been more concerned with political expediency than economic justice. But, as farmers, we want the people of this Nation to understand we are opposed to the Government serving as a sugar-daddy, to agriculture or any other segment of our economic life.

While farm programs must be designed to serve all farmers, it should not be assumed from this that those programs should guarantee success in farming to every individual who chooses to live in the country, grow his own bean patch and find cash employment elsewhere. Unfortunately, one-sixth of the United States farmers received no income from their farms and only 50 percent of those listed by the official census are actual farmers spending most of their time and energy in farm work.

Let me assure you that the program farm bureau looks forward to is one of technical assistance and implementation—one which fairly deals with the consumer as well as the producer—not one which forces the consumer and farmer to pay the high cost of high subsidies while food prices stay at the top and net income to farmers remains at a low level.

Our greatest need in agriculture today is technical know-how, the type of well-organized research effort that can put farming on the plane of high productivity while at the same time it finds new uses for old products and new markets for increased output.

This research will benefit consumers as well as farmers and we must take the steps necessary to achieve this goal and still remain a free society. Otherwise, many food items will be priced out of the market, substitutes will be encouraged and many farmers will find themselves complaining of faltering prices and the lack of a market.

We must spend more effort in planning and perhaps a little less in plowing.

All highways, no matter how well built, need continuing repair and improvement. So it is with farm bureau, an organization designed to do the best job possible for farmers through a constructive legislative program. But this organization, like the superhighway will need occasional resurfacing.

A few hairpin curves must be eliminated from time to time. We must not allow our organization to grow stagnant.

We must, as farmers and as American citizens, keep looking ahead and while we improve conditions of the present, we must plan for the future by analyzing yesterday's mistakes.

Most important, however, is that we can do the best job for agriculture by doing it ourselves without placing too much reliance on Government and politicians to find the answers for us.

Let us join together in renewed dedication as members of farm bureau—the largest farm organization in the world—to further the essentials of this program to which we are committed by action of our voting delegates in Chicago last month and, on the local level, to the policies which will be enunciated here tomorrow. Thank you.

President Eisenhower's Speech Before the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on December 9, one of the distinguished and able newspaper editors of my home State of Kansas inserted in his Pittsburg Headlight his own impressions of the President's speech before the United Nations Assembly that month. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburg (Kans.) Headlight of December 9, 1953]

AN AMAZING SPEECH

President Eisenhower spoke out with a disarming frankness which must have amazed many of those in the United Nations assembly Tuesday. With the Soviet spokesmen before him, the President practically gave an inventory of the atomic bomb stockpile of the United States and described the manufacturing resources. With these Soviet representatives and the delegates of Soviet satellites listening, the President boldly discussed the reasons for the making of the atomic bomb. He mentioned the possibilities of war and the frightful use of atomic weapons. He pleaded for the use of atomic energy for the needs of men rather than the fears of men. He asked for peace and for an understanding of nations.

The speech the President delivered must have been nothing less than startling to the country which heard him on the air and later read what he said. Certainly never before has a vital utterance been delivered under more peculiar circumstances.

The Soviet officials undoubtedly will try to make it appear that the President was throwing down a challenge to Russia, that he was inviting war. It also will be declared that Eisenhower's speech was an attempt to frighten Russia.

The climax of this historic speech, of course, was the proposal for the building up of an international atomic agency under the direction of the United Nations, the creation of a great agency in which all nations could participate for the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

This proposal was nothing less than one for an additional world peace organization. The President seized the opportunity for a dramatic presentation of a plan for strengthening the United Nations. To do this he admitted to the world the dangers to civilization that lie in the possession of the atomic bomb. This speech could not be taken as a boast of the power of this country. It was quite the opposite.

Having produced the atom as a means of horrible warfare, the United States now is anxious to take the atom out of potential war and turn it into the promotion of peace. That was, in effect, the President's theme.

The President's speech had the appearance of a plea for peace. But in its was a firm warning that the United States will not hesitate for its own welfare to make whatever use is necessary of the atom. In the background lie the depressing facts that any plan to make an agreement with the Communists is hopeless and if one were made it would be worthless.

Salaries of Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Miss Laura Z. Hobson, on the subject Congressmen Shy on Pay Raise Bid.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESSMEN SHY ON PAY RAISE BID

(By Laura Z. Hobson)

WASHINGTON, January 21.—Anybody who's ever hit the boss for a raise knows that a shrinking, scared approach is the surest way not to get it.

But it says in the paper down here that it being an election year and all, our Congressmen and Senators are waiting to learn public opinion back home before acting on current proposals of a presidential commission to hike their pay.

Since the only true bosses our National Legislators have are the people back home, I can't for the life of me see why they are taking this timid little wait-and-see stance, instead of marching straight into the front office and saying, in effect, "I haven't had a raise in 8 years—so let's quit horsing around."

The front office would be you.

The 'marching in" would be statements to the press, radio, and TV talks, lectures, and letters—the same process followed when you have to be persuaded on any other issue of government.

Though a $12,500 raise is suggested by the Commission, the word on the hill is that $5,000 is the most anybody dares hope for, bringing the annual pay up from $15,000 ($12,500 salary and $2,500 expense money) to a flat $20,000.

COMPARATIVE SALARIES

That sounds big but compared to salaries for other big jobs, it's not out of line at all.

In private industry and the professions, the top men make far more than $20,000 a year, and in scientific work and public service they do too.

The American Red Cross recently decided, for instance, on $30,000 as the proper salary for its new president, Ellsworth Bunker, and nobody who contributes to the Red Cross raised hob about it.

New York pays its Governor $40,000 per annum, California pays $25,000 and so does Illinois; Michigan pays $22,500. Governing States and making laws for a nation are huge jobs, and to put the squeeze on the people who do either just doesn't make sense.

Not in a nation, at any rate, that fixes things so a Joe DiMaggio or Ted Williams can drag down about $100,000 a year, so that Stan Musial can get around $80,000 and Ralph Kiner around $75,000.

Not in a nation whose citizens drop enough cash in movie box offices to let a Rita Hayworth make a cool million on "Salome" alone, and let Danny Kaye, Humphrey Bogart, and Cary Grant wind up with about $250,000 for one picture.

TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR GABLE

Clark Gable, the report is, draws $10,000 every Saturday a. m., and Marilyn DiMaggio is supposedly "holding out" for $5,000.

And more power to her. And to all the successful big-money folks we Americans root for and support.

But don't let's turn around and save for a rainy day on the men and women who make our laws for us in Washington, who decide on the draft age of our sons, and on our labor laws and farm income and taxes and defense, and even on the momentous questions of war and peace.

We'd feel real sad if such dollar-pinching ever kept our ablest people off the ballots just because they simply had to earn the bigger dough they could get in business and law offices, as salesmen and manufacturers. It's done too much of that already, and I think most of us know it.

So I wish I had the nerve to speak right up to the Senators and Congressmen themselves and say: "Go on. Hit the boss for that raise right now, election year or no election year."

New Communist Move for Popular Fronts in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I wish to call attention to a renewed attempt by the Communists in Western Europe to create a popular front bringing about unity of political action by all the so-called Socialist workers. This is apparently part of a Communist effort to enter the Cabinets of the Governments in Belgium, Holland, France, and Italy, from which they have been excluded for many years. I urge that our officials in Europe pay the most careful attention to this dangerous new Communist attempt to break up the North Atlantic alliance, and I ask unanimous consent that an article appearing in the New York Times of January 18, 1954, which describes this Communist plan, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EUROPE REDS SEEK TIE TO SOCIALISTS—BROAD DRIVE PRESSED TO GET CABINET ROLES IN WEST—DUTCH PARTY CHIEF IN BID

THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS, January 17.—The Communist parties of Western Europe are launching a popular-front movement proposing unity of action with the Socialists.

The latest in a rapidly developing series of appeals for common action has been launched here by Paul de Groot, general secretary of the Netherlands Communist Party. At the close of a meeting of party leaders, he called for a broad basis for a new government, the unity of action of Socialists and Communists, as the nucleus for national cooperation with all others prepared for it.

Reporting his speech, the party newspaper, De Waarheid (the Truth), carried the banner headline, unity of action of Socialists and Communists.

The Communist call here is anything but an isolated measure. In France, Italy, and Belgium the Communist Parties are making similar appeals—recalling the fact that between the two World Wars and immediately after the second one the Communists were taken into the governments of three Western European nations.

FAILURE OF FRENCH MOVE

The Communists made an unsuccessful attempt to promote a coalition with the Socialists during the drawn-out French presidential elections last month. The candidate both parties supported was Marcel Naegelin, a Socialist, who was defeated. In the subsequent voting for a president (speaker) of the French National Assembly, the Communists backed the winner, André Le Troquer. Some observers in France saw in this achievement the confirmation of a new tactic.

The Paris newspaper Le Monde, which commented, "The Communists have returned to and are admitted in the political, parliamentary and electoral game," spoke of the sketch of a cartel of the left or a popular front on the political level.

On Thursday the Belgian Communist newspaper Le Drapeau Rouge (the Red Flag) reported the declaration made by the French Communist Party as it prepared to support M. Le Troquer: "The Communists intend to show—once again—their desire to struggle with all their strength for the triumph of a policy of unity of action with the Socialist workers."

NEW MAJORITY FORESEEN

An editorial in the Brussels newspaper emphasized the new tactics and said the election of the assembly president showed that a new majority was possible and "would be all the more [possible] in the event of continued Socialist-Communist collaboration."

Le Drapeau Rouge suggested that in Italy also there now was a hardening or regrouping of all the popular forces desiring progress and peace. On Wednesday the Italian Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, told Premier-designate Amintore Fanfani that all parties willing to share the responsibility of government, including the Communist, should be in the pending cabinet.

The fact that the Communists are pressing for a common stand with their Socialist rivals will not suffice, of itself, to persuade the latter, and the labor elements of the religious parties, to embrace the Communists. By and large the Socialists of Western Europe are firmly anti-Communist, but here and there the Communists have been able to detach a Socialist member of parliament from adherence to his party's doctrines.

In the field of foreign policy, and especially on the question of the European army, which would unite the national armies of France, Italy, West Germany, and the Benelux countries, the Communist appeal apparently will not always fall on deaf ears.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, an editorial entitled "Seaway Clears Senate," appearing in the January 24, 1954, edition of the New York Times, contains many provocative observations regarding Senate bill 2150, which was passed by the Senate last Wednesday. The editorial would seem to merit reflection by the Congress at this time, and thus I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEAWAY CLEARS SENATE

The Great Lakes are often compared to a bottle, the rapids-strewn section of the St. Lawrence River to the neck. For 60 years American and Canadian officials have been urging construction of a St. Lawrence seaway to open the bottleneck and bring ocean-going shipping directly into the Great Lakes. Every United States administration since Harding's has urged Congress to approve it. But the seaway and related plans for power projects have been blocked by powerful interests, including eastern and southern railroads, coastal port interests, and coal and power companies which fear cheap competition.

Last year, in view of the American opposition, Canada proposed to build the seaway alone and the power project in conjunction with New York State. New York, for its part, was willing, and the prospect was that Federal power authorities would clear the project. Last spring Ottawa completed plans to construct an all-Canadian seaway.

Thus, when Congress reconvened 3 weeks ago the question was not whether there should be a St. Lawrence seaway but only whether the United States should take part in building it. The administration pressed hard for congressional consent. President Eisenhower intervened personally with a number of Senators—for example, he had EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, a leading seaway opponent, to a private White House breakfast and talked seaway to him for 2 hours. Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wrote a letter to HOMER FERGUSON, chairman of the Republican Senate policy committee, reaffirming what the Nation's strategists have long said—that the seaway would be vital to United States defense. Administration spokesmen buttonholed key Senators and urged them to support the seaway.

ADMINISTRATION ARGUMENT

The administration's main argument was that Canada was going to build the seaway anyway and American industry was going to use it, so the United States should get in on it from the beginning. It was pointed out that if the United States assumed a share of the construction, we could have a voice in the operation and administration of the seaway—including the vital question of tolls. Finally, it was noted that with the power project already divorced from the seaway, the United States share of the cost would be only $105 million, and that the project would be self-liquidating.

Last Wednesday the arguments bore fruit. After 2 days of debate, the Senate approved United States participation in the seaway project by a majority of 51 to 33. The division was bipartisan—25 Republicans, 25 Democrats and 1 Independent were in favor, 15 Republicans and 18 Democrats opposed.

The bill authorizes the creation of a St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation which would (1) construct a part of the locks, canals, and channels on the United States side of the border; (2) operate and maintain this section in cooperation with a Canadian seaway authority; (3) negotiate agreements with the Canadian authority on tolls and the division of revenues. The bill specifies that if the American and Canadian authorities do not reach agreements on tolls, the American Corporation may fix rates unilaterally for the United States section of the seaway.

The bill must now get House approval and the prospect is for another battle there. Meanwhile, the Canadians are not entirely happy about the situation. Some Ottawa officials feel that if the United States is going to participate in the seaway, it should assume a more equitable share of the costs. These officials point out that Canada is spending considerably more money than the amount authorized by the Senate bill. The Canadians are also concerned about the clause in the bill which gives the United States the right to fix toll rates unilaterally.

Despite the resentment, however, the prospect is that, if the House approves the seaway bill, Canada will accept United States participation—if only for the sake of Canadian-American relations.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine article written by Mr. Irving Brant and published in today's Washington Post. Mr. Brant is now working on the fifth and final volume of his distinguished biography of James Madison. With that background, looking back into the great history of this country, he has written this fine article entitled "Despised Confederation Was Stronger on Treaties Than BRICKER Would Leave United States."

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DESPISED CONFEDERATION WAS STRONGER ON TREATIES THAN BRICKER WOULD LEAVE UNITED STATES

(By Irving Brant)

It has been said many times in opposition to the Bricker amendment, that it would reduce the treaty-making power of the United States to the level of the despised Articles of Confederation. That is a slander on the Articles. The treaty-making power before 1789 was as strong as it is today, and infinitely stronger than it will be if Congress and 36 State legislatures go berserk and plant the Ohio Senator's proposition in our Constitution.

In fact, one may safely go further and assert that the treaty power was more sweeping under the Articles of Confederation than it is today under the Constitution. In theoretical scope, it was the same. But treaties were easier to make under the Confederation and easier to ratify. There were lighter safeguards against their overstepping the bounds set upon the treaty power by the unwritten law of nations (international law).

The ineffectiveness of American treaties under the Articles of Confederation was not due to narrow scope or lack of legal validity. It was due to the absence of a Federal judiciary capable of enforcing them, and to the financial weakness of the old Continental Congress. The Federal Government lacked the legal machinery and the physical power needed to prevent the violation of treaties by lawbreaking States and individuals, violations so serious and persistent that they kept the Nation under the threat of war for a dozen years.

Let us take up the assertions made above, not as 20th century conjectures, but on the basis of 18th century evidence. What about the comparative ease of making and ratifying treaties under the two forms of government?

In the Virginia convention of 1788, fear was expressed that if the new Constitution were adopted, navigation of the Mississippi would be surrendered to Spain by treaty. James Madison replied that there was more danger of it under the Confederation. The new system would require the consent of the President and two-thirds of the Senate, "two distinct and independent branches." The old sysem required the consent of two-thirds of the State delegations in Congress, but it is but one body.

He could have added that in the Confederation Congress it was possible for a minority of the Members present to exercise the treaty power. If each State had 3 delegates (2 to 7 were allowed), 9 delegations might approve the treaty by 2-to-1 votes whole 4 voted solidly against it. That would put Congress 18 to 21 against the treaty, but the 18 would win.

In addition, it was the custom during the Revolution for Congress to promise, in advance, that it would ratify any treaty signed by its Commissioners or Ministers. A formal pledge to do so was written into the letters of credence they presented to European governments. Imagine our Senators doing that for our President. * * *

Consider, now, the relative restraints on abuse of the treaty power, under the Confederation and under the CONSTITUTION.

Supporters of the new charter contended, in 1788, that under both old and new governments the breadth of the treaty power was governed by the law of nations and coincided with that possessed by the King of Great Britain. The power of the Confederation Congress and the British King, said George Nicholas in the Virginia convention, "were on the same foundation," and under the new Constitution the President and Senate have the same power.

This power was not completely unlimited in scope. Said Madison in those same debates:

"Neither the old Confederation nor the new Constitution involves a right to give up the navigation of the Mississippi. It is repugnant to the law of nations. I have always thought and said so."

He meant, he explained, that although such a sacrifice could be made in the emergency of war, under compulsion to save the Nation it could not be done as a mere voluntary treaty action for the regulation of commerce. The King of Great Britain could make treaties of peace without the consent of Parliament, but "he has no power of dismembering the Empire, or alienating any part of it."

The point to note in this is that the power of President and the Senate was not regarded as equal to that of the King and Parliament, but to that of the King alone. To alienate territory, the treaty power of the King must be supplemented by the legislative power of Parliament. But the Congress of the Confederation, as far as treaties were concerned, was King and Parliament rolled into one. It furnished, within itself, the only constitutional check upon the propriety of its own actions.

Next, what about the comparative scope and binding power of treaties under the Constitution and under the Articles of Confederation?

Section 2 of the Bricker amendment reads: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty." Should that go into the Constitution, no treaty would be enforceable within the United States unless supplemented by independent acts of Congress. No treaty could be enforced within the country, even by an act of Congress, unless its subject matter was found to be embraced by some enumerated power other than the treaty power itself, which today has no such limitation. Should no such power be found, the constitutional declaration that treaties are part of the supreme law of the land would be nullified unless 48 State legislatures should make the treaty effective by passing 48 separate laws for its enforcement.

Were the Articles of Confederation as weak, in regard to treaties, as the Constitution would be made by the Bricker amendment? Thomas Jefferson did not think so. The Articles of Confederation gave Congress no power to regulate commerce. But suppose commercial treaties were in negotiation.

"The moment these treaties are concluded," Jefferson wrote to James Monroe on June 15, 1785, "the jurisdiction of Congress over the commerce of the States springs into existence, and that of the particular States is superseded so far as the articles of the treaty may have taken up the subject."

Madison made a similar statement to the Virginia Legislature in that same year, while advocating a grant of power to Congress to regulate commerce. Whatever hazard there might be in it, he told the timorous minority, that hazard already existed, because the

"power of treaties involves the danger, if any." He won his point.

Virginia, as a result, called the Annapolis Convention which led to the Federal Convention of 1787. Had that legislature been made up of Brickers, Madison's argument would have so frightened them that there would have been no new Constitution.

Thus, Jefferson and Madison saw the same broad scope of treaty power, in the Confederation, that the Supreme Court found in the Constitution in 1916 when it upheld the Migratory Bird Treaty with Canada—a treaty which would get the meat ax under the Bricker amendment.

What about the binding force of treaties under the Confederation? Were they part of the supreme law? The old Congress though so.

Treaties, it declared in a resolution adopted March 21, 1787, "become in virtue of the Confederation part of the law of the land and are not only independent of the will and power of such [state] legislatures but also binding and obligatory on them."

Treaties, Madison told the Virginia convention, "must be the law of the land: they are so in every country." George Nicholas, one of the ablest lawyers in Virginia, reinforced him. The supremacy declaration was needed, not to alter the status of treaties, but to clarify it:

"Have we not seen, in America, that treaties were violated, though they are, in all countries, considered as the supreme law of the land? Was it not, therefore, necessary to declare in explicit terms that they should be so here?"

John Jay, at that time Foreign Secretary and later Chief Justice of the United States, went even further. Some opponents of the new Constitution, he wrote in the Federalist, No. 64, were adverse to treaties "being the supreme laws of the land" and wished them to be "repealable at pleasure." That, said, he, was a new error, "peculiar to this country."

Treaties were to be made by two parties, and the consent of both was needed to alter or cancel them:

"The proposed Constitution, therefore, has not in the least extended the obligation of treaties. They are just as binding, and just as far beyond the lawful reach of legislative acts now, as they will be at any future period, or under any form of government."

Jay did not mean that the Congress, either old or new, lacked the actual legal authority to abrogate a treaty unilaterally, but that such a course would violate international law and produce its own punishment.

"It would be impossible to find a nation who would make any bargain with us which should be binding on them absolutely, but on us only so long as we may think proper to be bound by it."

That is the exact condition to which the Bricker amendment would reduce the United States. By hampering the President in the negotiation of treaties and executive agreements; by creating doubts and uncertainties as to their legality; by opening the way to unilateral nullification through the repeal of enforcement laws, these new restrictions would have much the same effect that was produced in the 1780's by the absence of a Federal judiciary.

Imagine what would happen if, after ratification of a treaty, every clause of it required special legislation to make it valid as internal law. A difference of opinion between House and Senate, over the legality or advisability of a single provision, would be likely to destroy the balance between the contracting nations and lead to abrogation of the entire treaty. The later repeal of one sentence in the enforcement law, under pressure of selfish lobbyists, would have the same effect. So would an adverse court decision, made compulsory by the narrowing of constitutional power by those fatal words, only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

What President could offer assurance to foreign governments, in advance, that this result or worse would not follow, even after a treaty was ratified by the Senate? Parity in power of negotiation is vital to Executive authority. This is already diminished by our present method of ratification, requiring a two-thirds majority in the Senate. The Bricker amendment would destroy it utterly, reducing the President to a congressional errand boy who could not even perform his errand.

That would be something new in our history, but the results would duplicate the one ignoble feature of a past which in general invites no shame. American Ministers at the court of London were spurned for years, after the War of the Revolution, in their efforts to negotiate a commercial treaty with England. France, then our military ally, shied away from commercial commitments. Why make treaties with a government which had not the power to keep its promises?

Even after the new Constitution and the Supreme Court provided the power needed to maintain treaty obligations, European courts looked askance at the subordination of the American Government to forces outside itself. "When one treats with the United States," wrote French Minister Turreau in 1809, "It is with the people that one does the treating, and it is the people whom it is necessary to tie so strongly by engagements that it is not possible for them to break them without injuring their own interests."

The man to whom that was written, Foreign Minister Champagny, passed along some advice to the American Minister in Paris. "A state," he wrote to John Armstrong, "may give itself to another, may destroy the act of its independence, may change its sovereign; but the rights of sovereignty and indivisible and unalienable; none can give up any part of them."

Both of those observations apply remarkably to the Bricker amendment. When foreign nations treat with the United States today, they still have to treat with the people. No treaty can be made, no executive agreement can be entered into (unless secret and informal, without the force of law), if the people disapprove of it. If that fact weakens the United States in negotiation, it also reduces the Bricker amendment to the level of childish fears. The clause which provides for congressional regulation of executive agreements cannot be made to cover secret, informal ones—the only ones that are beyond the controlling force of the public opinion.

But what about that sovereignty which, under the law of nations, is indivisible and unalienable, but which may be modified by our written Constitution? Senator BRICKER is asking that it be divided and alienated—split up among the legislatures of 48 States and, insofar as that process extends, totally destroyed.

In calling for this action, BRICKER does not seek to safeguard a power reserved to the several States—a power which properly belongs to them under the 10th amendment. He seeks to give them a power they have never possessed, are not entitled to and cannot usefully exercise. There has never been a time in American history when individual States possessed any authority in the realm of treaty making.

As Rufus King remarked during the drafting of the Constitution, the individual States were deaf and dumb, for they could neither listen to nor speak to any foreign power. The Bricker amendment would leave them still deaf and dumb, but with each one of them holding a separate veto over the whole Federal Government and over the legislatures of the other 47 States.

The Bricker amendment is no return to ancient principles, good or bad. It is as alien to the Articles of Confederation as it is to the Constitution. But it would return the United States to a status of weakness in foreign relations which even in the earliest days of the Nation was contrary to its principles.

Probably there is no danger that the Bricker amendment will be written into the Constitution. After all, it would require too many of the American people to go crazy and stay that way too long. The really appalling thing is that such a monstrosity can claim the serious attention, even for a moment, of what used to be called the greatest deliberative body in the world.

Inequities of Present Social-Security Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting column entitled "Watching Washington," written by Deane and David Heller, and published in the Horological magazine, which is the official magazine of the Horological Institute of America. This column deals with House bill 1312, which is now pending in the House of Representatives, and which was introduced by Hon. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, a Representative in Congress from the Fourth District of Mississippi. Mr. WILLIAMS is one of the most distinguished and influential Members of the House of Representatives.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This month there is an issue on Capitol Hill which vitally affects virtually every single person in the watch industry—be he the president of the biggest manufacturing company, an employee who works for wages, or a self-employed watchmaker running his own shop. That issue is social security.

Today, we are going to devote this space to an exclusive interview with a Member of Congress, Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, who has a bill pending before the House Ways and Means Committee (H. R. 1312) which would eliminate one of the most frequently denounced inequities of our present social-security law—the $75 monthly ceiling on earnings.

"Do you know," asks Congressman WILLIAMS, "that if you are working after age 65 and earn more than $75 a month, even though you may be in financial trouble and need the money to live, that you forfeit every single penny of your social security and cannot collect a thing even though you have been paying social-security taxes for decades?"

The present income limitation strikes particularly hard at members of an industry like the watch industry, some of whose members continue on the job long after age 65.

Mr. WILLIAMS has denounced the income limitation as virtually a fraud on many persons who have been compelled by their Government to pay social-security taxes for years—and he can cite some heartbreaking cases to prove it.

"The worst part about the present income limitation," says Congressman WILLIAMS, "is that it applies only to earnings, not to savings, dividends, or other kinds of income. In other words, it hits hardest those who can

least afford it. If you have to keep on working in order to make ends meet, the present social-security law penalizes you still further and makes you give up the benefits you have paid for.

"Let me show you some of the letters I have received from oldsters all over the country," Mr. WILLIAMS told the writer. "Here is a letter from a man 68 years old. His job is 'slinging 100-pound sacks of feed 10 to 11 hours a day, 5½ days a week,' in a plant near Dalton, Ohio. At his age, it is the only work he can get. This man cannot afford to retire. He wrote me that because of high prices and high taxes, he has never been able put aside enough to do that. Because he makes more than $75 a month, he is ineligible to collect a nickel from social security. Besides that, social-security taxes are still being deducted from his wages. At 68 years old.

"Because of this law," Representative WILLIAMS says, "nearly half of the people who are eligible by age and contributions to draw social security cannot afford to retire. Nearly 2 million persons over 65, covered by the act, have found that social security is a grim joke to them. Instead of social security being a dream come true for them, it has become a nightmare."

Mr. WILLIAMS' bill would remove the present income limitation and allow everyone who is covered by the act to receive their social security when they reach 65 whether they are employed or not.

You might be interested to know something about Congressman WILLIAMS. He hails from Mississippi's Fourth District, and, at 34, is a veteran fourth-term legislator. He was first elected at 27, the youngest man from his State ever to go to Congress. He is a lawyer and was the sole survivor of a plane crash in World War II that cost the lives of his four crewmates. He lost an arm in the mishap.

Eisenhower's Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DWIGHT GRISWOLD
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. GRISWOLD. Mr. President, in the Tuesday evening issue of the Washington Star of January 26, 1954, there appeared an article by the columnist and magazine publisher, David Lawrence, concerning the program and policies which President Eisenhower has submitted to the American people through his several messages to Congress in recent days.

Because I feel this is a most thoughtful and constructive commentary, I commend it to the consideration of the Members of the Senate and to the public generally. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT NEW STIMULUS TO BUSINESS—EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM SEEN LEADING TO REBUILDING OF AMERICA AS PRELUDE TO LONG ERA OF PROSPERITY

(By David Lawrence)

Little by little it will dawn on the American people that what has just been proposed by the President in various messages to Congress may, if adopted, usher in the greatest era of business expansion and employment the United States has ever known.

Nothing so dynamic from an economic viewpoint has ever been brought forth as the new program. This calls for a revision of tax laws and the proper use of governmental funds to encourage private lending. It could lead to the rebuilding of America—a replacement of obsolete equipment, a renovation of buildings and homes on a scale not possible before.

Whether the present readjustment in business, made necessary by the curtailment of defense spending, lasts a few weeks or a few months more, the important news now is what's coming after it. Congress has before it proposals which can lift the Nation to higher national income than it has ever had.

The radical Democrats are already indicating that they would like to sabotage the program—they perhaps fear it may redound to the political advantage of the administration. But no better issue for debate could be developed for the people to test than the question of whether the creation of new jobs in America comes from merely reducing taxes to more and more individuals and ignoring the problems of business or from giving business the incentive to expand and thus create new jobs and at the same time granting moderate reductions in taxes to individuals.

In a sense, the conflict of philosophy is the same as that experienced in the 1930's when the radical Democrats favored Government spending for "leaf-raking" projects, whereas the opposing school of thought kept urging an impetus to the heavy-goods industries where unemployment was largest.

Today the radical Democrats are urging, for example, that the things proposed by the President for the stimulus of business expansion shall be ignored and that the tax exemption of lower-income groups be raised from $600 to $700. As the Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, said the other day, this would mean exemption from all tax payments of many millions of persons, and there certainly is an equitable principle in a democracy that every citizen should pay some taxes, however small.

The raising of the exemption by $100 may cost the Treasury about $2 billion or more a year in revenue, and the radical Democrats are acting already as if they think it is better politics for them to sponsor that idea. But what they don't realize perhaps is that, if they insist on such a proposal, it could wreck the whole program of job creation which incentives to business would foster.

So, when Members of Congress line up to vote on specific items in the tax program, those who go along with the demagogic idea of raising the exemptions and refusing to give business a stimulus will have to face the accusation at the polls that they were more interested in politics than in the sound business expansion which creates jobs.

The Republican program includes many a vital stimulus to business. The far-reaching benefits of it can hardly be exaggerated. Thus, the proposal to remove some of the taxes on dividends is from a demagogic point of view merely "helping the rich." But actually, it is a means of saving the whole system of private capitalism from the disintegrating process which has been eating away at it since the 1930's. It is not the benefits of an estimated $300 million in tax reduction to dividend recipients that's important now, but the incentive hereafter to investors generally to buy equity shares in American enterprises for years to come. A continuously sound and attractive capital market in America—the leading Nation with a private capital system—has, paradoxically enough, been absent for 20 years. High taxes have prevented private capital from flowing into enterprises that needed them.

There are plans also for modifying the so-called capital-gains tax so that property will be bought and sold in an active and natural market, as it used to be before the days of high taxes.

Perhaps the most striking proposal of all, however, is the one that would allow deductions each year to owners of buildings and equipment. The new plan would permit tax deductions for depreciation up to two-thirds of the value of a property in the first half of the life of the building or equipment. This provides a needed flexibility. It could mean an unparalleled stimulus to office-building construction and to the manufacture of mechanical equipment of all kinds. Many a company could cut costs and perhaps prices if it had up-to-date equipment. When a company can finance this purchase out of its earnings the buying of new equipment is immediately encouraged.

Then there is the proposed housing program through Government insurance of mortgages and financing of slum-clearance projects which the President has just outlined to Congress. It could mean the addition of many billions of dollars a year to business volume in America, with emphasis on jobs as well as on the expansion of heavy-goods industries.

All these items are not just part of a plan to avoid depression. They go much further. They are designed to give America an era of unparalleled prosperity when military spending in the future necessarily tapers off and the citizens are permitted—as they always used to be permitted—to spend their money for enterprises that create more jobs.

This means not just jobs that disappear when a war crisis fades away but jobs that keep on increasing in number as the country grows and as capital for enterprises becomes more and more abundant. Should Congress adopt the proposals, the years 1955 and 1956 will be the first to reveal the full effects of the expansion program of today. But its momentum will continue for decades to come. It's a substitute for Government spending—and the interesting thing is that Britain, after applying the same formula a few months ago, is now rapidly increasing her tax receipts.

Resolution Concerning Federal Tax on Gasoline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I addressed the sixth district meeting of the West Virginia Petroleum Association. Under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include a resolution which was adopted by the legislative committee of that organization during the meeting:

Whereas highways of the country, including the streets and bridges, are by tradition and by law the property and responsibility of the States and subdivisions thereof; and

Whereas taxation of motor fuel traditionally has been relied upon by the States to produce a major part of the revenue necessary to construct and maintain their State highways and local roads, and the Federal Government, by its continued imposition of this levy, is usurping a tax field which should be reserved to the States; and

Whereas the Federal Government imposed its automotive excise taxes as temporary emergency measures during the early 1930's, but has continued these taxes in effect ever since at increasing rates; and

Whereas the motorists of this country are now paying $5 billion a year in State and Federal motor vehicle and gasoline taxes, of which $2 billion is paid out annually for the Federal gasoline and automotive excise taxes; and

Whereas the invasion of the field of gasoline taxation by the Federal Government has made the total State and Federal tax on a gallon of gasoline equal to 36 percent of the retail price on a national average; and

Whereas it has been recognized by the council of State governments and the Governors' conference that this burden of Federal gasoline and automotive taxes seriously impairs the aibility of the States to carry out their highway programs: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the West Virginia Petroleum Association urgently requests that the Federal Government retire immediately from the field of motor fuel taxation; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to every Member of the West Virginia Delegation in Congress, to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives, and to the chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, and that the Governor of West Virginia is urged to advise all Members of the West Virginia Delegation in Congress of the importance of this matter, and to send a suitable representative of the State to Washington at the appropriate time to appear before the appropriate committees of Congress for the purpose of urging that the Federal tax on motor fuel be eliminated.

OCTOBER 21, 1953.

Foreign Handouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, there are many people who are inquiring why it is that the American taxpayers cannot receive a further reduction in taxes. One of the chief reasons that tax reduction has been resisted is because there are many persons in public life who prefer to spend our taxpayers' money in other countries rather to take care of our people at home.

I call attention to a survey made by Paul O. Peters, editor of the News Bulletin, with reference to our foreign handouts. Just so long as this type of giveaway racket is carried on by our internationalists the greater will be the difficulty in lifting the tax burden from the shoulders of our overtaxed people.

Under leave to extend, heretofore granted, I am inserting in the RECORD the above-mentioned survey:

NET GRANTS AND CREDITS TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL GROUPS IN POSTWAR PERIOD FROM JULY 1, 1945, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1953, REACHED TOTAL OF $43,076,000,000, WITH $10 BILLION ALREADY APPROPRIATED BUT AS YET UNSPENT

In a report prepared by the Office of Business Economics in the Department of Commerce covering foreign grants and credits by the United States Government in the postwar period from July 1, 1945, through September 30, 1953, it is shown that the total net foreign aid amounted to $43,076,000,000. However, this report did not explain that as of September 30, 1953, the unexpended balances available to the Foreign Operations Administration totaled more than $10 billion more which will be poured down the international rat holes that have already soaked up more than $43 billion.

A careful inspection of the recent report indicates that American dollars have been poured into 43 countries besides Canada, the American republics and the international organizations to which the United States contributes.

In the table following, a partial list of countries receiving aid via grants and credits is shown:

	Amount
Austria	$990,000,000
Belgium-Luxembourg	738,000,000
United Kingdom	6,800,000,000
Denmark	281,000,000
Finland	87,000,000
France	4,929,000,000
Germany	3,745,000,000
Greece	1,188,000,000
Iceland	32,000,000
Ireland	146,000,000
Italy	2,559,000,000
Netherlands	1,063,000,000
Norway	295,000,000
Portugal	49,000,000
Spain	54,000,000
Sweden	108,000,000
Trieste	44,000,000
Yugoslavia	616,000,000
Other western Europe	651,000,000
Czechoslovakia	188,000,000
Poland	435,000,000
U. S. S. R.	426,000,000
Other Europe	91,000,000
Near East and Asia:	
Egypt	8,000,000
Iran	53,000,000
Israel	249,000,000
Liberia	21,000,000
Saudi Arabia	15,000,000
Other Near East	91,000,000
Asia and Pacific:	
Afghanistan	20,000,000
Burma	17,000,000
Formosa	1,009,000,000
India	241,000,000
Indochina	52,000,000
Indonesia	207,000,000
Japan and Ryukyu	2,439,000,000
Korea	858,000,000
New Zealand	6,000,000
Pakistan	56,000,000
Thailand	17,000,000
Philippines	795,000,000
Other Asia	24,000,000
American Republics	770,000,000
International organizations	946,000,000

Flood-Control Projects in the Lower Mississippi Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned about the future of flood-control projects in the lower Mississippi Valley.

In that connection, I recommend a careful reading of an address delivered by Col. C. T. Tench, district engineer, stationed in New Orleans, before the second annual Louisiana Associated General Contractor's conference. The subject of his address was titled "Work of the Corps of Engineers in the lower Mississippi Valley." The theme of his discussion was the fact that the Corps of Engineers in New Orleans is at the crossroads, as far as its program of flood control is concerned.

Colonel Tench is a professional engineer, and a good one. He was speaking in terms of constructions and results in the past and the prospects for the future. The prospects for the future will be bright in proportion to the funds made available. The Corps of Engineers has no control over this aspect of the program, and future prospects depend on the action of the Congress.

In the light of the recent budget submitted to Congress, Colonel Tench could not possibly have imagined how right he was when he said that we are at the crossroads, as far as the future program of flood control, water uses, and related projects in the lower Mississippi and its tributaries is concerned.

I personally do not see how anyone can dispute the fact that the item in the budget just submitted to Congress, flood control, Mississippi River and tributaries, indicates a backward instead of a forward movement. Compare the actual figures for the fiscal years 1951, 1952, 1953, and 1954, and the estimated budget figure for fiscal year 1955, and remember that comparison proves.

The address follows:

WORK OF THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

(By Col. C. T. Tench)

The second annual Louisiana Associated General Contractor's conference is holding its sessions at a time when the Corps of Engineers in New Orleans is at the crossroads as far as its program of flood control is concerned. This should be a good time to discuss that program—and its state of completion and incompletion.

I am glad to be your visitor today—to mention briefly what we have done in the Lower Mississippi Valley in the past—and what we expect in the future.

I mentioned a "state of completion." I think we can say that our project—the flood control plan that was brought into existence by the passage of the act of 1928—following the disastrous flood of the year before—is rapidly nearing completion. The major floodways have now been largely completed; the dredging that was necessary to create the cutoffs is finished; and levees are approaching project dimensions. There remain a lot of odds and ends to do, but, for the most part, the so-called Master Plan is largely in the record books.

A lot has been done since 1928. Countless tons of dirt have been moved from the Mississippi River and from its tributaries; and countless tons have been placed in the levees along the main line and in the floodway area. Untold amounts of steel and concrete have been placed in structures that control flows in times of excess or that move navigation through the flood-control structures. You have had a big part to play in that work. I might add that you have had an increasingly big part.

TIME A BIG FACTOR

It is interesting to note that in the early days of full Federal flood control, most of the work was done by hired labor and Government plant. That was due largely to the fact that organized flood control was pretty much a new business and there weren't many contractors equipped to take on the large amount of work that had to be accomplished just as soon as it was humanly possible to do so. Time was then, as it is now, the big

factor in this kind of work. It was and is a big factor because human life weighs heavily in the scale of economic justification, and this work was being done to save the lives and property of the people who live behind the levees in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

As the years went by, however, the contractors took over more and more of this work. More and more were acquiring the necessary equipment and placing themselves in position to make competitive bids. That trend has been most pronounced and today there is scarcely any work we do for which we cannot receive a number of bids in response to our advertisement. Today, you are doing the dredging, the embankment work, and you are building the structures—you are carrying on a large part of the work of flood control in the valley.

I am very happy to say that we have been receiving excellent bids from your members. That is very important to us, today and always. The corps continues to be extremely economy-minded, and we are trying to make our dollars go just as far as possible. We want all the competition that we can possibly get.

At the present time in the New Orleans district, we have 62 construction contracts in force. That covers, of course, work along the Mississippi River from its mouth to Angola, the Atchafalaya River and Basin, the Intracoastal Waterway, and the Red River as far as Fulton, Ark., as well as on some of the tributaries of the Red in that territory. Between now and the end of this fiscal year, which is June 30, 1954, we expect to let about 20 more contracts. These will cover embankment work, revetment work, dredging and some concrete structures. Let's take a look first at the work in progress:

FOCUS CHANGED

The virtual completion of the Morganza floodway control structure changes for the first time in quite a number of years the focal point of our work in the New Orleans district. At the present time, the weir structure is complete and the Texas & Pacific and Louisiana & Arkansas railroads have been routed over it. The embankment work on Louisiana Highway No. 30 is under contract and will be completed early next spring. The paving contract for the approaches will be completed early next summer. When this has been accomplished, the floodway structure will then be complete except for about 5 miles of power-line relocation which we expect to advertise in about 2 months.

However, additional work remains to be done as far as the Atchafalaya Basin Floodway System is concerned.

Due to the fact that the foundations in the Atchafalaya Basin are very poor, it has been necessary to construct the guide levees in several lifts. As a result of this, a number of these levees are still not up to grade, and work of enlarging them will have to be continued for some time to come. Also, the work of relocating the NOT&M Railroad over the floodway continues under reimbursable agreement with the railroad.

One other important piece of work remains to be done before the floodway system can be used without inconvience to the residents at the lower end—that is the completion of what we call the "Flood Control Works Below Morgan City." This work, which will prevent water from the floodway when it is in operation from backing into Morgan City, and other points to the eastward along the Intracoastal Waterway, consists mainly of a series of levees, pumping plants, and a navigation lock at Bayou Boeuf.

BAYOU BOEUF LOCK

Bayou Boeuf lock is being constructed on the extension of the East Atchafalaya Basin Protection Levee near Morgan City, at a point where it crosses Bayou Boeuf. This lock consists of two reinforced concrete gate bays equipped with steel sector gates connected by an earth chamber having a timber guide wall on one side. It is necessary to provide a navigation connection through the levee extension required to protect the areas and communities east of Morgan City when the floodway is in use. The lock should be completed next spring, and the closure of Bayou Boeuf will be started about the end of this year.

The completion of Bayou Boeuf lock and closure will mean that the Morganza Floodway is ready for partial use and, together with Bonnet Carre Floodway, located just above the city of New Orleans, it can be operated to prevent flood damages in this section of the Mississippi Valley.

The imminent completion of these works is the thing that has shifted the horizon of the Corps of Engineers to other things.

Some of these other things are already underway like the Texarkana Dam and Reservoir. This is an earth dam with a concrete spillway and two 20-foot diameter outlets, with gates, designed to retain the floodwaters of Sulphur River and to serve as a water supply for the city of Texarkana. Work was started on this structure in 1948 and the dam is scheduled for completion by the end of 1954. The entire project, which will cost an overall total of $33 million, will be completed approximately 2 years later.

This is one of the dams that is being constructed under the so-called Red River Below Denison Dam program. When this program is completed, it will be possible to retain the floodwaters of the major tributaries until such time as the main stream is able to take care of them. This same program of dam construction is continuing in the upper Mississippi Valley, and as time goes on, is lending more and more assistance, not only in times of high water, but in furnishing water in times of drought.

PONTCHARTRAIN PROJECT

Here at New Orleans, the Corps of Engineers is devoting considerable attention to the Lake Pontchartrain project. At the present time, an embankment has been constructed along the lakeshore in Jefferson Parish affording 8-feet protection to the residents against a repetition of the hurricane tide that inundated the area several years ago. There is a contract presently in effect and approximately 20 percent complete to raise that levee to 10 feet and to increase its cross section.

Listed among New Orleans' completed projects is Dumaine Street floodwall. This structure which averages 10 feet in height was designed as a secondary line of defense to protect against the possibility of inundation of the city of New Orleans should the bank in front of it fail during a period of high water. This bank has been the source of some trepidation for the past 50 years and a failure is within the realm of possibility. The present structure which offers the minimum of obstruction to the historical vista extends approximately from Toulouse Street to Barracks Street and was completed at a cost of $652,000.

One other project that is of considerable importance to the city of New Orleans is the Algiers lock. This is a navigation project and is designed to relieve the tremendous demand on Harvey lock brought about as a result of increase in business on the Intracoastal Waterway. This project consists of a concrete structure with a 9-mile leveed navigation canal, 2 pumping stations, 1 highway bridge, 1 highway tunnel, and 1 railroad bridge. Work was started in 1947 and, when completed, will cost a total of approximately $15 million. There is a temporary holdup in construction of the canal while negotiations are in effect with the railroad, but the entire project is scheduled for completion approximately 18 months after these negotiations have been completed.

THE FUTURE

And now let's take a look at the immediate future: At Bayou Boeuf Lock we will advertise construction of the approach channels consisting of 1,500,000 cubic yards about the 1st of January. Bids for the construction of the Wax Lake east drainage structure in that vicinity will be received on November 24. Early next year we expect to advertise for the construction of Yokely pumping station to house equipment already purchased. This station will be set on a pile foundation and will involve 15,000 cubic yards of earthwork and 700 yards of concrete.

On the Algiers lock job the highway department will receive bids on the highway No. 31 tunnel crossing on December 16 and the railroad bridge, with its approaches, will be advertised shortly after the negotiations now in progress are completed.

On Mississippi River levees, in December 130,000 yards of earthwork will be advertised to cover the job at Point Michel. Early next spring 40,000 additional yards will be advertised for the Norco levee setback.

Continuing on other levee work, early in December we will advertise 300,000 cubic yards of hydraulic dredging in connection with the slide repairs at Little Bayou Sorrel.

On Red River we have 500 feet of standard board revetment upon which bids will be received on November 18. A larger board revetment job of some 4,000 feet will be advertised in December.

On December 3 we will receive bids for 9 miles of maintenance dredging on the Calcasieu River involving some 2½ million cubic yards. After this is completed another 5½ million cubic yards will be advertised at a location approximately 14 miles above the first one.

At Algiers Lock bids will be received on November 25 for relocation of the road to Alvin Callender Airport and will include 6,200 yards of base course, 36,000 yards of excavation, 1,680 feet of concrete piling, 570 feet of culvert, and 80,800 pounds of miscellaneous steel for a bridge.

In the Morganza floodway we will have 5 miles of powerline relocation ready for advertisement in about 2 months.

Down at the mouth of the river we expect to advertise for an additional 17,300 tons of stone about the end of November in connection with repairs to the east jetty of Southwest Pass. Repairs to the West Headland Dike will be advertised in about a week and will involve some 2,800 lineal feet of piling, 240 cords of brush, and 3,600 tons of stone.

At Texarkana Dam the St. Louis Southwestern Railroad relocation job will involve 2½ million cubic yards of embankment, 780 acres of clearing, 132,000 yards of riprap, and 44,000 yards of filter blanket, 17 drainage structures, box culverts and pipes, sodding, subballast, wire fencing, and fertilizer. We will also advertise for 8 steel bridges involving over a thousand tons of steel.

OLD RIVER CLOSURE

That completes the picture for the immediate future. There is a broader picture in which you are interested and about which you will hear a great deal in the future. I speak, of course, about the closure of Old River. We are conducting our studies on that subject with all possible dispatch and you may rest assured that no stone is being left unturned to give proper attention to this important feature.

I spoke earlier of having arrived at the crossroads and about the shifting of our focal point. The Old River problem is the next stop along the way towards solving the problem of flood control. This problem is, of necessity, a very expensive proposition and everything cannot be accomplished at once. It must be approached on a first-things-first basis. Congress hasn't in the past, and, undoubtedly, won't in the future furnish funds to do work today that can be put off safely until tomorrow.

For that reason, in our first-things-first way, we have arrived at the Old River problem. We have watched the situation develop for quite a number of years now, but, since no danger was imminent, it had to take a back seat to more important work. With the completion of these more important things, we take a new direction at the crossroads, and the Old River problem moves into a place of top importance in the plans of the Corps of Engineers for flood control in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

That's what I meant when I referred to the Corps of Engineers as being at the crossroads from the standpoint of flood control. It may be that the corps is at the crossroads from a broader viewpoint since the close of hostilities in Korea may permit renewed emphasis on a program of civil works. But whatever the future may bring, the Corps of Engineers, with its "organization-in-being" is prepared to carry on either a program of peacetime construction or an intensification of the military effort on short notice. It will carry on either program with its existing division and district offices throughout the United States. This "organization-in-being" constitutes a unique asset to the safety of our Nation in these uncertain times. The threat of atomic war makes it imperative that the construction which is the very heart of readiness to defend ourselves can be initiated and accomplished without delay.

The Corps of Engineers has been performing peacetime construction for the United States ever since the early days of the Nation. In this program, we have relied, more and more upon the contractors of the Nation. We rely upon them to carry out the civil works construction embodied in our plans and specifications; we are looking to them to furnish needed equipment quickly in high water or disaster and we know that the construction industry and the corps are ready and able to function as a team if war should come again.

In the meantime, our organization-in-being goes ahead with its peacetime mission—proud of being teamed with our incomparable American builders. It has been a pleasure to work with you in the past, and we look forward to many pleasant relations in the future—a future that should bring to completion and fruition, all of our plans to protect forever from the danger of floods the rich lands of this valley.

Flood control, Mississippi River and tributaries

[Appropriations by fiscal years]

	Fiscal year 1951 (actual)	Fiscal year 1952 (actual)	Fiscal year 1953 (actual)	Fiscal year 1954 (actual)	Fiscal year 1955 (budget estimate)
Construction:					
Main stem:					
Mississippi River levees	$5,500,000	$4,000,000	$3,300,000	$3,622,650	$853,000
Bank stabilization	19,800,000	17,775,000	22,000,000	18,145,000	18,775,000
Mapping	245,000	250,000	225,000	190,000	200,000
Memphis Harbor	1,250,000	1,400,000	1,250,000	1,235,000	571,000
Morganza structure	5,700,000	6,942,000	4,025,000	0	0
Subtotal	32,495,000	30,367,000	30,800,000	23,192,350	20,399,000
Off main stem:					
St. Francis Basin	510,000	500,000	500,000	2,375,000	2,736,000
Lower White River	0	453,000	0	522,500	205,000
Lower Arkansas River	240,000	500,000	500,000	437,000	480,000
Tensas River Basin	1,237,000	2,920,000	3,000,000	2,584,000	2,067,000
Wazoo River Basin	9,690,000	6,480,000	6,000,000	4,196,150	906,000
Atchafalaya River Basin	2,503,000	4,580,000	4,200,000	2,736,000	3,175,000
Lake Pontchartrain	0	0	0	590,000	230,000
Lower Red River	125,000	200,000	0	0	0
Subtotal	14,305,000	15,633,000	14,200,000	13,440,650	9,801,000
Total construction	46,800,000	46,000,000	45,000,000	36,633,000	30,200,000
Maintenance	14,447,900	14,335,000	14,827,000	14,800,000	15,000,000
Emergencies	450,000	800,000	250,000	0	0
OCE salaries	152,500	165,000	193,000	0	0
Grand total	61,850,400	61,000,000	60,270,000	51,433,000	45,200,000

Randall Commission Ignores Crisis in Coal Resulting From Residual Fuel Oil Import Flood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, headed by Inland Steel's Clarence B. Randall, this week submitted to Congress its long-awaited report on the whole broad problem of foreign trade, foreign aid, tariffs, and related matters. It is, to say the least, a disappointing document.

I examined it first, of course, in search of some discussion and recommendations on the issue I raised in my letter to Chairman Randall of October 12 in which I had asked for a full-scale investigation into the dumping in this country of foreign residual fuel oil to the great detriment of the American coal industry. In the entire 107-page report there was not so much as a single sentence devoted to this problem—one of the most acute facing the coal-producing areas of the country.

In asking Chairman Randall to set up a special task force within the Commission to study the impact on the American economy and on our defense and security position of the crippling blows to our coal industry from this dumping process, I wrote:

This is not just a minor instance of foreign imports reacting a little unfavorably against a particular isolated industry. It is, rather, a case of a far-reaching threat to the progress of our whole economy, and a danger to our future security.

Such a task force should not only examine ways of protecting the American coal industry against further crippling blows from unrestricted oil imports but also methods of expanding our coal markets abroad in friendly nations which need coal for industrial expansion but which are handicapped by dollar shortages and by high transportation costs in getting the supplies they need. I believe both types of studies come within the jurisdiction of your Commission.

Mr. Randall, for some reason or other, never had time, personally, to acknowledge my letter. I would not have minded that if only he had paid some attention to it. But, when I discovered the Commission report, covering all phases of foreign economic policy as a guide for the Eisenhower administration's future program in this field, devoted not a word to this problem of the unrestricted flow of foreign residual fuel oil, I could not help wondering about this key paragraph of the report itself:

Responsible behavior on our part (in foreign-trade policy) requires that we recognize our own limitations and restrict our commitments to our capabilities. Our first obligation to the world, as well as to ourselves, is to keep the United States strong. Only from that firm base shall we be able, intelligently and worthily, to measure up to our great responsibility in world leadership.

That is all well and good, of course. But how can the strength of the United States be maintained if our basic coal industry is allowed to decline sharply because of unfair competition from abroad?

ANTIDUMPING INQUIRY

Since the Randall Commission report failed even to consider this important problem, I have this week addressed a letter to Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey asking what studies his Department has initiated in examining into the residual fuel oil import situation under the Antidumping Act of 1921. This act calls for substantial tariff penalties on the import into the United States of merchandise at prices below a fair market value or below the cost of production abroad.

The Truth About Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a review by Ann Sue Cardwell of a recent book by Samuel L. Sharp, entitled "Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field."

This book is so replete with misstatements and half-truths, and so closely follows the Communist line of propaganda, that I believe this unbiased re-

port of a distinguished American writer is worthy of our careful consideration.

The review follows:

The information on the jacket of Samuel L. Sharp's recent book Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field, contains an impressive listing of his qualifications for such writing. Much is made of his Americanism and his opportunities for assembling facts that enable him to present an objective realistic picture of Poland and the Poles throughout history with especial emphasis on contemporary events and personalities. The book has had favorable reviews by writers generally regarded as reliable, and Americans unfamiliar with Polish history and uninformed on present-day Poland might well be led into thinking the book is a desirable addition to reference libraries.

However, if they take the trouble to read the author's preface and know anything about conditions in countries under Moscow's heel, they should be alerted by a statement regarding his visit to Poland in 1948. He says that because he made that visit "before the temperature of the cold war had dropped to the zero point of absurdity" he "enjoyed and still feels obliged to acknowledge the customary courtesies of the Polish authorities in Warsaw, including the supreme courtesy of being left alone to study, travel, and meet people of various shades of political opinion."

When that is compared with the testimony of all Polish refugees on freedom of Polish association with foreigners that year and even in the years preceding, one must agree with Mr. Sharp when he says that he was fortunate indeed, but not with the reason he assigns.

The book is objective history? Nothing could be farther from the truth. From beginning to end this 327-page volume impresses the thoughtful leader as having been written to a pattern designed to support the author's frankly stated contention that Poland's fate hinges on decisions made by the great powers, that morality and justice will never have anything to do with it unless it happens to be convenient. There may again be a free and independent Poland or there may not be, and judging from the arguments advanced and attitudes apparent, the chances are all against it. There's pessimism for you.

Why? Because Americans want no war and hope to negotiate with the Soviet Union. But "negotiating means bargaining, and of the issue of Poland the bargaining position (of Moscow) is infinitely stronger than that of the United States * * * because Poland is a vital Russian interest and only incidentally or secondarily an object of American interest * * *." (He does not elaborate on the implication of the word "vital" but we infer, from what is known of Soviet ambitions, that it has reference to Moscow's plans for world conquest.) This is put before the reading public at a time when the Administration in Washington is repeatedly stressing the need for return to morality in both national and international life. Furthermore, the author does not consider the possibility of the United States, too, having vital interest in Poland—as it certainly has if it desires peace.

Manifestly there can be no claim to objectivity in the author's treatment of the Poles, either as individuals or a nation. Nowhere does he speak of them in terms of praise, even of approval. He condescends, belittles, scorns. He tears to tatters the reputation of leaders always respected, even reverenced by Poles—leaders outstanding in war, diplomacy, literature, irrespective of time and party—a long list.

He takes special care to trace American-Polish relations, pointing out the worthlessness of promises made, American skill in avoiding execution of obligations accepted, and our willingness to sacrifice an ally if that served our interest. One wonders if the author calculated the effect of this picture of America might have upon the peoples who we are so anxiously striving to win or keep as allies, not to mention the reaction of peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Facts under Mr. Sharp's handling all too often appear in a strange light. Half-truth, distortions, omissions of vital data, inaccuracies, his own opinions and conclusions presented as facts abound. The casual manner in which matters of greatest importance to the Polish people are discussed and dismissed is amazing. The Katyn Forest murders, for example. He condemns both the Poles and Russia, the first for their inability to forget, and the second for its inability to admit guilt or even a mistake. But the Poles are most to blame, for they should have remembered that forgetting is necessary to the maintenance of international relations and never should have asked for an international Red Cross investigation.

Following a similar line of reasoning we must suppose that despite Mr. Sharp's devotion to America he should condemn American action in bringing the Korean atrocities before the United Nations. The case is precisely the same, substituting Americans and other United Nations nationals for Poles and Korea for the Soviet Union.

A whole book, not a brief review, is needed to refute this studied, expertly organized anti-Polish propaganda volume, for that is what it is, whatever may have been the author's intention. It is difficult to see who stands to profit from it except the Soviet Union, determined to keep Poland in its clutches at all costs. Yet it is common knowledge that it is a rare disadvantage that cannot be turned into an advantage. This book presents a fresh challenge to the Poles and friends of Poland in the free world. The future will show whether they meet it or let it pass.

Alaska Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in extending as part of my remarks a letter written by Mrs. Paul B. Crews, of Anchorage, Alaska, on the subject of Alaska statehood which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor of January 22:

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

Senator HUGH BUTLER of Nebraska, chairman of the Senate Insular Affairs Committee, and five other Senators were here in Alaska last summer to conduct hearings on statehood for Alaska. I attended or heard every session that took place in Anchorage when witness after witness competently or emotionally explained why Alaska should be granted statehood. It was proven by undisputed financial testimony that the economy could support statehood because of the reserve of $7 million now in the treasury set aside for the change from Territorial to statehood status, and the excess in the treasury after each year's tax receipts.

Indeed, it was amply demonstrated that Alaska could no longer afford not to have statehood if it was to move forward and to come into its own as an expanding contributing part of the whole of the United States.

My interest began when through community activities such as the League of Women Voters, the PTA, and Community Club work I found at every turn citizens who were faced by legal restrictions, and they could not institute needed changes in the social pattern here.

The phrase "restricted by the organic act," is on everyone's lips. This means that under the Territorial setup, the organic act serves as a constitution for Alaska, and all Territorial legislation has to conform to that act, and that all Territorial legislation is subject to the approval of Congress as a whole. If the Territory desires any changes, it has to send resolutions to Congress petitioning them to consider the matter.

Regular Territorial legislative sessions are limited, by law, to 60 days each 2 years, which is insufficient time to examine, study, and properly legislate on the many complex problems facing the Government of Alaska during the 2-year period.

There are many, many legal involvements standing in the way of the full development of Alaska. First, perhaps would be the need to clarify the land laws under which private ownership of lands is acquired. As of now, aboriginal claims of the Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts threaten to stifle the investigation and development of the tremendous mineral, forest, and water resources potential. No big financial interest is willing to spend the sums of money necessary for this work, when after a good discovery is made the native claims take first precedent.

Development of the Territory is being hindered because of the fact that less than 1 percent of the lands within the Territory are held in private ownership. There is lack of legislation providing for the guidance of settlement and the classification of land in order to guarantee its highest use. The laws are too involved and too restrictive to further the proper development of the Territory of Alaska and of its communities and frequently retard the passage of townsite lands into private or local community ownership. The Small Tract Act of June 1, 1938, provides only for the lease and sale of surveyed lands and such lease and sale is restricted to individuals only. Whereas, less than 1 percent of the Territory of Alaska is surveyed, and corporations, associations, and municipalities are prohibited from acquiring lands for recreation, business, or community site purposes.

Under statehood, the Alaska Legislature could set up its own tax exemption clauses, specifying periods of years for the exemption, thus encouraging outside capital to come in. Under statehood, the White Act of 1923 would be superseded, discriminatory shipping practices would be eliminated, and all vessels now allowed to call at the ports of the continental United States would also be allowed to come in here.

Under statehood, the fisheries people would be able to regulate its fishing industry in the same way that the States of Oregon and Washington have been able to do. One of the first things probably to happen in that event (which was done in the two mentioned States) would be to abolish fishtraps. It has always been the cry of Alaskan fishing interests that they were being outvoted when it came to their own best interests by absentee ownership, centered mostly in the Pacific Northwest.

If these few examples of problems faced by Alaskans were generally better known, the cause for statehood would be widely understood. When we came here less than 2 years ago, I will admit now, I thought it was a land of uneducated native folk and some individualistic sourdoughs. How far from the truth that picture was. The greatest share of the population came from the continental United States. They stayed volun-

tarily after a spell in the service, perhaps, or after engaging in construction employment.

There is something about the "Spell of the Yukon" that attracts dissatisfied and restless people and these people are anxious to bring the physical standards of the human needs up to the same high quality experienced back in the old home town.

None of us likes to be disenfranchised while still paying taxes. That was one of the causes of our American Revolution. And it is hard to see Alaska being considered as a stepchild for years while growing emphasis is being placed by the United States on other colonial areas of the world.

Mrs. PAUL B. CREWS.

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA.

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, last week the Senate passed the St. Lawrence seaway bill by a vote of 51 to 33, a comfortable margin.

This measure will now constitute one of the major items of legislative work before the House of Representatives. I hope that the leadership of the House and the Public Works Committee will make this legislation the first order of business. I also hope that my colleagues will subordinate any sectional interests to the general public good by voting for this meritorious public work which will develop and enrich the entire Nation and strengthen our defenses.

Mr. Speaker, I stated my position on the St. Lawrence seaway early in my service in the Congress. On March 6, 1952, pages 1969–1972, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I announced my support and explained in detail the reasons for my position. Again on May 5, 1952, pages 4897–4901, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I spoke further on this subject.

Last week my hometown paper, the Ann Arbor News, carried an excellent editorial on the St. Lawrence seaway. I hope that my colleagues will take the time to read this editorial and that they will be persuaded by the arguments therein advanced.

Under leave, I insert the editorial at this point in my remarks:

[From the Ann Arbor (Mich.) News of January 23, 1954]

SENATE APPROVAL OF SEAWAY PROJECT LONG OVERDUE

The Nation has to be put ahead of individual States and the national security has to be put ahead of special interests in considering the St. Lawrence seaway. The United States Senate has at last put first things first and second things second to vote in favor of building this international project.

It remains to be seen whether the House of Representatives will allow the insistent and formidable pressures being brought to bear upon it to influence its vote.

Here in Michigan, a State bounded on 4 sides of its 2 peninsulas by the Great Lakes, there is no argument about the advantages and the necessity of opening the inland seas to full-size shipping. Michigan's senior Senator, HOMER FERGUSON, minced no words in releasing the letter written him prior to the Senate vote in which Adm. Arthur W. Radford stated that the St. Lawrence seaway is necessary in the interest of national security.

The argument is now out in the open. In fact, it has been there for some time. The construction of locks and the dredging of a deep-water channel through the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lake will make it possible for oceangoing vessels to reach midwestern ports. Cargoes of peace and cargoes of war can then be delivered direct to the industrial heart of America. Raw materials can move practically from portal to portal, from mines and forests to foundries and factories.

So clear do the reasons seem in favor of opening up this new facility that the wonder is the country has so long delayed. Canada, which will share with the United States the same gains, has already undertaken to proceed alone because of our delay.

The St. Lawrence seaway has not been built before now because of vested and regional interests. Our Federal system of Government, carefully constructed to represent the States individually, has been manipulated to thwart the national interest in this respect. States possessing ocean ports have blocked the States whose Great Lakes ports would become rivals in the event the seaway is opened.

Not only have regional interests interfered with progress, but particular rail interests have blocked passage of the measure. If it becomes possible to ship ore and other essential supplies via the St. Lawrence, overland hauling will, it is feared, be curtailed. Regardless of whether it will or won't suffer and regardless of whether oceanic ports will lose business, the need for the new waterway ought to override such considerations.

The fact of the matter is that the opening of the St. Lawrence to transoceanic shipping may stimulate American production so that all interests in American life will gain. America was not built on the protection of existing interests at the expense of new exploration and development.

Refusal to open the St. Lawrence today is not in the tradition of pioneer development on which this country came into existence. It is one frontier we have so far failed to cross. Had the same spirit that has blocked us in opening the St. Lawrence prevailed among our forbears, we should never have purchased the Louisiana Territory, never have sailed down the Mississippi, never opened the prairies or reached the Pacific.

Today, we have the added impact of national defense needs to compel the country to join with Canada in the proposed construction job. Defense no longer rests on destructive power alone; our security hangs upon our constructive potential. The ability of American industry to turn out the goods needed round the world is our own source of security. Directly related to American industrial stability is the availability of raw products. This the St. Lawrence seaway, once it is approved by Congress, will insure for the future, come war or peace.

Collapse of Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the sad collapse of the postal service under the present Republican administration, shown in dropping morale and in actual time tests conducted by a leading Republican newspaper, continues to be the subject of great national concern.

The Chicago Tribune, responsible for the tests that showed up the inefficiency of the present administration, in its issue of January 26, 1954, again reminds the Postmaster General that his party's 1952 platform promised a more frequent mail-delivery service. Performance running contrary to campaign pledge, the Tribune test shows that after a year of Republican management the average speed of mail is 4½ percent slower than when the Republicans took over.

The Tribune editorial, in part, reads:

WORSE MAIL SERVICE

A year ago the Tribune made a test of the postal service by recording the time required for 384 letters to travel between Chicago and suburbs and 16 major cities. The test has been repeated with results that bring no credit to the Republican administration of the postal system.

In last year's test, the total elapsed time for delivery of all letters was 16,942 hours. The total this year was 17,726 hours. Expressed in another way, the average speed of the mail is about 4½ percent slower than a year ago.

We are surprised at these results, not only because we expected Republican management of the post office to be better than Democratic, but because Postmaster General Summerfield has been working hard at his job and has instituted several reforms.

* * * * *

The mail service is one part of the Government that touches everybody directly. If the service is bad, the party in power gets the blame. In this election year, we wish Mr. Summerfield success in making some marked improvements. His party's 1952 platform promised "a more efficient and frequent mail-delivery service."

Persecution in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Polish Emigrants Association, Inc., of the Second World War.

This resolution represents the sincere and deep-felt concern of the Polish emigrants for their brethren who remain in Poland under the tyrannical rule of the Soviet Union. It is a concern, I am sure, the entire Congress shares and their recommendations should receive serious attention by the executive branch as well as the Congress:

The Polish Emigrants Association, Inc., of the Second World War, present the following resolution for your consideration and adoption at this protest meeting assembled here at the Polish National Home, 250 Bayway, Elizabeth, N. J., on Sunday, January 17, 1954:

"We Americans of Polish descent and residents of the United States, representing thousands of Polish immigrants in New Jersey, assembled at the Polish National Home,

250 Bayway, Elizabeth, N. J., on this very day, the 17th of January 1954, are all with our thoughts with you in Poland and we send you our sincere appreciation and express our admiration for your gallant and firm stand by the religion and your devotion to our great ideas, freedom, justice, and democracy.

"We pay the tribute to those who fight and suffer, particularly to those who are imprisoned and sent to concentration camps. Always we will remember those who died while fighting for the cause of free Poland.

"Considering the infamous and barbarous acts of the Communist regime in Poland aiming to the destruction of the church by the removal from the post as head of the church Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, Primate of Poland, imprisonment of Bishop Czeslaw Kaczmarek, and many others in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, we assure you that here in the free land of America we consider as our greatest duty to serve you and our country. We want to be the ambassadors of our imprisoned land.

"We assure you that we have great confidence in the strength and democracy of the West, with United States in the leading role. We are aware that by destroying communism and restoring the boundaries of Poland as they were in the year 1939, we can gain lasting peace for all nations and that our own freedom cannot last while other nations are enslaved.

"We believe that movement of freedom and democracy of the whole world will choose the way aiming to liberation of all countries occupied by Russia, including Poland.

"We shall always look to the freedom-loving nations—

"To withdraw the recognition of the Communist regime in Poland by Western Powers;

"To recognize the legal Polish Government in exile;

"To restore the 1939 boundaries in the east and to secure on Odra and Niassa waterways the west boundaries;

"To restore the freedom of every citizen of Poland in the pursuit of self-government in the field of politics, economy, and social life from the enslavement of Communist Russia, which can only be further guaranteed by the pursuit of religions freedom of citizens' own choosing.

"To those in our beloved Poland looking to us for guidance, we are not asking you to accept the course of actual fighting as this will result in further persecution from the occupying forces. We are admiring you for your firmness and will to preserve your religion, to serve the country the best way there is, and to save the souls of the younger generation from depravation by exercising solidarity and building patiently the will to avoid the dangerous web of Communist provocation which could lead to the destruction of Poland.

"Knowing the sincerity of this great American Nation toward the course of liberation of Poland and other countries from Communist occupation—we voice our appreciation to the President of the United States for his expression of resentment at the news of religious persecution in Poland.

"We express our thanks and gratitude to the cardinals and Catholic episcopates of many countries including the United States for their pronouncement on religious persecution in Poland and for their reassurances of sympathy and admiration for the perseverance, the courage, and Christian fortitude of the Polish people.

"We appeal to the delegations of free governments, who are the members of United Nations, to raise their voices in protest and condemnation of the crimes committed by the Communist regime in Poland, the persecution of our religion and violation of every basic principle of justice, human rights, and common decency: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this body, gathered here in protest against the many persecutions of the people of the noble land of Poland, urge that the good offices of the President of these United States continue to use every means at their disposal with the assistance of our allies in the United Nations to end the inhuman conditions in Poland; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the White House, Washington, D. C.; the president of the Polish Government in Exile, London, Great Britain; His Excellency Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations, United Nations Plaza, New York, N. Y.; the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, archbishop of Washington, archbishop's residence, Washington, D. C.; the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C."

Polish Emigrants Association, Inc., of the Second World War, 250 Bayway, Elizabeth, N. Y.; Peter Chudzikiewicz, president; Stanislaw Niemczyuk, general secretary, 708 Meecham Ave., Linden, N. J.

The Polish Heritage, Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the third and final installment of Adela Lagodzinska's address at the University of Chicago College, as follows:

THE POLISH HERITAGE AND THE FUTURE OF CHICAGO

(By Adela Lagodzinska)

After Poland had regained her independence—thanks in great measure to President Woodrow Wilson's enthusiastic support of the Polish cause at Versailles—there was the gigantic task of rehabilitating their thousands of homeless peoples and orphans.

Upon the appeal for funds by Henryk Sienkiewicz, Ignace Paderewski, and others, the Polish National Committee was formed in Chicago. Through the offices of this organization millions of dollars in donations and supplies were sent from America to the needy in Poland, and to Siberia where many Poles were interned.

When our United States Government approved the first Polish consul in Chicago, the temporary offices were extended to him by the Polish Women's Alliance of America.

The Second World War was another evidence of the Poles' patriotism with the huge contributions to the United States community and war funds; to the American Red Cross, and the volunteer services in that field. Each large and small Polish-American organization, institution, and group conducted Victory Bond campaigns, helped with the recruitment into the United States Army, sending thousands of its sons and daughters to the United States Armed Forces.

Too, with the outbreak of World War II hostilities, other important events and activities entered into the lives of the Chicago Poles. Among these of great significance was the establishment of Rada Polonii Amerykanskiej (American Relief for Poland). This large nonprofit, humanitarian organization, and smaller ones, like their predecessors of World War I, through multi-million-dollar Polish-American donations, brought great moral, financial, and material relief to countless millions of Poles in Poland and elsewhere, victims of Nazi and Communist aggression and conquest.

At this time still another very influential institution, the Polish-American Congress, came into being in Chicago, with State divisions representing major Polish-American organizations in nearly every State of our United Republic.

The Polish-American Congress, founded in 1941, is the most important political spokesman for millions of avowed Polish-Americans in this country. Its most important pronouncements have dealt with the question of Poland's future in the family of free nations. It is likewise a clearing house for the support and diffusion of Polish cultural influences in America.

In the political sphere, the greatest job that the Congress has done was in recommending the repudiation of the Yalta agreements, and likewise being in the forefront in seeking the establishment of the Katyn Committee where evidence proved that Russia was responsible for the massacre of 15,000 Polish Army officers, the atrocities bearing a stark similarity to the murders in Korea.

All of these previously mentioned manifestations of the work and worth of the Chicago Poles came down to the present generation through a heritage from those preceding them. It would be well, then, to reflect on what and how much of this we will give to the succeeding generations.

The Polish-Americans in Chicago bequeath to the succeeding generations their moral well-being, basing the education of their youth on Christian religious fundamentals that resist any and all compromises to evil. The American Pole firmly believes in the Christian principles as regards God, marriage, the home, family, and society in general.

The American of Polish descent has a deeply rooted feeling of patriotism with an inherent sense of freedom, which is a characteristic of America and Poland.

It would be inconceivable here or in Poland to think or work for a despotic or dictatorial form of government, including atheistic communism. You don't need to teach a Pole in America what true freedom means—he has that quality in his blood. An outstanding trait—as history discloses time and time again—is the Pole's readiness to fight for his God and country.

Polish American families—and individual units—bring into their communities good neighborliness. They are always positive elements for the future.

Through their thriftiness, the Chicago Poles have endowed our city with numerous churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, day nurseries, and homes for the aged, which they also support. Because they have given so generously of their hard earned moneys to maintain these institutions, they have saved millions of tax dollars for the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois—through their voluntary, active support and administration of these institutions and projects—that by right of citizenship should be the undertaking of municipal agencies supported by city and public funds and taxes.

Displaced persons and other Polish immigrants to Chicago in the past few years have, too, contributed greatly to our heritage by their varied interests in the culture, arts, and sciences, not only of Poland, but of America.

It is my earnest and sincere wish to encourage all those interested in the Polish problem to seriously take up the study of the Polish language, the history and literature. In this way all Americans will get to know the spirit of the Polish cultural heritage.

Every generation must extract new values out of its own heritage. For each generation the understanding of its own native cultural past can be a stronger impulse for greater activity and vital inspiration to build for the future.

Mastering another language, especially the language of ones ancestors or other nationals, opens wide horizons in the world of knowledge and understanding.

What—you may ask—has the Polish American woman accomplished for the preservation of her heritage?

Being a woman, and President of a Polish women's organization—I'm sure that the men here in this audience will not challenge me—but will readily admit that the Polish women have been and are the true guardians of the home—by promoting faith in high ideals, and imparting spiritual strength to their loved ones. They kept alive, within the seclusion of their homes—the old Polish religious customs and traditions. They repeated daily prayers with their little children, to keep those hearts pure and loving. Intensely patriotic, and always hopeful for the future, they gave solace and consolation to all about them. This, I say, has been the spiritual strength—the heritage—of Polish womanhood in America.

From our experience, I can happily state, that our youth is sound—capable and willing to help shape the destiny of Polish Americans.

During a Youth Conference of the Polish Women's Alliance of America, held in Chicago the past summer, the young people publicly proved that their interest in Polish problems, in the language and culture was so very vivid and much alive among them. Their program boldly demonstrated that the younger Polish-American generation is capable and ready, like their ancestors—of Americanism.

In conclusion—permit me to state—that the Polish immigrant and his children contributed to our Nation's growth and progressive vitality—many very precious religious, moral, cultural, and economic attributes—and that standing firmly on them—they built our "good old fashioned" Americanism—our present— American heritage.

Testimony of Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, President of the Labor Health Institute, St. Louis, Mo., Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in Favor of a Health Program To Provide Assistance in Carrying Cost of Medical and Hospital Treatment

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony of Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce at its hearing to develop a health program is very important. Mr. Gibbons is president of the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, Mo. He is also secretary-treasurer of Local 688 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers, of the AFL.

Mr. Gibbons made the following statement:

My name is Harold J. Gibbons; I am from St. Louis, Mo.; and I appear before you today as president of the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis, Mo. I am also secretary-treasurer of Local 688 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers, of the AFL, many of whose 10,000 members are covered by the Labor Health Institute services.

Before proceeding with a brief outline of the history and operations of our institute, I would like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of all of us connected with Labor Health Institute for your invitation to appear here today. Your investigation of health insurance programs, as I have followed it to date, has been extremely constructive and gives promise of producing new and needed legislation. It has been our experience at LHI to meet visitors from all over the United States—and many, too, from other countries—who are grappling with the problem of providing low and middle income families with first-rate, comprehensive medical care without cost to the wage earners of these families. I am sure that these same community leaders—many of them colleagues of mine in the labor movement—will look forward to any legislation that may come out of these hearings with a great deal of interest.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ST. LOUIS LABOR HEALTH INSTITUTE

The St. Louis Labor Health Institute is a prepayment, comprehensive medical care service based on group practice methods. It was originally organized in 1945 and at present is sponsored by Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, No. 688.

The union, in negotiating its contract with its employers, secures provisions for a health fund which is contributed by the employer and represents an amount equal to 3½ or 5 percent of the gross payroll. The LHI undertakes to provide comprehensive medical, dental, and hospital care to the members enrolled. For 3½ percent these services are furnished to the individual wage earner member. For 5 percent the plan provides medical care for the wage earner, his spouse and dependent children under 18. At the present time the average number of eligible individuals total 14,276; of these, 6,753 are regular members and 7,415 are family dependents.

The LHI is governed by a board of trustees which is elected by the membership. Management as well as labor is eligible for membership on the board. LHI is a pro forma corporation under Missouri laws and is entirely independent of the union in its administration and financial control. Medical policies are administered by a full-time medical director. Only the business policies are administered by the lay board. The professional relationship between physician and patient is maintained as in private practice, with the preservation of the customary professional secrecy and confidences of the patient.

PHYSICAL FACILITIES

The LHI occupies the three top floors of a LHI-owned building and has additional space on the first floor where the pharmacy and business office are located. An outpatient medical center is maintained in the business district of St. Louis conveniently located near the majority of the business plants subscribing to its service.

Each floor has a large, centrally located waiting room, as well as a reception desk; and sections usually visited by many patients have special smaller waiting rooms next to the offices of the physicians. The suites of the physicians and dentists are equipped for routine consultations, examinations, and treatment.

The roentgenological laboratory is located on the fourth floor and is equipped with two X-ray machines. It provides for diagnostic examinations and superficial X-ray therapy.

The clinical laboratory is housed in a special unit close to the section of internal medicine. All routine tests are run in this laboratory.

SERVICES RENDERED

In the medical center members receive:

1. Health care: This includes preventative care, immunizations, periodic physical examinations.
2. Sick care: This includes general medical care, and medical specialists' services—internal medicine, skin, allergy, neuropsychiatry, pediatrics, general surgery, ear, nose, and throat, eye, urology, obstetrics and gynecology, orthopedics.
3. Dental care.
4. Laboratory service.
5. X-rays.
6. Physiotherapy.
7. Deep X-ray therapy.
8. Special studies, BMR, EKG.

In the hospital members receive medical and surgical care.

In the home members receive home visits by doctors and nurses.

I attach as tables I and II some figures on the utilization of these services by our members for our last fiscal year.

GROUP PRACTICE PLAN

In the treatment program group practice is emphasized, and in the orientation to provide every medical need of the patient, there is an integration of all necessary specialties for his care. The staff members on the medical service take turns at all hours to provide emergency service to the homes of patients requiring them. Every patient proposed for hospitalization or for surgery, except in cases of emergency, is presented at regular weekly meetings of the entire medical staff. Here also are discussed patients already in the hospital, those being discharged and those presenting problems. These meetings and consultations serve to clarify the medical and surgical problems presented, and enlist discussions by various consultants of the proposed methods of treatment.

The medical and dental staff consists of: 42 part-time physicians; 11 consultants available on the basis of special arrangements; 6 physicians available for home care only to members residing in outlying areas; 10 part-time dentists. In addition the auxiliary personnel is comprised of: 2 full-time pharmacists; 10 full-time and 3 part-time nurses; 3 full-time laboratory technicians; 2 full-time X-ray technicians, 6 dental assistants; 1 full-time medical record librarian and 1 part-time health educator.

FINANCES

With contracts in force with 175 companies and industries, the total income of the LHI at the close of the last fiscal year amounted to $985,809.

The actual expenses for service and administration and the allowance for depreciation amounted to $751,960 or about $52.68 per eligible person. The operation of the medical care plan, including administration and depreciation, involved costs of $604,037, or $42.31 per eligible person and the hospitalization plan cost $147,923 or $10.37 per eligible person.

Under the medical care plan cost per patient visit was $6.06. Cost per hospital day was $12.26.

The average income of the wage earners was estimated between $50–$55 a week.

I attach as tables III and IV some more detailed figures on these matters.

QUALITY OF SERVICES RENDERED

To maintain its high quality of care the medical director has three supervisors who operate under him; a chief of the medical service, a chief of the surgical service, and a chief of dental service. These men form the professional executive committee. At weekly conferences they discuss matters of organization and procedure as well as medical problems.

In addition, there is a medical conference committee which serves as an advisory committee to both the president and the medical director. This committee consists of five members selected from outstanding men in the community representative of both private practitioners and full-time teachers in the medical and dental fields. This committee concerns itself with all matters re-

garding the quality and quantity of the professional service, professional organization, professional personnel, and professional administrative problems. The committee meets periodically and reports both to the President and to the Medical Director.

In order to give you an idea of the quality of services rendered to our members, I am quoting from the summary of a study recently made by Dr. Franz Goldmann, associate professor of medical care, Harvard University, and Dr. Evarts Graham, professor emeritus, Washington University School of Medicine and chairman, board of regents, American College of Surgeons. This was a study requested by the Labor Health Institute:

SUMMARY

"1. The quality of the medical care rendered to the more than 9,000 persons utilizing the Labor Health Institute in 1952–53 is of a very high order.

"2. The staff of physicians, dentists, nurses, and technicians as a whole meets exacting requirements as to professional education and experience. It includes unusually many persons possessing outstanding qualifications.

"3. The physical facilities of the Labor Health Institute are remarkable for their thoughtful design, proper dimensions of the various rooms, good equipment, and emphasis on the comfort and convenience of people coming to a medical center. The hospitals used for service to inpatients are distinguished by high standards.

"4. The service organization is efficient and conducive to attainment of qualitatively and quantitatively adequate medical care. Noteworthy are the policies of vesting full responsibility for selection of professional personnel entirely in representatives of the professions concerned; the adequacy of the compensation paid to the professional persons affiliated with the Labor Health Institute; the stability of the medical staff; the emphasis placed on provision of family physicians, on comprehensiveness of the initial examinations and diagnostic tests, and of subsequent care, including necessary consultations by specialists; and a follow-up system organized to attain continuity as well as comprehensiveness of service and promotion of preventive medicine; the time spent by physicians and dentists on direct service to persons attending the medical center; and the system of regular staff conferences designed to foster high standards, efficiency, and economy of service. The effectiveness of the efforts to provide the best possible medical care at the least cost consistent with qualitative and quantitative adequacy is clearly demonstrated by the content of the medical records studied as well as the data on actual utilization of the program. In volume and duration, the medical services, diagnostic tests, and hospital services received by those utilizing the program meet high standards, the dental services are very satisfactory, and only visiting nurse service falls short of reasonable expectations.

"5. The payment organization is such as to enable the union members and their family dependents to make optimum use of the services provided through Labor Health Institute without fear of the burden of costs.

"6. The administrative organization serves to maintain the quality of medical care at the highest possible level.

"7. The work performed at the Labor Health Institute is all the more significant as the people eligible for the program have a very low average income.

"8. Telling is a comment made by one of the physicians on the regular staff: 'I wish I could practice as good medicine in my office as I can here'."

APPENDIX

TABLE I.—*Analysis of Medical Care Utilization, St. Louis Labor Health Institute, July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953*

	Number	Per eligible individual	Per patient
General:			
Eligible individuals as of June 30, 1953	15,027	------	------
Regular members	6,753	------	------
Dependents of regular	7,415	------	------
Other individuals	859	------	------
Average number of eligible individuals	14,276	------	------
Number of different patients	9,461	.66	------
New to the institute	3,005	------	------
Returned	6,456	------	------
Total patient visits [1]	99,717	6.98	10.54
Total physician patient visits [2]	72,780	5.10	7.69
Total dental patient visits [3]	20,163	1.41	2.13
Medical center:			
Physician patient visits	55,112	3.86	5.83
Dentist patient visits	17,668	12.4	1.87
Laboratory section patient visits	7,776	.54	.82
X-ray section patient visits	5,188	.36	.55
Physiotherapy section patient visits	1,028	.07	.11
Home:			
Physician patient visits	3,514	.25	.37
Nurse patient visits	1,015	.07	.11
Hospital:			
Hospital cases [4]	1,513	.11	.16
Inpatient hospital days	7,840	.55	.83
Physician patient visits [5]	7,900	.55	.84
Deliveries	238	.02	.03
Operations	576	.04	.06

[1] Total patient visits include medical care visits at the medical center, the home, the hospital, and the doctor's private office

[2] Physician patient visits include visits to the radiology section though the radiologist may not actually see the patient, but only read his X-rays.

[3] Dental patient visits include 28 visits made to the dental X-ray nurse.

[4] Hospital cases include all cases under the service of LHI doctors or LHI-referred consultants, not excluding new born and outpatient cases.

[5] Physician patient visits are estimated as follows: 1 visit per day of hospitalization of case under doctor's service and 1 visit per consultation, per operation, per delivery, and per outpatient.

TABLE II.—*St. Louis Labor Health Institute, Analysis of Hospital Service Plan Utilization, July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953*

Number of individuals eligible for hospital service benefits as of June 30, 1953	14,984
Average number of eligible individuals	14,264
Number of hospital cases [1]	1,513
Per 1,000 eligible individuals	106
Number of hospital days [1]	12,069½
Per 1,000 eligible individuals	853
Average hospital bill received	117.36
Paid by Labor Health Institute	97.61
Paid by patient	19.75
Average payment to hospitals per day of hospitalization	14.71
Paid by Labor Health Institute	12.23
Paid by patient	2.48
Percentage of cases under service of Labor Health Institute doctor [2]	71
Average days per in-patient case	9.12

[1] Includes 213 out-patients.

[2] Includes in-patients and out-patients.

TABLE III.—*St. Louis Labor Health Institute, Cost Analysis, July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953*

Medical care plan: [1]	
Cost per patient visit [2]	$6.06
Cost per eligible individual per year	42.31
Cost per patient per year	63.84
Hospital service plan: [3]	
Cost per hospital day [4]	12.26
Cost per hospital case [5]	97.77
Dues income per year: [6]	
Regular members:	
5-percent plan member	148.86
5-percent plan individual	68.57
3½-percent plan member	72.75
Special members:	
Continued individuals	39.48
Hospital service plan individuals	16.77
Group Health Association individuals	31.11
Associate members: Family B individuals	3.25

[1] Cost excludes money allocated to reserves and hospital insurance plan.

[2] Not comparable to previous years as nurse visits are no longer counted.

[3] Count based on those hospital bills completely processed during the fiscal year. Cost includes LHI payments to hospitals on these bills plus administrative costs of the hospital service plan during the fiscal year.

[4] Each outpatient case is credited as 1 day.

[5] Includes 213 outpatient cases.

[6] Regular members: This group includes those workers who receive all the benefits of the Labor Health Institute (medical, surgical, dental, hospital) as a result of a collective bargaining arrangement under which the employer is the sole financial contributor. Both the worker and his family are covered under the 5 percent plan. Only the worker is covered under the 3½ percent plan.

Continued individuals are persons no longer covered by an LHI contract clause but who have elected to pay individually the amount of dues the employer formerly paid on their behalf. Benefits are the same as they had as regular members.

Group Health Association individuals are members of a cooperative group that contracts for medical and surgical services from the Labor Health Institute. They do not receive hospitalization insurance benefits.

Hospital service plan individuals are dependents of workers under the 3½ percent plan who only elect to purchase hospitalization benefits. This group is gradually disappearing with the general establishment of the 5 percent plan.

Family B individuals are dependents of 3½ percent plan workers. They receive only limited medical and surgical benefits and pay additional small fees for each service. This group is also gradually disappearing with the general adoption of the 5 percent plan.

TABLE IV.—*St. Louis Labor Health Institute, Income and Expenses, July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953*

Item		Amount
Income:		
Dues:		
Regular members	$920,030.53	
Special members	34,282.68	
Associate members	399.25	
		$957,712.46
Medical fees		22,346.09
Other income		5,750.85
Total income		985,809.40
Expenses:		
Medical care plan:		
Physicians and dentists	$302,076.18	
Auxiliary personnel [1]	72,069.64	
Medical records and receptionist	37,400.91	
Medical supplies	46,600.19	
		458,146.92
Business office [2]		145,890.55
		604,037.47
Hospital insurance plan		147,923.36
Reserve and expansion fund		148,117.58
Total expenses		900,078.41
Total undivided income		85,730.99

[1] Includes laboratory and X-ray technicians, nurses, and dental assistants.

[2] Includes all nondirect medical expenses such as rent, postage, and depreciation.

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Member, Citizens Advisory Committee, Health Information Foundation, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee Relative to Proposed Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, continuing its hearings on the development of a health program, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on

January 27, 1954, heard Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, member, Citizens Advisory Committee, Health Information Foundation, New York City, present testimony as to the object and purpose of the health-information program.

Admiral Strauss is a very distinguished American who has concluded a long, honorable, and heroic career in the United States Navy, during which time he played a major role in developing our country's atomic defenses. Four years ago, upon retiring from the Navy as commander in chief, United States Atlantic Fleet, he entered upon a new career of serving his country and his fellow citizens by devoting his energy to the improvement of the health of the Nation as president of Health Information Foundation. The sudden death of Adm. W. H. P. Blandy a fortnight ago prevents us from having the benefit of his knowledge and keen insight today. However, Admiral Strauss is well qualified to speak of the activities of the Health Information Foundation. Furthermore, he is in his own right an eminent authority on the Nation's health. He was vice chairman of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care, which just recently published a most significant report, and is an active member of the citizens' advisory committee of Health Information Foundation. Like Admiral Blandy, he has always given unstintingly of his time and energy to his country.

As an indication of the importance of this foundation, it should be noted that the citizens advisory council consists of the following:

The Honorable Herbert Hoover, chairman; Dr. Karl T. Compton, chairman of the corporation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Donald Douglas, president, Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc.; Dr. L. A. DuBridge, president, California Institute of Technology; Ferdinand Eberstadt, president, F. Eberstadt & Co., Inc.; Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton, past president, General Federation of Women's Clubs; Allan B. Kline, president, American Farm Bureau Federation; Franklyn B. Snyder, president emeritus, Northwestern University; Lewis L. Strauss, admiral, United States Navy, retired.

The statement of Admiral Strauss is as follows:

I am glad for two reasons for this opportunity to make a brief statement as you begin today's session to hear facts about the medical expenses and health protection of American families—new and important facts revealed in the nationwide survey which Health Information Foundation has just completed.

First, I was for many years an intimate friend and associate of Admiral Blandy, who was the first president of the foundation. I served under him during the war. His sudden death 2 weeks ago was a shock and a great loss to me and to a host of people. We all admired him deeply as one of the great men among our Navy's heroes and leaders, and as a man of high ideals and great personal integrity.

I know that Admiral Blandy, as President of Health Information Foundation, had looked forward to making a statement before this committee. In the past 4 years he had given himself unselfishly, full-time, to a second career, after 40 years of distinguished service to his country in the Navy during which he rose to be commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet. His second career he viewed as a continuing contribution to his country. He felt that Health Information Foundation could perform valuable services in helping to improve the voluntary health facilities and services which are so essential to the welfare, happiness, and strength of our people.

Admiral Blandy, therefore, would have taken great pride in speaking to you about the facts being presented today, as they can make a contribution to the good health of our people and the strength of our Nation.

Secondly, as a member of the Citizens' Advisory Committee of Health Information Foundation, I have, from the beginning, been impressed by its purposes and its practical, comprehensive program. I have personally had a long association and personal interest in the health field, serving on the boards of Memorial Hospital, the Sloane Kettering Institute for Cancer Research in New York, and recently as vice chairman of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care. Health Information Foundation was one of several foundations which financed the study made by that commission.

Familiarity with some of our health problems has caused me to recognize and appreciate the significance of the projects dealing with the social and economic problems of health which the foundation has undertaken.

The statements to be received by the Wolverton committee today provide for the first time in 20 years information regarding many of the problems of health care of our people. Without such facts up to now, we have been guessing about many of the situations and needs. Now we have facts to guide us in our thinking and planning.

I would, therefore, like to commend Health Information Foundation for its nationwide survey of family medical costs and health protection. At this time, I think it is also fitting that the public service values of the foundation's overall program, which have been made possible by the voluntary financing and cooperative efforts of the drug industry, be recognized as in the best traditions of American enterprise.

It is my belief that the facts to be presented today are of utmost importance and will have far-reaching values in constructive planning to meet the health needs of our people.

Health Information Foundation Presents Important Facts Based Upon Research That Confirms Necessity for National Health Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce received testimony from Kenneth Williamson, executive vice president of the Health Information Foundation. He reported on the major findings of the study that has been made by the Health Information Foundation.

The purpose of this foundation is to provide our people with facts so they can intelligently meet their health needs—as individuals, as communities, and as a nation. The research work of the foundation is conducted through grants of funds to universities and colleges, to other independent research organizations and by the foundation's own research staff. The foundation has completed a study entitled "Paying for Medical Care in the United States," made by Oscar Serbein, of Columbia University. It is a study of the various ways by which Americans pay for their medical care.

The second is a study which provides information on the extent of voluntary health insurance expenditures for personal health services, ultilization of personal health services, family debts due to the cost of personal health services. The findings of the foundation as a result of the studies it has made supplies information of great importance to be considered in connection with the promulgation of a health program.

The following is an extract from the testimony of Mr. Williamson:

EXTRACT FROM TESTIMONY OF KENNETH WILLIAMSON, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, HEALTH INFORMATION FOUNDATION, PRESENTED BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, JANUARY 27, 1954

I am Kenneth Williamson, executive vice president of Health Information Foundation. I wish to express the appreciation of the foundation for this opportunity to bring to the committee's attention the volume of important information which has just been obtained by a nationwide study of American families sponsored by the foundation. The information, we believe, is pertinent to the subject of this committee's discussions. Here with me is Mr. George Smith, president of Johnson & Johnson, who is chairman of the foundation's operating committee. Also here is Dr. Odin W. Anderson, the foundation's director of research. Here, too, are Dr. Clyde Hart, director of the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, and Mr. Jacob J. Feldman, who will be glad to answer any technical questions regarding the conduct of the research.

Health Information Foundation was created by leading firms in the drug, pharmaceutical, chemical, and allied industries. One hundred and thirty of them have contributed voluntarily each year to finance the foundation's work. It was established and has operated as a nonprofit, nonpolitical, and independent agency. The foundation was incorporated in the State of Illinois on July 2, 1949.

Health Information Foundation is public service in nature. Its work is concerned with the social and economic aspects of health and illness. The foundation was established on the premise that if the American people can be given the facts on any subject they will act wisely on their own behalf. We believe that in most respects we have a truly great system of health services in this Nation but that there are some definite weak spots in the system. We believe that much needs to be done to better inform the people of what is available to them so that our health services may be used more widely and more intelligently. We believe that the public needs to understand any weaknesses which exist so that they may contribute to their remedy. We believe that the people in individual communities should be encouraged and assisted to go as far as they possibly can in solving their problems themselves. The foundation has financed several experimental projects to help communities.

As we all know, great strides have been made in eliminating some diseases and controlling others. The drug industry has had a continuing and major role in this battle against disease. We would all agree that it is not enough to have good doctors, fine hospitals, and wonder drugs—unless these things are available to the people, the job

is not complete. And so building upon the strong foundation of what we have and with real American enterprise, voluntary health insurance was developed to ease the burden of the family by distributing the financial hazards of illness. History may well record this movement as one of the outstanding social gains of our time, but I hope we won't wait for history to recognize it as such. Any impartial judge would recognize the tremendous impact of this mechanism to finance sickness costs and its accomplishments to date. There is much yet to be done and progress is being made constantly to broaden the benefits and make them available to more people.

Health insurance has become the major means for financing our Nation's personal health services. The implications of this financing for hospital care is thoroughly documented by the recent studies of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care. We take pride in the fact that we were a primary contributor to that study which I understand is going to be reported to you in a day or two. Great care must be taken in expanding health insurance both in terms of benefits and people to maintain a vigorous movement. Certainly any important changes should be based upon facts obtained from adequate study and experience.

This, therefore, is the mission which Health Information Foundation has taken for itself—to find the facts through sound study and to disseminate them as widely as possible. The material to be reported to you today is the second major project which the Foundation has financed, aimed at contributing facts and information which may be used to further improve and extend health insurance. The first was a study of Paying for Medical Care in the United States. This study was carried out by Columbia University under the direction of Prof. Oscar Serbein. The report provides a well-documented and up-to-date reference source. Its detailed analysis of the benefits offered in a variety of health insurance contracts, its documentation of expenditures for health services by all levels of Government, its analysis of the Nation's health bill, and its conclusion regarding the great need for consumer information are all important contributions. Two other research projects and three public relations projects, all directly related to health insurance, are currently under way. Funds have been budgeted for additional projects to be started this year, dealing with such problems as the health needs of low income families, nongroup enrollment in voluntary health insurance plans and comprehensive services financed on a fee-for-service basis. In all the foundation will be spending $1,300,000 for this work.

Before getting into the details of the project to be reported here, I wish to stress that the foundation has as its purpose the gathering and dissemination of factual information to the general public, to interested agencies and organizations and to public officials. In some instances the foundation may undertake directly to apply the results of its studies and to develop programs accordingly. Though we hope our work will assist directly in the solution of health problems it is not the foundation's purpose to suggest or to recommend legislation. I note from a digest of the testimony you have heard that various solutions have been offered. We would observe that there is a great need for immediate study and experimentation to support any programs developed as solutions. The full significance of the foundation's role may be seen in a recent statement made by Dr. Chester Keefer, Mrs. Hobby's assistant, before the New York Academy of Medicine. He stated that "whatever the future may bring in specific Federal, State, local, or private programs to improve the health of the people of the United States, we can be sure that it will reflect public demand, and accordingly the level of public knowledge of the need for that action." We hope that Health Information Foundation can help to insure that the public's knowledge will be maintained at a high level not based upon controversy, but upon facts.

From numerous contacts it became clear that though various individuals and organizations in the health field report periodically upon their activities, there was no recent information which was obtained directly from the consumer of health services. This constituted a serious gap in the body of information available to everyone interested in the health of the Nation. Therefore in consultation with various outstanding and recognized individuals in the health field, the foundation gave consideration to what were stated to be the most serious problems and sought advice as to how the foundation could expend its funds and energies with the greatest promise of accomplishment. We came to the conclusion that the foundation could best serve by concentrating its efforts at this time in the field of voluntary health insurance. In collaboration with the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, which has an outstanding reputation as a research organization, the nationwide study was planned. A grant was made to the Research Center and the broad framework of the study was worked out in cooperation with the foundation's staff, Dr. Clyde Hart, director of the NORC, and leading representatives from Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and private insurance companies. It was understood that the research was to be conducted as an independent project with the facts made available as they were found and without any interpretation by the NORC except as they gave the necessary interpretation to statistical tables. The preliminary findings have been divided into four sections, each setting forth an important set of facts. These reports, developed from the base tables by the foundation's research director, are attached to this statement. Such interpretation as is included is intended to highlight the significance of the material and does not provide either recommendations or solutions. The final reports will be completed by fall of this year. We were urged to complete the study and make available this important information in a summary form at the earliest possible date in 1954. To speed up the project the foundation supplemented the initial grant of $100,000 with a further grant of $50,000.

The study covers the distribution of the volume and cost of personal health services experienced by families and the extent of voluntary health insurance in the United States. The study was planned so as to be able to compare the experience of those families having some protection through health insurance with those which had none. The field work was conducted during June and July, 1953, and covered the period of the prior 12 months.

Single interviews were made of 2,809 families in their homes. These families comprised 8,846 individuals representing a national sample of the population of the United States, subdivided by age, sex, income, size of family, rural, urban, occupation, and region. A sample of area probability type was used in the study. The representativeness of the study was checked wherever possible. The estimates derived are generally reliable within small margins. Dr. Hart and Mr. Feldman will be glad to answer your questions about the details of the study.

The four sections into which the study has been divided are: (1) Enrollment in voluntary health insurance; (2) the expenditures for personal health services; (3) the utilization of personal health services; (4) debts among families due to the costs of personal health services.

Summary of Facts Ascertained in Study Made by Health Information Foundation Relative to the Cost of Medical Attention and the Scope and Use of Existing Plans To Meet the Cost Thereof

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, during the testimony of Kenneth Williamson, executive vice president of Health Information Foundation, before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, January 27, 1954, he presented summaries of the study made by the Foundation.

They are as follows:

SUMMARY REPORT NO. 1: ENROLLMENT

1. Fifty-eight percent of the population, or 89,500,000 people, have some type of health insurance. This represents a growth of 83,900,000 in the past 15 years.

2. Fifty-seven percent of the population, or 87,400,000 people, have some type of hospital insurance.

3. Forty-eight percent of the population, or 74,500,000 people, have some surgical or other medical insurance.

(Most of the 48 percent have in-hospital physicians' services other than surgery, and 4 percent, or 4,900,000 people, have substantially complete physicians' services.)

4. An analysis of families with some coverage, by income group, show that (each of these groups represent about one-third of the families in the United States.

Under $3,000, 41 percent have some coverage; $3,000 to $5,000, 71 percent have some coverage; $5,000 and over, 80 percent have some coverage. (There are a good many aged, widows, and indigents within the $3,000 income group.)

5. Seventy percent of families in urban areas have some coverage. Fifty-seven percent in rural nonfarm areas have some coverage. Forty-five percent in rural farm areas have some coverage.

6. Eighty percent of families with some coverage obtained their policies through their place of work or through some other group.

(NOTE: These figures are a measure of sheer number of people enrolled in voluntary health insurance, with no attempt to indicate the degree to which insurance pays the family costs of personal health services.)

SUMMARY REPORT NO. 2: COSTS

NATIONAL FIGURES

1. A total cost of $10,200,000,000 was incurred by families for medical and dental services and goods.

(NOTE: This represents what was charged families by hospitals, physicians, dentists, and other suppliers of medical goods and services, and paid by families or on behalf of families by insurance. This total then excludes the portion paid by Government and private charity. Approximately $1.8 billion.)

2. Fifteen percent of this total gross cost of $10.2 billion incurred was covered by insurance benefits.

This figure is meaningful only when total gross costs covered by insurance are broken down by various services, since dentists, medicines, and a great deal of nonsurgical physicians' services are not covered by insurance

at the present time, nor is there a consensus that all services should be covered. Further 42 percent of the population do not have health insurance.

Breakdown of the cost and insurance coverage:

	Aggregate gross costs incurred	Aggregate insurance benefits	Percent covered by insurance benefits
	Billions	*Billions*	
Hospitals	$2.0	$1.0	50
Physicians	3.8	.5	13
Surgery	.8	.3	38
Dentists	1.6	(1)	0
Medicine	1.5	(1)	0
Other	1.3	(1)	1

[1] Less than $50,000,000.

FAMILY COSTS

1. The average gross costs incurred by families (both those with and without insurance) for all services during a year was around $205. The breakdown of average cost per family by type of service was:

	Amount	Percent
Physicians	$78	37
Hospitals	40	20
Medicines	31	15
Other	26	13
Dentists	33	16

2. The median gross costs for families with insurance was $145, and $63 for families without insurance.

(NOTE.—The median means that one-half of the families were over and one-half under the foregoing figures. These data indicate that families with insurance incur twice the cost of those without insurance because of greater utilization and perhaps more expensive services such as private room instead of semiprivate.)

3. The distribution of costs of personal health services by percent of family income is as follows:

Five percent of the families, or 2,500,000 families, incurred costs of 20 to 49 percent of their incomes; 1 percent, or 500,000 families, incurred costs of 50 to 99 percent of their incomes; and 1 percent, or 500,000 families, incurred costs equaling or exceeding 100 percent of their incomes. This table should afford a measure of "catastrophe" wherever one wishes to draw the line. This means 7 percent or 3,500,000 of the Nation's families had medical expenses totaling 20 percent to 100 percent of their incomes, or more, for the year.

Proportion of costs covered by insurance

Eighty-nine percent of gross hospital costs covered for 50 percent of insured families receiving services.

Seventy-five percent or more of gross surgical costs covered for 50 percent of insured families receiving services.

Sixty percent or more of gross obstetrical costs covered for 50 percent of insured families receiving services.

(NOTE.—There is agreement in the insurance field that all or nearly all of hospital costs should be covered by insurance and that all or nearly all of surgical costs for families below a certain income should be covered by insurance.)

SUMMARY REPORT NO. 3: UTILIZATION

HOSPITAL CARE

1. Admission rate for those with insurance was 13 per 100 and for those without insurance 10 per 100. This underscores the fact that people with insurance utilize hospital services more than those without insurance.

2. Average number of hospital days per 100 persons with insurance was 110 days and per 100 persons without insurance was 80 days.

3. In the family-income group over $7,500 the hospital admission rate is equal for those with some insurance and those without insurance.

Hospital admissions by income groups reveal a great difference between those with insurance and those without insurance with family incomes of less than $7,500.

4. Hospital admission rate:

Location	Hospital admission per 100 people	
	With insurance	Without insurance
Urban	12	9
Rural nonfarm	14	11
Rural farm	17	9

(NOTE.—There is little agreement as to what constitutes a good or desirable hospital rate, but it is clear that hospital insurance increases the admission rate. A surprising fact in the rural-urban rates is that rural farm families with insurance have a higher admission rate than urban families with insurance, contrary to usual opinion that farmers are less inclined to be hospitalized than people in urban areas.)

SURGERY PERFORMED

1. In families with surgical insurance, the number of surgical procedures is 7 per 100 persons, and in families without surgical insurance it is 4 per 100.

2. The difference in the number of surgical procedures appears only when insured and noninsured are compared and is almost constant in each income group.

(NOTE.—As in hospital admissions, there is little agreement as to what constitutes a good or desirable surgical rate, but it is clear that insurance increases the amount of surgery performed.)

DENTAL SERVICES

1. Thirty-four percent of the people consult a dentist in a year.

2. Percentage of persons in families in each income group seeing a dentist:

Income:	*Percent of persons*
Up to $2,000	17
$2,000–$3,499	23
$3,500–$4,999	33
$5,000–$7,499	43
$7,500 and over	56

SUMMARY REPORT NO. 4; FAMILY MEDICAL INDEBTEDNESS

1. Among all families, 15 percent are in debt to hospitals, physicians, dentists, and other providers of medical goods and services, and 2 percent owe $195 or more.

2. In absolute terms this means that approximately 7.5 million families have a medical debt and about 1 million families owe $195 or more.

3. The average debt among families for bills owed to hospitals, physicians, dentists, and other providers of medical goods and services is $121.

4. The national total debt to hospitals, physicians, dentists, and to other providers of medical goods and services is $900 million. When debts to financial institutions and individuals are included, the total is $1.1 billion.

5. A greater proportion, 21 percent, of the families with children have a medical debt than those without children.

6. Four percent of the families reported borrowing from financial institutions and individuals to pay charges for personal health services.

7. The greater the proportion of family income paid out for personal health services, the greater is the likelihood that the family seeks a loan.

(NOTE: Medical indebtedness excludes bills that were expected to be paid shortly after the family interview.)

An overall appraisal of the results of this study indicate:

1. That a sizable portion of the population is not yet protected by health insurance. Apparently a good many people have not yet accepted the insurance principle for financing their health needs.

2. Those persons not now protected are going to be the most difficult to enroll because of the factors of cost and administration. Many of them are also those that need it most.

3. Though a large segment of the population has health insurance, there are important differences in the extent of protection purchased. More people need health insurance. Many people need better health insurance.

4. The public needs to be better informed about illness costs and the kind of health insurance required for adequate protection.

5. The insurance problem for those persons fortunate enough to be associated with a group or a single employer is much simpler than for those not so situated.

6. Hospital insurance is providing the greatest amount of protection and it is significant that this is where service benefits are most prevalent.

7. The insured families receiving surgery are paying a sizable coinsurance amount for doctors' services. This is the area where cash indemnity is most prevalent. The reasons for this should be studied, particularly to determine whether the income levels set for service benefits are too low and whether the fee schedules established are not adequate. People need to be assured that they are receiving a sufficient return for their insurance premiums.

8. In spite of the oft-repeated statements that a good many families complain they can't pay their sickness bills and at the same time indulge themselves with tobacco, beverages, and television, this study documents the fact that a significant number of families suffer genuine hardship out of all proportion to their income. We should be able to do more than is now being done to bring them relief.

9. Though it would appear to be uneconomic for some of the population to finance the ordinary services of physicians (house calls, office calls, etc.) through insurance, it is clear that these costs accumulate to become the catastrophe for families in the lower-income levels. The possibilities for health insurance meeting this need of these people should be explored.

10. It would appear that the impact of illness upon families affects their pocketbooks for numerous expenses not contemplated in health-insurance programs. The need for supplemental income is emphasized.

11. Undoubtedly the generally available insurance programs which are considered adequate are carrying a financial burden which would otherwise be catastrophic to many of the families now protected. Perhaps we need to redefine our use of the term "catastrophe" so that attention will be directed at the problem of those persons who really suffer a major catastrophe. Properly isolated, this problem should be subject to solution.

12. As yet we seem to continue in much of our planning to constitute children as a burden. The study shows that the illness problems are relatively great for those families having children. Many have lower incomes, more illness, greater costs proportionately, and the largest debts.

13. It is clear that in spite of all the mass statistics and the averaging out of the costs, illness is a personal experience, and it is the effect upon individual families which must be considered. Otherwise, it is easy to feel that those suffering real hardship are too

small a proportion of the total population to be a problem. Therefore, it would seem wise that any consideration of government participation should certainly be arranged at that level of government which is closest to the individual family and its health problem.

14. The first problem in overall planning of health services is to find the device through which they can be made available. There is conclusive proof that within the voluntary health insurance organizations we have such a device. Therefore, we need to find out how to use it further to meet the problems which it can if given the opportunity. This will require understanding and the honest support of most of us. If from the hearings of this committee you can point out for the Health Information Foundation and for all other organizations in the health field what you believe are the health problems to which our attention should be directed, it will help materially and assist in getting action more quickly.

Trade With Red China Strongly Opposed By Admiral Stump in Speech to Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a speech made by Adm. Felix B. Stump, commander in chief, Pacific Fleet, Pearl Harbor, Oahu, before the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce on January 21, 1954.

The full text of his speech follows:

Recently an article appeared in a Honolulu paper saying that a group of businessmen back on the mainland advocated opening up increased trade with Red China. Such opinions are shared by some prominent Americans.

These people are guilty of either one of two things: They do not understand communism and its objectives—or they are willing to gain temporary benefits with the risk of loss of everything they own.

They do not fully appreciate the ideology of the Communists.

UNCHANGING FANATIC

A dedicated Communist is a steadfast and unchanging fanatic. He has a selfless devotion, and believes in and works for a world revolution. Mao, the dictator of Red China, and his leading associates are such dedicated Communists.

We must constantly bear this in mind and not let propaganda blind us to the true facts.

You will remember the period when our Government was endeavoring to get Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists to stop fighting each other but to unite their efforts against the Japanese.

At this time some people frequently referred to the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers."

One of our prominent statesmen, who took a leading part in these endeavors and who personally knew Mao and his close associates, told me that Mao and his leaders frequently asked him "Why do Americans refer to us as "agrarian reformers"? We are not agrarian reformers. We are Communists."

TEACHINGS OF MARX

The Red Chinese Communists believe the teachings of Karl Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, who taught that there can be no peace between Communist nations and free nations; that one or the other must perish.

They taught that dishonesty in every form to help the Communist cause was right and just. The Communists teach children to betray their parents to help the party. Murder, lies, and torture are not crimes if done to strengthen the Red cause. International agreements with any Communist government are not worth a scrap of paper.

Naturally we want to negotiate for peace, but the only basis for negotiations with Communist countries must be that the agreements are completely and absolutely as much in our favor as it is in theirs. We must also insure that any such agreements do not contribute to long-range Communist objectives.

WORLD REVOLUTION

Mao believes in the world revolution and he does not care how many lives it costs nor how much suffering it entails. He is a world revolutionist without national patriotism. He will not deviate one iota from the set course of world Communist objectives.

When we cling to the hope of friction between China and Russia, we are frantically clinging to a faint hope that is pure wishful thinking.

Since the Nationalists were driven off the mainland to Formosa, 15 million Chinese have died of starvation or by execution by the Reds.

True, starvation is not a new thing in China, but during the time that hundreds of thousands of Chinese were starving, the Red Government exported many thousands of tons of rice in exchange for rubber and other strategic materials required to build up their war machine.

Removal of the trade restrictions against Red China would not improve the living conditions of the masses of the Chinese people. Removal of trade restrictions would help the Reds tremendously to build up their military strength for further aggression.

Any trade whatever with Red China has been in the past and will be used in the future to increase the military strength of our enemies.

OVERALL PICTURE

But let us look at the overall picture.

Red China has an area about equal to that of the United States. We are still discovering in our country new sources of minerals and improving our agricultural resources.

It stands to reason that Russia, Siberia, and China probably have in their undeveloped countries every type of resource for industrial development and armed might. All that is needed is the technical ability and time. We must not help them to develop these resources to be used against us.

What are the Reds trying to do?

THREE MAIN OBJECTIVES

The Communists have three main objectives in Asia:

1. To obtain control over the manpower of the 450 million Chinese on the mainland. This they have accomplished.

2. To obtain control of the industry of Japan. Japan's industry is equivalent to one-half that of Russia. The Korean war may have been planned as a first step toward the conquest of Japan, and through control of Japanese industry to expedite the industrialization of Communist China.

3. To obtain control of Southeast Asia with its great surpluses of rice, and, more important, its rubber, tin, and other vital strategic materials.

For the survival of America and the free world, we cannot afford to permit the accomplishment of these objectives of the Reds by either conquest, revolution, or infiltration.

CONTINUED CRISIS

It is the unfortunate lot of this generation to live in a state of continued crisis, a crisis which will last as long as strong nations have Communist governments.

Twice we have conducted truce negotiations in Korea. Both times these negotiations were requested by the Chinese Communists at a time when they were flat on their backs and a sure victory could have been won by the United Nations.

In fact, the Red leaders understood the humanitarian principles of the free nations well enough to know that the free nations would not sacrifice lives by starting an offensive when there was any possibility of peace.

The first time, Van Fleet said he could have defeated the Red Armies if he had not had his hands tied. Other military experts certainly agree with him. During the period between the first and second negotiations, it is probable that many more lives were lost than would have been lost had Van Fleet attacked and won.

The Communists knew we would not attack during peace negotiations. They knew we would not greatly strengthen our forces in Korea in face of the hope of peace.

RED OFFENSIVE

Even while negotiations were proceeding, the Chinese Reds worked feverishly to improve and strengthen their armies in Korea. When they thought they were again strong enough, they mounted their offensive which the United Nations stopped last June with great loss of life.

Last June when the Chinese Reds had failed in this offensive and had expended their resources they again asked for negotiations, knowing that by so doing they were safe from attack.

Fortunately, our Government has promised them a different set of rules if they again attack.

Red China wants recognition and admission to the United Nations. They want this to strengthen the Communist nations against the free nations and to aid themselves in their objective to dominate in Southeast Asia.

We don't have to guess what else the Communists want. They have repeatedly said what they want. We know that every major move they make is for the purpose of ultimately crushing the free nations.

They pretend to want peace only to be free to build up their strength. They want us to feel at peace in the hope that we will allow our strength to decrease. To them there is no difference between a cold war and a hot war as far as their ultimate objectives are concerned.

Russia intends to pursue the cold war until it gains its objective—world domination. It is willing to engage in as much hot war, preferably fought by others, as is necessary to the same end.

Asia with its enormous manpower and untold resources is as important to the free world as is Europe. The loss of either would be tragic to us all.

We are spending many millions of dollars to help our allies in Indochina, Formosa, Philippines, and Thailand.

In spite of the cost to the American taxpayer we must continue to give all possible support to these allies of ours, two of whom are engaged in actual combat with the enemy.

Our Government is that of a Republic. The American voters decide the policy of their Government. As the United States is the leader of the free world, the American people have a greater individual responsibility than those of any other country.

Therefore, the American voters must know what is going on in the world.

Every American must take a positive stand against communism at home or abroad. In the United States no Communist must be allowed in any position of authority or influence in government, industry, or labor. If we fail in America, freedom throughout the world will perish.

"Nautilus" Held Potent Symbol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, last week I witnessed a most impressive and historic event, namely, the launching of the world's first atomic submarine, the *Nautilus*, which took place at Groton, Conn., on Thursday, January 21. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following article which appeared in the Hartford (Conn.) Times so aptly describing, in the words of the distinguished speakers at this event, the great new era inaugurated by this first atomic submarine:

"NAUTILUS" HELD POTENT SYMBOL

GROTON.—John Jay Hopkins, president and chairman of the board of General Dynamics Corp., called the new atomic submarine *Nautilus* "a masterpiece of the shipbuilders' art" in his welcoming speech here today before 20,000 people.

Mr. Hopkins said "It is not needful for me, I know, to add up for you the production miracles performed during each day of the last 5 years of incessant work by the thousands who contributed. The end result—the sum of all their days—lies before your eyes in this unique and historic ship—this ship of pearl—this venturous bark."

Looking to his right, Hopkins spoke of the second atomic submarine, the *Sea Wolf*, under construction within the shadows of the *Nautilus* "it is characteristic of American industrial and military enterprise that before a 'first' is completed, another development is on the way.

"And it is well that this is so, because in the mounting struggle between the world's good and the world's evil, between atomic destruction and atomic creation, between the atom uncontrolled and the atom controlled, we cannot—if we would survive—be less than first in research and discovery—be less than first in total power—whether that discovery and that power be military or industrial."

Gwilm A. Price, president of Westinghouse Electric Corp., builders of the power plant for the *Nautilus*, promised that the fear generated by the atomic cloud of destruction at Hiroshima will be replaced by the bright sun of atomic creation.

Mr. Price said this formal ceremony is the result of a pioneering effort which began 5 years ago for Westinghouse and thousands of suppliers and subcontractors. Its success was foretold in an Idaho desert 8 months ago.

"There the prototype of the atomic engine for the *Nautilus* first delivered substantial quantities of nuclear power," Mr. Price added. "The *Nautilus* is a testimonial to the ability and determination of free men to act in the defense of human rights and dignity. But the shielded chamber in the *Nautilus* which will harbor this bright new source of power portends even greater blessings for mankind everywhere," he said.

"It gives hope that this launching today will become the symbol of a future day when mass power for people everywhere will overcome and destroy those roots of war, poverty, insecurity, and fear," he concluded.

Stepping to the platform after remarks by Mr. Price, was Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations.

"As a sailor, I recognize this ship as the beginning of a new chapter in the history of sea power. Revolutionary thing that she is, the technician and tacticians will strive to wring the greatest military advantage from the latest product of American genius. The fleet is hungry to put her to work.

"Research, science, industry, labor, and the civilian and military elements of the Government all teamed up to produce this ship," Admiral Carney said.

"As one small human being, I am lost in my own musings as to what this occasion may signify in terms of the things that are in store for humanity. A natural tendency toward very grave speculation is partly offset by the hope that springs eternal, and the optimism that is an American heritage. Aside from any military significance, this ship is a symbol of many things clearly discernible and other things as yet obscure.

"But *Nautilus* is far more than just man's dreaming, his bright dreams, certainly and, if man is not wise, his nightmares, too.

"The *Nautilus* is a symbol of the United States determination of fight, when and if fighting becomes necessary for the preservation of the principles for which we stand.

"Let us pray that she is also proof of a fundamental ability to produce the men of brains, judgment, and character needed to guide us in the uncertain years ahead," he said.

Despite the fact that *Nautilus* is history making today, the admiral said he thought it would probably appear to our sons and grandsons as a quaint old piece of machinery which introduced the transition of a new age of power.

"But I am proud to share this momentous beginning and I believe that we are witnessing one of history's great milestones," Admiral Carney concluded.

Lewis L. Strauss, AEC (Atomic Energy Commission) Chairman, said the craft is symbolic of both the atomic thunderbolts of defense and of a peaceful boon of nuclear power.

Strauss said this launching transcends all those that have gone before because the *Nautilus* is something new under the sun. Then he declared of the submarine:

"It typifies the spirit of America at the time of its founding, and the spirit of America in this 11th year of the atomic age. We are strong with the strength of atomic thunderbolts to resist aggression and to forestall tyranny while at the same time we extend the olive branch of a worthy peace."

Strauss praised the teamwork of industry and of the Government agencies, AEC and the Navy, which he said made possible creation of this first atom sub.

He singled out Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, telling the admiral this was a job well done and noting this must be an occasion of supreme gratification for him. Rickover, during turbulent behind-the-scenes arguments in the Navy, has headed the nuclear submarine project since the *Nautilus* designing and building program got under way. He was saved from compulsory retirement and was advanced to his present rank when Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson intervened.

The launching of the *Nautilus*, Governor Lodge said today, marks the opening of a new chapter in naval history and our renewed affirmation to keep our country strong and free.

Lodge, a World War II Navy veteran and a Reserve commander, said that "we stand, now, on the threshold of a new era in energy production and in naval defense. To date, the atomic age has bred both hope and fear, and sometimes the fear has seemed the more significant of the two."

He said the proposal of President Eisenhower to the United Nations that atomic energy be outlawed as a weapon of war brought hope that the world will make strides in the peaceful application of this great new source of energy to match the advances made in the arming of war machines.

Lodge spoke at a luncheon following the launching ceremony. He said that "we in Connecticut are proud of the part we have been privileged to play in shaping this newest instrument of freedom's defense."

Transportation and Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, H. B. Snyder, editor of the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, sets out in the following editorial reasons for United States participation in the St. Lawrence inland waterway:

SEAWAY BILL SHOULD PASS

Calumet area eyes are turned toward the Senate this week and its action on the long-planned, prolonged, and overdebated St. Lawrence seaway project.

Republican leaders have expressed hope for a victory vote before the end of the week.

Bucking Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (Republican, Massachusetts), a long-time foe of the seaway, and his cohorts, these hopes seem a bit premature.

However, those on the inside say they have the votes needed to line up the United States with Canada as partners in the gigantic project.

The Great Lakes States, Indiana in particular, have a lot to gain by United States participation in the seaway. Cost of shipping will be reduced by the seaway, and Great Lakes States will have a prominent voice in control of the project.

Various Hoosier interests, once lukewarm on the seaway, have come around to seeing the enormous benefits through use of a lakes-to-ocean shipping route.

Labrador iron ore, brought through the seaway, would help feed our hungry steel furnaces. Hoosier farm products would move to export markets at a lower rate.

The project would open new horizons for most of our Calumet industries. The potentiality is so vast that it would be years before many of the seaway uses and benefits would be known and realized.

Opponents harp that a country with a national debt approaching $275 billion, and with a coastline of 7,000 miles, would be both silly and stupid to invest another billion to provide seaports 2,000 miles inland.

What they forget is that this investment shows evidence of being solid financially and defense-wise.

The seaway will not pay for itself in a matter of a few years. However, it is evident that it will pay for itself eventually and probably with surprising interest. That is the kind of an investment this country needs. The project shows both imagination and sound financial judgment.

Our Canadian neighbors have been awake to these facts for some time.

The time for action by this country is long overdue. This time the opposition bloc interests—the railroads and east coast shipping combines—should not be permitted to talk the bill to death.

For the benefit of the industrialized Midwest specifically and the Nation in general, the seaway bill should pass.

President Eisenhower has stated that "the ways and means for assuring American cooperation in this great project should be authorized and approved during this session of Congress."

With this we agree.

Has Coffee Become a Luxury?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the National Restaurant Association, representing 180,000 eating places in the United States of America, has just finished 4 days of meetings in New York City. One of the main topics under discussion was the unprecedented rise in the price of green coffee since the middle of December.

It was reported that the 5-cent cup of coffee was practically extinct. As we all know, coffee costs 10 cents per cup in most instances and the prospect is that the price will soon rise to 15 cents.

Most food dispensers are watching the fluctuations of the New York coffee market with more than casual interest. In fact, they are becoming alarmed at the predictions that roasted coffee may reach $1.50 per pound in the near future. At the moment roasted coffee of most brands is selling at approximately $1 per pound all over the United States of America. Yet these prices are currently being charged for coffee already in stock and bought at much lower prices. What will happen when the green coffee currently being bought reaches the roasters and finally the grocers' shelves?

We have seen the extreme consumer reactions to the current capers in the coffee market. Housewives, alarmed at the sudden increase, are stocking up. Most grocery chains report that long lines of customers are buying from 6 to 10 pounds each. To be sure, neither the increase in the price of coffee nor a request for abstinence has resulted in less coffee being sold. Housewives are complaining, but they are still buying.

The pyrotechnics in the raw coffee market are intriguing. The United States of America is the No. 1 coffee market. From mid-November the price of a pound of green coffee beans from Brazil shot from about 57 cents to 74 cents earlier this month. Currently, the cash price in the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange is 70½ cents per pound.

It is stated that heavy frosts in July nipped the coffee buds in Brazil, which supplies 50 percent of the world's supply and 50 percent of United States coffee imports. News of this damage immediately began pushing coffee prices up. It was not until November that the full extent of the coffee damage began to clarify. On top of the frost damage, there were heavy insect inroads. Approximately one-fifth of Brazil's coffee crop was destroyed. Colombia, the second biggest supplier, cannot step up its output materially because it takes at least 5 years for a coffee tree to begin bearing. Brazil's total coffee crop in 1952–53 has been forecast by the Brazilian Coffee Institute at less than 14.2 million bags—133 pounds apiece. Brazil will have available for export approximately 13.3 million bags as compared to 15.2 million bags in the previous year.

One coffee authority says that each year since World War II global consumption of coffee has actually exceeded production with the difference coming out of stocks piled up during the war. At the same time, Europe is increasing its purchase of coffee from Latin American countries. Current rate of consumption in the world is at the rate of 33 million bags a year. That is 700,000 bags more than during 1952. This is about a million bags over expected exportable production in the current crop year. As a result, coffee men look for further dwindling stocks. By mid-1954, Brazil's reserve supply used to even out exports before the crop year begins may be down to about 1 million bags. Ordinarily, Brazil has always kept a 3 million bag reserve supply. Many dealers feel that Brazil might try to hold its stocks at the 3 million level thereby tightening the already tight supply.

Just what are the reasons for the sudden current rise in coffee prices? Many experts say it is due to the frost damage in Brazil. Exporters in Latin America advance the theory that the large coffee importers in the United States wanted to increase their inventory at year end for tax purposes. Others lay the increase directly to speculative rumors circulating in the United States that the Central American coffee crop during 1953–54 would be considerably less than last season and that there would be a shortage.

Yet the scare buying began in mid-November with the resultant rise in prices. The reaction to the rise brought in its train heavy profit taking. It seems as if many traders have been unloading heavily on the current market because the stock exchange shows that the average daily number of trades during December has been 92,000 bags. The buying splurge in November pushed the price of raw coffee from 54 to 74 cents and a new buying splurge is in the offing again. One aspect that concerns me is that the growers in Central America have had their most prosperous year in history but that the wages of the average plantation worker have not increased materially during the last 2 or 3 years although export prices have soared.

Mr. Speaker, I deplore this rise in coffee prices. It seems to me that there are certain unexplained forces at work in this extraordinary profit taking in a commodity that is so essential to us Americans. I deplore the fact that so many of the average citizens will have to pay more for an average cup of coffee. I deplore the fact that the housewives are being pushed into scare buying. It seems to me that it is urgent for us to investigate this problem immediately. I am therefore introducing today a House Resolution that an investigating committee be immediately set up under the aegis of the House Agriculture Committee. This problem concerns all of us and the quicker we settle it the better.

He Saw His Dream Come True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an editorial from the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of Tuesday, January 26, 1954, on Dr. James Y. Joyner. He was one of North Carolina's most valuable citizens, and our State will miss his services.

The editorial follows:

HE SAW HIS DREAM COME TRUE

Dr. James Y. Joyner, who died Sunday at the age of 91, was a dreamer spared long enough to see his dream come true.

Dr. Joyner was one of the quartet of young North Carolinians who at the turn of the century looked into the future and saw the meaning of education to their State and its richest resource, its children who would have to build and administer that future.

Gov. Charles B. Aycock led the crusade, but in close step with him, spear-heading the move and supplying the inspiration, the faith, the courage and the physical and spiritual force which assured victory were Joyner, Charles D. McIver and Edward A. Alderman. Up and down North Carolina they went preaching the rights of its children, living and breathing education, fighting the forces of ignorance, intolerance and prejudice and battling for the funds with which to effect their program. There was no stopping their zeal, their inspiration and their contagion for a cause.

It is significant that all of this quartet save Aycock were actively identified with Woman's College when it was established, during this same formative period, as the State Normal and Industrial College. Thus their personality, their faith and their ideals were wrought into this institution and will ever remain part of its foundation, its purpose, its tradition and its spirit. They recognized that at the very heart of our school system is the teacher. And to that end they labored in complementation and in achievement.

The other leaders dropped off, but Dr. Joyner, alert and as keenly interested in education as ever, lived on to see the spirit which he helped plant take root, the vision which he dreamed materialize and the results which he predicted reflected in the present school system with which North Carolina is blessed, our recognition of the right of every child to make the most of his God-given opportunity and the material progress which stems from an educationally lifted citizenry.

As Dr. Joyner returns to the soil from which he came, his creed, his philosophy and his faith are reincarnated in every school child in North Carolina. The State which he and his fellow crusaders inspired looks ever forward, its faith, its hope and its investment centered in its children.

Why the Government Keeps Money on Deposit in Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, following the discussion on the floor of the House today regarding Government deposits in banks in the United States, I requested a statement from the Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey, and the Secretary has sent me the following:

WHY THE GOVERNMENT KEEPS MONEY ON DEPOSIT IN BANKS

Out of 14,000 eligible banks in the United States, approximately 11,000 have Government deposits. These accounts serve as a pipeline for the flow of taxes and the proceeds from the sale of Government securities from the public into the Treasury's accounts at the Federal Reserve banks. They also serve as temporary reservoirs on which the Treasury draws as it needs funds. The amount now in these accounts is equal to about 2 weeks' expenditures of the Government.

The Treasury keeps money in banks because (a) it is the most efficient and economical way to handle the Government's business, and (b) it avoids withdrawing funds from communities before they can be returned through Government disbursements.

Congress passed the National Banking Act in 1863 specifically authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit money in banks after efforts by the Government during the Civil War to act as its own banker failed, resulting in the suspension of specie payments.

The present system enables the Treasury to keep a smooth flow of money despite the unevenness of the flow of Government revenue and expenditure. Assume, for instance, that bank X, in Panhandle, Tex., sells a half million dollars of savings bonds to its customers. This money is left on deposit in Panhandle until it is needed at the Federal Reserve bank of Dallas to pay the Government's bills. If this money should immediately be withdrawn from the bank at Panhandle, before it can be returned to channels of trade through Government disbursement, the money in the community of Panhandle would be transferred to Dallas.

During heavy tax periods, particularly, there would be a tremendous shifting of funds between banks and communities. The transfer of $8 to $9 billion in the middle of March from the various communities throughout the country to the accounts of the Government at Federal Reserve banks would play havoc with the banking system and business. In order to meet such withdrawals, in many instances banks would have to restrict credit and liquidate securities in the market.

Millions of dollars of additional clerk hire, costs of currency shipments, and transfer of funds would be necessary if the Government should handle the business now handled for it by banks in connection with deposits of withheld income and social-security taxes, the issuance of United States savings bonds, and the handling of subscriptions to other types of Government securities. If all remittances had to be sent to Reserve banks for collection the Government would have many more millions of dollars tied up in process of collection.

All Government deposits in banks are fully secured by securities pledged with Federal Reserve banks. Also, member banks are required to maintain a reserve with Federal Reserve banks against Government deposits as well as other deposits. At the present time this reserve amounts to about 18 percent for all classes of member banks.

Under the Banking Act of 1933 banks are prohibited from paying interest on demand deposits, including Government deposits. In view of the short time they hold Government deposits, often only a few days, and the services they render, the present arrangement appears equitable.

Francis M. Sullivan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, we face the sobering realization here today that once more the heavy burdens of public service have exacted their tragic toll. Last Sunday, Francis M. Sullivan, national legislative director for the Disabled American Veterans, left this life for a greater one.

It has been my good fortune to have known Frank for many years. I have always held for him the highest regard and warmest affection. He was a man of vision, a great humanitarian, a man who gave his health and life in the service of his country. He labored incessantly and indefatigably for our disabled veterans. Yes, and all our veterans of both World Wars and the Korean conflict. There is no doubt in my mind that it was his assiduous and unceasing labors in their behalf that ultimately broke his health and resulted in his untimely death.

Frank Sullivan was born at Forge Village, town of Westford, Mass., December 18, 1897. He graduated from Westford Academy, Westford, Mass., June 1916 and from the National University Law School, Washington, D. C., June 1929. He was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court and United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on October 19, 1929; the Court of Appeals for the State of Maryland, September 16, 1936; and the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in May 1936.

His auspicious career began as a newspaper reporter for the Wooster (Mass.) Telegram Gazette from 1920 to 1921. From 1921 to 1924 he was a reporter for the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican American and served as secretary to the late Congressman James P. Glynn, of Winsted, Conn., from 1924 to 1929. Later Mr. Sullivan served as secretary to Representative Edward W. Goss, of Waterbury, Conn., from 1930 to 1933. From 1933 to 1936 he practiced law in Washington, D. C. During this time he served as associate counsel for one of the large code authorities; general counsel for the General Economic Council; general counsel for the Reserve Officers Association for Public Health Service; and associate counsel for National Association of Storekeepers Gaugers. In March of 1936 he was employed by the American Legion national organization, and from April 15, 1947, to the time of his death he served as national legislative director for the Disabled American Veterans.

In his busy life Frank Sullivan found time to author many publications which included Legal Rights of Servicemen and Women; National Defense and Universal Service, published by the American Legion; numerous other publications written for the American Legion; series of articles entitled "I Saw the GI Bill Written," published by the American Legion magazine in September, October, and November 1949. Additionally, numerous references are made to Frank in the enactment of the so-called GI bill or the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944.

Among the organizations of which Frank was a valued and beloved member were the American Legion; Disabled American Veterans; Regular Veterans Association; National Press Club; past president of the Parents Guild, Dumbarton, District of Columbia; committeeman for the Cub Pack 96, Boy Scouts of America; Holy Name Society; Fathers Club of Gonzaga School, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Speaker, may I truly say that I join with his multitude of friends in extending my deepest sympathy to his widow and to his children.

The Recession Trend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, when can we expect action by the administration for a program to develop employment opportunities so that people can be assured against hardships which continue to grow because of the present economic situation?

Unemployment throughout the Nation continues to rise. Congress has plans which were made so that immediate action could be taken to launch a public-works program in the event of recession. They are gathering dust in the Nation's Capitol. Administration leaders refuse to act or to admit that the economic situation is bad. But people are hurt, not only the jobless but others. Small business and farmers suffer. Part-time employment and loss of overtime pay for wage workers also cut deep into the family's living standards. These people find little comfort in statements by administration leaders that we are in a period of healthy readjustment.

Big business wants recession, or the so-called period of adjustment. The GOP hard-money policy, its unwillingness to act promptly on public-works

programs, and the refusal to lift tax burdens on low-income families all contribute to the desired readjustment.

More and more people are getting hurt. Even that does not cause a change in economic policies of this big-business administration. The objective of the GOP leaders, their speechwriters and publicity men, is to continue with their readjustment but put the blame of unemployment and recession on their critics whom they call apostles of gloom and bust.

TAX PHILOSOPHY

A look behind the scenes shows that the big-business philosophy is also the dominating factor in determining policies on taxes and all other issues. The Presidential speechwriters painted a rosy picture on taxes and the budget. But what is happening is anything but good for the average citizen.

The House Ways and Means Committee approved lower taxes on dividends which help big stockholders, but it unanimously refused to raise tax exemptions on individuals and dependents.

The GOP tax policy contributes to economic decline. More purchasing power for the lowest income group is an effective method in promoting business and prosperity. But the administration moves in the opposite direction.

Here again GOP publicity experts are telling the people that a tax reduction for the little fellow is bad for the economy and that it is demagoguery to even suggest it.

There is sharp disagreement within the Eisenhower administration on these matters. Some fear public reaction to growing economic ills and the shift of the tax burden to low income folks. Others feel that Republican public relations men can successfully place responsibility for any adverse conditions on the liberal minority in Congress.

NOW OR NEVER

Some of my colleagues seem to believe that big business sees its one big chance to gain economic advantage now. It is now or never with them. It envisions a change in administration and wants prompt action on policies which will give it increased power to control the economy. Special interests want to grab the vast public domains, water resources, and great natural wealth in oil, timber, and minerals, now controlled by the people through the Government. They seek to cripple Federal regulation which has been designed to protect the public against gigantic trusts and monopolies. And as the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN], a champion of small business, told Congress last week, "big financial interests which seek to tear down economic and social gains of the last 20 years need a little depression to weaken the farmers, labor, and the little-business man." Big business wants to accomplish all it can before any effective change takes place in the Government at Washington.

It is an enterprising program. If successful, it will result in the greatest concentration of economic power in all history. Since politics is a reflection of conflicting economic interests, this trend could be a very serious and dangerous one. The best antidote is an alert and understanding public. And there are many favorable signs pointing in this direction—despite the slick speech writers in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

American Legion Supports Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished past commander of the American Legion, Mr. Ray Murphy, has written an article in the current issue of the American Legion magazine on the subject of the Bricker amendment.

Mr. Murphy has put in everyday language some of the background of an important matter to the American people, and I am sure that all who read the article will come to understand it better. At this point, I am including the article:

WHICH CONSTITUTION DO WE WANT?

(By Ray Murphy, past national commander, the American Legion)

"*Resolved*, That the American Legion favors * * * amendment of the Constitution of the United States by including therein a provision that no * * * treaty, contract, or pact with a foreign power shall ever operate or be considered to adversely affect or diminish in any way the rights of any citizen or citizens of the United States guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States"—Resolution 48, adopted May 5–7, 1952, by the national executive committee of the American Legion.

I. THE QUESTION

What is the meaning of the above resolution of the Legion's National Executive Committee, and of similar resolutions passed by the Legion's National Conventions in 1951, 1952 and 1953?

Why, after 165 years, is there a growing demand that our Constitution be amended now to protect the rights of American citizens from adverse effects by the treatymaking power of the President and two-thirds of those Senators present?

The question is, first, a monumental one—perhaps the most provocative of our times, and cuts deep no matter which way you slice it.

Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, favors such an amendment and says: "It is the hottest issue since the Civil War."

Arthur Dean, New York lawyer who opposes such an amendment, says it involves "the greatest debate about the constitutional ordering of our foreign affairs since 1788."

Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, of Ohio, has proposed an amendment to the Constitution to prevent treaties that we make with foreign powers from violating the rest of our Constitution, and 64 Senators have jointly added their names to it.

The American Bar Association, fearing that there were widely unseen legal dangers to our Constitution in the United Nations Charter (a treaty), made a 7-year study of the matter, and concluded that the United States Constitution needs immediate amendment to prevent our rights under the Constitution from being dangerously weakened by the U. N. Charter and other international treaties and agreements.

The Senate Judiciary Committee a year ago held extensive hearings on Senator BRICKER's proposed amendment and the problems involved. The hearings grew to 1,267 pages of testimony and exhibits, in which is recorded plenty of sounding-off both for and against the proposed amendment.

In the end, the committee made some changes in the Bricker amendment and recommended its passage, as changed, by the full Senate.

More than 70 national organizations, besides the American Bar Association and the American Legion, have asked for such an amendment to the Constitution. They include such representative cross sections as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis International, the National Grange, and the American Medical Association, and such expert bodies as the association of the attorneys general of all the States.

The background of this tremendous movement to change a basic law that has stood since 1789 is so vast that hardly more than a glimpse, and some of the flavor, can be had in this little space. Under it all, of course, is the broad fact that events and trends of recent years place our Constitution, our constitutional form of government, and our traditional liberties in serious and unnecessary danger.

II. THE LAW

Treaties ratified by the United States become the supreme law of the land under our Constitution.

There is no requirement that treaties conform with the rest of the Constitution.

Though treaties, as our supreme law, are "understood" to involve international affairs, and to affect our internal affairs only as a byproduct of necessary international agreements, there is no definition of what is a proper subject for a treaty and what is not.

Until 1916 the lack of definition of a proper subject for a treaty had raised no broad question of treaties undermining our Constitution or our rights under it. The national officers of the United States had used their treatymaking powers with enough restraint to prevent the question from becoming a serious one.

III. THE END OF RESTRAINT

In 1916 a treaty was written for the purpose of giving to our Congress a power that until then had rested in the States under our Constitution. An agreement was made with a foreign power (Canada) as an artifice for changing the internal law of the United States.

When the State of Missouri challenged its loss of power in this manner, the Supreme Court read the letter of the treaty law in the Constitution, ignored the artifice, and in 1920 upheld the shift of constitutional powers under the treaty that had been written for that purpose.

From that day on, a school of thought developed in our country which favored the shedding of all restraints as to what was, and what was not, a proper subject of treaty.

This new school of thought eventually penetrated deeply into our own Government, especially into the executive branch. More especially into the State Department. The Department of State stood to gain the most power over our internal affairs if those affairs could be controlled and altered by making agreements with foreign countries with diminishing restraint.

In 1923, President Coolidge and the Senate gave more encouragement to this school of thought when they entered into a secret treaty with England that overrode parts of the 18th (prohibition) amendment to the Constitution then in force.

The scheme of abusing the treaty power to control our internal affairs has only come

to popular attention in recent years, but it was developing in the twenties. The late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote, 25 years ago, that there are no limits to the treaty power. "Now," he added (1929), "there is a new line of activity which has not been very noticeable in this country, but may be in the future, and this may give rise to new questions as to the extent of the treaty power." Those new questions have now risen.

In a climax of unrestraint, the Department of State of the United States issued a pamphlet in September 1950 with a foreword by the President, that opened with the statement: "There is no longer any real distinction between 'domestic' and 'foreign' affairs * * *." The President and the State Department thus answered—for the executive branch of the Government—the historically unanswered question as to what is the proper subject for a treaty—and the answer was "anything."

IV. NO BRAKES

With the spectacle of a President and his State Department pursuing the thesis that our domestic and our foreign affairs are now one and the same, the Constitution and the people would have to look to the Supreme Court to protect our internal affairs from unrestrained regulation by treaty.

The Supreme Court has never answered the question as to what is the proper subject for a treaty, and in 165 years has never gone beyond saying that there must be some limits somewhere.

The Court actually has no clear guidance to answer the critical question as to whether a treaty can completely undermine the express language in the Constitution. In 1952 it was within two Justices of saying that one could. Then, three Supreme Court Justices, including the late Chief Justice Vinson, cited our agreements with the United Nations as factors that would permit President Truman to seize the steel mills by Presidential order without due process of law.

The fifth amendment in the Bill of Rights provides in unmistakable language that "no person * * * shall be * * * deprived of * * * property without due process of law." Though the three Justices were a minority, and the steel mills were handed back to their owners by a majority of the Court, it is significant that the President had not made a strong point of his right to seize the steel mills under treaty powers. Despite that fact, the three Justices in the minority opinion went out of their way to stress the argument that the U. N. Charter should override the fifth amendment.

V. MORE LAW NEEDED

The matters considered above partially explain the present movement to put clear language into the Constitution to limit the treaty powers.

Nobody wishes to itemize for all time the exact affairs that should, and should not, be subject to treaty. So the basic amendment to our Constitution that is desired is one to make provisions of a treaty inoperable if they conflict with our Constitution, and thus end all question on that score.

Such an amendment would replace by law the restraints that have been abandoned by men.

It would preserve our Bill of Rights from all danger of infringement by treaty.

It would preserve the essential nature of our Government as one of three balanced powers.

It would check the tendency of the Executive to write internal legislation by agreement with other countries, usurping by pretext the powers of the Legislature and threatening the integrity of the Constitution.

It would probably check the growing resentment in our country toward the State Department, now shared even by many people who are not familiar with the law but have nevertheless sensed and resented the increased power and power seeking of this executive branch over our internal affairs.

It would take notice of the encompassing nature of developing world forces not dreamed of when the founding fathers wrote our Constitution.

Such an amendment might well serve to check the growing resentment toward the United Nations in our country. Much of this resentment stems from our weak defenses, under our own law, against the less desirable features of the U. N.

One of the great dangers to the U. N.'s survival is that, today, the American people are widely offered a choice between their Constitution and the United Nations—a choice that was not implied when they so willingly accepted the U. N. in 1945, but is now—in the middle of the game.

The American people cannot accept the thesis that it is our Constitution which blocks world peace through the U. N., and which must be sacrificed to that cause. Unquestionably, if compelled to choose, they must choose their own Constitution and reject the U. N. But if our Constitution is amended to protect it from mischief by treaty, then it is quite possible that we could safely enjoy the benefits of both the Constitution and the United Nations.

This leads to the second broad area of affairs that has caused the widespread movement to amend the treatymaking provisions of our Constitution.

VI. INVOLVEMENT

Because treaties that we ratify become the supreme law of our land, our participation in the United Nations, and our ratification of its Charter as a treaty, and our consideration of many of the agreements coming out of it as proposed treaties all have a markedly different effect upon us than upon most of the other members of the United Nations. In nearly all other nations treaties go through the usual legislative process before having internal effect. This difference and defect is due to the nature of our own treatymaking law, and not to the United Nations.

Though few of us gave it a thought or inquired into its meaning at the time (except for the American Bar Association and two of our Senators) the U. N. Charter became the supreme law of the United States when we ratified it.

Proposals coming to us from the United Nations also come as treaties. They have the unusual and heretofore unexpected effect of being proposed legislation for us, which can be passed by the President and two-thirds of those present in the Senate.

Thus we now have bodies made up of delegates from many nations writing legislation for us, which need not comply with the Constitution nor be considered by the House of Representatives nor by a quorum of the Senate in order to become the law of our land. This is an entirely different legislative process than is provided for in the Constitution.

Our own representatives in the many U. N. treaty-writing bodies are in a minority. And they are not elected legislators but are appointees of the executive branch of our Government.

In many instances our appointees in UN bodies have voted as if they were elected legislators who had a mandate from the people to use their own judgment—and have voted in international treaty-writing bodies against the known policies of the United States. Seldom, if ever, have they been taken to task by our Executive for misrepresenting the United States when they were our only voice in a body that was writing, in effect, internal legislation for us.

Two-thirds of our Senators present have the power to ratify treaties. On occasion, treaties have been brought to the floor and ratified at moments when from two to six Senators were present.

Many of our Senators freely admit that they are unable to guarantee the protection of our rights and our Constitution when considering treaties for ratification. The Senate cannot instruct the Supreme Court, it cannot receive advice from the Court, and cannot predict how the Court will interpret a treaty.

However, the Constitution can instruct the Court, say the Senators, and if amended it can protect the Nation from mistakes which the Senate might make in ratifying a treaty.

The President has the power to make executive agreements with foreign powers, theoretically in day-to-day matters, without the consent or advice of the Senate.

Under dire emergency, major matters, such as the Yalta pacts, have bound the United States by the signature of the President alone.

State Department officials have, in recent years, expounded a doctrine that henceforth all controversial matters with foreign powers should be handled quietly by executive agreements, while the Senate should only be consulted in matters on which there is no controversy.

At the same time, the State Department has sometimes argued that executive agreements have the same nature as treaties. Today the lines of difference between different sorts of international agreements are not clear. The present move to make treaties conform to the Constitution also applies to all manner of international agreements.

By their sheer numbers, and their remote origins, many of the international agreements coming out of the U. N. are today too much for the Senate, if it must guard our basic rights in deciding on all of them. Such agreements are often prepared out of the sight of people in our country whose legitimate interests are involved.

Says Mr. Charles S. Rhyne, speaking for the United States Chamber of Commerce.

"It has been estimated that there are some 200 treaties affecting United States businessmen in one way or another now either proposed or under active consideration by the U. N. and its specialized agencies. * * * Last year the United States was represented at more than 3,000 international conferences, committee meetings, and discussions * * * held all over the world under circumstances and arrangements which are not too well known. * * * Creation of an effective watchdog in this field is an almost impossible task. * * * Many of these conventions (international agreements) will be sprung full-blown upon us * * * without an opportunity to oppose, in the drafting stage, any provisions believed to be injurious or destructive. * * *

"We have reached a point * * * where the great increase in international treaties and the broad scope proposed for them makes it wise to pause and consider whether our treatymaking machinery is adequate to cope with the problems created by this accelerated type of legislation."

Meanwhile, there is a great deal of carelessness in putting pressures on the Senate to ratify this ascending spate of treaties. Emotional lobbies and propaganda campaigns apply heat without regard to or study of the constitutional implications. The Senate has more than once been pressed to ratify a treaty that cuts across the Constitution in order to show our faith in international cooperation.

VII. HUMAN RIGHTS

There is a major conflict between what the United Nations is attempting to do in the field of human rights and our own Bill of Rights. The conflict is so profound that the U. N. activity represents a positive danger to human liberty, rather than an assist. And so long as our signature to the U. N. docu-

ment on human liberty would make the document our law, our own Bill of Rights is placed in jeopardy by our participation in the U. N. efforts to define human liberties.

Meanwhile, we have seen our own representatives misrepresent the U. N. human-rights activity to us, and defend the proposed U. N. document without warning us of its vast inferiority to our own Bill of Rights. We have sometimes received better warning from officials in other lands than from our own representatives and national officials.

Our Bill of Rights was written by men who did not sit down to grant liberties to humanity. Liberties were not theirs to grant. They sat down to prohibit the state from taking liberties with and from the people—to place human rights outside of the political arena.

The U. N. Commission on Human Rights has pursued an opposite course. Since 1946 its basic assumption has been that it, and through it the heads of the states, have the power to grant liberties. The Commission has debated which rights people should have, voted on human rights, defined them, redefined them, expanded them, limited them, and altered them in accordance with the political considerations of the participating states.

The danger of this practice was well expressed by Justice Jackson, of our Supreme Court, in 1943 when he said: "The Bill of Rights was to withdraw certain subjects (basic human liberties) from the vicissitudes of political controversy, to place them beyond the reach of majorities and officials. * * * One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech and free press, freedom of worship and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote."

In short, human liberties reside in the individual. But the U. N. has placed them squarely within the vicissitudes of political controversy and has been submitting them to vote in its own councils since 1946, with the hope of submitting them to vote of the nations at a later date.

The results of this practice bear out our worst fears. The present draft of the Covenant of Human Rights would vest control over human liberties in the state.

Political scientist, Felix Morley, has drawn a striking, article-by-article parallel between certain segments of the covenant and the Soviet Constitution.

Article 7 of the covenant says that no one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor. It goes on to say that the term forced or compulsory labor shall not include any work or service which forms part of normal civic obligations. Thus, as in Russia, the state need only determine what services are normal and civic and then, under the Covenant of Human Rights, it may resort to compulsory labor to see them carried out.

In another section, the covenant says that people shall not be subject to medical experimentation against their wills. But it doesn't stop there. People shall not be subject to involuntary medical experimentation involving risk, or unless it is necessary for their health. Thus, a person can be experimented on medically against his will if a determination is made that no risk is involved, or if in some official opinion the experiment is necessary for his health.

It is the pattern of the Covenant to guarantee human rights only to follow them with exceptions which may be taken when officials judge that exceptions are warranted. The exceptions for withholding human rights include just about every pretext that any dictator has ever used for denying freedom to mankind. Under the Covenant, basic rights may be denied for reasons of public health, public morals, public safety and "special circumstances."

Secret trials of persons charged with crimes are forbidden, says the Covenant. To this, the Constitution of the United States says: "Amen." But the Covenant of Human Rights doesn't say: "Amen." It says: "However."

However, it says, "the press and the public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of morals, public order, national security, when the interest of the private lives of the parties requires, or to the extent strictly necessary in the opinion of the court in special circumstances where publicity would prejudice the interests of justice."

In short, a public trial is guaranteed all persons charged with crimes unless the court or the state (or perhaps one of the parties to the trial) decides otherwise.

Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon (not to be confused with Jacob Malik of Russia) wrote, in 1952, a pessimistic view of the proceedings of the Commission on Human Rights—over which he presided as chairman. Dr. Malik reported that the whole work of the Commission had shifted away from assuring human dignity and was placing its main emphasis on Marxist materialism. This was due, in part, he added, to the "amazing persistence of the Soviet representatives in harping on their views," and to the "apparent unimaginative helplessness of the Western World" in the face of the Marxist pressure.

The Western delegates were either defeated, or never fought for a true bill of rights. As an example, they had the United States Bill of Rights, recognized as the foremost document of its kind in the world, whose protection has been sought by oppressed people all over the globe for nearly two centuries.

But the Western delegates were entirely on the defensive and were able to achieve nothing of merit.

There is not one word in the Covenant of Human Rights that separates basic human liberties from the control of the state.

As an international debate, the work of the Commission on Human Rights could be a healthy procedure. By a process of debate the nations, in discussing human rights, might eventually hit upon the proper formula. The impact of the debate in the Commission might send some delegates home with better ideas on human libetries than exist in their own countries—and this is one of the values of the United Nations.

But the United States must be protected from adopting these inferior ideas as its law. We must be protected either through a law of our own, or through firm reliance on our own representatives and officials.

Part of the question today is whether we need this defense by law, or if we can, under any administration, rely on our own officials to protect our basic liberties.

When Dr. Malik was head of the Commission on Human Rights, the head of the United States delegation was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. In the spring of 1952, at about the time that Dr. Malik issued his warning about the work of the Commission on Human Rights, Mrs. Roosevelt issued her own report on the Covenant of Human Rights as it then stood.

Mrs. Roosevelt reported that the Covenant does not "contain any provisions which depart from the American way of life in the direction of communism, socialism, syndicalism, or statism. When any such provisions have been proposed, the United States has opposed them; every proposal of the Soviet Union and its satellites to write statism into the Covenant has been defeated . . . the United States delegation has been guided by our Constitution and by existing statutes and policies approved by the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government."

And on June 7, 1952, the U. S. State Department issued a bulletin on the Covenant, defending the Covenant and quoting Mrs. Roosevelt's assurances as its assurances.

The State Department bulletin listed the rights offered by the Covenant but gave no warning of the exceptions that destroy the rights and are contrary to every single tradition of human liberty in America, Mrs. Roosevelt's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

The bulletin offered no positive reasons for adopting the Covenant, mentioned no part of it that would be of value to the United States, did not say why a matter of this kind should become supreme law of the United States through international treaty, made numerous assurances that it would be harmless to us, and said:

"The United States, when it becomes a party to the Covenant, would * * * have a firm obligation to enact the necessary * * * measures to give effect to the rights set forth in the Covenant to the exent such measures have no already been enacted. Such * * * measures as are enacted would, of course, be enforceable in the courts of the United States."

VIII

These are some of the reasons—all involving threats to our Constitution—that have led The American Legion to subscribe to the tremendous movement in the United States today to limit the treaty power by clearly written law.

The Randall Commission Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, foreign countries are giving the Randall Commission report a welcome reception, and I am eagerly anticipating the substitute report of Congressmen REED, of New York, and SIMPSON, of Pennsylvania, so that the people in America's woefully overlooked distress areas may also have cause to be optimistic.

I include, as part of my remarks, two news articles from the Christian Science Monitor, of January 25, 1954. These clippings, explaining that the British and Australians are loud in their praise of the Randall report, actually serve only to substantiate what we already know. It is apparent that any recommendations offering trade advantages to the peoples of other countries over the inherent rights of our own citizens will be hailed by those expecting to reap the favors.

But let me remind you, Mr. Speaker, that the British, the Australians, the Venezuelans, and every other nationality outside this country are more realistic than to follow any such policy that would subjugate their own interests. That is why those countries protect their home industries and workers not only by tariffs and quotas but also by currency manipulations that reject products made in the United States and elsewhere if these goods would interfere in any way with their own welfare and security.

I only wish that the men responsible for writing the Randall report had been willing to take a lesson from those countries who give their own interests paramount consideration in any dealing with other nations. To adopt the recommen-

dations of the report and thus ignore the effects of imported residual oil on coal miners, railroaders, and other residents of mining communities would be to plow under the hopes, aspirations, and opportunities of a significant segment of the populace of our country.

The articles follow:

BRITISH HAIL UNITED STATES TRADE REPORT

(By Peter Lyne)

LONDON—The Randall report is top news in Britain, not so much for what it says as for what it implies.

The British have not leaped to the conclusion that its recommendations can or will solve all their trade problems. But they think that at least it removes some of the apprehensions they had that a Republican regime would reverse the more liberal trends of United States trade policies.

This thought, quite apart from possible later implementation of the Randall recommendations, is a big encouragement to the British in their present state of uncertainty about their trading future. They are thankful for small mercies.

[From Paris, Reuters reports that the independent evening paper Le Monde declared January 25 that the conclusions of the Randall report have put to the test the whole orientation of United Staes economic policy.

[The paper said the report has "opened a second front in the present battle between the administration and the right wing of the Republican Party."

[There is nothing left for President Eisenhower to do, Le Monde added, but prepare for an all-out fight with the rightist faction of his own party.]

Lord Beaverbrook's Sunday Express gives full warning to British readers of likely congressional opposition to the report. But it contends nonetheless that the document is of vital importance to Britain and the Commonwealth.

TOP NEWS IN TOP PAPERS

If for no other reason, the Sunday Express applauds the report for giving true recognition to the tremendous part which sterling plays in world economic affairs.

The report is handled in a big way in the press. It is the lead story in the more serious journals like The Times, of London, The Manchester Guardian, and the Financial Times. They also devote their leading editorials to the report.

The Manchester Guardian gives at least 5,000 words to explaining the commission's findings. The report from its Washington correspondent explains why the commission's findings are being regarded already as something of a lost cause. But the Guardian's editorial still thinks the Randall report "should prevent a return to stronger protectionism."

There is gratification in Britain at the extent to which the Randall Commission supported the quest of the British Commonwealth and other western powers for more trade with Iron Curtain countries.

On other hand, the Financial Times in a leading editorial echoes the view of the dissenting member of the commission Representative DANIEL A. REED, Republican of New York, that the report contributes little to a solution of the over-all problems which the United States faces in its foreign economic policy.

REPORT IS TIMELY

Publication of the report is timely in one respect for Britain in that Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler is on his way home after the conference of Commonwealth finance ministers in Sydney. He is right up to date on Commonwealth as well as British views of world trade prospects.

Mr. Butler has his own national budget to prepare for presentation to Parliament in April. By the time he is due in London about January 28, Treasury officials will have prepared their interim report on the Randall findings.

It is felt in Whitehall that the report is encouraging to the Chancellor's plans for cautious progress toward sterling convertibility.

RANDALL REPORT LIFTS AUSTRALIAN TRADE HOPES

(By Albert E. Norman)

SYDNEY.—The Australian Government and business leaders have received President Eisenhower's Randall Commission report with expressions ranging from downright optimism to extreme caution.

Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies said: "My first impression is that cooperation between the dollar and sterling—at which the recent Sydney Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers was aiming—is greatly assisted by this report. The underlying principles of the report are in remarkable harmony with the underlying principles of the recent conference.

"American tariff proposals mentioned by the Randall Commission will greatly affect the capacity of the sterling area to earn more dollars. This will strengthen the self-supporting capacity of it."

Briefly, these tariff proposals recommended that the President be empowered to reduce tariffs reciprocally by up to 5 percent of the present rates a year for 3 years. In addition, it was proposed that there should be a simplification of tariff and customs procedure.

The proposals for a simplified procedure were particularly pleasing to Australian traders, who have complained of excessive American tariff and customs formalities.

In a special statement to the Christian Science Monitor, the Australian Chamber of Commerce said that while the ful ramifications of the Randall Commission's proposals were not easily apparent at this stage, it felt that, "In recommending simplification of tariff and customs procedure alone, the commission had gone a long way to bringing Australia and the United States together on a 'trade, not aid' basis."

"This and the recommendation for yearly decreases in tariffs, if accepted," said this source, "should be a great encouragement for others to 'go and do thou likewise.'"

The Randall Commission's proposals to curtail the functions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade also make pleasant reading for Australian business, particularly manufacturers. These have long been critical of the effects of GATT in preventing further protective tariff increases for Australian industries, which now are facing growing international competition.

There seems, however, an element of wishful thinking in these manufacturers' hopes that any such proposed curtailment of GATT would result in higher Australian domestic tariffs.

The Commonwealth countries, as signified at the recent Commonwealth Conference here, are generally in favor of reviewing GATT. But this desire was related to the concerting of international moves toward freer trade and more readily convertible currencies, not to the development of greater isolationism through increased domestic tariffs.

In this sense, the Randall report was in line with the underlying principles of the Finance Ministers Conference, as Prime Minister Menzies pointed out.

Similarly, the Randall proposals to refuse tariff concessions on products made by foreign workers receiving substandard wages accords with most Commonwealth views, notably British, Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Southern Rhodesia.

It is recalled here that these particular nations abstained from voting on Japan's admittance last October to GATT, after opposing its entry as an associated member.

They allegedly feared the revival of Japan's prewar dumping practices under protection of GATT tariff-freezing provisions. But with restricted membership Japan cannot secure tariff concessions unless individual countries negotiate these directly.

This general Commonwealth resistance to Japanese economic nationalism was counterbalanced at the recent conference here when member nations were urged to promote a policy of Commonwealth economic nationalism in preferential buying of sterling area goods.

But the Randall report tends to reject such nationalistic policy attitudes in its recommendation that the United States Government ease the Buy American Act. At present, this legislation militates against purchase of foreign goods by United States Government agencies.

Immediate Australian interest in the Randall report naturally centers on tariff changes which could have prompt effect on Australian trade fortunes.

But long-term interest centers on recommendations for achieving full convertibility of sterling with the dollar.

In this the Commission's ideas for using International Monetary Funds and the Federal Reserve System harmonize with those of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers Conference, which obviously hoped that some such proposals would develop through Commission studies.

Australian leaders appreciate that there are two sides to the Randall report. Americans must deal with the first and non-Americans with the second.

Discussing the second side, one Australian newspaper said: "As for the other nations of the world, including Australia, they must be prepared to do their share if they are to participate in the promised better deal."

Local 742, UAW-CIO, Defies House Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KIT CLARDY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker, the committee of which I am a member—the House Un-American Activities Committee—is scheduled to commence hearings in Michigan on February 22. Last Saturday I received a letter from the recording secretary of local 742 of the UAW-CIO—commonly known as the Briggs local. The letter transmitted a resolution just adopted by the executive committee of that local breathing defiance. The resolution accused the committee of all the crimes in the calendar. What it said followed the line adopted by all those leftwingers who want to stop all investigations into communism.

I am placing the letter and the resolution in the RECORD so as to inform the membership of the kind of tactics being used by the opponents of this committee.

Of course this will not deter us in the slightest—the investigation will continue without letup. But it is truly unfortunate that a few can thus do harm to the cause of labor. For I am certain that the vast majority of the rank and file are loyal citizens and would, if given an opportunity, thoroughly disapprove of the resolution and its proposals.

The letter and resolution follow:

LOCAL 742, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT, AND AGRICULTURAL, IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO,
Detroit, Mich., January 21, 1954.

Representative KIT CLARDY,
United States House of Representatives,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The executive board of Local No. 742, UAW-CIO, unanimously adopted the enclosed resolution and instructed this office to forward you a copy.

Very truly yours,
LAYMAN H. WALKER,
Recording Secretary.

RESOLUTION ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Whereas according to the press, radio, and TV, the Un-American Activities Subcommittee is intending to meet in Detroit, Flint, and Lansing on February 22; and

Whereas this committee has a record of holding hearings in towns where labor has been fighting for full employment and fighting for annual wages, higher pensions for retired workers; and

Whereas these hearings are just the cover-up of the do-nothing policies of the Republican administration; and

Whereas this committee is noted for its smear and slanderous campaign on individuals of all walks of life including churchmen, teachers, labor leaders, and liberals; and

Whereas the 14th annual UAW-CIO convention adopted its civil liberties resolution which stated that men such as McCarthy, McCarran, Jenner, and Velde are taking democracy away from the people and are indirectly building a dictatorship; and

Whereas it is time that labor joined together with all those who are smeared, libeled, and pilloried and otherwise denied the protection of our Bill of Rights: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the executive board and membership of Local No. 742, UAW-CIO, request the President of the United States to have the committee investigate the unemployment problem especially in the Detroit area where the unemployment problem is critical; and be it further

Resolved, That the membership of Local 742, UAW-CIO, request the President and Members of Congress and Senate to adopt rules and policies against character assassination, gossip, conviction by association which this committee is noted for; and be it finally

Resolved, That the official policy of the executive board and membership of Local 742 will not in any way cooperate with this undemocratic committee. We will call on our membership and the international union executive board to oppose the Un-American Activities Committee coming into Detroit, Flint, and Lansing; and be it further finally

Resolved, That Local 742 will give every aid possible including financial aid for legal defense of any member who is dragged before the committee and that this be handled by the executive board at their discretion unless otherwise so ordered by the membership.

The Figures, Please

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post, January 23, 1954, regarding Attorney General Brownell's charges that the Government was staffed by subversives and that 2,200 employees had been fired because of security reasons.

The editorial follows:

THE FIGURES, PLEASE

Attorney General Brownell, at his first press conference since October 16, saw fit not to comment on the 2,200 security cases frequently mentioned by the Administration. It is of course the privilege of a Cabinet officer to refrain from comment on whatever he pleases; and apart from this particular issue this newspaper welcomes the promise that Mr. Brownell will furnish more information to the public through regular press conferences.

The question, nevertheless, is one on which the American people are entitled to a simple, straightforward answer. How many of the 2,200 employees separated from Federal jobs as the President put it, "under the standards established for the new employee security program," were actually in any sense loyalty or security cases? It has been widely asserted that most of these separations took place under normal civil service procedures and had nothing whatever to do with loyalty or security. If that is the case, the 2,200 figure is a fraud. Surely someone in the Administration must know—either Mr. Brownell, or Bernard Shanley, the President's counsel, or Philip Young, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission. The embarrassing questions are likely to continue until the President designates someone to give the facts.

Expanded Trade and World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article by Mr. Henry Ford II, from a recent issue of the magazine Heartland:

EXPANDED TRADE AND WORLD PEACE

(By Henry Ford II)

For a long time, many of us have preached the idea of responsible private leadership in our national life. We know that our Government must make hard and often unpopular decisions in the pursuit of peace. We know that it cannot carry out such decisions without the vigorous support of American private leadership.

Most of us feel that this is a time like no other time in history. Never before has the world so clearly fought for ultimate stakes. We can no longer afford to play penny ante poker with destiny. We can no longer be content to just muddle through. The chips are down.

Most of us realize that we must find a way to give the same all-out effort and sacrifice and ingenuity to winning peace which in the past has gone into the winning of wars.

A sane and realistic trade policy can be a real test case of our ability to unite on a difficult and touchy domestic issue, and to resolve that issue in favor of our own national interest, of international economic solidarity, friendship, and peace. If we pass that test, we shall greatly strengthen the confidence others have in us. We shall show them an American government and people, strongly united on basic objectives, and ready and able to make the decisions required for peace.

I am sure that many Americans view this trade issue with mixed emotions. Some of us may feel that we are an embattled minority, and that there's no point in getting too far out on the free-trade limb.

I think it's important to realize that there is a tremendous amount of public sentiment in this country for a more liberal trade policy.

I have had convincing personal proof of that fact. Last February I gave a talk on foreign trade before the annual meeting of the Inland Daily Press Association.

I was frankly amazed to find that newspaper comments from all over the country were about 95 percent strongly favorable—and that the brickbats were few and far between. And I was overwhelmed by the enthusiasm with which American men and women wrote me in support of what I had said. Many inspiring letters, in fact, came from leaders of high-tariff industries, saying that they believed the national interest should prevail—even if it did mean problems for them.

That reaction was supported by a Gallup poll of June 29, 1953, on the subject of United States trade policy. The poll noted, and I quote, "a dramatic change in American thinking, particularly on the part of Republicans." It added that "the weight of sentiment in favor of lowering tariffs holds for all major segments of the population—by education, sex, occupation, and by geographical sections."

It should be comforting to know that so many Americans are of one mind on this vital issue.

A necessary first step is to dispel some of the fog of confusion, suspicion, and emotion which beclouds this whole trade question. It seems to me that the issue can be reduced to clear and understandable terms.

I think we should try to do that without, at the same time, condemning those who stood behind our high tariff policies in the past. There was a time when tariffs played a vital role in our development. In those days we were a debtor nation. We needed tariff protection behind which our young industries could grow and prosper. As they grew, we shipped our goods all over the world in order to pay off our debts.

Today the situation is reversed. Today we are the greatest creditor nation of all time and other nations must sell to us if they are to discharge their debts.

So, as a first step, let's examine our domestic dollars-and-cents interest in expanded trade and explore the more serious problems involved in achieving it.

Next, let's consider the deeper implications of this trade issue, what vital stakes we all have in it, and why all of us should take an active side in it.

Let's start off with the flat statement that a rich, expanding foreign trade is important to all parts of the American economy—to industry, labor, and agriculture.

With our highly mechanized industry and agriculture, we have a substantial competitive advantage over most of the world in most major industrial products and many farm products. With only about one-sixteenth of the world's populations, we account for almost one-half of the world's total production of goods and services. Sometimes our immense productivity results in surpluses. Often we are unable to produce all that we could produce, or to sell all that we do produce. And at the same time most of the world hungers for the products of American farms and factories which it cannot afford to buy, because it just doesn't earn enough dollars to pay the bill.

If we want an expanding economy, if we want high levels of production and employment, if we want an ever-increasing standard of living—and it is my impression that we do—then the growth of our foreign trade is a matter of real practical interest to all of us. We must convert our potential world markets into real markets for the many goods we want to sell.

Moreover, our domestic industry has become increasingly dependent upon foreign sources of raw materials. That dependence will sharply increase in the years ahead. Our inability to buy foreign raw materials at the lowest possible cost will be important in maintaining an expanding economy at home.

Thus we stand to benefit greatly from a trade policy which will permit us to import more things at lower cost, and ultimately to sell more and more of our goods abroad. In broad terms, the benfits of increased trade greatly outweigh the drawbacks.

The great bulk of American industry will gain directly and indirectly from an expanded export market.

In other words, on a basis of pure self-interest, almost all American industrialists ought to declare for expanded trade.

By the same token, many, many more workers are employed in the industries which need more exports than are employed in the industries which might suffer from more imports. With expanding trade, competition might eliminate some jobs, but increased exports would create many more.

American workers, on a basis of pure self-interest, should be strongly in favor of expanding trade.

And how about the farmer? The United States is a net exporter of agricultural goods. In many major commodities, the export market means life or death for the farmer. In 1952, for example, we exported nearly 40 percent of our total production of cotton and tobacco, and about one-third of our wheat.

Mr. Herschel Newsom, master of the National Grange, has pointed out the recent dangerous decline in farm exports. He reports that in the past 12 months, as compared to the previous period, cotton exports have dropped 52 percent, wheat 30, tobacco 32, lard 40, dairy products 30, and some specialty crops, such as apples, as much as 70 percent. But even more important to the farmer than the export market is his market in the industrial city—and expanding trade is one effective way of promoting continued high employment and prosperity in the industrial city.

Once again, on the basis of pure self-interest, the farmer should be fighting for his stake in expanded trade.

And finally we come to the consumer—which is every one of us. The consumer is really hurt by tariffs. He digs down deep to pay taxes for foreign-aid programs which could be largely abandoned if we expanded our trade sufficiently. He pays more for a great many things he buys because of direct tariffs, or because of tariffs on imported parts and materials which go into American manufactured goods.

The American consumer ought to be 100 percent for less restrictions and more trade.

But to many people these considerations seem rather remote. Unfortunately, it seems pretty hard to show people how their immediate interests are affected by foreign trade.

Those relatively few producers who face serious competition from imports are well aware of their personal interests in this trade issue. But the great bulk of American producers are not affected so directly by the raising or lowering of trade barriers. They may overlook the fact that all American industry and agriculture is linked in an economic chain, and that seemingly distant and unrelated tariff increases may damage them.

A manufacturer of leather wallets may successfully petition Congress or the Tariff Commission for barriers against imports of wallets. As a direct result, several foreign countries may retaliate against many other American commodities—say cigarettes, candy, or shoelaces. The domestic producers of these goods will suffer directly from loss of exports and from increased competition at home. Yet it would be pretty hard to convince those fellows that, in their own self-interest, they should have opposed the protection of leather wallets in the first place.

So we usually find ourselves speaking in generalities about the impact of foreign trade on the domestic economy, on industry, on agriculture, or on labor, without somehow hitting the individual businessman, farmer, and worker right where he eats.

It seems to me, then, that the hope for building effective support for a liberal trade policy lies in translating these general statements into bread-and-butter terms for thousands of American producers.

Now let's look at the other side of the coin. I think we must try to analyze the nature of protectionist sentiment—high-tariff sentiment—and look for constructive solutions for the special problems which a liberal trade policy would create.

There seems to be a good deal of confusion in people's minds about the effect of any significant tariff reductions on specific industries and agricultural products. Actually, a lot of study has been given to this subject. In fact, the subject has almost been studied to death.

One recent study speculates about what would happen if we abruptly dropped all our tariffs, import quotas, and other barriers to trade. It concludes that the increase in imports would range from $1,200 million to $2½ billion at the most.

How would that small increase affect our domestic producers? Actually, it would affect only a very few of them seriously. All of the industries which might conceivably face some displacement from these new imports had—in 1951 figures—a gross product of some $4 billion, or slightly more than 1 percent of our gross national product. Of that 1 percent, presumably a very small part might actually be put out of business if we knocked off all existing barriers—and that would be an extreme case indeed.

As a matter of fact, it is clear that the adjustments necessary to adapt production to the new imports, in that very extreme case, would be no greater than those which normally accompany technological change. Each year hundreds of new firms go into business and go out of business because of technological advances—and all of us accept that as the normal and healthy operation of free economic forces.

We live in time of swift change. The blacksmith and the harnessmaker, for example, have been thrust aside by the automobile, but none of us would really like to return to the primitive methods of communication and the lower living standard of the horse-and-buggy age. The trade of the world is carried across the seas, not by windjammers, but by the swift freighters of the 20th century; the telephone, telegraph, and radio are everyday methods of communication. All of these have increased the Nation's business a hundredfold over the days when they did not exist, and through such forces civilization is marching forward in generations instead of in centuries.

But these same forces have also enormously complicated our lives. They have reduced oceans to the comparative size of ditches and have made neighbors of what used to be widely separated nations and cultures. Whether we like it or not, this is a fact that is with us to stay, and the question is not whether it exists but whether we are going to face up to it.

We must decide whether we are for or against progress. As I see it, not only are there no impossible hurdles in the way of an up-to-date trade policy, but there are very urgent reasons for having one.

However, the fact that the number of firms which would be affected—and the number of men and women who work in them—is very small certainly does not mean that their plight should be of only casual concern to the rest of us.

It does mean that their problem can be dealt with—fairly, with sympathetic understanding, and without compromising a sound trade program. It does mean that while there might be pinpoint dislocations, the national economy as a whole will not be disturbed.

In some cases, all that will be needed to prevent these isolated dislocations is a gradual reduction of tariffs, which would give a company time to adapt to new market conditions, just as many capable firms have been able to adapt themselves to drastic technological changes.

In the case of industries which cannot adapt themselves, other measures may be needed. If substantial tariff reductions were made in the national interest, the burden of sacrifice would fall upon a small group of producers. And hardship might be suffered in communities where such producers are concentrated. In such hardship cases, it might be appropriate to consider direct Government assistance in the form of loans and grants. Such assistance would either maintain essential defense production or help specific producers to adapt themselves to new circumstances.

Actually, the tariff itself is a form of subsidy. Although I certainly am no advocate of Government aid, if we are going to have any kind of subsidy, I say let's have the least costly and most direct kind. To use a classic phrase, perhaps we should substitute "the rifleshot of subsidy for the shotgun blast of tariffs." If a subsidy is necessary, it should be brought out into the open and be subject to public scrutiny.

That way, we will know exactly whom we are helping and how much it's costing us, and we will avoid the present system which, heavily disguised, penalizes the many in order to help the few.

A serious flaw in the present trade legislation is that it fails to provide any means for weighing the factor of national interest in the determination of tariff rates; by the same token, it fails to provide for indemnifying, financially or otherwise, a producer who suffers injuries in the national interest.

Inclusion of such provisions in a new tariff law should go a long way toward easing some of the fears which now exist.

Actually, it is mainly fear of the unknown which has caused much of the current opposition to an expanded trade program. Many of our high tariff advocates actually may have nothing to lose—they may even benefit from increased imports, but they don't know it.

What is really at stake is our ability to lead the free world and to further the most crucial interests of our Nation in international affairs.

We cannot hope to unify the free world militarily and politically if at the same time we divide it economically.

A protectionist-trade policy is divisive. It sets a very bad example for others whom we have been urging to abandon the restrictive practices which they employ. In the eyes of the world, it is basically isolationist. If we allow the present drift toward economic isolationism to dominate our policies, we will rapidly reach a point where we cannot lead, others will not follow, and the whole fabric of free-world cooperation could fall apart at the seams.

Let me point out that I feel very strongly that our efforts to relax trade barriers will

be of real value to the world economy only if our foreign friends are equally diligent in relaxing their own trade barriers. I realize that the United States, because of its strong trading position, is the logical leader of the effort to expand trade. But obviously we cannot do the job alone. Others must be willing to work with us in freeing world trade, and in developing a more favorable climate for private investment in their own countries.

Finally, it seems to me, that the long-range implications of our tariff policy are even more important than its short-range impact.

World War II accelerated new and vital forces of a vastness which we are only now beginning to grasp. In Latin America, it set off economic development which is rapidly raising the living standards of that area. It awoke the slumbering civilization of the Far East and stimulated the development of Africa's resources.

Clearly, within the foreseeable future—within the active lives of most of us and certainly in our children's time—these areas will account for a far larger part of the trade and wealth of the world than they do today.

The long-term question which confronts us—leaving aside the problem of war or peace—is how we are going to live with these growing areas.

Shall we conclude fearfully that we must abandon our rich trading position in the world and hide behind tariff barricades?

Or shall we regard this growth as opening untold new opportunities for mankind? Shall we see vast new markets opening not only for existing products but—perhaps even more important—for products which do not yet exist, and which the United States will be better able to create than any other nation in the world?

If we follow that course, we will move ahead staunchly in the traditions which made us strong. We will face the competition of others. We will take advantage of opportunities as they arise. And in so doing we will grow in stature and the American people will prosper.

Coal-Mine Fatality Rate at New Low in 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under request to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent news release from the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, which indicates that the Nation in 1953 experienced an outstanding record in mine fatalities.

It must be most assuring to the Members of Congress to learn that they acted with wisdom and courage in approving the new mine-safety bill.

The report follows:

COAL-MINE FATALITY RATE AT NEW LOW IN 1953

Fewer coal miners lost their lives during 1953 than in any previous year, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay announced today, and the fatality rate per million man-hours was the lowest in the statistical history of coal mining in the United States.

Coal-mine fatalities during 1953 totaled 457, giving an estimated fatal-injury rate of 0.82 per million man-hours of exposure, compared with 548 fatalities, and a rate of 0.85 per million man-hours in 1952, previously the best year on record. Even though the coal mines worked less time in 1953 as compared with 1952, the 1953 record is still better than for the previous year.

All segments of the coal-mining industry—bituminous, lignite, and anthracite—chalked up better fatal-injury records last year than in 1952, J. J. Forbes, Director of the Bureau of Mines, reported to the Secretary.

Although there was a 29-percent decrease in the number of man-hours worked in Pennsylvania anthracite mines in 1953, the number of fatalities in such mines—64—represented a 35-percent decrease from the 99 fatalities of 1952 and the estimated fatality rate of 0.89 per million man-hours compares favorably with 0.99 rate in 1952. The all-time low of 0.80 fatalities per million man-hours established in 1950 was not equaled.

The 1953 bituminous-coal mine death toll, 393, and the estimated fatality rate, 0.81 per million man-hours, both were all-time lows. The best previous record in this segment of the coal-mining industry was 449 deaths at the rate of 0.83 per million man-hours in 1952, Mr. Forbes said.

In 1953, 5 deaths in an Iowa coal mine were charged to an explosion initiated by black blasting powder. Actually 2 were killed directly by the explosion; the other 3 lost their lives by entering the mine after the explosion without proper respiratory protection. The company had been notified by a Federal coal-mine inspector that it was violating the provision of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act prohibiting the use of black blasting powder. Enforcement of this provision was delayed as the result of an injunction obtained by the company and the explosion occurred before a formal closing order could be issued. The Bureau of Mines, therefore, does not consider this to be a major explosion in the generally accepted meaning of the term.

No one was killed in a mine fire during 1953, whereas four men were killed in 1952.

Mr. Forbes pointed to the reduction of haulage fatalities in Pennsylvania anthracite mines from 24 in 1952 to 3 last year, as representing notable progress, pointing out that haulage accidents ordinarily cause more fatalities than any other type, except falls of roof and coal.

Mr. Forbes commented favorably on the cooperation that the Bureau of Mines has received from State mining authorities, mine supervisors, mine workmen, mine operators' organizations, and the United Mine Workers of America, and other labor groups in carrying out the provisions of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act. During 1953, the Federal inspectors issued 174 orders to withdraw workmen at 92 coal mines for failure to comply with the mandatory provisions of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act. Most of the deficiencies were corrected promptly, after which the mines were permitted to resume normal operation. Moreover, during the year 43 mines that had previously been operated as nongassy mines were required to be operated as gassy mines, according to the act.

"Revision of the Federal Mine Safety Code for Bituminous Coal and Lignite Mines of the United States, made possible by the joint efforts of management and labor in the industry and the Bureau, was one notable achievement which should result in lower fatality rates in the future," Director Forbes said. "Adoption for the first time of a Federal Mine Safety Code for Anthracite Mines of the United States, encouraging similar efforts on the part of all connected with the anthracite mining industry, was another."

The Bureau of Mines Director also cited the cooperation of State officials, coal mine management and labor, and the Bureau in supporting accident-prevention, first-aid, mine-rescue, roof-control, and haulage-safety training.

"The Bureau of Mines has worked with the coal-producing States and with management and labor in the coal-mining industry, in giving various types of safety training for over 43 years now," Mr. Forbes continued, "and these efforts have been paying off. Last year's 457 fatalities were a far cry from the 2,821 in 1910, the year the Bureau of Mines was created, or the 2,269 deaths in 1915. Only in 8 years have coal-mine fatalities fallen below 1,000, and last year was the first in which they were under 500. Moreover, in only 4 years has the fatality rate been less than 1 per million man-hours, and only in 1952 and 1953 was it below 0.90."

"That we have reduced fatalities so far is cause for gratification, but not for complacency. We know that we are far from the irreducible minimum. We also know that every time the number and rate of fatalities are reduced, it takes harder work by everyone concerned to bring about a further reduction. The task is not impossible because of the example of mines that have operated for years not only without a fatality, but also without a lost-time accident."

The United Mine Workers of America, the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, the Southern Coal Producers' Association, and the National Coal Association, have established safety departments, all with headquarters in Washington. "Working with each other and the Bureau of Mines," Mr. Forbes said, "the united effort should portend further reduction in accidents and injuries in American coal mines."

A detailed breakdown of the year's fatality record by States and causes will appear in a Bureau of Mines periodical report, C. M. F. 270, Coal Mine Fatalities in 1953, which will be published soon.

Making Money in the Stock Market

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a most interesting article appearing in the Boston Post of January 24, 1954, and written by Mr. John Fox, owner and publisher of the Boston Post, who writes this column under the name of Washington Waters. Mr. Fox in this column and past ones he wrote has courageously expressed his opinions on the subject-matter of each column:

MAKING MONEY IN THE STOCK MARKET
(By Washington Waters)

On Friday, Chrysler Corp. announced that lay-offs would total 15,500 workers in its Plymouth and automotive divisions on Monday, January 25. Of these, 7,900 are new lay-offs, 7,600 persons having been laid off on January 7.

World prices of lead, copper, and zinc, which tend to move together, for a long time have been in a serious slump. Prices dropped sharply again last week. There are two reasons for the latest drop—a long decline in demand for these metals, and imports of foreign metals which are being

offered at prices lower than that for which they can be produced in this country.

Freight carloadings for the latest week reported, January 16, were 12.1 percent off from the corresponding week a year ago. They are now off by a greater percentage than at any time since the downtrend began. This not only continues but steepens the unfavorable trend as compared with last year. The costs of railroad operation, however, are higher than a year ago. It is hard to conceive of a situation where the rails have poor business, while general business remains good.

Loans to business by banks continued their drop as compared with the same period a year ago, the decline being now in its seventh month.

Department store sales, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board, in the week ended January 16, were off 8 percent from the corresponding week in 1953. Lately, department store sales have been the brightest spot on the business horizon. This reported week's decline may have been due to weather, which was bad in the northeastern part of the country.

The very important steel business, however, is poor and getting poorer. Steel mills are operating at 75 percent of capacity as against 100 percent a year ago. Furthermore, since steel men obviously anticipated that business would be better than it is, they overbought scrap, with the result that they have what the Wall Stree Journal calls "a record high of 6.5 million tons of scrap piled up in their own yards," which is enough to keep them going for several months. At the annual meeting of the Institute of Scrap, Iron and Steel, an association which represents dealers who handle 95 percent of the total tonnage of scrap sold to steel mills, the president of the ISIS, Ralph E. Ablon, said, "We are facing more threatening conditions than at any time since I have been connected with our industry." That there can be no healthy economy without a healthy steel business, few analysts would deny.

The tobacco business is in a major slump, which is getting worse. This is undoubtedly due, in part, to a cancer scare, but it is not possible to ignore the fact that cigarette sales suffer seriously in periods of real depression. How much of the drop in sales is due to the cancer scare and how much is due to falling purchasing power is not known at present.

Against a setting of shrinking profits for all kinds of industry, stock prices, as measured by the Dow-Jones industrial average, have regained all but 4 points of the drop from their bull-market highs, while the rail average has gained 10 points of its 22-point drop. Not only have the rails not done anything like as well as the stocks in the industrial average, but nearly all stocks, except those to be found in the portfolios of pension funds, which are the major buyers of stocks, have showed relatively little recovery from the considerable drops which they have had in the past 2 years, particularly last year.

What makes the industrial blue chips go up? There seem to be as many reasons given as there are weekly market letters written. The most popular reason at the moment seems to be the effect of the House Ways and Means Committee vote to permit a percentage of dividends received to be deducted from the tax on dividend income. While this is welcome and in certain cases can be a sizable benefit, its effect would be only one-third realized this year, another one-third next year, and three-thirds in 1956, and we don't think that that's the right explanation.

We continue to be of the belief that we have held for a long time that the pension funds do not know what to do with their money which pours in week after week, except to buy common stocks, and since they all tend to buy the same ones, the effect is to push up a very narrow segment of the market, without the rest of it being much affected. It seems to us silly for people to be buying stocks, except special situations which should do well for reasons individual to them, at a time when the automobile, copper, lead, zinc, tobacco, railroad ,and steel businesses are all slipping, following long periods of prosperity; and at a time when by the Dow theory, we are in a bear market.

On the other hand, there is this to say. The Government has pushed the prices of bonds so high, which is another way of saying it has caused interest rates to drop so low, that if the pension funds are to get any income they have to buy stocks. We think that they will learn the hard way that anyone who buys stocks for income in the long run is sure to lose out. Everyone else who ever did has.

Something new, however, has been added in the past 2 weeks. The Eisenhower administration just missed committing one of its not rare colossal political blunders when it put out feelers to see how the country would react if butter paid for by American taxpayers, and held in storage by the Federal Government, should be sold to the Soviet slave state, at a price 10 cents a pound below that which the same American taxpayers are paying for it. The reaction was so overwhelming, and expressed in very strong language by constituents to Senators and Representatives alike, and by them in similar language to administration leaders, that any intention of doing such a thing was emphatically denied by Secretary of Commerce Weeks. The emphasis of the denial was just as hard as the pussyfooting of the original suggestion, which came from top administration sources, was soft.

The immorality of even the consideration of such a move is shocking. So is its stupidity. Leaving entirely out of consideration the well-being of the American taxpayer, the fact remains that butter sold to the Soviets would be paid for by gold produced by perhaps the worst slave system in the world's history. At the same time the delivery of butter to the great slave State would result in the strengthening of its leaders with their own people; strengthening by us whom it is their avowed intention to destroy.

From the standpoint of some economic analysts, however, the whole episode meant one thing—that there is nothing which the administration will not do to jack up business, even if it means selling products of American industry to the Kremlin, which we are now doing. Weeks said so, in so many words. His real meaning is not obscured by the qualification that we are already delivering and will continue to deliver to Soviet satellites nonmilitary items. In a modern economy, what is a nonmilitary item? We give up; you guess.

The most cynical financial elements in the Nation, however, are not guessing when they conclude that the Soviet Empire is the biggest market in the world for American products. What if they are paid for in gold produced by slaves under the whip? Think of the profits. Besides we are not the slaves—yet.

Park Service Needs a Little Persuasion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Seattle Times indicates the widespread interest in the State of Washington to obtain tourists and winter sport development in Rainier National Park. Thus far the National Park Service has hampered such development. Quite apparently the Service needs to be prodded by someone in higher authority within the Department of the Interior, or elsewhere:

PARK SERVICE NEEDS A LITTLE PERSUASION

Progress is being made in efforts to obtain a major, year-'round tourist and winter-sport development in the Rainier National Park. A specific program has been proposed by the committee of nine named by Governor Langlie to consider this subject, which no doubt will be elaborated further at subsequent meetings of the group. The next will be held February 17.

The governor's committee is composed of representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of Seattle, Tacoma, and Yakima, the Automobile Club of Washington, the Pacific Northwest Ski Association, the Washington Resort Association, and other interested organizations. Governor Langlie's assistant, Roger Freeman, a ski enthusiast, is chairman and Mayor Leland of Kirkland, secretary.

This influential group expressed strong support for a program of greater recreational development of Rainier National Park. Though it was agreed the Federal Government could not at this time be expected to make substantial appropriations for the park, the committee was of the opinion that "the National Park Service should create conditions which should encourage private capital to finance the facilities."

Specifically, the committee took the view that the crux of a suitable development program would be construction of an aerial tramway or chair-lift to the 10,000-foot level at Camp Fuir. This would require permission of the National Park Service, which hitherto has never favored the idea. Nor does it seem likely that the Park Service will be disposed to change its views unless there is some insistence from higher echelons in the Department of the Interior.

This, indeed, may turn out to be one of those instances where a long established bureaucracy is not responsive to the thinking of a new administration. There has been too much of that since President Eisenhower's team took the reins in Washington, D. C.

In this case, Interior Secretary McKay should go into the subject personally and in the light of his own findings determine what policy the National Park Service should pursue, recommend to Congress and support.

The United States on Colonialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Texarkana Gazette:

THE UNITED STATES ON COLONIALISM

Many people feel that the United States has gone along so far with Britain and France, particularly in their efforts to hold their colonies, that our attitude on the subject is misunderstood throughout the world and we have lost ground in the minds of the people in the Far East, in the Moslem Countries and in Africa and perhaps in South America.

We certainly demonstrated in the Philippines that we had no ambition to build up a colonial empire. It was our position from the very start that it was our intention to prepare the Filipinos for eventual independence and self government and we finally set a definite date for withdrawing entirely from the Philippines and turning their government over to them. This immediately stopped all agitation for freedom in the Philippines and cut the ground from under the politicians who were trying to build up their own power and influence through agitation for freedom.

We believe it is pretty generally recognized throughout the world that the days of colonialism are over and the United States certainly should take a definite and positive stand publicly to that effect.

Such a stand could probably be best implemented by putting it on the agenda of the next United Nations meeting and advocating it at that time. Very possibly a definite position might be taken by the United Nations at that meeting. Certainly it would be advantageous to the prestige of the United Nations and would be most heartening to subject races throughout the world.

Of course, it must be recognized that many of these races are far from being ready for democratic self-government, but that should be the ultimate aim and definite plans be formulated to realize that aim.

In the Philippines, one of the best things we did was to establish schools for universal education under our direct supervision, and largely, particularly from the start, with American teachers. Education is certainly fundamental in the preparation of a people for self-government.

One of the mistakes we made in Japan probably was in not taking over and supervising its schools during the period of occupation, which could and would have been very helpful in promoting democracy and changing their thinking from the feudalism which has characterized their thinking and their educational system.

France has already helped her position greatly in Indochina, but if she would now announce plans for preparing the three subject nations in Indochina for self-government and set a date for the completion of this process, it would go far toward correcting the situation which now exists. Certainly many of the insurgents and guerrillas in Indochina are Nationalists, and not Communists, and such a course would undoubtedly eliminate much of the Communist support which they are now receiving and would have a very favorable effect on all other countries in the Far East.

Certainly if such action were taken by the United States and the United Nations it would clarify the thinking in many parts of the world, take much of the ammunition away from the Communists, countering much of their propaganda, and give greater cohesion and power to the support of the United Nations.

Protecting Widow's Rights Under the Equal Rights Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following statement regarding widow's rights as they would be affected by the so-called equal rights amendment, House Joint Resolution 74, is an able presentation and answers the questions in the minds of many.

This paper was prepared by Miss Marjorie Temple, a fine lawyer and a stalwart supporter of the amendment.

Miss Temple, in her conclusion, states the case most clearly when she says:

The equal rights amendment could do a great deal to equalize these very important laws relating to estates and ease many of the hardships which now exist as a result of our early efforts to depart from the common law.

The above-mentioned statement follows:

PROTECTING THE WIDOW'S RIGHTS UNDER THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

A great deal of heat and very little light is generated by opponents of the equal rights amendment on the theory that passage of the amendment would take away from a wife at the time of her husband's death, certain protections now granted her under the laws of the various States.

On the other hand, the proponents of the amendment feel that men and women should have the same kind of protection under similar circumstances, particularly where there are children because frequently men are more at a loss than women about what to do and how to make the necessary adjustments to continue as normal a life as possible.

It would seem that the logical thing is to make all such protections available to the surviving spouse. With this in mind, we turned to a survey of State laws published by the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor (Bulletin 157, revised) and found the following information which is quite revealing and shows that in many instances, the State legislatures also believe that the surviving spouse, not just the surviving widow, should be protected.

At common law a widow may stay in her husband's home rent-free for 40 days and receive reasonable support from her husband's estate during that period. (Referred to in the common law as a widow's quarantine.) If there is no litigation, she receives her dower at the end of that time. The income from this plus her share of any personal property then provides the support of herself and minor children. Dower is a share in the lands of the husband, granted to the wife by the common law.

Title to the real estate in which the wife receives dower, passed to the husband's heirs under the will and unless the home is included in the widow's dower, she must not occupy the home beyond the 40-day quarantine.

A surviving husband continues to occupy the home in his own right if it belongs to him or by right of curtesy if he is entitled to curtesy and the wife owned the home. Curtesy is a right in the wife's lands to which the husband is entitled if there are children born of the marriage. He receives all personal property after debts are paid and his legal obligation to support his children continues unchanged.

Legal title to the wife's lands passes to her heirs at death subject to the husband's curtesy right when it is vested in him.

Obviously, this common law concept of property is not in keeping with our modern concepts of the position of men and women in our economic life. Apparently, today South Carolina is the only State which follows the common law in these matters. The other States have established statutes to safeguard the maintenance of the deceased person's family during settlement of the estate. Even so, great variations exist as noted below, and it would seem that the family and the family estate would profit if the benefits ran to the surviving spouse in all cases, which could easily be done by the State legislatures when the amendment is ratified.

I. THE FAMILY HOME

The surviving spouse is given absolute title to the family home under certain conditions in 11 States; Arizona, California, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming.

Alabama, Florida, and Wisconsin give absolute title under certain conditions to the widow only.

Thirteen States permit the surviving spouse to occupy the home for life: Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Texas.

Only the widow is entitled to life occupancy in 15 States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin.

Occupancy during the minority of the youngest child may be available to either spouse in West Virginia.

Occupancy for a limited period prescribed by statute, may be available to either spouse in 13 States: California, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Limited occupancy is available to the widow in 16 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, and Virginia.

II. FAMILY MAINTENANCE

An allowance for reasonable support, limited in amount or in length of time supplied, is available to the surviving spouse in 17 States: Connecticut, District of Columbia, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia.

Only the widow is entitled to such support in 32 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

When it is necessary, and the condition of the estate justifies it, an allowance for an additional period may be available to the surviving spouse in five States: Idaho, Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota.

Such additional allowance is available to the widow in 11 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

III. HOUSEHOLD GOODS

The family household equipment is reserved to the widow in 20 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The family household equipment is reserved to the surviving spouse in 16 States: California, District of Columbia, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

IV. WEARING APPAREL

The widow gets the family apparel in 24 States: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Tennessee,

Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Eighteen States reserve the family clothing to the surviving spouse: California, District of Columbia, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

V. SUMMARY ADMINISTRATION

Only the widow may collect unpaid wages within limited amounts in five States, without formal administration: Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The surviving spouse may collect without formal administration in 10 States: Arizona, Connecticut, Indiana, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia.

The maximum amounts which can be collected range from $75 in Delaware and New Jersey to $500 in Connecticut.

Bank deposits, within limited amounts belonging to a deceased person may be collected by the surviving spouse without formal administration in eight States: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah.

Only Idaho and Kentucky allow the widow to collect such deposits without formal administration.

In those instances where the estate is limited in value and there is no contest of the will, a quick closing to avoid heavy administration costs and make the assets available to the family, is permitted to the widow in nine States: Arkansas, California, Idaho, Indiana, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Vermont.

It is allowed to the surviving spouse in thirteen States: Arizona, California, Delaware, Florida, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Utah.

CONCLUSION

It would seem obvious from this brief summary that the equal rights amendment could do a great deal to equalize these very important laws relating to estates and ease many of the hardships which now exist as a result of our early efforts to depart from the common law. Surely, no one would say that the State legislatures would automatically eliminate these laws which give preference to the widow and retain only those which apply equally to both sexes. Nor could it be said that to equalize these laws where they now apply only to the widow would result in confusion, endless litigation, and a tying up of estates pending court decisions on the validity of such laws.

JANUARY 26, 1954.

The Next 50 Years in Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a valuable article entitled "Aviation's Next 50 Years as Science Seems Them," written by Alfred Steinberg and published in the December 1953 issue of Nation's Business.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AVIATION'S NEXT 50 YEARS AS SCIENCE SEES THEM

(By Alfred Steinberg)

The next 50 years of powered flight will make the last seem like slow motion.

Within the next half century travel time to any place on earth will be negligible.

Even within 25 years, all long-distance transport will be at supersonic speeds—at speeds greater than 700 miles an hour.

And travel to the moon is attainable.

These are the optimistic predictions of a scholarly looking man who wears neat blue suits, shiny black shoes, and who occasionally preaches from the pulpit of a downtown Washington church. He is Dr. Hugh L. Dryden.

Do his ideas of flight in our future sound farfetched? Let's look at what's happened in the past 50 years.

It was about noon December 17, 1903, when a lifeguard ran 3 miles from Kill Devil Hill, N. C., into the sleepy village of Kitty Hawk and shouted:

"They've done it! They've done it! Danged if they ain't flew!"

Orville Wright, the bristle-mustached younger brother of Wilbur Wright, had just completed man's first powered flight over the flat land at Kill Devil Hill.

His 12-horsepower biplane hit a top speed of 31 miles an hour. Its flight lasted 12 seconds. Altitude was 10 feet; flight distance, 120 feet. The flying machine weighed 605 pounds, not counting Orville's 145 pounds or its fuel capacity of 2 quarts.

Here's the progress in the following 50 years:

Speed: An officially admitted 1,238 mph in a Douglas Skyrocket and a straight away course record of 754.98 mph in a North American Super Sabre.

Distance: Nonstop around the world, but with in-flight refueling, in a Boeing B–50. Nonstop record without refueling, 11,236 miles in a Lockheed Neptune P2V2.

Altitude: 83,235 feet in a Douglas Skyrocket.

Weight: 356,000 pounds gross weight in a Convair B–36.

Fuel capacity: 21,000 gallons carried in the B–36.

Guided missiles: An officially admitted 5,000 mph and an altitude of 250 miles above the earth.

Considering where we've come in the first half century of aviation, Dr. Dryden's ideas of planes 50 years hence don't sound too bold. Fittingly, he will have a hand in determining whether his forecasts were too low.

For Dr. Dryden bosses the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA), the top government agency plowing into the heady problems of high-speed, high-altitude flight research. Dr. Dryden is an authority on what his fellow aerodynamicists term "turbulence and boundary-layer control," as well as being the man who masterminded the development of the "Bat," the first American guided missle used in World War II.

Basic research on planes to come is going on pellmell at NACA labs right now, much of it on an around-the-clock basis. NACA's business is to build up our basic storehouse of aeronautic knowledge which the military and the aircraft industry can apply to specific, new types of planes.

In many fields, American are considered tops in applied science, but mere spectators in pure, or basic, science. In international aviation circles, however, NACA activities makes us a standout leader in the pure science aspects of aeronautics. Considering that we are in a war for survival against international communism, this is mighty fortunate.

The NACA does not design or build planes. This is the job of the aircraft industry in trying to meet military or civilian plane requirements. To make tomorrow's planes, aircraft manufacturers use the findings of the NACA as their foundation, and then employ thousands of designers and aerodynamicists on the developmental aspects, as well as engineering specialists in electronics, metallurgy, mechanics and related fields. NACA enters the developmental research field only on request.

Nor does it ordinarily get into applied military plane research., such as armaments, flight instrumentation or aeromedicine. Such matters fall into the bailiwick of the military, unless it asks for a hand.

To keep ahead of the military and the industry's demands for basic information, Dr. Dryden runs a far-flung research empire. Under the close scrutiny of a 17-man board of directors, he operates three research centers: the Lewis Propulsion Laboratory at Cleveland and two aerodynamic labs, the Langley Laboratory in Virginia and the Ames Laboratory in California. The Lewis Lab concentrates on increasing knowledge about engines, especially jets and rockets; while the Langley and Ames laboratories work on improving the shapes of tomorrow's planes.

In addition, Dr. Dryden's NACA operates a secret Mojave Desert proving ground at Edwards, Calif., where advanced research planes are flight-tested hush-hushey. Also a sandy, marshy island off the coast of Virginia provides the NACA with a secluded spot from which to blast rocket-powered pilotless missiles out over the Atlantic.

Even a pure science flight research lab can have it shaky moments. Try standing about 25 feet from an air jet test on a small wing section model in the NACA Gas Lab at Langley. When air rushes at the enclosed stationary model at 2,000 miles an hour, the roar goes far beyond the human sound level. Not only will you hear the noise, you will also feel it. It makes your skin and muscles shimmy.

Pure research without an application outlet would be Operation Vacuum. In our case, the military and the aviation industry have an insatiable appetite for NACA findings, even though the NACA tries to stay 5 to 10 years ahead of what the pack currently have flying in the skies. But with some pride, Dr. Dryden commented recently:

"All existing planes, whether military, commercial, or private, embody principles and design features discovered or refined in NACA labs."

NACA experimentation on heating plane parts, for instance, led to the development of thermal de-icing systems now in general use on commercial and military planes. NACA also developed the streamlined metal covering for engines, or cowling, which cut the drag and improved engine cooling. Before plane manufacturers adopted the NACA cowling, engines overheated rapidly and speeds averaged 15–20 percent less.

NACA experiments also pointed out the advantages of placing engines in line with the leading edge of the wing, instead of suspended between wings. In another case, NACA research on the parasitic drag force of stationary landing gears led to the retractable landing gear. And NACA's systematic study of thousands upon thousands of airfoil shapes, or wings, guides plane designers.

The making of tomorrow's plane calls for real teamwork among the NACA, the military and the industry. Had you been standing alongside the runway at NACA's Edwards Flight Research Station at Muroc, Calif., October 14, 1947, you would have witnessed an important instance.

On that day, a Boeing B–29 "mother plane" raced down the runway with a small stumpy-winged rocket plane attached to her belly. At about 30,000 feet, the small plane was suddenly launched on its own.

A fiery 100-foot blast shot out of the little craft's rocket tubes.

And then the plane accomplished what no plane before it had ever done. It flew faster

than the speed of sound, across the rim of the supersonic boundary. The age of speed had been born.

But behind the fury of that small plane's thrust was a mountain of joint activity by the NACA, the military, and the aircraft industry.

That plane, the X–1, was conceived in the labs of the NACA, where the basic research regarding the physical laws applying to low supersonic flying was sweated out beginning 5 years before. The Air Force provided the production contract in 1945, rigidly high standards, its own ideas on how to build the plane plus the pilot, young steel-nerved Capt. Charles E. Yeager, of Hamlin, W. Va. Plane designer and constructor was the Bell Aircraft Corp., of Buffalo, N. Y., which worked closely with NACA scientists in solving unexpected day-to-day problems.

The Douglas Skyrocket, which reached an officially admitted 1,238 miles per hour, is another plane developed under a joint NACA-military-industry program.

Although the Bell X–1 launched us into the faster-than-sound realm, and the Douglas Skyrocket rushed us further into unknown skies, we have a long way to go before Dr. Dryden can steer us safely to the moon and home again. But we can't say that enough hands aren't trying.

Drop in on any aeronautics lab across the country—whether industrial, military, college, privately endowed or NACA. You'll hear such supersonic jive as Froude numbers, Reynolds numbers, Mach numbers, thermal barriers, sweptback wings, delta wings, stability parameters, turbojets, turboprops, and rocket boosters.

Watch the flight lab test of a new turbojet engine developed at General Electric, Westinghouse, Curtiss-Wright, Allison division of General Motors, or Pratt & Whitney.

Turbojets convert their fuel to heat and then develop thrust from the heat by squirting air jets to the rear of the engine. The 3,650-pound, roaring, rasping Allison J–71–A–1 turbojet engine has a thrust equal to 20,000 horsepower at 750 miles per hour. The fire in its heart is capable of heating about 6,500 six-room houses in the Washington, D. C., climate zone. The engine is so powerful that it would take off by itself if it weren't fastened to the test stand. If you stand too close, suction will smash you against its side and crush your bones. Even standing 100 feet behind it, you will be sent sailing by the enormous blast from its tail.

Go out to the Aeromedical Lab at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base at Dayton, Ohio, where among other problems studied is that of coping with high-altitude flying where human blood boils unless proper precautions are taken.

Or step across the threshold of NACA's Langley Aeronautical Laboratory near Old Point Comfort in Virginia. Here more than 3,000 scientists and technicians concentrate on studying the flow of air and the forces exerted on bodies moving through it. All this work, of course, will help determine the best external shapes for tomorrow's super high-speed planes.

Ask the crepe-soled, open-shirted, chain-smoking young scientist at the 4 by 4 foot supersonic pressure wind tunnel what he's up to and he will answer in what sounds like a foreign tongue:

"I'm measuring the effect of transition from an attached to a detached shock at the leading edge of a finite span 8.2 degree wedge as the angle of attack is being increased from 0 degrees to 11 degrees."

To solve the most theoretical problems of flight, NACA's Langley center has a Gas Dynamics Lab. From the outside, it looks like an ordinary warehouse. But from the inside you get a fair idea of its power from the fact that its control room makes sure that only one test is going on at a time. Multiple experiments could gum up the countryside explosively. Sometimes even with one experiment in the works, people call up from miles away to find out if a major disaster has occurred.

The Gas Dynamics Lab is a pure science shop dealing with the physics of air and gases under fantastic speeds, shock conditions, and heat. Here scientists simulate flight a decade or two hence by shooting air at small, enclosed stationary models of plane parts at controlled speeds up to 7,000 miles per hour. By varying air densities, they can attain simulated altitudes up to 200,000 feet.

As the next step in its research, Langley has about 20 wind tunnels where stationary, full-sized planes and plane models can be put through scientific hoops. You have to see a wind tunnel to appreciate it. An 8-foot wind tunnel doesn't sound like much. But it may cost $35 million, cover a city block and work up a drive of 200,000 horsepower. A wind tunnel is an enormous mass of steel, shaped generally like an elongated doughnut, through which controlled air comes swooshing at the stationary object studied. From their comfortable seats in electronically equipped observation rooms, technicians can check the plane's lift, or vertical force, the drag, or horizontal force, and the moments, or sideward forces at varied speeds.

The third step in pure flight research is free-flight observation. This NACA's Langley center does at Wallops Island off Virginia, where unconventional aerodynamic shapes about 5 years ahead of today's production lines are propelled by high-velocity rockets over the Atlantic. By radio signals they send ground observers information on matters such as their angle of attack, acceleration, pressure, and temperature. Some travel more than four time the speed of sound and, because of their large size, approximate conditions fighter planes will meet at that speed.

All this scientific study is just scratching into the crust of the enormous problems that must be solved before supersonic flying becomes an everyday experience. More and more brain twisters keep cropping up the further scientists get into the field.

One of these, for example, is what can be done to offset surface heating of planes at low-altitude supersonic flying?

In scientific lingo, Mach No. 1 is the speed of sound, or 750 miles an hour at sea level. At Mach No. 4, or four times the speed of sound, the heat of the plane's surface will rise to 900 degrees F. At Mach No. 10 it will rise to 10,000 degrees, which is approximately the heat of the sun.

Today's aluminum alloys lose their strength at about 600 degrees F. But NACA scientists aren't too concerned about this. They will either have to devise an artificial cooling system, use other metals, such as stainless steel or titanium, or make a new type aluminum alloy.

Or take the fuel problem of high-speed, long-distance flight.

Petroleum products admittedly occupy too much space and don't release enough energy to meet requirements. Liquid oxygen and hydrogen, atomic energy or fluorine may be the plane fuels of the future. If atomic energy is the answer, scientists will have to find lightweight shields to protect plane occupants from injurious rays.

High-speed flying has further unanswered problems. To reach high Mach numbers, we will need slendered fuselages and almost paper-thin wings. How can these be made strong enough so that they won't buckle, go into a flutter vibration dance, or disintegrate suddenly from fatigue?

New developments in automatic controls are also needed. At high Mach numbers normal human reaction time makes human direction of the plane impossible or dangerous.

Still another puzzling problem is how to construct a supersonic plane that will fly with equal balance and control in the subsonic and transonic speeed ranges. The transonic range lies between 600 and 800 mph.

Supersonic planes have to take off and land at subsonic speeds and have to clear the transonic range both going and coming. At subsonic speeds the air knows you are coming and deviates from your path. At supersonic speeds your plane slashes its way through the air. At transonic speeds a mixture of the two occurs in proportions not as yet determinable. At the exact speed of sound, enormous shock waves, called chokings, occur.

Some designers think that the answer to this problem may come in varying the shape of the sweptback or triangular or delta supersonic wings during the plane's flight. This might be done by altering the sweep angle of the wing at different speeds. Some think it can be done by using flaps, either in the wings or elsewhere.

On the Langley NACA staff, his pockets stuffed with slide rules, is a relaxed, handsome Irishman from Lowell, Mass., named John Stack, who doesn't believe these problems are insoluble. On the side Mr. Stack runs a farm, an oyster bed, was once on a national rifle team. He heats his house with the same type coils you find in an electric blanket. In a recent hurricane which ripped electric circuits in the Yorktown, Va., area where he lives, Mr. Stack showed his ingenuity by heating his coffee pot with a blowtorch.

His principal scientific efforts, however, lie in another direction. It was chiefly his pioneering research which, in combination with the industrial prowess of the Bell Aircraft Corp., and the flying ability of Captain Yeager, produced the X–1.

He is also the first man to operate a wind tunnel at exactly the speed of sound, previously considered impossible. He did this while pioneering the first transonic wind tunnel. For his achievements, Mr. Stack has won aviation's equivalent of two Pulitzer awards.

Mr. Stack takes all this as part of the day's work. One of his goals is interplanetary travel, which he admits is a long way off. "But we've got to do it," he says impatiently. "One of those darn planets might be made of pure uranium."

From his vantage point roaming the sprawling Langley Labs, he has a good idea of our air potential in the next decade. Back in 1934—he was then 28—planes were lumbering their way across the sky. But he predicted they would have a 550 mile an hour capability by 1944. Even though at the time he came in for some first-class scoffing, his forecast came true.

In what direction will flying go in the next 10 years? Mr. Stack goes so far as to say:

1. "All combat military planes will be supersonic by 1963. They will travel capably at twice the speed of sound, or faster than the speed with which the earth rotates."

2. "On the transport side, supersonic flying will be available, but because of high operating costs, passenger flights across the Atlantic or from coast to coast will probably be made by jet liners in the 550–600 mph range. Whether you go to London in 2½ hours by supersonic plane or in 5 hours in a jet liner will be determined by how much more you will be willing to pay for the extra speed.

"In 10 years, supersonic planes probably still will be immense eaters of fuel. As a result, they will carry mostly fuel and will not be able to accommodate many passengers."

3. "We will be able to go anywhere on the globe nonstop."

4. "The supersonic plane of 1963 will be unlike anything we have seen so far. It will probably be made of stainless steel or titanium and will weigh about 200,000 pounds.

its thin narrow wings will be set toward the rear of the long, sleek fuselage. With pressurized cabins, its interior will be fully as comfortable as commercial planes of today."

5. "Supersonic seaplanes will be in abundance. Since they take off and land on water, snow and wet sod, the military will be able to scatter its planes and yet have them rendezvous easily.

"Supersonic seaplanes are already here, thanks to NACA's development of retractable hydro-skis in cooperation with the Navy and Consolidated-Vultee."

6. "We will probably have vertical risers by 1963.

"The vertical riser combines the vertical ability of the helicopter with the horizontal abilities of the airplane. It will take off and land vertically and fly horizontally at a speed of at least 400 miles per hour. It means we will be able to get in and out of insignificant places, yet fly swiftly. NACA already has developed a vertical riser which, by deflecting wings and flaps like a venetian blind, is able to accelerate air straight down. But the NACA model is experimental and will not be the type in use by 1963."

7. "If we improve our guidance, we might be able to shoot mail from New York to Boston by short distance rockets in 10 years."

8. "On long-distance dockets, if we wanted to do it badly enough, we could construct a 5,000-mile-range warheaded stainless steel or titanium rocket. But even if we made this guided missile we wouldn't be able to pinpoint it on a barrel by 1963."

9. "It is a relatively small development from where we are today to shoot a satellite vehicle just beyond 1,000 miles from the earth. This satellite 'planet' would revolve around the earth every few hours.

"However, the cost of the satellite would be about $2 billion, and its uses have not yet been fully explored to show whether it is justified."

There will probably never be a time when the flight industry will sit back on the proverbial laurels and become static. The performance features that set it off from all other industries are speed and distance. And it has an insatiable appetite to advance both.

We may as well grow accustomed to winging our way with it, no matter what strange planet it leads us to. For, as Wilbur Wright put it a long, long time ago:

"We see enough already to be certain that it will be magnificent."

Forecasters of Gloom and Doom Missing the Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, the forecasters of gloom and doom are having a tough time making their dire predictions come true.

Some time ago these prognosticators came forth with the theory that a nationwide recession would set in about the middle of 1953.

Their prediction did not come to pass. So they set the date forward a few months and are still extending it each time their predictions prove to be false.

In 1953—a dire year, according to professional worriers—personal income jumped 5 percent over 1952. The labor force averaged 70 million, and unemployment was the lowest of any peacetime year.

Reduced Federal spending, lowering of taxes, and minimizing Government interference are encouraging the individual initiative and enterprise which sustains the economic strength and well-being of America.

An interesting editorial on this subject, entitled "Recession Timetable Confounded by Events," appeared in the January 20, 1954, issue of the Santa Rosa (Calif.) Press-Democrat. I include it with my own remarks, as follows, as an item of interest:

RECESSION TIMETABLE CONFOUNDED BY EVENTS

About this time last year those professional worriers, the economists, consulted their pie charts, their fever charts, and their graph charts and allowed as how there would be a mild nationwide recession about June 1953. In June they moved the date forward by 3 months.

Now, a year later, most of them are again advancing the date by a few months.

One thing that doesn't show on all the mystic abracadabra kept by the economists is human ingenuity. Another is the fact that the American will to purchase is limited only by the ability of people to pay for their purchases.

One thing that fooled the economists last year was that they didn't account for the vast increase in the number of television broadcasting stations and the booming market in television receivers. And, despite the staggering tax load carried by the average American, the public spent $365 billion for goods and services.

Only 1 home in 100 in this country has air-conditioning. The other 99 are prospects for a machine to increase comfort in the home. Nobody yet has found any mass use for atomic energy or its byproducts, but they will, and before too long. The field of synthetics was unknown 10 years ago. It is gigantic business now, and just starting to grow.

Income taxes are down 10 percent and indications are that more tax reductions are to come, giving the public more money to spend.

It's quite possible that the economists may end up 1954, just as they did last year, moving ahead the date on which they think things will slacken off a little.

Elimination of Municipal Bonds From the Tax-Exempt Category

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., of Friday, January 22, 1954:

GAINS FOR NEW ENGLAND

New England has finally won one point in its fight to prevent Southern States from luring away our industries through subsidizing the construction of commercial and manufacturing plants in the southern communities. This has been achieved through the vote of the House Ways and Means Committee which will eliminate municipal bonds from the tax-exempt category, where the proceeds of the bonds are not used for public purposes.

This means that the bonds of these southern communities will not be tax free if the proceeds are used, as they have been in recent years, to build factories and commercial establishment to attract new industries. By being tax exempt, it means that the rest of the country was to some extent paying for the cost of these bonds. In effect, on the old system, New England taxpayers were thus helping the southerners to pay for the cost of taking our industries away from us.

Freedom Must Not Be Allowed to Perish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a most important speech was delivered in Philadelphia on January 23, 1954, when our distinguished Speaker, in a most interesting and forceful speech, dealt with the irresponsible activities of the prophets of gloom and doom. I doubt very much if anyone can succeed in talking us into a depression, but there is altogether too much evidence that certain disgruntled and politically disappointed persons are doing their unlevel best to scare the daylights out of the hardworking people of this prosperous Nation.

The speech of Speaker MARTIN should be read by every person with an interest in a prosperous America, for the logical and effective way in which it deals with the irresponsibles and their willful if futile efforts to wash our economy down the drain with their crocodile tears.

Here is what Speaker MARTIN said at the 46th annual banquet of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board:

It is a privilege to be presented to this fine gathering by my good friend, the able and distinguished Congressman from Philadelphia, the Honorable HUGH SCOTT.

I am happy to salute you members of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board and your guests, and to speak to you on this occasion. Between attending political conventions here, making speeches in this city, and visiting my friends of many years' standing, I have long felt like a commuter between Massachusetts, Washington, and Philadelphia. I would like to add that if everyone held Philadelphia in the same esteem I do, its size would probably be tripled, you men would be rich and retired and now sunning yourselves in Florida.

I feel particularly honored tonight in addressing you because I know of no other city where a discussion of fundamental American principles is more appropriate or more appreciated. You have been more than mere custodians of our cherished Liberty Bell; you have by your history, past and recent, repeatedly proven your devotion to freedom.

I want to talk with you about two subjects—first, the state of our economy; second, the state of our Union. And where is there a better audience for the first subject than you gentlemen of the real estate profession? Where else must a man be a shrewder judge of economic trends, where else does our free enterprise system work with greater precision than in the real-estate business?

All my life I have tried to decide who knows the most about our economy—our businessmen or our economists? The only conclusion I have been able to reach is that politicians know less than either of them—and do more talking about the subject.

Now, I firmly believe that a continuing discussion of economic trends by those who really understand the subject is a valid and worthwhile function of our American system. It has been going on for many years and I hope will continue. You will find that the real experts are not given to alarums, inflammatory words, or the promotion of panic. They are not motivated, as a rule, by desire for financial gain, and certainly never for political gain.

Today we are in the unfortunate position of having a small but hard-core group of people in this country who are trying to promote us into hard times for political reasons. Identification of the majority of these four-alarm prophets discloses that they are of a political persuasion that is either downright leftwing or friendly to it. In fact, these gentlemen have been steadily preaching this doctrine since July 1952. They preached it all through the 1952 campaign, they have predicted a depression for each quarter of 1953, and—possibly because Eugene Varga, the leading Soviet economist, is also predicting it—they are predicting a depression for 1954.

Remember that last May and June they were crying that the impending Korean peace would produce a depression. Well, we got the peace, the sacrifice of American lives was stopped, and the depression did not come.

Then, in September, the cry went up again, based on the argument that the stock market was down, while the cost of living continued to go up. Well, the cost of living stabilized, and the stock market has been going up, but they are still predicting a depression.

Now, the truth is that we have been in a period of readjustment for many months. Businessmen have been aware of it; our housewives, because inflation has been stopped, are aware of it; and certainly our farmers, burdened with a law that only produced more and more surpluses, have been aware of it. But our people have remained pretty calm on the whole, and, as a result, a most remarkable set of economic facts has emerged. The facts are these—despite this period of transition, the year 1953, just finished, was the most prosperous in the history of our country, and the fact is there are 62 million American civilians at work today at gainful occupations.

I do not need to tell this audience that, unfortunately, we have here in America a dedicated group of people who want to lead us into socialism. They have devoted approximately the last 20 years of their lives to that goal. Their basic philosophy is that the Government should do everything. They have made immense gains, but they still have not arrived at their goal. If I need cite the evidence, I will refer you to the outcome of the presidential election of November 4, 1952. I think Americans made it unmistakably clear that they had all they wanted of Socialist experiments with our American way of life.

Down through the years I have been a careful student of left-wing utterances. Knowingly or not, these left-wingers are unable to hide the fact that they make their greatest gains at the expense of human hardship.

They are the ones who, in the thirties, were telling us that our plant was built, there were no more horizons.

They are the ones who, in the forties, as World War II ended, were telling us that we were going to have 10 million unemployed.

They are the ones who today are yelling depression.

These left-wingers live on pessimism. They get up each morning with their mouths tasting like back issues of the New Republic. They go to bed each night secure in the knowledge that everybody has advanced 1 more day toward the yawning cavern that is the tomb.

They are the egghead wing of American political life. They infest the ADA, an organization which calls itself Americans for Democratic Action, but which might properly be renamed A Depression Anytime.

Whom do they help by their statements? Whose interests are they serving?

Each and everyone of us knows that psychological factors play an enormous part in the promotion of depressed economic periods. And these gentlemen know it, too. They know that an economic recession is not in the interests of the American wage earner, the farmer, the housewife, or businessman.

They know that economic suffering in America can most benefit only one other group of people—the masters of the Soviet Union—because it will restore to them the initiative in the world struggle, which they have lost in the last year.

But nothing will stop these leftwingers in their reckless statements, neither consideration for the welfare of the American people nor consideration for the cause of freedom in the world. They live on the theory that the step from good to bad is wonderful, from bad to worse is superb, and from worse to awful is the millenium.

Now, if you want to put the motivation of these people to test, let me cite you a few facts—

Back in 1949—just 5 years ago—when the climate in Washington was more suitable to the leftwing in this country, the American people were going through a relatively depressed period. National income was declining, industrial production was down 7 percent, and unemployment increased from 2 million in 1948 to 3,400,000 in 1949. And early in 1950 unemployment in this country jumped to 4,750,000. President Truman called this a moderate downward trend. These four-alarm prophets of the leftwing back in 1949 and early in 1950 were silent. There were no cries of recession, no cries of depression.

So may I make a suggestion to you: Each time you read one of these political utterances, go back and check up on the gentleman's statements in 1949 and early 1950. You will find that the color of the coat has changed.

It should be pointed out to these newborn pessimists that unemployment today is 2 million and, while it may vary upward in the next few months, there is not a valid economic sign today, recognized by qualified economic experts, pointing to anything like the unemployment of 1949–50, when these people were so silent.

I have no desire to get into the business of economic forecasts, but I do want to tell you that the other night I listened to some of the most responsible businessmen in this country talk about the future in their particular fields. Not a single one of them uttered so much as a pessimistic note.

And I also have extensive contact, as you might expect, with officials of our Government. They are uniformly optimistic and doubly so, perhaps, because they know that President Eisenhower's pledge to put the Government behind the American economy, if such a step should be necessary, was a sincere and heartfelt utterance that will be kept.

Each of you has his own opinion based on the knowledge of your particular circumstances. Do I find pessimism here? I don't think so.

So much for the gloom and doom boys. Let us turn to a more constructive subject—our country, its leadership, and where it is heading. Let us examine the course of events since January 20, 1953.

I will not belabor this audience with the conditions that existed in Washington when President Eisenhower took office. Suffice it to say, the mess was worse than we ever dreamed it was.

The year 1953 will go down in history as the year in which President Eisenhower first cleaned away the debris and restored order, then laid the foundation for a lasting program for America.

In my time in Washington—and I have been there since 1924—I have never seen men work so hard as did the President, the members of his Cabinet, the various leaders of the Government, and the Members of Congress, to lay this foundation.

First they tackled the fiscal wreckage. Seven billion dollars in cash outlays were lopped off an inheritance of $80 billion of C. O. D. commitments. At the same time the administration and the Congress joined hands to reduce appropriations, meaning future spending, $13 billion.

Ten reorganization plans were applied to as many departments and agencies in an effort to bring some efficiency into the Federal establishment.

The military was asked to reexamine its needs, to reorganize its effort, and to bring about more defense for less dollars.

A new security program was put into effect to rid the Government of 2,200 security risks within a 6-month period.

A Commission on Governmental Reorganization and a Commission on Intergovernmental Relations were set up.

Depressive economic controls were removed. Credit restrictions were adjusted. The war in Korea was stopped, and America seized the initiative in the world struggle against communism for the first time in a generation.

And through all of these efforts ran a fundamental policy, a fundamental sense of direction based on the philosophy that the Federal Government had grown dangerously big, that the State and local governments had been placed in dire jeopardy, that the balance should once more be restored.

No; this was not spectacular. It was not experimental or daring. It did not make blazing headlines. But let me tell you that it did put our American form of government back on a firm foundation; and, believe me, it was about time.

On January 7, President Eisenhower delivered to the Congress his state of the Union message. It has been my privilege to hear, from the floor of the House, 29 state of the Union messages delivered by five different Presidents. In its grasp of the problems that we face in the world, in its concern for the welfare and freedom of each and every American, and in its concept of the future of America, I have never heard a message that surpassed it.

A few moments ago, I said to you that in 1953 the Eisenhower administration shifted the course away from big government toward a restoration of proper balance with State and local government. I said that in the field of foreign affairs, America had at last seized the initiative in the cold war that plagues the peoples of our globe.

Now let me say to you that the program which the President is now laying down points the way in two new directions that can spell nothing but good for the future.

First, on the domestic scene, the President has outlined a new and far-reaching principle concerning the role that Government should play in our economic life.

He has said in effect that the managed economy, imported from other lands by the New Deal and Fair Deal, is a thing of the past.

In its place he has proposed that the role of the Government shall be to offer incentive both to the individual and to enter-

prise. The fundamental American concept of initiative and freedom has thus once again been restored in America, after 20 years of dabling with the alien devices of total statism.

Second, the President, having applied the principle of initiative to our foreign policy, has offered the world its first realistic hope for peace. He has laid down the proposition that if the master planners in the Kremlin do not want to face the awful devastation of atomic warfare, then they must join with the free peoples of the world in turning atomic energy to peaceful use.

Each and every one of us knows, and certainly President Eisenhower knows, that this is the 20th century. Certainly he and you and I know that the enormous advances in scientific, industrial and cultural life do not lend themselves to the policies of the days gone by. But I think you will agree with me that in President Eisenhower we have a leader who knows that you do not go forward by turning the clock back toward the total statism of the czars, the monarchs and the despots of the Dark Ages, call it socialism, communism, or what other name you will.

Let us examine what the President has proposed.

Concerning your money, he has stated it in better words than I can, and I quote, "Tax burdens should be reduced so that taxpayers may spend their own money in their own way."

Thanks to the sound spadework done in 1953 by the new administration and the Congress, the excess-profits tax is now a thing of the past, and as of January 1 individual income taxes were reduced 10 percent.

And the President says that if the American people will support him in his determination to reduce Federal expenditures, further tax reductions are in sight.

In other words, the 20-year theory that the Government knows better how to spend your money than you do is dead as a duck.

Now, contrast the old theory with the new. The President and his congressional leaders are proposing 25 changes in our tax laws designed to give the American people fresh incentive in the pursuit of their tasks.

These include many devices designed to encourage initiative, expansion, and enterprise, both on the part of business and the individual.

For example, today if a young person who is still dependent on his parents earns more than $600, he can no longer be counted as a dependent. This has caused parents to discourage young people from seeking useful pursuits during summer vacation and after school hours. The administration now proposes that we liberalize dependency limitations to permit young people who want to work to do so and particularly, in the case of widows and widowers with dependent children.

In other words, the heavy hand of Government, with its repressive regulations and methods of taxation, has been lifted. Henceforth, the Federal Government's eyes will be on encouragement rather than discouragement of citizens in their endeavors.

To our agriculture the President has proposed the adoption of a program which concentrates on the development of new uses, new outlets, and new markets for our abundance, in contrast to the existing law which has piled surplus on surplus with devastating effects on the price structure of farm commodities.

The President takes the sound approach of limiting the price support theory to attracting the production of needed food, and to encouraging consumption where overproduction exists.

As things stand today, the Government is holding more than $6 billion worth of surplus foodstuffs, and before the year is out it must buy $2 billion more in surplus commodities under the existing program. Do you wonder that farm prices have fallen steadily since 1950 with such a huge backlog to depress the market?

I think we can all agree that America must have a prosperous agriculture, that we have been heading down the wrong road to achieve that goal and that something had to be done. I think the American people, particularly the American farmer, owe the President a vote of thanks for his decision to take our huge surplus of commodities out of the normal channels of the market place and to propose a transitory program that eventually can offer the farmer a secure future.

It is incumbent upon every one of us, particularly upon our students of agriculture, our farmers and our processors, to weigh carefully the disaster we must eventually face if these huge Government-sponsored surpluses are allowed to continue, ever growing and ever depressing the market.

No Member of Congress, to my knowledge, has questioned the basic soundness of the President's proposals, and in the long run, I think most of them will prevail.

On Monday the President will send to the Congress his message on housing. From his state of the Union message, there can be no doubt about the shift in direction in the Government's role under his administration. The Eisenhower administration is determined that Government encourage private builders and private investment to provide the housing that America needs, including the task of rehabilitating obsolete neighborhoods. We are in a transitory period, from a policy of having the Government do it to a policy of having the Government encourage the doing of it.

More than a million homes will be built in the coming year. I am confident that private enterprise in these next 12 months will perform in a manner so outstanding that public housing soon will become only a memory of the unlamented days of the managed economy.

In fiscal affairs, every effort possible is being made to bring the budget into balance, while at the same time granting the American people the tax relief which they must have. To me, the most encouraging sign in America today is the fact that every top official in Washington is trying to find ways to save money, not to spend it.

If the housewife is to plan her budget, if parents are to know what the education of their children is to cost, if the young man starting in business is not to be caught in an inflationary price squeeze, if established business is to expand its activities so that it can provide more jobs and better prices for the consumer, I have heard of no other way to accomplish these objectives save by putting American on a sound fiscal basis.

Yes; we are in an era of new directions, new paths, in Government, both in the conduct of its affairs at home and abroad.

Individual dignity and the freedom of our citizens to lead their own lives once more are the watchwords.

The 20-year journey down the road toward the total state has come to an end. The borrowing of alien theories of government and economics has ceased.

In their place is a recognition that the basic principles which made this country great are as sound today as they were the day they were conceived. Nothing on earth has ever been more productive of the good things of life, both material and spiritual, than this American system of freedom which encourages each and every citizen to set his own goals, to plan his own future and to achieve it.

Because of the narrowness of the majorities in the Congress, no one can predict with certainty what the disposal of each of President Eisenhower's proposals will be. But this much I can say to you:

As the American people, in their wisdom, comprehend the President's program in its entirety, they will demand its enactment and they will get its enactment, if not by the narrow majorities of this Congress, then by sufficient majorities in the next Congress.

This great Nation of ours has unlimited horizons to offer its people, and our citizens are determined not to be denied them.

The land frontiers are gone; the sun has set on them. But it has risen on a new and huge panorama of scientific development and inventive genius.

We have only begun to employ the chemist and his retort, the mathematician and his calculations, the atomic scientist and the nuclear forces which he has harnessed.

The only dangers we must guard against are two: We must never permit the stifling of this inventive genius by the heavy hand of government—nor can we permit the employment of this genius to destroy mankind through war.

Between these two dangers lies the hope of the civilized world. Dwight D. Eisenhower, as the Chief of State, has undertaken the gigantic task of steering us past these twin shoals of disaster.

All Americans have a part to play in helping the President achieve the goals we all want. They best can fulfill their roles by informing themselves as to the proposals he has made, by turning to their fellow citizens and informing them, and then by raising their voices and acting in expression of their beliefs.

The President has stated that we live in an age of peril, but not once has his courage flagged nor his determination wavered. Let each of us follow that example, in the secure knowledge that we can and must succeed.

Not only America, but the whole world, is dependent upon our emerging from this crisis strong and resolute. A strong America will provide the leadership for a free world and better days for people everywhere.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, in attempting to garner support for the Bricker amendment to the Constitution seeking to limit the President's treatymaking power, the impression that is sought to be created are that most lawyers who have studied the question are supporting that amendment. Some color is lent to that argument by the fact the American Bar Association appears to have gone on record in support of the amendment.

The fact of the matter is that not all of the members of the American Bar Association are supporting that proposed amendment. Many of them are opposing it.

The statement has been made that the only ones learned in the law who are opposing the Bricker amenment are some professors of law who teach constitutional law, but the statement goes on they have never practiced constitutional law. Those statements, too, are not in accord with the facts.

Many of the most outstanding lawyers of this country, who not only have studied constitutional law but have han-

died hundreds of cases involving constitutional law and thus have gained their knowledge not only from study but also from practice, are vigorously opposing the Bricker amendment because they believe it is a very bad one and is not in accord with the tradition and history of this country and of our Constitution.

To give support to my statement, I wish to call attention to the fact that there has recently been organized a Committee for Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power. The organization is national in its scope and finds among its membership and sponsors some of the best brains of the country.

Its national chairman is Edward S. Corwin; treasurer, Geoffrey S. Smith; executive secretary, Robert B. Eichholz.

Among its sponsors are John W. Davis and Lucius D. Clay, cochairmen; Frank Altschul, of Stamford, Conn.; Charles K. Arter, of Cleveland, Ohio; Laird Bell, of Chicago, Ill.; James T. Brand, of Salem, Oreg.; Harry Amos Bullis, of Minneapolis, Minn.; Stuart Chevalier, of Los Angeles, Calif.; Will L. Clayton, of Houston, Tex.; Charles A. Coolidge, of Boston, Mass.; Homer D. Crotty, of Los Angeles, Calif.; Robert Dechert, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Edwin D. Dickinson, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert G. Dodge, of Boston, Mass.; Harry S. Drinker, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Farnham P. Griffiths, of San Francisco, Calif.; Erwin N. Griswold, of Cambridge, Mass.; James P. Hart, of Austin, Tex.; Elizabeth E. Heffelfinger, of Minneapolis, Minn.; Palmer Hoyt, of Denver, Colo.; Sarah T. Hughes, of Dallas, Tex.; Devereux C. Josephs, of New York, N. Y.; Jacob M. Lashly, of St. Louis, Mo.; Monte M. Lemann, of New Orleans, La.; William D. Mitchell, of New York, N. Y.; John Lord O'Brian, of Washington, D. C.; Joseph O'Meara, of South Bend, Ind.; Philip D. Reed, of New York, N. Y.; Owen J. Roberts, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Elihu Root, Jr., of New York, N. Y.; Marcus C. Sloss, of San Francisco, Calif.; Anna Lord Strauss, of New York, N. Y.; Harrison Tweed, of New York, N. Y.; and Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., of Stamford, Conn.

There are many other prominent and just as highly respected patriotic Americans whose names I do not presently have.

Help for a Child or Punishment for a Delinquent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SIDNEY R. YATES
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the Young Men's Jewish Council is one of the oldest and most outstanding charitable organizations in the city of Chicago. Organized in 1907, it has devoted itself unstintingly in serving the needs of boys and teen-agers through programs of recreation and education. It has extended its services to the youth of all races and creeds without discrimination. It has been of tremendous value in helping boys adjust to their families, their playmates, their community and to their own potentialities, and has encouraged to a great extent the development of a sense of community responsibility so necessary today.

Mr. Speaker, I was privileged to speak at the annual meeting of the Young Men's Jewish Council on January 20 on the subject of juvenile delinquency. My address, Help for a Child or Punishment for a Delinquent, follows:

I am very grateful to the Young Men's Jewish Council for its very gracious invitation to speak here tonight. It has given me the opportunity not only to exchange ideas with you about some of the intricate problems with which we are both concerned, but it has given me the opportunity as well to renew my association with so many old friends who have helped build this organization into the mighty force for good that it is today.

Over the years, since its earliest days under the wise leadership of our late great Governor, Henry Horner, the Young Men's Jewish Council has been singularly fortunate in having been able to attract capable men to handle its affairs—capable men, yes, but men who were more than capable; men with ideals who were selfless in their devotion to the principles underlying the creation of the council; men who were unmindful of home and family in giving the endless time and effort necessary in dealing with complicated social problems; men unrelenting in their determination to restore faith and confidence in the hearts of boys who were already beginning to reap the dismal harvest of the seeds of doubt and distrust planted by others; men who truly have undertaken a "progressive, dynamic program," to use a phrase made famous in recent weeks, flexible and amenable to the fast-changing conditions of modern society—yet steadfast in pointing to the ultimate goal of brotherhood of all men—young as well as old—under the fatherhood of God.

I want to pay my respects and express my appreciation to Bob Sampson and the other outgoing officers and directors who have done such a magnificent job of carrying on the work of the Young Men's Jewish Council in accordance with its high standards and its finest traditions. I want, too, to offer my congratulations to Eli Fink and the other officers and directors who now assume the responsibilities and joys—and I say joys advisedly—of leadership in this fine organization.

All of you—the officers, the directors, the staff of the Young Men's Jewish Council—deserve the most profound gratitude of the Chicago community. You have left your mark indelibly in the record of its social progress.

I remember the time when I was named a director of the YMJC. I think our roster of directors was perhaps as worthy as the present one, loaded with talent, and I wondered how it happened that I had been selected. My first feelings were like those of former President Truman when he entered the Senate. At a dinner held for elected Members of the Congress a few years ago he told us not to be frightened. He said that when he was elected to the Senate he spent his first 6 months in awe, wondering how on earth he had ever been elected to the Senate of the United States. "But," he said, "I spent the next 6 months wondering how on earth the other Senators could have been elected."

I never had such feelings of wonder about the other members of the board with whom I served. They were hard workers and good friends. They helped make my service on the board one of the most rewarding and enjoyable experiences of my life.

I was cautioned, I was warned, I was enjoined from making any comments tonight which might possibly be susceptible of carrying even a hint of political implication. I trust I have not committed a breach of faith by mentioning Mr. Truman's name. No offense was intended, and I hope no one will take umbrage if in the course of my speech I happen to refer to young Republicans as juvenile delinquents. I promise not to go beyond that.

It was suggested to me that I should speak tonight on the subject of juvenile delinquency. In view of the fact that a subcommittee of the Senate District of Columbia Committee was investigating that problem, it was proposed that it would be a simple matter to check the Senate hearings and report the committee's findings. What we did not know was that the committee had already taken about 2,500 pages of testimony and this was only a start. I have read the testimony and can report that the committee knows that the Nation has a real problem on its hands, for which the causes are many and for which there is no single, easy remedy. To date, however, the only conclusion the committee has reached is that its temporary study has been inadequate and that its hearings should be continued.

But this is perhaps too easy an explanation of what the Senate hearings disclose. Teenagers have been active in antisocial and criminal activities—more so than at any time in our history. Stolen automobiles, armed robberies, assault, malicious mischief, dope addiction, liquor, and sexual crimes—even murder.

Last year, 1953, more than 1 million children were in trouble serious enough to warrant police attention. The experts say that at the current ratio of juvenile crime to juvenile population the year 1960 will see this number increased to 1½ million.

Three hundred and fifty thousand children wound up in juvenile courts last year facing disciplinary action. In the city of Chicago, juvenile court cases increased by 15 percent over 1952. One out of every 63 children in Cook County has been marked as a delinquent and many of these have been repeaters.

The national increase in juvenile cases last year was 17 percent, although the number of children of juvenile court age, 10 to 17 years, increased by only 5 percent. Since 1948 juvenile court cases in the Nation have increased by 29 percent.

These are frightening statistics. If our children were threatened with polio, or diphtheria, or a new and dreadful disease, we would mobilize our wealth and resources to find causes and cures. Doctors' offices, clinics, dispensaries would be jammed with kids. There would be a tremendous effort to discover protective shots and vaccines. Signs of quarantine like those which have been posted all over Chicago warning against rabies would be posted throughout the Nation's metropolitan areas. Paralyzing fear and tension would charge the air and every conversation.

Yet, because this affliction is one which is not susceptible to cure by new miracle drugs, by the antibiotics or by gamma globulin, we are not impressed by its virulence and are content to overlook its dangers. As a result, we are shunting many of our children to a self-made world of their own where they can fight back against adults who have injured them in some way.

Most of the boys and girls, before embarking on a career of delinquency, join up with a neighborhood gang. Few of the automobile thefts, burglaries, or narcotics violations, are solo performances. They are inspired by the mood and engineered by the loyalty of the gang. Bolstered by the recognition they receive in the gang, they create a society of their own where they can make their own laws, and it is this phase of juvenile delin-

quency which presents the gravest threat to our communities.

No one can be sure exactly how many street gangs there are in Washington or Chicago or any of the cities of the Nation. Like most sprawling, modern cities, in Chicago there are particular areas which literally breed delinquency and teen-age gangs, like the "North Side jungles," the "West Side wilderness," and the "South Side badlands"; or "that broad twilight zone of railroads and factories of deteriorating neighborhoods, and shifting population which borders the city's central business district on the north, on the west, and on the south."

What are young people looking for when they join street gangs? Why do young men get caught up with the precarious life of the modern city gang, with their gang girls, their knives and brass knuckles and guns?

Take the case of Bob Ranson, who was leader of the Portolas gang in San Francisco. Handsome, intelligent, he could have had a brilliant career, but now he is spending the rest of his life in prison for the murder of two members of a rival gang. At the time of the shooting, Bob tried to explain to police and reporters about joining the Portolas, and he said:

"It starts way back, when you're 13 or 14. You haven't got enough to do. You go to school, but if you're not in sports, you've got a lot of time. It's all right for kids who are good at sports. They're heroes all right. Or those kids who drive their own cars to school.

"Naturally, you run around with other boys, but that's not a gang. Not what I'd call a gang. It's just a group. You get into fights, like all kids, and when there's a fight, the friends of both stand around and see that it's a fair fight. That doesn't start a gang. But one day, some punk starts fighting dirty—kicking or something—and the others pitch in.

"When they quit fighting fair, that's the start of a gang. It goes on until pretty soon kids are carrying knives or weighted belt buckles, and even guns.

"Once you get in with a gang, you have to stick with it for protection. You get caught out without your gang, and another gang works you over good."

Bob concluded his statement by saying: "Maybe if we'd had some place to go and something to do, maybe we wouldn't have been out stripping cars."

Maybe if they'd had some place to go and something to do. Whose fault is it that young people don't know what to do with time on their hands except to wreck, ruin, steal, and fight? Parents who are too busy making a living or getting ahead to give their children affection and guidance? It could be teachers who are too busy to give their students individual attention. It could be communities which fail to provide adequate recreation facilities. It could be. It could be any or all of these.

The danger signal in Bob Ranson's life came when he had rheumatic fever at the age of 12 and had to give up sports. For him, basketball had been the avenue to recognition and acceptance that every boy needs. Deprived of that, he felt inadequate and rejected. So he found acceptance and recognition from others who couldn't compete in sports either—the Portolas. He could strip and steal cars, and by carrying a gun, he could be a kingpin. Inadequate and rejected as a group, the Portolas fought back at society. These are the reasons for teen-age gangs. But suppose a schoolteacher had noticed the first symptoms of delinquency in Bob. Think how his life could have been changed.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the statement of the superintendent of county schools, Noble J. Puffer, last week to the City Club of Chicago: "Housing and financial support for a school program for thousands of suburban Cook County schoolchildren have now reached the critical stage. In the immediate future we face the problem of no rooms, and no teachers and no money." Mr. Puffer went on: "As of now, we have eliminated kindergartens in many districts, we have double sessions, we have large class loads, and we have cut education to the bare essentials. The mere fact that we have crowded these children into available buildings, stores, and church basements for some part of a day may salve our consciences, but it does not relieve us of the responsibilities which we owe to our children." What can we expect of our teachers under such conditions.

Or take the case of what occurred in Washington a few months ago, an incident which shocked the Nation's Capital.

On November 11, a 14-year-old boy whose nickname was Sunshine, was arrested and charged with robbing his fellow students at Paul Junior High School of varying amounts from 5 cents to a dollar. Earlier that day, one of the students, Mike Hantman, went to the principal and asked him for a dollar. He said he had been warned by Sunshine to give him a dollar by 1 o'clock or take a beating. The police gave Mike a marked dollar which he in turn gave to Sunshine, and a few moments later Sunshine was arrested.

Immediately, the school was agog. Students buzzed through the corridors telling each other about Mike Hantman—Mike Hantman had been responsible for Sunshine's arrest; he was going to get it. During the next 2 days, Mike's mother and he received anonymous phone calls telling them that Mike was going to get what was coming to him for squealing. The whole school shook with the fear of the beating that Mike was going to get, for Sunshine had his gang.

Mrs. Hantman had a difficult problem to resolve. She finally decided that she would be overprotecting Mike if she did not permit him to engage in normal activities. She permitted him to go to a fraternity dance a week later. After the dance, Mike and two of his friends went to a small restaurant to get something to eat. As they pulled out of the restaurant and began to drive, they noticed that they were followed by three cars. One of these tried to sideswipe Mike's automobile, but was unsuccessful. The cars followed until Mike stopped his car to let one of his friends out. Then the three cars pulled up, and a gang of boys jumped out. They pulled Mike and another boy out of the car and beat them into unconsciousness. The screaming of the girls attracted the police, and the attackers fled.

Sunshine had been holding the boys up for money for several months since the beginning of school. He used his gang and he showed a long knife with which he threatened the group. He began with the little boys and worked up to the big ones who had more pocket money. All the students knew what was going on but they were frightened into silence. They told neither their teacher nor their parents; and they were so ashamed of paying tribute to Sunshine that they hardly ever told each other.

Sunshine is now in custody. His gang has been broken up. But his is not an unusual case. On the contrary, his case is typical of the problem children to be found in many public schools. He comes from a broken home; his parents were divorced when he was 3 or 4 years old. He remembers having been beaten by his father, who subsequently wound up in the psychiatric hospital in Washington. Sunshine still hates him.

His mother has worked for the support of her four children and Sunshine is the only one who has given her trouble. His mother and grandmother both tried to get him to go to church, but in vain. He became a truant early in his school career because he had reading difficulties which nobody caught until he entered high school, where he was given his first individual lesson in remedial reading. He fell way behind his classmates scholastically, and this became the basis of his rebellion against school and authority. Yet, as a result of our false interpretation of democracy, he was promoted each year with his age group regardless of the fact that he lacked the educational background to keep up with them. He himself said that he paid no attention to homework because he could not read the words or understand them when he could read them. He sat in class with a constantly deepening inferiority complex and an increasing sense of isolation.

Sunshine compensated somewhat by a skill in dancing and by becoming ever more aggressive toward a society which from his point of view lacked all possibility of genuine satisfaction. He developed his own gang to serve his aggressive purposes, in keeping with the highly developed gang life which is now characteristic of every large city, gangs which are nothing but defense mechanism devices against the overpowering feeling of solitude which grips adults as well as the young in our huge, impersonal industrial society.

Now that we have Sunshine as the finished product of a careless social conscience, what do we do with him? Or with kids like him? In the District of Columbia, and I dare say all over the country, not enough is done with them, or for them, because of many lacks—lack of adequate police training in juvenile problems, lack of decent detention facilities, lack of foster homes—yes, of all corrective institutions. According to an article by Mrs. Agnes Meyers in the Washington Post of January 6, in Washington, the juvenile police squad is understaffed to the point where it cannot do a minimum job in keeping children out of juvenile court. The staff of the juvenile court itself is overworked. The 31 probation officers each carry a case load of 80, whereas it is generally recognized that 40 is the maximum number a good probation officer should have if he is to do a good job. The judge of the juvenile court says that she is often forced to put on probation children who are not good probation risks because the alternative is to send them to institutions where they cannot get proper care. As a matter of fact, children who are picked up are sent to a receiving home where they have to wait an average of 30 days before their case comes before the court. The capacity of the receiving home is 43. In recent years, its average daily population has been 82; sometimes it receives more than 100 children. What would adults think if they were kept in detention for more than 30 days before they were granted a hearing?

Yet, these children must take it because they cannot afford a lawyer. Many of them are dismissed as innocent when the case is finally considered, and yet they have spent more than 30 days constantly exposed to evil influences under the stress of removal from home and the frightening uncertainty as to what their fate might be. And even while they are detained, they have almost nothing to do, because of a lack of staff and facilities. The only recreation afforded them is one hour daily, when they are permitted to have fresh air and exercise. The rest of the day they are locked up.

The District of Columbia is not unusual in this respect. The tremendous increase in number of juvenile cases have flooded and overwhelmed corrective agencies which at best were inadequate to cope with their task before. We pay lip service to our desire to give every child born in our community a chance for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In practice, we are not nearly so conscientious. We have eyes, but we refuse to see the obvious—that children born into this world with a capacity for emotional and intellectual growth and develop-

ment are being subverted and converted into hard, warped, lost personalities.

Dr. and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck, of Harvard University, are among our Nation's outstanding sociologists and criminologists. A few years ago they gathered a team of experts in the field of human relations, and undertook a study of 1,000 boys in Boston, all of whom came from the same neighborhood and from families in relatively the same economic status. Five hundred of the boys were known to be delinquent; 500 were not only not delinquent, but were considered to be good citizens. The Gluecks hoped in this way to find out something about the causes of delinquency.

They found that in the majority of the families of the delinquents, 3 out of 5 or more of the fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters were heavier drinkers than in the homes of nondelinquents; they were less balanced emotionally, they were less capable mentally.

In the homes of 3 out of 4 of the delinquents, there was no fixed routine. The children came and went as they pleased; there was no fixed hour for meals; there was no regular time for them to go to bed; there was no specific time for them to do homework.

In 7 out of 10 cases, the mothers were either not at home or the children were on the streets. And 4 out of 5 of the boys felt that their mothers did not care what they did; 3 out of 5 of the boys thought their fathers either did not care what they did or were outright hostile to them; 4 out of 5 of the boys felt that their parents either did not like their friends or did not care who their friends were.

There was no team or family spirit; 7 out of 10 of these families never did things together; they had no family recreation. Three out of five of the delinquents came from broken homes and in 4 out of 5 of these cases the break occurred when the children were under 10 years of age.

There are some people who believe that the correct approach to this problem is the woodshed method, that if children were subjected to an old-fashioned licking, there would be fewer cases of mischief. In the Glueck studies, it was shown that 7 out of 10 of the fathers gave physical punishment to the youngsters and they were delinquent just the same. Among the nondelinquents, only 3 out of 10 were given physical punishment. Obviously, if the woodshed method were the answer, the figures should have been reversed.

As a matter of fact, the woodshed concept of beating a child for his own sake is likely to do more harm than good. The Glueck studies reveal that the tendencies toward delinquency were formed in 50 percent of the cases by the time the child reached 9 years of age. By the time the child reached 11 years of age, such tendencies had been deeply rooted in 90 percent of the cases. The explosions against society occur in later years and punishment at that time will not crush or erase the earlier deeply cut scars. I am not contending that there should be no discipline. Of course, there must be discipline, but it must be based on reason, not the stresses of sudden emotion. To my mind, the woodshed method will not work. Our children need more open arms and open hearts—not the back of a hand.

The Gluecks rightly suggest that we are guilty of wrong emphasis in attacking the problem. We devote the greatest amount of time, thought, energy, and money in meeting the problem long after attitudes have hardened and the preventive stage has passed. The professional and financial resources devoted to the early stages of childhood, to the education of youngsters in healthy and law-abiding self-management, and to the instruction of young parents in the mental hygiene of family life are insignificant when compared with those poured into the maintenance of criminal courts, prisons, and parole boards, a time which is much too late for effective results. Society will continue to suffer from excessive delinquency and crime until it focuses much greater attention on childhood and family life. Any influence that aids the young child to manage his primitive impulses without resort to antisocial behavior will help to prevent delinquency. That is why agencies like the Young Men's Jewish Council are so important. They provide the facilities for growing children the chance to release their irrepressible energies in a good way.

Today we are caught up in a world in which the conditions instill and aggravate any sense of insecurity which adults might have, let alone children, and we have a special and unique responsibility. Our children have never had any real feeling of security. They have been brought into a world torn by war. Their homes and communities have been upset. They have been tossed about in the turmoil of a second war in Korea. They are bombarded daily with doubts and fears about the threat of communism, by the possibility of a draft, by rapid changes in economic conditions. Is it any wonder that children break beneath such overpowering tensions and want to strike back at society?

It is my belief that more than ever before there is an urgent need for the mobilization of our social forces on a neighborhood basis. This is essentially a local problem, in which parents, the school, the church, and all neighborhood recreational and social groups must cooperate. We must begin early in the lives of our children to fight against emotional and spiritual starvation as hard as we fight against physical starvation. We must begin not when we are hurt by the child, but before the child himself is hurt.

Can such an approach work? The residents of Russell Square, where the experiment was first tried out will tell you, "Yes." Russell Square was far from a slum area when its residents decided to do something. But its youngsters were drifting into gangs for companionship they couldn't find elsewhere. Under the guidance of a veteran fighter against juvenile crime, Dr. Clifford R. Shaw, director of the Institute for Juvenile Research, they banded together in a community committee to sponsor a recreational and social program. They went to work with saws and hammers to build a clubhouse; they recruited local talent to serve as leaders and to win the loyalty of the teenagers. They held meetings to discuss new, better satisfying means for using everyone's time and energy. Today, the delinquency rate in Russell Square, as measured by the number of youngsters hailed into juvenile court, has been cut from 72.2 boys per 1,000 population 11 years ago, to 20.3 boys.

Clearly, the people of Russell Square and other Chicago communities who are assuming initiative in the war not against teenage gangs, but for them understand that juvenile delinquency is inextricably bound up with all the factors of our social and economic life. It is for this reason, too, that the work of the Young Men's Jewish Council has been so successful in the neighborhoods in which they have worked.

Secondly, when we find a child who has been hurt emotionally we must make available the best facilities at our command for his health. It is true and unfortunate that we know so little, but it is more unfortunate that we should not be able to use the tools at our disposal to effect the greatest correction possible because of disinterest or lack of funds.

And that is the fundamental question we must answer—are we prepared to provide the personnel and funds to assist and to salvage as many children as possible? We certainly should be, for all of us, all the adults in the community, are guardians of the future of our children—all of our children—of every race and creed. There is no child that is not ours, for we must know, as did John Donne, that—

"No man is an island entire of itself.
Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.
If a clod be washed away by the sea, the continent is the less.
Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.
Therefore, never ask to know for whom the bell tolls—
It tolls for thee."

The Young Men's Jewish Council stands by that creed. That is why we must stand by the Young Men's Jewish Council.

The Problem of Metropolitan Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the remarks of Mayor Frank P. Zeidler, of Milwaukee, delivered before a joint conference of United States and Canadian Mayors, held in Montreal, Canada, during the month of September 1953.

Mayor Zeidler's thought-provoking comments about the problems of metropolitan government in our country merit careful consideration:

THE PROBLEM OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOME ANSWERS

(By Hon. Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor of Milwaukee, Wis.)

THE BOVINE THEORY OF ONE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

This paper might be entitled "In Whose Manger Does the Cow Belong?" The title comes from the "bovine theory" of metropolitan government which was stated in a court case in Virginia in 1943. (*Henrico County* v. *Richmond*, 177 Va. 754, 760, 15 S. E. (2) 309 (1941).)

The court said, "In considering the annexation of territory it may be likened in rural parlance, to a well-fed milk cow whose head is feeding from the manger, which is the parent city supplying the feed, but whose body is largely in areas proposed to be annexed, and whose milk is yielded and drawn therein. Continuing the analogy, it would seem desirable to have the whole cow under one jurisdiction that she might be properly looked after, nourished, stabled, and cared for, and if veterinary services be needed, instead of having 2 veterinarians, 1 for the head and 1 for the body, not always working together or in harmony, have one veterinarian whose skill and ability would best promote, not only the particular but the general welfare of the cow."

PROBLEMS OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

The problem of metropolitan government in the United States is the problem of more than 83,000,000 people living in 169 metropolitan areas, with numerous, complicated, and inadequate forms of government operating within these areas.

One must constantly bear in mind that the powers of cities and local government units

are generally derived from the States. Local government can do only what it is permitted to do. There are roughly three layers of government besides the Federal: (1) State government, which, in the United States, is considered as fundamentally rural in character and this fact has an important bearing on the metropolitan problem. (2) Counties, which are political and administrative subdivisions of the States. (3) Local government, which may consist of the unincorporated type such as township government, and the incorporated type, such as a village, and/or a city.

BRIEF HISTORY OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH

Prior to 1920, a substantial growth occurred in United States cities, particularly those east of the Mississippi River. Cities became densely populated and the main modes of travel were the streetcar and railroad lines.

People came to work in the cities' growing industries, which were enticed by water and sewer facilities and by a working population within easy travel distance.

But, following the twenties, people began to move outward—to lands surrounding the central cities. They could do this because automobiles and good roads were becoming available, and they could have electricity and telephones in their suburban homes.

These suburbanites gained the benefit of better surroundings and improved social status.

SIMULTANEOUS CENTRALIZATION AND DIFFUSION

Some students of metropolitan problems believe that, in recent years, a twofold trend of movement has occurred in the metropolitan areas. First, a centralized movement from the surrounding countryside to the metropolitan area. Secondly, a movement of diffusion from the hard core of the centralized city outward into the suburban and unincorporated areas. These two movements would account for the emergence of the type of social, economic, and political problems which now trouble the metropolitan areas; for government conflicts now occur not only between the central city and its suburbs, but between the suburbs and the unincorporated areas beyond them, where there are problems between the persons who pursue agriculture, and those who work in industry in the cities.

THE URBAN FRINGE BETWEEN TWO FIRES

As suburban homesites were occupied, the need for greater city services was thrust upon each community. Primitive forms of town government, good for farm people, could not satisfy this urban fringe, for rural schools, sanitation and water supply could not meet the needs; nor could volunteer fire services, no police protection, or haphazard sanitation practices. As a result, the urban fringe people clashed with their farm neighbors, who resisted paying increased taxes for urban services they could do without.

The urban fringe people then generally tended to pull away from the farm people by incorporating a village or smaller city of their own. They were usually motivated by local pride, and by desire for taxes lower than those of the central city. Less often they allowed themselves to be annexed or consolidated to the larger city.

CENTRAL CITY: URBAN FRINGE CONFLICT

While open and undeveloped land remained between the central city and the new-formed suburb, the leaders of the central cities did not react vigorously against the formation of suburban communities. However, with the tremendous growth of urban population, the central cities found their own lands heavily settled; they were completely ringed in by a series of smaller communities which stymied further expansion.

THE STALLING OF ANNEXATION

In the latter part of the 19th century, most of the central cities had power under the authority given to them by the State legislatures to expand by annexation. It was assumed by the legislatures that great cities in a State were a mark of progress, and so the process of annexation was encouraged. When urban fringes appeared from time to time, or if the city expansionists thought that an area was ripe for development, it was then relatively easy to annex territory to the central city.

However, the political leaders of the unincorporated areas, from whom the land was taken, were aroused to hostility.

This hostility was caused first by local pride, second by threatened loss of jobs to public office holders, third by threatened loss of a tax base to the area from which the territory was taken, and fourth, by the increased ability of urbanized rural areas to hire legal counsel.

It is interesting to note, here, that a principal urban fringe argument for the doctrine of separation, is the "right of people to live under the form of government they choose." This argument is difficult to answer. It has been used successfully by people attempting to form tiny fringe cities next to major central cities; it has been used by villages incorporated against the wishes of fourth-class cities. Followed to its logical conclusion, this doctrine could lead to the fractioning up of many of our metropolitan areas into hundreds of tiny communities.

The unincorporated areas elected legislative representatives whose main purpose was to defeat annexation. These legislators would pose as farmers or rural people, and appeal to the natural antipathy of the other farmer legislatures toward the cities. Step by step, the annexation laws became more difficult; about 15 years ago, annexation was considered a process to all intents dead.

In many cases the population of unincorporated communities, townships, or counties reached urban densities, but they still retained town or county government. The legislatures often granted certain powers to render urban services to these rural types of government.

While the suburban and unincorporated community leaders found they could persuade the predominantly rural representation in the State legislatures to put a halt to the central city growth, they found that this situation did not solve their own problems. Sewers and drainage water, public works, police protection, schools, fire protection, were beyond their ability to supply physically or financially. The leaders of these communities naturally looked to the central city for aid.

COMMUNITY CONSOLIDATION

In some instances, if the problem looked hopeless enough, and if the suburban fringe area were badly in debt, annexation of unincorporated areas to the central city or consolidation of incorporated areas with the central city might occur. However, to a people fundamentally impregnated with local pride, and also hostile to the central city, consolidation and annexation were repugnant. Other devices, short of loss of community identity, had to be found.

SPECIAL DISTRICTS

One of the devices used early was the formation of a special administrative district to handle a single function. Thus a water district, or a drainage district, or a sewer district might be formed embracing the central city and several suburban communities. Some districts might even cross State lines.

Often the central city would acquiesce to the formation of such a district particularly in drainage and sewerage because its own health was involved if the suburban communities could not solve their problem. Sometimes, if the central city said "No," then the State legislature would compel it.

USING THE COUNTY TO SECURE SERVICES

The formation of special districts met only a part of the problem of the urban fringe. In the case of police protection, leaders of unincorporated communities would proceed to the county government and demand better protection from the sheriff's department. This they usually received. The expense would then be borne principally by the central city taxpayers who usually comprised the largest taxpaying group in the county. On the basis of this experience, suburban and rural leaders of the county found that county government could be used to siphon funds from the central city and for their constituent's services.

FUNCTIONAL CONSOLIDATION

To regularize the procedure of siphoning funds from the central city for fringe purposes, there arose the idea of functional consolidation—that is, the rendering of a single service or function of government by the county or State government. In this way the urban fringe could get the benefit of, say, health services or educational services, while the central city bore the main cost.

GRANTING OF MUNICIPAL POWERS TO COUNTY GOVERNMENTS

County government, rural in character, is usually not well adapted to assume new and complex administrative tasks. Despite this obvious handicap, the growth of county powers and functions is now a popular answer to specific difficulties.

AD HOC AGREEMENTS

In many cases, the suburban government made an agreement whereby the central city was to furnish fire protection for a certain charge. In this way the urban fringe community would not have to make a capital investment for fire equipment, nor pay for the upkeep of a fire-fighting establishment. The same kind of arrangement might be made for furnishing library services, or for educating high-school pupils. These arrangements are termed "ad hoc" agreements—agreements for a single case alone. In order to fortify their position, the urban-fringe leaders often secured from the legislature laws permitting or compelling the central city to furnish ad hoc services, especially in education. Contracts covering water and sewer services are not uncommon. Lately agreements for creation of express roads have begun to appear.

RESULTING COMPLEXITY OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTS

The result of the formation of suburbs of special districts, of ad hoc agreements, of functional consolidation, of contracts, and of special legislation forcing central cities to render outside services has resulted in such a maze and complexity of local municipal governments as to defy adequate description or analysis.

EARLY ATTEMPTS TO MEET THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS

This situation was foreseen long ago by students of local government and some important attempts were made to avoid it by the type of annexation described before. When the process of anexation by petition or by the electorate began to meet impedance, friends of the central city sought other methods of annexation.

ANNEXATION METHODS TO CREATE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

In Virginia, annexation can be effected by judicial review—that is, a court decides upon the request of a central city to acquire

territory adjacent to it. In Georgia, the legislature recently effected a gigantic annexation of over 80 square miles for Atlanta and defined services to be rendered by the city and county governments involved. These cases are exceptions, however, and not the rule. Many cities cannot annex at all because they are completely hemmed in by suburban communities.

Annexation is now running into a further difficulty: The sizes of the metropolitan areas are getting so great that they spread through several counties. In such cases, annexation by petition cannot hope to be accomplished.

CITY-COUNTY CONSOLIDATION

In order to overcome the difficulties of the annexation, some students of government hit upon the idea of city-county consolidation, and this took place in a number of the larger cities of the United States. Although none have occurred recently, this proposal is still often heard throughout the Nation. Some cities, such as St. Louis, grew to the very limits of the county, and still found themselves ringed in. Hence city-county consolidation cannot be regarded as a complete solution to the metropolitan problem.

RECENT ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

About 1940, the earnest cry for reform in metropolitan government again got under way. Even the elected officials of the central cities began to feel troubled by the situation, for they are responsible for the tax rates in the central cities. These officials were taunted and attacked by taxpayers' organizations who showed that suburban taxes were much lower than those in the central city, and that people and industries were leaving the central cities for the suburbs.

The officials of the central cities began to discover that functional consolidation, formation of special districts, contractural agreements to render special services, and special legislation, as well as county procedures were enabling the urban fringe to get along with lower taxes at the expense of the central city. Far from solving the metropolitan problem, these piecemeal solutions made it worse because the urban fringe would not give up obvious advantages. The officials of the central cities also discovered that they were the objects of abuse from urban fringe leaders, both in the press and legislature, if they attempted to oppose or abolish these special arrangements.

A wide difference in taxes developed because some suburbs were able to capture a large industrial tax base at the expense of their neighbors. This enabled them to get along almost without any property taxes for local purposes levied upon the urban fringe residents. Furthermore, the suburbs might then make offers to industry in the central city to locate in the suburbs, thus diminishing the tax basis of the central city.

The central city learned that it was being compelled to furnish costly facilities for the movement of suburban residents about the streets of the central city. The central city learned, too, that many of the most able individuals with high incomes had left the city and were furnishing the local suburbs competent leadership in the conflicts with the parent city.

The high cost of central city government and the crowding of people into the older portions of the city led to the development of decay and blight which the cities could not overcome because of the pressure of hostile forces around them.

THE EFFECT OF HOSTILE RURAL LEGISLATORS

As the cities grew, a significant political change was occurring in the rurally dominated legislatures across the Nation. The decades of constant attack by the urban fringe on the central city began to bear its bitter fruit. Legislatures now refused to give the people of the metropolitan areas, both cities and suburbs alike, their just representation in those legislatures based on the increased population of the metropolitan areas. As a natural concomitant of the failure to give just representation, the legislatures also refused to grant powers or funds in sufficient quantities to the cities to meet the problem of blight, traffic, housing, and industrial development and relocation.

Then, as if to climax their woes, city people heard the story of the atomic bomb and later the hydrogen bomb. They heard first the call of the National Security Resources Board asking the industries of the cities to disperse and later the frantic unofficial statement of civil-defense leaders asking people to disperse.

The long-standing indifference and ignorance of legislatures to the problems of metropolitan government and the large central cities caused the cities to wait upon the Federal Government for assistance in meeting their problems, first in dealing with roads and then in unemployment, housing, and public works of all kinds. Incidentally, the United States Conference of Mayors was formed under this kind of situation in 1932.

It is no wonder, therefore, that students of metropolitan government are alarmed today at tendencies, manifested by the State governments, to dismantle the system of Federal grants-in-laid to the central cities, and the attempt of the State governments to silence the voice of the central cities in the legislatures.

PRESENT TRENDS

It has long since become apparent that the arbitrary boundaries of cities and suburbs established by legislative procedures are no longer adequate to meet the pressing needs of our major cities and the metropolitan areas around them. The very fact that many services had to be considered for special treatment by legislatures has begun to argue powerfully for a better system. In finance, taxation, and assessing, an unequal burden rests on the central city. Drainage, water supply, health services, education, major trafficway construction, police service, fire protection, rubbish disposal, zoning, civil defense, and planning—each have required extra treatment by legislatures.

Legislatures are beginning to recognize that by failing to meet the metropolitan problem, they are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs of State finance. Accordingly, a number of them have passed laws favoring the formation of one central government in a metropolitan area, and others of them are proposing official commissions to study the problem.

One State legislature has now prevented the formation of any satellite city within 3 miles of the city limits of its principal city.

WHAT LEGISLATURES MIGHT DO

Using the language of the Virginia court, the logic of the times calls for placing the cow of metropolitan government in one manger and under one well-run system of management.

Most of the metropolitan areas of the United States ought to be replanned and rebuilt. This calls for the redevelopment of industrial and residential sections of our urban centers to reduce their vulnerability to the atomic age. Thus we would allow for the rehabilitation of the blighted parts of both the central city and of industrial suburbs. The remedy lies with the legislatures which set the rules of local government. These legislatures must redefine by charter the boundaries of metropolitan communities whose social, economic, and political character are evidently closely related. The legislatures must grant these metropolitan governments powers consistent with the gravity and magnitude of the problem they face. Whether such granting of metropolitan charters should result in the establishment of the borough system, to preserve local pride and local operations, or whether such charters should mean the extending of the powers of the central city, as in the case of Atlanta, is, at this moment, a matter of option. Where a multitude of large suburbs do not exist, the Atlanta system seems better; where many long-established suburbs exist, the borough system would be preferred. Though improvements, neither of these systems, in themselves, will provide an ultimate answer to local government.

The forces of opposition to these broad grants of authority to metropolitan governments are probably strong enough to allow a continuation of the torturous, complicated and inefficient forms of government that now plague every metropolitan area. The very strength of these forces often precludes a settlement strictly originated and concluded by local governments themselves. Any suburban official who would yield a special tax advantage enjoyed by his constituents for the ideal of unified metropolitan government would suffer swift defeat.

OBJECTIVES OF A UNIFIED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The public must begin to think in terms of what it wants a unified local government to accomplish. Local government must be simplified in the determination of responsibility. It must reflect just systems of taxation and the bearing of burdens between communities. It must be capable of redevelopment and regeneration. It must not lead to stratification by people according to classes of employment. It must eliminate the blight, traffic congestion, noise and ugliness which afflicts central city and suburb alike. It must allow for the sensible and early redistribution of population and industry alike as a matter of national defense in the atomic age. It must create an environment of living and working in which humankind can advance itself to an ever nobler status.

The indictment against our present fragmented metropolitan areas is that with their municiplicity of governments they are not doing any of these things. Rather, they are creating social, economic and political decay among men, and the resultant blighting forces affect the State and Nation alike.

To accomplish the most for local government, one must have a considerable faith in the long run effectiveness of good ideas and sound planning. The present cities are full of examples of ideas brought to fruition by perservance. Chicago's lake front development is a case in point. The ending of the municipal hodgepodge that dominates the American municipal scene today can be ended by similar good ideas and similar perservance. Even the political leaders who champion the status quo will find more peaceful sleep when some of their unsolvable problems disappear in unified community action.

Last of all, the metropolitan centers of the United States must look to a show of greater statesmanship by State leaders. In 1946, the Council of State Governments, in a report on State-Local Relationships, itself indicated the multiplicity of local governments with overlapping functions, deficient in taxable resources. This report charged that the present pattern of local government produces inequities in the tax burdens which are not in proportion to services rendered; makes it difficult to utilize centralizing purchasing, budgeting, and other measures of modern fiscal administration; dissipates political responsibility and thwarts citizen control of local institutions; produces an unequal level of services at high cost; and forestalls community-wide action to meet community-wide problems."

The report was critical of piecemeal remedies such as functional integration. It proposed that changes of local government should have as their goal: one, the establishment of one local government for one local area; two, local governments large enough

in terms of population to permit effective public services at low cost, and wealthy enough to support a substantial portion of those services; three, governments that cover an entire integrated community. It offered as answers to these difficulties all of the methods described heretofore.

Recently, however, State governments have tended to regard central cities and metropolitan areas with ill-concealed hostility. For the most part, legislatures have deprived them of sufficient revenue to carry on their work, have sought to deprive them of their political rights, and have by acts of commission and omission fostered disputes in the metropolitan areas.

If this course of conduct continues, the central cities will have but one recourse. They will need to seek, from the Federal Government, special protection from the petty tyrannies of certain State legislatures. This is not a threat but an actual process which is occurring at this moment.

Well Worth Reading

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include a most provocative article from the January 4, 1954, issue of Life magazine.

The article is well written and is comprehensive. Coming, as it does, when so many of us are struggling with the multiple problems involved in world trade, it does make a constructive contribution to all of us.

It is the work of two men, John Knox Jessup and Michael A. Heilperin. I wish to congratulate them.

The article carries the title of "A New Daring Plan To Unshackle Trade and Enrich the Free World—How Europe Can Be Saved and International Commerce Revived."

The article follows:

The American economy described in these pages is, in the words of John Foster Dulles, "a paradise compared to most of the world." It yields the American a standard of living roughly 3 times as high as the Englishman's, 6 times as high as the Italian's, 11 times as high as the Turk's, 18 times as high as the Peruvian's, 40 times as high as the Indonesian's. Most of the world's 2.5 billion people are crowded between the Peruvian and Indonesian points on this scale. Since even the American wants more income than he gets, it is obvious that the world as a whole is a pretty poverty-stricken place. Can Americans make it any richer?

Many Americans would like to try; and not just because the rich have a duty to the poor. Wealth is like muck, said Lord Bacon, good only if it be spread. Or, to quote an American businessman, "You can't do business in a poorhouse," and Americans cannot indefinitely go on raising their own standard of living without doing business—more and more of it—with the rest of the world.

When the British were the world's richest nation—that is, until about 1914—the rate at which most of the world increased its wealth was a good deal more spectacular than it has been since. The muck, though thinner, was spread farther and faster in their day than in ours. Since the Americans have found a secret of domestic wealth that is obviously an improvement on the old British model, it is too bad, to say the least, that we have been less successful in imparting it. This comparative failure is perhaps the greatest single failure of western statesmanship since the war.

A measure of this failure is the lag in world trade. After a sharp increase from 1945 to 1951 the total volume of world trade has stagnated and has yet to regain anything like its prewar relationship to world production. Moreover, this volume of world trade, unsatisfactory as it is, rests on two extremely rickety supports. One is United States handouts, which have totaled $42 billion and have accounted for about one-tenth of all the international trade done since the war. The second is an elaborate system of government controls in virtually all trading countries, their chief purpose being to discriminate against United States exports because of the dollar shortage. Such controls, besides limiting the amount and confining the channels of all trade, have incidentally enforced idleness on the chief known method of creating new wealth, namely the flow of capital in international investment.

With the United States having given away $42 billion and having allowed itself to be the supine target of discrimination, it is hard for an American to feel very guilty about the failure of world trade. Blame aside, however, only one thing can remedy the failure; a vigorous American effort and a wise use of American power on behalf of a better system. It is this fact which gives importance to the forthcoming report of the Randall Commission, which is supposed to formulate that crying need, a new United States foreign economic policy.

The Randall Commission, the most crucial of Eisenhower's experiments in Government by postponement, was asked to study all aspects of United States foreign economic policy. This was one of the most spurious assignments since Penelope said she must weave Laertes' shroud; for all aspects of postwar United States foreign economy policy have been studied backward and forward by one commission after another, private and governmental. And they have all made more or less the same report, namely that United States trade policies should be liberalized; for the basic facts and figures, accessible to all, permit no other conclusion. On the other hand, there is much less agreement on whether or how such a revolution in American policy (protectionist since July 4, 1789) can be brought to birth. If the Randall Commission comes up with a program of liberalization that enlists the self-interest of Congress and the people, it will make history. The present article is an attempt to show that if the American interest in world trade is properly understood, the commission's problem is not insoluble.

The immediate world-trade problem is as tangled as a snake pit, but three snakes are visibly larger than the others. The first of these is the persistent imbalance in international payments since the war, loosely called "the dollar shortage." This means simply that the rest of the world wants more American goods than it can pay for. It has been handled up to now by a double device: the United States Government gives away enough American goods to meet part of this demand, while the rest of it is suppressed by other governments' antidollar restrictions on their peoples' trade and currency. As the handout share of this device diminishes (Congress has declared its intention of eliminating it), foreign governments must inevitably tighten their restrictions against dollar goods. Already their restrictive machinery is hitting on all cylinders. The results show not only in the recently improved gold and dollar positions of most European countries, but also in the simultaneous decline of United States commercial exports, which has become a matter of distress to some of our powerful export industries and especially to cotton and wheat farmers. The dollar-trade problem is being cured by cutting dollar trade. This could involve the United States in a new kind of depression.

Can the dollar shortage be handled without further handouts and without further cuts in dollar trade? Harold Stassen, head of our Foreign Operations Administration, sees it as a problem of how to keep dollars circulating abroad at about the present level of $22 billion a year. The most logical method, of course, would be to increase United States imports, letting foreigners earn the dollars they need. But over our imports (now about $12 billion a year) Stassen has very little control. So he tries to push out the dollars by other expedients. One is offshore purchases, whereby the United States pays dollars to European suppliers of arms for NATO. Another is United States private investment abroad, now about a paltry $1 billion a year, which Stassen by various stimuli is hoping to double.

Indeed the torpid condition of all international investment, dollar and other, is the second big snake in the pit. Like trade, international investment is a far smaller proportion of production than it used to be. United States foreign investment is about half of all the international investment there is. Even the World Bank, which has loaned a careful $1.7 billion since 1947, looms large in this droughty picture; so even does our $100 million-a-year point 4 program of technical assistance.

Even to start narrowing the gap between the American standard of living and that of the rest of the world, according to U. N. economists, would take 10 times the present investment flow, something like $20 billion a year. The only possible source of such sums is not governments but private investors, and not just American investors. Such sums require that every industrialized country should join and share the great work of investing abroad, especially in the underdeveloped lands.

Instead, private capital is everywhere either too scarce, too timid, or too chained to undertake this adventure. American capital, seeing rewards at home and ambushes abroad, has little incentive to travel. European capital, what there is of it, would travel if it could—indeed, it is chronically poised for flight to freer or safer countries—but it is forbidden to do so.

Trade and capital are both captive to the same forces of fear, imbalance, and stagnation. The one captivity prolongs the other: for just as investment creates trade, so trade is a vehicle of international capital movements, by way of the savings of those who profit from it. Thus, a double source of new wealth is foregone.

The third big snake in the pit of world trade is the peculiar stagnation of Europe. It is big because Europe still accounts for 40 percent of all world trade; because it has been the recipient of 80 percent of American aid; and because it has perfected, above other parts of the free world, the technique and habit of antidollar restrictions.

"Poor, tormented, and split Europe," West Germany's economic minister calls it. Its clever people cannot, as at present organized, earn the standard of living they insist on in a world no longer theirs. One sign of this is their low productivity, both in factory and farm, in comparison with the new standards set by the United States.

Output per man in Europe is only 20 to 50 percent of the United States averages. Under the Marshall plan hundreds of European productivity teams visited the United States to find why this is so. One English

journalist gave his readers a three-word approximation of the principal reason: "Why do Americans produce more? They work harder," said he. A recent Government study found that British bricklayers' time is spent as follows: one-fourth, unavoidable delays; one-half, voluntary pauses (tea, lateness, etc.); one-fourth laying bricks. The French building industry operates—says a former French minister of reconstruction—in accordance with the best Merovingian standards. The personnel boss of Britain's nationalized coal mines, an old union miner himself, says, "It is true the men aren't working like they used to." The new British steel works at Margam took 5 years to build; the new Fairless works on the Delaware took 18 months.

The American worker enjoys many head starts to productivity, of which more and better machinery is one. Others are stronger money incentives—lower taxes—a livelier and harder-working management, and an industrial atmosphere which one English auto maker calls liberalism, meaning willingness to try anything once, from a new market to a new way of grinding gears, and to back the experiment with plenty of money.

In short, the American institutional framework is more favorable to efficiency than the European, and a divergence of productivities has resulted. Some would date this from 1890, when Americans passed their Sherman Antitrust Act and Europeans began putting together their first steel cartel. Competition as the United States knows it scarcely exists in Europe now. Another possible origin of the cleavage is the fact that Calvinism, which took root only spottily in continental Europe, planted throughout America its unique morality of work. While we view work—and its byproduct, wealth—as a path to salvation, the continental views it as the mark of Cain. The European businessman's vice of double bookkeeping expresses not just his hatred of taxes but something harder to deal with: his secret contempt for his own calling. This contempt, derived from feudal models, cascades down the hierarchic structure of Europe's industrial society. At the bottom, receiving its cumulative force, is the figure American industry exalts; the consumer. The fewer and more captive his customers, the better the European businessman likes it.

Labor fares no better than the consumer in this system. European business does not regard the auto worker or refrigerator assembler as a potential buyer of what he makes. The workingman's production and his money wages are far higher than prewar, but his real income is not. The French Catholic bishops, in a recent survey of the social situation, diocese by diocese, found that almost all wage earners are convinced they are the victims of organized injustice and that French labor's most eager elements think in terms of a revolution by violence rather than consent. This has led, in France and Italy, to organized labor accepting Communist leadership while men of foresight tremble for the future. "Europe above all else needs new ideas," says Adriano Olivetti, the progressive Italian manufacturer, "otherwise, our society will passively accept an omnipotent state, whether Communist or Fascist, within 10 years." Says Paul Reynaud of France: "More reforms are needed than in 1789."

Yet this is the Continent that once produced 90 percent of the world's manufactured goods, that is still the world's second-best workshop, and that has moreover exhibited since the war remarkable powers of recuperation. Industrial production in most countries is now 50 percent ahead of prewar years. Why, then, has its standard of living remained stagnant?

The answer lies in the foreign trade by which Europe lives. Since the war this trade has undergone an enormous foreclosure. Its currents once ran to every continent and market. But Russia, Eastern Europe, and half of Asia have been foreclosed by Communists, and the rest of Asia by the poverty that has accompanied the end of the colonial age.

Even where trade is still comparatively free, the terms of the old bargains have changed against Europe's manufactures. To get enough food and raw materials to live in its accustomed style Europe has had to rely more and more on the only source where their supply has greatly increased: the United States and Canada, dollar land. To make this harder, Europe's old investments in North America, once an easy source of dollars, have been largely liquidated. Britain, before the war the world's largest creditor, is now its largest debtor. Europe is like a great ship that used to stand in the roads surrounded by dhows, sampans, and lighters but is now soughing and listing by a New York dock.

MORE TRADE—WHERE?

If the great ship is ever to leave her berth toward an expanding horizon, Europe must find more trade. Where?

Some seek it within Europe itself, in economic unity or integration, the unachieved goal of the Marshall plan. If Europe's factories confronted a single market of 200 million people, they would be virtually forced into America's standards of efficiency. One of the most hopeful things in Europe today is Jean Monnet's high authority in Luxembourg, the fully functioning government of all the coal and steel in France, Germany, Italy, and Benelux. Little by little, with the broad powers given it by treaty and the suasive powers of the personality at its head, the high authority is whittling away national barriers against a common European market in these two products and is valiantly combating the tendency to recartelize. But the more these small barriers are removed, the larger looms one that Monnet cannot touch. This is exchange control, by which European currencies defend themselves against the dollar, but which at the same time keeps them at swords' points with each other.

The chief survival of the Marshall plan effort at integration is a Paris bureau representing 18 nations called OEEC (Office of European Economic Cooperation). It encourages intra-European trade by setting liberalization targets (a percentage of trade free of quotas) and by financing mutual balances through the European Payments Union. Far from increasing European unity, however, OEEC barely keeps things from flying apart. Its members, though protected against the dollar, remain wildly out of balance with each other. They are constantly backsliding on their liberalization targets whenever they get into balance-of-payments difficulties. France has become a chronic backslider, observing no targets whatsoever. Even well-behaved countries like Belgium refuse to remove quotas on farm products because their farmers refuse to compete even with their next-door neighbors. Indeed, balance-of-payments difficulties, the formal excuse for mutual restrictions, has become a mere mask for old-style protectionism, which is more entrenched in most of Europe today than it was before the days of anti-dollar discrimination. The OEEC-EPU machinery is at best a kind of iron lung for Europe's internal trade rather than a rejuvenator that would make her trade healthy again.

Another way in which Europe could increase its trade is with the remnants of its former empire, chiefly Africa and the British Commonwealth. The obstacles here are twofold. First, what little capital Europe has to spare does not gravitate as willingly in this direction as it does toward dollarland. Second, the undeveloped members of the potential new empire refuse to be organized into an exclusive arrangement. The superior magnetism of the dollar throughout it keeps a new empire from taking shape. To overcome this obstacle would require stronger measures and harsher controls than most non-Socialists would stand for.

For a third way to increase its trade Europe looks to the Communist world. The prospects are pretty slim. The old Balkan wheat surplus that used to feed Germany is now swallowed up in Russia's hunger, and the old Balkan appetite for machinery is strictly controlled by Russia's master plan. Small as it would prove to be, however, the idea of East-West trade exerts a powerful pull on the European imagination. It grows harder every month for the United States and Europe to maintain a united commercial policy toward the Iron Curtain. The list of strategic materials which the British will not sell to China, for example, seems longer than necessary to them, shorter than desirable to us. Here, as Stalin predicted, is the seed of division in the Western alliance.

Toward East-West trade there is only one safe position for the West: to be able to take it or leave it alone as western strategy—not Moscow's—makes advisable. The United States is in this temptation-proof position. Europe could be—if we could find some other way to expand European trade. The only way that exists is to unlock the opportunities within the free world.

A KEY TO A BIG JOB

Enough of the snake pit. It appears that the task of raising the world's standard of living is a formidable one. He who would set about it must somehow correct the imbalance in international payments, revive foreign investment and reform the arthritic capitalism of Europe. The diagnosis is gloomy and so is the prognosis. But it is not as though no cure were known.

During Britain's economic hegemony, world trade, investment and living standards expanded at record rates. Of that age, two things are noteworthy: first, it lasted as long as the British were willing to underwrite it, and no longer—i. e., from about 1846 to 1931; second, the conduct of the nations and of foreign traders accorded more closely than usual with good economic theory.

The people of Britain during their free-trade period in effect maintained a true world market by offering a price for anything anybody wanted to sell. They backed this policy by a stable currency, the pound, readily obtainable the world over. Private firms made unsupervised bargains across national boundaries just as a Boston merchant buys in New Jersey and sells in California. Tariffs and a few military subsidies were the only ways in which governments tried to deflect or limit trade for reasons of state. Above all, currencies were almost universally convertible. This means that every citizen of every country was free to earn and spend the currency of every other country. Full convertibility was in those days to a respectable currency what virtue was to a lady—part of the definition.

The reason this system created so much prosperity was that it continuously allocated and reallocated the resources of nature to their most efficient uses over the widest possible area, just as the economic textbooks promise under competitive conditions. Americans can look back on how the process worked in the smaller but continent-wide laboratory of our tariff-protected market, our "playpen," as somebody has called it. The trail to our present wealth led through mushroomed cities, ghost towns, fortunes, bankruptcies, mergers, migrations, trials and errors, all attesting to the rigor of the second demand of economic progress; after work, mobility.

This international mobility of men, money, and materials kept the balance-of-payments problem unknown in those days. Having in effect a single currency (in that all currencies were mutually convertible), the citizens of this economic universe could trade with each other without worrying about their particular nation's trading position except as it showed up in prices, whether of goods or of foreign exchange, which prices in turn presented yet another trading opportunity.

The United States, while protecting its growing industries against European competition, helped the world market system by its hospitality to immigrants and to foreign capital, thus encouraging massive movements of men and money from less to more productive work. The United States protective tariff doubtless hastened our growth, but the general environment outside our shores, so favorable to free enterprise and expanding trade, was indispensable to it. Into this invigorating ambiance Americans ventured when and where they chose, testing their increasing efficiency in the great world market—the only real test of efficiency, incidentally, that economic science knows. This atmosphere of economic freedom was so long taken for granted that Americans came to consider it their birthright, or even a law of nature. Unfortunately it is a law only in the textbooks—and in the past.

As a textbook law the classical theory of world trade is still good economics. Keynesian "neomercantilists" scoffed around its edges, but never refuted or replaced it. Its enemies are not thinkers, but governments.

These did their most destructive work in the thirties. Hjalmar Schacht, the Nazi genius, showed how one rebel nation could prey on the comity of the rest. His ruthless devices for controlling German trade and money were refinements on the desperate methods discovered by the belligerents of World War I and examples for the still stricter controls of World War II. Chief among them were the rationing of foreign exchange, the quantitative import quota and the government monopoly of trade in key commodities.

Seven years after the end of World War II these controls, especially exchange controls, are still in effect in almost all so-called civilized nations. The only major respectable currencies today, and the only people with free access to all foreign currencies, are those of the United States, Canada and (with some qualifications) Switzerland. Elsewhere the wartime shackles are still firmly in place. The world environment of freedom has disappeared.

Some argue it never will return. The governments who destroyed the free system, this argument runs, were responding to deep popular social trends, sometimes called the flight from the market. The people of Europe, farmers and workers as well as businessmen, have grown fond of the restrictions that impoverish them. The mobility of resources is out of fashion. Large-scale migrations are politically unfeasible. Social security, full employment, leisure and a gentler life reconcile modern economic man to his loss of forward motion. His mood is that of Byron's Giaour: "I would not if I might be blest; I want no paradise but rest."

Like the argument for any tolerable status quo, this one has some force. But it does not tell us how to improve matters. It is therefore inaudible to the American ear, and in fact is scorned even by many Europeans, two of whom deserve our special attention.

In the most exciting nation in Europe today, West Germany, the most unusual political figure is the Minister for Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard. The man and the nation have made good together. West German industry is booming, its currency is hard, its people are busily employed at that most innocent of human endeavors, getting rich. Much luck went into the German recovery, and its extent should not be judged by its speed; it started only 5 years ago when the German economy was flat on its back. For all that, it has been one of the most striking examples on record of the efficacy of classic economic principles, which principles Erhard, himself an economist, understands, believes in and has put to work. Erhard's policy for Germany has been one of continuous decontrol. High taxes, the price of a sound currency in this age, are about the only remaining internal drag on German energy and thrift.

Erhard is the world's loudest spokesman for the convertibility of currencies and for the fiscal self-discipline, such as Germany has imposed on itself, that makes convertibility possible. The Germans, he says, "must become the teachers of Europe." He regrets the discriminations that Germany, as part of Europe, feels it necessary to practice against the dollar. He does not indulge in the European custom of blaming all his troubles on the United States tariff.

Even if the Germans wanted to, they could not in practice throw off the iron lung and declare the deutschmark convertible tomorrow. Among Europeans leadership in monetary matters still belongs to the British pound, which despite its weakness still finances more world trade than any currency. No British voice speaks as loudly for convertibility as Dr. Erhard's, but what the British say commands more attention.

The British have been twice shy of convertibility ever since they tried an ill-prepared experiment in it in 1947. On that occasion so many of Britain's many creditors turned in their pounds for dollars that London's gold and dollar reserves were almost exhausted and the experiment had to be called off within 5 weeks. Last March, however, Mr. Churchill's Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. ("Rab") Butler, came to Washington to sound out the sentiment of the new Republican Treasury people, Messrs. Humphrey and Burgess. The British laid down two conditions for another experiment in convertibility. First, the United States would have to back British gold or dollar reserves with a loan or guaranty. Second, to be able to defend a convertible pound Britain must see better prospects of continuing to earn dollars, or at least not lose them, by current trade: meaning that the United States would have to liberalize its import policy.

These two conditions are probably the least that would be insisted on by any nation contemplating convertibility today. Moreover they come reasonably from any nation which, like Britain, has shown fiscal self-discipline at home. The rest of the British proposition of last March, however, gave the whole the watered-down effect of Britain's wartime beer: not full, but just "external" convertibility was the proposition. People outside the sterling area would be able to trade their pounds freely for dollars, but people inside it would not. Butler evidently wanted to restore the prestige of the pound among the lesser breeds but could not yet trust Englishmen to refrain from capital flight.

The March talks came to nothing. Messrs. Humphrey and Burgess were unready to do their part. Perhaps they also expected a better proposition and not getting it began to doubt how serious about convertibility the British are. If this has been the reason for their own subsequent inaction, the men of the United States Treasury are making a bad mistake. For whether or not Butler and his friends are as serious about convertibility as they should be they are certainly more serious about it than their political opponents.

While the British position remains so precarious that responsible Tories do not consider convertibility a near possibility, they would respond in good heart to a realistic proposal from Washington on this subject. The same cannot be said of the Socialists. Convertibility plays no part in their picture of Britain's future. Favoring, as they do, policies which they know will repel capital from England, they also know they will need exchange controls to stop its flight. If convertibility is to be achieved, therefore, it must be achieved before the Socialists return to power.

Convertibility, before we leave the subject, is not the whole answer to the problem of increasing world trade. It is easy enough to make your currency convertible if at the same time you overprice it or otherwise make it impossible for others to earn. Import controls, the obverse of exchange controls, can be used to get the same nasty effects. Thus the OEEC's "liberalization targets" have done some good as a reminder that quantitative restrictions on trade can be as bad as those on currency. Alongside either of these streamlined archdiscriminatory weapons, of course, a protective tariff looks as inoffensive and old-fashioned as a Zulu warrior's shield of buffalo hide.

If the United States seriously wishes to recreate a world market and a system of economic freedom, it must first of all achieve a system of world money, that is, fully convertible currencies; and to support and use this world money, a system of multilateral trade among individuals of different nations, the barriers to this trade being as few as possible, and in any case operating impartially, as tariffs do, without discrimination.

No European nations, not even Germany or Britain, is capable of leading its neighbors into this system. The leadership will be American or none; and to take it the United States must find and use the weapons that will induce or force the Europeans to follow. Our weapons must be such as the Europeans can neither withstand nor refute. We have only two suitable weapons that combine force with an appeal to our shared economic wisdom. They are (1) the dollar itself, and its great strength; (2) our domestic market, the biggest in the world.

If we grasp and use these weapons aright, we have the makings of a gigantic deal.

Here is the deal, in two connected parts. One: to nations willing to abandon exchange controls we will lend (not give) the gold or dollar reserves a newly convertible currrency requires. Two: against import quotas and other quantitative trade restrictions we will bargain our protective tariff.

The deal on reserves could be handled in many ways: a straight convertibility loan of gold or dollars, or a joint stabilization fund of several leading currencies as proposed by the International Chamber of Commerce, or a change in the rules and an enlargement of the assets of the International Monetary Fund. As a somewhat tricky and politically more difficult alternative the United States could simply raise the price of gold; to double the price would double the reserve value of Europe's gold holdings overnight. Each of these methods has its virtues and drawbacks, needless to discuss here. Each would remove the first obstacle to convertibility.

The second part of the big deal, like anything that involves the United States tariff, is a good deal more complicated. Protectionism, more particularly protection against European manufactures, is the most venerable policy the United States has.

Hamilton's protectionist Report on Manufactures is one of our great state documents. The Monroe Doctrine itself, later born and sooner faded than protectionism, came into the world wrapped in a high tariff message. And the nationalistic American system, first popularized by Henry Clay, runs triumphantly through our economic history from canals and the Homestead Acts to TVA.

Politically the United States has never had a national free-trade party. The Democrats have usually opposed and moderated Republican tariff greed but not for free-trade

reasons. Thus Cleveland reduced tariffs on the plea of an embarrassing revenue surplus ("it is a condition that confronts us, not a theory"), and Wilson as an antitrust measure, to "whet American wits." The reciprocal trade agreements policy, which has been kept alive by bipartisan support for the last 18 years, is anything but free trade. Despite all the tariff concessions made under it, no American industry has lost its protected home market to foreign competition. The Democrats always considered it more important that RTA be repeatedly extended than that it influence trade. The complaints against it, both before and after the escape clause amendment of 1948, were always marginal and somewhat phony, for its administrators never contemplated a serious reallocation of resources with any foreign country, least of all Europe.

The main value of the RTA system is that, in giving the White House wide discretionary power over tariff rates, Congress swore off its age-old habit of logrolling all the rates upward every few years. Congress never managed to learn self-control on this subject; its tariff debates, as George Dangerfield put it, "have always had a dull and ugly appearance, like an alligator pretending to be a log." The late Senator Vandenberg once declared, "Tariff ratemaking in Congress is an atrocity. It lacks any element of economic science or validity. I suspect the 10 Members of the Senate, including myself, who struggled through the last Congressional Tariff Act (1930), would join me in resigning before they would be willing to tackle another general congressional tariff revision."

An earlier effort to "take the tariff out of politics" was the movement for a so-called "scientific" tariff, which created the United States Tariff Commission (1917). The theory of a "scientific" tariff was not, however, scientific. It aimed to equalize the costs of foreign and domestic products, especially the labor cost, and many an American businessman, including the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Weeks, is still of the opinion that the "American standard of wages" is the one thing that cannot safely be subjected to foreign competition. But the equalization principle, carried to its logical extreme, would exclude all imports whatsoever. As the first chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, Professor Taussig, once put it, "very good pineapples can be grown in Maine"—if you don't care what you pay your labor. The only scientific theory of international trade prescribes competition among all costs, including wages. It also promises that wages will correspond to productivity. If American productivity remains the world's highest, so will American wages, whether protected or not.

The RTA has not noticeably affected United States imports because it is based on the equalization theory rather than on a theory of the international division of labor. It bargained United States tariff concessions against tariff concessions by other countries. But in most foreign countries tariffs were obsolete anyhow, having been superseded by quotas and exchange controls. Thus RTA did not help United States exports either. Its bargains were not the real ones required to increase trade. A genuine bargain would permit foreigners real access to our markets—i. e., we would risk losing business to them in a true reallocation of resources—in return for better and fairer access to their markets—i. e., through convertible currencies and removal of quotas.

Such a bargain could not be struck, and should probably not be attempted, between the United States and every other nation in the free world. This brings up still another feature of the RTA system which inhibits meaningful trade bargaining. This is our unrealistic use of an excellent principle, that of the most-favored nation. Each tariff concession we make to any nation is immediately generalized to about 30 other nations, many of whom do not deserve it and could not qualify for the kind of bargain here described. If we are to put an end to discrimination, we must ourselves discriminate in favor of those who are willing to end it. This suggests a double or multiple column United States tariff, the most generous column being reserved for like-minded nations whose citizens would trade freely with us and with each other and among whom the most-favored-nation clause would regain meaning. They would be the expanding nucleus of a convertible, no-quota, low-tariff free world.

CONDITION, NOT THEORY

Such, nakedly and formalistically, are the terms of the gigantic bargain by which the United States might hope to recreate a world market. In real life, of course, no single treaty embodying these terms is likely to be signed, nor will the new United States policy it requires ever be entered in the history books bearing a single date. For as in Cleveland's day it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us, and neither partner to the deal can deliver so easily as here assumed.

On our side a quick look at the protectionist interest will disclose some of the difficulties. Our most protected industry is agriculture, and, as the London Economist once put it, "the manufacturer of feather beds for farmers is [America's] main competitive industry for the congressionally inclined." For our farmers (and them alone) we even shamelessly employ the European device of import quotas. The overrepresentation of farmers in Congress is likely to hinder our Government's trade-bargaining position on farm products for some time.

But not necessarily forever. The new Secretary of Agriculture has begun the appalling task of getting our farm price-support program back into some sane relationship with world markets. On these markets our farmers depend, for they are still our No. 1 exporters. Moreover, owing to our appetite for coffe, bananas, and other exotic edibles, the United States is the largest importer of farm products and has been a net food importer since 1911. In other words, the United States is already deeply involved on both sides of the world food market, and there is no economic reason why we should not gradually become more so.

Among other industries that depend on protection, or think they do, the most important are chemicals, electric, textiles, and mining.

The chemical industry was born in World War I under a very special tariff on coal-tar derivatives. It is now largely a petroleum processor of enormous technical proficiency. In hugging protection its leaders may well be exhibiting a reflex dating from their youth rather than a knowledge of how they would really fare under competitive conditions.

Westinghouse is outspokenly against European competition; General Electric is more ambivalent on the subject. This industry is already losing capital-goods business to foreign competition. But its overall abroad are more than 20 times United States imports of electrical products.

Textiles would lose an unpredictable amount of business without the protection they have enjoyed for 150 years. Mining, especially the high-cost lead, zinc, and other nonferrous minerals of the West, presents a political problem akin to farming, with the following difference.

United States industry as a whole has a mounting interest in getting the cheapest ores in the world. The United States recently changed from a net exporter to a net importer of basic industrial raw materials, even petroleum. We have "crossed the great industrial divide." Our voracious industry consumes more than half the world's supply of a long list of irreplaceable natural resources. Our steel industry, for example, is developing new sources abroad, just in time to help replace the dwindling high-grade ores of the Mesabi. Our copper mines, formerly exporters, now supply scarcely 60 percent of United States industry's consumption of new copper. United States industry's interest in these growing foreign sources, most of which need capital for enlargement, will increasingly aline itself against the domestic miner's interest in a high tariff. The latter's protection will then take the form of a straight subsidy for mines that can claim support for military reasons, as is already the case with domestic uranium, or as is largely the case with another important noncompetitive industry, shipping.

Still more vulnerable to deprotection are a host of specialty manufacturers such as pottery, gloves, lenses, hats, watches, motorcycles, toys. The removal of their tariffs would force many of them to cut costs, change their market, or go out of business. The Randall Commission has been offered schemes to indemnify their owners and retrain their labor at public expense. Yet the degree of dislocation would not be unusual from a national standpoint. Every month, in the great churning of our industrial process, some 2 million workers change their jobs, mostly of their own volition. Well under 1 million jobs in the United States are clearly tariff-dependent, whereas over 4 million are dependent on foreign trade—and are therefore in jeopardy right now.

The picture of European imports swamping whole sections of the American market is quite unreal. Europe lacks the productive capacity to swamp any American market. A likelier prospect is that the role of European imports in our domestic consumption might recover from the present of less than 1 percent to something under 2 percent, a level they enjoyed as recently as 1929. In a context of expanding trade, rather than of substitution, the United States could swallow this improvement in its standard of living without a belch.

But from Europe's standpoint, too, the importance of the United States tariff is easily exaggerated. It is not the main reason Europeans do not sell more here now. There are more insidious forms of United States protectionism, such as the "invisible tariff" of customs rules, and the Buy American Acts, passed during the depression to combat unemployment and never repealed. There is above all the insecurity of the American market. The foreign exporter fears that if he exploits it successfully—and such exploitation is very expensive—he will then be penalized by a new tariff inspired by his very success. The escape clause, a standing warning to Europeans not to do too well here, prevents many of them from even trying. No particular tariff rate, therefore, is nearly so important to Europe as is the trend of United States tariff policy and sentiment. Rather than a big hello for their goods, exporters would like to see a durable welcome.

The United States protective tariff is not likely to be dropped overnight. Nevertheless, it stands to go on losing political support, as it has already lost its once respectable intellectual justification. Protection is incompatible with any rational foreign economic policy for a large creditor nation, especially so powerfully competitive a nation as the United States. The irrationality of our tariff must work against it in the long run. If the present Republican administration can confirm this trend, then Europe may come to realize that America is going through a great midcentury wheeling maneuver, not as orderly as might be, but pointing to a new age of freer trade. Thus, our part of the bargain would be fulfilled.

TOWARD A NEW AGE

As for Europe's part of the bargain, we can expect no overnight reform there either. Convertibility will be difficult enough, and the problem is also to restore European

industry's lost habit of mobility. This will require strong and continuous pressure on every available front. United States embassies will need to make their own daily bargains and interventions on behalf of freer enterprise, United States style. United States policy must make all kinds of alliances with Europe's progressive, competitive-minded businessmen, of whom there are a few at least in every country, even France. Tariff reductions would greatly help this reform. Short of allowing massive immigration, nothing we could do would deliver such a shock to Europe as dramatic tariff reform, and a shock is what Europe needs. In a commingling of United States and European producers and markets, with all the dislocations and renewed mobility it portends, American standards of wages, selling, and production could directly influence the European, and the two versions of capitalism would gradually get back in sync.

There is one other reason why the United States tariff belongs at the center of the grand bargain we hope to strike. Apart from money, it is the only major weapon we have left.

Some able economists do not think we have even that weapon. John H. Williams, for example (a member of the Randall Commission), seems to favor tariff reduction to ease the imbalance of payments but believes that Europe must also be permitted to continue discriminating against the dollar, even if tariffs are cut. In effect he asks the United States to discard protection as a gesture of penitence and example, without seeking any quid pro quo.

It would, of course, be uncharacteristic of Congress to do this. But it would also (and this is not always the same thing) be foolish. Inconvertibility with the dollar hinders Europe's trade in every other direction; to let it remain inconvertible would virtually guarantee that Europe will become the permanent economic backwater Professor Williams thinks it is now. We owe it to Europe to be tough on this point, since Europe is incapable of renouncing discrimination without our pressure.

In all conscience the broad terms of our bargain are generous enough. If at first our convertibility club seems rather exclusive, those outside it will be beneficiaries, too. For a country hellbent on autarkic self-development, such as Indonesia, the club will develop more of the capital Indonesia requires than is being developed now. If successful, the club will not be exclusive very long. But its rules and purpose must be quite definite: convertibility, no quotas, no discrimination, freer trade.

If this purpose is achieved, it will be a very good bargain for the United States. It will mean a broad expansion of world trade and investment, which our economy needs far more than it needs any particular industry within its shores. The stakes outside are far higher. American nationalism has, indeed, an unfulfilled historical mission: to find its common ground with the self-interest of other nations and on that ground recreate its own birthright, an environment of progress and economic freedom.

River and Harbor Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, many members of the House have asked me whether or not the committee planned to have a river and harbor flood-control omnibus bill this session. There are numerous small projects that should be given consideration. In view of that fact, arrangements have been made to begin hearings on river and harbor projects on which the Chief of Engineers has submitted favorable reports since the passage of the River and Harbor Act of May 17, 1950.

I deem it advisable to inform the House that these hearings are scheduled to begin on Tuesday, February 2 in room 1302, New House Office Building, before the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors, of which the gentleman from Oregon, Hon. HOMER D. ANGELL, is chairman.

A schedule of hearings follows:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, SCHEDULE OF PUBLIC HEARINGS ON PROJECTS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS BEGINNING TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1954, AT 10 A. M.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2

Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Chief of Engineers, will open the testimony of the Corps of Engineers with a report on the status of the Federal navigation program, together with his recommendations for further supplementing the authorized program. General Sturgis will be accompanied by Brig. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Deputy Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, and Col. W. D. Milne, Corps of Engineers.

Projects in the eastern United States area, including New England, North Atlantic, and Southwest Atlantic, and streams in the Great Lakes area will be considered in the first group of hearings: Lubec Channel, Maine (S. Doc. No. 243, 81st Cong.); Lynn Harbor, Mass. (H. Doc. No. 568, 81st Cong.); Scituate Harbor, Mass. (H. Doc. No. 241, 83d Cong.).

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3

Patachogue River, Conn. (H. Doc. No. 164, 83d Cong.); Westport Harbor and Saugatuck River, Conn. (H. Doc. No. 488, 81st Cong.); Bullock Point Cove, R. I. (H. Doc. No. 242, 83d Cong.); Sakonnet Harbor, R. I. (H. Doc. No. 436, 82d Cong.); Westchester Creek, N. Y. (H. Doc. No. 92, 82d Cong.).

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4

Hackensack River, N. J. (H. Doc. No. 352, 82d Cong.); Mispillion River, Del. (S. Doc. No. 229, 81st Cong.); Shoal Harbor and Compton Creek, N. J. (H. Doc. No. 891, 82d Cong.); Little Creek, Kent Island, Md. (H. Doc. No. 715, 81st Cong.); Lowes Wharf, Md. (H. Doc. No. 90, 82d Cong.).

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 5

Nanticoke River, Bivalve, Md. (H. Doc. No. 91, 82d Cong.); Ocean City Harbor and Inlet and Sinepuxent Bay, Md. (H. Doc. No. 444, 82d Cong.); Pocomoke River to Williams Point, Md. (H. Doc. No. 496, 81st Cong.); Queenstown Harbor, Md. (H. Doc. No. 718, 81st Cong.); Crisfield Harbor, Md. (H. Doc. No. 435, 81st Cong.).

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9

Rhodes Point to Tylerton, Md., (H. Doc. No. 51, 82d Cong.); Webster Cove, Somerset County, Md. (H. Doc. No. 619, 81st Cong.); Deep Creek, Accomack County, Va. (H. Doc. No. 477, 81st Cong.); Oyster Creek, Va., to the Atlantic Ocean (S. Doc. No. 49, 83d Cong.); Parrotts Creek, Va. (H. Doc. No. 46, 82d Cong.); Peltier Creek, N. C. (H. Doc. No. 379, 81st Cong.).

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10

Smith Creek, Pamlico County, N. C. (H. Doc. No. 170, 83d Cong.); Wallace Channel, Pamlico Sound, N. C. (H. Doc. No. 463, 81st Cong.); St. Helena Sound to Port Royal, S. C. (H. Doc. No. 469, 81st Cong.); Apalachicola Bay, Fla., channel across St. George Island (H. Doc. No. 557, 82d Cong.); St. Joseph Bay, Fla. (H. Doc. No. 595, 81st Cong.).

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11

Apalachicola Bay, Fla., Eastpoint (H. Doc. No. 156, 82d Cong.); Hillsboro Harbor, Fla. (H. Doc. No. 567, 82d Cong.); Rice Creek, Putnam County, Fla. (H. Doc. No. 446, 82d Cong.); Dauphin Island Bay, Ala. (H. Doc. No. 394, 82d Cong.).

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12

Ohio River Basin, Great Lakes area: Little River at Cayuga Island, Niagara, N. Y. (H. Doc. No. 246, 83d Cong.); Oswego Harbor, N. Y. (H. Doc. No. 487, 81st Cong.); Toledo Harbor, Ohio (H. Doc. No. 620, 81st Cong.); Sheboygan Harbor, Wis. (H. Doc. No. 554, 82d Cong.); Crooked and Indian Rivers, Mich. (H. Doc. No. 142, 82d Cong.).

Other river and harbor projects eligible for hearings at a later date are as follows:

EASTERN UNITED STATES

Town River, Quincy, Mass. (H. Doc. No. 108, 83d Cong.); Weymouth Fore River, Mass. (H. Doc. No. 555, 82d Cong.); Hudson River, N. Y. (H. Doc. No. 228, 83d Cong.); Savannah Harbor, Ga. (H. Doc. No. 110, 83d Cong.); Mobile Harbor, Ala. (H. Doc. No. 74, 83d Cong.); Atchafalaya River, Morgan City to Mississippi River, via Old River, La. (S. Doc. No. 53, 82d Cong.); Vicksburg-Yazoo area, Mississippi (H. Doc. No. 85, 83d Cong.); Mississippi River, damages at Louisiana, Mo. (H. Doc. No. 251, 82d Cong.); Mississippi River at Chester, Ill. (H. Doc. No. 230, 83d Cong.)

OHIO RIVER BASIN, GREAT LAKES AREA

Green and Barren Rivers, Ky. and Tenn. (S. Doc. No. 82, 83d Cong.); Cumberland River, Ky. and Tenn. (S. Doc. No. 81, 83d Cong.); Holland Harbor, Mich. (H. Doc. No. 282, 83d Cong.).

SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

Port Aransas-Corpus Christi Waterway, Tex. (H. Doc. No. 89, 83d Cong.); Sabine-Neches Waterway, Tex. (S. Doc. No. 80, 83d Cong.); Guadalupe River at Seadrift, Tex. (H. Doc. No. 478, 81st Cong.); Turtle Cove, Tex. (H. Doc. No. 654, 81st Cong.).

PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA AND ALASKA

Columbia River at the mouth, Oregon and Washington (H. Doc. No. 249, 83d Cong.); Gold Beach, Oreg. (S. Doc. No. 83, 83d Cong.); Umpqua River at Scholfield, Oreg. (S. Doc. No. 133, 81st Cong.); Bellingham Harbor, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 558, 82d Cong.); Blaine Harbor, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 240, 83d Cong.); Columbia River between Chinook and Sand Island, Wash. (S. Doc. No. 8, 83d Cong.); Everett Harbor and Snohomish River, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 569, 81st Cong.); Port Angeles Harbor, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 155, 82d Cong.); Quillayute River, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 579, 81st Cong.); Shilshole Bay, Wash. (H. Doc. No. 536, 81st Cong.); Copper River, Alaska (H. Doc. No. 182, 83d Cong.).

PACIFIC SOUTHWEST AND HAWAII

Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, Calif. (H. Doc. No. 161, 83d Cong.); Honolulu Harbor, T. H. (H. Doc. No. 717, 81st Cong.).

Charlotte Observer Wins National Homebuilders Association Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. JONAS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, with great pride I call attention to the national recognition recently

won by a great newspaper in my own 10th Congressional District of North Carolina, the Charlotte Observer.

At the 10th annual convention in Chicago of the National Association of Homebuilders January 18, 1954, it was announced that the Charlotte Observer had been selected by a committee of judges as first prize winner in the association's national home week special section contest of 1953. One hundred and ten of the leading daily newspapers of the country competed.

The award, a much-sought prize, was presented to Hayward M. "Hayti" Thompson, the Observer's Sunday editor, who edited the winning special section of 64 pages, published September 20, 1953. The judges were Donald W. Krimel, department of journalism, University of Maryland; Richard R. Bennett, director of public relations, National Association of Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.; and James Butler, Washington correspondent of Editor and Publisher magazine.

Winning the award is even more noteworthy in light of the fact that only twice before had the Observer staff worked on such a special section. Its first effort in 1951 was only 5 pages; its second was 20. In 1953 with the Parade of Homes sponsored by the Charlotte Home Builders Association headed by Mr. George Goodyear, the Observer paid special attention to a group of 14 model houses forming a little community around a cul-de-sac. Despite a sizeable hurricane that blew in during the exhibition week, a crowd of 17,000 visitors was attracted.

Skillful newspaper work, like that of the Charlotte Observer, by focusing public attention on new designs, techniques, and equipment, are a potent stimulation to our national economy. The Observer's prize-winning special section presented a profile of American industrial ingenuity, imagination, and enterprise, and in so doing excited a consumer desire for a higher standard of living. Thus new markets were opened, contributing to a growing, prosperous economy.

I am very proud that the prize newspaper performance in this field was not only in my State of North Carolina, but in my own 10th Congressional District.

Milwaukee South Division Civic Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this body the following resolution adopted by the South Division Civic Association of Milwaukee, Wis., urging continued Federal cooperation and assistance in solving the increasing traffic problem through the improvement of metropolitan thoroughfares.

The tremendous growth of metropolitan areas such as Milwaukee during recent decades has given rise to a number of serious problems which have merited Federal attention. It is my hope that this body will continue to give its close consideration to problems of this nature, and bear the views of the South Division Civic Association in mind when pertinent legislation will be acted upon by this House.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the South Division Civic Association which was organized over 40 years ago, the oldest civic association of its kind in America, limited by its constitution to 1,000 of small business, professional, and civic-minded citizens of the great South Side of the city of Milwaukee, is ever interested in the civic progress and betterment of the city of Milwaukee; and

Whereas the real-estate property tax rate is approaching a figure of close to $50 per thousand of assessed valuation; and

Whereas our street improvement program is hampered for lack of funds in ordinary housekeeping items, that is other than expressways; and

Whereas it is incumbent that the Wisconsin State Government and the National Government provide State and Federal aids far in excess of those which have heretofore been provided; and

Whereas it is necessary in order to take care of the growing needs of the city of Milwaukee community for more adequate roads so as to take care of the increasing traffic problem: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the South Division Civic Association, That this resolution be presented to the Honorable Walter J. Kohler, the Governor of the State of Wisconsin, with a request that he use his good office in interesting the proper authorities of the State of Wisconsin to lend every aid and assistance in seeing that further State funds are made available; and be it further

Resolved, That the Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY and JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, United States Senators from the State of Wisconsin, and the Honorable CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, Congressman from the Fourth Congressional District, and the Honorable CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District, also be requested to use their good offices in seeing that the proper Federal authorities provide additional Federal funds; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable United States Senators ALEXANDER WILEY and JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, and to the Honorable Congressmen CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI of the Fourth Congressional District and CHARLES J. KERSTEN of the Fifth Congreasional District, and to the Honorable Walter J. Kohler, Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

Dated at Milwaukee, Wis., this 21st day of January 1954.

MATT P. MUELLER,
Executive Secretary, South Division Civic Association.

Post-Office Rates Should Be Equitable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, there is a general belief that the newspaper publishers are not in sympathy with the recommended increase of the second- and third-class postal rates. I was particularly pleased to read the following editorial from the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune of Wednesday, January 13, 1954, which not only represents the views of this paper, but I have been assured represents the opinion of all of the newspaper publishers in the Ninth California District, who through their own trade organization passed a resolution requesting that all classes of mail be made self-supporting:

POST-OFFICE RATES SHOULD BE EQUITABLE

In our opinion there is no excuse for a continued deficit operation by the United States Post Office Department. Assuredly there is no reason save that of political expediency to raise first-class rates so long as the other classes of mail fail to pay their own costs.

The newspaper industry in general has been guilty of seeking to perpetuate a subsidy in second-class mail rates. Certain newspaper matter is distributed free in the county of origin—a 100 percent subsidy. Other newspaper matter is mailed at a fraction of the cost of handling. The same applies to magazines.

Recently the post office has relaxed its addressing regulations, and the carrier has become burdened with bales of third-class material with virtually no address. We cannot believe that this business is profitable for the Government.

The position of the press of San Mateo County, including the Redwood City Tribune, is a matter of record. We believe that all classes of mail, including newspapers, magazines, and circulars, should pay their own costs. We resent the thought of Government subsidy, and we urge our Representatives in Congress to face up to the mail rate problem without fear of any political retaliation.

No publisher can honestly argue for lower taxes and at the same time insist on delivering his product at the taxpayer's expense. What savings he may imagine he realizes in the privilege of unrealistic mailing charges is more than made up in his income tax return.

Postmaster General Urges All-Cargo Air Carriers for First-Class Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that on January 21, 1954, the Postmaster General of the United States filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board by amicus curiae petition for the reconsideration by the Board of an opinion and order handed down December 21, 1953.

This petition has to do with the flying of the 3-cent, or surface, mail which the Post Office Department began on an experimental basis last September. It presents a request that the scheduled all-cargo airlines be made available for use by the Post Office Department in this new type of service. The petition states that results on the two original segments, New York–Chicago and Washington–Chicago, have been most satis-

factory, and consideration is now being given to expanding the experiment on a more nearly nationwide basis.

The certificated all-cargo airlines have for years been advocating a cargo rate for long-haul mail. Following application by these carriers to the CAB to participate in the experiment, the Board, according to the petition, decided on December 3, 1953, that it was empowered by section 416 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act to grant the requested authority. However, in its order dated December 21, 1953, the request was denied.

The Postmaster General now says:

> The experiments are being undertaken in the interest of improving the mail service; the objectives are to provide a basis in actual experience for determining the extent of the economies and efficiencies that may be realized from the use of air transportation for surface mail and to test the practicability of such an operation.

The petition further points out that the all-cargo carriers will make their nationwide certificated services available to the Post Office Department at the rate of 18.66 cents per ton-mile or whatever rates may be fixed by the board. "In the opinion of the Department, such rates are fair and reasonable on an experimental basis," the petition declares.

The petition asserts that the granting of the authority requested by the all-cargo carriers is without question in the public interest and requests that it be done forthwith.

I might add that this rate of 18.66 cents a ton-mile for regular first-class mail is in contrast to the lowest rate now being paid to the passenger airlines for the carriage of airmail, which is 45 cents per ton-mile.

Appropriations of public funds is a matter of much concern to me, and there is great need for effecting economies in our postal service wherever costs may be feasibly reduced. It is especially desirable to effect these savings where at the same time improvements in service can be made.

This is a matter that is of vital concern to every Member of Congress, since the transport of first-class mail by air could benefit every section of the United States. The Postmaster General is to be commended for initiating an experiment which he believes will result in both better service to the public and economies to the post office.

Since he is the authority who best can know the requirements for flying the first-class mail, I consider it entirely fitting and proper that the situation be called to the attention of the House.

In the event that this further request of the Post Office Department for inclusion of the services of the all-cargo carriers is denied, it is my belief that an investigation should be undertaken and it is for this purpose that I am briefly at this time bringing the issue to your attention.

Under unanimous consent, I include a copy of the Postmaster General's petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PETITION OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, AMICUS CURIAE, FOR RECONSIDERATION OF THE BOARD OPINION AND ORDER OF DECEMBER 21, 1953

Comes now Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United States, amicus curiae, by his undersigned counsel, and respectfully petitions for reconsideration of the Board's opinion and order denying exemptions[1] adopted in the above-captioned proceedings on December 21, 1953, insofar as said opinion and order denied the applications of air carriers certicated to engage in the air transportation of property only. In support hereof, the Postmaster General shows to the Board as follows:

The Board, in opinion No. E-7937, dated December 3, 1953, held that the Board is empowered by section 416 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, to exempt air carriers not holding mail certificates from the requirements of that act relating to the transportation of mail, and to fix rates for such services under section 406 of said act. However, in its opinion and order dated December 21, 1953, the Board denied the request of the certificated cargo carriers for appropriate exemptions which would permit them to transport mail in conjunction with the experimental services being operated and proposed to be operated by the Postmaster General for the transportation of first-class mail and other preferential mail by air, holding:

> In summary, it does not appear that there is any need at this time for the participation of noncertificated-for-mail carriers in the movement of first-class and surface mail in order to insure the success of the Post Office experiment."

It would appear that the Board's remarks were directed to the experimental services now in operation between New York and Chicago, and Washington and Chicago. The results of those experiments have been very satisfactory. But it must be reemphasized that the Board's decision was apparently based only on considerations pertaining to the New York-Chicago and Washington-Chicago segments where the experiment is being operated by four mail-certificated carriers. Additionally, a question has been raised as to the fitness of many of the applicants to perform the mail service.

The applications of the certificated cargo carriers present an entirely different question. They include considerations broader in scope than the question merely as to whether additional carriers are needed in conjunction with the presently authorized experimental services to Chicago. Moreover, no question of fitness should exist as to these carriers who are already certificated by the Board. The Postmaster General's experiments are being undertaken in the interest of improving the mail service; the objectives are to provide a basis in actual experience for determining the extent of the economies and efficiencies that may be realized from the use of air transportation for surface mail and to test the practicability of such an operation.

Slick Airways, Inc., The Flying Tiger Line, Inc., and Riddle Airlines have requested exemptions which would not only permit them to participate in the New York-Chicago and Washington-Chicago experiments at the rates already prescribed by the Board for the experimental services over these segments, but make the remainder of their certificated services available to the Post Office Department at the rate of 18.66 cents per mail-ton mile. In the opinion of the Department, such rates are fair and reasonable on an experimental basis.

The rates offered by these carriers over their entire system or any part thereof present a firm basis upon which the Department could proceed to determine whether the experiment should be expanded and whether they could be utilized on the grounds of economies and efficiencies. Such determinations for expanded experiments could, therefore, include various segments comprising the systems of these certificated cargo carriers which are being offered for the use of the Department.

Of the scheduled airlines, only the certificated cargo carriers have offered their whole system for experiment by the Department at the lowest rate now being paid for the present segmentary experiment. Thus, it would appear to the Department that the public benefits that could flow from the requested grant of exemption would outweigh any objection.

Subsequent to the inauguration of the initial surface-mail-by-air experiment on the Chicago-Washington and New York segments, the Department has used to advantage similar system-wide services offered by the various local service air carriers during the past Christmas season, pursuant to Board approval. The Department has just filed its letter of January 18 supporting additional motions of these local service carriers to extend their own experimental period for carrying surface mail by air throughout the balance of 1954.

As stated above, the experimental mail services performed by the mail certificated carriers over the New York-Chicago and Washington-Chicago segments have been completely satisfactory. However, it is the opinion of the Post Office Department that since the experimental exemption requested by the certificated cargo carriers will make their services available at the rate of 18.66 cents per ton-mile over the remainder of their systems as well as the New York-Chicago and Washington-Chicago segments, their requests should be granted as being in the public interest at least insofar as the other points are involved. To this extent, the need exists for their services at the rate offered, in that they could be used to advantage in circumstances similar to those existing in connection with the feeder lines.

If the Board grants these requests for a temporary exemption, these services, too, will be used in those instances where in the judgment of the Postmaster General there would be improvements in the present postal service commensurate with the transportation charges. These services could and will be used, as stated in our letter of December 14, in those instances, emergency in nature, where the movement of surface mail would otherwise be delayed; and in other instances where pilot tests are deemed proper by the Postmaster General for additional data as to the advisability of expanding the present experiments involved in the surface-mail-by-air program. It is not presently contemplated, however, that the Department will conduct experiments with these certificated cargo carriers on the same scale and with the same regularity as is presently being conducted with the trunkline carriers operating on the New York-Chicago and Washington-Chicago experimental segments.

The basic purpose of the exemptions requested by the certificated cargo carriers is not to meet any presently established need because, in fact, the Postmaster General by his present experiments is only attempting to determine whether a need in fact does exist for such service, considering the economies and efficiencies so involved. Rather, the purpose of the requested exemptions is to offer the services of these types of certificated cargo carriers to the Postmaster General so that he may obtain data, both of a financial and operating nature, on such operations to be conducted as an adjunct to the present conventional airmail service.

Therefore, the experimental exemption requested should be granted in the public interest and the Board should find that the enforcement of the mail-certificate provi-

[1] Order No. E-7985.

sions of the act, in view of the experimental nature of the services being offered and the uncertainties as to the type of operations that may ultimately prove feasible, would be an undue burden on these certificated cargo carriers at this time by reason of the unusual circumstances affecting these operations. Reasons similar to these were adopted by the Board in a most recent order granting temporary exemption to National Airlines to conduct experimental helicopter operations. National Airlines, Inc., docket No. 6406, order E-8034, adopted January 14, 1954.

Wherefore the Postmaster General, amicus curiae, respectfully requests—

(1) That the Board reconsider and set aside its opinion and order (order No. 7985) dated December 21, 1953, insofar as said opinion and order relate to air carriers certificated to engage in the air transportation of property only.

(2) That the Board adopt an appropriate exemption order exempting the certificated cargo carriers from the provisions of title IV of the act, to the extent that such provisions would otherwise prevent such carriers from engaging in the transportation of first-class and other preferential mail in such experimental operations as the Postmaster General may desire to utilize their services, between all points on the respective routes of such carriers.

(3) That if the Board finds that the services of the applicants are not needed in conjunction with the New York, Washington, and Chicago experimental segments, that the exemption be granted at least for the remainder of their systems at the requested rate of 18.66 cents per ton-mile, and for a period of time coextensive with the present trunk-line experiment.

Respectfully submitted.

LOUIS J. DOYLE,
Acting Solicitor, Post Office Department.

JULIAN T. CROMELIN,
Attorney, Office of the Solicitor, Post Office Department.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have this day served a copy of the foregoing petition upon all parties of record in this proceeding by mailing a copy thereof, in a franked envelope and properly addressed, to each such party or their attorney.

JULIAN T. CROMELIN,
Attorney, Office of the Solicitor, Post Office Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 21, 1954.*

Ohio Gets Hurt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial written by Mr. James F. Jackson, of the Akron Beacon Journal, is most timely:

[From the Akron Beacon Journal of January 25, 1954]

OHIO GETS HURT

"It's not so much the original cost—it's the upkeep."

This observation frequently has been made concerning the financial burden involved in acquiring and maintaining everything from automobiles to wives.

Similarly, truckers might say concerning the axle-mile tax: "It's not so much the original tax here in Ohio: it's the taxes being piled on by other States."

No prospect of relief came from the meeting of the executive committee of the national governors' conference in Atlanta on Saturday.

On the contrary, the public utilities commissioners of 10 Southern States voted unanimously to cancel motor truck tax reciprocity with Ohio. The governors recognized the problem as a tough one and decided to summon all the 48 State executives to a special session late in the spring to wrestle with it.

Meanwhile, it became clearer that the crux of the problem lies in the wide variations between the States (1) in the amount and manner in which they tax trucks and (2) in their interstate reciprocity practices.

There's nothing wrong with the theory that carriers should be taxed for the use of the public roads and that the tax should vary in accordance with the size of the vehicles and the miles traveled in the State.

Carrying that theory on, it ought to be equitable for Ohio to tax trucks which come from other States and for other States similarly to tax Ohio-licensed trucks for travel on their roads. In other words, pay as you go, wherever you go.

But the practice differs from theory, to the dismay of Ohio truckers, in these ways:

1. Other States have other schedules of taxes for trucks. Some are on an annual basis, others are based on mileage at varying rates. Formerly they were waived for Ohioians. Applied now in retaliation to Ohio's tax on trucks from their States, these taxes in many cases work out to be much higher on a mileage basis than the amount charged here.

2. Competitors based in other States are continuing to enjoy reciprocity in their operations almost everywhere except in Ohio. While they pay the new tax in Ohio, they are in a far better position than Ohio truckers who must pay in Ohio as well as in many other States.

Plainly an intolerable competitive situation has developed for trucking firms based in Ohio.

Its urgency is emphasized by the fact that only 2 months remain before the March 31 deadline for obtaining vehicle licenses. If no relief is in sight by early March, it is entirely possible that some of the firms may license some or all of their trucks in other States. That potential loss to Ohio must be considered in relation to the potential gain from rigid enforcement of the axle-mile tax.

The conflicts between the various State laws and regulations suggest that the eventual answer to a national problem may lie in Washington.

With that thought in mind, Representative WILLIAM H. AYRES, of Akron, has introduced a resolution calling for an early investigation by the House Interstate Commerce Committee of trucking taxes and the breakdown in reciprocity.

Far from pretending to know the answers, AYRES thinks that public hearings might bring all the facts together and thus point the way to a solution.

This would be a worthwhile project for Congress to undertake, in our opinion.

Trucking is an interstate business which contributes greatly to the national economy and to national defense, but its operations are being hampered by the disparity of regulations imposed by the 48 States. These conflicts are not just in the field of taxes but in many operating rules, such as weight limits.

But Congress isn't known for its speed.

It has many other pressing problems to consider. There are many political and constitutional ramifications to the question of whether it can adopt more laws concerning truck operations or even persuade the States toward greater uniformity.

Meanwhile, Ohio has precipitated a collapse of interstate reciprocity on truck taxes. The prospects are that Ohioans are going to be hurt worse than anyone else by this collapse.

Gov. Frank J. Lausche and the reciprocity board will be neglecting their duties if they simply let nature take its course.

Dr. José Sansón-Terán: Nicaraguan Jurist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THURMOND CHATHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. CHATHAM. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to bring to the attention of the distinguished Members of the United States Congress the important contribution to the cause of inter-American friendship that has been made by one of the most gifted scholars in the Western Hemisphere. I refer to my friend, Dr. José Sansón-Terán, counselor of the Embassy of Nicaragua, Washington, D. C. This gentleman, who has also given his country brilliant representation in the United Nations, wrote a splendid book entitled "Inter-Americanism on the March," published by the University Press, Cambridge, Mass. An interesting appraisal of this useful volume was written by another friend of mine, Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, associate editor of World Affairs. This comment, which was highly favorable to the work of Dr. Sansón-Terán, was the feature editorial in a recent number of World Affairs, official organ of the oldest peace organization in the United States, the American Peace Society, founded by the Quakers in 1828. This leading article is called the Progress of Inter-American Friendship.

Under permission granted, I insert the article in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROGRESS OF INTER-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

The core of the inter-American system is law. It should not be confused with any unilateral declaration of policy such as the Monroe Doctrine. Indeed, the Hemisphere's juridical backbone was constructed at the Seventh Pan American Conference of Montevideo (1933) which gave a decent burial to "Interventionism," the alleged right of one nation to interfere in the domestic affairs of another. At Buenos Aires in 1936, representatives of the American Republics recognized the importance of creating machinery which would anticipate trouble and provide the means of peaceful settlement. For the first time in the history of inter-American gatherings a number of agreements were signed by the heads of all the 21 delegations.

Another forward step was taken at Lima in 1938. The declaration of Buenos Aires was implemented by the establishment of a procedure which would bring together the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics for consultation in case of danger to the peace. As an eminent Director of the American Peace Society, Dr. Charles G. Fenwick, has written, the Lima resolution "continentalized," or "universalized" the kernel of the Monroe Doctrine. It legalized the

equality of position which is essential to each nation. After 1936, it was understood as a principle of law that the American Republics would present a common front when face to face with aggression.

Once the peace had been broken in Europe, the American foreign ministers at Panama, Havana, Rio de Janiero, and Chapultepec took decisions that modified traditional attitudes of neutrality in the light of possible war in the Western Hemisphere. Collective security for America was made a reality at the Petropolis conference. It was significant that the Secretary General of the United Nations was present for this gathering. It was clear that the American Republics, although determined to consolidate and to perfect their regional organization, wanted to fulfill their peaceful mission within the framework of the world group.

All these measures were the foundation stones for the Magna Carta of America, the charter of the Organization of American States set up in Bogotá in 1948. Despite the tragic events which attended the month of April in the Colombian capital, the statesmen of America stood their ground and agreed upon a constitution. The Pan American Union became the seat of the secretariat-general of the Organization of American States. The skeleton of inter-American amity acquired not only flesh and blood, but also a complete set of organs, social and economic, juridical, and cultural.

Was this not the realization of the dream of the great liberator, Simón Bolívar? This question is answered in the affirmative by a brilliant, youthful Nicaraguan diplomat-scholar, Dr. José Sansón-Terán, who is now serving as a member of his country's delegation to the United Nations and as first secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington. It is his view that special attention must now be given to a Marshal plan for America. Health, education, industry, and farming require a strong economic basis. Technical assistance, although helpful, operates slowly. The conditions attached to loans by the Export-Import Bank, naturally enough, are dictated by orthodox business principles. For a large-scale development of inter-American resources a broader outlook is needed. All this and much more that is valuable and stimulating is suggested in Inter-Americanism on the March (the University Press, Cambridge, Mass.), by Dr. Sansón-Terán. His conclusion is "in the mission of progress God is the spiritual guide of this hemisphere."

JOSEPH F. THORNING,
Honorary Fellow of the Historical and Geographic Institute of Brazil.

Party Responsibility Essential to Ike's Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, party responsibility to the people is basic in the American political system. That responsibility can be met only if those in policymaking positions are themselves accountable to the party in power.

Realization of these basic principles is essential to the success of the present administration. Difficulties are being experienced, and will be experienced, until this fact is recognized.

An editorial in the January 30 issue of the Saturday Evening Post states this principle with force and clarity. Under permission to extend my remarks, I include the editorial entitled "Why Can't the GOP Have a Team of Its Own?":

Whenever the Eisenhower administration makes a move to replace some Fair Deal holdover in the Federal bureaucracy with an appointee more in harmony with the new administration's policies, a howl goes up to the general effect that the Republicans are reverting to the spoils system and destroying our nonpartisan civil service.

The truth is, of course, that many hundreds of policymaking officials, upon whose judgment and reports the department heads must rely, are still in the same offices which they occupied under Roosevelt and Truman. As Raymond Moley reported in a recent newspaper column, many of these holdovers regard the new administration as "more or less temporary interlopers." In the State Department, according to U. S. News & World Report, holdovers from the Acheson regime "write the staff papers, including the papers that go to the White House. They screen Dulles' visitors, decide who shall see him." After more than a year in office the Eisenhower administration has been able to appoint only a handful of new officials. The holdovers have even taken to the courts their right to continue to make policy in a hostile administration. They lost the first round recently, but this seems likely to be a protracted legal battle.

This kind of thing didn't happen when either Roosevelt or Truman was in office. They brought in the men they wanted to carry out their policies and paid scant heed to any protest that might have come from veterans of the Hoover regime. The Truman-Acheson administration got the policy-making civil servants it wanted and managed to get rid of "obstructionists." If you didn't see eye to eye with the department head, out you went.

Actually this is as it should be, because no head of a department or an administration can function without loyal subordinates. As President Eisenhower has pointed out, there is no question of a vendetta against Federal employees who enjoy legitimate civil-service protection. The point at issue is the right of policymaking officials to go on making policies which are supposed to have been abandoned.

The Federal-court decision giving the administration the right to remove such obstructionists ought to break the log jam. The cases already decided may go up to the Supreme Court. However, without attempting to anticipate the highest judicial opinion on this point, it is surely safe to predict that no court would expect a President to maintain in responsible office individuals who are committed to the frustration of his program and the discrediting of him and his party.

Resolution of California Cattlemen's Association Commending Secretary Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, there are those in our land who have endeavored to impress upon the people that the farmers and the cattlemen are opposed to the administration's farm program. It is a pleasure to insert in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the California Cattlemen's Association at their 37th annual convention, held at Santa Cruz, Calif., on December 4 and 5, 1953:

Whereas Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson has refused to be intimidated by special groups; and

Whereas Secretary Benson has been publicly criticized and in many instances blamed for the present critical agricultural situation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the California Cattlemen's Association commend Secretary Benson for his sturdy stand against the political forces of socialism that would eventually be the ruination of United States agriculture and the principles of freemen, and for his realistic approach to the complex farm problems.

Is America Secretly Appeasing Soviet Russia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I append hereto an article appearing in the newspapers of the Nation on January 7, 1954, wherein David Lawrence, famous and highly regarded Washington newspaperman and columnist, directly states that for 5 months the United States has been appeasing Communist Russia and withholding that fact from the American people. The article speaks for itself and, coming from such a reputable source, ought to provoke thought, if not positive action, on the part of the American people and their Representatives.

The article follows:

For 5 months now the United States has been appeasing Communist Russia without letting the American people know the facts. The Soviet Government has known that a gradual relaxation in shipment of strategic articles for use behind the Iron Curtain has been going on—but the people of this country have been kept in the dark.

Secret diplomacy usually arises because of a fear that to tell the people the truth will bring restraints on the policy adopted. In this case, there is no evidence that the United States ever got anything in return for the valuable concession made to the Communists.

For the last few months America publicly has been in the position of begging the Communists, in vain, to set a time and date for a peace conference to settle the Korean problem. Several hundred American boys have been held as prisoners, despite the terms of the armistice providing for their return. Yet important concessions have been made which allow Russia to build up her armament for world war III.

The official facts now indicate that British diplomacy has won one of its biggest triumphs. This correspondent wrote on December 25 calling attention to a British Government public statement that the embargo on trade with the Communists on strategic articles was being relaxed. In that dispatch,

the British were accused of defying the United States Congress. But apologies are due, for it turns out that the London government had the secret approval of the United States Government, permitting her to engage in the enlarged trade in strategic items with Red China and Communist Russia.

KEPT SILENCE

The new policy, it now is officially conceded by the Foreign Operations Administration here, began to go into effect by degrees 5 months ago. It is disclosed also that there have been continuous conferences with congressional staff members on it and that there were varying reactions from certain Members of Congress. Whoever these Members were, they did not see fit to enlighten the American people, though, of course, Moscow and Peiping knew all the time the items of trade that were being sanctioned.

Under the new policy, for instance, rubber has been taken off the strategic list. In both World War I and World War II rubber was so considered. Evidently it doesn't matter to the Eisenhower administration if rubber is exported for the trucks that carry ammunition to kill American boys in Korea or in countries where the Communists may resume their aggression. Evidently rubber for the tires of the MIGS and the bombers that constitute the Communist air force is not to be considered strategic any more, just because there's money to be made in it among the British colonial possessions.

SECRET DECISION

The official information is given out here that all this relaxation of trade in strategic articles is due to a decision by the National Security Council and that the action was taken last summer. This group, headed by the President, conducts its sessions in great secrecy—supposedly to keep the enemy from knowing what is going on. Evidently the purpose here also was to keep the American people and the entire Congress from knowing that the spirit, if not the letter, of its laws forbidding trade in strategic commodities with aggressors was being flagrantly violated. It is a distressing chapter in American history, and it is not likely that all Members of Congress will accept without vigorous protest the announcement of what appears to be a new surrender to the Communists on the eve of the four-power conference.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Independence of the Federal Reserve System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, I think the Members of Congress and the country generally would be much interested in the following remarks of Allan Sproul, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, made to the New York State Bankers Association on January 25, 1954. These are facts given by a man respected throughout the country for his knowledge of our banking system:

INDEPENDENCE OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

I hope that you will not hold me too closely to the assigned topic of my talk this evening. I intend to weave in and out around it, but I am not going to try to give you an historical and philosophical dissertation on the independence of central banks. Even if such a task were not beyond my powers of exposition it would probably be beyond your powers of endurance.

The subject is continuously interesting to central bankers, however, and it may be that by relating it to banking discussions and credit policy in recent years and months I can make it of some interest to you. It is important, I think, that neither frozen attitudes of mind concerning the past independence of central banks, nor misconceptions of the present situation of the Federal Reserve System, be allowed to jeopardize a position which, even though it be confirmed from time to time, is never free from attack. The possibility that there might be a money power able and willing to flout the economic policies of elected Government, or exposed to the coercion of special private interests, disturbs many men and attracts demagogic assault.

When your president asked me to speak tonight I told him that I thought the bankers of New York State, and of the Second Federal Reserve District, have a special call upon my time and energies. This could be seized upon by those who hold that the Federal Reserve System is banker dominated and banker oriented in its attitudes and actions, but it carries no such implication. Our relations with you are close, to be sure, but this is necessary both as a matter of law and as an aid to the proper functioning of our money economy. In the performance of our primary duty of relating the supply of money to the needs of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and of our secondary duties, such as supplying coin and currency, collecting checks, and supervising member banks, we necessarily work with and through the private banking system.

Our objective in both areas, however, is to meet a public need. In the first instance it is to provide, to the fullest extent permitted by actions of Government and the private economy, over which we do not have control, a money supply which has reasonably stable purchasing power and which will contribute to the steady growth of the economy. In the second instance, it is to promote the improvement of our banking facilities for the benefit of every citizen, whether or not he ever borrows from a bank or makes or withdraws a deposit.

One line of criticism of the Federal Reserve System, which, during the past year, has made ominous forays into the public prints, is that the Federal Reserve banks perform all sorts of free services for the commercial banks of the country, while charging the Federal Government for many services performed for it. We are accused of favoring private institutions as against the Government and of using funds, which otherwise would revert to the Government, to consummate this favoritism. As a consequence, it is sometimes suggested that the Federal Reserve System be brought within the budget-making orbit of the Congress, and be subjected to the general-accounting procedures of the Government, presumably so that these twin evils may be curbed or eliminated.

It is a narrow and myopic view, I think, to look upon the services we perform for our member banks as subsidies to the banking business. If there are such subsidies, as distinguished from services that we can and should perform at no cost or low cost, as part of our job of providing efficient monetary arrangements for the Nation, they should be eliminated. But the real and overriding purpose of these services, when wisely conceived and economically performed, is the provision of that better banking system, which the original Federal Reserve Act envisaged, and which is a necessary part of the proper functioning of our economy. Banking in this country is a highly regulated public utility. Individual banks are operated for the profit of their stockholders, but the banking system as a whole operates for the benefit of the community. And it is the Federal Reserve System which, nationally and in collaboration with the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, draws all of these private units together, and with them and through them tries to see to it that the public is provided with efficient and effective banking facilities in the form and at the place where these facilities will be most useful. The expenses which we absorb in pursuit of this objective are not subsidies to the private banking system. They represent a service to everyone in the country who depends on the proper functioning of our monetary system. And that means everyone.

Reasonable men and friendly critics are somewhat attracted, nevertheless, by the idea that these expenditures of the Federal Reserve banks should be brought under the budgetary control of the Congress, and the subsequent review of the General Accounting Office. If there were real abuses to be corrected, this might be one solution, albeit one which would introduce the unfortunate but probably inescapable element of rigidity of "big government" and bureaucracy into operations which, both on behalf of the Government, as its fiscal agent, and on behalf of the public, through the member banks, require a high degree of flexibility in the allocation and uses of funds. For myself, I do not believe there exists any possibility of abuse which cannot be detected and eliminated under present procedures, or improvements in those procedures. The facts as to the earnings and expenses of the Federal Reserve banks are readily available. The efficiency of operations of the Federal Reserve banks is open to the daily observation of all who have dealings with them. Their operations are under the immediate scrutiny of boards of directors performing a public service but, in most cases, used to the compulsions of operating a private business for profit. And the banks are subject to the check and audit of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System at Washington. There is no lack of control of the financial affairs of the Federal Reserve banks.

On the question of the services which, as fiscal agents, the Federal Reserve banks perform for the Government, and for some of which a charge is made, I am inclined to believe that both the public and the Congress would look with a jaundiced eye on a broad extension of the free list. The net cost to the Government, in any case, is a small one, since the charges made for fiscal agency operations prevent erosion of the net earnings of the Federal Reserve banks, approximately 90 percent of which are now paid to the Treasury. And there are dangers as well as costs to be considered. The first danger here is that extravagant Government departments and bureaus, or economy-minded agencies, depending on which way the wind is blowing, would find this a convenient way to improve their own budgetary position, and to escape some of the controls of the congressional appropriation procedure. There must be literally hundreds of financial housekeeping jobs, I suppose, which Government departments might seek to have performed free of charge by the Federal Reserve banks, as fiscal agents of the Government, if the doors were opened to this sort of thing. The final danger would then be that the Federal Reserve banks would become swamped with these incidental, mechanical functions to the detriment of the performance of their primary duties as central banks.

It is no help in the resolution of questions such as these, of course, to find that there are many bankers who still think that the Federal Reserve banks are making money out of member bank reserves and who do not realize that, on the contrary, the Reserve banks have for a long time been creating reserves to provide the basis for present-day deposit banking. These bankers are inclined to argue that the Federal Reserve banks are making large profits out of the use of the reserves deposited with them by their member banks, and that these earnings should be used to provide more free services for the member banks, instead of being paid over, in large part, to the Federal Government. Such argument not only gives support to those who see in this matter only a question of division of spoils between private banking institutions and the Government, it also indicates a tenacious misunderstanding of how our reserve deposit banking system really works. The reserves originally paid into the Reserve banks by their member banks were not, of course, earning assets and did not become such by this shift from one vault to another. And over the years these reserves have long since been submerged under a thick layer of reserves created by the Federal Reserve banks, using the powers granted to them by

the Congress. The reserves which you paid into the Reserve banks could be put back into your own vaults, and they would be there just as inert as they now lie in the vaults or, better, on the books of the Reserve banks. The reserves which we created, primarily by buying Government securities during the war, now find a reflection in the substantial earnings which we report each year. And similarly created reserves will be a similar source of earnings for the Federal Reserve banks if the reserve base needs of a growing banking system in a growing economy continue to be met in this way. We do not live on the reserves which you once placed with us.

This has nothing to do, of course, with the level of reserves which different classes of banks are required to keep with the Federal Reserve banks. If the percentage amount of your required reserves is increased, there will be, in effect, a transfer of earning assets from the member banks to the Reserve banks. And if the percentage amount of your required reserves is reduced, there would be a reverse movement of such earning assets. Perhaps this has helped to confuse the picture. The way to get at this situation, however, is not to demand free services from the Federal Reserve banks, but to examine the history and effect of present reserve requirements, to see if some more up-to-date and more equitable method of fixing reserve requirements cannot be devised. The Federal Reserve System has made studies of this problem, and it is one which will have to be solved at some time if our fractional reserve banking system is to keep in step with changing conditions. But so far the interest which the banking community has shown in the problem has been small, sporadic, and perhaps, too much tinged with the particular interests of particular groups of banks.

Well, you now have a right to ask, what has all this got to do with the independence of the Federal Reserve System? Only this: If the charge can be made to stick that the Federal Reserve banks now serve primarily the selfish and pecuniary interests of the private banks, the independence of the Federal Reserve System will be in danger. Whether the attack be a frontal one, involving so-called nationalization of the Federal Reserve banks, or whether it be an encircling movement putting the Federal Reserve System in with sprawling Government departments, subject to stereotyped governmental budget and accounting procedures, the independence and the regional character of the Federal Reserve System—and, I believe, its effectiveness—will be undermined. It can happen here, particularly if bankers themselves do not take the trouble to broaden public understanding of the basic principles and the organizational advantages of the central banking system which have evolved in this country.

In defending what we have, however, and in trying to improve it as we go along, we may be in danger at the hands of friends as well as critics. Here I have in mind some of the fiction which, it seems to me, is getting mixed up with the facts about our experiences during the war and postwar period, and some of the loose language which is being used to describe our recent adaptations of flexible credit policy.

I shall refer to the earlier period only briefly. It is becoming part of the legend that during the war, and during the postwar years until March 1951, the Federal Reserve System was the supine servant of the Treasury. The demands of capsule treatment of a difficult period in credit policy and debt management seem to make for such easy generalization. So far as the war period is concerned, I think it is closer to the facts to say that the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System reached an agreement, with some compromises along the way, as to war financing and credit policy. It is quite true that we lost our independence, but we lost it to the inexorable demands of war. It was not meekly handed over to the Treasury in abdication of our responsibilities.

The long postwar delay in dismantling war-financing policies is less defensible. Our problem was to recapture from the commercial banks of the country, and other holders of Government securities, the initiative with respect to the creation of reserve credit, and to restore the ability of the Federal Reserve banks to vary the availability and the price of such credit to meet changing economic conditions. The problem was complicated by the fact that the Treasury faced, during these years, an unprecedented job of funding and refunding an enormous mass of public debt, and by the fact that large segments of that debt had not yet settled into firm hands. The bases for strong differences of opinion existed even though we and the Treasury professed the same ultimate objectives. The result of our debates was a policy so cautious, so hesitant, so distrustful of general credit measures, that credit policy lost much of its effectiveness. It is worth remembering, though, that during much of the early postwar period the Treasury was drawing in cash surpluses which were used, to a significant extent, to reduce bank reserves, and thus to offset much of whatever harm was done by our release of reserves in support of Government security prices.

Here again, however, there was no meek surrender of independence; this time it was a running fight all the way. And we did accomplish something as early as 1947 with the unfreezing of short-term interest rates, which enabled us to offset with one hand, by sales of short-term Government securities, what we were doing with the other, in support of the long-term market. But despite such qualifications, those who hold that we should have acted sooner than we did to restore our freedom of action probably express the majority opinion. But to impute our failure to a lack of courage, in defense of our independence, is like sitting in the bleachers and demanding more courage of some young men who are having all they can can do to stay in the game.

There is one prime fact to be remembered, also. A more independent, more effective monetary policy could not have prevented the postwar inflation; at best it could only have slowed it down. The big damage had already been done. The money supply of the country had been increased from $36 billion to $102 billion during the war, without any similar increase in civilian goods and services. The inflationary effects of this war-born development were suppressed but not eliminated by direct controls. They were bound to break out, unless we were ready and able to embark on a drastic program of deflation which would have resulted in a decline in production, a decline in employment, a decline in income, and a decline in consumption. I did not then and I do not now believe that this would have been the right prescription for the troubled postwar world, when so much depended on this country's economic strength. A credit policy so drastic as to erase the inflationary effects of war financing was not the answer. We had to grow up to the wartime expansion of the money supply through an increase in production and prices, moderated by increases in productivity. Perhaps we could have prevented some of the increase of $10 or $11 billion in the money supply which took place in 1946 and 1947, but the money and credit requirements of a massive readjustment from a war economy to a primarily civilian economy would have made even this doubtful.

When our economy had pretty well grown up to the new monetary magnitudes decreed by war and when, after the mild recession of 1949, the outbreak of hostilities in Korea set off a new spiral of inflation, we did act promptly and vigorously. This involved us, in August 1950, in a public knockdown and dragout fight with the Treasury, which we had been trying to avoid for so long, in what we conceived to be the national interest. The independence we then asserted was broadened and affirmed in the accord of March 1951, with growing support of banking and public opinion.

That support has been evident ever since, and has found expression in the findings of two congressional committees charged with looking into our actions and status. What we have to guard against now is renewed erosion of our independence.

To illustrate this danger, I might quote from a weekly magazine of enormous circulation. In a recent issue it published a picture of the Council of Economic Advisers with the caption "President's Prophets" and then indulged in some prophecy of its own about the antidepression planning of the present administration. One section of this statement said that the tight money policy, which has already been liberalized, would quickly be switched to fast expansion of credit by decreasing Federal Reserve margins, resuming the price-pegging of Government bonds, and stimulating installment buying. The implication was that this remarkable hodgepodge is part of the administration's antidepression planning, and that the Federal Reserve System is in the administration's pocket so far as the implementation of such a program is concerned.

Or take another example from a banking magazine published in London. "The attempt of the Republicans to go back to Coolidge and 'sound money' has failed before it started. At the first whiff of deflation Mr. Randolph Burgess and Mr. Humphrey, the big battalions of the dear money and 'putting value into the dollar' school, broke and fled, leaving the rearguard action to the hastily organized open-market operations of the Federal Reserve." Here we are tied in with the monetary ideas of President Coolidge, and charged with being used as expendables by the present administration, when all the time we thought we were acting on our own nonpolitical initiative to accommodate credit policy to the needs of a changing economic situation.

An erudite domestic critic puts it more subtly. He says we have again become subordinated to the Treasury by a process of intellectual osmosis. It all seems to add up to the charge that the independence we achieved in 1951 was given up again in 1953.

Now what exactly have we done during the past year? I shall leave out the way we have done it, which has caused some intramural debate, and confine my discussion to broad policies and broad objectives. The story cannot be definitive, of course, because to a certain extent we have been pioneering, and we shall need later judgments properly to assess the results. If we had only to work by the book, we should not have had to cope with, first, inflationary excesses and then with deflationary dangers, while the Treasury was almost continuously a borrower or prospective borrower of new money to meet cash deficits.

My outline, then, will be just a broad sketch of policies as they appeared at the time. In January 1953, there was considerable general or nonstatistical evidence of some revival of boom psychology in business, supported to some extent by the statistics of November and December 1952. On the other hand, in the critical area of prices there was little confirmation and some denial of the emergence of inflationary forces. We were concerned, however, about consumer spending increasing faster than consumer income, the increasing investment in inventories, and the possible consequences of the prospective removal of remaining price and wage controls. The situation was characterized as

precarious balance at high levels. In such circumstances a continued policy of mild restraint of credit expansion seemed indicated. In keeping with such a policy and consistent with previous open market operations, the discount rate was increased in January from 1¾ to 2 percent, and gains in banking reserves, resulting largely from the return flow of currency from hand to hand use, were offset or slightly more than offset by reductions in our holdings of Government securities. As an indication of the mildness of this holding action, the member banks gained about $1,200 million in reserve funds from January 1, 1953, to mid-March, through the return flow of currency and a decline in required reserves, and lost a little over $1,300 million through gold and foreign account transactions and a reduction in the Government security holdings of the Federal Reserve banks.

As we came into the spring season, however, the need for alertness to signs of possible declines in economic activity increased, highlighted by the decline in farm prices and farm income and the then unpredictable economic consequences of the cessation of fighting in Korea. At the same time, the pressure of an unusually sustained private demand for bank credit was augmented by the emergence of Treasury needs for new money, some of which would have to come from the banks. These cumulating pressures, operating against a policy of mild restraint on the part of the Federal Reserve System, converted that policy into one of more severe restraint than the economic situation seemed to justify. The risk of giving a final fillip to unwholesome inflationary developments, of creating a bubble on top of a boom, had receded.

Taking cognizance of this situation the Federal Reserve banks began buying Government securities in the open market during the week ending May 13 and, before the month was out, a total of $157 million of Treasury bills had been purchased. In addition the amount of reserve credit in the market was increased by $125 million through repurchase agreements made with nonbank dealers in Government securities. A net increase of $282 million in reserve funds available to the market is no small chunk. It might have been considered as a significant sign of a change in policy and of a prospective easing of credit availability. But markets are creatures of expectations as well as events, and the money market and capital market had become disturbed and jittery, in the face of what they thought would be normal increases in private demands for funds during the second half of the year, accompanied by Treasury demands which seemed to grow in size with each new estimate. There was no immediate reaction to our relaxation of credit restraint during May. We were up against the fact that, at best, central banking is an art, not an exact science, that there are lags of unpredictable duration between action and reaction, and that our problems are still quite largely problems of human behavior.

The market had to be shaken out of the view that credit would not be readily available during the second half of the year, if we were not to run the risk of giving deflationary influences a hard shove into the foreground, by reason of faulty market assumptions concerning future credit policy. The action the system then took was precipitated in timing and form—but not in substance—by the needs of the Treasury. Our open market operations were stepped up in June, and lower bank reserves were announced to take effect early in July. The cynic or the skeptic can say that this reduction in reserve requirements coincided too neatly, in timing and amount, with the reserve needs of the banks, as related to Treasury borrowing, to pass muster as an act of credit policy. The alternative, however, in the face of the necessitous borrowing of the Treasury, was to allow that borrowing to press hard on bank reserves and on private financing, at a time when the economy was no longer balanced between inflation and stability, but between stability and deflation. It seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, that it would have been economically unjustified to run the risk of tipping the balance toward deflation.

From early July until early September, we followed pretty much a hands-off policy while the economy moved sidewise at high levels and with stability in the broader price indices. We had become convinced, however, that it was safe to make our errors on the side of credit ease and, during September, we began to anticipate the expected increase in demand for credit during the last quarter of the year. The fact that private demands for credit did not come up to seasonal expectations made it look as if we had overshot the mark by our purchase of $359 million of Government securities during September and the first week of October, and this exposed us again to the charge that we had become creatures of the Treasury's needs. I have no hesitancy in saying, however, that our policies were dictated primarily by economic factors, other than the Treasury's debt-management problems, and that whatever mistakes we made were not dictated mistakes.

It is an unfortunate fact that our estimates of what may happen to bank reserves from day to day and even from week to week, as a result of ordinary market factors, are not too accurate. Over a longer period they come out pretty well, but the intervening swings may be wide. If we were going to give the business community and the money market a lead as to credit policy during the last quarter of the year, when it seemed necessary that there be no question of the continued availability of reserve funds, we had to run the risk of overshooting our immediate objective in order to achieve the longer-term result.

When the demand for reserve funds again began to catch up with the supply at the end of October we resumed open market purchases of Government securities and carried on through the year-end. And, as the special demands of the year-end began to impinge on the central money markets, while the reserve position of the rest of the country remained easy, we gave special relief to the money market by reducing from 2 to 1¾ percent the rate applying to repurchase agreements with nonbank dealers in Government securities. In this way the dealers were enabled to supply a temporary home for short-term Treasury securities which corporations and others wished to convert into cash in conection with year-end adjustments, and the banks were provided with additional reserves with which to meet seasonal demands.

There, in brief, is the story. We have been trying to do what it is possible for monetary management to do in helping to maintain a high level of production and employment without encouraging inflation or deflation. In the process we have moved from a policy of mild restraint, when the business situation still had some aspects of a boom, through a brief period when market expectations induced more vigorous restraint than we had contemplated, to a policy of increasing ease, as signs of a modest and gradual downturn in the economy became more and more evident. At no time since last June has there been any real concern about the ready availability of reserve funds needed to support the credit requirements of the economy.

On the record, therefore, and without claiming too much credit for what has happened, because monetary policy, at best, is only one part of the picture, I would say we have been reasonably successful. Up to the end of 1953 adjustments which were taking place in the economy proceeded gradually, without setting off a chain reaction of downward movements. If this continues, present policies plus the normal forces of growth in our economy, which are very strong, should be sufficient to reverse the movement before it has gone too far, too fast. If a cumulative decline should appear to be getting under way—if this second transition from "war" to "peace" should show signs of economic breakdown—it would be necessary to try to check the movement with more positive measures.

I now submit that the record of the Federal Reserve System during the past year has been the record of an independent central banking system, performing its functions within the framework of the American political system, and in the light of the economic conditions with which it was confronted. It is less than accurate, and less than fair, to try to shove it back into a niche at the Treasury. To be sure our policies have been consistent with the overall economic policies of the Government, and have coordinated well with the debt management policies of the Treasury. That is what you would expect when reasonable men have the same objectives and are working from the same set of facts in formulating their policies and programs. We do not seek to use our independence to oppose Government, merely for the sake of showing our independence. That would be intolerable and impossible. As I have said before, our independence is within the Government of the day; we cannot be independent of the Government. But neither can we afford to be—even be suspected of being—independent within the Government when it is of one complexion, and subservient when it is of another. If that should happen, our independence would be a sham, and would be destroyed with the next turn of the political wheel of fortune.

That is why I have taken your time and tried your patience with this review of our policies during the past year. It is important that they be understood, if we are not to begin to slip again into a situation which, eventually, would bring the independence of the Federal Reserve System into jeopardy.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of an excellent speech delivered in Washington on Tuesday evening, January 26, by Dr. Clarence E. Manion, former dean of law at the University of Notre Dame.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is impossible to appreciate the necessity for the Bricker amendment without a sympathetic understanding of the scope and purpose of the American constitutional system as a whole. Constitutional government in the United States is rooted in the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. There, with the first breath of the new life of the Republic, it is stated that government is man's agent for the pro-

tection of God's unalienable gifts of life and liberty. For the first time in human history, government was thus logically and categorically reduced from its traditional role of tyrannical mastery to the simple service and deliberate will of human nature. This unprecedented transition is the very essence of the American Revolution.

The Founding Fathers knew that government would not surrender its historic preeminence without a sustained struggle. All of man's vigilance and all of man's strength would be needed to hold government in its subordinated position of servitude. George Washington summed up their problem in a sentence: "Government," he said, "like fire, is a dangerous servant and a fearful master." To prevent a renewal of the fearful tyrannical mastery of government, the Founding Fathers tied it down with the strong chains, checks, balances, and divisions of the American constitutional system. They not only proclaimed human liberty but they defined it in the clear terms of strict constitutional limitations. This is what Woodrow Wilson meant more than 100 years later when he said that "The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of governmental power." That history of liberty is as short as the brief history of the United States. Liberty has lived in this country because here government and every officer, department, and division of government has been limited by law. This strict limitation of civil government has been made possible only by the self-government, self-restraint, and moral self-control of the American citizen. The Constitution of the United States was the crowning climax of this determination to use the dangerous fire of government effectively but only while it is contained and held firmly in ironclad legal restraints. Thus, the Constitution was written to make sure that no officer of government could roam unrestrained over the rights of the American people. It was written precisely to guarantee that Americans would be governed by laws rather than by men. "In questions of power," warned Thomas Jefferson, "let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution." Perhaps the strongest and most significant links in those constitutional chains are the 9th and 10th articles of the Federal Bill of Rights in which personal rights and State rights are underscored in these words:

Article 9: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people"; and

Article 10: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution * * * are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

Now in the 178th year of our liberty and independence we are apparently come "full circle"—we discover that there is a handy loose link in these binding constitutional chains: a convenient escape hatch in this strong wall of constitutional restraint.

Let Mr. John Foster Dulles tell us about it in his own words spoken at Louisville, Ky., in April of 1952. Says Mr. Dulles:

"The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties," continues Mr. Dulles, "can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President; they can take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body, and they can cut across the rights given to the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights."

I am sorry to confess that Mr. Dulles' statement is a restrained and accurate description of the treaty power, as it is now indicated by court decisions.

Up to our day and time the treaty power was never used to do any of the things Mr. Dulles describes. Until recently, our treaties were contracts between the United States and foreign nations to regulate our foreign affairs. But we are now told by an official State Department document (State Department Publication 3972—Foreign Affairs Policy Series 26, 1950) that there is no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs. It is in this new denomination of internationalism that treaties are now made. More than 100 of these new-fashioned treaties drawn in the International Labor Organization at Geneva are now pending before or are on their way to the United States Senate for ratification.

More ominous that this is the scheduled international revision of the United Nations Charter in 1955. In the famous steel seizure case three Supreme Court Justices were of the opinion that the U. N. Charter and the North Atlantic Pact, as they are now written, justified the Presidential seizure of the steel mills, the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. What will the U. N. Charter not justify, after it has been appropriately strengthened next year?

Do you want treaties, or their often secret counterparts, Executive agreements like Yalta or Potsdam—to take powers from the Congress and give them to the President?—to take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body? Do you want treaties to cut across the rights guaranteed to the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights?

If you are determined that treaties shall not do these things, then you must support the Bricker constitutional amendment which puts treaties under all provisions of the Constitution where treaties belong rather than on top of and superior to the Constitution where treaties now are.

What is the Bricker amendment? You have heard many preposterous statements about it. Let us read it for a change:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Is anybody against that? No real American wants a treaty or an executive agreement to set aside all or any part of the Constitution. This section of the Bricker amendment would seem to be taken by common consent.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

Let us put a period after the word "legislation" for a moment. The first sentence would then read:

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation." This hypothecated sentence merely puts us on a par with other nations of the world with whom we customarily make treaties. As international obligations for external, international purposes, that is, all treaties with all nations are effective upon the nations which ratify them immediately upon ratification, with the certain exception of Mexico and the possible exception of France. However, the United States is now the only country in the world in which a treaty is self-executing, that is, immediately effective as domestic internal law without subsequent legislation. For instance, why should a treaty between the United States and Canada become effective immediately and automatically as the domestic internal law of the United States when it is inoperative and ineffective as the domestic internal law of Canada until legislation concerning it is passed by the dominion legislature and, if provinces are affected, by the provincial legislatures of Canada? If we thus put a period after the word "legislation," this opening language of section 2 merely equalizes our treaty procedure with that of the other nations of the world. Now, let us read section 2 straight through as it is written: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty." This is the much-discussed "which" clause. What does it do? It merely prevents the treaty from giving Congress or the State legislature powers which are denied to them in the Constitution of the United States. The "which" clause prevents a treaty from taking powers from the State and giving them to Congress or in some international body, such as the General Assembly of the United Nations, for instance, or the International Labor Organization in Geneva. The "which" clause does not require treaties to be ratified by all of the 48 States, as the opponents of the amendment have falsely said that it does. As the Constitution is now written, each of the 48 States has reserved control of local domestic affairs such as marriage, divorce, property ownership, and public education. The Bricker amendment would not change this basic reservation of State jurisdiction under the 10th amendment. But the Bricker amendment would prevent the destruction of this basic State jurisdiction or its transfer to Congress or to some international body by a treaty or Executive agreement.

Neither the "which" clause nor any section of the Bricker amendment would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs. It would frustrate foreign nations in their attempt to regulate our American domestic internal affairs such as our trials by jury, our free press, our free speech, the free practice of our religion, our free State-controlled public and private schools, and our private, unsocialized ownership of property. It would prevent the barter of our traditional Bill of Rights which are really bills of prohibition against Government, in exchange for some international covenant modeled after the Russian Soviet Constitution.

The "which" clause would not make it necessary for any State to ratify any treaty. States do not ratify treaties under any circumstances now or under the Bricker amendment. The "which" clause would preserve the presently prevailing method of ratification by the Senate of international agreements governing our foreign relations. It would prevent the Constitution from being changed or amended by a treaty so as to deprive the State legislatures or Congress of their respective constitutionally established legislative powers to regulate the domestic, internal affairs of this country.

Section 3 of the Bricker amendment reads: "Congress shall have the power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

I am confident that Congress has that power now, although many lawyers are skeptical about it. If the courts should ultimately agree with these skeptics, the result would be a complete carte blanche of unlimited, untouchable governing power, not for treaties ratified by the Senate, but for the secret agreements made at some future Yalta or Potsdam conference.

Personally, I am confident that the present administration will never avail itself of this treaty loophole to barter away the constitutional rights of the States or the constitutional rights of American citizens. But the Bricker amendment is not being written as a protection against the present administration. The Bill of Rights was not written as a defense against the administration of George Washington, but it has been used to protect the rights of American citizens in thousands of cases since that time.

In years to come when less conscientious administrators, perhaps, are in charge of the Government at Washington, thousands of American citizens will likewise rejoice at the protections afforded to them by this proposed bill of rights against treaties, because a bill of rights against treaties is what the Bricker amendment actually is.

Finally, here are some things that the Bricker amendment would not do. It would not affect the wide war powers of Congress or impair its right to fully regulate foreign and interstate commerce in all things including such items as atomic energy materials and narcotics. It would not disturb the President's custody of our foreign relations or his broad powers as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces at home and abroad. The Bricker amendment would not have prevented the Berlin airlift, the occupation of Japan and Germany, or the Korean truce.

But the Bricker amendment will prevent treaties and executive agreements from violating your God-given, constitutionally protected rights. It will prevent treaties and executive agreements from absconding with the rights and powers reserved to the States of the Union, under the 10th amendment. Last, but not least, it would safeguard the sovereignty of the United States from subtle and surreptitious larceny by the rabid advocates of world government. In this respect the Bricker amendment is a renewed declaration of American freedom and American independence. It deserves your active support.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two excellent editorials printed in the New York Times.

The first editorial, entitled "Defending the Constitution," was published on January 20, 1954. It points out that those of us who are opposing the so-called Bricker amendment are the ones who are trying to save the Constitution, and the proponents are trying to make far-reaching changes in our Constitution which would make a return to the days of the Article of Confederation.

In the second editorial, entitled "The Bricker Amendment," published on January 21, 1954, the various sections of the Bricker amendment are discussed and analyzed, and forceful arguments are given showing why the amendment would be destructive of the treatymaking power of the United States Government.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of January 20, 1954]

DEFENDING THE CONSTITUTION

In an effort to head off the assault on the Constitution led by Senator BRICKER and his allies, administration forces are formulating a substitute amendment to clarify the treatymaking power. All attempts to reach a compromise with Mr. BRICKER have failed; but the hope is that the relatively innocuous plan now put forward will siphon off enough of Mr. BRICKER's reported strength to save the Senate and the country from the disastrous consequences of his own revolutionary proposal.

The substitute amendment would involve a mere change in the wording of the Constitution to make clear what should already be clear: that treaties have no greater standing than laws of Congress and that both are subordinate to the Constitution. Senatorial reaffirmation of this principle may make some Senators happy; but the Constitution of the United States is so fundamental a document that we think it highly unwise to tamper with it unless a genuine and desirable change in its meaning is to be brought about. We therefore do not approve of an amendment that actually adds nothing of substance, but is conceived only for the purpose of deflecting another amendment, no matter how harmful the latter may be. This is like fighting fire with smoke; and it probably would be just about as effective.

Mr. BRICKER has, in fact, stated that this latest try at compromise is entirely unacceptable, just as the previous ones have been. In so stating, he proves again what the proponents of the Bricker amendment really want. If they were simply concerned that future treaties might override the Constitution or might be considered more weighty than subsequent Federal law, they would have agreed upon a clarification of the language of the Constitution to remove any possible lingering shadow of doubt on this score. But obviously it is not mere protection of the Constitution that they seek. It is a basic change in the Constitution, a shift in the balance of powers between Executive and Legislature in order to favor the Legislature.

They go even further. Their mistrust of the Executive and of themselves as legislators is so great that in one crucial provision they would actually deprive the Federal Government of the effective power to make certain kinds of treaties that it has made with impunity for more than 160 years, and that every other sovereign government makes as a matter of course. They would leave a vacuum of authority that, literally, could only be filled by individual action of the 48 States, which in the field of foreign relations, is a practical impossibility.

Let no one believe that what Mr. BRICKER and his friends of the dominant group of the American Bar Association are trying to do is to save the Constitution. They are trying to make the most far-reaching changes in the Constitution in the area of foreign policy, changes so far reaching that they cannot be accepted by the President or, we hope, by the American people. They represent a return to the days of the Articles of Confederation, when the fragmentation of sovereign power made our forefathers so helpless in the conduct of their own Government that they were forced to create a Constitution that has served us well.

Much is made of the fact that the names of 60 living Senators are attached to the Bricker resolution. We refuse to believe that all of these Senators understood what they were signing or will persist in the fatuous course laid out for them by Mr. BRICKER. Does Senator IVES, of New York, really intend in this way to cut down the Presidential authority to conduct foreign relations? Does Senator DUFF, of Pennsylvania, or Senator HENDRICKSON, of New Jersey? Is Senator SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts, so unaware of his country's history that he will follow Mr. BRICKER to the end? Or Senator SMITH of Maine, or AIKEN of Vermont? These are all in the group of enlightened Republicans who surely understand what is being attempted and whose entire record should lead them to oppose it.

They still have time to support the President and the Constitution of the United States.

[From the New York Times of January 21, 1954]

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

The Bricker amendment raises the most important constitutional issue to be debated in this country in recent years, and it is imperative that Americans understand its implications. Although the debate, even before it has officially reached the floor of the Senate, has already been shrouded in legal complexities, the substance is not difficult to grasp.

The Bricker amendment proposes to make a fundamental change in the Constitution of the United States in respect to the conduct of foreign policy. This is no mere clarification of the Constitution. It is, rather, a twofold shift in powers from President to the National Legislature and from the National Legislature to the individual States. It involves, furthermore, the creation of a never-never land in which it would be virtually impossible to conduct any foreign relations at all by the simple device of divesting the Federal Government of authority which the States acting individually or in concert could not practicably exercise. This is not saving the country from the potential wickedness of some future President or from the indifference and incompetence of a future Senate; it is the subversion of the Federal Union as we know it and a return to the conditions that made creation of the Federal Union an absolute necessity in the first place.

What is the Bricker amendment? As it has been reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee it is a very brief document the meat of which is contained in the following three sections:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

What do these three paragraphs really mean? In future editorials we propose to discuss each of them singly. Suffice it to say here that section 1 restates existing constitutional law and is therefore unnecessary. It is more than unnecessary; it is dangerous, because one does not trifle with the Constitution without reason, and it might be stretched through misinterpretation to impose new limits in the treatymaking power beyond the present intent of the Constitution. Though no treaty or executive agreement has yet been declared invalid, the Supreme Court has repeatedly held that treaties cannot override the Constitution.

Section 2 betrays mistrust of two-thirds of the Senate, for it requires a treaty to be repassed by both Houses of Congress to become effective as internal law. This again is an unnecessary as well as a fruitlessly cumbersome procedure, because Congress can always enact legislation nullifying the internal effect of any treaty. But the real boobytrap in section 2 is the famous "which" clause. These 9 words mean that in many familiar areas of treatymaking the Federal Government would be helpless; for such treaties to be effective throughout the Union each of the 48 States would have to concur. This is reversion to the Articles of Confederation with a vengeance.

In asserting the power of Congress over executive agreements section 3 opens the way to untold complications in the normal process of Presidential conduct of day-to-day

foreign policy. This section would seriously interfere with the President's constitutional power as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. At best it represents a gross transfer of necessary executive authority to the Legislature, thus throwing the careful equilibrium of the Constitution completely out of balance.

Some Senators who made the mistake of permitting their names to be attached to the Bricker amendment are now having second thoughts. As the full impact of this constitutional revolution dawns upon them we are confident that many more will change their minds. There is no need to compromise with Mr. BRICKER; his proposal should be soundly defeated.

The Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Budget," published in the Manchester Union Leader of January 25, 1954. This editorial reflects the widespread desire of the people of New Hampshire for a balanced budget.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BUDGET

Americans who expected a radical readjustment of Federal Government finances by the Eisenhower administration will not get much encouragement from the President's budget.

The budget proposes a $5,300,000,000 cut in Government spending but it still leaves a $3 billion deficit. Four billion of the cut comes out of national defense. It would seem that some more effective trimming might be done elsewhere. National defense ought to be as important as housing, public works, and other Government expenditures.

The new defense program is not making military men happy. They feel that national defense is being seriously weakened. Meanwhile, foreign aid has been increased. It would seem that after pouring out our money for so many years to help other countries, economic aid at least could be left out. And while some military aid may be necessary with our allies, there is no reason now why they should not begin to stand on their own feet.

The President repeats his request for an increase in the national debt limit of $275 billion. The Government, he says, can't do business in a straitjacket. Well, a $275 billion debt limit isn't much of a straitjacket. Nowhere, however, in the budget is there any hint of reducing instead of further increasing the present vast debt.

The budget clamps down on further tax cuts. Henceforth they must be justified by a reduction in expenditures. The tax relief that took place on January 1—when a 10 percent reduction in personal income rates and the expiration of the excess-profits tax went into effect—is all that will be recognized. Reductions scheduled for April 1 in corporation income taxes and excise levies are to be postponed. Whether Congress will make any changes in this program remains to be seen.

People might accept a slow whittling of the Government deficit, if there were assurances that the job will soon be finished. But there are no such assurances. Spending remains where it was, except for a cut in military defense—the one spot where in the face of present international dangers it is not justified. And if a decline in business causes a further decline in income, which is not at all impossible, the deficit will begin to climb again.

The whole picture isn't too encouraging. Congress has a most difficult problem on hand weighing this budget carefully, and it is hoped that it will not shirk its duty but meet it with caution and judgment.

Investigations Initiated by Senator Williams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "WILLIAMS Probes Lack Malice," written by Holmes Alexander. I do not know in what newspaper the article was published. There is no identification of it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GALAHAD TOUCH—WILLIAMS' PROBES LACK MALICE

(By Holmes Alexander)

Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, would never boast with Sir Galahad that "my strength is as the strength of 10, because my heart is pure"—but that's about the size of it just the same.

WILLIAMS is approximately 10 times better than any other investigator in the Senate because he has no malice, no partisan ax to grind, no illusions to lose about homo Republicanus being any more honest than homo Democratus.

THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT IN SCANDALS

First thing WILLIAMS did this session was submit to the Senate a list of 388 persons involved in Treasury Department scandals, January 1, 1951, to November 17, 1953. Out of this total there were 214 indictments and 101 convictions. The remainder of the 388 were removed from their posts or otherwise rebuked for their offenses.

WILLIAMS is almost singly responsible for shooting down this mixed bag of bribetakers, embezzlers, cheaters, perjurers, and refusers to testify. As the dates indicate, most of the culprits did their dirty work under Democratic rule. But WILLIAMS did not call attention either to his own participation in the criminal detection nor to the political affiliation of the quarry. That isn't the way he operates.

He operates on the political theory that sin is inevitable, but that the greater sin is to relax and enjoy it. Thus the guilt which he imputes to the Fair Deal was not that it had its share of crooks and Communists, but that so little was done to expose and punish them. He says concerning his exposures of the Truman regime:

"Before making anything public, I told the Treasury Department about the crookedness there. But I couldn't make the officials see that there was anything wrong."

MESS STILL ISSUE

The Senator went on talking about the mess and said he didn't see any good reason why the GOP shouldn't keep on discussing it through 1954–56. Reminded that the Democrats were still running against Hoover by bringing up the 1932 depression, Williams said he didn't blame the Democrats. And he didn't blame them for bringing up Teapot Dome, either. Such things shouldn't be forgotten. In fact, they were unforgettable. It's partly the function of two-party politics to keep such sore memories alive.

But, he added, it is morally wrong to assign general wickedness to any particular race, religion, nation, or political group. There must be other crooks in Federal departments, human nature being what it is. But he wasn't going to say so until he had the names and documentary proof. He thought the Senate floor was not unlike the public press in one respect.

"You and I can ruin a man by attacking his reputation. There is a moral obligation to be right before making any such attacks. It's a moral obligation that goes past the question of congressional immunity or any fear of libel."

Well, then, did he think that congressional investigations had been overdone and the privilege of congressional immunity abused?

When you've asked this question of a hundred legislators, you come to expect a standard set of answers. Yes, is one answer, and there ought to be a law to protect witnesses and curb ruthless investigators. No, is the other answer, and it is neither desirable nor constitutionally possible to abridge the congressional right of investigation and information.

But Senator WILLIAMS, while defending the principle of congressional immunity, said something that went beyond these standard replies. He said he thought it wrong to judge other men's motives. Specifically, he said that people who publicly doubted Senator JOE MCCARTHY's sincerity were committing the crime they called McCarthyism. Weren't they attacking Joe's character? Judging his thoughts? Treating an accusation as a conviction? Resorting to smear tactics without documentary evidence?

For himself, said WILLIAMS, he had taken no part in the get-McCarthy hunt by some of the Republican leaders. He assumed that MCCARTHY was doing what he thought was right, and should, therefore, keep right on doing it until the Wisconsin voters called him off.

Our Big Cities Are Becoming Bankrupt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, we generally speak of the high cost of government at the Federal level. All of us know that the cost of government at both the State level and the local level is also increasing. This matter should receive the very careful attention of all of us. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very timely editorial entitled "Our Big Cities Are Becoming Bankrupt." The editorial appeared in the Washington (Pa.) Observer.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR BIG CITIES ARE BECOMING BANKRUPT

Big cities of the Nation are becoming bankrupt and are asking other political subdivisions to help pay the bill.

In an attempt to avoid imposing a wage tax politicians anxious to escape the odium of having imposed a wage tax upon citizens in Pittsburgh, have suggested that Allegheny County and the State accept financial responsibility for some services.

Allegheny County commissioners have taken such a plan under consideration.

The plan is silly any way it is viewed. It is a game of "passing the buck."

The taxes must be paid, but some of the politicians want to saddle the cost upon people outside Pittsburgh.

Such a proposition is manifestly unfair.

New York for years has been saddling part of its costs on the State.

It has not materialized in Pennsylvania to a great degree, because the State government has been handled more sensibly, despite expressions to the contrary.

The sales tax in Pennsylvania was imposed, it is true. Costs have advanced and the most pronounced of these costs are those of education. The health services are mounting, too, including institutions and their upkeep.

Costs in cities have increased, too.

There is something terrifically wrong when a city as prosperous as Pittsburgh cannot make ends meet.

It is true that some of the services provided by Pittsburgh, and other cities, are used by outsiders, but hardly to the degree that they should be asked to pay a major portion of the expenses of that city.

Many Washington County people work in Pittsburgh, but those who do not should not be used to help shoulder the burden.

The people are to blame to a great degree. The political leaders, for popularity's sake, promise anything and everything. Most people realize that they will have to pay the bill, probably doubled and trebled, but still they vote for the "easy dollar."

People have been lulled into a dangerous apathy. They know that mounting taxes affect them, but they refuse to do anything about it—to demand that their government be handled sensibly.

A government debt is the people's debt. That debt must be paid by present and future generations.

The present generations are creating a drab future for those who came after them in contrast to the rich heritage left us by our forefathers by reason of their industry, thrift, and honesty.

Amendment to Title II of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH Q. ALEXANDER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement relative to a bill I introduced in the House today to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount which an individual may earn without suffering deductions from benefits payable thereunder, and to provide that in the computation of such deductions wages shall be placed on an annual basis.

The Social Security Act now provides that insurance benefits payable under title II shall be withheld if the recipient of such payments is earning outside income in excess of a certain amount; however the manner in which the deductions are made is not the same under present law if the outside earnings constitute wages as it is if the outside earnings come from self-employment. If the outside earnings are wages the entire benefit payable for any month is withheld if the outside wages exceed $75 for the month. On the other hand if the outside earnings come from self-employment no deductions are made at all until the end of the year and even then only if the total earnings from self-employment in that year exceed $900—$75 times 12 months. The bill I am introducing, in addition to increasing the amount which an individual may earn without suffering this deduction from $75 to $100, places outside income from wages on exactly the same annual basis as in the case of outside earnings from self-employment under the present law. That is to say under my bill no deductions for social-security benefits will be made until the end of the year on account of outside earnings, whether those earnings come from wages or self-employment and at the end of the year the deductions made will be only in the total amount by which the outside earnings exceed $1,200—$100 times 12 months. The most important practical effect of this change is that it will be the annual rate rather than the monthly outside earnings, for wages as well as for self-employment earnings, which determines whether there will be a deduction and if so the amount of the deduction; individuals who receive social security benefits and in addition perform seasonal labor will not lose their benefits unless their earnings for that labor are so great that their average monthly earnings for the entire year exceed $100, and then only to the amount of their earnings in that year in excess of $1,200. Under present law they would probably lose their entire benefit while seasonably employed.

One of my main purposes in introducing the bill is to permit working people to earn a larger amount of money and still draw social-security payments in keeping with increased living costs.

Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a weekly column from the Public Affairs Institute, of Washington, D. C., entitled "Counting the Unemployed."

I hope the Members will read this because it is significant and shows the Federal Government does not know how many are unemployed, and the only way to find out is by adding up what one can gather from the industrial areas throughout the country. It is estimated now, that it will run pretty close to three millions.

In this connection I have some figures on my own county of Westmoreland, Pa. This is one of the important industrial areas of Pennsylvania, and one of the great coal-producing centers of the United States. The figures I have obtained from the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment Security, and I might say they are largely estimates, show nearly 9,000 industrial workers filing for unemployment compensation as of January 15. Of these, 1,000 are in mining, 1,100 in construction, over 4,000 in primary metals and metal fabricating, and over a thousand in stone, clay, and glass. Also 700 rubber workers were filing for unemployment compensation, with smaller numbers in other trades or industries.

Unfortunately we are informed that there is no prospect for reemploying perhaps half of these people; certainly not before mid-March, and then only if there is an up-turn in business. This is a very serious situation.

Following is the report from the Public Affairs Institute:

COUNTING THE UNEMPLOYED

How high is unemployment? The answer to this question depends on how you count—and how you look at the unemployment problem.

Under the Employment Act of 1946 the Federal Government is responsible for promoting maximum employment. It is required to mobilize all its resources to promote conditions which afford "useful employment opportunities for those able, willing and seeking to work."

The act clearly requires a continuing promotion of maximum employment opportunities. This is not being done today. Instead, we wait until unemployment actually mounts—as registered by the inadequate unemployment gage of the Census Bureau—before we do anything to correct the underlying conditions which cause it.

Differences in these two employment policies can be clearly seen. The Employment Act of 1946 calls for an ever-expanding economy. Unemployment under these conditions would be strictly the between-jobs variety. The second and present policy combats unemployment only after it mounts, tolerating a reserve of unemployed.

The number of workers in the labor force depends on the kind of employment policy the Federal Government wants to promote.

If the Government wants to promote an expanding full employment economy it will foster conditions that will encourage all prospective labor force entrants to enter the labor market. This means that under prosperous peacetime conditions from 800,000 to 1.2 million new workers should enter the labor market each year to take jobs.

Under a less than maximum employment policy the Government would minimize the size of the labor force. This is the policy followed now. It means that unless a worker is actually competing for a job and putting pressure on the job market he is not in the labor force and cannot be unemployed.

In communities of one factory or a few basic industries operating at reduced levels, laid off or new workers may not actively be looking for work today because they know jobs are unavailable. Unless they volunteer

this information to the census taker they are not included in the labor force or listed as unemployed.

In its survey procedure the only people the Census counts in the labor force are those who after answering "No" to the question, "We're you looking for work?" volunteer the reason why.

Before July 1945, Census enumerators asked people why they were not looking for work. The question was then discontinued. Census explained that although these people considered themselves on the labor market in the Bureau's opinion they had "little or no intention of actively entering the labor market."

Charles Stewart of the Department of Labor writing on the Definition of Unemployment in the Harvard Review of Economics and Statistics (February 1950), said: "A person is not asked by the enumerators whether he is unemployed, for that would leave to each respondent the question of what is unemployment."

If 1953 had ben a fully prosperous year 800,000 new workers would have found jobs. Instead, the total of employed workers declined during 1953. Between December 1952 and December 1953, there was a drop of 500,000 in nonagricultural employment alone. Together with the new workers for whom jobs were not provided this suggests a rise of 1.3 million unemployed. But only 425,000 were actually reported as becoming unemployed.

Official policy has resulted in defining away nearly 1 million persons who should be in the labor force.

Randall Plan Seen in Britain as a Boon to World Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article from the Washington Post, January 28, 1954, showing the reaction of Great Britain to the report of the Randall Commission which indicates that this report could have very well been written at No. 10 Downing Street.

The article follows:

RANDALL PLAN SEEN IN BRITAIN AS A BOON TO WORLD TRADE

NEW DELHI, January 27.—R. A. Butler, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, told a news conference here that Britain welcomes the Randall report to Congress on world trade.

If followed up by the United States Government, he said, it should contribute to widening trade throughout the free world.

(The report made by a 17-member investigating body headed by steel manufacturer Clarence W. Randall, recommended measures through the International Monetary Fund, the United States Federal Reserve bank and foreign central banks to make the world's currencies freely convertible. Key to this objective, it is said, is the freeing of the pound sterling.

(In Washington, Representative FRANK SMITH (Democrat, Mississippi) said yesterday he plans legislation to carry out recommendations of the Randall Commission for modification of the Buy America Act. SMITH last year introduced legislation to repeal the act but the bill is still in committee.

(The act, passed many years ago, requires that Government agencies in making purchases favor United States concerns over foreign bidders, except where the domestic bids are excessively high. SMITH estimates this has cost the Federal Government many millions of dollars and contends it is a barrier to better trade relations with other countries.)

They're Putting Our Forests in Hock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Denver Post of Denver, Colo., Monday January 25, 1954. We in the Rocky Mountain area are greatly interested in the welfare and maintenance of our national forests. This editorial points the apprehension we have of this legislation.

The editorial follows:

THEY'RE PUTTING OUR FORESTS IN HOCK

The new grazing bill, upon which hearings have just been completed in Washington by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, is a scheme to put publicly owned forests in pawn, with a relatively few (but influential) stockgrowers playing the part of pawnbrokers.

If this bill, S. 2548, should become law, there is no telling how much it might cost the people of the United States to get their forests out of hock again.

Stockgrower promoters of the bill are hopeful that Congress would never appropriate the money to redeem the forests. In that event, the public would be left holding pawn tickets and the stockgrowers would be holding the forests.

This bill is a back-door approach to the objective certain stockmen have had in mind all along—to entrench themselves so firmly in the forests that they will be in a position of virtual ownership.

Their scheme is no less objectionable because it would be carried out under the guise of forest improvement.

The nub of S. 2548 is a provision that stockmen who have permits to graze their animals on the national forests shall be encouraged by the Secretary of Agriculture to spend their own money to increase the grass yield of the areas under permit.

Yields might be increased by reseeding overgrazed areas, by building fences to keep livestock from overgrazed areas until the grass had had time to recover, by weed-killing projects or by building waterholes which would lure livestock to so distribute themselves over an area that no part of it would be overgrazed.

Before jumping to the conclusion that grazing permit holders are eager to become public benefactors by making the forests yield a more valuable grass crop, listen to what they want in return for their range improvement investments. The proposed returns are spelled out in S. 2548.

First of all, the stockman permittee who improved a range would acquire a legal right to have his own animals consume any extra grass which might be produced. If he had a permit to graze 50 cattle, and increased the grass yield so 60 could run on the same area, he would be entitled to a permit for 10 additional head.

In that event the stockmen would pay grazing fees for 60 instead of 50 head of cattle, but national-forest grazing fees are so low that stockmen in the vicinity of national forests count their blessings in terms of how much cheap Government grass they are entitled to take.

Seemingly, the right to larger grazing permits should be enough compensation to encourage stockmen to install fences and other improvements on the forest. But the promoters of S. 2548 want more.

"We can't invest in fences and waterholes and reseeding," they say, "unless we are assured that our right to graze will not be taken away from us after we have spent money and work on improvements. We need either the security of guaranteed tenancy or an assurance that we will be repaid."

So S. 2548 provides that once an improvement has been made by a stockman his grazing rights cannot be taken away, except for unlawful acts on his part, unless he is paid for the improvement.

If the Government wanted to turn a forest-grazing area into a national park, a wildlife refuge, a recreational area, an Army camp, or a watershed protection area, it could not do so without first paying the stockmen for the fences, the waterholes, and any other improvements they had made.

The Government could not transfer a grazing permit from one stockman to another unless either the Government or the new permittee paid the former permittee for the fences or other improvements he had installed.

Small wonder that stockmen see S. 2548 as a means of getting for themselves a permanent hold on the forest. Small wonder that opponents of the bill can foresee that under such a program our forests would be put in hock to one particular group of forest users.

The bill carries a provision that nothing in it shall be construed to limit the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to restrict or discontinue grazing for the purpose of preventing injury to the forest or to keep the Secretary from changing any area of the forest from one use—such as grazing—to another authorized use—such as recreation.

Sixty-one million acres of western forest are now used for grazing. Yet only 3½ percent of all western stockgrowers have forest grazing permits. These permits are highly prized.

The United States Forest Service—so widely cursed by a few stockgrowers—bends over backwards to protect the interests of its grazing permittees. If a stockman permittee sells his ranch, the Forest Service almost invariably transfers his permit to the new owner, although it is not required by law to do so.

As a result a ranch with forest grazing privileges "attached" sells for more than it would be worth without a permit. A permit to graze 100 head of cattle would normally add at least $25,000 to the sale value of a ranch.

The complaint of stockmen that they lack security in their forest tenure will hardly stand scrutiny. More than half the permits in western forests have been in the same family for more than 20 years and 40 percent have been in the same family for more than 30 years.

As long as a particular forest area continues to be used for grazing purposes, the present permittees have all the assurance they could reasonably require that they will continue to have the use of tax-free forest rangeland.

If S. 2548 should be passed, making it difficult if not impossible to transfer any forest out of grazing use, forest permits would become more valuable than ever.

Some forest permittees have testified that they have made improvements to the forest

in the past at their own expense, merely for the privilege of getting the use of the extra grass produced. Some have said they would not want any more compensation than that.

According to the latest report of the chief of the Forest Service, stockmen have spent $23 million of their own money improving forest rangelands in the last 10 years. That is more than half as much as the Government has spent for the same purpose.

Unfortunately, many forest areas do need improvements to increase their grass crops. The chief of the Forest Service says a complete improvement program would cost $100 million.

If spread over a 10-year period, the annual cost of such a program would be only fifteen one-thousandths of 1 percent of the 1955 national budget as just proposed by President Eisenhower.

The national forests comprise one of the Nation's greatest resources. The richest country in the world—one which spends cash to encourage private landowners to follow soil-saving practices—should be able to improve and protect its own property without putting that property in pawn to a few greedy individuals who already are raising livestock with the benefit of Government subsidy.

Buy American Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last year on July 17, I introduced House Resolution 342 for the investigation by the House Education and Labor Committee, or a subcommittee thereof, of the Buy American Act. The reason I did this was to correct a situation which has been prevalent for some time, and that is that under the formula of this act Government agencies have been purchasing millions of dollars' worth of equipment from foreign sources. The formula was established in 1947 and permits a differential of 25 percent. But, if the differential exceeds 25 percent, the order is placed abroad with a foreign manufacturer.

This 25 percent is outmoded today because since 1947 costs of manufacturing in this country have increased. Therefore, this matter should be given paramount consideration. Here we are, confronted with a situation wherein the manufacturers need the business today. Many of them are operating on a slowdown schedule, and many thousands of men have been laid off in these industries.

Two industries in my own congressional district have been severely hit. These were companies manufacturing electrical equipment. The first company, the Elliott Co., which suffered the first offense that was called to my attention, lost a purchase of over $600,000 made by the Bureau of Reclamation and placed by them with a Swiss concern. The other company was the Westinghouse Corp., which lost an order for high-voltage insulators. This plant also was operating in my district.

I learn now that the Randall Commission's report has recommended the total abolition of the Buy American Act. If this occurs, I predict that no American manufacturer will be able to compete with the foreign manufacturers in bidding on Government projects.

I have been pressing the Rules Committee to consider this resolution in order that we may familiarize ourselves with the operation of this formula, and see what remedial action can be taken to correct this most unfair condition to our own American industries.

Imports of Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, my State of West Virginia has been the Nation's leading producer of bituminous coal for almost a quarter century. In 1954 about 133 million tons of bituminous coal were produced, and since the end of World War II production has amounted to 1,194,000,000 tons.

But production of bitumineus coal in West Virginia in 1953 was considerably less than for 1952. Why? Because foreign residual oil is allowed to come into the United States in an unchecked flood.

Increased production of steel and electricity last year took enough coal to have raised 1953 mine output—under normal conditions—above the level of 1952. Instead, there was a drop in production directly traceable to the flood of foreign residual oil that poured into east-coast ports.

The east coast region normally is one of West Virginia's best markets for her coal. But with cheap foreign residual oil available, industrial consumers have been turning away from coal. The result has been quite plain in my State. Reduced tonnages at the mines means fewer days of work for the miners. This means increased relief loads.

But all this apparently means nothing to the authors of the Randall Commission report, which was published last weekend. Nowhere in that report was there any attention given to the problems created in the coalfields by the importation of residual oil. Nor were the opponents of unbridled imports of such oil ever given a chance to state orally to the Commission their viewpoints.

It made little difference, apparently, that last year 134 million barrels of foreign residual oil came into the United States. This was more than ever before and meant the loss of 32 million tons of coal production; the loss of $155 million in revenue for coal-producing companies; the loss of $79 million in coal-mine wages. In addition, the railroads lost $88 million in revenues; railroad workers lost $44 million in wages; and the Federal, State, and local governments lost $40 million in taxes.

But we are not beaten yet. We do not intend to stand idly by and see American workers thrown out of employment by unnecessary concessions to foreign countries. We will continue to fight for restrictions on the flood of foreign residual oil and the protection of the jobs of Americans. This flood must be halted.

Launching of the U. S. S. "Nautilus"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of remarks made by Mr. John Jay Hopkins, president and chairman of the board, General Dynamics Corp., and by Mr. Gwilym A. Price, president, Westinghouse Electric Corp., at the launching of the U. S. S. *Nautilus* at Groton, Conn., on January 21, 1954:

TEXT OF REMARKS BY JOHN JAY HOPKINS, PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, GENERAL DYNAMICS CORP.

Fellow Americans and citizens of Canada and other friendly lands, on behalf of General Dynamics Corp., it is my privilege and pleasure to welcome all of you to our shipyard on this momentous and auspicious occasion, the launching of the U. S. S. *Nautilus*. Your coming, many from great distances, is a signal tribute to those scientists, engineers, and craftsmen who have worked to create this masterpiece of the shipbuilders' art.

And we are most highly honored to have as our principal guest and sponsor, our gracious First Lady of the Land—Mrs. Dwight David Eisenhower.

No one could possibly doubt that all of us here, and all within sight and sound throughout the world, are participants in a most solemn and significant event, not only of our time but of all time.

We do cordially welcome you to this great occasion. Yet the word "welcome" does not precisely express our meaning for it may imply a sense of proprietorship we do not really feel. General Dynamics is proud—immensely proud—of the part it has played in the construction of the *Nautilus*, but we may not in any narrow way regard this historic vessel as ours, or our achievement.

The *Nautilus* belongs not to General Dynamics, not to Westinghouse, not to the Atomic Energy Commission, not even to the United States Navy. As citizens of the United States, the *Nautilus* belongs to you. She is your ship. In a still broader sense, however, what our scientists and engineers have already gleaned from her in the broad application of nuclear power, and what they have yet to learn from her in fields of design and dynamics, of propulsion and atomics, should at some future date belong to all free men.

But if any one group might be said to have some special claim to the *Nautilus*, it would be those men and women who brought her into being, the builders who, in these yards, and in the hundreds of mills and factories and offices throughout the Nation, have fashioned this mighty shell of steel and in it impressed and put to work the basic power of our universe.

In paying this tribute, I do not detract from the prime contribution of the men who conceived, directed and brought to fruition

a whole new concept of energy. These great men will have their reward. Their names and their achievements will not be forgotten, and, indeed, they are not. But here, at least for today, we may well remember that plans and dreams remain plans and dreams until—articulated in steel—they take shape as hulls, and bite into water with turning blades.

As Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote so poetically of the Chambered Nautilus:

"Year after year beheld the silent toil
That spread his lustrous coil;
• • • • •
Stretched in his last-found home, and knew the old no more."

It is not needful for me, I know, to add up for you the production miracles performed during each day of the last 5 years of incessant work by the thousands who contributed. The end result—the sum of all their days—lies before your eyes in this unique and historic ship—this "Ship of pearl • • • this venturous bark."

Quite rightly, the *Nautilus* has been called the "pioneer in the unexplored realm of atomic power • • • a symbol of the key to the future." But the *Nautilus* is not alone! Rising just a few yards off her port side are the hull sections of a sister nuclear submarine, the *Sea Wolf*—to be propelled by a quite different type of atomic reactor. It is characteristic of American industrial and military enterprise that before a "first" is completed another development is on the way. And it is well that this is so, for in the mounting struggle between the world's good and the world's evil, between atomic destruction and atomic creation, between the atom uncontrolled and the atom controlled, we cannot—if we would survive, be less than first in research and discovery—be less than first in total power—whether that discovery and that power be military or industrial.

January 21, 1954, will live in history as the launching day of the world's first atomic-powered vessel, the submarine *Nautilus*, the first application of motive power from controlled nuclear fission.

"• • • a clearer note is born
Than ever Triton blew from wreathed horn!"

The *Nautilus* marks for all mankind a new era of war or of peace. May we all pray to God that, in the poet's words, the soul of humanity through this achievement may—

"Leave thy low vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free!"

And as this great ship, in John Masefield's words—

"Glides in thunder from the slip,
May shipwreck and collision, fog and fire,
Rock, shoal, and other evils of the sea
Be kept from you; and may the heart's desire
Of those who speed your launching come to be."

It is my privilege now to introduce an honored guest whose great company of scientists and engineers built the nuclear reactor which powers the *Nautilus*—the president of Westinghouse Electric Corp., Gwilym A. Price.

REMARKS BY GWILYM A. PRICE, PRESIDENT, WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORP.

The term "launching" to me has always meant initiative, vigor, and expectation, and has seemed descriptive of an element of American character upon which much of American accomplishment is founded.

For this reason, and because Westinghouse built the atomic engine for this remarkable craft, it is a thrilling experience and an honor to participate in this historic launching today with representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission, the United States Navy, and the General Dynamics Corp.

This formal ceremony is the result of a pioneering effort which began 5 years ago for Westinghouse and thousands of suppliers and subcontractors. Its success was foretold in an Idaho desert 8 months ago.

There the prototype of the atomic engine for the *Nautilus* first delivered substantial quantities of nuclear power.

The *Nautilus* is a testimonial to the ability and determination of free men to act in the defense of human rights and dignity.

But the leaded chamber in the *Nautilus* which will harbor this bright new source of power portends even greater blessings for mankind everywhere.

It promises that the fear generated by the atomic cloud of destruction at Hiroshima will be replaced by the bright sun of atomic creation.

It gives hope that this launching today will become the symbol of a future day, when mass power for people everywhere will overcome and destroy those roots of war—poverty, insecurity, and fear.

May God so will it.

A Poor Labor Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Poor Labor Proposal" from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 27, 1954. The editorial clearly points out the antiunion nature of the President's recommendation for Government-conducted strike votes.

A POOR LABOR PROPOSAL

When President Eisenhower recently recommended that secret strike votes be taken under Government auspices, he failed to state whether the vote should be taken before or after a strike. That, he said later, is a question for Congress.

The question has been confused by subsequent developments. Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, introducing what he termed 'the administration's" labor bill, called for a vote of employees after a strike has begun. But now Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell, speaking for the executive branch of the Government, calls for votes before strikes.

Obviously it doesn't make sense for leaders of the executive and legislative arms of the administration to be on opposite sides of the question. The best thing to do would be to drop the strike-vote proposal altogether. It had no merit to start with.

A vote taken among the workers before a strike would be an attempt to drive a wedge between a union's leadership and its members. If the vote should be against striking, the union would be robbed of its trump card in negotiations. Management would be encouraged to stand pat, and the bargaining process would be hampered rather than helped.

This country has had experience with pre-strike votes. Such action was mandatory in defense plants under the Smith-Connally law during World War II. But the policy was abandoned after it was shown that the procedure did not prevent strikes. The Taft-Hartley Act itself still contains a last-offer vote procedure in national emergency strikes. But the results of this provision have persuaded experts in and out of Congress that it obstructs rather than aids in the settlement of disputes.

As for votes after strikes start, again the intent appears to be anti-union. If management knew that the Government would conduct a secret poll, would it not be encouraged to withhold its best or final offer until after a strike had begun, in the expectation that by offering a little extra just before the vote it would influence a majority against continuing the walkout? While experience suggests that there is little likelihood that union members will repudiate their leaders, the intent is highly questionable and would, we believe, heighten rather than diminish industrial strife.

It would be costly and cumbersome to conduct Federal votes in each of some 500 strikes a month that occur in this country. Nor do we see why the Federal Government should involve itself in the great majority of strikes, which are purely local. It will have more than enough to do if it concerns itself with those disputes having a substantial impact upon the national economy.

President Eisenhower has defended the essential soundness of the Taft-Hartley Act. He has said that "no drastic innovations in this field are therefore desirable or required at this time." Why, then, does he make a drastic strike-vote proposal upon which his own administration cannot agree? The sooner the subject is dropped the better.

Statement of the National Commander of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by Mr. Arthur J. Connell, national commander of the American Legion, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR J. CONNELL, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 28, 1954

Madam Chairman and members, as national commander of the American Legion I thank you for the courtesy you have extended our organization and me in permitting this appearance before your important group to discuss the questions that are a matter of public concern in the field of veterans' benefits.

In my official capacity I accept wholly the expression made early in the life of our organization which says that as long as there is an ex-serviceman who is not properly compensated or hospitalized; as long as there is a family of an ex-serviceman who should

have governmental care, we are pledged to a duty that is above every other—to see that the men who gave without stint to their country are properly cared for, and their families properly protected.

And since your committee was created for the purpose of dealing with the questions that surround the distribution of veterans' benefits, I have the feeling that this is a proper place to discuss many questions that are a matter of continuing interest to us.

During the first session of this Congress your committee was engaged in an exhaustive study of the operation of various phases of veterans affairs. We are familiar with the reports that have come from your studies of these matters. We are awaiting your other reports—and your recommendations—with the greatest interest.

We think it is appropriate to express our thanks to the members of your committee who extended their activities beyond the jurisdiction of this particular committee of Congress and furnished such strong support for veterans' affairs on legislation affecting veterans being handled by other groups in the Congress. Because your members have this compelling interest in all veterans' affairs we are hopeful that you will not object to our discussion of some matters which are not the direct concern of this body, but nevertheless may come to your attention as you are called upon to cast your votes, as Members of the House of Representatives.

OUR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

We ask you to give earnest consideration to our current legislative program. A copy of our National Legislative Bulletin containing this program is attached. It is modest in the extreme. For the most part it seeks to correct inequities. We bring before you no broad new concepts of veterans' legislation. We feel that this is not the time to be making such requests.

We have not accepted the discrimination which says one group of the service-disabled shall receive one rate of compensation, while another group gets a lower rate. The leg amputee with a 40-percent rating is, in our opinion, entitled to a 15-percent cost-of-living increase along with his fellow combat disabled veteran having a higher rate of disability. We think your committee should correct that inequity for the less than 50 percent disabled veteran.

We hope you will agree with us that the Veterans' Administration shall be retained as the single agency handling veterans' benefits. This is not to say that we do not reserve the right to make recommendations for the improvement of that agency. Our purpose in making this statement is to restate our position that it is not necessary to tear down the house to repair a leak in the faucet.

THE BROAD BASE OF VETERANS' BENEFITS

Since your committee is the repository of so much information regarding veterans benefits we hope you will permit me to name just a portion of the program that, in our opinion, comes under the heading of veterans' affairs. It will be apparent to you that the listing I shall make is not intended to be conclusive since it does not touch upon questions such as veterans' preference and some of the benefits such as military retirement pay not ordinarily considered by your committee.

To name these benefits is to show their importance. There are compensation and pension for the disabled veterans and for their dependents. There is the program of medical, hospital, and domiciliary care.

The readjustment and rehabilitation field includes loans for homes, farms, and business. There is, in another field, job counseling and placement. To these may be added education and training, unemployment compensation, mustering out pay, and insurance.

Special attention has been given those disabled who need a particular type of house, to other prosthetic appliances, to out-patient care for service-incurred disabilities, to some forms of retirement pay, and the almost completed program of adjusted compensation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE BENEFITS

These and other benefits that may be enumerated did not come into being full-flowered. Theirs has been a slow growth. This has been a growth conditioned by the periods in which our wars have been fought, and based always on the principle that to him who has borne the battle there goes the everlasting gratitude of a nation.

As the Nation has grown great, as its wealth and population have increased, our wars have spread over the world. The numbers who have been engaged in our wars have grown proportionately and it is axiomatic that the veteran population will share in such a growth.

We ask your committee to be on guard against those who cry out at the number of veterans, at the dollar costs of the veterans benefit programs. You and I know that, for the most part, the total veteran population is only rarely considered by our Government in the distribution of such benefits.

No reasoning person, or organization, argues that there should be free hospitalization for 20 millions of veterans. And there should be no critic of veterans' affairs who will criticize the provision of medical and hospital benefits which will put the sick, broke veteran back into the production line where he may contribute, along with the other taxpayers, to the cost of such programs.

It is our basic belief that the veteran has, and should have, an honored place in the life of the Nation. He was specially selected when he was called to duty. A preference in his favor was then and there established, and, so long as he remains a law-abiding citizen, there should be none to deny him that preference, or the fruits thereof.

No criticism attaches to the Government for providing for the correction of the economic and educational disadvantage to which the veteran has been subjected as a part of his military life. By now it has become pretty well established that a young man called to duty in the Armed Forces, may thereafter expect a program designed to permit him to complete his education.

How, then, is it bad for the Government to provide for the correction of a disability when such correction will keep a veteran off the breadline, will permit him to care for his loved ones through regular employment, merely by giving him care and treatment in a Veterans' Administration medical- and hospital-care program?

VETERANS BENEFITS A BASIC COST OF WAR

Recently the New York Times carried a featured story supplied by the North American Newspaper Alliance pointing out that though shooting wars have ended, the cost has gone on beyond such limiting dates due to the costs of caring for disabled veterans.

We did not agree with all the implications of the article, though we did accept some of its details as a clear statement of the belief we have long held that veterans benefits are a direct, if delayed, cost of war. The necessity for veterans benefit programs is basic to the same extent and degree that war is the last weapon of diplomacy.

It is a fallacy to attempt to show, as some critics of veterans benefits have done, that the cost of veterans benefits is growing out of all proportion to the cost of other items of governmental operation. Recent studies have shown that veterans benefit programs are in line with the increase in the national wealth and income. In fact there have been periods in the past when veterans benefits have been a much higher percentage of the national income and cost of government than they are today.

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Medical Association is continuing unabated its campaign to have the non-service-connected veteran denied hospital care and treatment under the authority the Congress heretofore has given the Veterans' Administration.

Other segments of organized medicine have joined with the AMA in an attempt to discredit the type of medical and hospital program that is operated by the VA. A medical group in Cincinnati is making use of every device it can muster to support its argument that the opening of a new VA hospital in the Cincinnati area will be detrimental to the general welfare.

When the officials of the American Medical Association were before your committee last year they had in mind a limited objective of eliminating the so-called non-service-connected general medical and surgical patients from care by the VA. They had a long-range program of eliminating care of non-service-connected veterans afflicted with mental disability and tuberculosis.

In more recent months, the AMA has attacked the service-connected. It now admits it is against the service-connected veteran getting care for another physical disability which may be related in origin or development. And the spokesmen for the AMA hierarchy have likewise implied that they believe those veterans who have presumptive service-connected disabilities should be denied VA medical and hospital care.

As the story unfolds further, it is possible this most powerful and monopolistic medical guild, the American Medical Association, having virtual control and guidance of the Nation's health program costing $11 billion annually, and with its autocratic direction of the doctor from the time he is a medical student until he finally finishes his years of practice, will come out and flatly say no veteran should have care not approved by the AMA. The AMA is in an unenviable position when it advocates denial of care and treatment for the sick and disabled veteran.

THE PROGRAMS OF OTHER GROUPS

Your committee, and its members individually, will have many matters, directly or indirectly affecting veterans, coming to their attention during this calendar year.

There are commissions and committees created by the 1st session of this Congress which may be coming before the Congress with reports of their studies and recommendations. It is not certain that all such study reports and recommendations affecting veterans will come to the attention of your committee, but we hope your members will watch them with great interest.

REORGANIZATION OF THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

The President has told the Congress that the reorganization of the Veterans' Administration is proceeding with his approval.

Since 1947, the Veterans' Administration has been the most continuously investigated body in the Federal Government. We would be the last to deny to the Congress, or any of its committees, or any other official group, the right to investigate the Veterans' Administration. But we do believe the new Administrator of Veterans' Affairs should have an opportunity to put the current reorganization plan in full force and effect. There are details of the plan which are not wholly satisfying. We retain the right to criticize such details. It is our understanding that the Administrator has said that there will always be a search for ways of im-

proving the service to veterans without violence to the general welfare. This is in accord with our plans down through the years. We intend to remain in the position of being constructive critics of the working operation of the VA programs.

THE NEW ADDENDUM

I think you know that I, as national commander, have stated officially that I believe the use of the new addendum (to the 10–P–10) should be given a fair trial. We have preliminary reports, scattered in nature, indicating that no great harm has been done the medical and hospital program by the use of this new form. We are told that the passage of a year may be required to give the form a proper testing time. Until that time, we shall accept it as a means of establishing still another form of priority for eligibility to hospitalization by the VA.

We note with satisfaction that the average daily use of VA hospital beds has increased and that there has been a decrease in the number of those certified as eligible for hospitalization and awaiting admittance. We believe this is, in part, due to the work your members did in getting an adequate appropriation for the operation of the Department of Medicine and Surgery.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS

This concludes my formal statement before your committee. All of us are grateful to you for your careful consideration of the matters we bring before you. If, at this time, or any time in the future, we can provide any additional information that is of interest and helpful to you, we shall be glad to meet your request as promptly as the circumstances will permit.

John P. Rode: Outstanding Federal Administrator for the Year 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, January 27, 1954, at a banquet in Detroit, Mich., of the Federal Business Association of Detroit, an award was made to John P. Rode as the outstanding Federal Administrator for the year 1953.

This reward was well-deserved and merited by him. As manager of the Detroit field office of the United States Civil Service Commission, he is, without doubt, one of the most popular and hard-working members in Detroit's Federal community. Since his transfer there in 1950, he has applied a boundless energy and faculty for getting things done, not only to the important work of the Commission, but to just about every field affecting and benefiting Federal agencies and Federal employees in the Detroit area.

He helped lead the way in the establishment of the Federal executive development program at Wayne University. The program consists of courses in the latest techniques of management and human relations, given at nominal cost to employees of Federal agencies in supervisory positions. This program has aroused a great deal of interest throughout the country.

He was chosen for the award by a committee headed by the district director of the Internal Revenue Service, which had as consultants a group of top businessmen and representatives of the Detroit Board of Commerce.

Mr. Rode, who is only 38, is possessed of that innate loyalty to the Government's interest which allows him to take part in varied activities and yet preside objectively and with utmost fairness in his official capacity with civil service.

The Detroit area is proud of his record, and I join in the expression of that pride as represented in the official citation which reads as follows:

In presenting this award the Federal Business Association wishes to recognize Mr. Rode for his outstanding administrative abilities in organizing cooperative effort and providing leadership in the development of programs to improve management and personnel administration in Federal agencies.

Trade With Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Stephen J. Skubik:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 22, 1954.*
Hon. JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: A number of Virginians got together at my home in Alexandria the other evening and discussed a most interesting question. I would like to pass on to you the essence of the discussion.

We discussed the fact that Americans today are being told that a little bit of trade with communism is all right. Our group felt it a crime for Americans to buy products produced under Communist slave labor while American free labor is faced with unemployment problems. Our group was also most concerned lest the dollars which the Communists earned by selling their products here might be used to pay for espionage and other Communist activities in America and the free world to undermine our free-enterprise and free-labor system.

It is quite apparent that communism has switched from political and military warfare to economic warfare. Some of our group thought that the Communists have decided to try to gain a victory on the economic front, thereby making a victory on the political or military front easier to accomplish. Others thought that the Communists must be in serious trouble on the home front because of their not being able to supply enough food or clothing to their people and that they must go on the world market to get these goods. It seems foolish for the free world to bolster the economy of the Communists at a time when the people may have become desperate enough to revolt.

Whatever the reasons for the Communist switch to the economic front, it is quite obvious that they are on the offensive and have the initiative. Their success in trading with Great Britain, France, India, and South American countries should be cause for great concern.

One of the friends at the gathering in my home was Donald L. Miller, of Arlington. Mr. Miller has written an article on the menace of Communist trade which he hopes to have published. He proves with documentary evidence that the United States has always been the loser in trading with the Communists. He shows that we have given communism hundreds of millions of dollars with which they could pay their agents to undermine us. I hope that you will help Mr. Miller to get this article published.

Very cordially yours,
STEPHEN J. SKUBIK.

Moonshine Murder, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following article by W. W. Wachtel, president of Calvert Distillers Corp., which points up glaring need for legislation to reduce the present high tax on liquor:

MOONSHINE MURDER, INC.
(By W. W. Wachtel, president, Calvert Distillers Corp.)

FOREWORD: WARNING, DANGER AHEAD

Once a hillbilly occupation confined to rural areas, moonshining has been expanding into a big-city racket.

Ironically, as this racket has become better organized, counterfeiting of moonshine bottles to resemble good, legal whisky is more clever. The more clever they are the worse and more dangerous becomes the illicit product. For big-city bootleggers are shrewd fakers and unconscionable operators.

To begin with, moonshiners—large or small, rural or big-city—cannot make good whisky. Lacking modern production controls, they only make moonshine which contains an excessive amount of amyl alcohol, a notorious nerve-deadening chemical causing sickening hangovers.

But the big-city bootlegger buys this country-made, high-amyl moonshine distillate and not content with its heavy pungency, stretches it with denatured alcohol, or methyl. This latter is wood alcohol; enough of it not only kills, but also embalms. For when methyl is consumed it unites with body proteins and turns to formaldehyde. Undertakers use this for embalming fluid.

There is a warning in this for consumers and mainly, that is the purpose of this booklet—to warn consumers never to buy so-called untaxed whisky right off the boat from strangers, door-to-door canvassers or unlicensed sellers. To be certain of obtaining genuine brands, consumers should buy only from licensed dealers.

This booklet has another purpose in the public interest. That is to advance a long-term program to curb moonshining and bootlegging.

If something along these lines isn't done soon, big-city syndicated gangsterism may get a firm grasp on this profitable moonshining racket. Then try and dislodge them.

W. W. WACHTEL.

SEPTEMBER 1953.

For years, educators, social workers, and clergymen have been teaching "crime does not pay."

But the crime of "moonshine murder" has become very profitable. Main factors responsible are laxity of enforcement of moon-

shine laws, light penalties to violators, but mostly * * * an excessive tax on the legal product.

Do I exaggerate the social results of moonshining when I call it moonshine murder? Well, judge for yourself:

In 1951, at least 60 people died from drinking moonshine. For them moonshining and murder were synonymous. They bought bargain-priced stuff because they couldn't afford to pay for legal liquor.

This has not been restricted to one section of the country. It happened in Revere, Mass., in Albany, N. Y.; in New York City; in Tennessee; in Atlanta, Ga.; and in Miami, Fla.

In 1929, a national crime syndicate operating from Brooklyn killed for hire and used the icepick as its trade-mark. This was the infamous Murder, Inc. It was homicide on a large scale and raised a hue and cry when it was exposed. Yet Murder, Inc., was small potatoes when compared with Moonshine Murder, Inc., which in one incident killed 41 people in Atlanta, blinded 4 and hospitalized 350.

DOLLAR IS A DOLLAR

One reason for the growth of moonshining is that punishment of those convicted does not fit the enormity of the crime. It is possible today, for example, for a moonshiner to cheat the Federal Government out of millions of dollars and in return to receive a fine of only $250, while a violator of the income-tax laws who may have defrauded Uncle Sam of only $1,000 may receive a sentence of a year and a day in jail.

Isn't a defrauded dollar of whisky excise tax equal to the stolen income tax dollar?

The crime of moonshining with its concomitants of murder, juvenile delinquency, and political corruption is treated as lightly as a traffic violation. Most State laws define moonshining as a felony while only a few consider it a misdemeanor. Federal laws are more drastic. Together, Federal and State laws authorize punishment severe enough to deter moonshiners. But what good are the laws if the punishment meted out does not fit the crime? Enforcement cannot successfully perform its function of deterrence if penalties are uniformly light.

As long as courts give light sentences and prosecutors fail to prosecute to the limit of the law, enforcement will be ineffective. There was some excuse for this during prohibition when courts and prosecutors viewed bootleggers as a symbol of protest against an invasion of an essential and highly prized personal liberty. But not today.

COURTS CODDLE BOOTLEGGERS

Look how bootleggers have been coddled:

In a recent survey of the handling of moonshining cases in Federal courts in the 7 States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, and Georgia—in the past 3 years there have been 986 convictions for moonshining in these parts, while only 36 counterfeiters and 66 tax evaders turned up on the conviction lists.

But once convicted what happens to moonshiners? The survey shows that 30 percent of all convicted moonshiners got off with probation—no jail sentence, no fine, no penalty. On the other hand, less than 5 percent of the convicted tax evaders get off so easily. Once convicted, punishment is swift, drastic, and certain, except in moonshining cases.

Only 25 percent of convicted moonshiners paid fines—but 89 percent of the tax evaders did. While the average fine paid by the convicted tax evader was $6,651, the moonshiner's average fine was only $774. Although the tax evaders sent to jail drew average sentences of 2.1 years, moonshiners, in the same courts, were sentenced on the average of only 1.3 years.

Counterfeiting today, for example, is a sucker's game compared to moonshining. Ninety percent of counterfeiters convicted in courts surveyed were imprisoned, but 30 percent of the convicted moonshiners walked out of court on probation.

A FOUR-TIME NO-LOSER

Take the classic case of the Newark, N. J., moonshiner who, judging by past performance, must be at this moment tending a profitable still.

In February 1952, he was picked up at a 1,000-gallon-a-day illicit still in Jamesburg, N. Y., and released in $5,000 bail. Again in April 1952, he was arrested while allegedly working at a 1,775-gallon still in Easton, Pa. This time he was released in $2,000 bail.

Before he was tried on either of these two offenses, Federal Treasury men apprehended him in Brooklyn. He was charged with operating a 1,000-gallon-a-day still located near police headquarters. Bail now was $5,000.

This same moonshiner, on April 17, 1953, was arrested a fourth time in Oceanport, N. J. Here he was alleged to be tending a 1,000-gallon-a-day still operating around the clock making 190-proof alcohol. For a fourth time he was released in bail. This bail amounted to $5,000.

None of the previous three cases had yet been disposed of.

In one year, this man was alleged to have been involved in operating illicit stills known to have defrauded the Federal Government alone of $6,735,000 in taxes. The State of New York lost $488,250 in State excise taxes and Pennsylvania likewise lost $2,693,047 in profits and taxes that it should have collected on the moonshine alleged to have been made and sold in that State by this man and his gang.

The total known loss to the taxpaying public was estimated at $9,915,997. His total bail was $17,000. It costs only a few hundred dollars to purchase bail in this sum.

A GROWING RACKET

The bootleg racket is sparked by the profit motive. Return on investment is high and quick as reports from different sections of the country indicate and the moonshiners are thriving.

The South:

Through much of the South, stills are numerous but small. Every bootlegger is his own landlord—fuel is provided free by the woods and forests—labor costs are low because stills are owner operated with partners sharing profits.

Southern moonshiners hiding in their hills are small fry, unless they are part of the larger operations recently opening near urban areas.

The hillbilly boys, however, provide only their friends and neighbors with a cheap, high-amyl, alcohol-content, unsanitary beverage from pig-wallow stills. Organization for transportation and distribution is lacking. They are not the primary menace to the national moral fiber despite the persistent growth of the racket.

The North:

In the North the illicit business grows faster and is becoming better organized. A former head of the Federal Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division (ATTD) testified before Congress:

"Several groups, operating on an interstate basis in the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts area, are engaged in the production and distribution of high-proof alcohol for beverage purposes."

The present Director of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division, testifying before the Ways and Means Committee, said:

"We took cases (in metropolitan areas) into court with 25, 30, 40, and 50 defendants, and we prosecuted the money men, the principals. * * * We make conspiracy cases and involve the defendants remote from the distilling communities. * * * Many times the workers arrested at the stills are nothing but hired hands; they are not the money men. They are not the people who are reaping the profits from these operations."

Included in the Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States in 1951 was the following:

"In many cases of this type, the illicit distilling and distributing of untaxpaid liquor is engineered by means of widespread conspiracies extending into several States and involving large numbers of defendants engaged in the operation of large illicit distilleries or accessories of smaller ones. The loss of revenue to the Government is enormous, and prosecution by conspiracy often is the only means of reaching those who finance and direct these frauds from the background."

BIG BROOKLYN STILL

When enforcement officers seized a major still on Dean Street, in Brooklyn, near police headquarters, they estimated the cost of this still at $50,000. It consisted of a 4-story building, a truck, and equipment including 3,500-gallon tanks, cookers, a copper column which reached from the second through the third floors, pipes and control valves, 6 mash vats of 6,000-gallon capacity, and a refrigeration unit. Police also estimated that the operators were able to write off the $50,000 capital investment after 16 days of operation. In what legal business does that ever happen? Is it any wonder this racket is growing?

That's the manufacturing end of the racket. To complete the distribution process one racket begets another. Separate and distinct rackets control the wholesale or bootlegging end of the illicit business.

Moonshiners bottle their output in 5-gallon cans. This is shipped to a dump warehouse where the wholesale group takes over. There are usually two types of wholesale bottling methods. In one, the high-proof alcohol is cut once, color added, and then bottled in regular, well-known bottles and sold to consumers as genuine legal brands.

There's a new line used by the peddlers and canvassers who sell moonshine in packages resembling well-known brands of whisky. The sales talk is that this has been hijacked, or stolen from a distillery warehouse before the tax stamps were put on, or that it has been smuggled off a boat from Bermuda.

POISON PRODUCT

The other types of wholesale racket is when operators cut the moonshine twice. Sold in half-gallon jugs it is sold as "moonshine with a kick." Often used to stretch the original high-amyl-alcohol moonshine is the poisonous methyl alcohol.

William R. Harvey, chief investigator for the Huntington (W. Va.) Federal Alcohol Tax and Tobacco Unit, is quoted in the Journal of Commerce as reporting recently what he observes to be a new wrinkle in moonshining:

"Now, if the shine has a faint taste of lye or carbon there's a good reason.

"This develops from a fairly recent trend induced by the automobile age. Good stave barrels are expensive, while steel oil drums are easy to come by. But oil drums have to be cleaned and lye cleans them better than anything else the moonshiner has tried.

"There are even worse practices:

"Harvey says moonshiners know that chicken excretion thrown into the mash will speed fermentation, and some use this method."

NET PROFIT BIG

Conservative enforcement officials figure that return on production of moonshine should be from 100 to 200 percent net profit. The distributors or bootleggers average about the same profit on top of the profit made by the manufacturer or the moonshiner.

Take a relatively big-time still, 1,000 gallons per day, and figure the conservative estimate of $1.75 net profit per gallon. This would work out to $1,750 net profit each day, or $52,500 free and clear from income

tax at the end of a 30-day month. This is good business with a capital "G."

When there's such danger-free, tax-free money to be made, organizing little rackets into a nationwide syndicate will mean millions and political power. This is a powerful incentive.

During prohibition, gang leaders made their first big killings in the illegal whisky field. Bootleg was their alma mater. If the mobsters ever hold a class reunion in moonshining on a national scale, the social and economic impact will be devastating.

YOUTH CORRUPTED

Even now, the effect of moonshine on the youth of our country is serious.

Here are some straws in the wind.

In Anniston, Ala., the local newspaper reported that a school principal assigned a class to see if the purchase of moonshine could be made by underage students. In a matter of hours the entire class came back with the illicit whisky they had bought.

International News Service reported from Chicago that highly watered-down illicit alcohol was being made for the "juvenile" trade. This was being sold in pool halls and soft-drink parlors in the low-income areas, retailing at 15 to 20 cents a shot, especially for teenagers.

POLICE CORRUPTED

Moonshining also corrupts enforcement officers. In Philadelphia three high police officials were suspended. The city launched an investigation. A still of 2,000 gallons capacity had been running and the city wanted to know who gave the bootleggers protection. The Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division estimated that the illicit still cost about $100,000. A deputy police commissioner admitted that stills of that size could not have operated without police protection.

A recent eight-column banner headline in the Cleveland News is typical: "Nab Two Cleveland Policemen in Whisky Hijacking."

There are many instances of corruption of this kind which can be cited to show that low-paid police officials are possible targets for corrupting influences. Bootleggers know the prohibition story. They know there is money enough to be made in moonshining to buy protection.

APATHY OF COURTS

Even if police did the job of catching violators with 100 percent effectiveness, apathy of the courts would undermine enforcement. Remember the case of our four-time no-loser who was arrested four times on a total bail of $17,000. Here are other cases:

In Alabama 1 man was arrested 11 times in 20 years. He was fined a total of $312.50 and sentenced to a total of 58 months. He was a moonshiner. And each time he was in prison he kept planning his next still.

In New Jersey a man was nabbed for bootlegging by the same officer twice in 1 week. He pleaded guilty, and was placed on probation for a year.

In Muncie, Ind., the State excise police chief claimed that some Indiana courts were cooperating with bootleggers. He complained that mandatory 30-day sentences and $200 fines had not been imposed on second offenders. He cited one bootlegger who had been indicted "76 times but had never been given the prescribed penalty."

In Pennsylvania a judge found a man innocent of operating a still. But he told the man to go back to the South. Unfortunately for him, he was on probation down South from a previous violation.

PROHIBITION BY TAXATION

Meanwhile, the excessive tax on the legal product has put the cost of whisky out of reach of millions of people.

Who is this large group of consumers being taxed into prohibition of legal, sanitary, safe, palatable whisky? They are the people who cannot afford the high prices of whisky because it represents 55 percent tax. They are among the 86 percent of the people in the United States who earn less than $5,000 per year and because of the high tax they are denied the right to moderately use legal alcoholic beverages. They are, in fact, encouraged to consume spiked wine, beer, or bootleg. Isn't this a serious form of class legislation which by excessive taxation is practically prohibiting the legal consumption of legal whisky for a large segment of the population?

WHAT TO DO?

It can be seen that this is not an insignificant problem to be relegated, as it is today, to academic discussion and shunted aside to serve political expediency. What can be done?

Here is a seven-point program which will begin to curb moonshine effectively:

1. Reduce Federal excise tax on whisky from the present $10.50 a gallon to $6.

2. Increase Federal enforcement staff responsible for apprehending moonshiners from present 888 men. When the tax was $2.25 a gallon, the Government Bureau had 1,245 agents. Today, the tax is $10.50 a gallon; the yield from liquor taxes has grown to over $2 billion. Common sense would dictate the employment of more agents to protect this huge income source today when the tax rate is at its highest.

3. Agents should receive adequate salaries to insure staffs consisting of men of integrity and ability.

4. Violators should be brought to trial promptly and held with bail commensurate with the seriousness of the crime. Prompt trial and proper bail will put an end to the farce of a moonshiner on bail so he might return to his occupation pending trial.

5. Once convicted, the punishment should fit the crime. Stop treating moonshining as though it were a traffic violation.

6. Promote greater cooperation between Federal and State enforcement staffs, and better training of personnel.

7. Empower and require agents to push investigations relentlessly in order to determine source of raw materials, bottles, labels, and to apprehend all parties to the conspiracy and, otherwise, generally overhaul the ancient, creaking enforcement machinery.

Under present tax rates, moonshining must continue to grow and grow until it someday becomes impossible to curb.

Are we to mark time inactively until this finally happens?

If we do, it will be a major social calamity * * * the more frustrating and reprehensible because it was avoidable.

NEXT TO THE NEWS

(By Alfred Mynders)

Someone seems to have convinced President Eisenhower that TVA ought to pay interest on the money appropriated by Congress. This would change the TVA from a Government investment to a Government loan. TVA would pay for the power installations and pay interest, too. And then the power plant would be given to the Government in perpetuity. If it's a loan, however, instead of an investment, perpetual Government ownership of the power system might be legally involved.

Payment of interest implies a debtor-creditor relationship. The TVA is not a debtor to the Government but an agent of the Government. The people of the valley are not in debt to the Government. They didn't borrow the money to build the TVA power plant.

As agent of the Government the TVA is required by law to collect revenues which will be sufficient to pay back to the Government in 40 years all of the appropriations advanced for the power system. These revenues come from the power consumers of the valley plus what the Government pays for the electricity used in its defense plants.

Mr. Eisenhower proposes that the consumers in the valley pay interest on a loan they never received and that the Government itself pay interest to itself through its payments for power used in the defense plants. How fantastic can they get.

If the TVA appropriations were loans, the consumers of the Tennessee Valley could make out a good case that after the principal and interest on the appropriations is paid off in 40 years, the power installations ought to belong to the people of the Tennessee Valley. If John Doe buys something on the installment plan and pays carrying charges he eventually owns whatever it is he buys. If the people of the TVA area pay all of the costs of that part of the TVA powerplant, which serves them and if, at the same time, they pay interest, they ought eventually to own those installations.

When the Chattanooga Housing Authority pays back the money advanced by the Government for a housing project, the Chattanooga Housing Authority owns the project.

It appears that slick people have sold a bill of goods to President Eisenhower. It sounds simple. The Government will own the plant after the people of the valley have paid for it with interest. It doesn't make sense but a number of the bright ideas dreamed up by the private power lobby fail to make sense. When Government ownership is used as a bludgeon to boost power rates to the consumer without reason, the interests of the public are being monstrously perverted.

As a matter of fact, the President's suggestion is exceedingly dangerous to the Government. The TVA powerplant is one of the best investments the Government ever made, even if we exclude the part played by the TVA in national defense.

For the mere payment of interest on the money, while the valley consumers and the defense plants pay off the principal, the Government is getting a great powerplant in perpetuity. Furthermore, for the first time in a hundred years of developing rivers for navigation and flood control, the Government is getting back part of its investment through the sale of electric energy. Multipurpose development of rivers has now become a worldwide principle, and TVA has set the example.

Large sums of the money put into hydroelectric power installations and steamplants have come out of the revenue received from power consumers in this valley. The TVA has reinvested these revenues in the system, thus reducing the appropriations needed from the Government for new installations.

Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article which Mr. J. C. Clemons, of Scottsboro, Ala., was kind enough to send me recently. This article, written by Mr. Alfred Mynders, appeared in the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, January 23, 1954. I am glad to bring it to the attention of all Members:

If the Government wants to sell the TVA to the power consumers of the valley, those revenues already reinvested in the system should be deducted from the principal.

But the Government doesn't want to sell the TVA, however glibly the private power lobby may suggest it. The Government is now being told that it can eat its TVA cake and have it, too. But the United States doesn't do business that way.

Stop Monopoly Control of the Necessities of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, the recent scandalous and apparently unjustified increase in the cost of coffee has caused much concern to the people of our Nation. This matter is clearly a responsibility of both the executive branch of this Government and of this Congress, which we cannot avoid. The action of this Congress in removing price controls, without providing adequate guarantees against price gouging, has given impetus to certain selfish interests to take advantage of this situation and to exercise monopoly control of necessities of life.

This is a dangerous situation and merits careful consideration by the Banking and Currency Committee, with a view of adopting measures which would prevent the recurrence of such practices.

Under leave to extend, I submit the following resolution adopted on January 21, 1954, by the Michigan CIO executive board, representing over 650,000 members in the State of Michigan.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION FOR INVESTIGATION OF MONOPOLY PRICES

Whereas the recent increase in the price of coffee points up the danger of cartel and monopoly control of the necessities of life; and

Whereas the prices of other necessities have been maintained or increased despite the fact that the amount paid to the farmers has decreased to a point below the cost of production; and

Whereas consumer demand is decreasing due to unemployment and shorter work weeks but the vaunted law of supply and demand is failing to break the monopoly controlled price level; and

Whereas the present Republican Congress has refused to appropriate money to study why the farmer gets less for his products although the consumer still pays high prices; and

Whereas the present Republican Congress is investigation-happy in its attempts to smear labor and liberals but has refused to investigate monopoly prices; and

Whereas individuals and organizations are presently advocating a boycott against coffee: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference go on record asking that all forms of monopoly control of the necessities of life be investigated and strong measures adopted to put a stop to such control; and be it further

Resolved, That the conference call on the Attorney General of the United States to investigate the monopolies for violation of the Sherman antitrust laws and other Federal laws; and be it finally

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent the Congressmen and Senators from Michigan, the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, and the national CIO.

Voice of Democracy Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD H. VELDE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, last November I had the privilege of serving as one of the judges for the finals of the Voice of Democracy contest, sponsored in my congressional district by the Peoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, in conjunction with the Radio & Television Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters.

The contest is now in its seventh year and is open to all sophomore, junior, and senior high-school students. Contestants prepare a 5-minute text for radio broadcast.

I was so impressed with the content of the talks that I heard delivered by these high-school students that I thought that all five were worthy of insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The talk of Miss Vonna Lou Chambers, 201 West Glen Avenue, Peoria, Ill., a student at Woodruff High School in Peoria, was selected by the judges as the best in our area.

Following are the names and texts of the five finalists for the Voice of Democracy contest in our area:

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

(By Miss Vonna Lou Chambers, Woodruff High School student, Peoria, Ill.)

Truly I am blessed beyond the people of any other land. For I am an heir—heir to a treasure house filled with precious jewels. And all of you share this great wealth with me. Oh, this treasure is not diamonds or rubies, but something intrinsically more valuable—the privileges, advantages, and freedoms that are the rights of all people in a democracy.

In order to protect our heritage we must understand it—understand its power to bring happiness to the greatest number of people; understand how it came to be and why every person has an equal right to it.

I can't tell you what democracy is. It's different for each person. It's the thing that belongs to you and to me—and yet makes us individuals. If we were to take fingerprints of democracy, press each person's idea of it down on an inkpad, we'd get many different ideas and no two alike. Even the dictionary doesn't help us much in trying to define or penpoint what democracy is, for we find many correlated subjects like—"Democracy, see also elections, equality, government, legislation, liberty, individualism."

And yet it is this divergency of opinion that is the very essence of democracy—it is every man, everybody—and everybody includes you and me and all the others. Now I think you can see why I can't tell you what democracy is. But I can tell you what it means to me.

Socially, democracy means—equality. The belief that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To be judged according to their abilities, whether they be mechanics, stone cutters, or President of the United States.

Politically—democracy means freedom—freedom to speak, think, and act in an orderly fashion as one wishes, whether at a national political convention or in the barber shop on Main Street. To worship as one pleases, to choose between a church, temple, cathedral, or synagogue. Freedom from the fear of a brutal government whose people exist only for this state and whose youth are educated only for death—from the terrors of a secret police and the nightmare of a desolate lidice.

Economically, democracy means opportunity. Opportunity to provide for ourself and family in our own way. The right to choose between farming or industry—to become a doctor, lawyer, minister, teacher, journalist, or engineer with nothing to cramp one's ambitions or dreams except one's self. The right to decide for ourself and then the opportunity to make good in a spirit of fair competition.

This is democracy as I see it—a system under which we have fared better and prospered more than any other nation on the face of the earth—for when 160 million people believe in the same system and are working for it—it just has to be a success. Yet somehow, some way, democracy means more than all this to me. Because you see, democracy is more than an economic system, a method of representation, or a form of government. It is a belief, an ideal, a philosophy of life—my way of life. And I speak for it whole-heartedly, eagerly, thankfully, knowing that here in America, we are heirs to a truly magnificent treasure—to a way of life that is only dreamed of by the people of other countries—for we are heirs—to democracy.

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Miss Maureen Horan, Academy of Our Lady, student, Peoria, Ill.)

Just the other day, a nation paused to pay honor to the unknown soldier buried in our National Cemetery at Arlington. As the last cannon salute died away in the distance the Chief Executive of our land, President D. D. Eisenhower placed a mammoth wreath on his tomb, the wreath a token of deep love, deep appreciation, deep gratitude, to the boy-martyr, the boy who had paid the supreme price that our democracy might live. My heart was stirred with pride, I longed to let the soldier know he had not died in vain. I wanted to tell him that the youth of America had caught his spirit and were marching right along in that fight for justice and truth. We are proud of our heritage and what a heritage. Look at the score. Every citizen in the United States has every reason to be proud of his country and its record of political, religious, cultural, and economic achievement. Take that little man walking down the treet. I don't know his real name, everyone calls him Joe. He owns the delicatessen near the ball park. He's from Germany, he had been deprived of his human rights. He had told us all about it. My, how much he appreciates the freedom and opportunity of our democracy. Joe's a growing testimony to the greatness of our country and the advantages which Americans enjoy. By reading or listening to stories of those who fled the tyranny of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Communist Russia, I can appreciate the freedom of the press, of religion.

Yes; we can worship God, in our own way—His way. We can earn our daily bread in the occupation or profession we choose. Equality of opportunity does exist even though men differ in talents and accidentals

of birth and family fortune. The United States is the wealthiest country, and has one of the highest standards of living. It has sincerely tried to practice charity and justice with an international community. Aren't these accomplishments worth saving? Even between cokes and dates and the latest song hits we can recognize and appreciate what our democracy has done for us. And between these same cokes and dates we realize that just wishing to keep on enjoying our freedom and liberty is not enough. Gains of the past and the future can be maintained and increased only by doing our best to uphold the American ideal. Democracy broke down in many European countries between the First and Second World Wars because people failed to seek remedies in the democratic way—the way that leads to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

True Americans are ever on the alert to those who would destroy our priceless heritage. More and more they come to realize that every single American right has a corresponding duty and obligation.

Our glorious forefathers understood clearly that religion and morality are indispensable supports of an enduring republic. They wrote their convictions into those imperishable American documents which guarantee our freedoms. No matter what the cost America may accept any challenge and America's youth, trained so very carefully in the democratic way of life with unfaltering steps, stout hearts, and the valor of our unknown soldier are ever ready and willing to guard with their lives our God-given rights.

To me, democracy is like religion, it must be supported by a vital and dynamic faith in things which are right and good and just—a faith which calls for courage and devotion and sacrifice. America is truly great and noble, and will remain great if its people have clean hearts and strong wills to stand on the side of justice and right.

Deep in my heart I carry a prayer and deep gratitude to God that there is an America—land of liberty, and peace, and progress.

I Speak for Democracy

(By Mr. Lonnie Parr III, Chillicothe High School student, Chillicothe, Ill.)

I speak for democracy. Democracy permits me to speak. I speak not only from a sense of responsibility but also with a deep appreciation of my heritage, and with the desire to express my conviction that democracy is the best way of life. In doing so I am exercising one of the greatest of the many privileges I enjoy as a citizen of a democratic country. Democracy needs everyone to sing its many praises. It grows, as the voices of great and small join and swell, into the mighty voice of democracy—the voice of America. This chorus must expand and carry. It must refuse to be drowned out, for peoples throughout the world yearn to listen when democracy speaks. Democracy speaks through its accomplishments. One of the greatest of these is the rapid growth of our democratic country, and its rise to a position of leadership among the nations of the world. America didn't just happen. It was built. Built through the tireless efforts and the great sacrifices of stalwart people—people with a faith in the future and a dream in their hearts. They had the courage to begin and the perseverance to continue, overcoming obstacle after obstacle. We obviously have not solved all of our problems. But through the competent leadership of such great men as Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, we have come a long way toward perfecting a democratic way of life. Our history books relate the stories of many heroes of democracy. They mention the great orators, Henry Clay, Patrick Henry, and Daniel Webster. They do not tell of the greatest orators of all, however, the common people. These people spread democratic ideas by talking in the streets, in their homes, and in the schools. Histories often extoll great writers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Thomas Paine, who spread democracy through the work of their pens. They do not emphasize the greatest writers of all time, the writers of newspapers. Newspapers reach everywhere. A democratic nation is composed of people who not only have diverse opinions and demand the right to express them, but listen to the opinions of others. Many people don't join these discussion-and-opinion-building sessions with the newspaper. They don't read. They can't discuss. They are content to enjoy the privileges which a citizen of a democratic nation enjoys, without taking on the responsibilities. This is a grave danger to the continued growth of our democratic way of life. What are you doing to offset this danger? You who believe in the democratic philosophy of life must be ever alert to those forces which seek to destroy the very freedoms behind which they hide. Democracy has worked in our country and we shall continue to make it work. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people not only shall not perish from the earth, but shall influence the peoples of the world to live together in understanding and peace. Democracy speaks for itself. Look about you. Observe the free churches, the public schools, the automobiles, and the happy people. Truly democracy speaks for you and for me—let us speak for democracy.

I Speak for Democracy

(By Mr. Ronald Litterst, Dunlap High School student, Edelstein, Ill.)

Harriet Beecher Stowe has said, "Your little child is your only true democrat." Standing between childhood and adulthood, I stop to ask myself, Why must this be so? For I would imagine that maturity should increase democracy. Although some adults do use their priveleges, too many others abuse them.

Therefore, using one of my priveleges, I, as a youth in the only existing democracy, desire to be a salesman of our way of life. What am I selling?

My merchandise is a way of life. A way of life that is filled with love, hope, freedom, and wisdom. A great American endorsed my product when he said, "It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." But to me my product is a democracy.

What special inducements does my product have?

Unlike most other ways of life, you in a democracy may say, do, or think anything you please; just as long as you don't infringe on anyone else's liberties. In America, the garbage man is on the same level as the governor, as far as his civil rights are concerned. In our democracy, you have the right to attend the church of your choice, or not attend at all. We even go as far as to allow people to claim there is no God. In these United States, you are guaranteed protection for yourself and your belongings. You have no fear of footsteps in the night.

But the old question arises, How much does my product cost?

The price of my product is high, but can be considered a bargain. You get so many privileges for so few obligations. Its something more than money can buy, so I can't charge you in dollars and cents, but my bill of sale would include obedience, service, and loyalty.

The first item on my bill is obedience. You should obey the laws that were made by your forefathers and fathers. In addition to these civil laws you also should realize that there are divine laws which were made for us to obey.

The second item on my bill is service. It is the least you can do to serve your country. It is your obligation to vote, and to vote for the candidate of your choice. You should be very thankful that our country is governed by the ballot, not the bullet. Yet you must fight for your country when someone or something is threatening our way of life.

The third item on my bill is loyalty. You should be loyal to the symbols of our ideals. Who, upon viewing the flag, has not felt the warm glow inside that challenges you to shout out, I am free, I am free.

Daniel Webster said, "Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country. And, by the blessings of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty upon which the whole world may gaze with admiration forever."

I am completely sold on my product; are you?

My merchandise is a way of life. A way of life that is made up of many small ideals, when put together, make up what I call democracy. Democracy is expensive, yet can be considered a bargain for you get so many privileges for so few obligations.

How long will my product last? Is its guaranty for a year or a lifetime? It's up to us—you and me.

I Speak for Democracy

(By Mr. Don Lanxon, Manual Training High School student, Peoria, Ill.)

I speak for democracy for many reasons. Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." I was born and reared under this principle of government. Government of, by, and for the people. I have learned to love and cherish the freedoms which the Constitution of the United States has granted me.

Among the freedoms enjoyed by a free people is freedom of religion. The right of an individual to worship when, where, and how he chooses. Each Sunday morning thousands of Americans walk or ride to church. The Joneses to the little white church down the street; their neighbors, the Smiths, to the cathedral in the center of town. Here, under democratic rule, churches have been established to further the teachings of the Lord, not a cause of mortal man.

People living in a democracy have the freedom to elect their governmental officials. Therefore, the people indirectly make their own laws. If they break these laws, they receive just punishment. Severity of the punishment depends upon the degree or seriousness of the crime committed.

All persons accused of committing a crime are given the privilege of defending themselves. Their cases are tried by just courts of law. Both sides of a case are always considered.

Rules and regulations adopted under a democratic government are designed to protect the innocent as well as to punish the guilty. Here also a person is considered to be innocent of a crime until, by sufficient evidence, he is proved guilty. This is, in itself, a feather in the bonnet of democracy.

We citizens living under democratic rule have the right to vote as we please. This gives us the right to transfer our opinions to the small squares on the ballot. Our votes are cast in secrecy. No armed guard stands over us to make certain our choices are those approved by some dictatorial power. In the past election for President of the United States, President Eisenhower won because the people wanted him, not because they were pressured into electing him.

To introduce another freedom which we as people of a free country enjoy, let's go to a country where freedom is something the

people can only dream about. Take, for instance, freedom of speech, a right which we, as Americans, take for granted. Yet, in a country where the state is more important than the people in it, citizens are punished for uttering even one word of unfavorable feeling toward the government. Yes, as we sit here now, at this very moment, somewhere in the dictatorial sections of the world a man may be standing on a scaffold, or before a firing squad, life about to be taken from his body because he criticized the government.

Yes, I speak for democracy. Under it the people are treated as human beings. They are not animals—trained to do only as they are bid and when they are bid by the state. Indeed, the liberties we have are priceless. It is our solemn responsibility to remember this. For, as Thomas Jefferson said, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time."

President McKinley and the Randall Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, January 29, is the birthday of Ohio's martyred President, William McKinley. He first won national fame as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and author of the McKinley tariff bill. Many present-day protectionists invoke the spirit of William McKinley. Perhaps they forget President McKinley's last words on this subject, in his last public utterance, at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., on September 5, 1901:

Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. * * *

By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. * * * We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. * * * We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. * * *

The period of exclusiveness is past. * * * Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of our times, measures of retaliation are not. If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

Mr. Speaker, the so-called Randall report, containing the recommendations of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, has just been made public. I was a member of that Commission. I believe that the recommendations on tariff and trade policies are in the true spirit of McKinley's last words.

Climbing Aboard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when a drive becomes popular, some opponents get back of it, just as some quickly look for prominent seats on a poltical bandwagon, even though they do not like the music played.

That is what recently happened to a majority of the members of the House Committee on Government Operations who, after twice blocking my efforts to continue my public exposure of the crooks who were extorting millions, if not billions, from the public, on a third occasion refused to permit me to appoint a subcommittee to impartially and relentlessly dig into the corrupt mess, which cursed the Truman administration and is continuing under the present administration, turned the job over to a subcommittee captained by the Honorable GEORGE H. BENDER, Congressman from Ohio, a candidate for the primary nomination as Republican candidate for United States Senator from Ohio.

A wave of indignation and an irresistible public demand apparently convinced a majority of the members of the Committee on Government Operations—and you can find their names in the Congressional Directory—that the public would not stand for a cover up so after denying me the authority to make investigations and hold hearings, they handed it over to Congressman BENDER.

Very graciously they permitted me to remain an ex officio--whatever that may mean—member of the committee. They kicked me out of the driver's seat but they said I might sit on the tailgait and if, perchance, the conveyance slowed down, get out and give it a push. That I will be glad to do and I will try to let the members of that committee—GEORGE H. BENDER, FRANK C. OSMERS, JR., GORDON L. MCDONOUGH, FRANK M. KARSTEN, ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN, and Mr. L. H. FOUNTAIN—none of whom helped me when I was trying to do the job—know that I am in there pushing to the best of my ability.

But let William F. Pyper, a factual reporter for the Kalamazoo Gazette, tell the story. Here it is:

REPRESENTATIVE HOFFMAN WINS JURISDICTION FIGHT—BUT COMMITTEE STILL REFUSES TO GIVE BACK CONTROL—BENDER HEADS PROBE

(By William F. Pyper)

WASHINGTON.—Still sitting on their chairman, Representative CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Republican, of Michigan, members of the House Government Operations Committee have admitted he was right about their jurisdiction.

The resolution they passed Wednesday reopens an investigation into labor racketeering. It is assigned to the Subcommittee on Accounts, headed by Representative GEORGE H. BENDER, Republican, of Ohio.

The investigation has been in a dormant state for the last 6 months, since the committee took from Chairman HOFFMAN his authority to name special subcommittee and ordered him to wind up the one which was in progress. The chief reason they gave for such action was that labor racketeering was in the jurisdiction of the Committee on Education and Labor and outside the jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Operations.

Representative HOFFMAN said at the time that the action would be welcomed by the labor racketeers, and there has since been a quantity of indignant mail from irate citizens demanding that the committee prosecute its investigations.

Also, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, urged that a committee go into some aspects of the subject exhaustively. In response, Chairman HOFFMAN Wednesday introduced his resolution to authorize him to continue. But the committee had a different version of the same idea. It passed, 19 to 1, it is understood, a resolution authorizing BENDER's Subcommittee on Accounts to conduct an investigation.

SEEKS SENATE SEAT

It happens that Representative BENDER has announced he will seek election as Senator from Ohio this year, and that much of the demand for continued labor racket inqury came from his home city of Cleveland. In a statement announcing his new assignment and welcoming Chairman HOFFMAN as an ex officio member of the subcommittee, Chairman BENDER said he would begin by probing into alleged racketeering in the juke-box business in Cleveland.

"I am happy to see that the committee now admits it has jurisdiction to make these investigations for which there has been so much public demand," Representative HOFFMAN commented.

"It has been my pleasure to educate the members to the extent that they have learned that they do have this jurisdiction.

"On the other hand, I haven't any doubt that this inquiry will be helpful to GEORGE BENDER as a bandwagon he can ride in the primary and general election campaigns in his State this year. Of course, I consider it unfortunate that his appearance on the scene is a little late. Over the years, when he was voting with the CIO, I never heard him say a word about labor rackets.

"If he's sincere in his statement referring to my experience and ability, why wasn't he willing to let me do the job last year, when I was ready to go ahead?"

Human Relations in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I have received a copy of a report by Harold J. Miller, of the staff of the Civil Service Commision, on plans to maintain closer liaison with the Federal employee organizations in a program designed to give employees a better understanding of their Government and their own rights.

The many organizations participating in this program describe it as a major contribution to the efficiency of the public service, and it was my privilege to transmit my copy of this report to President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

I am sure that my colleagues on both sides of the House are in complete agreement with the fundamental objectives of this Federal employee interest pro-

gram to improve the public service through better employee relations and better informed Government employees.

The striking feature of this activity is that it proposes the use of modern, businesslike employee relations techniques in Government administration which do not entail an added cent of increase in governmental costs. It appears to have the solid support of the unions and organizations.

Because I think Members of Congress and others should know more about this activity, and its continuing importance to sound government, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD my letter to the White House and the text of an address by Mr. Miller to the Federal Editors Association:

JANUARY 23, 1954.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am happy to present to you, with my sincere good wishes, my copy of a report, Human Relations in Government, which can, if applied as effectively as it has been developed, have a beneficial effect on the administration's efforts to improve the public service. And its recommendations can also aid the administration in making a good record on civil service.

It is a matter of some pride to me that it was, partly on my recommendation, that Harold J. Miller, Washington newsman and specialist in civil service, was taken on the staff of the United States Civil Service Commission last year to develop the program outlined in this report. This project, which has been named the employee-interest program, seeks to create better understanding of the Federal service and its employees.

As a result, Mr. Miller has initiated and established, on direction of Hon. Philip Young, the Commission Chairman, a down-to-earth program which, in my estimation, if properly followed up and continued as Mr. Miller has devised it, will bring lasting benefits to American public administration.

The title of the report, "Human Relations in Government," is indicative of the program's objectives. It seeks to apply modern, businesslike human-relations practices to Government employee relations. While it was developed in and for the Civil Service Commission, the program can be applied equally well to all other agencies of government.

If it has accomplished nothing more, the project is invaluable in view of the harmonious relationship it has established between some 150 organizations and the Commission, as evidenced by the content of the report. I believe that it is to the lasting credit of the administration that this entirely new approach to Government employee relations has been introduced. And credit is certainly due Mr. Miller for applying his knowledge to this problem.

With kind greetings, I am,
Sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. HAGEN,
Member of Congress, Chairman, House Subcommittee on Civil Service.

HUMAN RELATIONS IN GOVERNMENT

(By Harold J. Miller)

As an editor for more years than I care to recall, and as a reporter in the civil-service field for over 10 years, it has been fundamental that anything I have written or prepared for publication should have that basic ingredient of human interest.

It's not always easy to make a sob story of some prosaic change in civil-service regulations, nor would it be desirable. However, since the civil service is composed of people, and people, I might say, who work harder and do a much better job than the general public imagines, nearly everything in Government news can, and should be interpreted from the viewpoint of flesh and blood people.

There is, fortunately, an increased tendency to give a true picture of Federal workers as good citizens, doing a day's work for a day's pay. We hear fewer of the blanket charges against Federal employees, yet now and then they crop up.

In interpreting the important work of Government employees, the newspapers do an excellent job. The radio and television carry much Government news. The magazines and periodical press are very helpful.

Yet, despite the fine work of these media of communication, and the conscientious efforts of Government information people, a lot of news that directly affects the lives and work of Federal employees throughout the country does not reach Government people through the usual information channels. You know the wire services from Washington are crowded with the dramatic news of Government, the White House, and of Congress. It's the same with the radio and television.

There is little of the man bites dog factor in civil service news, although it is regrettable that when the civil service underdog is criticised, that criticism usually manages to make a news item somewhere.

So much for the primary problem of reaching the mass of Federal employees through the regular public information channels, and also of reaching the general public with a better quota of constructive news about the employees of the Federal Government.

We know that the people in Government information work are working to keep the regular information channels supplied with agency news. They are a valuable arm of the regular news-gathering services.

From my work as a writer in the civil-service field, I have been keenly aware of the continuing real need by Federal employees generally of more news concerning their jobs, and particularly more information about the aims and objectives of their particular agency and department.

This is especially important to the maintenance of good morale among Government workers and its inevitable byproducts, high standards of efficiency and productivity.

A Federal employee declared that low morale can be attributed to three major factors:

1. Uncertainty as to aims and policies.
2. Uncertainty as to continuation of employment in the future.
3. A feeling that Government employees are ridiculed and held in low regard throughout the country.

Another student of Federal employee morale declared that "uncertainty as to the changes made, and their effect on employees, collectively and individually, is the outstanding cause of low morale in Government; and to a large extent it is unnecessary." He advocated a systematic plan of fully informing employees of all agency plans and programs.

We are confident that as the present overall civil-service program develops, Federal employees will have ample evidence of the sincerity of the President in his determination to protect the sanctity of civil service.

We are confident that the Civil Service Commission, and the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives will leave nothing undone to maintain a sound civil service.

However, there remains the continuing problem of keeping employees fully informed of all plans, programs, and policies so that they will have a clear-cut picture of the objectives sought by their agencies. That is where the Federal employee interest program, which is being developed by the speaker at the United States Civil Service Commission, can be of tremendous value.

Research up to this time indicates that without spending an additional extra cent on current administration or information costs, it will be possible to create a better two-way channeling of information between employees and their agencies. Already many Federal employees, and their organizations, have advanced helpful suggestions.

What has been done and what is being done? In developing this program we were assigned to determine the areas of greater need for information about present activities and future plans of the Commission to dispel uncertainty and improve morale in the Federal service.

We are exploring the use of all available media for use in carrying the civil-service story. And we have found that we have been able to enlist the support of many channels of communication that ordinarily do not carry a heavy quota of civil-service news. For instance, we are cutting taped interviews with Government officials and employees for use on radio stations and to play back at meetings. The television people have already taken TV films of the Commission and say they can use more. We are able to develop wider use of other traditional media, posters, photography, film strips, speakers, and slogans.

This is, of course, but one phase of the program. Yet our efforts up to date have shown that much can be done to tell the civil-service story and improve the public service. For example, when one employee leader suggested the issuance of inexpensive fact sheets about civil service, this idea was adopted. The fact sheets are being used to excellent advantage, not only as articles for publication, but also as background material for speeches, for research work, and in other ways.

A vital phase of the program is the establishment of active and cooperative liaison with the employee organizations. Without a dissenting comment, they have pledged their cooperation to the program in the interest of improving the public service.

An important aspect of the program is that Philip Young, Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, and Commissioners George M. Moore and Frederick J. Lawton, have placed the emphasis on a better understanding of and by Federal employees. It appears to be soundly based on a sincere effort to improve the human relations of Government administration. There is certainly ample scope for improvement of employee-management relations in Government.

There have been previous information programs conducted on behalf of Federal employees which dealt with only the publicity phase of the problem. Now, for the first time in civil-service history, the groundwork has been laid for an effective and comprehensive employee relations program for the Federal service.

Important byproducts of our interviews with Federal employee leaders, with agency officials and with employees themselves, are recommendations that can have a lasting and important relation to improved Government administration.

For example, some employees believe that steps could be taken to clarify the existing law relating to the rights of employees to organize and intercede with the Congress and their agencies.

Employees themselves have as good ideas as anyone on how Government administration and the public service can be improved. We believe this program can give proper emphasis to employee viewpoints on legislation and changes in regulations that can improve the Federal service.

It should be possible to emphasize to the American public some of the fine traditions of the civil service. The Marine Corps, the Secret Service, the FBI, because of the dramatic nature of their work, have developed their traditions to a high degree. But there are just as vital and just as thrilling traditions down through the entire public service to be dramatized and presented to the public.

Private industry has developed to a high degree pride in organization. The American Government is something of which every employee can be proud.

Of course, a human relations, or public relations program, is no better than the policies that it promulgates. The doing must be sound and in the public service or the telling goes for nought.

As you know, all the telling in the world will do no good unless we get people to listen, to understand, and to believe.

That is why I think the present Federal employee interest program is sound. We have gone to the employees themselves and their organizations for advice and suggestions and, as far as possible, we will act on their advice. And I may say, for the purpose of this program, all employees, at top management and lesser levels, have been regarded as employees.

The results to date are encouraging. Out of the mass of ideas that have been advanced we believe that a really sound and effective program will be developed. Actually it is more than an information function. Personnel staffs can have an important role. Administrators and supervisors will have a vital part. Employees all along the line can help.

To be really effective, however, the program must have authority and responsibility from the top management level. It can and should be a factor in improving all Government relations, including employee relations, community relations, public relations, and, of course, contacts with all media, internal and external, of communication and media. It must be a real human-relations program for the Federal service.

Chairman Young said in an address on December 18, 1953, to Government information people: "• • • our overall objective is to strengthen and improve the Federal service. Everything that we do that increases employee satisfaction, appreciation of Government workers, or public esteem of the service as a whole, or that helps to attract good people to Government employment, contributes toward the accomplishment of that objective. Technical improvements, however valuable, are not enough; understanding and support both by employees and the public are essential to the success of any public service."

Commissioner Moore, in an address January 4, 1954, in Miami, Fla., said: "We have introduced a completely new activity at the Commission which will create a better understanding and appreciation of Federal employees' problems. This is known as the employee-interest program, which we believe will do much to dispel uncertainty and improve morale among Federal employees. While this program is in its initial stages, we are confident it will not only give the Federal employee organizations a greater opportunity in the development of plans, programs, and policies directed at improving the civil service, but it will also provide the general public with a greater appreciation of the outstanding service rendered daily by Federal employees."

From our findings up to date on the employee-interest program, we are confident that its ultimate result will be better morale among employees, better undrstanding by the general public and better public service and administration.

(Employee-interest program, U. S. Civil Service Commission, room 328, main building, Washington, D. C., RE 7-5711 ext. 2703, code 171.)

The Present Powerful Tendencies Toward Centralization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a speech delivered on November 10, 1953, by Dean Clarence Manion, of Indiana, before the session on governmental relations of the American Petroleum Industries Committee.

Dean Manion's speech is a brilliant statement of why every American citizen must fight unceasingly to preserve our local self-government against the present powerful tendencies to centralization.

This fight to preserve our liberties through decentralization of power is at the same time the best defense against communism.

I am advised by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 4 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at a cost of $340.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW IS YOUR CONSTITUTION?[1]

(By Hon. Clarence E. Manion)[2]

I must tell this audience, in passing, that a few weeks ago in this very room, I addressed a convention of milk dealers, at which time we were all required to sip milk as we spoke. About 6 months prior to that, at the Sherman Hotel in this city, there was a convention of soft-drink manufacturers, who, in like manner, required us to drink pop. You can understand that I came to this petroleum convention today with some slight misgivings.

I am also time conscious, and I know that you are. Knute Rockne used to say that he didn't worry about the speaker who didn't look at his watch. He was concerned about the fellow who didn't keep his eye on the calendar. I am clock and calendar conscious today.

Let me tell you frankly and quickly about a domestic experience of mine. Recently I yielded to a desire which I should have suppressed: I purchased an old-fashioned grandfather clock. I lugged it into my household, where I found no enthusiasm for it at all on the part of my family. Let's put it that way.

There was one exception. My then 6-year-old son thought the thing was wonderful. At striking time he would run and stand in front of the clock as though he expected it to waltz away or something as soon as it finished.

Well, one morning, about 7 o'clock, this apparatus began to strike; but, in its ancient eccentricity, it struck not only 7, but 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. At the stroke of 16 Christopher stuck his head into the bedroom and said: "Mommie, daddy. Get up. It's way later than it's ever been around here."

This is precisely the genius for oversimplification I would like to see revived in these United States. Throughout this convention, and everywhere else, one hears expressions about the complexity of modern life. Over at the milk dealers' convention I found they had their special problems, and they drew a careful bead on them. It was the same with the soft-drink manufacturers, the Farm Bureau Federation in Seattle, the bar association in Massachusetts, and the doctors right here a couple of weeks ago. In this country we have now the greatest congregations of acute, special interests we have ever had, to put it mildly and briefly.

DISCONSOLATE

But, in listening first to one group and then to another—in every State of the Union—I get more and more concerned about the sharp specialization of our American interests. In the past 2 years I have literally been in every State of the Union—in some of them many times—talking to many petroleum associations, furniture associations, beer associations, food associations, manufacturing conventions, retailers, realtors, and railroaders. I believe that I have literally called the roll of American industry.

You are interested in highways, pipelines, drilling, and marketing of oil and its by-products. Everybody else is just as vitally and critically interested in his particular line as you are, and all approach it with something which at least suggests your proficiency and acumen.

Now let me tell you why I look at all of this in a spirit of disconsolation. In every State of the Union, and in every congregation I have faced, I find an absence of interest in the important general problem which confronts this country.

BASIC DOCTRINE

Let me tell you what I mean. A few weeks ago Time magazine carried a news dispatch to the effect that the Government of Guatemala had arbitrarily seized 230,000 acres of land belonging to the United Fruit Co. What did the United Fruit Co. do about it? Absolutely nothing. There was nothing they could do about it. No private citizen in Guatemala can effectively challenge any act of his Government.

Before that notice appeared—some months, to be exact—in a very memorable action, which all of you recall in detail, the then President of the United States seized the steel properties of this country. What did the steel owners do about it? They went into court and pleaded what is known as the Constitution of the United States. Eventually the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States; and that august body, in a divided opinion, commanded the President to give the steel properties back to their owners. He promptly did so.

Those two historical citations dramatize the difference between the country in which you live and all the rest of the countries on the face of the earth. This is the only place left under God's heaven where an individual citizen can effectively challenge the acts of his Government. Here we are still able to say: "Thus far and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. Stand back." Not at the command of the King's armies, but at the command of the individual citizen.

Now all of us take this revolutionary procedure calmly and in stride, while we worry about the defense of the free world—worry about the future of liberty and about the ultimate defeat of communism. There isn't any free world outside of the United States, and the free world which is now represented by the United States will disappear as soon as this strange and unique American constitutional limitation upon government is subverted or destroyed.

RETREAT FROM LIBERTY

How is your Constitution? Have you looked at it lately? Do you know the thing which stands between you and what happened to the Guatemalans? You do not

[1] Presented to a session on Government relations, under the auspices of the American Petroleum Industries Committee, during the 33d annual meeting of the American Petroleum Institute, in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill., November 10, 1953.

[2] Chairman, Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, South Bend, Ind.

have to go behind the Iron Curtain to witness examples of outright confiscation. You can find them at every crossroad in Merrie England, for instance, the Mother of Parliaments and the mother of the historical development of liberty as we know it.

Liberty has retreated all over the world. Liberty has retreated in this country. It continues to retreat because, practically speaking, nobody knows exactly what or where liberty is. It is sad but, nevertheless, true that nobody defines liberty today in a manner understandable to the average citizen and voter.

What are you going to do with these voters? Are you going to disfranchise them, or are you going to inform them? We have reached the point where you must take one course or the other unless you are soon to face up to the absolute and complete governmental confiscation, direct or indirect, of every atom of private property now held in this country. Will you personally inform these voters? Will you continue to trust merely to the processes of juvenile education to inform them? When are businessmen going to do something about bringing the facts of governmental life back into the consciousness of all of the American people? Will businessmen wait until it is too late?

It has been 2,200 years since old Socrates reduced the formula for happy and virtuous living to a single sentence—"Pay your debts and tell the truth." Nobody has improved upon that formula since. Pay your debts and tell the truth. Are we telling the truth about government today to the people who continuously misconstrue its purpose and no longer see its natural limitations?

Where is an advertisement of the four simple facts of American life upon which the whole structure of American freedom is built?

LAST REMAINING HOPE

You have read the testimony of this brave Pole who jumped the U. N. delegation recently and escaped into the freedom of the United States. He has been very voluble ever since in the newspapers and over radio and television. There is one sentence which recurs in all of his testimony. He says, "the United States of America is the last remaining hope of the world." That is literally true, my friends. We are the last hope of mankind.

Suppose a great tidal wave would sweep over the Rocky Mountains and sink us permanently into the sea, as Atlantis, with all of its learning and science, is supposed to have sunk into the sea, thousands of years ago? Suppose the United States should disappear from the face of the earth at this minute. You will say: "Well, that would be pretty bad for us." It wouldn't be half so bad for us, my friends, as it would be for the people who survived on the remaining areas of the earth's surface. If the United States of America would disappear right now, the people who survived on the remaining areas of the earth would immediately be engulfed in a torture and a terror so tyrannical and so demoralizing that the people who survived it would envy us who escaped it. That is what we now mean to mankind.

But, you say: "Oh, we're not going to be washed away. No tidal wave is capable of surmounting the Rocky Mountains." Listen: That certain United States of America, which is the hope—and in many cases the envy—of mankind, is not just a choice chunk of geography. It is not just a concentration of great industrial know-how or commercial potential such as is represented here today. It is not just a measureless treasury of apparently exhaustless resources. This isn't the United States this Pole is talking about. The United States of America, which is the hope and the envy of mankind, is merely the incarnation of certain basic political convictions out of which this giant superstructure of civilization has risen. If those convictions disappear, the foundation of this country disappears, and we sink out of existence just as effectively as if the waves of the ocean had washed us away.

FOUR FACTS OF LIFE

What are these four facts of American life? To make them known, the first breath of the new life of this Republic needs to be amplified. We need to turn back to the four basic convictions outlined in the Declaration of Independence—not faiths or hopes, if you please, but facts.

We stated, there and then, that we held certain truths as firmly as we hold the conviction that 2 and 2 make 4.

Don't forget what Whittaker Chambers told us a couple of years ago in that memorable book of his. He went into communism looking for conviction. He says he couldn't find conviction anywhere else in the United States in which he lived. Outside of communism all was doubt and hypothesis. The Communists, on the contrary, held their conviction with the tenacity of a dead hand. He was attracted to communism because it had conviction. "Communism," he said, "is what happens when the mind of man divorces itself from God." When you lose the conviction that there is an Almighty Creator, you go to communism as the only logical alternative; for communism is the conviction that material force alone is almighty.

TWO KINDS OF CONVICTIONS

The Communists are convinced only of force, fanaticism, and faithlessness. They hold that conviction with frozen tenacity. If he wanted conviction, Chambers should have looked at the Declaration of Independence. He would have found there all of the convictions indispensable to human beings. There he would have found the basic conviction—the truth that "all men are created." The fact, in other words, of God. God is a fact—says the Declaration. God is not a matter of conscience or a matter of faith merely, but a matter of fact. Here is where we start to advertise the facts of American life—by advertising the fact of God's existence. Next comes the second conviction—one that Chambers would have found very frustrating to the Communists, viz, the conviction that all men are created equal. Equal before God, and for that reason equal before the law and beyond that unequal in every observable and conceivable way.

Look at this audience here. Fortunately some ladies are present. They are all beautiful. The men, of course, are not. [Laughter.] That is a superficial inequality. But take a look at that fingerprint of yours. J. Edgar Hoover says that is the only one of its kind on earth. That fingerprint distinguishes you from every other human being who lives now or who has ever lived. Have you ever stopped to look at it closely and think about the singular individuality which God Almighty breathed into your soul at the time of your creation? The Declaration of Independence affirms that as a second great fact of life. But that is only the beginning of your individuality. Let's get out of here and go over to the darkest corner of Africa, so-called. Now draw up the whole tortured human race in a single file stretching all the way from the darkest corner of Africa to the brightest corner of Chicago. What do you see in that line? Well, let's call old Joe Stalin (may the Lord torture his iniquitous soul). * * * Ask Joe what he sees in that line.

"I see the proletariat, the bourgeoisie. I see the masses and the classes, the races, the kulaks."

ONLY THE INDIVIDUAL

You see, Joe kept on seeing things which aren't there. God Almighty didn't create the bourgeoisie, the kulaks, the whites, the blacks, the races, the masses and classes. God Almighty created individual men and women, each of whom is different from every other one on earth. That is a fact of the natural law of creation which the Declaration of Independence recognizes.

Have you ever realized how much depends upon this individualization of human beings? Some of these people want to be farmers. Some of them want to dig for oil. Some want to be merchants, manufacturers, policemen, politicians, professors—not many, thank God, but a few. Out of this great complex of differences we are fed and clothed. All differences in ambition, initiative, energy, ability—these differences make for an ultimate difference in achievement. We cannot escape it. It is a part of God's natural law.

Think what a dull world this would be if everybody wanted to hang paper. There wouldn't be any walls to hang the paper on.

It's all a part of God's design that people should be differently constituted physically at the same time that they are equal in the sight of God, and equal before the law of the land. Here is the great challenge to the phony equality which the Soviets are selling around the world. The big important answer is the second fact of American life.

TWIN INSEPARABLES

What about the third fact? We hold this to be a fact, said the Founding Fathers, "that all men are endowed" (not by the Constitution, not by the Bill of Rights) but "by their Creator"—by God Himself—"with certain unalienable rights," incentives, "life and liberty." Get that. There isn't any distinction here between life and liberty. A man is spiritually dead when his liberty is gone. According to the Declaration of Independence, life and liberty are inseparable, unalienable and both come from God, Himself.

Notice how the fact of God is parlayed through these basic, fundamental truths; and how out of them proceeds the fourth fact, the fact about government.

SERVANT AND TOOL

Here is the most misunderstood and confused corner in the whole foundation of freedom. What can government do about life and liberty? What are the facts about government? The big question was how to protect this life and this liberty. Deliberately the Founding Fathers said: We hold this to be a fact that, "to secure these rights," to protect these gifts of God, "governments are instituted among men" to protect the rights God gave to man. Government is thus man's agent for the protection of God's gifts.

Ultimately it is the fact of God which subordinates civil government to servitude, and keeps it away from a claim of mastery. The fact of God is the only thing which subordinates government. This is why we must constantly stress the fact of God—not as a matter of faith, not as something which helps us to save our souls, but as something which is necessary to save our civilization if it is going to be saved. The fact of God subordinates government to servitude. Whether government shall be servant or master is the big issue between America and communism, for which billions are being expended in this country today. And what is it all about? It is whether government shall be master or servant—it is all about the fact of God, in other words.

If there isn't any God, then Malenkov and company are correct. Think of it. What are you doing about promulgating these basic facts of life to the people who go to the polls here in such great numbers, under the unfortunate misapprehension that government is precisely the all-powerful instrument our enemies say it is? According to the Declaration of Independence, government is a servant. It is a device, a tool. It is a tool which was designed to do a special job, like a drill press. It is a single-purpose tool

Recently, within a stone's throw of my house, one of your companies built a mammoth pipeline under the St. Joe River. It was a breathtaking operation. All the neighborhood gathered to watch the crews work, day and night, with the tremendous, unfamiliar mechanism which were used to get under the river with this long line of pipe. Those machines were designed to do a special job, and they did it. Those machines were not designed to give milk or sedatives—on social security. They were designed to burrow and plant pipe, and everybody concerned with the operation knew it. Unfortunately we have allowed people to forget the specialized nature of the governmental mechanism. The most tool-conscious nation on earth has forgotten the narrow limitations of the tool of government.

LIKE A FIRE

Government was designed to secure rights; but, if you don't watch it, it will try to do everything else on earth.

George Washington showed his great genius for simplification when he said: "Government is like fire—a dangerous servant, a fearful master." That truth would be worth millions of dollars if it was radioed all over the country every day, thus etching itself into the national subconscious.

Let me repeat it: "Government is like fire—a dangerous servant, a fearful master." I had to write that expression 500 times when I was in the 7th grade. That is why I'll never forget it. I wish each of my children had to write it 5,000 times.

Do you think of government as fire? Do you think the average fellow out there on Michigan Avenue thinks of his government as fire?

I attended a manufacturers' meeting in Connecticut the other night. It was easy to see that those manufacturers hadn't thought of government as fire at all. On the spur of the moment (it was somewhat unfair, of course), I said: "If somebody stuck his head in that door back there at this moment and yelled 'Fire,' that would be the last word in my speech. I could think of many happier ways to end it. But, on the other hand, if some character should waltz out in front of the footlights here and in dulcet tones say 'Government,' I would lose my audience, too, because at least half of you would come up after concessions, contracts, subsidies, and handouts."

Washington fled from government as he fled from fire. The American people still flee from fire, but they no longer flee from government. One of the things we must do in order to reinstate the safety of liberty in this country is to bring back into the consciousness of the American people the truth that George Washington expressed: "Government is like fire." You can put that one in 30 seconds of your next radio plug. Try it over and over again for a couple of days. Test the reaction in your community. It will be a healthy reaction for liberty, and it will multiply itself 10,000 times all over the country if and when used by businessmen who have not developed the political inferiority complex which I find far too frequently in businessmen today. We need the courage to tell the truth and to pay our debts—our debts. May God forgive them and us.

FRIGHTENING FACTS

Here are some facts of life taken at random from my short Washington diary. I find that back in 1932 our debt was $19.5 billions, and in that bad depression year we spent $4.7 billions. In 1952 we spent more than $73 billion. Our debt is now $275 billion. In addition to this, our signed promissory notes for unlimited amounts of men and materials are scattered over half the world. Do you know that we now have stored a billion pounds (can you conceive of a billion pounds) of butter, cheese, and dried milk, and that the Government is buying more by the hour? We have literally run out of warehouses. We have 900 million bushels of wheat and corn in storage. We have 850 million pounds of cottonseed oil. Now it is seriously proposed that we buy a billion pounds of beef. When will the Government begin to buy the surplus oil, refrigerators, and automobiles? Do you believe that any self-respecting farmer, if he really knew the facts, would want to sell the United States another pound of butter or another bushel of grain? I can't believe that he would, but nobody tells him the truth. Politicians merely tell him what they think the farmer wants to hear.

All this has nothing to do with the field of intergovernmental relations. What I say to you now, I could have said to you a year ago. I'm talking now about the basic nature of government, and the miracle which we performed when this country was founded and which had never been done before in the history of the world. At that time we chained government down, harnessed it to man's purpose, and sought to make sure that it would never break loose to his destruction.

CAPTURED AND CONFINED

When our founding fathers wrote this Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States which succeeded it, they were looking at six-thousand-odd years of human history. They saw this fire of government sweeping back and forth across human beings, burning the God-given rights of man to a crisp at least once in every generation. They resolved that it wouldn't happen here, and for the first time in history they captured this fire and confined it. That is what you do with fire if you are wise. Whether you see fire in a blast furnace or in a cook stove, you see iron walls around it. The founders took the fire of government and confined it behind the walls of the world's first effective constitutional system. They separated it in compartments—legislative, executive, and judiciary—and they divided it carefully between State and Nation.

They subdivided government sharply not to make it more efficient, but to enable the people to control it. They knew that concentrated government is uncontrollable.

INSURANCE POLICY

Our constitutional system is a fire-insurance policy; please think of it that way, talk of it that way, advertise it that way. The Constitution is a fire-insurance policy which protects you against the destructive fire of government.

The decentralization, the segmentation, of American Government was deliberately designed to slow government down, to make it manageable and controllable.

The founding fathers acted on the well-founded assumption that liberty is safe only when governmental power is dispersed.

It has been 40 years since Woodrow Wilson summed this up in another billboard expression: "A concentration of governmental power," he said, "is what always precedes the death of human liberty."

MENACE OF CENTRALIZATION

How is the cause of liberty today? Answer that by another question: How is the concentration of governmental power today?

Back in 1949 another president—of a great university—said this: "If we allow this constant drift toward central government to continue, ownership of property will gradually drift into that central government; and, finally, we shall have to have dictatorship as the only means of operating such a huge organization." That university president is now President of the United States. That drift toward central government was detected in 1949, before General Eisenhower assumed the terrible obligations of the Presidency of this country.

Is private property now following that drift into central government? What do you think these billions of pounds and bushels of stored products represent, or Federal ownership of more than 4½ million acres of land—almost one-fourth of the entire land area of this country? You say: "Oh, that goes all the way back to the Louisiana Purchase." Indeed, it doesn't. More than one-sixth of the land now owned by the Federal Government has been acquired by it in the past 10 years, and the end is not yet. It is just exactly as President Eisenhower, of Columbia University, detected 4 or 5 years ago—a drift of property into the central government, to be followed by a dictatorship as the only practical means of controlling it.

I am thinking of Guatemala. I am also thinking of something which a notorious (and, I am sure, a thoroughly repentent) ex-Communist told me at Notre Dame a few years ago. He said: "Do you know what is the greatest frustration of the Communist conspiracy in the United States?"

He said: "It is the Constitution of the United States." He went on to explain. The Communist formula for the capture of a country through conspiracy (and that's the way they have since captured 15 of them, by conspiracy from the inside) calls first for the capture of the police, that the police of the country be subjugated. Central control of the police is the first step. Then, when the police are communized, they move on to the ballot boxes, where the people, in terror of the police, vote the country into communism. Immediately the new Communist government, in a great propaganda gesture, confiscates the lands—including the oil lands of course—and redistributes them from the kulaks to the proletariat.

That is exactly what happened in Czechoslovakia, in Bulgaria and Rumania, and in the other 15 separate formerly independent nations containing 600 million people captured by Communists since the end of World War II. Not, if you please, with atom bombs, submarines, armies, or air forces, but with the simple formula—the police, the ballot box, the land.

POLICE

What happens when a Communist conspirator looks around for central control of the police in this country? Does he find the police control in Washington, ready for Alger Hiss or his opposite number? Quite the contrary. Under the Constitution of the United States he finds the police locked away in 48 separate independent constitutional compartments called States. The police are locally controlled not only by the States, but in the cities, counties, and local communities. Under the Constitution the police are decentralized. This is the first frustration of the communist conspirator.

BALLOT BOX

Next he looks for the ballot box; and where does he find that? In Washington, under the secretary of voting? He finds that the ballot box is controlled not in Washington, centralized, ready for seizure. He finds the ballot boxes distributed throughout 48 constitutional jurisdictions called States. Voting is State-controlled all by the wise prevision of the Founding Fathers.

LAND

And, finally, the land: Is land and property a nationally controlled establishment, ready for central seizure and redistribution? He finds the land, by the wise prevision of the Founding Fathers, locked away in 48 separate constitutional compartments called States. Land is a local question; all property is held under State and local law.

How often have you heard people complain because the requirements for executing a deed in Indiana are different from those required in Illinois? They say: "We ought to have that procedure streamlined and centralized." Decentralization of land control is our best protection, one of the three best

protections against dictatorship. States' rights, if you please, the constitutional decentralization of government in this country, is our best protection against communism.

With all due respect to full military protection, which we must have, never forget that constitutional decentralization of power is the thing which frustrates the success of the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

Be on the alert against the centralization of police control, no matter by what name it is called. Be on the alert against centralized control of lands, or any part of the lands—and that includes the tidelands, if you please. Be on the alert against any attempt to centralize control of the ballot box, whether it is done through misguided "civil-rights" movements or on any other pretext. Keep them, please—keep the lands, keep the ballot box—in the firm control of the States, where the framers of the Constitution placed them. In other words, keep the Constitution intact, both in letter and spirit.

But in our generation the Constitution has been disregarded, misconstrued, and abused—in school and out, in court and out. Today, do you think our people generally regard the Constitution as a fire-insurance policy? For the most part, today, they are led to believe that the Constitution is an "archaic road block" which, unfortunately for some peculiar reason, is thrown across the path of the governmental gravy train. That is the modern conception of the Constitution. To save America you must disabuse the minds of these millions of that unfortunate misconception.

SELF-CONTROL, SELF-RESTRAINT

What is the alternative to all this Government control and regulation? How are you going to get rid of it? We shall never get rid of it until we are prepared to pay the price of constitutional limitations. James Madison truly said that the future of our constitutional system depends upon "the capacity of mankind for self-government." That doesn't mean merely voting or politicking. Self-government means self-control, self-restraint, under the moral laws of God. That's where the Ten Commandments come in. Moral self-government under God's commandments is the very predicate of our system of strictly limited civil government.

Let me commend this to your interest and devotion. There are three documents upon which the future of this country squarely rests. The true interpretation of self-government is explained in the Ten Commandments of God. The Decalog, therefore, is document No. 1. The American Declaration of Independence which outlines the four facts of American life, the incarnation of which is responsible for all of our greatness, is document No. 2. The third document is the Constitution of the United States which checks, balances, and divides civil government into a controllable pattern.

The people need to revive their consciousness of these three closely interrelated documents.

MORAL PERSPECTIVE

I daresay that, right in this room this afternoon, there is sufficient power—if it were properly coordinated, if a tithe of your advertising budgets could be dedicated to it periodically—to convince the average voter of his moral responsibility as a self-governing American. Undoubtedly you could make that voter understand that, when he uses the ballot, he must use it with the same moral restraint with which he would use a bludgeon or a blackjack. Do you think he understands that now? The same fellow who would never put a gun in the ribs of anybody would and does, nevertheless, swing that ballot to effectuate the same kind of confiscation which direct action could accomplish only with a gun or a bludgeon.

The ballot and the use of the ballot must be brought into moral perspective. This means that you must advertise the fact of God, and of God's commandments, and speedily amplify the basic four facts of American life.

The Constitution needs to be represented for what it is, a limitation upon government. Woodrow Wilson, in opening the quotation I previously mentioned, said: "The history of liberty is the history of the limitation of government power." Liberty is limited government. There is no other definition for liberty. If you want to be free, then limit government; if you want to be a slave, take the harness off government, because despotism is simply unlimited, unharnessed government—whether it parades itself as communism or fascism or just common, old-fashioned tyranny.

Are you ready for a specific? Do you want to do something for the Constitution this very afternoon? Then let me tell you this.

TREATY DANGER

Here is something which Mr. John Foster Dulles said in Louisville, Ky., a year ago: "The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power liable to abuse. Treaties make international law, and also they make domestic law. Under our Constitution, treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are, indeed, more supreme than ordinary laws, for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty law can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President; they can take powers from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body, and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights." Read each sentence of the Dulles quote carefully. Do you want treaties to do these things to the Constitution? Observe that treaties may destroy not only your liberty, but the very independence of the United States.

In my judgment, the menace of treaty law is the nearest, most dangerous threat to the maintenance of those constitutional limitations which constitute the very definition of liberty in this land.

Sixty-four patriotic United States Senators have united in the authorship of what is known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, commonly called the Bricker resolution—64 Senators—two-thirds of the entire senatorial body, indicating the temper of the United States Senate. On this vital question 64 Senators proposed a constitutional amendment to put treaties under the Constitution where they belong, rather than on top of the Constitution where treaties now are. They were ready to adopt the resolution immediately. Sixty-four Senators on one bill was unprecedented.

And then the forces of big government moved in. The right articles began to appear in the proper places. Senator BRICKER and the Bricker amendment were cleverly discredited. Some of the most respected advocates of the needed amendment began to retreat for the lack of that courage which is essential in a critical time like this. Now there is grave question as to whether the Bricker amendment will ever see the light of day in the next session of Congress.

This audience represents every State in the Union. When you get home, will you please ask your Senators how they stand on the Bricker amendment? What earthly excuse can they give for leaving this tremendous hole unplugged, for exposing the independence of the United States and the preservation of our liberties to sudden destruction through a treaty or an executive agreement, like those of Yalta or Potsdam?

This is a matter of the utmost urgency. This is not a task for somebody else to perform. This is a job for you. If you think hard about Guatemala, you should snap out of your lethargy in a hurry.

MANAGEMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

The fate of this country is now in the hands of management. You know that. On one side labor is organized and indoctrinated for and by big government. Owners are inarticulate and unorganized. Management is the institution which holds the reins of what power is left to defend and maintain the free institutions of this country. As managers, you have an obligation to your stockholders to show them what has already happened in the direction of confiscation and concentration of power in this country in the past quarter of a century.

How many of you are telling your stockholders that many of your companies work 8 months for the Government before a wheel is turned for the owners? You know that is true. Do you give your stockholders that information when you mail them a dividend check or publish your annual report? What are you doing, as responsible citizens, to defend this constitutional system?

This is rather a rough talk for a guest who is enjoying your hospitality. Please forgive me, but I feel a deep sense of responsibility, my friends. It isn't often that I get this close to the industrial aristocracy of the country, and I can't just pass the time of day; because this threat weighs heavily upon my conscience, and the time of day—as my young son said—"is later than it's ever been around here."

TEN WORDS

I rode to Chicago on an airplane a short time ago with a very influential man from New York. I gave him this business all the way from LaGuardia Field to the Midway Airport. He sat silently, stoically listening and nodding. Finally he began to take notes. I felt encouraged, and gave him more; but, when he left the airplane, he gave me his notes. He said: "Manion, watch your blood pressure, my friend." He said: "You can't do anything about this despotic trend. The fate of our civilization is in the cards. Here," he said, "is the 10-word cycle of civilization. It has happened to everybody; it will happen to us.' " The 10 words burned themselves into my recollection.

Do you know them? Ten short words—none of them very sweet.

Civilization begins in "bondage." Bondage is word No. 1.

And out of bondage comes "faith in God," word No. 2.

And with faith in God comes "courage," and it comes from no other place. Courage is word No. 3.

And with courage, men acquire their "liberty," No. 4.

And after liberty comes "abundance," word No. 5.

And then, after abundance, "selfishness."

And after selfishness "complacency."

And then after complacency, "apathy."

And after apathy "dependency," the "gimme" stage.

And after that, back to bondage again: Bondage to bondage in 10 fateful steps.

Where are we on this vicious circle of civilization? Would you hazard a guess? We have passed the point where faith gave us liberty and procured abundance. Are we in the stage of selfishness or complacency, or apathy, or perhaps even dependency? God save the mark.

POINT OF NO RETURN?

And can we muster enough courage now to buck this strong fatalistic stream, and fight back to the point where faith, courage, liberty, and abundance coincide—and can we hold it there?

We would have held it there, my friends, but our brains have been washed more effectively than the brains of our unfortunate prisoners were washed in Korea. Our brains have been systematically washed during the

part quarter of a century—washed clean of those fundamental convictions which are essential in a voting democracy if we are to preserve our freedom.

There is no alternative for an informed electorate. As I told you at the outset, you can do nothing with universal suffrage except change it or inform it. If you do not choose to inform it, then set yourself for the transition to the Guatemalan order of things.

Your chairman was kind enough to announce that I was a lawyer of parts. I appreciate the plug. Well, I had a client recently—a paying client, too, which is even more extraordinary.

We had been trying to insulate this fellow from the post-mortem impacts and inquisitions of the Federal tax collector. I know you've all been through that. We had worked for weeks, and we had done our best.

There were trust agreements and insurance policies, property settlements, deeds of land, rearrangement of bank deposits, and all that sort of thing. The desk was piled high with documents, and my friend John was signing away, with a smile on his face, even as he signed the check.

At that point I had to interrupt him. I asked him: "You get a kick out of this, don't you?"

He laid down his pen. "Pat," he said, "I'll say I get a kick out of this. You know, I'm an old man. I'm ready to admit it. My wife is gone, but I have children and grandchildren. I've been pretty lucky. I have accumulated some property, and I know if I didn't have a proper will with all these trimmings, the Government would get most of it. Well, I'm glad we did it. I'm really going to sleep tonight."

He started to sign again, but I interrupted him a second time. I said, "John, now that you have taken care of their property, what are you going to do about their liberty?"

He shrugged his shoulders and said, "Oh, I'm just a merchant. I don't know much about liberty. I guess I'll have to leave liberty to the politicians and the professors."

At that point, I told him what I'm going to tell you. Tear up the trust agreement. Forget the will. Forget the insurance policies, the bank accounts. Forget everything—because, unless you leave your children liberty, you leave them nothing.

Ask the Jews in Germany, please; ask the well-heeled Jews in Germany what good their property did them when they were faced up against the concentrated, unlimited power of Adolf Hitler. Ask the kulaks; ask the ghosts of the 10 million kulaks murdered by Joe Stalin; ask those ghosts to tell you what their property did for them when they were faced up against a concentrated, unlimited, unconstitutional power called communism.

My friends, the answer is always the same. In time of tyranny, in time of unlimited, concentrated power, your property is going to buy your children just one thing—a ticket to the concentration camp, a one-way ticket to the point of no return.

LIBERTY'S LEGACY

Will you think about that, please, the next time you pay that life-insurance premium, the next time you review that will, the next time you stash away a few dollars in the bank? Please think of it, my friends. Think hard about it. You want to do something about it? Then gather those youngsters around you and look them in the eye, as I have looked at mine. Then and there you will make a resolution. God helping you a little, you will then and there be resolved that your legacy—not of property, but of liberty—to these youngsters is going to compare favorably with the big fortune of freedom which the Founding Fathers left to you.

Dr. Walter B. Martin, President-Elect of the American Medical Association, Testifies Before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce Inquiring Into Nation's Health as a Basis for a Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was privileged to have before it on Thursday, January 28, 1954, as a witness on the subject of the nation's health, Dr. Walter B. Martin, president-elect of the American Medical Association.

Before hearing the testimony of Dr. Martin, Chairman WOLVERTON, of the committee, presented a summary of the testimony that has already been presented to the committee by the several witneses who have already appeared before the committee in its inquiry concerning an adequate health program.

The statement of Chairman WOLVERTON is as follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, INTRODUCING THE WITNESSES FROM THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION AT THE JANUARY 28 SESSION

Last fall after the adjournment of the Congress, this commitee initiated a health inquiry to study what can and should be done to provide additional protection for the American people against the heavy burden—and all too frequent financial catastrophe, arising from the major long-term illnesses.

The first phase of the inquiry last October dealt with what is known today about the causes, control, and treatment of the principal diseases. The committee was concerned specifically with finding out just what has been accomplished, how it has been accomplished, what the problems are, what the future holds, and what additional steps might be taken by way of research or other measures, to hasten relief from the dreadful diseases, mitigate human suffering, and curtail the losses which disease inflicts upon our national economy.

Some 95 distinguished physicians, scientists, and laymen participated in the series of discussions which we had, coming voluntarily and at their own expense, to advise the members on the current status of knowledge in specific fields, to document the extent of public and private efforts to find the causes of and to control disease, and to highlight the health problems and health needs of the Nation today.

Their testimony presented a dismal catalog of the magnitude of the disease problem. Disease by disease the witnesses enumerated the number of people afflicted, the number of premature deaths, the number of people crippled, the cost of illness to the individual and his family, and the cost of the disease to the Nation in terms of lost production, lost manpower, and the tax burden for medical care.

We were told that heart disease is the leading cause of death in the United States, causing more than 1 out of every 2 deaths each year. It is the leading cause of death among children, and exacts a toll from every age group.

At the rate at which we are acquiring cancer, 50 million of the present population of the United States probably will acquire cancer, and about 25 million of them will die from that disease.

The number of mentally ill patients in the United States exceeds the number of patients suffering from any other type of disease, approximately half—662,500 out of 1,425,000 hospital beds in the United States are needed and used for this group of illnesses.

Cerebral vascular disease, while causing some 160,000 deaths yearly, is more serious as a permanent crippler, leaving 1,800,000 now alive and crippled, paralyzing the body, or seriously limiting the powers of movement, speech, and vision. The other neurological and sensory disorders, similarly affecting the brain or spinal cord, are responsible for the disablement of another 8,200,000 persons.

There are 300,000 men, women, and children in the United States who are totally blind, and 300,000 more have visual defects so serious as to create partial or almost total disability.

Arthritis, with a total of 10 million victims today, with over 1-million permanently disabled, afflicts more people, cripples and disables more people, and brings more pain to more people than any other chronic disease.

There are at least 1 million known diabetics in the country today.

Last year more than 250,000 Americans of working age alone were unable to work because of active tuberculosis.

During the years 1938–52, 302,677 cases of poliomyelitis were reported in the United States and its Territories. During the same years 20,916 deaths were caused by this disease. The estimate for 1953 is 35,000 cases.

However, the testimony of these witnesses was not all gloom. They also outlined for us the tremendous progress which has been made in reducing the illness and death rate from certain diseases, particularly those of infectious nature. Infectious diseases have diminished as a national problem, for with the identification of the causes of these diseases, it has been possible to develop means of prevention, control, and, when the diseases occur, their prompt and adequate treatment.

In the case of noninfectious diseases, improvement has not been so marked. There has been an actual increase in the incidence of and death rate from these, especially those classed as chronic. One of the principal difficulties is lack of knowledge, knowledge about the causes of these principal diseases which plague mankind today. Without such knowledge, the prevention, control, or cure of many diseases is impossible.

From the testimony before this committee, it does not seem that adequate treatment is available for such afflictions as heart disease, cancer, arthritis and rheumatic disorders, cerebral palsy and muscular dystrophy. For example, the physician knows that after an attack of coronary thrombosis or a cerebral hemmorhage, he can aid the patient by treating symptons, but he cannot prevent or cure the disorder. He does not fully understand the underlying causes of these ailments and is therefore not able to eliminate them. Similarly, he may completely remove a malignant growth by surgery, or slow its growth by X-ray treatment. But if these treatments are not completely successful, as is too frequently the case, the physician is unable to do much more than to provide palliative treatment. He does not know the causes of tumor growth and is thus unable truly to conquer it.

While it is obvious that in some of these fields we do not yet know how we may provide a complete cure, nor, in others do we know just what we are fighting, research activities already have produced marvelous results in the prevention and treatment of some of them, and we may be well along the road to a solution in some of them.

I would not in anyway wish to disparage the great progress that has been made, nor discourage, nor fail to support to the utmost, even greater research into the causes and prevention of these diseases of mankind.

Yet, it is all too evident that at the present time these diseases continue to be, and probably will continue to be for some time, a tremendous burden upon the families of our Nation as they attempt to meet the costs of providing the medical care which long continued illness places upon them. Indeed, the very fact that we are now able in some degree to treat many of these diseases and prolong human lives but increases the problems of an economic nature. Extended hospitalization and medical attention prove exceedingly costly, and such costs are mounting.

What families today—with one of their number suddenly stricken—can afford from their own resources to pay the $4,380 involved in the hospitalization of a chronic heart patient for 1 year; or the monthly cost at a cerebral palsy center offering the full range of medical, psychological, and social services, averaging as much as $750 per child; or the $10,000 cost per year in keeping a seriously involved polio case in an iron lung?

Or if from their own resources, and those of relatives, they can meet the costs of such illness, at what cost to them in financial readjustment, lowered standard of living, interrupted schooling, uprooted children, loss of layaway for old age, or assumption of the breadwinner's role by someone else?

With such background, accordingly, the committee next undertook as part of its inquiry the study of just what protection against these costs now may be available to the individual American family. Last October we heard from various insurance companies which write insurance on an individual or group basis. This January we have been hearing from the sponsors and administrators of many group plans, from labor unions, from private clinics, from the New York Health Plan, the St. Louis Institute, the Kaiser Foundation, Group Health Association, and others, and next week we shall hear from the Blue Cross and Blue Shield organizations. In addition, we have heard various proposals as to what can or should be done by members of health commissions, foundations, and others.

It has seemed to me, however, that no one should be in better position to set forth for us a concrete proposal of just what can be done to provide a real and adequate protection against these costs than the medical profession itself, as represented in its official organization, the American Medical Association. This is an association of men who have dedicated their lives to the mitigation of human suffering, men devoted to making available the best of medical care to all of our people, regardless of their economic status.

We, therefore, confidently look to them to come forward with a constructive program to meet this problem, one of the greatest facing us today.

We are happy to welcome here today Dr. Walter B. Martin, president-elect of the American Medical Association; Dr. Louis H. Bauer, a past president of the association; and Dr. David B. Allman, chairman of its committee on legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the following is an extract from the testimony of Dr. Walter B. Martin, president-elect of the American Medical Association, setting forth some of the accomplishments that have been realized in recent years in medical science.

It is as follows:

EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION TO THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BY WALTER B. MARTIN, M. D., AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, JANUARY 28, 1954

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, as you know, the president of our association, Dr. Edward J. McCormick, of Toledo, Ohio, testified briefly before your group on October 1, and reviewed the activities of the American Medical Association in the field of medical research. Since his appearance, many individuals and organizations have presented their views concerning the condition of the Nation's health. Frequently, in their testimony, these individuals and organizations have decried the many inadequacies in this country's overall medical and health picture.

The American Medical Association would be the first to admit that despite the remarkable record of medical achievement much remains to be accomplished. In practically every instance of recognized deficiency, the AMA has also been the first organization to undertake a positive, constructive program of action. We know full well that certain medical scientific mysteries still must be solved. We are aware that in some areas problems of inadequate supply or improper distribution of medical personnel and facilities exist. We also realize that the best of medical care should be made available to all our citizens, regardless of their economic status, and that every effort should be made to alleviate the financial burden imposed by long-term illness.

We feel, however, that in an effort to create public sentiment in support of a Government-controlled medical-care program, a distorted picture of the health and medical situation in this country has been drawn. At times the magnitude of such problems has been exaggerated while actual progress toward solving them has been minimized. To lose perspective is to lose judgment. For this reason, we would like to clarify certain misconceptions which have arisen in regard to the Nation's health and medical needs.

Many of those who testified before this committee indicated that increased medical costs were proving financially disastrous to families faced with illness or accidents. Medical costs, like all other costs, have risen in the last few years. Statistics presented by the United States Department of Labor for the third quarter of 1952, however, revealed that living costs had increased 90.8 percent since 1935–39, while medical costs had increased only 65.5 percent in the same period. Between 1935–39 and 1950 average weekly wages rose 165 percent, while physicians' fees climbed only 48 percent. As a result, the average person works only 60 percent as long today to pay for the same amount of medical services.

New techniques and new drugs enable physicians to shorten length of illnesses and reduce hospital stays as well as wage loss. As a result, the total medical bill for many illnesses often actually is less than it was 15 years ago.

Proof that the cost of medical care presents no great problem to the majority of American families was given in a survey completed for the Federal Reserve Board last year. Of about 53 million families in the United States, almost 43 million—over 80 percent—reported no medical debts whatsoever. One million families owed from $200 to $1,000, while another 200,000 owed more than $1,000. That would indicate that less than 3 percent of all the people in the survey need help to pay their medical bills. The remaining 9 million families were listed as in debt for medical expenses in amounts varying from $1 to $200.

Some critics point to the increasing death rate from heart disease and cancer as an indication of a medical crisis. Actually, this is a heartening sign of great medical progress. The median age at death in the United States has jumped from 30 years to 66 years. Twenty years from now, although the death rate from certain diseases in our aging population may be higher, the length of life will be greater and the mortality rate for each age will be lower. Health progress and the number of deaths each successive year are simply two different ideas. A physician can never conquer death—he can only postpone it. Persons who are saved by medical advances and skills from death at an early age, later fall victim to the degenerative diseases which now appear to be increasing.

A serious shortage of doctors has been alleged. Actually, we have more doctors than any other nation, and we have more in proportion to population than any other country except Israel, which has an abnormal influx of refugee physicians from Europe. For more than 20 years the supply of doctors has been increasing at a faster rate than the general population. It is estimated that the period of 1950–60 will bring another 30-percent increase in the supply of physicians.

Today we have a total of 220,104 physicians—the largest in our history. Of this number 159,120 are in active practice. All the rest, except for about 9,700 who are retired or not in practice, are serving American health needs in research, teaching, hospitals, and Government service. On the basis of an estimated population of 160 million in 1953, we now have 1 physician for every 727 persons, or approximately 1 physician actually engaged in the practice of medicine for every 1,000 persons.

For the fifth consecutive year, the total number of students enrolled in approved medical schools has established a new record. The number of students graduated constitutes the largest group ever graduated in 1 academic year. Enrollments in the country's 72 medical and 7 basic science schools during 1952–53 totaled 27,688, or 2.3 percent more than the 27,076 enrolled during 1951–52. The estimated number of graduates for 1953–54 based on enrollments reported for senior classes in schools, is even greater (6,831) than last year (6,668) which exceeded by 279, or 4.4 percent, the previous record established in 1947, when at the termination of the wartime-accelerated program several schools graduated more than one class.

It is obvious that in the areas of medical progress, medical cost and doctor supply the picture is far brighter than some would have you believe. We hope that we have clarified some of these misconceptions.

A Summary of Achievements Given by Dr. Walter B. Martin, President-Elect of American Medical Association, Before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in Its Inquiry Concerning National Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Walter B. Martin, president-elect of the American Medical Association, testifying before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, January 28, 1954, set

forth briefly the association's specific efforts to provide the best medical services and facilities and to distribute them equitably throughout the Nation.

An extract from the testimony given by Dr. Martin is as follows. He said:

For more than a hundred years the American Medical Association has been dedicated "to the promotion of the science and art of medicine and the betterment of public health." Our devotion to these principles has not taken the form of mere lip service, but rather of concrete, constructive programs designed to bring better health to the American people.

The record of American medicine's achievements in elevating the standards of medical education, fighting medical quackery, maintaining ethical standards of medical practice and safeguarding health through the evaluation of drugs, foods, physical devices, and techniques as well as in the areas of school, rural, and industrial health is an outstanding one. We would like to reiterate for this committee in as brief a fashion as possible our association's specific efforts to provide the best of medical services and facilities and to distribute them equitably throughout the Nation.

1. On behalf of medical progress: Medicine has come a long way down the medical progress road in a fantastically short time. Today America is the healthiest large nation in the world. Babies born today can expect to live at least 20 years longer than those born in 1900. Women can face childbirth with little or no fear, for the chances of surviving pregnancy, childbirth, and confinement are better in the United States as a whole than 999 out of 1,000. The dread diseases that once were killers—typhoid fever, smallpox, diphtheria, pneumonia, and many others—have been brought under control.

Since 1900, while our total population has more than doubled, the number of persons 65 years of age or older has more than quadrupled. This accounts largely for the marked rise in the death rates for heart disease, cancer, and other diseases of old age.

Within a few decades vitamins, sulfa drugs, the antibiotics and hormones have been added to the physician's armamentarium against disease. American surgeons today are performing delicate, life-saving operations on the heart, lungs, brain, stomach, kidneys and other vital organs which just a few short years ago would have been impossible.

The past 2 years have brought heartening advances in the battle against infantile paralysis. News of successful trials of gamma globulin from human blood was followed with announcements indicating that the next 2 or 3 years may bring a vaccine effective against poliomyelitis.

More recently, medicine has harnessed by-products of the atomic age called radioisotopes to kill certain forms of cancer and to trace vital body functions. While the basic cause or causes of cancer or any one specific cure has not been discovered, the early diagnosis of the disease and its surgical or radiation treatment has resulted in the cure of many cases. New methods of treatment have been evolved with drugs and atom-smashing machines. The whole field of atomic medicine may pave the way to new and startlingly significant medical discoveries.

It is also estimated that the efficiency of the average physician has increased about 30 percent in the past 15 years. This has come about through the use of new drugs and antibiotics, new or improved techniques, modern equipment, increased auxiliary help from laboratories and technicians, improved transportation and communication and better coordination of all medical facilities.

2. On behalf of medical education: The high standards of medical education in the United States have resulted directly from the medical profession's efforts over the past 50 years to protect the public against unqualified, poorly trained doctors. Today, all of the Nation's 79 medical schools are approved institutions which meet high requirements involving their teaching staffs, curricula, classroom and clinical facilities, hospital teaching programs and overall educational policies. Two additional schools—University of Miami and University of California in Los Angeles—have medical schools which have not yet graduated their first class. Another medical school in New York is contemplated, to begin operation in 1955. In addition, high standards also have been established for the approval of intern and residency training programs in hospitals, and a growing emphasis has been placed upon postgraduate education and refresher courses to keep physicians abreast of the latest medical developments. During 1953, for example, a total of almost 1,600 postgraduate courses was offered by the Nation's medical schools, medical societies, hospitals, and other health agencies. AMA's two scientific meetings each year, coupled with the meetings of the various specialty groups, offer American physicians the most complete postgraduate study opportunities in the world.

AMA also helps elevate standards in auxiliary fields of medicine by approving upon request schools for laboratory technicians, occupational therapists, and other allied fields.

To assure an increasing supply of physicians in this country the American Medical Association has actively encouraged expansion of medical schools and facilities and the development of new medical schools in certain areas. This increase in enrollments, the expansion of teaching programs and the rising costs of operation since World War II have created major financial problems in some of our medical schools.

In the spring of 1949 medical leaders and others sponsored the establishment of the national fund for medical education, whose purpose is to raise unrestricted funds annually on a national scale from voluntary sources for the support of medical schools. In 1950 the American Medical Association set up the American Medical Education Foundation to raise funds from individual physicians and medical groups. The success of this endeavor is told in these figures: At the end of 1953 the American Medical Education Foundation recorded a gross return of $1,089,962. The American Medical Association has given an additional $2 million in 4 successive grants to this project since 1950. The National Fund for Medical Education in its 3-year history has contributed $4,764,152 to the Nation's medical schools.

Medical schools report that these grants have enabled them to secure additional teachers, retain others by providing urgently needed salary increases, purchase teaching equipment, and rehabilitate or expand teaching facilities.

We are convinced that Federal financial assistance to the medical schools for operating purposes is not desirable. The medical schools still need money, however, and we propose:

(a) Increased efforts to raise voluntary funds through the American Medical Education Foundation and the National Fund for Medical Education.

(b) Adoption of legislation authorizing one-time Federal grants for construction and renovation of the physical plant of medical schools.

3. On behalf of better doctor distribution: Because many problems of so-called doctor shortage are in reality problems related to physician maldistribution, the American Medical Association has established a placement bureau to serve as a clearinghouse for information in answer to requests from physicians seeking a location and from communities seeking a physician. Placement programs are now in active operation in at least 37 States and at least 32 are sponsored by State medical societies. AMA is sponsoring rural health conferences and programs and preparing literature to help communities attract physicians in an effort to stimulate public as well as medical efforts to bring doctors into needed areas.

4. On behalf of allied health personnel: Problems of health personnel resources are not problems of physician-supply alone. The American Medical Association has for some time been concerned over the existing nurse shortage and, in June 1947, appointed a committee to study and report on this problem. On the basis of this report and on subsequent information obtained from the official nursing associations we have concluded that in certain areas there is a need for construction of new nursing schools and for the modernization of existing facilities. Although the problem is fundamentally a local one which each State should solve on the basis of its individual needs, the American Medical Association favors legislation embodying:

(1) One-time Federal grants-in-aid to States, based on the Hill-Burton Act formula and administrative machinery, for construction, equipment, and renovation of the physical plants of nursing schools, on a matching basis, with no part of the funds to be used in any manner for operational expenses or salaries;

(2) Grant of Federal funds to the committee on careers in nursing or some comparable private agency to help support a nurse-recruitment program; and

(3) A temporary grant-in-aid program, not to exceed 5 years and administered by the States, to provide scholarships for advanced nursing education to aid in the development of a larger corps of teachers.

We believe that these suggestions would meet the current need and at the same time safeguard the freedom and independence of educational institutions.

5. On behalf of increased hospital facilities: Without proper facilities physicians and allied health personnel are unable to operate at peak efficiency. The increased community interest in health problems in general has been reflected in the construction of an amazing number of community hospitals. Many have been planned and financed completely with private or tax funds at the local level; others have been built with the assistance of the Federal Government.

The American Medical Association has continually supported the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, more familiarly known as the Hill-Burton Act, which became law in August 1946. Since the approval of the first projects in fiscal year 1948, over a billion dollars has been spent by the Federal Government, States, and communities in the construction of hospitals under this program. In future construction of health facilities particular attention should be given to institutions for the chronically ill. We believe these should be constructed contiguous to or in connection with general hospitals.

The American Medical Association not only favors Federal legislation for hospital construction, but is energetically working to raise standards of existing hospital facilities. We are an active member of the Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Hospitals, along with the American College of Physicians, the American College of Surgeons, the American Hospital Association, and the Canadian Medical Association. This is a private organization designed to conduct an inspection and accreditation program which

will encourage physicians and hospitals voluntarily to (1) apply basic principles of organization and administration for efficient patient care; (2) promote high quality medical and hospital care in all its aspects; and (3) maintain the essential diagnostic and therapeutic services in the hospital through coordinated effort of the organized medical staff and the governing board of the hospital.

6. On behalf of solving the economic problems of medicine: We must consider two groups of individuals when discussing the problems of the cost of medical care: (1) Those who are able to pay normal costs of medical care, and (2) those who require assistance in meeting their medical bills. For those who are willing and able to meet their obligations, the medical profession has been carrying on the following positive program:

(1) Continued promotion of voluntary health insurance: The American Medical Association believes that voluntary health insurance provides one of the best methods by which the average American can finance a substantial portion of his medical and health costs.

For years we have advocated and strongly promoted the sale of voluntary health insurance as one of the aids to cushion the economic shock of illness. The growth of voluntary health insurance, which embraces benefits for hospital, surgical, and medical expense, has been phenomenal during the past few years. By January 1, 1953, nearly 92 million Americans had some form of hospital expense benefit insurance. At that same time over 73,000,000 were protected by some form of insurance against the cost of surgical care and nearly 36 million persons had coverage providing some medical expense benefits in addition to surgery. This amazing progress has been achieved without benefit of Government subsidy.

The problem of providing economic protection against catastrophic illness—any illness, acute or chronic, the financial impact of which seriously disrupts the family budget—is now receiving ever increasing study and experimentation by several agencies in both the private and nonprofit fields.

To meet the costs of extended illness or injuries which the average man cannot afford to pay, a number of private and nonprofit companies are now writing major medical expense insurance, sometimes called catastrophic coverage or medical disaster insurance. Such policies are designed to cover cases of extended disability, those which are relatively infrequent, but financially severe. Generous amounts of maximum benefits, ranging from $2,500 to $10,000 are provided, and most policies provide for reimbursement of expenses in excess of a minimum deductible amount which ranges from $100 to $500. In many instances some basic programs provide benefits which fulfill a substantial portion of the deductible amount under these policies.

Another principle followed generally in major medical expense insurance policies is the use of a coinsurance provision. A percentage—between 70 and 80 percent—of the expense in excess of the deductible amount is reimbursed, making the insured person a coinsurer to the extent of the balance of the expenses. Many who are familiar with this class of insurance feel that the insured person must have a financial interest in all health expenditures to the end that there will be less tendency to demand services which may not be necessary.

Major medical expense policies are still in the experimental stage, but at the end of 1953 more than a million persons were covered by these policies and the numbers are increasing rapidly.

The past 10 to 15 years of constructive advances in the field of voluntary health insurance have shown that the great majority of American people do want to pay their own way. It is desirable that the individual should participate in the cost of his illness for the purpose of reducing long stay and abuses. A certain amount of medical care is an expectable item on any family budget. For this reason the promotion of the benefits that are comprehensive is not sound because it is the need for protection against the financial impact of truly major sickness or injury that must be emphasized.

(2) Policing its own ranks: Every medical society in the country has been urged by the American Medical Association to crack down firmly on any physician who charges exorbitant fees.

(3) Establishing mediation committees: In all professions friction sometimes arises between the professional members and those they serve. The medical profession has established mediation or grievance committees to hear and fairly resolve complaints against physicians in regard to fees or care provided. Evidence of local societies' concern for the patient's satisfaction is the fact that nearly 500 medical societies now operate such committees.

(4) Encouraging fee discussions: Misunderstanding is often the basis for complaints about the cost of medical care. In many cases, when patients talk over expenditures with their doctors, friction disappears. For this reason AMA has been encouraging physicians to estimate in advance with patients not only medical charges but hospital, drug, and other costs involved in illness.

(5) Stimulating good business practices: To reduce fee misunderstandings the American Medical Association urges all physicians to itemize medical bills and to follow orderly business procedures in submitting medical bills.

Since time immemorial the physician has been called upon to render professional services to the indigent without compensation. Every doctor spends a proportion of his working hours dispensing free medical care. The dollar value of these services is considerable, but cannot be estimated with accuracy.

Because protests have been made at various times that medical care is being denied certain individuals because of its cost, the American Medical Association in 1952 urged its societies to undertake energetic campaigns to organize and vigorously promote programs which at the county level offer to provide services of a physician to anyone unable to pay. Such programs have been highly successful. It is necessary to bring such programs to the attention of the public, because in many instances the public is not aware that medical service is available locally without cost to those unable to pay.

In addition to setting up the mechanisms to provide medical care to all, regardless of ability to pay, 577 county medical societies are taking an active part in providing medical care for indigent citizens in cooperation with State and county authorities.

There are two groups of individuals who are unable to meet the cost of illness at the time it occurs—the frankly indigent and the medically indigent.

The indigent are dependent on outside assistance for the basic necessities of life. The American Medical Association believes that the medical care of this group is a local and State government responsibility. No program of health insurance is practical for this group since they are unable to purchase it. We believe that direct payment at the time of illness for this group is the most practicable and economic approach.

The medically indigent are normally able to meet the cost of their daily needs and to purchase health insurance. They are, however, unable to meet the cost of illness when it occurs. This group can be reduced by educating them in the necessity of giving health protection priority in their expenditures. However, when illness occurs, they require aid by direct payment of their health costs from local and State funds.

We are carrying on through personal field visits studies of successful local indigent medical care plans with the purpose of extending adequate care to all persons who are indigent and to the borderline group which we call the medically indigent. From the findings we expect to obtain useful data that will aid in the solution of this very difficult problem.

In view of the progress being made toward solving our health problems we have reasons for encouragement but not complacency. The American Medical Association has always accepted and carried out the responsibility of leadership in safeguarding the public health, raising the standards of medicine and making good medical care available to the people.

This Nation's medical progress over the past half century has given the United States the world's highest standards of health and medical care and has made it the world center of medical education and research. That progress has been achieved under a voluntary system which emphasizes free enterprise, individual initiative and responsibility, and cooperative effort. It has been accomplished not by physicians alone but with the help and cooperation of allied professions, many branches of science, nurses, hospitals, business, industry, education, and all segments of American society.

Our most urgent effort should now be directed to the solution of the problem of the medically indigent and the chronically ill. We believe that this objective can be reached without major change in our existing mechanism.

Eisenhower's Program Is the Fair Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial by Walter Buse, in the Oregon City Enterprise-Courier:

EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM IS THE FAIR DEAL

(By Walter F. Buse)

I think President Eisenhower's program should be called the Fair Deal, because it is the fairest program ever presented.

The New Deal was new alright and much of it was good, but it was not always fair.

The New Deal farm program was a step in the right direction and gave some farmers needed help, but it was not fair to all farmers. President Eisenhower's farm program is a good fair deal for all farmers and the public as well.

The New Deal gave union leaders an opportunity to unionize America, which I think is a good thing, but it was not fair to the laboring man and to the public. President Eisenhower's labor plan is the most fair plan that has even been conceived for the laboring man and for the public.

The New Deal social security program was very good, but again it was not fair, did not cover everybody. President Eisenhower wants social security for everybody and that is what we should have.

The New Deal gave some people an opportunity to get into business, but it was not fair to all business. President Eisenhower's program is very fair to all business and especially small business.

President Eisenhower's program for professional people is also very fair. Let us not regiment them. Let us keep them free. That is what makes America great.

I think President Eisenhower's program is the fairest ever conceived anywhere. Let us call it the Fair Deal.

Statement of the National Commander of the Disabled American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by Mr. Howard W. Watts, national commander of the Disabled American Veterans, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL COMMANDER HOWARD W. WATTS, DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS, TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, RE DAV LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1954, JANUARY 28, 1954

Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, it is a distinct privilege and pleasure to appear before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives this morning in my capacity as national commander of the Disabled American Veterans for the annual presentation of our legislative program. I consider the opportunity to discuss the various resolutions making up our legislative program one of the most important duties I will perform during my tenure of office. Since my association with the DAV, shortly after discharge from an Army hospital in 1945, I have followed the work of this committee and have developed a keen interest in all legislation pertaining to the service-connected disabled. The record of your accomplishments in behalf of the wartime disabled needs no repetition here and our organization is indeed proud that we have been permitted to participate in your deliberations.

The DAV endeavors, through its democratic processes, to limit its legislative program to those matters which directly concern this Nation's wartime disabled veterans, their widows, and dependents. If we wander at times from this single purpose policy it is only because of our perhaps overzealous interest in the welfare of those who comprise our membership, or those who are eligible for membership in the DAV.

Our program this year encompasses a number of measures introduced during the first session of this Congress. Some of these have been considered favorably by this committee, some unfavorably, and others are still pending before it.

COMPENSATION

We feel that the most important bills before this committee are those designed to make uniform the rates of disability compensation payable to service-connected disabled veterans and to the survivors of veterans whose death is attributable to service-connected causes.

In enacting Public Law 356, 82d Congress, you provided a 15-percent increase in compensation for veterans rated 50 percent or more and a 5-percent increase for those rated less than 50 percent. In another section of the same law, an increase of approximately 15 percent in death compensation was extended to certain widows with the exception that widows with no children did not receive an increase. The bills, which I will refer to later, would further amend veterans regulations by making uniform the increase in death compensation among the various classes of widows and would reestablish parity between veterans rated less than 50 percent and those rated 50 percent or more. In other words, Public Law 356 completely ignored the fact that disabilities are rated percentagewise from 100 percent down to zero percent. The differential between the least seriously disabled and the more seriously disabled is fully recognized in adjudicating a veteran's claim for compensation. Public Law 356, however, imposes an additional, and in our opinion, entirely unwarranted, differential in providing a 15-percent increase for 1 group and a 5-percent increase to another. The net result is that a man presently rated 10 to 49 percent does not draw that percentage of total disability compensation despite the fact his disability is rated percentagewise.

This committee considered a number of bills designed to correct this discrimination and on May 14, 1953, the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pension deferred on these measures. We sincerely urge this committee to reconsider its action and favorably report the bill H. R. 44, or a similar bill, so that again the rates of disability compensation payable to disabled veterans and to the widows of deceased veterans will be uniform. (Resolution No. 189.)

The members of my organization are not only disabled veterans, they are likewise citizens and wage earners. As such they also are acutely aware that the cost of living has soared to new and unprecedented heights. On the other hand, the rates of disability compensation is lagging far behind. It was undoubtedly because of these economic factors that the delegates to our last national convention adopted resolution No. 89, urging an increase in compensation sufficient to make it equal in buying power to that paid in 1942. We urge you to give consideration to this matter and invite us to furnish concrete facts and figures in support of the need of such increase.

HOSPITALIZATION

During the first session of this Congress the Subcommittee on Hospitalization, chairmaned by the Honorable BERNARD W. KEARNEY, conducted extensive hearings and an investigation into the hospital program of the Veterans' Administration. These hearings, which cover approximately 3,000 pages of printed testimony, surveyed the various laws setting forth entitlement and eligibility of veterans for hospitalization and outpatient dental treatment. Our organization cooperated with the Subcommittee on Hospitals, together with several hundred other witnesses. Our contribution, or report, to that committee included, among others, the following paragraph:

"In general, the Disabled American Veterans wholly support the hospital and domiciliary program of the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, and shall continue to advocate and demand an enlargement of the hospital-building program to meet the ever-increasing demands for hospital treatment and domiciliary care of America's war veterans due to our necessary participation in wars, campaigns, and the all-necessary defense program of this Nation. The DAV believes that the American people must accept the care of the war disabled and the necessary hospitalization and care of the indigent war veterans as part of the cost of war."

We know that the members of this committee, as well as Members of Congress, will not permit a reduction in the number of beds in Veterans' Administration hospitals for lack of appropriations, nor will they permit the excellent medical treatment presently afforded to this country's disabled veterans to become impaired in any degree. As national commander of the DAV, I pledge you the full cooperation and assistance of my entire staff to the end that every disabled veteran in need of hospitalization or medical treatment shall not be turned away.

During the last national convention of the DAV the delegates unanimously adopted resolution No. 10, opposing any reduction in the Veterans' Administration hospital program. I would like to invite your attention also to resolution No. 9, adopted at the same convention, and with your indulgence to read this resolution, which is quite short, into the record:

"Whereas we affirm the prior consistent policy of the national organization of the DAV that the first obligation of our Government is to those who gave their lives, or sustained injuries as a result of wartime service, and we hold that this obligation is a continuing cost of wars and we repudiate any denial of the great common responsibility to rehabilitate those who served, sacrificed, and continue to suffer in order that our Nation can survive against our enemies;

"We likewise reaffirm our faith and confidence in the Veterans' Administration as a single executive department to administer the laws and benefits provided by a grateful Government and the American people through the Congress of the United States, and we vigorously oppose the various and devious efforts in the name of economy to dismember, undermine, and render ineffective the Veterans' Administration, in any way, manner or form."

PUBLIC LAW 16

Another legislative proposal which our convention deemed to be of primary importance is contained in the bills H. R. 462 and H. R. 630 introduced by Representatives KEARNEY and TEAGUE, respectively. These measures seek to extend to a number of seriously disabled World War II veterans entitlement to rehabilitation and vocational training under the provisions of Public Law 16, 78th Congress, entitlement to training from which they have been precluded due to long periods of hospitalization as a result of their service-connected disabilities. These bills do not seek to extend training under Public Law 16 to veterans otherwise eligible therefor who have merely slept on their rights, but is designed solely for the veteran who has been unable to apply for such training because of hospitalization and medical treatment. All training, under Public Law 16, must be completed not later than July 25, 1956, and under the law the Veterans' Administration cannot enroll a veteran in a course of education or training which would run beyond that date. It clearly was not the intent of Congress to deny the benefits of Public Law 16 to those veterans who have been unable to initiate their training because of long periods of hospitalization. These bills provide that entitlement to the beneficial provisions of Public Law 16 will not be denied veterans because of their inability to apply for training because of hospitalization for their service-connected disabilities. We strongly advocate their favorable consideration.

UNIFORMITY IN EXISTING BENEFITS

In keeping with the spirit of the intentions of the delegates to our last national convention to bring about greater uniformity in existing laws relating to veterans, I would like to direct your attention to two other mandates of my organization. The first resolution No. 117 urges the Congress to amend Public Law 239 of the 82d Congress so that a veteran presumed to have a service connection for an active psychosis for purposes of hospitalization and medical treatment shall also be deemed to be service connected for compensation. Under

Public Law 239, the Congress quite generously granted a presumption of service connection to a veteran developing an active psychosis within 2 years following separation from active service, but limited the benefits for such disability to hospitalization and medical treatment in VA facilities. It must seem strange indeed to the wives and families of veterans presumed to have a service-connected disability for an active psychosis that the Congress failed to authorize the payment of compensation. It would seem crystal clear that if there is any justification whatsoever, and we believe there is, for presuming a veteran's active psychosis to be service connected, there is equal justification that he should draw the appropriate percentage of compensation depending on the degree of his mental illness.

The second mandate I wish to draw to your attention is DAV Resolution 167, which seeks an amendment to Public Law 182 of the 79th Congress.

Our national service officers have each year since its enactment brought our attention to what amounts to a discrimination or oversight existing in Public Law 182, 79th Congress—the law providing additional compensation in excess of total disability awards to those suffering from the loss or loss of use of one or more extremities or who have lost the sight of one or both eyes. Double amputations of arms or legs or combination of amputations are provided for, but there is no provision in the law granting an additional award for the additional loss of an eye and a limb. We trust this Congress will remedy this situation which we believe was thought to be corrected with the passage of Public Law 182.

HOUSING

My immediate predecessor in office stated to you in his appearance before this committee on February 10, 1953, that the DAV "would oppose with all the vigor at our command any efforts to increase either administratively or by legislation the interest rates on VA guaranteed home or business loans." I know that the DAV did just that. But despite the combined efforts of the major veterans' organizations the interest rate on veterans' home loans was increased from 4 to 4½ percent.

The DAV has testified before the subcommittee on housing that our organization is still opposed to the 4½ percent interest rate and we have recommended to the Congress in the past that in lieu of Government-guaranteed loans at 4½ percent that the VA be authorized to enlarge its present direct home loan program to the end that all eligible veterans seeking a home loan shall not have to pay more for the money they borrow than did the veteran who was fortunate enough to be able to negotiate a loan before the increase date. At our convention in Kansas City last August a great deal of attention and study was directed to the problem of housing and housing loans. The net result of these deliberations is contained in resolution No. 370 whereby we recommend that the housing subcommittee of this committee make a study of the feasibility of legislation to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Secretary of the Treasury to invest a portion of the huge trust funds accumulated under the national service life insurance program in first mortgage loans to veterans at interest rates not to exceed 4 percent. It is our understanding that at the present time the national service life insurance trust fund can only be invested in certain specified Government obligations. We do not know whether such a venture on the part of the Government is feasible or not. But we do recommend to the Housing Committee that they inquire into this matter and if it is deemed that such investment would be to the best interest of the Government and the policyholders of national service life insurance that appropriate legislation be enacted. We should not lose sight of the fact that thousands of World War II veterans have not yet taken advantage of their entitlement to GI loans and that additional thousands of Korean veterans are beginning to seek home loans. We cannot help but believe that there is a clear obligation on the part of this Government to make such loans to eligible veterans at interest rates not in excess of 4 percent.

CONCLUSION

Mrs. ROGERS, and members of this committee, the above statement comprises the principal portion of our legislative program as adopted at our last national convention. In addition to the matters specified above, we are also mandated to support or oppose other legislative matters which come under the jurisdiction of other committees of Congress. The subjects have therefore not been incorporated in this statement.

I want to express my appreciation for the invitation to appear before you this morning, and to let you know I appreciate your courteous attention to my remarks. As in the past, you may be assured of the 100 percent cooperation of the entire staff of the Disabled American Veterans at any time we can be of assistance to your committee.

SUPPLEMENT

Three-year presumption, chronic and tropical diseases, H. R. 4155

Resolution No. 304: To provide a presumption of service connection for chronic and tropical diseases which become manifest within 3 years after separation from active service.

Widows: World War I

Resolution No. 228: To provide that existing law be changed so that any widow or a World War I veteran shall be entitled to a widow's pension without regard to date of marriage to veteran, provided that a child has been born of issue of said marriage.

Chiropractors in Veterans' Administration, H. R. 54, by Mrs. Rogers

Resolution No. 123: To provide chiropractic services by the Veterans' Administration for veterans who desire such services by the VA, or on an outpatient basis.

Income limitation, H. R. 2744, by Mr. Radwan

Resolution No. 263: To amend present regulations to increase income limitations of widows and dependents of World War I; World War II and Korean conflict from $1,400 to $2,000 annually for widows without children and from $2,700 to $3,000 for widows with minor children and to eliminate commercial life insurance as income.

Death compensation, H. R. 461, by Mr. Kearney

Resolution No. 309: To make uniform the rates of death compensation between widows and dependents of World War II and Korean veterans as are now payable to widows and dependents of World War I veterans.

Prisoners of war statutory awards

Resolution No. 104: To provide that any service person who was a prisoner of war for 12 months be awarded $50 per month additional compensation, provided he is entitled to a compensable rating of 10 percent or more.

Amputees and blind, H. R. 1712, by Mr. Colmer

Resolution No. 354: To provide $1,600 toward the purchase of an automobile for amputees and blind veterans of World War I on the same basis as provided by law for World War II and Korean veterans.

Uniform rates of pension for rating of less than 50 percent, H. R. 32, by Mrs. Rogers

Resolution No. 150: To make uniform the rates of compensation for dependents payable to veterans rated less than 50 percent.

Reduction in rates of total disability payments, H. R. 2984, by Mr. Secrest

Resolution No. 147: To prohibit reduction of any rating of total disability or permanent disability for compensation, pension, or insurance purposes which have been in effect for 20 or more years.

Insurance

Resolution No. 159: To provide that in case of total disability the veteran can draw $10 per thousand dollars insurance per month in the event of total disability provided an additional premium is paid therefor.

Severance of service connection, H. R. 463, by Mr. Kearney

Resolution No. 313: To prohibit severance of service-connected disability which has been in effect 10 years or more.

Compensation—Methods of payment

Resolution No. 335: To oppose the enactment of H. R. 631, or measures of similar import, which have for their purpose changing the present method of monthly payment of disability compensation.

Statement of the National Commander of AMVETS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by Mr. Henry J. Mahady, national commander of AMVETS, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

STATEMENT OF HENRY J. MAHADY, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF AMVETS, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON AMVETS 1954 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, JANUARY 28, 1954

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, AMVETS are appreciative of the opportunity to appear today to present the highlights of our legislative recommendations for this session of Congress.

We well remember the turbulent days of the 1st session of the 83d Congress when members of this committee came to the defense of legitimate veterans' programs. We also remember the searching scrutiny you gave to appropriations for VA, and the exhaustive exploration you made of the non-service-connected aspects of VA medicine. Your devotion to the cause of veterans and their dependents, as shown by these and other examples, lead AMVETS today to record that we are aware that we are testifying before the citadel of rights and benefits for the defenders of our Nation. You have our everlasting gratitude as you continue these endeavors.

VA REORGANIZATION

The Veterans Administration is engaged today in a gigantic reorganization plan designed to increase efficiency and reduce the cost of Government—in each instance without the curtailment of basic veterans services. We are confident that al moves in this direction have received an all encompassing inquiry by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. In this regard, we have great faith in the Administrator, Mr. Harvey V. Higley, who already has charged the atmosphere of VA with integrity, dynamic action, and de-

votion to service in all its facets. He has, in our opinion, begun to remove the criticism from veterans affairs which has long done so much to weaken VA in the public mind. We believe that reorganization under his direction will proceed smoothly and efficiently.

This is not an overnight task. Obviously, it will take some time to effectively place into operation the many pending proposals. We know that problems will arise, but we think that the reorganization plan is workable and that upon completion it will result in a greatly respected governmental agency.

While we have publicly endorsed the present VA reorganization, we still believe that even more action can and should be taken. For instance, we believe that all insurance functions should be consolidated into three locations; we believe that all death cases should be decentralized to regional office level; and we believe that some existing regional offices can be eliminated with an expanded contact service in those areas.

We understand these matters are receiving continuing study. We are hopeful that they will eventually become part of the new look in VA. We are of the very definite opinion that they would provide more efficiency, economy, and service, which is our common objective.

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS

Many presidential advisory commissions have been established during the present administration to study and perhaps reevaluate various Government functions. Veterans affairs are included in these studies and evaluations. This is proper, and we would have it no other way. We want all veterans' benefits to constantly stand before the bar of public opinion in clear juxtaposition to the Nation's obligation and its ability to meet that obligation. We pledge ourselves to work with these commissions toward this end. We believe, however, that it is fundamental that VA be a one-stop agency, that these programs are designed primarily for veterans, that service is primary with other considerations being secondary. For our part, we are prepared to support concrete recommendations which conclusively demonstrate that these conditions are met.

OUR PROPOSALS

We have several proposals to offer in the general field of veterans benefits. We feel that these proposals are in temper with the times. We are well aware of the present position of our national economy and we have taken it into consideration in our official position. But we believe that certain benefits are basic to an effective veterans program, and it is to these matters that we now address ourselves.

1. We support additional compensation in excess of that to which they may otherwise be entitled for those veterans who were prisoners of war in the Korean conflict, and we recommend relief similar to that provided to exprisoners of World War II.

2. We believe that there should be no discrimination in disability compensation payments regardless of degree of disability. We therefore favor legislation which grants an increase across the board to all veterans which would give them the same ratio to 100 percent as they enjoyed prior to the enactment of Public Law 356 of the 82d Congress.

3. We recommend that veterans insurance laws be amended to provide a period of 1 year for veterans of World Wars I and II and Korea to obtain that insurance to which they were previously entitled.

4. We support legislation to increase burial allowances from the present $150 to $250.

5. We reaffirm our position calling for equalization of death benefits for World War II and Korea widows as compared to benefits paid to widows of World War I veterans.

6. We recommend that the Congress of the United States enact legislation to provide for the payment of disability compensation in the 10 and 20 percent brackets on a quarterly rather than a monthly basis.

These are the highlights of our legislative recommendaions. Our other proposals are contained in a digest of resolutions from our ninth annual national convention which was held in Indianapolis, Ind., September 3–6, 1953. We desire, with your permission, to insert that digest for the record at the conclusion of our testimony.

VETERANS' HOUSING PROGRAM

Because the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing, Policies, and Programs recently made certain recommendations concerning the veterans' GI loan program, we believe that this subject deserves special comment. We have been impressed by some of the recommendations of the President's Commission. Others are still receiving our study and we will be prepared to comment upon them in detail at a later date.

We support the Commission's recommendation that the Veterans' Administration should consider providing special assistance to mortgagees in small communities in the preparation of applications for guaranties of loans. We also endorse the idea that VA should seek advice of lending institutions in revising and simplifying their regulations with committees of lenders being formed to place applications for Veterans' Administration direct loans with private lenders whenever practicable.

We are, however, concerned with the Commission's idea that a committee of informed Government officials should be established to review and set, from time to time, the ceiling interest rate on FHA insured and VA guaranteed mortgage loans. We are of the very definite opinion that the 4-percent interest rate on GI mortgages should never have been increased in the first place; and we are unalterably opposed to even any remote suggestion that additional action in this field should be taken.

We have not yet clearly evaluated the recommendation that the Veterans' Administration should contract with the Federal Housing Administration to perform the technical functions of processing veterans' home loan applications. At first glance it would appear that no service would be lost by this recommendation. It also would appear that the recommendation might achieve economy and efficiency by having 1 agency of the Federal Government, instead of 2, charged with the administration of these technical functions. However, we desire to make it crystal clear that our concern in this matter is for veterans, and we are not impressed by any argument that this proposal would eliminate the necessity of lenders having to go to 2 agencies instead of 1. We want the program to protect the interests of veterans, and we want to eliminate redtape for the veteran. We believe that this is a veterans' program and not a builders' and lenders' program, and to this end we desire that any consideration given by the Congress to the Commission's recommendation be based on this premise.

VA MEDICINE

It is our position that great strides have been made during the last year to clear up the confusion on Veterans' Administration medical programs. Certainly the false cries of mass abuse of non-service-connected hospitalization have been refuted by your Subcommitee on Hospitals and Medical Services. We commend you for your action in this regard, believing that your inquiry was unbiased and in the best interest of all concerned. We believe that the new Veterans' Administration regulation on ability to pay will do much to deter would-be transgressors on this vital veterans' benefit. Certainly, also, the new Veterans' Administration dental regulations have done much to stop an obvious excess of national generosity. These and other examples are vivid portrayals of Government determination to improve VA medicine.

AMVETS desires to once again record our full support of non-service-connected hospitalization, believing it to be a just, necessary, and proper obligation of the Federal Government. We pledge to you that we shall continually endorse clear-cut proposals which will eliminate the excesses, abuses, and the luxuries from this program. Our one consideration will be that such proposals will improve VA medicine. This is and must be the motivating factor behind our thinking.

LEGISLATION BY APPROPRIATION

Perhaps one of the most serious problems facing veterans today is the growing tendency by the Congress to legislate on appropriation bills. It would appear from recent history that no controversy, however complex, is free from this creeping paralysis. It matters little that honorable objectives are sought in this manner. It matters not that good moves are sometimes made through this medium. And it matters not that even AMVETS might believe in the purposes being sought. The important thing is that the long, hard battle for legitimate veterans benefits can be lost in a moment through this process.

We respectfully petition this committee to continue its opposition to this cancerous growth on veterans' programs.

CONCLUSION

AMVETS are aware of the tremendous problems facing this committee as you consider veterans' legislation. We are aware that the temper of the country is pointed toward holding the line on present programs. We cannot argue with this basic position. However, we have a belief that the matters we have discussed here today are in line with a nation's obligation.

We have consistently attempted to indicate to the American public our belief that any program not good for the country as a whole could not ultimately be of benefit to veterans. Each of our suggestions is based on this premise. The history of the activity of this committee gives conclusive proof that you share our desire to pursue this principle. We pledge to you our continuing support in arriving at this cherished goal.

DIGEST OF RESOLUTIONS CONCERNED WITH VETERANS' AFFAIRS PASSED BY AMVETS NINTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION, HELD IN INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SEPTEMBER 3–6, 1953

1. *Resolved*, That AMVETS go on record as favoring a national cemetery being created in every State and Territory in the Union.

2. *Resolved*, That AMVETS go on record as requesting the new Hoover Commission, in reorganizing the Federal Government, to accept the aid and assistance of the national veteran leadership to the end that they may have available to them the greatest source of knowledge on veterans' affairs as well as to avoid recommending the elimination of any essential service to veterans.

3. *Resolved*, That AMVETS urge the Senate of the United States to establish a Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee.

4. *Resolved*, That we express our belief that the new reorganization plan of the Veterans' Administration is workable and urge the American public and the Congress to give the agency time to effectively place the program into operation. In taking this stand, we recognize that it is inevitable that problems will arise, but we are confident that good personnel and a good program can make the VA organization a forerunner of a greatly respected Government agency.

5. *Resolved*, That we express our pride in the statement of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs that he will make definite recommendations to Congress on today's legislation as a normal function of leadership.

6. Believing that the proposed shutdown of Armed Forces commissaries within the continental United States is in effect a reduction in pay for the average GI who already has a difficult time meeting everyday commitments because of the high cost of living, AMVETS urge the Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson, to administer the power which he has at his discretion so as to defeat this proposal.

7. *Resolved*, That this convention goes on record as expressing our confidence in Mr. Harvey V. Higley, the new Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and pledge to him our assistance in arriving at an enduring veterans' program, dedicated to the dual proposition of a Nation's obligation to its veteran and the veteran's obligation to his Nation.

8. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be strongly urged to eliminate the so-called Whitten amendment, that is, section 1310 of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1952 (Public Law 253, 82d Cong.), as amended by section 1302 of Public Law 275, 82d Congress, which imposes unrealistic restrictions upon the appointment and promotion of Federal civil-service employees.

9. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be petitioned to amend Public Law 733, 81st Congress, or any other legislative action which authorizes summary removal and suspension of Federal employees without regard to either established Civil Service regulations or the protective provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 so as to provide for the right of appeal to aggrieved employees before an impartial body.

10. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be requested to initiate such legislative action that will provide for the right of appeal to and a hearing before the Civil Service Commission for those Federal employees separated or suspended by administrative agencies under the procedures contained in part 9 of the Civil Service Commission regulations.

11. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be petitioned to provide adequate pay for Federal employees in consideration of the cost-of-living index.

12. *Resolved*, That the Civil Service Commission be urged to amend its regulations so that reduction-in-force procedures must be applied by agencies to its employees when reorganization of an agency results in the abolishment of positions.

13. *Resolved*, That, the previous recommendation that the present numerical-rating system of the Civil Service Commission be maintained in the determination of the relative standing of applicants on its registers, be reaffirmed.

14. *Resolved*, That the previous recommendation that no reduction in retirement benefits be made upon optional retirement after 30 years of service by Government employees be reaffirmed.

15. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be strongly urged to maintain the present retirement system of Federal employees and to oppose any and all attempts to place Federal employees under the coverage of a social security program.

16. *Resolved*, That AMVETS support the United States Civil Service Commission in any appropriation action which will provide funds for satisfactory execution of its delegated and assigned authorities and responsibilities basic to veterans' rights, benefits, and privileges.

17. *Resolved*, That the United States Civil Service Commission be granted the manpower necessary to complete frequent and thorough inspection of all agencies, thereby guaranteeing the rights of veterans.

18. *Resolved*, That the previous stand on the reclassification of hospital attendants' position be reaffirmed and that the United States Civil Service Commission be urged to complete a classification study of such position within the next year.

19. *Resolved*, That since the use of the rider approach to bypass the activities of the appropriate congressional committees established to consider basic legislation is becoming more and more prevalent in the Congress of the United States, that AMVETS oppose the use of the rider technique, and, in addition, that all available means be used by AMVETS to acquaint the individual legislators of its opposition to the use of such technique of legislating through appropriation action.

20. *Resolved*, That AMVETS oppose any and all attempts to weaken the privileges and benefits accorded to veterans by either the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, as amended, or any other legislative action.

21. *Resolved*, That we endorse the AMVETS 9-point commonsense program and reiterate our belief that it represents the only sound, logical approach to the veterans' rehabilitation program.

22. *Resolved*, That AMVETS favor amendment to the Military Code of Justice which would provide legal safeguards to ex-servicemen charged with military crimes, specifically employing the right to counsel, a preliminary hearing before a civilian tribunal, and that the preliminary hearing must indicate that a prima facie case exists against the accused prior to the time that he could be transported overseas for court-martial.

23. Whereas Robert Toth, a Korean veteran, was discharged from the Air Force in December, 1952; and

Whereas 6 months later he was suddenly kidnaped by the Air Force and taken to Korea to face charges for an alleged crime committed during his service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the action of the Air Force be condemned.

Resolved further, That the Uniform Code of Military Justice be amended so that no ex-GI can be summarily taken from civilian life to face military charges, thereby depriving him of his constitutional right; further, that his rights should be protected the same as if the alleged crime were committed in civilian life.

24. *Resolved*, That AMVETS recommend that Public Law 182, 79th Congress, as amended, be further amended to provide a special statutory award for the anatomical loss or loss of use of 1 eye in combination with the anatomical loss or loss of use of 1 arm or 1 leg.

25. *Resolved*, That we recommend that the Congress of the United States enact legislation to provide for the payment of disability compensation in the 10- and 20-percent brackets on a quarterly rather than a monthly basis, thus saving approximately $1 million annually of taxpayers' funds without any reduction of essential services to veterans.

26. *Resolved*, That AMVETS support or have introduced a proposal before the Congress of the United States which would increase the burial allowance for veterans from the present $150 to $250.

27. We recommend that the national service director of AMVETS make a thorough study of the manner in which the 1945 schedule for rating disabilities is applied by the military services in evaluating disabilities for retirement under the Career Compensation Act of 1949 to the end that they may be applied with more consistency and uniformity and more in keeping with the Veterans' Administration's method of applying the same schedule.

28. *Resolved*, That AMVETS recommend that the information presently contained in DD Form 214, now issued to persons finally discharged from the military service be included in a new version of the certificate of service to be issued to persons who have completed a tour of active duty in the Armed Forces and are not discharged from the military service but are transferred to the Reserve components of the Armed Forces in in inactive status, thus preventing the distrust, misunderstanding, and ignorance by employers or prospective employers or other civilians who do not recognize the certificate of service as the equivalent of an honorable discharge.

29. We recommend that the legislative director of AMVETS be empowered to seek increases in disability compensation commensurate with the increased cost of living.

30. AMVETS recognize the propriety and desirability of granting additional compensation in excess of that to which they may otherwise be entitled to those veterans who were prisoners of war in the Korean conflict and recommend the relief provided by Public Law 896, 80th Congress, and Public Law 303, 82d Congress.

31. AMVETS recommend that there should be no discrimination in disability compensation payments regardless of degree of disability. We therefore favor legislation which would grant an increase across the board to all veterans having a compensable rating presently evaluated at less than 50 percent, thus giving them the same ratio to 100 percent as they enjoyed prior to the enactment of Public Law 339, 82d Congress.

32. We recommend revision of Veterans' Administration regulations to grant a 60-day rebuttal period for non-service-connected permanently and totally disabled veterans whose award is to be terminated by action of the Veterans' Administration.

33. We reaffirm AMVETS position calling for equalization of death benefits for World War II and Korean widows as compared to benefits paid to widows of World War I veterans.

34. We recommend that the AMVETS national service department give consideration to employing either a full-time or a part-time medical consultant on a national level to further implement the service program of the national organization, and further, that this medical consultant be accredited as a representative of AMVETS.

35. AMVETS recommend that the Veterans' Administration abolish the present system of issuing information bulletins, technical manuals, and other material referring to policy and revert to the system of putting all changes, policies, and procedures in the VA regulations formerly known as "R & P" and "R & P R's."

36. We recommend the enactment of legislation requesting that the first $10,000 of income received by widows from commercial life insurance on the life of a deceased veteran be waived and not counted as income in consideration of non-service-connected awards.

37. We recommend that veterans be allowed a period of 1 year from the date of award of 50 percent or more compensation to present proof of marriage or dependents which will entitle them to increased monetary allowances pursuant to Public Law 239.

38. We recommend decentralization of death claims by the Veterans' Administration to the regional office level.

39. AMVETS commend the Armed Forces of the United States for the improved educational program in urging veterans to apply for compensation and other veterans' benefits to which they may be entitled at the date of discharge and recommend that the program be continued and reemphasized.

40. We recommend the enactment of legislation by amendment to part I, Veterans' Regulation 1 (a), as amended, providing for a 2-year presumptive period for psychosis.

41. AMVETS recommend the enactment of legislation providing for a 15 percent increase in compensation to widows of service connected veterans who have no dependents.

42. We recommend that Public Law 550 be amended to spell out the duties of the

Veterans' Administration and the State approval agencies in the administration of the law so that current duplications, confusions, and misunderstandings with regard to supervision may be minimized.

49. We urge that minimum qualifications for supervisory personnel be established to insure competent evaluation of education courses, instructional procedures, and teaching techniques. Such standards should be based on factors including substantial educational preparation, educational background, and educational experience.

44. AMVETS oppose any plan reverting to the former practice under Public Law 346 of direct tuition payments by the VA to educational institutions or training establishments.

45. We recommend that the deadline on Public Law 16 for vocational rehabilitation of disabled veterans be extended so that veterans who have been continuously hospitalized since World War II will continue to be eligible for training when the need for vocational rehabilitation has been established.

46. *Resolved*, That AMVETS reaffirm their position to give full support to the National Apprenticeship Program, and lend all possible assistance in obtaining adequate appropriations for the operation of that program.

47. *Resolved*, That all departments and posts of AMVETS be urged to participate in the observance of the National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, and encourage the employment of physically handicapped veterans throughout the year.

48. *Resolved*, That AMVETS support the work of the Bureau of Veterans' Reemployment Rights and request that adequate funds be appropriated to insure the continuance of this program.

49. *Resolved*, That the national organization of AMVETS use every effort within its power to see to it that additional personnel is added to the Veterans' Employment Service to take care of the large number of veterans now entering the labor market as well as those already seeking the services of this agency.

50. *Resolved*, That AMVETS request the Bureau of Employment Security to maintain its present policies and standards to insure adequate service to veterans and urge Congress to appropriate adequate funds for this purpose.

51. *Resolved*, That the State Employment Security Agencies be urged to carry out the established policies of the Secretary of Labor on services to veterans, including the designation of a local veterans employment representative in each public employment office who is fully trained and qualified to assist veterans in all employment, reemployment, and unemployment claims problems.

52. *Resolved*, That all AMVET posts be encouraged to work closely with the local public employment offices in their own localities to the end that all the services of these offices may be more fully utilized by AMVETS and their families, as well as other veterans, on a basis adequate to meet everyone's highest level of job achievement, and recommend that a national employment officer or chairman shall be appointed who will request all AMVET State departments to appoint State employment officers, who shall, in turn, instruct post commanders to appoint local employment officers to promote and effect the necessary contacts.

53. *Resolved*, That AMVETS condemn the false economy theory of biweekly payments for unemployment compensation as being diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of unemployment insurance.

54. *Resolved*, That AMVETS oppose the deferral of the Veterans' Administration hospital scheduled to be built in the District of Columbia, and we emphatically urge the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress to provide sufficient funds for the Veterans' Administration to immediately begin construction of this facility.

55. We urge the Congress to enact permanent legislation which would provide that dental treatment of veterans will be limited to a period of 3 years following discharge except in those instances where actual service connected disabilities are present such as malnutrition in the case of POW's and traumatic oral conditions.

56. We express our belief that certain economies can be found in the Veterans' Administration, but we most earnestly contend that these economies should not be at the expense of closing Veterans' Administration beds or hospitals, or in the lowering of the quality of medical care given to veterans.

57. We request that the national service director of AMVETS consult with the Veterans' Administration toward the end that a tuberculosis ward with trained medical personnel and a neuropsychiatric ward with trained psychiatrists may be immediately established in one of the Veterans' Administration hospitals in the State of Montana.

58. Recognizing that there has been a marked improvement in medical services in the Veterans' Administration hospitals under the deans committees, and recognizing that Veterans' Administration hospitals under deans committees' guidance are attached to the best medical schools and universities, we request that deans committees be continued, broadened, better financed, and encouraged as a means toward improving the quality of medical care given to veterans.

59. We urge the governors of each of the 48 States to advise the commissioner of insurance of those States to forbid alien, foreign, and domestic insurance companies doing business within those States to issue policies which have exclusion clauses based on services received in Veterans' Administration hospitals and State-supported institutions. We urge that all such hospitals be reimbursed for such hospital benefits to which they would ordinarily be entitled provided the persons who enter such hospitals have valid and collectable disability insurance policies.

60. We heartily endorse all actions of our national headquarters and its officers on their stand against any reduction in Veterans' Administration funds that would curtail hospital benefits of qualified veterans of military service of the United States and its possessions.

61. AMVETS fully support the theory of non-service-connected hospitalization, believing it to be a just, proper, and necessary obligation of the Federal Government.

62. In order to prevent abuse of a most vital benefit, we call upon the Congress to amend the present laws concerning non-service-connected hospitalization giving authority to the Veterans' Administration to investigate the ability of the veteran to pay for such non-service-connected hospital care.

63. We oppose any plan of Government reorganization which would seek the transfer of Veterans' Administration hospital and medical services, or any other essential function of the Veterans' Administration from the jurisdiction of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

64. We request the national service director of AMVETS to consult with the officials of the Veterans' Administration Department of Medicine and Surgery concerning a proposal to add 100 beds to the Davis Park Veterans' Administration Hospital in Providence, R. I.

65. We recommend the expansion of present VA neuropsychiatric hospitals and the establishment of such additional facilities as required to adequately provide prompt and complete care for mentally ill veterans.

66. Recognizing that there are many eligible veterans on waiting lists for admission to VA hospitals throughout the country, and being aware of the fact that the Veterans' Administration has received sufficient appropriations for fiscal year 1954, and believing that a reallocation of present bed space to allied services could be instituted without a construction cost, we urge the Veterans' Administration Department of Medicine and Surgery to utilize to the fullest extent possible all available beds regardless of patient medical classification—provided adequate staff and personnel can be supplied.

67. Whereas the increase in interest from the 4 to 4½ percent which was recently granted by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for the purpose of creating a greater market for GI mortgages has not accomplished the purpose desired and mortgages are still impossible to secure in some areas and in other areas it is very difficult for the veteran to procure adequate GI mortgages: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Federal Government reestablish the 4 percent interest rate on GI homes as permanent legislation.

68. AMVETS recommend that the Loan Guaranty Division of the Veterans' Administration reorganize its activity to the extent that the Appraisal Section completes an appraisal and issues a certificate of reasonable value within 10 days following the reception of an application. We further recommend that the elapsed time from the date of receipt of application to the date for closing of GI loans be a maximum of 30 days.

69. We approve making lending agencies eligible for the organization and completion of direct GI loans whenever necessary.

70. AMVETS recommend that direct Government loans be made available to any approved agency for a loan to any qualified veteran who cannot otherwise get a guaranteed loan—said institution to retain any authorized or allowable fee and retain servicing on any loan originating in said institution with one-half percent of the monthly remaining unpaid balance to be retained by such institutions for such servicing. The one-half percent would be included in the interest.

71. We recommend that warehousing be controlled by the Federal Government.

72. We recommend that lending institutions or agencies be allowed the repurchasing privilege of any loan originated and processed at any time at par.

73. We recommend a 100 percent guarantee on all GI loans.

74. AMVETS recommend that the loan value of the entire loan guaranty portion of the GI portfolio of any established lending institution or agency be established at 100 percent of the Federal Home Loan Bank for time of stress loans.

75. We recommend a continued investigation of all institutions and/or mortgage brokers or any other person or firm suspected of malpractice in conjunction with the origination and processing of GI loans with the ultimate prosecution of those found guilty.

76. We recommend a standardization of all minimum property requirements among Government agencies for any and all insured guaranteed loans.

77. AMVETS recommend the establishment of a plan of spec preapproval system whereby plans and specs would be figured for an area and numbered, thereby establishing a brochure of plans and specs approved for construction. This would eliminate countless hours of work as the appraisers job would be only the establishment of the value of the construction in relation to the site.

78. We recommend establishment of a plan and specifications library in all Veterans' Administration regional offices where preapproval plans and specifications would be available to any prospective builder or veterans with information as to where they could be obtained.

79. We recommend a sliding-scale system for determination of the term of the loan

in conjunction with the veteran applicant's age.

80. We recommend the abolition of legalized discounting of GI loans whereby the discount paid by the seller or builder is actually absorbed by the veteran in the sales-price.

81. We recommend that the AMVET educational program on housing as endorsed by the department of Massachusetts, the national executive committee, and the 1951 and 1952 national conventions, be put into effect as soon as possible.

82. We recommend that AMVETS publish excerpts from various publications as an educational program on housing for the benefit of veterans to aid them with their multitude of problems on housing.

83. We recommend that a standing housing committee be appointed by the national commander with the approval of the national executive committee and that similar resolutions of 1950 and 1952 be memorialized.

84. *Resolved*, That AMVETS urge the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to consolidate all insurance functions of VA into three district offices as a means of achieving economy and more efficiency.

85. AMVETS recommend that an amendment be made to section 5 of Public Law 23 and section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act, as amended by Public Law 23, to provide a period of 1 year in lieu of the present 120 days.

86. AMVETS recommend that legislation be enacted that would permit veterans of World War I and World War II and Korea to reobtain that insurance to which they were previously entitled, 1 year from enactment of such legislation, once again to purchase national service life insurance or United States Government insurance. Further, that service-connected disabilities of such veterans be waived in determining insurability.

Taylor in the Spotlight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER THORNBERRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1954 issue of Texas Industry, there appears an article entitled "Taylor in the Spotlight." It is written by Opal Hill Munz, editor of Texas Industry, and it tells a very inspiring story about the city of Taylor, Tex., and its people who live and work together to make it a great community. Taylor is located in the 10th Congressional District of Texas which I have the privilege to represent. I know when you read the story you will agree with the author that Taylor, Tex., is a wholesome and progressive city with a splendid future.

The article is as follows:

TAYLOR IN THE SPOTLIGHT

(By Opal Hill Munz)

There is an old story about some blind men who were invited to touch an elephant and pass judgment on what an elephant was like.

One blind man got hold of an ear and said that an elephant was small and soft and altogether harmless.

Another blind man felt the animal's side and said an elephant was big and terrifyingly strong.

A third blind man touched the elephant's snout and characterized it as being like a nervous, twisting animal.

A fourth blind man seized one of the elephant's tusks and insisted that an elephant was hard as ivory.

Similarly, a community like Taylor, is different things to different people. Yet when the essential connections are made the community becomes a rounded and balanced whole.

Taylor is a place where it is easy to get back to nature. The feeling of peace and contentment registered upon a visitor is hard to pin down. It is inspired by the sight of a rabbit wrinkling its eloquent little nose at you as you stroll through the community's park, or of a bee gathering a late load of honey from a full-blown, frostbitten thistle flower. It is the smell of upturned earth, dark and damp, in fields that lie intimately close to the town's edge. It is a busy farmer having time to stop his tractor, tell you what it's like to be a farmer, and to quote a planting rhyme which has been murmured by generations of farmers.

"One for the blackbird,
One for the crow,
One for the cutworm,
And three for to grow."

Taylor is a community which has an abundance of confidence in its youth. Civic leaders agree that it is essential for children to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, but that it is equally essential for them to learn to live and play together. A Teen Den and a Little League baseball field, lend themselves by the very nature of their setup to the development of sound personal relationships among children and between children and adults.

For the past few summers now Taylor youngsters have been shagging flys and sliding for home in a real baseball field, under the guidance of volunteer adult coaches, managers, umpires, and scorekeepers. The whole Taylor community follow the games with as much fervor as they follow major league games.

It naturally follows that in a community that plans for its youth, you don't see any city fathers wrinkling their brows in concern over juvenile delinquency.

MANY RACIAL STRAINS

Taylor is a place where people of many races and creeds work and live and get along. Like New York and Chicago, except on a smaller miniature scale, Taylor is a sort of melting pot for many racial strains that are the stalwart underpinning of the community. All of the racial strains make an appealing impact on the character of Taylor and have imprinted their culture, their artisanship, their culinary arts, and their earthy philosophy on the character of the community. The salt and savor of the speech of the different racial strains are still there. The most useful Czech word is dobre (good). Wide use of the expression and similar ones add a wealth of homespun old world flavor to Taylor.

You stand on a street corner and watch people passing by on a busy, not too busy morning. People with names like Adamek, Bartosh, Cuba, De la Rosa, Fuchs, Garza, Jones, Johnson, Smith. A certain conventionality of dress cannot hide the startling variety of personality. You try to piece together their individual lives from a single glimpse. You try to guess what they are thinking. Every one is a walking biography. Then suddenly you know that these people are some way attached by the long tough thread of history through their customs, their ideas, their manner of living and eating and indeed by their very physical features. And you look upon Taylor with eyes made freshly aware of the contributions there people of many racial origins have made to their community.

As you go about Taylor meeting some of the citizens, this feeling quickens and deepens.

There's Harry Pickoff who radiates optimism the way highly polished products reflect light. Countless people in the community say Pickoff is an inspiration to them and back in 1939 they voted him the outstanding citizen of the year. You hear on every side that Pickoff is a past master at getting people together and inspiring them to action and resolve.

There's Jerry Pavlik who acts as a vertiable short-fused firecracker in promoting civic improvements. People say he works at a thing with trip-hammer persistence until he gets it done.

And there's Charles Hairston, chamber of commerce executive, who is a sort of walking who's who, encyclopedia, and atlas of the town's people, businesses, customs, sights, sounds, and smells. His conversation is charged with penetrating and shrewd observations and comments about the community's way of life.

In Taylor you hear of citizens who are fearless enough to stand up and be counted for freedom. You listen to one of these colorful persons. The Reverend Frank D. Svoboda, pastor of the Czech Moravian Brethren Church, say grace at the Rotary Club luncheon. You already have learned that Mr. Svoboda was born in Moravia, served with the United States Army in Czechoslovakia after VE-day, and later broadcast to Russian subjugated nations for the State Department's Voice of America.

At the Rotary Club you sit next to Dr. Jay J. Johns and warm yourself a bit at the fire of his personality.

You meet Louis A. Kincl at this place of business, the Kincl Hardware Co. There is courtesy on his lips as he talks with you. You see that he has a way of treating people who come in to the store to make purchases more as guests than as customers.

Kincl does heating, air conditioning, electrical, and sheet-metal contracting, and has several big jobs going on in central Texas.

As busy as Kincl is with enterprises, he takes time to serve as city commissioner and as president of the fire department.

You meet other community leaders: John M. Griffith, S. G. Gernert, L. A. Kincl, Joe Kincl, J. J. Crim, Jr., W. A. Schrade, Oliver Harris, P. L. Watson, Charlie and Van Zimmerhanzel, Tom Bullion, J. E. Moore, Gillis Conoley, Lin Mills, Mrs. George Peeler, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fox, Harry R. Morgan, John L. Matthews, Grady Jinkins, Clarence L. Basco, Harvey L. Johnson, W. C. Stern, Bob Hayes, Louis A. Kincl, Harvey Johnson, Mary Olsen, Mayo Tanner, Louis Psencik, Mrs. Harry Pickoff, and Roy Huckabee.

As you meet and talk with these civic leaders you discover that they have a secret weapon. It is a matter of spirit, a willingness and determination to strive for a better community and never to be satisfied with the status quo. Seeing responsible citizens like these working together you are convinced that here is a town that can control its economic fate.

Taylor is a community that expresses one of America's most cherished ideals, tolerance. There is no greater civic honor to be had in Taylor than to be elected outstanding citizen of the year. It is a reward for civic service. One year it may go to a banker, another year to a woman for her contribution to charity projects. Always it goes to a man or woman who has worked hard, strenuously, and unselfishly to promote the welfare of the community.

In 1952 Taylor made headline news when a beloved Negro citizen, Dr. James Lee Dickey, was cited as outstanding citizen. This award caused a stir that rippled far beyond the boundaries of Texas. Overnight Taylor became one of the most talked of communities in the South. The final ovation came when national magazines like the Saturday Eve-

ning Post, and national radio systems dramatized the story.

The simple philosophy expressed by Dr. Dickey in accepting the award, and the life he has led according to that philosophy, is what many whites and Negroes believe to be the most effective approach to racial problems.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Said Dr. Dickey: "This is democracy in action. This is something that totalitarian leaders will hate to hear about. Race relations are a thing of the heart."

The outstanding citizen of the year award was started in 1939 when a community's high regard for Harry Pickoff was translated into action and he was chosen for the honor.

Five years later, when Pickoff was elected head of the Rotary Club, he proposed that the outstanding citizen of the year award be made a permanent civic enterprise, and that it be sponsored by all the civic groups.

That year, 1944, Howard Bland, now deceased, was honored. In successive years other civic leaders were singled out for the award: S. G. Gernert, 1945; Mrs. H. R. Floeckinger, 1946; C. V. James, 1947; A. H. Miller, 1948; R. L. Harkey, 1949; Mildred Goff, 1950; Dr. Edmond Doak, 1951, and Dr. Dickey, 1952.

Dr. Dickey's greatest service to Taylor through the years has been the advancement of the health of his people.

The wholesome attention drawn to Taylor through the award to Dr. Dickey as an outstanding citizen shows how a big idea can have big results even in a small community.

Another event that has helped to add new stature to Taylor occurred in November when the town was saluted over radio station KRLD, Dallas, on the hour of charm program.

Taylor was presented by Ted Parrino, KRLD program director.

"With Lake Travis only a 20-minute drive from Taylor, fishermen find that the town is a sportsmen's haven. Aside from the fact that Taylor offers amusement advantages, the town is a chief railroad center in Williamson County. And the railroad is responsible for the establishment and growth of Taylor. The foundation of present-day Taylor was first laid when the townsite was the end of the rail for crews building the railway to Austin and the Rio Grande River. So influential to the city was the railroad that Taylor was named for one of the company's officials. Real growth of the town came in the 1880's and up to the turn of the century when the farmers tried to raise a bale of cotton to the acre. History tells us that Taylor is the home of several famous Texans. Taylor is the home of Dan Moody, the young district attorney who gained his first fame in the fight against the Ku Klux Klan and later became governor of the Lone Star State. Oldtimers will remember another famous Taylor man, Pet Brown, who was a widely known wrestler before the sport became television famous. And from Taylor came Will Pickett, the Negro cowboy who first bulldogged the steers in the manner now known to every rodeo fan."

In saluting a city you can't tell its story without statistics. So Taylor's mayor, R. E. Kollman, was given a spot on the KRLD's program. In a few swift sentences Kollman converted a handful of statistics and facts into an arresting picture, which showed that while many cities are in sight of the end of their economic horizons, that Taylor is nowhere near the end.

CONVERSATION TOPICS

Twin conversation topics in Taylor are cotton production and rainfall. Hanging on the walls of many offices and business firms are calendars with rainfall statistics for the past 10 years on one side of the calendar and cotton production figures for the past 10 years on the other side.

Almost dead center in one of the most fertile farming regions in the country, Taylor is blessed with soil rich, deep, and fertile, and as black as the type on this page.

Cotton has always been the principal agricultural crop, and Taylorites take cotton fields as for granted as they take for granted crew haircuts and T-shirts worn by the small fry.

There's a saying in the community, "What's money in a cotton country?" that sums up pretty clearly the community's dependence on cotton crops.

In no other place in the United States is cotton so rightly king as in Williamson County. This county's long growing season and abundant rainfall followed by periods of warm, dry weather are a cotton farmer's dream come true.

GIN-BURSTING STATISTICS

A few gin-bursting statistics will show the importance of cotton to the economy of Taylor and Williamson County.

In 1937 Williamson County produced 77,169 of the total United States production of 18,945,122 bales, or 0.48 percent of the Nation's total crop. In 1944 the county produced 0.41 percent of the total national production. In 1948 the production stepped up to 0.52 percent of the Nation's total. Production figures for the 1953 cotton crop are 67,940 bales. The 1952 crop totaled 54,500 bales, a total of 13,440 less than this year's crop. The 1951 crop, 60,987 bales, was considered a bumper crop. On that basis the 1953 crop is outstanding.

Almost any direction you drive from Taylor one is reminded anew of the vital role farmers still play in what we usually think of as industrial America.

SOIL CONSERVATION

Here you see the beautiful results of soil conservation effort, in rolling fields rhythmically plowed upon the contour, and geometric patterns of strip-cropped acres.

Farmers sitting astride orange tractors give emphasis to the rapid speed with which farms are being mechanized. (Williamson County has more tractors than any county in Texas, except in the citrus-growing areas.) Farmers welcome machinery that cut down farm labor, increase production, and give him more time to spend on planning to bring in the greatest financial return. The farmer is no longer afraid of experimentation. No longer does his son have to come home from agricultural school to tell Dad how to farm.

Farmers in Williamson County are no longer isolated individuals. The telephone, telegraph, television, automobiles, better roads, improved mail delivery have brought the world to the farms.

Progress has also come to the farm homes in Williamson County. Many a farmhouse has kitchens with all the modern equipment of refrigeration and stoves—kitchens where housewives can sail into them like prima donnas for three performances a day.

Although cotton is king in Williamson County, grain is certainly the crown prince. More and more farmers are turning from corn to maize because it requires less labor to grow and harvest, and there are nearby profitable markets for it.

During harvest season, when the sun floods the western sky, spreading a ruddy warmth over the vast checkerboard of cultivated fields, the patches of maize are a beautiful sight. One should go to see those maize fields from time to time, even if only to rest the eye and reassure the heart. For there they are, year after year, season after season, out of sight of the cities, quietly renewing, just as do the cottonfields, the economic strength of the community.

Primarily agricultural, Williamson County also raises some of Texas' finest livestock. The county is sufficiently supplied with dairy farming to meet all the demands of its inhabitants and to sell milk and other dairy products outside the county.

COLORFUL ACTIVITIES

Two colorful activities take place in Taylor that dramatize Taylor's dependence on agriculture. One is the weekly livestock auctions at the Taylor Commission Co. The other is the big dance flung for the migrant cottonpickers at the end of the cotton season.

If you stopped in Taylor on a Wednesday you'd get in on the auction. The auction barn is always a scene of intense activity that day, and often livestock are still being sold long after midnight. The bustle of prosperous farm trade makes the Taylor sidewalks hum on Wednesdays when the auction sales are held.

The big dances for the migrant cottonpickers at the end of the cotton-picking season have cast their spell on the migrant workers, and they speak of Taylor as a good-time spot.

Newcomers like Taylor because it is a good family town. The six civic clubs strive constantly to make Taylor a better city in which to live, raise a family, and conduct a business.

HOMEOWNERS

A greater proportion of Taylor's population own the homes they live in and the homes are more modern and in better repair than are dwellings in most parts of the country.

Such are the findings of the United States Department of Commerce based on the recent national census of housing.

Of the 2,819 occupied dwelling units in Taylor, 1,709, or 61 percent, are owned by their occupants. This compares favorably with the national figure for cities which shows 51 percent homeownership. Among all cities in Texas, the average is 56 percent.

One of the great conveniences of modern living, mechanical refrigeration, is to be found in abundance in Taylor. The census figures show that 66 percent of the homes have it.

More common also, in Taylor, than in most communities are homes with runing hot and cold water, flush toilets, and bath. The count shows 51 percent of the dwellings with these features.

CONSTRUCTION STORY

The construction story of Taylor is mainly one of housing units. However, work on the new telephone company building, which heralds the installation of a dial telephone system, is advancing swiftly toward the final rivet.

In writing the story of Taylor the two newspapers should certainly not be overlooked, for they are owned and staffed by people of high caliber and unusual ability.

Editor Henry Fox, of the Taylor Times, an independent weekly newspaper, writes a syndicated column entintled "The Circleville Philosopher," which attracts wide attention. Fox can fashion an earthy phrase that lights up an idea like a neon sign. Four-line verses written by Mrs. Fox, the editor's wife, add another unusual touch to the Taylor Times.

An example:

"Here comes the day when father reigns,
He'll blow the horns and run the trains
And send the soaring planes on high
While little boys stand glumly by."

At the Taylor Daily Press, slight, dainty, Mrs. George Peeler is the dynamo behind the paper. Assisted by Lin Mills, news editor, and other members of the staff, Mrs. Peeler puts out a daily paper that measures up to newspapers in much larger communities. The paper is generally carrying on some kind of crusade or project for the good of the community.

The heart of Taylor is not displayed in any one enterprise, but radio station KTAE, op-

erated by Gillis Conoley, has done a lot to bring new attention to Taylor. The station's programs are chatty in style and human in subject matter, with just the appropriate intimacy for a smaller community. When citizens of Taylor speak of KTAE they say affectionately that it is a neighborly station. The neighborly touch has paid off handsomely in appreciation and good will.

BIG BANK DEPOSITS

Taylor has more money on deposit at its two banks, the City National Bank and First-Taylor National Bank, than any other town its size in Texas, and a lot more than towns much larger.

This fact was discovered from the current issue of Texas Business Review, a monthly summary of business and economic conditions published by the University of Texas.

With slightly over $16 million on deposit at the end of October, Taylor was ahead of oil-rich Alice, which had not quite $14½ million. The population of Alice is 12,221, while the population of Taylor is 9,071.

Other cities Taylor outranks in bank deposits while underranking them in population include Beeville, Brownwood, Del Rio, Denton, Garland, Greenville, Kilgore, Palestine, Paris, San Marcos, Sweetwater, and Waxahachie.

These statistics and figures emphasize with lens-sharp clarity the general air of prosperity which Taylor wears.

What is the average income of Taylor families? How much is available to them for spending after taxes? How do they spend it?

The answer is contained in a survey of buying power covering the United States and prepared by Sales Management.

Figures show that Taylor families recorded net earnings in 1951, after tax deductions, of $10,726,000, a gain over $10,203,000 of 1950. Divided by 2,800 families in the city, it represented earnings of $3,831 per family.

Big earnings led to bigger spending. Taylor stores reported a sales volume of $16,502,000. On the basis of population, retail business locally should have been only .0058 percent of national business, but it was .0109 percent.

PURCHASING ABILITY

A measure of the purchasing ability of each city is given in the survey by a quality of market index. This takes into consideration income, sales, population, and other factors. For Taylor the index rating is placed at 117, or 17 percent over the national average.

Figures recently released by two Federal agencies, based on employers' tax reports show a total of 669 commercial enterprises in Williamson County.

Of this number 395 have three employees or less. Those establishments with 4 to 7 workers each number 167 and the ones from 8 to 19 employees add up to 77. The remainder are larger companies.

These 669 firms are equivalent to 17 businesses for every 1,000 residents.

In Taylor a sizable number of business establishments help to strongly undergird the community's economy.

We can mention only a portion of them, to show the diversity of the enterprises.

Taylor Refrigerated Warehouse, with 100,000 cubic feet of refrigerated space; Taylor Chemical Co., manufacturers of insect killers; Taylor Compress Co., which ships cotton to all points of the world; Swift and Co., which processes farm produce; Joseph Manufacturing Co., manufacturers of children's clothing; Danek Packing Co., which sank a root 40 years ago, in 1903, and began to grow, passing during that time from the hands of father to son; and Ira A. Prewitt Hardware Co., which also has longtime roots in Taylor's economic soil.

Come now with your reporter on a tour of some of Taylor's business enterprises.

It is always interesting to visit a printing establishment and see how all those millions of little inky characters become fixed to a sheet of paper.

At the Merchants Press we learned that the establishment was founded in 1931 at a time when the depression was worsening and unemployment was on an upward spiral. The firm started with one hand-operated press, grew with the community, despite the depression, and now has a full complement of modern automatic presses, complete composing department and bindery, does printing and binding for other printers and does business all over the Southwest.

TOWN TALK

A pleasant diversion was to watch a first-hand demonstration of a bottling operation at Pickoff Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. With the latest and most sanitary equipment this firm is capable of producing 21,000 bottles of soft drinks daily. Harry Pickoff opened his bottling company in Taylor in 1921, when topics of conversation were how Theda Bara was vamping in the flickers, and how women were enjoying their new found freedom by rolling their stockings and shortening their skirts. But in Taylor, people talked too, of the town's new bottling plant. In 1924 Pickoff was awarded the Dr. Pepper franchise for four counties. Pickoff and his firm were on the tongue-tip of every Taylorite again in 1948 when his company moved into the present new and impressive plant and held formal open house.

FATHER-SON TEAM

We found a father-and-son team making an unusually harmonious management arrangement at Taylor Iron-Machine Works, Inc. Joe Kincl is the father, and in chatting with him we learned he had one of the finest record collections of Czech music in the country. Louis Kincl, the son, is currently president of the Rotary Club. The machine shop is equipped with heavy stationary machinery for making machine parts, and with portable machinery that can be transported by fast truck to outside jobs. At Taylor Iron-Machine Works, Inc., we learned about two interesting processes called Metalock and Metalizing. Metalock is a repair method for cracked and broken cylinder heads, cylinder blocks, pistons, and cylinders for automobile or diesel engines. It is also adaptable to the repair of any heavy machinery casting. In the metalizing process any part can be built up to any desired dimension with any kind of metal and at a temperature that does not heat up to more than 10 degrees.

STARTED AS BLACKSMITH SHOP

The firm of Carl A. Johnson & Sons, of Thrall, started as a blacksmith shop 20 years ago, and later converted to a manufacturing plant making multiple-row cotton dusters and hill-dropper attachments for planters. Harvey Johnson briefed your reporter on events which led to the switch from sharpening sweeps and shoeing horses to making hill droppers. He told of how a farmer came to his father, Carl A. Johnson, one day and asked for a hill-dropping attachment for his planters, and of how his father made the droppers with wooden bearings and other crude material. Today the hill droppers are still being made, but now the firm can turn out 100 droppers easier than the 2 were made in the old days. The cotton-dusting machine also came into being as a result of an urgent farming need. Today, both products are being widely sold all over the South and Southwest. Eric Johnson, a second son, is also a member of the firm.

Taylor Bedding Mfg. Co., L. D. Hammack, president, is a modern success story of how a little company grew big. Visitors to the establishment are given a little booklet entitled "It's All Done With Cotton" that tells this success story in dramatic terms.

Look over our shoulder as we read:

"This is the story of a modern-day Horatio Alger, the business success story of D. P. Forwood, founder of Taylor Bedding Mfg. Co., Taylor, Tex. Starting out in 1903 with borrowed capital but with a definite idea of manufacturing cotton products from the abundance of cotton grown right in his home county, Forwood's interests grew steadily until today the Taylor factory is the world's largest bedding plant.

"Practically every product produced by the huge Taylor-Made plant contains cotton. Situated right in the heart of the cotton country, Taylor-Made has the first selection of the tough, harsh cotton that is characteristic of Texas-grown cotton.

"Up to 200 bales of cotton are used daily in the Taylor-Made plant with a large percent of the cotton receiving special treatment before manufacturing begins. A large bleachery is maintained by this company. The bleached cotton when completely processed is used as a filling in mattress protectors and in the manufacture of quilt and comfort batting. Large quantities of cotton are treated to produce cotton that is flameproof and fire retarding. This flameproof cotton is used extensively in cotton for Christmas decorations to prevent fires and in Insl-Cotton flameproof cotton insulation originated by Forwood in 1939.

"While Taylor Bedding Manufacturing Co. is widely known for its mattress, the plant also produces upholstered box springs, sofa beds, chairs, cotton upholstery, felt, and quilt and comfort batts. Newest products are quilts, comforts, bedspreads, and white quilted goods. In the large quilting department thousands of needles electrically driven at high speed work constantly to supply the nationwide demand for the company's products."

At Taylor Oil & Gas Co., we sat at the desk of Tom Bullion. After telling us that the company was founded by G. L. Rowsey and briefing us on the company's production and refining facilities, Bullion handed your reporter a copy of the company's 1952 annual report containing this interesting statement of the firm's corporate history:

CORPORATE HISTORY

"Taylor Refining Co. was organized on July 31, 1930, with capital of $100,000. A 5,000 barrels daily refinery was then constructed and operated at Taylor, Tex. This refinery ceased operations in 1941.

"In March, 1931, the capital stock of Taylor Refining Co. was increased to $300,000. A new 15,000 barrels daily refinery was constructed at Tyler, Tex. This refinery was sold in 1934.

"Corpus Christi Refining Corp. was organized on May 31, 1934, with an authorized capital stock of $30,000. A refinery was constructed at Corpus Christi, having an initial capacity of 2,500 barrels daily (now 40,000 barrels daily). Early in 1935, Taylor Refining Co. purchased 50 percent of the stock of Corpus Christi Refining Corp. On September 30, 1938, Corpus Christi Refining corp., was merged with Taylor Refining Co., through an exchange of stock.

"In 1935 Taylor Refining Co. acquired 25 percent of Coastal Refineries, Inc., which had an initial capital of $50,000. A 6,000 barrels daily refinery was constructed at Port Isabel. At the same time, Taylor obtained a 25 percent equity in Valley Pipe Line Co., such interest being sold in May 1941. In October 1946, Taylor Refining Co. acquired a majority of outstanding capital stock of Coastal Refineries, Inc., and subsequently the balance. Coastal was merged with Taylor Refining Co. on June 30, 1950.

"In 1943, Taylor Refining Co., and its associate company, Coastal Refineries, Inc., extended operations to petroleum exploration and production.

"In 1947, Petroleum Heat & Power Co., acquired 100 percent of the outstanding stock of Taylor Refining Co., in exchange for Petro stock.

"In May 1952, Petroleum Heat & Power Co. sold all its assets, including its trade name, with the exception of the stocks and assets of Taylor Refining Co., to the Pittson Co. Name changed to Taylor Oil & Gas Co. On June 30, 1952, Taylor Refining Co., was merged with Taylor Oil & Gas Co."

Taylor was founded in the days when a pioneer with a rifle, ax, and frying pan could carve out his own fortune. It is not quite so simple today, but two Taylor companies, Moore Grain & Elevator Co., and Taylor Meat Co., prove that success can still be built upon small beginnings. Starting from scratch Van and Charlie Zimmerhanzel, brothers, learned the meat business and established the Taylor Meat Co. Today the firm is solidly established and sells its products all over Texas. J. E. Moore started out as a truck operator, driving from farm to farm buying corn. Now he owns the Moore Grain & Elevator Co., which does close to a million dollars business in grain and feeds annually.

As we visited these two places of business and heard these success stories, your reporter said to herself that both stories just go to show that whether one comes from a small town in New England, the sidewalks of New York, the sprawling towns of the Midwest, the plantations of the South or just stays right in the community in which one grows up, the individual is what matters.

PLENTY OF OPPORTUNITY

Time is running out. Our last stop will be at Taylor Manufacturing Co. There you find proof that there is plenty of opportunity in Taylor to start a new business and succeed. Here is a company that manufactures science, laboratory, homemaking, drafting equipment, and store fixtures and finds profitable markets for its products. Here is a company with 32 employees and a weekly payroll of $1,800. You leave the plant convinced that some of the giants of the furniture manufacturing business could take a leaf from the book of Harry R. Morgan, president.

BRIGHT FUTURE

What of Taylor's future?

It looks bright. Instead of going around setting up brave monuments to the dead past, Taylor's civic leaders are busy forming an industrial action program.

Ten years is a long time to look ahead, but a decade from now Taylor businessmen are counting on a bigger, broader and more diversified economy.

An agricultural and industrial foundation has been established to make a realistic survey of Taylor's economy and what it has to offer industry. It is planned to set up a revolving fund to be used in bringing worthwhile industry into the community. It is a civic program in which each inhabitant can feel he has a personal part, a stake, and a responsibility. It can literally be an all-community affair.

From where we stood it looked as if Taylor had just about everything industry could desire. There are farmlands on the edge of town that could easily be transformed into a vast checkerboard of extended streets and industrial sites. There's plenty of water, plenty of power, plenty of natural gas, plenty of transportation facilities and a large labor pool. Tax rates are reasonable, school facilities are the best, and churches of every denomination are to be found.

Good roads and highways fan out from town in every direction.

A city manager form of government, with F. Rhea Cromwell at the helm, keeps the community alert and aggressive.

The chamber of commerce always has a progressive program under way. This year's president, Gillis Conoley says he'll concentrate on the industrial plan set up last year.

What's more, according to a survey made by radio station KTAE, Taylor is smack-dam in the middle of an isolated trade territory with a total population of 342,000.

Taylor gives a visitor the feeling of a town biding its time to emerge as a full-fledged city, of a town gathering its breath for a surge to greater expansion and growth.

Those who know Taylor best visualize for it a future wholly worthy of its gallant, forward pushing past.

False Ideas That Befog India and Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the New York Times Magazine of January 24, 1954, by Robert Trumbull, Times correspondent in India since June 1947, analyzes the false ideas that hinder understanding about the people of India and the United States.

Mr. Trumbull's article is itself a notable contribution to an understanding of India and contains many excellent recommendations for furthering mutual respect and mutual good will. Among other things, he suggests that—

Personal contact through interchange of travelers, official and otherwise, could stand greater encouragement. Along with the scholars, lecturers, and others sent to India under sponsorship of our State Department, why not send a few concert artists who could make India aware of the cultural strain in American life? There is a worth-while audience for them.

When we see the immense cultural offensive of the Soviet Government which attempts to depict Russia as the cradle of culture, and shows the citizens of the United States as gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians, it is high time that we become concerned over our own paltry efforts in this field of cultural diplomacy. When our concert stars go abroad they go on their own. In most instances they are amazingly successful ambassadors. We can be proud of the reception accorded the New York City Ballet, the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, and the opera Porgy and Bess in their foreign tours. Isaac Stern's appearance in Bombay, we are told by the Times' music critic, Howard Taubman, "had the effect of a Metropolitan Opera opening or a world series. Prospective customers lined up outside the hall 48 hours in advance of the concert. In New Delhi, where Mr. Stern played for one of the major national charities, his visit was regarded as sufficiently momentous to cause Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to invite him in for a long, private chat."

Dr. Vergil D. Reed, vice president of J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, had some interesting things to say on this point in his address before the American Association of Advertising Agencies' annual meeting in 1953. His speech, Us Uncultured Americans, appears in the November 1953 issue of Think, the magazine issued by the International Business Machines Corp. says in part:

Only yesterday we were cast in the role of world leader. The success of that leadership will depend largely upon a proper balance between material and nonmaterial values. Frankly, it will be largely a problem of the wealthiest country in the world learning to win the respect and cooperation of the less fortunate nations who are sensitive, resentful, and afraid. Ideas and not commodities, understanding and not dollars, culture and not boastful materialism must be our means of leading.

Howard Taubman says there have been reports in the newspapers recently of the powerful cultural delegations that the Soviet Union is now dispatching to India. These are officially chosen parties officially sent, and they include the finest dancers and musicians Russia has. They are designed to serve as ambassadors of good will. We may feel, he says, that we do not wish to adopt a policy of sending out Government-sponsored teams of artists and that we do not wish to engage in competitions of this sort. And yet it remains true that our friends in all parts of the world are eager to become acquainted with the best of our art and artists.

Should we—

He asks—

continue to respond to this eagerness sporadically and haphazardly? Or should we find some way to fill the demand coherently?

His conclusion regarding our artists is as follows:

Since they are national representatives, willy-nilly, when they do go, should we not take some responsibility as a Nation?

Federal encouragement of efforts in this very important field of cultural diplomacy would come with passage of any of the several bills now before both the House and Senate to establish an American National War Memorial Arts Commission.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the article from the New York Times Magazine of January 24, 1954:

FALSE IDEAS THAT BEFOG INDIA AND US—GOODWILL EXISTS BUT MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IS HAMPERED BY MISAPPREHENSIONS THAT RESULT FROM VERY DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS

(By Robert Trumbull)

NEW DELHI.—One of the writer's closest Indian friends is a westernized member of Parliament from a North Indian state. Whenever India and the United States are engaged in a long-distance debate, as they have been over the future of Korea and projected American aid to Pakistan, we also quarrel—amiably and at length—over Indian misconceptions of the United States and American misconceptions of India. Summing up the argument the other night, he demanded, "Why the hell do Americans know so little about India, when we Indians really understand the United States?" I assured him that his argument was completely insupportable.

Like my friend—who, incidentally, has never been to the United States—a great many cultivated Indians are under the impression that a majority of Americans of their own educational background still look upon India as a land of snake charmers, jeweled maharajahs, fakirs who sleep on beds of nails, and ferocious wild beasts.

On the other hand, an American in India could easily gain the impression that over here the United States is generally regarded as predominantly a land where the dollar is God, and where there is little interest in nonmaterial things. It seems that the material side of American culture stands out in the movies and literature that come over here, while other aspects, such as the deep strain of religion that runs through American life, are overlooked.

The typical American tourist, now coming here in increasing numbers, with his flashy clothes and apparently unlimited funds, does little to dispel popular Indian misapprehensions as to American character, or to understand the Indian. Too many of these travelers are impressed by the sordid in Indian life, completely overlooking the finer aspects. Just as tiresome to an American resident of New Delhi, however, are those who depart starry-eyed with the wonder of it all, full of spiritual values.

Misapprehensions on both sides are not without foundation. India does have snake charmers; their reedy piping is to be heard outside every tourist hotel; there are sadhus (not fakirs, please) who do drive nails through their flesh; maharajahs do possess jewels, though displays of princely wealth are toned down now, and if statistics are correct, three Indians are killed by tigers every day.

On the other side, Americans who visit here briefly do throw their money around, and are often too outspoken, too definite, and, above all, too loud for the Indian taste in their expressions of opinion about practically everything. And boasting of material advancement and prosperity, as many Americans do, makes no hit in a poor country.

But possibly it has not occurred to many Indians, as I told my friend, that Americans today may well be the best-informed people in the world (barring the British) on India. They should be—so many of them come here. There is a continual procession of Congressmen, officials of various kinds, writers, lecturers, photographers, journalists, technicians and experts, businessmen, students, and plain tourists. In some of the more popular hotels one will find more Americans signing the registers than citizens of any other nation, including India.

However, some Americans go away more misinformed than when they came, like a certain famous personage who remarked contemptuously, at the end of a 3-day visit, that "if India went Communist tomorrow, it would be a hundred years before it made any difference." This celebrity, whose name happens to be a household word, saw only dirt and squalor, poverty and superstition in his brief inspection. But what would an Indian see on his first walk through Times Square? He might well come away convinced that the United States is overly preoccupied with a tawdry scramble for the buck.

I am reminded here of the Indian student who returned from the United States and wrote of the numerous daredevil stunts like going over Niagara Falls in a barrel; the 100-foot dives into a tank, a carnival standby; and so on. "Never," he concluded, "never have I seen a country where human life is so cheap." This sounded odd in an Asian.

Christine Weston, an India-born novelist who lives in the United States, admirably summed up the average educated Indian's appreciation of the typical American in one penetrating sentence. In her novel, The World is a Bridge, she quotes a Maharajah as reflecting that the American who piloted His Highness' private airplane showed a uniformity of opinion which he, the Maharajah, was beginning to think must be the standard intellectual equipment of Americans, combining as it did an obsession with hygiene, a tendency to generalize about everything, an almost hysterical impatience toward procrastination in any of its inevitable oriental forms, and a weird but engaging mixture of sentimental idealism and stark ignorance.

Most arguments between Americans and Indians these days concern the divergent paths of foreign policy in our two countries. Apparently, or so the Indians think, most Americans consider this country pro-Communist. A lot of Indians believe that the United States is leading the world to war.

Lately India has outdone herself in orientalism by succeeding in antagonizing both sides in Korea and at the same time appearing to sidestep her responsibility to the world of making a clear disposition of the disputed prisoners. All this she did by the single stroke of announcing the intention of returning the captives to their former detaining powers instead of either letting them go free or holding them herself. To the forthright American of the "fish or cut bait" school of thought this is a triumph that only an Indian could pull off.

On the political plane relations between India and the United States plummeted to a new low with the disclosure that Washington was considering military aid to Pakistan. From the Pentagon's point of view as well as that of the average American who welcomes any ally in the life and death struggle against the Communist aim to dominate the world, it is understandable that we would be glad to arm a friendly country that is willing to stand up and be counted on our side, which India apparently isn't. But any American official who has anything to do with policy in Asia and who fails to appreciate India's dismay at this move simply reveals an astounding ignorance of the political facts of life on this subcontinent.

Let it be granted that India, by refusing to join the other nations of the free world in open opposition to Kremlin expansionism, is temporizing with evil, is appeasing an aggressor, or is just naively foolish. But when we offer to arm Pakistan what we are doing in Indian eyes is offering to arm a country that most Indians think of as the closest enemy.

No amount of Prime Minister Nehru's idealistic oratory about keeping Asia a third area of peace and so on can obscure the fact that Indians just don't want Pakistan, of all countries, to increase her armed strength. It is as if some European power had set out to arm Mexico in 1846, when we had disputes with that country which led to a shooting war. Granted that India's attitude may be shortsighted, she still thinks her nearest enemy is Pakistan, not Russia. And she, therefore, doesn't want Pakistan armed. But in general India is on our side.

The truth seems to be that Americans and Indians arrive at the same conclusions through different thought processes. This makes the road to agreement a rocky one. But it would be a stranger phenomenon if Americans and Indians did think alike, considering the difference in their backgrounds.

Americans have come from every land, including India, but are principally of European background. The culture of Europe has been derived from everywhere, again including India. But India, cut off from the rest of the world by the Himalayas and the sea, developed largely within herself. Invaders from other lands were mostly absorbed into the body of Hindustan.

The American Nation, as it is today, was hewn from the forests in comparatively recent times, when brilliant and complex civilizations had already existed in India for many centuries. The sense of urgency that must have activated earlier Americans has been intensified to this day, whereas the Indian remains at heart the contemplative creature of a very old and tolerant culture. No doubt the American hustle and bustle irritates the easterner, who has been conditioned to calm acceptance of fate. It is true that the new India is changing as her people become more aware and desirous of a better standard of life. As Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has said, India is trying to run before she can walk, and Nehru himself is the driving force behind the national effort to modernize this ancient and backward land.

But on the question of communism the American sense of the immediate runs headon into the Indian confidence in the inexorability of time, that rights all wrongs. That is why India refuses to rush into the anti-Communist group of nations, although there is no doubt that most Indians want no part of communism for themselves, and abhor the movement on both intellectual and material grounds.

The American thinks that the way to beat communism is for the free nations to combine forces. Indians, generally speaking, feel that this method is calculated to stiffen the opposition. In Nehru's view the United States disinclination to allow Communist China into the United Nations, for instance, is bound to drive that country more firmly into the Soviet bloc, thus accomplishing the very opposite of our ultimate goal of preventing the Russian power from growing.

All the principal Hindu festivals, with origins in prehistoric time, emphasize the inevitable triumph of good over evil. So Hindus—85 percent of Indians are Hindus—who believe as we do that communism is evil are not inclined to share our fears for the immediate years ahead. If communism is bad, they think it cannot survive. So why get so excited?

It may well appear to many American observers that Indians simply have failed to understand the great danger inherent in communism. They are not on the firing line—yet. Russian expansionism has not yet directly touched this country's interests, aside from some small uneasiness about Tibet. And Communist influence inside India is believed by most Indians to be exaggerated abroad. When the Red wave sweeps into southeast Asia to India's borders, or when the indigenous Communists become a serious threat to the democratic regime headed by Nehru, a sense of urgency may develop here also. But meanwhile there is that difference between the American and the Indian approach. It is bound to involve the two countries in disagreement from time to time.

Apart from politics there are many other directions in which our ways of thought channel apart. The Indian is inclined to scoff at the American obsession with mechanization, possibly because there is little chance of his getting it in his own country for a long time. But observation in India's big cities indicates that the Indian's contempt for material comfort is of doubtful validity, because Indians who can afford luxuries enjoy whatever is available.

It is only natural that Americans irritate the Indian by dwelling, too often in a patronizing way, upon the superior standard of living at home. The Indian doesn't need to be told. In fact, if the American doesn't beat him to the punch, he is likely to express admiration for American advancement. But the assumption of superiority, which the Indian is all too likely to read into the American character even when it isn't there, is bound to annoy a sensitive and proud representative of an ancient race.

The Indian, on his side, is too frequently inclined to assume an intellectual superiority that drives the American into defensiveness. Aside from his pride in his ageless heritage of a high indigenous culture, the educated Indian whom the traveling American meets is likely to have several degrees from leading English as well as local universities. He is often conscious of a far superior grounding in classic studies than

most Americans have, and this does not raise the American in his esteem.

A further point of mutual conflict may arise when the American discovers, as many do who are here on jobs, that the highly cultivated Indian with all sorts of academic qualifications is often sadly deficient in what we call know-how. On the other hand, it must be admitted that some leading Indians, including Nehru, recognize this and upbraid their own people while gladly hiring American engineers to take up the slack.

To many Indians, Americans seem naive in basic matters. Take sex. A Hindu gazing at the bookstalls in his own cities, where a great variety of American magazines and pocket books may be seen, may well wonder if Americans have just discovered sex. The writings of some of our sex experts were anticipated here by a couple of thousand years.

Like all races with long cultural backgrounds, the Indian has some characteristics peculiar to himself that may annoy or puzzle others. One of these is a quality that can only be described vaguely as indirect thinking. An exasperated English official, an expert on India, once exclaimed, "You can always depend on the Indians to miss the main point." American critics may reflect on this in many a political context. Another Indian quality in the same general category is that which has been described by an English writer as "litigiousness," or a love for exploring the convolutions of the law. Together, these habits can infuriate the American accustomed to an abrupt, direct "yes" or "no" to a question.

On the other hand, the American in India who demands action and demands it right now is likely not only to be frustrated in whatever it is he is after, but probably also will leave the contemplative Indian shaking his head in sad bewilderment at these brash people from the West who don't seem to know the proper way of doing things.

American efforts to help India raise her standard of living through point 4 and so on often multiply personal frictions. The expert from the United States sometimes irritates his Indian associates by adopting an air of superiority. Or he may try to impose the American way of doing things without bothering to adjust to Indian tradition. And sometimes the American learns, to his surprise, that there is something to be said for Indian methods, considering local circumstances.

There would be less mistrust between Indians and Americans if the latter could go out into the Indian villages, away from the sensitive urbanites who do most of the criticizing of the United States over here. The Indian villager—and he is the bulk of the population—is basically the same sound fellow as our own traditional farmer type, whatever the differences in background and way of life. There is no fundamental basis for conflict there, as a few Americans, working on Indian farm extension projects, are learning today.

It is unfortunate, from one point of view, that the average American working in India lives on the scale of a minor rajah, with a big American car, modern house, and squads of servants. Naturally the comparison with the lot of the Indians with whom he comes in contact every day begets envy and ill will. But the American usually has little choice in the manner of his living, and in fact is more inclined to think that, except in the matter of servants, he was much better off at home. And these platoons of low-paid servitors—a bearer or combination valet, messenger boy, drink mixer, and baby sitter, may be had for as little as $12 a month—are an institution of the East, unknown at home except to the extremely wealthy. But any American or British housewife in India will tell you that they can be a terrible nuisance, too, what with breaking dishes, spoiling clothes, losing things, and general inefficiency.

Anyway, the American resident of India lives no better than an Indian of the same economic station, and pays a great deal more. On services and many commodities there are three scales of prices: For the Indian, for the Briton or other European, and for the American. Guess which is the highest. Right. Unfortunately, the Americans, with their generous or careless ways with foreign money, must largely blame themselves if Indians look upon them as suckers.

The most damaging factor of all in relations between Indians and Americans is the old race bogey. Any instance of race discrimination that comes to light in the United States is widely publicized here. Some of the most polished of Indians seem to have racial antagonism always in the backs of their minds when westerners are around, whereas, in my observation, the traveled American tends to forget all about differences in skin color when in Asian company. All of this, of course, can be understood in the context of recent history.

Many westerners, and Indians, too, have mentioned that the Indian's backgrounding in the Hindu religion and way of life, with its intricate philosophy, strange taboos, caste system, and countless gods of multiple arms and faces, raises a mental barrier that the less complicated monotheistic foreigner finds difficult to penetrate. I was first told this by a highly westernized Indian diplomat as we devoured, together, a beefsteak dinner. His orthodox mother, he remarked, not only would be shocked and revolted at the idea of eating the meat of the sacred bovine, but would object to dining in the same room with a westerner. Obviously, the new generation is growing away from old prejudices, but the inherited sense of difference from others is still present.

In these many-sided considerations, the matter of immediate importance is how to improve understanding between Indians and Americans, since obviously we cannot ignore each other, and any widened cleavage can only benefit our enemies. A healthy start toward better relations has been made, no doubt. Many contacts between Americans and Indians, perhaps even a majority of them, have resulted in fine friendships and respect. But much more remains to be done on both sides to erase mutual distrust. It is admitted by many Indians themselves that they are extremely weak in public relations, otherwise India would not, they say, be under such suspicion in the United States. The remedy for this is certainly something for New Delhi to consider.

Is it not possible that India can differ with the United States on a topical question without appearing to be pro-Communist? It is the conviction here that India is more friendly to America than to Russia, but a great many Americans seem convinced of the opposite. Could not some technique be found, in public exchanges between New Delhi and Washington, to make the inevitable differences appear in the light of honest disagreements between friends, instead of on the present false basis of hostility that is so often accepted by ill-informed opinion on both sides?

Uncounted Americans here as well as at home have ventured to suggest that Mr. Nehru could assist more than anyone else in dissolving this distrust. There can be no doubt of American goodwill toward India, in the face of our efforts to aid this country through economic difficulties, with no expectation of tangible return. If more Indians understood the extent of existing friendliness toward India in the United States, some beneficent chain reaction might well begin. They can best be made aware of this through the lips of their own leaders. Some steps might be taken, on an official level, to curb the apparent defensiveness on both sides, Americans being equally guilty with Indians. Often unwarranted resentment is caused by unfortunate phrasing or poor timing of statements.

Personal contact through interchange of travelers, official and otherwise, could stand greater encouragement. Along with the scholars, lecturers, and other sent to India under sponsorship of our State Department, why not send a few concert artists who could make India aware of the cultural strain in American life? There is a worthwhile audience for them.

American athletes would be welcomed in India, for this country is anxious to develop in world competitive sports. India might be impressed concurrently with the fact that Asians make good in America if the visitors included the Nisei swimming star, Ford Kono, or—an extraordinary opportunity to make another point—Maj. Sammy Lee, of the United States Army, Olympic diving champion, who happens to be of Korean extraction.

Indian filmgoers are well acquainted, screenwise, with Hollywood's leading personalities. How would it be, as an experiment, to send Bing Crosby on a tour among India's youth, instead of some unknown lecturer explaining the American way in academic terms?

Viewed from here, interest of Indians in Americans, and vice versa, seems to be growing almost by the day. It is for the experts to decide how this interest can be channeled toward wholesome results. It may take time, but the eventual outcome should be worth the effort. India is still the most populous democratic nation in the world.

The World Assembly of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the following articles which have appeared in recent issues of the Way Forum, the publication of the World Assembly of Youth. The World Assembly of Youth is the international youth organization representing youth organizations in 45 countries, including the United States. The World Assembly of Youth has consultative status with the United Nations, UNESCO, the International Labor Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization.

The articles follow:

FOR THE GREAT UNATTACHED—YOUTH LEADERS CAN HELP TRANSFORM FRUSTRATION AND APATHY INTO VIGOR AND HOPE

(By Guthrie Moir, president, World Assembly of Youth)

It is to this last category of young people, the vast army of the so-called unattached—their number has been put as high as 80 percent of the total—that we youth leaders should be giving anxious thought, as we finalize our programs for another year's work. How can we reach them? How adapt our techniques to their conditions so as to set the spark which could transform lives of frustration and apathy into lives afire with vigor and hope?

Youth leaders as a section of the community are notoriously overbusy, and not

infrequently complacent about their organizations. They hesitate to experiment.

I suspect that many of our colleagues, if they took the time to examine honestly their own attitudes, would find that in the past they have tended to dismiss this vast amorphous throng of young people as a kind of anonymous rabble drifting across life's stage. Too often they are featureless to us because we lack the time and often, I fear, the sense of responsibility, to get closer to them and to study their desires, their needs, their frustrations.

If we stop and make the effort, what do we find among these young people? The variety is of course endless.

For instance, there are the large number of young people, often intelligent and imaginative, who have no time or interest for international affairs because they are immersed in the struggle for their own country's freedom or development. They deserve our respect and sympathy. And, if they will let us, we can help by giving them a sense of purpose through which they can escape from their isolation and bitterness.

There are the groups of young politicians who keep aloof from contacts with organizations with philosophies other than their own. They should not allow themselves to be afraid to test their doctrines in an impartial international, democratic forum. They will emerge strengthened from the experience.

There are innumerable other categories of young people, some separated from us by difficulties of language and communication, many by their own illiteracy.

Young workers or young people unemployed who find no satisfaction in their lives, whose only club is the street or the cafe, whose home or lodging conditions are intolerable. Students in strange cities among people of another race, who look in vain for signs of friendship and recognition among the indifferent faces passing by and find, or in their loneliness think they find, only rejection or aversion. Boys and girls in Africa and Asia and all over the world who yearn for a fuller life, but who lack the tools and the basic knowledge to help to create such things for themselves.

It is with people such as these in mind that the program for this year's general assembly of WAY is at present being planned. The assembly will present to the world the unique spectacle of representative and responsible young people and leaders from every continent rethinking and reorienting their work so as to present new opportunities and wider horizons to the millions of young people with and for whom we have been able to do all too little in the past.

The task is enormous, the potentialities of our work immense, our resources all too small.

Older people sometimes mistrust the WAY concept of young people combining to help themselves, instead of being content to lean on the bnevolent support of their elders. Such people have not learned the democratic lesson that paternalism and remote and sometimes patronizing philanthropy do not achieve the best results.

Governments and ministries of education in several of our member countries have recently cut even further their already meager youth budgets. Such cuts are popular from their point of view, because they know that it is difficult for young people, often without a vote, to bring pressure to bear. Youth organizations and national youth councils are healthiest, of course, when they are able to stand entirely on their own feet financially, relying solely on the enthusiasm and drive of their members.

But governments should feel a moral responsibility to insure that youth is able to present its distinctive and collective views on those questions which affect it. If we pursue this point, we realize that this means practically every matter of current moment, whether national or international.

In our struggle to lead governments or older, more influential people generally to understand this responsibility of theirs, we are not without allies.

UNESCO and other of the specialized agencies have consistently set a good example in this respect by calling on governments to insure adequate youth representation on or alongside the national commissions. At the same time UNESCO maintains close and direct contact with the international youth organizations. This is a step forward, but the pressure must be kept up.

I would like to see UNESCO daring to go much further with governments in its championship of the rights of youth.

As we think of the months ahead, their possible successes, triumphs, and discouragements, let us resolve to keep in the forefront of our minds the challenge represented by the young people with whom we have little or no contact. During the past year as our work has expanded we have started to forge close links with the youth organizations and young people of Asia and Latin America. Such contacts will increase during the coming year and will be cemented at our General Assembly. But what of the young people of east, central, and north Africa and of the Middle East? They represent a huge gap in our fellowship. We should not allow ourselves to be deterred from our task by the difficulties of progress in areas of racial tension. We must recognize that often the very people we need to contact lack the means of contacting us.

There is room, I am sure, in many countries for new patterns of association, new techniques of approach, particularly among young adults.

It is for the fortunate minority everywhere who already possess their means of association, their platform, and a measure of recognition to refuse to be satisfied until the same chances are available for all.

A Challenge to All of Us

(By Michael Kaser)

Five years ago this month the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration of Human Rights. The anniversary date itself is commemorated as Human Rights Day and it is appropriate at this time to reflect whether any progress has since been made, what prospects there are for the future and what part the nongovernmental organizations, among them WAY, can play for the furtherance of the hopes embodied in the Declaration.

The Declaration was literally epochmaking. Until its adoption human rights were exclusively the domestic concern of nations, none of whom could criticize the behavior of another. Occasionally clauses for the protection of specific rights were written into international treaties. To pick widely separated examples, the 1815 Treaty of Vienna laid down religious and civil rights for the proposed Dutch-Belgian union, and the 1925 Indo-South African agreement sought to protect Indian civil rights in South Africa—and the most that the League of Nations possessed were supervisory powers over national minorities in exenemy states.

It was the lessen learned from the Nazis and Fascist denial of basic human rights that led the United Nations, as early as the San Francisco Conference, to seek an international instrument to scotch both the inhumanity itself and the acts of aggression which had been unleashed.

In article 55 of the Charter, therefore, it was agreed that the United Nations "shall promote * * * conditions of economic and social progress and development * * * and * * * universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" and in pursuance of this aim the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations made it one of its first tasks to create the Commission on Human Rights.

At its second session (1947) the Commission divided its task into three parts: preparation of a declaration, which would embody the aspirations of all peoples of the world; of a convention which would crystallise into legal form rights which States would assure their citizens; and of measures of implementation of that convention by the United Nations. It took only 18 months for the declaration to be drafted and approved by the General Assembly and it emerged, not a hotchpotch of compromise as the divergence of religions, ethics, and politics among the nations of the world would imply, but a forceful and sensible agreement on fundamentals.

No State voted against it, but eight States abstained. South Africa alleged it said too much and was incapable of implementation and the Communist states took the attitude that it said too little and ignored economic rights and a citizen's duties to the State. The most important rights enumerated in the declaration comprised the right to life, liberty, and security of person, freedom of thought, communication, religion, assembly, and movement, and the rights to work, to adequate living conditions and leisure, and to education. The widest distribution of the declaration was called for both by U. N. governmental and nongovernmental organisations.

WAY—by adopting the declaration as the inspiration of its charter, by devoting the 1951 assembly to the application of the declaration to youth, and by its continuing support—has indeed been in the vanguard of the task.

But what of the outstanding aims of the Human Rights Commission: the convention and the implementation? It is here that the clouds gather and on the fifth anniversary of the initial victory there is little hope that they will reach acceptance.

It is relatively easy, in the first place, for a statement of noble principles to command acceptance; it is more difficult for governments to commit themselves to accepting legal obligations and still more to accept external control over their domestic affairs which U. N. implementation measures would imply. Moreover, anyone who was at the WAY Assembly at Cornell in 1951 will realize that the application of the Human Rights Charter to particular situations—as WAY did for youth and as the legal formulation of the convention demands—often reveals conflicts of beliefs, policy, interpretation and (with no pejorative sense) expediency. And if youth leaders with a great deal in common (and a readiness to find the most suitable solution through an exchange of experience) working over a limited field, have difficulties, how much the more for delegates of governments with different and sometimes hostile policies and intentions.

This has been problem No. 1 for the Human Rights Commission. The delegates fall into three groups, as is frequently the case in other U. N. bodies: The nations of high economic and social development, the Soviet Union and the East European states; the Asian-Moslem-Latin American bloc. There are two types of states within the first group whose particular problems raise special difficulties: The federal states and the colonial powers. The federal nature of the constitution inhibits some governments from committing themselves to implementing legislation within the jurisdiction of their constituent states while their citizens feel a security in and the superiority of their record and practice of human rights. Imperfections are admitted by at least some of their citizens, but none of them would welcome international enforcement or improve-

ment from without. The colonial powers feel similarly that human rights are sacrosanct in the metropolitan territories and that such rights, where not already valid for dependent areas, are being extended there as rapidly as the particular conditions permit.

They, too, are suspicious of external (and what they fear is ill-informed) criticism, particularly by states whose own record, they suggest, leaves much to be desired (citing, for example, forced labor among Communist countries and disenfranchised autochthonous populations in Latin America). The states of this group began by a ready acceptance of the idea of a human rights covenant, provided that it comprised only the chief of the justiciable civil and political rights of the individual. They were, however, particularly sensitive to criticism of their own laggardliness in some part of their social structure—the color problem in the United States, civil liberty in colonial territories—and tended to regard these as intended deliberately to embarrass.

Such criticism has mounted since the Commission started work on the covenant in 1949 and the countries concerned have withdrawn even further from their initial limited willingness, so much so that the 1953 session of the Commission (the ninth meeting, held in Geneva) opened with a statement by Mrs. Mary Lord, the United States delegate, that her Government could not ratify a covenant of human rights in any of its present forms under any circumstances.

The Communist states, which form the second broad group on the Commission, held from the drafting of the declaration onward that preoccupation with civil and political rights was "bourgeois cant" and that attention should be concentrated on social, economic, and cultural rights.

They abstained, as will be recalled, from voting on the declaration and during the Commission sessions on the covenant made it their case that social and economic rights should figure predominantly in the convention, that implementation was the domestic affair of each state concerned and that there was a violation of national sovereignty in the admission of external criticism claiming, nevertheless, that they had nothing to fear thence since all the rights were already guaranteed by their constitutions.

The third group contained a number of states who had recently attained full national independence (like India) or who chafed at the economic strength of the Great Powers (as to Latin American states). For these and a variety of reasons they tended to skirmish with countries like the United States or the United Kingdom, principally because they felt they had had close experience of the inadequacies of imperialistic social, political, or economic practice and intentions, but partly also with some bitterness for past injustices.

With the ink hardly dry on many of their constitutions, a number of these states have been carrying forward the idealism and altruism that inspired them in domestic principles and desire the inclusion of a wide and detailed range of rights in the covenants.

A paradoxical situation has arisen. The countries in which the protection of human rights was well entrenched want a very limited covenant with weak enforcement; the Communist countries want a wide covenant with no enforcement; and the Asian-Moslem-Latin American group want a broad covenant with strong enforcement.

Problem No. 2 for the Commission has been the definition of rights which are not straightforwardly capable of judgment in a court of law. It may well be here that the Commission has gone wrong and, in not confining the covenant to simple justiciable rights, has precluded all hope of early acceptance and ratification.

Even the basic justiciable rights need legal definition and conditions and exceptions have to be formulated, but fundamentally they are capable of being the subject of a judicial decision. This sort of human rights covers those such as the right to life; that no one shall be subject to torture, arbitrary arrest, slavery, or forced labor; to equality before the law; to freedom of movement within and out of his own country; to liberty of thought, conscience, expression, association; that the law shall guarantee protection against discrimination. These are already in the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, but to all these have now been added nonjusticiable rights like the right to work and favorable conditions of work; to an adequate standard of living; to adequate food, clothing, and housing; to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress, and so on.

How is a tribunal (for some form of tribunal there must be if implementation is not to be an international exchange of catcalls) to judge, for example, that Mr. A has been deprived of the benefits of scientific progress? Is every housewife to be presented with a free electric cooker because it is a scientific advance on a wood stove? These social and economic rights were removed to a separate draft covenant in 1951, but the difficulty remains.

Problem No. 3 was the desire of the Asian-Moslem-Latin American bloc to have written into the covenant the right of national self-determination (which would cover a permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources, and which in the form proposed would invalidate many externally held mining concessions, etc.). This clause was hotly debated in the 1952 session and carried despite the contrary votes of the advanced economies. The covenant had now become so much a political shuttlecock that the original purpose was totally lost to view.

The 1953 session, under the shadow of American withdrawal of support and with many a discontented government around the circular table at Geneva, wisely left these problems for the most part aside and tried to get agreement on implementation. On this it got some way and proposed a nine-man human rights committee for this purpose. A major struggle ensued over who would have the right to petition the committee—states, organizations, or individuals. In the event only states parties to the covenant would have the right to petition but the right of nongovernmental organizations was lost only on a tied vote.

WAY, an organization which would have had the right to petition, should probably not regret the loss since it could have implied a vast deal of work in screening and might have involved alienation of its own national committees and presented major difficulties with the governments concerned.

WAY does come in, however, on another recommendation of the Commission. The Secretary General of the United Nations is asked to convene meetings of organizations having as their objective the promotion of social progress generally to exchange views, coordinate their efforts if desirable and consider the establishment of common objectives. It is also proposed to circulate the drafts of the Convention to non-government organizations in consultative status with U. N. (that is, including WAY) for comment before the next session.

If this is done national committees and the youth organizations composing them will have first-hand opportunity for bringing their own experience into direct service of the United Nations in its efforts for the assurance of human rights.

This article can end on a hopeful note.

The Declaration on Human Rights has had worldwide effect; it has been written into constitutions; it is, without being law, cited as a criterion internationally; public opinon has something behind which it can mobilize itself. And even if the Covenant with legal implementation may be long in coming, the work of the U. N. for human rights has spread widely.

WAY delegates who heard the spokesman of the Human Rights Division in New York in 1951 will recall the mass of communications from all parts of the world alleging violations or offering comments. There are now 28,000 of these, many frivolous or vindicative, but at last there is some chance of their being utilized. Every year, moreover, the U. N. publishes the "Yearbook on Human Rights" which assesses each year's progress.

And, even if slowly, there is progress.

The Perilous Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following item which recently appeared in the Reporter:

(By Henry Steele Commager)

There is nothing essentially new about the so-called Bricker amendment, which proposes strict limitations on the power of the President in making agreements with foreign governments. The fathers of the Constitution knew well the dangers that threatened the rights of individuals and States from a Central Government with extensive powers, and they threw all necessary safeguards around those rights. They knew, too, the threat to the Union and to order from feebleness and imbecility in the conduct of foreign relations, and they took care that the Federal Government should be supreme in diplomacy. They had watched the frustration of treaties by States claiming to be sovereign and the decline of the prestige and power of the Confederation in its relations with other governments, and they determined to put an end to this intolerable situation. They provided therefore that treaties should be the law of the land and should take precedence over all State laws.

But because the treatymaking power was, inevitably, supreme and extensive, the fathers carefully safeguarded its exercise. What are the safeguards? After a treaty has been negotiated by the President, it must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senators present. As a single party rarely commands a two-thirds majority this means that it must have bipartisan support. It must be constitutional or the courts will hold it void. If it turns out to be a really dangerous treaty, Congress can impeach the President who was responsible for it. It must ordinarily be carried out through legislation, and when Congress comes to vote funds for its administration that body has another chance to pass upon its merits. If it is found to be unsatisfactory, in whole or in part, it can be modified or even repudiated by law. Such an action would constitute a grievance for the other contracting nation, but no one doubts its legality.

The fathers then gave amplest authority to the President to conduct foreign relations, and to the Senate to confirm such treaties as he negotiated, and then placed careful safeguards around these powers. Has anything happened in 166 years to suggest that the fathers went wrong on all this? Has the Constitution, otherwise the object of admiration and reverence, here proved to be a failure? Has the treatymaking power, in fact, been—as its critics now so vigorously assert—the Trojan horse of the Constitu-

tion? Have President and Senate forfeited American liberties, surrendered the constitutional rights of American citizens, and invaded the proper area of State government through the abuse of the treaty power?

In the last century and a half the United States has concluded something like 900 treaties and perhaps twice that many executive agreements. If the treaty power is the Trojan horse that its critics now assert, certainly that fact must have become apparent during these years. Surely there is at least one treaty that the critics can cite as evidence of a violation of the Constitution or an invasion of liberties of the citizen. But those who criticize the old familiar method that has done service since we became a sovereign nation and has played its part in making us a great power are wholly without such a bill of particulars. They present instead a long list of purely hypothetical dangers.

What are those hypothetical dangers? There is no mystery about them. They are the dangers anticipated from membership in the United Nations. They are the dangers anticipated from ratification of that body's Draft Covenant on Human Rights, or perhaps from its Genocide Convention, still awaiting Senate action. They are the old isolationist fears of international commitments, particularly in the field of human rights. Thus, Frank E. Holman, past president of the American Bar Association and one of the most vigorous advocates of the Bricker amendment, wrote of those who object to bowdlerizing the Constitution that "they belong to the school of thought that has become so internationally minded that it believes world peace can be achieved by recognizing in the President unlimited power to give America away at the international conference table"; and Senator BRICKER himself headed his speech opposing the Draft Covenant on Human Rights, "State Department Endangers Freedom of the Press."

DULLES: LIABLE TO ABUSE

The treatymaking power, said John Foster Dulles, before he became Secretary of State, is "an extraordinary power liable to abuse." This almost meaningless phrase is thrown up to us again and again as if it had the force of an argument. The treatymaking power is not an extraordinary but rather an ordinary power. It is, of course, liable to abuse. But all power is liable to abuse, and it is impossible to devise safeguards adequate to every hypothetical abuse. If we are going to guard against hypothetical dangers, against constitutional powers that are subject to abuse, why bother with anything as carefully circumscribed as the treatymaking power? Why not start with the powers of Congress itself?

Under the Constitution as it now stands, Congress can destroy the executive power by refusing to vote appropriations, by refusing to confirm nominations, or by impeaching the President because it doesn't like the way he conducts his business. Under the Constitution as it now stands, Congress can destroy the Supreme Court by reducing its membership to one, by increasing it to one hundred, or perhaps by impeaching its judges because they grant stays of execution. Under the Constitution as it now stands, Congress can destroy the representative system by refusing admittance to any Congressmen it doesn't happen to approve of, for whatever reasons it chooses to give, because Congress is the judge of its own membership.

All these dangers are hypothetical, but they are no more hypothetical than the dangers that Senator BRICKER and his supporters conjure up to justify paralyzing the treaty-making power. Indeed, they are less hypothetical than these dangers. Although no treaty ever has violated the Constitution or bartered away American rights and liberties, Congress has in fact impeached a President without just cause; it has changed the membership of the Supreme Court; it has deprived that court of jurisdiction in a pending case; it has excluded duly elected Congressmen for partisan reasons; it has established military government in time of peace.

But it would be madness to try to write into the Constitution guarantees against all these dangers. If we did, the Constitution would quickly become unworkable, and its zealous defenders would promptly conjure up a new crop of hypothetical dangers. No constitution can guard against every contingency that anybody can think of. No constitution can guard against even ordinary contingencies. No constitution can assure in advance that the President will not misuse his veto power or his pardoning power, or Congress its power of appropriation or of judging its membership, or the Supreme Court its power to declare laws void or to refuse jurisdiction. We have to take our chances on these things, trusting in experience, in common sense, in the integrity of our elected officials and the virtue of our people. Legislation by hypothesis is absurd; constitution making by hypothesis is suicidal.

BRICKER'S CAVEATS

But let us look at the Bricker amendment itself. Turn first to the first section, which stipulates that a provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution is of no force or effect. This is an admirable but wholly superfluous sentiment, and the Constitution should not be a depository for admirable sentiments. Of course, a treaty contrary to the Constitution is of no force. Only those incapable of understanding the logic of the Constitution, the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the interpretations of commentators, or those bemused by partisanship, ever thought that a treaty could violate the Constitution.

The Constitution itself provides that laws in pursuance of the Constitution and treaties made under the authority of the United States are supreme law. This difference in phraseology has given concern to those who tremble for the Constitution, but it should not. It was required because the Fathers wanted to validate treaties made under the authority of the Articles of Confederation, and used this phraseology to do so. The words themselves give no cause for alarm. Only treaties made under the authority of the United States are law, and the United States has no authority to make laws or treaties contrary to the Constitution. The magisterial Justice Joseph Story wrote in 1833 (Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States):

"But though the power is thus general and unrestricted, it is not to be so construed as to destroy the fundamental laws of the State. A power given by the Constitution cannot be construed to authoribe a destruction of other powers given in the same instrument. It must be construed, therefore, in subordination to it and cannot supersede or interfere with any other of its fundamental provisions." So the Supreme Court has said, in one decision after another, most clearly perhaps in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (1890), when it asserted:

"It would not be contended that it [the treaty power] extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the Government or in that of one of the States."

And, in fact, the Executive never has made a treaty which has been held to conflict with the Constitution. This, it is relevant to observe, is a much better record than Congress can show. In the same period perhaps 70 or 80 acts of Congress have been held void by the courts. If we are going to have amendments to prevent unconstitutional actions by branches of the National Government, perhaps Senator BRICKER had better start with Congress.

The first section is, then, redundant and superfluous. It is without justification either in logic or in experience. It is based on abstractions rather than on realities. It will introduce no new guaranty into the Constitution, only a new element of confusion. It has no place in the Constitution.

Now let us turn to the second section, the heart of the amendment: A treaty "shall become effective as internal law"—that is, shall become effective—"only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." Now there are two distinct parts to this section, though the unwary reader might not see this at first glance. The first part requires that before a treaty becomes valid it must be reenacted by Congress. The second part requires that the legislation reenacting the treaty be within the specifically enumerated and delegated powers of Congress—that it may not deal with matters which belong to the States.

This section repudiates the treaty-making arrangements written into the Constitution and substitutes for them arrangements that were considered and rejected by its framers. The first part of it introduces what would prove to be intolerable delays and complications in treatymaking. To the two steps at present required—negotiation by the President and ratification by the Senate—it adds three more—enactment by the House, reenactment by the Senate, and the approval of the President, who by that time may be a different President. As the State Department has said:

"Our ability to assure those with whom we negotiate that when we seal the bargain, there is a reasonable ground to believe that it will be made effective with the advice and consent of the Senate, is an essential ingredient in our ability to negotiate successfully."

This point is bad enough, but even more serious would be the effect of the "which" clause: "which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." At first glance, to be sure, it seems natural enough to provide that Congress should not deal by treaty with matters outside its ordinary province. After all, say the supporters of the Bricker amendment, our constitutional system is one in which enumerated powers are granted to Congress and all other powers are reserved to the States or the people thereof. Under that system Congress may not go into the States and dispose of matters under State jurisdiction. How wrong, therefore, how lawless and how wicked, to permit the Congress to do by treaty what it cannot do by internal or domestic law. And the amenders point, with mingled fear and indignation, to the decision of the Supreme Court in *Missouri* v. *Holland*, which held that though Congress could not in the normal course of things legislate about migratory ducks, it might do so in order to carry out the provisions of a convention with Canada. If Congress can invade the rights of duck hunters in Missouri, the amenders say, what may it not do?

A moment's reflection will discover the fallacy of this reasoning, and even the hastiest recourse to history will reveal that the fathers specifically rejected the argument now put forward on behalf of States' rights. In the domestic field, powers are divided between National and State Governments, and each government is confined to its own area. But there is no such division in the field of foreign relations. Here the National Government has all power, and powers not exercised by that Government cannot be exercised at all. And, be it never forgotten, the authority to make treaties was assigned to the Federal Government by the Constitution, so that when the President makes a treaty and the Senate confirms it, they are acting under the Constitution. National power in this domain cannot be limited by what Justice Holmes—in the same migratory-bird case—called "invisible radiation from the general terms of the 10th amendment."

TREATIES AND STATES

Now the fact is that the majority of our treaties, even the most important ones, have dealt in part or wholly with matters internally under the jurisdiction of the States. Here are included the numerous treaties dealing with reciprocal rights to own property, to inherit, to do business, to collect debts, to organize a corporation, to escape discriminatory taxes, to enjoy religious freedom, to have access to courts, to enter a profession, and so forth. All these matters and others are normally within the scope of State rather than of National power. But when the interests of Americans abroad are at stake, they cease to be domestic and become national, cease to remain matters of internal legislation and become matters of international legislation. Yet under the Bricker amendment Congress could not make such reciprocal treaties or the President such reciprocal agreements.

If this provision of the Bricker amendment had been in the original Constitution it would have made it impossible to enforce the treaty with France of 1778, the treaty with the Netherlands of 1782, or the peace treaty of Paris of 1783, and it would have nullified equally the first major treaty under the Constitution, the Jay Treaty of 1795. All of these treaties dealt with internal matters, with matters normally under the jurisdiction of the States. Thus the treaty with France gave to nationals of both countries the right to inherit land. But under then existing laws of several States aliens could not inherit or hold land. Thus the treaty with the Netherlands provided not only for reciprocal property rights but for reciprocal liberty of worship—another matter under the jurisdiction of the States alone. Thus the Treaty of Paris dealt with such matters as the payment of debts and the confiscation by the States of loyalist estates—matters wholly under the jurisdiction of the States. The Fathers of the Constitution deliberately designed the treatymaking power to embrace such situations.

Nor do we need *Missouri* v. *Holland* to tell us this, as the proponents of the amendment seem to think. One of the earliest decisions of the Supreme Court, *Ware* v. *Hylton*, 1796, made just this point. It held that a Virginia law confiscating the debt of a British creditor could not stand against the provision of a treaty providing that there should be no impediments to the collection of lawful debts.

It is illuminating to examine a very recent treaty—that with Italy of 1949—in the light of the proposed amendment. This treaty provides for the reciprocal rights of citizens of the United States and of Italy to engage in business, carry on scientific and professional activities, and own or rent land; it guarantees security of persons and of property, freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, and freedom of the press; it gives a variety of reciprocal rights to corporations. Most of these things are matters normally of State concern; under the Bricker amendment Congress could not legislate on them and the President could therefore not negotiate about them.

The supporters of the proposed amendment will answer that of course Congress might legislate on these matters under the commerce clause of the Constitution—not all of them, to be sure, but most of them. It is an intriguing theory. All that we need to remark here is that if the States' rights school is really ready to concede to Congress the power to legislate on the whole field of property and personal rights, this is a curious way to go about making the concession. But the agitation of Senator BRICKER and his associates over the possibility of congressional legislation under the draft covenant for human rights permits us to doubt that they have really become thoroughgoing nationalists overnight.

The fact is that the second section of the proposed amendment would frustrate an important part of the Constitution, paralyze the President in his relations with foreign nations, threaten the rights of Americans abroad, and return us, in this arena, to a worse condition than that which we suffered during the Confederation. As President Eisenhower has said, it "would have had the effect of depriving the President of the capacity necessary to carry on negotiations with foreign governments."

THE EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT PERIL

All the objections to the second section of the proposed amendment apply with equal force to the third section. This section likewise contains two parts. The first provides that Congress shall have the power to "regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization"; the other provides that all such agreements shall be subject to the qualification written into the second section—that they become valid only through legislation which is valid in the absence of a treaty.

It is not hard to understand why Congress has become restless about executive agreements. After all, the executive agreement is nowhere specifically provided for in the Constitution, and the habit of relying on the executive agreement instead of using the slower and more cautious treaty method is a growing one. Thus while the first century of our history saw more treaties than executive agreements, the last decade has recorded more than a thousand executive agreements and fewer than a hundred treaties—a 10-to-1 ratio.

It is not, however, the executive agreement as such that the proponents of the amendment chiefly object to, but particular examples of such agreements. No discussion of this section fails to note that Yalta and Potsdam were executive agreements, and this particular section is in fact one more gambit in the partisan game of "proving" that Presidents Roosevelt and Truman sold the United States down the river. Is this too extreme a statement? Listen again to Mr. Holman: The opponents of the amendment, he says, believe that peace can be achieved "by recognizing in the President unlimited power to give America away at the international conference table." And the Wisconsin State Republican Party, censuring Senator ALEXANDER WILEY for his failure to support this amendment, resolved: "The power of executive agreements has resulted in such catastrophes as Yalta, Potsdam, and Teheran. * * * The Bricker amendment is designed to safeguard our freedoms."

This is no place to argue the significance of Yalta and Potsdam, but it is the place to insist that we do not make the Constitution the sounding board for partisan arguments. The executive agreement has been a useful and even necessary device from almost the beginning of our history. It has enabled the President to deal promptly with a host of matters that required dispatch and that could not, in the nature of things, be dealt with adequately by Congress. Yet it is already clear that Congress can at any time regulate an executive agreement or even repeal it—just as Congress can modify or repeal a treaty. No constitutional amendment is needed to bring executive agreements under the Constitution or even under the power of Congress.

But the proposed provision is fraught with danger for the efficient operation of our Government in its relations with foreign nations. Yalta and Potsdam were not the only executive agreements; there were also the Rush-Bagot agreement, the destroyer-bases deal, and the arrangements for the military government of Japan. The public probably does not appreciate the nature and scope of the executive agreement in recent times. In the last decade, for example, the United States has made half a hundred executive agreements for health and sanitation assistance to nations in the Western Hemisphere, similar agreements for educational and cultural assistance, and still others for military missions and military assistance. Most questions of international aviation and international radio wavelengths are dealt with by executive agreements, and so too are most of the issues raised by the International Labor Organization or by UNESCO. If Congress were really to pass on all of these and similar agreements, it would have little time for anything else.

Of course, Congress might dispose of all problems concerning international sanitation or aviation or trade by blanket authorization. But the Bricker amendment would automatically bring before Congress every executive agreement and every other agreement as well. It would be impossible to anticipate these, and undesirable to provide for them in a vacuum. The term "other agreements," strictly interpreted, would also include military agreements such as torch or overlord, or an agreement for an armistice in Korea. Proponents of the Bricker amendment argue that such agreements can be made by the President as Commander in Chief. So they can—now. But the Constitution is not a series of mutually exclusive provisions, and if it declares that Congress shall regulate all executive agreements, it is clear that agreements made by the Chief Executive as Commander in Chief will come before Congress.

TIME HAS DEMONSTRATED

This proposed amendment, then, is bad when examined section by section and phrase by phrase. It is bad when looked at as a whole. For a system that has worked well it would substitute a system that is bound to work ill. For a system that concentrates authority and responsibility and achieves a reasonable degree of promptness it would substitute a system that diffuses authority and is bound to work endless delays. For a system that has commanded, and can continue to command, the confidence of other nations it will substitute a method that can only foster misgivings and confusion in other nations.

The amendment is inspired by fear, and the Constitution should not be distorted to reflect unworthy fears.

The amendment is inspired by ignorance of our constitutional system and of sound principles of government, and the Constitution should not be changed to reflect current misunderstandings of political history and political principles.

The amendment is inspired by congressional suspicion of the executive power, and the Constitution should not be misused to paralyze that power when our international responsibilities imperatively demand the strengthening, not the weakening, of the executive branch.

The amendment is inspired by a partisan desire to score on recent Democratic administrations, and the Constitution should not be used for partisan purposes.

The amendment is inspired by an unwillingness to assume the great role which the United States is now required to play in world affairs, by a yearning to be free of any entanglements that might have domestic repercussions, and the Constitution should not be contracted into the narrowest possible compass for meager ends, but should be made a fit instrument for a Nation able and willing to fulfill its responsibilities in the modern world. It should not be used as an indirect method of evading our responsibility as a U. N. member.

What Justice Joseph Story wrote about the treaty power in his great Commentaries, over a century ago, is wonderfully relevant

today: "The treatymaking power • • • was declaimed against with uncommon energy as dangerous to the commonwealth and subversive of public liberty. Time has demonstrated the fallacy of such prophecies, and has confirmed the belief of the friends of the Constitution, that it would be not only safe but full of wisdom and sound policy. Perhaps no stronger illustration than this can be found, of the facility of suggesting ingenious objections to any system calculated to create public alarm, and to wound public confidence, which, at the same time, are unfounded in human experience or in just reasoning."

We Should Be Careful About Breaking Up This Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal about teamwork in the past year. We have been urged to "get on the team" and to "work with the team," and the team idea has become thoroughly publicized.

I go along with that idea. The success of our whole concept of Government is based on teamwork, on the people and the Government pulling together in the common interest. But we should not confine the team idea to a group of appointed officials. There is a greater team at work in the interest of America and the American ideal, the team made up of the Post Office Department, the Congress representing the people, and the publishers of America. Through the efforts of this team, we keep America strong and free through knowledge. No greater truth was ever uttered than that by Thomas Jefferson when he said:

If I have to choose between a country with government and without newspapers, I would choose to have a country with newspapers and no government.

Our Government is safe only so long as the people have access to truth and learning. What greater force of truth and learning is there than the newspapers and periodicals published in America? We should think carefully before breaking up the team which makes truth and learning available to all our people at a minimum cost.

I would like to include, under permission to extend my remarks, this fine editorial from the January 1954 issue of Town Journal:

POSTAL-PUBLISHING: A TEAM

Americans not only enjoy the world's highest standard of living, but in addition they are the best informed people in the world. Our 160,000,000 population is made up of many races, many cultures, scattered over an area 3,000 miles wide, but in this huge melting pot they have been fused into one race, with a common language and common loyalty.

Much of the credit for this has been given to the public press—the thousands upon thousands of magazines and newspapers, with their huge circulations totaling many millions and their editorial content catering to every human interest and need. Senator FRANK CARLSON, of Kansas, chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in a recent speech before a group of publishers stressed the importance of this public-service contribution of the press. "It is difficult to overestimate," the Senator said, "all that you people have done to make more and more vital information available to more and more Americans through second-class mail. Second class is the great educational category."

But the credit for this does not belong entirely to the magazines and newspapers. The press is only half of the team that keeps America the best informed Nation in the world. The other half of that team is our postal service, the finest in the world. It is the efficiency and facilities of our postal service that make possible the wide distribution of our magazines and newspapers into every nook and corner of our land.

Our Post Office Department has been criticized because it takes in less than its cost of operation. But should we expect it to be entirely self-supporting? Of all the many departments of our Federal Government—State Department, Defense, Commerce, Interior, Agricultural, Justice—not one is self-sustaining.

As a matter of fact, of them all, the Post Office Department is the only one that comes even close to paying its way. Our postal system is a vital spoke in the economy of the country. It was intended to be a service—a service that benefits every man, woman, and child in the Nation.

In January the Congress is to consider ways and means of increasing postal revenues and efficiency, to try to make it more self-sustaining. But they should make sure that the cure does not prove worse than the ailment. One of the suggestions is again to raise second-class postage rates by approximately 40 percent. This is on top of two 10-percent increases in 1952 and 1953, and a third 10 percent already scheduled for this coming April. Such an additional and drastic increase would compel many important smaller publications to suspend or greatly curtail operations, and this in turn could have a pronounced effect on the entire national economy.

Our great productive capacity and prosperity have been built on mass production, and that mass production, in turn, has been made possible by mass education and advertising in which the Nation's magazines and newspapers play such a tremendous part. Restrict this and you restrict advertising; restrict advertising and you restrict production; restrict production and you restrict employment. Each is an important contributing factor in our Nation's overall economy. As little as a 1-percent drop in our national income could cost the Government in taxes alone hundreds of millions of dollars more than the proposed postal increases would bring—and the loss of business and employment might be much more than a mere 1 percent.

Another point to be remembered is that the servicing of first-class mail is acknowledged to be the paramount factor in postal service. If it were not for this, as Senator CARLSON has pointed out, "we would require only a small fraction of our present 41,000 post offices." He reminded, too, that most post-office costs would go on even if there were no second- or third-class mail.

Many persons do not realize that magazines pay a higher postage rate for the advertising content than for the editorial matter. The advertising already pays more than twice as high a rate as the editorial content.

These are all factors that should be taken into account before weakening the teamwork of the postal system and the Nation's publications that has proved so beneficial to our culture and economy.

GRAHAM PATTERSON,
Publisher, Town Journal.

JANUARY 1954.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Hon. William Langer, of North Dakota, at Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Ignatius Nurkiewicz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, on last Sunday, at Prospect Hall, in Brooklyn, the United Polish Societies of Brooklyn gave a testimonial dinner in honor of one of the great men of the United States, Ignatius Nurkiewicz, of New York State. On that occasion I delivered an address. The testimonial dinner was attended by several thousand of the leading persons of Polish ancestry, who came there from all over the United States, as well as from some foreign countries. I ask unanimous consent that the address I delivered at that time may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and distinguished guests, it is with a great deal of satisfaction and pride that I appear before you tonight to contribute a part in the recognition of the untiring efforts and accomplishments of Ignatius Nurkiewicz.

Anything that has or may be said here tonight in accolade of him is deserved and I fear that, as is true in so many cases, mere words fall far short of expressing the real affection and gratitude that abides in the hearts of those that know him.

To me, he is an example of the glorious system that is the democracy of the United States. A living example of the way that people of all nations can live, work, and be happy in exercising their natural right to live in a free country.

The rise of this man of humble beginnings to his present eminence is another American success story. So often, in this age of cynicism, we are apt to conclude that success comes only to fictional characters like Horatio Alger, but the life and character of this man represent eloquent testimony which should be sufficient to shake the cynicism of any doubting Thomas. Humble origin, financial difficulties, personal tragedy, were never deterrents to the continual rise to prominence and eminence by Ignatius Nurkiewicz. These seeming adversities only served to bring forth the ambition, the determination, and the concern and sympathy for the plight of others which formed an inherent part of this man's makeup from the beginning.

The concern of foreign-born Americans for the land of their birth is a fine and worthwhile characteristic. The desire to help others is as fine a method of expressing gratitude for our heritage of freedom as I can imagine. Surely, service to one's fellow man is among the noblest undertakings of man and all too often the servant never receives proper recognition and acknowledgment. Most often, praise for service well rendered is reserved for the epitaph on the gravestone. At such times it represents small solace to the object of the tribute. But I am delighted the United Polish Societies of Brooklyn have shown the industry and foresight to let our honored guest this evening hear for himself the love and the appreciation which his life, his example, and his efforts for others have engendered.

Our honored guest was born abroad on November 2, 1887, in Unislawice, Province of Warsaw, Poland, and came to this country with his parents as a young boy of thirteen. The family settled in Brooklyn, where young Nurkiewicz attended school. On completion of grammar school, he went to work for his father, a wagonmaker for Mack Bros. on Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn. Here he worked on the experimental construction of the first prototype of Mack trucks.

While working, he continued his education by means of correspondence courses. Subsequently he attended Brown's Business College, preparing himself for technical studies at Pratt Institute. He graduated from Pratt in 1909 with highest honors.

Even at this point the makings of a fine young man endowed by his Polish ancestry of fine mind and body is readily discernible. His quest for knowledge was not to be denied because of financial difficulties. His pattern throughout life is evidence of these facts and like all of the solid men of this Nation, he has been a family man, devoted to his church.

All of this, to me, shows the essence of a good American citizen. The kind of man that has made this country great and the kind of man who will keep it great.

But there is more. Not to be content with these accomplishments, our honored guest interested himself in all Polish-American activities. Let me list some of these.

He continues to serve as national vice president of the Polish National Congress and president of the Federated Merchant Organizations.

He is director of the Board of American Relief for Poland, also the Polish Social Service Bureau; also of the Joseph Pilsudski Institute. He is a member of the Polish National Alliance in America; also of the Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn.

He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor of the Polish Falcons Association of America. As early as 1903, he joined Nest 22 (located in Brooklyn) of the Polish Falcons Association of America. He subsequently served as vice president, later as president and is presently consultant to the organization.

He is an honorary member of the Polish Combatants Association in London, England. He is an honorary member of the Association of Polish Veterans of World War I. He is active in the Polish Immigration Committee.

He is vice president of the Paul Super Memorial Fund. As most of you know, Paul Super was an American who worked for 25 years with the Polish people as head of the Polish YMCA. The memorial is a foundation set up by Poles.

He sponsored the erection of a roll of honor recording the names of 2,500 Polish boys and girls in Brooklyn who served with the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II. The roll of honor is located on Prospect Avenue. He has repeatedly served as chairman of the Polish section of the Red Cross drive and of the annual Travelers' Aid fund campaign.

Let me say here that such an interest and such a schedule alone indicates nothing but affection for his countrymen. But there is still more. His political activity on the part of Poles and his recognition of the Communist menace are of great significance because here we have a soul dedicated to the way of life that is so dear to each and all of us. In this effort on his part the facts are worthy of note.

As president of the Federated Merchants Organizations, an association devoted to the professional advancement of Polish-American industrialists and merchants, he participated in the founding convention of the National Polish-American Congress in Buffalo in May 1944.

At this congress, he submitted a memorandum warning the United States (at the height of our appeasement policies) against the growing Soviet imperialism. This memorandum was later entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Convinced of the Communist menace, he and a group of Polish-Americans, on behalf of the Polish-American Congress, in a series of actions stressed the Soviet threat; protested against the renewed partition of Poland and against the imposition of a foreign regime upon the Polish people. These activities were carried on in San Francisco during the early days of the United Nations.

In the fall of the same year (1946), following an invitation on the occasion of the interallied meeting at Paris, he went to Europe with other leaders of the Polish-American Congress to study the problems of Polish refugees and displaced persons firsthand. In a 4-month tour he visited some 20 camps and conferred with American, British, and French officials. The delegates' report, submitted to the then Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, vigorously attacked UNRRA's policies as creating unbearable conditions for displaced Poles in camps in both the American and British Zones in Germany. It was charged that UNRRA's policies were communistic and that Poles were being terrorized into repatriation.

Before returning to the United States, he was granted a private audience by His Holiness Pope Pius XII, during which time the Communist threat and refugee problem were discussed; was guest of the Allied Armies at headquarters, Caserta, Italy, and was guest of the Second Corps, Polish Army, commanded by Gen. Wladyslaw Anders at Monte Cassino, Italy.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Nurkiewicz engaged in conferences with Government departments, with Members of the United States Congress, and with numerous organizations formed in this country on behalf of displaced persons. He submitted to members of the appropriate congressional committees a detailed report on Polish displaced persons. Believing in the power of public opinion, he took his message to the people, presenting speeches and broadcasts throughout the country. His actions ultimately led to a revision of UNRRA policies not only toward displaced Poles, but toward refugees of all nations.

In these times when we hear so much about communism, its spread, and the need to combat its evil effects, we can point to the fact that it is Poland and its citizens, and many who have emigrated to our shores, who have been in the forefront of this battle against the forces of communism. In paying tribute to Mr. Nurkiewicz and indirectly to our American citizens of Polish descent, we are only taking just cognizance of those who were in the forefront in this battle long

before it was fashionable to be avowed anti-Communist.

Mr. Nurkiewicz is vice president of the Polish-American Congress. The Polish-American Congress was formed May 4, 1944, to represent the more than 7 million loyal Americans of Polish descent. Since its inception this organization has had for its purpose, among others, taking the lead in pointing out the fallacy of Russian appeasement, and continuing efforts to establish a free and independent Poland. This organization, during the early years of its existence, was able to assist in alerting the majority of Americans to the fact that the forcing of millions of people under Russian domination meant depriving these peoples of the democratic way of life. Mr. Nurkiewicz has taken an active part in the fight that this great organization has undertaken. He stands not only as an American but as a descendant of a country that has suffered greatly in the cause for freedom. I am proud that this Polish fight for freedom is continuing today and the lesson that it teaches to all free people. I believe that no one can challenge the courage and the high devotion to freedom of the Polish people. It was amply demonstrated when Poland stood alone in 1939 to face the Nazi invasion from the west and the crushing attack of the Russians from the east. While these forces subdued Poland as a country and reduced its population to prisoners, they were unable to destroy the spirit of its citizens or the desires for freedom. Poland is continuing that fight behind the Iron Curtain today.

Fortunately for America, thousands of Polish citizens have come to our shores and, like our distinguished guest, have played an important part in the growth of a democratic and free America. We here tonight, in paying tribute to Mr. Nurkiewicz, are also in reality paying tribute to the enduring spirit of the Polish people and all Americans of Polish descent. Also, in effect, we are honoring the first American soldier in World War I and the first American soldier in World War II who died in the defense of liberty, both of whom were of Polish extraction.

In 1952, your honored guest campaigned for our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and was 1 of New York State's 45 members of the electoral college that sent him to the Presidency of the United States.

No wonder then that his countrymen revere Ignatius Nurkiewicz. No wonder that tonight this testimonial dinner has been arranged to honor him and to give his friends and admirers the opportunity to express to him their appreciation of his work. No wonder that those who are here tonight and many, many others may point to him with pride and say he is a Polish-American.

As for me, I can only say that I join in the salute given to this outstanding American knowing that as long as this great country has men of foreign birth who can take to their hearts the American way, perhaps even more than someone who is native to this land, we have nothing to fear. Champions of the cloth of which Ignatius Nurkiewicz is made assures this country of its right to be the proudest and finest country on earth.

Our Unfinished Job in Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful address by David Rosenstein, president of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, which was delivered at the 20th anniversary dinner of the Conference on Jewish Relations, held at the Hotel Commodore, in New York, on December 8, 1953.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am glad of this opportunity to tell you something of what I saw on my visit to Germany this summer. I went there because I wanted to see for myself what was being done for the last group of Jewish DP's still living in Germany. After the barbaric destruction of the 6 million, we used to speak of the surviving displaced Jews as the "pitiful remnant," and now this was the remnant of the remnant.

At the end of the war, a quarter of a million uprooted Jews were living in DP camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. How do the few thousand still living in Germany fare? What remains to be done? What is the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) doing? And what is ORT doing there—the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Vocational Training?

On my earlier visit 2 years after the war, our greatest anxiety was to move the 250,000 victims of the Nazis out of the camps with the greatest possible speed. It was a mass effort—gigantic—it was a heroic undertaking. We sped them to new countries where they could breathe freely and live peacefully—to Israel, United States, Canada, South America, and elsewhere. Never before in history did a group of voluntary, privately supported welfare agencies do a greater job, and do it with more love and understanding.

I saw the widespread training program developed by ORT in the DP camps, to teach trades to the people so that any country admitting the students of the ORT schools would gain economically by their skills and spiritually by their raised morale. Out of the dark of the camps—into the sunlight of the new lands—this was adaptation and integration in the new environment.

That big job is now over. The great mass of DP's is gone. Today only one Jewish DP camp remains in Germany. It holds the remnant of the 63 that formerly existed. Of the 250,000 Jews that lived in camps in 1947, there are now 2,000 left, located at Camp Foehrenwald.

These, however, are not the only Jews in Germany, or even the only ones in need of our help and understanding. Germany today has some 20,000 Jews. One thousand or less still live in the Eastern Zone. Every day brings more escapees from behind the Iron Curtain.

The atmosphere in which the German Jews live is unhealthy. The horror of the crematoria and the ghosts of the past stalk the survivors. Few among them feel accepted, or even safe in Germany. Every time a German mutters the word "Jude," the Jew who hears it trembles and wonders what is behind it.

To Camp Foehrenwald my wife and I went this past summer, because here is concentrated the residue of Hitler's savagery in the torments, the diseases, the deep psychological hurts, and the uncertainty of the 2,000 camp residents. The Foehrenwalders are still the displaced.

One of our first impressions of Foehrenwald as my wife and I rode down the road, some 20 miles out of Munich and through the beautiful green Bavarian countryside, was that it was not a camp after all. There are no walls and no gates. People come and go as they please. Actually, it was originally built by the Nazis as a housing project for workers in a munitions factory. After the war it was converted into a refugee center.

It looks like a neatly laid-out "shtetel"—little village—in prewar Poland or Lithuania. There are no gardens and the grounds are neglected, reflecting the lack of interest of the residents. But there are schools and a clubhouse, reflecting something of the atmosphere and activity of an American settlement house. As we walked down the main street we saw young boys playing ball on a recreation field.

Foehrenwald even houses some small business, Fridays, people line up to buy chickens for the Sabbath; the windows of the grocery stores are piled high with "chalehs" (Sabbath loaves). You can get every opinion on politics and world affairs in the Jewish barbershop. If you want to taste east European Jewish cooking, there is a kosher restaurant.

Nor are physical comforts a problem in the camp village. With the help of JDC these creature needs are provided. The problem of Foehrenwald is not a relief problem—of getting enough food or housing or shoes to the people. The problem is in the hearts and minds of this community, which, 8 years after the war, is still living almost entirely on relief—vegetating, without constructive plans for the future.

It is this question—of how to help the Foehrenwalders to live again as normal human beings—that emerged as the most urgent job we still have—this is our unfinished job in Germany as I see it.

I attended a conference with leaders and representatives of the camp community and the nearby Gauting Sanatorium for the Tuberculous. In all my life I have never participated in anything more poignant, painful, and also disturbing. The spokesman for the camp addressed us in eloquent Yiddish with amazing fluency—and I am glad my parents spoke Yiddish at home in my youth, so I could understand and respond. The leader presented their plight and their proposed solution, asking us to take their message out to the Jews of the world. The greatest fear of the Foehrenwalders is that we will forget them.

These camp representatives, and every other resident with whom we spoke, emphasized that they wanted to leave Germany. They all urged, as the only solution, planned emigration, with the Joint Distribution Committee making the arrangements. Unfortunately, the opportunities for emigrating are very limited. For some, it may mean a year or two to get the prized permission to emigrate. For others, it means years of waiting. For still others, it may be hopeless. For example, only a small fraction can ever expect to come to the United States, because of their poor health. They just cannot pass the health examinations imposed by our immigration authorities. All could go to Israel, but many of them have fears that they are not strong enough to stand up under the rigors, austerities, hardships of life in Israel.

I was struck by some of the names they give their streets—Independence Square, Pennsylvania Avenue, Franklin Roosevelt Street—names that express their longings, with no repressions.

I recognized in these American names symbols of the deeply felt hunger for opportunity and a better life that is prevalent throughout Europe. At the same time, I could not help but feel saddened by the knowledge that the gates to America were closed to these, the most unfortunate victims of nazism. With Sweden, Brazil, and Argentine and other countries welcoming at least a few of these distressed families, I found it impossible to reply to the query as to why America maintained an adamant position against them. I felt sure the warm heart of America would take them in were it not for legislative prohibitions. It is not yet too late for us to act to save some of these human beings.

The position of the children is especially difficult. Few of them have had more than

occasional schooling. The only life most of them have known is the unnatural life of the camp. Many of them have never known their parents to work for a living or ever had the feeling that they are settled in one place and belong there. We heard about a 13-year-old boy in a family of returnees from Shanghai. He had been to schools, always very briefly, in China, France, and the United States. He had even lived in Russia for a while. He had spent years traveling from one end of the world to the other.

The children also present a constant health problem, since even those who are not infected often continue to live with parents who have TB in various stages. The JDC supervises this with a monthly health checkup.

Then there are those in the old-age group—men and women over 60—tired and despondent people, who look back on a life of misery and hardship. For them resettlement planning is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

There are the arrested TB cases and members of their families. In each individual case the employment possibilities within Germany have to be explored and special vocational programs, possibly by ORT, need to be worked out. For it is most likely, sad as that may be, that they will have to find a way of living in Germany.

Occasionally there is a rift in the clouds for these hard-core patients—and what a heartwarming glow you have when you hear, as we did in Munich, that a group was making ready for immediate departure for Norway for permanent resettlement. Norway and Sweden, for the second year, have generously agreed to admit groups—small ones, to be sure, but not less significant, as acts of humanity.

Everyone in the camp is, in one degree or another, dependent on the JDC. Many receive supplementary rations from JDC, and in a number of instances a supplementary cash grant over and above the relief allotment provided by the German welfare office. For some, the JDC provides medical or emigration assistance. For all of them the JDC is their great link with the outside world. Many of them look upon it as their lifeline out of a bleak situation. I was highly pleased to see this favorable attitude toward JDC, because from the point of view of any American Jew who wants to eliminate the running sore that is Foehrenwald, JDC is the only instrument that can do the job humanely and constructively.

Talking to the people at Foehrenwald, we got a feeling of electric tension. In the past there have been raids on the camp. German police accompanied by police dogs, have descended on the community. Riots and bloodshed were narrowly averted by prompt JDC intervention with the ministerial director of the German refugee office. Rumors spring up like mushrooms after a rain. The threat of the imminent closing of the camp is always present, as are threats of deportation of recently arrived returnees, although an agreement has been reached with the German authorities in the last 2 or 3 months that there will be no deportations of returnees already in camp. But that situation can always change and explode in our face.

These returnees, as they are called, are those who left Germany for Israel or other countries and then felt impelled for various personal reasons to come back to Germany. The returnees present an especially perplexing problem. They comprise about half the residents. It is only too easy to pass judgment and to condemn. We should not be harsh or uncharitable or too hasty with blame. They are, after all, a handful out of the several hundred thousands who were successfully resettled in Israel and elsewhere. Nevertheless the returnees have aggravated the entire situation at the camp. The tales they spread upon their return do not tend to quiet the wrought-up nerves of Foehrenwald. The oldtimers there dislike them cordially—because they feel they complicate the problem and make impossible the orderly closing of the camp. Some weeks those who come back exceed those who leave.

In a general atmosphere of dejection, sullenness, despair, with the demoralization that results from enforced idleness, there is one bright spot—the ORT school. Walking through the classrooms and looking at the faces of the students busily at work, we found a marked contrast here with the rest of the camp. Here you see some happy faces at the workbenches, and there is even room for laughter. The students obviously enjoy their work and take the training seriously. They discuss how they will use their skills, the kind of jobs they will get. The instructor informed us that there was hardly any absentee problem and that enrollment in all of the classes was good.

Our attention was called to the remarkable effect of regular classroom work on men who at first had appeared to have given up all hope. We saw one such young man who had been wounded during the war in his left arm—his working arm—and it was paralyzed. It was hard to believe that he was the same person who had been described as depressed. As we walked by, he did not even look up from his bench in the watchmaking course. He was completely absorbed, and according to his teacher has all the makings of a balmalucha—a craftsman. ORT plays an important role in preparing DP's for productive life.

Camp Foehrenwald is the property of the German Bureau for Refugee Affairs; 85 percent of the cost of the camp comes from the Government at Bonn, and 15 percent from the Bavarian Government. The role of JDC is supplementary. Psychologically, however, JDC's presence is crucial; its prestige with the German authorities is of primary importance.

The continued existence of this camp of misery is perhaps the most serious problem facing our American voluntary agencies in Europe. We dare not put off a solution of the problem of Foehrenwald indefinitely. It is not alone a question of what we, as American Jews, would like to see done, or even what the Foehrenwald Jews would like. We still have time to reckon with the problem under Chancellor Adenauer's benevolent regime, while some of the crude and cruel anti-Semitism is in hiding. Should there be, however, an adverse change in the German political situation, we could see a flareup of hostility against Foehrenwald that could harbor dynamite. It is getting late, later than most of us think. We have to act soon.

Well, what can we do? I told you that half the residents are returnees. Immigration opportunities are being sought for them in South America, Canada, and even the United States. For the others, when normal housing can be found for them by the German authorities—their responsibility—they have to be moved out of the camp, into communities where they can be gainfully employed. I must tell you, regretfully, that studies made reveal that their gainful employment is not easy. The Germans, for obvious reasons, do not want them, and the Jewish small-business men fear to employ them, for practical and well-known reasons.

Returning the returnees to Israel is also very difficult. It is hard to imagine them wanting to become re-returnees. It is unlikely that any ordinary powers of human persuasion could achieve this, considering the depth of feeling held by all parties—in Israel, among the Foehrenwalders, and the returnees themselves. I could even understand a certain hesitation on the part of the Israelis since it is probably the case that the bulk of these people will be "headaches" wherever they go. They are problem children, and it is no new disclosure that Israel has knotty problems of her own and enormous "headaches."

For the Foehrenwalders themselves, there is no blanket solution. The JDC has made a case study looking toward individual family solutions in line with the best case work practices known to the social scientists. The premise of this study was that a way would have to be found for each family and possibly for each individual that is the most humane and, in the long run, the surest answer.

You have heard about the families that were being accepted in Norway and Sweden. A JDC representative has been exploring with South American governments acceptance of small groups of Foehrenwalders, some of whom were frank to say to me they prefer South America to Israel.

I think also that one of the important elements in the speed of closing Foehrenwald depends on the capacity of the JDC trained social workers and the farsighted rank and file camp leaders to convince a majority of their fellow residents that their best hope lies in immediate emigration to Israel.

A psychiatrist-psychoanalyst friend of mine was discussing with me the condition of the Foehrenwald tuberculous. She pointed out that TB's, unlike cancer cases, for example, are inclined to be optimistic—they are happy in their dependency and not as depressed as other cases. In bed they are cared for, and when they get better, they are used to coddling and the infantile setup; she called it intrauterine existence.

TB's need psychiatric help to come out of their shell—the protective cover. If you try to force them out, you meet emotional resistance and difficulties. "Stress to TB's," she says, "the picture of Israel as offering greater permanent security than anywhere else. Sell them the idea that in Israel they are at home; that they are wanted; that when they get well they can find work." In short, in dealing with these matters sociologically we must understand the psychology of the TB.

In discussions with American leaders, I have been able to obtain assurances and these assurances have been conveyed to the people of Foehrenwald—the promises will be faithfully kept—that when they reach Israel, they will have ample hospital facilities, enough beds, enough houses (not tents), enough food, enough clothing to see them through in comparative comfort. They will be aided to establish themselves with openhearted liberality in occupations suitable to their handicaps. They will be nourished and wherever possible nursed back to health. Their plea will have been heard. They will find an inner peace in Israel—an inner peace that transcends the outer turmoil of Arab warfare and economic hardship—the peace after all the years of wandering, of having reached home.

Defense in the Air-Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle before the Jewish War Veterans, at a testimonial dinner held in New York City on January 13, 1954. His is a very excellent appraisal of the entire subject of air in an atomic age, by a man whom

all of us in the Senate consider to be one of the greatest living experts on air.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE IN THE AIR-ATOMIC AGE

(Address by J. H. Doolittle, vice president, Shell Oil Co., before the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, New York, N. Y., January 13, 1954)

The Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America have stood for many years as a fine example of intelligent patriotism. In time of war, they have fought with honor in the cause of freedom. In time of peace, they have contributed greatly to the development of a society that only freedom makes possible. It is a distinct honor to be recognized by such a group. I am deeply grateful for the medal of merit.

It is traditional, in a nation such as ours, that the veteran, or citizen-soldier, has precisely the same stake in freedom as any other citizen. He has the same chance to develop the arts of peace and to profit from his work; the same risk of loss if peace and freedom are endangered. In addition, he has had direct experience in the defense of freedom and thus has a greater appreciation of the implications of defense and the importance of freedom.

The difference between the citizen, the citizen-soldier, and soldier is, however, fading fast. The advance of technology has changed the character of war and the entire concept of defense. In great wars of the past, battles were fought on single fields (as in the days of ancient Rome), or along lines (as in World War I) or over areas (as in World War II). In any great war of the future, battles may cover continents. No place on earth will be remote, and the operations—of indescribable violence—will encompass everyone, soldier and civilian alike.

We must understand the full meaning of this change if our defense is to be effective in the future.

Before getting on with the subject of defense, I should like to make one point very clear. I believe that mankind is capable of magnificent development if man can realize the full potential of his God-given spirit and intellect. I am convinced that he can achieve this goal only in a free and peaceful world. And so, for the next few minutes, while I talk of military matters, I will not be ignoring the larger but more distant and difficult goal. Rather, I will be offering suggestions for moving toward it.

Defense is no longer a matter of winning or losing battles, but of preventing cataclysm. To simplify a complex subject, I should like to consider defense from three points of view:

1. The basic requirements of defense in a free society.

2. The weapons of air-atomic military strength.

3. Suggested uses of America's air-atomic superiority in preventing war.

The first requirement of a sound defense system is that it should act as a deterrent against attack. It must also give reasonable security against any attack if launched.

In the world as it is today, and as it seems likely to remain for some time, we can think of only one possible source of attack on the free world: Soviet Russia. As for the form of a major attack, we must assume that whatever it involved in the way of surface forces, it would be spearheaded by aircraft carrying nuclear bombs. This is the primary threat against which the free world must be protected.

Our Military Establishment, whatever its component parts, must have great offensive as well as defensive capabilities. It should, by its very existence—and its existence should be generally known—deter any aggressor from attacking because he would have no reasonable chance of success. But aggressors are not always reasonable. An attack might come as an act of cold-blooded calculation or as an act of desperation. For this eventuality, we need not only the ability to parry the initial blow but also the power to strike back hard enough and fast enough quickly to destroy the enemy's ability and will to make war.

Our defense must also be within our means. If we slowly strangled our economy under the cost of defense, we would be vulnerable to defeat by infiltration and subversion because of weakness arising from economic collapse. The problem facing our Nation—and the free world—is security with solvency. The problem itself and the danger of missing the answer were well stated last spring by Lord Tedder, marshal of the Royal Air Force and one of the world's leading military authorities. Speaking before the House of Lords in London, he argued strongly for economizing by taking full advantage of technological progress and against trying to build up or cut back our military forces by arbitrary across-the-board changes in the Military Establishment. He said:

"One remembers what happened (in England) before September 1939. No effective selection was made, we tried to be strong everywhere and only succeeded in being weak everywhere, at sea, on land, and in the air, with the result that we spent the first 3 years of the war fighting in the last ditch, fighting not to win the war—that came later—but to avoid losing it."

Then, discussing the political atmosphere in which governments frequently find themselves when it is necessary rapidly and drastically to reduce military expenditures, Lord Tedder said:

"There would be little chance, in such an atmosphere, of carrying out a thorough reassessment of the defense problems followed by a reallocation of defense effort to ensure maximum power with the minimum of expenditure. No, the inevitable demand would be an all-round percentage cut with the inevitable and fatal result of all-round weakness."

With the hazards thus neatly stated, how can we povide adequate defense at a cost bearable over the long haul? A few facts may help to indicate a reasonable course.

The United States and its partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are working to insure their mutual security against possible Soviet attack. The entire free world is vulnerable to attack by air; England, by sea also; and the European nations are vulnerable by land as well. These nations have already clearly indicated that they cannot maintain indefinitely, during so-called peace, great armies, navies, air forces, and supply systems patterned after those used during World War II. To attempt to do this would lead to bankruptcy and chaos.

What about the Soviet? The experiences of Napoleon and Hitler indicate the folly of trying to defeat her on the ground. Her relative self-sufficiency makes naval blockade ineffective. The Soviet submarine fleet represents a formidable offensive threat which our Navy, with the assistance of the Air Force, must be prepared to counter. Her greatest threat to us is in her air-atomic power. By the same token, she is vulnerable to decisive defeat only by air. Here, although naval aviation is increasing its capacity to carry out important supplementary tasks, the bulk of the responsibility for defense and survival rests on the air forces of the NATO nations. Air-atomic power, then, has become the keystone of our defense establishment. A wise and proper allocation of our limited defense funds is essential if we are to maintain adequate military strength and a continuing sound economy.

Permit me to quote from a recent talk by C. R. Smith, president of American Airlines, on this matter:

"An increasing number of well-informed people, both inside and outside the Military Establishment, are convinced that the military budget can be greatly reduced, with an actual gain in our global military capability, by going to a strategy based upon those weapons systems wherein our margin of technical advantage is greatest. In fact, do we not need to conclude that no other strategy is really open to us?"

Let us now examine briefly the weapons of air-atomic military strength.

We are developing and producing ever better air weapons. The B–36, present backbone of our bombing units, is being replaced by much faster, all-jet bombers. These will, in turn, be succeeded by supersonic bombers. The F–86 Sabre jet, a subsonic fighter interceptor that became famous in Korea, is being succeeded by supersonic planes, already flying or on the way. The next step is the pilotless intercepter. In the Navy, new jet aircraft are greatly increasing the offensive and defensive strength of naval aviation. You have probably read about the Army's Nike, the first operational guided missile designed for intercepting enemy planes over American soil. The contest between offensive and defensive weapons—between measures and counter-measures—will continue. We must remain in the lead.

Although piloted aircraft will be with us—and will shape our plans for defense—for some years to come, the development of first the supersonic and then the hypersonic, ballistic, intercontinental missile, as replacement, is assured. Problems to be solved in the development of the ballistic missile—range, guidance, accuracy, materials, cooling, cost—are formidable, but we must solve them, and soon. Defense against the ballistic missile—or so-called ultimate weapon—appears very difficult. We do not know how to accomplish it at the present time. In parallel with the weapon, we must conceive, develop, and produce the counter weapon.

Our progress in weapons, while good in itself, provides no grounds for complacency. The United States has frequently lagged behind European nations in important new developments in both civil and military aviation. The Soviets are also making excellent progress in all phases of aviation. Jane's All the World's Aircraft for 1953–54 reports they are producing in some numbers a small, extremely fast rocket-propelled fighter plane for air defense. They are also reported to be developing a new jet fighter faster than the MIG–15, as well as new medium and long-range jet bombers.

As a result of their own intensive effort, together with what they took from the Germans, who, during World War II, led in this field, it is extremely likely that the Soviets are ahead of us in the development of the long-range ballistic missile. We must not let them beat us to the ultimate weapon. This is a deadly serious race in which tragic consequences await us if we come out second. We must do the research and development necessary to put us and keep us in the lead.

As for nuclear weapons, if what the press tells us about the yield of present and planned fission and fusion bombs is correct, then the following simple comparison gives an indication of the tremendous bang of these bombs.

The average bomb load of a B–29 superfortress in World War II was from 8 to 10 tons, of which about half, or say 4 tons, was TNT.

For the purpose of graphic illustration and again drawing on the statement made by C. R. Smith, let us assume that the explosive force of 4 tons of TNT may be represented by a stack of 4 silver dollars, which would be about one-half inch high. To rep-

resent the atom bomb used at Hiroshima, we would need 20,000 silver dollars, or a stack more than 200 feet high—and that was a model T bomb. Our new atom bombs might be represented by a stack of dollars almost as high as the Empire State Building. For a 5-megaton hydrogen bomb, the pile of 5,000,000 silver dollars would be more than 10 miles high. This weapon does not merely destroy in the sense of leaving wreckage, or melt things as an atom bomb fuses sand, it vaporizes solid objects.

Air atomic strength is a function of stockpile size—and the ability to deliver nuclear weapons with economy and accuracy to any desired point on the earth's surface.

The Soviets have atom bombs. They have made at least one successful experiment with a hydrogen device. They have aircraft with range enough to bring the bombs here. They are working—full out—on better weapons.

We still have the lead in air atomic power, but the world is approaching a deadly balance. The search for a solution has already led able men down widely divergent paths.

Some argue for primary emphasis on air defense: a great network of radar posts, fighter planes, and ground-to-air missiles that would detect, intercept, and destroy an attacking force. The chief objection to putting main reliance on this type of air defense lies in its passive character; it would leave the Soviet warmaking potential untouched. Further, it would be extremely costly, and it could never be 100-percent effective. Some bombers would always get through. Then, after spending billions for defense, we would suffer billions in damage, and millions of casualties, and still be without a means of checking new attacks. We must have an adequate air-warning net and air-defense system to enable us to evacuate and help protect our cities and to keep our retaliatory air strength from being destroyed by sneak air attacks. Our defensive air strength is growing each day, but we must never be wholly dependent on it.

Others propose balanced forces on land, sea, and in the air. Certainly we must have forces that are balanced according to the importance of the tasks they have to perform—strategically and tactically balanced—balanced to deter wars or win them quickly and decisively if they are forced on us. An arbitrary, three-way split among the services is not balance. Those who want to balance in this way argue that the world may agree not to use atom bombs and that tomorrow's war may be fought with yesterday's weapons. I am sure that the Soviets would like nothing better. They could overrun Western Europe at once and eventually crush us with the sheer mass of their manpower and their tremendous natural resources. No, until the world is ready for fully effective disarmament, with a workable system of inspection and control, and until the Soviets solemnly suspend their plan of worldwide subversion and conquest, we would be insane to abandon our only significant source of greater strength—our technological advantage in air-atomic power.

Some argue for a constantly maintained retaliatory air-atomic force so great that its mere existence would rule out attack. While a powerful strategic Air Force is a major and essential part of our defense establishment, it, too, must be carefully tailored to size. It must be capable of accomplishing its military task and it must compete for its share of the defense dollar with other essential forces on an effectiveness-versus-cost basis.

I am confident that, in our traditional American way, with the unprecedented military competence of our Commander in Chief and with intelligent and forceful civilian leadership in the Congress and in the Pentagon—advised by our outstanding military experts—we will soundly fashion the forces of freedom and confidently face the future with both military and economic strength.

It is a reasonable assumption—as we have been at it some years longer than they—that our stockpile of nuclear material is much greater than the Soviets and that we can maintain this advantage that we now have in the size and flexibility of our nuclear stockpile.

Even when they achieve initial atomic sufficiency their stockpile will only be adequate to attempt a surprise attack against our cities.

Our relative "atomic plenty" gives us the capacity better to defend ourselves and to destroy the Soviet forces in being as well as her economy.

We also at the moment have a better strategic air force in being—better airplanes to deliver our bombs. The Soviets, however, are busily trying to close the gap between their air-atomic strength and ours. We must continue to have not only a larger nuclear stockpile but also better offensive and defensive delivery means. Adequate research and development must be directed to this end. Our survival depends on it. Surely weakness on our part would invite aggression. If we permit the Soviets to gain air-atomic superiority, the cause of peace and freedom will be lost.

Probably the most important question facing us today is this: How can we best exploit in behalf of world peace the military advantage inherent in our larger nuclear stockpile and our greater air-atomic capacity?

We must remain strong militarily and economically. The world knows we will never be the aggressor. But the world also knows that we have an air-atomic striking force selectively planned, organized, equipped, trained, and disposed so that it could and would retaliate instantly on attack. It has been suggested that the nature of its action should depend upon the kind of attack made on the free world.

If the attack were limited to military targets, our force should immediately destroy the Soviets' war-making potential, but only that. This point is most important. Our force would limit its strikes to: (1) Military forces in being, particularly air forces—counterair operations against aircraft, airfields, etc.; (2) military stockpiles and the installations needed for offensive operations; (3) lines of communications; (4) other military targets, such as troop concentrations.

However, if an attack on us were not confined to military targets—if allied centers of population were bombed—we would then put an air-atomic surplus to work bombing both military targets and population centers in Russia. This kind of military strength has the advantage of talking a language of realism that the Soviets seem to appreciate. It is within our means. It might, if we continue to maintain our technological advantage, deter aggresion indefinitely. It might, for a time, at least, cause the Soviets to confine any plans of attack to military targets. This would tend to limit the use of atom bombs to the atomic battlefield. Failing that, it would, for the next few years, at least, enable us to fight and win decisively any war forced upon us—and the responsibility for atomic slaughter would rest clearly on the Soviets if it occurred.

But we cannot stop here. We may assume that by maintaining air-atomic superiority, we gain an uncertain number of years. What we do with those years is even more important than their number. We must use our air-atomic strength to buy as much time as possible and we must take maximum advantage of that time to devise a means of preventing war for all time. We must continue and increase our efforts toward better international relations. Some excellent work is in progress along this line.

The President's plan for a U. N. atomic pool, calling for contributions to the extent permitted by elementary prudence of fissionable materials to an international agency for peaceful use, could open the way to constructive agreement on the most critical question of our age.

Eventually, it is to be hoped that there may be a U. N. declaration of worldwide freedom of the air spaces, complete with the establishment of neutral airports of entry all over the world. After landing and inspection by a United Nations' commission at one of these fields, any airplane would then be cleared to fly over any nation to the next United Nations-controlled neutral airfield. Such freedom of the air spaces would be the air-age counterpart of the freedom of the seas. It could lead to a great increase not only in air commerce but also in the exchange of ideas and spiritual values and in the growth of understanding among nations.

Whatever the specific steps toward understanding, we must continue and increase our efforts—while there is still time—to raise the spiritual level of individual and international relations. This age of uneasy nonviolence, for which peace is too kind a word, is indefinitely better than war. Only while we are free of violence can mankind continue—perhaps with increasing success—the long, difficult climb toward universal understanding, tolerance, respect, and good will, which, alone, can bring real peace and the beginning of fulfillment of the promise that is inherent in humanity.

The Farm Price Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator Represents Majority," which appeared in the Devil's Lake Daily Journal of January 25, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR REPRESENTS MAJORITY

Right in the middle of the arguments over the proposals of President Eisenhower and Secretary of Agriculture Benson to solve the farm price problem is North Dakota's able Senator MILTON R. YOUNG.

A fair-minded Senator is not reticent in stating views gained as a North Dakota dirt farmer, as a member of the former Agricultural Adjustment Agency committees, and, more important, as a ranking Republican member of the Senate Agriculture Committee. Senator YOUNG rightly believes he is representing a majority of his constituents in opposing adoption of flexible price supports at this time.

Although a Republican, he opposes Secretary Benson's thinking and has been at odds with the Secretary from Utah ever since Benson's appointment.

However, the Senator has stated that he is willing to consider Benson's proposals with an open mind as a member of the all-important Agricultural Committee.

Senator YOUNG has come in for some unfair criticism from Life magazine, which took him to task in an editorial in last week's edition for his opposition to the program. Life takes a position that the consumers will rise up in opposition to fixed supports and that the farmer will lead the way into another depression. The editors of the magazine seem to think that it is something of a crime for a Congressman to represent the majority thinking of his constituents and to speak out for them.

We're inclined to go along with Senator YOUNG. He'll do what he thinks best for North Dakota. Here's what he had to say in his last newsletter to North Dakotans:

"The most significant part of President Eisenhower's farm program was his recommendation that flexible price supports be placed in effect next year. Secretary Benson's supporters, who fully expected an entirely new approach to our agricultural problem, must be very disappointed. And especially after his many advisory committees had been working on a new approach for nearly a year. Actually, what is being proposed is a rehash of the ANDERSON, Democrat of New Mexico, flexible price support act of 1949.

"I have said many times that flexible price supports will not work, particularly at this juncture of our postwar readjustment period. We cannot afford any lowering of price supports and prices now. Certainly this proposal is contrary to the position taken by the Republican and Democrat parties in North Dakota, the ROC, the NPL, the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, wool growers, dairy interests, and many business groups. During the last campaign Republicans, from President Eisenhower right on down, solemnly advocated a continuance of 90-percent supports. It is inconceivable to me that anyone representing North Dakota now could take a position not in harmony with the expressed view of all these interests.

"It is entirely possible that a good agriculture program can be worked out in this session of Congress. Both the advocates of flexible and rigid supports are in a more cooperative mood than in past years. Failure to solve the farm price problem in the late twenties was responsible for an unnecessary depression. We cannot afford to let this happen again."

Life magazine, defenders of the American way of life, might well remember that this is still a democracy. Senator YOUNG will continue to heed the advice of the citizens of North Dakota even if it is contrary to the profound theories and opinions of a group of magazine editors propounded in a plush Fifth Avenue office. And who would have it otherwise?

Hoover's Sunshine Campaign in 1930 Didn't Stop Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, when danger signals appear the wise man heeds them and takes what steps he can to prevent the danger of which they warn. The foolish man reacts in another way. He pretends the danger signals are not there. He denies their existence, and may even denounce those who bring the warning.

Political parties often react in the same ways. The Republican Party is now busy denying that there are any danger signals in our economy. Instead of examining those danger signals realistically and takings the steps by which the dangers could be prevented, prominent Republicans are denouncing the economists who point out that there are danger signals.

On this subject, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful discussion by J. A. Livingston which appeared in his widely syndicated Business Outlook column of January 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER'S SUNSHINE CAMPAIGN IN 1930 DIDN'T STOP DEPRESSION

(By J. A. Livingston)

Sh-h-h. If you have a doubt about business in 1954, don't mention it. Recession is a naughty word. People won't like you if you have misgivings. Everything is going to be all right.

You don't usually meet that sentiment in so many words. But William C. McKeehan, Jr., vice president of J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, came right out and said it. He has urged the advertising council to wage a multimillion-dollar prosperity campaign to offset gloomy forecasts of a recession.

And Speaker of the House JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Representative of Massachusetts, has come forth with an attack on "left-wing eggheads" who are trying to "yell the country into a depression."

MARTIN assured an audience of 700 at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia that good times are certain. True, we've been in a period of readjustment "for many months—but our people have remained calm," and "there is not a valid economic sign, recognized by qualified economic experts, pointing to anything like the unemployment of 1949–50."

All this has a familiar ring. A group of newspaper men were sipping highballs in the National Press Club just after a high-up Government official had described President Eisenhower's budget message as a "bullish document, based on prosperity."

One of the newspapermen said: "This makes me think of 1930."

Another said: "How do you think of that? Economics isn't your field."

The first newspaper man replied: "I lived through it. I wasn't born yesterday."

For persons who weren't there, 1930 was the year of President Hoover's sunshine campaign. The country was just emerging from the shock of the 1929 Wall Street crash. The President called on the Nation's public utilities, railroads, and industrial companies to spend money on plant and equipment. That would check the business decline.

For a while, hopes were raised. Business turned up in the spring. Stock prices rallied. Wall Street cheered. Then—plop—it was a false boom. The letdown was—well—quite a letdown. Coueism—think well and things will turn out well—doesn't work in economics or medicine.

Economically, this isn't 1930. This country has powerful economic props to prevent a depression. As Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors Corp., said recently, we have many reasons to expect a strong and healthy economy, namely, high defense expenditures; need for schools, highways, hospitals and other public works; need for new housing; need for new plant and equipment; lower taxes.

However, Mr. Curtice sees "one danger we must guard against—and that is psychological. If those who persist in taking a pessimistic view of the future succeed in planting fear in the minds of the public, those seeds of fear could take root."

The record does not bear Mr. Curtice out. Throughout the postwar period, talk of a recession has been persistent and recurrent. Mr. Curtice, himself, noticed that. Yet the only decline worth mentioning took place in 1949 and that was minor.

Surely, if gloomy talk could cause a business break, we'd have had it long ago. And if brave talk could have stopped a depression, then the depression of the thirties would never have happened.

If the prophets of good business really felt secure about the outlook for this year, would they try to shut up the prophets of recession and resort to name-calling? Or would they shrug them off as well-meaning fellows shouting economic gibberish into the wind?

It doesn't make sense to enter into a Pollyanna conspiracy. It isn't subversive to talk about the possibilities of a recession. Indeed, it's beneficial. If a slump comes, people will be prepared for it psychologically. And if it doesn't, the talk will shut itself up.

Straighten Record on Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Straighten Record on Public Power," published in the Denver Post of September 27, 1953. The editorial is one of the finest I have ever read—and I have read many—on the question of public power. I desire to compliment Palmer Hoyt, whom many of my colleagues in the Senate know well and favorably, on this excellent editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRAIGHTEN RECORD ON PUBLIC POWER

There is room and demand in this country for both public and private power. We believe that farm, home, and factory will benefit from federally generated kilowatts as well as from energy spun out through private investment. And we know that public power is vital to the West.

It is not our wish to harass a taxpaying enterprise such as the commercial utility industry. But neither do we propose to stand idly by while that business performs acts that amount to sabotage of the public interest.

After two decades of harsh and often ruinously discriminatory treatment at the hands of the New and Fair Deals the industry seems to think that now, with the Republicans in office, is the time to run government all the way out of the power business. It had better think again.

A recent ruling by Secretary of the Interior McKay is designed to permit private companies to buy a larger share of Government-produced power than they have been able to get in the past.

As the middleman, the distributor of power the Government generates, the utility companies will be cut in for a profit born of an investment of public money. That should make them happy. But they aren't happy. They are asking for trouble. And they're going to get it.

In an advertisement appearing on page 163 of the current Saturday Evening Post, paid for by America's electric power and light companies, the private utility industry declares war on Federal Government power. And that declaration must be of concern to all the people of the western part of the United States.

This region is on the threshold of an era of unprecedented agricultural and industrial development. To achieve farm developments billions must be invested in irrigation and the orderly use of water resources.

Those billions cannot be obtained—or, if obtained, cannot be repaid—unless revenue-

producing electric plants are incorporated in plans for the big dams which will be needed.

The generating plants, if provided, will not only help to pay for irrigation costs but will also attract new industries to this part of the country because industry has to go where power is available.

If private power companies should be successful in their fight against public power, we will have neither the new agricultural projects nor the industries.

This, then, is a war against the West. It is a war against Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, which are asking the Federal Government to develop the water resources of the upper Colorado River. It is a war against other states, too. It is a war against Denver, which, for continued growth, will need water from the Blue River—another project which will be too expensive to finance unless power revenue features are included in its plans.

In its declaration of war in the Saturday Evening Post, the electric companies outline what they conceive to be the benefits of private power as opposed to public power.

They say, for example, that rates of private companies "are strictly regulated by people chosen to represent you," while Government power rates "are exempt from normal regulation."

The plain inference there is that Government power rates, because they are unregulated, are a gyp—that the consumer gets a better deal from regulated private rates.

Such an argument might trap the unwary or the ignorant, but it is deceitful; because the constant complaint of the private companies has been that Government power is too cheap—not that it is too expensive because of lack of regulation.

It should be obvious, of course, that Government fixes the rates in both instances. And those who set Government power rates are "chosen to represent you" just as surely as are those who set rates for private utilities.

According to the advertisement, another benefit of company power is that "it is available to everyone in the company area without discrimination," while Government power "goes first to certain favored groups."

That sounds great. But what it doesn't say is that the companies always have the right to determine what its area of service shall be. For many years farmers—in Colorado and elsewhere—could not get the private companies to give them electricity.

The companies said the farmers were outside their areas of service. So the farmers could have no electric lights or refrigerators or brooders or pumps or electric milking machines.

When Government power became available in those areas, Congress decided that farmers should be among those who would have the first opportunity to benefit from the new source of electricity.

If private companies had been more inclined to extend their service areas there would have been less reason for giving favored treatment to certain groups when Government power was created. The power companies' advertisement does not say anything about that.

The advertisement says "company electricity pays taxes (about 23 cents out of every dollar you pay for electric service)" while "Government electricity pays little or no taxes."

The Government, being sovereign, pays little or no taxes on any of its properties—its postoffices which compete with telegraph and express companies, its national parks which compete with other tourist attractions, its office buildings which take business away from privately owned office buildings, etc.

Of course, the Government does not pay itself income taxes, partly because there is no point in taking money out of one pocket to put it in another. Instead of paying income taxes out of power revenues, the Government uses power profits to pay for irrigation projects and, sometimes for flood control and navigation projects, which otherwise would be a direct charge against taxpayers—including private power companies.

A lot of hokum has been put out by private power companies about the failure of the Government to pay taxes. It is part of a longstanding effort to discredit Government projects which are important to the general economy of the country.

"Company electricity," the power companies say, "plays a key role in America's free enterprise system," while "Government electricity is a step toward a Government power monopoly—and socialism." Sounds great, doesn't it? But don't be fooled.

What is this key role the companies talk about. Actually, private power companies have never been free and can't be because they must of necessity be monopolistic. That's why they have to be regulated whereas grocery stores and toothbrush companies and most other forms of business in which there is competition are regulated without Government interference by economic laws.

Neither have many of the free enterprise power companies been very enterprising. This country has never had all the electric power it needs for a constantly advancing standard of living. That's why Government power came into being. For many years power companies preferred to sell small amounts of electricity at high prices rather than sell lots of power at lower rates.

How about the bugaboo of socialism? A good case can be made, we believe, for the claim that Government power, in areas where it is available in large amounts, has done more to promote free enterprise than private power companies ever did.

Notably in the Tennessee Valley and the Pacific Northwest the building of Government powerplants has given birth to new industries by the hundreds, many of them large industries. Those areas are the hottest markets in the entire country for electric appliances. Is it socialistic when the country is short of power to provide the electricity which will turn thousands of persons into customers for electric irons and deep-freeze units? We think not.

The final claim of the electric companies' advertisement is that "taxpaying, business-managed electric companies can provide the electric power America needs." "Isn't it extravagant for the Federal Government to spend your tax money to provide it?" the companies ask.

Electric generation, both public and private, has been increasing all the way across America for a great many years. But it has never caught up with demand. More uses for electricity are being found constantly. No one can tell if there is a ceiling of any kind on the potential demand.

Before there was Government power the private companies never met the demand. Large sections of the country are short of power now although both public and private generators are running constantly.

The private companies must have a very low estimate of the Nation's needs if it believes we do not require for our homes and our factories the power that is coming from Government projects.

If electric power were a drug on the market, there might be some conviction to the arguments that the Government should get out of the power business. But as long as both private and public power is needed for domestic comfort and a healthy economy, the private companies are not helping their cause, in our opinion, by demanding that Government plants shut down.

All around the world, the material well-being of peoples can be measured quite accurately by the per capita consumption of electricity.

The private companies have declared war, war against the West, war against a legitimate function of Government, which is to provide power when private power is not sufficient and when the public interest is involved.

If they should win, it would be a national tragedy.

Solution for Surplus Farm Products a Critical Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, all of us remember the events leading up to the potato fiasco of a few years ago.

Many reasons were offered to justify support of that important agricultural product and a good many of them were sound.

Yet, for a number of reasons, the program got completely out of hand; the public became thoroughly disgusted; and the fiscal result was the elimination of price support for that product. Very few felt that any kind of a revision would be satisfactory. The practical result was the wiping out of every trace of support.

Now again we are confronted with the increasingly difficult problem of mounting surpluses of many farm products being taken off the domestic market and excluded from the export market. They are simply bought and placed in storehouses. Then the Government incurs staggering carrying charges and our problems are multiplied.

No one can doubt that such items as dairy products and feed grains are subject to deterioration and spoilage, even with the exercise of the utmost care. And audit reports of recent date indicate the probability that a large portion of these stored agricultural products have not only failed to receive adequate care but have been subjected to grossly negligent management, resulting in some instances in both criminal and civil action by the Federal Government.

I do not believe anyone can criticize fairly the efforts on the part of the officials of the Commodity Credit Corporation to estimate the application of existing laws in terms of budgetary requirements.

Congress, itself, must soon accept and discharge its own responsibility in this field or it will be subjected to the most violent kind of widespread criticism, to which there can be no effective reply.

The President has recommended a reasonable program, based upon sound economic principles intended to bring about fair and equitable results to producers of agricultural products and to consumers of those products alike.

I am confident that most Members of Congress have become increasingly aware in recent days of the nature and extent of the criticism which is being expressed through every medium of public opinion. Newspapers, magazines, and radio commentaries have been full of

comment upon the situation which confronts us and most of it is critical in the extreme.

Some feeble attempts have been made in certain quarters to reply to this criticism, but I am certain that instead of informing the public and providing answers to this criticism, they have simply added fuel to the fire which is beginning to rage throughout this country.

I have noticed with real concern one phase of this public commentary which is beginning to repeat itself in terms of the potato fisaco. It is the increasing use of most effective cartoons. All of us recognize that a well-conceived cartoon can and does have a tremendous effect upon the shaping of public opinion and when it is multiplied by a series of cartoons, developing the theme in the mind of the artist, the results can be devastating.

Frequently I have wished that the techniques in publishing the RECORD would make it possible to utilize reproduction of certain of these cartoons under carefully devised regulations as to their use.

In any event, I would like to describe in words my impression of a cartoon by Carmack which appeared in the January 27 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, which has undoubtedly been seen by most Members of Congress. It is entitled "Something To Think About," and it most assuredly describes one important phase of the problem confronting us most accurately. In the foreground is a gentleman labeled "consumer." He is struggling and sweating over a tremendous burden in a wheelbarrow labeled "taxes to pay for losses on surplus crops." In the background is a dignified figure labeled "United States farmer." The drawing seems to indicate a person of responsibility and intelligence who is really concerned about the plight of his neighbor, the "consumer." The "consumer" is saying to the "United States farmer": "The bigger this gets, the less I will be able to buy from you."

There are many, particularly in the House, who have a direct and pressing obligation to the consumers, since they represent largely metropolitan areas. There are others who have an equally important obligation to those engaged in agriculture because their constituency is largely made up of such fine Americans. I suspect that a majority of us here have a mixed constituency in the sense of substantial and responsible industrial and agricultural activities. But I cannot subscribe to any idea that any one of us, whatever our constituents' main interest may be, can afford to overlook or ignore the prime importance of a realistic, objective, and immediate appraisal of this problem of daily increasing losses on surplus crops. President Eisenhower has courageously and intelligently presented his recommendations. They have been based upon an honest and comprehensive survey of those problems, during which he has had the advantage of the sincere advice of scores, if not hundreds, of able persons who understand the difficulties of arriving at a sound agricultural program.

I cannot stand idly by or fail to meet the challenge the President has offered to us. In doing what I am trying to do, I certainly am not urging anything which I believe would be detrimental to the best interests of those engaged in agriculture. I recognize the vital importance of their contribution to our overall national economy. I think I know something of their realistic thinking, their honesty of purpose, and their anxiety that Congress should accept and discharge its responsibility in this field; nor do I overlook the fair and just interests of the some 140 million other Americans who are not directly connected with agriculture as such but who are vitally concerned about a sound agricultural program in the best interests of their friends and neighbors engaged in agriculture and also of the national economy.

Every day which goes by without a real effort on the part of this Congress to meet the challenge before it will jeopardize, in my opinion, the continued existence of any kind of an agricultural program which will meet with the approval of the American people.

Going back to the cartoon, I hope and I believe that those who are responsible for the development of a program which can be submitted very soon to the House will recognize not only the growing concern of a great many fine people engaged in agricultural pursuits but the equally growing concern of the consumer and taxpayer, not directly engaged in agricultural pursuits, but who are most anxious that we should discharge our full obligation in this field.

Commendation of Appointments to the New Government Reorganization Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Excellent Appointments," which appeared in the Tampa Morning Tribune of July 28, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCELLENT APPOINTMENTS

Congress has created a new Government Reorganization Commission, to work along the lines of the Hoover Commission of 1947-49. That Commission did such a fine job, although only a few of its recommendations have been put into effect, that Congress no doubt felt there is opportunity for more good results from another body of the same character.

Who should head the new Commission? There was but one answer and the President gave that answer in appointing Herbert Hoover to be chairman. Mr. Hoover was the top brain and motive power of the former Commission. To serve with Hoover as a representative of the public on the Commission, the President has chosen James A. Farley, one of the ablest of Americans. Heading the other members of the Commission, Hoover and Farley should make a great team, in which the public benefit will outweigh any partisan or political considerations.

As representatives of the executive branch of the Government, President Eisenhower has appointed Attorney General Brownell and Arthur S. Fleming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, both capable men.

Under the law creating the Commission, 8 other members are to be named, 4 each by Vice President NIXON and Speaker MARTIN. Two of these will be from the Senate, 2 from the House, 4 from private life.

The new Commission is given greater authority than was vested in the former Hoover Commission. Its task is stated to be to recommend measures to streamline the machinery of Federal Government, to the end of eliminating waste and increasing efficiency. That's a big and important job—and one sorely needed.

Federal Admissions Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, under request to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter addressed to me by Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University at Las Vegas, N. Mex. In my opinion president Donnelly has made a suggestion that is worthy of the careful consideration of every Member of this House. I have already called it to the attention of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

The admission tax levied on these smaller educational institutions has worked a great hardship upon them and many may be forced to abandon their athletic programs unless proper relief is provided by the Congress.

Excise taxes collected from these smaller schools as well as those from the motion-picture theaters throughout the Nation are hurting our economy rather than helping and it is my sincere hope that the Congress will take proper action to correct this injustice. President Donnelly's letter is as follows:

LAS VEGAS, N. MEX.

HON. J. J. DEMPSEY,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In considering the new tax bill, I would like to urge that, if the Federal admissions tax on college gate receipts is retained, all institutions of higher learning whose gross gate receipts for the preceding year were less than $20,000 be exempted from payment of the tax.

The maintaining of an athletic program in small colleges such as Highlands is very difficult. Small towns, such as Las Vegas, simply don't have a sufficient number of people to enable the college to pay for the cost of the sport even though it is conducted on an amateur basis, which policy we follow. Eliminating the tax on the gross receipts may make the difference between our con-

tinuing intercollegiate sports or abolishing them in the immediate future.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

THOMAS C. DONNELLY,
President, New Mexico Highlands University.

They Cut Rates—A Wonderful Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "They Cut Rates—A Wonderful Example." The article, which deals with power rates in the West, was written by Roscoe Fleming, and appeared in the Denver Post of December 9, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY CUT RATES—A WONDERFUL EXAMPLE

(By Roscoe Fleming)

In honor of tomorrow's visit of the public power people, let me tell them, and you, about a business-managed, taxpaying electric light and power company with a splendid record, a wonderful example of American free enterprise.

This utility recently announced a reduction in rates amounting to a million dollars yearly, following a similar reduction 16 months ago. Many other utilities are telling customers they can expect a rate raise, and none other that I know about is even talking about a reduction.

This utility was organized in 1902 with an original capital of $590,000. Today its property is worth more than $200 millions, of which its stockholders own nearly $60 millions free and clear of debt.

This taxpaying, business-managed utility takes in about $26 millions annually. It pays nearly $4,000,000 a year in State, city, and local taxes and contributions, or about 14 percent of its gross revenues.

The customers of this utility use an average of nearly 6,500 kilowatt-hours a year each, as against a national average of about 2,000. And whereas the average national rate has gone down from about 7 cents in 1920 to about 3 cents now, the rates charged by this utility have gone down from about 3.5 cents in 1920 to about 1 cent now.

It delivered nearly 1.2 billion kilowatt-hours in 1952, and its powerplants have a total capacity of 600,000 kilowatts, or 900,000 horsepower.

Forty-five months ago it bought out its principal competitor, eliminated duplication, and extended its own lower rates and better service to nearly 60,000 new customers. Its owners have already made back much of the money they spent to make the purchase.

Its electric rates are the lowest in the United States for a large city. They averaged a little more than a cent per kilowatt-hour in 1952, and with the new cut will average almost exactly a cent.

Rates for residential consumers, who always pay higher rates than commercial and industrial users, start at 3 cents a kilowatt-hour and dip steeply downward, so that those who use as much as 480 kilowatt-hours a month, get their current for $5. Wherever you live, look at your electric bill for a comparison—and a shock.

Electricity is so cheap in that city that people use lots of it for house heating and other purposes that the customers of most electric companies can't even think about because it would cost too much.

Its owners and customers are the same, for this utility is Seattle's City Light, owned by all the 475,000 people of Seattle, Mr. E. R. Hoffman, superintendent. Because its customers also own it, it is considered by some people in high places as "creeping socialism." Personally, it seems to me just as American, as much free enterprise, as if it were owned by several thousand stockholders, most of them far from Seattle, who in effect charged the Seattle people a fee, and a high one, for serving them.

Seattle City Light does have one advantage over a similar private utility: It pays no United States corporate income tax on its net earnings; they are instead plowed back into better service and lower rates. They are not profits; they are savings.

The argument to extend corporate income taxes to the savings of this and all similar enterprises, is simply one to tax people for getting together in the good old American way to help each other, such as at barn raisings, corn huskings, threshing rings—and farmers' REA associations and city and farm cooperatives, light plants owned by the public they serve, and other such enterprises.

The right of Americans to serve themselves is superior to the right of other people to make profits off of them, though we hear much to the contrary these days.

Oregon's My Favorite

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, many of my colleagues may have had an opportunity to see the moving picture entitled "Bend of the River" in which Actor James Stewart took the leading role. The scene of the picture was laid in Oregon. It is an excellent presentation of some of the early life of the Far West and the beautiful scenery of the Oregon country. In the Northwest magazine in a recent issue, Mr. Stewart makes some interesting observations on the taking of this film under the above title, which I include in these remarks:

OREGON'S MY FAVORITE—SCREEN STAR SINGS HIS PRAISES OF THE FRIENDLY NORTHWEST COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE

(By James Stewart)

I didn't have a carving knife at the time. Also, Ranger Jim Rolph of the Mount Hood Forest Service told me that Oregonians are proud of their forests and won't stand for mutilation of their towering trees. So I didn't get to carve the big heart and the message "J. S. Loves O." on any of the living timber. Perhaps I'm a little late, but please permit me to carve it now, via a few sticks of type in your new Northwest magazine.

J. S. loves O.—James Stewart loves Oregon.

We first developed quite a crush on each other while we were filming Bend of the River in your neighborhood for Universal-International studios. The flirtation waxed serious when we paddled up the Columbia in that stern-wheeler which Leonard Shaver, Jr., graciously allowed us to use. My wife, Gloria, got downright jealous about the whole affair after we'd completed the picture and got home. I kept talking about her, and right in front of my missus, too. So I decided they should meet. Gloria came along with me when we went back to Portland for the world premiere of Bend of the River. That "other woman" turned out be such a charming hostess that Gloria could object no longer.

In my business, a man's best friend is his luggage. To capture fitting backgrounds for movie dramatics, we travel all over the country—to Denver for authentic settings for the Glenn Miller Story; to Louisiana for Thunder Bay; to the glaciers of Jasper National Park, Canada, for the Far Country. There's a warm spot in my heart for all of these places, but in subdividing the old ticker, I've got to give Oregon the largest lot.

Why?

Well, I keep thinking about Timberline Lodge and the day we rode the chair lifts up Mount Hood. Bill North, manager of the lodge at that time, came along and we just sat there, staring out at Oregon's beauty. I was breathless, and not from the rarefied air at that altitude, either. Then, I keep remembering the time I sat around with Rolla Longnecker, who runs the market at Sandy. He kept spinning yarns about Oregon and I was a little kid at bedtime, hanging on his words. At the Multnomah Hotel, I was invited by Art Farmer and Virgil McNeil to a cocktail party to meet a gang of Portlanders. In 2 minutes it was like sitting around the living room with a gang of old buddies.

Our Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, was your—rather our—Governor at the time we staged the Bend of the River premiere in Mrs. J. J. Parker's Broadway Theater. He was with us at all the functions you folks staged for us—leading the joking when the cavemen of Grants Pass fed me a bone of raw meat, square dancing with Gloria and me at that terrific country ball staged by Bill Oberteuffer and his Willamette Valley Square Dancers, participating in the colorful ceremonies of my initiation into the Rosarians.

But I remember most his warmth and friendliness. And we still chuckle over the affair at the Masonic Temple in which Mr. McKay demonstrated his courage and loyalty. We had been on the go for a dozen hours and we'd reached a point where a lot of the ladies in our group required nose powdering. A state of emergency existed when it was discovered the restroom had no lock, but the man who was Governor, who was destined for a top Cabinet post, arose to the occasion. Stoically he took his post, maintaining a vigorous guard in front of the unlockable door, performing yeoman service. Maybe it wasn't much, but how many governors of other States would have volunteered?

I met a gang of long-remembered friends, all right—Eddie Weinbaum, of the Retail Trade Bureau; Gordon Bass, our gracious host at the Multnomah; Jim Snell, of United Air Lines, who must have suffered many frustrating moments to keep up with the ever-changing transportation demands of a movie troupe; and, of course, Herb Larson and Phyllis Lauritz, of the Oregonian, who made us feel so good both in person and in print.

Every State in the Union has its beauty. But like a pretty house, it's not complete without the right furnishings and the folks who made it livable. And that's why I say that if the laws in Oregon are changed to permit whittling on your verdant forests, I'll be there, knife in hand, to write my composition: "J. S. loves O."

Timber for Centuries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, timber is one of our greatest natural resources. It has come to be recognized as a crop which takes from 10 to 50 to 75 years to mature, depending upon the type of trees. Oregon possesses the greatest stand of timber of any State in the Union. It is one of the basic and major industries of our area upon which the economy of the Pacific Northwest depends.

With the far-seeing programs for reforestation, preservation, pest control, and fire prevention, this great industry is coming into its own.

Merlin Blais, staff writer of the Oregonian, recently published in the Oregonian a factual report on this great natural resource which I include as part of these remarks:

TIMBER FOR CENTURIES—PACIFIC NORTHWEST CAN LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING WOODS INDUSTRY DESPITE TREMENDOUS FOREST HARVEST

(By Merlin Blais)

Timber is king. Tall evergreens dominate the Pacific Northwest's economy as they do the hills. Last year they contributed more than $1,800,000,000 in lumber, plywood, paper, and many other products in Oregon and Washington. Wood pushed past the $1 billion mark for the first time in Oregon.

The Douglas fir region, an emerald blanket reaching from the Pacific to the Cascades skyline, accounted for more than $1,600,000,000 during 1952—more than three times the same area's agricultural output. Around 175,000 men and women are directly employed in the Douglas fir industry.

"Long live the king" can be sung with real enthusiasm for the forest monarch. But how long and how well shall he live?

ANNUAL TIMBER CUT HUGE

Trees in vast quantities are streaming out to the mills from the Nation's woodlot, as one forester calls it. Tin-hatted woodsmen are taking out more than 12 billion board feet of logs a year, enough for maybe 1,300,000 houses if it all went into timber. The western Oregon cut last year was 8,200 million feet.

How long can this tremendous harvest continue? Is the industry rushing to its own starvation, as it did temporarily generations ago in the Great Lakes States? Industry says "No," but is it glossing over the true extent of its cutting so it can grab immediate profits?

Foresters of both industry and public agencies have intently studied the scene, have devised a bewildering, sometimes conflicting array of statistics, but also some opinions on which there is basic agreement. These are some of the impressions they impart:

INDUSTRY MAY LAST CENTURIES

1. Wood-using industry not only will survive exhaustion of the old-growth timber, but will continue as probably the region's major enterprise for centuries. The real question is, How painful and how soon will be the adjustment when the virgin stands are gone and industry must fall back entirely on second-growth timber?

There's no denying loggers are clearing off huge chunks of northwest real estate, as much as 350,000 acres a year. That's one-fourth more land than Multnomah County, including Portland. Only about 8,250,000 acres of old-growth remains uncut; that about equals the areas of Lane, Douglas, Coos, and Curry Counties.

This could last 45 or 50 years, if the average annual cut does not exceed the average for the quarter-century up to 1951. But it won't at the tremendous cutting pace of the past few years.

2. Shining hope of the timber industry is the replacement forests. More than 12 million acres, or about 45 percent of the Douglas fir region's entire forest area, is growing a new crop now.

FIRE PROTECTION HELPS NATURE

Nature is the great regenerator, vastly helped in recent years by man's fire protection. Even the large expanses stripped 25 to 50 years ago with no seed clumps left behind have come back amazingly well.

Tree farms, certified for permanent growing, now cover 37 percent of the industrially owned 11,200,000 acres of forest land. Half their acreage still has merchantable timber, and owners are cutting only 1.5 percent a year.

But new stands can't take the lead for several decades. One authority foresees a possible break-even point at about the year 2008, after which new growth could exceed the harvesting.

3. Increasing pressure from industry is upon the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, for those Federal agencies administer nearly two-thirds of the remaining old-growth timber. Industry has charged that Federal holdings were contributing only 14 percent of the timber cut.

FEDERAL CUTTING MUCH GREATER

Cutting on Federal lands is far heavier than it was, however, having passed three-quarters of the estimated allowable cut in the past year, at least. But industry says that allowable cuts are much too low, that they are based on out-of-date inventories.

This is being remedied in startling fashion. A new inventory being taken by the Federal forest experiment station indicates the region may have as much as 40 percent more timber than the last survey showed in 1933.

There aren't so many more trees; just more of them are being counted as commercial, down to 11 inches in diameter compared to the previous 15. Loggers now take the smaller trees, so the cruisers are counting them. Actually, sawtimber volume has probably decreased around 10 percent in 20 years.

The crying need is for more roads into Federal timber. Everybody agrees on it. The two Government agencies are willing to increase timber sales up to sustained-yield estimates.

4. Primary manufacturers are rapidly declining in numbers, and this will continue. The loss has been more than offset in such cities as Aberdeen-Hoquiam by remanufacturing plants and other plants to utilize the leftovers. This is happening in Oregon, too.

Sawmills are dwindling fast. There were fewer than 1,000 in the region last year—after a precipitous mortality of 40 percent or more in only 5 years.

Generally, the industry gravitates to larger processing centers that are integrated for use of all kinds and grades of wood. Timber ownerships will be fewer and larger on the average, Oregon can look to western Washington's generally big holdings as in a mirror of the future.

But it may not happen so completely. Depression, tax foreclosures and ignorance of forestry's opportunities hastened the trend to bigness in Washington. In southern Oregon and the Willamette Valley, dozens of small operators are determined to hold on. A large proportion, though, are likely to sell to larger owners who are better able to wait 60 to 100 years for the next crop of trees.

BETTER TECHNIQUES GIVE PROMISE

5. More intensive utilization and forestry are certain. Thinning the new stands will become more widely profitable, as it is in Europe. The smaller second-growth timber will require less costly machinery to harvest, but more handling for the same volume.

The big refuse burner is on the way out. To compete, timber owners and buyers must increasingly use every scrap of wood. Softboards and hardboards, glued-laminates, plastics and similar products that do not depend on size or quality of log will gain.

Some pulp mills already obtain up to 90 percent of raw material from leftovers; more than 150 chipping machines at lumber and plywood plants are supplying them. Since World War II loggers have increased the wood they haul out per acre by one-fourth.

Wood chemistry holds great promise. A top lumberman recently declared it may eventually dominate the industry.

MORE EMPLOYMENT TO RESULT

All this means more employment for each 1,000 board feet of logs. If diminishing of the old growth means less wood in future decades it need not bring unemployment. But will it mean less wood?

6. The 26 million acres of forest lands will grow 13 billion board feet a year, when it's all producing. That's the opinion of foresters. Some go as high as 5 billion above that.

This is more than industry is using today, but it will require more complete utilization of each tree harvested. Barring natural catastrophe, the Pacific Northwest can count on a dominant wood products industry, probably on an even higher level of employment and dollar value than today, for many centuries to come.

A Notable Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the announcement this week of the resignation of Senator A. O. Stanley as chairman of the International Joint Commission's United States Section will be a source of sharp regret to many thousands of people in the United States. Senator Stanley has served the American people in one public capacity or another for more than 50 years. He is a brilliant lawyer, a resolute and courageous fighter, and a gallant gentleman. In his capacity as chairman of the United States Section of the International Joint Commission, he has worked with unflagging zeal to understand and equitably solve the innumerable problems which arise along the international boundary line between the United States and Canada; and the friendly relations we enjoy with our good neighbor to the north are in no small measure due to the high sense of equity and justice in international relations which suffused his work.

Senator Stanley was born in Shelbyville, Ky., while Andrew Johnson served as President of these United States. He was designated as a presidential elector for the Democrats in 1900, when William Jennings Bryan and Adlai Stevenson were their standard bearers.

He was first elected to Congress in 1903, when Teddy Roosevelt was President, and "Uncle Joe" Cannon was Speaker of the House. After five terms in the House, he became Governor of Kentucky, and then went on to the United States Senate, where he served until 1924.

President Hoover appointed him to the International Joint Commission in 1930, and 3 years later he was elected chairman of the United States section, which post he has held continuously for almost 21 years.

Now approaching the age of 87, Senator Stanley has earned a respite from his labors. Nevertheless, he was still, this week, using his very great talents as a negotiator to work out an equitable method of regulating the water levels of Lake Ontario, and he has left, in this, as in all his other undertakings, a record of solid achievement.

The people of the Great Lakes States will miss him, and will wish him many years of happy retirement.

Permanent Residence in United States for Escapees From Behind Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill granting permanent residence in the United States to Vaclav Uhlik, his wife, Marta Uhlik, their two children Vaclav Uhlik, Jr., and Eva Uhlik; Joseph Pisarik, Walter Hora, and Vaclav Krejcirik.

In introducing this bill to legalize the entry of the seven Czechs who had the courage and initiative to crash through the Iron Curtain to freedom, I do so both to make it possible for them to become American citizens and to show something of the admiration and sympathy which all Americans feel for the freedom-loving people who still suffer under Communist tyranny. The successful escape of the members of this group will be an encouragement to all of their compatriots to carry on the fight against communism wherever they may be.

I am sure that the time will come—and I hope soon—when those still under Communist rule will find it possible in their own way, to throw off the yoke of communism, and again find freedom under a government of their own choosing. The dramatic circumstances under which those named in my bill made their escape proved to the whole world that the spirit of freedom cannot be crushed. We welcome them to this country and I know that they will make good citizens. I am particularly pleased that, with the assistance of those active in the Crusade for Freedom, they have decided to make their future home in Springfield. As time goes on, I am confident that they will not only become good citizens but, as they have an opportunity to do so, they will continue to give encouragement to those whom they left behind.

Operation Trojan Horse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, January 26, it was my privilege to address the Women's State Republican Club of New Jersey at Princeton, N. J. This club was holding a day-long symposium to discuss their "Plan of Action for More Republican Congressmen in 1954." The Women's State Republican Club of New Jersey contains within its ranks 150 militant affiliated clubs and several thousand individual members. It is the largest single group of citizens in New Jersey devoted exclusively to the achievement of better government through the medium of the Republican Party.

The Women's State Republican Club of New Jersey is headed by Mrs. O. Blake Willcox, of Englewood, N. J., one of my distinguished constituents. Mrs. Willcox is devoting her entire time and her great energy and ability to the advancement of the club's program.

With the thought that part of what I said at the meeting in Princeton may be of general interest, I, under unanimous consent, place in the Appendix of the RECORD some of my remarks on that occasion:

OPERATION TROJAN HORSE

Mrs. Willcox and friends, 100 years ago the Republican Party was founded and its first mission was to save the Union from destruction. Today after 100 years of great service to the Republic, the Republican Party, now undergoing an amazing renaissance, has again been placed in charge of the Nation and it is playing a mighty role in saving the free world today just as it saved the Union nearly a century ago.

During its first year the Eisenhower administration has immense accomplishments to its credit. The bloody, senseless Korean war was ended. Initiative in world affairs has been regained. At long last we have a defense policy that is within the financial ability of the American people to support and yet strong enough to strike fear in the heart of any aggressor. For less money and with fewer men we are rapidly developing terrific retaliatory power and tighter defenses. The cost of government has been cut by $14 billion annually, taxes have been reduced, and 200,000 Government employees have been lifted from the backs of the taxpayers. Honesty and efficiency in our National Government are now the rule, not the exception. The influence peddlers, 5 percenters, and the Missouri gang have left the Washington scene. The Communist conspiracy in government is broken. Two thousand two hundred security-risk employees have been fired; 714 deportation actions have been started; 12 Communist leaders have been indicted, and 17 other Communist leaders convicted. Nineteen hundred and fifty-three, the first Eisenhower year, was the most prosperous in the Nation's history. Farm prices, going down since 1947, have leveled off. Inflation is at an end. Freedom and opportunity have been returned to the people.

Great as these accomplishments have been, the prospects for 1954 are inspiring to contemplate. The President's appeal to the world for the peaceful development of atomic power is one of our great State papers. The 1954 state of the Union message has offered the American people its first balanced program for peace and prosperity in a generation. No field of government has been ignored in this great program. Before Congress now are comprehensive detailed programs to improve our foreign trade, the housing and health of our people, the Post Office Department, the Labor-Management Relations Act, and the condition of our agriculture. A report on eliminating the jumble of intergovernmental relations that has grown up in the last 20 years is now in preparation. The Government's activities in competition with private business have been curtailed. The executive departments are being streamlined and reorganized. The social-security program is being widened and extended, and a real improvement in our tax laws is under way.

Only one cloud is on the horizon. I choose to call it Operation Trojan Horse. Operation Trojan Horse is a studied effort on the part of the official Democratic Party and its leadership here in Congress to support just enough of the Eisenhower program to return them to power in Congress in 1954 and to enable them to recapture the Presidency in 1956. By lulling the people into believing that the Democratic Party really supports the President in his great program, Operation Trojan Horse seeks to confuse and befuddle the minds of the voters. It is obvious to any experienced political observer that should the Democrats control the Congress by as much as one vote they would scuttle this great Republican program in 90 days. It is inconceivable that the American people can be fooled by this tricky political hoax.

In urging the election of more Republicans to Congress in 1954, may I quote the words of President Eisenhower when he urged that we strive for "a nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure." Only by the election of a Republican Congress and the repudiation of a bankrupt Democratic leadership may these noble objectives be gained.

The United States Must Participate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include the following article from the 1954 winter issue of the Heartland magazine written by the Honorable GEORGE DONDERO, chairman of the House Public Works Committee:

THE UNITED STATES MUST PARTICIPATE

(By Hon. GEORGE A. DONDERO, of Michigan)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Congressman GEORGE A. DONDERO, Republican, of Royal Oak, Mich., is chairman of the House Committee on Public Works. He has been a member of this committee and its predecessor, the Rivers and Harbors Committee, for over a

decade. He has traveled widely throughout the United States inspecting proposed projects. He is one of the strongest spokesmen in the House for private development of power.)

For 21 years now—first as a member of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee and then as a member of the Committee on Public Works—I have heard the case for the St. Lawrence seaway. And a very impressive case it is. I figure that during the past 12 years alone I sat through 96 days of hearings, covering nearly 5,000 pages of testimony. If time devoted to a single subject makes one an expert, then I am the No. 1 seaway expert in the House.

After the facts had been presented, there appeared to be only one conclusion which could be logically drawn: The navigation project is vital to this Nation from both the national security and economic standpoints.

But for the first time in history the problem confronting Congress is no longer whether the seaway should be built, but whether this country should join Canada in constructing it. For the Canadian Government, discouraged by three decades of United States procrastination on the seaway matter, decided to go ahead with the project independently if this country refuses to participate. Canada is fully prepared to complete an all-Canadian seaway from Montreal to Lake Erie without us.

I have been asked, "What difference does it make whether this country joins in the project with Canada or Canada goes it alone?"

If this country does not participate in the building of the waterway, we can expect no say in the matter of tolls. It is clear that if 80 percent of the commerce moving on the seaway is American, we would pay 80 percent of the tolls, which would pay for the seaway, but Canada would end up completely owning and controlling it. Conceivably if we had no voice in the management and control of the seaway, discriminatory tolls might result, with stiff levies on incoming Labrador ore and lower payments required on Canadian grain and oil products, for instance. Although the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909—article I—does say that tolls shall be equal to the citizens and vessels of both countries, it does not prevent charging of different rates for different commodities.

Nor are tolls the only consideration. An American voice in the operation of this vital waterway would be desirable in solving defense and other problems which undoubtedly will arise from time to time. It is well to remember that while Canada's economic and security interests are today close to those of this country, we cannot be certain that her interests and viewpoints will necessarily coincide with ours tomorrow. The Joint Chiefs of Staff think there is enough reason to secure joint control of the waterway.

The position of the railroad lobby, most articulate element in the seaway opposition ranks, was succinctly pointed up during recent cross-examination of Gregory S. Prince, general solicitor for the Association of American Railroads, by our commitee. "I do not think," said Mr. Prince, "that the United States will ever be content with a 27-foot canal and will insist on going to a 35-foot canal. * * * Canada, on the other hand, I think will leave it at 27 because it is to the interests of the Port of Montreal to leave it at 27 feet. * * *

"As far as our interests are concerned, the difference is this: that a 35-foot canal will hurt us a lot worse than a 27-foot canal will hurt us.

"That is not our primary interest, but one of our primary interests in keeping the United States out of participating in the St. Lawrence portion of this project."

Aside from the fact that no responsible seaway proponent here has ever raised a voice for a 35-foot project, Canadian control of two-thirds of the waterway in wholly Canadian territory gives her final say as to the depth of the canal, whether we build the other third or not. The 35-foot argument is not pertinent to the present case; it is a smokescreen thrown up by the opposition.

Tied in with the 35-foot argument, of course, is the completely baseless assumption that a 27-foot channel would be as obsolete as the present 14-foot bottleneck in the St. Lawrence River because it will accommodate only 4 percent of our seagoing fleet when loaded. The fact is that 75 percent of the traffic on the seaway, including Labrador ore, would move in lake-type vessels which can ply the 27-foot channel handily. The remaining cargo would be transported in seagoing ships and enough of our general cargo seagoing ships are able to navigate a 27-foot channel with profitable payloads to carry the rest of the traffic.

It is an amusing paradox that the eastern seaport interests advance the argument that only foreign ships will use the seaway, but we have not heard of any instance where they have turned back any foreign ships away from New York or Boston Harbor. They love foreign ships in those ports and to such an extent that over 50 percent of our foreign commerce is carried in foreign-flag vessels. They only want to prevent the Great Lakes ports from being invaded by these "harmful" foreign vessels.

There have been nine congressional hearings in 20 years on the St. Lawrence seaway, and in none of them have the railroads come forward with any facts and figures to show how and how much they would be hurt. Before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY requested in 1947 and again this year that Mr. Prince produce such evidence. He has declined to do so. The same was true before my committee. They have argued the constitutionality of the legislation, the engineering feasibility, the iron ore supply situation, our relations with Canada, the inadequacy of the 27-foot canal, the climatology of the Great Lakes area, but not a fact concerning the effect of the seaway upon the railroads, the one subject on which they are qualified to speak. In their statements outside the congressional committees, however, they have spread fear of loss of jobs, with no substantiation. It must be recalled that the railroads expressed these same fears years ago in connection with the Panama Canal, and these fears were never realized.

No, our committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee headed by Senator WILEY, a lifelong seaway supporter, do not share the fear of the railroads that they will be seriously injured. In fact, since the waterway would be open during the peak transportation demand in late summer and fall, it should actually help the railroads by relieving them of the need for standby rolling stock, generally idle and unprofitable in the winter months.

Nor can I believe that the ports of New York, Boston, and Baltimore will be injured in the long run by the seaway. While the waterway can be expected to bring a new era of prosperity to some 50 million people dwelling in the 17 Midwestern States constituting the heartland, I am convinced that the entire Nation, ports and railroads included, will benefit by this upsurge of Great Lakes activity.

Just what is the status of seaway legislation on Capitol Hill? Senator WILEY's measure, S. 2150, has been reported out of the Foreign Relations Committee favorably by a vote of 13 to 2 and awaits Senate action. The Senate Majority Policy Committee has placed it on the Senate agenda. My own bill, House Joint Resolution 104, is still in committee, and I intend to make every effort to get it on the House floor.

Current St. Lawrence Waterway legislation differs from earlier bills in these respects: It deals only with navigation (the power project has been divorced from the navigation project), is confined to the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River, and is based on the pay-as-you-go principle.

The last point should appeal to those who urge greater economies in government and to all practical businessmen. It means that the project will be self-liquidating over a 50-year period. As a matter of fact the Wiley and Dondero measures assume that tolls from anticipated traffic on this waterway will amortize the proposed United States investment.

What will the project cost, and what will be Uncle Sam's share of the outlay? According to the most recent estimate prepared by the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association and based on Canadian Government and United States Corps of Engineers figures, it will cost the 2 countries $263,024,000 to bring 27-foot navigation to Lake Erie. Under my bill our portion of the works will amount to 34 percent of the total cost, or $88,074,000; while 66 percent, or $174,950,000, will be paid for by Canada. Assuming that the project is completed in 5 years and that the rate of interest during construction is, let us say, 3½ percent, the total cost of the waterway to both countries would be $286,038,600, with the United States share $95,780,475 and Canada's $190,258,125. On this basis the annual bill would amount to $16,826,880, with this country's share $5,774,938 and Canada's $11,051,942.

Many people wonder why we estimate the total cost of the project now at $263,024,000 (United States share: $88,074,000), when 2 years ago it was said to cost $818,063,000 (of which the United States share would have been $566,794,000). The whopping difference in the 2 estimates is no discrepancy, as a glance at the table on page 35 will reveal. When this project was considered by the House Public Works Committee in 1951 it was a combined power and navigation project to be constructed jointly by Canada and the United States, with the cost to each country allocated under the terms of a 1941 agreement. In November 1952 Canada abrogated this agreement, thus paving the way for an entirely different approach.

The action of the International Joint Commission approving the erection of the power dams in the St. Lawrence River cleared the way for construction of the power phase of the project entirely separate from the navigation phase. Under this arrangement, the Hydroelectric Commission of the Province of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York will foot the $508,247,000 bill for power development, an item which can thus be deducted from the earlier $818,063,000 total, leaving the cost of the navigation phase $309,816,000. Subtracted also is the cost of navigation works which will be built entirely within Canada ($139,160,000), and the cost of deepening the Detroit, St. Clair, and St. Mary's Rivers and Lake St. Clair ($89,845,000). The remainder, $80,811,000, is the estimated cost to construct the balance of the navigation works in United States waters, December 1950 prices. To this must be added $7,263,000 to cover the increase in construction costs since December 1950, and $7,706,475, interest at 3½ percent, over a proposed 5-year construction period. This makes the total cost to the United States $95,780,475. The amount contemplated in the bills now before Congress is $105 million, allowing for working capital.

Even the most conservative estimates reveal that tolls on potential traffic will more than pay the annual $16,826,880 cost. In fact, the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, anticipating that some 45,700,000 short

tons of cargo will move over the seaway annually, estimates yearly revenues at $27,875,000.

Here is the breakdown on anticipated tonnages and sample tolls prepared by the association:

Commodity	Available traffic	Toll rate	Anticipated total revenues
	Short tons		
United States and Canadian grain	10,000,000	$0.50	$5,000,000
Coal	6,000,000	.50	3,000,000
Petroleum	2,000,000	.50	1,000,000
Iron ore	20,000,000	.50	10,000,000
Woodpulp	1,000,000	1.25	1,250,000
Nonferrous ores	1,000,000	.50	500,000
General cargo	5,700,000	1.25	7,125,000
Total	45,700,000		27,875,000

Remarkable is the fact that the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce, in an independent study, concluded that traffic on the canal system would approach 44,532,000 short tons a year.

Comparison of costs under 1951 and 1953 legislation at December 1950 price level

Total estimated cost, combined power and navigation project (December 1950 prices)		$818,063,000
Deduct estimated cost of power phase (including joint costs)		508,247,000
Total cost of navigation phase		309,816,000
Deduct Canadian share of navigation costs (1941 agreement)		139,160,000
Total estimated United States navigation costs		170,656,000
Deduct estimated cost deepening connecting channels		89,845,000
Estimated cost United States share navigation phase		80,811,000
Add:		
Price increase since December 1950	$7,263,000	
Interest 3½ percent during construction	7,706,475	
		14,969,475
Total estimated cost United States share December 1952 prices		95,780,475

At the request of President Eisenhower, a Cabinet subcommittee was established last April, under the chairmanship of Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, to investigate the cost and the traffic potentials of the seaway. The group concluded that the project would be self-liquidating and economically feasible, that it was vital to our national security, and unanimously recommended United States participation. Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams presented the group's findings to both the Foreign Relations and Public Works Committees. Significant is the agreement between the Canadian Government and our own that the project is doable on an economical basis.

These impartial and disinterested conclusions reenforce my own conviction that it is as sound for this country to invest 34 percent of the required capital to have part of the canal on American soil (involving 11 miles of canal and three locks on the south shore of the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River) as it is for Canada to want to invest 100 percent and control it all.

Clearly, the project is safely self-liquidating, even with toll charges considerably lower than the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association's reasonable sample rates. No such potential traffic could be visualized for either the Panama Canal or the Suez Canal at the time they were authorized and built. In the sense that the seaway ultimately will be built and operated at no cost to the taxpayer, it stands in a class by itself.

As far as I am concerned, there can be no valid arguments against United States participation in this master project of the North American Continent.

Ship Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine article discussing in complimentary terms my esteemed friend and colleague the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER]. The article is written by Jacques Ozanne and appeared in the Journal of Commerce on December 29, 1953.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POTTER URGES EASING LAW TO BUOY UP SHIP FINANCING

(By Jacques Ozanne)

WASHINGTON, January 8.—Further liberalization to encourage private financing of new merchant-ship construction was called for over the holiday by Senator CHARLES E. POTTER.

In an interview with the Journal of Commerce, the Michigan Republican outlined his maritime legislative goals for the coming session and said it is now obvious that it will be necessary to authorize the Government to insure up to 100 percent of their value, mortgages on new ships taken by private lending institutions.

PRESENT LAW INEFFECTIVE

Referring to a bill passed during the closing days of the last session, Senator POTTER said that it now seems that the 90-percent insurance provision contained in this legislation was not going to serve the purpose for which it was intended.

The ship mortgage insurance bill, the Senator said, will also have to be clarified in other respects. He said that the provision which limits interest to no more than the current market rate might prove difficult to interpret and should be eliminated.

Other highlights of legislation which Senator POTTER hopes to see enacted as chairman of a Merchant Marine subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee are:

HIGHLIGHTS OF PROGRAM

1. An attempt to have the Defense Department shoulder in its budget the cost of national defense features which it prescribes for merchant ships. The Senator said that this would have the desirable effect of dispelling any question as to whether these national defense costs are an added subsidy and that it also might make the Defense Department consider these features more realistically.

2. An attempt to have written into law the percentage of new-ship-construction costs to be covered by Government subsidies in order to end the uncertainties which have been created by the differing views of the Federal Maritime Board and the Comptroller General.

3. Permanent legislation to incorporate into aid laws the provisions of the so-called 50–50 shipping clause of the Mutual Defense Act. This would have the effect of automatically guaranteeing to American vessels 50 percent of all cargo shipped abroad under Government grants.

WOULD LIMIT MSTS

4. "Clipping the wings" of the Military Sea Transportation Service to make sure that this Defense Department agency is not providing transportation in competition with private steamship lines.

5. A resolution instructing the State Department to negotiate an agreement with Canada which would prevent foreign-flag vessels in the Great Lakes engaging in trade between Canada and the United States. Senator POTTER said that such an agreement would become extremely important in the event that the St. Lawrence seaway is built and foreign vessels enter the Great Lakes in larger number.

The Michigan Senator said that his subcommittee will probably resume hearings around the middle of this month and that its first witnesses will probably be representatives of the Department of Commerce who have been asked to present data showing what the commercial requirements for merchant shipping will be.

WOULD BAR TALK OF COST

Pointing out that the Defense Department has already given his subcommittee its ideas of what the country needs in the way of new merchant ships for reasons of military security, Senator POTTER said that he wants the Commerce Department to do the same thing in the light of commercial requirements and to do so without thoughts of the cost.

Senator POTTER said he thought the Department through Maritime Administrator Louis S. Rothschild will come up with a long-range construction program. The Department, he said, should present its needs and "let somebody else worry about money problems."

"We have got to get a building program under way, one way or the other," Senator POTTER said, adding that it cannot be done without spending money.

Admitting that this will be a difficult year in which to interest Congress in spending money for ships, the Senator commented that "it is never a good time to spend money" and that there is no point in delaying action on shipping legislation until a more opportune time.

Time for GOP Switch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Time for GOP Switch," which was published in the Los Angeles Daily News of January 23, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TIME FOR GOP SWITCH

At this season, while the year is still young, we are glad to give impetus and encouragement to liberal Republicans to join the trend toward the Democrats because we know they

will feel more at home there and they should have been there all the time.

There is one Republican, who calls himself an Independent, which he surely seems to be, to whom we should like to extend a special invitation to make the switch, before he risks being trampled in the rush. We refer to Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon.

The Senator has just been denied reinstatement by the Republican leadership to his former positions on the Armed Services and Labor Committees. Whether this was by way of discipline or warning we do not know. We do know that if Senator MORSE would go all the way and become a Democrat he would be welcome and there would need to be no question of his sincerity because his record proves he has always been a Democrat except in name. Also we think it may not be too long before he would be on appropriate committees because the Democrats soon will be the majority party again.

Spud's-Eye View

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on Sunday, January 24, 1954, there appeared in the St. Paul Pioneer Press an article by Alfred D. Stedman, who is a distinguished writer on agricultural subjects, and one who knows the whole national picture on agricultural legislation. He came to Washington to help with the food program when former President Herbert Hoover was working very actively with it. Many of us came to know him and admire him, and have had no occasion to change our ideas about him.

The article is entitled "Spud's-Eye View." Because of the current agitation for changes in price supports, the reminder he gives us of what happened to potatoes is of great interest. I ask unanimous consent that the article may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPUD'S-EYE VIEW

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

The farm bloc's bronx cheer for Secretary Benson's price plan wasn't being echoed by Mr. Spud when we found him for an interview. Even finding him wasn't easy. The old potato had simply slumped out of sight. We discovered him in a cellar below decks of supporting floors for Government wheat, butter, and other stuff. Tears welled in his eyes. His expletives were unprintable. At first, he seemed dead set against being quoted.

But in the end, did he spill a mouthful. Most amazing were his good words for Ezra Benson. As he talked, Mr. Spud limped to a corner and from under a pile of red ink cartons dug some papers. "Here," he said, "is the record of what Uncle Sam's price-fixing did to me. It ought to show even a Congressman that, when Benson says to look out for too high price pegs, he's got something there."

Not that Mr. Spud blames anybody, farm costs being in the clouds as they are, for keeping price pegs just as high as is safe.

"But I know from experience (ouch!) the risks of going beyond that," said Spud. "A lot of people have just lost their sacks raising me. FOB meant 'free on board' all right. I wouldn't have been hurt so much (ouch!) if I hadn't had so far to fall." Here's Spud's story from the record:

"Ezra Benson isn't the first Secretary of Agriculture to warn farmers that what goes up must come down.

"Way back in 1946, that lanky, long-headed Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON who then was Secretary, began telling Congress how Uncle Sam's rigid price props were wrecking me. Here's his letter of November 26 that year," said Mr. Spud, drawing from the files. "And here's another in May the next year. And one more of February 26, 1948.

"In these, he told Congress how the same price pegs that it wants to keep now for wheat and butter and corn (90 percent of parity) were pricing me out of the market and swamping me with surpluses. He told how Uncle Sam couldn't sell, feed, barter, convert to alcohol, or give away all the surplus. He begged Congress for a shift to flexible price supports.

"And Charlie Brannan, the next Secretary, did it all over again in statements and warnings I have here, only he wanted payments to replace rigid price pegs. And Congress wouldn't listen to Clint or Charlie then any more than it seems ready to listen to Ezra now.

"But I learned my lesson the hard way," Spud gloomed on. "My price pegs stayed up. So did my surpluses. Uncle Sam poured out money buying to support me. He lost $200 million on my 1948 crop alone. People said he had potatoes running out his ears. Taxes and prices amid all this plenty angered housewives. They made nasty cracks that I, the poor man's food, had gone high-hat. The Government set fire to some price-pegged spuds. Boy, was I burned up.

"That was just a starter of trouble. Taxpayers, consumers, even Congress rebelled. Uncle Sam flexed prices down one-third in 1949 and 1950, but even that went out. With no price pegs at all, farmers cut the spud crop. So we swung from surplus to scarcity and prices skyrocketed.

"As Ezra says, too high prices can be bad medicine—and don't I know it. The dizzy prices of 1952 spurred the big crop of 1953. The price slump from that busted me down here in the cellar, where you found me today."

What, we asked, is the moral? "Well," said Mr. Spud, "I see Ezra thinks Charlie's idea of payments isn't so bad for wool and sugar; maybe it would work on me. And those moderate supports that were flexed down a third in 1949 and 1950 were pretty good. May Ezra win Congress away from rigid high supports for other crops before they go to smash. But," concluded Mr. Spud with slyly winking eyes, "that seems a whole lot of foresight to expect of a Congressman in an election year."

Vatican Newspaper Raps Movie Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, the motion-picture industry is asking for trouble again. Stiff competition by television is warping their better judgment. A few "Peck's bad boys" among them think their sagging gates can be restored by going lewd.

In this connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a United Press story from Vatican City, appearing in the Rocky Mountain News of January 21.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VATICAN NEWSPAPER RAPS MOVIE INDUSTRY

VATICAN CITY, January 20.—The official Vatican newspaper, l'Osservatore Romano, accused the movie industry of "exalting vice" and called for State intervention to clean up the films.

It did not refer by name to actress Jane Russell or Italy's Gina Lollobrigida, who protested recently overly sexy roles, but the Osservatore said:

"Only recently we have had the open opposition of two actresses, who hurt in their human dignity, revolted against the moral prostitution to which the merchants of this new slavedom forced them, although with good pay."

Mental Health and the Individual

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, it is traditional, historic, and clearly a responsibility for the Congress to consider those matters which are of immediate and serious concern to the people of this Nation. Therefore, I deem it fitting and proper, as well as timely, to direct attention to a vital and highly commendable effort in my home district toward the solution of a problem of impressive significance.

I refer, first of all, to the matter of health—more particularly to mental health. For years an unfortunate veil of misunderstanding and ignorance has shrouded, distorted, and confused the public conception of this subject. It has handicapped and delayed the valiant efforts of heroic men and women to impart clear understanding and authentic information as essential parts of their attack on what has become one of the country's most serious health problems.

I refer, secondly, to an outstanding and effective effort toward public education in mental health by the Institute of Living, a private, nonprofit mental hospital in Hartford, Conn., that is dedicated to the care, treatment, and study of mental illness and the mentally ill.

The institute is in every respect a hospital whose staff and facilities are devoted not only to current care of the mentally ill but also to intensive and successful scientific research and to the training in psychiatry of exceptionally qualified men and women. It was founded in 1822 at the request of and with the wholehearted assistance of the Connecticut Medical Society. It was the third mental hospital to be established in the United States, and for 132 years it has maintained and well deserves a

position of eminent leadership in that branch of medical science that concerns itself with illness of the mind.

From the day it first opened its doors until this moment the Institute of Living has been a nonprofit organization. Not one penny of its revenue from patients or benefactors goes into the pockets of the business, professional, and civic leaders who serve as its directors. Every penny of revenue from any source is applied to the performance of its duty as a hospital for the mentally ill.

The institute has compiled a splendid record of achievement and contributions to its profession, to its patients, and to the families of patients. Like most mental hospitals, especially those in the category of pioneers, the Institute of Living has suffered throughout the years from a public misunderstanding and misconception of its work and its place in the community, due in very large measure to a lack of awareness, even by its home community, of the true nature of its 132-year struggle for better mental health for those who seek its aid. Frank recognition of this fact was responsible for the institute's decision to promote and develop a better and improved public knowledge of mental health.

The president of the institute is Mr. Staunton Williams, a lawyer and industrialist of Hartford. The psychiatrist in chief is Dr. Francis J. Braceland, a man internationally recognized as one of the great authorities on mental diseases and the administration of mental hospitals.

There is no need to recite the record of Dr. Braceland in his profession. Suffice it to say that the United States Navy, back in the days of World War II when it sought the best qualified person to head its vital Division of Neuropsychiatry, unhesitatingly selected Dr. Braceland. When the justly famous Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., sought the best qualified person to head its neuropsychiatric section, Dr. Braceland was its choice.

From personal knowledge, I know of his great work. While I was at Nuremberg prosecuting for this Nation and her allies the archcriminals of World War II, it was Dr. Francis Braceland who was assigned to Nuremberg for the psychiatric examinations of the defendants.

It was the initiative and alert leadership of Mr. Staunton Williams and Dr. Braceland that produced the commendable effort that inspires my request for the attention I am now receiving. Mindful of the alarming growth of mental illness, aware that between 600,000 and 700,000 persons at this moment are patients in mental hospitals and that their number will be increased by another 100,000 within a year, and convinced that an awakened American consciousness can play a vital role in the ultimate control and victory over this menace to national and local health, these two men, with the blessing of their board of directors, inaugurated in Hartford a series of public lectures on mental health.

These lectures are designed primarily and exclusively, I understand, by the Institute of Living as a public service to its community. The lectures are concerned with the aspects of mental health that people daily encounter in ordinary life. They were prepared specifically for lay audiences in language of the laymen. The lecturers are men whose word is authority—Dr. Braceland and 2 of his associates on the staff of the institute, Dr. John Donnelly and Dr. John I. Nurnberger, and 1 guest speaker, the well-known and widely read Dr. Howard C. Rusk, associate editor of the New York Times.

True, this is only 1 series in 1 community, but to me it has a deep significance because it brings to the people of that fortunate community an opportunity to acquire knowledge and an understanding of mental health that will replace ignorance with information and substitute peace of mind and confidence where only fear and temerity prevailed before.

So great was the public acceptance of this gesture of community service, so eager was the public for this knowledge, that at Dr. Braceland's opening lecture extra accommodations had to be arranged for the overflow audience. My congressional duties made it impossible for me to be there, but I am well acquainted with Dr. Braceland's lecture, for the distinguished Hartford Courant, also as a gesture of admirable public service, devoted several columns to printing that lecture in full and intends to accord the same generous treatment to the forthcoming lectures. That, I am quite sure, is ample proof of the success and value of the lectures and the public's evaluation of their importance and timeliness.

So that Dr. Braceland's lecture in particular shall be preserved in fitting and permanent form, so that we in the Congress can add a measure of encouragement to a truly worthwhile effort, and so that a greater segment of the Nation's population may benefit, I insert Dr. Braceland's lecture in the West Middle School, Hartford, Conn., on January 19, 1954, in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

My task is to introduce you to the overall picture of mental health and disease. My colleagues, who are to follow me, will go into details in the succeeding lectures.

If we were to define mental health in general terms as the full and harmonious functioning of the whole personality of an individual toward a satisfactory goal, the definition would not stand the scrutiny of the philosophers but it would meet our purposes tonight. Before we can discover the principles for the maintenance of mental health, which implies the absence of mental disorder, however, we must understand as clearly as we can the status of these disorders. This is the approach to the consideration of mental health that we shall use in this presentation, involved as the plan may seem to be, for any other approach would lead us to interminable discussion. Moreover, by this approach we intend to convey the idea that we regard the abnormal or the mental illness not as a separate entity but as an aberration from and exaggeration of the normal.

The psychiatrist who is called upon to discuss mental disease before a legislative group or a public gathering is sometimes in a quandary. If he approaches the problem by discussing its widespread incidence as a prelude to a plea for understanding, he is in danger of appearing as a prophet of doom and of overwhelming his audience with figures, thereby calling forth the reaction that the problem is so large that there is no use trying to do anything about it. On the other hand, should he be zealous in avoiding this pitfall, he risks the danger of minimizing and oversimplifying the problem to the point where his hearers might conclude that there is no need to do anything as the situation is well in hand.

Tonight, I shall try to avoid both of these extremes and speak to you as a neighbor and a fellow citizen, one who has been entrusted with the care of one of your hospitals and its precious burden of human lives. Incidentally, this hospital is the first and oldest of any type in the State of Connecticut. For 132 years it has been witness to the changing manifestations of the illnesses which we are about to consider. I shall try to tell you how the problem of mental health and mental disease is of importance to each one of us, as human beings, as citizens, and as taxpayers, and in so doing I shall try to correct some of the false ideas which are abroad regarding mental illness and shall try to dispel some of the aura of fear which surrounds it. It is fear, dread, consequent hostility and lack of understanding which have held back the advancement of our knowledge of this important subject. We are justified in spending this time on mental disease, for just as our culture and economy have changed, so too has the practice of medicine and the occurrence of disease.

It is by now a commonplace to say that mental disease is an illness, even as heart disease is an illness, and, like the latter, it has many causative factors and no one is immune to it. It is not due to demons or to wraiths or visitations of spirits. It is akin to all other diseases and it has its predisposing and exciting causes, many of which are well understood and can be predicted. It should appeal to all of us as human beings because of the suffering which it engenders in families as well as in patients and it should call forth understanding and compassion for we are our brothers' keepers, cynical philosophers to the contrary notwithstanding.

The false belief abroad that mental disease is alien to and entirely unlike the world in which we live and that it is peopled with strange and awesome things, totally unlike those encountered in our daily life, is untrue. The differences between the people who are mentally sick and those with whom we live and work are differences in degree and not in kind. Each one of us knows and encounters in his daily life people who exhibit the same symptoms as do mentally ill patients but they are in a lesser degree and the individual has been able to continue at home or at work because of various supports or strengths which have been built up and which enable him to function outside of a hospital. Any illness which is so widespread should scarcely call forth fear or dread but rather it should engender a desire to assist in discovering the basic laws of good mental hygiene.

As citizens, this subject merits our attention, for the problem of mental disease at present is the Nation's No. 1, most extensive and most expensive, health problem. A few statistics at this point are necessary. Between six and seven hundred thousand patients are in State and Federal mental hospitals tonight. Before this year is out this number will be augmented by an additional hundred thousand admissions, over half of which will have the symptoms of one illness, schizophrenia. Many of this latter group will be adolescents and young adults; most will be individuals who are bright and show promise and will be the beloved of families who have high hopes for them.

As taxpayers, we are interested because in 1951 the direct expense of this illness for the Nation was $1½ billion, to say nothing of the funds and man-hours lost by reason of it.

One and a half billion dollars equals one-third of the Nation's entire bill for medical care and equals nearly one-half the cost of operating our public schools. The operating budget of our neighboring State, New York, was $498 million in 1952. Thirty-five and a half percent of the budget for State purposes (i. e., excluding interest on debts, etc.) went for the care of patients in its State hospitals, while in Massachusetts the mental health department used 27 percent of its general funds in the same year for the same purpose. If, in addition to all of this, we realize that the disordered emotional states of employees are responsible for a greater loss in time and in man-hours than accidents and contagion and that we have not yet mentioned alcoholism, drug addiction, nervous symptoms masquerading as physical illnesses, and so forth, we begin to get an idea of the scope of the problem.

Before going too much further, we should say a few words about the specialty of medicine which is charged with the maintenance of mental health and the prevention and cure of mental disease. Actually, this specialty has only emerged in the last three decades. Prior to this time the role of psychiatry was a limited one. Its practitioners remained behind the large stone walls of institutions, which were sometimes actually and usually theoretically isolated from the community, and they were aptly named alienists. Interested only in the gross mental illnesses which they encountered, they had little to offer toward the understanding of psychological problems and thus they remained out of contact and were usually depreciated by their fellow practitioners. Two world wars and a few economic and cultural upheavals changed all of that, however, and the specialty and its practitioners were precipitated into a rapid and none too healthy prominence.

Actually, it was the Second World War which more than anything else brought psychiatry into the public eye and to its present place in medicine. Here were thousands of young men either rejected or sent home quickly because of new manifestations of illness called psychoneuroses and psychoses. It was soon apparent that behind the jokes, the cartoons, and the raised eyebrows about the men who were charged with the care of these patients there was an urgent desire and need for help in understanding them, for the problems which they presented had many distressing aspects. Naturally, in some instances the pendulum swung too far and psychiatry and its practitioners were endowed with qualities and abilities which they did not have. Extravagant claims and statements were made regarding the efficacy of psychistric treatment, occasionally by its practitioners, but more often by its enthusiastic popularizers. Fortunately, much of this has disappeared and the specialty is now recognized for what it is, namely, an extremely important medical discipline. Its practitioners now take on fewer of the habiliments of the men from Mars as the public comes into closer contact with them. Psychiatry is an important branch of medicine and it has its intimate relationship with every medical specialty, for no matter what the illness may be, it is a person who is ill and each person has various emotional reactions.

The question might arise as to why the psychological aspects of illness so recently have come to the fore and why we did not hear more about them before this present time. Many of these conditions were certainly present, particularly the neuroses, but they were unrecognized because they were carefully disguised in organic raiment and physicians sought explanations of them in terms of disordered physiology alone. Though Selective Service examinations brought many of these conditions into sharp focus and into the public eye, they really only pointed up something dramatically which was well known to the medical profession. The men who broke down immediately upon entering the military service were often those who had made a tenuous adjustment in civilian life and had been able to get on because of the support of their families and the security and knowledge of their job. When these individuals were precipitated into the new barracks life in the service, these supports were removed, their anxieties came to the fore, and they were rendered unfit for service.

It must be admitted that the conditions in the world around us today are not conducive to security feelings. With wars and rumors of wars, threats of atomic attack and of hydrogen bombings, in addition to the complexities of daily living, there is an increasing lack of security as the old familiar order changes. These pressures give rise to anxieties and insecurity, and fear and anxiety are the precursors of emotional upset in those who are already predisposed.

Halliday, in speaking of the rise of psychosomatic illnesses in England in the last 80 years, attributes it roughly to the following factors:

Increasing urbanization of the population, which removes people from the emotional security inherent in closeness to the land.

Expansion of the machine age, rapid developments in transportation, heating and lighting, the latter in some instances literally turning night into day.

Changes in industry. Formerly the individual craftsman had a pride of accomplishment as he saw the finished product as a work of his own hands; now he becomes a part of a larger plan and loses the satisfaction of the guildsman.

Changes in the structure of English society. Formerly each individual had a place, knew it, was secure in it, and played his part in his alloted portion of the stage.

Standardization and mass production in entertainment, in education, and in other important areas.

Aim and direction in the lives of many families vanished with the decline of religious faith and this recession took away a meaning and a significance from life which had hitherto sustained it. There was an interesting resurgence of morale in wartime when people under inspiring leadership did get some sense of direction and purpose toward a clearly envisaged goal. They were unified and worked together and this experience all but emptied the psychiatric outpatient departments of their caseloads of insecure and frightened people. With the necessary correction for cultural differences these statements made about England might also be ascribed as the causes of the increase in frank nervous and psychosomatic conditions in this country in the last half century.

Thus it becomes apparent that the background of various psychosomatic symptoms is in some manner understandable and these conditions are removed from the realm of the unknown and the frightening. Just as the background of the psychosomatic conditions can be seen, so also the frank neuroses which are everywhere manifest can be traced in their origin to the abnormal conditions and insecurities of the early years of life. Inasmuch as all of us have neurotic conditions in some degree, it stands to reason that fear of them is not justified. Much of the great work of the world has been done and is being done by people who are frankly and obviously psychoneurotic. It is only when the pressures get too heavy for people to live or work with some degree of efficiency and comfort that medical and psychiatric assistance is indicated.

As to the psychoses or the major mental disorders, what is the outlook and what are the prospects for the future in those people who become ill? In other words, what is the prognosis of mental disease in general? In 1937, at the time of the advent of the newer forms of treatment, a survey was made of the records of the Pennsylvania Hospital. The records of this institution date back to 1751. From 1751 to 1928 there had been 23,146 patients admitted to the hospital because of mental disease. Of this number 7,755 were discharged as recovered and 6,753 were discharged as improved. Thus it is evident that even before the usage of modern treatment over 50 percent of this particular mental hospital's patients were well enough to return to the outside world. One cannot compare these consecutive admissions with general hospital statistics because the statistics of the latter are rarely maintained as consecutive admissions. It is apparent, however, that these statistics do not bear out the fearsome tales that are broadcast about mental disease and they belie the shibboleth that "all ye who enter here leave all hope behind."

What about present day statistics? Appel and his colleagues in Philadelphia collected data from 14 reports which indicate that in schizophrenia recovery and improvement occur with insulin therapy in the ratio of 44 ± 11 percent. In combined treatment (i. e., insulin and electro-shock) the figure is 38 ± 18 percent. Unfortunately, some of these patients will relapse, as they do in all other illnesses, but a large proportion of them will remain outside of a mental hospital henceforth. In the affecting group, i. e., the manic-depressive and involutional states, under nonspecific treatment the ratio is 58 ± 20 percent, but with electric shock it is 71 ± 10 percent. We may conclude from these statistics that, while there is a great deal more to be done and we have only literally begun to scratch the surface of this vast treatment problem, nevertheless marked progress has already been made. Even serious, long-standing mental illness is sometimes reversible and this reversibility can be enhanced by properly selected treatment procedures. Frequently multiple forms of attack upon the problem are indicated and this is the genesis of present day approach to the problem. In some cases insulin, electric shock, psychotherapy and educational and occupational therapy are all required in order that inroads may be made upon the disease.

It is usually not the neuroses that people stand in fear of; yet these are the conditions which bring the anxieties and the depressive moods that result in the gnawing unhappiness which is so prevalent. It is the psychoses that frighten the populace, though insanity is a meaningless term and has lost all usefulness. The incidence of psychoses is much lower than that of the neuroses. Even in the military service the psychoses furnished less than 10 percent of the psychiatrist's patient load and the percentage is markedly lower in civil life. The unfortunate thing about it all is that there is a tyranny of terms, a sort of diagnosis by epithet, and once a name has been put on the illness the individual will sit by and worry about all sorts of awesome things which are never going to happen.

A good example of this is the worry about the so-called change of life, which is passed on from one generation to another. Stories are told of people who became mentally ill during this so-called change. The fact is lost sight of that all life is a constant change. True enough, the change is somewhat more dramatic at the ages of puberty and the involutional period, but both phenomena are natural and normal and nature does not penalize normal things as such. The fact is lost sight of that most men and women pass through middle life with little or no emotional difficulty beyond that due to the vicissitudes of everyday normal living. There are people who show mental and emotional symptoms at this period, of course, just as there are those who break down at

other periods of stress. The fact remains that those individuals who do develop symptoms do so because of a combination of outside stress and a predisposed personality makeup. So certain is this that even the type of illness the individual is prone to can be predicted from a survey of his attitudes and mental reactions in his earlier life. Thus, the rigid, meticulous, circumscribed, difficult, supraconscientious, and ultrascrupulous person would naturally become more so in middle life, for there is a loss of adaptability and elasticity as we grow older. The result here might be, and sometimes is, agitation and depression. The difficult, the suspicious, the hostile, and the quarrelsome need only show an exaggeration of their normal makeup at this time of stress and the result will be ideas of persecution and the conviction that they are being militated against.

Every doctor knows of the emotional unrest of some women in middle life. Frequently the children have been raised and the husband is about his business; there is now no longer the great demand for the woman's ministrations as there was earlier. There arises an unrest due to what I have called a need to be needed, a need to fuss over someone whom she can mother. If the individual be one who is without outside interests which are gratifying, some bizarre physical and emotional symptoms might evidence themselves. None of these symptoms are due to hormones or lack of them. There are, of course, physical conditions in which these substances are called for but glandular changes have never been proven to be responsible for the emotional upsets of middle life. Changing glandular conditions are additional elements in the natural stresses of that period of life and this fact has always presented itself as a handy prop upon which emotional troubles might be hung.

The lordly male has difficulties at this time of life also, but usually it appears a decade later than in the female. His depressions of this period have been blamed on glandular changes but again we have no proof of this. We do have proof, however, of marked psychological pressures in this life period. They occur in all of us, for they are the normal concomitants of living in this culture.

Illness, business reverses, rebuffs, disappointments in family or friends, failure of promotion, loss of face in business or in the community—all of these problems assume different proportions when they occur in men in middle life. They are more serious now for there is a feeling of the rapid passage of time, which precludes setting these reversals to right as was possible in earlier years.

In the mild depressions which inevitably accompany any serious disappointment a period of morbid introspection ensues and this is accomplished through the dark glasses of melancholy. The man wonders whether he will attain the goals he has set for himself in his earlier life. Worse yet, has he attained these goals and found them empty of satisfaction? Psychiatrists encounter this phenomenon in many men whom the world adjudges successful. Some of them have attained their objectives but the cost has been too high, for in the process they have lost the meaningful relationships of family life. Sometimes men get depressed because there are no more worlds to conquer. William James in his Death and the Value of Life states that the sovereign cause of melancholy is repletion. Nietzsche, contemplating the same type of reaction, calls it the "melancholy of all things completed." Occasionally a man in middle life becomes depressed after having been promoted to the top position in his business or profession. Having reached this height he finds himself alone and he fears he will fail and lose caste in the eyes of his family and friends. These reactions are not always severe; they may merely be physical symptoms, anxiety or depression, which take the pleasure out of the promotion.

In this group also may be placed the men who are thoroughly dissatisfied in their jobs, with their health, their homes, their accomplishments. The tendency arises to speculate whether another job might not bring more satisfaction. Even worse, the man might wonder whether another marital partner might not be the answer to his unrest, someone who appreciates him more. Actually, however, these manifestations are only evidences of the individual's inner dissatisfaction, seeking a new outlet with the hope that it will solve his problems.

Neither the men nor the women whom we have discussed have trouble because of glandular changes. The causes of their difficulties are evident. Neither group needs the ministrations of psychiatrists unless things get out of hand. They need the help of the good general practitioner or the physician who knows them best and whom they trust the most. They have shaken loose from their moorings and have forgotten some of the eternal verities. They have separated themselves from the solidity of good family life, of their religious beliefs, and the ideals which formerly sustained them. The outlook for both groups is very good. They need direction over the rough places, and with time, patience, and understanding they will recover spontaneously.

I am sorry that time will not permit us to discuss the older age groups. We need some reorientation in this sphere. This becoming old by fiat at 65 results in a calendar neurosis which is affecting our population. One look at the ages of the world's prime ministers, statesmen, diplomats, and jurists shows us the futility of putting men on the industrial and business shelf the night after they have ended their 64th year. The whole question of retirement needs a going over. Some men should be retired at 30, while others should not be retired at 90.

It is useless, also, for the demographers to calculate the number of aged we will have in our population in 1980 and then by sleight of hand, change these statistics into potential economic problems at that time. One year ago we were worried because in 1980 about 22 percent of our population would be over 65 and this would have marked changes upon our culture. Today we find that 1953 produced a bumper crop of babies, nearly 4 million of them, and our age statistics come tumbling down roughly from 22 percent oldsters to 10 percent in 1980. Among other things this indicates that:

"There is a destiny which shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we may."

Though I have wandered rather far afield in these rambling remarks, they are all pointed in one direction, namely, to indicate that much of the supposed mystery in mental illness is due to fear and lack of understanding. Mental illness is a problem, a serious one, but it is a medical problem and it is not demonic. A large percentage of the mentally ill will respond to present-day treatment measures if they are applied in time but this proverbial locking of the door after the horse is stolen should not be our only action, for valiant efforts should be made toward the prevention of mental ills. All manner of measures are taken to teach physical hygiene in schools and in colleges. Men are exhorted to have a physical check-up once a year; chests are X-rayed; women are examined for cancer. Yet, with all of this there is an ominous silence regarding the most important thing of all, the intellect and the emotions which will guide the individual either to a useful productive life or a broken unhappy one. Much of this conspiracy of silence regarding things emotional is due to lack of knowledge and the fear that someone might elevate his eyebrows at a person who was under emotional stress and admitted it.

The cost of mental hospitalization has already been discussed. These funds are sorely needed and should be spent but, along with this spending, should go an effort in another direction, that of prevention. As yet, there is only a pittance spent in this important field. One report from this State in 1941 indicated that $26,641 had been spent in a mental hygiene clinic for 477 children, 66 percent of whom were saved from institutions. The cost of their hospitalization would have been $199,000. In other words, there was a saving of $170,000 for an investment of $28,000. Dr. Robert Felix, of the United States Public Health Service has estimated that $5,600 is saved every time a patient is kept from entering a State mental hospital by means of preventive out-patient care. This is in addition to the amount of human suffering which is likewise prevented. A series of clinics for the prevention of mental illness should be set up in every community of any size. They will pay off in profusion in human lives and in economic savings.

It is obvious that research in this field must be stepped up many times over the meager efforts of the present day. Numerous groups exist for the collection of funds for many other illnesses and this is right and proper, but here again there is an ominous silence where mental disease is concerned for reasons we have already discussed. The dimes which you give this week, when added up, will produce a sizeable sum for research in polio and the previous campaigns are already bearing fruit. By means of the research paid for in this manner inevstigators are today very near to solving this difficult problem and we hope and pray that the scourge will soon be eliminated. This is an example of concerted effort and well directed research. Mental disease could respond to the same kind of attack.

Do you remember the railroad advertisements of a few years ago which told us that a pig could travel from the east to the west coast without changing trains? It had an illustration of a porker in a boxcar to illustrate the point. I would like to give you another illustration. In 1950 the United States Government appropriated $3½ million to the National Institutes of Health for grants-in-aid fellowships and a little later the Department of Agriculture marked from its budget $40 million for research into and eradication of hoof-and-mouth disease. No criticism of the latter—it has to do with food that will nourish the Nation—but one cannot help but wonder just what price can be put upon a human being. Incidentally, one bomber costs about $2½ million.

What practical things can we do, as citizens, to help with this problem? The first thing we can do is to do all in our power to dispel the fears and the mystery which supposedly surround this illness; to spread by all means in our power the knowledge that mental illness is a medical problem, just as is pneumonia and the mumps. It can be cared for medically and it will frequently respond to treatment, if the treatment is enough and in time. Those illnesses which at present do not respond readily should be made the object of serious scientific study and research backed by Government and private funds.

2. We can strengthen the hands of our legislators and our mental hospital boards and superintendents in their efforts to meet the problems and treat scientifically the patients who are now in our hospitals. Connecticut can be proud of its State hospitals; they are good ones and they are in capable hands but they need your backing.

3. We can join our local and our State mental hygiene societies. They do excellent work under difficult circumstances and they

richly merit your support and your assistance as members.

4. We can give moral support to those who are in charge of educating our children. Here again we are fortunate in having this forward-looking group which has the whole problem of mental hygiene and its teaching under careful scrutiny at present.

In closing, I feel I would be derelict in my duty if I did not pay rightful tribute to the members of another group who work quietly and effectually in a related field. I speak now of the parents and friends of the mentally retarded children. This brave group has refused to be downhearted, but instead it has set about to do something tangible by organizing classes, by working with educational authorities, by collecting funds, and making every effort to arrive at a workable solution of a difficult problem. I respectfully salute them and wish them every success. If we could excite a similar group action by backing the local and State mental-hygiene societies, we would be fortunate indeed.

There is a town in Belgium called Ghèel, and since the 11th century it has been dedicated to the care of the mentally ill. There is room in this new world for a community dedicated to the prevention of mental illness and emotional distress, and we could make a great contribution to mankind if we, as a community, were dedicated to this purpose. We could well take a leaf from the energetic and dedicated book of those parents who are daily fighting the battle and meeting the problems of mental retardation.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the Albuquerque Tribune, a Scripps-Howard newspaper, on January 22 carried an editorial on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. The title is "Keep It Nonpartisan." This is the viewpoint which too frequently has been forgotten in connection with statehood discussions. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEEP IT NONPARTISAN

Ever since the question of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii became matters of national interest, we have advocated that they both be admitted to the Union at the same time.

There are two reasons for this. One is that their cases are almost equally deserving—while Alaska is behind Hawaii in population and economic development, its vast resources and its extraordinary growth and potential make it obvious that this margin of difference soon will disappear.

The other reason for simultaneous admission simply is a matter of practical politics—Hawaii has voted Republican consistently, while Alaska has gone Democratic more often than not. Even the most broad-minded Senator might be a little dismayed at the prospect of two more votes for the opposing party, and a few might justify to themselves voting against Hawaii alone, or Alaska alone, for that reason.

Combining the two eliminates that possibility, makes the matter nonpartisan, and puts the question on the merits of the case. The Senate committee which is handling the bill has done that. If the Senate itself will follow suit, it will do the country and the deserving citizens of Alaska and Hawaii a service.

Ben Hur Lampman, Oregon's Poet Laureate, Called to His Reward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, Ben Hur Lampman, Oregon's beloved poet laureate, passed to the great beyond January 24, 1954. He was one of Oregon's most outstanding citizens. For many years he was associated with the Portland Oregonian where his poems and articles attracted nationwide attention.

He was born at Barron, Wis., August 12, 1886, and early developed a keen interest and love for outdoor life and the love for wild creatures who inhabit the great outdoors. He published many books and articles which have been widely read. One of the most widely reported of his editorials was one entitled "Where To Bury the Dog," which portrayed vividly the keen insight and love of the poet for wildlife.

I include as a part of these remarks an article commemorating the life and work of Ben Hur Lampman which appeared in the Oregonian under date of January 25, 1954:

DESIGNATION AS OREGON'S POET LAUREATE PROUD DAY IN LIFE OF BEN HUR LAMPMAN

Ben Hur Lampman, who was an old and valued friend to thousands of Oregonians who had never met him, could have measured his literary awards by the yard or the pound, but he preferred to treasure them in his memory, for Mr. Lampman was a man of deep sentiment.

Probably his proudest day was February 20, 1951, for the governor of the State he had adopted 39 years before, Douglas McKay, came from Salem to Lampman's home with a commission naming the writer poet laureate of Oregon.

"I want only the opportunity to prove true to the laureateship," he told the governor but time was running out and he wrote no more. He had fulfilled his opportunity to prove true years before the honor came to him.

The writer was 67 when death came to him. Of those years he spent 35 as a reporter, editorial writer, and associate editor of the Oregonian.

WRITER BORN IN WISCONSIN

He was born at Barron, Wis., August 12, 1886, and it took him 5 years to catch a fish, 8 to write a poem. The rest of his life he spent in variations around these two themes, although he was later to admit that the first one "wasn't a poem—but I thought it was."

Mr. Lampman may have been born to a newspaper career. His father owned a newspaper in the town where he was born, and founded a new one when the family moved to Neche, N. Dak., when Ben was 4 years old.

This was the Chronotype, and it must have been a dynamiter, for in later years Lampman remembered that frequently there was no advertising because merchants were angry with his father's "hew to the line" editorial policy.

SON'S DEATH SADDENING

When Ben was 19 he and another young man founded the Michigan (N. Dak.) Arena, and this led to his marriage to a young high-school teacher, Lena Sheldon, of New York. She survives him.

There were 4 children, but 1 failed to survive infancy. The 2 daughters are Mrs. Carolyn Cooper, Portland, and Mrs. Hope Fisk, Los Alamitos, Calif. There are 4 granddaughters.

The death of his son, the brilliant Herbert S. Lampman, several years ago was a saddening blight on the elder Lampman's later years.

From North Dakota the Lampman family moved west to Gold Hill, Oreg., in the area near Medford. There young Ben took over management of the Gold Hill News, but a man at a desk in Portland decided the young man was wasted in the small community.

This was the late Paul R. Kelty, news editor of the Oregonian, and after reading Lampman's work he recommended to the late Edgar B. Piper, then editor, that he persuade Lampman to come to Portland.

"Mr. Piper asked me to come to the Oregonian, offering me $25 a week," Lampman remembered. "And $25 a week was more money than anyone in Gold Hill ever heard of."

FOLLOWING COMES QUICKLY

In Portland he soon found that he and the Oregonian fitted each other as a key fits a lock. He began here as a police reporter in 1916 and immediately his approach to the human suffering that he reported won him a following among his newspaper's readers. In 1922 he became an editorial writer.

He had found his niche. He had an outlet daily for the wonder he felt of nature's ways. He had a place for his books by his typewriter and he began the assault on the public consciousness that he continued until 3 years ago, when a stroke took him off the job.

MANY HONORS BESTOWED

From his editorial office, his ancient typewriter produced a floodtide of editorials, poems, articles and stories that were reprinted across the Nation and around the world. He wrote books and read books and proceeded to collect a fine wildlife library.

The honors piled up. His works were included in the O. Henry memorial prize story volumes; the University of Portland gave him an honorary doctorate of laws in 1947 when he delivered the commencement address there.

In 1951 he was recipient of the Freedoms Foundation certificate of merit for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life." In 1943, the University of Oregon awarded an honorary master of arts degree to him.

Among his published books are "How Could I be Forgetting?" "The Tramp Printer," "Here Comes Somebody," "At the End of the Car Line," "The Coming of the Pond Fishes," and "The Wild Swan."

Mr. Lampman was a master of the "punch line," that delayed-action literary device which sets off an explosion in the reader's emotions as the last sentence penetrates his mind. One of his finest and most widely reprinted editorials, his "Where to Bury a Dog," was an outstanding example of this technique.

ASSOCIATES LOVED HIM

The affection his readers felt for him at a distance was shared by the men and women who worked with him during his years at The Oregonian. Said his colleagues on the editorial page after he was named Oregon's poet laureate:

"No Northwest writer has a greater personal following than Mr. Lampman. We who are his co-workers share the public appreciation of the depth and range of his work. He has earned the wreath of laurel."

No Business Like Lykes Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. COURTNEY W. CAMPBELL
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the opportunity to call to the attention of the House the following narrative which appeared in the February 1954 issue of Fortune magazine entitled "No Business Like Lykes Business." This story is the fabulous history of one of Florida's pioneer and most distinguished families—the Lykes. It has been my happy privilege to enjoy their friendship over a period of many years. Their contribution to the growth and progress of Florida, particularly the Greater Tampa Bay area, is unparalleled. The Lykes are truly a great American family.

The article follows:

NO BUSINESS LIKE LYKES BUSINESS

(By Freeman Lincoln)

Most of the 83 members of the Lykes family will gather in the Florida west coast city of Tampa this month for an annual tribal powwow. There will be comings and goings at Ballast Point, the sandy neck in Tampa Bay from which the Lykes shipped cattle to Cuba after the war of 1898, to which their schooners returned with sacks of bright Spanish gold, and where comfortable Lykes houses now sit under venerable live oaks along the shore. During the present visit the Lykes ladies will chat, their children will provide minor crises, from the pantry wing will come sudden gusts of male Lykes laughter.

Probably there will be a mass dinner in a private room at the Columbia Restaurant in Ybor City, Tampa's Spanish quarter. Mr. Joe Lykes, chief of the tribe, may have black-bean soup or clawless Florida lobster, while his twice-widowed older sister, "Miss Tillie" Gillett, chooses arroz con pollo. Dolly Turman, of New Orleans, may tell one of her southern dialect stories to Mrs. Tom Lykes, of Tampa, and Mrs. Howell Lykes Colton, of New York. Charlie Lykes, Lee Rankin, Buddy Lykes, Joe Lykes, Jr., and Robert Wooten will troop offstage for a brief interlude, returning subtly brightened. None of the company will question the absence of Mr. John W. Lykes, Mr. Joe's older brother, being respectfully aware that J. W. is across the Gandy Bridge in St. Pete, soberly speculating on the relative rapidity of whippets.

In many of its social aspects, this month's meeting of the Lykes will resemble the reunions of other big, prosperous United States families. In certain other respects it will have its own indelible, immensely personal hallmark.

The Lykes, in conclave, constitute not only a family group but a stockholders' meeting. Each of the fourscore and more men, women, and children who are Lykes by blood or marriage has an ownership in Lykes Bros., Inc. (together they own all but a few of its 22,094 shares), a company that was formed in 1900 by the 2 oldest of 7 Lykes brothers, and incorporated in 1910 by all of them. Five of the brothers are now dead, but their vastly expanded enterprise remains family owned and operated.

The major Lykes property is Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., of New Orleans, a concern that has cargo vessels sailing regularly from Gulf of Mexico ports across the trade routes of the world. Although few outside the trade realize it, Lykes Bros. Steamship, with a fleet of 54 freighters and a net worth of more than $100 million, is bigger than any other American-flag shipping line.

The Lykes are in the cattle business. They are the biggest raisers of beef in Florida, one of the big cow companies in Texas, and have one of the finest cattle ranches in Cuba. In all, they own 675,000 acres of grazing land and lease 150,000 acres more. They admit to owning (cattlemen are notoriously modest in estimating the size of their herds) 60,000 head of cattle. In a normal year they will send about 17,000 animals to market. They are also the largest meat packers in Florida and the only meat canners. Goods produced in 1953 at their modern packing plant at Tampa sold for about $20 million.

The Lykes are big citrus growers. Their 3,500 acres of Florida groves make them one of the large owners in the State. At full maturity their trees will yield more than a million boxes of fruit a year. They own more than 20 percent of Pasco Packing Co., of Dade City, Fla., largest processor of citrus in the world.

The Lykes have also certain odds and ends. They own, for example, most of the Tampa city block where their office building stands. They have 15,000 acres of Florida woodland that once were a source of red cedar for pencils, but now that red cedar has been superseded by west-coast incense cedar in pencil making, this property is nonproductive. Recently Lykes Bros. invested more than $1 million in four Tampa hotels, which it intends to modernize.

THEY LIKE LYKES

What these enterprises are worth, the Lykes family might guess, but would courteously decline to do so. The family has been so extraordinarily closemouthed about even the broad outline of its commercial affairs that to this date many Florida businessmen know the Lykes only as cattle operators, and are frankly incredulous when told they own the biggest United States shipping line as well. In New Orleans, where 6 or 7 Lykes vessels (each named for a member of the family) may lie at the docks on the same day, few know that the Lykes grow citrus.

The Lykes' taciturnity stems largely from their intensely personel feeling toward their business. To a Lykes, publishing the Lykes corporate-income account would be as vulgar as publishing one's own personal bank statement, and the more favorable the balance the worse the offense against good taste.

An outsider, however, may estimate that the present worth of the Lykes enterprises is at the very least $150 million. Many other companies are larger. But most companies of comparable size will have thousands of stockholders and considerable debt, while Lykes is 95 percent owned by 83 individuals and owes no man.

The members of the Lykes family think highly of Lykes stock. The original Lykes Bros. shares, issued in 1910, were held by seven persons, but in the 43 years since, the shares have been distributed among a family that has increased tenfold and has welcomed many outsiders in marriage. It would have been small wonder if, in that time, a few of the Lykes had soured on the rest to the point of jumping the family fence and dumping Lykes stock. It would have been no surprise if one of the Lykes had decided to strike out on his own, using Lykes stock for capital. One of them (Mr. John W.) did just that, but he sold his stock to the family, and has since come back.

The fact is that although there has been nothing to prevent its sale, the Lykes Bros. stock has remained out of alien hands. Loyalty and sentiment must have had something to do with this, but so surely must self-interest.

Chester Ferguson, a Lykes by marriage and the Lykes' general counsel, provides another clue to the worth of Lykes stock. Ferguson says that a typical Lykes last will disposes of just two items: life insurance and Lykes shares. The typical Lykes is not impelled to hedge the bet.

The Lykes tribe is close to unanimous not only in its self-dependence but in its self-support. Of the eight adult males who are Lykes by blood, only two are not intensively at work in the Lykes business. Of the 10 men who married Lykes girls, 7 are working for Lykes. Within the family, which meticulously respects individual freedoms, the abstainers are not regarded with reproach, or even sorrow. On the other hand, there is always the unexpressed thought that one day they may come into the fold. It has happened before.

During the Tampa reunion this month 13 Lykes men will represent their own and their relatives' interest at a directors' meeting of Lykes Bros., Inc. At the head of the board will be the youngest of the original seven brothers, Joseph Taliaferro Lykes, known and addressed by everyone as "Mr. Joe." Mr. Joe is a tall, stocky man of 65, with a shortage of gray hair, a round, cheerful face, extremely bright blue eyes behind rimless glasses, and a gentle southern voice. Mr. Joe, president of Lykes Bros. and chairman of the steamship company, is everybody's respected, constitutional boss. In making any important decision affecting the Lykes business, Mr. Joe may consult with 1 or 2 of his senior colleagues, but his is the final say.

Flanking Mr. Joe at the directors' table is his only surviving brother, John Wall Lykes. Mr. John, 2 years senior to Mr. Joe, is in charge of all Florida operations, is the Lykes representative in Tallahassee when the legislature meets, and adviser to the president on any matter of importance. Mr. Joe's other adviser is his nephew, Solon Turman, son of Miss Tillie. Turman, 53, who lives in New Orleans, is president of Lykes Steamship, and will take over the top Lykes job when Mr. Joe steps down. The rest of Mr. Joe's fellow board members consist of a son, a son-in-law, 4 nephews, and 4 nephews by marriage.

This board-meeting conference of relatives is more than a formality. Each director is expected to say what he thinks. (Says Mr. John, "An important part of Joe's and my job is to encourage the young ones to talk up.") Differences of opinion are threshed out in executive session and settled by majority vote. Once a decision is made it becomes a family decision, from which no Lykes would ever dissent.

Only two of the board are not heavily concerned with the daily conduct of the Lykes business. Each of the others is an operating vice president in charge of some phase of the family ventures. During most of the year he functions with a high degree of autonomy. At the February board meetings, however, the results of his year's work are available in cold figures for all to see and to criticize. With the family looking on, and with no place or way to hide, he is on what many would consider an intolerable spot. But, whatever emotional stresses it imposes, the system works.

Mr. Joe depreciates the Lykes business success. "Maybe we should be 10 times as big as we are. We are smothered with credit, and could have borrowed any time. We could have sold stock to the public. Somehow we didn't want to do either." He is also emphatic in his insistence that there is nothing remarkable about the members of

the family. "We work hard, but so do a lot of others. We aren't particularly smart. We're just about as plain people as you'll ever meet. We're just an everyday southern family."

Mr. Joe could not be further from the mark. If the Lykes had been an ordinary family, the members would long ago have picked up their marbles and scattered. For such a large group of relatives to coexist harmoniously on merely a social basis is an accomplishment. But the Lykes also manage to live in mutual tolerance, friendship, and respect in a commercial enterprise on which all depend. Mr. Joe, the depreciator, should exercise his almost exclusive privilege of looking at the Lykes corporate income account. The black figures at the bottom are evidence that his Lykes family is anything but ordinary.

LYKES FATHER, LYKES SONS

The founder of the present Lykes family was Dr. Howell Tyson Lykes, who married Almeria McKay, daughter of a prominent Tampa seafaring family, in 1874, and settled at Brooksville, Fla. A graduate in medicine, Dr. Lykes found so little call for his services in his rural neighborhood, 50 miles north of Tampa, that he turned to other ways of making a living. He farmed, traded in land, logged cedar, and grew citrus, but his success came from raising cattle.

Dr. Lykes ran his steadily increasing herd on the open range, and sold his animals in Tampa for $6 a head. In the 1880's he shipped cattle to Cuba on the 109-foot schooner, *Dr. Lykes*. In 1895 he moved his family to Ballast Point in Tampa. From his front lawn he waded cattle far out into the bay and hoisted them aboard ships for export.

Urban Tampa, small as it then was, gave impetus to Dr. Lykes' commercial talents. His domestic and export business in cattle prospered. He built a hotel, the first three-story brick building in Tampa, on the site of his wife's birthplace, and in her honor named it the Almeria. He served two terms in the Florida Legislature, and was dissuaded by his wife from running for governor. At the time of his death in 1906 he was a public figure and a man of wealth.

The Lykes' 8 children were born at Brooksville between 1875 and 1888. The first was Matilda McKay. Then, at regular intervals, came seven sons: Frederick Eugene, Howell Tyson Jr., James McKay, Lipscomb Goodwin, Thompson Mayo, John Wall, and Joseph Taliaferro.

The seven Lykes brothers were born country boys and raised as cattlemen. Mr. Joe recalls that at the age of six he could ride a horse, and that he then had his own cow. He milked the cow, and whatever milk he didn't drink he sold. As the boys grew older their father gave each 10 or 15 head of stock cattle, and each had his own brand and mark. Every summer the brothers helped brand the family herd, which was scattered over a hundred miles of country as far south as Bartow.

Mr. Joe also recalls the great freeze of 1895 that killed the fruit trees, wiped out local banks, and disrupted the local economy. Only a few days before the temperature dropped to 16 degrees, Dr. Lykes had refused an offer of $3,500 for the fruit on his 70-acre grove, and after the freeze the Lykes were out of the citrus business for a period that lasted half a century. "If the freeze hadn't driven us to Tampa," says Mr. Joe in reflection, "maybe we'd still be tending cattle at Brooksville. And maybe that would be just as well."

THE SEVEN STUCK TOGETHER

As the brothers reached the proper age they dribbled off to southern colleges. By the time the two youngest, John and Joe, left Washington and Lee, their father had been dead for several years and the firm of Lykes Bros. had been incorporated at Tampa.

The family business that was subsequently built by Dr. Lykes' seven sons was remarkable for more than size. The seven brothers, markedly dissimilar in inclination, temperament, and even in physical appearance, worked in such widely scattered places as Florida, Cuba, Texas, Louisiana, and New York. Each made his own decisions and virtually ran his own business, but none ever thought of breaking up the group. Even when their affairs became huge, the boys were able to keep almost entirely within the family the financial control and the management of everything they came to have.

The two oldest boys first went to Habana about 1900. The war there had killed off most of the cattle, and Cuba was hungry for beef. The Lykes met the demand with Lykes cattle shipped from Florida. Most of the 7 brothers eventually put in some time in Cuba, but only 2 remained. Fred Lykes, the oldest, and Lipscomb Lykes made their homes in Cuba, acquiring cattle ranches, building the country's largest meatpacking plant, and pouring handsome profits into the family kitty.

Three of the rest took their stand in Tampa. Thompson Lykes, who cared for nothing so much as cattle and the open range, took over the 5,000-head herd left by his father, moved it south to better grazing, and built a cattle kingdom. Howell Lykes was the handsome, aristocratic banker and man of affairs, who acted as home office for the scattered pieces of the family business. John Lykes was still another sort. According to Mr. Joe, "John liked to wander."

After a few early years with the family in Tampa, John wandered to Oklahoma, where he had a fling with wholesale hardware and wildcatting for oil. Back in the Tampa fold by 1920, John traded in real estate for the account of Lykes Bros., and made money in both boom and bust. He established his own insurance business, Lykes Bros. Insurance Agency, Inc., which he still owns, and which he runs with the help of his son-in-law, Guy Webb. (It is probable that someday this business will become a part of Lykes Bros., Inc.) Otherwise, John did whatever job Lykes Bros. wanted done, which included attending to the fast-growing meatpacking business.

In distant Texas, meanwhile, James Lykes was creating another principality that was virtually his own, but that operated for the common good. Jim, who lived in Galveston, was a true Lykes, and so naturally acquired cattle ranches. His main concern, however, was shipping.

Jim Lykes first went to Texas in 1906 to buy cattle for export to his brothers in Cuba. This required chartering ships, and ship charters led naturally to a general cargo business linking the Gulf ports and the Caribbean. The shipping business that eventually became Lykes Bros. Steamship Co. grew fast, and by 1910 required the attention of the youngest of the brothers, Joseph T. Lykes.

Joe Lykes worked in Texas until 1917, when the family sent him to New York to open an office for soliciting steamship freight. As completely southern as the rest of his family, Joe regarded residence in the North as exile, made tolerable only by frequent trips home. He endured it, however, for 30 years.

Joe has made a contribution to the family fortunes that is distinctly his own. With his engaging personality, over the years he has made fast friends for himself and Lykes Bros. among important businessmen in the Nation. A Tampa bank president, recently back from a convention in New York, said, "I didn't meet a top banker (and I met most of them), who didn't ask after Joe Lykes. I got the feeling they consider him the most important citizen on the Florida west coast, if not in the State."

Actually, there was not a long span of years when all seven of the Lykes boys were together in business. The oldest, Fred, was forced to retire in 1923 because of ill health. Lipscomb Lykes died a year later. Three of the remaining brothers died in the early years of World War II, leaving only Joe, in New York, and John, in Tampa. In 1943 Mr. Joe took over the presidency of Lykes Bros. and of the steamship company, but was stuck in New York until the war was over. Mr. John carried on in Florida.

Since the war a second generation of Lykes men has moved in to fill the gaps. (Miss Tillie's young grandson, Parke Wright III, is the first of the third generation to join the company, and Wright's infant son is the first of the fourth generation of Lykes.) This second-generation group, plus two of the original brothers, will be meeting in Tampa this month to review and appraise their considerable operations.

BIGGER AND BIG

The steamship company may not be the most troublesome matter up for Lykes family discussion, but it will be the most important. Instead of being an adjunct of the cattle trade, as in the old days, shipping is now the biggest thing the Lykes have. It is not only bigger than cattle, but plain big.

Lykes Bros. Steamship owns a modern, unmortgaged fleet of 50 cargo vessels aggregating 569,000 tons. These travel the world. In the gulf, Lykes is agent for the Australian service of United States Lines. Lykes is also a 50–50 partner with Grace Line in the 4-ship Gulf & South American Steamship Co., which links gulf ports with the west coast of South America.

Capitalized at $3,500,000, Lykes Steamship now has a net worth of about $110 million. (Net worth of the next-largest United States steamship company is less than $70 million.) In recent years Lykes gross revenues have averaged about $80 million. Close-mouthed Lykes is not talking about profits, but there is evidence they have been consistently good. In the plush postwar years 1947–51, Lykes annual profits averaged close to $14 million—highest among the 13 subsidized United States lines.

Mr. Joe shakes his head sadly over the thought that much of the company's tremendous growth has been due to two wars. The fact is, however, that it has also been the result of important policy decisions made by Lykes management over the years.

Early in the game, Lykes decided to concentrate its operations in the Gulf of Mexico, and to ignore big but highly competitive shipping areas elsewhere. The bet was that the great midcontinent area feeding the poorly served gulf ports would grow in economic importance, and that Lykes would grow too, if it supplied gulf ports with efficient shipping. This bet has paid off handsomely, for Lykes is now the dominant steamship company in a region where freight tonnages have multiplied many times.

ALL AMERICAN

Early in the game, too, Lykes Steamship made the critical decision to cooperate fully with a United States Government wish to build a strong United States merchant marine.

Before World War I, Jim Lykes' small shipping company made money with chartered foreign ships, and by acting as agent for foreign lines. During the war, by necessity, it operated ships built and owned by the United States Government. After the war it abandoned its foreign-flag affiliations and concentrated on operating United States vessels over world trade routes assigned by the Shipping Board.

Set up as a separate company in 1922, Lykes Bros. Steamship Co. prospered as a Government agent and was able to buy a few ships of its own and to acquire other small shipping companies. After the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928, Lykes took the first of its two great gambles.

The act of 1928 was designed to restore the United States merchant marine to pri-

vate ownership. It ordered the sale of Government-owned ships to private companies, increased Government loans for ship construction, and to offset the lower costs of foreign competitors provided mail-pay subsidies for each foreign voyage made over assigned trade routes.

Some of the gulf companies that were operating ships for the Government were unwilling to take the gamble and declined to go along. Lykes went all the way, making the biggest ship purchase of its history in 1933. It bought the Government-owned ships of the Dixie Lines and the ships of the Southern States Lines. In all, for a price of $2,500,000, Lykes added 52 vessels that were carried on the Shipping Board books at $7,900,000. With a total of 67 vessels, Lykes Bros. Steamship had become big.

"We bought our big fleet cheap," says Mr. Joe, "because there weren't many bidders. But our necks were out a mile. If the Government ever decided to withdraw the mail-pay subsidies, we were in hot water."

After the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which is still in force, Lykes took a second tremendous gamble. Thirty-six shipping companies were eligible for subsidies, but in return they were required to pledge large sums for the replacement of obsolete vessels, and to accept restrictions on their operations and employment of earnings. Only 9 steamship operators elected to take the risk. Lykes committed itself to spend $30 million for the replacement of 28 vessels. The possibility that this sum might be hard—or even impossible—for a private company to raise was strong.

World War II, of course, removed the $30 million lump from the Lykes throat. Twenty-one Lykes vessels were lost during the war, and the insurance money for these helped with the 28-ship replacement program. In the postwar shipping boom, Lykes was able to sell some of its older ships at good prices. After the Ship Sales Act of 1946, Lykes bought 21 new ships from Government surplus at low prices.

LYKES BRASS

Many of the directors and officers of Lykes Bros. are directors and officers of the steamship company, but not all. Lykes Steamship has its own 35,000 shares of stock, almost all indirectly owned by members of the Lykes family. (The indirection is the result of a family holding-company arrangement.)

Mr. Joe is the steamship chairman and chief executive officer. The president is Solon Turman. Next to him comes James M. (Buddy) Lykes, Jr., of Houston, vice president in charge of west gulf operations. Joe Lykes, Jr., somewhat younger, is a vice president in the traffic division at New Orleans. In Mr. Joe's old spot as head of the New York office is his son-in-law, Richard Cotton, a former traffic manager for RCA.

President Solon Turman, at 53 the oldest of the second-generation Lykes, has been with the steamship company all his working life. Starting on the New Orleans docks, he spent several years opening offices and agencies in Europe, and in 1930 fetched up in New Orleans as vice president in charge of operations and traffic. Here he worked under his Uncle Jim and executive vice president Reuben Tipton, one of the very few outsiders to hold a top spot in a Lykes organization. When Tipton and Jim Lykes both died in the early forties, Solon was ready for the top job.

Turman now lives in a fine old New Orleans plantation house that his wife, who was Dolly Hardee, inherited. At home Solon Turman, a powerfully built man, is a pleasant host who makes frequent use of the courtly "sir" and "ma'am." (Behind his back his wife irreverently whispers, "He sounds like Dragnet. 'Evening, ma'am • • • We're investigating a homicide, ma'am.'") In his office, however, Turman is the driving leader of a group of top-grade shipping men.

PROFITS RECAPTURED

Lykes operating management has shown itself to be aggressive, flexible, and capable of handling big jobs. When the United States Government requisitioned all ships during World War II, Lykes, acting as agent, operated not only its own fleet but enough others to bring the total to 125. During the hostilities Lykes handled about 60 million tons of cargo.

Lykes moved smartly and swiftly immediately after the war to snatch its own share of the huge shipping boom. The Government was slow in reconverting and returning Lykes' requisitioned ships, and the traffic demand on the Lykes routes was heavy. The company, to live up to its rule of never turning down a shipper, undertook an extensive program of hiring Government vessels under bareboat charter. The peak year was 1947, when Lykes operated 145 vessels: 47 of its own and 98 under charter.

Lykes profits have been good. Of the $8,375,000 the company received in operating subsidies in the 10-year period, 1938–47, the Government recaptured every cent out of the Lykes earnings. For the 5 years after 1947, Lykes earnings were such that if accounts had been settled on January 1, 1953, the Government would have recaptured all but $4,300,000 of the $26,200,000 subsidy for that period. Overall, the Lykes recapture position is 87 percent, while that for all other lines is about 30 percent.

Lykes profits in the postwar period permitted the company, in 6½ years, to add more than $50 million to its surplus.

For shipping, the war and postwar periods were years of tremendous business, but they are gone. Because of dwindling war shipments to Korea, reduced United States foreign-aid programs, and dollar shortages abroad, tonnages carried by the steamship companies have fallen off sharply. Foreign-flag vessels, many of them bought cheaply from the United States Government, or built with United States counterpart funds, are providing tough competition. Lykes peak revenues of $111 million in 1947 dropped to $78,600,000 in 1952. In 1953 they were about $59 million.

SHIPS TO BUY

Lykes realizes there is no reason to expect revenues to pick up in the foreseeable future. It also knows that as early as 1957 it must begin to make definite plans to replace its fleet, a job that at present prices would cost about $280 million. The company is, however, better fixed than most to meet this problem.

In the postwar years it has paid out only 16 percent of earnings—about $2 million per year—in dividends. Into reserves for building new ships (and for certain operating contingencies) it has tucked away 67 percent of all its postwar profits, a higher percentage than any other steamship company.

At present, a subsidized shipping concern is required to make a minimum down payment of 25 percent on a new ship. The Government supplies the balance by granting 3½-percent 20-year mortgage loans. Since Lykes has reserves that will enable it to make down payments of 34 percent of the cost of new ships, the company not only appears to have nothing to worry about, but would seem to be in a position to pay higher dividends.

Lykes, however, does not intend to relax. It is aware that the administration's desire is to cease loaning money for new ships, and it assumes that if the money must come from private sources the interest rates will be higher. It feels that a company in the speculative shipping business should not be burdened with heavy interest and amortization charges, and, therefore, it aspires to make down payments on its new ships of as much as 50 percent.

Such payments will require Lykes to build up its reserves still more, by holding down dividends and by driving to increase its share of a shrinking business.

As Solon Turman will point out to his relatives, there are problems in shipping as well as in cattle raising and citrus.

COW COUNTRIES

The basic Lykes business, cattle, is ably supervised from the top by the two surviving brothers, Mr. Joe and Mr. John. However, they have delegated the actual management to three second-generation men, each a vice president and director of Lykes Bros., Inc. Lee Rankin, a son-in-law, runs things in Cuba. Cameron Duncan, another son-in-law, handles the two Texas ranches, and Charlie Lykes looks after the vast Florida properties. Duncan and Charlie Lykes, frankly envious, say that Lee Rankin has the plum.

Rankin, who lives with his wife, daughter of the late H. T. Lykes, and their three children in suburban Habana, and spends a lot of time on steamship business, admits that the Lykes Cuban cattle ranch, La Candelaria, is small but lush.

The 15,000 acres of La Candelaria, 250 miles east of Habana, are watered by a winding stream. The subtropical weather is almost perfect, and the grass is rich. Antonio Bueno, a Cuban-Spaniard of lean, aristocratic mien who has worked for the Lykes for 40 years, is the manager; Antonio, a brother, a son, and about a dozen full-time helpers run about 7,500 head of cattle. La Candelaria can fatten an animal to 1,100 pounds at 3 years on 2 or 3 acres of grass. (In Florida it takes Lykes about 12 acres of unimproved land to support a cow; in south Texas, 20; in west Texas, 40. And in neither United States area do the animals attain Cuban weights.)

Antonio buys about 3,500 head each year and markets about 4,500, depending on the annual calf crop to maintain the cattle population. All the animals sold are for use in Cuba, and because of the Cuban taste for tough, strong beef, all are bulls. Even though beef prices are off in Cuba, as in the United States, Lykes makes a handsome return from La Candelaria. Cameron Duncan would be happy if he could move the Cuban ranch to Texas, where 4 years of drought have brought cattle raising almost to a dead halt.

PARCHED ACRES

Cameron Duncan, a native Texan and a Dartmouth graduate, worked for Anderson, Clayton in Argentina before he married Jim Lykes' daughter, Genevieve, and joined the Lykes business. The Duncans and their 3 sons live in San Antonio, about 100 miles north of the nearest Lykes ranch, but Duncan covers his territory in his own plane.

Lykes Bros. owns a 270,000-acre ranch in the Big Bend country of western Texas, and leases another 140,000 acres in Duval County south of San Antonio. In normal times Duncan runs about 15,000 head of English breeds crossed with Brahman, and some straight Herefords. This means that his herd is only twice as large as Lee Rankin's in Cuba, although he has more than 25 times the acreage.

Nothing about the Texas cattle picture is calculated to bring a smiling Cameron Duncan to this February's Lykes meeting in Tampa. The United States industry's 1953 ailment of low beef-cattle prices, partially caused by overproduction, was merely an added grief in the Texas drought country. Scores of small cattle companies have gone bankrupt. Others have been forced to dump their scrawny animals on the market at heavy losses.

Cameron Duncan has had his share of losses. He has reduced his cattle inventory to half normal size, and has temporarily abandoned operations on the ranch in west Texas. His income account has been in red figures for the past 2 years. Still, he has been luckier than others in keeping the nucleus of the commercial herd he has been breeding for 10 or 12 years. His company is in financial shape to withstand a long bad

spell. In Tampa this month he can console himself by talking to Charlie Lykes, whose Florida cattle situation is only less bad.

OKEECHOBEE WATERS

Charlie Lykes, who runs Lykes Bros.' mammoth 7–L ranch at Brighton, near Lake Okeechobee, is the Texas-born son of Jim Lykes, the brother who watched over the building of the Lykes steamship empire. Charlie, a powerfully built young man of 6 feet 3, talks Texas, dresses Texas, and looks as a cattleman should. Says Charlie Lykes, "When I was 9 years old my daddy put me on a Lykes ship and I watered the hogs. At 12 I went to Habana on a freighter. But since nobody else in the family seemed to care about cattle, they soon had me on a horse. When I was 13 I began to spend summers on the Florida ranch, where I camped out and threw yearlings."

Charlie was a favorite of his childless uncle, Tom, the brother who had the most to do with building the 7–L ranch, and Charlie was tagged as the successor. Uncle Tom had been dead for 3 years, however, before Charlie left the Army to take up residence in Florida. He now lives in Tampa with his wife, 4 daughters, and 1 son. (A sixth child probably will have been born before this appears.) His office is also in Tampa, but he makes frequent trips by taxi plane to the operations at Brighton.

Lykes Bros. is the biggest cattle operator in Florida, a State that ranks no better than 13th in the United States as a raiser of beef. On the other hand, Florida's cattle population went up 64 percent in the 1940's, showing a greater increase than any other State. Moreover, the quality of Florida cattle has vastly improved in the past few years. During the 1940's a Florida beef-cow was worth only 57 percent of the national average; today it is worth 72 percent.

Cattlemen agree that Lykes has been one of the leaders in the improvement of the Florida cattle industry. Lykes was the first to bring the Brahman bull in numbers to Florida pastures and one of the first to experiment with Hereford and Angus. Lykes has about 6,000 acres of improved pasture, seeded with good grasses, Charlie Lykes is not altogether convinced that the profits from ungraded cattle are worth the expense. Mr. Joe is less doubtful, saying "Upgrading has been our thought for many years, but since we do a volume business the process has to be gradual. Twenty years ago the average weight of our grass steers was less than 650 pounds; today it is above 800."

Charlie Lykes' domain of 375,000 acres stretches for more than 40 miles along the west shore of Lake Okeechobee. With a ranch manager and a full-time crew of about 70, he runs some 40,000 cattle, including about 13,500 cows, half as many calves, and 17,500 steers. The 1,000 pure-blood bulls are mostly Braham and Black Angus, plus a few Santa Gertrudis. In the past most of the bulls have been purchased, but Lykes Bros. is now developing a pure-bred herd of Brahman and Angus at the family homestead in Brooksville.

Since about 12 acres at Brighton will support a cow, the return per dollar of investment is better in Florida than in Texas, even though the Florida animals are smaller. (Cuba, of course, makes by far the best return.) But Charlie Lykes, like Cameron Duncan is having his troubles. An average slaughter animal that would have sold for $200 2 years ago now brings about $100. In addition, Charlie is suffering, not from drought, but from floods.

Because of a 1953 rainfall at least 15 inches above the normal, nearby Lake Istokpogi, the Kissimmee River, and Lake Okeechobee were choked, and much of the 7–L ranch disappeared under water. When the waters receded, the grass had been killed, and the cattle went into the winter thin, requiring a lot of feed. The Lykes cattle operation stayed in the black in 1953, but profits were greatly reduced, and would have been even slimmer if Charlie Lykes had not had a ready market at the Lykes packing plant in Tampa.

FLORIDA PACKER

Lykes Bros. is the biggest meat packer in Florida and the only meat canner. The Tampa plant, the largest of the Lykes Florida investments, houses a complete packing-house operation. According to Mr. John, who watches over it, no competitor in the South has anything to compare to its modern equipment. It handles more than 40 million pounds of meat per year, and has an average inventory of $2 million. Doing business only in the State of Florida, Lykes has branch houses in West Palm Beach and Miami, 29 salesmen, and its own fleet of trucks for bringing in cattle and distributing finished goods. With the 1953 Florida beef kill up 66 percent, the Lykes meat-packing division had sales for the year of $20 million.

Since the Tampa plant is capable of doubling its present production without further investment, Lykes is prepared to meet an increasing demand from Florida's swelling population. If Lykes should decide to go into interstate commerce, it will be required to put in Government inspection. But since the plant was built with Federal standards in mind, the move will require small additional outlay.

Mr. Joe points out that the ranching and meat-packing businesses dovetail nicely. The Tampa plant gives Charlie Lykes a sure market for his cattle. If the fresh-meat market is dull, Lykes can put its product into cans. Further, if low prices cause the cattle raiser to have a bad year, the packing plant, buying beef at the low-market price, makes money. This hedge worked nicely for Lykes in 1953.

FIFTY YEARS AFTER

Lykes Bros. went back into citrus in a big way in 1946, a half century after the freeze of 1895 killed the trees on Dr. Lykes' 70 acres at Brooksville. On the urging of the senior Lykes brother, Mr. Fred, John Lykes bought 1,700 acres of cleared land at Lake Placid, Fla., near the family's cattle ranch on the west shore of Lake Okeechobee. Counting in the cost of land, the company committed about $1 million to creating a producing grove.

Even when committed, the Lykes were cautious. As born cattle people, they were accustomed to buying big tracts of land at a low cost per acre, to moderate expenditures for improvement, to modest payrolls, and to a small return on a big volume. Citrus was almost the exact opposite of all this, and in citrus there was always the threat of a freeze that could wipe out most of the investment in a night.

The Lykes may have gone to citrus more willingly because there was available a member of the family able and eager to run it. That man was Robert Wooten, who had been married to Mr. John's daughter Nancy since 1934, and who had just returned from 37 months of wartime duty in the Air Force.

Robert Wooten, then 35, had spent his business life in citrus, and was known in Florida as a smart, progressive grower. Because he cared about nothing but citrus, he had earlier refused several offers of a place in the Lykes business. Obviously the man for the Lykes job, Wooten was elected.

In the 8 years since 1946, Wooten has run the citrus division under the jurisdiction of his father-in-law, Mr. John. Starting with uncleared acreage at Lake Placid, he had to clear, plant, fertilize, and wait. During the 5 years before the new grove could be picked, costs were heavy. This situation was somewhat relieved in 1949 when the company purchased 1,800 acres of bearing trees in the Lake County area. These cost some $2 million, but they have yielded an annual 500,000 boxes of fruit, and an annual 20 percent return on investment.

THE LONG WAIT

Even so, for what seemed a long time to Wooten, the profits from the bearing groves were more than eaten up by the costs of the nonproductive new grove at Lake Placid. It was 1953 before the new grove yielded 100,000 boxes of fruit and the Lykes Bros. citrus division showed its first profit. "It's a good feeling," says Wooten, "and it should be just the beginning. In another 5 years the Lake Placid crop will be five times as big, and our total production will be more than a million boxes. We'll be making real money." He shrugs. "Always granting the citrus market doesn't go to pot, and that we don't have a bad freeze."

The Lykes find it hard to forget the risk of citrus, or the fact that they have already spent as much on 3,500 acres of orange and grapefruit trees as they have on 10 times that area of Florida pasture. Charlie Lykes, the cattleman, winces at Wooten's monthly citrus payroll of $20,000.

Citrus, on the other hand, provides a nice margin of profit, and nowadays appears to be a good hedge. It is a major satisfaction to Lykes that in the bad cattle year of 1953 some of the reduction in its cattle income was offset by the profits from citrus.

Mr. Joe and Mr. John are beginning to think that because of the stability provided by frozen concentrates, citrus may be a good thing for the long pull. They say that Lykes will probably increase its groves by 30 or 40 percent. Mr. Joe is also spending considerable time looking after the Lykes interest in Pasco Packing Co., an important processor of citrus at Dade City, Fla.

At the suggestion of nephew-in-law Chester Ferguson, Lykes in 1949 bought more than 20 percent of Pasco. Just last month it made a deal to buy the stock of the Edwards family, prominent growers, which will make Lykes the majority owner.

THE BIG SQUEEZE

Pasco was big before Lykes came in, but it was short of cash, and its credit position was shaky. After Joe Lykes was made president of the company and Robert Wooten joined the executive committee, the situation quickly changed. With the credit and reputation of Lykes Bros. solidly behind it, Pasco immediately began to prosper.

In the 1952–53 season, Pasco handled 10,500,000 boxes of fruit, better than 10 percent of the entire Florida crop. Since almost half of its fruit comes from the 25,000 acres owned by members of the West Coast Growers Association, Pasco is backed by a bigger acreage than any other competitive processor. Pasco is the biggest seller of single-strength canned orange juice and the third biggest producer of frozen concentrates (after Minute Maid and Snowcrop).

About half of Pasco's concentrates (plant capacity is 12 million gallons per year) are sold under its own labels—Pasco, Old South, Floridagold. These reach the public at about 2 cents per can less than nationally advertised brands. The other half goes to customers who sell it under their own labels.

Last year Pasco converted its citrus waste into 50,000 tons of pulp, meal, and molasses, which was sold in competition with beet pulp for cattle feed. (Charlie Lykes used this feed on his ranches.) This means that the citrus waste that used to be disposed of at a cost of a cent or two a ton now brings a per ton profit of about 12 cents.

Last fiscal year Pasco's gross sales were more than $40 million. Its profit after taxes of $1,500,000, however, did not mean dividend income for Lykes Bros., for all Pasco's earnings are being used for its continuous expansion.

Pasco (like the meat-packing plant) is good for Lykes Bros. in that it provides a home for the Lykes product. It also is good in itself as an investment, and nobody

was surprised when Lykes moved to acquire stock control.

HOME COOKING

There will be plenty for the relatives to talk about at this month's meeting of the Lykes Bros. board of directors. Some of it will make pleasant hearing, and some of it will cause frowns and long discussions. The four shipping representatives will comment on falling tonnages, but their year-end figures—all that count—are jet black. The cattle business hasn't been too good, but all the board members understand about cattle. It will come back because it always has. John Lykes may have problems about getting the new hotel project underway, but he'll be reasonably happy about his packing plant. Robert Wooten, who craves to show the Lykes about citrus, will have something to show.

But no matter how long the discussions, the meeting will break up about noon, and all will be friends. Mr. John will brew himself a cup of the blackest coffee in the kitchenette just off his office. Mr. Joe will phone his sister, Miss Tillie, to tease her by saying there won't be any dividends for 5 years. The younger set will gather in a corner for the ceremonial crap game, which is 90 percent whooping by Charlie Lykes and 10 percent shuttling back and forth of money with no ultimate redistribution of wealth.

The Lykes are an engaging lot. They have mutual respect, and individual independence. They know the proper place for deference. They seem to have an honest liking for each other and to have fun together. They know how to work, and seem to know how to keep the family pot boiling. The aroma is nice.

Address by President Celal Bayar, of Turkey, to a Joint Meeting of Press, Radio, Television, and News Photographers, January 28, 1954, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure yesterday noon to participate in honoring His Excellency the President of the Republic of Turkey at a luncheon given in his honor by the press, radio, television, and news photographers at the Mayflower Hotel.

Mr. Bayar is a delightfully human person, as is his wife. His rise from country school teacher to the presidency of one of the most courageous nations of the free world has not affected the humility of his spirit, nor the delightful twinkle in his eye.

With great understanding of the time element, the President spoke a few minutes through his most execellent interpreter and then gave only the main highlights of his prepared speech which had been translated and given to each guest. Finished with these bits, which were much applauded by all the Turkish-speaking men and women in the audience, he again spoke most graciously and delightfully through his interpreter.

It is with a very real sense of privilege, Mr. Speaker, that I include President Bayar's unusually fine speech with these remarks:

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CELAL BAYAR, OF TURKEY

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to say a few words to you and through you to the great American public. In addressing you as the builders of public opinion, I am conscious of being before a colossal force which has a major part, not only in wielding the destiny of this great country, but also in affecting the march of world events.

Tomorrow I shall have the signal honor of addressing a joint session of Congress and I shall take that occasion to carry out my duty of conveying to the elected representatives of the American people the deep gratitude of the Turkish Nation for the generous and unselfish aid which we have received.

The aid to Turkey is but a small portion of the funds and equipment in astronomical proportions which has been levied out of the proceeds of the honest toil of the American citizen and ungrudgingly devoted to the service of an ideal. There is no parallel in history of one nation making such a magnanimous contribution of its wealth and energy for the benefit of countries and peoples in all corners of the world.

Yet there must be times when the American citizens stops and asks himself why he is called upon to give so generously and what he gets in return. It is a question which your statesmen, your thinkers, and your enlightened press often answer most convincingly. Nevertheless, I believe there is some value in letting them hear one aspect of the answer once again from the head of a nation in a remote part of the world, who happens to have this unique opportunity of coming into direct contact with American public opinion.

What is Turkey's mission in the free world? What part can she play in pulling together for the common cause? Why is she being helped to stand on her own feet?

It was not such a long time ago that Turkey was practically unknown in the United States. The word Turkey was used as a vague term in general reference to the East. There were times when Turkey was misrepresented to the American people and misunderstood by them.

In return, America, and all that she stood for, as a young and vigorous people imbued with the spirit of freedom and democracy, was well understood in Turkey long before the advent of close friendly relations between the two countries. In the fateful days after the First World War, when out of the ruins of a perished empire the Turkish Nation, under the leadership of Atatürk, were trying to build an independent and homogeneous state, they turned to America to seek an appreciation and understanding of their cause. The National Congress at Sivas, which was a meeting of the representatives of the people to determine the aims of the Revolution and which in that state corresponds to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, adopted a resolution on the 9th of September 1919, upon which a telegram was sent to the Senate of the United States inviting a delegation to be sent to Turkey to see for themselves the conditions in the country and to understand the aspirations of this proud nation who sought nothing more than self-determination and the right to live in dignity and independence.

With the success of the revolution in Turkey, the name of Atatürk began to capture the imagination of the world as a great national hero who had led a determined nation in its struggle to gain its rightful place among the progressive and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

For Atatürk is not only the builder of the Turkish Republic but also the one who brought about the intellectual and social reforms to which the Turkish nation is firmly attached today, and it is through these reforms that Turkey has fully assimilated the material and moral values of western civilization.

If we were not better known in America, it was to some extent our fault. Due to an innate modesty in Turkish character, we were sadly lacking in the incentive to make ourselves known and understood by world opinion. Self-advertisement is a thing repugnant to Turkish nature. We have only reluctantly realized that, in a world full of woes, recognition cannot be claimed as a matter of course, but must be wooed and won.

I believe Korea, more than any single event, was largely responsible in making known to the American people Turkey and all that she stands for. Without any effort to publicize on our part, the mass of the American public began to realize that somewhere between Europe and Asia lived a peace-loving people who for the identical ideals as their own were willing, before any other nation, and without a moment's hesitation, to send their sons to distant lands to fight and die for a cause. And again, without any hue and cry from us, they began to realize that here was a people who could be relied on to pull together and to pull with all their might.

And yet Korea was merely a manifestation, a translation into deeds, of a spirit and mentality which existed in Turkey long before the Korean episode.

Turkey was, perhaps, the first country to diagnose and realize the danger which threatens the entire free world today. Immediately after the Second World War, all the free nations of the world were throwing away their arms under the delusion that the spirit of collaboration with communism which had helped to win the war could be expected to bring about lasting peace. The belief was general that, in the words of the American poet, "The ship had weathered every storm, the prize we sought was won." Turkey believed that the prize we sought was far from being won, and that, on the contrary, it was further than ever. She consequently chose the course of caution and did not neglect to keep afoot her fighting force. She was the first to say no, emphatically and unequivocally, to the demands impinging on her sovereignty. The wavering and appeasing attitude adopted in similar machinations in other quarters of the world has created the present inextricable situations. It was only gradually that the free world awakened to the realities and only very laboriously and painfully that the present spirit of unity against danger has found its expression in effective organization.

In those troubled times with no more than reluctant moral support, and in the years that followed, we spent an enormous proportion of our budget on national defense at the expense of our much-needed economic recovery. Eventually, as the consciousness of impending danger began to seep in, the great democracies saw the need of strengthening the key spots from where the forces of invasion had to be excluded if a common front was to be set up. It was then that this great nation extended a helping hand from across the oceans to the people of Turkey who were struggling on their own for a cause which was to be taken up by all.

There is no doubt that from the material point of view, American aid is very important, and yet it can be measured in terms of so many hundreds of millions. From the moral point of view, however, its value is beyond measurement. The psychological effect on our people of the assurance that they were not to be allowed to stew in their juice and that the powerful forces of free-

dom and democracy were to sustain them, is such that it cannot be told in terms of armored divisions.

When American military aid came to Turkey, it was not to save a country from toppling over under the pressure of foes from within and without. It was to fortify and steady a mooring which was already firmly set. Its main value was in turning a foothold of moral strength into a bastion of material and moral defense, an outpost into a front-line fortress.

Ideologically, Communist infiltration has met an insurmountable wall in Turkey. The doctrines of communism are alien to the thoughts and nature of the Turkish people. Living for many centuries in a melting pot of many races and creeds and at the point of juncture of great ethnic masses, they have developed a keen sense of political maturity. Consequently, it has not been difficult for them to discern under the righteous lure of communism the sinister desire to rule the world and to enslave peoples. Communism, therefore, has found it impossible to make the slightest headway in Turkey.

But the greatest allies of communism are ignorance and poverty, and in order to maintain its steadfast resistance to the ideological foe, each country must seek to raise the standard of living of its people.

In that struggle for economic rehabilitation, American aid has brought valuable support to the efforts of Turkey. It has come at a time when Turkey was at the threshold of a phenomenal economic upsurge and has helped to speed it up. The results are indeed spectacular. Without going into figures, in order to give a graphic picture of this forward drive, I could briefly mention that in the course of the last 3 years the grain output has been doubled, and, whereas she was an occasional importer of wheat, Turkey has become the fourth largest exporter of wheat in the world; the production of cotton has shown a similar rise; the output of coal has met the domestic need and supplied an exportable surplus; the mining of chromium has increased two and one-half times; the network of roads has been doubled; industry and hydroelectric power installations have increased by leaps and bounds.

The United States, fully realizing that those who have joined their fate must rise or fall together, has spent and is spending under the point 4 program vast sums all over the world in an ambitious attempt to drive misery and ignorance from the world. The economic aid that has been given to Turkey has come as a powerful booster to an economic structure that has already proved itself on the rise. With the rise of the standard of living and the increase in the purchasing power of the Turkish people, the country will become a vast market for manufactured and consumers' goods. A new law which has been passed will make it possible for foreign capital to pour into Turkey under the most advantageous terms. Briefly, it could be said that every dollar spent in Turkey is like a seed planted in fertile soil that will sprout abundance and prosperity.

I have tried to tell you in a few words what American military and economic aid has done and is doing in making Turkey stronger and better equipped to play her part in the common front. I would now like to outline how Turkey herself views her own functions and responsibilities in the free world.

First and foremost, it is essential for Turkey to do her best to remain strong. Outside aid and alliances are welcome support but can never replace a country's own preparedness. An ally who depends on others for her defense is not an asset but a liability, and no one will go on helping forever one that does not help himself. Obvious as it may seem, I believe adherence to this principle by all would make for greater harmony and cooperation within our common front. Turkey devotes no less money and energy for her own defense now that she is firmly ensconced in defensive systems than she did when she was alone.

Secondly, we believe in wholehearted and unfaltering support of the United Nations and the principle of collective security evolved under its auspices. We have shown our devotion to that principle, not only in words but in deeds. We have just assumed our seat on the Security Council, where we pledge to carry out faithfully our duty of vigilance and preparedness for the security of the world.

Turkey applaudes President Eisenhower's courageous plan on atomic power for peace. This is no idle dream. It is instead a sound and impressive project, proposed by one of the world's leading statesmen, who believes, as we do, that it can come true in a few short years; that it can mean untold benefits to small and large nations alike.

In my country, specifically, I associate the plan with far-reaching developments in agriculture and medicine. Turkish scientists are already at work with isotopes in the treatment of thyroid tumors, sarcoma, and leukemia. Think of what they and other technicians can do when atomic power is made available on a full scale and for peaceful purposes. Most of all, think of what all of us must do to make sure that it is so used and soon. We who are dedicated to the security of the free world have no choice but to give this plan our total endorsement.

Thirdly, we believe that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is the most effective mechanism of defense contrived up to now, must be fully supported and made even more effective. We joined this organization not merely for the selfish purpose of enlisting the aid of a formidable concert of power to our defense, but in order that we may play a more effective part in the defense of our common ideal. We realize, as all must come to realize, that the days of thinking exclusively in terms of one's own safety are gone forever. In a world where the forces of right and wrong are alined for mortal combat, there is no room for maneuvering in the sidelines, for seeking selfish advantages or for the hazardous game of neutralism. The choice is between cooperation with the forces of freedom and the path of slavery. Our choice was made long before NATO ever existed and our association in that organization was no more than a realistic confirmation of the existing state of facts. Today, we have become a solid anchor on the eastern flank of the NATO line of defense. We are proud to play our part in this most powerful association for defense that has ever existed in the course of history. We see its strength not so much in the number of divisions that it can put on the field, but in its nature as the embodiment of the will of free nations to place at the disposal of a community all their moral and material might for a common ideal.

Yet, we must admit that, powerful as it is, NATO is not the last word. We are faced with a global danger and we must, therefore, think along global lines, whereas NATO covers only a portion, albeit a vital portion, of the common front. There are wide gaps in that front which must be painstakingly and effectively stopped.

It is the keen consciousness of that necessity which has shaped the policy of Turkey in diligently and patiently working for the creation of regional security arrangements.

Perhaps, the most notorious gaping void on the common front today is in the Middle East area. It should be a source of concern to all security-minded people that this vital Eastern flank of the NATO defensive structure, with its oil resources so alluring to the covetous eyes of aggression, should still remain outside the scope of any defense organization.

We have fortunately been more successful in filling a no less vital gap in the ramparts of peace. I refer, of course, to the Balkan Treaty which was signed just under a year ago at Ankara. This document records the will of three freedom-loving nations living in a strategically sensitive spot of the world to work together in preparing for the defense of their independence and integrity. But the greatest value of this pact is in the fact that two staunch partners in the Western Alliance have thereby ushered into the community of free nations a new and invaluable factor determined to withstand the onslaught of aggression.

The brave people of Yugoslavia have proved in their history, past and recent, their uncompromising determination to remain free and independent. Under their able and realistic leaders, they have recently achieved the miracle of shaking themselves free of the bonds which, under the guise of ideology, a relentless imperialism sought to impose upon them. The significance of the cooperation of Yugoslavia in the defense of this strategically crucial area had long been realized by the Western World. The treaty signed in Ankara is an auspicious beginning, though no more than a beginning, in bringing the formidable material and moral forces of that energetic nation into the fold of free countries organizing for the defense of their liberty.

The solid foundation on which this structure was built is the firm friendship and deep understanding between Turkey and her gallant neighbor and ally, Greece.

The able ruler of that country, on his visit to the United States 3 months ago, expressed to a similar gathering, in terms of great sincerity and eloquence, the basis and significance of that friendship. I can do no more than to say once again that if ever there was a case in history of two nations who have forever buried the memory of the useless bickerings and strife of the past and who have joined their fate in a lasting alliance and brotherhood which extend their roots deep into the hearts of the people—this is one. It is, indeed, a shining example of what can be achieved by realism and by a true sense of values in eliminating local petty squabbles in the face of a common danger which threatens the very existence of mankind. If this example could be followed in other similar cases in the free world, I believe that our front would be much stronger than it is today.

I have tried to tell you in a few words of our aims, our problems, and of our duties as we see them.

The community of nations gathered around a common ideal to meet a common threat of annihilation have so closely linked their fate that, in a large sense, the problems of one are the concern of all. Conversely, the trends and pitfalls that affect the whole community are a matter of vital concern to each and every member.

The modern Turkish State is a young being, but the history and experience of the Turkish Nation go back to many centuries. It is in the light of that experience that we, as a nation, without a dissenting voice or a jarring note, have set the course in world politics which we follow today and which we believe to be right and good.

It is also out of that experience that we can see emerging certain principles which we, the entire community, must follow for the safety and security of all:

Firstly, we must not allow the mere words and the empty gestures of the power that threatens to create a feeling of false security and a relaxation of our defense efforts. While being always on the alert for any real possibility of reaching a lasting settlement for peaceful coexistence, we must learn to differentiate between the signs of a change of tactics and a change of heart. We must hope for the best but relentlessly prepare

for the worst. We must bear in mind that any softening of tone which may occur is a result of our growing strength, and that the stronger we get the more amenable to reason we shall find the adversary.

Secondly, we must not allow allegations of aggressive intent to deter us from our course. Our peaceful intentions must be beyond dispute to all who have the liberty to hear the facts and know the truth, including those who use these imputations for propaganda purposes. And we must remember that the power that we have to deal with is not one that acts on provocation or sentiment but on cool, ruthless calculation.

Thirdly, we must do everything possible to enlist the aid of countries who are determined to defend their own freedom and integrity against the common menace, and must seek a way to associate them into existing defense arrangements.

Finally, we must establish an absolute unity of action and policy in the free world. We must inculcate a global mentality that sees things in their proper values and does not allow minor annoyances and selfish interests to dim the view of the mortal danger. Perhaps the greatest skill of the potential adversary lies in its capacity to direct the entire resources and energy of the other half of the universe toward one supreme nefarious goal. I believe that, through the paths of reason and enlightenment, and without recourse to the ruthless methods of the other side, the democratic world is quite capable of creating and implementing a similar unity of purpose and action.

All these could, perhaps, be best summed up in the prophetic words of Benjamin Franklin: "If we don't hang together, we shall assuredly hang separately."

A Salute to the Unsung Heroes Who Fixed Salaries by Law From 1789 to 1949 for Members of Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, cited below, under unanimous consent, is a schedule of salaries fixed by law from 1789 to 1949 for Members of Congress.

Perhaps it would be equally interesting were the names known of the unsung heroes who played key roles in the pay hikes, what arguments they used, and whether they won reelection. Those who were defeated because they voted to increase congressional pay surely deserve our salute. Credit for much of the compensation of Congress rests on the shoulders of those brave men.

To whom, I wonder, in the present Congress, will future Members owe their gratitude for gearing congressional compensation with job value and cost and price indices? Perhaps a story should now be told. It might deflate demagoguery on the issue.

Once upon a time, about the turn of the century, a Representative voted to raise the pay of Members of Congress from $5,000 to $7,500 a year. For doing this, he was defeated by a candidate who later became Speaker of the House, now deceased. To his last breath, the young and eager candidate was never proud of the way in which he defeated the man who voted for the pay increase. He said so. The details of his assault ran something like this:

The Member of Congress who voted for a pay increase listed his mailing address as the Willard Hotel, though he lived in a boarding house. The young and eager candidate who defeated him hammered home this apparent extravagance by pointing to a CONGRESSIONAL RECORD listing the Congressman's regal residence; then he would hold up a menu from the Willard Hotel and call out, "Pomme de têrres, eh? To us home folks, that is just plain potatoes." The people ate it up. Did the people want to send back to Congress a Willard Hotel, pomme-de-têrre man who voted to raise his salary from $5,000 to $7,500 a year? They sent the Congressman to the cleaners. The new Member of Congress pocketed his $7,500 and cheerfully, too. So it goes, Mr. Speaker.

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Salaries fixed by law from 1789–1949

Salary	Statutory authority
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS	
Senators: $6 a day during attendance prior to Mar. 4, 1795, $7 a day, after Mar. 4, 1795.	Sept. 22, 1789, 1 Stat. 70–71.
Representatives: $6 a day during attendance.	Sept. 22, 1789, 1 Stat. 70–71.
Senators and Representatives:	
$6 a day during attendance.	Mar. 10, 1796, 1 Stat. 448.
$1,500 per annum (specifically repealed by act of Feb. 6, 1817).	Mar. 19, 1816, 3 Stat. 257.
$8 a day during attendance after Mar. 3, 1817.	Jan. 22, 1818, 3 Stat. 404.
$6,000 for each Congress.	Aug. 16, 1856, 11 Stat. 48.
$5,000 per annum (to be computed from the 1st day of the present Congress).	July 28, 1866, 14 Stat. 323, sec. 17.
$7,500 per annum (including those in the 42d Cong. holding office at passage of act).	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$5,000 per annum	Jan. 20, 1874, 18 Stat. 4.
$7,500 per annum	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903.
$10,000 per annum	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$12,500 per annum [1] (beginning with the 80th Cong.).	Aug. 2, 1946, 60 Stat. 850, sec. 601.

[1] Plus a tax-free, nonaccountable, expense allowance of $2,500 a year (60 Stat. 850, sec. 601) and mileage allowance at rate of 20 cents per mile to and from each regular session (14 Stat. 323, sec. 17, July 28, 1866; U. S. C. 2:43).*

Also listed as of possible interest, Mr. Speaker, are the salaries of the President, the Vice President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, President Pro Tempore of the Senate, United States Supreme Court Justices, Cabinet officers and Foreign Service officers, historically developed:

Salaries fixed by law from 1789–1949

Salary	Statutory authority
PRESIDENT	
$25,000	Sept. 24, 1789, 1 Stat. 72 ch. 19. Feb. 18, 1793, 1 Stat. 318 ch. 9.
$50,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$75,000	Mar. 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 858; 62 Stat. 678, sec. 102.
$100,000 [2]	Jan. 19, 1949, 63 Stat. 4, sec. 1 (Public Law 2, 81st Cong.).

Salaries fixed by law from 1789–1949—Con.

Salary	Statutory authority
VICE PRESIDENT	
$5,000	Sept. 24, 1789, 1 Stat. 72 ch. 19. Feb. 18, 1793, 1 Stat. 318, ch. 9.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212, sec. 4.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$20,000	June 25, 1948, 62 Stat. 678, sec. 104.
$30,000 [3]	Jan. 19, 1949, 63 Stat. 4, sec. 1 (Public Law 2, 81st Cong.).
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$20,000	Aug. 2, 1946, 60 Stat. 850, sec. 601.
$30,000 [4]	Jan. 19, 1949, 63 Stat. 4, sec. 1 (Public Law 2, 81st Cong.).
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE	
When there is no Vice President, the salary of the President pro tempore is the same as that of the Vice President (R. S. 36; U. S. C. 2: 32).	
U. S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICES	
Chief Justice:	
$4,000	Sept. 23, 1789, 1 Stat. 72.
$5,000	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$6,500	Mar. 3, 1855, 10 Stat. 655.
$8,500	Mar. 3, 1871, 16 Stat. 494.
$10,500	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$13,000	Feb. 12, 1903, 32 Stat. 825.
$15,000	Mar. 3, 1911, 36 Stat. 1152, sec. 218.
$20,500	Dec. 13, 1926, 44 Stat. 919, ch. 6.
$25,500	July 31, 1946, 60 Stat. 716.
Associate Justices:	
$3,500	Sept. 23, 1789, 1 Stat. 72.
$4,500	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$6,000	Mar. 3, 1855, 10 Stat. 655.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1871, 16 Stat. 494.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,500	Feb. 12, 1903, 32 Stat. 825.
$14,500	Mar. 3, 1911, 36 Stat. 1152, sec. 218.
$20,000	Dec. 13, 1926, 44 Stat. 919 ch. 6.
$25,000	July 31, 1946, 60 Stat. 716.
CABINET OFFICERS	
Secretary of State:	
$3,500	Sept. 11, 1789, 1 Stat. 67.
$5,000	Mar. 2, 1799, 1 Stat. 730.[5]
$6,000	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. ——, sec. 1 (Public Law 359 81st Cong.).
Secretary of War. (See note under Secretary of Defense.)	
Secretary of the Treasury:	
$3,500	Sept. 11, 1789, 1 Stat. 67.
$5,000	Mar. 2, 1799, 1 Stat. 730.[5]
$6,000	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. ——, sec. 1, (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of Defense: [6]	
$15,000	July 25, 1947, 61 Stat. 507, sec. 301.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. ——, sec. 1, (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).

Footnotes at end of table.

Salaries fixed by law from 1789–1949—Con.

Salary	Statutory authority
CABINET OFFICERS—con.	
Attorney General:	
$1,500	Sept. 24, 1789, 1 Stat. 72, ch. 18.
Increased $500	Mar. 2, 1797, 1 Stat. 497.
$3,000	Mar. 3, 1799, 1 Stat. 730.[1]
$3,500	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$6,000	Sept. 30, 1850, 9 Stat. 532.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1, (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Postmaster General:	
Same as under Articles of Confederation.	Sept. 22, 1789, 1 Stat. 70.
$2,000	Feb. 20, 1792, 1 Stat. 235, sec. 8.
$2,400	May 8, 1794, 1 Stat. 358, sec. 8.
$3,000	Mar. 2, 1799, 1 Stat. 730.[1]
$4,000	Feb. 20, 1819, 3 Stat. 484.
$2,000 additional	Mar. 2, 1827, 4 Stat. 239.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of the Navy. (See note under Secretary of Defense.)	
Secretary of the Interior:	
Same as Secretaries of other Departments (i. e., $6,000).	Mar. 3, 1849, 9 Stat. 395.
$8,000	Mar. 3, 1853, 10 Stat. 212.
$10,000	Mar. 3, 1873, 17 Stat. 486.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301 sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of Agriculture:	
Same as Secretaries of other departments) (i. e., $10-000).	Feb. 9, 1889, 25 Stat. 659.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of Commerce:	
$8,000	Feb. 14, 1903, 32 Stat. 826, sec. 1.
$12,000	Feb. 26, 1907, 34 Stat. 903, sec. 4.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of Labor:	
$12,000	Mar. 4, 1918, 37 Stat. 736.
$15,000	Mar. 4, 1925, 43 Stat. 1301, sec. 4.
$22,500	Oct. 15, 1949, 63 Stat. —, sec. 1 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).
Secretary of the Army. (See note under Secretary of Defense.)	
FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS	
Minister: $9,000	May 10, 1800, 2 Stat. 78. May 1, 1810, 2 Stat. 606.
Minister resident: $6,000	Aug. 26, 1842, 5 Stat. 525, sec. 9.
Ambassador:	
$7,500 to $17,500	Mar. 1, 1855, 10 Stat. 619, sec. 1.
$10,000 to $17,500	Aug. 18, 1856, 11 Stat. 52, sec. 1.
Envoy: $4,000 to $17,500	July 11, 1870, 16 Stat. 219.
Ambassador: $10,000 to $17,500.	Mar. 3, 1875, 18 Stat. 483.
Ambassador, Minister, or Career Minister: $15,000 to $25,000.	Aug. 13, 1946, 60 Stat. 1002, sec. 411; 1007, sec. 501.

[1] Plus a tax-free allowance of $50,000 a year for expenses connected with official duties, for which no accounting shall be made.*

[1] Plus a tax-free, nonaccountable, expense allowance of $10,000 a year. The Legislative Appropriation Act for 1949 appropriated $5,000 for the purchase, maintenance, etc., of an automobile for the Vice President, and this amount was supplemented by an additional $2,500 under the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1949.*

[1] Plus a tax-free, nonaccountable, expense allowance of $10,000 a year.

[1] Originally enacted for 3 years but continued by subsequent legislation until Feb. 20, 1819.*

[2] Position established by National Security Act of July 26, 1947 (sec. 202). Under the act the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force are without Cabinet rank. Salary changes for the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy were essentially the same as those for the Secretary of State. The office of Secretary of the Air Force was established by the 1947 act. The salary for each of these offices is fixed at $15,000 under the act of Oct. 15, 1949 (Public Law 359, 81st Cong.).

* Sec. 619 of the Revenue Act of 1951 (Public Law 183, 82d Cong.) removed the tax-free and no accounting provisions, effective, as to the President, on Jan. 20, 1953, and as to the Vice President, the Speaker, and Members of Congress, on Jan. 3, 1953.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following letter appeared in the New York Times of January 28, 1954.

It is a fine exposition of the law applicable to the constitutional amendment proposed in the other body and now being debated there.

I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

CONSTITUTION SAID TO EMBODY PROPER SAFEGUARDS ON TREATIES

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The needlessness of the Bricker amendment would be obvious to a great many people if it were not for a frequent misunderstanding of the supremacy clause in article VI of the Constitution. The whole subject of the treaty power is difficult and complex, and an explanation of some length is necessary to show the real meaning of article VI. I venture to write about this with the hope of making the whole matter clearer to many citizens who are now perplexed by the supremacy clause. The clause reads:

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land * * *."

Because this clause makes treaties the supreme law along with the Constitution it is often assumed that treaties are on the same level as the Constitution and can consequently violate freedom of speech and other fundamental liberties in that great document.

SUPREME OVER STATES

The truth, however, is that supreme in article VI means simply supreme over the States. The debates in the Philadelphia Convention make it clear that the constant purpose of the supremacy clause was to put the three main kinds of national laws (Constitution, treaties, and acts of Congress) above all State statutes and all State constitutions. The framers never talked about having treaties on the same level as the Constitution. What they did want was to make sure that a State could no longer flout any lawful action taken by the Nation.

A long series of decisions and statements by justices of the Supreme Court has made it plain that the three kinds of supreme law are not on the same level. The Constitution stands alone at the top. Next comes a lower level containing treaties and acts of Congress side by side, both of them subject to the prohibitions of the Constitution.

A treaty is not supreme over an act of Congress, since its effect as binding law inside the United States can be wiped out by a subsequent Federal statute. This has happened several times. For example, our old treaty with China admitting Chinese immigrants on a large scale was held by the Supreme Court to be nullified as internal law by the later Chinese Exclusion Act. When any treaty can thus be knocked out by an act of Congress it certainly does not possess such a tremendous dignity that it can override the Constitution.

It is sometimes argued that treaties stand higher than acts of Congress because the supremacy clause speaks of Federal statutes made in pursuance of the Constitution, whereas, when the clause comes to treaties, it says "made under the authority of the United States," without mentioning the Constitution. Here again the framers had a definite reason for what they wrote.

MEANING OF PHRASING

The debates at Philadelphia show that they wished to bind the States by treaties which had been made before the Constitution; notably the Treaty of Alliance with France in 1778, and the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain in 1783. Only what Congress did under the Constitution was to bind the States in domestic matters, but the framers could not use the same language about treaties because then only future treaties would have been supreme over State laws. Nothing in the debates shows that the different phrasing was inserted so as to enable treaties to defy the Constitution.

The main point to remember is that treaties are on the same level with acts of Congress. Everybody knows that an act of Congress is void if it violates the Constitution. The Supreme Court has so held many times. It is true that there is no similar square decision about treaties. The possibility that a treaty will do what the Constitution forbids is so small that not a single foreign treaty has been attacked on this ground in the Supreme Court.

However, several statements by able and distinguished members of the Court like Chief Justice Hughes make it clear that a treaty will be null and void if it violates the Constitution, although article VI does not say so in express language. Neither does article VI flatly say that acts of Congress which violate the Constitution are void. But we rely on the Supreme Court to protect the Constitution against outrageous acts of Congress and we can equally well rely on the Court to protect the Constitution against a treaty which flouts it, if such a treaty should ever be signed by the President and ratified by two-thirds of the Senate, an event which fortunately has never happened in 165 years of our history.

FOUR LINES OF DEFENSE

To sum up: The Constitution as it stands gives us four lines of defense against an unwise treaty. First, the President may refuse to sign it or decline to submit it to the Senate. Second, its ratification can be prevented by 33 Senators (or fewer still if there is not a full attendance). Third, if a ratified treaty is found to have undesirable effects in our internal affairs, Congress can, by a majority vote of both Houses, stop the treaty from being the law of the land, which is what it did by the Chinese Exclusion Act. Fourth, if the treaty is so bad as to be unconstitutional in any part, the Supreme Court can declare that part null and void.

These four lines of defense have kept us safe for over a century and a half. No event

whatever has occurred to frighten us now. We have no need to erect additional barriers against a conjectural few bad treaties—barriers which will surely make it very hard for us to enforce a great many good treaties.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *January 26, 1954.*

Interparliamentary Union Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY O. TALLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit a general report on the proceedings of the Conference of the Interparliamentary Union held in Washington, D. C., in October 1953, prepared by Dr. Franklin Dunham, permanent executive secretary, and a financial report prepared by the treasurer of the United States group, Representative W. R. POAGE:

REPORT: UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE 42D CONFERENCE OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

Acting under the provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 90, 82d Congress, an invitation was extended the Interparliamentary Union, with headquarters in Geneva, to hold its annual conference at the Capitol of the United States in October 1953. The 83d Congress, upon acceptance of the invitation, implemented this invitation with an appropriation to cover the expenses of the Washington conference, dates being set for October 8–14, 1953. The United Nations, with other organizations in New York, became hosts to members of the conference in that city October 15–16.

The meetings opened with preliminary sessions of the Executive Committee and the Council of the Union on October 8 and the actual conference opened in the Chamber of the House of Representatives on the morning of October 9, with Viscount Stansgate, president of the Interparliamentary Council, in the chair. The meeting was called to order at 10:25 a. m., the first order of business being the election of a committee to escort the President of the United States, who opened the conference with an address of welcome. The escort consisted of members of the Interparliamentary Union executive committee, including Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina; Senator HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan, president of the United States group; and the Secretary General of the Interparliamentary Union, Andre de Blonay. Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., introduced the President of the United States.

President Eisenhower made this the occasion of remarks on representative forms of government with particular reference to the place of parliaments as instruments of free expression in free governments. "Parliaments," he said, "first instituted among men long ago are the symbol of public opinion. They are not only the symbol of that public opinion, they are the nearest approach we may make to bringing public opinion into one spot, crystallizing it and giving it expression, expression that we ourselves may understand and others may understand. Consequently, when the actual members of such parliaments meet together, it is not only a renewed expression of faith that free men can govern themselves, but that they understand that this system of government must necessarily be one whole throughout the world, where people practice it. It cannot be separate, distinct in any one nation."

The words of the President brought forth an enthusiastic expression of approval from the delegates and representatives of 34 free nations present, in addition to the United States, as follows: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. Argentina, Ecuador, Haiti, and Mexico sent delegations as observers and representatives of the Republic of China were present as guests of the United States. International organizations represented were: The United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the Pan American Union, and the Council of Europe.

The Conference proceeded with general debate in the report of the Secretary General, consisting of the year's review of international affairs and discussed on succeeding days the four principal items in the agenda (1) necessity and effects of international technical and financial assistance, (2) the role of parliaments in foreign affairs, (3) the rights of peoples to self-determination, and (4) certain modifications in the statutes of the Interparliamentary Union, itself.

Senator HOMER FERGUSON, president of the United States group, was elected as President of the 42d Conference by acclamation and presided during the entire conference, except for periods in which vice presidents, representing each group present, were at intervals called to take the chair. Congressman DANIEL REED, of New York, thereupon was designated as acting chairman of the United States group. Speaking on the subject of technical and financial assistance were Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont; Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia; Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee; Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama; Congressman H. P. EBERHARTER, of Pennsylvania; and Congressman JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio. On the question of the role of parliaments in foreign affairs, the speakers were: Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin; Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee; Congressman DANIEL A. REED, of New York; and Congressman HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana. On the rights of people to self-determination, the following spoke: Senator HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan; Congressman ANTONI SADLAK, of Connecticut; Congressman HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina; Congressman HENRY O. TALLE, of Iowa; and Congressman FRAZIER REAMS, of Ohio.

The final resolutions, as amended and agreed upon, have now been published by the Interparliamentary Bureau at 6 Rue Constantine, Geneva, and copies are available at the office of the permanent executive secretary of the United States group at the Capitol. They embody an expression of opinion by delegates from parliaments of 34 free nations of the world, including the United States, but are not binding upon the countries represented at the Conference. They do, however, provide a base for intelligent appraisal of at least three of the important problems which face the free nations today, and, as such, contribute to the general understanding and peace of the world.

The President of the United States and Mrs. Eisenhower received the members of the Conference delegations and their families at the White House on the evening of the opening day, October 9, 1953. The Secretary of State gave a reception to the delegates on the evening of October 10. On Sunday, the delegates were guests of Virginia, where the chamber of commerce of the State arranged a tour of the Skyline Drive and luncheon at Front Royal, Va. A less strenuous afternoon trip was also made available to Mount Vernon. On Monday evening the dinner of the United States Congress to the delegates was given, with entertainment provided by the American Society of Authors, Composers, and Publishers. On Tuesday evening, the Library of Congress were hosts to the delegates with a recital of chamber music at Coolidge Auditorium. On Wednesday, the Pan-American Union were the hosts to the delegates at a reception in their beautiful building on Constitution Avenue.

The Conference closed in the late afternoon of Wednesday, October 14, the agenda being accomplished, and on Thursday morning, October 15, the delegates departed by special train to New York, where they were guests of the United Nations, the mayor of the city of New York, the port authority, Radio City Music Hall, the Carnegie Foundation for Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. The delegates, for the most part, left by boat and plane for their respective countries on Saturday, October 17, though a number remained for visits to the North, South, and West as guests of farm, industry, and social-service groups throughout the United States.

The success of the Conference was due, in no small measure, to the indefatigable work of Members of Congress who actively served on the various committees set up by the chairman, the Honorable HOMER FERGUSON and the United States group. With the many donations of time and courtesies extended by leading American foundations, trade associations, and business organizations, the total expenditure for the entire Conference will represent only one-third of the appropriation, approximately $100,000 will be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

Members of Congress serving on these committees were executive committee, Senator HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan, chairman; Representative WINGATE LUCAS, of Texas; Senator A. W. ROBERTSON, of Virginia; Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York; Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina; Representative W. R. POAGE, of Texas; and Representative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio. This committee was made up of the chairmen of the special committees set up to provide specific services for the handling of the Conference. The arrangements and organization committee was headed by Representative WINGATE LUCAS, of Texas, and had, as additional members, Senator HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan; Representative VAUGHAN GARY, of Virginia; Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina; and Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York. The reception committee was headed by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin; and consisted of all United States delegates and their wives. The entertainment committee consisted of Senator A. W. ROBERTSON, of Virginia, chairman; and Representative HALE BOGGS, of Louisiana; and Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, who directed the arrangements for the delegations in New York. The program committee was headed by Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York, and made up of the following: Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky; Representative HENRY O. TALLE, of Iowa; and Representative W. ROBERT POAGE, of Texas. The hospitality committee, which not only provided the usual courtesies of hospitality, but arranged the United States group dinner, was headed by Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, of North Carolina, and had as members Mrs. Homer Ferguson, Mrs. Estes Kefauver, Mrs. Hale Boggs, Mrs. Daniel A. Reed, and Mrs. Stephenson Mahoney, of New York. The finance committee chairman was Representative W. ROBERT POAGE, of Texas, treasurer of the United States group; and Representative CLIFFORD R. HOPE, of Kansas; Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee; and Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky. The publicity committee was headed by Repre-

sentative JOHN M. VORYS, of Ohio; and Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama; Senator RALPH E. FLANDERS, of Vermont; Representative H. P. EBERHARTER, of Pennsylvania; and Representative A. H. ANDRESEN, of Minnesota.

The groups which provided direct services to the Conference included the entire Capitol staff; the Department of State; the Department of Defense; the Library of Congress; the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Organization of American States; the American Peace Society; the National Press Services; the National Broadcasting Co.; the American Broadcasting Co.; the Columbia Broadcasting System; Time and Life magazines; the House and Senate Radio and Press Galleries; the Washington Star; Washington Post; Washington News; Washington Times-Herald; and the local press of the Nation; the International Business Machines Corp.; the Automobile Manufacturer's Association; the American Association of Authors, Composers, and Publishers; the Carnegie Foundation for Peace; the Rockefeller Foundation; the Ford Foundation; the United Nations; the Radio City Music Hall; the Port Authority of New York; the mayor's reception committee of New York; the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; the Board of Trade of the District of Columbia; the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.; the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co.; Helena Rubinstein; Hershey Chocolate Corp.; Burlington Mills Corp.; Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co.; People's Drug Stores, of Washington; Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corp.; Phoenix Hosiery Co.; American Cotton Manufacturers Institute; American Tobacco Co.; Planter's Nut and Chocolate Co.; Allied Florist Association of Greater Washington; Annin & Co.; Swift & Co.; Wilson & Co.; Armour & Co.; General Foods Corp.; Bruce Styers; Coca Cola Bottling Works, of Washington; the Fuller Brush Co.; the Connecticut Shade-Grown Tobacco Growers; Milton S. Kronheim; Sunkist Growers of California; Florida Citrus Fruit Growers; and the Northwestern Horticultural Council. All the last-mentioned contributed to packets of American products for delegates.

The Conference was attended by many additional Members of Congress, who were in Washington in October, as well as by official visitors from the embassies resident in Washington, and the visitor's galleries were constantly filled with guests of the Union from many parts of the world.

The arrangements for the Conference were directed by Capt. E. John Long, United States Naval Reserve, in cooperation with Dr. Franklin Dunham, permanent executive secretary of the group, and a staff of 18, along with many volunteers provided by the offices of Representatives and Senators who did extra duty during the period. The officers of the United States group are: Senator HOMER FERGUSON, president; Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY; Representative DANIEL A. REED; and Senator A. W. ROBERTSON, vice presidents; Representative W. R. POAGE, treasurer; and Representative HENRY O. TALLE, secretary. The United States representatives on the Interparliamentary Council are: Representative DANIEL A. REED and Representative HAROLD D. COOLEY, who is also the United States member of the Interparliamentary Union executive committee.

REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN W. R. POAGE, TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, JANUARY 22, 1954

To the members of the American group of the 42d Conference of the Interparliamentary Union:

Last summer the Congress, under authority of Public Law 207, 83d Congress, appropriated $150,000 to cover the expenses of conducting the 42d Annual Conference of the Interparliamentary Union. This sum is comparable to the expenditures of the State Department for conferences that are commonly held in Washington. The Interparliamentary Union Conference involved representatives from most of the nations of the world not behind the Iron Curtain. The delegates were all members of the legislative bodies of those nations. Thus, this group is the only group ever meeting in Washington, all of whose membership was elected by the people themselves. Other groups have consisted of appointed officials.

It is the belief of the American group that the 42d Conference was conducted with dignity and in a manner that reflected credit on the Government and the people of the United States. Without the assistance and cooperation of many private and governmental interests, it would have been impossible to care for the expenses without far greater expenditures than were made. It is, therefore, with considerable satisfaction that I, as treasurer of the American group, am able to report that the total expenditures from the funds appropriated by the Congress amounted to only $48,864.22, or something less than one-third of the amount appropriated for this purpose. To me, this should be a complete and rebuking answer to those who have charged the American group with any careless or wasteful handling of public funds. The detailed report of expenditures follows:

Interparliamentary Union, 42d Conference—Disbursement of appropriation under Public Law 207, 83d Cong.

Appropriation	$150,000.00
Printing and engraving:	
GPO: Letterheads, etc	343.63
GPO: Circular letters, pads, etc	184.08
GPO: Identification cards, baggage tags, stickers, etc	407.77
GPO: Windshield cards	60.98
Copenhaver: Plates and invitations	255.75
Copenhaver: Envelopes, gold seal cards, printing, etc	30.75
GPO: Programs	75.91
Ward & Paul, transcripts (money to be refunded by Geneva)	624.90
GPO: Door signs, guides, programs, stationery, printing	1,227.14
Ward & Paul: Transcripts	110.00
GPO: Envelopes, letterheads, guidebooks, etc	191.50
American Peace Society: Printing reports	50.00
GPO: Printing	331.66
GPO: Printing President's speech	156.55
Total	4,050.60
Stationery and supplies: U. S. Senate Stationery Store: Stationery, ink, stencils, supplies, etc	1,066.70
Miscellaneous:	
Mr. Wilkinson: Official photographer	147.50
Muse Photos: Official photos	30.60
Lamb, Seal & Stencil Co. (card holders)	86.70
House Restaurant, operation deficit	1,424.08
Lank Lumber Co.: Stands	253.66
Monumental Printing Co.: Reprints, Dr. Dunham's article on IPU	33.55
Remington-Rand: Typewriter repair	18.78
Naval Cold Storage: Snack bar	66.87

Interparliamentary Union, 42d Conference—Disbursement of appropriation under Public Law 207, 83d Cong.—Continued

Freedman Co.: Tissue for gift boxes	$4.16
W. T. Cowan: Books for kits	8.10
New York Times	2.20
Petty cash	493.44
Lamb, Seal & Stencil Co.: Badges, cards	259.08
Uline Ice Co.: Snack bar	5.95
Press Intelligence	54.00
F. Clyde Wilkinson: Photographs	300.00
Captain Long: Repay petty cash	493.44
Capital News-New York Times	3.35
Duplicator Corp	252.00
Clarence Smith: Photographs	45.00
Library of Congress, Photostatic Division	30.00
Tenschart Photo Co	6.00
Congressional Hotel: Cable	6.90
Total	4,945.36
Duplicator Corp., refund	99.40
Total	3,945.96
Official kits:	
B. S. Reynolds Co.: Post cards for kits	40.50
Chas. G. Stott Co.: Official brief folders	720.00
Total	760.50
Transportation and travel:	
Official trips: Out-of-town activities re IPU (2 trips to New York, 1 trip to Richmond, 2 trips to Skyline Drive)	517.75
Entertainment:	
Shoreham Tea and Fashion Show (ladies)	240.00
Grey Line Tours, Mt. Vernon and lunch	139.50
Little Flower Shop: Decorate tables	150.00
Skyland Restaurant: Lunch	652.25
House Restaurant: Three luncheons	393.80
Sheraton Park: State reception	2,671.54
Shoreham: United States group dinner	3,231.30
Barnee-Lowe: Music	760.00
United Nations: Luncheon	442.65
Pennsylvania Railroad: Lunch; trip to New York	897.55
National Gallery of Art	50.00
Total	9,633.59
Personnel staff:	
Temporary staff: Conference operations	6,621.89
Permanent staff (2 daily summary reporters' salaries to be repaid by Geneva office)	13,090.77
Total	19,712.66
Geneva Secretariat:	
Four rapporteurs	2,400.00
Executive services, daily summary	289.50
Congressional Hotel ($100 of this hotel bill to be refunded by the Geneva office)	792.94
Express company: Box to Geneva	70.28
Congressional Hotel (Geneva secretariat) to Mrs. Preiss	83.71
Ward & Paul transcript: Postage to Geneva	13.64

Interparliamentary Union, 42d Conference—Disbursement of appropriation under Public Law 207, 83d Cong.—Continued

Geneva Secretariat: Transportation, services, etc		$6,346.44
Deduct:		
Ward & Paul transcrip	624.90	
Mirkine Guetzevitch (Congressional Hotel)	100.00	
Kenton: Daily summary reporter	258.80	
Moyens: Daily summary reporter	221.41	
Total deducts	1,205.11	
		$5,141.33
Total		8,719.38
Telephones, telegraphs and cable:		
Includes all communications		148.04
Telephone		23.85
Telephone		97.59
Telephone		77.60
Western Union		38.00
Total		385.08
Grand total		48,864.22

DeSoto, Mo., Recipient of All-America City Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include that portion of an article in the February 9, 1954, edition of Look magazine, entitled "All-America Cities," which describes a growing city in my congressional district, DeSoto, Mo.

For its accomplishments in 1953, this thriving Missouri city has the honor to receive the all-America city award, being one of 11 cities of the United States thus designated by Look magazine in conjunction with the National Municipal League.

DeSoto has submitted for consideration a proposed site for the Air Force Academy, created by H. R. 5337 which passed the House last week. It is my sincere hope that the Senate will concur in the passage of this bill to make the Air Force Academy a reality, and that the commission which the bill provides for the selection of a permanent site will give careful and conscientious consideration to the proposal of DeSoto, Mo.

[From Look magazine of February 9, 1954]

THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE AND LOOK SALUTE THE ALL-AMERICA CITIES—11 CITIES WIN AWARDS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEMS HAUNTING THEIR HOMES AND STREETS

De Soto, Mo., only 45 miles south of St. Louis in the foothills of the Ozark Mountains, is a railroad town with 5,354 inhabitants. Between 1940 and 1950, De Soto's population increased only 333. The young people were leaving town as soon as they got out of high school. The outstanding symptom of De Soto's ailment was lethargy. "De Soto is no good and we can't make it any better" was the objection frequently raised when an improvement project was proposed.

De Soto's city hall had a leaky roof and whitewash was peeling off the 78-year-old structure. Most streets were unpaved. Many blocks had been without street lights since depression days when the city couldn't pay its light bill and the poles were removed. There was nothing for young people to do except loaf around an ice-cream parlor or drugstore.

Miraculously, the picture began to improve in 1948 after De Soto changed to council-manager government.

By 1953 the lethargy had vanished, and almost every resident was participating in civic affairs. Even teenagers were serving on committees to help plan De Soto's future.

New street lights went up all over town on a pay-as-you-go basis. Ugly store fronts were refurbished. More than 1,100 persons helped transform an old furniture store into a club for teenagers. Civil-defense authorities commended tiny De Soto for the work of its 100 unusually active auxiliary police and firemen.

Newly solvent, De Soto cut its taxes 30 percent and was able to remodel the city hall. Volunteers built a firehouse at a cost of only $3,000. Seven acres of timberland, willed to the city as a park 6 years ago, finally began to function as a park because the citizens approved a caretaker's salary. Eighty blocks of streets were paved at half the normal cost, with the city doing the work with the cooperation of 1,400 citizens. De Soto's 150th anniversary celebration attracted 25,000 visitors who watched 420 local actors participate in a pageant.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Samuel B. Pettengill, former Indiana Congressman now living in Chicago, has written an excellent letter to the press, and Mr. Alfred J. Schweppe, chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on peace and law through the United Nations has written the editor of the New York Times. Both have made new contributions to the thinking favoring the enactment of the Bricker amendment. The letters follow:

EDITOR: In connection with President Eisenhower's opposition to the Bricker amendment, it should be noted that a proposal to amend the Constitution is not subject to Mr. Eisenhower's veto, and does not require his approval. While his objections should be considered, the same as any private citizen, he has no official function in this matter.

Aside from this, it would appear that in lining up against a majority in the Senate on a matter concerning which the people feel deeply, he is risking his domestic program and the election next November.

The people are fed up with the eager beavers who are trying to bypass our historic Constitution processes, and rewrite our domestic laws by the sly method of getting treaties rushed through the Senate.

President Eisenhower, thank God, is not one of these eager beavers but he is playing their game. When he is no longer in the White House, they will surely emerge and again attempt to take away the powers, reserved to the States by the 10th amendment, and give them to Congress, or the President, or some international body.

Then 1 man in the White House, plus no more than 33 Senators, two-thirds of a quorum, together with foreign politicians and lobbyists could undertake to rewrite the law of the land without the approval of the House of Representatives, or the American people.

Or, they can attempt to accomplish their ends bypassing the Senate. They can call a treaty an Executive agreement, which our Supreme Court also designates as "the supreme law of the land," and thus avoid running the risk of defeat in the Senate.

It would surprise your readers to know that an executive agreement, signed by President Roosevelt and Commissar Litvinov—2 men only, and 1 a foreigner—not submitted even to the Senate, was held by the Supreme Court, 7 to 2, to supersede the law of the State of New York.

This is the kind of stuff the Bricker amendment is designed to stop.

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL.

BRICKER PROPOSAL APPROVED—CURB ON PRESIDENT BELIEVED NECESSARY IN MAKING OF AGREEMENTS

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It is argued that the Bricker amendment, in reaffirming the power of Congress to regulate executive agreements, would hamstring the President in his day-to-day conduct of foreign relations.

The Bricker amendment does not say that Congress must regulate or approve all executive agreements; it merely recognizes in Congress power to do so, which may, in fact, never be exercised; if exercised, it must be assumed that Congress will exercise reasonable judgment for the welfare of the country, as in other cases.

The Bricker amendment does not turn our foreign relations over to Congress. It does not require Congress to examine the multitude of executive agreements of a daily housekeeping character and to authorize them in advance or validate them afterward.

No sillier claim has ever been made than that, with the Bricker amendment in effect, the Berlin airlift agreement could not have been made. The amendment does not require Congress to do anything, but merely confirms its power to pass laws with respect to executive agreements if it chooses to do so.

CONGRESSIONAL POWER

Under this power Congress can only pass a statute regulating executive agreements, subject to the veto power of the President. In case of an improper regulatory statute any President, if he is right, can unquestionably have his veto sustained by one-third of one House of Congress. On the other hand, if two-thirds of both Houses override the veto, the regulation must be presumed to be sound. There is thus a great restraint on Congress in any regulation of executive agreements and there is no basis for the charge that Congress will run our foreign relations.

In the last analysis, if the choice is between trusting one-man governments and trusting two-thirds of both Houses, the choice must inevitably lie with the direct Representatives of the people in Congress. The people have not forgotten the long-range permanent commitments in the Teheran and Yalta agreements, which Secretary Dulles said in the Senate hearings were illegal and should have been presented to the Senate as treaties.

Many able lawyers and judges, including members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and Chief Judge John J. Parker, of the fourth circuit, believe that Congress now

has power to regulate executive agreements under the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution, and that the first sentence of section 3 is unnecessary. In view, however, of the doubt registered by some persons, it was deemed proper, as long as the treaty power was to be amended, to confirm the power of Congress to regulate such agreements at all events. Congress has already so widely exercised the power to authorize and regulate executive agreements that it may be concluded that any doubt is so lacking in substance as to render the first sentence unnecessary.

However, the second concept of section 3 should be retained: that executive agreements made by the President alone should not become domestic law unless made so by legislation. This is what Secretary Dulles thought the law was at the Senate hearings. But he overlooked the fact that the Belmont and Pink cases are, to the contrary, holding, over the vigorous dissent of Chief Justice Stone, that the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement was, like a treaty, the supreme law of the land, not affected by the fifth amendment, and that it superseded the law of New York.

DESPOTIC DOCTRINE

This novel and revolutionary doctrine, which permits the President alone, by agreements in the files of the State Department, to set aside State laws and constitutions in carrying out his foreign policy, must be abolished by preventing any such executive agreement from being the supreme law of the land unless implemented by legislation. Certainly the Founding Fathers, with their fear of kings and one-man government and with their keen regard for the rights of the States, never contemplated any such despotic doctrine.

In the Pink case the Court said that, "The fifth amendment does not stand in the way of giving full force and effect to the Litvinov assignment." Of this holding Dr. Philip Jessup said in the American Journal of International Law that "from the point of view of our constitutional law the decision may well mark one of the most far-reaching inroads upon the protection which it was supposed the fifth amendment accorded to private property."

Does one need any more startling illustration of one-man government in the United States than that by a simple writing the President, acting alone, can set aside the fifth amendment and State laws and constitutions?

And then it is said that nothing must be done about executive agreements.

ALFRED J. SCHWEPPE.

SEATTLE, WASH., *January 21, 1954.*

A Special Postage Stamp Proposed to Commemorate the 35th Anniversary of the Founding of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion.

This great veterans' organization was founded in Paris, France, during a caucus held at the Cirque de Paris on March 15–17, 1919. The credit for envisioning the American Legion is given to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who surrounded himself with capable citizen soldiers in France to make this vision a reality. The need for such an organization at that time was based on the tremendous surge of unrest that came over the United States expeditionary forces following the armistice on November 11, 1918. The uncertainty of the future, the need for care of the disabled, protection of widows and orphans, and Americanism, were motivating factors.

The Paris caucus determined that the next organizational meeting should be held in the United States and such a meeting was held in St. Louis, Mo., on May 9–10, 1919. At this time a temporary organization of the American Legion was established. Congress was petitioned to grant a charter to this new organization, and the charter was approved by President Wilson on September 16, 1919.

From that modest beginning 35 years ago, the American Legion has attained its present stature, and its name and works are known in every home across the land. Over this period of years, the Legion has gained nationwide recognition in the fields of Americanism and national security and worldwide recognition in the field of child welfare.

I, therefore, believe it most apropriate that the Post Office Department be authorized and directed by the Congress to issue a special postage stamp in commemoration of the founding of the American Legion, the world's largest patriotic organization.

Reducing Airport Hazards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Air Force operates, on a lease basis, jet aircraft reserve training and ferrying activities at the Long Beach, (Calif.) Municipal Airport. For some time, officials of that city, myself, and Senators from California have been attempting to have the Air Force transfer its activities elsewhere. We have pointed out the dangers of such activities being conducted within a metropolitan area.

Despite these warnings, the Air Force refused to remove its activities and, a short time ago, tragedy struck the city when one of the jet planes crashed into a residential area, killing several citizens in their homes.

Following that, the Secretary of the Air Force agreed to reevaluate its decision to retain activities at Long Beach. That reevaluation is proceeding now and it is sincerely hoped that it will result in the removal of the activity to a less populated location.

I insert below a recent editorial from the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper which fairly sets forth the facts and circumstances of this controversy between the city of Long Beach and the Air Force:

REDUCING AIRPORT HAZARDS

Inquiry by a citizen has brought an explanatory statement from City Manager Vickers to the effect that the city's sole objective in asking for removal of Air Force activities from the municipal airport is to end the flight-training activities there.

Mr. Vickers has stated the city favors retaining all Air Force Reserve activity of a classroom nature at the field. But the training flights should go elsewhere.

The Federal Government's lease agreement with the city covering use of a portion of the airport's surface for Air Force purposes was effected in 1941. It was at the beginning of a fighting war. Long Beach at that time had a population of 164,271.

Now Long Beach has grown to a city of 280,000, and approximately 500,000 persons resided in what may be called Long Beach's metropolitan area. The municipal airport is squarely in the center of this area of dense residential development.

There are certain advantages from the standpoint of public convenience in having the airport so situated. Obviously, the airport is going to be there a long time.

But whatever hazards result from the location of an operating airport in such a densely settled area can be materialy reduced by the removal of training flights from the field. Training activities are necessary repetition, involving frequent take-offs and landings, endangering the lives and property of residents of the area and constituting a serious noise nuisance.

Since the tragic crash of 2 weeks ago which took nine lives, an interesting discussion has appeared in our forum column, with citizens offering sincere opinions on both sides of the question of removing the Air Force from the field. There was, we think, a notable lack of hysteria after a spectacularly tragic incident; the discussion among our people has been sober and intelligent.

If the national defense, or the defense of our community, were to be seriously jeopardized, no sensible person would propose that the Air Force move elsewhere. But if the change can be made without such effects on the defense, it is simply good sense to stop the training flights over the highly developed residential areas. We believe it can and should be done, and we commend the city officials, Representative CRAIG HOSMER, and Senator KUCHEL for their efforts toward that end.

Pay Raises for Judges and Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have received 2 letters, 1 pro and the other con, on the matter of pay raises for judges and Congressmen, which I think might be of interest to my colleagues. One of the letters is set forth below, and the enclosure in the second letter, an editorial appearing in the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram newspaper, is set forth:

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: May a lowly citizen-taxpayer plead with you and your esteemed colleagues to drop the thought of a salary raise this year? Your salaries are the best monetary stabilizers our country has to

take the place of the gold standard. If you don't raise your pay, you will have to keep prices down so you can afford to live. Thus helping yourself, you will help all of us.

There are two ways for you to increase your salaries honorably: (1) So influence national prosperity that everybody makes more money, then we all feel sorry for you and O. K. a raise, which we can then afford; or (2) get used to eating thinner soup, then you will be happy with less and it will seem just as good to you as a pay raise.

As a small-business man, I like suggestion No. 1 the best, so pay more attention to small business and put pressure on your small-business committee to cause better conditions for small-business men. When we find our cash registers bulging, we will be all too eager to pay you more—after we can afford it.

Respectfully,

O. HENRY.

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram of December 17, 1953]

IS CONGRESS UNDERPAID?

When it somes to the question of whether congressional salaries should be increased, the average Congressman—believe it or not—is shy and skittish. And this issue may be the topic of much soul-searching at the next session.

Perhaps some of the legislators will take heart from the report by the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries that all its mail has been favorable to the idea of a pay raise for Representatives and Senators. The Commission has been conducting public hearings for the past 3 days. Besides receiving favorable mail, the Commission also has heard many favorable witnesses, some of whom represented big organizations like the A. F. of L. and the American Bar Association. Some were former Government employees who know the contrast between private and Government salaries for men of comparable ability.

At this writing the only witness to testify against the proposal has been Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON, Republican, Utah, who revealed under questioning that he personally has some outside income to fall back on.

The reason Congressmen are nervous about voting themselves a pay raise is obvious. They don't want to take a step that may look like brazen nest-feathering to their constituents back home. It takes real courage for the Congressman to say he's in favor of upping his own check. Because of their shyness the legislators voted to creat a public Commission to study the issue and make a recommendation. But the Congressmen know their own situation, of course.

It has been 7 years since Congress had a salary boost. This period was a highly inflationary one. Evidence has been submitted to the Commission to show that the present $15,000 salary has a purchasing power of about $7,000 in 1939 dollars.

From almost any point of view, Washington is the most expensive place in the Nation to live. For the Congressman it is doubly expensive. As a Representative of his district or State, he has heavy social obligations. He maintains a residence in Washington and another back home at great expense.

The whole problem could be neatly thrust aside if we subscribed to the theory that only the rich should hold public office. But that is a theory acceptable to few. The job should pay at least enough that the Congressman may meet his obligations and maintain a reasonably comfortable standard of living without having to draw from other sources.

While a position in Congress is a high honor, it is also a penalty from the monetary point of view. Public salaries shouldn't be expected to make anybody wealthy; but when they are too low, many able men are discouraged from entering public office, simply because they can't afford the financial sacrifice. Many good men do make the sacrifice, of course—but are we right in exacting such a sacrifice? And if pay were higher, wouldn't a larger number of more capable men be attracted?

A low salary can be an encouragement to unscrupulous lobbying. Here in California we pay our legislators $300 a month. It is little wonder that a man like Artie Samish, who once claimed he controlled the legislature, was abie to get a foothold.

A standard answer to proposals of salary increases for State or National legislators is that such increases would add to government costs at a time when we are seeking to reduce them.

We have no way of estimating how much better government we would get per dollar increase in congressional salary. But if incentive means anything, there could be fewer better investments in good government than an investment in key elective jobs. Such an investment would make public service more attractive to capable men, make public office less a financial sacrifice, and make the officeholder less vulnerable to unsavory pressures.

But all other arguments aside, the case for higher congressional salaries can be rested pretty strongly on the simple need to adjust those salaries to meet the higher costs of living in an extraordinarily costly line of service.

A Strange Romance: GOP Makes Eyes at the Brannan Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include an article from the November 1953 issue of the Democratic Digest entitled "A Strange Romance: GOP Makes Eyes at the Brannan Plan."

It is greatly amusing to see the political pirouetting of so many Republicans who only a short time ago denounced former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan, and his farm proposal as respectively, "Socialist" and "socialism." However, since the present administration and the present Secretary of Agriculture have suggested that the Brannan plan be given a tryout, these former critics have remained strangely silent. Many former opponents of the Brannan plan now are of the opinion that it could conceivably be a solution to many of the present ills of this country's farm problems, and are willing to try it out. It is no longer referred to as "socialism," but rather as a forward-looking and progressive proposal worth receiving careful consideration. No former Secretary of Agriculture has received greater vindication so soon after leaving office. The article follows:

A STRANGE ROMANCE: GOP MAKES EYES AT BRANNAN PLAN

In the sprawling buildings of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, a ghost roams the corridors. Its original embodiment, born on April 7, 1949, was beaten to death by Republican orators before it was 4 years old. Its attackers thought that it had breathed its last on November 4, 1952, and that they would be troubled with it no more.

But there is no mistaking the shadow that now haunts the Agriculture Department: It is the ghost of the "iniquitous" Brannan farm plan, first proposed by former Agriculture Secretary Charles F. Brannan, as a system for supporting perishable farm products while at the same time giving consumers a break.

No sooner was the Brannan plan launched than the Republican propagandists began building one of their biggest and most terrifying straw men for Republican orators to assail. The words "Brannan plan" were considered naked unless clothed in epithets, such as "socialistic" and "dictatorial."

Now the new Republican administration is painfully looking for a program to deal effectively with growing surpluses of perishable farm commodities, and lo, the big item on their drawing boards is a design that has the chief features of the Brannan plan. There are strong indications that they intend to smuggle it into the list of Republican remedies, if they can manage it without suffering undue embarrassment.

This will not be easy, for the campaign oratory against the Brannan plan was emphatic. "We must find methods of obtaining greater protection for our producers of perishable foods," said General Eisenhower at Kasson, Minn., a year ago, but he went on: "We can and will find a sound way to do the job without indulging in the moral bankruptcy of the Brannan plan." This was a theme that was to be repeated often during the presidential campaign.

When he took office, General Eisenhower placed the problems of agriculture on the list for "further study." His statement, in his state of the Union message, that "a continuing study reveals nothing more emphatically than the complicated nature of this subject" reflected none of the sureness of Candidate Eisenhower when he promised the American farmer 100 percent of parity last fall.

Administration agricultural leaders have now had nearly a year of skull practice. Meanwhile farm surpluses have been piling up and farm prices declining steadily. Despite mounting pressures, no magic plan, such as General Eisenhower promised at Kasson, has been forthcoming, which may account in part for the willingness of Agriculture Department officials to include the much reviled Brannan plan in their canvassing of possible solutions.

One of the first to spot the new ghost in the Agricultural Department was a reporter for the Gannett newspapers who wrote on August 31: "The ghost of the Brannan Farm plan stalks Agriculture Department corridors. * * * That some parts of the Brannan plan still find favor in certain areas was admitted last week by no less a person than Under Secretary of Agriculture True Morse."

The Gannett papers were not the only ones to notice the new apparition. For example, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram commented that " it is notable that many of the recommendations so far canvassed (by the administration) bear a strong resemblance to the much-maligned Brannan plan of the last administration." The newspaper went on to point out that "they are not called that, of course," and added that "whether called a 'two-price plan' or a 'compensatory payment plan,' the recommendations have much in common with the Brannan proposals."

In the same vein, U. S. News & World Report carried an item that "Republicans, with a farm problem on their hands * * * are even exploring a modified Brannan plan," and the Denver News, one of the Scripps-Howard papers which supported Eisenhower, carried an article on August 15 headlined "Brannan Plan Still Very Much Alive."

Strangely enough, the prospect of a Republican version of the Brannan plan has not stirred up the same passion among the press and among farm leaders as it used to when it was Democratically sponsored. Perhaps this is because, now that political passions have subsided a bit, more people are beginning to realize that many features of the Brannan plan make, in the words of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, "substantial economic sense."

Under the existing system the Government supports the price of perishable farm products by stepping into the market and buying up enough of any such product to drive the open-market price of the product up to the guaranteed-support level. Thus, if the market price of butter, whose support level is 67 cents a pound, falls to 57 cents, the Government steps in and buys butter until the price reaches 67 cents again. Although the Government usually is able to sell most of what it buys, over a long period, and net outlays by the taxpayers have been surprisingly small, this system of supporting farm prices had the disadvantage of making the consumer suffer, through higher market prices, in the process of assuring the farmer a proper income.

One of the main features of the Brannan plan—the so-called direct or production payment—was designed to solve this farmer against consumer dilemma, at least as far as perishable commodities are concerned. Under this system the Government would let the free market find its own level, and then pay the farmer the difference between the market price and the guaranteed-support price.

For example, to take the case of butter again, if butter, whose support price is 67 cents a pound,, falls to 57 cents in the market place, the Government would not buy a single pound of butter in order to drive the open-market price up to 67 cents, as at present. Instead, it would give the consumer the benefit of the lower 57 cents market price, and would pay the farmer the 10 cents difference between the market price and the guaranteed-support price. Thus, a twin objective is achieved. The farmer is protected, the consumer benefits, and there is no storage expense.

If it is not the merits of this plan, then it may have been necessity, the mother of so many ideas, that now drives many arch-Republicans to view the plan more charitably. For the surpluses of perishables that had vanished with the advent of the Korean war have begun to reappear. Butter is a particularly vexing problem for the administration, with 278,565,000 pounds in Government hands.

Whatever the reason, there are signs that a growing number of farm leaders and newspapers are coming around to the production payment idea. For example, an editor of the Topeka Daily Capital, a dyed-in-the-wool Kansas Republican paper, noted on August 19 that "the cattlemen have swallowed what we used to call the Brannan plan."

Two similar reports came from the center of the dairy country, where, under the present price support methods, butter is being bought by the Government at 90 percent of parity and put away in warehouses. The farm reporter of the St. Paul Pioneer Press wrote that "a modified Brannan 2-price plan for butter, cutting consumer prices 12 cents a pound while compensating producers with Government payments, is to be recommended to Secretary of Agriculture Benson soon by 2 influential dairy groups."

About the same time, the Dairy Record, conservative spokesman for the dairy industry, shocked farm circles by editorializing: "Apparently the industry and Government are confronted with the necessity of getting that butter to market on a basis that will let the price go to any necessary level without violating the law and the administration's pledge to support prices for the remainder of the 1953 crop year at 90 percent of parity.

"This means a two-price system; it means subsidies. It means, if you will, the Brannan plan.

"What other method is there which will permit the free play of supply and demand, the keeping of faith with the farmer, and the distribution of that butter through the usual trade channels?"

The Dairy Record's position was regarded as so significant by J. S. Russell, widely read farm editor of the Des Moines Register-Tribune, that he quoted it at length in his syndicated column. He even noted the editor's attempt to attribute the origin of the Brannan plan to economists and Republicans.

He also quoted the Dairy Record's suspicion that Eisenhower and Benson might not want to use the direct payment method of getting rid of surplus butter, and added: "Maybe * * * it would be regarded as bad politics, but spoiled butter will be even worse politics."

The New York Herald Tribune, a newspaper of great circulation among consumers, rather than farmers, ran a lengthy analysis of the situation under the heading: "Brannan Plan Sowing Ideas To Aid Farmers." "The new Republican Agriculture Department," said the Tribune, "harried by a host of seemingly insoluble farm problems, has conceded it is giving serious consideration to a set of remedies that bear a strong resemblance to the once-hated Brannan plan of the Truman administration."

What's more, the reporter continued, "many of the new officials in departments * * * are forced to concede that these schemes appear to have a great deal of merit."

With the merits of the Brannan proposal becoming clearer to farm groups the country over, as well as to administration officials and with the surplus butter problem crying for solution, the Republican administration will be sorely tempted to propose the key features of the Brannan plan next year when Congress reconvenes. Their problem will be how to put sheep's clothing on something they have done their best to call a wolf.

The designs for the new clothing have already been started. In reporting that "a good deal of the 'Brannan plan' may be in Republican proposals," Scripps-Howard writer James Daniels noted that "production payments," as they were called by Secretary Brannan, "have been renamed 'compensatory payments' and Agriculture Undersecretary True D. Morse recently advocated them."

The Gannett papers summed up the Republican dilemma when they said, "If Congress bows to the pressure for the 'compensatory payment' program and tells the administration to go ahead, Republicans will have to come up with a 'Brannan plan' of their own, Republican sources here admit. While the ideas won't be exactly new, the name probably will be."

In God We Trust

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Pennsylvania Register:

IN GOD WE TRUST

At the Reading convention a resolution was passed supporting legislation to place this grand inscription on all postage stamps. This legislation has been introduced in the Congress.

This inscription is on all coins, but coins do not receive any circulation in foreign countries. Stamps do and that is why it should be placed on postage stamps. The current struggle in the world is in large measure a struggle for men's minds. Many peoples of the world are being taught by our enemies that America has no God, that it is a materialistic nation.

As evidence of foreign confusion about this country, we cite the example of the Pakistan Ambassador to the United States, the Honorable Mohammed Ali. The Ambassador said citizens of his country looked upon Americans as an irreligious people. So, too, did the Ambassador until he came here. On his first trip to this country, he saw an American coin with its inscription of "In God we trust." Mr. Ali thereupon wrote back to his Prime Minister that their country's attitude toward America had been wrong.

The religious inscription first appeared on our coins during the time of the Civil War. People of the Nation appealed to the Secretary of Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, to place the inscription there because of the peril facing the Union. On November 13, 1861, Chase directed the Director of Philadelphia's Mint to "cause a device to be prepared * * * with a motto expressing in the fewest words possible this national recognition." He said: "No nation can be strong except in the strength of God or safe except in His defense."

Therefore we feel that, as it was needed in Civil War days in our own country, it is more needed by the peoples of the world today. It will convey to them that Americans are religious, that we do believe in God, and, in so doing, we believe in the brotherhood of man, as further emphasized by the Man of Galilee 2,000 years ago. Our coins are hidden in the deep recesses of our pockets. Our stamps boldly proclaim their message on every letter and card. They are the billboards of America. Let them carry the message of hope to all the peoples "In God we trust."

Testimonial Honoring Herbert L. Gebhardt, a Letter Carrier Retiring After 40 Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, from many angles we have been hearing from the people of their regard for the postal service and the institution called the Post Office. When for the sake of an obvious economy we propose to do away with some small post office that has been established for many years we hear from the folks back home mighty quick. Now from my district comes a speech from one of our distinguished citizens, Ralph B. Feriola, president, Crestwood National Bank, Tuckahoe, N. Y., given at a testimonial dinner honoring Herbert L. Gebhardt, a letter carrier retiring after 40 years of service. The speech follows:

Herb, during your life you have attended countless dinners, parties, and conventions.

You have witnessed the seating, and retiring of many officers in business, social and civic life.

As well as in the Post Office System.

During your time you have served under seven Postmasters: Hon. Nathan Warren, Hon. John N. Parsons, Hon. Michael Walsh, Hon. James Fleming, Hon. Albert C. Bogert, Hon. William Cornin, and your present Postmaster, Hon. Francis Tobin.

At all these functions you attended and participated.

Tonight, we are attending and participating (with a little heavy heart in a way) your retirement, laying away your postal uniform and returning to civilian life.

I say with a heavy heart because a lot of us, particularly those you served, are going to miss you.

It makes no difference how you travel and how far you travel you eventually come to the detour.

Tonight the detour for you is at hand.

Herb, this is your party tonight.

Make it be the one you'll never forget.

When you leave this gathering tonight, let it be with love for everyone you served, and worked with, and worked for.

My friends, after 40 years and 6 months, we do honor tonight, to Herbert L. Gebhardt our honored guest, a letter carrier.

Yes; more than a letter carrier, to use the vernacular.

Your warhorse retires.

Two score years and six months, that's a long time.

Herb now lays down his heavy, wornout leather bag which he has been accustomed to slinging over his shoulder, day in and day out, leaning forward into the wind, cold, snow, sleet, rain, heat, and now his reward, to retire.

As an outside observer of "Herb," I want to tell you he had what it takes, for not only Herb, but every letter carrier.

One has to be made of steel to complete his appointed rounds in all the elements of the weather.

But for Herb, that was not all.

He was always doing and looking for, that which was good for the welfare of the postal employee.

And in order to do that, he really had to get around.

Herbert L. Gebhardt has had a rather unusual record.

He has been president of the John N. Parsons Branch National Association of Letter Carriers.

He has held office in this association for upwards of 39 years. Eighteen years as secretary and the past 10 years as president.

He was secretary of the New York State Association of Letter Carriers, holding that position for the past 13 years.

He has been a member of the Annual Ball Committee of Letter Carriers for 33 years, starting with the year 1920.

He has been the letter carrier in the Greystone area for 10 years.

He has been Westchester County chairman of the Letter Carriers Walk for both the cerebral palsy and muscular dystrophy campaign, resulting in $60,000 and $70,000 in collections.

All these associations and connections "Herb," spell an envious record.

And for the last two cerebral palsy, and muscular dystrophy, a splendid and noble work for mankind well done.

Let me add for your information a little more on this subject.

I have learned further that the American Letter Carriers nationwide have raised $3,342,950.32 so far in their fund drive for Muscular Dystrophy Association of America.

This was announced by William Mazer, president of the association.

The largest sum ever raised in a muscular dystrophy campaign.

The campaign opened the day after Thanksgiving, when 160,000 postmen throughout the United States carried circulars from door to door on their routes, after working hours.

The money raised, was turned over by check to Mr. Mazer, its president, by William C. Doherty, your president of the AFL National Association of Letter Carriers.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is indeed a wonderful piece of work in which the postman can well be praised nationally.

Again let me repeat, noble work well done for mankind.

"Herb"—if it were my right to say what your retirement compensation should be, I would recommend to have your pension fixed at a minimum of what you now receive as salary.

Some may say why?

I'll tell you why.

First, "Herb" gave up the largest part of his life to serving Uncle Sam—and that he did well.

Secondly, I don't have to remind those in the postal service, but let me remind those not in the postal service, that a letter carrier's life is a life of hard work.

Take this as gospel truth from an observer from the outside seeking the good and welfare of the letter carrier on the inside.

"Herb" has sacrificed every spare hour and evening for the interest of the rank and file.

Every man in the service owes him a vote of gratitude.

His life was more the life of a traveling ambassador, and that is not an easy one.

He had to be diplomatic and that only comes with the years of experience.

While most of you slept after your hard day's work, "Herb" was hitting the road or riding the rails attending conventions, conferences, committee meetings that took him far from the comforts of his home, just so long as it was for the benefit of you, the rank and file of the postal employees.

Always seeking to improve the service for the public.

Advocating better conditions and remunerations for the letter carrier.

His work as a letter carrier, he took in his stride, for this was his bread and butter.

However, his career representing you through the many associations for the good and welfare of the postal employees will act as a beacon and inspiration for the one that will succeed him, for "Herb's" work must not stop here, you have got to pick up the ball and carry on.

I am positive that he will be always available to give a lending hand to his successor.

Men of the postal system who retire, face real hardship trying to live on a retirement annuity which was established in 1920 and which has been increased but not as much as I think it should have since then, because it has not kept pace with the increased cost of living in the interim.

And now just a little advice to our good friend "Herb" whom is now retiring.

Herb:

You still have plenty of life and work in you.

You will not have any trouble finding suitable employment. Keep occupied and you will live longer. Everyone here wishes you and your wife long life, and good health in the years to come.

God bless you, both.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Article Concerning Senator Price Daniel, of Texas, Published in the Saturday Evening Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 7, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very fine article concerning my colleague the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], which appeared recently in the Saturday Evening Post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CASE OF THE BUMPTIOUS YOUNG TEXAN

(By Paul F. Healy)

(PRICE DANIEL got his comeuppance early. In college they shaved his head to puncture his ego. The girl he chose snubbed him as a "little country politician." So he took his cue from the Bible, rose to become a United States Senator and new champion of the rights of Texas, and he married the girl.)

One September day in 1926 a slender youth who was just turning 16, and looked it, stepped off the train at Waco, Tex., and directed a taxi driver to take him to Baylor University. In the back seat the boy dusted off his pointed-toed shoes and patted the shock of wavy brown hair climbing luxuriantly down the nape of his long neck in the old-time southern statesman style.

Alighting from the taxi a few minutes later, he dropped his bags on the campus and identified himself to a crowd of startled students.

"I'm PRICE DANIEL," he said, "and I'm a candidate for president of the freshman class."

Thus launched headlong into the seas of politics, DANIEL rushed on to a series of contests that have left him, after 27 years, undefeated and presently berthed in the United States Senate. On what pinnacle his hard running will eventually land him no cautious observer would want to predict. The oddest part of the story thus far is that DANIEL departed from the traditional script, in which the rising statesman becomes more like himself—that is, more of a character—with each campaign. In Texas, of all places, DANIEL has somehow scaled the heights by underplaying his role.

The self-muffling did not begin until some time after that September day when DANIEL burst in full bloom upon the campus. • • • DANIEL was voted the best-dressed man on the campus and, according to one former classmate, he loved the limelight and loved excitement.

We used to call him Bigger and Better DANIEL, another recalls. DANIEL was a cocky young rooster. • • • When he became a domineering sophomore, a group of freshmen decided to puncture his ego where it was most sensitive. They caught him after dark and ran a clippers straight back over his head, leaving a swath of naked scalp and forcing him to shear the rest of his locks.

DANIEL'S bumptiousness involved him in other incidents not encouraged at a strict Baptist college. One day his father took him aside and counseled him to try to be more humble. Pondering this, DANIEL replied, "Yes, the Bible teaches that too."

DANIEL'S character was refined also through the influence of the dignified and revered Dr. Samuel Palmer Brooks, who was president of Baylor for 30 years and died during DANIEL'S senior year.

He muted his horn and settled down to make a solid record of achievement. He performed the extraordinary feat of becoming editor in chief of both the school yearbook and its daily newspaper. He also held down a job as reporter on the Waco News-Tribune. • • •

Fellow alumni say they can't recognize the whippersnapper DANIEL of his early college days in the 43-year-old Senator of today. DANIEL'S hair is no longer worn long. His clothes are conservative and neat, but he probably would not be voted the best-dressed Member of the Senate. • • •

• • • • •

Although their names have sometimes been confused in the public mind, he has nothing in common, in blood or techniques, with W. Lee (Pass the Biscuits, Pappy) O'Daniel, who dazzled Texas for a time as an uninhibited flour salesman, hillbilly band leader, Governor, and Senator. And DANIEL is an obvious change of pace from his Senate predecessor, the picturesque Tom Connally, who clubbed his opponents with a blunt wit.

But Texas has approved of DANIEL. He served three times in the legislature, became Speaker of the Texas House at 32, and was three times elected State attorney general.

In 1952, DANIEL swept the Democratic primary, indorsed General Eisenhower after the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, and then accepted the nomination offered by the Texas Republicans. He thereupon became the only Democratic Senator, or Senator-elect, to campaign actively for Eisenhower. In the election DANIEL polled even more votes on each ticket than the powerful Gov. Allan Shivers. Unquestionably, he had helped Eisenhower carry Texas by 132,750 votes and, in doing so, he had stuck his neck out. If Stevenson had won the election, DANIEL'S Senate career might have been ruined before it began.

When he arrived in Washington in January 1953 there was speculation as to whether this politically ambidextrous newcomer would line up as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or a hybrid. With the Senate divided almost evenly between the major parties, the issue was of some consequence. Several prominent Republicans hinted to DANIEL that as long as he had supported Ike he ought to vote with the administration to organize the Senate.

Back home, DANIEL had called himself a "Texas Democrat," to differentiate himself from what he referred to as the "National Democrats." He decided to register in the Senate as a Democrat, at the same time making it clear he would remain as independent as Sam Houston, that Paul Bunyon of American politics whose shade DANIEL frequently invokes. Being practical, the Senate Democrats were glad to have DANIEL on their side and were willing officially to let bygones be bygones.

Nonetheless, the party jumper was given a close scrutiny when he was sworn in. His Texas colleague, Minority Leader LYNDON JOHNSON, later told a couple of Senators not to be misled by DANIEL'S seeming diffidence, that he was smarter and tougher than he looked. Fortunately for DANIEL, he had an opportunity to make an impression where it counts—in the arena of the Senate—far earlier than most first-timers, who are expected to spend their time looking, listening, and learning. The first major item on the agenda in the new Republican Senate was a bill to give the States title to the so-called tidelands, those submerged areas running to a distance of 3 miles out or 3 leagues—about 10 and a half miles—in the case of Texas, according to the boundary set in its 1845 treaty of annexation. The Supreme Court in 1947 and 1950 had given the Federal Government paramount rights to this domain, and DANIEL, as Texas' attorney general, had defended the State's position.

DANIEL, in fact, became such an authority on the legal aspects of submerged lands that he was guest speaker before the International Law Association at its 1950 meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark—where, incidentally, he gave assurance that Texas would not secede from the Union or start another War Between the States, over the tidelands, but would fight it out in Congress until the battle was won.

When DANIEL made his maiden speech in the tidelands debate on April 10, 1953, a relatively large number of Senators was present, many of them wondering if he would fall on his face in fast company. But DANIEL'S knowledge of the subject and his respectful debating style earned him a string of compliments. Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY interjected at one point that "the Senator from Texas has almost persuaded me • • • his arguments have been remarkable, and I say that in all seriousness." Senator HERBERT LEHMAN, another of DANIEL'S diehard opponents, referred to the brilliant arguments being made by DANIEL. Afterward, Senator WALTER GEORGE, the elder statesman of the Senate Democrats, joined in congratulating DANIEL, saying it was one of the greatest maiden speeches he had ever heard.

As everyone expected, the tidelands bill was passed by Congress, and DANIEL returned home triumphantly bearing the pen Texas-born President Eisenhower had used to sign it. In a distinctly Lone Star ceremony that included everything but rebel yells, DANIEL deposited the pen in the Texas Memorial Museum at the University of Texas.

• • • • •

Part of DANIEL'S appeal in his plainness. He is unsubtle and unsophisticated. Without being folksy, he exudes a grassroots naturalness that wears well. DANIEL has tried to avoid making personal enemies, and has succeeded, with 1 or 2 exceptions. A stickler for protocol, he was deferential in the Senate, and consequently none of the Senate Democrats appeared to hold any animosity toward him for having helped elect Eisenhower.

• • • • •

In Texas, DANIEL'S calmness inspires confidence; he also has impressed the State with his integrity. More and more, DANIEL has become the prototype of a straitlaced Baptist. A former teacher of Bible classes, he packs his Bible when he goes out of town

and reads a short passage every night. Today he does not smoke, drink, or swear. He chews on small cigars which people are always trying to light for him. His strongest expletive is "Golly darn."

* * * * *

In a courtroom or floor debate, DANIEL is what lawyers call a strong advocate. He keeps his arguments to the point at issue and moves about briskly, with the air of a man who knows what he is doing every minute. Though he avoids showmanship, there is enough of the actor in him, when he has the floor, to create a commanding, almost a crusading, impression. * * *

Thanks to his long experience in the give and take of the courtroom, both as prosecutor and defense attorney, DANIEL made a uniformly good impression on 20 radio and television panel programs during the first half of 1953, when the networks were giving him a bigger play than any other freshman in Congress.

To some Texans, DANIEL'S 5 principal political assets are his pretty wife, Jean, and his 4 handsome children—12-year-old Price, Jr.; 10-year-old Jean; 9-year-old Houston Lee—named after his father's 2 heroes, Gen. Robert E. Lee and Sam Houston; and 5-year-old John. DANIEL is not unaware of their political sex appeal. His wife is on the platform with him as much as possible in campaigns, and Price, Jr., made 13 speeches for him in the 1952 campaign. * * *

No other Washington politico has a more photogenic family, and none is more devoted to it than DANIEL. He has been known to leave the Senate floor and hurry home when one of his children starts running a fever. Once when Price, Jr., took an overnight Boy Scout trip and had to miss his paper route, the Senator hustled through the streets himself in the chilly predawn, pitching newspapers onto Washington doorsteps.

He likes his recreation to be a family affair and often takes his children driving on Sunday, partly because he believes the Sabbath should be observed decorously. He has a strong sense of family—he addresses his mother as "Mom," and his sister, Ellen, as "Sister." He also has a brother, Bill, a State legislator who is the type of extrovert DANIEL used to be.

Like many others, DANIEL'S future wife underestimated him when she met him for the first time. Back in 1940, Jean Houston Baldwin, the daughter of Starr Baldwin, an attorney for the Texas Co., was working as a secretary for Larry Morris, a Houston attorney. DANIEL, then a lawyer with a case against an insurance company represented by Morris, met her at the receptionist's desk one day and came back soon, ostensibly on business. That night, Jean, a recent graduate of the University of Texas, went home and told her mother indignantly, "You know who asked me for a date today? A little country politician from Liberty. I don't like politics and I don't like the country."

DANIEL pressed both of his suits simultaneously. Jean began to weaken. She peeked into the files on the insurance case to see if she could get a line on DANIEL'S character from the correspondence. It took time, but DANIEL'S parlay worked; he not only won his his lawsuit but walked out of the courtroom with Morris' secretary. They used the $2,000 fee from the case to finance the honeymoon and buy furniture. Six weeks later, the girl who hated politics and hated the country was campaigning for her husband for the legislature—in the country.

Jean is a great-great-granddaughter of Sam Houston, and DANIEL would have been initially attracted to any girl with that ancestry. But he correctly perceived that she had a multitude of other virtues as well. Today, she is widely renowned in Texas as an ideal wife. A dainty, gracious, and graceful hostess, with a shy dignity, she looks slender and young enough to be an older sister to her four children.

Jean lives with her husband's problems. When he undertook a typically vast job of research in order to defend the Texas tidelands before the Supreme Court in 1950, DANIEL assigned his wife to read biographies of all the Justices for tips on psychological strategy. To her delight, she discovered that the late Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson collected Houstonia. DANIEL has more than 500 books on Texas history and speaks of Sam Houston as if he were still alive, but temporarily out of town. For Vinson's benefit, DANIEL, before the High Court, made frequent allusions to Houston's role in the negotiations leading up to the annexation of the Texas Republic by the United States. He got his hopes up when the Chief Justice's long, sad face peered over the bench, his shaggy eyebrows alive with interest at these references. Unfortunately, Vinson was among the Court majority which voted, 4 to 3, to vest title to the tidelands in the Federal Government.

* * * * *

When DANIEL was elected Senator, he brought his family back to Liberty, the third oldest city in Texas, located 42 miles northeast of Houston. Five miles from Liberty, DANIEL purchased 3,000 acres of wild river bottom land, imported a comfortable old ranchhouse which he remodeled, and installed 70 head of Brahman cattle. * * * When Congress is not in session, DANIEL spends much of his time astride his brown-and-white paint horse. Leisurely coursing his land, he studies his moss-covered magnolia, walnut and holly trees, inspects his cattle and fences, chats with his few ranch hands and meditates on the complex state of the outside world.

No telephone lines or hard roads penetrate to this southwestern Walden. There DANIEL can hunt and fish in solitude or with a few friends, far from the pace and cross pressures of Washington. DANIEL is frank to say that he would rather have run for governor than for Senator; in fact, when he arrived in Washington he remarked wryly to an associate that it was a little farther than he had planned to go.

The first alcalde, or mayor, of Liberty appointed by the Mexican Government when the city was founded in 1830 was Hugh B. Johnston, DANIEL'S great-great-grandfather on his mother's side. When the Mexican Government became tyrannical, Johnston rebelled and joined in the Anahuac skirmish that was a forerunner of the Texas revolution. Later, he became a Member of Congress in the Texas Republic. He knew Sam Houston and lived near him on what is now the Hardin Road, bordering part of DANIEL'S ranch. DANIEL, incidentally, is the first United States Senator from Liberty County since Houston went to the Senate approximately 100 years ago.

DANIEL'S paternal great-great-grandfather, Gen. F. A. B. Wheeler, fought with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans in the War of 1812 and came to Liberty County with Stephen F. Austin, the father of the Texas Republic.

The future Senator was born in Dayton, 6 miles west of Liberty, on October 10, 1910, and was chistened MARION PRICE DANIEL, after his father. He never liked his first name and never used it as an adult. The senior Daniel was a country-weekly editor and later a moderately prosperous real-estate dealer. The boy attended public school in Liberty and then whipped through high school in 3 years in Fort Worth, where his father hand moved the family while he studied at the Baptist Theological Seminary there in order to qualify as a part-time preacher. Young DANIEL edited a newspaper for all the Forth Worth public high schools and won all the available oratory prizes.

At Baylor, while making campus history as an orator, editor, and politician, DANIEL majored in journalism, but decided to start his postgraduate political career with a Baylor law degree. However, he still likes to think of himself as an editor at heart. He prefers to work against deadlines and insists on his aids writing clearly and briefly, without legal gobbledygook. He writes and rewrites his own speeches and opinions. * * *

DANIEL is coowner of two country weeklies with inspiring names, the Liberty Vindicator and the Anahuac Progress, and seldom misses a meeting of Texas' 520 country editors—a political fact of no small significance.

Armed with a law degree from Baylor, DANIEL found the going rough for a young lawyer in Liberty in the depth of the depression. But his role in 2 murder cases running into 6 trials soon made him famous locally. The first involved a woman charged by her former common-law husband with slaying her real husband. Taking the case solely to save the woman from the electric chair, where she seemed headed, DANIEL got her off with 10 years after 3 trials. In the other case DANIEL became convinced that a young man accused of a highway-robbery murder was innocent. By discrediting the State's purported eyewitnesses, DANIEL got a hung jury in the first trial, a mistrial verdict in the second, and acquittal of his client in the third.

DANIEL was elected to the legislature in 1938, 1940, and 1942. In 1943, after he had successfully led the fight against Governor O'Daniel's sales-tax bill, he became the candidate of the liberal bloc and was unanimously elected speaker of the house.

Under DANIEL'S gavel, the house for the first time in its history completed its session in the constitutional 120 days. The speaker thereupon resigned and quietly enlisted in the Army as a private. Appropriately he was sent to the Fort Sam Houston training base, at San Antonio. A Texas newspaper assigned a reporter to check a tip that Speaker DANIEL was undergoing basic training there. Army records showed that a MARION P. DANIEL was on the rolls and a corporal was dispatched to look him up. Finding the youthful-looking DANIEL scrubbing a corridor floor, the corporal asked, "Are you Speaker DANIEL'S son?"

"I am Speaker DANIEL," DANIEL replied.

At his own request, DANIEL became a plain-clothes investigator in military intelligence, after scoring the highest grade attained at the Army Security Intelligence Corps, 8th Service Command, during World War II. He transferred to the Judge Advocate General's Officer Candidate School at Ann Arbor, Mich., where he was top man in his class. Trying to get overseas, he later got himself lent to the Marine Corps and spent the remainder of the war in Pearl Harbor, Guam, and Japan, helping to set up service schools that turned out legal advisers to assist soldiers in their personal affairs.

Released from the Army as a captain in the spring of 1946, DANIEL jumped into the race for State attorney general. A strong opponent, Pat Neff, Jr., whose father was president of Baylor and a former governor of Texas, already had a head start. In setting up a statewide organization, however, DANIEL was able to dig up at least one loyal young man in each of 180 counties who was ready to "tear his shirt" as the Texas saying goes, for DANIEL. Then, with the public-opinion polls showing Neff in the lead all the way, DANIEL stumped the State intensively for 60 days and won by 13,580 votes. He promptly became so aggressive an attorney general that he was unopposed for re-election in 1948 and 1950.

Probably DANIEL'S most spectacular achievement as attorney general was obtaining court injunctions against the transmis-

sion of racing information by telephone and telegraph to the notorious Maceo gambling syndicate, with headquarters in Galveston. This closed all the bookie joints in Texas.

DANIEL also summoned all the State and county prosecutors in Texas to a conference to devise anticrime strategy. Among the results were laws passed by the Texas legislature banning possession of punchboards and slot machines; at the time, Texas led the Nation with 9,555 "one-armed bandits." Meanwhile, the national conference of State attorneys general passed DANIEL'S resolution calling for a congressional investigation of interstate crime tieups; this led eventually to the creation of the Kefauver Committee.

Among other things, DANIEL and his 43 assistants filed a record-breaking total of 33 antitrust suits, none of which has been lost thus far in 27 decisions; won 27 suits against the oil companies to prevent gas waste in Texas oil fields, and defended more money and land suits than any previous Texas attorney general's office.

When the Justice Department took its suit for the Texas tidelands to the Supreme Court in 1950, DANIEL got $100,000 from the Texas Legislature to fight it, and sent his assistants as far as Spain and Chile to dig up evidence on the subject. DANIEL made a crusade out of the tidelands case and was naturally upset about losing it, especially by a 4 to 3 verdict. But he refused to accept as the final word the Court's opinion, which was roundly criticized by many distinguished law professors, including non-Texans. DANIEL pointed out that for the first time in history the Supreme Court had denied a State the right to introduce evidence in a contested lawsuit.

* * * * *

With Governor Shivers set to run for reelection, DANIEL went on the air over two Texas State networks on January 21, 1952, and announced his candidacy for Connally's Senate seat. He explained that "Washington needs a thorough housecleaning to purge it of the overconcentration of power, greed, and corruption which threatens the very foundations of democracy." He said he approved in general of the bipartisan foreign policy, but not of the disastrous China policies.

* * * * *

On April 13, Connally announced he would not seek reelection. Representative Lindley Beckworth, a Truman stalwart, rushed into the race, but DANIEL demolished him in the Democratic primary, taking 72 percent of the vote.

When Adlai Stevenson, shortly after his nomination, declared himself opposed to Texas on the tidelands issue, Shivers and DANIEL came out for Eisenhower. In September the Texas Democrats ringingly indorsed Ike at their convention, and the Republicans then accepted the Democratic State ticket as their own.

* * * * *

DANIEL introduced Eisenhower for his major speech in Houston. The next day, after a conference with Truman, National Democratic Chairman Stephen Mitchell produced a picture of DANIEL and Ike on the same rostrum and told news correspondents on the steps of the White House that DANIEL'S heresy, in effect, would bar him from Democratic patronage.

DANIEL, who turns into an emotional, slugging type of speaker at political rallies, seized on Mitchell's threat of reprisals and said in a speech 8 days before the election, "I may return to Texas without any patronage, but I promise you I will return with all my principles * * *. Our own Sam Houston broke with the Democratic Party on more than one occasion * * * [he] became a United States Senator without a party."

As it turned out, the Democrats, of course, had no patronage to offer, while the Republican White House made a point of checking with DANIEL on Texas appointments.

DANIEL'S record as a bolter may prevent him from ever being an elected leader of the Senate Democrats; but if he keeps on impressing his colleagues with his ability, he could achieve a position of nonpartisan influence. Senator BYRD, himself a maverick of great influence, says that DANIEL already has "made his mark in the Senate about as quick as anyone I ever saw." Meanwhile, the new Lone Star Senator admits to just one guiding rule in politics.

"I discovered that people will respect you if you fight for what you think is right, even if they don't agree with you," he says. "My maternal grandmother Partlow—she ruled her family until she died at 92—always hated people who wouldn't take a stand. She used to say, 'Show your backbone.' I've tried to do that."

A Strong and Vigorous Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on January 21, 1954, at the Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, N. Y., the Cathedral Club held its 54th annual dinner. On that occasion I delivered an address. I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY BEFORE THE CATHEDRAL CLUB, BROOKLYN, N. Y., JANUARY 21, 1954

The major responsibility facing the Congress, indeed the entire country, is the maintenance of a strong and vigorous foreign policy. The function of that policy, of course, is to protect the security of the United States, to keep the peace if possible, and to retain on the side of the free world the balance of power. A foreign policy is constituted of many ingredients. Certainly of fundamental importance to its success is our military strength, for even though it is unused, its potential adds significance to our every action. The truth of this axiom is readily apparent from a study of the postwar foreign policy of the Soviet Union. For no country in the recent history of the world, with the exception perhaps of Hitler during the Munich crisis, has used the threat of a powerful army equipped for instant war with more effectiveness than have the Russians. It has been the factor which has won them in the critical years from 1945 to the present time success after success, though not a single Russian soldier has been forced to sacrifice his life during that period. It is equally apparent that military strength is a vital ingredient of an effective American foreign policy. To our failure to possess it in 1950 can be attributed in great measure the beginning of the Korean war and many other setbacks to our hopes and aspirtations in the last 9 years. Thus the maintenance of a military potential second to none is of fundamental importance not only for defense in case of war, but for the peacetime security of the United States.

Today the President submitted to the Congress a military budget which reflects the fiscal aspects of the fundamental shift in the implementation of our foreign policy which was indicated by Secretary Dulles in his speech earlier this week before the Council on Foreign Relations here in New York. This change in policy had momentous implications for all Americans and should be so understood; for, while it may decrease the prospect, as has been argued, of successive Koreas scattered throughout the world, it may also, if our warnings go unheeded, increase the possibility that the United States may be forced to become involved in atomic action. Secretary Dulles gave clear warning to the Chinese and Russian leaders, in his speech in New York, that if they should begin another limited Korean-type war the homeland of neither the Chinese nor the Russians would be a sanctuary from direct atomic attack by the Strategic Air Force of the United States. Mr. Dulles stated "the way to deter aggression is for the free community to be willing and able to respond vigorously at places and with means of its own choosing." Secretary Dulles and the leaders of the present administration have obviously concluded that the West can no longer afford to fight a series of marginal wars or successive police action which sap our strength and neutralize our friends. It is preferable, they believe, to face the enemy with prospects of all-out warfare, rather than drift through years of perpetual discord and struggle.

Basically this represents a change in our approach to the problem of containing the expansion of the Soviet Union which has too often tended, as Secretary Dulles pointed out, to be merely a reflex action to Soviet initiative. The heretofore existing policy of containment originated in 1947 when the Communists, in defiance of the World War II agreement between Russians and Winston Churchill, attempted by intensive guerrilla action to seize control of Greece, which had been placed under the protection of the free world. In response to this threat, President Truman came before the Congress and, by requesting assistance for Greece and Turkey, originated the Truman doctrine. Later that year there was spelled out in Foreign Affairs Quarterly an article by Mr. X, later identified as George Kennan, the leading Soviet expert in the American State Department, a comprehensive and detailed analysis of what steps would be necessary to prevent the Soviets from seizing other strategic areas in the world, areas vital to our security. The implementation of this policy called for the building of strength in those areas surrounding the postwar Soviet zone of control, stretching in a great half moon from Norway down through Greece and Turkey to the Middle East, across to the Orient through Japan to Alaska. The purpose was to prevent a gradual deterioration in our position and a consequent increase in the relative strength of the Communist bloc, resulting finally in a situation where the Communists could face the prospects of war with a certitude of victory.

Though the immediate threat then was in the eastern Mediterranean the general challenge was not alone to the Greeks and Turks, and it became obvious that further assistance in other areas was necessary. Thus, in 1948, economic assistance to Western Europe on a massive scale was started through the Marshall plan. We realized at that time, with the atomic monopoly held by the United States, that the chief threat to our security was not a military one, but rather from the danger that the standard of living of the people of Western Europe would fall below the marginal level, and that active and vigorous Communist parties within those countries would profit from their hardships. By 1949, however, it was apparent that although the Communist challenge was worldwide, our assistance was concentrated. The Communist threat became especially heavy in the Middle East and southeast Asia. Dominated by colonial powers for more than a century, with a large

percentage of their people unable to read or write, with an average income in many of the areas of $40 or $50 a year, and a life expectancy in the poorest country of 25 or 26 years, the people of this great region stretching from the eastern Mediterranean to the south China Sea offered a ready target to Communist infiltration. To give them some confidence that under a free system they could hope for a better life, to counter the Soviet subversion and propaganda, the United States initiated programs of technical assistance for all the countries along the Soviet underbelly. These programs, of course, are still in effect and have had, in some areas, significant results.

Toward the end of 1949 it became obvious, however, that the Soviets were concentrating on building up and maintaining the most powerful military forces in the world, forces which as I have said, provided power and support to their diplomacy and propaganda, encouragement to their supporters and a constant threat to their enemies. In 1949, therefore, we initiated the North Atlantic Treaty, which not only provided for mutual cooperation in building up military forces in the West, but also resulted in United States guarantees of the territorial integrity of all NATO powers. We hoped by this means to avoid the mistakes of World Wars I and II where doubts about our ultimate actions were sufficient to encourage the Germans to commence military action without fear of the United States. It was our hope that the warning of United States retaliation in case of a western European invasion would offset the weakness of European armies at that time and would prevent the Russians from marching to an easy victory. Even today after 3 years of buildup, a buildup substantially slower than our earlier hopes for the NATO forces, this threat of American retaliation remains the chief defense of the continent of Europe.

Since then the military guarantees of NATO have been widened; we are attempting to include within a mutual-defense pact the major countries of the eastern Mediterranean. The day may come when neutralism ceases to hold itself out as a practical alternative for many of the peoples of Asia and our system of mutual guarantees will become worldwide.

But until this is accomplished, the new policy announced last week faces grave difficulties and dangers. It would be difficult, for example, for the United States to commence atomic retaliation against Communist aggression in Burma, if Burma had from the beginning of the cold war shown uninterest in the cause of the free world and opposed vigorously any action that would result in closer defense arrangements with us.

But this prospect of a unilateral worldwide Monroe Doctrine for the atomic age is only one of the complications of the new policy. A second complication, that of the limitations of atomic weapons against current Communist tactics, is suggested by the present war in Frenh Indochina. The war there has been proceeding with growing intensity since 1945. The burden has been borne almost totally by the French who have lost more officers than yearly graduates from the French Military Academy at St. Cyr. The French fight there against the Communist forces of the Viet Minh, the native armies led by Ho Chi Minh, who despite his record as a lifelong Communist, has influence penetrating all groups of society because of his years of battle against French colonialism.

French Indochina offers a sharp contrast with the struggle in Korea. There we were supporting a courageous and valiant native government in their desire to be independent of the Communists. In French Indochina, because of the decades of heavy and unilateral control that the French have maintained over this colony, the native people too often tend to regard the French as the real appressors, and the rebel forces, even though Communists, as liberators. Thus the natives have played, unlike the South Koreans, a relatively small part in the war against the Communists the burden has been carried chiefly by the French with in increasingly large investment in military assistance by ourselves, and the prospects of a Communist defeat becomes more distant. The pressures in France are growing steadily for cutting their investment and loss, and either withdrawing or working out an agreement for a negotiated peace with the leaders of Viet Minh—a peace, I must add, which will, in my opinion, ultimately and inevitably result in Communist domination in French Indochina. For Indochina is probably the only country in the world where many observers believe the Communist-led element would win a free election. Moreover since the end of the Korean war, the Chinese, who were hard pressed in the fighting, probably more hard pressed than we even imagined at the time, have now been able to catch their breath. Their assistance to the forces of Viet Minh is thus steadily growing, and they themselves, and this is a most significant fact, are steadily increasing their own military strength. Some observers believe that within 2 years the Chinese Communists will have developed over 150 modern divisions. They will then become, after the Soviet Union and the United States, the greatest single military power in the world, lacking only an atomic arsenal and an industrial capacity to sustain it, to put them in the first rank. This power will be under the direction of a native leadership which has increasingly evidenced aggressive and rapacious intentions toward the countries along their southern border.

Under these circumstances, we must ask how the new Dulles policy and its dependence upon the threat of atomic retaliation will fare in these areas of guerrilla warfare. At what point would the threat of atomic weapons be used in the struggles in southeast Asia—in Franch Indochina—particularly where the chief burden is carried on the one side by native Communists and on the other by the troops of a western power, which once held the country under colonial rule? Under these conditions at what point would our new policy come into play? All observers agree that it is vital to the security of all of southeast Asia that Indochina remain free from Communist domination, for if Indochina should be lost undoubtedly within a short time, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and Indonesia and other now independent states might fall under the control of the Communist bloc in a series of chain reactions. Such an occurrence obviously would have the most serious consequences for all the Middle East and Europe, and indeed for our own security. Thus, French Indochina may well be the keystone to the defense of all of Asia.

But if the Chinese do not intervene directly, and merely increase their supplies to the native Communist forces, and send informal "volunteer" missions to assist in the training of troops and the handling of more complicated equipment, at what point would it ever be possible for us, in the words of Secretary Dulles, to employ "massive retaliatory power"? It seems to me that we could be placed in a most difficult position of either giving no aid at all of the kind that is necessary to bring victory to us in that area, or the wrong kind of aid which would alienate the people of great sections of the world who might feel that the remedy was worse than the disease.

Of course, Mr. Dulles feels that the threat of attack will prevent the brush fires from starting far more effectively than could our subsequent efforts to assist the forces of freedom in each of these areas against the well-entrenched Communist guerrilla or native armies. But once the brush fire begins to spread, and particularly if it spreads through a series of localized combustions, then the new policy might be confronted with a serious dilemma.

The third question presented by Mr. Dulles' policy involves the constitutional and political nature of our Government. Under the Constitution the President must seek the consent of Congress for a declaration of war; and even in the absence of a formal declaration, congressional consent would be required before such a drastic step could be taken as ordering our strategic air force into action against a country who might retaliate with bombs on our own citizens. And yet, if the President goes to the Congress and asks their consent, does he not give a warning to the enemy of our intentions, a warning that might under present conditions permit retaliation on us before our own blow became effective? Here again you can see that the new strategy most recently announced by the Secretary of State has implications of the utmost seriousness. We will not now, as formerly, resist aggression wherever it occurs. Now the United States is being committed to instant retaliation against the aggressor anywhere we choose with any weapons we choose. Now we are making it clear to the Communists that an act of aggression will be followed by retaliation by the United States on the home territory of China or Russia. Thus, we have witnessed how far the United States has come since the neutralism of the thirties.

Some may ask whether the American people have been able to adjust their thinking so rapidly and so extensively as to support a policy which, under a broad interpretation, could call for instant atomic attack upon the homeland of any aggressor against any country in any part of the world.

I would not maintain for a moment that the policy of containment which has undergone steady revision and improvement since 1946 should not be constantly and critically reexamined. But, the people of the United States in their consideration of the new policy enunciated by the President and Secretary of State Dulles, with all of its implications concerning our military manpower and our relations with other nations, are entitled to the fullest answers of at least these three basic questions:

First, what would be the relationship of this policy to any attacks upon those nations who may at that time be neutral or unfriendly in their attitudes toward a defensive alliance with the United States?

Second, of what value would atomic retaliation be in opposing a Communist advance which rested not upon military invasion but upon local insurrection and political deterioration?

Third, does this new policy depend for its success on the relinquishment by Congress of its traditional, though time consuming and well publicized power to consent to our involvement in all-out atomic war?

Foreign policy is, of course, a bipartisan affair; and I do agree with Secretary Dulles' general objective of preventing a series of exhausting, though localized, engagements of military manpower. Nor do I seek congressional interference in the Executive's responsibility for the conduct of our foreign affairs. On the contrary, I would oppose any constitutional amendment or other attempt to restrict that executive responsibility. But I think that all of us have our own responsibility to call attention to what we believe to be the implications of those policies into which we might otherwise drift without a public awareness of their significance. In this country, one of our most fundamental rights is to petition and question the executive and legislative branches of the Government about the policies which they pursue. I raise these questions tonight, not only for

the consideration of high officials of our Government, but also because no foreign or domestic policy can be effectively maintained in a democracy such as ours unless it is understood and supported by the great majority of the people. In an era of supersonic attack and atomic retaliation, extended public debate and education are of no avail once such a policy must be implemented. The time to study, no doubt, to review and revise—is now. For upon our decisions now may well rest the peace and security of the world—indeed the very continued existence of mankind.

Excerpts From Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania, Upon Presenting the Woman of the Week Award to Mrs. Marie Danver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the people of Pennsylvania are very proud of an award made to Mrs. Marie Danver, of Pittsburgh, because of the work she has done in the veterans' hospital. I had the honor of presenting a plaque to her. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the remarks I made at that time.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM REMARKS OF SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE WOMEN'S FORUM ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN PRESENTING THE WOMAN OF THE WEEK AWARD TO MRS. MARIE DANVER, OF PITTSBURGH, PA., AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FRIDAY MORNING, JANUARY 29, 1954

Madam Chairman, members of the Women's Forum on National Security, and my fellow Americans, it is a great honor to take part in this splendid meeting. In fact, it is a double pleasure.

First, because the great honor that has come to Mrs. Danver today is so richly deserved. Second, because the award is made in grateful recognition of unselfish, patriotic devotion to a noble cause by one of my constituents in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania is proud of Mrs. Danver. Our people are happy that the work for hospitalized veterans, to which she is so truly dedicated, is being made known across the Nation.

I speak not only as a Pennsylvanian but as one of her neighbors, because we live only 30 miles apart. I can tell you that every one of her neighbors has the highest admiration for the fine qualities of heart and mind that direct Mrs. Danver in her great personal service, bringing so much comfort and cheer to the boys of the armed services who need them most.

This forum and its participating organizations of patriotic women strengthen the Nation by arousing more widespread and more active interest in national defense.

There is no element in our national life more powerful than an aroused and militant public opinion.

And there is no factor more important to our Nation and to the free world than a strong, dynamic, prepared America, standing as an impregnable barrier against any aggression.

Many of us who have advocated large appropriations for national defense have come to realize that unrestrained spending by government, even for defense, is dangerous.

We realize that any nation that spends itself into internal economic collapse is powerless to defend its freedom.

We know that the staggering cost of maintaining a standing army, big enough to cope successfully with any eventuality, can lead us to national bankruptcy.

We live in a time of change. The science of warfare has been revolutionized, even since the end of World War II. The whole concept of time and space by which our actions were limited in the past is no longer valid.

The need for a massive standing military force, constantly under arms, no longer exists.

In view of these revolutionary changes I hope you will study a defense plan which does not place its reliance upon a big ground army, maintained at a cost beyond the capacity of our economy to support.

Instead I have been advocating a highly trained ground force of modest size, equipped with the most terrible fire power that modern science has devised and with the greatest mobility that it is possible to achieve.

We need a navy so powerful that with our Allies we would have complete command of the seas.

We need an air force so big and powerful that we would have complete supremacy in the air.

I ask you to give careful study to the suggestions I have presented in brief outline, keeping in mind that military preparation is only one phase of our defense effort.

Material strength that comes from a sound, solvent financial structure is another element of paramount importance.

Moral and spiritual strength, combined with 100 percent Americanism, are supreme weapons that contribute to victory.

There is no place in the United States for people of divided allegiance. Every man or woman who prefers communism over Americanism is a threat to our country. They must be eliminated.

There has been a great deal of discussion about the method of dealing with subversives. We should not be concerned so much about methods—our first consideration should be results.

As I said before we live in a time of change and we must adjust our thinking to the changes that are taking place all about us.

But we must keep before us always the great truths that are everlasting and unchanging.

Ideals and principles do not change.

With loyalty to the ideals of the American Republic, with faith in God and our country, we can defend our freedom and preserve for all time our sacred heritage of liberty and independence.

I congratulate Mrs. Danver and these patriotic organizations and pray that the Almighty Father may bless the grand work for which we proudly honor them today.

Hoover and Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Hoover and Farley," which appeared in the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER AND FARLEY

There was general approval when President Eisenhower selected former President Hoover to serve on a new commission for reorganizing the executive branch of the Federal Government. Mr. Hoover's knowledge of the subject, and his success as the chairman of the earlier commission for executive reorganization, made his second appointment a natural one. President Eisenhower has made another extremely felicitous choice in naming James A. Farley to serve on the new commission.

The Hoover-Farley combination is bipartisan in the fullest sense; it could not be more so. Mr. Hoover is a Republican and Mr. Farley is a Democrat. Mr. Farley is a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a former Postmaster General. As the lieutenant of Franklin D. Roosevelt for several years, Mr. Farley was a Democrat of great power. He did much to get the first presidential nomination for Mr. Roosevelt, and did much to defeat President Hoover in the campaign of 1932.

Later, however, Mr. Farley became a severe critic of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. He and Mr. Hoover will doubtless find it easy to get along with each other. They should make a good combination—Mr. Hoover with his technical efficiency and Mr. Farley with his remarkable knowledge of practical politics.

Florida: Haven for Elder Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the junior Senator from Florida, and a communication from a State official addressed to the Florida State delegation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR SMATHERS

In his recent message to the Congress regarding the social-security system, President Eisenhower made recommendations for certain changes which meet with a happy response in my home State.

Because of its wonderful climate, Florida is drawing more and more of the Nation's elder citizens, and it is estimated that there are more than 250,000 persons past 65 years of age now living within our State. It is understandable, therefore, why the President's message on this subject was of such widespread interest.

In the message, the President recommended certain changes which would eliminate injustices to our good citizens of less than retirement age who are disabled.

The Florida State Board of Education took special cognizance of that portion of the message, and resolutions dealing with that subject will be of interest to all of us in the Congress.

MESSAGE FROM THE FLORIDA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

JANUARY 19, 1954.

To: The Florida delegation in the Congress of the United States.

From: Thomas D. Bailey, secretary.

GENTLEMEN: One of the major problems of our society arises because of the high incidence of disability in our population. While safety and preventive measures are being developed constantly and medical research brings many diseases under control thus prolonging human life, there is nevertheless evidence of an increase in the number of persons with physical and mental handicaps. Certainly the number far exceeds the present capacity of personnel and facilities for the adequate care and rehabilitation of disabled persons in the United States and in Florida. The public interest and the happiness and individual welfare of disabled persons require the greatest possible use of rehabilitation services to restore or develop working capacity through treatment, training, guidance and placement services in cases which can be rehabilitated by these procedures. The practicable value of vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped has been demonstrated conclusively during the last 33 years in the United States and for 26 years in Florida.

The high cost of public assistance which now appears necessary for the care of the totally disabled is another potent argument for greater use of rehabilitation services in view of the fact that many severely disabled persons are being rehabilitated and made self-supporting. We, therefore, commend President Eisenhower for his statement in his message to Congress January 7 advocating an expansion of vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped. Upon the recommendation of the State budget commission and in response to public demand, the Florida Legislature at its last session materially increased its own appropriation for vocational rehabilitation services. The Florida State Board of Education respectfully urges that each Member of the Florida delegation in the United States Congress use his influence and his vote to help provide sufficient funds to carry out the President's recommendations to expand vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped.

THOMAS D. BAILEY,
Secretary, Florida State Board of Education.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a release I issued yesterday regarding the Bricker amendment.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am opposed to any amendment to the Constitution, including the Bricker amendment and the so-called compromises thus far proposed, which would unduly restrict the President's authority in world affairs without convincing evidence of the need for such an amendment. Amending the Constitution is a serious and complex process, which makes a fundamental change in the legal foundations of this Nation's sovereignty and governmental organization. Such an amendment should be considered only after the precise wording has been thoroughly studied by Congress and our highest legal authorities, and only after the desirability and necessity of such an amendment is clearly demonstrated.

The Constitution of the United States, as it now stands, gives us the following lines of defense against an unwise treaty:

1. The President may refuse to sign it or decline to submit it to the Senate.

2. Its ratification can be prevented by one-third plus one in the Senate.

3. The Senate is empowered to make any reservations relating to any treaty provision.

4. The Senate at the [illegible]

Nation from dealing as a coequal with other foreign powers. To require as a necessary step in all treaties a passage of Federal and State legislation which would be possible in the absence of treaties would prohibit the United States from entering into agreements on many vital international subjects, including the effective control of atomic weapons or disarmament. If every treaty or executive agreement had to meet the multiple tests and procedures set forth in the Bricker amendment and many of the proposed substitutes, the business of the Senate and the Federal Government as a whole would be completely bogged down [illegible] are, for example [illegible]

document of government, and to abandon our trust both in the constitutional and traditional methods which have served us well and in the highest officers of our Government. Even if the constitutional amendment did no more than to restate the constitutional authority already held by the Congress with respect to treaties, it would be unwise to require the exercise of such authority with respect to every treaty and executive agreement, regardless of their nature or significance; and it would be unwise to suggest to the courts that a constitutional amendment was necessary to change the law as it exists today. I have no objection to a congressional resolution restating the understanding of the Senate with respect to the existing law as I have set it forth above; and further insuring that no treaty shall be approved without a rollcall of all Senators.

Moreover, the Congress not only lacks a sufficient demonstration of the need for any constitutional amendment on treatymaking, but it has also been shown the irreparable damage which such an amendment could bring to this Nation's role in world affairs. To permit an individual state to nullify the effect of a treaty, as Senator BRICKER proposes, would virtually abolish the treaty-making power given to the Government under the Constitution, and would prevent this

[illegible] in Security Figures," written by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and published in the Washington Post of February 1, 1954. The article relates to the security-risk program of the present administration.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL FAKERY IN SECURITY FIGURES

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

More and more is coming out about the fakery practiced by certain persons in the administration in the matter of the so-called security firings. Consider, for example, the following figures in the firings from the State Department, the first detailed breakdown available.

When it was first announced that 1,456 security risks had been dismissed from Government service, the State Department's impressive share of this grand total was put at 306. Yet the fact is that the actual number of people "dismissed for cause" from the State Department since January a year ago is not 306. It is 29.

Most of these 29, moreover, were dismissed for such mundane sins as excessive drinking, blab-mouthing, or money troubles. Not a single case of actual subversion was involved. How, then, were the figures on the State De-

partment's share of the security firings arrived at?

The answer is a little hard to believe. Mr. Scott McLeod's security and personnel divisions checked through the files of everyone in the process of resigning from the State Department—always a considerable number, since the turnover in the Department is high. The security-risk tag was then simply hung on the names of 188 of these people, on their way out, without their knowledge. The total was further fattened up by adding the names of people who were being transferred from the State Department

But the fact that men like Shanley and Summerfield could be so misled itself suggests what a really inexcusable piece of fakery the whole thing has been. It has also, of course, been incredibly stupid politics. A central asset of the administration is the atmosphere of integrity which surrounds President Eisenhower. Some of the administration's backroom boys seem determined to dissipate this asset, in the name of smart politics.

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This case is a dramatic example of a dangerous trend that has been gathering momentum in New England. As Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY pointed out recently, in his own State of Massachusetts more than 70 textile mills have closed down and run away to the South in the past 7 years. Machinery, hosiery, apparel, electrical, paper, chemical, and other important industries are fleeing at the rate of at least 1 a month from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other New England States, leaving ghost cities behind them.

If this exodus is allowed to continue unchecked, it will dislocate industrial production, impair the American standard of living, shrivel purchasing power and cripple the national economy.

Where is the public responsibility of industries which endanger the national welfare in order to seek higher profits?

Where is the social responsibility of business firms which callously cut off the livelihood of their faithful employees and abandon them entirely at the first temptation of greater profits elsewhere?

Where is the moral responsibility of management, in these modern days, which tries to gain advantage over competitors by cutting wages and degrading working standards?

This is the road back to the sweatshop, back to the exploitation of child labor, back to the 60-hour week, back to poverty and misery and hard times.

Years ago the American labor movement waged the good fight to eliminate those evils. We thought we had won this struggle for industrial decency once and for all. We thought that American industry had learned its lesson, that long hours, miserable working conditions, and starvation wages were things of the past. But it appears that certain irresponsible and greedy business interests are still too shortsighted to understand that the depression of labor standards can mean nothing but depression for all workers, all businessmen and in the final analysis for industry itself.

And so, here in Norwalk, Conn., labor is now forced to undertake the fight all over again—the good fight for job security, the good fight to instill public, social, and moral responsibility into the operations of business.

And again, leadership in this fight falls upon a union famous for its fighting spirit—the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

History repeats itself. Fifty years ago, in the nearby town of Danbury, the hatters union waged a desperate legal struggle to protect the homes and the life savings of its members from being swept away by an antitrust suit for damages brought by an employer, with the help of a clever lawyer. The antitrust laws had been passed by Congress to break up huge corporate trusts. By a queer twist of legal interpretation, they first applied to a trade union on the theory that when workers go on strike they are in restraint of trade.

That decision went against the union workers. They were forced to pay more than $300,000 in fines and penalties. But in actual fact they did not lose. The Nation became so aroused over this case that Congress passed the Clayton Act which exempted unions from prosecution under the Sherman antitrust law.

The hatters' union was not destroyed. It grew stronger and succeeded in gaining far better conditions for its members.

Some employers, apparently, learn nothing from history.

But America has learned and it has progressed from the jungle warfare tactics which marred labor-management relations in the old days.

We have learned that workers are entitled to withhold their services and go on strike in protest against conditions which appear to them intolerable—including a condition which would require them to liquidate their own jobs and their means of livelihood.

We have learned that workers have a right to call public attention to attempts to throw them on the scrap heap after a lifetime of service.

In pursuance of that right to strike and to picket, the hatters union has paid out, up to today, a million dollars in benefits to the 1,500 strikers here at Norwalk. Their strike has been 100-percent successful. But they have no desire to continue it indefinitely, nor to injure their employer permanently. The union has submitted a number of settlement proposals, the main objective of which is to preserve the jobs of the workers.

...security firings, to Young's ...embarrassment. House Democratic Whip JOHN MCCORMACK and other congressional leaders have discussed parliamentary and other techniques for keeping the issue alive indefinitely.

In this situation, the next step is being angrily debated at the White House. One group (reportedly including Presidential Adviser Sherman Adams) favors killing the issue once and for all by publishing an honest breakdown, however temporarily embarrassing this may be. Another group (reportedly, including Brownell) favors riding the whole thing out, claiming meanwhile, that nobody said anything about the security risks being fired for subversion.

This claim, however, is unlikely to hold water. For example, in a speech some days ago in New York, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield spoke of 2,200 people who were security risks, remarking rather smugly that "somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Some weeks earlier able Presidential Counsel Bernard Shanley claimed in a speech in New Jersey that "1,456 subversives have been kicked out of Government since the President took office."

No doubt Summerfield and Shanley were quite honestly misinformed, and this may have been true of a number of other Republican leaders who have talked the same way.

MESSAGE FROM THE FLORIDA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

JANUARY 10, 1954.

To: The Florida delegation in the Congress of the United States.

From: Thomas D. Bailey, secretary.

GENTLEMEN: One of the major problems of our society arises because of the high incidence of disability in our population. While safety and preventive measures are being developed constantly and medical research brings many diseases under control thus prolonging human life, there is nevertheless evidence of an increase in the number of persons with physical and mental handicaps. Certainly the number far exceeds the present capacity of personnel and facilities for the adequate care and rehabilitation of disabled persons in the United States and in Florida. The public interest and the happiness and individual welfare of disabled persons require the greatest possible use of rehabilitation services to restore or develop working capacity through treatment, training, guidance and placement services in cases which can be rehabilitated by these procedures. The practicable value of vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped has been demonstrated conclusively during the last 33 years in the United States and for 26 years in Florida.

The high cost of public assistance which now appears necessary for the care of the totally disabled is another potent argument for greater use of rehabilitation services in view of the fact that many severely disabled persons are being rehabilitated and made self-supporting. We, therefore, commend President Eisenhower for his statement in his message to Congress January 7 advocating an expansion of vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped. Upon the recommendation of the State budget commission and in response to public demand, the Florida Legislature at its last session materially increased its own appropriation for vocational rehabilitation services. The Florida State Board of Education respectfully urges that each Member of the Florida delegation in the United States Congress use his influence and his vote to help provide sufficient funds to carry out the President's recommendations to expand vocational rehabilitation services for the handicapped.

THOMAS D. BAILEY,
Secretary, Florida State Board of Education.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a release I issued yesterday regarding the Bricker amendment.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am opposed to any amendment to the Constitution, including the Bricker amendment and the so-called compromises thus far proposed, which would unduly restrict the President's authority in world affairs without convincing evidence of the need for such an amendment. Amending the Constitution is a serious and complex process, which makes a fundamental change in the legal foundations of this Nation's sovereignty and governmental organization. Such an amendment should be considered only after the precise wording has been thoroughly studied by Congress and our highest legal authorities, and only after the desirability and necessity of such an amendment is clearly demonstrated.

The Constitution of the United States, as it now stands, gives us the following lines of defense against an unwise treaty:

1. The President may refuse to sign it or decline to submit it to the Senate.

2. Its ratification can be prevented by one-third plus one in the Senate.

3. The Senate is empowered to make any reservations relating to any treaty provision.

4. The Senate at the time of approving it may add the qualification that it not be self-executing internally without further implementing legislation.

5. The President in negotiating a treaty, or the Senate in agreeing to its ratification, may provide that such treaty shall be effective only in those States whose existing laws so permit.

6. Once it is ratified, if it is found to have undesirable effects, Congress can modify or eliminate by statute, requiring only a simple majority, its internal operation, or refuse to enact the implementing legislation or appropriations required for its execution.

7. Any President or Members of the Senate who are not faithful to their constitutional oath to uphold the Constitution may be impeached.

8. If the treaty does impair rights provided by the Constitution, the Supreme Court may declare it null and void in whole or in part.

The Supreme Court has consistently held that any treaty which conflicts with the Constitution will be held invalid, and there is no indication whatsoever that the highest Court in the land will ever hold otherwise. In its decision in *The Cherokee Tobacco* case (11 Wall. 616 (1870)), the Court stated:

"It need hardly be said that a treaty cannot change the Constitution or be held valid if it be in violation of that instrument."

The need for amending the Constitution cannot be shown by pointing to particular treaties, not yet ratified or even submitted for ratification, which rightly or wrongly are said to be objectionable. Nor has the constitutionality of any present or past treaty ever been attacked in the United States Supreme Court. With the constitutional safeguards listed above to protect us, I think it would be unwise to take any hasty or ill-considered action with respect to our basic document of government, and to abandon our trust both in the constitutional and traditional methods which have served us well and in the highest officers of our Government. Even if the constitutional amendment did no more than to restate the constitutional authority already held by the Congress with respect to treaties, it would be unwise to require the exercise of such authority with respect to every treaty and executive agreement, regardless of their nature or significance; and it would be unwise to suggest to the courts that a constitutional amendment was necessary to change the law as it exists today. I have no objection to a congressional resolution restating the understanding of the Senate with respect to the existing law as I have set it forth above; and further insuring that no treaty shall be approved without a rollcall of all Senators.

Moreover, the Congress not only lacks a sufficient demonstration of the need for any constitutional amendment on treatymaking, but it has also been shown the irreparable damage which such an amendment could bring to this Nation's role in world affairs. To permit an individual state to nullify the effect of a treaty, as Senator BRICKER proposes, would virtually abolish the treaty-making power given to the Government under the Constitution, and would prevent this Nation from dealing as a coequal with other foreign powers. To require as a necessary step in all treaties a passage of Federal and State legislation which would be possible in the absence of treaties would prohibit the United States from entering into agreements on many vital international subjects, including the effective control of atomic weapons or disarmament. If every treaty or executive agreement had to meet the multiple tests and procedures set forth in the Bricker amendment and many of the proposed substitutes, the business of the Senate and the Federal Government as a whole would be completely bogged down. There are, for example, thousands of executive agreements concerning our position in NATO alone, most of which have already been authorized by law. To immobilize the President and critically weaken the United States in our conduct of foreign affairs would be ill-advised at this time. It would be unthinking to take such a step unless its proponents thoroughly documented the proof of its necessity. On the basis of all the debates on this issue in and out of Congress, I must say that the necessity for any constitutional amendment of this nature has not been proven.

For these reasons, I am unalterably opposed to any constitutional amendment containing restrictions on our treatymaking power. Few issues which will come before the Senate will have such far-reaching and potentially dangerous implications. When it comes to amending the Constitution we would do well to apply the traditional rule of conservatism as expressed by Viscount Falkland:

"Where it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change."

Security Risks in Government Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entiled "Political Fakery in Security Figures," written by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and published in the Washington Post of February 1, 1954. The article relates to the security-risk program of the present administration.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL FAKERY IN SECURITY FIGURES

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

More and more is coming out about the fakery practiced by certain persons in the administration in the matter of the so-called security firings. Consider, for example, the following figures in the firings from the State Department, the first detailed breakdown available.

When it was first announced that 1,456 security risks had been dismissed from Government service, the State Department's impressive share of this grand total was put at 306. Yet the fact is that the actual number of people "dismissed for cause" from the State Department since January a year ago is not 306. It is 29.

Most of these 29, moreover, were dismissed for such mundane sins as excessive drinking, blab-mouthing, or money troubles. Not a single case of actual subversion was involved. How, then, were the figures on the State De-

partment's share of the security firings arrived at?

The answer is a little hard to believe. W. Scott McLeod's security and personnel divisions checked through the files of everyone in the process of resigning from the State Department—always a considerable number, since the turnover in the Department is high. The security-risk tag was then simply hung on the names of 183 of these people, on their way out, without their knowledge. The total was further fattened up by adding the names of people who were being transferred from the State Department to other departments or agencies. In short, a large proportion of the security firings were never fired at all.

The figures given above are of course subject to change, since the grand total of security firings is also subject to change. But these figures suggest how completely phony this numbers game is.

For example, when the files of some 15,000 State Department employees were examined, it was found that only about 3,000 did not contain some sort of derogatory information—a morsel of malicious gossip, a poison-pen letter, something of the sort. Thus, in 4 cases out of 5, some pretext exists for labeling anyone who resigns or transfer a "security risk."

The purpose of the whole security firing operation has been, of course, to convey the impression of a tremendous housecleaning, with subversives being hurled out of the Government in droves. Because the State Department has long been the chief target of the congressional primitives, special pressure was brought on McLeod to deliver up a maximum number of sacrificial lambs. He appears to have delivered handsomely.

One of the chief authors of the scheme is supposed to be Attorney General Herbert Brownell. It is known, at least, that Brownell gave the order permitting people who were resigning to be labeled security risks without their knowledge, which seems about as sportsmanlike as shooting a tethered rabbit with an elephant gun. At any rate, whoever its author, the scheme is now beginning to backfire badly.

The Democrats are belatedly realizing that this transparent fake gives them a useful stick with which to beat the administration, and keep beating it. Already, under Democratic prodding, three congressional committees have asked Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, for a breakdown of the security firings, to Young's anguished embarrassment. House Democratic Whip JOHN MCCORMACK and other congressional leaders have discussed parliamentary and other techniques for keeping the issue alive indefinitely.

In this situation, the next step is being angrily debated at the White House. One group (reportedly including Presidential Adviser Sherman Adams) favors killing the issue once and for all by publishing an honest breakdown, however temporarily embarrassing this may be. Another group (reportedly, including Brownell) favors riding the whole thing out, claiming meanwhile, that nobody said anything about the security risks being fired for subversion.

This claim, however, is unlikely to hold water. For example, in a speech some days ago in New York, Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield spoke of 2,200 people who were security risks, remarking rather smugly that "somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Some weeks earlier able Presidential Counsel Bernard Shanley claimed in a speech in New Jersey that "1,456 subversives have been kicked out of Government since the President took office."

No doubt Summerfield and Shanley were quite honestly misinformed, and this may have been true of a number of other Republican leaders who have talked the same way. But the fact that men like Shanley and Summerfield could be so misled itself suggests what a really inexcusable piece of fakery the whole thing has been. It has also, of course, been incredibly stupid politics. A central asset of the administration is the atmosphere of integrity which surrounds President Eisenhower. Some of the administration's backroom boys seem determined to dissipate this asset, in the name of smart politics.

Speech by George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor, Before Mass Meeting of Strikers at Norwalk, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a speech given by AFL President George Meany on January 12, 1954, before a mass meeting of strikers at Norwalk, Conn. The subject of his speech concerns a problem in which I have been interested for a long time—runaway plants—and a problem which I discussed at length during the last session of Congress when I addressed the Senate in a series of three speeches on The Economic Problems of New England—A Program for Congressional Action. Because of the importance of the subject to the Nation as a whole, I believe that it is worthwhile to have Mr. Meany's speech printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We meet here on a battleground where national issues are at stake as well as the welfare of labor, the community and the entire New England region.

For 7 months an industrial war has been raging here in Norwalk, Conn., over the attempt of a major hat manufacturing company to move to the South where it hopes to gain competitive advantage by using cheap, unorganized labor.

More than 1,500 workers, here in Norwalk, are out on strike to protect their jobs and their homes and their families. In a broader sense, their fight is to prevent the entire community from being bankrupted by the panicky and shortsighted flight of capital and business.

This case is a dramatic example of a dangerous trend that has been gathering momentum in New England. As Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY pointed out recently, in his own State of Massachusetts more than 70 textile mills have closed down and run away to the South in the past 7 years. Machinery, hosiery, apparel, electrical, paper, chemical, and other important industries are fleeing at the rate of at least 1 a month from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other New England States, leaving ghost cities behind them.

If this exodus is allowed to continue unchecked, it will dislocate industrial production, impair the American standard of living, shrivel purchasing power and cripple the national economy.

Where is the public responsibility of industries which endanger the national welfare in order to seek higher profits?

Where is the social responsibility of business firms which callously cut off the livelihood of their faithful employees and abandon them entirely at the first temptation of greater profits elsewhere?

Where is the moral responsibility of management, in these modern days, which tries to gain advantage over competitors by cutting wages and degrading working standards?

This is the road back to the sweatshop, back to the exploitation of child labor, back to the 60-hour week, back to poverty and misery and hard times.

Years ago the American labor movement waged the good fight to eliminate those evils. We thought we had won this struggle for industrial decency once and for all. We thought that American industry had learned its lesson, that long hours, miserable working conditions, and starvation wages were things of the past. But it appears that certain irresponsible and greedy business interests are still too shortsighted to understand that the depression of labor standards can mean nothing but depression for all workers, all businessmen and in the final analysis for industry itself.

And so, here in Norwalk, Conn., labor is now forced to undertake the fight all over again—the good fight for job security, the good fight to instill public, social, and moral responsibility into the operations of business.

And again, leadership in this fight falls upon a union famous for its fighting spirit—the United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

History repeats itself. Fifty years ago, in the nearby town of Danbury, the hatters union waged a desperate legal struggle to protect the homes and the life savings of its members from being swept away by an antitrust suit for damages brought by an employer, with the help of a clever lawyer. The antitrust laws had been passed by Congress to break up huge corporate trusts. By a queer twist of legal interpretation, they first applied to a trade union on the theory that when workers go on strike they are in restraint of trade.

That decision went against the union workers. They were forced to pay more than $300,000 in fines and penalties. But in actual fact they did not lose. The Nation became so aroused over this case that Congress passed the Clayton Act which exempted unions from prosecution under the Sherman antitrust law.

The hatters' union was not destroyed. It grew stronger and succeeded in gaining far better conditions for its members.

Some employers, apparently, learn nothing from history.

But America has learned and it has progressed from the jungle warfare tactics which marred labor-management relations in the old days.

We have learned that workers are entitled to withhold their services and go on strike in protest against conditions which appear to them intolerable—including a condition which would require them to liquidate their own jobs and their means of livelihood.

We have learned that workers have a right to call public attention to attempts to throw them on the scrap heap after a lifetime of service.

In pursuance of that right to strike and to picket, the hatters union has paid out, up to today, a million dollars in benefits to the 1,500 strikers here at Norwalk. Their strike has been 100-percent successful. But they have no desire to continue it indefinitely, nor to injure their employer permanently. The union has submitted a number of settlement proposals, the main objective of which is to preserve the jobs of the workers.

But the employers have stubbornly refused to renew a contract clause prohibiting any further diversion of work from Norwalk. All the facts in this case point to the inescapable conclusion that what the company really wants is for the workers to dig their own economic grave and destroy their own jobs. The company insists that there shall be no interference with its plans to move its production to the South, regardless of the destructive effect on the workers, on local business, and on the entire community of Norwalk.

The issue in the controversy, therefore, boils down to this clear-cut fact—the only hope the workers have of saving their jobs is to continue their strike to a victorious conclusion.

It becomes pertinent, at this point, to examine the reasons for the southward flight of certain industrial firms from New England.

They are not running away from cold weather. They are not trying to escape a shortage of materials or skilled labor. Their only purpose is to make more money, regardless of the consequences of their flight or the conditions under which higher profits would be achieved in their new locations.

The consequences to the towns and cities of New England, deserted by the manufacturing industries on which they were dependent, have been severe and could become appallingly tragic. The workers who lose their jobs are the primary victims, but not the only ones. The shopkeepers also feel the effects immediately and so do the banks and the professional people and even the farmers, who lose their markets. If the curse of runaway business is not soon halted an economic blight may blanket the whole of the New England area.

There would still be no legitimate complaint if the southward migration of industry were caused only by natural advantages and normal competitive benefits. But that is not the case, in most instances.

Communities in the South are deliberately luring industry to locate there with bait that is extravagantly unfair and frequently becomes suicidal. Business is offered not only free land but free plants, together with tax immunity. These projects are financed through the sale of local, tax-exempt bond issues. This practice has been condemned by most responsible business organizations, yet it persists. And, in some cases, it has resulted in bankrupting southern towns when the new business enterprises, which at first brought fat payrolls, folded up after a few months.

But perhaps the greatest lure to runaway business is the offer of cheap, nonunion labor, backed by State laws which make it exceedingly difficult for workers to organize into effective unions. Some manufacturers in New England, paying union wage rates averaging $2 an hour, leap at the opportunity to relocate in a region where they can hire workers for half that amount and not have to meet high-standard union conditions. Thus they hope to undersell their competitors and make a profit killing.

Of course, it does not work out that way in the long run. Cheap labor can cost more than high-priced labor when production suffers from lack of top skills and high worker morale. The fact remains that the cost of labor must be measured in terms of quality and quantity of production. On that basis, union workers in practically every industry have proved over and over again that they can and do out-produce low-standard competition.

Therefore, from a long-range standpoint, the runaway business is bound to be hurt along with the community which offers it unfair competitive advantage. It is no wonder that moves are under way in Congress to check some of the dangerous practices that have developed. The South can prosper and expand its industrial life on the basis of natural advantages, without having to resort to tactics which will prove ruinous to all concerned and the national economy, as well.

In this instance, as in many other economic reforms of the past, labor is taking the initiative in the fight because the jobs of workers are at stake and the welfare of their families.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that what happens here in Norwalk will have a profound effect on our entire national economy and on the American standard of living.

The basis of American prosperity is mass purchasing power in the hands of the American people. In turn, mass purchasing power depends upon decent wage standards. If New England is to be crippled by the flight of industry from a high-wage region to substandard areas, purchasing power will be bound to shrink and our entire national economy might be thrown into reverse gear.

Even in normal times, an economic downturn in America would be tragic. Today, when the entire free world depends upon the vitality of the American economy, a recession would prove fatal to the cause of peace and freedom. If we collapse, Soviet Russia will gain victory by default and go on to win domination of the entire world without serious opposition.

These are the basic reasons why we hope the American people will realize in time that the runaway factory is a national, rather than merely a local problem, and will rally to the support of the hat workers of Norwalk as magnificently as they did 50 years ago in the case of the Danbury hatters.

Doubletalk on the Potomac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a portion of a news broadcast entitled "Doubletalk on the Potomac," delivered over the Mutual Broadcasting System on January 26, 1954, by the outstanding news commentator Frank Edwards.

There being no objection, the portion of the news broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOUBLETALK ON THE POTOMAC

The Washington News says in an editorial tonight that Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, is merely foghorning when he demands that Attorney General Brownell come up with some proof of the administration's claims that it had fired hundreds of security risks. Senator JOHNSTON was wrong, said the Washington News, when he asserted that the administration claimed it had fired these people as subversives.

If the Washington News editorial writers would take time to read the editorials in the Washington News, they would find in an issue of their paper 2 weeks ago an editorial entitled "The Cure: Truth." In that editorial the Washington News says that top members of the administration claimed that this administration has fired 1,456 persons as traitors, spies, Communists, and perverts, which confirms what Senator JOHNSTON said. And the Washington News, in that same editorial, said that the administration was falsifying when it put such tags on these people, which is exactly why Senator JOHNSTON challenged Mr. Brownell to prove the charges or get out.

There is some foghorning, but not by Senator JOHNSTON.

Dairy Price Stabilization and Surplus Disposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by Mr. E. M. Norton, executive director of the National Milk Producers' Federation. The letter, which appeared in the Evening Star of January 30, is very informative, in view of the current discussion of the cost of the farm program.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAIRY FARMERS NOT MULCTING US

Considerable interest is attached to the letters on butter and dairy products by Winifred W. Rogers and Catherine M. Dominic in the Star of January 19.

Mrs. Rogers stated, in part:

"Now we find again that because of the farmers' unwillingness to face falling off of their high-level incomes, price supports must be maintained.

"* * * But if the farmer must have his supports in the face of every one else's pinch, let us show him that he cannot have his cake and eat it, too. * * * With sufficient determination and enterprise I believe the housewives could put on a campaign to banish butter that would make quite a dent in the farmers' complacency."

Mrs. Dominic commented:

"Think of the happiness this administration could bring to the American families by bringing down to reasonable levels the price of milk for children."

Many housewives can sympathize with the attitude of these women. All of us can appreciate good butter, milk, and other dairy products. All of us would like to obtain these products at lower prices. Many of us do not understand the present program of price supports on dairy products. At first glance, butter prices supported by Government purchases seem to be a contradiction to good commonsense. Surely there must be another side to this question.

It might seem that a happy solution to the problem would be to do away with Government price supports. But this would lead to another dilemma. In our present situation of war-induced surpluses, an abandonment of price supports would pull the plug and drain agriculture of its purchasing power. The effect upon an entire economy could be disastrous. The cost to the taxpayer of today's agricultural surpluses is a part of the cost of World War II, when agriculture was geared to its recent record production. In agriculture, unlike industry, it is not easy to step down production.

As for dairy-product prices and the position of the dairy farmer, there are other points which housewives might consider:

Even at present prices, dairy products are a food bargain for the family. Since 1939

dairy-product prices have risen only 89 percent as much as all food prices. In October 1953, meats, poultry, and fish were 157.2 percent higher; fruits and vegetables, 132 percent higher; cereals and bakery products, 110.8 percent higher; dairy products, 121.9 percent higher, and all foods, 136.5 percent higher. Moreover, since 1939 weekly earnings of all factory workers have increased over 200 percent, while retail dairy prices increased only 122 percent. Thus, an hour's work today will buy much larger quantities of dairy products than in 1939.

The dairy farmer is not mulcting the consumer. His share of the consumer's dollar for dairy products dropped from 52.3 cents in early 1952 to only 48 cents in 1953. The hourly return to dairy-farm operators and their families for labor and management is less than that of hired farm labor and less than one-half that of the factory worker. The average annual volume of dairy sales per farm in 1950 was $2,476.77 for those selling milk; $408.93 for those selling cream.

The cost of dairy price supports, high as it has been, is small in comparison with that of other crop-support programs and small in relation to the value of the products. The cost of the support program for dairy products from October 17, 1933, through November 30, 1952, was $164.4 million. This is about one-fourth the cost of the wheat program, for example. It amounts to an average of less than $8 million a year for an industry whose annual farm cash income is now in excess of $4 billion—or .2 of 1 percent of the value of the product.

The National Milk Producers' Federation has proposed a self-help program of dairy price stabilization and surplus disposal under which the producers themselves would bear the costs through an assessment on all milk and butterfat sold from the farms. This would relieve the taxpayer and free the producers from his present dependence on Government supports—supports which farmers must perforce accept today in order to stay in business.

E. M. NORTON,
Executive Director, National Milk Producers' Federation.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the February 6, 1954, issue of the national Catholic weekly America, there appeared a most significant editorial pointing out the dangers of certain compromise proposals relating to the Bricker amendment. I send the editorial to the desk, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WARNING: TREATY BOOBYTRAP AHEAD

By the time these lines are read, the Senate may have taken one or more of these actions on Senator BRICKER'S treaty-power amendment. It may have recommitted it to the Judiciary Committee. It may have acted on the motion to consider the additions made in the original Senate Joint Resolution 1 by the same committee (the "which" clause especially). It may have accepted that clause by a simple majority vote preparatory to the two-thirds vote. It may have rejected a new Knowland compromise amendment which would offer the addition of and in pursuance of the Constitution to the supremacy clause in article VI of the Constitution, accept section 1 of Senate Joint Resolution 1 explicitly nullifying any treaty contravening the Constitution, and require a Senate rollcall vote on all treaties. Finally, the Senate may vote to table Senate Joint Resolution 1, which would end the current debate.

Whatever the time element involved, we believe that the Senate, if it does not recommit or table, or accept the George substitute amendment, will be asked to sweeten the Knowland substitute, that is, to compensate Mr. BRICKER for the loss of the "which" clause, now opposed by half the Senators. It will be suggested that he be given the first part of section 2 of Senate Joint Resolution 1: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation." This superficially attractive proposal may tempt many Senators anxious to end the disruptive debate. They should be warned it would cripple the President's bargaining powers and slow down the operation of our foreign policy. The President implicitly rejected this hobbling provision in his January 25 letter to Senator KNOWLAND.

This so-called non-self-executing clause would not alter the international effects of treaties. It merely says that no treaty can become the law of the land without legislation. This is a drastic change from present practice under the Constitution. After the President signs a treaty, and after the Senate consents by a two-thirds vote to its ratification, as now provided, this clause would require that not only the Senate but also the House must pass a law by majority vote and the President must approve it in order to make the treaty effective as internal law.

This two-step process, this "new look" at every treaty before it can become effective as domestic law, has been called legislative stuttering, an apt description of the slowdown it would entail. Many constitutional authorities claim it would make the procedure for carrying out our treaty obligations the most cumbersome in the world.

A more serious objection to the non-self-executing clause is that it is an invitation to immorality. It offers a slick way of avoiding our treaty obligations if we have second thoughts about them. We could enter into a treaty, binding on the other party, wait and see if we liked its internal effects, and if we didn't, run out on it by failing to implement it by law. But could we expect another government to live up to its commitments if it feared we would repudiate ours?

New England and the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article of mine which appeared in the January 1954 issue of the Atlantic Monthly.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ENGLAND AND THE SOUTH—THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRY

(By John F. Kennedy)

I

Nearly 14,000 employees working for the John Doe Co., a New England textile concern, lost their jobs in the period following World War II because of the liquidation of 13 of their mills. During the same period, the same company opened a large number of new plants in the South. It had migrated. Why? To what extent was it influenced by natural advantages, by unfair practices, or by the policies of the Federal Government?

For one southern operation, the John Doe Co. bought a surplus naval factory at a low price; and for another, it obtained an accelerated tax amortization certificate from the Federal Government, authorizing it to depreciate its plant within 5 years rather than the normal period of 20 to 25 years. It also utilized a Federally tax-exempt charitable trust in order to avoid taxes on several of its new southern operations, and negotiated with three southern communities for the building and equipping of more new plants through the issuance of municipal revenue bonds that are exempt from Federal taxation.

Not a single one of the John Doe Co.'s southern plants has been organized by a labor union, although attempts at unionization have been made for more than 10 years. Injunctions, employer propaganda, and procedural delays under the Taft-Hartley Act have prevented the union from keeping any foothold gained through representation elections. Partly as a result of these maneuvers, the wage scales at the southern plants are all considerably lower than the prevailing union wage scale in the liquidated New England mills. The Bureau of Labor Statistics states that 86 percent of the woolen textile workers in the southeastern United States operate under contracts calling for minimum entrance rates of $1.05 or less, whereas only 6 percent of the New England workers have a minimum as low as this. At four plants in South Carolina and Georgia the John Doe Co. obtained learner permits allowing it to pay many workers, over a period of time, less than the outmodede Federal minimum wage of 75 cents an hour.

The board chairman of John Doe testified before a Senate subcommittee comparing the cost of his southern and New England operations. Power cost per kilowatt-hour was 7.4 mills at his Alabama plant as compared with 17 mills at his Rhode Island plant. Transportation rates were one-third lower for equal distances, unemployment compensation taxes were half as great, and employee pension and vacation plans in operation at northern plants were not customary in southern plants.

One may think that this hypothetical case—which is actually a combination of two true cases—is an extreme example. But it is by no means untypical in revealing the pattern of industrial migration from New England to the South. Since 1946, in Massachusetts alone, 70 textile mills have been liquidated, generally for migration or disposition of their assets to plants in the South or other sections of the country. Besides textiles, there have been moves in the machinery, hosiery, apparel, electrical, paper, chemical, and other important industries. Every month of the year some New England manufacturer is approached by public or private southern interests offering various inducements for migration southward. Other manufacturers warn their employees that they must take pay cuts to meet southern competition or face plant liquidations.

In only a small number of cases does direct migration take place through closing New England plants and transferring their operations to southern plants. More often

firms start by operating mills in both New England and the South, then tend to abandon their northern plants in periods of decline and later expand their southern operations when prosperity returns.

Such a movement has been going on for more than 25 years in the cotton-textile industry. In 1925 New England had 80 percent of the industry; now it has 20 percent. Former Governor of Georgia Ellis Arnall and other southerners have freely predicted that the South will also capture the woolen and worsted industry, two-thirds of which is still in New England, and large segments of other manufacturing groups.

II

Why do industries move South, with all of the attendant consequences to their employees and community?

It would be unfair to imply that the South's natural advantages have not been responsible for a large share of this industrial migration. Perhaps, most important of all, the South has a much larger supply of labor, primarily from the farms, to draw upon for industrial employment, thus enabling employers to select the youngest and most adaptable. Pure, fresh water; nearness to raw materials and production factors; greater space; a milder climate; and the hospitality shown new industries in new areas are also southern advantages which should not be denied. Nor should we seek to hamper the rapid efforts of the South to obtain some of New England's many and well-known advantages in skilled labor, research, markets, and credit facilities.

Another major reason has been the influence of Federal programs. The best example of this is the cost of electric power. The man who wants to start a moderate-sized industry with a demand of 500 kilowatts and a monthly use of 100,000 kilowatt-hours would pay an annual electric bill in Boston of $26,800, but in Chattanooga only $11,000. New England, it should be noted, has not yet acquired for itself a single Federal hydroelectric project.

But the final reason for migration, with which I am particularly concerned, is the cost differential resulting from practices or conditions permitted or provided by Federal law which are unfair or substandard by any criterion. Massachusetts manufacturing industries in May of 1953 paid an average hourly wage of $1.64, but because the Federal minimum is only an outdated 75 cents an hour many industries migrating to the rural communities of Mississippi pay workers only that less-than-subsistence wage, and those employees under "learners' permits" even less. Practically all New England woolen textile mills pay a wage of at least $1.20 an hour, but because of the recent Fulbright amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act, which has held up the establishment of this wage as the new Federal minimum for that industry, the New England mills must bid for Government contracts against southern mills paying only $1.05 an hour. Labor organizations in highly unionized New England have achieved not only better wages but pension and fringe benefits as well. In the South, however, unionization of competing plants has been virtually halted since enactment of the Taft-Hartley law.

Without adequate Federal standards for social security or unemployment compensation, many employers who move south support a level of benefits far below those paid by New England industry. Federal tax amortization benefits have not only been disproportionately granted to southern plants, but have also been granted to promote expansion in the South without regard to available facilities and manpower in New England. Federally regulated shipping rates by rail, truck, or sea discriminate unduly against New England and are a confused, shapeless mass of regulation. One of the most obviously unfair inducements offered to those considering migration is the tax-free plant built by a southern community with the proceeds of federally tax-exempt municipal bonds.

It is therefore an unfortunate conclusion that the southward migration of industry from New England has too frequently taken place for causes other than normal competition and natural advantages.

This is particularly unfortunate when one realizes the effect of such industrial migrations upon the communities left behind. In Massachusetts alone, over 30,000 jobs have been lost in the textile industry since 1946. When the Kilburn Cotton Mill in New Bedford, Mass., was partially liquidated and moved to North Carolina, 1,000 workers lost their jobs. In Lawrence, particularly dependent upon the textile industry, postwar liquidations and migrations caused approximately one-fifth of all workers to be without jobs continually from 1947 to early 1953—the period of the greatest prosperity in American history. Nearly 5 million square feet of industrial plant stood idle. Over $11 million annually was paid out in unemployment insurance benefits which were exhausted by over 50 percent of the thousands of unemployed. Today Lawrence and the other one-industry towns in New England have made a remarkable recovery, partly through improvement in the textile industry but also through the fullest utilization of Yankee initiative and natural advantages in developing new, more stable industries to replace the old.

But current threats of further migration, including the largest woolen manufacturer in the Nation, again endanger the improved employment status in these communities.

These labor-surplus areas are just one effect which the years of industrial migration have had upon older manufacturing regions. Although the New England States are far from depressed or undeveloped, and their citizens still enjoy a standard of living and per capita income above that of the Nation as a whole, the lack of sufficient new industry to replace the old plants lost to the South has retarded New England's economic growth. Its industrialization, manufacturing employment, and per capita income have not kept pace with increases in the rest of the country. The year 1952–53 was one of New England's most prosperous years; yet the region lagged behind national increases in total income and manufacturing payrolls and suffered a serious loss of employment in nonelectrical machinery, textiles, apparel, leather products, and several other industries. In all too many cases migration southward was directly responsible for this job loss, even in the newer hard-goods industries such as electrical machinery. The losses which would be suffered in the event of a general recession or another textile crisis would be drastically more severe in New England than in any other area of the country.

In contrast, as pointed out by Oscar Handlin in the December issue of the Atlantic, the South is becoming industrialized at a pace we must all admire. In 1951 the South added, on the average, one multi-million-dollar plant a day. In that year capital investment in new southern plants reached $3 billion. Included among the new plants of the past few years are well over a hundred new woolen and worsted mills. During the past 2 decades, the South's multiple increases in the sale of goods manufactured, in value added by industry to raw materials received, in number of new independent businesses, in construction, in industrial employment, in total income payments, in total wages and salaries, in wage rates, and in per capita income payments have been many times as great as the rate of increase for the United States as a whole, for New England, or for any other region. The 11 Southeastern States, for example, between 1929 and 1950 increased their per capita income 179 percent. The gain for the Nation as a whole was 111 percent, for New England 85 percent.

It would be wrong for New England to attempt to retard industrialization of the South. It is wrong to say, as did a Boston newspaper editorial, that the South is trying to impoverish New England. Although New England is at a locational disadvantage in reaching the rapidly expanding markets of the Southeast and the Southwest, New England must sell to the South and the Nation as a whole. New England thus benefits from this tremendous increase in southern and national purchasing power and prosperity. To the extent that locational advantages of southern industries offer real efficiency, New England consumers share the benefits of such efficiency with the entire Nation.

New England knows it cannot shrink from competition with the South. The TVA is not creeping socialism because it attracts New England industry. It is a challenge to us to seek further utilization of our own natural resources. The modern plants and machines of the South, and the new and vigorous ideas of southern manufacturers, set a standard which New England industry should emulate, not try to destroy.

III

However, I must reiterate that Federal policies have in many instances contributed to the unfair competitive practices or unfair inducements which have led to industrial migration. The answer lies neither in prohibiting Federal power and other programs aiding the South, nor, as some have maintained, in cutting wages or social benefits in New England or meeting subsidy with more subsidies; for in the end all of us are harmed and our problems still remain unsolved. Instead positive action is required. For this reason I presented to the Senate in May of 1953 a comprehensive program calling for Federal legislation aimed at the correction of these abuses.

I called for action to aid the expansion and diversification of industry in our older areas in order to replace the traditional industries lost through migration. Such aid would include providing loans and assistance to small business, retraining unemployed industrial workers, providing tax-amortization benefits for industries expanding in areas of chronic unemployment, developing natural resources, and aiding local industrial development agencies. I further called for more adequate security for the jobless and aged who are the victims of industrial dislocation. But that is not enough. The minimum-wage, Walsh-Healey, Taft-Hartley, unemployment-compensation, and social-security laws must be improved to prevent the use of substandard wages, antiunion policies, and inadequate social benefits as lures to industrial migration. Tax loopholes must be closed, and equal consideration given to all areas in the administration of policies dealing with tax writeoffs, transportation rates, and Government contracts and projects; for these should not be factors inducing plant migration.

These are some of the policies within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government affecting New England's economic status. At no time did I suggest in this program that a solution of New England's difficulties must be at the expense of the economic well-being of the South. I was anxious that the program be studied not as a political or regional issue, with heated arguments and oversimplified solutions, but rather as a program of mutual benefit for all, based upon the interdependent economies of New England, the South, and the Nation. It was not my intention to absolve New England

from all responsibility for its economic ills, or to make the South a whipping boy in an appeal to the emotions of the man on the street. This is a problem upon which interregional cooperation, not political antagonisms, is needed.

Unfortunately, perhaps owing to incomplete reports in the public press, my position was not so understood by most southern newspapers. I was accused in editorials appearing all the way from Greenville, N. C., to San Antonio, Tex., of "blatantly asking for special and unusual consideration * * * attempting punitive legislation against the South * * * seeking Federal interference to help New England and hurt the South * * * and projecting on a legislative scale the North-South row at the 1952 Democratic National Convention."

Some of my colleagues in the United States Senate and House of Representatives also misunderstood my position. I did not, as Senator MAYBANK implied in his speech hailed by the southern press as an answer to "the Kennedy program," seek "to transfer the faults and ailments which caused New England's hardships to other regions." Certainly I hope I was not one of those New England spokesmen, who, Representative CHATHAM, of North Carolina, said, had "cried so pitifully over an empire which has lost its control over the rest of the country."

IV

I sincerely believe that any future economic revival in New England, and my proposals for fair competition under existing Federal statutes, will aid, not injure, the prosperity of the South. I say that for four reasons:

First, so interdependent is the economy of the United States that any increase in tempo in New England will stimulate industry in the South. When New England prospers, as it has in recent months, the South and all sections of the country that depend upon New England for markets and sources of supply are also benefited. New England's role in our economic stability and, I might add, in our mobilization effort is fundamental. The progress that the South has made in the past two decades has had a measurable effect on the welfare of the people all over the country. It is, I am sure, of importance to the entire United States that the New England economy remain a strong and viable force in the economic life of the country.

Secondly, surplus labor areas, a declining textile industry, inadequate use of water resources, one-industry towns, the debilitating effects of long-term unemployment and economically insecure old age, all trouble to some degree certain areas and industries in the South as well as in New England. Some North Carolina communities, for instance, were hard hit when the hosiery industry moved to lower wage areas further south and in Puerto Rico. These are all problems that now exist in many parts of the country, and they will multiply as the economies of those regions mature.

It is imperative for the newer industrialized areas such as the Southeast to plan now for their "old age." When other areas, in Latin America and Asia, are industrially developed, the South will suffer the same pangs of aging now suffered by New England. This is particularly true because of the concentration of the Southeast States upon the vulnerable American textile industry. In 1950 the three largest textile States of the South had 57 percent, 67 percent, and 39 percent of their manufacturing employment in textiles. Already employment in these States has been affected by the impact of synthetic fibers, foreign competition, and migration on the cotton-textile industry.

Third, the South is certain to seek Federal measures to alleviate these problems, just as it utilized Federal assistance in the days when Franklin Roosevelt called it the Nation's No. 1 problem area. Thus it does not behoove some southern spokesmen now to attack programs channeling defense contracts to labor-surplus areas, or seeking improvements in the Walsh-Healey Act as Federal interference with the forces of free competition. More than any other region, the South has reason to recognize the tremendous role that the Federal Government can play in developing the resources of an area. RFC loans, federally constructed or financed power projects, soil-conservation programs, farm price supports, grants-in-aid, construction projects, military installations, tax-amortization certificates, and other policies and programs of the Federal Government have been largely responsible for the remarkable improvement in the southern economy during the past 20 years. The Southeastern States received in 1949 7.3 percent of their income, gross wages, and salaries from the Federal Government, as compared with 3.7 percent for New England and 4.8 percent for the United States as a whole. Four Southern States, for example, received certificates of necessity for rapid tax amortization of industrial facilities worth 5 times the amount awarded the 6 New England States, although the latter's proportionate share of manufacturing industry was twice as great. In fiscal 1952, total internal revenue collections in Georgia netted the Federal Government only a little more than one-third of the amount collected from Massachusetts; but expenditures of the Federal Government for grants-in-aid, wages and salaries, and rivers and harbors and flood-control projects in Georgia actually exceeded such Federal expenditures in the State of Massachusetts. Admittedly this is due in part to a consistent lag in the efforts of New England businessmen and officials to participate in such programs; but the fact remains that the South has profited enormously and will in the future profit from Federal action in the economic sphere.

V

Last, but most important, I have stressed many times in my speeches the theme of fair competition; and fair competition is just as essential to the South and its industries as it is to any other section of the United States. I am certain that the use of unfair practices to encourage the abandonment of existing plants, employees, and communities in New England, with its consequent long-term unemployment and distress, is not a necessary part of the South's industrialization program. Its aim should rather be one of new industrial development. "Our industrial concept," stated Mississippi's Governor White, "is not of robbing Peter to pay Paul."

Robbing Peter to pay Paul, in my opinion, does those southern communities which practice it more harm than good. Dr. Harriet Herring of North Carolina, in her book Southern Industry and Regional Development, pointed out that artificial or substandard inducements to migration bring weak industries, a hit-or-miss industrial development, and no diversification of industry.

Substandard wages and tax subsidies are no foundation upon which to build stable industry. As pointed out by the San Antonio News, "The South should not want any industrialization founded on the reactionary concept of cheap labor. It is not cheap in the long run for any of the parties concerned." The South's greatest industrial growth has occurred at the same time as a steady narrowing in the North-South wage differential; and southern factories producing automobiles, aircraft, oil, and other products pay the same wages as their northern plants or competitors. Several southern economists and study groups have concluded that the Federal minimum-wage law, introduced by Hugo Black of Alabama, has not harmed industrial development in the South but has on the whole been beneficial and needs revitalization. Wages, they point out, are not only costs but also aids to productivity and purchasing power. Companies that come south to exploit southern labor, with the aid of inadequate minimum-wage and public contracts laws, and free from unionization under Taft-Hartley, are merely holding back southern progress.

Southerners themselves are becoming aware of the vice of luring industry southward through such inducements as tax-free plants built with federally tax-exempt municipal bonds. Virginia repealed its tax exemption law in 1946, on the ground that it meant unstable industry and an unstable tax base. Although Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee have statutes offering tax exemptions to new industries, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia do not. The Southeastern States Tax Officials Association has condemned the practice of tax-free municipal plants as "inequitable and unfair to industry in the State and detrimental to the taxpayers of the State, because what is given away must be paid for by other businesses and individuals, ultimately, thereby creating an unhealthy social and economic condition."

Industries thus attracted are migrants, not new enterprises, with home offices outside the South. Once having accepted tax benefits and a few years of heavy profits, they may again move, leaving that community as well with empty buildings, stranded workers, and a heavy bond issue. As such use of public credit spreads, no community can be sure of the stability of the enterprises on which its citizens depend for their livelihood. In one southern town of only 10,000 people, municipal bonds for private industrial plants were proposed to the extent of $51 million, or an additional debt load of more than $5,000 plus interest for every man, woman, and child in the town. What happens when their new-found benefactors leave for another bargain elsewhere?

The elimination of unfair competition of this character will benefit the South as it will benefit New England. The proposals I have made should not be regarded as posing an antagonistic issue between North and South. The issue that they do post concerns the stability and integrity of our entire national economy. The competitive struggle for industry will and must go on, but it will be a fair struggle based on natural advantages and natural resources, not exploiting conditions and circumstances that tend to depress rather than elevate the economic welfare of the Nation.

New England, without unthinking optimism, undue pessimism, or unfair recrimination, must meet the actual advantages of the South by developing its own human, material, and natural resources and, in that process, by utilizing the facilities of the Federal Government wherever that is appropriate. It must also call upon the Congress to correct those abuses of Federal policies and competitive practices which have led to undesirable industrial dislocation.

The South, instead of fighting such a program, should welcome it for the stability that it promises and the safeguards that it assures to the South's new and proud industrialization. It is a common goal that lies ahead of us—the expansion and prosperity of every section of the Nation, not the ephemeral aggrandizement of one at the expense of another through the exploitation of impermanent and ultimately self-destroying values. In checking such practices, the alliance of both South and North is needed if we would carry out our common pledge to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Atomic Research Pool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Symbol of European Collaboration for Nuclear Research," which was published in the December 1953 issue of the Courier, a publication of UNESCO.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Within a single lifetime the atom has changed its aspect completely. When Roentgen, Becquerel, and the Curies discovered the X-ray (1895), radioactivity (1896), and radium (1898) no one had considered that the atom could have an interior. Less than 60 years later, scientists delve within the atomic nucleus and discover the maze of fundamental particles of matter and of energy that have been reported in the preceding articles: electrons and positrons, protons and neutrons, mesons and neutrinos.

These particles compose the atom as atoms compose the earth and the stars. All this new knowledge has multiplied the majesty and the mystery of the universe. It has had terribly destructive uses as well as enormously beneficial ones. But this is only the beginning. Far more will certainly be revealed in the next 50 years than in the past 50.

The scale and pace of research have changed too. Roentgen and Becquerel made their discoveries almost accidentally by noticing that photographic plates wrapped in black paper, beyond the reach of light, had been fogged by unsuspected radiations from a vacuum tube in the one case and from a small package of uranium salts in the other. It was, to be sure, no accident that they investigated the cause of these mysteries and thus made their great discoveries.

A JOB FOR TEAMWORK

It was superb skill and vast patience that enabled Pierre and Marie Curie to track down the Becquerel rays and to discover their origin in radium. But those epoch-making researches were done in small, cold, university laboratories, at Wurzburg and at the Sorbonne in Paris, with a supply of plain dishes and a few simple but accurate instruments, designed and built by the investigators themselves—plus long hours of hard work, often at night after professorial duties.

Those days are gone. Today the frontiers of atomic science are so far from the everyday world that it takes large, expensive and organized expeditions to reach them. A cyclotron for penetrating the nucleus costs millions of dollars. To operate it as thousands of horsepower costs thousands of dollars per day and requires the combined work of large teams of physicists, chemists, mathematicians, engineers, electricians and also biologists, and physicians.

The whole undertaking is so expensive that no university anywhere can establish a modern nuclear research laboratory without the financial aid of its government. And there are very few governments in these days of economic strain that can afford a major program of nuclear research. So most students and scientists the world over have little chance of participating in this greatest scientific adventure of the twentieth century. Yet the pioneer work had been European.

The European Cultural Conference meeting at Lausanne in 1949, first recommended that specialized European institutes be established in fields where the costs exceed the resources of individual governments and specifically urged the setting up of such an institute in nuclear physics. At the General Conference of Unesco at Florence, Italy, in 1950, Prof. Isidor Rabi, of Columbia University in New York, proposed that UNESCO should take the lead in bringing together European scientists and governments to establish a European center for nuclear research using their combined intellectual and financial resources. Three years later, in July 1953, the Convention for the European Organization for Nuclear Research, drawn up under UNESCO auspices, was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. It will be a reality when formally ratified by seven nations.

The resolution passed by the UNESCO General Conference at Florence was, in fact, somewhat broader. It authorized the Director-General "to assist and encourage the formation and organization of regional research centers and laboratories in order to increase and make more fruitful the international collaboration of scientists in the search for new knowledge in fields where the effort of any one country in the region is insufficient for the task."

The UNESCO has also sponsored the establishment of an International Computation Centre, probably to be located in Rome, where modern electronic computers will be available for the use of the scientists of member nations. And, on the other side of the earth, UNESCO is studying the possibility of an international research center in oceanography in the Indo-Pacific region.

Twelve European nations have taken part in the discussions and planning and are expected to become members of the European Organization for Nuclear Research. They are: Belgium, Denmark, France, the German Federal Republic, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. Other states may later be admitted to membership by unanimous vote of the member states. The cost is estimated at 120 million Swiss francs ($28 million, 10 million pounds sterling) for the first 7 years, including construction and operation, which will be provided by the member states in proportion to their average national incomes.

RIVALING COSMIC RAYS

While the new organization will actively foster the cooperation between separate national research centers especially in nuclear theory, it will have a central laboratory located on a site approximately 2,000 feet square about 3 miles northwest of Geneva, Switzerland ,and adjoining the French border on land offered by the Geneva Canton.

A staff of about 50 experts, many of them part-time consultants, has been at work for a year and a half on detailed plans for the buildings and the powerful machines. The Secretary-General is Prof. Edoardo Amaldi, professor of experimental physics at the University of Rome. The group responsible for the design of the laboratory itself is headed by Prof. Lew Kowarski, scientific director in the Atomic Energy Commission, France, while the director of the theoretical group is Prof. Niels Bohr, director of the Institute of Theoretical Physics in Copenhagen.

There are also 2 special study groups for the design of the 2 major high-energy accelerators. That for the 600 million electron-volt synchro-cyclotron is headed by Dr. C. J. Bakker, professor of physics at the University of Amsterdam, and that for the great 25,000 million electron-volt proton-synchrotron is under Dr. Odd Dahl, head of the section for applied physics at the Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway.

The smaller of the two machines will have ample power to generate mesons for detailed study. It will have an electromagnet 16 feet in diameter, weighing 2,500 tons and fitted with 2 electric magnetizing coils that together will weigh another 180 tons. It will be surrounded by a thick concrete wall and covered by a concrete roof. It will cost about 17 million Swiss francs ($4 million, 1.4 million pounds sterling), and will take about 4 years to build so that it should be ready for operation in 1957 or 1958.

The proton-synchrotron, however, will be far larger and more costly. It will generate particles with 10 times as much energy as is provided by any existing machine and will embody a recently discovered principle for controlling them. It will be the first machine to produce particles with as much energy as is carried by the cosmic rays from outer space. No one can predict what it will reveal but the experts have great expectations of reaching the inner secrets both of matter and of energy.

Its great magnet will be relatively small in cross section but will form a circle some 650 feet in diameter, buried in a deep trench in the earth and covered with thick concrete. Each time a high-speed particle goes around the ring it will travel nearly 2,000 feet, and in half a million circuits—which would require only a little more than a second—it will travel as far as from the earth to the moon, at practically the velocity of light. Emerging then it will be the most energetic projectile ever produced by man.

The proton-synchrotron will cost about 55 million Swiss francs ($12.8 million, 4.5 million pounds sterling) and will probably take 7 years to build so that it will not be ready for use until 1960.

It is important to mention that the Convention of the European Organization for Nuclear Research states that its purpose is "to provide for collaboration among European states in nuclear research of a pure scientific and fundamental character." Also, it "shall have no concern with work for military requirements and the results of its experimental and theoretical work shall be published or made generally available."

This means that its work will have no relation to war and none of its results will be secret but will be the property of mankind. It will, in fact, be the beginning of a new era in science, one of maximum cooperation among scientists across national and linguistic borders, and a common peaceful effort to master the secrets of nature in order to increase the resources of humanity.

We Watched 42 Young French Boys Go to War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Glendive Daily Ranger, of Glendive, Mont., and the Lewistown (Mont.) Daily News, on Sunday, January 24, 1954.

Perhaps this editorial will bring home a little more clearly to many of us just what great sacrifices France is making in carrying on the war in Indochina. This struggle, now in its eighth year,

has cost France a great deal in manpower and in treasure. It might be interesting to Americans to know that France has spent in the years she has been carrying on this struggle against the Communists in Indochina, far more than she has received from the United States under both the Marshall plan and the mutual-security agreement. Yes, Mr. President, this editorial should make a lot of us think.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE WATCHED 42 YOUNG FRENCH BOYS GO TO WAR

Forty-two young Frenchmen piled out of a special plane at Great Falls' Gore Field recently.

They were French marines, en route to French Indochina, where they will fight in the dirty, stinking, man-killing war with the Communists which has now been waged 7 years.

They were nice looking young kids, polite and well-behaved.

During their 2-hour stop for supper, they wrote hundreds of cards to their parents, wives, friends, and other loved ones back in France.

Then, after their brief pause, they roared off into the cold Montana night, en route to humid French Indochina and the very hot war which is being waged there.

"Sometimes 2 and 3 planeloads a day of 'em fly through here," a man at the airport said. "Nice kids, too, and I'll bet a lot of them get killed over there in Asia, and never get home."

It made you think.

We criticize the French for their anxiety to end the war in French Indochina.

Yet think how our boys fought and died in Korea, and how anxious we were to bring the war to a close.

We fought in Korea for 3 years.

But the French have been fighting in French Indochina for 7.

Korea was terrible to us, and French Indochina has been just as tragic to the French. And they have been at it almost two and a half times as long as we, with little hope so far of an armistice.

Watching those French kids as they paused in Great Falls, seeing them write postcards by the hundreds to their loved ones in France—loved ones that many of them will never see again—made us think hard.

Somehow we couldn't feel quite so unkindly toward the French as we had.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE POINTS OUT DAMAGING EFFECTS OF BRICKER AMENDMENT ON BUSINESS TREATIES

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as I have previously pointed out, there are a great many harmful implications of the Bricker amendment. As time goes on, more and more of these implications are coming to light.

One such danger is the effect of the "which" clause, as well as other aspects of the amendment, on the conduct of international trade.

It is strange, indeed, to see that many proponents of the Bricker amendment who are leading businessmen do not appear to recognize the fact that the amendment would gravely harm American business throughout the world. How? For one thing, it would endanger international treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation without which it is almost inconceivable that the present level and type of world economic dealings could continue.

I send to the desk now the text of an expert memorandum prepared for the United States Council of the International Chamber of Commerce on this issue.

This memorandum was considered and approved at a meeting of the executive committee of the United States council. I shall have the full roster of that group of great American leaders of the free-enterprise system included in the RECORD.

I welcome the committee's calm and factual presentation.

I think this sound statement by esteemed business leaders will be exceedingly salutary, because it may help show those misguided but well-intending businessmen, among others, who happen to support the Bricker amendment that they are cutting their own throats in addition to cutting their Nation's economic throat inadvertently.

I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, preceded by the membership list of the able executive committee.

There being no objection, the list and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NAMES AND AFFILIATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

S. C. Allyn, president, National Cash Register Co.

W. M. Black, senior partner, Peat-Marwick-Mitchell & Co.

Philip Cortney, president, Coty, Inc.

Frederick C. Crawford, chairman of board, Thompson Products, Inc.

Eugene S. Gregg, vice president, Westrex Corp.

H. J. Heinz II, president, H. J. Heinz Co.

Paul G. Hoffman, chairman, Studebaker Corp.

Amery Houghton, chairman, Corning Glass Works.

William A. Mitchell, president, Central Trust Co. of Cincinnati.

Irving S. Olds, White & Case.

Morehead Patterson, chairman, American Machine & Foundry Co.

Philip D. Reed, chairman, General Electric Co.

Edward C. Riley, general manager, General Motors, overseas division.

Frank P. Shepard, vice president, Bankers Trust Co.

George A. Sloan, president, Blue Ridge Mutual Fund, Inc.

Sidney A. Swensrud, chairman, Gulf Oil Corp.

Thomas J. Watson, president, IBM Corp.

Lowell P. Weicker, Paris, France.

Leo D. Welch, treasurer, Standard Oil Co., New Jersey.

Charles D. Wiman, president, Deere & Co.

CHAIRMAN

Warren Lee Pierson, chairman, Trans-World Airlines, Inc.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Lloyd K. Neidlinger.

VICE CHAIRMEN

Sigurd S. Larmon, president, Young & Rubicam, Inc.

Thomas H. McKittrick, senior vice president, Chase National Bank, New York.

Clarence B. Randall, chairman, Inland Steel Co.

James D. Zellerbach, president, Crown-Zellerbach Corp.

TREASURER

S. Sloan Colt, president, Bankers Trust Co.

MEMORANDUM BY THE UNITED STATES COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INC., ON THE EFFECTS OF THE BRICKER AMENDMENT ON COMMERCIAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS BENEFITING AMERICAN BUSINESS

FOREWORD

This memorandum has been prepared to enable members of the United States Council to consider the extent to which commercial interests may be affected by the changes in the established treatymaking powers of the United States Government proposed in Senate Joint Resolution 1, the Bricker amendment.

The Council recognizes that grave questions of constitutional law, balance of powers, and of States' rights are raised by Senator BRICKER'S proposal. Such questions have captured the attention of the principal advocates and opponents of the amendment, but little attention has so far been directed to the specific effect the amendment might have on the treaties and executive agreements of principal interest to business.

This memorandum will not deal with the purely political issues raised by the Bricker amendment. It does not purport to recommend a position for or against the amendment as a whole. Its sole purpose is to study the manner in which the amendment might affect the negotiation of certain treaties and agreements which have been concluded over the years to secure a number of rights and benefits for American citizens and business establishments engaged in international trade.

The first comprehensive treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation was concluded in 1790 between France and the United States. Similar treaties were subsequently concluded with 42 nations. Many of those concluded prior to 1890 have been revised and amended to make them responsive to modern conditions. Revision of others is currently under negotiation or awaiting ratification and new treaties are also being negotiated.

In addition to these comprehensive treaties, special conventions have been concluded with many nations to relieve American companies of the burdens of double taxation.

A large number of matters of interest to American businessmen have been incorporated in executive agreements and multilateral conventions which have the effect of regulating such matters as postal rates, use of radio frequencies, air-transport rights, protection of patents and trademarks and similar specific details of conducting business in foreign lands or in cooperation with foreign companies.

For these reasons it is believed that a study of the effects of the Bricker amendment in the field of our foreign economic relations should be brought to the attention of council members.

American business interests are engaged in a wide variety of activities throughout the world—activities which make a great contribution to the economic strength of

the United States. In order to protect our business interests from unfair actions by foreign governments and to enable Americans to conduct their business operations effectively, it has been the practice throughout our history to conclude treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation (FCN) between the United States and foreign countries. Such treaties contain commitments by the foreign government to grant the favorable treatment sought by American business, based of course on the condition that the United States Government in its turn grant equally favorable treatment to the foreign citizen or corporation. The assurances the United States can receive are limited by the assurances we are willing to grant.

Provisions of treaties and agreements concluded for the benefit of American business are of two kinds: (a) those providing guarantees relating to trade (import duties, export duties, etc.); and (b) those affecting the rights of individuals and companies doing business in foreign countires (commitments regarding ownership of property, taxation, expropriation, etc.).

The Bricker amendment would affect the ability of the United States to enter into treaties and agreements regarding these matters in two ways: First, by requiring that treaties and agreements "shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation," and second, that such legislative action may only be such as "would be valid in the absence of treaty."

I. Requirement of legislative action: If this requirement were adopted, there would be increased difficulty in concluding treaties and agreements owing to (A) cumbersomeness of the procedure and (B) the possible effect on the accepted procedure of authorizing executive agreements by prior legislation.

A. The requirement that treaties and agreements, in order to be effective as internal law, must be approved by act of Congress, in addition to Senate consent to ratification, would hamper the conclusion of agreements beneficial to American business interests by greatly complicating the procedure. The additional legislative step would inevitably cause delay, particularly when Senate action took place near the end of a session and final legislative action had to be delayed until the beginning of the next session. Also it commonly happens that both the House and Senate committees consider it necessary to hold extended hearings on the same subject.

B. With respect to executive agreements pursuant to legislative authorization, typical examples are the reciprocal trade agreements made under and in conformity with the Trade Agreements Act, as amended; the lend-lease agreements made under and in conformity with acts of Congress; and the series of agreements made by the exchange of diplomatic notes for reciprocal tax exemption on shipping profits made under and in conformity with provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. An example of a different type is the postal arrangements made pursuant to law by the Postmaster General, by and with the advice and consent of the President.

Whether the Bricker amendment would be interpreted as requiring subsequent statutory approval of each executive agreement of these types is not made clear. The pertinent language is that treaties shall become effective only "through legislation," and that executive agreements "shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties."

If agreements pursuant to prior legislation are regarded as being made effective through legislation, this legislative device would not be affected. On the other hand, if it is intended that subsequent specific legislative action is required in the case of each agreement, the above-mentioned device which has been found convenient, and in some cases absolutely necessary for carrying out the policies in view, could no longer be used.

II. The so-called "which" clause (effect on content of treaties and agreements): There is danger that the practical effect of this clause would be to prevent the inclusion in treaties and agreements of many provisions heretofore included for the protection and benefit of American business interests abroad. The provisions that could no longer be included would be certain of those provisions of our general treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation which relate to the treatment of persons and companies, as distinguished from vessels and goods. The latter, being within the authority of Congress under the commerce clause of the Constitution, presumably could still be included in treaties and made effective as internal law by a valid act of Congress. The former (provisions relating to persons and companies), being in many cases partially or wholly within the authority of the States, presumably could not.

It is true that matters within State jurisdiction could still be included in treaties if the treaties were approved by the legislatures of the States. Such procedures would be too cumbersome, time-consuming, and uncertain to be practicable and, moreover, it should be noted that these treaties would be effective only in those States that acted affirmatively.

With respect to the rights of persons and companies, reference is made below to typical provisions commonly included in our treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation. Such provisions, in the absence of treaty, could not be made effective by congressional enactment, or at least the validity of such an enactment would be in doubt, because they deal with matters within State jurisdiction.

It should be noted that mere doubt as to State jurisdiction would probably be sufficient to exclude a provision from a treaty since the President could not make a binding commitment on behalf of the United States in the absence of assurance that it could in fact be carried out. And in the absence of a clear United States commitment it is not likely that a foreign country would on its part assume a corresponding obligation.

Furthermore, even if the laws of all the States were in complete harmony with a proposed treaty provision, the Congress would not have authority to approve a treaty containing such a provision, since the enacting statute would not be valid under the Constitution as modified by the Bricker amendment. And, of course, no assurance could be given that State laws would not subsequently be changed.

The provisions cited below are from the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Economic Development with Uruguay, signed November 23, 1949. Similar provisions are commonly included in other treaties of this type. These provisions relate to matters which are partially or wholly within the jurisdiction of the States.

Article I, section 1: This section permits the nationals of either party to enter the territories of the other party for the purpose of carrying on trade and for other purposes.

Provisions regarding trade presumably would be within the powers of Congress under the commerce clause, but clauses such as the one cited could not be incorporated in treaties without danger that matters within States' legislative jurisdiction might be covered.

Article III, section 1: This section entitles nationals of either party to certain specified treatment in the application of laws and regulations within the territories of the other party that provide for compensation on account of disease, injury, or death in the course of employment.

Article III, section 2: Nationals of either party within the territories of the other are accorded certain specified treatment in the application of laws and regulations establishing systems of compulsory insurance against certain specified misfortunes.

Article IV: This article specifies that neither party shall without appropriate reason deny opportunities and facilities for the investment of capital by nationals and companies of the other party.

Article V, sections 1 and 2: Nationals and companies of either party are accorded the right within the territories of the other to certain specified treatment with regard to engaging in a variety of activities, including: commercial, manufacturing, financial, construction, publishing, scientific, educational, religious, philanthropic, and professional, and regarding exploiting mineral deposits and engaging in fields of eonomic and cultural activities.

Article V, section 4: Nationals and companies of either party within the territories of the other are permitted to employ experts for purposes of examinations or audits and technical investigations pertaining to their own business without the requirement that these experts shall qualify for the practice of their profession under laws and regulations of such territories.

Article VI, section 1: Nationals and companies of either party are accorded within the territories of the other party the right to organize, control, and manage companies for engaging in a variety of specified activities.

Article VII, section 1: Nationals and companies of either party are accorded certain rights regarding the leasing of real property for certain specified commecial and noncommercial purposes.

Article VII, section 3: Nationals and companies of either party are given the right to dispose of inherited property that they are not permitted to retain because of alienage, and are given 5 years to do so.

Article VII, section 4: Nationals and companies of either party are given certain rights with respect to acquisition, possession, and disposition of personal property.

Article VIII, section 2: This section provides that property of the nationals or companies of either party within the territory of the other shall not be expropriated except through procedures and subject to conditions applicable to nationals. "Any expropriation shall be made in accordance with applicable laws, which shall at least assure the payment of just compensation in a prompt, adequate, and effective manner."

Senate Document No. 232, the Constitution of the United States (p. 825): "The settled rule of the Supreme Court (U. S.) in cases for the determination of the amount of damages to be paid for private property condemned and taken for public use, is that it accepts the construction placed by the supreme court of the State upon its constitution and statutes."

Article IX: Nationals and companies of either party, whether or not residing within the territories of the other party, are accorded certain rights in regard to the payments of fees, taxes, or charges imposed upon, or applied to, income, capital, transactions, activities, or any other objects, or to requirements with respect to the levying and collection thereof.

In the absence of treaty, the Congress presumably would have no jurisdiction over State taxes.

All the foregoing articles refer to matters with respect to which the jurisdiction of the Congress, acting by itself, is in doubt but which can presently be covered by the President and Congress acting together.

In order to protect American business from double taxation on income in conection with its activities abroad, the United States Government has entered into taxation con-

ventions with a number of foreign countries. Inasmuch as the subject matter of these conventions is concerned with Federal income taxes only, it would appear that the Congress has power, either in the presence or absence of treaty, to pass appropriate legislation.

Thus the questions raised by the "which" clause would not appear applicable to these conventions; the comments on the requirement of implementing legislation, however, would still apply.

CONCLUSION

The authority of the President to conclude executive agreements and the authority of the President and Senate to conclude formal treaties has been widely used to promote and protect the interests of Americans engaged in international commerce and investment.

In the exercise of the treatymaking power of the Government, all parties concerned with the negotiations must have confidence that the commitments made do not violate constitutional provisions and laws, and that internal laws will not make it impossible to fulfill them.

The study made by the United States council indicates that the Bricker amendment raises questions that should be clarified if a new procedure for ratifying treaties and making executive agreements effective is to enjoy this confidence.

The council wishes to express its thanks to Messrs. Gerard Swope, Jr., and Walter Schlotterbeck who have served as legal consultants to the staff in the preparation of this memorandum.

This memorandum was considered and approved at the meeting of the executive committee of the United States council on January 27, 1954.

Robert W. Hansen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am happy to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article about Robert W. Hansen which appeared in the Eagle's magazine for February 19, 1954.

I have known Bob Hansen for many years in the Fraternal Order of the Eagles, and I can say that I have known no one who has the interest of humanity more at heart and who has, by example and precept, put into practice the principles which have made the Fraternal Order of the Eagles the great American brotherhood it is. Bob Hansen assumed many responsibilities in carrying out what he considers his obligation in an extremely busy lifetime. He is an American in the truest sense of the word. Those of us who belong to the Fraternal Order of the Eagles look upon him as one of America's greatest exponents of the ideals which have made this country what it is. I was very happy to read the article about Bob in the Eagle's magazine; and I am privileged to bring to the attention of the Senate the many attributes, the fine personality, and the genuine kindess of this great American.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GUY WITH THE PIPE
(By Doyle K. Getter)
(Reprinted from the Milwaukee Journal of October 15, 1953)

Hansen is a very popular name in Milwaukee.

There are 46 inches of Hansens, in fine type, in the city directory—approximately 525 Hansens, in all. Of them, 15 are Robert Hansens and 3 of the Roberts are Robert W.

If the Robert W. Hansen you are looking for always wears a double-breasted blue serge suit, always smokes a bulldog pipe, and automatically rises to give a speech every time a plate of creamed chicken and peas is shoved in front of him, then the chances are your man is Robert Wayne Hansen, attorney, champion of the brotherhood of man, twice national president of the Eagles and one of the busiest public speakers who has turned up on the Milwaukee banquet circuit in a coon's age.

He is secretary and chief examiner of the Milwaukee fire and police commission; member of the Milwaukee Harbor commission; general counsel and national executive director of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism; member of the President's Committee for National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, and vice chairman of the Governor's same committee; secretary of the Governor's commission for the St. Lawrence seaway; regional chairman of brotherhood week for the National Conference of Christians and Jews; general counsel for the International Building Service Employees' Union; a director of the Milwaukee World Affairs Council, and a division chairman of the Community Chest fund-raising campaign.

SPEAKER, NOT JOINER

Curiously enough, Hansen, who probably attends more meetings of service and civic clubs than any other Milwaukeean, has never been a member. He attends almost always as the invited speaker, making 200 or more such appearances a year.

He was elected treasurer of the Milwaukee lodge less than a year after he joined in 1937. Within 6 years he had worked up through vice president and president of the Milwaukee lodge, State president and finally national president in August, 1943. One month earlier he had been named editor of Eagle, the order's national magazine.

Hansen held the editor's post until he resigned in 1950 over a difference in viewpoint with the national organization. The national Eagles organization seemed, to Hansen and to many others, to be drifting toward becoming more of a national insurance company than a fraternal organization.

In an effort to halt that trend, Hansen agreed last summer to head a slate of "insurgents" at the national convention to oppose the regular nominees. The insurgents won all down the line and Hansen was back in the president's chair.

Hansen has enjoyed talking in front of an audience for as long as he can remember. He liked to recite poems in grade school. He discovered debating at Washington high school and became captain of the debating team. In the early thirties, he helped to make Marquette University as highly regarded in debating circles as Notre Dame was in football.

LIFE AND GROWTH

In those years Marquette sent its debate team from one end of the country to the other. From 1930 to 1933 Hansen participated in 125 intercollegiate debates for Marquette, which is still a school record. The Hilltoppers would debate anybody, any time, on almost any subject. In 1932, Hansen recalls, he and a colleague debated a University of Nevada team at Reno on "Resolved, That 'easy divorce' should be condemned." Marquette had the affirmative and won the audience's decision.

Hansen neglected debating enough to edit the Marquette Law Review in his senior year. He received his law degree in June 1933, being graduated with an "A" average. He has practiced law here since then.

An acquaintance recently asked Hansen what subject he liked most to talk about. Hansen thought for a moment and said there was only one subject that he talked about.

"I think it is respect for life," he said. "Let things live and grow. It sounds corny, but it's what I believe * * * a partnership among people * * * an understanding among people."

Hansen describes himself as "an attempt to think-out-loud sort of speaker." He always speaks extemporaneously. He jots down an outline of what he intends to say on the back of a card or envelope and puts it away before he talks.

He discovered years ago that if he tried to memorize a speech, he would forget it. Except for a knack of remembering names and faces, Hansen said he had no memory at all, especially for dates and numbers. He has a hard time remembering a telephone number from the time he looks it up until he dials it.

Speaking, for Hansen, is a means of self-education. He believes that he has learned much more from his speeches than his audiences, because speaking, for him, is merely talked over with himself what he has read and learned.

Lecture bureaus have tried to "sign up" Hansen and put him on the road, but Hansen has not been interested. The money they offer does not attract him. Hansen believes that he could count on the fingers of one hand the times he has been paid to speak. If some organization insists on paying, he usually suggests that they give the money to CARE.

CAN'T RESIST BOOKS

Hansen was married on St. Valentine's Day 1940 to Dorothea Angus, an Antigo (Wis.) girl who was a nurse at the county emergency hospital here. They have three children—Karen, John, and Susan.

Hansen has been blind in his left eye since birth. Reading, however, is his favorite recreation and means of relaxation. He reads some every day—newspapers, magazines, books. When he becomes interested in a subject he follows it avidly, reading through all of the sources he can find.

Hansen has a love of owning books—not books with fancy bindings especially, but any books. He can't resist secondhand stores and their book stalls or bargain counters in bookstores. If he finds, say, a volume on pickle making reduced to 59 cents he feels compelled to buy it. That has caused his reading to take some odd turns over the years.

Hansen's brown hair is a problem—but not to him. It used to be bushy. Now it is thinning, but it still falls in all directions. He could very well pose for the before pictures for an advertisement for hair cream.

He worries no more about his clothes than he does about his hair. Since high-school days, at least, he has never bought any suit except a double breasted blue serge. That is not exactly right. He bought a gray tweed in 1943 for $31 but never wears it. He wears blue serge everywhere, even to formal affairs if he can't avoid the occasion. These are usually speaking engagements. He has never owned a tuxedo. If a black tie is required, Hansen wears a black bow tie with a blue serge and stipulates that at least one other man at the speakers' table be similarly dressed.

All of his shirts are either solid white or solid blue. His ties are maroon or blue. All solid colors. No stripes.

You rarely seen Hansen without a pipe. Here again he uses as much imagination as he does with his clothes. He owns about 50 pipes—all alike, bulldog style, Canadian bit. He drinks Coca-Cola, beer, or scotch and water, depending upon his mood.

Hansen claims that he is not nervous and, while seated, he is the picture of placidity. He has a habit, however, while talking to a visitor in his office, of getting up from his chair and pacing back and forth across the room running his fingers through his hair. He says it helps him to marshal his thoughts. Maybe he isn't nervous. But a visitor, turning his head to follow Hansen's back and forth pacing, soon begins to feel as if he were at a tennis match. Hansen's nerves may be O. K., but a visitor's are soon run ragged.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared relating to the recent bill passed in the Senate providing for participation of the United States in the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway, together with newspaper articles, editorials, and correspondence relating to the same subject.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY

The resounding victory of St. Lawrence seaway legislation, S. 2150, in the United States Senate has been a source of deepest gratification to the people of our Nation.

The 51–33 vote is a victory which partially climaxes 30 long years of struggle.

Now, this fine initial victory must be consummated in the House of Representatives.

A TRAGEDY UNLESS HOUSE ACTS

If the House were not to approve the bill, its failure would be a tragedy for this Nation.

It would be a tragedy for the Midwest, heartland of America.

It would be a tragedy for Canadian-United States relations.

It would be a tragedy for future generations of Americans whose precious birthright would have been thrown away.

UPHILL BATTLE IN THE HOUSE

I earnestly hope, therefore, that the House Public Works Committee under the able chairmanship of my distinguished friend, Congressman GEORGE DONDERO, of Michigan, will find it possible to take prompt action on this issue and that it will report favorably to the House of Representatives.

I trust that shortly thereafter, the House Rules Committee will approve the Wiley bill and that its action will be concurred in by the House, itself. I know that the fight will be a difficult one in the House. It will be an uphill battle. But win it must.

From all over our country, I have received editorial expressions from leading newspapers on the seaway fight.

WISCONSIN APPLAUDED ACTION

In addition, great numbers of letters and telegrams have come to me from the 48 States and in particular from my own State on this issue.

Many of the kind letters expressed personal congratulations to me for this victory—an objective for which I personally have been working since coming to the Senate back in January 1939.

I am humbly proud and deeply grateful for these personal expressions. I know that they come from the heart of the people of my State—a great State whose economic future will be determined in considerable part by the final outcome of the seaway battle.

I am grateful for the privilege of having served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when this vital legislation came up, and for having been in a position to redraft the Wiley bill so as to win the final Senate support for which we have fought so long.

I have sent to the desk excerpts from the texts of several of the newspaper editorials, a few of which were forwarded to me prior to the decisive Senate vote, as well as the text of many of the heart-warming letters and wires.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 21, 1954]

SEAWAY NEARS—AFTER 50 YEARS

Senate approval of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway, capping more than half a century of study and debate, came finally in recognition of a fact: The seaway is going to be built.

Canada has made that plain and has started work. Our only chance to share in seaway control is to give the project approval now. Speedy House action is needed to help obtain a seaway voice—for Canadian officials are even now doubting whether they any longer want us as seaway partners.

The Senate vote of 51 to 33 gave the seaway a greater margin of victory than anyone would have dared hope for only a few weeks ago. It is a tribute to Senator WILEY. He led the fight and has worked hard at it for several years. It was his compromise bill which attracted several wavering Senators.

* * * * * *

The fight in the House still remains to be made. It may be tougher than in the Senate. It will take good leadership. Wisconsin has the right to expect that every 1 of its 10 House Members will be in the thick of the battle. Senator WILEY has set a fine example for them to follow.

[From the Two Rivers (Wis.) Reporter of January 22, 1954]

SEAWAY SEEMS ASSURED

After almost half a century of indecision, United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway appears certain. The approval voted by the Senate this week, 51 to 33 and a greater margin than even the stanchest supporters hoped for, seems to have launched this country on the joint undertaking with Canada.

However, the House must also give its consent. This body of legislators may provide uncertain opposition. Because the House has never considered the bill, observers are at a loss to predict its chances. The House Public Works Committee will give the measure its first severe test, and then it must get by the Rules Committee, which will decide whether or not the issue will go before the full House.

This community and the rest of Wisconsin, understandably, is happy about the outcome of the proposal in the Senate. The entire State had watched its progress in the upper Chamber, knowing that the fight was being waged almost singlehanded by its senior Senator, ALEXANDER R. WILEY. It was he who, in spite of setbacks and an almost solid wall of opposition from eastern legislators and big business, had forged, link by link, the chain which was to result in favorable action.

Obstacles did not deter him and when the cause seemed about lost WILEY teamed up with Representative DONDERO, of Michigan, on a bill which, as events proved, obtained the support of enough wavering Senators to insure passage by a comfortable margin.

Canadian officials who doubt they want the United States as a partner in the seaway must also be convinced that teamwork on the vast project is not only the best course but in the end will be the most satisfactory. Informants said Canada had already decided to go it alone and now question whether United States participation is necessary.

But of immediate concern is favorable House action. What Senator WILEY has accomplished should be an inspiration to Wisconsin's 10 House Members. They should be able to pick up and carry the ball so that 50 years of preparatory work can be brought to a successful conclusion.

[From the Chicago News of January 25, 1954]

SEAWAY VICTORY

The historic struggle to build the St. Lawrence seaway, which eventually will give inland Chicago and the Middle West easier access to the sea, has taken a mighty step forward.

It passed a major congressional hurdle last Wednesday night when the Senate voted 51 to 33 in favor of United States participation with Canada in the multi-million-dollar project.

It was a dramatic victory for the Eisenhower administration, which managed to effect a surprising switch of sentiment among enemies of the proposal, among them Illinois' own Senator DIRKSEN, Republican.

That it was achieved by a Republican administration was especially fitting. For the original seaway proposal was primarily a Republican policy and project.

The early negotiations were carried on by the Harding and Coolidge administrations, and the seaway treaty itself was negotiated under the Hoover administration. Both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations pressed in vain for its adoption.

Wednesday's victory is especially impressive, since the backers of the seaway had never been able to get it through the Senate before.

Its next test, which we hope will be its final one, will come in the House. Stiff opposition is expected, although the House has several times given its approval in the past.

* * * * * *

Over the years the principal opposition to the seaway has come from the Atlantic and Gulf States, where inland bids for port facilities have always been opposed by jealous interests.

Midwestern Senators and Representatives often joined in this opposition under the persuasion of inland commercial interests. These included railroads and major coal and power producers, who protested that the seaway would adversely affect their welfare.

That opposition to the project would dwindle in the face of its world necessity was inevitable.

The impetus which brought about the change in senatorial temper came with the discovery of vast new ore deposits in Labrador, a factor that focused attention on the need for a water pathway to the steel mills of the Great Lakes region.

As we have noted before, the St. Lawrence is a part of the world's longest undefended boundary between two nations. Canadian-United States cooperation in its development would be a significant symbol of the type of friendly cooperation the whole world is seeking.

It is up to the House to bring this unity into being.

[From the Idaho Statesman of January 22, 1954]

SEAWAY APPROVAL

The quick, decisive Senate approval of the St. Lawrence seaway bill was a snapping surprise. Only Wednesday the Republican floor leader, Senator KNOWLAND, had said he hoped for a vote sometime next week. This was the first test of the long-argued proposal in the present Congress, but the last time a test was made in the Senate, about a year and a half ago, the supporters of the seaway project were two votes short of a majority. And now they turn up with a voting strength of almost 2 to 1.

* * * * *

The large margin of approval in the Senate seems to be a significant legislative victory for the Eisenhower administration. Presidents Roosevelt and Truman had both tried repeatedly to get approval of the seaway project, in Congresses overwhelmingly dominated by their own party, with no success at all.

The seaway vote suggests that the Eisenhower administration has unexpected strength in Congress. If similar strength is evident in another test or two, opponents of the President's legislative program will have to revise their thinking.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 22, 1954]

STATESMANSHIP IN A YOUNG SENATOR

JOHN F. KENNEDY is the junior Senator from Massachusetts, now just beginning the second year of his term. He is also the youngest Member of the Senate. Yet he not only showed himself * * * a statesman on the St. Lawrence seaway vote * * *; he stood up above many Members who are in their second or even third terms. Because Senator KENNEDY was not only on the winning but the right side, we reprint in today's Mirror of Public Opinion extracts from his splendid address in the Senate explaining why he was breaking with the traditional prejudice of Massachusetts political figures against the seaway. The young Senator's words have the mark of statesmanship on them. Many of his elders ought to think over what he said.

[From the Benton Harbor (Mich.) News-Palladium of January 16, 1954]

DO WE WANT A CANADIAN SEAWAY?

If Congress again fails to enact legislation providing for the St. Lawrence seaway, jointly built and operated by the United States and Canada, it will be the first time that this country has voluntarily relinquished control over a waterway so vital to the Nation's security, defense, and prosperity.

This is in the words of a bulletin issued by the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, "a vital and strategic waterway that leads directly to the heart of the United States. No nation has ever voluntarily forfeited control over a major waterway. Witness the Dardanelles, Suez, and Panama, because control of such a waterway means control over commerce, a major bargaining point in international relations."

The waterway will be built, regardless of congressional action, for the simple reason that Canada is going ahead with the project, in conjunction with the State of New York, regardless of United States participation.

The issue now before Congress is the seaway and not government construction of power dams. If the waterway is Canadian, it will mean that a foreign power, even though friendly, will exercise exclusive jurisdiction and control over all future foreign shipping entering and leaving the Great Lakes. And in the event of a capacity operation, Canada would have control over priorities on seaway use for various ships and cargoes.

The funds that go into the seaway are an investment in an income-producing asset and will pay its own operational and maintenance costs. It may be true that the seaway would be unused for intervals in winter, but these would be, we believe, offset by the volume of traffic during the lengthening navigation season.

[From the Columbus (Ohio) Citizen of January 22, 1954]

WE SHOULD HELP WITH ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

It took more than 20 years for the Senate to approve American participation in construction of the St. Lawrence seaway. Perhaps it would not have done so this time if it were not for the imposing fact that the seaway would be built anyway. Canada has declared it will go it alone if necessary. Some Senators who might have preferred that it not be built felt apparently that the United States should have a voice in its operation.

* * * * *

If the seaway benefits our Middle West as much as its proponents say it will, our railroads and our seaport cities will share, as well as will the whole Nation, in the added prosperity. To take the optimistic view, these seaway opponents may obtain more business as an indirect result of the seaway than they will lose in the short run.

* * * * *

In approving American participation in the seaway, the Senate made a difficult decision. We believe it was the right one, and hope the House of Representatives will concur.

[From the New York Times of January 27, 1954]

CANADA AND THE SEAWAY

Now that the House of Representatives is about to take up the Wiley-Dondero bill for American participation in the St. Lawrence seaway a great deal is suddenly being made of the fact that the Canadians are willing to go it alone and build the seaway without our help. Canada's attitude is being treated as if it were something new, whereas the Canadian House of Commons voted more than 2 years ago that if the United States continued its refusal to take part Canada could and would construct the seaway without us.

The point that is being overlooked by these new arguers is that it is to the advantage of the United States to take part and that it will be better for both countries on the score of security and engineering, as well as neighborly relations, to make it a joint undertaking. When Lionel Chevrier, Minister of Transport, opened the debate in Parliament on December 4, 1951, that led to the Canadian decision he made the point several times that "We would prefer to have full United States participation in the project under the terms of the 1941 agreement, perhaps with some modification along lines already discussed in Congress, provided the agreement is approved at an early date."

These lines are embodied in the Wiley-Dondero bill and Senator WILEY, long an advocate of the seaway, has always been convinced they are acceptable to the Canadians. In fact, the official position of the Canadian Government is that Ottawa will welcome United States participation in the seaway providing that the American proposals do not entail any serious delay.

Naturally, Canadian public opinion has ben reconciling itself to the thought of building the seaway alone. Canadians are only human, and the idea of showing their big and sometimes annoying brother to the south that they have come of age and do not need help is attractive. All the same, a joint undertaking would be better for them, too. For one thing, it will save at least $35 million to build canals on the American side of the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River instead of building them all on the Canadian side.

The seaway is a great continental project reaching into the heart of both our countries, and it should be developed jointly. Here is a combination, probably unique in the world, of large reserves of power, cheap transportation, and vast material resources—along and on both sides of the border. For the United States to let Canada expolit this opportunity alone is not sensible.

[From the Indianapolis News of January 16, 1954]

OPEN THE ST. LAWRENCE TO INDIANA

Joint United States-Canadian participation in a St. Lawrence waterway is definitely in our national interest. And it is especially in the interest of the Great Lakes States, of which Indiana is one.

* * * * *

This is the critical year for settling the St. Lawrence question once and for all, and affirmatively. If we don't participate, Canada will build the waterway anyhow. Then our shipping will be using it, and we still will have no voice in its control, or revenue from the tolls.

Once opponents had a valid argument against a Federal electric power monopoly in connection with the project. That has been taken clear out of the picture. The Federal Power Commission has granted the New York State Power Authority permission to construct the American portion of the hydroelectric project. It will be leased to private companies.

Once opponents said our Government should not spend the money to build the dams and deepen the channels. That has been taken care of in the Wiley bill in the Senate. The waterway would be financed by bonds—made as self-liquidating as a toll road. Not a cent would come out of the Federal Treasury.

Once opponents said the waterway would not serve the national defense. The National Security Council has gone on record to the contrary.

Once opponents said the waterway was not economically sound. The members of the Eisenhower Cabinet are unanimous in favoring it for its obvious economic benefits.

Once Indiana agricultural and industrial interests were lukewarm about the project. Now they have reversed themselves. They see this State's producers benefiting enormously through use of a lakes-to-ocean shipping route of which this State would be an important terminus.

They see Labrador iron ore brought to our Calumet region to be smelted into steel. They see our farm products moving to export markets at much more reasonable rates than now.

President Eisenhower has stated that "the ways and means for assuring American cooperation in this great project should be authorized and approved during this session of Congress."

With this we heartily agree.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Beacon of January 17, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

The St. Lawrence seaway project once more occupies the attention of the United States Senate. For more than two decades a heated topic for Congress, the project once more is being debated. This time there is a new angle, however. It is not whether or not the seaway should be constructed, but whether or not this country should share in that construction.

For Canada has announced that she is going ahead with the project to link the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, with or without American participation as a partner.

This introduces a new element into this debate. The question now arises as to whether or not this country can afford not to participate in the St. Lawrence project.

There is a point where sectional interests must give way to national interests. The opposition to this project has come in the main from east coast and Gulf States, who feel their own commerce would suffer from the project.

The late Henry J. Allen of Wichita, former Kansas governor and United States Senator, was long one of the prime backers for the project. He saw, years ago, the advantages to the United States as a whole from such a project, and he devoted much time and energy in the fight to bring the advantages of such a joint project to the attention of the country.

The legitimate needs and aspirations of all of the States are tied up in the project, and the time for sectional considerations is passing. The times have changed, and with that change come new problems and new technical advances. These must be faced up to, not arbitrarily pushed aside.

For to adopt the latter course would be to penalize our own future. This was the courageous attitude of Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts, who this week alined himself with the proponents of the seaway project.

Senator KENNEDY thus became the first legislator from his State to break away from Massachusetts' traditional opposition to the seaway. His action might well have been the move that will assure passage of the measure to make this country and Canada partners in the project.

Our own Kansas Senators should weigh carefully the move by Senator KENNEDY and his reasons for taking that step. So should those other Senators who might be inclined to feel that inland States need give the matter little consideration.

CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1954.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Improving a waterway which nourishes the industrial hearts of two free nations is a project which would stimulate the United States. In the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway and power project, working men and women—particularly the Middle West and New England—have a vital stake.

The undertaking of the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway is a great opportunity to increase the prosperity of industry and agriculture in the Middle West. Also, it will provide the necessary stimulant required by New England's declining economy. Here lies the opportunity to realize great dollars-and-cents savings on transportation costs between the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard and on low-cost electric power in the Northeast, where presently it is expensive.

During World War II many moderate-sized merchant and naval ships were built on the Great Lakes and floated down the Mississippi River on pontoons. This was expensive, time consuming, and limited. A St. Lawrence seaway with a 27-foot channel would permit us to decentralize our shipbuilding industry by constructing seagoing ships on the Great Lakes. These shipyards would afford us greater security because they would be located 1,000 to 1,500 miles from the coasts.

During World War II, German submarines were successful in sinking many of our ships off our immediate shores. Some of the ships they sank were ore-carriers which carried ore from South America to our coastal seaports. The St. Lawrence seaway would provide a secure passageway for the transportation of iron ore from Labrador to the United States. This would mean a saving of ships, valuable cargo, and the lives of our seamen.

The seamen belonging to the maritime unions affiliated with the CIO respectfully urge you to vote in favor of constructing the St. Lawrence seaway project.

Very truly yours,
HOYT S. HADDOCK,
Executive Secretary.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., *January 21, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

Senate passage of seaway bill is testimonial to your able and vigorous leadership. State of Wisconsin and entire Nation owe a debt of gratitude to you and your colleagues of all parties for a monumental farseeing action in the national interests. Our warmest thanks and congratulations.

HARRY C. BROCKEL,
Governor's Seaway Committee, Wisconsin Deep Waterways Commission, Milwaukee Board of Harbor Commissioners.

BOGUE & SANDERSON,
Portage, Wis., January 21, 1954.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Chambers, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND WILEY: We want to congratulate you on your excellent work in attaining the progress as of this date in the deep-sea project. Keep up the good work.

This, I believe, is one of the greatest issues that America has for security and economic development, especially for the good of the Midwest.

With best wishes, I am,
Very sincerely yours,
T. H. SANDERSON.

HILLCREST SCHOOL,
Beaver Dam, Wis., January 20, 1954.
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I wish to congratulate you for your hard work in getting the St. Lawrence seaway through the Senate.

I never thought that you would be able to make it, but your tireless and persistent efforts put it over.

Many thanks to you.
Yours very truly,
A. K. DAVESON.

WISCONSIN MUTUAL INSURANCE CO.,
Madison, Wis., January 21, 1954.
Senator ALEXANDER M. WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: My hearty congratulations on the success of your efforts to obtain Senate approval of the St. Lawrence seaway. Everyone in Wisconsin joins me in hoping for early affirmative action by the House.

Sincerely,
D. C. LYNN,
Secretary.

MENOMONIE, WIS., *January 21, 1954.*
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I have just received your weekly newsletter and note the opening sentence where you state that "our hopes have never been higher," and I wish to congratulate you upon your successful campaign in the Senate to have the bill passed there yesterday. You certainly are deserving of a great deal of credit for the way this has been handled. Certainly hope now that the House will go along with the bill.

With regards and best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,
G. E. SIPPLE.

MARINETTE, WIS., *January 22, 1954.*
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senator, Wisconsin,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Please accept my congratulations on your initial victory on the St. Lawrence seaway. More power to you as the legislation moves to final vote.

Very truly yours,
JAMES E. DUNN,
President.

PROSPECT HALL,
Milwaukee, Wis., January 25, 1954.
The Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: My congratulations on the passage of the St. Lawrence seaway bill. I well know how much credit for its passage belongs to your many years of diligent efforts.

We shall follow your advice and write to our Congressman, hoping that the House will also pass this important measure.

Respectfully,
ELIZABETH S. DODGE,
President.

Curb on Treatymaking Power Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial that appeared in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "History Proves Need of Curb on Treatymaking." The article follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of November 21, 1953]

HISTORY PROVES NEED OF CURB ON TREATYMAKING

Although Secretary of State John Foster Dulles took a swing at it in Boston last in August, Senator BRICKER'S proposed amendment to the Constitution's treatymaking clauses is still very much alive. Perhaps one reason is that the Bricker idea appeals to more people as it did to Mr. Dulles until he became Secretary of State. Early in 1952 he agreed that the treaty power was liable to abuse and that treaties can cut across the rights given to the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights. Even in his Boston speech, before the house of delegates of the American Bar Association, the Secretary agreed that the fear that the treaty power might be used to change American internal law had some basis and that those who voiced their concern performed a genuine service in bringing the situation to the attention of the American public.

"But," added Mr. Dulles, "the danger, never great, has passed." Of course it has passed while President Eisenhower is in the White House and Mr. Dulles in the State Department. But if there was, before November 1952, a danger sufficient to justify Mr. Dulles' praise of those who sounded the alarm, many will suspect that with another set of neoliberals in power, the peril may reappear.

The Bricker amendment represents an effort to clarify the relation of treaties and executive agreements to American domestic law. Article VI of the Constitution declares that the Constitution and the laws of the United States "which shall be made in pursuance thereof" and "all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of

the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." The article itself would seem to place treaties on an equal footing with other laws, but the Supreme Court in at least one case (*Missouri* v. *Holland*) has held that treaties override domestic law. Senator BRICKER's proposal is to amend the Constitution to make it clear that no treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall be valid.

It is difficult to see why this should hamper the Executive in the negotiation of treaties, unless you conceive a situation in which an American President or Secretary of State undertook to negotiate a treaty which would nullify American domestic law. The Bricker amendment would restrain some future Roosevelt who might be tempted to indulge in another spree at Yalta or propose a human-rights covenant which could obligate this country to accept sociological reforms or changes which it would never accept of its own accord. Indeed, our foreign relations would be more stable today if some such restraint on executive folly had existed in 1940.

The dangers foreseen by the amendment's sponsors are by no means imaginary. A former American administration agreed to human-rights covenant which, if it had been adopted, would have obligated this country to carry out social changes quite out of harmony with American political concepts. We send delegates to meetings of the International Labor Organization, which passes resolutions and recommends for adoption by treaty all sorts of socialistic measures unacceptable to American opinion.

There is no reason why sincere negotiation with foreign countries should be hampered by the Bricker amendment. Surely it won't shock our allies to learn that we plan to make treaties on the same terms as such arrangements have long been made by Great Britain, Canada, or France.

"Cheaper Defense?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last year, together with a number of my colleagues in this House, I strongly opposed the reduction in our defense budget recommended by the administration, particularly the cuts in funds for the Department of the Air Force.

This year, the executive branch is again trying to cut corners on national defense. While, in contrast with last year, the Department of the Air Force is being given more attention while the Army and the Navy are faced with substantially reduced budgets, the overall defense requests of the administration lead one to believe that once again the requirements of national security are not being given due consideration. The following enditorial from the Milwaukee Journal of January 25, 1954, which I am enclosing herewith under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, points out that this "cheaper defense" looks like a very dangerous risk, and I commend it to the attention of the membership of this body:

THIS "CHEAPER DEFENSE" LOOKS LIKE A VERY DANGEROUS RISK

The almost $4-billion cut in defense spending set for next year is by all means the most important feature, moneywise and otherwise, in the Eisenhower budget. For it may very materially affect the degree of security this Nation and the free world can hope for in dangerous times. It may affect the leadership the United States can exert in promoting that security.

The nearly 10-percent cut in military defense outlay is plainly based on several assumptions. The controlling assumption apparently was that free peoples who recognize no imminent threat of military attack on their own land will not willingly assume the triple burden of preparing as fully as they can to fight a continuing cold war, little wars, and a total war.

Our own history shows much to support that assumption.

The President and his Defense Secretary have promised more defense for less money by a shift to greater emphasis on airpower and atomic weapons at the cost of "conventional" forces for ground and sea war. It's a gamble that big bombs and mighty missiles and other new weapons will bluff potential enemies out of any attack, big or little. Or, if not, that the war we have to fight will be the total war for which we will be best prepared.

Soviet Russia and its satellites, however, also are arming themselves with the new weapons. They have immensely greater military manpower than the free world has mustered. Russia is feverishly building atomic power and airpower as well as strengthening its ground and sea forces.

President Eisenhower himself has made it clear that it would be dangerous to assume that Moscow and Peiping are becoming more desirous of peace, less likely to attack. There's no apparent justification for such an assumption on our part.

The only safe assumption is that Communist overlords will resort to whatever courses, in hot or cold war, promise to further world conquest for the Communists, with the least danger to themselves. They have long made it evident that they place the greatest hope of success in obstructionism, subversion, threats, attrition, and little wars that can be won at small cost.

And it is the ability to combat this strategy that is being sacrificed in the Eisenhower economy budget. The faith of our allies in our ability to come to their effective defense—keeping an enemy out of their homeland—may be badly shaken. Our free world leadership for mutual security may be weakened.

Greater emphasis on atomic weapons for our own defense puts aces into the Communist hands. If Moscow should suddenly shift ground and agree to outlaw the atomic weapons under effective safeguards, it would be difficult for us to refuse. But if we agreed, the very heart would be cut out of our "cheaper defense" and the Communist would still have the kind of military power in which they would be so superior.

The risk we take under the Eisenhower cut in military budget and the "new concept" should be made perfectly clear to every American. It may be a calculated risk—but it looks like an appallingly big risk.

Review of Treaties a Modern-Day Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a timely editorial that recently appeared in the Janesville (Wis.) Gazette, one of my leading daily newspapers. This editorial points out dangers that exist today in the making of treaties and executive agreements. It concludes with the pertinent statement:

If the provisions of such treaties and agreements are to operate directly upon American citizens, they are clearly for the legislative branch, and a little executive wing trimming can do no harm.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the purpose of the Bricker amendment is to require that Congress operate directly upon treaties which affect our domestic law. I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

REVIEW OF TREATIES A MODERN-DAY NEED

As the time approaches for a showdown vote on the Bricker amendment to the United States Constitution the argument grows hotter. Last minute efforts are being made to work out a compromise which would be somewhat less specific than that proposed by the Ohio Senator.

In the confusion of discussion there seems to be little added to what has been known for many months. The two schools of thought are far apart, and the disagreement is in basic philosophy rather than the legalistic and technical differences which have taken up so many thousands of words of discussion.

Since the beginning the Janesville Gazette has supported the amendment. The stand seems the right one, even though President Eisenhower and Wisconsin's Senator WILEY are on the other side. The administration opposition may be discounted, perhaps, on the general assumption that the executive branch of Government feels duty bound to resist what it regards as an encroachment upon its powers by the legislative branch. Senator WILEY is opposed because acceptance of the amendment might be expected to curtail in some degree the progress of international agreements in which he has become intensely interested.

Except as one may project fears beyond any justifiable degree, the amendment as it stands would seem to put no stumbling blocks in the way of the executive department in the negotiation of international treaties. In substance, what it says is that laws made by Congress to apply to American citizens cannot be overridden by the provisions of international treaties. That sort of provision safeguarding the rights of Americans to have laws for their own regulation enacted by their elected representatives certainly is not revolutionary.

The Constitution itself now says that "All treaties * * * shall be the supreme law of the land * * * anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The provision was written when international treaties merely governed the relationships between this Nation and others in the world. Certainly it was never intended to mean that agreements negotiated for example, through the United Nations by executive branch action should apply as internal law. Agreements with foreign nations concerning welfare, education, freedom of the press, and dozens of other matters have been discussed and framed. Such treaties, if they become operative, would put world law to work within the United States, giving it precedence over the laws of our own Congress, or those of our own States.

Opponents of the amendment say that such dangers are farfetched, but if they are, their opposition to the measure seems unnecessarily violent. In truth, the division is upon how far America is to depart from its own sovereignty in favor of international coperation. Many leaders, in the best good faith, believe that an increasing amount of national sovereignty must be sacrificed in the hope of building a better world under-

standing and in the interests of peace. It is possible to disagree with them without questioning their sincerity, or even the ultimate wisdom of their beliefs.

To the more hardheaded of us, however, it appears that we are premature in thinking that the time is here to hand over to world organizations of any sort the rule of our own people. There is no evidence whatsoever that the other nations of the world are not putting their own national interests at the top of the list. It is one thing to assume a degree of leadership toward an ideal and something else to place ourselves under obligations which can only serve to hamper us in protecting our own way of conducting our affairs.

In order to permit individual judgment of the proposed amendment, the text is offered here in full:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 5. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission."

The question turns, it appears, on whether there is need for more specific protection of the rights of American citizens as individuals, or whether the progress toward world understanding may perhaps be slowed down. It does not necessarily follow that such progress will be slowed down, but that is the argument.

The provisions of the proposed amendment are clear enough, except perhaps the third. That is actually the key to the entire matter, because executive agreements, which never even come before the Senate for approval, outnumber formal treaties by the scores. The amendment would make secret understandings with foreign powers illegal, and bring before Congress for formal approval the agreements made in the United Nations.

If the provisions of such treaties and agreements are to operate directly upon American citizens, they are clearly for the legislative branch, and a little executive wing trimming can do no harm.

San Diego Union Supports Eisenhower Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD two excellent editorials which appeared recently in the San Diego Union in which this newspaper discusses the work of the Eisenhower administration. The following editorial appeared on Friday, January 29, 1954:

SHARE HAS DOUBLE MEANING

There is a welcome note of aggressiveness in President Eisenhower's economic report to the Nation. The message factually cites the sound economic health of the country today. And it confirms the belief that if and when the Nation suffers a serious economic setback the President is ready to act before it becomes critical. The President's goal for the economy was stated as:

"An increasing national income, shared equitably among those who contribute to its growth, and achieved in dollars of stable buying power."

Much significance may be found in this sentence.

We have had a rising income since before World War II. United States productivity, valued at $91,339,000,000 in 1939, climbed to $215,210,000,000 in 1945. It dropped off four billion in 1946 and then moved up again. Last year was our best year with a gross national product estimated by Mr. Eisenhower at $367 billion.

During that period our national income started at $72,532,000,000 in 1939 and climbed to around $300 billion.

But while we have made gains, they were nullified partly until 1953 because we lacked a stable buying power. One of the prime achievements of the Eisenhower administration thus far has been made in stabilizing most prices.

The President's goal also includes the words "shared equitably among those who contribute to its growth." The phrase refers to sharing national income.

While the word "share" is used, this does not imply a share-the-wealth philosophy. What Mr. Eisenhower is expressing is the belief that those who are willing to contribute to the growth of national income are entitled to a fair share of it. This is a far cry from past ideas of giveaways regardless of the individual's willingness to contribute.

The President's economic message again indicates concern for the individual as well as the Nation. It shows the results of much sound thinking in reviewing the country's economic status, past, present, and future.

The following editorial appeared on Sunday, January 31, 1954:

TOP POLICYMAKING GEARS NOW MESHED

Every Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock sharp, President Eisenhower opens the meeting in Washington of the highest policymaking body in Government. The sessions generally last about 2½ hours. It is likely that future history is being shaped by the members of this committee. It is already a fact that as a result of these Thursday meetings, the usual interdepartmental foreign-policy fights in Washington have decreased.

These are the meetings of the National Security Council. This body was created in 1947 by the same legislation which reorganized our entire defense setup. The council—composed of the President, Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, with other officials participating when required—has the vital mission of integrating the United States domestic, foreign, and military policies.

Full utilization of the council was not made until President Eisenhower took the helm. Under Mr. Truman, its meetings were sporadic and its specific duties not sharply defined. For example, it had never met more than 34 times in any one year. During the first year of the Eisenhower administration it met 51 times. The President missed only 3 of these meetings.

After the first item of the agenda—a briefing by the head of the Central Intelligence Agency—has been taken care of, the major policy decisions are talked out. Occasionally there are special reports such as the one Vice President NIXON gave on the findings of his trip to the Far and Near East.

Staggering, almost insoluble problems are brought up. Not even the most optimistic person could hope that absolutely perfect solutions be produced. The important fact is that President Eisenhower has assured that the best and most informed thinking is being brought to bear on the problems.

War may come despite the deliberations and decisions of the National Security Council. But it will not be a war that is stumbled, blundered, or "babied" into. It will be an unavoidable war. The cohesion and coordination brought to our top strategy by a revitalized council will chart a course clear of avoidable conflict, while continuing to blunt Soviet imperialism.

Federal Taxation of Municipal Bonds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this body the following resolution adopted by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., expressing the council's strong opposition to the Federal legislation which would subject the income from municipal bonds of any type to Federal taxation.

I sincerely hope that the arguments advanced by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee on this subject will receive careful consideration from the membership of this body.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION PROTESTING THE ACTION OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN APPROVING, WITHOUT PUBLIC HEARING, AN ADDITION TO THE REVENUE REVISIONS BILL OF 1954 WHICH WOULD SUBJECT THE INCOME OF CERTAIN MUNICIPAL SECURITIES TO FEDERAL TAXATION

Whereas on January 20, 1954, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives voted, without public hearings, to tax the interest on certain State and municipal bonds; and

Whereas the committee's action also included a recommendation to tax the interest on local housing authority bonds; and

Whereas it is our considered belief that any discussion as to whether or not cities should promote public housing or industrial development through the use of their credit is completely beside the point for the reason that there are broader basic constitutional issues involved in the House committee's action; and

Whereas every governmental official should realize that (1) if one class of municipal securities is taxed, all can be so taxed; (2) if future issues can be taxed, presently outstanding bonds can be taxed; (3) if such taxation as the House Ways and Means Committee has recommended in this instance were sustained and upheld, ultimately all municipal bond income and municipal revenues could be subjected to taxation; and

Whereas the city of Milwaukee is opposed to legislation which would subject the income from municipal bonds of any type to Federal taxation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, That it deplores the action taken by the House Ways and Means Committee on January 20, 1954, in approving, without public hearing, a substantive addition to the proposed revenue revisions bill of 1954 subjecting the income from the fol-

lowing types of municipal securities to Federal taxation: (1) Municipal housing authority securities to be issued in the future; (2) municipal bonds issued for industrial development purposes; and be it further

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, That the mayor and city comptroller be and they are hereby requested to send copies of this resolution to all United States Senators and Representatives from Wisconsin and to all members of the House Ways and Means Committee.

OFFICE OF THE CITY CLERK, CITY OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.,
January 27, 1954.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of Resolution File No. 53-2947, adopted by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., on January 26, 1954.

EMIL T. ALLEE,
Deputy City Clerk.

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, That his honor the mayor and the city comptroller, or their duly authorized representatives, be and they are hereby authorized and requested to do all things which in their opinion may be necessary and required to oppose legislation which would subject the income from municipal bonds of any type to Federal taxation, including cooperation with national organizations in which this city maintains membership and the preparation and presentation of testimony before congressional committees when and as required.

OFFICE OF THE CITY CLERK, CITY OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.,
January 27, 1954.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of Resolution File No. 53-2869, adopted by the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, Wis., on January 26, 1954.

EMIL T. ALLEE,
Deputy City Clerk.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter entitled "BRICKER'S Support," written by Charles Alldredge and published in the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRICKER'S SUPPORT

It is good news that Senator BUSH has withdrawn as one of the sponsors of the Bricker amendment. The astonishing fact is that more of the 59 present sponsors in the Senate have not yet had the moral courage to reverse what they must now know is an exceedingly bad position.

We are told that much of the present effort in connection with the amendment is to arrive at a compromise by which some of these Members of the Senate could save face. An honest admission of error or change of opinion would be better for the country and for their souls. In my judgment the Bricker amendment would be so bad for the United States in these times of continuing crises that not only should it not be passed, but that no compromise in the form of a sop should be thrown to those ill-advised and fanatical forces which support it.

That this amendment could have found a majority of Senators among its sponsors is one of the incredible facts of our times, for its passage would, quite simply, imply an abdication by the Senate of its constitutional power to assist the President in the final formulation of American foreign policy. It might be understandable that some current Members of the Senate should lack confidence in their judgment in this field, but in supporting the Bricker amendment they transfer their lack of confidence to future Members of the Senate who might not feel so modestly about their equipment and powers.

The strange device upon the banners of the Bricker amendment's proponents is "No more Yaltas." This is calculated to stir the blood of even the calmest nationalist and doubtless accounts for support of the amendment among a good many persons used to substituting slogans for thought. Yet I think it is true that even if the Bricker amendment were to pass, there is nothing in it to keep us in the future from having a Yalta a day. If the slogan is a fraud, so is the amendment which it is intended to support.

CHARLES ALLDREDGE.

WASHINGTON.

Bricker Amendment Needs Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including an editorial from the Monroe (Wis.) Evening Times which appeared in a recent issue, urging that people who favor the Bricker amendment should so advise their legislative representatives. With the advent of the United Nations and the decision in the case of Missouri against Holland, it is evident to most people that a real danger to our way of life exists in the present constitutional loophole.

WHY NOT WRITE IT IN?

A great deal was made during the past week by opponents of the Bricker amendment, proposing to safeguard citizen's rights in enactment of foreign agreements, about what our Founding Fathers had in mind in this connection.

Senator WILEY, for one, insists that adoption of the Bricker amendment would seriously handicap the White House and undo the "delicate balance of power that our Founding Fathers created in the Constitution."

We wonder if there is sound basis of authority for assuming the Constitution drafters had anticipated everything this Nation would face when they prepared that great document.

We doubt it. Granting that the authors of the Constitution were the most remarkable aggregation of intelligent government planners in all history—which they were—we can be certain they never expected their tiny republic some day to be enmeshed so completely in international affairs.

It's pretty certain, too, those Founding Fathers could never have envisaged such a thing as the United Nations. In fact, there are many in this country today who cannot accept the United Nations idea and millions of others who have not awakened to the implications of international controls which always looms as a potential of United Nations action.

It is doubtful the Constitutional Convention had any thought the United States one day would be the leader of world affairs and the chief support, as well as bulwark, of most of the civilized Western World. They could not have entertained any thought that confusing and complex situations of world conflict might tie the destines and the rights of individual citizens to operations of a world organization.

Opponents of the Bricker amendment have passed along the misconception that the Ohio Senator's plan would require approval of foreign treaties by the individual States. BRICKER has angrily denounced this twisting of the facts and the meaning of his proposal.

Chief point of attack, of course, is the wording of the amendment, which provides: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of such a treaty."

The Ohioan's plan definitely is aimed at preventing treaties from depriving United States citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It also would give Congress control over those less formal agreements into which a President might enter—like those made at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. The latter still never have been fully revealed but nonetheless have entangled us in years of sacrifice and needless trouble.

Now, what's wrong with such a guaranty written clearly into the Constitution as an amendment? Why should we not have clear-cut recognition in the Constitution of limitations on agreements, a guaranty which fits the trend of the times?

The critics claim that's turning the clock backward to the Articles of Confederation which gave the States too much power and rendered Federal Government impotent. We defy anyone to turn any clock back, just as we doubt that any world-minded visionary can turn it ahead successfully.

Let's meet the challenges of the steady developments of a modern age by writing legislation which recognizes and guarantees the one thing which made this country strong enough to take on burdens of the world—the rights and liberties of the individual American.

Let's also remember that today we may be in full control of the motives and aims of the United Nations. Tomorrow, that international body might be directed by a different philosophy and vulnerable to less idealistic aims.

The Folly of Recognizing Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "The Folly of Recognizing Reds," which was written by Constantine Brown and appeared in the Washington Evening Star of January 30.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FOLLY OF RECOGNIZING REDS—THOSE WHO WOULD MAKE MAO RESPECTABLE APPARENTLY HAVE FORGOTTEN RUSSIA'S BROKEN PROMISES IN 1933

(By Constantine Brown)

Those who would wish Secretary of State Dulles to give considerate thought to the

possibility of recognizing de facto, if not de jure, the Chinese Communists at some of the secret meetings of the Big Four foreign ministers may be guided by two thoughts:

(1) That the Peiping regime has complete control over the 480 million Chinese people and (2) since it seems inevitable that all the Western nations have already or soon will recognize that Red regime, we should not be placed in a position of Johnnies come lately. They fear that when under pressure of world events we may wish to change our present policy, the Reds may tell us "Thank you very much but we are no longer interested in you."

The fact is that 25 years had elapsed before we perpetrated our major political blunder of recognizing the Communist government in Russia. Most other world nations accepted the Bolshevik regime within a few years after it had settled down in Moscow and had taken over control of that huge country.

The idea of substantial profits from trade with the Soviets was a moving factor in that general recognition of a regime which was described then as murderous and perfidious and continues to live up to that description. Those profits were, however, unsatisfactory and did not prevent in the slightest the later economic depressions in France and Britain.

The American governments up to the time Franklin Roosevelt was elected President in 1932 refused steadfastly to have any truck with a regime which had come into power by murder and violence and was also using slave labor in competition with American standards of wages. Our depression in 1932 cannot be attributed by any stretch of imagination to this lack of trade relationship with the U. S. S. R.

Mr. Roosevelt hastened to recognize the Soviet Government as one of the earlier acts after his inauguration. He insisted, among other things, that the Muscovites solemnly agree not to indulge in any kind of propaganda in the United States. To this they subscribed readily. But hardly was the ink dry on the treaty signed by their representative, Maxim Litvinov, when Communist cells began to mushroom inside our Government, in many labor unions, in educational institutions, and other manifestations of our life. In the wake of one of the most severe depressions in our economic history, they managed successfully to subvert the minds of many Americans who became Moscow's tools. The Senate and House investigations of the last 7 years have disclosed only a tiny portion of this sequel of our recognition of the U. S. S. R.

To talk about repeating our mistake in regard to China is plain foolish. Not that the Chinese may subvert the United States. But our stamp of approval on their regime, which has proved itself as ruthless and murderous as that in Moscow, would unquestionably affect the remaining non-Communist nations in the Far East. Our recognition of the Peiping regime would throw Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and the rest of the nations in the Pacific into the Communist orbit. It is more likely than not that soon after we perpetrated such a blunder the Communists would ensconce themselves in that part of the world without firing a shot. Countries such as Western Germany, Turkey, Spain, Japan, and some in southeast Asia are still standing by us not because of the limited economic assistance they are receiving but on account of our stand against their being gobbled up by the Red colossi.

The assumption of those who wish to see this Government settle the Chinese problem by an agreement with Peiping because, they say, Peiping controls entirely the Chinese mainland, is basically wrong.

No central government has ever controlled China—not even in the heyday of the Ming dynasty. Five years after the conquest of China by the Red armies there are more uprisings, rebellions, and murders of the government's agents today than existed in Russia after the organized resistance of the White generals had been crushed. Tens of millions of Chinese peasants—the backbone of the country—still hope that something may happen to rid them of the oppression of the central government which they consider far worse than the rapacious war lords of the past.

Moscow's present determination to force us to put our stamp of approval on the Peiping regime is not due to its love of or loyalty to the Chinese Communists. The words "love" and especially "loyalty" do not exist in the Kremlin dictionary. The drive of the clique which now rules Russia is merely for selfish reasons. The leaders know that the establishment of their domination over the world cannot be fully successful until and unless China's Communists are strongly in the saddle. And this is unlikely so long as the United States refuses to extend its recognition.

The McCarran Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Uncle Sam Rushes the Bums," written by Richard English and published in the January 31, 1954, issue of This Week magazine.

I wish to say that at the time the McCarran Act was passed there were some misgivings throughout the country about the act, and what it would accomplish. I did not share in many of the misgivings entertained by some who honestly felt the act contained some provisions, or perhaps many, as they thought, which they did not like. The article I am presenting for the RECORD points out clearly some of the safeguards the act provides for our country, indicates that, probably for the first time, certainly in the memory of the senior Senator from Kansas, the act which protects vital American interests from the activities of racketeers is being enforced. I commend the Department of Justice for their valiant efforts and the vigilance with which they are enforcing the act.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNCLE SAM RUSHES THE BUMS

(By Richard English)

For the past several months United States law enforcers have been brandishing a new and devastating weapon against leading lords of the national crime syndicate. This weapon consists of a few sentences in the McCarran Act, the year-old law recodifying all prior immigration and naturalization laws. Its tough provisions, rigorously applied in a drive by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., have already slated 50 top foreign-born racket kings for one-way tickets home.

Already countless smaller-fry mobsters are quaking in their boots. Their turn is coming and they know it. They've seen what is happening to their bosses.

Mike Spinella is a fine example of Uncle Sam's new get-tough policy in rushing the bums. Last June 13 Mr. Spinella glared at Italian police when he suddenly found himself dumped off at Rome's airport. "I got no business back here," he raged. "I been kidnaped." Spinella, a swarthy man of 59, was very irate, indeed. With only $1,500 in his pockets he had been rudely snatched from his Cadillac convertible in Washington, D. C., less than 48 hours before.

Fuming, he left the airport, vowing he would start suing the United States Government at once. While he has not yet filed suit, he did write a threatening letter to Nelson P. Stamler, a former deputy attorney general of New Jersey, warning him he would get him on his return.

As an unwilling vanguard of what will soon be a "Who Was Who" among gangsters, Spinella's case deserves a quick review. A New York and Miami racketeer, Spinella, who arrived here at the age of 5, never did get around to being naturalized although he found time to build a long and interesting file in the FBI.

Married four times, he ran up an array of charges which included assault and battery, robbery, murder, and operating a house of ill fame. Unhappily witnesses never wanted to appear against him and his most serious conviction was for assault with a pistol.

Spinella, in fact, did fine until he returned from a jaunt to Habana. Reentering the country, he blithely claimed citizenship and he then got some very fast action. The new streamlined laws make it clear that any alien must have an immigration visa on entering this country, if only after a 48-hour stay in Cuba. Lacking a visa, said alien is deportable. Spinella angrily put "tails" on the investigators working his case, at the same time loudly announcing he would never be taken alive.

When his dramatics got him nowhere, Spinella, a man who never bothered obeying our laws, sought refuge in every legal protection that this country affords its residents, aliens and citizens alike. He spent money as if he printed it himself—one of the few charges never found on his record. He fought his case clear to the Supreme Court, which ruled against him last June 8. Chagrined, he was still sure he could "fix things," and started from Miami to Washington.

RUBINSTEIN TRICK

What Spinella had in mind when he arrived in Washington on June 11 was securing a writ that would prevent Uncle Sam's taking him into custody—a device first popularized by Serge Rubinstein, the notorious draft evader.

But Spinella never got to see his lawyers. Investigators had secured a warrant of deportation as soon as his appeal was rejected. They nabbed him as soon as he checked into his hotel. Hustling him to the immigration offices in Baltimore, they kept him overnight. Next morning he was taken to New York and at 2:10 that afternoon he was aboard an airliner to Rome. For all his fury, his Government file was marked: "Case closed."

The New Orleans slot-machine king, Carlos Marcello, is another party who is very upset at the McCarran Act. All the Government had against him until the new law went into effect was a 1938 violation of the Marihuana Act, for which he served a year. Realizing he could be deported for a previous 5-year stretch he had done for robbery, Marcello had thoughtfully secured a full pardon from a friendly governor of Louisiana, wiping that charge from his file.

HE QUALIFIED

But the McCarran Act, which went into effect December 24, 1952, provides that exchanging or giving away marihuana is grounds for deportation—in contrast to prior laws which allowed deportation only if an alien had been convicted of selling the drug.

Marcello qualified under the new tough terms and was picked up 6 days after the new law went on the books.

Spinella and Marcello are but two examples of why crime syndicate leaders are unhappy at the way the Department of Justice—under which the Immigration and Naturalization Service functions—has tightened up under Attorney General Brownell.

Brownell's highly organized deportation and denaturalization program has resulted in 23 top racketeers, including Frank Costello and Meyer Lansky, trying to show cause why their citizenship should not be revoked. Another 42 mobsters, led by Joe Adonis, are trying to avoid deportation as criminal aliens.

NO LETUP

The Attorney General, a pleasant, smiling man whom gangsters find neither pleasant nor smiling, makes it plain that there will be no letup. On the afternoon that he announced that Joe Adonis had been ordered deported, he told me, "Now, with centralized reports and constant followups, such as the FBI has always used so well, our next step is to make sure these cases get through the crowded Federal courts. When we get the 35 new Federal judges we need so badly, racketeers will no longer be able to stall things in courts for 2 or 3 years after they have been ordered deported."

Under Brownell, 60 new United States attorneys have already taken office. Selected for their prosecuting abilities, they have been allowed to pick their own staffs so they may operate with maximum efficiency. "Another great help," Brownell said, "has been foreign-born groups who have gotten behind this drive. Actually, less than 1 percent of the crime in this country is committed by the foreign-born. But a surprising number of them worked their way to the top in the rackets."

CRIMINAL ALIENS

With the Immigration Service's 800 investigators handling over 400,000 alien investigations of all kinds, a taut special staff that works closely with the FBI has been set up by Commissioner Argyle R. Mackey to handle criminal aliens. In its drab gray headquarters top immigration investigators are checking racketeer files to see if old cases are now subject to action under the McCarran Act.

Costello, Lansky, and Joe Bonnano are among the racket lords who are unhappily costarred in denaturalization proceedings. In such cases it must be proven that the aliens did not tell all when securing United States citizenship; usually the grounds are concealing prior arrests.

Costello, out after serving 14 months at Milan, Mich., Federal prison, on a contempt rap growing out of his Kefauver appearance, was repeatedly cited as a top leader in the not so hush-hush syndicate.

The syndicate took over the more lucrative rackets in this country after the Mafia—the dread Sicilian brotherhood usually known as the Black Hand—gradually came apart at the seams. But Costello is not currently concerned over his business connections. What worries him are the charges that he concealed a prior arrest when seeking citizenship. With his citizenship revoked he may become a deportable criminal alien.

MAN NOBODY WANTS

The many problems that face the United States Government when it starts to kick out the racketeers is shown in the case of Al Smiley, the man nobody wants. Born Aaron Smehoff in Russia, Smiley became a Canadian citizen, entering the United States in 1924. The late Bugsy Siegel's No. 1 boy, Smiley was on hand the night Siegel, relaxing in Virginia Hill's Beverly Hills mansion, had his head shot off. Smiley was picked up for falsely claiming United States citizenship, served a year.

When Smiley was ordered deported, Canada would not accept him, basing its refusal on his long stay here. Russia, which has no notable record of cooperation with us on any grounds, also refused him on the grounds that he left prior to the revolution.

Under the tightening United States laws, characters like Smiley are in an awkward position. In a clause that applies only to criminal, narcotic, moral turpitude, and subversive cases, the alien may select one country of his choice. If that country fails to accept him, the United States may try to secure entry for him into other countries. So far we haven't been able to give Smiley away. But if we find a country that will take him, he must go.

PRESSURE IS ON

All around the country local tough boys are feeling the pressure.

In Tucson, Joe Bonnano, former Al Capone henchman, faces denaturalization charges. And in Los Angeles, Jack Dragna, long the "invisible man" among west coast mobsters, is out on $15,000 bond while he fights charges that he falsely claimed United States citizenship when returning from a pleasure jaunt to Tia Juana.

Kansas City has two parties on the free-ride list: Joe De Luca and Nick Impostato, both of whom ignored Federal narcotic acts. In Chicago Nick Circella, who got out of Leavenworth in 1948, is bitter against evidence that was secured in his Al Capone days.

Nick once made a West Indies jaunt with Capone—Habana has long been a favorite fleshpot of the mob czars, many of whom have gambling interests there—and reentering this country in 1929 he casually claimed citizenship. This was revealed by a study of Capone's voluminous file. Now ordered deported, Circella has found out that a dead man's file can still tell tales.

ADONIS CAUGHT

In the case of Joe Adonis, the swarthy racket king who considered himself an "untouchable," the grim perseverance of top investigators has at last borne fruit. Adonis, also known as Joseph Doto, claimed he was born in Passaic, N. J., and that his mother took him back to Italy, then brought him here permanently a few years later. But last year investigators calmly produced the birth records of the entire Doto family, secured in Italy. Among the photostats of the birth certificates was the one for the boy who was to become Joe Adonis. On December 17 the Board of Immigration Appeals upheld the order directing that Adonis be deported.

Every racketeer has his full day in court. All aliens subject to deportation first appear before a hearing officer. If the officer orders them deported the alien may still go before the Board of Immigration Appeals. And at any time a legal question is raised—a fact no racketeer has overlooked—his lawyers are entitled to seek relief in court.

Jack Wasserman, a Washington, D. C., attorney who once served on the Board of Immigration Appeals, and who has represented such notables as Costello, Dragna, Marcello and Joe Accardi, regards the present drive as "hardly fair." He told me, "I must say I feel the Government is cutting a few corners in apparently having a list of certain aliens whom they charge with being criminals.

"If a man were on such a list, even unfairly, he would have no chance to ask for the evidence that put him there. And such a list would prevent any board from giving him a fair trial—they would already be prejudiced."

The fact remains that the racketeers have only their own careers to blame for making them so newsworthy.

There's another McCarran clause that has mobsters sweating. Under the Visa Act of 1924, anyone who had spent 3 years in this country, even if he had entered illegally, was allowed to remain here. Now that immunity is gone.

THEY'RE SORRY

Two parties who swore they entered as stowaways before that time are now regretting they ever mentioned it. Onofrio Minaudo, a labor racketeer who recently pleaded guilty to union-busting charges, is wanted in Italy for two murders. Bruno Corasaniti has been twice convicted of blackmail but save from deportation by a pardon. Under the McCarran Act they can be deported.

And while the racket kings frantically seek last-minute stays, the public can finally hope that the era of arrogant gang lords has ended. With its tough new laws and hard-hitting enforcement, the United States is at last ridding itself of many of the hoodlums who for so long have been dominating big crime in this country.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Address by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway Before the Bloomington Association of Commerce, January 18, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, it was the distinct honor of my district to have Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff of the Army, as guest speaker before the Bloomington Association of Commerce annual banquet in Bloomington, Ill., on January 18.

Both the general and his remarks were enthusiastically received by a large audience of around 1,500. It gave all of us a better understanding of the Army and its men as a vital part of our national defense. It is such an excellent speech by such a truly great military leader that I should like to have it a part of the RECORD.

The speech follows:

It has been 5 months—almost to the day—since I took the solemn oath of office as Chief of Staff of your Army. In trying to look ahead to assess the scope of my responsibilities, I said then—and I reassert now—that my constant purpose, within the scope of my responsibility and authority, must be to insure that the highest traditions of the United States Army are maintained in all their finest aspects; that the Army accomplishes in full its assigned missions; and that the men and women who wear its uniform, and their dependents, receive the full measure of respect and consideration from their countrymen, which their high-principled devotion and utter loyalty in both peace and war so fully merit.

This occasion seems an appropriate one for me to talk to you about the role of your Army in discharging its responsibilities and to talk to you about the men and women who wear its uniform—the uniform in which you, as well as they, can take such pride.

As the scope of warfare may now become vastly enlarged, and as new weapons of greatly increased power and destructiveness will shortly appear on the military scene, the operational capabilities of the Army will be correspondingly magnified. With the advent of new weapons, still sometime ahead, the role of the Army in the military will become more important than ever.

As we proceed through this period of profound military change, it is well to recall the fundamental nature and objectives of warfare, lest we lose our military bearings. Warfare is an armed struggle between organized groups of men, each seeking to impose its will on the other. In order to properly determine its means of waging war, each group must clearly define its objectives. These may be called war aims, and stem from political objectives and decisions. In a major war, however, these war aims include reduction to impotence of the enemy's armed forces, in order that the enemy may be forced to comply with our will.

The force which is applied to defeat enemy armed services must be carefully constructed—balanced, if you will—to do the job. Effort expended in purposeless destruction is wasteful militarily and indefensible morally.

Warfare is carried out in three elements—land, sea, and air. The forces operating in each element are interdependent, but each must gain control of the element in which it operates by eliminating opposition therein. The ultimate objective of the entire effort is control of land and of people living on land.

The considerations I have just mentioned shape the role of your army. It is, quite simply, to achieve victory in land battle. I may mention here that your army's record of success in this role is an outstanding one. It has repeatedly defeated enemy land forces superior in numbers and has ever rendered loyal and devoted service to the American people.

This record is a tribute to the quality of the men and women America has made available to the Army, to the weapons and equipment furnished by the Nation, and to the integrity, morale, professional competence, and organization of the Army itself.

Now, let us turn from the past to the present.

Among the missions of the United States Army is participation in the defense of the United States against invasion. In the discharge of this mission, the Army is concerned, of course, with protection against attacks upon American soil. More than that, however, it must, in participation with our allies, share in the defense against aggression in areas of the world essential to our security and to the security of the free world. For in the world of today a defense beginning only at our national boundaries would result in greatly increased losses of life and property, and could end in catastrophic defeat.

One of the most important implications of the vastly greater speed and destructiveness of new weapons is that we no longer have as much time as formerly to expand a proportionally small nucleus of professional soldiers into an army large enough to fight an all-out war successfully. In fact, we can anticipate that the major portions of our Army stationed overseas will be engaged immediately and the requirements for reinforcing and supplying these forces will have to receive the highest priority. This requires a well-trained army from the moment of the onset of hostilities.

I am not advocating here a huge peacetime force. The broad outlines of current decisions concerning the size and composition of our Armed Forces are already familiar to you, I am sure. As a military man, I abide by and loyally support the decisions of my lawful superiors. I am aware that many factors must be taken into account in any program of national defense. I realize full well that the economic strength of the United States is a vitally important aspect of our Nation's ability to withstand the Communist menace over an extended period. The long continued maintenance of a Military Establishment beyond the Nation's ability to support it would in the end defeat the very purpose of our national defense effort.

It is outside the Army's province and competence to assess the Nation's economic capabilities. That is a function of civilian authority. But it is within both the Army's province and competence to compute its military requirements for the accomplishment of the missions assigned it by our Nation's civilian leaders, and I do earnestly advocate the maintenance of an army of sufficient strength to accomplish those missions.

In the accomplishment of these missions, nothing less than victory can be demanded nor expected. The sole criterion by which to judge the value of an army is its ability to achieve victory in battle. To secure this victory, we must have an army equipped with the most up-to-date and effective weapons, manned by men of courage and ability, ruled by the highest principles of character, competence, and dedication. I believe that such an army is vitally necessary. The outbreak of a major war will necessarily result in the immediate expansion of our Army and in its employment on a worldwide scale.

To be able to effect such an expansion, the Army devotes a considerable proportion of the resources allocated to it by the American people to the maintenance of a system of facilities about which little is publicly heard. This system is called the training base. It consists of the physical plants, and the people to man them, engaged in giving our soldiers the skills, knowledge, and indoctrination necessary to do their jobs. The levels of instruction range from the primary military knowledge given the new soldier to the strategy taught at the Army War College. This training base is preserved and maintained because it is the key to mobilization, and to the effective conduct of the Army's campaigns once war is under way.

This training base is the essential base without which combat forces for a major effort cannot be quickly created. Where combat forces must be made rapidly ready, as will be more urgently necessary in any future war than in the past, the training base is in fact as much a part of our ground "combat strength" as are the troops in actual combat. To describe the personnel, materiel, and facilities which constitute this training base as unnecessary overhead, or as nonessential support forces, would be to cloud the facts.

Without our Army school system, our commanders and staffs could not have coordinated the many different corps, armies, and army groups in the great land battles of Europe and the many island battles of the Pacific in World War II. Without the training of the Army school system we could not have had a uniform staff system throughout the Army which enabled commanders and staff officers, who were strangers to each other personally, to come quickly together and to create closely integrated teams for planning and command in combat.

The value of the training base is further emphasized by the growing importance of the individual soldier in warfare. The advanced weapons of war have heightened his responsibilities and placed greater demands upon his skill, his training, his tenacity, and will to win upon all his mental, physical, and spiritual qualities.

As a consequence, the training that he receives must be of the highest caliber and directed to the one aim of success upon the field of battle. It would be a grave disservice, both to the soldier and to the Nation he serves, to give him any less. Thus, your Army is providing that rigorous training

which can prepare the soldier physically, spiritually, and professionally for his task. It is the only known way to reduce the casualties which invariably are the lot of inadequately trained and poorly indoctrinated soldiers. As I have many times stated, the higher the training levels of our Army, the lower its casualty rates will be in war, and the lower its sick rates in war and peace. We owe the soldier this rigorous training; it is our inescapable responsibility and I earnestly believe that the American people, once they understand this need, will wholeheartedly support this objective. The advent of new weapons and machines can never substitute for a fighting heart, a firm faith in the ideals for which the American soldier fights, or the physical stamina required to survive and win in battle.

To maintain the splendid Army that the American people have every right to expect, a high degree of leadership is required.

We must have an Officer Corps, comprising a professional, long-term cadre adequate both in size and in quality. This is the heart and soul of any military organization. None will ever be better than its Officer Corps. This is the great reservoir of character, of devotion to duty, of loyalty, of professional competence.

If we are to have this, and without it we would not have an Army, we must have represented in our professional officer cadre a cross section of the Nation's life, a fair share of the best the Nation produces in character, in intellect, and in education. If we do not, if it is not representative of America, it will not, in the long run, have that support of the American people which it must have to accomplish its ultimate mission.

Next in importance is the requirement for a noncommissioned officer corps, with its professional cadre of career personnel, inspired by the precepts of the Officer Corps whose standards it emulates.

These are the two essentials with which leadership can accomplish the seemingly impossible. These are the essentials without which leadership cannot gain ultimate success. The professional qualifications of our officers must be equal to the tasks they must accomplish. Fortunately, our Army has always been richly endowed with a group of dedicated men and women to provide this essential leadership, and the perpetuation of this tradition of achievement is one of our highest requirements.

The personnel problem now confronting the Army is twofold. One is to retain our experienced and highly qualified career personnel. The second is to attract able young men and women imbued with a desire to make the service a lifetime career, in order to meet the losses of natural attrition and to provide the continuity of high standards essential in an organization whose mission is so vital to our national existence.

The necessity for career military men was never more apparent than in this time of international uncertainty and tension. Although the requirements for qualified personnel can, to some extent, be met by the provision of trained and organized citizen-soldiers in the National Guard and Army Reserve, the need for a hard core of professional, full-time military personnel is ever present. The rapid development of new weapons and the evaluation of their effect on tactics requires able, thoroughly qualified men, dedicated to a mastery of their profession.

Of necessity, the military career is a lifetime commitment, and it would be a tragic happening, if as a nation, we could not attract a high caliber of individual to this calling. Only an army with a high proportion of well-trained personnel is satisfactory from the point of view of economy and efficiency. At present, the annual turnover in personnel in the Army is about one-third. This year more than 500,000 will leave the service and almost an equal number will replace them. You can well imagine the difficulties of any business organization with such a problem.

This turnover is costly from a monetary point of view. The average cost of training and maintaining the recruit during his first year is $5,800; for each year thereafter it is $5,200. The average inductee, due to the time allotted to basic training and to travel and leave, performs productive service for only 18 out of his 24 months' term. He leaves the Army when his value becomes greatest. As the proportion of the Army's strength in 2-year soldiers increases, the efficiency of the Army as a whole decreases, for one-fourth of the service of these men is nonproductive. The larger number of inductees that must be trained annually, the larger must be the training establishment and the greater the number of experienced and qualified soldiers who are involved in the task of training. The law of diminishing returns points out the need for making the service attractive as a lifetime career.

In this connection, owing to the recent decisions to reduce the size of the Army, we must make up in increased quality what we lack in numbers. To secure this desirable end, inducements must be present for men of the highest ability to make the Army their career. Our loss and acquistion rates in both officers and noncommissioned officers indicate that many of the types we want and need, now consider these inducements as insufficient.

There is in the Army, and indeed in all our armed services, a groundswell of dissatisfaction with the military career. The causes of dissatisfaction are many, but in summation they are grounds for serious concern.

Since approximately 50 percent of the Army is stationed overseas, the soldier can expect to spend half of his service outside the United States, often in places where living conditions are below American standards, and where family life is denied him. This entails frequent separation of the soldier from his family, and the disruption of normal home life.

While all who adopt the military profession as a career realize full well that some separations from one's family are to be expected, the world situation which has existed since the beginning of World War II has seen the separation of families and the disruption of home life become chronic. This one factor, more than any other, is driving men from the service. As the ratio of career soldiers to short-time inductees declines, the burden upon the career man increases, for the demands for his knowledge and experience become greater than ever, resulting in more frequent transfers and even less stability than he now has.

Frequent moves and separations create problems of an emotional and economic nature. It is a hard choice to present to a man—to decide between the family he loves and the career he has chosen—and, as may be expected, if there is an irreconcilable conflict, his choice will be to preserve his family. This, and the chronic serious shortage of family housing in the foreign lands where our men are stationed, is why our Government finds it so essential to stimulate building by a guaranteed rental system, and even in some cases actually to finance such construction.

Another frequent cause of a decision to leave the service is a feeling that the Nation as a whole is not really aware of the soldier's problems, or appreciative of his contributions. During a period of rising prices and rising wages, he has seen his income lag markedly behind that of the Nation as a whole. Many of the benefits he has come to regard as a normal part of his income and an aid to economic survival are being attacked and reduced, and those to whom he looks for relief may seem to him indifferent to his problem.

There is considerable public opinion to the effect that service personnel are very well off in terms of pay and benefits, but this is painfully inaccurate. The fact is that every disinterested commission and committee that in recent years has investigated the serviceman's pay or benefits has recommended greater assistance than he has eventually received. The choice of a service life has never been, and I trust never will be, determined by monetary rewards. A greater motivation is a love of country and of service to country, the pride and self-respect which come from pursing an honorable profession. At the same time, a decisive factor in any man's choice of career must be the ability to provide adequately for his family.

Furthermore, there is another deterrent to the choice of a military career on the part of our young men. Today the military man and the military profession are too often the target for loose and irresponsible criticism. No man or profession is above criticism, nor should be, for sound, healthy, constructive criticism is a stimulant to progress. But criticism should be founded on facts. Bound as he is by law and by choice from being able to reply effectively, the soldier presents a target which is all too convient and available, and those who, without a valid basis of fact, exploit this vulnerability, are doing a disservice to the Nation and to the future of the armed services.

For its part, the Army will continue to welcome constructive criticism and information which will enable it to improve the morale and well-being of the men and women in uniform, and to intensify their love of the Service and their desire to make it a career.

There are, however, many corrections beyond Army control.

The members of our Armed Forces should be given a decent standard of living, with hope for the future and reasonable security for their families. In the long run, the costs of such a program would, I am sure, be more than offset by the savings brought about by the attraction of high-caliber volunteers and the increased percentage of such men who will stay in the Service and make it their career.

I recommend, too, something which is still more important. That is an awareness, on the part of the public, of the importance of the man in uniform. I do not mean that the soldier should be put on a pedestal. But there should be frank recognition that the soldier is an important coworker in the job of preserving and increasing our country's greatness, an essential member of the team made up of all segments of American society—the great team drawn from science and religion, management and labor, farm, factory, and office, throughout our land.

If brought about, these two accomplishments would redound immeasurably to the Nation's benefit.

The American Army needs men dedicated to the ideals of patriotism. Any man who chooses a profession involving the hazards and hardships that he knows he will frequently face in his lifetime of service, must be dedicated. But to ask that he likewise accept avoidable hardships, and sub-standard living conditions for himself and his family, that he accept prolonged, enforced family separations as does no other segment of our population, is to make unnatural and unreasonable demands.

The men and women of the Army believe in the principles upon which our Nation was founded and by which it will endure. Those who elect to make it their life work forego the chance to amass wealth, or even a substantial post-service competence. They stand ever-ready to risk their lives in serving our country's needs. They are imbued with a high sense of duty—all in support of those

principles and the way of life those principles have brough into being and sustain.

They will continue to serve in this fashion, as they have throughout all the years since the establishment of the Regular Army in 1785. They have never failed the Nation. They pray God they never will. They deserve a like return. May the Nation never fail them.

The Randall Commission Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I find myself in vigorous disagreement with that section of the report of the Randall Commission on Foreign Economic Policy which deals with merchant marine policy. The report recommends elimination of present statutory provisions requiring partial use of United States vessels for cargo shipments financed by Government loans or grants. The report suggests that instead of using our own ships we support our merchant marine by direct aid. A policy of direct aid would not help foreign countries conserve dollars unless we subsidized a stockpile of idle ships, which would be like hiring a man to stand by and watch your neighbor do the work.

One of the outstanding newspapers in the State of Washington is the Bremerton Sun. I offer a thought-provoking editorial on the Randall Commission report which appeared in the January 26, 1954, issue of the Sun, for the benefit of the other Members of the House:

TARIFFS, FREE TRADE, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

We loathe the idea of isolationism. Yet the weekend release of the long-awaited report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy contains a weakness which leaves us feeling very "isolationish"—and we don't quite know what to do about it.

The Commission, created last summer, was authorized in one of the commendable pieces of legislation which generally went unnoticed in the abuse heaped upon the last session of the Congress. It was challenged with the task of trying to find out how the United States can assist in getting world trade back on its economic feet. Surely, with all of us knowing by this time that a healthy world-trade picture would be a great factor in world peace, there can be no criticism of the task set for the Commission.

Now the Commission has reported to President Eisenhower. In the immediate reaction to the report—and even in the report itself—a glaring weakness is noted.

If its tariff-reduction recommendations are carried out, it is obvious that many present American industries and their thousands of United States workers will be hard hit by low-priced foreign competition. If its lifting of the requirement to use United States shipping in foreign-aid shipments is adopted, it will be a severe blow to our already weak merchant marine.

We point these things out dolefully, for we agree with the majority of the Commission that the United States ought to strive to terminate its present foreign-aid program. Trade—honest-to-goodness trade—is the right answer. And how in the world can we expect trade if our tariffs are so high that foreign merchandise can't compete here?

Yet (and here is where we get that "isolationish" feeling) how far can we go in stripping the world's best paid workman—the United States worker—of the tariffs which protect him from foreign production manufactured by workers who are several rungs below him in the economic scale?

Our district Congressman, THOMAS M. PELLY, addressed himself over the weekend to just one phase of the report—the suggestion to lift guaranties for United States merchant ships—yet his remarks are pertinent to the whole report. He said the report would "subordinate national security to foreign relief." Then he said: "Let us not build another man's house by tearing down our home."

And PELLY is a primate advocate of "trade, not aid."

We fervently hope the Congress will be able to find a great deal of good in the Commission's report for framing a foreign commerce program which will move us toward genuine world trade and world peace. We hope it will be able to solve the dilemma without "tearing down our home."

Address of the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, Before the German Bundestag at Bonn, Germany, on October 29, 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I direct your attention to the speech delivered by our distinguished speaker, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., before the German Bundestag at Bonn, Germany, on October 29, 1953.

Under the regular rules of the German Bundestag only its members are permitted to address it. The rules were amended in order to extend an invitation to our Speaker to make this great speech I am inserting in the RECORD.

In his appearance before the German Bundestag and what he said upon that occasion, our beloved Speaker contributed a great deal to promote friendship and understanding between the United States and the people of Germany. He also made a distinct contribution to the prestige of the Bundestag as the instrument of popular government in the German Republic.

I commend this speech to your most careful reading and reflection:

It is a great privilege to come before this assembly, representing as it does the people of a mighty Nation. I come as the speaker of one of the oldest deliberative bodies in the world, that I might bring the greetings and best wishes to you who compose the youngest of the representative legislative bodies. You are blazing the trail for a real people's government here in this ancient land of great traditions. There will be times when doubt, yes, even despair, will come, but do not hesitate. Persevere and you will materially contribute to the cause of popular government. The experience of the United States tells you that your system shall be modified from time to time; that the measure shall better provide for carrying out the will of the people.

Our Constitution had to have a Bill of Rights before it could reassure some people who had doubts of the new experiment in government. It has been necessary on other occasions to draft amendments to meet the new conditions that arose. I take it as time wears on you will meet the same experience. You are embarking upon a new course of government that promises to be an historic experience, not only here in Germany but throughout the world. You must not fail. Peace, progress, and the encouragement of mankind everywhere can come from the success of your new system.

We in America are proud at the tremendous powers vested in the legislative branches of our Government. We in the Legislature are the guardians of the people's rights and we zealously protect them. You in this assembly, in the course of time, will find that same sacred appreciation of your responsibilities. Representative government had its inception back in the days of merry old England, when the Magna Carta was wrested from the throne. Here the first rumbles were heard of a desire on the part of the people to have a voice in the Government.

That voice echoed louder when the Constitution of the United States became the law of the land. Here for the first time was set down in black and white the definite, the specific, rights of the people. All could read these rights and they were to be supported by the might of the people. Here, you in Western Germany are writing a new and what, I believe, will be a glorious chapter in the onward march of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Support of these popular rights will bring, I am sure, greater blessings than were ever enjoyed in the past. Through popular government, you are placing Germany at its rightful place in the van of peace-loving, freedom-loving people of the world.

May I say to you that the United States has only friendship and good will for the people of Germany; we admire your splendid contribution in science, letters, music, art, and industry to the progress of civilization. Yours is an interesting tradition.

The rebuilding of Germany has indeed been remarkable. The difference between the Germany when the first Bundestag met 4 years ago, and today, has been most miraculous. The stable, democratic government provided by the Bundestag, the soundness of your financial and economic policies, and your realization that only by work can you bring about recovery—these are all factors in the recovery and I hope, with pardonable pride, that I can say that my own Government has aided in that recovery.

The good relations between the United States and Germany are evidenced by the good relations of our Governments; and the increase in trade between the two countries. There is a general realization that our troops are not here as an occupation force but really as allies and defenders.

We wait and hope for the day when all the liberty-loving peoples of Europe will be united in the common cause of defense.

If there be those critical of your new form of government, let them look beyond the Elbe. Let them look behind the Iron Curtain to the other part of Germany. Here in Western Germany there is hope. Over yonder there is a growing unrest. Your great progress brings closer, surely, that day when all Germany will be reunited.

I remember my own folks telling me of the arrival of the first Germans to the little town where I was born—and still live—North Attleboro, Mass. Back in 1849 your people came, and in that little town established a silversmith and jewelry industry which still flourishes today. My town was only one of many American towns thus blessed. The United States is indebted to the men and women of German blood for aid in their

progress. Through the veins of more than 20 million Americans flows German blood.

Realizing our debt and realizing your importance in the world, we want to see you succeed and we want to help you as your famous military men helped us back in the days when we were struggling for independence.

We want to see a united Germany, a united Germany where the people will rule, a Germany seeking the new destiny in the splendor of peace. A strong and united Germany cooperating with the United States and all freedom-loving nations can restore what this battered world needs so badly—peace, blessed peace.

I say with candor, and absolute sincerity, the United States covets no territory. It seeks to dominate no peoples. It believes in the policy of live and let live. We do not seek to force our Government or our ideas upon any of the people; we love our system of freedom and our people's Government, and we welcome all peoples who would embrace our views. But we respect the rights of other peoples to other systems, if that be their desire. We passionately desire peace for ourselves and for the rest of the world.

But we place above everything else our freedom. That is why we are pouring out enormous sums for the construction of a strong Navy, a powerful Army, and a mighty Air Force. We are arming—not for war, but to make certain that peace comes to the world. That is why we help arm other nations who believe as we do in the sacredness of liberty. Would to God that we could devote these huge sums for improving the social services and bettering the life of mankind. So long as the dark clouds are on the horizon we have no alternative. We must be prepared to resist any aggressor.

My friends, I am profoundly grateful for your kind invitation to come to Bonn and address this fine legislative gathering of men and women. During the past few days I have seen first hand some of the potential strength of a new Germany. I have been impressed with your energetic rebuilding of battered cities, the springing to life of your many industrial and commercial activities which have made Germany great in the past, and above all else I have been impressed with the faith and hope that I see in this legislative hall and everywhere among the people of Germany.

Having a new faith and a new hope, you face resolutely and courageously the dawn of a new era; an era which will be grander, I believe, than ever in days of former splendor. With the new faith and the new zeal will come a united Germany, a powerful Germany that will be a force for peace and for world progress. To you has been given a challenge given to few men and women. You must not fail. May God direct you wisely and well, and may your great country and mine ever remain comrades and friends.

Proposed Concession Awards Submitted for Approval in Accordance With Act of July 3, 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to proposed award of concession permits; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman.*

Proposed concession awards submitted for approval in accordance with act of July 31, 1953

Concessioner	National park or monument	State	Service
1. Mount Whitney Pack Trains (1 year).	Furnace Creek Ranch, Death Valley National Monument.	California	Saddle horse and pack trip service.
2. William W. and Barbara W. Myers (1 year).	Wildrose Station, Death Valley National Monument.	do	Public accommodations, facilities, and services.
3. Martin Kilian (1 year extension).	Mount Rainier National Park.	Washington	Do.
4. Edward B. Rushford and George L. Gravert (5 years).	Salem Maritime National Historic Site.	Massachusetts	Operate the Rum Shop.
5. The Naches Co., Inc. (renewal for Oct. 1, 1953 through June 30, 1954).	Mount Rainier National Park.	Washington	Operate ski tows, provide limited lunch service, sell and rent ski equipment.
6. Albert Weiss, doing business as Friant Garage (1 year).	Millerton Lake National Recreation Area.	California	Towing service and emergency auto repairs.
7. George W. Hurt (2 years)	Rocky Mountain National Park.	Colorado	Ski tows, lunch stand, and rent ski equipment.
8. Mrs. Marilyn J. Wright (Sept. 16, 1953, to June 14, 1954.)	Crater Lake National Park.	Oregon	Provide limited lunch service.
9. Joseph E. Niemeyer (renewal Dec. 1, 1953, through Apr. 30, 1954).	Olympic National Park	Washington	Operate ski rental business.
10. Glacier Park Co. (1 year)	Glacier National Park	Montana	Public accommodations, facilities, and services.
11. Donald P. Christianson (renewal Dec. 1, 1953 through June 30, 1954).	Narada Falls-Paradise Area, Mount Rainier National Park.	Washington	Operate portable rope ski tows and provide light lunch service.
12. Oregon Caves Resort (2 years extension).	Oregon Caves National Monument.	Oregon	Public accommodation, services, and facilities.
13. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Roening (1 year renewal).	Olympic National Park	Washington	Do.
14. Mr. and Mrs. John C. Turner (1 year).	Grand Teton National Park	Wyoming	Operate the Triangle X Guest Ranch.
15. Anton Asbenbrenner (renewal Jan. 1, 1954 through Dec. 31, 1954).	Olympic National Park	Washington	Operate store, gasoline station, and cabin camp.
16. Clifton D. Rock (1 year)	Cabrillo National Monument.	California	Sell souvenirs.
17. Murl Emery (renewal Jan. 1, 1954 through June 30, 1954).	Lake Mead National Recreation Area.	Nevada	Provide public accommodations and facilities at Searchlight Ferry.
18. Fred Harvey (1 year extension).	Grand Canyon National Park.	Arizona	Public accommodations on the South Rim.
19. Leroy Orme & John Scudder.	Everglades National Park	Florida	Sale of bait.
O. P. Patton & J. W. Mills.	do	do	Do.
Walter F. Mann	do	do	Charter boat service for sport fishing.
William Mann	do	do	Do.
Peter G. Mills	do	do	Do.
Stevie Roberts	do	do	Do.
Finis A. Williams	do	do	Do.
Tommy N. Williams	do	do	Do.
Lewis C. Watson (2 years)	do	do	Do.
20. J. R. Dickson (1 year)	Kings Canyon National Park.	California	Operate gasoline service station at Big Stump.
21. Sam B. Davis, Jr. (2 years)	do	do	Pack and saddle horse operations.
22. McKinley Park Services (5 years).	Mount McKinley National Park.	Alaska	Accommodations facilities and services.

Ike's Leadership Is Clear, Sensitive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, during the past month I have read many editorials attempting to describe what President Eisenhower's program will be during the coming years. None so nearly hit the nail on the head as the attached editorial from the Decatur Herald and Review, Decatur, Ill., of January 31, 1954. This is an able discussion of the President's psychology and approach to the entire question of his leadership. The Decatur Herald and Review is an independent newspaper and has supported candidates from both parties. For that

reason, I believe it is as nearly a nonpartisan discussion of President Eisenhower as is possible.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I attach the editorial in its entirety:

IKE'S LEADERSHIP CLEAR, SENSITIVE

(By Edward Lindsay)

President Eisenhower's economic message to Congress of last Thursday is encouraging to me as a citizen.

Actually, this was merely the last of a series of messages, beginning with his state of the Union address on January 7, that reveal the characteristics of the present occupant of the White House.

It seems to me that it can now be said that the Eisenhower leadership is sensitive, clear, and strong.

This seems important and reassuring to me on the basis of some assumptions that I am not sure have been accepted by a majority of those who have classified themselves as Republicans in every election in the last 25 years.

These assumptions are:

First. That historians will see the New Deal essentially as the moving of the economic capital of the United States from New York to Washington. Since 1932 the Federal Government, rather than Wall Street, has determined by its actions that there will be economic underpinnings in our economy (Federal guarantee of loans of various types and bank deposits), that interest rates will be high or low, that credit will be tight or loose, etc.

Second. That the foreign policy of the New Deal era and since was merely an extension of the principles enunciated in the Monroe Doctrine, except to the extent that we have joined with others in the United Nations, Atlantic Pact, etc., to give effect to the positions that we previously had taken alone and to the extent that we have implemented our foreign policy with economic aid under the Marshall plan.

Third. That through the miracle of radio and television the whole people is simultaneously in the same room with the President—on short notice and on many occasions—to hear his views on matters of great and immediate concern to them. This pattern was established by the Roosevelt fireside chats and has become the basis for national political leadership.

It is obvious that during the year 1953, President Eisenhower, personally and through study committees of his own choosing, familiarized himself with all of the areas of government activity that have a far-reaching effect.

He has learned to digest and simplify great issues so he can state them in terms that can be understood by the whole people.

He has decided upon an attitude toward these issues for himself and for his administration. He has outlined the course of action for which he is willing to take responsibility and which he will urge the Congress to support.

In these points his recent speeches reveal clarity and strength. There is an Eisenhower administration. There are Eisenhower viewpoints. There are Eisenhower plans. The question that is not answered is whether or not Congress will give them effect.

In the economic message, more than in the others, the President revealed the sensitiveness of his leadership.

It is apparent that he is aware of the anxiety with which the people are viewing the signs of softness in business and in employment demand.

His message was sensitive in that he let the people know that he understands how they feel, and that there is no apparent reason for alarm. After saying this, he made it clear that he is watching the developments closely and is prepared to take immediate and bold steps to meet any real crisis.

During the past 3 weeks, President Eisenhower has won the confidence of the American people in a new way. Now he is not merely a war hero and diplomat with a charming personality, offering a change in administration. He is a political leader who has convinced the Nation that he has a carefully thought out plan of action for safeguarding our economic and political gains and for leading us into a new era of well-being in the United States and of peace in the world.

Now it is possible for the public to support a legislative program in a way that will make it apparent to Members of Congress, and candidates for Congress, that it will be politically unwise for them to refuse to support the Eisenhower administration.

Problems of the National Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following letter which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune for August 19, 1953:

PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

Thank you for publishing Mr. Walter Millis' three fine articles about the National Guard.

As one who has served in the New York National Guard for about 40 years, the last 27 of which have been in active State service, I feel competent to say Mr. Millis has presented a true picture of National Guard problems as they exist today.

The manpower shortage in the National Guard, which Mr. Millis has described as being about 50 percent, is no fault of the National Guard, but is due to poorly worded provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act which does not impose an enforceable obligation upon young men who have completed their compulsory period of active service training, to serve with the National Guard or Reserves, but permits them to become names in a card file. If the Universal Military Training and Service Act were amended to make such men subject to induction or transfer into the National Guard to finish out a total of 4 years of active and National Guard service, after which they would be given a complete discharge from their 8-year obligation, the shortage in the National Guard would be filled. At the same time Uncle Sam would be getting some return for his training investment through utilization of such men in training capacities in the National Guard and be insured against their promptly forgetting the lessons they learned during their active duty training.

It is disquieting to any veteran National Guard man to realize that we are rapidly approaching a time when some such enforcible measure will become imperative if the National Guard is to continue as a component of the Armed Forces of the United States, because traditionally, the National Guard is a force composed of volunteers. The typical National Guard man joins because of a sense of obligation to prepare himself to defend his country when and if necessary. He humbly enrolls as a private and through the acid test of association with fellow soldiers—who are the best judges of his capacity—may become commanding general in time. Such men make the best kind of citizens and frequently attain high civil office as well, and because of this privilege our enemies cry "politics in the National Guard."

The Universal Military Training and Service Act is causing the rapid disappearance of this type of volunteer. It is only a policy of the selective-service system which makes it possible for young men between the ages of 17 and 18½ years to enroll in the National Guard, a policy which could be changed over night.

This age group is the main field open to National Guard recruiting today. Those who enlist may remain with the National Guard as long as they perform satisfactory duty and are only subject to induction if and when the National Guard is inducted. Most of the older men, many of whom served in the world wars and in Korea feel that they have fulfilled their military obligation and are no longer interested in military service, although many such men are now serving in the National Guard and have a stabilizing effect on the younger recruits.

Our Nation today is spending large sums for the construction of armories throughout the various States for training reserves, yet the National Guard armories, constructed and maintained at State expense, and to which the United States has assigned professional instructors and training equipment, in addition to pay for training National Guard men are being utilized at only about 50 percent of capacity. This is inconsistent. No business man with a factory operating at only 50 percent of capacity would construct a new factory until the maximum capacity of his present factory had been reached. For the reasons stated above, it would be good business for Congress to take prompt steps to eliminate this waste by enacting legislation that would require young men who have completed their compulsory period of active service to serve an additional period of 2 years with the National Guard.

Since the days of George Washington, one of the first militiamen, the National Guard, despite its few weaknesses, has proved to be the only form of military reserve system democratic America will support and its readiness and outstanding performance in World Wars of 1917 and 1941, and more recently in Korea, are evidence of this fact. Let us support and maintain it. It has outlived all the attempts of its enemies to destroy it because it is the only type of State and federally controlled military force that insures our Nation against a Hitler or a Stalin.

C. PEMBERTON LENART,
Colonel, AGC, New York National Guard,
Acting, the Adjutant General.
ALBANY, N. Y., *August 15, 1953.*

Three Hundred and Forty-fifth Anniversary of the Landing of Poles in America at Jamestown, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, although American history is replete with the efforts of such outstanding Polish heroes as Kosciusko and Pulaski, who fought so gallantly for our Nation's freedom, we are not so well aware of the part played by the first Polish immigrants who landed at Jamestown, Va., and contributed mightily to the success of the first English settlement in America.

On October 18, 1953, Admiral Chandler, president of William and Mary College, delivered an address commemorating the 345th anniversary of the landing of Poles in America at Jamestown, Va., and I commend to my colleagues the reading of this brief historical sketch of early colonial days told so humanly by Admiral Chandler in his address which follows:

THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF POLES IN AMERICA AT JAMESTOWN, VA.

Mr. President, members of the Polish Club, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, if I were to fail to say at the outset that I am honored to have the privilege to participate in this ceremony, I would be less than truthful. I want to thank you and your president for inviting me.

I want to greet you, the descendants of our early settlers in the New World.

This area has long been renowned for keeping alive the heritage of Virginia and the Nation. The college which I serve has been distinguished for its alumni who played a leading role in the making of the Nation and in the education of our youth. Jefferson, one of our alumni, founded the University of Virginia. I could list innumerable alumni who made the heritage of this great Nation and who played and are playing a dynamic role in keeping it alive.

We in Virginia feel that Jamestown is hallowed ground because this area is the monument to the spreading of the European influence in America.

Not far from where we meet today there was established, 345 years ago, the first industry in what is now the United States of America.

We are all here to commemorate that event and to honor the memories of the five anonymous men from Poland who planted the first seeds from which has grown the greatest industrial nation under God.

Jamestown was founded in 1607, 2 years before this historical event. The first settlers were, in the main, a band of gentlemen adventurers lured here by the myth that the shores of the New World were strewn with gold. It took the example of the Polish glassmakers to demonstrate to the colonists that the treasures of Virginia were in its soil, not nuggets to be had for picking. There was ample wealth, but it required strong arms, stout hearts, and technical knowledge to convert it into coin.

Only 32 of the original band of 105 settlers survived the first 2 winters in Virginia. When the second group arrived with 70 recruits for the new colony Capt. John Smith warmly welcomed the 5 Polish artisans among them not only because they were what Jamestown most needed—skilled workmen—but because he knew them as representatives of a sturdy, industrious, liberty-loving nation.

John Smith had reason to respect and admire the Poles. Only a few years before, in Christian Europe's wars with the infidels, he had been captured by the Turks and led into slavery. All of Southeastern Europe was then held by the Mohammedans, and the first Christian sanctuary the fugitive found was in Poland.

In the book he later wrote called The True Travels, John Smith describes how he crossed Poland, aided every foot of the way by a people unmatched in his experience, for, as he said it, "respect, mirth, content, and entertainment," who insisted on loading him with gifts before sending him on to the next town.

These first Polish settlers to America soon proved Smith's confidence. Allotted a tract of land about 1 mile from the fort—which was the only building—they immediately set to work to build their little factory. When the English ship was ready to sail back across the Atlantic, it carried a full line of samples which the glass-makers were prepared to turn out in commercial quantities, as well as a cargo of pitch, or tar, distilled from Virginia's pine trees, and other products of the field and forest which the so-called "Polonians" had manufactured.

These five men proved to be such an asset to the first English colony that more of their fellow countrymen were invited to settle here. In a few years 50 Poles were living in Jamestown. As was the custom then, almost all of the colonists worked out their passage by pledging themselves to work for the company which owned the settlement. Thus, in from 2 to 3 years, the immigrant's labor had repaid the company for the passage by ship from Europe, and they duly became free citizens of the community.

That brings us to another first event in America, the first blow for civil liberty and the right to citizenship on equal terms, which the Polish Colony, in the Virginia of three centuries ago, successfully registered.

In the year 1619 the Jamestown Colony was granted a form of self-government by the London company. That was a memorable year for the thriving little colony, destined within 3 years to be all but wiped out in an Indian massacre. In 1619 a shipload of women arrived, women who were willing to brave the hard life on the frontiers of a new country just to get husbands. There wasn't one who was not on her honeymoon before sunset on the day of their landing.

I wonder how many of the young women, who complain today how hard it is to catch a husband, would take the same gamble?

At any rate, as history reveals, the Jamestown Colony was then divided into boroughs, boroughs in which every man who had worked out his indebtedness to the London company was given the vote. Every man, that is, except the half-a-hundred Poles who, incidentally, monopolized the industries of Jamestown. The British colonists, dependent as they were on their Polish fellow-settlers, arbitrarily decided that citizenship should be a privilege reserved for their own special group.

The same undemocratic spirit, unfortunately, still survives too much in the world today. Too many persons, who falsely think themselves the best kind of American, sometimes look down on their fellow citizens, forgetting that all the people in America, who are not Indians, are descendants of immigrants, whether they came here 300 or 30 years ago.

Well, the Polish colonists in Virginia protested. They said they were as good Americans as any of the rest who came to America with them or even later. When their protests were ignored they said, "Okay (or however you say it in Polish), no citizenship, no work."

So they closed down the glass factory, the tar distillery, the soap works, and spent the days fishing and dancing the polka.

Perhaps you could call it the first strike in America, except that the Polonians were not quitting work on an employer. They shut down their own industries. Except for the few pounds of tobacco the colonists were beginning to export, practically all of the profits realized by the London Co. came from the resale of the products of the Polish industries. The Jamestown government quickly realize that if it sent empty ships back to England, the consequences could be very unpleasant.

And so, members of the Jamestown General Assembly quickly declared their Polish fellow colonists to have full citizenship, with every right of the vote and equal representation. Thereafter the community prospered in peace and unity. The colony grew far beyond the borders of the little point of land where the first colonists had built their log fort and crude glass factory, despite bitter factional quarrels between, what we would call, rival political machines.

Then in March 1632 the Indians of this region, alarmed at the spread of the palefaces, rose and massacred more than 300 of the colonists and burned farmhouses and factories. It was a blow from which Jamestown never recovered. The London Co. went into bankruptcy, and other settlements in Virginia soon outstripped the first colony. Later Jamestown was the ruin it appears to be today. Jamestown is a monument to the thrift, the industry, the courage, and the love of liberty of those earliest of our colonists. These virtues were exemplified by the first Poles in America. That monument can never be ruined. Every passing year will see it grow greater and brighter.

In the centuries succeeding the establishment of Jamestown, hundreds of thousands of Poles have followed the footsteps of those first immigrants, to weave into the fabric of America the industry, the poetry, the music, the arts, and the sciences, which Poland has contributed to the welfare of the world since history began. Pulaski and Kosciusko today are names as American as Jefferson, Adams, and Hamilton.

Let us pray that the Polish spirit which has helped America become great will some day very soon free the mother country from the slavery imposed upon it by the monster, communism.

Construction Outlook for 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an address made by the Honorable Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration and my distinguished fellow townsman, before the annual meeting of the Akron Brick & Block Co., held at the Portage Country Club, Akron, Ohio, Thursday, January 21, 1954.

Commissioner Slusser, I have known for many years. He is a fellow Akronite, who has distinguished himself in the field of public service. As a member of first the Akron City Council, then of the Akron School Board, and finally as mayor for 10 years, he has made a substantial contribution to the public welfare in Akron over two decades. He is now performing the same sort of service in Washington as PHA Commissioner.

Commissioner Slusser came to the Public Housing Administration in July 1953. In this, his first Federal service, he took over the helm of an agency, set up in 1938—which today administers a multi-million-dollar Federal investment in public housing. A short time ago he announced a major reorganization of the PHA that promises to produce results beneficial to the Eisenhower economy program, governmental efficiency, and the million people which the public housing program serves.

Commissioner Slusser is no deskman. To quote him:

Few men have seen so many slums and so much public housing.

Commissioner Slusser has seen enough to know that slums are not only not American but that they are also inimical to the American way of life. He wants in their place decent homes, parks, playgrounds, and everything else that makes for a decent city.

Here is a man who has faith in this country. That faith and what it can accomplish in the immediate future are best revealed in this speech I am asking permission to incorporate in the RECORD. His address also bears testimony to the role which he believes public housing should play in our economy. I find it the same as the President's.

The address follows:

CONSTRUCTION OUTLOOK FOR 1954

(Speech by Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner, Public Housing Administration)

Two months ago in New Orleans, I told the American Municipal Association that addressing them was almost as good as coming home. I stress the word "almost." I am home now and it is the best medicine in the world for—if you will forgive me the term—a Washington Republican bureaucrat.

I am not, however, here tonight in that role. Any account of the doings of the Public Housing Administration—of which I have the honor to be the head—will await my appearance before the appropriate congressional committees in the very near future. Rather, I am here tonight to tell you of what I have seen and heard in the construction field during my travels these past 6 months.

Since July I have covered close to 50,000 miles throughout the country. Few men have seen so many slums and so much public housing. But this was not all I saw. I saw also a great deal of private residential construction, highway building, civic improvement centers going up. Last year, in 1953, this construction totaled more than $34 billion. I looked at it with the eyes of a man who has been in the real estate business and the construction field. My table companions were, as now, architects, builders, and material suppliers.

My question was the same as yours.

What of 1954?

Now we are not the only ones asking this question. The National Association of Home Builders, whose convention has just concluded in Chicago, have also surveyed the same field. The answer they got was optimistic. Ninety-two percent of the home builders answering the NAHB's inquiry look for as big or bigger year in 1954 than they had in 1953; 1953 was the recordbreaker to date.

The Department of Commerce, noted for its conservative opinions, has a forecast much similar. It expects construction activity to again reach the amazing total of $34 billion.

This represents a 2-percent drop from 1953, and, of course, you will find the usual prophets of doom ready to mark that as the signal for intering our economy.

This community in particular can regard such prophecy as heresy. Tuesday General Motors' Curtice and Sloan added a billion and a half to the expansion prospects for 1954. With that type of American courage laid on the line by businessmen, I see little need for worry about the state of the Union. What GM has just added to our economy should put us in 1954 well over the record of $34 billion in 1953.

In the 1930's there were residents of this community who looked upon Akron as a defeated city destined only to become a ghost town. Did that come to pass? No. Instead we have spread the activities of our area far outside the boundaries of Ohio, notably to Alabama and California. What is active there, however, is still the moral courage that persisted—despite all odds—in Akron during the dark days that we older heads here remember so well.

That spirit we should cherish. Legislative action is always preceded by that of the people and their leaders. If we have confidence in the future, it will be reflected in Government and to our mutual benefit.

But whereas you had quite a few professional calamity howlers at work a few months ago, I think you will find their ranks today thinned out. Politically and professionally it just doesn't do to live on depressed conditions.

There is going to be competition. The quick-and-easy dollar is going off the streets and highways, but it should not have been there in the first place. Pencils will be sharpened; there will be closer figuring. But that will be all to the good. We need to get more for our dollars.

So—in my opinion—while there might be a little less spent for homes and buildings and highways in 1954 than in 1953, there should be just as many or more homes, buildings, and highways built. It is just that we will take the water out of 1953's figures and put it to work.

One thing that has been very evident to me in my travels is that if there are two things that this country needs it is homes and roads. We may have more of both than any other nation, but we could still have both much improved. Our older cities are wearing out in spots and some of our newer ones were too quickly built. The roads between need rebuilding as well. I think it is up to us to see to it, each of us in our different capacities, that this rebuilding is better done than it has been in the recent past. With that goal, we can keep America and ourselves prosperous.

Now—that way has been pointed out to us. The proposed construction, that a go-ahead signal on the St. Lawrence seaway alone would entail, would be enough to raise the ceiling on even the most optimistic forecast of building. The same holds true for the expressways proposed for Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin in the Middle West, which would enable travel, halfway across the continent, to be at a pace and comfort hitherto unknown to earthbound people.

Such construction, and the continued production of residential dwellings, both private and public, will, I predict, be of improved quality in 1954. There will be more performance and less promise for the simple reason it will be good business.

Throughout the country in these past 6 months I have seen numerous examples of excellent workmanship. Unfortunately, I have also seen some others where sloppy materials, poor construction, and poor architecture left a bad taste in my mouth. I think it would leave it in yours.

For such, the time is past. The Nation, politics or no, is just not going to put up with inefficient workmanship, shoddy materials, attempts to get by, and that twilight zone where it's legal but morally discouraging.

Just as it has been lately made clear to the military that budgetary items need no longer be procured past the time of their usefulness, regardless of prior appropriations, so will a similar review be made of purchases in the civilian field.

I have in mind here two construction jobs built in different parts of the country. One was built in an area of low-pressure activity. The other was centered in one of the richest per capita communities of which the country boasts. Both were 6-acre sites, yet the former purchase price was $5,000 more than the latter. Construction costs were in keeping with site acquisition. The less costly buildings placed in the richer community were imaginatively conceived and tailored to the landscape. Those of the less-well-to-do city cost more but showed little thought as to either placement or construction. Despite greater expenditure, they gave you square-cut entrances where archways could have been produced as well and with much more pleasing effect. A plain, factory appearance with uncovered concrete floors—stairways that boasted of no nosing strips on the risers and took left-angle turns into darkness and despair—all this was produced at greater cost in a low-priced market area than was possible in a high-salary town where the architect and the contractor did their utmost to give their employers value received.

Which of these two jobs are we going to go for in the future? Common sense will tell you we are going to take the product that, while costing us less, gave us more for our money. That has not always been the rule in the past. It is the rule today.

We are going to demand good workmanship, good materials, and good construction. That means the competition will be tougher, but I think it will mean more business activity and more business dollars and, consequently, good news for you.

This administration has its mind very much on maintaining a healthy economy for this country. At the same time, it intends to maintain that economy on a value received basis. Coupling that with all the things that need to be done if we are to get on with the job of rebuilding America, I think we can look forward to 1954 with confidence.

The present administration is interested only in initiative and accomplishment. It has no desire to invade the fields where private enterprise is operating.

At present I am responsible for the administration of the Government's public housing. According to the concept that I have of that operation, which is the administration's, we are not in conflict with legitimate private enterprise.

Today, governed as we are by a high-priced economy, it is not legitimate private enterprise that is interested in rents or sales of property within the reach of that segment of our economy that makes less than $200 a month. We cannot, however, ignore the problem in civics and finance here presented less it be multiplied for the next generation. If no one else will provide decent living conditions for the people it then becomes the responsibility of the Government simply because it will cost us less money.

In Washington, I feel that I am not only representing President Eisenhower. I am also representing you. I know this audience. For people who badly need help you would be the first to volunteer. What we are doing in public housing is just that—helping people who badly need it. We are doing it more economically than if we attempted it only as interested individuals.

And we are clearing out—as no other Government agency is—the cancerous blight of the slums of our great cities. Whether we continue to do so, is not the Government's choice, but yours.

President Eisenhower has said to us, "We believe in the supreme importance of the individual; we feel that every American—of every race and creed—deserves equal opportunity to grow and develop to his maximum capacity.

"We advocate safeguards for the American people against overwhelming personal disaster, and we firmly believe that the national welfare demands certain indispensable social services.

"We have faith in local initiative and urge the acceptance of increased local responsibility, except in cases where the resources of the Federal Government alone can insure economical and effective action."

Are the organizations, and the individuals represented here tonight willing to accept this spiritual and patriotic challenge? Your answer is in time.

Lower Tariffs and Living Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE EOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial from the January 26 issue of the Naugatuck (Conn.) News titled "Lower Tariffs and Living Standards."

My good friend and most competent editor, Joseph Donahue, has forcefully presented in this editorial the problem which faces the many thousands engaged in the production of rubber footwear. This one industry is the main employer in the Borough of Naugatuck. Should foreign imports, particularly those produced through Czechoslovakian slave labor, reduce the demand for American-produced rubber footwear, the economy of this thriving community would be shattered.

It is not statistics that are important in this case, but the very existence of the fine people of Naugatuck and their worldly possessions. When we stand up to be counted, I will be on their side.

The editorial follows:

LOWER TARIFFS AND LIVING STANDARDS

The controversy in Congress over tariff barriers against foreign goods will reach deeply into Connecticut. It will also carry dangerous portents for Naugatuck.

Local and State residents should make it their business to keep themselves fully acquainted with the tariff developments in Washington. More than that, they should convey their thoughts and opinions to their representatives in Congress, who may be under serious handicap in carrying the fight for Connecticut against sizable blocs from other States who have contrary feelings on the tariff issue.

Factory Manager W. E. Bittle, of the United States Rubber Co. footwear plant, recently pointed out in a statement that "foreign competitors using low-paid labor have been and are at the present time importing footwear into this country. If the recommended tariff cuts are approved in Washington, over 22,000 jobs in the rubber-footwear industry would be in jeopardy"; and he added: "We do not take an unreasonable stand. We ask only for adequate tariffs on imported rubber footwear to equalize for the low wages paid in foreign countries."

Similar statements have come from officials representing other Connecticut industries: Hats, watches, metal goods, to cite a few. Almost every Connecticut industrial worker has a stake in congressional action on tariffs.

Now comes the recommendation of 17-man Foreign Economic Policy Commission, headed by Clarence B. Randall, of Chicago, and chairman of the board of Inland Steel, that the President be given power to lower tariffs by 5 percent a year over the next 3 years. In addition, the Commission proposes that the President be empowered to reduce any tariff to 50 percent of the value of the goods imported.

While this might aid some States, the effect on Connecticut could be disastrous. Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER of farm-State Iowa says he can see some hope for adoption of the Randall recommendations. But Chairman DANIEL A. REED (Republican, New York) of the House Ways and Means Committee, which handles tariff problems, strongly dissents.

"The tariff cuts," he says, "admittedly will create unemployment and adversely affect business in this country." "Remedies offered by the sharply divided Commission," he says, "were sympathy or Government subsidies, but no substitutes for jobs."

Congress should accept no part of the Randall Commission recommendations except that portion which recommends a 3-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act. And it should reject the Commission's proposal in this connection, that the present restriction be lifted that present law tariffs cannot be lowered below 50 percent of the rate in 1945.

Foreign industry has already been aided by American funds. This is unquestionably an acceptable procedure in the American policy of world rehabilitation. But how far are we expected to go? To the point that the shoe pinches; or beyond, to where there is no shoe?

The New England Export Club, identifying itself as an organization of 311 exporting manufacturers in the region, and their associates in banking, insurance, shipping, and advertising, entreats a program of lower tariffs "not only to assist the economies of other countries, but also to reduce the cost of living to American consumers." We know of no support for the Export Club in this area, but we would question the wisdom of establishing an American economic system that had to compete without restriction, with the production costs and methods of foreign manufacturers.

We urge our people, and their Representatives in Congress, to consider first and foremost the impact of lower tariffs on Connecticut industriees, jobs, and economics. That is their first responsibility.

The Upper Colorado River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks I have received many very commendable letters from my constituents in Utah regarding the Echo Park Dam and other phases of the upper Colorado River project, and one letter in particular is worthy of being called to the attention of my colleagues in the House. It was written by Mr. Sterling E. Price, of Springville, Utah:

DEAR MR. STRINGFELLOW: This is to certify that I am a member of the Springville and Utah State and National Wild Life Association, that I am a landowner and belong to the Springville-Strawberry Water Users Association of Utah County, Utah; that I am well acquainted with the needs of Utah's valleys and the results to be accrued in the development of the Colorado River storage project; that I am fully acquainted with the features of the Colorado River storage project; that I have run the Green River with engineers and advisers and ridden and hunted the areas through which the Colorado River storage project is to be developed and, as such, wish to state, in fact, my findings and firm belief:

1. That most acreage in Utah under cultivation has an inadequate water supply.

2. That every municipality in central Utah is short of culinary water, though each has had to take most of its supply from producing land.

3. That industry has had to buy water rights from agricultural production and/or drive wells to gain water for operation, thus lowering the water table.

4. That electrical energy is needed for municipal, rural, and industrial development.

5. That there is a ready market to use all the electricity as it can be produced by the upper Colorado River development.

6. That other Western States and especially the larger cities are in need of added electrical energy.

7. That unless we can obtain electrical power by the erection of flood control dams, we must resort to power from coal, diesel oil, or natural gas, thus depleting the Nation's natural resources, and increasing the cost of living to the consumer.

8. That in times of war these would all be serious factors, both in the matter of defense and in our standard of living.

9. That 10,000 acres of valuable land, now inundated part of the year, creating a serious health hazard, would be made suitable for cultivation.

10. That the process of development would form, without added expense, an excellent flood control for the Provo, Spanish Fork, and Hobble Creek Rivers.

11. That 200,000 acres of fertile land would, in the final phase, be brought under cultivation.

12. That, though there is a surplus of foodstuffs at the present, there is always a shortage in time of war, and, by the time this project is brought into production, it is estimated there will be around 50 million more people in the United States, and several hundreds of millions more people in the world to feed.

13. That with the price of farm products leveling off, the farmer will not have the funds, or will not want, to use as much expensive fertilizer as he is using so that the production per acre will go down. Then too, drouths always follow floods, and shortages follow surpluses.

14. That the lower basin States have spent great sums of money building and keeping the Colorado River in its dikes during flood periods, and that, even then, at times these floods did devastating damage to the dikes and lower valleys.

15. That there has been a great deal of fear expressed by the extreme lower basin that the barriers to the sea may give way where the Colorado River enters the Bay of Lower California and flood the low valleys, destroying the river dikes and inundating the vast vegetable farms.

16. That the Upper Colorado River project and its participating projects would protect all the above for a long time to come.

17. That the project is too large and expensive for private industry.

18. That this project is the only means by which the Upper Colorado River basin States can get their portion of the waters of the rivers, the sources and supply of which are all within those States.

19. That from a sportaman's standpoint, this project will materially increase wildlife and recreational facilities.

20. That the participating part of this project is the building of a large fish hatchery, from which our wildlife and other recreational facilities will be constantly replenished.

21. That the areas have the greatest variety of strategic materials in the Nation.

22. That vast deposits of phosphate and other concentrated fertilizers will be made available.

23. That inland and protected as it is, the section is one of the best defense areas of

the North American Continent, and with water and electrical power supplies, is a natural spot for defense plants.

24. That it has splendid transportation facilities of all kinds.

25. That industry can produce much more and at a lesser cost than elsewhere.

26. That farms of this State have been divided into such small acreage that the owners are compelled to have supplemental employment to live. More than 30 percent of Utah Valley are less than 20 acres per farm.

27. That only about 10 percent of our high-school and college graduates can find employment at home and must move elsewhere.

28. That at any time one of our present industries is closed for any reason, it results in serious hardship to our economy and thus all our people.

29. That the project will pay back to the United States Treasury all its cost with interest; as have all reclamation projects within the State of Utah.

30. That quite a portion of the initial phase will be paid back to the Treasury of the United States with interest before money for the final phase is spent.

31. That additional taxes and addition to the country's economic status will materially pay for a large portion of the initial phase before money is spent for the final phase.

32. That Utah, being an arid land with the greatest potential defense possibilities of the Nation, can do little in expanding these and other possibilities without more water.

33. That the people of Utah are overwhelmingly in favor of this project.

34. That inasmuch as it will take 50 years or more to accomplish this project that it behooves the Congress of the United States to approve it at the earliest possible moment and develop it as conditions prevail and funds can be made available.

35. That the foregoing are my firm convictions and may be used by the proponents of the upper Colorado River development in urging its approval.

Sincerely yours,

STERLING E. PRICE.

No Place for Zealots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from yesterday's News. This concerns the service of Mr. Byron Price, a native-born Hoosier:

NO PLACE FOR ZEALOTS

Byron Price, for whom we've long had the highest admiration, retires today as Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations.

For 7 years he has been near the top of this organization—the highest ranking American in the permanent secretariat.

On the occasion of his retirement he disclosed some of his honest feeling about the U. N. He said:

"The United Nations will never succeed because of the dreamers and the zealots. If it succeeds, it will be because of the work of the hard-headed men who knew what they wanted and who made the sacrifices for it. This operation should be run on a business basis."

It is refreshing and typical of Byron Price that he can put in one paragraph all that is wrong with the U. N.

But let the U. N. be run on a realistic, business basis, with hard-headed assessment of the aims and motives of all its members, and there is hope for its success. It is no place for zealots.

In his dedicated service to the U. N. Mr. Price has made a real contribution to its avowed objectives—a commonsense approach to its myriad problems. He has recommended that his office be abolished. Which is just as well, for men of his competence and discernment will not be attracted easily into the U. N. until, as he advises, it is put on a hard-headed basis.

Colonel Stengle, Friend of All Public Employees, Departure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Government Standard, owned and published by the American Federation of Government Employees, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in its issue of September 4, 1953, concerning the late Col. Charles I. Stengle.

The esteem in which he was held is reflected in this editorial. As newspaper editor and as Congressman, he learned how to battle for a cause. While secretary of the Municipal Civil Service Commission of Greater New York from 1919 to 1923, he first became interested in public employees, and he took their problems to his heart. The colonel became largely instrumental in the adoption of a sound classification system. Sincere, persuasive, and skilled in organization, he lifted Government employees from the position of poor relatives at the end of the table, to the status where their work is respected and their claims are given serious attention.

The lot of Government workers improved tremendously when Colonel Stengle joined the staff of the American Federation of Government Employees in 1934 during the depth of the depression. Tireless in his efforts, he went up and down the country, getting folks to start up new lodges of the AFCE and in the process, he imbued them with his confidence in better things to come.

Later, when his good work was appreciated by his election as president of the Federation, and subsequently as legislative representative of the AFGE on Capitol Hill, he became one of the most highly respected men in Washington.

We are sorry that he could not go on forever. Because we fear that it will be hard to fill his shoes. He was the best friend of every Government worker from coast to coast and overseas.

The editorial follows:

OUR DEBT TO COLONEL STENGLE

It was a fortunate day for the American Federation of Government Employees when Col. Charles I. Stengle became a full-time member of our national staff. That was in 1934, when our federation was still in its infancy.

Colonel Stengle had already gained a national reputation as a champion of public employees. As a Member of Congress, newspaper editor, and public speaker, he had been prominent in civic affairs for more than 30 years. Two of the cornerstones of the civil-service system—the Retirement Act of 1920 and the Classification Act of 1923, stood—and still stand—as tributes to the Colonel's combination of crusading idealism and political skill.

At an age when most people begin to think about retirement, Colonel Stengle devoted himself to the building of the AFGE and the advancement of our legislative programs.

During the past 19 years, the Colonel has set a pace for himself that younger colleagues found difficult to match.

As an organizer during the early years of our federation's growth, Colonel Stengle thought nothing of spending weeks on the road without a break, speaking nightly, setting up new lodges, meeting with Government employees until far into the night.

As president of the AFGE from 1936 to 1939, Colonel Stengle brought a prestige to our organization which made the AFGE the spokesman for Government workers.

Until his recent illness, the Colonel was a familiar and beloved figure on Capitol Hill. When he testified before committees of Congress as the AFGE's legislative representative, he was listened to with respect and attention.

More than once, as a new session of Congress convened and newly elected Members took their place on committees, the Colonel's first appearance would be interrupted by the committee chairman who would turn to the new Congressmen and say gruffly: "This is Colonel Stengle. Now in case any of you don't know him, let me tell you * * *" Then would follow a sincere tribute to the colonel.

We will miss the active services of Colonel Stengle. But our feeling of loss is tempered with satisfaction that his wise counsel and great experience will continue to be at the service of Government employees and of their union which he helped to build.

We hope that Colonel Stengle will find in his retirement the same pleasure and satisfaction that he found in his 55 years of public service.

JAMES A. CAMPBELL,
National President, AFGE.

Revision of Tax Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, is revising the tax code, a mammoth undertaking, for the first time since 1875. Following daily executive sessions, the press is fully apprised of the decisions reached. Under leave to extend my remark, I include comments on one phase of the revision occurring in the Thompsonville Press, printed in Thompsonville, Conn., on January 28, 1954:

Disciples of the late Horatio Alger, as well as the fathers of ambitious youths, will be happy at the news that the House Ways and Means Committee has voted to fix the income tax so that a dependent is still a dependent

even if he should earn himself as much as $601 during summer vacation or after school and Saturdays.

If Congress will fully back up the committee, there's still hope for the good old sterling virtues, industry, thrift, even business acumen. No more will dad have to squelch ambition at the $600 mark. The sky will be the limit.

Federal Antitrust Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FRANK WILSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech of Hon. CHAUNCEY W. REED, chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, before antitrust section of New York State Bar Association, January 28, 1954:

HOUSE CONSIDERATION OF FEDERAL ANTITRUST LEGISLATION

Mr. Chairman and honored guests, it is indeed a privilege for me again to address a group which has done so much to hammer and forge the present sturdy framework of our antitrust laws. It is my personal feeling that the Nation owes much to you and former members of the antitrust bar for your and their earnest and unceasing efforts to make knowledgeable all of the complicated and hidden facets that comprise the economic structure of our competitive system today. You, who have worked daily with the warp and the woof of the antitrust laws have, I believe, been importantly instrumental in molding the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and other related statutes into a single cohesive force for the maintenance of competition in the variegated patterns of economic organization which spread throughout our land.

A year ago I had the pleasure of talking to you on the subject of reexamining the antitrust laws. At that time I told you that anyone who thought a reexamination by the new administration would mean either repeal or nonenforcement of the antitrust laws was unfamiliar with the history of the Republican Party. Perhaps some of you are a trifle disappointed that my statement has proved to be so true. Today there can be no question that these laws are being enforced with the vigor and sincerity of purpose which their importance in our free economy merits.

Although enforcement remains as vigorous as ever before, improvements in administration have, in various ways, reduced the apparent need for legislative change. Today the Federal Trade Commission's chief antagonist is not the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, as I sometimes thought it was a few years ago. Today the Commission, before asking a court to respect its "expert judgment," is insisting that it have the factual data upon which an expert can formulate a sound judgment. It is apparent that today neither the Commission nor the Department of Justice regards antitrust as a test tube for economic experimentation.

Although better administration has made the need for a review of our antitrust policies less urgent than it was a year ago, it is nevertheless clear that a comprehensive reexamination is still of great importance. As you know, such a reexamination of antitrust has been undertaken by the Attorney General's national committee. The Congress is awaiting with great interest the results of that study, and will, I am sure, give the most most careful consideration to any recommendations which may be made by that committee.

Since any legislative proposals which the Attorney General's Committee may recommend will in all probability come before the Committee on the Judiciary, you may be interested in a few words about the procedures which we are using in the consideration of current antitrust legislation in the House of Representatives.

All bills introduced for the purpose of amending the antitrust laws are referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which is composed of 30 members—16 Republicans and 14 Democrats.

After a bill comes to the Committee on the Judiciary it is referred to one of the five subcommittees of the full committee. With respect to antitrust legislation, the referral is to Subcommittee No. 3. Subcommittee No. 3 has special jurisdiction over patents, trademarks, copyrights and monopoly power. In addtion to its special jurisdiction, this subcommittee also has general jurisdiction over all judiciary bills, as does each of the other four subcommittees.

The State of New York is well represented on Subcommittee No. 3. Three of its six members, including the subcommittee chairman, are from New York. They are the Honorable KENNETH B. KEATING and the Honorable DEAN P. TAYLOR, Republicans, and the Honorable SIDNEY A. FINE, Democrat. The other members are the Honorable SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER, Jr., a Republican, and the Honorable EDWIN E. WILLIS, and the Honorable HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Democrats.

You will note that there are three members of each party on the subcommittee. In the technical fields over which Subcommittee No. 3 has special jurisdiction, it is very rare to have the members vote on the basis of party affiliation. It is also unusual to have the 6 members split 3 to 3 on any bill. This does happen on occasion, however, as it did last week on H. R. 4597 a bill which I introduced for the purpose of making the award of treble damages under section 4 of the Clayton Act discretionary, rather than mandatory. You may recall that I discussed this subject during my talk here last year. Since the subcommittee was evenly divided, the bill was reported to the full committee with no recommendation. The full committee will, in my opinion, act on this bill during the month of February.

As a general rule hearings are held by the subcommittee and not by the full committee. The smaller group is usually better able to give careful consideration to technical aspects of a bill. Perhaps this point can be illustrated by mentioning a few of the problems which arose during the consideration of a bill now pending before the full committee and due for action in February to provide for a uniform Federal statute of limitations in private treble damage actions under the antitrust laws.

This bill was introduced as H. R. 3408 in the 82d Congress and extensive hearings were held. It was reintroduced as H. R. 467 in the 83d Congress and the issues which had arisen during the hearings were carefully studied by Subcommittee No. 3.

When the matter was first considered, the two issues which were apparent were (1) whether there should be a Federal statute of limitations and (2) if so, how long should the period of limitations be.

The first issue was easily resolved. The need for a Federal statute was plainly demonstrated and no serious arguments against it were advanced. But study of the second question was not only more difficult in itself but also gave rise to a series of additional problems.

One of the factors influencing the subcommittee in its determination of a fair period of limitations was the length of the average period under presently applicable State statutes. Since the results of the research on this subject by witnesses who favored a long statutory period did not agree with the opinions of the experts who favored a short period, the subcommittee staff did its own research in order to reconcile the conflicting views. It was concluded that the average was over 4 years and under 5 years. In most States, therefore, the adoption of a 5-year period as finally recommended by the subcommittee will not substantially change existing law.

During the hearings it was pointed out that the adoption of a uniform Federal statute might revive causes of action which were already barred in States having a shorter limitations period. Since this would seem manifestly unfair, it was necessary to draft an amendment that would prevent the act from having retroactive effect. On the other hand, it would be equally unfair in States which have a period of over 5 years to bar actions which accrued 5½ years ago and which were about to be filed; to avoid this consequence the effective date of the statute will be postponed for a reasonable period after its enactment.

The effect of the tolling provision of section 5 of the Clayton Act was also brought to the attention of the subcommittee during the hearings. Since major antitrust cases sometimes last as long as 10 years, in such cases it seems unreasonable to add this entire period to the normal statutory period. Since the full period of tolling must be allowed in order to give effect to the policy of section 5 of the Clayton Act, and give the private litigant the full benefit of the Government prosecution, it is not feasible to impose a fixed maximum applicable in all cases. Instead, it was decided to compromise on a provision that would measure the period by either the normal 5 years or the period of time consumed by the Government litigation, whichever is the longer. In other words, if the Government litigation lasts 6 years, the total period of limitations will be 6 years, instead of 11, as it would be under existing law. But a Government case lasting less than 5 years would not extend the overall period of limitations.

This change with respect to the tolling effect of section 5 of the Clayton Act would produce injustice in some situations if certain exceptions were not made. For example, it is the policy of the Clayton Act to permit a private litigant to await the outcome of a Government prosecution before determining whether or not to file suit. If, however, his period of limitations is measured by the exact length of the Government litigation—at least when the Government case lasts longer than 5 years—it would be necessary for the plaintiff to file suit on or before the date the Government judgment becomes final. It is obviously more reasonable to give the plaintiff an opportunity to study the results of a Government decree before requiring him to file his action. Thus, in all cases of tolling, the subcommittee concluded that the private litigant should have at least a year after the termination of the Government action before his cause of action is barred.

The bill presented even further issues with respect to the tolling provision. Since it gives the Government the right to sue for actual damages suffered by reason of a violation of the antitrust laws, the question whether such a damage action should toll the statute came up. Similarly, should such a judgment for damages be admissible in a private action to the same extent as an equity decree or criminal conviction obtained by the Government? These are only some of the problems which developed in the consideration of what originally appeared to

be a very simple matter of enacting a Federal statute of limitations. Whether additional problems will arise on the floor of the House or in the Senate cannot, of course, be known. It is likely, however, that the very careful and thorough consideration which has been given to H. R. 467 by the Committee on the Judiciary will expedite its eventual enactment into law.

Undoubtedly all of you are familiar with the so-called basing-point legislation now before the Congress for consideration. Five bills which have been referred to our committee deal in one manner or another with this perplexing problem involving freight absorption, pricing methods, and the good-faith meeting of competition.

This is an area of the law which is today shrouded in an aura of confusion and contradiction. The basic statute, of which the Supreme Court has openly voiced the complaint that "precision of expression is not an outstanding characteristic" has been the subject of administrative interpretation which would confound the most learned in the paths of Government operations. Add a pinch of judicial obiter dictum to this bureaucratic brew, season with a tortuous legislative history of several congressional sessions, and you have the present concoction known as the basing-point problem.

Now, it is absolutely foolish to suppose for one minute that from this chaos Congress can compound a legislative solution at once satisfactory to the legitimate needs of business and at the same time consonant with the general principles of the antitrust laws to which we all adhere.

What is needed in the basing-point controversy are not more prophecies from those who foresee the outright repeal of the antitrust laws and the extinction of small business with every alteration of a punctuation mark in the Robinson-Patman Act nor more plaints of big-business men who perceive a bogey man in the form of the Federal Trade Commission or the Department of Justice lurking behind every freight tariff.

A sensible and practical approach to the basing-point problem will ascertain the changes in industry which have taken place since administrative and judicial interpretations gave rise to the controversy so many years ago in order that legislation, whatever its form, can be current, relevant, and objective. Industry by industry the extent to which freight absorption and delivered pricing are factors must be determined and their effect upon regional development, full employment, technological innovation, and industrial organization should be ascertained. Only in this way can we give our businessmen comprehensible as well as comprehensive legislation which will enable the antitrust bar to counsel its clients as to the state of the law without becoming mired in a quandry of endless interpretive litigation.

As you can appreciate, factual gathering of this scope is no modest undertaking. Resort to the full resources of administrative agencies schooled in the industrial problems of freight absorption and the problems of meeting competition will be necessary. So too would it be advisable if not essential to secure the tangible assistance of those of your clients whose operations may be vitally affected by the actions of Congress in this field. For it is only with the cooperation of industry itself that we can obtain accurate as well as current data relating to present-day business operations and practices.

My purpose in describing some of the issues which have arisen in connection with the consideration of H. R. 467 and the so-called basing-point bills has been twofold. First, I want to make it clear that the committee tries to consider carefully all of the ramifications of any proposed amendments to the antitrust laws. Secondly, I want lawyers to be patient and to understand why the legislative process is not merely a jet-propelled rubberstamp.

Delays which superficially seem unreasonably long usually are justified by the importance and difficulty of the work which is being done. I for one can certainly appreciate the magnitude of the task which has been undertaken by the Attorney General's National Committee. Many months will no doubt elapse before a report of real value can possibly be prepared. Since the members of the Attorney General's Committee are recognized experts in antitrust law, I suppose that the Members of Congress should be allowed a comparable period to study the Committee's recommendations.

During that study I am sure that we will be assisted by the same type of excellent comment and criticism which this bar association has provided in the past. It might, incidentally, interest you to know that the antitrust section of the Illinois Bar Association has recently been activated and is also providing us with very helpful comments on pending antitrust legislation. The value of this sort of work by organizations such as this cannot be overemphasized. I know that you will continue to make the same important contribution to the deliberations of the Committee on the Judiciary in the future as you have in the past.

Aid Pays Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Monday, September 14, 1953:

For many Americans the victory won by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in West Germany is proof that our program of aid to Germany has at last borne fruit. For a time it was feared that a resurgence of Nazism was possible or that a government might come to power in West Germany which would at best hold a neutral position in an attempt to play off the United States against Russia for West Germany's gain.

The issues in the election were clear. Adenauer was definitely pro-Western, pledged to work for German participation in the European Army to check the possibility of Communist aggression. The Chancellor never hesitated to tell his country that the future of Germany, and any possibility for its unification, lay in cooperation with the West. The people had a chance to repudiate him and elect in his stead the Socialists, Communists, or diehard Nazis, all of whom bear little friendship for the West.

Adenauer has accomplished a great deal in the time that he has been Chancellor. His countrymen have only to check conditions in West Germany against those in the Soviet zone to appreciate this. He has been able to succeed where his counterpart in East Germany has failed, because of the aid sent by the United States.

It is sometimes difficult for Americans to see tangible results from the money we have spent in foreign aid. But Adenauer's sweep of the recent election, which assures that West Germany will have a stable government led by a wise and sincere friend of the West, is an illustration of just how much good that aid can do. The final returns in the election showed a major victory for the United States as well as for Chancellor Adenauer.

Cotton: Our Staple Agricultural Commodity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a splendid address by Ellison S. McKissick, vice president, South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association, which was delivered on the occasion of awarding the State and district prizes in the annual South Carolina 5-acre cotton-improvement contest in Columbia, S. C., on January 21, 1954.

The address is as follows:

We are gathered here today to pay homage to, and present awards to, the champion cotton growers in South Carolina in the year just past. These are the men who have been able to coax the highest yields from a selected 5 acres, or the winners of the annual South Carolina 5-acre cotton-improvement contest. Somehow it is hard for me to refrain from referring to them as South Carolina's kings of cotton for the year. It is, I well realize, somewhat hackneyed and trite always to refer to our staple agricultural commodity here in this part of the country as king cotton. Here in the Cotton Belt we have hotels, motels, streets, and everything imaginable named king cotton.

However, it serves the purpose in emphasizing the point I wish to make when I refer to the personification of Dixie's great staple crop as king cotton—and that is the great cotton heritage we have here in South Carolina. Today, it is estimated, cotton is a way of life for some 14 million Americans—that is, people who are one way or another dependent on cotton for a livelihood. But when you come to think of it, there is no other area in the world where cotton—its culture and its manufacture—plays so important a part in the lives of so many people, in proportion to our size and population at least, than in South Carolina.

Cotton is actually older than recorded history. Man has made use of the plant, which has grown either in tree or shrub form, for thousands of years. In Peru not long ago cotton cloth was found on a mummy estimated to be over 5,000 years old. The cloth was of fine fabric of unusual length and still showing good tensile strength. We can well assume that cotton is as old as plant life on this globe, but our cotton heritage here in South Carolina goes back to relatively early Colonial times when the prized and fabulous Sea Island cotton grown on our coast went into fine fabrics for the royalty of Europe and sometimes brought as much as $2.50 a pound.

Our so-called American upland cotton was brought in from Mexico and the same types have been introduced over much of the world after breeding to make them adaptable to the prevailing soil and climate. Of course the boll weevil came and stayed with us by way of Mexico also, and that is why Sea Island can no longer be profitably grown on our coast or elsewhere in the cotton belt. But I am getting a little off the track. I want to remind you that we have always had cotton in our blood here in South Carolina to such an extent that it is small wonder that a South Carolinian, Senator James H. Hammond, on the floor of the United States Senate in 1856, first coined the expression, "cotton is king."

Cotton, a commodity subject not only to the vagaries of nature but the tide of world trade, is essential to us in normal times and

of immense strategic value in time of war. Actually, one can think of no other raw agricultural commodity which has had a greater influence in determining the course of our national existence, our way of life—economically, sociologically, or politically—than this fiber, the most versatile fiber of them all, and the southern part of our country has nearly always, even as now, accounted for about half the world's production.

Yet, in an economic sense, cotton didn't become so important to us until Eli Whitney invented his marvelous cotton gin in 1793. And it is interesting to note, by way of coincidence, that our cotton manufacturing industry in America is considered to have been born in the same year when Samuel Slater built at Pawtucket, R. I., the first cotton mill in the New World using the Arkwright water-powered system of cotton processing which he duplicated from memory, having served as a machinist in the first English mill to be completely equipped with this system.

The cotton manufacturing industry sparked the industrial revolution and mass production in the infant nation that was destined to become the mightiest on the face of the globe, and one whose high living standard is the envy of the world. There certainly would not be time here even to begin to show you the many ways in which cotton has so profoundly influenced the course of modern civilization. I'll cite merely one. And I'll start by asking: To what do our womenfolk owe their great freedom today, their greater education, their political rights, their leisure, their attainment in so many worthwhile fields of endeavor?

What has removed them from 18th century servitude? The great suffrage movement of a few decades ago, you suggest? To an extent, yes; but Eli Whitney's cotton gin and the tremendous textile progress it fostered in industry did more to raise the status of our better halves than all the suffrage agitation in the world, for a woman chained to a spinning wheel had little time for feminest movements or anything else. The invention of the gin so reduced the cost of cotton that the market for it expanded with unbelievable rapidity and for more than 40 years, from the beginning of the 19th century, King Cotton held absolute away throughout the South, molding the course of its economy, its thinking and way of life, and the shape of many things to come.

It is indeed rather interesting to note, however, that this sudden revolution and the flourishing era for the South which followed did not last forever and considerably before the outbreak of the war between the States, we had become very worried about cotton and its problems—and the problems then were remarkably similar to those we have today. For instance, a report adopted by the Agriculture Committee of the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1842 expressed concern over the great expansion of cotton in the West (the West in those days consisting of the Gulf States and Texas) and sought to make the case that the western area was sufficient to supply the demands of the world in all time to come. The idea, of course, was that farmers in South Carolina needed to look for some other crop as a source of income.

Now in 1842 the United States produced only a little over a million bales of cotton, which was more than one half of the entire world production. South Carolina accounted for about one-thirteenth of United States production then; it doesn't do quite that now, as both its agriculture and its manufacturing industry (which scarcely existed then, incidentally) have become more diversified. But the interesting fact is that world cotton production in 1952–53 was around 29 million bales, the United States accounting for roughly half of it. What would our people who were so worried back in 1842 think of that?

The fact remains, however, that the production of cotton had, a little over a quarter century ago, sunk to a pretty sorry level, compared to what we know today. South Carolina, in 1926, was the first State to start a 5-acre cotton contest and the cotton improvement program of which it is a part and a symbol has demonstrated beyond any doubt that cotton can continue to be the most important cash crop in our States if farmers produce the largest possible yields of good quality at the lowest cost and thereby meet the competition from foreign cottons and the competing synthetic fibers.

The extension service of Clemson College organized the 5-acre cotton contest and the State Publishing Co., of Columbia, donated the prizes for the first year. Since 1927 the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association has donated the State and district prizes and the South Carolina Cottonseed Crushers Association since 1945 has donated the county prizes.

The dramatic increase in quality and yields of cotton in South Carolina over the last quarter century is one of the great epics in the story of cotton. For one thing yield increased from an average of 180.8 pounds of lint per acre in 1921–25 to 314.7 pounds in 1943–52, or an increase of 53 percent. In 1929, only 36.7 percent of South Carolina cotton stapled 15/16 inch or longer, while now around 99 percent of the cotton crop in South Carolina is 1 inch or longer.

Another thing—South Carolina has become the undisputed one-variety State of the rain-grown Cotton Belt, although North Carolina has reached pretty much the same status with the same variety. Actually, California is the only one variety State, where one variety is compelled by law, but here in South Carolina we have done virtually the same thing, not through any law, but by the educational process of "seeing is believing." Today about 99 percent of the crop in South Carolina is planted to a single variety, Coker 100 Wilt. There is no State in the rain-grown belt which equals, either, South Carolina's record as to uniformity of staple length.

There are many who have had a part in this change. It can certainly be called an agricultural revolution, and perhaps that even minimizes the performance. Agriculture in the South, and particularly here in South Carolina, is eternally grateful to the late David R. Coker who at Hartsville in our State, pioneered scientific seed breeding, and whose work in this field is carried on today by the organization he founded. And we certainly could never have accomplished, or even begun to accomplish, what we have except for the extension service at Clemson College and the county agents.

I read a speech that was made in Columbia last year by a distinguished scientist, Dr. Robert White-Stevens, of Lederle Laboratories, and he paid one of the finest tributes to the work of the county agents I have ever read or heard. I use his phraseology when I refer to our county agents and extension workers as the true pastors of the soil. They are the men who must plant the seed of new practices in fertile ground before any returns from the work of the research laboratory can be harvested. The magnificent system of land-grant colleges, State agricultural research, and regional training carried to its fulfillment in the county agent has played a role in agriculture that reminds us of the country doctor in medicine and the circuit rider in our spiritual heritage.

Today in America, thanks to seed breeders, our "pastors of the soil," our technologists and our researchers, and to men like you award winners to whom I referred earlier as the real "kings of cotton," our cotton fiber generally has qualities that make it most desirable throughout the world. Yet it costs more to produce cotton here than in less fortunate parts of the world which do not have our enviable standards or economic system or our dynamic free enterprise. However, in many backward countries of the world, improved cotton varieties and production methods are today making much headway.

The American textile mills, which consume the great bulk of domestic cotton, basically face the same situation. Economists tell us that American textile prices relative to costs—and this involves our high standard of living in America—are the lowest in the world, and any lowering of them further to meet an inrush of cotton goods from low-cost foreign countries could mean only substantial unemployment or wage reductions, and, consequently, a substantial reduction in the domestic consumption of the United States cotton.

Relative to production, our cotton goods exports are traditionally the smallest of any important cotton-manufacturing country. In 1953 the figures for the first 9 months indicate we will run far behind Japan, the United Kingdom, and India in export of cotton goods. Not only our exports but the total volume of world trade in cotton goods has steadily shrunk and the process has been aided by a multiplicity of import restrictions applied against the United States. Certainly world trade cannot be revived by programs, so common outside of North America, of trade restrictions and nationalisms which tend to decrease per capita consumption of cotton.

The economists have figured that if per capita consumption of cotton can be raised to one-half of the United States level, all the spindles and looms now in existence in the world would be inadequate to meet the demand. That is why in our industry we feel that the only way out of the dilemma must be a vigorous new foreign trade policy which recognizes the true causes behind the worsening picture and which will help more of the world's peoples to expand their consumption of cotton and of cotton textiles. Here in South Carolina, where cotton is the basis of our agricultural economy and cotton manufacturing is our greatest manufacturing industry, we have a large and very real interest in the untangling of the jungle of foreign restrictions which prevent a normal and healthy pattern of international commerce.

It can be done if we discard the smokescreen and recognize the actual causes of trade distortion—the same way we here in South Carolina more than a quarter century ago recognized the true causes behind the situation into which our cotton production had sunk, and began a corrective program whose magnificent fulfillment is impressed upon us so unforgettably today as you "kings of cotton" receive your awards for your attainments which, to use one of today's common expressions, would have seemed "out of this world" a scant generation ago.

Gentlemen, I think I can speak for all South Carolina in saying to you that your State shares with you a pride in the accomplishments for which you so richly deserve recognition.

Farm Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES B. DEANE

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a table prepared by Administrator R. B.

McLeaish, of the Farmers Home Administration, which reveals the number of loans under the farm housing program from the inception of the program through December 31, 1953. I think the members will be interested to study the figures for their respective States. This has been a sound and deserving program. It is with much concern that I learn that no funds are provided in the new budget for a continuation of this program during the new fiscal year. I call attention to the fact that as of December 31, 1953, there were on file 5,097 applications of which 2,042 were for veterans. Likely, there will be some funds available between January 1, 1954, and the end of the present fiscal year to process some of these loans but what concerns me is the need to continue this program. I am in hopes that the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations will take note of this program and see that this program does not die for the lack of interest:

United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Home Administration—Farm housing program data, from inception of program through Dec. 31, 1953

State	Number loans made		Amount loaned		Average amount loaned		Number of borrowers in arrears on Jan. 31, 1953	Applications on hand Dec. 31, 1953			
								Veteran and nonveteran		Veteran only	
	Veteran and nonveteran	Veteran only	Veteran and nonveteran	Veteran only	Veteran and nonveteran	Veteran only		Number	Estimated amount	Number	Estimated amount
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
United States total	18,401	7,675	$93,992,181	$39,819,108	$5,108	$5,188	761	5,097	$25,916,845	2,042	$10,701,349
Alabama	1,022	502	5,509,475	2,802,396	5,391	5,582	8	560	3,018,960	228	1,272,606
Arizona	108	33	722,462	251,015	7,225	7,607	5	13	93,925	2	15,214
Arkansas	971	438	3,209,342	1,419,134	3,305	3,240	14	426	1,407,930	156	505,440
California	449	198	2,734,762	1,173,054	6,091	5,925	20	109	609,100	40	237,000
Colorado	212	101	1,232,162	602,578	5,812	5,966	14	45	261,540	21	125,286
Connecticut	34	15	142,082	64,417	4,179	4,294	1	4	16,716	2	8,588
Delaware	5	1	26,290	5,100	5,258	5,100	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	357	203	2,100,878	1,196,646	5,885	5,895	7	104	612,040	58	341,910
Georgia	1,164	546	5,716,975	2,752,180	4,911	5,041	27	482	2,367,102	166	836,806
Idaho	338	121	2,095,506	750,456	6,200	6,202	37	71	440,200	24	148,848
Illinois	336	122	1,328,605	433,109	3,954	3,551	1	60	237,240	23	81,673
Indiana	302	113	1,539,997	613,875	5,099	5,433	1	77	392,623	45	244,485
Iowa	355	95	1,667,289	488,405	4,697	5,141	1	60	281,820	15	77,115
Kansas	267	103	1,419,791	531,248	5,318	5,158	27	57	303,126	20	103,160
Kentucky	424	192	2,227,883	1,055,420	5,254	5,497	8	56	294,224	31	170,407
Louisiana	640	265	3,322,880	1,403,117	5,192	5,295	13	238	1,235,696	100	529,500
Maine	263	109	1,049,715	399,057	3,991	3,661	7	37	147,667	16	58,576
Maryland	137	51	736,046	287,165	5,373	5,631	7	42	225,666	15	84,465
Massachusetts	20	6	97,043	31,300	4,852	5,217	1	3	15,651	3	15,651
Michigan	414	171	2,602,630	866,094	4,837	5,065	8	69	333,733	29	146,885
Minnesota	304	98	1,262,880	361,770	4,153	3,768	11	65	269,945	19	71,602
Mississippi	1,145	554	4,860,853	2,406,339	4,245	4,267	30	383	1,625,835	155	661,385
Missouri	883	381	3,218,484	1,308,627	3,645	3,671	22	189	688,905	72	264,312
Montana	189	77	1,140,615	462,725	6,035	6,009	24	42	253,470	19	114,171
Nebraska	362	142	1,655,595	705,858	4,568	4,971	28	21	95,928	14	69,594
Nevada	25	9	180,807	62,780	7,232	6,972	3	3	21,606	0	0
New Hampshire	15	10	87,426	42,045	5,828	4,204	0	10	38,280	6	25,234
New Jersey	145	43	740,953	240,943	5,110	5,603	2	17	86,870	5	28,015
New Mexico	238	100	1,357,541	570,475	5,704	5,705	20	39	222,456	23	131,215
New York	165	83	908,547	320,290	5,506	6,043	13	34	187,204	14	84,602
North Carolina	739	309	4,229,947	1,780,397	5,724	5,762	7	152	870,048	101	581,963
North Dakota	196	67	1,239,038	426,387	6,322	6,364	22	162	1,024,164	41	260,924
Ohio	199	88	873,480	369,458	4,897	4,198	7	43	197,671	17	71,366
Oklahoma	960	367	4,847,383	1,833,676	5,049	4,996	77	216	1,090,584	74	360,704
Oregon	204	76	1,332,914	453,866	6,534	5,972	9	47	287,098	14	83,608
Pennsylvania	353	182	1,495,857	782,419	4,238	4,299	12	61	258,518	25	107,475
Rhode Island	2	1	5,570	3,140	2,785	3,140	0	1	3,140	1	3,140
South Carolina	613	319	3,597,104	2,064,680	5,868	6,472	8	206	1,208,808	86	526,592
South Dakota	216	66	1,139,024	367,273	5,273	5,565	28	64	337,472	27	150,255
Tennessee	585	259	3,040,455	1,394,213	5,197	5,383	12	117	608,049	62	333,746
Texas	1,158	415	6,673,353	2,425,767	5,763	5,845	121	215	1,239,045	81	473,445
Utah	264	80	1,654,674	537,207	6,268	6,715	14	51	319,668	26	174,590
Vermont	18	4	71,375	15,365	3,965	3,841	1	7	27,755	1	3,841
Virginia	326	167	2,122,887	1,124,077	6,512	6,731	22	92	509,104	45	302,895
Washington	207	98	1,412,972	681,734	6,826	6,956	8	56	382,256	33	229,548
West Virginia	246	114	1,575,047	709,436	6,403	6,934	3	114	729,942	53	367,502
Wisconsin	289	87	1,328,991	418,855	4,599	4,814	8	51	234,549	9	43,326
Wyoming	141	54	817,672	332,700	5,799	6,163	16	17	98,583	9	55,467
Alaska	1	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
Hawaii	101	22	825,950	145,135	8,178	6,597	3	13	106,314	3	19,791
Puerto Rico	206	38	1,300,450	170,585	4,627	4,489	17	99	453,446	13	58,357
Virgin Islands	15	1	75,130	3,000	5,009	3,000	6	7	35,063	0	0

Hoosiers Everywhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article written by Ford C. Frick, commissioner of baseball and a native of Indiana. I am sure the sentiments he expresses will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of Hoosiers everywhere:

HOOSIERS FOREVER

(By Ford C. Frick, commissioner of baseball)

The true Hoosier is born with a jackknife in his pocket, a pine stick in his hand, and a pencil behind his ear. The true Hoosier is suckled on the pap of political expediency, cuts his teeth on the doctrine of self-expression, and, as concerns our generation at least, cherished as his first and fondest memory the Bryan campaign button that upheld that first infant diaper.

Whether he hails from the murky banks of the Wabash, the peppermint-scented mucklands of Noble County, or the hilled recesses of old Brown, he is of one mold—changeless and eternal.

Who but a Hoosier would gaze on the majesty of the Empire State Building and feel only the nostalgia for the Odd Fellows Hall of his youth and the Pythian Temple of his boyhood? Who but a Hoosier could listen to the strains of a great symphony orchestra and unconsciously translate them into the rhythmic melody of a barn-dance fiddler; or, listening to the philippics of a modern Demosthenes, feel only the disappointment of a disillusioned man who has been weaned on the superior oratory of a Beveridge or the friendly phrases of our own Tall Sycamore of the Wabash?

The Hoosier is the sole remaining old-school philosopher who can still carry his cut plug in his back pocket and, clinging fast to the gold standard, pronounce the "R" in "Warshington" and still move with dignity in centers of Harvard culture and Groton accomplishment.

They migrate freely, far and wide. Few of them ever go back to Indiana except to strut

their city clothes, in which they still look like Hoosiers, and they guard their racial purity, as it were, by avoiding marriage with the citizens of other States.

You don't de-Hoosierize a Hoosier by setting him down in Wall Street or La Salle Street or Champs Elysees. Most likely, he will Hoosierize the street. They may take out citizenship, so to speak, in other States and vote in the local elections, but they never become assimilated or naturalized. The race-true Ausland Hoosier sends his young back to Indiana to be educated and to look over the current Hoosier crop for Hoosier mates. After they are educated in Bloomington, Lafayette, Crawfordsville, or Greencastle, they return to the home of their parents, and even though they never see Indiana again except from a train or plane window, they remain Hoosiers forever.

E. A. Van Steenwyk, of the Blue Cross Commission, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Development of Blue Cross Plans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, February 2, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Mr. E. A. Van Steenwyk of the Blue Cross Commission is highly important.

Mr. E. A. Van Steenwyk, chairman, Government Relations Committee of the Blue Cross Commission, and executive director of the Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia, is one of the pioneers of Blue Cross. He started his career in this field as the Director of one of the first plans in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1933. While there he originated the Blue Cross Symbol, now the emblem used by all hospital insurance plans approved by the American Hospital Association. In 1938 he went to Philadelphia to direct the Blue Cross there and has continued in this capacity. He also directs the activities of the Lehigh Valley Blue Cross Plan. Between the two plans, approximately 2,300,000 subscribers are covered.

Mr. Van Steenwyk's statement with regard to the development of Blue Cross Plans and his evaluation of the problems faced by Blue Cross Plans is as follows:

For 21 years I have worked for 3 Blue Cross plans. Little capital was required to start each of them. In St. Paul, Minn., Blue Cross was started with a loan of $857 from the hospitals. This organization has since paid more than $35 million for the hospital care of its presently enrolled 1 million subscribers.

The Philadelphia Blue Cross borrowed $30,000 from the local Community Fund to get started. Since its organization it has paid $130 million to hospitals for the care of its 2 million subscribers.

The Lehigh Valley Blue Cross Plan serving Allentown, Bethlehem and Easton and the surrounding area started by borrowing $5,000 from one of its hospitals. Since then it has paid $22 million for its 300,000 subscribers' care.

In all, $35,857 was the entire capital required to start these 3 organizations. All borrowed money was promptly repaid and by now the 3 have grown to become large important organizations, and have paid hospitals $237 million, nearly a quarter of a billion dollars, for the care of their subscribers. The history of the beginning, growth and development of all Blue Cross Plans is essentially the same. Little capital has been required to start them, no capital funds have been required once successfully underway.

In addition to providing hospital care to its own subscribers locally, some plans also act as "managing plans" in the matter of coordinating enrollment of the employees of national employers. For example, the Lehigh Valley Plan acts in this capacity for all of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. employees and their dependents wherever located so that they all may receive the same high level of benefits. The Steel Corporation's Social Insurance Board, established by the corporation and Steel Workers Union, pays the Lehigh Valley Blue Cross a uniform monthly rate for each covered employee regardless of marital status or location. The plan then distributes the proper amount to the 40 participating Blue Cross plans for coverage extended to employees. Each of the cooperating Blue Cross plans makes the same promises of hospital service to all of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. employees but maintains its local responsibility and autonomy.

These few facts about Blue Cross suggest the nature of my testimony. It is intended to set forth what Blue Cross plans have done and can do to lessen the public problem which motivates this series of congressional hearings.

The year that I began work for Blue Cross in 1933 there were but two communitywide hospital plans in the United States—in Newark, N. J., and St. Paul, Minn. By the end of 1933 the two plans had enrolled 4,000 subscribers. In that year they paid out about $20,000 to hospitals for their subscribers' care. By the end of 1953 there were 82 such plans serving practically every area of the United States with total enrollment of over 43 million subscribers. Last year these plans paid hospitals more than $630 million for the care of their subscribers.

To have achieved this record of growth required assistance from management, unions, hospitals, and doctors. They all had a part in this, yet Blue Cross represents none of them exclusively. Blue Cross negotiates with each of them in the interest of the subscriber, our customer. If he is not satisfied our organizations cannot succeed. The fact that more millions are enrolled every year indicates the vitality and strength of this movement. No voluntary health insurance plan in any nation has ever obtained either the numbers of persons covered or the extent of coverage that Blue Cross has achieved in these 20 years.

Growth of the plans has not been at the same rate for all of this period; indeed, for the first 5 years of the plans' history only 1 million had been enrolled. At the end of 10 years there were 10,500,000 subscribers. Thirty-two million, five hundred thousand additional subscribers have enrolled in the last 10 years.

The record of Blue Cross enrollment growth is matched by its history of continually widening extent of coverage. Initially the coverage for employed persons was meager by present standards, and hardly any coverage was provided their wives and children. In St. Paul in 1933 only 10 percent of dependents' hospital bills were paid by Blue Cross. Later this was increased to 25 percent, then to 50 percent until about 10 years ago the present policy to provide dependents the same broad coverage as employed subscribers was adopted by all plans.

Operating expense of the plans has been kept at a minimum in accordance with their nonprofit character. Most plans now operate at from 5 percent to 8 percent of income, the national average for 1953 being 6.99 percent. This includes expenses of every kind: selling, administration, settlement of claims, the entire operation. Ninety-three cents out of every dollar collected from subscribers is therefore available to pay hospital bills. In recent years from 88 cents to 91 cents out of each dollar has been paid for the immediate hospital care of subscribers. The difference between the amounts paid for hospital care plus operating expense and the income from subscribers is set aside as reserves for unusual contingencies. Reserves of all plans as of December 31, 1953, amounted to more than $182 million which at their present rate of payment to hospitals is sufficient to pay the hospital bills for all plans for about 2½ months.

While the plans cooperate in matters of general interest, each is a local enterprise. Each is governed by a board of directors, the members of which receive no pay for their work as directors. All offer service contracts providing the services regarded as hospital services in its locality as distinguished from ordinary indemnity insurance contracts which provide a limited number of dollars per day to the insured when he requires hospital care. Blue Cross benefits usually include ancillary services, such as laboratory, operating room, X-ray, drugs, dressings, anesthesia, and other services as well as bed, board, and nursing service. Some of these services, if not provided for by Blue Cross are provided by Blue Shield, a companion nonprofit medical care plan.

The contracts with subscribers for hospital service sold by Blue Cross are backed up by contracts between Blue Cross and the local hospitals. The practical result of these contracts is that the hospitals join in the promise to deliver service to subscribers when they need it. The hospitals in this way become guarantors of the promises made by Blue Cross to its subscribers.

Because of this intimate relationship between Blue Cross and its member hospitals, all Blue Cross plans are institutional members of the American Hospital Association. The Blue Cross Commission, which represents the plans nationally, is a part of the American Hospital Association, yet it has autonomy in its general operations.

To be identified as a Blue Cross plan and participate in the national programs of mutual aid and reciprocity which the Blue Cross Commission operates, the following standards must be made: (1) Its bylaws must provide for adequate representation on the boards of directors of Blue Cross plans of hospitals, doctors, and the public. In general, one-third of the members of board of directors of Blue Cross plans are drawn from each of these categories. (2) Members of the boards of directors must serve without pay for the work they do as directors. (3) Each plan must be nonprofit and meet the requirements of the State in which it operates. (4) The plan must offer service benefits. (5) Subscribers must have free choice of doctors and hospitals. (6) The finances of Blue Cross must be kept separate from that of any hospital. (7) Blue Cross employees must be paid on a salaried basis rather than a commission or production fee basis. (8) The plan must report statistical and financial data on forms provided and in accordance with definitions used by all.

The mutual-aid programs of Blue Cross include: (1) Reciprocity of enrollment so that a subscriber moving from an area served by one plan may be transferred to another promptly without the imposition of

waiting periods or penalties of any kind. (2) Reciprocity of service benefits so that a subscriber needing care while away from home will obtain service benefits in a member hospital of the Blue Cross plan where he is hospitalized. To facilitate this part of their service, Blue Cross plans have a national interconnecting teletype service, and all hospital admissions of subscribers away from home are cleared through it on a daily basis. An interplan bank is also maintained by the plans in Chicago which settles all such cases between the plans monthly, much as a bank clearing house settles transactions between banks. In 1953 the interplan bank cleared cases involving $26,129,487.42 in payments to hospitals throughout the country for the care of subscribers hospitalized while away from home. (3) The Blue Cross plans have also established an insurance company (Health Service, Inc.) which is wholly owned by them. Health Service, Inc., assists in meeting special needs of national employers which cannot be met by the plans themselves. (4) Every Blue Cross plan submits reports upon all its operations on a quarterly basis to the commission office, which then reports to all plans on the results obtained by all. Statistical reports, financial reports, public relations, hospital and doctor relations programs, reports upon enrollment, etc., are all cleared in the same way. (5) Each Blue Cross plan also agrees through the commission to participate with all other plans in serving national employers. In addition to the Bethlehem Steel Corp., to which I referred previously, these national accounts represent the majority of our national employers, both large and small. They include such companies as United States Steel, General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Du Pont, Campbell Soup, American Telephone & Telegraph, and thousands more. (6) Some plans have acted as the middlemen in making arrangements for the Federal Government in obtaining hospital care for veterans in their member hospitals. All have agreed to do so if desired. Under this arrangement the Federal Government gets the advantage of the contract the plan negotiates with member hospitals and pays only a nominal administrative expense to the plan, far below what it might otherwise cost for administering the same program. In a few areas this service is being explored on an experimental basis to assist State and county agencies in obtaining hospital care for the indigent patients. (7) The Blue Cross Commission also coordinates the work of all plans in matters having to do with the Federal Government, other insurance organizations, research programs, and general public relations.

The Blue Cross plans are usually governed by special enabling laws of the States in which they operate. Model enabling laws providing for this kind of regulation have been introduced in most State legislatures through State hospital associations. The founders of Blue Cross in this way provided for continuous growth and development of nonprofit hospital insurance as a public service under State law. The self-regulatory concepts, adopted by the plans through the American Hospital Association 20 years ago under the sponsorship and with funds provided by the Rosenwald Fund, have in large part been responsible for the uniform character of Blue Cross coverage and its public acceptance. Without this kind of national sponsorship and attention the plans would today be only as good as their local managements.

So far my testimony has been directed toward establishing the public nature of Blue Cross and its national character, at the same time explaining for members of the committee how it is that each plan is also locally controlled and fully autonomous. This is a necessary prelude to discussion of the nature of the risk against which Blue Cross insures its subscribers, what Blue Cross has found it can do and what, to this point at least, it has not been able to do.

The nature of the risk can be described quickly. What the plans have been able to do and what they have not been able to do is more difficult, and I propose to do this by setting down the criticisms of Blue Cross as they have been expressed, or as I may express them. If we can arrive at a clear exposition of the limitations of Blue Cross in meeting the public problem, we may in this way also stimulate discussion as to how such limiting factors may be reduced.

First then, the nature of the risk. Blue Cross began its work insuring subscribers against the expense of hospital care because the research in this field indicated: (1) That the hospital bill was the most burdensome part of serious illness. The doctor told his patient to pay the hospital bill first and that he would wait for payment of his bill. (2) Hospitals faced bankruptcy unless some method of prepaying hospital care were worked out. As medical science developed, costs rose. By the early thirties it could be said that of the total medical bill met by individuals in America, 50 percent was on account of the hospital and doctor bills in the hospitalized illness. This burden was especially difficult because it fell each year upon only 10 percent of the people. The other half of the total bill was spread over the 90 percent of the people not needing hospital care. The distribution of medical expense borne by individuals today follows this general pattern.

Five important general facts about the hospital insurance risk should be emphasized to members of this committee: (1) Blue Cross has learned that 75 percent of all Blue Cross hospital expense is on account of the women and children dependents of insured workers. (2) Subscribers over 70 years of age use 2 to 3 times the hospital care per person per year used by those below this group. (3) Women subscribers per person per year use twice as much hospital care as men. (4) The frequency of illness requiring hospital care is higher among the unemployed than employed persons. (5) During the history of Blue Cross, the per day cost of hospital care has increased at a faster rate than general living expenses and more hospital care has been required per person every year.

Hospital sponsored Blue Cross naturally followed research in this field as a logical and reasonable way of meeting the most difficult part of the total medical bill for all of the people. The cost of the hospitalized illness is large for the Nation as a whole, for the individual it is as staggering as it is unpredictable in time and the amount of money which may be required to regain health. This is another of the reasons why Blue Cross provides service contracts to its subscribers paying the hospital direct instead of paying the subscriber an amount per day when hospital care is needed. A sick man needs care—not dollars. He may need hundreds of dollars worth of hospital service in the first 2 or 3 days of care. While there are normal cases of appendicitis, pneumonia or even cases involving brain surgery or lung surgery, the frequency of large hospital bills is high in every category of disease, and no one knows when it will be his turn to foot an abnormally large bill.

While it might be said that some insurance against hospital bills is better than none, it should also be said that all insurance is not equally good, and some so-called hospital insurance is almost worthless. The success of Blue Cross plans and responsible insurance companies has resulted in flooding the market with dubious offers by questionable competitors. These companies capitalize on the good reputation which the non-profit plans particularly and the life companies offering group coverage, as well, have together established.

As a result many Americans who think they are insured against hospital expense would do better to make a contribution to a hospital or Community Chest equivalent to their annual premiums. In this way, at least someone would get some hospital care for the money spent. These people pay their premiums regularly. Yet many will discover when they need hospital care that protection will be denied because the origin of their disability antedated the effective date of the insurance contract. While it is a sound policy to impose restrictions like this to avoid bad selection, most reliable companies waive such in group enrollment. Blue Cross waives this restriction for groups and in non-group enrollment generally imposes only a 12 month waiting period for all pre-existing conditions.

Many others will discover that their first demand for benefits will start in motion the insurance company's regular policy of discontinuing coverage to persons whom it may be expected will need more care because they have become ill.

Others, as they get older, will find that at age 60 or 70 they may be discontinued altogether or the rates raised so high that it is uneconomical for them to continue protection. They may even find that though allowed by contract provisions to continue premiums, they will be denied benefits because of their age.

The companies engaged in such practices operate legally under the insurance laws of the State in which they were organized. The truth of the matter is that their customers get a shockingly low return on the amount of premiums they pay. One of these companies trading on the popularity and reputation of Blue Cross in Pennsylvania returned only 12 cents in benefits for every premium dollar collected in 1952.

Even those insured by the reliable group companies offering a high level of benefits will likely find that when they lose their jobs either because of retirement, military service or because of lack of work, their protection will cease automatically, not only for themselves, but for their families as well.

The responsibility to give the American people the facts with which they may evaluate the worth of their insurance policies is the insurance industry's responsibility and more is being done about this every day. The responsibility to clean up the industry also rests with the industry and with State regulatory bodies. Part of the inadequate medical care insurance coverage problem for American people will not be solved until those wanting such insurance have clearer standards by which to judge what is offered.

While the criticisms of Blue Cross are all tentative and well meant, they may provide a clue to our situation and suggest remedies. Everyone agrees that Blue Cross is a good thing. Everyone also agrees, however, that not enough has been done. This is not said defensively or by way of apology. Blue Cross knows what it has done and is proud of its historic role in American hospital insurance.

The first criticism is not enough enrollment, though it is generally conceded that Blue Cross has done well in metropolitan and industrial areas. In the Lehigh Valley, for instance, we have enrolled 80 percent of the population. Cleveland has enrolled 75 percent of its population as has the State of Rhode Island. Washington, D. C., has enrolled 68 percent and so has the State of Delaware. Philadelphia has enrolled 64 percent of its population. Of the 113 firms in the Philadelphia area employing 1,000 or more persons, 105 of them are enrolled in Blue Cross. New York City has enrolled 53 percent of its vast population. What has been done in one area can be done in another. Better work is now being done everywhere

in areas where enrollment has previously lagged.

The second criticism made is that not enough farm people are enrolled—yet more than 4 million subscribers to Blue Cross are farmers. Every year farm families are being enrolled in larger numbes by Blue Cross plans in the farming States.

The third criticism usually made is that not enough of the unemployed are enrolled. This is not because of Blue Cross enrollment regulations so much as the inability of the unemployed to pay for the service. Those who were previously enrolled by Blue Cross through industrial or commercial groups may continue Blue Cross benefits through periods of unemployment by paying direct to Blue Cross. Most Blue Cross plans also provide for individual or nongroup enrollment at stated times during each year. Of the more than 2 million subscribers enrolled by the Philadelphia plan, over 550,000 are nongroup subscribers, persons not paying their premiums through groups. Of these only 125,000 originally enrolled as nongroup subscribers. The remaining 425,000 are people who have left their jobs or retired because of age or other reasons. Without Blue Cross few of these could meet today's high hospital bills.

A fourth criticism often made is that the aged and others, many of whom require public assistance in meeting necessities of life, are not being enrolled in large number by Blue Cross. Again using the Philadelphia experience, about 20 percent of the 425,000 nongroup subscribers formerly enrolled with groups are retired men and women over 65 years of age, a considerably higher percentage of the aged than in the population as a whole.

Meeting the hospital care needs of those in public assistance categories represents one of the serious problems not only in the matter of Blue Cross enrollment but in the financing of hospitals as well.

The effect of their need for free hospital care can be traced by considering the experience in Philadelphia. In 1938 when Blue Cross started in this city about 1 million days were provided to the poor by the 41 State-aided hospitals in Philadelphia at a cost to them of $4.62 per day or $4,620,000. Fifteen years later, in 1953, these same hospitals delivered 500,000 days of care to the poor. Blue Cross, other insurance and changed economic conditions have reduced the demand for free care. Yet the lower number of days care provided to the poor in no way lessened the cost problem of the hospitals since by 1953 cost of providing care was approximately $14 a day or $7 million. Over $2 million more for providing one-half the number of days care!

A fifth criticism of Blue Cross is that not enough of the hospital bill is paid. Subscribers faced with the need for continuous and extensive treatment find that their benefits have run out. In the earlier history of Blue Cross this could be excused. Today the demand from subscribers is for better coverage and Blue Cross plans generally are now offering more comprehensive protection at higher rates. This problem has been analyzed and remedial measures have been adopted.

It should be emphasized that extending coverage for the hospitalized illness depends upon the willingness and ability of the insured to meet the additional cost of providing more extensive coverage. In a sense we have all been engaged in a vast merchandising effort to persuade everyone that he has a personal responsibility to meet his hospital expenses by prepayment. Progress in widening extent of coverage depends upon the acceptance of this responsibility by the individual.

A sixth criticism sometimes made by hospitals concerns rates paid to them by Blue Cross for subscribers' care. This boils down to the same criticism as that made by those who complain that Blue Cross does not take care of those in the public assistance categories. The hospitals' complaint is not against Blue Cross payments so much as it is that public authorities do not, in general, pay enough to meet hospital cost for the care of the indigent. Since hospitals must obtain the difference from some source they cannot be blamed for trying to get it from Blue Cross. This is not said to exempt hospitals from responsibility to consider ways in which they might reduce their costs or lessen abuse of Blue Cross and other insurance. Reductions of hospital cost and control of abuse would greatly increase the effectiveness of insurance dollars, but this is secondary to the matter of financing the cost of care provided to the indigent.

Blue Cross plans have proven their effectiveness in meeting many of the problems they were established to overcome by enrolling large segments of the population, by providing the same level of benefits for dependents as employed persons, by allowing all subscribers whether retired or unemployed, to continue coverage after they leave their employment, by not limiting service provided to women in any way, by making higher payments to hospitals as their costs have risen, and by increasing their benefits.

The basic question, of course, underlying all hospital insurance, as we have been considering it, is whether hospital bills represent a public problem. If no public problem exists there is no need for nonprofit organizations such as Blue Cross operating in the public interest.

E. A. Van Steenwyk, of Blue Cross Commission, Recommends Program of Experimentation With New Methods of Providing Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Tuesday, February 2, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Mr. E. A. Van Steenwyk, of the Blue Cross commission, is highly important.

Mr. E. A. Van Steenwyk, chairman, Government Relations Committee of the Blue Cross commission, and executive director of the Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia, is one of the pioneers of Blue Cross. He started his career in this field as the director of one of the first plans in St. Paul, Minn., in 1933. While there he originated the Blue Cross symbol, now the emblem used by all hospital insurance plans approved by the American Hospital Association. In 1938 he went to Philadelphia to direct the Blue Cross there and has continued in this capacity. He also directs the activities of the Lehigh Valley Blue Cross plan. Between the two plans, approximately 2,300,000 subscribers are covered.

Mr. Van Steenwyk outlined to the committee a program providing for the establishing of a new corporation jointly financed by the Federal Government and voluntary insurance plans for the purpose of experimenting with new methods of providing health services.

Mr. Van Steenwyk's statement in this regard is as follows:

President Eisenhower in his message on January 18 said, "Among the concerns of our Government for the human problems of our citizens, the subject of health ranks high." Again, he said, "We must therefore take further action on the problems of distribution of medical facilities and the costs of medical care. We must be careful and far-sighted in the action we take. Freedom, consent, and individual responsibility are fundamental to our system." And finally, he said, "The health of our people is the very essence of our vitality, our strength, and our progress as a Nation."

The details of a reinsurance program have been previously submitted to Congress and it is my purpose to consider the effect of such a program.

Before doing so I would like to suggest that one relatively simple thing could be done by the Federal Government at this time which would greatly assist all voluntary plans in meeting the challenge of the national problem.

Although the President indicated that no person's occupation should bar him from the means of achieving good health, the Federal Government has continued to fail to provide the facilities for payroll deduction for its own employees. More than 750,000 Federal employees now have Blue Cross protection, and others are protected under health insurance policies issued by commercial insurance companies. However, the only permissible method of collection of charges is either by individual payment by mail, or through collection by Government employees who collect charges from their fellow workers and forward them to the Blue Cross plan or the insurance company. This latter method is by far the most prevalent in the Federal Government since individual payments by mail usually require higher rates.

Under this method each protected employee must have his payment ready at the time monthly collections are made. Many persons must take time from their work to make these payments and more important, if the employee should be absent because of illness, vacation, or because of Government business, he may miss the regular collection. When this happens he must either hunt up the person assigned by his department to collect payments and pay him, or if too long a period has elapsed, his coverage as well as that of his dependents will have been canceled for nonpayment. Under payroll deduction he would authorize the Government to deduct the charges from his pay at the time his coverage commenced. Deductions would be made automatically and payments transmitted regularly by the Government, thus assuring the employee of continuous protection.

Payroll deduction is the method almost universally used in private industry for prepayment of employee charges for hospital and medical care. It has long been apparent to private industry, both large and small employers, that payroll deduction is the best and most efficient method of making collections. Cancellations due to illness or absence are avoided and in addition a worthwhile saving of time and effort is gained by employer and employee.

Payroll deduction is also generally used by municipal and State governments to pay coverage for their employees. A proposal authorizing such payroll deduction has been before the Congress a number of times, either as a separate measure or as a part of other legislation. It was last introduced in the 83d Congress by Senator CARLSON as Senate bill 2191. Surely the Federal Government is not less interested in its employees' health problems than the hundreds of thousands of private employers and the many State and

local governments which now regularly provide the advantage of payroll deduction.

A second suggestion preliminary to consideration of reinsurance which has been considered with agencies of the Federal Government by Blue Cross but not presented to Congress would assure dependents of those in military service of continued Blue Cross coverage through payroll deduction.

The health needs of such dependents have been recognized through legislation which permits military hospitals to provide hospitalization to dependents of servicemen where facilities are available. They have also been acknowledged by Blue Cross plans which regularly provide for continuous coverage at lower rates to dependents of men in service, and have many thousands of dependents of servicemen now enrolled on this basis. Since most military hospital facilities are not located in the areas where dependents reside, the legislation making such facilities available to dependents does little to benefit them. Also most men in service want their wives and children cared for at home in their local hospitals by their regular family doctor. If the Federal Government would permit servicemen to protect their dependents through payroll deduction, they could use the hospitals and doctors at home. There would also be no question as to their eligibility to continue coverage upon discharge from service without waiting periods or penalties. Thus another goal would be obtained in broadening voluntary coverage.

A third suggested Federal action to stimulate the growth and development of voluntary health insurance would be to provide incentive to purchase protection from voluntary insurance by an appropriate reduction in income tax given to those who buy it. The Federal Government recognizes the need for a strong and vigorous voluntary health-insurance program. The voluntary-insurance organizations have done a job in merchandising the idea of prepaying health care. Let it then become public policy that the premiums paid for health insurance be deductible for Federal income-tax purposes. A bill to this effect (H. R. 6952) has already been introduced by the chairman of your committee.

On the matter of reinsurance as provided for in H. R. 6949 and as suggested by the President in his message to Congress on January 18, 1954, it should be said that both plainly indicate a desire on the part of responsible persons in the Federal Government to assist in the strengthening of voluntary insurance. This offer of assistance is welcomed by Blue Cross especially because many previous proposals for solving the problem nationally would have resulted in the abandonment of voluntary insurance.

It has been suggested that such a reinsurance program would provide incentive to voluntary insurance to become more venturesome and experimental. This may be true in solving some aspects of the general problem previously considered especially those having to do with the nature of the hospital-insurance risk. Insurance plans in areas with a proportionately higher number of the aged now ineligible to purchase insurance might, for instance, get some assistance in the early stages of developing a program for the aged from such a national reinsurance fund. For others, and for the basic public problem, how adequate payment is to be made for hospital care provided to the indigent, it is difficult to see how a reinsurance corporation under Government or private auspices would be of much help.

Reinsurance suggests, indeed requires, that premiums paid into the reinsurance fund will broadly, over the years, be sufficient to meet extraordinary losses sustained by the reinsuring organization. Therefore it is fair to assume that venturesomeness and experimentation will proceed, with or without reinsurance, only as the needs of the insured and their willingness and ability to pay encourages insurors to take risks for competitive advantage.

The problem of insuring more people who are now ineligible is not one requiring reinsurance so much as reassurance to the individual plan or insurance company willing to assume extraordinary risks—reassurance that venturesomeness and experimentation undertaken by it in the public interest will not result in a price advantage given to its competitors who may not be similarly motivated. In addition it should be faced frankly that we have no knowledge as to how a governmental Re-Insurance Corporation would fit into our present program and that the term reinsurance may be interpreted broadly to mean many things.

It is with this thought, our uncertainty as to how governmental reinsurance would fit into what we are now doing as the basis for our consideration that I would like to propose an alternative course. For, if there is a reasonable chance that such governmental Re-Insurance Corporation could, in the long run, make an important contribution to public welfare, may this not be the time to establish the intentions of Government in this respect. In the meantime it could be acknowledged that much more knowledge about techniques will be required before such a program can be properly established. Definition of broad public policy at this time delineating as nearly as possible the role Government expects to play in assisting voluntary health insurance to meet the need would be a most important contribution toward strengthening of our entire voluntary system of medical care.

Instead of assuming now that we know that premium income derived from voluntary insurance would be sufficient to meet the needs of the proposed Federal Health Re-Insurance Corporation, let the function of such a Corporation for a defined period be to encourage experimentation within the States on the many complex health insurance problems which concern us. Let the Federal Government invite voluntary insurance organizations to pay a small percentage of their premium income into this Corporation. Let the board of directors of the Re-Insurance Corporation be drawn one-half from Government and one-half from the participating insurance plans. Let them determine then the areas for experimentation, for venturesomeness on the part of insurance organizations in the various States. Payment of money would be required from the Federal Government as well as the plans for this period, but this would be a small price to pay for the knowledge gained and techniques learned to meet health problems locally, the sound goal toward which all of our efforts are directed.

For 20 years everyone concerned with the development of voluntary health insurance in the United States has at some time observed how fortunate America is that it has 48 States, each of which might be a different laboratory to test various ways of meeting our health problems. Let this Corporation then undertake various experiments in one or a dozen States through voluntary insurance organizations which would, for example, stimulate acceptance of local responsibility for the hospital needs of the aged.

Let other voluntary insurance organizations in other States experiment in providing the important diagnostic aids through hospital outpatient departments, clinics, or doctors' offices. Experiments in the provision of such service have already been reported to this committee by representatives of medical and consumer groups which provide such service through facilities owned by them and professional people hired by them. Yet this is not the only way that such service can be provided, and I am confident that other methods which would bring the same advantage to people and doctors treating them could be worked out locally which would be equally successful.

Let others work on the problem of providing hospital care to persons in the defined categories of public assistance.

Let others experiment in the matter of providing continuous coverage for subscribers or policyholders during periods of unemployment. Let others experiment in the use of rehabilitation facilities and in public-health education.

Spend some of the money in all States educating the people, hospital personnel, and doctors in the waste and futility which results from abuse of health-insurance dollars. Let others experiment in finding fair methods of payment to hospitals and doctors.

Let some voluntary-insurance organizations experiment in the matter of extending coverage in the field of catastrophic medical insurance. All of these represent important public problems. Some of them must be solved if we are to preserve the most important values in American medical care. Providing for contributions from insurers as well as from the Government and giving both a share in management would limit waste in the experiments undertaken.

Our general view is that a government reinsurance corporation after several years of such testing and experimentation might prove to be a very important device. It could strengthen and preserve all of the best in our voluntary medical-care program, yet help meet specific problems now facing the Nation. Still, it might not be needed at all and the statement of public policy should make this clear at time of adoption.

Lack of sure knowledge as to the best way for Government to proceed in assisting voluntary insurance to meet the medical-care cost problem of the people, suggests caution, but it need not stop the Nation from doing what is reasonable and safe. Almost everything that Blue Cross has done during the last 20 years was considered impractical and visionary at time of starting. This includes such things as full coverage for dependents, maternity coverage, the service contract, reciprocity of enrollment and service benefits, uniform coverage at uniform rates for employees of national employers, and many other items. Failure was predicted for each of these items now considered standard practice. The experts have been wrong on almost every count. Our insurance company colleagues, who then were the only experts on the subject, have now joined with Blue Cross in what amounts to almost a contest to see how many services, or categories of people, previously considered inappropriate or ineligible may now be prudently considered for inclusion in coverage. Experimentation, education, careful planning have been the basic consideration in Blue Cross progress. Rate of progress, while important, has never been the controlling factor. Our partners, the member hospitals of every Blue Cross plan, faced a serious problem and went forward with us as conditions permitted.

On a national basis we now face equally serious problems. For one thing we can no longer as voluntary insurance plans, hospitals and private doctors only talk about the need for expanded insurance programs. We have seen the Federal Government pick up as its responsibility more and more unmet health needs. Government has a vital role to play in the solution of the medical-care problems of the Nation. But sound policy suggests that it keep out of the health insurance business altogether and limit its provision of direct medical service as much as possible. The essence of what is best for the people was suggested long ago by a great American who said that "Government should not attempt to do what can be done by the people themselves." The close balance of governmental and private interests which personal health service represents requires

prudent, even cautious, management. Thoughtful and patient consideration of the ways in which Government can assist voluntary health insurance will result in preserving the best of what we now have, yet make it possible for us to move forward broadly in the public interest.

Chancellor Adenauer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Monday, September 14, 1953:

ADENAUER'S VICTORY CONFIRMS POLICIES OF AMERICA AND WEST

Though Chancellor Adenaur was expected to emerge victor, the size of his triumph in the West German elections exceeded all expectations.

Adenauer's party, the moderate Christian Democrats, won 45 percent of the total vote, as against only 31 percent in the 1949 elections. Through Germany's system of proportional representation, this will give him an absolute majority in the lower house of the Bonn parliament—244 out of 487 seats.

In other words, Adenauer technically could govern now without a coalition, a rare prospect in European politics. But in practice he will not have to. He probably will draw support from other members of the present coalition, the Free Democrats and the German Party. Though both suffered losses at the polls, they will have 63 seats in the new Bundestag, enough to assure Adenauer 62 percent of all seats.

In winning, Adenauer seriously eclipsed his most powerful rivals, the Social Democrats, who got just 28.8 percent of the vote. But the chancellor's victory was not at the Social Democrats' direct expense. They actually got a million more votes than in 1949, when their percentage was 29.2.

Adenauer's real blows in this election were struck at the extremists of both right and left. The neo-Nazi groups like the German Reich Party did so badly they cannot command a single seat in the new parliament. The Communists, who gained 5.7 percent of the vote and 15 seats in 1949, polled just 2.2 this time, earning no seats.

So complete was the failure of the minor or splinter parties—which plague France and Italy—that West Germany may be said to have come close to the two-party system prevailing in Britain and the United States. The big question, of course, is whether this change is permanent or temporary.

Undoubtedly it is much too early for any foolproof analysis of the German elections. Who can really be sure, for instance, how much this outcome represents German voters' approval of Adenauer's pro-American stand in matters of European defense and unity?

Observers agree it was a tremendous personal triumph for the 77-year-old chancellor. He has become the symbol of a new-found respectability for Germany in the postwar world.

They believe, too, that it constitutes a sign of satisfaction with Adenauer's free-enterprise domestic policies.

And, whether or not it shows Germany pro-American, it is viewed as resounding proof that the Germans are strongly anti-Russian. In approving Adenauer and repudiating the softer Social Democratic approach to questions of German unity, the voters have backed up their courageous East German brethren who rioted against Red tyranny June 17.

It was a vote for a stable government in a chaotic hour. Moreover, no matter what swayed the voting populace, it was a victory for pro-American and pro-Western policies, since Adenauer will assuredly now pursue them more vigorously than ever.

Mallory Air Force Depot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT SUTTON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SUTTON. Mr. Speaker, for several years the Members of Congress have been urging the military to become more efficient and to spend the tax dollar more wisely.

On January 26, I had the pleasure of journeying to Memphis, Tenn., to the Mallory Air Force Depot to witness the awarding of the King-Reed trophy for outstanding management and efficiency to the commanding officer, Col. W. P. Sloan, and the personnel of Mallory Air Force Depot, as the most efficient Air Force Depot in the United States.

We, in Tennessee, are proud of Colonel Sloan and his personnel. It is an honor to have men such as Colonel Sloan in our State, as well as in our military forces. I have had the pleasure of visiting Mallory Air Force Depot several times, officially and unofficially, and on each occasion was impressed by the sincerity of purpose, and the willingness to exert every effort to do a job for America and our national defense, by Colonel Sloan and the entire personnel of the Mallory Air Force Depot.

We, in the Congress, are indebted to those in the military who are working for America and doing a wonderful job. I hope that I will have the pleasure of returning again to Memphis to see the presentation of the King-Reed trophy the next time to the Mallory Air Force Depot.

At this presentation of the trophy, Maj. Gen. William F. McKee, vice commander, Air Materiel Command, spoke to the entire personnel of the Mallory Air Force Depot and delivered a very interesting and informative speech. Included in this article is the speech that he made:

It is a pleasure to be here to bring the King-Reed trophy back to Mallory and to congratulate all of you who have earned it. General Rawlings asked me to extend to each of you his personal congratulations.

I should also like to welcome the distinguished guests who have honored us by their attendance today. Your interest is a most heartening proof of the public understanding and support so essential to accomplishment of our mission. It is also gratifying to welcome those guests who have retired from the services, but not from active concern in the problems and progress of the national defense.

The King-Reed trophy, of course, is not new to Mallory. If possession is actually nine points of the law, you certainly have an almost proprietary interest in it by now. This is, in fact, the third time that Mallory has won the trophy for placing highest in efficiency and production among the AMC's specialized depots. I might add that your Alabama neighbors at Gadsden Depot are running you a pretty close and consistent second, so that keeping it is going to be no easy matter.

Since I am speaking to old friends of the King-Reed trophy, it hardly seems necessary to summarize at any length the philosophy behind it and the competition among our depots for which it is the prize. I might say, for the information of our guests, however, that the donors of the award, Mr. Gordon W. Reed and Mr. H. O. King, leading industrialists who have made notable contributions themselves to the defense effort, gave it as an added incentive to increased efficiency of our depot maintenance and supply operations. All of our depots are rated each month on a point system which weighs production requirements and capabilities against actual performance. The specialized depot with the highest score in each 3-month period receives custody of the trophy. I think there can be no doubt that the competition has been sharpened by the existence of the trophy, with a resultant rise in overall depot standards. This means substantial savings to the taxpayer.

To such practiced winners of this award as you people of Mallory have proved to be, I might sum up the whole objective of our depot contests in the story told about the visitor to Washington, D. C. He was riding past the Archives Building in a taxi and read the words cut in the weathered stone: "'What is Past is Prologue.' Isn't that a great inscription" he said to the driver. "Buddy," replied the cab driver, "That is just Government gobble-de-gook. What it really means is, you ain't seen nothing yet."

I would like seriously to stress today the importance of making your past record here only a prologue to continuously improved performance, to better records yet to come.

You will all by now be aware of the broad outlines of the 1955 budget presented by President Eisenhower to the Congress last Thursday. The proposed defense allocation is a budget in which the Government has pledged stronger forces for less money. To accomplish this, tight manpower restrictions throughout the services will be necessary, and it is indicated that increased emphasis will be placed upon airpower.

This means that all of us within the Air Force have a greatly increased responsibility, as well as an opportunity, to prove our faith in airpower as an effective power for peace.

We are going to have to do a bigger job than any we have done before, we have to do it with the utmost efficiency and self-discipline. That is the only way we can successfully accomplish the job cut out for us. Every one of us must assume a personal share of that responsibility. If each of us can make 1954 a year of steady and consistent improvement in his only daily work, the total will inevitably add up to that "More Air Force per dollar" slogan you at Mallory have been making work, and to which we are committed in the national interest.

I am certain that we can depend upon Mallory to more than pull its weight in the critical year ahead.

In conclusion I take great pride in presenting the King-Reed trophy to Mallory Air Force Depot and will ask Colonel Sloan to accept it in your behalf.

The Farmer's Bill of Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a very statesmanlike address delivered by our colleague, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] at the 16th annual dinner of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association at St. Paul, Minn., on December 15, 1953, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I was present on that occasion and heard the address. It was well received by those in attendance, and I commend it to the attention of the Senate. I like his views on agricultural matters very much.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FARMER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

(Address by Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, at the 16th annual dinner of Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul, Minn., Tuesday, December 15, 1953)

Mr. Thatcher, Senator YOUNG, other distinguished guests, and ladies, and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure and an honor to address this 16th annual banquet of the Grain Terminal Association—a great enterprise symbolic of the growth and progress of agriculture in the Midwest, and symbolic of what farm people can do working together.

It's an inspiring and thrilling sight to look out over this vast gathering of farmers from throughout the great breadbasket of the Midwest.

This is America—the solid, determined, dependable America—the deep roots of democracy, embedded firmly in the soil.

America owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to its farmers, the farmers of the past and of the present.

Every farmer in this auditorium, yes, every farmer in the Nation, can be justly proud of the great contribution American agriculture has made, and is still making, to our country's growth and progress.

Agriculture is basic to life itself. It is the lifeline of food and fiber, without which we cannot survive.

Farmers were among our Nation's founders. They paved the way for creation of our great Nation of today, by producing in ever-increasing abundance, the essentials of our survival—the food and fiber we needed for a growing and struggling Nation of free people.

The struggle for food comes before all else. By the ever-increasing efficiency of America's farmers, in providing food not only for themselves but for others about them as well, they have made possible the release of manpower to create a mighty industrial as well as a rich agricultural empire in our new world.

But agriculture has contributed more than food and fiber to our Nation. It has contributed much to our basic strength of moral character, our hardiness, our respect for family ties. It has contributed our American pattern of family farming, with its broad base of independent landholders as a firm foundation upon which democracy could survive and grow.

Is it any wonder, then, that I say America owes a great debt of gratitude to its farm people?

Farmers today, however, are seriously concerned about the future. They have every right to be concerned. They see strangely familiar symptoms of economic trouble. Farm prices have been falling too far and too fast. The parity ratio—the relation of what a farmer receives to what he must pay—has gone steadily downward. It has slumped to a national average of 90 percent, the lowest since 1941. It's even lower in many States, and for many important commodities.

Farmers aren't the only ones concerned about these danger signs. The President and Congress are concerned. The business community is growing increasingly concerned. Why? Because we have learned that agricultural income and national prosperity go hand in hand. We have learned that depressions start on the farm. We have learned that the economic problems of agriculture are not just farm problems, but everybody's problems.

Agriculture is still basic to America's economy. Without a sound, efficient, abundant, prosperous agriculture, America's dynamic economy cannot long maintain its expanding pace of higher living standards and greater comforts of life for all.

We have learned that lesson in the past—the hard way. We must never forget it.

There is a public interest responsibility toward agriculture that cannot be ignored.

Our Government early recognized the public's interest and the Nation's welfare in a strong agriculture, in a family-farm type of agriculture, by opening up vast public lands to homesteading in order to encourage agricultural expansion and farm ownership.

By making such opportunities available, the Nation was repaid many times the value of its investment in agriculture's future.

And, if you'll pardon an aside, I very much doubt if the moral fiber of our pioneering fathers was corrupted by accepting that homestead subsidy of free land.

As our Nation embarked upon its industrial development, it was business and industry—not agriculture—that first shunned the risks of the free market and asked for aid and protection by law—the tariffs, the grants and subsidies, the power of regulating production and competition to assure reasonable profits.

As a new aristocracy of industrial barons developed in our country, their influence upon Government resulted in public policy being designed more and more to serve their own ends—at the expense of American agriculture and the American workingman.

Our economy grew out of balance and weaker became the foundation upon which it all was based.

The rich grew richer and the poor grew poorer, until the bubble had to burst.

I need not, I am sure, remind you at length of the great depression. Most of us remember all too well that tragic period in our economic and political history.

Agriculture, as usual, felt its impact first, longest, and hardest.

Agriculture was and is today the bellwether of our economy. It is where the symptoms first strike, then spread to the Main Streets, the factories, and the homes of all America, rural and city alike.

Out of that depression of the twenties and thirties we learned that the cost of depression is far greater, in money and human misery, than any cost of maintaining a sound and prosperous Nation.

From the despair of the great depression, agriculture united in a historic fight for rightful recognition of the importance of its role in American life. It brought forth a great concept so in keeping with the principles of American democracy that it has earned a permanent place in America's economic life—the parity concept of equality for agriculture.

All of the efforts down through the years by our great organizations of farmers became solidly pinpointed toward one major purpose:

The clear declaration of public policy that prices and income of farmers should be maintained on a basis of parity with industrial wages and industrial prices.

None of us should ever forget the fight it took to establish the parity concept of equality for agriculture as the law of our land.

The great voices of that earlier historic battle for farm parity—the voices of the agricultural statesmen of that day, Ed O'Neal, of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Louis Taber, of the Grange, and, yes, the great voice of your own hard-hitting Bill Thatcher—these voices refused to be silenced. They knew they were right. They knew they were not only fighting for farmers. They knew they were fighting for the sound economic welfare of America, for the country they loved.

It wasn't an easy fight. Powerful forces were arrayed against them. A strange coalition of the uninformed, the ill-advised, the men of little faith and little vision, looking backward instead of ahead, was moulded together and manipulated as a "front" against agriculture.

Let me make myself clear: Fair-minded Americans—and I think most Americans are fair-minded—have never been against decent prices and fair and equal treatment for agriculture, or for anyone else. But always in any society, there are a few who refuse to look beyond their own money-counting tables, regardless of the public interest that may be involved.

It is always these vocal few who raise the entirely false cry of Government interference with "free enterprise," when their own toes are stepped upon in order to assure the benefits and blessings of free enterprise to all the rest of us.

But all the misleading attempts to distort agriculture's just plea for equality failed.

We became realists about our economy, and the world we live in.

We recognized that there no longer exists a complete free exchange of goods and services, a complete "free market." Instead, we faced up to the fact that we work and live in the midst of protective regulations by Government, firm prices administered by business, fixed costs established by accepted standards of fair wages and reasonable profits in other segments of our economy. Federal reserve regulations, utility and transportation rate fixing, tariffs to protect industry, minimum wage laws, the fair trade practices act to eliminate unfair price-cutting, and subsidies to shipping firms, airlines, and newspapers are but a few of many examples.

The farmer has never lost his spirit of independence, his willingness to work, and work hard.

But the world about him has changed. The ways of farming have changed. The world in which he must compete for survival has changed. Manmade changes have hemmed him in on all sides by a complex, legislated economy, in which he has too often become the forgotten man.

None of us can thwart the tide of change. The hands of time can never be turned backward. Our task is to keep abreast of change, to keep pace with the progress and the problems it creates, and to look to the future.

If the farmer must compete in a legislated economy, to ask him alone to exist by the simple standards of a bygone generation is like asking our superhighways of today to be governed by traffic rules of the horse-and-buggy days. Only confusion and tragedy can result.

In a democracy dedicated to serving all the people, what is wrong with farmers asking the Government—their Government—to remember that they, too, must be able to keep pace with the times, and must have traffic rules that do not leave them by the

wayside as everyone else zooms past on the highway of modern life and modern living?

Government—your Government—has the obligation, under our Constitution, to promote the general welfare—not the welfare of the few at the expense of the many.

Congress recognized th t obligation in declaring it to be the policy of our country that prices and income of farmers should be maintained on a basis of parity with other segments of our economy. With full parity as its goal, our Government launched a courageous and historic series of national farm programs aimed at achieving that objective.

From time to time those programs have been changed, improved, and adapted to agriculture's changing needs—but always the same objective has been spelled out—the objective of parity prices and parity income.

Let me say right now, that it has taken nonpartisan support from the great farm States of our Nation to maintain our strides toward the objective, and to withstand the powerful pressure that would divert us. It has taken the wholehearted support of men who know and understand agriculture, and men with plenty of gumption to stand up and be counted—sometimes against their own colleagues—like my good friend, the distinguished Republican Senator MILT YOUNG, of North Dakota. I was proud to fight shoulder to shoulder with him in the great battle of 1949 for the Russell-Young amendment, to keep our farm program from being diverted away from its historic objective.

We have made progress—tremendous progress—under the stabilizing influence of our national farm programs.

Hand in hand with the concept of fair returns for agriculture came other great strides forward in American farm life—reasonable credit, sound conservation, rural electrification. We've tossed out the kerosene lanterns, and brightened the rural countryside with electricity. We've eased the drudgery of farm life by bringing the blessings of modern conveniences and modern power to the farm. We've checked the depletion and waste of America's potential productivity, by lifting the face of the rural countryside through sound conservation farming. We've strengthened the opportunities for farm ownership, by a credit structure geared to agriculture's needs. We breathed new life, new hope, new opportunity into a prostrate rural America—and with it, we breathed new strength and new stability into the entire American economy.

From such gains we can never turn back. Yet the real job has just begun. We are still far from our goal, far from the original objective of equality which agriculture started out to achieve. And there are still forces at work to divert us from that objective, both through misguided differences of opinion over methods of achieving it, and deliberate intent to keep us from achieving it. Together, they make a formidable foe.

By devious means, they seek to divide and divert the farm unity of this country. They try to turn consumers against farmers, to turn farmers against labor, and labor against farmers, and to even turn farmers against farmers—to split your own household against you.

They are falling on one front. American labor is still the farmer's best friend. They are your customers, yet they know you are their customers, too. They too haven't forgotten grim lessons of the past; and they are worried about dangerous symptoms of the present. They want farmers to have decent prices and decent incomes, just as they want such goals for themselves. They know that only in a well-balanced, expanding economy, can higher living standards be maintained for all. Farmers need more of such understanding among consumers.

But the forces historically alined against you have gained on another front. They have split the ranks of agriculture itself.

At a time when unity of purpose is needed in agriculture as never before since the great crusade of 1933, new leadership of some major farm groups has wavered from the very objectives upon which their own organizations grew great and powerful. In the heat of controversy over how such objectives can best be achieved, willingly or unwillingly, they have allowed themselves to be diverted from the objectives themselves.

Where now are the voices of Ed O'Neal and Louis Taber, forceful voices crying out for full parity, for full equality of economic opportunity for agriculture?

Thank God the great voice of Bill Thatcher has never been stilled, has never wavered, has never been sidetracked from the main line of agriculture's fight for full economic equality.

You can be thankful, too, for the vigorous leadership of Jim Patton as president of the National Farmers Union.

Every farmer-stockholder of GTA can be proud of the great record of achievement and service of this cooperative grain-marketing organization. It has done more than serve you well. It has fought for you. Along with the Farmers Union, with which it is affiliated, it has always been in the forefront of the struggle for a square deal for all farmers.

Agriculture needs such vigorous champions today.

Agriculture would do well, today, to harken back to the wise words of Ed O'Neal in 1941, when he prophetically said:

"This issue raised is very clear * * * that issue is whether the parity objective is to be a reality for American farmers, or whether it is to be merely an illusive mirage, constantly dangled before the eyes of farmers, but which they are never permitted to attain."

Now, as then, that is the issue.

The issue is joined; the battle lines are being drawn.

On the one hand, we have those of limited and little confidence in America's ability to maintain a dynamic, expanding economy. They are the "flexers," holding to a philosophy of scarcity, an outmoded philosophy of survival by jungle laws alone.

On the other hand, we have those holding firm to the conviction that government in a democracy must promote the general welfare, with equality of economic growth and progress.

Between these groups is a large segment of the American population which, unfortunately, fails to fully realize how much everyone is involved. They have taken our abundance for granted. America has never suffered scarcity. As a result, many haven't stopped to realize, perhaps, how our abundance has kept prices to consumers reasonable. A smaller percentage of our income is required to purchase food and clothes in America than anywhere else on earth, freeing more money for purchase of homes, automobiles, television sets, and other products keeping the wheels of industry and commerce spinning. All of us should be concerned about what makes that abundance of food possible. We should be looking ahead, too, at our population growth of 2,700,000 a year—new people who have to be fed and clothed and provided with jobs. They, too, have a stake in this struggle.

The issue is not whether the present farm programs are perfect.

It is whether we hold firm to the basic objective of those farm programs—the right of farmers to equal economic opportunity—while seeking to improve our means of achieving it.

The challenge is to go ahead rather than turn backward.

With our eyes firmly fixed on the same historic goal, there is much more that we can and must do, and do now.

We must point closer to the income objectives set forth time after time in our farm legislation, the take-home pay the farmer receives. We must raise our sights, rather than lower them, toward effective devices to achieve full parity.

We need to extend price protection to the major income-producing perishable commodities, as well as the storable products. To achieve such price protection, we must use the methods or combination of methods most effective for each commodity. A diversified agriculture may call for a diversified approach. On those commodities where the price-support system has worked well, both to the benefit of the producer and the consumer, let there be no tinkering or tampering. For those commodities, particularly in the perishable field, where experience may reveal the need for improved methods of price protection, let us have the courage and the imagination to try new methods. This is within the American spirit. We are not hidebound by doctrine or theory. We are a practical people. As such, all of us want to see food used, not wasted.

We need longer range assurance of stability for agriculture. The American farmer justly deserves a long-range policy he can depend upon. Temporary extension of legislation, year by year, does not represent a policy; it represents only expediency. Constant uncertainty as to the long-range agricultural policy is within itself a source of instability within the market place. Farmers must not be left to the discretionary whims of any Secretary of Agriculture. Discretionary authority will always mean indecision and uncertainty; mandatory protection under the law means certainty and stability. The time is at hand to quit treating agricultural policy as if it were a biennial political football, to be kicked around every election year.

Effective price protection, of course, is just a foundation.

We need to develop new outlets and uses for our food and fiber. We need to learn to live with abundance, and use it wisely for the greatest good of humanity. To protect and expand areas of freedom in this world, we must think of full stomachs as well as full cartridge belts.

We need expanded international trade, but we need, at the same time, commonsense protection against certain groups of farmers having to suffer economic losses amounting to more than their fair share of the burden of maintaining our foreign trade policies. I refer specifically to the increasingly serious problem of competing barley, rye, and oat imports from Canada. I want to commend both Senators BILL LANGER and MILT YOUNG for their leadership in seeking the proper use of the protective administrative devices Congress has had the wisdom to provide for such a situation, a fight in which I have given my wholehearted support.

We need assurances that production restrictions shall not be placed upon any important food commodity at any point below the total of domestic consumer need, plus normal exports and an adequate safety reserve, including a special reserve for use in strengthening our foreign policy. In acreage restrictions on wheat, we need recognition of the differentials in types and qualities, some of which are in short supply while others are in surplus. Wheat is not just wheat; it has many varieties, used for different purposes. Durum is an example of a variety of which we need more, rather than less.

We need adequate incentive premiums to convert "diverted acres" under production restrictions to soil-building conservation practices, rather than to other competing and soil-depleting crops.

We must make greater progress in conservation. We must harness the destructive force of excess water, and convert it to constructive use. We must extend rural telephone service to farm homes of America, just as we have extended electric lights and power. We must continue our progress in research and marketing efficiency.

Obviously, there is much that can be done to improve our farm legislation—without taking away any of the advantages it now offers. It is in that spirit Congress must approach its task of writing firm, constructive, long-range farm legislation at its forthcoming session. And, it is in that spirit, I am sure, that my Senate colleagues of the great agricultural Midwest and South will stand firmly together, regardless of party.

American agriculture, at long last, has come of age.

It accepts responsibility to be concerned about the well-being of all the American people.

Farmers ask only what is rightfully theirs, by their heritage as American citizens: The right of equal treatment and equal respect, under the law of our land.

I know that is your conviction. I know it has long been mine. But it is time that all the American people recognized and accepted that right of equality for agriculture. It's time they accepted it as in the best interest of the entire Nation—not just for the benefit of farmers alone.

Tonight marks the 162d anniversary of our Nation's Bill of Rights. As a Nation, we are dedicated to preservation of these rights of all the people, rights we hold to be inalienable. We guard and protect these rights zealously. They are the very cornerstone of our democracy.

But, perhaps it is time that we, as a Nation, also dedicate ourselves to preservation of certain rights for the American farmer, as the custodian of the very basis of our national life.

I propose as a standard from which agriculture should never again retreat this Farmer's bill of rights:

1. The right to full equality of economic opportunity.
2. The right for improved standards of rural living.
3. The right of reasonable protection against natural hazards.
4. The right to extend agricultural free enterprise through cooperative action.
5. The right to public cooperation and assistance in saving the soil.
6. The right to preserve the social and human values of family farming.
7. The right to decent land tenure which would encourage the desirable goal of farm ownership.
8. The right to a democratic voice in his own farm programs.
9. The right to benefits of an expanding world trade.
10. The right to a long-term program of food storage to encourage abundance.

Much could be said about each of these fundamental rights for agriculture. They involve the right to a fair share of the national income for agriculture through more reasonable assurance of fair rewards and adequate incentives for those who efficiently and abundantly provide for the food and fiber needs of the Nation. They mean modern schools, roads, housing, and health facilities and services in rural areas, equal to those afforded city folks. They mean protection against forces beyond agriculture's own control, through adequate farm credit facilities geared to agriculture's needs; through crop insurance, within the farmer's ability to participate; through disaster aid when needed to protect both the public and the individual interest; and through price-support programs designed to contribute stability to our entire economy, and to protect the farmer from being left at the mercy of speculators.

The bill of rights for agriculture means the right of farmers to self-help through forming cooperatives for marketing farm products, purchasing farm supplies, and providing essential services, such as extending the benefits of electricity and telephones in rural areas, with legal protection against efforts to curtail the effective functioning of such farm cooperatives. They mean the right of aid in conserving the Nation's agricultural resources—our productive lands, water supplies, and forests—so that these resources will be permanently useful for the benefit of generations to come.

They mean adequate landlord-tenant arrangements for sharing the income that the soil produces, with adequate opportunity for tenants to advance up the ladder toward farm ownership. They mean an effective voice for the farmer in his own destiny such as farmer participation in both administration and development of farm programs through democratically elected farmer committeemen, and self-determination of the needs of adjusting production to a reasonable balance with demand through voluntary farmer referendums. They mean facilitating the flow of farm exports to broaden the base of our farm economy.

The farmer's bill of rights means greater public recognition of the wisdom and necessity for maintaining at adequate levels our storage food banks of feed and food reserves safeguarding the Nation from any eventuality. They mean public policies making more effective use of the abundance farmers are capable of producing, policies enabling the farmer to see his food used wisely, rather than be wasted; to see the output of his land and his toil make its utmost contribution toward stamping out hunger and deprivation at home and abroad, and serving as the humanitarian arm of the Nation's foreign policy, in our efforts to create a better and more peaceful world.

These, I believe, are basic rights of American agriculture.

They are not new rights. They are not rights of special privilege, gained through misuse or abuse of tremendous power over the lifelines of the Nation's food supply.

Rather, they are rights of historic precedent, earned by the great and continuing contribution of agriculture to American life—the fulfillment of the Nation's needs in peace or war, in good times or bad, at personal profit or personal loss.

They are rights set forth as public policy, time after time, in the objectives of legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States.

They need reiterating now only as a guiding beacon of light, cast upon the darkness of confusion surrounding current controversy over America's farm policy.

They must be just as zealously guarded, against forces which seek to destroy them, as we guard other historic rights, privileges, and responsibilities of freedom in our democracy.

That, I believe, should be American agriculture's rallying point for unity today; and the Nation's challenge to fully exemplify the meaning of democracy as equal opportunity for all.

The McCarran-Walter Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered in New York Sunday afternoon, January 31, 1954, at the 69th anual meeting of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT MUST GO

(Remarks of Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, of New York, at annual meeting of Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS))

In this gathering there is joined one of the brightest aspects of America's traditions with one of the noblest tenets of the Jewish faith.

The American tradition is that of hospitality and welcome to the immigrant seeking home and freedom. The Jewish law, repeated over and over again in the Torah, is best expressed in the Book of Leviticus: "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

And so today at this annual gathering of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, I am happy to express my personal tribute to this organization which, for the past 70 years, has devoted itself to upholding the traditions both of our country and of our faith.

But any tribute pales beside the record of achievement—the actual deeds of HIAS—through the years. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens, and their children and their children's children, owe their presence in America and their very lives to HIAS and its great works.

HIAS, of course, operates not only here but abroad, not only in Europe, but indeed throughout the world, on every continent, in every country where there are Jews, in every country where there is need for migration and in every country where that need might possibly be met.

HIAS cares for the needy and gives shelter to new arrivals. This was its original function many years ago, and its hostel on Lafayette Street is a dedication to those beginnings.

Of course, HIAS is not the only organization engaged in the fine and humanitarian work of immigration and migration, of alien reception and resettlement. There are others which like you have greatly served the alien, the immigrant, the homeless, and the friendless of Jewish faith and of all faiths.

You and all the other organizations—sectarian and nonsectarian—which are occupied with this mission truly represent the flowering of the best and finest spirit of America.

Throughout my adult life, I have been closely identified and associated with this field of activity. Long before I ever dreamed of a public career—almost 50 years ago—I became interested in the Henry Street Settlement; in the course of that association, I came into my first close contact with HIAS and with other voluntary agencies of all faiths.

Then in the early twenties, more than 30 years ago, I became chairman of the Reconstruction Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee, and took an active part in the rescue, immigration, and resettlement activities of the JDC in the years following World War I and for many years thereafter.

This gave me a background of first-hand experience for the monumental task I undertook in 1942 as Director General of UNRRA when we confronted the most staggering problem of rehabilitation, reconstruction, and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons the world had ever faced.

No, I am not a newcomer to this field. I know what HIAS has done; I know of the great work of United Service for New Americans, and of the fine contributions of the National Council of Jewish Women. And, of course, I am intimately familiar with the activities of the Joint Distribution Committee, of which I am still today an officer.

Hence it is with a particular satisfaction that I have learned of the impending con-

solidation of HIAS and USNA into a new organization to be known as UNITED HIAS SERVICE, and of its assumption of the responsibilities of the Joint Distribution Committee in the field of migration.

The coalescence of these activities and the actual merger of HIAS and USNA must be hailed as a great triumph for all concerned, and will be, I know, a forward step whose chief beneficiaries will be the aliens, the immigrants, and the friendless abroad and here at home.

For this development, I salute and congratulate all who have participated and assented to this pooling of talents and activities for the great tasks, the great challenge ahead.

I need not tell you that the challenge is as great as any we have ever faced, although somewhat different in detail from that of previous years.

While the number of Jews in Europe and elsewhere who need and desire to emigrate to America is relatively small and easily manageable, all other things being equal, all other things today are far from being equal.

We have on our statute books two pieces of legislation which, together with implementing regulations, make immigration to America treacherously difficult—next to impossible. The first of these pieces of legislation, the key and control tower to all immigration, is the iniquitous, the cruel and discriminatory McCarran-Walter Act. The second piece of legislation—an emergency measure—the Refugee Relief Act of 1953—has turned out, by its terms and its implementation, to be thus far unworkable. It bids fair to become—unless its defects are somehow cured—a legislative fraud and delusion.

The chief problem with regard to immigration, then, is to be resolved not abroad, but in Washington.

But immigration is only one part of your mission, of your responsibility. You also watch over the welfare of the alien already here, and seek to guide him along the road to citizenship.

Here, as a social service organization, you face the problem not only of legislation but of people. This problem consists, in part, of deportations, denaturalizations, and new booby traps on the road to citizenship. Here the McCarran-Walter Act is translated into specific cases of human hardship, of human tragedies which confront us every day, under our very eyes.

These are human beings. These are our brothers, of whatever national origin they may be—and of whatever faith they may be. When they came here, they thought they had found home and refuge in the United States. But they were mistaken. They reckoned without the McCarran-Walter Act.

Today many are being deported, or are threatened with deportation, because, for instance, they have become confined to public mental institutions and cannot prove to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that they developed their sickness here, and didn't have it when they arrived in the United States.

They are being deported because at some time in the past, within 5 years of their entry into the United States, they went on relief, and because the Attorney General believes—it is purely a question of his opinion—that they went on relief from causes which already existed when they arrived in the United States.

They are being deported because today, 10 or 20 or 30 years after their arrival here, it has been discovered that before they entered, they had stolen a loaf of bread, or violated one of Stalin's or Hitler's police state laws.

They are being deported because 15 years ago, when they entered the United States, they said they had been born in Austria, although, in fact, they were born in Poland.

They are being deported because 20 years ago, they subscribed to an insurance scheme which, 20 years later, was found to be controlled by Communists.

They are being deported because after their arrival here, they joined neighborhood associations and social clubs of their own nationality groups, which came subsequently under the influence of Communists, although such control might have developed years after the individuals in question had quit those clubs.

These are a few categories of cases which especially win our sympathy and enlist our help for the individuals concerned. There are, indeed, many more such categories and hundreds of such cases.

But the inexorable terms of the McCarran-Walter Act afford little chance to prevent deportation in these cases. Surely and mercilessly the law closes in on such individuals, breaking up homes, destroying lives, and flinging human victims aside with the unfeeling deliberateness of a bulldozer.

Actually I have scratched only one facet of the surface of the McCarran-Walter Act—deportation. I have only touched upon it, from the point of view of a very few of the problems which it presents to organizations like yours which has, as one of its responsibilities, the protection of aliens in the United States.

The cure for the categories of cases I have just described consists of two relatively simple changes in present law—a statute of limitations on deportation, and the vesting of discretion in administrative officials to waive deportation on a showing of sufficient cause, subject to full and impartial review.

There are many much more significant, much broader and deeper evils expressed and implicit in our present immigration and naturalization laws.

I need only mention, for instance, the abominable racial and national discrimination which underlies the national-origins quota system.

That racist system, with all its repugnant implications, must go. It is one of the darkest blots and shames upon the law books of our Nation.

For far too long, between 1924 and 1950, we endured this disgraceful quota system without major protest. Now we must determine not to rest until we have completely eliminated it and removed it from our laws.

Of course, we must have a quota system, and a reasonable limit on immigration. But instead of a discriminatory quota system based, in the case of Europeans, on national origin, and, in the case of Asiatics, on race and ancestry—and insulting distinction which affronts all Asia—we must have a uniform system based on the worth and need of the individual immigrant—and on our own national need and interest.

Instead of a dishonest system which purports to permit 154,000 aliens annually to enter our county, but actually permits the legal entry of less than half that number, we must have an honest system which sets a number—I have proposed 250,000—and genuinely permits immigration up to that total.

Under the McCarran Act, immigration from Europe and Asia—and even visiting the United States from these continents—is made into a series of ordeals like the 12 labors of Hercules. Would-be immigrants and visitors are required to run a veritable gauntlet of consuls, investigators, and inspectors before being finally allowed to set foot on these shores.

Some of this process is necessary; a great deal of it—especially for visitors—is completely unnecessary, onerous, and punitive.

But the McCarran-Walter Act requires it.

It is a strange and startling paradox, therefore, of which the great majority of the American people are unaware, that our official attitude—as reflected both in law and in practice—is entirely different toward immigration across the Mexican and Canadian borders.

While our ports of debarkation bristle with defenses in place and defenses in depth against the entry of legal immigrants and visitors from Europe and Asia, the Mexican and Canadian borders offer simple access for almost unlimited illegal immigration.

It has been authoritatively estimated that 1,500,000 illegal immigrants—most of them the so-called Mexican wetbacks—entered the United States across the Mexican border in 1953, unchecked, unexamined, unimpeded.

While every immigrant, every visitor, every alien sailor landing at our Atlantic and Pacific ports must undergo the most grueling interrogation and examination, the hundreds of thousands of persons who swarm across the Mexican and Canadian borders daily, weekly, and monthly get in without so much as tipping their hats to a single United States official.

Why this paradox? Why this situation? The answer is simple. Those in Congress who most strongly advocate the most stringent restriction of entry from Europe and Asia, through our ports, refuse to make adequate provision in the law, or by appropriation, for policing the Mexican border against illegal immigration.

They wink their eye at this illegal immigration. And the reason is that important vested interests in our country want cheap, unorganized labor—the Mexican wetbacks—for the cotton fields, the rice fields and the cane and sugar beet plantations of the South and West.

But when it comes to European and Asian immigrants—those who are to be constructively assimilated into our labor force and population—and the visitors who come for business or for pleasure—we have a different standard of treatment for them.

We don't treat them. We frustrate them. We suspect them. We fear them. We are afraid every one is a potential spy, saboteur, criminal, dope fiend or derelict of some kind.

We put them through the wringer. We interrogate and cross-examine them. We send investigators to check and double-check their past, while consul and immigration inspector each look into separate crystal globes to read the future of these aliens.

We reject the alien immigrant or visitor if the consul believes, or if the immigration inspector believes, that the alien is likely, at any time in the future, to become a public charge.

We reject the alien, if the consul believes, or the immigration inspector believes, that the alien is likely to engage, at any time in the future, in some undefined activity which would be prejudicial to what the consul or immigration inspector conceives to be the best interests of the United States.

We reject the alien if the consul believes, or the immigration inspector believes, that the alien might, at any time in the future, join what might be, what might have been, or what might eventually become a Communist front or Communist organization.

We reject the alien if the consul believes, or the immigration inspector believes, that the alien might, at any time in the future, engage in a public disorder or break any of the laws of the Federal Government or of any one of the 48 States, or of the District of Columbia, or of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or of Alaska, Hawaii, or Guam. I almost forgot the Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, and American Samoa.

I could go on and on and on. The list is endless. The legal grounds for barring an alien from the United States are almost countless. The actual grounds tend, in major measure, to be the opinions, suspicions, and prejudices—and fears—of the consular officer who must first grant the visa, and then of the immigration inspector who must again, even after the visa is entered, decide all over again whether the immigrant

should be permitted entry into the United States.

And, as most of you know, the original decision of the consul in refusing to grant a visa is subject to no legal review by any board or any official, not even by the President of the United States himself.

It has well been said that an American citizen who chooses to import into the United States a can of sardines or a sack of potatoes can appeal to the highest courts in the land if a customs official should deny entry to the sardines or the potatoes. But that same American citizen, if he wishes to bring his mother into the United States, has no avenue of appeal from the denial of a visa by an American consul abroad.

I have spoken mostly about deportation and immigration. There is also the question of citizenship—a vastly important question, important to every last one of us.

The McCarran Act defines two classes of citizens—naturalized and native-born, with different standards of treatment and justice for both. Naturalized citizens are made into second-class citizens, with their citizenship status constituting not a permanent grant, as the Constitution meant it to be, but a temporary license, subject always to revocation.

Naturalization is made not only hard to get, but hard to keep.

Of all the evils in the McCarran-Walter Act, this, in my opinion, is the greatest and most inexcusable.

This is an attack on the very heart of the American tradition—that naturalization makes an alien into a citizen, no different in any respect from a native-born citizen.

Further provisions in the McCarran Act make citizenship acquired even by birth subject to forfeiture on grounds which are not justifiable by reason or responsible by logic.

Thus we have chipped away at the bedrock of our Nation, the sacred status of citizenship.

I have, perhaps, spent too much time in belaboring the McCarran-Walter Act. I am sure most of you who hear me today are already convinced. But I frequently find that even those fully convinced that the McCarran Act is a bad law are unaware of how truly inexhaustible is a list of its evil features.

But action is what we need, action to convince those who are not already convinced—and they are legion, not only in Congress but throughout the country.

This is the problem. It is far from enough to be satisfied in our own minds that the McCarran-Walter Act is a bad law. We must, each of us, and all of us collectively, assume the full responsibility of projecting this conviction throughout the length and breadth of our land.

Don't leave it to Congress. Don't leave it to the President. If you do, nothing will happen, I assure you.

I tried to convince the Congress in 1952, and I had the assistance of a considerable number of my colleagues, and, not the least, from President Harry S. Truman. We failed.

President Eisenhower, on the record, is convinced. But I don't think he could, even if he would, convince the present session of Congress to make significant and substantial changes in the McCarran-Walter Act.

You and the millions like you—the citizens of America—are the only ones who can convince the Congress. And before that can happen, the citizens, themselves, must be convinced by other citizens who are already convinced.

The number of Americans who understand what the McCarran Act is and means is relatively small today. It is almost insignificant outside the metropolitan centers in the Northeast, and perhaps the Middle West, and the Far West.

Your job and everybody's job is to bring the facts home to all the people. You must dedicate a major portion of your efforts to this task of education, this long-range task which is as important as any other activity in which you have engaged in the past or can engage in the future.

This is a call to arms not just in the cause of immigration but in the cause of liberty, of decency, of justice, and fair play.

This is a crusade against intolerance, against prejudice, against all the forces of hate, suspicion, and bigotry which are abroad in our land today, and which find their statutory expression in the McCarran-Walter Act.

This is a call to defend the sacred status of American citizenship.

This is a call to defend America, and its traditions.

A great American, William Jennings Bryan, once said: "The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error."

Let us proceed, with this faith, and we will prevail in the end.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Bricker Amendment," published in the Daily Worker of January 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

What's behind the Bricker amendment?

The Bricker amendment was born when the United Nations began to discuss a Human Rights agreement for all its members. Such an agreement would outlaw racism, guarantee the rights of free speech, health, education, and economic security to all individuals everywhere. Naturally, it would only be a wish, not a reality. But it would provide a standard by which to measure the progress of peoples and nations.

This alarmed the Bricker reactionaries, as well as the Dixiecrats. For the United States of America to adopt such an agreement would unmask the systematic racism which blights our land. Also it would be harder to hound Communists and working-class figures for their opinions if an agreement was signed guaranteeing political liberty.

Finally, they are afraid that world pressure may force the Eisenhower government to make some concessions toward easing world tension, even though they know that the administration, which opposes the amendment for tactical reasons, is just as determined as they to keep the pot of tension boiling. After all, they see happily that the administration refuses to negotiate the outlawing of atomic or germ warfare.

Thus, the Bricker amendment is a sneak move by McCarthyite forces to stymie any negotiations for peace. In fact, the Bricker forces cite the Korean truce—not the Korean war—as the kind of thing they want to avoid in the future. The defeat of this peace-hating, democracy-hating mob, which is afraid that the United States Constitution might be enforced, is of vital interest to the whole country.

The real issue in the country is not between Eisenhower and the Bricker amendment, since both agree on the present war-breeding foreign policy. The real issue is whether America should end the cold war and replace it with a policy of negotiation, trade, and a peaceful economy. In the patriotic crusade for a constructive peace policy, the people's pressure has got to be exerted against BRICKER and Eisenhower both.

Korean Atrocity Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. POTTER
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Atrocity Report," written by George Sokolsky and published in the Detroit Times of January 24, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATROCITY REPORT

(By George Sokolsky)

Senator CHARLES E. POTTER, of Michigan, chairman of the Subcommittee on Korean War Atrocities of the McCarthy committee, has prepared a report on what actually happened there.

In this report, now available to the public, he says:

"The purpose of the investigation was to bring to the attention of the world in general and to the American people in particular, the type of vicious and barbaric enemy we have been fighting in Korea, to expose their horrible acts committed against our troops, and to foster appropriate legislation."

He reports that as of last November, 5,639 American troops died as a result of war crimes.

CONSERVATIVE

This figure is regarded as conservative and incomplete because:

"The above American fatalities figure does not represent the total number of American victims of atrocities because many victims survived and were either repatriated or in some other manner found their way back to the United Nations lines.

"The conservative estimate of probable American victims as of June 1953, was 6,113 which figure is expected to increase when the 'big switch' investigations are completed.

"Evidence further showed that the total number of reported civilian victims reaches the number 35,459 persons, with a probable verifiable estimate of 17,354; and that the total number of reported victims among United Nations forces (including United States troops) was 20,785 with a probable verifiable estimate of 11,622."

HORRIBLE PICTURE

It is a horrible picture and needs thinking about, particularly in view of the present tendency to consider recognition of Communist China.

While in some minds, these atrocities are regarded as having been committed by North Koreans, the fact is that North Korea is now a fief of Communist China and has been completely mastered and absorbed.

That country may be regarded as having ceased to exist as a separate and independent sovereignty.

TERRIFIC TORTURE

These are the conclusions of the Potter subcommittee:

"(1) The North Korean and Chinese Communist armies were guilty of the following war crimes and crimes against humanity committed against American personnel during the conflict in Korea from June 25, 1950, until July 27, 1953:

"Murder; attempted murder; malicious and aggravated assaults; various acts of torture, i. e., perforating flesh of prisoners with lighted cigarettes and inserting a can opener into a prisoner's open wound; starvation; deliberate policy of fostering starvation; experimental medical operations; coerced Communist indoctrination; bayonetting."

CHINESE GUILTY

"(2) The Communist government in China is equally responsible and guilty as the Communist government in Korea for war atrocities committed against Americans.

"(3) Virtually every provision of the Geneva Convention governing the treatment of war prisoners was purposely violated or ignored by the North Korean and Chinese forces.

"(4) More than 5,000 American prisoners of war died because of Communist war atrocities and more than a thousand who survived were victims of war crimes.

"(5) Several thousand American soldiers who have not been repatriated were victims of war crimes, died in action, or are presently confined behind the Iron Curtain."

YOU CAN GET IT

"(6) Communist forces violated the 'little-switch agreement' by failing to repatriate the sick and wounded prisoners in accordance with the Panmunjom truce.

"(7) The Communists in Korea, by false propaganda, have attempted to portray inaccurately the treatment accorded by them to American prisoners of war."

(This report may be obtained by writing to Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, chairman of the Subcommittee on Investigations, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.)

The only moral conclusion possible, in view of this report, is that the North Korean and Chinese Communists ought to be declared outlaw nations by the United Nations.

Abilities and Qualifications of Hon. Edward T. Miller of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the people of Maryland's First District are fortunate in having as their Representative in the Congress of the United States the very able EDWARD T. MILLER.

Representative MILLER'S many friends recently persuaded him to accept the sponsorship of my colleague, the senior Senator from Maryland, and myself for a position on the Federal district court.

Mr. MILLER was a reluctant candidate for the existing vacancy on the court and he was not unmindful of his responsibilities as a member of the majority party in the House, where he has served with great distinction.

Last Sunday, January 31, the Baltimore Sun contained an editorial which is a testimonial to Mr. MILLER'S abilities and qualifications. I should like to have this editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. MILLER GRACEFULLY WITHDRAWS AS JUDICIAL CANDIDATE

Whatever the antecedent circumstances, the decision by Representative EDWARD T. MILLER to withdraw his name from consideration as a candidate for the existing vacancy on the Federal district court here leaves a pleasant taste in the mouth. The way is now open for a speedy selection by the President among the several remaining candidates and, happily, for a lessening of the strain on that able and devoted public servant, Judge W. Calvin Chestnut.

Mr. MILLER has been a useful Member of the Congress for a long time, concerning himself intelligently not only with the affairs of his constituency but also with those of the Nation at large. It is not clear at the moment that he will be a candidate to succeed himself but it is certain that no other Republican commands so devoted a following on the Eastern Shore. In hoping for an appointment to the Federal bench he cherished a worthy and proper ambition. That he has accepted gracefully the combination of circumstances which prevent its fulfillment is a measure of his stature.

The appointment of a successor to Judge Chestnut will not, of course, end all the uncertainties, present or impending, which prevail in this Federal judicial circuit. Judge Morris A. Soper, of the court of appeals, will doubtless seek at least partial retirement in the relatively near future and District Judge Coleman, according to general belief, is hoping to withdraw soon after he reaches the legal age late this year. The decision of Mr. MILLER not to seek immediate appointment opens the way for an orderly settlement of all these matters.

Prisoners of War and Their Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Abandoned Patriots," which appeared in the Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass., on January 25, 1954, and which clearly expresses the feeling of Americans who have been prisoners and war and their families.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR ABANDONED PATRIOTS

The release of Korean war prisoners last week by no means ended the POW problem.

There is still one vital issue to be faced, and there should be no sleep in Washington until it has been dealt with.

It concerns the fate of 768 Americans who are still imprisoned in Red labor camps.

There is no question of the existence of these prisoners. In many cases, the names of numbers of them have been disclosed by released Americans who knew them and lived with them in the Red prison compounds. In many cases, too, the wives and mothers of these men have begged the Government to do something about returning them to freedom.

The Reds of course deny that they're holding these men. The Reds are liars. We know the identity of the prisoners, and in some cases we even know the slave labor camps in which they're being held from the world.

It's hard to believe that Washington can be so callous and spineless as to abandon these men outright. The Government has an obligation to its servicemen and to their families—an obligation that is certainly as strong as the duty of a man to fight for his country when called upon.

Part of that obligation is to extricate them from enemy chains after the shooting ended.

As David Lawrence pointed out on this page last week, the Korean armistice agreement calls for the return of all prisoners except those who refuse repatriation. The emphasis is on the all. These men are part of that all.

To abandon them now would be a crime on the part of this Government—a breach of faith—an admission of weakness—an exhibition of heartlessness. It would mean that no man in the future, on donning his Nation's uniform, could be sure that his own Government wouldn't hand him a double-cross.

If Washington has abandoned these 768 men, it should be whipped into action and made to do something about them.

If Washington already is doing anything at all to save them, the American public is entitled to know what's being done and with how much success.

There's been too much silence, too little action.

These men have rights that cry out for recognition.

Government Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Camel and the Gnat," written by a distinguished minister of my home town, Rev. William E. Gibson, and published in the Northwest Arkansas Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CAMEL AND THE GNAT

Jesus accused the Pharisees of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. This is an apt figure to describe the way the United States is meeting the menace of communism.

On the one hand, we have accepted the responsibility to spend colossal annual sums for arms. Reluctantly we are choking down this camel. There is a good deal of argument about just how huge the camel needs to be. Quite possibly we should swallow an even larger one. Be that as it may, it is quite generally recognized that the bills and the taxes for defense will need to be tremendous for a long time if we are to be strong enough to deter aggression. This editorial is not at all intended to oppose this assumption of responsibility.

Another chunk of camel that we are attempting to swallow may be seen in our feverish efforts to investigate each other's

loyalty and political philosophy and expose by fair means or foul anybody who has deviated from what the leading investigators define as orthodox Americanism. This editorial is not at all intended to condone anybody's efforts to foist upon us by subversive or treasonous means the curse called communism. But I do oppose some investigators' use of methods of intimidation and inquisition. Moreover, when investigations are carried on in such a way and to such an extent that they undermine the essential confidence of our people in one another they are playing into the hands of the Communists.

"Meanwhile, one of the great ideas of our time has, to a large extent, gone begging—that of sharing our technical know-how with underdeveloped nations, so that they may help themselves and make progress in the age-old fight against hunger and disease. We have labeled this a global give-away and have strained it pretty well out of our global strategy. This is surely the straining out of the gnat when compared with the camel of arms expenditures we are swallowing.

Enough technical assistance, however, has been given, by the United Nations as well as by our own Government, to prove its worth. A U. N. investment of $40,000 in a corn hybridization project for European farmers increased the annual value of Europe's corn crop by $24 million. Numerous other illustrations could be cited. Technical assistance in India convinced our recent ambassador there that it was potentially the most powerful constructive program against chaos and communism which the free world has devised.

Jesus also called the Pharisees blind fools. Perhaps we too shall deserve to be called that unless we wake up to the fact that for a mere fraction of the cost of defense we can accomplish many times more in the struggle against communism than we are accomplishing by all our armaments and all our investigations.

The real pity is that, except for the projects undertaken by Christian missionaries, it has required the motivation of anticommunism or, in some cases, private profit to make us give as much technical assistance as we have given. The chief motivation ought to be our love for God and men.

WILLIAM E. GIBSON,
Presbyterian Minister to Students.

Southern Hospitality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of December 16, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTHERN HOSPITALITY

Senator KENNEDY, a Massachusetts Yankee, has just put Southern hospitality to its most strenuous test since the War Between the States. From all reports, the tradition was upheld with courtesy and good humor.

Invading Chattanooga, Tenn., Senator KENNEDY censured certain of the business and political practices which the Southern States have used to draw national industries to that area—for instance, the practice of issuing tax-exempt revenue bonds to underwrite factory buildings and sites for new industries and the practice of "forgiving" taxes from new industries.

Any New Englander doubtless grinds his axe with some sturdy prejudices since rumor has it that some of the new Southern industries are merely old Yankee industries transplanted. But beneath the Senator's bold words lies a base of solid sense.

The industrial development of the South in the past decade has been truly phenomenal and it has as bright a future as any other part of the country. The South is rich in natural resources; it has many good factory sites; it has a plentiful supply of good workmen, a favorable climate, an improving transportation system and a growing pool of local capital. It also offers a good market for the products of industry.

These are the things that provide a real foundation for southern economic progress. Some of the other things that have lured industry are ephemeral by nature and some are of dubious wisdom from the region's own viewpoint. The Senator from New England is not alone in knowing this. He is merely more brash in speaking.

Among the ephemeral lures, for example, is the lower-wage level which has long prevailed in the South. This has drawn some industry but it is by nature a self-liquidating lure, for each new plant uses up more of the surplus labor and raises the wage level.

Among the dubious lures are the various tax devices that have grown so familiar. They, too, are self-liquidating: One city offers a 5-year tax exemption to a new industry; the next town ups the ante; and so on until the thing becomes impossible. And meanwhile each of these localities must tax its other citizens and businesses heavier to pay for the extra services the community must provide.

There is another drawback to all such blandishments. In nearly every case they are offered only to outsiders who while they may bring in outside capital also take the profits outside. Indigenous enterprises are discriminated against; it would not be surprising if they were discouraged.

Senator KENNEDY proffered one warning from the experience of others. The coming of "quickie" industries is never slower than their departure when the bloom is off the boom. And their departure, as it has elsewhere on occasions, can leave things worse than before.

It is not recorded whether the Chattanooga audience paid heed to Senator KENNEDY's comments, but southern hospitality was deep enough to win him generous applause. There are many southerners who feel, as we do, that the economic future of the South is bright enough not to have to be adorned with dubious devices.

Richmond, Calif., Selected as 1 of 11 All-American Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. CONDON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CONDON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Richmond, Calif., which is the largest city in my congressional district, was selected as 1 of 11 all-American cities, by the National Municipal League and Look magazine.

The following is an account of the achievements of the city of Richmond, Calif., reprinted from the February 9, 1954, issue of Look magazine:

RICHMOND, CALIF.—After VJ-Day, the wartime boom threatened to become a peacetime bust for Richmond, an industrial city of 100,000, which had grown 321 percent in 10 years. Richmond was a shipbuilding center, and, overnight, almost 100,000 war jobs folded up. "This is going to be a ghost town," said the prophets.

But the prophets hadn't counted on some 2,500 Richmond citizens representing a half-dozen civic organizations. They not only saved their city but conducted an 8-year-long campaign to improve it.

First, the committees induced Federal officials to let new industries take over three idle shipyards. Then the city council bought an 18-acre trailer camp and resold it for new industrial sites. Soon there were 89 new plants, which lifted employment in Richmond to 36,000, with many more jobs in a short commuting radius.

A new $4.5 million civic center went up to house the city hall, civic auditorium, library, police and fire headquarters. Richmond had 36,000 youngsters, 52 percent more than the total 1940 population, so $19 million in school bonds was approved by the voters. A $400,000 youth center was built, and construction of a $4 million hospital was begun. Richmond started razing 24,000 shoddy wartime housing units and replacing them with modern buildings.

Politically, good citizens worked to eliminate spoils politics by approving a personnel plan and streamlining the city government. The greatest tax cut in Richmond's history was announced. A movie about Richmond's victory was shown to the people of West Germany as a sample of how one American city licked postwar problems.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Bricker Amendment," which appeared in a recent issue of the Northwest Arkansas Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

An advertisement published in a State newspaper yesterday entitled "A Resolution in Behalf of the Bricker Amendment" imparts to friends of this amendment enormous power, and states in so many words that those opposing it reflect Communist-front and left-wing organizations or "those who have been misled by the left-wing press and commentators."

We represent that this newspaper does not reflect Communist-front or left-wing organizations and certainly cannot be counted as among the left-wing press, if by left-wing the writers of the advertisement mean a press favorable to socialism or communism. We do not believe the Bricker amendment is for the best interests of the United States, and we wholeheartedly believe we have the free American's privilege of taking our stand without being termed communistic.

The advertisement, inserted over the signature of J. E. Berry, president of the Ar-

kansas Free Enterprise Association, Little Rock, Ark., states that the board members believe "that the survival of the American Republic depends on the passage of the Bricker amendment by the Congress of the United States."

The statement includes all sorts of things, including the charge that one treaty became the law of the land when only one of 96 Senators was present on the floor of the Senate, and he voted affirmatively. Such an assertion completely ignores the section of the Constitution which states that a quorum of the House or Senate must be present before business can be conducted. Presumably this includes votes on treaties.

To believe the contents of the Free Enterprise Association statement, one must feel, as the advertisement states, that our national leaders (for the last few years) in all walks of life started the complete socialization of this country, and whose plan was to destroy our national sovereignty and our Constitution and commit our country to a super-world government. Of course, since we in no sense accept this as true, the entire claims as set forth by the association strike us as being false.

We do not accept as fact, for example, the claim that practically all (of these) treaties have been prepared in collaboration with Russians and other aliens and some left-wing American members of the United Nations, many of whom realize that the only way to conquer the United States is to destroy its Constitution and commit its citizens to the authority of many-tongued aliens from foreign lands.

We do not feel that the passage of the Bricker amendment is essential to the well being of our Nation—rather, it seems evident to us that the proposed change in the Constitution, if adopted, is much more likely to break down the form of government which we enjoy. The Constitution in its present form has served America well since it became effective March 4, 1789. Under it we have gone from 13 colonies to the leading world power, our people have prospered and progressed, and under it we can steadily go forward. Such a change as is now proposed is not necessary or advisable and should be turned down finally and irrevocably.

Baltimore Association of Commerce's Opposition to St. Lawrence Seaway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project by J. L. Stanton, director, export and import bureau, Baltimore Association of Commerce, Baltimore Md., submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April 1953.

This statement of opposition constitutes the present position of the Baltimore, Md., Association of Commerce.

The statement follows:

My appearance before this committee is to register the strong opposition of port interests at Baltimore to the proposed legislation calling for construction of the St. Lawrence seaway.

I am further appearing as the spokesman for the North Atlantic Ports Association, an organization covering the ports in the North Atlantic range from Hampton Roads to Portland, Maine. I have been designated by E. O. Jewell, president of this association, to carry out the directive contained in a recent resolution concerning the seaway passed unanimously by the ports association. After consideration of the new bills introduced in the 83d Congress calling for the establishment of a Government corporation whose function it would be to complete a portion of the seaway project to a 27-foot depth from the proceeds of a $100 million issue, the association unanimously voted to oppose this project.

The proposed legislation was viewed by the North Atlantic Ports Association as a piecemeal approach to the creation of the seaway, a project that has been turned down repeatedly by Congress in past years.

I desire to emphasize that the North Atlantic ports represented by this association are the major ports of the United States. By far the greater portion of foreign commerce passes through these ports. The investment in waterfront facilities, channels, rail, and highway connections and other essentials to major seaports runs into billions of dollars. That the economy of the heavily populated areas of Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and the other Delaware ports, Baltimore and Hampton Roads is heavily dependent on port operations is unquestioned.

How the commerce of these North Atlantic ports would be adversely affected by the seaway project will be illustrated by my following remarks on the foreseeable effects of such a project on the port of Baltimore.

The bureau which I head is a unit of the Baltimore Association of Commerce, an organization of 2,300 business, commercial, and industrial firms of this community. In years past we have consistently opposed this project on the grounds that it is unnecessary and uneconomical and that it would have a detrimental effect on the commerce of our port.

That the proposals now being considered by this committee do not call for the construction of the overall seaway, but rather propose a piecemeal approach, does not alter our position. We further discount the involved financing plans proposed whereby a Government corporation would be set up for the waterway construction. Inasmuch as the corporation would be backed by the credit of the United States, we can see little difference between this and earlier plans that called for direct financing by the Federal Government.

To fully understand Baltimore's position with respect to the seaway project, it is necessary to have a full appreciation of the importance of the port to the community of Baltimore. Our conservative estimates are that some 40,000 citizens of this city are directly employed in port activities. Approximately $1 billion of our annual income is derived from the port. The investment in piers, wharves, channels, storage facilities, and other necessary equipment for the operation of a modern seaport is estimated at more than $350 million, and millions more are being spent annually in new construction.

The port and its commercial activities are unquestionably the greatest single economic asset of the State of Maryland. With approximately one-half the population of the State living in Baltimore and its environs, the effects of the port are directly felt throughout the entire area of Maryland.

It is therefore understandable why we present such vigorous opposition to the proposed seaway, which could logically be expected to divert substantial tonnage from the Port of Baltimore. Employment and income from our port are directly proportionate to the volume of cargo handled here. Any diversion of commerce from Baltimore thus would have a direct effect on our economic livelihood. The effects would not be confined to the longshoremen, the tugboat crews or other harbor employees, but would be felt by every business throughout the area.

That such a diversion would result from completion of the seaway appears to be a reasonable conclusion. In fact, the Department of Commerce in reviewing the effects of the seaway on traffic at North Atlantic ports in 1946 estimated that some 10 percent of Baltimore's cargo would be lost to a completed seaway.

We feel that this estimate is conservative. The types of cargo in which this port specializes are extremely well adapted to a water haul such as would be possible through the seaway. Baltimore has long been known as a bulk cargo port. Such commodities as iron ore, grain, coffee, bulk rubber, chemicals, fertilizers, and sugar compose the greatest portion of our commerce. All of these commodities would be subject to diversion through the seaway. We, of course, realize that a completed seaway would not close the Port of Baltimore. We would still enjoy the traffic destined for immediate areas in the State and adjacent sections of West Virginia and southern Pennsylvania. However, a large portion of Baltimore's commerce is destined to or originates at points in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. With an all-water or a longer water routing possible from major points along the lakes, it can be seen that Baltimore would stand little chance of holding the inland business we now enjoy.

During the past year we have noted increasing shipments of metallic ores including iron ore, manganese, and chrome to the steel centers of western Pennsylvania and Ohio. If cargoes of this type could be unloaded directly from oceangoing ships at lake ports such as Buffalo or Cleveland, the shorter rail haul to consuming centers would divert this cargo from our port. The potential business in the movement of iron ore is one of the most promising aspects of Baltimore shipping. With high grade iron ore fields in the Mesabi area approaching exhaustion, major steel firms have indicated that Baltimore will be one of the principal ports of entry for ore mined in such foreign areas as South America, Liberia, and Newfoundland. This picture would, of course, change radically if the seaway became a reality. Ores from these distant fields could move directly to such steel centers as Cleveland, Gary, and Chicago. Also ores could then be transported to Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Canton, Massillon, and other steel-producing points with a much shorter rail haul than is now possible via Baltimore.

Probably one of the strongest arguments in opposition to the proposed seaway is the fact that meteorological studies definitely establish that this waterway would be usable only about 7 months out of each year. While a heavy movement would be expected during these 7 months, the 5 winter months would close out this traffic. It is assumed that ocean commerce would continue to be necessary during these 5 months and that the facilities at Baltimore would have to be maintained at their present peak of efficiency to take care of traffic during the period when the seaway would be closed. This would mean that piers, cranes, and our labor force would have to be maintained at a high level to meet the needs of commerce during the winter months, although we could expect a sharp drop in our business during the remaining 7 months of the year.

This spotty type of employment of our facilities and labor is certainly not a welcome prospect for Baltimore.

The excellent rail facilities that now connect this port with the great inland East

and Midwest would have to be maintained to meet the needs of commerce when the seaway was closed.

My comments have centered around metallic ore movements. However, the same applies to the many other imports that now utilize Baltimore. Equal, if not more serious, are the potential effects of such a seaway on our export picture. Baltimore's huge grain trade would suffer heavily in competition with a seaway. The major portion of the grain moving through this port originates in the Great Plains area and in Canada. It moves via lake ports to Buffalo where it is transferred to cars and moved to the seaboard elevators at Baltimore. This traffic could be expected to die completely if oceangoing vessels could take on grain at the Buffalo elevators.

A point that it is desired to emphasize to this committee is the fact that Baltimore is largely a port developed under the free-enterprise system. Our oceangoing facilities are almost entirely owned and controlled by private business. Thus, this is not a complaint of one governmental agency against the proposed plans of another Government branch. Rather, it is an honest protest of businessmen opposing a Government project that threatens serious damage to their tax-paying employment-creating private enterprises.

This committee has been fully informed of the detrimental effects of such a seaway on the trunkline railroads of the country, and it is not my intention to burden the record further with arguments on this theme. I do wish to point out, however, that Baltimore is a railroad port; that is, 90 percent of our ocean commerce passes over railroad piers. The same detrimental effects that would result to the rail carriers from the seaway project would in turn have an equally detrimental effect upon the rail aspects of our port commerce.

While our opposition is primarily based on the detrimental effects of such a completed seaway on the economic life of our community, we desire to point out that our position was determined after careful consideration of the national aspects of this problem. We agree that the financial burden of this project is an extravagance that we can ill afford at this period in our national economic life, and we further agree that diversion of a huge manpower force from defense industries to such a project at this time would be most unsound.

Respectfully submitted.

J. L. STANTON,
Director, Export and Import Bureau,
Baltimore Association of Commerce.

Address by Hon. Katharine St. George, of New York, at the Banquet of the American Association of Government Employees on January 30, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL M. HARDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, it is my pleasure to place in the RECORD the text of a very fine address delivered January 30, 1954, to a banquet meeting of the American Federation of Government Employees by our able and charming colleague, the Honorable KATHARINE ST. GEORGE. The speech follows:

I am very happy and honored to be with you, especially as this is your 71st birthday.

The Good Book tells us that three score years and ten is the proper length for human life but I know that your organization is going on for many years, getting more vigorous and more useful as the years go by.

Civil service has come a long way since the day when a crazed and frustrated Government employee shot and killed President Garfield. This event probably had as much to do with the original founding of a civil service in the United States as any other event. It is unfortunate that in order to do what is necessary we so often have to learn through an explosion and a tragedy.

During the second session of this Congress the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has gotten down to working far earlier than usual and this, may I say, augurs well for much of your legislation.

One thing that was a result of this consideration was the elimination of the Thomas leave rider. I know that this was of great interest to Federal employees based upon the large amount of correspondence that I received from you. In the final analysis, the decision on leave had to be made in conference since there was a great dissimilarity between the bill as passed by the House and the Senate. As is often the case in such situations, the legislation that is ultimately approved requires some remodeling.

The chairman of our committee, Mr. REES of Kansas, has introduced a bill which he hopes will, once and for all, let Federal employees know where they stand with respect to their leave. His suggestions that are contained in the bill introduced by him set forth a number of things with which I believe you Federal employees generally will be in agreement.

He proposes to permit employees in the United States to accumulate annual leave up to 60 days, and employees overseas (except Foreign Service employees) to accumulate up to 90 days. This is in lieu of the present 30-day and 45-day limitations.

Of all subjects now before Congress, the one of most interest to this group, and to all other groups of Federal employees, is that of adjustment of the salary scales. As you know, the chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has scheduled hearings on this matter beginning February 8. There have been a number of bills submitted providing for increases ranging from $400 to $1,100 per annum. These bills cover all employees of the Federal Government with the exception of Wage Board employees.

It is my belief that every Member of Congress is in favor of a wage adjustment. Their thinking varies, however, in the amount and the method of application. Statistical figures furnished by the Department of Labor indicate that the average base salary under the Classification Act is today 22.8 percent behind the cost of living index. The salaries of post office employees and others are also far behind; while those of the hourly employees under Wage Board Administration are relatively equal to the present cost of living.

The area where these inequalities of treatment are most apparent is in the professional, scientific and research fields, where the supervisors are now receiving less salary than the Wage Board employees they supervise. Another area is in the Government-owned industrial plants where inspectors, supervisors, and other administrative personnel have not had an increase in salary since July of 1951, while the hourly employees they are responsible for have had 3 raises with another one currently pending.

When one realizes that 40 percent of the 2,200,000 employees of the Federal Government have received wage increases annually since 1950, while 60 percent have received no recognition of the ever-increasing cost of living, it is immediately apparent that something must be done to relieve this unequal situation.

In those areas where Congress has reserved unto itself the authority for the fixing of salary scales, it has been a historical fact that these scales have lagged at least 1 year behind the cost of living. In order to meet this situation, I introduced legislation during the first session of this Congress which would provide for a semiannual adjustment of wages based on the national cost of living index. Had my legislation been in effect in 1951, the per annum employees would now have received an average of $350 additional per annum, while the hourly or per diem employees under legislative pay acts would have received an average of $322 additional per annum. My bill provides for a base increase of $400 per annum for per annum employees, and 20 cents per hour, or $456 per year, for hourly or per diem employees. These increases would compensate for the present lag in salary scales. In addition to this, my bill provides for a semiannual increase of $50 per annum for employees paid on an annual basis, and 2½ cents per hour for hourly or per diem employees for each one point or major fraction thereof change in the national cost of living index. It also provides that if the cost of living index drops, the rate of compensation for each employee shall not be reduced below that which would result from the lump-sum increase provided in the first section.

While I realize that the majority of the employee unions have expressd opposition to classified pay scales based on local area prevailing wage rates, I believe that if an objective analysis is given to my proposal, you will not retain these objections. My bill provides for one wage rate on a national basis to be adjusted by the national cost of living index. It does not propose that there be numerous wage rates in the Federal Government based on the wage rates prevailing in private industry in local areas. It is my feeling that the benefits gained through the possibility of current adjustment in the wage rates would greatly offset any objections which you might have to this type of salary determination.

There are, of course, many other bills that will be considered with the utmost care by the committee in their hearings which will start on February 8.

Finally, there has been far too much talk of late about the dismissal of some bad security risks in Government. The Government never in any official pronouncement said that these people were disloyal or that they were Communists. But they were all security risks and they were all incompetent. Isn't that enough?

You and I know that an incompetent and stupid employee can do our country almost as much harm as a known subversive.

We are all Government employees, every one of us in this room. It is a high calling, because whether we are at home among our own people or abroad among strangers we are the representatives and ambassadors of the greatest and most powerful nation in the world today, the United States of America.

It is an insult to all the fine patriotic Government servants that time and sympathy should be wasted on the few who did not measure up and who are, at best, forgotten.

Yes; we have a high calling, and one of which we can well be proud. Lincoln was right when he said this country could never be destroyed from without but could be destroyed from within. We, the Government employees, will not let this happen in our time. We look at that flag with its bright stars on a sky of blue, the oldest flag in the modern world, the flag that has always stood for freedom and human dignity. Let us stand true to that flag and to the ideals that have made our country great, and let us save the soul of America.

Settlement of the A. & P. Suit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the action instituted by the Government in 1949 against the A. & P. grocery chain was recently settled by a consent agreement.

At the time the case was instituted the National Federation of Independent Business supported the case and answered the charges that they were assisting in the persecution of the A. & P. and trying to prevent the people of America from buying their food products cheap. In their defense of the principle back of the suit the National Federation of Independent Business attempted to inform the people of the real issues of the case by paid advertisements in the press of the Nation. It is significant that at that time three of the major newspapers in the Washington, D. C., area refused to carry these advertisements.

On January 25 former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath wrote to the National Federation of Independent Business as follows:

This vindicates your stand on the matter completely. You are doing a great job for independence we believe in.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I am inserting the statement made by George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, upon the entry of the consent decree in the A. & P. case. Mr. Burger's statement follows:

In view of the announcement of the settlement of the A. & P. suit by the Department of Justice, and as our interest in the case from the first instance was solely in the interest of protecting the free-enterprise system and the people we represent, all independent business and professional men, it is our belief the action of the Department of Justice, in agreeing to a consent decree against the A. & P. Co. may be looked upon with some doubt as to any real victory for the Government in the original suit instituted in 1949 against the A. & P. Co.

We will admit that through the consent decree some long overdue corrections in conformity with the antitrust laws will take place. However, we are concerned about the major charges by the Government in its original case being submerged in the consent agreement.

The A. & P. was found guilty by a Federal court, and the verdict was sustained by a United States court of appeals, of these allegations:

1. A. & P. expansion has resulted, in a substantial part, from the use of such vicious un-American weapons as boycotts, blacklisting, price wars, and threats. A. & P. was found guilty.

2. Numerous local businessmen were forced out of business by these tactics by which a ruthless corporation robbed Peter to pay Paul. A. & P. was found guilty.

3. A. & P., it was alleged, in order to drive out competition, operated as high as 30 percent of their stores at a loss, and requiring customers of their other stores to pay for these losses through higher prices. A. & P. was found guilty.

4. A. & P., it was alleged, forced farmers and food packers to sell to them at lower prices than competitors. A. & P. was found guilty.

It is to be noted, in the position we took to defend the Government in paid public statements by the federation, we ran into difficulty with certain members of the press. However, our action was merely to counteract the nationwide publicity of the A. & P. Co. in paid ads charging that the Government's actions were more or less of a persecution nature, and that the Government was, as they stated in substance, denying the right to the people to buy food products at low cost.

Our concern in regard to the announced settlement of the case is whether some of the major charges of the Government at that time are lost in the overall complaint.

It is our opinion if due respect is to be achieved by the Government to the laws that more severe penalties must be inflicted where deliberate continual violations of the laws take place. In no other way will the public be the beneficiary through the free-enterprise system, and small business of this Nation continue in our economy.

We believe it is necessary now for the Judiciary Committees of the Congress to examine the enforcement of the antitrust laws, and to amend such laws making it mandatory that severe penalties be inflicted where criminal violations of the antitrust laws take place.

Port of Baltimore Improvement Excluded From Budget, Yet $105 Million Requested for St. Lawrence Seaway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, we have had a few days now to examine the administration's budget and to see in what respects its substance, the proposals for spending and appropriations legislation, differ from the lofty objectives of economy and efficiency to which it is nominally dedicated.

One of the small items omitted from the budget, from which the Nation would derive current and future benefits far greater than cost, is improvement of the harbor and channels at Baltimore. The port of Baltimore, the Nation's second port, has great advantages of position for the future of the steel industry on which our economy and its defense are founded. Through this port millions of tons of iron ore for the expanding steel industry of the eastern States, are imported each year. The imported ores come from huge and rich reserves in South America, and can be used economically by the steel industry because of the location of the port of Baltimore, and the comparatively inexpensive rail transportation available from there. The future development of the eastern steel industry will require use of increasing volumes of imported ores. If vessels of the most economical size for handling this ore are to be accommodated, the port of Baltimore will need both widening, and deepening to perhaps 40 feet. But work for such an essential project, though costing little in relation to the national benefits quickly obtainable from it, is not provided in the current budget. Instead, money is being requested of the Congress for the St. Lawrence seaway, a project which will not be beneficial to American shipping. In fact, only 2 percent of our American ships will be able to use the seaway. It will be used, however, by foreign ships which have shorter drafts than our American vessels. Then too, this seaway is frozen over 4 or 5 months each year.

If we are, as the President proposed in his message accompanying the budget, to "find better and less expensive ways of doing things which must be done by the Federal Government," then we must add to past Federal improvements of the harbor and channels of the port of Baltimore, and avoid projects such as the St. Lawrence which do not need our aid, are of undemonstrated worth and of uncertain, but clearly large, future cost.

Congress and the Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very timely article which deserves the consideration of the Members of Congress. It is by Fred V. Heinkel, president, the Missouri Farmers Association, Inc. The article is taken from the February 1954 issue of the Missouri Farmer:

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FRED V. HEINKEL: CONGRESS AND THE FARM PROBLEM

President Eisenhower has sent his long awaited message on agriculture to the Congress. To me it was a shock and a disappointment. Not only did he seem to entirely forget his campaign promise made at Kasson, Minn., to advocate "100 percent of parity in the market place," but he has actually advocated a lower standard of living for farm people by recommending flexible price supports.

Under his program, as I understand it, farm prices would be supported at 90 percent of parity in times of scarcity—in other words, when supports are not needed. As production increases and surpluses begin to develop and prices sag, supports would be allowed to decline to 75 percent of parity, in the belief that lower supports would discourage production.

The President's program is deceptive. It recognizes that farmers have a problem, and it purports to solve that problem, but it won't solve it. When prices are high, farmers don't need any assistance from the Government. We need help only when prices go down . . . and under the President's program that is precisely when assistance would be withdrawn, or at least lowered to 75 percent of parity.

Also, it is a fallacy to contend that low farm prices discourage production. Every farmer who farmed during the 1930's knows that this contention is not true, and no one has ever produced any evidence to prove its

truth. What happens when farm prices go down is that in order to meet fixed costs like interest, taxes, gasoline, etc., farmers must produce more at lower prices. Thus, strange as it may seem, low prices in agriculture actually mean higher production.

SINCERE BUT WRONG?

Undoubtedly the President has been listening to Secretary Benson, who has been advocating flexible price supports ever since he has appointed to his Cabinet office. And he does not believe in any kind of governmental assistance. I do not for a moment doubt his sincerity, but I strongly question the soundness of his judgment. For I do not see any chance for farm people to escape peonage if they are always to be compelled to produce and sell in a free market when all other segments of our society are protected by law in one way or another.

I am doubtful that the farm problem will be satisfactorily dealt with by the present session of Congress. The reason the outlook is so discouraging is not because the problem is difficult of solution, but rather because of the lack of agreement among farm groups. Besides, this is an election year, and Congressmen will be fearful lest they make political mistakes.

Regardless of what takes place on the farm front in Congress, the only thing that we, as Missouri farmers, can do is to let our own Congressmen and as many others as possible know our views on the general situation.

Fortunately, due to resolutions adopted by the MFA annual convention last August, plus the sentiments frankly expressed by several thousand farmers at seven mass meetings held over the State last fall, both the MFA State legislative committee and I feel that we have been well advised as to just what farm legislation Missouri farmers believe is needed.

FARMERS STATE WANTS

Of the thousands of farmers who filled out questionnaires at the mass meetings last fall, 93.7 percent declared that they want mandatory price supports at 90 percent or more of parity, with such limits or controls on production as may be necessary. And 90.2 percent emphatically voted "Yes" in answer to the question "Should the Government maintain the same mandatory price-support program at the same support levels for perishable farm products (meat, poultry, eggs, dairy products, fruits, etc.) as it maintains for storable farm products?"

In addition to these expressions, many farmers added the comment, "Why 90 percent of parity? Why not 100 percent?" Also, scores who couldn't attend the meetings wrote letters to me expressing their views in the same vein.

All these expressions of the thinking of Missouri farmers have been carefully considered by the MFA State legislative committee, whose responsibility it is under our bylaws to deal with legislation affecting MFA members. As a result, I expect to tell the Congress, through its proper committees, that farmers of Missouri believe it to be in the national interest for Congress to enact farm legislation which will protect farmers against wide fluctuation in prices, which causes rural people so much distress and subjects nonfarm people to a feast-or-famine scale of living.

The only reason we ask for this protection for agriculture is that because of the large number of farmers we cannot cope with the problem without governmental assistance. There are 5½ million of us, and we cannot, like a handful of manufacturers in an industry, adjust production to demand or control the prices of our products. Besides, our production is subject to the vagaries of weather and to the ravages of insects and diseases, and over these hazards we have no control.

It is also our conviction that agriculture cannot long be in trouble without its effect being felt by all other segments of our economy. We believe that depressions are farm bred and farm led, and we are sharply conscious of the fact that a depression now exists in agriculture. It has been growing steadily worse since February 1951.

We observe that the farm depression is now affecting nonfarm people. It first showed up on the lots of farm implement dealers and then at the plants of farm implement manufacturers. The manufacturers had to curtail production and lay off men. Their curtailment in production is being felt in the steel industry, and will gradually spread to other manufacturers who supply farmers with goods that enter into the farmer's production of food and fiber. (Farmers, incidentally, when they have purchasing power, use more steel than the entire automobile industry.)

The farm depression is being felt by merchants on the main streets in rural towns and cities that are founded directly upon agriculture. Goods are backing up on merchants' shelves. Before long, this slump will be reflected in curtailed production at big city factories. Unemployment in cities will grow, and unless we take heed, bread lines and apple selling on street corners will once more plague our city people.

It is our fear that this cancerous growth which had its beginning in agriculture will finally spread throughout the whole body of the Nation. Had we not better deal with this awful disease in its early stages?

One of the chief reasons why farmers believe the "farm problem" will inevitably become everybody's problem is that they know that agriculture produces approximately 70 percent in dollar value of all raw materials used in the annual operation of our economy. The movement of these raw materials from farm to factory and to consumer is responsible for a large part of available employment for our labor force.

At the retail level, about 70 percent of all consumer goods consists of food, beverages, shoes, clothing and tobacco. The rapid consumption of these goods is the gear wheel which determines both unemployment and income for the United States.

"The ratio of agricultural income to national income during the past 25 years," to quote a famous economist, "has been approximately 1 to 7, or $7 of national income for each $1 of gross farm income."

Therefore, based on the $290 billion national income of 1952, and assuming the people of America want to maintain that level of income and employment and avoid a general depression, our gross farm income should be about $41 billion annually. The shocking fact is that our gross farm income for 1953 was only $34 billion. This serious loss of some $7 billion of gross farm income is making it difficult for farmers to pay their bills, and is also making it impossible for them to buy many products of industry even though the products are needed. Thus, factories are forced to cut production and workers are laid off.

Incidentally, I should also like to point to the efficiency of American farmers. Since the beginning of World War II they have increased production by 41 percent without bringing any new acres into production. Thus it is obvious that their economic problem is not caused by inefficiency.

I should like to mention that from 1929 to 1951 our cash sales of farm products increased 193 percent and the nonagricultural income increased 194 percent. This record shows clearly the relationship between the economic status of agriculture and that of the remainder of our country. In all our history we have never had a serious depression when farm prices were at or above parity.

Agriculture is in part a capital industry, and to survive as an industry must have parity prices, which in business terms means cost of production plus a normal profit. The term "farm parity prices" might be termed "equality for agriculture" or "justice for agriculture." Any downward sliding scale of price supports will eventually destroy the economy of our agricultural producers, which in turn will cause a failure to create the income necessary to pay the wages of labor and the costs of operating our industrial machinery.

Thus, for the reasons here stated, the farm people of Missouri strongly feel that it is in the national interest for Congress to solve the farm problem, and to this end the MFA State legislative committee makes certain recommendations.

We recommend: (1) That a national food reserve be established; (2) that all grains, including oats, rye, barley, and soybeans, be included in the storable commodity category; and (3) that farmers be assured of 100 percent of parity on all farm products.

We recommend that the so-called surpluses be set aside in a national food reserve and be maintained in the interest of all the people to protect us against such national catastrophes as widespread drought and war. We recall that such surpluses have served us in good stead during the past 25 years, and history reveals that since biblical times such reserves have proved to be sound and desirable. We believe that food reserves are just as important as are stockpiles of ammunition and essential raw materials. And the cost of carrying such food and fiber reserves should not be charged to our farm programs. These reserves should be maintained in the interest of keeping our Nation strong.

The reserves should be isolated from the markets, and only sold and replaced to prevent spoilage. They should not be allowed to depress farm prices because of their visibility. When a national food reserve is established, we can then proceed with a clean slate to deal with the present situation and future prospects.

We suggest that inasmuch as we have had experience wih supports on the six basic commodities, this program be continued with supports fixed at 100 instead of 90 percent of parity. If farmers are entitled to parity, and if parity has the influence we believe it has upon the remainder of the economy, prices supported at 100 percent of parity would be not only fair and just to farm people but would do much to support the entire economy.

Sometimes the public is led to believe that this farm support program is a dole. This is not true. This price support program may be more properly termed an orderly marketing plan whereby the Government furnishes the plan and supervises the machinery to bring about a fair market.

Our experience with price supports during the past 19½ years has been reasonably good in spite of the imperfections of the system. The net operating cost of the Commodity Credit Corporation amounted to $2,854,000,000 from October 17, 1933, to March 31, 1953. I submit that considering how much good was accomplished by our price support program, the cost was small indeed. It helped us to win a world war and to materially delay a farm depression after the war. Also, I suggest that having had this valuable experience, we ought to be able to manage things better in the future.

Full parity to farmers can be achieved by the Federal Government guaranteeing it to farmers, paying farmers a subsidy by means of compensatory payments, and adjusting acreage of crops in surplus (such as cotton and wheat) to meet domestic needs. Such adjustments can be taken upon a vote of producers in the manner that the vote was recently taken in the cases of wheat, cotton,

and peanuts, at which times producers, incidentally, voted overwhelmingly for acreage controls.

We recommend this procedure because we have had experience with it, know that it worked fairly well, and believe that it will work better if expanded and refined.

In the case of perishables, such as milk, meats, etc., we recommend that Congress declare producers to be entitled to 100 percent of parity; that they be permitted to produce and market perishables for whatever price consumer demand permits, and that the Federal Government make up, by means of compensatory payments, any difference between 100 perecnt of parity and the price received.

This procedure would necessarily differ from that used in the handling of storable commodities, because in the case of storables we can adjust crop acreage and because they can be stored.

By handling the perishables in the manner described, we could at last end the conflict between competing articles such as, for example, oleomargarine and butter. Prices would be arrived at strictly by supply and demand or consumer preference. This would allow for changes in consumer taste and diet.

If the Congress does continue and expand the price-support program for agriculture at this time, it is our expectation that it will not be needed from now on into an indefinite future. Our population is increasing, but our productive acres are not. Undoubtedly, the time will come during the next decade or so when population will catch up with and may even run ahead of our food-production capabilities.

The Bureau of the Census predicts that by 1955 there will be 166,190,000 people in the United States; that by 1960 our population will be 180,276,000; and that by 1975 it will be 225,310,000.

As you know, farmers increased production by 41 percent during and since World War II, but it is hard to believe that production can keep on increasing by that proportion in the future. True, more extensive use of plant foods, and especially of nitrogen, can promote further increases in production, but surely we shall one day reach the point where the economic law of diminishing returns sets in. When that point is reached, consumers will pay more for their food and raw materials, and some will be reduced to a lower standard of living.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize that one of the best ways the American people can insure themselves of an abundant food supply far into the future is by insisting that Congress guarantee 100 percent of parity to farmers so that they can afford to rebuild the soil fertility of their lands and protect them against soil-erosion losses.

I know that there are those in agriculture who frown upon receiving subsidies, and we have been told that an arrangement such as we advocate is "regimentation" and will take our liberties away from us. But our people are not afraid of regimentation and loss of liberty so long as we have our Constitution and the Congress, plus the right to vote on election day. Whose Government is it, anyway? Does it not belong to the people? And is it not the province of our Government to help the people do things they cannot do for themselves? And is it not impossible for 5½ million farmers scattered across the continent to solve this problem by themselves?

MUST PROTECT ALL

I think farmers would take their chances on living in a totally free economy, where industry was not protected by tariffs, fast tax writeoffs, depletion allowances, and other tax benefits, where utilities were not protected by regulation of rates and trade territories, and where labor was not protected by laws giving them a 40-hour workweek, minimum wage, etc. But farmers are not so naive as to imagine that these protections for industry and labor will ever be taken off. And besides, many of these protections for industry and labor are necessary and fair. We believe that if they were suddenly removed the high standard of living, of which we Americans are all so proud, would vanish overnight and that we would find ourselves reduced to the low standard of peoples throughout the rest of the world.

We are thus faced with the dual question: (1) How can an economy be called free when about all segments of the economy but one are protected by laws? And (2) How can that one segment (the farmers) survive while all the others are protected?

We think that American citizens on our farms, who bear their full share of the Nation's burdens in every respect, are entitled to the same measure of legislative protection as are American citizens in industry and labor. Farmers probably own a larger stake in our free enterprise system than any other class of Americans. At the present time farmers own $160 billion in land, machinery, and other capital essential to production. All we ask is a chance to hang on to our share.

After much serious contemplation we still cannot see how the guaranty of 100 percent of parity, with a subsidy paid to farmers to compensate for the difference between 100 percent of parity and the market price, allowing our markets to have free play, could usurp our freedoms so long as we continue to have a voice and a vote in our governmental affairs.

In fact, what we do see is that under such a guaranty we would be much better off, because we would be able to protect and enrich our soil, improve our living conditions, and enjoy more of the blessings made possible by today's technological advances. And we strongly believe that, put on a par with other segments of our economy, agriculture would assume its rightful status as the basic industry of our Nation and, provide a sound and stable basis for all the people of America, so that we as a Nation could constantly progress and raise our standard of living to ever higher levels.

President Bayar's Address in New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended is an address delivered by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Turkey at a great dinner given in honor of the President and Madame Bayar by the American-Turkish Society in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria on Monday, February 1, 1954, attended by high officials and distinguished citizens of New York and the Nation, presided over by the Honorable George McGee, former Ambassador to Turkey and Assistant Secretary of State and President of the American-Turkish Society and addressed also by the Honorable Richard C. Patterson, Jr., chairman, the mayor's reception committee; the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, honorary president, the Turkish-American Society, and distinguished by an address also by the Vice President of the United States on behalf of our Government. The address of President Bayar follows:

Mr. Vice President, ladies, and gentlemen, during the past 6 days I have been in the United States, our friend and ally, as a guest of His Excellency President Eisenhower. Today I have the honor to be in this beautiful city of New York, which is the most perfect symbol of 20th century civilization. I am deeply moved by the manifestations of friendship and affection shown toward Turkey through my person. I should like to thank your society, which has rendered a great service in the development of that friendship for its gracious invitation. I have brought you the affection and gratitude of the Turkish people.

The Turkish and American nations have, throughout their entire history, always borne each other a mutual feeling of friendship and affection. It was not by chance that the friendship and alliance between our two countries reached their zenith with the Truman doctrine and the North Atlantic Treaty. Like the American people, the Turkish nation has always loved its freedom and independence, and has never, for centuries past, not even under the most unfavorable conditions, hesitated to fight against its most formidable enemies. The Turkish people, exactly like you Americans, are convinced that civilization can progress only in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy through the establishment of equality among all peoples, regardless of race or creed.

In its understanding of freedom, the Turkish people also believe, like you, that the political and economic freedoms should go hand in hand and that social peace, just like political peace, can be made possible only by fighting poverty everywhere.

The sincere welcome and manifestations of friendship which you Americans have shown me is very clear evidence of the affection you bear for the Turkish people. This fact gives me great happiness. I feel that the reason for this affection lies in the common conviction I have just expressed. We Turks, in our turn, bear the Americans great affection because of their love for freedom, their service to mankind, their protection of the oppressed and their antagonism towards the tyrant and the oppressor. We feel honored and happy to take our place side by side with the United States in the fight against oppression. It is because you Americans believe in the need to defend the self-respect of individuals as well as nations and attach value to the individual, because you have made hitherto unparalleled sacrifices for the sake of world peace and security which are indivisible, and because you have advanced the idea that the common cause of mankind is to fight social and economic misery everywhere, that we Turks like you.

The United States has, for the first time in history, declared that economic recovery can rest on a firm foundation only if all of humanity is considered as a whole. And she has been successful in incorporating that principle into the United Nations Charter. Yet the United States did not leave that principle merely as a wish on paper. She immediately took steps to put that principle into practice through the Marshall plan and the fourth point. Thus, for the first time in history, a nation who had attained the highest economic potential in the world took action to share her wealth and happiness with economically devastated or underdeveloped countries in order to help in their recovery. Who knows how oppressed and confused the state of the world would have been today had the United States not, most unselfishly, taken such action.

The fact that the United States provided all her aid within the democratic system and entirely with the support of her public opinion makes the work she has accomplished of double value. By taking such

action, the United States has shown how constant progress, from the social and economic, as well as the political viewpoints, can be achieved within a democratic system through the free enterprise of free individuals, and how, as a result, prosperity and happiness can be attained more speedily.

Today, in spite of the sacrifices made in the interest of freedom, especially on the part of the United States, the world is again laboring under a threat. A free world which believes in the liberty of the individual, the independence of nations, and the value and power of private enterprise is confronted with a system which aims at doing away with all the concepts in which we believe, and which bears aggressive intentions.

Turkey, who belongs to the world believing in the freedom of the individual, private enterprise, the sacredness of the independence of nations, and the indivisibility of social and political peace, has a common frontier with the world which holds the opposite opinion, and for this reason, she is in the position of a pivot between the two viewpoints, politically and economically.

Turkey, who believes in the same ideals of humanity as the United States, is endeavoring, in that position, to accomplish with great zeal and enthusiasm, the duties devolving upon her in every field. We sincerely believe in the soundness of our views, both economically and politically. Just as, having once recognized and embraced the cause of collective security, we did not hesitate, despite all possible dangers, to send troops to Korea to stop the aggressor, so, believing that the recovery of a country, even one which was economically underdeveloped, would be rendered possible first and foremost, by giving private enterprise its full worth, we did not waver for a moment in turning our economy in that direction. It is because American aid, which we gratefully received through the Marshall plan, was employed in that spirit and because we united it with our own efforts of national and private enterprise that we have, today, succeeded in obtaining satisfactory results. Thus we have shown the world that the economic system called capitalism, which is based on private enterprise, is the best system to be employed in rehabilitating a country that is economically backward, provided, of course, that the principles of social justice are never lost from view.

Although propaganda is being spread to the effect that the system of capitalism and private enterprise leads countries to social misery and that no economic plan can be built upon that system, Turkey has actually disproved such propaganda by the good results she has obtained in her economic recovery, thanks to the aid received through the Marshall plan, which she combined with her own national efforts and private enterprise.

Within the last few years, Turkey has, in fact, obtained impressive results in the various fields of production. The output of cereals shows a 94-percent increase in 1953, as compared to the 1950 output. The amount of livestock has risen by 13 percent, in comparison to 1950. There is also a wide development in the mining field. In 1952 the output of coal and lignite increased by 25 percent, chrome by 79 percent, iron by 130 percent, and copper by 131 percent, in relation to the 1949 production. Great progress has also been made within a few years in the industrial field, through the efforts expended by private enterprise on a nationwide scale with the encouragement of the Government. Cement production has increased by 150 percent since 1950. Production will be doubled in the near future, when the new factories now under construction are completed. While there were only 4 sugar combines in 1950, today 14 new combines are being set up. In comparison with 1950, there is a 70-percent increase in the number of spindles used in the cotton-goods industry and a 337-percent increase in the number of spindles used in the woolen-textiles industry. There is a 27-percent increase in the production of electrical power as compared to 1950. With the completion of the hydroelectric stations now under way, the existing electrical power will have been increased by 30 percent.

Important developments may also be observed in the field of foreign trade within the last few years. Turkey's imports and exports and the volume of her foreign trade has shown an increase since the years 1949–50. Our exports in the period 1952–53 were higher by 152 percent than those of the 1949–50 period. It is estimated that our exports will increase by a proportion of 94 percent in terms of volume and by 38 percent in terms of value in the 1953–54 period. Our imports have also increased by 92 percent. The developments recorded in our foreign trade show great promise for the future.

The amount of credit given for productive activities in every field has also augmented. Agricultural credits have risen by 233 percent and general credits by 136 percent in relation to 1949.

Parallel to the developments observed in all productive fields within the last few years, Turkey's national income is also rising. There is a 54.7-percent increase in relation to 1938 and a 35-percent increase in relation to 1949.

It is due to the greater role played by private enterprise in her economy that Turkey has achieved such development within the last few years.

While there was a 7-percent increase in state revenues up to 1950, that increase is now 50 percent. The increase of the national income in parallel with state revenues will give Turkey the opportunity of preparing, for the first time, a balanced budget. It is a noteworthy fact that a balance was obtained in the 1954 budget, not by a reduction in budget expenditures, but by insuring an increase in income.

One point which will doubtless strike one's attention upon a study of the Turkish budget is that which deals with national defense. Turkey is apportioning 45.5 percent of her budget to national defense expenditures. This burden, as you may well imagine, is an extremely heavy one for us. Yet we are aware that we must do this for the sake of our peace and security as well as that of the whole world. The Turkish people are bearing this heavy burden without complaint. In this connection, I should like to mention with gratitude the aid extended to us by the friendly American people in that field. I should like also to point out that the Turkish Army will always remember with appreciation the aid it has received from the United States. It is worthy of that aid. The fact is that Turkey's expenditures for national defense are increasing in proportion to her economic recovery. While the total expenditures for national defense were 699 million lira in 1950; this amount rose to 763 million lira in 1951, to 860 million lira in 1952 and to 1,080,000,000 lira in 1953, thus resulting in a 54-percent increase as compared to 1950.

As I mentioned above, two principal factors were instrumental in bringing about the economic development of Turkey. The first is the foreign aid received through the Marshall plan, and the second, the national efforts of the Government and of private enterprise.

Marshall aid was the most impressive manifestation of mutual assistance among nations in the international economic field. The results obtained by Turkey are proof of the fruitfulness of that aid. It is thanks to that aid, which lent support to our great national efforts, that Turkey was in a position partially to raise her low standard of living and found the means to work for the establishment of an economic system strong enough to withstand the pressure of the heavy expenses that were needed in order to maintain an army that could defend her against aggressive pressures from outside.

Thanks to such aid, Turkey has been able to maintain an army of 400,000 men for the preservation of peace without going bankrupt. I must, however, immediately add that, notwithstanding all the aid Turkey received, for which she is grateful, and all her efforts and achievements of which the consequences have already been explained, my country unfortunately is not possessed of such an economic structure as to enable her to carry single handedly, without going under, the whole burden of a large army which she now has to maintain for the preservation of peace in that part of the world. In spite of all her feelings of sacrifice, she needs more help; for, despite all the progress achieved, national income per capita in Turkey is only $170. Therefore, in order that the aid given under the unselfish American leadership and through official channels may be more productive and speedy, it should, we believe, be strengthened by a flow of international capital based on private enterprise. This will be very advantageous for Turkey as well as for the rest of the world. The escape of mankind from misery and social degeneracy depends, we are convinced, on a speedy rehabilitation of economically backward countries and on their transformation into bigger producers and consumers. Social justice and political economic security are entirely dependent on the adoption and application of this principle. For world economics can only become stable through a steady increase in production and consumption. The most important factor in realizing this, in addition to point 4, is undoubtedly the encouragement of foreign private capital to flow into such countries as are capable of economic development.

To enable the foreign private capital to flow; economically backward countries, in their turn, must do spadework, must inspire the international capital with confidence, and must show them advantageous fields of business.

Turkey has now begun to adopt every possible measure in this respect. For Turkey feels certain that, no matter how speedy her economic development may have been, she needs foreign capital and know-how in order to reap its maximum benefit from such development. In our opinion, the fact that foreign capital has freely crossed all frontiers has been, from a political point of view, too, a very important factor in bringing about the concept of an indivisible world.

A law, in the preparation of which we have taken into consideration the recommendations of the mission sent over on our request by the United States Government, has now been passed by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and entered into force. Not only does this law give complete freedom to foreign capital for functioning in every field, but it also guarantees incoming capital a free transfer of both the principal and the interest. Another law providing for complete freedom of action to foreign capital in the exploitation of our oil deposits has been prepared in consultation with American experts and has just been passed. The Turkish Government and Turkish businessmen will be only too pleased to cooperate with American capital in the exploitation of our rich natural resources.

In speaking of cooperation between our countries in the field of private enterprise, I would like to point to the propitious effect that an increase in the touristic activities between Turkey and the United States might produce upon Turkish-American relations.

The remnants of ancient civilization stand side by side with the achievements of the

Turkish Republic in every corner of our country which stands in a vital area where three continents meet.

We are taking the necessary steps so as to lay before the eyes of the whole world the works of ancient civilizations and other touristic values which we possess.

An increase in Turkish-American touristic relations will not only enable the Americans and Turks to know each other better but also contribute in a large measure toward the close collaboration which we want to see realized in the field of private enterprise. We therefore hope that our efforts aimed at increasing touristic activities will be matched on the part of our American friends by similar steps aimed at the same objective; and, in view of the important role they are destined to play in this field, I take great pleasure in inviting especially the American air and maritime lines to coperate with us.

From this beautiful city which is a product of private-enterprise mentality and of your private-enterprise leaders, I shall depart convinced more than ever before that the policy that we are following jointly with you with respect to international solidarity and economic system is the best policy. For the hospitality and friendship you have shown me I thank you all once more.

Scranton Recipient of All-America Cities Award

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, on February 9 the Scranton Chamber of Commerce will accept the All-America Cities Award by the awards jury of the National Municipal League and Look magazine.

Scranton is 1 of 11 cities so honored in a competition in which 114 American cities participated. The award was based on Scranton's community action in raising through contribution by its citizens more than $3½ million, which was used for the purpose of bringing new industry into that area.

I am proud of the fact that this city to be so honored is in my district; and, under leave to extend my remarks, I am entering in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address made by Attorney Ernest D. Preate at the annual national conference on government of the National Municipal League held at Richmond, Va., on November 10, 1953:

Ladies and gentlemen of this distinguished jury, we present to you Scranton, Pa., as a city which merits the All-American Cities Awards on the basis of a total community success in relieving unemployment achieved through industrial rehabilitation and expansion.

THE PROBLEM

Scranton, until recently, was known as the anthracite capital of the world. Millions of tons of anthracite coal were mined by her people to heat the homes of the world. Over 40,000 miners went into the mine pits of the earth daily and earned their daily bread, digging out this coal. From this economy a great and prosperous city was built. Then something happened—slowly but surely—such as happens in any community whose economy is based upon natural resources. The natural exhaustion of the coal, coupled with the mechanization of the anthracite mines and competition from other fuels reduced the number of men employed in the coal industry and led to widespread unemployment and distress in the anthracite region. At the end of World War II there were approximately 30,000 people unemployed in the Scranton area, 92 percent men, a majority of them veterans of World War II. It was evident from this state of affairs that the industrial rehabilitation of the area was necessary in order for Scranton and the Lackawanna Valley to survive. This presented a challenge to its citizens and institutions. The basic industry was drying up. Something new had to be done to fill in the regional economy. The solution was long and difficult. The people of this community were spurred to action. Businessmen, bankers, clergy, industrial, labor and civic leaders banded together, not to find a temporary stop-gap, but to evolve a long-range plan which would eventually revitalize the economy of the entire region. Thus the Scranton plan was born.

WHAT IS THE SCRANTON PLAN?

Briefly, it is a program to attract new industries to Scranton to use plants which Scranton citizens will finance and build to suit individual requirements. It isn't a give-away program. Rents are charged and the industries are urged to buy the plant facilities on a rental-purchase plan.

The first step was to sell $1,200,000 first-mortgage bonds to the people of the region to acquire the Murray plant, which manufactured bomber wings during the war. The Scranton Plan Corp., a nonprofit organization, was promptly formed and this company purchased the plant from the United States Government and leased it to the Murray Corp. on a rental-purchase agreement.

This started the ball rolling. At the same time, another corporation was formed known as the Scranton Lackawanna Industrial Building Co. This company sold $1,300,000 of 4-percent debenture bonds to the people of the community and the money was used to build 11 new plants in the Scranton area which were leased on a rental-purchase plan.

At first some of the banks were rather dubious about the plan but later they formed a $1 million mortgage-bank pool in the Scranton Clearing House Association to help finance the plants with mortgages. Today the banks work hand in hand with us in this industrial program and are an integral part of it.

The Scranton citizenry, realizing that the job was still incomplete, saw fit to strengthen the Scranton plan through the creation of still another nonprofit corporation, called the Lackawanna Industrial Fund Enterprises. The basic purpose of this organization was to provide a perpetual revolving fund of risk capital for the erection of new industrial buildings. Funds were solicited as an outright gift from the people of Scranton and Lackawanna County. A committee of 100 citizens composed of union leaders, mine workers, truck drivers, merchants, school teachers, firemen, businessmen, the press, bankers, religious, civic, and veterans groups, and professional men, joined hands with the chamber of commerce and the youth of the community to go out and raise this revolving fund to build new industries, breathe new life and new payrolls, in Scranton and the surrounding area. This program was hailed by the press as the greatest drive in the history of Lackawanna County, to wipe out chronic unemployment through the medium of a new industrial economy. Under the vigorous and dynamic leadership of former Postmaster General Frank Walker, the late Ralph E. Weeks, Roy Stauffer, and T. Linus Hoban, the president judge of our county, the drive was a resounding success. As a result of these combined efforts, over $3,500,000 was raised by community action and participation; 32,472 people from all walks of life gave money to the fund.

Many wage earners contributed under a payroll-deduction plan. Backed up by this huge fund and the total citizenry, plants began locating in Scranton and the Lackawanna County area and added to their industrial family were such names as General Electric, the Trane Co., the W. L. Maxson Corp., Capitol Records Co., Daystrom, Inc., Dearborn Glass Co., Blackstone Cigar Co., Endicott Johnson Shoe Co., Poloron Products Co., Golo Shoe Co., Billig Shoe Co., Harris Hub Bed & Spring Co., Federal Electric Products Co., and U. S. Hoffman Machinery Co., Superior Fireproof Door & Sash Co., Mayflower Showcase Co., and Scranton Battery Corp.

In 1953, united citizens action achieved its crowning success—three huge plants were in the process of construction and completion. Daystrom, Inc., the W. L. Maxson Corp., and Federal Electric Products Co. In addition, the U. S. Hoffman Machine Co., through the efforts of these nonprofit organizations, took over the D., L. & W. locomotive shops, in the heart of Scranton, and converted it into a huge industrial plant to manufacture artillery shells for the United States Government. The potential employment of these plants is approximately 7,500 men.

The leaders in the Scranton story have not confined the program to Scranton alone. They work on the conviction that what benefits one section benefits the entire area. In the same year the leaders of the Scranton story were in the forefront in the campaign to locate a $35 million United States Signal Corps Depot at Tobyhanna, less than a 30-minute drive from the city, which will draw a huge labor supply from the area.

THE RESULTS

The overall record of this total community effort is an impressive one. In our city alone, not counting what other surrounding communities have done, industrialization has spread. We can boast of 50 new plants built, and 65 expanded. Twenty-one of these were community-built plants by the nonprofit organizations which I mentioned before. The value of the community plants is estimated at $15 million. Approximately 6,600 of our people are now employed in community plants alone, with a potential of 18,850 at peak. These new jobs added $22 million in payrolls to our economy, and will soon mean twice that much.

This positive community cooperation program has captured the imagination of the entire country. Other communities in the United States have sought our help to adopt similar programs. Only last week a delegation from Western Germany came to Scranton to study this now internationally famous plan.

In conclusion, I respectfully submit the Scranton story as a brilliant example of the self-reliant spirit of the American free-enterprise system of intelligently directed community effort to achieve industrial development, and the creation of larger, steady payrolls, without resort to, or dependence on, Government handouts and semi-socialistic experiments to relieve unemployment and industrial stagnation. Today, Scranton has a firm grasp on a new era of prosperity. It has emerged from a date with destiny with a vast increased civic pride, a diversified industrial life, and a new moral and spiritual outlook. The buildings constructed under this program will be standing monuments of the resourcefulness, courage, and determination of the people of Scranton. It marks our emergence from out of the clouds of doubt and fear into the sunlight of hope and confidence. The people of Scranton are marching forward into a postwar era, fortified with the wisdom and experience of its founders and with the vision to see the future possi-

bilities of our area. A job well done by citizen action will make Scranton survive and prosper as one of the great cities of America.

What's Wrong With Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article which our colleague the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] wrote on social security and which was published in the October 1953 issue of the American magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S WRONG WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

(By JOHN F. KENNEDY, United States Senator from Massachusetts)

In several months, Congress will turn its attention to a law that's as dated as silent movies—Social Security. What they do to that law will probably affect your life radically, especially if you're a young couple just starting a family.

As a legislator, I've been particularly interested in social security ever since I entered Congress. As a family man, I believe few things are more important to the future of the country. Social security affects every family in the United States to a greater or lesser degree, and, since the family is the foundation upon which the life of the country rests, most people will agree that the foundation must be solid and substantial.

At the moment, it is not. The fact that social security has done a lot of good and is as firmly anchored in this country, under both Democrats and Republicans, as Plymouth Rock need not blind us to the fact that there are serious holes in the present law.

Currently, I consider the most important to be:

1. The "work clause," under which persons between 65 and 75 are not allowed to earn more than $75 a month and still draw social-security benefits.

2. The fact that people retiring before 65 because of a permanent and total disability cannot get help, despite contributions to social security.

3. A faulty coverage which denies protection to millions of our citizens.

4. The inability of widows between 60 and 65 to get relief, despite obvious need.

I think, as these defects are examined, it becomes apparent that they are not just the problems of people past the age of 60. The other day a young friend of mine in Washington said to me, "It's strange that you, as one of the youngest Senators in Congress, should be so concerned with the problem of the elderly."

"But it isn't the problem of the elderly," I insisted. "It's more the problem of the young."

The reason I gave him is twofold: First, young people are largely responsible for the financial support of social security; and, second, they are also, in many cases, directly supporting older people who, if our law were corrected, would not be dependent on them.

I believe this point is widely misunderstood.

Last year, for example, 60,000,000 persons (out of a population of 160,000,000) paid money into our Social Security system. Only 3,500,000 were over 65 and receiving its benefits. Obviously, those under 65 were paying most of the freight (last year about $2,000,000,000). The younger they are, the greater their contribution will be, since they will be paying longer—some almost 50 years.

But, aside from money paid directly into the fund, most families have older members whose support falls back upon the younger workers when a discrepancy in the law fails to take care of the situation.

Let me give you an illustration. It concerns the work clause which I have listed as the No. 1 loophole in our present setup and which has been called discrimination of the worst sort.

An acquaintance of mine had a retired father whose social-security check was $75 a month. The older gentleman was unable to live on this pension and, in order to be less of a burden on his son, found a part-time job in a real-estate office. He was delighted. His employer was delighted because he had sought in vain for months for a dependable person willing to take this position. The $80 a month he received not only enabled him to pay his way but had the added psychological advantage of making him feel useful and busy.

As soon, however, as he reported his earnings to the Social Security office (as is required by law), he was informed that his pension would be dropped for that month. To earn an additional $80 a month would cost him his Social Security benefit of $75 a month.

The result was that he gave up the real-estate job, which wasn't enough to live on of itself (it entailed a few extra expenses, too, in carfare and clothing), and continued to live in enforced idleness. The younger man then had to contribute approximately $80 a month toward his father's support, a sum that the latter would have been only too happy to earn if he'd been allowed to.

Every day in Washington I receive letters from all over the country. They point out the unfairness of a law which, in effect, puts a premium on idleness and lack of enterprise, and creates a situation repugnant to the American way of life. One woman from San Francisco wrote: "The Government either makes liars or loafers out of their senior citizens who are perfectly able, willing, and need to work. We lie to protect what little we might earn over $75, or loaf to keep our social security."

Take the case of one of my constituents from Belmont, Mass. He wrote me only yesterday as follows:

"I am a typical American, I suppose, who has reached the twilight of his life. I am 68 years old and entitled to draw $63 a month from social security if I quit my job. But I have no pension or savings to draw on, and since this $63 is insufficient for my wife (a semi-invalid) and myself to live on, I am forced to continue in my present job as a hospital porter. This job pays only $153 a month. As you can imagine, we are living very near the edge with no pennies left over for any little luxuries or comforts in our old age. Not even a vacation. I don't see why I can't have that extra $63 a month, since I have been paying into the social-security fund for a number of years. It would make all the difference between barely existing and having a reasonably comfortable life."

The concluding paragraph of his letter is typical of many I get on the subject:

"From my contacts and conversations with people approaching 65," he writes, "the thing they want most is not larger old-age benefits, but the chance to remain independent and be allowed to work for as much as they, at that age, can earn and still draw their old-age benefits, whatever they may be."

The law seems even more illogical when you consider that back in 1950, when prices were lower than they are now, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that an elderly couple needed a minimum of $1,900 annually, or about $158 a month, to maintain a very modest budget. Last year, the average social-security benefit to a retired couple averaged $840 per year, or $70 a month.

Even if this man was lucky enough to find a job paying the maximum he was permitted to earn ($900) and still retain his social-security benefits, the total would be only $1,740. This is still short of the amount the Government estimates it takes to maintain the barest standard of living. Obviously the difference must be chipped in by someone if the couple is not to starve. Usually that burden falls on the young.

Aside from loss of morale, this work clause causes a serious loss to national production and income. This country needs the help and experience of its elder citizens.

I know of a woman who, at 67, was forced to retire as librarian to a firm of consulting engineers. She had a small pension, but because of inflation it was not enough, along with her social-security check of $85 a month, to give her an adequate living. She is a completely able and capable woman, and she immediately obtained a job doing part-time secretarial work at Radcliffe College.

"They are so pleased with my work," she told me, "and so much in need of good stenographers, that they want more time from me than I can give them and still draw my social security. Of course, I can give them the time and not charge them for it. But this seems silly when they prefer to pay me, and I really need the money."

A New York man summed up his feeling about the work clause when he wrote me: "It is discriminating against the ambitious person who will not lie down and die!"

The law seems all the more unjust when you consider that a person over 65 can receive any amount of income from securities, rents, private pensions, or other forms of unearned income and still draw his social security benefits, while a person who earns more than $75 a month cannot.

Last year, for example, the Social Security Administration made a spot check of 15,000 people drawing monthly benefits. Two hundred and fifty of them had assets of $50,000 or more. Two were worth more than a million dollars each. I am not suggesting that these people should not be allowed to collect benefits from a program in which they were forced to enroll. But I certainly think it unfair if persons with no such nest eggs must forfeit their monthly checks when they earn more than $75. Especially when $75, plus their social security benefit (last year's average for a single person was $43), does not constitute a living wage.

I have put this work clause, which was born in the depression and designed to keep older people from competing with younger ones in the labor market, at the top of my list of things that need fixing on our social security system. But the other injustices are equally important to the people directly concerned, especially to the young people who must make up the difference.

Take the problem of disability, second on my list. Under our present system, for example, if you have to retire because of old age, you get something. If you die before the age of 65 and have a wife with dependent children, she gets something. If you lose your job, you get something from unemployment insurance. But if, on the other hand, you are forced to leave your job before 65 because of a disability, you get nothing. It makes no difference if you've been contributing to social security for 17 years.

The other day I had a call from a man who is 60 years old. He has cancer and will never work again. "I have been paying into social security since it started," he said. "Why can't I get some help? I don't want to continue to depend on local charity."

Under the present system, the only alternative I could suggest was that he wait until he was 65.

"By that time I'll be dead!" he said, and hung up.

We are one of the few nations in the world with social security that does not take disability into consideration. Consequently, a man like the one I've just mentioned must throw himself on his children, his friends, or the community's kindness. The money for his care and support must come from somewhere, and, in most cases, it comes from younger, working people. If his disability, of course, had been the result of some injury received while at work, he could have at least applied for workmen's compensation. But statistics show that this actually happens in only one out of 20 cases. There is no real reason why the hazard of permanent and total disability should not be taken into consideration in the whole program.

Disability is particularly serious because it is far more burdensome than old age. It may come at a time when the need for supporting a family (often with children not yet grown) is greatest. And the disablement of a breadwinner is more ruinous than death itself. It adds a dependent to be taken care of—a dependent who may need extra care and incur extra expense. Government insurance against continued disability is necessary because it is not offered on a wide scale by private companies at prices the average worker can afford. Neither is it a feature of most private pension plans.

The third great hole in our system is the lack of coverage for millions of our working citizens who are presently excluded from social security—perhaps more than 10,000,000. The President recently recommended study of a plan which would bring most of these people into the program. Furthermore, inclusion of more people is a feature of most bills recently introduced in Congress, and was part of one which I cosponsored this year along with 10 other Senators.

The advantages of a broader base are obvious. As more people are protected, fewer become burdens to their families, friends, and communities. The social security fund becomes larger and bookkeeping is simplified. The administrative cost per person will also be reduced.

One of the inequities of leaving people out in certain professions is that, when a benefit is computed at the age of 65, no credit is given a worker for the years he spent working in an uncovered job. Such jobs, at the moment, include more than 3,000,000 farmers, members of the Armed Forces, some professional groups (including lawyers, veterinarians, accountants, architects, and engineers), some household workers, ministers, and certain groups of public employees. There is no reason why these people (who make up at least 15 percent of our working force) should be overlooked.

One of this group, a Congregational minister I know, was talking with me the other day about this very problem. He is typical, and it is a real problem to him.

"All the preparation which I had been able to make over the years toward my retirement I now find inadequate because of higher living costs," he said. "I have given serious thought to leaving the ministry and seeking employment in some field covered by social security, but I would rather remain in the profession for which I am trained and in which I feel I can do the most good."

There is no reason why he should not remain there. If this flaw in our laws is corrected, he will be able to do so.

Last on my list of defects is the inability of widowers who are between the ages of 60 and 65 and have no dependent children (under 18) to draw any benefits. Most women of this age, of course, do not have young children.

Here is a typical example of what I mean: Recently, I heard of a man who was killed instantly at a railroad crossing. He had been paying his social security taxes since 1937. Yet his widow, who is 59, is ineligible to draw a monthly benefit until she is 65. Since she had never worked in her life outside the home, it will be difficult for her to find employment. She will live with her daughter and son-in-law, and probably end up being a financial burden to them for the next 6 years. She will be a burden in other ways, too, since the daughter's house is small and the mother-in-law problem large.

Her difficulty in finding a job has been complicated by the fact that most firms in this country have retirement rules which affect women at the age of 60, men at the age of 65. Naturally, no company wants to hire a woman who will be retired in a year. Our social security law does not take into consideration this younger retiring age for women.

As this particular woman wrote to me: "I don't want to be an object of charity. Since most businesses have this rule, I think widows should be allowed to collect social security at 60, rather than 65."

There are, of course, other faults in our law, but I think that these four constitute the major ones.

Since I have been arguing, in this article, for changes in the setup which will cost more money, I should also like to inject a note of caution. Obviously, the sky is not the limit. The social security fund must operate on a sound financial basis. It must resist the demands of those who want to raise benefits, without raising revenues, to a point where the fund will either become bankrupt or a serious drain on the national treasury.

At the moment the fund is, and always has been, self-supporting. It is financed wholly by payroll taxes, paid jointly by employer and employee. It receives no direct contributions from the Government. Possibly the time will come when a contribution from the National Treasury will be desirable for one reason or another—a depression or some emergency. But the principle of setting it up as self-supporting is sound.

I would also like to emphasize that social security is primarily an insurance fund rather than a pension plan. This means that its 60,000,000 members are buying, at extremely low rates, insurance against loss of job due to old age, rather than a full-scale annuity to take care of them for life.

Many people do not realize this.

To pay out full-scale pensions to all at a certain age, in return for the comparatively small amount put into the fund, would wreck our economy, cause wild inflation, and make everyone's dollar worthless.

In general, the guiding principle of social security, right or wrong, is not to provide entirely for your old age, but rather to give you a supplement.

Since this is the case, the work clause seems all the more illogical. If, for one reason or another, a person of 65 has not been able to provide adequately for his old age and must supplement his social security check by working, it seems unreasonable to forbid him to earn an amount sufficient to live on.

Congressional committees at the moment are making a detailed study of the whole social security setup, weighing the pros and cons of suggested changes. This study, it is hoped, will help the legislators when they revise the present outmoded law and attempt to bring it up to date at the next session. It is important for all of us that the major injustices be eliminated at that time.

The basic principles, however, remain. People must be given some reasonable protection against the hazards of economic insecurity—disablement, premature death, and loss of job due to old age or unemployment. If there is one thing that America has proved, it is that fear—basic economic fear—does not strengthen people. It weakens them.

In the epic struggle for freedom going on in the world today, we need strong people, secure people. The changes suggested here will, I believe, go a long way toward banishing the specter of insecurity for millions of American families, both young and old, and make this a happier country in which to live.

Private-Enterprise Plan for Public-Health Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, under extension of my remarks and the unanimous consent granted therefor, I wish to include the following editorial appearing in the January 14, 1954, issue of the Courier-Post newspaper, published at Camden, N. J.

The editorial to which I refer is as follows:

PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE PLAN FOR PUBLIC-HEALTH AID OFFERED BY WOLVERTON

The Interstate Commerce Committee of the House of which Congressman WOLVERTON is chairman, is the one which has jurisdiction over the field of public health.

WOLVERTON says that of all the varied legislative functions with which his committee is charged, he considers none more important than this one, and has been holding hearings since last October 13 on medical insurance legislation which he has introduced.

The Wolverton program was lauded in testimony by industrialist Henry J. Kaiser, who says it is a private enterprise solution of how to provide hospital and preventive medical care which would stimulate investment of private capital in the construction of self-supporting hospitals and other medical facilities and thus avert socialized medicine of the type now operating in Great Britain.

WOLVERTON points out that during the hearings his commitee was told that illnesses cost this Nation about $30 billion a year, with 4 major diseases alone—heart ailments, cancer, tuberculosis, and arthritis—causing a loss of 370 million man-days annually.

Yet, WOLVERTON says, "The United States is spending only $181 million annually for public and private research" in diseases. There is no adequate private program for helping the aged and ill to bear the expenses of hospital and medical bills over long periods of time.

The Wolverton program would provide these things:

1. Prepayment of doctor and hospital bills by periodic dues, with expansion of such existing nonprofit health organizations as the Blue Cross.

2. Clinics and medical centers to provide medical care for health-plan members.

3. Plans for group practice of general practitioners and specialists in these clinics and centers.

4. Preventive medical care with doctors emphasizing the importance of early disease detection.

5. Income-tax deductions up to $100 for payments made to medical insurance plans.

Under the Wolverton program, loans for financing these various undertakings would be made by banks and other lending institutions and guaranteed by the Federal Government, just as it insures FHA loans for housing.

WOLVERTON says the time has come when the country, and the Federal Government if necessary, must do more than has been done in the past to solve its health problems and particularly that of enabling the average citizen to meet rising costs of health services.

He is critical of the American Medical Association for what he says is its failure to provide any program of its own toward this end, while at the same time it brands as socialized medicine any legislation which is proposed which would prove helpful to the average citizen.

Kaiser, who heads a health foundation in California set up along lines similar to the proposed Wolverton program, says that for a private capital investment of $1 billion, 1,000 health centers could be established throughout the country in which 30,000 doctors could provide voluntary, prepaid, low cost medical and hospital care to 30 million Americans.

"We do not believe," said Kaiser, "that the average middle-income people, now clamoring for a way to meet high health bills, need be plunged either gradually or rapidly into Government socialized medicine. We do not believe the Government need spend billions on a solution."

President Eisenhower, who spoke out strongly in his State of the Union message against socialized medicine, is to send a special message to Congress Monday on Government health aid. In general principle and probably in many details it is expected to be in line with the program WOLVERTON is proposing.

The spread of privately financed health programs up to now without Government aid is a good indication that the public wants them and that Government participation in them such as proposed by WOLVERTON would go far toward giving Americans the best medical care any people in the world receive.

America's Heartbeat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is seldom that one is privileged to read material on pertinent national issues which is truly objective, well written, and extremely factual in content. This service is the rule rather than an exception, when applied to the offerings of the Center for Information on America.

This is a nonprofit organization with headquarters in Washington, Conn. From this group activity schoolchildren all over the Nation are apprised of the issues and problems affecting the welfare of our great country.

The December 1953 issue of the Connecticut Teacher contains a splendidly composed article with a wealth of information on the activities of the Center for Information on America.

Its aims and its work seem to me to deserve more widespread notice, and I therefore append to these remarks a copy of the article to which I made reference:

AMERICA'S HEARTBEAT

(By Carolyn L. Keeler, history teacher, New Milford)

"There's something going on in Washington, Conn., that you might like to know about."

So, in a casual reference, a speaker at the 1951 University of Connecticut summer school introduced me to the Center for Information on America. Curious to learn more of the unusual projects being undertaken at the little town next to my own, I made a mental note to follow up the story. It proved to be a good lead for a social studies teacher.

I have noticed that when people hear of the Center for Information on America for the first time they almost invariably ask to have the name repeated. It strikes them as an incredible label for something located, not in the city on the Potomac, but in Washington, county of Litchfield, State of Connecticut. Yet it is a name that in 2 years has become familiar to hundreds of the Nation's schools. Although the center has had little time for publicity except such as its friends have given it, the news is getting around. Its publications go now to every State in the Union. A visit to the new office in Woodruff House on Washington Green convinces one that here is an experiment that is going places.

The center is officially defined as a nonprofit organization to further the knowledge and understanding of America by Americans, through informational publications, through study and discussion programs for tax-supported and independent schools, and through other public services.

Often teachers, from sad experience, know that statements of lofty purposes may cloak aims of a quite different complexion. We have therefore learned to inquire of any institution, Who are back of it? An examination of the list of the center's board of trustees proves reassuring. We find here a group of seven highly respected citizens, a balance of professional and industrial interests.

First on the list is the name of Lawrence M. Durycee, an engineer of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. Next comes that of Judge Carroll C. Hincks, of the United States District Court for Connecticut, recently appointed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second District. Helen Kenyon, the one woman on the board, was formerly chairman of the Vassar College board of trustees and has served as moderator of the General Council of Congregational Churches. John H. Payne is vice president of the Colonial Trust Co. in Waterbury. We all know Paul Stoddard as the principal of the Housatonic Valley Regional High School. That leaves two others, who might be called the founders of the project: Townsend Scudder, for 7 years with the English department of Yale University, later professor of English at Swarthmore College; and Ogden Miller, headmaster of the Gunnery, well-known boys' preparatory school in Washington.

It is seldom easy to track down the origin of an idea. But in this case one trail leads plainly back a few years to a June evening in Beacon, N. Y., on the occasion of a high-school graduation. Professor Scudder had been invited to deliver the commencement address. Dr. Scudder was the author of a book called Concord: American Town, but he was unaware, until his arrival in Beacon, that the senior class had made a detailed study of his book and had built their entire graduation program around it. As he listened to their interpretations of his work, he wondered if the words of wisdom he had prepared were not a trifle superfluous. It is likely that that night the graduates gave the speaker as much to think about as he gave them. For he came away with the idea that if transcendental Concord could so come alive for these young people, would they not prove equally responsive to suitably presented material on the historical background of today's issues? Here seemed to lie an immense and important field for educational pioneering.

Was there a real need for such an undertaking? The whole thing might, after all, be just a professor's brainstorm. A good person to consult would be Ogden Miller who, following the attaining of a Yale professorship and a number of high executive posts at the university, had become headmaster of the Gunnery in 1946. Dr. Miller liked the idea and some of the center's later programs were given "trial runs" in Gunnery classes. Then there was, of course, the little matter of financial backing. Fortunately there was near at hand a philanthropic citizen willing to stake some money on the venture.

There followed further consultations—with businessmen, public school administrators, outstanding literary and educational leaders, young people themselves. All groups were highly conscious of the correlation between successful democracy and public enlightenment. There was general agreement, too, that it was on the secondary-school level that the need for accurate and stimulating material was most acute.

From the beginning, the Emersonian advice about hitching one's wagon to a star was duly heeded. Here were no little aims, no cramping delimitations. "America in its entirety would be the subject," the early prospectus explained. There should be a series of booklets covering 20 major topics, starting with settlement and ranging on through such aspects of the American scene as the practice of government, religion, culture and thought, and culminating with a volume called The Future. Through all the unfolding would sound the march of the people—from the militiaman at Concord in 1775 to the infantryman in Korea. Moreover, the organization was to be a center, a place that should speak quietly but with authority on whatever matter it was important to inform the American public.

But if its aims were sidereal, the center was conscious that it must operate in the reality of here and now. Reaching about for a way to get started, the founders took a cue from Mr. Carl Hutchinson of the Ohio Farm Bureau. He had made a practice of sending out information on questions of the day to 1,600 groups of farm families, who would use this material as the basis of discussions and then frequently follow up with instructions to their legislators. It was decided that the center should make a beginning by issuing Future Voters Discussion Guides. Thirty-three schools were enrolled in the program on a trial basis, and the first guide, entitled "What Should Be Done About Intercollegiate Football?" appeared in November 1951.

A sampling of the titles of the guides since published indicates the variety of topics covered: "How About a Career of Public Service?" "Immigration: Whom Shall We Welcome?" "Whose Oil?" "What Should United States Policy Be Toward the U. N.?"

The Guides are carefully timed to coincide when possible with a period of special public concern over the issue. Thus, in the midst of a Presidential campaign, there appeared the question: Should the present method of electing Presidents be revised? Two days after a Guide on the subject of Alaskan statehood came out, the matter was taken up for debate in the United States Senate. (Of course, timing cannot always be as perfect as that.)

Each Discussion Guide is a 4-page sheet devoted to a single (though it may be a complex) problem confronting America. Page 1 points up the immediacy of the issue, ties it in with the day's news. Parallel to the analysis, a half-page illustration by a brilliant young artist, Stuart Judd, presents the theme graphically. How about the budget? Is not a topic likely to inspire teen-agers to spontaneous and spirited discussion, but if we can make the first step fun, it is a big step. So we begin by asking, "What does it mean?"—this funny picture of three well-fed but still demanding little boys holding up plates while a stolid giantess in blue slices the dollars off the national loaf of bread.

Pages 2 and 3 constitute the heartland of each Guide. Here the historical background is clearly and carefully presented. Step by chronological step we can follow the development of the issue until we are back again on contemporary ground. It is at this point that most teachers will feel especially grateful to the Future Voters' Service. For here, in compact form, is that research material which, as Warren Clark, of the Housatonic Valley Regional High School, has pointed out, "the busy teacher has neither the time nor the opportunity to dig out for himself."

By page 4 or sooner we have come to grips with the what-to-do angle. Should or should not bill 49 (for Hawaiian statehood) be passed by the 83d Congress? Are or are not the costs of Government higher than they should be?

The style of the Guides is straightforward, but from the beginning of the project there was a resolve that there should be no writing down. The theory is that a high-school student can read just as well as the average college student where the reading material requires no extensive background. Secondary-school teachers may question this theory, but certainly the Guides are no more difficult than the ordinary history textbook. Since adults too are not always as well-informed as they should be, explanations of unfamiliar terms are offered for those who may have gaps of knowledge.

Every effort is made to see that the material for each issue is accurate, up to date and unbiased. After the various sides have been presented, "the democratic right to decide" lies with the students and the teachers.

The Guides are written by a small staff and checked by experts in the field. Authorities on the subject are often asked for suggestions during the period of preparation. For example, Dr. Walter Howe, formerly professor of American history at the University of Mexico, was a valuable consultant for the first Guide of the 1953 series. How about Latin America? The editorial advisory committee is an impressive threesome. Dr. James W. Pessler, chairman of the department of political science, Yale University; Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, chief historian, United States Army; and Dr. Robert E. Spiller, chairman of the committee on American civilization, University of Pennsylvania.

Impressive too are the unsolicited letters of praise that have come into the center from such persons as Adm. C. Turner Joy, Superintendent of the United States Naval Academy; Dr. William S. Vincent, of the citizenship education project at Columbia University; and Mrs. Fritz R. Kahn, of the League of Women Voters.

Perhaps the proudest moment in the center's carer to date came in March 1953, when it received a major award from the American Heritage Foundation for preparing "the most effective school discussion guide in support of the National Non-Partisan Register and Vote Campaign."

But the acid test still remains the reaction of the classroom teacher. Naturally the center was from the start concerned to know this, and in the spring of 1952, the end of its first season, it sent out a questionnaire to find out to what uses the Guides were being put and how satisfactory they were proving to be in practice. The replies received indicated that the Guides were found useful in regular subject classes (the social studies in particular, as would be expected) and in fringe activities like forum groups and debating clubs. A civics teacher reported that two members of the International Relations Club had borrowed a Guide when drawing up a bill for a model Congress. "Very useful for project work" was a typical comment.

It noted how easily the Guides could be filed for ready reference. Some use of the Guides at the elementary level was also reported. Two nonschool organizations, a church group in Ohio and some disabled veterans in Massachusetts, had experimented with using the Guides. From all levels there was general enthusiastic endorsement of content and format.

So, reassured that it was fulfilling its purpose along these lines, the center entered its second year of publication. By the next spring, it was supplying 517 schools across the country with 6,000 copies of the Guides. New York led in the number of schools subscribing, with Connecticut and California tied for second place. The third year sees circulation mounting steadily. There has been a strong upswing in adult interest too.

A word about the cost of the service, always a point that must be given consideration. Individual rates are $1 for a year's subscription of 9 issues. The price drops to 50 cent a year where 5 or more copies are sent to the same address. This brings the cost of supplying an entire class, with each pupil having a copy, within the reach of any school's budget. At this low rate, the guides are not yet self-supporting, but because of the volume of production they are well on their way to becoming so.

Teachers who live in western Connecticut will be interested in another service of the center, its lecture series. The first lecture was given on December 4, 1951, by Henry Sloan Coffin, former president of Union Theological Seminary, who spoke on the topic, the Spiritual Foundations of Democracy. Other talks followed on such subjects as Changing Patterns in American Thought, The Role of the Writer in American Life, and Plans and Purposes of the National Science Foundation. Here, with message or challenge, have come such brilliant figures as Dr. Allan Nevins, Dr. Walter Judd, and Charles P. Taft. In introducing the first series, Townsend Scudder summarized the aims of the center's lecture program.

"As we are doing tonight," he said, "we shall offer as lecturers not only able speakers with something of importance in American life to talk about; we plan also to bring here men and women actively engaged in public affairs. It is the hope and purpose of the center to provide a platform for the thoughtful presentation of plans, along with ideas, by those who are actively shaping America's courses. In tranquil Washington, Conn., far from the fret and confusion of Washington, D. C., perhaps the voices of such leaders can have a calmer, more dispassionate tone. Perhaps here they can lay down patterns for long-range thinking and planning. Remember the Marshall plan was first outlined at a Harvard commencement."

The lectures are held in the Bryan Memorial, a sort of community center that doubles as townhall and movie theater. An inscription at the entrance tells us that the building was erected to the memory of the parents of Gregory Scoley Bryan, who throughout his lifetime continued his devotion to the place of his birth and his ancestry. We think the civic-minded Mr. Bryan would be well pleased if he could see the eminent citizens who come to address his townsfolk and if he could hear the spirited rejoinder during the question period that follows each lecture.

Like all vigorous enterprises, the center has plans for expansion and growth. At present it classifies its services as active and projected, and the number of the latter is prodigious. In connection with the Guides, for example, there are the possibilities of issuing a separate sheet of bibliographical material, the publishing of follow-up commentaries on issues previously covered, and the summarizing of the opinions expressed by the young people who have used the Guides.

How radio and TV can be profitably employed to promote wider dissemination of information is another question in which the center is interested. Already there has been some experimentation in the audio-visual field. In the spring of 1952 Station WICC in Bridgeport broadcast two programs based on Guide topics. Students from a Los Angeles High School made a tape recording of one Guide for use on the Voice of America. But the center is hoping eventually to go far beyond this kind of experiment and develop programs of its own for production over regular channels as well as in schools.

Another projected activity of special interest to the teaching profession is described as follows in a memorandum presented to the trustees in January 1953. "Summer sessions can be held * * * devoted to the study of America and to discussions on how best to teach what America is. Present thinking on such conferences for teachers suggests a series of sessions lasting 2 weeks each, every session to be attended by not more than 40 teachers, drawn from various parts of the country. * * *"

Advisory and consultative services for schools are also in the offing. These would include providing bibliographies and offering study suggestions to teachers or students who need help with special topics.

Nor have the founders of the center forgotten their original idea of a series of books, to be "well written, vital, interesting, authoritative"—and modest in price. And "nothing less should be aimed for than securing the best possible writing done by the most capable and qualified writers."

"The sky's the limit," it would almost seem, to the ambitions of the Center. Well, that's a good old American frontier.

Is it not significant that these things are being done and dreamed of in a rural community of about 2,000 people? We have heard much lately about the decentralization of industry. But, like summer theaters and country music festivals, the undertakings of the Center point to another equally important centrifugal trend—the spreading out of cultural activities from cities and university campuses (where there is sometimes an oversupply) into the less congested areas.

Certainly it is fitting that in the first town named for him, the words of George Washington in his farewell address, "Promote institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge," should be receiving such a direct application. For it is to widen understanding of the great issues of the day that the efforts of the Center for Information on America are wholeheartedly dedicated.

Indian Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH BUTLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Forward Step," by

G. Elmer E. Lindquist, until recently field representative in Indian work for the Home Missions Council and the Division of Home Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. Mr. Lindquist has been working with the Indians for over 30 years. This article, which appeared in the last autumn-winter issue of the publication entitled "National Fellowship of Indian Workers," points to the significant progress that is being made by the Indians, and to the beneficial results to be expected from such legislation as Public Law 280 of the 83d Congress, extending State jurisdiction over the Indians in certain States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FORWARD STEP

(By G. E. E. Lindquist)

Indians as well as friends of the Indian hail the enactment of the H. R. 1063 (Public Law 280, 83d Cong.) as a forward step in the ultimate release of Indians from Federal wardship. This act provides for the extension of State jurisdiction "with respect to criminal offenders and civil causes of action committed or arising on Indian reservations within such States." And while only 5 States are specifically designated, namely, California, Minnesota (except Red Lake Reservation), Nebraska, Oregon (except Warm Springs), and Wisconsin (except Menominee), sections 6 and 7 of the act make it possible for other States to avail themselves of its provisions.

This type of legislation has been endorsed by the National Fellowship of Indian Workers from time to time, notably at Lake Geneva, Wis., in 1946. The National Congress on Home Missions, held at Columbus, Ohio, January 1950, put itself on record as follows:

"That for the further development of Christian citizenship, we urge the Federal Government to set a definite goal for the ultimate release of Indians from Federal wardship. In order to achieve the end in view with a minimum of confusion and difficulty, it is recommended that enabling legislation cover a period of from 15 to 20 years. Inasmuch as suffrage has been extended to include practically all Indians, the next step would be the extension of State jurisdiction with respect to law and order. We direct this recommendation to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and to the corresponding committee in the House of Representatives."

WAS THIS LEGISLATION RUSHED?

Critics of this act classify it as one of the sweeping enactments to repudiate the Nation's Indian obligations now being rushed as if a state of national emergency required drastic action in Indian affairs.[1] As long ago as December 21, 1943, there was introduced in the Senate a bill to provide for the enforcement of penal law—of the several States on Indian reservations within these States. Again in March 1947, S. 949; on January 17, 1949, H. R. 1537; on January 5, 1949, S. 188, etc.

Commenting on S. 1608, the late J. Henry Scattergood, former Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and a director of the Indian Rights Association, says: [2]

"It is hoped that this will result in legislation which is long overdue, toward the solution of the problem of law and order on Indian reservations. When Mr. Rhoads and the writer were in the Indian Bureau, a study of this subject was made possible through outside financial help by those who supported the famous Merrian report. This study became available just before our retirement, and one of our greatest regrets was that we had not had the opportunity to bring about any real improvement in this field. We hoped, of course, that long before this, the Bureau and Congress would have taken the matter in hand.

"The confusion about what is crime among Indians is complicated by the differences between Federal laws applicable to reservations, and the various laws of the States in which reservations are located.

"Although it may and probably will be argued that the so-called Indian judges should be continued, and that Indians should continue to be dealt with in accordance with Indian customs, nevertheless it must be recognized that in most, if not all, Indian communities, the Indians know what is and should be expected of them as to low observance. It would seem, therefore, that the time has come for Indians to be brought into conformity with the penal standards of the communities of which they form a part. This is all the more the case because of the results increasingly in evidence, of the educational, health, and industrial work done by the Government for their benefit, and the fact that most of them by now understand and speak the English language."

DOES THIS LEGISLATION AUTHORIZE STATES TO EXTEND THEIR AUTHORITY OVER INDIAN LANDS?

W. Thefford LeViness, of Santa Fe, N. Mex., a feature writer, seems to think so:

"Another law signed by the President places Indians in five States—California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin—under the civil authority of these States, and permits any other State to amend its constitution to extend its authority over Indian lands." [3]

However, there is nothing in the act to support this contention. Specifically, it says:

"(b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, encumbrance, or taxation of any real or personal property, including water rights, belonging to any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community that is held in trust by the United States; or shall authorize regulation of the use of such property in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty, agreement, or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto; or shall confer jurisdiction upon the State to adjudicate, in probate proceedings or otherwise, the ownership or right to possession of such property or any interest therein."

ARE INDIANS ALREADY "FIRST-CLASS CITIZENS" AND HENCE HAVE NO NEED OF STATE JURISDICTION?

Some critics of the act seem to imply as much. LaFarge and his organization, to whom reference has already been made, "see red" and couch their opinions in strong but unverified assertions:

"Under the guise of giving Indians 'first-class citizenship' and 'political equality,' both legislative and executive branches are bound they will 'solve the Indian problem' by abruptly revoking the Federal protective relation. Indians, of course, are first-class citizens and have political equality.' A sudden end of Federal safeguards that protect Indian self-government and ancient homelands can neither enlarge Indian citizenship nor remedy widespread Indian poverty, ill health, and ignorance that are the real Indian problem."

While the Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, is quoted in part,[4] no attempt is made to explain the limiting features of that citizenship:

In 1916, the United States court held (in the case of *U. S.* v. *Nice* (241 U. S. 591)):

"Citizenship is not incompatible with tribal existence or continued guardianship and so may be conferred without completely emancipating the Indians or placing them beyond the reach of congressional regulations adopted for their protection.

"In this and in other decisions the interpretation has been well established, that citizens can be subject to restrictions, exemptions, and special regulations based on the possession of Indian blood or the identification with some group designated as 'Indian.'" [5]

That Indians were citizens before 1924, by treaty, by the operation of allotment acts, etc., may come as a surprise to many Americans.

In one way and another, the majority of American Indians were already citizens of the United States before 1924. The Handbook of Federal Indian Law (p. 153) estimates the proportion as "approximately two-thirds." The remaining third were swept into citizenship by the act of June 2, 1924, which provides:

"That all noncitizen Indians, born within the territorial limits of the United States, be, and they are hereby declared to be, citizens of the United States."

But the citizenship thus granted was not incompatible with continued guardianship and trusteeship on the part of the Federal Government through the Interior Department or the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indeed, this very law went on to declare, as many another law concerning the Indian had done:

"Provided, that the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property."

Citizen or not, he would find the trust remaining upon lands held for him; his name upon a tribal roll would still entitle him to share in any distribution of funds or land which other members of the tribe might receive.[6]

As far as suffrage is concerned it is true that some States, notably New Mexico and Arizona, have been slow in granting the franchise to Indians, due largely to their wardship status. However, the late Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico advised against taking any steps to have New Mexico Indans (especially the Pueblos) granted the franchise (although they were at the time paying sales taxes) on the ground that the Pueblos represented extremely precious social and civic values and that these values probably would be wrecked in short order if the Pueblos were exposed to the corruptionism of New Mexico State politics." (Sic.)

HAVE STATES MANIFESTED ANY CONCERN ABOUT INDIAN AFFAIRS?

While it is true that citizenship does not necessarily carry with it the right to vote (the Nation makes citizens; the State prescribes the qualifications for the franchise), it is nevertheless significant that all States have now granted suffrage to Indians within their borders. Moreover, one of the hopeful evidences of State concern was the organization of the Governors' Interstate Council on Indian Affairs at St. Paul, Minn., in 1950, sponsored by Hon. Luther W. Youngdahl, the

[1] Oct. 20, 1953, News Letter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., Oliver LaFarge, president.

[2] Indian Truth, Dec. 1943, vol. 20, No. 7.

[3] Quoted from Kansas City Times, Oct. 5, 1953.

[4] See footnote Crisis in Indian Affairs, News Letter, No. 7, Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., Oct. 20, 1953.

[5] Quoted from Indian Wardship, revised copy, New York: Home Missions Council of North America, 1944, pp. 10–11.

[6] Ibid.

then Governor of Minnesota. More than a dozen States having appreciable Indian populations have established State commissions, some of which have been constructively active. In "A Message to Our Friends, the Dacotah People," the South Dakota commission of which report Harold Schunk of Sisseton was chairman, we quote the following significant utterance:

"The solution of the Indian problem can come from the people themselves. If the Dacotahs display initiative in handling their own affairs, individually participating in the activities of society and accepting the present standards of living, they will have solved their problem. There will be no need for Federal, State, country, or tribal government to recognize the Dacotahs as a special problem."

At the sixth annual conference of the Governors' Interstate Indian Council, held at Carson City, Nev., October 1953, with 17 States being represented, a strong resolution approving education of Indian children in nonsegregated schools was passed; moreover, "the council recommends that jurisdiction over Indians should not be transferred from the Federal Government to the States without the consent of the tribes." [7] In other words, there appears to be no attempt on the part of these States to rush the issue.

DOES THE INDIAN DESIRE TO BE CONSIDERED UNCLE SAM'S STEPCHILD FOREVER

The answer is "No." Wardship with all its paternalistic trappings is increasingly distasteful to him. Without going into detail, wardship may be summed up as the relation of the Indian to the Federal Government in matters regarding which the average citizen deals with State or local governments, or acts on his own initiative. Obviously no single sweeping enactment will wipe away in a moment the tangled tissue of exemptions and restrictions accumulated during a century and a half. Old treaties, numbering at one time 389, have to be fulfilled; tribal claims have to be adjudicated; land problems must be worked out tribe by tribe, often on an individual basis. However, a definite goal should be set for the ultimate release of Indians from Federal wardship.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the term "wardship" has been soft-pedaled of late in bureaucratic, as well as other circles, both in and out of Washington. Even the Hoover Committee Report on Indian Affairs, October 1948, does not mention wardship by name although it does emphasize the importance of target dates in the progressive transfer to State and local governments of functions now exercised by the Indian Bureau.

While certain Bureau officials taboo the use of the word "wardship," presumably of its unsavory connotations, or dismiss it as a greatly overworked rationalization, there have been some indications in comparatively recent years that at least some efforts looking toward withdrawal of Federal supervision of the American Indian are in the offing. With these efforts we are in hearty accord.

Congressional leaders have shown increasing concern toward making a start toward the goal of Indian equality before the law with other citizens. Some efforts have been made toward introducing legislation which would furnish an impetus toward the emergence of the present generation of Indian-Americans from what someone has characterized as "the clumsy and outgrown bureau and reservation system."

[7] Quoted from Reno Evening Gazette, Oct. 30, 1953.

HAVE INDIANS EXPRESSED THEMSELVES ON THESE ISSUES?

More than 40 years ago, Rev. Sherman Coolidge (Arapahoe), first president of the Society of American Indians, expressed his views at the annual meeting of that organization:

"Citizenship for the native ward is the aim of the United States, and he must ultimately assume the duties and responsibilities involved in a Christian nation. To that end the Indian Bureau must be terminated and the elimination of the Indian as a national ward must be effected." [8]

Dr. Carlos Montezuma (Apache), whose eloquence in his famous plea "Let my people go" is well known by an earlier generation, used more expressive language:

"Colonization, segregation, and reservations are the most damnable creations of men. They are the home, the very hothouse of personal slavery * * * and are no place for 'the free and the home of the brave.'

"I firmly believe that the only true solution of the so-called Indian problem is the entire wiping out of the reservation system: of the absolute free association of the Indian race with the paleface.

"The Indian Bureau system is wrong. It must by virtue of its powers be oppressive." [9]

Indian women are increasingly taking an active part in citizenship matters and all their implications. Commenting on possible reasons why the proposal to transfer health services to the United States Public Health (H. R. 303) did not receive adequate consideration in the 83d Congress, Mrs. Leta Myers Smart (Omaha), of Los Angeles, writes: [10]

"It was, I firmly believe, because there was not the right approach to the question of what is the right thing to do in this regard. Believing that every intelligent Indian, who has given any thought at all as to the solution of the so-called Indian problem, knows in his heart, even if he is too timorous to admit it aloud, that sooner or later the States are going to have to take over the Indians, and the sooner the better for the Indians; and not only the subject of the Indian health problem, but every other matter pertaining to Indian life; that a program along this line is going to have to be worked out or no one will get anywhere for very long. And for those Congressmen merely to ask for the transfer from one department of the Government to another, when we should be talking, and doing, something constructively along the line of getting the Indians into their proper niche in life, and which is certainly, in the States where they are living. Perhaps this above was the main reason why the health bill never was acted on."

Nor have other younger representatives of their race been silent on these paramount issues. President Roe B. Lewis, Pima, of the National Fellowship of Indian Workers and staff member of the Cook Training School at Phoenix, Ariz., says:

"The present-day Indian will always oppose anything that will take him backward instead of forward. His only hope in life is to be recognized as a citizen of the United States of America and treated as such. The most un-Christian drawback to the Indian is that he must be treated as a ward of the Government. It is unfair to hold our present-day Indian on a reservation and try to isolate him from people with whom he comes in daily contact in business and social welfare. As soon as the lid of wardship is released, the Indian is ready to begin his development as an important wheel in our democratic, Christian Nation. The Indian has proved himself capable of defending his country in two wars; why can't he be capable of administering his God-given right—that of equal rights in a democratic country?" [11]

And Rev. Percy J. Tibbets, Sioux, director of the Community Service Center, Rapid City, S. Dak., puts it this way:

"For the 'first' American, the thing to do is not to brood over the past but to do something definite about the future. Let him come under the same way of life that is enjoyed by millions of his fellow Americans. To accomplish this is to remove Federal wardship; let the Indian assume all the responsibilities of citizenship like anyone else." [12]

G. ELMER LINDQUIST HONORED FOR HIS WORK WITH INDIANS

"G. Elmer E. Lindquist, of 7 Winona Avenue, received honors at the annual meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians, held in Boston on May 14, for 26 years of service to the organization as field secretary.

"He was presented with a check for $1,000 and the title of field secretary emeritus as of the date of his retirement, which will take place December 31 of this year.

"Dr. Ashley D. Leavitt, president of the society, said in announcing honors:

" 'Through these 26 years the life of our society has centered in Mr. Lindquist. No man in the country stands higher in work for the Indian people. He has gained nationwide distinction in this field.'

"The Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians is one of the oldest organizations in the country, dating from 1787." (Lawrence (Kans.) Journal-World.)

"For more than 40 years the name of Gustavus Elmer Emanuel Lindquist has been associated with work related to American Indians. His name has been a byword among our Indian neighbors. Someone has said that Dr. Lindquist knows more Indians by name than perhaps any living white person. In all his labors there was manifest a deep sense of personal commitment and devotion. In a very real sense his life and ministry have been motivated by the compassion and love of Jesus Christ. As companion and helper, Mrs. Lindquist has shared with him the burdens of his ministry.

"Dr. Lindquist's first relationship to the Home Missions Council was in 1918, serving as director of an intensive Indian survey. For 5 years—1922–27—he rendered effective service as supervisor of religious education at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans. From 1927 to the present time he served as field secretary for the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians and Others in North America, and since 1939, in connection with his work for the society, as field representative in Indian work for the Home Missions Council and the Division of Home Missions.

"The executive board, individually and unanimously, hereby expresses its appreciation to Dr. Lindquist for his outstanding services over so many years, and extends best wishes for years of continued and joyous service in behalf of Christ's Kingdom of good will and brotherhood." (By action of executive board, Division of Home Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, September 17, 1953; I. George Nace, executive secretary.)

[8] From an address delivered before the annual meeting of the Society of American Indians, Oct. 12, 1912.

[9] From an address before the Society of American Indians, Oct. 12, 1912.

[10] In a letter to author, dated Nov. 8, 1953.

[11] Quoted from the Journal of Religious Thought, published at Howard University, Washington, D. C., vol. VII, No. 2—spring-summer, 1950, pp. 136–137.

[12] Ibid., p. 142.

United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Highlights of 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, HIGHLIGHTS OF 1953

(By Argyle R. Mackey, Commissioner)

The fiscal year 1953 is destined to become a benchmark in the history of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, because in that year the Immigration and Nationality Act became effective. Designed to be all-inclusive, the new statute wrapped up in one bundle many pieces of legislation administered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; it also amended and added to previous legislation. The new act became law on June 27, 1952, but the provisions of the new act did not become effective until December 24, 1952. The changes involved were so extensive that much of the past fiscal year was spent in learning, implementing, and initiating its provisions.

The new law made a number of basic changes in immigrant classes. Industries are finding the new first preference quota useful as an aid to admission of engineers and other badly needed technicians. For many naturalized citizens born in countries with oversubscribed quotas, the fourth-preference right to petition to bring in brothers and sisters is the realization of a long-lost hope. Husbands of citizen wives, who formerly would have had to wait for quota numbers, may now be admitted nonquota. Aliens from Asiatic countries, barred from the quota system by the 1924 Immigration Act, now have quota allotments. New nonimmigrant classes include representatives of foreign press, radio, and television media, and temporary workers of ability and industrial trainees.

The new act sharpened the weapons of enforcement. With its passage, crewmen were more specifically encompassed in all the excluding provisions of immigration law, and for the first time, by statute, were denied landing privileges on arrival in the United States except upon the issuance of permits. The more stringent causes for deportation made it possible to proceed against known subversives, criminals, and racketeers, who could not have been reached under previous legislation. The process of denaturalization of members of subversive organizations is facilitated by the creation of new classes including membership in the Communist Party. Similarly, the causes for exclusion are more clearly defined. Among the new excludable classes are narcotic addicts and narcotic traffickers.

Two of the most important changes in the field of nationality legislation are the elimination of the declaration of intention, or "first paper," as a requisite to naturalization, and the removal of the last racial barriers to naturalization.

Midway in the fiscal year came the transition from prior legislation to the current statute. It was an orderly and comparatively smooth change. Sparked by representatives of the operating divisions, operations advisers, and members of the General Counsel's staff, many groups of Service employees met together in the central office, at regional, district, and suboffice conferences and classes to study the new documentary and inspectional requirements, the new visa petition and naturalization procedures, and measures for meeting other anticipated problems.

Although some sections of the new act seemed to affect every phase of immigration and nationality work, in broad terms the duties and responsibilities were still the same. Oversimplified, responsibilities of the Service continue to be admitting eligible aliens, keeping out ineligible aliens, finding and getting rid of undesirable or illegally present aliens, fostering citizenship education, and presenting desirable aliens to the court for naturalization.

Aliens and citizens seeking entry at ports still have to be inspected for admissibility, and more than 116 million were so inspected in the fiscal year 1953. By far the greater part of this vast number was made up of border-crossers coming from Canada or Mexico. Almost 2 million alien and citizen crewmen were included in this number, and 1½ million passengers who arrived at seaports and airports.

Immigration declined from 265,000 in 1952 to 170,000 in 1953. The decrease, entirely in quotas classes, was attributable to the expiration of the Displaced Persons Act, and to the time it took to institute the new quota provisions of the law.

Nonimmigrants admitted, exclusive of agricultural laborers, equaled 486,000. The agreements with Mexico were continued and about 200,000 agricultural laborers, principally Mexican nationals, were imported during the year to work on farms and ranches in the United States.

In the 134 years since records of immigration have been kept, 40 million immigrants have come to the United States. History is filled with the magnificent contributions that have been made to our country, both by the famous immigrants and by the humbler ones who fostered development by building railways and factories and settling the land. Unfortunately, today's history also has among the alien groups some who are notorious, rather than noteworthy, and whose deeds are full of malicious intent rather than of contributions to democratic ideals.

The increased problems confronting the Service in the present world situation brought about an investigative force growing in size and efficiency to administer the changed law and placing in effect the Attorney General's special program for intensifying efforts looking toward the deportation and denaturalization of subversives, criminals, racketeers, narcotics law violators, and others who have demonstrated that their presence is inimical to the United States. By the close of the fiscal year, denaturalization suits had been instituted against 17 naturalized citizens considered leading racketeers in the United States, and deportations had been instituted in 23 top racketeer cases.

Investigations were completed in 11,683 denaturalization and deportation cases on subversive grounds.

Other types of investigations, some of which are required by the current law, include investigations: of naturalization applicants; of beneficiaries of private bills introduced in Congress (of which there were 2,980 during the year); of aliens who overstay their time of authorized admission; of aliens who fail to file an address report in January; of stowaways; and other illegal entrants.

The human tide of "wetbacks" continues to be the most serious enforcement problem of the Service, volumewise. For every agricultural laborer admitted legally, four aliens were apprehended by the Border Patrol. In all, 875,000 aliens were apprehended, including 1,545 smugglers of aliens, and 30,000 who were in trade and industry.

A concomitant of apprehension of illegal aliens is expulsion of such aliens from the United States. In the past year more than 905,000 expulsions were accomplished, an increase of 25 percent over last year. The increase was in the "deportable aliens required to depart," and reflected the Service effort to rid the country quickly and economically of undesirable aliens. Of direct assistance to this program was the completion of two detension facilities, at McAllen, Tex., and Chula Vista, Calif., where apprehended aliens could be collected and processed for expulsion or prosecution.

The number of aliens deported under formal proceedings was 19,845, the slight decrease from last year being more than offset by the number of voluntary departures under warrants of arrest.

Through the deportation process 46 subversive aliens were expelled from the country. The uphill battle against delays in deportation continues, in these and other cases, with large numbers of persons held in detention or parole, while the Service struggles with noncooperative foreign governments who refuse to issue travel documents for their own nationals, and with wily aliens who select impossible countries for deportation, or claim persecution as means of delaying deportation. Moreover, the multiplicity of proceedings to review administrative orders has further encumbered the administation of the law, both in this Service and in the courts, where crowded calendars mean long delays in writs of habeas corpus proceedings and other appeals to the Federal courts.

The antithesis of deportation, which reduces the alien population by expulsion, is the naturalization process, whereby the alien population is reduced when aliens become citizens. The rising trend in naturalizations, begun in 1952, continued into 1953 when 91,075 naturalization certificates were issued. Relatively high immigration since the war, the new act with its attendant publicity, the alien address program, the lifting of racial barriers to naturalization, and the easing of literacy requirements for older aliens, all contributed to the increase. These same factors give a solid basis for anticipating a continued rise in naturalization.

The past fiscal year was the first year in which "Citizenship Day" was celebrated on September 17 [September 17, 1952], the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. As part of its citizenship education program, the Service actively promoted and participated in the celebration of the day, dedicated to fostering the principles of democracy for all citizens—both native-born and naturalized.

The fiscal year was characterized by new legislation, with its problems of administration and interpretation; by the tidal waves of humanity breaching our southern borders; by national security commanding a growing share of our energies and resources; and by the naturalization of noncitizens in growing numbers.

Facts Forum's Answer to Time Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FRANK WILSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following Facts Forum radio program:

FACTS FORUM'S ANSWER TO TIME MAGAZINE

DAN SMOOT. Is Facts Forum a force for evil?

For several weeks now the Communist Party's Daily Worker has been complaining that Facts Forum has a bad influence on the American people.

We in Facts Forum have been very happy about this, because we know that the Communists attack those who hurt them.

On January 11, 1954, however, Time magazine reported on Facts Forum in terms that placed the question in an entirely different focus.

To the rapidly increasing numbers of people showing an active interest in Facts Forum, this now is a question of great importance: Is Facts Forum a force for evil?

Time magazine says: "The mystery man behind Facts Forum: Dallas' H. L. Hunt, 63, who * * * is so shy of publicity that he is rarely photographed and his name does not even appear in Who's Who in America."

Time has created a mystery which never before existed. It is well known that Mr. H. L. Hunt, Texas oilman and rancher, was among the original founders of Facts Forum and is its heaviest financial contributor. It may shock the editors of Time to know that Facts Forum has over a thousand other financial contributors and several thousand supporters who, believing they are serving the cause of freedom, graciously and generously support Facts Forum with their effort—Americans who, like Mr. Hunt, are not listed in Who's Who and who have never had their picture in the newspapers.

Time reports:

"As a nonprofit, national educational organization, Hunt's Facts Forum is tax exempt, and Hunt's contributions are deductible from his personal income tax."

I would like the editors of Time to know that they too could contribute to educational organizations and, within the limits specified by law, deduct the contributions from their income. Time magazine should know that every American can voluntarily give money to institutions dedicated to serving the people.

Time reports:

"Facts Forum's radio-TV programs, run as a public service, thus get more than $1 million a year in nationwide free time."

Is Time here praising the owners and managers of radio and television stations for giving so much valuable time to public service, or is Time implying that they are fools and dupes for doing so?

In either case, Time magazine has a rather cheap estimate of the value of radio and TV, and may think that the only way the public can be informed is through reading Time magazine for Time's viewpoint. The broadcasting industry actually provides over $3 million a year free time for the Facts Forum public service programs.

To all of the radio and television stations which give Facts Forum free broadcasting time; to the thousands of fine Americans who support Facts Forum with voluntary contributions of effort and money; to our radio and television audience; and to Time magazine I give a very positive assurance about Facts Forum:

None of Facts Forum's resources will ever be used to promote communism or any other subversive activity in the United States. Not one penny of Facts Forum's funds will ever be used to provide a job for, or give a grant of money to, such persons as Alger Hiss, or Harry Dexter White, or to finance such organizations as the Institute of Pacific Relations, branded by the Senate Judiciary Committee, under the chairmanship of PAT MCCARRAN, Democrat from Nevada, as an important transmission belt for Soviet propaganda and espionage activities.

Time reports:

"(A Washington newspaper reporter) was invited to appear (for $125) on a TV interview show put on by Facts Forum, a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nonpolitical educational organization. * * * (He) made a quick check of Facts Forum, turned down the offer, and wrote a story suggesting that Facts Forum is not all it appeared to be."

Time may not think that newsmen are entitled to payment for their services, but Facts Forum does, because newsmen give a large part of their lives to the rather thankless task of trying to keep the public posted.

We did offer a Washington newsman $125—a routine business arrangement with most programs of this type—to appear on a TV program and interview Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY. This particular newsman was selected because he was known to be critical of Senator MCCARTHY. Facts Forum was giving him an opportunity to question—not to be questioned by—Senator MCCARTHY.

The newsman did accept. Senator MCCARTHY, however, was suddenly called out of Washington on official business and couldn't appear. I personally called the newsman; and I, not he, canceled his scheduled appearance.

Time reports:

"(A reporter) showed that Facts Forum is less a nonpartisan educational foundation than one of the biggest private political propaganda machines in the United States."

Facts Forum was incorporated as a public educational organization in June 1951. Since July 1952, it has held the same tax status (under a ruling of the U. S. Treasury Department) that any other educational organization, university, college, or foundation has. The moment Facts Forum becomes a private tool of any person or begins to promote the interests of any one group or political party, it will violate its own articles of incorporation and will die.

Time magazine reports:

"In less than 3 years * * * Hunt has built Facts Forum into an organization with 125,000 participants, whose weekly programs include: (1) A half-hour weekly radio-TV show, Answers for Americans (used on 22 television stations and available to 360 radio stations); (2) 2 nationwide weekly radio broadcasts, State of the Nation * * * and Facts Forum's basic both-sides programs, * * *; (3) a half-hour show TV-filmed in Washington. * * * In addition, Facts Forum public-opinion polls go to 1,800 United States newspapers, 500 radio and TV stations, and every Member of Congress, while its monthly Facts Forum News goes to a mailing list of 60,000."

Here, Time magazine is strangely accurate, except for a minor detail—which Time magazine, of course, exercising its lofty responsibility to interpret the news, doesn't always have time for. It was the participants, 130,000 of them now, who built Facts Forum.

Time magazine reports:

"If Facts Forum were nonpartisan and educational as it claims to be * * * there would be little reason for people to quarrel with its activities. One of the most admirable projects a man of wealth could undertake * * * would be the stimulation of rational debate among Americans * * * But * * * Facts Forum is hardly nonpartisan. It is used as a political megaphone for Ollman Hunt, who feels that the Democratic Party, except for the Dixiecrat movement, is the instrument of socialism and communism in this country, and that the Republican Party as presently constituted displays dangerously radical tendencies."

Is Time magazine implying that Mr. Hunt—or anyone else, for that matter—could tell Senator ROBERT KERR, Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, Senator ALLEN ELLENDER, Senator JOHN BRICKER, Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, and scores of other Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet officers, State governors, and distinguished American newspapermen what to say—or not to say—when they appeared on a Facts Forum program?

Time imputes a truly terrifying power to Facts Forum moderators—and an imbecilic weakness to the outstanding public figures and newspapermen of our day—by implying that they are somehow manipulated on Facts Forum programs to parrot the ideas of someone else.

If you would like to witness these extraordinary performances, the casting of this hypnotic spell, tune in on the Facts Forum radio and TV programs. I think that you—whether or not you have ever had your picture in the paper or got your name in Who's Who—can make up your own mind about them.

I should like to invite the editors of Time to tune in also. Time's writeup on Facts Forum shows no evidence that they have ever seen or heard a Facts Forum program.

Time magazine says:

"The 'both sides' programs, which are supposed to present impartially different views on public issues, sometimes do just that. But often * * * they are heavily weighted toward Facts Forum's own point of view, which is compounded of 'isolationism, ultra-conservatism, and McCarthyism.'"

Facts Forum has presented—and will continue to present—the views of such outstanding Americans as Senator BRICKER, Senator JENNER, Senator MCCARTHY, and Senator MCCARRAN, as long as they are prominent in public affairs. Whenever we present their point of view, we also present the opposite point of view.

We doubtless have presented the views of people whom Time would label ultra-conservatives as well as the views of those whom some would label ultra-liberal—whatever those terms mean. As to any of these labels—isolationism, ultra-conservatism, and McCarthyism—tagging Facts Forum's own point of view: Facts Forum does not take a stand with respect to political issues or political candidates. Facts Forum does take a stand against communism. Facts Forum is for the preservation of basic American constitutional principles of government.

Time reports:

"More often than not half Facts Forum's basic program is devoted to (Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY's) political philosophy, plugging his speeches and putting on speakers who describe MCCARTHY in such terms as 'alongside of Paul Revere'."

Time really ought to finance a course in arithmetic for the obscure Rhode Island newspaper reporter on whom it relies.

There have been 112 of these basic Facts Forum 12-minute radio broadcasts.

One hundred of them were about question on which, as far as I know—and I do the research and writing for this program—Senator MCCARTHY has never expressed an opinion.

I have quoted MCCARTHY on only 1 of these 112 programs—and that 1 was devoted partially to a presentation of pros and cons on the then current McCarthy-Benton controversy.

One Facts Forum program presented an interview with Adolphe Menjou, famous and popular Hollywood personality, who made enormous personal sacrifices and risked his career to fight communism. On the Facts Forum program, Mr. Menjou spoke one sentence praising Senator MCCARTHY, likening MCCARTHY to Paul Revere.

Facts Forum does not control or formulate—and therefore feels no responsibility for—the opinions of guests on our programs.

I will conclude my review of Time magazine's report on Facts Forum on this same program next week. I hope you will listen.

I also hope that you, uninstructed by me or by Time magazine, will form your own opinion of Facts Forum, encouraging you, the American individual, to seek information, form your own opinions, and to develop and stand on your own convictions is the purpose of Facts Forum.

This is Dan Smoot with Facts Forum.

The Hope of Electric Power From Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. LANTAFF
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. LANTAFF. Mr. Speaker, on January 13 our distinguished colleague from California, the Honorable CHET HOLIFIELD, made an outstanding address to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, in convention at Miami, Fla. For the benefit of the Congress I am including it in the RECORD:

THE HOPE OF ELECTRIC POWER FROM ATOMIC ENERGY

(By Hon. CHET HOLIFIELD, of California)

It is an honor and a pleasure to be with you at this 12th annual meeting of members of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. I want to pay my respects to the members and officers of your organization. You are rendering a fine service to the rural electric cooperatives and power districts—and to the Nation as a whole. Your work means better living and broader opportunities for all Americans.

When your executive manager and my good friend, Clyde Ellis, asked me to address this conference, it wasn't altogether the Miami sunshine that brought me here—the great State of California has its own attractions—but I came for the serious purpose of discussing with you some of the important developments in the field of atomic energy.

The formal title of my remarks is "The Hope of Electric Power From Atomic Energy." I can't promise to keep strictly to the subject—always the privilege of a Congressman. After all, atomic power is only one aspect of the wider field of electrical power, which is the daily business and active concern of your association members.

Many people like to believe that atomic energy has a magic all its own, that some day it will do most of the world's work, from moving mountains to firing the kitchen stove. They find it hard to grasp that atomic power is simply electricity from another source—the heat energy released in the splitting of atoms. Despite the aura of mystery and secrecy that surrounds the atom, and the complicated machinery needed to change fission heat into electricity, atomic power is the same old "juice" that is measured at the switchboard or in your basement meter.

The magic of atomic energy springs from the appalling demonstration, one fateful day in 1945, of its ability to spread death and ruin on a large scale. In the years following the blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, atomic energy became a twin symbol of ultimate destruction and the millenium of peace. As its power to do evil increases, men invest it with equal power to do good for mankind. The greater grows the stockpile of atomic bombs, the stronger is the yearning for peace. The more magnified the atomic potential for dealing death, the more generous the expectations of what the atom holds for human life.

How often have you heard it said in glowing terms that atomic energy can make the deserts bloom, purify the salty ocean waters, rebuild war-devastated lands, bring new light and hope to oppressed humanity in the neglected and backward areas of the world? These are the dreams of mankind hungering for peace, and who are we to deny that some day they shall come true? But practical-minded politicians and administrators of government know that dreams of the future move peoples and nations to action today—move especially those who hunger for food as well as for peace. America's appeal to the world cannot rest on military might alone. We must point the way, by good example, and by specific measures of help, to a better life for those less privileged than we.

Some such thoughts were in my mind when I said last October, at a panel discussion of atomic energy held by the National Industrial Conference Board:

"There is no disagreement among us, and it has been repeatedly said, that the United States must maintain world leadership in all phases of atomic energy development. While we grapple with the stark and terrifying fact that Soviet Russia can make hydrogen as well as atom bombs, we cannot be indifferent to the enormous psychological advantage that the Soviets would gain if they demonstrated to a tense and divided world the ability to put the atom to work in peacetime civilian pursuits. Here again, the United States will not take second place in the contest. That is why public interest and attention were centered on the announcement last week by the Atomic Energy Commission that it is going ahead with the construction of a full-scale atomic-power reactor."

That is why, I may add today, the peoples of the free world listened and approved when President Eisenhower proposed the creation of an international agency to develop peacetime uses of atomic energy. Even the Soviets did not dare to ignore the compelling force of this appeal for cooperative peaceful endeavor. They replied—in words that sounded awkward and involved, and with many reservations, but they replied nevertheless—that they are willing to talk about it.

To better understand the meaning of President Eisenhower's statement on atomic energy before the United Nations General Assembly, we should recall that some years back, during President Truman's administration, the United States Government outlined a plan for the international control of atomic weapons. The plan embraced procedures, carefully drawn, to provide for the gradual transfer of our atomic facilities to international control without endangering national security. It was conceived that the international atomic authority would maintain an inspection system to make sure that no nation would deviate from the control arrangements for aggressive ends.

The Soviets would have no part of this plan. In those days, especially before they had atomic weapons, they insisted that such weapons be banned outright by treaty rather than put under the control of an international authority. Nor did they take kindly to the idea of inspectors coming behind the iron curtain. In the face of persistent and stubborn refusal by Soviet Russia to consider a control agency, our plan became dormant.

Today, President Eisenhower proposes in place of a maximum program for international control of atomic weapons, a minimum program for international development of civilian aspects of atomic energy.

The President's proposal is not a control program; rather it rests on the hope that nations working together to promote the benign uses of the atom will be the less inclined to rain atomic bombs on each others' cities and lands. If the hope is justified, if the mutual effort is born and grows, then there is the further hope that some day the contending nations will assign their stockpiles of atomic weapons and their armament facilities to joint control.

Editorial writers have termed the President's proposal an "atomic Marshall plan" or an "atomic point 4 program," except, of course, that many nations jointly, rather than the United States singly, would sponsor worldwide civilian applications of atomic energy.

Whether the minimum proposal is substantial enough to make headway against the staggering obstacles ahead, whether it will crack the hard wall of Soviet opposition, whether it will be backed up by legislative support here at home, whether our Government representatives will display high-minded statesmanship and skilled diplomacy—these are questions we leave to the days ahead—with our hopes.

As to the attitude of the Russians, the dismal record of the past leaves little room for optimism. The door is not closed entirely. At least they seem disposed to enter preliminary talks, even while they point out that President Eisenhower's proposal sidesteps the life-or-death issue of atomic and hydrogen bombs. About all we can count on is the advantage we derive from the fact that President Eisenhower's proposal has struck a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of people who hunger for peace.

I have dwelt upon the President's plan for an international atomic agency because it has a direct and immediate bearing upon proposals to amend the Atomic Energy Act. To prove to the world the sincerity of the President's offer, to show our willingness to enter into working arrangements with other countries in an international atomic agency, will doubtless require our Government to formulate agreements with the participating countries. Beyond that we will have to examine the provisions of existing atomic energy legislation to determine what changes, if any, are necessary to accord with these international agreements. Other countries will be faced with similar tasks.

For some months the Atomic Energy Commission has been engaged in drafting amendments to the Atomic Energy Act for a quite different purpose—to give private industry incentives and authority to own and operate nuclear reactors and to conduct atomic enterprises, including atomic power. What the exact details of these proposed amendments are, I do not know, since the legislative draft has not yet been submitted to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. But I believe it would be extremely ill-advised for the Congress to consider in one package legislative amendments to further the President's plan for an international agency on the one hand and to promote private atomic industry on the other.

We should put first things first, and the first task ahead in atomic energy legislation is to clear the path for the creation of the international atomic agency proposed by President Eisenhower. Back in October I indicated publicly that the Congress might soon be faced with legislative responsibilities of this kind, when I said at a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board:

"From time to time changes in the original (atomic energy) legislation were found desirable, and for the most part these had my full support as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. There is every reason to believe that further important revisions may be forthcoming—perhaps in the next few months—and these too will have my approval, providing I am satisfied that the problems have been fully examined and the solutions are just and compatible with the best interests of the American people."

Then I continued:

"I will say frankly that in the present state of world affairs and of atomic technology, I am opposed to amendments which would alter the basic philosophy and concept of Government responsibility as outlined in the Atomic Energy Act. As I see it, any changes to be made must take into full account the role of atomic energy in national defense, the special problems of atomic security and inventory control, the responsibilities of Government to protect the health and safety of the general public, and our obligations—

both moral and contractual—to our friends and allies, who are, in a sense, as much affected by all that we do as are the citizens of these United States."

Well, today we have a great moral obligation to sit down with other nations and work out the means of engaging in peaceful atomic pursuits. If by some unexpected change of attitude, the Russians will cooperate with the free nations, so much the better. But if they do not, our moral commitment to friends and allies stands. More than a score of nations are working today in various phases of nuclear science and atomic energy development. We can join with them to work for peace and human welfare.

Exactly what our commitments to the international atomic agency should be in the way of contributing uranium ores, fissionable materials, atomic facilities and devices, scientific and technical knowledge, and trained personnel, we cannot know in advance. These are matters to be worked out in the months ahead, if the atomic agency proposal is to become a reality. Whatever legislative changes are necessary to back up the commitments should not be hampered by the intrusion of proposals to legislate electrical utilities or industrial firms into the atomic energy picture.

In a special sense we are on our best behavior before the world. Its hopes and prayers can be worn away quickly by corroding cynicism if we fail to make good with deeds our noble words. We must take care lest other nations see us preoccupied with seeking ways to make a profit from the atom instead of seeking ways to advance the welfare of mankind. There is a compelling urgency about concerted efforts for peace; no compelling urgency about authorizing Consolidated Edison or Monsanto Chemical to own an atomic reactor.

It is disturbing, therefore, to observe the contradiction between the President's overtures to other nations in the field of atomic energy and the actions of his administration at home. When the demands of utility and industrial spokesmen for revising the Atomic Energy Act reached a high pitch of intensity last year, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Security Council began to cancel projects for atomic power and to cut down their budgets on the stated (but unverified) assumption that private industry would take over atomic power responsibilities.

In the meantime the Atomic Energy Commission drafted some half-baked legislative proposals in behalf of private industry, which couldn't even get through the Budget Bureau. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy took a sharp look at these proposals, in connection with extensive hearings on the whole subject, and advised the Atomic Energy Commission to go back and finish the baking process.

I believe those hearings held by our joint committee were most helpful in getting the main issues put right out on the table. We called in witnesses from many occupations and fields of endeavor, not just the spokesmen for electrical utilities or chemical companies. We heard from labor as well as management, from consumers as well as producers. Your executive manager, Clyde Ellis, made an excellent presentation before the joint committee; his testimony was a pointed reminder that the people of this country own the atomic works and that the public interest must take first place in any consideration about future development.

The public hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy showed, among other things, that those who clamored so loudly for legislative amendments to favor private industry were far from agreement as to just what these amendments should be; and furthermore, it was evident that their zeal for changing the Atomic Energy Act far outran their readiness to put investment money down on the line.

Private industry spokesmen are very, very cautious about incurring financial risks in atomic enterprise, but they fret and fume because the Congress is cautious about making changes in the basic legislation which brought such marked achievements these past 7 or 8 years.

Now the joint committee did something more than hold hearings. Through our chairman, STERLING COLE, the House Committee on Appropriations was alerted to the importance of providing funds for starting a real, honest-to-goodness atomic power project which would produce large amounts of electricity instead of token kilowatts. Reactor programs for submarines and other military propulsion units were in various stages of planning or progress, but atomic power as such was in the talk stage until the Appropriations Committee, on the initiative of our Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, wrote a directive into the appropriations bill and earmarked $7 million for an atomic power start.

You hear many fine speeches from members of the Atomic Energy Commission about this wonderful new venture into the field of atomic power. They omit to mention that it was only the prodding of our Joint Committee and of the Congress that put the Atomic Energy Commission into the business of building an atomic reactor for central-station electricity. We did not propose to see the atomic power program bogged down in idle debate nor to wait upon the uncertain responses of private industry while other nations pushed ahead in the atomic power field.

So far, the atomic power project is still in the planning stage. No public statement has yet been made about the choice of a site for construction. It will take several years time and many more than $7 million before the atomic power project is ready to put juice on the high lines.

I believe that despite the heavy costs involved, we must move ahead boldly in several lines of atomic power development, not limit our efforts to this one project, the contract for which is held by the Westinghous Co. I commented in this connection last October, at the National Industrial Conference meeting:

"The joint committee, I can assure you, will observe very carefully the progress in atomic power. We are not committed to sponsoring any single reactor design and we do not propose that reactor construction and operation be confined to a single company. It may well develop that in addition to the large-scale reactor project, smaller and less costly reactors should be built to meet special power needs and to broaden our knowledge and experience in reactor technology and economics. We approach this new field with an open mind and a desire to see utilized to the full the skills and ingenuity of American enterprise."

I was sugesting in those remarks the possibility of reactor design and construction by more than one company under contract to the Atomic Energy Commission. Under contract, mind you, because the United States Government is the sole owner of atomic reactors, according to present legislation, even though private firms may be utilized to build and operate them for the account of the Government. It is not necessary to legislate private ownership of reactors in order to get atomic power. In fact, the prospects for atomic power are good in the years immediately ahead only if the Federal Government maintains the initiative.

To date, the economic facts are that atomic power cannot compete with power derived from fossil fuels or falling water. Private firms are not prepared to go into the atomic field without substantial subsidies of one kind or another from the taxpayers. The Government itself, by embarking on a diversified program of reactor construction for power purposes, will hasten the day when atomic power is in the competitive cost range, when agencies big and small, public and private, can engage in atomic power production and distribution.

Under existing law, Government financing and ownership, especially in the development years, will make it possible to work out a rational power program in atomic and other fields to serve the needs of our country and of other nations who look to us for help.

Atomic power can be produced at Government atomic installations, to supply their enormous power requirements, thereby lowering the costs of atomic weapons and lessening the heavy drain of electrical energy that atomic operations make on the economy.

Smaller reactors can be built to provide atomic power for emergency needs and to service military or civilian government activities in out-of-the-way places.

Areas now deprived of power or burdened with unusually high costs can look to atomic sources for electricity.

Atomic power projects can be planned to tie in with other power projects for optimum development of the Nation's resources.

These things can be done under existing law which vests in the Federal Government exclusive ownership of atomic power reactors.

What about the power equipment outside the reactors—the so-called heat exchangers and the generating facilities required to convert the heat energy of atomic fission into kilowatts?

When Mr. Thomas Murray, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, first announced with great fanfare the decision to build an atomic power reactor, after we in the Congress insisted upon it, he invited private enterprise to participate in the undertaking. Subsequent statements from the Commission have repeated this invitation. They sound very much like the partnership proposals which the present administration is making to private utilities to take over Federal power projects. I gather from these statements that the Atomic Energy Commission hopes to persuade private utilities to acquire and operate those portions of atomic power projects which relate to generation of electricity.

The Atomic Energy Commission, perhaps because of its preoccupation with military weapons, is not a power-minded agency. It has never displayed great interest in atomic power nor knowledge of power policies in related fields. We have this curious situation: whereas other interested agencies of government, such as the Federal Power Commission and the Department of the Interior, insist that atomic power is the business of the Atomic Energy Commission, the latter in turn has backed away from this business.

Indeed, the Atomic Energy Commission backed away so far that it overlooked, for years, the power possibilities of the tremendous heat energy released and wasted in the production of plutonium. Even a degree of self-sufficiency in power supplies for atomic works would yield substantial savings; remember that the Atomic Energy Commission, when authorized projects are completed, will pay a bill for power on the order of 4 million kilowatts.

The Commission backed away, not only from public atomic power, but from public power in other fields. Although atomic installations in the South receive large amounts of power from the TVA system, the Commission exerted unusual effort to promote a long-term venture by private utilities combined for the purpose of supplying power side by side with the TVA. I am informed that the per kilowatt installation cost of the private plants runs about twice that of the TVA plants. Whether or not the higher costs will be reflected ultimately in the

power bill to the Government, this is certain: When the private contracts run out in some 25 years, the Government and the region will not have the benefits of a power plant owned and paid for, as in the case of TVA.

In Portsmouth, Ohio, where another atomic project is to be built, the Atomic Energy Commission likewise committed itself to purchase power from private utilities for the next 25 years. On the strength of this commitment, backed up, of course, by legislation guaranteeing that the Government will make good in money payments if its power needs fall off, 15 associated utilities went to Wall Street and raised the money for this new power venture.

Those who drafted the Atomic Energy Act back in 1946 anticipated that atomic power might be produced by the Atomic Energy Commission and so they provided for its disposition. Tucked away in section 7 of the act is a modest little subsection (d) which says in so many words that byproduct power obtained from the productions of fissionable material could be used by the Atomic Energy Commission, transferred to other Gvernment agencies, or sold to public and private utilities under contracts providing for reasonable resale prices.

Understandably, as an early formulation, this subsection is brief and does not spell out what policies should guide the production and distribution of atomic power. This is an area that needs careful attention and hard study. I am pleased to see that your association and other groups concerned with national power policies are actively interested in atomic energy. You should take it upon yourselves to follow closely the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and to convey to the Commission, as well as to our joint committee, the results of your studies and thinking. The testimony of Clyde Ellis for your assocation and of Samuel Morris for the American Public Power Association already have done much to place atomic-power legislation in the broader perspective of the public interest.

My own thinking likewise has been directed along these lines. On June 1 of last year, before the joint committee hearings got under way, I set forth in an hour-long statement to the House of Representatives what I considered were some of the main issues and the reasons why changes were being sought in the basic law.

On June 22, in another statement to the House of Representatives, I analyzed the policy statements on atomic power formulated by the Atomic Energy Commission. It appeared to me that the Commission had not given sufficient thought to the cardinal principle that the benefits from public investment—which is the case with atomic-energy works—must be widely distributed throughout the economy. In the Commission's policy statements I saw nothing to guarantee an equitable distribution of the benefits of atomic power. In that context I said:

"When the Federal Government undertook to make large investments in multipurpose projects for navigation, flood control, land reclamation, and hydroelectric power, the Congress wrote into various laws the principle of wide distribution of benefits. The people of the United States did not propose that their Government build great power dams, for example, merely to benefit the managers and stockholders of private utilities. They were interested in reducing the costs of electricity to consumers, in bringing power to farms and homes in rural areas, in creating incentives for new power-using industries to spring up and expand job opportunities. In the TVA Act, in the Bonneville Act, in the Flood Control Act of 1944 and in other basic statutes the Congress formulated policies for the wide distribution of hydroelectric power.

"Atomic energy development, also financed by the public, has no such guidelines. In future years, when atomic power becomes a reality and private industry a factor in atomic power generation and distribution, legislative safeguards to protect the public interest will be necessary. Private utilities, which never looked kindly on the development of public power resources, doubtless would prefer to foreclose that future by getting control of atomic power still unborn. In any event, the Atomic Energy Commission completely ignores the public interest considerations in atomic power policy. It blithely asks private industry, which would mean in practical effect a few big corporations, to do the job."

One thing we know from long and sometimes sad experience, that in the field of electrical power, private industry is not always adequate to do the job by itself. Public agencies are needed to keep rates down; to provide investments in great projects which are beyond the capabilities of private firms; to bring low-cost electricity to consumers and areas which the private utilities ignore; to advance the economic and social progress of communities, States, and regions by conserving and improving those resources and values which are not figured in the 6 percent return.

Today there is a massive head-on assault against the public power policies that enable your rural electric systems to live and grow and prosper—policies hammered out during the last 20 years by administrations dedicated to the public welfare and determined to bring the blessings of electricity to all areas and to all segments of the population.

The assault comes from inside and outside the Government—from the administration now in office, from those in Congress who block appropriations for needed projects, from the lobbying organizations of the private utilities rushing in for the kill with a desperate cry now or never, from others who hope that their self-seeking endeavors will be sanctified by the reports of special commissions.

It happens that I am a member of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, known as the Hoover Commission. On Mr. Hoover's initiative a task force of 26 men has been established to study and make recommendations on water and power resources. The membership of that task force has been made public. Those of you who have examined the list will recognize some familiar names, and I disclose no secrets nor violate any confidence when I say the private utilities have many friends in court. The Hoover Commission task force, as presently formed, is loaded against public power.

If you have any question as to where Mr. Hoover himself stands on the issue, I suggest that you read a copy of his address before the Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, April 11, 1953, entitled "Federal Socialization of Electric Power." In this speech he argued for a halt to further construction of Federal steam plants or hydroelectric plants solely for power, a halt to new multiple-purpose projects unless power is leased to utilities at the bus bar, and the establishment of a temporary commission to make recommendations looking to the withdrawal of the Federal Government from the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible.

As a member of the Hoover Commission, I reserve the right to examine each and every recommendation of the task force, to argue my position within the Commission, and to write dissenting reports whenever I disagree with the Commission's own recommendations. Furthermore, as a Congressman I reserve the right to oppose any Commission recommendation which I believe is detrimental to the public interest.

The best advice I can give your association at this time is to demand public hearings by the task force on water and power resources or by the Commission itself in order to have your views fully documented on the record and to bring greater public awareness of the issues at stake.

There are trying times ahead for all of us who are concerned about our country's welfare and who are working for the orderly development and conservation of our resources to serve all the people. I am inclined to be optimistic about the final outcome because the people themselves will have something to say about that, and rather soon.

Again, I want to say it is a real pleasure to be with you at this meeting. Thank you very much.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, some years ago it was my privilege to speak at Somerset, Pa. On that occasion I met Henry Baker Reiley, a sound, constructive thinker, a tireless advocate of Americanism.

In the January 30 edition of the Somerset American I find an editorial written by Henry B. Reiley, Jr.

If the writer is the son of the Reiley I met, he is carrying on the traditions of the family.

The editorial follows:

LANGUAGE

(By Henry B. Reiley, Jr.)

An expression which has a certain meaning to one person may have an entirely different meaning to another. We think according to our experiences, and our interpretations are based upon our thinking.

Because of this, we sometimes find ourselves quite confused as we hear arguments between the proponents and the opponents of various propositions. This is particularly true of the discussions on the Bricker amendment.

Those who support the Senator from Ohio are of the opinion that our Nation and its component States need to be protected from administrations which might make undesirable treaties with foreign powers. We need only to look at the executive agreements of the past 20 years to realize the need of such restrictive legislation.

The opponents of the measure declare that the Bricker amendment would create intolerable restrictions on treatymaking powers of our Government. This is claimed to be particularly true of the second section of the amendment which reads:

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty."

Senator BRICKER holds that this section means that no treaty can be effective if it is contrary to the existing laws of any or all the several States until those States pass laws which would remove the contrary restrictions. This part of the amendment emphasizes the division of power in the Republic. Some is in the hands of the States and some in the hands of the Federal Government.

As arguments flash back and forth between the two camps, entirely different meanings are given to the public. This may result in

confusion and chaos. On the other hand, it may result in legislation which will be clarified not only for the present but for future generations.

The spirit of the Bricker amendment is in keeping with the Constitution and its system of checks and balances. In order that future administrations may not sell the Republic, or any part of it, down the river, we need an amendment to the Constitution such as the one proposed by Senator BRICKER.

He is to be admired for refusing to compromise an issue which he feels is uncompromisable. At the same time, there may be distinct advantage in a reexamination of the language of the amendment. It may be possible to reword it so that both groups may agree that it says that which Senator BRICKER now holds it means.

Such a step would go far in clarification of the issue and add to its chances of becoming a part of our Constitution. Furthermore, if such procedure is followed, we can rely upon Senator BRICKER to make sure the final draft is not an emasculated version of the present proposal.

Defense Agreements in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the accompanying article by Gordon W. Rule, which appeared in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post, came as no particular surprise to me. A year ago November, when the so-called Riley subcommittee on military construction was in France, I had an opportunity to talk personally with Mr. Rule. At that time, he was being held in Paris, prevented from doing the job he was sent to Europe to perform. The frustration which is manifested in Mr. Rule's article, I Saw Us Bungle Defense Agreements in Europe, was clearly evident at that time.

There is room for differences of opinion concerning some of Mr. Rule's conclusions, but I do believe he has pointed out some of the causes of our difficulties in getting the job done in Europe.

It is my hope that all Members, and particularly those who have primary responsibilities for shaping the policies and spending levels of foreign assistance, defense, and the State Department, will read Mr. Rule's article. It follows:

I SAW US BUNGLE DEFENSE AGREEMENTS IN EUROPE

(By Gordon W. Rule)

For 9 months recently, I drew a handsome Government salary and allowances in Europe at the expense of the American taxpayers. They were gypped, and I feel they should know why. Not that this is a confessional, for I did not consciously go to Europe to ride the gravy train. I went there to do a job of the utmost importance to the security of Europe—and the United States. I was not permitted to do so by our embassies and our Department of State. It is the reasons behind this failure that are important, not just my unearned pay checks. For those reasons were the result of a situation which is exactly the same today as it was when I returned to Washington in disgust to have my job abolished as a waste of the taxpayers' money.

It was a good job, too, as Government pay scales go, for the basic salary, combined with overseas allowances and per-diem pay, figured out to a stipend of nearly $17,000 a year after taxes—which is what I would have earned if I had had the gall to stick it out for a full year. Nine frustrating months were enough to convince me, however, that I should return to my private law practice in Washington. I did so with great relief, but also with much concern at what I had seen. For it had been my unhappy privilege to sit at the negotiating table and watch our State Department Foreign Service officers bungle major negotiations with our European allies, to the detriment of the United States Treasury and the efforts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to build the West's defenses against the Soviet threat—which we must continue to do.

After spending this time in Europe, working with our Embassies on the Continent, I am convinced that the United States is woefully lacking in capable, experienced negotiators who can sit down at a conference table with representatives of other countries and at least hold their own. I think our average representatives—be they career foreign servants, politically appointed ambassadors, or what have you—do the best job they know how to do, but just because a man spends 20 years in our Foreign Service or is a successful business or professional man who has made large political contributions is no assurance that he can properly negotiate in the best interests of the United States. I submit, the opposite may well be true.

Insofar as our defense negotiations with other NATO countries are concerned, I know that not only do we not have properly trained men conducting our negotiations but many of them are being conducted in a shameful fashion. When I speak of "defense negotiations," I refer to the negotiating of important bilateral agreements which commit the United States to certain courses of action and under which hundreds of millions of our taxpayers' dollars will be spent in foreign countries. More precisely, I refer to the agreements which our country must make with our NATO partners for military bases and facilities for United States forces in those countries.

One thing I wish to make perfectly clear. I am not an expert on embassy procedure generally. I have neither the desire nor the ability to crusade for overall embassy reform. But I was exposed to a sufficient number of our career diplomats with whom I had to work on defense negotiations to realize that, in my opinion, they are not keeping uppermost in their minds at all times what to me is fundamental—namely, the best interests of the United States. I must confine the above statement to defense matters, because that is what I was engaged in.

These were the negotiations which I was supposed to conduct for the United States Department of Defense when I went to Europe in August of 1952 to "conduct negotiations for United States military operating rights and facilities in NATO and Western European countries for the purpose of providing facilities for peacetime training and maneuvers and military operations in time of war." I took on the assignment because I felt it was so important that no man could or should refuse to take it if asked. It was obvious to met that the principal purpose of our forces being in Europe at all was to be able to fight for our allies and ourselves, and that in order to fight we must have the necessary bases and facilities as soon as possible. I felt that with just a fair amount of cooperation from the military and the United States Embassies in Europe, the job could be done well and expeditiously.

The latter supposition was based on past personal experience, for I was not exactly a stranger to the art of negotiation. Though a lawyer by profession, I am a naval officer by avocation. I entered the Navy in April of 1942 as a junior-grade lieutenant, serving in the South Pacific as a line officer until I was ordered back to Washington in July of 1944 to work on Navy contracts. I went to inactive duty in 1946 with the rank of captain, but as a result of the Korean war I left my law office and voluntarily returned to active duty in March of 1951 to negotiate again on behalf of the Navy for ships and other items. During my two periods of active duty with the Navy, I personally negotiated and signed contracts involving more than $2 billion of American taxpayers' money.

In the spring of 1952 the Navy sent me to Europe to negotiate with foreign governments approximately $150 million worth of contracts for naval vessels. This was under the offshore procurement program whereby we made part of our contribution to the military strength of European nations by paying for production of military items—in this case, ships—to be used by our NATO allies. Although this was an entirely new field of Navy procurement, the job went quite well. As a contracting officer with power to make decisions on the spot and sign for our Government, I was somewhat of an innovation to our embassies in the countries I visited, and in all but one country the State Department officials let me alone to conduct these government-to-government negotiations as I saw fit, because not even an ambassador can tell a contracting officer what sort of contract to negotiate and sign.

Not that I didn't have some troubles. Everywhere I went, the foreign government officials with whom I negotiated would run to our embassy or our economic mission, during the negotiations, in an attempt to get me to change my position on various aspects of the bargaining. I do not criticize them for this at all—that is negotiating, from their point of view. I did learn very soon that our embassy representatives were most anxious to help the foreign countries get what they wanted from us. In one case, I made the mistake of telling our embassy team the best terms I hoped to get and the least I would settle for on several points under discussion. In less than a day the foreign negotiators were demanding the poorest settlement I would accept on every one of these points. I never made that mistake again.

One item on which I insisted was inclusion in the contracts of a clause limiting the profits to be made by the shipyards which would build the ships we were buying to give away. When I made this demand in the first country I visited on this assignment, a country with quite a reputation for getting everything it wants from us, I was told that only the president of the nation could make such a decision. So I gave their negotiators 48 hours to get the right decision or, I announced, I would close the negotiations and move on to another country. The proper decision was obtained, and we parted with respect for each other, although I was far from being a popular figure. This convinced me that foreign government officials prefer firmness and clarity to pussyfooting and indecision.

Nor did I ingratiate myself with a United States minister who had charge of all our give-away programs in another country. He knew how much money I could spend there, and he became quite unhappy because I negotiated the contract for about half the money allotted, thus reducing his total give-away for that year. The minister circulated reports that I had been too blunt in my talks with government officials in that country. I confess that I was blunt, because I had received a signed statement that after the shipyards in that country had submitted estimates to their government of what it would cost to build the required ships, certain officials of that government had told the yards to raise the estimates because

Uncle Sam could pay more. I was thus on notice that the estimates were likely to be inflated and had to clear up the point. You don't clear up points like that with anything but plain talk. My friend, the minister, was understandably shocked, because he doesn't comprehend that such things really happen in this world.

These sour notes notwithstanding, the Navy concluded the best offshore procurement contracts in existence today, from the point of view of the American taxpayer. I returned to the United States, received a Navy commendation, and was released to inactive duty in July of 1952.

This experience abroad confirmed a set of basic negotiating principles which I had learned and which I firmly believe should be applied to any negotiation on behalf of the United States. These principles are as follows:

1. For lasting results, a negotiator must seek to accomplish a fair result for both parties, but if err he must, it should be in favor of the United States.

2. If the best possible results are sought, the first-team negotiators should conduct the negotiations. Don't play the second team or the reserves and expect first-team results.

3. There is no such thing as a popular negotiator. One can gain genuine respect, but a negotiator who thinks he can be popular and well liked while negotiating with the United States funds cannot achieve maximum results.

4. Where the United States funds are involved, a negotiator must think, act, and make decisions as though he were spending his own money—not someone else's.

Although I have always enjoyed Navy duty and consider it a privilege, I was anxious to get back to my law practice. But just as I was getting out, the Department of Defense asked me to return to Europe as a civilian to undertake the bilateral negotiations for base rights and facilities. "What we need on this job," said the Defense Department official who offered it to me, "is an experienced negotiator who is also an S. O. B." I was persuaded he had the right man.

I realized when I took the job that there were difficulties inherent in trying to reconcile the views of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the State and Defense Departments, in dealing with our own Embassies in Europe, and last but not least in negotiating with the foreign countries. These I accepted as hazards of the game, and they only added to the challenge.

I underwent lengthy briefings in Washington, and had conversations with all the top military authorities and with State Department officials. It became apparent, even before I left for Europe, that the difficulties would be greater than I had initially expected. I would be asking the foreign countries for something for the United States, as distinguished from our giving them something. The distinction is important because the vast majority of Americans employed abroad today are engaged in one form or another of our aid programs. But I was amazed to learn, while still in Washington, that there was no connection whatsoever between giveaway and getback. In other words, no matter how many hundreds of millions we might give country X, I could in no way try to synchronize this with what the United States might want from that country by way of land, for example, on which to train United States soldiers so they would be better prepared to help defend that country in case of war. I wasn't interested in any strict quid pro quo—just a commonsense, businesslike approach such as any of our NATO partners would use under similar circumstances. But the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of these matters told me flatly that the department would not permit the two aspects to be handled together in any way. I began to wonder whether there was any meaning to a part of my official job description which said I was to "see that American aid and diplomacy are utilized to achieve the facilities which we require."

I left for Paris to joint the staff of Ambassador William H. Draper, special representative of the President in Europe, assigned to NATO, I recruited three young, able lawyers to assist me. We worked day and night studying economic, political, and military data about the NATO countries, analyzing and codifying all previous agreements and generally preparing to do the job and come home.

In the first country I visited I found that our ambassador—supposedly one of our best career men—and his staff literally refused to cooperate with anyone from Ambassador Draper's staff. Moreover, our ambassador delegated all responsibility for the negotiations, which I thought I was sent to conduct, to a first secretary five steps removed from the ambassador. The first secretary—one of several—was a pleasant young man, in his late twenties or early thirties, with absolutely no experience in such matters. He also had a full day's work to do aside from the military base negotiations.

But we were informed that I would not be permitted to negotiate with the country, because that was the Embassy's job and all contacts, appointments, telephone calls and the negotiations themselves would be handled by the first secretary. He informed me and my three associates that we could advise him if he asked us to, but otherwise it was his show.

I was shocked at the negative attitude prevailing in that and other embassies. They are staffed with experts on why something could not be done, on why meetings could not be set up. They wanted to compromise issues immediately, and they even refused to let us ask the country for certain contracting procedures, because they felt they knew best what was good for that country. Finally, when a special ambassador was sent from Washington at the request of the Secretary of Defense, and he bypassed the Embassy by going directly to the foreign officials on the procedural questions, they were readily agreed to.

But weeks would go by before we could even have a meeting in some countries. When a session was finally arranged, the unprepared first secretary insisted on doing the negotiating and he got nowhere. It was pitiful to watch. Even more discouraging was the fact that by putting a first secretary in charge for the United States, the pattern of the whole negotiation was set. The foreign country, naturally, used a representative of equivalent rank. There we were, five grades down from the top levels on both sides, so decisions had to travel a most tortuous and devious route. This is what is known as relegating negotiations to the "mattress mice" rather than keeping them on the proper plane. Under such circumstances we could hardly expect any country to take seriously the contention of American military authorities that the requirements for bases and facilities were of the utmost importance and deserving of the highest priority.

Many able people work for months preparing requirements, language, and so on, in the field, in the military services in Washington, in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, in the Department of State and in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and after all this effort and work an ambassador tells one of his young men, who never saw such a thing before, to conduct the actual negotiations.

And there I sat, able, willing, and ready to conduct the negotiations, drawing a large salary supposedly for doing just that, but not permitted to do so. There was no accountability on the first secretary's part for his failures or mistakes. All that happened was that our NATO commitments fell further behind schedule, our military services had to live with the mistakes, and in some cases we had to do without the desired bases entirely.

I can't blame the negotiators from the foreign countries for taking every advantage of our juvenile representatives. They would be foolish, from the viewpoint of their immediate national interest, not to do so. I could hardly blace them for laughing at our immature efforts in the so-called art of diplomacy.

But the results can be terribly serious. For example, the United States had been trying for more than 2 years to conclude an agreement for construction of an aviation-fuel pipeline from a French seaport to a point beyond the Paris area, which was to be financed with United States funds. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, then Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, had placed this pipeline as No. 1 on his list of priority projects, for you can't fly a jet fighter on cognac—and French cognac is good. But the issue was bogged down in a debate over control of the pipeline.

Although several United States congressional groups have cited this pipeline as an example of French noncooperation, I can't blame the French. I blame ourselves for our inept handling of the matter. If our Paris Embassy really wanted to get prompt results, the Ambassador, or at least his No. 2 man, would have gone to work; or the Embassy might have permitted Ambassador Draper's full-time, experienced, but unemployed negotiators to move in and conclude the job. I warned the Embassy that the assignment would be taken out of its hands if action was not forthcoming. That is just what happened when Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and Assistant Secretary Frank Nash came to Paris for the NATO meetings last April and concluded the negotiations the easy way, by capitulating completely to the French. Even the Embassy could have done this, months ago. Thus there never was a negotiation worthy of the name, and the whole job was thoroughly bungled. There must have been some anxious head scratching in American military circles during the French public utility strikes last August.

While weeks and months passed with no progress at all toward obtaining bases and facilities for our forces, our missions and embassies all over Western Europe were driving full speed ahead on our giveaway programs, which had priority over everything else. I can't adequately describe the cajoling, the arguing, the threatening, the fighting we went through with the people in our own embassies in an attempt to get action on our military-base rights in step with our aid programs. We couldn't seem to convince them that if war came, all the aid in the form of dollars, offshore procurement items, and so on, would not fuel a single fighter, build a single airstrip or provide naval port facilities.

These base-rights agreements are not only necessary for the logistic support of our troops but are also most important from a dollars-and-cents point of view. We can't just walk into a country, pick out a nice 5,000-acre site and build an airbase as if we were so many Russians. We have to negotiate what local taxes, what import and export duties, what port, landing and other fees we should pay. We must get an agreement for general operating rights for our troops in the host country, determine what kind of money we shall use to pay our troops, agree on the residual value of our installations when we leave, work out many questions of jurisdiction over our forces while we are in the country, agree on the sharing of costs of our occupation, and on many other questions involving not only rights and privileges but dollars and cents. These agree-

ments set the basic ground rules for hundreds of millions of dollars in expenditures on construction and contracting. Much congressional criticism has been leveled at the armed services for wasteful expenditures and faulty construction of bases, but I know of no group in Congress that ever looked at the heart of the question—to see just how and by whom the agreements that set the construction procedure were negotiated.

Generally speaking, where only United States money is involved, the military wants to make construction contracts the way it makes them in the United Sates—to draw the plans and specifications, determine the lowest responsible bidder, award and sign the contract and then inspect and supervise the work. Some foreign countries, however, feel they should do all these things, thereby gaining control of our expenditures.

In one country, notorious for its 10 percent kickbacks on all construction contracts, I was to draft a memorandum restating our position, which had already been given orally. The foreign country's position was directly opposite ours. Again, a part-time first secretary was put in charge with exactly the same lack of experience and lack of results—his full-time job was on give-away programs. I wrote in my memo that in order to safeguard the expenditures of the United States funds we must have the right to award the contract, and we must have the right to inspect and supervise the work. This was only a negotiating paper, but the Ambassador concerned struck out all the "musts" and inserted "desires to" in each instance. One can imagine how impressed the foreign government was with our desires.

I also got a sharp verbal rap on the knuckles from the Embassy for presuming to mention during these negotiations that a contractor in that same country had come to our military to ask where he should pay his 10 percent kickback. But the contractor was properly startled when we took care of that matter by cutting his bill to Uncle Sam by 10 percent.

My experiences with American diplomats abroad were not all bad, of course. The smaller embassies, I found, were by far the best from the standpoint of a will to get ahead with a job and produce results. Ambassador Eugenie Anderson and her staff in Denmark, and Ambassador John E. Peurifoy in Greece, were the outstanding examples in this respect. But two of our larger embassies on the Continent offset such happier experiences.

In another country we had been waiting more than 2 months for a very basic decision, and time was of the essence. Coincidentally, word came to notify this particular government that we now had so many more millions of dollar aid available for that country. Again I went to the Ambassador and begged him at least to mention the decision we wanted, and had to have, while breaking the pleasant news of our new bounty. He and his staff refused even to mention the two things together.

This was the last straw for me. I had gone to Europe to conduct negotiations with foreign countries for military bases that we urgently needed. Our embassies wouldn't let me do this. I had pleaded for some businesslike approach to synchronize our aid with the facilities we needed, as my job description said I should, but I failed to budge the embassies' determination not to do so. I had drawn large pay checks monthly without earning one of them—unless it was by negotiating with our own embassies. This can become most demoralizing.

I therefore sent the Secretary of Defense a very strong cable, by military rather than Embassy communications, in which I warned that we might never get one agreement, while another would be far from satisfactory as a result of the Embassies' ineptitude. I further stated that under existing procedures my job was a complete phony, that I was not earning my pay, that I was not hired to advise a first secretary, and that I wanted no further part of the show unless the situation was changed to allow me to conduct the negotiations as I was hired to do and could do.

When one of the Ambassadors concerned heard about this cable, he sent an "eyes only" cable to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, asking that I be withdrawn from the negotiations for criticizing his Embassy and sending a message by military communications. I was delighted to learn that this cable had been sent, because I felt certain that Secretary Dulles, who had taken office nearly 6 months after I was sent to Europe, would be fair enough to look into the merits of my complaints and possibly take corrective steps. I had called the shots as I saw them, and, knowing the Secretary's reputation, I felt that he would appreciate honest criticism.

But a friend of the Ambassador, a career man in the State Department, evidently came to my same line of reasoning, because I was reliably informed that this career man stopped the message intended only for the eyes of the Secretary of State, and that Mr. Dulles, in fact, probably never saw the Ambassador's dispatch. In any event, I immediately became persona non grata at the Embassy involved, whereupon I returned to Washington and had my job abolished in order that no one else would get stuck with it.

One might ask why, instead of writing this article, I do not take this matter up with the new men now running our State Department, for surely they would do something about it. I wish it were that simple. I think the case of the "Eyes Only" cable, just cited, indicates a part of the problem. It must be remembered that the faces of only a relatively few top people are new ones in the Department, that basically the same team is calling the signals and running the show. It would be the height of optimism—and I am an optimist—to expect the necessary changes to come from within. Moreover, although the United States may have appointed new and able ambassadors to some foreign countries, the career Foreign Service officers in those countries will most assuredly attempt, and perhaps with success, to indoctrinate our freshly minted diplomats into their way of thinking and acting. The ultimate of this indoctrination is a benevolent mental state whereby we always know better what is best for a particular country than the country does itself.

It is not entirely a State Department matter either. The Defense Department has known, and in detail, of this situation, but either cannot or will not take steps to correct it. It must therefore share some of the responsibility, although the military and the three service secretaries gave us wonderful cooperation at all times.

The fundamental issue involved in this whole unhappy episode remains unsolved. To me the issue is how the United States can obtain, train, and have available top-flight negotiators to represent our country and conduct the highly important defense negotiations with other nations. Perhaps in their other negotiations also, if we can reason by analogy. These first secretaries and most of the career Foreign Service people I met may be qualified to undertake the day-to-day routine problems which confront our embassies. But what is it that makes an ambassador or the Department of State think they can put an inexperienced young man, who wants to be well liked so he can be promoted in our Foreign Service, on a major negotiation on a part-time basis and expect to get the best results for our country?

No business would think of combining the jobs of sales manager and purchasing agent in one man. These career Foreign Service people, many of whom I have known for years, are uniformly charming people and may fill the bill as sales representatives of the United States. But they are about as effective in negotiation as a cup of warm water. We certainly are in need of a different breed of purchasing agents to represent us.

Perhaps what is needed is trained and qualified defense experts who can be appointed to the Ambassadors' staffs to handle these new problems, reporting directly to him. Alternatively, and I believe preferably, we might have a hard core of well-trained negotiators based in Washington in the Department of State who could go into a country, headed by a man with the rank of minister, be accountable only to the Ambassador, complete a negotiation and return home with no thought of becoming well liked or remaining in the country. In addition, we should be more general in our approach and not try, in a diplomatic agreement, to get in everything but the kitchen sink. We should agree on general principles and leave the later working out of details to the operating levels in the country.

We need trained men who understand the basic principles of negotiation set out above, who have the will to be firm, though polite; purposeful, while remaining considerate of others' rights, and who can temper their judgments with humility. This, plus less of a desire to be popular. I am not advocating a "get-tough" policy, but rather a "get-wise" policy of using a little God-given common sense.

This is not, in my opinion, a political problem; rather, it is a problem of training and constant objective review to make sure that our foreign servants do not go stale, social, or get imbued with a burning desire to be well liked above all else in the country where they are serving. Indeed, there is one school of thought amongst those who have been exposed to the vacillating, paternalistic and negative attitudes of some of our embassies, that if more United States ambassadors were declared persona non grata, the American people would have a clearer indication that their interests were being properly protected. Perhaps the United States Congress should give all such ambassadors medals to equate them properly with the popular individuals who get decorations or medals from the foreign countries when they leave.

Although we still indulge in the luxury of appointing completely untried and untested ambassadors from the ranks of political contributors, we most certainly should stop playing games when it comes to the hard task of conducting actual negotiations. Only experience should be tolerated. Man for man, the foreign countries will outnegotiate the United States if we do not train and make available the best our country can produce. In the absence of such men to negotiate on behalf of our country, I am forced to agree with the proponents of the so-called Bricker amendment which would limit the scope of our international negotiations without congressional approval. If we are to continue to have agreements concluded by such inexperienced persons as are today conducting them, the very least that should occur is some review of their terms by the appropriate committee of the Congress.

Above all, it seems to me that we could certainly use some new blood. I am thinking, in particular, of the career Foreign Service officer who gave orders that the American flag should not be flown on our Embassy in Rome last May 1 for fear the Communists would not like it. Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, our Ambassador, was not aware of this piece of pussyfooting nonsense, but Secretary of Defense Wilson, visiting Rome, certainly was. To his everlasting credit, Mr. Wilson refused to set foot in the Embassy that day until the flag was flown. What he doesn't

know, however, is that 5 minutes after he left the Embassy, the career man had the flag hauled down again. To me, this incident epitomizes the mentality I faced throughout the nine most frustrating months of my life.

Investing in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, never in the history of America has the comfort and prosperity of so many people been so dependent upon so few.

Who are these who have assumed so great a responsibility? They are not the possessors of wealth. Neither are they generals in the Army, nor directors of factories, nor we who make the country's laws. In short, they are the scientists, and we are learning how fearfully small are their numbers.

Two world wars and the threat of a third, have made plain the insufficiency of our resources. As never before, we realize that the 48 States, even with Alaska and Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, lack many of the raw materials necessary to a balanced national economy. During times of peace we can import partial supplies of the materials we most need, but let a war break out and the accompanying restrictions could leave us crippled before the enemy.

Our present relative security is due in no small part to technically trained men and women who have confronted each new problem with a "what," a "why," and a "how." The products of their initiative and ingenuity surround us. They include antibiotics and vitamins, fertilizers, new strains of plants to produce food and fiber in greater abundance, metals that refuse to be deformed by heat, new metals, such as germanium, which can be used in tiny transistors to replace complicated electronic tubes, and enough other things to fill a book bigger than the Federal budget.

Their creation is the product of minds disciplined by rigorous training and encouraged to make infinite sacrifices. That this Nation may have such carefully trained and dedicated minds in ample numbers is a problem of major importance.

It remained for the Westinghouse Electric Corp., as recently as 1942, to conceive a plan for dramatizing the search for scientific talent and to interest the possessors of such talent in further study. Science Service, Inc., of Washington, D. C., cooperated with the company to form science clubs of America with chapters in public, private, and parochial high schools over the entire country. By these means, thousands of boys and girls have been encouraged to give serious thought to careers of science.

On February 25, for the 13th time, 40 who have been selected as individual prize winners will come to Washington. For 5 days, these 8 girls and 32 boys will be the guests of the Westinghouse Electric Corp. at the science talent institute, and will compete for $11,000 in Westinghouse science scholarships.

From 16,344 high-school seniors who entered the competition, a young man has been chosen from my district, the 10th Congressional District of New Jersey. He is Bevan M. French, of 98 Alexander Avenue, in Nutley. At 16 he has proved real capacity as a researcher. He stands at the head of his class of 240 high-school seniors.

His interest drew him to the mine dumps of the New Jersey Zinc Co., and the things which he found are written up in a carefully documented report entitled "Present-Day Mineral Collecting at Franklin, N. J." Parts of it are illustrated with color photographs of mineral specimens, which he made under fluorescent light.

My pride in the fact that he has been chosen to come to Washington will be heightened if he receives the $2,800 Westinghouse grand science scholarships or any of the lesser Westinghouse science scholarships. But regardless of how he fares with the judges, I am deeply moved as I think of the contribution this great American industry is making for our future.

These 13 annual science talent searches mark a high point in civic leadership. Neither you nor I can predict what the future holds for this young man, or for the 320 young people who have come to Washington attend the succession of these events. Least of all can we predict concerning the hundreds of thousands of young people who were encouraged to interest themselves in the opportunities provided by the various fields of science.

We can, however, be certain that these young people will participate in some amazing and profitable developments.

Talents such as they are demonstrating are products of inheritance, the opportunities of a free environment, and educational discipline. Under the best of conditions, those who have them are in the minority. But when a great corporation like Westinghouse sets out to encourage them, the investment promises assurance for America's future.

The Nation's Perplexing Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there are many conflicting views on what should and what should not be done about the Nation's perplexing farm problem. Some people say we have a surplus of food, while others contend that with one-half of the world hungry there is not enough food produced.

These various views about the farm problem are very interesting. As the editor of the Buffalo County Republican of Fountain City, Wis., puts it:

When the problem becomes really large we say it is no longer a problem, it is an impossibility.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the following editorial from the Buffalo County Republican in the RECORD for one view of the farm problem:

WHATS WRONG THAT CONGRESS SHOULD CORRECT?

We are producing too much food and there is not enough food to supply the hungry. Do we care about the hungry? The producers of the surpluses need to remember 1932, when many had so much corn that they went hungry because there was no market for it to exchange for food they could eat. We make spasmodic efforts to correct the most appealing needs. We send $10 to CARE once a year. But we are like Congressmen—when the problem becomes really large we say it is no longer a problem, it is an impossibility.

This time of the year is when the farm problem comes up at us hard. If the prospect of lower prices is going to cause farmers to increase plantings to make up in volume what they lose in price, they may find themselves in another 1932. This will be a time for collective self-control. And Congress may have to be the moderating influence, for people are like sheep. They all want to do the same thing at the same time. We know now that the panic of '29 was caused by a hysteria that struck the whole country and caused the bulk of holders of corporation stocks to want to sell, all the same day. Now we all should know that human nature requires that vacuums be filled. You don't get anywhere telling a child not to do that if it means that he is then to do nothing. Correctives must be positive not negative, or do nothing.

Our Nation is a big family, an extension of the primary unit, the family. What the Nation does if a member gets sick, or gets down under, is the same that a family does if a member gets sick, or gets to floundering around financially. Joint effort is made to bring him up to par. Or that is the way it should be.

In our general economy, we find a slightly different situation: One group often profits by the misfortune of another group. Even if there would be no detriment to the first group, a dog-in-the-manger attitude often prevents it from using common sense aid to the second group.

Not that the first group are bad people. They get off the main track in their thinking. Like the grand dame who attended a charity ball and ordered her private cab driver to stay at the curb during the affair in sub-zero weather, which resulted in the death of the cabbie by freezing, while she was tripping the light fantastic toe to help some poor people, perhaps far away.

Shortcomings like the above in our Congresman may prevent many solutions to our problems.

He Keeps the Weather Record for Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a news article and editorial

from the Miles City Star concerning the service of Mr. Elmer Peterson, the Miles City volunteer weather observer. These articles are, I believe, a fitting tribute to the fine work that is being done not only by Mr. Peterson but by all of the volunteer weather observers in Montana and other States. They follow:

HE KEEPS THE WEATHER RECORD FOR FREE

"All for free" is what your weather observer gets for going to the trouble of recording temperature and moisture.

Not only does he give his time for free, but Elmer Peterson, our weather observer, has an investment of about a thousand dollars in thermometers and other instruments.

There have been 12 observers here, including Peterson, who took over in 1943. The first one, back in 1892, was H. R. Boynton, who served until May 1894.

Following him, according to weather bureau's records at Helena, were E. H. Thompson, 1894–97; C. M. Boucher, 1897–99; A. W. Kennie, 1899–1905; Boucher again from 1905 to 1922; T. E. Guill, 1922–28; B. P. Hughes, 1928–35; Louis R. Jurwitz, 1935–37; W. C. Chapin, 1937–41; L. O. Oliver under temporary assignment from November 1941 to February 1942; A. Schonberger, March 1942 till when Peterson took over in January 1943.

At the time the weather bureau was located at the post office it had a paid employee. But Peterson, like hundreds of others over the country, does the work for nothing.

He installed a recording barometer in March 1946 and later that year bought a recording thermometer. He has two maximum and two minimum thermometers, just in case one of them goes wrong. In 1946 he installed the weather bureau box before which he is standing in the accompanying picture.

A hundred and ten is the highest temperature recorded since Peterson took over. One of his prized possessions is a Swedish barometer which was handed down to his father, G. M. Peterson, by the latter's father. It is as accurate as a brandnew instrument.

Peterson keeps the weather station at his home. He figured out once that his home is located at latitude 46–24, longitude 105–50. His exact elevation there is 2,289 feet.

You can't miss a day on the job, even though it's a payless job. When Elmer goes to National Guard camp or takes a vacation he has to turn the chore over to someone else.

"I used to hang around the station when it was at the post office," Peterson explains in telling how he happened to take over the task. "I just got interested in it."

It's not just a matter of checking the temperatures and looking to whether or not there had been rain the night before. All kinds of records must be kept from day to day and other data must be forwarded to the weather bureau at Helena.

At Peterson's request, R. A. Dightman, section director for the bureau at Helena, searched the files but could find no one who kept the records here prior to when Boynton took over in 1892 but it's Peterson's thought that the Government had someone here as early as the eighties. The Washington office had little information on the station, probably for the reason that in the early days it was an Army matter and the records were probably lost when Fort Keogh was closed out as a cavalry post.

COOPERATIVE WEATHER OBSERVER

In a recent issue the Star told of the work of Elmer Peterson, cooperative weather observer in Miles City. It was a story of public service performed for the love of it, for there is no financial reward. As was pointed out, Peterson has an investment of about $1,000 in meteorological instruments and equipment to supplement what the Government provides.

Elmer Peterson and the thousands of other cooperative weather observers throughout the United States seldom receive public recognition. But without them the United States Weather Bureau could not record the Nation's weather in such detail as it does. Except for Elmer Peterson and his predecessors, the story of Miles City's climate would be vague indeed.

But because of the day-by-day work of these voluntary observers, and the occasions when the Bureau has had a paid employee here, there is an unbroken record of Miles City's weather back to 1894. We need not comment on the value of such a record as a means of understanding the climate of this area.

Little of the record is still available, but weather data were recorded at Fort Keogh in the days when it was a military establishment. The job was done by the Signal Corps of the Army. During the same general period, meteorological observations were made by the Signal Corps at other Army posts in Montana. Hence Montana has a few weather records going back to the 1860's, but these records were too short in term of years to have much real meaning. They show some very wet years and some very dry ones, some very high temperatures and some very low.

A weather record of only a few years may do little more than catch a phase of a climatological cycle. We in Montana are well aware that there are such cycles in which, for example, a series of abnormally wet years are followed by a series of subnormally dry ones. No one knows when these cycles will come or how long their phases will be. Examination of rings in a tree trunk—as old a tree as you can find—will show that that far back there have been cycles, unevenly spaced and of un-uniform duration.

Miles City's weather record is now long enough to be valuable. It averages out the weather into climate and gives as reliable index as can be had of the general moisture and temperature conditions and ranges of the area.

We hope that this outline will help to bring to public attention the importance of the work that Peterson and voluntary weather observers all over the State and Nation are doing. The Weather Bureau has relatively few of what it calls regular stations, manned by its own paid meteorologists. Even this small number of regular stations is being reduced.

This adds to the responsibilities of the cooperative observers. The number in Montana is probably at least 100, and there is scarcely a locality where the daily weather record is not being taken. Morning and evenings these weather observers read the instruments and register the figures. Each month the report goes to the State headquarters in Helena and, the year having rolled around, the monthly reports are assembled into an annual report.

Perhaps the general tendency is to take the weatherman for granted. He is recognized, of course, as a sort of institution, to be goodnaturedly cussed when a shower spoils a picnic or the wind blows dust in the eyes of folks who shouldn't be looking anyway. The reason why the weatherman—Elmer Peterson in Miles City—is taken for granted is that morning and evening he does an unspectacular job as regularly as the sun rises and sets.

Hero or not, the weather man is certainly unsung.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, at a time like this, when the free world looks to American economy as the source-supplier to win the battle for freedom, it behooves this Congress to look well and searchingly into any proposals that affect our basic economy.

There are many facets to this waterway question and not a few of my colleagues have, and others are prepared, to develop specific aspects of the question authoritatively. I have been an interested and intent listener to this debate since its outset, and I am happy to make the frank admission that I have learned much. In like manner, I trust my humble contribution to the discussion will illuminate with equal clarity the area which I believe to be of vital consequence.

Now we are all aware that the world today is composed of two opposite camps, the freedom-loving countries, dedicated to self-determination for all peoples, and the Soviet-ruled domain which is a vast prison.

The contest, as you so well know, is not merely confined to rival ideologies, but also embraces opposing economic systems. And we have had much to encourage us in recent months as the whole world has been informed, through riots and disorders, behind the Iron Curtain, that the Soviet plan is not working out, that hunger stalks rampant over Eastern Europe.

We regret the human misery caused by this collapse of the Soviet economic system and it is one of the distinguishing characteristics of American democracy that we have offered food relief to the poor captive souls behind the Iron curtain. I hope it will not considered discursive, but I would like to refresh the memory of all of us that our Government did the same thing about three decades ago, when the American Relief Administration brought succor and comfort and survival to millions of Russians when famine stalked the Soviet Republic. There are those today among the ruling clique in the Kremlin who must remember that errand of mercy by the American Government. So it is all the more callous and heartless that the ruling voices in Russia, in response to President Eisenhower's humane offer of food, shout back that America seeks only to exploit the situation for political propaganda.

While we sympathize with the sufferers behind the Iron Curtain and shall continue our efforts to get relief to them, the fact remains, nevertheless, that this evidence of the weakness of the Soviet police-state economics needs to be assessed and studied on more than one count: we need to consider current East-

ern European developments, not only from the viewpoint of foreign policy and what steps are indicated for psychological strategy, but also to ponder on the fact that this is impressive evidence anew that the planned-scarcity economy of the Soviet cannot hold a candle to the free productive enterprise of economic democracy which has raised the United States to the pinnacle of power.

From this general observation, I would like to have the opportunity to lead you into a consideration of certain of the hard-core realities of our American economic system. Steel, you know, is the pivot on which our production system swings; or, to change the figure of speech, steel is the pillar on which the whole economic edifice rests; and steel, as you are so aware, is completely dependent on coal and electric utilities. Thus, it naturally follows that we must, in the national interest, be greatly concerned with the welfare of the coal industry to the end that it will be able to take care of the demands of steel; otherwise our vast production capacity would dry up at the source, and the strong economic structure we have reared would crumble. In that unfortunate contingency would crash the bulwarks of our national security.

The history of the past two world wars informs us that the military front is only the extension of the civilian front, and the frontline depends, in a large measure, for the constant supply of material from home. All of this warns us that we must be on guard to prevent economic misadventures which promise harm to our basic industrial elements.

Do not take my appraisal for it for it may well be that in my enthusiasm for the subject, I may stray beyond the limits of objectivity. I would like you to know, however, what the World Book Encyclopedia has to say on the subject of coal:

Formed millions of years ago, coal has an important effect on almost every activity of modern life. If the world should be deprived of its coal resources through some disaster, man's present way of life would be very different from what it is. All the substitute sources of energy, such as atomic power, oil, natural gas, and water power, could not at present fill the gap left by the loss of coal.

Without coal, steel mills, factories, powerplants, and railroads would be forced to stop operating. Automobiles, trucks, and buses could still run, but there would be no way of replacing them when they wore out. In a short time the breakdown of transportation would cut off food supplies from the cities. Farmers, too, would have to go back to crude hand methods of earlier days, for modern farming implements could not be made without the use of coal. Without coal there could be no towering skyscrapers, labor-saving machines, or fast-moving means of transportation.

It was coal that enabled man to make full use of iron, and thus made possible the steel age. Coal and iron together have made man the ruler of the earth, sea, and sky. Ocean liners, streamlined trains, transcontinental buses, houses, factories, all are in large part the products of coal mines and blast furnaces. Coal helps make steel, produce steam, and generate electricity. In the United States alone, coal supplies almost as much power and heat as all other sources of energy combined. Coal furnishes an even larger share of energy in other industrial countries.

Coal has also played a prominent part in the course of history and in the struggles among nations. Wars have been fought to gain or keep coalfields, for industrial success depends to a great extent upon the amount of coal a country controls.

Defeat or victory in war may depend upon a nation's possession or lack of coal for arms and munitions cannot be produced without it.

You will find confirmation of all that I have been saying about coal in relation to the national welfare.

Later on, I intend to go into a detailed account of the condition of the coal industry in this country, but for the moment I would like to make the point again of steel's dependency on coal. In 1952, steel mills used 104 million tons of coal, and it is estimated in 1953 that figure is exceeded by from 10 million to 15 million tons. Also in 1952, utilities took 103 million tons of coal. This figure becomes highly important when we realize that 20 years ago, the utilities only consumed 27 million tons of coal. All of this data reveals the extent to which the American economy system relies on coal.

Having said all this, it then becomes our concern: What about the coal industry itself? How is it doing? What are its prospects? Where is it going? What are the favorable factors? What the unfavorable? And how does this proposed St. Lawrence seaway project tie in with all of this?

Well, despite the impressive tonnage used by the steel and utility industries, the coal industry itself is in a sick condition. Mr. A. H. Raskin, in a special dispatch to the New York Times, Sunday, July 19, 1953, datelined Pittsburgh, has this to say:

King Coal has toppled off his throne as the Nation's principal energy source. For half a century other fuels have been nibbling away at coal's empire; now, for the first time, Government statistics show that oil has supplanted coal as America's chief fuel.

Oil and natural gas are likely to make further inroads in the next few years, but most experts are convinced that the fortunes of the coal industry will begin looking up by 1960 unless now unforeseen developments in atomic energy revolutionize the whole fuel picture. The big problem is how to keep the industry from wasting away during the lean period immediately ahead.

One way to help keep it from wasting away is to refrain from building hydroelectric plants in the name of the St. Lawrence seaway, plants financed by public funds, whose competition will deal mortal blows to an industry that we have already shown needs to be kept in a sound condition for the national safety.

Here is a situation in a basic industry that should stimulate our thinking in constructive channels so that we would be trying to develop ways and means, through governmental policy and program, to assist and strengthen—instead we are asked to bring into being, by taxpayers' funds, projects which will further harm this essential industry—coal.

What has been happening in coal? Take, for instance, the anthracite or hard coal industry. This is located for the most part in northeastern Pennsylvania. In 1917, the hard coal industry reached its peak production with a total of 99,612,000 tons. The shrinkage in the industry can best be understood in light of the fact that last year, the annual output was 39,974,000. Now in between those figures is a story of depressed communities, sociological hurts, dried-up opportunities, human stagnation. What is equally depressing is the fact that anthracite production during 1953 dwindled further. Frankly, this is a condition that warrants our most serious attention and our help. And at least if we are not going to do anything about it affirmatively, which I hope will not be the case, then the very least we ourselves and the Nation can do, is to put a halt to anything federally sanctioned and financed that figures to deliver a knockout blow to coal. And that is just what this so-called seaway project, with its hydroelectric adjuncts, will accomplish.

While the bituminous or soft-coal industry has not experienced the same sharp fall off as anthracite, the fact is, nevertheless, that its output is off. In 1947 the soft-coal industry had a peak production of 630,623,000 yet in 1952 it was down to 465 million tons. The figures on bituminous production for 1953 vary from 430 million tons to 450 million.

The further significance of all of this is realized when we come to employment figures for the coal industry. In 1923 the soft-coal industry employed 704,793 men. At present, this employment total has dropped off to 296,000. The anthracite industry shows a similar drying up of employment opportunities. From a peak employment of 179,679 its working force has dwindled to 52,700. And the whole story is not contained in these figures. We must consider that basic jobs in prime industries like coal provide a substantial number of jobs in affiliated and service industries. So it is that whole coal regions have been hit to the point where they are surplus-labor areas, and just because of the down slide of the coal industry so many workers have become displaced.

So we must be extremely careful and walk warily else we further speed the decline of a key industry and in so doing add greatly to the growing problems of social security.

It is my firm conviction that instead of being engaged in financing of hydroelectric projects, which are going to aim a dagger at the heart of the coal industry, our Government ought to be engaged in a comprehensive program of research and development and planning, all aimed at reviving and restoring this basic prop of our American economic system.

I know that there are many quick to say that the power projects proposed for the St. Lawrence have nothing to do with the waterway, that they have been severed, so to speak, that one has no connection with the other, but I say to you that they are Siamese economic twins, they are part and parcel of the same thing, they were sired by the same idea, mothered by the same plan.

Always up to now, the hydroelectric projects and the so-called seaway have been one. Repeatedly, this Congress

has turned down the proposal and emphatically. So what happened this year? It was deemed the better part of valor, and the tops in strategy, to separate one from the other, to put them in the seaway sweepstakes as separate entries, but they come out of the same stable and they carry the same colors.

In connection with the inseparatibility of the power projects and the waterway, I would like to quote in part from the able and expert testimony of Mr. Thomas F. Kennedy, vice president, United Mine Workers of America, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in its hearings last May. I am quoting Mr. Kennedy:

Of course, there is another reason for the building of the St. Lawrence seaway not specifically advanced by the proponents of this measure now, but nevertheless correct, and that is the building of hydroelectric plants on the St. Lawrence principally for the benefit of western New York and for use in Ontario where a shortage of power now exists. The building of these plants naturally affects adversely the coal industry, both bituminous and anthracite, and a considerable loss of tonnage not only affecting the economy in the coal industry but likewise creating unemployment in the coal and railroad industries.

It has been estimated that every 2,000 kilowatt-hours produced by hydroelectric power will displace 1 ton of coal, and for every ton of coal displaced 1 man loses a day's work.

Now, I might interpose that does not necessarily mean every miner will lose a day's work, but taking railroads, taking the collateral industries that make up really the mining industries, men in those industries would lose an average of 1 day's work.

Our Canadian neighbors who are in favor of the seaway are not unselfish in their general attitude. They want more electric power, and they are not adverse to us helping them get it. In the Matawaska River section of Ontario, about 80 miles north of Ottawa, surveys have been made for a number of years by the Ontario Power Authority for the building of a hydroelectric plant on the Matawaska River, near Black Donald, Ontario. This project has been held up, and inquiries made in this section indicate that it has been held up awaiting work or official action by the Congress of the United States on the building of the St. Lawrence seaway, and its collateral objective, the building of hydroelectric plants on the St. Lawrence.

In other words, if we go through with our financing of the waterway and hydroelectric plants, there will be no need for Ontario to proceed with its other contemplated plants on the Matawaska River. Another economic factor that prevails is the fact that western New York and the Province of Ontario have not done anything about building electric-energy plants for present and future power needs. They are waiting for the Government and the taxpayers of the United States to do the job for them.

The opposite is true in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and West Virginia, where great electric-energy plants have been built and are being built to take care of present and potential requirements. Private capital has been doing this job, and doing it effectively, while those advocating public hydroelectric power are resting on their oars waiting for the Government to do it for them. If the Government does do it for them, States such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and West Virginia, which are progressive and looking forward, will suffer an economic disadvantage because of their foresight and initiative.

Well there you are, the cat is out of the bag, or rather a whole bag of hydroelectric kittens has been opened by Mr. Kennedy, who in his capacity as vice president of the United Mine Workers of America, understands so well just what the sponsors of this project have been about these many years. As he says so pointedly in the concluding phases of his Senate committee testimony:

In conclusion, I might say that all factors being considered, I think the same reasons exist today as have existed for many years which indicate that the sensible and proper thing to do in the interests of all the people of the United States is to reject this proposed legislation. In other words, special privileges and subsidies at the taxpayers' expense should not be accorded to a few States at the expense of the others. Equal rights to all States and to their economy must prevail.

In other words, we should have our eyes fully opened here and realize what we are doing. If we, as a legislative body, favor the authorization of these federally financed hydroelectric projects, then all well and good and the majority rules. However, please let us not attempt to do by indirection what I believe this body will not do by direction. We should have all the cards on the table and know for a certainty what we are about. I profess I cannot understand how anyone reading Mr. Kennedy's informed testimony would not be persuaded that the proposed waterway and the other powerplants are all in one, so to speak.

Pursuing my interest in the coal industry of America, an interest which I have heretofore demonstrated, bears directly upon the well-being and security of the Nation, I would like to quote pertinent testimony from the statement of F. F. Estes, traffic manager of the National Coal Association, said statement appearing as part of the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this subject. At one point, Mr. Estes said:

Some years ago when we appeared in opposition to the seaway, we cited the coal tonnage that would be lost should the railroads lose a substantial portion of their freight traffic to the waterway. Today the railroads are not such large purchasers of coal for fuel use, due to the rapid dieselization of their lines in recent years. Nevertheless, the retention of their traffic, and a healthy railroad financial structure rebounds to the interests of the coal industry, in that the railroads are less likely to seek additional increases in their freight rates on coal which would add to coal's competition in the fuel and energy market.

Coal is finding it increasingly difficult to hold a reasonable portion of the fuel market in the face of competition from other private enterprise, to say nothing of the competition it must meet from Government-subsidized industries and the dumping of cheap residual heavy oil at our Atlantic ports. Imports of this heavy oil, now averaging around 440,000 barrels daily, is displacing over 35 million tons of coal annually. Bills have been introduced in both branches of Congress designed to abate this serious threat to our domestic production of both coal and oil. While the effect of the competition of this imported heavy oil is felt at substantial distances from the ports of entry, the vortex of its economic destruction is at, or within close distance of, seaboard. To make seaports of our lake cities as far west as Duluth would but further enlarge this threat to our national resource and railroad industries and the labor they employ, at high wages in comparison with the wages paid in the countries from which the oil is imported. Add to this huge coal displacement the more than 2½ million tons the proposed Barnhart Island power development would displace and more as additional sites were developed, and it is not difficult to see what would happen to coal production in this country, now running at an annual rate of 300 million tons less than 1947 or 1948, or around 400 million tons.

Still quoting Mr. F. F. Estes, traffic manager of the National Coal Association:

Now getting back to defense. Has any nation ever won a war without an adequate coal supply commensurate with wartime demand? Would not coal, as it has in the past, be called upon to supply the fuel deficiencies brought about by wartime preempting of the available oil for air, Navy, railroad, and truck priorities? Since the competition fuel situation has caused, and is daily causing, many mines, both small and substantial, to go out of business, and those which have managed to stay in business to adopt the most rigid austerity programs, it can be factually stated that the bituminous coal industry has neither the financial reserves nor other wherewithal to hold itself in readiness to increase its annual production 200 or 250 million tons, or any other substantial tonnage figure, to meet a sudden or even slowly progressing national emergency. So when this committee, or any other committee weighs the importance of the St. Lawrence seaway to the defense of our country, consideration should also, and we trust will be given to the other facets of defense, including the preservation and maintenance of basic industries which have proved their indispensability in wars we have won without the St. Lawrence seaway.

I have quoted at some length from Mr. Estes able testimony because I am certain it has a direct relation to our deliberations here. To that end, I am going to prevail upon your indulgence for one further and final quote by Mr. Estes, who in summing up his testimony concluded:

If the coal industry is to be put out of business by the fair competition of free enterprise, we will retire reluctantly, but I promise you gracefully. But if, on the other hand, we are to be put out of business by Government-subsidized competition, then I can likewise promise you that, in our own behalf, and in behalf of the general public and the national welfare, of which we pride ourselves of being an important part, we will fight to the last to prevent such abnegation and abrogation of the long-established concepts of free enterprise which we—all of us—have heretofore enjoyed.

Certainly this should cause us to pause. Here is the meat of the matter. A basic, resource industry, vital to a flourishing American economy, a valuable weapon in war, a proved servant of national security, is to be jeopardized to the point of economic death by this waterway-power bill.

It must not be. Let us not be beguiled by the blandishments of the visionaries, but rather reckon our course on the bright lights of proved national performances, and among those the achievements of the coal industry loom large and luminous.

I sincerely hope and strongly believe that reason will prevail and justice triumph in this Chamber, and that this ill-considered legislation will be resoundingly defeated. I trust that instead out of our deliberations and discussions will come the firm resolve that America has no more important challenge than put-

ting the once mighty coal industry in repair so that this fountain source of energy, which stokes the fires of American plants, will be fully ready and able to meet any and all demands our national security requires.

Just how the proposed seaway would affect the coal industry adversely is well detailed in the testimony of the Anthracite Institute, an organization which is located in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and, as its testimony declares—

The Anthracite Institute is authorized, on such matters as the subject (the seaway), to speak for virtually the entire industry.

I would remind you before I quote at length from the testimony of the Anthracite Institute that while it speaks for almost the entire hard-coal industry it does not represent the soft-coal industry so that while it gives an impressive picture of the damage the seaway would cause anthracite it does not tell the whole coal story.

Following is the testimony, in part, of the Anthracite Institute as it constitutes a section of the records of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on this subject:

Over 99 percent of the country's anthracite production originates in six adjacent counties in northeastern Pennsylvania. No anthracite is produced in Canada. In 1952 we provided 13 million man-days of work in and at mines, and paid wages of $235 million to our operating employees, all of whom are members of the United Mine Workers of America, whose vice president, Mr. Kennedy, has likewise voiced continuing opposition to any and all St. Lawrence proposals.

Our product is valued at $400 million annually f. o. b. mines, and is sold in our Northwestern States and in the Province of Ontario and Quebec at an estimated retail value of $700 million annually. In addition to constituting the principal source of heat for more than 4 million homes in that area, anthracite also provides an invaluable source of energy for electric generating stations and other local industries essential to the national defense effort and to the national security. This was amply demonstrated in both world wars.

This industry loaded approximately 302,000 railroad freight cars with raw coal for movement to points of preparation, and an additional 592,000 cars with market-bound prepared anthracite in the 12 months ended September 30, 1952. It paid United States class 1 railroads $114,856,000 for this service. This is one of the heaviest movements of any commodity handled by our railroads, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and must of necessity be carried on during each week of the year. These figures emphasize the fact that this industry is dependent upon the maintenance of an adequate and efficient railroad transportation system for the transportation of its consuming markets during all seasons of the year, and in all kinds of weather.

Toronto, Ontario, is the third largest city market for Pennsylvania anthracite, while Buffalo is fourth. The Province of Ontario consumes more of our domestic sizes than any State except New York, which is first, and Pennsylvania itself. Thus the Lake Ontario region constitutes the very heart of our markets.

To open this highly valued market territory to the unregulated competition of imported foreign anthracite and fuel oil, waterborne, at taxpayers' expense is a proposal to which we have been and are irrefutably opposed. Prior to the commencing of World War 2, our markets in Canada and New England were subject to the competition of millions of tons of overseas anthracite from Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Netherlands, French Indochina, and Morocco to the detriment of our producing and transportation industries, management and labor alike. Canadian imports of such origin came to rest as far up the St. Lawrence River as Montreal, beyond which the cost of transfer to smaller vessels for further westward movement was unfavorable as compared with our all-rail delivered product.

During the war this movement dwindled but never vanished, and in 1952 it had regained importance to the extent of a total of 350,000 tons, a gain of 23 percent over the level of 1951. With continued rehabilitation of European and other anthracite mining, these tonnages are expected to increase steadily and rapidly.

Under prevailing conditions, every ton of this competitive foreign anthracite is produced under socialized government subsidies, moved to tidewater under additional subsidies, and transported to North Atlantic ports at labor costs and transportation rates which are far below the standards prevailing in this country and Canada, over none of which costs and charges any agency of either government has any jurisdiction whatsoever. Furthermore, the great bulk, if not all of it, enters both countries free of duty. We feel very strongly that this competition is serious enough under existing conditions, without being called upon to shoulder our portion of the expense of constructing a seaway to further enlarge its sphere of influence to embrace some of our largest markets.

This is telling testimony and is one of the best arguments in opposition that I have come across. There are some additional points, too, and I would like to go on with them. I am quoting again from the testimony of the Anthracite Institute:

Such a course (that of constructing a seaway) would further constitute the creation of a competitive transportation system which, if sufficient traffic should materialize, would seriously endanger our railroad transportation system on which we must rely, to the extent that it would be compelled to maintain expensive idle standby facilities during the short season of open navigation, to enable it to pick up the load while the St. Lawrence is frozen over, which winter months are the most difficult and expensive for operation.

The placing of this unnecessary burden on our originating and delivering railroad could only result in higher freight rates on remaining traffic or even more severe financial strains, thus placing this industry in a still more grave competitive situation with respect to imported anthracite and fuel oils which would be brought in over the proposed seaway.

As has been testified by experts in that field, only a very small percentage of United States-flag shipping could and would utilize the canal under proposed specifications of depth, with the result that whatever competitive tonnages might be attracted would be transported in small vessels of foreign registry.

Proponents of the seaway have advanced the contention that the proposed project is essential as a transportation artery over which to bring ore from Labrador to steelmaking centers on the lakes and elsewhere in the East. The fact of the matter is that adequate transportation facilities already exist. According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, the Province of Quebec imported 933,262 tons of anthracite from Pennsylvania during the year ending January 31, 1953. Using the Interstate Commerce Commission average of 56.5 tons per car, that amounted to 16,520 cars. The traffic ranged between a low of 730 cars in April and a high of 2,450 cars in October. This haulage of anthracite, and there were large additional tonnages of bituminous coal, moved almost entirely in hopper cars. This type of car is suitable for and is regularly employed in the transportation of iron ore. The cars carrying coal to markets in Quebec and other eastern seaboard markets return to mines empty. There, therefore, appears to be no reason why this empty return hopper car movement could not be utilized in the haulage of ore from St. Lawrence River ports east of Montreal to steel centers in the United States over any or all of the at least 4 existing direct rail routes connecting the 2 areas.

We are of the opinion that the present proposal to finance the seaway by means of a corporation the bonds of which would be guaranteed by the United States Government is tantamount to an outright expenditure of Federal funds. Such expenditure for this purpose has failed of authorization by every Congress before which it has been proposed, and we therefore contend that the present proposal should likewise be rejected.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania ranks fourth among the States in its contribution to the total Federal tax receipts, and accounts for approximately 7 percent of the total. The cost of a seaway would, therefore, fall very heavily on the taxpayers of Pennsylvania.

According to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, the anthracite industry accounts for 32 percent of the total number of employees, 41 percent of the total wages paid, and 44 percent of the total capital invested in productive industry in the six anthracite-producing counties of Carbon, Columbia, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Northumberland, and Schuylkill. Whole communities in these counties are entirely dependent on the prosperity of this industry. Unfortunately, the industry has been far from prosperous and, due to the competition of fuel oil, natural gas, and imported foreign anthracite, it has incurred large losses in recent years. In 1952 it averaged only 206 working days, and since January 1, 1953, production has been 35 percent less than in the corresponding first 3½ months of 1952.

It is obvious that neither management nor labor in this industry, both of which contribute heavily to the tax burden, can afford to incur the additional financial obligations inherent in the construction of an uneconomic and wholly unnecessary transportation which could lead to nothing other than the introduction of additional disastrous competition in the very hearts of our markets.

For the foregoing reasons, therefore, we vigorously renew our long standing and unalterable opposition to the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project, and urge that your committee reject it in its entirety, whether financed by the Government directly or through guaranties, and whether it includes power development or not.

Yes, coal needs a boost, not a knock from Uncle Sam.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LESTER JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin along with other landlocked Midwestern States has long been interested in the development of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes seaway proj-

ect. All economic groups in our State, including industry, business, agriculture, and labor, are vitally concerned with the potential benefits that the seaway will give us as a result of having ports for ocean-going vessels.

One of the newspapers in my district, the Hudson Star-Observer, in an editorial on January 28, summarized the views of Midwestern citizens very well in a few words.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to commend this editorial to my colleagues:

SUPERIOR—A SEAPORT

The most important news to hit the headlines this year was that the Senate had passed the St. Lawrence seaway measure. For many years, progressive elements in the Midwest have fought for the action that would make major seaports at the head of Lake Superior, and now there seems to be some chance that the measure will pass.

And if it fails to pass the House, the Canadian Government will go forward alone and do the job. Our northern neighbors are apparently tired of our stalling.

But what does this mean to western Wisconsin? Let's look ahead—10, 20, 50 years. It means that the biggest port at the lakehead will be Superior, because the high hills and presently congested lakefront are natural barriers to much potential growth in Duluth.

But the flat areas around Superior are ideal for factory and housing development. Expansion there will bring about the establishment of a whole new industrial complex along Highway 35. It will cause a shift in population power, an evening of the pressure that the Milwaukee industrial complex has been able to swing in State politics.

This means that western Wisconsin is coming into its own. The change may be so gradual that it will pass unnoticed—except when we see better markets for our farm products, more openings for our young people, greater opportunities for individual initiative to express itself.

Superior. A seaport. A port handling more than ore and grain and coal. A port where some of the thousands of products that American ingenuity has invented will be manufactured, crated, and shipped by water, the cheapest way. A port that will put products that can be made in Hudson into competition in the markets of the world.

Excise Taxes on Communication and Transportation Services Should Be Modified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the existing Federal excise-tax rates on communication services and the transportation of persons are unreasonably high, are unfair to the users of these services, and should be modified immediately. The bill, H. R. 7618, would reduce these excessive taxes generally to a level of 10 percent.

Even a tax rate of 10 percent on services which are essential to the day-to-day life of the general public is too high. Telephone and telegraph services and travel by air, rail, and bus are not items the public can do without but, on the contrary, are necessary to the general welfare of the Nation, to commerce, and to the national defense. These taxes must be further reduced as soon as possible, and, when the revenue requirements of the Government will permit, should be completely eliminated.

The present excise-tax rates were enacted and increased during time of war primarily to discourage civilian usage of utility services whose capacities were strained by defense requirements. The rates then imposed were generally higher than excise-tax rates imposed on most other articles, including luxuries. The continuation of these high rates has resulted in gross discrimination against the users of communication and transportation services. It should be mentioned that of the four essential household utility services—water, gas, electricity, and telephone—only telephone service is subject to any Federal excise tax. Moreover, the tax rates imposed on telephone services is the next highest to that on liquor and tobacco. Manifestly, this inequitable treatment of the telephone user should not be allowed to continue.

Regulatory authorities are greatly concerned over excise taxes on communication and transportation services. The National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, by resolution adopted at its November 1952 convention, stated:

The present excise taxes on transportation and communication services are inimical to the maintenance of reasonably priced and nondiscriminatory public transportation and communication services, and that, accordingly, the excise taxes on transportation and communication services should be repealed or greatly reduced.

This position was reaffirmed by the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners at its September 1953 convention.

The excise taxes on communications and transportation are disliked by the general public more than the excise taxes on all other items. The American Institute of Public Opinion—Gallup Poll—on September 25, 1953, released the results of a nationwide poll which showed that of the excise taxes most disliked, the tax on telephone calls was first and the tax on railroad tickets second. A copy of the results of this poll, as reported in the Washington Post of September 26, 1953, follows:

PUBLIC MOST IRRITATED BY TAX ON PHONE CALLS, RAIL TICKETS

PRINCETON, N. J., September 25.—The special excise taxes on telephone calls and on railroad tickets are the two types of excise tax which the general public dislikes the most, judging by results of a nationwide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

The levy on cosmetics and toilet preparations ranks next in order of dislike, followed by the tax on telegrams, movie tickets, and women's purses and handbags.

Approximately 4 out of every 10 adults (39 percent) named the telephone tax as the most irritating one, which was more than twice the 17 percent naming the railroad ticket tax.

Utility companies and other industries, particularly the movie industry, whose services or products carry an excise tax have pressed for tax relief.

The 25 percent tax on long-distance telephone calls and 15 percent surcharge on local service, as well as the 15 percent transportation tax, are levies that were imposed during World War II to discourage use of these facilities.

In his pocket veto of the bill to exempt motion pictures from the 20-percent Federal admissions tax, President Eisenhower noted that it would have been unfair to single out one industry for relief.

To determine which excise taxes paid directly by the consumer are the most irritating or annoying, the institute prepared a list of certain items carrying these levies and sounded national opinion among adults on the following question:

"During World War II the Government put a special tax ranging from 15 percent to 25 percent on such things as jewelry, furs, movie tickets, railroad tickets, etc. Which one of the taxes do you personally dislike the most?"

The list, ranked in order of frequency of mention, is given below:

1. Telephone calls.
2. Railroad tickets.
3. Cosmetics, toilet preparations.
4. Telegrams.
5. Movie tickets.
6. Women's purses, handbags.
7. Sports tickets.
8. Jewelry.
9. Men's wallets.
10. Luggage.
11. Nightclub tickets.
12. Furs.

Women questioned in the survey gave somewhat different answers from men.

As might be expected, more women than men expressed dislike for the tax on cosmetics and toilet preparations and women's purses and handbags.

Following is the way the women ranked the list:

WOMEN

1. Telephone calls.
2. Cosmetics, toilet preparations.
3. Women's purses, handbags.
4. Railroad tickets.
5. Telegrams.
6. Movie tickets.
7. Jewelry.
8. Men's wallets.
9. Furs.
10. Luggage.
11. Sports tickets.
12. Nightclub tickets.

And here is the men's list:

MEN

1. Telephone calls.
2. Railroad tickets.
3. Telegrams.
4. Movie tickets.
5. Cosmetics, toilet preparations.
6. Sports tickets.
7. Women's purses, handbags.
8. Jewelry.
9. Men's wallets.
10. Nightclub tickets.
11. Luggage.
12. Furs.

An institute survey in March 1950, found that the excise tax then being levied on baby oil and baby powder was the one disliked the most.

Congress later repealed the excise tax on the baby products.

AMA Demands Will Peril Superb Veterans' Administration Medical Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article that appeared in the last issue of the Army Times:

EMINENT DOCTOR WARNS AMA DEMANDS WILL PERIL SUPERB VA MEDICAL CARE

WASHINGTON.—An eminent medical authority has warned the American Medical Association that if AMA demands to prohibit non-service-connected veterans from receiving Federal hospitalization for general medical and surgical care are adopted VA's vaunted "second to none" medical care program will skid to inferior standards.

Dr. Derrick T. Vail, of Northwestern University, chairman of VA's special medical advisory group told AMA officials in a letter made public last week that his group believes that the veteran is a citizen "particularly worthy of extra attention and special consideration" when unable to pay for private treatment "regardless of whether his condition is due to service connection."

"In other words," Dr. Vail said, "historically, he is and always has been a citizen set apart and above other citizens. In spite of the fact that almost a third of our citizens are now or will be veterans, we believe this attitude is a sound and proper one."

Dr. Vail told AMA officials that in adopting a stand contrary to this idea, "we gravely fear that the AMA will lose the support of the majority of the people in this country, support which it has had up to the present, particularly in the recent successful fight against the socialization of medicine."

Dr. Vail pointed out, "this fight could not have succeeded by the efforts of physicians alone. Can we physicians afford to incur this risk?" he asked. "This is particularly true when it is considered that many communities in this country are unable to provide, at the present time, facilities for medical care, education, and research anywhere nearly comparable to those supplied now by VA," Dr. Vail said.

He asked AMA officials, "Can it truly be said that all hospitals in this country now give medical care to the indigent or even the nonindigent that is second to none?"

AMA has bitterly criticized VA hospitalization of veterans with illnesses or diseases not directly traceable to military service, and demands that such veterans should pay for private treatment, or if unable to defray expenses, should be treated in local or State facilities.

AMA has agreed to Federal hospitalization of veterans with tuberculosis and long-term mental conditions until such time as States and local communities can assume the burden.

Dr. Vail said VA's special medical advisory group—created by Congress and whose members are not VA officials—believes that if AMA policies prohibiting non-service-connected veterans from VA hospitalization for general medical and surgical ailments is adopted, "the excellent medical care that the veteran with a service-connected disability is now receiving will rapidly sink to a very low level of simply long-term chronic care. The reasons for this should be self-evident," he said, listing them as follows:

VA will not attract, as it does now, "exceedingly high type of physicians required for first class professional care of the sick."

The deans' committees, composed of officials of leading medical schools which cooperate closely with VA hospitals, "will cease to interest themselves in the staffing of these hospitals with proper attending and consulting physicians or with residents who are essential for the proper care of the sick." Dr. Vail said "nor will they be interested in establishing proper training, education, and research programs, when the patient material available is only that found in chronic hospitals."

Research programs which have resulted "in the solution of many medical problems, of great value to all people everywhere will be abolished. It is doubtful," Dr. Vail asserted, "that some of these problems could have been solved so readily or quickly in non-VA hospitals."

"As the result of limiting VA hospitalization only to the service-connected disability patient," he said, "the present essential and valuable resident program will disintegrate and the veteran 'who deserves the finest medical care' will be given indifferent care by incompetent medical hacks and politically appointed lame ducks of medicine," he declared.

Dr. Vail added that qualities needed for good doctors and treatment "are not possessed by the 'lame ducks' of medicine, the failures, the alcoholics, and misfits."

Testimony of Mr. Gordon Gray Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Financing of Hospital Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Monday, February 1, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program by Mr. Gordon Gray, chairman of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care and president of the University of North Carolina, is highly important.

Mr. Gray served in the previous administration as Secretary of the Army and subsequent thereto as a special assistant to President Truman in preparing a report on foreign economic policy.

Mr. Gray's statement on the financing of hospital care is as follows:

My name is Gordon Gray, and I am appearing before this committee as chairman of the Commision on Financing of Hospital Care.

The commission was established in November 1951 under the sponsorship of the American Hospital Association out of concern for better understanding of the current problems involved in financing hospital care at the lowest possible cost to the public.

The commission was established as an independent, nongovernmental agency to study the reasons for increases in the costs of hospital care and to determine the best systems of payment for such services. The commission was also concerned with methods for bringing to the public the best quality of hospital care at the lowest possible cost.

The establishment of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care was a natural sequel to the work of an earlier commission—the Commission on Hospital Care—which made its report to the public in 1947 after a 2-year study. The 22 members of the Commission on Hospital Care, representing a cross-section of public interest, were responsible for the Nation's first comprehensive study of the general hospital. That study was primarily concerned with an evaluation of the general hospital"s function as a community institution and its role in the care of all types of illness.

In its 181 principles and recommendations the Commision on Hospital Care established a guide for the provision of more effective hospital care. The soundness of these recommendations is evidenced by their widespread application today in hospital administration and community planning for hospital services.

Thus that commission, sponsored by the American Hospital Association, gave the leadership which, in large measure, resulted in the planned and orderly manner in which communities and States have approached their post-war hospital improvement and expansion programs. The commission, however, recognized in its report and recommendations that a subsequent study would be needed to analyze the various problems associated with financing the care which hospitals are dedicated to provide.

At the request of the then president of the American Hospital Association, Dr. Anthony J. J. Rourke, I agreed to serve as chairman of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care. The 34 members of our commission were appointed by me after consultation with the president of the American Hospital Association and after advice from persons with special knowledge of the problems to be studied by the new commission. Lewis Strauss, until the pressure of his national security responsibilities kept him from active participation, served as vice chairman of the commission. He was, however, of great help to us during the first year and one-half of our study, as was Robert Cutler before he was forced to resign from our executive committee and from the commission upon his appointment as Special Assistant to President Eisenhower.

Persons who were invited to serve on the commission were asked to do so because of their interest in improved methods of financing hospital care. An attempt was made to select persons for membership on the commission who would represent a cross-section of public interest. All members were appointed as individuals and not as representatives of particular interest groups.

The first meeting of the commission was held in Washington on November 28, 1951. At this meeting the commission accepted its assigned task "to study the costs of providing adequate hospital services and to determine the best systems of payment for such services" and to prepare a report to the public of its findings and recommendations.

From the beginning it has been the commission's desire to direct its attention primarily to those areas of immediate concern to—

1. The public.
2. Hospital administrators and hospital boards.
3. Prepayment agencies.
4. Other interested groups.

During the early months of the study a series of five regional conferences were held throughout the Nation to formulate the commission's major areas of study in consultation with persons who, from day to day, were directly concerned with the provision of community hospital services. Around

the conference tables sat doctors, hospital administrators, nurses, workers in health, welfare and community services, and representatives of industry, labor, and the general public.

The conference participants posed questions which they thought, from their own local community experience, should receive commission attention. More than 400 questions were presented to the commission at the regional conferences. These questions were classified and reviewed by the staff, by a special advisory committee of experts appointed by the commission, and by the commission itself to determine as objectively as possible the definitive areas in which intensive study by the commission would be most helpful to States and communities. The areas of greatest interest, as established by analysis of the conference questions, were adopted by the commission in April 1952. They were:

1. Voluntary prepayment: An evaluation of its effectiveness for the public, for the hospital and for the community, and proposed steps for strengthening prepayment in the public interest.

2. Improved methods of financing hospital care for groups unable to afford prepayment or in other ways to pay for care: A determination of means for assuring hospitals and communities of an adequate and orderly provision for meeting the costs of hospital care for persons unable to pay for care.

3. Why does hospital care cost what it does? An appraisal of the elements of hospital cost and an evaluation of various methods for control of hospital costs.

Three working study committees were established—one for each of the three areas of special study. A member of the executive committee served as chairman of each committee and all members of the commission served on at least one of the three committees. A panel of consultants, composed of experts, was appointed to work with each committee and a full-time staff member was appointed as committee secretary.

In the spring and summer of 1952 the committees outlined their study programs in consultation with the panel of consultants and the committee secretary. Each committee developed its study program in the manner that seemed most appropriate for the particular study area.

During the fall of 1953, the committees met to review their study reports and to formulate proposed principles, considerations and recommendations for submission to the commission. The full commission devoted 2 days to each committee's report. It used the reports as background for the formulation of principles and adoption of recommendations.

This summary report of the Commission on Financing of Hospital Care was released on January 17, 1954. This report contains the principles and the recommendations to the public exactly as formulated and adopted by the full commission during 6 days of meetings held in October, November, and December, 1953. It also presents highlights from the commission's study reports which document the findings. I am today making copies of this report available to members of your committee.

In fulfillment of the objective to study the costs of providing adequate hospital services the commission's study report on Factors Affecting the Costs of Hospital Care will be published this spring. In this study the commission has been concerned with the sharp rise in hospital expenditures that has accompanied the increase in the quantity and quality of hospital services received by the people of the United States.

In fulfillment of the commission's objective to determine the best systems of payment for such services, two other volumes will also be published early this year—Prepayment and the Community and Financing Hospital Care for Nonwage and Low-Income Groups.

In its evaluation of voluntary prepayment the commission has been concerned with the amount of protection available today and the actual amount purchased by the public and with the extension of prepayment coverage to groups now without protection. Special attention has been given in the report on Prepayment and the Community to the problem of economical use of funds paid by the public to prepayment agencies.

In the report on Financing Hospital Care for Nonwage and Low-Income Groups the commission recognized that there are many persons who, for reason of inability to work or for reason of low income, are unable to pay for hospital care at the time of illness or to budget for care through prepayment. Adequate financing of hospital care for these persons is a problem of major significance to many communities as well as to many hospitals.

The committee will, I am sure, want to study the commission's summary report in detail since I cannot today in the time available outline all of the guiding principles and recommendations set forth. I would, however, like to review very briefly for the committee some of the more important recommendations. I will review these in the order they appear in the commission's summary report:

With respect to voluntary prepayment:

1. The commission believes that the voluntary prepayment plans have clearly demonstrated the soundness of this approach to financing hospital care and that steps should be taken to extend protection to persons not now covered and to increase benefit provisions, where necessary, to provide fully adequate protection.

2. To the extent that voluntary prepayment can be extended to all population groups, including the low-income families, the commission felt that dependency on tax funds for the payment of hospital care would be reduced.

3. The public, the commission thought, wanted more comprehensive benefits than prevailed today in many communities, but to accomplish this objective required better understanding and cooperation by the public, hospitals, prepayment agencies, and the medical profession.

4. Commission recommendations placed considerable emphasis on the need for measures for reaching the rural, self-employed, employees of small firms and other employed groups not as extensively covered as are persons in industry.

5. Employer participation in financing prepaid protection, it was recognized, has been an important factor in the rapid extension of coverage and it was felt that this practice should be encouraged.

6. Low-income families, the commission recommended, should be encouraged to budget through voluntary prepayment for the cost of adequate protection rather than purchase inadequate protection or rely on public funds for payment of care at the time of hospitalization. Experimental programs should be instituted to reduce the cost of prepayment to bring protection within reach of this group. Tax funds, it was thought, may be necessary for such experimental projects.

7. The commission felt that groups not presently covered could be reached more easily if the cost of prepayment were reduced through the broadest possible pooling of risks and costs on a community-wide basis to maintain as nearly uniform rates as possible. This would reduce the necessity of higher rates for the groups more difficult to reach or who might not be as favorable risks as other groups.

8. The commission thought that the following would increase the effectiveness of prepayment plans:

(a) Reduction of multiplicity of benefit patterns to a much smaller number than is now found in most communities.

(b) Extension of scope of benefits so as to obviate the necessity for purchasing duplicate hospitalization protection.

(c) Description of benefit provisions to be in nontechnical language so as to enable people to select intelligently the most satisfactory prepayment plan for their purposes.

(d) Elimination of unnecessary or trivial special benefits which tend to obscure the real nature of the contract and fail to indicate serious deficiencies and limitations of the essential benefit provisions.

(e) Removal of benefit limitations which seemed necessary when prepayment was in a more experimental stage but which experience has demonstrated to be unnecessary.

(f) Inclusion of benefit provisions which have been shown by experience to be practical or which have become necessary because of the development of modern hospital services.

(g) Integration of hospital protection with medical-surgical protection when both are purchased, so as to eliminate duplication of benefit provisions.

9. The commission stressed the importance of keeping prepayment costs to the public as low as possible, and on this point made the following recommendations:

(a) Development of measures for the most economical use of hospital personnel, materials and facilities so as to maintain unit costs as low as possible consistent with quality of service.

(b) Measures should be adopted to maintain the per capita cost of prepayment at the lowest possible levels, by eliminating:

(1) Unnecessary admissions.

(2) Use of inpatient facilities when services can be provided on an ambulatory basis.

(3) Unnecessary use of beds prior to institution of active treatment.

(4) Use of hospital beds after medical need no longer exists.

(5) Laboratory, X-ray, and other hospital services that are not medically indicated.

(c) Attention should be directed to experimentation with benefit provisions in hospital and medical prepayment contracts which will reduce use of inpatient services by encouraging use of services on an ambulatory basis for preadmission diagnostic procedures, and promote the use of home care and of convalescent facilities.

(d) Reduce to a minimum the share of the public's prepayment dollar which is not paid for hospital services, but is used in unwarranted amounts for sales promotion, administration, and other overhead expenses of the prepayment agency.

For the nonwage and low income groups—

1. Funds from private as well as local, State and Federal sources, the commission felt, should be used to explore on an experimental basis methods for lowering the cost of voluntary prepayment for the low income groups.

2. Until satisfactory methods have been developed to bring the low income families into voluntary prepayment at rates they can afford, the commission recommended that State and Federal grants should be made to local communities for the purchase of hospital care for this "medically indigent" group.

3. Hospital protection, through the voluntary plans, should be included as a part of the unemployment compensation program for the protection of unemployed wage earners and their families, according to one of the commission's recommendations.

4. The commission proposed that there be a provision in the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program for hospitalization protection for needy beneficiaries receiving monthly income maintenance benefits under this program, provided:

(a) That the certification and administration of funds for hospital benefits be the

responsibility of State and local agencies; and

(b) That the protection be provided by the local administering agency through purchase of voluntary prepayment from OASI funds or by direct payments to hospitals on a reimbursable cost basis from such funds.

5. The commission felt that as an incentive to localities and States to make more adequate financial and administrative arrangements and to strengthen existing provisions for those needing public aid for hospital care, identifiable Federal funds may be needed by the States from Federal sources on a matching basis for an initial and limited period of time. Under these circumstances, methods of administration of funds should provide for a maximum of local administrative responsibility, and the summary report outlines in some detail the safeguards which the commission believes should be set up to assure local responsibility for administration.

6. The commission felt that necessary hospital care should be available to all persons in the community without regard to their ability to purchase it. It was the view of the commission that payment of the cost of hospital care is primarily the responsibility of the individual or family unit. The community should assume responsibility for payment only when the individual or family unit is unable to pay for care. Funds for financing hospital care for those who cannot pay for it should come from local community sources. State aid should be sought only when local need for hospital funds is established, and Federal assistance sought only when State inability to finance necessary care is determined.

7. The commission had the view that, even though Federal funds may be necessary for experimentation in developing methods for improved financing of hospital care for persons in the low-income (medically indigent) group, a method of measurement to determine eligibility for assistance cannot be established on a national basis for application throughout the country but must be established and administered in the local community.

For lowering the costs of hospital care:

1. Before making capital expenditures for construction and equipment, the commission recommended, hospitals should carefully determine the needs of the community as well as its ability to finance maintenance costs. Overbuilding, with attendant failure to make full use of bed capacity and diagnostic and therapeutic facilities, should be avoided.

2. Studies should be made to determine actual needs for the various services available in the hospital and to determine the possibility of integrating some of the more specialized services with those of other hospitals to avoid duplication of facilities and services, according to another recommendation of the commission.

3. Hospital medical staffs should, the commission recommended, develop and establish medical economic auditing procedures to reveal any unnecessary use of facilities and possible need for change in admission and discharge procedures.

4. The commission recommended that wherever joint action promotes more effective and economical care hospitals should cooperate: In joint purchasing; training of internes and nurses; recruitment of nurses and other personnel; joint action to obtain from government agencies adequate payment for public assistance groups; joint surveys of community needs and limitation of certain specialized services to specific hospitals.

5. As a means of reducing unnecessary prolonged use of hospital beds in units for acute illnesses, the commission suggested that hospital trustees, administrators, and medical staffs should join in efforts to promote early referral of such patients to special facilities for the care of chronic illness, convalescence, rehabilitation units, or to home care programs. These special programs for long term care should be established by general and special hospitals, or by other community groups, and integrated with hospitals.

The commission's task has been a difficult one, for there were no easy solutions to the problems studied by the commission. Each community and each hospital has its particular problems. The commission members, individually and as members of study committees, have devoted many hours to the assigned task.

What may prove to be one of the most important effects of the commission's many meetings and extensive discussions will not be fully reflected in the reports to the public. During the 2 years of our deliberations, persons representing various points of view and fields of interest have spent many hours together discussing the questions about which policy decisions needed to be made. The broad base of agreement reached by the commission has required an understanding and appreciation of many different points of view. Jointly thinking through the problems confronting the commission has helped to bring closer together divergent points of view. The virtual unanimity of thinking as expressed in the commission's recommendations is not only gratifying but has undoubtedly established a sounder foundation on which to build in the future.

Inherent in the commission's recommendations to the public is the need for further study and examination of the problems discussed. In every community and in every State, representatives of the public, of hospitals, of physicians and of prepayment and other health and welfare agencies will need to test the commission's recommendations in the ligh of their own particular problems and experience. The lasting effectiveness of the commission's work is dependent on community action. We believe that our recommendations provide a basis for organized community action which will lead to improved methods of financing hospital care for all income groups.

We welcome this opportunity to discuss the work of the commission with your committee and hope that our findings and conclusions will be helpful in your deliberations on questions of national health improvement.

Our Secret Allies—There Is a Way To Win the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Eugene Lyons, in his new book entitled "Our Secret Allies—The Peoples of Russia," has written a volume that could be a turning point in the free world's thinking and policy on the Communist challenge. Mr. Lyons has studied Russia for a great number of years, and in this book refutes the false idea that the Kremlin and the Russian people are one and the same thing.

This fact has been forcibly brought out by reports of intelligence officers in the United States Army, who know that when Germany first attacked Russia, over a million Russian soldiers deserted to the German Army. Because of the German shortsightedness in ransacking and pillaging Russian villages, abusing Russian peasants, and not taking the proper action to win over the deserting Russian soldiers, who would gladly have fought against the Kremlin's army, an intense nationalistic spirit for Russia was engendered and instead of deserting they fought to protect their homeland. Mr. Lyons vividly shows that with proper handling the Russian people will be on the side of justice and against their oppressors in the Kremlin.

The Reverend Father Gillis, in the Chicago archdiocesan paper, the New World, condensed the main idea of Mr. Lyons' book in his article of January 8, which is as follows:

THERE IS A WAY TO WIN THE COLD WAR

For those fatalists who think a third war inevitable, there is consolation in Eugene Lyons' Our Secret Allies. He holds that we need not fight Russia. The vast Soviet tyranny contains within itself the seeds of disintegration. Mr. Lyons mentions Arnold Toynbee, but he does not base his argument, as indeed he might, upon Toynbee's favorite axiom—all empires and indeed all civilizations perish from within. Toynbee's was a post mortem deduction. Lyons' thesis is a prediction before the fact. In Russia and China and in all the Soviet satellites there are millions of people eager to do the work of demolition. Hitler alienated them with the declaration, "Every Russian is our enemy," a lunatic proposition on a par with our Morgenthau plan, or the equally stupid policy of unconditional surrender.

Mr. Lyons has a chapter on "How Hitler Saved Stalin." Hitler didn't save him alone. What really saved Stalin was Yalta. That pact was a crime; carrying out the pact was an atrocity. Mr. Lyons quotes a Mr. Ginghis Guirey, an American born in Turkey, "son of a father who had fought the Reds in the Caucasus and had been brought up in an anti-Soviet tradition." Mr. Guirey writes (in The Shadow of Power, Bobbs-Merrill, 1953): "A number of DP's spoke to me of an incident which had occurred in May when about 5,000 Cossacks and Adigays, men, women, and children who had run from the Soviet Union, were at Kaernten in Austria. The British followed orders to repatriate them. One-third killed themselves rather than return to Russia. Eyewitnesses I spoke to said fathers shot their children and then themselves, mothers threw themselves into rivers, over cliffs. I heard so many threats to commit suicide from people who feared repatriation that it became almost commonplace. And they were not fooling."

Mr. Lyons adds, "Vivid descriptions of the frenzy of self-destruction that overwhelmed Soviet citizens faced with repatriation have been given by eyewitnesses of the macabre scenes in Dachau, Plattling, Weibling, Kempten, Regensburg, and other assembly points in central Europe, as well as in France and Italy. It's a theme made to order for a modern Dante."

William Henry Chamberlin—who like Mr. Lyons was one of the earliest of disillusioned enthusiasts for sovietism—tells of an incident in Kempten, South Bavaria: "American troops drove up to the camp and ordered the inmates, who were mostly at church, to board the trucks for transportation to the nearest Soviet assembly point. When the Russians unanimously refused, the troops broke into the church, overturned the altar, manhandled the priest, dragged out men, women, and children, clubbing them with rifle butts and throwing them into the trucks."

The author of Our Secret Allies assures us, with abundant evidence, that now, 7 years later, a horror of Soviet slavery exists everywhere within Russia. We can win the cold war, he says, if we can contrive means to let the Russian people know that we are eager to help them. It will not do to speak of "containment." Containment means in plain words leaving the victims to their fate. There is also wishful thinking about "coexistence." We seem to have forgotten Abraham Lincoln's dictum, "The Nation (the world?) cannot exist half slave and half free." I need hardly add that another world war will not rescue the enslaved half of the world. If we go to war we shall have to kill the people we rescue. We ridicule Russia's claim to have "liberated" the satellite countries. But which of the two is more absurd, to "liberate" into slavery or to slaughter, in order to save?

Mr. Lyons' latest volume has been highly praised even by a press accustomed to favor pro-Soviet books. But he is upbraided in some quarters for not spelling out in detail just what we should do to win the confidence of the Russian people. As a matter of fact he has done a great deal.

The author cites General von Clausewitz, the master strategist who wrote of Russia 125 years ago, "She can only be defeated by her own weakness and by the effects of internal dissension. To hit these weak spots of her political existence, a shock going right to the heart of her Government will be necessary." How to hit those weak spots and administer that shock is a matter for our leaders to discover. But Our Secret Allies will help. (Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, New York; Little, Brown & Co., Boston.)

Friendship: Address of Hon. Gordon Canfield, of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday night I was privileged to make an address at the annual installation banquet of the Friendship Club of Passaic, N. J., an organization composed of World War II air-raid wardens. The event took place at the Peacock Club in Mountain View, N. J., and the toastmaster was Edward J. Reardon, well-known New Jersey columnist. The officers installed were: Rosario Giaconia, president; Irene M. Ulie, vice president; Connie Ezzo, secretary; Lee Madonia, financial secretary; Frank Ezzo, treasurer; and Rose Giaconia and Leo Cerullo, sergeants at arms.

My address was on the subject of friendship and follows:

No subject that has ever been assigned to me in a lifetime of public addresses comes so close to my heart as the subject symbolized in your name—the Friendship Club.

I suppose the tragedy of a man without a country, a man without a great love in his life, or a man without a friend, is not an uncommon one. Yet in the deepest sense I cannot believe that such tragedies ever happened.

Actually I believe that no man is ever without God—even when he denies Him.

At some crossroad in life, somewhere, everyone has a friend. Men are not bitter because they shun friendship, but rather, I think, because they have lost it. If it did not matter to a man to be without a country or without a friend, or without God, then it would not be a tragedy. The very fact that the friendless are embittered and the unpatriotic are unhappy is proof that these qualities—friendship and patriotism—are universal traits.

What matters and what we seek and what you develop here in the Friendship Club is the talent for friendship and that talent is perhaps the greatest attribute of character.

That talent is the subject of my little talk.

Now I am not going to lose myself—or you—in a philosophical morass on the meaning of friendship.

What I would like to talk to you about briefly is not so much friendship in the abstract, or friendship as an emotion or a philosophy, but friendship as I have personally witnessed it—in the concrete, among my very own associates and acquaintances, my colleagues, my friends, the men I meet in everyday life—people quite like us.

There is in my mind right now a great example of friendship.

I hope these men—whom I am going to name—will forgive me this trespass on their privacy. But I know them so well and the circumstance is so pertinent to my appearance here tonight—and I am so proud to be associated with men like them—that I cannot forego, in this more or less intimate company, holding them up before you as an instance of friendship in its finest form.

The inner quality of friendship is determined by the tests—the stresses and strains—to which it is subjected and by the manner in which it holds firm against all the conspiracies: the conspiracy of events, of ambition, of conflict of principle, to keep itself intact and magnificent.

Well, here are two strong men.

They come from widely separate parts of the United States.

Both are of powerful will and solid character.

But they are of totally different upbringing—even as to climate.

One hails from Texas, the other from Massachusetts.

It is their destiny to stand prominently and conspicuously before the whole Nation—and before the world—in much irreconcilable conflict with each other.

Theirs is almost a state of perpetual political combat.

Political principle and political party divide them.

As respective leaders, one of the Republican group, the other of the Democratic group, in the House of Representatives, they have had to hammer the issues out against each other, day by day, week by week, session by session—for decades—each of them struggling for the principles he thinks best for his country.

There are battles of strategy, battles in committee, and great campaigns on the floor of the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

Both of these men love their country as only two strong men of deep emotion and great character and leadership can love it.

The qualities that made them friends are the affirmative qualities—each recognising in the other the traits of the good warrior and the honest antagonist.

Both are devoted to the American tradition.

Above all what binds them is that mysterious chemistry in human personality which attracts men of force and conviction to one another. They may think differently, but their moral standards are high. Both embody in themselves a certain aristocracy of character, which each recognizes and values in the other. Their friendship is ideal because it is strong and nobly cast.

The friendship I speak of is that of JOE MARTIN, of Massachusetts, and SAM RAYBURN, of Texas.

There are among my other friends and associates in the House of Representatives and the Senate—yes, in the White House, too—remarkable parallels of the friendship between SAM, of Texas, and JOE, of Massachusetts. But I think if I hold to this one example of honor and integrity and firm mutual respect and affection I can the better get my point across.

I find that the talent for friendship, as you no doubt cultivate it here, very often needs experiences of great depth and emotion to excite its limitless possibilities. It may be that when your back is to the wall, and your pride is easily wounded, the friendship you never knew existed, will suddenly flower and warm the inner reaches of your soul.

I can only guess—for who can divine these things?—what monumental forces were at work, constantly and diligently, to widen the basic differences that separated JOE MARTIN from SAM RAYBURN, and so keep them apart and frustrate the growth of a real friendship. How great must be the stature of both to surmount these obstacles and, without damage to their integrity, retain their admiration and their respect for each other. In contrast think of the grisley story of three friends who came to power in the second most powerful nation on this earth ruling its more than 200-million people with totalitarian absoluteness. In a few months, more or less, two of this Russian triumvirate called the third a traitor and had him executed. We can only wonder what dark suspicions the two who survive must have of each other when they sit at a conference table.

American friendship follows a different style.

I remember reading about a Union general whose funeral was attended by an old battlefield enemy of his, a general of the Confederate Army, years after the reconciliation of North and South. As the incident recurs to my mind now, this was a superb tribute from a defeated warrior of the South, to a now fallen foe of the North. Someone who probably deserves more fame than he got, said that a worthy enemy will, when reconciled, be a worthier friend. It intensifies the drama of the anecdote that the Confederate general caught a chill at the funeral and he soon passed away from the effects. What stirred me as I recalled this story in coming here tonight is that between these two men—perhaps classmates once at West Point—there was a deep well of friendship, an unspoken mutual regard, which ended in violent contest on the field of battle.

Where life had failed them in friendship—death had somehow succeeded.

These two great Americans were Gen. Joseph E. Johnston of the Confederacy and Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman of the North.

Friendship is not a matter necessarily of offering your life or your substance for a friend, because experience may not call for these sacrifices. It may be no more than just an attitude, and in that, it may be powerful beyond the meaning of words. In one of those essays I was not going to quote, Emerson said "a friend is a person with whom I may be sincere."

That's it: A friend is someone with whom you can be yourself—is the way Emerson might have said it today.

That's having the talent for friendship.

The friend who helps you with a loan when you need it, or an influential word in the right places, is not to be undervalued. But that isn't quite what I mean. Some of us like to distribute largesse. A crafty Frenchman named Talleyrand said of a certain woman that she was so full of friendship she'd like to throw all her friends into the sea so that she could fish them out again.

And, of course, we can be friendly with everybody, but we cannot, I do not think, be friends with everyone and retain our integrity. Friendship is a precious element, very akin to love, and like gold, you cannot just pass it around like tin, because it just does not exist in such abundance. One of the greatest talents for friendship in our time—whom we all remember—was the late Will Rogers. And better than most he knew how to be friendly—with everybody. He said he never met anyone he really disliked. Maybe that's the underlying reason why so many of us liked Will Rogers. He could laugh at us and at himself and never make us angry. Why? Because there was no malice in him and while he was canny and incredibly wise, he had no guile.

Now you know how deeply I feel about any aggregation of people who call themselves—as you do—the Friendship Club—and who know the meaning of the word and live it through. Before I sit down may I express a hope I fit the better part of the last quotation I shall give you tonight. It is about an orator in the British Parliament who, after he got through with his speech, someone said: "He rose without a friend, and sat down without an enemy."

Defense Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, in making an approach to the amount of funds that should be carried for the Defense Department, we should have in mind not only the requests that the President has made through the budget, but also a breakdown of the unexpended and unobligated balances that will be available out of funds that have already been appropriated but are presently unexpended.

The unexpended funds on June 30 will amount to $51,600,000,000, of which $14,200,000,000 will be for the Army, $13,500,000,000 for the Navy, and $23,600,000,000 for the Air Force, and approximately $300,000,000 for interservice activities.

Of this $51,600,000,000, the budget estimate indicates that $8.5 billion of continuing type money will not have been obligated at all, and that it will be available for the placing of new contracts and orders in the fiscal year 1955. Of this amount, $4,087,000,000 will be available for Army procurement and $700,000,000 more will be available for other Army purposes. A very large proportion of the funds that will be carried forward in this way will be still available to the Army because of the let-up in the Korean hostilities.

I call attention to this situation especially because no new funds are carried in the budget for procurement and production in the Army, although $3,224,000,000 was provided in last year's appropriation, but we already will have available without any appropriation for this purpose the $4,087,000,000, which is 25 percent more than the total appropriation for this procurement and production item last year.

There will be $600 million available to the Navy, and that will supplement the appropriations that are made for the Navy.

There will be $2,800,000,000 available to the Air Force for obligation out of previous appropriations, and of this $1,600,000,000 will be available to the Air Force for the procurement of additional airplanes. This figure, added to the budget estimate of $2,760,000,000 will make a figure at least $1,100,000,000 above the appropriation that was carried last year. In addition to these amounts, $250,000,000 will be available for obligation for interservice activities.

When you add the practically $30 billion of new appropriations which are requested in the budget for the military functions of the Defense Department to the unobligated balances, you will have a total of approximately $38,400,000,000 available for new obligations, of which over $13 billion will be available to the Army, $10½ billion to the Navy, $14 billion to the Air Force, and over $800 million for interservice activities. This represents, in my opinion, ample funds for the various activities of the Defense Department, and after the Congress has been over the situation carefully we will hope that we will be able to find places where things can be reduced.

The hearings are starting today, and I expect that they will continue for at least 6 weeks and perhaps 7 before we are able to report a bill. This should give us ample time to find out what are the real needs of the Department of Defense.

Why Clutter Up the Supposedly Valuable Time of Congress With the Age-Old and Discredited Arguments on Behalf of the St. Lawrence Seaway?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for decades Congress has witnessed the St. Lawrence seaway's annual parade, with each year finding that something new had been added, to try and sell the project to the American people.

The following editorial from the January 15, 1954, issue of the Portland (Maine) Evening Express is captioned "The Seaway Again," recalling that this is the 31st annual appearance before Congress of the oft-defeated economic monstrosity, the St. Lawrence seaway project.

The editorial follows:

[From the Portland Evening Express of January 15, 1954]

THE SEAWAY AGAIN

The United States Senate now settles down, with almost an audible groan, to its 31st annual debate on the subject of whether or not to soak American taxpayers for the purpose of building a ship canal for Canada—the silly St. Lawrence seaway project which is said to be vitally needed for the defense of our country and which would be closed by ice, and consequently of no use to anybody, during 5 months out of the 12, as is the St. Lawrence River itself.

Once again, midwestern proponents of soaking Americans for Canada's benefit in this respect are shuddering aloud: "This is our last chance" because Canada will surely go ahead, now, and dig the ditch on her own, if we refuse for the 31st time to do what we have refused on 30 earlier occasions to do, i. e., to pay the lion's share of the cost of this stupid project.

The St. Lawrence seaway project itself—in case anybody can possibly have forgotten—is a plan to bankrupt United States Atlantic coast seaports by diverting from them, for at least 5 months each year, all the traffic that is now transshipped through those ports to American Middle West destinations.

Still, we who oppose this enormously costly folly are spoofed by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, the Wisconsin Republican who is leading this year's revival of the annual seaway debate. We're simply "seeing ghosts," says the Senator. Nobody, he adds, "would lose a nickel's worth of business because of the St. Lawrence seaway. That project would enable every one of (the seaboard interests) to grow richer and farther than (they) are now—and that's saying a lot."

It sure is saying a lot, Senator, and it's all been said before. Why not have a moratorium on this whole silly argument? Why clutter up the supposedly valuable time of the Congress with it, year after year?

The Canadians claim they're eager to dig the ditch, whether we put up the money for it or not. So let's let them, by all means, go ahead and dig it without us.

Address by National Commander Connell at Dinner Given in His Honor by Massachusetts Department, the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, of the American Legion, at a dinner given in his honor by the Massachusetts Department, the American Legion, at Boston, Mass., on January 23, 1954:

It is nearly 5 months since our 35th national convention at St. Louis. We are approaching the halfway mark in this busy and vitally important American Legion year.

I should like, therefore, to give you a brief report on the state of the Legion—on the progress that we have made and the work that remains to be done to achieve our goals for 1954.

Let me say first that I am deeply grateful for the wonderful support you have given your national commander. I wish I could tell you just how great a privilege it is to be your representative, speaking and acting in your name, around the country. Frankly, I had felt for a long time, even while running for the office, that no man really qualified for the honor of leading the American Legion. After 5 months in office I am more certain than ever that that is true.

At the time of my election I made certain promises to you. I pledged that as national commander I would devote all of my energy and whatever ability I possessed to carrying out your marching orders. Chief among these was to concentrate our efforts on the basic American Legion programs of Rehabilitation, Child Welfare, Americanism and National Security. I further promised that I would assume no obligation that might interfere with our efforts in these key fields.

Your enthusiasm indicates to me that you share my concern about keeping the American Legion on target. We have plenty to do, believe, me, in the area of primary veterans' interest without roaming all over the lot. Let's continue to bear that in mind from here on out.

Before reviewing the programs as such, I want to say a word on membership.

I am happy to report to you that the American Legion entered the year 1954 with the greatest advance membership in its history. We are off to a fine start. If we keep up the good work, if we continue to "Knock On Every Door In '54," we will go a long way toward making this a truly outstanding year.

You and I believe in the American Legion. We believe its principles are sound and deserving of the widest possible promotion throughout the country. Let's demonstrate that belief in personal, practical terms by each bringing one new member into our posts during the next month.

The response to the observance of American Legion weeks in November has been excellent. In many communities veterans and nonveterans alike were introduced for the first time to the real purpose and the real value of their American Legion posts. I hope you will follow through by translating that interest into fresh support for our action programs.

As Legionnaires we are concerned first and always with the welfare of disabled veterans and their dependents, and the widows and orphans. We have succeeded over the years in establishing a sound, generous program of rehabilitation benefits and services. Now we must be just as alert, work just as hard to see that the program is maintained.

In attacking the hospitalized veteran, some groups plead the need for Government economy. Actually, to follow their plan would mean throwing the entire weight of veterans' care upon municipal, county and State governments, which have neither the facilities nor the funds to support it. In the end, the cost to the taxpayer would be more.

I just wish some of the critics would take the time to go into these hospitals and see the type of American they are shooting at. I wish they would visit, as I have, with a countryman whose willingness to fight for his country resulted in a lifetime of staring at a white ceiling from the same, white bed. If they did that, I'm sure we would hear less loose talk about "Treasury raiders."

It's true that the Government could save dollars by closing down the hospitals. By the same token, we could save a lot more dollars by eliminating the Armed Forces. But is that the kind of saving we want? Isn't the national honor, like national security, worth the cost of preserving?

We know perfectly well that savings are not always expressed in terms of dollars and cents. This Nation over the years has banked a tremendous fund of self-respect and pride on the strength of its generous concern for veterans' well-being. To risk the loss of that reserve now would add up to a net loss in national resources.

I am convinced that most of the people who make these wild charges simply do not know the facts.

Our big job is to give them the facts. We must let the public know the true story on this matter of hospitalization. To accomplish this, we have organized since September a special committee to coordinate our informational campaign.

This includes contacts with key Government officials, some of whom have assured me personally that our position and findings will have a full and sympathetic hearing.

To better acquaint all Legionnaires and the public with the issues involved, we have prepared and distributed a number of fact sheets and a question and answer booklet, which covers the complete situation. Other data will be forthcoming.

In addition, I shall have the privilege of presenting our case for the veteran to the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington on January 28, this coming Thursday.

Early in the life of the Legion one of our leaders made this statement: "As long as there is an ex-serviceman who is not properly compensated or hospitalized; as long as there is a family of an ex-serviceman who should have governmental care, we are pledged to a duty that is above all others—to see that the men who gave without stint to their country are properly cared for, and their families properly protected."

Believe me, my friends, I regard this as a sacred trust and I shall do all in my power to protect and honor it. I know you feel the same way.

Paralleling the mandates of the St. Louis convention, our requests for new legislation in veterans' affairs are extremely moderate. For the most part we seek to correct existing inequities. We do not ask any broad new extension of veterans' benefits.

There is one important program which requires our continued vigilance. That is veterans' preference in Federal employment. This program must be kept intact, and all efforts to weaken it must be thwarted. The provisions of the Veterans' Preference Act have proved sound. We do not intend to see them scrapped for political or any other reasons.

Again this year you are showing the Legionnaire's true colors by devoting time and effort to our child-welfare activities. This, in my judgment, is one of the most important and certainly the most unsung of all the services rendered by American Legion posts.

Nationally, we have strengthened this program by the establishment of a child-welfare foundation. I am confident that this new foundation will more than pay off in terms of greater security for the program itself and expanded efforts in the future. The first gift to the foundation was a substantial one. A Legionnaire who wished to remain anonymous turned over to the foundation the mineral rights to oil lands in the Williston Basin in North Dakota and Montana.

Someone has said that dedication is half the battle in any undertaking. Those of you who specialize in child-welfare work of your posts and Auxiliary units can understand that, I am sure. If you continue to prove your dedication to the health and happiness of needy children, you will contribute more than your share to the winning of the American Legion's battle.

Our fight against communistm in this country has been intensified during these past 5 months.

We now have, as director of Americanism, Mr. Lee R. Pennington, who had been an FBI official for 24 years, working in close association with J. Edgar Hoover. The appointment means the reactivation of the American Legion's office of un-American activities in Washington, D. C. This, I believe, will assure a more effective channeling of information on subversion to all Legion posts and members, and in turn more effective community action against the Red conspiracy.

In December I had the pleasure of presenting before a joint meeting of the American and National League baseball club owners, our American Legion junior baseball program. The owners voted to underwrite our program up to the amount of $60,000, an increase of $10,000 over last year. This marks the largest sum ever allocated by the two major leagues for the support of Legion junior baseball.

Junior baseball, of course, is only one of many youth activities in which you are engaged. All of them—Boys State, the Oratorical Contest, School Awards, Boy Scouts, and the rest serve one fundamental purpose: to instill into boys and girls a proper understanding of their American heritage.

Let me make one point here which I think is extremely important. We are trying to give these youngsters an opportunity to discover through their own experiences and in their own environment the ideals and institutions upon which this Nation is built. We want them to be not only good citizens but enthusiastic, zealous citizens. We want them to learn early and never forget the value of the philosophy which we were privileged to defend in war.

That philosophy is under fire today. It is challenged by the godless force of communism abroad in a manner which we can all recognize. But it is also challenged here at home by people who believe themselves to be perfectly good Americans and who have somehow lost the faith of their Fathers. They are too proud or too smart to stand up and be counted as zealous Americans.

This latter challenge is every bit as dangerous as the first. One of the ways we can combat it is through our work with young people. Let us show them by our example that Americanism is still in fashion. Let's make certain they develop a genuine appreciation of their country, of their flag, of their duties as well as their rights.

Prior to the opening of the 2d session of the 83d Congress, I met and talked with President Eisenhower and other leaders in the Defense Department and the Congress. I presented to them our national security program adopted at the St. Louis convention.

Our national security commission and legislative commission are meeting in Washington within the week to develop plans for carrying out that program.

Universal military training and more effective civil defense efforts are among our priority requests in this area.

The UMT matter for the time being is in the balance. Last month the President's National Security Training Commission strongly urged that UMT be started on a limited scale this year. The Commission reported that the program could get underway while the draft is in operation. That is our belief. We see no other way to assure trained manpower for emergency use without relying again on the veterans of World War II and Korea.

The President indicated several weeks ago that he would reserve his decision with respect to UMT until another study of the entire Reserve situation is completed. In all likelihood that will be March or April.

Meanwhile, we intend to continue our efforts in the Congress and around the country to convince all Americans of the need for this civilian-controlled youth training program. I ask each of you to do your full share.

Civil defense represents one of the gravest of all our security problems. Its solution is every American's responsibility.

At the suggestion of President Eisenhower and with the help of the Civil Defense Administrator, Governor Peterson, we have been able to chart a specific service in this field by American Legion posts. Most of you, I am sure, are familiar with it. We are asking that wherever possible our posts sponsor emergency rescue teams as part of their communities' overall effort. I urge those of you who are post commanders to discuss this

proposal with your membership, and with your local civil defense leaders.

At this time there are few opportunities for community service that are more worthwhile or more in keeping with the Legion creed of unselfish service.

There are some people of considerable influence in this country who say that Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations. A quiet campaign to achieve this has been going on for some time, despite the fact that thousands of American boys died fighting the Chinese Communists in Korea.

The American Legion believes that this must not happen. We must not let it happen.

Last fall I had the honor of being one of the original signers of the petition of the committee of 1 million, urging the President to maintain his vigorous opposition to Red China's entry in the U. N. I personally called on Secretary Dulles and relayed the American Legion's position to him. Copies of the petition are being circulated now throughout the country. I hope every legionnaire and every auxiliary member will add their names to the list.

One of the points I stressed 5 months ago at St. Louis was the importance of developing leadership in our posts and departments. I promised to reactivate the American Legion College as one means to this end.

Last Monday the American Legion College went into session at national headquarters in Indianapolis. Legionnaires from virtually all of the States were given a full week's schooling in the principles and programs and organization of the American Legion. I believe we will all benefit from the instruction and the example which they are bringing back to their home departments.

I have saved until last a program which might well rank first in importance—our back to God movement.

Tom Paine once wrote, "These are times that try men's souls." So are our souls on trial today.

Now more than ever we must reaffirm our faith in God and His works. As war veterans, we realize better than most men the need for strength we do not have—for leadership above the mortal rank. We realize, too, that in order to stand straight and strong against our enemies we must first kneel before God.

That is the simple, powerful truth that we are trying to impress upon all Americans. Through this program we are urging daily family prayer, regular attendance at religious services, and the spiritual training of children.

It is a program that deserves our complete support.

This Nation was born of sacrifice. It has been preserved through sacrifice, and sacrifice is made through faith.

Importance of St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, on January 27 last, there appeared an editorial in the Oregon Journal, one of the leading newspapers in my congressional district, entitled "Importance of St. Lawrence Seaway." Pursuant to leave taken, I include the editorial as part of these remarks:

IMPORTANCE OF THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

With the aid of Senators WILEY, of Wisconsin; FERGUSON, of Michigan; MILLIKIN, of Colorado, and others President Eisenhower has won his first legislative victory—passage by the Senate of the St. Lawrence seaway project. Tougher going is expected in the House, however, where opposition Congressmen are trying to botle the bill up in the Rules Committee.

This measure is strongly advocated by President Eisenhower (as by his two Democratic predecessors), but has been strongly opposed by some Republicans, especially Senator BUTLER of Nebraska. BUTLER was supported by such men as Senators IVES, of New York; FINE, of Pennsylvania; BEALL, of Maryland; and SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts, all with big ports in their States. He calls the seaway project "that multi-million-dollar boondoggle."

But the President has strong bipartisan support, too, including Democrats who have favored the St. Lawrence project for years. And the big steel companies are offsetting railroad and other opposition.

The President and his supporters feel that it's now or never on the St. Lawrence seaway. If the United States doesn't go along with Canada in this great seaway project, Canada is going it alone. And if she does, we may find ourselves paying tolls to Canada one of these days.

The project has been modified to leave the power-development phase largely to the State of New York. It would cost this country $105 million to build its section through the international rapids of the St. Lawrence. Canada would do the rest. But the joint project would permit realization of a long-cherished dream of oceangoing shipments up the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic, through the Great Lakes as far west as Duluth. There even is talk of future access to the Mississippi through Chicago, thence down the Father of Waters to New Orleans, if that proves feasible.

In any event, the project as now outlined is of great importance to world shipping and of particular importance to the steel industry, which would like to ship iron ore from Labrador to midcontinental furnaces.

Stripped of its controversial power phase, the revised St. Lawrence program becomes a great international navigation project. Like the Columbia River Channel project, it deserves widespread support, not short-sighted competitive opposition. This applies especially to States with great seaports such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—yes, and Oregon, Washington, and California.

Congressmen from these States, above all others, should realize the wealth-producing value of our waterways to the Nation, regardless of where they lie. And they should remember that they, too, may want help some day in the further development of their own seaports.

Hearings on Flood-Control Authorizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, on February 16 the Committee on Public Works will begin hearings on flood-control authorizations for projects on which the Chief of Engineers has submitted favorable reports since the passage of the Flood Control Act of May 17, 1950. Hearings will be held in room 1302, New House Office Building.

The hearings will be before the Subcommittee on Flood Control, of which the Honorable RUSSELL V. MACK, Washington, is chairman, and will convene at 10 o'clock each morning. All proponents and opponents of a project, including Senators and Representatives, will be heard on the day scheduled for the consideration of that project following the presentation of the Chief of Engineers, the Assistant Chief of Engineers, or the representative of the Civil Works Division, Corps of Engineers. All proponents and opponents should submit their names before the hearing to the clerk of the committee indicating the projects in which they are interested.

Tuesday, February 16: Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Chief of Engineers, will open the testimony of the Corps of Engineers with a report on the status of the Federal flood-control program, together with his recommendations for further supplementing the authorized program. General Sturgis will be accompanied by Brig. Gen. E. C. Itschner, Deputy Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, Col. William Whipple, executive officer for the Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, and Col. Alfred D. Starbird, Assistant Chief of Civil Works for Flood Control.

Eastern United States: Susquehanna River, Endicott, Johnson City, and Vestal, N. Y.—House Document 500, 81st Congress.

Wednesday, February 17, Ohio and Missouri River Basins:

Little Calumet River and tributaries, Indiana—House Document No. 153, 82d Congress.

Sandy Lick Creek, Reynoldsville, Pa.—House Document No. 716, 81st Congress.

Coal Creek and tributaries, Tennessee—House Document No. 154, 82d Congress.

Little Missouri River at Marmath, N. Dak.—Senate Document No. 134, 81st Congress.

Thursday, February 18, upper and lower Mississippi River Basins:

Mississippi River, Guttenberg, Iowa, to Hamburg Bay, Ill.—House Document No. 281, 83d Congress.

Mississippi River, Sny Island, Ill.—House Document No. 247, 83d Congress.

New Madrid Floodway, Mo.—House Document No. 183, 83d Congress.

Friday, February 19, southwestern United States, Alaska, and Hawaii:

Arkansas River, Holla Bend Bottom, Ark.—House Document No. 157, 82d Congress.

Arkansas River, Conway County drainage and levee district No. 1, Arkansas—House Document No. 167, 82d Congress.

Arkansas River at Enid, Okla.—House Document No. 185, 83d Congress.

Gold Creek and tributaries, Alaska—House Document No. 54, 82d Congress.

Wailoa Stream, Island of Hawaii, T. H.—House Document No. 529, 81st Congress.

Other flood-control projects eligible for hearings at a later date are as follows:

Missouri River Basin:

Chariton River and tributaries, Iowa and Missouri—House Document No. 561, 81st Congress.

Kansas River and tributaries, Kansas and Missouri—House Document No. 642, 81st Congress.

Southwestern United States:

Brazos River and tributaries, Texas—House Document No. 535, 81st Congress.

Buffalo Bayou, Tex.—House Document No. 250, 83d Congress.

Address by National Commander Connell, of the American Legion, at Boston Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, Boston, Mass., January 22, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, of the American Legion, at Boston Chamber of Commerce luncheon at Boston, Mass., on January 22, 1954:

From Honolulu to Boston at this season of the year is quite a jump. Believe me—and this is in no sense a criticism of Hawaii—I am mighty glad to be back.

I saw many wonderful sights in the islands and met many wonderful people, but somehow the whole experience seemed a little bit out of focus. I guess I've been a New Englander too long to feel just right about acquiring a sunburn in January.

Actually, I went to Hawaii and the Philippines for quite a different purpose. As some of you know, we have very active American Legion groups in both of those areas; in our table of organization they are departments corresponding to Massachusetts and the other States. So my primary mission was to visit fellow Legionnaires and to observe and, I hope, encourage their activities.

Despite the fact that I spent two whole weeks out there, I must confess that I do not feel entirely qualified as an expert on the Pacific situation. Before getting into the Legion's program, however, I would like to pass along a few brief observations with regard to the Philippines.

The Philippine Republic is less than 8 years old. I doubt if any other new nation, including our own, ever made so much progress in so little time. The Filipinos are people of great industry. They are ambitious and imaginative and intensely proud of their place in the family of free nations. Certainly they have done a marvelous job not only in recovering from war but in building a sound economic and political foundation for future growth.

We hear a great deal today about the problem of winning friends and influencing people abroad. Sometimes it seems that the more we do to show our friendship the more our friends behave like enemies. Well that is definitely not true of the Philippines. Those people have a deep and genuine respect for America. They honor our traditions, our flag, and our word—and I hope that in our dealings with them, as individuals and as a Nation, we shall always justify that trust.

But enough of a travelog. I want to talk to you today about the American Legion's program for America. As national commander, I am proud of that program. I believe in it so deeply that I want all Americans to understand and support it. As a businessman, I know it is important to each of you.

The American Legion was born 35 years ago in France. The founding purpose was simple and sound—men and women who had served their country in war wanted a way to continue to serve in peace.

Thirty-five years have wrought many changes in the face and ways of the world, including the American part of it. Like everything else the American Legion has grown. Today, we have almost 3 million members, veterans of 3 wars, organized in 56 departments and 17,200 posts throughout the world—and another million members of the American Legion Auxiliary.

Despite this growth, our purpose has not changed. The principles that guide us are as old as America itself. They date back to the founding of our Nation.

People came to this country to get away from war. They came to escape religious and political tyranny. They came seeking a place on earth where they could work and pray and raise their families according to the laws of conscience and of God.

These ideals are deep in the American nature. Through many years and many generations they have come down to us unimpaired. I believe it is important that each of us—all Americans—understand these traditions and continually reaffirm our loyalty to them.

For the truth of the matter is that our strength as a nation lies not in material or physical riches but in human riches, not in the bounded resources of our land but in the boundless resources of our people.

An Americanism that ignores or denies this fact is a dangerous concept for Americans. It is one which the American Legion has consistently rejected.

Here, as in no other country on earth, the emphasis is upon the individual. Here we have proclaimed in our Constitution and Bill of Rights the power and the freedom of the individual person to think, to work, to pray as he pleases—and as his God ordains.

This idea of the worth of the individual is not exclusively or even originally American. But it was in America, almost 2 centuries ago, that it was first set forth as the cornerstone of a national government. Today, it is our finest heritage—our children's hope. It is one of the parent ideals for which we of the Legion have fought.

If American Legion posts served no other purpose than to remind us of this creed, they would serve well. Actually, they do far more than that—as I am sure many of you know. Legion posts here in Boston and throughout the country have developed a great many positive, concrete ways of putting these principles into practice.

Our basic programs are four in number: veterans' rehabilitation, child welfare, Americanism, and national security. These areas of activity were charted early in our history. All involve community services; each represents a field of public interest in which the veteran has a personal obligation and concern.

I want to tell you briefly about these programs—their background and current status.

In 1920 the first national commander of the American Legion, the late Franklin D'Olier who served many years as chairman of the board of Prudential Life Insurance Co., made the following statement:

"Our first and foremost duty always has been and will be to the disabled, those who gave their health and strength in battle, and the dependents of those who died while in the forces."

That duty remains No. 1 on the American Legion's list. Since 1920, under the leadership of the Legion, it has been translated into a vast structure of benefits and services for the disabled and widowed and orphaned of war.

Our veterans' rehabilitation program has one simple objective: namely, to provide help for men and women whose war service cost them the ability to help themselves. The people through the Congress have demonstrated their support of this objective. National and State legislatures have enacted hundreds of laws on the subject. The Veterans' Administration and State agencies exist to administer them.

The American Legion devotes a greater part of its effort and resources to this work of veterans' rehabilitation than to any other single activity. We have over 17,000 volunteer service officers and hundreds of full-time rehabilitation specialists who are continually giving personal counsel and other aid to veterans and their families. Our concern is not with mere statistics and laws but with human beings; it is a service of the heart as well as of the hands and mind.

We find ourselves at the present time engaged in a defense of the patients in veterans' hospitals. Let me make our position clear. The American Legion was not organized for the purpose of attacking the medical profession or defending a Government bureau. We were organized to see that proper and sympathetic care is provided the ill and disabled veterans to whom the Nation is eternally obligated.

The system of care for a whole class of patients in veterans' hospitals has been challenged, along with the law under which they are hospitalized.

Our field representatives have now completed bedside studies of thousands of these challenged cases. They found that these patients are precisely the same type of individuals that the Congress had in mind many years ago when it passed the law granting them hospital care.

Many of them are hopelessly ill with cancer, tuberculosis, advanced arthritis, and mental ills. Many are unemployable—and have been for years. Some are blind; some bear gunshot wounds; some have lived for years in abject povetry and physical misery.

Indeed, their plight is not unknown to their family physicians.

We found, for instance, that of 85 challenged cases in the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Huntington, W. Va., 43 were sent there by their own doctors or private hospitals after they had run out of funds.

It seems to me that this is the decent, the American thing to do for the less fortunate among us who have served in the Nation's defense and are disabled or ill with no place to go.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower in addressing the 1952 National Convention of the American Legion discussed this principle of veterans' care at some length. I am sure he expressed the sentiment of everyone here present when he pledged (and I quote): "That each of us will charge himself that these widows and orphans shall experience the great heart of America in full measure, and that all disabled men until they are fully restored to health, no matter how long that may be, shall have all the convenience and comfort furnished by this country (that) they can possibly desire."

Since 1925, through the American Legion, more than $105 million have been spent on the care of children. Our child-welfare program, like rehabilitation, does not lend itself to headlines. It is not the type of work with which the American Legion is generally associated in the public mind.

Personally, I feel that nothing else we do is more important or more rewarding—important because it is a service that contrib-

utes in the most human way to the future strength of our communities and our country, rewarding because it bring hope and happiness to youngsters who need a break.

Here in New England we have always stressed the basic American tradition of people helping one another. That spirit is strong in the American Legion; it is spelled out in the Preamble to our Constitution which obligates all Legionnaires "To concentrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

Child-welfare and similar work done by American Legion posts are direct services to the community from which all members of the community benefit. More than that—and as businessmen you can appreciate this—they represent free enterprise in action, the type of enlightened, unselfish free enterprise that has built this country and helped preserve its free institutions.

You know as well as I do that there are many human needs that are not and should not be met by government. As veterans, as businessment, we have a special obligation to work out these problems in the interests of the entire community. I hope that American Legion posts will continue to receive your active support in this effort.

One of our major programs involves the teaching of the fundamentals of Americanism to the Nation's young people. I am proud to report to you that approximately 2 million boys and girls will participate in the various phases of this activity during 1954.

Upwards of a million and a half boys will play American Legion junior baseball this year. They will learn to play hard and fair and together. Good sportsmanship is one key to being a good American.

Our Boys State programs again this year will give thousands of youngsters practical training in city, county, and State government. And the top elected officials of the Boys States will attend Boys Nation in Washington, D. C. where they will study the functions and responsibilities of the Federal Government.

More than 300,000 high-school students will participate in our national oratorical contest. They will develop a better understanding of the Constitution and Bill of Rights by interpreting and explaining those precious documents.

I could cite many more activities in this area—the sponsorship of nearly 4,000 Boy Scout troops, for example, and of school awards, traffic-safety drives, playground facilities, and the like. These are not spectacular efforts. They represent the day-to-day performance of Legionnaires dedicated to helping our citizens and leaders of tomorrow.

Frankly, I have been disturbed to find that many, many individuals—particularly businessmen—are not even aware that American Legion posts carry on this work. I invite each of you to take a personal interest in it. Whether you are veterans or not, why not check with the Legionnaires in your neighborhood and see if there isn't an opportunity to personally support their youth programs?

I am sure I do not have to emphasize before this group the great importance of citizenship education. Whatever our young people do, whatever career or profession they follow, their success or failure will depend largely upon their understanding of the value and meaning of American citizenship. Our big job, it seems to me, is to make sure that they not only know the rules and the rights and the duties but that they develop enthusiasm and zeal for these things.

For a number of years, the American Legion has felt that many of our schools are falling down on the job of teaching American history. Two out of three youngsters in high school today probably will not attend college. The knowledge of this subject that they take through life is the knowledge they acquire in the elementary and high-school grades. It is there that they must be impressed with the glory of our national traditions; it is there that they must acquire the curiosity and incentive to continue to study and to tell the story of America.

Heaven knows it's a story worth telling. We believe it rates more attention and more emphasis in the classroom. We believe that teachers should exhaust every means of presenting the subject forcefully and dramatically in a way that youngsters will never forget.

Much has been said recently about getting communism out of schools. Certainly, the American Legion agrees emphatically with that objective. But we also believe it is equally important to get Americanism into the schools, and to see that it stays there.

The American Legion since the end of World War I has regarded communism as a distinct threat to all that Americans hold dear. As far back as 1921 an American Legion national convention called for legislation "to provide severe penalties for inciting the overthrow of the Government by means of violence." The following year we went on record in opposition to United States recognition of Russia on the grounds that the Soviet Government was "a dangerout experiment tending to the destruction of civilization." Mind you, that was 31 years ago, and some people laughed at us.

In 1930, we supported the establishment of a congressional committee to investigate communism and other subversive movements. We believe that Congress is duty-bound to continue this work.

I want you to understand just where we stand on this question of subversion and how to deal with it. We are not counter-spies and we are not prosecutors. We are private citizens who have fought to preserve America's freedoms and we resent very bitterly the attempt by any group to use those freedoms as license for destroying America.

Our concern is with the record. We want our own members and all Americans to know their enemies, to know who the Communists are and how they operate. I assure you that we shall continue to give that information the widest possible circulation.

That, too, is a community service from which we all benefit and in which we should all join.

The name, The American Legion, has become synonomous with strong military preparedness. There is a sound, obvious reason for our efforts in this field. The veterans of today have fought in one or two—some, even three—wars for which the Nation was not prepared. We have seen the cost in terms of lives lost and tragic human suffering. We are determined that the mistake shall not be repeated.

We are confronted with a new challenge. It is the question of how to maintain over a long period of time sufficient military strength without bankrupting our economy. The American Legion does not presume to have all the answers. We are convinced, however, that trained manpower will continue to be a vital element in our defense needs. We believe—as we have believed for many, many years—that sound, long-range security planning must include a program of universal military training for the youth of the country.

Our hopes and prayers are for peace. We have seen war, and we detest the waste and the misery and the destruction of it.

The time has come, I believe, when all of us must realize that our best hope for peace and a better life lies not alone in physical defenses or material prosperity but more especially in the spiritual resources that are ours as children of Almighty God.

This Nation was founded by men and women who had a deep, personal faith in divine guidance. They wrote into the Declaration of Independence four distinct acknowledgments of their dependence upon God. We must revive that faith, recapture that spirit in our own time.

It is not enough to say that God is on our side. Rather, we must make certain that we are on God's side and that we are entitled to His favor and protection.

Legionnaires here and throughout the country are consciously endeavoring to do just that by urging a reawakening on the part of all Americans to the need for spiritual strength. We call it a back-to-God movement. We are emphasizing the importance of family prayer, of regular church or synagogue attendance, and the religious training of children.

We are endowed, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "with certain unalienable rights." Let us appeal, then, to the source of those rights. Let us place our trust, as individuals and as Americans, in the hands of our Creator.

"If men refuse to be governed by God, they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

William Penn spoke those words some 200 years ago. Are they less meaningful today?

In attempting to give you this brief word-picture of the American Legion's program for America, I have covered a good bit of ground. It is ground that legionnaires know something about, for we have been over it.

We live in a time of great problems and great promise. There is much hard work to be done by all of us if we are to earn our blessings and fulfill our obligations as American citizens.

Some of us, perhaps, will wonder: Is it worth the effort? If the answer is ever "No," then more than a million of countrymen who have given their lives for an America strong and free will have sacrificed in vain.

Expenses for College Education Should Be Tax Deductible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, permit me to urge the enactment of H. R. 1274, introduced by me on January 7, 1954.

My bill is directed primarily to give relief to those parents who are paying more than $600 personal exemption per child for the education of their children. I have had the experience, and I will get no personal benefit from this bill because I have put both my boys through college without any such exemption, and many of by colleagues have done the same thing.

We know if you are sending them to a college away from home you are lucky if you can do it for as little as $2,500 per year per child. You get all of $600 a year exemption.

So I am not talking for myself about this. I am talking for all of the parents of this country, and I think we have now gotten to the point in this country where we believe that just as a primary education is necessary and a secondary or high school education is necessary, we should, if possible, give every child

in this country an opportunity to get a college education.

This bill will go a long way toward bringing that about by making it possible for these parents, who if they can get this tax relief, will get at least some help in sending their children through the colleges and universities of our country.

The colleges and universities of our country need help, too, because if they cannot continue to get students to pay the tuition, they are going to be in a bad way. As a matter of fact, many of them are already suffering from lack of students.

The GI bill having practically run out, and our parents of the country in large part not being able to send their children to college, those institutions are beginning to feel the loss of student population.

I might say that the bill introduced by me has received widespread approval throughout the country.

The House Ways and Means Committee has conducted hearings on the bill and on the general principle therein. During the course of the executive sessions of the committee for the purpose of revising the tax laws, the committee has tentatively decided to recommend that a $600 exemption for children should be continued beyond the age of 18 years, if the child is a student attending school or college.

This is a step in the right direction and a recognition of the principle set forth in my bill.

It does not, however, go far enough and we should continue to press for the enactment of the language contained in H. R. 1274, which would allow for the full reasonable expenses for a college education.

At this time, I would like to pay tribute to the many college organizations and publications that are supporting my bill and particularly to the National Student Association which is doing so much to direct the attention of the taxpayers of the country to the fact that expenses for college education should be tax deductible.

Study Shrimp Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit a resolution passed by the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission a few days ago. This resolution asks that a thorough study be made of shrimp resources in the Gulf of Mexico. The shrimp industry furnishes livelihood to many of our people in Louisiana and along the gulf coast and brings to the American table a very palatable food.

"Whereas the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission is deeply concerned about the future of the shrimp resources in the Gulf of Mexico and recognizes the need for a major shrimp-research program; and

"Whereas the shrimp of the Gulf of Mexico is one of the most valuable fishery resources in America; and

"Whereas the number of vessels and men engaged in shrimp fisheries has vastly increased in recent years and the area of fishing has spread to far-distant grounds and although the catch has grown to an all-time high, the catch per unit of fishing effort has become reduced; and

"Whereas the distribution of the various kinds of shrimp in the Gulf of Mexico and the species composition of the catch have changed strikingly in recent years; and

"Whereas the member States are carrying out individual research programs which are inadequate; and

"Whereas the commission will serve as a coordinating agency for development of a major shrimp-research program in the Gulf of Mexico; and

"Whereas assistance of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service is desirable and necessary in the development of such a program; and

"Whereas the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission named a committee of scientists representing State and Federal conservation agencies and universities and requested them to draw up a plan of biological research on the shrimp resources of the Gulf of Mexico; and

"Whereas, according to such committee and in the opinion of the commission, there is needed over and above the sums available for such research in the member States $554,000, based on an estimate as follows:

"1. Establish useful and adequate statistics: Cost, $80,000 annually; length of time, permanent.

"2. Sampling the catch for size and species composition: Cost, $59,000 annually; length of time, permanent.

"3. Development of marking techniques: Cost, $50,000 annually; estimated length of time, 3 years.

"4. Differentiation of species and stocks at all ages: Cost, $50,000 annually; estimated length of time, 3 years.

"5. An ecological study, including the following: (a) Mechanisms which transport larvae into inside waters; (b) general ecology of nursery grounds; cost, $190,000 first year; $90,000 after first year; estimated length of time, 5 years.

"6. Maintain a record of man-made and natural changes in the physical environment: Cost, $35,000 annually; length of time, permanent.

"7. Purchase and maintain laboratory equipment: Cost, $40,000 annually.

"8. Administration and publication of results: Cost, $50,000 anually, length of time, permanent.

"Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the commission*, That the United States Fish and Wildlife Service be requested to join in such a program and make funds in the amount of $554,000 available as above set out; and be it

"*Resolved*, That the chairman of the commission appoint a committee composed of at least one marine biologist from each member State to coordinate this program and report to the commission the findings resulting therefrom in order that they might be published by it; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the commission hereby pledges its help and support to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service in whatever action may be necessary in Congress or otherwise to make these funds available."

The foregoing is a copy of a resolution adopted by the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission at a special commission meeting held January 21–22, 1954, at the Edgewater Gulf Hotel in the city of Edgewater Park, Miss.

W. DUDLEY GUNN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

A New Era Beginning for Humboldt Harbor, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely happy that the fiscal 1955 budget contains a recommendation for $265,000 to complete the dredging project at Humboldt Harbor, Calif.

Last year funds were allocated with which the harbor entrance was dredged to a depth of 40 feet. Recommendations in the proposed fiscal 1955 budget will assure completion of dredging operations to deepen the inner channel to 30 feet.

This will facilitate the entry, movement, and full loading of large-type vessels, and place Humboldt Harbor among the major ports of call on the Pacific coast.

Already, following deepening of the entrance channel, water shipping activities at Humboldt Harbor have shown a decided increase.

Lumber and lumber products are the main cargoes at present. However, I predict that when the harbor is deepened in accordance with present authorizations, various agricultural and manufactured products will be added to the commerce of the port.

I have an editorial from the January 15, 1954, issue of the Eureka (Calif.) Humboldt Standard. It gives an account of the activity on Humboldt Bay, and I desire to include it with my remarks, as follows:

GREAT YEAR FOR HUMBOLDT BAY

Humboldt County people who followed the shipping news in the daily newspaper or who had occasion to keep personal watch on the local harbor need no reminder that the year 1953 was a busy one on Humboldt Bay. Just how busy a year it was, however, came to light in one of the most interesting of the annual year-end reports, which shows that more than 100 million board feet of lumber moved out of the port of Eureka aboard oceangoing carriers.

Now, 100 million feet of lumber is a lot of lumber, viewed from any angle and regardless of the transportation method used in movement to markets. For one thing, it comprises a fair index to the general health and activity of the lumber industry as a whole, as well as to the maritime shipping trade. But the most significant aspect of the port volume for the year lies in the fact that it represents heaviest shipment of lumber out of the port in a great many years. The report issued by the Humboldt Stevedore Co., Ltd., places it as the heaviest since 1945, which means, of course, since pre-World War II days, in view of the fact that shipping was virtually nonexistent during the war years.

Persons who chanced to keep check on the harbor activities during the year undoubtedly were impressed by the further fact

that scarcely a week passed without 1 or more large ships loading here, while at times as many as 3 or 4 vessels were in port at the same time. This is something that has not been witnessed on the bay since the decade of the 1920's and the early 1930's.

Equally interesting is the fact that the ships calling at the port represented many of the major shipping lines now in operation, including both American and foreign companies. The list included a number of British vessels, one of Japanese registry, and, for the first time in more than two decades, a ship from Denmark. Incidentally, the port welcomed this week a ship of the Greek merchant marine, the first time the Greek flag has been seen here in a great many years.

Similarly, cargoes loaded out of the harbor were consigned to many parts of the world, including European points and the United Kingdom, South American points, the Far East, the Hawaiian Islands and the eastern coast of the United States. The Far East, indeed, accounted for a major share of the shipments, in connection with military defense operations in that sector of the world.

Reflecting the changing character of the lumber industry itself in the north-coast area, the shipments included both redwood and Douglas fir and also various other lumber products. This is in contrast to past periods when redwood accounted in the main for all waterborne shipments, prior to the development of the fir industry here. One new development also appeared during the year—the shipment of full cargoes of logs. In that connection, it is reported that a number of log shipments are on the schedule for 1954, indicating increasing attention toward this phase of operations.

Any review of the harbor activities of the year, of course, would be incomplete without mention of the vast improvement program that has been underway in the local port. It will be recalled that the year witnessed the materialization of the dredging program, under which the harbor entrance was deepened to 40 feet and the inner channels to 30 feet, thus facilitating the entry, movement, and full loading of large-type vessels calling here. In that connection, it is interesting to note that a movement has been launched to keep a dredge permanently stationed here, to maintain the present entrance and channel depths, a plan which certainly merits complete endorsement.

At any rate, it was a great year for Humboldt Bay and the port of Eureka, and places the local harbor in the first rank of Pacific ports engaged in the shipping of lumber and lumber products. And judging from the interest evidenced by shipping companies and representatives of lumber markets throughout the world, there is every reason to believe that the port is embarked upon a new era of virtually illimitable promise.

Remarks by National Commander Connell at Annual American Legion Dinner for Members of United States Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of National Commander Arthur J. Connell at the annual American Legion dinner for Members of the United States Congress, held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., on January 27, 1954:

I am, indeed, proud this evening, as national commander of the American Legion, to join with distinguished Legionnaires, capable members of the auxiliary, and enthusiastic friends from across the Nation in extending a warm welcome to you ladies and gentlemen who make up the greatest legislative body in the world. The entire American Legion and its magnificent American Legion Auxiliary embrace this means to express our gratitude for the legislation accorded veterans by Congress since the birth of our organization.

You are busy men and women. I know of no group which works so diligently; nor upon which so much responsibility rests.

While I have many close friends and acquaintances among you, I deeply regret that I do not know each of you personally. It would be wonderful if circumstances were such that I could sit down with you individually and talk over the many problems facing us today. But your time will not permit such intrusion and before we can get around to knowing each other I will be back in my beloved Connecticut and a new national commander will be at the helm.

The details of the American Legion's legislative program are more suitably presented before the appropriate committee of Congress. We look forward to the opportunity to do that, and to the attentive and considerate reception that has always prevailed in the past.

The people of the United States—through the men and women of the Congress—long since established the premise that veterans of our wars have earned some special recognition for their service. That belief arose in the hearts of our countrymen during trying days of war and paved the way for legislative enactments granting special considerations.

Indeed, I am sure you agree that controversies of the past have arisen not because of disputes over the basic concept, but rather because of differences of opinion as to what form these special recognitions shall take. That the majority of Congress has been sympathetic with the basic principle is evidenced by the laws and regulations governing the present administration of veterans' affairs. Some of the most important of these were enacted over Presidential vetoes.

I like to think that attacks on veterans' benefits or privileges are never directed at veterans individually, or as a group; but that they spring from reasoning that appears to justify such action. In the view of some, the program may at times appear to block more expansive governmental plans or to deter personal opportunity. Veterans' preference, for example, has been the target of this type of approach.

For a long time we have had some form of preference for veterans seeking, or actually in Federal employment. In 1944, as you know, the Congress enacted the well-defined Veterans' Preference Act. There have been subsequent amendments. Nonveterans do not have the same Federal employment or retention privileges as veterans, and it is natural that resentment against the system is thus created. The same may be true in a political sense when one party or another wishes to reward its workers with Federal patronage. Veterans' preference stands in the way as it was intended to do at the time of enactment.

We hope, in the case of veterans' preference, that no further attempts will be made to weaken or nullify this very sound and valid recognition that was extended to the veterans of the Nation. If an argument for change is advanced, we hope it will be through normal legislative processes and not through the media of riders to appropriations measures.

During the past year there has been considerable discussion of the non-service-connected hospitalization program for veterans. Abuses of this privilege have been magnified beyond all proportion, as is borne out by facts developed by our rehabilitation group through a most searching investigation of several thousand active bedside cases in a number of Veterans' Administration hospitals at scattered points across the Nation. We do not condone even the few abuses that may have occurred.

With that in mind I have discussed this matter with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Mr. Harvey V. Higley. He recently issued instructions to carefully screen and screen again applicants for non-service-connected hospitalization, and he has approved a new application form concerning the financial responsibility of the applicant. The form 'emphasizes ability or nonability to pay in a more drastic manner than previously, and I have pledged the Legion's support of this procedure for a reasonable trial period. I hope the new plan operates with justice to all disabled veterans. I cite this to show that we in the Legion desire to cooperate in the regulation of this program. We firmly believe it can be controlled administratively within intended limitations and without further legislation.

In this and other matters, I trust you ladies and gentlemen of the Congress will stand by the Veterans' Administration as an integral unit to administer the affairs of veterans.

Since my election last September I have visited many hundreds of American Legion posts throughout the country and abroad. Earlier this month I spent a week in the Philippines where Legionnaires are doing an excellent job of representing their country as well as their fellow veterans.

I became convinced during that brief visit that Americans have no finer friends anywhere in the world than the Filipino people. Those of you who have been there recently will, I believe, vouch for that. Frankly, I was both heartened and humbled to see the tremendous respect and trust that the Filipinos have for America.

In that connection, one factor which I think you will want to seriously consider this year is the treatment that our Government has accorded veterans of the Philippine fighting forces in World War II. I found a widespread belief that some of these men have received less than a full measure of justice from the country whose flag they defended. I am referring particularly to the former Philippine Scouts—United States Regular Army troops—who fought so gallantly on Bataan and Corregidor, and endured long hard years of captivity.

The American Legion supported the Rogers Act providing funds for building a hospital in the Philippines for Philippine veterans, and we shall soon urge the extension of this act so that the hospital may be properly operated. We also believe that provision should be made for medical and hospital care of American veterans residing in the Philippines for whom there are presently no facilities, even in cases of service-connected disabilities.

This is one of the matters we shall have the privilege of taking up with your committees in the near future.

The American Legion was organized to serve God and country. We have served primarily in those areas of public interest in which war veterans have a particular concern. This principle of service remains as firm and simple today as it was in the early 1920's. To put it into practice, we have developed and stress four basic programs:

veterans' rehabilitation, child welfare, Americanism, and national security.

This is the work that your Legionnaire neighbors are constantly carrying forward in their American Legion posts back home. I am sure I speak for them—for all Legionnaires—in expressing gratitude for the understanding and active interest which you have manifested in their efforts.

Many of you are Legionnaires; some have served as commanders of your posts and departments. You know the Legion's programs, and you have demonstrated by personal experience that you are sincerely interested in the matters which concern our organization.

As national commander, I want to work with you—to help you and to have your help in effectuating the important, basic programs of the American Legion.

We are dedicated, as are each of you, to doing the things which will benefit all Americans, and which will help keep our country strong and secure, true to the cause and the conscience of freemen.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for joining with us tonight. We hope you have enjoyed being our guests half as much as we have enjoyed being your hosts.

Capt. Benjamin B. Lipsner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Gen. Robert M. Woodward on presentation of an award and commendation to Capt. Benjamin B. Lipsner, founder of the United States air mail system. Captain Lipsner is a distinguished citizen of the State of Illinois, whose contributions to the field of aviation were praised by officials of the city of Chicago and of the State of Illinois. The award of merit which he received was presented by General Woodward in behalf of the Honorable William G. Stratton, Governor of the State.

The address follows:

My friends, it is highly significant that the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, the Aviation Committee of the City Council, Aviation Post 651, the American Legion, the Chicago Aero Commission, Civil Air Patrol, Illinois Department of Aeronautics, Institute of Aeronautical Sciences, Air Force Association, Airline Pilots Association International, and the various airline officials, as well as a great host of friends of Captain Benjamin Lipsner are assembled here to pay homage to a real pioneer of Aviation, on the 50th anniversary of air-powered flight.

Captain Lipsner was the first man in the history of aviation to charter air routes and airways. He instituted the first regularly scheduled air flights, which were the nucleus of commercial aviation as we know it today. That President Wilson was justified in appointing Captain Lipsner as the first General Superintendent of Air Mail in 1918 was proven when 92 percent of the regular scheduled flights were completed in that year, setting an enviable record. Captain Lipsner had the vision and foresight to prophesy what has since become a reality, under the able leadership of Postmaster General Summerfield, namely that air mail service would one day deliver ordinary first class mail in the large cities of our country.

Captain Lipsner has been a member of the Chicago Aero Commission for over 35 years, being reappointed by every succeeding mayor of Chicago, irrespective of political affiliation, and for the last quarter of a century he has been the secretary of that commission, serving honorably and consistently without remuneration. He has given of his valuable time and services without stint, and because of his love for his city, his State, and his country. It seems fitting that the Honorable Martin H. Kennelly, mayor of Chicago, has, in behalf of our great city, sent his felicitations and congratulations to Captain Lipsner in a unique manner; by sending the greetings via Air France, around the world, to reach Captain Lipsner at his office in Chicago. Evidently, Mayor Kennelly desired that the full significance and the implications of this affectionate message should gain momentum on its way around the globe. With each mile, it would gain added affection and esteem, and culminate in Captain Lipsner receiving it in that spirit. He is the only native Chicagoan ever to be so honored and our great State of Illinois could do no less than select him as our favored and greatest aviation pioneer in the last 50 years.

As an engineer, he has made vast contributions to the aeronautical world. As a lecturer, he has traveled the length and breadth of our country, appearing before scientific bodies. As a writer, he has contributed to numerous periodicals, magazines, newspapers, and libraries. He has written several books, and his best seller, The Air Mail Jennies to Jets is in the library of every educational institution in our land and abroad. We in Illinois are fortunate in having this great native son, who has all too long gone without our official recognition, gratitude, and thanks and who has modestly made these enormous contributions without any hope or desire of claiming any credit. We can never adequately repay him for his distinguished services. Even now, he has been made Chief Consultant in Aerodynamics for the Civil Defense of Illinois, and our great State would indeed be derelict in its duty if it did not express our profound thanks and deep appreciation to the man we hold to be Illinois' greatest pioneer in aviation in the last 50 years.

We need men whose patriotism and love of country prompt them to render such service as was rendered by him as a member of the Air Corps in the First World War and as founder of the airmail system of the United States; by his son who served in World War II; and by his grandson who recently saw service in the Air Corps. This man is now giving all his wisdom, great knowledge, and valuable service to civil defense and doing all in his power to overcome public apathy and to awaken our people to the dangers that now exist. To me, he epitomizes all that America hopes and stands for, that great degree of knowledge, skill and experience, and patriotic devotion to America and to humanity.

Therefore, at the direction of our distinguished Governor, William G. Stratton, it affords me great pleasure to present you, Captain Lipsner, with this award of merit in recognition of your outstanding achievements in the development of aviation during the past 40 years. This is your day, Captain Lipsner, a day in which you are being signally honored. I extend to you, Captain Lipsner, the best wishes of our Governor and of all of the people of our great State, who are indebted to you beyond any hope of ever being able to compensate you. I trust you will live long and enjoy these honors and blessings, and that you will continue to give of yourself to the advancement of the cause of freedom and democracy. My most sincere congratulations and best wishes.

The Airline Pilots' Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Capt. Benjamin B. Lipsner, the founder of the United States airmail system, which appeared in the Airline Pilot for December 1953.

This article is a tribute to the many Army pilots who undertook to fly the mail in the early days of aviation and thus laid the groundwork for the extensive commercial aviation of today.

The article follows:

THE AIRLINE PILOT'S HERITAGE—THE BLAZING OF THE AIRMAIL TRAIL LEFT IN ITS WAKE THE MANY PROUD TRADITIONS THAT ARE THE HERITAGE OF THE PILOT OF TODAY

(By Capt. Benjamin B. Lipsner)

To the aviation industry, this year is important because it is the 50th anniversary of powered, heavier-than-air flight. But to me, it is also important as the 35th anniversary of the time when the airplane went to work, as the beginning of commercial aviation. Because, until the plane was put to worthwhile use, it was nothing but a sportsman's toy and something to be stared at during county fairs.

Commercial aviation is the business of taking something by air from one place to another on a regular schedule for a fee. The first flight of this nature in the history of the world took place on May 15, 1918, when the first plane of the United States Aerial Mail Service took off from Washington for New York via Philadelphia. Using Army planes and pilots, a regularly scheduled service was flown until August 12 of the same year. On that date, civilian pilots and specially designed 100 miles per hour mail planes took over from the Army, and the airmail service became a completely civilian operation.

AIRMAIL MADE MONEY

I might add in passing that in its first year of operation, the airmail service showed a good profit for the Post Office Department, a rare feat which hasn't been repeated since that time.

From this beginnig in 1918 came the great airlines and aviation industry as we know it today.

Whenever I see the pilot of a modern airliner, handsome in a snappy uniform, competent and confident, I feel a surge of pride, and, at the same time, a twinge of nostalgia. For I was in at the beginning and knew the men who handed him the heritage he carries so proudly. I'm not talking about the daredevils or the barnstormers or the stunt pilots, because they flew when and how they pleased. If they felt conditions weren't right, they stayed on the ground. I mean the clear-eyed boys who looked up at those first schedule boards (which I had designed) and then climbed into their planes and maintained that schedule, come weather, hell, leaky radiators, and high water. To me, the first man to do a spin or a loop or an Immelmann was showing off. The men who really performed a service to aviation were the ones who first flew to a schedule.

The pilots of today have an esprit de corps that is wonderful to behold, and they have a right to it. For they follow in the footsteps of such men as Max Miller and Eddie Gardner, who were the first to look a thun-

derhead in the eye, say, "The hell with it," and bring the plane in on schedule.

COMPLETED 92 PERCENT OF FLIGHTS

Incidentally, I think it would surprise most pilots of today to learn that in its first year, the airmail service completed 92 percent of its scheduled flights—even though it meant landing in a farmer's pasture to refill the radiator before the flight could be completed. Of course, these were all daytime flights, but considering the crates we were flying, I think this is an amazing record.

If you want to know what kind of pilots Miller, Gardner, and their fellows were, I think the trailblazing flight from New York to Chicago will give you an insight into them. As soon as the schedule flights between Washington, Philadelphia, and New York were operating to my satisfaction, I began planning an expansion of the airmail service. My eventual goal was to tie together in an airmail system every major city in the United States, and I plotted the routes out on a map. The obvious first step in this expansion was the addition of a New York-Chicago leg to the part of the system already in operation. Later, this leg was to be extended to the west coast.

TOOK OFF FROM RACETRACK

The takeoff on this trailblazing flight was from Belmont Park, New York, noted more for its horses than its aviation facilities, on the morning of September 5, 1918. Max Miller was flying a Standard mail plane with a 150-horsepower Hispano-Suiza engine. Gardner's plane was a Curtiss R-4, with a 400-horsepower Liberty engine. We selected these two different types for the flight because we wanted to learn from practical experience which type would give the most reliable service on longer flights. Miller and Gardner had all kinds of bets as to who would be in Chicago first, and in their minds it was more of a race than a pathfinding flight.

Miller lifted his plane off the ground at 7:08 a. m. He was all alone, flying without a mechanic, and headed west under a leaden sky. After passing Newark, he encountered a heavy fog which completely obliterated the ground. For 2 hours he flew blind, through and over this—and this was really flying blind, for he had no instruments other than a compass. He told me later he didn't dare try to go down through the fog to find out where he was for fear of running into a mountain.

After Miller took off Gardner's plane was wheeled into place. It began to rain hard. But Gardner was anxious to be gone and started into his takeoff. But before the plane had picked up much speed, he was signaled to come back. By the time he got back to the line, Gardner was so mad he was smoking. Then they told him that he had broken his tailskid in the takeoff run. He spotted another plane and determined to take it. There was an argument with the field superintendent, but Gardner won. So he and his mechanic, Ed Radel, transferred to the new ship, and at 8:50 a. m. they were in the air. They carried three pouches of mail and spare parts for both planes. Radel told me afterward that they were crossing the Hudson River before he recalled that he had not brought along either a fire extinguisher or their lunch.

NOTHING TO DO BUT WORRY

Meanwhile, I was in Chicago, anxiously pacing up and down in front of a telephone. I had the report of the takeoffs, and there was nothing to do after that but worry and wait for the boys to report to me whenever they could. There is some question in my mind as to who suffered the most. At least the boys had something to keep them busy, while all I could do was stare at the phone.

For 2 long hours Miller struggled at an altitude of over 5,000 feet, with fog below and clouds above. When he thought he should have been in the vicinity of Lock Haven, Pa., the first stop, he began to feel his way down, foot by foot, expecting to see the looming crest of a mountain at any moment. He didn't recognize the area when he broke through and so landed for directions. Then he took off again and spied Lock Haven 45 minutes later. Lock Haven is set down between two mountains, with a difficult approach, and he said later, "The only reason I tried to dive through that slice in the mountains was that my motor was missing and I needed gas and oil; otherwise I would have gone right on."

Max called me from Lock Haven and his first words were, "Say, Cap, where's Eddie?"

I told him I didn't know and reminded him that this wasn't entirely a race, but also a trailblazing flight. Then he reported that he would need a can opener to get out of Lock Haven. An hour later, after some radiator repairs, he took off.

DRIFTS OFF COURSE

Meanwhile out over the "hell stretch" Gardner bucked and battled a terrific storm, drifting 30 miles off course while in it. He landed at Wilkes-Barre and called me 20 minutes after Max called. "Where's Max?" were his first words. Our conversation was pretty much the same as the first had been except I finally told him where Max was. He took off from Wilkes-Barre just 17 minutes after Miller left Lock Haven. Because of bad weather and gasoline trouble, he had two more emergency landings before reaching Lock Haven.

Then the second lap of the race was under way, with Miller holding a good lead but unaware of the fact. He was sure that Gardner had passed him while he was down at Lock Haven. Now it was Miller's turn to battle a storm. He climbed to 6,000 feet, trying to get over the clouds, but he couldn't, and the plane wouldn't go any higher. Then he dropped below the clouds, but even before he broke into the clear he found himself flying past treetops on a mountainside. And then his engine began to overheat, and he had to land.

AN ANGRY FARMER

He made for a farmer's field and was filling his radiator from a stream when the farmer came up behind him with a shotgun and ordered him off. He must have thought Max something supernatural. Max took off in a hurry and landed a little later at another farm to complete the watering. The farmer here told him he was in Jefferson County. Max thought he meant Jefferson County, Ohio. Actually, he was still in Pennsylvania. He adjusted his course accordingly, and at 4:25 p. m. called me on the phone from Cambridge, Ohio.

"You're way off your course," I cried, "and still 100 miles from Cleveland. What happened?"

He told me the story, and I gave him the last information I had on Gardner. Then a few moments later Gardner called to say that he was still in Lock Haven with gasline trouble. I instructed him to spend the night there. Miller made Cleveland that night, after several more forced landings. The next morning, before leaving, he had his leaky radiator repaired at the Glenn Martin factory.

Gardner got out of Lock Haven early the next morning and stayed right on course. If he had flown over the Martin factory, he might have seen Miller taking off. As it was, he searched for some time before finding a suitable landing place. He set down at 3 p. m. Fifty-nine minutes later he was on his way again, less than three-quarters of an hour behind Miller. It was developing into a real race. Gardner arrived at Bryan, Ohio, just 6 minutes after Miller took off.

LAST LAP TAKES 2 HOURS

Miller's last lap to Chicago consumed exactly 2 hours, and at 6:55 p. m. he landed in Grant Park on the lake front.

"Where's Eddie?" Max yelled even before his safety belt was unbuckled.

I told him that he was the first to land, and that I hadn't heard from Gardner since he landed at Bryan. As it grew darker, bonfires were lit around Grant Park to guide Eddie in. Everyone became worried, fearing Eddie had gone down in the lake. Miller was all for climbing back into his ship and starting a search, but I stopped him. There was a fireworks display at Soldier's Field, and when it was over, Max begged them to do it again, hoping that Eddie might see the rockets. They actually did put the show on again.

Finally a phone call came through from Eddie. He had made a forced landing at Westville, Ind., and would be in as early as possible in the morning.

(Gardner on his return flight with his Liberty-powered plane established a record: from Chicago to New York in a single day.)

This, then, is the caliber from which the airline pilot of today is descended.

PILOTS PART IMPORTANT

To the thousands of members of your outstanding organization, the Air Line Pilots Association International, I respectfully pay homage and tribute for the important part you have played in the past, and will continue to play in the future development of air flight and national defense. Pioneers only start important projects in every scientific undertaking; the further development is always inherited by posterity, each contributing a part with each succeeding hour. The present status of aviation, represents the sum total of all human effort, sacrifice, study, research, and perseverance to go forward, as has been done in the first 50 years of heavier-than-air powered flight.

The first successful powered flight by the Wrights in 1903 was a matter of feet. Now, we have broken the "sound barrier." We can fly many thousands of miles, at such high altitudes and at such terrific speeds, that it staggers the imagination. Even ordinary 3-cent mail is now transported by air.

Just as the Wrights were influenced by such great scientists as Lillienthal, Chanute, Langley, and others, so is each succeeding generation constantly adding to our common stock of knowledge and understanding, through its study, research, and experimentation. Numerous scientists, engineers, metallurgists, electronic experts, students in advanced aerodynamics, together with the assistance of a far-sighted aggregation of manufacturers and industrialists, hve made possible the greatest contribution to world travel, air mail, commerce, and national defense. Whole stories could be written on each phase of each branch that made possible this almost ultimate success in aviation—from the important task of perfecting the first "Liberty motor," by the Packard Motor Co., to the perfection of the first aircraft lubricant by the Texas Co., during the First World War (and in which I am proud of having participated). Yet, in spite of all these marvelous achievements, what good would all these successful inventions and subsequent research and perfection translated into thousands of wonderful planes amount to, if we had no such experts as you to pilot and navigate them?

There is nothing outside of the realm of human possibility.

Today whole families can board jet-propelled giants of the skies, entirely unmindful of any hazards, reassured by experience that, in a matter of a few hours, they will alight in perfect safety thousands of miles away, by a crew of highly efficient, trustworthy, and competent airmen. You, therefore, are

the unsung heroes to whom a grateful Nation is eternally indebted. You are the nucleus of a great vital force of important instructors, who could transmit your vast knowledge and experienced skill to the future defenders of our liberties.

Nine Hundred Million "Bet" on City Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article from the Detroit Free Press of January 31, 1954:

NINE HUNDRED MILLION "BET" ON CITY PROSPERITY—FIRMS EXPANDING HERE SHOW FAITH IN FUTURE

(By Jack Strohm)

Detroit-area business and industry are making a $900-million bet that plenty of prosperity is in the cards for 1954, it was revealed Saturday.

Some of the money will come from the billion-dollar General Motors program which, however, spreads much of its benefits elsewhere in Michigan.

The major Detroit-area spending will be done not only by auto manufacturers but by retail enterprises, steel firms, builders and utilities.

The $900 million—an amount nearly equal to the high capital expenditures of booming 1953—will go into new plants and equipment capable of boosting production to record levels.

A comprehensive industry-by-industry survey made by the Free Press shows business leaders generally are confident of the Nation's economic future.

And their confidence isn't confined to what they say for public consumption. In effect, they're putting their money where their mouth is.

If industry's confidence proves justified—and it isn't in the habit of gambling stockholders' money on long shots—the new facilities will open up thousands of job opportunities.

Data from a host of sources—Government agencies, private statistical research firms and budgets of industrial firms—indicates that capital expenditures in 1954 will approach the $925 million of 1953.

The Detroit chapter of the Associated General Contractors, which includes most of the major construction firms in the Detroit area, estimates that its members will do a $150 million business this year, about equal to the record volume of 1953.

The F. W. Dodge Corp., which keeps records of virtually all residential and nonresidential building in the State, gives an almost equally optimistic forecast for the entire building industry.

It expects that building started in the Lower Peninsula in 1954 will come close to the $852,496,000 peak of 1953, highest in dollar volume since 1940.

Though the Dodge figures include home and other building outside the industrial field, they are some of the most comprehensive compiled on a State level and regarded as an excellent barometer of general economic activity.

On the national level, data compiled by the United States Department of Commerce show that industry's plans for the first quarter of this year call for capital expenditures equal to the $28-billion-a-year rate set in 1953.

"For the year [of 1953] as a whole, investment in plant and equipment will approximate $28 billion, up almost $1.5 billion over 1952," the Department's Survey of Current Business states.

"Business expects its fixed-investment programs for the first quarter of the coming year to be maintained at about the same high rate as the 1953 average."

By relating the national statistics to the outlook of individual Detroit-area firms, John R. Stewart, director of research for the Detroit Board of Commerce, estimates that investment in plants and equipment in the metropolitan area will come to the $900-million figure in 1954.

On a percentage basis, some of the most spectacular expansion is taking place in the steel industry, often called the backbone of the economy.

By the end of the year McLouth Steel Corp. expects to complete a $100-million expansion program which began in mid-1953. It will double the firm's capacity to 1,200,000 ingot-tons of steel a year.

The bulk of the expansion, including two new electric furnaces which are the largest of their type in the world, is slated for the firm's Trenton facilities. A blast furnace, ore docks, and an expanded rolling mill also will be installed at Trenton.

A new cold rolling mill will be constructed at the McLouth Gibraltar site.

"The Detroit area is the greatest steel-consuming market in the Nation," a spokesman for the firm said. "We are expanding because we are close to that market and have confidence that it will remain healthy and vigorous."

Great Lakes Steel Corp., which has just completed a $35-million slabbings mill, also plans further expansion to supply Detroit's automotive market.

Since 1946 the firm has boosted its productive capacity from 2 million to 4 million ingot-tons a year.

"The slabbings mill, which permits lengthening of unwelded sections of steel coils, is just another step in this program," said George R. Fink, president of the firm. "Other steps are going to follow."

Rotary Electric Steel Co. is now carrying out a 5-year, $7 million program that will increase the net worth of the firm by 50 percent.

It will spend $1,600,000 this year on the plan, which will take the firm into stainless steel bar and wire production. Two of five new buildings already have been completed.

Capital investments are also ballooning in the retail field.

Ground breaking will begin in the next few months on two $3,500,000 suburban shopping centers.

One will straddle the Detroit-Grosse Pointe Woods boundary at Mack and Seven Mile. Scheduled for completion by next winter, it will be owned by Saul Sloan, a commercial builder who has a million-dollar center under way at Ford and Telegraph in Dearborn Township.

The other center, being developed by Sloan's son, Eugene, will be completed at 13 Mile and Woodward in Royal Oak in the spring of 1955. Each center will embrace 25 stores.

Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Co. plans to begin a four-story million-dollar office building just south of the Royal Oak center this summer.

An adjacent housing development, Woodward Heights, will double its size to 350 units this year.

Overshadowing the entire retail picture, of course, is the J. L. Hudson Co. $25 million Northland Center, which will open at Northwestern and Eight Mile in the last of March.

The firm plans to begin a similar multimillion-dollar project, the Eastland Center, at Kelly and Eight Mile in 1955.

So far this year, construction in the Detroit area has exceeded the dollar-volume rate of 1953. In the first 3 weeks, total building-permit valuations were $6,784,000—more than $1,500,000 over the same period of 1953.

For all of 1953, permit valuations in Detroit proper totaled $172,925,312, compared with $133,308,000 for 1952.

Many of Detroit's industrial real-estate brokers, who get wind of industrial construction before it reaches the drawing board, believe outlay for new plants this year may exceed the 1953 total.

Lester J. Steele, vice president of Silloway & Co., explained:

"While defense production was going strong, many firms made old facilities do. But with the market becoming more competitive, most of them are thinking of modernizing their plants and equipment.

"This thing is contagious, too. Announcement of the General Motors Corp. billion-dollar expansion program for the next 2 years has accelerated the movement.

"Industries like to keep up with the Joneses just like neighborhoods do."

GM has not specified how much will be spent in the Detroit area, but the bulk of the expansion will be in Michigan—much of it in Flint, Pontiac, and Grand Rapids, which are not included in this survey.

While the Chevrolet division alone will put five new plants into operation this year, a sprawling spring and bumper plant at Eckles and Arnhein, in Livonia is one of the two announced for the Detroit area.

Construction began last fall on the project, which will provide 750,000 square feet of space.

Chevrolet Detroit-area expansion also includes a new engineering building at the GM Proving Grounds near Milford and an experimental center adjacent to the GM Technical Center on Mound in Warren Township.

In Flint, Chevrolet is adding 750,000 square feet to its stamping and frame plant and more than a million square feet to its engine plant.

In addition to 106,000 square feet at its Flint No. 1 plant and 265,000 at its Grand Rapids No. 1 plant, the Fisher Body division will add 89,000 to its stamping plant at Pontiac.

Also at Pontiac, 1,300,000 square feet will be added to facilities of the Pontiac division. The division now has a total of 6,700,000 square feet.

Expansion will provide a new sheet metal and press plant, car-finish building, service parts machine building and three-story addition to the personnel and purchasing building.

Ford Motor Co., which also has a vast expansion program under way across the Nation, will begin a plant and administration building this year for its new special product division in Ecorse Township.

Though no official announcement has been made, the firm is expected to bring out a new line of cars at the plant.

Size of the building has not yet been disclosed, though construction industry experts have estimated the cost at $5 million. It will be near the Willow Run Expressway and Oakwood.

Ford is also building a 12-story central administration building at Michigan and Southfield in Dearborn. It will provide 640,000 square feet of space for some 3,000 employees.

Unofficial estimates put the cost at over $13 million.

Keeping abreast of the industrial growth are Detroit Edison Co., Michigan Bell Telephone Co., and other utilities.

Edison will make capital expenditures of $73 million in 1954, including $500,000 for research and development of industrial atomic power. The firm plans to continue expansion at the same rate over the next 4 years.

A $73 million powerplant begun in November at the mouth of the Rouge River is expected to be in operation by April 1956. Its two turbo-generators, with a combined 675,000 horsepower, will boost power supply for the entire Detroit area.

Other expenditures in 1954 will include $26 million for transmission and distribution lines and $13 million for 25 new substations.

"We expect industrial growth to continue in 1954 just as in 1953," said Eldred H. Scott, controller of the firm. "Our budget for capital expenditures this year is just as high as last."

Michigan Bell Telephone Co. plans to pour $45,800,000 into new construction, dial-system conversion and expanded equipment this year.

The booming machine-tool industry, much of which is centered in the Detroit area, is finding it necessary to go into a major expansion program. Chief among the projects announced to date is the $1 million one about to be launched by Cross Machine Tool.

Talk of recession is not scaring industrialists. Accustomed to planning on the basis of the facts, they are going ahead, heedless of the prophets of doom who fail to take the long-range economic picture into consideration.

Address by Vice Adm. James L. Holloway Before the Fleet Reserve Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following address by Vice Adm. James L. Holloway, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Personnel, before the 26th national convention, Fleet Reserve Association, at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, September 4, 1953:

It was with great regret that I was forced to decline the invitation of your national secretary to talk at the midyear meeting of your national board of directors. I am therefore even more pleased to be offered this opportunity to speak to so many members of the Fleet Reserve Association. As an honorary member of the Fleet Reserve Association I have been able to keep in unusually close contact with this organization. A number of us have been shipmates one time or another during the past 35 years and I am happy to count among you many friends of long standing. The lasting friendships made through service to our country constitute a large element of the strength of your association and of the Navy and the Marine Corps. The bond of understanding between all members of the Navy and Marine Corps, whatever their rank or rate, has resulted in our splendid achievements both in peace and in war. Your organization is richly deserving of great credit in helping to foster the esprit de corps for which the naval service is so justly famed.

The Fleet Reserve was devised as a means of assuring the Navy of a nucleus of mature, trained and Navy-wise personnel who would be immediately available for active service in the event of emergency. Such an emergency has in part recently been successfully surmounted—thanks in no small measure to the unselfish service performed by you here and many others just like you.

As members of the Fleet Reserve Association I know you all maintain an active interest in all matters pertaining to naval personnel, both officers and enlisted. I should like to discuss some of those topics which I believe may be of interest to you and to include such forecasts and policy statements as may be pertinent. The first general interest item concerns the present status of proposed legislation affecting service persons.

WARRANT OFFICERS

Legislation

Perhaps you have heard rumors of elimination of the warrant officer category in the Navy. These rumors at one time had some basis, at least to the extent that some study was given to enlargement of the LDO program as an eventual replacement for the opportunity now offered in warrant and commissioned warrant ranks. An interservice committee, by direction of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel, inquired very thoroughly into the matter. At the present time there is no intention to eliminate the warrant officers and commissioned warrant officers. An enlargement of the LDO program will not be based on phasing-out of warrant officers. As a matter of fact, bills S. 2410 and H. R. 6374, which are identical, have been introduced in the 83d Congress to provide a statutory career plan for warrant officers in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard, similar to that now provided for commissioned officers therein by the Officer Personnel Act. At the present time there are numerous laws on the subject which are lacking in uniformity or completeness, and the legislation is intended to incorporate the provisions of those laws, together with some new provisions, into a new and complete statute to govern the administration of warrant officers from the time of appointment to eventual separation from active military service. It is expected that hearings of those bills will be held during the next session of Congress.

Each of the several services has, of course, a warrant-officer program, including grade structure, programs of procurement, and systems of promotion or advancement and retirement. One of the basic differences between the warrant-officer systems of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard on the one hand, and the Army and Air Force on the other, is that under existing law the 3 former services have commissioned warrant officers while the latter 2 do not. The Army and Air Force consider that it would be an administrative handicap to start commissioning the top three warrant officer grades, and desire to continue their present system of issuing warrants on all grades of warrant officers. On the other hand, it would adversely affect the morale of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard personnel to take away commissions already held by them. Since no inequities would result from continuation of this difference, the services would be permitted under the new law to continue their present systems in this respect. The proposed legislation has no reference to utilization of warrant officers by the respective services.

The contents of the above-mentioned bills are necessarily quite long and technical in nature, so that not more than general observations and highlights of their provisions are offered at this time. At the outset, four grades of warrant officers for each service would be established to correspond to the warrant pay grades already prescribed by section 201 (a) of the Career Compensation Act of 1949. Warrant officers, including those who have been retired or placed on the disability retired list, will be distributed and redesignated within 2 months after enactment of this proposal and each warrant officer will be protected against being placed in a lower warrant officer's grade than the pay grade to which his status entitled him on the day before the effective date of the new law.

Procedures are prescribed for the orderly promotion to a higher pay grade of warrant officers by selection boards as well as for the separation or retirement of those failing of such selection or those who are determined to be unfit or unsatisfactory. Methods of computing severance pay and retired pay under the various circumstances are set forth.

A unique provision of this bill would provide for the deferment of retirement or separation of warrant officers for a maximum of 4 months if such deferment is necessary for a proper evaluation of his physical condition and possible entitlement to disability benefits. A provision is included to give the President authority to suspend the operation of part or all of any laws respecting warrant officers during periods of war or national emergency. The all-inclusive provisions of the proposed bill, together with necessary amendments of other laws, and repeal of others, is considered to be a long and much-needed revision of the statutes relating to warrant officers. The bills have the support of all the services.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

Shifting to matters relating to the temporary officers, I am sure that you are anxious to know of any future plans in regard to permitting the release to the Fleet Reserve of temporary officers whose permanent status is enlisted. As you perhaps know, Alnav 83–50 holds in abeyance acceptance of resignations of permanent career officers of the Regular Navy and voluntary terminations of temporary appointments of temporary officers for the purpose of transferring to the Fleet Reserve. A study is being made of the possibility of relaxing the provisions of Alnav 83–50 in order to permit voluntary reversion and concurrent transfer to the Fleet Reserve of temporary officers with more than 20 years service. I would like to point out that this envisions only voluntary reversions, and that at the present time there are no plans for involuntarily reversion of temporary officers. As a matter of fact, there is a great and continuing need for the services of our temporary officers. However, with currently prescribed reductions in strength, involving the involuntary release of Reserve officers, it is felt that provision should be made for certain temporary officers, who so desire, to resume their permanent status. Another matter which I should like to mention briefly is that of the status of those temporary officers who were recalled from the Fleet Reserve as enlisted men and given temporary appointments as officers. Public Law 305 of the 79th Congress did not provide that individuals receiving temporary appointments after June 30, 1946, be retired in such temporary grades. New legislation has been proposed but not yet enacted. I hope that eventually there will be one rule, that rank and pay on the retired list will be the highest in which service was satisfactory, as determined by the Secretary of the Navy.

CHIEF PETTY OFFICER ADVANCEMENTS

The service-wide competitive examination system will provide equitable opportunity for advancement within authorized quotas. The recent revision of the Manual of Qualifications for Advancement in Rating provides a much improved guide for the construction of examinations and for study in preparation for examinations. Every effort is being made to provide examinations that measure the practical knowledge required of the rate.

The next "chief's list" will be issued after the February examination. There were over 2,500 advancements made this spring and there is no one on the waiting list in th ratings for which we still have vacancies. In this connection, I want to stress that the recent special advancements of 46 aviation pilots did not use up vacancies in their ratings. They are carried as extra numbers. The advancements were made in recognition of the heavy additional responsibilities these men carry in piloting aircraft.

POW ADVANCEMENTS

You may be interested in the new policy on advancement of prisoners of war—it is a joint policy approved by the Secretary of Defense. Prisoners and missing personnel will be advanced one pay grade when they have satisfied the service requirements. After they return they will be advanced to whatever enlisted pay grade they presumably could have attained if they had not been captured. These advancements after repatriation will be dependent upon the ex-prisoner of war proving himself qualified by examination.

TEMPORARY ADVANCEMENTS

There is a plan to do away with temporary advancements to second-class and first-class petty officer. Advancements to chief will still be temporary in nature, but we intend to drop the word "temporary" and its abbreviation "T." We thing the word "acting" is enough to indicate that it is not a permanent appointment. As it stands now, no one who has made chief since December 31, 1950, can be recommended for permanent appointment. However, we are studying the situation, and will issue some permanent appointments as soon as we can see our way clear to do so.

During the current emergency many of you were recalled to active duty and were required to serve for a minimum period of 24 months. Those of you who were transferred to the Fleet Reserve during this period were required to remain on active duty for periods up to 24 months. As you know, we are no longer recalling Fleet reservists on an involuntary basis, and the period of involuntary retentíon on active duty of those who transfer to the Fleet Reserve is being phased down until, beginning on November 1 of this year, members transferring to the Fleet Reserve will be concurrently released to inactive duty. However, those members of the Fleet Reserve who desire to remain on active duty may continue to do so in increments of 12 months, or for periods of less than 12 months if such retention on active duty is for the purpose of completing service requirements to become eligible for the next succeeding pay period. We do not contemplate any change in our policy at this time as regards voluntary retention on active duty.

ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE SERVICE AS A CAREER

The Joint Chiefs of Staff forwarded a memorandum to the Secretary of Defense in February which stated that they had become increasingly concerned about the lack of confidence among Armed Forces personnel in the military service as a worthwhile and respected career. An ad hoc committee with Rear Adm. J. P. Womble as chairman, was appointed to study this matter for the Secretary of Defense.

I want to assure you that the departmental officials charged with the welfare of service personnel are alert to the situation and will be vigorous in using their influence to obtain a corps of men of the highest caliber with a healthy morale.

To attain this aim will require certain changes both within and from without the service. The situation is much too complex to charge any person or group or any one attitude with responsibility.

Any widely spread sentiment or belief which holds that serving one's country in the profession of arms is not honorable and respected and not worthy of the best of the Nation, must be combated vigorously.

I believe the Congress is receptive to our needs. The Congress has, as I mention later, just enacted the survivor's benefit legislation which is of importance to all retired personnel and all those to be retired over the years. The Honorable STERLING COLE was one of the prime movers in the enactment of this legislation. You should also know that the Hess subcommittee, appointed to investigate Armed Services' Exchanges (the old Ships' Service Stores) recommended no substantial change in our administration in that field. They reported that most of the charges against the operations were loose and reckless. In their report, the Hess subcommittee recorded their grave concern for the welfare of the serviceman.

When the Congress is presented by the services with a clear, full picture and with all the facts relating to any service problem, we can rely on their understanding and assistance.

In the area of public sentiment and confidence, the Fleet Reserve can, by insisting on an accurate portrayal of service life, its burdens and its rewards, and by strengthening the bonds between the services and civilians, be of marked assistance.

This problem is of fundamental national importance and requires action by the services and outside the services.

DEPENDENTS MEDICAL CARE

You will be interested in hearing about the Moulton Commission which was established by the Secretary of Defense last April to look into the matter of medical care for the dependents of service personnel. This Commisison, with Dr. Harold G. Moulton as Chairman, submitted their report and recommendations in June. Several improvements in the present system were recommended which would give equal medical care to all eligible dependents, of all services, regardless of where they are located. Dependents of all servicemen on active duty and dependents of retired or Fleet Reserve personnel on inactive duty would be eligible. "Dependents" would include wives and dependent children under 21, plus parents and parents-in-law if living in the home of the serviceman. Also, it includes widows and dependent children of men who lost their lives in service or while retired.

Th Commission looked into the medical insurance plan but decided that insurance was not necessary or practicable. The most significant recommendation of the Commission was that the present system of dependents' care be supplemented by civilian doctors and civilian hospitals whenever military service facilities are not available; with the Government paying most but not all, of the bill. As a safeguard, it was recommended that the patient pay the first $10, and 10 percent of the remainder of the bill, for any one illness treated by civilian doctors. Dental care was excluded from this provision.

Medical care for dependents has never been unlimited, or all-inclusive, and it still would not be under the Commission's recommendations. The Commission recommended limits by excluding mental and nervous ailments, domiciliary care, hearing aids and the like, and ambulance service and home care except in emergencies. Also, dental care was excluded, except when overseas and in remote locations where it is otherwise unobtainable.

No action has been taken yet on the recommendations of the Moulton Commission. However, it is expected that the Department of Defense will recommend legislation to the next session of Congress to implement the recommendations.

DEPENDENTS ANNUITY

Another matter which will be of interest to all of you and which will help to make the services more attractive is the Uniform Services Contingency Act of 1953, known more generally as survivors benefit legislation. This act, which was passed in the last session of Congress, will become effective on November 1, 1953. It will permit each member of the uniformed services to elect to receive a reduced amount of any retired or retainer pay which may be awarded him in order to provide one-half, one-quarter, or one-eighth of the reduced amount of his retired pay as an annuity payable after his death, in a retired status to his widow or children. Instructions setting forth information and procedures regarding the act are being prepared and will soon be promulgated to the service. The successful culmination of this effort to make provisions for survivors of retired officers and men gives considerable satisfaction to the Navy, which was primarily responsible for presenting it to the Congress.

HOUSING

Adequate housing is always one of the major factors required for good morale. A survey of Naval housing conditions conducted a few years ago found that housing was most inadequate. Low rent houses contracted through Federal housing projects offered little relief as the waiting lists were long. The result was that often a man's tour of shore duty was about over before his name came up on the list. Housing units owned and operated by private enterprise presented the best available housing, but the rents entailed expenditures above the normal and reasonable limits of a serviceman. In many cases where men could not get in these privately operated units or could not meet the rents, they were forced into quarters that were substandard and inadequate in facilities as well as environment. Today the situation is not ideal but it has improved. In many localities low-cost FHA units have been available to naval personnel. This is a matter which is receiving our continued attention and I assure you that we are doing all within our power to meet housing requirements for our naval personnel.

PAY

The Department of Defense, after several months of study by an interservice committee, last winter recommended further pay increases for military personnel, based on the increase in cost of living which has occurred since our pay scale was enacted into law. The necessary legislation was not cleared for submission in the last session of Congress. The same legislation has now been submitted for the session starting in January.

In the field of special pay, many of you probably are aware of a study made last spring by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lewis L. Strauss (who happens, by the way, to be a rear admiral in the United States Naval Reserve). The report of the committee made recommendations concerning each of the types of special pay now authorized for continuation, for modification, or in some instances, elimination.

CONCLUSION

The history of the Fleet Reserve Association is replete with notable achievements. In the days of troubled peace which lie ahead, the Navy and Marine Corps will continue to need your unswerving loyalty and assistance in order to maintain itself in a position of high esteem where it is now held by the peoples of this country and of the world. We all know that this assistance will be rendered.

Power Squeeze in Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I include as part of these remarks an editorial which appeared in the Portland Oregonian on January 28, 1954. The editorial follows:

POWER SQUEEZE ON OREGON

We hope the Oregon congressional delegation is alert to the significance of revised legislation, now being prepared, to withdraw authorization for a Federal dam at the Priest Rapids site in the Columbia and to approve construction by a group of Washington public utility districts and municipalities.

The plan emphasizes that the present trend in Federal as well as some Northwest thinking on hydroelectric power development is away from the regional concept and toward local and State division of the resource. This trend is inherent in the Federal partnership program, so far as it has been developed. It has dominated, also, the deliberations of the seven-State delegations on formation of a Columbia Interstate Compact.

The congressional and administration program of the past 20 years has been based on the regional concept, that power should be produced at the best available sites and distributed throughout the region, without concern for State lines, at common wholesale rates and in proportion to needs. This program still applies to Federal power projects now in service and under construction. But no new Federal dams are projected. And the movement now is for private utilities, public power agencies and Washington's State power authority to start cutting up the remaining hydro melon on a local basis.

The proposed new Priest Rapids bill would limit the Federal Government's share of the partnership to the expenditure of tax funds for flood control and navigation. The portion of the cost allocated to power would be financed by an agency designated as Operating Agency No. 1, set up under Washington's State power act, through the sale of revenue bonds. Participating members now listed, with others, including Seattle and Tacoma municipal systems, expected to come in, are 17 PUD's and several cities.

These participating power distributing agencies, serving 600,000 customers (without Seattle and Tacoma), would have first and final claim on all the power produced at Priest Rapids Dam. The dam would be entirely within the State of Washington, and all the power could and presumably would be used there. Oregon, which shares the Columbia with Washington below Priest Rapids, would not be entitled to any of this energy, no matter its need.

Carried further, as envisaged by a majority of members of the interstate compact group, States in which power and storage dams will be built would claim all the onsite power, plus the additional power generated at lower-river dams because of regulation of the water. Again, Oregon woud be left holding the bag.

Another gimmick has been written into a bill to authorize the Chelan County, Wash., PUD to build a Columbia river dam at the Rocky Reach site. This would direct the Federal Bonneville Power Administration to buy all the power output of Rocky Reach at the cost of its production, and to sell to the Chelan PUD, and presumably other such agencies should they join under the Washington power act, the power they need at the prevailing wholesale BPA rate.

In other words, should it cost more than the prevailing Bonneville rate for Chelan to produce power at Rocky Reach, the entire system would subsidize the venture. The rest of the system at the same time, would be denied any power from Rocky Reach if Chelan and its sister PUD's, assuming these join Chelan, need the entire output. And, of course, if this is granted for Rocky Reach, it will be granted for Priest Rapids and other dams.

It doesn't take an engineer to figure out where Oregon will wind up if the doctrine of State's rights supersedes the doctrine of regional responsibility in the development of the Columbia River and its major tributaries. The people of this State should have the views of their representatives in Congress on the subject.

Unemployment—Fact or Fiction?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise to repudiate the argument that our economy can stand 15 percent unemployment.

I heard that argument in the last Republican administration. The same school of economists then were saying that the economy is healthier when at least one worker out of every 7 is unable to find a job. The logic is that the pressure is greater upon the 6 who are employed to hold on.

I am hearing the same old argument now. It is tucked away in every smug denial that there is any recession. Whenever a billion-dollar executive, in the face of newspaper accounts of growing unemployment, says there is nothing to worry about, just what does he mean, Mr. Speaker? Surely he does not mean the same thing as Max Feldman might. Cutting down employment by 15 percent conceivably could make money for a billion-dollar corporation (bigger workloads, reduced wages), but for Max Feldman and all the other little fellows it would be a different story.

Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include Max Feldman's story as told in the New York Post of February 1, 1954, as follows:

The headlines have been full of unemployment statistics recently. Here is one jobless man's story.

(By Mitchell Levitas)

"It's a lousy feeling, like the world fell on top of you. You're walking around the streets with only a few bucks in your pocket. Then you come home and your wife asks you if you found anything. How can you answer her?"

Max Feldman, 28, left the question hanging in midair. He has been out of a job only about 2 weeks but he was feeling the pressure. With a 14-week-old daughter, a wife who can't work, and only $200 in the bank, the future—at this moment—looked bleak.

Feldman is one of New York's 208,000 unemployed, one of the 50,000 new jobless that have made their appearance since last year. Statistically, the rise is not great. But try telling that to Feldman.

"Sometime," he said, "when you're out of a job, you feel like you shouldn't have gotten into this marriage thing in the first place. You figure if you're single or something then you could work for less or maybe get something else. But when you're married, it's different."

Feldman should know. Although a young man, he has had more ups and downs than many people have in a lifetime.

After 6 months in East New York Vocational High School, Feldman joined the Marines at 16. Actually, family difficulties and the question of another mouth to feed led to his enlistment.

Thirty-three months, mainly in the South Pacific, left Feldman with little but his savings at his discharge.

For a while he worked as a polisher of surgical instruments. Then he tried out as a shipping clerk. Next he worked in a meat processing plant. Nothing seemed to come of it.

His mariage, in 1949, tokened a new beginning. The couple sank everything they had or could borrow—into a luncheonette in Newark. The business lasted 8 months.

They closed upon New Year's Eve with $4 to their name and $2,000 in debt. After that, his wife, Sandra, 26, went to work as a secretary and Feldman started out on a new career as a jewelry polisher for a small Manhattan firm. His salary was $30 a week as an on-the-job trainee.

"After that," Feldman said, "things started getting a little better."

They moved in with his father-in-law in Paterson and saved enough to pay back the debt. Except for a 6-month layoff in 1952, Feldman has worked steadily and boosted his salary to $70. Even though his wife had to quit her job when the baby came, "we felt we were getting there," he said. "Then this thing happened."

"In a way it came as a surprise. I knew business was slow, but the boss told me he would keep me on no matter how bad it got. But I suppose that blood's thicker than water. He kept on his nephew and son-in-law, but let me go. In a way I don't blame him," Feldman added.

With about 4 years experience, Feldman figured he was worth between $75 and $85 a week. "How can you support a family on less?" he asked. "You figure it out. You like to go out with your wife once in a while. Twice a month maybe. She's entitled. But how can you?"

Feldman had spoken to two prospective employers since his dismissal, but was put off. He was too upset to bargain with them over salary and hours and felt he "couldn't take it right now."

He thought there was no alternative but to apply for work in a defense plant near his home. At least that would eliminate about $30 a month in traveling expenses.

"I hope they're hiring," Feldman said. "Business is bad all over. I'm not a political guy, but ever since the Republicans got in it's been that way. I don't know whether it's a coincidence or not."

Aside from the family need, Feldman was feeling another kind of pressure in seeking work.

"When you live in a small town like I do," he said, "you can't stay idle too long. People start talking and it makes you feel worse. You'd think it was a great crime to get laid off. They say: 'Why doesn't he take anything?' but I don't see it like that.

"If you just take any job and you're not happy in it then you sulk all day or get sore at the boss. It's no good.

"I have a trade and you have to plan ahead if you can. I'll take anything now—daywork, nightwork, anything.

"It's funny," Feldman said thoughtfully, "things were going so nice I was even going to go down Saturday and pick up a car and pay it off on time payments. We were going

to cut down on cigarets and food—I eat too much anyway—and scrimp and save for it.

"We had the baby and it was wonderful.

"I don't want much out of life. Just a home, a car, a few dollars in the bank • • • something for my wife if anything happens to me, that's all I'd like.

"I'd like to plan ahead, too," he added, "but how can I now?"

Adm. Henry B. Wilson Dies, Hero of Two Wars, Native of Camden, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, today ceremonial services were held at the burial of Adm. Henry B. Wilson in Arlington Cemetery.

Admiral Wilson, who died on January 30, 1954, at the age of 93 years, was born and raised in the city of Camden, N. J., and served with honor for 49 years in the United States Navy. He had a distinguished career in two wars, the Spanish-American War and World War I, and his entire service was one that exhibited ability and heroism that brought to him high honors.

Upon his return from World War I, a public reception, attended by thousands of Camden citizens, was tendered him in the civic center. It was my privilege on that occasion to present to him on behalf of the citizens of Camden a handsome sword in recognition of his distinguished service. On the same occasion there was presented to him on behalf of the schoolchildren of his native city a beautiful bouquet of flowers. The presentation was made by Dora E. Yuschinsky, now Rose. At that time she was one of the schoolchildren of the city of Camden. She is now my secretary in charge of the Camden office.

Henry Braid Wilson was born in Camden, N. J., on February 23, 1861. He was appointed a cadet midshipman from the First District of New Jersey on September 22, 1876, and graduated from the Naval Academy with the class of 1881. Commissioned ensign (junior grade) on July 1, 1883, he advanced through the various grades as follows: Ensign, June 26, 1884; lieutenant, junior grade, February 2, 1894; lieutenant, September 16, 1897; lieutenant commander, March 3, 1903; commander, July 12, 1907; captain, March 4, 1911; rear admiral, July 1, 1917 (having been selected by the Navy's first selection board); vice admiral, temporary, September 25, 1918; and admiral, temporary, June 30, 1919. He was transferred to the retired list of the Navy, for statutory age, February 23, 1925, in the rank of rear admiral, but was advanced to the rank of admiral on June 21, 1930, in accordance with act of Congress of that date, authorizing World War I flag officers to be retired in the highest rank held on the active list during the war.

After graduation in 1881, he served afloat for 6 years with consecutive duty in the U. S. S. *Tennessee*, flagship of the North Atlantic station, the training ship *Saratoga* (for 4½ years engaged in training apprentice boys, where he first evidenced his interest in the enlisted man, which never lessened throughout his career), and the receiving ship *New Hampshire*. For a brief period he was with a party making astronomical observations in the West Indies, after which he was ordered to the U. S. S. *Albatross*, assigned to the Coast Survey and Fish Commission. Aboard the *Albatross* he made three cruises in the Bering Sea and took part in the deepsea exploration preliminary to the laying of the cable between San Francisco and Honolulu. After his return in 1894 he spent 2 years on the staff of the Naval War College, Newport, R. I.

He next served aboard the U. S. S. *Michigan* in the Great Lakes, then in the gunboat *Bancroft* in the eastern Mediterranean, returning in *Bancroft* to the West Indies at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Then a lieutenant, he was highly commended for coolness and bravery in action. He joined the U. S. S. *Indiana* in October 1898, and subsequently was assigned to equipment duty in connection with the building of the battleships *Alabama* and *Maine* at William Cramp & Sons Shipyard, Philadelphia. In 1901 he was sent to the Asiatic station for duty as executive officer of the iron gunboat *Don Juan de Austria*, a prize of the Spanish-American War, and later served, first as navigator and afterward as executive officer of the U. S. S. *Kentucky*, flagship of Rear Adm. Robley D. Evans, United States Navy, commander in chief, Asiatic Fleet.

Upon his return to the United States in 1904, he was ordered to the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., in charge of the Enlisted Personnel Section of that Bureau. Four years later he was ordered to command the U. S. S. *Chester*, scout cruiser. He returned to the Bureau of Navigation in May 1910 and served as Assistant Chief of the Bureau, second in command, until ordered the following year to command the U. S. S. *North Dakota*, a battleship of the First Division, United States Atlantic Fleet. It was in this command that his reputation for smart ship-handling and all around smart seamanship and ship-keeping came to full fruition.

He reported in 1913 for duty as President of the Board of Inspection and Survey, Navy Department. He served in that capacity until 1916, when he was ordered to place in commission and to command the U. S. S. *Pennsylvania*, flagship of the Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet—Adm. Henry T. Mayo, USN—at that time the largest and finest battleship in the United States Navy. He was in the *Pennsylvania* in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, when diplomatic relations with Germany were broken. With war imminent, and being on the promotion list for flag rank, he was detached from command of the *Pennsylvania* and, in April, was ordered to form, organize, and command the Patrol Force, Atlantic Fleet, with his broad command pennant in the U. S. S. *Olympia*, Admiral Dewey's flagship at the Battle of Manila Bay. These patrol squardons, so hurriedly got together under the impetus of war, were a composite of cruisers, destroyers, gunboats, Coast Guard cutters, and seagoing yachts taken over from their private owners.

The assigned mission was to protect shipping in the Atlantic waters of the United States from Maine to the Panama Canal. Later in the summer of 1917, some of these ships, as United States Patrol Squadrons, were sent to Gibraltar to base. Wilson, now a Rear Admiral, had transferred his flag to U. S. S. *Birmingham* in early August, after the grounding of the *Olympia*, and arrived at Gibraltar in her on August 18, 1917. His forces were soon engaged in serving as ocean escorts for convoys in the Mediterranean, and between Gibraltar and the British Isles.

Some 2 months after his arrival at Gibraltar there was need for his services in French waters, and on October 23, 1917, he left Gibraltar with 3 members of his staff overland through Spain for Paris. After a short conference trip to London, he reported on November 1, 1917, for duty as commander, United States naval forces on the French coast, with headquarters at Brest. He continued in this duty until on January 15, 1918, he was appointed commander, United States naval forces in France, U. S. S. *Prometheus*, flagship. He so served during the remainder of the war and until January 30, 1919. During this period all naval sea, shore and aviation activities in France were under his command.

His paramount mission was escorting troop and storeship convoys to and from France. It is especially noteworthy that not one passenger was lost by enemy action either inbound or outbound in his area of command. This is a distinct tribute to his skill and leadership, for for many months the available escort vessels were inadequate in size, speed and numbers. For example, he had no true combatant type ship capable of escorting the *Leviathan*. The adopted alternative was to depend on her speed and run her in convoy with the *Great Northern* and *Northern Pacific*, which could maintain position on her at high speed. Such enforced makeshifts were usual.

Another striking accomplishment of the Navy in France was the building of 15 United States naval aviation stations along the French coast. These stations were erected by men of the United States naval forces; were completed and operating in 10 months.

One of his most widely known and difficult decisions made during this period was the one accepting the responsibility for the press dispatch, sent without his prior knowledge, which promulgated the false armistice a few days before the true armistice was signed on November 11, 1918.

For his outstanding wartime services, Admiral Wilson was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal with the following citation:

For exceptionally meritorious service in a duty of great responsibility as Commander Patrol Forces Atlantic Fleet, and as Commander, United States Naval Forces in

France, in successfully coordinating with the French Navy and in expeditiously operating transports and cargo ships in French ports and war zones.

He also was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal by the War Department, and in addition received foreign decorations as follows: Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor, by France; Grand Cordon of the Sacred Treasury, by Japan; Commander of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, by Italy; and Grand Official of the Military Order of Avia by Portugal.

On February 15, 1910 he returned to the United States, his flag in the U. S. S. *New Mexico*, for duty as commander, Squadron 4, Division 8, Atlantic Fleet. In June 1919 he was designated Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet, and hoisted his flag in the U. S. S. *Pennsylvania*, of which he had been the first Commanding Officer. Upon mobilization of the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets for Fleet maneuvers at the Pacific end of the Canal Zone, he assumed command of the combined forces as Commander in Chief, U. S. Battle Fleet. He was detached from this command in June 1921, and reported the following month for duty as Superintendent of the Naval Academy. He served as Superintendent until transferred to the Retired List of the Navy on February 23, 1925, his 64th birthday.

During the three and three-fourths years of his incumbency, the Naval Academy passed through the greatest transformation since its beginning in 1845—a transition from a training school to the University it still is. Though classed as a training school in 1921, it had by the time of his retirement, and largely through his efforts, become a full-fledged member of the Association of American Universities and had qualified for the subsequent authorization to award the degree of bachelor of science to its graduates. The entrance requirements had been raised to compare favorably with those of the better Engineering Colleges. The certificate method of admission had been strengthened to its present unchallenged position. The midshipmen's service uniforms had been changed to conform in general to those the graduates would require as officers of the Navy. The policy of rotating midshipmen officers to give a wider spread of command experience and responsibility among all members of the first class had become a fixture. A text book on Naval Leadership had been especially prepared and introduced into the curriculum. More privileges, though in limited degree, had been allowed the first class on the theory that the transition from midshipman to officer would be smoother and more efficient if less abrupt than in the past. Throughout his entire tenure he emphasized what he called the "Eternal Worth of Character," for without it no naval officer can succeed. He also emphasized the need for smartness in person and dress, and taught this daily by precept and example. He promulgated a mission of the Academy, which started thus: "To mold the material received into educated gentlemen, thoroughly indoctrinated with honor, uprightness, and truth." That theme of honesty and integrity was kept before the midshipman constantly.

His tour at the Academy was marked, as was his entire naval career of 48 years, by his particular interest in the development and training of personnel. The first class to graduate under his command was the class of 1922. The members dedicated their Lucky Bag—class book—to him with the following lines:

To our Superintendent, Adm. Henry B. Wilson, United States Navy, the class of 1922 respectfully dedicates this number of the Lucky Bag—inspired as we have been by his devotion to the Navy and his continued efforts to make us better material for officers, it is our hope that our future success may, in some small degree at least, reach the heights which his has attained, and that we may occasion in our subordinates that same spirit of cooperation which he has inspired in us.

It is of considerable interest that when the class of 1922 held its thirtieth reunion at the Naval Academy last year, they still saw fit to thank Admiral Wilson for the inspiration he had been to them as midshipmen. His health, unfortunately, did not permit him to accept the invitation of the class to be their guest.

Admiral Wilson and his wife, Mrs. Ada Chapman Wilson, have two children: a daughter, Ruth, wife of the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War in the Hoover administration; and a son, Henry B. Wilson, Jr., who is an oil company executive. There are six grandchildren.

The service he rendered to his country and the patriotism he displayed throughout his entire life will ever be an inspiration to everyone who has had the privilege of acquaintanceship with him.

Max Marquardt's Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to be a member of the Gerald V. Carroll Post, No. 161, of the American Legion of Passaic, N. J., and under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial appearing in the Passaic Herald-News of January 27, 1954, in tribute to Max Marquardt, a World War I cavalry sergeant who for a quarter of a century has instructed hundreds of Passaic boys known as the Carroll Post Cadets in the fundamentals of good citizenship and military training:

MAX MARQUARDT'S BOYS

The Max Marquardts, of Ruthford Boulevard, Delawanna, have no boys of their own—unless you count the 1,500 or more Carroll Post Cadets trained by the former cavalry sergeant over the past 25 years, and several boys whom Max and Elise Grau Marquardt helped to put through school.

The story of the cadet corps of Gerald V. Carroll Post is unique, we believe, in American Legion annals, and perhaps anywhere. Max Marquardt has been a "one-man boys' club" ever since 1929, when he set out to organize a uniformed drill team of boys 12 to 17 years old and found he had acquired a lifetime avocation.

Passaic Legionnaires gave him a testimonial dinner Saturday night in appreciation of his tireless efforts and his influence for good. The best testimony to his leadership were the words, "Character excellent, service honorable," that Uncle Sam inscribed on the service records of Max's cadets when they came home from the Second World War.

Some didn't come home. Ernest Triemer was an ensign, who went down with the *Indianapolis*. Ray Siefert was a corporal, killed in Holland. Vincent Graziano, a machinist's mate, died in the defense of Midway. Edward Flanagan had been grievously wounded, serving as an infantry lieutenant in Korea, before he went back into the lines for the last time.

That all but four among so many did come back speaks well for the training these boys got in Passaic before they put off one uniform to put on another. Manfred Triebel was decorated in Italy by Gen. Mark Clark. Ray Hengeveld won the Silver and Bronze Stars in Normandy and Germany and now he's a career officer in Japan with 15 years' service. Bob Orlikoff, Carroll Post Cadet and West Pointer, is an officer with the 710th Tank Battalion, who saw service in Korea. The roll could be called endlessly.

Max Marquardt's own military service began in 1916 with the rough-riding 13th Cavalry in Mexico and on the border. Twelve years of that, 12 years with the Essex Troop, and 25 years as cadet commandant, giving up 2 nights a week and many weekends, adds up to a notable service record. One of these days his next-in-command, David MacIntosh, a volunteer from the YMCA, may have to take over, but that day hasn't come yet. Meanwhile, we salute the Little Sarge.

Veterans' Service Center of the District of Columbia Celebrates Its Eighth Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, many occasions take place in Washington accompanied with marching bands and fanfare; but recently a celebration was held which attracted little attention even though it marked a milestone of untiring efforts on the part of a small group of people here in the District of Columbia. It was the eighth anniversary of the Veterans' Service Center for the District of Columbia who daily attend to the various needs of our veterans from all parts of the country.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a small editorial tribute paid to this group by the Times-Herald in its edition of January 2, 1954:

A GOOD GROUP

The Veterans' Service Center celebrated its eighth anniversary Monday. Its director, Col. Waldron E. Leonard, received a well-deserved citation from Maj. Gen. Edwin K. Wright, commandant of the military district of Washington.

In presenting the citation General Wright pointed out that the service center under

Colonel Leonard had extended every possible service not only to veterans but to servicemen as well.

William E. Leahy, chairman of the citizens advisory council, declared that not one complaint ever had been voiced that the center had not done its job in the 8 years of its existence, during which it had served more than 800,000 veterans, in more than a million ways.

A great deal of the success of the center of course is due to the honesty and integrity of purpose of its director. His determination to serve is shared by his associates and they have worked efficiently as a team throughout the years. We are pleased to join the leaders of the community in wishing for their continued success.

What Editors Think of Mack Bill To Expand Nation's Highway Building Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, numerous editors have praised a bill which I introduced several weeks ago under which the Federal highway program would be expanded by 50 percent effective next July 1.

This bill, if adopted by Congress, would step up road building during the next year by half a billion dollars, with half of the funds required to be supplied by the Federal Government and one-half by the States.

This expanded program is badly needed to help meet the \$35 billion deficiency in highways that now exists in the Nation. Also it would create tens of thousands of additional jobs for construction workers and greatly increase the demand for cement, asphalt, steel, lumber, plywood, and other materials used in road construction, thereby further aiding employment.

Editorials from several newspapers approving of this proposed legislation are appended to this statement. The editorials follow:

[From the Yakima (Wash.) Morning Herald]

NEW HIGHWAYS BILL

The bill introduced this week by RUSSELL V. MACK, southwest Washington's Congressman, to increase by 50 percent the Federal money allocated to highways would accomplish at least three worthwhile objectives.

It would be a start, although a small one, toward modernization of the highways of the country.

It would restrict the spending of moneys received from gasoline taxes, with the motorists' money all going to roads instead of to projects like foreign aid.

It would be a shot in the arm for the construction, steel, cement, lumber, asphalt, plywood, and other industries associated with road building.

Last year's congressional appropriations bill allocated \$575 million to the States to be matched by the States for highway purposes. The Mack bill would increase this by \$287½ million, which, with money from the States would mean a half-billion-dollar road construction program. But all the Federal money has not gone to highways and the same is true for many of the State funds, although Washington State uses all its gas tax receipts on roads. The Federal Government collected \$867 million from the Federal gas tax, which means that \$292 million went to other purposes, such as foreign aid. MACK's bill would put an end to using road money for other purposes.

"The Federal Government should spend on highways every dollar it obtains from motorists in Federal gasoline and diesel oil taxes, at least until the present highway deficiency is materially lessened," said Representative MACK in advancing his bill.

Looking at the Washington State Federal aid program, it appears the additional money proposed by Mr. MACK would mean less than \$4 million for our State, very likely allocated to Highways 10 and 99, the only roads on the Federal interstate system. Under present costs, there isn't much money, but it is a start.

[From the Longview (Wash.) Daily News]

LET STATES HAVE ALL OF 2-CENT FEDERAL GAS TAX FOR NEW ROADS

While construction projects paid for with public funds are a time-honored method of creating employment and putting money into circulation in slack times, it is not always wise to wait for such periods to do needed work.

Such is the case with the roads and highways of the Nation. Our Federal Bureau of Public Roads tells us that the Nation's highways are wearing out much faster than they can be repaired or replaced at the present rate of construction. It appears there is a great need for highway construction in every part of the country.

Yet there is no demonstrated need for a widespread public-works program as an antidote for unemployment. It appears now that the highways are going to get attention purely on the basis of need.

In his state of the Union speech President Eisenhower asked Congress to continue the Federal gasoline tax at 2 cents a gallon instead of allowing the expected one-half cent decrease to take place on April 1. The President cited the need for these funds to accelerate the Federal-aid highway program, which means supplying matching money, as an incentive to the States to repair and rebuild their highways.

More recently our Congressman, RUSSELL MACK, introduced a bill designed to increase by 50 percent this year the amount of money provided as Federal aid to the States.

Matching funds already authorized total \$575 million and the Mack proposal would boost this to \$862 million for the fiscal year beginning on July 1. MACK contends this increase could be effected without additional taxes by using gas tax funds now diverted to other purposes.

Passage of this bill would mean an increase in the State of Washington alone of \$4,620,123 for highway work. But, to get this money, the State would have to spend an equal amount.

So far as it goes, this expanded Federal program seems sound. It does promise more and better highways than are possible under the present program.

However, the job of building highways seems more logically at State responsibility and any increase in the Federal aid program is a step away from the principal of removing the Federal Government from fields where other agencies do as good a job or even a better job.

Granted that Congressman MACK's bill would assure more gas-tax money for highway work, it is inevitable that some of these funds will be lost in the process of getting to Washington and back to the States before they are spent for concrete and steel.

Why is it not more logical to give the States the 2 cents now levied on each gallon of gasoline by the Federal Government? Then if the States were required to spend the full amount of the gas tax on highways we would have a greatly accelerated highway program without Federal intervention or increased taxes.

Young Fellows Are Taking Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Kyle Palmer:

YOUNG FELLOWS ARE TAKING OVER
(By Kyle Palmer)

WASHINGTON, January 23.—For more years than I could count, or would care to recall, I have trudged up and down Washington's endless corridors, sat in innumerable waiting rooms, swapped small talk with busy secretaries, and eventually been admitted to the inner sanctums of the statesmen of the day.

Nothing changes except some of the names on the doors, some of the faces at the White House or "on the Hill." One gets an unhappy feeling that time itself stands still while the big and little figures of yesterday, today, and tomorrow go through routines that were old when ancient Greece was new.

Solomon undoubtedly was right, and there is nothing new under the sun. Even the Washington weather runs familiarly in its groove, changing from bitter cold to sticky warm within the hour, from wet to dry without notice, from snow to rain or rain to snow; and winter seems to play a game of hide-and-seek with spring.

The political climate is much the same, being as ever, changeable, inconsistent, incomprehensible.

Republican effectiveness is impaired and threatened with nullification by divisions within the party leadership that run wide and deep.

And the Democrats who were 2 years ago prepared to ride out a GOP regime that might maintain itself for a decade or more, are now talking with confidence of a return to power next November.

How could the atmosphere of the Congress be other than indecisive, how could the program of a Republican President be other than in jeopardy, with the so-called "majority party" having no actual majority in the Senate and possessing a most precarious hold upon the official machinery of the House?

The evils of such a condition are in evidence everywhere, not only in the legislative functions of the government but in the administrative branch where hold-over functionaries of the Roosevelt-Truman era are able to modify, often stultify, plans and objectives of the GOP administration.

Perhaps the situation derives from a condition of indecisiveness among the people themselves, but whatever the reason, there can be no genuine firmness in policy or action unless and until voters of the country more clearly define their own convictions and objectives.

To such an end, of course, both party leaderships are now directing their attention, each weighing popular reaction and each calculating its moves in accord with such reaction.

Republican squabbling over the proposal of Ohio's Senator JOHN BRICKER to submit a constitutional amendment to the States on

a question of fundamental importance to domestic law and the treaty-making powers of the President and Congress illustrates one phase of the GOP's unfortunate situation.

It highlights the fact that the party still is divided on certain basic principles or philosophies, that two major schools of thought on domestic and foreign policy continue to struggle for supremacy.

Thus, any practical effort to come to understandings, to reach acceptable compromises, to achieve a unity of purpose essential to affirmative action, not only calls for patience, forbearance and determination but also for an extraordinary amount of intelligence and skill.

Republicans in Congress express great satisfaction on the subject of President Eisenhower's growing interest in and capacity for political negotiation.

They were quite depressed during the early months of the Eisenhower administration by the President's actual or seeming indifference to party matters, and particularly by the standoffish attitude of some his closest advisers.

There is still complaint that Mr. Eisenhower gets slanted views and biased opinions from some of his White House aids, but Members of the Senate and the House are confident that the President is more and more able to detect the difference between a political hawk and a political handsaw.

Which, in the opinion of the GOP leaders, will be translated into greater party strength and, consequently, a happier outlook in Congressional elections next fall.

Due to the thoughtfulness of one of the members of California's House delegation, Representative PAT HILLINGS, I have been given an exceptional insight into the thinking of younger Members of Congress, more than a dozen young Republican Congressmen speaking their minds quite frankly at a 2-hour session in HILLINGS' office.

The affair started off a little stiffly, due to an understandable—if wholly unjustified—suspicion among the budding statesmen that candid talk in the presence of a newspaperman might prove embarrassing.

Upon being assured that my nose for news has long since become dulled to a point where my professional associates neither ask nor expect much in the way of reportorial exploits, one and all settled down to what, for me, turned out to be a most profitable exchange of opinions.

For, aside from the informative comment on issues and personalities, I came away from the session with a highly favorable—I might almost say a genuinely enthusiastic—impression of the competence, industry, dead seriousness, and general all-around capability of these young fellows, virtually all of them in their thirities and some in their early thirties.

Some were freshmen and some were veterans of a term or two, and none was backward about saying how he felt, either about pending issues or politics.

All were disposed to look a little critically upon their congressional elders, which was to be expected, and they were a unit in feeling that the younger Members should be given a greater voice in policy decisions. Young men in all times and ages have entertained the identical sentiments, perhaps often, they have been right.

But it was heartening to listen to these young men—coming together from all sections of the United States—discuss with earnestness, conviction and perception what they feel is best for their country, their party, their constituents, and themselves.

They did not always agree on specific matters, but a strong thread of common purpose ran through their observations. They all want to help the farmer, the worker, the businessman, the manufacturer, but they have a healthy conviction that government can't and shouldn't shoulder the entire burden, that self-help is the answer to the welfare and security of everyone.

It was an eye-opener to hear the successful young politicians of their generation talk the language of politics in the terms of their own outlook and experience. There was a certain blending of the practical and the ideal in their approach, but on the whole they talked a great deal more like students of economic and social problems than politicians discussing the ins and outs of politics.

Without a single exception they expressed faith in Dwight Eisenhower—not full and unreserved agreement with him—but faith. That, and loyalty. For some of his aids, few bouquets and a number of brickbats. But no reservations about their President. Eisenhower, they are convinced, not only has the confidence of the country, but deserves it and will justify it.

Naturally, they hope he will move out a little more definitely and a little more briskly to help deserving Republicans win next November's election contests. And they believe he will, in due course, do just that.

So much for that. I've seen some of the big shots, too. But thus far I'm most impressed by those who are just beginning to take over.

John H. Griffin, Editor in Chief, the Boston Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, with a saddened heart because of the loss of a great and loyal friend, I must avail myself of this opportunity to announce to the Congress the death of Mr. John H. Griffin, editor in chief of the Boston Post. The people of Boston and New England were deeply shocked yesterday to learn of the passing of this eminent citizen of our New England community. His home was in my district, where he lived for many years with his very fine family.

His death came suddenly at 11:45 p. m. on January 31, while he was recuperating from a major operation performed a week before at the Polyclinic Hospital in New York City. He was 55 years old. Mr. Griffin was in New York on business when he was first stricken.

John M. Griffin was one of the most widely known and sincerely liked newspapermen in New England. He had been editor in chief of the Boston Post since July 1952.

Previous to his appointment as editor in chief, Mr. Griffin was Sunday editor. Earlier he served as a reporter on the Post staff. He joined the staff of the Post in 1930.

In addition to his duties on the Post he was a member of the television panel, Starring the Editors, a weekly television show viewed by thousands over WBZ-TV.

The death of John H. Griffin removed from the newspaper profession an outstanding figure. He was a man of great journalistic ability. He was erudite and understanding. His death cut short a career as editor in chief of the Post which, in a period of 19 months, had shown his rare editorial talents.

He started his newspaper career with the Springfield Union, after having done part-time work on the Washington Star.

Following a successful period with the Union, he was invited to become a member of the reportorial staff of the Boston Herald, on which paper he spent 5 years, before joining the Post.

A native of Holyoke, and a graduate of Catholic University, Mr. Griffin did graduate work at Harvard University.

As a reporter, columnist and editor he had traveled widely and during the past 2 years his ability, judgment and insight won him assignments covering the most important of the world's news stories. Among them was the elevation of Pope Pius XII.

In 1946 he toured Occupied Germany and wrote a series of articles describing the impressions of that war-torn country. He traveled in Europe three times on newspaper assignments. Among the many journalistic honors he had received during his career, was the Amasa Howe Award of the Boston Press Club, which was given to him in February 1953, for the best newspaper writing of public significance in Boston in 1952.

Although he attained national fame as an editor, he never lost the desire to cover a story. Only 2 months ago he was aboard the new American Airlines DC–7 Mercury plane which flew from New York to Los Angeles. On the return flight the Mercury broke a record, crossing the country in 6 hours and 31 minutes. Mr. Griffin wrote a vivid story of this flight.

Mr. Griffin was an excellent writer. His Sunday articles were clear, concise and to the point.

His last articles in the Post were a series of stories on the nationwide poll conducted by the Crossley Research, Inc. Mrs. Griffin's fourth and final article in this series appeared in the Post January 24.

He leaves his wife, the former Alice Barry, and six children: the Reverend Mr. Richard Griffin, S. J., a student at Weston College; John, a junior at Holy Cross College; Maureen, a junior at Trinity College; Carol, a student at Notre Dame Academy; Kevin, a student at St. Sebastian's Country Day School, and Gerald, a student in the Phillips Grammar School, Watertown.

Also surviving are a sister, Miss Mary Griffin, of New York, and a brother, James Griffin, of Holyoke.

Mr. Griffin's home was at 96 Russell Avenue, Watertown, Mass.

I extend to his family my deepest personal sympathy, and I share in their bereavement, as do so many others, since I regarded him as a close friend, and an inspiration to all who take the privilege of citizenship to heart. I have lost a friend. The people of New England have lost an able and loyal citizen. The Nation, this America of ours, has lost a great editor of a great newspaper.

Democratic Party's Role Is Destined To Be Glorious

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Boston Sunday Post of January 24, 1954, an excellent article which, I feel, should be read by every Member of this House as well as by every other American voter. It was written by our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN, and it deals with the role of the Democratic Party, its problems and its future.

Under leave already granted to me I offer it, as a part of my remarks, for printing in the RECORD. It follows:

DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S ROLE DESTINED TO BE GLORIOUS

(By Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN)

The Democratic Party, our oldest major political party, has played a most significant vital role throughout the history of the Nation, and I firmly believe that it is destined to play an even greater and more glorious role in the future.

The two-party system, which distinguishes our American Government from the chaotic, splinter-party governments of Europe now suffering from the ills and evils of socialism, is fully accepted by the American people, as well as recognized by leading political scientists, as one of the great stabilizing influences of our democracy. It is well said to be the balance wheel between the extremes of ultraconservative, special privilege, on the one hand, and unbridled, proletarian radicalism, on the other.

As one of our two great political groups, the Democratic Party has a traditional and honored place in this system.

A great political theorist once characterized change as progress, yet common experience readily discloses that not all change is progress. On the contrary, change without stability often represents retrogression.

It may work, as it has so many times in the cycle of history when peoples abandoned basic moral values and traded liberty for bread, to revert great governments and prosperous nations back into the slough of mediocrity, ultimate collapse, and the oblivion of nameless dust.

It is the kind of change, rather than change itself, therefore, which determines whether it is good or bad for free government, good or bad for the people, and that is a basic problem for political and party leaders.

EXTREMES IN BOTH PARTIES

Man has mastered many things in this age of miracles and wonders, yet he does not seem to have mastered the art of avoiding extremes in directing social and political change. If we have not yet learned apparently how to stop the pendulum of social change at the central point of the "golden mean," this failure, if it be such, cannot be ascribed to the Democratic Party any more than to the opposing party because it is a fact that extremes as well as mistakes have certainly typified past administrations in both parties, and I may state, parenthetically, the process still continues up to the present hour.

One fact stands out boldly, however, that in almost every national crisis, war, depression, and stress, our Democratic Party has been called upon trustfully by the American people to furnish the inspiring, effective leadership that ultimately pointed the way to decisive victory over ruthless enemies, as well as to the most desirable containment of forces of domestic greed and selfishness whose excesses were reponsible for economic and social evils which in several periods, notably in the early 1930's, brought stagnation, unemployment, poverty, and distress into the lives of millions of Americans and whipped up fires of dissension and radical agitation which at this time constitute such a grave peril to our free way of life.

Will history repeat itself? Will the Nation be plunged into world war III? Will we suffer serious economic reverses?

While I am a confirmed optimist concerning the future, only time and the quality, skill, and courage of current leadership can or will determine these questions. Most assuredly the Democratic Party will join patriotically and constructively in their solution.

DEBT TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY

That the Nation owes a great, eternal debt for the achievements and contributions of past Democratic leadership rising up as it did, in so many emergencies, from the very loins of the common people of America, grappling so courageously, so effectively, so successfully, with dangerous foreign aggression and fearful domestic problems alike, is undeniable.

It is said that the times invariably produce great men to lead free governments out of the wilderness of despair, away from the shoals of danger. The history of the Democratic Party convincingly testifies to this fact.

From the immortal Jefferson to Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman, without regard to differences of opinion in the Nation and divisions of outlook in the party, acting with firm purpose, strongly supported by repeated and emphatic expressions of the popular will, the Democratic Party stood for and fought for the basic principles of the Constitution, the rights of sovereign States, for civil and religious liberty and toleration, for individual freedom, of conscience, inquiry, and action, for the security, welfare, and elevation of the great rank and file.

Democrats can be justifiably proud that down through the years, on the whole and with very few exceptions, the Democratic Party by its pledges, its program, and its affirmative action has given meaning, substance, and realization to the great American ideal—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To summarize: In time of crisis, peril, threat to our security, military or economic, the majority of the American people selected the Democratic Party and its great historic leadership to solve the most difficult and urgent of national problems. It is to our great credit that no matter how grave, challenging or momentous these problems were, our party has tackled them with unshakable faith, inspiring confidence, successful achievement and consequent benefit to the Republic.

PARTY NOT INFALLIBLE

A political party, whatever can be said for it, is merely a human institution, a human instrumentality directed by men and women who believe in its basic principles and who conceive it as the best vehicle for promoting the national and general interests. Like every other human institutions, it is capable of error and mistake, subject to the weaknesses and limitations of the human char-

I would be the last to claim infallibility for my great party, though in view of its tremendous achievements for the country in every period of American life it requires no defense from me or anyone else.

If it erred, its errors arose like the errors of the opposing party arose and still arise—from ordinary human frailty of individual leaders vested with temporary power. Indeed its shortcomings were shared by the American people who time and time again followed its leadership.

From the time of the great Jefferson, one of the greatest political thinkers and prophets of all times, the record of the Democratic Party rings and resounds down through the unbroken channels of history acclaimed by triumphant and grateful voices of millions of loyal Americans who have adhered to its principles, sustained its leadership and benefited by its policies.

This record comprises a series of contributions and achievements in behalf of the struggling masses of America and Massachusetts which cannot possibly be equaled by any other party or any other political group.

Great personalities whose vision and ability changed the course of history made this impressive record:

FEARLESS TRAILBLAZER

The fearless David I. Walsh, trailblazer of the Massachusetts democracy, one of the greatest statesmen of our time, first progressive Governor of our beloved Commonwealth, father of practically all the first great social legislation of our era in the interest of ordinary men and women who later rendered renowed service to our State and Nation in Washington as our United States Senator.

Also outstanding, enlightened leader in the House of Representatives, able, humane and courageous, Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK; brilliant young Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of noted heritage, whose great ability and zeal for the people's cause will elevate him to still higher national office; former Gov. James M. Curley, unsurpassed orator, gifted personality, "friend of the poor"; former Gov. Paul A. Dever, powerful, capable, champion of labor, distinguished orator and leader.

Further, former Governor and Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, beloved by all, vigorous exponent of the workingman, so tragically taken from us at the height of his powers; former Governor Charles F. Hurley of late, lamented memory, a man of great sincerity and forward-looking spirit; former Governor Joseph B. Ely, great lawyer, gifted administrator, the man whose brilliant speech nominated his close friend, the idol of millions, the happy warrior Governor Al Smith for the Presidency.

And former Senator Marcus P. Coolidge, another able fighter for social justice, and others too numerous to mention—all represented and typified the central theme of the Democratic Party's objective, the betterment and advancement of the common people.

There were and are many more in the service of our Commonwealth, its various subdivisions and of the Nation, including my own very distinguished Massachusetts Democratic colleagues in the House of Representatives at Washington, distinguished members of our great general court, outstanding constitutional officers of the State and many others whose leaderahip and unselfish service has furthered and protected the interest of the people.

COSMOPOLITAN CHARACTER

The Democratic Party in State and Nation is comprised of many groups of different origin and racial stocks, from different geographical areas, of different color and creed, of varied economic levels—workers in the factories, farmers in the fields, clerks, skilled artisans, professional classes, scientists, preachers, journalists, scholars, businessmen, housewives—people drawn from every calling and station. They have joined together in a great united movement to promote the cause of humane, forward-looking government under the Consitution, to stand for government of laws by men, government for the benefit of the people who compose the country and not just merely for special groups of wealth,

power, and affluence who seek selfish and oftimes antisocial ends.

In truth, every generation of Americans has been the beneficiary of the wisdom, foresight, and humane judgment of leaders of the Democratic Party.

There is hardly a person in America today who, in some way or other, has not been specifically benefited by virtue of the policies and program of the Democratic Party or the service of some of its leaders.

It has been a great humanizing influence in American life. Protector of the weak, refuge of the poor, defender of liberty, champion of the oppressed, promoter of social justice, advocate of the defenseless, militant apostle of the great American principle of toleration and equity for all, the Democratic Party more than any other agency, more than any other single force save the spiritual strength so beneficiently engendered by the Almighty in the minds and hearts of loyal Americans, has been responsible for the greatest social, political, and economic progress of the Nation.

STIMULUS TO PROSPERITY

It not only provided leadership but furnished the stimulus, the direction and the guiding genius for the incredible advancement and improvement which the Nation has made in living standards and state of well-being during the past few decades. Our party has done more to improve the lot of the individual average American, to promote a very high level of general prosperity among all classes of our people, businessmen, farmers, as well as workers, to improve the health, housing, education, the general welfare of our people. I repeat, than any other human agency at any time in history.

Can it honestly be doubted that were it not for the Democratic Party and its enlightened leadership in State and Nation during the past quarter century, that our average citizen would ever be in the position of self-sufficiency, prosperity, and happiness in which he so happily finds himself today?

The American people have reaped a rich harvest from their devotion to the Democratic Party and I have every confidence that they will return to its fold.

If the Democratic Party is to assume its great responsibilities during this desperate crisis, it must be the purpose of its leaders to maintain and expand the great gains which have been made under Democratic leadership for ordinary Americans and their families under our cherished free enterprise system—the most fabulous economic system the world has ever known.

We are fortunate indeed that the Democratic Party is not static and moribund, but rather abounds with vigor, vitality, and a progressive spirit.

Our Democratic program in line with its best traditions must be soundly grounded in morality and truth. It must be grounded also in respect, devotion, and reverence for the great immutable verities of our matchless Constitution. In our support of stable government and a stable, flexible economy, we shall need not only sound convictions but a sound approach to public questions and sound interpretation of our mission.

MUST STAND ERECT

We must stand erect and resolute against the great Red lie of communism and godless Marxism at home and abroad.

We must be intent upon preserving the Bill of Rights and the precious liberties of the individual gained by freemen only after centuries of struggle and bloodshed.

We must be vigilant against those kinds of human selfishness which tend to stultify our progress, so that we may work wholeheartedly to eliminate poverty, disease, distress, and low standards, to uphold our free system and the cause of freedom against the irreligion, slavery, and the debauchery of communism.

The Nation that could afford to pour out about $90 billion in cold cash to foreign nations since 1946 can certainly afford a substantial portion of its huge national product to take care of the urgent social needs of the American people.

We must never lose sight of the great fundamentals—the spiritual ideals and political principles which have made this Nation the greatest on earth.

TOLERANCE FOR DIFFERENT VIEWS

We know the reasons for our recent defeats and must act to correct them by rooting out the causes. Thus we will command public confidence and support.

While there is bound to be widely different interpretations of principle and method in the formulation of party programs, and differences on policy as well, if our party is to regain the trust of the people there must be room for different shades of opinion and different viewpoints on public issues. No party membership can fully agree on every issue.

Frank discussion, critical appraisal, and honest independent judgment are desirable. Our leaders as well as workers must be something more than automatons; our elected officials something more than "yes" men for would-be bosses or so-called brain-trusters. They must reflect the will of the people who elect them and work primarily for the good of the country.

They should lend themselves neither to hysteria nor expediency, remembering that our party spreads out over every section and must therefore welcome to its ranks every person and group accepting the fundamental philosophy that government exists by popular consent to protect freedom and to promote the best interests, prosperity, and happiness of the people and that our party is the most effective instrument for achieving these commendable ends.

RADICALS SHOULD NOT RULE

The Democratic Party is not a revolutionary party. In origin and outlook it is committed to American institutions, to free enterprise and free initiative which have contributed so greatly and invaluably to the building of this Nation.

Since we believe that we can accomplish all necessary and desirable reforms without destroying or shackling this peerless economic system, we can never allow radical doctrinaires who do not believe in the essential principles of our free way of life, but who sponsor and strive for a bureaucratic socialistic or communistic state, to infiltrate and dominate the affairs, policies, and machinery of our party.

We must fairly and impartially seek an area of agreement among the party's component parts, sectional, social, and occupational, that will enable us to appeal to a maximum majority and thus attain our chosen goals.

If the program and policies of the party are wisely and soundly shaped, responsively to public need and with reference to truly progressive doctrine, and trusted, capable, experienced leadership is selected, we will be entitled to popular support and can reestablish our position in State and Nation.

Many vital issues impend in this distressed world and in the Nation, the outcome of which will decide the destiny of free government for generations to come, perhaps for all time. I shall not presume here to outline them in detail, but, in a broad sense, these are some of the considerations which will have to be met by our party.

1. Wholehearted international cooperation with the United Nations and with all nations of good faith and honest motives to check communism and promote peace. Of utmost importance is a strong, resolute, unwavering foreign policy, backed up by overwhelming streamlined modernized armed power, uncompromisingly rejecting appeasement.

This policy must be designed to prevent communist aggression and infiltration.

It must imply sincere participation of the free nations according to their abilities and potential power.

It should avoid hysterical, unfounded fears concerning war, atomic energy, or the power of communism.

It should be willing to help alleviate distress and reinforce democracy within our means, but should eschew international flying saucers spraying American cream and honey over foreign landscapes.

We should not move too fast economically or militarily in these matters. Unprotected atomic pooling could present the greatest of perils and revolutionary military concepts are always difficult to implement.

NO RED PARTNERSHIPS

In Europe, in Asia, and elsewhere we must squarely reject any partnership or material support of those who are acting as part of, or in concert with, the world Communist conspiracy to destroy us.

1. To recognize diplomatically or consent to its admission to United Nations of any nation whose hands are dripping with the blood of American boys must be squarely rejected by this Nation.

2. The continuance of our efforts to uncover and expense Communists and subversives in the United States and ruthlessly drive them out of positions in government and their entrenched places of influence in American life.

3. A strong reaffirmation of our position on civil rights, racial and religious toleration and determined protection of those great constitutional safeguards set up to defend the sacred rights of the individual against unwarranted, illegal interference with his liberties.

4. An immediate program on the domestic, social, and economic front to reverse unfortunate current recessionary trends in the economy which are responsible for releasing the dangerous forces of fear and confusion in the Nation and have already caused substantial unemployment.

We must recognize always that communism and dangerous social unrest are easily promoted by unemployment, fear, and want.

We must seek to rule out, not only the latter, but the spirit of antilabor discriminations and assure stability for labor, business and agriculture with employment for all.

WAR AGAINST RECESSION

In short, we must declare war against recession, depression, and need by proposing the immediate use of all necessary resources of this great powerful Government to strengthen the American economy and restore confidence and prosperity for all our people since any weakness in our national armor, military, or economic, would be the strongest weapon our potential enemies could have.

With a fundamental program carried forward by honest courageous, forward-facing and sensible leadership, the Democratic Party can and will, God grant, once again as in the past lead State and Nation along the way to prosperity, security, and peace.

Our great party founder Thomas Jefferson once said—"The same God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time."

It is for every American, regardless of race, creed, or party, to preserve it.

With courage, faith, hard work, unflagging allegiance to American institutions and abiding faith in the Almighty, we will.

Our Spiritual Debt to England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the two revival meetings which the Reverend Billy Graham conducted in Washington produced capacity congregations. Countless hundreds and thousands were denied the opportunity of hearing this phenomenal exponent of God's Word because of an arbitrary ruling of the District of Columbia Commissioners, who imposed an arbitrary ceiling of 8,000 persons at the National Guard Armory in Washington. It is conjectural how many persons were denied entrance.

Not since the days of Sankey, Moody, or Billy Sunday has any evangelist in this Nation or of any other nation so completely found the way to so many hearts and souls as has Dr. Billy Graham. Throughout the length and breadth of America he has preached to capacity crowds, his greatest throng being at the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, Tex., where over 78,000 persons packed that gigantic stadium in 100-degree temperature, in an effort to obtain spiritual food for their hungry souls.

Mr. Speaker, preparatory to departing for England to conduct one of the momentous campaigns of his phenomenal career, Dr. Graham delivered his sermon in Washington on his regular radio program "the Hour of Decision." This important sermon was entitled "Our Spiritual Debt to England." His message called to the consciences of the American people the spiritual debt we owe to that tiny and stalwart island, from which so much of our religious philosophies and doctrines in this Nation have come.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith this magnificent sermon delivered to the Americans, who each Sunday listen to the Hour of Decision over the ABC network:

OUR SPIRITUAL DEBT TO ENGLAND

(By Rev. Billy Graham)

A few weeks ago all of us were reading in our newspapers about an argument that allegedly took place between Prime Minister Churchill, President Eisenhower, and the Prime Minister of France. The argument was over who was to sit in the center chair for pictures by the press. The final solution made headlines around the world. The Prime Minister of France and the Prime Minister of Great Britain insisted that the President of the United States occupy the middle, and thus, symbolically at least, the most important chair. This was an illustration of the ascendency of the United States in world leadership during the past 10 years.

It was only a few years ago that Great Britain was considered the greatest nation in the world. London was the world's capital. London was not only the political capital but also the financial capital of the entire world. All roads led to London. Her great empire stretched completely around the globe, taking in one-fifth of the world's population. The British Empire twenty years ago was the greatest empire in world history. The average Englishman was the richest and most secure man the world had ever known. His homes were the finest; his hotels the plushest; his arts, music, and culture were envied by the entire world. However, within one generation we have seen a drastic change. It was General DeGaulle who said just after World War II that there were only two and a half great powers in the world today. General DeGaulle considered Great Britain the half. Within a short space of time something has happened. The British lion no longer roars when its tail is stepped on. What is back of it? What has happened? Why is Britain no longer the great nation that once practically ruled the world?

From the early Roman days, England took her place as a leader among the nations of the world. Very few Americans are aware of the power hidden behind the movement of history that brought England to her place among the nations' leaders. Here is a little island, only 500 miles long and 150 miles wide, that has influenced the nations of the world more than any spot of land on earth. Back of Britain's mighty material, temporal, and military power was spiritual power. It was sometime in the first century of the Christian era that the gospel reached England. By 429 A. D. thousands of people were crowding the churches at every crossroad and even in the open country throughout England. It was sometime in the sixth century that the great missionary Patrick lived and labored, and although born in Britain, his labors largely were in Ireland. The message that he preached in Ireland was the message he had learned as a boy in Britain. If it were not for that early training in England, we would not celebrate Saint Patrick's Day today here in America. England has probably been the greatest Christian nation of all history. To be sure, England was not always Christian in every generation. There were those times when England reverted to its form of paganism with Druidical worship and with sacrifice to the gods, but there was always the messenger of God to the people who claimed them once more for the faith of Jesus Christ. There was always a Columba, a Bede, or a Paulinus, and many other messengers of the cross to call this great people back to the faith of their fathers.

During the past 500 years England has contributed more spiritually to the world than any other nation. It was in England that the Reformation actually began under the leadership of John Wycliffe in the 14th century. It was John Wycliffe who gave the Bible to the people. He rebelled against the ready-made dogmas of an established church and rejected all those teachings that could not bear the test of the Scriptures. It was John Wycliffe who mightily influenced John Huss of Bohemia, who in turn started a chain of thought and reaction that eventually influenced Martin Luther.

Down through these centuries England has continued to make its great contribution in every field. When the world needed leadership among the nations, England was ready to give it. When the world needed fine literature, England had her skilled writers. When the world needed new techniques in medical science, England was ready to give it. When the world needed someone to stop Napoleon, bent on world conquest, England had her Wellington. When our own colonies were in desparate need of spiritual awakening, England sent George Whitefield and John Wesley to us. When India desperately needed the gospel of Jesus Christ, it was England that sent William Carey. It was England that took the lead in freeing the slaves. It was England that took the lead in woman suffrage. It was England that took the lead in lifting the standards of the working man. It was England that held the balance of world power. It was England that stood alone in World War II when it seemed that Hitler was going to pull the whole world down around him. It was England that was ready to fight on the beaches, in the streets, and in the countryside to save the Western way of life.

When James Watt started the first wheel of the steam engine, and George Stevenson harnessed this power to a locomotive, England gave to the world a new way of life. Socially, morally, militarily, spiritually—England has contributed tremendously to the American way of life. England taught us tolerance, fair play, and a freedom from frenzy. It was England that taught us civil and religious liberty. It was from England that we get much of our law, traditions, and customs.

Very few Americans realize that it was largely British missionaries and British money that worked in the early days of the American colonies. It was British money that supported Christian work in this country for over a hundred years. The foundations that lie so secure for many of our denominations today were supported largely from the mother country. America owes a debt of gratitude to Great Britain that we will never be able to pay. Britain has been our closest ally in war and in peace. It is also from Britain that we get our language—the English language. The great Presbyterian denominations of America owe their beginnings to Britain. The great Baptist denominations across America owe their modern beginnings to England. The great Methodist churches throughout the Nation owe their beginnings to Britain, and scores of other denominational groups have their foundations and traditions and teachings deep in our forefathers who lived in Britain and Ireland.

But something has happened to that England. For the first time in history England desperately needs help. We have answered their cry for material help and sent them billions of dollars to help them in their postwar economic crisis. We have joined hands with them at the peace table and given them moral encouragement. But now Britain needs our help spiritually. Very few Americans are aware of the fact that in England today less than 10 percent of the British people are identified with any church. Less than 5 percent of the British people are found in church on Sunday. I am told on the highest authority that in London only 2 to 4 percent of the people attend church. One bishop of the Church of England told me some time ago that there are places in his diocese within London where less than one-half of 1 percent of the people attend church. Materialism, secularism, and pagan philosophies have gripped the once great British people. Only a comparatively few of the churches in London are filled to capacity on Sunday. Millions of people in England today have no conception of the teachings of the Bible. Religion is completely foreign from their thinking. Because of the terrible, taxation, the remaining Christians that are left have very little to give to the work of the church. Britain has had to pull in many of its missionaries from all over the world. Many Christian organizations have had to close their doors and curtail their activities as a result of the economic pinch.

During the past 5 years, British political, social, and religious leaders have come to the conclusion that the reason for Britain's rapid deterioration both at home and abroad is basically spiritual. Many people attribute her economic problems to her spiritual decline. The great spiritual forces that motivated and made Britain great have all but disappeared. The very power that gave Britain the dynamic of world leadership is ebbing away.

During the past years, in desperation the Church of England has tried one method after another to attract the masses of people back to God and back to the church. A little over 2 years ago the Church of England directed its great mission to London campaign that proved to the British clergy that the

people were no longer listening to the gospel and that the average clergy was no longer respected. The Methodist church tried their Commando campaign with very little success. There is little or no evangelism on television in Great Britain today. There is little or no evangelism on radio in Britain today.

To be sure, there are thousands of Christians in England who have not bowed the knee to Baal. There are thousands of Christians in Britain that are praying and crying to God day and night for spiritual awakening and revival. There are thousands of people in Britain that are longing for the day when Britain will have a great spiritual revival that will change the course of British history.

As a result of Britain's departure from God immorality is at an alltime high. Crime is on the increase. The divorce courts are filled, and the moral conditions are unbelievable.

The last great evangelistic campaigns that made great impacts on British life were held in 1879 by D. L. Moody and in 1905 by Dr. R. A. Torrey. These evangelistic campaigns made such tremendous impacts that the older people still sing the songs and talk with tears in their eyes of the days of Moody and Torrey. These American evangelists were criticized unmercifully in the beginning of their campaigns. The New York Times ran an editorial calling Moody an "uncouth representative of the United States." Many British leaders refused to cooperate with Dr. Torrey because they thought he was too cold and that he would have no appeal to the masses of Great Britain. Hundreds of the clergy were against D. L. Moody because they thought that he was too ignorant, rough, and uncouth. However, these attitudes rapidly changed as these men of God presented the gospel of Christ in all of its saving power. We are praying that God will do it again in 1954.

Two years ago when we were in Washington, a member of the British Parliament and a prebendery of St. Paul's in London flew to Washington to present to us the needs and problems of Britain. They asked us if we could come to London and address the clergy and religious leaders of the City of London, outlining our program of evangelism and telling them what God was doing here in America.

Two years ago Cliff Barrows and I went to London. We met with 750 religious leaders of the City of London in Westminster Church House which is the headquarters of the Church of England. I spoke to them for over an hour and they asked questions for another hour. After we were through, these British leaders voted to extend to us an invitation to come to London for an evangelistic campaign in 1954. After much prayer, we accepted their invitation. During the intervening 2 years tremendous preparations have been underway. Thousands of prayer meetings have been organized, and on March 1 our campaign begins in London.

There is something thrilling and frightening about beginning an all-out campaign in the largest city of the world. Never before have I been so humbled and awed by a project. We were warned time after time by our friends not to go to England. Many said it would be our Waterloo, that it would be unsuccessful, that the time was not ripe, that this was not the thing for us to do. However, there has come an increasing conviction that God is sending us to England. There are scores of obstacles that we face in London that we never face in the United States. There will be very little radio and television open to us. We do not know what the attitude of the press will be. We are encouraged by the fact that we have the support of the majority of the churches of the city of London. We know that thousands of Christians are praying throughout the world. Prayer meetings are being organized in Korea, Formosa, throughout Africa and South America; in Australia and New Zealand thousands are praying. The eyes of the entire Christian world are going to be on London, praying that God will send a revival to England once again.

Here in America we are calling upon you, the people of God, to pray as you have never prayed. We are asking you to organize prayer meetings throughout the Nation and pray that God will send revival. Our hearts are burdened. I come to you in desperation and plead from the bottom of my heart that you pray as you have never prayed for any event in your life. I am praying that our London campaign will be the most prayed-for event in history. Because of communication, more people will know about this campaign than probably any evangelistic campaign in the history of the church.

Next, we want you to write your friends in England. Many of you have friends all through England. We want you to write them and tell them about the meetings and urge them to attend. The meetings will be held at Harringay Arena in the northern part of the city of London, seating 12,000 people. People, we trust, will be coming from all over England.

Thirdly, we need your help. Our British Christian friends do not have the financial resources to put on such a campaign. In prayer, in humility, and in faith they have requested our help. I assured them that we Americans who have given so much to their economic and material welfare would be delighted to contribute to their spiritual welfare. I hope that you will give sacrificially to make this campaign possible at this desperate hour.

Many people have asked, "How long will the meetings continue?" We do not know. Possibly 6 weeks * * * we are planning to stay in England about 3 months. A part of this time may be taken up in traveling across England. We are not certain. We are going to be led by the Holy Spirit. The month of June will possibly be spent on the Continent of Europe in about eight capitals of western Europe, holding great outdoor mass meetings.

Our meetings in London will not be concentrated just in the evening meetings at Harringay Arena. We are taking a team of about 25 people. Meetings are being arranged all day long in every section of London, so that additional thousands will be reached with the Gospel.

London is still the crossroads of the world. London is still the banking center of the world. London is still the city with the greatest newspapers in the world. London is still the city with more airlines operating in and out of London that any city in the world. We are praying that the cobblestones of London will ring with the shouts of thousands who will find Christ as their Savior and Lord. Britain has had great spiritual revivals in the past.

Mississippi River Diversion Problem, Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, a tremendous problem now confronts the Mississippi Valley and particularly the State of Louisiana because the Father of Waters, the Mississippi River, now threatens to change its course to the Gulf of Mexico. This is a matter of grave concern to the entire Nation.

One of the most complete studies of this problem ever made was done very recently by Mr. B. L. Krebs, distinguished staff writer for the New Orleans Times-Picayune. In order that the Members of Congress may be informed, I am including his masterful series in the RECORD:

(By B. L. Krebs)

People have been saying for the past 50 years or more that some day the Mississippi River might desert New Orleans and take a new and shorter route to the gulf by way of the Atchafalaya River past Morgan City.

The United States Army Engineers, through the Mississippi River Commission, now affirm that the Mississippi River not only may but positively will be captured by the Atchafalaya unless man steps in to prevent it.

And this will inevitably happen within the lifetime of three-fourths of the people now living below Old River—unless the threatened calamity is prevented by the expenditure of anywhere from $50 million to $100 million on control works at the entrance of Old River.

Old River, the present connecting link between the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya Rivers, is a 6-mile section of an old bend of the Mississippi. Its eastern end leads out of the Mississippi opposite the State penitentiary at Angola, 120 miles by airline northwest of New Orleans, and 217 miles by the winding main river. At the western end of the 6-mile stretch, Red River comes in from the north, and the Atchafalaya River goes out to the south.

CRITICAL STAGE SEEN 1965–75

A critical stage in the diversion of the Mississippi through Old River will occur when 40 percent of its annual flow is going down the Atchafalaya, according to the report of a group of geologists directed as consultant by Dr. Harold N. Fisk, chief of the geological research section of Humble Oil & Refining Co. The Mississippi River Commission placed its seal of approval on the report by recently making it available to the public.

This critical stage "under normal conditions of development," says the report, will be reached between the years 1965–75, with the year 1971 indicated as a more exact date, should the present trend continue. The report warns, however:

"Factors which will accelerate the diversionary process are the frequency of floods or sustained highwater flows through the distributary, continued dredging in the lower Atchafalaya Basin, and a critical stage of development occurring before the time of 40 percent diversion.

"In connection with this last factor, any sudden increase in deterioration of the Mississippi Channel immediately below the point of diversion should be interpreted as marking the beginning of the critical stage."

In other words, according to this latest report, the diversion of the Mississippi, unless brought under control, will almost certainly reach a critical stage not later than 1975, or 22 years from now; it will probably reach a critical stage in 1971, or 18 years from now; and it could reach the critical stage by 1965, or in 12 short years.

SEVERAL COURSE CHANGES

Two thorough studies of the Mississippi diversion, both under the authority of the Mississippi River Commission, were made following the 1950 flood, at the direction of Maj. Gen. Lewis A. Pick, then Chief of

United States Army Engineers. One was the geological study, the other an engineering survey by the commission's own river engineers. The major findings in these studies are:

The Mississippi River has made a major change in its course several times in the past 2,000 years.

The same set of circumstances that brought about these former changes is now in operation at Old River; the principal one being that it is 300 miles to sea level by way of the Mississippi and only 100 miles by way of the Atchafalaya.

Diversion of the Mississippi has now reached a point where no natural processes are known which might prevent the Atchafalaya from further enlarging itself and capturing the entire Mississippi River.

In the 10-year period 1935–44 the Atchafalaya River carried 15 percent of the annual flow of the Mississippi; in the 4 years 1945–48 this increased to 19 percent; and in the following 4 years, 1949–52 the Atchafalaya was capturing 23 percent of the Mississippi's runoff.

By the time the Atchafalaya River is carrying 40 percent of the Mississippi's flow a critical stage will have been reached, after which the main channel of the Mississippi below the point of diversion will start to silt up rapidly, and the diversion will be relatively uncontrollable.

Since the Atchafalaya for many years has been carrying the entire flow of the Red and Black-Ouachita Rivers in addition to the flow it has been snatching from the main river, it is already carrying to the gulf 30 percent, or nearly one-third, of all the water arriving in the latitude of Old River; and when diversion of the Mississippi has reached 40 percent the Atchafalaya will be carrying almost as much as the main stream below Old River.

The estimate of 40 percent of the flow of the Mississippi into the Atchafalaya as the critical point in the diversion is a matter of guesswork and is a reasonably maximum figure. The main channel of the Mississippi below Old River might start silting up before the 40 percent figure is reached.

There has been more than one second guess in the past about the unpredictable Mississippi River. In fact only a few years ago the river engineers were saying that the diversion of 50 percent of the Mississippi would not take place for another 40 years. Now they estimate the 50-percent figure will be reached 10 years or more sooner than they then expected.

A study of the flow of the Mississippi Rivers through two chutes on the main stream, and of the silting that occurred in the main channel as the volume of water going through the chute or bypass increased, brings into doubt whether the main channel of the Mississippi below Old River will wait until 40 percent of the flow is being diverted to the Atchafalaya before it begins to deteriorate.

CHANNEL DETERIORATION

At Chute No. 6, below Hickman, Ky., observations over a period of 10 years show that the main channel 5,000 feet below the point at which the chute or cutoff leaves the stream began to deteriorate when the volume of water going through the chute reached 30 percent of the total flow, and after 40-percent diversion the channel began to deteriorate rapidly.

At Brandywine chute, just above Memphis, however, the main channel showed deterioration at 20-percent diversion, and deteriorated rapidly after 30 percent of the total flow went through the chute.

With a view to determining whether the Mississippi River main channel is beginning to fill up below Old River, a survey was made of a fairly straight reach in the main river where slackening of the current might be expected to result in the deposit of silt.

At a point about 6 miles below Old River cross-sections of the main river channel were taken at bankfull stage and showed that the capacity of the main river had decreased from 184,000 square feet in 1920 to 168,000 square feet in 1949 or about 9 percent. This reduction in carrying capacity occurred despite the fact that the main channel has been dredged for navigation purposes.

"It is evident from the above figures," says the report on the geological investigation, "that rapid deterioration has not begun and that the critical stage in Atchafalaya diversion has not been reached. When this will occur is problematical, but present studies have shown that 40 percent diversion is a conservative maximum estimate of the time when rapid closure of the old main channel will occur.

"It should be remembered, however, that the critical stage could occur at a time when a smaller percentage of water is diverted, and that the present trend of deterioration, though slight may be a forceful portent of a rapidly increasing rate of deterioration in the not too distant future."

FLOOD CONTROL FACTOR

There is no reason for panic in the present situation with regard to the diversion of the Mississippi; nor is there any room, on the other hand, for complacency. The Mississippi will not change its course overnight, or even in two or three years, and in case of emergency it would only be a matter of cost to close off Old River in a hurry.

This, however, could have a disastrous effect in another direction—that of flood control—as will be shown in a succeeding story.

Meanwhile it will require several years to construct the necessary engineering works to handle the situation in an orderly fashion, and the time in which this can be done, before the diversion reaches a dangerous stage, could be shortened to 12 years by a succession of high-water years, and a sudden deterioration of the main river channel.

Most people think that if the Mississippi River were to leave its present course and go down the Atchafalaya, the main effect, where New Orleans is concerned, is that the city would lose its deepwater port.

FRESH-WATER SUPPLY

Not only would this be unlikely to happen, but even if the main river were clogged up below the city a deepwater channel could be dredged to the gulf which would provide an even better access to the sea than is now provided by the river.

But diversion of the Mississippi would result in other and more serious damage.

The city would have to find another source for its fresh-water supply. The cost of this alone could exceed the cost of closing the Old River with control works.

Sewage would have to be treated in expensive sewage-control works, instead of being dumped into the river below New Orleans and swept to the sea by the current, as at present.

It is problematical that in a period of 30 to 40 years after the 50-percent stage of diversion a deep-water channel could be maintained for the port of Baton Rouge, or a shallower channel between there and Old River for the present waterborne traffic of the Mississippi.

Pouring through the Atchafalaya Basin in a volume three to four times as large as now, the river would disrupt all communications to the west and wreak havoc from the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche on the east to the Teche Ridge on the west. Incalculable millions would have to be spent to build new levee lines through the Atchafalaya Basin, to elevate railroads and highways, to build new and longer bridges, and to move cities and towns away from the present banks of the Atchafalaya.

And, finally, the entire flood-control plan for the valley below Old River would be thrown out of balance and very likely be completely wrecked.

Mississippi River Diversion Problem, Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the second of a series of stories dealing with diversion of the Mississippi River into the Atchafalaya, the causes and possibility of controlling the flow, by B. L. Krebs:

The Atchafalaya River has been lying in wait to capture the Mississippi River for the past 450 years, according to the geologists.

About the year 1500 the first condition favorable to a new change in course was established by the Mississippi. It kept pushing its Turnbull Island Bend, in the vicinity of Angola, steadily westward until finally it caved into an old abandoned course of Bayou Des Glaises, which the main river itself had occupied in its wanderings of many centuries before.

The Red River came in from the northwest at the top side of the western end of the Turnbull Bend. At the lower corner of the western end of the loop the Atchafalaya formed as a distributary, in the direction of the gulf.

1542 DEFINITE KNOWLEDGE

That the Atchafalaya River headed south from the western end of Turnbull Bend as early as 1542 is definitely known, because a certain Monk Ptolemy, who accompanied De-Soto's expedition that year, shows the Atchafalaya on a map, which he drew, and which was published in 1578.

Two of the three essential conditions for a major change in the river's course existed at that time. One was that the shortest distance to sea level was 100 miles down the Atchafalaya, whereas the distance by the main river was more than 200 miles, since then lengthened to 300 miles by delta-building). The second condition was that a distributary existed to carry the water over this short route.

A third condition was necessary, however, which was that the distributary develop a channel deep enough to carry water at all seasons of the year; otherwise the silt from the flood years would keep choking it up.

The Mississippi was a long time in getting around to deepening its distributary, so long, in fact, that 350 years after the river had set up the situation for a future change in course, the Atchafalaya was so low in a year of drought that early settlers could cross it on a plank 15 feet long. That was the year, 1839, in which the log raft was burned.

This raft was possibly a major reason why the Mississippi was taking so long to scour out a channel through the Atchafalaya. The head of the Atchafalaya, at the western end of Turnbull Bend, was at a favorable point to receive the driftwood, trees, and snags brought down by the Mississippi and Red Rivers.

BEGAN IN 1778

This particular raft began to form in 1778, although there could have been earlier ones, built up and then swept out by floods before the coming of the early settlers; and in the early 1800's it had choked the Atchafalaya for the upper 20 miles of its course.

In a book by William Darby, published in 1816, the raft was described:

"The mass of timber rises and falls with the water in the river, and at all seasons maintains an equal elevation above the sur-

face. The tales that have been narrated respecting this phenomenon, its having timber of large size, and in many places being compact enough for horses to pass, are entirely devoid of truth.

"The recent formation renders either the solidity of its structure or the growth of large timber impossible. Some small willows are frequently seen amongst the dead trees, but are destroyed by the shifting mass before attaining any considerable size."

BANKS HEAVILY SETTLED

The relatively high banks of the Atchafalaya were heavily settled by this time, and with the advent of the steamboat the settlers wanted transportation at their door. The State having failed to come to their aid, they set fire to the raft and burned it to the water's edge.

After that the State sent in snagboats to clear a channel, and although some new driftwood kept coming in, the river was finally cleared. The Atchafalaya then began to enlarge rapidly. In fact, its flow increased to such an extent that the early plantations were flooded out, and the construction of private levees was begun to protect the upper basin from overflow.

When the Mississippi River Commission was organized to take charge of the lower Mississippi it took immediate note of the situation at the head of the Atchafalaya, and the rapid increase in its channel. Fears were expressed, even then, that the Atchafalaya might in the course of time capture the Mississippi.

The River Commission recommended in 1881 that Old River be closed off by a low-water dam, which would permit steamboat navigation but head off the encroaching Mississippi and leave the Atchafalaya to handle the Red River.

Capt. James B. Eads, famed as the constructor of the jetties at the mouth of the river, thought on the contrary that the Atchafalaya should be closed entirely, and Red River turned into the Mississippi by building a sill dam at the western end of Turnbull Bend, between the mouth of the Red and head of the Atchafalaya, thus forcing the Red to use the upper loop of the bend to reach the Mississippi.

Even before the burning of the log raft in the upper Atchafalaya, Capt. H. N. Shreve in 1831 had nipped the prospective diversion in the bud by cutting a channel across the neck of Turnbull Island bend to shorten the river distance between Baton Rouge and Vicksburg. The main stream was no longer going around Turnbull Island Bend past the mouth of the Red and the head of the Atchafalaya, but was taking the shortcut made by Captain Shreve.

WOULD HAVE CLOSED BEND

Had the river been left alone, it would in due time have silted up the old bend entirely, leaving the Red to flow down the Atchafalaya, and ending the potential diversion. In fact, had it not been for the water sweeping down the Red River, and using partly the north reach of the old bend and partly the south reach to get to the Mississippi, and partly using the Atchafalaya as an alternate route to sea level until such time as the Atchafalaya could take its entire flow the bend probably would have been filled up with silt long before the Mississippi River Commission appeared on the scene, 50 years after the cutoff was made.

The engineers of those days didn't know too much about the Mississippi River, and an important part of what they thought they did know was proved by later events to be erroneous. The decision as to what to do about the Atchafalaya and Old River was deferred, however, by the great flood of 1882, which inundated the Atchafalaya Basin from the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche on the east to the Teche Ridge on the west.

NO 1882, 1883 CANE CROP

There was no cane crop in Louisiana in 1882 or 1883. And in 1884 came another flood, not so large. The newly organized River Commission, however, had the problem of the Atchafalaya on its mind.

In its 1884 report it advised that plans were underway to control the situation at the mouth of Red River, but that any plan adopted "ought to comprehend the prevention of the diversion of the Mississippi River into the Atchafalaya Basin" by the closing of any depleting outlet at that point "either existing now or likely to be induced."

It is interesting to note that Eads thought it would require at least 6 years to close off the Atchafalaya, and that it would be prudent to allow an even longer period, "for there might be an uninterrupted succession of moderate floods."

Two brush and stone sills were finally installed in the Atchafalaya at Simmesport in 1888 and 1889, with the sills of the dams 6 feet below low water mark to permit steamboat traffic. This may have checked, but did not stop the slow enlargement of the Atchafalaya.

LOW-WATER DAM

In 1891, a low-water dam was built across the western loop of Turnbull Island bend, between the mouth of the Red and the head of the Atchafalaya, to force the Red River to use the north stretch of Turnbull bend to reach the Mississippi, and keep it out of the Atchafalaya.

The Red River didn't want to go that way, the dam was abandoned several years later, and the north loop of Old River rapidly silted up. Only a series of low ridges in the former bed of the north loop now remain to show geologists in future years that the mighty Mississippi once flowed that way.

Having installed the two low-water dams in the head of the Atchafalaya to keep the Mississippi from taking it over, the Government now turned around and for the next 40 years assisted the Mississippi in its long-deferred plan to go down the Atchafalaya. The demands first of navigation, and later of flood control were responsible for this.

The Mississippi kept dumping silt into the lower channel of Old River and the engineers kept dredges busy moving the silt out of the way; for the benefit of navigation in general and of the Louisiana Railway & Navigation Co. (now part of the Kansas City Southern) in particular.

The trains of the L. R. & N. between New Orleans and Shreveport during those years were ferried around the head of the Atchafalaya Basin, from Angola on the east bank of the Mississippi, through the lower Old River, to Naples on the west bank of the Red River. Annual dredging of Old River was required to maintain a channel for the train ferry, and for such other traffic as was moving between the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya and Red Rivers.

OUTINGS RECALLED

A part of the folklore of New Orleans in the early days of the century were the reputed frequent Sunday outings of William Edenborn, owner of the railroad, and his wife—by morning train to Angola, Sunday dinner on the car ferry, and back to New Orleans on the evening train.

The train ferry was abandoned in 1928 when the new rail-highway bridge over the Atchafalaya at Simmesport was opened, but dredging in Old River continued until 1947 for another purpose.

Meanwhile the river engineers were thinking in terms of closing off Old River entirely. Several studies were made and after the 1922 flood they decided it was time to act.

The main levee on the west bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Arkansas stopped 9 miles north of Old River. Part of the Mississippi River flow at bankful stages and less was going through Old River to the Atchafalaya.

When the main river rose above its banks it overflowed through the 9-mile gap in the levee line and inundated the vast backwater area at the head of the Atchafalaya Basin, where it was joined by water from the Red and Black Rivers, by water coming down overland through the Boeuf Basin behind the main west bank levee of the Mississippi, through a gap in levee line on south bank of the Arkansas, and by crevasse water when the main west bank levee line of the Mississippi between Arkansas City and Old River was breached in time of flood.

FOLLOWED FLOOD CREST

Such water as couldn't be accommodated by the Atchafalaya kept piling up in this natural reservoir until the crest of the flood passed the mouth of Old River, then followed the flood crest down the Mississippi and out to sea.

The theory of the Mississippi River Commission—violently and increasingly opposed in the lower valley—was that if all the water that poured into the Mississippi were confined to the main stream, it would scour the channel deeper and enable the river at flood time to handle whatever was offered by the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, and the Red, and by minor tributaries.

In line with this theory it was decided to levee off the 9-mile gap at Old River, channel and all. Funds were voted by Congress to match local levee board funds 2 to 1, extra speed was ordered, and by the end of 1928, 6 miles of the 9-mile gap had been closed. Here the river stepped in to put a stop to the proceedings.

1927 MAJOR FLOOD YEAR

It was obvious that 1927 was to be a major flood year. The Ohio River came out in January and February, a couple of months ahead of time. The Red River was at flood stage from January to June. The Cumberland at Nashville broke its all-time 1882 record on January 1. It was evident in early 1927 with only the usual spring rains in the lower valley the levees couldn't hold between the Arkansas and Red Rivers.

Nature did better than average. As the crest of the upper flood was nearing the mouth of the Arkansas, torrential rains fell in the drainage basins of the White, St. Francis, and lower Arkansas, and a record flood came thundering out of the Arkansas as the crest of the main river flood was passing.

The east bank levee, protecting the Yazoo Basin in Mississippi, blew out at Mounds Landing. The crevasse water rushed down the Yazoo and rejoined the crest at Vicksburg. Bluffs extend along the east side of the Mississippi from Vicksburg to Baton Rouge, so the waters next battered down the west bank levee line, breaching it at numerous places, including Milliken Bend, Cabin Teele, and Deer Park. This crevasse water, in turn, rushed down the west side behind the levees to rejoin the peak in the main river at Old River.

From this point on the flood took over Atchafalaya Basin. The main west bank levee on the Atchafalaya River crevassed at Melville, the east bank levee blew out at McCrae, and the flood in the vast backwater area at the head of the Atchafalaya Basin, overtopping the levee line along Bayou Des Glaises west of the Atchafalaya, flooded cities and towns all along the Teche Ridge.

The engineers all got together after the 1927 flood and decided that the main Mississippi below Old River could never carry a flood like that of 1927, let alone the even larger flood that might come along some day. The gap at Old River couldn't be closed off because the Atchafalaya River was needed in the new flood plan to carry its quota of flood water.

SLOWLY ENLARGING

The Old River-Atchafalaya Branch of the Mississippi River was slowly enlarging itself, but not fast enough to increase the capacity of the Atchafalaya. In 1932 the engineers began dredging in the lower Atchafalaya Basin, below the end of the levee lines, to help the river cut a channel through its own deposits, and keep silt from piling up to block the passage of the water. In 1936 dredging was undertaken on the upper river, between the levee lines, with eminent success.

In this upper section of the Atchafalaya the engineers cut away sharp points, and dredged out shallow sections in the channel. They moved 22.5 million cubic yards of dirt; the Atchafalaya cooperated by beginning to scour out its channel, and between 1932 and 1950 swept out into the lower basin an additional 232 million cubic yards through its own work.

THIRTY-EIGHT PERCENT INCREASE

As a result, the average cross-section in the Atchafalaya below bankful stage increased from 63,000 square feet in 1930 to 87,000 square feet in 1950, an increase of 38 percent. The shallow places, or "bottlenecks" however were controlling the amount of flow passing between the levees. At two points 38 and 43 miles below the head of the river the cross-section increased from 54,500 square feet in 1932 to 77,650 square feet in 1950, an increase of 45 percent.

Due to the increased hydraulic efficiency of the Atchafalaya, the passage of 350,000 cubic feet per second at Simmesport in 1937 resulted in a gage reading of 49 feet above mean sea level, while the same quantity of water in 1950 was at a reading of 39.5 feet, 9.5 feet lower. In the 1937 flood a peak of 471,000 cubic feet per second passed Simmesport at a gage reading of 55.0 feet; and in 1950, at 57.2 feet or only 2 feet higher, 640,000 cubic feet per second was handled.

In the years from 1928 through 1937 dredging continued in lower Old River to keep the channel open at low-water stages and assist the Atchafalaya in deepening its channel. After the 1937 flood this was no longer necessary.

After several years of nudging by the engineers Old Man River finally took the hint, and got busy dredging his own channel through Old River and making it larger from year to year—a little too zealously perhaps.

From 1937 on it was inevitable that if left to itself the river would move bodily into the Atchafalaya. The only question was how long this would take.

One effect of the increased carrying capacity of the Atchafalaya was that it could accommodate the entire flow of Red River, plus an increasing amount from the Mississippi. In former days the Red sent part of its water through Old River into the Mississippi.

Up to 1942 this occurred an average of 50 days out of the year to the occasional chagrin of New Orleans, who viewed with dismay the film of red silt in their bathtubs, brought by the Red River from the faraway Palo Duro Canyon below Amarillo, Tex. In 1942 the Red flowed into the Mississippi only 9 days.

Since then the Atchafalaya has handled all the water the Red River had to offer. The disappearance of this occasional touch of red in the city's water supply was a silent warning of something of graver significance to New Orleans than dirty bathtubs and off-color drinking water.

Meanwhile the diversion of the Mississippi into the Atchafalaya through Old River was steadily growing in volume. It was only 5 percent in 180; grew to an average 15 percent in the years 1935-44, and averaged almost 24 percent in 1951 and 1952.

LIMITED APPROPRIATIONS

The engineers knew what was going on and were watching it. But with limited annual appropriations first things had to come first.

With construction resumed after the war, the completion of the Morganza Floodway had priority. It appeared then as though the engineers had a comfortable 30 years or more in which to act on the diversion problem, but the flood in which Morganza would be needed might come any year.

Now that Morganza is about out of the way the engineers have put the control of Old River at the top of the list. The comprehensive surveys started in the fall of 1950 did not tell them anything they did not already know about the ultimate certainty of diversion—but they did show that it was later than anybody thought.

Mississippi River Diversion Problem, Part III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the third of a series of stories dealing with diversion of the Mississippi River into the Atchafalaya, the causes and possibility of controlling the flow:

SPILLWAY, LOCKS FOR RIVER AIRED—PROBLEM OF HALTING DIVERSION GIGANTIC

(By B. L. Krebs)

The Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers cannot be completely separated by permanently closing the connection between the two through Old River, without gravely jeopardizing the territory along the main river from Red River landing to the Gulf.

On the other hand, to leave the connection permanently open would result in a comparatively few years in the complete ruin of the Atchafalaya basin.

What confronts the river engineers in the present situation at Old River, where the Atchafalaya is actively at work capturing the Mississippi, is a two-fold problem.

One is the matter of diversion of the main river, which unless checked in the next few years will eventually throw its entire load down the Atchafalaya. This is essentially a problem of low-water control.

The other side of the picture is the problem of flood control, when the water is high; and particularly the situation that will exist when the project flood of 3 million cubic feet of water per second that the river engineers foresee at some time in the future, hits the latitude of Old River.

Under the flood-control plan of 1928, as subsequently revised, this 3 million cubic feet of water per second would be divided equally between the Atchafalaya Basin and the lower river. On the basis of a maximum 2,700,000 cubic feet coming down the main stream from Vicksburg and 300,000 down the Red, the flow of flood water in the latitude of Old River, once the necessary flood-control works were completed, was to be handled as follows:

When the combined flow of the Mississippi and Red Rivers reached a total of 1,900,000 cubic feet per second 1,250,000 would be brought down the main river past New Orleans, at an elevation on the Carrollton gage not to exceed 20 feet; and 650,000 cubic feet would go down the Atchafalaya River between the main levee lines.

WATER DIVISION EXPLAINED

The Atchafalaya River would be carrying all the Red River flow, plus an excess from the Mississippi pouring through Old River. The flood-control works would never need to be used until the combined flow of the Mississippi and Red River in the latitude of Old River exceeded this 1,900,000 cubic feet per second.

The next 250,000 cubic feet per second would be brought down the main river to the Bonnet Carre spillway and dumped there. The flow between Old River and Bonnet Carre would then be 1,500,000 cubic feet, and between Bonnet Carre and the Gulf 1,250,000 feet; and the main Atchafalaya would be taking 650,000 for a combined total of 2,150,000 feet.

The next 600,000 cubic feet—bringing the total in the latitude of Old River to 2,750,000 cubic feet per second—would also be brought down the main river, but only for a distance of 25 miles. Here it would be diverted into the Atchafalaya Basin through the Morganza spillway and carried to the lower Atchafalaya Basin between the east bank main levee at the Atchafalaya and a guide levee farther to the east running all the way to Morgan City.

OVERFLOW INTO BAYOU

The top 250,000 cubic feet of the major flood would overflow the levee line along Bayou Des Glaises, to the west of the head of the Atchafalaya, and flow into the lower Atchafalaya Basin through the west Atchafalaya Floodway, with a guide levee on the west side of this floodway holding the water away from the cities and towns along the Teche Ridge.

At this peak flow of 3 million cubic feet of water per second, the water would be equally divided between the lower Mississippi and the Atchafalaya Basin, as follows:

Main river: From Old River to Morganza, 2,100,000 feet; Morganza to Bonnet Carre, 1,500,000 feet; Bonnet Carre to the gulf, 1,250,000 feet; or a total of 1,500,000 in the main river below Morganza.

Atchafalaya Basin: Main Atchafalaya River, 650,000 feet; Morganza floodway, 600,000 feet; West Atchafalaya floodway, 250,000 feet; a total of 1,500,000 feet for the Atchafalaya Basin.

The growing diversion of the Mississippi through Old River into the Atchafalaya is threatening to upset this plan. And to the problem of controlling the Old River diversion is added the further problem of doing it in such a way as not to upset the flood balance between the main river and the Atchafalaya Basin.

BIG AMOUNT OF WATER INVOLVED

The immense amount of water involved in an estimated maximum flood adds to the difficulty. The full cooperation of both rivers, acting under the laws of hydraulics, is essential to success.

Engineers have trouble expressing the huge flood flow of the Mississippi River in terms that the average person can understand. The smallest unit they can think of is cubic feet—equaling 7½ gallons—and even when this is reduced to the amount of cubic feet in 1 second, the resulting figure is staggering.

The 3 million cubic feet per second predicted for the maximum flood would amount to 180 million cubic feet in only a minute's time, or close to a billion and a half gallons. This amount of water could supply the entire city of New Orleans for 2 weeks.

In terms of weight, it would total 600,000 tons—more than 10,000 large freight cars could handle.

And spread out, it would in a minute's time cover a square mile of land with water over a tall man's head.

MUST KEEP MOVING

The world's largest man-made reservoir is Lake Meade, behind Hoover Dam on the Colorado, with a capacity of 31 million acre-

feet of water. At the sustained flow of 3 million cubic feet per second the Mississippi River could fill this reservoir in 5 days and round out the week by filling the reservoir behind Grand Coulee Dam.

Peak flood flows do not last as long as 5 days, but it should be kept in mind that this is water in motion. The 180 million cubic feet arriving at Old River in a minute has to move on to make room for another 180 million cubic feet arriving the next minute. And this could continue for a day or two.

At the estimated peak flood, if 300,000 cubic feet per second was arriving at the head of the Atchafalaya River from Red River, and 650,000 feet were going down the Atchafalaya River between the levees and 250,000 feet down the West Atchafalaya Floodway or 900,000 feet total, 600,000 feet obviously would be coming in through the channel of Old River, and overland through the 3-mile gap in the levee line above that point.

One way to stop the diversion would be to fill in the channel to Old River at its Mississippi end, and complete the levee line across the gap.

MUST CONSIDER FLOOD

But when the superflood finally arrived—300,000 cubic feet from the Red and 2,700,000 cubic feet down the Mississippi from Vicksburg—the 600,000 cubic feet now ticketed for the Atchafalaya would have to go on down the main stream.

This would be 2,700,000 cubic feet between Old River and Morganza for a levee system designed to hold 2,100,000 feet; 2,100,000 feet between Morganza and Bonnet Carre for a levee system built for 1,500,000 feet; and even if the levees were raised from Old River to Bonnet Carre to take care of the additional water, there would then be 1,850,000 feet headed down toward New Orleans between levees designed to handle only 1,250,000 feet with a safe margin.

It might be possible to raise the docks at New Orleans several additional feet, at enormous cost, but it is doubtful if soil conditions in this area would permit levees much higher than at present. That disposes of any idea of permanently separating the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya Rivers.

The effect on the flood-control program would be equally disastrous if nothing is done at Old River and nature is allowed to take its course. When the diversion has reached 40 percent of the flow of the Mississippi at Old River—or perhaps even sooner—the Mississippi will begin to silt up below the point of diversion.

SPILLWAYS USELESS

The present 2,100,000 cubic feet flood capacity of the main stream below Old River would rapidly dwindle. When the river could carry only 1,500,000 cubic feet of water per second the Morganza floodway would be useless and its $40 million cost would have been wasted. A continuation of the silting would next make the $14 million Bonnet Carre spillway useless.

Meanwhile, when the estimated peak flood arrived, 1,850,000 second feet of water would be thrown against the head of the Atchafalaya Basin, where the Atchafalaya River and the West Atchafalaya floodway are expected to carry only 900,000 cubic feet. Residents of the basin would think the deluge was happening all over again.

A third alternative that suggests itself is to block off Old River so as to stop the flow of water below bankfull—since this low-water flow is the main cause of the increased diversion—but leave the 3-mile gap open in the levee line to take floodwater overland from the Mississippi above bankfull stage. This wouldn't work either, from the angle of flood control.

The silt load in the river is heaviest at flood peak. As the water falls it begins to dump the silt. The low-water flow carries this silt away before the next flood arrives.

WOULD SILT ATCHAFALAYA

It is feared that the low-water flow of the Red River alone would not be sufficient to clear out the silt dropped in the Atchafalaya in flood time by both the Red and the Mississippi. This would result in a gradual silting up of the Atchafalaya, reducing its flood capacity.

When the major flood arrived the Atchafalaya River and the West Atchafalaya floodway, instead of handling together the 900,000 cubic feet of water allotted to them, might be able to take care of only 500,000 cubic feet. Either, the levees around the head of the Atchfalaya Basin would have to be raised, forcing 400,000 more second feet down the Mississippi than it can safely handle, or the basin would be flooded.

It took long figuring to work out a plan for handling the superflood. The engineers are now doing some more long figuring to solve the problem of river diversion, without upsetting the flood-control balance.

The plan they are working on is first to stop the diversion with low-water control works at Old River, including a lock for navigation; to complete the 3 mile gap in the levee line; and to restore the flood control balance immediately with a spillway above Old River capable of handling the same amount of water that now flows overland through the levee gap at high water stages.

The low-water control works wouldn't necessarily be in the channel of Old River which could be closed off completely at its entrance, and the spillway would probably be several miles above that point, at some place in the existing levee line. This would help keep silt out of Old River itself.

RESTRICT LOW-WATER FLOW

With a sill 2 or 3 feet above mean low water, topped by movable weirs, the lower regulating works could be so handled as to restrict the low water flow to an amount necessary to keep the Atchafalaya River main channel from silting up to maintain navigation and to provide a fresh water supply for the lower basin; but not in sufficient volume to permit additional scouring of Old River and the Atchafalaya and an increase in the diversion of the Mississippi River.

These control works could be constructed and operated in such a way as to permit the diversion at bankfull stage of the same amount of water as Old River now handles at the same stage.

The spillway, several miles above these works, would be designed to handle the same amount of water that now passes overland through the levee gap at flood stages. With its sill at bank levels its movable weirs could keep Mississippi River water out of the present Red River backwater area except in years of large floods.

The original flood plan of 1928, known as the Jadwin plan, was to have cost $300 million from Cairo to the Gulf. There have been several important revisions since then, among them the replacement of the proposed fuse plug levees at the head of the Morganza floodway with a controlled spillway; the extension of the floodway guide levees in the Atchafalya basin all the way to Morgan City; the construction of the Wax Lake outlet west of Morgan City; and the assumption by the Government of the cost of flowage rights, elevation of highways and railroads across the floodways, and other costs incident to flood control.

ESTIMATES EXCEEDED

Expenditure to date, after 25 years, is $805 million and the plan is still short of completion. However with the construction of the Bonnet Carre spillway the lower river project is in operation, and in the 3 flood years, 1937, 1945, and 1950, when the Bonnet Carre spillway was open, showed it could handle its assigned maximum of 1,500,000 cubic feet per second without difficulty.

In the Atchafalaya Basin the Morganza flood-control works have been completed and the capacity of the Atchafalaya River has been raised to the peak 650,000 cubic feet per second allotted for the major "project" flood.

But, unlike the lower Mississippi, which can now safely carry its half of the estimated maximum 3 million cubic feet per second, the lower Atchafalaya Basin is short 500,000 cubic feet of handling its half of the major flood. Says the engineering report made in connection with the study of the threatened river diversion:

"The construction of controlling levees through the Atchafalaya Basin to the presently designed grade and section is extremely difficult.

"There are many miles of these levees that have been added to at least three times, and they are now barely up to a grade required to pass a discharge of 1 million cubic feet per second through the basin instead of the required 1,500,000 cubic feet per second."

Although the Government a quarter of a century ago admitted its responsibility to protect the lowlands of the Mississippi River from the flood waters pouring off of more than 1,200,000 square miles of the valley, from the Appalachian Mountains to the Rockies, it was estimated 2 or 3 years ago that $300 million additional would still be required to complete the plan.

Compared with other expenditures by the Government progress goes at a snail's pace. Total appropriations for the Mississippi and its tributaries below Cairo this year, for example, were $51,433,000 including $2,880,000 for the Atchafalaya Basin. At the same session Congress voted $6,652,422,390 for aid to foreign countries, all the way from England and Italy to India and Indochina. India alone has been granted $100 million in "point 4" assistance.

A Congress voting less than a penny to the entire flood problem in the lower valley for every dollar voted for foreign aid—no matter how worthy—reminds one very much of the woman in one of Charles Dickens novels who was so concerned with improving the condition of the benighted natives of Borioboola-Gha that her children were going hungry and neglected in her own home.

Mississippi River Diversion Problem, Part IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the fourth of a series of stories dealing with diversion of the Mississippi River into the Atchafalaya, the causes and possibility of controlling the flow, by B. L. Krebs:

Four times in the past 2,000 years the Mississippi River has made a major change in its course between the latitude of Vicksburg and the sea.

And each time it changed its course it left a pattern for the geologists to read.

Each change required about 100 years to make. Time means nothing to the Mississippi River. And every time it made a major change the dominating purpose was to seek a shorter route to sea level.

The river is now engaged in its first major change since the beginning of the Christian era, seeking to desert its present course 300 miles above its mouth, and take a short route of 100 miles to sea level by way of Old River and the Atchafalaya River.

Just how far the diversion would have gone by this time without the active assistance of man cannot be determined. But it has now progressed to the point, according to the geologists and the engineers, where no known force of nature exists to stop it, and only the active intervention of man can frustrate its plan.

While the major changes of the past 2,000 years can be easily traced in their entirety, the same process, of course, was going on in earlier centuries. There is strong evidence, for instance, that the river at one time came to the gulf along a channel now occupied in part by Bayou Maringouin, between the present Mississippi and the Atchafalaya.

This is the only one of a number of prehistoric courses traversing the area now occupied by the Atchafalaya Basin. They have been buried under backwater swamp fill for the most part. But borings in the area show typical Mississippi River channel bars and natural levees, long abandoned and covered with newer sediment.

At the beginning of the Christian era, however, the Mississippi River was flowing down the western side of its lower basin. It came from the north to skirt the eastern side of the Marksville hills, continued southward to a point east of the present city of Opelousas, thence flowed south and east to the gulf, along the line of the present Bayou Teche.

The Red River came from the northwest, swung below the Marksville hills, and joined the Mississippi many miles below.

SILT BUILDS DELTA

On the eastern side of the coastal flood plain the Yazoo River flowed south and a little east from present Vicksburg to the gulf by way of the present Mississippi and Bayou Lafourche.

In the course of the centuries the distance from Marksville hills to the gulf by way of the Teche-Mississippi kept increasing as the silt-laden waters built a delta farther out into the shallow waters of the gulf. Then an eastern loop of the Teche-Mississippi cut into a western tributary of the Yazoo.

By now it was 200 miles to sea level by the Teche route, only 130 miles by way of the Yazoo. Once a low-water permanent channel was established between the two rivers, the Mississippi followed its invariable practice of seeking tidewater by the shortest route.

Leaving its course at a point near the lower end of the Marksville hills it swung east to Angola to join the Yazoo, thence down to Donaldsonville, and on to the gulf by way of Bayou Lafourche.

Red River, which joined the Mississippi many miles below the point of diversion, was cut off when the Mississippi silted up the upper part of the channel it had abandoned. The Red continued to follow for awhile the lower part of the old channel to the gulf, then swung around to the north of the Marksville hills and rejoined the Mississippi. Local drainage formed Bayou Teche, which usurped in turn the channel abandoned by the Red.

BUILDS NEW DELTA

At a later time during the Lafourche-Mississippi diversionary period, the Mississippi farther north took another short cut to the Yazoo at Vicksburg and followed the channel of the Yazoo from there to Angola. Its abandoned course between the Marksville Hills and Angola was taken over in part by Bayou Les Claises.

In the succeeding centuries the river was busy building a new delta in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, south of Thibodaux. This delta intersected the old delta which the Teche-Mississippi had thrown up south and east of Houma.

Where the natural operation of the river is not impeded by man-made levees it starts depositing silt as soon as it overflows its banks, building them higher and higher into low ridges or natural levees. It was along those low sloping ridges that the early settlers built their homes and laid out their farms, before the advent of artificial levees.

And when the natural levee along the west bank of the Lafourche-Mississippi was built into the old natural levee on the northeast bank of the Teche-Mississippi, the Atchafalaya Basin was closed at its lower end.

The rains and the overflow from the river at flood stage gradually formed a huge lake in the basin, extending as far north as the latitude of Baton Rouge-Krotz Springs. The present Lakes Fausse Pointe, Verret, Six Mile and Grand are remnants of this body of water.

RIVER SWINGS EAST

By the year 1200 conditions had been set up for another change. The delta built out in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes had lengthened the Lafourche-Mississippi route to tidewater by 100 miles or more. The nearby Amite River, then flowing down to New Orleans, offered a shorter course, and the Mississippi swung south and east from Donalsonville.

In the vicinity of New Orleans the Mississippi fanned out. Bayou Metairie was in the northernmost channel. La Loutre carried most of the flow to the east, building up St. Bernard Parish. Another distributary went southeast.

Shortly before the arrival of the first white explorers the La Loutre-Mississippi, as a result of delta building, was the long route to tidewater, and the southeast distributary was the short route. The La Loutre-Mississippi took over the new route, and the present delta out into the Gulf through Plaquemines Parish was the result.

Meanwhile a westerly looping bend of the Mississippi River at Turnbull Island, where all the factors necessary for the Atchafalaya to capture the Mississippi did not come into operation until in recent years.

While only 5 major changes in the course of the Mississippi have been effected in the past 2,000 years, the river is constantly shifting its position within its meander belt.

MAKES BARS, LOOPS

As the current swings in against a bank it undercuts it, gradually widening the bend into a large loop, much as one blows up a balloon; while on the opposite side of the channel, silt is deposited to form a series of "point" bars. In its natural condition the river is constantly creating new bends and making point bars.

Every mile of the loop adds to the distance between that particular point and the sea; but when the loop gets too long the river cuts across the neck of land at its base and shortens the distance again.

So canny is the river in regulating its length that in the year 1765 the measured distance from Cairo to the head of the Passes was 1,068 miles, and in 1929 the distance was 1,073 miles, a difference of 5 miles.

In succeeding years the river engineers with a number of cutoffs across bends shortened the distance between Vicksburg and Old River by 152 miles, to hasten the passage of water in flood time and keep the stages lower. As a result, the same amount of water at extreme flood can be passed through the area at 8 to 10 feet lower levels, making the proposed Boeuf floodway unnecessary.

REGAINS 50 MILES

Old Man River, not to be daunted by man, has been busy making new bends, however, and has already caught back elsewhere 50 of the miles the engineers pilfered.

The size of the loops or bends of rivers in valleys like the lower Mississippi are proportionate to the size of the river itself. The bigger the river, the more sweeping the bends. Thus geologists flying over the Teche Ridge and noting the wide sweeping bends of the Teche are able to say:

"Bayou Teche never made this channel. The Mississippi passed this way in former years, and it was just as large then as today."

Another reason the geologists have for knowing that the Mississippi River has always been the same size, at least for the past several thousand years, is the extent of the silt deposits it has laid down in the various deltas it has formed.

So while the Mississippi changes its major course only once in 400 years or more, it is constantly swinging and twisting about within its meander belt, which in any given locality is always twice the width of its widest loop; much like a continuously inebriated citizen, resolutely weaving its way down the accustomed street night after night, who finally one day turns at a different corner.

On the average over the past couple of thousand years the Mississippi has carried to the Gulf each year 21 trillion cubic feet of water.

SILT PROPORTION VARIES

The amount of silt in this water varies. It might be as low as 157 parts per million or as high as 1,500 parts per million, depending on the speed at which the river is moving and the time of the year. This merely means 157 gallons or 1,500 gallons of silt, as the case may be, in each million gallons of water. The average would be close to 550 parts per million.

This isn't much silt. Only a teaspoonful of dirt, tossed into a gallon of water, would be needed for such a mixture. Yet the average volume of water in the river is so tremendous that a single story home couldn't hold the silt brought down by the river in a minute's time; nor could 2,000 such homes hold the water in which the silt was carried.

And if all the silt brought down by the river only since the city of New Orleans was founded could have been piled up in one place, it would by now form a sloping mountain 2 miles wide, 15 miles long, and a mile high.

Not being able to defy the law of gravity and run uphill, the Mississippi in the past 2,000 years has been spreading its silt load out into the shallow water at sea level, pushing southeast Louisiana farther and farther out into the Gulf of Mexico.

BUILT 7,500 SQUARE MILES

From the beginning of the Christian era to about the year of the discovery of America, the Mississippi, through its various courses, built three deltas with a dry land area of 7,500 square miles, or nearly 4 million acres—equaling in size the State of New Jersey, or the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware. This layer of silt ranges from a few feet to more than 100 in depth.

Since the river turned southeast within recent centuries, delta building has been at a slower pace, with only 300 miles of land appearing out of the Gulf during the latest period. Not only has the river been building in much deeper water, but since its mouth was walled in by the jetties a large part of its silt load is picked up by the Gulf tides and currents and swept out past the 300-foot contour line.

The work done by the Mississippi River in southeast Louisiana in the past 2,000 years is only a small part of its gigantic labors in the past in forming the Mississippi Alluvial Valley. Geologists begin the story by going back a million years to the start of the glacial age.

In the succeeding period ice formed in Canada and spread until it blanketed eastern Canada and the northern United States,

turning the river drainage southward. This was the start of the Mississippi River system.

REDUCED SEA LEVEL

As the glaciers formed they drew water from the oceans to such an extent as to lower sea level 350 feet. When the glaciers began to melt they released huge masses of water, compared to which the present flow of the Mississippi River must be almost a mere trickle.

This water, rushing down to a sea 350 feet lower than at present, caused the river to gouge a huge valley. With the restoration of sea level to normal, the river began to fill in the alluvial valley it had dredged.

This process happened, according to the geologists, at least five times during the period. Further, the weight of the deposits would warp the delta downward and tilt the northern part of the valley upward much as a seesaw swings on its fulcrum. The upraised part would become a terrace, of which four have been identified by the geologists in the upper valley.

And the surface of the first downward delta is now far below present ground level, buried under the incalculable silt, gravel, and coarse sand of a million years. The deepest oil wells drilled on the Louisiana coast—to a depth of more than 16,000 feet—have yet to reach the Cretaceous rock which is only a few hundred feet down in the latitude of Shreveport, to the west of the huge alluvial trench dug by the river in glacial days.

In the last of these glacial ages, the late Wisconsin, the ice began to accumulate and sea level to fall some 50,000 to 60,000 years ago. The glaciers began to melt 25,000 to 30,000 years ago, and sea level rose until it reached its regular stand 5,000 years back.

Since then, and in between the glacial ages, the Mississippi, having filled in its trench and became stabilized, meandered, and occasionally changed its course, just as at present.

One can imagine Old Man River as a little surprised and somewhat amused over the furore caused by his present planned diversion at Old River. What he is doing now he has done innumerable times in the past, but this is the first time anyone has objected.

Mississippi River Diversion Problem, Part V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the last of a series of stories dealing with diversion of the Mississippi River into the Atchafalaya, the causes and possibility of controlling the flow, by B. L. Krebs:

The Mississippi hasn't moved over into the Atchafalaya River bodily as yet. But in recent years it has been leaving its calling cards for all to see.

Advance warning of its coming can be read, for instance, on the shore of Cheniere au Tigre, 50 miles west of the mouth of the Atchafalaya.

Like the ominous surf under a clear sky that signals the approach of the still distant hurricane, extensive mudflats already blanket the beaches of the former resort; giving grim notice of the day when the entire silt load of the Mississippi may be poured down the Atchafalaya and out into the waters of Atchafalaya Bay and the Gulf.

More leisurely than the storm, the Mississippi is taking its own time. But while the hurricane may veer in its course at the last hour, the Mississippi is inexorably on its way to take over the Atchafalaya unless man intervenes in the next few years.

At present slightly less than a third of the water brought to the latitude of Old River by the Mississippi, the Red, and the Black is flowing down the Atchafalaya, and three-fourths of the sediment it carries is being dumped below the end of the Atchafalaya levees, and in Grand and Six Mile Lakes.

WILL INEVITABLY HAPPEN

But if the present diversion through Old River is not checked and brought under control, this is what will inevitably happen at the mouth of the Atchafalaya, according to the geological report prepared under the direction of Dr. Harold N. Fisk, as consultant to the Mississippi River Commission:

"At some time before the establishment of a single channel through Grand and Six Mile Lakes, and before the Atchafalaya has reached a critical stage in diversion, delta building should be evident in Atchafalaya Bay.

"At the present time approximately one-quarter of the suspended load of the Atchafalaya is carried through lower Atchafalaya River into the gulf. No estimates are available on the rate of filling of Atchafalaya Bay with these fine sediments, but mud flats are beginning to blanket many of the sand beaches along the Louisiana coast west of Atchafalaya Bay, and oyster reefs along the coast have been buried by this wave of fine alluviation."

GROWTH OF MUD FLATS

"The growth of mud flats will be accelerated as the capacity of the Atchafalaya Channel to carry load develops. During the critical and final stages of diversion, coarse load should be introduced for the first time into Atchafalaya Bay.

"A delta similar to the Lafourche-Mississippi Delta (south of Thibodaux) with many deep narrow distributaries fanning out in all directions, should be built into the shallow deposits of the bay and the tougher Pleistocene clays which underlie the marsh deposits."

The comparatively shallow depths of Atchafalaya Bay and the gulf to the south, say the geologists, suggest a fairly rapid extension of the delta seaward, especially if dredging for navigation purposes becomes necessary.

They do not make any estimates of the rate at which this delta would be built. But it can be calculated that if the full sediment load of the Mississippi and Red Rivers were concentrated in the waters of Atchafalaya and Four League Bays, they would be completely silted up within 7 years.

At Simmesport, near the head of the Atchafalaya, the intrusion of Mississippi River water in recent years is even more plainly evident. Even the color of the water has changed.

Where a traveler crossing the Atchafalaya not too many years ago could readily identify it by the tawny red tinge of the water, whether at Simmesport, Melville, Krotz Springs, or even Morgan City, it is hard to distinguish the water nowadays, from that of the Mississippi itself.

When the Atchafalaya was receiving only 5 or 6 percent of the Mississippi flow and most of Red River, even though the average annual flow of the Mississippi is 9 times that of the Red, the mixture was two-thirds Red River and one-third Mississippi. Now with the Atchafalaya capturing 24 percent of the Mississippi's flow by way of Old River, it is the other way round—30 percent Red River water and 70 percent Mississippi water.

BRIDGES RAISED

There are other strong indications at Simmesport of the growing intrusion of the Mississippi. Both there and at Melville and Krotz Springs the railroad bridges have been raised and lengthened. They are now designed for a river capable of carrying 650,000 cubic feet of water per second when the project flood of 3 million cubic feet of water per second arrives.

The river is so much wider and deeper however, and the current so much swifter than in former days, that this volume of water has already been exceeded, at a much lower reading on the Simmesport gauge. In case of maximum flood, the river could even now handle 750,000 second feet or more.

But since the main Mississippi River between Old River and Bonnet Carre has already handled close to 2 million cubic feet per second 3 times in the past 17 years, it is easy to visualize what will happen if the diversion of the Mississippi River is not brought under control.

With the main channel of the Mississippi clogged with sediment below Old River, the Atchafalaya would eventualy be called on to handle 4 times as much water as its record flow to date. This would require a channel 3 times as wide as at present, and a third again as deep.

This is what the Mississippi River Commission engineers in their report say would happen:

"The enlargement of the Atchafalaya River by nature or by man-made works to permit the present combined flow of the Mississippi and Atchafalaya Rivers to pass through the Atchafalaya basin would necessitate the relocation or major alteration of three important highways, three trunk railroad lines, and numerous power and pipe line crossings, together with the extension and possible reconstruction of all existing bridges crossing the river."

BUSINESS RELOCATION

"Industrial and municipal and Federal improvements (and private homes and businesses) now located adjacent to the river at Simmesport, Melville, Krotz Springs, Patterson, Calumet, Berwick, and Morgan City would have to be relocated to provide additional channel widths.

"The increased flood flow in the lower Atchafalaya River caused by the diversion of the Mississippi River flow through the basin would also submerge the marsh areas between Houma and New Iberia."

Yet the necessities of flood control are such that the engineers are required to continue dredging in the lower basin of the Atchafalaya, even in the face of the fact that this facilitates the increase in diversion at Old River.

The east bank main levee on the Atchafalaya extends 55 miles below Old River. The west bank main levee extends 67 miles. In time of the project flood of 3 million cubic feet per second the main river in this sector is scheduled to carry 650,000 cubic feet, and today could probably carry 750,000 cubic feet.

UNITE BELOW LEVEE

The Morganza floodway, designed to carry 600,000 cubic feet, lies between the Atchafalaya east bank main levee, and the floodway guide levee farther over toward the Mississippi. In time of project flood the water coming through the main Atchafalaya and through the Morganza floodway would unite below the end of the Atchafalaya main east bank levee to form a flood of 1,250,000 cubic feet per second.

At the lower end of the west bank main levee, 12 miles farther downstream, this mass of floodwater would be joined by another 250,000 cubic feet coming down the West Atchafalaya floodway, between the main west bank levee and the west guide levee along the base of the Teche Ridge, raising the total to 1,500,000 cubic feet. To hold this water

until it could move out to the Gulf through the Wax Lake outlet, and through Stout's Pass and the lower Atchafalaya, there would be only the east and west guide levees.

The bald truth about the present flood control situation in the lower basin, as stated in the engineering report, is that these guide levees can now hold only one million cubic feet and maintain their freeboard or safety margin.

If the project flood for which the flood-control plan was devised 25 years ago were to come next spring, the Mississippi and Red Rivers would throw into the lower basin 500,000 cubic feet of water per second in excess of the amount the guide levees can safely carry. The area to the east of the Morganza floodway, or to the west of the West Atchafalaya floodway, would be inundated, depending on which guide levee was overtopped first or failed under the strain.

Three factors have contributed to this situation. The difficulty of constructing the guide levees through swampland to required grade and section is one of them. As has already been mentioned, many miles of these levees have been added to at least three times.

The deposit of silt in the lower basin is the second factor complicating the flood-control problem. As long as the current of the Atchafalaya is confined between the main bank levees, it carries its silt load toward tidewater; but below the end of the levee line the water spread out in every direction. Left to nature, the Atchafalaya would gradually cut its own channel through the silt deposits, and reach the gulf, but the flood-control plan can't wait for that. Starting in 1932, the engineers began dredging a channel for the Atchafalaya between the end of the levees and the head of Grand Lake.

SUBSTANTIAL SEDIMENT

This has transferred the main point of silt deposit to Grand Lake, which has largely been filled in since 1930, but there is still a substantial load of sediment being dropped below the end of the main bank levees. As a result, according to the engineering report:

"The suspended sediment and bed load carried by this discharge are being deposited along the banks of the various channels in the reach below the head of Whiskey Bay. These natural levees are from 15 feet in height in the upper reaches to a minimum of 5 feet at the head of Grand Lake, and are now approaching in places within 8 feet of the height of the existing artificial floodway guide levees."

This deposit of silt in the lower basin is interfering with the operation of the flood control plan in three ways. Silt passing out through Alabama Bayou, Upper Grand River and small distributaries is constructing natural barriers across the area through which the Morganza floodway must operate; the floodway channel is slowly filling up, resulting in a reduction of an average 3.3 feet in the cross-sectional depth of the floodway below the end of the river levees in the last 18 years; and flood stages at Atchafalaya are rising as the gage at Simmesport falls for the same amount of water.

Continued deterioration of channel and overbank flow conditions between Whiskey Bay and Myette Point, says the report, will cause an additional increase in flood flow elevations through this reach, and unless corrected by nature or by improvement dredging will result in the overtopping and crevassing of the floodway guide levees.

An increase in levee grade, to compensate for this increase in flood flow elevations, is not practicable. These levees are located in swampy areas and have been under construction for 18 years, and they are now just high enough to confine a discharge of 1 million cubic feet per second through that portion of the basin lying between the end of the Atchafalaya River levees and the two outlets through the Teche Ridge without infringing on the design seaboard.

A third factor in the flood control problem in the lower basin according to the report has been the restriction of the area in which overbank and crevasse waters formerly spread out. Consideration of the maximum discharges into the Atchafalaya Basin prior to 1929, it is asserted, have little bearing on consideration of the present problem.

Prior to and during the flood of 1927, the report points out, water from crevasses in the Mississippi and Atchafalaya River levees was permitted to flow into an unimproved basin extending from the Teche Ridge to the Bayou Lafourche Ridge, and a large amount of storage occurred in this area. This storage, together with a wide overbank width, permitted the water to flow into the sea without creating excessive flood heights in the basin above Morgan City.

FLOODWAY AREA RESTRICTED

"This vast overbank floodway area has been restricted since 1932 by the construction of floodway guide levees which have confined floodway overbank width to approximately 50 percent of its original width in the reach below the end of the Atchafalaya River levees. The reduction in overbank flow within the vicinity of Grand Lake is even greater."

The conclusion of the engineers as to the need for additional dredging in the lower Atchafalaya Basin to correct the continuous impairment of the capacity of the floodway in that area was reached a couple of years ago, at which time they believed that this dredging would be essential within 3 years from that date.

Thus the problem now confronting the Mississippi River Commission is:

Unless control works are constructed at Old River, the Mississippi will inevitably throw its full flow down the Atchafalaya, and 12 years is the prudent maximum time in which the steps to prevent this should be completed.

If dredging essential to the successful operation of the flood-control plan is undertaken in the Atchafalaya Basin next year, and a start is not made at the same time on the control of diversion, the day on which the Mississippi will desert New Orleans may materially advanced.

If, however, the essential dredging in the lower basin is not started in the near future, the amount of floodwater the Atchafalaya Basin can handle will progressively diminish as the floodways silt up.

Meanwhile, time is passing, and "Old Man River," as usual, isn't saying anything. He just keeps rolling along.

Radio Address by Comdr. Thomas Dixon, of the United American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 1, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following address by Comdr. Thomas Dixon, of the United American Veterans, which was delivered over radio station WUST on Friday, January 29, 1954:

Patriotic Americans, today I have the pleasure of observing two important anniversary dates. This is the birthday of Thomas Paine, born in 1737, who became known through his writings and his patriotic influence as the godfather of America. We pay tribute to him today as an enlightened founder of our country.

And today I take pride in celebrating the 20th year of my crusade against the encroachment of dangerous and vicious foreign "isms" on American soil, and for safe and substantial social progress on a sound economic foundation for the American way of life.

While the financial reward for shouldering this fight has been nil, it has given me great satisfaction to be able to champion this cause for all patriotic Americans, and to challenge all of those false-minded pro-Communists who, either unwittingly or with vicious intent, tried to destroy our constitutional form of government. It has been a gratifying and rewarding struggle, because now I see our return to governmental leadership with foresight to realize we must keep America secure for Americans; leaders who do not see the world from cross-eyed vision.

I want to call your attention to a bill introduced in Congress by Senator IVES, of New York, and Senator BUTLER of Maryland. This meritorious bill should have the enthusiastic support of every fairminded person in the United States because it will correct an inhuman condition.

It provides relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation. The American people want this bill enacted this session. It represents justice of the highest order.

Among those influential personalities who struggle hard to better the ways of life in the Nation's Capital, there is one upstanding man who for the past dozen years has been carrying on a glorious educational program. He is Dr. Davis W. Board, founder and chancelor of Northwestern College at 10th Street and New York Avenue NW. I consider that Dr. Board has rendered forthright service for the glory of God and for the helpfulness of mankind, and am glad to commend him for his good and expanding work.

And let me again tell you about a very purposeful man, Collis Ornsby Redd, founder of the Crusaders for the Forgotten Man. Mr. Redd has devoted his life to the task of keeping alive in the minds of people everywhere the particular benefits of our constitutional form of government. Basic in all of his writings there is expressed his thought that to sustain and carry forward our Government as provided by our Constitution and our Bill of Rights, constant reliance and emphasis must be placed on our concept of God, and upon our conduct one with another as set forth so perfectly in the Golden Rule. Mr. Redd has rendered great service in reminding all of us to keep our thinking high and our feet on the straight and narrow path, and get back to the Monroe Doctrine as soon as we can, because that is the only safeguard for America.

Patriotic Americans, can you still have confidence in the United Nations? Do you believe our Administration actually expects the United Nations to exercise the power and leadership to maintain world peace and to prevent war?

If our Administration risked any heavy bets on the competence of the United Nations, then why should we maintain military forces in some 40 countries? It costs us approximately $300 million a year to support each military division overseas.

If the United Nations can prevent war, then why haven't we relied upon it to do so? Our military leaders evidently know it can't deliver the goods. Otherwise we would not maintain troop strength in so many parts of the world.

What will happen if the United States repudiates the United Nations and withdraws its membership?

If we told the world that we have had enough, and that we are going to get out, it

is more than probable that the nations that are now spitting on us at every turn, would quit that abuse.

This all points to the compelling reasons why Congress should enact House Resolution No. 105, which has been introduced by Congressman USHER L. BURDICK of North Dakota. I have spoken many times on behalf of this Bill which calls for the withdrawal of our membership from the United Nations. I urge its passage for the reason of its advantage to all patroitic Americans.

For many years we have been riding a blind runaway horse. Visionary financing has taken us beyond the bounds of sanity. Let us look at the facts. I am indebted to Paul O. Peters, editor of News Bulletin, for an extract from a report prepared by the Office of Business Economics in the Department of Commerce. It lists the foreign grants and credits by the United States Government in the postwar period from July 1, 1945, through September 30, 1953. It shows that the total net foreign aid amounted to $43,076,000,000.

As of last September 30, there was also an unexpended balance available to the Foreign Operations Administration totaling more than $10 billion more which will be poured down the international ratholes that have already soaked up more than $43 billion.

Now lend an ear to this: In the fiscal year 1953, the Internal Revenue took away from taxpayers $70,117,917,819. This represents more than 23 percent of our national income. State and local taxes were $28 billion, making a total of $98 billion taken away from the American people in 1953.

Since 1950, our national income increased about 38 percent, while Federal Internal Revenue collections increased 72 percent.

We can boast about our production capacity, but we should remember that production without a customer is practically useless.

In all of our bewildering maze of tax problems, we have been purblind to a great reserve of painless tax money. I have spoken many times about the advantages of a national lottery, under proper administration and safeguards. When you study the idea without bias or prejudice, then you will realize its vast possibilities as a dependable source of revenue. It represents a constant source of drifting money going nowhere. It is there—just drifting by. It should be gathered in.

The United American Veterans is starting the ball rolling. The United American Veterans has adopted a resolution on this matter. I want to read it to you:

"On January 26, 1954, the United American Veterans adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to take whatever steps necessary in order to set up a corporation to be known as the Gaming Corporation of America.

"The duties of this corporation would be to operate lotteries, and particularly what is known as the number gaming. Tickets for these numbers would be sold through the Post Office, this would create new jobs, and the profits would be used for tax purposes.

"Every American should approve of this national lottery, because it would reduce our overburdening taxes. Write to your Representatives at once asking them to give their wholehearted support to this timely resolution."

Let me urge you to think about the economic advantages of a national lottery plan. Think about it. Talk about it. Look at it honestly, without distortion—you will find it has a heart of gold. It is one of the modern day solutions to our complex living.

And now, with my best wishes to you and to the management and staff of WUST, I thank you.

Address by the Honorable James P. McGranery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Honorable James P. McGranery on the occasion of annual luncheon of the Philadelphia Junior Chamber of Commerce, Thursday, January 21, 1954, Bellevue Stratford Ballroom, Philadelphia:

The junior chamber of commerce is representative of Philadelphia in a very significant way. You are the promise and the pledge of our city's future. You are the translation in action of our city's past.

The heritage of Philadelphia is historically unique and philosophically sound. It is the keynote of our Nation's greatness: A legacy of integrity that has been inherited from the young men who gathered here in 1776 to give voice and approval to the Declaration of Independence, penned by Thomas Jefferson in the second floor sitting room of a house on Market Street near Sixth Street.

With a few exceptions, most of the signers of the Declaration were young men, contemporaries of Jefferson who was in the early thirties. All of them shared his thinking, his ideas and his belief that he was expressing the American mind. All were men of faith in God and believers in the natural law. True, their religious affiliation was various; but 45 of the 56 were active in their respective churches. The remaining 11 believed in God and were conscientious and sincere in their active understanding of truth and morality.

These young Americans who assembled in Philadelphia were worthy of our city's tradition and her founder, William Penn, who phrased the spiritual objective of Pennsylvania in 1701 by the opening words of the charter which set forth the framework of the Commonwealth: "Almighty God, being only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understandings of people. In due reverence to His sovereignty over the souls of mankind."

Penn's prayer for Philadelphia in 1664, inscribed on a bronze tablet in our city hall, is a memorial of her founder's faith in God and his hope for her continuance in the ideals of eternal values: "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born; what love, what care, what service, and what travail have there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee. Oh, that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayest be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blest of the Lord, and thy people saved by His power."

Throughout the scores of years that have passed since the founding of Penn's Woods and the City of Brotherly Love—destined to be the cradle of these United States, the leaders of our Nation and of our city who have followed in the footsteps of our Nation's founders, have been men with faith in God—men of integrity.

The vitality of our Nation has been the logical result of living in accordance with the natural law, the law which is God-given since it follows the very nature of man, as created by God. Until recently, in our city, as elsewhere, the respected leaders of the community—whether distinguished in commerce or in the professions, the arts, the sciences, in the public service of government or in private enterprise—have been those who not only publicly professed but also privately practiced the moral code of ethics which has the sanction of all the churches of our time. In the past, Philadelphia's citizens have recognized and approved only those leaders who were obedient in public and in private life to the law of God, and to the Ten Commandments.

The American tradition is one that respects every individual, and protects the rights of the individual because he is divinely created, equal in origin, nature, and destiny to every other. The American public has been—properly so—suspicious of any public figure lacking in integrity who made speeches favoring law, but in his private life disregarded that law. While it is true that ours is a Government of law, not of men, the public servant who lacks integrity is a constant and unpredictable menace to law and to liberty.

In commerce, the integrity of the individual is the seal of trust, confidence, and fair dealing. No business transaction is more secure than the word of those who complete it. No banker will accept the commitment of a man who says one thing publicly and does the opposite privately.

American business has prospered and progressed more rapidly than that of any other country because American business ethics have been formulated and followed in accordance with the basic ethics embraced and enunciated by the founders of this Nation.

I speak now of the overall history of American business—which like that of our American Government—has from time to time experienced the lawbreaker or the pirate in its midst. These have been, in both Government and business, the exception, not the rule. These have not been chosen leaders or respected exemplars that have continued to be trusted, admired, or imitated. On the contrary, they have been promptly repudiated and rejected.

The true leaders and exemplars in government and in business have ever been men of integrity who could command the respect and admiration of the American public mind. For the public mind of the generations since Jefferson has continued to be like the public mind of America which he endeavored to express in the Declaration of Independence.

America's mind is healthy today as it was then. In spite of the evil forces of the godless Soviet, which has sought to establish an empire over the souls of men—in spite of communism's tyranny over the slave world behind the Iron Curtain, the freedom-loving citizens of the United States have continued to be true to the ideals of the first Americans who were men of religious faith, men of integrity.

The Soviet plan of world conquest by infiltration of centers of education, centers of communication—newspapers, radio, television—centers of government, is a plan to which the American people have been alerted. It is a plan long known and vigilantly countered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the farsighted and wise generalship of its distinguished Director, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

The same organization which was able to thwart every dangerous Nazi and Japanese, and promptly to intern them upon declaration of war, and to prevent a single act of sabotage during the entire Second World War—that same organization has throughout the past years exercised surveillance upon all those Communist agents who thought that they were in complete secrecy boring from within.

Our Nation has indeed been safe from those who would seek to overthrow the Government by force and violence.

In the same way, the defenses of our country have been wisely and with caution maintained against every possible weapon or attack from beyond our borders.

Only in one way is the continuance of our Republic menaced. No governmental agency can protect us against this threat. An enlightened citizenry—groups of patriotic, civic-minded young Americans—like Philadelphia's junior Chamber of Commerce, however—can rise and with consecrated devotion, alert the people to the greatest peril of our time, rescue the community from pseudo-leaders, who disregard the code of morality, from public figures who lead irreligious lives. For these pseudo-leaders, I repeat, are the real menace to America in our time.

Only a group like yours—which is united by your common civic interests and by your ethical ideals—without blind partisan passion—can unmask deceitful public officials who, for the purpose of obtaining votes, speak and act publicly like crusaders, while secretly consorting with gangsters and racketeers, while representing interests contrary to the public welfare, while living private lives that are public scandals.

These are the termites which threaten the solid cornerstone of our American Nation. They gnaw at the moral fabric which has constituted the United States unique in world history. No matter what their public achievements, they mock at appreciation of integrity, belief in the natural law, faith in God. They defy Judaeo-Christian tradition which has implanted in the minds and hearts of all true Americans, belief in the natural law and the Ten Commandments.

No one, perhaps you say, is perfect. In that we can agree. But the public figure whose private life gives scandal undermines faith in morality. He is cynical and scoffs at the standards which our country has honored and which only the depraved heart would debase.

Every great American statesman has at some time come to the realization that the United States could survive everything—except moral decay from within. Many have pointed out that a decline in religious activity would precede it.

Washington's Farewell Address, so familiar to all—included this warning:

"Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be obtained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of defined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Lincoln's admonition has reechoed through the decades since the proclamation:

"It is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God: * * * to recognize the sublime truth, announced in the Holy Scriptures and proved by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord."

History is replete with the names of nations, once great, which became decadent, cynical, atheistic—and crumbled from within. No defenses can be strong enough, no counter weapons sufficient, if a nation is made up of communities whose leaders practice duplicity, and privately live in contradiction to their public utterances.

Even a national heritage of integrity can be squandered by those who would make fashionable their scorn of the natural virtues.

Our legacy can be preserved, however, by citizens who refuse to be led by demagogues, who demand that a public official be free from entangling alliances with gangsters, hoodlums, or interests which menace the public welfare.

You—who exercise your franchise—must investigate candidates as you would investigate a prospective partner. That candidate will be your partner and representative in the business of government—your business.

One test that you might make before voting for a candidate is to consider him as you would if questioned by your son. Would you be willing to have your son accept him as an example to imitate? Could you proudly describe his life—public and private—to your son?

If not—there must be a warning signal in your mind. For this man is going to be raised up above other American sons for them to emulate. Are they to conclude that integrity has no value in life—that duplicity and an unbridled tongue are qualifications for leadership.

One of the stones in the Washington Monument was contributed by the Sunday School children of the Methodist Church of Philadelphia and bears this inscription:

"Train up a child in a way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

The children of today are trained in civics, and their interest in local governmental figures is one that their elders might well emulate. Have we provided them with men to study with profit, men whose lives are an open book to be read by young and old alike?

A tablet in the Jefferson Memorial reads in part:

"God who gave us life gave us liberty. Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction that these liberties are the gift of God?"

Religion is still the safeguard of America's beliefs as in the time of her founding. Recently, General of the Army Omar Bradley said:

"This country has many men of science, too few men of God. It has grasped the mystery of the atom, but rejected the Sermon on the Mount."

There is, however, throughout our country, a reawakening, a new awareness of the spiritual foundation of our life. Men are returning to the faith of their fathers. The horrible conditions of the enslaved victims of the godless Soviet, the self-destruction of materialists the world over—has caused thinking men to reexamine their principles in the eternal light of religious belief.

In industry, commerce, labor relations, and the professions, standards of conduct, principles of ethics are being codified and reformulated.

There is no need for formulating a new code for public service, but there is need—a crying need for awareness of it. The same ethics which were recognized by the founders of our Nation and which have been obeyed by conscientious public servants since—must govern those in public service today and in our Nation's tomorrow.

A public official must act without fear, favor, or prejudice, without expectation of the material rewards that are properly available to the citizen in private life.

Since he is in the position of trust and confidence as a member of the Government, he has a duty to conduct his private life, as well as to perform his official duties, in accordance with the law of the land and the precepts of an enlightened conscience. He cannot, on the one hand, enforce laws or legislate against law violators, and on the other hand, privately represent, give aid and comfort to, or consort with known gangsters and criminals.

A public official must preserve and defend the Constitution and the laws of the Nation, the State, the community, and he has no private dispensation from obedience to the Ten Commandments. The task of the public official is one that requires devotion, and self-sacrifice, humility and courage. If he undertakes a public office, he has a duty to complete his assignment if it is physically possible. He should not consider such a public commitment to be a mere stepping stone for personal ambition, or satisfaction of his greed for power, promotion, and self-aggrandizement.

There is no need to draft a new code for public servants. There is, perhaps, a real need to enforce the code that has come down to us.

Such enforcement is in the hands of intelligent, alert, patriotic citizens like the members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. In your exercise of such power, you will not only give new life to the ethics of public service—even more—you will save America from those who would destroy her from within.

You will remind the public official that he—like you—and I—must never forget:

"What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with God."—(Micah 6:8).

Chaplain of the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Presbyterian Life of January 23, 1954:

CHAPLAIN OF THE HOUSE

(By Arnaldo Otero)

On Wednesday, January 6, at a few minutes after noon, one of the world's most important groups, the United States House of Representatives, began its crucial 1954 deliberations.

But before House Speaker JOSEPH MARTIN opened the floor for business, the assembled Congressmen said the Lord's Prayer and were led in prayer by their spiritual leader, House Chaplain Dr. Bernard Braskamp, a stocky, Iowa-born Presbyterian pastor who has served in the Nation's Capital for more than 40 years.

The latest in a long line of Presbyterians who have ministered to the House and to the Senate, genial Bernard Braskamp was elected to his present post in January of 1950.

Even at that time he was no stranger to the Nation's lawmakers. He had appeared in the House some 175 times previously as a substitute for Dr. James Shera Montgomery, chaplain emeritus, who had held the post for almost 30 years. In the Senate he had offered prayers on more than 75 occasions in the absence of Dr. Frederick Brown Harris and the late Dr. Peter Marshall. And since 1911, Dr. Braskamp has served Washington's Presbyterians in the pastorate, first for a short period as an assistant pastor of the Church of the Covenant (now the National Presbyterian Church), and then as pastor of the Gurley Memorial Presbyterian Church (now the Gunton-Temple Memorial Church).

In February of 1952, the veteran minister retired and became pastor emeritus of Gunton-Temple Memorial Church. But at

the same time he decided he would like to devote almost all his time to being Chaplain of the House. He's done so ever since, but has also found enough time to serve a new congregation in the presbytery of Washington City.

Dr. Braskamp's current parish numbers well over a thousand men, women, and children. In addition to the 435 Members of the House of Representatives and their families, it includes pages, clerks, and other House employees. To all of these people, Dr. Braskamp is available at any time for spiritual aid. He calls on the sick in hospitals and homes, and has on many occasions officiated at the funerals of Capitol Hill parish members. As has been his practice throughout his ministry, he accepts no remuneration for this type of service.

The prayers he offers at the opening of each daily session of the House—the most conspicuous part of his work—are his own. He never reads them from a formal, prepared text. During the day or evening after a House session, Dr. Braskamp thinks about, and sometimes scribbles on a piece of paper, an outline of what he is going to say the next day. Many times the final wording of the prayers is quite different from what he had previously planned. Nevertheless, he feels that the best way to prepare a prayer is to keep one's mind open to guidance at all times.

When with Dr. Braskamp one cannot help but notice immediately how well aware he is of all events in the House. Yet he talks little, if any, about them. He regards his congressional congregation members as a "friendly group of wonderfully fine men and women doing their very best for the country's welfare."

And the Representatives enjoy their relationships with the 65-year-old newcomer to the ranks of the congressional chaplaincy. "His prayers before the House," says former House Speaker SAM RAYBURN, "have been fervent and inspiring, giving impulse to the sacredness of duty in the public service. Dr. Braskamp enjoys in notable degree the respect and affection of the entire membership of the House, to whom he is a counsellor, friend, and brother."

Born of Dutch parents who settled in Alton, Iowa, Bernard Braskamp early in life wanted to become a big-league ballplayer. But because of his family's modest circumstances, he had to give up practice to work for most of his education. He was a varsity shortstop for 2 years at Grinnell College and later played occasionally as a semi-pro.

After 2 years at Grinnell, he went to work for his father in a hardware store and then transferred to the University of Michigan, where he was graduated in 1908. He thought of entering law school, but decided instead, a few months before graduation, to enter the ministry.

He started at Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., but transferred to Princeton Theological Seminary after being inspired by an address by President Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University. In 1911 he was graduated from Princeton Seminary. That same year, he also received the degree of master of arts in philosophy from Princeton University. In September of 1911, he received the call which brought him permanently to Washington.

The Chaplain of the House is also a past moderator of the Synod of Baltimore and the Presbytery of Washington City. And just recently he helped with the organization of the new Silver Spring Presbyterian Church near the District of Columbia border in Maryland, conducting services until the fast-growing congregation was able to call its first minister.

On the Love of Teaching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. PERCY PRIEST

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, last November I enjoyed the privilege of hearing an address by a principal of an elementary school in my home town.

This talk was given before the Nashville Civitan Club by Mr. Robert G. Neil, principal of Emma B. Clemons School, in Nashville.

As a former teacher, I believe I can state without question that this is one of the finest evaluations of the fundamentals of teaching it has been my pleasure to hear.

I commend it to the Members of the House of Representatives in the belief that the reading of it will be a rewarding experience.

The speech entitled "I Love to Teach" follows:

September has ever brought an upsurge in my emotions. My heart beats faster when the school bells ring. Don't know why. Maybe the memories of State fair and horse show. Maybe college days with the new friends each new year brought, but it's true. I love school. I've been in one of one sort or another for 35 years, since the fall of the armistice, 1918, and but for the fact that I was almost 9 instead of almost 6 when I started, I'd have been there for 38 years, come this fall.

Seems that I've enjoyed every phase of it. Of course, I can't forget the day the boys removed my pants and left me in cruel exposure; I didn't enjoy that. (I wondered then why that country high school couldn't have a man principal so the big boys could not hide out behind the makeshift stables that housed our horses and pick on the small fry.) I suppose I didn't really enjoy that September morning, when fresh from the country and with all the earmarks of that environment, my mother led me, a 6th grader, up the same steps that I climb today as principal and enrolled me under Mr. McKee at Clemons School.

But these few times of childhood unhappiness are all but forgotten, buried under the rosy memories of yesterday, as I think of the coming of September and the opening of school. Maybe it's all because I love to teach.

Nor is teaching all rosy. I love to teach in spite of the vexing problems that confront us, and I think of the fall of the year with a strange sort of joy that can be felt at no other time. Let's get back to school.

I love to teach, not because it affords me financial adequacy in the terms with which most professional persons think of income. No; I am not the envy of any man, at least not for financial reasons, for from the days of my first full-time teaching job, with a new wife and $50 a month, even until and including now, I have never noticed any big rush to the teacher's desk by those who are headbent on making money. No; I love to teach in spite of the economic problems it involves.

I love to teach because of the environment it affords me. Mine is an elementary school of 500 children who must be of the same sort that the Master Teacher looked upon one day when he said, "Of such is the Kingdom." (I enjoy for a while your fine company, but I sympathize with, rather than envy, my well-to-do business or professional friend, because of the adult environment in which he must constantly move.) Truly, it is a blessing to be surrounded by children. Their companionship will refine, I think, even the most unresponsive.

Yes; I associate with persons of clean hearts and pure eyes. I look into those eyes as they look trustingly up at me, coming to me with their weighty problems, skinned knees, lost pennies, or tummyaches, each believing that I'll have the right answer. (Like any other principal, I have some older girls around me who have had time to grow a bit cagey. They might wonder about my power, and even question my judgment, but even they, those fellow teachers of mine are an inspiration.)

I love to teach because of the magnitude of the task. The school is the only institution that has as its paramount concern the fitting of people to take their places in this great drama which we call, "The American Dream." This is a work great enough to challenge as well as inspire the best that any man has in him. In this, our American dream we find a most daring experiment, probably the most daring known to the pages of human history. As a teacher I find myself wondering if our people generally realize how frightfuly gripping are its implications. I speak of the franchise, freely given to all without regard to race or creed, educational qualifications or economic status. Is it not daring when any group of people says to the man who lives in the shanty under the bridge, "If you will but take the trouble to register, you can vote, and your vote will carry as much power as that of the bank president or college professor"? Yes, we as a Nation propose to build our great dream on this concept of "we the people." I love to teach because of the vital nature of my work. If the children of the man in the shanty are to be given these privileges they must be prepared to shoulder the inherent responsibilities with some degree of intelligence.

I love to teach it affords me an opportunity to pass the torch, an opportunity unparalleled, to pass on to others those ideas that I firmly believe to be good for all men, regardless of race or creed. And so as I stand before a class, for I am not always cast in the principal's role, I love to attempt to cause those great concepts that make up the heritage that is ours to live and breathe before them. I like to lift from the printed page the dreams of freedom, even the freedoms that are embodied in our great documents of government, and cause young minds to thrill to the thought of the greatness of our heritage; for man is ever stirred to action in the realm of the emotions rather than in the realm of intellect. I delight to impress upon them the great fundamental, cornerstone of the American judicial system, that a man is innocent until he is proven guilty, and to bring to their attention examples of justice given to the down-and-out, a man without voice or influence, except as provided before a bar of justice. I like to point out to them instances from our own history that prove conclusively that our concept of democracy embodies not merely the rule of the majority, but also the protection of the rights of minorities.

I love to teach because it affords me an opportunity to explain what is meant by the oft repeated statement that no generation can really inherit our American dream, but only the privilege of working for its fulfillment, and that to take it for granted is to let it slip through unworthy fingers. I like to attempt to explain to impressionable minds

such simple things as honesty, truthfulness, and faith. And I never pass by a chance to show them the utter impossibility of any man or group of men, state or nation ever actually providing a free lunch for anybody. I seek every opportunity to pass on to them practical devices whereby they may, with God's help, avoid the blighting influence of cynicism, that frame of mind which gradually destroys a man's usefulness and happiness.

I love to teach, finally, because it affords me an opportunity to point out the very basis on which our American dream rests, namely the firm belief that a human being, an individual, one person, is inestimably valuable, that human personality must be respected. But I always hasten to explain to them, as I do to you today, that man as an individual is valuable because, and only because he is identified with the Infinite, the Eternal. Without this vital link, this vertical link, if you please, man degenerates, even as his concept of himself suffers ruin.

The battle for the minds of men today rages not so much in the realm of economic patterns or forms of government, as in the realm of man's concept of himself. What is man? If man is but an intelligent animal, without individual moral responsibility to an omniscient, omnipresent God, why wonder if a Hitler arises to exterminate a whole nation, filling his gas chambers with no more compunction of conscience that if he had been ridding his land of some vermin? Why marvel if a Stalin robs men of their property and starves 3 millions of his own comrades to death who dared to resist his decrees? If man is not answerable to an infinite God for what he does, why wonder if a high government official in Washington succumbs to the lures of greed, or a Nashville citizen defrauds the Government in taxes?

The Founding Fathers were men steeped in the Judaeo-Christian philosophies. They gave to us a Constitution based on the concept of man as revealed in the Bible. Our Governments, National, State, and local, based as they are on this great Constitution have functioned successfully for more than a century and a half because our people, by and large have feared God and kept His Commandments.

The America of today and the America of the immediate past have come perilously near espousing a philosophy that says, in effect, "Blessed is the nation whose God is might." Today, as an individual teacher, I am happy to report to you, that in my opinion there is a definite, unmistakable trend, nationwide, back to the philosophy that says, "Blessed is the nation whose God is Jehovah."

This morning when the school bells rang out across this great land of ours our own children and young people, 35 million strong entered the doors of our schools to be greeted by a million school teachers. I am happy to be numbered among that million who have chosen as their wonderful adventure with life the shaping of the thinking of the generation on whose shoulders our America of tomorrow will go forth to serve a bankrupt world. America's teachers must not, they will not fail.

Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. O'BRIEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Washington Post of January 30, 1954:

JOBLESS TOTAL UP 500,000 IN LAST MONTH

The Census Bureau said yesterday unemployment rose by half a million between December and January to an estimated total of 2,360,000 jobless this month.

Employment dropped by about a million in the same period and, in the week ended January 9, was recorded at 59,800,000, the Bureau said.

As it was last month, joblessness in January is running about 450,000 above the level of a year ago. About 3.8 percent of civilian workers are unemployed, as against 3 percent last year.

The Bureau said the total decline in employment was not greater than the December-January drop in most other recent years, but affected some industries which are not usually subject to the seasonal sag.

Unemployment, which nearly always rises sharply after the Christmas holiday season, climbed from 1,850,000 in December to the estimated 2,360,000 in January.

This was smaller than the drop in employment mainly because many housewives and others holding temporary jobs withdrew from the labor market.

Employment has not dropped below 60 million since January, February, and March of 1952, in each of which it was recorded as 59,700,000.

Not for 3 years—since January 1951—has unemployment risen above the 2 million mark. It was then 2,503,000.

Layoffs in construction and factory jobs accounted for most of the increase in joblessness. Nonfarm employment fell to about 54,400,000 in January from 55,300,000 in December.

The unemployment figure did not include about 275,000 persons who were described as being on temporary layoff, with definite instructions to return to work within 30 days after the layoff.

Food for Thought—Address of Jerome J. Keating, Vice President, National Association of Letter Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to be a guest at the Michigan letters carriers' breakfast, January 19, 1954, honoring the Michigan delegation in Congress, and was privileged to hear an address on the salary problems of postal employees by Jerome J. Keating, vice president, National Association of Letter Carriers.

Under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include extraneous material, I am pleased to insert Mr. Keating's fine address. It follows:

I am very happy to have the honor and privilege of appearing before the Michigan congressional delegation and the Michigan delegates to the conference. There are over 1,600 postal employees in Washington this week for the purpose of presenting to Congress their case for a pay increase. Letter carriers throughout the Nation have contributed to special funds to send their representatives to lay their case before the Congress.

Postal employees must depend upon Congress for any pay increase. Unfortunately, when a pay increase is presented to the Congress, it is not always considered solely on its merits, but is frequently involved in the questions of Federal expenditures and the presence or absence of a postal deficit. These are policy matters and we do not believe that they have any place in a discussion of an adequate wage for postal employees.

We live in a dynamic economy where the economic picture changes rapidly. Despite the fact that Congress has already granted several raises to postal workers, they are still far behind the parade. We find that since 1945, workers in the oil refining industry have received increases amounting to $1.10 an hour; steel workers have received increases of 87 cents an hour—while letter carriers in the lower pay grades have only received increases totaling 77.5 cents per hour, and top-grade letter carriers have received increases amounting to but 66.5 cents per hour.

Students of the American economy are convinced that high prices will stay with us for a long, long time. The letter carrier's salary has lagged behind the increase in the cost of living. The salary for a fourth-grade letter carrier has increased only 74.7 percent since 1939, while during the same period the cost of living has increased 95.6 percent.

In 1953 we had the most prosperous year in American history. Personal income reached the staggering figure of $285 billion. In 1946, personal income was only $177 billion. From 1946 to 1953 personal income increased 38 percent, but in the same period of time the letter carrier's pay had increased only 26 percent.

It is not entirely fair to consider salaries solely on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau of Labor Statistics measures advances in certain items. If we were to maintain salary only on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, we would live in a static economy. The American worker who is confined to this standard would not keep pace with the American standard of living. There have been many great changes in our manner of living within the last 30 or 35 years. Only a few short years ago, a postal employee who found it difficult to pay prevailing rents or to purchase a home in one of our large cities could go to the edge of the city and purchase a lot for from $100 to $300 and build a small house on the lot. Today there is no refuge from the high cost of housing. The postal employee today, if he goes to the edge of the city, discovers that some development firm has purchased all of the land and he will have to pay an exorbitant price for a lot. In addition thereto, there are regulations that require him to build a house costing at least a certain specified sum of money.

In 1945, television was something one read about, with the exception of a limited area adjacent to greater New York. Today there are close to 40 million television sets in American homes. The American standard of living requires the possession of a television set.

Only yesterday I talked to a letter carrier from the city of St. Louis who has lived for 26 years in the same house. Formerly there was good streetcar service to take this man to work. Letter carriers are frequently required to leave their homes at 4:30 or 5 a. m. in our larger cities to report to work at 6 a. m. Today there are no longer any streetcars near this man's home and the first bus in the morning leaves after the time he is scheduled to be at the post office. Consequently, he must have his own transportation. Public transportation has become worse and worse and as the service has become less dependable the cost of transportation has become much greater. Many of our postal employees who live in the territory surrounding Washington, D. C., are required to pay 2 and 3 fares to come to work.

In this country we have made tremendous progress in education. In 1920 there were 48,000 students who were graduted from college; by 1950 the number had increased to 432,000. In 1920, 311,000 students were graduated from high school; in 1950 that number has increased to 1,200,000. Not only do more people go to school, but it has become more and more necessary to provide your children with a good education, if you are going to properly equip them to meet the problems of the world. A college education today merely opens up the same opportunities to young America that a high-school education did in 1920. Not only has education become more necessary as we have progressed and developed in this country, but it has also become much more expensive. The postal employees by and large are family people. They should have the same opportunity to educate their children as everyone else.

To maintain and secure their place in our American way of life, it is necessary that the Congress give favorable consideration to the passage of the Withrow bill, H. R. 2344, and the Langer bill, S. 1685. These bills provide for an $800 increase in pay. We believe and we are prepared to establish the fact that such an increase is needed to provide the postal employees with a proper and adequate income. We sincerely hope that the Members of the Michigan congressional delegation will support us in obtaining this objective.

Testimony of Mr. William S. McNary, of the American Hospital Association, Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Governmental Participation in Providing Hospital Care

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given on Monday, February 1, 1954, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing to develop a health program, by Mr. William S. McNary, chairman, council on Government relations of the American Hospital Association, is highly important.

Mr. McNary has spent many years in the hospital and prepayment field. At one time he was the administrator of the Colorado General Hospital in Denver. In 1937 and 1938 he helped organize and became the first executive director of the Colorado Hospital Service, the Blue Cross plan, serving the State of Colorado. In 1946, Mr. McNary left Colorado to become executive head of the Michigan Hospital Service, the Blue Cross plan serving Michigan.

The American Hospital Association, for which Mr. McNary speaks today, represents most of the hospitals of this country. The Blue Cross Commission, an integral part of the American Hospital Association, was originally established as the Blue Cross Commission of the American Hospital Association. With the tremendous growth of the voluntary prepayment method of providing hospital care, the Blue Cross Commission has become more autonomous.

Mr. McNary has served as chairman of the Blue Cross organization, the central organization of the Blue Cross plans. He is also the executive vice president, Michigan Hospital Service, and the chairman of the council on Government relations of the American Hospital Association.

Mr. McNary's statement is as follows:

The purpose of the national organization of hospitals which I represent is to promote the public welfare through the development of better hospital care for all of the people. It is an organization of institutions as contrasted with the usual type of personal membership which makes up the voting members of most associations. The membership of the association includes 5,200 of the Nation's 6,900 hospitals. In addition, 900 women's auxiliaries with memberships totaling more than 400,000 women working voluntarily to support and strengthen community hospitals hold institutional membership. All 82 approved Blue Cross plans sponsored by the Nation's hospitals to bring high-quality care within the reach of the average citizen are members.

The hospital members represent 85 percent of the Nation's general hospital beds and well over half of the Nation's hospital beds designed to serve long-term patients. The number of persons participating in Blue Cross plans is rapidly approaching one-third of the total population of the Nation.

These facts establish the association as a representative body which can speak with knowledge and understanding of problems which need solution to further improve institutional health services for the American people.

The hospitals of this country are a vital force in our economy. Of the 6,900 institutions that are usually included in the hospital category, more than 6,300 are operated under non-Federal auspices. Over 5,000 of these treat illnesses of relatively short duration, although most of them have some patients who suffer from long-term illnesses also.

Annually these short-term general hospitals admit about 17.5 million patients and provide an average of 140 million days of care. The capital investment in these hospitals exceeds $5 billion. Their annual operating expense is more than $2.1 billion.

The 1,300 non-Federal hospitals that provide care for long-term illnesses provide, on the average, 280 million days of care each year in plants valued at more than $2.7 billion and at an anual cost of almost $1 billion.

Individual hospitals throughout the country do not, themselves, practice medicine but they do work toward constant improvement of supportive services and facilities which contribute to the improvement of medical care within the institutions. They also carry a responsibility and exercise authority over the performance of all individuals and groups which work within the hospital. The American Hospital Association, being an organization of hospitals, therefore is directly concerned with the establishment of standards for the organization and administration of medical services in hospitals. It engages in activities of research, education, and representation designed to aid and to guide hospitals in their effective administration of institutional health services for the community.

In my appearance before this committee today, I understand I am to discuss the association's general attitude toward the provision and distribution of institutional health service rather than to discuss specific proposals for legislative action in the health field.

The basic work program of the American Hospital Association was adopted in 1944. It envisioned future activities which we believe are pertinent and applicable to conditions today. We believe that great progress has been made during the past 9 years since adoption of its basic platform outlining the elements of the association's work program. I will review briefly the major components of our effort and illustrate the type of activities in which we have engaged, in the interest of further improvement of institutional health services for our people.

Preservation of the values of voluntary effort in the conduct and maintenance of our Nation's hospitals is and will be the underlying motivation of all activities of the American Hospital Association. A search of the record of statements of policy adopted by the association reveals that attention is focused on the provision and purchase of care needed by and financed from resources of individuals and family units. Thus, we believe that payment of the cost of hospital care is primarily a responsibility of the individual. The community should be called upon for assistance only when the individual is unable to pay for care.

Caution has always conditioned the association's activities in the interest of preserving American tradition and the spirit of individual initiative and enterprise. Neither the association nor its individual members have promoted policies or programs based on prejudice, self-interest, or paternalistic assistance.

Extension of interhospital coordination and cooperation among both urban and rural hospitals has been an objective, evident in the activities sponsored by the association. In 1945 the association, with financial assistance from the Commonwealth Fund, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis inaugurated an independent 2-year study of the need for extension of hospital facilities throughout the Nation and the organization of services within the hospital individually. The report of this study group had far-reaching effect on the improvement of services within hospitals and on the integration of activities among hospitals. Further developments of interhospital coordination and cooperation are found in the establishment of regional and State hospital associations and in district and city hospital councils. Major effort of the association has been extended to these groups in the development and improvement of their programs.

Development promotion and improved administration of voluntary budgeting for the cost of hospital care has received continuous and unqualified support from the American Hospital Association. Almost 20 years ago the association approved the principle of prepayment for hospital care. Subsequently, the association established formal relationships with nonprofit prepayment plans (now identified as Blue Cross plans) which meet basic principles of organization and operation, by establishing a section within the American Hospital Association structure, whereby these organizations can work in concert with hospitals. The association has conducted a formal approval program designed to maintain standards which, in most instances, go beyond the requirements of official regulatory bodies. This activity is designed to insure protection of the public interest through the maintenance of a prepayment program which will provide the greatest possible benefits to the individual in time of need. The organizations which meet the association's standards are privileged to identify themselves as approved Blue Cross plans.

These plans constitute a positive expression of understanding on the part of the local communities which sponsored them and the voluntary hospitals which underwrite their finances that the advantages of modern medicine, like the other products of our advanced technology, must be financed equitably and efficiently in a modern manner.

These plans participate formally in the activities of the association. They are an integral part of and conduct an important aspect of the association's overall work program. We believe this prepayment device can be used to solve the problem of financing hospital care for most wage earners and their families without resort to governmental aid. We believe also that it may be used as the administrative agency for distribution of hospital care to the categorical assistance groups.

The Blue Cross program, which will be described more fully in later testimony to this committee, now covers more than 43 million persons in the United States. Its success stems from the close working relationships which it has with affiliated local hospitals and the cooperation and encouragement which industry and labor have given to it.

One important factor contributing to the surprisingly low administrative cost of Blue Cross plans is the collection of periodic subscription rates as a deduction by employers from wages of enrolled employees. The largest employer in this country, the Federal Government, has not authorized this convenient and economical method of payment by its employees. The American Hospital Association is publicly on record in support of such authority and has urged Congress to make possible such an arrangement. We hope that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives will take seriously the request that this method of payment for the privilege of participation in voluntary prepayment plans be made possible for all employees of the Federal Government as has been done in private industry.

Government aid for public and voluntary hospital construction upon evidence of unmet needs has been approved by the association as evidenced by its original sponsorship and continued support of the program authorized by the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act, Public Law 725. We believe that through the assistance of hospital authorities transmitted through the American Hospital Association and expressed in the administration of the program both nationally and locally, better architectural design and improved planning in the location of hospitals has been a result of this Federal grant-in-aid program. There is substantial evidence in the history of this program that it greatly stimulated contributions of funds from voluntary sources beyond that which might have been made available without the incentive of Federal matching grants. The association, working cooperatively with the Public Health Service, has conducted conferences between representatives of voluntary, as well as official agencies, to improve the administration and results of this far-reaching national hospital construction activity. We will continue to support such extensions and modifications of the emphasis of this program as can be demonstrated to meet a public need and which show evidence of strengthening hospital care throughout the country.

Public aid in the provision of hospital care for persons in nonwage and low-income groups is approved by the association, provided the need for assistance is shown and the administration of the program is determined and conducted through local units of government as far as possible. The cost of care rendered to persons unable to pay for it cannot be absorbed entirely by the hospital without sacrifice of quality of service. Hospitals cannot produce care without cost. So, to avoid depreciation of quality, offsetting income must be available from some source to cover the cost of all services rendered by all hospitals to all patients.

We subscribe to the thesis that the unfortunate individual who cannot purchase needed hospital care from his own resources must be the concern of society. Partially as a result of efforts by the American Hospital Association and affiliated State hospital associations, local and State governments are accepting a greater share of their responsibilities for the medically indigent groups within their jurisdictions, and they show evidence of a recognition of the need to appropriate enough money to finance their full share of the cost of care for the indigent sick. The association believes that, if local and State governments extend their appropriations to the limit of their capacities for financing such care, there will be limited need for assistance from the Federal Government.

In the past the association has established policy on legislative proposals for governmental participation in the purchase of hospital care for the needy which included the following principles:

1. Tax funds should be used for the purchase of hospital care only after a need for assistance is clearly demonstrated.

2. In the allocation of funds, the amounts provided shall vary in accordance with the intensity of need and the ability of States and communities to finance such need from State and local resources.

3. All Federal funds allocated for the purchase of hospital care shall be distributed through State and local agencies.

4. Eligibility of recipients of public assistance shall be determined by State and local agencies.

5. The amount of payment to hospitals shall be computed on the basis of the cost of provision of the care rendered.

6. The usefulness of nonprofit prepayment plans as administrative agencies for the clearance of claims and payment for services in behalf of beneficiaries of public assistance programs should be considered.

In the application of these principles to any program to which the Federal Government contributes substantial amounts of money, it is recognized that basic administrative regulations will need to be established nationally. The American Hospital Association believes that such regulatory provisions should minimize Federal authority and emphasize local control in order that the assistance programs may be operated with sensitivity to the special needs of the beneficiaries.

The association has been concerned with methods of financing hospital care by all groups within the population as well as with those in the low income, nonwage groups. Two years ago, it inaugurated a national study of this subject under an independent study group, the Commission on Financing Hospital Care. Contributions totaling $556,000 from the Blue Cross Commission of the American Hospital Association, Health Information Foundation, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Michigan Medical Service, Milbank Memorial Fund, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and the Rockefeller Foundation made this study possible. The chairman of that commission will elaborate on the conclusions of his group in later testimony. A summary report of its recommendations was issued recently. In that report you will find specific recommendations concerning the manner of financing care for groups not able to purchase it from current earnings or past savings. Inasmuch as the proposals made by the commission were released only 2 weeks ago, the American Hospital Association has not acted on them. However, it is my opinion that the commission's recommendations are basically in accord with the philosophy and policy of the American Hospital Association on issues relating to the financing of care for needy persons.

The American Hospital Association and the trustees and administrators of member hospitals will continue their interest and accelerate their efforts to meet their public responsibilities for the planning, improvement and administration of a vital public service activity in a manner which will justify and perpetuate the public trust which hospitals presently enjoy. The association offers its assistance to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives in any appropriate way which will aid in further improving hospital service and the method of its distribution to the American people.

Discontinuing the Sale of Savings Bonds Through United States Post Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter from President John D. Bercury, Local 51, United Postal Workers, CIO, 294 Washington Street, Boston 8, Mass., to President John Horan, of the Greater Boston Industrial Council, 73 Tremont Street, Boston, with reference to discontinuing the sale of savings bonds through United States post offices and the possible elimination of the Remittance Section of Postal Finance. It is my belief that the contents of this communication should be brought to the attention of each Member of Congress:

GOVERNMENT AND
CIVIC EMPLOYEES ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE, CIO, LOCAL 51,
Boston, Mass., December 18, 1953.

Mr. JOHN HORAN,
President, Greater Boston Industrial Council, Boston, Mass.

DEAR BROTHER HORAN: At the regular monthly meeting of the Greater Boston Industrial Council which was held on Thursday, December 4, 1953, protest was made by the delegate from local 51, United Postal Workers, against the recent announcement of the Treasury Department discontinuing the sale of savings bonds in the United States Post Office and transferring this important function to banks.

A resolution, covering our position on this question, and also on the matter of transferring financial work from post offices to banks with a view to curtailing manpower in the postal department, is enclosed.

We have reason to believe that a move is pending in the Boston Post Office which will result in the elimination of the remittance section of the postal finance with a consequent loss of day assignments by some 15 clerks as well as a possible reduction-in-force in the Boston postal district. We desire our congressional representatives to be informed that these disturbing changes are made without prior consultation with our national officers in the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee in Washington.

We feel that this policy of effecting financial work transfers without prior consultation of our organization spokesmen makes for poor labor relations in the post office and is detrimental to our members. We request that in the future when any department moves are contemplated involving elimination of post office units notification be sent to Mr. Milton Murray, at Washington

headquarters of GCEOC who in turn will notify the secretary of the National Postal CIO Council.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN D. BERCURY,
President, Local 51, United Postal Workers, CIO, Boston, Mass.

UNITED POSTAL WORKERS, LOCAL 51, CIO, PROTESTS DECIMATION OF MONEY-ORDER AND POSTAL FINANCE SECTIONS

Whereas the recent announcement of the Treasury Department discontinuing the sale of savings bonds in United States post offices and transferring this function to banks will seriously curtail the sales drive on these bonds in many cities and towns which have no banks and also in other areas where the banks are not open on Saturdays and other convenient hours for small buyers; and

Whereas there has already been in evidence for some time a disturbing postal department policy of transferring post office financial units to banks; and

Whereas in several large cities the remittance unit functions of the post office are now being handled by banks and it is reported that the remittance unit of the postal finance section of the Boston Post Office will soon be eliminated with consequent loss of day assignments for about 15 postal clerks: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the United Postal Workers, Local 51, CIO, protests to the Congressmen in the Boston district against the discontinuance of the sale of savings bonds in United States post offices as being contrary to the public interest and in conflict with the sales drive program of the Treasury Department; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congressmen from the Boston area obtain information from the postal department as to whether the elimination of the remittance unit in the postal finance is pending; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congressmen from the Boston area request the department in order to facilitate good labor relations to notify our National Postal Council at the headquarters of the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee in Washington whenever any future curtailments or reductions in force are contemplated.

The Tax Button

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, on August 6, 1953, in his memorandum of disapproval of the bill repealing the tax on admissions to moving-picture theaters, the President stated:

Specific proposals for a modified system of excise taxation will be included in the recommendations for tax revision that will be submitted to the Congress next January.

The Treasury analysis has already progressed to the point where I can say that I will include a recommendation for a reduction in the admissions tax in my proposals for a modified system of excise taxation. Action could be taken by the Congress early in 1954 and relief could be given at that time.

With great anticipation, on January 21, 1954, I read the President's tax recommendations in his budget message to the Congress, and what did I find he had to say about "a modified system of excise taxation"? Nothing but a recommendation that the excise taxes which are scheduled under present law to be reduced on April 1 be continued indefinitely at the present rate, and "that any adjustments in the other excise taxes be such as to maintain the total yield which we are now receiving from this source."

If this constitutes specific proposals for a modified system of excise taxation, it seems to me that the field is wide open.

Uncertainty and confusion dominate the picture both as it affects the businessman and the worker.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the story of the Ukraine's struggle for independence is a tragic one, but it is also a story of hope. From it we can learn that a courageous and determined people can withstand the most brutal tyranny and survive. But above all, we can learn that their ideals and their desires for the blessings of freedom and human justice survive too.

Ukrainians have probably borne the heavy yoke of oppression longer than any other people. Tartar, Polish, Austrian, Russian—no conquest was ever complete or lasting. Since the days when the glorious and enlightened principality of Kiev came under the despotisms of the Tartars in the 13th century, the Ukrainian struggle for independence has continued. The desire of the Ukrainians to be once more united as they had been in the days of Kiev could not be destroyed by the harsh oppression of a series of foreign despots.

For 400 years the people suffered and then in 1648 under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnitsky, they rose successfully against their tyrants. Under this courageous and indomitable patriot, the Ukrainians gained for themselves a new measure of independence.

In this heroic age of the "free warriors"—the Kozaks—the Ukrainians maintained their freedom until the 18th century when Catherine the Great finally conquered them. It was a conquest which cost Russia dearly, and which was never fully achieved. Although the Russians tried to eradicate all traces of the Ukrainian nationality, the people held fast to their heritage and to their love of freedom and independence. In an attempt to make the Ukrainians over into so-called Little Russians the Czars employed the most brutal methods imaginable. The language was suppressed, schools and churches were closely supervised, and there was a steady stream of exiles to Siberia. But the Tzars were no more successful in wiping out the Ukrainian spirit than the Tartars had been.

The centuries long dream of independence which the Ukrainians had cherished, seemed almost a reality after World War I. Out of the ashes of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires there arose a new free Ukraine. In January 1919, at Kiev, the ancient capital, Ukrainian independence was proclaimed. But the reality was short-lived. By 1921 through the machinations of the Ukraine's neighbors, the new-formed republic was once again devoured.

For the people of the Ukraine, the years that followed were the darkest in their history. The Communist regime attempted to bring about the complete submission and sovietization of this courageous people. They did this through mass deportations, liquidation by the secret police, and a continued suppression of the national tradition. The climax came in the Moscow-made famine of 1930–31, when millions were permitted to die in an effort to wipe out the Ukrainians as a nation.

The struggle of these gallant people is rendered especially hard by geography and international politics, two factors which have determined the course of Ukrainian history. Not only is the Ukraine a crossroads between east and west, she is a rich area which her neighbors have jealously coveted for centuries. But the Ukrainian people have been endowed with an unquenchable national spirit which compensates for these two obstacles. It is this spirit, forged in the period of tragedy which has enabled them to continue the fight and which has given them the courage to persevere in the face of the greatest odds.

The history of the Ukraine teaches us that a nation cannot be denied its rights indefinitely, nor can a people be forever deprived of its just heritage.

The Ukraine spirit could not be and has not been crushed. Underground resistance, insurgence, and sullen opposition to the Kremlin regime continues. The movement for independence refuses to die. Mass murder, deportation, sovietization, famine—nothing can destroy the Ukrainian belief in the righteousness of their cause and the inevitability of its triumph.

What Is the Bricker Amendment?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, since the debate is now in full swing in the Senate for the adoption or rejection of the Bricker amendment, let us see what the amendment says:

SECTION 1. That no provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall be of any force or effect.

Why should anyone want to object to this section? Those who are against the amendment say this language is unnecessary, because the Supreme Court on many occasions has announced this doctrine. Such assurance from the High Court might be satisfactory if its holding would always be of that purport. But we have seen recently that there is danger of having this view of the Supreme Court changed. The adoption of the Charter of the United Nations has brought about confusion and serious concern to those who are determined to preserve our Constitution, "against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

In the Fujii case in California the lower court held that the provisions of the charter of the United Nations superceded the State laws of California. If that decision had stood the whole country would have been alarmed. The appeals court reversed this decision. The controversy, however, brought about much litigation and many anxious hours for the defenders of the Constitution.

In the Steel Seizure case we again saw the mischief of this Charter. In this case the question before the Court was, "Did President Truman have the power to seize the steel industry of the United States?" The Constitution was examined and nowhere in it could be found any authority for the President's action. If he could seize one industry he could seize any industry by merely stating that the seizure was necessary for the war effort—an undeclared war at that. He could seize any industry in the United States or in its possessions. He could seize all the grain elevators, all the manufacturing plants, all the farms, or any other form of business in the country.

The Chief Justice admitted there was no power in the Constitution authorizing the President to make such seizure, but he turned to the Charter of the United Nations and there found authority for that purpose. Most people will not believe this statement. Nevertheless it is a fact. That is just what the Chief Justice did. Suppose the majority of the Court had been of the same opinion, where would our Constitution be today? It would stand superseded by the Charter of the United Nations, approved as a treaty. Fortunately for the American people, and fortunately for the perpetuation of liberty in America, the majority of the Court decided otherwise.

Had the Bricker amendment been in operation no such situations as those presented in the Fujii and the Steel Seizure cases could ever have arisen.

In this last-mentioned case you can see how close we came to substituting another document for the Constitution of the United States. Three members were for the substitution, one did not express an opinion, and five were against it. Some other time we might not have the majority of that Court standing firmly to support the Constitution of the United States. Why put ourselves in this jeopardy when the Bricker amendment will eliminate that chance?

Section 2 provides that no treaty shall be effective as internal law unless implemented by legislation which would be valid apart from the treaty. In other words, an internal law which is valid under the Constitution of the United States shall stand against any provision of any treaty.

Can anyone object to this? Suppose we have a law in North Dakota that is in harmony with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Does anyone want to bring about a condition where that valid law can be swept aside by a treaty—such as the Charter of the United Nations, such as the Covenant of Human Rights, such as the genocide treaty? If North Dakota law could be set aside with impunity so could the law or laws of any State in the Union. Do the States want to take this chance? Do the people of the United States want any such treaty power hanging over their heads, endangering the liberties that they and their sires have fought for? The Bricker amendment will eliminate this fear and this constant menace to our liberties.

Section 3 provides that the Congress shall have power to regulate executive agreements, and such agreements shall be subject to the same limitations as treaties.

That means that with the Bricker amendment in operation there could be no more Teherans, no more Yaltas, no more Potsdam agreements, which the people of the United States never knew existed until years after the agreements were made. The Yalta agreement let the Russians right in at the back door of Korea. It made the Korean war possible. It cost us 27,000 American lives, and a billion dollars a month while the fighting lasted. The Potsdam agreement sent 300,000 Germans to the Russian mines to slave their lives away. Would the Congress or the American people have approved either or any of these agreements if they had known what was contained in them? The Bricker amendment will put a stop to this back-door secret agreement business. Where is the American who is not in favor of this?

Now you have the three sections of the Bricker amendment.

It is unusual for a President to get into a legislative fight. It is unusual for a President to interfere with legislation. It is unusual for a President to ask for, or continue, autocratic powers; and unless he has become a complete follower of the Truman internationalism he will not object to letting Congress express the will of the people.

With this President it might be all right to let him operate with a free hand. The most beneficial government on earth is a benevolent dictatorship. But the people have found out from the history of the world that dictators do not always remain benevolent, or that when succeeded a different kind of man may take his place. No, sir. I would not trust any man with this power. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and I propose to exercise that vigilance to protect our liberty and our freedom.

Expanded Highway Program Is Endorsed by Western Editors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL V. MACK
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago in a House speech I urged that all receipts from the Federal 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax be allocated for matching funds to the States for highway building.

At the present time, the Federal Government is collecting about $875 million a year from its 2-cent-a-gallon Federal gasoline tax. It is allocating only about $550 million of this money for highway construction and diverting about $300 million of these gasoline tax receipts to other than highway purposes, diverting it to such purposes as foreign aid.

At the time of the speech, I introduced a bill to increase the Federal funds allocated to States for highway purposes from the present $575 million authorization to $862,500,000 or by 50 percent.

The President has proposed continuation of the present 2-cent-a-gallon Federal gasoline tax. In his state of the Union message he proposed that the added revenues this tax would provide should be used for what he termed "an expanded highway program."

The bill which I introduced to provide authority for this promised "expanded highway program," has brought widespread editorial support from many important newspapers. Under leave to extend my remarks in the appendix of the RECORD, I include several of these editorials. The editorials follow:

[From the Tacoma (Wash.) News Tribune]

BOOST IN HIGHWAY AID

Representative RUSSELL V. MACK, of Grays Harbor, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives urging increased appropriations for the Nation's highway and bridge building program, and suggesting that the money be taken from foreign aid. This proposal is bound to attract a lot of attention and discussion as the session continues.

The Nation's highways have suffered greatly during the war years and we are many miles behind in our construction program. The congestion on Washington State roads is duplicated in other parts of the country. The Nation has outgrown its highway system and something has to be done about it or our traffic record will continue to grow blacker as our congestion increases.

Officials of the Bureau of Public Roads have warned that our highways have been wearing out during the past 10 to 15 years much faster than new ones built. The Grays Harbor Congressman declares his program will provide desperately needed better and safer highways at the earliest possible time.

Congressman MACK thinks the money can be taken away from foreign aid, thus keeping the budget in balance. He wants an increase in the amount of Federal highway funds available to the States on a 50–50 matching fund basis. Representative MACK points out that Federal highway experts are agreed that it will take more than $30 billion to place American highways in first-class condition.

"My bill," he says, "offers a proposal to get this expanded Federal highway program rolling by next July 1 and not wait until July 1, 1955, to get it started. The Federal Government collected from its 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax and its tax on diesel oil $867,220,856 last year, or about $7½ million more than the total highway fund proposed for the coming year by my bill.

"The Federal Government should spend on highways every dollar it obtains from motorists in Federal gas and diesel-oil taxes. None of it should be diverted from highway improvement to other purposes.

"We must get American roads in first-class condition if we are to cut down the present death and accident toll on our highways.

"We will pay for more and better roads whether we build them or not. If we build them, that, of course, will require tax dollars, but if we do not build them then we will pay for them just the same through increased medical and hospital bills, increased repair bills and higher automobile insurance rates."

In his proposal the Washington State Congressman strikes a popular note, and undoubtedly puts into words the thoughts of many of his constituents. An increased highway program would provide thousands of jobs, many of them in areas of unemployment and at the same time would create a demand for the materials which go into highway construction. It would be a stimulant to business which might offset any slackening of employment.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Times]

HIGHWAY-USERS' TAX TO BUILD HIGHWAYS

It is one of President Eisenhower's recommendations that the law providing a 2-cent-a-gallon Federal tax on gasoline be re-enacted before it expires March 31. If that is not done, the Federal gasoline tax will revert to the former 1½-cent rate on April 1. With the proceeds of the higher rate, if continued, the President advocates an expanded highway program.

Congressman MACK of this State has done some pertinent thinking on this subject, on the basis of which he has introduced a bill in Congress authorizing a 50 percent increase in highway matching funds provided to the States by the Federal Government for the fiscal year starting July 1. The appropriation for highways made by Congress last session for the year beginning July 1, was $575,000,000. MACK's bill would increase this sum by $287,000,000 to a total of $862,500,000. It would be in line with the President's idea of an expanded highway program.

If, as the President proposes, the Federal 2-cent tax is renewed, new funds derived from it would not become available in the ordinary course of events until after July 1, 1955. MACK's purpose is to make these revenues immediately available to the States in the coming fiscal year.

Congressman MACK has made some logical points in supporting his measure. From its 2-cent-a-gallon tax on gasoline and Diesel oil, the Federal Government last year collected $867,200,856. All this came out of the pockets of automobile users and truck owners. Yet from the total revenues of the tax, the Congress set aside only $575,000,000 for highway construction and improvement. The remainder goes for general Government purposes.

It is MACK's theory that the gasoline tax is levied on a special group and that all the proceeds derived from it should be devoted to highways that serve the group that pays the tax. None of it should be diverted for other Federal uses.

The reasoning of the Washington Congressman is sound on this point. The adoption of his bill probably could be of immediate benefit to his own State—after July 1, that is—since the State Highway Commission has at its disposal flexible resources from which to provide State matching funds, if that seemed advisable.

MACK's measure deserves the fullest consideration in Congress, especially if the higher gasoline tax rate is to be continued. The principle of devoting the greater part, if not all, the gasoline revenues to highway purposes should be applied at the Federal as well as at the State level.

[From the Portland Oregon Journal]

NOT A RAID—JUST FAIR SPLIT

Representative RUSSELL MACK, of Washington, is early on the job in the Nation's capital with a bill to authorize an increase of 50 percent in the highway matching funds provided by the Federal Government to the States in the fiscal year starting July 1.

The bill is a good one. And before some reader speaks of "raids on the Federal Tresaury," let us say that Uncle Sam's "generosity" in handing out matching highway funds is a poor example of beneficence. The Federal Government last year collected almost $867 million from the 2-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax. It handed back in matching funds only $575 million. Thus nearly $300 million of gasoline tax money was diverted.

Nor is this all the profit Uncle Sam derived from the motorist. Close to $2 billion is taken yearly, it is asserted, in total gasoline and automobile taxes by the Federal Government, yet only approximately one-fourth that amount is appropriated by Congress for roads.

MACK has further argument for his bill. President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message asked retention of the Federal gasoline tax of 2 cents a gallon beyond April 1 which is the date under existing law when the 2-cent rate is due to expire and the former rate of 1½ cents is to be resumed.

It is true that the President urged Congress to promote an expanded highway program but he did not spell it out as does MACK.

In introducing his bill MACK presented a table showing the present sums allocated in matching money to the States for the year of July 1, 1954, to June 30, 1955, and what his proposal would mean to the States in increase. Oregon is set down for $8,661,811 and its enlarged share would be $4,330,905, or a total of $12,992,716. In the case of Washington the present sum is $9,240,247 while the increase of $4,620,123 would total $13,860,370.

In Oregon, where the gasoline tax originated, spreading then to all the other 47 commonwealths, it is law that gasoline revenues go to the State highway fund. Any other course would be met with fierce resistance. Repayment of highway bonds is based on the motorists' payments at pumps. It is not too much to ask that the general principle be extended to the Federal field. Even under MACK's bill Uncle Sam will have a tidy nest egg left over.

Excerpts From a Speech on the Post Office Department and Postal Rates by Senator Frank Carlson, of Kansas

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I was much impressed by a recent address by our esteemed colleague, Senator FRANK CARLSON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Senator CARLSON was speaking to the annual meeting of the National Editorial Association held in the Morrison Hotel in Chicago, Ill., last October.

The following excerpts from his address should be carefully studied by all those who are concerned with the efficient operation of the Post Office Department, and by those who might be more concerned with raising rates than raising efficiency and bringing about more economy in the operation of the Post Office Department.

An abbreviated résumé of this great speech follows:

I know that you expect to hear from me about the Post Office, and particularly about the rate increases that were proposed at the last session of Congress. I realize the importance of this question to you both as opinion molders and as businessmen. I shall give you my own point of view as frankly as I know how—with the proviso, of course, that it is only a point of view and in some aspects may be changed when I have seen and studied the report of the special committee, sometimes called the Carlson committee, which has now been established under the Senate Post Office Committee to study and report on postal problems.

There are some points on which I do not think I am likely to change my mind. One is the need for more efficiency in the Post Office. I certainly feel that under this new administration the Post Office will want its major aim to be higher efficiency rather than higher rates, but if the committee study proves the need for higher rates I will urge Senate approval. I hope the Carlson committee will find out from the Post Office just what amounts of money can be saved by the use of more modern methods, and how close those savings can come to eliminating the deficit without regard to possible rate increases. * * *

The new administration and the new Postmaster General have already shown their determination to make the Post Office an efficient operation. They have predicted a sizable dent in costs, and I am all for giving them a chance to turn that dent into a real hole. In fact, I expect to help them.

They have also tried to make a dent in the deficit by increasing rates. There has been an unfortunate amount of acrimony about this suggestion. That is perhaps inevitable—partly because the Post Office is a monopoly, a fact which colors this whole problem, and partly because of the findings of the cost accounting system of the Post Office Department have been applied in situations where, in the belief of many persons, they should not apply. I am going to take a look at both of these factors.

1. THE POST OFFICE IS A MONOPOLY

When I use the word monopoly in describing the Post Office, I do not do so lightly. The Post Office has been granted by law the exclusive right to handle first-class mail, and, as a result, it has a practical monopoly over all other classes of mail.

Let us see what the reasons are which have impelled us to give monopolistic rights to the United States Post Office. Then, let us examine the consequence which flow from this sometimes overlooked fact that the Post Office is a monopoly.

By instinct and experience, Americans disapprove of monopolies. We would much rather have a dozen concerns competing with one another, each one forced by the law of the market place to keep costs down and efficiency up.

But we recognize that in certain situations a monopoly can perform a service which could not be performed so well by a number of competing companies. If the evidence to that effect is impressive enough, we allow the monopoly to exist, under careful safeguards.

2. THE POST OFFICE TOUCHES EVERYONE

That is why the Founding Fathers granted a monopoly to the post office. The function performed by the post office comes as near as anything I know to being truly universal. It touches everyone. The Department of Commerce is useful primarily to business, the Department of Labor to the working man, the Department of Agriculture to the farmer—but the Post Office Department is essential to us all.

Every hamlet and virtually every crossroads in the United States has its own post office—41,000 of them—far more offices than any private organization could profitably maintain for the collection and distribution of its product. In number of outlets, the nearest rival to the Post Office Department may be the A & P, and it has only about 4,300 stores.

Because it is a universal service, the postal monopoly requires the staggering total of more than 500,000 employees. That is nearly half of all the nondefense employees in Government. It is about three times the number of employees of the next civilian department, and far more than the number of employees in the next three departments combined.

3. THE POST OFFICE IS INDISPENSABLE

This service is not only universal—it is indispensable. Without the post office, communication of record would simply come to a standstill. You would have to go to the store and the telephone company and the gas company in person for every bill you had to pay. Many of your readers would have to come to your office in person to subscribe to your newspapers. Without the post office, personal and business life as we know it now would largely cease to exist.

By law, the mail must go through. If for any reason it cannot be transported by private carriers, it is carried by the Government itself, as the Army had to carry air mail a score of years ago. If there is a wreck on a train or boat or plane, the first consideration after the saving of human lives is the saving of the United Stats mail. The reason is simple. Though we may become annoyed with the Post Office, though we complain about it, though we may swear at it, we know very well that we can't get along without it.

4. THE POST OFFICE IS A SERVICE

Perhaps you have noticed that several times I have described the postal monopoly as a service. I think the reason is clear. An operation which not only affects every American but is indispensable to every American cannot be treated simply as a business.

Back in 1844 a United States Postal Commission was appointed to spell out the purpost of the Post Office. Their report is still perhaps the nearest thing we have to an official statement of postal policy. Here is what the Postal Commission told Congress in 1844:

"The United States postal service was created to render the citizen worthy, by proper knowledge and enlightenment, of his important privileges as a sovereign constituent of his Government; to diffuse enlightenment and social improvement and national fellowship; elevating our people in the scale of civilization and bringing them into patriotic affection."

That statement is just as sound today as it was in 1844. And it is a description not just of a business, but of a service.

Certainly rural free delivery, for instance, was not conceived on a business basis. It was a recognition of the farmer's need for postal service comparable to that provided in the larger towns; and it has had very few, if any, opponents.

The rural-delivery service has grown until in 1952 there were more than 32,000 rural carriers who drove a million and a half miles daily to serve 34 million people. The annual expenditure for rural free delivery is presently about $189 million, and, in my opinion, it is well worth it.

As a service operation, the Post Office is comparatively inexpensive even today. In his testimony before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in July, the Postmaster General estimated that his deficit for the coming year would be $400 million. Other departments cost the taxpayer much more than that each year; yet none of them serves directly so many of the people. The Post Office, I repeat, is a universal operation.

We all concede that R. F. D. should not be charged in its entirety to the users of the mails. I believe this is true of many public service aspects of the Post Office—many more than most of us realize. One of the chief aims of the Carlson committee will be to set a money value on those services. The preliminary reports indicate to me that the cost involved here will undoubtedly prove to be a significant fraction of the postal deficit—very possible more than the total of the deficit. This is a consideration that should be thoroughly understood both by the public and by those whose duty it is to set postal rates.

5. SERVICES RENDERED THROUGH THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF MAIL

This may be a good point to digress from a discussion of the service rendered by the Post Office, in order to acknowledge another service which is sometimes overlooked—the service rendered by our newspapers and magazines to America through mail of the second class.

A number of newspaper and magazine publishers are seriously concerned over misrepresentations about the publishing industry which have been widely publicized in connection with the recent proposals for postal rate increases. I sympathize with this concern.

The American publishers are honorable and patriotic men. Their position on postal rates reflects not only their own interests but their sincere opinion as to what is best for the country.

It is difficult to overestimate all that you people have done to make more and more vital information available to more and more Americans through second-class mail. Second class is the great educational category. To provide the American people with information of record—information which we must have and hold if we are to remain a nation of free, knowledgeable men and women—there is no substitute for the newspaper. And since almost all of us here come from small towns, I am sure you will forgive me if I give particular credit to the small-town newspapers of rural America.

Our taxpayers pay billions a year to educate our children in the schools. I cannot see that it is out of line if the transmission of adult education through the second-class category of the Post Office Department is made possible at a moderate cost to the taxpayer.

Indeed, every class of mail performs its own special service. Third-class creates a favorable climate for growth to thousands of small businesses, while providing a selling tool to all business. Fourth-class mail brings us most of our books—as well as the famous catalogs of the mail order companies, which display all the wonders of a city department store to the most isolated homes in the land. And just to round out the picture of these different clases, most of the goods ordered from the catalogs arrive by parcel post.

Now if the post office is both a monopoly and a public service, it follows that the quality of this service must be kept high enough, and the rates must be kept low enough, so that the public interest is constantly protected.

6. CONGRESS MUST CONTROL POST OFFICE POLICY

I know of only one way to assure this condition. That is through a ceaseless scrutiny of the entire postal operation by the Congress of the United States, acting as the representative of the people of the United States. It is Congress which must regulate postal services and approve postal charges. Definitions of postal policy cannot be made by the Post Office. They can be made only by the Congress.

I think you will agree that this is a sound principle. In some cases we have strayed from it. Some rates and fees, for example, are set by the Post Office Department itself, without reference to Congress. Among these are the rates for foreign mail. Just a few weeks ago the Post Office Department announced an average 200 percent increase on postage for bulk second-class to Latin America and other areas. Some of the increases went as high as 700 percent.

I am advised that this increase will in some instances force some publications out of business or drive it out of the United States. In either case we suffer an economic loss.

It seems to me that this action is a good example of why all postal rates should be set by Congress, and only by Congress. Two years ago the Senate Committee report on the last postal bill said:

"The committee feels very strongly that Congress alone should adjust postal rates."

I stand on that statement.

I will certainly oppose any further kidnapping of the rate-making power from Congress by the Post Office Department. In addition Congress should explore every possibility of retrieving those portions of the ratemaking power which have already been taken over by the Post Office Department.

In fact, the entire rate structure of the post office is due for a searching congressional examination. Not being subject to all the usual laws of marketplace, this rate structure is bound to be in some measure arbitrary and even capricious. The argument about post office rates frequently revolves around facts that are not facts at all, and figures that are recognized to be inapplicable even by those who cite them most vigorously.

7. THE CONFUSION ABOUT POST OFFICE COST FIGURES

Let us give you an example of the confusion that surrounds the whole question of the relationship between rates and costs.

The statement has repeatedly been made by members of the post office staff, that the loss on second-class mail was $240 million last year, and that recently proposed rate increases for second class will reduce that loss by only 9 percent.

That $240 million figure has been repeated again and again, by speaker after speaker, until many Americans, including even some Members of Congress, have come to accept it as a fact. But it is not a fact. There have been no calculations that can be accepted as to the amount of actual loss on second-class mail—if there really is any loss.

Why? Because the $240 million figure is the result of arbitrary allocations of all postal costs among the various classes of mail, no matter how these costs were incurred.

These cost allocations make no allowance, for example, for the fact that the Post Office was designed primarily for the quickest and best possible handling of first-class mail. In 1930 Postmaster General Brown told Congress:

"The requirements of first-class mail have determined the location of post offices and post office stations and branches. First-class mail is given preferential treatment through-

out the entire postal establishment. At every stage it is handled with maximum speed and security. All other mail matter must give way to mail of the first class. * * *"

If it were not for factors like those mentioned by Postmaster General Brown, we would require only a small fraction of our present 41,000 post offices.

Would it not be reasonable to assume that secondary classes of mail should not be charged for expenses which would go on even if those classes were not in existence? Many mail users think so. But the post office has no instructions on that. Instead—and very naturally—it has set up a cost apportionment system which charges each class of mail according to size, weight, number of pieces, and other factors which can be physically measured.

Because second-class mail is charged with so many costs which are not incurred primarily by that class, the $240 million loss which the Post Office Department charges to second-class mail is very nearly as dubious as if it were pulled out of a spinning drum.

But even if the figures were not meaningless—even if it were accepted by everybody, including the publishers, as being entirely accurate—it would be irrelevant in rate setting. Cost figures cannot reflect the special values I mentioned a moment ago—values rendered to our country by you publishers through the facilities of second-class mail. Surely those values should be reflected in second-class postal rates.

And I believe rates should reflect not only the service rendered by the secondary classes of mail, but the deferred nature of the service rendered to those classes by the post office. By and large, they have to wait their turn until first-class is taken care of. Mail going by a secondary class may take 5 days or more for delivery when the same piece sent by first-class would take 1 or 2. In addition, much of the work of collecting, bundling, facing, tying, and even transporting which is done by the post office for first-class mail, is done by the mailers themselves for other classes. One of the questions to be resolved by Congress is the extent to which these considerations should affect the rates paid by secondary classes of mail.

So it is clear that post office cost allocations are unsound guides to postal ratesetting. Yet they are being cited as guides every day. The people who cite these unsound figures then propose to revise the postal rate structure accordingly.

Yet their proposals do not, and cannot, actually follow the logic of their own figures. The Post Office Department does not propose to increase second-class postage rates by 500 percent, which would be necessary to make it pay its own way according to cost allocation. They know that it is impossible to apply cost figures literally in ratemaking.

Just last spring the Department's own highly competent cost accounting expert, Maurice H. Stans, told the House Post Office Committee:

"Cost ascertainment does not take into account some factors which are necessarily pertinent for ratemaking purposes. * * *"

8. THE NEED FOR THE CARLSON COMMITTEE STUDY

I think you begin to see why I have said that the Post Office situation is confusing. Here we have an organization that is asking for the advantages of being a monopoly without the disadvantages; the kudos of being a service and the profits of being a business. It wants congressional approval but seems to dislike congressional control.

Now, this is not altogether the fault of the Post Office Department. It seems to me that we in Congress must share the blame. We have not tightened the cinch sufficiently on this horse. Our hand has been too easy on the reins, and the horse has turned up bypaths or stopped to eat grass according to its own whims. I hope that now this is going to change.

I believe there is some reason for this hope. I think our long search for a soundly conceived and generally accepted postal policy may at last be nearing a successful conclusion.

The Carlson committee was instructed to have ready by February 1, 1954, facts and recommendations that might form the basis of a long-term postal program. This will be the first such report in more than a hundred years.

We are making good progress with our study, and I believe the results will be most gratifying. * * *

9. THE NEED FOR EFFICIENCY

I have now seen the preliminary reports of our committee. These reports are only preliminary and, of course, are subject to change. But they suggest to me that a large part of the postal deficit is due to a waste of manpower and to a shameful lack of modern equipment and modern methods intelligently used.

As I said at the beginning, it is simply impossible for me to believe that no way can be found to take the burden of mail delivery off the backs, legs, and feet of the postal employee. With the right kind of equipment, they will be able to handle more mail at greater speed and at lower cost.

Within the wall of post offices, we should provide lift trucks, conveyors, mechanical sorting devices. We should abolish procedures that take unnecessary time and waste money.

In every post office in the land someone stands every day behind a window using expensive manpower to sell 2- or 3-cent stamps. Even at minimum rates, a man's time today should not be spent taking an order, making change and handling 1- 2- or 3-cent stamps. The telephone company has pay stations where you can get a number by just moving a dial. Why not put stamp vending machines everywhere too—in supermarkets, drugstores, wherever people find it convenient to shop? Why not stop selling stamps at post offices except in sizable lots, or from self-operating machines?

Why not get the mail that should move fast up in the air where the planes are? Why not let the mail that does not need to move fast travel by freight cars or trucks? Let the railroads, trucks, ships and airlines all compete to move the mail at the speed each kind of mail can use best?

There is no doubt in my mind that most, if not all, of the postal deficit can be wiped out by giving the men in the posal service machines to increase their productivity.

And it is not only the post office deficit that is involved here. Postal employees want and deserve an opportunity to make more money. The way to do this is through a multiplication of their productivity, not simply by raising the pay for an outmoded operation.

All these things and many more must be done. Under President Eisenhower and our able and devoted Postmaster General, Mr. Summerfield, they will be done.

As chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee, I feel perfectly justified in asking the Post Office to present proof of increased efficiency and reduced costs, not just as predictions, but as present facts, before we vote further rate increases.

Congress in this situation has the same responsibility that a public service commission has when it is approached for an increase by a private utility. One of the first things the commission says is, "Prove first that you can't cut costs enough by increased efficiency so that the higher rates won't be necessary." And if there is any doubt on that score, the increase is not granted.

These are some of the problems that are being examined by the Carlson committee. No one can say what all their suggested solutions will be. On the basis of their report it certainly should be possible to get general agreement on postal policies and postal rates. Certainly it will be my effort to bring about such an agreement. I believe that as a result of this Carlson committee study, objectively carried out by experts, the Congress can at last lay down a clear postal policy that will bring the American public steadily inproving service at lower cost to both user and taxpayer—who, in the last analysis, are the same person.

Civil Service and Good Government—Forces at Work Seek To Destroy Merit System—Government Employees Perform Best When Service Is Free From Political Pressures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an address made by James A. Campbell, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, at a dinner meeting for the observance of the 71st anniversary of the founding of the civil-service system at the Mayflower Hotel on Saturday, January 30:

Our purpose in being here tonight is to observe the 71st anniversary of an event of outstanding significance for Federal employees—the enactment of the Civil Service Act of 1883. That is important because of the significant implications behind it.

There may be those who might question that statement. They might wonder what it means to them. What effect could the passage of a law setting up a system of providing personnel for the Federal Government have on the average Government employee?

It has only this much to do with every employee in the Federal service. Without the Civil Service Act there would be no foundation for a career service. There would be no classification law, no retirement law, and probably no leave law, no provision for compensation for injury and for the other benefits which have been provided over the years.

Why would there be no classification law? Because under the spoils system the distribution of Government jobs and their compensation would be based, not on the applicant's qualifications for the job, but on his record as a worker for the political party that won the last election. The more diligently he worked, the more votes he presumably influenced, or the larger was his financial contribution, the greater would be his claim to the kind of job he wishes in the Government service.

It is fantastic to visualize the type of a public service we would have under such conditions, but it is exactly what would result from the selection of Government workers for party support rather than on the basis of merit. It is what we had prior to 1883, and it is remarkable that the country with-

stood the abominations of the spoils system as well as it did.

Unfortunately, there are forces at work in this country today trying to abolish the merit system. They would remove any semblance of a career from the Federal service. They would make political party membership and activity the sole determinant of the individual's availability for a Government job. Once again we have the insistent clamor of those who believe that party loyalty must lead to a Federal job.

We are told that only those in policymaking or confidential jobs would be replaced. If changes are rigidly held to those positions which are actually policy determining, we can have no objection. It is what political parties have been doing—Republicans and Democrats—since this Government was established. It is nothing more nor less than insuring that those officials who determine the policy of the administration in power are sympathetic to its program.

However, this principle should apply only to truly policymaking functions. When it is expanded to cover hundreds of jobs that by no stretch of the imagination are of a policy-determining character, we do object, and we shall do everything within our power to expose and protest abuses.

But what about the civil-service system as it exists today? Has it developed as it should, so as to provide the type of public service that the country needs?

Unfortunately, we cannot answer these questions wholly in the affirmative. The civil service system is not what it should be. Its shortcomings lie not only in failure to extend it to include all non-policy-making positions, but in failure to provide incentives which will encourage able employees to remain in the service. We still need an adequate transfer procedure that would make the skills and abilities of employees readily available throughout the executive branch of the Government, a promotion system that would remove personal favoritism and secrecy, a more careful selection of supervisory personnel, and in addition, adequate training under the general supervision of the Civil Service Commission, and grievance procedures that will guarantee fair treatment and protect employees against dismissal to satisfy the whims of prejudiced supervisors. We believe in the basic principle that no man has the right to deprive another man of his means of livelihood without just cause.

Improvement of working conditions for Government employees has not been looked upon as an important function of the Congress. The members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives under the leadership of Senator CARLSON and Representative REES have realized the importance of a strong and efficient civil service. We would hope that their views were more widely shared.

Too many men and women prominent in business and civic life believe that the Government service can operate on the basis of expediency. To do so and yet function at maximum efficiency is impossible. They would be greatly alarmed if any business venture in which they were interested were conducted on that basis.

The common belief of many persons is that Federal employment is a sinecure and that no one voluntarily ever leaves a Government job. The truth could not be farther from that mistaken idea.

Two years ago the Budget Bureau and the Civil Service Commission conducted a survey of length of service and leave conditions in the civil service. The survey covered all full-time employees outside of the postal service. The findings were truly astonishing.

One-third of the 1,258,000 employees included have 5 years' service or less.

Seventy-eight percent had served no more than 10 years.

Less than 5 percent of the employees, or about 50,000 persons out of a million and a quarter, had served the Government 25 years.

This seems to be rather clear evidence that the Government service does not offer the opportunity or the incentive for longevity—the so-called career.

Now contrast this record of less than 5 percent of employees serving the Federal Government 25 years with the record of a privately owned and operated utility enterprise, which recently came to my attention. The Consolidated Edison Co., operating in the New York metropolitan area, recently signed a union contract granting a $2 a week automatic pay increase to all employees having 25 years of service. The announcement of this agreement stated that about one-half of the company's 24,000 workers qualified for this increase because they had 25 years of service.

The figures show that as much as 95 percent of Government employees leave the service before completing 25 years. And, what is even more startling, one-third of the Government employees do not even stay past 5 years.

Is this merely in the years of postwar deflation of personnel rolls? Is it the result of large reductions in force? No; this was not the cause. This was clearly shown in the official statistics of the Civil Service Commission.

In the calendar year 1952, 400,000 employees voluntarily left their Government jobs. Of this number, 366,000 quit outright. The others moved to other agencies, but still indicating dissatisfaction with the current job. In that same period, 35,000 were separated by reduction in force.

In 1951, 437,000 voluntarily left their jobs.

In 1950, the number was 211,000. So it is not a new condition. The number seems to be increasing. It is a costly situation, as our studies in the national office have clearly shown. But not all of the cost can be estimated. There is no way of measuring loss of efficient operation because of constant introduction of new employees into the Government service.

What can be done to build a genuine career service? How can the Government be given the benefit of long experience which private business values so highly in its personnel? It is not difficult. In fact, the way to do it is so easy that it is amazing so many presumably able men and women completely overlook the solution.

It is only necessary to provide Federal employees with reasonable incentives to stay in the Government service. Give them rates of pay at least commensurate with the advance of living costs and other working conditions that would influence more employees to make Government service a career.

Above all, put an end to all this uncertainty which for many months has kept thousands of Federal employees wondering when they would lose their jobs. The number actually separated has been small, but the fear of losing one's job is much more widespread.

Then, too, the constant carping criticism of the civil service must be stopped. Putting more businesslike methods into Government is one thing, but indiscriminately turning over many operations and projects to business is quite another.

Recently, I had my attention drawn to just such an instance. Manufacture of the Garand rifle, known to GI's everywhere, has been carried on successfully at the Springfield, Mass., Armory. But a decision has been reached to impart some of the manufacturing know-how to private industry as a precaution in some future emergency.

To do this, the International Harvester Co., at Indianapolis, Ind., and the Harrington Richardson Co., of Wooster, Mass., were given contracts to manufacture some of these guns.

What was said to be a pilot project turns out to be 53 percent of the present output going to the International Harvester Co., 18 percent going to Harrington Richardson Co., with 29 percent left for the Springfield Armory.

The Springfield Armory is now making one of the most important parts of the gun for the International Harvester Co. because they do not have the equipment necessary to make this part, and the armory is stamping the International Harvester Co.'s name on the part.

The Harrington Richardson Co. is not equipped to manufacture the gun, and, as a consequence, had to sublet the contract.

This decision will cause the loss of many jobs, various figures have been given out and one report was about 400 a month, until the 3,600 employees have been reduced to 1,800. We know that 450 employees were separated in January. It is interesting also to note that in the face of all this uncertainty no official announcement had been made up to January 25 as to what was going to happen in February. All this to give two firms a contract they are unequipped to fulfill. Things like this do not build morale in the Government service.

We have no quarrel with spreading technical and production know-how as broadly as it may seem desirable. If private enterprise can truly do a job more economically or efficiently than Government, and that job is not a genuine function of Government, we are all for doing it the most efficient way. But don't do it only to give some firm a contract and a chance to make a profit at the expense of the taxpayers and the public employees involved. And by all means, do the fair thing, do the decent thing, and let these people know.

As a Federation, we are emphatically in favor of the use of efficient methods, but efficient operation means the building up of a trained and experienced work force and recognizing the contribution such persons make to the overall success of the enterprise; be it Government or commercial.

Until that is done we are not going to have the civil-service system we should. Until more attention is given not only to selection but to retention as well, the Federal civil service will continue to do less than the job it should be permitted to do. Until there is an end to the gross discrimination between the citizen who works for his Government and the citizen who works in private industry, there will be no lessening of costly turnover.

The cause for this failure will continue to be not with the employee but with those who will not agree to needed improvements. It will lie also with the men and women in business, professional, and civic life who refuse to understand the vital need for a public service free from petty politics and equipped to give their best efforts in performing all the complex functions of a great Government.

We have pointed out some of the things that are wrong in the hope that it would point the way to better Government through better working conditions. My remarks would not be complete if I did not say that there is much about our Government and our country that is right, and we, here in this great room, and in similar meetings of thousands of members in every part of the United States, again pledge our allegiance to our country and again dedicate ourselves to the cause of good Government.

All concerned may be assured that the full resources of the American Federation of Government Employees are available in our mutual efforts to further the cause of good Government and the achievement of the most effective civil-service system in the entire world.

Our Forests in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, so far there has not been nearly enough attention paid to House bill 4646, which will soon come before the House for consideration.

As everyone knows, the Federal Government finds its necessary from time to time to acquire private lands. Examples are for flood-control projects, reclamation work, military purposes, and power transmission lines. Under present law owners of land taken for such purposes are compensated in cash.

Congressman ELLSWORTH, of Oregon, would change this by House bill 4646. His proposed bill would order a Federal agency acquiring private timberland to replace that timberland from Federal holdings when the private land is alleged to be a part of a sustained yield timber operation.

This special-privilege legislation obviously is aimed at our national forests, because most of the valuable timber now held by the Federal Government is in these forests. However, as the bill comes to the floor there is nothing in it to prevent selection of timberland from national parks, national monuments, wilderness areas, or from vital and valuable watersheds. Mr. ELLSWORTH has said that he will offer an amendment to restore a prohibition against making land from the national parks and like areas subject to the provisions of the act.

That this is special-interest legislation is readily apparent. It gives special consideration to timberland owners and to them alone. The man whose farm is taken doesn't get lieu land; he must accept the cash payment and move. Further, it is special-interest legislation for big timberland owners. Regardless of how good forestry small operators practice, few if any of them can be said to be on a sustained yield, which requires substantially equal cuts each year.

Land chosen under this legislation might well destroy a national-forest management plan for a unit aimed to support a community or several mills.

In the October issue of Frontier magazine, Richard L. Neuberger discusses House bill 4646. Mr. Neuberger is an Oregon State senator and a nationally recognized writer on conservation. Mr. Neuberger's article follows:

OUR FORESTS IN DANGER—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELLSWORTH-CORDON BILL

(By Richard L. Neuberger)

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO.—Every acre of public timberland belonging to the American people is potentially imperiled by a bill which has been reported out favorably to the House of Representatives and waits action in the next session of the 83d Congress.

The bill provides that any Federal agency which takes over commercial forest acreage for a public purpose must replace this acreage in kind. The replacement must be in "similar and suitable federally owned lands, economically accessible and adequate to permit continuation of the processing operation."

No lands are exempt from this method of exchange. A lumber operator whose acreage is taken for a reservoir, military encampment, or atomic-energy reservation can ask for "similar and suitable" timberlands in the Mount Hood National Forest, within Mount Rainier National Park, in the Malheur Migratory Bird Refuge, or even Indian lands, where trees happen to be growing.

At the present time, a mill which loses its timber through governmental condemnation proceedings or eminent domain is compensated in cash. Usually the payment is generous. But with the inflation continuing, most mills would prefer other timber to outright money settlements. Furthermore, many operators would like to get their bulldozers and saws into governmental reserves which thus far have been protected from cutting and felling.

On top of all this bill (H. R. 4646) attaches to the lumber industry—and particularly the biggest operators in the industry—a standing and respect never accorded thus far to homes, schools, farmhouses, hospitals, and even churches.

Whenever a piece of private property is acquired for a public purpose, the sole obligation on the Government is to provide just and fair financial remuneration. Highways have cut through farmhouses and barns. The Army has flattened schools and churches to clear the way for airbases. Cottages and bungalows have given way to the lakes impounded behind irrigation dams. In these situations, the Government paid for the property it took. But no legislation ever was proposed that the payment be "in kind." The Government did not have to furnish a family a farmhouse similar to the one it had flooded. No parish was guaranteed a church identical to the chapel which was leveled by military tractors and steamshovels.

But Representative HARRIS ELLSWORTH and Senator GUY CORDON, two of Oregon's isolationist Republicans, believe the lumber industry should be more inviolate in eminent-domain actions than are homes, farms, schools, and churches.

THE CONSERVATIONIST VIEW

Significantly, their bill limits its benefits to lumber operations where a "sustained-yield unit" is in operation. At first blush, this might seem commendable. Yet this description applies in the Pacific northwest only to the cutting carried on by the biggest companies. One of America's leading conservationists, Lyle F. Watts, believes the generosity in the bill "would extend only to large operations. The little man with 160 acres or even 640 acres could not apply. It's essentially a big man's bill."

Watts should be in a position to know. For 10 years, until his recent retirement, he was Chief Forester of the United States. He served four decades as a Federal forester and for a time was a protege of Gifford Pinchot himself, the founder of Government forestry in the United States. Now living in Portland, Oreg., the lean and rangy Watts bases his conclusions on a career spent in the long shadow of fir, pine, and spruce trees. This career started when he left Iowa State College with a degree in forestry in 1913.

The ex-Chief of the United States Forest Service discerns other dangers in H. R. 4646. The bill stipulates that the lands given by the Government in lieu of acreage acquired for public purposes must be economically accessible for the processing operation to continue.

"This can mean anything," he warns. 'Any good timber west of the Cascade Range is accessible to any port in western Washington. Any timber in the Willamette Valley is economically accessible to Portland sawmills. Thus timberland lost because of a dam on the Clackamas River could be substituted for by timber anywhere on the Willamette National Forest."

Because of the ironclad provisions of the Ellsworth-Cordon bill, the timber given in exchange under its terms would take precedence over mere contracts and written agreements. The Oregon community of Hood River relies on lumber cut selectively in the nearby Mount Hood National Forest. But what if a mill which had lost its lands to a Government agency thought that the trees of the Mount Hood Forest were economically accessible to its operation? What, then, would become of the logging industry in Hood River?

Watts also has pointed out that the Forest Service would lose control over its own acreage, a trusteeship which has not been materially violated in the Nation since the era of Teddy Roosevelt and his own Chief Forester, Pinchot. "The Army engineers, for example, could pick out lands on a national forest to give in trade," explains Watts, "and the Forest Service would have no intervening authority to say where, what lands, or how much value to place on them."

ADDITIONAL SERIOUS OBJECTIONS

Other sections of the Ellsworth-Cordon bill are particularly significant to men and women dedicated to the cause of conservation, a cause now encountering its stormiest passage since the year 1900.

The language refers merely to similar and suitable federally owned lands. No lands are exempt. What if a lumber company hankers after the rain forests of the Olympic National Park or after the Ponderosa pine of Yellowstone or the Yosemite?

Yet even if the national parks were eliminated, strong objections would remain. The national forests constitute the greatest land legacy belonging to the American public. They cover 175,232,000 acres. Each year they provide recreation and inspiration for millions of families. They stockade off such magnificent mountain ranges as the Cascades, Wallowas, Sierra Nevada, and the Sawtooths. They have stayed sufficiently cloaked in timber and vegetation to nurture the drinking supply of such great cities as Portland, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Denver. This has happened because of the vigilant protection provided by the rangers and foresters of the United State Forest Service.

But H. R. 4646 would put fetters on these men in the carrying out of their protection duties.

The bill allows the lumberman affected to elect as to the exchange of lands. Most of these lands inevitably would be on national forests, simply because national forests comprise the vast bulk of the timber owned by the Federal Government. Yet, under the terms of H. R. 4646, the one agency which would have no direct voice in the choosing and cutting of its trees would be the United States Forest Service. If the Bureau of Reclamation drowned out a timber operator's grove, the Bureau and the operator would decide what national-forest acreage the operator should receive in exchange.

If the Army Air Forces took the stumpage of a sawmill to make room for a strategic landing field, the Pentagon and the sawmill then might decide, for example, if a particularly inviting stand of spruce on the Clearwater National Forest came under the general heading of similar and suitable federally owned lands, economically accessible for the processing operation.

If this proved to be the case, then the Air Forces and the sawmill could conclude an agreement to give the mill extensive acreage within the Clearwater National Forest.

In all these negotiations the United States Forest Service would be as silent and helpless as a trussed fowl with a gag in its beak. The particular spruce forest involved might guard the watershed which was the birthplace of a large city's drinking supply. It

might be the site of a Boy Scout camp or a recreational spot for Campfire Girls. It might be ribbed with choice fishing streams full of cutthroats and rainbows and steelheads. It might be the spawning ground for Chinook salmon. It might be the home of such wildlife as elk, moose, mule deer and big-horn sheep. But the United States Forest Service would have to sit by indolently while the Pentagon and the timber operator decided the fate of the Clearwater National Forest—if H. R. 4646 becomes law.

So many threats to the natural resources of the Western States have developed during the past 6 months that conservationists are hard put to pursue a hundred perilous scents. For this reason the dangers inherent in the Ellsworth-Cordon bill have gone largely unnoticed. Most wildlife and outdoor groups have been vigorously opposing the D'Ewart bill, which would give stockmen a virtual fee-simple ownership of public ranges, where they now graze their cattle and sheep permissively. Yet, in some essentials, the Ellsworth-Cordon bill is equally as hazardous to the continuing protection of public lands.

If the policy of H. R. 4646 is established with respect to timber, why should it not logically be extended to grazing tracts? In the past decade the Federal Government, especially the Armed Forces and the Atomic Energy Commission, has condemned thousands of acres belonging to ranchers. No tears need be shed, for these men have been amply compensated for the taking over of their property. But, under H. R. 4646, why not permit the stockmen to select lush meadows on the Tonto National Forest or the Modoc National Forest, in exchange for their acres acquired for governmental purposes? And what, then, would happen to scenic values and to watersheds and to campgrounds and summer homesites?

The philosophy of the Ellsworth-Cordon bill is especially revealing. Occasionally, the construction of roads, bridges, and railroads in forest areas requires the taking over of summer cottages. To these cottages their owners attach a sentimental and nostalgic value. They may have been the scene of a wedding or honeymoon. Neither Senator CORDON nor Representative ELLSWORTH ever has remotely suggested that the Government should reimburse the owners of summer homes "in kind." This privilege is to be reserved exclusively for timber operators, who will have their pick of public lands that are "similar and suitable."

Only public opinion can defeat H. R. 4646 in the next session of Congress. It is ironic that the administration promoting the bill issues frequent statements paying tribute to Theodore Roosevelt, the illustrious conservationist. This is substituting the word for the deed with a vengeance.

Speaking of Partnerships, How About the One We Had?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Grange News, published by the Washington State Grange, of January 11, 1954:

WHOSE RIVERS?

The private power companies of the Northwest (except Puget Power & Light) have openly joined forces to take over some of the region's most valuable power sites. They announced their intention Monday at a meeting of the so-called Northwest Power Policy Committee, which they dominate by sheer force of numbers and political weight. They say they are pooling financial resources—no doubt with heavy tax subsidization from Uncle Sam—to develop power sites on the main stream of the Columbia and its tributaries. Uncle Sam is expected to pick up the check for flood control, navigation, reclamation or other features of these projects. The people will pay for the dams but the private utilities will own them.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is the private power interpretation of President Eisenhower's "power partnership" policy.

But in all the discussion, one outstanding fact seems to have been overlooked completely: For many years the Pacific Northwest has been creating new wealth and better living out of a genuine partnership in river development. Grand Coulee, Bonneville, Hungry Horse, Chief Joseph, McNary and other dams resulted from that partnership, along with the mighty Columbia Basin project. The Bonneville Power Administration resulted from it, and the power from all of Uncle Sam's completed dams is supplementing the supplies of both public and private power distributors. But where public agencies have lowered rates, private utilities have raised them because their stockholders' interest is placed ahead of the public interest.

Bonneville has earned astonishing financial returns for the Government while subsidizing three-fourths of the cost of the Columbia River irrigation out of power revenues. Bonneville also has enabled scores of locally owned, locally controlled public and cooperative agencies to get into business and channel the benefits of low-cost public power to their people and to new industries.

So what is wrong with the existing partnership? Nothing, except that the national power trust—of which the Northwest utilities are an active part—has constantly obstructed the Federal multipurpose program and slowed it down so that projects are far behind schedule and we face serious shortages of power within the next 6 or 7 years.

Is this a reason for scuttling the program which has been so highly beneficial and substituting an endless debate about an illusory partnership which is almost surely foredoomed to failure?

In contrast with the original partnership concept established by Congress nearly a half century ago, the new policy has not started a single new project, multipurpose or otherwise. It has created nothing but talk—talk and confusion and delay. It has satisfied nothing but the ideological desires of the private power combine which, not content with a bonanza of profits, wants to play whole hog or none.

You can well imagine what will happen to the public interest if these partners seize control of the region's great hydro resources and build their high tollgates between the people and their rivers. They will first try to destroy the Bonneville Administration or make it a tool to their designs. They will exert combined political pressure to establish a complete monopoly of power supply and force the people to pay them excessive profits.

This must not be. It has taken many years to build up the marvelous constructive force of public power in this region. Let us not stand idly by and permit it to be destroyed merely to satisfy the money-lust of misguided financial and management interests which control most of the private power companies.

For Whom the Bell Tolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to bring to the attention of the House an excellent editorial which appeared in the Boston Herald of Friday, January 29, dealing with the President's proposal to extend coverage by voluntary health plans. I am certain that his recommendations are matters of deep and widespread interest among the people of this country. Certainly the reasoned analysis of existing conditions and of the proposal itself contained in the editorial will be most helpful in working out the legislative details implementing that proposal.

The editorial is as follows:

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

The President's proposal to extend coverage by voluntary health plans through Government guaranties gives particular pertinence to an exciting report by the Health Information Foundation.

The study shows that 58 percent of the population has some type of health insurance. And look at the speed with which health insurance has grown. In 1939, 5,600,000 were covered. Today the figure is 89,500,000. This has been done in a capitalistic society by a capitalistic method.

This has meant that 50 percent of the hospital costs incurred across the country were covered by hospital insurance, more than $1 billion in all. And 38 percent of surgical fees were covered.

This has been progress—humane, inspiring progress which would not have been thought possible 20 years ago.

But the weakness of the voluntary hospital plan is also revealed by the survey. It is the brutal fact that those who need it the most have it the least.

Families who have an income of less than $3,000 a year have little coverage (41 percent have policies) compared to those who make more than $7,500 (80 percent have policies).

There are other significant figures. The admission rate for persons with insurance was 13 per 100 and for those without insurance, 10 per 100. In surgical cases those with insurance have a rate of 7 per 100, and those without have 4 operations per 100 persons. In other words, many who need care just aren't getting it, presumably because they can't afford it. Care also drops way down in rural areas.

The Eisenhower plan would extend voluntary insurance coverage by making it possible for the insurance companies to take a greater risk and thus extend their coverage. This is a good step, allowing those who can afford it to pay for their own medical security through a private concern of their own choice. It allows them to pick the doctors and hospitals they want. It provides an important cushion against the constantly mounting medical expenses.

There again the survey showed some alarming facts. One million families had medical expenses totaling 50 to 100 percent of their income, and 500,000 families had expenses more than their income. Two and a half million other American families had medical expenses running from 20 to 49 percent of their income.

This does not mean that health insurance and the President's plan to extend it are

bad. Voluntary health plans are an inspiring, democratic solution to a very difficult situation for the majority of the population. But there is still a large minority which need care and which for some reason, economic, geographic, physical, or age, cannot get it. They are also citizens, and some provision must be made for their care. We are our brother's keeper.

New York State Legislative Program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York for 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., adopted at a State executive meeting held Wednesday evening, December 9, 1953, at their headquarters, the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City.

Harold R. Moskovit, State president of the Affiliated Young Democrats, presided at this legislative meeting.

The program follows:

NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF THE AFFILIATED YOUNG DEMOCRATS, INC., OF NEW YORK FOR 1954

The New York State Legislature, which is about to convene for its 1954 session, faces great responsibilities. Legislation which has long been needed has continued to be neglected by the Republican legislature over a period of years. In addition to these mounting tasks of a legislative character, a series of scandals in the Republican State administration have been disclosed which demonstrate the need for a vigorous investigation of the regulation by the Dewey administration of harness-racing tracks; of the Thruway authority; of the State liquor authority, and many other agencies of the State government. It is apparent from what thus far has been exposed that the State administration under Deweyism has deteriorated and degenerated, that corruption has found its way to high levels of the State government, and that the interests of the people have been subordinated to the interests of the favored few.

Experience has demonstrated that we cannot expect the Republican governor, or the Republican majorities in the legislature, to initiate the legislation and the investigations which are needed. Fortunately, Democratic representation in the legislature, though a minority in both houses, can provide a strong, cohesive, and effective leadership in meeting these goals. We will endeavor with the assistance of the Democratic leadership in the Senate and in the assembly, the Democratic State chairman, and all Democrats, to focus public attention upon the issues in such a way that the Republican governor and the Republican legislature will be forced to bow to public opinion and to the will of the people, and take action.

We present here a legislative program which we are confident meets the needs and the desires of the people of our State. These measures we will endeavor to have enacted by the new legislature.

ELECTORAL REFORM

For many years we have advocated electoral reform and a complete revision of the election law so that the people will have restored to them the power of choice which today rests in the hands of a small group of self-constituted and self-perpetuating individuals. The legislature should restore democracy to New York State by the reform of the election law so as to provide:

The nomination by primary elections of candidates for governor, United States Senator, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and comptroller. We also favor repeal of the Dewey amendment to the State constitution under which no vacancy in the office of lieutenant governor can be filled until the next election for governor.

Presidential preferential primaries, so as to permit the people of the State in their party primaries to have the right to indicate their preference for presidential and vice presidential candidates, and to elect delegates committed to such candidates.

Allocation of the State's votes in the electoral college between the different candidates for President and Vice President in direct proportion to those candidates' respective shares of the popular vote.

Direct election in the primaries of all party officials and district leaders, including State and county committeemen.

Reduction of the number of members of county committees so that the county committees can once again be effective working organizations, and restoration of power to the county committees to administer party affairs and policy. We do not believe that any single county committee should have more members than the Congress of the United States.

Elimination of the technicalities and archaic provisions of the election law which make it difficult, if not impossible, to secure the nomination and election of independent candidates.

Prohibition of the use of paper ballots in primary elections, and the use of voting machines instead.

Permanent personal registration of voters throughout the State.

REAPPORTIONMENT

Our present congressional delegation in Washington was elected under the gerrymandering ripper law enacted by a Republican legislature. This legislation cheated the Democratic and urban populations in the State and enriched the Republican Party with congresional seats to which they are not entitled. The law came not from the joint legislative committee, which never met, but from the Republican State committee to which the legislatures abdicated their prerogatives. This is a piece of the same cynical philosophy by which the legislature has consistently deprived metropolitan areas of their fair representation in the legislature itself. In the special legislative session just concluded, the Dewey-Wicks regime has sought to whittle down even further that representation, and has brazenly appropriated legislative seats which fairly and justly belong to the city of New York and to Albany County and has allocated them to safely Republican areas.

We demand the enactment of new laws providing for fair and honest representation both in Congress and in the legislature, and which will also eliminate the gerrymander in Brooklyn; return the Rockaways to the Queens congressional district to which they have traditionally belonged; reduce the unfair and unwarranted congressional representation given Nassau and Suffolk Counties; permit the city of Rochester to have its own congressional district, instead of the present gerrymander of the city between two adjacent rural areas; give adequate and fair congressional representation to the southern tier of counties; place representation in the senate and assembly upon a population basis; eliminate the gerrymander of senatorial and assembly districts.

RENT CONTROL

Governor Dewey through the State rent commission has succeeded once again in having enacted a landlords' rent law. This law has permitted an unconscionable increase in housing rentals, and has permitted the exploitation by landlords of their tenants in mean and unconscionable ways. We urge a rollback of the rent increases which have been allowed, and the reinstatement of fair and equitable rent control. We also urge once again laws regulating garage rentals.

STATE UNIVERSITY

We again urge the establishment of a legislative committee to evaluate the progress and accomplishments of the State University during the period since its establishment in 1948. It is a keen disappointment to those of us who sponsored a State university that its establishment has not resulted in a substantial increase in the higher education facilities available to the young people of our State. The Dewey administration has sought to provide us with higher education on a bargain-basement basis. This has not been and cannot be successful. We need, as we needed in 1948, a real State University with its own campus, with its own schools of medicine and dentistry, with its own undergraduate colleges. The legislature should take steps to see that we have a real State University and not a paper one.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In terms of per capita expenditure and facilities available, New York State still ranks far below its proper place in the field of education. Our cities lack adequate and modern public schools, and existing schools are in too many cases overcrowded and obsolete. The salaries paid to teachers in our public schools are far below what is needed to permit them to maintain a decent standard of living. A broad program of legislation should be adopted to give all communities in the State adequate and modern schools, and to insure a fair standard of living for our teachers. Additional State funds should be made available for this purpose. The incoming legislature should remain in session until such a program has been adopted.

Legislation should also be enacted providing for the direct election by the people of boards of education and school boards.

BOARD OF REGENTS

The present method of electing the regents of the University of the State of New York is unfair and unrepresentative, and should be changed. Those in charge of the educational system of the State should be selected on a nonpolitical basis, and with a view to giving representation to all sections and groups of the State.

MOTORISTS

We demand that the legislature appropriate to the highways of the State the funds collected in gasoline taxes and motor-vehicle licenses. We urge that the legislature enact a law requiring annual safety inspections of all motor vehicles by State agencies, and requiring annual examinations of all automobile drivers. We further demand that industrial users of gasoline be subjected to the same gasoline tax as motorists, and that the automobile use tax imposed by the city of New York be repealed. We favor permitting the city of New York to retain the right to enact its own laws with respect to traffic, free from the control of a uniform statewide traffic law.

INCREASED AID TO MUNICIPALITIES

The legislature should enact laws giving a fair share of the taxes collected by the State paid by the residents of the city of New York and other municipalities to those cities. The legislature should repeal the authority given to the city of New York to levy increased sales taxes. The legislature should impose no mandatory expenditures upon the city of New York without providing the revenues for the payment of such mandatory expenditures.

EIGHTEEN-YEAR VOTE

Military activities in Korea, together with our present draft laws and the proposed universal military training program, ironically underscore the fact that the 18-year-old is old enough to fight, but not old enough to vote. We believe that a young man old enough to don his country's uniform and serve her in battle in old enough to vote. We again urge that New York follow the lead of Georgia and enact legislation conferring the right to vote at 18.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Once again we urge that the benefits of the unemployment insurance law be extended to classes not now covered by it, and should also be made available to the sick.

RECOGNITION OF WOMEN VOTERS

Although they constitute more than half of the electorate, few women occupy major State, city, or county public offices. We advocate the nomination, election, and appointment of qualified women to a fair share of city, State, and county offices, and we call upon Democratic leaders in the State to give such representation to qualified women wherever possible.

LITTLE HOOVER COMMISSION

We recommend the establishment of a State commission, to be patterned after the Federal Hoover Commission, to increase the effectiveness of State agencies and departments. We believe this to be particularly urgent at this time, in view of the imminence of a constitutional convention. We believe that such a constitutional convention should be held to eliminate many existing inequities in our State laws, and that all possible preliminary studies should be undertaken so as to make them available for the use of the convention.

REFUSAL TO WAIVE IMMUNITY

We urge that the present laws which provide that a Government official or employee who refuses to testify on the grounds that his testimony will incriminate him shall thereafter be barred from public employment shall be extended to retired Government officials or employees, and that the pension rights of all such retired Government officials or employees shall terminate upon such refusal to testify. We further urge that any official of any political party who refuses to testify on such grounds shall thereafter be barred from holding office in a political party, and shall thereafter also be barred from public employment.

COMMUNISM

We abhor communism in all its manifestations, and we urge again that all steps be taken by the legislature necessary to root it out and expel it from our State. We are opposed to the employment of Communists in our national, State, or local governments. The danger to our democratic way of life does not come only from abroad. There are some misguided citizens and resident aliens who call themselves Americans who have lent themselves and their energies to foreign doctrine and to foreign aggressors who seek to stamp out democracy in our country. We cannot afford to have an American Gottwald or an American Quisling, and we must take all steps that our Constitution permits to make sure that we do not have one. At the same time, we must apply traditional American methods in ferreting out and removing such persons. It is clear to us that the members, both open and concealed, of the American Communist Party are, in fact, the willing agents of a foreign government committed to interfere with and disrupt our domestic affairs. We must deal with them as such.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Once again we endorse the program for the St. Lawrence seaway, and full development by New York State under public ownership of the water power facilities thereby provided. Such action has become even more imperative by reason of the development of the ore beds of Labrador and Quebec. In connection therewith we also favor the preservation and development of the scenic beauty of Niagara Falls.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Continued emphasis must be put upon the elimination of the inadequacies of our public health system, and new public hospitals throughout the State should be completed and constructed. There should be a full investigation of the sordid and unsatisfactory conditions that exist in the State mental hospitals.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Our program of public housing should be accelerated and projects brought to completion so that the existing shortage of homes can be remedied, and so that no veteran of Korea will come home to find that it is as difficult to find a home as it has been for the veterans of World War II.

PRACTICE OF ELECTROLYSIS

We recommend the enactment of a law providing for the examining, licensing, and regulation of persons engaged in the practice of electrolysis.

PRACTICE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS AND PSYCHOLOGY

We recommend the enactment of a law proproviding for the equitable examining, licensing, and regulation of persons engaged in the practice of psychoanalysis and psychology.

SECURITIES DEALERS

It is ironical that although our laws provide that barbers, plumbers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, real-estate brokers, and insurance brokers must take examinations and demonstrate their qualifications before they can commence the practice of their professions, no similar laws apply to persons handling other persons' money as securities dealers and brokers, and as securities analysts. We do not believe that the mere possession of the funds necessary to purchase a seat on the New York Stock Exchange or the American Stock Exchange should qualify a person to engage in the securities business. We support the enactment of a State law providing for the licensing, by a system of examination, of all persons engaging in the securities business in this State.

STATE HOUSING AND BUILDING COMMISSION

We urge the legislature to enact a law creating a State housing and building commission, by combining the joint legislative committee on housing and multiple dwellings with the State building code commission; such action should alleviate duplication, reduce cost of promulgation, simplify interpretation, and clarify enforcement of the housing and building construction laws.

CIVILIAN DEFENSE

We urge the appropriation of adequate funds for the development of a civilian defense system in this State.

FAMILY COURT

Our court structure is woefully inadequate in matters dealing with the family. The domestic relations court handles domestic relations in name only; in fact, its jurisdiction is limited to the granting of support of a wife, and to children's court matters. The supreme court has sole jurisdiction in divorce, annulment, and separation, and has not adequate facilities to exercise properly such jurisdiction. The surrogate's court has jurisdiction of adoptions, and paternity cases, which come within the province of the court of special sessions. Other cases involving the family are assigned under existing law to still other courts which are ill-suited to handle them. We urge the creation of a new family court, encompassing within its jurisdiction all matters relating to the family (including divorce, annulment, separation, adoption, support, juvenile delinquency, paternity cases, and youthful offender cases), and having adequate facilities for the proper exercise of its jurisdiction.

WOMEN'S COURT

Our present laws and procedures dealing with women arrested on charges of prostitution are inhuman, barbaric, and archaic. They should be revised to place the emphasis upon rehabilitation rather than punishment. Study of this problem, and its medical and social aspects, should be high on the legislature's agenda.

HOME RULE

The constant efforts by the Republican governor and the Republican legislature to govern the city of New York from Albany, and its consequent harm upon the affairs of the city, must cease. The city of New York should be given the home rule to which it is entitled by the home-rule law.

LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANIES

We favor the amendment of the insurance law to provide for a more democratic selection of the officers and directors of insurance companies. Strong efforts should be made to eliminate nepotism in life-insurance companies. Legislation should be enacted to prevent officials and employees of the State insurance department from exploiting their regulatory authority in such an manner as to assure themselves of positions with regulated companies. It should be prohibited for an official or employee of the State insurance department to have any connection with an insurance company or firm either during his tenure, or for 5 years after the termination of it.

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS

We uge that a printed record and journal be published and made available to the public of all of the proceedings of the legislature, so that the people may be fully informed of what goes on in Albany. We also urge that the legislature remain in session until its tasks are completed.

SWITCH-BLADE KNIVES

We urge the enactment of a law outlawing switch-blade knives in this State.

Investigation of Monopoly Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. O'BRIEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Michigan CIO Council executive board on January 23, 1954:

Whereas the recent increase in the price of coffee points up the danger of cartel and

monopoly control of the necessities of life; and

Whereas the prices of other necessities have been maintained or increased despite the fact that the amount paid to the farmers has decreased to a point below the cost of production; and

Whereas consumer demand is decreasing due to unemployment and shorter workweeks but the vaunted law of supply and demand is failing to break the monopoly controlled price level; and

Whereas the present Republican Congress has refused to appropriate money to study why the farmer gets less for his products although the consumer still pays high prices; and

Whereas the present Republican Congress is investigation-happy in its attempts to smear labor and liberals but has refused to investigate monopoly prices; and

Whereas individuals and organizations are presently advocating a boycott against coffee: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this conference go on record asking that all forms of monopoly control of the necessities of life be investigated and strong measures adopted to put a stop to such control; and be it further

Resolved, That the conference call on the Attorney General of the United States to investigate the monopolies for violation of the Sherman antitrust laws and other Federal laws; and be it finally

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Congressmen and Senators from Michigan, the President of the United States, the Attorney General of the United States, and the national CIO.

A Case for Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, soon one of the major legislative problems facing us in the House will be the matter of tariffs. It is true this is not a new question but certainly each time it comes before Congress it becomes more and more complicated. Many factors are responsible for this, such as changing world conditions, and so forth.

There are a number of very important phases of the current proposals which we must weigh carefully in the balance of what is good for our Nation and what is good for our friends of other nations. We are told trade is a two-way street but we may appropriately ask whether the products of American labor produced with its present standard of living will continue to flow down that street into the world markets when we throw our gates open to the products of low-wage countries. Will those low-wage countries trade here, after selling us their products, or will they spend their money for low-priced products of other low-wage countries? No one can guarantee the answer. We can only speculate.

One of the finest cases for protection I have read has been prepared by Mr. Calvin A. Campbell, general counsel of the Dow Chemical Co. His statement appeared in the New York World Telegram and Sun of Tuesday, January 5, 1954, and I submit it for the solemn thinking of my colleagues. It follows:

CASE FOR PROTECTION
(By Calvin A. Campbell)

The question of United States foreign trade policy is as complex and obscure a subject as we may see in our time. When we consider the abolition of American tariffs, whether by a series of gradual reductions or by one fell swoop, we are looking at something the result of which we are powerless to gauge with any degree of accuracy. We can only lay certain presumable or potential results on the scales and see whether the balance swings toward advantage or disadvantage. Certain facts, however, are generally recognized by all parties.

1. The United States, while unusually self-sufficient, must of necessity have some degree of international trade.

2. We have good reason to be concerned about the economic health and the military potency of friendly nations.

3. We should like our foreign friends to have standards of living more comparable to our own.

IT'S A SPECULATION

From here on we enter the realm of speculation, and it is acutely important that we ask: Will tariff abolition really accomplish our international objectives, and what price are we proposing to pay in the attempt?

The theory of free trade is most intriguing. It says, in effect, let each do that job for which he is best suited and we shall all be better off for the trading of our skills. It is contended, for example, that the American worker's standard of living will be increased if he can buy a cheaper foreign watch or suit of clothes. Obviously, however, this holds true only if that American worker can maintain his present dollar income. If foreign competition directly or indirectly displaces him in his job, or brings about a decline in his earnings, then his net advantage is negative.

Nonetheless, this broad trading of skills has a strong appeal. It is very much the sort of thing we have done within our own borders. But we have done it under approximately uniform laws, working conditions, and business responsibilities.

When we try to apply this on a global basis, however, we find a wide variation in laws, working conditions, and business responsibilities.

Until the nations of the world can achieve more stable and exchangeable currencies, and can agree upon a common set of ground rules, the theory of free trade remains unworkable from a practical standpoint.

AIDS ONE-WAY FLOW

Meanwhile the abolition of United States tariffs would seem an all but impotent step against the multiplicity of obstacles to the truly free flow of multilateral commerce. It would open our large high-income market to goods produced by lower paid labor, but all we are offered in return is the hope of developing their low-income markets. It is one thing to sell a $45 foreign bicycle to an American worker earning $80 or $100 a week, but quite another to sell a $45 American product to a foreign worker earning perhaps $25 a week. Unfortunately in most foreign countries additional profits tend to flow to the owners rather than being shared with the workers.

So while tariff abolition would undoubtedly stimulate the flow of goods in one direction there is grave doubt whether it would stimulate it in the other. We can presume that other nations will buy from the cheapest sources, and in many lines we would certainly not represent that cheapest source. We would find some American goods unable to compete at home and others unable to find markets abroad. Instead of boosting the foreign worker's standard of living up toward ours it is more likely that we shall lower our own by forcing people to compete with foreign wages.

However, we have been sold on the idea that we must assist foreign nations, and the hard-put American taxpayer is offered the slogan, "Trade, not aid," imported from England, as a hope for tax reduction. It should be noted that our commercial exports and imports are now in approximate balance and that our present aid is almost entirely military.

One thing is certain—if we want a billion dollars' worth of military preparedness in some foreign country, the only way we can be sure of getting it is to put it over there.

CAN'T DO THE JOB

So tariff abolition by the United States appears completely incapable of accomplishing any of our international objectives—military potency, better foreign living standards or a truly free flow of trade.

Meanwhile, what of the price? We are so proud of our productive efficiency that some people complacently assume it is invulnerable. Nothing could be further from the truth. Any product is almost entirely labor—labor to extract and convert a natural resource into a usable material, labor to convert the material into the product using tools and buildings that have also been built by labor, and, finally, labor to transport the product to the market place.

When we go into direct and open competition with labor receiving one-fifth to one-fourth our wages we will have to be 4 or 5 times as productive to hold up. With few exceptions to the contrary, we just aren't that good. The alternative is to reduce our own wage levels, and that in itself is a pretty high price to pay for good intentions.

MAY MEAN SLOW DEATH

Of course it is contended that if tariffs are reduced gradually it will permit affected industries to adjust themselves and thereby avoid injury to the overall economy. Perhaps this is a possibility. Perhaps, on the other hand, it is death by inches. And an industry which is being squeezed to death slowly can hardly be other than a drag upon the economy.

There's another price factor—the weakening of our industrial defense potential. A plant in mothballs has only a fraction of the military potency of a plant that is in operation, and it is downright impossible to mothball skills and brains and working forces. The weakening of our remarkably diversified and self-sufficient economy would be the most fabulous gift we could present to our enemies.

There is no question that the position of this Nation imposes upon it heavy responsibilities for leadership among the countries of the free world. There is a difference, however, between prudent leadership and the needless acceptance of risk. Those who would abolish American tariffs are asking us to pay a tremendous price for a most questionable piece of merchandise.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Statement of Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, Before Subcommittee for Rivers and Harbors, House Public Works Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I include in the extension of my remarks a very noteworthy and important statement of Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, before the Subcommittee for Rivers and Harbors of the House Public Works Committee, in connection with hearings for river and harbor projects now under consideration by the subcommittee:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I first wish to express my pleasure at being present today before your subcommittee and to convey to you the regrets of Secretary Stevens because of his absence from the country in not being able to attend the opening of your hearings.

These hearings mark the opening of the first omnibus river and harbor and flood-control bill since the act of May 17, 1950. As now scheduled, the hearings before this subcommittee will run from Tuesday through Friday this week and next week. The schedule for the first 2 weeks will cover, in general, most of the river and harbor reports in the eastern half of the United States submitted to Congress in the 4 years since the passage of the 1950 act. The scheduled reports represent about a half of the favorable navigation reports submitted during that time. It is my understanding that it is the committee's desire that reports on flood control and on multiple-purpose developments be taken up at the conclusion of the hearings scheduled for the next 2 weeks and that following the flood-control hearings the remaining reports on navigation in the eastern half of the United States and those in the western half will be scheduled for consideration. According to my understanding, these hearings will also include consideration of monetary authorizations for our large comprehensive river-basin plans. Because of the manner in which these hearings are scheduled, I have considered it appropriate to confine my remarks today in general to matters pertaining to navigation reports. I should also like to include in this statement some remarks involving matters of general concern to the civil-works program of the Corps of Engineers which have come up from time to time during the last 4 years. I shall be prepared, if it is the desire of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee, to make a similar statement at the opening of hearings on flood-control reports before that subcommittee.

In view of the fact that this is my first appearance as Chief of Engineers before your subcommittee in connection with an omnibus river and harbor and flood-control act, it might be of interest to refer briefly to my background in civil works and to introduce the members of my staff who will give the detailed testimony on the project reports.

Over the years the development of water resources of the United States has been one of my greatest interests. My early assignments in this field were as project and district engineer at Eastport, Maine, Huntington, W. Va., and at Vicksburg, Miss., where I took part in water resource development in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, which involved some of the most important problems in this field. Later, as division engineer of the Missouri River Division, I was responsible for continuing development of the comprehensive Missouri River Basin program for flood control, navigation, and related water resource improvements. During that time I was a member of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, which is responsible for reviewing preliminary examinations and surveys for navigation and flood control throughout the United States and its possessions. I believe that this combined experience has given me a broad working knowledge of the problems related to water resource development and the activities of the Corps of Engineers in solving these problems.

At this time, I would like to introduce the officers on my staff who will be responsible for testifying on the individual projects and on matters of general concern to the subcommittee. Brig. Gen. E. C. Itschner is Deputy Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works. General Itschner is replacing General Chorpening, who has appeared before your subcommittee on numerous occasions and with whom you are well acquainted. General Itschner comes from an assignment as division engineer of the North Pacific Division and has had wide experience in civil works. Col. W. D. Milne, who will present the detailed testimony on the navigation projects scheduled for the first 2 weeks, is now the district engineer at Louisville, Ky. Until recently he was the Assistant Chief of Civil Works for Rivers and Harbors, and we are taking advantage of his intimate knowledge of the reports under consideration and studied during his incumbency in presenting to the subcommittee the testimony on these projects. Col. Alfred D. Starbird, Assistant Chief of Civil Works for Flood Control, will be available later to testify on flood control reports. Testimony on multiple-purpose projects which include hydroelectric power development, will be given by Col. William Whipple, who is executive officer for the Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works. Civilian members of my staff will also be available to assist in the presentation of testimony.

Before discussing navigation reports specifically, I would like to sketch briefly the magnitude and importance of the Federal navigation program. The waterway transportation system of the United States began with the founding of the Nation and recognition of the Federal responsibility in navigation stems almost from that time. The size of the completed navigation program is indicated by the total number of 1,769 authorizations on which work has been completed. These authorizations represent either entire projects or modifications of projects. A few multiple-purpose projects in which navigation is one of the functions are not included in this figure. The total cost of this completed navigation program is $856 million. Navigation projects or modifications, excluding a few multiple-purpose projects, which are underway, but not completed, total 143 in number. The total estimated cost of these projects underway is $1,409,000,000, of which $878 million has been appropriated through the fiscal year 1954 and $531 million is the estimated cost to complete. Navigation projects or modifications, again excluding a few multiple-purpose projects, authorized but not yet started, total 254 in number. The total estimated cost of these projects is $911 million, of which $5 million has been appropriated to date for planning purposes, leaving a total of $906 million to complete. The total active navigation program, therefore, amounts to 2,166 projects or project modifications, having a total estimated cost of $3,176,000,000, of which $1,739,000,000 is the cost to date and $1,437,000,000 the estimated cost to complete. The estimated costs to complete are based upon 1953 price levels. In addition to this active program there are a number of projects in the authorized backlog which we consider inactive or which we have deferred for restudy. These total 282 in number and have a total estimated cost of $1,170,000,000. The active authorized navigation program includes about 28,600 miles of improved waterways, about 300 locks, 200 dams, and 290 commercial harbors. This embraces all authorized navigation projects from those not yet started to those completed.

The substantial and widespread benefits from the Federal navigation program have demonstrated that the investment has been wisely made both from the standpoint of economics and from the standpoint of national welfare. These projects have facilitated the growth of trade with other nations, developed commerce among the States, and contributed to the security and continued growth of the Nation. The latest commercial statistics, which are for the calendar year 1952, show that the net waterborne commerce of the United States totaled about 890 million tons in that year, of which about 660 million tons were domestic and 230 million tons were foreign. This is 50 percent greater than the prewar peak year of 1929. During hearings similar to these, in connection with the 1950 River and Harobor Act, my predecessor appeared before this committee and pointed out the tremendous volume of waterborne commerce and illustrated it by referring to the then all-time record total of 760 million tons reached in 1947. Six years later, we have already exceeded this figure by more than 11 percent. In the calendar year 1952 the inland waterway system of the United States carried 168 billion ton-miles, of which 104 billion were on the Great Lakes, and over 37 billion on the Mississippi-Ohio system. Development of these waterways during the years of peace has resulted in the acquisition of a valuable asset in times of war. During the last war the coastal ports were indispensable. In continuously mounting volume through the war years, traffic grew on the inland and Intracoastal Waterways of the United States, each year setting a new record in ton-miles of barge-borne freight. In addition to their value as carriers of commercial cargo, the inland waterways were used to float 3,943 war vessels and several hundred items of auxiliary equipment from inland shipyards down to the ocean. America's rivers and canals thus served a twofold purpose during

the war—they shared importantly in the transportation of strategic materials, and they made possible a widespread geographical diffusion of manufacturing processes that otherwise would have been forced into congested coastal areas.

The constantly increasing waterborne commerce of the United States has been given impetus by the economic effect of larger vessels of deeper draft. Progressive modification of our navigation investment is necessary to keep step with the resulting trend toward these larger ships and is one paramount reason why our navigation survey report program should be kept current and sensitive to changing navigation needs so that we can continue our study of our navigation improvements to determine how they fit into transportation trends.

Before going into the navigation survey program and in view of the fact that some of the new members of the subcommittee may not be thoroughly familiar with the report procedures of the Corps of Engineers, it may be worthwhile to give a brief description of the report authorization process. The Corps of Engineers undertakes investigations for projects only under specific directive by Congress. These directives may take the form of an item in an omnibus bill calling for such an investigation, or, if there have been previous reports in the area, the investigation may be called for as a review of previous reports by passage of a resolution of either the House or the Senate Committee on Public Works. The report on these investigations may be in the form of a preliminary examination, a survey, or a review of previous preliminary examinations or surveys. A preliminary examination is a reconnaissance type of report based upon easily available office and field data and prepared at relatively small cost. The purpose of a preliminary examination is a rough estimate of the situation to determine whether the project or projects under consideration appear to be sufficiently feasible to warrant the expense of a detailed survey. If unfavorable, the preliminary examination report is submitted to Congress. If favorable, the preliminary examination results in the assignment of a survey either through action by the Chief of Engineers or in some cases by the House Public Works Committee. A review report may be either of preliminary examination or survey scope, depending upon the amount of information already available.

After a favorable survey report is transmitted to Congress it is printed as a House or Senate document and referred to the Committee on Public Works. The projects which are before your committee for consideration are all recommended in favorable survey reports such as I have described. If favorable action is taken by the committees and by the Congress, authorization of the projects is contained in a so-called omnibus river and harbor and flood control act. After passage of the act the project is then eligible for appropriation of funds for detailed engineering studies, preparation of plans and specifications, and finally, construction.

The entire Federal navigation network has been evolved in general from the system of submitting to Congress reports such as those now before your subcommittee for consideration which have resulted from the procedure I have described. The fact that there are many navigation projects still unbuilt does not mean that new reports should not be considered and projects authorized by Congress since this is the only procedure which will result in a live up-to-date program responsive to changing local needs, developments in the national economy, changes in the national defense picture, and techological advances. By means of the submission of new reports the program can be kept current, relative priorities can be broadly ascertained to reflect economic urgency, obsolescent projects or parts of projects can be eliminated, and modifications to existing projects necessitated by changing conditions can be authorized. The very size of the navigation program itself makes it all the more important that there be a steady flow of review investigations designed to keep the system operating at the most efficient level.

I have given the matter of our navigation survey report program and, in fact, our general survey report program, very serious consideration. I am deeply concerned about the large backlog which has resulted from the study of projects assigned to us by Congress and the relatively limited amount of funds which have been appropriated to carry on this work. The rate of survey investigation work permitted by appropriations for the last several years for our general-survey program has been only sufficient to carry on about 10 percent of our backlog. This is true of both flood control and navigation reports. For example, the total number of navigation studies now in our field offices is 377. The total estimated cost of this planning is $10,752,000, of which $5,892,000 has been made available through the fiscal year 1954, and $4,860,000 remains to complete. In the fiscal year 1952 there was no appropriation for general navigation studies. In fiscal year 1953 the appropriation was $500,000. The appropriation for the present fiscal year is $330,000. The approved budget estimate for general navigation studies for fiscal year 1955, which is now being considered by the House Appropriations Committee, is $275,000, which we have estimated tentatively will permit work on 30 reports. Of these reports which will be financed with fiscal year 1955 funds, we anticipate that only 21 will be carried to completion and 9 will be continued.

As a result of the interest shown in this matter in several quarters, including the Appropriations Committees and the Bureau of the Budget, and because of my feeling that we should make every possible effort to resolve this problem, a study of the whole report program is now in progress. The problem will be attacked in several ways. We will make an effort to determine if there is any possible way we can streamline our reporting procedure without sacrificing sound engineering and economic analysis. That is, we will make every effort ourselves to submit more reports for the money given us. However, since these investigations form the basis of project authorizations, it is essential that our recommendations as to the feasibility of a project be reliable and give full information to the Public Works Committee which will enable them to make decisions on project authorizations. The importance of this cannot be overstressed since the reports are investments of relatively small cost, running about three-tenths of 1 percent, compared to the cost of projects whose initiation they often determine. Nevertheless, instructions have already been issued to our field offices, in December of 1953, outlining procedures and methods to be followed to reduce the costs of survey reports and expedite their preparation.

Another aspect of the problem is the merit of the survey reports which now form the backlog. These reports include some where conditions may have changed considerably subsequent to the date of their assignment. I am having a review made of all our outstanding reports with a view to placing them in 1 of 3 categories: (1) Active, (2) deferred for restudy, and (3) inactive. The first category includes reports which should clearly be brought to culmination because of the obvious merit of the projects under consideration. The second category includes reports involving projects which require further study before definite conclusions can be reached with respect to feasibility. The third category includes reports involving projects which we feel can be demonstrated to be infeasible, as a result of work accomplished to date, because of a marked lack of economic justification, local opposition, or changed conditions in the area. Reports in the last category should require no more work to support an unfavorable recommendation. This study is expected to be completed in the near future.

At this point I would like to call the attention of the subcommittee to a similar study in connection with authorized projects which we have undertaken as a forward step this past year and have recently completed. Several reports of congressional committees have referred to the large backlog of authorized projects, and this matter has given us much concern for several years. Some reports have also indicated the belief that the legislative committees do not have sufficient opportunity for scrutiny and control of the civil-works program. Our study of this matter has resulted in a recommendation that our projects be placed in three categories similar to those which I spoke of in connection with survey reports. Our proposal also contemplates that a project in the category "deferred for restudy" can be moved to the active list only upon further study by us and a showing to the Public Works Committees that the higher category is appropriate, followed by affirmative action of the committees to establish the project in the active category. It may be that legislative action will be necessary to establish this procedure. We have not reached final conclusions on our treatment of the survey report study, but it is possible that recommendations similar to those for authorized projects may be in order.

A third aspect of the survey report program now under consideration is the matter of local cooperation in the cost of surveys. We have not yet reached firm conclusions on this matter, and I feel that it involves some very serious considerations. Local pressure toward a favorable recommendation might be engendered because of local contributions in cash or work toward the investigation. Prosperous communities might, through a contribution toward the survey, secure faster results in project authorization than less prosperous areas where the problems might be of more urgent nature.

The navigation reports which are scheduled for consideration by your subcommittee during the next 2 weeks total 38 in number and range from small channels and harbors for light draft navigation to major waterways for deep-draft commercial shipping. They are located along the eastern seaboard, the eastern Gulf coast, and the Great Lakes area. The smallest has an estimated cost of less than $20,000, and the largest an estimated cost in the neighborhood of $2½ million. The total cost of the projects in the scheduled list is slightly under $13 million. Detailed testimony on the projects scheduled for the first 2 weeks, as I mentioned before, will be presented by General Itschner and Colonel Milne.

The additional river and harbor projects to be considered by your subcommittee at a later date include 29 works of improvement recommended in reports submitted to Congress. These works include several small projects estimated to cost under $100,000, but otherwise range from a $198,000 navigation improvement in Alaska to a $157 million multiple-purpose project on the Cumberland River, Ky. and Tenn. They include modification and modernization of a number of our major rivers and harbors in the United States and Territories. The total Federal costs of these 29 projects is presently estimated to be about $239 million. The total navigation program, therefore, which is now before your subcommittee, is comprised of projects recommended in 67 reports at a total estimated cost of approximately $250 million. The benefits to be obtained from these projects

include savings in transportation costs, increased fish catch, hydroelectric power, decreased damage to vessels and shore developments, and other associated benefits.

Before closing my statement before your subcommittee, I would like to mention briefly several matters of general concern to the survey-report program and to navigation reports in particular. In the years which have elapsed since the passage of the 1950 River and Harbor and Flood Control Act, there have been several significant developments in general policy. These stem from investigations of the civil-works activities of the Corps of Engineers by congressional committees, the findings of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission concerning the development of civil works, the activities of the Bureau of the Budget in reviewing the civil-works program and firming up criteria for economic analysis, and the development of basic principles and uniform procedures among the water resources agencies of the Government.

The congressional investigations, which include those undertaken by what is commonly known as the Jones subcommittee of your Public Works Committee, have resulted in an analysis by the corps of the questions raised and, where warranted, a modification of existing practices. I believe that volume 3 of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1951 has effectively summarized both the nature of the questions raised and the answers to those questions. The corps is fully conscious of its responsibilities and is eager to adopt justifiable charges.

The findings of the Water Policy Commission and the interest of the Bureau of the Budget in matters pertaining to project analysis and formulation have resulted in the establishment of a policy and a technique of analyzing projects which has been, with some exceptions, generally accepted by the water resources agencies of the Government. A manual on economic procedures in project evaluation, commonly called the Green Book, and issued by the Benefits-Costs Subcommittee of the Federal Interagency-River Basin Committee, has been generally adopted by the Corps of Engineers for use in the preparation of reports. This, I believe, will do much to narrow any discrepancies or divergences which might have existed in project investigations among the agencies under present legislation and assignment of responsibilities. I firmly believe that all proposed legislation in the field of water resources should be examined in the light of such standard and uniform methods.

In this particular connection, one of the most significant developments in this field is the issuance by the Bureau of the Budget of Budget Circular A–47 in December 1952, which establishes general criteria for the evaluation of water resources projects. The economic aspects of Circular A–47 are generally along the lines developed in the Green Book. This circular has been put into general effect by the Corps of Engineers and, in response to a request from the Bureau of the Budget, modifications in this circular have been suggested.

The matter of partnership between State and local interests and the Federal Government has assumed increasing prominence in the evaluation of projects, including certain types of navigation projects. Where the interest can be definitely localized I believe it appropriate, and have so recommended in individual cases, that local interests make a substantial contribution reflecting the extent of completely local benefits. This, of course, is not applicable to projects already authorized and under construction where the requirements of local cooperation have been established by previous law.

With respect to interagency cooperation, I am pleased to report that marked strides have been taken in the last few years. Concrete examples are the large comprehensive studies authorized in the New England-New York area and in the Arkansas-White-Red Rivers Basins, which are being currently carried on by six Federal agencies and the States concerned, under the chairmanship of the Corps of Engineers. These studies are well along and are scheduled for completion by July 1, 1955. In this cooperative work, systematic conferences have been held at secretarial level among the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and the Army, in which I have participated.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would again like to express my pleasure at appearing before the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee. I know that the members of my staff will be able to give you complete information on the individual projects scheduled for your consideration, and on any matters of general concern which you may wish to discuss. I am, of course, available to your subcommittee at any time you desire.

Coal Mines Safer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include the following editorial entitled "Coal Mines Safer," which appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal on February 1, 1954:

COAL MINES SAFER

There is good cause for gratification over the mine safety record set last year in the Nation.

Fewer coal miners lost their lives in 1953 than in any other previous year and the fatality rate per million man-hours was the lowest in the statistical history of United States coal mining.

Fatalities totaled 457 in 1953 compared with 548 in 1952, and the estimated fatal-injury rate of 0.82 per million man-hours of exposure was slightly lower than the 0.85 of 1952.

Most of the credit for the new low fatality rate must go to the miners themselves, the unions, management and State officials. However, the work of the Bureau of Mines in enforcing the 1952 Federal Coal Mine Safety Act should not be overlooked.

Following the Centralia mine disaster which killed 111 miners on March 25, 1947, the 80th Congress approved a safety bill. It left safety enforcement up to the States and the law lapsed after a year.

Again in 1949 Congress sought a new mine safety bill, this time giving Federal inspectors the power to close unsafe mines. The bill was reported out of committee but no action was taken.

Then the West Frankfort disaster of December 21, 1951, in which 119 miners died, set off Presidential and congressional demands for a safety law. Such a law was adopted in 1952.

Under this law Federal inspectors last year issued 174 orders to withdraw miners at 92 coal mines for failure to comply with the mandatory provisions of the act. Most of the deficiencies were corrected promptly.

Although no one can say disasters would have occurred at these 92 mines, the fact remains that none did.

Despite the new record, 1954 is not the time to ease the watch. The coal mine fatality rate is still too high.

Every mine must be made a reasonably safe place to work.

National Park Concessions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD 22 resolutions which were adopted by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House on February 2, 1954. These resolutions find no objection to the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior on proposed concession awards by the National Park Service.

The act of July 31, 1953—Public Law 172, 83d Congress—provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees. Recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior concerning 22 proposed contracts or extensions of contracts have been referred to date by the Speaker to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs for review.

Meeting in open session on February 2, 1954, the committee was apprised of no reason to disapprove the Secretary's recommendations thereon and the following resolutions were therefore adopted:

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Congress, 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 23, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed extension of contract No. I–1p–1114 which will, when executed by the Director of the National Park Service on behalf of the Government, extend for 1 year from January 1, 1954, unless sooner terminated by a new contract, the authorization under which Fred Harvey provides accommodations, services, and facilities for the public on the South Rim of Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made,

to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 14, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Edward B. Rushford and George I. Gravert which will, when finally approved by the regional director, region 1, National Park Service, authorize Messrs. Rushford and Gravert to operate the Rum Shop at Salem Maritime National Historic Site, Mass., for a period of 5 years from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 14, 1953 containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mount Whitney Pack Trains which will, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize the permittee to provide saddle horse and pack trip service from bases on privately owned lands located at Furnace Creek Ranch in Death Valley National Monument, Calif., for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 14, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to William W. and Barbara W. Myers which will when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize them to provide accommodations, facilities, and services for the public at Wildrose Station in Death Valley National Monument, Calif., for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated November 16, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed extension of contract No. I-1p-3348 which will, when executed by the Director of the National Park Service on behalf of the Government, extend for 1 year from January 1, 1954, the authorization under which Martin Kilian provides accommodations, facilities, and services for the public in Mount Rainier National Park, Wash.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong. 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated November 9, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to the Naches Co., Inc., which, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, will renew for the period of October 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, concession permit No. 14-10-426-43, under which the company is authorized to operate ski tows, provide limited lunch service, sell ski accessories and supplies, and rent skis in Mount Rainier National Park, Washington; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 7, 1953 containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mr. Albert Weiss, doing business as Friant Garage, which will, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize Mr. Weiss to provide towing service and emergency automotive repairs and services in Millerton Lake National Recreation Area, California, for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated January 4, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mr. George W. Hurt which will, when approved by the regional director, region 2, National Park Service, authorize Mr. Hurt to operate ski tows and a lunch stand and to rent ski equipment in Rocky Mountain National Park, Colo., for a period of 2 years from November 1, 1953; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated November 9, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mrs. Marilyn J. Wright which will, when finally approved by the Regional Director, region 4, National Park Service, on behalf of the Government, authorize Mrs. Wright to provide a limited lunch service at Crater Lake National Park, Oreg., for the period September 16, 1953, to June 14, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 14, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to Mr. Joseph E. Niemeyer which, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, will renew for the period December 1, 1953, through April 30, 1954, concession permit No. 14–10–447–56, under which Mr. Niemeyer is authorized to operate a ski-rental business in Olympic National Park, Wash.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate commitees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 16, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed extension of contract No. I–lp–1101 which will, when executed by the Director of the National Park Service on behalf of the Government, extend for 1 year from January 1, 1954, the authorization under which Glacier Park Co. provides accommodations, facilities, and services for the public in Glacier National Park, Mont.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 14, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to Mr. Donald P. Christianson which, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, will renew for the period December 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, concession permit No. 14–10–426–42, under which Mr. Christianson is authorized to operate portable rope ski tows and provide light lunch service in the Narada Falls-Paradise area, Mount Rainier National Park, Wash.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 16, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed extension of contract No. I–lp–6780 which will, when executed by the Director of the National Park Service on behalf of the Government, extend for 2 years from January 1, 1954, unless sooner terminated by a new contract, the authorization under which Oregon Caves Resort provides accommodations, services, and facilities for the public in Oregon Caves National Monument, Oreg.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 16, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Roening, which will, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, renew for 1 year from January 1, 1954, concession permit No. 14–10–447–89, under which they are authorized to provide accommodations, facilities, and services for the public in Olympic National Park, Wash.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 16, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to John C. Turner and Louise M. Turner, his wife, which will, when approved by the Regional Director, Region 2, National Park Service, authorize Mr. and Mrs. Turner to operate the Triangle X Guest Ranch in Grand Teton National Park, Wyo., for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1953; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 17, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to Mr. Anton Ashenbrenner which, when approved by the region director, region 4, National Park Service, will renew for the period January 1, 1954, through December 31, 1954, concession permit No. 14–10–447–84, under which Mr. Ashenbrenner is authorized to operate a store, gasoline station, and cabin camp in Olympic National Park, Wash.; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 17, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mr. Clifton D. Rock which will, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize Mr. Rock to sell souvenirs and related items at Gabrillo National Monument, Calif., for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior, and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 17, 1953, continuing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a letter to Mr. Murl Emery which will, when approved by the regional director, region 3, National Park Service, renew for the period January 1, 1954, through June 30, 1954, concession permit No. 14–10–304–7 under which Mr. Emery is authorized to provide accommodations, facilities, and services for the public at Searchlight Ferry located in Lake Mead National Recreation Area, Nevada; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated November 18, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to nine proposed awards of concession permits which will, when approved by the Regional Director, region 1, National Park Service, authorize charter-boat services and bait sales to be provided in Everglades National Park, Fla., for a period of 2 years from January 1, 1954, by the following: Leroy Orme and John Scudder, sale of bait; O. P. Patton and J. W. Willis, sale of bait; Walter P. Mann, charter-boat service for sport fishing; William Mann, charter-boat service for sport fishing; Peter G. Mills, charter-boat service for sport fishing; Stevie Roberts, charter-boat service for sport fishing; Finis A. Williams, charter-boat service for sport fishing; Tommy N. Williams, charter-boat service for sport fishing; Lewis C. Watson, charter-boat service for sport fishing; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated December 24, 1953, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mr. J. R. Dickson which will, when approved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize him to operate a gasoline service station at Big Stump in Kings Canyon National Park, Calif., for a period of 1 year from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated January 19, 1954, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to Mr. Sam B. Davis, Jr., which will, when aprpoved by the regional director, region 4, National Park Service, authorize him to conduct pack and saddle horse operations in Kings Canyon National Park, Calif., for a period of 2 years from January 1, 1954; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.
Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Whereas the act of July 31, 1953 (Public Law 172, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 261), provides that the Secretary of the Interior shall report in detail all proposed awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof, 60 days before such awards are made, to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives for transmission to the appropriate committees; and

Whereas the Speaker has referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs a letter dated January 20, 1954, containing the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to a proposed award of a concession permit to McKinley Park Service, Inc., which will, when finally executed on behalf of the Government authorize the company to provide concession accommodations, facilities, and services in Mount McKinley National Park for a period of 5 years from June 15, 1953; and

Whereas the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has, in session with a quorum present, this day found no reason to disapprove the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in this matter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives give notice in writing to the Secretary of the Interior that it has no objection to his recommendations in this matter.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
A. L. MILLER, *Chairman*.

Adopted this 2d day of February 1954.

Letter From Mrs. Peggy K. Walker, of Santa Ana, Calif., to the President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include a reprint of a letter which Mrs. Peggy K. Walker, of Santa Ana, Calif., sent to the President of the United States on November 29, 1953. I believe that this letter, dealing with the proposed extension of social security, will be of interest to my colleagues:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the wife of a self-employed orange and avocado rancher and primarily as an individual, I wish to protest vigorously the administration's proposed extension of so-called social security. True, it was a promise during the campaign, but so were there many other promises such as, for example, the repudiation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, a renewed faith in the American system of private free enterprise, a thorough ridding of Communists in Government, all of which loomed far more important in my estimation and which was the determining factor in my vote for a Republican administration. I, like so many others, voted for a change which I trusted would be a breaking away from the alarming collectivist trend which has marked Government policy for the past 20 years.

You have remarked many times that an individual is entitled to the fruits of his toils. If you sincerely believe this, then why must the individual be continually robbed of his personal responsibilities through a compulsory tax on his income?

As far as the social-security tax is concerned, my husband and I have prided ourselves in being among the fortunate few who have escaped some of the tentacles of a far too powerful government.

Applying my principles, which I learned in childhood, I believe the social-security tax to be a fraud, immoral, unethical, socialistic, and in direct antithesis to the tenets of the Christian religion which emphasizes personal responsibility in the individual.

Individuals to this date have lost much of their incentive due to government encroachment on their private affairs, and I fear our very foundation will crumble if we do not try in some measure to recapture the spirit of our Founding Fathers and reaffirm our faith in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

If for once great men could cast aside all thoughts for votes and concentrate on the very vital lifeblood of our country, liberty, and work toward a noble end, then and only then will our fears lie dormant. I was taught and do firmly believe that government is the servant of the people, not the master.

I would like to see our Government refrain from compulsory action which denies the individual his responsibility in voluntarily taking care of himself and his family. I would like to see our Government stop competing with private enterprise. I will voluntarily insure my own security. I speak only for myself although our entire family agrees with me, and I pray that those millions who also agree will lift up their voices before it is too late. The remedy lies not in compulsory action but in voluntary action. Bismarck enforced social security in Germany, but he forgot to reckon with human nature. My grandfather left Germany to escape the doctrines of socialism, preferring to risk his welfare in a country that was free. Please, cannot we keep it free.

Other copies of my letter to President Eisenhower have been sent to several Congressmen, to Mr. Jack Martin on the President's staff, and a condensed version was printed on the Los Angeles Times' editorial page, December 10, 1953.

Very sincerely yours,
PEGGY K. WALKER
Mrs. Hugh T. Walker.

Pay and Benefits of Service Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the members and families of the armed services have been perhaps the hardest hit of any segment of our population in the continuing squeeze of inflation over the past few years. They have not had a pay raise since 1949 and are much deserving of a complete review of their pay schedules. For that reason, I have introduced suitable pay-raise legislation, and under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix a resolution in that regard by the City Council of Coronado, Calif.:

Resolution 2407

Resolution regarding pay and benefits of service personnel

Whereas it has come to the attention of the City Council of the City of Coronado that the pay of the officers and enlisted personnel of the armed services of the United States of America is far behind the present cost of living and has lagged behind the pay of other groups of Government employees; and

Whereas the population of the city of Coronado is approximately 76 percent service connected and great hardship is being caused in said city by the existing pay status; and

Whereas the City Council of the City of Coronado has been informed that legislation will be introduced in Congress to increase the pay of the armed services of the United States of America, both active and retired: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Coronado, as follows: That great inequities exist in the pay and benefits provided for the personnel of the armed services of the United States of America, which directly affects the morale and efficiency of the armed services and as a result places great hardship upon the majority of the families residing in the city of Coronado; that the hardship can only be alleviated by legislation increasing the pay of the armed services and protecting such other and further benefits as are extended to such persons; and be it further

Resolved, That the mayor of the city of Coronado be, and he is hereby, directed to correspond with and send copies of this resolution to Members of Congress in support of legislation introduced for the purpose of increasing the pay and benefits of the uniformed personnel of the armed services of the United States of America.

Commonsense Unity or Division of Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, only recently it has come to my attention that remarks which I inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 8, 1953, have since then been made part of an anti-Semitic article in a publication misnamed Common Sense, which is published in the State of New Jersey.

I wish to state clearly and unmistakably that I not only thoroughly condemn the evil purpose to which my comment was put by Common Sense, but also that I consider the very existence of publications of this kind a cancer in our body politic.

As early as June 1951, the American Legion, Department of New Jersey, denounced Common Sense as "un-American because of its hate preaching against minority groups." Similarly, the Americanism Commission, American Legion, Department of Illinois, included Common Sense and its publisher, Conde McGinley, in its 1949 and 1950 reports on subversive activities. Other veterans' groups, civic, and religious leaders of all denominations have condemned the division activities of Common Sense and McGinley, who has been an outspoken apologist for Robert H. Best, convicted pro-Nazi traitor.

Because it has arrogated to itself the misleading title "The Nation's Anti-Communist Paper," Common Sense has been scrutinized by some of the outstanding journalistic authorities on communism. Cornelius Dalton, well-known columnist for the Boston Traveller, came to the conclusion that Common Sense actually "is a nasty little hate paper which specializes in antisemitism."

In the April 9, 1951, issue of the Freeman, George Sokolsky, veteran fighter against communism, branded Common Sense as a publication devoted to anti-Semitism. He correctly stressed the fact that the paper's publisher, McGinley, by his emphasis on racial and religious hatred, paves the way for precisely the evils which he claims to oppose. Sokolsky concluded his analysis by imploring real fighters against communism to denounce this paper, Common Sense.

I wish to do this here and now. I also wish to appeal to my colleagues to join me in relentlessly exposing false anti-Communist prophets, such as McGinley and his senseless Common Sense. It is agencies of that kind which under the

guise of Americanism and under the pretext of combating subversion create discord in our Nation. By fostering bigotry and race hatred, they undermine the foundations of our Republic, and they do spadework for the Kremlin by dividing our people into hostile camps at a time when the threat of communism makes united efforts of all Americans more necessary than ever.

Here Lies Our Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an article from the South Coast News, Laguna Beach, Calif., under date of January 15, 1954. The article was written by Remlow Harris.

HERE LIES OUR NATION

Here lies our Nation, murdered by enemies from within who pretended to be patriots. Here lies America, her shroud, the Constitution, the garment that for more than 160 years was her armor and sword.

Here rests America. Her tombstone that hideous house of the United Nations.

How and why and by whose hands was our Nation killed? It is a simple and shameful story of citizens who could read but would not and of statesmen who might have acted and did not.

Article VI of the Constitution bartered away America's life by making a treaty with any foreign nation or nations the supreme law of our land. Here are the vicious words: "[Treaties] shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or the laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Here lies our Nation killed by a few simple, innocently written but venomous words placed in a document that sought only to enable our citizens to live in freedom forever.

Senator BRICKER and 60 of his colleagues tried to correct the words by an amendment but were fought by a State Department blinded with power and the false utopia of internationalism. They were rebuffed by a President of little vision and besmeared by world government fanatics who scoffed at all things American. But most of all they were betrayed by the apathy of millions of Americans whose liberties they sought only to preserve.

And so here lies America, her shroud the Constitution, her tombstone the building of the United Nations whose sinister shadow stretches across the land and darkens every door.

Must that be the obituary of our Nation, fellow citizens?

Not yet, not ever, if you will but make those whom you elected obey their oath to protect, defend, and preserve the Constitution Make them know that you want article VI amended.

Article VI is a floodgate through which forces bent upon the destruction of America now spew their poisonous political filth. Close it.

It is a sneering mouth that mocks every right and privilege you enjoy. Shut it.

Do not beg, do not implore but order your elected representatives to do their duty. Pass the Bricker amendment.

The United States is your Government. It is not international. Our trust is in God, not men. Ours is a government of law, not officeholders.

Ours is a government by consent of the governed. Let us keep it so. Demand that the Bricker amendment be passed, lest you be someday forced to say, "Here lies my Nation."

Politics: An Honorable Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, seldom are words of kindness cast in the direction of those holding public office. Seldom are the loyal and devoted persons who help them win their elections honored as they should be. It is my pleasure to present to my colleagues a recent editorial from the Long Beach Independent-Press-Telegram newspaper which helps even the score a little on both these points:

POLITICAL SNOBBERY

Snobbery usually doesn't set well with Americans.

But many Americans are snobs when it comes to government and public affairs.

How many times have we heard someone say, derisively, "that politician" or "it's just politics" or "I'm not going to vote for any of them—they're just a bunch of politicians."

Folk in public affairs have such superior and disdainful remarks to contend with continuously. So they must have been grateful for the words uttered by President Eisenhower in his Lincoln Day dinner speech released this week.

People with an active interest in political affairs, said the President, should wear their political badge with considerable pride. "For politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen who would protect the rights and privileges of free people and who would preserve what is good and fruitful in our national heritage. Politics must be the concern of every citizen who wants to see our national well-being increased and our international leadership strengthened. In that combined sense, politics is the noblest of professions."

A person who refuses to meet his own political obligations has no room to criticize anybody, regardless of reputation, who is engaged in political activity.

It is a trite saying, but it is a true one, that the people get what they want.

If unsavory characters take control of precincts, districts, states, or nations, it is basically because other citizens don't do their duty.

We think there is considerable doubt whether the man who refuses to run for office because he "doesn't want to get mixed up in politics" is superior to the man who does get mixed up in politics and acquires public office.

The way a citizen can influence politics and government for the better is by taking an active part.

If you don't like the people who are in top positions in your county or district party organization, ask yourself what you have done personally to get better people in those positions.

Have you gone to district assembly meetings? They have. Have you sought office in the party organization? They have. Have you introduced proposals for political policies? They have. Have you spent your time ringing doorbells, typing political literature, promoting a candidate? They have.

Politics is an honorable profession. If there are people in politics you don't like, your best bet is to get into politics, too. Nobody is above politics. The fact is that too few of us measure up to its responsibilities.

Construction of the Santa Maria Project, Southern Pacific Basin, Calif.

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2235) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct the Santa Maria project, Southern Pacific Basin, Calif.

Mr. SHELLEY. Madam Chairman, when this bill was first proposed I was inclined to oppose it because I am a very ardent supporter of the 160-acre limitation law as applied to lands which receive the benefit of irrigation water developed by public funds. I think the 160-acre limitation which has been in our law for some 50 years or longer has been a great boon to the development of the family sized farm in western lands particularly, and has certainly contributed to a sound economy in the development of farming areas by families. It has stood in the way of the large factory farm, or the corporation farm, as we call them in California, getting undue benefits from the expenditure of public funds and getting irrigation water which they could pay for with their own funds.

After discussing the proposal with members of the committee I realized that there has been a continuous practical problem as to the measurement of the underground water and earmarking from whence that water comes and to whom it goes, and how much is used. I have therefore offered this amendment to the committee amendment which will limit the exemption of the 160-acre law to the distribution of underground waters only, so that if at any time in the future there is any effort to distribute the waters impounded by this dam in this project by surface distribution, then automatically, as I understand this amendment and as I have been assured by those who have studied the subject, the 160-acre limitation will apply; and I am happy that the committee is willing to accept the amendment.

Mr. McCORMACK. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHELLEY. I am happy to yield to my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the able minority whip.

Mr. McCORMACK. While this bill relates to an area which is many thousands of miles away from Massachusetts and my district, nevertheless, I have always during my years of service in the Congress been very much interested in the development of our natural resources no matter where located, and I have been a strong supporter of the 160-acre limitation provision of the present law, because of the many reasons stated by the gentleman from California, and for other reasons, to bring about as wide distribution of ownership as possible, as wide development of the middle-class people as possible, for that is very important in any government, and particularly in a democracy, and many other factors—the spiritual aspects being paramount.

I might say that when I first read this bill a doubt was created in my mind. I realized the circumstances justified probably exceptional action being taken in the case of this particular project, and it was my intention to offer an amendment confining the benefits of this project to those who are now the owners, but in a quick conference with my friend from California, the gentleman from California [Mr. ENGLE], he satisfied me that the committee had wrestled with that problem and they went into its many practical conditions.

I want the RECORD to show that this bill did not pass this branch—as I assume it will—without Members having thoughts in their minds and doubts in their minds as to whether or not some amendment should be offered to prevent, after the bill becomes law and the appropriations are made and the project is in operation, benefiting the people of that area, the gobbling up of these 160-acre farms or 320 acres in the case of community property, husband and wife. I certainly would not want to see ownership of these properties restricted to a few people; and I am sure the great majority, if not all the Members of the House feel the same way.

I shall support the amendment offered by the gentleman from California, for it approaches my state of mind, but even if it is not adopted I would be for the bill, because I realize the difficulties the committee has had, and I know the committee has done the best it could with a difficult project. I shall gladly vote for the bill even though the amendment offered by my friend from California is not adopted, but if it is adopted, which I urge, I shall vote for this bill with more satisfaction.

Mr. SHELLEY. I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

(On request of Mr. ENGLE, and by unanimous consent, Mr. SHELLEY was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHELLEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ENGLE. I have asked my colleague from California to yield to comment on the remarks of our distinguished minority whip. He is correct in saying that we wrestled with this problem, which is shown on page 79 of the committee hearings. We tried to write an amendment which would do precisely the thing he is talking about, and the Interior people finally threw up their hands and said they could not administer it.

I do not believe that any big corporation is going to come in there and gobble up these lands. The thing that will cause these lands to be sold and consolidated into major ownerships will be a depreciating water supply. When the water gets so low that they cannot irrigate the land in 60- and 100-acre plots, they are going to throw them together into 500- or 1,000-acre plots and dryland farm. Then we will get the big ownerships. When we put water on the land, we are going to get more people and smaller parcels of land, because it will sustain a kind of agriculture which will provide for a family on smaller parcels.

Mr. SHELLEY. May I say in conclusion that the discussion here has brought out one thing which I think is very significant. Throughout the years the Congress of the United States has rejected efforts to repeal or widely modify or emasculate the 160-acre limitation feature of the law. Time and time again it has been proposed by groups outside who wished that law lifted, but the Congress has rejected such efforts. I think the very discussion that has been had on the floor here today evidences a continued desire and interest on the part of the House of Representatives to continue the 160-acre limitation and this should be adequate notice to those outside of the Halls of Congress that the House will continue to maintain the attitude that it has throughout the years to preserve that law and to say that it works in the best interests of the people of this country, particularly the young veterans whom so many of us are desirous of seeing set up on small family sized farms in the West.

The Employment Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KIT CLARDY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker, of late we have been hearing a chorus of pessimists dolefully predicting economic collapse for the Nation. And we have heard them crying out that unemployment is reaching terrible proportions.

Of course, the fact that we have just finished the most prosperous year in our Nation's history is conveniently forgotten. So also is the fact that the Nation's unemployment today is only a fraction of what it was in 1950 before the Korean war artificially solved the problem for the past administration. And so also is the fact forgotten that, prior to our entry in World War II, unemployment was many times what we find it today.

But it so happens that I have some rather recent information on the situation in my own district. Last week articles appeared in the Lansing State Journal and in the Flint Journal informing us that employment in both those principal cities in my district was at a high peak and going up. A great deal of this is due to the forward-looking program of General Motors, whose president, Mr. Harlow Curtice, recently announced that there would be a billion-dollar program of expansion undertaken immediately.

Of course, when Walter Reuther, of the CIO, lets loose with a blast it is pretty obvious he has in mind the promotion of "Soapy" Williams' ambition to become Governor, Senator, President, or whatever is available. And so I call these facts to your attention so that the Congress will know what weight to give to the political fear mongering you may hear from my State in the future.

"Share" Has a Double Meaning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of January 29, 1954:

"SHARE" HAS A DOUBLE MEANING.

There is a welcome note of aggressiveness in President Eisenhower's economic report to the Nation. The message factually cites the sound economic health of the country today. And it confirms the belief that if and when the Nation suffers a serious economic setback the President is ready to act before it becomes critical. The President's goal for the economy was stated as:

"An increasing national income, shared equitably among those who contribute to its growth, and achieved in dollars of stable buying power."

Much significance may be found in this sentence.

We have had a rising income since before World War II. United States productivity, valued at $91,339,000,000 in 1939, climbed to $215,210,000,000 in 1945. It dropped off 4 billion in 1946 and then moved up again. Last year was our best year with a gross national product estimated by Mr. Eisenhower at $367 billion.

During that period our national income started at $72,532,000,000 in 1939 and climbed to around $300 billion.

But while we have made gains, they were nullified partly until 1953 because we lacked a stable buying power. One of the prime achievements of the Eisenhower administration thus far has been made in stabilizing most prices.

The President's goal also includes the words "shared equitably among those who contribute to its growth." The phrase refers to sharing national income.

While the word "share" is used, this does not imply a "share the wealth" philosophy. What Mr. Eisenhower is expressing is the belief that those who are willing to contribute to the growth of national income are entitled to a fair share of it. This is a far

ery from past ideas of giveaways regardless of the individual's willingness to contribute.

The President's economic message again indicates concern for the individual as well as the Nation. It shows the results of much sound thinking in reviewing the country's economic status, past, present, and future.

Lasky Blasts Nonsense About Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KIT CLARDY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker, a short while ago Mr. Victor Lasky delivered a speech at Syracuse, N. Y. He said some things I think are of interest to every Member of this Congress. For that reason I am quoting from the newspaper report of that speech:

LASKY BLASTS NONSENSE ABOUT COMMUNISM—REDS LEAD DRIVE AGAINST SENATOR, AUTHOR DECLARES

Claiming "it's open season on people who fight communism," Victor Lasky, anti-Communist author, lecturer, and columnist, last night delivered a scorching attack on what he called the "phony nonsense being spread about McCarthyism."

Lasky, speaking to an estimated 250 persons in the Syracuse Post 41, American Legion, clubrooms, 123 S. Clinton Street, let fly a barrage of rapid-fire oratory against anti-anti-Communists whom he termed "scrambled eggheads."

"Today the Communist Party is leading a campaign against the alleged McCarthyism," Lasky declared, "and leading a lynching campaign against anti-Communists."

"The talk of McCarthyism was born in the Communist Party and masterminded by the Communist Party," he said.

"McCARTHY is blamed today for everything under the sun," Lasky maintained. "Not a day goes by that a newspaper editor doesn't decide the worst menace to America is Senator McCARTHY."

SINATRA HAD WORD

"Even that noted political analyst, Frank Sinatra, who was in London chasing some girl named Ava, told reporters that this man McCARTHY is a terrible, dreadful man," Lasky said.

In addition to Sinatra, Lasky's hour-and-a-half-long speech, was splashed with the names of national figures and Hollywood celebrities whose quotes he cited as examples of "the hysteria fomented by the Communist Party."

Lasky questioned how "a wonderful woman like Eleanor Roosevelt can come out and say that if Alger Hiss had not been caught, he would still be less of a menace than Cohn and Schine, McCARTHY'S investigators."

He cited statements from Harold Stassen, Judy Garland, and Frederic March which were included in a Communist publication defending the "Hollywood 10" in 1947 as evidence that "7 years ago they were shouting 'McCarthyism' even before it was invented."

NOT A GOD

"Anyone has a right to attack McCARTHY," Lasky said. "He's not a god—he's a Senator. But it might be a good idea to condone or condemn McCARTHY as an individual and not as a movement."

"There has been a lot of talk about Joe McCARTHY being against civil liberties, but I have yet to discover how," Lasky continued. "When he calls somebody before a committee it's done legally."

"JOE MCCARTHY is as much a defender of civil liberties as any civil libertarian," he added.

Last year's furore on bookburning also came in for some bitter oratory on the part of Lasky, who said: "Newspapers were screaming about books that never were burning."

ATTACKS NEWSPAPERS

He then lashed out at the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, charging them with "another kind of bookburning" in the fact that neither newspaper ever reviewed a certain book by anti-Communist author, Geraldine Fitch.

"One of the most vicious attacks on Senator MCCARTHY," Lasky said, "came recently when the Christian Science Monitor declared that 'because Government agencies were afraid of JOE MCCARTHY they were hiring Catholics and firing Protestants.'" Lasky called the statement "a kind of vicious bigotry" and declared: "It's ridiculous to make a religious issue out of an issue that definitely does not concern religion."

Of the national administration, Lasky claimed President Eisenhower "has been fed a line of malarkey about MCCARTHY," but added: "There will be no split in the administration on this phony issue of McCarthyism."

"Those who say they agree with McCARTHY'S objectives but not with his methods rarely have another method to offer," Lasky contended.

OVERWHELMING ISSUE

"The overwhelming issue of our time is communism," he concluded. "We must, as Americans, unite in this fight to save America from the people who would destroy it."

Richard H. Amberg, publisher of the Post-Standard, was toastmaster at last night's event, first in an informative series on communism slated by the county Legion and affiliated groups.

Introducing the speaker, Mr. Amberg called him "one of the very great anti-Communists in the United States today and coauthor of the magnificent book, Seeds of Treason, one of the great books written in the last decade." Lasky is also editor of the American Legion Reader. He was combat correspondent for Stars and Stripes during World War II and worked for the Chicago Sun and the World-Telegram and Sun of New York.

E. Gwyn Thomas, commander of post 41, opened the program with a brief talk. Co-chairmen of the event were John K. Dungey, chairman of the un-American activities committee of the Legion, and James McHale, county adjutant. Rabbi Jacob H. Epstein delivered the invocation and the Reverend Daniel O'Brien, county Legion chaplain, gave the closing prayer.

Air Force Reserve Jet Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, recently an Air Force jet airplane, piloted by a Reserve officer on training duty, crashed into a residential area in my constituency. Warnings that such tragedy might strike have been given to the Air Force by myself and others for some time. In this instance, in addition to the pilot, several innocent victims were killed in their homes.

The crash occurred outside the airport approach pattern and outside the immediate vicinity of the airport which is located in a metropolitan area.

In response to my added requests to the Secretary of the Air Force to remove jet airplane reserve training from this airport, I received a letter speaking of the inherent dangers in airport approach zones. The lack of understanding of the situation on the part of the Department of the Air Force is set forth in the below editorial appearing in this Monday's Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper:

SECRETARY TALBOTT'S LONG-DISTANCE ADVICE

Air Secretary Talbott's letter to Representative CRAIG HOSMER regarding the jet crash on Signal Hill demonstrates how little understanding officials in Washington sometimes possess for problems of individual communities.

Long Beach is trying to get the Air Force to remove military jet operations from the Municipal Airport.

Talbott wrote that if communities near installations would adopt zoning restrictions to regulate residential developments on approach zones to airport runways, the danger problem would be reduced.

Certainly the Air Secretary is right. But the accident on Signal Hill did not occur in an approach pattern. It happened at a point a good distance away from the conventional approach pattern. So it is obvious that the Air Secretary has offered a suggestion that has nothing to do with the accident on which he is commenting. In short, he doesn't understand what the situation is.

We are reminded of a story told about a sheep owner in Modoc County who needed some extra gasoline during World War II rationing. He presented his case to the Office of Defense Transportation. "I need the gas before my next allotment period for use during the lambing season when I'll have to drive out to the flock," he explained. ODT pondered this request, then answered, "Why don't you postpone the lambing season?"

We suggest that some local organization invite Secretary Talbott to Long Beach for a look around.

Authorizing Help To Control the Level of Lake Michigan

SPEECH
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS].

(Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this is a new bill as far as the Members of this Congress are concerned, but the purpose is not new and the contest which it seeks to temporarily resolve has been going on for at least half a century. Fundamentally it represents an issue which the Chicago area has sought to win in the courts, and having lost there, now seeks to avoid the courts'

decision, and to circumvent the rights of the other riparian areas on the Great Lakes, by means of congressional action.

I am strongly opposed to this legislative attempt, and I base my opposition on four solid points, any one of which should be sufficient to call for the defeat of this proposal at this time.

First, this diversion could lead to irreparable damage and greatly increased cost for other beneficial users of the Great Lakes. Second, this attempt is inconsistent with the authorized survey of Great Lakes levels now being conducted by the Corps of Engineers. Third, the attempt represents a breach of a commitment to our sister nation to the north; and fourth, this legislative attempt flies in the face of firmly established precedent of the United States Supreme Court.

DAMAGE TO BENEFICIAL USERS

Undoubtedly this legislative attempt received its impetus from the high waters of 1952 and preceding years. At that time there was unusual erosion on the shores of the Great Lakes, which gave rise to the argument that the level of the lakes could be reduced without damage, in fact to the benefit, of the riparian owners of Lake Michigan and the other lakes.

As a matter of fact, this is fallacious. The cycles in which the levels of the Great Lakes run from year to year is well recognized. The cycle of high waters reached its peak as we know in 1952. Since then, however, the level of the lakes has been going steadily downward and we have moved into the low-water cycle. For instance, since the high water of 1952 there was a decline in the level of the lakes from 8 inches to 1 foot during the comparable seasonal period of high waters in the summer of 1953. The Corps of Engineers has anticipated that further decline in levels will be manifest during the summer of 1954 so that the accumulative decline will be somewhere in the neighborhood of 1½ feet since the 1952 high-water mark.

I am not unmindful of the statement in the committee report that the proposed diversion of another 1,000 cubic feet per second at Chicago would lower the lakes not more than three-fourths of an inch to 1 inch. It should be pointed out, however, that this represents and increase of two-thirds of the presently authorized diversion at Chicago. The diversion of water would be increased by 66⅔ percent.

Yesterday, in testimony before the Subcommittee on Army Civil Functions and Military Construction, representatives of the Corps of Engineers testified as follows:

Lake vessels take advantage of channel depths to carry up to 100 tons of ore for each inch of available depths.

In terms of the highly significant Great Lakes tonnage, the reduction in safe draft of three-fourths of an inch on the Great Lakes would result in annual loss of carrying capacity of more than 500,000 tons. When you consider that 85 percent of the iron ore used in the manufacture of steel in the United States is transported over the Great Lakes, the significance of these figures becomes more apparent.

Nor can I overlook the fact that if the level of the waters on the Great Lakes is reduced, it will mean a vast expenditure for dredging and other navigation improvements in the Great Lakes area. It will greatly affect the required protection from water in downstate Illinois. These requests will come, naturally, before our subcommittee, and I hesitate to think of the magnitude of the expenditures that would be required.

It is true that the Corps of Engineers has given a very cautious approval to the temporary diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second at Chicago, but I think the real professional opinion of the corps was manifested in the testimony of General Chorpening before our subcommittee as follows:

Mr. DAVIS. A substantially increased diversion that coincided with the cycle of lower levels of the Great Lakes could be very detrimental to a great many interests on the Great Lakes could it not?

General CHORPENING. Any diversion of any consequence should certainly be looked upon with a great amount of consideration before being approved.

Yes; this is a serious matter, and it certainly should not be looked upon by the House as a mere experiment to see what will happen to the levels of the Great Lakes if this diversion is authorized.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. The thing that bothered me in the hearing before the Committee on Rules on this bill was the experiment to which the gentleman referred. I understand they propose to make the diversion for 3 years as an experiment. Testimony was also adduced, however, to the effect that this rise and fall in the lakes travels in cycles and that at the present time we are in the high phase of the cycle. If there is to be made a 3-year experiment either at the high or the low phase of the cycle how would that determine anything?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. That is exactly the second point which I mentioned, let me say to the gentleman from Mississippi. This Congress has authorized a survey of the levels of the Great Lakes; we are making appropriations for it every year in my subcommittee. That job will not be done for 2 or possibly 3 more years. Certainly that ought to be completed before we authorize this thing that is looked upon as an experiment but which certainly will affect the results of the study which we have authorized and for which we are appropriating funds. It seems to me it is entirely inconsistent with the previous action of Congress.

Mr. COLMER. May I say to the gentleman—and I do not propose to make observations on it in my own time—I notice from the report that the State Department has filed a statement opposing this legislation. I wonder if the gentleman would care to comment on that?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. The gentleman has anticipated my third point, which is that this does represent a breach of faith with our sister nation to the north.

The committee report contains a very thorough and well-reasoned argument submitted by our former colleague from Kentucky, the Assistant Secretary of State Thruston Morton, in which he points out that a joint international engineering board composed of representatives of the United States and Canada has been set up; that Canada has a very good record of cooperation with us in studying this entire matter; and the international joint commission has this matter under advice. It has not yet made its full report. Under those circumstances, the Department of State has said we ought not to take this action which is inconsistent with the present study by the joint commission, and has submitted its report in opposition.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I will be happy to.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Is it not a fact that the Canadians have taken the waters of two rivers which normally flow into Hudson Bay and dumped them on us?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I am not sure of that, but I do know that the joint commission which is studying these two rivers and the great lakes to the north is also supposed to make a report on this entire level.

The fourth point is the one that was touched upon by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN], in which he mentioned that this thing has dragged through the courts, or did drag through the courts, for 30 years, and then in 1938 the court set the present diversion level of 1,500 cubic feet per second in addition to domestic usage. The court has retained jurisdiction of the matter.

It is a very serious question, even if this Congress did see fit to pass this law, as to whether it would not be invalid and would not be so ruled by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Attorney General of Wisconsin has submitted a memorandum, which I shall insert with my remarks, on that very point. It is stated therein that it is his intention to carry the thing through to get confirmation of the previous decision if the Congress should make the serious mistake of authorizing this additional diversion at the present time.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I should like to clarify the point raised by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER] in reference to the State Department. Last year for the first time in 40 years the State Department has raised a question of jurisdiction over the 1909 treaty. Secretaries of State Root, Charles Evans Hughes, Taft, and all of the Supreme Court decisions pointed out that water out of Lake Michigan was the concern of the Congress and not the State Department and not subject to international interpretation.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. That is not what the decision in 1938 said. It said

that the question of doing it for the purpose of navigation was a matter for Congress.

PENDING CORPS OF ENGINEERS SURVEY

In 1952 the Congress authorized a survey by the Corps of Engineers of the levels of the Great Lakes. This survey is now in progress, and appropriations are being made yearly in order to carry it forward. It probably will be at least 2 or 3 years more before this survey can be completed. The authorization of the diversion at Chicago which this bill contemplates would be inconsistent with the previous action of the Congress in setting up a study to determine the nature and the effects of the cycles of the levels of the Great Lakes.

Surely it would be wasteful inconsistency for the Congress to take this step which would substantially interfere with the important study which it has already authorized.

BREACH OF FAITH WITH CANADA

The committee reports contain a very careful analysis of our commitments with Canada submitted by the Assistant Secretary of State, Thruston B. Morton. This report makes it clear that there has been the closest cooperation between the United States and Canada in dealing with the water levels of the entire Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway. It is not necessary for me to in any way repeat or attempt to enlarge upon the very scholarly report of our former colleague, Mr. Morton. Suffice to say that a Joint International Engineering Board composed of representatives of Canada and the United States is now in the progress of making studies with respect to any diversion of water in or out of the Great Lakes Basin, that Canada has made every attempt to cooperate. The International Joint Commission has this matter under advisement and has not yet made its full report. These circumstances, in my opinion, clearly justify Mr. Morton's conclusion that H. R. 3300 or similar legislation should not be enacted pending the receipt of the report and the recommendations of the International Joint Commission.

THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION

The committee's statement in its report that it is aware that the diversion of water at Chicago from Lake Michigan through the drainage canal of the sanitary district has been the subject of considerable controversy is certainly no overstatement. This matter was the subject of long, drawn-out litigation which extended over 30 years, and fixed the diversion at its present amount of 1,500 feet per second in addition to domestic use. A 1938 decision is clear, in my opinion, that Congress can authorize additional diversion of the waterway at the Chicago drainage canal only for the purpose of maintaining navigation. Clearly the court has continuing jurisdiction in this matter and if there is to be a change in the permissible diversion at Chicago, in my opinion, the place to obtain that permission is with the courts, not on the floor of the Congress.

At this time, I should like to insert, in accordance with permission previously obtained, a memorandum from the Honorable Vernon W. Thomson, the attorney general of the State of Wisconsin, in which he deals with the legal history of this matter, and a telegram which I have received from him, which telegram has the approval of the Honorable Walter Kohler, Jr., Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

In view of these four very serious objections to this legislative proposal, I hope the resolution which provides for debate on H. R. 3300 will be defeated.

MEMORANDUM RE: LAKE MICHIGAN WATER DIVERSION

The Chicago drainage canal was opened on January 17, 1900, by the Chicago Sanitary District without any consent from the Federal Government.

Prior to its opening, the United States District Engineer at Chicago had stated that it was a strange fact that the city of Chicago was proposing to expend some $30 million for the purpose of diverting an unlimited amount of water from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi without finding out whether such diversion would be allowed by the interest of the United States or of Canada. The engineer gave it as his opinion at such time that the proposed diversion would lower the waters of the Michigan-Huron Basin and Lake Erie from 3 to 8 inches, and would seriously diminish the carrying capacity of the large vessels which were navigating the Great Lakes. The engineer further pointed out that such a discharge of water would increase the current in the Chicago River and interfere with navigation in the river.

After the opening of the canal in 1900, various civic groups and officials along the Great Lakes filed protests and made personal appearances before various Secretaries of War to demand a halt to the Chicago diversion because of the damage inflicted upon the people of the Great Lakes States. During the course of the years their sanitary district made various applications to Secretaries of War William Howard Taft and Henry L. Stimson for permission for diversions of water of as much as 10,000 cubic feet per second.

When the sanitary district acted in violation of such permission as was granted in October of 1913, the United States filed a bill to enjoin the district from diverting more than 4,167 feet of water from Lake Michigan. This case was consolidated with an earlier 1908 case and then the cases were held in abeyance for some 6 years before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis gave an oral opinion in favor of the United States on June 19, 1920. Landis resigned from the bench before a decree was entered and further arguments were heard by one Judge Carpenter. He entered a decree which was ultimately affirmed by the United States Supreme Court in January 1925. Meanwhile, in 1922, the State of Wisconsin not anticipating any satisfaction from the other cases pending, filed its original bill in the United States Supreme Court against the Sanitary District of Chicago and the State of Illinois to seek an injunction and against the continued diversion of waters to the Great Lakes. Subsequently Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York either joined in this action or filed separate bills against the same defendant. The action was heard by Charles Evans Hughes as special master, and in 1927 he filed his findings to the effect that a diversion of water of some 8,500 cubic feet per second would lower the Michigan-Huron Basin by approximately 6 inches and the levels of Erie and Ontario by approximately 5 inches. Special Master Hughes further stated: "I am satisfied that the evidence requires the finding that the lowering of lake levels of approximately 6 inches has had a substantial and injurious effect upon the carrying capacity of vessels and has deprived navigation and commercial interests of the facilities which otherwise they would have enjoyed in commerce on the Great Lakes."

When the findings and conclusions of law were reviewed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Wisconsin* v. *Illinois* (278 U. S. 368, 73 L. ed. 426), the Court stated that the complainants were entitled to a decree which would "be effective in bringing that violation (of States' rights) and the unwarranted part of the diversion to an end."

In commenting upon the master's opinion, the Court stated: "The master finds that the damage due to the diversion at Chicago relates to navigation and commercial interests, to structures, to the convenience of summer resorts, to fishing and hunting grounds, to public parks, and other enterprises, and to riparian property generally * * *."

The great losses to which the complainant States and their citizens and their property owners have been subjected by the reductions of levels in the various lakes and rivers, except Lake Superior, are made apparent by these figures.

Further, the Court concluded:

"In increasing the diversion from 4,167 cubic feet a second to 8,500 the drainage district defied the authority of the National Government resting in the Secretary of War. And insofar as the prior diversion was not made for the purposes of maintaining navigation in the Chicago River, it was without any legal basis because made for an inadmissible purpose * * *."

Though the restoration of just rights to the complainants will be gradual instead of immediate, it must be continuous and as speedy as practicable, and must include everything that is essential to an effective project.

The cases were then referred back to the master, who was directed to take testimony on practical measures needed for the disposal of sewage without the unlawful diversion of water, time for completion and to report his conclusions for the formulation of a decree. His report came before the Supreme Court again and the decision of the Court of April 14, 1930 (based on his report, is found at 281 U. S. 179, 74 L. ed. 799 (title of the case the same)).

In this latter report, Mr. Justice Holmes, referring to the prior opinion, stated:

"It was decided that the defendant State and its creature, the sanitary district, were reducing the level of the Great Lakes, were inflicting great losses upon the complainants and were violating their rights by diverting from Lake Michigan 8,500 or more cubic feet per second into the Chicago Drainage Canal for the purpose of diluting and carrying away the sewage of Chicago. The diversion of the water for that purpose was held illegal * * *."

Further, the Court stated:

"It already has been decided that the defendants are doing a wrong to the complainants, and that they must stop it. They must find out a way at their peril."

Implicit in the foregoing opinions is the point that if Congress has any power in the premises it is solely power to promote navigation in the Chicago River. There is nothing in any of the opinions that would justify a conclusion that Congress can give the waters to the Sanitary District in order to allow that District to avoid the expense of the construction of a proper sewage disposal plant.

The Sanitary District of Chicago has made repeated attempts to escape from and avoid the effect of the decree of April 21, 1930. The most recent attempt was a so-called request for clarification, Supreme Court No. 4, addressed to the Supreme Court in October, 1950, and this request was turned down by the United States Supreme Court:

Some 30 miles from Chicago on the course of the waterway, the Sanitary District has a hydroelectric powerplant at Lockport. One of the reasons that the Sanitary District wants to increase their diversion of water is clearly revealed by the following clipping from the Chicago Daily News of Wednesday, May 8, 1946:

"BY DIVERTING MORE LAKE WATER, LOCKPORT CAN DOUBLE POWER

"The Sanitary District's turbines at Lockport can double their power output with a temporary increase of 3,000 cubic feet per second in the diversion of lake water.

"This estimate was made today by H. P. Raney, Assistant Chief Engineer for the District.

"'Present output at Lockport is 8,500 kilowatts or about 10,750 horsepower,' Raney said. The Commonwealth Edison Company has a capacity of 2,000,000 kilowatts. * * * At present he said 3,000 cubic feet per second flows through the turbines, 1,500 diverted from the lake, and 1,700 from domestic water pumpage. About 200 feet is needed to run the locks.

"Lockport has enough idle equipment to handle easily an additional 3,000 feet of water a second, Raney said.

"Of two 7,500 kilowatt turbines installed in 1936, only one is in continuous use now. The other operates only a fourth of the time.

"In addition, there are four 4,000-kilowatt turbines installed in 1908, two of which are still in good shape."

MADISON, WIS., *January 28, 1954.*

Hon. GLENN R. DAVIS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

We oppose H. R. 3300 which proposes to allow the sanitary district of the city of Chicago to increase the diversion of Lake Michigan waters through the Chicago drainage canal. This bill would appropriate the trust waters of the Great Lakes, which are the trust property of the riparian States for the financial benefit of a single community of the State of Illinois, and would do so against the opposition of many downstate residents of Illinois.

The property rights of the riparian States were established and declared by the Supreme Court of the United States by the decree of April 21, 1930. This decree resulted from an original action brought in Supreme Court by the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York against sanitary district of Chicago and State of Illinois.

The objectives of the sanitary district now are the same as always: (1) To save itself the cost of a proper sewage disposal plant; (2) to generate electric power for its private benefit at Lockport.

The claim that this diversion will minimize high water lake shore damage is false. As of December 1953, level of Lake Michigan has already receded almost 1 9/10 feet from the high of 1952 to a present level of 580.93 feet. This crop was predicted by Wisconsin officials at hearing in May of 1952, and further drop of 2½ feet in next 3 years is anticipated.

No claim has been advanced by sanitary district President Anthony Olis that diversion would minimize lake shore damage or improve navigation in Illinois waterway.

On other hand at current or lower levels, unnecessary drop of even 1 inch will decrease carrying capacity of Great Lakes fleet by as much as 1,800,000 tons of shipping in a single season.

Further, lowering level causes port cities expenses for dredging which for Milwaukee alone may reach $150,000.

Further, damages result from exposing pilings of piers, docks and buildings and exposing them to rot.

Lowest levels uncover mud flats along shore areas and become breeding places for insects, mosquitoes and noxious vegetation.

Low levels adversely affect Wisconsin port cities of Green Bay, Manitowoc, Sheboygan and Milwaukee, together with ports of other States.

Finally, we are convinced Congress has no power to take Wisconsin's water and give it to the sanitary district of Chicago; if legislation should pass, it would only place on Wisconsin burden and expense of going to Supreme Court to get it invalidated. We are fully prepared and intend to do so if necessary. Governor Kohler joins in the foregoing.

VERNON W. THOMSON,
Attorney General.

Construction of the Santa Maria Project, Southern Pacific Basin, Calif.

SPEECH
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2235) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct the Santa Maria project, Southern Pacific Basin, Calif.

Mr. ENGLE. Madam Chairman, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Madam Chairman, I am supporting this legislation; as a matter of fact, I am a coauthor of this legislation with my friend and colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. BRAMBLETT]. Mr. BRAMBLETT's bill is the one currently before the Committee. His bill is H. R. 2235 and my bill is H. R. 2259. I introduced the bill in order to show my approval of this project and to give assistance to my colleague from California, and to give bipartisan support to a very beneficial and a very necessary project in an important area of our State.

There are, I think, some factual matters which should be before the Committee with reference to this project.

First, with reference to the history of the project itself, the people of this area first looked into this problem in 1921. A further investigation was made in 1932. A contract was entered into with the Bureau of Reclamation in 1941 with the local people paying one-half of the cost of making the engineering investigation on this project. The report of the Santa Maria project was submitted by letter of transmittal, signed by Secretary McKay, of the Department of the Interior, dated July 23, 1953. The feasibility of this project has been ascertained and testified to by the Secretary of the Interior, by the Corps of Engineers, by the Department of Agriculture, and by the State engineer of the State of California. The project was found to be feasible by the former as well as the present Secretary of the Interior. In early 1953 the President, by blanket order, requested that all Bureau projects be reviewed. This was done promptly by Secretary McKay, who also determined that the project was feasible and should be built. The Bureau of the Budget approved submission of the project report to the Congress by letter dated July 9, 1953, and so this project has been approved by every department or Federal agency which has had anything to do with it, including the Bureau of the Budget, which approved the project as one which should be authorized to secure appropriations whenever that should be in the interest of our country and permissible under the circumstances.

As to the principal physical features of this project, the project is designed to furnish supplemental water supply for the irrigated lands of the Santa Maria Valley, located on the Pacific coast in the northern part of Santa Barbara County. That is about 150 miles north and west of Los Angeles, for those of you who are not familiar with the geography of that country. The total irrigated land consists of about 40,000 acres. The project plan provides for the multiple-purpose Vaquero Dam, an earth-filled dam 184 feet above stream level, the dam to provide a reservoir having a capacity of 214,000 acre-feet. The proposed method of operation of the reservoir is unique in that no surface water is to be provided. The project water will be used to recharge and supplement an existing underground reservoir. In order to illustrate that unique feature of this project, I have asked to have displayed before the committee a map in which the general area is depicted. A line is run north and south and run east and west, cutting through the area north and south and east and west, with a quarter slice taken out to show the side underground elevations of this project. You will observe that toward the top of the map you will find a designation of what is supposed to illustrate the location of the Vaquero Dam. The water is caught in the dam and then is released slowly downstream. In other words, the stream itself is used as a canal, more or less. The area is very porous. As the water goes downstream, which a part of the year is completely dry, it will seep into the underground reservoir area, feeding the underground reseorvoir, where it will be stored and thereafter pumped out by the farmers through a pumping system which now exists in that area.

This project is unique in that particular, because there is no canal authorized to transmit any of the water from the project itself; that is, the reservoir itself, down to the lands to be irrigated.

Floodwaters will be stored in the Vaquero Reservoir during periods of high runoff. The reservoir will be emptied as soon as that can be done safely, and the water will be released into the stream for percolation into the underground storage just as fast as the stream bed will absorb the water.

Some people will say this is a unique way of building an irrigation and reclamation project. It certainly is. Every engineer who has made a study of the problem, including the Interior Department, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Army engineers, and the State engineers of California all agree that this is a feasible method of handling this particular

type of situation. Whether it is or not, the people of that area are willing to form a conservancy district authorized by State law, under which they can tax for the payments necessary to pay out the cost of this reservoir, and they are prepared to enter into a contract with the Federal Government to pay back some $14 million of the cost of this reservoir out of the tax revenues of that area.

Mr. D'EWART. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield.

Mr. D'EWART. Is this not the ideal situation: The water will go under ground and thereby will eliminate evaporation; eliminate canal loss, and make it available to the irrigators by pumping. Is that not an ideal situation in a hot country?

Mr. ENGLE. It certainly is. The people are generally surprised at the amount of water that we lose off of Lake Meade by evaporation. A current controversy before our committee is on a dam called Echo Park Dam in the Dinosaur National Monument. The reservoir losses are so high on other projects that might substitute for Echo Park that they have limited feasibility.

I do not have the figures before me now as to the annual reservoir loss on Lake Meade, but it is tremendous. When the water goes under ground it cannot evaporate, so this is a very efficient project from that standpoint.

The construction and operation of the reservoir will accomplish these results. First, it will furnish an average of 18,500 acre-feet of additional water for irrigation. An acre-foot of water is sufficient water to cover an acre of ground 1 foot deep. It will reduce the standard flood ratio from 23,000 second-feet to 150,000 second-feet. That is an important matter in that area.

These are very, very steep foothills, and when the water runs down in torrential storms it has a tendency to sweep the argricultural land out to sea, and anything that retards or catches that flood flow is, of course, of great benefit.

As to the cost, on the basis of October 1952 prices, the estimated cost of the Vaquero Dam is $16,982,000. This cost is established as follows: Flood control, which is nonrecoverable, $3,117,000; water conservation, which, of course, will be repaid, is $13,969,000; in other words, roughly, $14 million will be repaid by these people.

The repayment program: The project plan contemplates that the local beneficiaries of the project will be obligated to repay the reimbursable capital cost over a 40-year period—everything will be repaid except the approximately $3 million allocated for flood control. The balance, nearly $14 million without any other nonreimbursables will be repaid by the irrigators based upon the revised estimates of October 1952, which amounts to $350,000 per year. Then the annual cost of maintenance and operation will cost the local taxpayers the amount of $391,000. In short, these people will pay something over $700,000 a year to maintain this project and to pay out the capital investment in it; and they consider themselves sufficiently able to do that and perfectly willing, as I said before, to undertake repayment of this project on the basis of a new conservancy tax district which will not only tax the actual beneficiaries of the project in the agricultural area but will also—which is unusual—place a tax upon the city dwellers who gain considerably from any agricultural development around that area. Santa Maria, which is a little city of about 12,000 people and which you see designated on one of these maps, will also make a contribution toward paying out this project.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield.

Mr. HAGEN of California. I previously asked the gentleman a number of questions. Do I understand the gentleman to say that this conservancy district is not yet in being?

Mr. ENGLE. The conservancy district is authorized.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Already?

Mr. ENGLE. Yes; by a law passed by the State legislature specifically for this area.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Another question: Did the Secretary of the Interior recommend this exemption from the land limitations or not? What is his attitude toward this exemption from the land limitations?

Mr. ENGLE. The Secretary of the Interior did not recommend taking off the land limitation. We took it off. They voiced no objection. We took it off after we had worked for 2 months trying to work out an amendment which would adapt the 160-acre limitation to underground water. I was going to discuss that particular aspect of this project in just a moment.

Mr. HAGEN of California. What would be a fair statement of the position of the Secretary on this matter?

Mr. ENGLE. A fair statement is that noted in the report: The Secretary of the Interior did not interpose any objection to lifting the 160-acre limitation in this instance.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Another question: There has been a lot of agitation in the State of California for the State to take over existing Federal reclamation projects, and I do not know whether any of this agitation comes from this particular area we are talking about, but was any effort made on the part of the beneficiaries of this legislation to secure a State appropriation for the building of this project

Mr. ENGLE. As far as I know there was not; and, of course, if the State built the project it would not be built under the reclamation law and would not therefore benefit by the relief from interest payments as provided in the 50-year-old Federal law.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Have they made any effort to solve their problem locally?

Mr. ENGLE. They made all the effort that local people could make. They put up half of the money required to make the engineering survey; they taxed themselves for that, but it was stated before the committee, and it is undoubtedly true, that building this project ab initio and paying interest on the capital investment is beyond the financial capacity of this area.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Am I correct in assuming that the State engineer's office in California has recommended this Federal construction?

Mr. ENGLE. That is true. The State engineer has aproved this project and has approved, too, in its broad aspects at least, the engineering features of the project.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Has the State water authority approved it?

Mr. ENGLE. Yes. I think there is a resolution on record to that effect. I cannot put my finger on it now, but I am sure the water authority has approved the project.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Would it be safe to say that both the water authority and the State engineer's office in California are still interested in securing this Federal reclamation activity in California?

Mr. ENGLE. Very apparently that is the case, yes, and I hope they will continue to be.

Mr. HAGEN of California. From their actions, then, it would be reasonable to conclude that the State has no interest in building this particular project?

Mr. ENGLE. No; the State does not have. The local people have not asked the State to build it for the reasons I have just stated, namely, if the State builds the project the interest-free Federal money which is available under the reclamation law would not be available for this project. If they had to pay interest on this money, they would have to pay back something like $30 million instead of $14 million.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Does the gentleman know whether the land ownerships there could stand that kind of a charge?

Mr. ENGLE. According to the testimony given before our committee, it could not.

Mr. HAGEN of California. The exemption of the acreage limitation provision of the Federal reclamation law is based on the hypothesis that because this water will not be used as gravity surface flow in irrigation there is a justifiable exemption.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. ENGLE. Madam Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. HAGEN of California. I recognize that there are difficulties in policing underground water. As I understand it, there is no contract entered into between the Federal Government and anybody as of this date, so that if these users should welch on their repayment contract, how would it be possible to establish how much water they were receiving for which there is a continuing enforcible obligation? Is there any lien on the lands or anything like that established on behalf of the Federal Government?

Mr. ENGLE. No. What these people have done is formed a district which has the power to levy taxes, embracing these 40,000 acres, called a water conservancy district under a special act authorizing

them to do so by the State legislature. Under the Legislative Act, that district has the power to levy two types of charges. One is a general charge against everybody and the other is a special benefit charge which, of course, is merely an estimate of what benefits are received.

The contracts with the Federal Government will be made by this legally established agency which pledges the general tax revenues of the district. In short, the Federal Government does not have to look to any single landowner, as is done in the ordinary case. As the gentleman knows, in the San Joaquin Valley the irrigation district makes a contract with the Bureau of Reclamation, or perhaps even an individual farmer in some cases might make a contract with the Bureau of Reclamation to pay for water actually received. In this instance this district, like a county—except it is not a county, it is a different sort of legal entity—enters into a single contract with the Bureau of Reclamation to pay $350,000 a year for 40 years to repay the capital costs of this structure. So the Federal Government does not have to argue with anybody as to how much water went underground and whether it comes from this irrigation project.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Will not the district, if it levies this charge on a benefit basis, have the same problem that the Federal Government would have in trying to police an acreage limitation on this underground water? In other words, you are shifting the status to the local district and taking it away from the Federal Government.

Mr. ENGLE. No; I cannot agree with that because the area within the framework of this project will benefit. Any farmer out there will benefit to a certain extent and will pay a stated charge of some sort for that benefit. But it has no direct application to specific water. The reason the 160-acre limitation cannot be applied in this case is because you have no way of tracing that water after it goes underground. The fellows who have excess acreage in this instance—and there are the three owners on the west side of the Santa Maria Valley who have the big part of the land—they are the fellows who have the good water supply. Their supply is good for another 20 years, at least. They are willing to come in and pay their share, because they think this project will firm up their water supply and prevent it from dropping any further. These fellows around Santa Maria on the eastern side of the valley keep shoving their pumps down, and little by little they are sucking out all the water. The fellow on the west side has a pretty good supply of water now, and he thinks that if this project is put in, that he gets benefits, because his water supply is firmed up, even though none of the water stored at Vaquero Dam would ever get on the west side and get into his pumps. There is the problem of applying the 160-acre limitation. There is no economic pressure which can be exerted to get those fellows in. They can stay outside the district and put the pumps down anyway. The 160-acre limitation is not being enforced with reference to underground waters because it is impossible to do so and that is why we have made this specific exemption in this case.

As far as I am personally concerned, being one who has supported the 160-acre limitation, or some sort of limitation which will give an equitable distribution of tax-subsidized and power revenue-subsidized water, I have agreed to this exemption for the reason that we cannot find any practical way to apply the 160-acre limitation. We wrestled with this problem for 2 months. The best attorneys sent back here from Santa Barbara County consulted with the Department of the Interior lawyers and tried to work out something, and finally they all threw up their hands and quit.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Let us say that the district adopted a policy of assessment on the basis of benefits and they say that farmer Jones will not owe $20 per acre for this year. He says, "Well, I do not think the water I am pumping out comes from this dam site, and I am not going to pay that much." Now, what steps are open to the district to prove that farmer Jones is getting $20 of benefit per acre? I think you have just shifted the problem.

Mr. ENGLE. No. The payment that he makes is small enough so that for any improvement there is in the water level he is not paying too much for it, whereas if you tried to put it on a 160-acre limitation it requires these owners to sell their so-called excess land. If you force on the 160-acre limitation, you put the case in a position where those fellows will stay outside of the bounds of the district, put their pumps down, and pump water anyway.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I just want to comment that the charge is accepted by the landowner and is a lien against his land, and he must pay it. There is no way for him to escape paying it.

Mr. ENGLE. That is right. They pay it by mutual agreement. It is a lot different than telling some fellow he has to break up his ownership and sell it.

Mr. SCHENCK. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ENGLE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SCHENCK. I am honored to represent the Third District of Ohio which is a part of the Ohio Conservancy District. In that district there were a number of dams constructed which cost about $30 million some 25 years ago. The cost of these dams was all assessed against the benefiting property on a basis of benefit, and appraisals before and after. Now, the bonds were issued by the district under the Ohio laws and were paid for from these benefits. Would it not be possible to do that same thing in California?

Mr. ENGLE. I think it would. And that is what they are doing here, substantially.

Mr. SCHENCK. If that could be done in California, then why should the Congress of the United States be asked for an authorization of appropriation of almost $17 million?

Mr. ENGLE. Because, when you put the interest on top of the capital investment, the ability of this area to carry the cost is lacking. It is beyond their financial capabilities. In other words, the thing that makes this reclamation program beneficial to these people is the interest-free money. As I said a few minutes ago, they have to pay back $14 million, which is the actual capital cost the Federal Government is putting into this project. In other words, Uncle Sam is getting his money back, but if they had to go out and bond themselves for that, they might have to pay 2½ percent or 3 percent interest. They cannot pay that much.

Mr. SCHENCK. The point is that the United States Government will have to pay interest on that money. So the interest on this project is being paid by all taxpayers of the United States, and it would seem to me that the benefited property owners should pay that, as they did in the Miami Valley.

Mr. ENGLE. The gentleman is arguing that the basic premise of the reclamation law is wrong. As I said to the gentleman from Mississippi not so long ago, if that is true, let us have a bill in here to repeal it. But as long as it exists, the people out in my State and elsewhere in the West think they have the right to take advantage of it and receive the benefits of it, as the West has for a period of 50 years.

I will say to the gentleman that the reason that the Federal Government over these years has been willing to put up interest-free money is because the tax-paying capacity of that area is so improved by making water available, in the long run the taxpayers of the Nation as a whole get their money back.

Let us take California, for instance. We pay nearly 10 percent of the total taxes paid into the United States Treasury. We pay a large portion of that from the great Central Valley project area in which the Federal Government has invested something like $400 million, a large part of it in interest-free money. That is the basic premise of that law. I do not believe we ought to argue the merits of the basic reclamation law on this particular project. We say that we fall within it. Without it we could not build the project.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. ENGLE. I yield myself 5 additional minutes, and yield to the gentleman from Montana [Mr. D'EWART].

Mr. D'EWART. I think in addition we should state, in regard to this interest-free money, that originally it was interest-free because the money that went into the reclamation fund came from the public lands in public-land States, by the sale of public lands in the public-land States, by revenues from minerals, oil resources, and other revenues from those public lands. Originally it did not come out of the Treasury. Originally it came out of the sale of assets in these public lands, and therefore the Congress recognized that since that money came from those public lands, there was some jus-

tice in returning the money derived from their own resources for the development of other resources in the same State without the payment of interest.

Mr. ENGLE. That is perfectly true. In addition to that, as has already been pointed out, flood control cost is completely nonreimbursable. It is a gift from the Federal Government. What is the difference between too much water on land and not enough water on land? Both of those situations are the result of the weather. In the far West, in the arid West, we suffer because we do not have enough water on the land. In the East, where those torrential rains occur, you suffer because you have too much water on the land. The Federal Government goes in and takes care of a condition of too much water and builds the dams and other public works necessary to protect your property. But in the far West, where we suffer from a reverse of that weather condition, the Federal Government comes along and says, "Yes, Mr. Farmer, we are willing to build the project to take care of the fact that the weather is in reverse, but we ask you to pay back to the Federal Government every dime of capital invested."

All we do is put up the interest. That has been the law for a long time. But those of us in the West think there is a little incongruity in soaking us for a condition of the weather when in the East conditions of the weather are taken care of without reimbursement, and for free.

Mr. SHELLEY. With reference to the exception of the application of the 160-acre limitation in this bill, is the basis for that exception as proposed by the committee simply on the ground that underground waters only are involved?

Mr. ENGLE. That is correct. Yes; that is perfectly correct. As I said to the gentleman from California [Mr. HAGEN] a few moments ago, as a matter of fact the 160-acre limitation as applied to underground waters is not now being enforced in the Central Valley project because of the practical problem and complete infeasibility of tracing water after it gets underground.

Mr. SHELLEY. But the 160-acre limitation is enforced steadily as applied to surface distribution of water, is it not?

Mr. ENGLE. That is right.

Mr. SHELLEY. May I then say to the gentleman and to the committee that I have an amendment at the Clerk's desk, an amendment to the committee's amendment which will limit any exception in this project to the distribution of underground seepage water, and if there is any surface distribution on the project, the 160-acre limitation would apply.

Mr. ENGLE. May I say to the gentleman that I have seen the language of his proposed amendment, and as far as I am personally concerned, I have no objection to it. It was considered in our committee this morning, and I believe our committee would be willing to accept the amendment because we have no intention of establishing a precedent against applying the 160-acre limitation as applied to surface waters. We have no intention of establishing a precedent by this legislation.

Mr. SHELLEY. The gentleman has already, in effect, answered one question that I had in mind, and there was one more question that I was going to ask him. In the gentleman's opinion, would the exception of the application of the 160-acre limitation to the distribution of underground waters in this project establish a precedent which might be detrimental to the continuance of the 160-acre limitation law?

Mr. ENGLE. I do not believe it does because as I have said to the gentleman the 160-acre limitation is not now being enforced in any reclamation project in the country that I know of with reference to underground waters.

(Mr. ENGLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Moskoff Clarifies Issues in Investigation of Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, New York City is proud of its own efforts to rid itself of subversion within its educational system. For a considerable number of years, and with practically no fanfare or publicity, investigations into the loyalty of teachers have been and are being conducted.

Without conviction by newspapers, trial by innuendoes, or character assassinations, and with complete protection of individual rights, these investigations have been not only fair and decent, but most effective. As a matter of fact few people in the city of New York would even recognize the name of the very able Assistant Corporation Counsel Saul Moskoff who has done so fine a job. He is as completely dedicated to the preservation of human rights as he is to the rooting out of those who seek to destroy our democracy.

In the November-December issue of Strengthening Democracy, published by the Board of Education of the City of New York, Mr. Moskoff answers questions with respect to the manner in which he conducts these investigations.

I respectfully urge my colleagues to read some of the excerpts I am including herein:

MOSKOFF CLARIFIES ISSUES IN INVESTIGATION OF TEACHERS

Question. Are teachers summoned for interrogation on the basis of anonymous communications sent to the superintendent of schools?

Answer. No teacher is summoned to answer questions as to membership in the Communist Party on the basis of allegations contained in anonymous communications. It is recognized that little credence, if any, can be given to allegations in an unsigned statement. Possibilities of ulterior motives in forwarding such communications cannot be overlooked.

Question. Is the superintendent of schools or the board of education interested in investigating the activities of teachers who are Fascists, Ku Klux Klan members, or members of the Nazi Bund?

Answer. Both the board and the superintendent are certainly interested in determining who among the teachers in our system are members of any of the three named organizations. It is plain that any person who actively supports a totalitarian government or who seeks to impose a totalitarian government on the United States by membership (as defined in the answer to the previous question) in such organization, is unfit to teach in our schools. It is recognized that in our democracy individual citizens are free to believe as they wish, even in communism, fascism, the Ku Klux Klan, or nazism, but it is not conceded that such right to such belief includes the right to crystallize these beliefs into action by way of the formation of organizations (more properly labeled "conspiracies") to advocate and to take steps in an attempt to replace our democratic form of government with a totalitarian state.

The same criteria as to past membership in the Communist Party apply with equal force as to past membership in the three named organizations. In other words, whether or not past membership in a Fascist, Ku Klux Klan, or Nazi organization would subject a teacher to disciplinary proceedings would hinge upon the nature, extent, and duration of such membership and whether the severance was complete, final, and in good faith.

Question. How do the investigations conducted by the corporation counsel in behalf of the superintendent differ from congressional investigations?

Answer. The basic distinction, although there are several, is that no publicity is given to the fact that a particular teacher is under inquiry. The entire process is handled in an extremely confidential manner until and unless it becomes necessary to prefer charges against the teacher for his conduct. This policy affords those who joined the Communist Party at a time when its evil purposes were not so patent, and came to the realization of such purposes, and finally and completely severed their connections with the Communist Party, to pursue their careers without the harassment of economic boycott or condemnation at the hands of those who believe that an error once made is unforgivable or unpardonable.

Moreover, if and when any charge is made against a teacher for membership in the Communist Party or for insubordination in refusing to answer the questions relating to such membership, he has the absolute right to a public trial, to be represented by counsel, to be confronted by his accuser or accusers, to cross-examine witnesses, and to testify in his own defense. He cannot suffer dismissal until his guilt has been proven by substantial evidence and has the right to appeal to the courts and secure his reinstatement should his dismissal be held unjust or improper.

Question. Have you asked teachers about the books they read?

Answer. No. It is true that with knowledge of the fact that the Communist Party has a required reading list of its official publications which it uses in its indoctrination and study classes, certain teachers were asked whether or not they ever advocated the reading or study of such official Communist Party educational publications. For instance, I asked a teacher interviewed on October 3, 1951, whether or not he had ever advocated the reading of the following books: State and Revolution, by Lenin; Foundations of Leninism, by Stalin; History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party—A Manual on Organization, by J. Peters.

Question. Have you ever asked any teacher, "What does your father do for a living?"

Answer. Yes; but only for identification purposes and under the following circumstances: Teacher A (whose real name is not a common one) was the subject of investigation. A source of information, formerly a Communist Party member, had stated that a schoolteacher by that name, whose father had been a private music tutor, had been a member of the same Communist Party cell. We were not entirely convinced that teacher A was the same person referred to by our source of information. Consequently, in addition to other questions which bore on the question of identity, the question referred to was asked. The answer established that teacher A's father had not been a music teacher and it was thus indicated that teacher A was not the person referred to by the former Communist Party member. The fact that teacher A was interviewed has never been made public.

Question. What steps are taken to conceal the identity of teachers directed to appear at your office?

Answer. Recognizing that the interview before me is not a trial or hearing and that a teacher participating in such interview is not under charges of any kind, every effort is made to keep from the public generally and even from other employees of the board the fact that a teacher is so summoned.

The direction to the teacher to appear is sent by mail to the home of the teacher, to minimize the possibility of a "leak" in the school. Where it is necessary to arrange for a teacher's release during school hours to attend such interview, the principal is asked to make the necessary arrangements but is not informed that the teacher is to appear at my office nor is he advised of the purpose of the visit of the teacher to headquarters.

All records and data concerning the investigation are kept in securely locked confidential files and are inaccessible to persons other than myself and the members of my staff. No information pertaining to the investigation is kept in the teacher's folder in the record room.

No public statements are made by the superintendent that a particular teacher is or has been the subject of investigation, unless the investigation results in the suspension or dismissal of the teacher.

In those few cases where a teacher's participation in the inquiry has been publicized the publicity was instigated by the teacher or someone in his behalf, with an ulterior purpose in mind.

Question. What privileges with respect to a teacher-adviser are accorded a teacher who is directed to appear at your office?

Answer. All teachers summoned to appear at my office are permitted to be accompanied by a teacher-adviser. In many instances and when a request is made, teachers are permitted to be accompanied by persons unconnected with the school system, including friends, relatives, or lawyers.

The procedure followed is best demonstrated by a quotation from an actual and typical interview. The following, with the names of the individuals omitted, transpired:

"Mr. MOSKOFF (to the teacher referred to as Teacher A). You are here today, accompanied by ———, who is here in the capacity of adviser to you. Now, Teacher A, and ———, so that you may understand the function the adviser is to serve here, I tell you now that if at any time during the course of this interview, Teacher A, you feel that you would like to have the benefit of any advice that ——— may give you, don't hesitate to interrupt the interview to afford yourself an opportunity to consult with ———. You can do it as often as you like for as long as you like, and if you feel that you want a private consultation with him away from my presence, you may use any part of the office. By the same token, ———, if you feel that Teacher A should have the benefit of any advice that you want to give him, even though he doesn't ask for it, you are at liberty to interrupt the interview to give him such advice; however, ———, your remarks are to be addressed to Teacher A and your advice given to him, and your remarks are not to be a part of this record. The interview is between Teacher A and me."

Pius XII on "The Community of Peoples"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article which appeared in the December 26, 1953 issue of America, National Catholic Weekly Review, entitled "Pius XII on 'The Community of Peoples,'" by Rev. Edward A. Conway:

PIUS XII ON "THE COMMUNITY OF PEOPLES"

(By Edward A. Conway)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Pope Pius XII, himself a jurist, recently made his most important pronouncement on the moral exigency of realizing in concrete form the truly juridical "community of the peoples." He sees very "practical considerations" at work today impelling mankind toward this fulfillment of the inner needs of man's moral nature. Father Conway, S. J., of this review here sets forth the main lines of His Holiness' thought.)

In his discourse on December 6 to the Union of Italian Catholic Jurists, commenting on the theme of their fifth annual congress ("The Nations and the International Community"), the Holy Father reaffirmed a proposition by now familiar: the shrinking of the world into a neighborhood makes it daily more necessary to regulate international relationships, both private and public. This is all the more mandatory, declared the Holy Father, "since this mutual drawing together is caused not only by vastly improved technological progress and by free choice but also by the more profound action of an intrinsic law of development. This movement then is not to be repressed, but fostered and promoted."

A conviction that this innate drive toward unity must eventually be satisfied is apparent in the first third of the Holy Father's address, to which this article is restricted. This conviction may account for the comparatively optimistic tone of his remarks.

The holy father's next paragraph calls for the most careful exegesis. He begins by alluding to "questa opera di ampliamento," which I take to mean the task of enlarging the area of unity. Of particular importance in this work are "communities of states and peoples, whether already existing or only a goal to be achieved." Which, we might wonder, are these communities that "already exist"? Benelux, the Council of Europe, NATO, the United Nations? Which are the ones in blueprints? The six-nation European Political Community, Atlantic Union, or a world federal government? It is difficult to decide. His holiness continues with a definition which fits only a world federal government or perhaps the European Political Community as originally projected. They are communities, the holy father explains, "in which sovereign states, that is to say states which are subordinate to no other state, are united into a juridical community to attain definite juridical ends. It would give a false idea of these juridical communities if one were to compare them with world empires of the past or of the present, in which different racial stocks, peoples, and states become fused, willy-nilly, into a single conglomeration of states (unico complesso statale). In the present instance, however, states, remaining sovereign, freely unite into a juridical community."

"The present instance" to which his holiness refers must be his present conception of the ideal international community, since the one he defines is nowhere concretized in the world of today.

His next words seem to bear out this interpretation. The history of the world, says the holy father, recording as it does a continuing series of struggles for power, would doubtless make the setting up of a juridical community of free states seem almost utopian. In our time, however, a contrary current is running. Instead of the will to war, this time "it is precisely the will to forestall quarrels imperiling the peace (minacciosi dissidi) that urges men toward a supranational juridical community. [Besides,] practical considerations, which certainly carry considerable weight, are being directed toward works of peace. Finally, perhaps it is precisely this mingling of men of different nations because of technological progress (l'avvicinamento tecnico) that has awakened the faith, implanted in the hearts and souls of individuals, in a higher community of men, [the one] willed by the Creator and rooted in the unity of their common origin, nature, and final destiny."

One can hardly escape the impression that the present pontiff thinks that both man's technology and his nature are ineluctably propelling mankind toward political unity. At any rate, he proceeds at once to set up guideposts to that goal, emphasizing in the process the primacy of the natural law and explaining a little more fully what he meant by the phrase "an intrinsic law of development":

"These and other similar considerations show that advance toward establishing a community of peoples does not look, as to a unique and ultimate norm, to the will of the states, but rather to nature, to the Creator. The right to existence, the right to respect from others and to one's good name, the right to one's own culture and national character, the right to develop one's self, the right to demand observance of international treaties, and other like rights, are exigencies of the law of nations, dictated by nature itself. The positive law of different peoples, also indispensable in the community of the states, has the office of defining more exactly the rights derived from nature and of adapting them to concrete circumstances. It also has the function of making other provisions, directed, of course, toward the common good, on the basis of a positive agreement, which, once freely entered into, has binding force."

Thus, the state which becomes part of this community of peoples "is fitted into the system of international law, and hence into the order of the natural law, which sustains and crowns the whole."

WHAT IS SOVEREIGNTY?

Here the Holy Father launches into the most extended discussion he has ever devoted to the much-mooted question of sovereignty:

"In this way the individual nation is no longer—nor, in fact, was it ever—sovereign in the sense of being completely unlimited. Sovereignty, in the true sense of the word, means self-rule (autarchia) and exclusive competence concerning what has to be done and how it has to be done in regard to the affairs of a definite territory (alle cose e allo spazio), always within the framework of international law without, however, becoming dependent on the juridical system of any other state. Every state is immediately subject to international law. States which

would lack this fulness of power, or whose independence of the power of any other state would not be guaranteed by international law, would not be sovereign. But no state could complain about a limitation of its sovereignty just because it was denied the power of acting arbitrarily and without regard for other states. Sovereignty is not a divinization of the state, or omnipotence of the state in the Hegelian sense, or after the manner of absolute juridical positivism."

DIFFICULTIES TO BE OVERCOME

Speaking as though his ideal of an international community is still feasible, the Holy Father next discusses the obstacles that lie in the way of the establishment, maintenance, and functioning of a real community of states, especially of one which would embrace all the peoples. He hardly had to explain to jurists, he said, that such an undertaking would give rise to a host of problems, some of them extremely difficult and complicated, which cannot be solved by a simple yes or no answer. For example, he said, everyone concerned must take into account the innate tendencies of both individuals and groups either to assimilate others, even to the point of forcibly absorbing them, or to exclude them, even to the point of destroying those who seem unassimilable.

Among the more specific problems, he said, are those of race and origin, with their biological, psychical, and social consequences; the language question; the differing interpretations of property rights and contractual obligations; the rights of aliens in either temporary or permanent residence, and finally the whole immigration-emigration problem.

The Holy Father did not list these difficulties to discourage immediate efforts toward unification. He suggested a fundamental theoretical principle for coping with these difficulties and tendencies:

"Within the limits of the possible and the lawful, to promote everything that facilitates union and makes it more effective; to raise dikes against anything that disturbs it; to tolerate at times that which it is impossible to correct, but which, on the other hand, must not be permitted to make shipwreck of the community of peoples, because of the higher good that is expected from it."

The Holy Father, after setting out his fundamental theoretical principle, rather wryly remarks: "The difficulty lies in the application of that principle."

His Holiness then addressed himself to one question which presents itself in a community of the peoples, that is, "the practical living together of the Catholic and non-Catholic communities." Comment on this portion can be left to those who have been debating the question of religious tolerance for the past several years. I have concentrated on the first third of the Pope's address, since I feared it would be overlooked because of the discussions the remaining two-thirds are bound to arouse. (News reports from Vatican City did in fact feature the section on toleration. The dispatch to NC News Service went so far as to say that the Holy Father discussed the community of peoples "in a digression.")

In the latter part of the long discourse, however, are several remarks which seem to shed light on the Holy Father's present attitude toward the United Nations. At one point he compared and contrasted two international organizations, the temporal and the spiritual:

"The setting up of a community of peoples, which today has been partially realized, but which is striving to be established and consolidated on a more elevated and perfect level, is an ascent from the lower to the higher, that is, from a pluralism of sovereign states to the greatest possible unity."

That, in effect, is what Cardinal Strich, chairman of the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Plan, remarked to the Catholic Lawyers' Guild in Chicago, November 1: "Attempts have been made to obtain an international society under law, but the organization that now exists is only a start."

The Catholic Church, continued the Holy Father, has a universal mission similar to that of the community of the peoples. This ascription of a universal mission to the community under discussion, coupled with the reference to a community "which embraces all the peoples," seems conclusive proof that he was not limiting his remarks to a European political community, as most news reports have suggested. He never mentioned a European community.

The constitution of the church and all its powers and their depositories were from the beginning established by the will and institution of Christ himself. The "higher juridical unity of the community of the peoples," on the other hand, "had to be, or still has to be, created."

The implication of those parts of the Holy Father's address I have discussed seems to be that what he called the law of development toward unity immanent in human nature, aroused and incited by scientific developments, has already partially realized the community of the peoples in the form of the United Nations. What remains to be done, he seems further to imply, is to transform this "pluralism of sovereign states" into the "higher unity" of a "supranational juridical community."

Since April 6, 1951, the Holy Father has devoted three discourses to describing how the world should be organized for peace. In his 1951 address to members of the World Movement for World Federal Government he specified what he meant by federalism as opposed to the mechanical unitarism which destroys all differences in a monolithic, materialistic state. In his little-noticed but highly provocative speech to the International Congress of Penal Law on October 3, 1953, he unflinchingly followed the demands of the natural law by calling not only for an international penal code but for a court with jurisdiction reaching into individual sovereign states.

This December 6 discourse completes a trilogy which should be studied as an organic whole. That study will reveal, I believe, a papal conception of the ideal organization of the world as profoundly wise as it is daringly imaginative.

Failure of the Indian Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Tragic Flop by the Indians and Indian Bureau," published in the Lewistown (Mont.) Daily News of January 28, 1954. This editorial is evidence of a serious situation in my State. It is my hope that the evidence presented in this editorial will receive the serious consideration it deserves by the Indian Affairs Subcommittees in both the House and the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRAGIC FLOP BY THE INDIANS AND THE INDIAN BUREAU

That the Indian Service has flopped deplorably in its original purpose of getting the first Americans on their feet has long been common knowledge.

This Bureau hasn't even held its own during the years, spending more and more money, and ending up with the Indians generally more instead of less dependent on Government for existence.

This becomes painfully evident in the year-end report of W. J. Fouse, administrator of Montana's department of public welfare.

The number of relief cases in Montana, and costs was cut substantially in the Treasure State during 1953—with one big exception, the Indians.

Quoting from Fouse's report:

"Although substantial progress has been made during the past year, there is much to be done in the year ahead.

"One problem overshadows all others facing this Department. That is the problem of increasing caseloads among the ward Indians of the seven reservations in this State.

"An example of the increase in caseloads for Indians is readily seen in the number of aid-to-dependent-children families on our rolls in 1953 as compared with 5 years ago. During this time the number of white families decreased by 5.7 percent, while the number of Indian families increased 58.2 percent, so that now Indian families represent more than one-third of the total caseload.

"It will not be long at the present rate of increase of Indian families until they represent one-half of the total aid-to-dependent-children caseload," Fouse predicted. "This is in spite of the fact that out of the total population in this State of about 600,000 only 20,000 are Indians."

This is an amazing and disgraceful revelation.

It is dramatic proof of the tragic failure of the Indian Bureau.

It is also a strong reflection on the Indians, as far too few of them have done much, if anything, to help themselves.

Too much tripe has been written about the poor Indian and far too little has been done by the Indian to help himself.

For years the Indian has hollered for the discontinuation of the Indian Service. And now that there is a chance that this may be done, many of the same Indians have turned right around and opposed such action.

Such leaders, it seems evident, aren't acting constructively and in the best interests of their people. They are just "aginers," who have made quite a name for themselves among some of their people by "standing up to the white man and telling him off."

That the Indian needs help in many cases is evident. But that the Indian needs to help himself in many, many cases is also crystal clear.

The quicker we can discontinue the Indian Service on a sound basis the better it will be for the Indians and whites alike.

The Social-Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, the Jacksonville Journal in an editorial of

January 23 commented upon the message sent to the Congress last week by President Eisenhower on the Nation's social-security system.

This is a thoughtful article which makes a great deal of commonsense. The conclusions, especially that to the effect that our elder citizens should be allowed to continue to live a life of usefulness, deserve the attention of the Congress. I believe the editor of the Journal will find most of us in full accord on this subject.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIAL-SECURITY PLAN MAKES SENSE

The social-security system has been part of the Federal and State Government fabric since 1938. No politician who values his political life would propose that any substantial portion of it be repealed.

On the contrary, most politicians agree that social-security is here to stay, whatever some of them may say publicly about "welfare-statism." In fact, the Republicans, who did not author the system, promised in their 1952 national platform to extend security coverage and make other improvements.

In keeping with those pledges, President Eisenhower recently submitted a broad plan for the further development of social-security.

First of all, the President proposed to widen coverage from the present 69 million Americans to 80 million, bringing under protection self-employed farmers, professional people, and others.

Second, he would liberalize provisions governing outside earnings for the aged. Right now, any time a person under 75 years of age earns $75 a month on the outside, he loses that month's social-security benefit. Mr. Eisenhower would allow an individual to make $1,000 a year in this manner without jeopardizing his Government benefit.

Third, he would raise monthly payments. For those now retired, the existing individual minimum per month is $25, the maximum $85. The range for a man and wife is $37.50 and $127.50. Under the new plan, the individual lows and highs would be $30 and $98.50, the man-and-wife figures $45 and $147.75.

For people retiring in the future, the individual maximum would climb to $108.50, for a man and wife $162.75, as result of increased contributions.

At this time, both employer and employee contribute 2 percent each on earnings up to $3,600 a year. That rate is slated to go up to 3 percent by 1965. Mr. Eisenhower would hike it even higher, to 3.75 percent, by 1970. And he would have this bite taken out of $4,200 a year instead of $3,600.

All these proposals can be argued for on reasonable grounds.

If the system is here to stay, as seems evident, then it ought fairly to cover as much of the working population as possible. No segment should suffer discrimination.

But certainly persons able and willing to continue working past retirement age ought to be encouraged to do so without penalty of loss of benefit. It appears reasonable, too, that contributions should gradually rise so that the ultimate return to the retired worker may be greater.

These principles put wise stress on self-help within a system of group protection.

At the same time, the plan to hike benefits makes sense, since the postwar inflation has sharply reduced the purchasing power of the dollar. What may have seemed an adequate minimum some years back can look pretty skimpy in today's markets.

By this program Mr. Eisenhower has offered hard, specific evidence that his concern for the average American is not a thing of mere high-sounding generalities. His proposals deserve the attention of his party and the whole Congress.

Address Delivered by Charles H. Silver at 35th Anniversary Celebration of the Ministry of Rabbi Goldstein, of B'nai Jeshurun

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the appendix of the RECORD a very interesting address delivered by Mr. Charles H. Silver at the 35th anniversary celebration of the ministry of the beloved Rabbi Goldstein, of B'nai Jeshurun. Dr. Israel Goldstein is one of the great spiritual and civic leaders of New York, and Mr. Charles H. Silver is a distinguished and prominent citizen of my State.

I count it a very high privilege to speak to you this evening on the occasion which marks the 35th anniversary of Dr. Goldstein's ministry of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. In joining with you to pay tribute to the man and his achievements, I am mindful of the close relationship which he has developed with the members of the congregation and with me personally through more than three decades.

He has been more than a spiritual leader. He has, through his creative thinking and doing, made a foremost place for himself, not only among our own people but among the men and women of every race and creed. He has not only preached the word of God, but he has taken on responsibilities and duties beyond the call of duty.

I am impelled to ask your indulgence for a few moments for I should like to tell you of my own relationship to Dr. Goldstein, and perhaps give you some idea of what he has meant to me. You see, my friends, I have known him more than 30 years, and the influence which he has had on my own life has been far-reaching. I am here to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which I owe to him and which he so justly deserves.

Those of us who have spent many years in the field of commerce have sometimes found it difficult to give more than a very small share of our time to communal affairs. Perhaps we all had the willingness to help in community work, but we needed someone to spark the latent desires within us. In short, we looked for leadership, for inspiration, for direction, and understanding.

My friends, I found all these things in Dr. Goldstein. I recognized—and I am sure that the same was true of my fellow members of B'nai Jeshurun—that in the young rabbi we had found one who was able to convey to us, through his own personality, eloquence, and perception the values that we had to establish in our own minds in order to give more of our time to furthering the welfare of the community.

These 35 years that Dr. Goldstein has been with B'nai Jeshurun have been years of tragedy for our people. We have lived through two world wars, we have seen our kith and kin persecuted and destroyed, and we have suffered heartbreak and humiliation, but we have never wavered in our dignity as human beings.

And through the black clouds of Jewish suffering and tragic plight, there broke through a little light and as the light became clearer and brighter, we saw a star—a star of hope for there was born the République of Israel, a new member of the society of democratic nations.

Many able and courageous men had appeared on the national and international scene, men to whom the development and progress of Israel became a matter of primary concern. Among them, and indeed in the very front rank, was Dr. Goldstein. The vitality and the keenness of his mind, the vigor of his personality and his natural aptitude for leadership brought to those brave and able men with whom he was associated strong impetus and renewed courage.

We who are so close to the happenings of the day cannot truly or accurately appraise Dr. Goldstein's achievements as a Jewish leader. We know that he has moved forward and in the right direction, but the historians of the future will tell with greater perception the real meaning of his services to Jews and all humanity.

In my own small way, I have tried to make some contribution to the well-being and happiness of my fellow men and it must be left to others to say whether I have succeeded. But I cannot stress too much how great was the encouragement given to me by Dr. Goldstein through his sound advice and, above all, through his kindly practical assistance on many occasions. He has meant much to me, more than I can tell you, for there are some feelings that are locked in the heart and that remain the sole possession of the individual.

I have listened to him often; his eloquence has moved me, his words of wisdom have found a permanent place in my mind. He has been to all of us who are members of B'nai Jeshurun a spiritual father, and the words which he uttered within its walls were worthy of attention by the whole world.

I have always felt that Dr. Goldstein gave voice to true and eternal values. As I listened to him, I realized that he spoke not only for today or tomorrow, but for always. It was this that made him, and makes him today an outstanding spiritual leader.

Yet he also taught me, and I am sure many others, that certain values had to be modified as the times changed and these new values had to be attuned to the changing needs of the people. And while he spoke of new values, he never departed from the fundamentals that a good life was rooted in the teachings of our learned men who gave to the world a system of ethics that has been accepted as a basic philosophy of a good life and decent living.

Many, like myself, have recognized that Dr. Goldstein regarded B'nai Jeshurun not only a holy place for worship but as an integral part of the community from which there radiated a spirit of brotherhood and a desire to be of service to the community at large, not only in the neighborhood where B'nai Jeshurun is situated but throughout the city.

He expressed this idea with clarity in a sermon which he preached on the sabbath of repentance between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, which he called Rehabilitating Ourselves, and which was published in the New York Times. He said, and I quote:

"Successful living which in its broadest and highest sense means living a full social, intellectual, and spiritual life, demands the same capacity for rectifying mistakes. We must be sure, however, that in estimating our success and failure we give considera-

tion to all the relationships which make up the pattern of our lives—our relationship not only with the small group of those to whom we have personal ties, such as relatives and friends, but to the society of which we belong and to the problems affecting the groups within that society."

These words ring clear and true to me. For even more than 30 years before he had uttered them he instilled the feeling in me that those of us in business owed an obligation to our fellow men—a debt that had to be paid in terms of compassion, understanding, and material assistance. It was a feeling that had long existed, but we required someone to open horizons and vistas, and that is what Dr. Goldstein did for me and for so many others at B'nai Jeshurun.

Thirty-five years have gone by. The man we honor tonight, a world figure, has his most useful years ahead of him. To the man who gave so much to me as a spiritual father and human being, I hold out the hand of sincere friendship and give voice to my eternal gratitude.

I hope and I believe that he stands at the threshold of an even greater career as a Jewish leader and world statesman, for he has won our deep affection and high respect.

Dr. Goldstein, I salute you and I shall utter a silent prayer in my heart that God may hold up the light for you and guide you in the years ahead and in the tasks that face you.

Thank you.

Another New York Times Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on January 23, Congressman JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., spoke before the 46th annual banquet of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board in Philadelphia. In his speech, Mr. MARTIN referred to a dedicated group of people who want to lead us into socialism. Speaking of these leftwingers Mr. MARTIN said:

> They are the egghead wing of American political life. They infest the ADA, an organization which calls itself Americans for Democratic Action, but which might properly be renamed "A Depression Anytime."

The Associated Press, in reporting this portion of Mr. MARTIN's speech, reported:

> Representative MARTIN said these leftwingers infest Americans for Democratic Action, an organization which backs the principles of the Roosevelt New Deal and the Truman Fair Deal.

I have checked with the Associated Press in Washington and they have informed that the above sentence is exactly the way they reported it. The New York Times, however, was not content with reporting the AP story as it came to them but had to doctor it up by reporting under the AP dateline the following:

> Mr. MARTIN charged that such leftwingers infest the Americans for Democratic Action, the anti-Communist organization that backs the principles of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

Thus, the New York Times compounded its misdemeanor. For Mr. MARTIN did not refer to the ADA as an anti-Communist organization. Nor did the Associated Press refer to the ADA as an anti-Communist organization. The New York Times ran the story as an AP story. Therefore, a reader of the New York Times would obviously conclude that either Mr. MARTIN or the Associated Press had referred to the ADA as an anti-Communist organization. The doctoring of any AP story without removing the AP label is certainly not considered a minor violation of proper journalistic practice. Moreover referring to the ADA as an anti-Communist organization in what is supposed to be a straight news story would be an infraction of good journalistic practice even if the New York Times had removed the AP label. For it would be hotly debated by many that the ADA has any color of right, much less a claim to fame, to be entitled an anti-Communist organization. In fact, many would contend that it is rather soft on Communists.

In any event, certainly the ADA's principal characteristic as an organization is not that it is anti-Communist. No one would refer to the Washington Redskins football team as an anti-Communist organization although, undoubtedly, they are opposed to communism. I am sure that many of my colleagues would be more ready to term the Redskins an anti-Communist organization than the ADA.

Usually newsmen do not criticize newspapers, just as doctors do not criticize doctors and lawyers do not criticize lawyers. The exception is in the case of particularly mischievous misdoing. An indication of the mischief of the offense committed by the New York Times is the fact that Journalist Howard Rushmore called the Times to task in the New York Journal-American of January 30.

I include herewith the pertinent extract from Mr. MARTIN's speech in Philadelphia, the full text of the New York Times story of January 24, and the story by Mr. Howard Rushmore, which appeared in the New York Journal-American of January 30:

I do not need to tell this audience that unfortunately we have here in America a dedicated group of people who want to lead us into socialism. They have devoted approximately the last 20 years of their lives to that goal. Their basic philosophy is that the Government should do everything. They have made immense gains, but they still have not arrived at their goal. If I need cite the evidence, I will refer you to the outcome of the presidential election of November 4, 1952. I think Americans made it unmistakably clear that they had all they wanted of Socialist experiments with our American way of life.

Down through the years, I have been a careful student of leftwing utterances. Knowingly or not, these leftwingers are unable to hide the fact that they make their greatest gains at the expense of human hardship.

They are the ones who, in the thirties, were telling us that our plant was built, there were no more horizons.

They are the ones who, in the forties, as World War II ended, were telling us that we were going to have 10 million unemployed.

They are the ones who today are yelling depression.

These leftwingers live on pessimism. They get up each morning with their mouths tasting like back issues of the New Republic. They go to bed each night secure in the knowledge that everybody had advanced 1 more day toward the yawning cavern that is the tomb.

They are the egghead wing of American political life. They infest the ADA, an organization which calls itself Americans for Democratic Action, but which might properly be renamed "a depression any time."

[From the New York Times of January 24, 1954]

MARTIN CONDEMNS TALK OF A SLUMP—FEELS LEFTWING EGGHEADS TRY TO PROMOTE HARD TIMES AS CUE FOR SOCIALISM

PHILADELPHIA, January 23.—Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., charged tonight that leftwing eggheads were trying to promote us into hard times for political reasons.

Their aim, he declared, is to lead us into socialism.

In a radio speech before the 46th annual banquet of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board, the Massachusetts Republican said that despite pessimistic statements of alarmists there is not a valid economic sign today * * * pointing to anything like the unemployment of 1949–50, when these people were so silent."

The Nation is now going through a period of readjustment, Mr. MARTIN asserted, and today's unemployment figure of 2 million may vary upward in the next few months.

"Despite this period of transition," he added, "the year 1953 just finished was the most prosperous in the history of our country, and the fact is there are 62 million American civilians at work today at gainful occupations."

Representative MARTIN's speech was billed in advance by his office as a major address, with a nationwide broadcast arranged.

In 1949 and 1950, under a Democratic administration, the Speaker said, unemployment reached 3,400,000 and 4,750,000, but the four-alarm prophets of the leftwing * * * were silent. There were no cries of recession, no cries of depression.

"Each time you read one of these political utterances," he advised, "go back and check up the gentleman's statements in 1949 and early 1950. You will find that the color of the coat has changed."

Mr. MARTIN charged that such leftwingers infest the Americans for Democratic Action, the anti-Communist organization that backs the principles of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

He said he knew of no responsible businessmen who were pessimistic about the economic outlook. Politicians, he added, know less about the country's economy than businessmen and economists, and do more talking about the subject.

Mr. MARTIN also reviewed the first year of the Republican administration and predicted that 1 million homes would be built this year, with private enterprise performing in a manner so outstanding that public housing soon will become only a memory of the unlamented days of the managed economy.

Because of the narrow political margins in Congress, he conceded no one can predict with certainty the fate of President Eisenhower's legislative program. But, he said, the American people will demand its enactment and they will get its enactment, if not by the narrow majorities of this Congress, then by sufficient majorities in the next Congress.

[From the New York Journal-American of January 30, 1954]

SUBVERSIVE FRONT: ADA GETS HELP FROM NEW YORK TIMES

(By Howard Rushmore)

For the past several months Americans for Democratic Action has been under fire

from bona fide Democrats as an outfit that does harm to the cause of genuine liberal politics.

Recently House Speaker MARTIN, speaking for the Republicans, slapped at ADA as one of the organizations trying to promote a depression in the United States.

With the ADA under fire from both camps, help was needed to rebuild the outfit in the public mind. Oddly enough the New York Times which loudly trumpets its nonbias, was one of those who came to the ADA's aid.

MARTIN'S statement was carried by the Associated Press out of Philadelphia. The AP reported: "Representative MARTIN said these leftwingers infest Americans for Democratic Action, an organization which backs the principles of the Roosevelt New Deal and Truman Fair Deal."

PHRASE ADDED

This certainly was honest reporting and a fair and accurate description of the ADA. But not the New York Times. It carried the same AP story thusly: "Mr. MARTIN charged that such leftwingers infest the Americans for Democratic Action, the anti-Communist organization that backs the principles of the New Deal and Fair Deal."

The addition of the phrase "the anti-Communist organization" was the idea of the New York Times. It was not in the original AP story. We confirmed that with AP. It is an old rule, learned by cub reporters in their first year, that you don't doctor or editorialize wire service stories. Even when the ADA is in need of tender and loving care.

President Eisenhower's Farm Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "The Betrayal," which appeared in the January 14 issue of the Triumph-Monterey Progress, be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BETRAYAL

"I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair, full share of the national income * * * a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity, but full parity." (Candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower, at Kasson, Minn., 1952.)

Betrayal, not only of a campaign pledge, but of the basic interests of American agriculture, is the only term sufficiently suggestive of President Eisenhower's farm proposals.

What President Eisenhower proposes to do would bring economic ruin to thousands of American farmers. It is hard to understand the motives for such a program. But nevertheless, it is a deliberate plan to drive farm prices down, a move which would be the beginning of another major depression.

Let us look for a minute at what is being proposed.

First of all, parity isn't parity any more. The very basis of computing parity has been tampered with. Instead of having a fixed scale or balance, parity is on a sliding basis. It is like having a foot ruler that instead of measuring 12 inches, shows only 11 inches 1 day and goes down to 10 inches the next, yet is still called a foot.

The new tampered parity will be 10 percent lower than present parity on corn and 20 percent lower on wheat. In other words, without even considering the sliding supports, prices on corn would drop 10 percent and on wheat 20 percent.

Then on top of this support prices would slide from 90 percent of the tampered parity to a low of 75 percent. This simply means that under the President's proposal, corn could go as low as 65 percent of present parity and wheat could tumble as low as 55 percent of present parity and the administration would still insist that it was supporting prices.

A lot of hogwash is being made of the point that supports could be as high as 90 percent of the new tampered parity. The cold facts show that high Government supports would be in effect only in periods when no surpluses existed. In other words, when prices in the open market are high and the farmers need no supports, President Eisenhower says he is willing to have high supports.

But when surpluses pile up and prices tumble, then supports will be low. The administration is willing to let the man in a boat have a life preserver as long as the boat is on dry land. But when it is out in rough water and in danger of sinking, the President would take the life preserver away.

The President says his plan is designed to eliminate surpluses by discouraging farmers from growing crops on which prices are low. Actually low prices may tend to further increase surpluses and further depress prices.

When a farmer finds that his income is going down, he tries to produce more so as to keep up his earnings. And where he is forced to shift to other crops, he will only succeed in increasing the supply of those crops and pushing their prices lower.

As William Pearson, president of the Minnesota Grange pointed out Tuesday, "variable supports merely mean that prices will be established at the lowest level of support." This is the "free economy" that President Eisenhower has been talking about.

In the past, Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson has been taking the heat for attempting to ruin the American farmer. Many a farmer has said that "things would be different if they only got rid of Benson." The President's message clearly shows that Benson has been merely the errand boy. President Eisenhower must accept full responsibility for the farm program.

His responsibility is even greater when one realizes that he is pushing his program in the face of almost unanimous opposition from Midwest farm belt Congressman, both Democrats and Republicans alike.

Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, a Democrat, said that "Mr. Eisenhower had broken faith with the farmers." Senator ED THYE, a stanch supporter of President Eisenhower, nevertheless stated that he "would not be a member of the wrecking crew to destroy the supports now holding up the prices of basic farm products." Similar statements were made by Congressmen of both parties from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas.

If this plan to scalp the farmers is to be defeated, it is up to the farmers in the country to protest. It is up to the merchants on Main Street and the employees whose jobs depend on farm buying power, to write our Congressmen and Senators.

Already the lack of buying power has caused farm implement factories to close. Automobile and steel plants are curtailing production. Unemployment in the United States has passed the 2 million mark. This can set in motion a chain reaction that can result in an economic bust. The dark years of the early 1930's are still a stark memory. It must not happen again.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Even in Defeat BRICKER Has Scored a Victory," published in the Miami Herald of January 31, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EVEN IN DEFEAT BRICKER HAS SCORED A VICTORY

No issue in recent years has developed so much debate on the floor of the United States Senate as the controversial Bricker amendment to the Constitution.

Nor, I might add, has any public question been so thoroughly misrepresented, or at least misunderstood, by supporters and opponents alike.

Without going into legalistic language, the purpose of the Bricker amendment is threefold:

1. It would invalidate any treaty provision which conflicted with the Constitution.

2. It would prevent a treaty from becoming domestic law without appropriate legislation.

3. It would give Congress the power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization.

Provision No. 1 has drawn the least fire from opponents of the Bricker amendment. Even President Eisenhower has said that he fully subscribes to "the proposition that no treaty or international agreement can contravene the Constitution. * * * I will gladly support an appropriate amendment that will make this clear for all time."

The purpose of this section is to prevent the situation which arose when President Truman attempted to justify his action in seizing the steel industry. Truman said that our obligations under the United Nations Charter and NATO forced him to make sure that the manufacture of armament would not be interrupted.

The Supreme Court ruled against Truman but it is interesting to note that the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices accepted the validity of the Truman contention.

Since, as William R. Mathews, of the Arizona Star, points out, "Supreme Courts reverse their opinions at times, such a clear-cut provision as No. 1 can be welcomed as settling irrevocably any such challenge in the future."

FINDS TWO COMPROMISES COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE

The largest area of controversy rages over section 2 which proposes that a treaty can take supremacy over local laws only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty.

This curiously worded provision has been interpreted in various ways, although both sides agree it would completely nullify existing court decisions ruling that treaties may override State law.

Senator BRICKER'S fear is that a United Nation's treaty, such as the proposed covenant on human rights, would be used to displace State laws which vary widely in respect to the rights of aliens, segregation, divorces, and property rights.

In support of his argument, he quotes Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as saying in April of 1952 that treaties can take powers away from the State and give them

to the Federal Government or to some international body.

Opponents of the Bricker resolution contend that section 2 would require every treaty and executive agreement to be approved by each of the 48 States.

The latter claim springs either from gross ignorance or willful misrepresentation.

The real weakness in section 2 is that under its provisions each State could enact constitutional legislation contradicting treaty and Federal law.

In an effort to find a suitable compromise on section 2, Senator WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the Republican leader, has suggested that, in ratifying a treaty, the Senate may provide that a treaty shall become effective as internal law only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress.

Senator WALTER GEORGE, Democrat, has offered a substitute to the Bricker amendment which would provide that an international agreement other than a treaty, would become law only through an act of Congress.

The Knowland stipulation would seem to give protection against the dangerous treaties which have been cooked up from time to time within the United Nations while maintaining supremacy of the Federal Government in the conduct of international affairs.

Senator GEORGE's substitute is directed against executive agreements like the Yalta and Potsdam pacts which were not subject to Senate approval. It does not, however, place any limitations upon present treaty practices.

Senator BRICKER has declared that both of these compromises are completely unacceptable, that they don't go far enough, and fail to meet the issue.

PROVISION HELD SAFEGUARD AGAINST FUTURE YALTAS

Section 3 of the Bricker amendment gives Congress the power to regulate all executive agreements with foreign powers and international organizations.

The Ohio Senator urges this provision as a safeguard against a repetition of Yalta, where tremendous territorial and other concessions were made by President Roosevelt to Russia without the knowledge and approval of Congress.

His opponents maintain that enactment of section 3 would necessitate congressional action on some 10,000 routine executive agreements that are made every year in connection with NATO and other related matters in the field of foreign policy.

Here again, we see a bland distortion of fact. Good constitutional lawyers say that Congress already has this right; that section 3 is only restating present law, custom, and practice.

Frank E. Holman, past president of the American Bar Association, contends that section 3 is 'merely an empowering clause which does not require executive agreements to be submitted to the Congress for approval.

He says its purpose is to give Congress authority to act when in its judgment, "it is necessary to protect American interests against a President entering into such far-reaching and disastrous executive agreements as those of Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam."

HAS ALERTED EVERYONE TO TREATY LAW DANGERS

As I see it, the Bricker constitutional amendment was conceived in good faith as a protection against future involvements in which neither the people nor Congress are permitted to have a voice.

Certainly, the experience of the United States with secret diplomacy has been anything but fruitful. We have paid a tragic price for permitting the exectuive head of our Government to assume powers never contemplated by the framers of our Constitution.

In principle, I share many of Senator BRICKER's fears concerning treaty law, the same fears voiced in 1952 by Frank E. Holman and John Foster Dulles, now on opposite sides of the controversy.

Fortunately, and in keeping with our democratic processes, the intense discussion over the Bricker amendment has revealed certain weaknesses in the Ohio Senator's resolution that must not be overlooked.

While it is a fact that Presidential power has been abused, in attempting to correct the abuse we may overcorrect it.

When the best constitutional authorities in the country can have conscientious differences of opinion over a proposed constitutional amendment which will affect the conduct of foreign and domestic policy for generations to come, it behooves us to go slow.

It is now quite certain, chiefly because of opposition from President Eisenhower, that the Bricker amendment in its original form has no chance of being approved at this session of Congress, if ever.

It is possible, though hardly probable, that a compromise amendment, satisfactory to both sides, will be written in the Senate.

The danger is that any compromise reached at this stage of the controversy will have more mouth than teeth.

Senator BRICKER deserves the gratitude of all Americans for the fight he has made in behalf of constitutional government.

The introduction of his amendment and the resultant public discussion have alerted everyone from the President down to the dangers of treaty law and the abuses of Executive power.

Even in defeat, Senator BRICKER will have scored a victory for his country.

JOHN S. KNIGHT.

Spires of the Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, as we know, the Washington Star each Sunday morning carries an article by the chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris. These articles are always beautiful and always helpful. I thought the article in last Sunday's Star was as beautiful and as appealing as any I have ever read. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT

(By Frederick Brown Harris, Minister, Foundry Methodist Church; Chaplain, U. S. Senate)

UPSTAIRS

In spite of many examples of modern home building which plan for all domestic life to be lived on one level, the romance of stairways remains. A cultured woman recently was heard to remark: "When stairways disappear something precious goes out of the home."

With bright strands of remembrance stairs are woven into the warp and woof of gracious living. A cherished part of the national heritage consists of stately homes, exuding the aroma of days of yore, whose stairways are artists' dreams of proportion, symmetry and grace. In the annals of many a family tradition a sweeping stairway is redolent with nostalgic memories as vivid as Longfellow's picture of The Children's Hour. There the poet has captured forever, in eternal youth, the gay trio of merry maidens as they come tripping in the lamplight, descending the broad hall stair with whispered plots and plans, in "a sudden rush from the stairway."

But such stairs tell not only of jubilant feet descending, but of the reluctant feet of pouting children halting in the ascent, pleading for some extension of the parental decree with its seemingly cruel dictum, "Upstairs to bed." T. A. Daly has a touching little poem in which he etches a never-to-be-forgotten picture of two dear friends parting after happy, understanding hours by the blazing logs. The one is seen mounting the stairs after "farewell" had been whispered, leaving the other standing by the hearth whose flickering light had cast its palyful, fitful shadows on both faces. As the one turned to go a haloed radiance seemed to creep upstairs with her, leaving but shadows where she had sat by the dying red embers. Holding a candle to light the way, she disappears at the head of the stairs. The door of an upper room is heard to close. Then the house is very still. The night seems suddenly to grow cold and a chill hand to be laid on the lonely one sitting with bowed head by the faint-glowing ashes. That one, in the presence of the other, had reveled in that winter evening as in a garden of delight; but now—

"Good night! And then your candle's feeble glare
Went glimmering up the stair.
For, oh, the summer, warm and bright,
You conjured in the winter night,
Went upward with your candlelight,
Went with you up the stair."

Such a verse is freighted with the pathos of the stairs. That separation is a glowing parable speaking wistfully of those who have ascended stairs to an upper room in mansions above, of the Father's house, leaving disconsolate those who stay behind a while bowed in the sadness of farewell. But, going, such leave a breath of fragrant summer behind; for, before they go up the golden stairs, their flame has touched with fire some other. That is how all the best and the good has defied the corroding years as from candle to candle has leaped the living flame.

The church started when tongues of fire sat upon each of those waiting hearts who had climbed the stairs to an upper room. They found the same Presence which Jacob found as, from his lonely rock in the wilderness, a stairway suddenly spanned the gulf between him and the unseen, while the angels of God ascended and descended. Having caught the flame those first disciples came down the stairs to enact the wonder of the spreading flame which is the heart of Christianity.

Stairways become symbols of lives that climb—each new day a step to higher levels of thinking and achieving. Blessed is the man who, having ascended one more step and with eyes lifted to others yet to mount, can greet each eventide with the triumphant satisfaction, I have climbed a little higher today. What an epitaph that is on an Alpine slope, where a gallant climber met his fate. Where he slipped to his death is a white stone on which is his name and the simple, significant statement: "He died climbing."

There are but two vital divisions among men. The difference between the two is not one of position. It is one of direction. In the one are those who, however high they start, are moving down; in the other, those who, however low they start, are moving up. Toward the place where you will one day stand you are now moving. To keep on living as you are living now, where will it take you? The answer to that solemn question is

not suggested by an escalator which automatically moves up, but a stairway up which one climbs. "We build the ladder by which we rise—and mount to its summit, round by round."

There is an inspiring story of a stairway of service which starts in the Southland. The climber of those stairs was once a hillbilly lad, named Carpenter, whose childhood was as hard as the rocks of his native South Carolina mountains. One day he was taken to a city where he beheld the wonders of trains and lights and crowded streets. In him was felt the urge to climb from his lowly beginnings. To his joy it was arranged that he should live with an uncle and go to high school. He made friends who believed in him. Teachers recognized his ability. He had the stuff to climb. They offered to send him to college. He was thrilled. With sparkling eyes, he said, "I want to be a doctor." He studied hard. He came through with high honors. The medical faculty saw a likely candidate for specialization in hospital research. But he answered: "Thank you, no. I appreciate your help and kindness, but I want to go back to my native mountains. There are sick people there who die because they have no doctor." That is where he went and stayed—stayed until he was no longer a young physician, but "Old Dr. Carpenter."

The people he served were so poor they couldn't pay him in money, but in provisions and feed for his horse. He lived in two rooms over the village store, with a stairway outside running up. At the foot of the stairs was a shingle: "Dr. Carpenter Upstairs."

A morning came when some one climbed those old stairs to get their friend for another case of need, and found that during the night the doctor has answered a higher call "Upstairs." The people came from miles and miles, in stunned sorrow. And they laid him to rest in a box of pine, there in the red earth. One of the group said: "I know just where to get a sign for his headstone." While they waited he ran to the village store, and at the foot of the old stairway secured the weather-beaten shingle which had directed the sick for many years. And while those mourners stood around in breathless silence he placed it at the head of the old doctor's grave: "Dr. Carpenter Upstairs."

There is nothing to do now but to kneel by that sign and pray that for each of us the things that were and the things that are and the things that are to be may form but a golden stairway by which we shall mount up, up, up, to our waiting throne and to the inheritance of the saints in light.

Tribute to Commissioner Harry C. Harper, of the Selective Service Appeal Board for New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HENDRICKSON. Mr. President, Commissioner Harry C. Harper, a distinguished son of New Jersey, has completed his tenure as a member of the Selective Service Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1.

His friends and colleagues have reminded all of us of Harry Harper's lenghty service for his State and Nation in this respect.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Mr. Samuel J. Kaufman, chairman of the appeal board, and a resolution summarizing Commissioner Harper's contributions, be printed in the Appendix of this RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,
APPEAL BOARD 1, PANEL 1,
Newark, N. J., December 21, 1953.

Col. DONALD A. MACGRATH,
State Director for New Jersey Selective Service System, Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR COLONEL: Pursuant to the direction of Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1, it is my privilege to send to you herewith—for the official file of your office—a photostat copy of a resolution adopted by this panel, in connection with the resignation of our friend and colleague, Commissioner Harry C. Harper. We contemplate continuing him in an emeritus capacity, although I am not unmindful of the fact that the regulations make no provisions for such an appointment.

May I take this opportunity—in behalf of panel 1—to express to you, our own appreciation and thanks, for your invaluable aid and assistance, rendered to us during this past year—your first one as our State director. In our association with you, you have evidenced a profound knowledge of the selective-service regulations and an accurate conception of their applicability. It is an honor for us, of panel 1, to have the benefit thereof, through your kindness. You have made our duties that much easier. The giving of your time to the work of the System has greatly aided our State in being placed in a foremost position in the Nation with respect to the efficient operation of the System. The credit for our success in aiding in the fight for peace—a sustaining peace—not alone for our own United States, but for peace-loving peoples everywhere, is due largely to your efforts. In behalf of Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1, may the writer, as chairman of that panel, express our sincere gratitude and appreciation for the prompt and efficient manner in which you have performed your duties as the State director for New Jersey, under the Selective Service System. Your invaluable aid has invoked the good will of all concerned.

May I take this opportunity of extending to you the season's greetings and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Respectfully and cordially yours,
SAMUEL J. KAUFMAN,
Chairman, Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1.

Whereas Harry C. Harper has served since October 15, 1948, as a member of the Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1, Selective Service System, and has now tendered his resignation therefrom; and

Whereas during his said service, Harry C. Harper demonstrated a keenness of mind and mettle, a zealous devotion to his country, and a dedication to the high purposes of the Selective Service System; and

Whereas Harry C. Harper is a leader in civic, social, philanthropic, patriotic, and fraternal activities and has served the State of New Jersey and the United States on numerous occasions with honor and distinction; and

Whereas Harry C. Harper, by his extremely effective services and sacrifices, his long experience and his capacity for work, has been one of the most valuable members of our panel; and

Whereas no one will regret his resignation more than his colleagues on Panel 1, with whom he has labored to such good effect on the difficult and complex task of classification of registrants on appellate review; and

Whereas Harry C. Harper, in terminating his membership on this board and in leaving this panel, takes with him our affection and respect; now therefore, Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1, Selective Service System, mindful of the debt which it owes to our friend and colleague, Harry C. Harper and being desirous of paying tribute to him—one of our most dedicated and vigorous leaders in civic and other activities: Now be it, on this 15th day of December 1953

Resolved, That Appeal Board for New Jersey, Panel 1, Selective Service System, does hereby express its gratitude to Harry C. Harper for our close association with him and for his work on this panel—memories we will always cherish and proudly look back at. It is hoped that he will continue to have good health in abundant measure; that his years may be prolonged and his life filled with happiness.

SAMUEL J. KAUFMAN,
Chairman.
JOHN P. DAILEY,
Secretary.
LEO CLUESMANN,
Member of Board.
A. ELSTON FINK,
Member of Board.

All-America City Award, 1953, to Petersburg, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the February 9 Look magazine in regard to Petersburg, Va., which was among 11 United States cities to receive the 1953 All-America City award, by reason of outstanding accomplishments.

These annual awards are cosponsored by the National Municipal League and Look magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PETERSBURG, VA.—Legend has it that Peter Jones, for whom the city of Petersburg was named, said to his son as he left on an extended trip: "Don't do anything until I get back." Peter Jones never got back.

Petersburg's city manager, Roy F. Ash, likes to tell this story about the city where many citizens followed Peter Jones' advice for many years. Petersburg is a proud place; it is the home of many of Virginia's first families, a sleepy Southern city whose natives preferred to live in the past. But, after World War II, some residents began to take stock. They decided that they could not live indefinitely on memories of their 300-year history.

Petersburg's first and greatest community achievement has been the $3 million, 180-bed General Hospital. The old hospital was poorly equipped and overcrowded and was finally condemned by the State fire marshal. In 1949, a few men began a subscription campaign for a new hospital. The number of volunteer workers, including many civic groups, increased rapidly, and more than one third of Petersburg's 35,000 people gave so

generously that the goal fixed at the outset of the drive was exceeded by 50 percent.

The hospital drive served as a catalyst for other community projects, which have met with remarkably unanimous support. A $1 million Negro high school, an elementary school and a firehouse have been built, the farm market has been renovated and improvements made in the water system. In the past 3 years, Petersburg has made almost $6 million in capital improvements, with a net debt increase of only $1 million. The city is now busy with plans for a sewage-treatment system, new roads and a new bridge. Gracious living—1954 style—that is Petersburg's new ideal.

Poland Will Be Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious ailments of modern scholarship is moral blindness in the trappings of historical objectivity.

Such a work is Samuel L. Sharp's Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field, published by Harvard University Press.

Why the Harvard Press should decide to propogate a false idea about Poland during these times is more than I can understand.

Poland is the symbol of the struggle between atheistic materialism and Christianity. Presently, its people are in chains and the MVD are trying to extinguish its spirit.

But Poland will not die. Its Christianity may be in the catacombs today but it will emerge again. Poland will be an independent nation and the Soviet regime that presently enslaves it will be an entombed black memory.

I wish to include in my remarks an excellent editorial in the Saturday Evening Post for January 30, last:

POLAND TRIED YEARS AGO TO ALERT US ON THE COMMUNIST PERIL

A clear view of the present and historical position of Poland is rare among Americans, even among scholars. There are Americans who regard an independent Polish state as a political invention with no enduring foundations. It is argued by others that little can be done for Poland because its geographical position between two powerful aggressive states puts it in the position of a canary trying to swallow two cats, as John Wheeler-Bennett expressed it.

The most recent volume dealing with that country, Samuel L. Sharp's Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field (Harvard University Press) contains much important material, but the author appears to expect from the Poles such Olympian wisdom, poise and patience in adversity as one could expect to find only among supermen.

His chapter on the Polish resistance during World War II and the Warsaw uprising against the Germans is a case in point. Contrary to the general belief that the Warsaw Poles rose against the Germans in 1944 hoping that the Russians would come to their assistance, Mr. Sharp contends that the uprising was politically motivated and that the underground was less concerned with the Germans who were believed doomed, than with the Russians whose emergence as victors in Eastern Europe was viewed as a catastrophe for Poland.

To most people there seems to be no reason why the Poles should be ashamed of the fact that they were trying to defend a free Poland against whichever enemy seemed the most likely to prevail, but Mr. Sharp regards the uprising as "the culmination of a long series of actions and an even longer series of stillborn plans directed against the realities of Poland's unfortunate situation." The uprising turned out to be a disastrous affair, and General Bor-Komorowski's hope that the sacrifices of the resistance would "raise an echo all over the world" died in the great appeasement after the war.

But was this tragic episode quite the hare-brained scheme which Mr. Sharp apparently thinks it was? After all, the Poles, in attempting to seize their own capital city, were alerting the West to the Soviet menace. Inasmuch as the West would now give a lot to see the Russians back behind their prewar frontiers, the objective of those heroic Poles does not look unrealistic. The failure in realism was by the Allied statemen who took seriously Soviet promises to respect the independence of Poland.

Another curious passage is Mr. Sharp's discussion of the massacre of thousands of Polish officers by the Communists in the Katyn Forest: "The perseverance with which some Polish officers have gone about gathering evidence of the gruesome Katyn story and bringing it to the attention of the world is, humanly speaking, quite touching. It is nevertheless impossible to overlook a certain element of selectiveness in the way in which this crime is being kept alive."

Even amid the barbarisms of recent times, the murder of thousands of Polish officers, whose only crime was eagerness to get into the fight against the Nazis, does seem to justify perseverance in solving this crime.

No writer need represent all Polish statesmen as paragons of virtue and political sagacity. On the other hand our understanding of Poland and Eastern Europe generally is not increased by dismissal of Poland's difficult choices as unrealistic. It is doubtless true, as the Hungarian historian Ullein-Revicky, has put it, as quoted by John Lukacs in The Great Powers and Eastern Europe (American Book Co.), that "small countries in the center of gigantic global events do not make history; they suffer it." But the efforts of such a country to avoid being swallowed merit something better than supercilious detachment.

Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, we will celebrate the 36th anniversary of the democratic and independent Republic of Lithuania. Lithuania, which was an independent state of great importance in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, was resurrected to independent statehood on February 16, 1918, by the sacrifices and sufferings of her people. On the 36th anniversary of that date, it is fitting to recall that this small nation on the Baltic Sea has contributed greatly to human freedom throughout the ages. It was the Grand Duke Algirdas, of Lithuania, who stopped the Mongols in 1362, when they swept westward into Europe from the Asiatic Steppes behind the Ural Mountains.

And—let it be recalled—it was this brave little country which first fought the Communist aggressors of the Kremlin. The world can learn many things from the experiences of the gallant people of Lithuania, who, after 14 years of almost constant Soviet occupation, are still fighting to free themselves from the grip of Communist terror. And I am glad to be a member of the select committee of this House which is currently pursuing an inquiry into the experiences of these gallant people through the seizure of their country by the Soviet Union. From this inquiry, I expect we shall learn a great deal which will be of inestimable value to the people of the United States.

In area, Lithuania is the largest of the 3 Baltic States, with a population of about 3 million. Since the 11th century, Lithuania had been a free, independent, and sovereign state.

Today, the Kremlin claims that Lithuania is part and parcel of the Soviet Union. This claim is based on the most fraudulent piece of fakery the world has ever seen. This ridiculous fraud was the faked elections which the Communists staged in Lithuania in 1940, while the country was tight in the grip of an overwhelming Red army and while the wolves of the fiendish Soviet secret police had spread a reign of terror throughout the nation.

Those elections of 1940, held on July 14 and 15, were conducted under the guns of the Red army. They were supervised by a special emissary from the Kremlin. And they were managed exclusively by the Communist Party with a single list of candidates, while other political parties that stood for the country's independence were barred from the polls and their candidates were arrested.

The Lithuanian people were dragooned to the polls. The elections were compulsory. Those not voting were considered saboteurs and enemies of the Red regime. Those who appeared at the polls had their passports stamped as having voted. Those who lacked such stamps on their passports were subject to arrest, and countless thousands were arrested and deported to their doom in Siberia.

And the Soviet Union has had the colossal impudence to demand that the world accept this as an honest and legitimate election expressing the free will of the Lithuanian people.

The Moscow radio announced at the time that over 95 percent of the Lithuanian people voted in favor of the Communist candidates. The results sent from Moscow were published in the London newspapers.

But apparently Moscow had not been informed that the elections, which were supposed to be held on 1 day, had been extended over 2 days. And the laughable result was that the final election returns announced by Moscow were printed in the London papers 24 hours before the polls closed.

Nor does there appear to be a word of truth in the Soviet claim that over 95 percent of the Lithuanian people voted in favor of the Communist list of candidates. Some diplomatic observers stationed in Lithuania at the time estimated that only about 16 percent of the Lithuanian people went to the polls at all. And most of these did so only to get their passports stamped, and then they nullified their ballots by defacing them with cartoons and slogans of defiance against the Soviet invaders.

The select committee of this Congress has already had witnesses before it who have given us testimony about these fake elections. Some of these witnesses were people who were at the polls. And some of these witnesses were members of the election boards who conducted the elections and counted the ballots. And their testimony, in great part, has been that false returns were reported in almost every case. In some districts, the false returns provided figures which exceeded the total number of persons living in that district.

The truth appears to be that only a small percentage of the Lithuanian people went to the polls, and that a large part of these deliberately invalidated their ballots in order to avoid giving even this token of support to the incredible Communist monsters who were devouring their country and their kin.

One further feature of importance should be noted in connection with these fake elections. During the short "electoral campaign," no question of joining Soviet Russia was raised or even mentioned. On the contrary, the only slogan of the campaign was in favor of insuring "friendly relations between Lithuania and Soviet Russia."

The so-called elections over, the newly elected members of this Soviet puppet parliament convened on July 21. The first and only business of their agenda was the passing of a resolution humbly requesting that Lithuania should be admitted into the Soviet Union. Having passed it, the puppet parliament dispersed. The farce was completed when the Supreme Soviet granted the request, and it was announced, on August 3, 1940, that Lithuania was declared to be a part of the Soviet Union.

Who was it that declared this piece of impudence to the world?

It was the same criminal who stuck the gun in the back of the victim and robbed him of his life and his fortune.

And this criminal now demands that the world take his word for it that the victim voluntarily gave up all that he loved and had worked for.

Look at the proof, this impudent criminal now tells the world; look at how we asked the victim and how the victim, by over 95 percent, begged and pleaded with us to kidnap him and take him into captivity.

Now, by painstaking work, the select committee of this House is carefully collecting evidence from the victims of this monstrous crime against peace among men, this crime against civilization and humanity; and I predict that the criminal's colossal impudence will avail him nothing in the end; and that the world will choose to believe the evidence from the lips of the victims which the select committee of this House is daily entering into the record of history.

For the sake of anyone knowing little about the steps leading up to the tragedy of Lithuania and the other Baltic States, it might be pertinent to present the facts.

Under the pressure exerted upon all the Baltic States by the fact of the Nazi-Communist Pact, Lithuania was forced to agree to the demand of the Soviet Union for a mutual-assistance pact between them, signed on October 10, 1939.

The mutual-assistance pact stipulated nonintervention in the internal affairs of either contracting party. Limited garrisons of Soviet troops in Lithuania were agreed upon. Lithuania, for obvious reasons, scrupulously observed all the requirements of the pact and expected, naturally, a reciprocal attitude from her colossal neighbor.

During the short period of comparative tranquillity, satisfaction was expressed by Soviet authorities concerning the treatment accorded the Red army garrisons in Lithuania. But on May 25, 1940, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, came the news that Soviet officials had made charges alleging mistreatment of Red army soldiers in Lithuania and accusations that the three tiny Baltic States were conspiring against the Soviet Union—charges for which not the slightest bit of evidence has ever been advanced in the 14 years since that time.

All efforts on the part of the Lithuanian Government to wipe out all possible misunderstandings and suspicions and to placate the Soviet authorities were in vain. The Prime Minister of Lithuania went personally to Moscow to seek a betterment of the situation and to beg the Soviet authorities for cooperation in clarifying and investigating the charges.

Instead of cooperating in behalf of peace in the world, the Soviet Union, at midnight of June 14, presented an ultimatum to Lithuania, demanding a pro-Soviet Government and the admission into Lithuania of an unlimited number of Soviet troops.

If the last legitimate Government of Lithuania could be accused of any guilt, it certainly was not guilty of any provocative acts against the Red army garrisons; but perhaps had too lenient an attitude toward them. In this instance, it is well to recall an opinion of one great American statesman that "The presence of troops of one country on the soil of another constitutes prima facie evidence of aggression."

Although the terms of the Soviet ultimatum violated the letter and spirit of the mutual assistance pact and constituted an illegal intervention in Lithuania's internal affairs, the Lithuanian Government, in view of the imminent invasion by the Red army, complied with the terms of the ultimatum and resigned. The President of the Lithuanian Republic designated General Rastikis to form a new government; but this move, which was the last act of the free government, failed, when the Soviet authorities rejected it. The Soviet choice, Justas Paleckis, was named Prime Minister instead.

Concerning the Soviet Union's demand for unlimited numbers of Red army troops to be stationed in Lithuania, it must be observed that such a demand should have been prompted by some emergency or by an anticipated attack by some European power, as stipulated by article 5 of the mutual assistance pact.

But the plain fact is that there was no emergency and no anticipated attack from anywhere. And if the Soviet Union's demand to increase her army garrisons in Lithuania were to constitute an extension of the pact, there was no formal agreement entered into and ratified as required by law.

On June 15, 1940, numerous Red army divisions crossed Lithuania's frontiers at several points. President Smetona of the Republic of Lithuania departed from the country and went abroad without tendering his resignation as president. A few hours later, a special Commissar from Moscow arrived by plane in Kaunas to supervise the formation of a new government. Thus, on June 17, 1940, the Paleckis government came into being.

With the creation of the Paleckis government, with the Red army present in all parts of Lithuania and new elections carried out to suit its purposes, the Soviet Union, using the most modern methods of veiled aggression, accomplished its task—the destruction of the independence of the Lithuanian Republic at a time when peaceful conditions prevailed and the development of friendly relations had a fair chance of success.

This evil act was committed by Soviet strategem while the Lithuanian-Soviet Union nonaggression treaty was still in effect, and the clause of nonintervention in internal affairs was only 8 months old.

The treaty of nonaggression between Lithuania and the Soviet Union sounds rather ironical in present circumstances:

ART. 2. The Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually undertake to respect in all circumstances the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other.

ART. 3. Each of the two contracting parties undertakes to refrain from any aggressive action whatsoever against the other party.

The occupation, seizure, and incorporation of Lithuania and her two sister Baltic Republics violated every agreement previously entered into by the U. S. S. R. and the three countries.

Soviet occupation of the three countries continued until July 1941. During this time, more than 200,000 people were killed, deported, or disappeared. Then, in July, Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, occupied the Baltic area, and held it until 1944; when the Red army again returned and the Soviets completed the annexation and incorporation that was started in 1940.

Lithuania, with her rich historic traditions dating back from the 12th century, her ancient language, her devotion to religion and western culture, has the undisputable right to independence and free economic development.

During her recent 22 years of independent existence, Lithuania—with her population of 3 million souls, who differ racially and linguistically from the Soviet Russians—thanks only to the spirit of independence, was able convincingly to demonstrate to her neighbors and to the world her ability of

self-government and to achieve rapid progress in every respect.

It is gratifying that Lithuania, in her moments of distress, was not left alone. And it is doubly gratifying to me as an American that the United States gave moral and material encouragement to Lithuania and to her good neighbors, Latvia and Estonia; and that a Select Committee of this House is even now spreading, on the pages of hisory, the record of the infamous crime committed by Soviet communism on the peaceful shores of the Baltic Sea.

And let us recall the ringing words of the Secretary of State when Mr. Dulles opened the first public hearings of the select committee of this House on November 30, last:

What of the future?

Asked Mr. Dulles.

First of all, let us never lose hope that there is a future.

And then our Secretary of State went on to speak thoughts which spring from every American heart:

Some say that it is unrealistic and impractical not to recognize the enforced incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that a despotism of the present Soviet type cannot indefinitely perpetuate its rule over hundreds of millions of people who love God, who love their country, and who have a sense of personal dignity.

The Soviet system, which seeks to expunge the distinctive characteristics of nation, creed, and individuality, must itself change or be doomed ultimately to collapse. The time of collapse depends largely on whether the peoples who remain free produce spiritual, intellectual, and material richness; and a faith which can penetrate any Iron Curtain. The captive peoples should know that they are not forgotten, that we are not reconciled to their fate, and, above all, that we are not prepared to seek illusory safety for ourselves by a bargain with their masters which would confirm their captivity.

We must continue to be guided by this policy—standing firm against Soviet claims to Lithuania. Our continued confidence in the eventual freedom of Lithuania will keep alive the spirit of freedom, and one day will inspire the people to rise up and throw off the Communist yoke of bondage.

Let us not fail the people of Lithuania. Let each and every one of us, on this 36th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, pledge anew our efforts and reaffirm our determination to continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with these brave people of Lithuania until Lithuanian independence is a reality.

Security Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Security Risks," written by Marquis Childs and published in the Washington Post of February 3, 1954. The subtitle reads "Need of Clarification by Administration Rises."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY RISKS

(By Marquis Childs)

NEED OF CLARIFICATION BY ADMINISTRATION RISES

If the White House intends, as is now reported, to give out a breakdown explaining the reasons for the dismissal of 2,200 Government employees fired as "security risks" last year, it will end a situation that has become acutely embarrassing for the administration. A recent evening meeting of White House staffers is said to have been devoted almost entirely to studying how to get off the hook.

A little background shows why the administration has good reason to be touchy on this point. Shortly after he became Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, Jr., set out with the cooperation of other Cabinet officers to work out a new loyalty program. Under the Truman administration, in Brownell's view, every employee who was dismissed came under the suspicion of disloyalty whether he was fired for drunkenness, incompetence or some other lesser charge.

When the new Brownell security program was announced, a lot was made of the claim that it would be fairer, since loyalty cases would be lumped with all others and the individual charged with being a dubious security risk would not be permanently stigmatized. To many this seemed a praiseworthy objective. It would put the whole business on a more sane basis.

But with the announcement that 2,200 individuals were fired as security risks last year, the emptiness of that claim has been made apparent. Republican spokesmen have widely advertised that the whole number were subversives—pro-Communist or Communists. This is in the face of every indication that the number even remotely suspected of disloyalty is probably well under 10 percent.

This false figure is apparently to be used for political purposes in the coming campaign. The statements made by responsible officials are too numerous to permit any other conclusion.

Bernard M. Shanley, special counsel to the President, said in a speech to the Advertising Club of New Jersey that "1,456 (this was the figure used prior to the 2,200 total) subversives had been kicked out of Government jobs since the President assumed office." Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield used the 2,200 figure to talk about "security risks (who) are no longer using your tax money" and in a following sentence declared that, "somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, as might have been expected, said flatly that "90 percent were removed because of Communist connections and activities."

In the amazing speech in which he accused not only President Truman but the whole Democratic Party of treason, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, talked of how nice it was to have a Government that was not infected with spies and traitors and then added: "In less than 11 months the Justice Department has discovered and dismissed 1,456 security risks planted in the Government." In a leaflet put out for the Republican National Finance Committee by Carlton Ketchum it is claimed the administration has "gotten rid of nearly 1,500 Communists, fellow travelers, and their ilk."

It is simply not possible to have this both ways. Either the administration's loyalty program is, as Brownell originally claimed, a more fair way to weed out incompetents and misfits without tagging them with the label of treason, or it is a political device to exploit the fear of communism in Government by building up the total of all dismissals and even, as the evidence indicates, voluntary resignations, to make a formidable bogey.

Reporters have persistently tried to get a breakdown of the 2,200 figure. When Brownell, who has made himself more unpopular with working reporters than anyone who has come to this town in many years, finally held a press conference he was compelled to say no in a variety of ways to all requests for exact information about the categories of those dismissed. The runaround has been from the President to the Civil Service Commission to Brownell and back again.

The only way to end this embarrassment is for the White House to give out a complete and correct breakdown of the dismissals. This may be momentarily awkward for those who have played the numbers racket to make the public believe that hundreds of subversives were unearthed by the new administration.

But nothing short of such a breakdown can restore confidence in the basic integrity of the administration. Nor will this matter quietly die away. The effort to get the truth will continue. And each time the President is asked for information to which the public is legitimately entitled, the embarrassment of the deception will be more acute.

The Moral Climate of America Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HENDRICKSON. Mr. President, the student body of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, of New Brunswick, N. J., through its student society, the Society of Inquiry, has drafted a statement of principles relative to their beliefs concerning the moral climate in America today.

They have commended it to the pages of the RECORD as representative of the thinking of one of the authorized divinity schools of the Reformed Church in America.

It is our Nation's oldest theological seminary with a continuous history.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the statement by the student body printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A STATEMENT BY THE STUDENT BODY OF NEW BRUNSWICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Out of our deep Christian concern to relate the demands of the Gospel to contemporary history, we, the student body (the Society of Inquiry) of New Brunswick Theological Seminary, submit the following statement:

We begin by reaffirming our basic Christian conviction that God who reigns supreme over His creation also manifests His power as the judge and arbiter of history. Therefore, our first concern must be with finding His will for our day. Was not Christ rejected by

those who, blinded by their fears, could not discern the signs of the times? Let us then interpret our history as falling within the framework of God's judging and redeeming activity. We must not allow blindness and fear to obscure our vision.

That which characterizes the period in which God has called us to live is fear and anxiety where man feels hopeless, rootless, and unstable. This is understandable in the light of the world revolution which treatens us on every hand. After 40 tumultuous years in which men have tried to settle things by force of arms we now find our world divided into two camps, facing each other across a chasm of fear, regarding one another with suspicion, hatred, and fear, as they contemplate the awful possibilities of atomic annihilation toward which we seem to be irresistibly drawn by seemingly relentless forces. God's children are on both sides of this chasm and we must affirm that His judging and redeeming activity is everywhere at work.

Difficult as it is the church must bring God's will to bear upon this situation and interpret our times in the light of the word of God. The Gospel is the revelation of the Christ of God who relates Himself to history in two ways: Either as judge if men refuse Him, or as redeemer if men accept Him. To the church is committed this Gospel. The church is the body of Christ and to Him she owes her supreme allegiance. She must therefore not equate herself with any nation, culture, or class. By her nature the church is the "salt," the "leaven," and the "light"; she is moreover the conscience of the state. She has a prophetic function to fulfill. She must examine the state in the light of her Gospel.

God created man in His image. He seeks through the reconciling work of the Redeemer to restore in men that image distorted by sin. Committing to us the ministry of reconciliation Christ commands us to love our neighbor. Each man, even our enemy, is a brother for whom Christ died. In fulfilling our task as ministers of reconciliation, in answering the command to love, we must resist every sort of totalitarianism whether of church or state. The individual must never be lost in the mass. Therefore, we must stand opposed to current factions in our Government which would sacrifice the rights of the individual on the altar of security. Man must not be treated as a commodity to be expended by the state at will. Today as our Nation reacts in fear to the revolutionary forces in our world, we must insist as Christian men that the basic rights which are guaranteed in our Constitution shall not be set aside. We must protest the procedure which allows uncorroborated testimony before a committee of the Legislature to damage people's lives and reputations without recourse to due process of law. We must seek to dispel the thickening atmosphere of suspicion and fear where good men who pray, and work, and speak for love, peace, and justice, are in danger of being slandered when they speak out as witnesses to a better way. We must act not only to discharge our duties as citizens, but more particularly because the love of Christ constrains us to insist that those for whom He died shall not be mishandled, abused, or degraded.

Finally, the church must proclaim to the world that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is its only true hope. The totalitarian forces we now oppose are in part a judgment upon the church for her failure to bring the full weight of the Gospel to bear upon every aspect of human relations. At times she has even condoned suppression of underprivileged peoples, inequality, and injustice. The church must do all within her power to release men from the shackles of ignorance, poverty, disease, and slavery. The church must be true to her Lord who came to preach good news to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty those that are oppressed. Channels through which the church may be active are her World Council of Churches, the United Nations, as well as her denominational agencies.

The church ought not to remain silent and submissive in fear that the world will destroy her. The church does not derive her message nor her task from the world. She clings in faith to her sovereign and victorious Lord, whose she is and whom she serves.

Dr. Charles G. Hayden, Executive Director of Massachusetts Medical Service, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the Methods of Paying Physicians, Patterns of Medical Practice, Etc., of the Blue Shield Medical Care Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Charles G. Hayden, chairman of the advisory committee to the Institute of Administrative Medicine of Columbia University, and a member of the advisory committee of the Health Information Foundation, testified before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee today regarding the various methods of paying physicians under the Blue Shield plan, as well as the patterns of medical practice that are in effect in this and other countries. His testimony is highly important and in part is as follows:

METHODS OF PAYING PHYSICIANS

There are two basic methods of compensating physicians for their services under a medical care plan. These are fee-for-service and salary, capitation, or both.

Under the fee-for-service method of payment the physician receives a predetermined fee for each service or closely related group of services rendered. Thus, he is compensated directly in proportion to the amount and type of work he does. This method of payment, which is traditional in this country, is the method used by Blue Shield plans and private insurance company plans.

The chief limitation imposed by the fee-for-service method of payment is that those aspects of medical care rendered by physicians that are subject to abuse by patients, physicians, or both, cannot be covered by a medical care plan using this method unless certain technical devices that limit or avoid abuse are employed.

The salary method of payment is so familiar as to need no elucidation. It is utilized principally by clinics.

The capitation method of payment, which is employed in Great Britain for family physicians, is less well known in this country. Under this method, the physician receives an annual fee—about $2.81 in Great Britain—for each person on his list or panel. In exchange for this annual fee the physician is expected to render, within the limits of his competence, all the services required (requested) by the persons on his panel. Although in Great Britain the capitation method of payment is used to pay individual family physicians and the salary method of payment is used to pay individual specialists, both of these methods are said to be best adapted to group practice with integration of family physicians and specialists and associated prepayment.

The chief defect of salary and capitation is that they subject physicians to unlimited services for limited, predetermined compensation. By so doing they undermine initiative and, therefore, tend to lower the quality of medical care.

While the salary method of payment, or a combination of salary and capitation, may provide acceptable remuneration under private auspices for the full-time services of physicians on a restricted scale or for the part-time services of physicians on a more extensive scale, it is doubtful whether either method will ever appeal to a significant number of practicing physicians in this country.

As I have indicated, unlimited access to certain aspects of medical care is not insurable. For this reason, a Federal compulsory health insurance program cannot utilize the fee-for-service method of payment, unless, of course, the fees for abusable services are reduced to absurdity. Because it is not feasible politically for a Federal program in this field to restrict the scope of benefits to those services that are insurable or to impose coinsurance features, and because the fee-for-service method of payment is not adaptable, salary, capitation, or both must be employed. If, as is estimated, 85 percent of the population would be covered by the program, there would be virtually no private practice. Consequently, a physician would be forced to practice under the program if he wished to remain in the practice of medicine. But to practice under the program he would have to submit to unlimited services for limited, predetermined compensation which would be the subject of bargaining between the medical profession and the officials who operate the program. While certain groups within the population may be able to bargain successfully with the Federal Government, I do not conceive of the medical profession being in this category. Certainly the recent experience of general practitioners in Great Britain in their protracted negotiations with the Government concerning remuneration has been anything but encouraging.

In order for a compulsory health insurance plan to obtain the kind of control that it needs over finances and personnel two main ingredients are required. These are group practice with integration of the general practitioner and capitation, salary, or both. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that those who advocate compulsory health insurance are also those who condemn fee-for-service and what they disparagingly call the solo practice of medicine.

Complete medical care is composed of many elements including hospital services, drugs, dressings, appliances, and the services of physicians, dentists, nurses, technicians, and social workers. Of all these elements there are only two which do not readily lend themselves to the application of unit financial values. These are the services of physicians and dentists. While it is not difficult to compute the cost of a patient-day in a hospital, the value of an aspirin tablet, or the wages or salary to be paid a nurse or technician, it is virtually impossible to make a similar determination of the value of services rendered by a physician in the private practice of medicine. It is for this reason that Blue Shield plans derive great strength from the fact that, within the confines of a reasonable premium structure, participating physicians establish the level of their own remuneration.

In Massachusetts, Blue Shield fees are established by more than 50 physicians representing 17 specialties. These physicians are designated by their own specialty groups

and not by Blue Shield or the Massachusetts Medical Society.

It might be expected that physicians, in establishing fees, would be overly generous in their own behalf but such has not been the case in Massachusetts. As a matter of fact, just the opposite has been true. Under our low-income plan, an appendectomy commands $75, a tonsillectomy $25. Under our middle-income plan, the figures are $125 and $50, respectively.

PATTERNS OF MEDICAL PRACTICE

There are two basic patterns of medical practice in the United States. These are individual practice by general practitioners and specialists and group practice by specialists or by specialists and general practitioners. As you know, individual practice by general practitioners and specialists is far and away the most common.

The pattern of practice best suited to a prepayment plan is group practice by specialists or by specialists and general practitioners who are compensated on a salary basis, capitation basis, or both. Once the number of physicians and the number of prospective patients is known, the calculation of subscription charges is a simple matter of addition and division. Furthermore, by subjecting the physicians to unlimited services for limited, predetermined, compensation, comprehensive benefits can be provided. As noted previously, this is referred to as coinsurance on the part of the physician.

Although it is possible for Blue Shield plans to adapt themselves to any pattern of medical practice, they are all associated with individual practice by general practitioners, specialists, and groups of specialists who are compensated on a fee-for-service basis by both the plans and the general public. Here the establishment of benefits and the calculation of subscription charges is more complicated because recognized insurance principles must be brought into play.

During the past few years I have found it necessary to become familiar with all of the major Federal legislative proposals in the field of health and with most of the governmental and nongovernmental reports bearing upon the social and economic aspects of medical care. One of the outstanding themes that I have found recurring over and over again is that medicine today is so complicated that the individual physician is hopelessly lost. Therefore, every effort should be made to encourage group practice, especially prepaid group practice with integration of salaried general practitioners and specialists.

Because I expect to spend the rest of my life in medical administration, my interest in group practice has been and still is academic. Like most people I have been impressed by the accomplishments of the Mayo Clinic, the Lahey Clinic and similar types of organizations, but it was hard for me to see how institutions such as these could function as family physicians. In fact, I became so puzzled that I began to wonder whether those who were advocating group practice so ardently were really interested in group practice for any reason other than that it makes it easier for a prepayment mechanism to work.

As far as I have been able to determine, the first authoritative article critical of the concept that group practice by corps of specialists or specialists and general practitioners can provide the kind of medical care that the people of this country should expect to receive appeared in the July 4, 1953, issue of the Lancet, a British medical publication of unquestionable integrity. It was written by Dr. Joseph Collings, a New Zealand physician who is an acknowledged authority on patterns of medical practice throughout the world and it is all the more significant because Dr. Collings has no ax to grind and, therefore, can be objective. Because his observations are extended I have tried to summarize them for you in his own words insofar as possible:

1. The pious hope that it is possible to reintegrate medical care by bringing together the specialists who look after different parts of the body or different ages of man, whatever its theoretical merits, cannot be applied except in densely populated urban areas with good transport facilities. The physical problem of transporting the patient to the medical center, or the doctor to the patient's home, sets definite limits to centralizing health services in this way.

2. For medical care to really be total, general practitioners must be added to the team of specialists. Experience has already shown that the status of the general practitioner, far from being elevated by association with a powerful group of specialists, is further depressed.

3. Another practical drawback to total group practice is that it duplicates expensive and elaborate medical resources. Perhaps America can afford this but other countries certainly cannot.

4. The theory of reintegrating medical care by bringing together the different specialties is attractive and those who formulated it only to find it unworkable in practice do not give up easily. The tendency is to try to meet the difficulties of centralization and communication by pushing the general practitioners back into the wilderness where they can act as recruitment and referral points for the specialists working at the medical center. In places where experiments in total group practice have failed, subtotal practice has been adopted as a substitute.

This form of organization is destructive to the aims of group practice. Here are some examples of the fate befalling general practitioners caught in this form of organization in a large city in the United States:

(a) On joining the group the general practitioner agrees to yield all responsibility for obstetric care to the specialist obstetricians at the medical center; in practice he finds himself doing the emergency and home-call work (for miscarriages, etc.) for patients who are otherwise not his responsibility.

(b) In some 20 major groups the general practitioners first agreed to yield responsibility for the care of children from birth to 2 years of age to the pediatrician; this age limit was then pushed successively to 6 years, to 12, and then to 14. With his responsibility thus limited, the practitioner cannot possibly be the focus of family medicine. His work is also cut down in other directions.

(c) He naturally yields all surgery to the surgeon, and soon he finds that he no longer sutures a simple cut or opens a superficial abscess.

(d) With internist physicians on hand at the medical center he is soon expected to refer to them all save the most trivial medical cases, and the same holds good for psychiatric and gynecological cases.

(e) Finally, because the center is designed to handle a large number of patients and the general practitioner works alone, true group practice is destroyed, however free his access to specialist centers may be. Such development is doubly dangerous and destructive when it grows up as a result of a well-intentioned movement toward the unattainable ideal of total group practice.

This is no theoretical criticism; it is a factual account of what has happened, despite thoughtful endeavors to prevent it. In groups organized on this basis, about 40 percent of the work is done by general practitioners and 60 percent by specialists, which hardly suggests integrated care of the patient. At the very least the proportion of work and responsibility should be reversed.

6. I [Collings] have analyzed similar trends and their results in Great Britain and New Zealand, where they came about without the aid of well-intentioned endeavors to integrate medical services along these lines. I have found that any medical-care organization based primarily on specialist care—whether inside or outside the hospital—rather than on general practice is wasteful, is professionally undesirable in many ways, and does not provide a satisfactory personal medical service.

7. Dr. Collings advocates group practice by from 2 to 5 general practitioners. He says that there is abundant evidence demonstrating that such groups, when properly organized and employing clerical and nursing assistance, can provide personal medical care at a very high level meeting perhaps as much as 90 percent of the needs of the average patient.

It is not my wish to involve the committee in an evaluation of patterns of medical practice, but I do feel that it is important for the committee to have as wide a view as possible of the relationship between patterns of medical practice and prepayment mechanisms. The fact that a certain pattern of practice makes it easier for a prepayment mechanism to work is not a good enough reason to change the pattern of practice and although I am not even remotely suggesting that total group practice or subtotal group practice has been or is being advocated in this country for this reason, the possibility must be recognized in any reasonable evaluation of prepayment plans particularly when those who would alter the prevailing pattern of practice are asking the Federal Government for money with which to accomplish their ends.

I wish to assure the committee that Blue Shield plans are content to take the practice of medicine as they find it knowing full well that within the confines of their own financial resources they can adapt themselves readily to any pattern of practice that their sponsoring physicians may see fit to evolve.

SERVICE BENEFITS

The majority of Blue Shield plans provide service benefits. This means that participating physicians make no additional charge for covered services rendered to individuals or families with annual incomes less than preestablished amounts.

I am acquainted with the arguments for and against service benefits. I have also had considerable experience administering a service benefit plan. In my opinion, a medical-care plan cannot be effective unless it provides service benefits for a significant proportion of its membership. I say this not because I believe that service benefits are necessary to protect plan members, but because I believe that service benefits help honest, conscientious physicians protect themselves from their less scrupulous colleagues.

It is my conviction gained through experience that where finances are concerned, the vast majority of physicians are honest, fair, and reasonable, and that, except for the gouging of a few robber barons, almost every unpleasantness concerning fees is due to misunderstanding on the part of patient, physician, or both. If all physicians were as most physicians are, we could forget about service benefits.

In Massachusetts we have two plans—one with a family income limit of $3,000 and another with a limit of $5,000. The scope of benefits is the same under both plans but the level of fees and subscription charges is higher for the $5,000 plan than for the $3,000 plan.

According to wage records in Massachusetts our income limits provide service ben-

efits for essentially 85 percent of the working population. Because we permit subscribers to choose the plan that best suits their individual needs, we have succeeded in gearing our subscription charges to ability to prepay.

Our $5,000 plan, which became available generally on January 1, 1951, was our answer to inflation. In the present economy our $3,000 plan is subsidized by the medical profession for individuals and families with low incomes.

ENROLLMENT PRACTICES

The vast bulk of Blue Shield members join through group enrollment. Because it is neither practical nor socially desirable for Blue Shield plans to insist upon high enrollment percentages, they typically protect themselves from a preponderance of poor risks by imposing waiting periods on obstetrical services, tonsillectomies, and, in some instances, also on specific conditions likely to be of common occurrence, chronic duration, or both. Waiting periods vary among the plans, the common maximum being 1 year. Where satisfactory percentage requirements are achieved, waiting periods are usually waived.

Most Blue Shield plans arrange for nongroup enrollment of individuals and families not associated with an eligible group. In Massachusetts nongroup applicants complete a health statement on the basis of which the application is accepted, rejected, or accepted with a waiver of known conditions likely to require treatment. In addition a 1-year waiting period is imposed on specified conditions. Although applicants must be less than 65 years of age, our experience seems to indicate that this limitation can be done away with.

It is not difficult to enroll people in Blue Shield plans. The problem is to keep them enrolled when they lose their income. Although members who leave their place of employment may retain their coverage, not all of them do so. In Massachusetts the annual ratio of cancellations to total membership is 1.23 percent. About one-half of those who relinquish their memberships do so for lack of funds; the remainder drop out for a variety of reasons such as death, removal to another State, transfer to other coverage, etc.

There have been instances in Massachusetts where the State or local welfare agency has continued to pay subscription charges for persons out of work but this is the exception rather than the rule because hospital and medical care is available to such agencies at rates considerably lower than those paid by Blue Cross and Blue Shield. Under the law in Massachusetts welfare agencies are required to pay no more than $14 per day for care rendered in a hospital. This amount does not today cover the cost of hospital care let alone the additional cost of physicians' services.

In my opinion, it is unlikely that as Blue Shield plans extend the scope of their benefits and as payments for medical care by governmental agencies at all levels more closely approximate the cost of such care, the incentive of such agencies to assume Blue Cross and Blue Shield subscription charges for their beneficiaries will be enhanced.

Today virtually every person in Massachusetts who has not already done so can enroll in Blue Cross-Blue Shield or in a medical care plan underwritten by commercial insurance companies. If with the present rate of enrollment—which in Blue Cross-Blue Shield alone runs between 150,000 and 200,000 per year—some satisfactory mechanism could be found to salvage those members who drop their coverage for financial reasons, it would not be long until virtually every person in the Commonwealth could enjoy substantial protection against the costs of medical care.

QUALITY OF SERVICES

The assertion that Blue Shield plans exert little or no control over the quality of services rendered by participating physicians is true. Blue Shield plans pretend to neither omniscience nor omnipotence. They assume that medical schools do a creditable job and that State licensing boards take their responsibilities seriously. They also believe strongly that patients should be permitted to choose their own physicians. Because the vast majority of practicing physicians in this country are participating, the services covered by Blue Shield plans are qualitatively neither better nor worse than those available to nonmembers in the same community.

CONCLUSIONS

Blue Shield plans have been devised by the medical profession to help individuals and families meet unexpected and financially significant bills for physicians' services. It is for this reason that they are grafted upon the prevailing mode of medical practice in this country which is individual practice by family physicians and specialists on a fee-for-service basis. Less than 3 percent of the physicians in this country are currently engaged in group practice and most of these are specialists associated with groups that use the fee-for-service method of billing patients.

The two areas of financial consequence in which Blue Shield plans are said to be delinquent—ambulatory diagnostic services and home and office calls for serious or prolonged illness—are being narrowed in ways that eliminate the possibility of unwarranted abuse by patients, physicians, or both. Abuse by any segment of a plan's membership or by any of its participating physicians imposes an unwarranted financial burden upon the rest of the plan's membership.

Whether or not Blue Shield plans include benefits for periodic health examinations and other certain or near-certain prophylactic measures will depend upon the willingness of the public to reimburse Blue Shield for the cost of such services plus an administrative charge. Similarly, whether or not minor surgery and other services of little financial consequence should be included also will be determined by the public.

One of the few problems of consequence with which Blue Shield plans are faced is that of retaining members who leave their place of employment permanently or who are unemployed temporarily. Most important in this category are persons who are retired under a compulsory formula and persons who are drawing unemployment compensation during periods of temporary dislocation. It bears repeating that voluntary prepayment of hospital and physician bills could be extended to virtually the entire population in a relatively short period of time if some acceptable mechanism could be devised to rescue the memberships of those who suffer abrupt curtailment of income.

Another problem, relatively minor but exceedingly irritating, is the inability of Federal employees to have their subscription charges deducted from their pay.

It probably will not be feasible for governmental welfare agencies to deal with voluntary prepayment plans until such time as welfare agencies are called upon to pay the full cost of hospital and physician services.

An outstanding characteristic of Blue Shield plans is their ability to stand on their own feet financially. It is partly for this reason that they do not look with favor upon any suggestion that their benefit structure or method of operation be subsidized. To put it another way, within their own resources, Blue Shield plans are in a position to offer virtually any scope of benefits that may be in the public interest and they will work diligently and cooperatively with any governmental agency that wishes to purchase such benefits for any individuals or families for whom the agency has assumed complete or partial economic responsibility.

As would be expected there are very few nonphysicians who possess an understanding of medical practice in its many and varied ramifications. Similarly, there are very few physicians who are familiar with corporate administration, actuarial principles, underwriting requirements, public relations, or mass salesmanship. Consequently, it can be predicted that, while the medical profession should not and will not relinquish ultimate control over its destiny insofar as medical prepayment plans are concerned, more and more nonphysicians will be brought into Blue Shield plans at the policymaking level.

Dr. Charles G. Hayden, Executive Director of Massachusetts Medical Service, Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on Blue Shield Medical Care Plans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Charles G. Hayden, chairman of the advisory committee to the Institute of Administrative Medicine of Columbia University, and a member of the advisory committee of the Health Information Foundation, testified before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee today regarding the Blue Shield medical care plan as it operates in the United States and in particular in the State of Massachusetts. His testimony is highly important and in part is as follows:

THE TESTIMONY OF DR. CHARLES G. HAYDEN BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 2, 1954

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Dr. Charles G. Hayden, full-time executive director of Massachusetts Medical Service, one of the oldest and largest Blue Shield plans in the country. I am a physician licensed to practice medicine in Minnesota, and registered to practice medicine in Massachusetts. I am a graduate of the University of Minnesota, where prior to my medical training I spent several years in anthropology and sociology.

I appear here today along with Mr. Frank Smith as a representative of Blue Shield medical care plans which is a voluntary association of the 78 Blue Shield plans in the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and Canada.

I believe you will agree with me that during the few short years that they have been in operation, Blue Shield plans have made tremendous progress. However, to my mind, this progress is merely an indication of the fact that they are now in possession of the fundamental knowledge and techniques necessary to permit them to do any job that the public may reasonably expect of them.

It goes without saying that Blue Shield plans would have accomplished nothing without the support of the practicing physicians of this country and I wish here to pay them the compliment that is their due.

The following presentation is something of an elaboration of the material that I had the privilege of presenting to the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. You will note that I have limited myself to brief discussions of the major characteristics of Blue Shield plans and that where expedient I have brought into the dis-

cussion certain concepts that bear upon the subject of prepayment as a whole.

PROFESSIONAL CONTROL

During the past several years Blue Shield plans have been subjected to criticism because they are directly or indirectly under the control of State or local medical societies. In my opinion, such criticism is unrealistic.

Practically without exception professional and trade organizations in this country have been formed for the purpose of advancing the public interest through development of what they consider to be the enlightened self-interest of their members. Labor unions are a good example of this type of organization and thousands of others could be cited including those of the medical profession.

In the scientific field there exist measuring sticks and evaluators the accuracy of which is not open to serious question. Anyone who would argue that there are 13 inches in a foot or 3 quarts in a gallon would be branded immediately as a dolt. In the field of human relations, however, general agreement on measuring sticks and evaluators is not always easy to obtain. It is for this reason that the interests of labor unions and the interests of the medical profession might be in conflict.

Labor unions are opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act. They call it a slave-labor law. At the same time they favor a Federal compulsory health insurance law, which in the eyes of the medical profession would be a slave-labor law for physicians. The American Legion is also opposed to Federal compulsory health insurance but it favors Federal aid for medical education which is opposed by the American Medical Association. Perhaps some day we shall have measuring sticks and evaluators in the field of human relations that will pass inexorably upon the validity of conflicting claims but that day is not now. In the meantime, we should try to understand the other fellow's viewpoint and ascertain his motives for only with complete understanding and honorable motives on the part of all groups concerned can we build the kind of structure that will adequately serve the health needs of all the people.

Most Blue Shield plans undertake to provide services of physicians instead of cash with which a patient may purchase such services. Now, this is an exceedingly important distinction, because any agency that makes services available must of necessity exercise some control over those who render the services. This is one of the reasons why the medical profession is opposed to Federal compulsory health insurance.

Under the old-age and survivors' insurance program, the Federal Government collects money from people, and then if certain conditions are met, it gives money back to them. Basically this is a simple cash transaction, and the recipient can do what he pleases with the money. Under Federal compulsory health insurance, however, the Federal Government also proposes to collect the money but instead of returning money to patients requiring medical care, it would undertake to provide the personal services of physicians. How this could be done without imposing controls on the medical profession I, as the administrator of a medical-care plan, cannot understand.

Because most Blue Shield plans make available the services of physicians, it is only natural that the medical profession should be greatly concerned with the question of where the ultimate control of such an undertaking should reside. Even during the early days of the Blue Shield movement there were physicians who, while grappling with organizational problems, sensed that they were dealing with forces capable of generating unprecedented momentum.

In October 1941, Dr. James C. McCann, then chairman of the committee on prepaid medical costs insurance of the Massachusetts Medical Society, stated in a report to the council of the society:

"With reference to the establishment of a corporate structure, we must give serious attention to the constitution of corporate structure and to the medico-economic significance of practicing medicine under a contract with a legal entity known as a corporation.

"The corporation that we envision may be potentially a most powerful organization. If it should bring in a large portion of the 7,000 resident physicians of Massachusetts, if it should bring in somewhere around 50 percent of the 4 million residents of the State, and if it should bring in all the funds that are turned over at present in the distribution of medical services between these groups, it could be one of the most powerful corporate structures in Massachusetts."

Dr. McCann was prophetic. Blue Shield in Massachusetts now covers 1,543,688 persons, and in 1953 paid out $16,680,030 for physicians' services. It is no wonder, therefore, that Dr. McCann was concerned over the impact that such an undertaking might make upon the practice of medicine in Massachusetts. He continues:

"The one most important thing to keep in mind is the question wherein will control of the corporation reside? By what means will the physicians maintain their control of this corporate structure. * * *

"The physicians of the State, who are in complete control of the profession of medicine, are planning to place a large part of their practice under the control of a corporation by the medium of contract. There is no stock ownership so that we cannot control this corporation through the medium of stock ownership. We have to adopt other measures of control if we are to protect our inalienable interests." The inalienable interests referred to above are described by Dr. McCann as follows:

"I think we must insist that the contribution of the physician transcends the contribution represented by the premiums of the subscribers, which are only a lien or claim for completion of the contract. The subscriber contribution is not so-called 'risk capital,' any more than your premiums to a stock life-insurance company represent risk capital or an ownership claim. We are contributing the body of knowledge possessed by the whole medical profession, and the acquisition and use of that knowledge and skill by the individual physician. This knowledge, skill, and practice represent, we should insist, capital knowledge that is of major importance in the operation of any medical-service corporation. Certainly, our knowledge is patentable—consider insulin and viosterol; however, our ideals do not permit universal patenting, and our progress is a universal gift to mankind. * * * So that as your committee tried to perform the character of this corporation, it seemed equitable to us that, on the basis of business practices, the right of physicians to control judiciously the corporation should not be questioned."

I have cited the above quotations because they epitomize the hopes and fears of those pioneers whose idealistic efforts were largely responsible for launching what has turned out to be a most significant instrument in the field of medical care. These men were sailing on an uncharted sea; consequently, they did what they thought best to assure a successful voyage. Under similar circumstances it is hard for me to understand how any group would have acted otherwise in the establishment of a corporation or similar agency designed to make the services of its members available to a large segment of the population.

In Massachusetts the board of directors is composed of 15 members who serve without financial compensation. Only 5 of the 15 are physicians. All of the directors are elected by the executive committee of the council of the Massachusetts Medical Society, which is composed of 1 member from each of the 19 districts of the Society and the 5 officers of the State society. It is required that the State society nominate at least a majority of directors.

The 5 physicians on the board plus 1 nonphysician constitutes a central professional service committee, which has jurisdiction over matters vitally affecting the practice of medicine. Policy regarding such matters, when voted by the board, must be submitted to the executive committee of the council of the Massachusetts Medical Society 30 days prior to implementation, except that establishment of income limits is reserved to the council itself.

Currently the board is composed of 2 former State officials, 2 personnel officers, 2 labor representatives, 3 industrialisits, 1 banker, and 5 physicians.

Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans are a unique development in the field of medical care. Here, for the first time in history, the major sources of medical care—hospitals and physicians—have taken it upon themselves to make their services available to essentially the entire population without the interposition of a third party imbued with the interests and motives other than those which traditionally have characterized our hospital system and our medical profession. In my opinion, this unique development has derived much of its strength from the fact that from the first hospitals and physicians have known that their interests were fully protected. Perhaps, in retrospect, the precautions taken were more elaborate than they needed to be, but the medical profession, just as any other group in the population, should not buy a pig in a poke if it can avoid doing so.

And now a prediction to end this portion of my presentation. As Blue Shield plans become more mature and as understanding between physicians and nonphysicians becomes more pronounced, there will be greater and greater nonphysician participation in Blue Shield plans at the policymaking level.

SCOPE OF BENEFITS

Speaking broadly Blue Shield plans tend to operate in accordance with accepted insurance principles which may be summarized as follows:

1. There must exist laws of mathematical probability which are applicable so that the insuror may be able to determine in advance just how often the event insured against will occur.

2. A person must stand to lose financially by occurrence of the event against which he wishes to be insured.

3. There must be a large number of independent policyholders.

4. The risk must be important enough to justify paying premiums.

5. The event to be insured against must be uncertain of occurrence insofar as the policyholder is concerned.

6. The insurance itself must not immeasurably increase the risk.

From the standpoint of the public, the most important characteristics of any medical-care plan are its scope of benefits and its cost. During these hearings you have undoubtedly heard a lot about plans that provide what are called comprehensive benefits through groups of salaried physicians and no doubt you have also been given some idea of what comprehensive benefits cost subscribers. Assuming a similar favorable selection of risks, it is possible for a Blue Shield plan such as we have in Massachusetts to duplicate these benefits as well as their cost. That this has not been done is due mainly to the following realities which, as a practical matter, must be faced:

1. There is no evidence that the public generally is ready to pay what comprehensive benefits cost.

2. Within the scope of comprehensive benefits there are services subject to serious abuse which ultimately must be taken into account by any medical-care plan no matter how organized.

As stated above, Blue Shield plans tend to operate within the confines of accepted insurance principles. This means that certain services rendered by physicians should not be covered completely because they are subject to abuse by patients, physicians, or both, because they are certain or near certain to occur, or because they are of minor economic consequence.

A major component of ambulatory diagnostic services are laboratory and X-ray examinations. If covered completely by a medical care plan, it is only a matter of time until its members will demand more examinations than they need. Similarly, if the members of a plan can have a physician any time they want one the tendency is toward excessive utilization for minor or imagined ailments.

Much is being said currently about the importance of preventive medicine. In terms of physicians' services, this means periodic health examinations and prophylaxis. Neither of these services is insurable because they are certain or near-certain to occur. To cover them a plan must increase each premium by whatever amount it costs to pay for the periodic examinations or prophylaxis, plus a charge for administration.

There are a number of people in this country who believe that a medical care plan should cover only those services of physicians that are of financial consequence. Translated into practice this usually means some type of coinsurance by the patient. As employed by medical care plans, coinsurance may take one or more of several forms:

1. Benefits for services that are apt to be of small financial consequence, especially when budgeted along with food, clothing, rent, and similar items, are excluded altogether. In this category are to be found home and office calls for minor digestive and respiratory disturbances, minor surgical conditions, routine periodic health examinations, prophylaxis for the so-called children's diseases, and similar more or less predictable contingencies. Most Blue Shield plans use this device to a greater or lesser extent.

2. Benefits for services rendered in any illness or injury are provided only after the patient has paid the first $25, $50, $100, or some other initial portion of a predetermined maximum amount—say $5,000. In this category is to be found the so-called catastrophic coverage offered by certain private insurance companies.

3. Benefits for services rendered during the first few days of illness are excluded. This device is commonly used by cash sickness plans where the first week of illness is excluded. It is also used by some Blue Shield and private insurance company plans where the first 1 or 2 calls in any illness treated in the home or office are excluded.

4. Benefits for any service rendered are limited to, say, two-thirds or three-fourths of the cost of individual items of service with the patient paying one-third or one-fourth at the time the service is rendered. Here again is to be found the catastrophic coverage offered by private insurance companies and some contracts offered by a few Blue Cross plans. In the case of catastrophic coverage, the insurance company pays two-thirds or three-fourths of the bill up to a maximum amount after the patient has paid an initial portion of the bill. In the case of certain Blue Cross plans, the patient pays part of the daily board-and-room charge with the plan paying the rest of the bill.

5. A less well known form of coinsurance is that utilized by medical care plans that provide the services of physicians who are on salary, capitation, or both. Here it is said that the physician coinsures with the patient because the physician is subject to unlimited demands upon his services in exchange for limited predetermined compensation. Most of the plans associated with the Cooperative Health Federation of America utilize this form of coinsurance.

Coinsurance by the patient may be utilized by a medical care plan to accomplish one or both of two results. These are:

1. It may be applied to all services or to specific areas of service for the purpose of keeping subscription charges (premiums) at the lowest possible level. It is mainly for this reason that some Blue Cross plans impose coinsurance on the daily room-and-board charge and that most Blue Shield plans exclude home and office calls for medical (nonsurgical) conditions.

2. It may be applied to selected items of service to reduce their utilization. If a patient has to pay for the first two home or office visits, or if he has to pay part of the cost of such visits, the theory is that he will not abuse them. Similarly, if he has to pay half the cost of ambulatory X-ray and laboratory examinations, he supposedly will not ask for unnecessary examinations.

Blue Shield plans have as their objective coverage of those aspects of physicians' services that are apt to be of financial consequence. They, therefore, tend to utilize coinsurance only to the extent that benefits for services which are not apt to be of financial consequence are excluded. No Blue Shield plan employs coinsurance to any great degree for the purpose of deterring patients from using benefits. To do so would be antisocial for the reason that the poor man would be penalized while the rich man would be subsidized.

It is said by some that Blue Shield plans are all right as far as they go but that they don't go far enough. While it is true that Blue Shield plans do not yet cover all of the services rendered by physicians that are apt to be expensive, the gap is closing rapidly. In Massachusetts, as elsewhere, expansion of benefits has been a continuing though gradual process. When it is realized that prior to 10 or 12 years ago there was no experience in this field upon which to draw, the development has been nothing less than astounding.

In February 1943 the Massachusetts Blue Shield plan sold its first contract. This contract provided benefits for surgical and obstetrical services in the hospital and for related X-ray, anesthesia, and endoscopy. On June 1, 1947, benefits for medical (nonsurgical) services in the hospital and for surgical and obstetrical services outside the hospital were added and on September 1, 1950, benefits for dental surgery in the hospital were also included. Within a matter of days, Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Massachusetts will make available a prolonged illness contract which, when added to their existing certificates, will provide coverage of virtually any illness or injury of financial consequence during a period of 2 years or until $5,000 has been expended, whichever occurs first.

Because so much stress is currently being placed on preventive medicine, I should like to say a few words about it at this point.

In terms of physicians' services, preventive medicine is coming to mean periodic health examinations and prophylaxis. Neither of these services are insurable because they are certain or near certain to occur. To cover them a plan would have to increase each premium by whatever amount it cost to pay for the examination or prophylaxis plus a charge for administration.

Although Blue Shield plans do not cover periodic health examinations, they make a significant contribution in the field of preventive services. In the first place, Blue Shield plans have removed the fear of costly treatment which, in the past, is said to have kept ailing patients from seeing their physicians at the first sign of trouble. The accuracy of this statement can be verified by talking with any busy practitioner who sees a significant number of insured persons. In the second place, a large proportion of the services that Blue Shield plans pay for are of a preventive nature. In Massachusetts the procedures most frequently encountered are endoscopies, biopsies, and the removal of benign, premalignant, and malignant lesions.

Despite the claim that the expanding discovery and use of preventive measures—including prophylaxis and periodic health examinations—will reduce the incidence of illness, I believe the opposite to be true. Because preventive measures increase the average span of life, more and more persons are becoming subject to the degenerative processes of aging. These, in turn, will require an ever-increasing amount of medical attention, much of which will take the form of surgical intervention.

I am aware of the recent claim that older people do not use the benefits of medical care plans more frequently than younger people. This is contrary to our experience in Massachusetts; but, assuming it were so, it is not difficult to demonstrate that the relative cost of such services is substantially greater in the case of older people than in the case of younger people.

Consequently, if my reasoning is valid, Blue Shield plans can expect a gradual increase in the utilization of benefits which, in my opinion at least, is a good argument for limiting benefits to those services that are of economic significance and, therefore, cannot be easily budgeted.

PROLONGED ILLNESS

Extension of Blue Shield (and Blue Cross) coverage into the area of prolonged illness is a natural and logical development. Certain Blue Shield plans, notably those in California and Texas, have been experimenting with this type of coverage for several years and, as you know, a few private insurance companies now are also underwriting this kind of risk.

Under the commercial insurance policies, the member pays all of his medical bills until a specified limit is reached—usually $300 or $500. Thereafter the company pays two-thirds or three-fourths of the remainder up to a maximum of $3,000, $5,000, or more. Under the California and Texas plans coverage is provided for specified conditions up to a maximum.

Although it is not possible at this time to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of existing plans designed to protect against the medical costs of prolonged illness, two observations seem warranted:

1. The bulk of the cost of prolonged illness arises out of the unusual expenditures required to maintain the patient in a hospital, in a nursing home, or in the patient's own home. If the patient is the main source of family income, maintenance of the other members of the family is also involved.

2. Compared to the amount of money required for maintenance, the cost of physicians' services is relatively insignificant and can be covered completely or almost completely by Blue Shield plans through a simple extension of benefits.

The prolonged-illness contract soon to be made available by Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Massachusetts is designed to provide coverage supplemental to that contained in their standard contracts. It will protect members against most of the cost of prolonged illnesses during a period of 2 years from the date of onset of the illness or injury or until a total expenditure of $2,000 by Blue Shield and $3,000 by Blue Cross has been made, whichever occurs first.

Any member covered by the prolonged-illness contract will be entitled to benefits for physician fees and hospital charges while hospitalized during 120 days per illness or

injury for any condition, including mental conditions requiring shock therapy, or when hospitalized during an indefinite period for any illness or injury specified in 18 categories of conditions. In addition, the member will be entitled to benefits for the following services upon discharge from the hospital if suffering from any condition listed in the 18 categories:

1. Physicians' fees.
2. X-ray and radium treatment.
3. Laboratory and X-ray examinations.
4. Nursing-home care.
5. Visiting-nurse service.
6. Physical therapy.
7. Drugs, dressings, and appliances.

The following 18 categories of conditions to be covered following discharge from the hospital are based primarily upon information derived from the Visiting Nurse Association of Boston and persons engaged in operating nursing homes. Although this list is already broad in scope it is anticipated that ultimately any condition requiring care after discharge from the hospital, if only for a short period of time as in the case of acute conditions, will be included:

1. Acute poliomyelitis and its late effects.
2. Cancer, including disseminated cancer such as lymphoma, myeloma, leukemia, aleukemia, and Hodgkin's disease.
3. Benign neoplasms of the brain or spinal cord.
4. Subacute combined degeneration of the spinal cord.
5. Cerebral hemorrhage, embolism or thrombosis.
6. Coronary embolism or thrombosis.
7. Subarachnoid hemorrhage.
8. Rheumatic fever or chorea.
9. Congestive heart failure.
10. Active pulmonary tuberculosis with positive sputum or gastric contents.
11. Ulcerative colitis and regional enteritis.
12. Cirrhosis of the liver with ascites requiring paracentesis or following a shunt operation.
13. Chronic nephrosis, or chronic nephritis with uremia.
14. Pemphigus.
15. Myasthenia gravis.
16. Amputations where prostheses are indicated.
17. Fractures.
18. Hemiplegia, paraplegia, or quadraplegia.

Although actuarial determinations are not yet final, it is known that the extended coverage outlined above will add less than $2 to the combined monthly group subscription charge of Blue Cross and Blue Shield in Massachusetts.

Mr. Frank E. Smith, Director of the Blue Shield Medical Care Plans, Chicago, Ill., Testifies Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on the Blue Shield Medical Care Plans in the United States and Canada

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Frank E. Smith, director of the Blue Shield medical care plans, Chicago, Ill., in his testimony today before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee answered many questions that have been asked regarding the operation of the Blue Shield medical care plans in the United States and Canada. He presented data that is highly important. His testimony is as follows:

My name is Frank E. Smith. I am the director, with full executive responsibility of Blue Shield medical care plan, located in Chicago, Ill.

Before presenting a description of Blue Shield, may I call attention to testimony submitted on two previous occasions, which may be known or be of some value to the committee.

I refer to data regarding Blue Shield contained in a report prepared by Dean Clark 2 years ago for the Senate Subcommittee on Health, and testimony given by Dr. Charles G. Hayden 1 year ago before the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will present my testimony in a series of basic questions, in which I believe your committee is interested, and my answers will be as brief and factual as I can make them.

What are Blue Shield medical care plans? It's an international association (limited to the United States and Canada) of voluntary, nonprofit, medically sponsored, medical care prepayment plans which apply for membership and are accepted.

Acceptance of a plan as a member is based on a plan's conformity with certain standards of organization and operation established by the association itself. A copy of our membership standards are attached to this testimony for examination by the committee at its convenience.

The association is incorporated in Illinois as a nonprofit organization, receiving its charter in March 1946, with 9 plans serving as charter members.

What is the Blue Shield commission?

The Blue Shield commission, elected annually by the member plans of the association, is the governing body of Blue Shield medical care plans, comparable to a board of directors or board of trustees in other corporate bodies. Member plans, electing by districts, are represented by 1 trustee and 1 executive from each district, with 8 commission members elected at large. A majority of the commission are doctors of medicine, a complete roster appearing on the back page of Fast Facts About Blue Shield, one of the commission publications which is also attached to this testimony for the committee's information.

How is Blue Shield medical care plans financed?

By membership dues paid monthly by each member plan. Dues are assessed on a milliage basis as related to the total number of certificates in force in each plan's area of operation.

What is the function of Blue Shield medical care plans?

By comparison to things which are familiar to most of us, Blue Shield medical care plans is a trade association type of organization. Its principal function is the provision of certain services to its member plans, and the coordination of national projects which are voted from time to time by the member plans.

Neither the association nor its governing commission has any authority over the affairs of its member plans. No orders can be given or controls established, except by the consent of the member plans in annual or special meetings.

What is the relationship between the Blue Shield commission and the Blue Cross commission?

There is no legal relationship of a corporate nature. Both commissions are housed in a common office at 425 North Michigan Avenue in Chicago, and the commissions have entered into a joint operating agreement covering the terms of joint occupancy of office space and the joint employment of certain staff members where mutual interests and economy can best be served.

Beyond the relationship which exists in the operation of the office in Chicago, there are numerous instances in which committees of the Blue Shield commission and similar committees of the Blue Cross commission meet and work jointly, and many conferences of plan personnel and national activities are jointly sponsored by the two commissions.

At no time is the identity or interest of either commission considered subsidiary to or lesser than the other.

How many Blue Shield plans are there?

From a beginning of nine charter member plans in March 1946, the association has grown in membership to a total of 77 plans, operating in 42 States, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and 8 Canadian Provinces.

What is the relationship between a Blue Shield plan and the medical profession?

To qualify as a member of Blue Shield medical care plans, a Blue Shield plan must be either sponsored or approved by the organized medical society in its area of operation. In most instances this sponsorship is provided by a State medical society, although some Blue Shield plans are sponsored locally by a county medical society or group of such societies, this being the case when the plan does not operate on a statewide basis.

In all but a few plans the governing board is characterized by a majority representation of doctors of medicine. There is a total of 1,212 men serving without remuneration on the boards of 77 Blue Shield plans. Of this number, 773 are doctors of medicine.

Most Blue Shield plans, the exceptions being some few plans which operate on an indemnity basis only, have entered into participating agreements with physicians in their areas for the providing of benefits to subscribers and their dependents according to stipulated contractual terms. This is particularly true of the 60 plans which offer benefits on a service basis to the subscribing public.

As of December 31, 1953, an estimated 123,500 doctors of medicine have entered into such agreements in the United States, as compared to an estimated 155,000 doctors of medicine in private practice and available to subscribers for professional services. These estimates are based upon known facts as of December 31, 1952, the present figure being unobtainable for another 30 days.

Participating agreements normally contain three basic provisions:

1. An agreement on the part of the physician to accept the plan's fee schedule as full payment for services rendered in behalf of subscribers and/or their family dependents whose annual income falls within certain fixed limits. These income ceilings, on which eligibility for service-type benefits are determined, vary from plan to plan according to the economic circumstances common to the area in question. At present, income ceilings range from a low of $2,500 per year of family income to a high of $6,000 per year. The trend during recent years has been toward an adjustment upward in such income ceilings, these adjustments being made in accordance with the economic facts of the day in which we are living.

2. An agreement on the part of the physician to abide by the rules and regulations established by the plan in the administration of its certificate agreements with the subscribing public.

3. An agreement on the part of the physician to accept prorationed payments, if necessary, during any period of financial difficulty on the part of the plan, at the same time giving the subscriber patient full credit for the amounts listed in the plan's fee schedule. This third basic provision is fre-

quently incorporated in agreements between participating physicians and plans operating on an indemnity basis as well as the service plans, thus providing a financial guaranty to the subscriber by guaranteeing the plan's continued solvency.

In the areas of the United States which are served by Blue Shield plans, 89 percent of the doctors of medicine who are in private practice are participating by signed agreement in their own Blue Shield plans.

How many people are enrolled in Blue Shield plans?

On September 30, 1953, there were a total of 27,337,904 persons enrolled in Blue Shield. The total for December 31, 1953, will not be known for another 30 days, but it is reliably estimated to be well over 28 million.

A quick glance at the following figures is evidence of the rapid growth of Blue Shield since 1946:

December 1946	1,826,719
December 1947	5,791,175
December 1948	8,911,225
December 1949	12,260,045
December 1950	16,629,596
December 1951	21,125,812
December 1952	24,766,173
December 1953 (estimated)	28,000,000

What about the financial picture for Blue Shield?

Although final figures are not yet available for December 31, 1953, the year's total income for all Blue Shield plans is estimated to be in excess of $318 million. Of this amount approximately 82 percent was paid in subscriber benefits, with a little over 11 percent spent for operating expenses, and about 6½ percent allocated to reserves.

During the last 7 years the ratio of income paid out in benefits has slowly risen from about 77 percent to 82 percent, and, correspondingly, operating expenses have been reduced from better than 15 percent to the current low of 11.3 percent.

This trend toward increased utilization may be expected to continue in the years ahead, in the same gradual rise as has been experienced over the last several years, especially with the advent of new forms of coverage for which subscription rates have not yet been established with the same degree of reliability as have been fixed for the some familiar types of benefits. It can be expected likewise that there will be still further reductions made in operating expense ratios.

What is the typical coverage offered by a Blue Shield plan?

It is difficult to pick the exact prototype for all Blue Shield plans in describing the benefits available to subscribers.

Basic to all Blue Shield plans is coverage for surgical benefits during hospital confinement. There is a growing trend among plans toward extending surgical benefits for treatment when rendered outside of a hospital confinement, either in the hospital outpatient department or the physician's office, especially for minor surgical conditions. One can say that the only limitation on surgical benefits that is universally applied is the limit on the fee or indemnity itself as paid for any particular surgical procedure.

Sixty-seven of the 77 plans are currently offering certificates which include medical care in the hospital based on two methods of coverage.

For plans offering medical care on a per illness basis, benefits range from 10 days or visits per illness to 90 days or visits, with a median of 70 days or visits.

Plans offering such in-hospital medical-care benefits on a per contract year basis range from 20 days or visits to 365 days or visits, with a median of 30 days or visits.

In some plans the medical benefits are limited for underwriting purposes by the use of a deductible feature wherein the patient is liable for payment for the first 2 days or visits, perhaps as much as 3 or 4 such deductible days or visits. It is expected that in-hospital medical-care benefits will be commonly offered in some manner by all plans in the very near future.

A majority of the plans, nearly 60 of them, make some provision for anesthesia benefits, usually in connection with surgical or obstetrical cases in the hospital.

To a lesser degree, somewhat less than half of the plans provide for diagnostic and therapeutic X-ray benefits.

And to a smaller degree, approximately one-fourth of the plans include pathology examination benefits.

In all of the latter instances, involving anesthesia, radiology, and pathology, benefits are provided by Blue Shield plans only when the services are rendered by a physician who is in private practice or who submits his own bills or service reports. Blue Shield plans make benefit payments only to a physician or, in some few instances, directly to the subscriber, but never to a hospital. Companion benefits for the services mentioned above, when rendered by an employee of the hospital or billed by the hospital, are usually considered in the sphere of Blue Cross benefits.

In describing the benefits offered by a typical Blue Shield plan, one often has to know the companion benefits offered by a Blue Cross plan to get the full picture of benefits available to the public.

In some few instances Blue Shield plans offer special benefits such as payment for surgical assistant's services, consultants, home and office calls by the physician, and special examinations.

Rates charged for what might be termed "typical Blue Shield coverage" range from a low of $2 per month for the family to a high of $7.35 per month. The median rate charged is $2.80 per month.

What recognition is being given by Blue Shield to the problem of catastrophic coverage or coverage for chronic and long-term illness?

Nobody knows better than the average physician that some of the major costs confronting the public are encountered in cases of long illnesses of a chronic nature or disabling or crippling ailments.

It would be false to assume that Blue Shield, either on the part of its many executives or boards of directors, and with its medical sponsorship and direction, were unaware of the problem.

Some efforts in that direction are beginning to emerge and the general pattern of Blue Shield benefits is being augmented to provide for benefits in an area which is of vital concern to this committee.

Perhaps the best and simplest explanation for what may appear to be procrastination or delay on the part of Blue Shield in expanding its benefits lies in the fact that Blue Shield is very young and has been busily occupied in mastering the fundamentals of medical-care prepayment.

Enrollment had to be secured.

Enrollment volume was needed to assure a strong financial position from which point added experimentation could take place.

Enrollment volume was needed in order to gain adequate exposure of risk which could be statistically tabulated and studied before additional and unknown risks could be safely assumed.

Enrollment volume was needed before efficient administrative procedures could be tested or perfected for the proper handling of larger social responsibilities.

The baby had to be born before it could be trained to assume a man's job.

Mr. Chairman, your committee will be interested, I know, in addition to Dr. Hayden's description of a recently initiated program of care for catastrophic conditions in Massachusetts, in knowing what some of the other Blue Shield plans are doing or contemplating.

Ten Blue Shield plans have already made available a rider or endorsement to their basic certificates, in which benefits are provided for a specified list of chronic illnesses. Benefits are usually limited on a time and dollar basis, such as two years' care or $5,000 worth of care, whichever is reached first.

These endorsements to basic contracts are not uniform in nature, but follow a general pattern. Blue Shield in California was the pioneer in this form of extended coverage, having accumulated three years of experience to date.

Typical of the conditions of illness thus covered are poliomyelitis, leukemia, spinal meningitis, encephalitis, cancer, diabetes, epilepsy, undulant fever, pernicious anemia, and certain common contagious diseases.

Rates charged for such endorsements range, according to the extent of coverage, from a low of 25 cents per month for the family to $2.20 per month.

In addition to those plans which have already moved into this new area of benefit coverage, there are at least fifteen which have similar programs either in the discussion stage or about ready for public offering.

As the history of Blue Shield will reveal, the pioneering spirit is still alive. I believe, personally, that Blue Shield is aware of the need and will make every legitimate effort to meet to problem squarely.

Problems such as concern this committee are not resolved in the twinkling of an eye. Much has to be learned, and much is being learned. But as responsible organizations, it is incumbent upon Blue Shield plans to remain solvent to meet their already established obligations to more than 28 million people.

I have every confidence that the future will bring more protection to more people, and that Blue Shield will continue to be a leader in the effort to prove that free enterprise has within itself the genius to accomplish the desired results.

Criteria for Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, early in October 1953 it was my pleasure to meet with a group of REA managers at Sidney, Nebr. They were concerned with the new power criteria directive which had been issued August 18, 1953, by the Under Secretary of the Interior Department. This was followed by several meetings between the REA's, the Department of the Interior, and Members of Congress.

In my opinion, the REA's and preference customers had every reason to be concerned about the first interpretation of the new power criteria. The criteria were vague, inconsistent, and lacked a clear understanding or explanation from the Department of Interior.

As chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I scheduled 3 days of hearings on this matter. The REA's from a half dozen States were represented. Many questions were asked by them and answered. The testimony of these hearings is now available to interested groups.

Let me suggest that with the change of the administration a year ago that there are a number of individuals lacking official endorsement to speak for either of the major political parties who have been making a political football out of the REA. The REA in the past has had both Republican and Democratic support in Congress. It has cut across political lines with strong support. Several of these self-appointed spokesmen were disgruntled former employees of past administrations. Indeed, the attorney who was appointed to represent a large group of REA's was an individual who was released from the REA at the national level. It is unfortunate that these self-appointed spokesmen have tried to drive a wedge between Members of Congress, this administration, and the good work being carried on by the REA cooperatives.

Coming to the desks of Congressmen has been a great deal of propaganda which made the farmers believe they were being sold down the river. Rumors were set afoot that interest rates were to be raised. Any thinking person knows that these rates were set by Congress. Propaganda said that the public-power policies of the Congress would be scuttled. It was said that the Rural Electrification Administration was going to sell the cooperatives to private power companies. Letters went to REA's carrying misinformation, half-truths, and insinuations that the REA's were to be hurt. Rumors are still repeated that the REA's must contract and pay for power not needed for several years.

These unfounded rumors and statements spread confusion and misunderstanding among the REA cooperatives. It seemed to be a plan and a pattern followed by those who wanted to hurt the administration. In my opinion, the production of electric power should be strictly an economic problem. Those who would make it a political issue do a disservice to the REA's.

I do know that the good REA directors in Nebraska and other States were not taken in by the groundless rumors and half-truths which came through this New Deal lobby in Washington.

The Department of the Interior was represented before the committee of which I am chairman. They were asked a great many questions which had been presented by REA groups. When you examine the hearings you will find that the question of a short-term contract was frequently explored. Mr. Aandahl's answer was always to the effect that short-term contracts would be so drawn that the power would be available to preference customers when they needed that power.

In its revision of article 7 of the Missouri Basin Power Marketing Criteria, dated December 11, 1953, the Department of the Interior has given greater recognition to the rights of the preference customers by declaring:

> That power not already under contract and not needed until a later time by preference customers will be reserved for them as a class by selling it under short-term interim contracts under which it can be recaptured for the preference customers at the termination of such contract.

It should be noted that the January 1, 1954, deadline has ben so modified that REA cooperatives should no longer suffer a loss because they are permitted to adjust their future requirements after January 1, 1954. The Interior Department will review carefully all requests for future power and no contracts will be let which, on the face of them, would seem to indicate that the REA might be penalized for asking for more power than they can use at the present time.

In the case of the four power groups in Wyoming and Colorado who now get electric energy from the Reclamation Bureau, Mr. Aandahl said that there were 53,000 kilowatts under contract in the western division with nonpreference customers and to the best of my knowledge, all of the contracts have a withdrawal clause in them. I asked the question:

> They have a withdrawal clause in them so that the power would be available on application of preference customers for power within a reasonable time?

Mr. Aandahl replied:

> If preference customers made application then it would be up to the Department or the Bureau of Reclamation to make an administrative decision as to whether or not they would withdraw the power and there is a 30-month notice required in the meantime.

Mr. Aandahl stated without qualification that there would be no penalty clause on the REA's. In other words, the estimates of January 1 can be changed by the REA's at any time.

All evidence points to the fact that in the western Nebraska and Wyoming-Colorado division that there will be a shortage of power. A shortage even though nonpreference customers in 2 to 5 years give up the 53,000 kilowatts they are now using.

In the power-hungry Missouri Basin, applications have been received from preference customers for 523,000 kilowatts. An additional 224,000 kilowatts are sought by nonpreference private utilities. There will only be 325,000 kilowatts of new and uncommitted power available for sale through 1956. In the western divisions of Colorado, Wyoming, and Nebraska a similar condition exists. It may take the wisdom of a Solomon to divide up the available power. There are those who complain that the Department will commit large blocks of power to nonpreference customers on a long-term basis with no withdrawal clause. This has been the policy of past administrations. Some of these contracts still have from 5 to 16 years to run. The committee has been assured that no contracts will be made on such a basis.

It is quite obvious from the testimony of the witnesses that there exists some very serious misunderstandings on the part of the many people as to the interpretation of the Federal laws on the distribution of power. It seems also that there are some profound differences as to the proper role the Government should play in the economy of the electric industry. There are those who would insist that the Federal Government be responsible for producing and transmitting all of the power produced. There are others to the extreme right who would like to eliminate all of the socialistic ideas and let free enterprise handle the production and distribution of all electrical energy.

The testimony shows that there are 13 longtime contracts made by the Bureau of Reclamation prior to 1953 which have no withdrawal clause. There is one 30-year contract in the Southwest Power Administration with an industry which has no withdrawal clause. There are 19 industrial contracts running for many years in the Bonneville Power Administration which have no withdrawal clause. In one instance, a previous administration entered into contracts for a 20-year period for more than 1 million kilowatts of firm power produced at public expense but which was sold to private utilities with no withdrawal clause whatever. Why were the very people who now protest so much on the power criteria so strangely silent then?

It was unfortunate that the power policy statement of August 18, 1953, was developed and announced without consultation with the representatives of the REA's and Congress. This new policy would seem to represent a sharp departure from established policies which, under the first interpretation, could mean a financial loss to REA co-ops. This has since been modified and interpreted so that no loss or penalty will be made against the REA's.

The REA's and your State organization should be interested in securing an adequate wholesale electric source of power at as reasonable rates as possible. Nebraska is entirely a public power State. In the State there have been differences between the REA's, the municipalities, the hydros, and the consumers. Public power has somewhat of a monopoly in the State. These groups should work together for the best interests of all concerned. I have long felt there should be one public power agency in Nebraska to represent all of the people. If this is not done, there will always be conflicts between the semipublic agencies.

All of us know that the cost of generating electricity, and all the details that go into its production, and distribution have increased costs. It has been necessary for the managers and the directors of REA cooperatives to adjust rates in order to meet payments on past loans or to borrow money for further development of their projects. Few REA's are delinquent, good business management prevails.

It is quite evident that many people fail to distinguish between Federal power and public power. Throughout the country there are hundreds of examples of successful power operations, both generation, transmission, and distribution. They were constructed by the States, public agencies, municipalities and REA cooperatives. The Federal Government and the Department of the Interior had nothing to do with their construction or

operation. These non-Federal power agencies are splendidly run and have good credit. In fact, most of the power received by REA's comes from private development of electrical power. The records indicate 58 percent comes from that source.

The growth in the consumption in electric energy has been phenomenal. In 1924 it was 455 kilowatt-hours per person. In 1951 it was 2,888 kilowatt-hours per person. It is steadily rising.

In 1936 10 percent of the farms in the United States had electricity. Under the REA development, electricity in 1950 was available to about 90 percent of the rural districts and farms. The growth has not been stopped.

The Federal Government produces little more than 13 percent of the electrical energy produced in America. And even though all of the additional hydroelectric power which could possibly be developed in the next 15 years would be developed, the percentage would change very little because of demands of the American people for electricity. There can hardly then be a monopoly of public power by any group. It would take at least 50 percent or more of the control of power to produce a monopoly.

It seems to me that the differences of opinion on the power criteria actually boils down to a difference in the philosophy of government. The one philosophy is that the Department of Interior is under obligation to take care of the growing needs of the rural system for all time to come. The philosophy is one of placing the Federal Government in the business of supplying electric energy to certain classes of customers.

This philosophy would require the Federal Government to invest billions of dollars which would mean a tremendous Federal payroll engaged in the management of these enterprises. The philosophy would commit the Congress to make unlimited appropriations in building public electric generating plants. It would mean federalizing the electric industry.

The opposite view is that of looking at the cooperatives and other agencies as individual enterprises which should look after their own needs at the local level. I can find no place in the law which would require the Bureau of Reclamation or any power agency to engage in the power business as such. The reclamation law requires that electric energy, which is secondary, should be used to assist irrigation projects in their repayment plans. Congress has never authorized the Federal Government to take care of the needs of the people for electrical energy.

Again, I would point out that a score or more of long-term contracts were let under previous administrations without any withdrawal clause for preference customers. One contract of over a million kilowatts was let at a firm power base and with no withdrawal clause. I have often asked myself the question, "Why did not the very people who are screaming so loudly now about the contracts which are proposed do some screaming under previous administration?"

Mexican Farm-Labor Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the interest that has been expressed by many Members over the request of the Department of Labor for a supplemental appropriation for the Mexican farm-labor program, I take this opportunity to explain the situation.

A request for $550,000 has been referred to the Appropriations Committee. However, because of the fact that there is no longer an agreement in effect between this Government and the Government of Mexico, I felt that considerable doubt existed as to the legal authority of the Department to spend the funds even if they were appropriated. I, therefore, informed the Department that I did not think the subcommittee, of which I am chairman, should hold hearings until this doubt was removed. The Department, therefore, wrote to the Comptroller General asking for his opinion. That letter and the Comptroller General's reply follow:

JANUARY 18, 1954.

The Honorable LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WARREN: For a number of years it has been necessary for the United States to supplement its agricultural labor force with workers from other countries. The largest available source from which such labor has been obtained is Mexico. Mexican agricultural workers are being used in approximately 24 States in this country. In the areas where they are employed, Mexican workers are indispensable to the raising of livestock and the production of crops.

Accordingly, since 1942, the United States and Mexico have arranged for the use of Mexican nationals in agricultural activities in this country, pursuant to a series of international executive agreements. The latest of these agreements was the migrant-labor agreement of 1951, as amended, negotiated pursuant to title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U. S. C. A. 1461 E, et seq.). This act, which expired December 31, 1953, was extended until December 31, 1955, by the act of August 8, 1953 (67 Stat. 500).

Because of continuing differences with Mexico as to the interpretation of various provisions of the agreement, the operation of the program became increasingly difficult, and in numerous cases the contracting processes were halted at the time the laborers were most needed. Accordingly, when negotiations were undertaken early in October 1953 for the extension of the migrant-labor agreement, the United States notified Mexica that unless the two governments could reach accord on interpretations of some of the more fundamental provisions of the agreement, and unless certain modifications could be agreed upon so that employers who were hiring Mexicans who entered the country illegally, could obtain their labor supply, to the extent that foreign workers were needed by them, under the agreement, an extension of the agreement would not be possible. While the agreement expired on December 31, 1953, an extension was agreed upon until January 15, 1954, in an effort to provide more time for the two countries to reach accord. This extension has now expired without an agreement being reached between the two Governments, although it is expected that negotiations will continue.

The first sentence of section 501 of title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949 reads:

"SEC. 501. For the purpose of assisting in such production of agricultural commodities and products as the Secretary of Agriculture deems necessary, by supplying agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico (pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico), the Secretary of Labor is authorized * * *."

Because the legislative history of title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949 does not indicate whether the language in section 501 "pursuant to arrangements between United States and Mexico" is mandatory or directory, and since the need for Mexican agricultural labor is pressing and cannot await the time necessary to obtain legislative clarification without serious loss of crops, the United States Department of Labor, and the United States Department of Justice are preparing to institute an interim program under which Mexican workers would be afforded substantially all of the benefits which they were given under the agreement which has expired. It is essential that no major departures be made from the benefits accorded them in order to avoid any criticisms from sources unfriendly to the United States, and to assure that the wages and working conditions of domestic workers are not depressed by the uncontrolled influx of Mexican workers into the United States.

I would appreciate your advising me whether your office will be required to object to the expenditure of funds appropriated to the Department of Labor under title V of the Agricultural Act to continue the program on an interim basis, pending the development of another agreement with Mexico which will be satisfactory to the interests of the United States.

The Department of Labor has submitted to the Congress a proposed bill which would clarify the Department's authority to operate such an interim program.

For your information I am attaching a copy of the contract under which Mexican workers would be employed during the interim program.

Very truly yours,
ROCCO C. SICILIANO,
Assistant Secretary of Labor.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, February 2, 1954.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF LABOR.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Reference is made to letter of January 18, 1954, with enclosures, from Assistant Secretary of Labor, Rocco C. Siciliano, requesting a decision as to whether funds appropriated to your Department to carry out its functions under title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as added by Public Law 78, 82d Congress, approved July 12, 1951 (65 Stat. 119), and amended by Public Law 237, approved August 8, 1953 (67 Stat. 500, 7 U. S. C. Supp. V, 1461 et seq.), providing for the employment in the United States of agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico, are available to continue such functions on an interim basis, pending the negotiation of another agreement with Mexico.

It is explained that the Migrant Labor Agreement of 1951 (2 UST, pt. 2, 1968), as amended, which was entered into between the United States and Mexico pursuant to the provisions of the referred-to title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949, expired on December 31, 1953. It is explained further that during negotiations for extension of the said agreement the United States informed Mexico that such action would not be possible unless accord could be reached on interpretations of some of its more fundamental

provisions, and unless agreement could be reached on certain modifications thereof; and that while the said agreement was extended by the two Governments until January 15, 1954, in an effort to provide additional time in which to resolve such differences, no agreement was concluded, but it is expected that negotiations in the matter will be continued.

The Assistant Secretary refers to the provisions of section 501 of title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949, which authorize the Secretary of Labor to supply "agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico (pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico)" and states that its legislative history does not indicate whether the quoted language is "mandatory or directory." In connection therewith, he advises that since the need for Mexican agricultural labor is pressing and that delay in the matter will result in serious loss of crops, the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice are preparing to institute an interim recruitment program under which Mexican workers would receive substantially all of the benefits provided for under the expired agreement. The Assistant Secretary further advises that the Department has submitted to the Congress proposed legislation which would serve to clarify its authority to operate such an interim program. Such proposed legislation appears to have now been introduced in the form of Senate Joint Resolution 121 and House Joint Resolutions 355 and 357 of the present Congress.

The pertinent provisions of the referred-to title V of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (Public Law 78), by the terms of which the Secretary of State is authorized to negotiate an agreement between the United States and the Republic of Mexico pursuant to which arrangements are to be made between said Governments to carry out the provisions of that law, are as follows:

"SEC. 501. For the purpose of assisting in such production of agricultural commodities and products as the Secretary of Agriculture deems necessary, by supplying agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico (pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico), the Secretary of Labor is authorized—

"(1) To recruit such workers (including any such workers who have resided in the United States for the preceding 5 years, or who are temporarily in the United States under legal entry);

* * * * *

"SEC. 506. (3) When necessary to supplement the domestic agricultural labor force, to cooperate with the Secretary of State in negotiating and carrying out agreements or arrangements relating to the employment in the United States, subject to the immigration laws, of agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico."

The appropriation for carrying out the Mexican farm labor program contained in the Department of Labor Appropriation Act, 1954, approved July 31, 1953, Public Law 170, (67 Stat. 247) provides:

"Salaries and expenses, Mexican farm labor program: For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to carry out the functions of the Department of Labor under the act of July 12, 1951 (Public Law 78), including temporary employment of persons without regard to the civil service laws, $1,250,000."

While the letter of January 18, states that the legislative history of title V, supra, does not indicate whether the language of section 501 of the act, quoted above, is mandatory or directive, attention is invited to page 8 of Senate Report No. 214, on S. 984, which became the cited Public Law 78, approved July 12, 1951, wherein the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in referring to the then existing agreement with Mexico, which was to expire June 30, 1951, stated:

"On the other hand, failure to enact legislation authorising the United States Government to carry out its part of the agreement reached at Mexico City will mean the termination of the present international agreement and importation program as of June 30; therefore, your committee recommends early enactment of S. 984, as amended."

Also, the hearing before the said committee on S. 984, at page 23, report a statement by the then Assistant Secretary of Labor, as follows:

"It would indeed be a grave error on our part if the United States Government were at this time to take any action which could be interpreted as encouraging Mexican nationals to enter this country illegally to obtain employment without regard to the understanding reached by the two Governments under the international agreement. If at this time we are to take any unilateral action, such as the enactment of legislation which would permit the employment of Mexican nationals under arrangements other than those provided in the international agreement, I am certain that Mexico would promptly take steps to terminate the agreement. If this should occur, this legislation would be useless."

Further, at page 44 of said hearings, there is a statement by the then officer in charge of Mexican affairs, Department of State, to the effect that any program contemplating the temporary use of Mexican nationals for agricultural labor should be carried forward in cooperation and agreement with that government. Also, House Report No. 668 (p. 5) states that the purpose of the bill is to authorize and implement an agreement with Mexico under which Mexican agricultural workers may be available when needed.

In further connection therewith, there may be observed the statements appearing at page 8 of the hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, on H. R. 3480, which was enacted as the referred to Public Law 237, approved August 8, 1953, amending Public Law 78, reading as follows:

"Mr. POAGE. May I ask another question on that subject here. How long does our present agreement with Mexico have to run?

"Mr. MASHBURN. That runs concurrently with the law, doesn't it? December 31, 1953.

"Mr. POAGE. In other words the agreement with Mexico runs as long as the law runs?

"Mr. MASHBURN. Yes."

Also, there may be noted the dialogue appearing at page 282 of the hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on the Department of Labor-Federal Security Agency appropriations for 1954, as follows:

"Mr. FOGARTY. When was this agreement with Mexico renewed?

"Mr. KEENAN. In June 1952.

"Mr. FOGARTY. How long does it run?

"Mr. KEENAN. To December 31, 1953, under the present law. There is a provision whereby it can be extended if our Public Law 78 is extended."

And proceeding further at page 285 thereof, it is stated:

"Mr. FOGARTY. What would our position be if the Mexican officials refused to enter into any agreement with this country for this labor?

"Mr. GOODWIN. I think we would have to attempt to develop other sources, because I am convinced that under present labor-market conditions we could not recruit these workers in the United States."

Thus, the Congress having so clearly understood the underlying basis for the existence of the Mexican farm-labor program, I am compelled to the conclusion that it did not intend, by implication, to authorize or sanction the use of funds made available to your Department for carrying out such program pursuant to arrangements with Mexico when, admittedly, no such arrangements exist with that Government.

Accordingly, it must be held that the funds here in question are not available to continue further the Mexican farm-labor program on an interim basis as proposed in the letter of January 18, supra.

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the above, I understand that the House Agriculture Committee is giving consideration to proposed legislation to give the Department the authority to conduct a unilateral Mexican farm-labor program. Should that legislation be enacted, I assure the Members that we will immediately hold hearings, and take what action seems appropriate, on the Department's appropriation request.

Considerations on the Need for an Additional Federal District Court Judgeship in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein an article by Alan J. Dimond, which appeared in the Bar Bulletin of January 1954, issued by the Boston Bar Association:

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NEED FOR AN ADDITIONAL FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT JUDGESHIP IN MASSACHUSETTS

(By Alan J. Dimond)

Despite a most creditable post-war rise in the number of cases annually disposed of by the four-judge United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts,[1] the court's caseload nonetheless now exceeds the capacity of a judicial quartet. Not even the model Federal Rules of Civil Procedure have been able to close the widening margin between the demands on the court's power and the results of its exertions. An additional judgeship has therefore been recommended to close, or at least narrow, the Massachusetts gap.[2]

Only because of an unfortunate last-minute Senate-House conference disagreement did the last session of Congress adjourn on August 4, 1953, without completing its expected approval of a carefully prepared bill to create this judgeship along with over 20 more for other busy districts.[3] The need for new judgeships was the subject of detailed statistical and operational studies and the proposal for their creation received such wide professional and congressional support that it may fairly be expected that at its next session Congress will not fail to pass legislation increasing the district courts' manpower. Since the enlargement of the Massachusetts district court from 4 to 5 members was a noncontroversial feature of the unsuccessful bill, the Massachusetts court will in all probability soon have its fifth judge.[4]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Statistical support for the new judgeships was represented by the data compiled and published each year since 1941, by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.[5] The figures show the areas of strain and danger and denote Massachusetts with an annually deepening red.

I. THE TREND IN CIVIL CASES FILED

Over the past 12 years [6] the Massachusetts profile shows a sharp upturn in the number of civil cases filed. In 1941, the total of all civil cases commenced, both private and governmental, was 849. Mainly as the result of the superadding of 1,298 OPA cases in 1946 there was an abrupt ascent to 1,978 civil filings in that year. The total of all civil cases dropped to 981 in 1949, but thereafter the following trend developed in the caseload contour:

1950	1,201
1951	1,269
1952	1,636
1953	1,552

Stated in terms of the number of civil cases filed per judge of the present 4-judge court and comparing this measure with the national average [7] and also with a hypothetical caseload per judge if the court had been manned by 5 members, the totals of the 1949–53 civil filings moved at the following elevations:

Year	Present court	National average	Hypothetical 5-man court
1949	245	238	196
1950	300	222	240
1951	317	204	254
1952	409	236	327
1953	388	261	310

II. TRENDS IN PRIVATE CIVIL CASES FILED

Much of the foregoing increases in civil filings is made up of an expanding private civil caseload, which, in turn, consists of a growing volume of motor tort litigation under diversity jurisdiction and a rising number of seamen's injury cases under the Jones Act. In tabular form, with 1941 as base, the ascent looked like this:

Year	All private civil cases commenced	Diversity cases commenced	Diversity motor tort cases commenced	Jones act cases commenced
1941	331	114	47	71
1949	463	192	76	60
1950	490	228	96	68
1951	568	303	132	84
1952	736	403	202	95
1953	844	421	234	183

Stated in terms of the number of private civil cases filed per judge of the present 4-judge court and comparing this measure with the national average and also with a hypothetical caseload per judge if the court had been manned by 5 members, the number of civil filings in the 1949–53 period made the following climb:

Year	Present court	National average	Hypothetical 5-man court
1949	116	121	93
1950	123	113	98
1951	142	111	114
1952	184	126	147
1953	211	146	169

III. TRENDS IN GOVERNMENT CIVIL CASES FILED

Apart from price and rent control and related temporary economic regulation cases, the number of Government civil cases commenced over the past 12 years has traced a moderate course, as the next table bears out:

Year	Government civil cases commenced except price and rent control, etc., cases	Government civil price and rent control, etc., cases commenced
1941	518	
1949	349	169
1950	386	325
1951	322	379
1952	407	493
1953	426	272

IV. TRENDS IN CRIMINAL CASES FILED

The number of criminal filings (exclusive of transferred cases) has shown an inconclusive pattern over the past 12 years. The profile took this form:

1941	334
* * * * *	
1949	193
1950	238
1951	332
1952	248
1953	208

Indeed, the Massachusetts criminal caseload per judge is below the national average, as the next table indicates:

Year	Massachusetts	National average
1941	84	165
1949	48	177
1950	60	169
1951	83	180
1952	62	177
1953	52	171

Since the units of the criminal caseload are generally of smaller legal dimensions than those of the civil caseload,[8] the relative lightness of the criminal work of the court cannot be charged off against the heavier civil burden by any simple arithmetical operation. The average criminal case can be disposed of much more quickly than the average civil controversy, and thus makes less of a demand on the court's time and energy. The civil burden of the court is, therefore, not substantially mitigated by the lightness of the criminal load.

V. THE JUDICIAL DEFICIT

A telling sign of a court's capacity to dispose of cases submitted to its jurisdiction is the difference between the number of cases fed into its machinery and the number of cases disposed of by it over a period of years. There are, of course, reasons having nothing to do with overcrowding of the docket which may delay the disposition of a particular case. Yet a deficit in judicial output is more likely than not to be due to congestion of the judicial machinery rather than to idiosyncratic features of particular controversies.

Examination of several tables of figures indicates that an imbalance is now developing in Massachusetts. The first of these tables shows the recent rise in the pending docket, a significant index of a court's ability to handle its filings:

Year	All civil cases pending at end of year	Private civil cases pending at end of year	All Government civil cases pending at end of year
1941	855	400	455
1949	1,224	546	678
1950	1,371	643	728
1951	1,351	711	640
1952	1,563	864	699
1953	1,874	1,119	755

The expiration on April 30, 1953, of wage and price control and the termination on July 31, 1953, of Federal rent control in Massachusetts [9] will in all likelihood result in a material reduction in the number of Government civil filings. Yet, like criminal cases, cases involving these controls were generally of smaller legal dimensions than private civil controversies and did not make heavy inroads on the time and attention of the court.[10]

During the 1949–53 period the court attempted to meet the challenge of the increased number of filings by enlarging its productivity, as the next table indicates:

Year:	*All civil cases disposed of*
1941	731
* * * * *	
1949	962
1950	1,054
1951	1,289
1952	1,424
1953	1,241

The court's record in disposing of these cases is particularly remarkable in view of the absorption of one of its members during much of the 1949–53 period in the long and complicated United Shoe Machinery Corp. antitrust suit.[11] Both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees have complimented the court on this efficient performance, saying, "It is a credit to the court that in spite of the heavy increase in business the civil cases which are being tried are being disposed of almost as promptly as they were at the end of the war." [12]

Nevertheless, danger signs have appeared and in view of the annually increasing number of civil filings it is doubtful whether the termination of the United Shoe Machinery Corp. litigation and the end of price, rent, and similar controls will be sufficient to clear the skies.[13] The current deficits between filings and dispositions look like this:

Year	Annual deficit in disposition of all new civil cases	Annual deficit in disposition of new private civil cases	Annual deficit in disposition of all new Government civil cases
1949	19	87	+38
1950	147	97	50
1951	+20	68	+88
1952	212	153	59
1953	311	255	56

As a criterion of judicial need, the difference between the number of filings and the number of dispositions is a useful measure. It is, of course, not the sole test. "The figures of cases filed and terminated do not and cannot reveal all the work a judge does. They do not give the number and length of trials, the number of corporate reorganizations or bankruptcy reviews and other pertinent factors. * * * But for an overall indication as to where attention should be directed, the caseload per judge as compared with average terminations is a relevant factor." [14]

VI. MEDIAN TIMES TO TRIAL AND DISPOSITION

A court should be able not only to handle the number of its current filings, but also to dispose of the backlog of cases from a preceding year. If such backlog is substantial—and the accumulation of pending cases in Massachusetts is becoming increasingly large—then the trial and termination of new cases is deferred. That the Massachusetts court is not able to handle its current business with sufficient promptness is shown by an examination of two significant median times.

The first is the median time between the date of the filing of a case and the date of

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

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its disposition. The second is that between the date at which a case is at issue and the date of its trial.[35] The next table shows the Massachusetts and national performances in each of these respects, in terms of months:

Year	Filing to disposition		Issue to trial	
	Massachusetts	National average	Massachusetts	National average
1945	11.5	9.0	8.0	5.3
1946	10.7	8.9	7.6	5.0
1947	10.9	9.0	9.4	5.1
1948	11.7	9.9	7.8	5.8
1949	12.7	10.4	9.9	5.9
1950	17.0	11.2	12.5	6.7
1951	12.9	12.2	9.1	7.3
1952	12.3	12.1	9.4	7.0
1953	13.4	12.4	10.8	7.4

VII. CONCLUSION

In Lewis Carroll's Through the Looking-Glass the Red Queen told a puzzled Alice after a breathless chase, "it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."[36]

Like Alice, the Massachusetts court has been running hard but unlike that surprised girl, it is now beginning to lose its place. The accumulation of pending cases, the increase in the annual deficit between the numbers of cases filed and terminated, and the lengthening of the median times to trial and disposition suggest that the recently quickened pace of the court is not enough. A particularly serious symptom is the longer median times which have been exceeding the national averages. And the national averages have themselves been overextended. The standard of 6 months from filing to disposition recommended by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Court in 1941 [37] and as recently again as in 1953 [38] has been missed by periods of over 6 months on the national level for the past 3 years and on the Massachusetts level for the past 5 years.

Problems of court congestion cannot, of course, be dealt with merely in terms of judicial manpower. A comprehensive attack on the situation must also face questions of jurisdiction, substantive law, and procedure.

But procedurally, the Federal district courts are the most advanced of any tribunals in the country. The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure are a model, and the Massachusetts court has, it is believed, handled them liberally, although perhaps it has not employed pretrial conference procedures as fully as it might. Federal judges, moreover, have the power of commenting on the evidence and of thus fulfilling their great function of being governors of the trial.[39] And the minimum jurisdictional limitation of $3,000 in diversity cases already exercises some control over the volume of business by keeping out many small causes. There are furthermore, no present prospects of a broader exclusion by cutting down the scope of diversity jurisdiction. Finally, no signs of a possible reduction in the number of litigable issues by changing the applicable law of contributory negligence to one of comparative negligence in the Massachusetts court are visible.

Not all the factors that enter into a determination of judicial need are, it is true, contained in statistics. Yet figures are relevant and aid in the making of an informed decision. When the Massachusetts statistics are considered together with the recommendations of the Judicial Conference of the United States, with the proposals of both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, with the recommendation of the director of the administrative office of the United States courts, and with the actual experience and observation of the local bar, the desirability of creating a fifth Massachusetts judgeship becomes manifest. Congress will be thoroughly justified in making the addition at its next session.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] The court was created with a single judgeship by the Judiciary Act of 1789, 1st Cong., 1st sess, ch. 20, secs. 2 and 3. It remained a 1-judge court until 1922 when 2 additional temporary judgeships were created. (The first two vacancies on the court were not to be filled without congressional approval (42 Stat. 837)). In 1935 these temporary judgeships were made permanent (49 Stat. 659). An additional temporary judgeship was created in 1938 (52 Stat. 855). It was made permanent in 1941 (55 Stat. 773). The present provisions for the judegships of the court are contained in 28 U. S. C., sec. 133 (1948).

[2] Recommendations for the additional judgeships were made by the Judicial Conference of the United States as the result of a special mail vote following its 1952 annual meeting. (Hearings before Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on S. 15 et al., 83d Cong., 1st sess., p. 74 (hereinafter referred to as Senate hearings)). For the composition and functions of the Judicial Conference of the United States see 28 U. S. C., sec. 331 (1948). For the manner in which it works and reaches its recommendations see statement of Hon. John Biggs, Jr., chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals, Third Circuit, at Senate hearings, p. 75 and Will Shafroth, The Federal Courts Need More Judges, 37 Journal of the American Judicature Society, No. 1, pp. 10, 11 (June 1953). Shafroth is chief of the Division of Procedural Studies and Statistics of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (see note 5 infra). The Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (see note 5 infra) also recommended an additional Massachusetts judgeship (Senate hearings, p. 241 ff). Both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees likewise recommended the additional judgeship. (S. Rept. No. 224, 83d Cong., 1st sess, May 4, 1953, p. 17 and H. Rept. No. 1005, 83d Cong., 1st sess., July 28, 1953, p. 68.)

[3] The bill was S. 15, 83d Cong., 1st sess. It was favorably reported in the Senate on May 4, 1953, and passed the Senate on May 8, 1953. It was reported in the House on July 28, 1953, and passed the House with amendments on July 30, 1953. On August 1, 1953, it was referred to a Senate-House conference from which it failed to emerge before the adjournment of Congress on August 4, 1953. The Senate version of the bill provided for 35 additional judgeships of which 7 were to be temporary. The House version provided for 23 additional judgeships of which 4 were to be temporary. The Massachusetts judgeship was to be permanent in both versions.

[4] As originally introduced, S. 15 did not provide for an additional Massachusetts judgeship but both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees recommended its creation. See note 2 supra.

[5] The Administrative Office of the United States Courts was created in 1939 (53 Stat. 1223). The provisions relating to it are now contained in 28 U. S. C. secs. 601–610 (1948). Sec. 604 (a) (2) requires the Director of the Administrative Office to "prepare * * * statistical data and reports as to the business of the courts." For the relationship between the statistical functions of the Administrative Office and similar functions carried on by the Department of Justice before the Administrative Office was created see the First Annual Report of the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (1940), p. 22. Most of the statistics through 1952 used in this article have been collated by the Administrative Office in a special study of the Massachusetts court (Senate hearings, pp. 242 ff.) They have been supplemented by the data contained in the Director's annual reports through 1953.

[6] All years are fiscal years ending on June 30 of the numerical year mentioned.

[7] Eighty-six districts having only Federal jurisdiction for 1949 and thereafter; 84 such districts before 1949. Districts with broader jurisdiction are the District of Columbia, Alaska, Canal Zone, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, and are not included in the national average.

[8] Annual Report of the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts for 1953 (mimeo. ed.) p. A–12. Private civil cases ordinarily take 3 to 4 times as much time as criminal cases, most of which are ended by a plea of guilty. Will Shafroth, note 2 supra, p. 12.

[9] 64 Stat. 798, 50 U. S. C. (App.) sec. 2061 ff., as amended, (wage and price control).

61 Stat. 196, 50 U. S. C. (App.) sec. 1891 ff., as amended, (rent control).

[10] 1953 Annual Report, note 8 supra, p. A–12. The average private civil case takes 2 or 3 times as much time as the average Government civil case. Will Shafroth, note 2 supra, p. 12.

[11] *United States* v. *United Shoe Machinery Corp.* (110 Fed. Supp. 295 (D. C. Mass. 1953).) It was "a trial of prodigious length" p. 298. "The hearings took 121 days and covered 14,194 pages of transcript and included the offer of 5,512 exhibits totaling 26,474 pages (in addition to approximately 150,000 pages of OMR's [records of machines in shoe factories] and over 6,000 soft copies of patents) and 47 depositions covering 2,122 pages" p. 299.

[12] S. Rept. No. 224, note 2 supra, p. 17; H. Rept. No. 1005, note 2 supra, p. 68.

[13] Henry P. Chandler, Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, at Senate hearings, note 2 supra, p. 242.

[14] 1953 Annual Report, note 8 supra, p. A–11.

[15] "The median time interval from filing to disposition is computed by arranging all cases terminated during the year, in which a trial was held, in order according to the time from filing to disposition, from the lowest to the highest. The median time is then the time required for the middle case of the series or, if there is an even number of cases, it is the average for the two middle cases. The same procedure is followed in determining the median time from issue to trial. The median instead of the average is used because it prevents distortion of the result by a few nontypical long or short cases. No median has been computed where there were less than 25 cases." Note 1 to table 3 appended to memorandum of Will Shafroth submitted at Senate hearings, note 2 supra, p. 245.

[16] Pocket Books, Inc., ed. (1951), p. 145.

[17] 1941 Annual Report, p. 25.

[18] 1953 Annual Report (mimeo. ed.), p. A–14.

[19] See *Quercia* v. *United States* (289 U. S. 466, 469).

Magazines Help Make Our Country a Better Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how often we stop to consider the valuable contribution which America's magazines and newspapers have made to the greatness and the strength of our country.

What goes on inside the office of a magazine? What are the motives which inspire its publication? What responsibilities to the people of America are felt by the publishers?

The answers to these and other vital questions are given in the following open letter to the Postmaster General written by the editors of Good Housekeeping. It was published in the February issue.

This letter gives a clear understanding of what the proposed postal-rate increase might mean to the people of our country by forcing a curtailment of freely disseminated news and educational material.

It follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE POSTMASTER GENERAL, ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD

SIR: Some day soon—any day at your convenience—will you visit the offices and laboratories of Good Housekeeping? My associates and I extend a warm invitation to you and to your associates. Please come, and stay as long as you care to, at least long enough to observe at first hand what goes on in a magazine shop like ours, week in and week out, all the weeks of the year, and has gone on all the weeks of all the years since Grover Cleveland was President for the first time and William F. Vilas occupied the post that now is yours.

As editors we spend money—a vast sum of it—in order to perform the services our readers expect of us. We'd be happy to have you see the mail, usually first class, that is addressed to us from people everywhere: from women who need help in making their homes safer and prettier; from women who must add a room, maybe two, and quick, because an aged parent must be taken in, or a daughter-in-law; from women who are soon to have their first babies; and from women whose babies have grown and thrived, partly on and with our advice, and are teen-agers now and need advice of another kind and nature; from women whose husbands must have special diets, or whose kitchens are to be done over, or whose weddings and journeys and church socials are all in the offing. Mr. Summerfield, we get letters from women who own automobiles and want us to tell how to care for them.

Please come and see what goes on in a magazine shop that affects the daily lives and destinies of millions of Americans. Please come and see what we, as editors, give of ourselves, and of our lives, to make our country a better country by helping the citizens in it to be better citizens. Is a magazine in your view a collection of pages with pretty pictures that we gaily and hastily put together between our cocktail engagements with famous writers and talented artists? Please then come and see the toil that makes our pages possible, the fervor with which we seek to aid the remotest reader in even the least of her requests. Come, please, and go through our laboratories; see for yourself, in person, with your eyes, and listen with your ears. You have never dreamed, we imagine, not in any infinitesimal degree, of what lies behind a magazine that is the trusted counsel and often the ultimate word of wisdom to families whose lives and well-being in no small measure depend on us.

Please come, sir, and listen in on our phone calls. You will hear the voices of women asking us how to get stalled washing machines going; at what temperature to set the iron for Dacron; where to locate an orthodontist; how to repair a leaky faucet; what time of year to plant bulbs; which school is best for Maryann, age 14, who hopes to be a fashion designer; what books would interest Michael, Jr., age 6, whose father (more's the pity) wants him to grow up to be manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers—what and where and how and when, all day long, all free, no charge, no sales talk, no "Why don't you buy a copy of our magazine?" Just service, unadulterated, given to Americans by Americans in the interest of a better America.

It is no secret to you, Mr. Summerfield, why we are addressing this letter to you, in this fashion. We want our readers to know that you are saying to us, and to other magazines and newspapers, that the rates we now pay for second-class privileges must be increased. The rates were increased by 10 percent in 1952, and by another 10 percent in 1953, and still another increase of 10 percent goes into effect 2 months from now. These increases are not, in your judgment, sufficient, and you wish further increases to be added.

Sir, perhaps you are correct in believing that second-class mail should pay its way. In this, however, you are opposing the traditional viewpoint that has prevailed since our Post Office Department was established in the 18th century. In this you are more likely than not sounding the death knell for hundreds of worthwhile magazines and newspapers that have conveyed indispensable information to innumerable specialized groups. You are going to make it necessary for us to charge our readers more money for our magazines; and in so doing you are going counter to the historic principle that this American Nation should have as many newspapers and magazines as possible, because on the dissemination of news and general and specific information depends in such large part the freedom and the education of our population.

Let me repeat, sir: As editors we spend a vast amount of money. If we are making a nationwide survey of hospitals equipped to handle polio cases, we do not figure the cost. If we think that our readers are being short-changed by the importation of Japanese-made sewing machines, we go ahead and find out; we do not ask where the money is coming from to finance the investigation. If we determine that an inquiry of the textbook situation in our public schools is desirable, we do not count our pennies or our dollars either; we undertake the inquiry and we conclude the inquiry, and what it costs it costs. If we need another fadeometer for our textile laboratory, or an additional temperature-control room, or a dozen new retorts for our staff chemists, we don't see anybody or ask anybody, including the people who own our magazine. We go ahead and buy what we need, because it is in the first and last analysis what our readers need.

Do editors live in ivory towers? Not we, sir. Magazine publishing is too expensive today. Our profits have dwindled to a point where large-scale investments in publishing no longer are worthwhile. Even a magazine like our own Good Housekeeping, which carries more advertising than most, is in a position now where profits are hard to come by. We have not tried to salvage our profits by curtailing our services, or by reducing our personnel, or by making our readers do with fewer editorial pages. On the contrary, our personnel at this moment is the largest in our history, and our services the most extensive. We must progress, because that's the kind of magazine we are and that's what our 11 million regular readers expect of us.

We are too sturdy, Mr. Summerfield, too much a part of the American scene, we have too much gumption and ingenuity and love and respect for what we do and for what our mission is, to let go merely because the return on our investment is reduced to zero; and we know well that you would not want that to happen. However, you will force out of existence some of our contemporaries who are less well established but who have as much right as we to serve the public through the printed medium. And you will keep from being born in the future a host of magazines and newspapers, in cities and towns, that otherwise might have flourished and helped the spread of knowledge in every field, whether in news or science or health or economics or just plain homemaking.

What you propose, sir, we consider confiscatory. We disagree with you that the Post Office Department should be self-sustaining. It never was; its founders never intended it to be. It has no more call to be self-sustaining than has the Department of Agriculture or the War Department. We think you are so wrong that we want our readers to know it. And this may be as good a place as any to say to you, as we say to our readers, that my editorial associates and I wrote this letter without the semblance of a suggestion from anybody in our accounting office or management. It simply expresses the way we feel.

Maybe you will feel the way we do after you have met us and seen something of what we do. Please come soon—any day, at your convenience.

Sincerely,

HERBERT R. MAYES, *Editor.*

Statement on St. Lawrence Seaway, by Hon. James C. Auchincloss, of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, at the meeting today of the Public Works Committee, prior to the vote taken on reporting the measure on the St. Lawrence seaway project (S. 2150) out of committee, I made a statement to the committee explaining my position on this legislation, which reads as follows:

When I first came to Congress and studied the St. Lawrence seaway project about 12 years ago, I gained the immediate impression that it involved the expenditure of vast sums of money with very little likelihood that the investment made by the United States would be worthwhile or would ever be repaid. In addition, it appeared that it would seriously affect the business of the ports along the eastern seaboard as well as the Nation's transportation system generally. Hundreds of thousands of our citizens have their savings invested in railroads in our country, and their fears about the effect of this proposal on their investments have never been adequately answered by the proponents of this measure. Furthermore, the whole proposition was complicated not only by the engineering and shipping problems involved, but also by the construction of dams to create electrical energy to be distributed in the United States and Canada. In spite of the support given this proposal by various Presidents of the United States, as well as the Army engineers, and the exhaustive hearings which were held, it was consistently rejected by the appropriate committees of both Houses of Congress. It is easily understandable why those Members of Congress who represent the areas in the Great Lakes region, as well as some Members from the Middle West, feel that their communities would be benefited by such an undertaking, but even their arguments never altered the above-mentioned facts. At the same time, those who live elsewhere in the country find it hard to understand how any project of this

kind, which would be usable only about 5 months in the year, would be a proper undertaking by our Government at the expense of the American taxpayer.

As the years have gone by this project has been altered materially and today the power development feature has been entirely separated from it and we find that our growing and prosperous neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, is ready and willing to proceed with the construction of the waterway without our assistance. Under the present circumstances today, it is inevitable that the St. Lawrence seaway will be built by Canada whether we share the expense or not. Because of these various developments the cost of this seaway to the United States has been reduced from hundreds of millions of dollars to something more than a hundred million dollars with the first year's expenditure to be about $10 million. In addition to that, provision has been made for the repayment of such advances through the collection of tolls and there may be a reasonable chance that our Government will be materially reimbursed by such collections. The delay caused by those in opposition to this proposal has produced beneficial results.

There are some features, however, still remaining in this project which may be termed questionable as far as the advantages to the United States are concerned. The first is whether a 27-foot channel will be adequate for American built and operated ships. The testimony before the Committee on Public Works is to the contrary and, therefore, it is evident that if American vessels are to make use of this seaway its depth will eventually have to be increased to at least 30 feet and, of course, such an operation is expensive. Second, if oceangoing vessels with 26-foot draft are to operate in the Great Lakes and in the American harbors therein, a large dredging operation will have to be undertaken to provide for such accommodation. While no detailed estimates are available, nevertheless it has been suggested by competent authority that the cost of such dredging operations in 17 American ports will be well over $100 million. If this project is to be completed which will bring about the necessity for this dredging operation, fair play would dictate that by far the greater part of its cost should be borne by the States and communities benefiting thereby. Such an expense in all justice should not be allocated to the other States of the Union which receive no benefit and, inded, might suffer from the construction of the seaway.

As I have already stated, there is no question but that the seaway will be built by Canada with or without our cooperation, and there is every reason for Canada to build it. Canada's budget is in balance, her taxes have been reduced, she is enjoying a great industrial expansion; and so why should debt-ridden Uncle Sam, laden down with burdensome taxes, undertake any new obligations he does not have to? Furthermore, under the treaty made with Canada in 1909, the interest of the United States is protected including the imposition and collection of tolls whether we participate or not. Under these circumstances it is difficult to understand the decision made by this administration to spend any money of the American taxpayers for this project, even if the expectations are realized that the tolls collected will pay for the whole operation.

In spite of all this, the proposition has been changed materially and, in addition, there may be something in the argument that because of our intimate relations with the Dominion of Canada, because of the years of close cooperation and friendship between the two countries and the desirability that this friendship continue, it is wise for both nations to be jointly committed to a project involving as it does our international boundary. Because of the considered decision of President Eisenhower and his administration to support this undertaking I believe it is desirable that the proposal should be considered by the House and therefore I will vote in favor of reporting this bill out of committee, at the same time reserving entire freedom of action when it is debated in the House.

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement of United Mine Workers of America, Washington, D. C., regarding the St. Lawrence seaway legislation, by Thomas Kennedy, vice president:

THE OLD SHELL GAME

Promoters of the St. Lawrence seaway are using the old county fair "shell game" in trying to pawn off their boondoggle on the American taxpayer.

The advocates of the newly chopped down seaway are claiming all the alleged benefits of the overall seaway scheme which has been ballyhooed for the past 30 years.

The inland waterway, as authorized in the bill now before Congress, proposes to go as far as Toledo, yet promoters of the seaway scheme are attempting to put over on the American public the phony that for $105 million America is going to get a seaway that extends to Duluth and will transform every city along the Great Lakes into a thriving seaport. The proponents of the present seaway legislation know full well that any such farflung development would run into billions upon billions of dollars. In the face of this great disparity, the seaway promoters have no qualms about misrepresenting its scope and proportions in statements on the floor of Congress, in the newspapers, in detailed published maps, and on TV.

The seaway promoters also know that a 27-foot channel, such as is provided for in the legislation now before Congress, would not permit more than 2 percent of our privately owned American flag merchant fleet to operate with full utilization of capacity load.

Despite all the alleged benefits the boondoggiers are claiming for the seaway, we know it will greatly damage the coal industry of the United States, hurt the railroad industry, give marked advantages to foreign shipping. The seaway will seriously and adversely affect many communities, add to growing unemployment, and open the floodgates to a vast volume of cheaply manufactured goods from Europe, produced by a labor market whose wages cannot begin to compare with ours.

A case in point is the importation of residual fuel oil which will be stepped up in import volume if the seaway comes into being. These foreign importations will harm the American coal and railroad industries. This product, which is best described as waste from the foreign petroleum industry, is being dumped into the fuel markets along the Atlantic coast at prices which are ruinous competition to our economy, and is especially damaging to the coal industry. During 1952, the imports of this residual fuel oil reached a total of 128 million barrels, which displaced about 32 million tons of anthracite and bituminous coal. The devastating impact of this competition is realized when we note that in 1953 the annual output of the hard coal industry was only 30,534,150 tons, the lowest annual tonnage since 1880. And the figures for residual oil imports for 1953 will show an even greater total when compiled and available. These imports cost American mine labor and railroads hundreds of millions of dollars annually, and the United States Government an equally staggering loss in transportation taxes.

Certainly, not even Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who was rushed into service in the closing hours of the Senate debate on the seaway, will dare to contend this importation of foreign oil contributes to our national security. In fact it serves to weaken the national security, for a growing volume of imported foreign oil, which the seaway will promote, will mean more mines will close, more mines will go on short working time, and there will be a greater decline in railroad revenues, greater losses in coal wages, more ghost towns in the coal regions, more poverty and distress; and of course, more and mounting payments in jobless compensation from the United States Treasury.

The plight of the American coal industry, however, appears to be of slight concern to many of our highly placed Washington officials. Admiral Radford in his letter to Senator FERGUSON, solicited as an afterthought and read in the Senate a few hours before a vote was taken on the seaway scheme, in stressing the alleged benefits of the seaway project, made much of the fact that the seaway would greatly assist in the development of rich coal deposits in Nova Scotia. There is no doubt that "B-36" Radford, who was run out of town once for political activities, in his zeal for coal development in faraway lands, may attest to his international vision, but it is scant comfort to American miners who are without work, without income and have nowhere to turn for help.

It might be of interest to Admiral Radford to know that most of the coal in Nova Scotia is on Cape Breton Island and extends out under the Atlantic Ocean, and can only be mined in safety under the ocean for about 4 miles; and some of the mines have almost reached this distance. The term "rich coal deposits in Nova Scotia" is a lot of bunk, and even if true would help Canada and harm the United States.

We can only hope that Admiral Radford as an economist and top military adviser is now on sounder ground than he was when he was chased out of town for his blind stubbornness and foolish last-ditch fight to keep America from developing the best air force in the world. Need we remind, in commenting on the admiral's "genius" as a strategist, that the Eisenhower administration is now placing major emphasis on air power for survival.

Instead of adding to the security of America, this seaway adventure would visit grave economic harm on America; it would seriously disrupt our vital coal and railroad industries, divert traffic and greatly reduce the income of all the American port cities.

In face of all this, the Eisenhower administration is endeavoring to turn the Congress into an auction block as it brazenly makes use of public funds in the attempt to jam the St. Lawrence seaway project through Congress.

With naked shamelessness, the administration deliberately obtained votes for the St. Lawrence with pork-barrel funds. White House approval of that hoary monstrosity, Passamaquoddy, brought precious New England votes in line for the seaway. A secret pre-vote deal gave approval to a huge and costly Colorado River Basin project, a trade which brought western votes into line for the seaway. This fancy bit of horse-trading will cost the taxpayers of the Nation more

than $600 million in its initial stage and ultimately more than $3 billion.

This is pretty stiff trading. Not since Teapot Dome has the Nation witnessed such a shocking display of administration giveaway. In this instance the White House is acting as a tool for a vested, special interest—steel. To use funds from the United States Treasury for this purpose is reprehensible.

If Canada wants to build the seaway—let her build it. We still have control of most of the Great Lakes' shipping-zone outlets, and we can protect our own interests under any set of circumstances.

The seaway is not in the public interest. It is not economically sound. It is not in the best interest of national defense; but to the contrary renders us more vulnerable. When the ice is over the seaway for 5 months, and it cannot be used, what about national defense and security for these 5 months?

The proposed seaway should be defeated in the best interests of our country and our people.

President Eisenhower's Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, President Eisenhower's health program was very favorably received in my State. In that connection, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Ike's Health Program," published in the Claremont (N. H.) Daily Eagle.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IKE'S HEALTH PROGRAM

President Eisenhower's health program, introduced in a special message to Congress Monday, is particularly interesting because it is practical.

That workableness is what we admire in this and the other three special messages Ike has sent to Congress to fill in the details of his broad program of suggested legislation. Probably most of us would like programs a little more to one or another extreme than those that Ike has suggested, but we know darn well that they would not get through Congress.

A sizable portion of the President's plans seem to have a good chance of getting through. At least they have erased much of the uncertainty about Ike being able to deal with complicated legislation. His messages indicate that his knack for finding a common ground between conflicting interests can operate in the political field as well as it did in the military.

This is especially true of his health program, whose central section concerns "limited Government reinsurance service."

This sounds confusing and, having just crawled through two readings of background data, this writer can add, "Yea, verily." But legislation for 160 million people can hardly help but be confusing.

What the President is aiming at with his "reinsurance service" is protecting the low- or middle-income American family from losing all its savings, its home, and other hard-won possessions, and then falling deeply in debt, because one or more members of the family requires costly medical treatment.

Ike believes we should stick with the private hospitalization and medical care insurance plans—like Blue Cross and Blue Shield—instead of turning to the compulsory health insurance advocated by former President Truman.

But he also believes that these private plans can do more toward softening the blow from "major, long-term illness" which now often causes a "financial catastrophe for a normal American family."

Private insurance companies began writing this major medical insurance about 5 years ago. The president of the American Medical Association says about a million people are now signed up under this new type plan.

But the private companies have a long way to go before they begin filling the great need. Apparently the companies have been going slow because they're afraid of losing money.

Dr. P. B. Magnuson, who was chairman of then President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, explained to a congressional committee the other day:

"Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and many commercial companies see the vital need for catastrophic insurance, but they are afraid to write a lot of it because they haven't enough actuarial data to set the premiums which will keep them in the black."

Ike's plan is to have the Federal Government appropriate $25 million to reinsure the private plans so that the companies can expand their catastrophic insurance to take in a great many more of the people who really need this type protection.

A bill implementing Ike's plan provides for the Government paying two-thirds of each claim in excess of $1,000 paid by (an approved local nonprofit voluntary health service) association for any period of 12 continuous months with respect to any one individual subscriber.

The companies would pay for this reinsurance, so that the Government's investment would be eventually paid back.

This repayment provision puts the President's plan in the investment category and should therefore please the more conservative members of his party.

The fact that the plan would enable many more people absorb staggering medical bills should please liberals.

Though the plan is nowhere near the complete answer to the Nation's medical problem, it seems to us to be an effective step in the right direction.

P. P. B.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Conservation and Our National Parks and Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject of conservation and the use of our national parks and resources, which was delivered on February 3, 1954, by the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is always a pleasure to return to the west coast if even for only a short visit, and to enjoy your traditional California weather and hospitality.

Meeting with this distinguished group here tonight of course, is a particular pleasure for me since we have a mutual interest in the challenging task of resource development.

I want to talk to you tonight about several of the more difficult problems we face in carrying out this task wisely and effectively. As diverse as these resource problems may appear at first glance, they all involve as a common denominator the necessity for assuring resource development in a manner which takes cognizance of not only the needs of the moment but of the long-term needs of the future.

Both considerations are important. It is the essence of good resource planning to make sure that we do not rob Peter to pay Paul.

There is one subject in these United States on which emotions can be aroused at the slightest provocation. That is when someone asks what constitutes the wise use of the natural resources of the Nation.

Take the Dinosaur National Monument. I'll take more of that later.

Nothing seems closer to us, especially in the western part of the country, than the resources of the earth which have made this Nation great. We see them all around us—rivers, forests, minerals, and the land itself.

Together they make up the greatest assets we have in the West. Just as the continued prosperity of the West depends on the wise use of its natural resources, this prosperity is of crucial importance to the entire Nation which depends upon the West as one of its most vital productive areas.

On the subject of natural resources, we have two extremes. There are those who would exploit these resources to the utmost, giving no thought to their conservation but only to the immediate gain to be obtained.

On the other extreme are those who want a hands-off policy, a policy which would lock up these resources forever and permit no one to touch them.

Somewhere between these two extremes is the logical course to follow. It is not to make a Solomon decision of trying. It is a case of trying to find the point between these extremes where we can use these resources in such a fashion today that they will continue to be of use to future generations.

Gifford Pinchot in his book Breaking New Ground, said "Conservation is the foresighted utilization, preservation, and renewal of forests, waters, lands, and minerals, for the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time." And Governor Pinchot added:

"To the use of the natural resources, renewable or nonrenewable, each generation has the first right. Nevertheless, no generation can be allowed needlessly to damage or reduce the future general wealth and welfare by the way it uses or misuses any natural resource."

That, from one of the foremost conservationists of our time, is accepted doctrine.

It represents the view that somewhere between the two extremes of those who say hands off and those who would despoil our natural resources, there is middle ground. That is the place where the Department of the Interior steps into the picture and has a responsibility.

We are determined to conserve the natural resources of the Nation by their wise use. The resources belong to all of the people, and all the people should obtain the benefits from them.

Here in the State of California, where you have some of the greatest natural resources in the national parks, Yosemite, Sequoia, Lassen, and others, you know what it means to make wise use of those resources.

They belong to all the people. These parks have been developed so they are easy of access. People from all parts of the Nation—yes; all parts of the world—come to visit them.

They are being used wisely and widely. So are the other national parks. Roads have been built and facilities have been made available to make the parks more accessible and more enjoyable to the millions of people who each year are visiting the park system in ever-increasing numbers. The interest of you Californians in the national parks is graphically indicated by the estimate that California license plates are seen in our parks more frequently than those of any other State.

Let me remind you that three of the most popular park areas in the whole western United States are those whose facilities have either been created or improved by Federal reclamation construction, for which the public users are paying not a single dime.

Two of the three leading national park areas in the number of visitors last year, in fact, the Lake Mead recreational area and the Great Smoky National Park, have both benefited greatly from Federal dam developments. Lake Mead had 2,200,000 visitors last year. One wonders how many would have visited the area if it had not been transformed by the construction of Hoover Dam from a silt-choked, fishless stream far down in the depths of Boulder and Black Canyon into a beautiful lake offering boundless recreational opportunities.

North of here, you have the Millerton Lake recreational area, used by half a million people as the result of the creation of Millerton Lake, in back of Friant Dam. Further north, the construction of Shasta Dam has created a glimmering jewel in Lake Shasta. In this region the Forest Service has created a recreational area. Already, a new sports fishing industry has been built up around the fabulous Kamloops which thrive in the cold, deep waters of Lake Shasta. And downstream from the dam, the annual salmon run is being gradually revived as cold water from the dam has provided ideal spawning grounds in the shallow sands of the Sacramento River.

If Governor Pinchot was right when he described the purpose of conservation as "the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time" then what has been done to develop Lake Mead and the vast recreational areas of the Tennessee Valley, all by-products of water project construction, follows the Pinchot doctrine right down the line.

And what has been done in Lake Mead and in the Great Smokies is what we have in mind in Dinosaur National Monument.

As many of you know, the Department recently submitted to Congress a comprehensive plan to enable the five States of the upper Colorado River Basin to utilize their apportionment of Colorado River water. This plan, known as the Colorado River storage project, provides for irrigation of 380,000 acres of land, bringing the benefits of life-giving water, which you in California know so well, to a potentially important productive area.

In our studies and recommendations concerning the upper Colorado River project we, of course, realize fully that the downstream States have certain very important rights and we quite agree that these downstream States should have these rights fully recognized and protected in any upstream development.

Included in the plan of the Department for this development is a recommendation that a dam be built at Echo Park. This dam would be inside the boundaries of the Dinosaur National Monument and would flood part of the canyon of the Green River, and the Yampa River, a tributary of the Colorado. While it will therefore alter the canyon, we do not believe that it will destroy its scenic beauty. The known deposits of dinosaur remains will remain untouched—miles from the reservoir site.

The Echo Park Dam site was personally inspected by Under Secretary Ralph Tudor together with Commissioner of Reclamation W. A. Dexheimer and National Park Director Conrad L. Wirth. After they returned, the Under Secretary reported to me that while there were other alternate sites outside the park, their use would mean a great loss of water from evaporation.

In the deep canyons in Echo Park there will be a minimum of evaporation. The storage area that would be provided by alternate sites would be shallow and the evaporation naturally greater.

Secretary Tudor reached his conclusions on the basis of sound engineering and good logic. He said use of any of the alternate sites would mean the loss of enough water to supply all the needs of a city of over 600,000 people. Can we afford to waste that much water? Could you here in California afford to lose that much water?

Let me quote from Mr. Tudor's report. "There would be substantial loss in electric generating capacity if any one of the alter-

nate sites were selected. While this is a matter of economic importance I do not attach as much weight to it as to the loss of water. The power loss could be replaced by steam power at some increased cost.

"I share the concern of those who would preserve the beauties of the Dinosaur National Monument in their present natural state, but as between a choice of altering the scenery, without destroying it, in a basin which is and will remain rich in scenery, or the irreplaceable loss of enough water to supply all the needs of a city the size of Denver, I believe the conservation of the water in the interest of the Nation is of greatest importance."

So, there you have it. Does conservation of that much water justify our decision? We think it does.

Yet, that is not the whole story. As I said before the wise use of a natural resource is to make it available to the people. We have included in the upper Colorado report an item of $21 million to develop the area around Echo Park Dam within Dinosaur National Monument. We will build roads and facilities to take care of the people who want to go there.

Just as Lake Mead has provided a rich opportunity for recreation for hundreds of thousands of people, so we hope will the creation of a new lake in the canyon behind Echo Park Dam. Alter the park? Yes. Make it available to more people? Yes. Destroy it? No.

The 12 areas of the National Park System over which the Department has jurisdiction in California have proven to be a major attraction which has drawn millions of visitors to the State each year. Last year, for example, close to 5 million people visited National Park areas in California.

The number of dollars the traveler spends is not in itself, of course, the true measure of value park areas have to the Nation. A greater valuation must be placed on the opportunity they offer for healthful relaxation, for spiritual inspiration, and for the patriotic stimulation that is part of any tour to one of these spots.

Some people, I sometimes fear, do not understand the true significance of our national parks. There are some, for example, who contend that our parks are only for a selected few who through education or special training are best able to understand and enjoy the grandeur of scenery that a bounteous nature has bestowed.

They would lock up these resources. They oppose vigorously the development of new recreational areas which would result from programs for water resources development providing vital facilities to aid in the economic strengthening of regions lacking sufficient water for agricultural expansion or for industrial development.

Is this negative approach in the tradition of Gifford Pinchot? This great conservationist during his life was not concerned with cliques or pressure groups. He was dedicated to the ideal of a strong America, which could forge ahead in agriculture, in industry, in business, while at the same time preserving the spiritual or scenic requisites that are integral and necessary for the enrichment of our lives.

The majority of Americans believe in the ideal of a park system providing opportunities for the many and not for just a few if an analysis of the national-park system visitation is an index.

In 1946, the Park Service recorded 21,752,000 visitors. In 1953, the number of visitors more than doubled. This increase of 112 percent is to my way of thinking a sure sign that the average American and not the rich and fortunate alone enjoy our parks.

Recreational opportunities on the reservoirs and adjacent lands of the Echo Park project will include picnicing, boating, fishing, swimming, hiking, riding, camping, and sightseeing. These opportunities are not now available to the average tourist.

Only a handful of visitors each year actually penetrate the canyon section of the monument where most of the new recreational facilities will be developed.

Conrad L. Wirth, director of the National Park Service, tells me 22,334 persons visited Dinosaur National Monument last year. Only 3,000 of them went into the Echo Park section and 500 of these went down the Yampa River by boat.

Compare that figure, 3,000, to the 2,220,000 that visited Lake Mead. To the 969,000 who visited Yosemite. To the 500,000 who visited Sequoia. To the 225,000 who visited Mount Lassen.

Because of the very difficult nature of the terrain, travel in this most scenic area of the Dinosaur Monument is limited at present to a very limited number of hardy individuals, scientists and others who are interested in rugged geography, geology, paleontology, and related sciences.

When we consider the whole picture, therefore, we find that the Upper Colorado project is vital not only because of direct economic values in developing essential water resources, but because of its indirect values contributing to the enjoyment of nature by a larger number of our citizens.

And—I repeat—the dinosaur bones, the actual prehistoric evidence, will not be inundated. They are miles from the dam site and reservoir on high ground.

By no stretch of the imagination can our recommendation on Echo Park be construed as a precedent for the invasion of other existing parks. No one in this administration is going to build a dam in Yosemite, or Yellowstone, or run a pipeline into Crater Lake.

Echo Park and the problem there does not foreshadow the slightest alteration in any other recreational area by a project such as we have outlined.

Here, almost in your own backyard, you have the question of the Santa Margarita storage dam and reservoir. It was the hope of the Department of the Interior that the construction of a feasible project in this area would conserve a good bit of the water which now runs into the sea and is wasted.

Your fine Senators, BILL KNOWLAND and TOM KUCHEL, are striving to obtain congressional authorization for the construction of the Santa Margarita project. Legal problems have been plentiful. To date these legal difficulties have halted the planning of the Department as far as this project is concerned.

We in Interior are cooperating with the other Government agencies in attempting to find a reasonable solution which will be of help to this part of the State. We will do everything we can to bring this matter to a successful and early conclusion.

We come now to the conservation of the public lands. The matter of the disposal of public-domain lands is also a problem of considerable magnitude in California. When one talks with people who have had occasion in the past to do business with our Bureau of Land Management, the impression is gained that the Bureau attempts to find reasons for denying applications.

I can assure you this will not be the future policy of the Department.

We will attempt to act on the applications as rapidly as possible under the requirements laid down by Congress. It is our determination that a vigorous effort will be made to advance and enlarge the surveying and classification of the public lands.

This will be done in order to determine whether they are available for entry. It is hoped that under such a policy we will be able to not only expedite the handling of land matters but assure that steps are taken to put the land to its best use, recognizing in all cases that there must be a balance between individual and national interests.

In order that this may be accomplished, I have had the operations and organization of the Bureau carefully analyzed. I recently approved the recommendations of a survey team for making the operation of the Bureau more efficient and effective.

You have read in the newspapers recently that a conference was held between officials of the Department of the Interior and the California Water Project Authority relative to the proposed sale of the Central Valley project to the State of California.

Let me make very plain—the Department has not hung a "for sale" sign on this very successful Federal venture into power, irrigation, and flood control.

A group of your State officials, representing the California Water Project Authority, came to my office to ask if the Federal Government would sell the project to California. We said—and I repeat—we will listen attentively to any proposal of California.

I have made it clear in the preliminary negotiations, however, that the Federal Government must receive for the project the money it has put into the project, less what is known as the nonreimbursable items. These are the costs normally borne by the Federal Government for such things as flood control, navigation, and recreation.

The Federal Government will not expect a profit. Neither will it expect a loss. We do not contemplate a "bargain basement transaction."

Here again you have two groups in your States—and in some parts of the Nation, too—who are at opposite ends of the poles in their thinking on Central Valley. Some would have it sold to California at a very low price. Others want the Federal Government to hold it forever.

Between these extremes, I am sure, is an answer which will be equitable to both the State of California and to the Federal Government.

Let me tell you about a conservation project that is close to my heart. It is in my home State of Oregon and it is a project which reflects my thinking. In my term as Governor we set out to reforest 300,000 acres of land on which millions of feet of virgin Douglas fir had been destroyed by fire.

The people of Oregon voted $10,500,000 in bonds to finance this venture. They did not ask the Federal Government for help. They did it on their own. We started this job in 1949 and are planting in blocks of 10,000 to 20,000 acres with corridors 1,000 and 1,500 yards wide to be used for access roads and fire breaks.

Progress in this work is gratifying. By utilizing sustained yield and other modern conservation methods in the area, Oregon's $700 million a year lumber industry is assured of a prosperous future.

This is a conservation project in one State. It reflects my thinking of what should be done to conserve the natural resources of all the States. Thus, in every phase of conservation, whether in the forests, on the rivers, on the public lands, or under the lands, we are working daily to the end that our program will mean "the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time."

It is a difficult task. If we are to achieve our goal we will need the understanding and cooperation of groups like this throughout the country. Only by working together as a team can the American people assure that our natural resources will be developed fully and effectively, contributing richly as they are converted into the necessities of life to the welfare of our economy and well-being of our people.

Adjustment of Agricultural Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. R. M. Evans, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at a meeting of the Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa, at Des Moines, Iowa, on January 25, 1954, on the general subject of the adjustment of agricultural production.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The farmer has the same right to adjust his production to effective demand as manufacturers and others have in a capitalistic society. The only way farmers can regulate their production is by acting together under existing legislation. Quotas are only possible when at least two-thirds of the farmers affected approve them in a secret ballot. This is a demonstration of democracy at its best. It does not mean that the Government is running our business—just the contrary—we run it ourselves. If prices become so low we cannot pay our bills, then the Government will run our business through foreclosure.

Agriculture must encourage research to find new uses for our products and thereby expand our market. We have such facilities in the four regional laboratories and also in the college experiment stations.

Organizations such as yours have made real strides to increase efficiency and lower the cost of marketing, but by itself efficient marketing will not change prices sufficiently to make the difference between success and failure. However I believe organizations such as yours have other very tangible benefits for farmers by bringing them in direct contact with the problems of business and Government.

In the early triple-A days a very fundamental decision was made. Simply stated, it was that farmers were capable of running their business. Many doubted that farmers could administer a complicated farm program but the results were evidence that they could and the administrative performance of these farmer-elected committees has no equal anywhere. The difficult tasks they undertook and carried to a successful conclusion provided an inspiration to farmers throughout the world. The experience which the farmers received in this work has expressed itself in the intelligent and aggressive farmer leadership in evidence today. Remember, there was no partisanship in the election of these committeemen. The recent trend away from this system is cause for worry and if carried any further will injure farm programs.

Now, farming is different from most businesses because every man, woman, and child is our daily customer and if there were not enough farm products people would starve. The farmer has the responsibility of seeing that his customers are amply provided for regardless of the weather or a grave national emergency. Because of variations caused by the weather, farmers cannot adjust their production as accurately as manufacturers. If a manufacturer runs short of his product, people may suffer some inconvenience but they are not likely to risk the loss of their lives as they would if farmers failed to produce or if they held their produtcion just equal to demand and then we had a drought.

Now we come to the all-important question of price supports. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding about this question by those who have not given careful thought to the problem. Let's look at this problem. Why have price supports? The farmer cannot keep his production as close to demand as others for the reasons just mentioned. Certainly, no country can afford to run such a risk. Therefore, the question of the size of the yearly carryover becomes a question of national policy in peace or in war. In time of peace the carryover should be large enough to even out the ups and downs of production due to weather and other uncontrollable causes. The size of the carryover should always be on the liberal side.

Let's turn our memories back 20 years. The severe drought of 1934 was still ahead of us. You were selling corn at 45 cents per bushel or 60 percent of parity. All of this corn was badly needed later on and the farmers gained the increase in price. I have always viewed corn as the raw material for beef, pork, etc., and I would not want to carry the present livestock inventory without a very large carryover of corn. It would be entirely too risky. Yet we must realize that a large carryover has a tendency to hold down the price in the market place so if we need a large carryover we must have a support high enough to protect those who have corn to sell. No regular feeder wants low-priced corn because over a period of time the price of corn regulates the price of livestock and their products. High support prices protect the regular feeder from the speculative in-and-out feeder.

Now I want to give you a little history of the so-called high supports.

I was the Administrator of the Triple A when it was necessary to set the winter wheat allotments to be planted in the fall of 1939 for harvest in 1940. Remember, war was still in the future but not the distant future. If we set the allotments low enough to protect the farmers' price, we ran the risk of not having wheat for our friends in the event of war. After many soul-searching discussions, it was decided to prepare for the possibility of war. There were many interesting phases of that decision but I do not have time to recount them here. The decision was made and I wanted and got higher loans for farmers. The 1940 loan was 75 percent of parity. The decision to prepare for war was a sound one. Both the country and the farmers benefited. I felt it was my duty to protect the farmers' income and this was the only way it could be done. I later sponsored the 85 percent of parity. At that time many of the arguments against such a proposal were the same as you now hear.

Now, let's look at the present situation. In June 1950 Korea became a battleground. The then Secretary of Agriculture, with the history of the past war before him, issued in the form of press releases urgent appeals to farmers to produce more and more so we would be adequately prepared for any eventuality, and this was the conservative and proper course to pursue.

On February 2, 1951, the Secretary said, "Full production from American farms is essential in the defense effort." A goal of 90 million acres of corn was established for 1951.

On July 20, 1951, he said, "The announced 1952 crop goals are designed to fill all known requirements and to maintain or build stocks as safeguards in the defense emergency."

On November 29, 1951, the goals for 1952 were announced with the following statement, "The need for agricultural production in 1952, especially feed grains, is the greatest we have ever faced. * * * The goals we have set will challenge our productive capacity."

The 1952 support price levels were 90 percent of parity. The corn production requested was 3,375 million bushels.

On March 20, 1952, the Secretary stated, "Unless more corn and other feed grains are planted by farmers this year than is indicated in yesterday's report on farmers' intentions, we will face a serious situation in our feed grain supplies."

On December 23, 1952, a goal of 3,350 million bushels was requested for 1953. The farmers complied as well as they could but they did not have a written order so those who had to sell received much less than they had a right to expect. They did not have a written order when they prepared similarly for World War II. The other branches of the same Government ordered guns, tanks, planes, and other implements of war. There was one difference—the farmers had no written orders with the price specified but the others did and that business was very profitable regardless of whether or not the defense items were used.

These large supplies were not the result of lack of planning. They were the result of definite planning based upon the practical experience of a war still fresh in the minds of everyone and if a war had developed we would not have enough right now. Such a situation must never be allowed to happen again. If the Government asks the farmers to produce abundantly for the defense effort, then the Government must adopt a program to protect the farmer. There is a moral obligation that canont be overlooked. Whatever a farmer produces for war is equally usable in time of peace. This is not the case with all manufacturers. Our Government is still spending enormous sums for defense but they are not allocating any of it for farm products. If these large expenditures are necessary, and I assume they are, then part of those funds should be used to buy and store the farm products needed for defense and such farm products should not find their way into the channels of ordinary trade. They should be used to fight communism. They are the one tool the Commies cannot duplicate. They are the one way in which we can clearly demonstrate the great difference betwen communism and capitalism, and this is something the people can understand. You will remember how the Communists fought against the distribution of food in East Germany. They couldn't match our food so they tried to prevent the comparison. Such a comparison was more than their way of life could stand.

There are many places where surplus farm products could be used to relieve suffering and poverty in the world. Surplus farm products distributed in this way are one of the best ways to protect our way of life. Guns, tanks, airplanes, etc., are necessary in the world as it is today, but I venture to say that nothing would contribute more to the prospect for a peaceful world than to provide mankind with a better standard of living—with more to eat and wear. I should add that we must not distribute these products in such a way as to injure regular world trade. We must help foreign producers of agricultural products to get a good price for what they have to sell. Their standard of living is tied to the prices they get. In most cases that is already too low, but the uses I have outlined, if intelligently administered, will not conflict with such a program.

Some people believe that low supports will have a tendency to reduce production. There is no historical proof of such a result; on the contrary, the opposite is true. The farmer has his fixed costs to meet from the sale of his products, so he raises more rather than less. In 1931 we planted 107 million acres of corn and in 1932 we planted 110 million acres. The acreage declined materially thereafter when loans were in effect. The need for income expressed itself in the only way it could—increased production.

The farmer cannot easily shift crops from one to another because of climate and machinery, etc. Acreage can be reduced only when producers feel confident prices will

advance because of the reduction in acreage, and the only certain way to assure this result is by high support prices. And I should add that this is the only way to get enough grass to keep our farms fertile and efficient. I can see no fair or logical reason, considering the farmers' welfare as well as the welfare of our country, for reducing the supports from their present 90 percent level.

Food is power. We have the power and we should learn to make use of it. We are the only nation with this power in large quantity; yet we have never fully realized its true value. Probably because we have food and fiber in abundance, we take it for granted. Other countries are envious of this power. They know its worth. The time has come for us to reappraise our foreign policy and determine how we can use this power most effectively.

This country cannot permit farmers' incomes to decline if we are to preserve our way of life. More than any time in our existence we need a high national income and full employment. Our costs are very large and our Government raises its revenue almost entirely from income taxes. Income taxes are levied on profits and profits alone. A serious slump in agriculture and business would present some very difficult internal problems.

Moreover, farmers represent the type of citizenship we need. They are a wonderful balance wheel. They are not interested in communism. Russia has killed them by the thousands, maybe millions, but the farmers there still love their soil and always will. Agriculture is Russia's weakest point. It is one of our greatest pillars of strength.

Psychology in Economic Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Snowballed Fear Is Frightening," published in the Washington Post of January 31, 1954, emphasizing how bankers, by calling loans, can spread a fear psychology and may contribute to a recession, rolling readjustment, depression, or whatever it may be called. I hope very much that the bankers of the country may now contribute to optimism by not calling loans.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHAIN REACTION—SNOWBALLED FEAR IS FRIGHTENING

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The importance of psychology in economic affairs is illustrated in an extract from a letter by a middle-western businessman submitted to the Washington Post by one of its readers. It emphasizes how quickly a sense of apprehension and anxiety can be communicated to an area by a relatively few individuals.)

For some time I have traveled the northeastern part of this State, dealing with farmers and businessmen in small towns, and to tell you the truth, I am a little bit scared. Fear of something like this is a terrible thing, and once it takes hold of certain groups or even a particular community, it starts to snowball, growing larger and larger the longer it goes and consequently affecting more people.

As an illustration of what I mean, take what has happened and is happening in a small town in which I happen to do quite a bit of business and in which I became quite well acquainted.

It is a good little town, has a good strong bank and a lot of good businessmen. The surrounding farmers are up-to-date and most of them well-to-do. Just a darn good community.

Where this chain reaction first started I have never found out, but this much of the story I do know:

I called on a very good farmer friend of mine in the area a month or more ago, and he didn't seem as cheerful and as much at ease as usual. So after we had spent a while talking, he told me about it.

He had been in the habit, the past several falls, of going to the local bank and borrowing anywhere from $5,000 to $7,000 or $8,000 to buy new machinery, livestock, etc., and then paying it off when he sold his present fat stock and surplus crops. There had never been any doubt about his credit. He always paid in full every year. It was just that his own bank balance never was quite large enough to take care of all the things he wanted to do.

Well, he went to the bank as usual, and was told that instead of $4,000 or $5,000 that he wanted and had earmarked for certain purchases, he could borrow only $2,000, or at the most $2,500.

Now, I have no doubt the man in the bank had good reasons for this, but, anyway, the man left the bank believing that the banker was only afraid of the future, afraid of hard times, or anyway afraid.

You know a farmer more or less depends on his banker to show him the way, regardless of how much he reads, how much he hears, or how well he feels able to handle his own affairs.

When I talked to him, he had studied the matter over a couple of days and decided that if the banker was scared, he was going to be scared, too. So he let his hired man go for the winter months, something he hadn't done in years; decided against the new car he had decided to buy (and that he was going to pay cash out of his bank account for); called up his dealer and canceled his order.

I argued with him for some time about it, and while we were there a young former GI farmer from down the road came along. He had more or less depended on this man for advice. When he heard the story, he went home, called up his implement dealer and canceled the order for a new tractor and plow he had planned to buy.

So, for my own satisfaction, I decided to follow up on the thing and see what would happen. Surprising how fast it happened. Here were two good farmers, well known, in a close-knit community, each with many friends they talked to almost everyday.

"If they were scared, why not me?" their friends thought.

The automobile and implement dealer found out why they and others canceled orders the dealer had planned on, so he was scared.

You won't believe it, but in 3 weeks' time you could see the difference in that town. The two dealers each laid off a man, the creamery followed suit, and one of the stores let two women go, and this was only shortly before Christmas.

Now, five people being laid off doesn't sound like anything, but remember, this is just a small community. Now the banker and the businessmen are trying to do something about it, but I am afraid it has gone too far to stop locally. It is a pretty unhappy community now.

The GOP Elephant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, since taking over the reins of our Government a most amazing phenomenon has occurred to the GOP elephant. It is a metamorphosis that may well go down in history as the eighth wonder of the world. It is a hybrid no one ever dreamed possible. After discontinuing an Antimonopoly Subcommittee it now urges strong measures against monopolies. After promising to balance the budget it now concedes the great difficulty thereof. It no longer opposes social-security legislation as "creeping socialism" but embraces it approvingly and seeks to expand it. After admitting it had no policy with respect to public housing and after virtually destroying the program in the House the elephant suddenly claims to champion the cause. After reducing the Air Force from 143 wings to 120 over strong Democratic opposition it now urges the so-called new look with great emphasis on air power.

My colleagues, this is truly a phenomenon—an elephant with a donkey tail.

An Analysis of Conditions Responsible For the Furloughing of Railroad Employees in the Altoona, Pa., Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the Altoona, Pa., area, which is located in my congressional district, has some 3,300 railroad employees furloughed from their positions with the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Because of the large volume of mail I am receiving on the subject, and my intense desire to be of any possible assistance in relieving this distressing problem, I am inserting herewith a copy of a detailed report regarding my activities. The report follows:

Since the beginning of the furloughing of employees by the Pennsylvania Railroad, I have been actively engaged in an overall study of the situation in an effort to provide, if possible, a solution to this distressing problem.

So that you will fully understand the scope of my survey and my personal efforts to relieve the situation, I am giving you the following information developed from conferences with the Office of Defense Mobilization, the United States Department of Labor, the Association of American Railroads, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the American Federation of Labor, and the International Association of Machinists.

To begin with, my first contact was with James Mitchell, Secretary of the United States Department of Labor, to determine whether the Federal Government could in-

tervene on behalf of the furloughed employees.

Secretary of Labor Mitchell informed me on December 29, 1953, as follows:

"Thank you for your letter of December 21, 1953, in which you enclosed correspondence from Mr. Fred W. Leiss, recording secretary, International Association of Machinists, Altoona, Pa., in which he expressed the opinion that the frequency of recent reductions in force among the employees of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. is tantamount to discrimination against certain local employees of the company in Altoona, Pa.

"While we are deeply concerned over the financial plight of all these employees and their families, the fact is, as you know, that the Federal Government has no right or authority to deal with matters of this kind."

While awaiting the above reply from Secretary of Labor Mitchell, I contacted high officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad, pointing to the distress of many families in the Altoona area especially during the Christmas season. In addition it was urged that every possible effort be made to rescind the furlough order.

Under date of January 6, 1954, I received a letter from Mr. Frank J. McCarthy, assistant vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which reads in part:

"Our traffic had been declining for 3 months prior to the force reductions, with a marked falling off in the month of November. It is a normal condition to encounter a falling off in traffic in November and the winter months, but this year our November carloadings showed a progressive decrease of between 12 percent and 15 percent, as compared with the same weeks a year ago. That was an abnormal situation, and since it is difficult to predict with certainty whether this situation will be one of only brief duration, it was necessary that our people take timely action to offset the loss in revenues."

While I was waiting to hear from the Secretary of Labor and the Pennsylvania Railroad, I conferred on several occasions in my Washington office, with representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the International Association of Machinists.

As a result of these conferences I found that the furloughing of railroad employees was nationwide and not confined to my congressional district. I checked further with these representatives of labor to make certain that I was doing everything possible to relieve the situation and they assured me I had gone the limit.

At a later conference when I showed them the reply of the Secretary of Labor to the effect that the Federal Government had no jurisdiction they agreed with his assertion.

I then inquired from these representatives of labor as to whether it was possible to stagger the workload in an effort to spread employment. In this conection, I was informed that under existing work agreements the seniority clause could not be violated.

After conferring with these officials of organized labor, I went back to the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad and was advised in a letter of January 6, 1954, from Assistant Vice President Frank J. McCarthy that "very careful consideration was given to the possibility of reducing working hours in lieu of reducing force, but there were a number of reasons why this was found to be impracticable. As an example, we had a considerable force assigned to the repair of hopper cars, but due to the reduction in mineral freight traffic, we found ourselves with some 10,000 cars of this class idle. A reduced work week, spread over both car and locomotive works would have necessitated curtailment of some types of operation which it was desirable to maintain on a full-time basis. The practical thing to do was to discontinue repairs on the equipment that was not needed."

Realizing that we were up against a stonewall in trying to relieve the unemployment situation I then wrote to Mr. C. I. Clugh, manager of the Altoona works, of the Pennsylvania Railroad suggesting the possibility of having the Altoona works bid on defense contracts in order to provide employment for those furloughed.

On January 20, 1954, I received a letter from Manager C. I. Clugh, in which he stated:

"Unfortunately, there are a number of difficulties which make it inadvisable for the works to take the steps which you have proposed. During the emergency created by World War II, it was possible for us to undertake work for the Government on the assumption, which proved to be correct, that we could overcome legal difficulties involved by virtue of the necessity of the work and through the Government's cooperation. However we are faced with a provision in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which specifically prohibits railroads from engaging in manufacturing, and our charter, of course, does not permit us to engage in such operations. Likewise, there are other legal difficulties. In addition, during World War II the work which we did on Government contracts was specifically exempted from the requirements of the Walsh-Healey Act and the necessary compliance with that act which would now be required might result in serious labor difficulties. I regret to advise you, therefore, that we cannot see our way clear to undertake performance of any Government contracts."

Faced with the impossibility of staggering the present work load so as to provide employment for more persons; and in view of the inability of the Altoona works of the Pennsylvania Railroad to engage in defense contracts I continued my efforts to try and find a solution to this vexing problem.

It was found, however, from the following statistical table furnished by the Pennsylvania Railroad, that over a period of years Altoona railroad workers have experienced seasonal furloughs:

Altoona Works number of active employees

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Jan. 15	12,299	10,724	14,170	11,129	10,579
Jan. 31	12,266	9,221	14,284	11,073	10,574
Feb. 14	11,563	10,353	14,361	11,003	10,603
Feb. 28	11,269	10,375	14,302	10,971	10,159
Mar. 15	11,120	10,989	14,187	10,951	10,075
Mar. 31	11,109	11,341	14,133	10,931	10,081
Apr. 15	11,101	11,557	14,072	10,880	10,080
Apr. 30	11,083	11,954	14,022	10,745	10,042
May 15	11,081	896	13,701	10,523	10,032
May 31	1,933	11,274	10,801	10,715	10,010
June 15	5,363	11,975	10,748	4,521	9,924
June 30	5,416	12,372	1,851	3,948	9,860
July 15	5,628	12,550	10,592	1,954	9,923
July 31	7,331	12,840	10,758	2,828	9,923
Aug. 15	7,444	13,191	10,907	5,820	9,918
Aug. 31	8,004	13,457	1,702	8,269	9,893
Sept. 15	7,538	13,509	11,458	9,698	9,860
Sept. 30	1,843	13,647	11,523	10,352	9,840
Oct. 15	1,751	13,871	11,551	10,412	9,814
Oct. 31	1,968	13,881	1,387	10,380	9,788
Nov. 15	2,825	14,006	11,624	10,418	9,758
Nov. 30	3,759	13,987	11,181	10,497	9,728
Dec. 15	6,912	14,046	11,152	10,545	8,140
Dec. 31	7,477	14,161	11,130	10,563	8,140

For example, in 1949 employment reached a peak in January of that year with 12,299 employed. In September of that year 10,456 employees were furloughed, and by the end of December 5,634 of this number had been recalled.

In the year 1950 during the month of January there were 10,724 employed, but in May because of the coal strike employment dropped to 896, when 9,828 were furloughed for a 2-week period.

When the Korean war began in June 1950 employment increased, and in December it reached a peak of 14,161.

In 1951 there were 14,170 employed in January. While this number decreased during the year, there were 11,130 employed in December. During this year there were three furlough periods in June, August, and October. During these furlough periods some 9,000 employees were given 2-week furloughs.

During the year 1952, 11,129 were employed in January. As of December 31 of that year there were 10,563 employed, with some 6,000 employees being furloughed during June, July, and August, due to the steel strike.

The year 1953 began with 10,579 employed and ended on December 31, with 8,140 employed. During this 12-month period there was a gradual monthly decline until in December the total number of furloughed employees was 2,439, of which 1,688 were laid off in December.

Summarizing the situation, during the year of 1949, 10,456 employees were furloughed for short periods.

In 1950, 9,828 were given similar furloughs; in 1951 about 9,000 employees were furloughed; in 1952 some 6,000 were furloughed; while in 1953 the number of furloughed employees decreased to 2,439.

By the middle of January of this year the Pennsylvania Railroad advises that the number of furloughed employees in the Altoona area was 3,000—2,700 of them being from the Altoona Works and 300 furloughed from the Middle Division.

Wanting to make certain that the furloughing of railroad employees was not confined to the Altoona area, contact was made with the Association of American Railroads, and statistical information was furnished which proves that, with the exception of war years, there is an annual decline in business on class I railroads that makes mandatory the furloughing of employees.

In comparing the downturn in railroad traffic and earnings, the Association of American Railroads furnished me information showing that carloadings were down 10.9 percent in November 1953 against November 1952. In December 1953 carloadings were down 9.7 percent as compared with December 1952. For the first 3 weeks of January 1954 carloadings dropped 12 percent under the corresponding weeks in 1953.

The Association of American Railroads reports that the net railway-operating income is off about 30 percent starting in November 1953 and continuing to the present time. This loss of net operating income is traceable to the downturn in railroad traffic, during the past 3 months.

At the time this report was prepared my attention was called to the recent statement by Mr. W. E. Callahan, manager of the car-service division, of the Association of American Railroads, that "this recession which has been with us for over 3 months should level off soon and carloadings should return to a basis more comparable with 1953." At the moment it is my understanding that carloadings are beginning to pick up.

In considering the overall picture, statistics prove that railroad employment has been on the decline since the advent of the diesel engine, the diversion of passenger and freight traffic to other modes of transportation, affecting employment in the railroad industry, together with other factors.

In my opinion, the real answer to the seasonal employment in the Altoona area is the further diversification of industry, which can be accomplished by securing new industries.

It is common knowledge that since 1949 the Altoona Chamber of Commerce has been successful in attracting new plants, through its industrial-development program which led to the creation of Altoona Enterprises, Inc. Based on information furnished me by the Altoona Chamber of Commerce 12 new sources of employment were secured providing jobs for 3,500 people. It is my

understanding that at the present time prospects are bright for obtaining additional industries.

Not only have I worked arm in arm with the chamber of commerce to bring new plants to Altoona, but at my request the United States Department of labor classified Altoona as a critical area, from the standpoint of surplus labor. As a result, the Office of Defense Mobilization has placed Altoona in the class IV category, which entitles industries capable of bidding on defense contracts to receive special consideration.

In this connection, full information has been placed in the hands of all concerned, and representatives of the Small Business Administration (formerly the Small Defense Plants Administration), are in constant contact with industries needing assistance. Already this organized approach has brought business to several of Altoona's industries.

In addition to the efforts I have cited, in trying to solve the unemployment problem, let me give added assurance that in Washington, I am leaving no stone unturned in fighting legislation such as the St. Lawrence seaway and the unrestricted importation of foreign residual oil; or any other legislative measures which threaten to destroy jobs in the coal, railroad, and related industries.

Security Plan Hasn't Worked

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Security Plan Hasn't Worked," which was published in the Washington Daily News.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECURITY PLAN HASN'T WORKED
(By John Cramer)

This, you might say, is a small confession, offered because I find myself a little embarrassed, a little heartsick—and even halfway persuaded that reporters should stick to reporting.

It was this column, you see, which first publicly suggested that Government abandon the sad practice of branding suspect employees as disloyal—and that to substitute a label of less stigma.

And it was this same suggestion, with slight modification, which became the basis for unhappy things the administration is doing now.

What this column originally proposed was that Federal employee loyalty suspects be dismissed as unsuitable—and that only the few whose disloyalty was completely provable should be branded disloyal.

The idea was that this would give Government a freer hand to dismiss borderline suspects—while, at the same time protecting all except the demonstrably disloyal against the terrible stigma of disloyalty.

That was back in the days when the final version of the Truman administration's loyalty program was being shaped.

Key officials liked the idea, but said it was too late because the new program was almost ready for the President's signature.

Over the years, I wrote about it occasionally in this column and talked about it frequently with officials close to the loyalty program.

IKE BOUGHT IT

And eventually—this is a fact—certain of these officials sold the plan to the Eisenhower administration.

Unfortunately, it hasn't worked out.

What was proposed, originally, was a potentially happy solution for the great dilemma of all loyalty programs, which is this:

On the one hand, it is necessary and desirable that Government rid itself of disloyal employees.

But on the other, it's almost impossible to prove disloyalty in the ordinary terms of Anglo-Saxon law, because, in the nature of things, the accused almost never can be permitted to confront his accusers.

Thus, the employee dismissed for disloyalty almost always is one suspected but not convicted.

Fairminded men will call it unthinkable that such a person should be branded disloyal by his Government, and required to carry the stigma through life.

But that was exactly what happened under the Truman program.

And in a much more shameful way, it's happening now under the Eisenhower administration program.

Instead of firing employees as disloyal, it is firing them as "security risks," which is proper and potentially good.

Under this label, it is dismissing not only loyalty suspects, but also sex deviates, drunks, and people who talk too much. That is good, too.

The administration proudly boasts that its "security risk" label spares the dismissed employee the stigma of disloyalty.

But at the same time, its spokesmen go about the country telling the public that all of the 2,200 persons it has dismissed as security riskes are Communists, subversives, and traitors.

You can understand why I feel embarrassed.

The Hudson-Nash Merger—Possible Violation of Antitrust Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a thoughtful discussion of the Hudson-Nash merger by Ed Wimmer, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, Cincinnati, Ohio.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUDSON-NASH MERGER VIOLATES ANTITRUST LAWS—ECONOMIC COLLECTIVISM
(By Ed Wimmer)

Approval of the announced Nash-Hudson merger by the Federal Trade Commission could easily become the straw that will break the Commission's back. I say this because enforcement of the antitrust laws, as they affect the merging of competing corporations, has become such a colossal farce, that Congress doesn't dare tolerate the situation any longer.

The Nash-Hudson merger is publicized as the only means of survival against the competition of the Big Three; and if this is true, then Studebaker and Packard would have to follow the same course. This would leave the auto industry with no independent, and hundreds of dealers, designers, engineers, salesmen, small suppliers, etc., would lose their businesses and jobs.

Is this America? Is this capitalism at work? Or is it a process of collectivism patterned after the British, Japanese, German, and Italian cartels, that ended in socialism, communism, fascism, and nazism?

The auto industry needs these independents, desperately, even though they do an infinitesimal share of the business, and we (the auto-buying public) need them as a bulwark against a big three or big four monopoly. Instead of permitting this economic murder to take place, the Government should grant special tax concessions to the independents to enable them to compete until Congress gets around to unwinding their giant competitors.

Nullification of the antitrust laws began almost with their inception in 1895, when Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, for the express purpose of halting and preventing the growth of monopoly power. When the earliest cases reached the Supreme Court, majority opinions favoring the tycoons were handed down under what the Justices called a rule of reason or, in other words, a little monopoly here and there isn't going to hurt anybody. The end result of this philosophy caused Woodrow Wilson to say, in 1914, that combinations of combinations in industry and finance are now bigger than State governments, and he called upon Congress to initiate legislation to save the Nation from trustification.

Following Wilson's appeal in 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Act which contained provisions clearly stating that the intent of the legislators was to prevent all mergers of competing corporations where there was any real tendency to lessen competition. At the same time, Congress created the Federal Trade Commission with the idea of its becoming a rampart against all forms of business practices or mergers tending to lessen competition in any field; but, 40 years later, the Commission stands almost helpless before corporate Frankensteins that dwarf the "little economic states" Wilson deplored.

It is argued that a Hudson-Nash merger would bring about economies which would enable these two independents to compete with the big three, and thus they might hang on a little longer, but is all this economic collectivism followed by the big labor collectivism and the collectivisms of centralized government, what we want in this country?

The slack in our line is running out.

Tribute to John Daniel Rust

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Arkansas lost one of its distinguished citizens on Wednesday, January 20, at Pine Bluff, Ark. He was John Daniel Rust, who contributed much to American agriculture through his development of a mechanical cotton picker.

In 1927, Mr. Rust developed the basic idea for his cotton-picking machine. It was he who found that moistened spindles of spring steel wire would catch the cotton and pull it from the boll quickly and efficiently. In 1933, he obtained his first patent on the Rust cotton picker.

Mr. Rust spent his last 5 years in Pine Bluff, Ark., where the mechanical cotton picker which he designed is manufactured by the Ben Pearson Co. The Allis-Chalmers Co., of Milwaukee, also manufactures the Rust cotton picker. There are, of course, other manufacturers of mechanical cotton pickers, but there is no doubt that John Rust was one of the real pioneers in this field.

I request unanimous consent that as a part of my remarks an editorial from the Pine Bluff Commercial of January 21, 1954, be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PASSING OF A GENIUS

The sudden, shocking death of John D. Rust came as a stunning blow to all Pine Bluff, elsewhere in the South, and throughout the Nation.

Here was a citizen who combined the rare qualities of an inventive genius, businessman, scholar, lover of the arts, and philanthropist.

If we who knew him may be permitted to say it here this last-named quality overshadowed all other achievements of the man, even though his invention was beginning to work a beneficial revolution in the cotton-growing South.

For it showed through on his countenance, his expression, his attitude in listening, that John Rust had a deep and abiding love for mankind. This was not a passive love. It found expression in many substantial gifts through the Rust Foundation—to colleges, nurse students, underprivileged boys, and farmers, both white and Negro. Among his plans was a model farm to teach scientific agriculture to those who stood most in need of it.

When apprised of his death, a friend who has the farmer's viewpoint said: "John Rust's name will go into the South's history as the second Great Emancipator," meaning his release of thousands of Negroes from the semi-slavery of cottonpicking and sharecropping as it was formerly practiced.

Always when around him you were conscious of the man's modesty and humility, twin virtues encountered not too often in one who had climbed so high. His personal tastes were, as you would rightly imagine, simple.

Pine Bluff has been a better town for the 5 short years it has known John Rust. His family may derive a modicum of consolation from the lines of the Irish poet, John Boyle O'Reilly, who wrote:

"Well blest is he who has a dear one dead;
A friend he has whose face will never change—
A dear communion that will not grow strange;
The anchor of a love is death."

President Begins To Reveal Farm Mess He Inherited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, Ezra Taft Benson, our indomitable Secretary of Agriculture, will soon be coming to Capitol Hill to personally lead the administration's fight for a flexible price support program. I have the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity and believe that his program will provide the only workable solution to our present program of huge surpluses. Mr. David Lawrence, in one of his recent columns, very ably outlined the dilemma facing Congress this year, and I would like to call my colleagues' attention to this article which appeared in the Salt Lake Tribune for January 14, 1954:

PRESIDENT BEGINS TO REVEAL FARM MESS HE INHERITED

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, January 13.—President Eisenhower has begun to give to the Nation the sad details about the farm mess which his administration inherited from its predecessors.

Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, is reported to have joined a group of other Republicans in saying at a Republican Party conference here that the President's abandonment of the 90 percent parity protection would be a political mistake in the Middle West. But the Wisconsin Senator is wrong on this. For he is assuming that the farm voters will react unfavorably without taking into account the side of the story that the President has to tell.

There are other Senators who have committed themselves to a rigid system of price supports—Republicans as well as Democrats. But never before has the other side of the controversy been emphasized as Mr. Eisenhower and his aids probably will tell it in the next few months. The farm vote will not be lost to the Republicans when the facts are thoroughly understood. For the farmer is not a radical and, though he favors subsidies, he doesn't like low farm prices. What he doesn't realize is that by subsidizing and encouraging production, the farmer is taxing himself higher and forcing a lower price at the same time.

Mr. Eisenhower has courageously come to grips with a highly sensitive political problem, and his determination to fight it out in public debate is commendable. The President says each farm crop has its own problems and each requires specific treatment, but there are certain fundamentals that apply to all. He declares, first of all, that "food once produced must not be destroyed" and that excessive stocks can be removed from the markets by governmental action.

But, by this, it is not meant that the system which produced the excessive surpluses must be continued, and that's what the champions of the 90 percent rigid price-support formula are asking the taxpayers to approve.

NEW PLAN CALLED SOUND

The President is right when he says that "there should be no wide year-to-year fluctuation in the level of price support" and that "no single program can apply uniformly to the whole farm industry." So far as the basic principle is concerned, however, Mr. Eisenhower properly lines himself up behind the necessity for Government price supports on a flexible basis depending on market conditions, "in order to being needed stability to farm income and farm production."

The administration has sought advice from all sides and in a nonpolitical way. The conclusions reached after months of study are sound from an economic standpoint. The only thing that stands in the way of their acceptance is political exploitation of the issue by those who, in certain areas, think it is unpopular to do otherwise. That's only because the farmers themselves have not been educated on the facts of the "mess" created. Mr. Eisenhower describes it thus:

"The urgency in this situation may be illustrated by a few basic facts. During the last year, the investment of the Commodity Credit Corporation in farm commodities more than doubled, increasing by about $2,500,000,000. As a result the financial obligations of the corporation are pressing hard against the $6,750,000,000 limitation on its borrowing authority. In order to assure that present price-support commitments on 1953 and 1954 crops will be covered, I shall request the Congress to take early action to restore the Corporation's capital losses as of June 30, 1953, and to increase its borrowing authority to $8,500,000,000, effective July 1, 1954.

"The Government's commodity holdings are enormous. It has investments in more than $2 billion worth of wheat alone. This includes 440 million bushels owned outright. About 400 million additional bushels are under loan, the greater share of which the Government can expect to acquire. This is more than the domestic wheat requirements of the entire Nation for a full year."

A YEAR'S COTTON CARRIED OVER

"The cotton carryover will amount to about 9,600,000 bales. Here again the carryover is approximately equal to the domestic needs of the entire Nation for a full year.

"The carryover of vegetable oils may be about 1,500,000,000 pounds, roughly double the carryover that should normally be maintained."

What makes the situation worse is that consumer demand is at or near a record high level and in some instances products without price supports have done as well in price as some of those with price supports. The solution of the problem is related to the opening up of foreign markets and the removal of rigidity from the Government's formula. A flexible system is the natural answer, with no commitment to do more than to sustain the markets from dropping precipitately or from rising too rapidly.

The President advocates the principle of gradualness and a range of from 75 to 90 percent of parity, which ought to be enough to attain stabilization. The alternative is a continuation of chaos and greater expense to all taxpayers without the lower living costs which increased production normally brings to the consumers. Their votes are also important to either political party.

The Farm Plan Choice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on January 31, there was published in the Kansas City Star an editorial entitled "The Farm Plan Choice." It is most elaborately written and most illustrative and informative. I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FARM PLAN CHOICE

Nothing before Congress, in fact, no national problem save world peace, is more important to the Kansas City territory than the decision on the farm problem immedi-

ately ahead. It will affect directly and specifically every farm, large or small, every ranch in our area. And the cities depend to a large extent on the farms.

It's a hot potato, politically, especially for an election year. Everyone recognizes that. But a decision has to be made, one way or another. The present program of supporting wheat, cotton and certain other major farm products at 90 percent of parity—a program that assures the farmer a profit if the weather permits normal crops—expires at the end of this year. That makes some action imperative.

Under this program, which encouraged increased production for war or threat of war periods, surpluses have accumulated in Government hands until they threaten the entire farm price structure. We are apt to be choked to death with too much food. The pace of mounting surpluses is accelerating as the price levels tend to discourage consumption here at home and, at the same time, induce nations outside our economy to produce more. Pricing ourselves out of world markets is a simple way of describing the rapidly worsening world picture as to food and foodstuffs. And yet everyone, not only wants, but believes the farmer should have, a fair shake on prices.

The figures are almost astronomical. From a billion dollars to two billion—the amount generally tied up in Government purchases or loans to support the market on protected commodities—more than two and one-half billions additional have been poured out in less than a year. Funds authorized by Congress of $6,700,000,000 are practically exhausted. To carry out the commitments already made under the existing law, the administration has been compelled to ask Congress to vote another billion and a half to raise the borrowing authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation up to eight and one-half billions. It will do so. And the end isn't in sight.

It isn't even so much the staggering sums involved. A prosperous farmer is worth a lot to the Nation. But the real problem is the strangling surpluses being accumulated. They are almost impossible to deal with. Moreover, they hang over not only our own agriculture but the world markets. They are such a depressing factor that any chance of real stabilization permitting a free flow of products is almost out of the question.

Wheat, of course, is of particular concern to Kansas. The State produces more than any other in the Nation. Yet the Government owns outright more than 440 million bushels of wheat from past crops and has loans out on more than 400 million bushels of the present crop. It will have to take over most of the wheat that is in hock as the market price runs below the loan level. To visualize just what this means, if there was a national ban on growing a single bushel of wheat for a full year—and no one suggests that—there would be ample wheat to meet domestic needs and have some for export.

Cotton is in an equally dangerous position. The Government owns or has on loan more than a full year's supply of cotton without another bale being grown. The high support price on both wheat and cotton in the United States is fostering production in other countries. Our exports are dwindling in an amazing fashion as a consequence. Canada, operating on a different system more closely attuned to world prices, is steadily increasing her wheat exports. We are storing ours.

Butter is even a more dismal example. It's a far harder problem to keep it. Butter eventually gets rancid. But that's only a small part of the story. Some creameries produce and turn the product directly over to the Government. It can't move in trade because of the price. Butter faces a greater threat in oleo. As the butter price has been maintained nearer parity, oleo is pricing it out of even the domestic market. Two dairy States have laws prohibiting the sale of colored oleo. Bootlegging of oleo has become an established practice like bootlegging of whisky back in prohibition days.

What's to be done? Some of the politicians who would like an easy way out for election year would simply extend the present program another year. Acreage control has been put on wheat and cotton. A campaign is on to cut down corn acreage. Some argue that this method, in time, will bring the situation in hand. The trouble is, it hasn't worked.

When wheat acreage is cut, that of soybeans and other crops is increased and you get the surplus there, a new problem. If corn is cut, milos and kaffirs take its place. Also, the staggering surplus, already in Government hands prevents any recovery in prices. It may be the politically expedient thing to do, just to continue the present system for a year. But the administration insists it will only make matters worse and eventually wreck any chance of sound, long-time stability.

After World War II, Congress recognized the danger of a fixed-support program and started working toward flexible supports. But came Korea. Brakes were pulled off production, acreage allotments were postponed, and more planting and yields were encouraged. When the cutting down time came, the farmers, themselves, in both wheat and cotton, voted overwhelmingly to reduce acreages even though there had been a rising tide against Government regimentation of agriculture. Most of them felt it was either that or immediate ruin. Soundness for the long pull didn't enter into the calculations. If fixed support at 90 percent of parity is to be the future policy, it can only mean ultimately that not only the basic crops but all agriculture must be rigidly controlled from Washington.

The program put forward by President Eisenhower and his Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson, is no cure-all. It may not be politically smart. It is honest. Never before has there been such thorough study of the farm problem and by so many conflicting interests. It wasn't pulled out of the hat. It took the best from the experience of the past. It attempted to meet the almost insolvable situation with a realistic approach. Accepting the Government's commitment to the farmer, the fixed-support program is being carried out to the letter for the present year. It is costing several billions and piling up more surpluses.

To ameliorate the blighting effect of the huge surpluses on the market price, it is proposed to freeze—in a few words, take off the market—2½ billion of the surpluses to be held as a stockpile for any national emergency. Whether it will have this result is problematical. The surpluses are still there, even though pledged not to go into the market. It is proposed to dispose of another billion dollars abroad, outside of regular there might be a giveaway plan has begun there might be a give-away plan has begun to give the world prices the jitters and it has resulted in outcries in Washington.

Basically, with the surplus stockpile cut down by the above proposals, the administration has two approaches for the long pull. It would set up a flexible support plan rather than the rigid plan at 90 percent. It would deal with each major crop individually. If one crop got too topheavy, the announced support could be reduced to as much as 75 percent according to a formula for reduction based on the extent of the surplus. If a certain crop were needed, the support could remain at 90 percent or even go to 100. Price rather than acreage control would be counted upon to regulate the surplus.

Along with this approach is set forth a new formula for parity instead of the one generally recognized for the past 40 years. This might affect some crops substantially, others not at all. To cushion the transition, there is a limitation of not more than a 5-percent shift in any one year.

Such a program will bring a stable and profitable farm industry, says the administration. It will pull agriculture out of the mountains of disastrous surpluses built up by fixed price supports. It is pointed out that 85 percent of the crops now come from highly mechanized, surplus producing farms. The more than 3 million small family type farms would hardly be affected except for the opportunity to gain with a broader economy. Real prosperity can come to the farmer from such a program, say the administration spokesmen. Real income will go up, not down. Only disaster can come from extending the rigid support plan of today.

The problem is complicated, at the best. But there you have it. For years Congressmen have been reelected by promising rigid supports. They can hear their opponents screaming on the hustings about forcing the farmers' income down to the advantage of the city dwellers. The program may be sound, but it isn't practical politically, they say. Maybe so. But, there are still those constantly mounting surpluses that can't help but spell disaster to the farmer in the long run.

Government Employee Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting and analytical editorial entitled "How Many Were Disloyal?" published in the Washington Post of February 4, 1954. The editorial deals with an analysis of the 2,200 separations effected under the standards established by the new employee security program.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW MANY WERE DISLOYAL?

The President gave a welcome indication at his press conference yesterday that the administration may make public an analysis of the 2,200 separations effected under the standards established for the new employee security program. Such an analysis is much needed to put the picture in perspective. The separations have been represented by some members of the administration as constituting a cleanout of Communists from the Government service. In contradiction, critics have asserted that many of the separations took place under normal civil-service procedures and had nothing whatever to do with loyalty or security.

The public is entitled to know where the truth lies between these conflicting claims. It cannot find out from a breakdown of the sort which some political-minded officials are said to be recommending—a breakdown contrived to obscure rather than clarify the real nature of the 2,200 separations. If the administration merely asserts that a certain number of cases entailed accusations of communistic or subversive leanings, it will shed little light on the situation. Accusa-

tions of this sort are now made so commonly and often so baselessly that they are of themselves a totally unreliable index.

The analysis, to be meaningful, must provide a breakdown of the charges in terms of the security categories enumerated in the Executive order of last spring and a breakdown of the disposition of the cases. It can, without breaching security in any way and without disclosing the identity of any of the individuals involved, provide the following information: the number of cases in which charges relating to loyalty were presented to employees; the number in which adverse findings were made after hearings held in accordance with the procedures prescribed under the new security program; the number cleared after hearings; the number who resigned without having any charges filed against them and without any knowledge that they were the subjects of suspicion; the number whose dismissal or resignation entailed allegations of unreliability or unsuitability on grounds wholly unrelated to loyalty.

No doubt an analysis of this sort will prove embarrassing to those members of the administration who sought to make political capital out of the 2,200 separations—by representing them as an example of the administration's vigilance in security matters. Nevertheless, this is the kind of candor that the country expects of President Eisenhower. It is time to prick this security bubble and end the politicking.

Tribute to the National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, because of its well-earned tribute to the National Labor Relations Board, the members of which had been appointed by the preceding administration, for the increasing speed with which it disposed of its heavy caseload up until July 1, 1953, and the expressed hope that this fine record may be maintained, I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of January 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NLRB: NEW RECORDS

The National Labor Relations Board, the independent Office of the General Counsel, and their employees may take pride in achieving a number of all-time records during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1953, compared with 1952. The Board's annual report indicates a reduction of the average time for processing collective-bargaining election cases from the previous low of 90 days to a record low of 60 days. The average time for processing unfair labor practice cases was reduced from 447 days to 350 days. The Board issued 3,053 decisions in cases brought to it in contest over either the facts or the application of the law. This compared with 2,452 cases in 1952. There were 526 decisions in unfair labor practice cases compared to 369 the previous year.

As a matter of record it should be stated that while the report covers the first 5 months of the Eisenhower administration, the five NLRB members in office during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1953, were holdovers from the previous administration. Since last July three appointments have been made by President Eisenhower, the third still awaiting confirmation by the Senate. We see no reason, however, why a change in the Board majority should decelerate or in any way impair the Federal agency's record-breaking proclivities. Indeed, since the same employees are now directed by a board with a new majority they may and can be stimulated to even greater efforts, provided their morale is encouraged.

Remarkable Growth of a Business Enterprise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times recently published a brief but interesting article on the growth of the Food Fair Stores chain, which is headed by my good friend Louis Stein. This grocery chain is now comprised of 191 supermarkets doing an annual volume of business amounting to $375 million.

My friendship with Louis Stein goes to the 1920's when we were classmates at Fordham Law School and were graduated together from that school. He is a very brilliant lawyer who has turned his talents to the world of business and finance and is regarded today as one of the finest business executives in the country. In his office as president of the Food Fair chain he has demonstrated great ability which will undoubtedly redound to the benefit of management and the stockholders, as well as the consumers.

The remarkable growth of this business enterprise proves once again—if proof is needed—that America is still the land of great opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert into the RECORD the article from the New York Times of December 13, 1953, which reads:

ALONG THE HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF FINANCE

The brilliantly lighted counters of the 191 supermarkets of Food Fair Stores, Inc., have little difficulty these days in disposing of that chain's grocery bargains. But Louis Stein, president since last August of Food Fair, could tell quite a different story about his patient efforts in 1936 to sell dollar bills to Wall Street for a nickel apiece.

Perhaps those dollar bills just weren't displayed as temptingly as most Food Fair wares are today. Prospective buyers evidently found it difficult to believe that a share of the then untried Union Premier Food Stores, Inc., which was to change its name in 1942 to Food Fair Stores, would, as a result of stock dividends and splits, blossom into more than 6 shares of stock worth over $200 in 17 years.

Louis Stein, of course, believed they would. But it took him more than 2 months to convince Wall Street's investment bankers why.

BANKERS SKEPTICAL

"Today," he says, "it's hard to imagine the difficulties we faced in getting Wall Street to realize that the supermarket method of merchandising wasn't just a passing fad which was sure to be forgotten once things got better. Even though we could show a 5-percent profit margin on sales of $12 million from a chain of 15 outlets, with a net worth of $430,000, it wasn't enough to interest the average investment banking firm."

Being a lawyer, Mr. Stein knows when to take a stand, when to retreat, and when to make concessions. His job, as Food Fair's chief financial adviser and general counsel in 1936, was to find enough money for his employers to promote their supermarket ideas even though the initial expense might be heavy. He decided that if he couldn't sell Food Fair stock on its own merit alone, maybe he could still make a deal if he offered a big enough concession.

He finally found one house that agreed to market at $11 each 82,000 shares of the stock—a 27-percent interest in the company. But—and here was the rub—he had to give the banking house a fat commission of $2.20 a share. In other words, the bankers would sell the issue, but only if they were to pay $8.80 for each share themselves.

SECOND ROUND EASIER

The $721,600 Food Fair got from that transaction, before costs of registration and legal expenses, however, went fast as the company pushed its expansion program. Within 15 months Mr. Stein was asked to go back to Wall Street and to raise an additional $1,500,000.

"The second time was a lot easier," he says. "We had to give a mere 12-percent discount."

He arranged the sale of 60,000 shares of $25 preferred stock, charging the bankers $22 a share. The underwriter, however, insisted that the issue would have to be convertible. Buyers of the stock received the right to convert each share into two shares of common.

Those first two financial deals were a long step from those completed by Lou Stein and Food Fair in recent years. In January 1950 he was able to go down to Wall Street and, without difficulty, sell $8 million of 15-year debentures carrying an interest coupon of only 3 percent.

A year later he arranged the sale of a like amount of 4.20 percent preferred stock, $100 par value, which had no conversion privileges. Earlier this year, when money conditions were unusually tight, he was able to negotiate a $12,500,000 borrowing on 4 percent debentures, due in 1973.

Mr. Stein has been associated with Food Fair nearly a quarter of a century, and with retailing in one form or another since his youth. During his association with the company, he has seen Food Fair's annual volume rise from less than $1 million to $375 million.

With its present expansion program involving the addition of 30 units, the company by this time next year should have a chain of more than 225 supermarkets, grossing over $430,000,000 a year. In 1950, for the first time, the company entered the list of the Nation's 20 biggest retailers; now it is in fourteenth place and the seventh largest in its own field.

RISE OF GROCER'S SON

Mr. Stein is the son of a grocer. His father was running a small store in Union City, N. J., in 1906, when Lou was born. Following in parental footsteps, he took a job at the age of 13 in after-school hours and during summer vacations as clerk, delivery boy, and jack-of-all-trades with the National Grocery Stores Co., which was later to merge into Safeway Stores, Inc., today one of Food Fair's principal competitors.

In his high-school year he got a part-time job with a local department store as a helper to the furniture trucker. In his last year at

high school he was promoted to substitute installment debt collector for the store.

These jobs pointed the way to his work in later years in handling Food Fair's labor relations and financial problems. When Mr. Stein was graduated from high school at the age of 17 he decided that a knowledge of corporate law was a prerequisite to progress in industry. He was graduated from Fordham University law school in three years and had to wait until he was 21 to take his bar examinations. When he joined Food Fair in 1939 he had his own law offices in Union City and Jersey City.

Forty-eight States Tackle Mental Illness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Forty-eight States Tackle Mental Illness." The article was published in the January 31 issue of the New York Herald Tribune, and describes the very fine work done by Gov. G. Mennen Williams, of Michigan, in dealing with mental health.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORTY-EIGHT STATES TACKLE MENTAL ILLNESS

(By G. Mennen Williams, Governor of Michigan)

The historic responsibility of State government for the care of the mentally ill was acknowledged as far back as 1768, when Governor Fauquier, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, appealed to the House of Burgesses on behalf of a "poor, unhappy set of people who are deprived of their senses."

Responding to his plea, the burgesses enacted a law providing for support and maintenance of "idiots, lunatics, and other persons of unsound minds." Five years later, the first institution in the Colonies devoted exclusively to mental patients opened its doors at Williamsburg.

THE PICTURE TODAY

Today, 500,000 persons are receiving care and treatment in State hospitals for the mentally ill. The States are spending half a billion dollars annually for capital outlay and general operating purposes. The number of first admissions since 1940 has increased more than 38 percent—and the increase continues. On the average, less than half the patients admitted to State mental hospitals are discharged within 5 years.

And this is only one segment of the problem. The Federal Government spends another half a billion dollars a year operating veterans' psychiatric hospitals, and in paying pensions to veterans with psychiatric disabilities.

In toto, American people are staggering under a tax burden of more than $1 billion a year to care for the mentally ill. Actuarial estimates prepared by the first Hoover Commission warn us that unless early treatment measures are stepped up, and new cures found, the harrassed taxpayer will pay out $15 billion during the next decade at the rate of $1,500,000,000 annually.

FORBIDDING FIGURES

These figures, forbidding as they are, fail to convey the human suffering and wanton destruction of home life caused by mental illness. Each day this year, 700 American families will be torn by the confinement of a loved one in a public mental hospital. Another 1,250,000 families will try to handle a problem of severe mental illness in their own homes.

Personality disturbances will warp the lives of an additional 7 million persons, many of whom will seek outlets for their frustration in excessive drinking, narcotics addiction, criminal behavior, and suicide. Most pathetic of all, 1 in every 12 babies born this year will sometime in the future undergo a mental illness severe enough to require hospitalization.

1951 CONFERENCE

At the 1951 Governors' Conference at Gatlinburg, Tenn., every State chief executive I talked to had this perplexing problem in mind—how could a joint State program be developed to prevent mental illness before it became an insuperable tax burden. Stimulated by these discussions, I introduced a resolution directing the Council of State Governments to make an intensive study of how this objective could be achieved.

The study took 2 years to complete. In the early stages of its investigations the council found it was trying to clear a path through a jungle of unknowns and impondera bles. In August 1953, the report, "Training and Research in State Mental Health Programs," was presented to the 45th annual Governors' Conference in Seattle. The Governors not only indorsed the far-reaching recommendations of the 350-page study, but voted unanimously to hold the national conference to implement the report's proposals which will open in Detroit next week.

THE CHALLENGE

The challenge to this conference is pointed up in the following words from the report:

"Care and treatment alone, along present lines, cannot cope with the present and emerging situations. Hope for the future lies primarily in widening and deepening the knowledge of mental disorder—in the discovery and application of better means of treatment and prevention. These can be attained only through more research, and through training of mental health personnel. Research and training, thus, are the essential bases for reducing admissions to mental hospitals, and ultimately, for reducing hospital populations."

LACK OF RESEARCH

I have never been able to understand why we spend only 5 percent of our medical research investment on mental illness, a disease which fills more than 50 percent of our hospital beds, and costs us far more in taxes than all other afflictions combined.

The 48 States, with a tax burden of half a billion a year for mental illness, spend only $4 million a year on research. Small as it is, this State expenditure is approximately two-thirds of our Nation's total mental research fund.

In an effort to learn the major obstacles to more research, the Council of State Governments sent lengthy questionnaires to State mental health officials and research project directors. Both groups pinpointed these three bottlenecks: Insufficient appropriations, shortage of personnel at low salaries, and lack of time for research because of the daily pressure of care of the patients.

The council asked the 48 State mental health directors to grade their opinions of present research levels on a scale ranging from "much too much" to "much too little." Of the 44 officials who replied, 20 checked off "much too little," 19 reported "too little," and only 5 thought the amount of research being done was "about right." Not a one checked off the "too much" or "much too much" spaces.

When asked what percentage of the mental health budget should be devoted to research, the majority of directors said that it should be 4 percent or more. This would entail an annual State expenditure of about $20 million, as against the $4 million being spent NOW.

STATE MONOPOLY

With this information, I hope the national conference will give considerable attention to the way to get more research work done. The States have a virtual monopoly on the subject of research, since about five-sixths of the hospitalized mentally ill are in State institutions.

However, many of them do not take advantage of this clinical material because of a mistaken notion that research can only be conducted along bravura lines in skyscraper medical pavilions.

The council report offers a number of organizational proposals to band States together in tackling the research problem. Where individual States are unable, because of the absence of medical schools or research centers, to conduct large-scale training and research programs, the report recommends regional interstate compacts.

MENTAL CLEARINGHOUSE

A start has already been made in one part of the country. The Southern Governors' Conference, comprising 16 States, held a panel session on the council report last November. It unanimously passed a resolution directing the Southern Regional Education Board to begin an immediate survey of facilities for the training of psychiatric personnel in the South. It will report to next week's conference.

Probably the most far-reaching recommendation of the council report proposes an interstate mental clearinghouse operated by the Council of State Governments. The report suggests that this clearinghouse render expert field assistance to the States and regions in formulating new programs.

We Governors and State officials have our work cut out for us in Detroit next week. We know we must succeed, for the mental health of our 160,000,000 people is one of our greatest democratic bulwarks in the struggle for universal peace.

Appointment of Additional Circuit and District Judges

SPEECH
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not enter into a long dissertation relative to the many details that are involved in this conference report or the bill as originally proposed and passed by the House. I can only emphasize again that the measure now pending before the House, the subject matter under discussion, was preceded by many hours of painstaking and careful consideration of the various applications and reports that were submitted with reference to expanding the program dealing with the appointment of judges of our Federal courts.

In our original hearings we had the benefit of the judgment and statement of Judge Biggs, the chief judge of the

Third United States Circuit of the State of Pennsylvania, who was appointed by the Judicial Conference to make a minute investigation of the various requests made to add additional Federal judges throughout the various areas of the United States, including the Territory of Alaska.

We heard testimony from quite a number of the Members of the House who appeared in every instance, as I recall, in support of requests for an additional judge, or one or more judges to be added to the areas that comprised the judicial districts in their States.

Finally a bill was submitted to the House, which differed from the bill submitted by the other body. Following the compilation of all the testimony that we had, and when the bill was presented, there was some deviation from what the other body suggested. The bill was passed in the House. It was then submitted to conference. I might report to you that it was a rather tedious and difficult problem to arrive at some definite agreement as to who should recede from one problem pertaining to eliminating a judge, or adding another, and so on. But we had numerous meetings, and it finally resulted in a stalemate. Upon the reconvening of Congress in 1954, the conferees met again on a number of occasions and finally decided to report out their findings in the manner as has been noted, and to which your attention has been called.

I might state that as far as my State is concerned, we do not get an additional judge. I am not personally interested in this bill. What I am trying to do is to try to be helpful, because if you had occasion like I had and the other Members had, to hear the statements of the various individuals, including judges, Members of the other body, and Members of this House who made appeals to get additional judges, you would have been impressed with the stories they told and the appeals they made. You would have come to the conclusion that if the condition prevails as represented in some areas in the United States at the present time and in some States in particular, there is grave danger that the judicial system created under the Constitution is on the way to losing some of its high regard and respect that it has heretofore commanded for so many years in this country.

There is too much criticism of the plan to expand our Federal judiciary and add new judges, too much that is not germane or pertinent to that issue. In some instances the reports indicated the court calls are so bogged down and the case backlog is so great that it is a matter of conjecture as to how long this situation will be tolerated by the people in the respective districts that are affected thereby.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. WALTER. In that connection I would like to point out to the gentleman that in the eastern district of Pennsylvania the civil list is about 40 months in arrears, and in the western district the calendar is so congested that the senior circuit judge has instructed the district court judges to try nothing but criminal cases; so it is utterly impossible to have a civil case tried.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I thank the gentleman for the contribution that he has made. The facts bear out the statement that conditions in western Pennsylvania are as bad as he indicated; we tried to remedy the condition by giving the western district of Pennsylvania an additional judge.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. FULTON. As to the western district of Pennsylvania there has been some comment that the proper recommendations have not been made to the Executive by the Attorney General's Office. Is that correct?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. You mean as to the additional judge that was added in the conference?

Mr. FULTON. We have a judgeship that has been vacant for many months and not filled. Now you are adding another temporary judgeship in western Pennsylvania. I am asking: What is the reason the present judgeship has not been filled?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I am afraid that the gentleman must draw on his imagination. If he does that he will find that in his State, according to what I am told, there is some conflict between the two men who represent the State in the upper body—this is just from statements I have obtained, I do not know whether I can state it as a matter of fact, but it has been so reported to me.

Now, regardless of that condition in the State of Pennsylvania the fact remains that you have a condition in your courts that has been aptly set forth by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER], one of the worst backlogs in case loads that is imaginable in any district court. As a matter of fact, as has been stated, one judge has ordered that no case be tried except criminal cases. What happens to the civil cases? Justice delayed is justice denied, and you are on the road to anarchy if you do not correct that situation.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield for a further statement.

Mr. FULTON. As the gentleman will recall, I was on my feet when the bill went through last year urging that an additional judgeship be set up for western Pennsylvania and then we were advised that there was one judgeship unfilled; as I recall I was advised that it was on the part of the Executive that the recommendation had not been made, that previously recommendations had been made to the Attorney General's office by the ones involved in Pennsylvania and then no action had been taken. I wonder if the gentleman has any information on that?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I wish to say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I have no information about that. The vacancies should be filled and I am in sympathy with the litigants. I am not prepared to say why the vacancies have not been filled.

Mr. CELLER. There are four.

Mr. WALTER. There are four vacancies.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I am advised that there are four vacancies in Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. We need judges in Pennsylvania.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Does the gentleman believe that regardless of the roadblock that has evidently occurred with reference to filling of vacancies in the gentleman's State the litigants should suffer the consequences? We have to look beyond that and see that we get our Judicial Department moving and working and serving the people according to the intent and ideas that are implemented in the inherent nature of the job to be done by the Federal courts. Does the gentleman agree with that?

Mr. FULTON. Yes; and I want to compliment the gentleman and the committee because we in western Pennsylvania are not getting justice and that is not through any fault of the judges up there.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. There is really no serious objection, as I can see it, to the revised situation as is being presented here.

Some question may be raised as to why a temporary judge was allotted the State of Utah and the State of Nevada. Utah has a population of nearly 770,000 people according to the 1952 census. There are a number of States in the Union that do not exceed that population that have two judges. You have there a temporary judgeship which expires as provided by law. So it does not assure those States they will have two permanent judges. Of course, later these temporary judgeships may be made permanent, but that is a matter for the future. I am speaking about the situation that prevails at the present time. The same thing is true of the State of Nevada.

The conference report suggests a change by giving North Dakota a permanent judgeship instead of a temporary judgeship.

I want to mention what occurred in the State of Michigan. Subsequent to the time that our conferees met last summer, we received letters and statements, factual statements, from Members on both sides of the House in reference to conditions that prevailed in the eastern district of Michigan. It is only fair and common sense, when one is clothed with responsibility to see that justice is done and to look into the situation further. This was not done hastily through committee activity. The committee exchanged views and ideas between one another following the receipt of the data at that time. If the facts are to be taken as true, as submitted by Members on both sides of the House, then the eastern district of Michigan does need another Federal judge.

Many equations and many factors enter into delays pertaining to the expediting of justice and cleaning up of your court calendar. There is sickness, old age, impairments in health, and many other factors that you know as well as I do and that I do not need to mention here.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CELLER. Has the gentleman ever heard of a temporary judgeship that was not finally converted into a permanent judgeship?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. You know, I look to the gentleman for counsel every once in a while. I have a high regard for him. May I advise him that I am not familiar with that but if the House yields and does make a temporary judgeship permanent, is that not the will of the House? I cannot assume that there is something surreptitious about that.

Mr. CELLER. No; but that is the way the camel gets his nose under the tent. We simply say it is a temporary judgeship and that seems to mollify some Members of the House; however, in my whole experience as a Member of this House every single temporary judgeship has been finally or at some time converted to a permanent judgeship.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. May I say then that the gentleman from New York has exercised his prerogative because in this bill we took that into consideration in the State of Pennsylvania. There are a number of other situations that exist. If that matter comes up, in due course I am sure the point he raises can be again emphasized, proven or dissipated.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. I think probably the chief interest relates to two of the judgeships more than others. Will the gentleman advise the House as to what the approximate cost is to the taxpayers each year for a United States District Court judge?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Well, the salary is $15,000 a year and it takes about $25,000 to $30,000 to set the court up; to get the clerk, to get the crier, the marshal, and so on.

But, may I interject this, pursuant to the gentleman's question, we do not want to go away with the impression that all goes out of the courtroom and nothing comes in. There is considerable money collected in the clerk's office because the litigants have to pay for the right to litigate.

Mr. McCORMACK. You do not appoint judges on the income; you appoint judges for the administration of justice, I assume.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. The gentleman's question raised this point: He asked me what it would cost.

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes; the cost per year. Of course, for every judgeship that is unnecessary, why we save about $50,000 a year during the term of the judgeship.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. It does not cost $50,000 a year if the court keeps busy, because the cost is offset by what the clerk collects, which goes into the United States Treasury, and which is used in distributing the cost of running the judiciary of the United States.

Mr. McCORMACK. The gentleman does not think we should vote to create judgeships where it is not necessary, does he?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. No; I certainly do not, but who is to be the judge of that?

Mr. McCORMACK. Will the gentleman kindly give me the justification for the temporary judgeship in Utah?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. For the State of Utah?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I will give the justification for it.

Mr. McCORMACK. Having in mind that the gentleman just stated that he would not stand to have judgeships created that are unnecessary.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. The State of California asked for three additional judges to set up a court of appeals. The conferees gave them 2; that is, in the House we gave them 2. The distances involved in the State of Nevada—not the population so much—and the inconveniences that are created by reason of the litigants having to travel hundreds of miles to where their case can be tried, is one factor involved. The second factor is that California can obtain the aid of this temporary judge to help clear up their calendar, and it will not cost any additional money.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, why not give California an additional judge rather than use that as an excuse for appointing a temporary judgeship?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. The State of California asked for three judges in addition to the number that constitute their United States circuit court of appeals.

Mr. McCORMACK. I asked about Utah. The gentleman is straying around. The gentleman has seen the certificate of the clerk of the United States District Court for the District of Utah, which was based on the record of June 30, 1953, has he not? He certified the criminal cases pending on the date that Hon. William W. Ritter took office, November 1, 1953, there were 59; June 30, 1953, 11. In 5 of the 11 cases pending June 30, 1953, the defendants are fugitives. The Department of Justice has been unable to locate them following indictments and the issuance of bench warrants. We find that in of the of cases pending June 30 the defendant has since changed his plea.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. May I interrupt the gentleman to say that if the gentleman wants some time and there is some time vailable, I will be very glad to give him some time.

Mr. McCORMACK. Will the gentleman give me 5 minutes?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. If there is any time left, I will be glad to.

Mr. McCORMACK. Fine.

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from California.

(Mr. HILLINGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the omnibus judgeship bill which is being considered today is of great interest to the judges, lawyers, and people of California and the ninth circuit. As the only member of the Committee on the Judiciary from California or any State included in the ninth circuit area, I rise to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JONAS] and his distinguished Judiciary subcommittee which labored so long and hard on this legislation.

NINTH CIRCUIT

The bill as amended, provides for an increase in the number of circuit judges in the ninth circuit from 7 to 9. These new judgeships are recommended by the Judicial Conference of the United States. The ninth circuit covers the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, California, the Territory of Hawaii, Guam, and the Territory of Alaska. The caseload per judgeship for the ninth circuit was 63.4 cases filed compared with the national average of 47.4. The number of cases filed in the first half of the fiscal year 1953 was 234 compared with 217 in the first half of the fiscal year 1952. This represents an increase of 8 percent. In the first half of the fiscal year 1953 the number of cases in the court of appeals for the ninth circuit was larger than in any other circuit. In 1952 the median time interval from filing to final disposition was 10.2 months in the ninth circuit compared with the national median of 7.3 months.

Judge Denman, chief judge of the ninth circuit, has urged the appointment of one more judge than is provided for in this legislation. He cites the ever-increasing population and caseload in this circuit as strong evidence of this need. While the House and the other body have not seen fit to grant this request at the present time, it is my hope that consideration will be given in the near future to the suggestion and advice of the distinguished chief judge of the ninth circuit.

I wish to point out that this bill incorporates legislation I introduced in the 82d and 83d Congresses to increase the membership of the ninth circuit bench.

When debate on this legislation took place in the House last year, I offered an amendment to increase the number of ninth circuit judges by 3 instead of 2 and in the course of my remarks in support of that amendment, I submitted the testimony of Judge Denman before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Unfortunately, the House did not accept the amendment but did act favorably on my original request.

The following table points up the increased judicial business in this circuit in support of the position Judge Denman and I have taken:

Cases filed, terminated, and pending in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, fiscal years 1941–52 and first half of 1953

Fiscal year	Filed	Terminated	Pending
1941	295	320	[1] 140
1942	333	272	201
1943	296	282	215
1944	342	280	277
1945	267	324	220
1946	285	296	209
1947	312	270	251
1948	284	323	212
1949	319	290	241

[1] Adjusted figure.

Cases filed, terminated, and pending in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, fiscal years 1941–52 and first half of 1953—Continued

Fiscal year	Filed	Terminated	Pending
1950	317	307	251
1951	409	337	323
1952	444	419	[3] 348
First half of 1953	234	136	[4] 430

[1] Includes cases which had been decided but in which motion for rehearing was pending or time for such motion had not expired.

[3] Does not include cases which had been decided but in which motion for rehearing was pending or time for such motion had not expired.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Speaker, in addition to provisions pertaining to the ninth circuit, this legislation also provides an increase in the number of judges of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California. The number of judges in this district would be increased from 10 to 11, and again the bill incorporates legislation I introduced in this and the previous Congress.

A considerable portion of the population increase of the ninth circuit has occurred in the southern district of California, and, even though Public Law 205 of the 81st Congress was of invaluable aid in solving the congestion of that district, more aid is indicated. The pending caseload of private civil cases was 406 in 1948. In 1949 it rose to 517 and in 1950 to 587, and finally in the first half of 1953—so far reported—it has risen to 621.

On the criminal side of the docket there were, in 86 districts, 169 cases commenced per judge during the fiscal year 1950. In the southern district of California for the same period the caseload was 230.

It is noted that this figure is well above the national average. The high rate of criminal cases is enhanced by immigration cases which arise on the Mexican border and which are filed in great numbers in this district.

It is my belief that particular consideration in the future should be given to the possibility of realining and perhaps increasing the number of judicial districts in the State of California. The increased number of cases, both civil and criminal, originating in San Diego County has been brought to the attention of the Congress by the San Diego Bar Association and is a factor which should be taken into account. The San Diego area, with a population of over a million, which is more than many States, is today merely a division of the southern district of California.

At the same time, the increasing population growth in the northern district of California deserves attention and requires further study relative to the needs of that area. It should be pointed out also that the great Central Valley area of California is divided between two districts, the northern and southern districts of California. Some members of the bar in this area have already contacted me to express the hope that a new judicial district to be known as the middle district of California be created.

In order to illustrate the tremendous growth in the southern district of California and the constantly increasing caseload, I submit the following statistical data:

Southern District of California—Cases commenced and terminated, by fiscal year, and pending at the end of each year, beginning with 1941

TOTAL CIVIL CASES

Fiscal year	Commenced	Terminated	Pending June 30
1941	608	708	633
1942	808	807	634
1943	868	607	835
1944	922	821	936
1945	1,093	1,104	925
1946	1,204	1,088	1,041
1947	2,034	1,568	1,507
1948	1,292	1,824	975
1949	1,816	1,497	1,294
1950	2,191	1,917	1,568
1951	1,575	1,004	1,239
1952	1,264	1,173	1,330
First half of 1953	850	577	1,603

UNITED STATES CIVIL CASES (UNITED STATES A PARTY)

[OPA cases are in parentheses [1]]

1941	276		251	226
1942	468	(2)	351	343
1943	668	(68)	398	613
1944	707	(146)	585	735
1945	891	(414)	872	754
1946	906	(308)	853	807
1947	1,441	(996)	1,160	1,088
1948	720	(323)	1,248	559
1949	1,177	(662)	969	777
1950	1,557	(838)	1,353	981
1951	986	(388)	1,313	654
1952	715	(67)	628	741
First half of 1953	548	(29)	307	982

PRIVATE CIVIL CASES

1941	392	457	407
1942	340	456	291
1943	230	299	222
1944	215	236	201
1945	202	232	171
1946	298	235	234
1947	593	408	419
1948	563	576	406
1949	639	528	517
1950	634	564	587
1951	589	591	585
1952	549	545	589
First half of 1953	302	270	621

CRIMINAL CASES

[Cases transferred are not included in "Commenced" and "Terminated" columns]

1941	1,077	987	309
1942	1,226	1,232	288
1943	1,048	1,087	249
1944	1,694	1,687	256
1945	1,733	1,690	299
1946	1,746	1,740	305
1947	2,896	2,761	385
1948	3,384	3,112	527
1949	3,280	3,109	563
1950	2,298	2,476	446
1951	1,806	1,983	322
1952	2,229	2,398	289
1st half of 1953	948	920	344

[1] OPA cases, including rent control, are separately listed because from 1945 to 1947 they constituted a large proportion of all civil cases commenced, although they required on the average a relatively small proportion of court time per case for disposition during those years. They are included in the figure which they follow.

Mr. Speaker, the population of the State of California is growing by approximately 500,000 per year. The unprecedented growth of this State demands that the Congress recognize the problem and take steps to provide for the increasing judicial needs of the people of California. Failure to do so could well deprive thousands of litigants of due process of law.

It is my hope that the members of the State bar of California will maintain constant vigilance in this situation and bring to the attention of the Committee on the Judiciary its recommendations for California and the ninth circuit.

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KEARNS. I would like to congratulate the gentleman and his great committee for their foresight in setting up the need of additional judgeships. I would like to tell the gentleman that in Erie, Pa., western Pennsylvania, for one year and a half since the death of our last judge, we have not tried one civil case, and the great need in the third largest city of Pennsylvania for an additional judge is well established. I congratulate the gentleman and his committee for seeking to bring about relief in that district.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. I thank the gentleman for his complimentary remark.

United States Wheat to Pakistan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the United States Wheat to Pakistan film produced by the Government of Pakistan was shown in the Senate Office Building to Senators and Congressmen and officials of Foreign Operations Administration and the Department of Agriculture, on January 28, 1954. Senator AIKEN, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, welcomed Pakistan Ambassador Syed Amjad Ali.

In his remarks the Ambassador explained that he was sent last year by his Government on a special mission to Washington to negotiate wheat aid from the United States as Pakistan was facing a serious food shortage due to two successive seasons of drought. I quote briefly from the Ambassador's remarks:

Last month I visited Philadelphia to be on hand to see the 87th ship carrying United States wheat to Pakistan. I was taken on a tour of the city, and when I was looking at the Liberty Bell I inquired from the curator of the museum when the bell had tolled last. He told me that it was in 1835. Later that day I had occasion to speak a few words to the group which had assembled to see the ship off. I recounted my query about the Liberty Bell and said: "Perhaps historically it is true that the bell tolled last in 1835, but I hear that bell ringing again and again. It no longer rings the freedom of the people of the United States alone, it rings the freedom from want to the people of Pakistan when a United States wheat ship arrives in Karachi. It rings when a shipload of milk from the United States arrives in Hamburg. I pray that that bell may continue to ring again and again bringing the message of freedom from want to the peoples of the far corners of the world."

To promote friendship between the peoples of the United States and Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan is offering a free trip to Pakistan to an American high-school boy and an American high-school girl. These two young people will be selected through a high-school essay contest which is now in progress.

The Position of the A. F. of L. on Politics and Political Activity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith for printing in the RECORD a public talk made by Mr. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, over television facilities. Mr. Meany states herein the position of the A. F. of L. on politics and political activity:

In this crucial year, the wage earners of the Nation face an overriding responsibility to make effective use of their political power to strengthen the free way of life.

It is always important for workers to take an active part in politics, both to advance and protect their own welfare and to make their full contribution as citizens to the welfare of the entire Nation.

But, in this year of 1954, it is far more important than ever that all of us exercise our sacred right to vote. Our Government must, of necessity, lead the free world in the struggle for peace and security. It must build up world-wide defenses and at the same time maintain a strong and progressive economic structure here at home. It cannot carry out these heavy tasks without your active help and direction because, under our democratic system, the people must make the final decisions on all questions of basic policy.

At this point, may I very briefly state the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward labor's participation in political affairs.

There has been a misconception for many years on the part of, at least, some people of the position of the American Federation of Labor in regard to political action. The nonpartisan political policy of the A. F. of L. has been construed as political neutrality. In a sense, so far as parties are concerned, this is true—we do not favor any one party nor do we ever propose to have our movement become the appendage of a particular political party.

In that sense, we are certainly neutral. However, we have never been neutral insofar as giving or withholding our support to candidates based on their record or their attitude toward the ideals and principles of the American Labor movement. From its very foundation, the American Federation of Labor recognized the fact that the basic purpose of the trade-union movement—that of securing for the workers a fair share of the things which he helps to produce—could not possibly be carried out if we disregarded the political field entirely.

The very first convention of the American Federation of Labor, held more than 72 years ago, adopted a declaration of principles which included 13 points. The first 12 points called for the passage of specific pieces of legislation for the benefit and protection of workers and the 13th point called for political action to elect legislators in the States and in the Nation's Capitol who were sympathetic to the purposes of the first 12 points in the declaration of principles.

Down through the years, the American Federation of Labor has attempted to implement the policy of rewarding friends and defeating enemies on the political battleground. However, it was not until 1947, following the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, that labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, felt the necessity of creating a political-education arm which would reach all of the workers right down to the precinct level.

The idea, of course, is to educate America's workers so that they can intelligently use their right to vote in the interests of the principles and purposes of the trade-union movement.

Let there be no misunderstanding about this political philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. No labor leader worth his salt can claim to control the vote of any member of his, or any other union. There is no desire on the part of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor to exercise any control over the vote of its members and I can say to you, here, quite frankly that if we attempted to exercise such control the type of American which goes to make up the membership of the American Federation of Labor would very properly resent any such attempt and would not submit to any regulations which would take from them their right, as a free citizen, to make their own decision at the ballot box.

Thus, labor's political purposes, insofar as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, is to supply to our membership and to those who are friendly disposed toward the things which we advocate, sufficient information in regard to the issues in all political campaigns and also in regard to the attitude and record of those various candidates for public office.

It is our firm belief that if this information reaches the American worker that he has sufficient intelligence to cast his vote for the person whom he believes will best serve the interests of the great mass of the American people without regard to that person's party or political affiliation.

And, in this year, there is no question that it is more important than ever that all workers—in fact all Americans—give a great deal of serious thought as to those they should elect to represent them in the legislative halls of the States and of the Nation.

In the present-day struggle between the sinister forces of barbaric tyranny, as represented by Communist Russia, and the forces of freedom, led by our country, economic stability and vitality here at home are the key to success.

How are we to maintain America's strength? How can we grow even stronger in order to provide the inspiration and leadership necessary to win the cold war and prevent an atomic war?

To answer these questions, it first becomes necessary to clarify what we mean by the strength of America.

Does it depend entirely upon our great material resources? Or does it lie in our ability to produce in tremendous quantity the modern weapons of war?

Yes, these things must be considered important. But let us never forget that—in the final analysis—the human factor is the all-important factor. The real strength of America lies in its people, in their loyalty and in the high standard of life they have erected for themselves. It lies in their unconquerable faith in America as a land of social, political, and economic freedom; as a land of inexhaustible opportunity for better homes, better education, and better wages—as a land dedicated, above all else, to human progress.

In the light of this central fact, I ask again how can we make America stronger? Can we make progress by standing still? Or can we go ahead by going backwards?

Still, there are those in this country who represent the interests of the few—rather than the many—who would like to see us go back—back to the days of the sweatshop, back to the days when there were at least 5 workers available for every 4 jobs. Oh yes, there are still rugged individualists in this country who do not hesitate to say—not publicly, of course—that a few million unemployed would not be a bad thing.

Then there are others who would stifle progress as an invasion of free enterprise. I refer to the organized interests which oppose public housing of any type, despite the fact that there are millions of families in dire need of decent housing facilities which private industry is either unwilling or unable to provide. In this category also belong those who oppose any Federal aid to education, despite the shocking deterioration of the Nation's schools.

Yes, there are some survivors of the do-nothing philosophy who would destroy social security. And, we still have with us, of course, those who are ever anxious to wreck the trade unions of the Nation's workers which have made such a vital contribution to building up the high American standard of living—the standard that, in the final analysis, is the major factor in making our Nation the greatest on earth.

Well, in what way do the activities of these people create the necessity for the wage earners of America to engage in constructive and intelligent political action in this crucial year of 1954?

The answer is clear. These representatives of the greedy few who always have opposed workmen's compensation laws, factory inspection laws, unemployment insurance, and social-security legislation, and who still aggressively oppose all progressive legislation for the welfare of those who work for wages—these people who would like to push us backward—now seem to have acquired a lot of friends in Washington, and particularly in the Halls of Congress.

That is why it is increasingly important to all trade unionists and to all who believe in progress to take a good look at the record of Congress this year and guide their actions accordingly.

The time has come, in my considered opinion, when we should no longer accept the breaking of political pledges as a joke or as a standard routine of both political parties operating on the theory that political promises are merely for campaign purposes.

I feel, in these days when our very survival as a nation is at stake in the struggle against a godless philosophy which glorifies lying and deceit, that we should demand and require performance to match the promises of those who represent us in the legislative halls of the Nation.

On this point let me present the testimony of the President. Several weeks ago, in referring to his party's 1952 platform, Mr. Eisenhower had this to say:

"If we are to continue to deserve public support, we must live up to these declared pledges and bring to our people a sound and constructive program."

This statement is crystal clear. It is a challenge to the people of America to measure performance against promise. It directs our attention to the record of the 83d Congress which has completed its 1st year of existence and is now, in 1954, in session for its 2d and final year.

Thus far, we must look for the achievements of the party now in power in the record of the 1st session of the 83d Con-

gress. That record is not very long and you will not be confused.

In one outstanding case, the 83d Congress made good on a campaign pledge. It did this by turning over ownership of the offshore oil lands to a few States, instead of retaining this wealth for the Nation as a whole so that our crumbling school system could be restored to a decent basis.

The second noteworthy accomplishment of this Congress was in meat axing the budget to the tune of $4 billion below the President's request. Yet, contrary to platform and campaign pledges, Congress fell short of balancing the budget and the United States Treasury is going so far in the red that the President is again asking an increase in the national debt limit.

A third and dubious accomplishment of the Congress was to kill price and economic controls. This action scored a remarkable success. Since it took place the cost of living has set new all-time-high records month after month, while the real, purchasing power of workers has been sliding steadily downward.

A fourth item in the record is the 10-percent income-tax reduction to go into effect for this year. For the typical wage earner's family, this highly touted benefit becomes a cruel mockery. If the family income amounts to $60 a week, the tax reduction will amount to 14 cents a week. If the family averages $100 a week, the saving will be all of 89 cents a week.

To sum up, these four items make up the total list of achievements of the 83d Congress, which have direct meaning to wage earners. By any standard of measurement, the gulf between campaign pledges and actual performance was enormous.

Now Congress is sitting again. For the sake of the entire Nation, let us hope that it does more than sit.

In his state of the Union message to Congress on January 7, the President outlined a program for the future. While it was general in nature, the President outlined a list of laudable objectives.

Since then, the President has spelled out in some detail his program for amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, a matter which directly concerns and affects every American wage earner. It, therefore, deserves careful study.

After painstaking analysis of the President's 14 recommendations to Congress, I have come to the conclusion that all of them deal with comparatively minor aspects of the Taft-Hartley Act, and fail to come to grips with its main evils.

The message failed to suggest any real remedy for the evil of Government by injunction, which was revived by the Taft-Hartley Act.

It failed to urge elimination of one of the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act—one which does not appear in any other Federal statute—the one which makes State laws paramount to the national law when they contain tougher restrictions against union security.

Finally, the message introduced a new antilabor weapon. It called for Government-conducted elections of workers to authorize strikes. At first, it was presumed that the President intended prestrike ballots—a device which was tried once before under the Smith-Connally Act and became thoroughly discredited. But then, the chairman of the Senate Labor Committee—Senator ALEXANDER SMITH, of New Jersey—introduced the administration bill drafted by the White House and, lo and behold, the measure called for elections after a strike was already in progress.

Senator SMITH made its purpose clear. I have here a United Press dispatch in which he explained the real objective to newspaper reporters. He said he thought the elections should be held by the Government 2 or 3 weeks after a strike had begun because—and I am now quoting his exact words—"That's when it really begins to hurt the worker."

Thus, we know that this proposed amendment—which President Eisenhower told his press conference was a detail which he would leave to Congress to decide—is deliberately designed as a naked strikebreaking device.

Is this what the President meant when he said, in his campaign speeches, that he intended to remove the union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and make it fair to labor and business alike, while protecting the public interest?

I fail to see how, in this day and age, Congress can enact legislation to undermine and destroy trade unions—the agency largely responsible for building up the American standard of living—without inviting the collapse of that standard of living.

This legislation, which amounts to an invitation to break strikes under Government sponsorship, would most certainly, if enacted, point us back in the direction of the sweatshop and to the degrading wages and work standards of earlier years. It most certainly by any stretch of the imagination cannot be a step toward making the Labor-Management Act a fair law to all.

It seems that some people learn nothing from history. We thought that the tragic economic depression of the thirties, which was primarily due to the fact that the great mass of the American people did not have the purchasing power to buy the things which we were able to produce would be a lesson of some sort to all. Yet, here today, we find there are those both in and out of Government who would destroy or render completely impotent the trade-union movement which is indispensable to our economy if we are going to maintain the purchasing power of the great mass of the American people.

Did we not learn the lesson that reduction in purchasing power adds to unemployment and these unemployed, when they in turn lose their purchasing power, are responsible for further unemployment and we thus have established the vicious cycle which brought us into the depths of economic depression 20 years ago.

Already, there are signs that the national economy may be slipping. I am not a prophet of doom and gloom, but facts are facts and we must face them or be overtaken by disaster. The Census Bureau, a fact-finding Government agency, reports that unemployment rose sharply in the last 2 months of 1952 and is still climbing. The total unemployment in the Nation is still under 2 million, according to the official estimates, but it is increasing at a time when normally unemployment drops.

This is a danger signal which cannot be ignored. It betrays a condition which cannot be overcome by mere expressions of confidence from the high places. It requires action—and thus far action has been missing.

This brings to mind another pledge of the present administration made during the campaign of 1952. Let me quote:

"We need a healthy economy that provides good, steady jobs at good pay. We need a government that will enlist all the resources of private industry and that will mobilize all the resources of government to prevent mass unemployment from returning to America. That our crusade is pledged to do."

Well, we think the time has come to put the crusade on the road. A recent report from the Department of Labor indicates that there are a number of areas in the United States where unemployment has reached the critical stage of being actually a national problem. Here again, in this vital situation, the people of America have every right to demand that promise be matched by performance.

Another type of action which the American Federation of Labor has long been urging is the strengthening of our unemployment insurance system, weakened by long neglect and undermined by inflation.

Another weak spot in the national economy which calls for prompt action by Congress is the sharp reduction in farm income, despite high prices which consumers are still forced to pay for farm products. Congress has done nothing so far to carry out demands for an investigation of the wide spread between the price the farmer gets and the much higher price charged in the local grocery store. Any investigation of profits seems to be a forbidden field for this Congress. And, although I do not profess to be an expert on agriculture, it appears to me that the new administration program tends toward a further reduction in farm income, instead of fortifying and stabilizing it. This is of real concern to wage earners as well as farmers, because wage earners must depend on the farm population to buy and consume its full share of the products of American factories.

All of these problems bear directly upon the Nation's economic health and prosperity. Whether America grows weaker or stronger depends upon when and how Congress acts to meet these problems. And in the final analysis, Congress is responsible not to the White House, not to any political party—but solely and exclusively to you, the voters of America.

Millions of Americans today need new homes. Our population is growing. We will need 12 million new homes in the next 6 years to provide houses for new families; to replace the almost 8 million houses which are now substandard and the additional 1 million which will become unlivable in the next 6 years.

Private industry alone cannot do this job. Government must help in this field.

The 83d Congress, in its 1st session last year, without even holding public hearings, very effectively arranged for the death of the low-rent public housing program brought into being by the Housing Act of 1949. This program must be restored and must be enlarged. Congress cannot allow America to become a nation of slums just because there are those selfish people in our midst who are opposed to public housing because they feel it may, in some way or to some extent, reduce their return on the existing housing facilities of the Nation which are rapidly deteriorating.

America needs schools. Public officials of every community in the Nation can testify to the fact that there are not enough school facilities available to educate our children. Thirty percent of the children of our Nation are today housed in schools that are firetraps; over 20 percent of our children are in schools which have inadequate sanitary facilities. There is a shortage of teachers. In fact, over a hundred thousand more elementary school teachers are needed today.

Local communities do not seem able to finance these additional facilities. Congress should turn itself to this matter. Federal aid is needed if we are going to give the children of America the education required in order that they can take their place as the citizens of tomorrow.

We need improvement in our social security system. The forward-looking program advanced by President Eisenhower in his message to the Congress a few days ago, on this subject, should be enacted into law.

America needs a just and fair labor-management law which will protect the interests of the workers, employers, and the public. We do not have such a law now.

The Taft-Hartley Act is weighted, in practically all of its provisions, against the trade union movement. It is designed to make the trade union movement ineffective and it can be used to hamstring labor, especially in a time when workers are at a disadvantage due

to the fact that there are not enough jobs to go around. Any increase in unemployment would most certainly be an incentive for employers to use the Taft-Hartley Act to the detriment of the Nation's wage earners.

Employers and their powerful friends in Washington should realize above all else that you cannot do injury to the economic and social welfare of the workers of the Nation without doing injury to the country as a whole. Effective anti-union activity which would bring about a depression of labor standards, for which the trade unions have fought for many years, can mean nothing but depression for all workers, depression for all business and depression for the country itself.

The crying need for our day and age is for the leadership which the United States of America can give to the free world. This leadership depends on a strong internal economy as well as a just and courageous foreign policy.

It is up to all Americans to carry out their responsibility to keep our Nation worthy of the leadership of the free way of life. It is for this reason that all Americans should keep a close watch on Congressional developments between now and next November. The decision, as to the America's future, can well be decided by the makeup of the next Congress to be elected in November of 1954. If the wage earners of our country neglect their vital responsibility in this respect, they will be doing themselves and the Nation a real disservice. If, on the other hand, the great mass of workers take effective political action and exercise intelligently the greatest gift in the possession of the citizens of a free land, the right to vote, then America can well look forward to a great and more secure future for ourselves and for those who come after us.

Good Man for the Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Gloversville (N. Y.) Leader-Republican:

GOOD MAN FOR THE JOB

Just as President Eisenhower's action in choosing former President Herbert Hoover as one public member of his new commission to study reorganization of government won public approval, so will his selection of James A. Farley, long-time Democratic bigwig, to become the second. With these two veterans of public service enrolled for the effort, chances of success are enhanced.

Jim Farley knows government as few men know it. He is of the opposite political faith of the President, but he has always been broadminded and fair and will in his new job hold the welfare of his country above that of his political party, just as will Mr. Hoover.

The appointment marks the return of Farley to Government for the first time since he broke with President Roosevelt on the third-term issue. He has since been offered and urged for several offices but declined. He is coming back in a good spot because he can contribute much of real value to a project that is needed—the revamping of a lot of outmoded Government practices and policies.

Basic Freedoms Preserved by Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Boston Post, New England's great independent Democratic newspaper, is currently featuring a series of articles on the role of the Democratic Party, its past, its present, and the problems that confront it in the immediate future. Leaders of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts have been called upon to express their views in these exclusive writings. I am glad to commend to the House the article written by my colleague, Hon. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR. He is exceptionally well qualified to undertake the assigned task. A keen student of the history of the Democratic Party, he champions its programs and platform as an elected public official of that party. He has seen the great good the Democratic Party has done in the political and economic life of our State and Nation. As the first Democratic speaker of the house of representatives in Massachusetts, he assumed a leading role in the party's program of that State.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include his thought-provoking article in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BASIC FREEDOMS PRESERVED BY DEMOCRATS, SAYS O'NEILL

(By THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.)

You have asked me to outline in a brief statement my appraisal of the Democratic Party as it exists today in the light of its past history and traditions.

The Democratic Party is the oldest political party now in existence in the United States. It was founded in 1792 by Thomas Jefferson and others who were deeply devoted to the guaranty and preservation of the basic freedoms—of religion, of speech, of assembly, and of the press. They believed in direct control of their Government by the people because they believed that the people could govern themselves wisely and well.

They wanted the rights of the States respected and they favored a strict construction of the Federal Constitution to help bring this about. Even Jefferson, however, in the earliest days, saw the shortsightedness of too rigid an adherence to the States' rights doctrine. He favored the Louisiana Purchase because it advanced the general welfare of the Nation as a whole.

The basic principles of the party were fostered by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, and were translated into reality by Jackson, our first President to rise from the ranks of ordinary people.

Almost a century later, Woodrow Wilson, as had Jefferson and Jackson before him, found it necessary in a growing, dynamic Nation to expand the influence of the Federal Government over growing domestic problems. Under Wilson were passed the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and the Clayton antitrust law—all of which tended to increase the power of the Federal Government.

Wilson saw a need for additional controls over business and finance for the general welfare. Only the Federal Government could effectively meet this need since the economic life of the Nation had far outstripped State borders. Under Wilson, World War I was fought and won, and the Tariff Act, long a cornerstone of Democratic foreign policy, was enacted. The United States emerged to play an important role in world affairs.

The economic chaos of the thirties provided the background for the great social and economic reforms which came to be known as the New Deal.

Franklin D. Roosevelt found a country in despair—farmers impoverished, factories and business houses closed, workers jobless, financial abuses rampant, the aged ignored, housing inadequate, labor unions discouraged. These were problems that could not be met by the States. They were national in scope and character. They demanded Federal action. And the Federal Government did act.

REFORMS NOW TAKEN FOR GRANTED

In a swift stream came the legislative landmarks of our time—the Wagner Act, which put the worker in a position to meet his employer on an equal basis across the bargaining table, social security which gave hope and protection against the uncertainties of old age, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, security regulation, bank deposit insurance, public housing—and many others.

Today, two decades later, we take for granted most of these reforms and the Federal Government's role in them. We tend to forget that many of them were enacted over the blind opposition of most Republicans.

Yet history tells us they were inevitable if the American capitalistic system was to prevail. As early as 1919 the Catholic bishops of the United States issued the now famous Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, which has been referred to as the blueprint of the New Deal. This declaration called for the whole gamut of social action from minimum wage laws to public housing.

It took courage and vision to chart the course of the Nation in those days. Franklin D. Roosevelt followed in the footsteps of Jefferson, Jackson, and Wilson in expanding the interest of the Federal Government when the general welfare required. The Nation, in spite of diversified sectional problems, had become more and more a unified whole and had to be treated as such. The social gains of two decades of Democratic leadership helped to produce the highest standard of living ever achieved by any civilization. This prosperity at home has always been our greatest bulwark against the inroads of Communist doctrine or any other foreign "ism."

FIRST SAW THREATS FROM ABROAD

In the field of foreign policy the Democratic Party first saw the threats from abroad from the advancing legions of the totalitarian dictators. Our allies were strengthened and our own defenses were built. Again Democratic leadership often encountered blind opposition from many Republicans who failed to see the imminent threat to our security and our urgent obligation for leadership in the struggle for freedom.

The United States emerged from World War II as the dominant power in world affairs. Under President Truman we never shirked the responsibilities we had assumed. When it became apparent that long-range peaceful solutions to the differences between ourselves and Soviet Russia could not be worked out, President Truman took over direct and courageous leadership of the free peoples of the world against the spread of godless communism.

There was the Marshall plan which helped to save Italy; the Truman doctrine which prevented the Red tide from engulfing Greece and Turkey; NATO which stiffened the potential military resistance of Western Europe; the point 4 program which gave economic aid and technical advice and assistance around the globe, a program which the President of Nicaragua said did more to

cement relations between the United States and his country than anything else that had ever been done before.

When the Communists attacked South Korea, Truman committed the military forces of the United States in the first real showdown to halt the spread of communism throughout Asia. This was the culmination of his long fight against world communism and unjust aggression. It was in behalf of people who are victims of unjust aggression that Pope Pius XII in his Christmas message of 1948, said: "Their defense is even an obligation for the nations as a whole who have a duty not to abandon a nation that is attacked."

CIVIL RIGHTS EXTENDED

Here at home Truman carried out the finest instincts of Jefferson in extending civil rights to all Americans, regardless of race, creed, or color. He sought to keep the public domain for all the people rather than give in to sectional interests as has been done in the case of tidelands oil. He enlisted in the cause of the worker, the family man and the low-income groups who were the chief victims of inflation. He was the champion of adequate rent and price controls by the Federal Government.

It has been said that his administration was unduly slow in moving against security risks in sensitive Government posts. On the evidence we have to date, there is some substance to this charge. The Democratic Party should have been and could have been more alert to this problem. There is a place in the Democratic Party for true liberals, but there is no place in our Government or in the ranks of the Democratic Party for Communists, fellow travelers, Communist sympathizers, Wallaceites, or parlor pinks.

In summary, then, the Democratic Party has been ready to move away from strict adherence to States rights when the general welfare required and when Federal action was necessary to cope with the involved economic problems of our times.

In recognizing and fulfilling our obligations in the family of nations, we have not only followed strong Democratic tradition but are close to the precepts of Pope Benedict XV and Pope Pius XII. In striving for social gains for all our citizens the Democratic Party, more so than any other, has been guided by the same principles which motivated the great papal social encyclicals like Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno.

DEVOTION TO BASIC FREEDOMS

The devotion to the basic freedoms and the welfare of the ordinary man, which so concerned Jefferson, is still with us today. As a Democrat, I believe in keeping America strong and vigorous and vigilant in its fight against world communism at home and abroad. I believe also in using the resources of the Federal Government to assure that the abundant benefits of our land will be shared by all Americans. I believe that the Democratic Party, now, as in the distant past, seeks the greatest good for the greatest number. That is why I am proud to be a Democrat.

Address by Hon. Thurmond Chatham, of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by our colleague the gentleman from North Carolina, Hon. THURMOND CHATHAM, before the national convention of the Wholesale Dry Goods Institute in New York City on Monday, January 25, 1954:

I must admit that Tom Sheehe has truly said that I thought the wholesaler was through and rapidly began approaching the retail trade; and since we could not at that time see the light and could not, in my opinion, carry water on both shoulders, we rapidly lost, at our expense, our jobbing trade. The wheel has now made a full turn, and I am perfectly willing to admit the error of my ways and to say that I was wrong. I think the wholesaler has a perfectly normal relationship in the distribution of dry goods; and in his territory, backed with cooperation, national advertising and a close relationship with the manufacturer, is in an extremely strong position. We have worked out a relationship with you that I think is going to be not only most happy but mutually profitable to all of us who are attempting to capture the attention and favor of the consumer through modern and efficient merchandising methods.

As a very young boy I frequently took trips with my father, who bought the wool, supervised the manufacture and sold all the goods we produced. We had a few customers that took our production—Farwell & Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., and Marshall Field Wholesale in Chicago, Ely Walker and Rice Stix in St. Louis, Claflin in New York, James M. Morrison in Boston, Phillips Bros. and Daniel Miller in Baltimore, and a few other concerns which in their day practically controlled the wholesale dry goods business in the East and Middle West. Many of these great firms have now been liquidated, merged, or have gone out of business completely, but they were pioneers who helped build up the unbelievable system of distribution which we have now attained.

I have had a varied and happy life, but the main part of it has been spent in the manufacture of woolens; and, certainly, you of my generation have seen with me the enormous changes and enormous progress of our country, and have taken part in a merchandising revolution that is at once the wonder and admiration of the world.

I played in the mill as a child, since my father's home was only a stone's throw from our factory. I started working summers in the mill from the time I was 12 years old, and have spent most of my adult life in the woolen business. I glory in the fact that our company, along with you, has kept up with the progress of the times; and, since I can give credit to my associates for most of our progress, I am proud to say that they have brought our company to a point that we are a very important factor in the manufacture of woolens in this country. I served almost 7 years as an enlisted man and officer in the Navy in 2 wars; and I am now in my sixth year as a Representative from the Fifth District of North Carolina in Congress.

From a nation of isolationists, we have had thrust upon us the responsibility of the free world, and that responsibility is greater, I think, than any of us can realize. For the first time in our history any small event in any part of the world becomes at once of moment and concern to everyone of us; and this is a situation that we have not faced up to because it is so new and has such enormous implications. We find ourselves, after completing a victorious war, beset and threatened by the forces of darknes and evil and have, as Governor Stevenson so aptly put it, "the terrible spectacle of Ivan with a piece of black bread in one hand and the awful secret of the atomic bomb in his head." Since Governor Stevenson made this remark, we could add to atomic bomb "the discovery of the hydrogen bomb," and, perhaps, an almost unmentionable device of destruction which is now appearing on the horizon with the name of another element attached to it.

The future of our country, our children, and generations to come will be decided by the decisions and actions of you and me and the collective judgment of the American people. And we, who are so close to the international situation, would be derelict in our duty if we did not from day to day try to impress upon you and all of our fellow citizens the awful responsibility that you must carry with us.

Really, our day-to-day task in our various businesses are indeed of small moment when compared to the problems that our Nation faces. It is not so much a question of prosperity or depression as it is a question of life and death in the most realistic and practical sense of those words.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives, my whole efforts have been channeled toward working for the ways of peace. Unless we have peace there can be no business in any segment of our economy. The prospect of a nuclear war is beyond the comprehension of any of us, and I do not think that I am overstating the fact when I say that there is a possibility of scientific development in the immediate future that improperly used weapons could actually destroy the earth we live on. I mean by that, weapons so terrible in their import that all living matter could be wiped off the face of the earth or these weapons might possibly be exploded deep enough in our planet to rend it apart and disintegrate us into particles that would fly off into space. I can heardly believe that I am saying words which sound so fantastic, but I am completely convinced that what I say is true.

I am therefore going to talk to you first, briefly, about the international situation as I see it up to this minute, because only last Tuesday afternoon the members of our committee, in a secret session, were brought up to date by Secretary of State Dulles as to the world situation as the top men in our Government see it as of now. It is not all darkness nor is it all light, but the history of the past few years gives us a rather good forecast of the future providing this country makes certain decisions and carries out certain policies now in effect.

Once again, when Japan signed the article of surrender on the battleship *Missouri* in Toyko Bay on September 2, 1945, we all thought we were in for a peace of long duration and that the forces of evil had been destroyed. When Secretary of State Marshall delivered his epic-making address at Harvard on June 5, 1947, we had no idea that a new and terrible enemy was about to bare its fangs and cast a pall of threat and gloom over us all.

The Soviet Union was among those of us who applauded General Marshall's recommendations, later known as the Marshall plan; and not until a few months had elapsed did this great power begin taking over freedom-loving countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria, and almost got a stronghold on Greece and Turkey. We promptly, and in my opinion rightly, countered with swift and successful action such as Greek and Turkish aid. And after a year or two, not only defeated the forces of communism in these most important and strategic areas bordering the Mediterranean and the strategic Dardanelles Straits, but through out economic aid to Italy, France, and Western Germany were able to set those nations on their feet and help them become strong allies. I would like to say that in all our foreign enterprises since the war, we have spent to date some $40 billions including approximately $1½ billions in an unsuccessful attempt to stem the Communist march in China and more than a billion

to help Russia when we thought they were a stanch ally. And it is my belief that all of these moneys have brought several times more protection and more hope than that same amount which we are now annually spending in our own defense efforts. Of course a lot of it has been wasted, and nonproductive and terrible criticism has come to those who have charted and steered our first real definite foreign policy in the history of our country. Only now are we realizing that we probably need allies more than they need us. In western free Europe alone, including Greece and Turkey, there are some 260 million people—the greatest pool of skilled production in the world, and people who think as much as their own freedom and their families as any one of us here.

I have traveled for the past 5 years consecutively among our allies, and I can say from my own experiences that they do not hate us as some of the more radical elements of our citizens and press would have us believe; that they have made enormous progress, and stand today as a strong right arm for the forces or right in our world. Never in history has so stupendous a group of undertakings been attempted as the implementation of the Marshall plan, Greek and Turkish aid, NATO, the European Defense Community, the Schuman plan, the Pacific Pact, and others that are a part of the overall continuing policy of our Government.

The real architects of these plans were General Marshall and Senator Vandenberg, and I thank God that up to this minute, in general, we have not deviated very far from the original conception of meeting crises as they occurred with positive action. In all of our international relations in matters of such great moment as our own national defense, taxes, agriculture, and other vital questions we should be completely nonpartisan, and I deplore as a businessman and citizen of the United States such political speeches as have lately been issued by Governor Dewey and Attorney General Brownell. In my opinion, when Governor Dewey said the words "Democrat and Truman" meant death and destruction, and Attorney General Brownell gave his political harangue, enormous damage was done to our unity and prestige throughout the world. We have at this moment a situation where a large segment of the party in power criticises their own administration with irresponsibility and seems incapable of rational teamwork or endeavor that is in any way constructive. As a member of the minority, I think we have the duty of criticising those things that we think are not in the best interest of our country; but with every criticism, as I have said time and again in speeches, we should offer a constructive suggestion. In an editorial about 10 days ago in the Washington Post, this group that I have mentioned was characterized by the quotation as taking the whole party with them "backward wandering along thorny ways." Responsible men speaking for sectional interests have fought the President's proposal for the St. Lawrence development; and Senator BRICKER, a most able patriot, continues to press forward with his amendment to our treatymaking powers in the face of the most emphatic warnings from the President and his foreign affairs advisers. Five Republican Senators from the Midwest are leading a group which seems to be trying to make political capital at the expense of the President's farm recommendations. Republican Senator WELKER has denounced one of our most outstanding citizens, Arthur Dean, who had one of the most delicate and critical assignments in Asia, as an "apologist for communism." Certainly, the Democrats' argument that the Republican Party did not possess the ability to close ranks and work together is being proved that this argument is sound. It is not the disservice these groups are doing their party that is so bad but the disservice they are doing their country. You know and I know that this country elected President Eisenhower to lead us and not the Republican Party, because the majority in the Senate in Washington still remains Democratic and the House has a majority of 3 Members out of 435. In a bipartisan spirit, I want to remind you that never in the history of this Republic have we had as much business at the head of our Government as at the present time.

And if, through division, dissension, and wrangling, these able men are not going to be backed by the people who put this administration in power, I think we can all take a dim view of the reaction that will occur in the future. It is your Government and my Government, and I recoil in horror when I hear leading citizens of this country criticize a great President for carrying on the policies they have so bitterly opposed during the last 20 years and at the same time not taking an active and continuing interests in government itself. We will get exactly the kind of Government that the majority of citizens of this country want; and I say with complete sincerity that the group represented before me, and other businessmen individually, are not today assuming their share of the leadership which they hold in their businesses and community.

It is hard for people to realize that we live on production and that there are only three classes of producers—the miner, the farmer and the manufacturer. Everyone else lives off this basic production—the doctor, the dentist, the school teacher, the politician, the wholesaler, the merchant, and everyone who is not producing something. Unless this basic production is prosperous, we will not be prosperous. Unless we are prosperous, we cannot remain strong. Industry is the largest business in this country, and, as far as I know, out of 435 Members in the House of Representatives, I am the only manufacturer. That is so unbelievable that I commend it to you for your thoughtful consideration. We have lawyers, teachers, representatives of organized labor, farmers and segments from every other class, with businessmen who have been trained in the practical workings of our economy in a tiny minority. That is your fault more than mine because I am doing what I can in my small way to try to help steer the ship of state on a course that will be free of rocks and shoals. I admit my own shortcomings, but I bitterly resent the fact that merchants, manufacturers, industrialists and representatives of allied groups, will not make the sacrifice to actively take part in the shaping of our national policies.

The farm situation is publicized daily. All of the commodities which the Government owns amounts to some $6 billion, and most of them are imperishables if properly looked after, such as cotton, wheat, and other vital necessities in time of emergency. It has been estimated that the proposed increase in the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1 per hour might cost the taxpayers of this country more each year than all the agricultural commodities the Government owns. This increase would hit small business and some service establishments because so-called big business is already paying minimums far in excess of this proposal. I am happy to say that our own minimum in the company with which I am associated is $1.05 per hour, and of course only a small percentage of our workers, such as older people who want to stay on, physically handicapped, and such, are kept on because in most of these cases our hearts rule our heads, and bright active youngsters could be taken on in their places, who would rapidly advance in pay and responsibility if we did not have an obligation to take care of these weaker elements who have served us so faithfully. Under rulings made by the Department of Labor, it is possible that every kind of establishment will come under the interstate commerce definition, because everyone buys supplies—including garagemen, little pressing and cleaning establishments, laundries, and the small service establishments in communities throughout the country where jobs at prevailing wages are wanted, and where jobs are more important than the rate of pay. I know you realize that if you do not keep the farmer prosperous, and at least keep up his buying power, we are in for trouble. We have had strikes and disturbances in many great industries, but if the farmers of this country should decide to strike it would not be but a few weeks before our whole economy would wither and die. I have the greatest sympathy for the consumers of the country but, at the same time, their well-being depends upon the well-being of these basic producers.

Now, to get down to our own knitting. We are still, with some exceptions, on a high plane of employment, production, and national income. Eighty-seven and one-half percent of the cost of your Government goes to defense, interest, and veterans' benefits. Under present policies, every ablebodied young man 20 years hence will be a veteran or in the service of our country; so that situation will change the entire course of veterans' legislation. It is impossible to seriously bring the budget into balance without deep cuts in defense. And while these that have been recommended have not in my opinion hurt the security of our country, we cannot let down our efforts until our main enemy shows some sign of a change of heart and ways. I regret to say that I fear the present leaders of the Soviet Union are pursuing a policy more dangerous and devious than that of the dead Stalin, who at least was more frank in his brutalities and ambitions. Five days ago, at an executive meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee, one of our members from one of our greatest States was expressing the definite opinion that we must not in any case do any trading behind the Iron Curtain. Since the matter of the butter trade was current, I asked my colleague would he be willing to trade butter for manganese with the Soviet Union or textiles for tungsten with Communist China. Since we have been in short supply of both materials and we cannot make steel for defense or for certain industries without these two basic elements, I was amazed, and the committee, I think, was amazed, to have our colleague express the view that "I would rather do without the manganese and tungsten." In no sense could such a trade be called appeasement because we would be trading a nonstrategic material for a material that is vital to our economy and to our defense efforts. What would you do if you were in a position of a European ally who has not the dollars on account of our and their tariff trade regulations, import quotas, etc., to buy American coal, agricultural products, timber, and other absolute necessities? You would buy coal at $12 a ton from Poland in exchange for nonstrategic products, against a cost of $25 per ton for American coal and no dollars to pay for it.

We declined to pay the price offered by Communist China for Ceylonese rubber or to furnish Ceylonese rice on favorable terms. Can we condemn and vilify Ceylon for concluding a trade behind the curtain with China that would serve their basic economic needs? We are in short supply of uranium, cobalt, electronic equipment, and many other elements which we have dissipated in our own production. Are we going to cut off our nose to spite our face and not try to make every trade on a basis that will benefit our country? Are we to continue a policy that works against the American interest in retaining strong allies and that will strengthen our own position in the world today? I could go on and on with questions such as these that face us. I could take up the question of channeling defense contracts in what I think is a dying textile economy in New England and which has been so wide-

ly publicized through all elements of communication—newspapers, press, magazines, radio, and television. At the same time the great New England Council announced last July—and I had it published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at that time—that "factory employment in New England was at the highest point in its history." Industry in this country is going to the most favorable climate, and that means labor, water, transportation, climate, and the intelligence and ambitions of the people in the various regions. You know that our great cotton-producing areas were completely in the South, and are now moving rapidly into the Southwest and Far West; that the Southwest and Far West are becoming important factors in the manufacture of clothing and shoes; and that the shoe factories of Brockton, in Fall River, over the last generation, have been superseded by the great factories of Milwaukee and St. Louis—a westward and southern migration that has followed the pioneer trend of our forefathers.

Now if we have peace, I predict not only continued prosperity but a sharp pickup in the very near future. I predict that within the foreseeable future, unless some unforeseen emergency hits us, we will get our economic governmental affairs in order; and if we will realize and assume our responsibilities of world leadership, we will continue our progress toward peace. I am convinced from the information I have that we have closed the gap between the strength of the Soviet Union and the free world, and day by day are widening the gap in our favor. Disunity, ignorance, pride, criticism are, in my mind, our most serious enemies at this moment. There is not a one of you that every day cannot do something definite for the cause of peace and for the good of our country by backing everything in our own communities and in our States and Nation, such as better schools, better transportation, better government on all levels, better churches, better health, and all those things that have brought us to our present position and can in the future lead us toward a standard of living, health, and education that we have not dreamed of. The point 4 program, in my opinion, will help bring the world to a standard of living that will react not only throughout the world but to our own benefit. In our business dealings, in our civic activities, and in our daily duties as members of the most fortunate system on earth, we should at once thank God for His blessings and, at the same time, pray for His guidance in leading us along the right path. It is up to you and to me to accept our responsibility as individuals, and unless we as leaders in our businesses and communities do not accept these responsibilities, we cannot blame anyone but ourselves for what may come.

God bless you.

A Bill To Increase the Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, in 1949 when the Congress was considering increasing the minimum hourly wage to 75 cents, I proposed a figure of $1. Unfortunately, the minimum wage was increased from 60 cents to only 75 cents. It is obvious that today the minimum of 75 cents is under the amount required and desired to maintain a fair standard of living by the working classes. Only recently the President suggested that the Congress consider increasing the minimum wage.

I have today introduced a bill to increase the minimum wage to $1.35. There are several reasons why I believe there is an even greater need today for a substantial increase in minimum wages. At the risk of being called a "scaremonger" or "crier of doom," I refer to the current recession in business and trend toward a depression. With production decreasing and unemployment increasing, we owe it to the working people to ensure them of decent paychecks for the time they devote toward increasing their employers' profits.

On January 1, 1954, the excess-profits tax expired. This means that many large business firms throughout the country will save millions of dollars annually. To date, consumer prices have not dropped and the working man is still paying excise taxes and hoping that he will have a drop in his income tax equal to the percentage of decline in taxes now being enjoyed by big business. I feel that this is one of the reasons why the laboring classes should no longer be deprived of the long overdue increase in minimum wages.

My proposed $1.35 minimum wage amounts to a weekly income of $54 per 40-hour week, before social-security and income-tax deductions. It is generally accepted that one-quarter of an individual's income is spent on rent alone. But do you know where the average family of five persons can rent an apartment or home for $54 per month? The present administration has not only wrecked the public-housing program of the Democratic Administration but has also laid plans for disposing of existing public-housing projects by offering them for sale to private individuals or concerns.

Mr. Speaker, do you believe that a family of five can be properly fed on less than $108 per month? The remaining $54 must cover utilities, medical expenses, transportation, clothing, and all miscellaneous essential items. We must also remember that a large number of persons falling within this low-income category do not work a full 40-hour week.

In the interest of those working people whose living conditions are pitifully substandard, I consider it my obligation to urge the Congress to give early consideration to my bill proposing a minimum hourly wage of $1.35.

Dulles' New Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I am quite concerned over the new look in our defense, as are many of the other Members of this body. I am very much afraid that we will not be buying more security for our dollars under this new concept of a great capacity to retaliate by means and at places of our own choosing.

Many of our military leaders have expressed concern as well as the military analysis of some of our leading newspapers. One of these analysts, Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, United States Army, retired, has written a series of articles which I have found very interesting. I have already inserted one of them in the RECORD, and, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the second of such articles written by this journalist:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 17, 1954]

DULLES' NEW STRATEGY—IS IT A CAMOUFLAGE FOR BRINGING THE BOYS HOME?—AIRPOWER TO STRIKE BACK NOT BEING MAINTAINED—DANGER OF EXTENDING A LOCAL WAR POINTED OUT

(By Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U. S. Army, retired)

WASHINGTON, January 16.—There are inconsistencies and little that is new in the administration's new military policy as defined by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in an address before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York last Tuesday.

It is also difficult to determine from Dulles' statement whether the new strategy has been adopted to justify economies in military expenditure or whether it really is believed that it will, as Dulles said, permit us to get and share more basic security at less cost.

The new strategy has three aspects:

1. A basic decision to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly and by means and at places of our own choosing.

2. Dependence on the deterrent of massive retaliatory power rather than local defense.

3. The creation of a strategic reserve of ground forces which Dulles said greatly improves our defensive posture.

There is nothing new in the idea of building great retaliatory power as a deterrent to aggression. The Strategic Air Force was formed years ago on this theory, and it was on the basis of the deterrent power of atomic retaliation that the Truman administration reduced the Armed Forces so heavily in the years just before the Korean war started.

What is new in the present strategy is the use of the threat of retaliation to prevent minor aggressions such as in Korea or Indochina. In connection with his statement of dependence upon retaliation instead of local defense, Dulles repeated his previous warnings that the United Nations response to a renewed aggression in Korea "would not necessarily be confined to Korea." He also repeated a similar warning in regard to Indochina.

The new strategy is easier to state than to implement. If the aggression were renewed in Korea, where would the U. N. forces retaliate? Would atomic bombing of airdromes, communications and cities in North Korea fit the strategy? Or would it be necessary to extend the atomic bombing to Manchurian airdromes, railways and military industry? Or to Chinese ports? Would the United States support an invasion of China by Chiang Kai-shek as retaliation? Or would it be necessary to go on to Vladivostok and other points in Siberia with atomic bombs?

In considering these various possibilities, the question whether they might not turn a local war into a world war must enter into any decision. It was fear of extending the Korean war that kept the Truman administration from permitting our Air Force to bomb beyond the Yalu.

The same question would arise again. Furthermore, if the United States were to use atomic bombs beyond Korea, would it not be subject to atomic retaliation against our Korean, Japanese, and Okinawan bases?

The U. N. forces are much more vulnerable than the Communist forces to atomic bombing due to their dependence on a single port in Korea and very few airdromes outside of it.

There is a war plan for the implementation of the new strategy in case of fresh aggression in Korea or movement into Indochina by the Chinese Communists. Necessarily any such plan is secret. In fact one of the elements of the new strategy is to keep the enemy guessing. From what Dulles said, the Communists cannot guess whether retaliation would be on Moscow, Peking, Harbin or Pyongyang.

It is apparent, however, that atomic weapons would not be used any farther from the focus of the operations than was necessary. In Korea, for example, the initial retaliation would be confined to Korea and extended only if that were ineffective. Each extension would have to be carefully considered with reference to the possibility of extension of the war and retaliation by atomic weapons against United States bases.

The Soviet Union has a defensive alliance with Communist China. It is unlikely that Russia would refuse to give China atomic weapons to retaliate against the United States if the United States used atomic bombs on Chinese territory.

The new strategy is therefore not so simple and clear cut to implement as it is to state.

The deterrent strategy is dependent upon the United States stock of atomic weapons and the Strategic Air Command. The problem of weapons is solved, but the Strategic Air Command is suffering from insufficient and inadequately trained personnel and too few bases. Its goal of 57 wings in the 143 wing Air Force has been reduced to 54 wings in the 137 wing Air Force.

While the administration is proclaiming its dependence upon the retaliation which would be delivered by the Strategic Air Command, it is at the same time, for reasons of economy, starving the vital arm.

The Air Force estimated that its minimum requirement for personnel to man the planned 143 wing Air Force would be 1,211,000 men. This was a reduction of about 600,000 men from original calculations. The figure was reached with the help of a distinguished group of civilians working for the Air Force. There was no water in it.

The present strength of the Air Force is about 925,000 against an authorized strength of 960,000. Under present plans, the Air Force is expected to man 137 wings with 975,000 men. This is about 200,000 men short of the number needed.

Reductions have been applied most heavily to the training command and other supporting units. The result is that training of mechanics and other maintenance personnel has had to be thrown onto operating combat units. This means that crews are partially untrained, skills diluted, and readiness decreased.

Gen. Curtis Le May's Strategic Air Command is now about 40 percent short in the most highly technical categories of maintenance personnel and about 20 percent short in the next group. One recent crash in the Strategic Air Command was blamed on an inexperienced crew chief only 19 years of age.

It is anticipated in the Air Force that unless personnel authorizations are increased only part of the Strategic Air Command can be kept in readiness for action. This will not be announced as official policy. The fiction of 54 wings will be maintained, but only a part of them will be ready to go. This is one of the major inconsistencies of the new strategy.

The second aspect of the new strategy, that 'local defenses must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power,' provides a logic for withdrawing American forces overseas. If the United States furnishes, Dulles implied, what we now declare to be the more important deterrent power, the local defenses should be furnished by the local powers.

It is not sound military strategy, as Dulles said, "permanently to commit United States land forces to Asia to a degree that leaves us no strategic reserves." There is every legitimate reason, now that fighting has ended in Korea, to withdraw the major portion of these forces.

However, the Dulles logic also applies to Europe. As the implications of the new policy are understood in Europe, it may be expected that a volume of objections similar to those that greeted Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's trial balloon on withdrawal from Europe will be heard.

Western Europe has no faith in the deterrent power of the threat of retaliation. What is foreseen in Europe, is that if the United States retaliates by atomic attacks against Russia, the Reds will in turn retaliate on Europe and the United States. From the European point of view, when the United States orders Moscow bombed, it will have the same effect as if at the same time we were to order London, Paris, Rome, and Amsterdam bombed, for these are the easiest targets for the Soviet Union to hit.

Europeans feel, with justification, that the United States has no right to take such action unilaterally. It must be agreed upon with our allies or else we shall have no allies. Here is a weakness of the deterrent strategy which leaves it little more than a bluff.

Europeans much prefer substantial ground forces as a deterrent to Soviet aggression in Europe to any amount of atomic deterrent support of local defenses. When the United States starts to implement the idea of giving precedence to the strategic deterrent force over the local defenses of Europe, it will be the beginning of the end of the NATO alliance.

The third aspect of the new strategy, the creation of a strategic reserve in the United States "which greatly improves our defensive posture," is another simple and beguiling concept.

From our central position between Europe and Asia this reserve can move in any direction to put out fires. The start toward building the strategic reserve is being made by the withdrawal of two divisions from Korea.

But, alas, for the strategic reserve, present plans call for a reduction in Army forces of substantially greater numbers than are presently to be withdrawn from the Far East. No reserve will be created because the Army will be reduced faster than troops will be brought home.

Ultimately the Army may be reduced to 15 or 16 divisions of which 10 may be held in the United States, with 5 or 6 overseas. There are now 13 Army divisions overseas with 7 at home. The requirements of rotation make 6 of the 7 divisions in the United States little more than replacement units and keep them ineffective. With 10 divisions in the United States and 5 or 6 overseas, 5 of the 10 divisions at home should be effective units of the strategic reserve.

Their effectiveness will depend, however, upon whether, in the interests of economy, the divisions and their supporting elements are not emasculated to such a degree that the divisions are only a facade and unready for action. The present tendency in the Defense Department is in this direction.

The question of maintaining troops in Europe, rather than in reserve in the United States, is a special case. Korea, and Indochina could be lost to the Reds without materially injuring our power position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. If Western Europe were lost to communism, the balance of power between the free and the Communist world would be decisively altered in favor of communism. Western Europe is, therefore, a position that must be held.

If United States ground forces are necessary there, now and in the future, the importance of the objective warrants the sacrifice.

Soviet possession of atomic weapons militates against the theory of the strategic reserve. If European ports were bombed at the outbreak of a war, how could our Reserve be transported to Europe? Vast shipments of men could not be risked in harbors subject to atomic attack. They would have to be landed at night, well dispersed, on beaches.

The same troops which would be held in reserve in the United States, with the idea of sending them to Europe, would, if they were present at the outset of hostilities, be worth three or four times their number later on. There is no reason to scatter troops all around the world to attempt to provide for every eventuality. There is every reason, however, while Europe is weak, to give precedence to troops on the ground there over troops in the United States in reserve.

Reduction of overseas garrisons will permit very large economies in manpower and expenditures. Dulles mentioned the cost of current military expenditures several times and said that they could not be continued for long without grave budgetary, economic, and social consequences. He also spoke of more basic security at less cost.

Military observers in Washington do not agree that any more basic security will be attained under the new strategy. It will be less, they contend. They are inclined to feel that the real motive of the new strategy is economy and that the strategy was invented to justify economy.

These observers fear that the emphasis on a deterrent strategy from a central position will eventually destroy our alliances in Europe. They consider withdrawal of ground forces from the Far East justified by the end of fighting in Korea and the relaxation of world tension. They agree with plans to reduce the strength of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. They agree that military expenditures should be decreased.

All this they consider to be fairly evident. But why, they ask, should it be necessary to take these appropriate actions under a camouflage of a new strategy which is not new and which depends upon the deterrent power of the Strategic Air Command which is not being maintained and strategic reserves which are not being built because the Army is being reduced faster than troops are being returned from overseas?

Resolution Honoring the Escape From the Chains of Communism of Jan Hajdukiewicz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MILLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. MILLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I would like to call to the attention of the House of Representatives a resolution unanimously

adopted at manifestations held Sunday, January 24, 1954, under the auspices of the western New York division of the Polish American Congress at Dom Polski Building, 1081 Broadway, and at Polish Cadets Hall, 928 Grant Street, both in the city of Buffalo, county of Erie, and State of New York, honoring the courageous escape from the chains of communism of Jan Hajdukiewicz, which was signed by the Honorable Casimer Partyka, Joseph P. Kuszynski, and Ralph J. Radwan, for the resolution committee.

The resolution follows:

At manifestations held Sunday, January 24, 1954, under the auspices of the western New York division of the Polish American Congress, at Dom Polski Building, 1081 Broadway, and at Polish Cadets Hall, 928 Grant Street, both in the city of Buffalo, county of Erie, and State of New York, honoring the courageous escape from the chains of communism of Jan Hajdukiewicz, member of the Korean Neutrality Commission, the following resolution was unanimously adopted at both meetings:

"Whereas we have gathered here for the purpose of honoring and paying tribute to the gallant courage of Jan Hajdukiewicz, the scholarly member of the Korean Neutrality Commission, who successfully engineered his escape from Communist regimentation; and

"Whereas we the participants of these assemblies, being primarily of Polish heritage, and in keeping with the finest American traditions of helping the oppressed, proud of our American way and our concepts of freedom take grave concern over the existing persecution perpetrated upon the people living in Poland, the martyred land of our forefathers; and

"Whereas we feel that the outstanding occurrence which has veiled the Iron Curtain with all its oppression and persecution over Poland and other satellite nations is the now infamous concessions yielded to by our Government at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam, which were contrary to our American traditions and not in keeping with the legal processes enumerated and prescribed therefor in the United States Constitution, the supreme law of this land; and

"Whereas we feel that such pseudotreaties may someday, if permitted further, infringe upon our very own basic freedoms just as it has occurred to contemporary Poland and the other satellite nations of the world under Communist yoke where forms of government and ways of life, foreign and repugnant to them, were forced upon their peoples without their just consent, contrary to their natural inherent rights and desires, with respect to whom principles of inviolability of historical boundaries were cast asunder, and whose territories were annexed by reason of the so-called treaties irrespective of the desires to the contrary of the populaces inhabiting those lands: Therefore, we present at these manifestations do hereby

"*Resolve*, to pay tribute and to honor the courage and the freedom-loving convictions of our guest, Jan Hajdukiewicz, who in spite of the personal risks involved, saw fit to satisfy his yearning for freedom by making good his escape at the foremost opportunity which beckoned him; we welcome Jan Hajdukiewicz as a living symbol of that constant urge that springs eternal in the breast of every Pole for freedom of living, religion, expression, and economic gain; be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, Senators Irving Ives and Herbert Lehman, Congressmen Edmund P. Radwan, William E. Miller, and Frank Pillion, requesting them to support the Bricker amendment with which we are in favor and in accord with so that a repetition will not occur here at home of that which has happened abroad, so that laws in accordance with our desires will not be supplanted by commitments, the pseudotreaties, or treaties which may affect our way of life. That treaties be hereafter enacted only by processes in accordance with the provisions as set forth by the supreme laws embodied in the Constitution; be it finally

"*Resolved*, That we memorialize the United Nations through our representatives to protest the manifested suppression of religion to which the God-fearing people of Poland and their clergy are subjected to. We are shocked and embittered at the news of the imprisonment of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, and we implore them to bring forth our protest on this latest outrage to the forum of world opinion."

We pledge our allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. We sympathize with the plight of Poland and other oppressed nations and extend to them hopes of withholding for a better world. Long live Poland, the martyred nation of our forefathers.

For the resolution committee:

Judge CASIMER PARTYKA.
Attorney JOSEPH P. KUSZYNSKI.
Attorney RALPH J. RADWAN.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Testifies Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on the Provisions of H. R. 7341, a Bill Designed To Implement Recommendations Contained in the President's Message of January 18, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony given today before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at its hearing on H. R. 7341 by the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, and certain members of her staff concerning the objectives of the measure and interpreting its provisions in the light of the President's message of January 18, is highly important. Her testimony, in part, is as follows:

I am very happy indeed to appear before you today in support of H. R. 7341, which was introduced by your chairman to implement one of President Eisenhower's principal recommendations for progressive health legislation. I am particularly pleased to discuss this proposal with a committee whose keen interest in improving the Nation's health has been demonstrated anew by the remarkably thorough health inquiry which you have been conducting during the past several weeks. I have received many reports during these weeks from those who have been privileged to attend or to participate in these hearings. All are in agreement that your inquiry has been exceptionally well-planned and well-conducted. The records and reports resulting from your hearings will provide invaluable source materials for years to come.

The bill under consideration this morning represents only one of several approaches to better health outlined in the President's message of January 18. But it is an approach which has a particularly direct and forceful appeal. The hospital, the clinic, and the public health center are among the most highly valued of our community facilities. We have learned that the best in modern medicine is available to us and to our families only when the doctor has at his command the specialized equipment, resources, and staff which are brought together in hospital and related facilities.

The provisions of H. R. 7341 have a further appeal because they represent a broadening of one of the most successful and popular health programs ever initiated by the Federal Government. I am sure that this committee, whose awareness of the importance of health facilities was demonstrated by the enactment of the original Hospital Survey and Construction Act in 1946, will concur in this appraisal. In 1949 the Congress expanded the program and in 1953 extended its duration through the fiscal year 1957. The soundness of the program has thus twice been reaffirmed by the Congress.

The basic features of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act are well known to this committee. Briefly, the law provides that each State and Territory, as a prerequisite to obtaining Federal aid, shall prepare and keep current a survey of its existing hospitals and public health centers and of its needs for additional facilities. On the basis of this survey, the State develops a plan, or program, for additional construction where it is most urgently needed.

Each year, out of such sums as are appropriated by the Congress, allotments are made to the States and Territories to assist in the construction of hospitals in four major categories—general, mental, chronic disease, and tuberculosis—as well as for public health centers.

Progress under the program to date has indeed been very satisfactory. We can now report that 2,200 projects have been approved, utilizing $600 million of Federal funds and more than a billion and a quarter dollars of State and local moneys—a ratio of 1 Federal dollar to 2 non-Federal dollars. A total of 106,000 hospital beds, 446 public health centers, and many related health projects—such as nurses' training facilities and laboratories—are being added to our health resources. Nevertheless, there still remains much to be done.

The greatest need lies in the area of facilities for the chronically ill. The major emphasis in the program thus far has been placed upon the construction of general hospitals. As a consequence there has been a national net gain in the number of acceptable general hospital beds since 1948, when construction under the program commenced. During this same period, however, there has been a net loss in the number of acceptable hospital beds for the care of patients with chronic diseases, including cancer, arthritis, and heart disease. Thus—as valuable as the present program is—it has not, to date, provided a balanced answer to our Nation's needs.

* * * * *

What has been done so far in improving and expanding our hospitals has been especially inadequate with respect to beds for the chronically ill. Second, our shortage of chronic beds is expensive, for it has led to the crowding of chronically ill patients into our general hospitals—which are the most costly to operate and which are needed for patients with acute conditions. Third, the relative demand for chronic facilities will be still greater in the future because of our aging population.

A fourth conclusion, although not specifically illustrated in the charts themselves, is that the need for institutional bed care must be minimized by placing greater emphasis on preventive health services. Under the present program relatively little attention as been given to outpatient departments of

hospitals and other centers for the diagnosis and treatment of ambulatory patients—that is, those who do not require bed care. Such diagnostic and treatment clinics are essential if our communities are to have well-balanced medical services at a cost which they can afford.

The bill you are now considering contains five major proposals, in accordance with the President's recommendations, for achieving a better balanced program.

1. SURVEY AND PLANNING

Following the precedent of the original Hospital Survey and Construction Act, the bill authorizes an appropriation of $2 million, to remain available until expended, for grants to assist the States in surveying their existing facilities in the categories covered by the bill, and in developing revised State plans and construction programs. The minimum grant to any State for this purpose would be $25,000. Every State would be required to match these funds on a dollar-for-dollar basis.

The importance of this survey and planning feature in assuring the sound investment of construction funds cannot be too strongly emphasized. The surveys made under the original act have contributed greatly to the success of the program. For the first time in the Nation's history each State and Territory undertook an orderly inventory and appraisal of its existing hospital and public health center facilities, and developed a comprehensive State-wide plan for expanding and improving these facilities in accordance with the most urgent needs. These State plans will need to be revised to conform to the provisions of H. R. 7341, since three of the four construction categories covered by the bill are new.

2. FACILITIES FOR THE CHRONICALLY ILL

For each of the three remaining fiscal years of the present program, the bill would authorize appropriations of $20 million specifically for grants for construction of nonprofit hospitals for the chronically ill and impaired. In terms of program categories, this provision is new only in emphasis, for such facilities are now authorized under the present act.

The purpose of this new emphasis is to stimulate and accelerate the construction of hospital beds for the increasing number of persons with long-term illnesses who require hospitalization, but who do not need care in facilities as expensive to construct and operate as the general hospital.

While the language of the bill refers to "hospitals for the chronically ill and impaired," it should not be inferred that these will always be institutions independent of general hospitals. On the contrary, it is probable that many of the units constructed with the aid of these grants will simply be wings or other structures related to a general hospital. In one recent study of 2,600 general hospitals having 50 or more beds, only 3 percent reported that they had special facilities or arrangements for chronic care. This percentage must be increased markedly if we are to promote better bed utilization and operating economy.

3. NURSING HOMES

The third major proposal of H. R. 7341 is the authorization of $10 million annually for grants for construction of nonprofit nursing homes in which patient care is under medical supervision. This proposal represents an auxiliary approach to the provision of beds for patients with chronic illnesses and impairments. The bill defines a nursing home as "a facility for the accommodation of convalescents or other persons who are not acutely ill and not in need of hospital care but who require skilled nursing care, and related medical services.

That the bill is confined to nonprofit nursing homes does not mean that nursing homes of this type are the only necessary or desirable ones. We are well aware that there are over 9,000 proprietary nursing homes now in existence. Nor can there be any doubt as to the need for additional high-quality nursing homes of this type. But here, as in the case of all other facilities covered by the provisions of the present act and by the provisions of H. R. 7341, it seems appropriate to limit eligibility for Federal construction grants to those which are sponsored by public or other nonprofit agencies or associations.

4. DIAGNOSTIC OR TREATMENT FACILITIES

In addition to the authorizations for the construction of facilities for inpatient care, the bill also authorizes $30 million annually for the construction of nonprofit diagnostic or treatment facilities. Because such facilities are designed to serve ambulatory or outpatients, and to emphasize prevention, they help to decrease the need for inpatient care.

A diagnostic and treatment center is a facility in which a number of medical specialists and technicians operate as a team. It is a well-recognized fact that the team approach results in earlier diagnosis and better treatment for the patient.

The full extent of the need for diagnostic and treatment centers is unknown, and will remain so until such time as the States have completed their surveys and have established measures of need. We do know that such diagnostic and treatment facilities as now exist are concentrated largely in metropolitan areas and are generally associated with large medical centers.

While many of the centers constructed under this provision of the bill would be component parts of hospitals, there is no reason why many communities which have no hospitals could not build and maintain modern diagnostic and treatment centers. Such a center could be made available for the citizens of small communities and surrounding rural areas.

5. REHABILITATION FACILITIES

The final item in this 5-point program is the authorization of $10 million annually for grants for construction of nonprofit rehabilitation facilities.

* * * * *

Rehabilitation is the process of restoring a physically handicapped person to the point where he can either take care of himself in the home, or even better, assume a position in productive employment. The latter is called vocational rehabilitation.

As the President stated in his message of January 18, on the health needs of the Nation, considerations of both humanity and self-interest demands immediate measures for the expansion of our rehabilitation programs. While, as the President states, "there are no statistics to portray the full depth and meaning in human terms of the rehabilitation program," nevertheless it also has a very practical dollars-and-cents meaning. Rehabilitation for self-care is an important step in relieving the economic burden on families and the patient load in hospitals and nursing homes. Rehabilitation for employment has a direct effect in reducing governmental relief expenditures in those instances where disabled persons have fallen on the public-assistance rolls. Furthermore, disabled persons returning to work pay back in Federal income taxes, as a group, many times the cost of their rehabilitation.

In the area of vocational rehabilitation, the President's health message calls for a vastly expanded program—a goal of 200,000 rehabilitants annually by 1959 as compared with the present 60,000. If these goals are to be met, two major steps must be taken. First, our total rehabilitation facility capacity must be greatly enlarged, and second, we must have more trained personnel and increased financial support for providing rehabilitation services.

Proposals relating to increased financial support for the services provided by the Federal-State vocational rehabilitation program have already been presented to the Congress. I understand that the Committee on Education and Labor in the House will continue, in the near future, the hearings on this subject which were commenced last year.

With respect to increased rehabilitation facilities, however, we believe that they should be authorized by amendment of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. Our reasons for this belief are:

First. The services provided in a rehabilitation center are in many respects an extension of the treatment and services provided in a hospital; rehabilitation can effectively reduce hospital and nursing-home loads. Thus, there is a definite relationship between hospital care and rehabilitation, and recognition of this close relationship should be encouraged.

Second. It is both logical and economical to utilize the experience of the Division of Hospital Facilities of the Public Health Service in assisting the States and communities in their planning, since rehabilitation facilities have many construction features in common with hospitals and other health units.

Third. Rather than creating new State agencies, it is desirable to utilize, in the rehabilitation field, the administrative machinery already established in the States for the survey and planning of hospital and health facilities.

It should be noted that the rehabilitation facilities contemplated in H. R. 7341 would not be limited to persons coming within the scope of the Federal-State vocational-rehabilitation program. These facilities would be available for all persons of the community—children, aged, and other persons who are not necessarily being returned to jobs.

The legislative proposal before you includes rehabilitation facilities for the blind. Although the medical services required by the blind are often less extensive than those required by other disabled persons, the adjustment training conducted in these centers for the blind is a crucial part of their rehabilitation.

The construction and planning of rehabilitation facilities is in the developmental stage. It is too early, therefore, to be precise in presenting the actual needs or the extent to which the $10 million authorized in H. R. 7341 would meet these needs. The survey provided for in the bill will give us these facts.

* * * * *

In addition to these major proposals, the bill includes another provision designed to stimulate State and local action in constructing chronic hospitals, nursing homes, diagnostic or treatment facilities, and rehabilitation facilities. Under the present act the Federal share of individual projects may vary from one-third to two-thirds of the total construction cost, in accordance with a formula based on the relative per capita incomes of the States. With respect to the four categories of facilities covered by H. R. 7341, the bill provides that the Federal share may vary from one-half to two-thirds. In other words, the minimum Federal share will be one-half instead of one-third.

With this one exception, the administrative and fiscal provisions of this bill correspond with those in the present Hospital Survey and Construction Act—including the provisions relating to the allotment formula; the role of the State agency; the procedures for submission and approval of construction grant applications; and appeals to the Surgeon General and the Federal Hospital Council. In brief, the bill would add five new grant authorizations to the present act, but would retain the existing administrative structure and procedures.

This, Mr. Chairman, concludes our testimony in support of H. R. 7341, a bill designed

to broaden and improve an existing program which has become a model of effective Federal-State cooperation in the advancement of community health services. On the solid base of the existing program it would add a five-point plan for constructing the kind of health facilities which our communities most urgently need, and which they can most efficiently and economically maintain. It is a bill which, we believe, would make a real contribution toward better health care for thousands of our fellow Americans. We strongly recommend, therefore, favorable consideration of the bill by your committee.

Authorizing Help To Control the Level of Lake Michigan

SPEECH
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3300) to authorize the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, to help control the lake level of Lake Michigan by diverting water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, at the outset I want to say that I certainly recognize the position of my good friends from Chicago with reference to this legislation. I have a very great respect and a very high regard for the author of the bill, Judge JONAS, of Illinois. Notwithstanding, I am sure that they recognize that so far as Wisconsin is concerned, the Representatives from that State have always been opposed to the diversion of water through the drainage canal.

I would also like to say that there must be some way to solve this irritable problem of lake water diversion at Chicago. Perhaps it can be handled by compact between the States that are concerned, so there could be an end to constant litigation. It is an expensive undertaking for all parties concerned.

Chicago, in my opinion, is destined in the not distant future to be the largest city in the United States. It has a potential population of 10 million or more. There are no formidable barriers to future expansion to the west. As a matter of fact, expansion is possible, to the north, south, and west and its position in the middle of the country augurs well for its future. Hence the necessity for resolving this most difficult problem by some mutual agreement between all parties concerned.

Mr. Chairman, I spent all of last evening reading the hearings. It seems to me that the proponents of the proposed legislation have failed to meet a valid objection, and a legal one, which has been made by those who are opposed to this bill. Jurisdiction of the subject matter of the present bill is still in the Supreme Court of the United States. Why does not the Sanitary District of Chicago seek relief there?

Before proceeding further with my statement, I call attention to a statement that was made yesterday that this bill would not cost any money. According to the testimony of Colonel Milne, it is going to cost just $200,000—and I am quoting from his testimony on page 2 of the hearings. He says:

> The estimated cost to the United States of this study is $200,000, of which $150,000 would be required by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and $50,000 would be required by the Corps of Engineers.

While we know that $200,000 is a small sum of money in some quarters, it is a lot of money in my book. We cannot afford to forget about it in considering this legislation.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. I think I pointed out yesterday during the discussion of the rule on this bill that the cost of this would be a very material sum, especially what this will lead to indirectly in the way of expenditures, because if these waters are diverted it will mean a great number of requests for improving and deepening the channels in the Great Lakes which will be necessary; and it will also involve expenditures and also mean need for greater protection against the water which will be flowing down as a result of the increased diversion. It is not $200,000 by which we should measure the cost; it should be in terms of millions.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

On the question of the right to divert further water at this time, it seems to me that we have an answer in two places in the testimony, on page 14.

Mr. Stanley, Chairman of the International Joint Commission, was present. He makes this statement with reference to the further diversion of water, and I am quoting him:

> I said that personally I do not object to withdrawal of 2,500 feet but I did not mean by that Congress could authorize withdrawal of it. You cannot withdraw 1 foot of water from these Great Lakes and their connecting streams without the approval of the International Joint Commission under the terms of the treaty. But if the matter comes before us, as it is in a way under the present reference, why, I am inclined to welcome a larger withdrawal.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Does the gentleman know how many feet were authorized for withdrawal in 1909 when this treaty went into effect?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. No; I am not familiar with that.

Mr. SHEEHAN. It was 10,000 cubic feet per second. Today we are withdrawing only 1,500 feet, so we have 8,500 feet to play on.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is not the question before us. This is a matter for the Supreme Court.

Mr. SHEEHAN. We are entitled to stand on the international agreement.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The matter is still in the courts, and what relief is to be had must be secured in the courts.

Mr. Chairman, on page 117 of the hearings, Mr. Stanley again repeated his previous statement and I quote him:

> The question of serious effect is a question for the Commission to decide. But the Commission itself will not take cognizance of a violation that is not material. The treaty does not deal with that. The law is mandatory and article 3 of the treaty provides that no raising or lowering or diversion of any kind or use of any kind of this international waterway shall be tolerated without the prior approval of the International Joint Commission.

Hence it would seem to follow that the bill before us is not properly here at this time. I repeat again that relief is possible only upon order of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Dr. Clarence Hamilton Poe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on last Thursday evening, January 28, at the Sir Walter Hotel in the city of Raleigh, N. C., homage was paid to Dr. Clarence Hamilton Poe, who served as editor of the Progressive Farmer, one of the Nation's leading farm publications, for 50 years.

At this 50th anniversary banquet, many tributes were paid to this distinguished citizen. Associates, friends, and admirers came from far-distant places to honor and to praise the life and the labor of this great and good man.

I have enjoyed Dr. Poe's friendship for many years. He is not only my friend but my most distinguished constituent, and, as toastmaster at the banquet, I paid a brief tribute to my friend. Here is what I said on that occasion:

DR. CLARENCE HAMILTON POE, 50TH ANNIVERSARY

If all the farm editors of America in all the farm publications of our country, and if all the little weeklies and the metropolitan dailies, and all the radio broadcasters and commentators had been as accurate, as fair and as forthright as the man whom we honor tonight, our farm program would have been better understood by the people of our Nation.

Even recently the chief agricultural officer of America has given to the public an inaccurate and distorted picture of the program now in operation. He has charged to the farmers of America the costs of every pound of food and fiber which has gone into our foreign-aid programs, through which we have provided assistance to the suffering people of a war-torn and troubled world.

But we did not come here tonight to discuss such matters as parity, flexible parity, and sliding scales; we meet tonight to honor a good and a great American, one who has achieved greatness in true American fashion, Clarence H. Poe. First, he married a lovely lady, Alice Aycock. From a humble beginning he has become a distinguished citizen of the world. His genius flowered in early

life and has continued undiminished through the years. He has never tried to weave illusions of grandeur on the looms of life; he has never been faithless to a trust nor has he ever broken a friendship. In the dignity of truth he has risen to the heights of his ancient profession, and he is today the most distinguished North Carolinian who is active in the affairs of his State and Nation. He has rendered public service far beyond the wages he has received. He has been a friend of many Presidents, he has walked with kings, but he has never lost the "common touch."

Many men are good, but all good men are not great. Many men are great, but all great men are not good. Clarence Hamilton Poe is both great and good. He is the kind of man every mother would want her son to be. He is truly one of God's noblemen.

Knowing him as I do I think his middle name should have been Jefferson instead of Hamilton. He is such a good Democrat he has never used his middle name in public.

Clarence "Jefferson" Hamilton Poe has many rich and rare endowments, but the greatest of all is the unaffected elegance and amiable simplicity of his manner. I cannot enumerate his many fine virtues. I cannot give you in the brief space of time which the proprieties of this occasion will permit, the biography of the man whom we honor this evening. He has more degrees than a thermometer, and he is worthy of every one he has received. Because of him the world is a better place in which to live. His life has been a blessing and a benediction to all mankind.

We cannot beautify his character nor dignify his personality, but prompted by sincere human affection we can pay homage to him for the magnificent life he has lived. He may retire as president of the Progressive Farmer, but he will never retire from active life. Under the sheltering tree of friendship we will continue to counsel and commune with him and draw from his great wisdom—wisdom which has been garnered through the years and stored away even for posterity. He can never retire from the love and affection of his friends.

The warmth and cordiality of his good and gracious manner will always be an inspiration to his thousands of friends along the thoroughfares, the boulevards, and the byways of the world. He has built his life both deep and strong and a Nation owes him a debt of gratitude. His wisdom is worldwide and he is known wherever the cause of agriculture is known. He has never been selfish. He has shared the wealth of his wisdom with the people of the world. He knows that man cannot live by bread alone and yet he knows that farming is indispensable to the welfare of mankind. He has taught farmers how to farm, but most of all he has taught them how to live. His clear, cogent, and convincing editorials have been a beacon and a banner in the troubled times in which we have struggled on through the first half of the century. Some day I hope that he will draw the veil of modesty from his manifold accomplishments and write an autobiography that all posterity might read to the end that all the people who live in ages to come might know how a humble farm boy achieved greatness in this, the greatest country the world has ever known.

In the golden hour of his greatest achievements we come tonight to praise both his life and labor. Our honor guest has always been courageous, but he has never been cruel. He has never been willing to compromise principles, but he has always been ready to compose differences. Hate has no place in his heart; always love has reigned supreme. By his love and labor he has endeared himself to a multitude of friends.

Clarence Poe is a Knight of the Good Earth and a magnificent specimen of American manhood. Because of him we have better fruits and fairer flowers and all of the other good things that come from mother earth.

To you, Clarence Poe, we shall neither say goodbye, auf wiedersehen, nor farewell, but I do think it might be appropriate for me to quote a few lines from Thomas Moore's little poem, which I think he called Farewell:

"Let fate do her worse, there are relics of joy,
Bright dreams of the past, which she cannot destroy;
Which come in the night-time of sorrow and care,
And bring back the features that joy used to wear.
Long, long be my heart with such memories filled!
Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled,
You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,
But the scent of the roses will cling 'round it still."

We hope that you will live 100 years and then start life all over again. During all the rest of your life may your great heart be filled with sunshine, and may you always have star-spangled skies above you.

Mr. Speaker, here is a short biography of the great Clarence H. Poe:

Poe: Clarence (Hamilton): editor, publisher; born Chatham County, N. C., January 10, 1881; s. William B. and Susan (Dismukes) P.; ed. pub. schl.; Litt. D., Wake Forest Coll., 1914; LL.D., Univ. of N. C., 1928, Washington College (Md.), 1929; Sc. D., Clemson Agricultural College, 1937; m. Alice Aycock, 1912; children—Charles Aycock, William Dismukes, Jean Shepperd (Mrs. Gordon Smith, Jr.). Editor of The Progressive Farmer since 1899; pres. Progressive Farmer Co. since organized by him in 1903; offices Raleigh, Birmingham, Memphis, Dallas. Chmn. exec. com. bd., trustees N. C. State Coll. Agr. and Engring, 1916–31; executive committee consolidated University of North Carolina since 1931; member State Board of Agr. 1913–31; mem. state com. authorized by legislature to draft revision of N. C. State Constitution, 1931–32; chmn. State com. which secured ratification of 5 amendments revising State tax system, 1936; mem. exec. com. of N. C. Art Soc., elector, Hall of Fame, N. Y.; mem. Fed. Bd. for Vocational Edn. (rep. of Am. Agr. 1936–45). Pres. N. C. State Conf. for Social Service, 1913–14–15; pres. State Press Assn. 1913–14; pres. State Lit. and Hist. Assn., 1914–15; pres. State Farmers Conv. 1919–20; Master N. C. State Grange, 1929–30; pres. State Dairymen's Assn., 1929–30; pres. N. C. Forestry Foundation, 1935–40; pres. American Country Life Assn., 1940–41; chmn. campaign for Balanced Prosperity in the South, 1940–43; chmn. N. C. Hospital and Medical Care Commn., 1944–45; vice chmn. N. C. Medical Care Commn. since 1945; chmn. Nat. Con. on Hosp. Care, 1944–46. Mem. exec. com. State Food Adminstrn., State Fuel Adminstrn., War Savings Com., World War I; mem. N. C. Council Nat. Defense, State Council Civilian Defense, Nat. Com. to Defend America by Aiding Allies, chmn. exec. com. N. C. Farm Manpower Comm. World War II; apptd. Pres. Truman mem. International Adv. Bd., 1950; Pres. Longview Gardens, Inc., Circumnavigated globe, 1910–11; studied agrl. conditions in Europe, 1912. Democrat. Baptist, Rotarian. Author: Cotton—Its Cultivation, Marketing and Manufacture (with C. W. Burkett), 1906; A Southerner in Europe, 1908; Where Half the World is Waking Up, 1911; Life and Speeches Charles B. Aycock (with R. D. W. Connor), 1912; How Farmers Cooperate and Double Profits, 1915; Hospital and Medical Care for All Our People (rpt. as chmn. N. C. Hosp. and Med. Care Commn.), 1945–47. Home: Longview Gardens, Raleigh, N. C.

American Medical Association Endorses Proposal by President Eisenhower for Federal Grants To Help Finance Construction of More Diagnostic or Treatment Centers, Hospitals for the Chronically Ill, Rehabilitation Facilities, and Nursing Homes (H. R. 7341)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is very gratifying to be advised by George F. Lull, M. D., secretary-general manager of the American Medical Association, that such association has endorsed the proposal by President Eisenhower for Federal grants to help finance construction of more diagnostic or treatment centers, hospitals for the chronically ill, rehabilitation facilities, and nursing homes.

The purpose of H. R. 7341, introduced by Chairman WOLVERTON, of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, is to effectuate the above proposal of President Eisenhower. It has the endorsement of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The statement of the American Medical Association in support of this bill as submitted to be made a part of the hearing on the bill reads as follows:

FEBRUARY 3, 1954.

Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
Chairman, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the American Medical Association to submit for your consideration our views concerning H. R. 7341, 83d Congres, which is currently being studied by your committee.

It is our understanding that this bill would amend the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, as amended, so as to provide assistance to the States in surveying the need for and in constructing diagnostic or treatment centers, hospitals for the chronically ill, rehabilitation facilities, and nursing homes.

When the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, familiarly known as the Hill-Burton Act, was before the 79th Congress, it was studied very carefully by the house of delegates, the board of trustees, and by several councils of the American Medical Association. As a result of that study the intent and purposes of the legislation received our approval. The association has continued to support the law since its enactment on August 13, 1946.

We are gratified to note that since the approval of the first project in fiscal year 1948, approximately 50,000 hospital beds have been constructed under this program. In addition, approximately 45,000 additional hospital beds are now under construction. Apparently rapid progress has been made; projects have been allocated for areas where they are most needed and are being put into service with commendable promptness.

It appears from the language of the pending bill that the proposed extension of Federal assistance to the States in connec-

tion with the construction of medical facilities other hospitals will be experimental in nature. The definition of "diagnostic or treatment centers," "rehabilitation facilities" and "nursing homes" contained in the bill are general in nature and will be subject to more definitive treatment through Federal administrative regulations at a later date. These facts plus the lack of recognized standards for these facilities will place a serious responsibility upon the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to promulgate regulations which will preserve maximum local autonomy and administrative responsibility.

Our primary recommendations with respect to this measure are that facilities for the chronically ill and impaired should be a part of or near a conventional hospital and, that the original purpose of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act be reaffirmed. As you know the original act of 1946 and the amendment of October 25, 1949, both emphasized that the purpose of the act was to assist the States in providing hospitals and similar services to all their people. We believe it is imperative that any facilities constructed under this proposal should also be available for the use and benefit of the entire community rather than for any particular segment of the population. To insure this result, it is our opinion that the original purpose of the act should be restated.

The pending bill has not been officially considered by our House of Delegates or Board of Trustees; however, it does not appear that the proposed expansion of the program constitutes any fundamental change in the principles embodied in the existing law. I should like to urge, therefore, on behalf of the American Medical Association, that the subject legislation be reported favorably by your committee subject to the amendments indicated.

Sincerely,

GEORGE F. LULL, M. D.,
Secretary-General Manager.

Mr. Speaker, a copy of the release issued by the American Medical Association with reference to the above letter, reads as follows:

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1954.

The American Medical Association today indorsed a proposal by President Eisenhower for Federal grants to help finance construction of more diagnostic or treatment centers, hospitals for the chronically ill, rehabilitation facilities, and nursing homes.

AMA's support for the program, estimated over a 3-year period to cost the Federal Government $60,000,000, was outlined in a letter to Chairman CHARLES WOLVERTON, of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which today started considering the legislation (H. R. 7341).

Amount to be received by each State would depend on the State's population and per capita income. Over the 3 years, $20 million would be set aside for diagnostic or treatment centers, a like amount for chronic disease hospitals and $10 million each for rehabilitation facilities and nursing homes. Only nonprofit organizations would be eligible to participate, and sponsoring groups would have to match the Federal contribution.

The legislation provides for amendment of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act (Hill-Burton) so the money could be distributed to the States through this machinery.

The AMA letter of indorsement, signed by Dr. George F. Lull, secretary and general manager of the association, is attached.

Edison Radio Amateur Award for 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, each year the General Electric Co. honors an outstanding ham radio operator with an award known as the Edison Radio Amateur Award. For 1953, this award will be given to Mr. J. Stan Surber, of Peru, Ind., at a formal presentation in Washington.

The accomplishments of Mr. Surber are listed as follows:

A 46-year-old short-wave radio "mailman" who is the only regular communications link with home for hundreds of servicemen at Arctic weather stations was named today as the top-ranking "ham" radio operator of 1953.

He is J. Stan Surber, Peru, Ind., who will receive General Electric's Edison radio amateur award for the outstanding "ham" public service of the year.

Surber, a Chesapeake & Ohio Railway dispatcher, has handled over 18,000 messages to the far north since he started his hobby in late 1950.

Last year he transmitted and received over a million and a half words in Morse code to and from such points as T-3, an ice island near the North Pole. Messages go between servicemen's relatives and Surber by mail.

In one case, an American foreign service officer in Rome, Italy, mailed a birthday message to Surber to forward to his son. The father received his son's acknowledgment August 18—7 days later.

Some of the far northern stations receive mail only once or twice a year. Over military radio channels, they were allowed 200 words per month. One returned Air Force sergeant wrote that messages through W9NZZ, Surber's station, came to him 30 hours after being mailed from home.

The winning Peru "ham" was nominated for the award by 112 letters from 28 States and 5 foreign countries. The writers were grateful wives, mothers, fiancees, and, in some cases, returned servicemen themselves.

One serviceman wrote that Surber's messages "kept our spirits up, our tempers down, and our appetites normal." He said, "few people realize what a lonely existence is endured at such a place."

Surber relays the messages with no compensation. He works at his railroad dispatcher's duties from 4 p. m. to midnight, and usually is at his short-wave set from 7:30 a. m. until just before leaving for work.

Formal presentation of the Edison award will be made February 10 at a dinner at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington. Surber last year was 1 of 4 special citation winners among nominees.

Judges today named five other recipients of honorable mention citations for public-service work in 1953. They are:

Mrs. Richard M. Walker, W2BTB, Fayetteville, N. Y., for relaying messages to servicemen.

Curtis W. Davis (deceased), W5OKM, Waco, Tex., for emergency radio service in the May 11 tornado which devastated his hometown.

Edmund H. LeMoine, W1UQW, Worester, Mass., for emergency radio service in the June 9 tornado in Worcester.

William C. Jenney, W8FYW, Columbus, Ohio, for teaching amateur radio to 25 boys at the Ohio State School for the Blind.

The Genesee County Radio Club of Michigan, for emergency radio service in the June 9 tornado in Flint, Mich.

Judges for the award were E. Roland Harriman, president, American National Red Cross; George E. Sterling, a member of the Federal Communications Commission; Goodwin L. Dosland, president of the American Radio Relay League; and Gardner Cowles, president and editor of Look magazine.

Wood Utilization Creates Jobs, Avoids Wastes of Earlier Era

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I include in these remarks the fifth article of a series written by Merlin Blais on the most important matter of the timber industry. This article which appeared in the Portland Oregonian on December 24, 1953, deals with far-reaching progress made in the utilization of wood:

WOOD UTILIZATION CREATES JOBS, AVOIDS WASTES OF EARLIER ERA

Utilization is both tonic and challenge to the Douglas fir industry. How completely this region's wood-products plants are able to use the timber they harvest will determine their success in competition with other sections of the country, even foreign sources.

It is making progress. Loggers are taking out one-fourth more of the wood they find in a tract than they did before World War II—all because some use has been developed for it. Each acre of forest is providing more products and more jobs.

A stronger, more diversified industry is emerging. And since closer logging has found more values in the woods, with greater income for the owners, better and longer-range forestry is in the making.

GAINS TAKE VARIED PATHS

Utilization has gained in many directions. Paper and plastics, hardboard and softboard, bark items and chemicals—and lumber itself, which consumes more wood than all other uses combined—have accounted for most of the improvement.

Better utilization is responsible for the complaint these days that the lumber in retail yards is not up to that of 20 years ago. Of course, it isn't. Rejection of all but clear-grain lumber now would be criminal waste of a valuable resource. Top quality can still be had, for a price. But for most structural purposes lower grades are adequate.

LOWER GRADES PUSHED

The West Coast Lumbermen's Association for several years has been promoting use of No. 3 and 4 common grades of lumber where they will do the job. Led by H. V. Simpson, this campaign has won notable success nationally in moving good utility but lower-priced grades.

This, of course, helps to assure continued production of the better grades at lower prices than would otherwise be possible.

A more spectacular gain toward fullest use of timber has been in the pulp and paper

industry. Chipping machines are saving wood left over from lumber and plywood mills in fast-rising quantities. Last year, such chips furnished the equal of at least 1 million cords of pulpwood in the Western States.

CHIPS ADDED DIVIDEND

No less than 15 pulp mills in the Douglas fir region now get 10 to 90 percent of their wood needs from chipped leftovers or chipped logs not otherwise useable. A mill at Port Townsend, Wash., tops this list, barging in chips from British Columbia and many other points.

The chipped material does not even figure in estimates of sawtimber resources, but is an added dividend for the region. The pulp industry also has found that chipping of the whole log adds about 15 percent to the wood in a tree used for pulping.

Within 10 years, it is possible the entire pulp industry will obtain three-fourths of its wood from leftovers. Producers owning forest lands are already selling logs suitable for lumber and plywood, operating instead on lower-priced chips.

Close to 150 chippers are in operation now in the region, though they are relatively expensive. Three-fourths of the plywood mills have chippers.

A Weyerhaeuser official estimated that kraft pulping represents 90 percent of that firm's gains in use of leftover wood. Kraft container board and coarse papers are largely responsible for the eightfold rise in per capita consumption of paper since 1900, now estimated at 400 pounds for each American.

Northwest pulp is going into a steady growing variety of products, expanding from such standbys as rayon, cellophane, explosives, lacquers, photographic film, and the like.

HARDBOARD NEWCOMER

Relatively recent in the Douglas fir economy is the hardboard industry, but in 4 or 5 years it has burgeoned to 11 plants, built or planned, which live on leftover of lumber and plywood.

Generally, they require clean wood stripped of its bark. Work is going ahead on cheaper debarking methods. One hardboard plant in Hood River county is using slabwood, bark and all.

Bark and fiber products are being developed through research by industry, State, and Federal laboratories, all whittling away at the whole-log requirement. A major company last year chalked up net sales of fiber and bark products at more than $20 million—yet only 5 years ago they did not even appear in its annual report.

Bark helps provide gas and oil for cars through its use in oil-well drilling muds. Fiber goes into such items as telephones, as extenders for phenolic resins in the molding compound industry.

PIECES GLUED TOGETHER

Making big pieces out of little ones is the key to a booming postwar business, glued laminates. Such companies as Timber Structures, Inc., fabricate roof beams out of lumber that are stronger, more beautiful and larger than is possible from single timbers.

But more significant as an eliminator of wood waste is the edge-gluing of small sticks to make wider lumber. Several plants are producing construction siding or making wider shorts for ironing boards, table-top cores, and millwork. Pilot-plant work is progressing on scarf-jointing and end-gluing, too, so that 2 by 4 boards for example can be made from short pieces by continuous extrusion.

Progress in utilization has led to discarding of refuse burners at an increasing number of mills. Some use or sell all their wood, buy oil for plant fuel.

Oregon's newest mill in the big class has no such burner at all, though its cuts 750,000 board-feet of lumber per 2-shift day. Built by Weyerhaeuser at North Bend, it ships chips to Springfield, uses the remainder to produce electricity.

FACTORIES USE REJECTS

Numerous factories use little else but reject and short lumber. One of these employs around 400 persons on Grays Harbor to turn out unpainted furniture.

In lumber production, techniques have improved. Gang mills result in "overruns" of 30 to 35 percent, compared to around 15 percent for the usual band and circular sawmills. Overrun is the excess of lumber cut over the estimate of the log scaler.

Plywood, among the most finicky of wood industries, has broadened its sources by accepting lower-grade logs and by installing core lathes to peel out more veneer. In past years, plywood fed only on the top 20 percent of the logs.

LOGGING IMPROVES, TOO

Improved logging has contributed to the utilization story, also. Back in 1929 loggers were leaving as much as 20,000 board-feet of wood an acre, up to two-fifths or half the stand. Today this has been reduced to about 3,000 in poorest quality wood on well-managed stands.

Breakage in old growth Douglas fir averages 12 to 15 percent. But in some places the fallers are lowering many trees with block and tackle. Prelogging has become regular practice on a score or more of operations. This takes out the "understory" of poles and pulpwood, which might be smashed in the main logging.

And relogging follows the main operation, to salvage wood, for low-grade plywood, utility poles, pulpwood and fiber wood. Top example of repeat logging has been in the Tillamook burn, where crews have taken out more wood from the dead forest than was estimated there originally and still find sticks worth taking out on their fourth and fifth times over the ground.

PINE LOGGED SELECTIVELY

Selective logging is not considered feasible in Douglas fir stands, though it works well in pine. But one of the most promising practices is thinning of young stands, another form of utilization.

Columbia County is proving its value in a Douglas fir tract on the county fairgrounds. In 5 years, this tract has yielded $404.26 an acre in wood and still has a full stand of 50-year-old trees. It hadn't been thinned previously. On that basis a farmer could earn $4.18 an hour thinning his woodlot.

Three pulp mills at Port Angeles buy quantities of thinnings from small owners. Crown Zellerbach buys more than 3,000 cords a month, and does some thinning in its tree farms.

Large-scale thinning in the region may be some years off, however, as the pulp industry is not yet ready generally to handle the material. It is expected to come, just as it did in Europe.

Full utilization still has a long way to go. Ten years ago it was estimated only 43 percent of a tree went into useful products, 22 percent into fuel, and the rest was unusable.

Some companies do far better than this, particularly in transforming much of the fuel item into other products. The general average is improving steadily.

The Current Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert a part of the column, Washington Merry-Go-Round, by Drew Pearson, which appeared in yesterday's Washington Post. I was much interested in reading this for I think it points up exactly what I think is wrong with our business conditions today. That is, that this administration has sought to bring about their so-called readjustment—the word "readjustment" means adjusting backward—by not providing something to take the place of the cancellation of war and defense contracts. It is just as simple as that.

The sooner the American people learn what has happened and how hasty this administration was, and is, to bring about this so-called readjustment which means breadless days for many, the better chance we stand of proving the Democratic administration was the only one for the people. I fear we are going to be in for very difficult times.

I do not believe it is too late yet for the administration leaders to adjust this problem by engaging in a public-works program until business and industry can take up the slack.

The above-mentioned follows:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson)

IKE'S ADVISERS ANALYZE RECESSION

Though the Nation's business is everyone's business, the testimony now being given before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report is in secret. A parade of economists, official and unofficial, beginning with the President's top economic adviser, Dr. Arthur Burns, is trying to spell out what's behind the current recession.

Though they haven't said it in these exact words, many of the economists agree that the basic reason boils down to this: When you take 30 billions in defense orders out of the economy, you have to replace it with something else.

Spelled out in more detailed terms, the 1952 budget called for $60 billion of new defense equipment. The 1955 budget calls for $30,900,000,000. This is basic hardware. This represents millions of dollars worth of steel, copper, aluminum, and all labor that goes with it.

And when you take that big a chunk out of Government orders, you have to replace it with schools, housing, bridges, roads, or something else. Otherwise the economy is bound to slump.

Advisers warned Ike

Inside fact is that Dr. Burns has been giving private warnings for some time that business was slipping. Burns is the former Columbia professor, born in Austria, who was named chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers last spring, after the White House at first said Ike didn't need any economic advisers.

The President, however, was reminded that it was up to Congress, not him, to decide whether he needed economic advisers, and that Congress required him, by law, to have three advisers for the purpose of helping him head of depression.

Ike thereupon acquiesced, appointed Dr. Burns, but didn't get around to appointing the other two economists required by law until late last summer.

Now the Council is working overtime.

They do not agree with Ray Henle, commentator for the big Republican contributor, Joe Pew, and the Sun Oil Co., that to warn of a business recession is Communist propaganda. On the contrary, they believe that to head of recession you have to examine the economic factors carefully, as they did in

Ike's own economic message to Congress. Furthermore, they do not agree with some of the hucksters immediately around the President that the way to prevent a recession is to repeat over and over again: "We cannot have a recession."

The present recession is probably nothing to worry about provided it isn't permitted to go any deeper. The best way to prevent it, they suggest privately, is to make sure that the axing of Government spending is not too sudden and to replace defense spending with at least some peacetime spending.

System To Protect United States Aides Studied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KEN REGAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. REGAN. Mr. Speaker, progress in removing persons found to be disloyal from Federal or Government positions has for some time been receiving just publicity throughout the press of our country.

Also in many instances we hear of perfectly loyal employees leaving Government service through reduction of force or other honorable cause or reason, finding themselves under some possible question as to the exact nature of their leaving the Government employ.

Recently, Mrs. Sarah McClendon, the able correspondent of the El Paso Times and other Texas newspapers, suggested to President Eisenhower that such loyal employees, upon leaving Government service, be issued a certificate of good conduct and faithful service, somewhat akin to the certificate of honorable discharge issued by our armed services.

Following this suggestion much national interest has been expressed in favor of the suggestion.

I present a letter from one of my constituents living in El Paso, Tex., and a clipping from the New York Times:

EL PASO, TEX., *February 1, 1954.*

Hon. KEN REGAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REGAN: Reading the El Paso Times, dated January 28, I noticed the Times reporter Sarah McClendon, also the Times, suggested to President Eisenhower that honorable certificates or discharges be given to Government employees. With pleasure I read your statement which meets with my ideas.

My main reason for sending this letter to you, Mr. REGAN, is to state neither the Times reporter nor the Times were the first to suggest the idea for discharges to Government employees.

In the year 1951, the Post Office Department had a compaign on offering cash prizes for the best suggestions offered by employees.

On June 23, 1951, I personally sent a letter to Postmaster General Jesse M. Donaldson, suggesting that the Post Office Department or other branches of the service be given an honorable certificate of discharge, also a lapel button, denoting the years of service served such as 20, 25, or 30 years in lieu of a small letter. I suggested to Mr. Donaldson a Government employee was as proud to show his discharge, or lapel button, the same as a soldier, marine, or Navy man and also air corpsman. I am also enclosing a facsimile of the letter Mr. Donaldson sent me. I have the original.

I have had the pleasure of meeting and conversing with you on numerous occasions. I feel you will hold no animosity against me when I say I do not appreciate the Times reporter and the Times taking the credit of being the first to make such a suggestion.

I feel that honor should be given to the Post Office Department and suggestions committee. As for my part in this idea we will let my letter be its own judge.

May I thank you for this privilege, and wish you continued success.

Sincerely,

CHAS. S. BORN.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. CHARLES S. BORN,
El Paso, Tex.

DEAR MR. BORN: I have your letter of June 23, in which you make a suggestion concerning the issuance of a certificate to retiring employees.

I am passing this on to the suggestions committee for their attention.

I think it has some merit.

Sincerely,

J. M. DONALDSON,
Postmaster General.

[From the New York Times]

PRESIDENT STUDIES PROTECTION FOR LOYAL UNITED STATES EX-WORKERS—PLAN CALLS FOR HONORABLE DISCHARGES FOR THOSE IN GOOD STANDING

(By W. H. Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, January 27.—President Eisenhower will investigate a proposal to adapt the Army system of honorable and dishonorable discharges to all Federal employees.

The idea was suggested to the President at his news conference today by Miss Sarah McClendon, a correspondent for the El Paso Times and other Texas newspapers.

President Eisenhower responded cautiously, saying that he had not thought the matter through. But he added that it might be possible to give letters of commendation to those who left in good standing and to withhold such letters from those who were separated as security risks.

He said that he would make inquiries within the Government to see whether such a plan could be worked out.

Miss McClendon said that those who now left the Government voluntarily had no means of proving that they had not been dismissed as security risks. She suggested that some formula be devised to fill this need.

The President said his own idea was that no one should be charged with disloyalty or subversive activity unless it were proved in court. He added that there were other persons against whom cases could not be proved in court who were, nevertheless, security risks and should not be employed by the Government.

DISMISSAL LIST HELD UP

Once again, President Eisenhower declined to break down the list of 2,200 dismissed security risks and furnish the information as to the number who were considered subversives as opposed to those who were discharged because of improper personal habits, such as drunkenness or perversion.

He said that he would take up the problem with Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, but he doubted that there could be any breakdown into specific categories, such as the reporters wanted.

The President reiterated that he would not classify as disloyal a person deemed to be a poor security risk because he did not necessarily believe such persons were disloyal. He added that no one had used such terms to describe all of the 1,400 removed as security risks.

A reporter recalled, however, that Governor Dewey, of New York, had referred to the original group of 1,456 as "spies and traitors." The President responded that no one in his administration had so described the group.

A check with Government personnel offices showed that any person who left the Government's employment at present received a copy of his "personnel action sheets," the original of which is on file with the Civil Service Commission.

This sheet notes, for example, whether an employee left voluntarily, such as for personal reasons; whether he was separated for economy reasons in a reduction-in-force program, or whether he was discharged.

A few employees who have left the State Department have requested and received letters attesting that they departed in good standing and not because of any derogatory information in their files.

INQUIRY FUNDS VOTED

Meanwhile, on Capitol Hill, the economy drive of Senator ALLEN J. ELLENDER, Democrat, of Louisiana, apparently ran out of steam, and the Senate appeared ready to invest nearly $500,000 in its two subcommittees that investigate Communists and subversives.

Commission on Foreign Economic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following minority report:

COMMISSION ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

(Minority report by DANIEL A. REED and RICHARD M. SIMPSON)

COMMISSION ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY,
Washington, D. C., January 30, 1954.

The Honorable DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States.

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON,
Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

The Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SIRS: On January 23, I transmitted to you the report of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, which was constituted pursuant of Public Law 215, 83d Congress, 1st session, approved August 7, 1953, 67 Stat. 472.

I now have the honor to transmit to you the attached minority report submitted by Representatives DANIEL A. REED and RICHARD M. SIMPSON.

Very truly yours,

CLARENCE B. RANDALL,
Chairman.

COMMISSION ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Clarence B. Randall, Chairman, Chicago, Ill.

Lamar Fleming, Jr., Vice Chairman, Houston, Tex.

Presidential appointees: David J. McDonald, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Cola G. Parker, Neenah, Wis.; Jesse W. Tapp, San Francisco, Calif.; John Hay Whitney, New York, N. Y.; John H. Williams, Cambridge, Mass.

Senators: EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, Republican, of Colorado; BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Republican, of Iowa; PRESCOTT BUSH, Republi-

can, of Connecticut; WALTER F. GEORGE, Democrat, of Georgia; HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia.

Representatives: DANIEL A. REED, Republican, of New York; RICHARD M. SIMPSON, Republican, of Pennsylvania; JOHN M. VORYS, Republican, of Ohio; JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee; LAURIE C. BATTLE, Democrat, of Alabama.

MINORITY REPORT BY DANIEL A. REED AND RICHARD M. SIMPSON

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 25, 1954.*

Hon. CLARENCE B. RANDALL,
Chairman, Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RANDALL: In accordance with our letter of January 18 forwarding our statement of general dissent to the Commission's report, we are submitting the second section of our dissent referred to in that letter, which is a more detailed expression of our dissent, as well as a statement of principles and recommendations which we believe should apply in the formulation of our foreign economic policy, as required under the act setting up the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

DANIEL A. REED,
RICHARD M. SIMPSON,
Members of Congress.

INTRODUCTION

To the report of the Commission on Foreign Economc Policy, dated January 23, 1954, we file a vigorous general dissent.

Basically, our dissent is founded upon the following:

(1) The report was prepared too hastily, without adequate consideration of the views of our industries, farmers, and workers, all of whom would be adversely affected by its recommendations. The mandate of the Congress called for submission of the Commission's report by March 6, 1954. This was admittedly a short time within which to consider the many problems involved. In his letter of transmittal of the report, the chairman says in part:

"The time available to us for this study has been extremely short, but we have pressed our work to early termination because of the obvious urgency of the matters involved."

The urgency referred to could hardly be a good justification for the haste to present an inadequate and one-sided report. The legislation providing for the Commission became law on August 7. The first meeting of the Commission, at which time officials and former officials of the Government were heard, was held on October 21. Some of the staff were not even recruited for some weeks following that date. The final report was approved by a majority, with numerous individual dissents on specific sections, on January 11, with the proviso that individual statements of dissent or comment by members must be filed by 5:30 p. m. January 18. The report was delivered to the President and released to the press on January 23.

Thus, the elapsed time from the taking of first testimony (October 21) until the release of the report (January 23) is but 3 months and to the approval by a majority of the Commission (January 11) was 2 weeks less. These periods of Commission activity are only 45 percent and 39 percent, respectively, of the 7 months granted by Congress. After the filing of the report on January 23, there remain 6 weeks which the Commission might have used to prepare a more comprehensive and competent report. In fact, if more time had been needed, we are sure Congress would have gladly extended the filing date.

(2) The report does not meet the mandate of Congress, because it fails properly to coordinate foreign economic policy with the domestic economy and national security of the United States.

(3) The report sets forth no recommendations for the handling of unemployment which admittedly would result from the adoption of its recommendations.

(4) The report does not consider the impact of its recommendations, if adopted, upon the tax revenues of Federal, State, and local governments.

(5) The report's basic concepts are founded upon economic conditions which have now ceased to exist in other nations of the free world. It ignores official reports of the United States Government which show increasingly sound and improved conditions of the other countries of the free world and trade among them.

(6) The numerous reports of the Commission's staff apparently will become an integral part of the Commission's report with the implication that they have had the affirmative approval of the Commission—an implication that is not warranted. Such staff reports should not be accepted as either comprehensive, objective, or essentially correct with respect to their factual contents. Nor should such reports be considered as representing more than the personal opinions and conclusions of the individual members of the staff who prepared them.

In our dissent we stated that we would propose alternative recommendations to those of the Commission, and provide more detailed criticism of the report, setting forth, in principle, those guiding doctrines for foreign economic policy which we believe will be in the best interests of the country as a whole.

Basic principles

Our dissent and recommendations are founded on the basic principle that it is the function of the United States Government to take only such action as may be advisable or necessary to provide a proper atmosphere within which the domestic economy, acting through private enterprise, can flourish and provide our people with a high standard of living. Unquestionably, we cannot live in isolation and a part of that atmosphere can be provided only through the medium of international relations, diplomatic, economic, and military. But such international relations are not an end in, and of, themselves. They are merely a means to an end—namely, the welfare of the citizens of this country. Accordingly, foreign economic policy should be considered primarily in its relation to the domestic economy.

However, whether the problem be looked at basically as one of domestic economy, as we think it should be, or as a foreign economic policy apart from the domestic economy, two basic facts exist as to which we think there is no dissent. These facts are recognized as true throughout the Western World and we set them forth without further attempt to support or justify them. They are:

(1) A sound, stable, and prosperous domestic economy in the United States is the most vital factor for a sound international trade and for healthy economies in the other countries of the free world, because of the tremendous rate of consumption of world products arising from the high standards of living prevailing in the United States.

(2) A sound, strong, and solid United States defense structure, founded upon a strong industrial base, is a prime prerequisite for peace and security in the world, without which stable international political conditions and expanding international trade cannot exist.

Anything which unduly disturbs these two basic factors necessarily imperils, not only international trade, but also the peace and security of the world.

This report is divided into two parts of (I) an analysis and criticism of the Commission's report, and (II) our recommendations—as alternatives to those of the Commission—for a foreign economic policy founded upon these principles and facts.

PART I. ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

After careful analysis and consideration of the position of the majority of the Commission we have been forced—reluctantly—to file this separate statement. There are substantial areas of the report to which we subscribe without qualification. Unfortunately there are, however, much larger areas of disagreement with respect to which we feel it is our duty to record in some detail the reasons for our dissents.

The majority report is merely a synthesis of the individual preconceived conclusions and opinions of a majority of the Commission. Indeed, it could not be otherwise in the absence of exhaustive hearings and studies of the conditions, problems, and issues which would be necessary for soundly conceived policy determinations.

In addition, of the 8 topics specifically referred to the Commission by the Congress, only 2 have been given adequate coverage in the report. Others are only superficially treated as to substance. Still other assigned topics, including some of the most vital, are totally ignored, as we point out later.

The Commission misconstrues its congressional mandate

The majority holds that "this report • • • is primarily concerned with the steps that this country can take toward solving the world's dollar problem, steps that will be consistent with our own political, economic, and security interests." The report then continues: "Or, to employ the language of the statute under which this Commission was organized, this report must deal with the enlargement of international trade in a manner consistent with a sound domestic economy."

To construe these two statements as synonymous is a clear misconception of the much broader congressional directive. The equating of these two statements permits the majority to proceed merely to offer their solutions for the so-called dollar shortage instead of addressing themselves to the problems, issues, and principles involved in the congressional assignment.

Areas of general agreement

The substantive sections of the majority report of the Commission are divided into 11 areas. We agree with many of the minor recommendations of the report. In fact, in eight of these areas we find ourselves in more or less substantial agreement with the conclusions and recommendations of the majority of the Commission.

Foreign investments: We find ourselves generally in accord with the recommendations in the area relating to foreign investments. The American investment market is open to foreign governments and their nationals on the same basis as to American citizens and private enterprises, provided they offer the same type and degree of security and the same financial integrity.

The first consideration in this area is to return international finance to private channels and put an end to loans from government to government. This would require proper protection by treaty or otherwise, at least for a reasonable length of time, against confiscation without just compensation. This will encourage a sufficiently adequate flow of capital abroad to offset continuing export balances on the part of the United States, the largest creditor nation in the world, for a period of a decade or more. During such a period it may be possible to regain multilateral convertibility of currencies on a gold standard basis, return to the traditional triangular trade which existed for decades before it was disrupted

by wars, and to adjust the political and ideological differences which now prevail between the East and the West.

In this connection, however, we cannot go along with the recommendation that the Government insure American private investments against the risk of war, confiscation, or convertibility of currencies. Among other things, this would merely encourage rather than discourage the dangers of confiscation of foreign investments by socialistically inclined governments.

On the other hand, we agree that incentive and other considerations should be given to taxation of income derived from foreign investments of American corporations and citizens. However, this is one of the matters now under careful consideration by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, to be reported to Congress in this session, and therefore we neither approve nor disapprove the proposals of the majority in this statement. (We subscribe fully to the views of Senator MILLIKIN on this subject as set forth in his letter, included in the report, which well expresses also our reasons for not committing ourselves at this time.)

We also approve the return to and expansion of the role of the Export-Import Bank with respect to governmental financing of foreign economic development and industrial projects, whether through the use of its own funds or through special appropriations from Congress for that purpose, particularly in the case of primary industry such as transportation and power.

We ourselves propose that the United States could further stimulate foreign investments by exempting foreign governments from registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission of their securities offered to American investors, putting them on the same basis as our own States.

Foreign aid and technical assistance: The Commission's recommendations as to rendering assistance to underdeveloped areas are based primarily upon moderate grants or loans by the Government on a matching basis with the "host" country, with primary emphasis upon technical assistance for the purpose of increasing the productivity and standard of living of those areas whose products are primarily raw materials for which the United States and the world stand in increasing need.

We heartily approve the Commission's recommendation that all foreign economic aid on a grant basis should be terminated as soon as possible, even in this limited field of underdeveloped areas.

We are skeptical with reference to the recommendation regarding offshore procurement. It should be made clear that offshore procurement for military purposes and military aid should not be used as a subterfuge for economic aid. Nevertheless, we are in full accord with the Commission's recommendations that where supplementary support is needed to maintain military forces or conduct military operations connected with our own security beyond the economic capacity of a country to sustain, we should make grants to such a country and not loans. Likewise, where substantial economic aid may prove necesary in the interests of the United States, but cannot be obtained from private or international sources, loans should be made and not grants.

Finally, although we agree with the majority that foreign aid should not become an instrument of coercion, we believe that where aid is extended we are fully justified in specifying conditions which attach to its use.

Adjustments to increased imports: We emphatically agree with 14 other members of the Commission that the proposal for Government subsidies to industries, workers, and communities that might be adversely affected by downward tariff adjustments should not be granted. By doing so, we would open up another Pandora's box of Government spending, subsidies, and control and create vested interests that might become entrenched and perpetuate themselves.

East-West trade: We cannot approve the majority proposals that the United States acquiesce in more trade between Western Europe and the Soviet bloc, without full consideration by Congress of this entire problem and its relation to our national security.

Farm policy: In view of the fact that the President has just forwarded a special message to Congress on this subject, we agree with the majority of the Commission that the matter should revert to Congress for its study and decision.

Raw materials: With respect to national commodity control schemes and international commodity agreements (involving export and import quotas, minimum prices, reserve and buffer stocks, and production controls or similar devices), we are opposed not only to extensive resort to their use, as the majority recommends, but we are against their revival or continuation in any form. They are cartel devices contrary to a free economy and likely to develop into forms of State production and trading—State socialism.

We also approve the majority's suggestions that the United States encourage diversification of the economies of countries that now depend upon a narrow base of production, largely of raw materials; and pursue policies that will temper the fluctuations of our economy and their effects upon those of other nations.

Tariffs and trade policy: Finally, as the last and perhaps the most important topic in the area of general agreement, we find ourselves in accord with some of the facts, conditions, conclusions and recommendations of the Commission in this area. More specifically, we approve the Commission's recommendations with respect to simplification of all commodity definitions and classifications of rate structures, elimination of multiple and conflicting standards of classification, consideration of changes and the bases of valuation of imported articles, and elimination of delays, redtape, and similar technical obstacles to efficient customs-levying administration.

Furthermore, we approve the recommendations with respect to proposed study by the Treasury Department of amendments to be recommended to Congress for changes in the now obsolete Anti-Dumping Act, which is no longer adequate under changed conditions to perform the functions intended.

In addition, the law is grossly unfair in several respects. The test of "injury to domestic industries" requires revision in light of technological developments in industry and reciprocal trade policies of recent years. The law fails to guarantee adequate notice and hearings to the importer and permits what are in effect star-chamber practices contrary to American principles of justice. The law also permits retroactive application of antidumping practices, as well as the dragging out of proceedings for months and even years before final determination, with additional imports suspended or reduced to nominal volume in the interim.

We cannot, however, agree with the recommendations of the Commission to the effect that the Buy American Act, passed by Congress in 1933 as an antidepression measure to reduce unemployment, should be amended "to give the President authority to exempt * * * the bidders from other nations that treat our bidders on an equal basis with their own nationals." Nor can we agree with the additional recommendation that the President in the meantime be authorized to direct Federal procurement agencies "to consider foreign bids which satisfy all other considerations on substantially the same price basis as domestic bids." Already the administration of this act has emasculated it and prevented it from accomplishing its objectives. The act should now be applied to protect the industrial base essential to national security and sound economy of the United States.

We cannot support the Commission's recommendation that the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934, as extended and amended from time to time thereafter, be further extended for a period of 3 years, with the President empowered to negotiate new trade agreements providing for a reduction in tariff rates by not more than 5 percent of their present level each year. If extended at this time, the act should be continued for not more than 2 years for reasons stated later in our recommendations.

Here it may be noted that, since the passage of the original Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act in 1934, average tariff rates have already been reduced 70 percent. Already, the United States stands seventh from the bottom of a list of 45 nations with respect to the average level of their tariff structure (according to the United States Tariff League). Any further reduction of any rate should be made on a selective basis, industry by industry and commodity by commodity, after a careful analysis of the potential impact of such cuts on each industry and each segment of agriculture, their employees, and the communities in which they operate.

At the same time we emphatically approve the Commission's recommendation that the President's power to increase rates wherever advisable should not be curtailed. But the guiding principle should be the welfare of the domestic economy, reflecting the views of those charged with responsibility for it.

The next recommendation in this area needs clarification. It proposes that the President be authorized, with or without receiving reciprocal concessions, to reduce tariffs by not more than 50 percent of the rates that prevailed on January 1, 1945, on products which are not now being imported or which are being imported only in negligible volume. As stated, it is not clear from this recommendation what not being imported means. Do the words cover situations where articles are not being imported because of existing high tariff rates or for other reasons?

We cannot go along with the recommendation that the President be authorized to reduce to 50 percent ad valorem or its equivalent any prevailing tariff rate now in excess of 50 percent. Whether or not any particular rate should be reduced should be determined upon individual study of the individual situation in each instance.

We approve, however, the recommendations that both the escape clause and peril point provisions in existing tariff legislation be retained. But their administration should be forthright and provide the protection which they were intended to give. To date, they have been of little practical assistance in stopping the spread of reduced business activity due to low-priced imports.

Finally, we support the majority's recommendations that the same standards of sanitation and health should be applied to imported as to domestic goods (and) plant and animal quarantine provisions should be maintained as at present.

We cannot, however, leave this important area without registering our extreme disappointment with respect to the inadequate coverage of this section of the report. It fails to recognize the existence of the fundamental principles of international trade and the essential philosophy of tariff policy development which Congress has followed since 1792. Under these policies we have developed the most dynamic, the most productive, and the most balanced society of all history with the highest living standards for our people.

While changes in past policies may now be advisable in our enlightened self-interest, such changes should be effected only after full consideration of their potential impacts on our American economy.

To abandon these policies at this time by a substantial overall reduction from present rates would, in effect, be the equivalent of acceptance of unilateral free trade and would jeopardize important segments of our society.

In view of the failure of the Commission to offer new criteria for establishing a basis for our tariff structure, this should be undertaken by Congress.

Areas of general disagreement

Up to this point this statement has largely dealt with areas of the majority report with which we are in general agreement—with exceptions noted within specific areas where we could not go along with the Commission's recommendations in all respects. The remaining areas of the report, while few in number, are, in our opinion, among the most vital. At the same time they represent the areas of the report with which we are in fundamental disagreement.

Labor standards in international competition: The majority report gives this subject utterly inadequate treatment. The discussion is very brief and nonfactual. It is not comprehensive of the problems of either comparable labor standards or other essential cost elements involved in competition for international trade.

In fact, the majority recommendation is confined strictly to a single, simple problem. Its sole proposal provides that negotiators of trade agreements shall grant no tariff concessions "on products made by (foreign) workers receiving wages which are substandard in the exporting country" (and that) "the United States attempt to raise labor standards (abroad) through consultative procedures and cooperation in international conferences such as those proposed by the International Labor Organization."

We fully agree with the recommendation that no concessions be granted on products where workers abroad receive wages that are substandard in their home country. We cannot, however, accept the recommendation with respect to the proposals that the United States attempt to interfere with the process by which foreign labor standards are determined within foreign countries. This, we believe, is strictly a matter within their own jurisdiction. We ourselves would strongly resent any attempt from abroad to interfere with our collective bargaining and other practices by which our wage rates and other working conditions are determined.

It is incomprehensible to us that the Commission has ignored the vital importance of wages, total labor, and other costs in determination of overall production costs and their relation to the intense international competition for our own domestic, as well as all world export, markets.

The Commission had access to recent authoritative research studies of the relative position of the United States and major foreign nations in respect to prevailing wage and other labor costs, tax costs, direct export subsidies, exchange subsidies and other indirect subsidies, as well as their relationships to, and effects upon, prices of merchandise offered in international trade. These studies show that wage differentials have broadened sharply in Europe and Japan in the postwar years over prewar differentials with the United States. In fact, wage rates in Europe and Japan now range from one-tenth to one-third only of prevailing American wage rates. In addition, the legal workweek in Europe averages 45 hours, in Germany in most industries 48 hours, while in Japan it is closer to 49 hours per week in contrast to our legal workweek of 40 hours. In addition, overtime pay abroad averages 25 percent in contrast to 50 percent here. These important considerations are not even mentioned in the report.

Productivity differences between the United States and its international competitors cannot be adequately measured, contrasting one country to another, but exhaustive studies made in recent months and presented to the Commission show conclusively that foreign productivity has increased substantially since 1945. Likewise, these studies show that in the postwar years wage rates abroad have not been advanced in proportion to productivity increases, as they have in the United States.

All these things add up to a substantially greater overall labor cost advantage to foreign producers over their United States competitors than existed prior to World War II. While it is fully recognized that our average man-hour productivity—with exceptions in specific industries—is substantially above average productivity abroad, nevertheless lower wage rates and other cost advantages abroad are so great that the high productivity in the United States is nullified or reduced in many fields.

In addition to these overall labor cost advantages, these studies show that foreign exporters enjoy considerably lower tax costs than their American competitors. Finally, they show that most all foreign nations also grant to their exporters direct and indirect export and exchange subsidies which are not offered by the United States Government to its exporters.

For more than a century, all these vital factors have been the primary basis on which Congress has determined tariff policies. Yet, they have been given no consideration by the report in face of a direct mandate from Congress to the Commission to study and report back in this field.

The postwar dollar problems and currency convertibility: As we have pointed out earlier, the majority deliberately or otherwise has assumed that the key problem referred to it by Congress was the solution of the so-called dollar gap that has prevailed in the postwar world. Under cover of this misconstruction of the key mandate, the Commission has proceeded to present those facts, conclusions, and recommendations which relate primarily to the justification of substantial increases in United States imports. The result is a failure to come to grips with the underlying problems which have disrupted international trade and finance. Stabilization and expansion of international trade cannot be achieved until the basic problems have been recognized and solved.

If the remedy were merely to open up United States markets to foreign imports in order to assure more dollars to European nations, the result would be a perpetuation of the problems that have caused the dollar gap. It would further mean that Europe would be encouraged not to return to its traditional channels of trade and multilateral convertibility of currencies which had existed for many decades. The results would be that the present imbalance in the western world would be increased and perpetuated.

As Mr. Bernard Baruch pointed out in his statement before the Commission:

"In all studies of this kind too much emphasis was placed on tariff reduction as if it held the solution to all international economic difficulties. One effect of this distorted emphasis is to give foreign countries an excuse for blaming their troubles on the United States, and by feeling sorry for themselves, to overlook what they must do on their own. * * *

"At present the lack of stable currencies is a far more serious obstacle to free trade than tariff barriers. These barriers take the form also of quotas and Empire preferences. As long as currencies continue to be manipulated, all trade is made more difficult. What trade does take place tends to be forced through Government channels. If the energies and ingenuities of the multitude of individual traders all over the world are to be given a chance, as is so vital, the very first requirement is to have a free market and free currencies.

* * * * *

"Nothing stimulates trade more than the knowledge that currencies are indeed freely interchangeable. Nothing does more to block the flow of trade, apart from war, than the fact that a nation's currency lessens in value beyond its own borders.

"It may be argued that currencies cannot be stabilized and kept stable unless there is a far larger volume of trade. Under certain conditions this argument would have validity. One of the responsibilities of the Randall Commission, as I see it, is to ask itself whether the instability of currencies is really due to a shrinkage of trade or whether the causes lie in the unwillingness of governments to do what must be done, to live within their means; also, in the failure to make peace. If these and other questions are faced up to, the answers may be unpleasant, but no policy can succeed if it is based on an evasion of the facts. No doctor's recommendations are better than his diagnosis."

This position of Mr. Baruch was vigorously supported by Mr. Per Jacobsson, representative of the economic advisers to the Bank of International Settlements, when he appeared before this Commission in Paris.

There he said:

"Convertibility means a free exchange market * * *; a free exchange market means getting rid of exchange controls—the worst features of restraint on trade * * *; now, why do we have convertibility? You know the textbook reasons, that there is more world trade, more prosperity, and a raised standard of living, and these reasons are very correct. * * * I also believe that in all European countries we shall never get the savings and confidence in the currencies really before we get convertibility. So we will never be able to stand on our own legs before we get a sound currency system * * *. It is my honest belief that the only way to stop aid (United States aid abroad) safely is to see that the countries apply monetary discipline and I know of no other way to get them to do it than to have convertible currency * * *; convertibility is for me one of the great defenses for a free economy."

The Commission does not comment on either the Baruch or the Jacobsson statements.

The majority report in this area confines itself primarily to a discussion and attempted justification of its conclusions that the recent dramatic improvement in gold and dollar reserves and international balances of payment may be only temporary. It argues that too early a return to convertibility would jeopardize rather than encourage expansion in international trade. It attempts to justify this position by stating that there is a danger of unfavorable developments in the terms of trade of Western Europe, by which is meant a decline of export prices without a corresponding decline in prices of imported raw materials. This in itself is contrary to past precedents following both World Wars and to the experience since the peak of inflation in the Korean war. Raw materials prices generally fall faster than finished goods.

The Commission makes only one recommendation in this area, but states its beliefs in other respects. It underlines its belief by repudiating the idea of establishing free markets, thereby approving the continuation of arbitrarily pegged exchange rates with substantial overvaluation of foreign currencies in terms of the dollar.

Nowhere in the Commission's entire report is any reference made to the desirabili-

ity of return to gold as a basis for regaining multilateral convertibility and trade, despite the fact that an international gold standard has been proven over the years to be the best method of attaining and maintaining convertability.

Concluding its review of this area, the Commission makes the only positive recommendation by proposing as a "means of strengthening foreign reserves and providing foreign exchange support operations to assist in the gradual attainment of general convertibility—that the Federal Reserve System explore with foreign banks the possibility of standby credits or line of credit arrangements." This is an astounding proposal. The Commission justifies it as a means "to prevent increase in the public debt."

This proposal would authorize the Federal Reserve System to engage in, or make loans to foreign central banks to engage in, currency stabilization operations to stimulate stability and convertability even in the face of the disastrous experience of the Bank of France, the Bank of England, and other foreign central banks as well as their official stabilization funds. Most of these funds became bankrupted in the years between the two wars in their efforts to accomplish this same objective. In fact, the Bank of France lost its entire capital and reserves and had to be recapitalized by law out of French Treasury funds.

All these past efforts were attempts to peg arbitrarily fixed exchange rates rather than permit all currencies to seek their own level on free markets or be made mutually convertible by reestablishment of an international gold standard.

This proposal of the majority of the Commission constitutes one of the greatest threats to which the American bank system and American bank depositers have ever been subjected.

PART II. RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Against the background of the facts and views set forth in part I, we believe that a sound foreign economic policy can be outlined.

The economy of the United States is the most prosperous, most productive, and most dynamic in the world. One basic factor in that economy is the protection afforded to our essential industries, our agriculture, our workers, by tariffs. Many industries could have been developed only under this protection and without them we would probably have lost World War II.

Tariffs insured to them the opportunity to develop productive facilities, products, and markets within the United States in full and free competition with those whose standards of production, labor costs, and other cost and pricing factors were similar. Legitimately expanding, as well as infant and defense, industries in this country have been protected from unfair competition of sweatshop labor, child labor, collusion, monopoly, and similar unfair competitive practices, long ago declared illegal in this country. Similarly, they have been protected from all such practices on the part of foreign competitors through tariffs, the objectives of which have been and should continue to be the elimination of all unfair competition.

There is no doubt but that the foreign economic policy of this country requires review and revision at this time in the light of changed conditions both in this country and throughout the world. But the basic question is: Are we going to force our industries, our farmers, and our workers to submit to more intensified competition with foreign producers operating under practices which in this country would be illegal? No sound reason has been submitted, insofar as we know, as to why the same standards should not be imposed upon foreign producers, shipping in interestate commerce in this country, that are imposed upon United States producers. To force United States producers to do business within the borders of this country against this type of competition from abroad would be the grossest kind of discrimination by a government against its own citizens.

In addition to this basic factor, it is generally recognized that international trade can be no stronger and healthier than the combined health of its parts, namely, the combined health of the different individual countries participating in international trade. One of the outstanding developments of the postwar world has been the dramatic economic recovery in Western Germany. This has been founded, not only upon the aid received from us for rehabilitation as a bulwark against communism, but also upon her own initiative and strenuous efforts to get her own house in order. She has stabilized her currency. Her people have worked long hours and without the self-pity which might have been expected in a defeated and devastated country. As a result, Western Germany is now the principal proponent in Europe of stability and expansion of international trade and finance and currency convertibility, a position based upon its own internal economic and political stability. Its efforts in this respect have been retarded by nations which have not achieved the same stability because of failure to put their own houses in order.

However, until other nations of the free world achieve such stability, anything which the United States does to assist convertibility may be only a temporary prop. We should not endanger the stability of our own economy to provide to foreign countries temporary supports which can never have permanent effect unless political and economic stability is internally created by other nations which receive the benefit therefrom.

Should we jeopardize our economy for the purpose of providing temporary aid for unstable economies of countries that refuse to take steps necessary to eliminate the causes of the very conditions that occasion their continued appeals for aid in one form or another?

The Commission's report frankly recognizes that changes involved in its recommendations will adversely affect segments of our domestic economy and cause unemployment and distress. Is this anything else but a different form of foreign aid, assessed against individual segments of the economy of the country rather than against the country as a whole? With all of the other major political and economic problems which we now face, we believe now is not the time to break up our winning home team upon which the future of the free world depends, by suddenly changing the rules of the game. Rather, it is the time to strengthen that home team and recognize those points where it can be strengthened. This necessarily means the avoidance of unemployment and stagnation as a result of failure to protect important segments of our industries and our agriculture.

What is needed, quite obviously, is not a redivision of existing markets. We must expand these markets and create new ones. Initial efforts have been made toward this in Europe and Africa through the creation of customs unions and wider, common markets, such as the Iron, Coal, and Steel Authority and similar joint efforts. Much has also been done, both privately and through our Government, by way of technical assistance—but this effort has been to increase production, not to expand consumption. Expanding consumption through improved marketing facilities and methods is what is now needed. Also, the answer lies in more stable political and economic conditions in the individual countries, conducive to expanding markets.

This leads inevitably to the basic question: What can be done to insure better political and economic stability in other countries? To date little, if any, effort has been made to place conditions upon the aid and assistance given by the United States to our friends overseas. We have financed attempts at socialism. We have financed various types of other political philosophies and economic systems. Despite this, our efforts have had some success, as shown by the great improvement in production, both agricultural and industrial, as well as in fiscal and monetary conditions in the free world in the last year or two. But the fact that we have gained little from the concessions made in our reciprocal trade treaties—the fact that restrictions and discriminations against the import and export trade of the United States are greater today than ever before—the fact that other nations have failed to follow our leadership in efforts to liberalize trade and increase markets—are all dramatic evidence of failure in our policy of free and unconditional aid and concessions.

We have supplied the means for new plants, machinery, and know-how in our programs of foreign aid, but we did not contemplate by this action that our aid would be further extended to give away also the domestic markets of our own industries and workers to absorb this newly created foreign capacity.

In our opinion the time has come for a firmer position by the United States—one which would contemplate a refusal of aid and concessions, unless conditions looking to sounder and expanding national economies are met. What we need in international relations is a commercial type of bargaining, which has been sadly lacking to date.

The foreign economic policy of our country involves two aspects, one relating to imports and their impact on our economy and defense structure, and the other relating to actions which can be taken only toward other countries in respect of such matters as convertibility of currencies, and their internal problems. Naturally, the two are interrelated. Insofar as restraints upon imports into the United States are concerned, these are found basically in our tariff structure, now one of the lowest in the world, and to minor degrees in the Anti-Dumping and Buy American Acts.

In the light of all the foregoing, therefore, we would propose the following broad principles for a foreign trade policy, based upon a new look at the conditions as they are today:

(1) The Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, if extended at all, should be continued for no more than 2 years. Meanwhile, changes in existing tariff rates should be made only after individual study by Congress of the effect of the proposed changes upon the particular industry and the entire economy.

(2) Administrative procedures should be provided to permit those industries which have already laid off employees, or are now or hereafter threatened with layoffs, because of low-priced foreign competition to seek and, where justified, obtain tariff adjustments which will place foreign producers on an equal competitive basis in the United States market.

(3) During the period of any extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act a thorough review of the tariff structure of the United States should be made by the Tariff Commission, industry by industry, and product line by product line. Such review should be held through open hearings, with ample opportunity for all parties with a legitimate interest to be heard. From this review recommendations for a new tariff structure should be made for submission to the Congress as a new base from which our foreign economic policy could be developed.

The fundamental principle guiding the review and the recommendations of the Tariff

Commission should be that of equalizing, by tariffs, the overall differentials which exist between this country and other countries. Any such review would, of necessity, reflect the fact that in mass-production industries, with high and efficient mechanized processes, tariffs can be low or nonexistent. Such review would also reflect the fact that in industries manufacturing custom-built goods, with high labor content, tariffs, to insure continued research and development and to insure a sound economic and defense structure, may require higher rates. Any such tariff structure would have to be sufficiently flexible to provide formulas for administrative adjustment to compensate for foreign governmental subsidies and other discriminatory factors which would militate against United States producers in their own home markets.

Obviously, in any review, protection should be eliminated or avoided for industries which are economically unsound and are not required for the economy and security of the country. Frivolous efforts by individuals or organizations to start new industries not essential to the economy, which can be more economically conducted elsewhere, should be discouraged.

(4) A review of the tariff structure also necessarily involves a review of the Anti-Dumping Act, which is now obsolete.

Also the review should take into consideration the Buy American Act. This act was initially passed during the depression to insure employment in this country, but it had the important corollary effect of insuring to the country basic industries and services essential in both peace and war. This corollary effect, resulting from the Buy American Act, should be recognized as an essential goal and function of any new policy, whether that goal be achieved by tariffs or otherwise.

Recognizing that certain industries, particularly public service industries such as transportation, electricity and gas, and communication, are basic to the entire economy in both peace and war, any sound policy should consider the necessity of insuring that their operation is not dependent upon any foreign sources of supply of equipment or maintenance which cannot be depended upon in any emergency.

(5) The question of raw materials poses a special problem. The Nation is becoming a deficient Nation in many commodities. It is important that foreign raw materials have easy access to the country. On the other hand, it is essential for the safety and security of the country that domestic sources be not permitted to die even though their costs may be comparatively high. We do not purport to have the answer to the problem, but recommend that special studies, commodity by commodity, be made by an appropriate agency chosen by Congress with a view to providing a better and sounder answer than has been forthcoming to date.

(6) The field of agriculture also poses a special problem. The world market is overhung with surpluses held in this country with the resultant instability. On the other hand, as with industry, we cannot afford to undermine our production of agricultural products with low-priced imports which may bring depression and stagnation to our agricultural areas. Revision of past policies which have created the current situation is now under consideration by the Congress as a result of the President's recent message.

(7) Unquestionably, American investment abroad should be encouraged. Incentives by way of tax revision are now under consideration by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and this phase of the problem will, therefore, be considered by Congress. It should be recognized that the basic factor in the encouragement of foreign investment is the stability of the countries in which investment is needed. As one aspect of this—and by way of recommending that the Government withdraw to the maximum extent from underwriting private foreign investments and from direct Government financing—it should be recognized that relatively few and comparatively small defaults on private credits and investments have occurred overseas, in contrast to governmental loans. There are, of course, major exceptions to that, especially in those areas that have resorted to nationalization where the losses or threat of losses have been very large. There are also restrictions upon withdrawal of dividends, interest, and capital, but these relate primarily to the problem of local stability. The major defaults of foreign countries have been on Government loans, and have been due, to a large degree, to the lack of a sound business approach by our Government to the problem. To a large degree private credits and foreign investments have been paid back to their investors.

(8) In furtherance of the effort to develop private foreign investments, United States Government agencies, probably the Export-Import Bank, should be empowered to make loans on a sound business basis to Latin America, and countries with similar economies, for primary industry such as transportation and power. This would be done in anticipation that, with the primary industry provided, private capital will be encouraged to invest in secondary industries such as manufacturing. Gradually, even this primary industry financing should be turned over to private investors as the economic climate improves and private capital again becomes accustomed to, and interested in, investment in foreign fields. Obviously such action would increase the capacity of these countries to absorb imports from both the United States and other countries.

(9) As already stated, the strengthening of political and economic stability of other countries will contribute more than any other factor to multilateral convertibility of currencies. Every effort toward restoration of convertibility should be made by our Government, consistent with the recommended reduction and elimination of economic aid. An additional major step can be taken in this direction—constructive leadership by the United States in urging other nations to return to the international gold standard. Only Switzerland, of the other nations, has it now. Improved economic conditions throughout the world make this not only a desirable, but a feasible goal. Encouragement by the United States in this field, in our opinion, has more likelihood of being effective by other nations than any other form of action which we might take.

The first step in world leadership would be for the United States to return to gold convertibility in its domestic affairs for which we have more than adequate gold reserves.

(10) Finally, there exists at present a wide division and dispersion of responsibility and authority in the field of commerce, both domestic and foreign, among the various departments and agencies of Government. This inevitably results in confusion, delays, and uncertainties in this area. We recommend that Congress study this problem with a view to clarifying and coordinating the policies and actions of the Government by adoption of appropriate administrative procedures and responsibilities in this field. The goal of any such study should be to coordinate foreign-trade policy with our domestic economic and defense policies in order to strengthen the latter.

Respectfully submitted.

DANIEL A. REED.
RICHARD M. SIMPSON.

Timber Balance in Douglas Fir Said Possible in Half Century

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I include as part of these remarks the fourth article by Merlin Blais in his series on our timber resources which appeared in the Portland Oregonian of December 23, 1953.

TIMBER BALANCE IN DOUGLAS FIR SAID POSSIBLE IN HALF CENTURY

How soon will the Douglas fir region grow as much new timber as it cuts? When will western Oregon and Washington achieve an actual sustained yield balance for their great $1,600,000,000 wood products industry?

A balance is possible between the years 2005 and 2010 A. D. on the basis of cutting and growth data now available. That's the view of a well-versed woodsman, W. D. Hagenstein of the Industrial Forestry Association.

Plenty of imponderables becloud the glass ball on this one, but Hagenstein has developed a plausible projection to place the all-important change about 55 years hence.

He started with a 1950 estimate of commercial timber at 416,100,000,000 board feet. The year's growth was put at 3,700,000,000 feet. Annual cut is fixed at 8,100,000,000 feet a year for the entire period, assumed constant on the basis of the average for the 25 years ended in 1951.

Growth starts low because so much land still is in old growth, which is static. But as cutting goes on, land transformed to a new crop steadily increases. Meanwhile, lands with young stands gradually increase the annual growth as their trees reach an 11-inch diameter, smallest now being recognized.

Nationally, the foresters have stated a balance is possible in about 25 years. This region's more distant balance seems an anomaly until one considers the lack of new growth in the 8 million or more acres of virgin timber still remaining.

YOUNGER TREES FELLED

As previously stated, this old growth could last 45 or 50 years, if it is not cut more rapidly than the past 25-year average. Second growth will gradually assume more of the burden, but should be largely spared for several decades yet.

A 1945 study indicated 27 percent of the timber cut in western Oregon was from second-growth stands. Though foresters say most of this took trees between 80 and 120 years of age, much of it was in trees 40 to 60 years old.

The Douglas fir usually increases its volume of usable wood most rapidly between 40 and 70 years of age. Its growth slows after that, but goes on at a fair rate until it is 120 or older.

Logging data for western Washington in 1951 show merits of allowing young trees to mature. Nearly 18 percent of acreage cut was in stands of 60 years or less, which produced only 8,000 board feet an acre, compared to 12,000 board feet for stands of 61 to 100 years, 20,000 for those from 101 to 160 years, and 30,000 for older stands.

A major gap in age classes in the new stands is in trees from 30 to 60 years old. Much of the land logged that long ago was

converted to farms, and some went 10 to 30 years before restocking.

GOOD CROP YEARS OFF

If the right harvesting age is between 80 and 120 years, as foresters say, then second growth should not become a major source for another 20 to 60 years.

All this and the fast-dwindling supply of private old growth explain the rising pressure by industry for heavier harvesting of Federal timber. Hagenstein told a congressional subcommittee during an access roads hearing last year that Uncle Sam owns 53 percent of the merchantable timber in western Oregon and Washington, but had contributed only 14 percent of the logs in 10 years.

He declared the Forest Service had sold only enough timber to harvest 56 per cent of its allowable sustained yield cut.

FEDERAL TIMBER KEY

The ten national forests west of the Cascades have steadily boosted sales. Last year their cut rose to 1,487,600,000 feet, nearly 76 percent of the allowable take, which itself had advanced nearly 300 million feet a year.

Federal foresters recognize the remaining old growth owned by Uncle Sam as the key steppingstone in the transition from an era of no forestry to that of managed forests.

The changed emphasis was most recently expressed by Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson before the Fourth American Forest Congress, when he said conservation and preservation were not synonymous terms and his Department's goal is "an acceleration of timber harvesting to bring the cut up to allowable sustained yield standards."

Strange as it may seem to the antilogging camp, the original act setting up the national forests in 1897 stated one of the objectives is "to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of the citizens of the United States."

But more access roads are critically needed in the national forests. To bring them closer to their full allowable cut during the next five years, the four national forests in western Washington need 1,316 miles of new or rebuilt roads, and the 6 in western Oregon require 1,636 miles, administrators estimate.

KILLED TREES VALUABLE

These include, roads needed to salvage timber killed by winds and beetles. The program designates 215 miles in Oregon and 36 in Washington to be built by the Government, the rest by timber purchasers.

More manpower also is needed to prepare tracts for sale in both States, the Forest Service states.

Increasing importance of Federal timber prompted strong efforts by United States Representative HARRIS ELLSWORTH last spring for a $125 million advance for access roads.

Besides pushing for roads, industry seeks a more liberal cutting policy. The Forest Service's sustained-yield formula is too strict and its inventory figures are too low, industry charges. One leg of its formula on allowable cut is based on the growing cycle, ranging from 75 years in hemlock in the Olympic Forest up to 160 years in parts of the Cascades.

ONE-HUNDRED-YEAR CYCLE ADVISED

More weight should be given the growing capacity of cutover land; a cycle of 100 years is more realistic, asserts industry.

BLM is more up to date in fixing allowable cut for the O. & C. and public domain timber—about 2,600,000 acres, it is stated. However, it should be added that BLM lands generally are more productive, being at lower elevations and enjoying greater rainfall.

Several upward revisions in the past 3 years have pushed allowable cut almost to 750 million board-feet a year, up 25 or 30 percent, on BLM lands. This is likely to rise again as the aerial inventory progresses.

In the past fiscal year, BLM sold about 585 million feet in the Douglas fir area, 44 percent in salvage timber. BLM has announced it will cruise and put up for sale as much as 692,494,000 feet next year, again emphasizing salvage.

Chief criticism leveled at BLM by operators hits at its right-of-way policy, which is vital because most of its lands are intermingled with private holdings, checkerboard fashion. BLM generally demands permanent crossing rights, which nettles traditionally independent lumbermen.

About two-thirds of the remaining virgin timber is in Federal forests. Industry sees it as a major cushion against tough bounces that may lie ahead, for reducing liquidations among operators that otherwise would run out of timber, and for pulling them through the years while their own new crop of trees is coming on.

Projection of future commercial timber supply in Douglas fir region

[In billion board-feet, log scale]

Year	Inventory	Annual growth	Inventory and growth	Assumed cut
1950	416.1	3.7	419.8	8.1
1960	376.1	4.5	380.6	8.1
1970	344.1	5.3	349.4	8.1
1980	320.1	6.1	326.2	8.1
1990	304.1	6.9	311.0	8.1
2000	296.1	7.7	303.8	8.1
2005	295.1	8.1	303.2	8.1
2010	296.1	8.5	304.6	8.1
2020	304.1	9.3	313.4	8.1
2025	311.1	9.7	320.8	8.1

Comics as a Communication Form

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Joseph W. Musial, educational director of King Features Syndicate, Inc., before the Advertising and Selling Alumni Association of the Advertising Club of New York on September 2, 1953:

The comics have been in business many years. Through 50 years, from the beginning of the Newlyweds (later Bringing Up Father) by King Features Syndicate's genius of human-interest appeal, George McManus; Little Jimmy, by Swinnerton; Opper's Happy Hooligan, and others, the cartoon has been consistently a public-relations medium—a circulation builder from the start. Today substantial numbers of readers switch from one newspaper to another if their favorite cartoon changes publishers.

Circulation building can be called the cartoon comic's original business.

Basically the cartoon comic is still a most important tool for circulation.

Because advertising rates are based upon circulation, it should be of vital interest and concern to those in advertising and public relations to evaluate and understand the principles underlying these comics—these great builders of circulation.

King Features Syndicate is managed by Mr. Ward Greene, who believes that our syndicate's operation should be based on intelligent understanding of newspaper needs and be devoted to service. In that service, in addition to comics there are fashion features, columnists like Bob Considine, George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler, and Buga Baer.

The King Features Syndicate sales organization, with Mr. Frank Nicht at the helm, services some 2,500 newspapers per week in 31 different countries and 27 languages, making it the largest syndicate in the world.

Our editorial and sales efforts are concerned with increasing and sustaining the individual newspaper's circulation.

Occasionally we hear the assertion that a syndicate can force a feature upon a newspaper and that the contents of a feature are controlled by a syndicate. That is not accurate. The buyer of a feature for his particular newspaper is the critic. He is the final editor. It is his privilege to cancel his contract or refuse to run a syndicated feature. Bearing that fact in mind, you can see that any syndicate would be out of business if it handled objectionable material. So, no matter where the newspaper is located, it is the newspaper alone which really determines what to print.

I think I can say King Features Syndicate is successful as an organization because in service we make the newspaper's business our business.

Now let's try to understand why comics are so potent as a form of communication and perhaps to associate some of those reasons with advertising. After all, the advertiser too is interested in reaching people.

The successful comic reaches people because in its form it is a package of condensed presentation. Yet, though physically static, it suggests movement, evokes hordes of other images and tells a story. It tells not of a man but of men; not of a wedding or a picnic or a fear or an appetite but of weddings, picnics, fears, and appetites in general.

The cartoon hits home because its topic and situation are grasped at once by all who view it. Unlike literal illustrations, the cartoon employs exaggerated measurements, actions, and values. It not only presents truth but also transforms universal, recognizable, appreciable truth into universal appeal.

This accounts for the success of the cartoon.

What it means to a sponsor or advertiser is obvious.

The successful cartoonist must have a genius for understanding the principles of good motivation. He does not flinch from emotional appeal. Like a good teacher who puts motivation first, he works in full confidence that understanding and reason will follow where strong feelings lead.

The Blondie mental health comic books have shown that the cartoonist can translate for the masses even such an abstraction as psychiatry. This Blondie book was produced in collaboration with Newton Bigelow, M. D., commissioner of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. Many thousand copies were distributed. Not only New York but also Ohio and Pennsylvania are using it. Its success has contributed another chapter to the story of comics as a communication form.

The Dagwood Splits the Atom book was inspired by the now retired Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, former head of the Manhattan project which created the first atom bomb. His purpose was to bring to the masses a clearer understanding of atomic energy. This booklet was concerned primarily with reassuring the fearful that atomic energy can be used for peacetime purposes. Mil-

lions of copies of this Dagwood booklet have been distributed and are still being distributed by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Armed Forces. It has been translated into Spanish, French, and Swedish. The original 24 drawings were blown up to 4 feet square each and are today a permanent part of the Oak Ridge Atomic Energy Museum. Our general manager, Mr. Greene decided that, as a public service, the booklet must not be sold over the counter. Hundreds of newspapers and agencies therefore freely distribute Dagwood Splits the Atom.

These two booklets are examples of comics as a valuable visual aid, a clarifier of language. They show how to familiarize readers with words which the reader would neither meet nor notice in other types of reading, by creating reader interest in the unfamiliar word and fixing its definition image in the reader's mind.

Now, although the comic cartoon may be the stuff of artistic fantasy, it can give the shape and color of reality to the things it deals with. Nothing else but a drawing gives such a sense of reality to an idea or attitude. The comic cartoon has the reality of not only the thing that can be seen; it has the reality of the thing that can be felt also. Applied to advertising or learning, this visual comic cartoon aid can give life to huge bodies of material now generally regarded as abstract and unreal. Far from being mere fantasy, cartoon animation can become a crack salesman of reality.

Is this cartoon field already significant in communication and is it a social force? Here are some figures that answer:

Sixty million adult men and women read the Sunday color supplements.

Eighty-one percent of adult urban Americans read the comics.

Seventy-seven percent read strips in the daily papers.

Seventy-six percent read features in the Sunday supplements.

Twenty-five percent are current readers of comic magazines.

Ninety percent of the children to whom newspapers are available read the comics they carry.

It is interesting to note that the comic has not only developed as a communication form. It has improved in drawing, and today many comics are concerned with dramatic adventures and romance stories. Nevertheless, the comic we think of as a pure comic of 30 to 50 years ago is still the tops not only in popularity polls but also in sales. You may recall it was first Jiggs and Maggie, then Little Jimmy, then Happy Hooligan, then the Katzenjammer Kids, then Barney Google and Spark Plug, then Popeye. Now it is Jimmy Hatlo's They'll Do It Every Time, and Blondie by Chic Young.

As those of a student of this form of communication, my findings may be of interest.

First, we know that the comics are, like books or movies, avenues of escape. They provide not only escape but reader identification as well. Thus, most popular cartoonists reveal a profound understanding of the motivation underlying human behavior. The characters they create respond in recognizable patterns to the basic emotional motives that determine human behavior. As with people, the need for recognition, for being wanted, for meeting the demands of life, are some of the essential elements that govern the behavior of comic-strip characters. The acts of repression or aggression, the expressions of emotional immaturity and instability on the part of these characters, are deliberately incorporated to reflect the extent of their success or failure in fulfilling those basic needs. At home, pick up your favorite paper or magazine and note that the comics you like involve any or all of the basic principles of interpersonal relationships.

It is, therefore, no accident that people say, "I like Blondie because it's just like my husband, or my wife, or the guy next door."

Let me remind you that in this country each year over 7 million students are enrolled in high schools. However, only about 20 percent of those 18 and over will go on either to college or a vocational school, leaving nearly 2 million a year—10 million in 5 years—no longer exposed to education or material that can influence better citizenship. Parenthetically, you who are in advertising can see the potential market offered by these millions of new buyers for everything from ice boxes to cars; people who are setting up housekeeping; potential mothers and fathers. As to guidance toward good citizenship, I might comment here that the campaign managers of both political parties have neglected to sell concepts to these potential voters now in their formative years. Enough votes are here to swing a national election.

Think of what public relations established today in this young audience would mean in terms of a buying audience tomorrow.

Think of what great opportunity it offers for the promoting of better citizenship, for perpetuating the American way of life.

With 10 million youngsters today facing part-time classes because of lack of schools and lack of some seventy thousand teachers in elementary schools alone, isn't it logical that a great deal of material might be quite welcome in this area alone? I am referring to visual aids sponsored by industry and business. Schools will welcome such visual aids if these aids are designed for school use and if they are not overmotivating and if they do not attempt to do the teacher's job.

Cartoon comics have earned and proved their acceptance as circulation builders.

As public relations tools in the hands of business and advertising, they can prove just as successful.

I have seen cartoons used in advertising. However, in my opinion, when they are used as an ornament or decoration or eye-catcher, they fail to give the advertiser enough.

The comic technique always involves characters participating in the things they talk about. You all know the value of audience participation. The participation principle must be adhered to if you're going to use cartoons.

May I state this another way? If you're going to spend money, and if it costs no more to give a starving man a fresh loaf of bread, why give him one that is only half fresh?

It is my belief that despite some objections to the existing cartoon methods used in advertising, comic-cartoon technique can become a great salesman and a sound investment.

The comic cartoon is sure-fire motivation in the learning process. Through its personifications and dramatizations it can be a powerful aid in getting across information, ideas, and attitudes. It can sell. Because of its pictorial and emotional appeal to young people, the comic cartoon, in the hands of advertisers, public relations men, and educators, could become a successful salesman of ideas or merchandise.

Far from carrying off the reader into an idle fantasy world, the animated cartoon can and should impart the intense feel of reality to whatever subject it deals with. Bearing in mind the danger of oversimplification, the comics should not presume to set themselves up as substitutes for classroom discussion or teacher demonstration, for textbooks, or for literature; nor, when used in advertising, should they ignore the validity of honesty in promoting sales of products.

Teachers are tireless in improving human understanding.

I suggest that advertisers also, and those in radio and television, would do well to explore the comic technique.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. FALLON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, it is with distinct honor that I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article and an editorial written about one of our greatest American statesman, the Honorable James A. Farley:

[From the Frederick (Md.) Post]

HOOVER-FARLEY TEAM

Twenty years make a great difference in the lives of men as of nations. Two leading antagonists of the national campaign of 1932 are today members of the same panel entrusted with Government reorganization, and they look forward to working shoulder to shoulder now, with no vestige of the bitterness when they were working at cross purposes.

Herbert Hoover, who lost the Presidency in 1932, and James A. Farley, who masterminded the campaign that defeated him, have been named as the two Presidential public members on the Commission on Government Reorganization by President Eisenhower. Their acceptance remarks showed an eagerness to work together that left no residue of resentment between them. As a matter of fact, they have been neighbors for years, living in the Waldorf Towers in New York, that fabulous abode also of General MacArthur, Bernard Baruch, the Duke of Windsor and other world distinguished tenants.

The great engineer and the great politician will bring complementary talents to the work of the Commission. A President cannot possibly know in detail the political pressure his administration must sustain. A President-maker knows intimately the claims and influences that affect government, and may be able to suggest safeguards against them. It should be a team very fruitful for public good.

[From the Washington Star of August 2, 1953]

FARLEY TO SERVE NATION IN NEW HOOVER AGENCY—WRITER TELLS HOW TRICK REELECTED ROOSEVELT IN 1936

(By Frank R. Kent)

Acceptance by James A. Farley of an appointment from a Republican President to a nonpartisan commission headed by a former Republican President deserves a little more attention than it got. Possibly Mr. Farley may have served before on a nonpartisan agency dedicated to reform, efficiency, and economy. But if so it cannot now be recalled. This seems his first.

For Mr. Farley is a Democrat of Democrats. His party regularity is without flaw. There have been times when he voted for candidates whom he disliked and distrusted. There have been times when the principles expounded by his party sharply clashed with his own convictions. Yet after the nominations were made and the platforms adopted, no matter how badly they smelled, there never has been a time when he did not support both to the hilt.

Considering all this, it was rather a warming thing when Mr. Farley so promptly accepted, expressing gratitude to President Eisenhower for the assignment and asserting that he regarded it as an honor to serve under Herbert Hoover. The fact is that even in 1932, when Mr. Farley was doing his best to defeat Mr. Hoover for reelection, he respected him as a man and as a statesman. Neither before, later, nor during that cam-

paign did he join in the outrageous smearing of Mr. Hoover which established a new low in political mendacity. Certainly he did all he could to beat him, but never did he get down to the low level of so many of the Roosevelt aides.

In the months ahead it is reasonable to predict that Mr. Hoover will find no man on the Commission who will give him more wholehearted support than Mr. Farley. Especially, Mr. Farley ought to be useful in framing the recommendation to put the Federal Post Office on a solvent basis. Better than almost any one else Mr. Farley knows that the vast post office deficits are due to the low rates at which the great weekly, monthly, and daily magazines, periodicals, and newspapers are carried through the mails. Also better than almost any one else, Mr. Farley knows the political strength of the resistance to raising these rates. By putting his full weight back of this recommendation, sure again to be in the report of the new Hoover Commission, Mr. Farley might do a really great service.

He might build a higher monument to himself than the one he erected in 1936 when he engineered what many regard as the greatest political coup in American politics. It may be worth while to recall the facts in more detail than they have been given. The chief one is that for more than 70 years the Negro vote in States where it was counted, to wit, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Connecticut, had been solidly and unshakably Republican, the basic asset of that party. Early in 1936 Senator Joseph F. Guffey, of Pennsylvania, went to Mr. Farley, then Democratic national chairman, and sold him the idea that if Mr. Roosevelt would cooperate by making Negro appointments in his State he would carry it. The astute Farley reasoned that if that could be done in consistently Republican Pennsylvania it could be done in all the other States with a sizable Negro vote. A couple of days later Senator Guffey and Mr. Farley went to the White House and laid the plan before Mr. Roosevelt.

Would Mr. Roosevelt cooperate? He jumped at the chance. Right away he named an influential Negro Pittsburgh editor as an Assistant Attorney General, the highest public office any Negro had ever filled. He then paved the way for an unprecedented number of minor Negro appointments. These, under direction of Mr. Farley, were limited to the 11 States listed above. Having gotten this patronage essential well started, Mr. Farley launched a great propaganda drive from the national committee. He put on its payroll scores of Negro teachers, preachers and speakers. These he sent out to spread the New Deal gospel to the Negro voters in the 11 States.

The Farley-Guffey plan paid off in a big way. Roosevelt not only carried Pennsylvania but all the other States given the special treatment. After the election, Mr. Farley admitted it could not have been done but for the help of Mrs. Roosevelt, whose popularity among the Negroes was greater than that of her husband, and of Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA, who in the weeks before election put an almost incredible number of Negroes on the payroll. In brief, the Democrats transferred in important electoral States literally millions of votes from the Republican Party, thereby making each one count two. The Republicans were stunned. Nor have they yet been able to get them back. Even in 1952 the Negro vote in these 11 States was largely Democratic. It is not surprising the politicians regard that 1936 Democratic theft as the slickest political trick of all time. But in contribution to the restoration of national solvency Mr. Farley now has an opportunity to do a service to his country in which he can really take pride.

The Housing Slowdown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Democratic Digest of February 1954 entitled "Are We Building a Building Bust?" which I think will be of interest to the Members of the House of Representatives:

ARE WE BUILDING A BUILDING BUST?

All during the fall, throughout the Nation, the home-building industry has had a bad case of jitters. Builders have been curtailing operations and holding back on plans for 1954. New housing starts have been dropping steadily. The sharp dropoff of applications for Government financial help, through the FHA, points to a recession in the housing industry next spring that may reach serious proportions.

The reason for the slump is not hard to find. The Nation has been suffering from more than one kind of drought this year. In addition to the water drought that has been plaguing the South and Southwest, the entire Nation has for many months been suffering from a mortgage money drought.

The signs of such a drought, while perhaps not as dramatic as lean cattle and parched farmlands, are no less unmistakable:

Dallas, Tex.: One builder reported that he was shutting down for the first time in 13 years because he couldn't swing the necessary loans. Another, who said he would build 50 houses right away if loans were forthcoming, wrote, "We are closed down, no jobs going, and nothing planned." A third, who specializes in $10,000 homes, complained, "I have 40 lots ready for development, but loans available for only 22. After the 22 are built, I'm out of business, because there are no prospects of a loan."

Bucks County, Pa.: A builder who had sold 49 $12,000 houses in 5 days and took deposits on 50 more from home buyers, had to refund the deposits after 2 months of struggling with financing. So many mortgage brokers own pieces of builders' businesses, he said, that in a money pinch, independents like him are left out in the cold.

Kansas City: One of the biggest home-building organizations reported: "Our plans for 1954 are very problematical." The magazine House and Home recently quoted a Kansas City builder as saying, "Unless this situation changes, every small home builder is going to be out of business."

Tulsa, Okla.: "The mortgage situation in Tulsa is very critical," reports the Tulsa Tribune. "Virtually no new FHA or VA loans are being made • • • there will be a [housing] shortage this fall and winter unless the mortgage situation improves and improves fast."

What ails the home-building industry? The diagnosis is not difficult: the new hard-money policy of the Eisenhower administration is mainly responsible for the drought of mortgage money.

Mortgage money has been hard to come by for many months. But when Treasury raised the interest rate on Government bonds early this year, thus tending to channel investment money toward bonds and away from mortgages, the situation grew critical. By the end of April, the National Association of Home Builders reports, "the crisis reached a fever pitch. Veterans and others were unable to take possession of homes; builders had begun to show down operations and to lay off crews."

Early in May, supposedly to break the mortgage drought, the administration raised Government interest rates on housing loans. Veterans' Administration rates went up from 4 to 4½ percent; FHA loans from 4½ to as much as 5 percent.

Government officials talked pleasantly of assuring that this year's housing production will continue at the high annual volume required to meet housing needs as a result of the interest rate boost. But they said nothing about the increased costs to home-builders and home buyers, nor about the increased profits that would go to mortgage bankers.

As a result of the increase, the home buyer using a typical $10,000 FHA mortgage will have to pay an extra $350 over the life of the mortgage. FHA-insured housing will rent at a higher price as a result of the new rates. Experts estimate the FHA rate increase alone will cost home builders and buyers an added $87 million a year.

Alabama's Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, one of Congress' leading housing experts, pointed out that the VA interest rate increase would cost the average veteran the equivalent of an extra bedroom. A typical $9,000 20-year mortgage will cost the veteran an extra $583.

If the rate increases had succeeded in breaking the mortgage logjam, they might have seemed worth the extra cost. But three months after the new rates went into effect, the National Association of Home Builders reported that "the shortage of mortgage money remains the No. 1 national housing problem."

The mortgage bankers had their own solution for the problem: another round of interest rate increases. But at this, the home builders rebelled. As one prominent builder put it: "The mortgage lending industry sold us builders a bill of goods when it got us to go along with them in favor of a higher interest rate before. We've seen that their plan benefits neither consumers nor builders, so we're not buying any more of the same because we think it's dangerous not only for the buying public and the building industry, but for the mortgage industry itself and for the country as a whole."

What angered builders—and injured home buyers—even more were the hidden rate increases in the form of special "discounts" and "premiums" the mortgage bankers were asking and receiving. Congress legalized these practices last June by a special amendment lifting the FHA and VA ban against passing such premiums and discounts on to the home buyer. As a result, with a 3 percent discount on a $10,000 GI mortgage, the veteran pays $10,000, but the banker gives him only $9,700. In New Jersey, discounts have been reported as high as $800 on a $10,000 mortgage.

The tight mortgage market has another unfortunate byproduct; it hampers most the building of low-cost homes. The magazine House and Home points out, "There is hesitancy everywhere except in the quality house (i. e., high-priced, built-to-order) area."

Judging from the fact that the mortgage drought seems to have injured both home-builders and home buyers, and to have benefited only the mortgage lenders, it appears that the lenders are in the saddle economically, and perhaps politically as well. One of the Eisenhower intimates is Aksel Nielsen, former president of the Mortgage Bankers Association, whose Colorado ranch General Eisenhower visited immediately after his nomination in 1952, and for a part of his 1953 summer vacation. President Eisenhower has appointed Nielsen a member of his advisory commission on housing, and, according to the Wall Street Journal, he "will dominate the study group's view on public housing, other issues."

But Nielsen is not the only realtor on the advisory commission, an analysis of the membership of the group shows that it is

made up of 10 officers of banks and other lending institutions; 5 operators of real estate and building businesses; 2 architects; 2 representatives of labor, 1 veterans' representative and 1 representative for all civic, professional, church, research and planning agencies. Time magazine reports that after the December meeting of this group, a banker member remarked: "Well, the builders didn't get the keys to the United States Treasury."

Another prominent member of the President's advisory committee is New York mortgage banker George Bliss, who recently expressed the point of view that caution rather than a shortage of funds is the primary reason for tightening of mortgage credit.

"Lenders are becoming more selective," he said, "because there are indications that a continuation of new home construction at a rate of 1 million or more houses a year may soon lead to an oversupply of homes."

Such a philosophy, implying a planned curtailment of new housing to create an "economy of scarcity" in the housing field, is no less than shocking to most who have studied America's housing needs, and who are concerned over the prominence of mortgage bankers in Government housing circles. The Housing Census of 1950 classified 10 million housing units as "substandard," and Fortune magazine reported recently that 7 million of these are still being occupied. Forty percent of all United States housing is more than 30 years old. The late Senator Taft, once a champion of public housing, estimated a few years ago that it would take at least a million and a half new housing units a year to take care of the Nation's needs; the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the Government places the figure at 1.4 million a year, and even House and Home, the Luce publication for the home-building industry, puts the need at "well over 1 million a year." Yet, in the face of these figures, the program drafted by the President's Advisory Committee, aims at only a million new housing units a year.

There are indications that not only mortgage bankers, but the top Government housing official himself, are concerned with the problem of an oversupply of housing rather than with housing needs. The executive vice president of the United States Savings and Loan League, Norman Strunk, put it this way: "My impression is that they (the administration) are trying * * * hard to prevent a superabundance of mortgage credit which might mean an annual building rate of 1.5 million new units or more." Such a rate of building, he says, "would very promptly create a serious oversupply of houses and bring a quick and sudden end to the stability which now exists in the field of residential real estate."

Top housing official Albert Cole apparently agrees. "We can expect," he says, "that home building will drop moderately below the million-plus rate of recent years."

But the housing slump, and the apparent philosophy of curtailing new building, may effect far more than the home-builders and home buyers; it may effect the entire economy.

House & Home recently put the issue this way: "The dramatic rise of the new home-building industry was perhaps the biggest single factor in Truman prosperity. Its collapse could be the biggest single factor in an Eisenhower depression."

The President of the National Association of Home Builders issued an even graver warning when he said, "In recent months, unmistakable signs point to a return of some of the lending practices that contributed to the economic collapse of more than 20 years ago * * * Stringent money policies deny housing to low and modest income families * * * the income group that has been most instrumental in elevating the home-building industry to its present strong position in the national economy. * * * A serious housing production drop in 1954 will have a depressing effect on national prosperity."

Even if the log-jam in the financing of private housing is broken, there will remain the problem of meeting the pressing needs of low-income families who cannot afford to build or own their own homes. This is a particularly acute problem for the Eisenhower administration, since Congress last year killed the entire public housing program which the Democrats initiated in 1949.

But the big question remains, will the administration reverse its tight money policies and take vigorous steps to stimulate home building?

Perhaps the best answer comes from a San Francisco builder who said recently: "I'm a Republican, but I'm sure that anybody who is running for Congress next year will plug for more housing, even at the risk of the sound money policy, if he wants to get elected."

Peter's Chains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the annual statement of the Catholic bishops of the United States entitled "Peter's Chains." I believe that this should be brought to the attention of all of the Members of Congress.

PETER'S CHAINS—STATEMENT OF THE BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES ISSUED NOVEMBER 21, 1953

The heroic constancy of the martyrs and the unwavering witness of the confessors have always been preeminent among the signs that distinguish and identify the true church of Jesus Christ. Look where you will in Europe and in Asia, in every land now shrouded in the gloom of communism, and you will see the solid phalanx of bishops, priests, religious, and faithful, our modern martyrs and confessors, gathered around the Cross of Christ, the standard of salvation—the one steady light which still shines in the general darkness. We in the free countries still speak of a cold war; these men and women are enduring the bitterest, the bloodiest persecution in all history.

Shepherds of the flock of Christ are hunted down, imprisoned, debased, tortured, slain. Sick and helpless sisters are dragged from their convents, condemned to the slow death of forced labor on roads, in forests, and in mines, or to the quicker death of starvation. Peasants are slaughtered and flung upon the pyres of their burning churches. Innocent children are torn from the arms of their Christian mothers and handed over to atheist debauchers.

It is a war against all who believe in God and his Christ, against all who dare to claim for man the liberty of the sons of God. It rages from Korea to China and to Indochina; from Russia to the Baltic lands; from Poland and Lithuania to Yugoslavia; from the Ukraine to Albania; from Czechoslovakia to Hungary, to Rumania and Bulgaria; it rages in the eastern parts of Austria and Germany. And everywhere the Church of God, her sacred ministers and her faithful children are the first targets of the persecution. Millions of them have already died for the faith. Who shall count the number of those who are now suffering and marked for death?

This is a war against the true religion of Jesus Christ. When will men in the free world come to realize that the crisis of today is first of all a crisis of religion, that the Communist debaser of man is essentially a hater of God, that his long-range and his short-range purpose is the destruction of Christianity. From Marx to Malenkov, the Communist sees Christ as the enemy to be exterminated.

Is it not, then, the strange anomaly of our times that a calculated confusion has been able to hide from so many of our people the primary, the changless purpose of the enemy? How few there are who understand that the struggle for liberty is a warfare against the fanatical foes of Christ. How few there are who know that millions of Catholics have already died that the rest of us might live.

Here is a story of epic nobility, of unsurpassed human grandeur, of deathless spiritual devotion. Our martyrs and confessors are the glory of the age in which we live. One would have thought that the Western World would rise as one man to do them reverance, would write their deeds of valor in letters of enduring gold. Instead, indifference, scant notice or silence. Only in the Catholic press will you find the martyrology which the historians of tomorrow will account the greatest glory of today.

Who can now recall the chroniclers of Nero's day? But the names of Peter and of Paul have endured throughout the centuries; above their tombs rise the noblest temples of Christendom, and pilgrims come in multitudes unnumbered to remember and to pray.

Nor can history be kind to those men of state who retreated to the refuge of a polite neutralism while the crucial battle of our times was being fought.

History can record only in reprobation that while Nero raged in the east against the true church of Christ, the Voltaires of the west raised their olden cry "Ecrasez l'Infame" and sought to crush these valiant fighters for God and human freedom. Genuine philosophy must list Nero and Voltaire as allies. History will register the fact of that alliance in the Warsaw maneuver which would cut off from help the champions of the authentic liberties.

And what shall we say of those ungenerous men, who in the crisis of our times have been found so sadly wanting—those narrow sectarians who allowed their petty or their imagined grievances to obscure the true greatness of our blessed martyrs and confessors. We shall leave them to God and to the worm of conscience, as we pray, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

The Catholic bishops of the United States of America, gathered together in their annual assembly at Washington, proclaim to all their faithful priests and people the solemn duty of instant and constant prayer for our suffering brethren of the church of silence. When Peter was in prison, the church prayed without ceasing for him, and the Angel of the Lord touched him and the chains fell off from his hands. Peter is again in chains.

Let there then be supplication to God and penance that His grace be poured out in superabundant measure to strengthen those who hold the place of honor and of danger in the new warfare launched against the church. Let us all cherish in our hearts the epic story of our martyrs and confessors. Let us tell this story to our children that they may learn the names of Stepinac and Mindszenty and Wyszynski, of Beran, of Cule, of Ford and of Byrne, along with the heroes of the faith in ages past; that they may understand how great it is to be a Catholic.

And let us raise our voices in a unison of protest, a protest that will penetrate into the consciences of all decent men, into all the

chancelleries of the world, against this new scourge of God and man.

To our brother bishops, to the priests, religious, and people of the church of silence, we send affectionate greeting and the tribute of our devotion, of our admiration, of our entire solidarity. We salute you; we embrace you; we minister in spirit to your necessities; we bind in prayer the wounds you suffer for justice's sake. For you are blessed when the enemies of Christ persecute and revile you. You are the light of the world, giving to our generation that saving example of fidelity spoken of by St. Paul: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall privation or distress, or famine or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword? As it is written:

For Thy sake, we are put to death all the day long. We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.

"But in all these things we overcome because of Him that hath loved us."

Indeed your faith is the victory which overcometh the world. By your stripes will the modern world be healed.

Peter's successor, who is Pius, spoke the deepest sentiments of our own hearts when he said to you: "We embrace you with a special love and we kneel to kiss your chains."

Twin City Rapid Transit Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, on February 20 and 27, 1953, under leave to extend my remarks, I had inserted in the RECORD the text of an article relating to the Twin City Rapid Transit Co., of Minneapolis, which had appeared in Collier's magazine in its issue of September 29, 1951. The article contained certain references to a Mr. Charles Green.

In the interests of fair play, on March 19, 1953, I inserted Mr. Green's refutation in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I am happy now to complete the record by adding the Charles Green: Corrective Statement, which Collier's published at page 12 in its issue of January 8, 1954:

In an article appearing in the September 29, 1951, issue of Collier's relating to the Twin City Rapid Transit Co., of Minneapolis, reference was made to Charles Green.

Mr. Green, a substantial stockholder of long standing of the transit company, commenced a proxy fight in 1949 to install new management in the belief that a change was necessary both in the interests of the company and its stockholders. In this he was successful.

The article, which described Mr. Green's efforts, as president of the company in 1949, to put it on a paying basis, incorrectly charged him with saying, "The public be damned."

There were several references in the article to gangsters and mobsters. There was no intent to imply, either in the article or in the announcement of the article that appeared in a previous issue of Collier's, that Green, who has substantial interests in many large corporations, was either a gangster or linked up with gangsters, or that he at any time illegally carried weapons. The facts are to the contrary.

A statement in the article that Green was a promoter "out to make a fast buck" was not warranted by the facts. Mr. Green at the time the article was published enjoyed a good reputation in his business and home communities.

Collier's regrets any embarrassment the article may have caused Mr. Green or his family.

The Catholic Press in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the vicious campaign of the Polish Communist Government to stamp out all religious liberty in Poland, and to throttle the Catholic Church is beyond description. A very enlightening article appears in the February 6 issue of America, written by Father Robert A. Graham, S. J., associate editor of the magazine. The article explains the great lengths to which the Communists are going in their attempt to destroy the church. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CATHOLIC PRESS IN POLAND

(By Robert A. Graham)

The Polish Ambassador pushed the sample copy across the desk. "This is Przeglond Powszechny, the monthly published by your fathers in Warsaw. As you can see, even Jesuits can still write, whatever you may hear to the contrary. There are many Catholic publications in Poland." It was over 4 years ago that the late Ksawery Pruszynski, Catholic journalist turned diplomat for the Communist-dominated regime, used this method to demonstrate the existence of religious freedom in Poland, in an interview which took place at the Legation in The Hague in 1949. If what he said was at all true then it was only because the Communist timetable for Poland had lagged behind that set for the other captive countries behind the Iron Curtain.

An entirely different situation exists today. The liquidation of the Polish Catholic press by 1953 should serve to convince the doubters that such persecution is a hard reality.

The recent publication of the May 8, 1953, protest of the Polish bishops to President Bierut has provided the free world with an exceptional look into the relationship that exists in modern times between religious persecution and the suppression of the free press. This document, which Cardinal Stritch has with good reason described as one of the most important ecclesiastical documents in the history of the Catholic Church, became available shortly after the internment of Cardinal Wyszynski last September 26. The bishops accuse the Communists of a mad will to destroy the church. One of the five points of their indictment is headed: "Ruthless Destruction of the Catholic Press and Other Publications."

In March 1953, reported the bishops, nearly all Catholic publications were suspended—without explanation. The cause was not shortage of paper or any alleged crime, but merely orders from the highest civil authorities. This decision, said the bishops, practically annihilated almost all the Catholic press, thus "depriving Catholic Poland of the last means of deepening its faith and of publicly expressing what it feels and thinks about God, Christ, and the Catholic Church." For, they added, the right to voice free opinions over the radio and through the stage and films had been already suppressed.

Before March the Catholic press had already been subject to censorship and vexations whose manifest object was to cripple its effectiveness. Three government agencies worked together toward this end. The agency for the allocation of paper continually alleged shortages, although government and anticatholic organs received all the paper they needed. The agency for distribution and sales played its own role of sabotage. Finally, the office of censorship for a long time exercised a severe and arbitrary vigilance. It altered the tone of articles by inserting new subtitles and, not content with blue-penciling long passages, even altered the text.

In the realm of book publishing the result of the government's policy was only too clear. The bishops noted that the government's own official Bibliographical Guide over the past few years shows the section on religious titles either void or containing only anticatholic publications or Catholic books from diversionist sources. Very seldom, they complained, has a serious, unadulterated Catholic publication appeared.

This discrimination against the Catholic press was compounded when the government showed special favor toward the so-called progressive Catholics, who, while ostentatiously claiming to be Catholic, are always found on the side of the government, even in the glaring instance of the regime's attempt to control church appointments. The bishops mentioned the group Today and Tomorrow, which works through two organs, the weekly Dzis i Jutro and the daily Slowo Powszechny.

The originator of this group was Bolesias Piasecki, former head of the prewar extreme right, quasi-Fascist movement, ONR-Falanga. The Today and Tomorrow movement is not schismatic, though the Communists would like it to be thought so. Meanwhile the Government has accorded it privileged treatment as a reward for its support. Its publishing enterprise, Pax, for which it has had no difficulty in getting paper, has gotten out an edition of the New Testament, along with books of devotion and works of ancient and contemporary Catholic writers.

Another such movement among Catholics, much more suspect, is that of the patriotic priests, whose organ is the Citizen Priest. The Polish Embassy in Washington has recently distributed to the American public, a volume produced by the Central Priests' Committee affiliated to the Organization of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy. This group is described by the Polish bishops as having been set up upon the regime's initiative for the purpose of carrying on diversionist activity against the legal authority of the church. The bishops observe drily that the majority of the group have had the misfortune to run afoul of canon law or are at outs with their bishops. These people are now trying, with the aid of the secular authorities, to purify and reform the church. They attack the bishops and even the Pope, while propounding views that clearly point the way to schism and heresy. This, of course, is why they are supported by the Communist regime.

From such quarters now come claims, via the Polish Embassy in Washington, that the Catholic press and publications enjoy equality of treatment with the rest of the press in Poland. This would be true perhaps if Today and Tomorrow and Citizen Priest

could be considered Catholic movements. In their May 8, 1953 protest the Polish bishops vigorously denied them the right to so consider themselves. They are in reality used as diversionary forces working in a Catholic guise as instruments of the Communist regime. Many of the participants seem to be sincere Catholics. But their organs cannot be counted upon to defend the church, as experience has shown.

No wonder the Polish hierarchy burst forth with this protest: "The Catholic writer is the only one who is prohibited from freely expressly his opinions. Not only is he forbidden to fight contrary opinions or otherwise enter into polemics, he cannot even defend his own or universal human beliefs against most slanderous and harmful attacks. He cannot correct falsehoods which others have the full right to proclaim and spread with impunity." This treatment is in conflict with the Government's own pledge, contained in the accord of April 14, 1950, to grant equal treatment to the Catholic press. Article 14 of that famous agreement, which the hierarchy still recognizes as valid although it has been repeatedly ignored by the regime, guaranteed to the Catholic press the same rights enjoyed by other publishing enterprises. Instead, the Catholic press has been accorded discriminatory treatment leading in the end to suppression or near suppression.

The vigorous fight put up by the bishops for the freedom of the Catholic press shows how vital this force is in the survival of religion in modern times. The Polish bishops have yielded ground on many issues in recent years, out of a desire to find a modus vivendi with the Marxist regime now in power in Poland. Their right to an independent press is one that ranks close to the right to educate youth itself. On this they have not yielded. On the other hand, the regime's final decision to liquidate the authentic Catholic press entirely is a confession that even a censored and harassed organ is too great an obstacle to antireligious policies. Thus both parties have given significant witness that in modern circumstances freedom of the press is inseparably linked with freedom of religion.

Radio Station's Opinions Not Reflected in Commander Dixon's Remarks Printed In February 2, 1954, Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, on February 2, 1954, I presented for the RECORD the speech of Thomas Dixon, national commander of the United American Veterans, which was delivered over radio station WUST on January 29, 1954. I should have added to this speech a statement of the radio station saying:

The views and opinions as expressed by Commander Dixon via WUST broadcasting facilities were his own, and in no way do they represent the views and opinions of the management and staff of the radio station WUST.

I think every radio station has this right regardless of what speaker appears on their system, and I therefore, in the interest of fairness, add the quotation referred to above.

Canadian Press Reveals Determination of Canada To Build St. Lawrence Seaway on the Canadian Side, Regardless of Its Approval by the Congress of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, despite the assertions made by advocates of the St. Lawrence seaway project that Canada is anxious for United States participation in building the St. Lawrence seaway, there is strong sentiment in Canada for an all-Canadian St. Lawrence seaway regardless of the action taken by the Congress of the United States. This fact is revealed in the following news article written by John LeBlanc, Canadian press staff writer, and published in the January 21, 1954, issue of the Ottawa Citizen.

The news article referred to follows:

DESPITE PASSAGE IN UNITED STATES SENATE, ALL-CANADIAN SEAWAY STILL OTTAWA'S POLICY—JOINT JOB IS STILL POSSIBLE—OTTAWA MAY HAVE TO YIELD

(By John LeBlanc)

Canada is going to push for an all-Canadian seaway on the St. Lawrence River, Government informants say, regardless of what the United States Congress does about the deep waterway.

While this view clashes with United States administration thinking, the Government is understood to be prepared to press it as far as it can without knocking out the whole seaway project.

"We're going to hold out for a seaway built on the Canadian side of the river," a cabinet source said.

He indicated, though, that if it gets to the point where the United States insists on the seaway with canals on the United States side as an absolute requisite to construction, Canada may have to yield.

"We would rather do that than wreck the project," he said.

The waterway is one of the top issues in Congress. Bills before the House of Representatives and the Senate provide for United States participation in the $300 million navigation part of the $750 million power-shipping project.

ADOPTS BILL

The Senate adopted a bill Wednesday night for United States participation by a 51-to-33 vote, and Transport Minister Chevrier commented that the number of Senators in favor shows "a change of heart" in the United States toward the project.

"That is all to the good," he added, but "While that is a favorable vote in the Senate, it still has not been passed in the House of Representatives." He said he believed passage of another bill, necessary to United States entry into the project, which is before the House of Representatives, may be "a little harder."

Under these bills, the United States Government's obligation would be limited to something under $100 million as its part in the cost of navigation works past the international rapids system on the river. The Canadian Government is prepared to invest up to $300 million on navigation, including some downriver from the Canada-United States rapids and in Canadian territory.

Antitrust Suit Against Pan American Airways Dumfounds Bigwigs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House of Representatives and the Senate to a matter that has been before all of us from time to time. It is particularly appropriate now, I think, because of renewed activities on the part of a powerful and sinister lobby in Washington, a lobby that until now apparently has known no leash. I refer to the both-sides-of-the-street operations of Pan American World Airways.

It is a source of encouragement to those of us from the Midwest to note that Attorney General Brownell has proceeded without fear or favor against the competition-throttling activities of this corporate giant. It is particularly encouraging to note this in contrast to the way this airline was coddled by the Truman administration.

This is of particular interest, Mr. Speaker, because of the wide influence and objectivity of a distinguished Washington correspondent, Mr. Ray Tucker, of the McClure Syndicate. Mr. Tucker, whose column appears in more than 250 newspapers throughout the Nation, including leading newspapers in the Midwest, has summed up the situation in his column of February 2. I commend this to the attention not only of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, but also to the attention of the President of the United States, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and those members of the White House Staff who have concerned themselves with aviation matters. It should serve as notice to the Presidential aides and to the lobbyists who lurk in the halls of the Congress and the Commerce Department and other departments dealing with the subject of airlines, the alert Washington newspapermen will not be misled by the plethora of press releases and statements; or even speeches before women's clubs. Those of us who fought out the election on the grounds of ridding Washington of influence peddlers are especially encouraged to see the Eisenhower administration take on an adversary who struck fear into the very vitals of the New Dealers.

Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the column by Mr. Ray Tucker, distributed by the McClure Syndicate, and compliment Mr. Tucker on his objectivity and fair reporting.

FLABBERGASTING PAN-AM SUIT

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON.—Attorney-General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has dumfounded political and aviation bigwigs here in filing an antitrust suit against the most powerful transportation lobby at Washington—Juan Trippe's Pan American Airways and W. R. Grace & Co. They are accused of monopolizing air and

water transportation between South America and the United States.

Through its two-party system of influence on the White House, Members of the Cabinet and Congress and key officials of both political organizations, Pan American has been able to stave off this suit since 1945, or through the regimes of former Attorneys General Tom C. Clark, J. Howard McGrath, and James P. McGranery. It also has obtained five Presidential reversals of adverse decisions by the Civil Aeronautics Boards, including three in the matter responsible for Brownell's current prosecution.

But his decision, together with reports that CAB will again demand a breakup of Pan American's alleged monopoly, indicates that President Eisenhower insists on a new deal in the transportation realm.

Eisenhower, however, is now playing major league politics for the first time since he entered the White House. Among those flabbergasted by Brownell's move are Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks and Robert Murray, Commerce Under-Secretary for Transportation, both Pan American friends.

Even before Brownell's announcement, they had been asked to intervene by Sam Pryor, Pan American vice president, former Republican national committeeman for Connecticut and GOP eastern treasurer when Weeks was national treasurer.

Pryor is only one of Pan American's friends. On the Democratic side, Pan American has Louis A. Johnson, former Defense Secretary, whose law firm once collected an $18,000 fee from Trippe. It also has J. Carroll Cone, Democratic national committeeman for Arkansas. When prominent Democrats cold-shouldered Truman in 1948, these two raised most of the campaign funds that resulted in victory over Dewey.

Trippe's vast overseas expansion has resulted largely from these rich Washington contacts. In 1948, for instance, CAB ruled against his purchase of American Overseas Airlines because it would lessen United States competition to Europe. Truman approved the decision, but rescinded it upon mere overnight reconsideration. Joseph O'Connell, CAB Chairman, resigned in protest.

When CAB held that there was scarcely enough traffic for even a single Seattle-Honolulu flight in 1948, Truman made the board certify Pan American for the run in competition with Northwest Airlines. Truman even forced our ambassadors at Paris and Rome to obtain Pan American's entry into those cities, although the French and Italian Governments opposed any foreign rivalry until the White House brought diplomatic pressure.

So, it was not surprising that, when a European shipping strike threatened to halt Atlantic travel several years ago, Pan American acceded to a White House request to place a special plane at Margaret Truman's service. Only recently, Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, new chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, was entertained at Tampico and Acapulco, two swank Mexican resorts, by Wilbur Morrison, head of Pan America's Latin American division. BRICKER's committee has jurisdiction over all foreign and domestic transportation problems.

The basis for Brownell's suit involves Pan American's strenuous and successful campaign to block through service from South America to New York and intermediate cities by rival firms. The Grace Co. is named because it shares joint ownership with Pan American of Panagra, which operates down the west coast of South America from Miami to Santiago and Buenos Aires. Braniff International Airways has a line paralleling Panagra's.

In the interest of economy, efficiency, balanced competition, and passenger convenience, CAB has issued three orders for a Miami interchange. It decreed that Braniff tie up at Miami with Eddie Rickenbacker's Eastern Air Lines, which has the Miami-New York leg. It would have Panagra swap with National Air Lines, which flies from the Florida resort to New York.

But the two giants—Trippe and Rickenbacker—oppose this proposed division of territory and service with the little fellows, Braniff and National. Twice, they persuaded their erstwhile White House cronies, John R. Steelman and Matt Connelly, to get Truman to upset CAB's ruling. Eisenhower recently returned a third decision for restudy, but without expressing approval or disapproval.

Dinosaur National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have received letters from my constituents concerning the proposed dam construction in Dinosaur National Monument in Utah. This indicated some opposition to the project among the voters I have the honor to represent in the Congress.

I had known practically nothing about the project. Being alerted by constituents, it of course became my duty to familiarize myself with the facts on both sides as best I could marshal them. I consulted with the distinguished gentleman from Utah [Mr. DAWSON] who was good enough to furnish me with copies of a statement of his answering from the Utah viewpoint at considerable detail the arguments against the construction of Echo Park Dam.

In replying to my constituents I enclosed copies of Utah Congressman DAWSON's statement, requested that they read it carefully and then let me know the nature of their thinking after having gone into the arguments on both sides.

This follows a pattern that I have found helpful to me on other occasions. It all adds up to dividing with my constituents the responsibility of thinking out the way I should vote as their representative.

Alfred L. Putnam, of the University of Chicago faculty, writes:

DEAR MR. O'HARA: Thank you for your letter of the 25th of January, with the enclosure from Congressman WILLIAM A. DAWSON regarding the construction of Echo Park Dam.

The attitude of Congressman DAWSON seems to be that those who question the wisdom of the proposed action are simple-minded do-gooders who would do better to stay away from matters with which they are not directly concerned, and which they do not comprehend.

One of the things I would wish to examine carefully is the recommendation by the Department of the Interior. The Bureau of Reclamation has direct interest in constructions such as these and may be indifferent to concerns other than those of flood control or irrigation.

I am glad that you wish to consider the whole matter most carefully.

Cordially yours,

ALFRED L. PUTNAM.

From L. R. Nice and Margaret M. Nice, 5725 Harper Avenue, Chicago, I received the following:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN O'HARA: Many thanks for sending us Mr. DAWSON's letter. We have answered his statements point by point as you will see.

Two excellent bills are before the House. H. R. 1037 would make Dinosaur into a national park and thus give this superb region added protection.

H. R. 1038 reaffirms the intent of Congress that water developments shall not be constructed within any national park or monument.

May we call your attention to two articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: Devereux Butcher, "This Is Dinosaur," and Gen. U. S. Grant III, "The Dinosaur Dams Are Not Needed"?

We are depending on you to defend our national parks, monuments, and forests from those who would despoil them.

Sincerely yours,

L. B. NICE.
MARGARET M. NICE.

The enclosure in the above letter follows:

DAMS IN DINOSAUR NATIONAL MONUMENT

An answer to the letter of January 6, 1954, to his colleagues of Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON, of Utah.

Mr. DAWSON states that some well-meaning conservation groups have launched an attack against the construction of Echo Park Dam within the confines of Dinosaur National Monument in Colorado and Utah. The tragic aspect of these attacks is that they are based upon emotion rather than facts.

May we point out that those of us who wish to save our national parks and monuments for posterity have read many articles upon this situation during the last few years, articles written by people fully conversant with the values involved. One of us visited Dinosaur in 1953. For the purposes of this letter we will quote from three recent publications, all by well-known naturalists.

Philip Hyde, 1952: Nature's Climax at Dinosaur. The Living Wilderness, No. 42: 7–14. The Hydes spent a month at Dinosaur in 1951.

Fred M. Packard, 1954: Dinosaur Dams Again. National Parks magazine, 20:3–4, 39–40. By the executive secretary of the National Parks Association.

Fred Gunsky, 1954: Trouble in Dinosaur. Sierra Club Bulletin, 39:1–12. By the editor of the Sierra Club Bulletin.

Mr. DAWSON says that this project has been recommended after extensive and comprehensive investigation. In reality, Secretary McKay has held no hearings at which the feasibility of alternate dam sites might be discussed with him and his staff. (Packard, p. 5; Gunsky, p. 3.)

Mr. DAWSON speaks of the treacherous river. Hyde (p. 13) writes of the thoroughly enjoyable and exciting adventure of the river trip. It offers a thrill not to be found elsewhere in our national parks. The folbot trip down the Yampa is a safe and superlative experience. In 1953 the Sierra Club conducted several large parties, including children, down the river in perfect safety. (Packard, p. 3.)

Mr. DAWSON presents 5 fictions of the opponents of the dams, answered by 5 facts.

1. Fiction: That the dam would flood the famous dinosaur fossil beds.

All three of our authors plainly state that the fossil beds would not be involved.

2. Fiction: That the dam would flood the monument and destroy forever its scenic value."

Mr. DAWSON insists that as long as the peaks of the canyon gorges would protrude

above the reservoir, the dam would hardly affect the grandeur of the scenery.

The rest of us think otherwise. "It is not the inundation alone that would cause this damage, but the inevitable havoc caused by such things as construction machinery and power facilities. Whatever secondary recreational values might exist after construction, the primary values for which the area was reserved would have vanished." (Packard, p. 3.)

"3. Fiction: That the dam would interfere with the development of the monument." He claims that the monument "is 99 percent inaccessible to the general public."

Mr. and Mrs. Hyde visited nearly all the monument in their passenger car (p. 14). Gunsky writes in regard to the reputed inaccessibility of the canyons: "A modest appropriation would correct this and permit conservative improvement of existing roads. So far Dinosaur has been appropriation-starved. Mr. McKay has asked for $21 million for study and development of what remains of the monument after destruction by damming. A small fraction of this would be more than adequate for access and facilities if Dinosaur is saved" (p. 7).

"4. Fiction: That the dam would invade the monument and violate national-park precedents." His fact is that when Dinosaur was enlarged "Park Service representatives promised residents of the area that the enlargements would not interfere with power and water projects in the river canyons."

The truth is that another project—the Brown's Park project—had been proposed; this involved a small area at the extreme northern end of the monument. This was abandoned by the Bureau of Reclamation, but if it had "been carried out, it would have been a simple matter to have excluded it from the monument, and the magnificent canyons now threatened would have remained unharmed." (Packard, p. 39.) One of the most dangerous features of the proposed scheme lies in the threat it presents to all our national parks and monuments.

"5. Fiction: That alternate damsites outside the monument are just as good." His fact is that any alternate site "would increase the evaporation loss of water * * * by from 100,000 to 200,000 acre-feet of water annually."

Many alternate damsites are available and better. Gen. U. S. Grant III has worked out a counterproposal which would store more water and cost far less; it would also evaporate less considering the extra storage. (Gunsky, p. 9.)

To sum up: the dams in Dinosaur National Monument are completely unnecessary. They would destroy a uniquely wild and beautiful treasure belonging to all the people and to posterity. The whole project is a most iniquitous attack upon our National Park System.

L. B. NICE.
MARGARET M. NICE.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Treasury Secretary Talks Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. George Humphrey, our Secretary of the Treasury, is given to good hard sense and sound reasoning. Speaking to our combined House and Senate Committee on the Economic Report, Mr. Humphrey replied to the charge that the administration's tax proposals are more favorable to big business than to the small enterprise. In no uncertain terms, the Secretary reemphasized the one basic truth which a good many Democrats keep forgetting.

His words are worth quoting, whenever someone talks about overproduction and underconsumption. "Production," he said, "is the goose that lays the golden egg. Payrolls make consumers."

Let no one forget this truth. Consumers consume because they have jobs. They have jobs only because there is production. Without it, there can be no possible maintenance of the American economy. Without the American economy, there can be no world stability.

It is as simple and fundamental as that.

New Inventory Plan Brightens Timber Outlook

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I include as part of these remarks the second article on timber, a leading product in the Northwest, written by Merlin Blais and appearing in the Portland Oregonian under date of December 21, 1953. In this second article Mr. Blais discusses the value of a new timber inventory plan. The article follows:

NEW INVENTORY PLAN BRIGHTENS TIMBER OUTLOOK

(By Merlin Blais)

Tree-falling crews are biting deeper and deeper into the dark Douglas fir forests. The patchwork of their labors, viewed from an airplane, stretches almost to timberline at many points along the snowy Cascade Mountains.

How much timber is left? Are the loggers leading the principal industry of western Oregon and Washington to an early invalid's bed by fattening it improvidently now from a limited resources cupboard?

Industry leaders insist they have learned well the bitter lessons from "cut and get out" practices in other regions and by-gone logging areas. But they admit the annual log harvest is clearing off as much as 350,000 acres of timber a year—more than the entire area of Portland and Multnomah County.

OLD GROWTH DWINDLES

The magnificent old-growth stands have dwindled to less than one-third of the 26 million acres considered to be forest land in the Douglas fir region. That remaining 8,250,000 acres or less of virgin forest about equals Lane, Douglas, Coos, and Curry Counties.

It's a mighty industry that's been utilizing Northwest timber. Last year value of wood products in the two States reached nearly $1,900,000,000. Compare that to Pennsylvania's mineral output, including oil and coal, which barely topped $1 billion in 1949.

Douglas fir and intermingled species are big sticks in the Nation's economy. They contribute nearly 30 percent of the lumber, almost all of its softwood plywood, more than 90 percent of its wood shingles, one-fifth of its poles and piling, one-fifth of its wood pulp.

NEW INVENTORY UNDER WAY

But what has been the cost to this area's chief resource? In terms of old-growth timber, quite considerable. In 1945, Federal foresters estimated commercial timber stands at 439,070,000,000 board feet. You can figure 1 billion feet will build about 110,000 houses.

That was one third less than was figured for 1909, well before the Northwest lumber industry reached its prime. But it was still 46 per cent of the primeval forest that confronted the first white sawyers who set up their pioneer mill 130 years ago.

Washington sawmills reached their peak in 1926 with a cut of 7,546,239,000 board feet. Oregon took over cutting supremacy in 1938 as Washington declined, and for several years has topped its neighbor's record. Last year, the Oregon log cut west of the Cascades was about 8,200,000,000 feet.

But wait, the continuous faller's cry of "Timber!" may not be quite as serious as it first sounds. A new inventory of the region now being compiled by the Pacific Northwest forest and range experiment station is brightening the picture.

SMALLER TREES TALLIED

In fact, a first glance at timber estimates for 20 years ago compared to those recently made affords the startling thesis that despite heavy cutting there is more timber today. One example is Cowlitz county, though it has two of the world's largest sawmills and many other wood industries.

Recent reinventories for 14 Douglas fir counties found saw timber stands amounting to 7 per cent more than the 1933 survey showed.

There's a catch, of course. Twenty years ago cruisers ignored all trees less than 15 inches in diameter. Now they count trees down to 11 inches, because the market now takes the smaller trees.

If those 14 counties resemble the other 24 in the region, then the sawtimber inventory currently would amount to 584,000,000,000 feet, enough to replace every home in the country.

And that's a third more than the 1945 survey showed.

The Federal agency points out, however, that adjusting the inventory made in 1933 to present 11-inch standards permits a truer view of what's happening: In 20 years, sawtimber volume has actually decreased about 10 per cent, which represents the excess of cutting over new growth within the size counted.

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT FINDS MORE TIMBER

Counties so far reinventoried are Clatsop, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Jackson, and Josephine in Oregon, and Clark, Cowlitz, Grays Harbor, Lewis, Mason, Pacific Skamania, and Wahkiakum in Washington.

The United States Bureau of Land Management is substantiating these regional findings on the 2,600,000 acres of forests it administers in the O. and C., Coos Bay wagon road and public domain lands.

Bureau of Land Management is finding 20 to 40 percent more timber than had ever been listed before. Its inventory, booked for completion by 1955, indicates Bureau of Land Management lands may contain close to 60 billion board feet, one-third higher than the present estimate.

But how long will the virgin timber supply hold out? Don't the revised inventories only prolong the day of reckoning at the prevailing high harvesting rate? ask the pessimists.

Plain arithmetic puts it at 45 or 50 years—if one assumes that the average annual cut will continue at the same pace as for the past 25 years. It will be much shorter, if cutting continues at 10 billion feet a year in the old growth as it has in the past 4 or 5 years.

On the gloomy side, Nature often upsets pat answers. Burt P. Kirkland, in his widely quoted 1946 study for the American Forestry Association, asserted old-growth stands of the region were losing 3 billion feet a year just from insects and disease. This more than offset the growth.

WIND, FIRE TAKE TOLLS

Timber exceeding a full year's cut has been killed in the past 2 or 3 years by high winds and fires, and followup hordes of bark beetles. Logging schedules have been sharply revised to salvage as much of this as possible, but billions of feet of dead trees will not be reached before wood values are lost.

Foresters favor cutting the old-growth stands not only for their product values but because they are nearly dormant and easier prey to natural enemies. They are a storehouse, it is true, but only a new growing stand in their stead will actually add to the region's resource.

Chief barrier to full use of the old growth is lack of access roads, and the problem is worst in Federal timber. Industry's No. 1 gripe is that Federal forests remain unharvested while private lands are being overcut to keep saws humming.

SECOND GROWTH RAIDED

In its plea for heavier sales of Federal timber and more roads to reach it, the wood-products industry states that the pressure on private stands is so great that too much second growth is being cut now. A 1945 study indicated that 27 percent of western Oregon's cut was in second growth.

Though this was by no means all premature cutting, it pains professional foresters to the extent that trees under 70 years of age are being cut. They want old-growth trees to supply the raw material, to give young stands a chance to reach maturity.

On a broad scale, the region is endeavoring to grow new crops of trees on cutover lands, both private and public. Goal of the foresters is to put all forest lands into young, growing stands, contributing to the region's wealth year after year.

Communism at the Guatemala Gate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, while we are fretting about the advances of aggressive and subversive communism abroad, we sometimes look directly past evidences of the same infiltration closer to home. In Central America, Guatemala has become a strange place indeed.

Last October, our Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs declared publicly that Guatemala was openly playing the Communist game. Last December, an association studying the situation reported that Communists have become so deeply entrenched in all phases of life in Guatemala that it might no longer be possible to eliminate them peaceably. This week, two American correspondents were expelled from Guatemala as undesirable and persona non grata to the Guatemalan Government.

There is real cause for alarm here. One of the basic premises of the Communist strategy is to obtain a foothold on the American Continents. In British Guiana recently the appearance of a strong Communist Party occasioned quick action by the British Government to check its rise. The Guatemalan problem seems to be even more serious since it indicates a close cooperation between the administration of President Arbenz Guzman and the Communists. Somebody had better take a good, hard look below the border before we find a hornet's nest buzzing around our heads.

Boom-and-Bust Philosophy Gives Way to Sustained Yield Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, as I have brought out in the House on many previous occasions, timber is one of our greatest natural resources, of such great value not only to our daily welfare but to our national defense as well, that it is of vital importance that it be utilized without waste and in a way which will conserve the yield for future generations. It is gratifying that not only our Government but industry itself is working toward such conservative utilization of this valuable resource.

Utilization with sustained yield is dealt with in the sixth and final article by Merlin Blais which appeared in the Portland Oregonian on December 25, 1953. I include the article as part of these remarks.

BOOM-AND-BUST PHILOSOPHY GIVES WAY TO SUSTAINED-YIELD PLAN

Northwest communities with a timber base will continue changing as their nearby forests change. Those in southwest Oregon are likely to change the most—some rather painfully downward, others vigorously upward.

This statement should startle no one. Western Washington went through the wringer 20 years or more ago, as old-growth timber in many areas gave out, leaving no transitional cushion.

In northwest Oregon several communities just in the past year have felt a chill as their old timber dwindled. Prouty Lumber & Box, mainstay at Warrenton, has shut down. Engle & Worth closed at McMinnville. Vernonia worries over Long-Bell's plans for its major mill.

LANE EXPRESSED WORRY

Lane County, top lumber producer for 10 years, has expressed worry about the future. More than 200 sawmills there have cut more than 1 billion board feet in each of the past 8 years. It cannot continue that indefinitely.

It's an old story to Portland, where few sawmills remain. Clark-Wilson, Eastern & Western, and others folded up years ago. A vigorous remanufacturing and plywood industry has grown in their stead.

Only 5 years ago sawmills of all sizes were estimated at 1,800 or more. In 1951 the estimate was about 1,300. Last year a painstaking count showed 993. Plywood mills have doubled in that time to around 85, but this upsurge is believed at an end.

A $20 rise in lumber prices would bring scores of sawmills back into operation, but the overall trend is downward. Hundreds have run out of sawtimber, and many others have only enough for perhaps 5 or 10 years. In many districts logging has continued, but for more distant pulp mills.

LARGER HOLDINGS BOUGHT

Meanwhile, the major companies are busy trying to create their own sustained yield empires, and some can see success on the green horizon. Since the 1930's, permanent companies have bought up 1,500,000 acres or more from the counties, from firms that were liquidating and small owners. Most of this was without merchantable timber, but it was tree-growing land.

This trend to larger, fewer holdings was pronounced, for example, in lands lying east of Willapa and Grays Harbors and west of Centralia. During the lumber boom of the twenties, more than 30 mills and camps were strung along the South Bend branch railroad west from Chehalis. For years now it has been a route of ghosts, with only a few towns.

NEW TREES GROWN

The lands are growing a new crop of trees, but for only a half-dozen large companies. And when the loggers return, the long string of little sawmills will not. Logs will go out by truck or rail to large, permanent processing centers, such as Raymond-South Bend, Aberdeen-Hoquiam, St. Helens-Longview, even to Puget Sound.

Timber economists foresee a similar trend for western Oregon. Generally, the industry gravitates to larger processing centers integrated for use of all kinds and grades of wood. On the average, timber ownerships will be larger and, of course, fewer.

In the next 20 years, Oregon processing is likely to develop most rapidly in such centers as Eugene-Springfield, Coos Bay-North Bend, Roseburg, and Medford. Small towns that have boomed in the past 15 years generally will not keep pace, and some will lose their sawmills entirely. Lacking integration, the latter will be unable to compete for outside timber.

TRUCK HAULS LONGER

Increasing utilization and growth of remanufacturing both favor the integrated wood processing center. The logging truck makes longer hauls practical. One forester visualizes sorting ponds at such centers that will shunt logs 30 or 40 different ways, depending on best usage. Many different plants will take these logs and squeeze the utmost in values out of them.

Fewer timber centers do not mean fewer jobs for the region. More use means greater payroll for each 1,000 board-feet of harvested logs. Grays Harbor has 1,500 more people working in wood products now than in its logging prime, though it is using only about one-third of the volume of logs. Longview is moving in the same direction.

Oregonians frequently assert their State is losing many processing jobs in the quantities of logs and rough lumber being transported north to Washington mills. The record keepers, however, say the net loss to Oregon is about 200 million feet a year, considerable but not serious.

In Washington and the Willamette Valley, the greatest industrial change has been to pulping. Such plants are costly, but there are more than 30 now and the number will grow.

For southwest Oregon this trend is limited under present techniques by an inadequate fresh water supply. Plans for a big pulp mill on Coos Bay were suspended because streams are so low in summer. Wells are being considered.

Water supply and stream pollution are problems that deter pulp developments in the Umpqua and Rogue Valleys, too. Hardboard manufacture holds promise for these areas, but the market for pulp and paper is far greater.

Chips are going out from Coos Bay and the Umpqua Valley in considerable quantities, but the freight disadvantage becomes so great that no chippers have been installed in the Rogue Valley.

OPERATORS HANG ON

A trend to integrated centers does not spell doom for small operations; in fact, it has encouraged small remanufacturing plants in such centers as Grays Harbor.

Many smaller sawmills will survive in good shape, depending on how completely they can use or market their leftovers. Present competitive selling of Federal timber gives them a chance to continue after private old-growth is gone.

Because it has become profitable to grow timber, dozens of smaller operators are determined to hold on. If stumpage is worth $25 to $30 per 1,000 board-feet, then average growth for this region amounts to $12 to more than $20 an acre a year.

Chief difficulty, of course, is that timber can't be harvested every 1, 2 or 5 years. A corporation has the advantage in that it can wait better than an individual owner.

Encouragement has come from several directions for the small owner, however. The Forest Credit Act passed by the last Congress permits banks in the Federal Reserve System to make loans with properly managed timber as collateral.

How this can help an owner was strikingly illustrated in testimony for the bill by W. D. Hagenstein, Portland forester. He pointed out that the average tree with 10-inch diameter will grow to 12 inches in 5 years, increasing its wood volume by 44 percent. Delay in cutting can be profitable, even if a loan is required.

Logging itself changes in districts where giant old-growth trees disappear. Logs so great a truck can haul only one at a time will be an uncommon sight some decades hence. Instead, a truck will be hauling a large number of smaller ones.

OUTFITS TO BE SMALLER

In the woods, falling equipment, tractors, cranes, and loaders will be smaller and far less costly. Logging scenes will more resemble those of eastern Canada and the South where logs even 2 feet thick are rare.

Job patterns change, too. One need only look to Western Europe's carefully tended forests to tell that thinning will become a wider practice here. This should mean steadier, year-around work for the woodsman, who can thin stands at lower elevations at times when snow prevents heavier logging higher up.

In second growth timber, less wood will be of top lumber or plywood quality, less will be choice, clear, and knot free. That means more processing, more jobs to meet market requirements. Products that do not depend on size or shape of log will gain.

TRANSITION UNDER WAY

More wood will have to be taken apart and reassembled into useful products—that means more pulping, more paper, hard and soft boards, more cellulose and plastics, more chemicals.

Transition is under way. The Douglas-fir region can expect many community dislocations but need not fear permanent decimation of its wood products industry.

The present rate of cutting would reduce the prospect of 45 or 50 more years of old-growth harveting, and place a greater strain on second-growth stands. The long-range outlook is bright, nonetheless.

This region can find inspiration in its fiercest competitor, the pine-growing South. Twenty-five years ago its timber seemed exhausted. Today it produces nearly 40 percent of the Nation's lumber, and more than half its pulpwood—all from second, third, or fourth crops.

Acre for acre, the Douglas-fir forests can outproduce the South.

Agriculture's Course in Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to call the attention of the Members of the House to a very interesting and informative address by John H. Davis, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, delivered at the annual Farmers' Week program, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., on yesterday, February 3, 1954.

Mr. Davis discusses farm markets with emphasis on foreign outlets, pointing out that the latter are vital in terms of maintaining fair prices for our farm products. The Department of Agriculture under the leadership of Secretary Benson and such men as John Davis is highly deserving of commendation for its efforts to expand foreign markets for United States agricultural products and to strengthen our Foreign Service and trade program activities.

Mr. Davis' address follows:

I very much appreciate the opportunity to visit with you and take part in your annual Farmers' Week program. This is a very good time for us to consider some of the problems we face as farmers.

Here in Michigan, farmers are not only interested in agriculture but also in industry. Your agriculture and industry both are highly developed and interdependent. The towns and cities are important market places for the products from your farms. At the same time, your industrial activity depends on a healthy agriculture not only here but throughout the entire country. The well-being of each is affected by that of the other. Thus, there exists an interdependence that is vital to both. This interdependence between agriculture and industry is natural and desirable.

Today I want to talk with you about farm markets—with emphasis on foreign outlets. While our biggest market is at home, our foreign outlets are vital in terms of maintaining fair prices for our farm products. Even in the case of those farm products where only 3, 4, or 5 percent of our production normally moves abroad, failure to move this amount can materially affect our domestic price structure. It can even force us to step up the use of support programs in order to maintain price stability.

Right now we are in a period in which international trade is undergoing a sharp readjustment. This readjustment is from the record total volume reached during the recent war and postwar years to a more realistic level of trade that may be expected in a world that is not embroiled in a shooting war. For us it is a readjustment down from our recent peak levels and our effort should be to see that we maintain a fair share of the total world trade. And we also need to work toward expanding that total.

Since the outbreak of World War II we have had a big build-up in production to meet foreign needs. This was on top of the expansion that was necessary to meet our own greatly increased requirements. Altogether, our agricultural output was boosted by 40 percent. This made it possible for our own people to be well fed and it also enabled us to help feed a large part of the hungry, war-torn world. The really big flow of food to people overseas took place following victory in Europe and the defeat of Japan. Because of war and postwar needs, we became tremendous exporters of fats and oils, dairy products, wheat, rice, cotton, and many other agricultural items. Some of these such as beans, rice, dairy products, and vegetable oils were never before significant in our export trade. But because of the great need, and the fact that the United States was in the best position to meet that need, our production of these and other farm products was vastly increased.

During the 1951–52 marketing year our agricultural exports hit a record level of more than $4 billion. In value, this was 7 times the pre-World War II level. But since that 1951–52 peak year, our agricultural exports have fallen off by 30 percent. In the meantime, our farm production has continued close to the high mark. This slowness of farm production to adjust downward reflects the rather high fixed cost structure of modern farming. Frankly, much of our present problem in agriculture—the big accumulation of surpluses and lowered farm prices—is the direct result of the sharp cut in exports and our failure or inability to adjust our output to this change in demand.

As long as the countries of the world needed our products and had earned or reserved the dollars to pay for them, we had no difficulty in making sales. A big part of the flow of goods from this country was financed by United States aid that was furnished in recent years to help friendly nations recover from the effects of war. However, now most of the countries of the world have been able to restore or even increase their own farm output. Larger supplies of most farm products are again available to importers from a number of foreign sources. The result is that deficit producing areas no longer need to rely so heavily on the United States for their requirements of agricultural products. Moreover, most farm products now are available from nondollar sources, which for many importers is more attractive. And because our exports have fallen off we find ourselves in a buyer's market even though the domestic demand remains up.

But the problem of finding outlets for our farm products is broader than the farm problem. Basically it is a matter of two-way trade which includes not only farm products but also industrial trade, gold shipments, international loans, investments, tourist trade, etc.

Since the beginning of World War II the old trade pattern of the world has been drastically altered. The war has upset many things more than we realize. The postwar years have brought additional changes. For example, the old standbys for earning dollars abroad such as rubber, silk, tin, and copper now meet very strong competition from other products that have rapidly become acceptable as substitutes or replacements. New sources of supply and therefore new trade patterns have been developed for various materials such as oil and iron ore which are being brought into this country to supplement our own production. Moreover, in various parts of the world certain basic foods and fibers have been produced at excessive costs for security reasons. All of this has had a profound effect and it has greatly changed patterns of production and trade.

Where old standby items of international trade have lost out, it is necessary to have others take their place in order that the exchange of goods and services between coun-

tries may be maintained. If international trade is to be on a lasting basis, it must flow on a two-way street. This fact is quite often overlooked. Each country must search for items it can sell and buy in foreign trade. We, particularly, must seek items we can buy, otherwise our goods will stay at home unless we choose to continue giving them away by gifts and grants. In the long run this, of course, is not at all desirable either for the giver or the receiver.

In the nations of the free world we today see the people more than ever concerned with improving living standards. These people are engaged in a struggle to promote and develop the opportunities that will lead to more desirable living conditions. There is ample evidence that they appreciate the help we have been giving them to increase production and otherwise develop their economies. But it is already apparent that economic aid is no adequate substitute for international trade. Trade is necessary to provide the essential means for obtaining from others those goods and services that cannot be furnished or produced economically from homeland sources. We have a big stake in all of this. Because of our great capacity to produce, we necessarily must be interested in constantly working to boost world trade to a high level. And in so doing we need to see to it that we receive a fair share of the total volume of that trade.

Basically, our prosperity is dependent on high productivity and employment. Therefore, as a Nation we cannot afford to cut down on our productivity. But high prosperity for the Nation cannot long continue unless reasonable price stability is maintained in agriculture. This is true both with respect to domestic and world prices.

On the international front the United States held enough commodities off the markets of the world in 1953 so that the other producing countries were able to move the big bulk of their products at stabilized prices. In other words, we held the umbrella over the world markets. On the surface this looks foolish. But on closer sight it is apparent that we did not have much choice but to help maintain price stability. Seriously depressed world prices would make all the more difficult the task of maintaining fair farm prices at home. Failure to do this would threaten the basic stability of our entire country.

I am optimistic that we can expand foreign outlets. This we can do by (a) promoting sales through normal trade channels at fair prices and (b) promoting exports over and above normal amounts by accepting local currencies.

The truth is that we have not needed to push foreign sales for more than a decade and that today we are not properly equipped and tooled to do it. An officer of one large food concern which used to export sizable quantities recently told me that only one man remained on their staff who had occupied a responsible position 10 to 15 years ago when they were pushing foreign sales. Today they are attempting to redevelop their old outlets. But in order to do so they have to train new men, develop foreign connections, fill pipelines with goods, and launch a selling program. No doubt this case is fairly typical, particularly of commodities other than cotton and wheat.

The point is that there exist opportunities for moving more goods through the normal channels of trade at a fair price provided we work hard enough at the task. Gradually the problems of dollar shortages will recede as retooling takes place with respect to the trade pattern of the world. As this takes place we must emphasize promotion to push sales at a fair price arther than to expand sales by means of drastic price cutting.

In his budget message to Congress on January 21, the President recommended a 3-year program to move up to $1 billion worth of farm products into consumption abroad, over and above that moving through the normal channels of trade. This, I believe, can be done.

The objective is to develop new outlets in such a way as to increase the total food consumption within the participating countries. This, of course, requires mutual effort on the part of both the United States and the recipient. Also, if it is to succeed, there must be inherent within such a plan the seeds of economic growth and development. By this I mean that the local currencies acquired from the distribution of such food within the recipient country should be so used as to help that country to develop its resources, increase the purchasing power of its people, and thus lay the groundwork for an ever increasing standard of living. In this way our food can be used to permanently help receiving countries and at the same time create continuing markets for exporting countries.

In his recent farm program message to Congress, the President also outlined some important recommendations for utilizing our agricultural surpluses and for developing market outlets. The President revealed that the Secretary of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Secretary of State, is organizing discussions with foreign ministers of agriculture to exchange views and develop ideas on the use of agricultural surpluses and stockpiles. This is being planned on an informal basis. Also, the President mentioned the sending of a series of trade missions from the United States to various parts of the world—Europe, Asia, and South America—to take a first-hand look at the possibilities and see what can be done to work out some effective answers to the foreign trade problem. Private traders will be urged to supplement this by stepping up their own efforts to expand the sale of United States products at a fair price.

The problem of expanding exports of farm products has to be approached on a commodity-by-commodity and a country-by-country basis. There is no simple formula that can be followed since many factors influence trade in any particular commodity. That is why with each product it is important for us to be on a constant lookout for the limiting factors that may restrict the flow of goods. Once we know what the trade block is and how it operates, we are in a good position to see what can be done to overcome it.

I think we can be somewhat optimistic about our foreign trade prospects. In the first place world population is increasing—it is now about 15 percent greater than before World War II. This means more people to feed, clothe, and house. While the world's agricultural production during the last 3 or 4 years made material advances, there are indications that the present high total outturn is leveling off. Thus, it appears that for the near future, at least, if per capita food and fiber consumption is to continue even at about the present level, a smaller portion of the world's supply outside of North America may be moving in international trade.

We have already demonstrated that our surpluses can be helpful to other countries in need. Vast quantities of our surplus farm products have been supplied as gifts and grants or else sold at a token price to aid hungry people in various parts of the world. Last year, for example, we agreed to make available up to 1 million tons of our surplus wheat to alleviate starvation and mass suffering threatened by famine conditions in Pakistan. More than 600,000 tons of that Commodity Credit Corporation wheat have already been shipped. Also, Congress enacted legislation last year authorizing the President to use up to $100 million of CCC commodities to meet famine or other urgent relief needs of friendly people. Under this authorization we have already supplied 45,000 tons of wheat to Bolivia, 10,000 tons to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordon, and 2,200 tons to Libya. Under different legislation, many millions of pounds of food products such as nonfat dry milk, butter, Cheddar cheese, and others have been donated to private welfare agencies for overseas use.

More recently, we have been selling some of our agricultural surpluses to foreign countries for their own local currencies. This was made possible last year by the enactment of section 550 of the Mutual Security Act. So far, the foreign currencies accepted for our products have been earmarked as counterpart funds to be used within the particular country in carrying out the purposes of the Mutual Security Act. I believe, however, that in selling our surpluses abroad for local currencies there are some opportunities for developing commercial export business above the existing normal trade which have been largely overlooked. All of the possibilities need to be more fully explored by United States exporters.

We now have had enough experience with section 550 and other related measures to indicate more clearly what our course should be in utilizing our surpluses and promoting foreign trade. Accordingly, President Eisenhower, in his recent budget message to Congress, requested authorzation to use our agricultural surpluses in a program designed to tie in closer with our general program of economic aid and technical development. As I mentioned before, the President requested Congress to authorize for purposes of this program the use over a 3-year period of up to $1 billion worth of commodities held by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Special safeguards are to be provided in the program so that any commodities shipped under its terms to a country will be for the purpose of expanding overall consumption. In this way usual marketings of the United States and friendly countries should not be displaced.

Such a program as proposed by the President contains many elements which I believe can help strengthen our own economy while contributing materally to a solid foundation for a stronger world economy. It offers the prospect of improving distribution and expanding consumption in various countries where necessary. Moreover, with a provision enabling us to accept foreign currencies in exchange for our surpluses, such a program could provide an additional means for encouraging economic growth. Perhaps, under appropriate agreements, such currencies could even be used in a sort of revolving fund to encourage United States investors to engage in additional foreign enterprises in a way that would in effect supplement investment dollars. The idea would be to permit a United States investor to use his investment dollars to their fullest as working capital in the foreign country rather than have any big part of his dollars tied up in necessary land or buildings as would be the case in an industrial plant, for example. But whatever is done, two-way cooperation will be needed between ourselves and each of the nations with which we may be dealing. I am confident that we can work together in making good use of any foreign currencies that may be derived from the sale of agricultural surpluses. In this there are some good opportunities through mutual effort to help both ourselves and cooperating countries of the world.

But relying on special measures to move surpluses that are already accumulated provides only an interim answer for disposing of surpluses abroad. The big fundamental need is for a revival and further development of international trade through regular commercial transactions and procedures. This requires a freer system of trade and payments than we now have in the world; and for that we all must strive.

I am glad to say that in the Department of Agriculture there now is an emphasis greater than ever before to help private traders to expand foreign markets for United States agricultural products and to strengthen our foreign service and trade program activities. The spearhead of this important work is the recently organized Foreign Agricultural Service. There are five prinicipal types of market development activities to help private traders that will be carried out by this Service. They are: (1) Working with foreign governments and traders in matters relating to market preferences, trade restrictions, foreign exchange, and discrimination against American farm products; (2) providing first-hand information to American agricultural exporters and importers on market situations and trade opportunities; (3) bringing together American exporters and foreign importers under conditions favorable to trade; (4) analyzing and interpreting commodity and trade information for dissemination to American agriculture; and (5) providing a comprehensive appraisal of foreign production and competition.

The main objective of all this work is to help strengthen and improve the flow of agricultural exports through regular commercial channels. Also important in this connection is the foreign service and trade program activities which involve closer working relationships with the network of 60 United States agricultural attachés and officers who are stationed abroad. These individuals provide for American agriculture valuable information from all the principal agricultural producing and marketing areas of the world. Moreover, the foreign service and trade program activities include participation in international organizations and in trade and tariff conferences. In addition, certain responsibilities are carried out in connection with technical assistance programs.

Altogether, the Foreign Agricultural Service plays the role of American agriculture's eyes and ears abroad. It provides a continuing flow of helpful information on foriegn agricultural production and marketing conditions. It also provides a means by which American agriculture effectively can make known its own needs in connection with foreign agricultural matters.

In moving ahead under the Department of Agriculture's streamlined program for assisting foreign trading, we intend to leave no stone unturned to help maintain, recapture, and expand market outlets for our farm products and also contribute to improving the international flow of goods through commercial channels. With this in mind, we already have sent abroad a number of commodity marketing specialists and still more soon will go to different countries. More direct measures are also being taken to stimulate commercial exports. For example, section 32 funds which are derived from customs receipts, are being used to make payments on some products so as to enable United States exporters to be competitive in foreign markets. This country is also participating in the International Wheat Agreement. But, of course, this quantity is limited and additional wheat exports are needed. One use we are making of section 32 funds is to stimulate commercial export sales of United States wheat to meet foreign requirements that are outside of the agreement. Another international agreement that was recently developed is one covering sugar, and we look forward to our participation in this plan as a means of bringing greater stability to world sugar markets. It also should aid in encouraging world sugar consumption, particularly in countries where the use of sugar is held down by various imposed barriers.

And, of course, we are very much interested in the work of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The United States has been an active participant in the FAO and what it is doing for the benefit of world agriculture, its trade, and the people in general.

All of what we are doing in the field of foreign trade is aimed to help create the conditions necessary for making the best full use of our great productive capacity. The capacity to produce that we have here in the United States represents our biggest potential for providing a higher standard of living for all our people. We can and must make good use of it to keep our economy strong, healthy, and progressive. Other nations of the world are also interested in making better use of their capacities to produce and to further develop their skills and techniques so as to raise living standards for their own people. In what is done to fulfill the desires we and others have, there is plenty of room for greater cooperation and improved understanding in and among nations. In the accomplishment of our common objectives, we all face both an opportunity and a challenge.

H. R. 3300: Re Diversion From Lake Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, as a former member of the House Committee on Public Works and a resident of Ohio which borders on the Great Lakes, I am no stranger to the problems arising from the provisions of H. R. 3300. In this connection, I submit the following:

1. Diversion from Lake Michigan by Chicago Sanitary District fixed by Supreme Court decree: After exhaustive consideration of the evidence and of the rights of the people of the Great Lakes region, the Supreme Court of the United States fixed at 1,500 cubic feet per second the amount of water which the Chicago Sanitary District may abstract from Lake Michigan.

2. Waters of Great Lakes owned by all States (not only Illinois) and Province of Ontario: The waters of the Great Lakes belong to all the people of the Great Lakes area; not only to Illinois. The United States has no proprietary interest in those waters and Congress has no legal right to divert those waters from the people of that area for the use of the people of another area.

3. Present stage of Great Lakes levels downward: Although lake levels have been high for several years, the peak was reached in 1952. A downward cycle is underway. In 1953 the general levels were about 7 inches lower than in 1952. All indications are that 1954 will see a drop of an additional 6 inches.

4. Effect of increased diversion contemplated by H. R. 3300: The Supreme Court held that any diversion at Chicago has the same lowering effect upon all the Great Lakes. Diversion of another 1,000 cubic feet per second would lower each of the lakes three-fourths inch. This lowering applies to the water levels at their low points as well as their high points. The result of diversion cannot be turned off and on like a water faucet. Several years are required for the ultimate effect to be reached, whether it be a lowering of the lake levels after diversion is started or a raising of the levels after diversion is stopped. If the diversion proposed by H. R. 3300 were started today, its full effect would not be reached until 1957, a year after the Corps of Engineers would be required to report to the Congress on the effect of the proposed additional diversion.

5. Effect of added diversion upon Great Lakes commerce: If all the vessels owned by members of Lake Carriers' Association (constituting about 95 percent of Great Lakes tonnage under United States flag) had their safe draft reduced by three-fourths inch, the annual loss in carrying capacity would be more than 1.5 million tons of cargo.

6. Relation of Great Lakes commerce to national defense: The cargoes carried over the Great Lakes are always important to the national economy and are of utmost importance in times of war. For example, about 85 percent of the iron ore used in the manufacture of steel in the United States is transported over the Great Lakes.

7. Relation of lower water to safety of navigation: A lowering of the waters in the Great Lakes by further diversion would increase the hazards of navigation as well as reduce the carrying capacity of the vessels. Rocks and shoals would come closer to the surface, channels and turning basins would be made shallower and narrower and movement in and out of harbors would be made more difficult. Congress would soon be deluged with requests for funds to deepen channels and harbors presently maintained by the Corps of Engineers.

8. Control of Great Lakes levels joint problem of United States and Canada under Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909: Under that treaty, Congress has the obligation to cooperate with Canada in the preservation of the waters of the Great Lakes for purposes of commerce and navigation. That obligation is not fulfilled by unilateral diversion which disregards the rights of Canada as well as the bordering States. House Concurrent Resolution 12 and House Concurrent Resolution 82 propose that the matter of the causes of the fluctuation in water levels of the Great Lakes be studied by the International Joint Commission and that the Commission recommend appropriate remedies to the two countries. Those resolutions should pass—not H. R. 3300.

A Revealing Reflection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am referring to a statement from the U. S. News & World Report.

The U. S. News & World Report says that the "period of the 1920's isn't out of the mind of today's planners." This is revealing. I did not believe that anyone who had lived through those harrowing days would care to be reminded of it except for the few who profited at the expense of the many. This, to my mind, is what happened: a few prospered and many suffered.

There are many millions living today who have no recollection of that period, but to older people it was anything but a happy time. I am one who remembers it and I would not care to live through those days again. Now I am fearful that I might have to. Let this Government think more of the people, the common people—the masses of the people. Unless they do that, we are in for very tough times.

Sermon Delivered by Rt. Rev. John K. Cartwright

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon delivered by the Right Reverend John K. Cartwright at the Red Mass, January 31, 1954, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D. C.:

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

With these words, after the long debate, Washington invoked consent to the articles of the American Constitution. With these words as text let us seek out the deeper significance of the impressive ceremony which brings us here today as men and women of law and of religion.

We might dwell upon the direct application Washington gave the words: that, when wise and honest men do their best, God can be trusted to carry them further. But let us rather think about the implications of what he said. There were wise and honest men there that day. It was out of a noble conspiracy of those wise and honest minds that the Constitution had been devised. It was what it was because their minds were what they were and because they thought and believed certain things and did not think or believe certain other things. The Constitution was to exist in virtue of their assent to it. And it was to have the validity which it came to have and for which we are so grateful, and the superiority for which it has been so famous the world over, because it reflected under God the moral superiority and the enduring validity of the thoughts and beliefs they entertained that day.

Partly alongside the Constitution, and partly under it, a great body of law has grown up, whether fundamental or statutory. I am sure you all believe that body of law and its accompanying jurisprudence to have a high moral dignity among the codes of the world, a quality of which you are proud. And that again is because your law has been made for you and your jurisprudence worked out in accordance with high moral and religious concepts. To some extent law may reflect the will of the legislator or the will of his constituency. But it cannot reflect merely will under penalty of being the instrument of tyranny. In its deeper reaches the law of a free community reflects the thought and conscience of a people or else that people will cease to be a free community.

We are proud of our legal inheritance, and justly so: proud of its traditions, American and European, of its philosophy, of its techniques, of its great representatives and the rest. But this law of which we are proud is not to be taken for granted. It had a historic beginning and that beginning took place when our ancestors had acquired new concepts of decency and justice and wanted to make new law for the application of those concepts.

There is a deep abyss between our law and the law of the more primitive societies from which we all derive. They and their law doubtless had merits, but they rested on grave inadequacies of idea. For them murder was compensated by the wereglid. Life was a form of utility and had to be paid for when destroyed. Our law rests solidly upon a religious conviction common to all of us: the God-given dignity of every human life. For many of them slavery or serfdom were taken for granted: it was simply the way of nature that some should be better off than others and their law expressed this. In the states of Christendom this came to be intolerable. True, slavery was at first embedded in our own law. But this was a historical accident not acceptable to our conscience. Our law would not digest it and our society shook it off by force. For many of the ancients the inferiority of women was accepted in polygamy and other brutal institutions. Our law has reflected in monogamy and in other ways the mind of those who came under the teaching of the Testaments. To the ancients the law of states was little better than the rule of successful vendetta. For us there has been maintained the supremacy of the state over private violence, and a powerful drive towards the building of world peace has a history that dates at least from Charlemagne and that is now increasing toward the building of a true and effective international law.

All thees things were ideas before they were law or could be law. They were great ethical concepts that made law and were not made by it. They came from the great moral and spiritual revolution which brought about Christendom. From this wonderful revolution in men's thoughts, rather than from technical superiority of statutes and procedures, came the moral greatness of our law systems. At bottom our law has its chief nobility, not because of borrowings from the Roman Code and not because of some racial capacity for law in our ancestry, but because there has been a light illuminating our minds and inspiring our souls for centuries, a light that comes from the Holy Law of Sinai and from the sermon on the Mount of the Beatitudes.

What was once necessary for the origin of our system of law remains necessary for its maintenance and survival. Its spiritual presuppositions made our law. If they are allowed to disappear, their disappearance will unmake it. Such a disappearance of the spiritual purpose and inspiration of our law is a real danger at the present time. At least three factors threaten it.

First, the overuse of law's coercive power. Since society gives law the use of force, the attainment of some of its ends is very direct and drastic. This tempts the dreamer who cannot wait till men shall waken to his dreams. His dreams are golden. They are for the good of men. Therefore men must be forced to accept the good he dreams for them. Since law in its execution is characteristically swift, therefore law seems the golden means for the realization of the golden dreams.

But law was not made to accomplish everything. Its coercive power is good only when it is limited. Apply it to everything and you destroy the nature of the benefits which are good only so long as they are free. Apply it to everybody and the good you seek to do them will be poisoned because you force it on them. Law will awake hatred, instead of veneration. Now, law can bear with the hatred of the criminal. It cannot do without the veneration of the citizen. Fear of law is one thing and belongs to the evil fringe of the community. Veneration is quite another. It is the spiritual tribute paid to law by men whose souls are free.

After the overuse of law comes a second inward danger: forgetting the spiritual purpose of law by forgetting the spiritual nature of man.

Sometimes the forgetfulness comes from the strain of professional life. A lawyer or a judge is so busy as to have little time to contemplate the true philosophy of his profession. In this case it is mere forgetfulness, but even this has its dangers.

In other cases, leisure for thought exposes men to the influence of bad thinking coming from sources outside the law. Some think of law as only an instrument of the prevailing force in society, the lever of power for a majority, or for an elite, or for the abler minority, or for the better race, or for those who represent the future. Others think wrongly about man's very nature. For them he is matter, not spirit, only, as has been said, a more intricate and highly trained baboon. For people who think of man that way, law is, of course, only an engine for controlling man. Instead of being the enlightened servant of man's nobler use, law becomes the weapon and the tool of the dictator.

We all know how the dictator has thrust his hideous presence upon our time. A century in other respects the most enlightened has been the most blasted by this evil thing. And no one thing has been more helpful to this defilement than the prevalence of wrong thinking about the spiritual nature of man which has led to the misprision of the spiritual purposes of law.

So far our own country has escaped the unwelcome presence. But the servants and liegemen of the dictator are busy among us, contriving to distort the very constitutional provisions for freedom into means for the destruction of freedom. In many ways the real struggle must be against these conspirators who are found in every channel of our communications and who have been well described as "vicious and ignorant children engaged in picking the mortar out of the foundations of society."

The first two dangers apply particularly to the lawmakers. The third aims directly at the citizen who must acknowledge and support the law. It is the massive and persistent force of propaganda called communism aiming at the destruction of citizenship by the corruption of the spiritual mind of the citizen. This effort is not left to the spontaneous care of volunteer enthusiasts. It is supported by a military draft over a large part of the world's population, by a taxation over immense portions of the world's production, by a fanaticism of materialistic purpose, by an independence of any restraints of charity or justice, by a power of seduction and appeal to superficial selfishness, by a faculty of overriding the instincts of patriotism and family affection, by a complex of effectiveness that the historical experience of the world could not anticipate—and all this force plays daily on the citizen of all nations which still have a free law.

The situation is of the gravest. Yet its very gravity has caused us all to be less superficial than we were likely to be before these things came over us. Today more than ever before we think correctly and wisely about the value of the heritage we possess. Your presence here today is an example of what one historian has said: "If the tide of history has carried our Nation to the moral and political leadership of that international society of Christendom in which we were cradled, there is placed upon us the august responsibility to guard and conserve the world of law and freedom. We approach the task with reverence"—(Ross Hoffman).

In thus bearing testimony to the high respect in which you bear your noble profession and to the faith you have in God's guidance and protection, I am sure that you are heartened by one circumstance of today's Red Mass. I know that I can speak for our people in Washington and for their chief pastor, Archbishop O'Boyle, who offers the holy mass today in joining with you in this sense of encouragement at the spiritual leadership of our Chief Magistrate.

President Eisenhower, the constitutional duties imposed on you are very heavy ones. To them you have added that of giving your fellow countrymen a good example in paying homage (and not only on this Sunday) to the God who hath made and preserved us a nation. We pray that He may grant you wisdom and strength for many great achievements. And we know that when history

records them it will put among them the fact that you have given your people this invaluable example.

So, dear friends, under this leadership we shall now continue with the holy sacrifice of the mass, and we shall all ask that God, who has made our Nation great and free may keep it great and free and that He may make us all servants of His high providence for the country He has given us to love.

The Rosenberg Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial communication entitled "The Rosenberg Case," which was published in the Commonweal of December 18, 1953. Described as an American view of the conviction and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, it is a masterful defense of the American judicial system and the protection it provides for the innocent. The contributor is the distinguished bishop of the Salt Lake Roman Catholic diocese, the Most Reverend Duane G. Hunt.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

To the EDITORS:

In the Commonweal of August 14 there was published an article by Robert Barrat in which he expressed frank disapproval of the conviction and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. He stated what was called the French view. I now wish to state through the Commonweal's columns, what I designate as an American view.

Let me point out to begin with that M. Barrat's criticism of the termination of the Rosenberg case goes beyond a regret that mercy was not shown. There were other persons, both here and abroad, who had hoped and asked for clemency. They feared that the execution would stir up resentment in other countries and would give the Communists a welcomed opportunity for their hypocritical complaints. They were of the opinion that the granting of clemency would do only good. This point of view, however, regardless of how sound or unsound it may be, is not pertinent to M. Barrat's criticism, for the all-sufficient reason that it was not merely mercy that he asked, it was justice. In other words, along with many of his fellow countrymen, he decided that the Rosenbergs were innocent.

Throughout his article there are convincing indications that he fails completely to understand us Americans. It may be well for us to indicate that we cannot understand him. That Frenchmen, reading merely press accounts of a trial in this country, considered themselves capable of passing a verdict contrary to that of our courts is a truly remarkable phenomenon. We cannot understand how they can consider themselves more honorable than our judges or more sensitive to the demands of justice. We cannot credit them with being better students of criminal law or of being more capable of interpreting testimony in American courts. And so we are amazed when they elevate themselves to a pedestal of judicial omniscience.

In his criticism M. Barrat referred to an article published in the New York Times, in which the author presented what he considered to be valuable evidence in favor of the Rosenbergs. M. Barrat was deeply impressed by this article; so also were his fellow citizens, the article having been reprinted throughout France. Assuming for the moment that the article presented valid and relevant testimony, does he imagine for a moment that the judges of our courts had ignored it? Or does he think that they could not comprehend its contents? May I ask, also, if he happened to read the statement of the defense attorney which was made immediately after the close of the trial in the lower court? In this statement the defense attorney said that his clients had had an eminently fair trial. Was this statement copied in the French papers and carried to the French people?

We can understand that Christians in France, as well as other countries, were disturbed by the Rosenberg case. The French have Communists in their midst, far too many for national security. The Communists are trying by all the diabolical devices in their repertoire to seize control of France and destroy her. We can understand, therefore, M. Barrat's fears that the execution of the Rosenbergs, giving the Communists an occasion for a new outburst of fury, would make more difficult France's dealing with them. We can understand, furthermore, that as the result of such fears M. Barrat hoped that the Rosenbergs would be acquitted, or, at least, that the sentence would be commuted to imprisonment. Up to this point we can go along with him. But he does not stop there; he went far beyond and pronounced a judicial verdict. From fears and hopes it is a long step, and one wholly illogical, to pass over into the realm of justice. Yet M. Barrat took that step boldly, declaring to the world that he believed the Rosenbergs to be innocent. It is precisely at this point that we must part company. There is no possible reconciliation between his thinking and ours.

In his article M. Barrat noted that we Americans have confidence in our courts. His words are: "We are told that the American public has absolute confidence in the judicial system and remained comparatively indifferent to the outcome of the case. But such is not the French view." Use of the word "absolute" makes his statement too strong. No one of us would pretend that our judges are infallible. It is more correct to say that in criminal cases we have a practical confidence in the final decisions of our courts, so much so that we accept their decisions as the best that can be reached by human tribunals. We know that every possible effort is made to safeguard the rights of the accused. He is presumed innocent until proved guilty, the burden of the proof being wholly with the prosecution. We know furthermore, that after a man's conviction in a lower court full opportunity is given him to register complaints, to ask for a new trial, and to appeal to higher courts. Even after a sentence for punishment has been pronounced he may be able to find grounds for requesting a delay. After all his appeals have been weighed by a higher court and a final decision is handed down, we do not doubt the justice of that decision. Even if our own private opinions originally had been different, we would hesitate to express a protest. With at least a modicum of humility we recognize that the courts are better informed about the merits of the case than we as private citizens are and better qualified to make the decision.

M. Barrat says that this not the "French view." Presumably he expects us to form an opinion about the guilt or innocence of the accused in each important case and then, if the higher courts decide contrarily, to raise a storm of indignant protest. In the Rosenberg case, evidently he expected us, as private citizens, to decide that the accused persons were innocent. He expected, furthermore, after the final decision of guilt had been reached, that we would demand in vehement protestations that the convicted persons be released. Perhaps that is the way he would have acted in France. That is his business, not ours; it is not for us to instruct him about how to regard his courts. By the same token, however, and for the sake of mutual respect, it would be well for him not to instruct us about how to regard our courts.

In his article M. Barrat reproaches us for the stays of execution and the delays in the Rosenberg case. Is it impossible for him to understand, as we do, that the stays of execution were requested by the defendants and were granted in order to give them every possible opportunity to expose a mistake in their conviction? Far from complaining about these delays, the purpose of which he completely misrepresents, he should applaud them as indicative of a sincere desire to avoid injustice.

In a criminal case in the United States the machinery of justice moves slowly. Nowhere else in the world are so many opportunities given a defendant to ask for new trials, to appeal for rehearings, to present one technical excuse after another, and to find his way eventually to the highest court. We hold to this procedure, slow though it is. We would not change it, the reason being that we wish to use every reasonable precaution to save an innocent person. We much prefer that a dozen guilty criminals be freed than to condemn even one person who is innocent. To most observers in other countries, our judicial procedure appears too slow and cumbersome. All we can ask is that they try to understand our extreme desire not to punish the innocent. And as for M. Barrat and his fellow citizens in France who have condemned us for doing what we so studiously try to avoid, we insist that they should examine our judicial procedure before undertaking to pass judgment upon it.

Are they aware that, in the Rosenbergs' case, pleas in their behalf were heard and considered 16 times by the southern district court of New York, 7 times by the Second Court of Appeals, and 7 times by the Supreme Court of the United States? Every conceivable pretext for a rehearing which the defendants' attorneys could find and invent was brought before our courts and listened to with patience? Where else in the world can such a record be matched? And yet M. Barrat expressed surprise that we Americans had confidence in the judgment which was ultimately reached, so much so that we have remained comparatively indifferent.

M. Barrat judges that we were less interested in the primary question of innocence or guilt than in finding victims upon whom to wreak vengeance. The vehemence of his reproof reaches the climax of rash judgment when he asserts that Frenchmen "believe that they [the Rosenbergs] were expiatory victims who were handed over to satisfy a public impatient to be rid of its own anti-Communist fears and bad conscience." That is a terrible indictment of the American people, and as false as it is terrible. M. Barrat could not have gone farther away from the truth if he had deliberately set out to do so. In fact, M. Barrat is the victim; in his eager credulity he has allowed himself to be imposed upon and grossly deceived.

Let me assure him that there was no excitement among the Amercan people generally about the Rosenberg case. What excitement there was came from the Communists and their sympathizers, a small but vociferous group of agitators who saw from the first that the case presented them with a splendid

opportunity to stir up resentment against us among people like the French. For the most part, our people here remained calm and undisturbed, being quite content to leave the whole subject to the courts, where it belonged. Most assuredly we did not suffer from a bad conscience.

In one paragraph M. Barrat stated that if there had been a general election in France within 48 hours after the execution of the Rosenbergs the Communist vote would have risen by 10 percent. In other words, he judged that the French people were so emotionally disturbed that many thousands of them would have turned to communism as the only way at the moment of satisfying their bitter hatred for the United States. I sincerely trust that M. Barrat has misjudged his fellow countrymen. I trust that they are better balanced, more politically stable, more honorable, and more Christian, than his accusation indicates. If not, the only appropriate observation is: May God help France.

Most Rev. DUANE G. HUNT,
Bishop of Salt Lake City.

Doctors for the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the January 1954 issue of United States Naval Institute Proceedings:

DOCTORS FOR THE ARMED FORCES

(By Rear Adm. Lamont Pugh (MC), U. S. Navy)

In the period since the end of World War II, the Medical Department of the Navy has undergone certain changes, not only to keep abreast of the times and fulfill its mission but also to enhance its attractiveness in the estimate of the medical personnel upon which it has to rely in the fulfillment of its mission.

Since 1945, the Nation's medical schools have graduated 8 classes with an average yearly output of approximately 5,850, totaling some 46,800 doctors. Those post-World War II doctors are distinguished upon 3 notable counts: First, by reason of a precise and exacting screening standard, those who have gained admittance to medical school during this era have attested to their scholarly superiority. Second, these individuals have, through inherent intelligence and diligence of application in basic training and postgraduate pursuits, brought to medicine the highest degree of professional erudition, skill, and competence attainable by so youthful an aggregation in this or any other country. Thirdly, these doctors, despite all the efforts and measures designed to influence them favorably, have shown conspicuously little relish for service with the Armed Forces. Various reasons or explanations have been advanced for this lack of enthusiasm to enter the Medical Corps of the Army, Navy, or Air Force. One reason, and a commendable one, has undoubtedly been the eagerness of these young physicians to acquire the professional excellence mentioned above. However, it will neither be contended that there is ample evidence against this being the only reason, nor will additional reasons be advanced. Rather let's review the record of medical officer procurement during the post-World War II era. While this review relates primarily to the Navy, the particulars cited are applicable to the Army and Air Force.

Immediately following the cessation of hostilities in August 1945, there promptly ensued a general exodus from the Medical Department, similar to that from all other departments of the Navy. The abandon with which this general demobilization, as it related to medical personnel, could be allowed was conditioned by the necessity of retaining sufficient doctors on active duty to perform physical examinations upon the homeward bound legions before their separation from the service.

In any event, "school was out" and within a short period the ranks of the Medical Corps had been depleted to a minimum, irreducible in the estimation of our planners. This, however, was considerably before all of those of a nostalgic turn of mind had been accommodated, and so as early as 1945 the resort to some expedient to either hold or recall sufficient doctors to meet the basic needs of the Navy's Medical Department had become necessary. Up to this time these personnel needs have continued to be provided by a succession of expedients. Most of us will agree that sufficient time has now elapsed to permit us to determine fairly definitely just what is the situation and the raison d'être as well. Similarly it will be agreed, it is thought, that not only has sufficient time elapsed to justify remedial action but that a failure to institute such action after viewing the state of affairs realistically would constitute a serious dereliction.

We as a nation have come to represent the world's most important bastion between the way of life created by our forefathers and a diametrically opposed philosophy. We are looked upon by many people of the world as the chief defenders of their faith and the chief holders of their hopes. It rests upon this Nation to maintain a potent national defense establishment, if we would insure ourselves and those dependent upon us against serious reverses. It is an accepted axiom of a military organization that its cardinal mission in time of peace is to prepare for war and its most unequivocal responsibility is to be ready for war when and if it comes. If that concept is valid for the military services as a whole, it is equally valid for any individual department thereof—in the instance in point, the Medical Department.

There is no resource more important in the maintenance of such an establishment than the men and women who constitute its personnel. There is no entity related to personnel of more vital concern to us than the health of that personnel. Whether prompted by humane instincts, patriotic impulses, or the law of the land, it goes without saying that the adequate protection of this important element rests squarely upon the medical departments of the armed services. Provision of a sufficient number of properly trained medical personnel for service in the armed forces is a matter of paramount concern to their administrative heads. While it is the administrative medical heads to whom reference is made, the top line echelons of the services, along with the members of their secretariats, would take the initiative and demand of Congress that ways and means be found to provide adequate medical coverage for personnel in uniform, if it appeared that the medical directors and operational planners were unable to cope with the situation.

Any system fraught with uncertainty or with the quality of hit-or-miss is unacceptably faulty and cannot be countenanced by those responsible for military planning. The armed services medical department should not have to wonder where or how they will obtain a sufficient number of medical and dental officers and nurses to meet their needs any more than the Ordnance Department would wonder about the source of supply for a sufficient number of gunners or the Bureau of Ships over a sufficient number of personnel to man and fight the vessels of the Navy.

From the close of World War II up until September 9, 1950 (the date Public Law 779, 81st Congress, the doctors' draft law, went into effect), the Medical Department of the Navy (and undoubtedly a similar situation has existed in the Army and Air Force) had no assurance that an adequate supply of medical and dental officers would be available. Until the passage of the doctor's draft law, our planning had been fraught with distinct uncertainty. Reliance for any significant number of dentists and medical men has depended upon a succession of pump priming or stopgap devices—a succession, as has been said, of expedients. From the outline of some salient factors and figures given on the page opposite, we see that only 4,778 of 11,176 who started the program actually were available. On May 29, 1946, the Secretary of the Navy issued an order to hold 2,000 of the above on active duty.

In 1947 Public Law 365 was enacted. Title II of that law provided for appointments in the regular Medical Corps at advanced rank on the basis of professional age and experience. Sixty-two physicians have been commissioned in the Regular Corps under this authority. Separation from the service except for physical and other statutory reasons was discontinued. The retention of retired officers on active duty was permitted.

In December 1948, the American Medical Association addressed a letter to each of 7,610 doctors in the United States who were then less than 26 years of age urging them to volunteer for active duty. Special reference was made to those who had received all or part of their medical education under the Navy college training program or the Army specialized training program. The letters pointed out their liability for induction under the Selective Service Act passed earlier that year and gave other pertinent information. Cards were enclosed for the recipient to fill out and return to the AMA. They, in turn, forwarded the cards to the Surgeon General of the appropriate armed service. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery addressed a letter to each of the doctors from whom a card was received and gave complete information on how and where to apply for a commission and active duty. To those not holding commissions in the Medical Corps Reserve, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery prepared an application letter, including a franked envelope addressed to the nearest office of naval procurement. To obtain the application forms all that was necessary on the part of the recipient was to sign and mail the letter. A copy of the Bureau letter to each of these young doctors was sent to our district medical officers and the appropriate officer-in-charge of naval officer procurement in order that they might contact each doctor and assist him in every possible way. Only 33 medical officers out of 7,610 receiving the letter came on active duty for a period of 2 years as a result of this program.

In February 1949 the Secretary of Defense inaugurated a moral suasion program directed to those who had received V–12 or ASTP training and who had not subsequently served on active duty. Letters and telegrams were sent to approximately 11,000 physicians and dentists, 8,681 replies were received. In response to this appeal, 583 physicians and dentists (5.5 percent of those contacted) volunteered for active duty for a period of 24 months in one of the three

armed services. Of that total, 192 medical officials volunteered for duty with the Navy.

Navy V–12 college-training program:

1. Total number of students who participated in the V–12 program at medical schools	11,176
2. Separations and dispositions other than acceptance of an appointment in the Medical Corps of the Naval Reserve	6,398
(a) Physical reasons, academic failure, disciplinary action, etc., prior to graduation from medical school	1,183
(b) Separated under point system	233
(c) Declined superseding appointment either as USN or USNR	816
(d) Accepted appointment as ensign, H–V(P) USNR, to continue in medical school	872
(e) Elected to accept discharge from USNR upon termination of V–12 program or transferred to USNR status not under cognizance of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery	2,844
(f) Accepted appointment in Medical Corps of the Regular Navy and are at present in the Regular Navy (estimated)	450
3. Accepted superseding appointment in Medical Corps of the Naval Reserve	4,778

In 1930, Public Law 779, the doctors' draft law, was enacted.

In spite of the above-mentioned efforts, the Regular Navy Medical Corps has suffered a 25.6 percent reduction in strength during the past 8 years, a net loss of 503 members from a strength of 1,961 on July 1, 1945 to 1,458 on July 1, 1953. While the Navy has not resorted to selective service for any physicians, it is obvious that but for the stimulus of the draft law its medical officer shortage would long ago have become intolerable.

In an effort to make the service more attractive and encourage all categories of medical department personnel to volunteer for service, a number and a variety of measures have been instituted. For this discussion account will be taken only of the measures that have been implemented in the interest of attracting a larger number of physicians and dentists to serve with the Armed Forces for a limited period or as a career. Some of the more important of these measures which are still in effect may be listed as follows:

1. Improvement of the medical intern program and the inauguration of a dental intern program.

2. The establishment of a residency training program.

3. Liberalization of the postgraduate training program in (1) naval hospitals, (2) civilian hospitals.

4. Short-term training in military medical specialties.

5. Special courses in the various specialties in civilian institutions.

6. Extra compensation of $100 per month.

7. Discontinuation of professional examination for appointment.

A number of other inducements have been offered but abandoned. One inducement was the privilege of accepting a commission while completing a residency of 1, 2, or 3 years in civilian hospitals with full pay. A similar policy at one time affected internships being served in civilian hospitals.

The doctrine of the service as an honorable way of life has, moreover, been consistently proclaimed through one medium or another, from one source or another. It has been held that this way of life is one that, along with many signal and unique attractions, carries with it a pay scale by which beginners with dependents may realize a yearly income of $6,017.28, with the prospect of promotion—practically all of the deserving are promoted—through the ranks of lieutenant at an annual salary of $7,273.92, of lieutenant commander at an annual salary of $8,724.00, and of commander at a salary of $9,640.56, to that of captain in about 16 years at an annual salary of $10,707.60 increased to $12,130.32 at the end of 30 years service, and with a fair chance of attaining the rank of rear admiral in from 22 to 25 years at a yearly salary of $14,852.64. The mean net annual incomes of civilian physicians in the years 1949, 1950, and 1951 were $11,058, $11,538, and $12,518, respectively. While these earnings may appear to be in excess of the average pay realizable by service doctors, the cold fact has been repeatedly cited that before the civilian can make a cent for himself it is necessary for him to obtain from his patients enough money to pay the office rent, pay the nurse, pay the stenographer, pay his public-relations club bills where he must put in an appearance and show evidence of his material well-being, and pay the installments on his home, as well perhaps as upon his car. The fact that a career in the service presents a means of enjoying comfortable residence both at home and abroad interspersed with periods of wide travel and residence in foreign lands under conditions of exceptional circumstance and dignity in the far-flung reaches of the world and at an early age that would make it possible for individuals to enjoy their experiences in retrospect for a long time, has been pointed out. And finally, that this way of life holds out the prospect of years of contented retirement and provides, through medical care, hospitalization, and retired pay, a safeguard against one's ever becoming a burden to himself, his family, his relatives, or his friends, has, moreover, been emphasized.

The results of these endeavors and many others have fallen far short of their objectives and have failed to obviate the necessity for the enactment and reenactment of a doctors draft law (now Public Law 84, 83d Cong.).

The purpose of this treatise is not to point to the past except to provide a clearer concept, nor to cite a cause for our ills except to aid in the development of a remedy. The purpose of this presentation is to propose consideration of certain measures believed to be in order and urgently needed, and to suggest a choice of these measures as the most feasible approach to a problem with which the medical services of the Armed Forces have been confronted for the past 8 years.

A view that our difficulties would vanish under either an all-out war or the economic squeeze of a depression has been advanced. Its validity is not doubted. However, a plan which depends upon calamity for its modus operandi should be abhorred.

The ideal solution to this whole problem could be realized through circumstances under which civilian and military medicine might work out a cooperative plan that would satisfy all interested agents and agencies. This could be realized only if it were possible for the Association of American Medical Colleges and the American Medical Association, along with the American Dental Association and American Association of Dental Schools, to control the production and distribution of the physicians and dentists in America and thus guarantee an adequate supply to the armed services. In the light of past experience the realization of such an ideal seems unlikely unless the draft law continues.

The Draft Act per se is not an altogether objectionable device. To be sure, it relieves the individual of the responsibility for making up his own mind and initiating his own acts. There is a certain element of fairness to those concerned under the draft law. Under the Draft Act an individual becomes a pawn waiting for an extraneous force to move him. Under this system when State and National advisory committees to selective service function, the military avoids the unpleasant accusations of being ruthless, extravagant, and inconsiderate of civilian needs.

Aside from the idea that the services deprive communities of doctors, civilian groups occasionally lose sight of the fact that the armed services belong to them. Some of the local citizenry think of the service as a one-way proposition. It is little short of amazing that they frequently fail to consider the fact that their local doctor will return to them, unless some unforeseen circumstance supervenes. Morever, he will return a more valuable doctor because he has been in the service. In the event of a variety of disasters, the special training available in the armed services would stand the local doctor, and his community, in good stead.

On the other hand, the odium or opprobrium inherent in the necessity for the Government to point its finger at a particular group of citizens in a democratic country to induce its members to render a service ordinarily expected is not mitigated. Neither does such an arrangement promise to end the bickering between civilian and military representatives over what constitutes an adequate supply and how the military should employ its doctors. It would appear worthy of mention that by 1955 the prospect seems good of obtaining a sufficient number of physicians and dentists to meet the needs of the armed services through the simple instrumentality of the Selective Service System, as currently operative, irrespective of a doctor's draft law. The reason for this is that a large percentage of those who have comprised the output of graduates from the medical schools of the Nation during recent years have been veterans and were therefore exempt from selective service.

Age and motivation are two objections to a draft law as an instrument for the procurement of physicians and dentists. It is possible, even probable, that some doctors would welcome being drafted into the service; the majority of those drafted, however, put on a uniform with reluctance, accept the ordeal as a sentence to be served. They carry out their work in an unhappy frame of mind.

In the military, ever since Cain killed Abel, the accent has always been on youth and vigor. Efforts to disregard this dictum are sure to lead to difficulty. The services need young individuals with versatility, adaptability, resiliency, and a lot of zing. A plan where older individuals of limited physical ability could staff stateside hospitals and fill the so-called "cush" billets ashore, while the young and agile carry on where the going is grim and gory, is shortsighted and unrealistic. This would constitute something of a paradox. Under such a system those deserving an award would have levied upon them a double penalty through a denial of a desirable duty assignment on the one hand and restriction to arduous and hazardous duty on the other.

The services need individuals who are all-season and all-weather performers capable of carrying the ball under all circumstances and of rotating from sea to shore or from shore to the theater of combat. Adherence to that practice is essential to the maintenance of good morale in the service.

Particular emphasis is placed upon this point in view of a recent tendency to spotlight an older-age group, which has seen little or no actual military service, albeit in many instances due to no fault of its own. To force middle-aged and inexperienced doctors into the military service would be certain to introduce complicating features that would be embarrassing to both the service and the individual. This objection could be

eliminated through appropriate language in the law. Nevertheless, as long as a draft law might be in effect, there would always be the temptation, or even invitation, to overextend its application.

There is another fundamental fault with the draft system as it has been operated. The currently required 2-year period of service is too short and forces frequent moves and a consequent reduction in the doctor's actual on-the-job time—a major objection to the individual serving and to those who must manipulate their forces to meet the medical demands which confront them. A two-and-one-half or three-year period would be much better than 2. Thus, it would be possible to realize 2 years of effective service from an inductee. Now 6 months to 1 year may be absorbed in orientation procedures and transfer to and from a foreign station.

To avoid the evils of short hitches, the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Navy has recently introduced a proposal for a short term, 4-year, regular commission under which the doctor would be guaranteed his release at the end of 4 years. He may be offered the option of remaining for 3 additional years in return for residency training and other premiums. This kind of provision would, moreover, eliminate probably the most major objection against volunteering for the service, i. e., a native rebellion against being locked up or fenced in. A similar system is presently in operation in Great Britain's Royal Navy. This system was recently placed in effect in the United States Navy. The response to date has been disappointing.

While it has been emphasized that youthful vigor and stamina are essential attributes to a successful and profitable service with the Armed Forces, sight should never be lost of the fact that any attempt to operate a service medical department by relying solely upon a modus operandi of short-term rotation of doctors from civilian life to service and back again to civilian life would be doomed to failure. The maintenance of a substantial basic structure of regular career officers is indispensable to the implementation of the system that has satisfactorily stood the test of time.

During the past several years military medical administrators have heard a great deal about what is wrong with them, their management methods and their organizations. It is generally agreed in the services that disproportionate emphasis has been placed upon certain activities and practices of service medicine. Whether the administrative heads of the armed services medical departments have demonstrated their ability to manage efficiently and effectively is debatable, but these service administrators must think that they have not done too badly. They are mindful and appreciative of the role played by their civilian components, consultants, and technical advisers, and their Reserve cohorts, in the attainment of their excellent record. However, in the last analysis they consider themselves professionals and singularly capable of judging in many areas where only years of experience could qualify one to judge. These military medical administrators will admit a great wastage of medical manpower during the late war, as there was of every other resource, but they will not admit that it was altogether their fault. They contend that quality and competence are usually reckoned in terms of certain more or less conventional criteria regardless of whether it is an organization or a race horse that is being judged. As with a race horse, one important criterion is performance. The record speaks well of the performance of their respective organizations.

These medical administrators agree that it is possible to look forward intelligently only if one looks backward too. The advantages of hindsight over foresight are well appreciated. The backward viewing critics should not forget that while many instances may be cited in which much energy and resources went for naught in the past, nevertheless those responsible for such expenditure could well have been regarded as negligent had they not made provision for which they were later criticized. A classical illustration during World War II was the provision of a naval hospital at Netley in England. As it ultimately turned out, maybe this hospital was never critically needed. Between June and September of 1944, 8,076 patients, of which 4,222 were battle casualties, were admitted and treated there. For this service, the hospital, known as Navy Base Hospital No. 12, received a Navy Unit Citation and Commendation. If instead of a success, the Normandy invasion had developed into a stalemate, with many times the casualties, and no provisions for handling the casualties had been made in advance, it is probable that adverse criticism would have resulted and very likely from the same sources from which criticism of wastefulness emanated.

Hope in the minds of medical military planners of their ever realizing a satisfactory solution to their personnel problems through simple negotiation and mutual give and take on the part of existing agencies is rather forlorn. It behooves them to look for new means or devices. The question narrows itself down to a choice between two alternatives: (1) the adoption of a scholarship plan, (2) the establishment of a Government-supported school.

The less desirable of these possibilities, according to most doctors, is a service medical school. During the past several years this matter has been aired upon a number of occasions. Congressman LOUIS B. HELLER of New York, in fact, introduced a bill in the 81st and 82d Congresses and reintroduced a similar bill in the 83d Congress proposing the establishment of a Federal medical and dental school.

While there may be a few doctors in the service who would advocate establishment of such a school, it is believed that the majority of service doctors would oppose it. Their opposition would be based first upon their aversion to socialized medicine. It would be contended that such a school would be a gigantic step in the direction of the socialization of all medical establishments and medical care throughout the Nation. Whether this is true or not is debatable. There is little question that the school would be an expensive method of obtaining service physicians and dentists. This idea may be founded upon bases more apparent than real. The continuing need for the school's operation and supply of doctors is another matter about which serious doubt exists. If a plan that could be turned on and off or slowed down and speeded up to meet the exigencies of a given period is desired, that would argue against a school.

On the other side of the ledger there are a number of arguments that can be advanced to support the idea of a school. The establishment of a service medical school would eliminate the need for the doctors draft law. A school or schools for training service physicians, dentists, nurses, etc., would eliminate the necessity of the medical services' having to account to various extra-service agencies for the manner in which their personnel are utilized.

The ratio of medical department personnel to troop strength is established by law. According to Public Law 381, 80th Congress, the Navy is allowed 6½ doctors per 1,000, 2 dentists per 1,000, and 6 nurses per 1,000, but insofar as these 3 corps are concerned, the legal limit has never been reached, even in time of war.

Currently, the ratio of physicians per 1,000 in the Navy is 4.0. This ratio during the past 6 years has varied between 6.1 and 3.9, with an average of 5.1. The number of physicians necessary to meet the Navy's need is determined by individual activity analysis of medical department workload by representatives of the medical department together with line officers of the Bureau of Naval Personnel and the Office of Chief of Naval Operations. This figure is based upon careful and considered planning and is by no means a trumped-up quantity.

There are several principles to the much mulled over ratio that cannot be overemphasized. The first is that a ratio is unrealistic for determination of need. To set a ratio and say that the medical services of the Armed Forces must live with it is equivalent to saying that requirements should be determined by guess rather than by computation, to estimate the crew allowance for airplanes on the basis of a ratio per total number of planes would result in a ridiculously haphazard manning of planes. The only realistic attitude that may be assumed relative to a ratio is first to determine a need by a conventional and rational process. From that need a ratio may be deduced. Then a ratio is what it should be—a statistic—an end result and not a determinant.

Another point about ratios that has been contested time and again is that what may be an adequate ratio for the Army generally is not adequate for the Navy. The Navy, operating in a wider variety of media and staffing a greater number of small units, including ships, of course, is consequently more broken up and therefore may require more doctors per given number of troops than would be the case if that same number were a part of an Army division. To apply a common denominator and expect the same ratio to be applicable to all the services alike is to deal theoretically with a situation which requires practical treatment.

Furthermore, ratios do not remain constant, but fluctuate from month to month, depending upon personnel turnover, in one determining area or the other, i. e., on the medical or troop side of the ledger.

The term "troop strength" is frequently interpreted literally when its implication is distinctly liberal. To be explicit, troop strength, as envisioned by Congress, includes: "the total authorized number of commissioned officers of the Navy and Marine Corps (exclusive of commissioned warrant officers), the total authorized number of enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps, the total authorized number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy, the actual number of commissioned warrant officers, and warrant officers on the active list of the Navy and Marine Corps, and the actual number of midshipmen on active duty for flight training."

Many believe that a Government-sponsored medical school would create a caste or class distinction among doctors. Those trained by the service school, would, according to the views of some, have a stilted attitude and a similar brand of medical education. On that basis, the advantages which are thought to stem from a mixture of types, a mingling of ideas, and a variety of teachers, and which are realized by drawing doctors into the military service from widely distributed medical schools, would be lost under a military or naval medical academy system.

Would the products of a Government-operated school be a sort of hackneyed, stereotyped, or provincially educated group? While the idea is narrow in its nature, the possibility could be eliminated by special courses in civilian schools. Also, whatever benefits are supposed to accrue from this mixture of finished product from hither and yon will still be realizable, since the men and women who receive their medical, dental, or nurse training in Government institutions or under Government subsidy will have had their academic training in a variety of widely separated schools. The continued admission into the services of acceptable graduates

from the medical schools of the Nation at large would provide, in great measure, the highly desirable hybrid vigor that is sought and expected from cross-pollination or transfusion of ideas and philosophies.

To refute those who would look askance at the Government controlling what it subsidizes, the advocates of a school can contend that Government control is better than no control. There is little indication that organized civilian medicine has any appreciable control of its members. The question also may be asked: What is so bad about Government control? This question may be supported by the enjoinder to witness the post-office system. Although that system is not perfect, certainly its performance is quite creditable. Has anyone ever witnessed a walkout or strike or foot dragging on the part of its employees? Whenever a national institution or service under the control of a special civilian element is unable to supply an essential need, what is more natural than for the people to turn to their Government for a correction of the situation? The Government did take over and deliver the goods when it enacted and reenacted the doctors' draft law.

The creation of a medical West Point or Annapolis, or a combination of the two, could bring an end to the recurring contention that the services are ruthless in their drain upon civilian medical personnel and that as a result of service extravagance the civilian population suffers.

There are two schools of thought about whether the existing facilities are turning out an adequate number of physicians and dentists to meet civilian and military needs. Based upon the commotion in some localities after the application of Public Law 779, one cannot escape the impression that doctors are in distinctly short supply in many areas and are nonexistent in others. Whether or not the output is sufficient, it is a rather weak argument to explain the apparent shortage in terms of a maldistribution of doctors. That may be an explanation but it is not a justification. Some good candidates for admission to medical schools are denied the privilege of studying medicine because of the Nation's limited training facilities. The creation of a Government school would allow many of these young men and women to study medicine. That school could feed into the civilian economy a number of well and specially trained doctors.

A Government school as a source of doctor supply would stop debate about the extent that the military should provide medical coverage for dependents of its personnel. If the armed services are not accused of depriving civilian communities of badly needed doctors, and in turn using these doctors to treat dependents of service personnel, a score about which there has been much to-do will be settled.

If curtailment, or even abolition, of dependent care would eliminate the need for a doctors' draft law, the services would agree that dependent-care reduction or even abandonment of dependent care might be justified. But the idea that this would be possible is argued by no one, because the total number of doctors employed in the care of dependents is not great enough to make the difference. The Navy takes care of its dependents in accordance with a clear-cut existing law. There is nothing phony about it. It is moreover plainly implied in the deliberations of the various committees, including congressional committees, which have studied formulation of an equitable pay scale for the services, that dependent care by service doctors at a special rate of charge would be continued. The latest expression of opinion upon this score was reflected in no uncertain terms in a report submitted in June 1953 by a citizens advisory commission to study medical care for dependents of military personnel appointed by the Secretary of Defense, with Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president emeritus of Brookings Institution, as chairman. Inpatient care is not free to those eligible. The Navy has no choice except to abide by the law. It is a medical department axiom that no form of medical care is as good as it should be if it is not as good as it can be.

Even with the medical coverage currently provided to dependents, a high percentage of the enlisted personnel whose dependents require hospitalization seek aid from the Navy Relief Society to defray expenses. That the services should take care of their own people appears to be no more than natural and desirable. As a class, service dependents are a worthy and courageous lot. They are frequently called upon to endure hardships and anxieties of a most trying character peculiar to service life, in peace as well as in war. Those upon whom they depend are engaged in the all-important mission of protecting America from forces that would destroy her. For that service their remuneration is modest indeed. There is no condition or circumstance more contributory to the morale of armed service personnel during their absence from home than the knowledge that their dependents will receive adequate medical care.

The morale factor inherent in dependent care and upon which so much stress is laid is not confined to the dependents and to those depended upon, but also extends to the doctors providing the care. The majority of doctors engaged in the practice of obstetrics and gynecology or of pediatrics in the services are happy, and restricting or discontinuing such care would be as detrimental to the morale of that category of doctors as to those in need of their services.

It should be borne in mind that no objection has been raised about service-provided care to dependents at overseas bases and isolated stations. To be able to provide an acceptable quality of dependent care overseas, the military contends that the doctors providing that care must be specialists. In order for them to remain competent and contented, the practice of their specialty must not be restricted to overseas and foreign stations.

An independent source for doctor supply, it can be held, should go a long way toward eliminating the seemingly endless number of inquiries, investigations, and analyses to which the medical departments of the armed services have been subjected during the past 7 or 8 years. This period has literally been one in which the Monday-morning quarterbacks, the reformers, and the so-called curious crusaders have had a real heyday in Washington. For a considerable period these investigations were welcomed because it was felt that they would be helpful, and while the services were proud of their organizations and were glad for outsiders to become better acquainted with them and were glad of their opportunity to become better acquainted with outsiders, these investigations have continued to require the expenditure of an appalling number of man-hours and the documentation of much testimony and statistical data. It will not be denied that appreciable benefit has accrued from some of these surveys. By a similar token, there have been a number in which the good that came of them was never apparent.

Some corrections held to be realizable through a school would be similarly realizable by the adoption of a scholarship plan. Under either plan the services would be provided with properly motivated medical and dental officers. Proper motivation is a factor which it is impossible to exaggerate. The service doctor needs to be of a special breed. Service medicine is a specialty sui generis. A doctor specifically trained for the service would scarcely complain about inspecting latrines, or mess gear sterilizing apparatus, or running milk analyses. These are logical views. The service doctor must be an inordinately versatile and adaptable individual. If one is unable or unwilling to comply with the requirements peculiar to the service, he may be compared to a baseball player who is extremely proficient as a batter and a runner, but cannot field and throw the ball. His value is reduced 50 percent. He does not qualify for the team.

Like the school idea, the scholarship idea for supplying Navy doctors is not new, either. In 1948 a Navy-formulated plan was presented to the Association of American Medical Colleges before its annual meeting at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. The salient features of this plan were:

1. Scholarships would be provided by contracts with accredited educational institutions, offering approved undergraduate courses in medical or dental science.

2. All educational expenses were to have been paid plus $75 per month as a retainer fee to each beneficiary.

3. The plan called for obligated service on the basis of 1 year of active duty for each year of scholastic training at Government expense.

4. No scholarship graduate was to have been eligible for residency or specialty training until he had completed an appointment in the regular service unless he agreed to extend his period of obligated service by the amount of time spent in residency or specialty training.

This plan was received by the members of the executive committee of the AAMC with sufficient interest to prompt its submittal by the committee to the deans of all the medical schools in the country. They were requested to express their reaction to the proposal and indicate how many additional medical students their facilities might be stretched to accommodate. The reception to this plan throughout the country ranged all the way from enthusiasm to complete indifference. The overall response can be said to have been little more than cool. Inadequacies of one kind or another, including lack of laboratory space and clinical material, were claimed in most cases. In any event, steps were taken to obtain legislation to carry out this plan. The bill died in committee.

Following the Navy's lack of success in its scholarship ventures, the Army formulated a scholarship plan. Theirs differed from the Navy's chiefly in the amount of dollar benefit the medical schools would realize through it. This plan is still a live issue and will probably reach the Congress at some future date.

There are many points in favor of a scholarship plan as a system of medical and dental officer procurement. It would carry with it the expressly desirable quality of providing for undergraduate training in already existing medical schools. It would preserve intact the advantage that accrues from an intermingling of the ideas and teaching methods of a variety of institutions. It would further a close relationship between civilian and service medicine and maintain a state of awareness among civilians that the interests of the armed services are their interests. Most important of all, in the estimation of some, it would preempt the creation of a Government-sponsored and operated medical school.

The scholarship plan, even in the most expensive form yet considered, would be much more economical than establishing a school. This estimate will be challenged when the question of school versus scholarship reaches the arena of debate and is subjected to the analytical scrutiny of experts. Undoubtedly some will advance the view that the validity of the economy-contention is subject to various elements of reasoning. First, whether a long-range or short-range program is envisioned would make a difference. The longer the life of the school, for instance, the more would the balance be tipped in its favor, since its initial cost would

be a major budgetary item. Secondly, whether the contemplated school would supply physicians and dentists to the armed services only or if, as in the Heller bill, referred to earlier in this treatise, the school would train physicians and dentists for the other Federal services requiring medical men, certainly would be significant. The broader the purpose of the school the more readily might it be justified dollarwise but, by a similar token, it would be more criticized on grounds of socialization. Of course, if a scholarship system is adopted for medical and dental officers, other Federal agencies, such as the Public Health Service, the Indian Service, and the Veterans' Administration, might seek to be included in the program. Thus the economic factor of the school is given a decided boost, but, on the other hand, an extension of the scholarship program to include the training of doctors for all Federal agencies would introduce a situation in league with socialized medicine.

Still another facet is involved. Would the administrators of the Nation's medical schools remain insusceptible to temptation? It may be perfectly true that it would cost less to subsidize medical education of students than to create and staff a medical school, but the tendency would be present for the medical schools to become more and more receptive, if not solicitous, of Government aid, until the Government could be subsidizing 70 medical schools rather than 1. While organized civilian medicine and medical schools may regard Government subsidy as a vice to be abhorred, there is always the possibility that such a vice may ultimately come to be embraced. A significant advantage with a scholarship plan would be that it could be turned on and off to meet the needs of the services, depending upon expansion and contraction, and upon the popular appeal of the services as determined by the civilian economy.

It has been found from actual experience that the needs of the Navy can be best met if two-thirds of the Medical Corps are members of the Regular Navy and one-third are Reserves. Currently, this ratio is exactly reversed. As of July 31, 1953, there were 5,854 doctors in the Medical Corps of the Army, 4,202 in the Navy and 3,452 in the Air Force for a total of 13,508. The number of Regular medical officers now serving in the military departments is 3,951. The services therefore fall more than 5,000 officers short of the two-thirds ratio. If present methods of procurement are sufficient to provide for normal attrition, which is estimated at 6 percent per year, a long-range plan to procure more than 5,000 medical officers and thereby maintain a combined Regular Corps for the three services of 9,333 is necessary. To avoid a hump in promotion and permit readjustments to possible future changes in overall strength, it is desirable that officers be brought into the Regular service over a period of from 5 to 10 years. If the shortage is to be made up during a period of 5 years, an enrollment of about 1,100 medical officers per year is required. This represents an average of 16 graduates from each medical school per year. If the shortage is to be made up during a 10-year period about 550 officers per year would be required. This would call for eight graduates per school per year. This would have to come from the civilian economy unless eight scholarship-subsidized graduates could be provided by each existing medical school annually under an existing scholarship plan.

It should be emphasized that after the Medical Corps has been brought to full strength, an annual input of 8 officers from each school will be necessary if the annual attrition rate continues at approximately 6 percent. This would be approximately 8 percent of the annual crop of medical-school graduates. It is possible that the attrition rate could be counteracted by the number of non-scholarship-trained doctors who might elect to enter the military service. In any event, the restoration of the erstwhile ratio of two-thirds Regulars to one-third Reserves would, with specific reference to the Navy at least, be desirable. Civilian medical agents or agencies can accomplish little that would be more helpful than to effect the acceptance of a military medical career by an increased number of doctors.

Objections that may be advanced against a scholarship plan would include opposition to the Government's gaining control through subsidy. The same hypothetical reply that has been suggested concerning the school's potentiality would apply to the scholarship, i. e., Government control is better than no control. There might be differences of opinion as to who would choose candidates for medical training under the scholarship plan. That should not be a major obstacle. It would seem logical that insofar as the intellectual qualities of candidates are concerned, the medical school officials should be the sole judges, but for physical qualifications and an estimate of proper motivation and service aptitude, Armed Forces representatives would be better qualified to judge.

For a long time there has been a sort of barrier between service and civilian medical devotees. This came about more or less through a natural set of circumstances, and while it did not appear to make much difference, the situation nevertheless has been short of being as healthy as is desired. Since the advent of new methods and new concepts of warfare which promise to involve civilian populations in future conflicts directly, there has been a closer intermingling of civilian and service doctors. While there is no question that this barrier has been lowered, through the instrumentality of a common cause, it has not been abolished entirely.

Possibly this insouciant attitude toward the services goes directly back to the medical schools (some of which appear to be frozen in the ice of their own self-sufficiency or their material limitation of facilities) and to the influence of certain individuals who are not sympathetic with Emerson that "Our culture * * * must not omit the arming of the man." One unsympathetic professor can do more to instill misgivings into the minds of young doctors than all of the friendly gestures possible on the part of the military can offset. For a military scholarship system to operate satisfactorily, service trainees must be accepted on an identical basis and subject to the same attitude as are all other students.

The establishment of a scholarship system should bring service and civilian medicine closer together and make for a warmly cordial rapport. Resort to a Government school could accentuate two factions between which a barrier might be raised. It seems reasonable to hope and expect that a mutually beneficial relationship between the Nation's medical schools and the armed services will accrue through the Medical Education for National Defense or MEND program. MEND pilot programs are currently in force at five of our leading medical schools.

With the help and guidance of the representatives of organized civilian medicine and dentistry, combined with the legislative support the armed services have been wont to receive from Congress in the past, it is believed that a sensible and realistic approach to the personnel problems that confront the medical departments is possible. Through such cooperation, a satisfactory solution must be amicably and expeditiously realized.

The burden of the theme of this offering has been that due account be taken of a priceless resource, particularly as pertains to the provision of professional personnel requisite to its preservation and restoration. That the time is high for forthright and conclusive action has been stressed. The advantages and disadvantages inherent in possible courses of action have been outlined.

The health of our military men and women is all important. Trained doctors in adequate numbers to protect service personnel from illness and injury and to treat these entities when they arise are necessary. Too few doctors, now, are willing to volunteer for military medical service.

Some adequate solution to this situation must be found soon.

The Best Years of Our Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last night—Wednesday night—I had the pleasure, along with many of you and other Members of Congress and the Government, of attending the White House Correspondents' Association showing of Samuel Goldwyn's fine motion picture, The Best Years of Our Lives.

It is true that this was not a "premiere" in the narrow definition of the word, but the timeliness of this film which deals so effectively with the veterans' homecoming problems of readjustment to civilian life is as great as it was back in 1947 when it received nine academy awards. It richly deserves to be brought back so that a new generation of veterans may have the opportunity to see it.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, Harold Russell, one of the stars of the film, is from my home State, and no veteran has done more for the cause of all veterans than he. Injured by a grenade explosion, Harold lost both his hands, but through courage and determination soon became a shining example to other amputees who were faced with the difficult task of using prosthetic appliances such as artificial limbs.

As national commander of the AMVETS, and now as one of the spearheads of a world veterans' organization, he is an outstanding citizen who has overcome his handicaps, and I am indeed proud that he claims Massachusetts as his home.

When Mr. Goldwyn first decided to film The Best Years of Our Lives, he wanted to show graphically the problems which were confronting the World War II returnee, and how these problems could be overcome and the readjustment to normal civilian life accomplished successfully. That is why he chose Harold, not a professional actor, but a veteran who had surmounted what at that time was considered an almost insurmountable handicap, to play a starring role.

In 1954 we are faced with striking parallels to the situation which existed immediately following World War II. Once again the men of the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force are returning home—this time from Korea—to face the same reorientation task.

And so it was, last November, that the General Federation of Women's Clubs

and other prominent national civic organizations urged Sam Goldwyn to bring back The Best Years of Our Lives—because of its timeliness in depicting the return home of the fighting man.

In order that the film's return would be on a high plane and would gain richly deserved public recognition, the White House Correspondents' Association hosted last evening's special premiere. I want to congratulate the Washington press corps for this magnificent gesture in tribute to the homecoming veteran and to the one motion picture which so beautifully depicts his story.

The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of Congress this excellent article concerning the only Presidential impeachment proceedings ever had in our Nation. It was written by H. H. Walker Lewis, an attorney, of Washington, D. C., and appeared in the January 1954 issue of the American Bar Association Journal.

Its importance at any period of our history, but especially now, justifies a close study of this learned treatise. The subtitle points out that this was "a political tragedy when the legislative branch of the Government attempted to enforce its own will upon the executive." Surely, this well-told story is one which should receive the widest possible audience, and I commend it to the Members of this body:

THE IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON: A POLITICAL TRAGEDY

(By H. H. Walker Lewis)

The impeachment of President Johnson was not so much the trial of an individual as the culmination of a clash between legislative and executive power. The outcome of the proceedings has had a more profound effect upon our form of government than it had upon President Johnson himself.

Even while the Civil War was raging, a deep cleavage over reconstruction policies had developed between President Lincoln and the extremists of his party, known as radical Republicans. Lincoln wished to restore the South, the radicals wished to remake it. They had carried the torch for the abolition of slavery and they retained all the righteous intolerance that the abolition movement had generated. High among their objectives were the enfranchisement of the former slaves and the disfranchisement of their rebellious masters.

It was Lincoln's view that the Southern States were still members of the Union and retained their constitutional rights as such. The basic issue settled by the war was that States could not secede. Accordingly, they must still be States and the problem was to get them back into their proper practical relation with the Union. To do this was largely a matter of developing, through appropriate terms of amnesty, a sufficient body of loyal citizens to elect and administer their governments. Their former leaders had disqualified themselves by rebellion, but once loyal governments could be restored, their citizens would have the same right to govern themselves as those of any other State.

The radical Republicans, on the other hand, took the position that the seceding States, by their rebellion, had forfeited their rights under the Constitution and were to be administered as conquered territory until such time as Congress saw fit to readmit them to the Union. Meanwhile they would have the same general status as other Territories and would be subject to the full legislative power of Congress.

The Republican leader of the Senate, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, added an individual variation to the radical theory. Article IV, section 4 of the Constitution guarantees that each State shall have a republican form of government, and it was Sumner's view that the seceded States could not meet this qualification until they had enfranchised the Negroes and admitted them to full participation in their governments. A flaw in this theory was that several of the Northern States also denied Negroes the right to vote and stubbornly continued to reject State constitutional amendments enfranchising them.

To the radical Republicans, as to Lincoln, the theories were less significant than their practical consequences. These were of the utmost importance. Under Lincoln's view, the restoration of the seceded States to the Union was primarily the responsibility of the Executive. The Constitution vested the right of pardon or amnesty in the President and he could accordingly determine the conditions upon which individuals who had participated in the rebellion could be restored to the rights which they had forfeited. Once granted amnesty, they could elect their own governments and make their own laws, including laws as to suffrage. The Army would be merely an aid to civil power, and military government would dissolve as soon as civil authority could be restored. Acting on this theory during the war, President Lincoln had by Executive action brought about the creation of provisional governments for Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia. At considerable personal hazard, Andrew Johnson had accepted appointment by Lincoln as military governor of Tennessee and had remained in that post until elected Vice President in 1864 on the Union ticket.

The radical Republicans maintained that reconstruction was a legislative function and that it was the prerogative of Congress to prescribe the forms of government and conditions of suffrage for the South. This theory was vital to continued party power. If the Southern States were merely restored, their leaders would be Democrats. Furthermore, the 13th amendment abolishing slavery had effected an ironic anomaly in that it entitled the Southern States to increased representation in the House of Representatives. Under the original Constitution, slaves were counted at only three-fifths, but under the 13th amendment, they must be counted in full.

During the hostilities, Lincoln's views had prevailed, but his renomination as President in 1864 had been bitterly opposed by the same congressional leaders that later pilloried Johnson. At his last Cabinet meeting, held after the surrender of Lee and the day before his own assassination, Lincoln had said:

"I think it providential that this great rebellion is crushed out just as Congress has adjourned, and there are none of the disturbing elements of that body to embarrass us."

JOHNSON BECOMES PRESIDENT AFTER LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION

On April 9, 1865, Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox Courthouse and for practical purposes the Civil War was at an end. Six days later, on April 15, President Lincoln died and Andrew Johnson became President of the United States.

Andrew Johnson was born on December 29, 1808, in Raleigh, N. C., of parents in humble circumstances. His father died when he was 4 and at the age of 14 he was apprenticed to a tailor. In 1826 he migrated to Greeneville, Tenn., and in the following year married Eliza McCardle, a girl of refinement and education. Johnson had no formal education, but in the tailor shops of those times it was customary for someone to read aloud to the workmen and he himself learned to read. His wife taught him to write and encouraged his self-education.

His business prospered, and in 1829, at the age of 21, he embarked on a career of public service. In that year he was made an alderman and 3 years later mayor of Greeneville. In 1835 he was elected to the Tennessee legislature and in 1843 to Congress, where he served until 1853. In that year and again in 1855 he was elected Governor of Tennessee and in 1857 was chosen Senator. Although a Democrat, he was the only southern Member of Congress to refuse to secede with his State and he continued in the Senate until 1862, when Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee. In 1864 he was nominated and elected Vice President, it having been felt that the nomination of a Democrat from a border State would bring strength and solidarity to the Union ticket.

Johnson was a man of outstanding intelligence, independence, and courage, but he was lacking in humor and tact. To his lasting misfortune, he had been under the influence of liquor at his inauguration as Vice President. He had made the long trip from Nashville to Washington while recuperating from typhoid fever, and he is reported to have asked Hannibal Hamlin, the outgoing Vice President, for a drink of whisky to give him strength for the ceremony. His inaugural speech was so alcoholic that Senator Sumner ostentatiously buried his face in his hands. Many prominent persons closely associated with Johnson have attested to the fact that he was a man of temperate habits but his "slip," as Lincoln called it, gave credence to the later repeated characterizations of him as a drunkard.

Johnson's accession to the Presidency was at first welcomed by the radicals. Representative George W. Julian, of Indiana, later a member of the House committee to declare articles of impeachment against Johnson, gave the following description of the radical caucus held immediately after the death of Lincoln.

"While everybody was shocked at his murder, the feeling was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson to the Presidency would prove a Godsend to the country."

Johnson was known to be hostile to the leaders of the Confederacy and it was thought that he would be harsh in his attitude. This assumption overlooked the fact that he believed in President Lincoln's policies and, as military governor of Tennessee, had carried the responsibility of putting them into effect. His views were summarized in the statement that the prostrated South "must be nursed by its friends, not smothered by its enemies."

Johnson became President on April 15, 1865, and Congress was not due to reconvene until December. In furtherance of Lincoln's plan, Johnson threw himself into the task of restoring the Southern States and by the end of July measures had been put into effect for self-government in all of them. These measures made suffrage dependent upon the local requirements that had been in effect on the date of secession, but excluded individuals unable to qualify for amnesty. The terms of amnesty were substantially those of Lincoln.

The first postwar reconstruction measure was originally drafted by Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War. Stanton had agreed privately with Senator Sumner to extend the

suffrage to Negroes and sought to accomplish it by a provision making "loyal citizens" eligible to vote. The significance attached to this phrase did not become clear until Stanton was asked to explain it at a Cabinet meeting. Johnson did not adopt Stanton's plan.

Edwin M. Stanton had been appointed Secretary of War by President Lincoln during his first term of office. He was a lawyer of great energy and ability. For almost 2 years he gave outward evidence of loyalty to Johnson, although at the same time participating in the secret councils of the radical leaders. As Secretary of War he occupied the key Cabinet position with respect to reconstruction. The Army was in control of the South and was necessarily the instrument for putting into effect any plan for its government, whether originating in Congress or the White House.

CONGRESS MAKES OPEN BREAK WITH PRESIDENT ON RECONSTRUCTION

By the time that Congress reconvened in December, 1865, the Radicals were thoroughly alarmed by the President's actions and had conferred on means to counter them. By prearrangement, the leaders came to Washington early and a Republican caucus was held in advance of the meeting of Congress. At this caucus, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the leader of the House, secured agreement on a plan which, among other things, committed the Senate and the House not to admit the elected representatives of a Southern State until Congress had pronounced its reconstructed government valid and satisfactory. This plan was promptly adopted by Congress and the strongest of the radical leaders were appointed to a joint committee of 6 Senators and 9 Representatives which thereafter dominated both Senate and House in all matters relating to reconstruction.

The conflict between the President and the radical Republicans was now open and irreconcilable. The President regularly vetoed radical legislation and Congress almost as regularly repassed the measures over the veto. This required a two-thirds vote, but the antiadministration Republicans already had this margin in the House and they obtained it in the Senate by the expulsion of Senator Stockton, of New Jersey, and by the admission of Nebraska to statehood. An effort was made to increase the margin by admitting Colorado as well, but this did not muster enough votes to pass over the veto. Colorado's population was very small, and the only vote taken in the territory had rejected statehood. Later, during the congressional elections of 1866, Johnson made the mistake, as it turned out, of trying to carry the issue of reconstruction to the people. He was badly outmaneuvered by the radicals and the result of the election was to give the antiadministration Republicans overwhelming control in Congress, amounting to well over two-thirds in both Houses.

Space does not permit a blow-by-blow account of the ensuing warfare between President Johnson and the radical Republicans, but three of the measures of Congress, all passed on March 2, 1867, are of special significance in connection with the later impeachment: (1) the Reconstruction Act, (2) the War Department Appropriation Act, and (3) the Tenure of Office Act.

(1) The Reconstruction Act divided the southern States into five military districts, each to be governed by an Army officer. It and its supplements had the effect of enfranchising the Negroes and of disfranchising the whites who had supported secession.

(2) The War Department Appropriation Act of March 2, 1867, made it a misdemeanor for the President to issue any military orders to the Army except through the General of the Army, or to relieve the general of his command or assign him to duty elsewhere than at Washington, save at his own request or with the previous approval of the Senate. This legislation was in the form of a rider to the Appropriation Act and had been dictated secretly by Stanton to Representative Boutwell, as later disclosed in Boutwell's Reminiscences. In practical effect it made Secretary of War Stanton the key individual in reconstruction, through his control over the General of the Army.

(3) The Tenure of Office Act required the approval of the Senate to the suspension or removal by the President of civil officers who had been appointed with its consent.

These acts fit together like a jigsaw puzzle. The first gave the Army control over reconstruction. The second put the Secretary of War in control of the Army, to the exclusion of the President. And the third purported to give the Senate control over the removal of officers appointed with its consent. But did this last protect Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War? This was destined to become the crucial issue of the impeachment proceedings. Let us accordingly look further into its background.

When the Tenure of Office Act was under consideration in the Senate it was felt that Cabinet members occupied such an intimate relationship that the President should not be forced to retain individuals in whom he had lost confidence. Accordingly, the Senate excluded Cabinet officers from the protection of the original bill. The House thereafter amended to cover Cabinet officers, the Senate refused to concur, and the bill was sent to conference.

The Senate was represented on the conference committee by Charles R. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania; John Sherman, of Ohio; and George H. Williams, of Oregon; and the House by Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio; Thomas Williams, of Pennsylvania; and James F. Wilson, of Iowa. Senator Buckalew was a Democrat; the other five were antiadministration Republicans. Representatives William and Wilson were later among the seven House managers in the impeachment proceedings.

The conference committee inserted the following proviso in the bill with respect to Cabinet officers:

"*Provided*, That the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, the Postmaster General, and the Attorney General, should hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for 1 month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

This proviso had been drafted by Representative Williams and, in reporting the measure to the House of Representatives, Schency said, "It is, in fact, an acceptance by the Senate of the position taken by the House." In adopting the act, the House believed that it was protecting Stanton, on the theory that Johnson was merely serving out Lincoln's term rather than a term of his own.

The Senate thought otherwise. There, James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, a pro-Johnson Republican, attacked the proviso as special legislation for the avowed purpose of protecting the Secretary of War. At the same time he pointed out that its language would not achieve that result inasmuch as Stanton had been appointed by Lincoln during his first term, whereas the amendment protected cabinet officers only "during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for 1 month thereafter." Answering Doolittle, Senator Sherman, who had been on the conference committee, stated.

"We do not legislate in order to keep in the Secretary of War. * * * That this provision does not apply to the present case is shown by the fact that its language is so framed as not to apply to the present President. The Senator shows that himself, and argues truly that it would not prevent the present President from removing the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of State. And if I supposed that either of these gentlemen was so lacking in manhood, in honor, as to hold his place after the politest intimation by the President of the United States that his services were no longer needed, I certainly, as a Senator, would consent to his removal at any time, and so would we all."

The bill as amended in conference was thereupon passed and sent to the President.

At the Cabinet meeting held to consider the bill, all members of the Cabinet expressed the opinion that it was unconstitutional. Secretary of War Stanton was so outspoken on the subject that Johnson requested him to draft the veto message. He pleaded inability to do so, but offered to assist Secretary Seward, the Secretary of State, in preparing a draft, which he did. The act was passed over the President's veto on March 2, 1867. During this period Stanton was still making a show of loyalty to the President, although diaries and documents later coming to light have proved conclusively that he was working hand in glove with the radical leaders.

The Tenure of Office Act specifically provided that its violation would constitute a "high misdemeanor," this statutory language being drawn from article II, section 4 of the Constitution providing that the President "shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The possibility of impeaching the President was already receiving prayerful consideration. Under the Constitution, it is the function of the House of Representatives to initiate and of the Senate to try all impeachments, and two preliminary but unsuccessful attempts were made to bring about action by the House.

On January 7, 1867, Representative James M. Ashley, of Ohio, introduced a resolution impeaching the President and authorizing the Judiciary Committee to inquire into his official conduct. Ashley and other members of the committee rummaged through bales of captured Confederate documents and enlisted the aid of professional witnesses in an effort to develop evidence of conspiracy between Johnson and President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. They were tantalized by another professional witness, already convicted of producing perjured testimony, who promised that if released and financed he could obtain evidence incriminating Johnson in the assassination of Lincoln. All manner of rumors were investigated, but nothing of consequence was uncovered and on June 3, 1867, the committee voted 5 to 4 against impeachment. Later, one of the members of the committee changed his mind, and the matter was carried to the floor of the House but, on December 7, 1867, was voted down 108 to 57. This ended the first attempt at impeachment.

During the time that the House had been investigating the possibility of impeachment, other preparations had been underway in the Senate. On March 4, 1867, Benjamin Franklin Wade, of Ohio, was elected President pro tempore of the Senate. Although a man of limited ability, Wade was one of the stanchest of the radical Republicans and had collaborated with Henry Winter Davis in the Wade-Davis Manifesto of August 5, 1864, making a virulent attack on President Lincoln. In the event of the impeachment and conviction of Johnson, the President pro tempore of the Senate would become President of the United States, and Wade had been deliberately selected by a radical Republican caucus with that prospect in view.

This brings us to another chain of events, the first of which goes back to the assassination of Lincoln.

PUBLIC IS SHOCKED BY HANGING OF MRS. SURRATT

Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, had been killed by the soldiers who apprehended him. Others, thought to be accomplices, including Mrs. Mary Surratt, the keeper of a boardinghouse in Washington, had been tried before a military commission, convicted and hanged. The entire proceedings of this commission had never been made public, but there had been persistent rumors that President Johnson had ignored a recommendation of mercy in the case of Mrs. Surratt. The hanging of a woman, on slender circumstantial evidence, shocked many people. The rumors became even more damaging when it was revealed that the War Department had suppressed Booth's diary, although it was openly stated in the House by Representative Ben Butler that its production would have cleared Mrs. Surratt of complicity in the murder.

In June 1867, her son John H. Surratt, who had fled to Europe, was tried before a jury in Washington for the murder of Lincoln and was acquitted. In the course of this trial question was raised as to whether there had been a recommendation of mercy for Mrs. Surratt, and the War Department was forced to produce the record in her case. From this it developed that such a recommendation had been made but that it had been written on a separate sheet of paper and had been withheld when the record was presented to Johnson and considered by his Cabinet. He had signed the death warrant in ignorance of it.

The conclusion seemed inescapable that the Secretary of War had been a party to the deception and on June 5, 1867, the day that Johnson re-examined the record in Mrs. Surratt's case, he sent the following letter Stanton:

"SIR: Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted.

"ANDREW JOHNSON,
"President of the United States."

Stanton replied the same day as follows:

"SIR: * * * In reply, I have the honor to say that public consideration of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this Department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"Secretary of War."

On August 12, 1867, President Johnson issued an order suspending Stanton from office and authorized General Grant to act as Secretary of War, ad interim. Congress was not in session but when it reconvened Johnson officially notified the Senate of his suspension of the Secretary of War. On January 13, 1868, the Senate disapproved the suspension 35 to 6, 12 Senators not voting. It had been Johnson's plan, in such an event, to deny Stanton access to the War Department and thereby force him to take the matter to court, where the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act could be tested. However, General Grant, when advised of the Senate's action, surrendered the office and permitted Stanton to regain possession. Following these events Thaddeus Stevens and George S. Boutwell sponsored a second attempt to impeach Johnson, but it was voted down 6 to 3 in the House Reconstruction Committee, on motion of John A. Bingham.

The President was now determined to force the issue and on February 21, 1868, he issued orders removing Stanton from office and appointing Adj. Gen. Alonzo Thomas Secretary of War ad interim. Stanton refused to surrender possession of the office. Events now tumbled over each other. Upon receipt of a message from Stanton telling of his removal, Representative John Covode, of Pennsylvania, moved the impeachment of the President. On the same day the Senate, by a vote of 28 to 6, adopted a resolution declaring Stanton's removal unlawful. Analysis of this vote indicated that more than two-thirds of the Senate could be counted against Johnson on the issues involved in the Tenure of Office Act and the leaders of the House so construed it. Passage of the resolution to impeach was delayed only by the irrepressible desire of radical Representatives to make speeches in support of it, and on February 24 it carried, 126 to 47, on a straight party vote. Thereafter seven managers were elected: John A. Bingham, of Ohio, George S. Boutwell and Benjamin Franklin Butler, of Massachusetts, John A. Logan, of Illinois, Thaddeus Stevens and Thomas Williams, of Pennsylvania, and James F. Wilson, of Iowa.

On March 4, 1868, 11 articles of impeachment were formally presented to the Senate, the substance of which was as follows:

Article 1 alleged that on February 21, 1868, President Johnson unlawfully issued an order for the removal of Stanton as Secretary of War, with intent to violate the Tenure of Office Act of March 2, 1867.

Articles 2 and 3 made similar accusations based on the appointment of Adjutant General Thomas as Secretary of War ad interim.

Articles 4, 5, 6, and 7 alleged, with variations, a conspiracy between Johnson, Thomas, and others to oust Stanton. One of these (art. 6) contained an allegation of conspiracy to seize the War Department by force.

Article 8 alleged that the appointment of Thomas was with intent to unlawfully control moneys appropriated for the military service.

Article 9 alleged that on February 22, 1868, Johnson had instructed General Emory that the appropriation act rider requiring all military orders to be issued through the General of the Army was unconstitutional.

Article 10 alleged that during the congressional elections of 1866, Johnson had made certain speeches which "did attempt to bring into disgrace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach the Congress of the United States."

Article 11 was a deliberately obscure restatement of the principal charges referred to in the first 9 articles. It was designed by Thaddeus Stevens to furnish a common ground for those who favored conviction but were unwilling to identify themselves with the specific issues covered by the other articles.

IMPEACHMENT TRIAL OF THE PRESIDENT BEGINS

Article I, section 3 of the Constitution, dealing with the trial of impeachments by the Senate, provides that—

"When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present."

At the time of the trial of Andrew Johnson there were 54 Senators, of whom 8 were Democrats and 4 were pro-Johnson Republicans. The remaining 42 were antiadministration Republicans. Conviction would require only 36 votes.

On March 5 the Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, met with the Senate and announced that he was ready to take an oath for the purpose of forming a Court of Impeachment. The Senate had already decided that the Chief Justice was merely a presiding officer and not required to be sworn, but this the Chief Justice brushed aside. Then, having been sworn by Justice Nelson, who had accompanied him for that purpose, the Chief Justice had the roll called and administered the oath to every Senator, requiring him to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws.

Whether the Senate was acting as a court or as a legislative body was an important question. If the trial was to be decided on a political basis, there were ample votes to convict. Johnson could be acquitted only if a substantial number of Senators acted independently of party organization.

The House managers contended that the entire impeachment process, including the trial, was a legislative proceeding in the nature of an inquest of office and that it was not necessary to prove the commission of any crime. On their theory the Chief Justice was merely a presiding officer and the Senate could receive or reject evidence without regard to the custom in courts of law. In keeping with this view the House managers invariably addressed the Chief Justice as "Mr. President," whereas Johnson's counsel with equal consistency addressed him as "Mr. Chief Justice."

From his first participation in the trial and at all critical points, Chief Justice Chase maintained that he and the Senate constituted a court, that he was entitled to pass upon questions of evidence, subject to appeal to the Court as a whole, and that he was entitled to cast a vote in the event of a tie. He was not long in being challenged. On examination of the first witness, House Managers Butler and Bingham argued against the right of the Chief Justice to rule on the admissibility of evidence. A motion to retire resulted in a tie and he cast the deciding vote in its favor. The Senate sustained the Chief Justice's right to decide questions of evidence in the first instance, whereupon Senator Sumner moved to declare the Chief Justice's casting vote without authority under the Constitution. This was defeated 27 to 21.

While the Senate was being sworn, Senator Thomas F. Hendricks, of Indiana, a Democrat, protested that Senator Wade, as next in line of succession to succeed to the Presidency, was not in a position to do impartial justice and should not be a member of the court. After debate, Hendricks withdrew his objection and Wade was sworn. Thereafter Senator Sumner sought to prevent the seating of George Vickers, newly elected Senator from Maryland, on the ground that Maryland did not have a republican form of government. This move also failed.

The court having been organized, the arraignment of the President was set for March 13. To the Washington public it was a gala event. Passes were at a premium and the galleries were thronged. At the appointed hour and in a stentorian voice, the Sergeant at Arms called the President's name. All eyes turned to the door to catch the first view of the central figure of the drama. Nothing happened. The silence was tense. The Sergeant at Arms called again. Then, suddenly, the door opened and in bustled the fat figure of Representative Ben Butler, one of the House managers. The tension broke in a roar of laughter, leaving Butler nonplused in the aisle.

President Johnson never did appear at the trial in person. He was, however, represented by an outstanding group of lawyers: Henry Stanberry, of Ohio; Benjamin R. Curtis, of Massachusetts; Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Tennessee; William M. Evarts, of New York, and William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio. All were leaders in their profession. Stanberry had been appointed Attorney General by Johnson after a long and honorable career at the bar. Curtis had been a member of the Supreme Court and had been one of the two dissenting judges in the Dred Scott case, after which he had returned to private practice.

At the time of the arraignment, Jeremiah S. Black had also been one of the President's counsel but withdrew under circumstances which were later bandied about in the arguments. Black was one of the most eminent lawyers of his day. He had resigned from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to become Attorney General and later Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Buchanan and had been a trusted adviser of President Johnson, having drafted the veto message to the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867. Among Black's clients was a corpora-

tion claiming ownership of the guano deposits on the island of Alta Vela which had been seized by the Government of Santo Domingo. Black had urged that a United States warship be dispatched to the scene but Seward, as Secretary of State, opposed intervention by the Government. Another attorney got Representative Benjamin F. Butler to write a letter upholding the corporation's position and advocating intervention by the Executive "in the most forcible manner consistent with the dignity and honor of the Nation." Written endorsements were secured from three of the other managers in the impeachment proceedings and the letter was then delivered to President Johnson. Although he had originally favored intervention, his reaction to such pressure was an indignant refusal and in the ensuing unpleasantness Black withdrew as one of his counsel. He was replaced by William S. Groesbeck.

In the course of argument at the trial, Representative Boutwell alluded to Black's withdrawal as an indication of his belief in the President's guilt, whereupon Thomas A. R. Nelson stated the facts. Butler insisted that the letter had been written before the impeachment and Logan stated that he had signed it "long before there was anything thought of impeachment." Nelson produced the letter. It was dated March 9, 1868, 2 weeks after Johnson had been impeached by the House and 6 days after Butler, Logan, and the others had been elected managers.

Another sidelight of importance involved the case of Col. William H. McCardle, formerly of the Confederate Army and now a newspaper editor at Vicksburg, who had published editorials criticizing the official conduct of Gen. E. O. C. Ord, commander of the Fourth Military District. General Ord had him imprisoned and held for trial by a military commission and McCardle sought release on a writ of habeas corpus. On the basis of the provisions of the Reconstruction Act giving military commanders authority to imprison and try civilians, the Circuit Court decided against McCardle and he appealed directly to the United States Supreme Court which, in the recent case of *Ex parte Milligan* (4 Wall. 2) had held contrary to the War Department's position. The Supreme Court denied a motion to dismiss the appeal (6 Wall. 318) and took the case under advisement after hearing argument on the merits on March 2, 3, 4 and 9, 1868. (7 Wall. 506.) The case put in issue the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Act and it was obvious that a decision of the Supreme Court in McCardle's favor would materially strengthen Johnson's position. Congress rushed through a bill to withdraw the Supreme Court's jurisdiction in the case. This was vetoed by Johnson on March 25, 1868, but was passed over his veto on March 27. The impreachment trial started on March 30.

DID STANTON'S REMOVAL VIOLATE THE TENURE OF OFFICE ACT?

In the course of the trial, it soon became apparent that the only charge of substance was that Stanton's removal constituted a willful violation of the Tenure of Office Act which, by its terms, protected Cabinet officers only "for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for 1 month thereafter."

Stanton had been appointed by Lincoln during his first term.

Butler and the other House managers contended that Johnson did not have a term of his own but was merely serving out Lincoln's term, and that Lincoln's term embraced both of the 4-year periods for which he had been elected and reelected. The defense, on the other hand, argued that Lincoln had been elected for 2 separate terms and, under the language of the act, could have removed Stanton 1 month after the commencement of his second term. Furthermore, they argued that the constitutional term of a President was subject to the limitation of death, as well as a time limitation. Accordingly, Lincoln's second term ended with his assassination, at which time a new term began for Johnson.

The most complete exposition of the issues involved in the Tenure of Office Act was by Curtis, who opened for the defense. He argued:

First, that the express language of the Tenure of Office Act did not cover Stanton, but, on the contrary, that it excluded him.

Second, that at the time of the Senate's passage of the act, Senator Sherman and others had explicitly stated that it did not apply to Stanton. "How is it possible," asked Curtis, "for this body to convict the President of the United States of a high misdemeanor for construing a law as those who made it construed it at the time when it was made?"

Third, the first article charged the President not merely with a violation of the act in removing Stanton but with an intentional violation. Even if it be assumed that minds may differ as to the proper meaning of the words used, was it an intentional violation, punishable as a crime, to seek a judicial determination of the issue, especially when such was done on the advice of his Cabinet and of his duly constituted legal adviser?

The House managers were well aware of the force of this last point, as well as of the others, and when Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles was called to the stand, it became clear that neither he nor any other Cabinet officer would be permitted to testify. While he was on the stand, the defense made the following offers of proof:

(1) That the members of the Cabinet advised the President that the Tenure of Office Act was unconstitutional and that Seward and Stanton were to prepare a draft of a veto message to that effect. On objection, Chief Justice Chase held the evidence admissible on the question of intent. Senator Howard called for a vote, and the Chief Justice was overruled, 29 to 20.

(2) That when the Tenure of Office Act was under consideration, Stanton being present, the Cabinet expressed the opinion to the President that it did not apply to the Secretary of War and the others appointed by Lincoln. The Chief Justice held the evidence admissible but was overruled 26 to 22.

(3) That the Cabinet later advised that a judicial determination of the constitutionality of the act should be obtained but that no suggestion of the use of force was ever made. Same result.

SENATE ADMITS TESTIMONY OF GENERAL SHERMAN

On another occasion, General Sherman had been called to the stand to testify with regard to the President's proposal to appoint him Secretary of War ad interim. The Senate, overruling the Chief Justice by a vote of 28 to 23, would not permit him to answer defense questions as to his conversations with the President. The matter was debated at length and with great heat. Finally, Senator Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, a Democrat, submitted a written question: "When the President tendered to you the office of Secretary of War ad interim, on the 25th and 30th of January, did he, at the very time of making each tender, state to you what his purpose in doing so was?" The Senate voted 26 to 22 to admit the question and General Sherman testified that the President had said it was his purpose to secure a court test of the act. Presumably, the admission of this evidence was attributable to the great respect in which both General Sherman and Senator Reverdy Johnson were held, as well as to the fact that General Sherman was the elder brother of Senator Sherman.

The other articles of impeachment shrank in importance as the trial wore on. The testimony as to what the President had said and done on his tour during the congressional elections of 1866 was so mild compared with what everyone had read in the Republican press that it seemed startling in its innocence. Especially marked was the absence of any evidence of drunkenness or misconduct. Furthermore, what the President had said about Congress was tea-talk compared to what everyone knew had been said about him in Congress. In the debate on the Tenure of Office Act, Senator Sumner had called him an enemy to his country and an usurper. On another occasion, Thaddeus Stevens had read into the record of the House a statement referring to Johnson as "an insolent drunken brute, in comparison with whom even Caligula's horse was respectable."

It will be recalled that the sixth article had charged a conspiracy between President Johnson and Adjutant General Thomas to seize the War Department by force. On the issue of force, the evidence adduced from Adjutant General Thomas was revealing.

On the night of February 21, Stanton had secured a warrant for Thomas' arrest and he had been taken into custody at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 22d, just as he was about to sit down to breakfast. After some hours he was released on bail and walked over to the War Department to take over. He found Stanton flanked by 6 or 8 Members of Congress and testified to the following interchange:

"I came in the door. I stated that I came in to demand the office. He refused to give it to me, and ordered me to my room as Adjutant General. I refused to obey. I made the demand a second and a third time. He as often refused, and as often ordered me to my room. He then said, 'You may stand there; stand as long as you please.' "

Thomas further testified that later, after the Congressmen had left. "I said, 'The next time you have me arrested, please do not do it before I get something to eat.' I said I had nothing to eat or drink that day. He put his arm around my neck, as he sometimes does, and ran his hand through my hair, and turned to General Schriver and said, 'Schriver, you have got a bottle here; bring it out.'

"Question by Mr. Stanbery. What then took place?

"Answer. Schriver unlocked his case and brought out a small vial, containing I suppose about a spoonful of whisky, and stated at the same time that he occasionally took a little for dyspepsia. Mr. Stanton took that and poured it into a tumbler and divided it equally and we drank it together.

"Question. A fair division?

"Answer. A fair division because he held up the glasses to the light and saw that they each had about the same, and we each drank. Presently a messenger came in with a bottle of whisky, a full bottle; the cork was drawn, and he and I took a drink together. 'Now,' said he, 'this at least is neutral ground.'

"Question. Was that all the force exhibited that day?

"Answer. That was all."

CLOSING ARGUMENTS TOOK 13 DAYS

The introduction of evidence took only 4 court days, excluding time out for disputes, but the closing arguments of counsel occupied 13, of which the prosecution took 6 and the defense 7. Butler and Curtis having opened, the closing arguments were left to the other attorneys. Eight argued, equally divided between prosecution and defense, in the following order: Boutwell, Nelson, Groesbeck, Stevens, Williams, Evarts, Stanbery, and Bingham.

The galleries overflowed to hear Bingham, who was generally accounted the most able lawyer and orator among the House managers, but by this time virtually everything possible had been said. The substance of his presentation was threadbare but the galleries went so wild with enthusiasm that they had to be cleared.

Bingham concluded on Monday, May 4, 1868, and the following Monday, May 11, was set for deliberation. Under the rules each Senator was to be permitted to speak once, for 15 minutes, on the day of deliberation. The vote was to be taken on the following day, Tuesday the 12th, and Senators who wished to do so could file written opinions within 2 days thereafter.

The intervening week was one of feverish activity. Tallies had been kept showing the position of each individual Senator on all votes taken during the trial and it was obvious that the result would be close. All 8 Democrats and the 4 pro-Johnson Republicans were assumed to be for acquittal, but at least 8 antiadministration Republicans were known to be doubtful or worse. Thirty-six were needed to convict and this would require votes of "guilty" by at least 2 of the 8.

A careful check was kept by the House managers and their allies of the movements of all wavering Senators and they were cajoled or coerced as opportunity offered. Watchers were assigned to keep a record of all guests of the Chief Justice, who frequently entertained friends and associates at dinner. When it was reported that Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, one of the doubtfuls, had gone there for dinner in company with Senator Reverdy Johnson, Ben Butler exclaimed, "We have been sold out."

When the Senate met on Monday, May 11, each Senator was given 15 minutes to express his views. Although they met in private, it soon became generally known that Senator Sherman had declared that he could not vote "guilty" on article 1 and that enough other Senators had expressed the same view to prevent conviction on that charge. Also, that the opinions foreshadowed a like result on articles 4 through 10. This left only three articles, 2, 3, and 11, on which it seemed possible to produce a conviction, 11 being the most likely.

The deliberations had shown not only the relative strengths and weaknesses of the articles of impeachment; they had also shown the views of the individual Senators. Among the Republicans, Dixon, of Connecticut; Doolittle, of Wisconsin; Norton, of Minnesota; and Patterson, of Tennessee, had been regularly pro-Johnson and were expected to vote "Not guilty." In addition, Fessenden, of Maine; Grimes, of Iowa; Trumbull, of Illinois; and Van Winkle, of West Virginia, had also come out for acquittal. What was almost worse from the radical standpoint, four more were uncommitted. Whatever the result, it would be close, and time was needed to bring the wavering Senators into line. Accordingly, at a secret caucus of the Republican majority, it was determined to defer the final vote, and on the next day, May 12, Senator Howard's illness was used as justification for a postponement until Saturday, the 16th.

During the 4-day interim the heaviest sort of pressure was brought to bear on the doubtful Senators—Fowler, of Tennessee; Henderson, of Missouri; Ross, of Kansas; and Willey, of West Virginia.

Republican Congressmen, including Senators as well as Representatives, organized the Union Congressional Committee, which sent the following telegram to every State having a Senator who had not definitely committed himself:

"Great danger to the peace of the country and the Republican cause if impeachment fails. Send to your Senators public opinion by resolutions, letters, and delegations.

"ROBERT C. SCHENCK,
Chairman."

Constant badgering by fellow members of the Missouri delegation and others so wore down Senator John B. Henderson that he offered to resign to make way for someone more pliant. On reflection, however, he realized that such a solution would not satisfy either his conscience or his constituents.

Senator Waitman T. Willey, of West Virginia, was a leader of the Methodist Church, which was then holding its general convention in Chicago. Bishop Simpson moved that the convention devote an hour of prayer in aid of impeachment. To satisfy the demands of decorum, this was amended so as to set aside an hour of prayer "to beseech God to save our Senators from error." The African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was meeting in conference in Washington, also adopted a prayer for conviction, this one being addressed directly to the Senate rather than to God.

Some indication of the type of coercion applied to Senator Edmund G. Ross, of Kansas, is given by the following exchange of telegrams:

"Hon. E. G. Ross:

"Kansas has heard the evidence and demands the conviction of the President .

"D. R. ANTHONY (and 1,000 others)."

"*To D. R. Anthony and 1,000 others:*

"I have taken an oath to do impartial justice * * * and I trust I shall have the courage and honesty to vote according to the dictates of my judgment and for the highest good of my country.

E. G. ROSS."

"Hon. E. G. Ross:

"Your telegram received. * * * Kansas repudiates you as she does all perjurers and skunks.

"D. R. ANTHONY (and others)."

In that period, most of the Congressmen in Washington were quartered in rooming houses and their opportunities for privacy were limited. Ross was given so little peace that he had to move to the house of a friend to get any sleep. On the last night before the vote, General Sickles, who had been detailed by Stanton to use his influence, waited until 4 a. m. in Ross's quarters, hoping to intercept him. Ten minutes before voting time, Senator Pomeroy, also of Kansas, warned Ross in the presence of Thaddeus Stevens that a vote for acquittal would result in a charge of bribery and in his political death.

At noon on Saturday, May 16, the court met to vote. Senator Williams, of Oregon, promptly moved to change the order of voting so as to bring up the eleventh article first and the motion was adopted 34 to 19, Senator Grimes being absent. Grimes seriously ill, was then carried in, the eleventh article was read, and the voting started.

SENATOR ROSS REFUSES TO YIELD TO PRESSURE

Everyone was aware that the outcome depended upon the four doubtful Senators. If three of them voted "Not guilty," the President would be acquitted. Fowler, the first one reached, answered so indistinctly that he was thought to have said "Guilty". The Chief Justice requested him to repeat his answer and he fairly shouted "Not guilty." Henderson, in his turn, voted "Not Guilty." Everything now hinged on Ross, considered the most doubtful of them all. The suspense became unendurable as the Chief Justice put the lengthy question, "Mr. Senator Ross, how say you? Is the respondent Andrew Johnson, guilty or not guilty of a high misdemeanor as charged in this article?" Ross stood up and in a clear voice answered "Not Guilty."

The rest of the rollcall was an anticlimax. It was expected that Van Winkle, of West Virginia, would vote "not guilty," and did; but his colleague, Willey, voted "guilty," thus bearing testimony to the efficacy of prayer. Notwithstanding Willey's return to regularity, the President was acquitted by 1 vote, the tally standing at 35 to 19. Wade, the prospective beneficiary of the impeachment, voted "guilty," although he could have abstained without altering the result.

The Chief Justice then directed that the first article be read. Sherman and others who had voted "guilty" on the 11th were committed against conviction on the 1st, and an immediate move was made to adjourn. Voting on the other articles was put off for 10 days, until May 26.

During the interval the House leaders followed the dictates of desperation. They rushed through bills to admit six southern States, which by now had been brought under carpetbagger rule and whose Senators-elect were already in Washington, ready and willing to vote for conviction. But this was too gross for the Senate majority, and the bills were not passed in time to affect the impeachment.

In addition, the House constituted the impeachment managers a committee of investigation and the local banks were ordered to produce transcripts of the bank accounts of each of the Republican Senators who had voted for acquittal. A sporting gentleman, named Charles Woolley, who had been betting on acquittal, was interrogated at length, and, upon his finally balking at further questioning, was imprisoned in the Capitol cellar. Senator Henderson was directed to appear before the committee for examination, but indignantly refused and submitted the matter to the Senate as a palpable breach of propriety. Senator Sumner saw nothing wrong in the committee's action, and intimated that a Senator who had nothing to hide should have no objection to being examined.

Recourse was also had to the professional witnesses with which Washington seems to have abounded. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, referred the committee to an individual named Legate, who testified that Senator Ross had indicated a willingness to change his vote for a consideration. Unfortunately for the House leaders, Legate, taking professional pride in the production of corroborative detail, also swore explicitly that Senator Pomeroy had made an offer to produce three votes for acquittal for $40,000.

Other forms of pressure were also applied and by the 26th it was rumored that Ross had been won over. It was with the greatest excitement, therefore, that the Senate assembled for a vote on the remaining articles.

At the outset the majority again changed the order of voting, so as to skip the first article and take up the second and third. The calling of the roll proceeded on its ponderous way, each of the Senators voting on the 2d article just as he had on the 11th, down to Ross. By the time he was reached the tension was terrific. His name was called. He stood up and, in a calm, almost casual voice, said, "Not guilty."

For all practical purposes the proceedings were ended. A vote was taken on the third article with identical results, 35 to 19, and then a motion was carried to adjourn sine die. The impeachment was over, having failed by a single vote on each of the three articles submitted. The first article, which was the key to the entire proceeding, was never put to a test.

When Johnson retired from the Presidency the following March, everyone, including his friends, believed him politically dead. Everyone, that is, except Johnson. With grim determination, he set himself to fight his way back to the Senate. His first tries were unsuccessful. To both Democrats and Republicans he was an apostate. But finally he surmounted all obstacles and in January 1875 the Tennessee Legislature reelected him

to the Senate. He served one session and was a Member when he died on July 31, 1875.

The Republicans who had voted for his acquittal met a harsher fate. In the eyes of the party organization their votes had sealed their doom. Not a single one was reelected. Those who did not die first were promptly retired from public life upon the expiration of their terms of office. Only Henderson ever achieved any public token of party forgiveness. He was made chairman of the Republican National Convention in Chicago, but this was not until 1884.

Special severity was reserved for Edmund G. Ross, of Kansas. After his acquittal vote, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of Kansas telegraphed him, "The rope with which Judas Iscariot hanged himself is lost, but Jim Lane's pistol is at your service." On the expiration of his term in the Senate he returned to Coffeyville, Kans., where he opened a printing shop. Shortly thereafter D. R. Anthony, the author of the "perjurers and skunks" telegram, forced his way into the shop and gave Ross such a beating that he never fully recovered his health. For some time he lived in poverty, supported by his friends, but later moved to New Mexico as a journeyman printer and in 1885 was appointed Governor of that Territory by President Grover Cleveland, a Democrat.

Although the Republican Senators who voted for acquittal must have reflected with dismay on the reward of respecting their oaths, it could not dim the importance of their acts. Few people today would question the force of Senator Lyman Trumbull's opinion in the impeachment proceedings, where he said:

"Once set, the example of impeaching the President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided, will be recognized as insufficient causes * * * and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate on any measure deemed by them important, particularly if of a political character. Blinded by partisan zeal, with such an example before them, they will not scruple to remove out of the way any obstacle to the accomplishment of their purposes; and what then becomes of the checks and balances of the Constitution, so carefully devised and so vital to its perpetuity? They are all gone."

Witch Hunting Deplored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to call the attention of the Members of the House to a statement by Gordon H. Winton, Jr., commander of the California Veterans of Foreign Wars, appearing in the Christian Science Monitor on Monday, February 1, 1954, entitled "VFW in California: No Witch Hunting."

This statement by Commander Winton points up not only the deep concern which the members of the VFW, Department of California, have with respect to the threat to the security of our country posed by communism and their willingness to combat subversion, but also their determination to go about the job fairly and intelligently.

The statement follows:

VFW IN CALIFORNIA: NO WITCH HUNTING

MERCED, CALIF.—Gordon H. Winton, Jr., commander of the California Veterans of Foreign Wars, says there would be no witch hunting for Communists by VFW members in this State.

"The VFW is not officially embarked upon a campaign to seek out Communists," Mr. Winton said in a prepared statement. "If some member of the organization does suspect an individual of subversive activities and reports that person to the FBI, it would be done as an individual citizen.

"The Veterans of Foreign Wars never has, and does not now, advocate witch hunting by its officers or individual members."

A National Conservation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, back in 1934, when I was serving my first term as a Member of the House of Representatives, I prepared an article for publication in the Virginia Field Trial Association magazine outlining steps that were then being taken on behalf of national wildlife conservation.

This month the Virginia Wildlife magazine has reprinted that article pointing out progress which has been made in the last two decades, particularly as the result of funds being made available to States under the Pittman-Robertson Act and the Dingell-Johnson Act.

I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed as an extension of remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DAWNING OF A NATIONAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

(By A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, United States Senator from Virginia)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article was originally prepared by Senator ROBERTSON back in 1934 for publication in the Virginia Field Trial Association magazine. In it he enumerates the steps that were being taken in behalf of wildlife conservation in a national way. Senator ROBERTSON says in a recent letter that "part of the program which I promised in 1934 was the Pittman-Robertson Act, under which Virginia has received $1,380,966.88 including the current allocation (1953) and $79,757.23 under the Dingell-Johnson Act to improve fishing waters. It also got a number of lakes built subsequent to 1934 by the CCC and the program also included my Coordination Act of 1946, under which the Army engineers were required to cooperate with Federal and State agencies in the protection of wildlife interests in the construction of flood reservoirs and power dams, etc." The article will give the reader a chance to compare performance with promises.)

"It is an ill wind that blows no good" is an old saying and worthy of acceptance. From the dark storms of 4 trying years has been blown to us a realization that a wider use of the Golden Rule in business would be helpful; that it is not safe to place too much dependence for happiness in the possession of material things; and that the industrial development of even this young Nation has now reached the point when we can no longer use haphazardly or recklessly squander the natural resources with which we have been endowed by a most gracious Providence.

The members of the Virginia Field Trial Association, who were my helpful co-laborers for 7 years in the development of a conservation plan for the Old Dominion, and who through those contacts knew of my deep interest in every phase of wildlife conservation, can well appreciate the joy that I have experienced in seeing emerge from the depression a national program on a magnificent scale.

When I played tackle at Richmond College, I soon learned that if I did not open up a hole wider than a couple of feet my backfield would not make a gain. In subsequent years, I have learned that holes have a way of closing in on you, and if one does not have an excess of power you can't deliver to the differential what a given speed actually requires. This thought was well expressed by Robert Browning, when he said: "Man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" In 1926, and in the years immediately following, the Virginia commission laid out an ambitious program for the State, although I fully realized that during my term as chairman our objectives would not be reached. The Federal agencies are now engaged in laying out the most ambitious conservation program the Nation has ever seen. Some of the objectives will not be immediately reached, and some of them will, possibly, never be reached, but the heartening factor in the situation is a clearer realization of the importance of the problem and the commencement of a definite program.

For many years, the conservation leaders have told us about the disappearance of the buffalo, the wild pigeon, the heath hens, etc., but we still had such an abundance of the other wild birds and animals that the disappearance of a few species made no great impression. Then came 4 or 5 years of drought and when we took count of our duck population in the spring of this year, we found that by the most liberal estimate we had not more than 25 percent of the birds that we had a decade or more ago. And, we realized that unless we did something of a constructive character and did it at once another decade would see the end of migratory bird shooting in the United States.

For many years, foresters have been telling us that unwise cuttings, coupled with unchecked forest fires, would not only result in an eventual shortage of commercial timber but would in the end change the character of our climate and make useless for agricultural purposes millions of acres of previously fertile soil. However, sawmills continued to turn out finished lumber and the fact that Virginia, once rich in all of the best types of lumber, was buying its framing in the South, its doors and window sash and trim from the Pacific coast, caused us no great concern.

It remained for the depression to disclose to us that there were not less than a million farmers in the United States vainly struggling to make both ends meet on about 50 million acres of submarginal land, the fertility of which has been largely ruined by erosion, and the awful drought of the spring and summer of 1934, to make us realize that the climate in some 8 or 10 Midwestern States had so radically changed by reason of timber removal, indiscriminate breaking of sod land, and the draining of pond and marsh areas that those States were rapidly heading for a desert status.

When the national income during the depression dropped from about $80 billion to about $20 billion, an analysis was made of

the source of income and it was found that those dealing in sporting goods had suffered relatively less than any other class, and that the direct national investment in hunting and fishing was about $600 million, which, combined with indirect expenditures, made of it a billion-dollar industry. An examination of the commercial fish and seafood industry showed that to be another billion-dollar industry, although suffering heavily during the adverse years.

President Roosevelt, who as a young man had been an enthusiastic sportsman, and who as Governor of New York had taken a lively interest in all phases of conservation, was fully aware of the importance of the problems that confronted us and took prompt steps after March 1933, for the formulation of a national program. He recommended the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps as a conservation as well as an unemployment activity. He brought to the head of the United States Forest Service Hon. F. A. Silcox, a southern man who was an expert forester and a business executive of great ability. In the national forests in Virginia the Federal Government owns over half a million acres, and plans are now in progress to round out the George Washington, Shenandoah, and Unaka National Forests to include over a million acres of mountain land, extending from Frederick to Bristol along the Blue Ridge, and from Highland to Wise along the Allegheny Mountains. There are approximately 163,000,000 acres of land in the national forests of the country, and a big acquisition program has been mapped out.

In the public domain there is an additional 173 million acres, to say nothing of many additional millions of acres now in private possession without legal right, for which a land utilization program is being planned to include wildlife and recreational management.

The President brought to the United States Bureau of Fisheries Hon. Frank T. Bell, an able conservationist from the State of Washington. By direct appropriation and allocations from the Public Works Administration, the Bureau of Fisheries was given funds to build many new hatcheries, to engage in stream pollution studies, and to survey for development and restocking the water areas of the national forests and the public domain.

The President appointed as Chief of the United States Bureau of Biological Survey Hon. J. N. Darling, a man who had made an independent fortune as one of the leading cartoonists of the Nation and who as a member of the Fish and Game Commission of Iowa had made a national reputation in the field of wildlife conservation. Mr. Darling's middle name is Now. He has galvanized the personnel of his bureau and sent to the field for practical work a number of scientists who for many years had been engaged in wearing the fuzz from their pants in office chairs in Washington. The President has made available to Mr. Darling for immediate use $8½ million to be expended in an effort to save the duck situation, and other millions have been tentatively promised for a suitable upland game program in each of the 48 States.

In the latter connection, the President appointed early in 1934, a committee of three distinguished conservationists, Hon. Thomas H. Beck of Connecticut, chairman; J. N. Darling of Iowa, and Aldo Leopold of Wisconsin to formulate a constructive program. The report of this committee has attracted national attention. It laid out a program which has been in principle endorsed by the President, calling for the minimum expenditure of $25 million and a maximum expenditure of $50 million. The President then created in the Department of Agriculture a Land Utilization Board, in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration a board to deal with subsistence homesteads, and in the Department of the Interior a National Planning Board, which on June 30, last, was largely superseded by the National Resources Board. All of these agencies had definite instructions to give full consideration to wildlife conservation and to work with a view to the better coordination of the conservation activities of the Bureau of Fisheries in the Department of Commerce, the Bureaus of Forestry and Biology in the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureaus of Parks, Reclamation and Public Domain in the Department of the Interior.

Hon. George M. Wright, of the National Park Service, was appointed director of the Recreation Division of the National Resources Board.

The President has requested the National Resources Board to submit to him its report on October 15, with a view to enabling him to submit recommendations to the Congress that will convene on January 3, 1935.

It has been my happy privilege to interest the House of Representatives in this program. During the special session of the 73d Congress, I introduced a resolution to create a Special Committee of the House on the Conservation of Wildlife Resources. Action on this resolution was not had until the regular session in 1934, when the resolution was adopted and the late Speaker Rainey paid me the high compliment of naming me as chairman of that committee. The committee was promptly organized and commenced the taking of testimony. Before this article is printed there will be ready for distribution the printed hearings of our committee, a volume of over 200 pages in which almost every phase of wildlife conservation in the United States from a national standpoint is covered. These hearings will be available to the National Resources Board and, in my opinion, will lay the foundation for the report to be submitted to the President by the Recreation Division of that Board.

Wordsworth wrote: "My heart leaps up when I behold a rainbow in the sky." There is a rainbow of hope in the sky for wildlife conservation in Virginia. When the Governor selected Hon. Carl H. Nolting as my successor, I publicly expressed great satisfaction over that appointment. He has fully justified my opinion of his qualities. In coming years, many a young sportsman of the present day will feel that his life was made richer and happier by reason of contact with that nestor of wildlife conservation in Virginia, Hon. M. D. Hart. In G. W. Buller, Virginia has, in my opinion, the best practical fish culturist in the United States. Virginia's superintendent of game propagation is regarded as one of the leading biologists in the country engaged in the practical production of more game. The United States Forest Service is formulating plans for the establishment of demonstration refuges in its national forests in Virginia, and with the assistance of the State conservation and development commission, is developing a series of beautiful fishing lakes and recreational centers near Waynesboro in Augusta, in Arnold's Valley in Rockbridge, near Clifton Forge in Alleghany, and near Marion in Smyth.

Hundreds of CCC workers are engaged in the development of the Shenandoah National Park, State parks, battlefield parks, and national monuments throughout the Commonwealth. When the crisis in the duck situation has been met, the Bureau of Biological Survey will no doubt develop an experimental game farm in Virginia, for which purpose the Camp Lee Refuge will be ideally suited.

"It is an ill wind that blows no good." It is not too late to save a great national resource. Following the devastation of the War Between the States, the people of Virginia were poor but proud. Following the economic war that commenced in 1929, the people of Virginia and of the Nation at large can learn that they can be, if necessary, poor but happy. No man in the truest sense can be said to be poor who is rich in health and a coowner in the riches of a clean and wholesome out-of-doors. It will assist us in making necessary adjustments if we can catch the joyous spirit of Robert Louis Stevenson when he wrote:

"We are in such haste to be doing, to be writing, to be gathering gear, to make our voice audible a moment in the derisive silence of eternity, that we forget that one thing, of which these are but the part—namely, to live. We fall in love, we drink hard, we run to and fro upon the earth like frightened sheep. And now you are to ask yourself if, when all is done, you would not have been better to sit by the fire at home, and be happy thinking. To sit still and contemplate—to remember the faces of women without desire, to be pleased by the great deeds of men without envy, to be everything and everywhere in sympathy, and yet content to remain where and what you are—is not this to know both wisdom and virtue, and to dwell with happiness? After all, it is not they who carry flags, but they who look upon it from a private chamber, who have the fun of the procession."

The Santa Maria Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the House action on February 2 in passing House bill 2235, authorizing construction of the Santa Maria project, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a statement on the bill prepared by Comdr. Gordon H. Winton, Jr., Department of California, Veterans of Foreign Wars. The statement, unfortunately, was received too late to be presented to the House prior to or during the course of debate on the bill.

However, in view of the strong defense of the 160-acre-limitation provisions of reclamation law which Commander Winton presents, I feel that his statement can be read with profit by all concerned with the problem. The Members of the House will remember that before passage of H. R. 2235 I offered an amendment to the bill to make it completely clear that we were in no way compromising the Congress' traditional position in opposition to attempts to eliminate the 160-acre limitation as a cornerstone of national reclamation policy. The fact that my amendment was overwhelmingly approved by the House again confirms that position.

The statement follows:

Modern veterans, like their predecessors for two centuries, have a strong stake in the preservation and enforcement of the Nation's land and water policy. Ever since colonial times it has been customary for this country to take special measures to help veterans obtain a portion of the soil for which they fought, to make a home upon it and a living for themselves and their families.

Congress has written that policy into law time after time by granting soldiers' scrip good for homesteading on the public do-

main, by helping veterans to buy farms on favorable financial terms, by giving veterans preference on reclaimed public lands, and by striking at those age-old twin enemies that throttle opportunity for veterans or any other qualified persons seeking to obtain farm homes: viz, private monopoly and speculation.

The purpose of the Preemption Act of 1841 and the Homestead Act of 1862 was to favor the actual settler on the land. During the debates on the homestead bill that President Abraham Lincoln made into law by his signature, a Congressman from Indiana expressed the spirit that animated the measure in these words: "Instead of baronial possessions, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads. Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner. Every new home that is established, the independent possessor of which cultivates his own freehold is establishing a new republic within the old, and adding a new and strong pillar to the edifice of the State."

When western settlements crossed the hundredth meridian, water became of equal importance with land. Maj. John Wesley Powell, a wounded veteran of the Civil War, foresaw the necessity for conserving water, and the dangers inherent in permitting its monopolization by the few. In the 1870's he wrote in his famous Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States: "The question for legislators to solve is to devise some practical means by which water rights may be distributed among individual farmers and water monopolies prevented."

By 1902 Congress got around to devising a practical method of helping to develop waters for irrigation. It passed the national reclamation law, signed by President Theodore Roosevelt, giving generous aid to water development, including aid to private landholders with insufficient water supplies of their own. As justification for this extension of public help for private benefit, and mindful of the warning by Major Powell, Congress wrote the famous 160-acre provision into the reclamation law as assurance that large landowners could never monopolize publicly developed waters nor speculate in the huge incremental values they would create. In this way the purposes of the Preemption and Homestead Acts were applied also to western waters. Families seeking homes on the land were to find opportunity kept open, not foreclosed. Settlers were to be spared the burdens of excessive debt to speculating landowners astride the sources of water. Sound, balanced communities were to be created, with opportunities for business and professional men as well as for independent farm operators and above all for the building of homes.

The California Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has endorsed these purposes of reclamation law repeatedly, and has been engaged actively for a full decade in defending acreage limitation against one attempt after another, some frontal and some from flank or rear, to remove or to weaken its enforcement. We have fought equally against efforts to undermine it in Congress, and against the laxity of indifferent, harassed, insensitive, or unsympathetic administrators.

At our latest encampment, in June 1953, the California Department, VFW, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas when waterpower and natural resources are developed by the Bureau of Reclamation, the 160-acre limitation of the Reclamation Act of 1902 is in full force and effect; and

"Whereas when such power and resources are developed by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, such acreage limitation is evaded; and

"Whereas unless the 160-acre limitation provisions of the Reclamation Act of 1902 is strictly enforced there will be no land available to veterans: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Department of California, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, in encampment assembled at Oakland, Calif., June 21 through 24, 1953, again affirm its support to the Bureau of Reclamation and commend those officials of the Bureau of Reclamation and the Department of the Interior who steadfastly work to carry out the intent and purposes of the law in the face of powerful pressure upon them to do otherwise; and be it further

"Resolved, That the work of the Bureau of Reclamation is expanded so as to make more land available to veterans, and that we oppose any attempts to nullify or evade the 160-acre limitation provisions of the Reclamation Act of 1902."

The California VFW is fully aware of the long-standing necessity for vigilance if the reclamation law is to achieve its purposes. The chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands found it necessary to warn in 1871 of loopholes in the homestead law that permitted speculators to foreclose opportunity to the pioneers. Land Commissioner Sparks complained in 1885 that "the public domain was being made the prey of unscrupulous speculations and the worst forms of land monopoly through systematic frauds carried on and consummated under the public land laws." Meanwhile, in our own State, the Visalia Delta was giving ominous warning against the growing aggregations of landholdings on May 5, 1877, that the people "will find themselves confronted by an array of force and talent to secure to capital the ownership of the water as well as the land." In 1924 President Calvin Coolidge transmitted the famous Fact-Finders Report to Congress as basis for the strengthening of legislation.

It contained this trenchant declaration under the title "Homesteader Versus Speculator": "It was hoped that the homesteader under the Federal irrigation works would settle upon the land with a strong determination to subdue the soil, to build a home, and to add another rural farmstead to the thousands which form the stable foundation of our Republic." The man who had served as secretary of the Fact-Finders Committee, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, distinguished citizen of Utah and noted authority on irrigation, wrote: "In future as in earlier irrigation enterprises, large holdings will give most vexation. * * * In the future it will be even more necessary to insist that large holdings shall not receive water from Government supplies, unless divided into farm units of proper size, and offered to intending purchasers at reasonable terms. Speculators must be rigidly excluded from the benefits that flow from the operation of the Reclamation Act."

No group of citizens has been more aware of these perils from those whose interests lead them to seek to break down the excess-lands provisions of reclamation law than the VFW. We have repeatedly and publicly opposed every effort to obtain exemptions from public control of monopoly and speculation. We have called attention also to the efforts of excess landowners to thwart enforcement of the law and to the hazards from administrators who toy with the idea of letting them crawl through legal loopholes to nullify the law. On October 11, 1951, for example, the Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD carried our warning of these dangers on Kings and Kern Rivers in California. In issuing that statement we took our position squarely beside the Task Force Report of the Hoover Commission, and invited all friends of this Nation's land and water policy to join with us in its preservation against the pressures of excess landowners seeking nullification whether legal technicalities or subservient administration. That warning and invitation to resist its threat still stand.

An immediate danger to reclamation law is H. R. 2235, that has tied an exemption, like a tin can to a dog's tail, to the authorization of Santa Maria project in California. We favor reclamation projects, and have no reason to suppose that Santa Maria project is not a very fine well-bred "dog." But we insist that Congress cut the tin can from its tail.

The report of the House committee recommending exemption alleges that special circumstances justify exemption. Like most similar attempts to escape the law, this claim is spurious, as a careful examination of the public record plainly discloses. There are 13 excess landholders on the project, among them corporations and absentees, and they own about one-fourth of all the agricultural land in the project. As prospective beneficiaries of Federal expenditures estimated to average $700 or more per acre, for irrigation and flood control, the landowners of Santa Maria project are seeking public help on terms that surely are generous. Should 13 of them, in addition to help on this scale, be excused from the general law that applies to all citizens in similar situations? To exempt them means less opportunity for veterans and other qualified citizens who are entitled to have access to publicly developed water.

The House committee's spurious argument that special circumstances arising from the underground water conditions make enforcement of acreage limitation impossible was used also in 1944 and 1947 in an effort to persuade people that acreage limitation was unenforceable in Central Valley. It is nonsense, as the record of enforceable contracts covering all the first-class waters of Friant-Kern Canal abundantly proves. Congress need only include in H. R. 2235 a simple provision that no Federal funds shall be expended for construction of the project that is being requested until all excess landholders on the project sign recordable contracts to comply with the acreage limitation law. This procedure has ample precedent in law and in administrative practice. No businessman in his senses would think of doing otherwise.

It is curious that while the House committee report describes the Santa Maria project as special, the opponents of acreage limitation, speaking among themselves, do not accept this view. They hail the committee's recommendation for exemption as nothing less than a precedent warranting general defiance of the law by excess landholders elsewhere. On November 12, 1953, a California State senator publicly said the Santa Maria committee exemption is being recommended by the committee "simply because the landowners and water users flatly refused to accept" acreage limitation. He was confident that Congress will bow to the excess landholders, adding: "Is the Santa Maria project to be abandoned because of this situation? Hardly. Both of these two Federal agencies [the United States Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation] plan to go ahead without delay whenever the appropriations are made available. Thus falls another invulnerable shibboleth of straw without even a gesture of hail and farewell. Why should we be afraid of all or any of these arbitrary and unilateral restrictions?"

Of course, this is simply special pleading; reclamation law is neither arbitrary nor unilateral. It is a 51-year-old statute of Congress, and it bestows liberal benefits, even on the holders of excess lands.

As veterans, we see no reason for making an exception for excess landholders on Santa Maria project, and thereby encouraging excess landholders everywhere else to defy the law. We believe the interests of veterans, as of the American people generally, are not promoted by giving public special encouragement to private landholdings of 1,000, or 10,000, or 20,000 irrigated acres,

each. Equality of opportunity, political stability and the general welfare are promoted by multiplication of homes on the land. Americans have known this simple truth since colonial times. In these latter days let us not turn against the wisdom of our forebears.

A Bill To Amend and Supplement the Federal Aid Road Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. WATTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, on February 2, I introduced H. R. 7678, a bill to amend and supplement the Federal Aid Road Act, first approved in 1916.

This bill, as I introduced it, contains what I consider are three major improvements in the existing legislation.

First, H. R. 7678 would increase the amount of funds authorized from $550 million for the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 to $800 million for the fiscal years 1956 and 1957. There is a great need to increase the amount of moneys spent on our roads. A survey conducted by the American Association of State Highway Officials shows that 66 percent of the Federal aid highways systems across the Nation are below tolerable standards and that it would require in excess of $32 billion to bring the roads up to par.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that $800 million is an unreasonable sum for the Federal Government to consider spending on its highways when you realize that in 1952 it collected $848,800,000 in Federal gasoline taxes and $1,018,172,000 in Federal taxes on vehicles and automotive products, a total of $1,866,972,000 collected from the motorists in just 1 year.

The second change which I propose would amend the basic legislation with respect to the matching formula for the funds for the national system of interstate highways. My bill would retain the present matching formula of 50–50 for funds contributed by the Federal and State government with regard to all the highway systems except for the national system of interstate highways which H. R. 7678 would change to a 75 Federal contribution to a 25 percent State government contribution. By permitting States to match funds on the interstate system on a 75 to 25 basis, it will increase their ability to match Federal funds on the other road systems on a 50–50 basis. Mr. Speaker, it is becoming increasingly evident that in the near future, though taxing themselves to the maximum feasible limits, some States are going to find it difficult, if not impossible, to match the funds provided by the Federal Government on a 50–50 basis. If the States were permitted to match Federal funds on a 75 to 25 basis for the national interstate system, it would make additional moneys available to the State with which to match the Federal funds for the primary, secondary, and urban road systems on the 50–50 basis.

I do not feel that it is unreasonable for the Federal Government to provide additional financial assistance for the interstate system inasmuch as this network of 40,000 miles was designated by the States and approved by the United States Bureau of Public Roads in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. At the time the National Interstate System was created, it was felt that there was a great need to build a network of good highways connecting our States from coast to coast and border to border. It was the opinion of most people that the interstate system would benefit the economy, commerce, and national defense of the entire country, as well as provide safe, comfortable travel for motorists. Though the interstate system amounts to slightly more than 1 percent of the Nation's roads, when it is improved it will carry a fifth of all travel.

The third change which is contained in my bill would provide that any one of the funds set up for the primary, secondary, urban, or interstate roads, could be increased by 20 percent to be deducted from either one or more of the other categories. Such a transfer would have to be determined to be in the public interest by the State highway department and approved by the Commissioner of Public Roads. This provision would be extremely beneficial for most States in that it would give greater flexibility to the law and would permit funds to be expended by a State where they were most needed.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Public Works I am greatly concerned with the need for a good network of roads for our country. When this matter is before the entire House, I hope that it will have the careful and thoughtful consideration of every Member.

Eatin' Will Prove GO Pudding

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the proof of the pudding is still in the eating. From all that appears, the Democrats are preparing to put their campaign eggs in one political basket this year. They are counting—or is it hoping?—on a major decline in employment, and they are doing their level best wherever they go to frighten everyone within the range of their collective voices. No Cassandra ever cried louder or wished harder for the doom they are foretelling.

But the American people and the Republican Party no longer scare so easily as we once did. We have been through a good deal of chaos under Democratic direction. A depression which they blamed on us lasted until World War II. World War II came along and bailed out the Democrats. Since the Eisenhower administration, the Democrats have been trying desperately to find an issue on which to hang their hats.

If this is to be their battle cry, Republicans will have to meet the challenge. At this moment, there are more people gainfully employed than we have ever had in times when no war was going on. Eating will be the test the American people apply to the Democratic bogeyman. But man does not live by bread alone, and the establishment of a lasting world peace, the charting of a program for future world development will also be important to Americans come next November 1954. We are sure they will be eating—and good.

Foresters Say Douglas Fir Crop Could Overtake Cut in Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, on December 22 last there appeared in the Portland Oregonian an article by Staff Writer Merlin Blais on the important Douglas-fir crop in the Northwest area. Pursuant to permission granted, I include the article as part of these remarks:

FORESTERS SAY DOUGLAS FIR CROP COULD OVERTAKE CUT IN NORTHWEST

(By Merlin Blais)

Douglas fir timberlands can grow more new wood than is now being utilized from them. That's the opinion of many foresters, even though the log cut has risen to more than 12 billion board feet a year in western Oregon and Washington.

How do the foresters figure that? Average growing rate is about 500 board feet to the acre each year, and the region has 26 million acres of timber lands. That adds up to 13 billion feet a year.

Some in industry, such as W. D. Hagenstein, forest engineer for the area's tree farm organization, believes possible growth rate is nearer 700 feet a year, and that would add another 5 billion. These estimates assume, of course, that the entire area is in young, growing forests—not possible until the old growth has been exhausted.

HIGH YIELD POSSIBLE

An American Forestry Association authority, Burt P. Kirkland, climaxed his 1946 report with the assertion a continuous annual wood yield as high as 20 billion feet was possible. But he counted on highly intensive thinning, prelogging, and relogging to build up the yield.

These are estimates of the potential. What is the present picture? How great are the young stands now growing? Are the cutover lands coming back well enough? Are private and public owners providing for future forests? Or will the industry be squeezed down as the old growth dwindles, as it was in the East and South many decades ago for lack of trees?

Optimism has been gaining with the foresters, despite insects, diseases, and windstorms. Mother Nature is their chief ally. She has given the region more than 12 million acres of young timber, a new crop for the future.

SECTIONS LEFT STAGGERED

Loggers help natural reseeding along by working in staggered settings of 40 to 60 acres, which leaves a patchwork of stump stubble within reach of seed drifting from adjacent tree clumps.

Washington and Oregon both have laws requiring action by loggers to assure restocking, such as slash burning and leaving seed trees. Posting of bond is even required in event planting is necessary later. Such practices have been general since 1941.

But fire protection is the real key to future stands—one forester rates it 75 percent of the job. Fire losses have gradually declined. This year's record low was due in part to favorable weather, but also to improving fire-fighting methods, stricter work stoppages on hazardous days, and greater care by the public.

Nature has bestowed a startling reward for man's vigilance. Twenty years ago 1,651,000 acres was classified as nonstocked in 13 counties recently reinventoried, most of it in Washington.

By 1949, despite continued cutting, nonstocked lands had dropped to 715,000 acres, down by 56 percent. Man had planted probably 100,000 acres of it.

Grays Harbor County has 550,000 acres of restocked forests, a quarter century after fallers reaped the virgin stands with little thought of reserving seed sources. Despite lack of any reforesting plan, nonstocked lands have dwindled to only one-fifth.

Generally the foresters seek a start on the new crop in 2 to 5 years after logging. It puts the land right back into production, and aids in preventing brush and trash trees from starting ahead of the conifers.

Some tracts need restocking by hand. Largest such project in the region is going on in the 361,000-acre Tillamook burn. The State has seeded by helicopter or hand-planted about 50,000 of its own 253,000 acres, while more than 30,000 acres have come up naturally.

Federal agencies have strengthened their restocking programs, timely in view of the rapidly increasing cuts on United States lands. In the national forests loggers pay from 15 cents to more than $1 a 1,000 board-feet of logs cut into a stand improvement reserve. This is to pay for hand seeding or planting if nature proves laggard.

NEW CLAUSES WRITTEN

Bureau of land management has no such statutory provision, but is writing more of its timber sales with buyer agreeing to take care of artificial restocking where necessary. The agency has some appropriated funds, too, and in 3 years has reforested nearly 17,000 acres.

National forests have a major problem in some 500,000 acres of old burns and cutover lands. Progress has been slow.

What are private owners doing about reforestation? Industry owns an estimated 11,200,000 acres of forest land, and farmers about 2 million—a little more than half the region's holdings are private.

The tree farm idea has caught on remarkably since the first such tract was established 12 years ago by Weyerhaeuser not far from Montesano, Wash., where a weekly editor coined the phrase.

TREE FARMS EXPAND

Tree farms certified on a basis of good protection and harvesting practices have expanded to 4,250,000 acres, or nearly 38 percent of industrially owned forest land. Another 1,500,000 acres are shaping up to those standards, reports the certifying agency, the Industrial Forestry Association.

Are these many tree farms, as some critics remark, just big brush patches with a fancy sign down by the highway? About half their acreage is covered by merchantable timber. And their owners have reduced cutting to only about 1.5 percent a year, and have been buying more outside timber to help balance their tree farms.

No. 1 tree farmer is Weyerhaeuser, which owns 1,800,000 acres in western Oregon and Washington. Its 13 tracts are being managed as permanent investments. Nationally, the big firm is promoting the idea with color advertising which features scenes of young forests abounding in wildlife.

TAX STRUCTURE OBSTACLE

Small owners account for 15 percent of the region's woodlands and can grow probably 20 percent of the new timber, because they usually have better soils at lower elevations. But the tree-farm effort has not reached them with the same vigor as yet.

Many of these lands will be bought up by larger owners, though an increased number of small owners have decided to hold onto their land and grow trees.

Chief deterrent, they complain, is the State property tax structure.

The Threat of Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. ROSS ADAIR
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a column written by Clifford B. Ward and published in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel. It seems to me that what Mr. Ward says here is both interesting and important to all patriotic Americans:

GOOD EVENING

(By Clifford B. Ward)

Russia doesn't lose many propaganda battles, but she lost one in Korea when twenty-some thousand released prisoners marched into the arms of the anti-Communist world and only several hundred prisoners expressed a willingness to go to the Communist world. Given a choice, the prisoners bought anti-communism, almost unanimously. The Russians were so angry at the situation that they delayed for many days taking back several hundred Communists.

It was the same sort of a deal that our own Communists have frequently turned down. There probably isn't a Communist in the United States today who would voluntarily give up his residence here and go to live in Russia. The chances are that the Russians themselves wouldn't trust American subversives, figuring quite logically that they couldn't trust them anymore than we can.

Real revolutionaries, like the kind running the show in the Kremlin, always have a contempt for intellectuals. They use them, but they never really trust them. And when revolutionaries decide that they can't trust someone, they liquidate him and get him out of the way. In all successful revolutions the intelligentsia play an important preliminary part, but as soon as the coup de grace is extended to the old order the intelligentsia are shot, which is never a bad riddance.

GOING TO BE BEATEN

In this country the efforts of Communist revolutionaries are going to be beaten. If beaten they are, by common people, but not until those common people are convinced of the threat to them and its nature. That is why the revelations by the congressional committees are valuable, even though few indictments will follow all these revelations. It is a fight for the minds of so-called little people, and whether the Communists win those minds or the anti-Communists win them will determine whether the clock of liberty is set back a thousand years.

This generation of people may be in a grandstand seat watching the possible destruction of Western civilization. Informed observers are now quite sure that Italy, one of the traditional European bulwarks of anti-communism, may soon go completely communistic. If she does, it will certainly be shocking and constitute one of the greatest world conquests of communism.

WON'T EMERGE QUICKLY

If Italy slips behind the Iron Curtain, she will probably never emerge within our lifetime, because there is no history so far of a country, which has gone communistic, going anti-Communist. The traditional bulwark against communism in Italy has been the Catholic Church, but Italians, who are almost all Catholics, have accepted the communistic tenet that the church should stay in one field while it operates in another. As soon as Italy goes Communist however, communism will attempt to destroy the Catholic Church in that country as it has in Poland and everywhere else it has taken over.

COMMUNISM GROWING

The so-called peace in the world which we are now witnessing is probably an illusion rather than a reality except that the killing has been halted temporarily. Actually, communism is not experiencing a setback over the world, but a great period of growth. The extent of communism in this country is not realized by most persons. There is probably not a community of any size in the United States that does not have an extension into it of the tentacles of communism. If there were a revolution in the United States tomorrow, most persons would be shocked by the number of subversives we have harbored in this country. They would come up out of the ground like worms after a rainstorm.

Address by Arthur J. Connell, National Commander of American Legion, to Committee on Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, last week I was afforded the very happy privilege and honor of presenting officially to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, the national commander of the American Legion, Arthur J. Connell, of Middletown, Conn. We of Connecticut are especially proud of the national commander, and I am sure that the rest of his many friends both in and out of the Legion throughout the Nation join in this sentiment. I have been privileged to be a personal friend of Art Connell for many years, and I am therefore cognizant of his devotion to duty and his loyalty to his Nation and to God. The American Legion has as its national commander a man of the qualities which perpetuate the principles of true Americanism.

Commander Connell has graciously presented a report to the Veterans' Affairs Committee which I think should command the interest of all Members of this body who are concerned with the

care and wellbeing of our veterans who answered the call to duty. To me, Art Connell represents the voice of the American veteran, whose country should be eternally grateful for his courage, and his display of patriotism to the Nation.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the American Federation of Labor which has become a political appendage of the Democratic Party in contravention of its original attitude toward political problems just cannot find anything good about the Republican Party, it seems.

They do not like the Taft-Hartley law. They do not like President Eisenhower's proposed amendment to it. Now they do not like the President's housing program.

Quaere: Are they just plain ornery?

Answer: We hope not.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

Dedicatory Prayer Breakfast at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the program and transcript of the proceedings of the dedicatory prayer breakfast, at the Mayflower Hotel, on the morning of February 4. More than 500 persons, including the President, Vice President, members of the Cabinet, members of the Supreme Court, Members of Congress, and representatives of business and religious groups, were present. Conrad Hilton was host on the occasion.

In my opinion, this prayer breakfast, with the presence of the President and other outstanding leaders in every field, will add much to the religious life of our Nation.

There being no objection, the program and remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRAM FOR PRESIDENTIAL BREAKFAST THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1954, 8 A. M., MAYFLOWER HOTEL

Presiding: Hon. FRANK CARLSON, United States Senate, chairman International Council for Christian Leadership.

1. Opening prayer: Hon. CHARLES E. BENNETT, Member of Congress, chairman, House of Representatives breakfast group.
2. Scripture from Old Testament: Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, United States Senate.
3. Scripture from New Testament: Vice President RICHARD NIXON.
4. Remarks by Conrad Hilton.
5. Introduction of the President: Hon. FRANK CARLSON.
6. Address: Chief Justice Earl Warren.
7. First verse of the hymn What a Friend We Have in Jesus by the entire group.
8. Closing prayer: Abraham Vereide, secretary general of International Council for Christian Leadership.

Senator CARLSON. We will remain standing and be led in prayer by Hon. CHARLES E. BENNETT who is chairman of the House of Representatives Prayer Group.

(Opening prayer by Hon. CHARLES E. BENNETT, Member of Congress.)

Senator CARLSON. First, I want to express my appreciation for the response we had to the invitation of our host, whom we will hear from later.

I realize that you are all busy people, but I am of the firm opinion that we might well take 1 hour out of our daily activities for prayer and devotion.

The subject for the meetings of the International Council for Christian Leadership is Living Christianity Versus Militant Materialism.

We have received a number of wires from this Nation and from foreign countries, and I will read one:

"Please accept my best wishes on the occasion of your meeting for all the ICCL hopes to undertake and I am looking forward to our Noordwick conference. May it bring you much blessing. Wilhelmina, Princess of the Netherlands."

Forty years since 1914, when the world of our fathers began to crumble. Forty years of war and suffering, of chaos and confusion, of moral and spiritual decline. Forty years. The birth pangs of a new age? or the period of senile decay—the immediate prelude to mankind's madness in committing racial suicide in atomic warfare? Whatever view we may take of these years we must all agree that we live in a time of dire need—need of divine aid.

Increasingly, leaders of the world are expressing their conviction that the only hope for mankind lies in a renaissance, a spiritual revival. They are using language which many Christians have long been using, and this, in itself, is of great significance, for admission of need is half way to its meeting. When men cry to God in utter helplessness, His heart goes out to them in compassion. When the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt, "their cry came up unto God. * * * God heard their groaning. * * * God remembered His covenant. * * * God came down to deliver them."

Nineteen years ago a group of men in positions of responsibility met together for breakfast in Seattle, Wash. They began to pray and to make daily reading of the Bible a regular part of their lives. They discovered afresh that God, who had been the answer in the past, was the answer to their own personal, economic, and social problems in both city and State. They put the principles of the Bible into practice. The divine principles began to operate through divinely quickened men who faced severe testings and great problems of that day.

Thirteen years ago this month, representatives from the Senate and House of the United States Congress met for breakfast at the Willard Hotel. They considered the grave problems which America was facing and our need for divine guidance, grace, and power. From that meeting sprang the breakfast groups throughout the Nation and now on every continent. They are calling thinking men and women in every area to honesty, with repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Bible has become a living book, the one central source for inspiration, comfort, and instruction in righteousness; prayer, a practical reality, and Jesus Christ, the eternal contemporary as Savior and Lord. The irrefutable evidence of the reality of the Christian faith is the Christian man or woman who embodies the mind, the spirit of Christ. We do not represent a political party or denomination, but we are representatives of the people as a whole who have found a common denominator for effective teamwork and service in daily life. It is not only the fellowship of the concerned, but it is a fellowship of believers whose faith prompts action and sacrificial living.

We are again rediscovering that God who was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, has come to live in us by His spirit. We are convinced that the answer to all our problems finds a basic solution through a spiritual rebirth and the revival of genuine religion. This morning we are here to renew our faith and our commitment to God.

We will now have a reading of scripture from the Old Testament by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, who is chairman of the Senate Breakfast Prayer Group.

Senator WILEY. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

"But his delight is in the law of the Lord: and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

"And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

"The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.

"Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.

"For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; but the way of the ungodly shall perish."

Senator CARLSON. We will now have a portion of the Scriptures read from the New Testament by the Vice President.

Vice President NIXON. "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.

"Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.

"Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you.

"Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me.

"I am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing.

"If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.

"If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you.

"Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples.

"As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love.

"If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.

"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full.

"This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you."

Senator CARLSON. This morning you are the guests of a Christian layman with whom I have had the privilege of working during the past few years. He is a most generous host, and I can honestly state my problem was to try and limit the number of guests at this breakfast.

I advised him earlier that I had hoped to keep the number down to 300 or 400, but I find this morning that we have 600 in attendance, and yet there were many others who wanted to come, but dining-room space did not permit.

Some years ago our host wrote and published a prayer entitled "America on Its Knees," which has been circulated by the hundreds of thousands in practically every land on the globe. It is an outstanding example of what can be done when an individual sets about to render a service to his country and to his God.

It is a distinct honor to present one of the outstanding businessmen of the Nation, who has done much and will do much more in the interest of this cause.

I want to say this, that Mr. Hilton doesn't know that I know this story, but he actually practiced what is in this picture, America on Its Knees. He opened a new hotel, the Castellano Hilton in Madrid, in July of last year. He brought over two or more plane loads of people from this country to participate in the opening of that hotel. He was met at the airport by officials and dignitaries of the Spanish Government. As they walked into the lobby of this hotel, for the first time, our host, including the guests and the Spaniards present, to their amazement, they dropped on their knees and had a word of prayer. So I assure you it is a distinct honor to present one of the outstanding businessmen of this Nation, who has done much and will do much more in the interest of this cause. Conrad Hilton. [Applause.]

Mr. HILTON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, I am privileged to play host to you this morning. I am honored to be able to greet you. In greeting you briefly as host, what I have most to say may be illustrated by a story.

The place, the South Pacific; the time, June 1945. Virginia Company was lost. The brush was so thick they could not see 10 feet in front of them. There had been a path, but they had lost it a mile back. The woods in front were alive with the enemy and the snarl of bullets whipped through the trees. Suddenly, the bullets increased. The aim began to get better. Men began to fall.

"Call headquarters," shouted the captain, "and find out if we can get some help." A few minutes later, reserves were on their way to support the company. If Napoleon had been around, he would never have been able to understand. It would have been a mystery to Caesar, to Bismarck, even to General Foch, but our most distinguished guest this morning, President Eisenhower, and every youngster in America, could have told you that was a walkie-talkie that got them out of their trouble. The walkie-talkie is as old as Adam and Eve. We have all had one since the day we were able to talk. We did not have to wait for the improvements brought on by years of research in the world of radio communications.

What I mean is that we have always had prayers. We have always been able to talk to general headquarters any time we wished. What I like about prayer is that it is a means of direct communication with God. You can speak to Him at any time, day or night, and you can know with certainty that he is listening to you. What I like about prayer is that there is no set formula for calling general headquarters on a private walkie-talkie.

There are no call letters. You are free to send any message you want. You can just say "Hello," or you can ask for something. You can tell Him that things are going rough and that you need reinforcements, as the boys in the jungle did. You can call Him up to thank Him for the things He has done for you.

You can tell Him that you are baffled, bewildered, discouraged, and that you do not know which way to turn; or you can tell Him that you are the happiest person in the world.

It has been said, ladies and gentlemen, that all men fall ultimately into two classes, those who pray and those who do not. It is the incredible thing of the past 150 years that those who do not have become so dominant in our country until quite recently the trend, I think, was in that direction. It took a war to put prayer at the center of the lives of our fighting men. It took a war and the frightening evil of communism to show the world that this whole business of prayer is not a sissy thing, a counterfeit thing, that man can do it or not, as he wishes. Rather, it is a part of man's personality, without which he limps.

It is a projection of that personality into eternity, a relationship with divinity which every people, from the most primitive to the most delicately cultured, have been trying to achieve in every age.

When you want to know how something works, you ask the manufacturer who makes it. I am convinced, ladies and gentlemen, that this modern world of ours has got to follow more closely the directions of our Maker, as He has outlined them to us in His divine revelations and as He continues to outline them to us personally in prayer.

We, here, are fortunate in having the grace to accept this divine revelation and the principle of prayer. But great sections of the would have slowly fallen into the hands of those who refuse to accept God's plan. There are political practices which obviously oppose that plan. There are economic practices which ignore the directions of both God and man. That is the sad thing that must come to man when he refuses to maintain his communication lines with God in prayer. It is with this limp that man walks without God. That is how men grope in darkness, unless they believe that God, in His kindness, is willing to lift the shadows if we ask Him in prayer, is willing to raise men to the vision of the children of God if we ask him in prayer, is willing to help us live like children of God, with the personal peace and happiness of the children of God, if we ask him in prayer. [Applause.]

Senator CARLSON. Thank you, Mr. Hilton, for that splendid statement. Those of you who were in attendance here last year remember well the spiritual uplift that was given this gathering by the remarks of the President of the United States.

Knowing how many demands were made on his time, how pressing the problems, I suggested to him this year that he come and be with us as a guest. I take full responsibility for it and I want you folks to know that I went to the White House this morning and he was in his office and had been working for quite some time before he came to this breakfast.

The Nation, in fact the world, is better because of the example that is being set by the Chief Executive of this Nation in his devotion to and his public acceptance of God, our Creator. The President of the United States. [Applause.]

This morning we are privileged to hear a message from one of my friends of long standing. I could spend considerable time giving you his biography and mentioning a few of his many outstanding achievements and accomplishments, but I am sure you are familiar with them. He is a Christian, a humanitarian, and a great American. Mrs. Carlson and I came to Washington in 1934. At that time we attended the Calvary Baptist Church in this city, and I can well remember what a great satisfaction, what a great consolation, it was to have the Chief Justice of the United States walk down the aisle every Sunday morning to a pew that had been set aside for him and his party.

Charles Evans Hughes was the Chief Justice at that time. Twenty years later, in January 1954, Mrs. Carlson and I were attending the First Baptist Church in the city, and again what a feeling of security, what a comforting satisfaction it was to have present the Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren, who is here this morning, to have them walk down the aisle as we participated in the service.

Our Nation has a great heritage, and we who are privileged to live today are blessed because of the foundations which were laid by our Christian forefathers. We will be blessed only as we carry on those principles.

The Chief Justice of the United States. [Applause.]

Chief Justice WARREN. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen who are delegates to the conference, and my fellow workers in the Government, it is always a high privilege for Americans to break bread with the President of the United States. This morning I am sure all of us here feel the pride which flows from that privilege.

We are doubly proud because of the character of this meeting. This is not a social event or a holiday, nor are we here as personally invited guests. We meet here at breakfast on a weekday to prepare ourselves for better service to our Government and to our people today and every day. We meet, many of us, as fellow workers in that Government, with one strong bond uniting us—the bond of Christian fellowship. We believe this gathering is in our finest tradition because, although we have had in this land of liberty a complete separation of church and State for 165 years, our governmental affairs have always been guided by men and women of religious faith; not people of one church, but of all churches.

During that period, with absolute freedom of worship, our Nation has grown strong spiritually until today it is a beacon light of hope for oppressed people everywhere in the world. I believe no one can read the history of our country without realizing that the good book and the spirit of the Saviour have, from the beginning, been our guiding genius.

The commission from Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus was conceived of as a Christian mission. It read in part, "It is hoped by God's assistance some of the continents and islands in the ocean will be discovered." How well they succeeded they themselves did not realize. They succeeded not only in discovering, with the assistance of God whom they invoked, a new continent, but also in transplanting Christianity from one world to another.

Whether we look to the first charter of Virginia granted by King James in 1606, or to the charter of New England granted in 1620, or to the charter of Massachusetts Bay in 1629, or to the fundamental orders of Connecticut, which instituted a provisional government for that colony in 1639, the same objective is present—a Christian land governed by Christian principles.

Probably no better statement of this can be found than that of the Mayflower Compact, a compact entered into by a persecuted people seeking a new life in which they might worship as they pleased. Before they disembarked from the little ship that they came to this continent in, they had this to say, kneeling as they did so:

"In the name of God, amen: Having undertaken for the glory of God an advancement of the Christian faith and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, we do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony into which we promise all due submission and obedience."

The Declaration of Independence, which launched our national life, breathed into it also the Christian spirit when it said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Our people at the time of the Revolution were religious people. They read their Bibles, and they believed in them. They wanted always to be free to read their Bibles

and to belong to the church of their choice. When the Constitution did not guarantee that right in specific words, they insisted on a Bill of Rights that would do so.

The First Congress, therefore, submitted as its first amendment a provision that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe the entire Bill of Rights came into being because of the knowledge our forefathers had of the Bible and their belief in it; freedom of belief, of expression, of assembly, of petition, the dignity of the individual, the sanctity of the home, equal justice under law, and the reservation of powers to the people. These things are the very essence of Christianity. They have characterized all our institutions. They have shaped our national life. They have given us our vision for the future.

I like to believe we are living today in the spirit of Christian religion. I like also to believe that as long as we do so, no great harm can come to our country and that the spirit which fortifies our individual wills will strengthen our Nation and make it both spiritually and materially strong and useful, not only to ourselves but to mankind. What we are doing for our neighbors throughout the world in these turbulent times should be an assurance to people everywhere in the world that we are not only a great Nation but that we are a Christian Nation which has for its one great objective peace on earth and good will to men.

Traditionally we have chosen men to lead our country who have that spirit. Only a year ago we saw our then new President stand on the steps of the Capitol and, within the hearing of his countrymen from coast to coast, offer his personal prayer for divine guidance and for the goodness, as well as the greatness, of our country. I am sure it heartened every American.

On another occasion in our history a great and good man said in a few words what could well be the faith of all of us. Abraham Lincoln, leaving his home in Springfield, Ill., to assume the Presidency of the United States in a very dark hour of our history, stood on the rear platform of his train and said this:

"My friends, no one not in my situation can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place and the kindness of these people I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century and have passed from a young man to an old man. Here my children have been born and one is buried.

"I now leave, not knowing when, or whether ever, I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being that ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail.

"Trusting in Him who can go with me and remain with you and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

This is the kind of simple faith that can move mountains. Before these perplexing, troublesome days in which we are living pass, it may be necessary to move mountains. It is good that we keep the faith together.

Senator CARLSON. I would like to conclude this service this morning by asking Beverley Shea, of the Billy Graham Gospel Temple, to lead us in the first verse of What a Friend We Have in Jesus, and Abraham Vereide will close in prayer.

(Singing.)

Mr. VEREIDE. Eternal God our Father, we seek reinforcement for ourselves, for our Nation, for our representatives at home and abroad. We thank Thee this morning for these men and women who are associated together representing the Church Universal in this task of the Kingdom, seeking to put first things first.

This morning we dedicate ourselves to Thee, our bodies as the vehicles of Thy spirit; our talents and resources and all we are and have; the freedom that prevails: that God and truth and righteousness, integrity, and the love of God may be prevalent in our hearts and in our affairs. To Thee we give all the glory.

"Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name.

"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

"Give us this day our daily bread.

"And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen."

The Wisdom of Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, our attention will be drawn many times next week to the life, the character, and the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln. During the week in which the anniversary of his birth is observed, many of my colleagues on the Republican side of the Chamber will be traveling around the country, making speeches at distinguished political gatherings. But yesterday, right here in Washington, one of my colleagues on the Democratic side made a speech about Lincoln which deserves the attention of everyone.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the speech by the able junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURKE] before the Woman's National Democratic Club, on February 4, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A friend of mine complains that February is a very noisy month for him. His offices are close to the headquarters of the Republican Party and he tells me that early in the month there is a horrendous clacking of typewriters as the ghost-writing department hammers out the Lincoln Day addresses soon to be delivered by the bigwigs of the Republican Party.

As soon as the pace of the typewriters starts to slow there is a new noise the constant whirring of the mimeograph machines as the ghost-written speeches are made ready for distribtution to the press. Then, my friend says, there are a few days of quiet until the speeches, always citing Lincoln as the text for partisan attacks against the Democratic Party are delivered.

After this my friend complains there is a final whirring sound which he thinks is the Great Emancipator turning over in his grave as he hears his words abused by a party which has long since deserted his principles.

Now it seems to me that Abraham Lincoln is enough of an American institution to be a bipartisan property, so I shall feel free to cite some of his remarks as texts for my sermon here today, but I shall try to employ them in the Lincoln tradition of charity to all and malice toward none.

It is interesting to speculate what Lincoln would say of our world today if he were here on earth, his melancholy eyes looking at our tumultuous country from beneath the brim of a Homburg hat. Would he be a businessman, or an advertising executive, or a lawyer, or a politician? My own opinion is that the law and politics would draw him today just as they did in the simple society of 19th century Illinois.

Would he be a Republican or a Democrat? I do not profess to know, but some of his words would certainly sound strange if they were heard today coming from Republican mouths.

Lincoln had an old-fashioned respect for a promise, and in Bloomington, Ill., the home town of the man who said, "Let's talk sense to the American people," Mr. Lincoln said, on May 29, 1856:

"We must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot."

Can't you see the advertising fellow who masterminded the last Republican campaign doubled up with laughter over the innocence and naivete of that statement? It wouldn't take them long to knock that out of the speech and put in something like, "Who says we can't lower taxes and balance the budget and do it in a hurry?" That, as we can all see, would sound good and promise nothing.

In fact, I'm afraid the ballyhoo boys would have to do a lot of editing to fit Lincoln into the pattern of Republican campaigning today. For instance:

Lincoln said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

The Republican platform writers would probably modify that to read as follows: "Our Government has become swollen beyond all need, feeding an army of useless bureaucrats. We need less government in business and more business in government. We must root out and destroy all vestiges of creeping socialism such as the TVA."

Lincoln said: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, we must think anew, and act anew."

I suppose the hucksters would change that to read: "We must turn again to the legacy of our glorious past. We must meet today's challenge with the simple faith and 100 percent American programs of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln said: "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

I'm afraid the GOP ad writers wouldn't like that one. It's too long, too hard to remember, to many big words, not at all catchy. They would shorten it up and give it some zing so that people could remember it. The new version, of course, would be "What is good for General Motors is good for the country."

Lincoln said: "All honor to Jefferson—to the man, who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

Today the Republican line would more likely be: "And what sort of an American was this Jefferson? He associated with revolutionaries. He wrote the fifth amendment to the Constiution. And finally, he purchased the great territory of Louisiana which

made our country bigger and thereby caused it to need a bigger government. He was a dangerous radical."

Lincoln said: "I am not insensible to any commercial or financial depression that may exist, but nothing is to be gained by fawning around the 'respectacle scoundrels' who got it up. Let them go to work and repair the mistakes of their own making, and then perhaps they will be less greedy to do the like again."

We can be sure that, too, would be improved to read: "Our country is economically strong although prophets of gloom and doom are trying to talk us into a depression. While we may be in a controlled recession which will strengthen our stability and smooth out the leveling-off process and bring about reduced inventories, and while on first glance the fact that fewer people are working may make it appear that unployment is increasing, actually any intelligent study of these economic indices will show plainly that prosperity is just around the corner."

But while Lincoln might be amused or irritated by the improvement the ballyhoo boys would make on his copy, there is one tactic of the present day Republican Party that would certainly offend and disgust him, and I want to talk with you quite seriously about an evil thing the Republicans are doing today that does violence to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was a fair man, an honest man, and a moderate man. Moreover, he was deeply preoccupied with the rights of people, not just the high and mighty, but all of the people. Lincoln was opposed to sacrificing principle for political gain and he was opposed to sacrificing people for political gain. Lincoln was opposed to character assassination. Lincoln was also opposed to the so-called reconstruction of the South, a policy which was actually designed to humiliate and punish one section of the country, and to try to exterminate the Democratic Party.

If we believe his words, Lincoln would have been disgusted at the spectacle of an Attorney General dipping into secret and unsubstantiated files of the Government to find political ammunition to hurl at his foes. Lincoln would have sickened at the spectacle of a Republican governor saying: "Whenever anybody mentions the words Truman and Democrat to you, for the rest of your lives remember that these words are synonymous with Americans dying thousands of miles from home, because they did not have the ammunition to defend themselves."

Lincoln would have been moved to fiery indignation by the shoddy shell game perpetuated by an administration which places the label of treason on any person dismissed from the Government as a security risk, and which lists as a security risk any person against which any unproven derogatory information has ever been filed.

Lincoln said: "Never add the weight of * * * character to a charge against (a) fellow man without knowing it to be true. * * * I believe it is an established maxim in morals that he who makes an assertion without knowing whether it is true or false is guilty of falsehood, and the accidental truth of the assertion does not justify or excuse him. This maxim ought to be particularly held in view when we contemplate an attack upon the reputation of our neighbor."

Recently Postmaster General Summerfield said in a prepared speech that the Government had rid itself of 2,200 security risks and added this calculated phrase, "Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation."

Lincoln said: "I believe we need nothing so much as to get rid of unjust suspicion of one another."

The President's legal counsel, Bernard Shanley, recently asserted that "1,456 subversives have been kicked out of the Government since the President took office."

Lincoln said: "Persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander."

The administration has said that it is not feasible to break down the categories of the security-risk cases to show how many were suspect of treason and how many were guilty or suspect of misconduct.

Lincoln said: "A man cannot prove the negative, but he has the right to claim that when one makes an affirmative charge he must offer some proof to show the truth of what he says."

But the party of Lincoln continues its program of mass slander against Government employees and against the Democratic Party, all built on a platform of fakery by trying to create the false impression that 1,456 or 2,200 Communists or subversives have been caught and driven out of the Government.

Perhaps the kindest thing that can be said about this new Republican program of fear and smear is to repeat a gentle question which Abraham Lincoln posed in a letter to a friend: "Did he know what he said, or did he say it without knowing it?"

As I look at the Republican Party today I wonder if Abraham Lincoln, for all of his ability to reconcile conflicting aims, would not diagnose its present ills as a predilection for the wrong kind of compromise.

The subversive hoax is a compromise between decency and political expediency, and decency didn't come out very well in the deal.

And finally, the Republican Party is itself a compromise, with continuing guerrilla warfare between the old guard and the young guard, between the old fogies and the young fogies, and the closest to peace it ever comes is a restless truce between the McCarthys and the Reads and the Humphreys.

Lincoln lived in the days before psychiatry became a hobby and schizophrenia became a household word, but he had the prescription for what ails the Republican Party today. He said: "Let us be diverted by none of these contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong; vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man."

He also had a pretty good prescription for our own Democratic Party. Here it is: "Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last night it was my pleasure to address the second annual congressional banquet of the University of Michigan Alumni Club meeting here in Washington. The subject of my address was the Bricker amendment to the United States Constitution and why it must be defeated. I send to the desk the text which I prepared as the basis of my remarks, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DANGERS OF THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

(Address by the Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY, chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, before the University of Michigan alumni group, Thursday night, February 4, 1954)

It is a great privilege for me to appear before this outstanding assembly of alumni of the University of Michigan.

I cannot speak too highly of the idea of your club playing host to sons of Michigan by means of this second annual congressional reception and banquet.

Wholly aside from myself being here, I say to you very sincerely that, as I look around the room tonight, I feel that our old alma mater can be proud indeed of her sons.

Our university yields to none in the leadership which it has contributed to the Nation.

As you can appreciate, I am in somewhat of a difficult position to comment on and commend the outstanding group of alumni of our university. What I have to say will naturally exclude any personal reference to myself.

Suffice it to say that I am honored to be your guest tonight.

Any one of a great number of the distinguished governmental leaders and citizens in this audience tonight could have served as your speaker.

WHY I CHOSE THIS TALK

Now, my friends, I have weighed the question in detail as to the topic on which to speak to you tonight.

One could speak in a light vein on some of the amusing aspects of our work here in our Nation's capital. One could make facetious reference, I suppose, even to some of the most serious problems which we face.

I have chosen, however, to devote my attention in a serious way to a serious subject, one on which there is a wide and honest difference of opinion, the subject of proposals to limit the treatymaking power of the Presidency, proposals hinged around the so-called Bricker amendment.

I have chosen to do so because Michigan has never shrunk from controversy.

I have chosen to do so because, even though many of the distinguished guests in this audience tonight may differ very appreciably on this question, still there are certain points on which we can unite.

I think that we can all agree on the basic things we hold dear. We hold dear the Constitution of the United States. We hold dear the system of checks and balances in government. We hold dear our liberties. We hold dear our quest for peace and justice.

And so, if I may, I should like to explore with you, my friends, a few of the aspects of this problem.

I hope that our friends from other walks of life will bear with me as I look into this question, because it is very close to my heart.

I believe it is very close to the hearts of those of our alumni in particular who studied law at Michigan, because they, in particular, can appreciate the deeper significance of this question.

But lawyer and nonlawyer alike, as Americans, all, can understand its crucial import to our Nation.

I left the Senate floor a short time ago while the debate was still going on.

SENATOR FERGUSON'S VIEWS

I listened with deep attention tonight to the words of one of my dearest friends of the Senate, my neighbor, my long-time associate, the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan, Mr. FERGUSON. He is coauthor of one of the more important substitutes proposed. He has labored long and hard on these issues.

With much of what my colleague said I agree. With a good deal of what he said I disagree.

But wholly aside from what the senior Senator from Michigan and the senior Senator from Wisconsin may agree or disagree on, I feel and perhaps HOMER does too, that the outcome of this long debate will be favorable to the cause of the United States Constitution and the cause of American foreign policy.

I am convinced that out of all the controversy, out of all the heat—and yes, the bitterness, will come a stronger America, a sounder America.

I want to prove that by citing these facts:

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S LEADERSHIP

First, the Bricker amendment has been the occasion of the bold, courageous, and brilliant reassertion of leadership on the part of the great Chief Executive of our country, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In the full year that he has been in office, in my judgment, no single issue has so tested his leadership as this one has.

Regardless of whether you may agree with him or disagree on it (and I happen fervently to agree) I believe that President Eisenhower emerges from this controversy in a stronger, still higher, more universally respected position than ever before.

A battle commander proves himself, not when things are going well, but when things are going rough. Here, indeed, the situation was and is a rough one. It was and is a situation in which good Republicans disagree; good Democrats disagree; good Americans in all walks of life disagree; good constitutional lawyers disagree.

But the President has spoken clearly and unequivocally. He has enunciated his unalterable opposition to any step which would impair the rights of the Chief Executive of our country under the Constitution or the traditional separation of powers.

In so declaring, Dwight D. Eisenhower has proved himself anew the worthy successor of Abraham Lincoln, of Teddy Roosevelt, and of other great Republican and Democratic holders of the highest office of the land.

IKE'S GREAT TEAM

And with him there emerges to still higher stature the great team which serves him. I refer to the Secretary of State; I refer to the Attorney General of the United States.

I refer to members of the White House staff, to the experts in the State and Justice Departments, and others, who have, night after night, week after week, subjected this problem to the clear light of intensive scrutiny.

I DOUBTED COMPROMISE

As you know, I happen to be one of the Senators who has warned against any compromise with principle.

I have doubted from the inception that it would prove feasible to reach a mutually acceptable compromise.

It is not that I, for one, felt that all truth rested on one side. It is not that I felt that compromise is bad in and of itself. After all, the Constitution has been described as "a bundle of compromises."

It is because I felt, and still feel, that you cannot work on this complex issue for 5 minutes without colliding headon into the question: "Are you going to compromise with principle; are you going to endanger a delicate structure which has been built up for 165 years?"

I want to pay tribute, however, to those of my brother Senators who have worked so long and so hard seeking a compromise. The fact that I have doubted that their efforts would reach fruition does not alter the esteem in which I hold them and their effort.

May a spirit of give and take—a spirit of reasonableness—always motivate all of us.

But may we persevere, as Dwight D. Eisenhower has persevered, in taking a firm, unyielding stand on the bedrock of principle. May political expediency never cloud our eyes.

May we ever be worthy of the great heritage which is ours, the great heritage of preserving a Constitution which, as W. E. Gladstone, British Prime Minister said, "is the most wondrous work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

THE TRAGEDY WE RISK

To endanger that document, the oldest continuous document, of the oldest continuous government of any major power of earth, would, in my judgment, be an act of the most terrible tragedy.

To upset that delicate mechanism by hit or miss—off the cuff—so-called compromise language would be a tragedy.

To pass a patchwork amendment which is so vague, so confusing, as to cause hundreds of executive agreements and treaties to wind up in the courts for lengthy test as to their constitutionality, that, too, would be a tragedy.

Basically, to abandon principles would be a tragedy.

Now, what about our principles? To what principles do I refer?

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

What are the points on which we agree?

We agree that the United States Constitution must remain ever inviolate and supreme.

We agree that no constitutional right of any American citizen must be impaired by any international treaty or executive agreement.

We agree that the Congress must always be vigilant to protect the rights of the American people.

We agree that certain executive agreements made in the past have been unwise and unsound.

We agree that the United States Senate should never vote upon a treaty unless an adequate and appropriate number of Members of the Senate are present, unless there is a rollcall vote with the yeas and nays being recorded.

POINTS OF CONTENTION

But on many points we disagree:

I for one dispute any false contention that there are not adequate safeguards—checks and balances—under the United States Constitution right now to protect us against any abuse of the treatymaking power.

I dispute any contention that the Senate, the greatest deliberative body in the world, is not intelligent enough, sound enough, wise enough, to forestall any treaty which would be dangerous to our liberties.

I dispute any contention that the Supreme Court would not fulfill its prerogative of rendering invalid, as internal law, any treaty which was truly unconstitutional.

I dispute any contention that the Senate and House would not use their investigative powers, their appropriation powers, and other powers to protect your liberties while any questionable treaty or agreement was being implemented.

MY FAITH IN AMERICA

I have faith in the office of the Presidency, faith in the Senate, faith in the House of Representatives, faith in the Supreme Court.

Most important of all, I have faith in the American people.

For 165 years similar faith on the part of our countrymen has been justified. I see no reason to alter that faith now. Why the fear; why the panic; why the suspicion?

Why not that "faith which is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen?"

Faith in America, faith in our 165 years of traditions, faith in the future?

Why be afraid of our own intelligence or of the patriotism of our own leaders?

Of course, we must be vigilant, but remember this Nation was built on faith, not on fear; on respect, not on suspicion; on cooperation, not on disunity.

NOTORIOUS WHICH CLAUSE IS DEAD

Now, my friends, what of the future? What action will the Senate and the House of Representatives take?

Tomorrow, Friday, February 5, will be the last day before the recess week traditionally devoted to Lincoln Day celebrations throughout the land.

The following week this debate will come to a climax.

During the days of voting on substitutes, on amendments to amendments, the situation will probably become so complicated that few possible predictions which I could make right now would probably prove valid.

I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet.

But of this, at long last, everybody can be sure. What I regard to be the most dangerous feature of Senate Joint Resolution 1, the notorious "which" clause is cold-stone-dead.

Who killed it? American public opinion killed it.

The reactions of Members of the United States Senate killed it.

More important, it died of its own dead weight.

It died because it involved grave inherent perils to our country.

It died because it would have resulted in the incredible blunder of returning our Nation—greatest Nation on earth—to a condition of primitive helplessness which had prevailed before 1787—before the weak, ineffective Articles of Confederation were replaced by the Constitution of the United States.

Yes, the "which" clause is dead. Indeed, in my judgment, Senate Joint Resolution 1 as reported from the Senate Judiciary Committee, is in many of its other dangerous features, dead—cold-stone-dead. Some may refuse to give these features a prompt burial, but the features are dead nonetheless.

That does not mean that there will still not be strong debate.

But it does mean that the most dangerous of the proposals are fortunately, in my judgment, well on their way to well-deserved oblivion.

Now, my friends, I stated earlier that out of this historic controversy will come, I believe, new successes for America.

I stated that the President of the United States will have emerged to a still more respected position in the eyes and hearts of the American people.

SOME DIEHARDS WILL PERSIST

That does not mean that there will not be some diehards who will be bitter against the President. It does not mean that there will be some who will not falsely accuse him of what they call internationalism and one worldism.

But the President shrugs off such absurd charges, as does any man of stature—who understands the low level of thinking from which such ridiculous charges stem.

GREAT FOREIGN POLICY VICTORY COMING

But there will be another great success for America.

We will have gone through the fire—the ordeal—of a great debate.

We will have tested anew the concept of American leadership in the atomic age, and we will have met that test successfully.

Two-thirds of the Senate will have proven that they will not turn their back upon the world.

They will have proven that we are going to defeat the Soviet Union in its international conspiracy to enslave the globe.

Two-thirds of the Senate will have proven to all our Allies, to all the neutral nations that we do not propose to turn our backs to the world. In a time where international retreat is suicide, we propose to advance.

We propose to advance toward a brighter prosperity, brighter political cooperation, brighter military security, brighter cultural interchange among the free nations of the world.

We propose to help make of the United Nations the instrument for which men prayed at its birth in 1945.

We proposed to infuse in it the will, the intent, and the purpose, the spirit of leadership.

We propose to send this message to the world:

"Keep your hope high. Keep the flame of liberty burning in your heart. America will not desert you. America stands shoulder to shoulder with you."

This is the type of message for which a great son of Michigan gave his all—the late great senior Senator from Michigan, Arthur Vandenberg.

This is the type of message which every son of Michigan, every son and daughter of America may pass along for all to receive.

BRICKER AMENDMENT, THE GREAT TEST

The Bricker amendment has become the great test—the great test of blind provincialism versus realistic leadership.

It has proven to be a great test between those who would prefer to retreat blindly to an 18th century fool's paradise and those who insist on living realistically, in the dangerous 20th century atomic age. It has proven to be a great test between those who know that America—like it or not—has been precipitated to leadership and that she has no real alternative but to lead, and those who would have us evade our responsibilities, shirk our duties, and retreat in cowardly fashion before the true obligations of men.

Let me make it quite clear.

Many worthy supporters of the legal phases of the Bricker amendment have not taken their position because of a desire to conduct a flank attack against American foreign policy.

They have supported the amendment, forthrightly, because they happen to believe in it as a constitutional panacea.

I have less quarrel with them than with those in their ranks who have tried to use the Bricker amendment simply to sabotage, to torpedo, to undermine American foreign policy; to sabotage, to torpedo, to undermine the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

GREATEST SINGLE ISOLATIONIST DEFEAT

It will be these individuals who will have sustained their worst single defeat in the postwar era.

It is these individuals who tried to dig a grave for the United Nations. Yet they will now find that the defeat of the Bricker amendment will have plunged their own outmoded, horse-and-buggy concepts into the grave.

I repeat, my friends: The battle is not yet over. But the future looks bright. And I repeat I am not referring to any specific individual. I am not referring to any specific personality.

There is no single opponent in this debate against whom I feel any personal animus. I have tried to understand my opponents. I have tried to give them every benefit of the doubt. I have never reflected on their patriotism. I wish they could say the same.

At the same time, I would be remiss if I did not state to you that the defeat of the Bricker amendment will have become a great landmark in America's forward march toward constructive international leadership.

CONCLUSION

These then are my views, my friends; I do not hold them out as the only reasonable view in this controversy.

I have respected all those who have differed with me.

But I feel that this message—whatever its worth—is appropriate for this occasion.

The University of Michigan is, after all, dedicated to reason, to scholarship, to the triumph of men's intellect.

It is appropriate, I feel, that I have addressed you tonight on what I feel to be the coming victory of men's reason over men's emotions, men's scholarship over superficiality, men's intellect over men's passion.

Thank you for the privilege of being here tonight.

Senator Young's Stand on the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Of Men and Things," which was published in the Lincoln Star, of Lincoln, Nebr., on January 30, 1954. The editorial is one which I appreciate very much. The editor of the Lincoln Star, Jim Lawrence, has always been a true friend of agriculture.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OF MEN AND THINGS

Life magazine in its current issue takes out lustily after a good friend, Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, of North Dakota. Senator YOUNG, secretary of the Republican policy committee in the upper House, does not like the Benson farm program for flexible price supports. More, he does not hesitate to speak his mind when the occasion presents itself.

SIXTY SEPARATE STUDIES, 500 EXPERTS

Editorially, Life says that the farm program President Eisenhower presented to Congress represents the work of 60 separate studies and consultation with 500 farm experts. So that is what ails it. Wonder if the experts and the studies took any time to examine into conditions in the early thirties? Life then gets off this choice bit of humor—unconsciously: "Just because the program is so statesmanlike, a number of politicians reared on the old folklore are frightened to death. Election year is a time, in the minds of the cliché artists, to let sleeping dogs lie. It develops that Congress is even afraid to vote itself a well-deserved and badly needed pay raise just before an election." How badly needed and how well deserved, in the opinion of the American people, Life could ascertain by glancing at the figures contained in the last Gallup poll. Again Life says: "On the matter of sliding parity—the only sensible attack ['attack' is a good word] made on the farm problem in years—a lot of legislators have simply thrown up their hands."

"Senator YOUNG, of North Dakota, for example, said last week that if somebody should get up in Congress and propose to keep high price supports instead of a lower parity percentage for farmers, 'Who is going to vote against it?' In other words, Senator YOUNG and other folklore-ridden politicians of his type would let the Government just keep on giving the farmers everything their most fanatic and shortsighted spokesman might ask." When did Life get all heated up over this giveaway business in Washington? We cannot recall that it was greatly disturbed when this administration gave away billions of dollars in oil to three States. We have no recollection that Life sees anything wrong in turning the public domain—its forests, its grasslands, its minerals, and its oil—back to the States to be exploited by a few lucky individuals. * * * But Life can work itself into a lather when it thinks about the American farm or the American farm family.

THAT GOES DOUBLE FOR LIFE

"We have news for you, Senator YOUNG," Life continues. "There are a lot more consumers than farmers in America, and they know all about the farm mess that your kind of thinking has created." It is a little bit depressing when a magazine of the prominence of Life indulges in this kind of language. Farm and city people are dependent upon each other. There is no prosperity for any length of time on the streets of the city when mounting adversity blackens the countryside. There is no lasting prosperity on the farm when it prospers unreasonably at the expense of urban peoples. We live side by side. Either we prosper or we face adversity together. The very greatest misfortune which Life could wish upon its good friend, the President, is for Life to stir up class hatred. All Life needs to do to pave the way for an unfortunate end to the Eisenhower administration is to appeal to the consumer to rise up against the farmer—or vice versa—to stir up the farmer against the consumer.

Now, Life has news for Senator YOUNG. A very fine, upstanding Member of the Senate, a man of ability and courage, a man who isn't afraid to invite retaliation, could have news for Life if Senator YOUNG in modest spirit wanted to tell Life about some of his experiences out on a Dakota farm. MILT YOUNG knows what it was like out on the farm in the thirties. He happened to be there. And he knows much better than the smart aleck who wrote Life's editorial what the last 20 years have meant to rural America. Of course, Life cannot be bothered with those matters.

Pennsylvania Ghost Towns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, it is generally thought that Pennsylvania has always had a very easy time from an industrial standpoint. However, there are many ghost towns in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The most noted was known as Pithole, and was developed during the early days of the oil excitement.

In the Oil City Derrick there appears an article relating to a daily newspaper which was printed in one of the ghost towns. I now ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, because I am sure it will be very interesting to my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TITUSVILLE, PA.—The museum at Drake Well Memorial Park here has acquired what is believed to be the only bound file in existence of the Pithole Daily Record, a newspaper that began publication September 25, 1865, in what became oildom's most fabulous ghost town.

Three volumes of the newspaper's files were obtained from Mrs. Avery James Canon, of Stoneboro, Pa., a granddaughter of the paper's publisher, the late Capt. William H. Longwell.

The newspaper files had been deposited with Edward W. Wallace at his Oil City book store after the death about a year ago of Miss Susan James, another granddaughter of Captain Longwell, and thereby escaped destruction in a fire that consumed most of the James family's household furnishings in a Franklin warehouse.

The bound volumes, in remarkably good condition, begin with volume 1, No. 1 of September 25, 1865, and extend with a gap of only about 2 months through December 31, 1866. Unaccountably, the file lacks the issues from September 6, 1865, through Friday, November 24, 1865.

Lee M. Morton was listed in the masthead as editor and Morton Spare & Co., proprietors, as the morning daily began publication.

The inaugural edition stated without false modesty, "The excitement of California in its brightest days pales before the march of Pithole." The United States well on the Homden farm at Pithole had come in flowing 250 barrels a day on January 7, 1865, giving rise to a tremendous influx of oilmen to Pithole.

Mirroring the excitement, the first issue of the Pithole Daily Record pointed out, "Dwellings, stores, hotels, and saloons are rising on all sides. * * * New wells and new individuals alike are striking oil on every hand." The newspaper, in its salutatory, said Pithole City numbered some 900 or 1,000 buildings, whereas 3 months before it had contained 2, and the population "must be some eight or ten thousand, or even more."

The Homestead well stopped flowing in August 1865 but this first flicker in the boom did not deter other oil operators. The town continued to grow. In 1866 it had banks, telegraph offices; a waterworks system, a fire company, churches, over 50 hotels, and many business places.

By 1867 the boom was over as oil production continued to drop. Fires, despite the efforts of the volunteer fire company, recurrently wiped out large sections of the community. By 1868, although the newspaper continued to publish editions, some single copies of which are in the Drake Well Museum, the town was finished.

Pithole's most enduring claim to fame, perhaps, is that it was the starting point of the world's first successful oil pipeline, from Pithole to Miller Farm on the Oil Creek Railroad. Samuel Van Syckel began laying 2-inch pipe on September 5, 1865, and successfully completed it on October 9. The line revolutionized the transportation of petroleum and its products.

Leave the Constitution Alone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, what has been good enough and sound enough for 5 or 6 generations of Americans, is good enough for me. For the past 165 years the Constitution of the United States has served the purposes and the best interests of the American people. Of the nearly 1,000 treaties entered into with foreign countries during this entire period not a single one has ever been found to be unconstitutional.

I am not afraid of our Constitution. It is this cherished document which, by the very spirit of freedom and justice in which it was written, has helped to make our country the great moral and physical power that it is today. I am afraid, however, of the changes advocated in the Bricker amendment and similar efforts to improve on the job done by the framers of our Constitution 165 years ago, which has stood the test of time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues a keen and lucid article dealing with this subject by one of our finest scholars, Henry Steel Commager. His article, Leave the Constitution Alone, was published in the New York Post, Sunday, January 24, 1954. I am sure my colleagues will find it profitable reading. It is as follows:

LEAVE THE CONSTITUTION ALONE

(By Henry Steele Commager)

"Everybody talks of the constitution," wrote Horace Walpole to a friend back in 1770, "but all sides forget that the constitution is extremely well, and would do very well if they would but let it alone."

He was writing of a very different constitution, but what he said is relevant today, and to our situation. Indeed our Constitution does very well—if we but leave it alone. But this is just what Senator BRICKER and his collaborators and his zealous supporters in a hundred filiopietistic societies throughout the land will not do. They are confident that they can do a better job than the framers, and are determined to alter the mechanism and thus upset the delicate equilibrium of the Constitution. This may not be the conscious, but it is the inevitable, effect of the Bricker amendment.

For a characterization of this folly we can go back to Walpole's great American contemporary, Benjamin Franklin and call it—as he called a comparable folly—rules for reducing a great empire to a small one.

Any proposal to change our constitutional system in one of its essentials is under an imperative obligation to prove its necessity. Certainly we should not lightly trifle with so venerable a document and so venerable a system—for ours is (be it remembered) the oldest written Constitution of any major nation on the globe, and the oldest continuous Federal system. Over a period of 165 years it has stood the test of history, it has survived and prospered while others forms of government collapsed or were swept away, it has proved wonderfully flexible and adaptable, serving alike the needs of a small and isolated community and of a great and dominant world power.

Not the least remarkable part of the Constitution is that which provides for the conduct of foreign relations. "Had the framers of the Constitution done nothing more than to securely vest the treatymaking power in the central government," wrote the great Justice Story in his magisterial commentaries, "they would have been entitled to immortality and to the unending gratitude of the American people."

This was the opinion, too, of Hamilton, who wrote of the arrangements for treatymaking by President and Senate that "though this provision has been assailed * * * with no small degree of vehemence, I scruple not to declare my firm persuasion, that it is one of the best digested and most unexceptionable parts of the plan."

Certainly it was well digested, for the Federal Convention discussed it carefully and critically, and it is appropriate to note that the two main proposals of the Bricker amendment were considered and specifically rejected by the framers.

But the merits of those provisions of the Constitution that control the making of treaties and agreements and the conduct of foreign affairs need not be asserted in a vacuum. We have had, now, 165 years of experience with these provisions and with their application. Over that period of time the President and Senate have concluded not far from 1,000 treaties and the President (sometimes with Congress) perhaps twice that number of executive agreements. Not one of these has ever been found unconstitutional, nor do the proponents of the Bricker amendment bring the charge of unconstitutionality against any one of these. That is a far better record than that of Congress with respect to ordinary legislation.

But it is not only that the treatymaking process has been technically above Constitutional reproach; it has been, too, for the most part above political reproach—which is, again, much more than can be said of a good deal of congressional legislation. It is difficult to point to a thoroughly bad or dangerous treaty of any major character in the whole of our history, while many of our treaties—from the Treaty of Paris of 1783 and the Jay Treaty and the Louisiana Treaty and the Oregon Treaty on—represent milestones of progress in our history. It is noteworthy that, the champions of the Bricker amendment never attempt to cite a single treaty in support of their warnings and reproaches.

Now, however, we are told that through all these 165 years there has been a joker in our Constitution: From 1796 to the present time, writes Senator BRICKER, "the treatymaking power has been a persistent threat to the liberties of the American people." Organized patriots beat the tomtoms and sound the alarms: the Trojan horse is without the walls and, if we don't watch out, will be in our midst.

If there is a Trojan horse it was left at the starting post and is there still, for in 165 years it has not threatened us once.

Under the treaty power, we are told, anything can happen. It is a power subject to abuse. Perhaps anything can happen—but nothing ever has. This effort to scare us with the raw hide and bloody bones of betrayal does not even rise to the dignity of an argument. Certainly Senator BRICKER's animadversions against the treaty power, insofar as they can be understood in the pidgin-English in which they are expressed, does not rise to the dignity of an argument:

"Let me assure you that there is no intention on anybody's part to affect a paramount war power of the President or the national integrity of this country. This amendment is for the purpose of preserving that national integrity and the rights of the American people, certainly never to dissipate them, and you know (he was addressing Attorney General Brownell) as well as I do that they have been terribly threatened in the last few years, and you know as well as I do that when a President gets 15 or 20 Members of the Senate opposed to him politically by a great sweep of power, whether by passion or whatever it may be, you can wipe out the rights of any people in this country, and then of the courts become subordinated through rulings of the court, then you have a totalitarian philosophy in this country, and you have a breakdown of the inalienable rights of these people."

But if you are going to guard against hypothetical dangers, why start with the treatymaking power? Why not start with Congress itself? Certainly the legislative powers are "subject to abuse"—and often have been abused. After all, while no treaty ever has been held unconstitutional, some 80 congressional acts have. Think of the abuse implicit in the power to appropriate—or withhold appropriations. Think of the potential abuse of the power of Congress to be judge of its own membership. Or we might even ask some of the Bricker amendment supporters to consider the abuse of the power of congressional investigations.

The executive powers, too, are subject to abuse—the power to pardon, for example, or to appoint to those offices not subject to confirmation, or to veto bills.

Even the judicial powers are subject to abuse—as President Roosevelt made clear in a series of messages back in 1937. The Supreme Court can, and does, declare unconstitutional laws which it subsequently finds entirely constitutional. Curiously, most of the stanch supporters of the Bricker amendment—the ardent spokesmen from the American Bar Association, for example—were not in 1937 zealous to plug up this loophole of constitutional abuse, but were hot on the other side.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis of the Bricker amendment, and this is, in any event, readily available elsewhere. We must, however, look briefly to 2 or 3 of its most offensive provisions.

The first section can be dismissed out of hand as irrelevant and superfluous, for clearly no provision of a treaty that violates the Constitution is law. The Constitution itself is clear on this, for it provides that only treaties made under the authority of the United States are law, and the United States has no authority to make a treaty that violates the Constitution any more than it has authority to make a law that violates the Constitution.

The heart of the amendment—the heart of darkness—is in the second clause, which, in turn, has two parts. The first provides in effect that a treaty which concerns internal affairs (what is the distinction between internal and external law, and who decides?) has to be reenacted by the Congress and the President before it can become law. This arrangement calmly shelves provisions carefully written into the Constitution after full discussion of the alternatives and vindicated by experience. It is worth recalling, in this connection, what Hamilton had to say about the wisdom of the "admission of the House of Representatives to a share in the formation of treaties:

"The fluctuating and, taking its future increase into account, the multitudinous composition of that body forbid us to expect in it those qualities which are essential to the proper execution of such a trust. Accurate and comprehensive knowledge of foreign policies; a steady and systematic adherence to the same views; a nice and uniform sensibility to national character; decision, secrecy, and dispatch are incompatible with the genius of a body so variable and so numerous. The very complication of the business, by introducing a necessity of the concurence of so many different bodies, would of itself afford a solid objection." (Federalist, No. 75.)

It is the complication of the business that is staggering to contemplate: reenactment by the Congress, and then by the legislatures of 48 States. And what after all, is to be gained by the complication aside from delays and confusion? Why trust the House if we are unwilling to trust the Senate? Why trust a simple majority in the Senate if we are unwilling to trust two-thirds of the Members to do the job? Why trust the President to approve what has been reenacted if we do not trust him to negotiate in the first place?

It is the second part of this section, however, that is most dangerous—the notorious "which" clause: a treaty is to be valid as internal law only through legislation "which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." What do these harmless-looking words mean? They mean that we are headed back to the conditions that existed during the Articles of Confederation—conditions which the Constitution was designed to end.

For this "which" clause is designed to paralyze the United States in the conduct of foreign relations. Most of the treaties that we negotiate deal, after all, with matters of internal law; that is, they deal with such prosaic but important, matters as residence, property, business activities, corporate rights, professional rights, taxation, debts, inheritance, and a hundred similar matters.

Congress ordinarily cannot legislate on these matters at all—they are the concern of the States. How, then, is the Government to protect American interests abroad, American citizens abroad? How is it to obtain fair treatment for its nationals overseas if it cannot guarantee reciprocal treatment for foreign nationals in America? Nor are these minor matters, or matters of detail. The treaty which conceded our independence and the Jay Treaty both addressed themselves to these matters; both would have been ruled out by the Bricker amendment.

Actually it is hard to believe that the proponents of the Bricker amendment are really exercised by possible violations of the Constitution through treaties. What they fear—so it appears from their statements and their propaganda—is first and foremost the United Nations and the various international organizations affiliated with it, the International Labor Organization, for example, or UNESCO or the technical assistance program or, worse yet, the Genocide Convention and, worst of all, the Covenant on Human Rights. Listen to Senator BRICKER himself, again he is discussing the amendment with Brownell.

"You say they have repudiated themselves at the present time, such as the Covenant of Human Rights, and many others, and yet in the future it might be that we will have another administration sometime I hope in the distant future that will get in this fuzzy field again of regulating the American people through treaty and giving some international organization a direct control in the philosophy of Jessup, Chaffee, and others, over the individual rights of the people of the United States, and with three Judges of the Supreme Court we may have an interpretation."

Insofar as this gibberish means anything it means that Senator BRICKER is alarmed about the possibility of adherence to the Covenant of Human Rights and about international organizations in general. So, too, Frank Halman of the American Bar Association, who has spearheaded the drive for the amendment. Those who oppose the amendment, he said, "belong to the school of thought that has now become so internationally minded that it believes world peace can be achieved by recognizing in the President unlimited power to give America away at the international conference table."

Eberhard Deutsch, another stalwart of the ABA, is even more specific: "The unquestionable objective of at least some of the opponents of constitutional limitation of that power," he says, "is early elimination of State and local political entities except as administrative agencies of the Nation, and eventual elimination of the Government of the United States except perhaps as an administrative agency of a supranational or world body politic."

Thus, like the fat boy of Pickwick Papers, they make our flesh creep. But it is only fair to add for comic relief the protest from Mrs. Enid Griswold of the National Economic Council. Mrs. Griswold heard, over the radio, of an incident in Africa. It seems that a mother of several children, having received medical aid from a United Nations group, asked that her children be served breakfast, too. This outrage is, in some obscure way, related to the present treaty-making power. Perhaps they had Trojan horsemeat for breakfast.

Whenever the proponents of the Bricker amendment kick up their heels, they show the cloven hoof of isolationism. They do not so much fear particular executive agreements as the power to make executive agreements. They do not so much fear for State sovereignty as they fear the exercise of national sovereignty.

They are the heirs of those who fought and defeated the League of Nations in 1920, of those who defeated the World Court in the midtwenties; of those who wrote the suicidal neutrality legislation in the midthirties; of those who counseled us to follow a policy of isolation and defeatism in the great crisis of 1939 and after. They are not genuinely concerned with the clarification of the conduct of foreign relations; they are concerned rather to prevent the United States from having any foreign relations.

Rarely has any seriously proposed amendment to the Constitution had so little to commend it and so much to damn it as has this Bricker amendment. It is designed to overthrow a fundamental arrangement in our constitutional system; it is designed to upset the traditional relationship between the executive and legislative departments; it is designed to impose isolationism upon us not by deliberate choice but by mechanical contrivance; it is designed to frustrate and paralyze the conduct of foreign relations. Let us recall once more the admonition of Chief Justice Marshall:

"Powerful and ingenious minds, taking as postulates that the powers expressly granted to the Government of the Union, are to be contracted into the narrowest possible compass, and that the original powers of the state are to be retained, if any possible construction will retain them, may, by a course of well-digested but refined and metaphysical reasoning, founded on these premises, explain away the Constitution of our country and leave it a magnificent structure indeed to look at but totally unfit for use."

Senator Young's Stand on the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter sent to the editors of Life magazine by an old friend of mine and former colleague in the Legislature of North Dakota.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

EKREN ACRES,
Kensal, N. Dak., January 22, 1954.

LIFE,
New York, N. Y.

SIRS: I like Life because it is so lucid, your photography has a way of telling the unvarnished truth. Not so, however, in the editorial wherein the wrong paint is used to picture Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, as a pussyfoot politican, a politician as such would tell 85 percent, that the 15 percent that are farmers make too much money. A forthright statesman like Senator YOUNG (the Abe Lincoln of the prairies) has the courage to tell a great President and the people that which is good for the whole Nation.

It was not Al Smith that set the stage for the election of the Democrats and the orgy, of giving away all our cash (including the farmer's) to foreign nations—instead of surplus farm commodities. It was Calvin Coolidge when he vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill; which would have saved the farmer's economy in time; that elected the Democrats.

MILT YOUNG acquired his wisdom for statesmanship by the experience, on a wheat farm during the terrible thirties. When wheat at 20 cents, and corn at 6, were used for stove fuel. The farms were bursting with food and fiber, but the people in our cities went starving; because they had no buying power, for lack of gainful employment. No employment because the farmers had no cash with which to buy industrial commodities or needed supplies.

The real picture today: Choice beef cows bring about a dime a pound net to the growers; as of 2 years ago 30 cents. A herd with a loan value then of $10,000; now down to about $3,000. Loans are being called or cut down. Interest paid by farmers 7 percent. Beginners wiped out or stalled. Industrial commodities like farming equipment and kitchen sinks, piling up at the retail dealers (send a cameraman out to take a picture). Remember, social security and unemployment taxes for others, are included in the purchase price on all the industrial commodities that the farmer buys. Nothing is saved for the farmer if outgo is higher than income. His cut of the national income percentagewise less now than in 1932.

The farmer is smart enough and patriotic enough to know that a wartime economy cannot go on forever. He is willing and satisfied to keep on working 20 hours a day, to make a peacetime economy work. He is willing to take $2 for $3 wheat, he is willing to take 15 cents, for 25 cent cows; but he cannot take 10 cents and exist. He is willing to scale down on his price all along the line, and has: but the Nation needs the farmer and his loyal wife. Do not push him down in a badger hole and cover him up with the silt of false propaganda, please do not picture him as a hoggish devil to the city housewives. Tell them what he actually receives for his cattle, sold by him in the utility stage. Only grain-fed steer prices are used by the Nation's press as propaganda, in all their criteria. Cripple the farmer's economy and you cripple the Nation; when this happens, even a statesman like MILTON R. YOUNG cannot save the party in power.

H. M. EKEEN.

Authorizing Help To Control the Level of Lake Michigan

SPEECH
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3300) to authorize the State of Illinois and the Sanitary District of Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army to help control the lake level of Lake Michigan by diverting water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway.

WATER DIVERSION AT CHICAGO SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I had hoped that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SHEEHAN] would have answered the legal question that is involved in this legislation. As I recall—and I may stand corrected—he was talking about decisions as far back as 1911. It is my contention that more recent decisions—1950—control this situation. The earlier decisions have been overruled by the later ones.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. In just a moment. I will yield after I complete my remarks.

Wisconsin is definitely opposed to this bill. In recent decisions, as late as 1950, the Supreme Court of the United States fixed the amount of water that can be diverted. I refer to the hearings on page 105 and quote the Attorney General of the State of Wisconsin. He said:

It is for this principal reason that the State of Wisconsin, along with the other Lake States, was compelled to initiate action in the Supreme Court of the United States, which after long and costly litigation resulted in the decree of April 21, 1930, which ordered the Sanitary District of Chicago to reduce its diversion to the present level of 1,500 cubic feet per second, plus domestic pumpage, which makes a total of 3,200 cubic feet per second (278 U. S. 367 (1929), 281 U. S. 179 (1930)).

We say that the Supreme Court has retained jurisdiction and it still retains jurisdiction. Now I want some proponent of this bill to tell this committee how we can overcome that decision, by any action that might be taken here today.

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman if he wants to speak on that question.

Mr. SHEEHAN. I understand the Supreme Court decision of 1930 contained two provisions: No. 1, that the water diversion be reduced to 1,000 cubic feet per second; No. 2, that the Sanitary District of Chicago complete all of their sewage facilities and then implied that they should return to Congress for further relief if needed.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Then we have the decision in 1950 which states that 1,500 feet shall be the limit. How can you overcome that? The gentleman does not answer.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Are you attempting to tell us that if conditions change the Supreme Court cannot change that level?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am telling you that the only relief you can get is by a petition to the Supreme Court of the United States, yes; you cannot get it by legislation.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. I think I will have difficulty in absorbing that statement.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. You will have difficulty in absorbing a lot of things.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. They have sent it back to Congress and it is before us now.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. But the court has not sent the matter back to us. The Sanitary District of Chicago is seeking relief.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to my distinguished friend from Illinois.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. May I say this to the gentleman from Wisconsin: The gentleman takes the position that the doors are closed and that the Supreme Court has actually and unequivocally settled the matter. If the position taken by the gentlemen from Wisconsin and Michigan is correct that the petition here is illegal, then why debate it?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman knows that the doors of the court are open at any time by petition, because the court has retained jurisdiction. If you can make a case upon petition no doubt there will be relief, but you cannot do it this way.

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Who says you cannot do it this way?

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Illinois should not be making the effort at this time to put Wisconsin and the neighboring States to the expense of going into court and protecting the rights they now have. That is what they are trying to do here.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. The gentleman said a moment ago I had difficulty in absorbing a lot of things. Is that due to the fact I have followed the gentleman for so many years?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. No; it is because of the water in the drainage canal.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. We want more water in the canal. I thought it was due to the sewage in the canal.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is not the argument I have been making. I am dealing with the legal question. The question is whether the Congress has the right at this time to pass the pending legislation in the face of that Supreme Court decision rendered in 1950. I say that we have no jurisdiction.

Mr. Chairman, I want to quote a paragraph from some testimony given by Mr. Gilbert R. Johnson, counsel, Lake Carriers' Association. Of course, the question of freight carrying is a very vital matter, a very vital issue, in this whole situation.

Mr. Gilbert Johnson states on page 112 of the hearings:

There is much that has been said over the years on the legal issue raised by any proposal that the Congress authorize a greater abstraction of the waters of the Great Lakes into the Mississippi River system than is permitted by the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States. It seems to me, however, that the issues are narrowed to two: (1) Whether or not the Congress has any right to authorize the diversion of the waters of the Great Lakes to another watershed; and (2) whether or not any additional diversion is permitted by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

It will be recalled that the decree of the Supreme Court was entered in the ancient controversy between the State of Illinois, acting through its creature, the Chicago Sanitary District, and the seven other States bordering on the Great Lakes. That controversy was settled by the court, exercising its equity jurisdiction conferred by the Constitution of the United States (*Wisconsin* v. *Illinois* (278 U. S. 367)). The decree was entered only after exhaustive consideration of the evidence and of the rights and conveniences of the States and the people of the Great Lakes area, and a determination of the amount of water which, under all the evidence and the law, may be abstracted from Lake Michigan by the State of Illinois. While the decree was originally entered on April 21, 1930, the decree has been reconsidered on several occasions on the application

of the State of Illinois. Even though the Congress had the power to destroy or modify the decree of the court, the Congress would be acting rashly and arbitrarily by taking action and it is unthinkable that the Congress would, under our constitutional system of the separation of powers, invade the field of the judiciary and nullify its work.

It is not, however, within the power of Congress to make such disposition as it wills of the waters of Lake Michigan. These waters belong to the people of all of the Great Lakes States (*Wisconsin* v. *Illinois*, supra). The United States has no proprietary interest in them (*Pollard* v. *Hagan* (3 How. (U. S.) 212); *Martin* v. *Waddell* (16 Pet. (U. S.) 367)). The use of those waters belongs to the people and may be rightfully claimed by them for purposes of navigation and commerce (*Barclay* v. *Howell* (6 Pet. (U. S.) 498, 511)). In the regulation of commerce it is the obligation and responsibility of the United States to preserve those waters to all our people for purposes of navigation and commerce upon the Great Lakes (*Sanitary District* v. *U. S.* (266 U. S. 405); *Wisconsin* v. *Illinois*, supra). Ruling in 1913 on an application of the sanitary district for an increase in the amount of water permitted to be diverted, the late Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of War, held that he had no authority under the River and Harbor Act of 1899 to permit any diversion from Lake Michigan for the purpose of flushing sewage down the Illinois Waterway. In *Wisconsin* v. *Illinois*, supra, the Supreme Court held that the Federal Government was without power to authorize any diversion for uses outside the Great Lakes and that the power of the Federal Government was limited to the maintenance and preservation of the waters of the Great Lakes for purposes of navigation and commerce on those waters by the people of the Great Lakes States.

The abstraction of water proposed by these measures is not a regulation of commerce and navigation on the Great Lakes. The lowering of the water levels is designed to provide enjoyment of those waters to persons outside the Great Lakes and to give relief along the Great Lakes to owners of property not used directly in commerce or navigation. The increase in the flow from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway would bear no relationship to the regulation of such commerce. The real fact is that all of these measures would interfere with and be harmful to Great Lakes commerce and navigation and deprive the people of the Great Lakes States of the use and enjoyment of those waters in their natural state. The Congress may not, and should not, set in motion any action which would impair the advantages in commerce and navigation in the use of the waters of the Great Lakes in their natural state.

The United States is obligated under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 to preserve the waters of the Great Lakes for uses of commerce and navigation. By that treaty the United States and Canada agreed with each other that the waters should be so preserved and that there would be no greater diversions than those then authorized except those necessary in the ordinary use of the waters by riparian owners, by either country unless the other agreed. In *Sanitary District* v. *United States*, supra, the Supreme Court held that the United States was under a duty by that treaty to prevent the State of Illinois from abstracting more water than was permitted by the treaty. If the Congress should enact any of these measures, it would violate a solemn treaty obligation and offend the people of Canada.

Mr. Chairman, if this bill is finally passed, it will mean that the State of Wisconsin will undoubtedly seek relief in the courts again. I urge that the bill be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Support for the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a worthy editorial appearing in the Lenoir County News, of Kinston, N. C., under date of January 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMEN, BROTHER REUTHER, AMEN

Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers' Association, has released a statement condemning what he calls the effort of Agriculture Secretary Benson to split the city people and farm people on the specific subject of farm subsidies. To this, we add out loud. Amen.

Reuther quite correctly points out that the subsidies "handed out" to farmers are a tiny fraction compared with the direct and indirect subsidies that have been and are still being passed out to those very segments of our economy which look with alarm on the farm program of the past 20 years.

Postmaster General Summerfield, in a release this week, points out, "Since 1938 through the fiscal year 1952 the losses on second-class mail with magazines comprising 68 percent of the total, were $2,127,000,000. In contrast we are told, published statements indicate this sum is over twice the realized losses of $1,049,000,000 in the price-support program given to the farmers of the country by the Commodity Credit Corporation."

Yet the magazines and newspapers of this country, with rare exception, have denounced the price-support program in every conceivable manner, while a handful, relatively speaking, representing the publications industry has received twice as much as the entire farm population of the Nation in direct Federal subsidy.

Reuther knows, and the entire American public ought to know, that the common bond between the farm and factory laborer; between the average man on the farm and the average man in the city is the most vital factor in the continued well-being of this country.

If the direct and indirect subsidies granted to business other than farming were published, including all of the tax-amortization grants, the figure would stagger even the American imagination.

If as Secretary Benson suggests, the 140 million city dwellers, rise up in righteous indignation over farm subsidies we wonder what these 140 million might feel if they knew the scope—hidden scope—of the direct and indirect subsidies granted to the top 2 percent of the industries of this Nation.

We continually despise any man, politician, newspaperman, or corporation president, who would attempt to divide the people of this Nation. Benjamin Franklin, speaking of a few, spoke an eternal truth that is applicable today to the whole American population. "We hang together, or we may hang separately."

The selfish attitude of some Americans—too many we're afraid—might be summed up with: If the Government helps me and my business, that is enlightened capitalism; but if Government helps another fellow and his business that is wasteful socialism.

LIFE LEERS

Life, the house-organ of the Republican Party, says in last week's issue that "There are a lot more consumers than farmers in America, and they know all about the farm mess that your (Senator YOUNG, of North Dakota) kind of thinking has created."

Senator YOUNG had spoken against the Republican farm program which calls for less and less of the consumer's dollar for the farmer.

Because YOUNG stood in the path of the great white elephant, YOUNG was propped up in such dubious company as the late Bilbo.

Life, with its appetite for power, might reflect that it, with its mass circulation, money, and methods is far more powerful in the present scheme of political things than any single journal ever has been in America before.

By the same token Life might also recognize that fewer farmers contributing more to the national economy have and some day may be forced to exercise more power than they ever did when they were in a numerical majority.

The mess Life refers to has created the richest people ever known in the history of the world. The farmer has not been alone in his prosperity. The cost, over a 20-year period of the farm program, is fractional when set beside our annual expenditure for arms. The burdensome surpluses that Life makes much fun about would seem stupidly inadequate in time of a grave national calamity.

We respectfully refer Life, and all who agree with it, to the Bible and its account of Joseph in Egypt. Such seasons of famine could come again to a world that is toying with the infinite sources of power and destruction.

Communism in Labor Organizations—Television Writers of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, in connection with investigations now being conducted by a task force of the Senate Internal Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, on the question of communism in labor organizations, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting article which appeared in the January issue of Variety magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTH AMENDMENT ROCKS TWA as 10 EASTERNERS FOLLOW PREXY'S EXODUS

A difference in view on employment of the fifth amendment brought the smoldering fight on related issues between Television Writers of America on both coasts to eruptive proportions last week when Irve Tunick,

prexy of the Eastern Region, bolted the group, followed by the ankling of 10 members of the executive board. The immediate reason for the wholesale exodus was the retention of the Western Region's executive secretary, Joan La Cour, after she had used the self-incrimination clause in refusing to testify before a House committee in Los Angeles last month.

It's the contention of Tunick and the other dissidents that Miss La Cour embarrassed TWA by appearing before the Un-American Activities Committee as a TWA member instead of as an individual, and that the coast's failure to discipline or fire her was illogical in that she is not a scripter to begin with and thus has no standing in the TWA professionally.

The break stemmed from a series of events starting early in December, when the eastern group's executive board adopted a resolution that the western TWA obtain a statement from Miss La Cour correcting the erroneous impression carried in the press that she deliberately avoided service of a House committee subpena. After she stood on the fifth amendment, the Tunick group requested her immediate resignation in a wire to Hugh Wedlock, Jr., the then regional prexy (he resigned for reasons not connected with the issue and Ben Starr was moved into the office). A simultaneous wire was sent to national prexy, Arthur Stander, on the coast asking that a meeting of the national board be called pursuant to the constitution to consider the case.

NOT A NATIONAL ISSUE

Although Tunick said that such a meeting was mandatory under the constitution, Stander's reply took a different view, with a decision to place the question before the national membership instead. Stander said that such a referendum will decide the issue and "until this action results in a decision that is unacceptable to the eastern region, it is not a national issue." The issue, he said, is not one of dismissal of a paid employee but of a principle. A resolution by the western TWA supported this stand against hints of wholesale resignations by the easterners.

About a week later, Tunick informed Starr that the eastern council considered Miss La Cour's retention as seriously endangering then current contract negotiations and general standing with the networks, ad agencies, and the general public, plus members of the writing profession, and that the networks, "although legally obligated to continue negotiations, will engage in delaying tactics until TWA's certification is ended." It was further pointed out that Miss La Cour's continuance made the union's position untenable and the livelihood of its members jeopardized in areas both economic and political.

Starr's reply was that western members voted 72.6 percent to retain the executive secretary, urged abandonment of easterners' threat to ankle and suggested calling of a membership meeting on January 25 when the national prexy would address the group. Tunick then resigned as prexy and member with the statement that the individual or philosophical convictions of a paid employee involves TWA in an area not properly a union concern. A majority of the East's executive board followed suit. They were Robert Alan Aurthur, Matt Brooks, David Harmon, Elwood Hoffman, Bruce Marcus, Lawrence Marks, Robert Mason Pollock, David Shaw, Alvin Sapinsley, and Halsted Welles. Hector Chevigny quit the board but not the union, and Howard W. Cosell, eastern attorney, withdrew as counsel. Chevigny exited Radio Writers Guild, which he headed, a few months ago to put in with TWA. About half a dozen board members remain, with Ira Marion as regular and the others as alternates. Negotiations with the nets on a contract are going ahead under the East's three-way principle of exclusivity, rights, and money. Meantime, Murry Karmiller has been installed as president.

SWG STATUS?

Over the weekend, despite a statement by the western group that Miss La Cour had sworn to its board that she had never been a member of the Communist Party, a high Screen Writers Guild source on the coast said SWG will never associate itself with TWA as long as she is retained. That statement came after disclosure that TWA and RWG were to meet this week to discuss possibility of one overall writers union. Since SWG is considered the key to a union embracing pix, radio and TV, the declaration is particularly significant.

RWG, which has been discussing a merger with SWG for months, has overturned TWA on a pitch for exploratory talks leading to a combine. But the SWG source retorted "there are important elements in SWG who would never countenance any association with TWA as long as their current concept of world affairs is so naive as to allow continued employment" of Miss La Cour, "who refused to answer inquiries before a legally constituted congressional investigating committee." Talks beginning today (Wednesday) hadn't yet been approved by the RWG council.

TWA leaders on the coast feel that the proposed amalgamation would not be under an Authors League of umbrella. Asked if TWA was interested in SWG's proposed Authors League West, a TWA spokesman said the group doesn't care what name the merged union would have and is mainly interested in the objective.

REALISM VERSUS IDEALISM

HOLLYWOOD, January 19.—A bloc of TWA members, including its first prexy and some founders of the union, have exited following what one of the exitees described as "a battle between realism and idealism." First exodus began about 2 months ago, when TWA membership refused to adopt a constitutional amendment embracing a loyalty oath for all members, instead confined it to officers and the board. Second flow of departures followed membership's vote to keep exec secretary Joan La Cour on the job, after she had refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Among those leaving TWA are Charles Isaacs, first prexy of the group; Jess Oppenheimer, also one of the founders and its first vice president; John Murray, who had been a second vice president; Ben Freedman, who had served on the board; Jack Douglas and Mannie Manheim.

Those who have ankled have not overtured the Screen Writers Guild because, according to one, they don't feel SWG is representative of network TV writers. This same source pointed out if the nets ink a pact with TWA (negotiations are currently on), those who left will be forced to return to the fold in order to stay on the job. Feeling on the part of the ankling writers is that the ideal solution lies in SWG's long-proposed Authors League West which would embrace one overall writers' union for pix, TV, and radio. Many of the ex-TWAites feel that such an amalgamation, which they hope would include TWA, and also would not be within the orbit of Authors League of America, would succeed in solving the ills which currently beset TWA.

Factional split within TWA has been apparent since last fall, when the board first discussed the amendment requiring members to take a loyalty oath. It was immediately apparent some on the board favored the all-embracing oath which would apply to all members; the other faction, however, wanted it kept to officers and board members. As a result, the issue was taken to the members, who voted for the more limited oath.

National Rural Electric Association Rebukes Assistant Secretary of the Interior and Fights Department's Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article appearing in the February 1954 issue of Public Power, the official publication of the American Public Power Association.

The article entitled "NRECA Rebukes Aandahl, Fights Policies" follows:

NRECA REBUKES AANDAHL, FIGHTS POLICIES

United and aroused by an administration official's attack on their leadership, delegates to the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association's 12th annual convention in Miami, Fla., last month unanimously adopted resolutions condemning the Department of the Interior's new power policy and Missouri Basin power marketing criteria and pledging "every effort to defeat this attempt to cripple our fine program."

Assistant Secretary of the Interior Fred G. Aandahl, addressing a power supply session of the convention, lashed out at a statement made by NRECA Executive Manager Clyde T. Ellis and warned, "I am deeply disturbed when I see those who even at this early stage are crusaders for a Federal power monopoly try to use the rural electric cooperatives and their associations to foster Federal monopoly." The unprecedented attack by the Federal official brought an immediate answer by Mr. Ellis and a sharp rebuke from the convention which unanimously adopted a resolution declaring "we resent and will vigorously oppose Mr. Aandahl or any other person or persons who attempt by such charges to regulate our thinking, to divide our interests, and destroy our unity."

Another resolution adopted without opposition on the final day of the convention accused the Interior spokesman of quoting Mr. Ellis out of context and voiced the convention's "undivided support" for the NRECA executive manager.

NO MONOPOLY

Speaking from the convention floor, Mr. Ellis told Secretary Aandahl: "I know of no one who advocates a Federal monopoly in the power business." Mr. Ellis was enthusiastically applauded by the delegates when he added: "We don't want to see a private monopoly, either."

The 4-day Miami convention attracted a record crowd of more than 5,000 persons. J. E. Smith, manager, Mecklenburg Electric Cooperative, Chase City, Va., was elected president of the association, succeeding Clyde H. Seybold, Rockville, Ind. John M. George, Lewiston, Idaho, was elected vice president and T. E. Craddock, Seymour, Tex., was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

Mr. Aandahl, attacking what he described as a trend toward Federal monopoly in the electric power business, also assailed the Tennessee Valley Authority. "We know that the Tennessee Valley is just about completely federalized," he declared. "This very apparent trend unless stopped could do the same thing in Interior's four power marketing agency areas. That trend is not in the best interest of the American people," he said. A resolution adopted without dissent by the delegates lauded TVA and asked that continued appropriations be made to supplement, advance, and continue this great development of our natural resources.

Under questioning by delegates, Secretary Aandahl said that the Department of the Interior expects to announce a tentative decision on the contract proposal of the Georgia Power Co. for bus-bar purchase of power from the Clark Hill Dam on the Savannah River. The tentative decision would be subject to discussion, it was explained.

The Georgia Electric Membership Corp., consisting of 37 distribution co-ops in Georgia, opposes the contract, and Ellis Arnall, former Governor of Georgia and counsel for the co-ops, drew cheers from the delegates when he promised Interior a battle royal if the Department accepts the company's plan. Describing the preference in Federal law to public bodies and cooperatives in the marketing of Federal power as a self-protection clause, former Governor Arnall declared that this provision is under direct attack in the Georgia contract dispute. The convention unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the co-ops' position and opposing bus-bar sale to the private power company.

NELSEN SUPPORTS GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION

Adopting a more friendly approach than Secretary Aandahl, Administrator Ancher Nelsen, of the Rural Electrification Administration, received an enthusiastic reception when he urged continuance of REA's generation and transmission program. "Preservation of this authority is essential in order to safeguard the bargaining power of REA's borrowers," he told the convention.

Mr. Nelsen also appealed for "a rational approach to the problem of power," and said, "Great benefits could be accomplish by power supply committees set up in each State or area working toward sound and proper objectives through an industrywide approach."

Two United States Senators—WAYNE MORSE, Independent, of Oregon, and BURNET R. MAYBANK, Democrat, of South Carolina—sharply attacked the Administration's new policies, while Representative HAROLD O. LOVRE, Republican, of South Dakota, said that fears concerning the effects of the new policies have been greatly distorted.

"After the smoke of battle has cleared, I'm sure that we'll find that most of the supposed wrongs were imaginary," Representative LOVRE assured the delegates.

Senator MORSE denounced Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay's statement of power policy as "a masterpiece of private utility propaganda," and accused the Administration of "shocking favoritism to private utilities." Declaring that an "administration and utility attack upon orderly and progressive resource development is being made in every part of the country," Senator MORSE said, "In every area the little people are fighting back."

"These battles can be won," he declared, adding, "Your national and local organizations are doing an invaluable job."

STICK TO YOUR GUNS

Describing the Missouri Basin marketing criteria as a giveaway of the people's energy resources and an abrogation of preference rights, Senator MAYBANK advised the rural electric co-ops, "Stick to your guns."

"Don't give up a kilowatt and don't leave yourself at the mercy of any public officer or his discretion where your clear legal rights are concerned, whether this Administrator be an upright Republican or Democrat, or a creeping form of either."

The power-policy resolution adopted by the convention charged that the new policies and criteria strike at the heart of the rural-electrification program in every State where the rural-electric systems now purchase, or expect to purchase in the future, federally generated power. It asked Secretary McKay to withdraw immediately the policy and marketing criteria and to make no changes in established power policies affecting our rural systems without prior consultation with the representatives of the rural systems, chosen by them for that purpose.

Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, a member of the Joint Congressional Comittee on Atomic Energy, called proposed legislation for private company atomic power a giveaway. Instead of passing legislation for private atomic power, he said Congress should give priority to making possible the international atomic agency proposed recently by President Eisenhower.

There is a compelling urgency about concerted efforts for peace; no compelling urgency about authorizing Consolidated Edison or Monsanto Chemical to own an atomic reactor.

Reporting on public hearings before the joint congressional committee, Representative HOLIFIELD said that all private-industry spokesmen wanted atomic power, but that it was evident that their zeal for changing the Atomic Energy Act far outran their readiness to put investment money down on the line.

"Of all the great companies, not one would put money on the line unless they'd get it all back through rapid amortization or selling plutonium to the Government," he told the convention.

The delegates adopted a resolution opposing any change in the Atomic Energy Act to permit private atomic powerplants at this time.

A member of the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of Government, Representative HOLIFIELD declared that the Commission's task force on water and power resources is loaded against public power.

He advised NRECA to demand public hearings by the task force on water and power resources or by the Commission itself in order to have your views fully documented on the record and to bring greater public awareness of the issues at stake. A resolution approved by the convention urged that public-power representatives he included on the task force and asked for public hearings.

American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, among the most pressing problems confronting the Nation is that of insuring the maintenance of an adequate merchant marine, so essential to the country's needs in time of peace, as well as in war. One of the methods adopted to assist in the proper utilization of our merchant fleet has been the requirement that a modest proportion of shipments, financed by American taxpayers, be transported in ships carrying the American flag. While it is difficult to understand how anyone could oppose such a mandatory provision, the recent report of the Randall Commission was disturbing in its suggestion that these provisions be repealed. I was, therefore, highly gratified to note the editorial recently published in the Baltimore News-Post demanding the continuance of the use of American ships, and deploring the undue preference shown to foreign competitors. In order that our colleagues as well as the entire country should have the opportunity to note the contents of this editorial, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Rubbing It In," published in the Baltimore News-Post of January 29, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUBBING IT IN

Legislation now before Congress would provide, if finally approved, that 50 percent of all cargoes shipped abroad for which the American Government has put up the money must be carried in American ships.

This is eminently sensible, since America is going to pay the tab for transportation as well as for the goods and it is only fair that American shipping lines should get the benefit.

Not only the owners of the American ships carrying those cargoes would benefit, but the crews and other maritime workers would get the jobs and wages thus created.

It has always seemed to the Hearst newspapers that it was rubbing it in to have American taxpayers foot the bill for merchandise intended for foreign relief and rehabilitation, and then to pay foreign shipping lines to deliver the goods.

If there is any profit to be made out of the transportation phase of these unprofitable enterprises, it would accrue more fairly and certainly more wisely to American maritime operators and workers than to their foreign competitors.

Gift Packages to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced House Resolution 422, condemning the action of the Soviet regime in Poland in taxing gift packages from the United States.

I have noted that a Member of the other body, likewise protesting this situation, has called for a flat embargo on imports from Poland. Such action would certainly do great harm to innocent people because, as pointed out in the editorial which follows—

The greatest tragedy is that there is little or nothing we can do about it. Senator DOUGLAS' proposal to boycott Polish goods would not mean much, because we buy very little of them as it is. Closing down the New York firm might shut off the last channel through which gift packages can be sent, leaving the recipients worse off than before.

I am certain that House action upon my resolution will effectively tell the world about this brutal shakedown. It is certain to show up the Reds in their true color.

The editorial from the February 4 edition of the Washington Daily News follows:

One of the cruelest forms of Communist oppression is pointed up by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, is calling for a flat embargo on imports from Poland.

That Communist Nation, where many Americans have relatives, recently has im-

posed such high taxes on gift packages from abroad as to make it impossible to mail them any longer. The Senator says the new tax on a pair of shoes is $37.50, for instance, and on a pound of coffee $25.

Americans can send gift packages to which the taxes do not apply, however, by buying them from a New York firm. The goods actually are bought in Poland, which enables the Polish Government to get the dollars.

Poland can use dollars to finance Red activities here or to buy goods Poland wants.

Generous Polish-Americans, who have been sending 100,00 packages a month to Poland, thus are left with a terrible choice. Though the needs of their friends and relatives in the old country are as great as ever, they can be helped only by channeling dollars to the Red Government.

This is not the first time this sort of blackmail has occurred. Attempts by the Red Chinese Government to extort dollars from American-Chinese shocked the Nation.

The greatest tragedy is that there is little or nothing we can do about it. Senator DOUGLAS' proposal to boycott Polish goods would not mean much, because we buy very little of them as it is.

Closing down the New York firm might shut off the last channel through which gift packages can be sent, leaving the recipients worse off than before.

Our Government should protest this brutal shakedown, however, and tell the world about it. That might at least remind people of the cruelty the Reds demonstrate when they attain power.

Corporal Dickenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I offer for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the Shreveport (La.) Times, issue of January 23, 1954, in reference to Cpl. Sam Dickenson and other former prisioners in Korea who turned their backs upon their homeland:

CRACK DOWN ON THESE TURNCOATS

Any thought that Cpl. Sam Dickenson is persecuted by his country through court-martial charges brought by Army authorities for intercourse with the enemy and seeking favors from the enemy to the detriment of other American prisoners of war, should be abandoned quickly as mere maudlin sentimentality.

Dickenson was one of the American POW's who elected originally to remain with the Communists. He changed his mind and came back to his home at Crackers Neck, Va., where he was married and was given somewhat of a hero's welcome.

That was absurd.

The very best treatment that should have been accorded him would have involved no more than ignoring him completely and letting him go on his own way.

Dickenson and the American prisoners who refused repatriation, and the 36 airmen who signed lying confessions to having conducted germ warfare against the North Koreans and Chinese Reds, undoubtedly were on a spot. They were subjected to a war-of-nerves type of questioning—almost endless questioning—and to other forms of hardships.

But so were literally thousands and thousands of other Americans taken prisoners by the Reds and these thousands and thousands did not turn soft and give in to their captors.

To look upon these thousands of Americans on one side, and the 4 or 5 dozen who became turncoats, on the other side, as one and the same and entitled to the same consideration and respect and treatment here at home is absurd.

Dickenson, according to the Army charges, endangered his fellow prisoners, his fellow Americans, and brought hardship to them.

In addition, he and those of his kind offered an example that could have been destructive to morale of American troops still facing death every minute of every day at the hands of the captors of Dickenson and his group.

Each of these men who became a turncoat and betrayed his own buddies, both in prison and still in the front lines, should be brought to trial for his offenses.

Each case should be judged separately and on its own facts, without relation to the cases of others. Where there is genuine guilt, genuine punishment should be administered if possible.

It is only in this way that the Armed Forces can maintain discipline and it is only by maintaining discipline that the Armed Forces can maintain their efficiency in combat and thus fulfill their job of maintaining the security of the Nation and all of its 150 million people.

To say that Dickenson should be absolved because he changed his mind and came back home is like saying that a hit-and-run driver who has killed a person should be absolved if he finally changes his mind and comes back to the scene of the death and surrenders to the police.

The crimes alleged against Dickenson are not refusing repatriation. They are violation of the military code through intercourse with the enemy and through betrayal of his fellow soldiers.

Let's face the facts in these cases, regrettable as they may be, and avoid maudlin sentimentality and unworthy softness of heart.

Competitive Bidding in Utility Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I am making public a letter which I have written to Ralph H. Demmler, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, expressing my concern over a proposal to eliminate competitive bidding in a large area of public utility financing. This proposal is of vital concern to the public because its adoption would mean the elimination of competition in a field which ultimately affects every citizen.

In 1941 the Securities and Exchange Commission, under the Wheeler-Rayburn Act, also known as the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, adopted a rule which required, with some exceptions, competitive bidding in the sale and issuance of securities by holding companies and utilities subject to the act. This rule, known as rule U–50, was issued after lengthy hearings, at which time the Commission considered many of the abuses caused by the absence of arms-length bargaining between investment bankers and the utility borrowers. Despite the vigorous opposition of the large Wall Street banking houses, the rule was adopted, and has been in operation ever since. The annual reports made to Congress by the Securities and Exchange Commission have praised the results of competitive bidding. It is clear from these reports that competition has eliminated many of the abuses and has importantly benefited the consumer.

I am puzzled by the Commission's present proposal to eliminate competitive bidding over a wide area now covered by rule U–50. I feel that every Member of Congress shares my view that any party proposing to eliminate competition in an area so vital to our welfare has the burden of showing why it is in the public interest to do so. This is particularly true in the present situation, when the experience of over a decade has uniformly demonstrated that competitive bidding is in the public interest.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent to have the letter to which I have referred printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 2, 1954.

Mr. RALPH H. DEMMLER,
Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DEMMLER: This concerns the Securities and Exchange Commission proposal to amend rule U–50 which requires with certain exceptions competitive bidding for the purchase or underwriting of securities issued or sold by registered holding companies and subsidiary companies. I note that by Holding Company Act release No. 12314 that the Commission has determined to hold a public hearing in order that interested persons may have further opportunity to express themselves on the question of whether such an amendment which would eliminate competitive bidding over a wide area should be adopted.

As I recall, the annual reports of the Securities and Exchange Commission to the Congress since 1941 when rule U–50 was adopted have uniformly described the results of competitive bidding as beneficial. They also state that experience demonstrated its workability and effectiveness in maintaining competitive conditions in the marketing of securities and in achieving minimum costs in the procurement of capital. In view of the apparent marked success of rule U–50 over the years in carrying out the purposes of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, I would appreciate knowing whether the proposal to amend rule U–50 originated outside the Securities and Exchange Commission or whether it is a proposal which the Securities and Exchange Commission itself initiated.

If the proposed amendment originated outside the Securities and Exchange Commission then I would appreciate knowing further the reasons given in support of such a proposal which were sufficiently convincing to the Commission to warrant it to propose amending the rule. If, on the other hand, the proposal to amend the rule was generated within the Commission I would appreciate knowing what considerations led the Commission to make such a proposal.

In providing me with this information I hope you will explain to me why the Securities and Exchange Commission deems it in the public interest to entertain such a proposal.

I would appreciate an early response from you.

Very truly yours,

HENRY M. JACKSON,
United States Senator.

A Letter to a Postal Worker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from a postal worker residing in my district in which he describes the economic struggle of those employed in the postal system. He pleads for an increase in salary rates and for early action on the bill, H. R. 2344, now pending before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I have sent him the following reply:

Mr. CHARLES TANENBAUM,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR CHARLIE: I am in receipt of your recent letter concerning H. R. 2344, the bill which provides for an increase in the salaries of postal workers. As you know, this bill was referred to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which has scheduled a series of hearings on the measure beginning on February 8, 1954.

As in the past, I shall again be glad to inform the committee of my views in the matter and will urge full support and prompt favorable action on the measure. I have always maintained that the salaries of these employed in our postal service have never been adequately adjusted to meet the high cost of living since the end of World War II. I am even more so convinced of this fact today. Postal employees are a hard-working, conscientious, and loyal group and they deserve due consideration.

Last July, a few weeks before the 1953 session of Congress had ended, I made a last-minute frantic appeal in the House of Representatives to take immediate action to approve salary increases for postal workers. I called the attention of my colleagues in Congress to two very important facts:

1. That long before the Government inserted no-strike provisions in laws affecting Federal employees, the postal workers had voluntarily given up all rights to engage in strikes—which is labor's most effective weapon.

2. That postal workers and other Government employees are prohibited from engaging in political activity in order to improve their situation.

I also stressed the fact that on their present rate of salaries postal workers are having a difficult time to cope with the high cost of living, which had reached an all-time in 1953 and was still moving upward. I cited statistics to illustrate the plight of postal employees, stating that 75 percent are forced to supplement their income by taking on a second job or through the employment of their wives, and that many postal workers have incurred increased debts and numerout others are forced to borrow on their insurance.

Let me cite to you my concluding remarks on that occasion:

"There is no logical reason for Congress to tolerate such a situation. These postal employees deserve a fair and adequate remuneration for the services they perform. They should not be placed in a position where they are forced to take on additional jobs to be able to meet the high cost of living, or to have to borrow on their insurance or when their wives are compelled to seek employment.

"Action today is worth more than all the promises for tomorrow. It is still not too late, if there is a real and earnest will to remedy the situation."

The rest is history—and history records that nothing had been done in the matter during the remainder of that session. Now we are at the start of a new congressional session, and while it is still too early to size up the prospects for favorable action, I am hopeful that the long-awaited and overdue salary increase will soon be approved.

I want to take this opportunity to assure you and every one in the postal service that my efforts in that direction will remain unabated. I want them to know that I am, always have been, and always will be a good friend of the postal worker. I want them to feel free to get in touch with me at all times concerning their problems. And, finally, I want to reassure them concerning my cooperation and my full support in their efforts.

Sincerely,

LOUIS B. HELLER,
Member of Congress.

President Sends Greetings to Fellow Republicans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the following telegram that I received today from President Dwight D. Eisenhower:

The Honorable LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

I hope that you will give my personal greetings to our fellow Republicans and other citizens who have gathered on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and the centennial of the Republican Party.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Development of Atomic Power for Commercial Uses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address delivered by me before the National Industrial Conference Board's second annual conference on atomic-energy industry, October 29, 1953:

It is a pleasure for me to join you tonight and discuss with you some of the problems confronting not only us but the entire free world as a result of the recent and most important development thus far in the second decade of the atomic era: the successful hydrogen test by the Soviets on August 12, which was achieved much sooner than most of us had believed possible.

That achievement by the Russians requires us to focus our attention on an analysis of our own national policy toward development, use, and control of atomic and thermonuclear energy and the effect of that national policy upon our position in world affairs.

The fact that the Soviets have achieved a thermonuclear reaction means that they have progressed to an advanced stage of the nuclear art and may have within their power the capacity not only to match our own efforts, but even possibly to outstrip us. Such a sobering thought serves to highlight the urgency with which we must undertake a serious assessment of national policy.

History can help us in this analysis. No nation has ever been able to resist effectively an external aggression dedicated to its destruction when the aggressor nation had both a superior offensive strength and the ability to penetrate and cripple the defenses of the victim. Similarly, no nation has ever successfully protected itself solely through defensive measures, no matter how superior they may have been. An aggressor is deterred first and foremost by the threat of devastating and inescapable retaliation. Given a Soviet atomic and thermonuclear capability, it can be accepted that to survive we must be overwhelmingly stronger in our ability to retaliate with atomic and thermonuclear weapons, but we must also be sufficiently strong in our defenses to thwart a crippling blow against us. These points are basic to any consideration of atomic energy today.

Some of you are probably wondering why I have started a discussion of atomic power by talking about Soviet H-bombs, and your uneasiness is a natural reaction to the discordant and unexpected overture which the Soviets have written for the second decade of atomic energy. If this second decade of atomic energy is different from what we all hope and work and pray for—a decade in which atomic energy will bring blessings to all freemen—then we must place the onus for the change upon the evil men in the Kremlin. It is these men who have forced us to devote the bulk of our vast expenditures on atomic energy to military applications. In the firm belief that our nuclear weapons stockpile is our best defense today, and in the firm belief that peace will be maintained so long as we remain strong, we have already committed ourselves to spend several billion more. We can take pride in our accomplishments of the past, but the competition has changed. We must hasten to complete a military structure, both offensive and defensive, keyed to the use of atomic and hydrogen energy, and even augment it, if we are to have an adequate shield against the storms of dedicated Communist aggression.

But an atomic or hydogen arms race which leads to a balance of terror—to two armed camps sitting in uneasy watchfulness—is not my idea of how ultimate victory in peace will come, if by peace we mean more than the absence of war. Do not misunderstand me—I said earlier that overwhelming strength and adequate defenses and countermeasures are absolutely necessary to our national survival. Yet, even they are not enough to bring a degree of genuine peace to the world. We must replace the gnawing emptiness of fear which contemplation of atomic or hydrogen war between the Soviets and the free world brings to our souls with something more substantial, something that will offer some ray of hope to the world and nourish the good will among peoples upon which real peace will rest.

At the opening of the atomic power hearings before the joint committee last June, Senator HICKENLOOPER and I issued a joint statement from which I would like to quote briefly:

"It is not enough that * * * (our $7 billion) * * * expenditure has brought us the very essential of military defense in the form of our atomic weapon stockpile. We must do more—we must show ourselves and the world that the industrial vigor of America continues to lead the way to a decent standard of living today, tomorrow, and always for us and for our friends. Not to do so would be proof of suicidal folly."

I still believe that in all sincerity. Whatever may be the outcome of the current debate over balanced budgets and expanding offense and defense ability, for my own part, I believe that development of atomic power rates top attention.

There is already an indication of the warm interest and intent of the Congress in atomic power development. Last June, the chairman of the joint committee, with the knowledge and apparent approval of the members, jointly sponsored with the House Appropriations Committee an authorization for the start of a full-scale atomic powerplant this year—and this was done entirely on their own initiative. Although the President's budget contained no provision for such a project, the Congress gave its wholehearted support to the proposal initiated by the two committees. Last week, Commissioner Murray announced that this project is going forward. It is gratifying to see the Atomic Energy Commission moving so swiftly in carrying out the will of the Congress and I commend them for the vigor of their effort in this direction.

At this point it might be well for me to digress for a moment and take note of an item that recently appeared in the public press to the effect that court action by a self-named "Uranium Industry Association" is about to be launched in order to prevent the Atomic Energy Commission from carrying out its plans for the construction of this reactor for civilian power. To the unknowing person this announcement undoubtedly created the appearance that there was some substantial disagreement in the scientific or industrial field over the current plans of the Congress and the Commission. The fact is that so far as I am aware there is no disagreement. On the contrary there exists substantial unanimity. This conclusion is verified by my efforts to learn just who and what is the Uranium Industry Association. Preliminary inquiry disclosed that no person, agency, or association informed on atomic matters had ever heard of the Uranium Industry Association. Eventually, I learned that this association was organized on October 1 of this year by an individual, his wife, another man, and others. According to its charter, the purposes of the association are to prevent further withdrawal of lands from the public domain; to discontinue the purchase of uranium from foreign sources; and to encourage private development of atomic power by private industry.

Let me use this occasion to assure these uninformed persons that not only is the decision of the Commission entirely legal in all respects, but it is also founded upon good, sound judgment and has the complete support of science, industry, and Congress.

But back to more consequential matters. To my way of thinking, nothing would be more devastating to our national prestige than an annoucement by the Kremlin that the Soviets had developed peacetime atomic power and were prepared to share that development with their friends and allies. Such an action by the Kremlin would strike at the very roots of the unity of the free world—the belief that man's abilities, under freedom and God, will be brought to solve the problems of want and hunger in men everywhere. Where would all our atomic and hydrogen bombs measure in the judgment of poor and hungry people of the world against the offer by the Kremlin of abundant nuclear power for productive purposes? I have no doubt but that many countries would be sorely tempted to desert the ranks of the free world in order to take advantage of materialistic improvements within their borders.

The Atomic Energy Commission has publicly encouraged private development of atomic power in addition to beginning, under the congressional authorization to which I have referred, the construction of a full-scale demonstration atomic powerplant. But even this is not enough—civilian atomic powerplants by private enterprise should by no means be ruled out of consideration. Some very ambitious projects are already being discussed by industry. Others hold promise of actual implementation just as soon as the law is modified to permit private development. It is my intention in January to introduce legislation—in cooperation with the Commission and the administration—to the end that private development of atomic power may go forward. It is my confident expectation that the joint committee will hold comprehensive hearings on such a bill early in the next session of the Congress to insure that all the facts are brought out to assist the people through Congress to determine whether and to what extent the opportunity for private development of atomic power is to be open to American industry.

But we must face the hard facts of the cost involved in developing atomic power

reactors. It has been evident for months that sincere though the interest really is, private industry is not about to start immediate building of any substantial number of central power stations with private capital, regardless of what changes we may make in the law. To be sure, there are plans, but the step from plans to actuality is a long and costly one. We need experience in building power reactors to reasonable and economic specifications; we need the cost-cutting incentive of risk capital, of private enterprise.

How can we get private contributions in this transitional period is the crux of the immediate problem. On the one hand, atomic power—if we are thinking in terms of large central power stations—is not now generally competitive in this country with electricity derived from conventional fuels. For the moment, at least, this is probably not a field which will attract large sums of private capital. On the other hand, in the words of Commissioner Murray: "I know of no better way of missing the boat on these as yet unknown uses of atomic energy than to have Government administrators or cost-plus contractors alone trying to dream them up."

Our problem is now to devise ways of bringing the know-how, the ingenuity, and the dollars of private enterprise into atomic power development at a time when large central power stations may not represent an attractive proposition to private investors, but when there nevertheless may be, very real and profitable opportunities for private investment in certain specialized applications of atomic power.

I give you one example of the specialized application of atomic power. The United States Corps of Engineers tells me that it costs 4 cents per kilowatt-hour to generate electricity at our Thule Air Base in Greenland by using diesel generators; whereas the cost to generate electricity here in New York is half a cent per kilowatt-hour—a difference of 800 percent. It would cost much more than 4 cents per kilowatt at Greenland in the event of war when every gallon of oil must be convoyed to the base. Is this not a situation in which private capital, on its own initiative, might develop an economic atomic power plant which would both afford savings to the taxpayers and leave room for profit for private investors? I believe it is.

There are other examples. Could not private venture capital be profitably employed in the development and construction of one or more mobile or floating atomic power stations capable of supplying electricity to disaster-struck areas in peacetime and to bombed-out ports and military beachheads in the event of war? Such floating power units would be free from the problems and costs of supplying fuel to operate conventional generating plants. I have recently written to the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the AEC recommending that these applications be given close study. And I recommend to industry that it examine closely how it may participate in the development of these applications.

Then too, the urgency of the continental defense problem certainly suggests a market for small-packaged powerplants to supply electricity to operate remote radar-warning systems and interceptor bases. Is there any reason why the private atomic power industry should not compete to develop and manufacture units for this application just as the electronics industry has developed and sells, at a profit, competitive pieces of electronic gear to provide the warnings themselves?

These are but a few of the specialized atomic power projects, in which the atom might provide cheaper power than that now available to us. It is true that the Government would be the customer in each case, but I believe that such ventures may well be the natural and profitable undertakings along the road to economic central atomic power stations.

For some of our friends and allies abroad, there is a very real possibility that atomic power may prove economic in civilian power applications long before that point is reached here in the United States. Some of these nations have already made substantial beginnings to develop atomic power on their own initiative and with their own resources. These activities and our relations with them must come under review as a result of the progress of the Soviet atomic program.

Since 1946, our atomic relations with our friends and allies have been tightly circumscribed. There has been some useful exchange of information with Canada and the United Kingdom, but it has not been extensive. Perhaps it is time for us to consider how we can create a framework, under proper security, in which those of our friends and allies who can make a real contribution to atomic power development in the free world can do so effectively and expeditiously.

An important problem that must be faced in any such broadening of effort among ourselves and our allies is security. Throughout the first decade of atomic energy, we imposed upon ourselves a cloak of secrecy in the genuine hope that by so doing we could prevent the Soviets from making comparable progress. Our security judgments are based on a balance of two conflicting objectives: To speed our progress, and at the same time to help as little as possible the progress of the Soviets. But the Soviet progress has been speedier than we thought it would be; they have done well in spite of our security efforts. I am not saying that they would not have gone faster if we had no security, far from it.

Our security has been adequate for its time and no doubt has delayed the Soviet rate of progress. But the facts of Soviet progress demand that we reexamine our secrets and determine anew those which are still real and vital. Some of those secrets are still very vital and therefore might be of very great value to the Soviets. Those secrets will be more secure if our attention is concentrated on them, rather than diffused over a mass of information, some of which it may no longer be important to classify as restricted data. We must not lose sight of the fact that security is only a delaying action. It cannot by itself prevent Soviet accomplishment. When it no longer serves to do that, it must not be allowed to continue to hamper our freedom of action. And so I ask if it may now be the time to reexamine what it is we are trying to keep secure, and whether the balance which we have struck in security is today the one which will keep us ahead of the Soviet tomorrow?

But always we must keep in mind Admiral Strauss' wise caution that once a secret is out in the public domain, there is no way we can call it back, no matter how much we may wish to do so.

These few thoughts of mine cover only some of the areas which we must reevaluate. To complete the task will require real vision and courage. The fact of Soviet success in the nuclear field and of our doubt of Soviet good intent require that we make very sure that we are properly prepared both for our security and for vitalizing the moral, economic, and political objectives of western civilization.

This Nation is faced with momentous decisions. We have it in our power to help ourselves, if only we keep clearly in mind the shocking facts of the world in which we live. Our first item of business is national survival, the accomplishment of which will be determined by our concentration on the use of nuclear power for military purposes, defensive as well as offensive. But nuclear power can also advance our peacetime objective of a better life for all freemen. These are potential profits we cannot afford to ignore. If we act now, with vision and determination, being constantly aware of our danger and of our opportunities, I have confidence that we will show ourselves equal to the grave responsibility which our position in world affairs places upon us, and that we will prove our capacity and intent to use the atom for the good of mankind rather than for its destruction.

Address by Former President Truman at Convention of ADA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, last Friday night Harry S. Truman delivered what I consider to be a very penetrating speech, in which he analyzed some of the Republican propaganda with respect to the state of the Union. He spoke at the banquet of the Americans for Democratic Action held in New York City.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the speech, as it appears in the New York Times of Saturday, February 6, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF TRUMAN SPEECH BEFORE ADA ATTACKING REPUBLICAN TAX PROGRAM

I am very happy to be here tonight and I am honored that my invitation to be with you came from Mrs. Roosevelt. She has done a great deal for me as she has for all Americans, and you are very fortunate to have her as the head of your organization.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate what has been said of me. I only wish a third of it was true.

Now, I understand that ADA is not a partisan organization—at least that's what I've been told. I think that must be because you do not fully understand the Democratic and Republican Parties. If you did, I'm sure you would all be Democrats.

I hope that what I am going to say tonight will clear up some of the differences between the two parties, and perhaps I shall make some converts.

One thing is clear by now—after a year of the Eisenhower administration—and that is the Republican Party is not made up of miracle workers. Along with my fellow Americans, I have been watching and waiting for those miracles to happen that we were promised back in 1952. But there is something wrong somewhere. There seems to be a slight delay in the miracle business.

The cold war is still with us. The Soviet menace has not disappeared. The budget is not balanced—and won't be. The only tax reductions in effect are those that were enacted by the preceding Democratic Congress. The cost of living has gone up a little bit and that hard dollar has shrunk a little bit too. The farmers have not got 100 percent of parity yet—in fact, there seems to have been some misunderstanding about the promises on that subject. It appears that the voters didn't hear them right.

The farmer, we are now told, was not promised 100 percent of parity through support prices—he was promised 100 percent only if he can get it in the market place, which is exactly the same as no promise at all. At any rate, it is clear that the problems of the country have not melted away before the Republican Party.

All these things go to show that the world of reality is much the same as it was. The problems of government are what they were before. The job of running the Federal Government is just as hard as ever. People now realize, I hope, that the facts of the world we live in cannot be changed by slogans or promises or personalities. That is a real gain—and ought to lead to a greater sense of political responsibility on all sides.

CHANGE IN THEORIES

In two respects, at least, Republican theories have changed under the impact of reality. These 2 changes correct 2 major Republican errors. Their first major blunder was to slash the Air Force program. Nobody knows that better than Tom Finletter. I warned against the dangers in that last summer, you remember. Now, I am glad to see in this year's budget that the rate of expansion for the Air Force has been at least partially restored to what it was under the Democrats. But much time has been lost by the mistake they made, and lost time can never be regained.

Their second major blunder was in the management of our national debt—the so-called hard-money policy. They made a big dollar for the big bankers and big business and made money harder to get for the common people. The Republican bankers thought everything would be all right if they just raised the interest rate on Government bonds. So they did it, and the results scared American business almost to death.

In fact, it scared the dalylights out of the easiest scared people on earth, the bankers, and Wall Street almost had a conniption fit. They had to back up on that one, at least for the time being.

You know their 3¼ bonds went to 98. The 2½'s went down to 95 and, when they backed up to the Fair Deal way of handling the national debt, the 3¼'s went to 105 and the 2½'s almost back to par. Now there must be something about the proper handling of the national debt that these people didn't know when they went in there.

But I notice that one of the few increases in the Eisenhower budget over mine is to the tune of several hundred million dollars of higher carrying charges on the national debt.

It didn't seem to occur to them that by cutting the Air Force and cutting national defense and cutting the farmers would be perfectly all right if they raised the cost of the national debt. And every time they raised that cost 1 percent, it cost the taxpayer $2,700,000,000 in fixed charges. That didn't seem to occur to these smart boys.

It is to bad that the people must carry the higher costs of this bonanza for the banker who agitated for it, while at the very same time we're told we must cut the cost of farm price supports and outlays for the education and health of the people.

I am glad to note that the new administration has awakened to the fact that our basic welfare programs are not creeping socialism. In social security, in fact, they have adopted some of the proposals that I made to the Congress, and perhaps even touched them up a mite. But in other areas, while they pretend to have accepted the labels attached to these programs, they are really sailing under false colors when they hold themselves out as true converts to the forward-looking faith. In health, for example, they are claiming they can do a $9-billion job with a $25-million reinsurance proposal.

In housing they have written a long report to justify the virtual gutting of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program. And in one case after another, where they have claimed that they were going to make our programs bigger and better, their budget doesn't carry the money to back up these claims.

Yet they can give away the assets that belong to you and me and all the rest of the taxpayers of this country. Give away the offshore oil, give away Hell's Canyon Dam and botch up the St. Lawrence seaway and pretend like they'd done something great. It's thoroughly and completely botched up, and the power attached to it has been turned over to the big power companies through Mr. Dewey's power ring here in this State.

This is all of a piece with the almost callous indifference now being shown toward the very real economic needs of the farmer. I might venture to give the Republicans a little advice. If they are going to apply the principles of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, they had better apply them to all groups in our society without discrimination. If we learned anything in the 1920's and 1930's, it was that we cannot afford to let any group in our Nation lag behind. The recession that started on the farms last spring has already spread to the city streets—and a depression would do likewise.

I do not think there's any necessity for a depression if this administration does not put the farmer and the laborer in their places as they expect to do.

Furthermore, we learned in those years that the little man is just as important to the business of this country as the big one. We learned that purchasing power has to be widely distributed and that this is the only way to guarantee prosperity. In this connection, I think the Republicans are foolish not to raise the minimum wage at this time.

It seems to me strange that the President's Economic Report says that there is no real recession—that we are more prosperous than ever before under the Democrats and will stay that way—but that we are not prosperous enough or sure enough of the future to increase the minimum wage.

Here we come to one of the main differences between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The Republican Party is the party of big business and it always gives first place to trying to take care of the immediate, shortrun interest of big business.

Now, I have nothing against big business and never have had. Indeed, I believe that big business prospered more when I was President than ever before in our history, and I am glad that is so. But I believe that Government should be by and for all the people and not just one element of the population. I know the Republicans pay lip service to this same idea. In fact, they charged I was hostile to business and favored the farmer and labor. If I'm going to be accused for favoring anyone, I'd rather it would be the little man instead of the big one. But I don't think it's true. I ask you to apply a very simple test. Compare the number of businessmen I appointed to high office in my administration with the number of men from the labor movement appointed to high office in this one. Remember the eight millionaires and a plumber. And they had to fire the plumber. Then tell me whose administration comes nearer representing all the people.

But the point I want to make now is that big business prospers only as the whole country prospers.

The greatest achievement of the Democratic Party on the homefront in the years from 1933 to 1953, I think, was to raise the income level of the farmer and the workingman. This was done without taking anything away from other groups and as a result the whole country prospered.

WEALTH BEING SHIFTED

Today the figures show a reversal of this trend toward a broader distribution of income which provided the basis of our growing prosperity. The shares of the farmer and the workingman are beginning to decline compared to the share of the businessman and the corporations and the landlords. Our national wealth and income are now being redistributed in reverse—from the poor to the rich.

The Republican Party, true to its tradition, is now busily engaged in fostering this concentration of wealth in the hands of the few by the passage of a new tax bill. The bill is being presented as simply a program of tax relief. I think it is worthwhile to take a look at who is getting the relief and how much.

A little bit of help is being given to working mothers and to people who have medical expenses. But most of the tax cut is being given to the people who draw dividends. This is a rich man's relief measure if I ever heard of one.

The estimators say that that relief to mothers, working mothers, should be about $10 million and the relief to the dividend drawers will be about a billion and a half. That's as one and a half is to 150. Figure it yourself.

I have heard of tax systems before where investment income is taxed at a higher rate than earned income, but this is the first time I have ever heard of that process being reversed.

Personally, I have some doubts about how much we should be concentrating on tax relief at this time. I happen to believe that national security is more important than tax cuts. And I fear that our national security is being weakened for the sake of false economy, in spite of all the slick talk about more "bang for a buck." But I am not going into this subject tonight.

What I want to say tonight is simply this:

If there is going to be tax relief, we should give it where it is needed most and where it will do the most good. The relief for working mothers and the increased allowance for medical expenses are fine as far as they go, but they touch only a small part of the problem. They don't do anything for the vast majority of the working men and women of America who are striving to raise families on limited incomes. If Congress is going to hand out huge sums in tax relief, this is where it would do the most good—and do the most to bolster the economy. And one of the best ways to do this is through increasing the personal exemption, which is now $600.

I was glad to see that Senator GEORGE stated some weeks ago that he thought the Congress should increase this exemption. I was glad to see that the Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee offered an amendment to increase this exemption. This amendment was voted down by the Republicans on a straight party-line vote. I hope the Democrats in Congress will keep up the fight along this line because this is where the billions in tax cuts should be passed out if they are to be given to anyone.

Now, I want to talk a little about the Republican approach to the question of Communists in the Government service.

First, let me say that I am sure we are all against communism. I understand that one of the prime objectives of ADA—and one of the main reasons it was brought into being in the first place—is to fight against the Communist movement. For that, I salute you. Keep up the fight. Communism is an evil, wicked thing and we should oppose it utterly.

DECEPTION IS CHARGED

However, we can be against communism without being dishonest about it—without slinging mud and smearing every one with whom we disagree. At least Democrats can. The Republican Party, on the other hand, has set out deliberately to mislead and deceive the American people on this question in order to smear the Democratic Party. And their effort to deceive runs through the Republican Party all the way to the top.

In the campaign of 1952, the Republican orators did their best to make the people believe that the Government was honeycombed with Commmunists. They knew this was not true, of course. At least most of them did. Some of them knew so little about the facts of life in the United States Government that they might have believed anything.

But by now even the political newcomers in the Republican ranks are bound to know better.

They know, and know full well, that any Communists they may have found in the Government were few and far between. The Republicans know, and know full well, that they found an employee loyalty program that had cleaned Communists out of the Government effectively and efficiently before the subject was ever made a political issue.

I established this loyalty program by Executive order in 1947. To put it above partisan politics, I deliberately put Republicans in charge of its operation. They did an honest and thorough job of cleaning out the Communists and everyone else whose loyalty was doubtful. They may have missed a few. We all know how the Communists practice tactics of secret infiltration, and some may have slipped by without being caught. But you can be absolutely sure of this: When the Republicans took over the Government on January 20, 1953, if there were any Communists in the Government service there were very, very few indeed.

Now, what did these self-styled Republican crusaders do when they took over the Government and found that the facts were not what they had represented them to be? Did they own up like men that their campaign oratory was just campaign oratory? Wendell Willkie once had the grace to do that, but not this bunch that was trained in the school of Tom Dewey. Instead, they undertook to perpetrate one of the biggest hoaxes ever attempted in American history.

IMPRESSION HELD TO BE WRONG

They set out to create the impression that they actually were finding hundreds of Communists in the Government. This is the Republican administration I am talking about, not irresponsible Members of Congress. They didn't say flatly that they had found hundreds of Communists. Oh, no; they knew the absolute falsity of that could be proved beyond a doubt. But they announced from the White House, with much fanfare, that they were doing a wonderful job, simply magnificent, of cleaning the Communists out of the Government, and that, as a matter of fact, already they had gotten rid of 1,456 security risks. The number had grown to 2,200 by the time of the state of the Union message. But they were still talking about a vague category they called security risks in an effort to make the American people believe they had found hundreds of Communists. It seems to me that the Presidential press conference and the state of the Union message ought not to be used for such deceptive practices as this.

Who is included in the 2,200? The administration refuses to say. How was that number arrived at? The administration refuses to say. But some of the facts are beginning to come out just the same.

Few of them do any credit to the great crusade.

Many of the 2,200 are said to be employees who resigned from the Government voluntarily without ever having any charges brought to their attention. The number is even said to include many employees who were cleared on further investigation and are still in Government service. Responsible Washington correspondents report that "there was not a single case of actual subversion in all the State Department's security firings—and it is doubtful if there was one such case throughout the Government." These same correspondents go on to point out that, despite the actual facts, "to 99 out of 100 people the news that there have been a large number of securing firings mean that this number of Communists and subversives have actually been uncovered in the Government. In fact the morale of the Government worker has been thrown completely out the window."

Another thoughtful commentator on Washington events points out the deplorable conditions in the Department of State, as follows:

"I am told that there is the minimum of forthright, even of honest speaking, out of fear of tale-bearing. Eavesdropping is rampant. A hiatus exists, in consequence, between the policymaking and the working levels, and efficiency and morale are nonexistent. The State Department, often and rightly called our first line of defense, is just getting by."

"So," he continues, "we are witnessing a loss to the Government service of some very skilled technicians and some very accomplished officials. The amazing thing is that few at the top appear to care."

I believe the President owes a duty to the American people—and especially to all the Government employees whose good names are involved—to tell us just how many Communists and other actual subversives he has found. If he does not do this, he will leave our Government service and many loyal American citizens under a cloud of grave suspicion.

LAME EXCUSES OPPOSED

And the American people ought not to be put off with any lame excuses about not being able to break the number down to show how many actual subversives were included. If the number can't be broken down, it should never have been built up.

You people in ADA were among the first to recognize the danger of communism here and abroad. You saw through the treachery of the Communists. You fought them at the polls, in the labor unions, and in the traditional American way, on the battleground of ideas. However, you have managed to fight against communism without adopting the tactics of fascism. You have remained true to the liberal tradition that leads to progress in a democratic nation.

In standing firm in your liberal faith you get called a lot of names by people who would rather call you names than answer your arguments. You can expect that. Read your American history and see the names they called Presidents Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln and, to come down to date Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

There are some people who like to call you extremists. If they can't answer you and call you names, it is certain that you are doing good for the country. In the language of these people extremists are those who believe in the New Deal and the Fair Deal; who believe the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution mean what they say and who believe that the Nation's security is more important than politics.

Well, it is not true. We who believe in these things are not extremists. We are in the main stream of American life. We follow the great ideas that were expressed by Jefferson and Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom we honor tonight. We are at the center—the heart—of the American tradition.

If you have any doubts about this—look at the record of Franklin D. Roosevelt, look at his great achievements, and then look at the opposition to him. I always think of Franklin D. Roosevelt as the President. For over 20 years a loud and ruthless minority has been attacking him and all he stood for. And what is the result? Today, his accomplishments have become a fundamental part of American life. The idea of Government responsibility for economic conditions, the idea of Government responsibility for social welfare, the idea of freedom from economic slavery—all those things are now so deeply implanted in our way of life that they can never be uprooted.

Franklin D. Roosevelt has been vindicated. His enemies are now afraid to make a direct attack upon the things that he accomplished. If the program of the Eisenhower administration means anything, it means that those who opposed the New Deal and the Fair Deal through all the years have had to give ground. It means that those who want to turn the clock back have been forced to stake out a new line on which they will attempt to defend the status quo. It means that those of us who believe in progress can set some new goals for America. And it means that if we do set new goals, and if we fight for them in the spirit of the New Deal and the Fair Deal we can count on carrying the American people with us as they did in New York.

For we Americans are not a timid people. This country was built by men and women of courage, of great and good vision, of faith that has moved the immovable. I do not doubt that this is as true today as it has been since the earliest days of the Republic. And it will be true of the great programs we will build for a better tomorrow. And let's be looking for tomorrow and a great Republic and not build a fence around it.

Long Beach Municipal Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, below is a description of the second jet-aircraft crash in 22 days on account of Air Force training activities maintained at the Long Beach (Calif.) Municipal Airport, located in the midst of a metropolitan area. The previous crash involved loss of several lives in a residential area.

Moves are underway requesting the Air Force to transfer its Reserve training activities from metropolitan areas in general and the Long Beach area in particular.

The following description of the jet crash is from the Long Beach Independent newspapers of February 4:

F–80 SMACKS BARRIER AT LONG BEACH AIRPORT

Skimming over the evening traffic crush at Lakewood Boulevard and Spring Street at 5:25 p. m. Wednesday, an Air Force F–80 *Shooting Star* jet fighter plane struck the top of a barricade inside the municipal airforce fence, then ground looped off the runway with a crumpled landing carriage.

Pilot William H. Connor, a first lieutenant of the 1,738th Ferry Squadron, based at the Long Beach Airport, walked away from his crippled plane as unneeded military firefighting equipment sped to the scene.

Air Force officials said Connor immediately phoned his wife at their home, 8725 El Salvador Street, Lakewood Plaza, then checked out of the air base. He was unavailable for comment later in the evening.

Lt. Russell Brown, air-base information officer, said Lieutenant Connor was making a routine stopover here after picking up the plane for delivery at San Bernardino.

Connor was scheduled to take the plane today to its destination, which Lieutenant

Brown said could not be revealed at this time.

Air Force investigators said the plane struck the blast barricade at the end of the diagonal runway just inside the fence at the southeast corner of the airfield, knocking several boards from the top.

When the pilot touch down, the right wing wheel which absorbed the impact with the fence blew a tire, swerving the plane to the right and snapping the undercarriage.

In contrast to the Air Force training activities in heavily populated areas, the Marine Corps, as shown in the following story from the Los Angeles Times of February 1, is going ahead with its jet training activities at the Mojave Base in the Antelope Valley, which is an uncongested desert area:

MARINE JETS RETURN TO MOJAVE BASE—MILLIONS EXPENDED TO MODERNIZE FIELD FOR JET LANDINGS

MOJAVE, February 1.—Expected to be a major factor in developing Marine Corps aviation in keeping with President Eisenhower's recent emphasis on military aviation, the Marine Corps Auxiliary Station at Mojave is again in official operation here today.

Rear Adm. George R. Henderson, commandant of naval air bases in the 11th and 12th naval districts, who presided at its official commissioning, mentioned two and a half years of effort to establish the auxiliary air station.

LONGER AND STRONGER

Millions of dollars have been spent recently to improve the facility for operation of the latest Marine Corps jets, it was stated. Runways were lengthened, taxiways strengthened, and fueling facilities modernized. Living quarters were rehabilitated and the base readied in every respect for intensive training operations.

The Antelope Valley base is regarded as ideal for the training of fighter pilots from El Toro Marine Air Base near Santa Ana. The desert area is uncongested, offering excellent weather and many nearby targets.

MAJOR BRENEMAN IN CHARGE

Maj. John W. Breneman has been named base commanding officer. This facility was a major training base for Marine Corps aviators during World War II but was decommissioned shortly after. It once again assumed importance when the Korean conflict broke out.

Gen. John N. Hart, deputy commander of aircraft, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, cited the excellent civilian relations enjoyed during the last war and the importance of the field to marine air. He stressed that it was only through intense training that marine pilots were able to perform so outstandingly in Korea.

"No Politics in ASC" Denial Brings King-Sized Bronx Cheer From Southeast Missouri

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Sikeston Standard of January 19, 1954:

"NO POLITICS IN ASC" DENIAL BRINGS KING-SIZED BRONX CHEER FROM SOUTHEAST MISSOURI—NEW MADRID COUNTY'S PRESIDING JUDGE POINTS TO PARTY MANEUVERING

PORTAGEVILLE.—"That statement by Murray C. Colbert, State chairman of the Missouri Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee that 'there are no politicians in our office' has brought a prolonged king-sized Bronx cheer from Democrats throughout southeast Missouri," declared presiding County Judge Albert Beis, of New Madrid County, today in an exclusive interview with the Daily Sikeston Standard.

"Apparently Mr. Colbert either has been misinformed," continued Judge Beis, "has poor eyesight, or is deliberately closing his eyes to what has been going on when he says everyone on the State ASC office was employed through regular civil-service channels.

"Perhaps he needs a little memory refreshing so we'd like to ask him about Mrs. LaVere Shelton, of Jefferson City, formerly personal secretary to the Republican Party State chairman, Perry Compton. It is alleged she draws a salary in excess of $300 per month and was hired in flagrant violation of civil-service regulations.

"And, again, what about Mrs. Doris O'Brien, receptionist and switchboard operator? It is charged she was not on the civil-service register."

LIST OF APPOINTEES

"The list of appointees since the Republicans took over control is studded with glaring examples of partisan 'pay-offs' and the majority of the appointees had no other qualification except their politics.

"W. E. Foster, of Belle, Mo., made State administrative officer, had no previous experience with farm program work and was placed in office in preference to several others who were better qualified by experience. As far as can be determined this $6,500 a year man, is a completely new employee in a completely new field and, except for his political activities for the GOP, his work is a duplication of that done by other employees.

"And then there's the matter of 6 fieldmen, all of them with an average of 10 years' experience in farm program work, who were fired even though they all had civil-service status. These seven, all active farmers with backgrounds representing all phases of agriculture in Missouri, were replaced by:

"1. William MacGum, Washington, Mo., an old-school Republican with several terms in the Missouri Legislature. His background includes 8 years as a mail carrier and 3 years as shop foreman at the intermediate reformatory at Algoa.

"2. Reno Warnke, Stover, Mo., long an active Republican, who quit his job as Republican representative from Morgan County to take on the ASC (then PMA) appointment.

"3. Elmer Kinkade, Bernie, Mo., township party organizer and appointed at the insistence of Mrs. Anne Montgomery, Stoddard County Republican chairman. Due to his abysmal lack of experience even his fellow Republicans objected to his appointment. Because of his inexperience it is anticipated that the area he is in charge of and which carries one of the heaviest ASC workloads in the State is going to have widespread inequities.

"4. Ernest W. Baker, Higginsville, Mo., ex-landscape architect and merchant, resigned his seat in the State legislature to accept an ASC appointment. Baker is listed in the Missouri Bluebook as being a past president of the Franklin County Young Republicans Club and was chairman of the Franklin County Republican Central Committee for 4 years. He was secretary-manager of the Missouri State Fair during the Republican administration of Forrest C. Donnell and was elected to the general assembly in 1950 as Republican representative from Lafayette County.

"5. Now here's really one for the book—Joe A. Grant, a securities salesman from Cape Girardeau has been named to serve as fieldman for the northeast central district. Grant has lived outside the area in which he is scheduled to serve for the past 15 years.

"6. Mendel Kline, of St. Joseph, apparently was appointed to appease Mayor Stanley I. Dale. Kline's wife is secretary to the St. Joseph mayor who, in the past, has been critical of Compton.

"And yet Mr. Colbert blandly states there's no politics in his organization.

"Most everyone in the State believes that political tampering with the farm program by Perry Compton, State GOP chairman, by dictating the policies of the State committee through Murray Colbert, present State ASC chief, is rapidly wrecking the entire structure and making it a pork barrel for political favorites. Colbert was boosted to the chairmanship, it is charged, not for any particular experience or qualification for the important job but simply because, first, he was a Republican and, second, because he was a long-time business associate of Compton."

LETTERS MAILED

"As early as May 29, 1953, Mrs. L. C. Davis, of Boonville, acting, it is charged, on Compton's orders, mailed letters bearing a dateline from Montgomery City (Compton's home), to all chairmen and vice chairmen of the Republican central committees advising them on how to proceed to take over county PMA (now ASC) offices. One pertinent paragraph in her letter tells the whole story:

"There are 4,300 ASC employees in Missouri. They should be Republicans if we lend our energy to see to it that they are. The salary of county office manager ranges from $2,500 to $4,000 depending upon the workload of the county. By workload is meant the scope of the program in the county. The chief clerk's salary is approximately $2,300, and it is recommended that this post be given to a woman. In addition, there will be in each county 1 to 3 clerks, dependent upon workload.

"It should be pointed out to the doubting Thomases who question whether the State GOP had anything to do with the letter that the only possible source of the information used in that letter would be the State ASC office and could not have been secured with the cooperation of the ASC head, Colbert.

"The sordid story of party politics rolls on throughout the entire State.

"In Ralls County, the ASC committee recommended men they considered qualified regardless of their political affiliations and the State committee refused appointment; why? Simply because they were not Republicans and the county committee was bluntly told to pick a Republican if it wanted or expected any consideration.

"In Adair County, when John Nichols, a Republican organizer, was named county ASC office manager a delegation of farmers, objecting to the brazen partisan appointment, held repeated conferences with Murray Colbert and have gotten nowhere.

"Does anyone still doubt that politics are running the ASC? Then how about Stephen C. Hughes, veteran director of the Farmers' Home Administration, who has been ousted and replaced by ex-Congressman Max Schwabe, who was beaten in 1948, 1950, and 1952 by his Democratic opponent?

"And what about John Adler, former chief of the personnel section, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee, who was ousted on the demand of Perry Compton by Murray Colbert?

"And why, after a meeting with 'No politics Colbert' did the three members of the

St. Charles County Committee abruptly resign?"

MUST SHOW FARMERS

"Actions speak louder than words," Judge Beis said, "and if the State GOP is going to convince the farmers it is not a 'grab only profits' party with its attention centered not on helping the farmers, but concentrated on helping itself and its political hangers-on, there certainly will have to be a revolutionary change in tactics.

"And, just as an example of the type of politics being played, note the fact that a State Republican organization gives orders that former Presidents' pictures—Democratic Presidents—be removed from an office for all people and only a Republican President be left hanging on its wall."

Let Us Make Sure Postal Rates Are Proper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, with all the hue and cry to operate the Post Office as a paying business by increasing postal rates, we are bombarded with emotional appeals from every side.

I think we have to take time to evaluate the problem, to decide just what the postal service means to the American people, and just what is proper in the way of postal rates. I think we have to take into consideration the great contribution to truth and learning which has been made throughout our history by America's publishers before we put many of them out of business with a haphazard attempt to make a profit out of the Post Office Department.

I would like to call your attention to the following editorial from the November issue of the Pacific Builder and Engineer, which discusses impartially, What are proper postal rates?

WHAT ARE PROPER POSTAL RATES?—PUBLISHERS CAUGHT IN SQUEEZE

Preferential postal rates for magazines and newspapers stem from the 150-year-old premise that the periodical press is essential "for the dissemination of useful knowledge for the public good."

The publishing industry has developed under this historic axiom and is today dependent upon it. The whole financial structure of the industry, involving nominal subscription charges to the reader and the established procedures of obtaining revenue from advertising, is based on this postal policy.

There is a bill in Congress—H. R. 6052—which would increase postal rates for periodicals 67 percent over a period of about 36 months. Publishers, because of their traditionally low profit margin (currently less than 3 percent of sales), see little hope of meeting such an increase of rates for second-class mail from present revenues; nor do price increases to the public seem a logical answer. Low fees for periodicals are a must if the value of the periodical press as a source of continuing education is to be preserved for those who need it most.

Publishers are willing to pay proper rates for the service they receive from the post office. However, what constitutes proper rates is a question as yet not satisfactorily answered. Senator FRANK CARLSON recently reaffirmed his opposition to "any further kidnaping of the ratemaking power from Congress by the Post Office Department." He feels that Congress should "explore every possibility of retrieving those portions of the ratemaking power which have already been taken over by the Post Office Department. It is Congress which must regulate postal services and approve postal charges. Definitions of postal policy cannot be made by the post office. They can be made only by Congress."

Publishers are in agrement with the foregoing statements. They hope that the answer to the rate question will be forthcoming in the study now being made by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, with the assistance of the Citizens Post Office Advisory Council, both under the chairmanship of Senator CARLSON. They further hope that any rate increases are delayed until the full benefits of attempts to modernize and improve the efficiency of the post office are clearly in view.

The Late Ernest Harold Cluett

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEAN P. TAYLOR
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the House will be saddened to learn of the death of Ernest Harold Cluett, late a Representative of Congress from New York.

Mr. Cluett was born in Troy, N. Y., on July 13, 1874. He was elected to the 75th, 76th, and 77th Congresses.

There are Members who are present today who served with him during those terms, and I am sure that they will remember him as a man of high principles and an able servant to those whom he represented in the Congress.

Mr. Cluett's life was a full one. He was a graduate of Williams College and later studied at Oxford University in England. Early in his career he became treasurer of Cluett Peabody & Co. and in later years became chairman of the board of directors of that company.

During World War I he became head of the employment division of the Government arsenal at Watervliet, N. Y., and in 1918 he served on a special mission to France for the YMCA.

The Republican Party of New York State nominated him as its candidate for the United States Senate in 1934.

At the end of his term in the 77th Congress he retired from public life.

The people of my community will remember Mr. Cluett as one who devoted himself unsparingly to the welfare of the community.

It was my good fortune to have known Mr. Cluett intimately, and my respect and esteem for him was boundless.

I extend to the members of his family my deep and sincere sympathy in the great loss they have sustained and in their hour of bereavement. I hope they will find some comfort in the knowledge that his passing is mourned by a host of friends.

The New Military Concept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a statement made by Eric Sevareid, of the CBS Radio, on January 26, 1954, of a penetrating nature to the effect that the new military concept of building our military strength and our national defense around the atomic and other deadly, destructive bombs should be explored carefully by the appropriate committee of Congress, and by Members of the Congress.

I also call to the attention of my colleagues a discerning and penetrating speech on the same subject made by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. LANTAFF] appearing on pages 1088–1089 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 2, 1954. The able speech of our colleague from Florida [Mr. LANTAFF] raises many thoughts that should be carefully explored.

We must remember that it is less than 1 year ago when President Eisenhower and many of his military advisers took the firm position that our Air Force strength should be 120 air wing groups.

There were some of us who agreed with former President Truman that we should build up as rapidly as we could our Air Force strength to 143 air wings.

President Eisenhower now advocates building our Air Force strength to 137 air wings. I am glad to note this change in his policy, but this change is an admission he was in error only several months ago. The Congress had better carefully explore the President's new military concept in relation to reducing our Army and Navy to be sure he is not in error again. For in dealing with world killers of communism we had better play it safe and if we are going to err to err on the side of strength rather than on the side of weakness.

Mr. Sevareid's statement follows:

The United States of America, the world's greatest power, is now operating formally and officially under a new military concept for preserving peace and for winning war if peace is not preserved. This is a fact of immense portent for ourselves, our allies, even our enemies. But so far the new concept has only been described, it has not been explained. Congress is beginning work on the new budget with very few questions raised about the new military concept, which is fundamental to this budget. And it is no less astonishing that the American press which tore apart and examined even the smallest moves of the previous Pentagon regime seems to be accepting this new package with hardly a murmur of inquiry. The only searching questions in the press that I have seen are those raised by Walter Millis, of the Herald Tribune, and Hanson Baldwin, of the Times.

The new concept calls for gradually withdrawing our soldiery from overseas positions; creating a stronger central reserve at home, relying more and more on naval and air, using atomic weapons; we are told this will give us greater flexibility in striking back against an aggressor with the means and at

the places of our own choosing, not his. Those are the claims; but no evidence to support the claims has been offered, at least not in public. The one thing certain is that this is a cheaper way to try to keep the world at peace; and perhaps the very first question to be asked is whether the new strategy came first and permitted the reduced military budget or the reduced budget came first and forced the new strategy.

Hanson Baldwin raises some detailed questions involving the overall strategy and the military adjustments necessary to carry it out. For example, the new idea depends mostly on the striking power of the Strategic Air Command; yet the new budget eliminates 169 B–47 stratojet bombers from the build-up. The new strategy puts great emphasis on troop mobility, and yet the number of planes for airborne troops has been sharply reduced below the previous plan. If the new strategy relies heavily on mobile sea power, then why are greater number of combat ships being decommissioned? The President is pulling back two Army divisions from Korea, and has said we shall have even greater mobility of action there than before; yet, as Baldwin points out, there has been no increase either of sea or air power in that theater to make up for this withdrawal of men, and the sea and air power that remains has no greater mobility than it had before.

The new strategy calls for creating a greater strategic reserve of trained soldiers at home; but the overall size of the Army is being reduced and there seems little likelihood that the reserve at home will become much greater than it is at present.

Of course, we cannot prepare for every possible type of warfare in every possible corner of the globe, but Baldwin raises the serious question of whether the reverse of the new claims may not be the real truth—that is, whether, in going to a single strategic concept we are not restricting our flexibility of action, instead of expanding it.

And in the background loom the shadows of even more portentious questions; the whole implication is that we may choose to atom-bomb Russia or China itself in case of another aggression. Are we really prepared to turn a local aggression into a world war and if so, where does the power of Congress to declare war enter the picture this time? Do our allies or our enemies fully understand the implication?

And, finally, if our own military structure and strategy is to be based on the atomic weapons, can we, in good faith, continue to work for international elimination or control of atomic weapons? It could be that sound answers can be returned to all these questions; but neither Congress nor the people is likely to find the answers unless the questions are asked.

Ford Worthy Is Honored on His Retirement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, It is with pride and pleasure that I call to the attention of the House the service that has been rendered to the Department of Justice for the last 21 years by the United States marshal for the eastern district of North Carolina, a close and personal friend, the Honorable Ford S. Worthy, of Washington, N. C.

Mr. Worthy is respected and loved by all who have had the honor to know him and held in esteem by the rich and poor. In his duties as marshal he has been strong and firm yet kind and gentle to the unfortunate. He has set a high mark and a high standard for his successor. It is my hope that whoever his successor may be, he will profit by Mr. Worthy's example.

Articles concerning Mr. Worthy follow:

[From the Washington (N. C.) Daily News of February 4, 1954]

WORTHY IS HONORED ON HIS RETIREMENT—LOCAL MAN STEPS DOWN AFTER 20 YEARS AS UNITED STATES MARSHAL IN EAST CAROLINA

United States Marshal Ford S. Worthy was honored in the Federal court in Raleigh yesterday upon the occasion of his retirement from office after more than 20 years' service as United States marshal for eastern North Carolina district.

Mr. Worthy, who has served a longer period than any other marshal in the United States, was appointed 3 times by the late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and received 2 appointments from former President Harry S. Truman.

On behalf of his fellow employees in the United States district court in Raleigh, Federal Judge Don Gilliam, of Tarboro, presented the popular marshal a handsome 6-piece silver service, radio, and solid gold watch, beautifully engraved, given by his fellow-workers and more than 250 lawyers in the North Carolina eastern district. Judge Gilliam praised the 72-year-old marshal's record as one that "has not been surpassed and will not be surpassed."

PRAISED BY JUDGE

Among the many notable citations heard during the event, the jurist told the crowded courtroom in the Federal building, that "Ford Worthy's name has become a synonym for the words—honor, integrity, friendliness, service, and helpfulness."

Mr. Worthy was also presented a book embossed with his name and containing a record of his appointments. The book was presented by Will Lucas, Wilson attorney, who praised Worthy's record on behalf of lawyers practicing in the eastern district.

After the presentations Mr. Worthy, who was accompanied by his wife, was personally congratulated by many of those who filled the courtroom for the occasion. Also attending the celebration were his son and daughter, Ford S. Worthy, Jr., and Mrs. Jennings B. Freeman, and son, Bryan, Mr. Worthy's sister, Mrs. U. L. Spence, and Mr. Spence, of Carthage.

The book holding a record of the marshal's appointments was signed in back by Judge Gilliam, Hand James, clerk of Federal court, and numerous other friends.

NAMED IN 1933

Mr. Worthy, a former popular druggist of this city, was first appointed to the United States marshal position by President Roosevelt, on November 1, 1933. His next two appointments came in 1938 and 1942. His appointments came from former President Truman in 1946 and 1950.

The date of his statutory retirement was December 1, 1951, and at that time he was reappointed as marshal by Judge Gilliam to hold office until the post should be filled by presidential appointment. His successor has not yet been named.

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of February 4, 1954]

FITTING RECOGNITION

Farewell ceremonies held yesterday in the United States District Court here for Ford Worthy, who has served the district for more than 20 years as marshal, were both fitting and unusual.

It is highly unusual for 250 attorneys to sign a testimonial for a court officer and for those who associated with him to recognize his service with handsome gifts. None of that, however, is more unusual than the man himself. Mr. Worthy has performed unusual service for both the Government and the people of the district and recognition of that service was appropriate.

Parker Wayland Making Report to President of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, as a part of the observation of Boy Scout Week, February 7 to 13, 1954, 12 outstanding Scouts will make a personal report to President Eisenhower. From my own congressional district Explorer Scout Parker Wayland, of Fredericktown, Mo., is one of this group. As this Nation recognizes and pays tribute to all Boy Scouts, the citizens of Fredericktown and the Eighth Missouri Congressional District express appreciation to and for a fine young man and take a justifiable pride in having one of our outstanding boys recognized because of his unusual service and accomplishments as a Boy Scout.

Included herewith is an article from the February 4 issues of the Democrat-News, of Fredericktown, Mo.:

PARKER WAYLAND MAKING REPORT TO PRESIDENT OF UNITED STATES

Parker Wayland, son of Mr. and Mrs. H. P. Wayland, of Fredericktown, will leave St. Louis tomorrow (Friday) for Washington, D. C., where he will meet President of the United States Dwight Eisenhower and report on scouting activities in Region Eight of the Boy Scouts of America. Wayland, Explorer Scout of Troop 26, sponsored by the Methodist Church of Fredericktown, was selected first as the outstanding explorer in the Southeast Missouri Council, and then as the outstanding explorer of Region Eight, which covers six Midwestern States.

He will be one of the 12 young men in the Nation who will have this honor, one representing each of the 12 regions. The basis of his selection was his outstanding growth and accomplishment in scouting, and his demonstration of putting scouting principles to work in his daily life.

Parker is an active member of the Baptist church, active in his school activities, has demonstrated outstanding leadership in scouting, and numerous other community youth organizations.

His trip will be an all-expense paid trip furnished by the National Council, Boy Scouts of America. He will leave on Thursday, February 4, by train, arriving in Washington on Saturday, February 6, where he will stay at the Mayflower Hotel and attend a recognition dinner that evening. Sunday, February 7, he will participate in chapel services and a sightseeing tour in Annapolis and Baltimore, Md. February 8, he will see more of Baltimore and return to Washington, D. C., where he will spend time visiting important places and attend a report to the Nation breakfast on February 9. At noon he, with the other 11 explorers, will have

his interview with President Eisenhower and make his report on the region's progress in scouting. Wednesday, February 10, he will leave for New York with the group, where they will visit a television show; and on February 11, visit the United Nations, attend an outstanding American luncheon, and visit the national office of the Boy Scouts of America. On February 12, they will visit Chinatown, Radio City, and the Empire State Building. On February 14, he will return home.

Following his return home, Parker will participate in a governor's luncheon in Jefferson City, where he will represent the region in a report to Governor Donnelly; and on Wednesday, February 17, Parker will be the guest speaker at the first eagle Scout recognition dinner to be held in southeast Missouri for all eagles who received the award in 1953.

When reporting to President Eisenhower he will present him with a custom-made paperweight representative of this region. The paperweight is of plastic and in it are embedded samples of cobalt, lead, tungsten, iron, and copper—all minerals mined here. Inscribed on the back is: "Presented to Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, by Parker Wayland, of Fredericktown, Md., representing region 8, Boy Scouts of America, report to the Nation, February 1954." The back of the paperweight carries the legend "Ores from Fredericktown, Mo.," and the samples are labeled.

Remarks of Hon. A. L. Miller, of Nebraska, Before Joint Meeting of Nebraska Irrigation Association and the Nebraska Reclamation Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include some remarks which I made before the joint meeting of the Nebraska Irrigation Association, and the Nebraska Reclamation Association, at North Platte, Nebr., on February 4, 1954:

Benjamin Franklin stated there were 3 ways for a nation to become wealthy: (1) Through war and taking away by force the wealth of other nations; (2) by trade which required cheating to make a profit; (3) by agriculture, i. e., the planting of seeds in the soil and as if by a miracle create new wealth.

The future of the United States depends on what we do with our agricultural resources.

Irrigation is as old as recorded history. Reference to the subject can be found engraved upon rock 2,300 years before the birth of Christ. Inscribed upon the stones in the Babylonian area are these words: "If anyone opens his irrigation canals to let in water, but is careless and the water floods a field of his neighbor, he shall measure out grain to the latter in proportion to the yield of the neighboring field."

The Assyrian emperor in 2,250 B. C. decreed that man and beast have the first claim on water with irrigation of the crops second; that priority still exists.

In the 17 western States water is the lifeblood of the arid land. The first irrigation in the United States was probably carried out by the Spaniards dating back to A. D. 1400. The first real and recorded irrigation project was developed by the Mormons in 1847. They built a small dam across the creek near the present site of the Mormon Temple and diverted sufficient water to saturate 5 acres of dry land.

Today the total irrigated area is about 25 million acres. The Government developed about 5,700,000 of these acres. It is estimated there is approximately 17 million acres of land that would be susceptible to irrigation.

My committee has been struggling with many projects designed to conserve the water resources of the Nation. The big job is to conserve the water resources.

A recent survey indicates there are about 319 million acre-feet of stream runoff annually and only about one-fifth of the runoff, or 78 million acre-feet, has been developed and put to use.

It may not be possible to utilize all of this vast runoff, but certainly this country with its engineering experts and those interested in soil conservation should be able to utilize more than one-fifth of this water runoff.

The future welfare of the State of Nebraska depends almost wholly on the development of our major natural resource—our soil. While we may be able to increase our limited forests and may discover a limited amount of mineral resources, our soil will always be our principle source of new wealth. As the scale of living in our own land and throughout the world enlarges we will be called upon for an ever larger supply of the food and fiber by those rising living standards. That our people are awakening to the realization of this fact is evidenced by the interest shown in meetings like the one we are having today and by the organized groups being formed in the various localities of our State and Nation. This is as it should be for, although planning can and should be done on a national scale, permanent development of a lasting character can only come when the people at the grassroots have a knowledge of the things that can be accomplished in their own neighborhoods and have the desire to accomplish them.

For a number of years men with vision have been working for the reclamation of lands and the conservation of water in the 17 western States. More recently the Federal Government, through the Bureau of Reclamation, the Corps of Engineers, and the Department of Agriculture have gotten together on plans to develop the resources of the great Missouri Valley. The Flood Control Act of 1944 approved the coordination of these activities under the Pick-Sloan plan. It marked a big milestone in our progress because it assures a systematic development of all our natural resources: soil, water, and power. Before its adoption we have had isolated projects that showed us what could be done. Many of you men here today represent these pioneering projects that have brought almost a half million acres of Nebraska lands under irrigation and have furnished power for homes and industry. The Federal Government has had a hand in the development along the North Platte and the Mirage Flats project.

Nebraska is fortunate in having within its borders three of the principle branches of the Missouri River—the Niobrara, the Platte, including the Loup Rivers and the Republican. In their valleys lie almost 2 million acres of land that are feasible for irrigation.

Alongside our reclamation activities we are forming soil conservation districts and practicing soil and water conservation.

Great dams are being built for flood control and the generation of electrical energy.

Rural electrification is expanding so rapidly that we are hard put to generate the current to energize the lines.

The means to carry on this vast program comes from the waters that yearly course down our streams and rivers. Our problem is to determine how much water we have and the most economical means of using it. The studies that have been made and are now being made by the various Federal agencies will give us the answers. As we get these answers and lay our plans we must make every effort to insure a broad understanding of them by all the people who will be affected. We must convince the people that the results attained by judicious use of irrigation will pay them for the extra efforts they must put forth and the added costs they must bear.

In 1943, when I first went into Congress, no plans had been made for wisely using the waters of Nebraska. Mr. Beshore, who was then the Commissioner of Reclamation, said when I asked him why this was, it was necessary to put the grease to the wheel that squeaked the loudest.

Water is the great limiting factor to good crops in western Nebraska. We need good water at the right time in the Western States in order to produce a crop. The 17 Western States make up one-half of the area of the United States. While it is not all dependent upon irrigation, but indirectly irrigation is a very important factor in the development of the States.

The 17 Western States produce about 47 percent of the Nation's beef, 78 percent of its wool, 77 percent of its wheat, 76 percent of its sugar beets, 79 percent of its alfalfa feed, and many, many other crops. This vast production is a comforting assurance that the Nation will continue to be well fed.

Irrigation brings a backlog of safety, security, and stability to a community. Nebraska farmers know how to farm. They have the skill, the experience, and the energy.

The world is short of good agricultural land. The new land to be developed is limited. The Nation should use its entire energy in developing these irrigated lands in order to produce the food and fiber needed by the world.

Food has been a factor in many wars. It is estimated that one-half of the world's population is hungry. A hungry man will not listen to argument. He wants no prayers. He wants no logic. He just wants food in his stomach. Our country has been blessed with a surplus of many kinds of foods and fibers. We have consented to share these surpluses with much of the world. In my opinion, we can do far more by supplying food to hungry people than the supply of billions of dollars through our foreign-aid programs. In that respect, since July of 1945 through September of 1953, we have spent or committed to spend more than $54 billion in 43 countries, not including our neighbors, Canada, and the republics to the south. In Italy alone we have spent more than $3 billion. We had hoped to buy some friends. My recent visit to Italy convinced me that we have few friends in that country. Russia, on the other hand, has not spent a penny, and controls the political, social, and economic life of Italy. In the huge fifty-four-billions-plus foreign-aid program is more money for irrigation projects, electric-light facilities, and for public works than we have spent in our own country. It does seem time that Uncle Sam took off his Santa Claus suit in these foreign-aid programs and took care of some of his domestic knitting. I mean by that that the many feasible irrigation and power projects in this country should be given the go-ahead sign in order to develop our resources.

In the matter of new irrigation projects there are those who complain that we have surpluses now. That was brought up on the floor of the House last Tuesday when we

considered the Santa Maria project in California. I am glad we have surpluses. It should be remembered that the population in the United States increased 3,464,000 last year.

DOUBLED 1919 PRACTICE MET

It looks like a 4 million increase in 1954. The time is not far distant until we will not be raising enough food to take care of our own needs. It takes 10 or 15 years to develop a good irrigation project.

In the development of irrigation projects there is naturally electrical energy produced. Thomas Edison 75 years ago shocked the world when he began to sell electric energy to 50 customers in New York. Many skeptics said it could not be sold.

In 1924 the consumption of electrical energy was 455 kilowatt-hours per person. In 1953 it was over 3,000 kilowatt-hours per person.

In 1936, 10 percent of the farms in the United States had electricity. Under REA development electricity is now available to more than 90 percent of the rural districts and farms. The growth has not stopped.

In connection with the sale of power, Missouri Basin applications have been received from preference customers for 523,000 kilowatt-hours. The nonpreference customers are seeking 224,000 kilowatt-hours. The total amount available to all through 1956 will be 325,000 kilowatt-hours, a new and uncommitted amount.

In the western section, involving Colorado, Wyoming, and Nebraska, where there will be 115,000 kilowatt-hours of new power available, it appears that the 68 preference customers plus the 10 private utilities have over subscribed the available power by 2 times. It may well take the wisdom of Solomon to divide up the available power among the preference customers.

It would appear at this time that those living in the Missouri Basin must of necessity seek new sources of electric energy if their growing needs are to be properly met.

In closing let me call your attention to new projects for electrical energy that are now in the making. They are just as revolutionary as the one carried out by Thomas Edison by his early incandescent lamp 75 years ago. This new approach is atomic energy and hydrogen nuclear physics. I witnessed last Tuesday by-moving pictures the explosion of the hydrogen bomb on an isolated island in the Pacific. The island was totally destroyed. A crater 170 feet deep, big enough to hold 14 Pentagon buildings, was left. This in 1952. The new development of power far surpasses this explosion of 18 months ago.

I held in my hand a piece of uranium, 1 pound, but that uranium, according to the scientists, had sufficient power to equal the energy of 1 million pounds of coal. A new submarine has been launched which will be powered by atomic energy. Light plants and industrial factories in the future will, in my opinion, utilize atomic power. We may still be in the horse and buggy days by building hydroelectric plants if the plans on the trestle boards of the scientists materialize. There is every evidence that the generation of tomorrow will be living in a completely new world unknown to us living today.

Let me urge you ladies and gentlemen attending this reclamation meeting today that you never sell America short. We are a great, growing, dynamic country. Texas is about the size of France. California with its 11 million people is about the size of Japan with its 85 million people. Before irrigation projects started today can be in full production there will be another 50 million people living in the United States.

We have the know-how of doing things. This Nation is a Christian Nation. What we do and how we do it stands out like a bright beacon light above the socialistic countries of the world.

There are too many of those who preach doom, gloom, and disaster. They are not able to interpret this dynamic growth of America into terms of new wealth and prosperity. They are lacking in imagination, courage, and faith which made America great.

I hope that in the words of Benjamin Franklin we may be able to plant seeds in new soil and through irrigation create the new wealth to meet the growing needs of this dynamic new America.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorials from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

The substantial margin by which the St. Lawrence seaway bill was approved in the Senate attests, to considerable degree, the successful quality of President Eisenhower's leadership. He had urged this country's participation in the seaway construction while Chief of Staff and he had urged it as President.

The project was first projected as an idea nearly 60 years ago. Its construction had been recommended by all Chiefs of Staff and all Presidents since World War I. The question the present Congress will have to decide is not whether the seaway will be built, but whether this country will be a partner with Canada in the undertaking.

The Canadians had already made up their minds to go it alone, if necessary, and they are financially able and capable of doing it. The finished seaway will be an important outlet to the sea, and it would seem imperative that this country have a partner's say as to how an outlet so important to its well-being and defense shall be controlled and maintained.

SUPPORT FOR SEAWAY

Directors of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce have used foresight and wisdom in abandoning a long-held position of opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway. Construction of the project is inevitable. The only point to be decided by the Congress is whether this country shall be a participant or Canada shall build it alone.

The Senate has already voted for participation, and a seaway bill has been voted out favorably by the House Public Works Committee. Under present plans American participation will cost $105 million. The Canadian share will be $264 million. The project is to be self-liquidating, with revenues from tolls to be used for retirement of bonds issued to finance construction.

Participation will enable this country to have a voice in the seaway's administration and in the fixing of tolls on shipping, which it is estimated will be 75 percent American. The related power project will be built by the State of New York and the Province of Ontario as a separate undertaking.

We do not share the fears of those who think the seaway would hurt the Mississippi Valley. We do not believe that anything can stop the orderly growth of this great area, and we are reasonably certain that the seaway, when ultimately linked to the Mississippi River system, will actually be an aid to our economic growth.

It is historically significant that construction of the seaway was first recommended by Calvin Coolidge in 1923, when he was President, and recommended by every President and every Chief of Staff since. Both President Eisenhower and the National Security Council have urged early initiation and completion of the seaway in the interest of national security.

The United States is a partner with Canada in other vital undertakings related to mutual defense. Common sense and the welfare of the whole country justify seaway construction and maintenance partnership. Support by the Memphis Chamber of Commerce is geared to present-day thinking and to national security needs.

Do You Dare To Rate Your Town?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include the following article appearing in the February issue of Pathfinder (Town Journal) showing how the members of the Men's Club and the citizens of the town of Pennsboro, W. Va., rated their town and awakened their community to civic improvements:

DO YOU DARE TO RATE YOUR TOWN?—TOWN JOURNAL'S TESTED QUESTIONNAIRE MAY TOUCH OFF CIVIC IMPROVEMENTS YOU NEVER DREAMED POSSIBLE—LOOK HOW PENNSBORO, W. VA., USED IT

(By Donald S. Stroetzel)

In a big city, $3,500 might buy a quarter-acre lot. But in Pennsboro, W. Va. (population 1,753), folks were able with just this amount to buy 370 acres of hilly land, make it into a park with 6 miles of road, 2 artificial lakes (1 stocked with bluegill and bass), a handsome stone cabin, 15 picnic areas with fireplaces and tables, 3 wells, and a fully equipped playground.

Sounds impossible? Ordinarily it would be. Such a project could cost tens of thousands instead of just $3,500. But Pennsboro was an aroused town, awakened to the need for improving itself—and when that happened, almost anything was possible.

The awakener in Pennsboro was Town Journal's Rate Your Town questionnaire, first published in August 1952.

In Pennsboro, late in 1952, the men's club asked each of its members to fill out the questionnaire. "I'd always thought people around here liked our town," Baker Francis C. Harris recalls. "But you wouldn't have thought so to see the answers—only 21 of the 40 questions got 'yes' replies from the majority."

For days afterward, as men met in little groups, they talked about the bad rating. "If we can't with honesty rate our town favorably," they reasoned, "how must it seem to tourists, to industries looking for a place to locate, to the farmers we hope will shop here? Can't we do something?"

First, they concluded that nothing much could be done without a better water supply. All of Pennsboro's water came from backyard wells; too often these dried up and folks had to buy their water. Why not lick this by developing a reservoir, possibly combining it with a town park and recreation area?

Within 3 weeks after the men's club meeting, an informal committee had begun to explore the big idea—Baker Harris, Postmaster Lindsay Foster, Mortician Tom McCullough, a hardwareman, a barber, a gasoline distributor, an auto dealer, a five-and-dime store manager, and a salesman.

A mile and a half from town they found a site with an excellent watershed and plenty of trees; it seemed just right. But the owner had long since moved to Montana. It looked discouraging. He'd be difficult to locate and too far away to dicker with. But it was worth a try.

"Know where we can reach him?" a neighbor was asked. "Sure," came the answer, "he's right here at my place now. Came east to sell that land of his."

Foster and McCullough drove out to negotiate. "You act eager to buy the land," the shrewd postmaster suggested to the mortician. "I'll act sour on the deal." The jockeying worked. The price came down to $1,500. Foster wrote his personal check for $50 for a 90-day option.

But where to get the $1,500, to say nothing of the money for roads, dams, and all the other facilities needed? From house to house for donations went the nine-man committee.

"I'll never forget the first house I visited," Harris recalls. "I talked for 2½ hours about our project and got exactly $1. That figured out to 40 cents an hour, and at that rate we'd have had to talk for 3,750 hours to raise the $1,500."

But the committee's enthusiasm eventually proved too contagious to resist. Donations grew larger, one even for $100.

Someone wrote a fetching letter to a TV quiz show; back came an invitation for five local youngsters to come to New York. They won $360 for the kitty. Also from New York came a check for $1,000, the gift of Miss L. V. Myles, a nice lady who owned a garment factory in Pennsboro. Soon the fund reached $3,500.

First thing to do was built roads. Contractor Porter Maxwell from distant Clarksburg was resurfacing U. S. 50 nearby. Would he lend bulldozers on weekends? Sure he would. He'd been renting an apartment in Pennsboro; people had been nice to him. Not only did he build 4½ miles of road but also a dam worth $5,000 and three handsome stone fireplaces. He charged only for the diesel oil he used. In the same 'way-below-cost manner, local contractor Paul Cromwell built an additional road and a second dam. Two engineers from neighboring towns drew up detailed blueprints at one-sixth the usual cost.

Where a job needed to be done, there always seemed to be somebody to do it free, or almost free. Clearing land? As many as 60 townspeople a day turned bushwhackers last summer. A utility cabin? The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was replacing the stone lining of a nearby tunnel with brick—certainly, Pennsboro could have the stone for its cabin. Local stonemasons are building the cabin without pay. Individuals and firms proudly built fireplaces and tables for the picnic areas.

On weekends, the women saw little of their men folk. ("I've heard of golf widows," one lady remarked, "but this is the first time I've ever heard of a dam widow.") But bit by bit, the job got done. Next big step is a larger reservoir (plans call for a 12½-acre lake, created by a $12,000 dam), with water connections to homes. Few in Pennsboro doubt that these too will become realities before long. So far everything has been done without using one cent of tax money.

One group that's keeping close tabs on Pennsboro's progress is West Virginia's Monongahela Power Co. Under the aggressive leadership of A. C. ("Clint") Spurr, the company has long been a pacesetter in area-development activities. It was one of the first to seize upon Town Journal's questionnaire as a valuable device for awakening community interest in self-improvement. Monongahela Power has distributed thousands of copies; the questionnaire has now been used by some 40 civic organizations and other groups in 22 West Virginia towns.

"People are always asking us, 'How can we improve our town?'" says John Hopkins, of Monongahela Power's area-development team. "With the questionnaire, you can tell them to figure it out for yourself. That way criticisms come from the leading townspeople themselves—not from outsiders whose advice might be resented."

Why don't you try Town Journal's questionnaire on your club and see what happens? It could set up a chain reaction which could amaze you. If you need extra copies of the questionnaire, write to us, care of Department T, Town Journal, 1111 E Street NW., Washington 4, D. C. We'll also be glad to grant permission to reprint the questionnaire in your local paper. Let us know how you make out.

Don't be like one Mountain State chamber of commerce man who wrote us: "I would be almost afraid to use it * * * we've been asleep too many years."

If your town needs an arouser, this is it.

Motion-Picture Production Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement and a resolution of the United Church Women of New York, supporting the directors of the Motion Picture Association in their efforts to keep the production code consonant with public morals and good faith. They resent the efforts of some prodcers to destroy or weaken the program of self-regulation, for which the association is striving.

I believe the American people generally would support the Motion Picture Association enthusiastically if they understood better the campaign to lower the moral tone of motion pictures.

There being no objection, the statement and the resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Representatives of the United Church Women announced today the adoption of a resolution pledging support of the motion-picture industry's production code.

The resolution asserting support of the industry's program of voluntary self-regulation was passed by officers and State chairmen of public relations of the United Church Women, representing 10 million women throughout Nation.

Winding up a 4-day annual meeting, the delegates in a resolution said:

"We express our trust in the good judgment of the directors of the Motion Picture Association to keep the production code consonant with public morals and good taste.

"We resent the efforts of some producers to destroy or weaken the program of self-regulation by evasion of their public responsibility."

The resolution "noted with satisfaction the successful translation of hundreds of books and plays and original scripts into motion pictures that are wholesome family entertainment" under the film industry's production code.

Representatives of the United Church Women hit at any attempts to bypass or weaken the code and pledged "our support of those pictures which, in the words of the production code, 'will not lower the moral standards of those who see them'."

RESOLUTION

Whereas the major motion picture producers and distributors of America adopted a program of voluntary self-regulation and a production code to govern the making of motion and talking pictures in 1930; and

Whereas we have watched with satisfaction the successful translation of hundreds of books and plays and original scripts into motion pictures that are wholesome family entertainment under this code; and

Whereas the Supreme Court's recent decisions have greatly curtailed the area of subject matter affected by legal censorship and many theaters formerly affiliated with the producer-distributor organizations supporting the production code are now independently operated; and

Whereas some producers are questioning the adequacy of the production code to provide dramatic freedom, and some theaters formerly adhering to the code have played pictures not bearing the code seal: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers and State chairmen of public relations of the United Church Women, representing 10 million women of all denominations, interested in and concerned with the press, radio, and television as well as motion pictures, express their trust in the good judgment of the directors of the Motion Picture Association to keep the production code consonant with public morals and good taste, resent the efforts of some producers to weaken or destroy the program of self-regulation by evasion of their public responsibility, and pledge our support to those pictures which, in the words of the production code, "will not lower the moral standards of those who see them."

Decline in United States Private Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "The Decline in Our Private Merchant Fleet," published in the Baltimore Sun of February 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DECLINE IN OUR PRIVATE MERCHANT FLEET

A few days ago the national maritime committee of the CIO made another protest against the closing of certain Federally operated schools for the training of merchant marine officers. A few hours later the Federal Maritime Administration revealed further shrinkage in the size of the country's active merchant fleet.

The administration's action was not sparked by the CIO protest. But the relation between the shrinking merchant fleet and the closing of the schools needs no emphasis. It would be a waste of public funds to train lots of officers, if the Nation lacks a fleet large enough to use them.

Now the American Merchant Marine Institute, a trade association of more than 70 ship companies, has come forward with the opinion that a further decline in the number of American-flag ships will accentuate a weakness in our overall defense structure. It cited military spokesmen as authority for the view that the present merchant fleet would have trouble meeting the demands of a national emergency.

The institute presented its opinions to the Federal Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. The Commission is conducting hearings on proposals relative to the Nation's future policy on world trade.

The institute admitted that the growth of the merchant fleets of our allies has aided them dollarwise. But it argued that "we could ill-afford the destruction (of our merchant fleet) to pay for a relatively minor increase in the foreign nations' purchasing power."

For 17 years it has been Federal policy to have maintained a merchant fleet adequate for the Nation's commercial and defense needs. Under this policy there has been public assistance for private ship operators under specific conditions.

During recent years the competition for world shipping has increased; the present Federal-aid policy has not been sufficiently broad to keep American ship lines in a competitive position or, at least, that is the claim. As a result we have the decline in the American merchant fleet.

The increasing plight of the merchant fleet is under study by Congress. Obviously, the ultimate decisions on the course to be taken should not be based on CIO protests or claims of other personal and private interests. They should be based on the public welfare of the country as a whole.

Politics and the Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Politics and the Security Program," which was published in the Winston-Salem Journal of February 1, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICS AND THE SECURITY PROGRAM

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, South Carolina, Democrat, may have been playing more politics than statesmanship when he said that Republican Attorney General Brownell should resign if the Eisenhower administration has found disloyal employees and neglected to prosecute them. But the Senator does have a case in suggesting that the publicity about the Government's current security program has been used for political purposes and has been misleading.

At a press conference on January 21—his first since October 16—the Attorney General said there may be some very serious security risks still in Government but that so far as he knows, no Communist Party members. But he repeatedly refused to disclose an analysis of the reasons for separating the 2,200 persons who, the President says, have been separated from the Government as security risks. Mr. Brownell did say that one Justice Department employee who was a former member of the Communist Party had been let go.

Last Wednesday, President Eisenhower himself said he knew of no way the Government could classify the dismissals—that is, say how many were separated on loyalty grounds and how many because they were drunks, blabbermouths, or otherwise undesirable and therefore security risks. He suggested that it might be possible to give honorable discharges to Government employees who leave their jobs for reasons not reflecting upon their loyalty or their stability. This sounds like an excellent idea in view of the current climate of suspicion that is abroad in the land.

But the President's suggestion that no one in his administration has ever implied that all the 2,200 were disloyal, while perhaps factually true, may be misleading. There has been a feeling that the administration was claiming more than was valid in its statements on the subject. On January 3 the Washington Star published the results of an investigation into an earlier announcement, claiming that 1,456 persons had been fired as "security risks." The newspaper reported (according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD):

"The figure includes, it appears, persons who never were fired or forced to resign, as the White House announcement implied, but who instead were separated through voluntary resignations, reductions in force—even by death—without ever knowing they had been accused of anything. A few apparently had left the Government before the Eisenhower security program was launched. The arithmetic which produced the 1,456 sum was done at the Civil Service Commission, which supposedly was aided by other departments and agencies in collecting the governmentwide statistics used. Actually, however, the Commission seems to have done a good deal of its own figure gathering. The embarrassing result has been that several agencies have had great difficulty making their own figures square with those relied on by the White House in making the October announcement."

Senator JOHNSTON's question remains: If the administration has found a large number of disloyal persons in Government employ, why have there been no prosecutions? Employees must take an oath of loyalty. If they swear falsely, they can be prosecuted for perjury. Perhaps, as has been suggested, few, if any, of those separated have been disloyal persons. Perhaps we have here something like the recipe for horse-rabbit stew, which is supposed to be half and half—one horse, one rabbit.

Illinois Public Aid Commission Alarmed by Steady Increase in Relief Load

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, at the risk of incurring the wrath of administration economic advisers, I present herewith a news article which appeared in the Collinsville (Ill.) Herald of February 5, 1954, giving the latest report of the Illinois Public Aid Commission on the cost of general assistance relief in Illinois. The report indicates the cost will be 50 percent higher in February, and it further indicates that this particular category of relief reflects increases in unemployment.

I offer this report merely to place Congress on guard so that adequate steps might be taken by Congress and the administration to offset serious unemployment.

The article follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT UP, STATE RELIEF COSTS JUMP IN FEBRUARY

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., February 3.—The cost of general assistance relief—the category that reflects increases in unemployment—will be 50 percent higher in February.

Garrett W. Keaster, executive secretary of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, said he will recommend that the State's February allocation for general assistance be raised to $1,614,000.

In January, the IPAC allocated only $1,095,855 to Chicago and 80 townships for general assistance.

The IPAC will meet Friday. Keaster's recommendation undoubtedly will be approved.

Two factors lie behind the huge increase in the State's general assistance outlay.

One is another sharp increase in the general assistance relief load in the last 30 days.

Another is the fact that the Chicago welfare department and township units that receive State aid for relief underestimated their January needs.

Part of the February allocation will make up the January deficit.

The rapid month-to-month flux in the rolls has confused the relief picture. But this much is clear: For the last 2 months, Chicago's general assistance load has increased by 2,600 persons each month.

For the first time since relief rolls started upward last fall, Keaster has taken a grave view of the trend.

Referring to the need for the drastic increase in February's allocation, Keaster said, "If this continues we'll be in difficulty."

The State can spend an average of $1,673,485 a month for general assistance in each of the 16 months remaining in the biennium.

Thus, if relief costs rise appreciably above this month's figure, the level of subsistence either will have to be cut or a deficit appropriation requested when the legislature meets next year.

Under Governor Stratton's economy program, the former solution would be more likely.

The general assistance rolls are regarded as a sensitive barometer for economic conditions generally.

Persons applying for general assistance are for the most part persons who are unemployed and were not covered by unemployed compensation, or unemployed persons whose unemployment benefits have expired.

The general assistance rolls increase every winter because of seasonal unemployment. But Keaster has described this year's sharp increases as "more than seasonal."

There are four other categories of relief—all of them slow to reflect any change in the employment picture.

These are the aid-to-dependent children, blind assistance, disability assistance and old-age assistance programs.

Federal and State funds are used to finance these programs with no local moneys involved.

In addition, county welfare departments administer these programs as contrasted with township or city administration of the general assistance program.

Enough money is in the Illinois unemployment compensation fund, from which benefits are paid to jobless, to last 4 years at the present rate of outgo.

The fund would last 4 years, even if employers paid nothing into it in the meantime, Roy P. Cummins, State labor director, said Tuesday.

Samuel C. Bernstein, State unemployment compensation commissioner, said there was $530,318,097.87 in the fund January 1.

A record of $536,995,115.01 was in the fund last November 30.

Cummins and Bernstein emphasized that unemployment compensation was helping keep up buying power.

They esitmated that 85 to 90 percent of the jobless were getting maximum benefit payments—$27 a week.

The reserve fund is on deposit in the United States Treasury's Federal unemployment trust fund, along with similar funds of all States.

Employers of six or more workers now are paying an average tax of nine-tenths of 1 percent on their payrolls into the fund.

The number of Illinois jobless totaled 136,526 in the week ended January 16—68,173 of them in Cook and Du Page Counties.

The United States Air Force Must Be the World's Most Powerful Modern Fighting Outfit

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, in the current issue of Time Magazine there is an article on the United States Air Force so packed with good things that I hasten to call it to the attention of my colleagues. It is purportedly an article on the Air Force's able and likable Chief of Staff, Gen. Nate Twining—and an excellent picture on the cover makes Gen. Twining Time's man of the week. But this article is more than an article on any one man. It's an article about the United States Air Force and all the men in it. It is an article about the world's most powerful modern fighting outfit and America's striking power. This article is a marvelously concise account of the terrifying capability to deliver an annihilating blow, that is to date the best method we have found to preserve the peace.

I am sure that my colleagues will join with me in congratulating General Twining on this recognition by Time magazine, and on the new jet Air Force for which he is so greatly responsible. I trust that my colleagues will also take to heart the point made that while our powerful modern Air Force has mobility it does not have stability. Rapid turnover of personnel, and loss of experienced personnel for reasons of which Congress must take cognizance, rob the Air Force of a continuity in training and experience that can alone give the required stability. As General LeMay, of the Strategic Air Command, puts it, "This whole thing could go to hell in 2 weeks." The Air Force is losing trained enlisted men at the rate of 200,000 a year, and officers almost as rapidly.

Mr. Speaker, there is one other matter this excellent article makes crystal clear. The Air Force—and the United States—has lost time, just as it is losing men. This year the President has asked Congress to give the Air Force the money that only last year Congress was told the Aid Force did not need. It is certainly to the credit of Gen. Nate Twining that he has convinced the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense, and the administration that this Nation must, for its own protection, have the world's finest Air Force. But time and money have been lost in the year it took General Twining to put across what General Vandenberg stated so eloquently last year. How many more "new looks" must be taken before the need of a powerful Air Force is an accepted fact is problematical—and the answer seems to lie in the realm of politics. But we can no longer allow ourselves the luxury of a single additional "new look" that turns out to be, after all, merely a reaffirmation that we must maintain watchfulness and readiness. We must not only have the world's most powerful modern fighting outfit; we must maintain it. Building the necessary Air Force strength rapidly will require sacrifices, but no sacrifice is too great if this Nation is to endure.

I ask the unanimous consent of my colleagues to include this splendid article from the February 8 issue of Time magazine in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Because the article is a long one, however, I have omitted from it an account of a B–47 training flight and, of necessity, the excellent pictures that lend so much interest to the article. The article, with these omissions, follows:

ARMED FORCES—THE NEW DIMENSION

"Much is required of those to whom much is given. So viewed, the ability speedily to put forth the Nation's power * * * is one of the clear duties involved in the Christian word 'watchfulness'—readiness for the call that may come, whether expectedly or not." (Alfred Thayer Mahan, rear admiral (1899).)

Somewhere, some time after MIG Alley, the change came. For years the United States had glimpsed promises of a new United States Air Force in the making: A solitary jet streaking the far sky with a white contrail, reports of victorious dogfights between United States saber jets and the MIG–15 in Korea, a thundering atomic-bomb test or the anguished plea of an Air Force spokesman in Washington for more funds. But the Air Force had lacked that elusive quality that glues the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps into cohesive units. Then, by the beginning of this year, it was suddenly clear that all of the experiments, all of the fighting, all of the training had coalesced. The United States had more than jets and bombs and intrepid pilots; it had, in the United States Air Force, the world's most powerful modern fighting outfit.

Specifically the Air Force could claim:

An existing force of 110 wings, with plans laid down for a buildup to 137 wings by 1957.

An all-jet fighter and interceptor force; a bomber force of 40 wings with a backbone of jet B–47 bombers and the intercontinental B–36's—with complete conversion to jet bombers scheduled by 1958.

Fleets of aerial tankers based strategically around the free world, actually refueling fighters and bombers aloft at the rate of one every 5 minutes around the clock.

Operational guided-missile squadrons, stationed in Germany ready to use the ground to-ground Matador as necessary.

Major bases strung around the periphery of Communist Europe and Asia.

The change in the Air Force was the sum of all of these and a new character, too. For one thing, the great new speeds, altitudes, and precisions of jet flying had given the Air Force a stamp of its own—a skill to rival the technical proficiency of the Navy. For another, the new Air Force was a rich mixture of two generations of flying men—combat-tested elders teamed with youngsters born under the sign of mach 1.

REARGUARD DISBANDED

Underlying the big change was a new attitude of mature, professional self-confidence. It showed itself along the muddy fighter bases behind the lines in Korea; at bomber bases in north Africa, in Alaska, Greenland, and Britain; at training bases in Arizona—and in the Pentagon itself. The attitude was best symbolized by a blue-clad West Pointer who wears the four stars of the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force—a broad-shouldered airman with gray curly hair parted down the middle, black eyebrows, a strong nose, and a big jaw—named Nathan Farragut Twining.

Four-star General Twining presides over the year 1 of the new jet Air Force. The illustrious air generals who went before him were the revolutionaries. From Billy Mitchell through Hap Arnold and Tooey Spaatz, the revolutionaries (1) fought the Army for recognition for airpower's place in modern warfare, and (2) fought everybody for an independent United States Air Force which could make the most of its new capabilities. They got formal independence from Congress and President Truman in 1947. But the declaration of independence did not end the revolution. Tooey Spaatz, as the first Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, and his successor, Hoyt Vandenberg, still had their hands full. One hand tried to fashion an atom-jet striking force to stop the threat of communism; the other fought off the Army and Navy, which did not cotton to the Air Force's demands for money—much more money than the one-third of defense funds that it was getting.

The long fighting years of the battle of Washington had given the Air Force a sensitive defense mechanism and an annoying passion for flamboyant publicity to drive its message home to the United States public—a proneness to leak its troubles to partisans in the press and in Congress when the infighting got tough. As Vandenberg's Vice Chief of Staff, Nate Twining knew the infighting techniques as well as anybody. But when President Eisenhower promoted Twining to Chief of Staff last June, it was Twining's judgment that the long revolution was over; that the time had come to disband the rearguard and let the Air Force prove the inevitable logic of its position by performance.

SCREAM STIFLED

Twining's decision soon got its first test. General Vandenberg retired after unsuccessfully defending the 137-wing Air Force program from Defense Secretary Charlie Wilson's early budget hacking. One of Twining's first big jobs was to join the new Joint Chiefs of Staff in a "new look" at United States defense needs last September. He found that the best deal he could get out of the New Look was 127 wings. Air Forcemen drew breath for a great scream of outrage, but Twining passed the word: No complaints. The scream was stifled; Air Force sources let out not a whimper.

Then military logic began to work for Twining. In October 1953, the New Look went to the National Security Council. Treasury Secretary Humphrey said its price tag of $43 billion was too high. The new JCS Chairman, Admiral Arthur Radford, once an Air

Force fce and target himself, put his finger on the reason: Under the hazy foreign-policy directives inherited by the Eisenhower administration, the JCS simply had to prepare the Army, Navy, and Air Force for big wars, little wars, and all kinds of wars to be cut and tailored to the enemy's initiative. And what, asked Radford, about the atomic bomb? Was the JCS allowed to figure on using it? The White House had never really decided.

Out of the National Security Council session came one of the basic decisions of United States history: the United States would respond to future Communist aggressions by attacking targets of its own choosing with weapons of its own choosing; it would use the atom according to military advantage; it would gradually reduce worldwide ground commitments and build up air power. The JCS, under direct orders from the White House, shortly translated this into a 1-million-man Army, a modernized naval carrier striking force including the 3 *Forrestal* class supercarriers—and Nate Twining's 137 wings.

Twining, by his restraint, his amiability, and his refusal to speak harshly of other services, played a delicate role in the big decision. Navy partisans in the Defense Department—mostly civilian—had planted in Charlie Wilson's mind the notion that the Air Force flyboys were wild, irresponsible, and undeserving of confidence. Twining proved that this was not so. Then, at the first opportunity, he got Wilson and his Deputy Defense Secretary Roger Kyes beyond the Pentagon palace guard to show them the Air Force and to let logic take its course.

FUNCTIONAL EFFICIENCY

The principal fact about the United States Air Force today is that it represents in the modern world what the Navy's great theorist, Admiral Mahan, called the "ability speedily to put forth the Nation's power," i. e., it is the only service arm which can reach across the world to strike the enemy's own air bases and warmaking potential wherever they may be. But in order to make sense in this big way, the Air Force has to make sense in lesser ways. It does.

It has, for one thing, learned to live with fantastic rates of change. Nate Twining learned to fly at 70 miles per hour in the World War I Jenny biplane; he is about to preside over the test of the supersonic Convair F–102—a spread which, in land-warfare terms, is equivalent to the difference between the spear and the tank. In this dimension of constant change, which groundlings can barely comprehend, the Air Force has managed to fashion its own kind of efficiency, and from this to build up its new procedures, disciplines, traditions and attitudes.

NEW BEHAVIOR

Today's experienced Air Force pilot no longer wears the 50-mission crush in his cap. (To give it that World War II trademark, he removed the grommet and wore the cap under the shower.) He no longer sports the cowboy boots and the dangling lock of hair. He is about 32 years old, is likely to wear his greying hair in a close crew cut, has two children and a matured behavior to match. He is concerned far more often with finding a baby sitter than a blonde. His officers' clubs ring more frequently with the whoops of a Sunday-morning youngsters' birthday party than a Saturday night's carousing. He has learned that a fast-moving jet will not forgive a hangover.

The mature behavior is not entirely a result of age; it comes from the discovery that his job demands an efficient kind of life. The Air Force youngsters have discovered it, too. At Air Force training bases, cadets may drink beer in off-duty evening hours, but they drink remarkably little. Cadet hazing, similarly, is at a minimum, e. g., a lowerclassman is no longer ordered to stand in a brace against the wall until he traces his outline in sweat. Reason: jet flying is enough of a test.

MIKE FRIGHT

The Air Force has changed the concept of flight training almost as radically since World War II as the planes themselves have changed. Speed, altitude, and the voracious fuel appetite of the jet power plant have brought demands for new precision flying, navigating, and fighting.[1] The slam-bang days of bullying pilot instruction won't work. When an instructor climbs into the rear cockpit of a Lockheed T–33 jet trainer, he is the coach, and the youngster in the front seat (who has already graduated from propeller-driven trainers) is the player. Each straps on an oxygen mask with an open microphone inside. After that, the coach can read the cadet like an instrument. When the hot mike picks up quick and irregular breathing, the cadet is jittery; when the pitch of his voice climbs high, he is excited; when his neck redden and his muscles tighten, he is tense.

Today's capable and cock student is not batted down; the standards are raised on him. The unsure one is nursed along, encouraged by the patience of the system, which is slow to wash him out. Only 4 percent are flunked out at Williams Air Force Base, Ariz. (the Air Force's first jet training school), and these only after a probing faculty board tries to discover what personal or family problems may have induced failure. Why so much patience? It costs $70,000 to train a jet pilot, and most of this money has been spent by the time the cadet has completed his 9 months of basic training at Williams.

TARGET FASCINATION

Once a cadet can fly a jet, he learns to fight one. At this point, if he is any good, he turns into a tiger. Tiger is at once a state of mind and the precious quality that Nate Twining tries hard to develop.[2] A good pilot is a tiger; a better-than-good pilot is a hungry tiger. At Nellis Air Force Base, Nev., one of the finishing schools for fighter pilots, the walls are plastered with posters of tigers crouching for the kill. The cadets honor the training group commander, Col. Clay Tice, Jr., by calling themselves Tice's little tigers. At some training bases, cadets burst out of their barracks for morning roll-call with tiger roars. (But a Nellis officers says disdainfully: "We're quiet tigers here—really hungry ones.")

There is also a too-hungry tiger. A few students have flown their F–86's into the ground in an effort to get closer to ground targets—a phenomenon known as target fascination.

ICE-COLD ABILITY

The first big decision made by the Air Force after World War II was to pour funds and priorities, even in the lean years, into the Strategic Air Command (SAC), the Air Force's equivalent of the Navy's fleet-in-being. This was done at the expense of the Continental Air Defense Command and the Tactical Air Command. While Air Force men flew their interceptors and fighters on a shoestring (and the Army complained of lack of air support), the Air Force held stubbornly, sometimes noisily to its conviction that real United States security lay in a ready striking force of medium and heavy bombers.

SAC's boss, a tough, brusque bomber man named Curtis Emerson LeMay, has proved to be one of the brilliant military organizers in history. LeMay did not go on the theory that he was preparing for a war some day; he went on the theory that he was in a war and only a ready force to hit Communist targets could keep the United States from losing. it

This is why SAC has evolved the kind of performance standards which set the pattern for the new Air Force. SAC's efficiency begins with little things, e. g., the security is airtight at SAC's 27 United States bases and 19 overseas bases because LeMay knows that the Russians must first try to cripple his A-bombers before any Communist offensive. SAC's safety record, best of all Air Force commands, is down to a low 18 accidents per 100,000 flying hours because LeMay knows that no accident-prone outfit will ever make it over all the hurdles between the United States and Moscow.

MOBILE BASE

LeMay has coaxed SAC's 10-engine Convair B–36's, its aging B–50's (soon to be replaced), and the sleek, new Boeing B–47 jet mediums beyond the limits of their expected capability. On the ground, SAC wings run a repair and maintenance system which reports plane trouble by radio, charts the status of station repair work at 30-minute intervals. In the air, SAC's lumbering tankers, stationed across the free world, replenish combat planes on the wing and thus extend their range to the limit of the pilot's endurance—not the aircraft's.

Every SAC wing has mobility; already packed and stored in hangars are sealed aluminum flyaway kits which slip into the planes' bomb bays, can be used as an emergency source of supply when the wing is ordered to operate out of an overseas base. Close behind the combat planes comes a fleet of supporting Military Air Transport ships with the rest of the wing's equipment and picked members of its ground crews—mechanics, electronics specialists, armorers.

But LeMay has saved his closest attention for his aircraft crews. Day after night after day, SAC crews are arcing across the globe, keeping up with SAC's heavy training requirements in all-weather flying, navigation, gunnery, radar deception and high-level (above 40,000 feet) bombing on target. Once every 3 months each crew flies a grueling practice mission which is equivalent in length to the distance from the United States to Russia and return, and puts the crew to a realistic test of its proficiency.

The best SAC crews are designated as "select" or "lead" crews. These crews are assigned specific targets in Russia or elsewhere, and must commit to memory all of the intricate details of getting on target and back to a friendly base. Members of select and lead crews usually get spot promotions to the next highest grade. But their skills are constantly being evaluated—in the squadron, in the wing, and every 6 months by a 2-week special check by LeMay's personal examiners. If a select or lead crew falls behind in bombing, navigation, or whatever, it loses its promotions.

* * * * *

TWO HOURS AFTER

What is the net result of this new Air Force precision? In the event of Russian attack, United States strategic bombers can deliver an attack which would destroy major Soviet air bases and war installations within 2 hours after the first United States bomber crosses Russia's outer defenses. That single attack, with the present-day atomic bomb, would pack more explosive force than all other explosives fired in all wars to date. In the near future, armed with the thermonuclear bomb, one bomber will carry more destructive power than the sum total of all explosives in history.

There is much to be said for the prediction made by most airmen that war will never come as long as the Air Force packs

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[1] The fuel bill for a 9-hour B–47 mission is $11,000.

[2] Tiger was folded into Air Force slang by United States pilots in Korea; in Asia, the tiger is an age-old symbol of ferocity.

this terrifying capability. Until some better method is found to preserve the peace, that puts the emphasis on maintaining the capability over a long period of time. And this, in turn, puts a new accent on the need for a stable Air Force.

Stability is one thing that Nate Twining's Air Force—in common with the Navy and Army—does not have. "This whole thing could go to hell in 2 weeks," says Curt LeMay. Why? "People." It takes 2 years of a 4-year enlistment to train a ground-crew chief, engine mechanic, radar technician, or flight engineer. It takes 8 years before they really get good. Yet the Air Force's enlisted men are streaming out at the end of their 4-year enlistments at the rate of 200,000 a year. It costs the United States $14,000 to train a skilled replacement. With officers (20 percent are Reserves), the picture is not much better.

ULTIMATE DEJECTION

Why do they leave? Some go for the simple reason that they can make more money on the outside. (A full colonel at Nellis Air Force Base, near Las Vegas, makes less than most well-tipped Las Vegas waitresses.) But Air Force planners, like Personnel Chief Lt. Gen. Emmett ("Rosie") O'Donnell, know that they can never hope to outbid industry on straight wages. They believe, as Army and Navy officers believe, that they can create stability by offering a way of life that combines the patriotic motive with the traditional privileges of the military. They wince as the Federal Government has clipped away such fringe benefits as housing, educational programs, recreational facilities, PXs, commissaries, adequate medical care for dependents. Even officers who never bought a bottle of whisky felt the ultimate in dejection last month when the Defense Department reversed its order allowing package liquor sales in officers' clubs—under pressure from retail liquor dealers.

The demands on a ready Air Force are so extreme (e. g., SAC air crews spend at least 3 months overseas each year) that its airmen have no time to fit into a local community. Communities, in return, are often hostile and impatient with the migrating airmen. (March Air Force Base, near Riverside, Calif., paid its enlisted men in $2 bills one week, then politely pointed out its importance to the community's business when Riverside cash registers were soon filled with $2 bills.) To gain stability for the long pull, a ready military force must have the resources and privileges of its own community. There is something inefficient about a policy of which an Air Force pilot says—as one did last week to a Time correspondent: "This kind of flying is worth almost any sacrifice, including the sacrifice of remaining in the service."

The new Air Force is in year 1, and the United States has as much to learn about living with this new concept of power as the Air Force has to learn about itself. The signs are hopeful on both scores. The Air Force, for example, is well aware that it is weak in fundamental doctrine and educated officers (42.1 percent of the Air Force officers are college graduates, and of these only 7 percent are service academy graduates). It proposes to remedy both weaknesses by the establishment of the Air Force Academy, which is expected to get congressional approval this session.

On the other hand, without any old school tie, the Air Force has not yet developed any horse-cavalry generals or battleship admirals, and in the immediate future is not likely to do so. It is in the new dimension of change that the Air Force is building toward the fantastically complicated era of the supersonic airplane, the hydrogen bomb, and the guided missile. It is thus that it intends to hold up its end of Admiral Mahan's word—"watchfulness."

Mexican Farm Labor Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 78 of the 82d Congress provides authorization for the Secretary of Labor, "pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico," to recruit Mexican nationals for work on American farms. The international agreement under which this program has been proceeding expired on January 15. Because of the intransigent attitude of the United States Government, inspired by organizations of large-scale corporate farmers, no new agreement has been negotiated. Thus, the arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico no longer exist. By all the rules of law and logic, therefore, the Department of Labor is not at this time authorized to conduct a recruitment program among Mexican citizens nor to spend the funds Congress appropriated under that authorization.

In spite of this fact and in deliberate evasion of the law, the Department is at this moment continuing such recruitment. Further, this is apparently being done with the implied approval of the Department of State and the Department of Justice, in the face of the express opposition of the Government of Mexico. Not content with ignoring the plain language of United States law, they are also slapping the face of a friendly neighbor intent only on protecting the rights of its citizens and shielding them from exploitation by some United States employers—the same employers who seem to be dictating the policy this administration is following.

This is indeed a sorry situation, Mr. Speaker. It is certainly a prime example of diplomacy at its worst and makes us a legitimate target for the hitherto unjustified charges of imperialism levied against us. The Laredo (Tex.) Times on January 27 published an editorial, reprinted in the Washington Daily News, which gives a trenchant analysis of the indefensible position in which we have placed ourselves to promote a system of peonage and impose it on a friendly people. I submit the editorial for inclusion in the RECORD. It is all the more damning when we consider that it comes from the heartland of much of the agitation for a no-holds-barred system of flooding the United States with cheap labor.

The editorial follows:

Mexico's President Ruiz Cortines last Thursday issued the best statement yet to come out of the misunderstanding between his country and the Eisenhower administration.

Ruiz Cortines asked the people of Mexico to be calm.

He said that Mexico did not by any means consider this misunderstanding between the two countries as an extreme emergency.

However, the drastic action taken by the United States is certainly not becoming a well-informed Government.

The United States attitude is more in keeping with a "not good-neighbor policy."

The United States seems to have a policy of not wanting even normally close relations.

The reason we say a "not good-neighbor policy" is because when a great country like the United States disregards the laws, the wishes, and the will of her closest neighbor then she is merely imitating the worst of European and Asiatic conflict.

One of the most regrettable things about this Eisenhower Republican policy toward Latin America is the case of Mexico.

Mexico has a new President, Ruiz Cortines. Ruiz Cortines became President when Mexico's financial condition and her treasury were at their lowest. He is now in the process of building up Mexico's cash reserve.

In addition, probably no other leader in any of the Latin-American countries has ever set such a high standard of honesty—which should merit respect in Washington.

In the past World War, Mexico produced and shipped for a long period of time 80 percent of all the war minerals that came from Latin America.

Besides, in the early part of the war, when we were training our troops, practically all of the small ammunition used by United States troops came from Mexico. Mexico was producing small ammunition while we were not so active in that department.

Mexico sent troops overseas in World War II and she had another 75,000 ready to go, but they were refused because there was no place for them at that time.

During the Korean War, Mexico checked her air force to see how many would volunteer to go to Korea.

More than half of each squadron volunteered and in some cases the total squadron voted to go.

This move, however, was vetoed. Because the high command in Mexico felt that although the United States was in the war, and was furnishing 90 percent of the troops, she still showed no disposition to actually win the war.

Now the Eisenhower administration is complaining that the bracero hiring agreements with Mexico for surplus farm workers is too troublesome; that there are too many demands by Mexico; and that there has been too much delay by those negotiating for Mexico.

The same problem came up before Eisenhower ever went into office.

But then the United States Ambassador would usually sit down with someone he considered the most important Mexican official, and, in 20 minutes clear up the "log jam."

Mexico knows what happened in the past—before she became the contracting agent for her farm laborers who worked in the United States.

Before these labor contracts began, Mexican braceros received from 20 cents to $1 per day in the United States.

So, several years ago, Mexico decided to end this type of abuse. Mexico took over contracting of these laborers.

This doesn't, of course, include the "wetbacks." As everyone knows the "wetbacks" were sometimes worked by farmers and ranchers, and, when they demanded their pay, they were turned over the immigration authorities to be deported or, sometimes, put in the penitentiary.

Mexico also know that it was only a few years ago that United States Judge Hannay had a case of peonage before him where ranchers and farmers were working Mexicans without paying them anything.

Judge Hannay sentenced the farmers and ranchers to the penitentiary where they belonged.

This new Eisenhower policy toward Mexico is hardly in keeping with relations between two free governments.

It is undoubtedly true that these wage agreements are troublesome.

And it is probably true that Mexico may have insisted on more red tape than is necessary.

But for the Eisenhower administration to cause Mexican troops to come to the United States border and patrol, for the first time since 1914, shows the United States policy to be that of a bulldozer which intends to force its will on a foreign country whether that country likes it or not.

Yes, we would like to see the bracero problem worked out sensibly—without threats or intimidation from either side.

That's the only way that it can be worked out in the final analysis.

As it is now, it merely means eventually lowering wages.

And, as everyone knows, when Mexican braceros received only 75 cents a day in this area, then the United States workers were also forced to accept lower wages.

That situation doesn't mean prosperity for the ranchers or farmers.

Because when farm workers' salaries are lowered—whether they are Mexican citizens or United States citizens—it eventually lowers salaries all along the line. And that means the farmers and ranchers sell less or receive less for their products, thus lowering the standard of living for all workers.

We all know how the farmers have done along this entire border.

They have more money since the workers have received decent living wages.

And now the Eisenhower administration has broken off good relations with Mexico in a very European style of bulldozing.

It's time for someone to point it out.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues in the House know from recent press reports what has been happening down on the Mexican border, particularly that part of the border which separates my own State of California from Mexico. We have been treated to the spectacle of agents of the United States Government standing on one side of the border encouraging citizens of Mexico to cross despite the attempts of Mexico's armed forces to block the border and keep their people home where they belong. On January 25 the authorized representatives of agricultural labor organizations in the territory directly affected protested vigorously to President Eisenhower against this body blow at our friendship with Mexico and against violations of immigration law by our Government officials. Thus far the protest has been blandly ignored. Indeed, the administration has had the audacity to ask the Comptroller General of the United States for an opinion upholding the legality of their illegal actions and to ask Congress for additional funds to finance their depredations. Mr. Speaker, I wish to read into the RECORD at this time this honest and indignant protest against the infamous action of the United States Government representatives:

EL CENTRO, CALIF., *January 25, 1954.*

The PRESIDENT,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: On behalf of the members of our respective unions we submit to you the following information:

Armed officers of the Border Patrol, under the direction of the Department of Justice, have in the past 3 days recruited Mexican citizens who entered this country illegally for employment on Imperial Valley farms. An undetermined number of these wetbacks—not less than 20—were processed by the Immigration agents and referred to the Department of Labor immediately without the wetbacks having made legal entry by passing over Mexican territory. We make this statement in the nature of a charge of violation of the immigration law by those entrusted with its enforcement.

We further advise you that Department of Labor officials now operating in the Imperial Valley have taken these same wetbacks and contracted them for employment in agriculture. The negligence of the Department of Labor is aggravated, in our judgment, by the failure of the Department to determine the actual need for foreign labor in the Valley at this time. We wish to call your attention to the fact that some lettuce cutters have earned only $56 in the last 6 weeks, and that carrottiers are making as little as $12 a week. These examples of underemployment will be news to the Department of Labor but we are sure that their present ignorance of the facts will not justify their hasty and illegal contracting of wetbacks.

We wish further to earnestly emphasize the great and present danger to the good relations of our country with all of Latin America raised by the body snatching of Mexican citizens who are induced to enter the United States for farm employment. Several tug-rope incidents have already taken place in which United States and Mexican border guards have pulled and tugged upon the body and physical person of the same Mexican wetback in opposite directions. It is difficult for us to explain why Secretary of State Dulles has failed personally to inquire into this ignominous performance which may lead to a border incident that will shake Latin American public opinion.

We are not requesting that you order investigations by the respective Departments of the executive branch of those conditions. Past experience shows that the personnel in charge of these affairs is not equipped to sit in judgment on its own derelictions of duty. We merely present this information with the earnest hope that you will share with us the feeling of concern over this situation and that you may be able to find effective means for correcting it—soon.

Respectfully yours,

ERNESTO GALARZA,
National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL, Local 274, Brawley.
BEN PERAY,
United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers, CIO, Local 78, El Centro.

Mr. Speaker, negotiations between the United States and Mexico looking toward an extension of the international agreement on farm labor recruitment began in October of last year. Mexico was satisfied to continue the terms of the then existing agreement. However, the United States under prodding from large farm interests in the Southwest insisted on removing from it much of the scant protection it afforded Mexican nationals who entered the United States under its terms. They wanted to make it more flexible so as to, as they put it, "encourage American employers to hire legal entrants" rather than so-called wetbacks. This flexibility appears from conversations with State Department officials to have consisted of depriving Mexico of the right to refuse to supply workers in areas where the wages to be paid their people would be so far below the already substandard wage paid elsewhere that they could not in conscience do so. We also wanted to improve the agreement's flexibility by refusing the Mexican Government the right to blacklist employers who failed to live up to the terms of the agreement. We also demanded that United States employers be given—in their euphonious terms—a firmer grip on the Mexicans whom they hired. This firmer grip consisted of permitting the employer to withhold from the starvation wages paid these desperate people enough money to pay the expense of their return to Mexico—an obligation long recognized as part of the employer's obligation in poor return for the financial benefit he reaps from the system. Here is peonage indeed. The obvious purpose of this proposal is to give the employer such a grip on the worker that, no matter how deplorable the conditions under which he works and lives are, he can be kept in bondage until he can redeem this blood money.

Is it any wonder that Mexico rejected these terms? The only wonder is that our Government had the gall to propose them. The State Department says that their prime purpose is to wipe out the illegal traffic across the border.

Apparently their reasoning is that if we simply remove all restrictions on border crossings, as we have done since expiration of the agreement, all crossings will be legal and we will, therefore, wipe out the wetback problem. This reasoning fits very nicely into the pattern of thought of the organized growers who have from year to year successfully propagandized against adequate border patrols to stop the traffic as it should be stopped. Their propaganda has been powerful indeed, as we who sit here each session and watch appropriations for this purpose defeated know. The present administration apparently intends to make the propaganda no longer necessary.

The State Department points to the experience of the past 2 weeks as proof of the success of the "unilateral interim program" now in practice. They say that the crowds of Mexicans storming the border to cross 'legally' prove that we will have no more wetbacks if we only continue to keep the program flexible." They completely ignore the fact that such uncontrolled control can only serve as inducement for Mexicans from all over the interior to migrate to the border. What do they think will then happen when our required quota is met? Those people are not going to go home without jobs and probably could not exist long enough to get home if they wanted to. The end result can only be a greater flood than ever of wetback competition to American labor.

Let us not overlook either the practical situation now existing at the border, which the administration conveniently ignores. In fact they deprecate the fact that the press has brought the unpleasant situation to light. However, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that we should ignore it. In order that my colleagues may be informed as to just what the situation is I ask that there be printed at this point in the RECORD two news stories from the Arizona Republic, published in Phoenix, Ariz. These stories,

dated January 28 and January 29, tell the story of what was happening at Calexico, Calif., and Mexicali, Mex., on those days. There is no evidence that the situation has changed.

The story for January 28 is headlined "Mexican Mob Storms Border." It follows:

CALEXICO, CALIF.—Fire hoses were used yesterday to turn back thousands of Mexican farm laborers attempting to stampede across the United States-Mexican border in search of work.

The fire department of Mexicala manned the hoses at the request of Mexican border officers who feared that unless the braceros—farm hands—were controlled the situation would get out of hand.

Several of the workers were trampled and injured in the mob movement. They were taken in patrol cars to a hospital in Mexicali.

After order was restored, Mexican immigration authorities permitted the farm laborers to cross the border to fill 500 jobs which opened up yesterday for field hands. Although United States Department of Labor representatives asked for only 500 men to fill the jobs, more than 2,000 were allowed to cross by Mexican border guards.

From that number, 500 were selected by hiring agencies and the balance were sent back across the border to await a possible call later for more workers.

Yesterday's mob action came on the third day of open labor recruiting along the border here since a United States-Mexican agreement on farm labor expired.

Mexican authorities at first had sought to close the border to the workers, but later decided to permit them to cross if jobs were available.

The second story, dated January 29, 1954, is as follows:

BRACEROS AWAIT CALL

CALEXICO, CALIF.—No more workers are needed until Monday at least, the United States Department of Labor reception center announced yesterday as 1,500 to 2,000 Mexican farm laborers jammed against the border fence hoping to get the Imperial Valley harvest jobs.

The reception center in nearby El Centro said all 3,500 jobs available had been filled since last Friday under its program of recruiting Mexican help.

Workers restlessly waiting along the border in hopes of getting jobs threw rocks over on the American side today—not maliciously or in anger, observers said, but just to kill time. Three newsmen said they were hit but not hurt.

In a riot Wednesday of more than 1,000 laborers attempting to storm the border and get jobs, a small Mexican girl was thrown against a slow-moving freight train and knocked unconscious. One man was trampled severely and four others less severely.

Mr. Speaker, no comment from me is needed to underline those stark facts. This is a successful system indeed. I am sure that the Members of the House from the great cattle-raising States of the Southwest will agree that the ranchers in their States would not allow their cattle to be treated that way—and we are doing it to human beings. But then, beef is expensive and a farm laborer comes mighty cheap.

We have ignored the protests of our sister Republic and forced them into a situation where they had no choice but to permit their people to cross the border as an alternative to riot and bloodshed. We have ignored the recommendations of the Department of Labor's Advisory Committee on Farm Labor composed of able men who know the story first hand, and who, on January 22 urged resumption of the interupted negotiations for an international agreement while deploring the Department of Labor's present course as an affront to Mexico. We have ignored the considered recommendations of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers which met in Mexico City in December with representatives of the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and the Mexican Federation of Labor—CTM—present and urged reforms in the then existing program to prevent exploitation of migrant workers. The American representatives incidentally had the door shut in their faces when they offered their assistance to Ambassador White in the negotiations then going on. We have ignored every consideration of human decency, international courtesy, and, in short, everything but the demands of the organized growers bent on an open door to cheap farm labor, regardless of the consequences.

That is an intolerable situation, Mr. Speaker, over which every American citizen should be up in arms. Let us hope that the Comptroller General, if he has not already done so, will rule that our high-handed practices have been completely illegal and that the funds so spent were spent in violation of the law. If he does not so rule I trust that the wisdom of the Congress will move us to refuse the funds the administration has requested to finance their shocking course.

There's An Answer Somewhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I direct your attention to the following article from the Glenville Democrat, Glenville, W. Va., showing the decline of population in West Virginia since the year 1950, caused by unemployment conditions:

THERE'S AN ANSWER SOMEWHERE

Problems, like the proverbial poor, are always with us, and vain is the person who figuratively sticks his head in the sand and passively surmises that all is well and that there are no further goals to pursue.

Here is a current report from the United States Census Bureau which shows that West Virginia's population has been on the decline since 1950, and percentagewise the drop is the largest of any State in the country.

Reasons for this adverse shift have been many, but four major factors apparently are responsible for the drift. They are:

1. Declining employment in the coal fields, West Virginia's basic industry.

2. Lack of industrial diversity in the State to absorb these unemployed.

3. Absence of primary national defense contracts to bolster general employment in the State.

4. Favorable atmosphere in other States encouraging development of chemical, manufacturing, and other industry away from West Virginia.

The Census Bureau reported the Mountain State's population between April 1950 and July 1953 has dipped from 2,005,552 to 1,927,000. This is an estimated 3.9 percent drop.

Meanwhile such neighboring States as Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland—along with the District of Columbia—have shown a growth in population.

Here in Gilmer County the problem is similar. We have lost about 3,500 in population; so have our neighbors, Ritchie, Calhoun, Lewis, Braxton, and Doddridge.

More and better farming such as practiced by those in Farming for Better Living, the building of small industries in Gilmer and adjoining counties, and promotion of the tourist trade, would tend to check the loss of population, but the $64 question is: How do we attain these goals?

Wishful thinking won't do the job. That has been tried.

More Appeasement of Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, why does the free world constantly yield in its dealings with the dictators in the Kremlin? A news item that indicates that our foreign-aid administrator, Harold Stassen, is perfectly willing for Britain to sell Russia a proposed billion dollars' worth of goods next year as long as no strategic items are included. Now all that is needed is for Mr. Stassen to define strategic items. Attention was recently called to another statement by Mr. Stassen to the effect that we, too, were going to lower our guard and do some business with Russia. Is it any wonder, Mr. Speaker, that the Russians make fools out of the so-called free-world nations?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the article which just appeared in the Washington Times-Herald on this subject:

UNITED STATES APPROVES BRITISH-RUSS TRADING DEAL—STRATEGIC ITEMS BARRED, STASSEN ASSERTS

(By Philip Warden)

Foreign-Aid Administrator Stassen said Friday the United States is "perfectly willing" for Britain to sell Russia a proposed billion dollars' worth of goods next year as long as no "strategic" items are included.

The British Board of Trade announced in London Thursday that Russia is seeking for cash a wide variety of industrial items, including oil tankers, cargo vessels, plant equipment, a steel-rolling mill, complete electric-generating plants, and railroad equipment.

Press reports from Moscow said the offer calls for the delivery of a billion dollars' worth of goods from 1955 to 1957. It represented the biggest buying offer yet made by Russia in its widely publicized campaign to rebuild trade outside the Iron Curtain.

RELAXING EMBARGOES

Stassen told a press conference that under present international agreements Britain

would be prohibited from delivering any oil tankers or the steel rolling mill to Russia, as they are "now classified strategic."

Stassen added that the United States and its allies are constantly relaxing the embargo list and that it is possible that some items on the Russian shopping list now classified as strategic and undeliverable may soon have their status changed.

"The British Board of Trade indicated that the list would be screened," Stassen said, "in keeping with our agreement.

"We are perfectly willing to see a trade in nonstrategic goods and believe we will see some of that take place in the coming year."

Stassen said Russia's desire to buy goods outside the Iron Curtain appears to stem from "economic difficulty" inside the curtain. He discounted reports that the offer might be a new type of economic warfare being tested by the Russians.

PROBABLE DIFFICULTY

The recent large Russian shipments of gold and platinum to banks outside the Iron Curtain and its offers to sell its heretofore carefully hoarded petroleum "appear to indicate the Soviet is in some economic difficulty," Stassen said.

Stassen announced that he and George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, had settled their differences and that he had agreed to establish a new Foreign Aid Advisory Commission.

Stassen also told the press conference that he now estimates that some $350 million of America's multibillion dollar farm products surplus will be used for foreign aid this year.

Mr. Speaker, I am also including as part of my remarks an article that appeared in the Washington Star, which indicates that Great Britain is ready to play ball with Soviet Russia.

BRITAIN HELD READY TO EXTEND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH RUSSIA

BERLIN, February 6.—The British tonight were reported ready to make their friendship treaty with Russia run as long as the 50-year European Defense Community (EDC) project.

Informed sources disclosed this a few hours after Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden told Russia's Vyacheslav M. Molotov at the Big Four Conference:

"We should, I am sure, be ready to prolong it (the British-Soviet treaty) if Mr. Molotov feels that this would give added security to the Soviet Union."

However, Mr. Eden himself, did not give any indication of how long the pact might be extended.

The alliance, which has run nearly 11 of its scheduled 20-year span, was signed in Moscow between Mr. Eden and Mr. Molotov. Its main provision binds each country to go to the aid of the other if it should become again the victim of German aggression.

REPEATS ASSURANCE

Mr. Eden three times this year assured the Soviet Union publicly that Britain still abides by the terms of the alliance. The pact forbids either side to join in any aggressive coalition directed against the other.

Russia accused Britain of violating that provision after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in 1949. But the British maintained NATO was purely a defensive organization.

In blowing new life into their alliance with Russia, diplomatic sources said, the British hope to:

1. Allay Soviet fears that a rearmed Germany—even though harnessed to EDC—will try to dominate Europe again.

2. Notify any German extremists that two of Europe's strongest nations will be ranged against them if they should ever break bounds again.

FEAR NEW THREAT

The Russians have told the West repeatedly they believe vengeful Germans might try to lead their country out of the EDC and threaten world peace. Mr. Molotov has told the Big Four they should unite in keeping Germany disarmed indefinitely.

Mr. Eden, Secretary Dulles, and French Foreign Minister Bidault have argued back that to keep the Germans suppressed would create the very danger of German aggression that all were trying to avoid.

EDC would combine the forces of France, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and Luxembourg in a one-uniform army, jointly armed, supplied, and commanded.

Problems of Agriculture Seen Affecting Everyone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article which appeared in the Syracuse Post-Standard, written by Dr. Karl D. Butler, Problem of Agriculture Seen Affecting Everyone:

PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURE SEEN AFFECTING EVERYONE

(By Karl D. Butler)

A new twist has come to the proposed new farm program. Traditionally, Congressmen from the farm districts have fought through legislation directly involving farmers. Today, with farmers representing a smaller percentage of our citizenry than ever before and with mounting concern on the part of nonfarmers as to the cost of so-called farm programs, just about everyone is becoming interested.

Certainly, the consumer has a stake in what kind of national farm and food policy we have today, just as does the farmer.

Representative NORRIS COTTON, of New Hampshire, in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives June 19, 1950, expressed the situation pointedly by comparing present agricultural policies to the old medicine shows of his childhood. He pointed out how a fellow with a glib tongue would rise up and tell about a wonderful magic elixir, and that farmers and all alike would fall for it. He then praised the down-to-earth approach of the Farm Bureau and the National Grange, and stated that they offered no magic formula. This is left to the glib-tongued politicians.

OPPOSED BRANNAN PLAN

COTTON was arguing against the Brannan plan at that time and titled his speech, "Why Not Tell the Farmer the Truth Now—Not After Election?"

He pointed out that there are all kinds of schemes, plans, and fantasies being offered; and he said that we must consider the situation very carefully. He said:

"The farm problem is not only of interest to farmers, but it reaches into the kitchens and onto the dining tables of every family in the land because it affects food and living costs. Our farm policy will be one of the hottest issues in the next political campaign, and it ought to be."

Outlining what happened in the potato fiasco and in our foreign-aid programs, relating to agricultural products, COTTON further said:

"Very recent experience should teach us that when we attempt to guarantee a high income for the farmer, we array all the other segments of our population against him. The storm clouds are gathering, and the mutterings can already be heard. All over the Nation, consumers, workers, and businessmen are complaining against present price supports. The farmers * * * cannot afford to lose the good will of all the rest. In anger against our present policy, the consumers of the Nation are likely to rise and strip the farmer of all those just and reasonable safeguards that he has gained through years of struggle. Many farm organizations and leaders realize this danger and are seeking to avert it, but thus far they have been powerless against the vote hunters.

FLEXIBLE SUPPORTS

The commonsense course seems obvious. It lies in a flexible price support which can be maintained high enough to protect the farmer from disaster and failure, but permits his profits to be determined by his own initiative and efficiency in producing. This plan is not a cure-all for every ailment nor a panacea for every pain. There is no such plan. It is, however, the nearest that Government can come to fulfilling its proper function for the benefit of the various segments of its people. It will not solve all the farmer's problems, but it will afford him reasonable protection and keep him free and unshackled to solve them for himself. At the same time it will not impose unjust hardships upon the consumer or the taxpayer.

In my opinion, the farmers have had less consideration through the years than almost any other group in our economy. I desire that the farmer shall have every consideration that his Government can give him. I insist, however, that we are not doing him a kindness by maintaining an abnormally high support price.

ENCOURAGE SLOTHFUL

By so doing we encourage poor agriculture, give to the slothful and inefficient farmer aid to remain in business to compete with the farmer who is efficient in producing and who guards and preserves his soil, and create a surplus both of farm produce and popular ill will which in the end will militate against all our farmers, especially the good ones.

The Eisenhower administration has proposed a gradual change in the direction espoused by COTTON. Mr. COTTON served on the House Agriculture Committee for several years and knows what he is talking about.

What Statesman COTTON said in 1950 is just as appropriate now as it was then.

Secret Sessions Should Be Reduced to Minimum in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article that appeared in the Washington Post, February 7, 1954, concerning secret hearings in Congress. It is my belief that unnecessary secret hearings are offensive to those who believe in a representative democracy or a democratic republic. I know that some hearings should be secret, but I sincerely believe that Con-

gress has too many secret hearings and that many of the mare conducted in secret that should be conducted publicly. In a democracy such as our own it is necessary that all the people, and especially all Members of Congress be given the benefit of information that will be helpful to them. Much of such information is not disclosed because of secret hearings.

The article follows:

FOUR IN TEN CAPITOL HEARINGS SECRET

(By Robert C. Albright)

Congress may be one of the world's few great citadels of open discussion, but its committees spend nearly half of their time behind closed doors.

This rather startling disclosure turned up in a survey recently conducted by the Congressional Quarterly.

Out of 3105 committee hearings held in the 7-month 1st session of this Congress, 1,357, or about 44 percent, were behind closed doors.

Actually, a bulging majority of the Senate committee meetings were secret while House committees spent a good deal less time under wraps. But the average for both Houses was an eyebrow lifting statistic—better than 4 out of 10 on the secrecy side.

Didn't this represent plenty of backsliding from the 1946 Monroney-LaFollette Congressional Reorganization Act, the law which sought not only to streamline Congress but to open more committee doors?

Section 133 (f) of that statute says in plain language that "all hearings conducted by standing committees or their subcommittees shall be open to the public, except executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or where the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session."

The Washington Post consulted one of the two men who wrote the Modernization Act—still the foremost authority on it—Senator A. S. MIKE MONRONEY (Democrat, Oklahoma). He said he thought the intent of the law was clear and expressed "amazement" at the extent to which the survey disclosed Congress leaning toward a "closed door" policy.

Said MONRONEY: "Of all the places in Government where open transaction of business should be scrupulously adhered to, it's Congress.

"As everyone knows, we do most of our work in committees. The business of legislating on the floor is only a small part of our job. For Congress through its committees to set a pattern of secrecy would tend to make this insidious pattern spread throughout Government."

MONRONEY said he wasn't for a moment implying that this trend in Congress has developed solely under the new Republican leadership. He said it had also been growing in recent years of Democratic ascendancy.

The Oklahoma Democrat said framers of the 1946 act recognized that committees must go into executive session to mark up bills, vote on testimony, and even to consider certain security matters, such as atomic-energy developments.

"We provided that the committee could order an executive session by a majority vote," he said.

"The intent of Congress, as I understood it, was that all committee meetings would be open to the maximum extent possible. It was my understanding that committees would be required to take a separate vote in order to hold an executive session. I am sure this has not been followed."

Citing efforts of a free press to eliminate blocks in the flow of information from the Government to the public, MONRONEY stressed:

"Here in Congress of all places, we ought to be in a position to insist on the various governmental agencies making their operations known and providing full information to the public. But judging by these statistics, the example we set is a poor one."

Here is Congressional Quarterly's tabulation of open and closed committee hearings. It does not include House appropriations or conference committee meetings, virtually all of which are executive; meetings held outside Washington, or meetings since the adjournment of Congress August 2.

	Open	Closed	Unclassified	Totals
House	942	384	54	1,380
Senate	704	461	24	1,189
Joint	22	47	2	71
Totals	1,668	892	80	2,640

A breakdown of these 892 closed meetings by subject revealed that 518 were legislative, 122 were on nominations (all in the Senate), 73 were organizational, and 240 were general, including probes. Only 29 were on undetermined subjects.

Congressional Quarterly added to the closed-door total an estimated 465 executive meetings of the House Appropriations Committee. This hiked the overall closed doors figure to 1,357, or 44 percent of 3,105.

The count did not break down the number of closed and open sessions held by each individual legislative committee. Obviously some leaned heavily toward secrecy while some were comparatively open forums. What the totals showed was the average for all committees in both Houses.

Only a handful of committees issued detailed statistics on their own operations. Among these was Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S Senate Investigations Subcommittee.

A staff summary of its 1953 activities listed 70 public and 123 closed-door hearings. Testifying in open session were 208 witnesses, while 320 were heard in secret. This compared with 20 public and 6 closed hearings in 1952, according to the staff report. Of 48 witnesses heard in 1952, only 9 went before the subcommittee behind closed doors.

Anniversary of Cardinal Mindszenty Sentencing Reminds Us That All Freedoms Are in Jeopardy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, we in America must remind ourselves constantly of the pattern of aggression taken by the Communist conspiracy all over the world. Just as individual Communists are guided by a tight formula of behavior toward the end of dominating the world, so are individual acts of international communism not separate moves but part of an overall pattern to stamp out all opposition.

The menace of communism was emphasized by the brutality of its attacks on the Roman Catholic Church. But it was not just freedom of religion in Communist nations that perished. With it went freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition and freedom of speech. Only last week the Red-dominated government of Guatemala gave us a graphic example of that pattern. Besides expelling 2 American newsmen, it ousted a Franciscan missionary, the Reverend Sebastian Buccellato.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, today, the fifth anniversary of the life imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty, the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, we shall do well to review the pattern of events and remember that with the advance of the Red tide, all human freedoms are in jeopardy.

In 1948 when the Communists of Hungary had consolidated their position, and had virtually eliminated all political, economic and social groups opposed to them, they moved into another arena—the ideological and spiritual sphere. They hoped that their success in this arena would crown their firm hold over the populace of Hungary. In this phase of their struggle for supremacy, godless Communists were face to face with a devout people. And the Catholic people, always guided in the ways of God by their devoted and dauntless leaders, were no easy prey to Communist blandishments and brutalities. The clergy as well as the people were subjected to all sorts of cruelties; their freedom of movement was restricted; their activities were brought under surveillance and rigidly circumscribed; the religious press was muzzled, and freedom of speech became a thing of the past. Parochial schools were taken over by the Government and their properties were confiscated. Religious publications were banned, and many courageous clergymen were imprisoned or liquidated.

During all this time the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary was displaying indomitable courage in condemning all these moves made by civil authorities. In his sermons he was exposing the villainy and brutality of the secret police. His was a defiant voice, and the Government sought ways of silencing him. Finally, on the night of December 26, 1948, 16 secret agents of the Government surrounded his official residence, arrested him on charges of antistate activity, and led him to prison. A few days later when the news of this startling event was revealed to the outside world, peoples in western democracies were stunned. Protest meetings were held in many countries condemning this arbitrary act of the Hungarian Government; our Acting Secretary of State Robert Lovett branded this act as a "sickening sham." These protests and condemnations, however, did not save the cardinal from prison. On February 3 of the following year he was tried and accused of espionage, treason, and black-market activities. It was reported officially that the cardinal admitted the charges and confessed his guilt.

On February 4, 1949, Great Britain and the United States officially protested to the Hungarian Government because representatives from their Governments were not allowed to be present at the trial proceedings.

The appearance of the cardinal at various stages of the trial indicated quite conclusively that he had been "brainwashed." The result was a confession by the cardinal.

On February 8, 1949—5 years ago today—Cardinal Mindszenty was found guilty of treason, espionage, and currency offenses and he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Since that fateful day, this humble servant of the church, this stanch champion of human freedom, has carried on his fight against tyranny and brute force from his prison in some unknown corner in Hungary. On this day, marking the fifth year of his life imprisonment, we pay tribute to him for his courageous defiance of evil forces and for his championing supreme ideals.

Last week President Eisenhower, in a letter to the United Catholic Organization for the Freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty, stated:

We in the free world have not forgotten this is the fifth anniversary of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial and imprisonment. * * * The unjust nature of the proceedings against Cardinal Mindszenty is, of course, well known to the American people. They regarded the attack upon him as a blow against religious freedom in Hungary and an unprincipled attempt to destroy spiritual and moral influences in that country.

The Bricker or Similar Amendment Would Strengthen, Not Weaken, the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the argument that the adoption of the Bricker or any other amendment making ineffective an executive agreement unless it has the sanction of the Congress, would weaken the Constition is without merit.

Listening to or reading the arguments of the opponents of the proposed Bricker or similar amendment, one would think that a proposal to amend the Constitution was a move to destroy it.

The absurdity of such an argument is apparent when we realize that the first 10 amendments, the Bill of Rights, were absolutely necessary if the purpose of the Founding Fathers was to be made effective.

Permit me to read a letter sent out on February 3, 1954, by the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc. I quote:

When the greatest statesmen in history, the Founding Fathers, had finished drafting our Constitution, Benjamin Franklin was asked, "What have you given us?" He answered, "A republic, if you can keep it."

Soon afterward, President George Washington directed that the White House be built not on the hill but in the valley below, and the Capitol placed on the hill to symbolize that in a republic the legislative branch should forever remain the supreme policymaking body.

Never before on a constitutional issue has the Nation witnessed such a spectacle as some Members of Congress making pilgrimage after pilgrimage to the White House to have the wording of a substitute for the Bricker amendment dictated to them by the State Department.

The Constitution vests exclusively in the Congress all the authority and responsibility for amendments. It gives to the President no function whatever, not even veto power. President Eisenhower, himself, recognized this, as reported in the minority Judiciary report, when he said that he "did not have to make any decision, since the constitutional amendment is enacted by two-thirds of each House and three-fourths of the States, a procedure that ignores the President." It is as improper for the State Department to misuse its office to dominate the action of Congress on the Bricker amendment as it would be to attempt to pack the Supreme Court. The "leftish" columnists, commentators, and internationalist newspapers, demanding "Presidential leadership," have been singing a siren song for Executive dictatorship.

During the last 20 years, the State Department and other branches of the executive have acquired enormously swollen powers. They control the spending of tens of billions of dollars and have charge of several million Federal employees. Misused, these gigantic powers can go far toward undermining the independence of the Congress and the sovereignty of the States.

In history, many republics have perished, sometimes by military dictatorship, but generally by reason of the erosion of legislative power by the executive branch. If the State Department, speaking through the White House, is now permitted to block an effective Bricker amendment, the way will be wide open for a future President to establish one-man rule by way of treaty law.

Unless this unconstitutional interference by the State Department with the legislative processes is repulsed, a precedent will be set subordinating the Congress to the executive. History records what Napoleon did to the French Assembly and Hitler to the Reichstag.

Our Republic stands at the crossroads. This may be the final hour for restoring constitutional balance and reestablishing the supremacy of the Constitution over treaty law that may be misused to break down constitutional liberty in our domestic affairs. During the critical days ahead, the United States Senate will answer Franklin's question: "A Republic, if you can keep it."

Federal Communications Commission Requests Amendment of Communications Act With Regard to Protest Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 in regard to protests of grants of instruments of authorization without hearing. Enactment of this legislation has been requested by the Federal Communications Commission. The reasons for the Commission's request are set forth in a letter which the Commission addressed on January 22, 1954, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. In order to give the Members of the House of Representatives and all other interested persons an opportunity to study the Commission's arguments in favor of the proposed amendment, the letter of the Commission is set forth here in full:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 22, 1954.
Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The Commission wishes to recommend for the consideration of the Congress a proposed amendment to section 309 (c) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended. A proposed bill is attached as an appendix to this letter. The objective of the proposed legislation is to clarify the so-called protest rule contained in section 309 (c) which was incorporated into the Communications Act by the Communications Act Amendments, 1952 (66 Stat. 711), so as to obviate the use of the new procedure as a device for delaying radio station grants which are in the public interest while at the same time retaining the rule's primary objective of providing interested parties with a means by which they may bring to the Commission's attention bona fide questions concerning grants made without hearing.

Section 309 (c) provides that all authorizations granted without a hearing shall remain subject to protest by any party in interest for a 30-day period. The protest must show that the protestant is a party in interest and must specify with particularity the facts relied on to sustain the protest. Within 15 days from the date of filing of a protest, the Commission must determine whether the protest meets these requirements. If the Commission so finds, the application involved must be set for hearing on the issues specified in the protest as well as such additional issues as the Commission may prescribe. The protestant has the burden of proof and the burden of proceeding with the evidence on issues set forth in his protest and not specifically adopted by the Commission. The Commission is directed to expedite protest hearing cases, and the effective date of the Commission's action protested is to be postponed until the Commission's decision after hearing, unless the particular authorization is necessary to the maintenance or conduct of an existing service. It should be noted that a bill extending the time in which the Commission may act on a protest to 30 days, H. R. 4558, has passed the House of Representatives and an identical bill, S. 1627, has been introduced in the Senate.

The protest rule has resulted in substantial delays in the construction and operation of new television or radio stations authorized by the Commission without hearing. For any party in interest may file a protest and it seems clear, under relevant court decisions, that the term "party in interest" includes not only existing stations in the same service as the grantee who might be adversely affected economically by the grant, but also stations in other broadcast services who might similarly suffer economic injury as a result of competition afforded by the new stations. Furthermore, if the protestant shows himself to be a party in interest and details his objections to the grant, the Commission is required to designate the application involved for hearing; it may not dispose of the protest on the pleadings, even though it would be otherwise possible to do so. And finally, since with respect to the authorization of new stations there is no existing service to be maintained, the Commission is required to postpone the effectiveness of the authorization pending any such hearing and the decision by the Commission. The result has been to make possible delaying tactics on the part of existing licensees or permittees attempting to forestall competition. And such hearings not only delay the effectiveness of the particu-

lar authorization involved but also occupy the time and efforts of members of the Commission's limited staff who could otherwise be utilized in connection with other proceedings, including necessary hearings involving competitive television applications.

In order to obviate these difficulties the enclosed proposal would amend section 309 (c) to make clear that while any party in interest could protest a grant of a permit made without hearing, such protest would not automatically result in staying the effectiveness of the grant or require a hearing regardless of the merits of the claims advanced by the protestant. Instead, the proposed new language would provide merely that within 30 days of the filing of such a protest the Commission, upon consideration of the protest and any reply thereto, would issue a decision either affirming its previous grant or suspending its effectiveness and designating the application for hearing. The proposed revision would also provide that the filing of a protest would not operate to stay the effective date of the grant unless the Commission expressly so ordered. It is believed that the revised language would achieve the apparent objective of the protest rule in affording interested parties an opportunity to bring to the attention of the Commission questions about grants made without hearing and to obtain a determination thereon. At the same time, it would avoid the utilization of the protest rule as a device for delay on the part of potential competitors.

The Commission, therefore, recommends that section 309 (c) should be amended as set forth in the attached proposed bill. The submission of this proposal to the Congress has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget. If there is any further information concerning this matter which the Commission can furnish you with, please do not hesitate to let us know.

By direction of the Commission:

ROSEL H. HYDE,
Chairman.

The Uranium-Mining Industry: Defender of the Free World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me before the annual banquet of the Colorado Mining Association in Denver, Colo., January 29, 1954:

No Member of the United States Congress could come to Denver without paying respect to those two distinguished Americans—your Senators from Colorado, GENE MILLIKIN and ED JOHNSON. In my case there is special reason for commending them to you—they have been my valued colleagues on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy from its inception. The fact of their membership on that committee explains rather forcefully why the chairman of the committee accepted your invitation to speak here tonight.

Although this is not my first trip to Denver, it is the first time I have visited with you as chairman of the joint committee. Our committee is required by law to watch over the health and vitality of our national atomic-energy program. We accordingly have had a long-standing interest in the uranium-mining operations of the Colorado plateau. As some of you know, several of our committee members have a firsthand acquaintance with the far-flung uranium-mining activities here on the plateau. It is my hope that we will be able to make more of these visits in the not distant future.

You should be warned, I feel, that my only on-the-spot acquaintance with the extraction of uranium ores has been secured not on the Colorado plateau but in South Africa. Last fall it was my good fortune to accompany a delegation of the Raw Materials Submittee of the joint committee to the uranium mines and processing plants in the Union of South Africa. There the extraction of uranium is very different from the operations here on the Colorado plateau. In South Africa the recovery of uranium is associated with the production of gold—uranium is simultaneously leached out of the tailings of the gold mines. Yet, in spite of the technical difference between their processes and yours, we found among our South African friends—the owners and operators of the mines and the governmental officials involved in the program—the same eagerness to push ahead with furnishing raw material for America's atomic plants that we have encountered among those of you engaged in our domestic uranium program.

Colorado has played an historic part in the story of the atom. My scientific friends tell me that carnotite from the Colorado plateau was one of the two chief sources of radium used by Madame Curie in her pioneer studies of radioactivity at the end of the last century. You will remember that it was the discovery of the radioactive properties of uranium in 1896 which marked the beginning of the historic experiments which ultimately led to the splitting of the atomic nucleus.

It is a sad commentary on these troubled times that the first carnotite mined in this area was devoted solely to advancing pure scientific research, whereas today the bulk of the uranium ore which flows from the Colorado plateau to our atomic installations eventually emerges in the form of material for atomic weapons. For our necessary concentration today on atomic weapons we do not need to apologize. The terrible nuclear armaments race upon which the world is now embarked is not of our own choosing; it has been forced upon us by the refusal of the Soviet dictatorship to agree to an effective and realistic worldwide program for regulating the production of weapons. With heavy heart we have been forced to heed the dictates of elementary prudence and to manufacture the nuclear weapons required for the survival of this and like-minded nations.

On behalf of our national atomic-energy program the members of the American mining industry have been called upon to step up the tempo of their efforts to work known sources of uranium ore and to discover new deposits. Hardly a week goes by, I imagine, but that you are not visited with some new delegation from Washington urging you to do more and to do it faster. The legislative group of which I am a member—the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—has been a partner to these urgings. Our last formal statement on the procurement of uranium and thorium raw material, issued a year and one-half ago, recommended that "the Atomic Energy Commission should rapidly and substantially increase uranium and thorium production from domestic sources." This same report stated that "the United States has such great need for uranium and thorium that procurement from foreign sources should also be rapidly and substantially increased. Considering the possibility," our report went on, "that foreign ore sources might be cut off, considering the inability of our own country to control the timetable and the intentions of a potential enemy, and considering the possibility that our military will continue to revise upward their estimates of minimum weapon needs, the rate of ore procurement should be rapidly increased."

In my opinion, everything which has happened since these recommendations were written underscores their wisdom. If we are to have the raw materials needed to fuel the plants being constructed under our 1950 and 1952 atomic plant expansion programs, we need all the uranium ore we can get, both domestic and foreign.

Here let me express a few thoughts which I hope may be heeded by our friends abroad who are engaged in supplying uranium for our atomic plants. Among a few such friends, I have detected the fear—and it is an honestly held, even if mistaken notion—that our present program for procuring foreign ores is directed at building up a stockpile of raw materials for use in future atomic powerplants. Those who entertain such apprehensions fear that by preempting existing supplies of uranium ore, our country may achieve an unfair advantage when widespread use of atomic power is a reality. Such fears, I can state very categorically, are completely without foundation, and it is important that this become known. It is a plain fact that our foreign ore purchase program is aimed exclusively at acquiring the materials needed to enlarge our stockpile of atomic and thermonuclear weapons—weapons which protect not only this Nation but also our friends abroad. As you in this audience have good cause to know, we are not holding back on the production of domestic ores in order to conserve them for future peacetime uses.

True though these statements are, we have the responsibility of demonstrating to our friends abroad who provide us with uranium that we are earnestly trying to meet as large a portion of present uranium requirements as we can from domestic sources. The best way to make that fact known is for the Atomic Energy Commission, and for the American mining industry, to expand further the magnitude of their programs for searching out new supplies of domestic ores. There is urgent need, moreover, to intensify every research effort directed at devising more efficient and more economical ways of recovering domestic ores.

I cannot imagine any reasonable person disputing the prophesy that during the years immediately ahead the level of our demand for uranium ores, both domestic and foreign, will remain at a high level. But what of the shape of things to come for the uranium industry in the decade beginning—say—in 1960. Will we then have arrived at the point where our stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen weapons will be sufficient beyond question to satisfy any conceivable military use? Will peacetime uses of nuclear energy during the 1960's, while growing rapidly, still not provide a large market for uranium ores? May it therefore be that—10 years hence—the uranium industry is likely to see a period of slackened demand for its products?

No man should presume to firm judgments when peering a decade ahead. My own reading of the future, however, says that the demand for uranium ores will continue to be great as far ahead as our eyes can now see. I anticipate no period of retrenchment for the uranium industry. As the atomic age unfolds in the decades ahead, greater and greater uses will be found, which can only be met by an ever-increasing production of source material.

You may ask if this is any more than an expression of faith. I will answer that, if so, it is not unreasoning faith. Where atomic energy is concerned, I am convinced that our boldest prophecies concerning its coming applications—both for military and peaceful purposes—will be overtaken by the actual course of events. For all the signal achievements recorded up to now in harnessing this elemental new force, I am deeply convinced that we are today barely scratching the surface in employing nuclear energy

both in defending our lives and enriching our lives.

Everything which has happened so far in the development of our atomic program reinforces this conviction. As one proof of this, contrast the predictions we made in 1945 concerning military uses of atomic and hydrogen energy with the reality of these uses in 1954.

Eight short years ago we spoke of the atomic bomb—in the sense of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki weapons. We thought of atom bombs exclusively as city killers. We imagined that a few score of these weapons, or a few hundred at the very most, would suffice to meet any conceivable military use. Today we speak of an entire family of atomic weapons adapted to all types of tactical situations. Today our thinking proceeds in terms of stockpiles numbering thousands and tens of thousands of nuclear weapons.

Eight short years ago the hydrogen bomb—that most hideous of all destroyers—was regarded by most of us only as an interesting topic for astounding science fiction stories in Sunday magazine supplements. A few men were convinced in their minds and hearts that the hydrogen bomb could be built, in a relatively short period of time, both by us and the Soviets. Most of us, however, believed otherwise, and we acquiesced when active development of this weapon was shelved from 1946 to 1950.

Today, the harnessing of hydrogen energy for military purposes is an appalling reality, both in the United States and the Soviet Union. Mankind has entered the epoch of thermonuclear weapons, of bombs whose destructive power is measured in millions of tons of TNT equivalent.

Few Americans have first-hand knowledge of the havoc created even by the outmoded blockbusters of World War II, by bombs which contained only a few tons of ordinary high explosives. How, then, can we comprehend the human meaning—the meaning in terms of gutted cities and maimed bodies—of weapons which may be not hundreds, not thousands, but millions of times as powerful as the blockbusters of the Second World War?

Had you been with me at our Eniwetok Proving Grounds in the Pacific in the fall of 1952, when we exploded a thermonuclear device, you might have received some understanding—but still only a dim understanding, if your own experience paralleled mine—of the real meaning of thermonuclear energy.

Of this much, we may be sure: The Soviet overlords and their military chieftans are not blind to the enormous military advantages gained by the possession of incontestable supremacy in nuclear armaments. They are straining every muscle to beat us in the race for atomic and hydrogen superiority. We dare not surrender our incontestable supremacy and we need not if our resolution is strong and unswerving.

With the survival of our free institutions at stake, simple prudence demands that we exploit to the maximum the contributions which atomic and hydrogen weapons can make to our national armed strength. The necessity of concentrating on nuclear firepower, and substituting atomic and hydrogen weapons for conventional armaments wherever possible, strikes me as compelling and remorseless. A single plane, carrying a single thermonuclear weapon on a single raid, could drop on any target within reach, a cargo of destructive force exceeding the explosive power of all the bombs visited upon Germany and all the occupied nations of Europe by the combined efforts of the Royal Air Force and the United States Air Force throughout all the 6 years of World War II. In other words, a single plane, on a single flight, could carry a nuclear payload exceeding in explosive force all the TNT which we and our allies carried on the more than 2 million missions which were flown against Europe over a period of 6 years.

Atomic and hydrogen firepower are not only thousands of times more destructive than ordinary explosives; dollar for dollar, they are also thousands of times cheaper. It is right and proper, therefore, that the Presidential budget message submitted to the Congress last week give increased emphasis to nuclear weapons and to delivery systems employing them. The budget message correspondingly deemphasizes conventional weapons whose military assignments can be performed more efficiently and cheaply by the use of nuclear firepower.

To my way of thinking, the meaning of all this for the American uranium industry is clear: The day when we will have enough weapons to satisfy the legitimate needs of our Armed Forces is not in sight. Quite apart from future peacetime needs for uranium and thorium, present and prospective military applications of nuclear energy will by themselves assure a continued high level of demand for raw materials into the indefinite future.

Add to this the requirements for atomic fuels which will be created by the peacetime atomic powerplants just now emerging from the designers' drawing boards and you will not find it difficult to share my belief that the horizons of the uranium industry are virtually unlimited. All of us are prone to think of the peacetime atom in terms of coming promise rather than present reality. But in so doing let us not forget that beneficient uses of the atom have already prolonged more lives than were destroyed in the combined bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And this is the barest beginning—the best is yet to come. Exactly when the best does come, precisely when the day will arrive on which man's genius applies the elemental force of nuclear energy exclusively to combating poverty and disease, is unfortunately beyond our own control. That longed-for day cannot come until the Kremlin abandons its drive for world dominion. Until we secure conclusive demonstration of such a change of heart among the Soviet rulers we have no alternative except to give military uses of the atom top priority. Yet this hard and unalterable fact need not deter us, in the meanwhile, from pushing ahead, as rapidly and boldly as we can, toward a practical demonstration of useful power from the atom. Neither need the failure of all our past efforts to halt the onrushing armaments race keep us from now trying to work with other nations in forwarding peaceful uses of the atom in every way this can be done without adversely affecting our national security.

President Eisenhower's masterful address of December 8 before the United Nations made this plain. In this address, which I deem one of the great state papers of our generation, the President voiced our willingness to explore with other governments, including that the Soviet Union, ways and means of merging the skills, and a portion of the atomic materials of the individual nations, in an international Atomic Energy Agency, the members of which would launch a concerted effort to apply the atom to the great and noble task of elevating the dignity of man. For all its nobility and desirability, this is a program with limited objectives. It does not pretend to answer the big problem of our time—amassing, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, hideous engines of mass destruction. It does not pose as a substitute for the international regulation of nuclear weapons and all other armaments as well. Its great virtue lies in the fact that it would get us started, even if only with a modest initial step, along the long road men must traverse before the atom is used solely for remaking this embattled planet closer to our heart's desire.

We are now engaged in conversations with representatives of the Soviet Government, seeking to learn whether the Soviet rulers desire to enter into such an international atomic pool in good faith. In these talks, I hope our patience, even though it has been so sorely tired in the past, will be enduring. If, through their choosing and not ours, the Soviets refuse to become members of this proposed international effort, I hope we will then proceed to implement President Eisenhower's proposals independently of the Soviets, leaving the way open for their entry at some future date.

Atomic and hydrogen bombs do not represent the full human meaning of nuclear energy. It is not preordained that the stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain will grow higher and higher, and that one day atomic ruin will become our common lot. In the words of President Eisenhower, it is our solemn duty "to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life." It would be a shameful betrayal of the fundamentals of our Christian heritage if we were for a single instant to believe that the future holds only inevitable disaster. If our wisdom is unfaltering, if our prayers are unceasing, it is not only my hope—it is my deep conviction as well—that in God's good time, the day will again come when the uranium ores of the Colorado plateau will be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and the betterment of mankind.

Opposition to the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk the text of two editorials, which recently appeared in the Milwaukee Journal, in opposition to the Bricker amendment. I append to these editorials the text of a telegram which I have just received from the president of the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association, also expressing opposition to the Bricker amendment. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials and telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 30, 1954]

TREATY POWER CANNOT OVERRIDE CONSTITUTION THAT CREATED IT

Some of the more fanatical backers of the Bricker amendment would have it that the Founding Fathers were shockingly careless and left the treaty power lying around loose for Presidents to play with, unchained by the Constitution, unrestrainable by Congress or court.

Think how hedged with safeguards it actually is. Most complaints hitherto have been that the founders were too careful. It just isn't plausible after 167 years that we must suddenly discover it as a Trojan horse about to wreak the destruction of our liberties.

A treaty in the making is first negotiated by our emissaries, checked at every point by

career experts, recommended by the Secretary of State. Then the President, with his awesome weight of responsibility, must decide whether to submit it to the Senate.

Ratification requires a two-thirds vote of those present, after committee study and hearings. Not for nothing has the Senate been nicknamed the "graveyard of treaties." Not conceivably is it going to break out in a rash of ratifying bad ones by the bushel—even if the Executive should break out in a rash of sending them in.

The Senate may attach reservations. It has innate tenderness, for example, toward States' powers that treaties may affect. Just last year, in some treaties providing for admission of Americans to certain licensed professions abroad, the Senate insisted that reciprocal rights here must depend on the license laws of the various States.

After ratification, more often than not, both Houses of Congress must legislate—or may refuse, of course—to carry out the treaty commitments. Congress also holds the purse strings, with which it can limit what the executive branch does under treaties.

Still another safeguard is the power of Congress, by subsequent conflicting laws, to annul treaty provisions. For example, some displaced Europeans had come here under treaty grants of immunity from our military draft. But in 1952 the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act substantially modified that immunity.

Finally there is the Supreme Court. Brickerites are fond of saying that it has never found a treaty unconstitutional. That merely testifies to the proper use of the treaty power all these years under all the other checks on it. The Court has reviewed many treaties, and has consistently made clear that the treaty power cannot override the Constitution that created it.

If there is a weak point in all this armor, it is the ratification power by two-thirds of those present. Apparently the founders did not expect Senators in wholesale lots to be sometimes inattentive to their most important duties. This does not call for a constitutional upheaval. A simple new Senate rule could remedy it tomorrow, by requiring a high quorum and rollcalls on treaty votes.

Doris Fleeson, a keen Washington reporter, sees nothing substantial in the Brickerite uproar that cannot be corrected by an alert Senate doing its job. It does seem indeed that Senators voting with BRICKER would be casting a vote of no confidence in themselves.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of February 2, 1954]

TREATIES MUST OVERRIDE STATE LAW OR YOU HAVE NO NATION

It is important to understand why President Eisenhower, stoutly seconded by Senator WILEY, is so determined to keep the "which" clause, or anything like it, out of any amendment that may come out of the controversy over treaty power.

The founders knew that any nation has to make treaties touching subjects which, in a federal union and in the absence of treaties, are reserved for State legislation. So they made the Constitution provide that such treaties, and acts of Congress giving them effect, take precedence over State laws.

The amendment that Senator BRICKER and his cohorts have been trying to put across would repeal this rule, by saying: "A treaty shall become effective as internal law * * * only through legislation [by Congress] which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." The Federal Government could not then in good faith make any international commitments that touched State powers, since it would be powerless to make them stick in any States that chose to have conflicting laws.

See what this would mean. Treaties are bargains. In hundreds of workaday treaties we as a Nation obtain guaranties in matters affecting our individual citizens abroad. We have to make the same guaranties as to foreigners here.

Extradition treaties, for instance. If we want other countries to send back fugitives from our justice—usually from our State courts—we can't have any of our States, at their whim, refusing to return the favor.

A historic example has to do with ducks. We don't want all the migratory game birds shot in Canada before they would have come south. The means for achieving this is a treaty, and it obligates us to give the birds equal protection here. The only way we can do that is to make Federal regulations supersede State ones.

Americans abroad naturally expect their Government to see that they are not discriminated against in taxation, in the right to do business and to buy, sell, and inherit property, in the collection of debts and so on—all subjects normally in the field of State legislation back here. Yet it must all be done by treaties. What use would they be if the Government couldn't keep its end of the bargain?

A network of treaties seeks to suppress the world opium trade. To carry out our part, a Federal law forbids anybody to grow opium poppies without a Federal license. A State did try once to let its residents grow poppies under its own regulations. This wouldn't do, of course.

Brickerites have tried to say that overriding Federal laws on all these subjects don't have to depend on the treaty power, but would be valid under the "commerce" and "welfare" clauses of the Constitution. Legal history denies this. In the poppy case and many others, after hearing this view, the courts still hung their hats on the treaty power.

That Brickerites should suggest such expansion of the commerce and welfare powers is a most strange way to defend State rights. They bump into themselves walking backward!

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 6, 1954.*

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

The national board of the Young Women's Christian Association meeting in full session this week strongly reaffirmed its opposition to any proposed constitutional amendment which would restrict the President's treaty-making powers.

EDITH MACY
Mrs. Edward W. Macy,
President.

National Policy in the Hydrogen Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me at the annual National Conference of State Commanders and Adjutants and members of the executive committee of the American Legion at Indianapolis, Inc., October 12, 1953:

Thank you so much for asking me, a nonlegionnaire, to be with you today.

I know of no other American organization which has fought so long, so successfully—and for such good reason—to keep this Nation militarily strong as has the American Legion. You at this gathering, along with your fellow legionnaires, have not merely read about or heard about war, you have known it and experienced it, with all its misery.

Your organization, to its great credit, never accepted the once-fashionable notion that a due and proper love for our country—patriotism, if you will—was somehow out of keeping with this 20th century. Nor did you ever indulge in the folly that weakness or appeasement would receive any answer except their just deserts. The American Legion took the lead in awakening our Nation to the menace of nazism, just as it was in the forefront of those warning against the mortal threat of aggressive Soviet communism, and this at a time when too many Americans still imagined we could do business with Stalin.

In certain quarters, it was once a favorite pastime to say that the American Legion was made up of scaremongers and saber rattlers. If sounding a warning against power-mad dictators bent upon world dominion constitutes scaremongerings, if pressing for an adequate level of military preparedness represents saber rattling, then I say you can be proud of having been called these names.

Two months ago today, the Soviets exploded a hydrogen weapon—only 9 months after our own hydrogen test at Eniwetok last fall. We all knew this would happen—sooner or later. But the Soviet hydrogen test occurred sooner, a good deal sooner, than most officials in Washington have anticipated. So let us acknowledge the fact plainly: We still seem to underestimate the Soviets—just as in 1949 we were caught by surprise by Stalin's first atomic bomb. He achieved his first atomic bomb several years in advance of the most commonly anticipated date. Indeed, many responsible officials argued that the Soviets would not produce an atomic weapon until 1955 or 1960, or even later. Nor did our predictions concerning the Soviet hydrogen test represent a very creditable record of prognostication.

Here is the stark arithmetic of the matter: Seven years elapsed between Hiroshima and our own hydrogen test of last fall; 4 years elapsed between the first Russian A-bomb that we detected and Moscow's hydrogen test. These are not very comforting statistics.

Espionage without doubt contributed to the success of the Kremlin, both in atomic and hydrogen energy. Yet we shall only delude ourselves if we conclude that the Soviet achievements have been due exclusively, or even primarily, to the revelations of traitors. An atomic program such as the Soviets have in being represent a tremendous undertaking. On behalf of its atomic effort, the Kremlin has mobilized the talents of the ablest scientists, engineers, and administrators in the Soviet Union. There are more people working in the Russian atomic program than we now have in ours. Primarily, in other words, Moscow has mastered the intricacies of atomic and hydrogen energy so quickly because Soviet scientists and technicians are good—very good. And further, the Soviets have progressed with unexpected speed because they have assigned supreme and overriding priority to their project from the very outset.

Our own hydrogen effort—speaking in terms of a major, concerted attack on the problem rather than a series of research projects—dates back only to 1950. From the facts we now know, I presume that a full-scale Soviet hydrogen program was started earlier, perhaps several years earlier. I sus-

pect, moreover, that very early in the history of their project, the Soviets decided that they would bypass certain of the evolutionary steps in fission-weapon design and direct their effort mainly at achieving the hydrogen weapon at the earliest possible date.

Had we ourselves undertaken in 1946 the measures we took in 1950, we might well have saved 3 or 4 years in bringing our hydrogen program to its present stage, and presumably we would now be much further along than where we actually find ourselves.

It is of course easy enough to see the past clearly with the 20/20 vision of hindsight. Here let me pay deserved tribute to the present Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lewis Strauss, and his equally distinguished predecessor in that post, Mr. Gordon Dean. At a time when too many of us failed to comprehend the portentous shape of things to come in hydrogen energy, these two men and a few of their scientific advisers fought to get a real hydrogen program under way. I do not like to speculate where we might have been today had their counsels been ignored.

One final comment on the Soviet test—and perhaps, for the long run, this is the most ominous point of all. It more and more appears that the harnessing of hydrogen energy for military uses may be far easier than was commonly supposed a few years ago. If hydrogen weapons could be manufactured only at great cost, and with great effort, we might console ourselves with the notion that the Soviets could manufacture these dreadful weapons only in small quantities. But I fear the real facts are quite otherwise. Given the passage of enough time, which need not be great, and a research and production program of sufficient vigor, I fear that the Soviets may come to possess not 5 or 10 of these weapons, but hundreds or even thousands.

I doubt that it is either possible or necessary to determine, with great precision, whether the Soviets are now up with us in hydrogen energy, or whether they lag behind by 1 or 2 or 3 years. This is a dynamic and rapidly changing field, and any conclusion we reach today may be outmoded 6 months from now. But this I say most solemnly: If our own hydrogen effort falters, as it must not and need not, the Soviets have it in their capacity to outstrip us, and outstrip us decisively, within a relatively short period of time. Moreover, even if this danger of atomic and hydrogen attack will not become critical for another 2 or 3 years—a conclusion which I cannot myself accept—the time to prepare for such a possible future attack is now, today.

What are we going to do about it? As a minimum, it is high time that we put to rest, once and for all, any notion that we can answer the challenge of imperialistic communism armed with weapons of mass destruction through a business-as-usual philosophy. I happen to represent a district composed of Americans who practice the homely virtue of thrift. For my own part, I have never believed that our Government could spend its way to national solvency, nor have I been able to comprehend the new economics which argues that public debt is somehow less dangerous than private debt.

Yet a legitimate concern for economy and frugality in Government is one thing—thinking that we cannot afford the programs we need to stay alive and free is quite another. I have said before, and I say again, that if I were forced to decide between financial ruination and atomic devastation for the United States, I would have no hesitation in accepting the former. In truth, however, this is not a deal dilemma—fiscal ruin or atomic ruin. God has been generous to our America—our land is rich beyond measure. Provided we are willing to put an end to a "guns and butter" philosophy, provided we are willing to forego luxuries for the sake of necessities—and the greatest necessity of all is adequate preparation against war—we can and will generate the additional defensive strength we need to survive, and we can do this without going bankrupt in the process.

But we cannot have it coming and going—we cannot remain economically solvent and militarily secure unless, at the same time, we learn to do without certain things which, if these were times of lesser national peril, all of us would want—and rightly so. Would it be desirable to undertake a vast program of road construction? Of course it would. Would it not be only just to acknowledge more generously the sacrifices which American men and women have made in the defense of our country? Of course it would. Do we need far better public schools than we have today? Of course we do. But first things must come first. Of what use will our better schools be if they are buried in atomic rubble? Of what use will our better roads be if they lead to leveled and gutted cities? National security, as the American Legion has warned again and again, must have first call upon our dollars, our resources and our manpower. National security is a full-time job for each and every one of us—not merely for our elected leaders and for our men in uniform—but equally for those who provide the sinews of economic and military strength, scientists, engineers, management, labor.

As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I have spent not a little time in studying military budgets and requirements—and I have yet to see any which did not contain some fat, some programs which could be eliminated or reduced without impairing our military strength. So I cannot go along with those who regard all budget pruning as synonomous with weakening us militarily. Yet, even when all possible economies have been effected, it still costs a certain minimum amount of money to manufacture a tank or a jet bomber or an atomic weapon. There still remains a hard core of defense spending with which we can tamper only at our peril.

I can assure you that this administration does not intend to decrease our real military strength; it intends to improve it. Our Armed Forces today are leaner but more effective than they were 2 years ago; 2 years from now they will be in still better shape.

But, as the Department of Defense itself would be the first to agree, our existing continental defenses—our defenses in depth against enemy atomic and hydrogen attack from the air or from the sea—are not now nearly as strong as they might be nor as they should be. Steps to improve them are already under way but should be pressed with greater vigor.

When I speak of continental defense, I am not thinking simply of more radar stations and more fighters to intercept existing types of enemy planes. I am concerned also about combating the offense weapons of the future—the supersonic planes and guided missiles that are even today on the drawing boards. Our research and development effort on defensive measures must keep in stride with, or even surpass if humanly possible, the Soviet effort to develop the offense weapons of tomorrow.

Today, no one foresees the possibility of achieving 100-percent success, or anything near it, in detecting and intercepting enemy bomber fleets. But neither, 20 years ago, did anyone, except a few visionaries, foresee the military applications of atomic and hydrogen energy. The plain truth, I think, is that we are not yet in a position to predict exactly what level of defense we might achieve, or what might lie ahead on the scientific and technical horizons, given a much greater and bolder research and development program.

I am of course not an expert in these matters, but I am deeply impressed by the extraordinary—and largely unexpected results of research in military applications of the atom. Though no one can be sure, I believe that given a vigorous enough effort, we might multiply our present ability to intercept enemy planes threefold or fourfold, though not without great cost and not by the day after tomorrow.

National defense involves a question of balance—a highly complicated question of what portion of our military dollar should go to bolstering our continental defenses and what portion to increasing our offensive capacity to retaliate against an enemy. Certainly, defensive measures must never detract from our ability to strike back. All military history shows that wars are ultimately won or prevented by the ability to carry the battle to the homeland of the foe. But just as the apparent dilemma of either atomic ruin or financial ruin is not inevitable, so also is it a mistake to think that we face an either-or choice in deciding between better continental defenses and atomic and hydrogen striking power even more devastating than we possess today. We can have both, if we are willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

We must assume—and the history of our country gives us good reason to assume—that the American people are ready and willing to shoulder the financial burden of necessary defense measures—if they fully appreciate why these sacrifices are necessary. We must assume that once they are fully aware, as I fear they are not now aware, of the magnitude of our peril, they will measure up to it. We have underestimated the Russians in the past; we dare not do so again. But equally, let us be sure we do not underestimate the American people. This democracy of ours cannot function unless its citizenry has confidence and faith in its elected officials; neither can it function unless these officials have equal confidence and faith in the every day men and women who make up our beloved land. The people deserve no less, and they will accept no less.

No American knows this better than President Eisenhower. He intends to give the people the information and the facts they need to prepare against atomic and hydrogen disaster.

Reasonable men can entertain reasonable differences of opinion concerning exactly what the public should know. Is it prudent statesmanship, for instance, to publish the approximate size of our atomic stockpile? Along with the President and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, I think not. The American people have no use for such information, whereas, it might greatly profit our enemies. Should the people receive more information on the explosive power and destructive effects of the possible types of atomic and hydrogen weapons the Soviets might launch against our cities? I believe they should. Without such information, I simply do not see how they can undertake appropriate civil defense preparation.

Yet in our deep and understandable concern over Soviet atomic and hydrogen progress, let us not forget that we have a nuclear stockpile of our own—a stockpile already sufficient to inflict devastating reprisal on any aggressor who dares attempt a nuclear Pearl Harbor against our cities. We Americans can be deeply thankful to the men and women, most of whom work in anonymity, who have brought our atomic enterprise to its present stage of vigor and magnitude.

But is our existing atomic and hydrogen effort big enough and bold enough to answer the challenge of the hour? My own reply is no.

Looking back over the history of our programs for both the conventional A-bomb and hydrogen weapons, it is now easy to see where we were short-sighted and tardy in enlarging the scope of our efforts. There is a moral to be drawn here—a moral we should heed as we now face the historic issues confronting us because of hydrogen energy.

I am not sure that any of us—and here I include myself—have as yet grasped the full and terrible meaning of hydrogen energy for both defensive and offensive warfare.

I do not think we are now seizing every last opportunity to augment our defensive strength with the greatest possible amount of hydrogen fire power at the earliest possible date.

I do not think that most of us yet accept what I believe is probably inevitable—that in time the hydrogen bomb will come to be the primary nuclear weapon of both the Soviet Union and ourselves, terrible though this thought may be.

I now, therefore, ask for a hydrogen effort comparable in scale, dollars, resources, daring, and speed to our entire atomic effort of World War II.

It is appalling that I find myself forced to recommend this course of action. I hate the weapons we have been forced to produce, and the still more devastating weapons to come. Yet, though it be against our will, we are now engaged in an atomic and hydrogen arms race. We have no alternative but to stay ahead—commandingly and incontestably ahead.

It should be clear to all of us that even a more aggressive continental defense and hydrogen effort is only a portion of the minimum price of national survival. Our predicament is shared by other free people in the world, and we must strengthen the ties that bind us together. Every concerted effort of vision, determination, and patience must be exerted to make the United Nations a more vital and effective instrument of collective security. To the best of our ability, we must continue our effort to help others eradicate the poverty and misery which warp the minds of men and make them easy prey for evil philosophy.

Above all, we must never relax our efforts—efforts now extending over 8 years—to regulate the output of conventional, atomic, and hydrogen weapons through a just and effective system for international control. Although our earnest efforts on this score have been rebuffed again and again by the Soviet rulers, we dare not stop trying—since nothing short of such a control plan can ever give our cities reasonable security against Soviet nuclear attack.

Yet if we are to prevail—as prevail we will if we are true to ourselves and to the prophets and disciples who founded our civilization—our ultimate reliance must be on those defenses behind which decent men have always shielded themselves in time of stress—defenses which lie not in the realm of material things, but in the realm of the spiritual.

Indeed, the conflict between Soviet Communism and the free world is in its very essence a conflict in the spiritual realm. There stands Marxism—with its rejection of God, of free will, of eternal values, and of objective truth. And here stands this civilization of ours—built squarely upon the fact of God. We of this civilization know that honor and truth and decency and valor are more real than this hall in which we sit. We know that the power of prayer is stronger, far stronger, than any weapon which will ever be devised by man.

In all honesty, however, we must admit to this paradox: We—who have been taught for more than 5,000 years that man's works are puny when measured by God's—are now tempted to believe that more guns and tanks and bombs can be themselves ward off disaster. We—who know that God endowed man with the dignity of a free will and the ability to shape the future—now sometimes adopt the defeatist view that war is inevitable. We should ourselves not need to be reminded that what happens 2 or 3 or 5 years from now depends on what we do today—upon our folly or upon our wisdom, upon our weakness or upon our fortitude. Only one thing is inevitable about the future—man will sow as he reaps. Though we may fool ourselves in the short run, we cannot flaunt the eternal laws of God in the long run. Pride, avarice, and craven conduct—let us not deceive ourselves—will receive their just award, as will humility, sacrifice, and courage.

Our task is no less than this—to confront the dynamism of an anti-God communism with the superior spiritual force of our God-fearing way of life.

These few remarks of mine have emphasized military applications of nuclear energy. Let us take heart in the fact that the elemental force of atomic and hydrogen energy—the force which now both protects us and mortally threatens us—can and will be harnessed to cure the sick, to help allay human misery, and to elevate the dignity of man. Let us never blind ourselves to the atom's other side. It can come to mean as much for our welfare—and the welfare of all free nations—as it has already meant for our national security. As people with a conscience, I believe that we have a deep and solemn duty to share the benefits of peacetime nuclear energy with all men of good will.

I close with a thought, a simple thought, normally reserved for the privacy of one's own conscience. I hope we Americans will never forget or neglect the power of prayer, a positive weapon forged in mankind's eternal fire of faith, for if we do our plight will be hopeless and our omission will be a betrayal of our own convictions.

Those in Government who must grapple directly with the crucial issues of national defense desire and expect the counsel and support of the American Legion. As in the past, I am sure the Legion will rise to its greatest heights of responsibility in helping provide the defense our country needs.

We Need Christian Ideals in Training for Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, the State of North Carolina recently has been conducting a safety campaign against the death and destruction created by driving accidents. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech made by Mr. D. C. Phillips, of Chapel Hill, N. C. This appeals to me as being timely advice not only to our State but the Nation as a whole. We must try in every way to lower deaths from automobile accidents.

Mr. Phillips, a former newspaperman and now district representative and commercial artist for Universal Match Corp. of St. Louis, Mo., lives at Chapel Hill, N. C., where he is an active layman in the Baptist Church. Recently, he spoke to the North Carolina Safety Council assembled in Raleigh. This article is the epitome of his address:

WE NEED CHRISTIAN IDEALS IN TRAINING FOR SAFETY

(By D. C. Phillips)

We are deeply concerned about those who fall in the age group of 24 years and under. When approximately 80 percent of our fatal accidents are coming from this age bracket, we as American citizens must be awakened to such a degree that we will have the vision, courage, and daring to rise up with a determination to stop this unnecessary carnage.

We stand terrified today at the reports of atrocities coming from Korea. The barbaric, brutal treatment our boys have received at the hands of the Communists is deplorable, and those responsible should be punished. But let's not overlook the stark truth that we are killing more people in our own land than were lost in all three wars of this generation—World War I, World War II, and the Korean war.

Many a person has tried to put his finger on the real cause of this slaughter in our land. Some have said this, and some that. But what is actually now happening is that we are reaping the whirlwind of a generation untrained in habits, manners, customs, courtesies, and attitudes. There is no other answer.

It is hard for us to visualize the massacre that is taking place through accidents. On our United States highways alone last year 38,000 people were killed at the scene of the accidents. An additional 1,350,000 persons were injured in automobile accidents. There were 29,000 killed in homes, and over 4 million injured in homes.

Here is the picture we must grasp: The grand total from all causes is 96,000 killed and 9,600,000 injured—almost double the number of people living in this State. Many of this staggering number of injured persons will remain crippled and will suffer the rest of their lives. According to national figures, 1 person out of every 1,000 in the age bracket of 24 and under will die in an accident this year and 45 will be critically injured.

Without counting the value of human lives, the cost is far above our entire foreign-aid program to other countries. Every 25 seconds someone is injured in a motor vehicle traffic accident; every 18 minutes someone is killed; and the property damage adds up to $170,000 every hour—day and night.

The road to safety is a long, arduous one, and requires patience, diligence, and understanding, as well as preparation and training. Our young people should be trained thoroughly how to handle those heavy, dangerous machines. They should have at least 12 1-hour lessons of instruction by some responsible person, then several hours of driving-time under supervision.

Young people should not only be taught the proper manners of the home, but emphasis should be placed upon their attitudes toward laws. They should be taught why laws exist and why they should be respected, as well as respect for law-enforcement officers.

OUR MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

My first responsibility, of course, is to myself. I must safeguard and preserve my own life. Yet I must possess a moral responsibility for the other fellow. Perhaps I might be able to operate my car on the highway at a speed of 65 or 70 miles per hour safely, but at this speed I might jeopardize some other person's right or privilege; or, in making a curve at this terrific speed I might frighten or frustrate another person so much that he might run off the road, overturn, and be killed. My car might never have touched that car, yet I would be morally responsible for that death. I have seen such a thing happen 4 times in a quarter of a century of driving, and only 1 driver even stopped his car and came back to see what had happened.

THE CHANGING WORLD

Since the automobile was invented some 50 years ago we have seen many, many changes. Transportation has changed from bicycles, wagons, buggies, and sleighs to high-speed cars, trains, and powerful airliners. If it were possible for our great-grandparents to return to this world they would not even recognize the place they had left only a few

years ago, and would be shocked at this slaughter of the people.

It goes without saying that the times in which we live are days of crisis. Men and women are gripped with fear and concern. The whole political and social order is in a momentous upheaval. Nothing is as it was. Those of us who have lived through the past quarter of a century or so have seen many changes in our mode of living, and also in the ideas and ideals to which we give allegiance. Changes in modes of life are not nearly so important as the changes in basic ideas.

Our western civilization has been built upon Christian concepts and ideas, but in recent years these concepts have not only been questioned in many quarters, but have been openly rejected. The discrediting of the Ten Commandments, the elimination of the Golden Rule, and the flouting of the principles of Jesus as laid down in the Sermon on the Mount have been the chief reasons for our breakdown in home life.

Parents who no longer hold fast to any moral standard themselves have little or nothing to transmit to their children who grow up in a spiritual wilderness with no road signs or marks to show them the way.

OLD HOME CHANGES

The old home—the center of social, educational, industrial, and even religious activities—is not what it once was. The very complexity and specialization of our day almost compel the neglect of some things formerly considered fundamental, but the qualities of manhood and womanhood must be preserved. Upon this rests the future destiny of our Nation.

All these changes have not lessened the powerful influence we wield upon our children nor the strong impressions they get from us. These are by far greater than we have ever suspected. Our attitude of respect toward others, toward laws and law enforcement officers, toward moral conduct and codes of safety, or our disregard for these things, is reproduced by our children and reflected back upon the world in almost a carbon copy of ourselves. We mature people must, therefore, retrain ourselves in these important rules of human conduct.

Why do men who appear natural and normal become potential killers the moment they enter an automobile? The answer to that outstanding enigma has been determined after a large number of persons involved in accidents were interviewed. Most of those interviewed have felt, "Well, this is my world; this is my power; I own it. I am the master of it and I will exert my own will." That is the attitude of too many drivers.

Proper attitudes are more vital to safe driving than operating skill. Most men today have misconstrued the meaning of the word "freedom." There is no freedom save within the law.

PURPOSE OF THE HOME

The primary purpose of the home is the reproduction of life. The Master planned it that way. Along with the miracle of birth come God's immutable laws and responsibilities which we cannot evade. The home is the basic institution of society. Yet, it is more than that. It is the citadel of our American democracy. That fortress is being threatened, and it is up to us to safeguard it more closely than ever.

The real secret of safety lies within the confines of the home. Only when the home becomes safety conscious and begins doing something about it will our situation improve. Many of our larger industries have realized this and are now carrying their messages of safety into the homes of the workers.

In a time when many have lost their heads and their homes, when moral, intellectual, and spiritual values are being destroyed, and the divine and eternal values are being scorned, may we hold fast to the Christian virtues in homemaking, the right moral standards of conduct, and right moral ideas and ideals.

WHAT DO WE WANT FOR OUR CHILDREN?

We strive hard and make real sacrifices to give our children vocational education. We lean backward in an effort to improve their social aplomb. We want them to live in a peaceful world; we also want for them security and happiness. How is this achieved, and are we actually helping them to reach these goals? What are the essentials? What is the difference that matters? Are we giving them the only basis for building an integrated personality?

We want our children trained to meet a world that is not always friendly. We hope they will know how to meet the skeptic and the cynic. Then we must give them some straight truths with which to fight.

The question of religious ideas is too often left to the child when he is too young to understand all that is involved. We do not leave the decision about medicine or diet to the child, but see to it that these are administered properly. We parents often rob our children of their rightful inheritance by the let-alone method. The child must be shown a way of solving the problems with which life will confront him in later years.

The home lays the foundation of the habits, manners, customs, ideals, attitudes, and personality traits which are absorbed by the child. It has been estimated that the home is responsible for 60 percent of the training of the child. Neither the day school nor the Sunday school can accomplish very much without full cooperation of the parents. We should go with our children to church and Sunday school, and then help them understand the teachings they hear there. I submit, it is not fair to let any child grow up in this world without knowing who Christ is, what He teaches, and His influence on the world.

Japanese Labor at 11 Cents an Hour, Hong Kong Labor at 7 Cents an Hour, Invade United States and Flatten an Industry

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the free traders and the trade, not aiders ought to feel real proud of the contribution they have made to the flattening of this Nation's knit-glove industry and its workers.

If the objective of these starry-eyed, free-trading geniuses is to establish a common economy under a world government and drop the American standard of living to that of the Asiatics they ought to have the decency to say so.

The following gives a hint as to what is happening to just one comparatively small industry in this country:

THE AMERICAN KNIT-GLOVE INDUSTRY'S FIGHT AGAINST ORIENTAL IMPORTS

(By Lester Stern, president, American Knit Handwear Association, Inc.)

American knit-glove manufacturers have had a hot fight on their hands for 6 years now. It is resumption of the fight which was waged before World War II, and 1954 may prove to be the anticipated year of decision. The decision may boost this small industry to national prominence—in spite of its size—because the decision will involve a question of national foreign-trade policy.

For over 20 years this small industry has been engaged in a contest with importers for the American market. Low foreign-wage rates have always given the importer an unfair advantage. Tariff rates have proven no deterrent to import volume.

A Presidential proclamation, setting the American selling price as the basis of valuation on one category of gloves, in 1936, proved ineffectual because the importers immediately circumvented the order.

One naturally questions how an industry could survive such competition. The answer may logically be found in political moves which always bear such an unpredictable relationship to economic trends.

The early 1930's, the consumer boycott of German goods, stayed the flood from Germany. A like boycott of Japanese merchandise cut off what grew to be a deluge from Japan in the late 1930's, when the Japanese manipulated their shipments through occupied China. The Chinese influx was stopped by the war.

In 1948 the anticipated resumption of Japanese wool-glove imports began when 34,000 dozen were landed and total imports amounted to 46,000 dozen. By 1952, Japanese imports reached the all-time high of 750,000 dozen; and the Crown Colony of Hong Kong added 75,000 dozen to the oriental total. Italy topped the European market for an all-time high of 72,000 dozen for that country, and total imports amounted to 921,000 dozen for the year.

The picture worsened in 1953 when, in the first 10 months, imports had already exceeded 1 million dozen pairs, more imports in 10 months than any entire year in history.

Concomitant with the rise in imports in 1952 and 1953, Government contracts emanating from the Korean activity dwindled, until today the Government business doesn't amount to enough to keep 1 of our 23 manufacturers busy.

While the complete figures for 1953 domestic production have not yet been tabulated, we may easily dramatize the severity of our competition by setting forth the figures on imports and domestic civilian production in the table which follows. It can be seen that in 1952 we shared the civilian market on almost an equal basis with imports and may expect the final figures for 1953 to show that, for the first time in our long competition, the major share of our market has been lost to the importers.

To round out the picture, we surveyed employment in the industry and found that the 17 largest producers had only 1,464 total employees working in November 1953, compared to 3,344 employees in November 1952, a drop of 56 percent.

While the figures are not in yet for December, we know that unemployment increased because of the number of firms that were completely shut down, some for the first time in history; while others have closed their doors and offered their machinery for sale. The record will show that such firms were not "war babies," but firms which were well established in the industry.

This industry expects to file for escape clause relief as soon as our statistics are complete for 1953. In line with the association's conservative policy of basing its Government presentations on a core of hard fact, as evidenced by statistical data, our brief on the subject, when filed with the Tariff Commission and released to the press, will substantiate a clear-cut illustration of the direct effect of displacement of American labor by competing imports.

The facts of our case will be revealed at a time this spring when the issue of the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the future foreign policy of the United States is deliberated in Congress.

We take heart from the change in public thinking. The free-trade tide of propaganda was at its full a little over a year ago. It has since ebbed. The public was generally indifferent to imports in the buyers' market of the last 12 years or more, but apparently has now awakened to the unfairness of pitting high labor standards here against those abroad.

More segments of responsible industry and labor are coming forward each week to support the position of American labor. We take heart in the statements of such eminent thinkers as Bernard Baruch, Secretary of Commerce Weeks, President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, and the testimony of the CIO before the Randall Commission.

This industry is not now, nor has it ever been, against foreign trade; nor could it ever be, depending, as it does, upon imports for a substantial percentage of its basic raw material. At no time have we ever proposed or supported measures to eliminate import competition. Ours has been a defensive effort to preserve a reasonable share of the market for the product of our labor, and to assure the military an American source of supply for vitally needed gloves and inserts in time of war.

It can be demonstrated that gloves are manufactured at the rate of 11 cents an hour in Japan and 7 cents an hour in Hong Kong, according to United States Department of Labor figures. It is obvious that our labor rates are far in excess of the 75 cents an hour minimum set by the Fair Labor Standards Act for domestic manufacturers.

When it is realized that every dozen pairs of gloves manufactured abroad and sold here deprives American labor of an opportunity to manufacture the same dozen pairs, the question to be decided by the Federal Government this year concerns the necessary steps it is willing to take, if any, to offset such wage inequities. It was the purpose of the Tariff Act to equalize the difference between the costs of production here and abroad, and it is within the present power of our Government to establish quotas, increase tariff rates, and to set the American selling price as the basis of valuation, or to use a combination of these measures in order to protect the product of American labor.

We trust that the policy to be set this year will be consistent with the statement of Secretary of Commerce Weeks, who said in part before the National Foreign Tarde Convention in New York during November: "I am willing for American industry to face the competition of any industry anywhere with respect to all save the labor factor. I am not, however, willing to have American industry compete at the expense of the standard of living of American labor."

We trust that the policy to be evolved this year will be such as to encourage the continuance of this segment of the textile industry in the United States.

United States market, wool gloves and mittens, seamless knit

	Imports for consumption [1]	Domestic civilian production [2]	Total market	Imports percentage of market
				Percent
1945	66,886	1,271,617	1,338,503	5
1946	37,489	1,480,446	1,517,935	2
1947	14,425	1,118,679	1,133,105	1
1948	43,328	1,080,083	1,123,411	4
1949	330,029	1,178,712	1,508,741	21
1950	718,867	1,112,210	1,831,077	39
1951	736,881	820,590	1,557,471	47
1952	921,475	1,023,546	1,945,021	47
1953	[3] 1,000,562	[4] 966,798	(?)	(?)

[1] U. S. Department of Commerce.
[2] Reports to Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.
[3] Imports for 10 months.
[4] Domestic production for 11 months.

Atomic Power Development and Legislative Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me before the Conference of Industrial Uses of Atomic Energy, sponsored by the New York State Department of Commerce, in Buffalo, N. Y., November 19, 1953:

At the outset let me assure you that I find it very pleasing, and a matter of some personal pride, that the government of my own State has had the vision and the initiative to organize this conference pertaining to industrial use of atomic energy which, I am sure, will be productive of beneficial results. Commissioner Keller and the Department of Commerce of New York State are to be complimented for their enterprise in making the necessary arrangements for this conference. As a resident of New York State, I may be pardoned an expression of justifiable pride in my State government and voice my pleasure in being in a position to participate in the conference by a brief discussion of some of the legislative problems pertaining to industrial use of atomic energy.

It is not a matter of great surprise to you, I am sure, to be told that the use of atomic energy by private persons, or organizations, is strictly and rigidly circumscribed by the basic atomic energy law enacted 7 years ago. Even the possession of fissionable materials is made unlawful, as is the ownership of plants and industrial properties which produce or use these fissionable materials. With the weapon development of atomic energy, we have come to realize more and more the possibilities of using this same energy for nonweapon and peacetime purposes and with this progress of weapon development and its revelation of peacetime uses, we find that the current limitations in the law appear to be more and more restrictive, and to that extent, both a deterrent and discouragement to private enterprise. Today it is against the law for any person, or group, to do anything which requires the use of uranium ore or fissionable material except under and by virtue of a contract with the Atomic Energy Commission, as the representative of the Government. Of course, there has been a widespread and extremely beneficial use of some of the byproducts of fissionable material and atomic energy, such as the radioisotope and radiation sources. But the actual use of the fissionable material itself by private enterprise, or private industry, does not exist.

It must be recognized, I think, by any responsible person familiar with various aspects of our Armed Forces and their armament that fissionable material, the source of atomic energy, is the very heart of our national security program. Our progress in weapon development for the past 5 years makes this fact even more true today than when the atomic law was written in 1946. There now does exist, however, a very vital fact, which did not exist 7 years ago. Then it had been demonstrated that ours was the only country in possession of the atomic bomb. This is no longer true. We have neither a monopoly on the weapon, nor on the knowledge and capacity to produce it. If atomic energy was vital to our national security in 1946, when we were the sole possessors of that kind of weapon, it is immeasurably more vital to our national security today when we know that at least one hostile nation is in possession of them. At all times our first consideration in matters pertaining to atomic energy must be the requirements for our national defense and national security.

It is time, I feel, that we should give serious consideration to determining whether the provisions of the law and the rules and regulations made pursuant to the law are adequate for today's requirements. Are atomic and thermonuclear weapons the only significant contributions to our defense which the atom can make? I think not.

Atomic propulsion for submarines, warships, and aircraft is coming within our grasp; atomic power for our remote military bases, the continental defense network, disaster areas, and the high-cost regional development is on the drawing boards; and radioisotopes and radiation sources are already showing the way to better industrial materials and processes.

Not only must the laws governing atomic energy activities impose security safeguards so as to delay Soviet progress, they must also encourage and promote rapid development of all atomic energy applications in order to strengthen our security, our economic welfare, and our continued high standard of living. We must always bear in mind that by creating rigid security safeguards in order to prevent our enemy from obtaining helpful information we, at the same time, render it more difficult for our own scientists and our friendly nations to progress as effectively and rapidly as they otherwise might. The balance between security by concealment and security by achievement must reflect fully the needs of our time. That balance is a constantly changing one. The law may occasionally have to be adjusted to insure that we do not forego atomic benefits in the mistaken belief that secrecy can forever delay the progress of our competitiors.

There have been some statements from industry representatives which suggest that additional progress can be made if the proper incentives are written into the Atomic Energy Act. These suggestions warrant our attention. If industry can contribute more, it should have an opportunity to do so. I expect to sponsor legislation in the next session of Congress to allow just that. Let me review some of the problems which need to be explored if such legislation is to succeed.

First on the list is the right of private individuals and groups to possess fissionable material in quantities sufficient to go about the business of developing its industrial uses. In those cases where atomic reactors are involved, this means at least weapon quantities of material. You cannot operate a reactor of any substantial size without having the right to possess or use such quantities. But is outright ownership necessary? Might not leasing arrangements be satisfactory? Is the fact of legal title to fissionable material significant? The answer, to my mind, seems to be no. But definition of the leasing conditions are very complex. The lessee not only must have the right to possess the material; he must also be free to use it in legitimate pursuits. When fissionable material is put to work, it begins to change. Some is irrevocably destroyed; new materials are created; some new materials have peculiar military value; other new materials are highly toxic and dangerous.

The problems of accounting for the material are enormous no matter whether the material is owned by the Government or by individuals. In either case, records must be kept and the Government be in possession of information which shows at all times where fissionable material is located, and to what use it is being put. The question of ownership versus license of the material is

not insurmountable. Certainly, in any event, the Government must at all times have the paramount right of use by way of recapture, if a decision is made to allow private ownership. Such a recapture right could be exercised either because of violation of regulations or because of military need.

Now, if a man has the right to possess fissionable material in sufficient quantities to do useful things with it, he must also have the right to develop and construct plants in which to do those things. Otherwise, there is no point to his possession of the material. The law as it now stands does not allow anyone even to own plants which either use weapon quantities or which can produce them. If private venture capital is to have an opportunity to build such plants, the law must be changed. We are all confident that the evolution of the atomic energy industry will prove such plants to be useful and profitable to our whole society. But first it must be possible to find out at firsthand what these plants can actually do.

The Commission has recently announced its plan pursuant to resolution of the Congress to build a 60,000-kilowatt atomic power plant in order to develop a body of experience in the operation of such plants for industrial use. Until the law is changed, it seems unlikely that anyone other than the Government can or will carry out such a project. This conclusion was reached by the joint committee last summer and accounts in part for the congressional authorization under which the Commission is now proceeding. The purpose of this project is to provide an initial and essential step in the progress of atomic-power development pending a shift of financial sponsorship from one which is purely from Governmental funds to one or more which may come from private finances or perhaps a combination of both public and private funds. I earnestly hope that industry will seek ways and means of joining with the Commission in this and similar projects in this interim period.

If and when we are able to revise the law so as to allow private ownership of plants, there is a host of other problems opened to us. Private investors must have assurance that the fissionable material to operate the plants will continue to be available at least long enough to recover their investment. If national security demands that the material be recaptured for military use, it seems quite reasonable that the investors should be able to seek and obtain the unrecovered portion of their investment. Some, though few, feel that they should also be able to recover the profits which they had reasonable expectation of making. Should the owners have unlimited freedom in their disposition of byproducts and waste products? How can private industry be free to exercise its own judgment in the cycling and operating aspects of the plants without being subjected to an unlimited veto power in the Commission? When we get right down to cases, how much freedom does industry require and how much can it be given—taking into consideration national security, health and safety, and promotion of the general welfare?

These are just a few of the problems involved in the plant ownership aspect of industrial participation. Finding the answers is not going to be easy, but we do know that no mater how good the law may be, an enlightened, and fearless, and practical Atomic Energy Commission is a requisite of the highest order. In my opinion, we have such a Commission.

And then, assuming all these things can be worked out, there remains the patent problem. The huge public investment in atomic energy development has provided a great fund of knowledge. There is very real concern lest private investors make small investments, add a little bit to this knowledge, and then gain an exclusive position with patent protection. But this sort of thing happens every day of our lives when some inventor is able to capitalize upon some minor but ingenious adaption of an invention which has become public property through the lapse of time. Of course, the benefits from public investment must be available to everyone. There can be no atomic giveaway and no private atomic monopoly allowed to grow. Yet private investors have every right to expect some return for whatever successful effort they do expend. Compulsory patent licensing is anathema to American industry. Our hearings last June and July strongly suggest that we will spend many hours seeking a solution to this problem. If our objective is to revise the atomic law in such a fashion as to not only adequately protect our national security at all times, but also to arouse and attract private investment and activity into the peacetime possibilities of this field, an objective which I personally approve, then we must remember that to the extent that we circumscribe and put limitations upon the patentability of improvements we, to that same extent, discourage investors from searching for the improvements. Our present patent system has worked admirably throughout our history and produced untold benefits to our welfare and economy. I see nothing in the atomic aspect which should cause us to apply a drastically different patent process, assuming at all times, of course, that national security requirements will be met.

Through all of these problems runs the assumption that a private atomic energy industry is desirable and can be brought into being without endangering the public health and safety. I have recently raised the question with the Atomic Energy Commission whether the Federal statutes at present are adequate in this field of public health and safety; if not, can they be made adequate? On the other hand, is this a field of legislation in which the States will have exclusive constitutional jurisdiction? If so, it will require that some effort be expended toward preparation and adoption of a uniform law in the field of health and safety of atomic energy for all the States to follow. It is essential that we provide from the outset a maximum of uniformity if industry is to know where it stands at all times and all the people are to have confidence that their health and safety are protected by every possible means.

I have spoken of some of the legislative problems of ownership of fissionable materials, production and processing plants, patents, and health and safety. The answers to these questions will not be easy to find. I personally have extended an invitation to all interested associations and individuals to submit to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy any concrete legislative recommendations they may have in mind. In this connection it will be of interest to you, I am sure, to study the forthcoming recommendations of the American Bar Association, representing a study of this field made by a special panel under the chairmanship of E. Blythe Stason, Dean of the University of Michigan Law School. I shall look forward to learning these recommendations when they are published in the next day or so.

Successful though our Government monopoly has been in the production of atomic armaments, we need the broader benefits from atomic energy which are too diverse, too closely woven into the industrial fabric of our Nation to permit their development solely at taxpayer expense. I think that Commissioner Murray summed it up well several weeks ago when he said: "I know of no better way of "missing the boat" on these as yet unknown uses of atomic energy than to have Government administrators or cost-plus contractors alone trying to dream them up." We need the ideas, the energies, and the resources of all of American industry if atomic energy is to make its maximum contribution to our security, our freedom, and our well-being. It is our job in Congress to make this maximum contribution come about just as soon as possible, a task which cannot be effectively performed without the enlightened and insistent support of the public generally. Conferences such as this are conducive to an interested and enlightened public opinion.

I again compliment you.

The Ohio Valley Is Fast Becoming a Great Industrial Section

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, soon after the close of the Revoluntionary War, there began a movement of people toward the settlement of the West. The Ordinance of 1787 set up what was then known as the Northwest Territory, and soon thereafter the hardy pioneers proceeded to migrate to the great West. The first settlements were made in southern Ohio. Marietta, Chillicothe, and Gallipolis were, in that order, the first settlements. Marietta was founded in 1783—Chillicothe in 1789—and Gallipolis in 1790.

The great river in that section had for many years been named Ohio by the Indians. The name Ohio in the Indian language means "beautiful river."

The pioneers moved into Ohio with great hopes and in great numbers. In 15 years there were 40,000 pioneers living in Ohio. Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803.

The Ohio River and the Ohio Valley have offered many encouragements to people and to industry. A few years ago one of the great industries of the country caused a survey to be made so as to ascertain where, east of the Mississippi River, electric power could be produced and distributed most economically and most advantageously. This survey indicated that there was no doubt but that this distinction should go to the Ohio Valley.

In response to this survey there has been a tremendous development in the manufacture of electric power in southern Ohio in the past 4 or 5 years. These developments are continuing, and as a result the Government is building an atomic energy plant in that section. Many other smaller industries are coming into that section.

For a few years I and a number of other men and organizations have been promoting the location of an airfield in that section. The city of Portsmouth, near which the Government's great atomic plant is located, has been pressing, vigorously, for Federal aid in the construction of an airport. We have shown the great increase in big Government business and other businesses in our section. We have also shown that

the people of the city of Portsmouth, believing that the Government would extend some aid to this airport program, issued bonds in the sum of $400,000. This would be an ample contribution on the part of the people. The city of Portsmouth felt that this would be proof of their faith in this project.

Other people of that section of the State, not only the people of Portsmouth, have done their best to convince the proper Government officials and congressional committees of the necessity for this airport, still the money raised by the city of Portsmouth from this bond issue is reposing in the Portsmouth banks, and the bonds are drawing interest in the hands of those who own them.

This airport should be built. I hope the proper Government officials and the proper congressional officials willl do what should be done under the conditions. As present there is no airport within about 100 miles, and there are many Government officials interested in the millions of dollars the Government is spending in that section of the country. The airplane is an accepted method of travel, and while this airport will be to the advantage of the people of that section it will be of great and immediate advantage to the hundreds of Government officials, engineers, and employees who will be coming and going into that section.

I hope the people of southern Ohio will keep up their fight for this airport—they deserve consideration. I shall continue my efforts in this just cause.

Will the Government officials and the Congress tell the people of Portsmouth that the $400,000 which they have on deposit in the banks will avail them nothing, and that these fine people must go on paying interest on the bonds which were sold on the market several months ago?

Foreign Policy Is Paramount Issue Before the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have long contended that no issue before the American people even begins to compare in importance with what this Government adopts as a matter of foreign policy.

Every life and every home in this country is affected, directly or indirectly, by foreign policy. It affects debt, taxes, and draft calls—every facet of our livelihood.

It affects the great United States basic industry of agriculture, and for that story I refer you to the following editorial:

FEDERAL FARM POLICY

(By Tom Linder, commissioner of agriculture, State of Georgia)

President Eisenhower and Secretary of Agriculture Benson are undertaking to force through Congress a new policy for American agriculture.

The history of good times and bad times, prosperity and depression, low prices and high prices, and the general welfare of this country have depended upon whether or not the farmers were prosperous or whether they were in financial distress.

This being true, what is said here is of just as great importance to bankers, business and professional men, to industrial workers, white-collar workers, and Federal and State employees as it is to the farmers themselves.

FLEXIBLE PRICE SUPPORTS

Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Benson advocate what they refer to as flexible price supports on certain farm products. Actually the term "flexible" as used by these distinguished gentlemen is misleading.

Present price supports are flexible. This is true because price supports on basic crops are now 90 percent of parity. We must remember that parity itself is flexible because parity is fixed by the prices of industrial products which the farmer buys. When these industrial products rise in price, the parity rises with them. When these industrial products go down in price, parity goes down with them. The 90 percent price support of course means 90 percent of the prices of these industrial products and is flexible and changing at all times. Each month the Secretary of Agriculture issues a notice stating what parity is on each of the farm crops for that particular month. All of these things being true, it naturally follows that when Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Benson advocate a flexible support price, they are hiding something behind the word "flexible." What they are advocating is not a flexible price support. What they are asking is that officials in Washington be given arbitrary power to raise or lower price supports at will. This amounts to a totalitarian idea of economic control.

WHITHER GOEST THOU?

Almost every day we see where someone has been asked the question: "Are you a Communist or have you been a Communist?" Reduced to "cornfield" English, that question means, Is your allegiance to the United States or is your allegiance to a foreign government? That is a proper question and one that no good American should find difficulty in answering. Every good American should be proud to stand up and say "I am an American. I believe in America's Constitution and its flag. I am willing to fight in its defense. I hold no allegiance to any flag of any country or any combination of countries other than the Stars and Stripes of America." Anyone who hesitates to answer that simple question is unworthy of being called an American.

By the same token, all public officials, whether executive, legislative, or judicial, should be equally emphatic in word and in action that their allegiance is to the United States and that their sole interest as public officials is the welfare of the people of the United States.

If Congress will apply the same rule to themselves that they apply to one suspected of being a Communist, most of our agricultural problem will disappear.

Most agricultural problems in this country stem from our foreign policy. It is impossible to have a sound foreign policy for the long pull if that policy contravenes or destroys a prosperous American agriculture. It is likewise impossible to have a sound agricultural policy for the long pull unless we have a sound foreign policy.

For 20 years, from 1934 to 1954, the foreign policy of the State Department and the domestic policy of the Department of Agriculture have been in vital conflict with each other.

Through the expenditure of taxpayers' money we have developed Federal aid for the Federal Department of Agriculture, State departments of agriculture, colleges of agriculture, experiment stations, extension forces, and other agricultural agencies. Under the impetus of American initiative, research, and mechanical invention, the cottonfields, with their millions of happy workers, have produced fiber, food, and feed beyond the wildest dream of two generations ago. In the Middle West, the fields of corn and the waving expanses of wheat and other grains have shone in the summer sun and grain elevators, flour mills, and feed mills have employed hundreds of thousands; local and transcontinental railroads became necessary and were built for the transportation and distribution of the products of the farms. Cattle of all kind, swine, poultry, eggs, and dairy products helped to give American people the highest standard of food of any people on earth. The fruit trees from Okeechobee to British Columbia and from Plymouth Rock to Long Beach furnished American people with a year-round supply of health-giving and prosperity-producing products of the orchard and grove; while the garden of America expanded into an immense commerce of fresh vegetables, melons, and berries, the like of which the world had never seen. American cities and industries of all kinds grew to be objects of world envy because of the fruits of the soil and because of the robust physique, the untrammeled minds, the limitless energy, and self-reliance of the sons and daughters of the land who came to cast their lot and find their fortunes in these centers of national life.

Human experience has shown that it is relatively easy to build and to acquire. It is much more difficult to keep what we have acquired and to maintain what we have built.

As America prospered and grew, great concentration of wealth in the hands of a few began to raise its ugly head. Men of greed and unbridled wealth began to cast covetous eyes across the sea. The money they invested in the continents and isles of the earth were profits gained from American farmers, American workers, American professional people, and American businessmen. Yet, having gained these enormous amounts of money, these greedy barons of the moneybag lost all sense of patriotism and came to look upon the peoples of all nations, races, and tongues as fair prey from whom to gain still more mountains of gold, still more miles of land, and, of course, still more power over rulers, legislative bodies, public officials, and educational systems.

With their billions they have been able to prostitute men who are supposed to be scientists and have them proclaim that man himself is but a creature of evolution from lower forms of life. They have had such scientists to deny that God created different races of man. By endowments to institutions of higher learning, they have filled the minds of a generation of American college students with their false doctrines of political, social, and economic fallacies. With more gold they have succeeded in leading astray a great many churchmen, causing them to desert the Holy Scripture except as a cloak for their activities in political, social, and racial propaganda campaigns. All this was done to create a fertile field in the minds of men of different races and of different nations in which to sow the seed of a world empire to be controlled by the moneybags of these international bankers, merchants, and financiers.

All of these facts have been set out, insofar as this article is concerned, for the purpose of enabling us to understand the present policy in Washington as it relates to foreign affairs and to American agriculture.

WORLD ECONOMIC LEVEL

The foreign and agricultural policies of the national administration for 20 years has been designed to reduce the whole world to a common economic level. The one and

sure way to obtain this result is through international trade and the importation into countries of high economic level cheap labor and production of cheap labor from foreign countries. This flow of cheap labor and people unprepared, many of them incapable of becoming good Americans, and this flow of merchandise produced by cheap labor in foreign countries is being increased and expanded month by month as the years go by. This inflow of agricultural products of all kinds was intended to and does create farm surpluses. These surpluses in turn force the American farmer continually to reduce his operation and production. This in turn forces large numbers of people to abandon the farm and move to town.

All these things are part and parcel of the same great overall plan for a world empire, governed by an international army controlled by a world government which is called the United Nations Organization. Every intelligent person ought to be able to see that importation of foreign industrial products will reduce the American laborer to the economic level of laborers in the balance of the world. He should likewise be able to see that the importation of agricultural products, whether raw or in manufactured form, will finally reduce the American farmer to the same economic level as farmers in the balance of the world. By this time ordinary business people should be able to see that the great accumulation of wealth in the hands of international merchants and their great chain operations throughout the Nation will finally drive every independent merchant and businessman out of business.

IT IS NOW TIME TO LOOK AT THE BIG SHOW

The arguments and debates now going on in Washington of subsidies, St. Lawrence Waterway, oil rights, the Taft-Hartley bill, etc., are but a sideshow. They are concerned with questions which fade into insignificance by the side of the great question of whether America shall survive as a free and independent Republic or whether America shall be only one of the pawns in the hands of the internationalists and world-government advocates who but parrot the propaganda of international moneybags.

Development of Atomic Energy for Public and Commercial Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, the development of information concerning atomic energy has been one of the most interesting epochs of modern times. Until a few months ago we looked upon atomic energy only as something that might be used in war with great destructibility. But we are now coming to realize the great possibilities of atomic energy in the field of domestic usefulness.

Probably no part of the United States has come to appreciate these great atomic energy developments any more than that part of the country that I have the honor to repreesnt in the Congress of the United States. Several months ago the Atomic Energy Commission, which by Federal law is directly under the control of the Congress of the United States, entered upon a tremendous atomic energy construction program in southern Ohio. This program is now well on its way, and is considered as one of the most wonderful programs of our time. The initial building program will cost the Government about $1,200,000,000. There will be several kindred programs that will operate with the main project, and these will also cost many millions, most of which will be furnished by private capital.

Fifteen power-producing companies have joined their finances together and are building two of the largest electric power plants in the country. The total production of these two plants is to be consumed by the atomic-energy plant to which I have referred.

Now that the Government has proved that atomic energy can be produced, the Congress and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, of which I am a member, are looking forward to the time when atomic energy will be produced and used for domestic purposes. Automobiles no doubt will be operated by atomic energy. Homes no doubt will be heated by atomic energy. In order that this phase of atomic energy might have a fair chance to develop the Atomic Energy Commission and the Congress are planning to encourage private industry to enter the field of production and distribution. The Commission has invited those private industries that are equipped to enter this field to present the Commission with plans as to what they are able and willing to do toward the furthering of this great program to make atomic energy useful. It is understood that already several of these groups are prepared to submit their plans and the Commission will soon be ready to consider them.

It is the belief that as soon as these plans are approved a plant will be constructed somewhere in close proximity to the present atomic-energy plants. The people of southern Ohio have been advancing the advantages offered by our own section. We feel that the wonderful showing made in the construction of the mammoth atomic-energy plant, and the two great electric power plants in southern Ohio will convince the Atomic Energy Commission that southern Ohio will be the ideal place for this new plant that will make atomic energy useful for domestic purposes. There are a number of desirable locations that can be secured in the district which I have the honor to represent.

Unemployment in My Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have been receiving a continuous flow of letters from people employed in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, located in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent. They are complaining about the curtailment of work and the dismissal of employees. Last April the Naval Clothing Factory was closed and some 1,200 families lost their means of a livelihood. In January of this year the Naval Supply Facilities was transferred from Brooklyn to a depot elsewhere and another 700 employees lost their jobs. A great number of these employees are constituents living in my congressional district, and the sad part of the story is that they represent a huge group of disabled veterans and widows of veterans.

In looking into this very serious matter, which is adversely affecting the welfare of my constituents, I learned that a further reduction in employment at the Brooklyn Navy Yard will take place during the latter half of fiscal 1954—which means by June 30 of this year. The new reduction may affect perhaps another 700 employees and will bring down total employment at the Brooklyn Navy Yard to a low of 17,500.

By way of comparison, it is worth recalling that in the summer of 1952 employment at the yard was over 20,000. Thus, within a relatively brief period of time, more than 2,500 workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and nearly 2,000 employees at other naval establishments in the area will have lost their jobs—making a total of 4,500 who have been directly affected by these layoffs.

Those who still retain their jobs are worried about the future. Naturally, morale cannot be too high under such circumstances, and the whole economy of this particular area in Brooklyn is beginning to show signs of economic strain.

In recent weeks the flow of such mail from my district is becoming increasingly heavy. Worry is gradually giving way to bitterness, as more and more join the ranks of the "riffed" and the unemployed. People, who for many years had performed their duties faithfully and enjoyed a certain degree of economic security, suddenly are driven out of their jobs and are forced on the relief rolls. They cannot understand how it is possible for our Government to "economize" and for our Nation to gain economically when whole families become destitute and must resort to charitable aid.

Mr. Speaker, the administration has failed these people miserably. I do not pretend to know the extent of unemployment in our country today—some say it reaches 2 million, others claim it is 3 million or more—but this I do know: the confidence which the American people have had in our economy during the past two decades has been thoroughly shaken, if not totally destroyed. It will require prompt and forceful action to regain that confidence, but thus far I fail to note any effort in that direction.

While the administration is still sitting back taking no measures to deal with this snowballing unemployment situation, the problem is assuming serious dimensions in our local communities. In my district, the effects of the situation are becoming more noticeable with each passing day. Not only is the growing unemployment affecting the workers and their families directly involved, but also

those who live in constant fear of an approaching layoff, and it is also having a telling effect on the storekeeper, the small-business man, and the manufacturer whose volume of business is shrinking. In short, the whole community suffers because of this most infectious disease.

What is the Government going to do about these people? Does it have any plans to cope with this situation, or is it willing to simply let them proceed to the nearest relief agency? Is the Government going to continue blindly down the path of false economy, or will it adopt the necessary provisions to prevent economic chaos?

Mr. Speaker, these are danger spots and warnings which should not go unheeded. Perhaps we should be thankful that this situation is being brought to our attention while it is still time to do something concrete about it. Today we can still prevent a calamity, tomorrow may be too late.

The Lost Cause in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks I include a well-considered and informative article of conditions in Indochina of grave concern, appearing in the Washington Star of February 6, 1954, and written by the able and objective commentator Constantine Brown.

When we consider the promises made by President Eisenhower a year ago and the hopes he raised in the minds of our people about the use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces, there is naturally considerable disappointment that nothing has materialized.

The American people are entitled to an answer.

The article follows:

THE LOST CAUSE IN INDOCHINA—IN THE END, RUSSIA WILL LIKELY CONTROL VITAL GATEWAYS FROM PACIFIC TO INDIAN OCEAN; IS CHIANG THE ANSWER?

(By Constantine Brown)

The unfavorable political-military news from Indochina seems to worry the Pentagon and State Department more than it worries responsible authorities in Paris.

By and large, the French regard the nearly 8-year-old campaign against the Viet Minh as lost. They would be willing to pull out their forces if some vague prestige-saving device could be found so that France does not lose face in north Africa.

For more than a year we have footed most of the bills for the Indochina war. Last year we gave France more than $500 millions and are prepared to spend more this year. Our interest is not to keep Indochina as a French colony but to prevent the Reds from establishing themselves in one of the most vital positions in southeast Asia.

Indochina and adjacent Burma and Siam are the rice bowl of Asia. There is no doubt that once the Communists establish themselves in Vietnam there will be no hope for the continued independence of its two neighbors in the west. There will also be little chance left for the British to remain in Malaya. Thus the U. S. S. R. would control the strategic gateways from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean.

Our French friends fully understand the situation. They turn to us and say: "What can we do? We have fought and bled for nearly 8 years with no result. The enemy was at one time elusive. Hence we could not obtain a decisive victory. Now he has strong support from Communist China. His military strategy is conducted by men from Peiping and Moscow. By spending lavish sums and taking advantage of certain conditions in Vietnam he has infiltrated local governments and he also has been able to subvert many elements of the young Vietnam army. The recent mass desertions prove this amply. France has enough problems at home and in north Africa and is no longer in a position to continue a war which offers neither glory nor gain to the French people."

We are stymied by these logical arguments. It is becoming increasingly evident that mere financial and technological help will not be sufficient in Indochina, unless the French troops succeed in winning a spectacular victory over those of Ho Chi Minh. The chances for such an achievement are about 100 to 1. The proposition of last fall that we send American naval units and bombers to Indochina is not likely to produce a victory. It would merely prolong the guerilla warfare and further tire the restless Vietnam and French troops.

There have been rumors recently that we may send two divisions—probably those which are being withdrawn from Korea—to strengthen the effectives and the morale of the French and Vietnam forces. It is doubtful that the administration will take such a step. This for several reasons: (1) It would give an excellent chance to the Chinese Communists to pour openly 10 times as many divisions across the borders into Indochina. (2) There are grave doubts that the Congress and American public opinion would indorse an extension of the war while there is the present status quo in Korea. (3) It would shatter the economy plans of the administration.

Once we engage two divisions in Southeast Asia there is no telling how many more would be necessary to obtain a final victory against the combined Chinese-Viet Minh forces. A major war on the Asiatic mainland is considered a possibility by our military. But as in the past the enemy must take the initiative.

In some quarters the possibility of letting the Chinese Nationalists loose in "harassing operations" against their Communist enemies is considered as having some merit. Chiang Kai-shek has some 30 well-trained divisions equipped with modern weapons. According to American civilians and military men who have visited Formosa, the morale and spirit of these troops is good. Provided with the necessary logistic means, the Nationalists could reconquer the large island of Hainan in the Gulf of Tonkin. This island was lost to the Communists in 1949 during the debacle of the Nationalist forces. It serves today as an important base whence supplies and other kinds of assistance are sent to the Viet Minhs. Chiang's armies also have the capability to start major raids from Hainan—if they capture it—and from Formosa itself against southern China.

The difficulties which the Peiping regime finds itself in today make it probable that the same masses—including fighting men—who went over eagerly to the Communists between 1947 and 1949 would turn against their present rulers. The promises made in those days by the Chinese Communist leaders that China would become another Garden of Eden under Communist rule have proved the opposite.

In any event, there is nothing the West can lose by permitting Chiang's forces to measure themselves against the Communists in raids and major skirmishes. If the only objective achieved is to relieve the pressure in Indochina the attempt would be well worthwhile.

Inspection of Cuban Agriculture and Sugar Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1938, as amended and extended, the producing areas which provide our sugar are allotted quotas. In 1953 the respective areas supplied approximately the following proportions of our total sugar consumption: Domestic beet 21 percent; domestic cane, 6¼ percent; Hawaii, 13 percent; Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands, 14 percent; Cuba, 33 percent; Philippines, 11 percent; other foreign countries, 1⅓ percent.

The Sugar Act, which has been under the jurisdiction of this committee since its inception, was last extended in 1951. The present extension of the law continues to December 31, 1956.

In carrying out its responsibilities with regard to this legislation, the Committee on Agriculture is undertaking, during this period when extension and revision of the act is not immediately before the committee, to familiarize itself with the conditions and problems incident to production in the various areas.

At the invitation of the Government of Cuba and as the guests of that Government, the committee was able to make an inspection of the Cuban sugar industry and other phases of Cuban agriculture in the period January 23–30, 1954.

Presented herewith for use of the Committee on Agriculture and for the information of other Members of the House is a brief report of that study:

INSPECTION OF CUBAN AGRICULTURE AND SUGAR INDUSTRY

The Sugar Act of 1937, regulating production of sugar for the American market, has been one of our most successful agricultural programs. It has provided American consumers, even during the war years, with an ample supply of sugar at a reasonable and stabilized price level, at times even below world market prices.

At the same time, the act has contributed materially to national security by making possible production of significant quantities of sugar within continental United States. Economically, the stability which operation of the act has brought to our own offshore areas (Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands) and to our neighboring nation of Cuba has been a most important factor in the greatly improved economy of the whole Caribbean area.

Financially, the program has operated consistently at a profit. In the 16 years of its operation it has returned a net profit to the Treasury, over and above all expenses including administration, of approximately $269 million.

The law has been amended and extended from time to time but has continued the basic concept of providing for production of part of our sugar supply in continental United States and dividing the total consumption of this country between our domestic producing areas and our other historical sources of supply. The legislation has been consistently under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Agriculture.

The latest extension of the act was in 1951, at which time it was extended with minor changes through 1956. It is unlikely, therefore, that there will be any sugar legislation before Congress this year. In the course of the hearings on the 1951 extension of the act, the committee indicated the hope that it would be able to visit each of the major sugar-producing areas before the act came up for reconsideration again and familiarize itself more thoroughly with production in the various areas.

In conformity with that intention, a subcommittee visited Hawaii in the fall of 1952 and spent several days inspecting the Hawaii sugar-production industry. In the spring of 1953 a majority of the members of the committee visited Puerto Rico at the invitation and as guests of the Puerto Rican Government and obtained much valuable firsthand information on the place of sugar in that island's economy and some of the problems connected with its industry.

During the last week in January 1954 the committee carried out the third step of its intention to familiarize itself with the sugar-producing areas with an inspection of the Cuban sugar-producing industry. The committee's visit to Cuba was possible only because of the invitation of the Government of Cuba, since the committee obviously is not in a position to invite itself to make a detailed inspection of the industry of another sovereign nation.

The invitation of the Cuban Government was extended to the committee by the Cuban Ambassador to Washington on July 13, 1953, and was officially accepted by the committee in executive session on July 17. A subcommittee was appointed to work with the Cuban Ambassador in perfecting arrangements for the trip. All expenses of the trip were paid by the Government of Cuba.

As is customary in the case of field hearings and trips of the Committee on Agriculture, representatives of the press were invited to accompany the committee, and the meetings and inspection trips in Cuba were fully covered by reporters both from the United States and Habana.

The sugar harvest in Cuba starts about January 15 and is normally completed in 3 to 4 months. It was impossible, therefore, for the committee to make its visit during the recess of Congress and see the sugar mills in operations. The date of the inspection trip was set, therefore, at a time when it was anticipated that the mills would be in operation and that the legislative situation would permit members to be away from Washington for a few days.

The following brief summary of the committee's visit to the Republic of Cuba will give some idea of the scope of the studies conducted by the committee:

On its arrival in Habana Saturday, January 23, the committee was met by Chester Davis, the sugar economist of the American Embassy in Habana; John Johnston, the chief of our point 4 program in Cuba; and the director of experiment stations of the Cuban Department of Agriculture. The Ambassador assigned Mr. Davis and Mr. Johnston to the committee for the duration of its stay and they were a valuable source of information and interpretations.

The committee was also fortunate in having in its membership Dr. FERNÓS-ISERN, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, who acted frequently as interpreter when members of the committee were interviewing farmers and others who did not speak English readily.

At noon Saturday the committee attended a luncheon meeting as guests of the Secretary of Agriculture of Cuba. In addition to the formal statements presented at the luncheon, the committee members discussed various aspects of Cuban agriculture personally with the large number of officials of the Cuban Department of Agriculture who were present. Later Saturday, members attended a reception at one of Habana's oldest newspapers El Diario de la Marina, at which committee members were able to discuss general Cuban business conditions with many of the outstanding Cuban and American businessmen of Habana.

Monday, January 25, the committee, accompanied by American Ambassador Gardner, went first to the Cuban Department of State for an official call on the Minister of State. Most of the rest of this day was spent at the Cuban Sugar Stabilization Institute in a meeting with the members of the institute and with the Association of Hacendados, the association of the sugar-mill operators.

Monday evening members of the committee were the guests of Gen. Fulgencio Batista at a reception and buffet supper at the President's palace. Committee members had an unparalleled opportunity during the informal 3 hours spent at the presidential palace for personal discussions with the President of the Republic.

Early Tuesday morning the committee left by auto for a Cuban agricultural experiment station at Santiago de las Vegas, a few miles outside of Habana. This experiment station is the headquarters of our point 4 agricultural program in Cuba and about 1 hour of the visit at the experiment station was devoted to a conference with those in charge of our point 4 program. The committee then inspected the operations connected with the growing and production of kenaf fiber, which is one of the major objectives of our point 4 program in Cuba. Kenaf is a rough fiber produced from an annual plant which can apparently be adapted with considerable success for growth in Cuba. It is a fiber which can be used readily instead of jute for the manufacture of burlap, bagging, and similar rough cloth.

Kenaf seems to hold particular promise for production in Cuba for two reasons: (1) Cuba is a large user of burlap and similar jute cloth for sugar bags and tobacco baling. Virtually all of this material is now imported. (2) Kenaf is normally harvested during the time of year when sugar is not being harvested and when there is little or no work in the fields for the large number of laborers who must be maintained to harvest the sugar crop. Development of the kenaf crop would give employment to many of these laborers during the off season of sugar production.

On its return to Habana, the committee inspected the modern central bank maintained by the Asociacion de Colonos, the Association of Sugar Growers. The bank is operated on a cooperative basis and is similar to regional banks for cooperatives and production credit associations serving our own farmers. It serves as a central source of credit for the growers of sugarcane.

In the large auditorium on the top floor of the modern bank building, the committee then attended a mass meeting of several hundred sugar growers and farmers. The statements presented by these Cuban farmers were similar to the many statements the committee has heard from American farmers during the course of its recent hearings throughout the United States.

Like any American farmers, Cuban sugar farmers are faced this year with a sharp reduction in their quotas. Cuban sugar quotas have been reduced by about 1,500,000 acres this year, or about 17 percent of the total acreage planted. Like American farmers, Cuban producers of sugarcane are also caught between lower prices for their crops and rising or stationary costs of labor and other production expenses.

Wednesday morning the committee left by bus for a 2-day trip into the interior of the island southeast of Habana. It was accompanied on the trip by officials of the Cuban Department of Agriculture, by the agricultural and commercial experts of the American Embassy in Habana, and by the directors of our point 4 program in Cuba.

The committee spent all day Wednesday visiting sugar plantations, a raw-sugar mill or "central," and a sugar refinery.

Although some modern machinery is used in handling the cane and transporting it to the mills, two-wheeled carts drawn by ox teams were still much in evidence in almost every field and the actual cutting of the cane is still entirely a hand operation. The cane cutting requires a labor force of from 500,000 to 700,000 workers during the 3 to 5 months of the cane harvest. The finding of some profitable employment for this army of sugar workers during the months when they are not employed in the cane fields, thus relieving the sugar industry of the entire burden of their support, is one of the obvious economic problems confronting the island nation.

The sugar mill visited by the committee, Central Cuba, is one of the more modern on the island. There are 161 such mills or "centrals" scattered throughout the sugar-producing areas of Cuba. These mills crush the juice from the cane and reduce it to crystalline raw sugar. Much of it is exported in that form but some is refined into granulated white sugar and other products in Cuba. Late on Wednesday the committee visited and inspected one of the large Cuban sugar refineries.

Thursday morning the committee went by airplane from Veradero, where it had spent the night, southeast across the island to Topes de Collantes, Trinidad, and Las Villas, in the Province of Santa Clara on the south-central coast of Cuba. This is one of the major coffee-producing areas of the island and the committee inspected one of the larger plantations. Here the committee also visited a new rural electric-generating plant and the Cuban forest-experiment station. A new tuberculosis hospital was also inspected at the special invitation of President Batista. The group returned to Habana by plane late Thursday.

Friday the committee went by bus almost to the western tip of the island to inspect the area which produces the famous Cuban tobacco. Stops were made at a number of tobacco farms en route. An informal luncheon meeting with tobacco farmers was held at the Cuban agricultural experiment station at San Juan y Martines. The committee returned to Habana late that evening.

Saturday forenoon the committee visited the capitol building and afterward placed a wreath on the impressive memorial to Jose Marti, considered the father of Cuban freedom. Cuba is just completing celebration of the 100th anniversary of Marti's birth.

Before leaving Cuba, committee members made another visit to the American Embassy for a final session with its sugar expert, Chester Davis, and for general orientation on the information the committee had obtained.

In its inspection of the Cuban sugar industry and agriculture, the committee traveled about 650 miles by bus and automobile and about 350 miles by airplane. It participated in six formal meetings with agricultural groups and in at least twice that many informal discussions with groups encountered in the course of its travels. At least equally as valuable to the committee members as the group meetings, however, was the excellent opportunity throughout the committee's stay in Cuba, and particularly during the bus and auto trips into the rural

areas, to discuss with individual Cubans the many aspects of Cuban agricultural and economic life which presented themselves.

The great importance of sugar in the relationships and trade between the United States and Cuba is easily summed up: Under the provisions of our Sugar Act, Cuba provides about 34 percent of the sugar consumed in the United States. This sugar normally comprises 80 to 85 percent of Cuba's total of all exports to the United States.

The dollars provided by our purchases of Cuban sugar comprise the funds for Cuban purchases in the United States so extensive as to make that nation our sixth best foreign customer and to give it a per capita consumption of American goods beyond that of any other foreign country except Canada. In 1952 American exports to Cuba amounted to about $1.18 for each dollar of our imports from that country.

The committee is deeply appreciative of the many courtesies and the great assistance extended to it throughout its visit by the Government of the Republic of Cuba and by the many citizens of the island who assisted materially in its quest for information. The committee desires particularly to express its thanks to President Batista for the generous manner in which he placed every facility and every office of the Cuban Government at the disposal of the committee during its visit to the Republic.

The committee also desires to express its appreciation to Dr. Aurelio F. Concheso, the Ambassador of Cuba to Washington, for his great assistance in making the arrangements for the trip, and to Dr. Mario Nuñes de Villavicencio, first Secretary of the Cuban Embassy, who accompanied the committee from Washington and throughout its entire trip, and who handled arrangements for transportation and accommodations in most exemplary fashion.

The committee is also grateful to Dr. Alfredo Jacomino López, Minister of Agriculture of Cuba, for placing the informed personnel and the facilities of his department at the service of the committee and for personally accompanying the committee on much of its inspection of the island's agriculture. Also to Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, Minister of State of Cuba, who assisted the committee in many ways, including the assignment of Dr. Charles A. Mendiola and Sr. Pedro Diaz, of the Cuban State Department, who were of great assistance to the committee throughout the entire period of their visit to Cuba.

The committee also desires to express its appreciation to Mr. Arthur Gardner, American Ambassador to Cuba, whose personal assistance and cooperation, and that of his able staff, added much to the information obtained by the committee during its visit.

The Least Common Denominator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Least Common Denominator," which I delivered in New York City on February 5, 1954, at the National Roosevelt Day dinner of Americans for Democratic Action.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At tonight's gathering we pay tribute to the memory of the greatest President of modern times, one of the giants of our age, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Franklin Roosevelt was the outstanding apostle of freedom of our era, as Thomas Jefferson was in his time, and as Abraham Lincoln was in his.

It is interesting to note that our greatest Presidents are all remembered, each in reference to the issues of his day, as enemies of tyranny and advocates of the cause of liberty. And, in fact, in each of these periods the struggle for freedom—a never-ending struggle—was fought out and won, for that period. But no sooner was the contest won than it began all over again, in a new form, against new foes and on new grounds.

Today in the current version of the classic conflict between liberty and repression, we may well renew our strength from the fountain of memory of the champions of freedom of the past.

Thus we can use the occasion of this year's Roosevelt Day dinners to foster our determination to fight for the cause which Franklin Roosevelt, during his lifetime, so heroically advanced.

New York is honored, ADA is honored, we are all honored in having with us tonight as our principal speaker Franklin Roosevelt's successor as President, an indomitable fighter for liberty in his own right, a great leader, a great President—Harry S. Truman.

During the presidential campaign of 1952—it seems a long time ago—I had the privilege of introducing this devoted and courageous man to many audiences in New York State.

I recalled that this man of Independence, Mo., had the high destiny to inherit the leadership of the Nation from New York's greatest and most beloved son, Franklin Roosevelt.

I recalled that Franklin Roosevelt, in his time, was called "the champ," and I said of Harry Truman in October 1952—and I repeat of him tonight—that I can pay him no greater tribute than to say that he, too, in fullest measure, merits this proud title.

I am sure that Harry S. Truman will come to occupy one of the brightest and proudest pages in our Nation's history, and will be honored long after his detractors are gone and forgotten. The name of Harry Truman has become and will remain a symbol of that heroic quality called courage.

A year ago President Truman laid down the cares of office and became private citizen Harry Truman. Another gallant man succeeded him as titular leader of the Democratic Party, another valiant fighter for freedom, Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois.

Even in retirement Harry Truman has continually grown in stature. He has not for a moment flagged in his devotion and dedication to the cause of liberalism, of human rights, and human dignity which he espoused so courageously and untiringly as President of the United States.

As a national officer of ADA, and as one of the national chairmen of these Roosevelt Day dinners, I am proud to welcome Harry Truman to this gathering.

The ADA, like Harry Truman, knows what it is to be attacked, criticized, and defamed. The ADA, indeed, as all of you know, has been, and is proud to be, a perennial object of assault from both the extreme right and the extreme left.

But not long ago, ADA came under attack from supposedly friendly quarters. It was advised to disband and fade quietly away.

That advice, of course, is not going to be taken. Like all mischosen advice, it has misfired. Instead of discouraging the membership of the ADA, it has strengthened the resolve of the members and supporters of the ADA to carry on, to redouble the efforts and activities of this organization.

That is good. I believe with all my heart that ADA, as a mobilization center for liberals of all political parties and of no political party, plays an essential role in the political life of our country.

I am a Democrat, a registered Democrat, if you please. As long as ADA has been in existence, I have had its support in every campaign in which I have been a candidate. I am pleased, on this occasion, to affirm that I have always welcomed that support, I have always appreciated it, and I have always benefited from it.

But ADA does much more than support candidates for public office. ADA is an organization devoted much more to principles than to parties or candidates. And in this area, it performs its greatest and most significant service. Never has there been such a need for emphasis on issues and principles as there is today.

Democracy and human rights are under savage and sinister attack.

The situation is actually without parallel. We have passed through a period of constantly increasing prosperity. Our standard of living has reached unprecedented levels. And yet never, within my memory, have our people been so imbued with anxiety and fear, so characterized by lack of confidence and faith in democracy itself.

As a result of this situation, the demagogs, who, like death and taxes, are always with us, have profited greatly. They have come into their own. And what is worse, some leaders of our Government have undertaken to outdo the demagogs in demagogery.

There are two ways of mobilizing men for political action. One is to appeal to the lowest common denominator, and the other, to the highest.

Those who appeal to the lowest common denominator now appear to be in the ascendancy. The common denominator of these forces is a ruthless urge to gain or retain power. Their hard core consists of the supernationalists, the isolationists, the xenophobists, the totalitarians, the bigots, and the last-ditch defenders of special privilege and discrimination.

While posing as patriots and fighters against communism, these forces have now combined for the attack against liberty.

Their line of attack is to characterize all progress as creeping socialism, all social gains as heresy, and liberalism, itself, as half-treason.

Under the false banner of anticommunism, they would strip our country of its basic strength to oppose communism; they would divide the people with fear and prejudice; they would turn us against our allies and our allies against us; they would stamp out free thought, free inquiry, and freedom itself.

And make no mistake, the insidious techniques of their propaganda can succeed in these designs, unless their techniques are checked, unless the people of America are truly and thoroughly aroused to the dangers which confront us.

For they appeal to the baser emotions—to fear, to hate, to prejudice, to bigotry. They use the technique of the big, the multiple untruth. They scorn decency. They have only contempt for integrity. For them the end—which is power—justifies any means. They excuse their acts by saying, "You can't fight communism with kid gloves." So they indiscriminately and without conscience use the blackjack, brass knuckles, the trial-by-ordeal, the smear, and brazen unblushing deceit.

Under ordinary circumstances, the defences of democracy are sufficient in depth to meet such attacks. But these are not ordinary circumstances. The whole world is gripped with anxiety over the aggressive designs and the imperialistic purposes of the Communist International. Forces of ferment and revolution against the old order of western colonialism boil turbulently in many quarters of the globe.

The possibility of total extinction and destruction of western civilization, nay of all civilization, looms fearsomely as a result of the twin threats of Communist terror and atomic warfare.

In these circumstances, the fear-mongers, the enemies of freedom at home have been given their chance. And they have eagerly seized it.

That great apostle of judicial pragamatism, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, gave us the classic example of a logical limit on free speech, when he said that no man has a right to cry "Fire" in a crowded theater.

This example has been used, indeed to justify unjustifiable restrictions on free speech. But today the demagogues, the irresponsible opportunists, are themselves violating the dictum of Justice Holmes. They have gained the advantage which they now enjoy by falsely alarming our people about an alleged infiltration of our Government by spies and traitors.

Undoubtedly there are some few spies and traitors in Government and no loyal American wishes to protect any one of them. But we are being exposed to what amounts almost to a national panic by an hysterical description of an army of traitors as honeycombing our country and menacing us on every hand in our schools, in the press, in our labor unions, in the theater, and even in our churches.

There is no evidence to this effect whatever. It is a lie.

Yet with this lie they have had their way. Today that lie is widely accepted as truth.

Leading persons in public life, of the most seeming respectability, including the Governor of this very State, and some of the highest officials of our National Government, have stooped to the furtherance of this lie.

They have given currency to an ascending figure first of 1,400, and more lately of 2,200 so-called security risks who, they claim, have been eliminated from the Government service since the advent of the new administration.

This figure has been given to the American public as proof, first, that under the previous administration the Government was infiltrated with Communists, and second, that the new administration is cleaning them out.

But this sleight-of-hand presentation has not gone unchallenged. Gradually it has been exposed for what it is—a cynical distortion of fact.

Piece by piece, factual evidence has been assembled which has exposed the whole tissue of this unblushing statement to be a fabric of few threads, but mostly starch, which has already been washed out.

Many of the cases included in the 2,200 were persons who resigned of their own free will without the least question of their loyalty. Some were persons dismissed because of reductions in force due to budgetary cuts; some were persons transferred from one Government agency to another; some were dismissed because of unsatisfactory personal habits; some were replaced for purely political reasons. But the number of persons included in this total who were dismissed because of real concern regarding their loyalty, not to speak of real proof as to Communist affiliation or sympathies—is indicated as being very small, indeed.

I do not know the actual breakdown. The administration has thus far refused to make it public. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has said that the public has no interest in such a breakdown. Well, here is one part of the public which has such an interest.

But we know enough already—and I doubt if any public announcement will tell us more than we already know—to say that the original figure was a fraud. The whole presentation was a fraud. It was a naked effort to delude and to deceive.

What I have cited is but an example—a glaring one, of course—of the current corrosion of the standards of political morality and decency—of the levels to which public leadership can descend in these times which need to bring out the best and not the worst in men.

This is but a reflection of the proportions of the task which lies ahead of us.

We face the basic job of reestablishing the value of integrity in our Government and our public life.

This is a task for honest conservatives as well as liberals, for men of all parties and all political persuasions.

But we as liberals face a further challenge. We need, in this day, to restore the prestige of progress and the worth of liberalism itself. In some quarters the world "liberal" has become a rebuke and a sneer.

We who believe in the liberal philosophy must accept this as a primary challenge.

We should not and must not succumb to the seeming requirements of political expediency. In the face of this wind, we dare not trim our sails. We must base our efforts on the highest common denominator—the unchanging virtues of the American tradition.

We must hold fast to our faith in human dignity, in the precious sancity of the individual, his right to privacy and freedom. We must reemphasize our resolve to use the wonders of science and technology for the benefit of mankind and not for its destruction. We must not tire in our devotion to peace, security, and justice for all men.

We must not yield ground to the supernationalists, to the xenophobists, the racists, and the purveyors of prejudice.

We must pursue our goals on all fronts, and decline to retreat on any.

We must seize and holds the offensive, however outnumbered we may seem, however heavy the odds may seem against us.

We must be bold. We must renew our courage. We will find, if our faith is true, that our numbers will swell, our forces will increase, and soon—I do not know how soon—but inevitably the forces of right, of progress, or freedom and justice will prevail.

Twenty-five Divisions for the Cost of One

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, all of us are aware of the outstanding record of Gen. James A. Van Fleet in connection with the operations of our forces in Korea.

In the February number of the Reader's Digest there appears an article by General Van Fleet entitled "Twenty-five Divisions for the Cost of One." This seems to me to be a very important contribution to our whole present military setup, and especially our policy in the Far East.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I am advised by the Government Printing Office that the article will require 2½ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, at a cost of $212.50.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-FIVE DIVISIONS FOR THE COST OF ONE

(By Gen. James A. Van Fleet)

Because we were all old friends, we were threshing out in Korea a very earnest argument with our feet cocked upon chairs. Present were 3 top-level men, 1 from Japan, 1 from the Pentagon, and a soldier greater than the rest of us. They were listening to my plea that the quickest way to end the Korean war was to let me train more South Korean divisions. The South Koreans were eager to fight, and I thought we could win with only another 10 divisions.

The man from the Pentagon shook his head. America could not afford it. The Pentagon, he said, had accurate figures. Ten more South Korean divisions, he insisted, would cost $2 billion—money we just didn't have.

I disagreed. With the reduced but adequate equipment I had in mind (only one artillery battalion per division, for instance) I was sure I could put into the line South Korean divisions which would fight so well that each would release an American division—and at a cost to us (including a year's pay, clothing, and food) of less than $9 million each.

The Pentagon man said this was crazy. The soldier who had been listening now asked the man from Japan what he thought.

"I think Van's figures aren't far off," was the answer. "When I get back to Tokyo I'll get my own."

A few days later those figures came. The Tokyo man, giving a South Korean division 2 battalions of artillery instead of the 1 I allowed, still got an estimate of only $8,298-805—a fraction of the $250 million it costs to keep a single American division overseas for a year.

Now these figures take no account of human lives. But they prove that America lacks both the manpower and the money to hold communism in check in Asia—if we persist in our past policy of trying to do the job with American men.

Consider the task. Soviet policy is to move swiftly into weak spots. The free world's frontier with Asia stretches from Korea to Turkey, and its weak spots can be plugged only with trained troops. How many are needed? Who can supply them? During a recent world tour I inspected a few of these soft spots, and I believe I returned with some answers.

In Korea we have achieved a cease-fire. But negotiations may drag on for months—even years—during which at least 25 divisions must man the ridges. Yet this cease-fire frees Communist power for further marauding. Will the Communists mass divisions to attack Indochina? Formosa? Burma? India? Iran? Turkey?

We may estimate conservatively that, in order to save Asia, it might take 100 well-trained and well-equipped divisions. Who can provide them? If we tried to dam this vast chasm with American divisions, as we plugged the little hole in Korea, it would take almost 2 million men and would cost us $25 billion per year.

Fantastic, of course. But how else can Asia be saved?

KOREA'S VALLEY FORGE

The answer we found in Korea: Asia (as our President has said) can and should be saved by Asians. And if we help Asia keep her own freedom, the cost in men and money to us will be only a tiny fraction of what it would be to fight her battles. It would also strip the Communists of their powerful argument that ours is no real war for freedom but only a white man's imperialist war to put Asia in chains.

What will Asia need in this task? When I first landed in Korea in April of 1951 it had been true that, whenever a Korean division was assigned a pivotal place in our battleline, the next Red breakthrough was generally in that sector.

Remember, however, that when United States troops pulled out of Korea in 1949 the scantily trained native army of 96,000 we left behind was far smaller than the huge, well-drilled force which the Soviets had built up in North Korea. And this South Korean Army was smashed in the war's opening weeks.

Syngman Rhee, desperately rebuilding his forces, hauled in even traffic cops for officers, and pulled boys out of rice paddies to fill the ranks. South Korea had no officer schools or training centers. Often, after only a few days' sketchy drill and 5 minutes spent learning how to shoot a gun, boys were put into the line. No wonder that, under the pressure of Red veterans, they broke and scattered.

I now applied a lesson learned 4 years before in Greece. There we instituted an American training program and within a year, using only 10 divisions with modest equipment, the Greeks were able to dig the Communists out of every cave.

Why not try the same plan in Korea? ROK divisions were pulled out of the line two at a time and given a complete re-do—3 months of tough training, in even more rugged doses than recruits get back in the States. For instructors I used crack noncoms from other divisions.

In this way we found we could double our Korean Army every 10 months—Korea's manpower being the only limiting factor, plus Washington's permission. When the ten original divisions were retrained, we could then send them trained replacements.

Their training was even better than we dare give American troops. We could work them from dawn to sunset 6 days a week (no leaves to go home, no going into town for a soda) with only Sundays free, which they used to clean up their billets, and to mend and wash their clothes. There was no regimental laundry; the Koreans did not expect one.

We also set up a special training center near Kwang-Ju for badly needed technicians, noncoms, and junior battle leaders. Look closely at this school. If our American boys are not to be shipped out to save Asia, we will need half a dozen like it, in Asian countries anxious to fight for their freedom if we will only show them how.

In rough, prefab buildings we opened courses to train squad leaders in mortars, armor, artillery, machineguns, signals, intelligence, truck maintenance, and army aviation. We also trained junior battle leaders up to and including battalion commanders.

We got many pleasant surprises. We discovered that orientals apply themselves intensely—tell them something once, and they have it. They have photographic eyes for blackboard or field demonstrations. We found many boys who were brilliant but illiterate. We made them spend 2 hours each night learning to read; in 6 weeks they were writing home.

Korea is now intensely proud of this little school. The lesson for us is that free Asia may easily be saved if we provide our worthy allies with such schools. They can be built for barely $5 million each and, with the aid of less than 2 dozen American instructors and advisers, each can give courses lasting from 4 to 24 weeks to 10,000 eager pupils in those skills of war which are the backbone of a modern army. "We don't want the blood of your American boys in Korea." Syngman Rhee had told me. "Only give us the training and the arms." And he was right.

FIGHTING WITH ICE-CREAM CONES

A trained native division of 14,500 men is equal in fighting power to an American division of 18,000 men—and at one twenty-fifth the cost per year. Why? Because our people insist (I would not change it) that the GI should take with him to Asia his American standard of living, which is the world's highest.

We drag along his hometown drugstore, with its candy bars, cigarettes, toilet articles. Every division must have its ice-cream plant. It is lavishly supplied with sleeping bags, stoves, heating elements, fuel oil or charcoal, and the world's most tastily varied rations including beef, pork, chicken, turkey, milk, eggs, sometimes hydroponic vegetables, and many refrigerated items. At the source the rations cost $1.20 per man per day. By the time they are delivered in Korea, including theft and spillage, the cost rises close to $5.

The South Korean ration costs only 40 cents a day because it is mostly rice, with local vegetables for vitamins, and meat hardly twice a week. In clothing, a Korean soldier considers himself lucky to get two cheap, homemade uniforms a year, while we often allow the GI a new outfit (far more expensive) every 90 days. In pay, the lowliest combat GI gets $136.20 a month, while the Korean considers himself fortunate to get 15 cents. When his outfit is on the move, the GI expects to be hauled in a truck, while a Korean assumes he will walk, as he has done all his life.

No wonder it takes 600 tons of transport a day to supply an American division, while a Korean division needs only 100 tons. These excess American trucks which the American living standard demands mean more manpower taken from the trigger-pullers and tied up in drivers, mechanics, and engineers to build or repair roads.

Because most Korean soldiers carry rifles, a Korean division of 14,500 men has the same firepower potential as the 18,000-man American outfit.

An American division is luxuriously upholstered with six tank companies. An Asiatic division can get along without even one. Tanks are staggeringly costly and also need many highly skilled maintenance crews. In Asiatic fighting they are often useless because of mountainous or marshy terrain. The typical Asiatic division also can use, instead of heavy artillery, plenty of mortars—cheap to make and easy to move.

Don't think, however, that we are squandering Oriental blood to save dollars. Korean casualties are often lighter than ours, because we are allowed to give them sounder training.

For instance, when we attack a ridge, first we plaster the enemy positions on its crest with heavy barrage, to keep the enemy down in his foxholes while our troops climb up for their attack.

Our men are supposed to advance hugging our curtain of fire and, when they get to the top and just before the fire lifts, to walk right into our own barrage to toss grenades into the enemy dugouts.

If they follow these orders, we know that our own fire will inevitably kill or wound 4 or 5 of our own men in every attacking battalion. But we also know that total casualties will be far less. For if our first assault wave waits (before moving in on the enemy positions) until our barrage has lifted, this will give the enemy those needed moments to jump out of his dugouts and mow us down as we climb the last 100 yards of the hill, inflicting on us casualties often 10 times the number that would have been inflicted by our own friendly fire.

This grim lesson of war—to hug your own fire even though you know a few men will be killed—we are not allowed to give American troops in training. American public opinion would never allow it.

American boys eventually learn to hug our own fire. But they learn finally in combat the hard way, after three or more heavy battles, during which their casualties from enemy fire are enormously greater than they need be, could we have properly trained them (killing a few) back in the States on maneuvers.

KOREANS FACE FACTS

Korean public opinion is more realistic than ours. We teach Korean boys to hug friendly fire during training. Of course, a few soldiers lose their lives. But later, in the line, the South Koreans often can take objectives with far fewer casualties than the same ridge would cost an American platoon.

For example, in October 1952, we had to know whether the 42d Chinese Communist Army was still facing our United States First Corps north of Seoul, so each of our four divisions—the United States 1st Marines, the United States 7th, the British Commonwealth, and the First ROK—sent out a reenforced platoon (no larger movements were permitted) to bring back prisoners for questioning.

All failed except the ROK's. Their men stalked up that hill as patiently as tigers. They entered our own barrage on the crest (it wounded 3 of them). They grabbed 2 Chinese, bundled them into helmets and armored vests so they would get back alive, and rapidly withdrew before the heavy barrage of the enemy had time to come down on our withdrawal routes.

The Korean score: Casualties from our friendly fire 3 wounded. From enemy fire, 0. Prisoners, 2.

WAR TRAINING ON THE JOB

Next to this ROK division was an American outfit so diluted by rotation that it had had little tough combat experience. Instead of following our barrage up the hill and then wading into it, the American platoon lagged 200 yards. When our fire curtain lifted, they found they were pinned down by Chinese tommy-gun fire. This was not lack of courage—only faulty training and bad timing. Another platoon had to be committed to get the Americans out of their scrape.

The American score: Casualties from our friendly fire, 0. From enemy fire, 61. Prisoners, 0.

The moral: Tough training (we could give it only to the ROK's) pays off.

It is not we who are careless with oriental lives, but the Communists. They will herd 1,000 Chinese out to take a hill—lose 800 to our fire, but the needed 200 will be left to occupy its ridge.

A division of Asiatics, in addition to its original American training, will need American advisers. For some of the top skills of war—logistics and tactics—which our officers spend years studying, cannot be taught even to hard-working Asiatics in 14 weeks. But the American specialists who give top commanders "on the job" training need not be many. In Korea we never had, per division, more than 22 (half were enlisted technicians) and found we could do with as few as 12.

These men should be advisers only. Basic responsibility should always be borne by the native leaders. We found this out in Korea at some cost. When the war opened, President Syngman Rhee presented General MacArthur with the Korean Army.

"Take it," he said in effect, "to use as you will. It is yours."

It was a generous gesture, which we accepted. But came April 1951, when the 6th Korean Division, overrun by the Chinese Reds, continued to fall back and retreat, abandoning great quantities of equipment. My staff officers urged me to deactivate the Korean 6th as worthless.

Instead I gathered its stragglers, reissued them precious equipment and then presented

Syngman Rhee with what probably was the most blistering letter ever delivered by a soldier to the head of a friendly state. I told him bluntly that what his army needed was competent leadership. "They do not have it," I said, "as is clearly evidenced by repeated battle failures."

I then gave Syngman Rhee back his army by pointing out that securing good Korean leadership was not my task, but was the chief responsibility of the President of the Republic.

President Rhee accepted full responsibility. From that day on, the ROK army owed its allegiance to its own people and country—as it should—and not to the United States Eighth Army.

How the Koreans solved their problem I don't know. There were, of course, courts-martial wholesale. We even heard rumors that commanders shot subordinates guilty of cowardice or gross negligence.

But I do know that the United States should be proud of its ally Syngman Rhee for the results he got. For when his officers and men realized that they were a Korean Army, under a Korean chain of command, fighting for Korea, with blame for failure and credit for success on their own shoulders, they suddenly were transformed into soldiers. When the Korean Sixth went back into the line, it fought like a commando team of tigers to redeem Korean honor and restore Korean face. After that I never had a better, more dependable division in all of my command.

This preparedness program which could save Asia, then, starts with a training school like the one at Kwang-Ju which, for only $5 million and with 20 American advisers, can train enough technicians and junior battle leaders to staff 10 Asiastic divisions per year. In fighting power each is as effective as an American division. But a billion dollars will buy 100 of them, whereas that sum would pay the overseas combat costs of only four American divisions.

In neither case do these figures include the cost of support by our Navy and Air Force. But this is small compared with the cost of keeping American ground armies overseas.

EVERYBODY WAS RIGHT ALL ALONG

If we examine closely these rugged, low-cost divisions, hand tooled so that Asiatics may keep Asia free, we see many similarities to those Japanese divisions which, in 1941, pattered down the Malay Peninsula in sneaker-clad feet, and overran all of southeast Asia. Surely the West, which smarted under defeat from these lightly equipped, efficient armies, cannot argue that such methods are not effective.

Why did we not use more such divisions in Korea? Washington lowered the boom on more South Korean troops in the spring of 1952, a decision based on the best information the Pentagon then had. The war, Pentagon leaders were sure, was almost over, and they were refusing offers of more troops even from our other U. N. allies.

Then, in October 1952, my old West Point classmate, Dwight Eisenhower came out for more South Korean troops. The general's opponents, criticizing this plan, said that even I opposed it. This misrepresentation was unfair to the general, so my family sent him a letter I had written, explaining that I wanted more ROK divisions but could not get approval.

After it was published, October 29, developments came fast. On November 1, Washington authorized two more ROK divisions. Presently came from Washington a statement explaining that the Pentagon had, all along, favored more ROK troops. In the light of the official record in Seoul, this was hard to understand.

LOOK AT FORMOSA

Let us apply our preparedness-package formula to various danger spots around the rim of Asia. In Formosa much of it is already at work. Here $300 million in American aid to Chiang Kai-shek—only a little more than the cost of one American division per year—has produced 21 anti-Communist Chinese divisions, plus two air groups, with money left over for economic aid.

When the Korean war began, Chiang offered us his army. Had we accepted, we might not have needed to bring a single American ground division from the States. My unfulfilled hope, later in the war, was to bring Chiang's divisions to Korea, three at a time, to give them battle training in rotation.

Chiang's Chinese divisions would have brought us another combat advantage, for blood calls to blood. While I commanded in Korea, thousands upon thousands of our "Red" Chinese prisoners sent me "petitions in blood." Their plea was always the same: "Give us arms to fight by your side. If not this, then send us to Formosa, so that someday we may, under Chiang, free our country!"

Chiang's experts, on my recent visit to Formosa, convinced me that, had we taken Chiang's proffered troops, the "Reds" would have come over to us wholesale. An Oriental soldier who surrenders is in deep disgrace. But a Chinese who leaves the Hammer and Sickle to join the Free Chinese loses no "face." He remains, in the code of the East, an honorable soldier.

Even today Chiang and his small army pose a real threat to Peiping. Were Chiang, taking advantage of some quick chance, to slide even 15 of his 21 Free Chinese divisions ashore in the populous south (perhaps near the Indochinese fighting), Peiping knows far better than we that many Red coastal garrisons would "turn around." Chiang's Free Chinese Army might grow with every Red division sent against it.

I recently inspected this army. The average age of these veterans is 27. For 5 more years they could hold their own on the mainland against any reasonable odds. Even today, poised as a threat to Red China, keeping a few Communist armies tied down on the opposite coast, each of Chiang's 21 badly equipped divisions is worth to us its weight in American boys.

HOW TO LOSE A WAR

Farther down Asia's rim, Indochina is tottering, in spite of the $400 million in American aid, which seems to have been largely squandered in costly airdrops. I can tell Paris (and even Washington) that this war never will be won with French troops—or American. Had only half our money been spent building an Indochinese army under native command, it would have brought the free world many tough native divisions as effective as our Koreans, which would be more than enough to clear the peninsula.

They need just the type of army we had in Greece—light, highly mobile forces which can strike hard and get away; men who are sure they are fighting for their own freedom, and not for faraway France.

Indochina may pay the price of our Korean cease-fire. It it fails, Chinese manpower might then be switched to neighboring Burma. Here there is surely time; about 10 divisions should suffice to clean up the bandits and keep out the Reds—we needed no more in Greece. The Burmese divisions need cost us no more than $100 million. This is a fraction of the sum which we and France have squandered down the present Indochinese rathole—bound to be bottomless so long as money goes to pay foreign troops while the natives stand around as bored bystanders without responsibility for their own freedom.

Preparedness packages of about this 10-division size should also suffice to keep Communists out of Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Without them each small country, conscious of its weakness, may freeze into shivering inaction before the Red advance.

As for India, it is steeped in the ancient philosophy of nonresistance, and is also proud of its present neutral position. I would not crudely thrust arms into unwilling hands now clasped in contemplation of the Infinite. However, there is in the Moslem creed of Pakistan no taboo against self-defense. The Pakistanis welcome help to keep Red troops on the other side of the Himalayas.

From firsthand experience I can say without question that our preparedness package would be warmly received in Iran. I first met the present Shah in 1950. This young man is strongly pro-Western, keenly intelligent, and earnestly for reform within his country. When I saw him, he had just returned from America on what the Communist radio described as an unsuccessful begging trip.

The Shah told me that his country desperately needed both economic improvements and a strengthened army. Iran, he said, was able to finance one or the other but not both. In Washington he had pleaded for a loan of only $25 million. And, as the Communist radio pointed out, he had been refused.

Only a handful of badly equipped Iranian troops stands between Iran's oil wells and the Soviet border. Our military mission in Iran has given only eye-dropper aid. A preparedness package of 10 divisions would not only safeguard the Shah's border but would give him the needed power to carry out his reforms, over the opposition of the feudal landowners.

What Iran should have is not the obsolete mountain artillery we have been sending her but mortars (they are lighter and cheaper) plus bazookas and Molotov-cocktail grenades to stop tanks.

Visiting Turkey, I had expected to find 21 combat-ready divisions. I found the Turkish spirit to be magnificent, but the army sadly lacking in both modern equipment and thorough training.

When I arrived in nearby Greece, the end of my swing around Asia, I found that our initial $300 million investment, made in 1947, has paid off magnificently. Because of its thorough training program, this victorious army is as sound today as when I left Greece in 1950. Greece was saved for little more than the yearly cost of a single American division. Yet not one American infantryman had ever fired a shot on Greek soil.

WHO FIGHTS FOR WHOSE FREEDOM?

We cannot furnish the world with American ground armies. If we try, it will drain us of manpower and throw us into bankruptcy without ever firing a shot, which is what the Soviets want.

Our duty is first to dot the Iron Curtain's rim with these preparedness packages. Seeking out trustworthy allies, we should aid them in setting up training programs and schools like Sang Mu Dai in Korea.

Secondly, we should stand ready, when the Communists poke into a soft spot, to provide these native divisions, defending their native land, with the munitions of war they then will need but which they cannot make for themselves.

Thirdly, we should husband our strength for our greatest role, which is to keep mastery of sea and air, garrisoning naval bases and airstrips needed to back these fighting allies with ships and planes, even as we did in Korea. We must be able to deliver a devastating atomic counterattack.

Under such a program, as native troops are trained, we can and should call in our

costly American overseas garrisons at the rate of perhaps two divisions or more per year. Of course, someday, if needed, they can return.

Since our strength is not without limit, we should use it to aid only worthy allies. And is any ally worthy who is not eager to raise infantry to defend his native soil?

No Roman Holiday, Please

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial printed in the Richmond News Leader of February 2, 1954, entitled "No Roman Holiday, Please." This is one of the clearest statements I have yet seen as to the need for public announcement, by the administration, as to the exact number of Federal employees discharged for disloyalty to the United States, so that those terminated for other reasons may not be unfairly stigmatized. It might be pointed out that this newspaper vigorously advocated the election of the Eisenhower administration, and makes its request for publication of a breakdown of the 2,200 security risks in the name of simple justice, as the editor states it.

NO ROMAN HOLIDAY, PLEASE

The Democrats are still smarting, and with some reason, under repeated Republican charges that the government was crawling with Communists when the GOP took over. They have perfectly good partisan reasons for wanting an exact public accounting of how many Communists have been found in a year's scrutiny of the payrolls. But Senator OLIN JOHNSTON is not necessarily moved by narrow political considerations when he asks Congress to look into the administration's steadfast refusal to say how many of the 2,200 Federal employees allegedly separated from the Government in its new employee-security procedure were actually Communists or other disloyal persons.

Official spokesmen from the President down to Senator MCCARTHY have repeatedly cited the 2,200 employees who have been dismissed, or forced to resign, as evidence that the administration is cleaning out Communists in Government. Senator MCCARTHY has stated that 90 percent of the separated employees are Communists and perverts. Postmaster General Summerfield has referred to them as people who make treason a preoccupation. Bernard M. Shanley, legal counsel in the White House, has called them subversives who have been kicked out of the Government.

Occasionally an official—and notably the President—does point out that a security risk is not necessarily a subversive: the new security system put into effect by Mr. Eisenhower last May in fact established a number of disqualifications for Federal service in addition to disloyalty: drug addiction, homosexuality, alcoholism, immorality, or disgraceful behavior, dishonesty, lying, serious mental or neurological disorders, et cetera. Yet Washington newspapermen have been quite unable to get any breakdown of the 2,200 dismissals from official sources. Chairman Young, of the Civil Service Commission, dismissed one pressing inquiry with the airy—and extraordinary—remark that he was not interested in whether a person was discharged for being disloyal or for being a drunk—and that he didn't think the average person was either. Maybe so; but the Criminal code provides severe punishments for disloyalty that it does not provide for drunkenness, and it is notable, as Senator JOHNSTON points out, that no charges have been brought against a single dismissed employee.

Moreover in these persistent newspaper inquiries, some disturbing information has been leaked to the press that, if true, is more than enough to warrant Senator JOHNSTONS proposed investigation; it throws considerable doubt on the statement that all of the 2,200 were dismissed or forced to resign for security reasons of any kind.

L. Edgar Prina wrote in the Washington Star that out of 192 employees listed as having been separated from the Navy up to November 2, only 8 civilian workers had been fired and 12 others suspended as security risks. The Alsop brothers wrote in the New York Herald Tribune that the 305 State Department security dismissals included a number who were transferred to the Foreign Aid Organization "with the warning flag up" and the great majority of these were subsequently cleared and never fired at all. Murrey Marder offered official documentation in the Washington Post for the statement that at least some of the 253 employees separated from the Post Office Department and the Veterans' Administration were dismissed under normal civil-service provisions rather than as security risks. None of these stories—and numerous others—has been denied or refuted.

The Eisenhower administration had few more important tasks than weeding security risks out of the Government service, and there has been almost universal approval for the new and higher criteria that it has set for Government employment. But while the Communist and the drunk may both be unsuitable for Government employment, there are few who will agree that they should be tarred with the same brush. Communism has become almost synonymous with treason in this country; in simple justice, the suspicion that it applies to a single 1 of the 2,200 men and women who have been separated from the Federal service should not be encouraged or tolerated where no valid grounds for suspicion exist.

Statement of Policy by Board of Directors of Kansas State Chamber of Commerce Regarding Treaties and Executive Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on February 2, 1954, I received a letter from the president of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Cliff Titus, with reference to the proposed Bricker amendment. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KANSAS STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Topeka, Kans., February 2, 1954.
Re Bricker resolution.
Hon. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SCHOEPPEL: With the present world situation requiring an increased use of international agreements covering almost all social and economic problems of our day, our Nation has reached a time in its history when our constitutional provisions governing the making of treaty law require extensive overhauling to meet current needs.

Here in Kansas, the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce believes that the best answer to these problems is in adoption of a constitutional amendment which will prevent treaties and executive agreements from overriding the Constitution and which will provide that treaties will not become domestic law unless Congress so decrees. The following statement of policy has been adopted and endorsed by the board of directors of this organization:

"No provision of a treaty or of an executive agreement that alters or abridges the Constitution of the United States should become effective unless such alteration or change is embodied in a constitutional amendment adopted and ratified in the manner provided in the Constitution for its amendment.

"No provision of a treaty or of an executive agreement that alters or abridges the rights protected by the laws of the United States or the constitutions or laws of the several States should become effective unless and then only to the extent that Congress shall so provide."

The policy here recommended will leave the treatymaking powers in full force and effect as to all matters genuinely within the sphere of international agreements. This policy will not affect the United Nations' collective security efforts.

But such a policy will stop the unwitting, or intentional, change or destruction of domestic rights in the great outpouring of new proposed treaties; it will achieve an effective result by ending the uncertainties in this field over which the Nation is greatly concerned; and it will put us on a par with other major nations in the world.

Our citizens and businessmen are looking to you for protection of their basic domestic and internal rights in this matter. We therefore urge your serious consideration and active support of this viewpoint.

Sincerely yours,
CLIFF TITUS, *President.*

(Copies: Kansas Members of U. S. House of Representatives.)

Too Much Cash for Point 4

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the subject of foreign aid and point 4 will soon be under consideration in this House and many citizens are concerned as to the extent of aid that is under consideration by the President. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appeared in the Washington Post entitled "Too Much Cash Hinted as One Point 4 Ill."

Mr. Speaker, the senior Senator from New Hampshire, chairman of the Sen-

ate Appropriations Committee, recently stated that the technical aid program to backward countries is not working as it should and the reason he gives is that Congress has been appropriating too much money for it. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the article in question:

TOO MUCH CASH HINTED AS ONE POINT 4 ILL

Chairman STYLES BRIDGES, Republican of New Hampshire, of the Senate Appropriations Committee, said yesterday the Nation's program of technical aid to backward countries is not working as it should. He suggested one trouble might be too much money.

BRIDGES distributed to members of his committee copies of a 16-page report prepared for him by staff aides. It dealt with costs and operations of the technical-aid program which grew out of former President Truman's point 4 recommendations.

BRIDGES wrote in a covering letter that the principle of giving help to underdeveloped areas is not in question. But he said the report indicated that the program may require reevaluation and revision.

He listed these conclusions:

1. The simple concept involving the transmission of skills to underdeveloped peoples appears to be endangered and overshadowed by outright grants of monetary aid.

2. In the underdeveloped areas it has not been feasible to apply funds in the quantity appropriated by the Congress.

3. There seems to be a need for a clear-cut and mutually exclusive definition of economic aid and technical assistance.

The report said the technical-aid program, which was placed under the Foreign Operations Administration last year, is showing a divergence from its originally intended pattern.

As originally planned, the report said, the program called for simple person-to-person sharing of United States skills and knowledge with other people to help them develop their own abilities and resources.

It said this concept appears to be overshadowed by increasingly large grants in the form of special economic assistance to such countries as Iran, Israel, Pakistan, India, and Egypt.

It also questioned whether the number of administrative officials directing the program was not too large for the number of technicians employed in the field. It said there were 1,443 employees overseas last year and 1,096 support personnel in Washington.

Statement by Hon. Henry C. Dworshak, of Idaho, Regarding Atomic Energy Commission's Reactor Testing Station on the Lost River Desert of Eastern Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement which I made regarding the Atomic Energy Commission's reactor testing station established on the Lost River Desert of eastern Idaho some 4 years ago.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, I address myself to a matter which I hope will not be construed as emanating purely from State or local pride, because I sincerely believe it is one which should evoke national admiration.

My reference is to the magnificent manner in which the Atomic Energy Commission's reactor testing station, established on the Lost River Desert of eastern Idaho some 4 years ago, has been integrated into the area community, both economically and socially. The results of this integration are so outstanding that they should provide the pattern for AEC operations elsewhere. They demonstrate that an instrumentality of the Federal Government can be made to function as a cohesive part of a community without overpowering it. And they establish that local communities, with a desire to progress without the frothing, transitory impetus of a boom, can rise to meet the challenge thrust upon them by suddenly increased population loads.

Mr. President, my purpose in these remarks is intended for more than mere boasting. It is to call attention to the ideal conditions, the unusually fine community atmosphere and the vast potentials of the area for further expansion of AEC operations there. As a matter of fact, I feel it would be the ideal location for the headquarters of the international atomic pool when it is created. It is at the east Idaho reactor station where theory is being converted into the practical. If for no other reason, that is why the area would be the ideal and sensible location for the headquarters of the pool.

Further, the area is superbly suited for the construction of the atomic reactor powerplant which the AEC intends to serve as the pilot facility for the production of electric power through atomic energy. The east Idaho project already has available the brains and the trained personnel to perfect such a powerplant—the men who developed the propulsion mechanism for the *Nautilus*, America's first atom-driven submarine. It would also be desirable to develop the prototype reactor powerplant there because the power could be used to good advantage at the reactor station.

It is my hope that the Atomic Energy Commission will not overlook Idaho during consideration of these matters.

When the AEC picked the eastern Idaho area from a list of 74 prospective sites for its reactor testing project, I know that there was great concern among the people of my State that the AEC would follow the pattern established elsewhere and construct a Government town.

Idaho Falls, Arco, Blackfoot, Pocatello, and other communities of eastern Idaho opposed construction of a Government town because they had learned of the endless difficulties which beset areas where such projects were established.

They said: "Let us meet the challenge of housing and community facilities. We can absorb the impact, we can save the Government millions of dollars and we can avoid the frictions of living as neighbors to an artificial, Government-run community."

Happily, the decision was made to integrate. The result has been the savings of millions of dollars of taxpayers money and orderly growth. I would like to quote from the December issue of Engineering News-Record, which discussed the National Reactor Testing Station in east Idaho:

"The nature of the work at NRTS has led to marked differences in the development program there from other AEC installations. These factors stand out:

"There is no Government town.

"There have been no labor troubles.

"Major work has been divided among several design firms and several construction firms rather than lumped into one big job."

I would like to quote from an article written by Herman Edwards, a staff writer for the Portland Oregonian, who visited the NRTS in east Idaho:

"NRTS employees have found housing facilities sufficient for their needs. Most find two or more choices of residence, and rentals and other costs apparently have not been boosted. The visitor gains the impression these new people have been accepted into the Idaho communities in an hospitable spirit as new neighbors rather than as new and transient sources of revenues."

Mr. President, the potential of Idaho and especially in the atomic area in the eastern part of the State has been tapped to only a small degree. Opportunities are unlimited. The AEC would do well to recognize this.

Two Extremes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the New Era, of Reading, Pa.:

TWO EXTREMES

Thinking people must be having a difficult time understanding what President Eisenhower meant when he said that his regime is "liberal" as to people but "conservative" in economic affairs.

The President expounded this doctrine last week in an obvious answer to observers who said they detected much New Dealism in his message on the state of the Union.

We read a number of times what President Eisenhower said in his effort to distinguish between "liberal" and "conservative," and we fail to understand how anyone without a split personality is capable of being both extremes at one and the same time.

Getting down to specifics, how can anyone propose, for example, a liberal attitude on public housing and then suddenly go conservative by refusing to provide adequate funds to undertake such housing?

Or, how can one profess to be liberal toward people in the field of labor relations, and then go conservative by suddenly proposing more stringent restrictions and strike-breaking measures than are now on the statutes?

Or, how can one take a liberal attitude toward a strong national defense as a basic requisite for freedam, and then go conservative in the budget by trimming outlays for that same national defense?

We believe the President honestly is torn between two desires, or two forces within his own party. One of them remembers the campaign promises to balance the budget and reduce taxes, come what may. This is the conservative wing.

The other recalls that the President promised he would not turn back the clock and would not undo the social gains from which the people benefited. This is the liberal wing. Hence, his concern for housing, social security, better health care, slum clearance, and many other New Deal items.

Ike prides himself on driving down the middle of the road. Unfortunately, motorists who do this may arrive at an embarrassing position when they are hit from both directions. And that's when being in the middle of the road makes one a sure loser.

We doubt very much whether the President can sell this liberal-conservative doctrine to the people. Either he favors a program of aiding the people, or he doesn't. And if he does, then he cannot nurse the dream of being a financial "conservative." For a liberal program for the people implies the use

of resources of the Nation for the welfare of the many.

Walking a tight rope may be a useful occupation in a circus, but judging from the growing unemployment throughout the land, the people are not interested in high wire acts or tricky semantics. The time has come for the administration to take a stand either for or against the people and then await the verdict at the election later this year.

The St. Lawrence Seaway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herein a statement by the Honorable D. BAILEY MERRILL, of the Eighth District of Indiana, to the students of the junior and senior classes of Central High School, Evansville, Ind., on the St. Lawrence seaway.

It is such a logical statement that it is entitled to a place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This great project will soon be before the House of Representatives for action. I commend the reading of this statement by my colleagues:

THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PROJECT

I do keep an open mind on all matters until I am satisfied that I have all the information necessary to form a judgment. Usually this means that I do not definitely make up my mind until the final arguments are made on the floor of the House before voting. At the present time, however, I am strongly in favor of the St. Lawrence seaway project. I think the facts have changed considerably since opposition was first registered against it. The biggest change so far as we of the Midwest are concerned comes from the fact that the Mesabi iron range in Minnesota is being depleted of high grade ore while at the same time high-grade ore has been discovered in Labrador and other parts of Canada. From an economic standpoint we know that the great steel industry of the Middle West has been built to a great extent upon the existence of a cheap water route between the Minnesota iron range and the steel furnaces of Indiana, Ohio, and the Pittsburgh area of Pennsylvania.

If a comparable water route is not developed between the new iron ore sources in Canada through the development of the St. Lawrence seaway, then I fear that, with the depletion of the Masabi range, the steel industry of the Middle West will cease to expand and then will shrink, while the new steel industry on the east coast and to a certain extent on the west coast will begin to expand due to the cheap water route available for carrying ore from our oversens sources of supply.

I do not like to criticise another Congressman's vote. I only say that I do not understand the attitude of the opponents to the seaway. I think that any midwestern Congressman would want to do what he could to preserve for the Midwest our giant steel industry. We must remember that our steel industry is one of the chief causes for the enormous concentration of manufacturing in the Middle West. Let our steel industry shrink and the allied industries including our own Evansville industries will in time shrink or at least will not expand as they will if we keep our steel industry concentrated in the Middle West from Pittsburgh to Gary. Then, too, we must recognize the needs for defense. Anyone who recalls the tremendous loss of shipping during World War II can well recognize what would happen to our iron ore supply if we were depending upon shipment from Labrador and Venezuela to our east cost. Submarines were able to almost completely to destroy our coastal shipping for a time. On the other hand, the development of the St. Lawrence seaway wil give us a completely protected water route from our new ore sources to our midwestern steel furnaces.

The argument that the seaway will be frozen over part of the time is not valid. We must remember that the Great Lakes shipping traffic which now supports our steel industry is also stopped each winter by the freezing of the Great Lakes which begins with the closing of the Soo locks.

In addition to satisfying the economic and defense needs resulting from our great Midwest steel industry, there are many other benefits. Probably the greatest benefit, next to steel, that would come from the St. Lawrence seaway would be the benefit to the great grain producers of the Middle West, including our Indiana farmers. Much of this grain is now shipped over the Great Lakes to Buffalo, transshipped to the Erie Canal, and again transshipped up the Hudson River terminal. I think it is for this reason that most of our farmers, including our Indiana farmers, are very much in favor of the St. Lawrence seaway.

There are many other benefits to come from opening any deep-sea water route from our great Middle West via the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River to the Atlantic Ocean. You are just as capable of imagining all these benefits as I.

Of course, there are some objections to the St. Lawrence seaway. The two chief objectors, I understand, are the coal people and the railroads. I am not completely informed on this subject, but I believe that the chief objection that the coal people have had to the St. Lawrence seaway has been that the seaway might reduce railroad haulage. In the old days the railroads were a great market for coal because the locomotives burned so much coal. At the present time, however, practically all of the railroads have converted to diesel power. In view of this fact, I do not see why the coal people still wish to join with the railroads in objecting to the seaway. I believe that the coal people stand to lose much more than they will gain if the St. Lawrence seaway is not completed. After all, coal is still our chief source of power and if our great midwestern industry continues to expand, the use of midwestern coal will benefit. On the other hand, our midwestern coal interests will suffer if future steel expansion takes place in the coastal areas rather than in the Middle West.

I shall certainly be happy to receive additional information on this point, but at the present time I believe that our coal people, both operators and coal miners, are making a serious mistake in objecting to the St. Lawrence seaway. I think their objections are based upon a situation which no longer exists—railroads don't use as much coal as they once did, and so the coal people no longer have the common cause with railroads that they had in the past.

I realize that the railroads are objecting very seriously to the St. Lawrence seaway. I can see why the railroads running east and west from the east coast to the Mississippi might suffer some loss of traffic. I believe, however, that in the long run this will not be so. As in so many cases, I think they are doing a lot of crying before they are hurt; however, I do not want to minimise their problem. We must recognize, however, that when there is any change in our economic situation some people benefit and some people do not. It is the problem of government to do the greatest good for the greatest number, while at the same time protecting the valid constitutional rights of the minority. I think that in this case the theory of the greatest good for the greatest number requires that the St. Lawrence seaway be built for reasons I have previously stated, and there is no possibility of violating any of the constitutional rights of our railroads if the seaway is built.

We must remember, too, that while the railroads running east and west may not benefit from the St. Lawrence seaway, in all probability the railroads running north and south from the Great Lakes area will benefit. Thus, while roads like the Pennsylvania, the B. & O., and the New York Central, whose main routes run east and west, might wish that the St. Lawrence seaway not be built, on the other hand, roads like the C. & E. I. and the Monon, that run north and south, stand to gain from extra traffic.

If I were going to decide this question solely with reference to the interests of my own district, I think I would favor the St. Lawrence seaway. The people who work on railways and live in my district are, for the most part, employed by railroads that are operating in a general north-south direction. There are no great main line east-and-west railroads operating through my district. I hope I can always think of the Nation first, but after I think of the Nation as a whole I must think of my own district. I believe that the interests of America as a whole, the interests of the great Midwest, and the interests of the Eighth District of Indiana will best be served by building the St. Lawrence seaway.

Some people have said that Canada intends to build the seaway any way, so why not let her go ahead and build it. I think America would be very foolish to let Canada build the seaway alone. If that happened, Canada would control the seaway completely. We would have no voice in its control. When you consider how important the seaway is, both to our national defense and to our future economic strength—especially here in the Middle West—then I think we must recognize that it would be very foolish to permit the seaway to be built without our having a joint voice in its operation.

We must remember, too, that the St. Lawrence seaway is a project that is supposed to pay for itself through the collection of tolls from ships passing through the seaway.

A Great Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the New York Journal-American of July 31, 1953:

A GREAT TEAM

The new Hoover Commission will have wider scope. Furthermore, it is a better designed group. The appointment of James A. Farley as a member of this Commission is significant. Jim Farley came out of the Roosevelt administration a beloved personality. He has had an intense and intimate experience with the administration of Government, not only as Postmaster General but also as the dispenser of patronage in the early days of the Roosevelt administration. In private business he has a reputation as a competent organizer. Furthemore, Jim Farley and Herbert Hoover are friends and ad-

mire each other, in spite of political differences. They will make a great team, to use an Eisenhower phrase, in this work.

A third member of this Commission is Herbert Brownell, Jr., the Attorney General, whose success in life is due to an analytical mentality. While his experience in public life is not comparable to either Hoover or Farley, he has a capacity for getting to the heart of a problem swiftly. He must have had a pretty discouraging experience when he was recruiting new men for the Eisenhower administration and found that few who were fit would serve and that those whom he recruited could not organize on any chart of efficient operations because of existing impediments. Brownell will want to cut through these impediments.

Altogether there will be 12 men on the Commission, which begins work in October, although I suspect that Herbert Hoover is already on the job.

Negro Transit Operators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Washington Post:

NEGRO TRANSIT OPERATORS

Both the Senate District Subcommittee and the Public Utilities Commission have spotlighted the continuing refusal of the Capital Transit Co. to hire Negro streetcar and bus operators. The company justifies its refusal on what it says is a threat that members of the AFL transit union would strike if Negroes were employed. This threat cannot be dismissed lightly; but there is reason to think that the company may be using it to excuse its own indifference. The result is a vicious circle. Ostensibly, at least, the most recalcitrant members of the union are setting company—and community—policy.

Actually there has been no serious effort by Capital Transit to employ Negro operators since 1943. Community patterns have changed radically since then. Discrimination against Negroes has been broken down in theaters, restaurants, and a host of other public activities. The transit employment policy is lagging behind the community attitude, and there is every indication that the community would support a change and the improvements it would permit in transit operations. We suspect that many union members themselves acknowledge the necessity of change.

Someone, obviously must break the circle. Members of the Senate subcommittee have talked of legislation to force nondiscrimination in public utilities in the Federal City. It would be preferable, however, to bring about the change without legislative edict. Other cities have accomplished the transition with relatively little difficulty. If the transit company is sincere in its statements that it has no objections to Negro operators, let it take the initiative. A forthright proposal by the company, coupled with a gradual timetable for accomplishing the change, would permit adjustment within the union. The strike threat might still remain, but there would be little sympathy for a patently illegal strike called for so benighted a purpose. In the last analysis, if the buckpassing were decisively ended, it is hard to think that members of the transit union would take upon themselves the responsibility for blocking the change.

Federal Forests: Controversy Raging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 25, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Orange Leader of December 11, 1953, for the information of my colleagues in considering proposed legislation on the subject discussed:

FEDERAL FORESTS: CONTROVERSY RAGING

A movement by the East Texas Chamber of Commerce to bring about the return to private ownership of Federal forest lands in east Texas is turning out to be a highly controversial subject.

Participating in the ruckus, which eventually may echo in the halls of Congress, are four separate and distinct groups:

1. The East Texas Chamber of Commerce and the chambers of commerce of several east Texas cities.

2. Citizens not connected with any chamber of commerce but who would like to see the Federal Government get out of private business wherever possible.

3. County judges and commissioners of 11 counties in east Texas in which the Federal forests are located and the Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association.

4. Private citizens who agree with the county officials that this is a movement sponsored by "selfish interests seeking these valuable forests for their own use."

There are four national forests in Texas established in 1936 by the Federal Government with prior approval of the Texas Legislature. Previously there had been no national forests in Texas because this State had reserved to itself all of its public domain under the agreement by which the Republic of Texas became a State of the Union.

The official records don't disclose the fact but the real reason there are now four national forests in Texas is that the lumber companies were faced with bankruptcy in the midst of the depression and the Federal Government bailed them out by buying up their lands.

The officially stated purpose of the existence of these forests is to "demonstrate that cutover lands protected from fire and properly managed will reproduce and return a profit to the owner in money and to the local communities in economic benefits. It is a further purpose to protect, grow, and harvest on a sustained-yield basis maximum timber crops; to protect the watersheds so as to prevent erosion; to develop and maintain public recreation areas; to put every forest acre and resource to the best use of the most people in the long run."

In carrying out these purposes, the Federal Forest Service has done a magnificent job. And the example it has set has resulted in the extension of conservation programs to privately owned timberlands in east Texas with great economic benefit to the area. In that, the Federal conservationists have been ably assisted by the Texas forest service which also maintains about 6,000 acres of State forests in the same vicinity.

The Federal forests are not solid blocks of land as maps indicate. They are checkerboard tracts totaling 658,000 acres. The gross area within their boundaries is 1,714,364 acres.

Figures on the amount paid by the Government for this land are not available, but depression prices were paid and the total was not great. There is no handy estimate of the present value of the properties at present but it is bound to be many times the original cost.

The almanac estimates the present net growth of timber on the 658,000 acres to be 307 million board feet per year, valued at $6,223,000.

A stern timber management program is maintained and cutting is very selective. Still, the Government sold to private individuals last year slightly over $2 million worth of saw logs from these forests.

A part of this revenue was plowed back into the forests for overhead expenses, for continued planting of trees and for road-building.

Twenty-five percent of the revenue—$510,744 to be exact—was turned over to the counties and their school districts as payments in lieu of taxes.

It is that tax revenue which brought forth the objections by county officials to the proposed return of these timberlands to private ownership. For some of the 11 counties in the national forest area it's a major source of income and their judges and commissioners fear these properties might not produce an equal amount for their treasuries in ad valorem taxes if privately owned.

That much they say. What they fail to add is that owners of private property in some of those counties are getting by almost taxfree because of this revenue from the Federal forests and if it is cut off there will have to be some adjustments in levies on non-Government property and that will lead to political repercussions.

County Judge Albert K. Daniel of Houston County got near the heart of the tax angle when he arose at Dallas this week to speak in support of a resolution condemning the sale of the Federal forests. Said Judge Daniel:

"These forests constitute the financial lifeblood of those 11 counties. * * * Before the Government took over those forests, they were valued at $3 and $4 an acre and rendered on the tax rolls at $1."

He might have gone on to say that as of then those forests were practically denuded of marketable timber and there wasn't much market for any lumber that could be cut from them. Now they are lush again and will remain so as long as the conservation program now under way is maintained.

And he might also have added that the lumber companies for the most part were at their rope's end financially and having considerable difficulty paying taxes on the property at a valuation of $1 per acre when the Federal Government bought these lands.

Unquestionably there is good reason for suspecting that selfish interests are involved in the campaign to get these lands back under private ownership.

One of these could be that the lumber companies would like to take more saw logs out of these areas than is now permitted under the Forest Service's rigid program of selective cutting.

Another is that the lumber companies figure they could get saw logs out of these forests at less cost under private ownership than under Federal management.

Congress, if it goes into the matter, must take those things into consideration and, in the event the sale of the lands is approved, make whatever provisions it can to protect the national interest in that respect.

Hon. A. O. Stanley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Owensboro Messenger of Owensboro, Ky., on January 30, 1954. This editorial pertains to the resignation of the Honorable A. O. Stanley as Chairman of the International Joint Commission, United States and Canada. The Commonwealth of Kentucky is proud of this distinguished son. For over 20 years he has served faithfully and with distinction as a member and as Chairman of the International Joint Commission. As a former Member of Congress from the 2d Congressional District of Kentucky, and as a former Governor and United States Senator, this outstanding public servant has served his State and the Nation for the greater portion of his 85 years with honor, with ability, with integrity, and with loyalty. I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

A. O. STANLEY SUBMITS RESIGNATION

After holding his office as a member of the International Joint Commission for a year under the Eisenhower administration, A. O. Stanley, the widely respected 85-year-old former Governor of Kentucky, has consented to resign.

Stanley will thus turn over to a Republican appointee the $11,000-a-year job he has held for more than 20 years since he was appointed by another Republican President, Herbert Hoover. He has sent his resignation to the State Department.

Stanley, a former United States Senator, is completing an assigment for the Commission in a hearing in Boston. It will be his last in the post. His resignation becomes effective February 1.

The administration has not indicated the identity of his successor. It seems reasonable to expect, however, that it will not be former Senator Brewster, of Maine, who had thought for a long time he might get the appointment.

The unwillingness of the State Department to let Brewster have the job was responsible for Stanley's being able to continue to hold it for the past 6 months. After Brewster was taken out of the picture, the pressure on Stanley to resign had increased for the past 2 weeks.

Stanley acceded to the demand for his resignation although he had contended that the President had no more power to remove him from office than he has to discharge a Federal judge.

Last April a clerical mistake made it possible for him to escape being ousted. The administration, thinking it was naming a Republican to the International Joint Commission in Stanley's place, had the papers drawn up. But they were made out for a place on the International Boundary Commission, a different agency altogether.

Stanley, one of the last of the old-fashioned orators, has for years been a notable in Kentucky politics. He served in the House of Representatives from 1903 to 1915. From 1915 to 1919 he was Governor.

He entered the Senate in May 1919 and served until he was defeated in the Republican landslide in 1924. He then practiced law in Washington until 1933, when Hoover appointed him to the commission.

The work of the agency on which he served, a joint Canadian-American body, has to do with settlement of minor disputes between Canadian and United States citizens and corporations over water and power rights in the international-boundary area.

Stanley entered the Senate in 1918, after Senator Ollie James died after being nominated to succeed himself as Senator but before the general election. Nominated by the Democratic State central and executive committees, Stanley won election that fall.

His public career extends back to 1900, when he was a Democratic presidential elector for William Jennings Bryan. He was elected to Congress from the Second District in 1902 and served 6 terms.

Stanley's 1915 race for the governorship against Edwin Morrow provides the basis for some of his most colorful stories. He says that often he and his opponent would speak to rival crowds in the same city at the same time.

After one meeting following speeches by the two candidates to audiences in the Madison county courthouse at Richmond, Stanley relates he and Morrow walked into a Richmond hotel with their arms about each other, to the astonishment of the hotel desk clerk.

As a Member of Congress, the Kentuckian won distinction as a member of a committee which obtained the dissolution of the steel trust.

He comes from a distinguished background. His father, the Reverend William Stanley, served as judge advocate on the staff of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston of the Confederate Army during the Civil War. His mother was a niece of Gov. William Owsley.

For a Stronger Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of February 8, 1954. As this editorial points out, reorganization and reappraisal are essential if we are to bring about much-needed improvement in our Foreign Service. In its inquiry, the new committee which President Eisenhower has proposed might well be assisted by the new Hoover Commission.

FOR A STRONGER FOREIGN SERVICE

The President's decision to appoint a five-man committee to examine ways of improving and strengthening the Foreign Service is one that will be widely welcomed. This vital arm of the country's defense, the source of information and counsel on which our world policies depend, has suffered serious setbacks in morale. Recruiting is at a standstill; the total number in the service is inadequate for the tasks to be performed. Much thought has been given to the problem of the Foreign Service in the past; but recent events have made the difficulties more acute and improvements more urgent.

Political attacks have turned this type of career from one of the most respected to one subject to all kinds of suspicions. The simple elements of a good job—accurate reporting and disinterested advice—have been put under a cloud by reprisals taken years later against individuals whose views were found to be unpopular in a changed context. Motives have been questioned and honest mistakes penalized out of all proportion. Reorganization and reappraisal are certainly in order. The United States cannot afford a second-rate Foreign Service; and there surely exist the men whose training and capacity fit them to make a real contribution to their country in this line.

We are assured that the new committee will be made up of experts and that it will make its report in a reasonably short time. The net result cannot but be for the good.

McNary Dam Costs Allocation Hit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, the residents of the Pacific Northwest, and particularly of the State of Oregon, in my congressional district, are deeply aroused and concerned over the allocation of costs to power in the McNary Dam project which was recently made by the Federal Power Commission in a tentative order assigning 92 percent of the total construction cost of the McNary project for repayment from power revenues.

This allocation seems completely out of line with the facts in the case and the reasonable costs which should be allocated to power. If the total cost of this multiple-purpose project is allocated to power alone it means that the power users are saddled with the burden of repaying the costs for the construction of facilities in the project which are not properly allocated to power. The Columbia River is the second largest river in the United States and the greatest in potential hydroelectric power and is a great waterway leading to the interior of the north Pacific area and furnishing water transportation to Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana. It is also a major stream for fisheries, particularly salmon, of all the streams of the Nation.

This allocation of 92 percent of the cost to power alone flies in the face of the policy that has been followed by the National Government in the development of the water resources in our major streams. It seems clear that a new look should be taken at the allocation and the figures revised so that they might be set up more nearly in line with the facts in the case.

I include in these remarks two recent editorials and one news item from the Portland Oregonian bearing on this question.

MCNARY PROTEST JUSTIFIED

The Federal Power Commission's tentative order assigning 92 percent of the total construction costs of the McNary project for repayment from power revenues will be a major blow to Northwest systemwide power rates if allowed to stand. The Northwest Public Power Association, representing 93 public agencies serving almost 2 million people—about 39 percent of the population of the region—is well advised to petition for intervention and rehearing.

The FPC order appears to conflict with Interior Department policy which denies

utility responsibility of the Federal Government for power, and points to Federal laws making power a subsidiary consideration. But if the new FPC policy is applied to other dams now under construction on the Columbia, the effect will be to provide a power subsidy, at the expense of the consumers, for navigation, fisheries, and flood control. That has never been the congressional intent.

The Army engineers, in obtaining original authorization for McNary Dam, ascribed 20 percent of the benefits to navigation. The FPC not only has reduced that drastically but has assigned nothing to the benefit of fish, though millions of dollars have been spent on fishways. These uses always have been nonreimbursable, to be met from the Treasury as a national responsibility. One assumes that the same policy, if applied to the Dalles Dam, would charge to the users of electricity the more than $20 million to be paid Indians for taking away their treaty fishing rights at Celilo.

The location of these two dams, McNary and The Dalles, in itself shows the importance of navigation in consideration by the Army engineers and Congress. One would drown out Umatilla Rapids and the other would inundate the barrier at Celilo. A rehearing of the FPC order should be granted.

McNary Dam Cost Allocation Hit

SEATTLE, January 9.—The Northwest Public Power Association reported Friday it has petitioned the Federal Power Commission for a rehearing on its allocation of costs of McNary Dam.

Gus Norwood, executive secretary, contended the Commission erred by assigning 92 percent of total project costs to power. He said the effect would be to increase the cost of Federal power unduly in this region.

Power Group Cites Errors

Nine errors by the Federal Power Commission in interim allocation of McNary Dam costs were alleged Friday in a petition for intervention and application for rehearing filed by the Northwest Public Power Association.

Its order for interim allocation was issued by FPC December 4.

The power association declared too much of the cost burden was loaded onto power and not enough to other purposes of the project, especially navigation.

The association charged this would be a subsidy for navigational interests at the expense of the power consumers.

Reported Errors Listed

The errors, the association charged through Gus Norwood, its executive secretary, included:

Error in charging $283,201,600 of project costs, including construction costs, interest during construction, operation and maintenance during construction, less power revenues during that period, to power development.

Error finding that 97.5 percent of construction cost of jointly used facilities ($133,943,000) should be allocated to power, resulting in charging to it approximately 92 percent of total construction costs.

Error in assigning less than 20 percent of McNary's total construction cost to navigation "in contravention of the representations made to Congress by the Corps of Engineers at the time the project was presented for authorization primarily for navigation purposes."

Congressional Policy Noted

Error in charging only 2.5 percent of jointly-used facilities' cost to navigation, violating a policy declaration of Congress that navigation works would be limited "to those in which a substantial benefit to navigation will be realized."

Error in not making any allocation of McNary costs to preservation of fish and wildlife, although authorized and although "a large part of the construction costs has been incurred for construction of fish preservation facilities."

Error in failing to conform with allocations used at Bonneville dam, where 50 percent of joint construction costs were charged "to the primary purpose of navigation."

Error in the formula used to determine allocations, and error in setting interest during construction at 2.5 percent.

Bonneville Act Quoted

Error in finding navigation benefits inconsequential and thus not conforming to the Bonneville act which set improvement of navigation and other purposes as the main reason for building Columbia River dams.

The result will be a subsidy to navigation interests from electric consumers of the region, and "an unwarranted and unnecessary burden of costs upon the electric power rate payers of the Pacific Northwest," the association charged.

This, it said, "is in contravention of the statutes governing allocations and reimbursement of power costs.

"The petitioner maintains that the legislative history of the McNary project supports at the very least a 20 percent allocation of total construction costs to navigation, and if the Bonneville project allocation be a precedent, at the very maximum a 50 percent allocation of joint costs to power."

Wake Up to the H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of an interview by the editors of Newsweek magazine and published in its edition of October 19, 1954:

Congressman Cole: Wake Up to the H-Bomb

One of the leading participants in last week's H-bomb discussion was Republican Representative W. STERLING COLE, of New York, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. He reversed a long-standing advocacy of economy to favor immediate expenditure of huge sums for continental defense. In this exclusive interview with Samuel Shaffer of Newsweek's Washington bureau, COLE gives his view of the threat to America.

Question. Does Soviet progress in H-bomb weapons so greatly increase the threat we've faced from their A-bombs as to present a clear and present danger?

Answer. In my opinion, the present danger is very definitely real and great. Whether this is clear to the American people, or to some of our officials in Washington, is another question. We have a long and consistent record of underestimating Soviet atomic and hydrogen progress, and I fear that far too many people regard the possibility of nuclear attack on our cities—a possibility that is appalling real—with an "it can't happen here" attitude.

Question. You said recently that defense spending should be increased by $10 billion a year? What about Pentagon claims that no large increase is necessary since it couldn't be spent efficiently anyway?

Answer. If nuclear weapons were falling on our cities right now, we wouldn't be very worried about whether more money for better air defenses was being spent with complete efficiency. It is, of course, true that money for a crash program of continental defense—the kind of program I think we now need—would not be spent as economically as it would be if we could build our air defense in leisurely fashion and over many years. This is no time for a leisurely effort, however.

Question. Money spent on rapidly changing air-defense weapons has been described as an investment in obsolescence. Do you agree?

Answer. Not in the sense I think you mean. Any defensive weapon becomes obsolescent in time, and this will certainly be true of our air defenses when supersonic aircraft and intercontinental guided missiles come to replace the piston-driven aircraft and subsonic jet bombers of today, as I assume they will. Our existing defenses are not even fully adequate against present-day bombers—to say nothing of the weapons of the future. Continental defense poses a twin problem: We must improve our radar network and strengthen our fighter interceptor squadrons to meet the threat that is already upon us. At the same time, we must undertake a bold research and development program aimed at devising new ways of combating the offensive weapons of the future.

Question. Even if we achieved perfect air defense, couldn't A-bomb and H-bomb attacks come from other quarters, such as ships in our harbors?

Answer. The problem of guarding against the menace of atomic or hydrogen weapons stored in the holds of innocent-appearing merchant ships is a very difficult one. I am frankly at a loss to see how we can eliminate this danger—unless we resort to such drastic measures as minutely inspecting every ship which might conceivably be carrying atomic cargo, or else reducing the danger by confining all suspect ships to one or two specially designed American harbors. Yet another possibility would be to require that the crews of ships from unfriendly nations remain on board throughout the duration of the stay of their vessels in our harbors.

Question. Do you believe the Soviets have devised a better way of making an H-bomb?

Answer. Security keeps me from commenting on this directly, but some general observations are possible. Most people have regarded the hydrogen bomb as a tremendously difficult and costly scientific and technological attainment. Yet more and more it seems to me that hydrogen weapons may be much easier to construct than most people may imagine. Perhaps this is the most ominous fact of all about the world's future. If it were extremely difficult to manufacture these weapons, we could hold out the hope that the Soviets could manufacture perhaps only 5 or 10 hydrogen bombs. But my reading of the future is quite different. I feel that given the passage of enough time the Soviets will come to possess hundreds and even thousands of these dreadful hydrogen weapons.

Question. Should the American people have more information about A-bombs and H-bombs?

Answer. Without sufficient facts concerning the kind of dangers we face in nuclear attack, I don't see how we can take the steps necessary to prevent it. Also, if we are to ask sacrifices from the people—as I fear we must—it is simply fair and necessary that they be told why these sacrifices are needed so that they come to appreciate more fully than at present the real nature of our peril.

Let me try to be more specific. Should the people be told the approximate size of our nuclear stockpile? I think not. The ordinary citizen can have no real use for this kind of information, whereas it might be

of great use to our enemies. On the other hand, should the people be given more information concerning the destructive force of the possible types of atomic and hydrogen weapons that might be launched against our cities? I think they should, since such information is vital for defense.

Is Italy Going Communist?—Henry J. Taylor Says "Yes"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by that well-known authority, economist, and commentator, Mr. Henry J. Taylor, who in This Week magazine states that Italy is going Communist. This is an article of extreme interest to all the people of Amrerica in view of the financial aid that we have been giving to Italy under our foreign-aid programs. I commend it to the attention of all Members of this Congress:

HENRY J. TAYLOR PREDICTS: "ITALY IS GOING COMMUNIST"

Italy is going Communist; the sweep is on, the end is positive and clear. Our Italian brothers and friends are lost as a Western ally.

The 1953 election indicated that the swing to communism is on—it has already boosted the number of Communist-line deputies to 37 percent of the total.

My own obsrevations in Italy since then have convinced me that Italy will be the first free nation in all history to vote itself Communist.

However, even more important than obtaining a Red majority at the polls, Soviet policy is to neutralize Italy at the rear of a rearmed Germany. This already has been done! It is not a power grab, a cabinet coup at the top, as in Czechoslovakia. It is not by military force, without which communism has never before in the world's history captured a single country. It is not by arms of iron. It is by the will of the people.

The Communist clique and the anti-American, anti-British, anti-French blocs dominating Italy's Parliament actually reflect the pressures from below. Revolts against communism elsewhere in Europe obscure this. For here is the devastating paradox:

Behind the Iron Curtain—in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic areas, the Balkans—the people who have experienced communism are revolting against communism. Yet here where communism has never been encountered its appeal grows and grows.

BULWARKS ARE GONE

While we cheer for and even write books on anti-Communist uprisings elsewhere, Italy—our ally—falls into the pit.

That the Italian people are lied to and misled is unimportant. This is like arguing that it is an inferior match which set a house on fire. The burning is as wild and hot, the loss is as great, the disaster is the same.

In Italy our two main reliances against the Red disaster have been American aid and the Catholic Church. They are bulwarks no longer.

Go into the grass roots, as I did all over Italy, attend Communist meetings from one end of the country to the other, as I did, and you find many reasons.

In the parishes, the cities, the villages, the farms and vineyards, and, yes, in the agrarian south (including Sicily) as well as the industrial north, it is "Vota Communista, Vota Communista," which really rings the bell today, not the enormously anxious warnings of the mother church or the dispatch of American gifts to the people.

There is, in fact, even something of a rebellion on against the "intrusion" by each of these anti-Communist influences.

Take first the Church:

Nearly every leader in the Italian Communist Party claims he is a Catholic.

"I GO TO CHURCH"

"I am as good a Catholic as you are," he shouts at village meetings. "I go to church with you. I believe the Pope should run the church. I believe the priest should run his parish. But not our village."

To this millions of Italians say "Si, si." For while the deep religious feeling remains in the soul of Italy, as in France, there is a strong anticlerical feeling there. It is with this anticlericalism that the Communists bait their trap.

That requires a violent readjustment and awakening in our thinking. It answers the mystery (and destroys all reassurance) regarding how a deeply religious and overwhelmingly Catholic country can nevertheless go Communist.

BOXING-IN THE CHURCH

Witness the church's cruel dilemma in Italy. If its political action is stepped up, the Communists flame with righteousness and roar, "Just as we said. The Vatican is trying to run the government." The intervention boomerangs among millions; and the youth, especially, are alienated. If the church backs away, a vacuum results.

And the Communists fill that vacuum, for they have made it their business to create this situation, to box in as far as possible the church, their most powerful spiritual and moral opponent. For this is a first and diabolic fundamental of Kremlin policy.

And they have nullified the materialistic opposition, the second great anti-Communist bulwark, represented by American aid.

We have spent $3½ billion in aid to Italy since the war. Russia hasn't spent a nickel. We are spending there this year about $320 million in economic and military aid. Russia isn't spending a nickel. Yet our American Ambassador makes a mild speech in Milan suggesting that the Italians support pro-American politicians against the Communists in consideration of that aid, and the roof blows off in Italy.

It is not what Mrs. Luce said that is important. After 8 years of great aid it is the violent reaction throughout Italy which is profoundly revealing. It shows how the Communists have done their job of boxing in our United States side of the opposition.

First, the Communists constantly attack the effectiveness of America's aid. Overlooking all good our superb generosity has done, sneering at it as "only going into the pockets of the rich," they harp only on the grim situation which remains.

Italy today has an unwanted army of 4 million unemployed.

Every year brings 250,000 more youths into the labor force and 825,000 newborn babies into the population.

POPULATION PROBLEM

My own investigation of the records in south Italy shows that out of 10 women in that area between the ages of 20 and 40, half will be nursing and the other half will be pregnant at any given time. At the same time, thanks to better sanitation and medical care, the death rate has declined steadily.

Accordingly, Italy now bursts with a population of 47 million; the largest of any free nation in Europe—except for Western Germany—but unemployed or underemployed today.

Tormented Italy needs to lose at least 500,000 people each year, as she did until after 1920. Mussolini stopped emigration to populate his colonies. Today there is neither emigration nor colonies; for after the war Italy lost Libya and Ethiopia and was in fact forced to repatriate some 500,000 Italians from these overseas places.

Emigration has shrunk to about 130,000 per year, of which the American immigration quota accounts for 5,645. In France trade unions object to Italian incomers. In England, miners protested when Italians filled mine jobs which were going begging. And these protests have full support from Italy's Communist unions, for they do not wish to see their membership exported.

Further, when war work drove women into factories this broke the traditional male monopoly on such available jobs, and has created today another enormous expansion in the labor supply which is economically hard, and politically impossible, to contract.

So the internal pressures on the pitiable millions increase like the power of Vesuvius, and even the postwar measures toward land reform on one hand and industrialization on the other have offered slight relief.

The fact that half the population is agricultural does not mean that the country can support itself. Two thirds of Italy consists of unproductive mountains and rocks, leaving her with one-fifth the tillable land of France but a far larger rural population.

In northern Italy the manufacturing plants never have competed successfully with the important manufacturing centers on the continent. Except for a few specialties, Mussolini's industrialization was a resounding flop. For Italy lives at the mercy of imported coal. Nor has Italy iron for steel, bauxite for aluminum, copper, zinc or lead in quantity. And no oil.

Under the "boom" facade of the Roman streets, so noticeable to casual tourists—the flocks of merry little gray "scooters," the flashing sports cars, and the women's fashion sensations—two-thirds of Italian industry runs at a loss and the Italian Government runs at an even bigger loss attempting to subsidize it. Italy's latest recorded dollar deficit was $307 million and her Government budget deficit 185 billion lire.

FOUR MILLION UNEMPLOYED

The overall result—on which Communists capitalize:

Italy has 4 million people today who are offered no way to make a living.

The Government operates about 8,000 employment exchange offices, and now conducts 13,500 vocational classes for over 415,000 jobless. The Church's Pontifical Relief Agency makes an heroic contribution to welfare and to vocational training. It conducts a network of relief, health, and training centers (staffed by volunteers) in every province; in addition it cares for more than 250,000 children in 28,531 summer camps and day centers. But, although unemployment is officially listed by the State as 2 million an additional 2 million only work from 60 to 120 days a year. Regardless of what the State calls them, they look at their misery and call themselves unemployed.

Each youngster who finishes school generally means the beginning of another tragedy.

He can either leave home or continue his studies. Suppose he goes on to a univerality and, like 20,000 others last year, achieves a diploma. The next day he becomes unemployed, along with an increasing number of intellectuals (prime targets for Communists) who remain caught in the jaws of the same iron vise.

Doctors sign up as messenger boys, lawyers clean Neapolitan streets; a country, as one writer said, of "attorneys without clients, doctors without clinics, teachers without students, and other enforced stay-at-homes with their diplomas in their pockets and other members of their family supporting them."

As one result, when the Palermo Ministry of Labor last called for competitive examinations the job most sought, because it seemed the most obtainable, was as usher in public buildings.

Naturally the Communists press in this direction as well, telling all Italians to "get on the public payroll." If empowered, they offer to open the public payroll floodgates. Yet already half Italy's budget goes to her 1,200,000 Government employees.

EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND RED VOTES

Red propaganda hits relentlessly at all these various unemployment situations. Every day the Communists remind the whole people that Italy has been a democracy since 1946 and that the right to work is written into her new laws.

By boxing-in the church, dismissing the effectiveness of American aid, the Communists have picked up more than 800,000 votes since the previous election in 1948. In addition, the Kremlin has enmeshed the powerful neutral Socialist Party commanded by an Italian stooge of Russia, Pietro Nenni—the only man in the world not a declared Communist who was officially honored in Moscow at Stalin's funeral.

WEAK OPPOSITION

Nenni's group adds half as many votes to Communist strength as the Communist Party itself, and now elevates the Kremlin's control to more than a third of the Parliament and of the nation's votes as a whole.

Meanwhile, whereas the Communists and Nenni have stood solid, the political opponents of communism have not. Many of them form new alliances almost every day, only to fly apart in splinters the next morning. Not yet has the fear of communism glued them together in an effective alliance.

Since Stalin's death Malenkov's peace offensive has been enormously effective in dividing the anti-Communists. Former Premier Alcide de Gasperi, urging national sacrifice for preparedness, preaching rearmament and closest ties with mighty America, privately states it cost him his reelection. When we conscientiously speak of Italy's need to rearm, and Russia hyprocritically speaks of peace, Russia has us at a tremendous disadvantage.

Facts and sober reason do not register. Italians are not only sick of war, and do not want to be liberated again; they want to hear no word of war. So Communist propaganda simply says: "Sleep on, sleep on, and all will be well." It latches, as well, onto any popular national issue. The present cry is for equal rights for women, as unbrutal as that. Malenkov had laid his Italian plans wisely, and deep.

Is there any chance for a Red defeat in Italy? Well, here are the only ones I can see, except, of course, the possibility of some bloody blocking action comparable to Mussolini's march on Rome:

If Russia threw her weight around again, and scared the Italians half to death as Russia did right after the war, the Red grip might lessen.

If the Italian Communist leaders, who sat out the war in Moscow and came back home in Russian military aircraft, should again make the mistake of playing up their affiliations with the Soviet Union, the grip might lessen.

If somehow the potency of the American dream, which has traditionally been such a factor in the minds and hearts of the Italian people, could be rekindled in Italy, the grip might be lessened.

If somehow the profound problem of her bursting population and unbalanced trade could be modified, the grip might be lessened. I am convinced that Italy has no future except in a federated Europe with a single labor force. Britain and France need workers and some type of international control must be set up if British and French trade-union opposition is to be overcome. In a united Europe new industries might go where labor is abundant and surplus manpower where it is scarce.

ONE FOR THE KREMLIN

As French analyst Danielle Hunebelle recently stated: "It is only in such a Europe that the unemployed worker in Italy stands any hope of finding normal work, or earning a normal livelihood, and of regaining his dignity as a human being." Yet such a Europe is certainly far off, and the Communists oppose it every inch of the way.

The effect of the total Italian situation is to neutralize Italy as an ally of the Western World. That's victory in the Kremlin's books. And that's where we stand today.

The only solution is a complete awakening on the part of the responsible leaders in Italy and other Western European countries to this perilous trap.

My purpose in pointing out these facts is to contribute as best I can to this awakening.

Time Magazine Versus Facts Forum—Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FRANK WILSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following broadcast:

TIME MAGAZINE VERSUS FACTS FORUM—PART II

DAN SMOOT. Is Facts Forum a force for evil?

I raised this question on the Facts Forum program last week and gave the first installment of my answer to it, because, as I explained, Time magazine reported on Facts Forum in terms insinuating that Facts Forum is an evil organization.

This broadcast concludes my review of Times article on Facts Forum:

Times says:

"Critics of Facts Forums views are often charged with subversion, betrayal and treason."

Times does not say who makes this charge. I say flatly that no spokesman for Facts Forum has ever so charged its critics.

Facts Forum is directed by human beings, and human beings make mistakes. Facts Forum has been able to correct some of its own errors because of constructive criticism. I hope that you, who watch or listen to our programs or read the Facts Forum News, will criticize us and let us know when you think we are wrong.

Time says:

"Senator MCCARTHY's new wife, the former Jean Kerr, who has been his research assistant, helped set up a national Facts Forum TV program, along with Robert E. Lee."

The former Jean Kerr is the new wife of Senator MCCARTHY. Time failed to infer that she is also his first, and only, wife.

She did help secure guests for the first three Facts Forum TV programs in Washington. It might interest Time magazine to know that Facts Forum has received similar help from some 2 dozen distinguished Members of the United States Senate—both Democrats and Republicans—numerous Members of Congress, Cabinet officers, other high Government officials, important figures in both political parties, and outstanding American newspaper people.

Time says:

"Three months ago Lee, who is a close friend of MCCARTHY and whose only communications experience is as Facts Forum's first national TV moderator, was appointed by President Eisenhower to the Federal Communications Commission * * * One of Lee's first official acts was to vote in favor of granting Hunt a TV franchise in Corpus Christi, Tex."

Is Time implying some illegal connivance between one of Facts Forum's supporters and Mr. Robert E. Lee, a Government official, with a long, brilliant, and honorable record of service in the FBI and for congressional committees?

Mr. Hunt applied for a television permit long before he knew Robert E. Lee—long before Mr. Lee had any connection with the FCC. Channel 43 in Corpus Christi, Tex., could not have been granted to anybody else, because there was no other applicant for it.

Time reports:

"Facts Forum's public opinion polls are no less partial than its air programs.

"The public opinion poll * * * is not a cross-section poll but merely what Facts Forum calls a device for exerting a powerful psychological force for good on news organizations and Members of Congress."

Facts Forum has never claimed that its public opinion poll is a cross section sampling or any other kind of scientific testing of public opinion. The purpose of the poll card is to stimulate interest in important problems and thereby to help create an informed public opinion.

If the Facts Forum poll ever reaches as many people as we would like it to reach, it will, indeed, exert a powerful psychological force for good, not by putting pressure on anyone, as Time insinuates, but by dispelling apathy.

I would like you to render your independent judgment on the Facts Forum poll, the Facts Forum radio and TV programs, and on the Facts Forum News, which reports the poll and publishes many of the radio and TV programs.

You can get the poll card and Facts Forum News by writing to Facts Forum, Dallas, Tex.

Time says:

"For members who are uncertain of answers to loyalty questions, Facts Forum recommends the word of such authorities as the Reverend Dr. Carl McIntire, president of the fundamentalist International Council of Christian Churches, who has accused the National Council of Churches, which embraces most Protestant denominations, of procommunism. He has also called the United States Roman Catholic Church a spy system * * * committed to a foreign power."

Is Time implying that Facts Forum is both anti-Catholic and pro-MCCARTHY? This would be very much like riding two horses in opposite direction at the same time; but Time has us doing it.

As to any connection between Dr. McIntire and Facts Forum: there is none.

After we had received many requests for the names of persons who keep anti-Communist files, Facts Forum wrote to Walter S. Steele in Washington, who had been highly recommended to us as one of the most experienced, reliable, well-informed, anti-Communist investigators in America. We asked Mr. Steele to furnish us a list of people who keep anti-Communist files. Dr. McIntire was on the list which Mr. Steele supplied.

Facts Forum was trying to give the public the names of people who might have information useful in the fight against communism.

If the editors of Time think this is an improper way to resist communism, we would like to know how they are fighting communism.

Or does Time content itself with merely sitting in judgment on those who try?

If, on the other hand, Time thinks Facts Forum's efforts were poor and fumbling, we would be humbly grateful if Time would turn some of its vast wealth and facilities to such a task.

We believe that communism in America can be combated successfully only if the American people have information about the Communist conspiracy.

We think it would be extremely helpful if the people knew where to get that information.

Time reports:

"Facts Forum has used its platform as well as its own free circulating library * * * for known race-hate agitators. One of the original library books, withdrawn after protests, was We Must Abolish the United States, by Joseph Kamp. * * * Kamp was jailed for contempt of Congress after refusing to reveal the backers of his Constitutional Educational League."

Facts Forum did circulate Joseph Kamp's We Must Abolish the United States. The book vigorously presents a strong argument against the United World Federalists. It has nothing whatever to do with any kind of race problem.

Time reports:

"Facts Forum tells its members how to get on the mailing list of such organizations as Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, described by the Buchanan Lobbying Committee of the 81st Congress as a group that attempts to disparage those who oppose its objectives by appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

"Isn't Time here implying that Facts Forum is anti-Semitic?

Facts Forum does subscribe to the Economic Council Letter. We also subscribe to Time magazine and some 75 other periodicals. Whenever we use information from any of them in a broadcast, we list them as sources in a bibliography published with the broadcast in the Facts Forum News. Both Time and the Economic Council Letter have been so listed. Facts Forum has never, however, told its members how to get on the mailing list of any publication, except the Facts Forum News.

Facts Forum publishes the bibliographies to show where our information comes from and to encourage the listeners and readers to go themselves to the original sources.

Since Facts Forum is essentially a campaign against public apathy, one objective of all our activities is to stimulate more extensive and more thoughtful reading of newspapers, magazines, and books, and to build bigger audiences for newsreporting, informative and educational programs on radio and TV.

Time reports:

"In Manhattan, where a Forum unit was formed, the first meeting was addressed by (a man) * * * whose (organization) * * * was listed by the Attorney General as a Fascist organization. (This man) * * * charged that the U. N. is a device to permit the colored races to rule the white races (and that) UNESCO is an alien conspiracy to teach sex delinquency to American school children."

Now Time is implying that Facts Forum is a Fascist organization.

The man whom Time mentions has never had any connection whatever with Facts Forum. I don't know whether he ever attended a Facts Forum meeting or not.

Facts Forum discussion groups are self-governing. The editors of Time may not know—but most other Americans do know—how neighborhood discussion groups are conducted. Anybody who attends can make a speech. But after he speaks, his remarks are subject to the challenge and rebuttal of his neighbors. Facts Forum thinks that the good neighbors vastly outnumber the bad in America.

Time magazine's innuendoes have pinned quite a list of labels on Facts Forum: Isolationism, ultra-conservatism, McCarthyism, anti-Catholic, race-hate agitators, anti-Semitic, Fascist.

I wonder why Time didn't call Facts Forum communistic?

Do you suppose Time magazine knew that the Communist Party's Daily Worker had already used on Facts Forum the same labels of hate that Time published?

Time magazine's report on Facts Forum concludes as follows:

"The operation of Facts Forum have often exhbiited a spirit which is the opposite of free debate in good faith * * *. (The) net effect (of Facts Forum) is to disseminate fear, suspicion, and divisive propaganda * * *. The results of this, if carried into the entire field of mass communications, could be to increase the pressures dividing segments of American society, to increase group hatreds and implant suspicions which did not exist before."

Facts Forum was begun in Dallas by a group of young Texans who believed that the one evil which nourishes all others in American life is apathy, indifference toward the affairs of government: a belief that if America is ever destroyed it will be from within—not by obvious, active, destructive forces, but by the cloying apathy of a people who have lost interest and faith in their Nation.

Facts Forum does want to stir up—not fear, but awareness of, and confidence in, the basic principles of government on which our Nation was built.

Facts Forum does not believe that a people who are apathetic can keep their freedom. Facts Forum believes that if the American people don't use their freedom, they will lose it. Facts Forum believes that freedom is not free.

It must be won anew in toil and strife by every generation.

Facts Forum wants to stir up, to enliven, to quicken individual interest in public affairs; to stimulate individual participation in the forming of public opinion; to activate individual influence in the shaping of public policy; to encourage the most extensive and most sincere self-education and self-expression possible among the American people.

That is the purpose of Facts Forum.

America is the last stronghold of freedom in the world. If the light of freedom goes out here in America, there is no other place on earth to look for it. The whole world will be plunged into darkness so terrible that those who survive will envy those who did not.

We Americans cannot preserve freedom if we do not understand it—or if we do not love it enough to stand up and be counted, to live or die for liberty.

That is the conviction of Facts Forum.

The American people are essentially wise and can make correct decisions as a people.

That is the faith of Facts Forum.

I have reviewed Time magazine's attack on Facts Forum, because that was the only way I knew to get Facts Forum's side of the story told.

Finally, however, it is neither I nor Time magazine who will decide whether Facts Forum is good or bad for America. The decision belongs to you, the American individual.

This is Dan Smoot, with Facts Forum.

Lincoln's Career Is Great Lesson in Self-Reliance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article appearing in the Sunday Star-Ledger, Newark, N. J., dated February 7, 1954:

LINCOLN'S CAREER IS GREAT LESSON IN SELF-RELIANCE

(By Norman Vincent Peale)

This next week, the birthday of Abraham Lincoln comes round once more. There will be many things said about Lincoln because he was a many-sided figure of history, but the thing about him that has always impressed me most is that quality of self-reliance which brought him from his backwoods log cabin to the White House at the most crucial time in our Nation's history. You may remember the stories of Lincoln as a boy learning his letters at the fire long into the night; or splitting rails to keep alive while he was fitting himself to practice law; or keeping store to help things along.

You may be tempted to ask yourself whether, in our country today, these qualities of self-reliance have disappeared. Aren't we getting soft and lazy?

I don't think so. Just last spring, I received a post card from a college boy which he sent to my farm at Pawling. He said he would mow lawns, paint, wash dishes, clean cars; in other words, he wanted to work. I had no work of that kind at the moment; so I tore the card in two and started to toss it into the wastebasket. Then suddenly, I pieced it together with scotch tape and put it in my files. Here was a boy willing to work and that warmed my heart, and I made a point of finding jobs for him.

The great breed hasn't run out. A few years back, I got off a train at 5 in the morning to make a speech in a college chapel and found a boy waiting to meet me. "Are you Dr. Peale," he asked. And when I said "Yes," he explained: "I'm sorry to say that the president of our college has been detained in New York. So I'm acting for him both as your chauffeur and your official host."

He drove me to the president's house, showed me to a room and told me that breakfast would be ready for me at 7. When I came down to the dining room, there was the boy wearing a waiter's apron. He served me a wonderful meal and I told him it was so good I wanted to congratulate the cook personally. So he took me out into the kitchen; there was no one else there—he stood by the stove, bowed, and said, "Meet the cook."

I made my speech in the chapel and, afterwards, someone in the choir behind me sang a beautiful tenor solo. I turned around to get a look at the singer and discovered that it was the same boy.

When he drove me back to the train, I asked him to tell me about himself. His father, he said, had been well-to-do, and when he had first come to college, his father had given him a car and a substantial allowance. But then, at the end of his first year, his father had lost all his money and had told the son that he couldn't afford to send him back to college.

"When I was young," the father said, "I had no money. I went to college because I worked my way through. God helped me do it. But you've been brought up as a rich man's son and I guess you're pretty soft, and so you will have to drop out of college."

"That annoyed me," the boy told me, "and I said, 'Dad, if you did it, I can do it, too.' I went back to school and have worked ever since. God has helped me. And today my father and I are closer than ever because I can see what he had in him and he knows I have something in me. Whatever strength we've got in our blood hasn't died out."

When my train pulled away from the platform, I looked back and there he stood, smiling, happy, and self-reliant. I've followed his career since. Of course, he has done well because he learned the vital lesson that, with God's help, you can depend on yourself.

Our country is full of youngsters like that. No, Lincoln's breed has not died out.

The Honorable Allan Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence, Gives Us an Insight Into World Communist Fronts

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Stalin writes, in his classic work Problems of Leninism, the following with regard to front organizations:

The party * * * is the rallying center of the finest elements of the working class, who have direct communication with the nonparty organizations of the proletariat and very frequently lead them.

The party, as the best school for training leaders of the working class, is, by reason of its experience and prestige, the only organization capable of centralizing the leadership of the struggle of the proletariat, thus transforming each and every nonparty organization of the working class into an auxiliary body and transmission belt linking the party with the class. (J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Moscow, 1945, p. 87.)

In another place in the same work, the wily Stalin draws from the teachings of Lenin:

Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this general staff. The working class without a revolutionary party is an army without a general staff. The party is the general staff of the proletariat. (Ibid., p. 82.)

Thus we see, Mr. Speaker, that the Communist Party itself considers itself the general staff in the lead of world communism.

It contemplates having a mass of fellow travelers to do its work.

We marvel at the strength of the Communist Party, but we fail to realize that the party strength is not to be measured only by its generals but also by its subordinate officers and its ordinary foot soldiers. Many of the subordinate officers and foot soldiers are, of course, ignorant dupes. But they are doing the work of world communism under the able leadership and direction of its fanatic leaders.

I wish to call to the House's attention a very important and able speech recently given by the Honorable Allan Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence. In this speech Mr. Dulles outlines the activities of world communism's fellow travelers and how potent they are.

Mr. Dulles estimates that $2 billion are spent by the Soviets to keep these "transmission belts" going.

I recommend that every Member of the House read very carefully Mr. Dulles' speech given before the Women's Forum on National Security, Friday, January 29, 1954. The text follows:

Mrs. Schill, Mrs. Burdett, and members of the Women's Forum on National Security, I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you today. In coming here I am breaking a self-imposed rule. As the Director of Central Intelligence I seek anonymity—not publicity—for myself and for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Every rule as its exception. The work of your forum on national security bears so intimately on many phases of my own work that I am very glad to have this chance to discuss with you some of the dangers to our national security—dangers which many do not sense because they are cleverly disguised.

It is the job of the Central Intelligence Agency to garner together the facts affecting our national security as best we can find them and then to lay them before the policymakers; the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the other members of the National Security Council as they may be directly concerned. They in turn decide what to do about these facts.

Among the facts which CIA has been uncovering is information on the techniques which subversive communism employs to weaken the free world. This will be the subject of what I have to say to you this afternoon. These techniques fall geographically into two main categories—the domestic and the foreign—those subversive communistic actions which we have to meet right here at home and those that chiefly affect our allies and friends in the free world. And as they affect them, they in turn have an impact on our own security position.

The role of the Central Intelligence Agency in this field relates exclusively to what is being done abroad. Within the United States this is a responsibility of the FBI.

Here at home we are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers of subversive communism. It is no longer coddled and tolerated. We are fortunate to have in the Federal Bureau of Investigation Mr. J. Edgar Hoover with his great experience and high technical skill. He has been able to make a real contribution, particularly by exposing to the light of day the various organizations and fronts under which Communists masquerade.

You will recall that the Attorney General has published a list of over 200 organizations here in the United States with high sounding names and titles which are nothing more than subversive Communist fronts. You will also recall that the President in his recent speech at the opening of the Congress suggested certain additional measures for dealing with the problem of subversion.

While we still have no right to be complacent about the domestic situation, a far graver situation faces many of the countries of the free world who have yet to appreciate the real meaning of communism or to take adequate measures against it in their own countries. As a result, this problem of Communist subversion is an even more dangerous threat to freedom in many of the free countries of the world outside of the United States than it is here at home.

There are cogent reasons for this. Many of the countries of the free world suffered more grievously than we from the two World Wars which we have faced in the last 30 years. Many were devastated by bombing attacks. Some suffered enemy occupations. Others in turn had their social structure and their economic life weakened and imperiled. Take China, for example. In World War II China did not have nearly 5 years of war. It was at war for about 10 years before the armistice in 1945. That is one reason why so much of China is now behind the Iron or the Bamboo Curtain.

Then also, particularly in Asia, many countries are trying to exercise their newly won independence under conditions which would tax the strength of the most mature democracies. And in the process they have to resist the luring appeals of the Communists with their seemingly easy and utopian solutions for all social and governmental problems.

There is another reason why many of these countries of the free world are more deeply affected than we. They are nearer to the heart of the Communist subversive machine with its headquarters in Moscow and with branch offices throughout the Communist world in such places as Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest, Peiping, in the Soviet zones of Berlin and Vienna, and on the frontiers of Indochina and Burma. Land frontiers are more easily crossed and infiltrated with Communist agents and propaganda than great stretches of ocean.

Finally, in many of the free countries of the world, particularly in Europe and in parts of Asia, there are well-organized Communist Parties. These parties take a very active part in the political life of the country. They are recognized and privileged and yet are dedicated to installing a system in which political parties cease to exist. A hard core of well-trained fanatical Communists directs the party's activities.

I recognize that in these Communist Parties there are many people who would be shocked if they were told that the party to which they belonged was run from Moscow and in the interest of a foreign creed. Nevertheless this is the fact.

These Communist Parties oppose every constructive measure that is introduced, particularly laws which would build up the economic and political life of the country. They are working for chaos out of which revolution may come. In the French Parliament, over the past 7 or 8 years since the liberation, there have been an average of well over 100 Communists out of about 600 deputies. In Italy the proportionate number of Communists and fellow travelers is even larger.

Just for a moment think what would happen in our own Congress if we had a hundred Members whose task was obstruction, the endless prolonging of debate, proposing of amendments to every possible measure, and insisting on days of discussion for all of these amendments. How much constructive work would we then accomplish? Those who criticize the parliaments of other countries should realize that as long as they have this large Communist representation it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for these bodies to meet the needs of representative government and to carry on the processes of governing.

The practical situation is this: The Communists take advantage of all of the privileges and rights which are a part of the system of free government in the free world, and they abuse these privileges in order to destroy freedom itself.

These are some of the reasons why the Communists abroad have weapons at their command which are more effective than those that they try to use in this country. Here in the United States measures have been taken to deprive them of their respectability and here, also, they are numerically too weak to invade our legislative bodies.

In addition to their political parties the Communists have other and even more subtle weapons. In some cases they have built up a series of blinds—camouflaged organizations; in others they have penetrated and captured from within a whole series of

existing organizations many of which originally had a reputation for respectability. Through these front organizations they carry out their well-known policy; subvert the weak—divide the strong. They hide their connection with Moscow while carrying on the Communist line.

Right at the beginning of the Soviet Revolution Lenin gave the key to approved Communist procedure. He said that "the party must take every advantage of even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally even though this ally be only temporary, vascillating, unstable, and unreliable." And he added, "Those who do not understand this do not understand Marxism."

Over the years since 1920 Soviet technique has shown vast improvement, and they have developed mass media for propagating their ideas which far exceed the modest beginnings that Lenin advocated.

Here are some other of these Communist-front organizations:

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the World Peace Council, and the Women's International Democratic Federation. There are scores of others. These are some of the most important.

Let us look at some of these organizations—for example, the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Its headquarters are in the Soviet sector of Vienna. It has offices in Peiping, in Latin America, and in Africa as well as in Western Europe. It still controls the powerful CGT in France and the CGIL in Italy as well as many other unions in countries as far distant as Indonesia, for example.

The two unions I mentioned in France and Italy are the largest trade unions in these respective countries, and they tend to dominate the life of the workers in many plants in these countries. They are a formidable threat to the freedom and the development of the free-trade union movements in both countries.

The Communist World Federation of Trade Unions claims a total membership of some 70 million. One-half of the membership, they claim, lies outside the Iron Curtain dispersed through some 57 countries of the non-Communist world. In many countries they control the most important of the trade unions. Of course behind the "curtain" there are no free-trade unions whatever.

Now let us look at the World Peace Council, another Communist front with an appealing name. You will recall the so-called Stockholm peace appeal which was signed by more than 2 million Americans. This appeal was organized and fronted by the Communist World Peace Council.

Here are some of the seemingly innocent objectives of the World Peace Council as stated at its last meeting in Vienna in December of 1952. It voted to acquaint the churches throughout the world with its stand on disarmament and to seek their approval. It proposed to develop contact with movements in favor of neutrality in different countries and to find ways of cooperating with pacifist movements; and finally it agreed on the importance of enlisting the support of national independent movements and patroitc sentiments in countries such as Egypt.

Now this all sounds innocent enough. It deceives a large number of good citizens even in this country. Yet it is nothing but a Communist plot, spearheaded from Moscow, a part of a system dedicated to aims which are diametrically opposed to the purposes they advertise. In fact the World Peace Council is an instrument to pave the way for aggressive war—in Korea, Indochina, and elsewhere.

All of these activities cost money. It is estimated that the last meeting of the World Peace Council in Vienna, alone, cost approximately a half a million dollars. It is quite interesting that the funds for the support of this Congress were drawn from the Soviet Military Bank in Vienna. In fact, all of these front organizations are financed with funds from Moscow or funds that are obtained from affiliated Communist organizations in the Soviet world.

We estimate that the average annual expenditure of international communism on all of their front organizations and their various affiliated activities runs in the neighborhood of $2 billion. They appreciate the value of these propagandist movements and organizations, and they are willing to pay dearly for them.

International communism particularly appreciates the importance of working with the youth, and for this purpose they have two important organizations—the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. These include millions of members from 71 countries—they claim some 80 millions. They have frequent rallies, the most important of which took place in Berlin in August of 1951. It was a colossal affair, labeled A Youth Festival for Peace. Over a million German youths were transported to Berlin at the expense of their Communist patrons. In addition 25,000 foreign youths were brought to Berlin from all corners of the world. Of course, the entire bill was footed by the Communist governments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The cost ran into the millions of dollars.

Fortunately the Berlin rally had some unpleasant kickbacks for the Communist side. Almost a million of the Communist youths visited the free western sector of Berlin. Probably they went there to jeer but they stayed to wonder. Many of them wanted to stay permanently. They were shown the sights of the free city of Western Berlin.

One of the mos timpressive sights they saw was the American High Commisioner himself, John J. McCloy. He invited representatives of these youths to visit his office, sought and answered their questions candidly and fully. Words of this extraordinary scene spread through the entire youth festival and was an impressive contrast to Communist techniques of preventing a free discussion among the youths at their own rally.

Another front organization is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. This is one of the few organizations which has its headquarters outside the Iron Curtain and has found fellow travelers in England and France respectively to act as the president and vice president of the organization. It has been used by the Communists to front for their false charges of bacteriological warfare in the Korean War and helped stage the phoney investigation which was made of these now wholly discredited charges.

Naturally the Soviet have not overlooked the vast importance of women's organizations in the field of propaganda. Here they have organized the Women's International Democratic Federation. Its charter is a broad one. It pretends to stand for the eradication of fascism; collaboration for peace; defense of the political, ecpnomic, legal, and social rights of women; the safeguarding of public health with particular reference to children; and the preservation of social conditions suitable to the physical, moral, and intellectual development of the young.

In all its history, however, this "front" has never deviated in any respect from the Communist line. At its meeting in Vienna, in April of 1952, it came out strongly against "American warmongers." Its monthly bulletin, Women of the World, is largely devoted to the Communist peace campaign.

It is estimated that it must cost the Communists some $6 million to run the Women's International Federation for a single year and to send its representation from 40 different countries to these various international meetings. Contrast this expenditure with the fact that the Soviet has not to this date contributed a penny to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

I have described only a few of the score of organizations, which are subtly working to spread the Communist doctrines. This will give you some idea of the methods which international communism is employing, the broad coverage they are giving to their propaganda, and the tremendous financial and organizational effort they are expending to undermine the basis of our free society.

What I have given you is by no means an exhaustive review of the tools the Communists use to delude and deceive the non-Communist world. However, this may give you an idea of their methods. Each situation, often each country, means for them the employment of a new technique or of a specially adapted form of deception.

The facts I have given you should not be kept secret. Naturally the Communists do all they can to conceal their connections with these front organizations. They should not be allowed to get away with this hoax and deception any longer. Since they get little local or popular financial support, it is obvious that someone with an ample pocketbook of governmental proportions must serve as the "angel" to keep them going.

Why do they do all this? It is not just propaganda for propaganda's sake; it is the Communist method of reaching out to condition and then control those people who will not buy communism in the raw. It serves as a measure to neutralize those they cannot quickly make into direct allies.

We all want peace and the reduction of armaments, the extension of benefits to the underprivileged, and an end to old-fashioned colonialism and the like. The Communists are playing the rather unique game of denying these principles everywhere in the sphere of their own control and at the same time deluding people elsewhere into believing that they, the Communists, are the real defenders of these principles in every country of the world.

These techniques I have described are used as the softening process to prepare for the day when the Communists hope to be ready for the "takeover." Not so long ago we saw it happen in Czechoslovakia. Not a shot was fired but liberty was destroyed overnight. The softening process had prepared the ground. Each Communist was in his appointed place, each person who had been neutralized by propaganda and deception kept quiet. There was no fight for freedom.

Today it is not the open Communist, the admitted follower of Marx and Lenin, who is likely to trip us up. It is the neutralist, the soft thinkers about agrarian reformers; those who merely decry the methods, but are blind to the aims, of international communism.

To prepare to meet this danger we are putting our house in order here in the United States. We cannot decide the policy for those in other countries of the world. We can help to unmask the Communist danger. Furthermore we can give one example of a free people who are frustrating the Communist programs while keeping our own freedoms.

To carry out our task as fact finders and to keep our Government policymakers advised of what the Communists are doing outside of the United States, we have gathered

together in the Central Intelligence Agency an able staff. On this staff representative women from all parts of the United States are serving. I wish to pay my tribute to their effective role in the work of the Central Intelligence Agency in this country and abroad.

The Bible and Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. FORRESTER
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the January 21, 1954, issue of the Wesleyan Christian Advocate, an official organ of Methodism, carries on page 2 certain articles designated as Favorite Feature Articles. Among those featured articles is a splendid writing by Rev. T. E. Davenport, of Americus, Ga., entitled "The Bible and Segregation."

Reverend Davenport has been an outstanding Methodist minister and a true servant of God for more than half a century, in the North as well as the South. He is also a profound Biblical scholar. This article reflects his long study and experience, and it deserves full consideration of everyone who seeks light on this important issue. Reverend Davenport is completely American, his family being one of the oldest and most influential in my State.

The article reads as follows:

THE BIBLE AND SEGREGATION

(By Rev. T. E. Davenport)

I was raised in the South. Have lived for a while in the North. Have studied the race question from both sides. We in the South understand the relationship and know what is best for white and black alike. You may go and examine all history; there never has been better treatment by a ruling race to a subject race than that of the Negroes in the South. We accept the verdict of a bloody war. We are glad the Negro has freedom and citizenship. He has all the human rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He has it to the fullest extent in the South as well as in the North. He is happy and content under the guidance of true statesmanship. The law gives us all the freedom of our family life, of our religious life, the freedom of labor, and the fruits of our labor. What more can any race ask for than to have health, happiness, home and family life. We in America believe in a democratic form of government, in a true and national republic. We have built a great paved way, a highway of prosperity. We have made great progress on it. But there is a ditch on the right side of the road. There is danger in the god who lurks there, the god of mammon, of gold, of ambition, of money. There is a ditch on the left side of the road also and a goddess dwells there. She is the goddess of this world, the goddess of pleasure, of immorality, of success at any cost. The politician often steers to the right or to the left and gets us in the ditch.

There is a saying current in our time: "Makes no difference in race, creed, or color." Many politicians think that will bring utopia. They do not consider the danger of a mixed and mongrel race. That danger beset the world before the flood. Then, all races mixed like animals in a pasture. They became so immoral, so wicked, so violent, that the Creator was disgusted and destroyed them all. (Genesis 6).

Some folks say, "Make no difference in creed; one is as good as another." They would take Mohammedanism and Confucianism, and Hinduism, and Buddhism, and communism, and Christianity, and mix them all together and make a religion for the world. That is man's plan; transcendentalism failed. God's plan is revealed plainly in one book, the Holy Bible, the creed for Christians in all the world. There are many branches to Christ's church. It is a grape vine and not a rattan vine.

The science of ethnology teaches that there are five distinct races—white, black, yellow, brown, red. God has created them all different. He set them in families and appointed bounds of habitation in church and state. Some politicians say make no difference in color. You cannot take the seven colors of the rainbow, jumble them together, and make a desirable color; it will be ringstreaked and striped. The child of any race of pure blood is never born similar to the child of another race. God makes them different. The Creator has kept them separated for thousands of years. He does not mix trees or flowers or animals in nature.

In the Bible we read how Israel was called to be a separate race. They were to be a pure blood race, not to marry or to mix with any other race. To that segregated race Jehovah revealed his laws. They were written down by Moses and given for all the world. Of that segregated race Jesus Christ was born of the seed of David. Christianity is a separate or segregate religion embracing every race and color and tongue and tribe. A Christian must be separate; he must be free from idolatry and immorality and all sin (2 Corinthians: 6). Jehovah God is the Creator of every color. Jesus Christ is the Saviour of every race. God wants a pure-blood race. A mongrel race is abomination to Him.

Mr. Speaker, Reverend Davenport is so right in his conclusions. Let those hear who have ears to hear while there is yet time.

An Impressive Invocation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Saturday night, February 6, at the Hotel Washington, here in the District of Columbia, the national council of the Reserve Officers Association held its annual dinner. I was impressed by the invocation offered by its chaplain, Canon Curtis W. V. Junker, D. D. Under unanimous consent, I am including the invocation herewith, as follows:

Give us grateful hearts, Our Father, for these and all Thy mercies; make us mindful of our comrades in the Armed Forces—at home and abroad, on the land, on the sea, and in the air; of humanities' need for leadership—in the community, in the Nation, and among the nations.

Do Thou relieve the tensions of the world and grant a true peace in our time.

Grant Thy blessing to this food, to this fellowship, to our hopes and aspirations for this organization and our people; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD a sketch I had prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress of the life and ideals of Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary. In my opinion it is a good thing to refresh our memories from time to time of the careers of men who have lead inspirational lives so that their example might further inspire present generations to meet the problems that still beset us boldly, objectively, and with foresight.

The sketch follows:

February 8 marks the anniversary of the death in 1933 of one of Europe's most respected elder statesmen, Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary. He was long a leader in Hungarian public affairs. A man whose authority was moral more than political he was respected even more for his own personal integrity rather than for his public positions. Throughout his extensive career he was a man who stood above politics and in all things remained true to his own principles and ideals.

Although he was a member of one of Hungary's oldest aristocratic families, Count Apponyi was devoted to the precepts of democracy and to progressive social reform. He believed in "social equality in everything which is fundamental to human dignity and to the requirements of human happiness."

Following the death of the great patriot, Louis Kossuth, Count Apponyi succeeded to the leadership of the Hungarian Independence Party. As its head he was an advocate of universal suffrage and a strong supporter of Hungarian independence. His long and distinguished career in his country's service included many prominent posts—speaker of the house of representatives, minister of education, minister of worship and privy councilor.

Count Apponyi, however, is best known for his distinguished career in the field of international relations. Although he was an ardent supporter of Hungarian nationalism and a great patriot, he saw beyond the divisions of geographic and ethnic boundaries. Even before the creation of the League of Nations he devoted himself to the cause of world peace. In this respect, his work as a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was especially outstanding.

After World War I he pleaded Hungary's cause at the peace conference with such dignity and nobility that he won the respect even of his enemies. He was indefatigable in his efforts to build up the League of Nations. His great gift of oratory enabled him to plead with conviction on behalf of international cooperation. He had faith that the "spirit and letter of cooperation will replace our old struggle for supremacy." Therein lay the only path of progress for the postwar world.

Count Apponyi himself was an example of the ability of patriotism and internationalism to reach a compromise. His belief that "no nation can enrich itself by destroying another" led him to the belief that international cooperation did not lead to the subjection of national sovereignty, but was in the national interest as well as in the interest of humankind. His career was itself patriotism and internationalism, each used for the highest good, separately and together.

Count Apponyi early recognized the increasing importance of the United States in world affairs. He had been an enthusiastic visitor of this country three times—first, as a delegate to the Interparliamentary Union Conference, and later as a highly successful guest lecturer. He was received with the same warmth which he himself felt for America. At a time when this country was being sharply criticized abroad, he praised it for "its youthful freshness, compared to which old Europe appears to be worn out." Europe had achieved her best, and in her ripeness there were already the first signs of decay. The world depended on American optimism and enthusiasm as well as on its rich idealism. Gradually this country was beginning to emerge from her traditional policy of no entanglements. But although Europe had reached and passed her zenith, her rich heritage could offer invaluable experience to a country entering the European scene as a relative novice. Europe's background and America's new vigor were in the eyes of Count Apponyi the strongest combination for the perpetuation of international peace and cooperation.

Fittingly enough, Count Apponyi died fighting to attain world peace while serving as his country's delegate to the International Disarmament Conference. Mankind has not yet reached its ultimate goal. More than ever it is important to realize, as Count Apponyi did, that its attainment is only possible through the effective cooperation of all nations.

The Kenwood Story: An Urban Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have extended my remarks elsewhere to include the address of Mayor Martin H. Kennelly in which he states that the drift away from the city as far as Chicago is concerned has been definitely halted. I am extending my remarks at this point to include excerpts from a series of articles in the February 3, 1954, issue of the Hyde Park Herald which throw an illuminating light on the urban problems of Chicago and how they are being faced and solved.

The Hyde Park Herald is a weekly community newspaper which enjoys a national prestige as a leader in its field of journalism. Its series of articles on Kenwood constitutes its latest noteworthy public service. Especial credit is due Bruce Sagan, publisher, and Adelina Diamond, editor.

Kenwood is in the district that I have the honor to represent in this distinguished body. It was named after the birthplace in Scotland of the mother of its first settler. After the great Chicago fire of 1871 Kenwood became the Lake Forest of the South Side. Among the new residents, says the Hyde Park Herald, were the wealthy meat kings and the fashionable families of the old Prairie Avenue gold coast.

Today the problem is with large homes, erected during another era, which are now too expensive to maintain. The Herald mentions one of 25 rooms, 7 baths, and 1 ballroom. The Herald article continues:

If you want to find out what's happening to Kenwood, then take the case of the fabulous, large houses that have been up for sale, and begin asking questions—and then hold on to your hat and convictions.

The house—we can't for obvious reasons be more specific at this time—is on the verge of being sold as the Herald goes to press. It has been up for sale for some time at a price well over $100,000. The future of the house—and perhaps the future of Kenwood—revolved around four alternatives: (1) Continued single-family residential; (2) institutional or religious use; (3) multiple-family dwellings after legal conversion (necessitates a change in zoning laws).

THE FOURTH CHOICE

A fourth alternative, and the one everyone thinks about but seldom bluntly discusses, is overcrowding and deterioration, either by actual use without driving a single nail, or illegally by actual physical conversion.

One of these things will happen to the house.

But first, let's take a look at the house.

It comes from another era—that impresses you immediately. A richer and more leisurely time. There is a ballroom, of course, and debutantes of 30 years ago came out in it, rather than a rented hotel ballroom. There are 7 bathrooms, not counting the 1 in the 5-room apartment over the 6-car heated garage.

AIR CONDITIONED

The temperature seldom changes in the 25 or more rooms since the building is air conditioned throughout.

In several rooms baronial fireplaces dominate the decor, with handsomely fitted tiles and imported inlaid stones.

The spacious grounds could support a tennis court easily, and the large old elm trees on the front lawn arch graciously overhead. On either side of the house are similar homes, neither quite as large as the house, but certainly suitable companions on the pleasant and quiet street.

SAME PROBLEM IN SUBURBS

How are other communities facing the problems posed by large houses in a period when few people can afford their upkeep or initial sale price?

To find out the answers one must go out of the city into the famous north and west suburbs in order to find homes comparable to the homes in Kenwood.

Results of the survey show that, generally speaking, the large homes in the north suburbs loom as the No. 1 community problem.

It was pointed out that the problems facing the prospective seller in the North Shore increases with the size of the property he wants to sell. There are few, if any, takers for the really large estates on the market.

Closer to the Kenwood area situation are the older and large private homes in such suburbs as Deerfield.

Deerfield has recently changed its zoning laws to permit multiple zoning units in what is believed to be the first breakthrough in any suburb's zoning laws. Lake Bluff followed later.

Lake Bluff: The 61-room tudor style mansion of the Armour family was recently sold to an encyclopedia firm. The firm will move into the estate from Michigan Avenue offices and continue to pay taxes on the $300,000 assessed valuation.

There is no reason to doubt that the prospect of this continued tax revenue influenced the village of Lake Bluff to change its zoning laws.

INTERESTING NEW EXPERIMENT

A vigorous Hyde Park attorney, Ralph N. Eisendrath, has hit upon what he believes to be a new experiment in city living and one possible answer to the problem of the big house.

Two historic Kenwood homes, long united by a secret tunnel, will in a few weeks form the two units of Van Doren Village to provide modern living in old-fashioned style.

The homes, numbers 4843 and 4847 on Lake Park, were completed in 1892 by Moses D. Wells, a pioneer Chicago shoe manufacturer, for his two daughters. Today, 62 years later, a Hyde Park lawyer, Ralph N. Eisendrath is remodeling the twin 3-story houses into modern apartments under the duplex zoning law which permits multiple-family dwellings, along Lake Park.

Eisendrath has chosen to name the redevelopment VanDoren Village in honor of Howard Van Doren Shaw, the original architect.

The 4847 building was acquired by Eisendrath about 20 years ago and has for a long time provided city apartment living within the comfortable framework of Victorian design.

Eisendrath expects the 4843 home, which he acquired last September, to be ready for occupancy within 2 or 3 weeks.

When "Shoe King" Wells commissioned Van Doren Shaw, his son-in-law, to build twin homes for his daughters, he gave him free rein. The site fronted 100 feet on fashionable Lake Park Avenue and stretched back over 200 feet to the Illinois Central right-of-way. Next door was the Harding home, now a museum.

Van Doren Shaw built two brick and limestone English-manor-type structures. Every other room had a fireplace of outstanding design, one of Holland Delft tile, another of English ceramic. Leaded glass windows were used and woodwork of quartered sawed oak, mahogany and cherrywood.

A secret passageway between the two homes was provided so the sisters could visit each other.

Of less storytelling value but of more practical use is the large private park in the rear of the premises which the residents will use for off-the-street parking facilities.

Around the entire premises is a handsome wrought-iron fence with a base built from paving bricks which once lined old Rush Street. Egon Weiner, the sculptor who once had a studio in the buildings, has a heroic size statue of Adam and Eve in the small park in the rear.

Eisendrath has employed architect Samuel Lichtmann to remodel the 4843 building into small apartments themed around the handsome ceiling, fireplaces and woodwork. A long photographic feature in a national publication will pay tribute to the success of this conversion.

NOT A RACE PROBLEM

The following article in the Herald is by Harvey S. Perloff, professor in the department of planning at the University of Chicago, and consultant to the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Government of Puerto Rico:

(By Harvey S. Perloff)

Some people assume that the problem of Kenwood is simply a racial problem, that the area must inevitably go down hill because Negro families are moving into it. The facts do not bear out any such interpretation.

Today, Negro families live in every section of the community. In many instances these families have improved and modernized the properties they have bought. Some are taking an active part in community affairs, joining with their white neighbors in an effort to maintain the standards of the community. A list of the Negro families who live in Kenwood at the present time reads like a Who's Who.

The problem is not that more families of this type may move into Kenwood; the problem is that they may not move into the

area—just as desirable white families may not move into the area—as long as the threat of the rooming house hangs over the neighborhood. Were it not for this threat, one could expect that both new Caucasian and new Negro families would move into the area, as normal replacements (reflecting the changed population composition and income patterns in Chicago), and that these would be families who would tend to share the same standards of residential life as those already living in Kenwood.

The Kenwood problem is not unique. In many parts of Chicago—and, in fact, in sections of cities all over the country—neighborhoods are deteriorating due to a breakdown of density and use standards. This type of deterioration is taking place in neighborhoods with quite different types of racial composition.

The main danger for Kenwood is that it may be permitted to deteriorate through a breakdown of standards. The major threat comes from the desire on the part of real-estate speculators and rooming-house operators to make unusually high profits out of the spacious houses in Kenwood. They hope to do this by crowding a large number of families and individuals into these homes, by turning them into rooming houses or small kitchenette apartments, and getting a high total rent take.

For me, as for many others, the fight to maintain Kenwood as an attractive single-family residential area seems worthwhile on two counts. First, Kenwood is a wonderful place in which to live, with beauty and spaciousness and other attractions that are hard to match elsewhere. Secondly, it seems to provide an unusually appropriate setting for the development of a stable biracial community, where Negro and white families can live in the same neighborhood not only without tension, but with friendliness and dignity. Such a stable community can be developed only if the residential standards of the area are maintained.

FUTURE OF KENWOOD

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the future of Kenwood is assured. I have no worries on that score. This is an area of beauty, most convenient to all the advantages of society, of industry, of education and of culture. I now quote from the article in the Herald by a distinguished architect who has lived for many years in Kenwood:

(By Charles Dornbusch)

Having lived in Kenwood for 18 years Mrs. Dornbusch and I look forward to many more such pleasant years; what is more we would consider it a privilege to do so.

Being of sedentary character we would prefer not to have to worry about neighborhood problems and to continue the quiet contentment we have always enjoyed here.

But on every side we are confronted with rumors of the dissolution and decay of Kenwood—and for that matter of the entire south side.

Let us look at the facts and with what we are threatened.

Kenwood is a part of the southeast area of Chicago and as the entire area changes we in Kenwood change with it. Change is a constant factor; sometimes for good and sometimes for the reverse. In examining the entire area certain changes stand out and we can determine from these the threats with which we are faced. Using the Kenwood area as a center let us examine what goes on around us.

To the north the Michael Reese Hospital has begun an immense expansion program. In conjunction with this we have the Lake Meadows development.

To the west and northwest the Illinois Institute of Technology has reclaimed slums to create a university campus that is talked about throughout the world.

The housing development to the north of IIT along with the Ida B. Wells, Prairie Courts Housing and the newest of the developments, the Victor Olander Homes at 39th and Lake Park have changed the area.

Who would dare to say it was worse than it was before?

To the east of Kenwood at 51st and the lake has sprung up the so-called Indian Village, a large group of multi-story apartment buildings and a large new apartment building for 5th Army personnel.

Were these built because the neighborhood was deteriorating?

New cooperative apartment buildings have sprung up south of 51st Street and the University of Chicago has continued its expansion.

New and expanded facilities have been erected for many of the religious organizations of the south side area.

Now a few words about the virtues we have had with us for a long time.

First and foremost is Lake Michigan. No one can take that away.

There are beaches and some of the finest parks anywhere.

Add to that the best transportation in Chicago, the Illinois Central Suburban Railroad.

In the midst of the south side area is Kenwood. Once a town in its own right. Kenwood includes one of the largest and finest single-family areas in the city of Chicago.

It is a desirable suburb in the city with all the amenities of city living without the problems of living outside the city limits.

The resident of Kenwood wish to maintain that character.

STEERING COMMITTEE OF 21

Edmund Mottershead, chairman of the Committee of Twenty-one, in the following article in the Hyde Park Herald of February 3, 1954, tells how citizens are working together regardless of race, creed, or national origin to make Kenwood a better and happier place of abode for everyone. The article follows:

(By Edmund Mottershead, chairman of the Committee of Twenty-one)

The work of the Kenwood Steering Committee of Twenty-one, which was appointed at the mass meeting of the Kenwood community held November 8, 1953, at St. Paul's Church has carried on during the past 3 months in many meetings of the whole committee, subcommittees, and private studies of many individual committee members.

The Committee of Twenty-one includes: Sam Bordelon, Abraham Brussel, Charles Dornbusch, Richard Elger, Ed Fruchtman, Dr. Maurice Gleason, Mrs. Betty Hunter, Henry John, Ira Latimer, George Kuyper, George Mills, Edmund Mottershead, Walter Lowe, Rev. Rovert Reister, Harvey Perloff, John Sengstacke, Edwin Rothschild, Kenneth Rich, Harold Williams, Richard Younker, and Rabbi Jack Weinstein.

While recognizing that the many phases of community life present numerous problems which overlap and interact, it is the feeling of the Committee of Twenty-one that primary attention at the present time should be centered, in Kenwood, on two steps:

1. The maintenance of the essential residential nature of the community by zoning enforcement and other controls;

2. The initiation of a public relations program which will attract new residents who would purchase such properties as may from time to time be offered on the market, with the intention of occupying them and using them for their proper purpose as family dwellings.

Further, it is the consensus of the Committee of 21 that while these two fields of activity may be approached by individuals, by block groups, or by existing community organizations such as the South East Chicago Commission, the conference, or the Oakland-Kenwood Planning Association, the greatest chance of practical success lies in the formation of a Kenwood redevelopment corporation under the present legislation. Such a corporation could act effectively in maintaining desired residential standards and could carry out the necessary public relations and promotional program for the area.

It is important to remember that while such a corporation is a business corporation in the regular sense, it is also a corporation acting in the public interest, and, as such, it is subject to regulation and control at every step by established city and State agencies.

Acting under the specific plans for particular geographic areas, the corporation would operate to maintain the residential character of the Kenwood area. Plans would be developed in cooperation with the planning section of the University of Chicago, and would be subject to approval by the Chicago redevelopment commissioner.

Actually the real strength of the corporation must necessarily come from widespread support by every member of the community involved. In order for plans to become effective under existing legislation, consent agreements must be obtained from owners of 60 percent of the land area. When such agreements have been obtained, the corporation would have the right of eminent domain to enforce the plan and make it operative in the area under redevelopment.

It is the feeling of the committee of 21 that such a corporation would offer the greatest possible potential as an instrument through which all residents of the community, regardless of race, creed, or national origin, can work together to establish and maintain the kind of community in which they really would like to live and raise their families.

The mass meeting scheduled for February 8 at St. Paul's Church will be the culmination of months of work and study and will present the program to the community with a sincere invitation from every member of the committee of 21 to join in the work and make a success of this new venture in community development.

Fifth Anniversary of Trial of Cardinal Mindszenty and Religious Persecutions in 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on this fifth anniversary of the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, of Hungary, by the Communists in that unhappy country, it is not amiss to recount the persecution of the church in Communist countries during the year 1953, clearly showing that it is of the essence of communism to persecute religion in every country where Communists gain control.

I wish to include in my remarks the NCWC report, Persecution 1953:

A GHASTLY, GORY PICTURE LABELED "PERSECUTION 1953"—CARDINAL DRAGGED INTO NIGHT, 11 BISHOPS BEATEN AND BLOODIED, 18 OTHERS BOOTED OUT OF COUNTRY, A CHURCH IN PARALYSIS

(By Elmer Von Feldt)

A cardinal dragged into the night to an unknown prison.

A bishop put through the mockery of a trial.

Many other bishops clapped into jail or placed under house arrest.

Eleven bishops and scores of priests repeatedly attacked by mobs of Red ruffians and kicked, beaten, bloodied, and bruised.

Eighteen bishops and 400 priests, brothers and nuns booted out of the country to which they had together given more than a thousand years of selfless service.

Scores of priests and religious chained, tortured, and beaten to extort confessions of alleged crimes.

All this is part of a grim, bloody picture which can be labeled: "Persecution 1953." It is a picture of violence, torture, brutality, and satanic conspiracy which pales the savagery of Nero.

Through it all runs the thread of suffering for the common man. The tragic public actions that become known to the free world almost hide from attention the anguish, the pervading fears, the tortured problems of prudence and the disheartening repetition of demands for heroic courage in daily life. These are the things that lie heavy on the shoulders of Catholic laymen and women under the sign of the hammer and sickle. These are daily problems and experiences for fathers and mothers, for students, for workers, for professional people. For them—because they are loyal Catholics—safety is a thing of the past or the remote future and mere continued existence in honesty and faith is a struggle almost every moment.

POLAND

The 1953 spotlight on persecution must first swing to Communist-ruled Poland.

During the night of September 25, a gang of Red police agents, carrying rifles and machineguns, invaded the residence of His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski in Warsaw. All members of the household were lined up against the wall at riflepoint and the primate's residence was ransacked and searched far into the night. In the wee hours of the morning the police gave up their search, seized the cardinal and dragged him away. He has not been seen or heard of since, despite the regime's claims that he has merely retired to a monastery.

Just a week earlier the same regime had dragged a jailed bishop from its Warsaw dungeons and placed him before a military tribunal to answer charges of espionage and other antistate activities. Conditioned for almost 2 years in a Red jail, Bishop Czeslaw Kaczmarek, of Kielce, confessed. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

These other savage blows were struck at the church by the Polish Reds in 1953:

Two other bishops and a vicar capitular were placed under arrest. More than a hundred priests and several thousand leading Catholic laymen were herded into concentration camps.

A decree was passed making every church appointment, from parish assistant to archbishop, subject to the approval of the regime.

The last national Catholic weekly in Poland, Tygodnik Powszechny of Cracow, was forced to suspend publication and taken over by progressive Catholics to be fashioned into a propaganda organ for communism.

YUGOSLAVIA

Next the spotlight of persecution must swing to Tito's Yugoslavia where at least 11 bishops and scores of priests were given the roughing-up treatment by Communist ruffians.

In what appeared to be a systematic campaign of terror, the bishops and priests were beaten, bloodied, and bruised wherever and whenever organized Red mobs could catch up with them. These terror attacks erupted suddenly throughout the country at a time when Tito officials were making a mighty effort to enroll all clergymen in the Government-sponsored priests' association.

Among the members of the hierarchy attacked was Archbishop Joseph Ujcic, of Belgrade, the acting head of the Yugoslav hierarchy during the semi-imprisonment of His Eminence Aloysius Cardinal Stepinac, the Archbishop of Zagreb.

The church in Yugoslavia suffered these other blows in 1953:

The church had forced on her an enslaving law on religious freedom. The law forbids the teaching of religion in schools. It abrogates the church's right to operate her own schools. It fails to recognize the civil validity of church marriages.

The Tito regime prepared a documentary film, entitled "Cardinal Criminal," in efforts to blacken the name of Cardinal Stepinac by associating him with various wartime crimes. The regime also stopped parcels sent the prelate by many of his faithful to his place of confinement at Krasic.

The regime drafted four bishops and about fourscore priests into the army in an apparent effort to disrupt further church administration in that country.

CHINA

Next the spotlight on persecution turns to the Communist-controlled China mainland.

During the past year Mao Tse-tung's Reds have ousted 2 archbishops, 16 bishops, and 6 monsignors serving as heads of sees. In addition, the Communists booted out more than 400 priests, brothers, and nuns.

Many of the ousted missionaries brought with them hair-raising tales of the horror and torture to which they were subjected in efforts to have them sign confessions of crimes.

The missionaries told of being stripped, beaten, lifted by their hair, hung by the thumbs, forced to stand for hours without moving. They told of endless questionings, hunger and exhaustion which drove them to the brink of insanity. They spoke of filth, cold and disease which surrounded them for years in prison.

The missionaries also brought stories of priests whose health broke completely under the maltreatment and who died in jail. They told of others who were driven into insanity under the Red program of torture.

The year 1953 saw several waves of arrests in China in which scores of priests and religious were tossed into jails in fell swoops. These waves of arrests hit principally Shanghai, Tientsin, and Hankow.

Among those expelled from China during the past year were two American-born bishops: Bishop Philip Cote of Suchow and Rembert Kowalski of Wuchang.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Directing the persecution spotlight to other parts of the world shows these 1953 developments:

Three more bishops were forcibly removed from office by the Communists in Czechoslovakia. A tight ring of restrictions was kept around the bishops still nominally free in order to keep them isolated from their priests and people. Meanwhile, every subtle pressure conceivable was used to keep the faithful from going to church and receiving the sacraments.

A similar story of subtle pressure on the faithful and careful restrictions on the bishops comes from Hungary. The regime continued to force patriotic priests into key offices in the church and also arrested one bishop—Bishop Joseph Petery of Vacz.

The Communist rebels in Indochina arrested another bishop during the past year, Bishop Louis de Cooman, vicar apostolic of Thanh-hoa, seized a number of priests and made some punishing raids on Catholic settlements.

In Eastern Germany the Catholic Church passed through a year of "cold tolerance." While not openly persecuting the church, the Red officials made no secret of the fact that they are intent on ultimately stamping out the "reactionary ideologies" based on religion.

Stories from the Ukraine tell of the faithful gathering in caves and forests to attend Mass secretly. All the bishops have been imprisoned and most of the priests either killed, jailed, or scattered.

A similar picture of a church in paralysis comes from Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Korea, Rumania, and Russia.

More and more as the years go by, the urgency with which communism seeks to crush the church becomes clear. Clear, too, is the heroism with which prelate, priest, and private citizen are able to hold out against the persecutors' marriage of shrewdness and brutality. That heroism is, as the United States bishops put it last month, "a story of epic nobility, of unsurpassed human grandeur, of deathless spiritual devotion."

Morale in the Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, we have been hearing a great deal about morale in the postal service. Numerous studies are being conducted by both Houses of Congress, by Departments and agencies, to determine a proper program to bring about improved morale.

It seems to me that the answer to the problem is very simple indeed. There are two ills that have plagued the postal service. I do not believe it is necessary for the Congress or any committee of Congress to conduct any lengthy involved study to determine what these ills are and what is the proper remedy to correct these ills.

We simply have to pass legislation repealing the restrictions placed upon the postal service by the Whitten amendment, and pass legislation providing the postal employees with a decent American wage.

According to the last published report of the Postmaster General, there were 168,000 part-time employees, compared to 355,000 full-time employees. Obviously, this condition requires correction, and correction cannot be had until the restrictions of the Whitten amendment are repealed.

The Post Office Department is having a great deal of difficulty convincing men to accept employment. What chance do you have to convince a prospective employee to come to work for Uncle Sam when he can walk down the street and secure a position paying 20 or 25 cents more per hour? This is particularly true when the employing officer in the postal service cannot offer the man a permanent job and is compelled to offer him an entrance salary far below what he can secure in most industries.

In 1951, when we last adjusted postal salaries, the entrance pay in the post office was 2 cents above the average hourly earnings in factories. Today, the average hourly earnings in factories is 18 cents above postal pay. In the large cities, postmasters are finding it extremely difficult to recruit personnel.

Hundreds of people take an examination for entrance in the postal service, which is evidence of the fact that they have the desire to work for Uncle Sam, but when they are called to report for duty, it has been the experience in many large cities that well over 50 percent of these men refused to accept the position. They are offered a starting salary of $62.88 a week. In 1953, the take-home pay out of this salary of a man with three dependents was only $54.52. Effective January 1, 1954, there was a reduction in withholding tax, which added the munificent sum of 50 cents to the take-home pay of this employee, so now in this period of extremely high prices, the postal employee with three dependents is expected to maintain an American standard of living with weekly income of $55.02. It simply cannot be done.

In talking with many of my friends in the postal service in Rhode Island, I find that a good number of them have been forced to take outside jobs in order to make ends meet. Others tell me that their wives have had to seek work outside the home in order to supplement the family's income.

Can we in the Congress permit such conditions to continue? Can we say that we are meeting our responsibility to Federal employees when we take no action to remedy the injustice with which they are presently faced? In my opinion, neither further study nor further talk constitutes a remedy. What the situation demands is a substantial pay increase now—not months in the future.

I am happy to learn that the Post Office and Civil Service Committee has scheduled hearings on this important legislation commencing February 8. I wish to urge my colleagues on that committee to speed up these hearings so that we can pass legislation in the House of Representatives during the month of February and so that the postal employees will be given the increase that they so sorely need promptly in this session. In my opinion, this is an emergency situation and we should waste no time in correcting it.

Gloom and Glee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following news item from the Trainman's News of February 1, 1954:

TOWNSEND PAPER HITS IKE'S WELFARE BUDGET

"The budget message was full of gloom and glee," commented the Townsend National Weekly recently on the President's budget message to Congress.

Gloom for the old people—they see that only 2 cents of the budget dollar are earmarked for welfare purposes.

Glee for the banker—he sees that 9 cents of the budget are earmarked for interest payments.

"It's a mighty thin slice of budget pie that the Eisenhower administration proposes to cut for the old folks and other needy Americans," comments the paper.

The serving for interest gatherers from the national pie, the paper notes, is more than four times greater than the amount for social security, welfare, and health.

Resolution Urging Continuance of Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I present a concurrent resolution of the New Jersey State Legislature memorializing the Congress of the United States to continue the maintenance of the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., sponsored by the Honorable Emma L. Newton, of Packanack Lake, N. J., in my district.

I agree with the purposes of the resolution, and I am working to this end as I did in yesteryear when the Congress beat back like attempts to do away with this Academy so important to our merchant marine in time of war and in time of peace.

Assembly Concurrent Resolution 1

Concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to continue the maintenance of the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.

Whereas many young men of New Jersey are now attending the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point in preparation for service and leadership in our modern merchant marine; and

Whereas this splendid academy is the only available one for the young men of this State both presently and in the future who may wish to become officers in the modern merchant marine; and

Whereas it is reported that attempts are being made to induce the Congress of the United States to eliminate the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y.: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey (the Senate concurring): 1. The Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized to continue the maintenance of the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., and not to eliminate said academy as an academy to prepare young men for leadership in our modern merchant marine.

2. The Secretary of State is hereby directed forthwith to transmit a copy of this resolution properly authenticated, to the President of the United States, to the respective presiding officers of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives and to all of the Senators and Representatives from New Jersey in the Congress.

3. This concurrent resolution shall take effect immediately.

DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

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Appendix

Some Problems of National and International Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH BUTLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, it was my pleasure to read the script of a radio report to the people of Nebraska, broadcast on Sunday, February 7, by my colleague, Senator DWIGHT GRISWOLD. I consider it a most able presentation of some of the problems of national and international concern, which are uppermost in the minds of the folks in our home State. So that Senator GRISWOLD's remarks may be made a matter of record, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

My fellow Nebraskans, it is a privilege to have this opportunity to spend a few minutes with you in discussion of some of the critical problems confronting all of us as Americans and to visit with you about the situation as we find it in Washington today.

It seems to me that there are two subjects which are of overriding importance in the minds of the people of Nebraska.

I will discuss the need of a healthy agricultural economy and also the problem of our national safety.

There are many serious problems facing our agricultural area.

I have lived all of my life in the Panhandle of Nebraska, in the big cattle, wheat, and farming areas in the northwestern corner of my native State. My father and mother were homesteaders in Sioux County, on the Wyoming border, in 1886. I was born in Sioux County. During most of my life my home and business interests were in and around Gordon, Nebr. Gordon still seems like home to me, although in recent years my residence and business interests have been in Scottsbluff and Gering. Everything I have is invested directly or indirectly in the agriculture of western Nebraska.

Certainly I am interested and I am anxious to work in a constructive way to solve the problems that are facing us.

The farmer and the stockmen have gone through some tough years. They have gone through several years when their costs have been constantly rising and when the amount received for their product was declining. They have been caught in a price squeeze which is just simply tough.

Many of the older men and those who have been more conservative are able to ride through it, but there are many who have been having a hard time. There are many young men, many of them veterans in World War II, who came back home just in time to invest their money and perhaps go into debt, only to find that it is going to be very difficult to pay those debts and make a success of their agricultural operations.

In this session of Congress, we will be revising the Agricultural Act. It is generally conceded on all sides that cattle will not be placed in a price-support program, although I believe the authority will be kept in the law so that some of the cows can be bought and taken off the market when prices are depressed.

During the past year, the Secretary of Agriculture purchased about a million cows under this type of program, canning them, making use of the meat and at the same time reducing the breeding herd. I had thought that he should buy perhaps 2 or 3 million, but anyway the number that he did purchase had a very good effect on cattle prices.

As regards the wheat program, there are two general plans, one a flat support price, probably of 90 percent and including permission for acreage controls and the other a flexible price-support program with acreage controls less important.

Generally speaking, those who are thinking 5 or 10 years ahead feel the flexible price-support program is better, while those who feel that we cannot tell very far ahead what is going to happen and feel that we should legislate for our more immediate needs, favor the higher percentage.

All of us appreciate the fact that the percentage, whether it is 100 percent, or whether it is 75 percent, is not the only factor involved. You must multiply that percentage by the number of acres on which you are growing grain in order to see how much income is to be received.

Honest people differ in their opinions as to what should be done and I for one am going to listen carefully to the discussion. I only want to do what is best for the people in my native State.

The corn program is somewhat similar to the wheat program but it is different to the extent that it becomes more involved with the livestock program. Corn is sold by one farmer to another farmer, only a very small percentage going for any other purpose.

I discuss this agricultural program only briefly to give you an idea of the tremendously important matters that are going to be considered by the Senate and by the House of Representatives this winter.

And there is another big national problem I want to discuss.

For the first time in the recent history of this country, we have had a modernistic and intelligent peacetime review of our armed services. We have decided to base our military strength on modern weapons, on the proper and intelligent use of atomic power, and its tactical uses in military weapons.

All of this is premised on the fundamental American policy that we will not be aggressors. But no longer are we to be limited to any series of Yalu Rivers, no longer are we to be held back from using our real strength in an all-out effort to preserve our freedom. No longer are we going to admit that we will rely upon mass formations of foot soldiers. Instead, we are going to use those weapons that we are best prepared to develop, produce, and use.

This means naturally that emphasis is going to be given to air power. Air power was tremendously developed in former administrations, yet under the present administration, we are recognising the fact that inasmuch as we are going to use that air power with all its implications, we can and should install economies in the Army and in the Navy.

Among our military people, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, there have long been arguments, and during the past 10 or 15 years they have argued among themselves and presented their case to Congress and to the American people. Until the Eisenhower administration was installed, the final result was always a compromise with all three branches of the service getting virtually everything they wanted.

The Eisenhower administration has established a policy of emphasizing the air arm, but they are going to economize in the use of manpower in the other branches of the service. And they are also going to economize so far as dollar expenditures are concerned.

This means savings for the American taxpayer and it means savings in the number of boys drafted from American homes. I mention the savings in manpower and in dollar expenditures last because, after all, we all realize that the great need of this Nation is to preserve our freedoms and preserve a free world in which the United States can adequately exist.

But it is also important that we economize from the standpoint of the budget, and from the standpoint of the American taxpayer, because our economic system cannot continue to improve and produce if the tax burden is so great that all incentive is removed.

Unless the farmer is able to make a profit, he will not work and produce to the extent that he will if his efforts result in a proper living for his family, with something saved for a rainy—or perhaps a drouthy—day.

Unless the manufacturer is permitted to make some profits, he cannot improve his plant. He cannot spend money on research and new processes. And these activities are absolutely necessary if our factory production is to continue to achieve the goals that are necessary in this modern world.

It is an interesting commentary on our political life that the only President we have had in the past three-quarters of a century, who had been a professional soldier, is the first President who has told the military services that they must economize. With his military background, he still shows the advantage of having been raised in the agricultural area of Kansas. He shows the benefit of midwestern parentage and a midwestern boyhood, and realizes the necessity not only of saving money in our military expenditures but also of keeping our economic life strong and virile.

So today we find our Nation, with its new leadership, increasing our military strength from the standpoint of modern weapons and still, at the same time, spending fewer dollars on our armed services.

It is generally thought by all of the Nation's leaders, both Republican and Democratic, that the cold war is to continue for many years. Even if this is so, and we do not like it, it is much better than having it break out into a hot war.

Our new military policy is based upon the facts of life—that we must adopt a military policy that we can continue to support through the many years of the cold war, and all of this without wrecking our economy.

Fewer boys are to be drafted. Fewer dollars are to be spent. And still our Nation is to be stronger than before, all because we have a President with imagination and with the ability to make tough decisions.

I need not remind you that there are still many financial problems facing our Federal Government.

In January of 1953, when President Eisenhower was inaugurated, he inherited an unseen debt of $83 billion. This consisted of Government contracts which had been entered into by previous administrations. It was not represented by Government bonds outstanding, but it was represented by contracts, and as the goods are delivered the bills must be paid.

That is the reason that, although we have reduced the Federal budget, we have not been able to reduce taxes to the same extent. We are going to be able to make some much needed tax reductions but they are not as large as I would like to see made, and they are not as large and we should be able to see in a few more years, when this 83 billion debt which we inherited has been taken care of.

There is another terrific problem facing this country, and it also is being handled in an excellent manner. That is the transfer of this country from a war economy to a peacetime economy. It may be an uneasy peace but it is still peace and no longer are American boys being shot down in battle.

This transition and the change in our military planning involves some cancellations of contracts. It creates a slight unemployment in a few areas but in my judgment it is being made with very little disruption and without developing anything resembling a depression.

The year of 1953 was the greatest economic year in our history.

The year 1954 should be the second greatest year in our economic history. And all of this while we are shifting from a fighting war to a cold war period of preparation for sustained and long-range defense.

We are not going to have a depression. We are not going to have serious unemployment, and, in my judgment, the country is taking this whole transition in stride and with an understanding of the problems involved.

I want to quote a statement which Secretary of Defense Wilson made in an address I heard 10 days ago. Secretary Wilson then said:

"I am impatient with the people that seem to think that blood spilling and jobs are synonymous and who think that the only way we can keep everybody employed is during war or by loosely spending a tremendous percentage of our resources in the production of war materiel. None should be so unselfish that they think they have a vested interest in war."

We, as Americans, can consider ourselves fortunate that we have men at the helm of this Nation who have this basic understanding of our military needs and, at the same time, due regard for our economic system.

A healthy agricultural economy is essential to a sound national economy, and therefore our agricultural position must be kept strong. Our tax burden must be reduced. The drafting of our young men must be held to a minimum, and at the same time our country must be able to defend itself.

The program, which will assure all these things, is being carried out.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, the action of the Senate and the House Public Works Committees in approving the St. Lawrence seaway legislation has elicited favorable editorial comment from every section of our Nation. I am attaching a partial list of newspapers which have editorially commented favorably upon this important pending legislation.

In order to show the widespread favorable interest with which this matter is accepted, I am including 10 editorials I have picked at random. It is apparent that the St. Lawrence seaway has much greater public support throughout our country than we have been led to believe by the vociferous minority opposing it. Approving this legislation in this session of Congress will bring great credit to all of us.

The matters follow:

FAVORABLE EDITORIALS

Marquette (Mich.) Mining Journal, Sheboygan (Wis.) Press, Salem (Oreg.) Capital Journal, Danville (Ill.) Commercial News, Pontiac (Mich.) Press, Racine (Wis.) Journal Times, LaCrosse (Wis.) Tribune, Mansfield (Ohio) News Journal, Gadsden (Ala.) Times, Rome (N. Y.) Sentinel, Corsicana (Tex.) Sun, Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Rocky Mount (N. C.) Telegram, Albuquerque (N. Mex.) Tribune, Salina (Kan.) Journal, Rutland (Vt.) Herald, San Francisco News, Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal, Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette, Cincinnati Enquirer, Indianapolis News, Sherman (Tex.) Democrat, Atlanta Journal, Green Bay (Wis.) Press-Gazette, Charlotte (N. C.) News, Decatur (Ill.) Herald, Erie (Pa.) Dispatch, Manchester (N. H.) Union Leader, Superior (Wis.) Telegram, Detroit (Mich.) Free Press, Milwaukee Journal, Charleston (W. Va.) Mail, Minneapolis Tribune, Kenosha (Wis.) News, Fergus Falls (Minn.) Journal, Jackson (Mich.) Journal, Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette, Yonkers (N. Y.) Herald Statesman, Frankfort (Ky.) State Journal, Toledo Blade, Cleveland (Ohio) Press, Mitchell (S. Dak.) Republic, Minot (N. Dak.) News, Clarksville (Tenn.) Leaf-Chronicle, Sheboygan (Wis.) Press, Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Evansville (Ind.) Courier, Riverside (Calif.) Enterprise, Erie (Pa.) Dispatch, Duluth (Minn.) Herald, Des Moines Register, Boise (Idaho) Statesman, Lincoln (Nebr.) Journal, Springfield (Mass.) Union, Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer, Montgomery (Ala.) Journal, Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Wichita (Kan.) Beacon, Pontiac (Mich.) Press, Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald, Detroit News, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Canton (Ohio) Repository, St. Cloud (Minn.) Times, Saratoga Springs (N. Y.) Saratogian, Sioux City (Iowa) Journal-Tribune, Muncie (Ind.) Press, Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union, Port Huron (Mich.) Times-Herald, Lansing (Mich.) State Journal, Cincinnati Post, Watertown (N. Y.) Times, St. Paul Dispatch, Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press, Duluth (Minn.) News-Tribune, Ogdensburg (N. Y.) Journal, Bay City (Mich.) Times, Springfield (Ohio) News, Springfield (Ohio) Sun, Joplin (Mo.) Globe, Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette, Salem (Oreg.) Capital Journal, Los Angeles News, Cincinnati Times-Star, St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, Steubenville (Ohio) Herald-Star, East Liverpool (Ohio) Review, New York Times, Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle, New Bedford (Mass.) Standard Times, Muskegon (Mich.) Chronicle, Bismarck (N. Dak.) Tribune, Springfield (Ill.) Journal, Camden (N. J.) Courier, Springfield (Ill.) Register, Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette, Topeka (Kans.) State Gazette, the Washington (D. C.) Post, the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star, Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Detroit (Mich.) Times, Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator, Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, Kansas City (Mo.) Star.

[From the New York Times of February 5, 1954]

A GREAT GOAL IN SIGHT

The momentum of a good idea is irresistible, once it gets a proper push. This is being proved by the astonishingly swift progress of the Wiley-Dondero bill to join Canada in building the St. Lawrence seaway. The Senate approved the bill on January 20 by 51 to 33 votes. The House of Representatives Public Works Committee has now voted 23 to 6 to report the bill to the floor. It is clear that the push President Eisenhower gave to the plan came at the psychologically right moment. Every President since Taft tried to get a similar measure through Congress without success, but meanwhile the idea won more and more support and Canada became rich enough to build the seaway alone.

Now opponents have no effective argument except to say: "Let Canada do it." However, the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system straddles our mutual boundary and serves both countries. The seaway should be a joint project.

It is being argued that the Wiley-Dondero bill only concerns a short stretch of the river and puts up $105 million for a project that will cost about $400 million. However, aside from the fact that we will get all mixed in together, once both nations are working on the same project, the Wiley-Dondero bill covers the heart of the seaway. This is the International Rapids section, the one great bottleneck where the channel depth is only 14 feet. Canada has already made a 35-foot channel up the St. Lawrence to Montreal. The Great Lakes system as now constituted has a channel depth of 25 feet, and to increase that to the required 27 feet will not be difficult.

Thoughtful Canadians, including Government officials, want American cooperation. In a leading editorial on January 28 the Winnipeg Free Press labeled the clamor in some quarters for an all-Canadian seaway as "unworthy nationalism."

It should not go unnoticed that a necessary hurdle to the seaway was almost cleared on January 29 when the Federal court of appeals upheld the right of the Federal Power Commission to license the New York State Power Authority to join in the St. Lawrence hydroelectric project. The case may yet be carried to the Supreme Court, but obviously that battle, too, has virtually been won.

[From the Marion (Ohio) Star of January 25, 1954]

SEAWAY ISN'T CANADA'S FIGHT

An afterthought on the Senate's vote this week to let the United States help Canada finish the St. Lawrence seaway is that Canada has nothing to gain and everything to lose if the House agrees with the Senate.

As a joint undertaking, the work remaining to be done in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence, where the river borders on New York, could be stalled and obstructed still further by the same pressure blocs that have fought the seaway for half a century.

For the last week, spokesmen for these blocs have been loading up the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD again with their stale arguments against the seaway. They have given every conceivable reason for being against it except the real reasons—that they are spokesmen for railroads, seaports, coal fields, and electrical-energy producers which don't want ocean shipping to come into the Great Lakes.

These interests have a right to fight. Each of them has been opposed by some other vested interest. But there is nothing pretty about the way they have fought the seaway and certainly nothing pretty about the hogwash with which they have tried to conceal their reasons for fighting it. It must be conceded they have fought long and well and aren't licked yet.

It is that prospect which must be making Canada wish the House of Representatives would vote against any participating in a project Canada now would prefer to build and operate independently of pressure politics in the United States.

The United States then could work out on its own terms the problems of handling St. Lawrence seaway shipping after it entered United States responsibility.

[From the Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette of January 22, 1954]

THE ST. LAWRENCE

The principal opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway project comes from the railroads—which is natural enough, since the opening of the Great Lakes ports to oceangoing traffic is an obvious competitive threat.

Arkansas's two Senators lined up against the project when it passed the upper House by a narrow vote, and Senator FULBRIGHT explained his position by arguing that the proposed connecting canal is too expensive and is also impractical. The seaway, he contended, would be frozen 5 months a year, which means that the competing rail lines would have to be kept operational—perhaps with even greater Federal subsidies than they now receive.

There is logic in Mr. FULBRIGHT'S argument, but it seems to us it is offset by the point made by Representative THUMBLE—the only member of the Arkansas delegation who is openly committed to the seaway. It is, he observed, inconsistent for Arkansans to fight for Federal development of our own river systems and oppose comparable projects in other sections of the country.

Nobody argues that the St. Lawrence project is not feasible from an engineering standpoint—and its support over the years by Canada and the American States it would serve would seem to attest to its economic soundness. This, in effect, is the case Arkansas has been making for years in support of development of its own two great river systems. If the argument stands up for the Arkansas and the White, which would also provide competition for the railroads if they were ever made fully navigable, it must also stand up for the St. Lawrence.

[From the Springfield (Ill.) State Register of January 25, 1954]

DOUGLAS VOTES FOR SEAWAY

It required Democratic support in the Senate to win approval, 51 to 33, of President Eisenhower's recommendation that the United States join with Canada in development of the St. Lawrence seaway.

Twenty years ago, during the F. D. Roosevelt administration, the seaway project became a political football. It has been kicked all over the place. We recall that President Roosevelt's recommendations on this project, harmonized happily with his championship, as Governor of New York, of a forward-looking program of conservation of natural hydroelectric power resources. That was a formidable element of strength in his reelection as Governor in 1930, and in his election as President in 1932.

That Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, was one of the Democrats voting for the seaway, when only 25 Republican votes were cast in support of the Eisenhower administration on this issue, is gratifying. This is another evidence of the great Illinoisan's broadminded statesmanship.

What the House will do with the seaway project is problematical. Speaker MARTIN has long been a Republican opponent of the St. Lawrence seaway. Will he and his colleagues turn their backs upon the Republican President on this issue?

The debate will be torrid. The vote will be close. We urge Democrats in the House to follow the precedent established by Senator DOUGLAS and so many other Democrats in the Senate.

[From the Bismarck (N. Dak.) Tribune of January 25, 1954]

AT LONG LAST, THE SEAWAY

Now that it no longer makes much difference, the United States Senate has voted approval of United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway.

Probably the very fact that the seaway will be built with or without United States participation is responsible for the Senate's change of mind after repeatedly rejecting seaway legislation for many years.

Senators hitherto opposed may have felt that continued opposition could serve no good purpose anyhow. Most of these came from areas which fought the seaway because they felt it would hurt their commerce. Since Canada is going ahead on its own with the building of the seaway, they could no longer stymie it.

However, now that a start toward seaway construction has been made in Congress, Canada may turn its back on seaway partnership with this country. Having started alone, it may wish to finish alone. Having been bold enough to assume the risk alone, it may now want to go all the way and have whatever profits there are to itself.

This would not be hard to understand. After waiting for years for the United States to act, Canada may feel that it can afford to be independent now. If there is a better bargaining position, it belongs to Canada.

Of course, it is still not known how the House of Representatives will vote on the matter. It can be assumed that the vote by State delegations will be split about as was that in the Senate. Probably the House, seeing the handwriting on the wall, will pass the bill without too much objection.

It is regrettable that selfish opposition from eastern and southern ports and from railroads have brought this situation into being. It would have been much better to have gone partners with Canada from the start, both in the building and in the paying and in the eventual control of the seaway.

The best we can hope for now is that the House follows the Senate's example and that Canada then sees it to her advantage to take up our tardy offer to cooperate.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times of January 26, 1954]

KENNEDY RIGHT ON SEAWAY

Senator KENNEDY'S support of the St. Lawrence seaway project is a logical development in his pattern of dynamic thinking about New England's role in the national economy. The Senator's approach to the problem merits endorsement because it is a statesmanlike concept that could destroy the self-defeating tenets of narrow sectionalism.

The Kennedy philosophy, as set forth in his own declarations, is based on the reasoning that what benefits the country as a whole must, in time, benefit each of its parts. It recognizes the interlocking nature of the Nation's domestic economy and calls for a subordination of local claims if they obstruct a wider interest.

When he spoke last December in Chattanooga, Tenn., Senator KENNEDY told his audience that tax subsidies, prevalent in the South in the form of tax-free municipal bonds to attract industry, represented unfair competition. "This is not an issue between North and South," he said, "but one concerning the stability and integrity of our entire national economy."

It was in consonance with his thinking, then, that Senator KENNEDY, in announcing his support of the St. Lawrence seaway, could declare:

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation in the construction of this project for the national security merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere, I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas."

Senator KENNEDY does not, of course, support the seaway on the basis of principle alone. Recognizing the political stereotypes that have grown up about the project in the 20 years since it first was presented in Congress, he argues his case on these pertinent points:

The seaway will be built by Canada alone if the United States does not take up its option to participate; surveys indicate loss to the port of Boston would be negligible, and New England railroads might even gain in traffic if the seaway were built; it has been established the project will be to the national interest as a security measure and as a source of economic gain.

The Senator did not mention another pertinent change that should affect consideration of the seaway. Before this year the project always had been presented to Congress in the nature of a two-phase operation: Power and navigation. However, New York State and Canada last year signed an agreement providing for joint development of the power aspects, a move which eliminated the legitimate objections of those who feared further Federal encroachments in the power field.

The United States share of the total investment of $286,038,600 for the project would be $95,780,745, or 34 percent; its annual charges to operate, maintain, pay interest at 3½ percent, and retire bonds would be $5,774,928. The seaway is designed to be self-liquidating through revenue received from tolls.

It would appear that Senator KENNEDY has grasped the essential changes in the project and in supporting it is looking to the future; Senator SALTONSTALL, who voted against the seaway when the Senate approved it last week, seems to be arguing from premises that no longer are valid in the face of contemporary considerations.

Indeed, Senator KENNEDY'S enlightened attitude could well be interpreted as a testament of faith in New England. Certainly, the Yankee heritage of ingenuity and adaptability survives today with a vigor that can meet any challenge offered by an economic change.

[From the Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle of January 21, 1954]

SEAWAY PASSES THE SENATE

The St. Lawrence seaway has passed the Senate much sooner and much more easily than expected; the vote in favor was nearly in the ratio of 5 to 3. It is now to come up in the House and faces a hard fight.

No doubt many people, including readers of the Eagle, wonder what all the shouting is about. The background of the dispute is contained in the following facts:

The great obstacles to navigation of the upper St. Lawrence are several rapids, which up to the present have been bypassed by a shallow draft canal. The seaway plan calls for deepening this canal to a depth of 27 feet to permit the use of medium sized oceangoing freighters. The ability of such ships to sail up to the Great Lakes would make Great Lakes cities like Buffalo, Cleveland, Toronto, Chicago and Duluth seaports, in that oceangoing vessels could load in those cities and carry their cargoes abroad without transshipment. As transport by ship is very much cheaper than by rail, the seaway is in favor with business firms in the Middle West who see the project as an aid to their foreign trade. The reason it is more strongly favored in Canada than in this country is that nearly all of Canadian industry is adjacent to the lakes and the St. Lawrence. The opposition in the United States comes from Atlantic ports, which see their commerce diverted to the St. Law-

rence; from the railroads, for the same reason; and from various other interests which consider themselves threatened by new competition. One interesting point is that new conditions have caused some interests to change sides—notably the steel companies. Formerly they opposed the seaway. But with the prospective exhaustion of Minnesota iron ore, and the opening up of the Quebec-Labrador deposits, they are now in favor, because they want cheap transportation from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and other steel cities.

There are two handicaps under which the seaway as planned will labor. The first is that the St. Lawrence is ordinarily closed by ice for 4 months during the year, just as are the Great Lakes. The second is that a depth of 27 feet is sufficient only for medium size freight steamers, and not for large ships, including a majority of the great ore boats which are now used on the Great Lakes. The project therefore suffers from limitations both in the time each year it can be used and its capacity.

The best argument for it is that if it improves the transportation system of this country, it is for the general good. That it is likely to hurt New England very much is most unlikely. Governor Herter has admitted that the fact that the ocean is open all the year justifies the hope that New England may develop a steel industry, which the Quebec mines could supply with iron ore all the year, without any 4-month holiday. Few projects have exactly the effect expected and it is fully possible that the seaway will actively benefit New England. It may be noted that the New England Senate contingent voted for it by a score of 7 to 4.

[From the Camden (N. J.) Courier-Post of January 22, 1954]

SENATE O. K.'S SEAWAY

Every President since Coolidge has asked Congress to pass legislation authorizing the United States to join Canada in constructing the St. Lawrence seaway which would allow oceangoing vessels to sail between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes.

President Eisenhower becomes the first Executive to see either House of Congress approve such legislation. The Senate, which three times previously rejected it, now has passed such a bill, 51 to 33. The House, which has never before voted on the seaway, now must act if the bill is to become law, but it begins more and more to appear that at this session the House will usually follow the Senate's lead.

It may be that the testimony of Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as President Eisenhower's stand to the same effect, that the seaway is of paramount importance for defense reasons, was the convincing argument in obtaining Senate passage of the bill. Both men contend that with the Mesabi iron-ore supplies rapidly running out and our steel mills turning to supplies from abroad, it would be too great a risk to depend on ore from Venezuela alone, because of the threat of Russian submarines. The seaway would permit iron ore from Labrador, the other great potential source in this hemisphere, to be transported to our mills via waterways free from the submarine menace.

The seaway has long been fought by most business interests in this area because of the fear it would take away business from the ports, railroads, and industries along the east coast. It begins to look now as if their fight will be lost, but they certainly will not give up yet.

[From the Topeka (Kans.) State Journal of January 23, 1954]

CLOSER TO A SEAWAY

It has long been inevitable that one day the Great Lakes would be linked to the Atlantic Ocean by means of a St. Lawrence River seaway.

This has been as much of a historical certainty as that one day a Panama Canal would be built. And everyone knows how important it was for United States security that control of that project was obtained by this country before it could fall into hands that might have been friendly at the time, but not necessarily always so.

Now the Senate has reversed its previous indifference by passing a bill which would enable the United States to act jointly with Canada in building the seaway outlet, utilizing a channel which in part of its course is already shared by the two nations as an international boundary. Senators FRANK CARLSON and ANDREW SCHOEPPEL, of Kansas, were 2 among the 51 Senators who voted for the enabling bill this week.

The construction now brought nearer by Senate action is navigational only, involving the building of a series of locks and lateral canals along the portion of the St. Lawrence which is in or adjoins United States territory, plus channel deepening to the 27-foot mark. Canada will build and dig similarly from the New York State boundary at St. Regis to Montreal in the area where the river is wholly within Canadian territory.

Contrary to a rather widespread public impression, the seaway project as now approved by the Senate will not become a taxpayer burden, but is to be financed by the issuance of 105 millions in guaranteed bonds, to be retired by the proceeds from shipping tolls which joint Canadian-United States estimates predict will bring in over 27 millions a year after the seaway is in full operation. Even this relatively small investment is to be spread over the next 5 or 6 years. The seaway will pay its own way operationally, too.

Further argument about to do or not to do becomes rather academic when it is realized that Canada is going to build the seaway anyway, whether we come in or not. Canada could do this by building locks and lateral canals along the Canadian side where the river bounds New York State. In fact, Washington reports now are that Canada is less and less interested in American participation, after these long delays.

If Canada alone built the seaway, of course she alone would control the admission of foreign ships to inland waters. And Canada is becoming ambitious enough in world affairs to be not too anxious to share control, especially in view of the fact that her part of the construction project is the larger one—to cost Canada 190 millions.

Aside from those factors, the project has so much intrinsic merit that it seems foolish to oppose it. Midwestern railroads and truckers can carry Iowa corn and Kansas wheat and manufactured products to Great Lakes ports for shipment abroad at a substantial saving over the present cost of first shipping overland to the coast. And international incoming commerce will be brought to the very doorstep of the Midwest, triggering further decentralization of industry and business from the now overcrowded East.

With the bill now going to the House, Kansas Representatives might be very well advised to follow the example of Senators SCHOEPPEL and CARLSON by voting aye.

[From the Springfield (Ill.) State Journal of January 23, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

The historic St. Lawrence seaway project proposal, tossed around in Congress since 1899, but backed by all the 7 Presidents since Wilson, has finally cleared 1 of its 2 major hurdles, the United States Senate. It now faces the second big hurdle, the House of Representatives.

Expected to cost $314,000,000, only about $50,000,000 less than the Panama Canal cost the United States to construct, the project would provide a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Inland ports like Chicago and Duluth, Minn., will become international seaports if the project becomes a reality. It will be possible to make direct shipments to foreign destinations, and it will be possible for foreign vessels to call at Midwest ports, should it be built.

Like the Panama Canal project, the St. Lawrence project has been a matter of public debate for years on end. It took a century to get the United States interested in the Panama Canal, and it has taken a half century to interest Congress in the St. Lawrence.

Canada, to a great extent, has forced the issue on the United States Congress. Its legislative body already has authorized the Canadian Government to build the seaway should the United States fail to approve its part in the project. Canada's part of the cost will be $209,000,000, twice as much as our share, $105,000,000.

Congress has had some fairly good reasons for being wary about the project in the past, the principal one questioning whether the cost would bring dividends in increased commerce and trade. There seems to be no doubt now, however, that such a project will bring more trade to United States shores. Within recent years large deposits of iron ore have been discovered in Labrador. This iron ore can be brought to Chicago, Detroit, and Duluth for processing.

Another argument favoring it that has become increasingly valid is that the canal would make American industries less vulnerable to atomic bombs. If the canal is built it will mean more industries will be scattered along the St. Lawrence route, instead of being concentrated on the east coast.

Approval of the project would be a feather in President Eisenhower's cap, but more than that it would be a feather in the U. S. A.'s cap. It would create more industry and employment.

Bracero Problem Is Basically Economic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINGATE H. LUCAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the February 3 edition of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram a splendid editorial on the problem of Mexican braceros. It approaches the problem so clearly that I feel that my fellow Members of Congress would like to read it and, under unanimous consent, I take pleasure in including it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BRACERO PROBLEM IS BASICALLY ECONOMIC

Considerable criticism of the United States action in opening the Mexican border to restricted numbers of migrant farm workers, against the wishes of the Mexican Government, has been voiced in the United States. An editorial by one of the critics in a central United States city takes the position that the administration has torn its diplomatic pants by overriding the Mexican opinion. That could be, but it is almost noteworthy that the pattest answer to the bracero problem come from thinkers farthest removed from the border itself.

This editorialist wants to close the border on both sides, which couldn't be done with half a dozen army divisions. It is better to make some attempt to screen the migrants, limit their numbers, and supervise the contractual relations with their employers than to throw up a paper blockade which would satisfy nothing except the diplomatic record.

There is not too much the United States can do about the problem of the braceros anyway, as long as there is work for them in the fields and orchards on the United States side and a low scale of prevailing farm wages in Mexico. Basically, it is Mexico's problem, and it goes to the roots of the social order in Mexico.

It is not our job to criticize that, and competent Mexican writers are doing it anyway. The point is that a farmhand in Mexico, when he can find work, is apt to be paid no more in a week than he could earn in the United States in a day.

In spite of the discrimination and exploitation he sometimes undergoes in this country, he still considers himself well off, because he can eat, and save a little money. As a Mexico City newspaper commentator recently put it, in a powerful criticism of the Mexican economic system: "The problem of the braceros has nothing to do with racial discrimination * * *. The problem, in its crudest reality, is that the great masses of rural Mexico * * * live under subhuman conditions, and they have set their eyes on possible betterment outside our borders."

It is perhaps wise that the Mexican Government has withdrawn the blockade it raised against its outgoing nationals when the United States-Mexico bracero agreement fell through. To hurl them back by force of soldiery would have been a dangerous undertaking, for the cry would have arisen that Mexico was penning its workers to satisfy the requirements of the nation's employers. That is why the American action in accepting migrants has been embarrassing. It is one thing for the United States to bar entry. It is another for Mexico to bar exit. But embarrassing or not, the seasonal appearance of the braceros in United States fields has become a part of the frontier economy and it cannot be altered overnight.

The adjustment must lie in a sensible and realistic understanding between the two governments, to halt the exploitation that exists, and to make possible a continuance of the economic pattern which has evolved over the years. Slowly the status of the Mexican farm worker will rise in his own country. And that, and that only, is the ultimate solution, and it will depend upon deep sociological changes and a whole new concept of Mexican-American trade and economic relations.

Proposed Amendment of Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, yesterday I introduced a bill designed to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act (S. 2914) so as to raise minimum wages, extend coverage, and shorten the workweek. In that connection, I ask unanimous consent to have set forth in the Appendix of the RECORD two extremely pertinent and thought-provoking letters.

One is a letter addressed to President Eisenhower by Mr. William Pollock, executive vice president of the Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO. The second, written by Mr. Walinsky, president of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt, and Novelty Workers' Union, AFL, appears in the New York Times for February 9.

Each makes provocative and stimulating reading, and both point up the urgency of our acting promptly to bring the Fair Labor Standards Act up to date.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It was with shocked dismay that I read of your decision not to recommend an increase in the Federal minimum wage at this time. It seems to me that you have not fully realized the purpose of the Fair Labor Standards Act nor its role in our economy.

Your message said, in effect, that the best way for workers to achieve higher wages is for them to become more skillful and more productive. Let me remind you that our industrial society is not based upon handicrafts. By far the most important factor in a worker's productivity is the kind of machine he runs. To be sure, skill is required, and the skill of workers differs; but the basic level of productivity is necessarily fixed by the machine, and therefore by management.

Furthermore, even if every American worker "improved himself" there would remain a lowest level of skill. What is the very lowest wage that, in the interests of a healthy society, should be permitted for those in the lowest level? Do you seriously believe that 75 cents an hour is enough? Do you believe that if the lowest level increases in skill, the employers will voluntarily raise this figure? Surely not.

Your message also said that you were refraining from asking a higher minimum wage until the national economy became stabilized. Yet a few days later you said the national economy was stabilized right now. I do not understand this contradiction. It seems to me that the failure to raise the minimum wage will lead to "stability" at a depression level.

Let me remind you that in industries like textiles the Federal minimum wage has had a profound effect upon the wages fixed by collective bargaining. For a considerable number of years the Federal minimum was the actual minimum in the mills. In recent years that no longer has been true. The statutory minimum wage has become a starting point, a floor from which we have built a wage structure which has at least some relationship to current living standards. The present minimum of 75 cents per hour is now obsolete, but some unscrupulous employers have continued to pay this rate.

How are we to raise the educational standards of the people if we do not assure them a decent living standard? We find that the children of the underpaid cannot remain in school, yet are entirely capable of benefiting both intellectually and physically from attendance at school. Higher wage standards have been a significant force making for rising American efficiency. Are we now to forego this influence?

If you will only make a cursory study, Mr. President, of those industries where even today there exists considerable areas of substandard wage payments, you will find that such employers do not voluntarily raise pay rates to meet the increase in living costs. We and other union spokesmen could cite case after case to prove this point. The files of the Department of Labor are packed with evidence which we believe would support this conclusion. At this moment we are facing a strike in a mill in Texas where the average wage is not more than 76 cents an hour and where the employer sells his product in competition with another corporation paying at least 50 cents an hour more. Yet the low-wage concern refuses to increase its rates of pay. In Maryland today, we have 400 workers on strike in a textile mill, where the average hourly rate for time workers is 79 cents. This employer, despite the fact that his employees are on strike, has made an offer of only 1-cent-an-hour pay raise. And the product this mill owner sells is in competition with the product of mills that pay 30 to 50 cents an hour higher.

There is a widespread contraction of employment in the textile industry today. In the past couple of years some 200,000 workers have lost their jobs altogether due to mills closing down and going out of business, or because of displacement of labor by improved machinery and processes. In some centers of the wool and worsted branch of textiles, there has been a 50 percent unemployment extending for years. Rayon plants are running at not more than 60 percent of capacity. Few cotton mills either North or South are working a full week. In the face of these conditions, employers throughout the industry are again resorting to the worst sort of cutthroat competition. The employer who pays substandard wages cuts his prices to take orders away from the mill that attempts to pay a rate that approaches a decent living standard. This condition creates widespread uncertainty in our industry. The legitimate employer is jeopardized while living standards of workers are threatened.

The President's economic advisers should familiarize themselves with American economic history. The adoption of the Fair Labor Standards Act stimulated economic recovery. It came into effect in October 1938 and assisted in ushering in a period of prosperity. The 75-cent minimum became effective on January 1, 1950, and again, it accelerated the recovery from the recession of 1949. Not only can our economic system take a higher minimum in its stride, but we need this higher minimum to prevent this spiraling downward of wages and business which can only spell misery for us and the free nations of the world. The United States would become the laughing stock of the Communist world, if our country should go into another serious slump.

We urgently recommend and request, Mr. President, that you reconsider your decision on this matter of a higher minimum. If you will carefully reexamine the facts, we believe, you will decide to recommend to Congress that the present 75-cent rate be advanced to $1.25 per hour and that the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act be broadened.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM POLLOCK,
Executive Vice President.

FEBRUARY 3, 1954.

[From the New York Times of February 9, 1954]

TO PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT—NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH TO PROBLEM BELIEVED NECESSARY

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The action of the stock market at the beginning of the year, the reports on retail business, the bullish action of General Motors in spending a billion dollars in plant modernization and extension are the best answers to all peddlers of pessimism and those who would sell America short. Yet we know that the hiring rate of workers is decreasing, while the layoff rate increases.

Prof. Malcolm P. McNair at the meeting of the National Retail Dry Goods Association estimated most conservatively that unemployment would rise to more than 2,500,000; gross national product would drop to $350

billion from the 1953 level of $367 billion; disposable income would drop $5 billion to $243 billion; personal consumption expenditures would decline $23 billion to $227 billion, etc.

It is conservatively predicted that there will be a budget cut of $5 billion in defense appropriations and it is estimated that 200,000 workers will lose their jobs for each billion-dollar cut in defense expenditures. Thus a million more will be unemployed in 1954.

Should the Army and Navy personnel be reduced only to the extent of 150,000 men, another 150,000 to 200,000 will be thrown on the surplus labor market.

AUTOMATIC MACHINES

In our present age machines are constantly replacing men. In 1939 manufacturing concerns spent $450 million on automatic machines and instruments to do the work of men. Automatic machinese were applied mostly in former years to the petroleum, rubber, plastic, and paper industries. Today more than 1,800 manufacturing concerns of automatic machines and instruments are working full blast in the making of machines and instruments to replace labor, and the estimated volume of business for the year of 1954 by said corporations is valued at not less than $2½ billion.

Full-time employment has long replaced the social evil of joblessness, and continued prosperity and advance of our economy have become our way of life—an inspiration to the Old World and the greatest demonstration against the Communist way of life and the Communist system of production and distribution, which make for slavery of the worker and negation of all liberties and freedom of men.

We are told that the President of the United States has in his hands great powers to stop a growing recession which is likely to spintail into a depression, and that the sure measures proposed to arrest it are lower interest rates, easier credit, tax cuts, a strengthened old-age pension program and unemployment insurance measures, public works plans, enlarged opportunities for international trade and investments, and so forth.

SUPPLYING NEEDS

I respectfully submit that all those measures are but palliatives. I maintain that the surest antidote against any recession is to supply the needs of the more than 25 percent of our people who are today ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, ill-schooled. It is variously estimated that the need for schools, highways, new housing, slum clearance, more hospitals, industrial modernizations and expansion of electric power would sustain our economy for many years to come to the extent of $500 billion. And yet our legislators decline even to think along those lines.

We must, therefore, attack the evil of joblessness at its source. Present-day conditions dictate a new economic approach to the wage structure and unemployment problem of our private-enterprise system. The Fair Labor Standards Act, long outdated and outmoded, calls for immediate revision. The weekly hours of labor must be reduced from 40 to 35 hours and the minimum hourly wage must be increased from 75 cents to $1.25. (Of course, the reduction in hours should be on a gradual basis—an immediate cut to 37½ hours, then, in 2 years, a reduction to 35.) Such a revision would assure growing consumer demands for the products of our manufacture industrially and agriculturally and continued prosperity for the next 25 years.

OSSIP WALINSKY,
President, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt, and Novelty Workers Union, A. F. L.
NEW YORK, *February 1, 1954.*

The Time Has Arrived for a Factual Answer on the 2,200 Persons Fired as "Security Risks"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star has made a careful analysis of the issue involving the firing of 2,200 "security risks." In view of the importance of this issue to Federal employees and the Nation as a whole, I commend this article for reading by the membership of the Congress:

"SECURITY RISKS"

The issue of the 2,200 "security risks" gave signs last week of coming to a head.

To many observers, it was high time. Since October, when the White House announced separation of 1,456 persons under the Republican Federal employee security program, questions of who, what, and why, had been vigorously booted around the political arena. This figure was raised to 2,200 in President Eisenhower's state-of-the-Union message. As is usual in any political football game, the scoreboard by this week end was thoroughly obscured by the dust that had been stirred up.

At his press conference Wednesday, President Eisenhower took what some judged to be the first step toward settling the dust. He said a group of his aides was studying the question of a fuller explanation of the security separations and that as soon as a decision was reached he would pass the word to the news media. He did not promise a breakdown of the 2,200 total.

Such a breakdown was exactly what the media wanted. They were seeking a complete explanation of how many people were fired (or quit) for what reasons.

Meanwhile, all Federal employees who had left Government service between May 27 and the present—perhaps a quarter of a million of them—nursed their bruised hides and wondered if anything would be done to separate the sheep from the goats—and give the sheep a clean bill of health.

THE FACTS

It all started on October 23, when the White House announced that separations under the security program outlined April 27 and instituted May 27 totaled 1,456 through September 30.

This program, which supplanted the old loyalty program in effect under the Democrats, broadened executive agency power to fire unsuitable personnel. Not all persons affected, by a long shot, were Reds. They fell into two major categories:

Security risks: Untrustworthy individuals, persons who lied on their Form 57, persons with criminal tendencies, persons guilty of "infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct," alcoholics, drug addicts, sexual perverts, insane persons, or those having been treated for mental or nervous disorders "without satisfactory evidence of cure."

Loyalty risks: Saboteurs, spies, traitors, seditionists, conspirators in subversive plots, Red sympathizers, advocates of force and violence for the overthrow of the Government, members of subversive organizations, willful divulgers of secrets, persons acting in the interests of another government, persons who cloak themselves in the fifth amendment's guaranty against self-incrimination, persons subject to "coercion, influence, or pressure" which might cause them to act contrary to the best interests of national security.

Clearly none of the loyalty risks would be desirable employees in Government or almost anywhere else. Similarly, most of the security-risk types listed above would not be considered good employees in public or private offices. But an alcoholic or a pervert is not necessarily a Red—any more than a Red is necessarily an alcoholic or a pervert.

At any rate, few tears would have been shed by anyone over the loss by the Government of the services of either loyalty or security risks—if the Administration had shown clearly that all 1,456 were in such categories.

THE ORIGINAL RELEASE

The original announcement seemed, at first glance, to show just that. The White House said 863 workers had been dismissed and 593 had resigned. Of this total, White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty added, 5 were Eisenhower-regime appointees and the rest (1,451) were holdovers from the Roosevelt-Truman days.

But the announcement was nebulous enough to make newsmen curious. An early striker of paydirt was the Star, which more than a month ago revealed glaring discrepancies between the Civil Service Commission's compilation of 1,456 separations and the facts as they could be ascertained. For instance, it was learned the CSC counted 192 separations as the Navy's share of the 1,456, whereas Navy personnel officials thought the proper figure should be 20—8 discharges, 12 suspensions.

It became evident, too, that not all 1,456 were discharged or quit under fire. Some were transferred to other Government jobs. Some left Government without knowing—or at least without being informed—about any derogatory information. A few died. Some were reduced in force without reference to security considerations.

Some, certainly, were removed for cause—and some of these probably left for loyalty reasons. Senator MCCARTHY said over half were loyalty cases; Republican Representative ST. GEORGE fixed the figure at 10 percent. But as of this week end, the difficulty was that no one outside the Government knew exactly how many had left for what reasons—and the Government was not telling.

THE BUILDUP

These were the meager facts. The buildup came between November 6 and January 21.

As the buildup got under way, it took two separate forms. But while these forms were separate, they tended to get the idea across to the public that the administration had vigilantly cleaned a large number of Reds out of Government.

Some of the statements obviously were unfortunate or careless uses of words. Others were outright distortions of fact. Samples:

Attorney General Herbert Brownell at Chicago November 6: "Fourteen hundred and fifty-six persons have been ejected from Government service because they were found to be security risks. * * * We are going to have no more Communist infiltration in the Government and we steadily are getting rid of those who are security risks."

The White House announcement said 863, not 1,456, had been ejected, i. e., "dismissed." The rest "resigned" in the words of the announcement. Mr. Brownell's was the first linking of the 1,456 and the notion of Communist infiltration in the same train of thought.

Special White House Counsel Bernard M. Shanley at Newark N. J., November 6: "Fourteen hundred fifty-six subversives have been kicked out of Government jobs since the President assumed office."

This was the first direct use of the figure 1,456 with the word "subversive" in the same sentence. "Kicked out" was a misapplication of the word, since not all had been fired or quit under pressure.

Senator McCARTHY in a radio-TV program November 24: "The new administration has now gotten rid of 1,456, all of whom were security risks and practically all of whom were removed because of Communist connections and activities or perversion."

With some transfers included in the 1,456 total, the words "gotten rid of" were inaccurate. There has never been any official statement, or reliable unofficial indication, that practically all—or 90 percent, as the Senator said later in the same program—were Reds or perverts.

Republican National Finance Chairman Carlton G. Ketchum, in an undated leaflet issued to party workers sometime in November: "President Eisenhower and his team have * * * gotten rid of nearly 1,500 Communists, fellow travelers, and their ilk, whom the Trumanites had left in office."

Again, "gotten rid of" was incorrect. The use of "and their ilk" tended to indicate that all those who were not outright Reds were of the same stripe.

President Eisenhower, at a press conference December 2 (direct quotation authorized): "I repeat my previously expressed conviction that fear of Communists actively undermining our Government will not be an issue in the 1954 elections. Long before then, this administration will have made such progress in rooting them out under the security program developed by Attorney General Brownell that this can no longer be considered a serious menace. As you already know, about 1,500 persons who were security risks already have been removed."

This passage seemed to link the idea of communism with "about 1,500" persons. "Removed," as has been shown, was not strictly accurate as a description of what happened, since some remained on the payroll and some quit without knowing they were under inquiry.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, at Hartford, Conn., December 16: "The Democrats are also afraid that the American people will discover what a nice feeling it is to have a Government which is not infested with spies and traitors. In less than 11 months the Department of Justice has discovered and dismissed 1,456 security risks planted in the Government of the United States under Democrat administrations."

This passage appeared to link the 1,456 with the words "spies and traitors." "Discovered and dismissed" was an inaccurate description of what happened. Besides, the Department of Justice did not do the whole job. Outside the Justice Department's own staff, only loyalty risks came under the FBI's purview. And, by the White House's own admission five were not appointees of "Democrat administrations."

Representative GEORGE H. BENDER, of Ohio, in a press release January 15: "We have eliminated more than 2,000 Communists and fellow travelers from important positions in the Government of the United States. Every one of these jobs was obtained under the Democratic administration."

Four errors showed up in this paragraph: (1) "Eliminated" was wrong, since some remained on the payroll: (2) "Communists and fellow travelers" did not properly describe the group Mr. BENDER was discussing; (3) "important positions" was inaccurate, in that the Star found that some separations were of laborers; (4) not "every one" was a Democratic appointee, since five entered service under the Republicans.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield at New York, January 21: "The Government has had a soul searching. Almost 2,200 people who were security risks are no longer using up your tax money. I am here to tell you that we are not hiring any new ones. Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation."

The link between "2,200" and "treason" seemed, in the context of the address, to be quite direct. And it was inaccurate to say that none of the 2,200 was "using up your tax money," since some were known to be still on Government payrolls.

THE LETDOWN

By the closing days of last month, the Republicans were giving signs of shying away from the political fire they had built. It was clear from what President Eisenhower said at two recent press conferences that, like many others, he seemed to think the situation had gotten out of hand.

On January 27 the President said (his remarks here are paraphrased in accordance with White House rules):

He and others had talked and tried to devise a scheme whereby those people whose records showed, gave some evidence that they were not good security risks in Government, should not be there employed. That was all that the administration had ever tried to say about this thing. Certainly no one that he knew of had ever gone a bit further.

Later in the same conference, when someone mentioned Governor Dewey's remark about spies and traitors, the President qualified his earlier statement:

When he said that anyone, he meant that was within this administration. He was sorry.

General Eisenhower was not asked to comment on the direct use of the word "subversives" by his counsel, Mr. Shanley, nor on the statement of Mr. Summerfield, both of whom are in his administration.

A further warning was issued last Wednesday when the President said:

"This Government should not be run so as to throw extraordinary guilt by association or any other way on people that are innocent."

By last week, the word seemed to be out among Republicans to lay off the issue of the 2,200—or at least to soft-pedal it. Straws in the wind included:

An entire Lincoln Day speech program at Washington's Uline Arena in which the 2,200 were not mentioned once.

A fire-breathing, anti-Democratic, anti-Communist address by Senator McCARTHY at Charleston, W. Va., Thursday night, in which he said nothing about the 2,200.

An hour-long speech by the Wisconsinite Friday at Canton, Ohio, in which his only mention of the 2,200 was as "clean-living followers of Dean Acheson."

The Democrats, meanwhile, recovered from the initial shock of the GOP assault and started to make hay out of the Republican reticence to break down the security figures. Their reasoning went something like this:

If the Republicans had really uncovered a pack of Reds, it would have been to their political advantage to say so. They didn't make any such official claim, therefore they obviously had nothing to crow about.

NEELY'S BLAST

Senator NEELY, of West Virginia, terming the "security risk" announcements of the administration a "verbal monstrosity" and a "linguistic Mother Hubbard," said on January 15:

"Judging from various observations * * * and comments * * * from Republicans as well as Democrats * * * all who have given this matter serious consideration are of the opinion that more than half the persons disemployed are as free from communistic contamination as the President himself and are as innocent of disloyalty to the United States as any member of the President's official family."

On Friday night, former President Truman entered the fray with a stinging rebuke delivered before the Americans for Democratic Action at New York. Referring to the Republicans as "self-styled crusaders," the ex-President charged them with one of the greatest hoaxes ever attempted in American history.

The question that remained officially unanswered this weekend was: Exactly what does the 2,200 figure mean? On the basis of known information, and lacking a better definition, the following might suffice:

Between May and December 1953, about 2,200 persons who held certain jobs in one Government agency or another stopped holding those particular jobs under circumstances which may (but more probably do not) have something to do with loyalty; and in some manner not specified the fact that they no longer hold those jobs is connected with the issuance last April of a revised security program.

This, of course, would not pack the political wallop of such a statement as, "We have fired 2,200 Truman-appointed Reds."

The Value of Skeet Shooting in Training Pilots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURIE C. BATTLE

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BATTLE. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable publicity recently concerning the increasing emphasis to be placed on airpower in our national security plans by Defense Department officials.

I would like to place in the RECORD for the benefit of all Members an interesting and informative letter which I received from Dr. Frank Trucks, president of the National Skeet Shooting Association, concerning the value of skeet shooting in training pilots. The letter follows:

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., *January 14, 1954.*

Hon. LAURIE C. BATTLE,
Of Alabama, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As president of the National Skeet Shooting Association it has come to my attention that one or more Members of the Congress have read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and openly opposed on the floor, the use of skeet shooting in training by the Armed Forces. They have stated that it was a rich man's sport which had no place in the training program. I believe they are misinformed and in an attempt to correct this, I would like to submit this letter for your information. We are indebted to Air Force officers in positions of command who have been closely connected with training for many years for aid in preparing this letter and it reflects their views in regard to skeet shooting as a very important and economical training aid.

Many officers and airmen have not handled weapons of any type prior to their entry into the service. By attaining a certain degree of proficiency in skeet shooting these individuals acquire self-confidence in the ability to handle weapons. In normal range practice with rifle or pistol there is plenty of time to squeeze off each shot at a fixed target at a definite distance from the shooter. Skeet differs in that the different angles changing range and the delay feature more nearly approximate the angles of attack of aerial combat and need for coordinated firing than any other form of shooting. Experience has shown that considerable effort

and training is required to properly acquaint an individual with the fundamentals of tracking and firing on moving targets.

Principal Air Force authorities on training consider the sighting and tracking of skeet to be an economical means of providing this training. They also consider this knowledge and skill a requisite to the application of proven gunnery techniques in aircraft.

They give as reasons to use skeet:

(a) Skeet shooting is an effective training device to teach the student what the computing sight is doing.

(b) Skeet shooting offers practical training in deflective shooting that may be necessary in event the computing gunsight malfunctions.

(c) Skeet shooting establishes a sense of lead as well as principles of projectile interception.

A study was recently made in an Air Force school over a period of five classes which showed a very distinct and favorable correlation of the value of skeet on bettering gunnery scores. The findings were:

(a) That the students' air-to-air gunnery hits were in direct relationship with the number of rounds of skeet fired.

(b) That the students possessing a greater skill in skeet shooting also possessed a greater skill in air-to-air gunnery.

Three groups of officer students were selected from five different gunnery classes with no regard to rank or experience. The first group shot no skeet, group 2 fired 50 rounds, and group 3 fired 100 rounds. All skeet was shot during the first or second week of training and prior to any air-to-air gunnery training. Standard Air Force ranges, ammunition, birds, and shotguns were used.

Breakdown of results of air-to-air gunnery scores are as follows:

	Percent
Group 1 (no skeet)	8.7
Group 2 (50 rounds)	9.3
Group 3 (100 rounds)	10.3

This shows better than 18-percent increase in gunnery scores for those firing only 100 rounds of skeet over those with no skeet. Relationships of skeet scores with air-to-air gunnery scores:

Skeet (out of 25 birds):	Percent
Less than 5 hits	8.8
5 to 10 hits	9.5
10 to 15 hits	9.3
15 to 20 hits	10.7
20 to 25 hits	14.4

It should be pointed out that this study only involved a total of 108 student officers and does not in any way indicate their previous experience as to skeet ability, hunting, or proficiency with other arms.

It may be argued that this study may only show that those personnel who like to shoot skeet also like to shoot aerial gunnery and as a result do better. The fact remains that whether it was because of improved skill or increased motivation, the students who shot skeet did shoot better scores in aerial gunnery.

One of the most favored arguments for doing away with skeet as a gunnery training device stems from the development of the electronic sight. In some of our present sighting equipment, lead, as well as tracking and range, are computed automatically by merely centering the target aircraft in an electronic scope. Some opponents of skeet training go so far as to claim that skeet has a detrimental effect in that this training promotes a tendency to apply lead to the target while using the electronic sight.

We have very effective automatic pilots now installed in most modern aircraft. Still we insist that a qualified pilot also be ready to take over this operation at any instant. Without a thorough knowledge of flying he would not be able intelligently to use this very effective equipment. The intelligent application of most devices or systems is aided by a knowledge of how they operate and why they do what they do.

Electronic sights are effective and, when operating properly, produce fine results. In the past, they have left much to be desired concerning their dependability. There are many stories of our sabre jet pilots using a wad of chewing gum stuck on their windshields as an aiming device. The first jet ace was reported to have been a "chewing gum proponent" for his first five kills.

If these more complicated sights are maladjusted or become inoperative during combat it may still be necessary to carry on the fight. Successful completion of their mission as well as the safety of the crew may depend on the gunner's "sighting skill." We must not be lulled into a sense of security by recent practices in Korea, where an aircraft could safely abort a mission if a single item of equipment was not operating properly. This will not be the case in the event of large-scale hostilities. An inoperable sight will require pilots to use either "Kentucky windage" or the leading and tracking taught on a skeet range for effective deflection shooting.

One of the more suitable fields for valuable training based on skeet is that of airbase defense. In the past the Army Air Corps depended on the Army for defense of airbases from air and airborne attack. Airbase commanders are now responsible for defense of their own airbases under all circumstances. Army antiaircraft will generally provide an area defense that may or may not coincide with the protection needed against low-flying aircraft. Airbase defense troops will be air police as a nucleus, with some automatic weapons and using any other airmen available with their assigned arms. Indoctrination of all personnel in the need for using lead, proper tracking, and range estimation is the only way such a defense could be effective. In this field there is no conflict between hand-fired visually aimed weapons and electronic sights. The fallacy of teaching men to fire at stationary targets at fixed ranges should be readily apparent in that neither attacking aircraft nor paratroopers (either in the air or assembling on the ground) will present a stationary target. A very large percentage of the United Nations aircraft losses in Korea were due to small-arms fire from the ground.

Many Air Force bases do not have ready access to suitable range areas where long trajectory ammunition could safely be fired at moving targets. This limitation greatly hinders the development of training programs for ground defense.

The expense of building such long trajectory ranges would prohibit their extensive use; however, skeet ranges can be constructed in a minimum of space for a nominal sum.

Proponents of skeet maintain that a round of skeet will develop more skill in weapons handling, at a much lower cost, than a round of ball ammunition fired at a stationary target.

Skeet ammunition costs 80 percent as much as a .45 caliber, 65 percent as much as a .30 caliber carbine, 63 percent as much as a .30 caliber M1–06, 19 percent as much as a .50 caliber.

Skeet provides a sound background for almost any type of aimed weapons instruction. The self-confidence and ability to handle weapons which is quickly achieved in skeet instruction furnishes a strong motivation to excel with other weapons.

I hope this résumé will clarify in your mind, and the minds of members of the committees in the Congress who are charged with the duty of seeing that our armed services have free access to the best of training aids, the advantages to be gained by the promotion of skeet shooting in our armed services. I would suggest that the commanding officers of commands where training is the primary mission be questioned about the advisability of not decreasing, but actually materially increasing, the participation of service personnel in this valuable and economical method of training. There can be no question that future wars will be ones of mechanization and the ability to hit moving targets will be a prerequisite for members not only of the Air Force, but ground personnel as well, who are charged with the defense of our country.

Yours truly,

J. FRANK TRUCKS, M. D.,
President, NSSA.

The Coffee Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

ONTARIO, CALIF., *January 24, 1954.*

Re Coffee shortage.

Hon. HARRY R. SHEPPARD,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SHEPPARD: I am very much perturbed about the prevalent coffee situation, as I think most people are—you included. It certainly gives any thinking person cause to worry about food shortages in this land of plenty, and the continually rising prices. What with improved storage methods and greed for higher and higher profits on the part of importers, processors, and wholesalers, the ultimate consumer is in for a death struggle for mere existence.

It may be a million light-years away, but I foresee a time when city dwellers will be forced to form a united front and grow their own food. That may seem fantastic now, but to me it seems to be the only means of survival. This may seem impracticable now, and probably the time is not ripe to give it a try. But at the rate we are flying toward ruination, it will not take many years more for merely enough food for subsistence will take more money than the great numbers of low-income groups have left to pay their necessary obligations—utilities, rent, taxes, clothing, medical and dental needs, etc. Not only food, but prices on every need is spiraling fast.

It is hard to get people to band together; but if they did, they could lick this thing, but fast. Rent or buy sufficient acreage to start the thing off. Then increase as the need justified. Make it a Citizens' Organized Farm Club. Hire low-priced labor (Mexicans, Japs, or other types of common labor) to produce the raw food. Add a dairy herd and egg-production unit; also meat (buy young pigs and calves to start, then breed them as the plan progressed). Members to get their supplies at cost. If anything is left over, either refrigerate for later consumption or set up roadside stands, just as the farmers do, and sell the surplus. I do not expect to see this in my time (I am 65), but I think that the time will come—maybe sooner than you think. I think such a plan is workable, and people are just foolish if they continue to allow themselves to be hamstrung by continually rising prices in a country which is known the world over to be the richest and most productive on earth, yet where citizens must go without needed food while the Government uses their money to buy up and store everything edible in order to force prices higher and higher. It just can't last forever—not if those same people will rise up in their full strength and use the very simple means at their command to combat it.

Now, in the matter of this so-called coffee shortage: In the first place, I don't think there is a shortage of coffee in this country. I am sure that the warehouses all over the country are packed to the rafters with it. Profit-mad importers simply see a chance to get rich quick through our inordinate love of what has become known as our national beverage. They've got it, but they're going to make us pay for it, but good. There have been these scares in the very recent past, you remember. After so many cries of "Wolf, wolf," we become suspicious when it is repeated again and again. Make the warehouses turn loose of it at the regular price, and there'll be enough to last until a new crop comes in. Want to bet?

Want me, a housewife, to tell you how to handle the situation? I've lived through two world wars, and I think I know the answer. Here's the pitch:

1. First, make a check of the stocks in warehouses all over the country. This should be easy if any accurate record has been kept by the importers, and I'll bet there have been. Make them move it out. If they get mulish and refuse to put their stocks on the market, give them the alternative of Government confiscation, and back up your bark with a bite. Make it stick.

2. Find out the exact cost to the importer, f. o. b. his unloading floor. Allow him a reasonable profit, but not an exorbitant one. Put the lid on and compel him to stick to it. Carry out this procedure all down the line: processor, wholesaler, middleman, retailer. Set a ceiling price, with penalties for violating them.

3. If anything further is necessary, issue ration books, just as was done during the war, one to each adult over 16. Anyone under that age should drink milk, cocoa, or other noncaffine drink. Maybe the age limit should be 18 instead of 16.

You may tell me that this will take a lot of work. O. K., so it will take a lot of work. Put all those idle hands to work there in Washington, D. C. All those hundreds of female office workers who spend their time copying telephone directories because they have nothing to do. All those men who spend their time sharpening pencils; standing at the window, observing the weather; doodling aimlessly on scraps of paper on their desks, or on pads held in their hands while their feet are crossed upon their desks.

I am, of course, not aiming all this at you as a person, but as a suggestion to all the individuals in Senate committees who are searching for an answer to the problem.

Some are suggesting that we drink tea. How long do you think that the price of tea will remain stationary if millions start drinking it overnight? I seem to remember hearing about a party they had in Boston once, a long time ago. They might have to repeat that.

And why scream about the price of coffee alone out of the many, many articles of consumer wares that have doubled and trebled in price in the last few years? When my husband and I came to California the latter part of 1938, the price of hamburger was 15 cents a pound. Shortly thereafter it went to 18 cents, and we had to find ways of stretching it out. When it went even higher, we did without entirely. But humans used to meat in their diet do not get along when they try to abstain entirely, so we had to manage some way to get our minimum requirements. But just compare those prices with what we must pay now. However, most people doggedly buy some meat, even though they grumble while doing so.

I don't think there is a food you could name that hasn't advanced cruelly in price in the past very few years. We can't quit eating meat, milk, bread, and potatoes because they have all doubled, trebled, and even quadrupled in price. If we did, what would there be left to eat? The farmer knows this, so he goes right on strangling the lives out of the rest of us simply because he knows he can get away with it. He'll continue doing it too, and don't you forget it. He and his family get all the finest quality of food that they can eat, so why bother about whether anyone else does or not? He's just like the dog in the manger; what he can't eat he'll stand on so no one else can eat it. As in the recent butter versus margarin fight. He doesn't eat his own butter because he can get such a good price for it that he can't afford to. Yet he tries with all his might (voting power) to compel everyone else to do so. Unless you curb the production of this gentleman, or throw it back into his lap for him to dispose of himself, he'll keep right on flooding the markets with produce that no one can buy because of price. Taxes will have to go higher, and higher to enable the Government (we, the people) to buy and store this surplus, then worry about its disposal. Round and round it goes, and where it stops nobody knows. I still think a city consumers' cooperative farm is the answer.

For tradespeople (butchers, carpenters, plumbers, etc.), aircraft workers, and other high-paid groups, $1.25 beefsteak is merely an item of food. To the rest of us, it is like a diamond in a jeweler's window; not for us. I remember the time when 10 cents worth of beefsteak would make a man a generous serving. It required a lot of pounding, but my mother could prepare it in a manner to make you drool. No one wants those days back again, but we could ask for 50-cent beef. And it could be had, too, if farms were generalized instead of specialized.

Some of the newspaper writers are saying that higher coffee prices would mean better wages for the laborers on the coffee plantations. I doubt it. Not to any great extent, at least. I think that the bulk of the increase would go right into the pockets of the plantation owners and stay right there. What has happened to the raises in the past? Have they greatly bettered the living conditions of the actual workers? I remember when coffee was 8 cents to 10 cents a pound. Now that it is $1.03 has very much of that difference found its way into the pockets of the plantation laborers?

Back to the rationing idea. During the war, my husband and I learned how to economize so that we could each have one cup of good coffee a day and drink something else for the other two meals. But we do drink it out of coffee cups; not little teacups. About twice as much. However, just 1 cup each a day. We sleep better not to have more than that.

I know women who literally guzzle coffee all day. As fast as their cups get empty they fill it again, and when the pot gets empty they immediately make more. Their friends come in and all of them keep a cup in their hands except to drop it for a cigarette. There are thousands of these people in the world. They are one of the biggest reasons for coffee shortages, and they would have better health if they were rationed. I think it a splendid idea. Why not try it?

Yours very sincerely,

Mrs. George C. Searle.

Sassafras Tea Parties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, February 3, I directed your attention to a delightful Ozark drink, sassafras tea. I am including an article from the Saturday, February 6, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch which carried the following heading: "Sassafras Tea Parties Pack Restaurants at Ellington, Mo.—Druggist Joins War on Prices, Serves Ice Cream Soda Flavored With Root—Heavy Sales at Van Buren, Mo."

State Representative W. T. Bollinger, Jr., Van Buren, Mo., who represents my own home county of Carter in the Missouri State Legislature informs me that sales are mounting to unexpected proportions. He says they are literally swamped with mail orders from all over the country. However, the local people are responding to the situation and Mr. Bollinger assured me that mail orders will be promptly filled. Mr. J. Loyd Huett, the writer of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch article, of Ellington, Mo., I am sure is in a position to give information in regard to obtaining the product. I give this information because I have had numerous inquiries as to where and how the makings of sassafras tea can be obtained.

A supply of the root is being sent me from the good people of Carter County, Mo., and I have tentatively arranged to have sassafras tea served in the House restaurant; the exact date will be announced later.

This beverage will bring back pleasant memories to many of us and should be a delightful experience for all of us.

The article follows:

SASSAFRAS TEA PARTIES PACK RESTAURANTS AT ELLINGTON, MO.—DRUGGIST JOINS WAR ON PRICES; SERVES ICE-CREAM SODA FLAVORED WITH ROOT—HEAVY SALES AT VAN BUREN

(By P. Loyd Huett)

ELLINGTON, Mo., February 5.—Every restaurant in Ellington has cooperated in a series of sassafras tea parties as a gesture of protest against the soaring price of coffee.

And in the spirit of the movement, Herb Bowles, who operates the only drug store in town, completed the 4-day series of parties by climaxing them with a typical soda-fountain clerk's inspiration—sassafras fountain soda and sassafras ice-cream soda.

Wilson's Cafe last Saturday was jammed full of patrons who are ordinarily accustomed to gather there about 2 p. m. for a sociable cup of coffee. No coffee was served.

Instead, Mrs. Douglas Wilson served sassafras tea to the customers. They were given as many cups of the brisk aromatic brew as they wished and payment for it was refused. The tea was on the house.

TWO MORE PARTIES

On Monday the Ozark Grill staged a similar tea party for its midafternoon coffee drinkers. The next day the Happy Hour Cafe continued the Ellington tea crusade with a party of its own.

In the beginning, the sassafras tea came as something of a surprise to the sociable coffee drinkers at the Wilson Cafe. Very few knew in advance about the plans. By Monday word had got around that a similar tea-drinking event was scheduled at Mr. and Mrs. Willard Carter's Ozark Grill for 3 o'clock that afternoon.

At that hour every table in the dining room was fully occupied and some of the guests were forced to stand.

When 2 o'clock Tuesday afternoon arrived—time for sassafras at the Happy Hour Cafe—it was a matter of standing room only and very little of that not occupied. The owners, Mike and Bessie Simpson, soon exhausted the supply of cups and it was neces-

sary for some to wait for cups to be emptied and washed.

SASSAFRAS SODA

By Wednesday noon, when Herb Bowles had scheduled his personally improvised sassafras fountain soda event, that popular headquarters for the community's youth was completely swamped by high-school teenagers and grade-school children, as well as adults.

Thus, what started as a somewhat futile gesture of protest against high coffee prices turned quickly into the biggest community social even since the year-end holidays.

That the tea was good was evidenced by the number of second helpings that were requested and served.

That the homemade sassafras fountain soda was delicious has a large percent of the Ellington students as affirmative witnesses. Their later demands for sassafras ice cream soda had not been anticipated by Bowles, but having some of the homamade flavoring syrup left, he complied with the ice cream soda orders just as if orders for such a concoction were an everyday incident.

MEDICINAL QUALITY

Sassafras tea has been a traditional early spring drink in the Ozark area since the first settlers arrived here. It was believed that it had certain medicinal qualities which conditioned the blood. The notion was current that human blood became thick and sluggish during the winter months and needed thinning in preparation for the hot summer months.

Sassafras tea still is credited with a certain medicinal quality, which mildly encourages perspiration and, like any hot drink, is slightly stimulating.

Its major value to the human system comes from the fact it is a very rich source of those vitamins and minerals which most ordinary winter foods do not supply.

WAY TO MAKE TEA

It is made from the roots of the sassafras seedling or sprout, dug in late winter or very early spring just prior to the start of spring growth. At that time, the materials needed for the start of spring growing are stored in the root system and in a proper chemical stage for making the finest tea.

Tea making consists of simply steeping a few of the small roots in water until the tea becomes a rich red in color. Most people prefer the tea sweetened slightly. A few add cream also. But many drinkers take it straight, with neither cream nor sugar.

Bowles prepared his sassafras flavoring syrup by first making a strong tea. He then combined ordinary white sugar with the tea and reduced it by boiling to a syrup having the consistency of ordinary fountain flavoring syrups.

SASSAFRAS TEA SALES CONTINUE TO BOOM AT VAN BUREN

VAN BUREN, Mo., February 5.—Tourists and local residents still are responding to the promotion of sassafras tea started in fun by State Representative W. T. Bollinger, Jr., and W. L. Martin, owners of the El Leon Cafe.

Information reaching here indicates the story, first published in the Post-Dispatch, has appeared in newspapers across the Nation and even was included on network news broadcasts. As a result, mail orders still are pouring in, some addressed to the postmaster, some to the chamber of commerce and a few to the town's two service clubs.

"All mail orders will be filled," Bollinger says. "There may be a slight delay, because we didn't anticipate this response. But we now have plenty of diggers at work and can package the roots promptly." The roots sell for 10 cents a pound, enough for 60 cups of tea.

Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, since their rise to power in 1947 in Hungary, Communists have committed many outrageous crimes in that outpost of western civilization. They have arrested, imprisoned, and shot innocent people by the thousands; they have suppressed all forms of freedom; they have instituted widespread terrorism and have thereby succeeded in keeping down all outward signs of resistance; they have organized and perfected a secret police system that is as ruthless as it is efficient; they have crushed all actual and potential opponents to communism, and have consolidated their dictatorship; they have confiscated and nationalized all church property, and have taken over all private and parochial schools; they have also nationalized all industries, and have introduced the Soviet system of collective farms. They have, in addition, imposed a severe set of controls over the movements of all Hungarians so that none is allowed to leave the country and peoples of the free world are definitely barred from Hungary. In these outrageous acts the Communist regime of Hungary has been guilty of violating the most elementary human rights. Peoples of the free world have shown their indignation by protesting against these injustices and crimes, but perhaps none of these touched the freedom-loving peoples of the west so intensely as did the case of His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty: his arrest, trial, and conviction on false and trumped-up charges.

When the godless Communist regime launched its ideological campaign against the church and the clergy, many devout and stouthearted leaders of the church voiced their opposition. These dauntless souls, refusing to be subdued and silenced by the fury and/or blandishments of civil authorities, wholeheartedly disapproved and condemned all outrages committed by governmental agents. Most outspoken of the clergy was the Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty. Through his utterances and sermons he challenged the authority of the Government in spiritual matters. His popularity as well as his uncompromising stand on principles which he had defended against all usurpers and oppressors was most embarrassing and disturbing to civil authorities. The Government was not going to allow such antistate talks and agitations. It meant to silence him and, once and for all, eliminate him as a force opposed to the Communist regime. This was done. On December 26, 1948, secret agents of the Government surrounded Cardinal Mindszenty's residence, arrested him and led him to prison.

This despicable move by the Government was revealed a few days later to the peoples of the free world. Protest meetings were immediately held by large groups in many lands. The opinion of this country was well expressed by a congressional resolution unequivocally condemning this act. I need hardly say that I was in the forefront of those in Congress who denounced this unspeakable act of Hungary's Communist tyrants. Nor have I relaxed in my efforts to relieve the suffering of this Prince of the Church. When he was tried and found guilty of treason, espionage, and foreign currency abuses, we all were shocked. Even more shocking was the news that the Cardinal was drugged before his trial in order to have him confess to the charges brought against him. On hearing of this we all shuddered in revulsion at such inhumanity and travesty of justice. It has been alleged that the former Hungarian Minister in Washington, Dr. Emil Weil, himself had done the drugging. On February 8, 1949, it was announced in Budapest that the Cardinal admitted all the charges, and confessed his guilt. Thereupon he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Since then we do not even know the exact whereabouts of Cardinal Mindszenty. On December 27 of last year it was stated that he is still in prison in Hungary. Even though we are in the dark as to his fate, yet we are deeply concerned about him. Last week President Eisenhower, speaking for the whole people of this country, stated that "We in the free world have not forgotten that this is the fifth anniversary of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial and imprisonment." And as Secretary of State Dulles declared on December 28:

> The case of Cardinal Mindszenty, a defender of the faith and of human freedom against both of the great tyrannies of our time, is not closed. It is actively before the conscience of his countrymen and that of the free peoples throughout the world.

I ardently hope that through our prayers and good intentions we may be able to relieve the agonizing suffering of this noble churchman.

The "Constellation's" Last Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, you can appreciate the feeling of Marylanders with regard to the U. S. S. *Constellation*, the oldest warship in the United States Navy, when I inform you that she was launched in Baltimore, September 7, 1797. When the frigate sailed into the famous battle against the French, every man aboard but one was a Marylander.

For many years the citizens of Baltimore and the State of Maryland have been endeavoring to have this historic vessel returned to the site of her birth-

place, where she would be encased at Fort McHenry, where our national anthem, the Star-Spangled Banner was written.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting an article from the Baltimore (Md.) Sunday Sun of February 7, 1954, written by Frank Henry and entitled "The *Constellation's* Last Fight."

The article follows:

THE "CONSTELLATION'S" LAST FIGHT

(By Frank Henry)

A concerted move to bring to Baltimore and enshrine in its port of birth the famous old *Constellation*, oldest ship in the Navy and the first hard fist of American seapower, will get under way Tuesday. The move coincides with the 150th anniversary of *Constellation's* first victory, initial step in establishing the maritime might of the newly formed Republic.

Under the auspices of the Star-Spangled Banner Flag House Association, representatives of about 80 patriotic, civic, and veterans' organizations have been invited to attend a meeting at the War Memorial, where a *Constellation* commission will be organized. The entire Maryland congressional delegation, Governor McKeldin, and Mayor D'Alesandro also have been invited.

BABIED BY ARCHITECT

The *Constellation* commission is to exert every effort to circumvent the Navy's present intention of destroying the old ship. And, too, it will make every effort to bring her to Baltimore, where it is hoped to restore her and make her a national shrine.

Completely dismasted, the *Constellation* is tied up at the Boston Naval Shipyard under the care of Leonard F. Cushing, naval architect, who has babied her since she was towed to the yard from Newport, R. I., in 1946. A few weeks ago, as he escorted a visitor aboard, he paused at the gangplank and looked wistfully at the old ship:

"She struck the first mighty blows for American seapower. She's an old lady now—156 years old, and she deserves a haven of rest in her home port. And she desperately needs a poem. She should be enshrined just as the British have their *Victory*, Nelson's flagship, at Trafalga."

THE BACKBONE AND RIBS

Mr. Cushing has devoted much time to the study of her history and structure, and has concluded that her keel and bottom futtocks are the originals which slid down the ways of Sterrett's shipyard at Harris Creek on the Patapsco on that bright Monday morning at 9 o'clock September 7, 1797, amid the cheers of thousands clustered on the hills about the shipyard and in boats on the river.

Thus the basic ship still exists—backbone and ribs.

Today she is drab, forlorn, a far cry from her appearance as probably the tautest, smartest ship in the new United States Navy. Without masts and with low, temporary housing on her spar deck, she reminds one of the erstwhile ships now used as scows on Chesapeake Bay.

THE OLD IS EASILY SENSED

A naval fire watch is kept continuously aboard and incongruously there is a telephone in the improvised cabin below deck just forward of midships. And a neat row of regulation navy cots lines the port side of the gun deck. Along with them are clothes lockers and steam radiators. Topside, near the bow is a large galley with a white tiled floor.

But when one wanders astern the feeling of the old *Constellation* is easily sensed. The portholes through which the old guns fired are along each side of the gun deck—closed with glass window sashes.

On the beams under the spar deck there are still the sharp pointed hammock hooks, to support the sleeping hammocks to the crew. A sign of the tough life aboard in the old days is the fact that the crew stowed their hammocks in a special compartment running along the top of the gunwales, topside.

In the stern on the deck below the gun deck the officers' quarters are still intact, rather spacious cabins with bunks rallied by cherry-stained woodwork. The captain's cabin was at the rear of these.

Some of the old bilge pumps are still aboard. They seem to be of the period 1840–50—resembling the old handle-bar pumps used by firemen of that time.

All these things emphasize the age of the *Constellation* and a close look at her hull reveals the wrinkles of ship-age. The wood is gnarled looking and parts of it have been covered with canvas to prevent leaks.

She looks sturdy, heavy. Yet because of her age Mr. Cushing is taking no chances on hull strains. When she was towed to Boston from Newport (40 miles) in 1946, he circled her with a steel-cable girdle and attached the tow line to the girdle. The idea was that the strain of pulling would be distributed around the whole hull and not just on the bow structure, which might have come loose.

CABLES HOLD SIDES IN POSITION

To avoid all chance of her buckling he has her braced sidewise and lengthwise. The danger he explained this way:

"Midships there is more hull surface, wider bottom than forward and astern. Therefore the water gives more support than at the narrow ends of the ship. So we have run a cable from either end and braced it tightly over a pile of logs amidship just as you would run strings over the bridge of a violin.

"Sidewise we have run several cables across the ship to keep her sides in position to prevent sagging. So you see we have got her pretty well braced against any eventuality.

"Of course, the live oak which is the basis of her structure is extremely durable. Water is its natural element—one reason why they call it water oak. So long as it holds water in its cells it will remain solid and useful."

COMMANDED BY MARYLANDERS

The *Constellation* is probably unique among United States naval vessels, in that she cut such a bold figure in world affairs and at the same time held such close regional ties with Baltimore and Maryland.

Three of her early commanders were Marylanders: Charles G. Ridgely, John Rodgers, of Harford County, and Alexander Murray, of Chestertown. And the *Constellation* is indelibly associated with one of the great names of American sea power—Commodore Thomas Truxtun, of Hempstead, Long Island, her first commander. Truxtun, already a hero of the Revolution, helped Naval Architect David Stodder supervise the building of the ship, and lived in Baltimore during that time.

She was a 36-gun frigate (though she carried 38 guns) of 1,265 tons burden; 161 feet long, 40 feet wide and a depth of hold of 13 feet 5 inches. She was commissioned June 26, 1798, and had a crew of 320.

Her first important mission came in August of 1798, in the company of a smaller ship, the U. S. S. *Baltimore*. Commodore Truxtun was ordered to Havana to free 60 American merchantmen bearing cargo worth $1 million and to escort them safely to the Virginia capes.

The ships had been bottled up by French privateers. The young republic was then engaged in a quasi-war, or undeclared war, with France, its former ally, and it was because the French were preying on American commerce that the *Constellation* and five other frigates, including the *Constitution*, had been rushed to completion.

Commodore Truxtun (subsequently known as "Truculent Truxtun," for his roughshod discipline of men and officers) was entirely successful. The fast-sailing *Constellation* and the *Baltimore* drove the Frenchmen away and the parade of United States merchantmen filed out of Habana. But on the way north every bit of the *Constellation's* speed was needed to run interference, to keep the privateers at bay.

FIRST GREAT UNITED STATES BLOW

The *Constellation's* next mission was the one in which she struck the first great blows for American seapower. This was the first time a ship of the United States Navy had engaged in battle with a ship of a major world power—that is, the first great naval battle fought by this country since it had become an established, independent Nation.

At noon on February 9, 1799, the *Constellation* was bowling along off Nevis, an island of the Leeward group in the West Indies. Truxtun recorded, "I discovered a large ship to the southward on which I bore down."

The ship was none other than the powerful French frigate *Insurgente*, 40 guns, manned by 409, in comparison with the *Constellation's* 309 (at that time), and commanded by the very able Captain Barreaut. Cleverly, Captain Barreaut was flying the American flag, but he was unable to respond to the American recognition signal. That confirmed Truxtun's suspicions.

FULL BROADSIDE AT 10 YARDS

After a brisk chase of more than 90 minutes he closed in at 10 yards and let fly a full broadside. There was "terrible havoc on my quarter deck," the Frenchman subsequently reported. He tried to board the *Constellation*, taking advantage of his superior manpower. But Truxtun skillfully evaded him. In the end Truxtun's merciless discipline paid off. His gunners functioned with cool precision and the sailors handled the ship as quietly as though she were on a Chesapeake cruise.

Finally the Frenchman, his mizzenmast gone and his sails riddled, with 41 wounded and 29 killed lying on the deck, struck his colors. Lieutenant Rodgers, of Harford County (the same who later commanded the *Constellation*), boarded the *Insurgente* with a prize crew and brought her into St. Kitts.

The *Constellation* lost 1 killed, but not from enemy gunfire. It was, to quote Lieut. Andrew Sterrett, of Baltimore, like this: "I was obliged to run through the body with my sword and so put an end to a coward." When Truxtun gave an order he expected it to be obeyed.

The *Constellation's* victory brought world-wide acclaim, and caused astonishment in England and France. The new Republic had hit with a mighty fist—for the first time, and here was something to be reckoned with. Frenchmen now were calling the *Constellation* the "Yankee race horse," because of her speed. Lloyds of London presented Truxtun with a silver urn for his victory.

According to Ruby R. Duval, writing in United States Naval Institute Proceedings, in December 1935, the *Constellation* came to Baltimore after this battle.

"When news of the *Constellation's* victory reached Baltimore early in March 1799," she related, "there were great rejoicings and celebrations galore. The people of Maryland were proud not only of the accomplishments of the frigate, which 2 years earlier had so gracefully slipped down the ways in the little shipyard on Harris Creek, but of the splendid service rendered by their native sons, Lieutenants Rodgers and Sterrett and Midshipman David Porter, whose father had already won fame afloat. The elder Porter was then making his home in Baltimore."

BATTLE FOR 5 HOURS

Some months after her joyful homecoming the *Constellation* won another devastating victory that gave pause to her country's enemies. Again in the West Indies, on the late afternoon of February 2, 1800, she gave chase to the powerful French frigate *Vengeance*, 54 guns and 480 fighting men, a mighty ship holding overwhelming odds.

Truxtun, as he drew near the outsized enemy, ordered his men not to throw away a single charge of powder or shot and to aim directly into the enemy's hull. Close enough for hailing, he demanded the *Vengeance's* surrender. "At that instant," Truxtun said, "he commenced a fire from his stern and quarter guns directed at our rigging."

For 5 hours afterward, on that dark night, the two ships blasted and ripped at each other at close range. Tradition has it that the Frenchman struck his colors twice in a gesture of surrender, but Truxtun couldn't see it because of the dark and he fought on unaware of his victory.

SKILL VERSUS WEIGHT

At 1 o'clock in the morning the *Constellation* lost sight of the *Vengeance* and Truxtun assumed she had gone down. Actually she had slipped away in a sinking condition, as her battle-weary crew plopped 60 dead over the side and attended 110 wounded on her decks.

When he arrived at Curacao, Capt. A. M. Pitot grounded her to keep her from sinking and reported he had battled "the *Constellation*, a frigate of the United States, with 60 cannon and a crew of 500 men." He said the gunnery was "superbe et grande."

Of course, the *Constellation* did not come off unscathed. She had 14 killed and 26 wounded and lost her mainmast overboard.

Constellation's second victory again brought world applause and the new United States were firmly established as a sea power. Congress awarded Truxtun a gold medal. It virtually marked the end of the quasi-war with France. There were only a few minor skirmishes and peace was made on September 30, 1800.

These two epic battles in the life of the *Constellation* were fought years before that famed encounter in 1812 between the *Constitution* and the British *Guerriere*, now so celebrated in Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem.

In May of 1800 Capt. Alexander Murray, of Chestertown, was put in command of the *Constellation*. Back at the West Indies station, she recaptured three American ships from the French. It was early in the following year, while cruising there, that he captured a French lugger of 14 guns and first learned of peace between the 2 countries.

BLOCKADED BY BRITISH

In 1812 she was rebuilt at the Washington Navy Yard. Fourteen inches were added to her beam—7 inches on each side to minimise her rolling. In 1813 she was commanded by Capt. Charles Stewart, who resided in Baltimore for a number of years. He took her to Norfolk where a big British fleet blockaded her.

Twice the British tried to capture the *Constellation* by sending expeditions of small boats after her at night. Both times they were beaten off.

The British maintained a powerful fleet in the Chesapeake all during the War of 1812 and the *Constellation* was bottled up for the duration. Because of our occupation with war, the Barbary powers renewed raids on American commerce. So the *Constellation* sailed to the Mediterranean in 1815 as a member of Stephen Decatur's squadron of 10 ships. She participated in the capture of the 46-gun Algerian frigate *Mashuda*.

In June 1820, the *Constellation* came under command of Charles G. Ridgely and made a voyage to the west coast of South America.

BARRED TRANSFER OF ISLANDS

Twenty-one years later she fulfilled an important diplomatic mission as flagship of the East Indies squadron, visiting Chinese ports. Her commander, Commodore Kearney, succeeded in opening several Chinese ports to American commerce. On the voyage home, in 1843, she stopped in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), and Commodore Kearney prevented, again by negotiation, the cession of the islands to Great Britain.

Her last wartime duty was in the Gulf of Mexico as part of Farragut's fleet. Thereafter she became a receiving ship at naval bases and a training ship for Annapolis midshipment, and a ship of various peacetime errands.

The *Constellation* last appeared in Baltimore from September 7 to October 29, 1914, when she participated in the centennial celebration of the Star-Spangled Banner. On September 9 a tablet was unveiled on board to commemorate her return to home port.

REFURBISHING PLANS

The big question now is whether the heroic old ship, after her brilliant career and with her close ties to Baltimore and the Chesapeake, will ever come to rest permanently in the port of her birth. Plans for her refurbishing have been pretty well completed. Her masts and spars are in storage in a warehouse in Boston. Mr. Cushing has data—and a woodcarver—for restoring the original figurehead carved by William Rush, of Philadelphia.

The Navy estimates it would cost $17,000 to bring her here from Boston on one of the new self-propelled drydocks. It would cost $54,000 to tow her here. If she were towed it would be necessary to take her out of the water and reinforce her hull before she could venture to sea, hence the higher cost.

One proposal is to set the *Constellation* in concrete at Fort McHenry. Another is to put her in sand, as Nelson's Victory is.

Here's an Odd One: A Thrifty Federal Agency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the West is extremely proud of the record of the General Services Administration and its regional chief, genial, stocky Robert (Bob) Bradford.

Last August, after the Congress had adjourned, the San Francisco Chronicle ran a series of two articles about the functioning and efficiency of the GSA. I am happy to incorporate them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that all may read them.

Congratulations, Bob Bradford, to you and the smoothly working team that you have built up. It has saved the country a substantial sum of money:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle of August 17, 1953]

GSA: HERE'S AN ODD ONE: A THRIFTY FEDERAL AGENCY

(By David Perlman)

A harried engineer on Guam drafted a Navy radiogram recently as a violent summer storm swept over the island. The storm had swamped the island under tropic rains for days; the engineer surveyed his overworked generators glumly and realized that any moment Guam's entire electricity system might blow out.

He needed new parts—bushings, bearings, valves, pumps, and oil seals—and he needed them fast.

So he sent off his radiogram, and within hours his message reached a desk in the fourth floor office of the General Services Administration at 49 Fourth Street in San Francisco.

RAPID SERVICE

The radioed appeal for parts sent a lot of people into action. A Government purchasing agent telephoned a San Leandro machinery salesman. The salesman phoned his district office. The district office phoned New York. Another Government worker began figuring airline schedules—from New York and Pittsburgh to Kansas City; from Kansas City to San Francisco, and from San Francisco to Honolulu and Guam.

Within 24 hours the parts needed halfway across the Pacific were coming off warehouse shelves along the eastern seaboard. In another day they were being assembled here—590 pounds of equipment, worth $1,031. By the third day they were flying out past the Farallones aboard a Pan American World Airways clipper.

They got to Guam before the power failed, and none of the island's 60,000 Americans and natives ever realized that their homes and hospitals and schools had been threatened with darkness.

That was swift procurement to meet an emergency. Almost simultaneously the General Services Administration was winding up another deal that took a lot more time.

This one started at the United States Marine Corps depot on the Mojave Desert at Barstow, where officers one day found they had a little more telephone wire than they needed. To be exact, they had some 30 million feet of the stuff, and all of it was surplus.

A MILLION SAVING

So they reported their find to the GSA in San Francisco, and GSA went looking for buyers. For weeks a leisurely chain of letters swung around the country, seeking some Government outfit that could use 7,600 miles of wire. Finally GSA got a nibble. The Mutual Security Agency, which helps shore up the economies and armies of America's allies, abroad, was in the market for wire. Specifications and samples are exchanged.

In the end, MSA took the wire from GSA, and paid $227,850 into the United States Treasury for it. As a result MSA saved itself from paying out $1 million to buy the same wire on the open market.

GSA's Robert Bradford, stocky young regional director here, is proud that his staff can fill Government needs for supplies on a moment's notice. But he's prouder by far of the Agency's coups in saving money for American taxpayers.

By buying supplies in fantastic quantities, by streamlining payment methods to glean every commercial discount, by whooping up the bidding among competitive suppliers, and by juggling supplies from one agency to another, GSA saves money right and left.

The big bureau, with its 10 regions across the country, bought more than $430 million worth of supplies for the Government last year; it saved a total of $83 million on its purchases, a record equaled by few commercial enterprises.

MASS OF JOBS

"That's the job we were created to do," Bradford says, "and so far we've only scratched the surface. When we get really moving, we'll save the taxpayers 75 cents on every single dollar we spend."

Bradford's agency is a relatively new one in the Federal roster of alphabetized bu-

reaus. But it was set up to do away with a lot of others.

GSA was born in 1949 as a brainchild of the Hoover Commission. Its chief was to have virtual Cabinet rank. It was, over the years, to acquire a Pooh-Bah list of jobs as general housekeeper to Uncle Sam.

It has taken over a helter-skelter, uncoordinated buying program from other Federal outfits and consolidated them in a businesslike system of competitive bidding, warehousing, and distribution by mail order. It has pressured from reluctant defense officials the right to buy some nonmilitary supplies for the Armed Forces—and is saving them millions by doing so.

It buys, leases, and builds the Government's office buildings, runs their elevators and switchboards, and keeps them clean.

It collected old Government records by the ton, sends trained archivists ferreting through them like beagles, and stores the important documents in great stacks at a fraction of the cost of keeping them in expensive live files.

And finally, it buys from mines at home and far countries abroad, the strategic materials for America's growing stockpile of raw material for war.

HOUSEKEEPERS

GSA officials like to call themselves housekeepers to the Government. They seem to be a lot more than that, and with Congress and the administration in a continuing economy mood, the job of GSA is likely to become even more important in the future.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle of August 18, 1953]

GSA: A BILLION-DOLLAR JOB OF HOUSEKEEPING

(By David Perlman)

A Richmond businessman named John Cox, who runs the General Warehouse Co. for Parr Terminals, told a group of 52 men and women in San Bruno recently:

"If you people were competing with private enterprise you'd run us out of business in no time."

COX was talking to the entire staff of the General Services Administration stores depot, a crew that moves some 4 million pounds of freight a month in and out of one of the West's largest warehouses.

The huge structure is part of a unique and new Government operation, conceived by the Hoover Commission in 1949, and dedicated to the task of saving American taxpayers as much money as possible.

It is called the General Services Administration, and its San Bruno warehouse is only one part of a national operation that is skyrocketing into one of the biggest business enterprises in the Nation.

This year, GSA will be doing a billion dollars' worth of business.

Its San Francisco region, with headquarters at 49 Fourth Street here, will do $70 million worth, covering California, Nevada, Arizona, Hawaii, Guam, and America's United Nations trust islands in the Pacific.

It will buy a million dollars in supplies a month—everything from paper clips and toothpicks to prefabricated factories—and will sell as much from its illustrated mail order catalog to every Federal Government bureau in the area.

It will operate 61 buildings, pay out $5 million in rents, and still save taxpayers more than $650,000 by rent economies and the judicious use of checkreins in curbing the yearnings of some bureaucrats for large and sumptuous offices.

It will handle records and files for a wide assortment of agencies, and save another $500,000 in the process.

It will buy some $30 million worth of tungsten, manganese, and asbestos and store the strategic minerals in secret stockpiles throughout the West. Nationally, GSA has built America's stockpile of these and 90 other war materials up to a total value of more than $4 billion, and the total by 1956 will be over $8 billion.

At GSA's enormous concrete and wood warehouse in San Bruno, a crew of only 52 men and women wrestles some 4 million pounds of freight in and out every month. Fire-fighting equipment is shipped within minutes after emergency calls to fight forest blazes throughout California. Diapers and hospital supplies and plumbers' tools and hundreds more items are assembled for shipment to America's trust territories in the South Pacific. Sixth Army and Fourth Air Force order on the warehouse for all the nonmilitary supplies—10,000 different items.

A team of scientists at the warehouse, working in a modern laboratory with the latest equipment, tests incoming merchandise to make sure that business suppliers are living up to Government specifications in every way.

At the GSA records center, next door to the warehouse, a staff of 18 keeps track of 132,000 cubic feet of old Government records dating back as far as 1854.

You can find out, from those records, the value of gold coins minted in San Francisco almost a century ago. You can find the names of Lascar seamen who shipped into San Francisco in World War I. You can find your own name (but you won't, because the files are closely guarded) in the towering piles of Internal Revenue Bureau assessment lists that record the doings of taxpayers as far back as the income tax's birth.

The records center, every time it empties a Government filing cabinet and stores the contents in well-indexed cardboard cases, saves the Nation $26 in rent and manpower. It has saved nearly $500,000 a year already, and is serving as a model for States and cities interested in keeping their own records management practices on a businesslike basis.

At its San Francisco regional headquarter, GSA maintains a unique business service center, where manufacturers and salesmen can learn in a moment what the Government is in the market to buy, and when bids are due.

The businessmen can learn, for example, that right now they may offer prices on a purchase of 10 kerosene stoves destined for Iran, or on 97,000 woolen blankets for Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa, or on six 5-foot circular steel saw blades for the MSA's economic project to rehabilitate the tropical hardwood industry of Indochina.

Other businessmen may learn, from the invitations to bid posted daily at the center, that the Government is selling as well as buying. Right now, for example, there are surplus prefabricated buildings on the market in Livermore; 120 acres of farmland are for sale from an old guayule project near Salinas; there's a $2 million gas storage plant on the block near Los Angeles.

As Frank Chambers, chief of the Business Service Center, says, "You don't have to know someone who knows someone to do business with the Government. We're here to do business with everyone, on the open market and in free competition."

Robert B. Bradford, a pipe-smoking Civil Service executive with the drive of a million-dollar salesman, bosses GSA's California region on the principle that red tape is strictly a surplus commodity.

His own boss, a Chicago manufacturer named Edmund F. Mansure, who was recently appointed to the job of GSA chief by President Eisenhower, feels the same way.

On a recent visit to San Francisco, Mansure put GSA's mission this way:

"We exist to put money into the United States Treasury for the benefit of the taxpayer. Our customers are Government bureaus and our suppliers are businessmen, large and small. We've got to keep them all convinced that it's good business to do business with us. That means service, efficiency, and speed."

BLOW AGAINST RED TAPE

The General Services Administration announced a new victory yesterday in the Government's eternal war with red tape. The agency has devised a new six-copy form for use in making Government purchases. The forms will replace nearly 50 different purchasing systems, some of which require anywhere from eight to 23 copies.

GSA Administrator Edmund F. Mansure predicted the new form will "cut the number of pieces of paper which have to be handled by almost 50 percent."

Mansure is certain it will save money, too, but he is unable to say how much. He cited a Hoover Commission report that it costs a minimum of $10 to handle one Government purchase. Last year there were more than 6,000,000 such transactions.

Playing With Our Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Manchester Union Leader of Manchester, N. H.:

PLAYING WITH OUR DEFENSE

Many Americans are deeply troubled over the Eisenhower administration's new defense program. They are gradually concluding that this program is motivated by economy, rather than by a consideration of our military needs.

The defense program as outlined by Secretary Dulles in a recent address is so enigmatic that it is hard to gain any confidence in it. The change of military policy that Dulles suggests is apparently inspired by the belief that in the light of foreseeable developments, Soviet Russia does not plan a major war.

The fostering of that belief involves a tremendous risk to American security. For there is absolutely no substantial indication that Communist policy has been changed in anyway. To base a defense program on such an assumption therefore must leave the way open to national disaster.

Other sections of the Dulles statement baffle the understanding. For instance, we are told that in case of aggression, the United States must be able to retaliate instantly by its own means and at places of its own choosing. The reference here is apparently to an expanding Air Force armed with atomic weapons, and a consequent reduction of land and naval power.

Now this type of equipment has its place in considering the possibility of an atomic attack by Soviet Russia on American cities. But to make it the sum total of our national defense is quite another matter. What about the Soviet tactic of raising trouble in other parts of the world? We didn't handle the Korean trouble with the Air Force alone. It took ground troops and lots of them. What are we going to do if new Koreas arise?

The fact is that the growth of atomic weapons has not yet warranted a reduction of manpower. A man of as wide military experience as General Gruenther has said that no one really knows today whether atomic weapons will require fewer troops or

actually more. That statement is widely shared by military officers. Some even go so far as to suggest that atomic weapons will actually increase the demand for men.

As a matter of fact the whole question of the use of atomic weapons, except for big atomic bombs, is as yet in its infancy. These weapons are not yet in hand and many of them are untested. Surely in the face of these facts, to start cutting back our Army and Navy by reducing manpower for the sake of so-called economy is a dangerous procedure. There is need for economy where it can be exercised reasonably. But to use it to gut our defenses is another thing. Congress should weigh this problem carefully. There is no more important issue before it today. It must not forget the grave risk involved in its decision, and not swallow the new defense proposal blindly.

Should the Atomic Energy Act Be Changed?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by my colleague from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] at the National Industrial Conference Board meeting, New York City, October 29, 1953:

It is our purpose here to discuss the pros and cons of changing the Atomic Energy Act. Since I have questioned rather sharply the proposals made earlier by the Atomic Energy Commission and others for changes in the act, you might expect me to standpat on the issue. I trust you will not be disappointed to hear me say otherwise. From time to time changes in the original legislation were found desirable, and for the most part these had my full support as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. There is every reason to believe that further important revisions may be forthcoming—perhaps in the next few months—and these, too, will have my approval, providing I am satisfied that the problems have been fully examined and the solutions are just and compatible with the best interests of the American people.

I will say frankly that in the present state of world affairs and of atomic technology, I am opposed to amendments which would alter the basic philosophy and concept of Government responsibility as outlined in the Atomic Energy Act. As I see it, any changes to be made must take into full account the role of atomic energy in national defense, the special problems of atomic security and inventory control, the responsibilities of Government to protect the health and safety of the general public, and our obligations—both moral and contractual—to our friends and allies, who are, in a sense, as much affected by all that we do as are the citizens of these United States.

Overshadowing any consideration that we give to our subject today is the news of recent weeks that a successful thermonuclear test has been carried out in the Soviet Union. This startling event demands that we reassess completely our plans for defense and survival of the free world, for the Soviets have moved more quickly than anyone anticipated. In our unceasing search for world peace we dare not abandon our hope and our efforts to establish working international controls over the instruments of mass slaughter. But this we know from the grim realities of our age—that statesmanship walks best in company with military strength. The United States will not lag behind in the contest for supremacy in atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

The success of our efforts in this direction requires a constant and vivid awareness of our dependence on foreign ore receipts for the full-scale operation of our vast atomic program. Other nations which contract with us to supply uranium accept the basic objectives of our atomic-energy program. Were we to make quick and drastic changes in the law which governs this program, or to arouse premature and exaggerated expectations of atomic-power benefits under private control, these nations might be less inclined to cooperate. I will not elaborate on this point, but in the forefront of our discussion must be recognition of the need to conduct ourselves so that we maintain an uninterrupted flow of the essential raw materials to feed our production plants.

Whatever the speculations about reaching a point of diminishing returns in atomic-bomb production, we must not force the military planners of the Nation to base their plans on a philosophy of scarcity in fissionable material. The energy locked up in the atom will not be wasted by building a stockpile of atomic weapons. Before we can seriously contemplate the diversion of fissionable material to nonweapon uses, we must be certain that the national security will in nowise be jeopardized.

There is no disagreement among us, and it has been repeatedly said, that the United States must maintain world leadership in all phases of atomic-energy development. While we grapple with the stark and terrifying fact that Soviet Russia can make hydrogen as well as atom bombs, we cannot be indifferent to the enormous psychological advantage that the Soviets would gain if they demonstrated to a tense and divided world the ability to put the atom to work in peacetime civilian pursuits. Here again, the United States will not take second place in the contest. That is why public interest and attention were centered on the announcement last week by the Atomic Energy Commission that it is going ahead with the construction of a full-scale atomic-power reactor.

We ought to put in better perspective the events leading up to this announcement. The atomic-power project was authorized by the Congress last June on the initiative of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Appropriations Committee. That action was a logical outgrowth of the interest and findings of the joint committee in the field of atomic power during the previous 12 months. It is now more than a year since Congressman CARL DURHAM, then acting chairman of the joint committee, enjoined the Atomic Energy Commission to assemble its best thoughts on the subject of atomic-power development and prepare to participate in hearings on the subject.

Under the leadership of our present chairman, Congressman STERLING COLE—who incidentally is addressing the dinner meeting tonight—the joint committee held extensive hearings in June and July of this year.

I would like to contrast for a moment the present situation with that which prevailed before those hearings opened. Then we heard speeches and read newspaper or magazine articles, which appeared with remarkable frequency, calling for radical changes in the Atomic Energy Act and forecasting that—if only the act were changed—the blessings of atomic power would pour forth from American industry in the very near future. At the same time, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Security Council were busy canceling existing atomic-power projects and revising the budget on the stated assumption that private industry was ready to pick up the ball if only the Government would step aside and make way for private enterprise. I wish that I could read to you some of the classified statements made before the joint committee by Defense Department officials on this subject to illustrate my point. Suffice it to say that if we had taken seriously this advice from the executive departments, there would have been created a danger zone of inaction in the atomic-energy program, marked by curtailed Government activity on the one side and lack of private performance on the other.

The blunt fact is that the joint committee had received no reliable evidence whatever to support the contention that private industry—or any segment of it—was prepared to invest the large sums of money required to carry forward the atomic power development program without very extensive Government support, including guaranties against loss or failure. So it was only natural that our curiosity was aroused by these big-sounding proposals. We decided to hold executive hearings and we called in the Government and industry spokesmen involved in the development program. Included were the leaders of all the industrial study groups as well as those officially participating at Government expense.

After 12 very thorough discussions with these various individuals, the joint committee was unable to discover any sound basis for the proposition that if the Government would step out of the atomic power picture, American industry was ready and able to pick up where the Atomic Energy Commission left off.

At this point we did two things. First, Chairman COLE contacted the House Appropriations Committee and discussed with its membership the implications for the future of atomic power development if the Government failed now to press forward with the development of a full-scale atomic powerplant. The Appropriations Committee members were not only sympathetic, but they showed a real understanding of the dangers inherent in this situation. They sponsored language in the current appropriation act authorizing the Atomic Energy Commission to spend up to $7 million this fiscal year to begin construction of a full-scale atomic powerplant.

This undertaking, I reiterate, was commenced on congressional, not executive initiative. Completion of the project will require additional appropriations—possibly 10 times the $7 million now earmarked for atomic power. But as the first working demonstration of a land-based atomic powerplant for the production of large amounts of electricity, the project should provide lessons of incalculable benefit to both Government and industry in planning future projects.

The joint committee, I can assure you, will observe very carefully the progress in atomic power. We are not committed to sponsoring any single reactor design and we do not propose that reactor construction and operation be confined to a single company. It may well develop that in addition to the large-scale reactor project, smaller and less costly reactors should be built to meet special power needs and to broaden our knowledge and experience in reactor technology and economics. We approach this new field with an open mind and a desire to see utilized to the full the skills and ingenuity of American enterprise.

Even while the joint committee and the House Appropriations Committee were laying the groundwork for rapid development of atomic power, a second effort was begun to clear away the smoke of confusion in this field. The joint committee scheduled a series of public hearings designed to let all interested parties have their say on the subject of atomic power development—to speak clearly, honestly, and without distortion. Those hearings, I believe, were a real public service which contributed to bet-

ter understanding all around. In 6 weeks we took testimony from 112 witnesses representing 83 separate organizations or speaking as individuals. The hearings filled 642 pages and contained expressions and shades of every view and opinion. Also, we examined at length the recommendations from the Atomic Energy Commission which had been prepared and submitted at the request of the joint committee.

It should be made clear that these hearings were exploratory rather than conclusive with respect to amending the Atomic Energy Act. The draft of legislation initially and informally submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission was withdrawn before the hearings even got under way. I believe the Commission was well advised to make this retreat because its legislative proposals seemed hastily drawn and incomplete; they did not take sufficient account of the knotty problems that must be resolved in opening the door to private enterprise in the atomic field.

Those of you who take time to read the joint committee's published hearings on "Atomic Power Development and Private Enterprise" will appreciate the complex factors that we, as legislators, must consider in amending the Atomic Energy Act. These hearings made it painfully evident that the Atomic Energy Commission needed to do much more homework on its legislative draft, and Commission Chairman Strauss acknowledged as much in his summation at the close of the hearing.

Without repeating in detail my criticisms of the Commission's legislative proposals, I will cite one item—the glaring omission in these proposals of any recommendations on patents. To me it seemed unrealistic for the Commission to advocate private ownership of atomic materials and facilities without considering the closely related matter of patent rights. Recently Mr. Strauss announced that he and his colleagues on the Commission have arrived at unanimous conclusions regarding desired changes in the patent provisions of the Atomic Energy Act. I look forward with considerable interest to examining the Commission's patent recommendations when they are submitted to the joint committee. You may be assured that they will get the most searching scrutiny. Patent incentives to promote industrial participation in atomic energy must not become instruments for monopoly control and private exploitation of technical knowledge accumulated with public funds. It devolves upon the Atomic Energy Commission and finally upon the Congress to strike the balance between public and private equities.

I would remind those who are impatient with what they consider to be legislative delays that the spokesmen for the several segments of industry interested in atomic energy are by no means of one mind in proposing amendments to the Atomic Energy Act. And their testimony at the joint committee hearings would lead one to suspect that they were taken in somewhat by their own zeal. Although they stressed the importance of legislative incentives to promote participation by private enterprise, they were more vague and less convincing when it came to specifying how much money their companies were prepared to invest.

Admittedly atomic power is a new and virtually unexplored field. The technical problems are not altogether solved; the economic problems in view of the costs of competing conventional fuels in power production are almost overwhelming. Private firms, even if authorized to enter this field on their own, can be expected to proceed cautiously in risking the funds of their investors. I trust that the Congress will be granted the same privilege of proceeding cautiously in considering changes in a program whose investors presently are all the people of the United States.

We of the joint committee, who must account to the Congress and to the public for the broad policy decisions in this new field of endeavor, cannot take a narrow view of the problems that confront us. Industrial corporations which seek to participate in the industrial development of atomic power are not the only interested parties.

We must consider the requirements of priority claimants on fissionable materials and atomic-production facilities—the agencies of Government responsible for building the defenses of our Nation and the free world.

We must consider the needs of power-hungry nations which look to us for friendly advice and assistance to build up their economies against the vicious onslaughts of Communist ideology and arms.

We must consider the special problems of those countries which supply the precious raw materials for atomic fission and which therefore have something important to say about the uses to which these materials are put.

We must consider the fact that public, nonprofit agencies—Federal, State, and local—have well-established functions in the production and distribution of electrical power and consequently an important role to play in the atomic field.

We must consider administrative problems and interrelationships among various levels and units of Government which are concerned with protection of public health and safety and the performance of other services that will be intensified with the building of atomic power plants.

We must consider the impact of atomic power production on established industries and occupations and upon other projects for developing the Nation's power resources.

We must consider the problems of organized labor which insists that hand in hand with private enterprise in atomic energy go collective bargaining rights freed from abuse by management in the name of secrecy.

We must consider the avenues of opportunity for small business to participate, lest the atomic field be preempted and dominated by monopoly groups.

We must consider the interest of power consumers and the public generally whose tax dollars made possible the great achievements in atomic energy that we already have and who deserve assurance that the benefits of atomic power will be widely distributed.

I think I have said enough to suggest that changing the Atomic Energy Act is not so simple and easy as some persons might suppose. In an attempt to bring home to the Atomic Energy Commission and to other advocates of hasty amendment, the widespread ramifications of the subject, I introduced in Congress, toward the close of our joint committee hearings, a resolution outlining some of the fields requiring further study and investigation. This resolution, officially called House Joint Resolution 317, which Congressman MELVIN PRICE joined me in sponsoring, is reprinted at pages 576 and 577 of the joint committee's published hearings. It proposes, among other things, that before any new legislation is enacted in respect of atomic power development, the Atomic Energy Commission shall submit to the Congress, in accord with section 7 (b) of the Atomic Energy Act, a report on the social, political, economic and international effects of atomic power use.

In its initial legislative proposals the Atomic Energy Commission tried to sidestep the congressional mandate in section 7 (b). The Commission took the anomalous and inconsistent position that new legislation for atomic power was urgently needed but that it was too early to evaluate atomic power use. I am pleased to note that the Commission now has changed its position and will tender the required report to the Congress. If that report is carefully prepared, comprehensive in scope, and accompanied by well-thought-out recommendations for specific legislative amendments, I am sure that the joint committee stands ready to give it full consideration.

Pending actual amendments, which necessarily take time because of the many complex problems involved and the normal routines of the legislative process, I believe that the Atomic Energy Commission can take important steps under existing legislation to promote greater industrial participation in the atomic-energy program. A healthy sign of active and continued interest on the part of private industry is the formation of industrial teams to work in cooperation with the Commission on atomic-power possibilities. This interest and participation can be shared by many more segments of American industry if the Commission will take to heart the following proposal in my resolution:

"That in pursuance of the policy prescribed in section 10 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, as amended, to permit and encourage the dissemination of scientific and technical information relating to atomic energy, the Atomic Energy Commission shall screen all restricted data within its control with a view to the early declassification and publication of the maximum amount of information useful for industrial and other purposes without adversely affecting the common defense and security, and shall take effective steps to continuously declassify and disseminate such information."

Gentlemen, I want to see the maximum peacetime benefits of atomic energy brought to the American people just as soon as possible. I want to see nuclear power developed as rapidly as world conditions permit and demand and I want to see the greatest play of competition possible in this development. I believe that is the safe way and the American way.

Incomplete and ill-timed legislation is not the answer. Insofar as it lies within my power as a United States Representative and as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I intend to work earnestly and tirelessly to achieve the goal of maximum safety and security from a military standpoint, maximum competition and participation in further development by private industry, and maximum peacetime benefits at reasonable cost to the American people who have already made such a tremendous investment in the harnessing of nuclear energy for peace and for their own defense.

Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Air Force recently appointed Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray as Director of Women in the Air Force.

News dispatches carried the word that Colonel Gray was formerly the WAF Staff Director in Europe. It was indicated that she was chosen for her new post by a board of Air Force colonels from among 38 Air Force women colonels on active duty.

The attention of the House should be directed to the selection of this new director. Newspaper comment was all too

brief in outlining the caliber of the new director. This is understandable in the desire for more startling and dramatic recording of everyday events.

During the latter part of the 82d Congress, a subcommitee of which I had the honor to be chairman concluded a world-wide survey of military supply-management activities by a study of Air Force installations in Europe. During our hearings at the Air Force headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany, the subcommittee membership was briefed on WAF European activities by Colonel Gray.

Colonel Gray presented to the subcommittee a graphic word picture of WAF activities in Europe. She demonstrated a keen grasp of her responsibilities and was able in a straightforward manner to answer the inquiries of the subcommittee.

The hearing held by the subcommittee at the Weisbaden installation was highlighted by an able Air Force presentation on supply management. Although we chose to disagree with its approach in our report, the personnel presenting the Air Force position did so with clarity and conviction. Colonel Gray's contribution to this hearing demonstrated the thoroughness with which the Air Force had prepared the summary of all phases of their activities for our evaluation. Her report was complete in itself and formed an invaluable supplement to the résumé of Air Force programs in Europe.

The Department of the Air Force is to be congratulated on their selection of the new Director. The women of the Air Force can look forward to an efficient administration balanced by a recognition of their problems.

Colonel Gray will, it is predicted, justify the confidence of her superiors which led to her selection over such a wide field of candidates.

What We're Getting Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial entitled "What We're Getting Back," which appeared in the Anniston Star of Anniston, Ala., on January 28, 1954. The editorial follows:

WHAT WE'RE GETTING BACK

While there perhaps has been a little abatement of the inveighing in recent months, many officeseekers and others in Alabama still insist vociferously that the Federal Government by its heavy tax levies is draining this State of a great part of its wealth.

But on the clear showing of James Free in an article appearing in last Sunday's Birmingham News, this charge is revealed as wholly without substance.

The figures Mr. Free assembled were mostly for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, since they happened to have been the latest ones available to him when he made his recent study. He points out, however, that the same general ratios apply as regards the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, during which period Alabamians paid $398,572,462 in internal-revenue taxes.

In the previous fiscal year the total payment by Alabamians came to $386,402,000, we are told, and this amounted to six-tenths of 1 percent of the total Federal tax collected, "although Alabama had—and still has—about 2 percent of the total population."

In that same year, ending June 30, 1952, Alabama received, according to Mr. Free, $107,990,000 in direct Federal-aid programs of various sorts. That was 2.62 percent of the direct Federal aid to all States, he states, indicating that Alabama got more than its share, in relation to population, even if it got far below the total its residents paid in Federal taxes that year.

But, the Washington correspondent for the News continues, direct Federal-aid programs are not the only benefits that citizens of any State get from their Federal Government.

In fiscal 1951–52, the United States spent almost $45,500,000,000 for national security. Most of this—$38,900,000,000—was for the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and the like, whereas $4,800,000,000 went for the Mutual Security Program, to build up our allies and their defenses. Atomic-energy development accounted for $1,600,000,000.

According to Mr. Free's calculations, Alabama's share (2 percent) of these national-security expenditures was $908,980,000, and this State's share of the $5,934,000,000 interest on the public debt (primarily for past wars) was another $118,680,000. In addition, apportionment of the $3,914,000,000 expended for hospitalization, etc., for war veterans, if figured on a strictly per capita basis, fixed the liability of Alabamians at $78,280,000.

Thus, Mr. Free points out, Alabama's share of that year's cost of national security and cost of past wars ran to a total of $1,105,940,000, which figure does not include the additional $107,990,000 in financial benefits that Alabama received in direct Federal-aid programs.

Alabama's total benefits from the Union are shown to have come, therefore, to $1,213,930,000 for the year in question, as compared with $386,402,000 paid by this State's residents in Federal taxes.

And to prove still more conclusively that the Federal-to-State street is at least a little bit longer than the State-to-Federal street, insofar as Alabama is concerned, the News writer points out that in fiscal 1951–52, Alabamians paid Federal taxes at the per capita rate of $124.93, as against a per capita figure of $416.31 for the Nation as a whole, and further, that during that period Alabama received $34.91 per capita in direct Federal aid, as against a national per capita figure of $26.44 for such Federal aid.

Pass Up Bricker's Bill—Get Back to Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Reflector, of Greenville, N. C.:

PASS UP BRICKER'S BILL—GET BACK TO WORK

This matter of getting a Bricker amendment through Congress—in its original form or in some watered-down version—appears to be bogging down.

There can be no question that it is taking up a lot of valuable time of both Democratic and Republican leaders which might well be spent on other important legislation which is yet to be given consideration.

So far as we have been able to determine, the grounds of compromise between Bricker, who still wants his original amendment if possible, and President Eisenhower, who does not want it, has not been found. There has been a good deal of talk in the past several days about what could be left out of the original amendment to make it acceptable to both parties. But so far as we have been able to determine, the compromise has not been spelled out to the public.

There is little chance that it will until the leaders in Washington can get their heads together on what sort of compromise will be acceptable to them.

In spite of the fact that we consider unwise Senator BRICKER's proposal for hamstringing the executive branch of the Government in international affairs, there is something to be said for having the domestic law of the Nation coincide with provisions of international agreements and vice versa.

There is something to be said for the assertion that the executive should not be able to override domestic law of the Nation by making treaties with provisions which are not in conformity with that law.

As we view it, the Bricker amendment is still a long way from being an instrument which would be in the best interest of the Nation in the long run. In our opinion it would take considerable revision—probably not acceptable to either side—before it would be suitable.

Rather than adopt some sort of haphazard compromise just for the sake of political expediency or party harmony, it would be much better for the wizards of Washington to just forget the Bricker amendment for the time being.

We've gotten along pretty well for 165 years without such a constitutional amendment as is proposed. We can get along a while longer without it.

Public Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner, Public Housing Administration, at the annual conference of the American Municipal Association, New Orleans, La., November 30, 1953:

As always, it is a pleasure to be at a gathering of the American Municipal Association—a rare privilege—particularly so for a man like myself, who has served 10 years as mayor of a large city, and spent almost as much time in the city council, the school board and in those other municipal bodies vitally concerned with the everyday problems of our Nation. It is almost as good to be here as it is to be coming home.

The American Municipal Association has become the clearinghouse—the forum—for the basic problems that confront America. It is—in my humble opinion—one of the most effective forces of Government. Beyond that, I think it is a place where the

answers to tomorrow's problems can be found today.

You all know why I am here. I am here to make a case for public housing. That case needs to be made.

I have just returned from a 30,000 mile trip that took me into every part of the country. On that trip I saw more of the diseased sections of America than most men do. I found myself continually in the position of saying "There cannot be a worse slum," and the next day being faced with just that.

In compensation—I found out, firsthand, in place after place, what public housing can do for your cities if you use it properly. Where you administer it properly—where you combine it with redevelopment, with expressways, with parks and playgrounds—it works. It means health and wealth to your community and at very low cost.

But I found also that the people understand less about public housing than they do any other major problem of Government.

Most people think of it as a costly program. It is not. True, it costs something—this year its subsidized payments will reach $40 million. That is just 1 percent of what we are spending on foreign aid alone.

I think the approximately million people living in public housing today are worth it. I think they are each worth the $40 to $50 a year we are spending on them. I think they are worth a lot more than that.

Our Government subsidizes a lot of things. Our mail service—over $300 million for that; $420 million for highways; $234 million for rivers and harbors; $169 million for reclamation and irrigation; $115 million for commercial aviation; $82 million for the school lunch program; $67 million for our 450,000 Indians. This year's housing program costs much less than any of these. The average taxpayer, the man making $4,000, put up 6 cents this year, through his income tax, to keep it going. He paid twice as much for wildlife restoration according to the last available figures.

But think of public housing in other terms. Think of it in the practical terms of what it means to your city.

Public housing has meant to date—to the cities that have it—the payment of $2, in lieu of taxes, for every dollar previously collected in taxes, from the slum sites now occupied by healthful public housing. Further, it has been responsible for the payment of delinquent taxes equal to a year's full tax levy on these same slum properties.

This is the overall picture as far as we can check it to date, but it is not the whole picture. Any of you who have struggled with municipal finance know how much of your fire, police, and health budgets are spent in your slum area. The dollars are wholly disproportionate to those collected in taxes from those same slum areas.

The United States Municipal News reports that although slum and blighted districts comprise about 20 percent of our metropolitan residential areas, they account for 33 percent of the population, 45 percent of the major crimes, 55 percent of the juvenile delinquency, 60 percent of the tuberculosis victims, 50 percent of the arrests, 35 percent of the fires, 45 percent of city service costs, and 6 percent of real-estate tax revenues.

Every one of us today is paying for most of the slum dwellers' rent.

Public housing means fewer fire and police calls, better health and more jobs, higher morale, and increased self-respect in those families who move from slums and blighted areas to public housing.

At one eastern seaport city the fire protection costs for one slum area alone amounted to $47,000 annually, just $2,000 less than the entire tax assessment for that area. Public housing was first built in 1942 in that city, and there have since been exactly two very minor fires within the limits of the public-housing projects.

You gentlemen are as familiar as I am—if not more so—with the problem of declining real-property values, especially as it is reflected in your tax revenues. In traveling about the country, I frequently encountered the argument that public-housing projects are bad neighbors in that they tend to lower adjacent property values.

It just isn't so.

Here is one example of the effect of public housing on adjoining property values. This occurred in a Pacific Northwest city with two public-housing projects. In an area 12 blocks adjacent to 1 project, there was a 112-percent increase in assessed land values; in the case of the second project, there was a 96-percent increase in assessed land values in an area 20 blocks adjacent to it.

Here's another instance where public housing acted as a stimulus to adjacent property values. In a California city, the housing authority acquired land in 1942 for a project at a cost of $750 an acre. Recently a corner lot across the street from this project sold at a value of $75,000 an acre. The area within a 1-mile radius of the project has over the past 10 years shown a higher appreciation of value than any other residential area in the city.

I believe that many of you can cite similar examples where public-housing projects have not only proved to be good neighbors, but also have been directly responsible for improving surrounding property values through stimulating the development of new commercial and residential areas.

But the people outside public housing, the people who do not struggle with municipal budgets, do not know or have never been shown what public housing means to their community—I think they should be told, and I think it is the job of every municipal authority that has found that it can work with public housing, to tell them.

Our citizens are ashamed of our slums. They know we need housing of all kinds. Give them information and aggressive municipal leadership and they will respond.

Do not, however, let me give the impression that this has been universally lacking. It has not. But the leadership given has been the tireless, selfless, hard-working type that avoids the limelight in working for civic betterment. We need to know, as I came to know, the men and women who are really working for the realization of public housing in the best interests and traditions of this Nation.

It has been charged that public housing is creeping socialism. If so, I have never in my travels met so many socialists disguised as Republicans. Bob Taft was such a one.

Invariably, in the cities which I visited these past 3 months, the members of the public housing commission or authority have been the town's leading citizens, the people who guide their community's business and professional life. These are not social theorists. These are hard-headed, tough-minded, practical people who refuse to let their cities decay. They need a voice, and until they get a better one, they will have—for so long as it holds out—mine.

There are, of course, those that say all housing should be a matter for private enterprise. I am for that so long as a profit can be maintained, and certainly, no one but private enterprisers are contracting to build public housing units. On the other hand, public housing tenants are, because of the prescribed income limits we maintain, those people who, by and large, could not represent profit to a landlord unless he were making it off slum property.

The only money that comes out of slum properties is that made from human misery.

The man who says that he can provide new housing for low-income families at a profit has yet to prove his case. If there is one who can do it outside of the slums, I would like to have his name, because he holds a housing formula that the whole Nation has to date sought fruitlessly. The Congress will be interested.

Families who can afford to buy or rent decent private housing are not in public housing projects. Our income limits keep them out. The average annual income of families in public housing projects is only $1,988.00.

I think I should lay before you one more matter in connection with public housing. That is with regard to public housing financing. I have said on other occasions that I do not think the Federal Government should carry alone the entire cost of financing public housing, and that I would welcome any State or municipal financial assistance to keep the program moving. At the same time, I am aware that the Federal Government has dried up many tax resources that would otherwise be avilable to local governments. Even in States which levy their own income taxes the Federal Government is taking at least two tax dollars for the State's one dollar. Our cities, as we all know, are even worse off. Until that situation changes radically, I think the Federal Government is the only body, with certain notable exceptions, that is in any position to establish sufficient credit to enable us to provide public housing.

There you have my case for public housing.

1. It is the best tool we have for rehabilitating the slums of America and the people that live there.

2. It is an investment that pays large municipal dividends in its reduction in police, fire, and health costs in the areas in which it operates.

3. It represents a net gain in municipal income without the cost of collection that normal taxes entail.

4. It means a better life for all of us. Every citizen profits from slum eradication. Public housing improves adjacent property, stops its deterioration.

5. Its costs are negligible, far outweighed in size by any other number of Government subsidies.

This is a story, my friends, which I think needs to be told all over America. I leave it in your hands, and to your voices.

Getting a Corner on Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Malvina Lindsay in the Washington Post:

GETTING A CORNER ON PATRIOTISM

(By Malvina Lindsay)

Having brashly remarked in a group containing several strangers that an honest day's work didn't always bring an honest day's pay, I suddenly realized a man present was regarding me with narrowed eyes. Later I saw him writing in a little black book.

I then recalled that a new rash of amateur snooping in the name of patriotism had broken out. No doubt my name, as that of one who was subverting sound American ideals, was on the way to the FBI that minute.

I rushed to my public relations counsel, Dr. Gulliver Shrugg, operator of Shrugg's Specter and Spy Service. As one who for 30 years had ghosted impassioned speeches on both sides of controversies that had rocked

the Nation, he listened to my story with characteristic detachment.

"I suppose," I said, "you will now advise me to become as tightlipped on even the advent of the first robin as an employee of the State Department."

"No; quite the contrary. You must get in on this thing yourself." I gasped. The telephone rang. Dr. Shrugg adjusted its recording and photographic attachments, and discussed a service he was opening for obtaining and merchandising mailing lists of what he called "do-good" organizations.

"Now then," he resumed, "there's no reason why you too shouldn't belong to the patriotically elite. All you need do is start your own society. Then you will be in a position to appraise the patriotism of others."

"But on what basis could I set myself up as such a Solomon?"

"You consider yourself a little more patriotic than most persons, don't you?"

"Certainly. Who doesn't? But how am I to convince the public of my superiority?"

"It's very simple. Organize some like-minded people and start sorting the ideological sheep from the goats."

"I'd need some basis for membership."

"Well, take the genealogical——"

"Oh," I exclaimed eagerly, "did you know that my family dates back to three brothers who came to this country in——"

"Beg pardon," interrupted Dr. Shrugg, "but my contract does not include hearing about anyone's ancestors."

"Well anyway since I haven't them completely documented, I might as well give up the genealogical approach to patriotism."

"Not at all. I can provide anyone with celebrated ancestors by the mathematical formula. Now every adult American of today has about 1,000 ancestors who were living when the Mayflower sailed. That gives you a fair chance of having had a relative on that boat. Better still, at the time of Columbus, you had 524,288 forebears. There's 1 chance in 80 Columbus was your great-to-the-seventeenth power grandpa."

"How does that make me superpatriotic?"

"It gives you reason to call your society Sons and Daughters of Those Who Got Here First. Think what weight that carries in any community!"

"I don't want any free patriotic rides on my ancestors' coattails."

"Then base your tribunal on war service. You probably had male relatives who served in recent wars."

"That's right. But how would that make me an authority on other people's patriotism?"

"Well, if you want to be so conscientious, why not organize a League of the Emotionally Stable? You could keep your eye open for persons whom you suspect might be emotionally unstable, hence potentially unpatriotic."

"How could a charge like that be proved?"

"How could anyone so charged disprove it?" Dr. Shrugg was leafing through a pile of folders. "We're setting up a lot of these societies. Here's the Early to Bed Legion. It keeps an eye out for drunks, persons of slack habits, other spies—I mean unorthodox personalities. Here's the Alumni of the Little Red Schoolhouse. It's spotting educational nonconformists. Here's the League to Perpetuate True Spiritual Values and Round Up All Vile, Despicable Rascals."

"I'd rather start a society in which the members would attend to their own patriotism—say, by working in political parties, getting out the vote, improving their communities, studying world affairs."

"Completely unrealistic!"

"I don't believe I want to start a society."

"All right, then be a free lance authority on patriotism. But it's much harder."

"Yes, I suppose it would take a lot of study of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Nation's history——"

"Nonsense. You just have to keep on shouting you're more patriotic than anyone else. If you shout it often enough you'll be surprised how many will believe it."

Address by Hon. Carmine G. De Sapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday evening, February 4, will long be remembered as a momentous date in the annals of the Democratic Party of New York City. It was the annual dinner of the New County County Democratic Committee, given this year in honor of a great leader, the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio, the leader of the New York County Democrats.

A record attendance of 2,600 persons marked this eventful gathering, which is in itself an indication of the spirit prevailing in Democratic Party ranks in New York. When you combine such an audience comprised of the most outstand political leaders of our city with an array of distinguished and capable speakers, the result was a very successful event.

Heading the list of speakers was the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of New York, who praised Mr. De Sapio as a man of complete integrity and one who is leading the Democratic Party and the people of New York toward better government. Other speakers included the Honorable Abe Stark, president of the city council; the Honorable Frank S. Hogan, district attorney of New York County; and the Honorable Hulan E. Jack, borough president of Manhattan. The Honorable Adrian P. Burke, corporation counsel, served as toastmaster at the dinner.

Mr. De Sapio delivered a most interesting and enlightening address, which was broadcast over radio station WOR. He declared that the time had come to end Republican control of the lives of the people of New York City and that this could be accomplished through the election of a Democratic State administration next November. Discussing the problem of morality in Government, Mr. De Sapio ridiculed Governor Dewey's proposal to establish a code of ethics for State officials. He emphasized that there was no need for such a code when Alfred E. Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Herbert H. Lehman served as Governors of New York.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert Mr. De Sapio's address into the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

My good friends, this is a heart-warming sight. Never before in the history of our organization has there been a dinner such as this. I am told that never before have so many people been gathered together in this hotel. I am sorry that we had to crowd you so—more than 2,600 men and women in facilities ordinarily geared to handle about 2,000 people—and I appreciate your good-natured cooperation. I am sorry, too, that we had to turn away so many hundreds of our good friends whose reservations arrived too late, but I am sure that they understand.

I am very deeply grateful to all of you, not only for making this dinner a truly historic event, but also for your continued loyalty to our party and for your gracious support of my leadership.

Many nice things have been said about me tonight and, of course, my friends have been overkind in their expressions. But I certainly am not unaware that I would not be addressing you now, nor would I enjoy the accolades and plaudits which have been so generously forthcoming, were it not for you. You, my good friends, are the sinew, the backbone, the core of our great Manhattan Democratic organization. It was your work, your enthusiasm, and your unselfishness which have made possible our position of responsibility and our position of trust.

There are no heroes in this endeavor we call politics. No one man or small group of men is responsible for winning or losing elections. The success of any political program depends on its foundation, its philosophy, and the persons selected for its administration.

The success of our party last November can be attributed to you, and to thousands of others like you who selected Bob Wagner and his running mates to carry the standard of the Democratic Party, and who brought to the people the message of our party.

We who are active in politics have every right to be proud of our work, because politics is basic and essential to the gregarious instincts of men and women. There is politics in business and politics in labor. There is politics in our homes and there is politics in every facet of our lives. So long as people live and work together—so long as people have dreams, ambitions, and hopes—so long will programs and principles be evolved and so long will leaders emerge. So long, too, will there be politics and politicians.

To be active in the politics of the community, is a proud responsibility. In order to be a doctor, you must study and understand medicine. In order to be a lawyer, you must study and understand law. In order to be a politician, you must study and understand the needs of the people.

The Democratic Party has a tremendous heritage. The pages of our country's history are replete with record upon record of achievement. We have always been the party of courage; of daring; of experiment. We have always been the party of faith in, and dedication to the people.

Our State has now had over 11 years of Republican rule. After almost a dozen years of Republican control—absolute Republican control of our State machinery—suddenly there emerges an urgent need for, of all things, a code of ethics. Certainly nobody disputes the desirability of, or the necessity for, ethics in government. But we can properly ask why in an election year—and why in the face of shocking revelations of Republican scandal—why, suddenly, the need for an expressed and defined code of ethics?

When Alfred Smith was governor of our State, there was no hue and cry as to the necessity for prescribing what is proper and otherwise in government. When Franklin Roosevelt was governor, any malfeasance which occurred, even in his own party, was promptly and forthrightly acted upon. He never found it expedient to create confusing smokescreens which were designed to divert public attention from the uncomfortable truth. When Herbert Lehman was governor of our State, and learned of the existence of improprieties, he appointed a Republican prosecutor to rectify the wrongs and to punish the offenders. He did not climb up on a cloud and pompously declare that what was

needed—that the panacea—was a code of ethics.

My friends, even a child knows right from wrong, least of all a governor or a lieutenant-governor or a member of the State legislature. Ethics in government should not have to be defined for anybody who holds high public office. If he does not know the difference between honesty and dishonesty—between decency and immorality—he should never have sought office in the first place and should, at the very least, resign his trust at once.

For a long time there had existed a fable, and this myth—the myth of Republican virtue—has now been exploded. But, as Abe Stark so well pointed out, integrity in government is not measured only in terms of the absence or presence of scandal. Nor can it be measured by statutes and codes.

Can there be integrity in a government which arbitrarily and capriciously increased the rent of everybody in this room and every family in New York City, in order to benefit the real estate lobby? Is there integrity in government in the imposition of a 50-percent transit fare increase on the people of New York City in order to lessen the responsibility of big business for the maintenance of their Government? Is their integrity in the giving away, by the national Republican administration, of billions of dollars' worth of offshore oil properties in order to repay certain States and interests for their political support? My friends, is there integrity in Taft-Hartley; or in broken campaign promises; or in a cabinet of millionaires who brazenly proclaim their doctrine that what is good for General Motors is good for the Nation?

Just as there certainly is no integrity in the many shocking scandals in the Republican State administration, so, too, is there no integrity in the Republican philosophy of dedication to the special interests.

It is not enough for us to feel strong. It is not even enough for us to be strong if we do not apply that strength and every ounce of our energy to the fulfillment of our responsibilities as citizens, as Democrats, and, if you will, as politicians.

There are 15 million people in this State, 8 million of whom live in our own city. These people have again learned what they, unfortunately, had previously forgotten: that the hope—their hope—for people's government, rests in the Democratic Party. It is bitterly ironic in this enlightened year of 1954 that we should have to debate about overcrowding in our classrooms; that we should be unable to cope with inadequate hospital facilities; and that there should still be slum areas blighting the greatest city in all the world. It is, indeed, a disheartening commentary on the progress of which we boast, that our teachers, our policemen, our firemen, and so many thousands of other civil-service workers should be frightfully underpaid and overworked, and that our people should at the same time have increased burdens imposed upon them.

This need not be. The answer is clear and proved by the history of our party. The philosophy of the New Deal and the Democratic tradition, make for a graphic—a startlingly graphic—picture of what should and could be.

You and I, and thousands of other Democratic workers—politicians—throughout our city and State, have the responsibility, and happily, the opportunity, to build a greater city and State as well as a greater Nation this year.

The time has come to end Republican control of our lives. The time has come to put an end to the need for struggling each year for our own money, and fighting at each new session of the legislature for simple decency and ordinary justice. The time has come to return the government of our State to the people. And the time to start doing this is right now.

This year with your help we will again win a vital election, and, in winning the election, we will win back not only our State but we will also win back our Congress. In so doing, we will win back for the American people their heritage, their birthright, their security.

We must not wait until September or October to start our election campaign. We must proudly declare ourselves now—today—to be political leaders, politicians. We must bring to every man and woman of our State not only the message of the Democratic Party but the lesson of Republican reaction and corruption. We must, each of us, declare himself and herself to be a political teacher and we must undertake a full and comprehensive program of political education designed both to tear away the curtain of hypocrisy and to bring to light the great beauty that is truth.

Our people have repeatedly proved that they need only be armed with the facts to act intelligently, decisively, and forthrightly. The facts, though apparent to us, are too frequently obscured by the false issues and the smokescreens. So long as there is a Republican running for office who is either afraid or unwilling to meet the issues or reveal the truth, so long will the cry—Tammany—be raised; and so long as there is a Republican scandal, so long will false clamors for codes of ethics righteously be made by those who would hide their own ill-deeds with the camouflage of double talk.

If by Tammany the Republicans mean the record and heritage of Smith, Roosevelt, Wagner, and Lehman, we accept the characterization with deep pride; and, certainly, we offer no apologies. If Tammany, on the other hand, is intended as a term of vilification, or descriptive of an evil system of government, then we lay that charge—here and now—squarely in the laps of the "Tammany Republicans." And certainly there is no shortage of these in our State.

Everyone in this room knows precisely what our Tammany means. Our Tammany for more than 150 years was the welfare department of this city and, having mandated security for those in need into law, our Tammany remains the very proud Manhattan arm of the great Democratic Party. Our Tammany is the birthplace of the New Deal and the point of origin for every important modern experiment in government which sought to protect and serve the people.

We in the Democrat Party have had our reverses. We have never pretended to have a monopoly on virtue, nor have we ever pretended that all Democrats and all Democratic public officials have always represented the epitome of morality. But in facing the facts let us always remember that there has yet to be a Democratic scandal to match Teapot Dome, a Democratic disservice even remotely comparable to the tideland-oil grab, or Democratic callousness in any way reminiscent of the transit and rent increases.

Our party will go into the State campaign on the issues of security for the people and morality in government. No Democratic Governor of New York ever need a State investigations commissioner. Nor do we, particularly, need a declaration of ethics either.

We need, rather, a reaffirmation of governmental integrity. This can be achieved only by a Democratic victory in November.

Let the Repulican Party try to justify, if it can, its dedication to the special interests, on the one hand, and its patent corruption, on the other. We, for our part, will bring to the people our program, our history, and our tradition. This, my fellow Democrats, is your job. Do it well, and we will succeed. And you will find that the people will always be with us.

Thank you.

Will a Postal-Rate Increase Throw Away the People's Right to Information?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, in the zeal of some Federal officials, we could well put in jeopardy our whole American way of life by casting aside the free exchange of information which has formed the foundation of America's freedom and greatness.

I believe in a government being operated on a business-like basis. I believe in the elimination of waste and extravagance, but I do not believe we should abolish the very bulwark of our Nation under the guise of increasing the income of the Post Office Department and increasing postal rates to the American people.

Let us protect the people's right to know or else we will be responsible for sounding the death of liberty because the people do not have readily available reliable sources of information.

Let me call to your attention the points of the following editorial from the January 1954 issue of Redbook magazine, before you decide to lightly trade the people's right to know for a small reduction in the deficit of the Post Office Department:

YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW

(Redbook's editorial page has never been devoted to any argument serving the magazine's own interests—and that is a proud half-century record. This month, however, the editors risk seeming to do just that, because the issue at hand transcends appearances. For postal rates, while perhaps affecting periodicals most directly, are in actuality a basis of every citizen's access to knowledge: of his very right to know.—THE EDITORS.)

Should the postal service be self-supporting—pay its own way, or most of it? Should balancing the account books be more important than providing inexpensive service?

"No," has always been the answer of the American people, who have rejected this concept every time it has been pushed.

"Yes," seems to be the answer of the new Postmaster General, Arthur Summerfield. Flying straight in the face of long and repeatedly affirmed precedent, he is asking Congress to approve a bill which would try to put the Post Office Department on a break-even basis.

He would increase postal revenue $240 million a year by raising rates on every type of mail.

Newspapers and magazines comprise second-class mail. They are carried by the Post Office at second-class rates because, from the beginning of the Republic, the idea has prevailed that the people must be kept informed if the Nation is to remain unified and free. In 1879 Congress enacted this principle into law, giving official recognition to the educational value of periodicals.

Now, the Postmaster General's bill proposes to raise second-class postage rates—for the fourth time in 3 years. (Other increases were 10 percent in 1952, 10 percent in 1953, and another 10 percent which goes into effect in April of this year.) The requested in-

crease, if added to the others, would force publishers to pay 67 percent more in mailing charges. No low-profit business, which the magazine industry is, can bear such extra costs. (Publishers would pay a minimum of $20 million more per year.) To ask it is unrealistic—for in effect the public would have to accept fewer and smaller periodicals, or pay a great deal more money to get what they have now.

All of this is being advocated at a time when the Senate Post Office Committee, under Senator FRANK CARLSON, of Kansas, is making a broad study of the postal service and preparing to redefine our Government's philosophy regarding postal rates. This committee, whose study was authorized by the last session of Congress, should be given a chance to report.

One open question involves the relationship between second-class service and first-class service. The United States postal service was established primarily for the collection and delivery of first-class letter mail, and this is still its main function. First-class mail comes first, gets the fastest and safest handling at every stage, and determines the sizes and locations of post offices and routes. Second-class mail, by its very name, gets handling which is secondary to letter mail.

No question surrounds this fact: The Post Office Department has always operated at a loss (except in wartime)—because at the outset our forefathers recognized that easy, low-cost communication was a public necessity. That this service would cost the Government money was accepted as obvious. In 1866 Postmaster General Randall declared, "It has always been an erroneous theory in the history of the postal service that it was established or sustained on the principle that it should be self-supporting."

Our present Postmaster General, however, refuses to recognize this fact, and constantly refers to the Post Office Department "deficit." It is curious for the Post Office Department, whose activities go straight home to every person in the country, to be thought of as a business operation, while the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, for example—each of which works for limited groups and has much larger deficits—are thought of as services to be financed by congressional appropriation.

Not for many years has anyone seriously challenged the historic philosophy of a postal system based on service rather than cost. This magazine believes that, before upsetting a system which has proved to be so successful for so long, the people and their representatives should wait for the Carlson Committee's report and then consider it carefully.

Let us not hastily cast away the greatest information exchange the world has ever known.

In Opposition to Lowering of Tariffs on Rubber Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from the Middlesex County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Massachusetts, in opposition to lowering of tariffs on rubber goods:

MIDDLESEX COUNTY COUNCIL,
DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
February 3, 1954.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: At a recent meeting of Middlesex County Council held at Quigley Memorial Hospital, Chelsea, Mass., Sunday, January 24, 1954, it was resolved to inform you that this council of Veterans of Foreign Wars, comprising 46 posts in the Department of Massachusetts, are opposed to the lowering of tariffs on rubber goods imported into this country.

This proposed action has already wreaked havoc in the rubber industry concerning the employment of veterans in Converse Rubber Co., Malden, Mass.; Hood Rubber Co., Watertown, Mass.; and other such industries locally.

Hoping that you will defeat this measure upon its presentation on the floor of Congress of the United States.

Thanking you for your consideration in the above, I am

Very truly yours,

FRANCIS D. FOLEY,
Adjutant, Middlesex County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

I Am a Bewildered Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram and letter received from a valued constituent:

BOSTON, MASS., *January 21, 1954.*
Hon. ANGIER L. GOODWIN,
House Office Building:

Various factions have complained regarding England doing business with Russia and Communist countries. The United States press announces pending business transactions between the United States Government and Russia. Is this whole question a matter of principle or simply whose ox is getting gored for the moment? Certain New Deal measures were extraordinary but this outdoes anything that has yet transpired. Have we lost all sense of proportion? This is a protest for the record. Please acknowledge.

KENNETH HUTCHINS.

BOSTON, MASS., *January 22, 1954.*
Hon. ANGIER L. GOODWIN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I am a bewildered citizen. I sent you a telegram, a day letter, dated January 21.

It is one thing to be fed up with the doubletalk of the Red Chinese and the Russians; it is another thing to be fed up with doubletalk from Washington.

Are we to trade with Russia and the Red Chinese, or are we not? Either keep our mouth shut about England and the Continent trading with Russia—with talk of refusing loans to these countries if they trade with Communist countries—or stop trading ourselves.

I hate to have our Government put in such a ridiculous light and I request our Representatives to define the clear policy that is necessary if we are to have a balanced world.

Allow me to thank you for your telegram of today reading as follows:

"Your protest just received by wire will go into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

This is not a question of a few kids playing marbles—it is a very serious situation and should be handled in an intelligent manner.

Faithfully yours,

KENNETH HUTCHINS.

The Late Maj. Gen. Earl T. Ricks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, on leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

PILOT CLUB,
Hot Springs, Ark.

"Whereas there is under construction an Air Force base at Jacksonville, Ark.; and

"Whereas Earl T. Ricks was Arkansas' most illustrious man in the field of aviation, and the recent national commander of the Air National Guard of the United States of America, and the aviator who piloted the plane bearing Japan's emissaries to the official surrender ceremony of that nation to our Nation, and Hot Springs' distinguished and beloved citizen; and

"Whereas the said Earl T. Ricks passed away on January 4, 1954, while in the service of his country: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That we, the Pilot Club of Hot Springs, respectfully petition that this flying field in his native State of Arkansas be named in his memory and honor, The Ricks Field."

Dated this 26th day of January 1954 at Hot Springs, Garland County, Ark.

THE PILOT CLUB OF HOT SPRINGS,
By DOROTHY LEE EMBREE, *President.*
LAURA ALICE WILSON, *Secretary.*

Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to have known the late Maj. Gen. Earl T. Ricks for many years prior to his passing on January 4, 1954. He was a constituent for whom I had highest regard, and a personal friend. An outstanding citizen of Arkansas he had a distinguished military record the details of which have been furnished me, upon request, by the Department of Defense, as follows:

MAJ. GEN. EARL T. RICKS, AIR NATIONAL GUARD

Earl T. Ricks was born in West Point, Miss., in 1908. He enlisted as a private in the 154th Observation Squadron of the Arkansas National Guard, March 13, 1940. He was commissioned a second lieutenant April 7, 1940, and entered Federal active duty as a pilot on September 16, 1940, with the 154th Observation Squadron.

In August 1941 General Ricks was transferred to the 17th Bomb Group. Later he served as commanding officer of the Air Transport Command at Miama (Fla.) Air Base, prior to a tour of duty as the commanding officer of Payne Field at Cairo, Egypt.

In June 1944 General Ricks became deputy commander of the Southwest Pacific Wing of Air Transport Command. While serving in the Pacific theater, he piloted the plane that carried the Japanese surrender party from the island of Ie Shima to Manila to receive the surrender terms.

Following his discharge from the military service in October 1945, General Ricks became mayor of Hot Springs, Ark. He was appointed adjutant general of the State of Arkansas in January 1949, and received his

Federal recognition as a brigadier general on February 28, 1949. In October 1950 he was named deputy chief of the National Guard Bureau and chief of the Air Force Division, National Guard Bureau. He was federally recognized as a major general with date of rank from March 7, 1951.

Among the decorations which General Ricks has been awarded are the Legion of Merit, Air Medal, Commendation Ribbon, American Defense Ribbon, Pacific Theater Ribbon with seven battle stars, European-African-Middle Eastern Campaign Ribbon with two battle stars, South Philippine Campaign Ribbon and Luzon Campaign Ribbon.

General Ricks has been a flier for 26 years and received his first transport pilot's license in 1929. He is a rated pilot for jet planes, single-engine fighters, and 2- and 4-engine bombers.

PROMOTIONS

He was promoted to first lieutenant February 4, 1941; to captain April 6, 1942; to major July 20, 1942; to lieutenant colonel April 8, 1943; to colonel April 26, 1944. He was appointed a brigadier general in the Air National Guard February 28, 1949, and was promoted to major general on April 11, 1951, with date of rank from March 7, 1951.

In view of his military record I take pride in submitting that, in the judgment of many of us in Arkansas, it would be appropriate that the air base under construction at Jacksonville, Ark., be named in the memory and honor of Maj. Gen. Earl T. Ricks.

A Foreign Trade Policy in Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am including a copy of an address delivered by Russell B. Brown, general counsel for the Independent Petroleum Association of America, delivered before the World Trade Corporation of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce at Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 27, 1954.

This speech, in my opinion, gives a constructive view on the problem in which not only the independent producers of America are interested, but a problem that concerns the people of the country generally. Mr. Brown points out, among other things, that "whether through trade or aid we must learn not to surrender this security."

The address follows:

World trade is now occupying much of the thinking of the Nation's statesmen, industrial and political. This thinking gives rise to many questions.

How can we share an expanded world trade and, at the same time, preserve the strength essential to the position we now occupy as the one unit prepared to meet the threat to the free nations of the world?

Should we, as a nation, adopt the slogan "trade-not-aid," and cover all commodities in trade with its blanket application? Should we, as the one remaining strong bulwark against communism, allow key industries which are now exploring for irreplaceable strategic materials, to be diverted from domestic exploration by the peacetime lure of foreign supplies unreliable in time of war? Shall we treat trade in irreplaceable materials as we do trade in such replaceable commodities as can be reproducted in the factories and fields?

These and many other questions are essential points to be considered in formulation of a national trade policy. They cannot, in conscience, be ignored.

The danger of an emotional appeal such as "trade-not-aid" is that we may be induced to attempt to make such a program overall in its application. By such action, we may destroy the very economy on which the program is built. We must be wary to retain some of the realities on which our security is based. We cannot afford to become the victims of a slogan, even though the general purpose may seem good. We must not, through faithfulness to such a slogan, undermine our very security.

There is a fundamental difference between trade in products producible and reproducible in factories and fields throughout the world and in natural resources that must be produced where found and under conditions as found. Petroleum, the commodity with which I am most familiar, is such a resource. Most important, the products of petroleum are essential to our security.

A few months ago Gen. Carl Spaatz, the famous World War II military expert, said that "Oil is the essential ingredient of modern warfare. Even supermodern atomic weapons amount to nothing unless the means of their delivery are fueled with oil."

Our supply of this fuel, if postwar trends continue, may someday be sacrificed on the altar of expanded world trade.

A little later I will give statistics to show how oil imports have risen at the expense of domestic production, and try to illustrate why the domestic oil producer has just cause for alarm. First, however, you may be interested in the feeling expressed on May 28, 1953, before a meeting of the National Petroleum Council by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay. He referred to his previous testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee where he said, in part, "Domestic production has been reduced in recent months, and there should be a corresponding cut in imports." Secretary McKay then concluded, "I am hopeful that those companies importing crude oil or products will show industrial statesmanship in this important matter and that each company, acting individually and wholly in its own individual judgment, will exercise that restraint in respect of imports necessary to the health and security of the Nation." He then added, "I have discussed this matter with President Eisenhower and the National Security Council. I can say to you that President Eisenhower concurs in these views."

Despite Secretary McKay's admonition, imports have continued at an alltime high rate while domestic production has been reduced further by substantial amounts.

The problem of world trade is, of course, a larger one than trade in petroleum alone.

In general, trade programs should first encourage trade between countries in products where shortages are supplied by excesses. Trade between countries in commodities in which each have excesses causes friction and the extent of such trade should be determined in the national interest after an evaluation of all the factors involved.

I would like to illustrate this contention by a brief discussion of world trade in oil.

The United States now has a capacity to produce more oil than we use. Yet there is a place for some trade in oil with the United States.

So far as I know, there is not now any proposal to bar all imports of oil. The petroleum industry as a whole has agreed that there is a proper place for some imports.

The basis of determining the amount of these imports and the time of their importation is that, to assure a continued flow of oil to the United States consumer, imports should supplement our domestic supply. When the domestic industry is unable to produce the amount of oil required to meet domestic demand, imports in such amounts as are then required should be encouraged. Thus the domestic consumer is assured a continuous supply of products on a competitive basis.

On the other hand, to permit imports which are not needed causes the displacement of American industry and ultimately makes the American consumer dependent on foreign sources.

There is a recognized tolerance which enables the industry to provide for specialty requirements in oil products. This recognition also provides for a contribution to world trade gaps to which the industry has already contributed more than a proportionate share.

In discussing petroleum imports, we are not talking about imports of a product of which this country is short in supply.

The United States has, within its borders, abundant raw material supplies from which petroleum products can be produced in amounts sufficient to meet our country's requirements for our expanding economy and national security now and for the foreseeable future.

In discussing petroleum imports, we are, therefore, approaching the subject purely on the basis of world trade—not on the basis of obtaining a commodity which is in short supply in our country.

Prior to World War II, world trade was largely competitive. Since the close of that war, the United States has pursued a policy of encouraging trade between the so-called free countries to stimulate the development of the separate countries. Out of this policy has grown recognition of certain "dollar gaps" where it seemed desirable as a national policy to be less competitive, and more cooperative, with these free countries until their own economies were restored.

In pursuing this policy, it would seem desirable to encourage trade with countries which need their economy restored and to expand our trade in products produced by these countries.

By this process, we eliminate, so far as our import trade in oil is concerned, all European countries, because they produce no oil in excess of their own needs.

The same is true of the countries of the Far East, Africa, and of South America, except Venezuela, the Netherlands West Indies and a small excess from Colombia. In the Central American countries, only Mexico has a small exportable surplus of petroleum. Canada produces only about one-half of its own petroleum requirements.

In discussing petroleum imports into the United States, we are thus talking primarily of four countries—Venezuela, Netherlands West Indies, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. Based on dollar value, these countries accounted for more than 90 percent of all United States petroleum imports during the year 1952.

It is argued that by increasing imports of oil, we enlarge our export of other commodities.

Using the above four countries as an example, we find that petroleum constitutes their principal export commodity.

Since World War II, the dollar value of petroleum imports from these four countries into the United States has continuously increased from less than $200 million to more than $600 million.

In contrast, our exports to these countries have not shown an increasing trend. From 1948 to 1952, oil imports into the United States from these 4 countries increased 62 percent, while our exports to these coun-

tries on products other than oil actually declined 5 percent, clearly demonstrating that the amount of goods we can sell these countries is not directly dependent on the amount of oil we can import from them.

We are not proposing to prevent world expansion of the markets for petroleum produced outside the United States.

At the close of World War II, the production of oil outside the United States (excluding Russia) was about 2 million barrels per day. Currently this rate is more than 5 million barrels per day, an increase of some 150 percent. During this time United States production has increased about 30 percent.

We do not wish to destroy the benefits of the oil reserves now owned outside the United States. We only wish to preserve our own.

In considering world trade in oil, there must be some basis in reason and equity beyond which we cannot safely go.

The highway for world trade in oil is wide and sufficient for reasonable use by all in their respective areas. If we jostle each other through our own efforts or greed, it is no fault of the highway.

International oil companies now enjoy the substance of great world trade. This substance could be lost through their own aggressiveness in reaching for the mirrored shadow of a too greatly enlarged trade.

Here in the United States we have learned that the finding of a great new source of petroleum may be a blessing to all or only a few, depending on how it is developed. It is through the wise use of our petroleum resources that we have grown. It is that wiser course, that comes from such experience, that we commend.

Petroleum is important to our everyday life. It has sparked our expanding economy and is essential to our security. A wise program of world trade in petroleum and its products is vital to our continued success as a Nation.

Oil is now produced in some 28 States of the United States. The economies of many States depend for support upon the production of oil. Throughout the oil-producing areas of the United States are beautiful and useful communities built because of, and dependent upon, oil.

Our Federal economy is greatly supported by the income from oil. The products of our farms and factories throughout the United States find market outlet in the vast oil areas of the country. In a small oil community in Oklahoma in 1930, I purchased two life-insurance policies with money that came to me from oil. Those policies were written by a company here in Cincinnati. The benefits that come from oil produced in the United States are shared by people and companies from Maine to California.

Oil has been demonstrated to be a munition of war essential to our military success. Two wars and our own reason have demonstrated the undependability of remote or water-borne petroleum supplies. Imports of oil from foreign countries were substantially cut off through the employment of enemy submarines. Oil produced in our own Gulf Coast States was intercepted and destroyed en route by water to our east coast. Finally, interior pipelines and enlarged rail and truck transportation were necessary to keep our Armed Forces supplied with oil.

Our armies of necessity are raised from our own people. An army becomes impotent when separated from its arms, be it rifles or gasoline. It is bad when the misfortunes of war separate our military forces from their arms. It would be tragic if we, through emotionalism in peacetime, deliberately plan a course that must inevitably separate them in time of greatest need—war. No one would consider building our airplane factories in the Middle East, yet that in effect is the course we are now pursuing as to oil.

This, it seems apparent, is sheer folly.

The available alternative is to maintain a strong domestic oil producing industry in peacetime, in order to have adequate oil in time of war.

The domestic-oil industry must depend on the market outlet, through volume and price, for the capital to sustain its operations. The money the industry gets goes into the search for more oil to support our expanding economy and defense requirements. To whatever extent that market outlet is impaired through excessive imports, our efforts must be reduced.

Our vast and valuable natural gas reserves have been uncovered and made possible through our search for petroleum.

Oil imported from outside the North American continent contributes nothing to our natural gas supply. In fact, it means less gas because to whatever extent our search for oil is reduced through the importation of oil our supply of natural gas for our domestic use will be impaired.

It is the effort of the domestic industry in exploration and development that has examined our frontiers for oil and gas. We have seen these pioneers move across our continent. Beginning in Pennsylvania in 1869, the effort has crossed the continent, leaving permanent and substantial communities in its wake. The hills of Pennsylvania and New York, the plains of Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas, the marshes of our Gulf Coast, the rugged mountain areas of the Rocky Mountains, and now the plains of the great Northwest and the areas between are all a part of this great movement. Areas of California—interior and coastal—are the direct beneficiaries of this industrial surge.

With the money obtained from the sale of oil products, this industry is sending trained technicians throughout our land. From the marshes to the mountains, they hunt for areas of possible oil production. I say possible areas of production because actual finding of oil must await actual drilling to determine the commercial possibilities of oil.

Oil, unlike much of our defense requirements, is not obtained on order. We cannot await the development of a great military need and then plan for our oil requirements. We may be able to program our military needs for much of defense materials. We cannot for oil.

Oil is found as a result of a continuous exploratory effort. Much effort, time, and money must precede the development of an oil field. To illustrate, in 1951 oil was discovered in North Dakota. The leases authorizing drilling there were taken in 1946. Adequate transportation has not yet been completed to make large-scale production feasible. Although the area now has great potential, it does not yet produce much oil.

Not all exploratory wells are successful. The average is nine wells drilled for each well that finds oil. Not all discoveries are profitable. The chances are 1 in 16 of finding a field which will produce enough oil to supply our needs for 4 hours or less; 1 out of 991 which will supply our needs for a week or more.

By this process, oil has been found in the United States. Stimulated by the policies of our Government, the industry has continued its activities until today petroleum products provide more than one-half of our energy requirements.

About two-thirds of the shipments in offshore tonnage of essential materials for the conduct of World War II were of petroleum products.

The continuation of the world dominance the United States enjoys in petroleum for our defense will depend upon the policy of our Government. The basic objective of the policy provided by the Congress has been the maintenance of a strong domestic industry. The activities of some administrative bureaus has constituted a detriment to this program.

We recognize the necessity for constantly increasing world trade. To this program the oil industry has already contributed a sacrificing part.

Venezuela alone is receiving over $700,000 per day more from oil shipments to the United States than that nation enjoyed in 1946.

The Middle East is receiving about $350,000 per day more than in 1946. This is a total postwar contribution of more than $1 million each day.

How much more must the domestic oil producer give?

How much more can he give and survive to meet our country's needs and security?

It should be kept clearly in mind that trade in oil is not to the complete benefits of the nationals where oil is produced. American companies own, produce, and import most of the foreign oil being brought into this country. Whatever part they get amounts to trading with our own people.

Basic to the success of oil production in the United States is our vast army of trained personnel. That army is composed of more than 300,000 men engaged in production alone. These men drill nearly 50,000 wells per year and maintain nearly one-half million producing wells. They produce slightly more than 6 million barrels of oil per day, indicating that the industry employs one man for every 20 barrels per day of production.

More than a million barrels of oil per day are not being imported. A million barrels per day of imports, based on the above ratio, represents the equivalent of 50,000 men in the army of trained personnel in our domestic producing industry.

The men engaged in the production of oil rank near the top in wages paid per day. When we talk about permanently replacing 1 million barrels per day of our oil with a million from outside the United States, we are talking about the equivalent of 50,000 fewer domestic oil workers whose earning capacity is high. Fifty thousand oil workers and their dependents represent a vast purchasing power to the Nation's economy. More important, these workers constitute an essention part of the industrial army necessary to our defense.

Outside the Iron Curtain the United States stand alone among the world's great powers in having the ability to remain self-sufficient in oil—the essential ingredient of modern warfare.

Whether through trade or aid we must learn not to surrender this security.

We must, or fall to a wiser enemy.

Improvement of Atchafalaya River Channel, Morgan City, Mississippi River via Old River

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement on the floor of the House of my good friend and colleague, the Honorable GEORGE A. DONDERO, chairman of the House Committee on Public Works, to the effect that hearings are scheduled this month by his committee in connection with certain river and harbor and flood-control public works was very timely. We have had

no public works omnibus bill presented for consideration since 1950, and the committee's decision to consider such a bill during this session of Congress is a step in the right direction.

The announcement was received with particular enthusiasm by the people in the Morgan City area.

On January 9, 1953, I introduced a bill, H. R. 1444, providing as follows:

A bill to provide an adequate channel in Old and Atchafalaya Rivers

Be it enacted, etc., That the project for flood control of the lower Mississippi River adopted by the act of May 15, 1928, as amended, be modified to provide an adequate channel from the Mississippi River via Old and Atchafalaya Rivers to Morgan City, La., at an estimated additional cost of $440,000, substantially in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers in Senate Document No. 53, 82d Congress, 1st session.

SEC. 2. There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be needed to carry out the provisions of this act.

I want to express my thanks to Mr. DONDERO and the members of his committee for including this project on the list of proposals for public hearings. In that connection, I call to the attention of this body the statement made by Mr. Harry B. Jordan, president of River Co., Inc., on January 20, 1954, to Gen. John R. Hardin, president of the Mississippi River Commission, describing the tremendous importance of this channel to navigation and the crying need for it.

Mr. Jordan's statement follows:

STATEMENT TO GEN. JOHN R. HARDIN, PRESIDENT, MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

General Hardin, I wish to thank you, the Commission, and all others present for the opportunity to make this statement. I have always been vitally interested in our inland waterways system and so I am naturally much concerned about the proposed 550-by-75-foot lock at Old River. Construction of the lock will have far reaching effect on inland waterway traffic. I should like to demonstrate the importance of constructing a lock of the proper size.

We know that installation of a lock is entirely desirable and inevitable. What is really important, however, is to determine the dimensions of the lock, for a lock of insufficient size would be, in my opinion, a very costly mistake over the long range.

The Atchafalaya River will become a major waterway as soon as a lock of proper size is completed and open to navigation year round. Until such time, river equipment can operate through this river only during the high water period, which is about 4 months each year. For years the inland waterways operators have been working to have Grand Lake and Six Mile Lake in the lower Atchafalaya River dredged to navigable depth. With the execption of these shallow spots it is a fine river on which to operate, and represents a big saving over the longer, highly congested Harvey lock route for points north of Old River. This necessary dredging is bound to be one phase of the proposed improvements.

The Old River lock, if constructed to the right dimensions, will do more by reducing transportation cost to develop additional tonnage on the Intracoastal Waterway than any other single thing except the broadening and deepening proposed for the canal from New Orleans west, and these two waterways together can create and serve an industrial empire for coastal Louisiana and Texas which would stagger the imagination. We are now at the point where we must do whatever is necessary to cause a lock of the proper dimensions to be built at Old River in order not to block this great development.

When the present Intracoastal Waterway was built, it was estimated very optimistically that eventually this canal would handle 5 million tons of cargo per year. This canal handled 42 million tons of cargo in 1952, just 13 years after being opened to navigation. This is more than eight times the estimate. I think the natural growth of tidelands oil development, inshore production, refineries, and chemical plants, plus all of the allied industrial installations which follow such a development will reflect a similar growth percentagewise in the 13 years following the construction of a lock of adequate size at Old River.

Why this terrific development? There is already a petroleum refining capacity west of Morgan City in excess of 2 million barrels a day. The New Orleans area has a capacity of approximately 400,000 barrels a day. The chemical industry is also developing at a tremendous rate west of Morgan City. And, of major significance, the tidelands exploitation will be of such magnitude that it will be hard for anyone to overestimate the new tonnage coming from this source alone.

With the ownership of the tidelands issue clarified by the Supreme Court, drilling of the off-shore areas has started with full force. A major oil company has just paid $3½ million for a lease on 5,000 acres under 70 feet of water off the Texas coast. This is just one example of the values being placed on the tidelands potential by the oil industry.

Morgan City, ideally located at the intersection of the Atchafalaya, the Intracoastal Canal and the gulf, is destined to become one of the focal points of this oil boom. Morgan City has a good navigable channel to the gulf and a good natural harbor which is not duplicated for many miles on either side.

Few of us realize what a tremendous thing this offshore oil operation will be. I will relate what I saw in the fall of 1945 at Lake Maracaibo, Venezuela, which may give some idea of the immensity of our own tideland oil bearing sands.

At the time I was in Maracaibo, drilling had been going on there for 25 years. This lake is 110 miles long and 65 miles wide. It was expected then that it would require 80 more years to completely drill the lake, the deepest part of which is 110 feet. Creole Petroleum alone, according to recent figures, produces more than 650,000 barrels of crude oil daily from this lake. I do not know the production figures for all of the companies drilling in Lake Maracaibo but the total must be at least double Creole's production. Our tidelands are many times larger than Lake Maracaibo in both area and potential production. It is only reasonable to expect that oil production from our tidelands would, in a few years, dwarf Lake Maracaibo by comparison.

As drilling is increased, big oil storage and refineries will be built at Morgan City. Pipelines will reach out from there to refining centers. However, if the Old River lock is of adequate size, refineries on the Ohio River, Illinois River and the Mississippi River, by the use of big tows, will be able to move crude more cheaply from this locality than by pipeline. And the fact that Morgan City has low cost water transportation right at its back door will be a determining factor in the construction not only of large oil storage and refineries but facilities for many other kindred industries. In this connection, the opening to navigation of the Atchafalaya River year round looms as the most important project in the improvement of our inland waterway system.

The Atchafalaya River route to points west of Morgan City is 171 miles shorter than the route by way of Harvey lock. A tow coming east out of the Intracoastal Canal and turning north at Morgan City will be in the Mississippi River 203 miles above New Orleans by the time the same tow could reach Harvey. It would still be necessary to lock through at Harvey, which will consume an average of 12 hours. Using an overall average speed of 6 miles per hour, this is equal, for all practical purposes, to a mileage difference of 72 miles lost while locking, or a total of 243 miles. For a round trip, this will consume an average of about 4 days. At an assumed freight rate of 2¼ mills per ton mile, 243 miles is equal to approximately 55 cents a ton.

As in any other hauling business the water transportation industry must offer a service which is profitable both to the transporter and the shipper. Where the margin of benefit to the shipper is narrow, as it is in the highly competitive Midwest oil market, transportation costs are a prime factor in the purchase of crude and refined commodities. The great Midwest, much of which is reached by the inland waterways, is one of the heaviest consumers of petroleum products in the world. Most of the petroleum products reaching this market from the Louisiana-Texas coast are at a price disadvantage in attempting to meet the competition of nearby refineries. The reduction of 55 cents a ton in transportation costs would be a strong factor in pricing the gulf coast of Louisiana and Texas right into this market. The result would be that a tremendous new volume of petroleum tonnage would start moving from coastal Louisiana and Texas to this important market. I believe that within 10 years this tonnage would multiply at least 10 times.

What tonnage can be expected to use the lock as soon as it is built? If we take the two-way tonnage using Harvey lock, Plaquemine lock, and the Atchafalaya River, originating west of Morgan City and bound beyond Old River going north, and that originating north of Old River bound west of Morgan City going south, we have a yearly tonnage figure of approximately 5 million tons which the Atchafalaya would handle as soon as it is opened to navigation the year round. This figure is before adding any increase as a result of the expansion of the Morgan City area, general growth of the Southwest, enlargement of the canal and the development of new markets. Certainly it is reasonable to expect this 5 million tons to increase 10 times in 10 years.

The minimum size of the lock to be constructed at Old River is 1,200 by 84 feet—any smaller lock will be obsolete before completion, not only because of traffic volume but also because of operational considerations.

Everyone knows that large tows have proved to be more economical than small ones, and that the trend has been and will continue to be in that direction. While there may be some upper limit on the length of tows, there is no likelihood of a reversion to smaller tows. Today, upriver tows range in size from 570 feet including the towing vessel to 1,000 feet excluding the towing vessel, with an average of about 750 feet. With a lock 550 feet long, even the comparatively small tows composed, for instance, of two 240-foot barges and a 90-foot towing vessel, would have to double-trip through this lock. The larger tows would have to at least triple-trip this size lock.

Lost time double-tripping and triple-tripping would start with the first tow going through and would increase as the tonnage increased. If 18,000,000 tons were reached in 4 to 5 years, and annual tonnage by that time will probably be greater than this, the average lost time for each tow would be about equal to Harvey lock now—12 hours for each tow per trip, or 24 hours a round trip. This lost time converted into miles at 2¼ mills per ton-mile is equal to 16 cents a ton. On

18 million tons, this lost time would cost approximately $2,880,000 annually. And it would certainly be only a relatively short time before we would have a bottleneck at Old River if the 550 by 75 foot lock were constructed instead of a 1,200 by 84 foot lock. As tonnage increased even more, the condition would grow continually worse. The congestion that would follow a lock of this size would certainly prevent the 25,000 to 30,000 ton tows using this waterway profitably, and should they attempt its usage, an intolerable situation would arise.

The locks on the Ohio River which are 600 by 110 feet are almost without exception too small to economically handle the tonnage being transported on this river. The plans for any new locks on the Ohio River are for locks 1,200 by 110 feet, which seems to me to prove the point that anything under 1,200 foot length at Old River is inadequate.

In discussing the size of this lock I have been using the dimensions first suggested by the Engineers of 1,200 by 84 feet. Really, there is no point in going beyond a width of 75 feet unless it becomes desirable to lock a 35-foot barge with a barge 50 feet wide, then at least 86 feet width would be necessary. With the 75 feet width, two barges 35 feet wide could be locked side by side easily.

My estimates throughout this statement may seem optimistic. However, 42 million tons that was handled in 1952 on the Intracoastal Canal would have certainly seemed overly optimistic at the time the Intracoastal Canal was being planned. We must prepare for growth that we know from experience is inevitable. The facility must precede the service or the development will never take place.

HARRY B. JORDAN,
President, River Co., Inc.

Mr. Speaker, I, of course, expect to appear befort the committee when the date of the hearing is announced during the latter part of this month. Local interests will be in attendance to testify in favor of the project. And of utmost importance, the Federal engineers will, I am sure, convince the committee that their own recommendations in support of the project should be carried out. I urge your support of it.

Oscar "Battling" Nelson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the city of Chicago this week they will be burying Oscar "Battling" Nelson. When the business of the day in this House is finished, I shall fly to Chicago in the hope that I shall arrive in time to pay the last respect of friendship to a great guy. He was in my corner every time I had a political fight. I was always in his corner.

Our friendship started in the old Hearst Building on the south side of Madison Street in Chicago in the block-long editorial room we affectionately called the madhouse. I was 21, sports editor, and the writer of a syndicated fight column. Battling Nelson was 21, not much of a fighter as yet, but game. No one could make him quit.

At that time Benny Yanger and Tommy Mowatt were the prides of Chicago. Benny on the North and West Sides, Tommy in the Back O' the Yards. John Hertz—later taxi magnet, now partner of a distinguished member of the other body in a great financial house in New York—was managing Yanger, who was well on his way to matches with Jimmy Britt and eventually for the title.

The late Jack Robinson, than whom there never was a greater, as manager took on "Battling" Nelson. I had dinner with them in King's Restaurant on Fifth Avenue, now Wells Street, in Chicago just before they started their famous trek westward. They had a total capital of $10, or what was left after Robinson had insisted on picking up the meal check at King's. It was one victory after another. Overnight "Battling" Nelson became the sporting sensation of the country. He left Chicago unknown and unsung; he returned the fistic hero of the nation.

Nelson's rise to fame was so sudden that the only photograph of him in a Chicago newspaper morgue was one posed as an unidentified sparring partner of the famous Syracuse Tommy Ryan. We were a bit chesty that we were the only paper in town to come out with a Nelson photograph. This time it was Mr. Ryan who got painted out and Mr. Nelson got the big identification.

In a very real sense it is fitting and proper that the Congress of the United States should note the passing of Battling Nelson and give tribute to his memory.

A great and popular athlete has a mighty influence in molding the character of the youth of his generation.

Battling Nelson has left us a tradition of courageous gameness that cannot fail to have lasting and wholesome repercussions. He never had a bad habit. His was an example to follow.

He never knew how to quit. Nor did he know how to complain. I think he always understood that the man who complains is the man who is looking for an excuse to quit. The last thing in the world that Battling Nelson wanted was an excuse to quit.

Even when the walls were closing about him he did not complain. He had put his earnings into the real estate of his beloved Hegewisch. The depression came, and he was washed clean. I saw him often those days. He had faith, courage, the gameness to see the night through, the certainty that the day would dawn.

Poverty came, and illness and grief. His body that once was of iron wasted to a mere 40 pounds. But he did not know to quit. He did not know how to complain. The good souls and kind hearts of the Veteran Boxers Association sought him out and when they got him to a hospital the doctors found that he had carried on almost to the last hour with cancer of the lungs.

What a man was Oscar "Battling" Nelson. I am enriched that he was my lifelong friend. He has given to the blood of the Danes and the tradition of these United States an imperishable glory.

Is TVA Power Subsidized?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following brief statement prepared by the Citizens for TVA, Inc., is deserving of our attention:

IS TVA POWER SUBSIDIZED?

Most of the arguments against the TVA boil down to one question:

Are the Nation's taxpayers subsidizing the cost of electricity in the Tennessee Valley?

The answer is readily apparent to anyone willing to look at the facts:

TVA power operations are not subsidized.

It is a fact that a portion of the funds invested in TVA power-producing facilities has come from congressional appropriations. But read on:

At June 30, 1953, the investment in TVA's power facilities (excluding construction work in progress) totaled $856,079,149.

To finance power facilities Congress has provided TVA with $722,930,576. However, TVA has repaid $81,131,519 of this total, so that the net investment of Government money in TVA's power program at the end of June 1953 was $641,799,057. The remaining $214,280,092 represents the earnings of the power business reinvested in power facilities.

In other words, through June 30, 1953, one-fourth of TVA's investment in power facilities had come from the people of the Tennessee Valley through the bills they pay for service.

These figures are shown in tabular form below:

Total investment in TVA power system	$856,079,149
Funds provided by Congress for TVA power system	722,930,576
Deduct $81,131,519 repaid to Treasury by TVA	81,131,519
Net investment of Government money in TVA power system	641,799,057
Earnings of power business reinvested in power facilities	214,280,092
Total	856,079,149

As noted above, one-fourth of TVA's investment in power facilities has come from the people of the Tennessee Valley through the bills they pay for service. The remaining three-fourths of the investment had been advanced by the Federal Government. Under the law, what has been advanced from the Federal Treasury must be repaid over a 40-year period. When these congressionally appropriated funds are repaid, the Federal Government will still own these facilities 100 percent as it does now, and they will be good income-producing sources.

If there is any subsidy in this kind of arrangement whereby the users of electricity repay the cost of power facilities, it's difficult to find it. Instead, it might easily be said that the people of the Tennessee Valley are providing the Federal Government valuable electricity-producing facilities.

The production and distribution of electricity to those who use it in the Tennessee Valley is a partnership venture between TVA and 148 municipalities and farmer cooperatives. The retail rates which are paid by the 1¼ million customers who use this power are a combination of the cost of producing it by TVA and its distribution by these groups.

When we look at the combined operating costs of TVA and its power distributors for

the fiscal year 1953 and compare it to the same costs of the entire privately owned electric utility industry in the United States for the calendar year 1952, we find that on a per-kilowatt-hour basis, these total production and distribution expenses are about half of those for the private electric utility industry as a whole. This is one of the principal reasons that TVA electricity is sold to consumers in the Tennessee Valley at less than half the average cost of private power electricity in the Nation.

A great hullabaloo is made over the fact that TVA and the municipal power systems do not pay Federal income taxes. Well, why should they? All of TVA's net income belongs to the Federal Government and goes to the Federal Government to be used either for general purposes or reinvestment in the TVA power system as may be determined by the Government.

Congress did not establish the TVA power program as a source of income-tax revenue for the Federal Government. Instead, the Congress directed TVA to charge the lowest possible rates consistent with making the power program of TVA self-supporting and self-liquidating. Throughout the 30 years that TVA has operated, the earnings of the power program have provided the Government with an average annual return on its investment of 4.1 percent. During this period the interest cost of the Government averaged about 2 percent.

It is evident, therefore, that the rates, the revenues, and the earnings are more than ample to cover all operating and maintenance expenses, depreciation, interest, tax payments to State and local governments (those by TVA and its distributors totaled $8,557,000 in fiscal 1953) and still leave a generous margin of income for the Government.

In fact, the income which the Government receives from TVA's power operations exceeds the income taxes which a utility company would pay if it were operating the system.

Many of us can recall in 1933, when TVA was established, that the private electric power industry in the Nation was in rather ill repute. It did not have anything like substantial national confidence. The holding company house of cards with its abortive stock manipulation and wind and water inflation had just come tumbling down on the heads of American investors and taxpayers. In the TVA power program, the Congress saw a way to establish a yardstick concerning the retail cost of electricity. It is these retail rates at which electricity is being sold in the TVA area and the conditions under which TVA operates which are the subject of the savage attacks now being made upon it and which bring these many false accusations of subsidy.

All over America retail users of electricity know about TVA rates. They are asking questions concerning them of those from whom they purchase their electricity. Instead of answering these questions correctly and with the facts, the private electric companies are savagely attacking the TVA program with the immense influence and powerful resources which they possess. By heaping misstatement upon misstatement, they have misinformed people.

Among other things, they have cast reflections on TVA's bookkeeping methods and its accounting system. No less a person than T. Coleman Andrews, then director of the Corporation Audits Division of the General Accounting Office and now Commissioner of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, has said: "TVA probably has the finest accounting system in the entire Government and probably one of the best accounting systems in the entire world. It is an excellent system. There is no private enterprise in this country that has any better."

This program of misrepresentation has been carried on with the hope that perhaps in some way the Nation's confidence in TVA can be shaken.

Nowhere do the private power interests bring out such facts as have been made in this statement.

Nowhere do they give any credit for the immense value of the TVA electricity program in the national defense effort.

Nowhere do they say that TVA power made the first atomic bomb possible and avoided a bottleneck in airplane production by supplying electricity for the manufacture of needed aluminum in World War II.

Nowhere do they say that by 1956 the atomic energy plants at Oak Ridge and Paducah will be taking half of all TVA power at costs sufficiently below those of private utility companies so as to save the taxpayers of the Nation hundreds of millions of dollars.

Nowhere do they tell you that TVA's power operations are earning a 4 percent return on the money invested and that revenues from the sale of power will pay back the entire power investment within 40 years.

Of course, they don't give any credit for the tremendous conservation benefits—not a part of the electricity program nor paid for through it—which TVA has brought about in the Tennessee Valley. These are flood control, river navigation, reforestation, fertilizer improvement, and all the other benefits of this great conservation program which has been shared in by the entire Nation.

It is to answer attacks and misstatements made upon and about TVA that the people of the Tennessee Valley have organized Citizens for TVA, Inc. To the full extent of our limited resources, we expect to answer the big lie with the truth, to replace fictional statements with the facts. It is for this reason that we have prepared this statement concerning false charges that there is federally subsidized electricity in the Tennessee Valley paid for by the taxpayers of the rest of the Nation.

Christian Weapons Can Defeat the Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THURMOND CHATHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. CHATHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech made by Mr. John C. Whitaker, chairman of the board of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., at the first annual meeting of the new Negro YMCA on Friday, January 29, 1954, in my hometown of Winston-Salem, N. C. I have known Mr. Whitaker all of his life, and he is in my opinion the greatest expert on labor relations in this country. He is known and beloved by the majority of the employees of this great tobacco company; and since it is probably the largest employer of Negro labor in North Carolina, and since I was present at the meeting where he spoke, I am happy to report that this speech was received and applauded with an ovation that I have scarcely seen in my experience. It is so full of commonsense and fairness and so much to the point that I commend it with my unqualified approval.

The address follows:

CHRISTIAN WEAPONS CAN DEFEAT THE REDS

My friends, I thank my good friend, Dr. Rufus Hairston, for his overgenerous remarks, and I want you to know I am glad I was invited to speak to you tonight. Your invitation is deeply appreciated.

It fills my heart to assemble here with you this evening in this new home of the YM–YWCA. Is there anything more important in this country today than our young Christian men and young Christian women? How wonderful it is to know that you have a fine building, well equipped to conduct and carry on Christian principles. I am sure this work has the hearty support of each of you, and the prayers of all will be that no evil idea or ungodly principle should ever cross the threshold of this fine building.

Tonight we meet in this Christian building under Christian influences, and I have the opportunity and privilege of discussing with you for just a few minutes what I consider to be the most important and the most vital problem of our times. It is this: How can you and I best fight communism, which is the enemy of Christianity? I believe that communism is an evil thing, every trace of which should be rooted out of American life. In fact, the American people are now becoming fully aroused against communism as they have never been aroused before. They fear the dangers to our freedoms and they want to do something about it. I have studied communism and I have made some shocking discoveries which I want to share with you.

I began having an intense feeling against communism because of its methods. I linked communism with outright lying, subtle deception, treason, allegiance to a foreign country, its hatred of religion, and contempt for the God-given rights of individuals.

Wherever the Communists have achieved power there followed murder, slave labor, concentration camps, and despotic control of every phase of human life.

No one should be surprised at the United States Army's report on the horrible Communist atrocities in Korea. These atrocities are shocking but not surprising. The fact that a great many Americans were surprised shows clearly how little our people have known about the true nature of communism and its diabolical conspiracy to conquer the world. What actually happened in Korea was a barbarous massacre of thousands of civilians who refused to join with the Communists, and the unspeakable torture of untold thousands of Americans and South Korean prisoners. Official documentary films show thousands of mutilated civilians' and prisoners' hands tied behind their backs, bayoneted through the body and shot through the head. The Army's report described the brutal treatment of American soldiers and also "the more prolonged torture intended to disintegrate the mind of an intelligent victim."

But the significant thing is not the sickening nature of these sadistic, evil acts. The significant thing, which all Americans must at last recognize, is that Communists do not distinguish between good and evil. They consider torturing and mass murder as necessary steps in the process of their progress.

Anti-God communism, they contend, is human progress, and anyone who opposes them should be wiped out. In their creed there is no such thing as morality or justice. There is no God—no hereafter. This fundamental truth about the nature of communism has, and is being, repeatedly confirmed to the American people by ex-Communists and FBI agents who have, in disguise, worked their way in to the top ranks of the party. The Communists deny God as a practical matter—not because they object to going to church, but because if they recognize God they admit there is something greater than government.

The other day someone brought up the question, "Can a Christian be a member of the Communist Party?" Imagine that—a Christian Communist. In my opinion, it is like asking, "Can a traitor to one's country at the same time be a loyal, patriotic citizen?" Christianity and communism are as incompatible as freedom and slavery, truth and lying, light and darkness. The church wants religion to flourish; communism wants it to perish.

An official publication of our Federal Government had this to say: "In Russia, the Communists have for 30 years tried every way they could to destroy religion. Having failed that, they are now trying to use religion from the inside." The saying of Karl Marx that religion is the opium for the people is the cornerstone of the Communist point of view on the matter of religion.

Russia's dictators are realists. They remember vividly what happened to Hitler when he miscalculated the strength of America, which turned the tide against him. They do not wish the same fate. They will bide their time, seeking to undermine our strength. Dr. Marek Korowicz, the Polish U. N. delegate who deserted the Reds a few weeks ago in New York and is now being given sanctuary here in the United States, said the Reds' master strategy is to avoid war at present and use every undercover means available to undermine the economic, political, and cultural foundations of a free world.

History shows that the surest way to injure a nation is to force it into bad financial practices. Our real strength, in peace and war, rests upon financial stability. The Communist blueprint and timetable call for a great economic depression in the United States and with it the climax of the revolution. We cannot maintain financial stability if we engage in great new spendings on top of the already tremendous spendings, the taxes for which are sapping our vigor for wholesome, industrial growth. The Reds say: "We shall force the United States to spend herself to bankruptcy." Certainly we need to build defenses, but in view of the lessons of history and Russia's known plan for undermining our strength, shouldn't we give consideration to safeguarding our shaky financial condition? Heavy emergency pruning throughout the Federal Government would release adequate money for defense. It would mean throwing everboard a lot of pet projects backed by special group interests, but it is the safe and sound way to preserve our strength.

The big lie of communism must be answered by the big truth of Americanism—the only system of government surviving today in which men are free and where they bulwark their freedom by a belief in God—and remember, my friends, the most precious thing we can leave our children is liberty. Unless we leave liberty, everything else is pointless. We might as well tear up our wills and contracts because they are worthless without freedom.

Another sinister threat to freedom lies in the Communist conception of a centralized government, and its greatest ally has been the apathy of the American people.

I suppose that all Christian organizations have been horrified over the infiltration of our Government by Communists. Disclosures clearly indicate that they have been strategically located in different Government departments. Likewise, they are said to have infiltrated to position of influence in industries doing essential defense work. A Government report says this penetration has not as yet been fully exposed.

Ten years ago the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress, with the help of many people in this room and with the help of many employees of our company, revealed the fact that there was considerable Communist activity in our own city. More shame on any of us in this community who could have helped prevent this blast upon the good name of our city by doing our simple American and Christian duty by being on guard and fighting this evil. And what about those camp followers of communism—the fellow travelers—those who accept money from the Reds and run errands for them—those who sometimes provide their homes for secret meeting places or lend their names to some radical cause to trap the youth and unsuspecting adults?

You will never find true Christians hobnobbing with Communists or resenting what is said against that evil body of people. I know we are all agreed that it is our duty to resist in every way this threat to our Christian way of life.

Our strategy against communism has been weak because the people of America have not known their own faith. The most basic thing about the faith of America is and always has been a belief in God. We do not seek Him by the same method but we do insist on the right of every man to worship Him. The greatest need in the world today is prayer. Let us in America supply the precious ingredient to the world's need—prayer.

Since the beginning of World War I, 46 million people have been killed in warfare. And this slaughter has not solved one real problem. On the contrary, it has brought nothing but misery to men and nations. There must be another way. Let me remind you of that way.

We have been like a child who has lost his father's hand in the crossing of a busy intersection. The noise and confusion frighten him; he is lost—he is in terror. Then suddenly he sees his father and rushes to him, and all fear is gone. We are like that child—we can never know peace and have confidence in our hearts until once again we take the hand of our Father in heaven.

America on its knees, yes, but not beaten there by hammer and sickle; but on its knees freely, intelligently, responsibly, confidently, powerfully, because America now knows in its heart it can destroy communism and win the battle for peace and for God. America need fear nothing or no one except God. Against this force of prayers, the evil of communism cannot prevail and the battle for peace will be won.

Whenever we see our national flag trying to remain proud in the breeze, we've imagined what a dull, sick feeling it must have, knowing it is being betrayed by a gang of ungrateful, intellectually dishonest, godless gangsters who would poison our country and everything in it, who have left no preessure or insinuation unused, no lie untold, nor any possible violence unperformed to destroy the heart and soul and body of this country and every other free country in the world.

I view the YMCA and YWCA next to the churches of this community as institutions that can stand foremost in the ranks of battle against communism. Outside the church, no organizations have such a potential for wholesome leadership. More and more, character is being recognized as important to the quality of work that an employee does. Here is an institution—the YM-YWCA that can instill character in the lives of its members. Our own company's gift toward this building and its equipment—and our untiring supoort of the United Fund to maintain it—is evidence enough of our interest in what you are trying to do.

And let me say, too, there are many examples in our city which produce interracial good will. There are many examples where hands have been joined to bring about a better life and a constantly widening door of opportunity for all true Americans.

I would say that how this building came into being is of great significance, but of even greater signifinance is the interracial membership on the Central Boards of the YM and YWCA, the Memorial Industrial School, the Family and Child Welfare Agency and many others.

Let me mention several individuals who are pulling their oar in many worthwhile situations. There is Rev. W. R. Crawford who is a member of the board of aldermen, the school board, recreation commission, Salem Lake Fishing Commission, Bowman Gray Stadium Commission, Reynolds Park Commission, public-safety committee, and civic-betterment committee.

Rev. Kenneth Williams, a former alderman and is now a member of the hospital commission; Mr. John F. Lewis is a member of the library board and Salem Lake Fishing Commission; Mr. E. M. Lewis is a member of the urban redevelopment commission and the civic betterment committee; Mr. E. V. Fox is administrator of the Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital; Mr. Hosea Price is a member of the parking authority; Mr. A. A. Morisey is a member of the draft board and is the efficient reporter on the Journal and Sentinel; Mr. A. T. Harrington is on the zoning board; Dr. H. T. Allen is a member of a committee to work with the public works committee in connection with substandard housing; Mr. Clark S. Brown is on the recreation committee; Mr. Jack Atkins is a valuable member of the housing authority; Mr. O. A. Brown is a member of the civic betterment committee.

There is the committee to promote democracy, with Rev. Jerry Drayton, Rev. Kelly Goodwin, and Mr. O. A. Brown as members; also, the city Democratic executive committee with Mr. Oliver T. Denning, Mr. J. H. R. Gleaves, Mr. Charles A. McLean, and Mrs. Sarah Marsh as members; and the county Democratic executive committee with Reverend Goodwin, Mr. C. I. Sawyer, and Mr. James W. Beal as members.

There are the 9 Negro firemen, the 12 Negro policemen (and 1 policewoman) and the 7 Negro police-school guards.

I know there are other important examples that are not connected with the operation of city and county affairs. There is the important work being done on the teachers college board of trustees by Dr. Rufus Hairston and Mrs. Aladine Robinson, and there is also a piece of work being done at the Third Street branch of Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. which is, I think, unequaled in significance and real possibilities for economic advancement and opportunity by any bank anywhere. This work is being efficiently done by Mr. J. J. Sansom, Jr., as manager of the bank, ably assisted by Mr. Roy Phillips, Mr. Roland Hayes, and Miss Gloria Diggs.

As I stated previously, there are, I am sure, many other worthwhile and important participations which do not come to mind at the moment, but I must mention two more: The United Fund, handled among your people by Reverend Crawford and in which a great many of you took an important part. I call your attention, too, to the extensive employment of Negroes and the 25 Negro sales representatives and other advancements in job opportunities in our own company.

These, my friends, are just a few examples of what can be accomplished by working together.

So, let us all work together to fight the enemy of Christianity. Let us resolve, in the early part of this new year, to stand up and be counted. These are days when every man and woman who loves America, who values freedom and liberty, must awaken to the seriousness and the gravity of the issues before us.

Sleeping, disinterested, uninformed citizens must be aroused. We must rally behind every man in public life who loves America

and who has the courage and conviction to speak out against our enemies.

The flaming fires of loyalty and patriotism must be rekindled in the hearts of our people if a free America is to endure.

I would close my remarks to you this evening by stating that in a recent issue of Guideposts, Mr. Conrad Hilton sees the American people in the image of Uncle Sam, on his knees with hands clasped, and with eyes toward the heavens, saying this prayer:

"Our Father in heaven, we pray that Thou save us from ourselves. The world Thou made for us, to live in peace, we have made into an armed camp. We have turned from Thee to go our selfish way; we have broken Thy commandments and denied Thy truth. We have left Thy altars to serve false gods. Forgive us and help us. Darkness gathers around us and we are confused. Losing faith in Thee, we lose faith in ourselves. Inspire us with wisdom, each of us. Help us to do Thy will and be worthy of Thy promise of peace on earth. Fill us with new courage, new faith, new strength, that we may win the battle of peace for Thee. Be swift, O God, to save us—before the darkness falls. Amen."

Thorough Airing of Defense Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Thorough Airing of Defense Vital," which appeared in the Selma Times-Journal of Selma, Ala., on February 4, 1954. The editorial follows:

THOROUGH AIRING OF DEFENSE VITAL

President Eisenhower has given Congress many tough morsels to chew on this year, but none is tougher than the question of what to do about the Nation's defense.

Long before the President's budget descended on the lawmakers' heads, White House sources had made plain Mr. Eisenhower's intention to shift the military balance importantly toward airpower and atomic weapons.

Administration officials say this determination was arrived at initially by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in the light of their "new look" at America's defense needs and capacities.

Thereafter the President and his National Security Council approved the shift. The budget figure for defense is an expression of this new policy, according to administration authorities. In other words, the projected $4 billion cut in defense spending is an outgrowth of the change.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey has denied that the administration imposed an arbitrary spending ceiling on the Joint Chiefs and then ordered them to cut their cloth to fit.

Nevertheless, some responsible Democrats and other public figures are raising questions about the new military policy which need to be answered to the full satisfaction of all thoughtful citizens.

Greater dependence on airpower and atomic force means less on ground armies. But how much less? Will we ultimately pull all our ground units back from Europe and the Far East, or will we keep them strategically deployed in alliance with our foreign friends?

The answers here are important. For if we should pull out of Europe or Asia, then the question follows: What do we do to support our allies if they are attacked in a small, limited way?

In other words, what if Bulgaria, Russia's puppet, should assault Greece, our ally under the North Atlantic Treaty? Do we then send our long-range planes aloft to drop A-bombs on Moscow?

Some analysts declare that we will not be properly set defensively if we are equipped only for all-out atomic war against Russia and cannot fight the small, localized outbreaks which are a favored Communist technique. That was fundamentally our position before the Korean war alerted us to more flexible defense in 1950; to that extent, the new look would not be new at all.

The administration's strategy for dealing with military actions of less than all-out character needs to be spelled out thoroughly to Congress.

That the new program comes to Capitol Hill with the recommendation of a President who happens to have been a lifelong soldier is an impressive argument for it. But that does not mean it should be taken on faith alone. Matters of security are too vital to be taken blind.

Should Communist China Be Admitted to the U. N.?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to submit an article entitled "Should Communist China Be Admitted to the U. N.?", which appeared in the International Free Trade Union News of November 1953. It is taken from the executive council report to the 72d convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in St. Louis, September 1953:

SHOULD COMMUNIST CHINA BE ADMITTED TO THE U. N.?

With the truce in Korea, allied policy toward Communist China has taken on a new urgency and fresh importance. Years of colonial policies and a thoroughly false evaluation by the democracies of the Chinese Communist Party (as an essentially agrarian reform movement and potential force for democratization) have been important contributory factors making for the upsurge of Communist totalitarianism in China.

Though these costly errors, the fatal blunders of the Chiang Kai-shek regime itself, and the appalling poverty of the people have certainly facilitated the Communist rise to power, they were not the decisive factors which brought about the Mao Tse-tung victory. The Communists could never have seized power in China without Russian military support and direction. Nor could the Mao Tse-tung regime continue to hold on to this usurped power without the economic, political, and military backing of Moscow.

IMPERIALIST COMMUNIST COLOSSUS

Yet, it would be wrong to consider Communist China merely as a Soviet puppet like Bulgaria or Rumania. The very size of China and the distinctly military features characterizing the origin and development of Chinese communism exclude such a simple satellite relationship with Russia. Communist China, being much stronger than any European satellite, is necessarily treated differently by Moscow. Precisely for this reason is Communist China not less but more dangerous to the free world than any of the European satellites.

In Asia, Communist Chinese imperialism is at least as dangerous as Russian expansion. Alongside of a consolidated Communist Chinese military colossus, the free nations of Asia (Burma, Thailand, etc.)—India not excluded—would be in the gravest jeopardy. Their national freedom and democratic institutions would be just as seriously endangered by a powerful, militarized totalitarian China as were the national independence and liberties of the free peoples (Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland) on the continent of Europe by Nazi German military prowess.

To the extent that the Asian peoples themselves do not realize and do not prepare to thwart this grave menace, they are sealing their own doom. The cause of world peace and human liberty is likewise fatally hurt when some Western democracies fail to comprehend the enormity of this danger. This tragic failure was evidenced by their trade with Peiping even during the Korean war. It is revealed in their present indecent haste to enter into extensive economic relations with the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship.

PEIPING TYRANNY LIKE MOSCOW'S

The Peiping regime has the same ideology, the identical objectives, and the same totalitarian tyranny—occasionally even more reprehensible—that the Moscow dictators have. The role of Communist China in Korea, Tibet, and Indochina is no different from the role of Russia in the Baltic and Balkan lands and in Eastern Europe. Because of its present economic backwardness, Communist China is today dependent upon Soviet support for carrying out its plans for industrialization and the building up of a huge modern military machine.

Surely, no democratic power would have itself replace Russia in rendering such economic, technical, and military assistance to the rising aggressive imperialism of Communst China. For these reasons, no European or Asian democracy should seek to substitute for Russia in the task of building up another Communist colossus to play the role in Asia that the Soviet Union has been playing in Europe.

It is one thing to give some help to tiny Tito who broke with Moscow and is ready to resist Russian aggression; it is quite another thing to help the giant aggressor, Communist China, which is in closest partnership with Moscow for the conquest of Asia and the Communist domination of the world. In this connection, it must be recalled that Tito did not break with Moscow because the democracies bribed or bought him. He was toughest toward the free world when it was kindest toward the people of Yugoslavia and saved them from starvation. Tito broke with the Kremlin as a result of the contradictions in Moscow's relations with Yugoslavia and not because of any Western favors or aid to him.

The democracies should not base their policies on the assumption that the Kremlin must repeat in its future relations with Peiping the mistakes it made in its past handling of Belgrade. Moscow learns from experience. Russia has already acted to avoid its own repetition of such errors. It has already also taken important steps to preclude a serious rupture of Sino-Soviet relations through the influence of Chinese Communist dissidents.

The democratic world would be its own gravedigger if it were to make any political, economic, or military move to help the regime of Communist Chinese usurpers stabilize and consolidate itself. After nearly 3 years of war and destructive purges and brainwash-

ing, Communist China is in serious economic difficulties. Because of a shortage of materials and skilled labor, its Conference of Ministers has been forced to reduce by 30 percent expansion of industry planned for this year.

Even with the loot stolen from its satellites, Moscow is unable to rescue Communist China from the dire straits into which it has been led by the Kremlin. No democratic powers should rush to fill in where Russia cannot but fail. Freedom and peace will not be served by the democracies providing the Communist Chinese dictatorship with the technical know-how, engineering skill, and machinery it so urgently needs for its survival and further totalitarian aggression.

NEW FACTOR IN WORLD SITUATION

Recognition of the Tse-tung regime by any democratic government or the admission of Peiping into the U. N. should, likewise, be rejected by every peaceful and liberty-loving nation. Granted that, in the present condition of civilization, such recognition cannot be limited to states with high-moral standards. By the same token, such recognition and admission must not necessarily be awarded to antimoral states merely because they had callously, flagrantly, and with some degree of success, flouted the decisions of the U. N. and waged war against the United Nations.

The question of the recognition and admission of Communist China should be faced in the light of the new world situation at hand and not in relation to political conditions and diplomatic practices which prevailed in the 18th and 19th centuries. The new, very important, factor in the world situation is the following: Astride Asia and Europe, there is a giant power dedicated to the destruction of the non-Communist governments with which it has diplomatic and ostensibly friendly relations. At the very moment that Russia had full diplomatic relations with Nationalist China, Moscow was providing arms and military direction to its Communist quislings for overthrowing and replacing the government with which it had just signed a special treaty of friendship.

Nothing has happened in the last 2 decades to warrant a change in or break with the sound doctrine laid down by Henry L. Stimson (1932) that recognition should be denied to any government forcibly imposed on any people with the aid of a foreign power. Nor is there any proof at hand that Mao Tse-tung is administering in China a government "with the assent of the people thereof" as postulated by Cordell Hull (1936).

For several years, the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship has had absolute and despotic control of every avenue of life and institution on the Chinese mainland. It has physically exterminated all political opposition and suppressed the free trade union movement on the mainland. Yet, it has not dared to call even a sham election of the phony plebiscite type used in Rumania and first tried in totalitarian Russia. This foreign-imposed regime does not dare put even the slightest trust in the Chinese people.

For the free nations to recognize such a foreign-imposed regime and admit it to the U. N. would be tantamount to encouraging Moscow and its international fifth column to do in other countries what they have done in China.

The admission of Mao Tse-tung to the U. N. is not merely a procedural act, or a matter which is largely one of simple mathematics. If Communist China, which was condemned by the U. N. as an aggressor, had been decisively defeated in Korea, it would today have no advocates for its admission to the United Nations.

Successful or partly successful military aggression is no qualification for U. N. membership. The admission of democratic Italy has been considered by the free nations and even its own allies as a matter for veto. This fact certainly does not warrant that the admission of Mao Tse-tung should be considered merely a procedural act. To do so would be to permit the Peiping regime to force its way into the U. N. by merely threatening to resume the shooting war. For Mao Tse-tung this would be getting into the U. N. at an even cheaper price than outright shooting his way in. The latter method had been repeatedly rejected by the democratic powers as despicable and unthinkable.

Should the U. N. Admit Red China?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid article by Robert A. Smith, entitled "Should the U. N. Admit Red China?" appearing in the Elk's magazine of February 1954:

SHOULD THE U. N. ADMIT RED CHINA?

(By Robert A. Smith)

There can be no doubt that the American people are overwhelmingly opposed to the recognition of Red China and to its admission to the United Nations. Resolutions expressing this opposition have been adopted unanimously in both Houses of Congress. This same sentiment has been reflected in newspapers from coast to coast. The City Council of New York has even gone so far, in an unprecedented move for a city renowned for its hospitality, as to adopt a declaration that representatives of Red China, if they came to the United Nations, would be unwelcome on the streets of New York in the company of decent people.

There can, however, likewise be no doubt that these same American people and their representatives, both in the United Nations and in their various negotiating bodies, will be subjected in the coming months to continuous pressure to agree to a course that they rightfully abhor. It will be argued that recognition and United Nations admission for Red China constitute an imperative American concession if any headway is to be made. The arguments will be presented, as they have been in the past, as part of a plea for peace and for a general settlement of the issues that now divide the free from the slave world. Those Americans who are resolute in their opposition to this concession in the interest of peace will be assailed as obstructionists and even warmongers, not merely by the Communists, but by some of our misguided friends. We will have need, therefore, to supply our arsenal with the weapons of knowledge. We must know what are some of the chief arguments to which we will be subjected and be prepared, in advance, to meet those arguments. With this in mind, some of the vital pros and cons of the case are set down here.

ARGUMENT NO. 1

It is unrealistic not to recognize that the Red regime is the effective governing force on the mainland of China. It is firmly in the saddle and is likely to remain there for some time to come. It is futile to pretend that this is not the case by withholding recognition and denying United Nations membership.

THE ANSWER

There is a deep confusion here in the meaning and use of the word "recognize." As Joseph W. Ballantine, formerly of the State Department, has ably pointed out, there is a vast difference between recognizing something as a fact and extending diplomatic recognition as an act of national and international policy. We can be aware of the fact, that is "recognize," that the Red regime has entrenched itself in mainland China without being under the slightest obligation to seek diplomatic intercourse with it. I can recognize that there is a burglar in my kitchen, but that doesn't mean that I have to go downstairs, open the icebox and break out a can of beer.

ARGUMENT NO. 2

But recognition does not imply approval. This was the basis for the unfortunate split between Sumner Welles and Cordell Hull. Mr. Wells has subsequently, in his writing, made an able presentation of his case. He has pointed out that we recognize regimes, such as that of Peron in Argentina or the Soviet Union itself, of which we certainly do not approve. On this ground it is held that recognition is a diplomatic technicality, not a moral judgment.

THE ANSWER

Legally and technically this is undoubtedly correct. In actual practice, however, we have repeatedly used recognition or nonrecognition precisely to express approval or disapproval. We made what was inordinate diplomatic haste to extend recognition to the new Governments of Indonesia and Israel and made it plain that we were doing so as an act of encouragement. We joined enthusiastically with a majority in the United Nations in approving a withdrawal of our full diplomatic relationship from Spain as a means of expressing our moral condemnation of the Franco regime.

Much more that, we have as a nation expressed a policy of withholding recognition from any regime on moral grounds and this policy statement, the celebrated Stimson doctrine, has not been withdrawn or repudiated. When the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931 and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo, our Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, declared early in the following year that the United States did not propose to recognize territorial or administrative changes brought about in violation of the Pact of Paris. That pact, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, called for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, and so Mr. Stimson thus put us on the record as opposing the recognition of the fruits of aggression. This, certainly, is a moral judgment, not a legal or diplomatic technicality and it still holds good and should continue to do so.

It cannot be denied, moreover, that the real reason why Red China and the Soviet Union are using every pressure, every artifice and every spokesman to obtain recognition for Peiping is precisely because they know that such an act will be generally construed as setting the international seal of approval on the Red marauders in China. If they can prove that they can shoot their way into the United Nations they will have demonstrated to a billion Asians that the free world is powerless against them and is ready to make peace, on their terms. This would be a propaganda victory more important even than their military conquest of the mainland. This is the real reward for their aggression that they are demanding that we give.

It should be remember that what the Chinese Communists are asking, in respect to the United Nations, is not merely recognition for Peiping but a derecognition of the existing Government of the free Chinese, now situated in Formosa. The Communist military conquest of the mainland is now virtually complete. The political conquest of China, however, has not been achieved so long as there is a free government to which all Chinese, and especially the 12 million who are overseas, can rally. So long as the

free world denies the legitimacy of the conquest and continues to recognize Nationalist China as the true Chinese spokesman, the Communist political victory has not been won. This explains, incidentally, the venom with which the Communists always refer to the Nationalist Chinese in the United Nations. It leads, also, directly into:

ARGUMENT NO. 3

What is at issue, it is argued, is not the admission of Red China to the United Nations, since China is a charter member, but merely the acknowledgement that Peiping, ruling 400 million Chinese, is the logical and correct spokesman for China and so should occupy the United Nations seat.

THE ANSWER

This argument presupposes (and usually states) that Peiping represents the Chinese people and therefore should have the United Nations voice on their behalf. The Peiping regime cannot possibly claim to represent the Chinese people since it has never submitted itself to their mandate. Like every other ruling Communist body, its leadership does not dare to permit a free election. It represents the international Communist conspiracy, which put it in power, and nothing more than that. Mao Tse-tung was selected, not elected, in Moscow, not China.

Beyond that, this argument is especially insidious since it presumes the right of any regime, if it is strong enough, to sit in the United Nations. It will be observed that the Communist argument is always that the United Nations and, especially, the United States persist in denying the legitimate rights of the Red Chinese. The United Nations Charter says nothing about any such rights. It says, rather, that the organization shall be open to "peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter, and which, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Among those obligations is refraining from aggression. Red China has been proclaimed an aggressor. Also stated in the preamble is the obligation "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained."

Red China has made a consistent mockery of the treaty structure and has shown an arrogant contempt for both justice and international law. It has made war on the very agency for preserving peace to which it now seeks admission. It has shown no desire to assume any of the peaceful obligations of membership in such an organization. It is against this background that the Communists have the gall to insist upon Red China's right to sit in the U. N.

ARGUMENT NO. 4

But even if this is not a right, it is at least expedient to admit Red China in the interest of peace, since without that action no settlement in the Far East is possible. This is the position taken by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. It has also been taken by those Americans who have suggested that we cannot hope for a settlement unless we have something to negotiate with as well as from.

THE ANSWER

In other words, we are asked to make the concession of recognition and admission for the Red Chinese in the hope that they will make a corresponding concession of promising not to do in the future what they had no business doing in the past. We should put the murderer on the police force if he will promise not to commit any more murders. No, more than that, we must put him on the police force even to obtain that promise.

This comes down very quickly to the familiar Communist formula for any settlement. We can have it, any time, if we are ready to settle on Communist terms and on those terms only. This has been the history of all our negotiation with the Kremlin and its stooges—on Germany, on Austria, on Korea, on the day by day work of the United Nations. Prime Minister Nehru may be quite correct in stating that there can be no settlement in Asia without making a prior appeasement of the Communists. He has, however, no reason to suppose that there will be such a settlement even if we make the requisite appeasement.

As for using the recognition of Red China as something to negotiate with, the suggestion is shocking. It is proposed that the American people would consider paying a bribe to a proclaimed enemy to cease his enmity and pay in something that belonged, not to us, but to another nation and another people. We know that the Communist drive for recognition is based upon their determination to discredit and abase the still free Chinese. It is suggested, therefore, that we use what fredom still remains to Nationalist China as a bargaining counter and that we pay the bribe by undermining this last freedom. This is not merely inexpedient. It is downright immoral not to say criminal. It was this process of making a deal at the expense of a friendly third party, without that party's knowledge or consent, that caused the American revulsion against the Yalta agreements. It is too much to ask that we go through that shameful experience again. If we must have something to negotiate with, it should be our own strength, not the destiny of our faithful friends.

ARGUMENT NO. 5

It is necessary to recognize Red China and to admit the regime to the family of nations because of the need for trade. China represents a vast market that is essential to a recovered Japan and we cannot expect rehabilitation and progress until the normal flow of goods is restored, not merely for Japan but for other Asian states, for ourselves, and for Great Britain. This argument has been the basis for trade missions to Peiping, such as those from Great Britain and Indonesia, and for barter dickering in Ceylon and India. It has inspired much controversy in the United States about the ethics of trading with an enemy.

THE ANSWER

With the exception of Hong Kong's large and vital nonstrategic trade with the mainland, the importance of the vast Chinese market has been grossly exaggerated. We still have the mental picture of those 400 million customers, but the customers are of little consequence if they cannot or will not buy. The figures speak for themselves. In the case of Japan, for example, the prewar exports to China proper amounted to less than 6 percent of Japan's export trade. More than that, Japan's sales of one single product, raw silk, to the United States, far outstripped the total Japanese trade, export and import, with mainland China. (This excludes, of course, Japanese trade with the puppet "Manchukuo," and the exclusion is valid for the future since Manchuria's products are firmly committed to the Soviet Union.)

Trade in the long run must depend upon two things. The first is a peoples purchasing power, and the second is the disposition to trade on reasonable terms. Both factors are conspicuously absent in Red China. The latest 5-year plan, it is announced, will be financed by another domestic loan, which means simply further confiscation. It is another admission of the bankruptcy and impoverishment that the Communists have forced upon China. The actual buying power of China has been reduced rather than increased by Communist reform. Trade arrangements, wholly in the hands of the regime, are planned and negotiated only for the regime's benefit. The bulk of the trade is necessarily oriented on the Soviet Union, and it is reasonable to expect that it will remain so. Britain's experience at this point should be a good lesson for all of us. Great Britain attempted to recognize Red China in the hope of salvaging and continuing what was really an important segment of British trade. The results were disastrous. After 3 years Red China has still not decided to recognize Great Britain in the diplomatic sense, and meanwhile British trade and investment in China have been ruthlessly liquidated. The Britons have been obliged to pay through the nose for the mere privilege of getting out and have been forced to announce the termination of all China investment. This should be borne in mind by anyone who suggests the necessity of full and free trade with Red China as a ground for determining our policy. The trade argument, however, is usually tied up with:

ARGUMENT NO. 6

We should take a friendlier attitude toward Red China, it is often urged, so as to be able to exploit any rift between the Chinese and the Soviet Union. China needs heavy manufactures for industrialization and if we do not supply them the Soviet Union will. In addition, Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist dictator, is vain and strong-minded and has the makings of another Tito. We should, therefore, encourage his defection rather than persist in a policy that will drive him into the arms of the Russians.

THE ANSWER

On the very face of it, it is difficult to see how we could drive Mao into the arms of the Russians when he has been in bed with them for 30 years. He was an agent of the Kremlin and of the international Communist conspiracy from the very beginning, as were and are also all of the group around him that have any semblance of influence. Mao has deviated from Moscow in some minor matters of tactics, but even while doing so has loudly and repeatedly proclaimed that he was always a true Marxist, Leninist and Stalinist.

The comforting Chinese Tito theory ought to come under suspicion, from the outset, because it has been so persistently set forth by the same persons and groups that were telling us, 10 years ago, that the Chinese Communists weren't really Communists at all, just agrarian reformers. That hoax has been exploded and we have good reason to be on our guard against another like it, especially when it comes principally from the same sources. It is obvious that friends of the Communists want us to believe that Mao is merely talking for effect when he shouts his undying loyalty to Moscow. Logically then, our belief in this myth must be designed to serve Communist purposes, not our own, or the Communist apologists would not be so eager to obtain and use that belief.

Actually, two conditions would have to be met before Mao could become another Tito. First, Mao would have to want to become one, and second, the Soviet Union, willingly or unwillingly, would have to permit him to do so. There is not the slightest evidence that either of these conditions exists or will materialize. Far from showing any desire to move, even slightly, out of the Soviet orbit, Mao has, since his assumption of power, used every effort to draw China even closer under Russian control. He has, moreover, been diligent and skillful in avoiding even the slightest cause of a Kremlin rebuke. He has gone to Moscow to pay his homage and has been patient and humble in the face of manifest disregard and discourtesy. The independence of his thinking exists only in the minds of those who wish to have it attributed to him. There is no sign of it in what he has said and done.

On the second condition, Moscow is in an even stronger position, now, than when it

turned over the Manchurian arsenals to Mao to make possible his conquest of China. Mao's military power is almost totally dependent upon the Soviet Union. Red China simply does not have the machinery and the technicians to produce the major weapons of war at this time. Red China does not have even the fuel to sustain any sort of modern fighting machine. The heavy weapons and the fuel are coming from the Soviet Union, and neither Mao nor the Kremlin is innocent of the political implications of that fact.

The very violence of Mao's purges strongly suggests that there is in China a widespread opposition to his dictatorship and to communism. It would be strange, indeed, if there were not also some deep anti-Russian feeling. The Russians have recognized this and have testified to it by their deliberate attempt to make their many technicians in China as inconspicuous as possible. To believe, however, that these feelings could or would form the basis for inducing Mao to break with the Soviet Union is more than simply being naive. It is being wishfully deluded. Mao must have the support of the Soviet Union to sustain him, not merely abroad, but in his own country.

ARGUMENT NO. 7

There is, finally, the argument that the Chinese Communists (and other groups such as the Viet Minh in Indochina) represent the really progressive forces in a great Asian revolution, as opposed to the reactionaries such as Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai and Dr. Syngman Rhee. We have, it is contended, allowed ourselves to be identified with the wrong camp and to stand in the way of an emerging new Asian world. We should, therefore, reverse our position by recognizing Red China and try to mold the new Asia rather than to obstruct it.

THE ANSWER

There is a great Asian revolution in progress, it is true, but it is not the Communist revolution. In China, that revolution, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was in full swing before the Communists ever appeared on the scene. They tried to capture it and failed and then set about to destroy it. What has happened, more recently, in China is not an authentic, indigenous Chinese-made revolution. It is raw conquest, inspired and sustained from without. A regime that is alien to the Chinese mind and heart has been ruthlessly imposed on an impoverished and war-weary people by force of arms. This is no revolutionary wave of the future in Asia. It is, in China as in Russia, the dreadful return to the Dark Ages. It is the Communists themselves who are the real reactionaries, not those who have had the will and the wisdom to fight against them.

The exponents of the whole case for recognizing Red China have systematically ignored one simple fact. Regardless of its other implications, diplomatic recognition is the normal first step toward the establishment of correct, friendly, and helpful international relationships. There would be no point in it otherwise. Red China has not shown the slightest desire for such relationships, as the experience of countries such as Great Britain and the Netherlands that have offered recognition has amply demonstrated.

Similarly, regardless of the technicality involved in the question of representation, Red China's admission to the United Nations should, in all conscience and commonsense, be contingent upon the desire and the willingness of the applicant to abide by the Charter. Red China, a convicted aggressor against that very body, has shown no such desire or willingness.

It is possible that at some time in the future the situation will be so modified as to make recognition and admission for Red China feasible and desirable. That modification would obviously have to involve a mammoth change in the character and behavior of the Chinese Communist regime. Until there is at least some inkling of such a change, or even the desire for it, the people of the United States should continue, rightfully, to oppose what, at this stage, would be nothing less than a reward for aggression and a retreat into a futile attempt at appeasement.

Declaration of Policy Adopted by the American Mining Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the declaration of policy adopted by the American Mining Congress at their convention in Seattle, Wash., September 21–23, 1953.

I attended this great convention and had the privilege of appearing as a member of their panel on taxation. I witnessed the entire proceedings of the convention with great admiration for the sincere interest and effort of the mining industry to meet their full responsibility in building and maintaining the healthy and vigorous mining industry in America that is so essential for our peacetime economy and for our own effective defense in wartime.

The Members of Congress who have served with me over the past 15 years know full well I consider the mining industry of America the foundation on which our entire national defense must be built if we are to survive our involvement in any possible future world war.

A DECLARATION OF POLICY

Communism continues to threaten the liberty and security of all persons living in the free world. International cooperation in the strengthening of military defenses is encouraging. But military strength rests upon economic strength. A vigorous and expanding mining industry is of paramount importance. The continued strength of our industry, with a high level of capacity, should be the constant goal. Ever increasing standards of living, at home and abroad, and ever increasing economic strength are the best defenses to the sinister forces of communism and socialistic philosophies.

Since it is recognized that the production of the mining industry is essential to national security, we call attention to the startling fact that for years the Federal Government has lacked a constructive domestic mineral policy. We urge that this serious defect be corrected and that such a policy be adopted and announced.

Progress is being made toward the removal of Government restrictions upon our national economy, the curtailment of Federal expenditures, and the elimination of public waste, extravagance and corruption. We commend those responsible for these accomplishments.

In order that our country may be made safe from the dangers which confront us, we urge an even more vigorous program to remove Communists in Government, in labor unions or wherever else they may threaten our security; to control expenditures, and to reduce taxes and effect monetary reforms. The Taft-Hartley Act should be strengthened to afford greater protection to the individual worker and the public.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Government expenditures should be made to the extent, and only to the extent, necessary to meet essential functions of Government (including defense) adequately and efficiently, honestly and fairly, without waste or extravagance, without political favoritism, and without regard to local or group pressures. We commend what the administration and the Congress have done toward this end and urge unremitting attention to the achievement of these standards.

A balanced budget is desirable and should be attained, but we cannot rely on budgetary balance for a particular year as the test of propriety or need of expenditures. The standards for expenditures should be that of minimum expenditures necessary to achieve essential results for effective preparedness or other real needs. Excessive or unnecessary expenditures for any purpose should be eliminated. Activities and projects not now essential should be curtailed, deferred, or eliminated. Commitments of open balances of prior appropriations should be reviewed and subjected to these same standards. The essential needs for the present and the immediate future, the vast commitments against prior authorizations (for which funds have not yet been provided), and our heavy Government debt, are so great that they leave no place for extravagance, waste or unnecessary expenditure. Citizens and organizations, the Administration and the Congress, should not ask or permit any violation of these standards. All should insist that such standards be observed.

Congress must have a competent staff to review and consider requests for appropriations and to assist it and its committees in carrying out these principles. We commend what has been done by Congress along this line and urge the further action necessary fully to meet the need.

It is the joint duty of the Congress, of the administration, and of the citizens to see that the financial house of the Government is placed in order.

TAXATION

Our Federal tax system must be revised as to its basis, its policies, and its rates, if it is to continue to yield the revenues needed and permit the continuance of the system of private enterprise and individual initiative under which our country has developed its great resources, its productivity, and the prosperity and welfare of its people. Where substantive provisions or tax rates are such as to leave little or no incentive for creation of income, the provisions should be amended and the rates reduced. Tax revenues must flow from a dynamic productive economy, from the production it yields, the employment it gives, and its use of materials and services; and our tax system should be such as will not block that flow.

Taxes should be imposed and administered fairly, equitably, and honestly, in accord with congressional intent. We commend what Congress and the Administration have done and are doing to improve our system of taxation along these lines. We commend not only Congress for bringing to light corruption and mismanagement in our tax administration, but also the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for what they are doing to insure proper administration and application of the law.

The Congress has recognized that development of new mineral resources and increased production from existing mines is essential for defense and for industrial use. We appreciate what Congress has done to remove roadblocks to adequate productivity, but

emphasize that further measures are still needed, including the following:

Present limitations on deductibility of exploration expenses should be removed.

Tax exemption should be granted a new mine for 3 years after beginning of profitable operations.

Depreciation should be more adequately allowed. Depreciation claimed by the taxpayer should not be denied unless clearly unreasonable in amount and in method. Technicalities should not prevent a reasonable recovery and the tax benefit rule should be fully applied. Early recovery of inflated replacement costs should be permitted.

Losses of loss years should be computed on the same basis as taxable income; and deductions for percentage depletion and credits for dividends should not be denied either in the year of loss or in the year against which the loss is applicable.

In taxing the stockholder on dividends received, allowance should be made for taxes paid by the corporation; and depletion should be carried through to the stockholder.

Capital gains should be taxed at more moderate rates.

The over-all rate on income of the individual or the corporation should in no case exceed 50 percent.

Greater incentive for the creation of income and greater revenues to the Government will result if these recommendations are adopted. Investment in high risk enterprises such as mining is to be expected only if the investor can see opportunity to recover his capital and receive a return commensurate with the risks assumed. Unless there is incentive for investment and effort the Government will lose the revenues resulting from such activities, from the employment they give, the purchases they make, and the flow of their production through our economy.

Capital expenditures should be encouraged not merely for the future incomes they may be expected to create, from which the Government will derive revenue, but also because, when made, they represent payrolls, purchases, and incomes to others from which the Government will currently derive revenue.

We recommend the immediate repeal of the silver bullion transfer tax. Its original purpose, whatever its justification and validity, has long since disappeared.

Our Government should cooperate with each foreign government which sincerely wishes to attract the investment of private funds and to encourage private enterprise by the creation of the necessary climate and the removal of barriers and roadblocks. Fears of confiscation, monetary controls and restrictions, excessive taxation, and other economic and political barriers created by other countries must and can be removed. To this end our Government should enter into a mutually satisfactory treaty with each such country.

If the effort to encourage the investment of private funds and to promote private enterprise abroad is successful, it will mean stability, prosperity, and higher standards of living, health, and education for our friends abroad; and, for us, a replacement of Government aid by private investment, a direct saving in dollars for our Treasury, and increased revenues from increased economic activity.

With respect to other countries, the elimination of discriminatory taxes and of double or multiple taxation, through tax credits and treaties, should be continued.

PUBLIC LAND POLICY

Our Federal mining laws providing for the location and patenting of lode and placer mining claims are based upon the premise that minerals in the public domain should be discovered and developed by private enterprise and that, as an incentive and reward for their discovery and development, title to the land should be transferred to private ownership.

Under the location system established by these laws, minerals in the public domain have been discovered at a rate, and developed in a thorough manner, without parallel in history. This system has been the basis for the production of those raw materials so essential to our economic well-being and so vital to our national defense. As never before, our mining laws and the administration of them must be conducive to the continued maintenance and development of our mineral industry.

We are opposed to any material interference with the system of locating and patenting mining claims and to any changes in the basic principles of our Federal mining laws. We deplore attempts to obtain rights under mining locations which have lacked either validity or good faith. Adequate remedies have been and are available to prevent benefits under invalid locations, and we again urge that they be used vigorously. Clarifying and strengthening amendments to the mining laws could minimize the incentive to make mining locations for purposes other than prospecting, mining, or processing operations, without destroying the fundamental benefits of the location system and retarding the continued growth of our mining industry.

We recognize that the coexistence of two systems for acquiring rights to prospect for and remove the mineral resources of the public domain—one under the general mining laws and the other under the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920—have resulted in conflicts. We believe that the conflicts in these two systems should be carefully reviewed and an effort made to remove them, so as to eliminate, insofar as possible, any restriction of opportunity for development of our mineral resources, while leaving intact the basic principles and fundamental benefits of our system of mining locations.

We pledge our cooperation in a study of problems affecting other users of the public domain.

TARIFFS

Despite progressive increase in imports, the Nation must still look to its own reserves for the major portion of its mineral supply.

Experience has shown that our country should not be left dependent on foreign-ore reserves as a source of supply in an emergency, however, important it may be to import some metals and minerals to supplement domestic production and to fill our stockpile with materials in which we are deficient. World political conditions as well as the hazards of possible air and submarine warfare support this conclusion.

We recommend, therefore, that Congress exercise its authority over tariffs to be administered for the welfare of the American people and provide reasonable protection when needed against competition from low foreign wages and depreciated currencies.

We endorse the principle of a flexible tariff to safeguard against the dumping of imports, such as has caused unemployment and heavy financial losses in the domestic lead and zinc mining industry during the past year. We believe that such a tariff will serve to provide greater market stability and thus protect both consumers and producers from the hazards of alternating periods of shortages and oversupply.

We oppose intergovernmental commodity agreements that call for control over industry, or involve international regulation of production, distribution, and prices.

National security requires a healthy domestic mining industry with ample productive capacity and experienced working forces. Our greatest protection is industrial strength. We recommend maintenance of the fullest possible capacity for production of strategic and critical metals and minerals within the United States.

STOCKPILING

We recommend a national policy of stockpiling strategic and critical materials on a permanent basis and the provision of adequate funds at all times for orderly purchases for possible emergency needs. As long as the security of the free world is threatened the Nation's stockpiles must be filled.

We approve and have urged consistently the stockpiling of metals and minerals essential for defense and emergency needs. But we believe the most efficient and economical procedure is to stockpile at times like the present, when output exceeds demand, and that it is in the national interest to reduce or suspend stockpiling purchases during periods when critical shortage of metals causes dislocation of production in defense and essential industries.

We recommend that no withdrawals from stockpiles be authorized except in a declared emergency when national security clearly requires release of a particular material. All metals and minerals acquired pursuant to the provisions of the Defense Production Act which are excess to the needs of programs under this act should be transferred promptly to the national stockpile, and should be subject to withdrawal only under like conditions of a declared emergency.

We deplore discriminatory practices favoring foreign purchases of metals and minerals for stockpiling, and urge that Government agencies afford domestic mines at least the same price and other considerations and advantages as are given foreign production by our Government.

The continued operation of prospectors and small mining concerns is important because these smaller operations provide a pool of specialized knowledge and trained manpower available for the expansion of minerals production in the event of an emergency. Their activities also are the source of new mine discoveries of consequence.

LABOR RELATIONS

Less than a year ago the electorate expressed emphatically its desire to return to sound principles of government. Inherent in that expression was a rejection of political bossism in any form. Nevertheless, in the field of Federal labor legislation there has been evidence that the appeasement of labor leaders may still be a dominant factor in the formulation of national policy. The political forces which would lead the Nation down the inevitable path to socialism under a labor government continue to exert relentless pressure on our national leadership. Their immediate objective continues to be the weakening of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Our great bulwarks of free enterprise and individual liberty can be as readily destroyed by the appeasement of socialist forces at home as by the appeasement of Communist forces abroad. To the extent that national leadership appeases on either front, the fundamental institutions of our Nation are threatened.

We vigorously oppose the following suggestions for amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act:

1. To permit further extensions of the principle of compulsory unionism under governmental sanction;

2. To outlaw State laws regulating or prohibiting compulsory unionism;

3. To eliminate any safeguard against communism in unions;

4. To permit replaced economic strikers to vote in representation elections;

5. To relax the prohibitions and procedures against secondary boycotts;

6. To qualify the exemption of supervisors;

7. To reduce union responsibility;

8. To relax limitations on the checkoff;

9. To permit unilateral administration of welfare funds by unions; and

10. To encourage strikes during contract negotiations.

It is essential that the task, commenced in 1947, of establishing a fair code of labor legislation be completed. To this end we again urge that the act be amended to—

1. Prohibit compulsory unionism in any form;

2. Prohibit labor monopolies and industry-wide bargaining;

3. Uproot communistic influence from the internal affairs of the unions;

4. Require the President, in threatened national emergency strike or lockout situations, to utilize the provisions of the act;

5. Safeguard, from union encroachment, the functions of management and the rights of workers;

6. Effectively outlaw mass picketing, violence, intimidation and similar terroristic devices in labor disputes;

7. Effectuate the requirement that decisions of the National Labor Relations Board be based upon the preponderance of evidence;

8. Restore stability to labor agreements;

9. Preserve to the States their right to regulate strikes and picketing; and

10. Effectively protect freedom of speech.

The fight to curb monopoly control of our economy by labor leaders deserves the active support of all loyal Americans. To the continuation of that fight we pledge our unceasing efforts.

GOLD AND MONETARY POLICY

We note with satisfaction that the administration is committed to the restoration of the gold standard.

We reiterate our previous stand that gold and the dollar should be made freely interchangeable at a fixed ratio and that the restrictions against ownership of gold by our citizens should be removed.

The fixing of the ratio between the dollar and gold is but one of many problems of the restoration of a gold standard, but we emphasize the necessity for a ratio that can be maintained as a stable and real standard, not subject to the necessity of early change imposed by the effects of the inflationary and other disruptive economic forces which have accumulated since the departure from the gold standard in 1934.

In accordance with these views we urge:

1. That the restrictions on the purchase, sale and ownership of gold by American citizens be immediately removed;

2. That the gold standard be restored at the earliest practicable time;

3. That Congress fix the ratio at which the dollar and gold are to be made fully convertible and determine other technical procedures involved in the restoration of the gold standard, after receiving the recommendation of a commission of its creation, to which men skilled in appraisal of the world's potential gold supplies as well as men of competence in domestic and international finance and trade should be appointed by designated Government authorities.

While these steps are being taken, the Treasury should cease its sales of gold to the so-called domestic industrial market, and thereby terminate the present enforced and unfair subsidy to industrial consumers at the expense of the gold miners.

SILVER POLICY

We endorse the existing Federal policy with regard to the acquisition of silver for its beneficial influence upon the base-metal mining industry, as well as for its traditional service in providing a base for a portion of the Nation's currency.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—BUREAU OF MINES

The Geological Survey and Bureau of Mines are agencies of the Department of the Interior whose duties and responsibilities are of the highest importance to the mining industry. We commend the President and the Secretary of the Interior for their judgment and wisdom in selecting an experienced mining executive as assistant secretary for minerals, with general jurisdiction over these two bureaus.

We hold both the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines in high esteem for the excellence of their technical and scientific achievements, including the preparation and publication of professional papers.

We shall press for the transfer to the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey of functions affecting mineral resources which have been scattered among various other departments and agencies, thus collecting such functions in the two bureaus best qualified to administer them.

We support the newly established program of the Secretary of the Interior, under which committees composed of Department and industry experts are to study the functions and administrative procedures of the Department's agencies concerned with public lands and their resources. This program should include inquiries into the duties and responsibilities of mineral-land examiners, and should make recommendations as to the agency which should make mining-claim examinations, and as to the procedure and the agency to determine the sufficiency of mineral discoveries.

The Geological Survey's topographic and geologic mapping program is of the utmost importance to the mining industry. It has a definite relation to the defense of our country and is a sound long-term investment.

We continue our opposition to the transfer of the Branch of Conservation of the Geological Survey, or any of its activities, from the Survey to the Bureau of Land Management.

MINE-SAFETY LEGISLATION

We reiterate our previous position that the safety of men working in mining operations is a primary responsibility of the mine operator and a matter for regulation within the governmental structure of the States. We heartily commend the United States Bureau of Mines for its service to the mining industry in developing and disseminating improved techniques in mine safety. This work deserves adequate financial support.

MINE FINANCING

We recommend that Congress reconsider the whole question of securities and exchange laws, rules, and regulations, to the end that the desirable objectives of the present law be maintained and that obstructive or unnecessary features be corrected by appropriate amendment or repeal.

We commend the Securities and Exchange Commission for the constructive action thus far taken in behalf of financing primary mining ventures, but further modification is necessary.

To facilitate public financing of primary mining ventures, the Securities and Exchange Commission should amend its regulation requiring that discounts or selling commissions of the securities to be offered be shown on the outside front cover of a prospectus, and should require only that such information be stated in the prospectus. It should not be mandatory for the issuer or vendor to name the States in which primary mining securities are to be offered in a letter of notification under SEC regulation A.

We recommend that the newly created Small Business Administration, which succeeds the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, grant loans to worthy mining companies, and that the loan activities of the Defense Minerals Exploration Administration for defense metals and minerals be continued while public and private financing are not available for mine development. We commend this agency for the fair and impartial manner in which it has thus far conducted its activities.

SOCIAL SECURITY

We approve the policy of the administration that present tax rates payable by employers and employees for Federal social-security benefits be left unchanged.

WATER AND AIR POLLUTION

Water and air pollution problems are local, not national, in their nature and scope. What may constitute a nuisance in densely populated States does not necessarily constitute a nuisance in sparsely populated areas. Functions of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Federal Water Pollution Act should be limited to experimental studies, improvement of techniques, and dissemination of information to industries, and State, and local community authorities as to practicable means of preventing water pollution. Solution of these problems, and the enactment of laws or regulations where necessary to effect such solution, can best be accomplished through cooperative efforts of industry and local authorities. This applies equally with respect to the problems of air pollution.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

We express our gratification that Congress has authorized a new reorganization commission, the chairman of which will again be former President Herbert Hoover; and we pledge our full cooperation in assembling data for task forces or committees dealing with Government agencies concerned with public lands, minerals, and the mining industry.

In the study of conservation agencies by the new Commission, we propose that it give serious consideration to transferring the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Interior, where the national forests were originally organized and administered.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION ON THE ACCESSIBILITY OF CRITICAL MATERIALS

Whereas the Nation must look to its own reserves for the major portion of its mineral supply; and

Whereas the proper function of international trade is to supplement rather than supplant domestic production of the metals and minerals essential to our economy and the safeguarding of our national security; and

Whereas the Senate of the United States has taken cognizance of this situation and accordingly adopted Senate Resolution No. 143, which reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed (1) to make a full and complete investigation and study of the accessibility of critical raw materials to the United States during a time of war; (2) to study and recommend methods of encouraging developments to assure the availability of supplies of such critical raw materials adequate for the expanding economy and the security of the United States; and (3) to report to the Senate at the earliest possible date, not later than January 31, 1954, the results of its investigation and study, together with its recommendations"; and

Whereas the Minerals, Materials, and Fuels Economic Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has been authorized and instructed to carry out the mandate of Senate Resolution No. 143: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we commend the Senate of the United States for its foresightedness in this matter and offer the subcommittee the assistance of the mining industry to the end that the intent of Senate Resolution No. 143 may be fully carried out.

State Department Reaffirms Its Stand Not To Recognize Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, some irresponsible rumors have been circulated recently to the effect that the United States Government may consider, or is considering, the recognition of Mao Tse-tung's regime as the legitimate government of China. I presume these rumors are circulated by those who would like such recognition to take place.

That there is no substance to these rumors is indicated by the article which appeared in the January 11, 1954 Department of State Bulletin written by Mr. Walter P. McConaughy, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs of the Department of State. Mr. McConaughy, in his excellent article, points out that the Chinese Red regime does not have sovereign independence; that it is not representative of the people, either by choice or consent; and that it does not meet the minimum standard of decency in its treatment of foreign nationals and interests within its borders.

Many persons who urge the recognition of Red China do not seem to realize that to be recognized as a legitimate government it must be legitimate, and it must be a government. The Red China bandits are neither. They are only a band of outlaws who have seized the trappings of government to maintain and expand their reign of terror over the people of Asia. As Mr. McConaughy points out, the recognition of the Communist dictators in Peiping would be the greatest single nonmilitary triumph for the Communist cause and the hardest psychological blow against the will to resist the further spread of communism that could be devised. I include herewith the rticle by Mr. McConaughy from the Department of State Bulletin of January 11, 1954:

China in the Shadow of Communism

(By Walter P. McConaughy)

How have we come so abruptly to the present sad and menacing state of affairs in China when the National Government was victorious and clothed with great international prestige in 1945? A strong contributory factor undoubtedly was the tragically devitalizing effect on China of a decade and a half of struggle against Japanese aggression.

Many observers were not unaware of the debilitating effects of Japanese encroachment, but few appreciated to the full the extent to which the Chinese governmental, economic, and social structure had been undermined. The collapse on the mainland in 1948 and 1949 was in substantial measure the evil fruit of that bitter and heroic early struggle.

We cannot seriously believe that the ultimate judgment of history will hold our country primarily responsible for the debacle which took place in China between 1945 and 1949, the consequences of which no man can foretell.

Our help before and during those years was very substantial, even though it proved to be ineffective. In a sense the defeat represented a failure of free men, primarily in China, but secondarily in every associated country that was free, to recognize to the full the sinister nature of the threat, which far transcended the borders of China, and a corollary failure to respond with the prodigious measure of sacrificial effort that would have been required to forestall the catastrophe.

Support of Government on Formosa

Today we see the Government which was the victim of the Communist conspiracy and aggression entrenched on Formosa, endowed with a great sense of dedication and a clear understanding of the nature of the enemy, as a result of the fires through which it has passed. Much of the dross has been consumed in the searing experiences of these years.

Aided by military and economic programs in which we are participating heavily, it stands literally and figuratively as a rallying point for all Chinese who oppose the Communist oligarchy which aims to keep the Chinese people in bondage and use them for the further attainment of their evil objectives. The Chinese Government and its people on Formosa are redoubtable members of the confraternity of free peoples who are ready to take their stand against further Communist conquests.

In view of the limitations imposed by relatively small geographic, manpower and economic resources, care must be taken not to overestimate that Government's material capabilities. The strongest force they can muster and support is none too large for the threat they face. In the no less important moral and psychological spheres their value to the common cause is enormous.

We have our problems with that Government as it no doubt has its problems with ours. Governments are fallible, as are the humans who compose them. The point is that this Government is essentially with us. It is a Government with which we can negotiate on a rational plane. We are dealing with it on a sane basis of give and take.

We are rendering substantial help to this Government without intervening in its domestic affairs or otherwise infringing on its sovereignty. We are helping a beleaguered people to help themselves and the common cause. It is a program from which we can derive some satisfaction. It is our purpose to continue to back this Government.

We believe that it is the only Chinese Government which represents in any measure the authentic aspirations and the bona-fide national interests of the Chinese people.

Disillusioned though the mass of the Chinese may have been with it in the dark days of 1948–49, its record on Formosa makes it look better and better to the Chinese people on the mainland by contrast with the ruthless exploitation which they are suffering at the hands of the regime of Mao Tse-tung. There is reason to hope that the Government at Taipei will continue to grow in strength, in devotion to the cardinal principles of democracy, and in international prestige, and that its base of free Chinese support will steadily be broadened so that it will be enabled to raise ever higher a standard around which all Chinese may rally who wish to save from extinction Chinese freedoms and the ancient and distinctive Chinese traditions.

We find an element of irrationality in much of the vituperation heaped upon that Government and its head. Grant that it committed errors of judgment after World War II; concede that it had in large measure lost the confidence of the Chinese people when it abandoned the mainland 4 years ago; after all that is taken into account we have still the incontrovertible fact that it has stood steadfastly by those principles which free people recognize as paramount. It has come a long way since it established itself on Formosa.

It seems to us that the intemperate abuse heaped on the Chinese Government is often based on petty personal grounds or on shortcomings which are no longer relevant.

There is an occasional form of human perverseness which tends to cause displeasure to rise higher against a man of good will who is in difficulty involving others than against a dangerous public enemy with whom there has been no personal contact. But this reaction should be momentary at the most.

If there was ever any excuse for overlooking the faults of the enemy and magnifying the alleged faults of the friend, it abruptly ended in November 1950 when the Chinese Communists without warning or warrant hurled their forces against the U. N. defenders of Korea.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the American people do see this issue in proper perspective. But an articulate though small minority in our own country, and more in some other countries, sometimes seem to fail to distinguish friend from foe.

When it is possible to take the long view, we may find that one of the sad circumstances of these days has been the proclivity of some of our friends in various parts of the world to confuse Communist imperialism with bona fide nationalism.

Siren Song of Communism

The siren song of communism in Asia, that it is spearheading a pan-Asiatic revulsion against white colonialism and imperialism, has beguiled many Asians of good will who would not knowingly play the Communist game. When the Communists so plausibly take over and exploit to their own evil purposes the discontent of Eastern peoples with their poor lot in life, perhaps it is no wonder that many are deceived.

Equally to be deplored is the occasional tendency to regard with considerable reserve any Asiatic government which is standing foursquare against Communist encroachment and is participating in the United States mutual defense assistance program as being somehow under foreign domination and less representative of its people than a government whose position is equivocal. The suspicion does not seem to attach equally to European countries participating in the program—only the Asian countries.

A word of caution now against those who say that the battlelines are now drawn and that we must immediately make a fateful leap in one direction or the other. They would have us either enter into a full program of attempted appeasement of communism in Asia, or else embark upon a dangerously provocative course which might soon embroil us in active hostilities with consequences beyond measure.

Although they would not admit it, their counsel in effect is that we must jump either into the frying pan or the fire. We do not propose to do either.

Our course is what we conceive of as a middle one, calculated to limit the capability of the enemy for further aggression and to build up the strength of our friends. In that direction lies the best hope for peaceful attainment of our objectives, and the best preparation for any new challenge that may be flung at us.

Nonrecognition of Communist Regime

One often-asked question deserves an answer: "Since recognition doesn't signify approval, why don't we accept reality and recognize the Chinese Communist regime which is in full control of the country?"

To start with, let us take a look at the four generally accepted criteria which a new regime ordinarily must meet before its recognition as a legitimate government and its acceptance into the sisterhood of nations. These four criteria are (1) effective control

over the territory of the country; (2) sovereign independence; (3) truly representative character, something in the nature of a mandate from the people governed, or at least their consent without coercion; and (4) acceptance of its inherited and generally recognized treaty and other international obligations and adherence to a pretty well established minimum standard of decency in its treatment of foreign nationals and interests within its borders.

Of these 4 criteria it would seem that the Peiping regime meets only the first and that is perhaps the least essential of the 4.

Repeatedly we have recognized governments in exile which would not meet the first criterion. But it would be a serious matter to overlook the other three tests.

The Chinese Communists do not measure up under any of them. They are subvervient to Moscow and international communism; they impose an alien minority rule by force and falsification on an intimidated, isolated, and misinformed populace; and they openly flout every Chinese treaty obligation, every principle of the U. N. Charter, and every clause in any reasonable formulation of human and property rights for aliens.

Apart from the horrors wantonly inflicted on millions of Chinese since 1949, the story of the flagrant abuse of scores of American citizens is one which rightfully causes us to burn with wrath.

The shocking crimes against humanity of recent years have blunted world sensitivity to mass sadism so that we no longer seem to express the full measure of our moral indignation against these great wrongs. But we cannot lightly dismiss the agony of our fellow citizens arrested by Chinese Communists on trumped-up charges; held incommunicado for months or years without access to friends or legal counsel and often without knowledge of what offense if any is charged against them; and in many cases subjected to physical or mental tortures aimed at extorting false confessions that can be used in the vicious hate-America propaganda campaign, a campaign which unhappily may in time turn a new generation of Chinese against America and Americans by a systematic poisoning of their minds against this country beginning in childhood.

On grounds of international law, the case against recognition is very strong. On practical grounds, the argument is equally strong.

Recognition has assumed a political and psychological significance which is new. It has become a symbol. Recognition in this case would mean in the eyes of millions, especially in Asia, not necessarily approval but acceptance, accommodation, and reconcilement.

Nonrecognition means refusal to accept the Communist triumph as definitive. It means to many that the will to resist Communist expansion is alive; that communism is not the inevitable wave of the future for Asia; that communism is not assured of acceptance and legitimation in every country where it may gain a beachhead; that our Asian friends who have the courage to stand up against communism will not have the ground cut out from under their feet if communism should attempt to subvert or take over their native land.

Some may be unable to see why the recognition issue should signify all this; but the fact is that it does to many Asians, including numbers who are on the fence. Many an Asian has told me that American nonrecognition of the Communist regime in Peiping has had much to do with checking the impetus of the Communist advance in Asia.

Even Chinese who are not particularly in sympathy with the Chinese National Government tell us that recognition of the Communist dictators in Peiping would be the greatest single nonmilitary triumph for the Communist cause and the hardest psychological blow against the will to resist the further spread of communism that could be devised.

It would be an unthinkable betrayal of the Chinese Government and its people on Formosa and likewise a grave disservice to the mass of Chinese people on the mainland suffering under Communist dictatorship. Our friendship for them shall not waver, and it demands that we shall not strengthen the hand of their oppressor.

The Communist side is becoming increasingly aware of the immense political and psychological advantages, as well as the parliamentary advantages in the United Nations, which could be obtained from general worldwide recognition of the Peiping regime. Hence we are beginning to see a series of maneuvers out of Moscow and Peiping designed to force the general international acceptance of the Mao Tse-tung regime as the legitimate government of China, entitled to occupy China's seat in the United Nations. This endeavor must be resisted.

We see in the arrogant, incorrigible, unyielding position taken by the Chinese Communists mouthpieces wherever they appear at a conference how difficult it is to negotiate even the simplest matter with them. The current negotiations in Korea are an example. The patience, the flexibility, the open-mindedness, the reasonableness, and resourcefulness of even a consummately skilled negotiator are largely wasted.

There is nothing to be gained from diplomatic relations with such a regime, which believes in the use of diplomacy as a weapon of propaganda and subversion rather than as a means of constructive diplomatic intercourse.

The ambitious plans of the Peiping regime to build its industrial base for war through a comprehensive 5-year economic development plan are deeply disturbing. There is no reason to believe that its longstanding plans for expansion in Asia have been modified.

KOREAN ISSUE REMAINS OPEN

Even the aggression in Korea cannot be considered as terminated merely by an armistice. In the absence of a satisfactory settlement in a political conference, the Korean issue remains open.

The fundamental threat posed by the Peiping regime through its Korean aggression calls for a continuance of the concerted U. N. economic sanctions which have been applied against it since 1951.

We believe that the regime, if allowed to carry on foreign trade freely, would disregard the normal consumer requirements of the Chinese people and continue to impose the severest limitations on imports of consumer goods, while concentrating on strategic and industrial imports essential to the buildup of a war economy which might later be used against us.

Hence the conclusion that the United States ban on trade, shipping, and financial relations with Communist China must be maintained, in the absence of a fundamental change in the posture, the composition and the essential orientation of the regime.

The Peiping regime in 1949 contemptuously rejected opportunities for friendship and normal trade relations. Those who have hoped that a western policy of keeping a foot in the door would have a moderating effect on the regime, and perhaps alienate the regime from its Moscow affiliation, have seen their hopes consistently dashed.

By maintaining a policy of pressure and diplomatic isolation we can at least slow the growth of the warmaking potential of Communist China and retard the consolidation of its diplomatic position. A relationship of dependence on the senior partner as complete as we can make it will not make the embrace any more congenial for either the Soviet senior partner or the Chinese Communist junior partner.

It is regrettable that I cannot produce any panacea which would solve all the vexing problems posed by Communist China and remove this added threat to our national security with one magic stroke. I do not have any such formula and I question whether anyone else has.

It is not pleasant to have to report that nothing better than a prolonged period of tension and uncertainty may be in store for us. It is cold comfort to say that the prospects of checkmating any further encroachments of the opposition in the Far East are slowly improving. We all long for a quick end to this gray period which is so costly, so anxious, and so frustrating.

But let us take comfort in the assurance that we now know the nature of the enemy, which should deny him any more easy victories; in the belief that a divinely implanted inner voice inclines all humanity to our side; and in the conviction that any system so violative of all the things mankind holds most dear must veritably carry within itself the seeds of its own ultimate dissolution.

What My Home State Offers Young People Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, it is with the greatest pleasure and pride I call to the attention of the House a prize-winning essay written by Miss Barbara Baltz, of Pocahontas, Ark., and entitled "What My Home State Offers Young People Today." This young author has the honor of being a recent winner of the scholarship fund essay contest sponsored by the Lion Oil Co. of our State. She is a high-school student, and a member of one of the oldest and finest families in the Second Congressional District and State of Arkansas. The prize-winning essay is as follows:

WHAT MY HOME STATE OFFERS YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY

From limestone to diamonds, from toothpicks to turkeys, from blue jeans to fur coats, Arkansas provides humanity's every need.

Arkansas offers a thriving educational system. Opportunities through high school are provided to all children—both white and Negro. The program for students covers a wide variety of vocational training, including agriculture, home economics, and every art and science now known. Approximately 1,000 specialists serve as instructors in these youth programs. For adult education, specialized courses are sponsored by the State department. Numerous libraries afford still other opportunities for advancement. Various firms foster scholastic enthusiasm by offering scholarships.

Arkansas offers wide industrial employment. The rapid development of a balanced industrial economy is assured by an abundance of natural resources and by the related factors of adaptable labor, adequate power, excellent transportation facilities, and the existence of present and potential markets. Because almost two-thirds of the State is wooded, the most important industry is the

manufacture of lumber and timber products. Second in value among the manufacturing enterprises is the processing of cottonseed for its oil. Ninety-five percent of the native supply of bauxite in the United States comes from Arkansas. Natural gas, coal, and diamonds are added to her list of raw materials. The healthy expansion now under way, as well as the possibilities for future development are receiving the attention of enterprising capital both locally and throughout the Nation.

Arkansas offers vast agricultural facilities. Despite the ever-increasing importance of mineral production and manufacturing, Arkansas is primarily an agricultural State. The temperate climate, varied types of soil, and adequate labor make it one of the leading agricultural States in the Nation. The rich delta lands produce a long staple cotton of tough fiber and high luster, much in demand by the textile industries. Corn, rice, and hay are also leading crops. Unusual crops grown commercially include mushrooms and flower seeds.

Arkansas offers suitable conditions for raising livestock. Beef and dairy cattle are second in value only to cotton. Horses, mules, hogs, sheep, and poultry raised throughout the State add inestimably to the wealth of its products.

Arkansas offers vacation facilities. Here the Master Painter has etched some of the most beautiful scenes in the world, with leaping streams, purple mountains, chalk cliffs, caverns, and forested wildernesses.

The Ozark and Ouachita Mountains, Hot Springs National Park, and the caverns near Jasper, attract tourists from all over the Nation. Lakes formed by Bull Shoals and Norfork Dams invite you to recreation or sheer relaxation. Deer, squirrel, and other wildlife provide satisfaction to enthusiastic sportsmen. Invalids, rich or poor, may come to the healing waters of the mineral and hot springs in western Arkansas to regain health and strength.

Arkansas is alive and vehemently aware of her possibilities. She has a healthy and progressive government which is bent on making the most of her unusually remarkable resources. The people are proud of what they have to offer to the Nation—unexcelled opportunities for investment, an inviting place to visit, a better place to live.

The Recent History and the Current Position of Gold in Our Monetary System

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, at the National Western Mining Conference, held in Denver, Colo., on January 29, 1954, Mr. Harry Sears, president of the Calaveras Central Gold Mining Co., Ltd., of Angels Camp, Calif., in a speech carefully compiled the recent history and the current position of gold in our monetary system. His speech sets forth a specific set of suggestions to bring gold into its proper focus with reference to our monetary policies and I include it in the RECORD for the information of the House and the people of the country generally:

There is a conspiracy against gold, here in the United States.

When we consider gold from a practical, legal, and monetary standpoint we find that the present threat facing our citizens, of being permanently deprived of its use and value in monetary matters, stems from the same actions by the same people who have been trying to destroy us as gold producers.

I propose to outline steps in this conspiracy, actively in progress during most of the past 20 years and using the facilities of the Treasury, Federal Reserve, and the International Monetary Fund to destroy our national solvency and freedom and disperse our gold reserves.

Another objective was the removal of gold as a base for money, compulsory acceptance by our people of constantly depreciating managed currency and the destruction of gold mining in this country.

Destruction of gold mining is being accomplished by Government seizure of essential features of our private industry, placing us under an illegal and unconstitutional licensing system, compelling us to deliver our privately owned gold, at a fixed price in dollars, to the Treasury or its agents and depriving us of access and sales to the public or to commercial gold users.

Thus, through gradual shrinkage of the value of dollars our industry has been forced into an intolerable economic position which will eventually put all primary producers out of business.

It is difficult for the average citizen to realize that our success in preventing destruction of gold mining in the United States is of vital interest to them.

In their view our industry is somewhat romantic and glamorous, so it is quite understandable that with no practical knowledge of gold and its production, they do not realise that the safety and value of every dollar they earn or save, or will ultimately possess, will be affected by our success in arousing public interest and indignation concerning the following facts.

To us, as producers, gold is simply a commodity, just as wheat, cotton, iron or coal are commodities.

This simple statement has been challenged or ignored by certain economists and monetary experts, claiming that because gold was once used as a monetary metal, here in the United States, we have forfeited the right to consider it as a commodity.

For many years the Federal Reserve has been unfriendly to gold. I quote from an article by the late Dr. E. A. Goldenweiser, written just before his death. As the principal economic adviser of the Federal Reserve for many years, he qualifies as a hostile witness:

"In addition to being a myth, a moral slogan, and a standard of value, gold is also a commodity. It is produced by labor and management employed by companies owned by stockholders and it is sold to governments and to the public by the producers. The cost of production is met by the companies and the money received for the product is used to pay wages and other costs and to distribute dividends to holders of shares in the enterprise. In other words in this aspect gold is like any other commodity produced and sold in free economies."

That statement justifies the freedom to conduct their own affairs which has been sought by gold producers ever since Government efforts to cripple and destroy them became apparent.

There is the additional fact, almost unknown to the general public, that gold is privately owned, not owned by the Government, that titles to gold mines are under patents, direct grants from the Government of the ground and the gold therein contained, with no reservations.

Rights acquired against the United States, arising out of a contract with it, are protected by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution which holds that no person "shall be deprived of property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

Those rights were violently invaded when, under the plea of emergency, all gold was blanketed under Roosevelt's first gold embargo order on April 20, 1933.

The gold standard had been in effect since 1834 with a stable price for gold of $20.67 an ounce. This price was not by Government mandate or regulation but merely the best price buyers would offer and that sellers could secure.

But gold producers were in serious trouble in 1933. Although the price of gold had remained stable throughout the previous century the purchasing value of dollars had declined 77 percent, giving the dollar a practical value of only 23 cents. This put gold, from the producers' standpoint, at $4.75 per ounce.

This fact is practically unknown by the majority of bankers, legislators, and the general public. It has been overlooked, suppressed, or ignored by economists, teachers, and monetary experts who base all of their calculations on the use of gold and do not inquire into the facts of its supply.

History gives proof that the gold standard is not a cure-all for mistakes or dishonesty of governments and that it does not of itself have the power to prevent the shrinkage in purchasing power of currencies.

The century of its use gives the lie to those who waste energy and create confusion in promoting return to gold convertibility with false promises and mere wishful calculations that it will restore or insure indefinitely the purchasing power of dollars.

In 1933 the world had abandoned the gold standard, prices of gold were higher abroad, which offered relief through export sales for our hard pressed industry.

When the President's embargo was announced there was a storm of protest from the mining industry for here was an order to take from them their privately owned product, compelling them to turn over gold to the Treasury at $20.67 an ounce, in depressed dollars, when there were higher prices for gold in world markets abroad.

I took an active part with other producers in exchanges between the White House, the Treasury, and other departments with the result that newly mined gold was permitted sales at the world price.

A BANKING NOT A MINING ORDER

In construing the word "gold," in the first Executive Order of 1933, the Attorney General held that this meant "gold coin," "gold bullion," and "gold certificates." It was therefore a banking and monetary and not a mining order.

None of the gold in our mines had ever been in the Government's possession as monetary gold and it clearly retained its commodity status right up to the point of a voluntary sale to the Government. The Attorney General recognized this in his ruling.

This is the heart and essence of the legal status of newly mined gold in the United States under our American way of life.

There is no constitutional power in either the Congress, the President, or the Secretary of the Treasury, to say otherwise.

For a few months at the end of 1933 we had our legal freedom to receive the free market price for our gold. But during these same few months Roosevelt was surrounded by hordes of connivers who were going to remake the world. That was the period when Congress was ordered to pass laws regardless of considerations as to their constitutionality.

This was followed by the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 and the setting of $35 for gold which became the world price. This act was first passed by the House of Representatives without any of the Congressmen knowing what they were voting on. They did not even have a copy of the act before them

at the time. They were told by Roosevelt to vote "yes" and to pass it. They did. It was a perfect rubber-stamp process exactly as in Soviet Russia.

There was some debate in the Senate, practically all on the subject of the $2 billion stabilization fund and its control by Secretary Morgenthau. They feared to trust him and his ability. There was no mention of mines or newly mined gold except references to its special and privileged position.

This may sound fantastic but if anyone cares to check the details just look up the facts in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There could not therefore, have been any intent in the minds of the Congressmen to control newly mined gold. Such intent could only have been in Roosevelt's mind plus the intent in the mind of his tool Morgenthau, who as Secretary of the Treasury was responsible for the gold regulations that followed.

That was the initial lawless act in the conspiracy against gold mining and against our privately owned gold.

We do not condone the seizure of gold from the public, or the denial of the rights of citizens to possess gold (through provisions in the gold regulations) but these are another class of offenses against all citizens and must not be confused with our basic ownership of gold under our grants of title from the Government.

All gold mines contain gold in its natural state, always alloyed with silver and usually in a rock or vein formation and intermingled with other metals or minerals. Some gold may be mined in its natural state, as with placer gold, but usually it must be processed to insure its recovery, avoid losses, and to put it into marketable form.

The mandatory requirements that a producer must secure a Treasury license before he can smelt and prepare his gold for sale, plus the requirement that it must be sold at the Treasury price to a licensed buyer or dealer, or to the mint, plus the denial of the rights of citizens to hold or acquire processed gold in the form of bars or bullion, under penalty of prosecution and confiscation, constitute a series of unlawful assaults on the property rights of citizens, directed against both buyer and seller, exactly as has been done under Soviet rule.

It is clearly a violation of the gold producer's property rights guaranteed under the fifth amendment.

These things were the product of Morgenthau and his advisers.

When the Government was sued because of their abrogations of contracts and bonds calling for payments in gold they were only upheld by a slender margin under a tortured Supreme Court decision which held in effect that even with the constitutional power of Congress to fix the value of money, their paper dollars for gold dollars could only be used because the plaintiffs failed to allege or prove damage through loss in purchasing power.

PURCHASING POWER OF DOLLARS

But the principle was established that the purchasing power of dollars controls the power of Government actions as to contracts, or property, or where the value of a payment was substituted for another form or value of payment.

Excerpts from the minority dissenting opinions of the Court were really prophetic. Mr. Justice McReynolds said:

"Congress really has inaugurated a plan primarily designed to destroy private obligations, repudiate national debts and drive into the Treasury all gold within the country in exchange for inconvertible promises to pay, of much less value.

"The power to issue bills and 'regulate values' of coin cannot be so enlarged as to authorize arbitrary action, whose immediate purpose and necessary effect is destruction of individual rights. As this Court has said a 'power to regulate is not a power to destroy.' The fifth amendment limits all Government powers.

"Congress has power to coin money but this cannot be exercised without the possession of metal. Can Congress authorize appropriation without compensation of the necessary gold—of course not. 'The limitations prescribed by the Constitution restrict the exercise of all power.'"

These things which were abhorrent to the Court have since become common practice in the enforcement of Treasury regulations against gold producers.

This was another step in the conspiracy. Throughout the years these regulations have stood as a record of shame. They have not even been changed under the present administration which still follows the program outlined by the clique who have controlled the Treasury through the past 20 years.

TREASURY MONOPOLY OF GOLD

Under their regulations the Treasury has established a monopoly of gold, refusing to sell it to the public or to permit the public to hold it and delegating to itself, and to its licensed dealers the sole right to supply gold to commercial users. These sales of gold in the United States during the past 12 years have been $275 million greater than the entire gold production of the United States for the same period. Not an ounce of gold mined in the United States has reached the so-called monetary stocks of the Treasury, the protection of which was purportedly the original purpose of issuing the regulations.

We are told that the Treasury is operating on a gold bullion standard, that it is prepared at all times to buy and sell gold at $35 an ounce to foreign governments or holders of dollars.

Apparently the only pratical effect of this standard is to fix a standard foreign sales price at $35, just as the standard price to industry in this country is $35.

Although only a trustee for the gold, of which our citizens and taxpayers are the equitable owners, it having been bought with their dollars, these sales abroad, and here, have been continuously conducted for merely the specified number of dollars, completely ignoring the fact that their present buying power or value is admitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the President, to be only 50 cents or less.

Our citizens' gold is therefore being sold at no more than the equivalent of $17.50 an ounce, and it is not being replenished.

During the first few years of the regulations their illegality was not very apparent, purchasing power of dollars remained fairly stable.

Then came the next step in the conspiracy. Acting together, the Treasury and Federal Reserve began to produce tidal waves of dollars, the buying power of dollars was steadily forced down, operating costs of business and Government went up.

Who were the hidden leaders of this conspiracy? How had they gained their power? Why did Government departments cooperate with them and take orders from them?

ACTORS IN THE CONSPIRACY

During November and December 1953, the press, radio, and television brought us devastating evidence of the existence of Communist spies and Soviet agents occupying positions of great power and prestige throughout many departments of our Government. They had been there for many years and apparently some were still there.

These people had not been merely tolerated, they were shielded and promoted by some of the highest officers in the past administration.

The evidence so far chiefly concerns the existence of these Soviet agents. Very little has been said about the damage they did.

Let us consider the key figure of the recent disclosures, Harry Dexter White.

There is enough evidence already on the record to show that he was the organizer and guiding force of the Treasury, and that his power expanded from there into practically all the fiscal and finance departments of the Government during the greater part of both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

He was surrounded by willing helpers, many of his own choosing and others who were willing to support his policies.

With the operations of this clique extending into the Federal Reserve, a totalitarian line of thought and practice began a deliberate program of inflation, putting billions of excess dollars into circulation, reducing the purchasing power of dollars, and thus robbing our citizens of large parts of their savings, insurances, pensions, and incomes.

In an interview published in U. S. News & World Report of December 4, 1953, Mr. W. Randolph Burgess speaks on these actions, answering an interviewer's question as to what was meant by releasing the Federal Reserve:

"I mean the previous administration held the Federal Reserve System captive until a couple of years ago. Now, why the Federal Reserve System allowed itself to be a captive of the Treasury is another question. But they used the Federal Reserve System to peg the prices of Government securities instead of doing their statutory duty of influencing the volume of money in the public interest.

"It added to the money supply, and, as Senator DOUGLAS said in a speech to the Senate, that was the policy which had encouraged inflation and cost the American people billions of dollars."

The conspiracy was now rolling along under high pressure. The effrontery of their acts was shown when White, as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury supplied our engraved money plates and quantities of paper and ink to the Soviets so they could print our currency in spurious millions which they circulated in bales through Soviet troops in Germany where hundreds of millions of this phony currency had to be redeemed by our Treasury.

EXPANDING CONSPIRACY AGAINST GOLD

In the early part of the drive on gold mining there was a great propaganda drive to discredit gold. The Soviets and Hitler were buddies at that time, and their agents here who were expanding their organization into Government and private financial circles manipulated these sources to promote fear that gold was to lose its value and all trade was to be done with barter. Gold mining was a waste of time and energy, people ought to turn their attention to something useful.

The effect of this poisonous propaganda was deadly. Financing for gold mines was stopped dead in its tracks and some producing mines began to plan curtailment.

Then the party line changed, the Soviets and Hitler ended their honeymoon and Stalin was ready to move in with expanded plans of control of our Government.

The drive against gold mining became more definite. Regulations, restrictions, and low priorities became the order of the day in shutting down on our supplies. With the limited price on gold we could not compete with rapidly mounting demands from labor and production became difficult.

Then we were in the war and the sky was the limit. Our pal "good old Joe" was given the keys to all the front doors, he already had most of the back doors open and was loading out everything his agents could lay hands on.

But gold mining was now to get its death blow. Calling on their network throughout Government departments the conspirators came up with phony statistics showing that gold mining was unessential, that if it were

closed down, thousands of men would be released to mine necessary metals and the equipment and supplies used by the gold mines would be shifted to national defense. All of this finally produced the notorious WPB Order L208 and the gold mines were closed. As we know, ours was the only industry dealt with in this drastic way.

In those days the conspirators and their records were blanketed under secrecy classifications. The full powers of government were available to shield them from inquiries as to the necessity or honesty of their acts.

In the Jenner report of last year, Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, we find a number of names of persons and departments who were active in closing gold mines. We note one example.

One of the exhibits introduced in the hearings in 1945–46 on the bill H. R. 4393 introduced by Congressman CLAIR ENGLE in an attempt to get some returns from the Government for the losses of gold mines through the enforced closing, was a formerly secret letter written by Milo Perkins, Executive Director, Economic Defense Board, December 19, 1941 (almost a year before gold mines were closed) where he said:

"In dealing solely with the question of gold-mining equipment there is danger of losing an opportunity both to solve the long-term aspects of the gold problem and to maximize the joint war effort. Such an opportunity exists now. The United States can and should use the power that is derived from being practically the sole buyer of the yellow metal in order to initiate a program of a gradual reduction in gold production. Such a program would contribute to the maximization of the joint war effort and at the same time would facilitate a solution of the postwar gold problem * * * it is essential * * * that a reduction in gold mining should be envisaged for the postwar period.

Please note that these actions planned against gold mining were admittedly sought for the postwar years.

From other secret but now declassified records, we find that as the gold mines here were closed the Soviets were supplied with gold-mining equipment and materials under the highest priorities, throughout the war, in greater quantity than would have been used by all United States gold mines.

WHITE WAS BUILDING A COMMUNIST APPARATUS

After organizing the Treasury and Federal Reserve for his purposes, White worked with Alger Hiss and the Soviet and Polish delegates and Lord Maynard Keynes from England who became the architects, with White as director, and they launched the International Monetary Fund, presumably to accomplish the exchange of various currencies, but in reality a trap to sluice away from our Treasury gold.

Currency exchange is further from accomplishment now than when the Fund started. The world is in a greater monetary mess, but they all agree on one objective, the accumulation of dollar balances with which they can buy our gold, while nations struggle through the intricacies of nearly 3,000 clearing currencies.

With the Treasury, Federal Reserve, and Fund working under the guidance of White they were in effect an active Communist apparatus developing a basic principle pronounced by Karl Marx, "the surest way to overturn the social order is to debauch the currency."

Through the Monetary Fund we were led into agreeing that there should be no change in the $35 price for gold without congressional action, or without agreement with Fund members. We must still continue to sell gold to the world on demand, at the bargain prices charted by our degraded dollars, or hold a fulldress debate in Congress and put the world on notice of any plan we make to stop these suicidal drains on our national gold reserves. Later, we will discover how we have been trapped by this device. With such notice nations throughout the world can immediately act to withdraw their gold with the dollar reserves they hold. Our gold reserve is then gone and cannot be replaced.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

While the conspirators were working we were living under a barrage of propaganda from Government and outside sources, much of this coming from economists, professors, and financial advisers, to change our way of thinking and our habits of living. In light of recent revelations we now see a varitable rouges gallery of those who stand unmasked, but who formerly posed as authorities and wielded remarkable powers.

We can trace much of their propaganda to straight Communist doctrine.

"The right to work" is a phrase put forward by Engles in 1893.

"Race, color or creed," comes directly from the Manifesto of the First Communist International, dated 1864.

"We owe it to ourselves," was advanced as "The modern doctrine that a nation becomes richer the more deeply it is in debt," by Karl Marx in 1867.

"A quart of milk a day," was the formula proposed by Lenin in 1917.

How often have we been told through their brainwashing that "to raise the price of gold would devalue the dollar," or that it would be "inflationary," or that "the only ones who want a higher gold price are the miners," so that they can "increase their profits." And we are constantly being told of the iniquity of citizens who would "hoard" gold.

Much of these latter type of statements appear in the literature circulated by several propaganda outfits who represent themselves as working for a return to the gold standard and to restore the rights of citizens to convert their currency into gold, at the ratio of the present $35 price.

Apparently the two principal groups of these people are The Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy and The Gold Standard League, but we have learned that many high sounding names have been used to mask very low objectives.

The economists' committee lists a number of names of members largely those of professors, economists and others who approach subjects on a basis of theory and in many instances refuse to admit that the facts of life have a way of refusing to follow their theories.

Their spokesman is Dr. Walter E. Spahr who argues that a standard can only be maintained through a fixed price of gold, that it cannot be changed and must continue indefinitely. His arguments are not only unconvincing but they are self defeating. If gold is always to be valued on a theoretical price association with dollars and dollars continue to lose their purchasing power, which is the only value they have, it is certainly clear that gold and its value will be dragged down by dollars. When the value of a dollar reaches a purchasing power of 1 cent or of zero, that would likewise be the value of gold, if we follow Dr. Spahr and his theory to the bitter end.

For years he has been complaining of the loss of value, or purchasing power of dollars, having quoted them at various points on their downward path to lows of about 30 cents to 35 cents. On these calculations I agree with him, he is more nearly correct than either the President or the Secretary of the Treasury, both of whom have repeatedly referred to our 50-cent dollar.

However, there is no need here in determining the exact ratio or percentage of loss through the devaluation of our dollar which has been the result of the conspiracy. We can determine that if gold is to be forever tied at a fixed rate to the plunging dollar, they would both lose their values together.

There would thus be no point in convertibility.

Through their activities these people have evidently influenced the introduction of several bills in Congress for a return to the gold standard and for conversion of dollars to gold at the $35 ratio. I have discussed these bills with the various Congressmen who have introduced them but find that they have no factual or practical knowledge of the subject on which they are seeking legislation.

The main argument of the Congressmen and the spokesman for the economists' committee is, that there is plenty of gold.

There is definite proof to the contrary.

CONVERSION TO GOLD AT $35 IMPOSSIBLE

A letter dated May 4, 1949, signed by William McC Martin, Jr., Acting Secretary of the Treasury, was filed in the records of a congressional hearing where Dr. Spahr and some of his committee members had testified in favor of their $35 conversion plan. This letter puts the official seal of doom on such theories of convertibility. We quote a paragraph:

"Even our $24 billion of gold holdings would be completely inadequate to meet a serious run on gold from the $27 billion of United States currency in circulation, over $140 billion of bank deposits, and scores of billions of dollars of Government securities, not to mention other relatively liquid assets. Conversion of around 5 or 6 percent of these Government and bank obligations would be enough to bring the Federal Reserve banks below their legal minimum gold reserve."

That letter was written nearly 5 years ago when gold stocks of the United States were far larger than they are today, when the present gigantic mortgage of foreign-dollar holdings was not overhanging them, as it is today, and when the potential domestic demand for gold was many billions of dollars less than it is today.

THIRTY-FIVE-DOLLAR GOLD CULT IN ACTION

Nevertheless we find these people who seem to comprise a $35 gold cult still spreading their false propaganda that there is plenty of gold, still fighting fanatically against any increase in the gold price, to compensate for the admitted dollar depreciation, and thus to increase the gold stock against conversion demands.

We also find them viciously attacking gold producers and mine owners, the few survivors out of an industry which has been more than 90 percent destroyed, with dishonest and contemptible misrepresentations and slanderous criticism, when producers out of their expert knowledge try to present the facts concerning gold, to responsible Government departments or to the general public.

The so-called gold standard which the Economists' Committee and its junior department, the Gold Standard League advocate is nothing but an extension of the present disastrous Treasury gold-sales policy, to domestic as well as foreign purchasers. The only beneficiaries would be those few who were in the front of the line when the Treasury doors were opened.

What they are really proposing is merely a dollar standard, a standard price. Adoption of their formula would bring swift financial ruin to the United States, even if there was a gold supply.

The historic function of gold is that of a refuge in times of stress. When currency and other values crash gold is the one substance known to man which is universally acceptable.

It can likewise be a refuge, in the hands of citizens, to rebuke excesses of a profligate government.

But if gold is to serve humanity as a refuge, it must be free. Its price must be determined as the choice of the people, not by the

edict of dictatorships, or political expediency, or by theories of economists.

When it is tied by law to a certain number of dollars its function is destroyed. It merely becomes the casualty of a managed currency.

This is such a simple and elemental principle that those who ignore it, whether in or out of government, now become suspect.

RESULTS FROM TREASURY'S GOLD MONOPOLY

Let us face some facts, developed and laid on the board of realities, as an engineer must view his problems.

For 20 years our taxpayers have been deceived and imposed on by Government departments and banking and investment advisory staffs who have told them that their dollars were safe because of the national gold stocks.

The extent and availability of national gold stocks have been unfairly reported to us and calculations of existing obligations against them have been suppressed.

The September 14, 1953, issue of Barron's carried a courageous leading editorial from which I will quote:

"Far from being a citadel of impregnable liquidity, the United States is in the position of a banker who is nearing the end of his free and usable reserves. It is past time, we think, that this major economic truth be recognized. * * * the United States gold stock has been reduced to about $22 billion.

"This appears more than ample until one looks at the liabilities against it * * * it now takes some $12 billion in gold to serve as a minimum legal cover for Federal Reserve notes and Federal Reserve deposits * * * foreign balances here—say $7 billion worth—could be translated into gold on demand.

"Hence the bulk of United States gold is definitely mortgaged and the free supply amounts to perhaps no more than $3 to $4 billion."

Those calculations were made on the basis of the Federal Reserve figures for 1952. A year later and as a result of expansion in money supply the legal coverage in gold would have to be enlarged and from information given to me in one of the Federal Reserve banks about 2 weeks ago the foreign balances which could be translated into gold on demand have increased to about $12½ billion, which would indicate that the legal coverage on notes and deposits plus the foreign demand for gold could not both be met. Instead of a free supply of gold there appears to be a shortage of some $2 billion.

Government and other propagandists repeatedly represent the Treasury as being the largest purchaser of gold in the world but a recent dispatch from Washington revealed that during 1953 it had sold more than $1 billion of gold and purchased none.

The monthly letter of the National City Bank, of New York, is widely circulated and quoted and the public has been led to believe that it is realiable. In the issue for October 1953 the following appears:

"Gold and dollar resources of nations abroad, recently accumulating at a rate exceeding $2 billion a year, now equal the United States gold stock of $22 billion."

Nothing is said as to the mortgage potentiality of the foreign balances which are the practical equivalents of outstanding checks against the Treasury gold account.

It would seem that the same degree of integrity in preparing statements intended to influence credit or investment should be required of a bank, as of any other business.

It would also seem that if foreign balances were settled the gold position abroad would be about $34 billion and that of the Treasury would be less than $10 billion.

When Roosevelt abandoned the gold standard in 1933 for the stated reason that we were short of gold, we had about $7 billion (if we translate the number of ounces held then into the $35 price of today). We are dangerously close to being right back at the starting point. Practically all of our vast additional gold stocks have been wasted.

The world is desperately short of gold and will remain so for years to come. Production of new gold supplies cannot keep pace with oncoming demands from increases of populations and improved living conditions and credit demands from formerly backward nations.

Other nations already have higher gold prices than ours, in terms of their own devalued currencies.

We too have devalued our dollars, a fact freely admitted during the past year by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, and many other administration spokesmen who speak of the worth of the dollar, or its value, or its purchasing power.

But in the past twenty years the Treasury has chosen to dissipate its gold stock to maintain a fictitious and false value for dollars which it is now admitted they do not possess.

There is no way of quickly expanding gold reserves except through a substantial increase in its price.

Although gold producers, as an industry, in the United States have been more than 90 percent destroyed we still have the gold in the ground. Given the necessary incentive of an honest gold price reflecting its scarcity and value, capital would flow toward gold production, mines could be reopened and expanded into large modern enterprises, thus furnishing the backbone for future safety for all our citizens through a sound American monetary program, built back by a Congress which once again asserts its duty to control money.

We have considered the group of gold-standard bills in Congress and the absurdity of their aspirations to convert dollars into gold on demand, at the present ratio of $35, is made clearly by the facts we have just set forth.

But there is another gold-standard bill, and though at first glance it would appear as just one more of the impractical dreams promoted by the economists, there is an important difference.

This was introduced at the close of the last session by Senator STYLES BRIDGES, with a companion bill in the House by Congressman REES.

Senator BRIDGES made a statement from the Senate floor, some of which I quote:

"At this time foreign interests have the right to convert their dollars into gold, and I feel very strongly that the American people should have the same opportunity and right.

"Although it is impractical to take this step at this time, it is not only practical but our moral duty to make a beginning * * * we can start the study and plan the hearings that must precede the actual fulfillment."

Then speaking of the national policy for the past years, he said:

"As we know, one result of this policy is that the United States dollar is now worth 50 cents, compared with its 1935–39 value. The cause has been attributed to high prices. High prices have been attributed to high wages. High wages have been attributed to high cost of living. But the high cost of living consists of high prices; so we wind up exactly where we started without getting nearer to the truth.

"The answer lies in the question, 'What is a price?' A price is the amount a customer is willing to give up for something.

"* * * Money and taxes, when discussed at stratospheric levels, can be beyond the comprehension of almost everyone but a handful of specialists; but when discussed at a practical level, any high-school student can understand the basic principles.

"* * * I am convinced that public interest in these matters can be crystallized around the issue of gold and sound money."

Senator BRIDGES thus sets his bill apart from the pattern followed by others. He proposes that it shall present in its hearings, the opportunity for study, to determine the facts, and he recognizes that a question of price can only be determined in connection with the present purchasing power or value of dollars.

This reflects a refreshing approach to the subject through hope for some monetary statesmanship.

When the results of such a study are applied to the price of gold we should have a better future ahead for all of our people.

During forthcoming hearings for these bills there is opportunity for Congress to expose the un-American principles of money managers, to cut loose from the mumbo-jumbo of economists and professors, to develop the actual facts regarding gold and its present and future availability, and to explore for and root out those of the Harry Dexter White clique, and way of thinking, who are still in positions of power and influence.

While these matters are being developed it would be helpful if the following suggestions, placed into form of bills could be speedily enacted.

First. A bill pledging the intention of the United States to return to the minting and use of gold coins or tokens of value and to make these convertible for United States currency. That the time for such conversion shall be when Congress shall determine that the Treasury has sufficient gold reserves.

Second. A bill reasserting the rights of all citizens of the United States to buy, sell, and possess gold, in any form and any quantity, basing this on their inalienable constitutional property rights.

Third. A bill prohibiting the Treasury from selling gold to industry and the arts and prohibiting them from selling any Treasury gold stock or holding they may control, in any free market in this country, for the purpose of depressing such market and thereby lessening the value of gold.

Chicago's Billion-Dollar Public-Works Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the address of the Honorable Martin H. Kennelly, Democratic mayor of Chicago, at the annual meeting on February 2, 1954, of the State Street council. Mayor Kennelly states that the flight from the city has been definitely ended and that Chicago is on the road to her greatest destiny.

Chicago is completing the most comprehensive program of public works in the history of American municipalities. Beginning with the first election of Mayor Kennelly in 1947 and extending for the next 2 years, a period of 10 years, the investment of public funds in Chicago public improvements will total a billion dollars. The accomplishment is the more remarkable because of the climate of integrity that everywhere has obtained, resulting in a billion-dollar program of expenditures without in any quarter the slightest whisper of scandal.

I am confident, Mr. Speaker, that Mayor Kennelly's address will be read

with approving interest, especially by our colleagues whose assistance we from Chicago so greatly appreciated this week in our fight for the Lake Michigan water-diversion bill. In the debate on that measure I stated that what is good for Chicago is good for the Nation. It is heartening to have this opportunity of showing how wholesome is the example and how inspiring the pattern that the city of Chicago gives to the Nation.

Mayor Kennelly's address follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of the council, I appreciate very much your invitation to address this annual meeting of the State Street Council.

For many years your group has contributed greatly to the city's development. Your organization has furnished distinguished leadership, creative thinking, and positive action, not only in the service of State Street, but on the broader basis of general civic planning and endeavor.

Two of your member firms recently celebrated their 100th anniversaries. State Street looks forward to a new century of progress.

As one of your members, John T. Pirie, Jr., has so well said, "The last 100 years have been only a preparation for tomorrow."

Every citizen is proud of the world-famous Loop. The soaring skyline of downtown is the accepted symbol of Chicago's metropolitan character.

The concentration of capital investment in downtown Chicago compels official concern for the welfare of this district. This great commercial area is a major source of tax revenues that support the local government. Accordingly, I have always been committed to an active interest in the problems which confront the State Street Council and the entire downtown area.

However, in asking me to discuss the state of the city, you recognize, as I do, the interdependence of the congress of communities that make up Chicago.

I propose to talk with you about four principal factors which I think have real meaning to you and to the city as a whole.

The first of these is the accessibility of the great resources of the downtown area to the people of this community. By that I mean not only the great retail and business establishment but the downtown area as a source of employment to more than three-quarters of a million people.

The second point has to do with the areas in which your customers live, which means, in short, the city of Chicago. For what goes on there and the satisfaction which this city gives to people as a place in which to work and live, is a key to the welfare of the downtown area as well as to the welfare of the neighborhoods.

Third, I want to talk with you about the quality and the tone of local government.

Finally, in acknowledgment of the challenge laid down by Mr. Pirie, I'd like to tell you how we are preparing for tomorrow. It is a big problem—and I know it will interest you greatly to hear about it.

IMPROVED LOCAL TRANSPORTATION

Back in 1947 when I became mayor, the problems of access to the downtown area and the free circulation of the population throughout the city were clearly recognized. What was needed was a program of positive action. There were two fields in which these improvements had to be made—public transportation and private transportation.

For years the public transit system had been in a state of physical deterioration and financial bankruptcy.

In less than 7 years, under Chairman Ralph Budd and his associates, the Chicago Transit Authority has accomplished an equipment and service modernization job that is unequaled in any similar period in the city's history. It is outstanding in the Nation's transit industry.

Unification of the major local transit services—a 50-year objective has been achieved.

The CTA has already expended $90 million for betterments and new equipment, covering more than 3,000 buses and cars. Deliveries of 400 new buses and 250 rapid transit cars—to go into service before the end of summer—will bring surface equipment modernization to more than 90 percent of completion. Rapid transit modernization will reach 75 percent of completion.

In addition to the modernization of equipment by the CTA, the city is now constructing its third subway. When the west side subway is completed, the city will have invested $100 million in modern rapid transit subways, nearly matching the total CTA program.

The city has no more vital resources than its public transportation system. It holds a vast potential for the full development of our local economy. What the circulatory system is to the body, the transit utility—streetcars, subways, buses, elevated and suburban service lines—is to the municipality.

GREAT SUPERHIGHWAY SYSTEM

The improvement has been equally dramatic in facilitating the movement of privately owned motor vehicles, passenger and commercial.

Here is a condensation of what has been done and is being done to provide freer access for motorized vehicles:

Congress Street superhighway, which compares in magnitude and importance with the lakefront development, is being pushed toward completion; the median strip of Congress Street will carry the west side subway beyond the west city limits; the land is being acquired and demolition has been started for the northwest expressway; the north Outer Drive bottleneck at Foster Avenue has been broken, and this roadway will be carried on to Hollywood Avenue; plans are being perfected for the south and southwest expressways; substantial progress is being made on the construction of the relocated south Outer Drive roadway; the Wacker Drive extension to link up with Congress Street is well along; the Randolph Street improvement has been completed; we have expended more than $20 million in the past 7 years for bridges, viaducts, and underpasses, and will spend about $8,500,000 for further improvements of this kind this year; an extensive system of one-way streets is being established throughout the city; the police traffic bureau and our traffic engineering bureau have been reorganized.

PARKING PROGRAM A PATTERN

Chicago has the most intelligently planned parking program in the United States. At least we have been so informed by all who have studied the situation. Your city has embarked upon a comprehensive traffic-control system which is being implemented by the construction of $50 million in off-street parking facilities, and the installation of 27,000 parking meters. This program will provide 9 structures in the central area, accommodating 7,000 cars. In addition, the Chicago Park District this year will complete its Michigan Avenue underground garage, housing 2,400 cars. In contemplation also are parking facilities in 7 outlying business communities. This number will be increased as the program is developed.

The parking phases of this program are entirely self-liquidating.

In this connection, I want to acknowledge the city's debt to the State Street Council and the Chicago Association of Commerce & Industry whose contributions of an original parking survey at a cost of some $60,000 led to the development of our parking plan.

Chicago's streets are now better marked, better lighted and better paved than ever before in our history. The elimination of streetcar tracks alone has greatly speeded up Chicago's traffic.

NATION'S AIR CENTER

We cannot leave the subject of access without mention of the important work to assure Chicago's continued position as the Nation's air center. Not only have we improved terminal facilities and every phase of the operation of Midway—the world's busiest airport—but by fall, O'Hare Field will be ready for the first stage of commercial operation.

As an example of the magnitude of O'Hare Field, it is 10 times larger in area than Midway.

Our unique lakefront airport, Meigs Field, is increasingly used as an access facility and is now benefiting from control-tower operations only recently installed.

It is significant to observe that of all the people who travel by air in the United States, 25 percent, or more than 7 million, used Midway Field last year.

SOUND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Turning our attention now to the second point of my remarks here today—the city as a place in which to work and live—we are all agreed, I am sure, that a sound educational system is a must in the building of a sound municipality. I have said repeatedly that you can't have a great city without a great school system.

In 1947, the schools were in danger of losing their accredited rating. Here, too, a program of positive action was vitally needed. In the first week I was mayor, we tackled the school problem. One suggestion to put our schools on the road to stability proposed to put the business functions of the schools under the superintendent. A bill to accomplish this forward step was dying in the General Assembly. We revived it with the help of the members of the legislature, educators, parent-teacher groups, business and labor leaders, and others, and it is now the law.

Among a number of other steps, it enabled us to bring to Chicago a superintendent of schools an educator of the prominence of Dr. Herold Hunt. It is also among the reasons Dr. Benjamin C. Willis recently accepted the position. Dr. Willis is one of the country's outstanding school administrators.

In leaving Chicago to accept a post at Harvard University, Dr. Hunt said that in his entire association here, he was never subjected to political pressure. This statement has real meaning for all of the people of Chicago. It is assurance to parents that the system is fulfilling its purpose without interference. Not only this—such a system both holds and attracts a family population which has confidence in the high quality of the city's schools.

With William B. Traynor as president, the board of education is composed of citizens of exceptional ability and standing. They are now pushing forward a $50 million construction and reconstruction program to meet present enrollment requirements. Of course, this program must be expanded for the future.

Public health and safety is another area of intense citizen interest.

DRASTIC CRIME REDUCTION

During the last 7 years, we have streamlined and reorganized the police department, to make more efficient use of available manpower.

We have greatly increased mobility through the purchase of substantial amounts of motorized equipment.

With the advice and counsel of the FBI, the bureau of identification and the records system has been overhauled; through the highly effective work of the labor detail the incidence of labor disorders is the lowest of any industrial city in the county; by the alert action of the cartage detail, the opera-

tions of hijackers have been greatly reduced. Our labor-management relations are among the best in the country.

Our aim is a thoroughly professional police arm, based on a sound merit system. This means original hiring on merit, promotions for merit, and assignment for merit. A good many of the top department officials are FBI-trained, and we have expanded our own in-training school to raise the level of educational qualification in the service.

On this subject of public safety, no single factor is more important than the strict enforcement of traffic rules. When there were 524,740 cars on the road in 1946, there were 478 traffic fatalities in the city. Last year, when there were 845,064 vehicles registered, we had 432 deaths.

Our program is positively paying off in terms of lives saved, injuries averted, and property damage avoided.

In view of all of this action, it is significant that the last figures made public by the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that crime has been substantially reduced in Chicago in the face of an increase for the rest of the country.

The same general principles have been applied in the fire department. More than 175 new pieces of major fire-fighting equipment, including 2 new fireboats, will have been put into service by May of this year. Apparatus that had been in use for 50 years or more has been replaced by modern equipment which gives better protection to the homes and businesses of our people.

Since 1947, policemen's and firemen's salaries have been increased by 47.2 percent—from $3,210 to $4,725. Still we do not lead the field among the large cities and that should be our objective.

HEALTHIEST OF BIG CITIES

Chicago continues to be one of the healthiest big cities in the world. Our position as a world medical center is stronger each year. All together, our hospital and research facilities in the field of medicine bulk up to one of the city's greatest assets. I urge that each of you take the time to see for yourself the West Side Medical Center. And if you want to go a little further, drop in at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium where, under Dr. Irons and his associates, we are operating one of the best municipally controlled institutions of its kind in the country. You will remember when it didn't have this fine reputation.

Of course, there are many elements contributory to good public health that are unseen and unheralded. For example, our sewer-construction program has accounted for more installations in the past 7 years than had been built for 20 years previously.

We are working toward 100 percent filtration of the city's water supply. Through reorganization of the sanitation department of the city, we have stepped up the schedules of refuse collection to the best level of performance in years.

BIG GAINS IN HOUSING

In our effort to maintain and increase the desirability of Chicago as a place to live, nothing is more important than housing in all of its broad aspects.

Here the situation in which we found ourselves had been accumulating for the past 50 years.

Both in public and in private housing, and in redevelopment, substantial gains have been made. Last year, for instance, the volume of housing construction in the city of Chicago was up 9.2 percent, whereas the volume for the Nation as a whole decreased by 2.2 percent.

Since 1947 there have been established the land-clearance commission, the Chicago Dwellings Association, and the neighborhood conservation commission, all of which are working in the field of private-housing development.

Within the last year, we have reestablished under new law the neighborhood redevelopment commission and have set up the important community conservation board. We have fortified the building department by obtaining an additional million dollars of revenue, all of which was added to its appropriations to make for more effective operation.

There is no development in the country to compare with our redevelopment project No. 1, known as Lake Meadows and being built by the New York Life Insurance Co. Almost across South Parkway from this development is redevelopment project No. 6. This 22 blighted block site will be cleared and improved by private builders during the next 10 years.

The Michael Reese Hospital project, also on the south side, will clear another 14 slum blocks and permit the building of a 1,000 apartments, as well as several new medical buildings.

In public housing, 3,365 units have been constructed in the past 7 years, and during the current year, 1,511 will be added to this total.

The Chicago Plan Commission has been revitalized and under Chairman William Spencer is more prominent in the scheme of things today than it has been in many years. The plan commission is our idea factory. Without the vision that foresees opportunities to be capitalized, there can be no intelligent planning.

The Chicago Park District, under the leadership of President James H. Gately, and members of the board, continues to expand and improve its already world-renowned facilities for recreation of all kinds.

MAKING CLIMATE OF INTEGRITY

This brings me to the third phase of this report—the quality and the tone of your city government. Cities are more than the cold mechanics of their operation—more than just stone and steel developments. Chicago is a city of churches—of community centers, of museums, of libraries, of art galleries, of universities and colleges, of laboratories, of theaters, and of great recreational and cultural advantages.

A friend of mine told me the other day that he believed the present administration is "doing a good job." "Your street lighting program is terrific," he said. "I have never seen so many new installations."

Of course, lighting is of great importance—for safety, for security, as a deterrent to crime. But progress should not be judged on the basis of physical improvements alone. It is more important that we have striven to establish here a moral tone of government—a climate of integrity— which must underlie the solution of all the problems we have to cope with.

There can be no question but that the indispensable ingredient of any real municipal progress is the confidence of the people in the local government.

On what is this confidence based and how is it evidenced?

First. The reputation of the city has been improved in the eyes of the country and of the world. Nobody who travels out of Chicago these days has to be ashamed to register from Chicago. You remember when that was not the case.

Second. I have recruited into government a wider citizen participation than was ever known before. To name the people who are today serving on city commissions and boards is to recite a list of distinguished leaders in business, labor, and the professions. These public-spirited citizens work closely with a team of administrative city officials with whom I am thankful and proud to be associated.

Third, we have installed in the city of Chicago a purchasing department which meets every possible standard of efficiency and integrity. Everyone who has reviewed this department agrees that it is soundly designed and effectively administered.

Fourth, our Civil Service Commission is recognized as a model for the country in big city government. Its leadership administers the merit system in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the law.

Together with purchasing, the employment of people makes up the bulk of the city's expenditures. When these two departments, which employ all of the personnel and procure all of the materials of the city, are carefully administered, we have the basis of the people's confidence.

Fifth, I think it is significant of the public's attitude of acceptance that 19 bond issues submitted to the voters in the past 7 years have been approved. None has been rejected.

To create this atmosphere, it was obvious—in the beginning—that a great deal of spade work had to be done. There isn't much glamour in that kind of a job. It doesn't make many headlines. But, today, in most of our undertakings, the spade work has been completed. Let me repeat that the improvement that has been brought about in the quality of local government constitutes, in my opinion, the greatest gain that has been made.

FISCAL AFFAIRS OF CITY

While this is not a budget message, it seems pertinent to comment briefly on the fiscal affairs of the city.

Municipal revenue is a critical problem of all American cities. While in Chicago we have made every effort to economize and increase efficiency, we are still facing situations which grow out of our inability to bring revenues into line with today's service demands. Everyone knows that too much of today's tax dollar is leaving Chicago for Washington and Springfield.

However, as distinguished from our difficulties in financing day to day operations, the city's position as to credit rating and bonded indebtedness is excellent. We have authorized only a little over half of our potential borrowing power.

On the basis of the latest available figures, the bonded indebtedness of New York is $432 per person. In Philadelphia, it is $285 per person. In Chicago, including the six tax-levying bodies, it is $109 per person.

I want to make it clear that in addressing you today on the state of the city, I consider myself only a spokesman for all of the individuals and agencies which have official concern with the welfare of the city. When I talk about city administration I mean the aldermen, the committee chairmen of the council, the various city departments. All of these make an important contribution to progress.

In acknowledging this help in the accomplishment of all the things I have so far talked about, I am fully aware, too, that what we have done here is to try to build the foundations upon which private individuals and private enterprise can carry forward their share in the progress of this city.

The job is not one for Government alone—or, even for Government primarily. The people of Chicago in their individual capacities and you, as business leaders, must meet these responsibilities. I am sure this will be done.

On that basis, I would like to conclude by talking about our acceptance of the challenge of tomorrow.

In the current year of 1954 our program calls for the expenditure of $160 million for public works. This does not include housing, and the millions that will be spent in privately financed developments.

During the next 5 years—in one of the most comprehensive improvement programs the city has ever undertaken, there will be expended a total of $675 million for public works. Included in these figures are contri-

butions from the park district, the county of Cook, and the State of Illinois, on superhighway and arterial highway construction, in the city of Chicago. Together with what has been spent since 1947 to date, this will make up a total of about $1 billion—which is money invested, being invested and to be invested in capital improvements for the city of today and of tomorrow.

This is how the challenge is being met. This is how we are conditioned to keep pace with industrial development and expansion.

ROAD TO GREATEST DESTINY

I think tht any dispassionate review of the things we have said here today could not help but result in a surge of confidence in our city's future.

For myself, I can say to you in all frankness that I firmly believe we are on the road to our greatest destiny. There are great things in prospect for Chicago and for all of its people.

We are increasingly important in finance and commerce, as well as in industry. For instance, within the last few weeks, our area has become the Nation's number one steel producer.

Today, I can clearly foresee a real resurgence of Chicago as the business center of mid-America.

To all of the things which we have discussed, there must be added further development of air rights, like the Prudential and proposed Union Station projects, the erection of scores of new buildings along the 7-mile route of the Congress Street expressway, a new ad magnificent convention hall, an agreed site for a civic center, and vital further improvements in public and private transportation.

I see the success of our conservation and rehabilitation programs.

I see businesses more numerous and more prosperous.

Not only do I see an end to the flight from the city, but a definite migration back to its resources and to its real advantages. It is unthinkable that the material and cultural wealth of this community will not serve as the basis of its rebirth.

I see families better housed, better educated, better adjusted in a happier city.

What I see is not a dream, but an imminent reality.

Turkey's 20th-Century Chief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following item with reference to the distinguished President of Turkey, which appeared in the New York Post of January 31, 1954:

TURKEY'S 20TH-CENTURY CHIEF
(By Joseph P. Lash)

Celal Bayar, third President of the Turkish Republic, now on a state visit to this country, is one of that brilliant group of Western-minded nationalists who under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk have enabled the former Ottoman Empire to face the 20th century without tears.

The brisk, businesslike, egalitarian ways of this self-styled free enterpriser help explain why Moslem Turkey, initially beset by many of the same problems as its neighboring Arab States, has not, like them, foundered in the seas of self-pity and neutralism.

Instead of scapegoating Jews, Armenians, and Greeks and engaging in national Hamlet-like soliloquies over whether or not to go with the West, Turkey under the tough-minded Bayar and his associates, has faced its real problems.

Its economy has been modernized. One-party tutelage has been ended. Kemal Ataturk's separation of church and state has been maintained. An efficient fighting force which has shown its mettle in Korea has been created. Turkey has proven itself a steadfast ally in the cold war and a constructive factor in the Middle East.

Whereas the Ottoman Empire was synonymous with oppression of minorities, modern Turkey is a shining example of tolerance in the Islamic world. That is why among the groups that are honoring Bayar during his visit here are the Greek Archdiocese and the American Jewish Committee.

The doctrines of liberty, equality, and fraternity are not recent acquisitions for the 70-year-old Bayar. (The name is pronounced jell-al buy-are.) He imbibed them in his boyhood from his father, a village schoolmaster, and from his uncle, a revolutionary. For both of these men the ideas that made the French Revolution were a program of action against the debilitated Ottoman Empire.

Bayar began his career as a bank clerk, but despite demonstrated talents in finance, was quickly caught up in the political ferment of the early 1900s. He soon abandoned the bank to become a full-time political worker and participated in Kemal Ataturk's uprising which in 1909 forced the abdication of the tyrannical Abdulhamid II.

At the end of World War I when Allied forces occupied Turkey and the Sultanate had lost all control of the nation, Bayar joined Kemal in the revolutionary movement that culminated in driving the Greek occupation forces out of Smyrna and the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire. "Words will not save the country," he said in his last speech in the Ottoman Parliament, "action and guns are what we need."

When Kemal proclaimed Turkey a Republic in 1920 he brought Bayar into the Cabinet as Minister of National Economy. Bayar resigned this post at Kemal's instigation in order to set up a national Turkish bank. Turks regard this bank, which today is the country's leading financial institution, as having ended control of Turkish finances by foreign institutions.

Kemal brought Bayar back into the Government in 1932, the worst period of the depression, and Bayar is credited with having done a great deal to minimize its effects. He held various ministerial posts under Kemal and at the time of the latter's death in 1938 had become Premier.

Kemal was succeeded as President by General Inonu, a friend and rival of Bayar's. The result was Bayar's withdrawal from the Government to become a back-bencher in the Assembly. He stayed out of the limelight during the war, but was increasingly critical of Inonu's economic policies and chafed under the restrictions of one-party rule, even though the party was that founded by Kemal.

Finally, in 1946, with national elections in the offing, he made the break, resigned from the Republican Party and established a Democratic Party. The issues Bayar drew with his former colleagues were chiefly those of economics and civil liberties. Bayar is a thoroughgoing free-enterprise man who felt the Turkish economy had to be divested of the strong elements of state capitalism that had been introduced under Kemal. He wanted state-owned industries turned over to private capital and conditions created that would attract foreign investment.

The first election was a fiasco. Bayar came out of it with 65 out of 475 seats. However, there was strong suspicion of widespread ballot stuffing and even 65 seats meant the end of the Republican Party's monopoly over the country's political life.

In 1950 the tables were turned and the Democrats in a stunning landslide captured 396 seats. During this election Bayar, perhaps the country's first grassroots campaigner, toured the country from one end to the other in a jeep, stressing two campaign themes—free enterprise and a better standard of living for farmers. The election won, and the Assembly elected him President.

Bayar is a stocky, bespectacled man with bushy eyebrows and a mobile face. He is famed in Turkey for his accessibility and dislike of the pomp of office. Like Harry Truman, he likes walking—he's a 5-mile man—and doesn't see why being President should mean his being cooped up in the presidential Canyaka Palace, which is on a hilltop overlooking Ankara.

He is an irrepressible windowshopper, tarrying longest in front of bookshops or stores selling things that might interest his granddaughters—Emine, 4, and Akile, 3—whom he adores and who spend much of their time at the presidential palace.

Bayar is an aficionado of the sea, and spends his summers on the Sea of Marmara, boating, fishing and swimming. Though 70, he can still do a creditable dive and breaststroke. He is a good shot, but confines his shooting to the gallery at Canyaka.

Compared to Harry Truman he is a late riser—8—breakfasts in bed on orange juice and fruit, and goes over the newspapers, private correspondence and urgent state papers. He takes all the main Turkish newspapers and three leading continental French-language newspapers. He does not know English.

By 10 he is ready for official business, papers, dispatches, visitors. There are always guests for lunch. Then a short nap, followed by the same routine as the morning.

Tuesdays are special. On that day he is available to any citizen, or group of citizens, who wishes to speak to the President. His evening meal is a family affair, followed by a game of bridge, listening to the radio, reading—mainly politics and history—or writing his memoirs.

Bayar prefers food done in the Turkish manner. Broiled mutton chops and chicken with rice and tomato figure frequently on his menu, as do green salads and fresh fruit. Unlike Kemal, who was reputed to be quite a man with both women and the bottle, Bayar does not drink, except on state occasions, does not smoke, and does not even touch coffee.

Accompanying Bayar on his visit here is Mme. Bayar, whom he married when he was 20. One of their "must" stops in their 3-week visit will be at Cornell, where Demirtas Bayar, son of their eldest son, who died in 1941, is doing postgraduate work in civil engineering. Demirtas will soon be joined at Cornell by his brother, Attila.

A second son is in the insurance business in Istanbul, while their daughter is married to a well-known Ankara physician and member of the Assembly.

Bayar's official biography describes him as a man rarely known to say more than is required in a given situation. A visiting newspaperwoman who sat next to him at dinner while he was Minister of National Economy can testify to this taciturnity.

When she could not get him to talk, she said with some asperity: "It is obvious you are a professional economist. You even observe economy in your speech."

"Indeed," replied Bayar, and then quoting an old Turkish proverb said, "the word is silver but silence is gold."

One of the matters that Bayar is sure to take up while he is in this country will be increased economic assistance to help speed the country's industrialization.

No man could be better qualified to assure America's business community of Turkey's ability to extract the maximum benefit from every dollar of economic assistance.

The Farm Problem and Its Relation to Mining and to Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, in a speech before the National Western Mining Conference held in Denver on January 29, 1954, Mr. Ray B. Wiser, former president of the California Farm Bureau Federation, made one of the finest statements I have seen on the farm problem and its relationship to mining. In particular, it shows the importance of gold as a sound base for our currency in its relation to the price of farm commodities. Because this is a new approach to the fiscal problems of the Nation, showing the direct relationship between the problems of miners, the monetary position of gold, and the handling of farm commodities, I think it warrants the attention of the House and the people of the Nation generally, and I include it at this point in the RECORD:

THE FARM PROBLEM AND ITS RELATION TO MINING AND TO GOLD

WHAT IS GOOD FOR AMERICA?

It is fortunate that what is good for farming and mining is good for all of America. We are all Americans first and farmers or miners second. However, our welfare in the years ahead will be determined by national policies adopted now. Let us, therefore, analyze the farm problem and the problems of mining. What is their relationship to each other? Can we find a solution of their problems on the basis of what is best for the United States? Our decisions on these matters will largely determine whether we can continue as a liberty-loving, individual-enterprise, profitmaking, property-owning, God-fearing people. It will determine whether we are to be a free Republic, or a slave state under socialism, paternalism, communism, or some other totalitarian regime.

THE FARM AND MINE PROBLEM

It is no accident that the basic problems of all of our extractive, natural-resource industries are practically identical, whether they are mining, lumbering, oil extraction or farming. I do not want to oversimplify the problems, but, stated briefly, they are:

1. Overproduction or lack of consumption, the result is the same—too much in the hands of the producer. This greatly affects price.

2. Foreign trade, either the loss of exports for some commodities, or the effect of imports on supply and resultant price for others.

3. Our fiscal and tax policies which destroy ability to maintain sound development and conservative practices.

4. Our lack of a sound monetary policy.

5. Government encroachment.

There are many minor problems, but a careful study indicates that more than 90 percent of the total problem is enclosed in these 5 causes. Virtually all the reasons for inflation and resultant deflation are encompassed in these. Of course, these have been affected by wars, and preparation for wars, and are tied to defense efforts of the past and the future. However, we must face the problems as they are, not as we would like to have them.

PARITY FARM PRICES VERSUS FAIR MINERAL PRICES

Now the major question in 1954 is, "What will be the price of minerals and farm products in relation to wages, prices paid, and income to others in the United States?" In farming, this relation has become known as parity. In mining, I suggest we call it fair mineral prices. As unfortunate as it may seem, Government policy will be the major determinant as to prices received, rather than the effect of natural economic factors.

A CONGRESSIONAL MINING BLOC

The first concrete suggestion that I make, therefore, is that mining people join immediately, through their organizations, to establish a mining bloc in the Congress, and in each State legislature. I want to say, in all sincerity, that I believe there is no other way to save mining as a free-enterprise industry in America. There is now a farm bloc, and the mutuality of interest can soon bring the two together.

PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR MINERS AND FARMERS

The problems must be approached on the basis of not what is best for farmers or miners, but what is best for America. The result will be to obtain that which is best for all. To accomplish our purposes, we should immediately launch a public-relations program. Let us remember that public relations is the effect of our acts on others and, conversely, the effect of others acts on us.

FARMERS AND MINERS JOIN TOGETHER

Let me again be bold enough to suggest that we in mining take the leadership in setting up conferences and resultant committees between farm and mine leaders. We should consider inviting in leaders of the oil and timber industries. Let us meet on the basis of finding mutual agreements. Disagreements will then soon disappear as they will only be on very minor matters. We will then be ready to move to the public. We are only going to be saved through public acceptance of sound policies.

FULL PARITY FARM PRICES

You are hearing a great deal about farm support prices, high supports, variable supports, 90 percent of parity supports, and subsidies. Marketing quotas, acreage allotments, commodity loans, Government storage, all are in the news. At best, the application of these programs is a palliative trying to cure a sick farm price situation. American farmers are entitled to something better than these will bring. They are entitled to full parity prices in the market place.

FAIR MINERAL PRICES

Miners are struggling to keep in production. Exploration is at a standstill. Many mines are closed down; others will be forced to close. The gold-mining industry, as a whole, is almost a thing of the past. Capital is discouraged and forbidden by restrictive laws. There is a cry for increased tariffs on mineral imports. Legislation is proposed to put mineral ownership virtually into Government ownership. So we could go on, as you all know. At best, only the surface is being scratched in trying to find an answer to the sick mineral-price problem. American miners are entitled to a great deal more than this. They are entitled to fair mineral prices, resulting in a prosperous, profitmaking industry.

PEACE OR WAR

Fair, prosperous conditions for these two great industries is best for America in peace, as well as in war. We can only be prepared for war when miners and farmers profit in periods of peace. Nothing will prevent war like having prosperous producers of raw materials.

THE OVERSUPPLY PROBLEM

As to the oversupply problem, it is not a simple one to solve. It can be accomplished, however, through the adoption of proper conservation and sound foreign-trade policies. It can only be solved when price levels are maintained at fair and profitable prices. The answer does not lie in destroying producers, either farmers or miners.

FARM PRICES VERSUS SUPPLIES OF FARM PRODUCE

There is a fallacious theory that lowering farm prices will reduce production of farm produce. It may reduce production of an individual crop, but does not reduce the total supply of farm produce because of shifting to other crops. In 1929 to 1933, total production began to drop only when farmers began going through foreclosure and not in the period ahead when farm prices were falling. In 1937–38, prices on farm products dropped off materially, but production was maintained. During the last 2 years, farm prices have been declining, but production has gone up. Why is this true? The answer is most interesting. Farmers have a certain amount of fixed dollar expense to meet, such as living costs, taxes, insurance, interest, etc. If price levels are down, they have only one way of getting these dollars, and that is to produce more, so that production times the price will always equal about the same gross dollar income. Low prices is not the answer to the oversupply farm problem. It may increase consumption if it reflects lower prices to consumers, but this has seldom ever been true. Before reduced prices take place, consumer's income usually drops, unemployment sets in, and demand slackens. Maintenance of farm prices is essential for the welfare of all income groups in America.

MINERAL PRICES VERSUS SUPPLIES OF MINERALS

Declining prices have been more effective in limiting the supply problem of minerals. However, lower prices are destroying an industry which is essential to America's long-time welfare. Hence, lower prices is not the answer to the surplus problem. It is only a fast road to a depression because mining and resultant minerals are absolutely essential to prolonged prosperity. Raw material prices, as a national policy, need to be maintained in their relative position to the general commodity price level. This must, and can be done without government pricing, providing government doesn't forbid the industries the use of government authority for self-regulation. This has very often been done in the past. It is a fallacious philosophy that "it is not bad for government to do it, but very bad for industry."

FOREIGN TRADE: A DOUBLE-BARRELED PROBLEM

Foreign trade is a double-barreled problem. There would not be much of a farm surplus problem if it was not for loss of exports. There would not be much of a mineral surplus problem if it was not for foreign imports. However, both of these problems are tied to a common denominator, in my judgment. Both problems can be solved by a common approach. It is tied to the lack of currency convertibility as between countries. It is more specifically tied to America's inexcusable "dollar" trade policy.

CONVERTIBILITY OF CURRENCIES

Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Federal Minister of Economics for the Federal Republic of Germany, pointed up both of these problems in an address recently, when he said in part: "It is perhaps known to you that I am one of the most ardent advocates of free convertibility on a world-wide basis, as I feel that only this will lead to a true cooperation—between the countries concerned. We have now had foreign exchange controls for some twenty years and no country can feel sure that its rate of exchange is realistic. Thus, we apply false measures to our exchange of goods and services. The bible says 'false weights and measures are a horror in the

eyes of the Lord', but that is precisely what we have."

RATIONING UNITED STATES DOLLARS

Dr. Erhard continues: "The United States should have a vital interest in convertibility as the only item still rationed and discriminated against throughout the free world is the United States dollar. Free convertibility, including the dollar, would throw markets open to the United States." May I add that it would act as a barometer for protecting against imports of metals and other goods as well, as they would not be dumped on our markets in order to obtain dollars.

FOREIGN TRADE VERSUS FOREIGN MONEY

May I point up the problem by an illustration. A few days ago, while attending my service club, I found myself seated beside a visitor from one of the South American countries. The conversation led to what occupation he was following in South America. He said he was buying cotton for one of the principal manufacturers of the United States. I commented that we have a great surplus of cotton in the United States and asked why it was necessary to go to South America. Listen to his reply: "All cotton used in the United States is purchased in the United States, but we also have factories in Britain and France. These are operated with British sterling and French francs. If the price of cotton is the same in South America as in the United States, we can obtain more than 2 pounds in the South American country for every 1 pound in the United States. This is because of the difference in exchange rates of the respective currencies. There is no uniform convertibility. After all, we operate our foreign factories with British and French money." Is it any wonder that we have become a dumping ground for foreign goods, and that we have lost a great deal of our foreign markets?

MONEY MANAGERS AND FOREIGN TRADE

May I give one more illustration. You will recall that Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, stopped in the United States on his way to Bermuda in December of 1952, for a conference with General Eisenhower, who had just been elected President of the United States. The burden of his mission was to present a program of converting dollars to sterling, and sterling to dollars. You will recall how the "managed currency" advocates, who are still in control of our monetary policy, cried aloud and pretty well discredited his mission in the minds of the American public, as well as our future President. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, was in Washington a few months later, again pointing out clearly the necessity for currency convertibility, if we were to maintain trade, or expand it between our two countries. He too, recognized that, with the drying up of dollar aid from us, it meant the end of trade unless there could be a free exchange of currencies on a sound basis. Our "money managers" again turned a deaf ear, to the shame of the United States. It was a sad day for America, and particularly for America's farmers and miners. I am reliably told that a "trade mission" was on its way to Moscow, even before Mr. Eden arrived back in London.

RUSSIAN GOLD

We have seen the results of America's short-sightedness in the last few weeks, with gold moving from Russia to Britain in exchange for sterling and goods for Russia. The "managed currency, economic controllers" in Washington are responsible for creating the opportunity for the Russian gold maneuver, in my judgment. If the ratio of trade to monetary exchange is maintained, this can mean as much as $2 billion of trade for Russia, our enemy. Should we condemn Britain, our friend and ally?

AN ECONOMIC ISLAND AND MILITARY BASTION

I am sure that I do not need to indicate any conclusions. These illustrations point out clearly that we will either become an economic island protected by an impossible military bastion, or we will be a part of the economic world in which we live. Convertibility of our dollars, and other currencies, is a must for America's welfare.

CONVERTIBILITY AND GOLD

May I quickly point out that the managed-currency leaders are now saying: "Yes; we will have to go for convertibility, but we are against a gold standard as the denominator for determining an exchange ratio." There can be no real convertibility without gold as a measure of value. Gold must have a value that reflects today's wage and commodity price levels, if we are to avoid its creating a recession both here and abroad. Gold will likewise level world inflation wherever it springs up, if allowed to freely function as the measure of value.

AS GOES GOLD, SO GOES AMERICA

Hence, we can truthfully say: "As goes gold prices, so goes other mineral and farm prices; as goes gold, so goes America's welfare; as goes gold, so goes opportunity for convertibility; as goes convertibility, based on a sound gold value, so goes foreign trade."

May I again reemphasize that I am presenting a program for America's welfare, and its beneficial effect on miners and farmers is entirely incidental.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

The present administration has pledged in their platform: "We favor a farm program aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place. We do not believe in restrictions on the American farmer's ability to produce. We recommend a realistic trade program for agriculture aimed at restoring foreign markets and developing new outlets at home. Promotion of world trade must be on a basis of fair competition.

"We vigorously advocate a full and orderly program for the development and conservation of our natural resources.

"We favor good faith administration of our mining laws, and will encourage exploration and development of our mineral resources consistent with our growing industrial and defense needs. We favor stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials and special premium incentives for their domestic exploration and development."

Let us insist that this administration meticulously follow out this stated program to which they pledged themselves, and upon which they were elected. The program is sound and is within the ability of our Government to fulfill.

FISCAL AND TAX POLICIES

Fiscal and tax policies are much in the news. It will be my effort in the short time at our disposal to only touch on this question in relation to our great natural resources, industries, mining, and farming.

THE UNITED STATES DEBT LIMIT

Should our debt limit of $275 billion be increased? If it is, the only people who will gain will be the money managers, the internationalists, the inflationists, the Socialists, the Government ownership advocates, the big Government enthusiasts, etc. The principal people to lose will be the free enterprisers, the stabilized-economy believers, the profit system enterprisers; the sound government believers; etc. I probably do not need to say more, but, America will be best served by a balanced budget and a program of reduced Government spending. Nothing will assist mining and farming more than being allowed to retain a larger percentage of their earnings for conservation, exploration and development purposes.

FULLY CONVERTIBLE, GOLD-BACKED DOLLAR

This will also allow for conditions to which this administration is pledged in their pre-election platform, namely "To restore a domestic economy and to use our influence for a world economy of such stability as will permit the realization of our aim of a dollar on a fully convertible gold basis."

A SOUND MONETARY SYSTEM

I believe we can best illustrate the results of the lack of a sound monetary policy and fiscal policy for Government by reviewing with you briefly what has happened during the calendar year of 1953. May I hasten to state that I do not know whether this was by design, or was entirely accidental from the lack of our having a sound monetary policy. If it was by design, it is the greatest scandal of the century. If it was purely accidental, it still points up the absolute necessity of a sound monetery system being adopted without delay.

POLITICAL CONTROL OF MONETARY SYSTEM

It points out so clearly the results of political control of our monetary system, and its effect on our economic system. It makes the control and destiny of America's people, their income, their profit, or lack of profit, subject to the will of a few men in control of a division of Government. It has removed the coinage of money, and the establishment of its value, from the Congress, as set forth in the Constitution of the United States. It makes for rule by men rather than by law. It makes for political or fiat money, without stabilized purchasing power.

HARD MONEY VERSUS SOFT MONEY

We have had a tight- or hard-money policy, followed by a liberal- or soft-money policy, all in 1 year. I can find no record in the United States Government's history where there has been such a complete reversal of policy in such a short period of time. It brought on a condition that made for an economic-fear complex to sweep the country, which is, likewise, almost without precedent. We are still too close to it to see its long-time effect. Will we have a recession, a depression, a period of stability, or a reappearance of inflation? Business leaders have taken action, in the past 4 weeks, to materially stabilize industry, based largely on President Eisenhower's addresses to Congress. These have had little effect in encouraging producers of raw materials, however.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLEDGE

This administration went into office pledged to "a Federal Reserve System, exercising its functions in the money and credit system without pressure for political purposes from the Treasury or the White House." May I leave to your good judgment the determination as to whether this pledge has been kept, as we review this past year.

A STABLE ECONOMY HAD BEEN REACHED

At the year's beginning: Overall inflation had nearly come to a halt; raw-material prices had been, and were, in a material decline; credit was stabilized and was functioning well toward a continuing, expanding economy. Farm prices were showing some evidence of stabilizing, although mineral prices were continuing to decline. I refer you to the last report of the Federal Reserve Board itself.

HARD MONEY

Suddenly, in the spring of the year, top Government management made several momentous decisions. Releases began to appear in regard to a new hard-money policy. This propaganda was exceedingly misleading, as the only true hard money or cash is coin as distinguished from paper money. The impression was undoubtedly meant to get widely distributed that hard money was to be money backed by gold and silver. It is now apparent that there was no intention

to accomplish this, other than the present silver certificates. This was followed by the tightening of credit and shortening of the money supply, by enforced Government decree.

GOVERNMENT COVETING

When the Government attempts to regulate credit, as it did in this case, it covets man's right to be the steward of his production. The Government could not really regulate credit if it did not make it a crime to own gold. This, too, is a form of coveting by Government.

MONEY HARD TO GET

Interest rates began to go up. Banks began to indicate that they were loaned to capacity. Their clients were called in and asked if they could get by on 60, 70, or 80 percent of their normal borrowing. Inventories began to build up in the hands of producers, manufacturers, and the wholesale trade. Forced selling began because of necessity of liquidating to meet obligations. Government was continuing to be the determiner of America's economic destiny. What had been attempted by price controls by the previous administration, was being continued by monetary control.

MONEY MANAGERS TAKE THE PROFITS

The first major issue of 10-year Government obligations came due, which had been issued to meet the cost of World War II. There came a demand on Government for additional funds. Was it accidental, then, that Government officials came out with a bond issue at the highest rate of interest in recent times? Naturally, it was oversubscribed many times. It drove existing issues to new lows and allowed financial institutions, and others, to buy them at material discounts. Of course, when this was accomplished, and it became evident that new issues would be at lower interest rates, many Government obligations have now gone to new highs. Hench, the manipulation by the Federal Reserve and the Treasury made new history in highs and lows in 1 year. It is the greatest fluctuation in Governemnt bonds in recent times.

WHERE ARE WE GOING?—THE GREAT FEAR

Unnecessary fear had gripped the economic life of our Nation. Farm prices and mineral prices were forced lower. An era of indecision has been about us. Abnormal deflation set in. Demands on Government spending has increased. The American people arose, and rightfully asked, "Where are we going?"

SOFT MONEY QUICK

Then, in the same identical year, under the same rule of the same men, they have reversed themselves completely: softened the dollar; rushed money back into circulation; lowered interest rates; reduced the requirement to obtain credit, etc.

ECONOMIC JUDGMENT OF MEN

All of this, and more, was done by the so-called money managers in 1 year. They had nothing better than the judgment of a few men as to what they thought would be good for the United States. It is a power that has destroyed the strongest of nations in the past, and can destroy our beloved country.

MONEYCHANGERS IN THE TEMPLE

By this illustration, we have seen the result on our economy of so-called money management. The force of economic planning has been continued. After more than 20 years of this, we must assist our great President to drive the moneychangers out of the temple, even as Christ did nearly 2,000 years ago.

AMERICA'S FUTURE

America's future will be determined by our policy in relation to the use of gold. It is the only media ever found that maintains domestic stability, and is acceptable as an exchange media in every country of the world. Its use can protect domestic markets and reopen and maintain foreign trade.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GOLD

Let us allow gold to make its contribution in having the desired effect on the United States economy by providing for:

1. Free market for gold: A free market for gold so that it will find its proper price level based upon its demand by any who desire to buy at home and abroad. (Ours is the only country in the world where it is illegal to have and to hold gold. Some countries have modified restrictions, but not prohibition.)

2. Owning and trading with gold: Unhampered privilege of possession and trading in and with gold.

3. Convertible currency to gold: A fully convertible currency to or from gold, based on values that reflect today's price level for other commodities.

4. A gold standard: Return to a gold standard with a value for gold based on the relative value of today's dollar in debt-paying and purchasing power. (The gold standard provides for the determination of the monetary units' purchasing power independent of political policies of Government and political parties. It virtually makes it impossible to inflate, or deflate, through political manipulation. It is never a gold standard that causes inflation or deflation, but the artificial factors that are applied which prevent it from freely functioning. Misuse of credit, repudiation of debt, Government restrictions on trade and exchange, lack of efficiency, overexpansion, an artificial price for gold, inconvertibility to gold, and other similar practices are the real basic factors that cause a nation to deviate from a sound policy.)

5. Gold, common denominator for trade: Restoration of gold as the common denominator in the world's currencies with free conversion privileges to allow for trade. (As important as tariffs, import quotas, sanctions, embargoes, and other trade factors are in relation to foreign trade, the lack of a common denominator for converting the currency of one country to that of another has more direct effect on trade relations than all of the above combined.)

MONEY STABILITY OR MONETARY CHAOS

This is a program of greater importance in stabilizing the American economic system than anything else before our country. It ranks second only to the issue of international relations, and resultant peace, of all matters now before the United States Congress. Our policy will determine whether the world is to drift even deeper into monetary chaos.

STAKE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Miners and farmers, as well as all producers of raw materials, have a great stake in these matters. All of the American people, wage earners and employers alike, have all to gain. It is most important, however, to those who do not have predetermined prices, such as farmers and miners.

AS GOOD AS GOLD

This program will revitalize the mines of America. It will again make goods and currency as good as gold. (Gold now has no value, except to Government). Gold can be used to maintain a stable price level and an expanding national economy under which miners, farmers, and everyone else, will be doing all right.

THE UNITED STATES SAFETY

Military defense is essential to the United States, but economic bankruptcy could defeat us just as surely as foreign armies.

A GOLD STANDARD: SAFETY FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE

The lack of a stable currency is allowing our defense spending, as well as other Government costs, to get further out of our control. As good as the intent may be, political interference will never allow control of this matter through Government action. It can only be accomplished when our currency is backed by, and tied to, a stable article that has universal acceptance. That article is gold. We will go further through the currency depreciation wringer unless we return to a realistic gold standard.

FARMERS AND MINERS HOLD UNITED STATES DESTINY

Farmers and miners have the destiny of the Nation in their hands. They can and must solve the mining and farming problem. They must save America from its self-destruction. They must save themselves as a producing, economic force.

IT CAN BE DONE NOW

It can be done by a program that will: Maintain fair prices in the market place for minerals and farm products; efficiently handle surpluses if, and when, they develop; make it profitable to produce to meet market demands; reestablish and maintain foreign markets; protect against imports and dumping in our oversupplied markets; maintain Government on a sound fiscal policy; prohibit Government competition with industries and services which support Government; reestablish and maintain a sound, stable currency, backed by gold; maintain the free-enterprise system; keep farms and mines self-supporting, which eliminates the need of subsidies or price supports; take the mine and farm problems out of politics.

We have humbly pointed out methods that will accomplish these purposes.

The Reserve City Bankers and Holding-Company Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article clearly demonstrates the necessity for the adoption of holding-company legislation. The Capehart bill, S. 1118, is very similar to the Spence bill, H. R. 12, and my own bill, H. R. 5144. It appeared in the January 1954 issue of the Independent Banker:

THE RESERVE CITY BANKERS AND HOLDING-COMPANY LEGISLATION—ASSOCIATION'S CONCLUSIONS CLOSELY PARALLEL PROVISIONS OF S. 1118, THE CAPEHART BILL

(By Harry J. Harding, president, First National Bank, Pleasanton, Calif.; president, Independent Bankers Association of the 12th Federal Reserve district)

The position of the American Bankers Association in support of bank holding-company legislation has been clearly defined by resolution of the membership at Detroit in 1948, which directed its officers to use their best efforts to obtain prompt enactment of such legislation "in conformity with the established principles of the American Bankers Association, as expressed in the resolution of this association adopted at Boston in 1937."

The Boston resolution states: "The association supports in every respect the autonomy of the laws of the separate States with respect to banking * * * we are definitely opposed to any proposal or device looking to the establishment of branch-banking privileges across State lines, directly or indirectly."

The meaning of this last sentence has been clarified by two articles which have

appeared in the Independent Banker, one by Charles P. Zimmerman, for many years secretary of the Pennsylvania Bankers Association, and the other by Orval W. Adams, past president of the American Bankers Association.

These articles, together with statements made by H. M. Chamberlain, president of the State bank division of the ABA in 1937; Robert V. Fleming, chairman of the resolutions committee at the 1937 convention, and William S. Elliott, who drafted the original of the Boston resolution, all confirm the fact that bank holding companies definitely were meant by the closing sentence quoted above.

Many country bankers are of the opinion that the large city banks do not favor the Federal regulation of bank holding companies, despite the official American Bankers Association position. Such an opinion is not in accordance with the facts. The Association of Reserve City Bankers has not only made a careful study of bank holding company problems, but has issued a comprehensive statement as to the underlying issues and the goals to be reached by such legislation.

This organization is made up of about 450 individuals who are executive officers of some 200 of the largest correspondent commercial banks. These 200-odd institutions operate approximately 2,400 branches, in other words about 2,600, or 13 percent, of the total commercial banking offices in this country. Their total deposits amount to approximately $81 billion, which is about 49 percent of the deposits in all commercial banks. Of the total deposits of these 200-or-so banks, $11½ billion represent correspondent bank balances. The membership of the association includes representatives of independent as well as holding company subsidiary banks, and all of the larger holding companies operating across State lines are included.

In 1946 this Association of Reserve City Bankers, through its committee on Federal relationships, undertook the exploration of the bank-holding-company problem and issued a report which was approved by the membership at the annual meeting in May 1947. The committee was made up of Harold V. Amberg, vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago; Julian B. Baird, president of the First National Bank of St. Paul (a subsidiary of First Bank Stock Corp.); Daniel W. Bell, president of American Security & Trust Co., Washington, D. C.; Keehn W. Berry, president of Whitney National Bank, New Orleans; Edward E. Brown, chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Chicago; W. R. Burgess, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.; Guy Emerson, of Bankers Trust Co., New York (since retired); Charles T. Fisher, Jr., president of the National Bank of Detroit; Robert V. Fleming, president of the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.; Robert M. Hanes, president of Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.; James M. Kemper, chairman of the board of Commerce Trust Co., Kansas City; W. A. Mitchell, president of Central Trust Co., Cincinnati; Charles E. Spencer, Jr., chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Boston (since deceased); G. M. Wallace, chairman of the board of Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles; H. Lane Young, vice chairman of the board of Citizens & Southern Bank, Atlanta (since retired); William F. Kurtz, chairman of the committee on Federal relationships, chairman of the board of the Pennsylvania Co. for Banking and Trusts, Philadelphia.

It will be a surprise to many independent bankers to discover that the conclusions reached by this organization of big city banks coincides on nearly every point with the principles which the two independent bankers associations believe essential to sound bank-holding-company legislation. These principles are embodied in the Capehart bill (S. 118), now before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and on which, according to Senator CAPEHART, hearings are expected to be resumed early in January.

UNDERLYING ISSUES

The underlying issues affecting holding-company legislation, according to the Association of Reserve City Bankers, are two:

"(1) Are holding-company operations, either within or beyond State limits, to be prohibited or unrestrained or permissive under regulatory controls, and (2) is branch banking by national banks to remain subject to the pleasure of the respective States and confined, where permitted, within geographical limits prescribed in the respective State laws?"

Basically, then, the question seems to be, in order to establish competitive equality between bank holding companies and banks, shall there be a leveling down in the areas of operations of holding companies to that permitted to banks, or, shall there be a leveling up in the areas within which the national bank can operate to that which has been "moved into" without benefit of either National or State banking legislation by the holding companies?

The Association of Reserve City Bankers in its statement, without a review of the merits of this question, recognizes that "unless the time is ripe to abandon the traditional concept that American banking is to be competitive between independent banks operating as units or with branches within State limits, where permitted," it would seem that it is practical to go forward with legislation which will bring bank holding-company operations down more nearly on a par with current independent bank operations and leave the expansion of branch banking by National and State banks to the future.

COMMITTEE FINDINGS

The Reserve City Bankers have set forth what they term a "substantial preponderance of common thinking in respect of bank holding-company legislation" on 13 points. These briefly are that bank holding-company legislation is needed, that such legislation should contain a minimum of discretionary power in the enforcing agency, that enforcement may logically be lodged in the Federal Reserve Board, that there should not be any so-called death sentence or any blanket freeze provisions, that the creation of new or the extension of existing holding companies should be permissive with permission hinging on definite statutory norms reviewable in the courts, that bank holding companies be limited to the business of banking, that existing holding companies be protected against undue sacrifice in the divorcement of present nonbanking assets, that the extent of coverage cannot be arrived at exclusively by legislative definition but also requires administrative determination, that automatic coverage should not be a dragnet but should be related to the objectives of the legislation, and that these objectives should be precisely stated and become the statutory norms for the exercise of discretionary power.

The Capehart bill fully meets each of these requirements. It reduces discretionary authority to a minimum. It imposes no death sentence or blanket freeze, and provides statutory norms for expansion. The coverage provided is not a dragnet. Based on our replies received from the Comptroller of the Currency and practically all the State supervisors, the automatic coverage of the bill takes in about 70 holding companies that have a 25-percent stock ownership of 2 or more banks and which, for the purpose of the act, should be covered.

As clearly stated, the objectives of the Capehart bill are to confine the activities of bank holding companies to banks and to regulate their operations in the same manner that banks are regulated.

ESSENTIAL GOALS OF THE LEGISLATION

The Reserve city bankers report next sets out to determine the proper goals of such legislation. These essential goals are set forth as three in number. I think it is important to quote them specifically and then show how closely they are met by the Capehart bill, sponsored by the two independent bankers associations. These goals are:

1. To reach and regulate any banking operation which, functioning in an area or with a structure larger than that permitted to independent banks can or does, through the medium of concentrated control, jeopardize independent competitive banking at local or regional levels or place independent banks under the particular circumstances at a competitive disadvantage.

2. To confine the size and geographical extent of any such banking operation, regardless of its competitive or other aspects, within limits consistent with adequate and sound banking; and

3. To control the magnitude and geographical extent of any such banking operation, regarless of all other considerations, to the end that, in the event of adverse general economic conditions, such an operation will not be subjected to an inordinate pressure arising from unwieldiness due solely to mere size and expense which, in turn, may put an inordinate pressure on the Nation's banking structure.

If I understand the first goal clearly, this means that there must be equality between bank holding company operations and an independent bank, both as to the nature and geographical extent of these operations, and the regulations under which both must operate. This is the heart of the problem, and no generalizations or circumlocutions can obscure this fact.

Independent bankers believe that banking laws were adopted to apply to all alike and there must not be, through deliberate intent or through accident, any evasion or circumvention of these laws.

The Reserve City bankers say "bank holding companies grew up entirely without benefit of either national or State legislation, and, relying on the general corporation laws of the respective States, moved into banking operations denied to both national and State banks."

The management of a bank now can, through the holding-company device, control and operate businesses prohibited to banks; through the holding-company device it can acquire and operate banks to all intents and purposes as branches in States where where branches are prohibited or restricted, and also through the same device acquire banks across State lines and operate these for all practical purposes as branches. This certainly is "functioning in an area * * * larger than that permitted to independent banks."

We have steadfastly contended that what is illegal for a bank to do directly should be illegal to do indirectly through the holding company or any other device. This loophole in existing banking law we feel should be closed, and the Capehart bill will do that.

No banker will question the second and third goals quoted above. Adequate and sound banking is, of course, the underlying objective of all Federal and State banking legislation. These statutes contain provisions clearly calculated to control the size of banking operations by confining their geographical extent. It has been a generally accepted principle that such control could best be exercised by the individual State, depending upon the specialized banking needs of such State. This principle was given recognition by the United States Congress in the Bank Act of 1927, which au-

thorized the Comptroller of the Currency to approve new branches for a national bank only within State boundaries and subject to the restrictions as to location imposed by the laws of the State on State banks.

The Capehart bill seeks to close the loopholes in the present Federal statutes which permit the countervention of this established principle.

COVERAGE

In order to provide adequate but not undue coverage to accomplish the objectives of the legislation and yet to leave no loopholes for evasion, makes the definition of a bank holding company of prime importance, and the Reserve City Bankers have given this their very careful study. Among the points to be embodied in proper coverage, they say, are:

"An initial coverage, sufficiently exclusive and inclusive, appears to require a combination of an automatic and an administrative coverage."

"The automatic coverage would rest on a legislative formula providing that a specified percentage of stock ownership in each of two or more banks, directly or indirectly, would constitute a holding-company operation."

"The preponderant thought seems to be that, for the purpose of the automatic coverage, the percentage of stock ownership should be fixed at, say, 20 percent in two or more banks."

"If a particular automatic holding company does not conflict with the objectives of the law, it could be declared by the enforcing agency to be an exempt holding company and, as such, be automatically, by statutory provision, relieved from the requirements and controls of the law—subject to revocation of its exempt status for cause."

"The administrative coverage would authorize the enforcing agency, under a quasi-judicial power, to declare on the basis of evidence produced before it that a particular operation, whatsoever the degree of ownership, is a holding-company operation in that there exists in fact a concentrated control of two or more banks and comes in conflict with the objectives of the law—any such declaration to be reviewable in the courts and to be sustained if supported by substantial evidence."

These standards are closely followed in the Capehart bill, as a review of section 3 (a) discloses. The definition of a bank holding-company, it states, is any company which directly or indirectly holds 25 percent or more of the voting shares of each of two or more banks, or a company which the Board determines after hearings directly or indirectly exercises control over the management or policies of two or more banks. Certain exemptions are set forth in the act itself, but there is no blanket discretionary power of exemption granted to the Board. All determinations of the Board are reviewable in the courts.

The Capehart bill, therefore, achieves the goal as declared by the Reserve city bankers to be essential in bank holding-company legislation. Its provisions are in close accord with the criteria set forth in the committee's report.

But, in the final analysis, Congress writes the laws. No one can predict the final form in which legislation will be enacted. Organized banking groups can only ask for a thorough study of the holding-company problem by the Congress, confident that sound and adequate legislation will result.

But Congress needs to know that bankers and the public are interested in the enactment of this legislation.

There is no way for Congress to know this unless you say so.

Won't you write your Senators and Representatives today?

Against Granting Concessions on Textile Imports From Foreign Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution from the General Court of Massachusetts against granting concessions on textile imports from foreign countries:

RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST GRANTING CONCESSIONS ON TEXTILE IMPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States not to pass any legislation granting concessions on textile imports from foreign countries; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this commonwealth.

House of representatives, January 21, 1954, adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, *Clerk.*

Senate, January 27, 1954, adopted, in concurrence.

IRVING N. HAYDEN, *Clerk.*

A true copy.
Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Can Mother Afford to Hold Job?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of our colleagues the following item which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1954:

CAN MOTHER AFFORD TO HOLD JOB?—A PART-TIME WORKER STATES CASE FOR CHILD-CARE TAX DEDUCTION

(By Nancy Henderson)

(The House Ways and Means Committee, studying revision of the tax laws, has under consideration tax relief for working mothers who must hire babysitters or nurses to care for their children during working hours. Mrs. Nancy Henderson, a 1947 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Stanford University, is a part-time worker on the staff of Representative JOHN C. WATTS, Democrat, of Kentucky. She formerly was legislative assistant to Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Senate majority leader, and assistant to Gen. Telford Taylor when he was Small Defense Plants Administrator.)

WASHINGTON.—I am the mother of 2 children, a girl almost 3 and a year-old son.

I am also a working mother—one of the more than 5 million American mothers who work either full or part time to help balance the family budget. My efforts as partial breadwinner are considerably handicapped, however, by what I think are unjust tax laws which discriminate against working mothers.

Under present laws, a businessman can deduct traveling expenses from his income tax—his secretary's salary, and even cocktail parties he gives for his clients—just so these items are listed as business expense. Yet a working mother helping to support her family is prohibited from deducting the salary she must pay a maid to look after her children while she is at the office.

Why is this?

TAX CODE CITED

The Internal Revenue Code states that "all ordinary and necessary expenses incurred or paid during the taxable year for the production of income are tax deductible." But the courts, in interpreting the code, have held that the cost of child care, even though incurred in order to permit the mother to work, is personal, and not deductible.

Soon after our first child arrived, I decided to go back to work on Capitol Hill as legislative assistant to a Senator. When I was making arrangements for my daughter's care, my father, a businessman, said to me, "Nancy, you know you can deduct your maid's salary as a business expense when you file your income tax."

That was good news, because it would mean considerable saving. Just to be sure, though, I decided to check with the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

The Bureau said no, my maid's salary was not a legitimate business expense.

I expressed indignation to my family and friends, and they agreed with me. But they said that like many other injustices, this one had been around a long time. Bills have been introduced to authorize deduction of child-care expenses, but have gotten nowhere.

Last spring I learned that a young Representative, KENNETH ROBERTS, Democrat, of Alabama, had put in a bill to grant tax relief to working mothers. Representative ROBERTS was then a bachelor, although he has since married. Many persons were amused that a bachelor championed the cause of mothers, and the issue got a lot of publicity. During the 1st session of the present 83d Congress, 34 bills making child-care expenses deductible were introduced.

Last June the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on an omnibus tax revision bill. The second item was child-care expenses. More than a score of Congressmen, representatives of national organizations, and a number of individuals testified on the legislation. I was one of the witnesses, and on TV, too.

Representative ROBERTS described all the mail he got from working mothers. One mother in Seattle wrote him about a premature baby, born blind. Her medical bills totaled $3,000. The infant's father, a Seattle policeman, agreed with his wife that she must go back to work 2 days a week to help pay medical bills. Today, after 5 years, the parents have paid off only half the bill. Think what it would mean to this working mother if she could save taxes on the portion of her income she pays to the maid she hires.

TEACHERS AND NURSES

Aside from personal hardship, testimony shows that present tax laws make it difficult to keep women in the critically understaffed professions of teaching and nursing. Teachers and nurses are traditionally underpaid, and by the time nondeductible child-care expenses are subtracted, it is hardly worth while for these women to continue to work, once they have families.

What are the prospects for tax relief for working mothers during this final session of the 83d Congress? Since the Ways and Means hearings ended, the committee's professional staff has been working on a bill

which is expected to go to the House floor soon.

But it is understood it will grant only limited relief to working mothers, permitting deductions only for widowed or divorced parents who have children under seven. The tax writeoff would be limited to $300 a year. Any relief is welcome, of course. But it seems only reasonable that if Congress decides child-care expenses are a legitimate cost of business and therefore deductible, such deductions should not be tied in with a needy clause.

Certainly if a businessman's secretary's entire salary is ruled tax deductible for all business firms, large and small, then the full amount of child-care expense should be deductible for any mother gainfully employed who must hire someone to take care of her household.

The final form of tax relief will not depend only on what the Ways and Means Committee does. The decision will be made by all the House and Senate Members. They are anxious to vote for what their constituents want, provided those constituents will write in and let their legislators know how they feel.

Civil-Service Program Fights for Its Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article from the December 1953 Democratic Digest entitled "Civil-Service Program Fights for Its Life." Inasmuch as the subject is important to every Government employee I believe it is important that this article be made a part of the RECORD.

CIVIL SERVICE PROGRAM FIGHTS FOR ITS LIFE

"President Eisenhower has permitted the chaotic situation in the civil service to continue too long," commented the Washington Post in a recent editorial. "The time has come for the President to insist that the political assaults on civil-service positions be stopped."

Nearly everyone who has been observing these political assaults and who has been worried that the merit system in Government was crumbling agreed that the remedy could only be applied by one man: the President of the United States.

Even Republican Congressmen know that the responsibility lies with the President. "You can't force Cabinet officers to comply unless the order comes from the top," said Virginia's Republican Congressman BROYHILL. "Firm action by the President is needed to prod agency and department heads to make room for career employees now jobless due to reduction-in-force programs."

Maryland's Republican Congressman SMALL agreed that a White House directive was absolutely essential to stop the wholesale dismissal of career employees.

When the Republican chairman of the House Civil Service Committee directed an angry blast at the administration for not rehiring career men, the Washington Times-Herald stated that the complaint would "not accomplish its purpose unless President Eisenhower strengthens the authority of the Civil Service Commission."

Democrats interested in the merit system of Government joined in asking the President to take a hand, but after President Eisenhower's 10th month in office, it was apparent that, even if he did respond, action would be to late to save many professional careers.

What everyone was trying to tell the President was that the duties of his office—like it or not—include being boss of 2,500,000 Federal employees, just as he is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Apparently Mr. Eisenhower doesn't like it. But while career employees, Congressmen, students of history, and Washington's topnotch daily reporters of civil-service news looked on, the President seemed content to sit back and watch the piecemeal destruction of the merit system and of Government service as a career.

There could be no denying that the disintegration had already reached an alarming stage. Exactly 9 months after inauguration the Washington Post published a series of 6 special reports on the status of the merit system, which began with the statement: "Federal employee morale is the worst in 50 years. This is the sober judgment of those who have made a careful study of the workers employed by what President Eisenhower has called 'the most important business in the world.'"

And several writers recalled the pledge in last year's Republican platform that "Federal employees shall be selected under a strengthened and extended merit system," to which Mr. Eisenhower added in a campaign telecast: "Not only will those civil servants be protected, but efficient civil servants have absolutely nothing to fear."

Nevertheless, the President's top administrators arrived in Washington with pockets full of rocks to throw at Government workers. Commerce Secretary Weeks characterized some as appearing to be "Trojan horses left behind to try to hamper, hoodwink, and wreck the new administration." Attorney General Brownell immediately talked about "replacing the diffidents, the dawdlers, the deadheads," and referred to inheriting "more than our fair share of odd characters, logrollers, and misfits." Agriculture Secretary Benson publicly proclaimed his agency to be a "swollen bureaucracy."

As the Washington Post later summarized the attitude of employees who had been abused by this kind of talk, they would welcome a few public statements from people in authority assuring them that their tribe is not considered leprous, treasonable, incompetent, and slothful.

Soon after the verbal insults were out of the way, the administration fired a number of career technicians in top jobs that had always been considered outside politics (such as the heads of the Bureau of Standards, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Land Management).

Then, less than 2 months after inauguration, the President announced that he would strengthen civil service by creating a new category of jobs, to be known as schedule C jobs, and exempt from civil-service protection, for all positions of a policymaking or confidential nature. The initial White House press release stated that only several hundred jobs would be affected by this order, but within a few months the figure had grown to 12,500, as estimated by one of Eisenhower's new Republican members of the Civil Service Commission.

No one contested the right of the new administration to fill the truly policymaking posts with persons of their own choosing. But there was great uncertainty as to how many jobs the Republicans considered policymaking. One Republican Senator, appearing on a television interview, talked of classifying a million of the 2.5 million Government jobs as policymaking—taking all those making above roughly $4,500 a year out of civil service. As one Washington observer put it: "that would be like taking an army, when there was a shift in the chief of staff, and firing every captain, lieutenant, and top sergeant, just because he had served under and carried out the orders of the previous chief of staff."

Commenting on the schedule C order, John Cramer, who writes a column about Government employees in the Washington Daily News, said that the new action may ruin the merit system, and that it means that many employees are on notice that "to advance to the top of their profession is to run the risk of being booted out of it."

The schedule C move was followed a few months later by an extraordinary Presidential order stripping civil-service protection from the career servants who happened to be occupying certain policy-making jobs at the moment. In the past, such career servants had kept their job rights, even while occupying non-civil-service posts. This meant that about 67,000 employees who had worked up through the merit system to these positions were not only suddenly eligible to be fired without reason, but also lost any civil-service status for finding replacement jobs.

Another effect of the schedule C order was characterized by the Washington Post as having reversed the long trend in Government to extend the career system to key Federal jobs—a trend and a program that was endorsed by the Hoover Commission and other impartial groups.

Another Republican innovation in Government personnel policy is to inquire into the political affiliations of career people. A number of such incidents were rounded up by John Cramer in the Washington Daily News.

"Laid-off Federal career employees and others seeking Government jobs," Cramer wrote on September 10, "are finding increasingly that political support is not only desirable—but almost essential."

Cramer added that: "The new Republican bosses will find it hard to realize—but the Democratic administrations of 1933–53 ran a Federal service remarkably free of politics."

There were many other incidents dragging the merit system down and down. At the Foreign Operations Administration, Harold E. Stassen, its Chief, announced that upcoming layoffs would be made on the basis of a new aptitude test. To show that there was no gimmick up his sleeve, he took the test himself. But within a few days Washington reporters had discovered that Stassen had fired hundreds of employees without regard to results of the test—or any other standard which they could detect. Ironically enough, he even fired some career men with higher marks than his own.

At the Justice Department, Attorney General Brownell fired a lawyer with veterans' status without giving either the reason for the dismissal or an opportunity to appeal, stating that neither was required. The Civil Service Commission, which is charged with protecting civil servants from such abuses, disputed Brownell head-on, but explained lamely to the employee that it could do nothing but make recommendations to Cabinet heads. When the President failed to back up the Commission, about 125,000 employees similarly situated wondered when the same thing would happen to them.

Five career employees of the National Production Authority, an agency of the Department of Commerce, were fired illegally, ordered reinstated, reassigned within a few hours to another bureau of the Department where jobs were trumped up for them, and left to resign in disgust. The Washington Daily News reported their cases as "smashed careers" and referred to their treatment heatedly: "The civil service-be-damned boys from industry, business, and the trade associations still are in the saddle, most obviously determined to have an NPA which not only will serve business, but also will be subservient to it."

In addition to these cases, the President has coated the merit system with a layer of fear by extending the loyalty and security checks in such a way that employees can now be fired without reason or appeal to any outside board. This, of course, gives administrators a blank check for firing employees because they're Democrats, vegetarians, cigar smokers, or even Republicans.

In a speech to the American Legion, W. Scott McLeod, the State Department's new security officer and personnel chief, lamented:

"Sometimes it is extremely difficult because of the Civil Service Act, the Veterans' Preference Act and the Foreign Service Act, to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the the Republican Party."

The Washington Evening Star said of this, "The plain implication here is that if it were not for a few annoying laws, Mr. McLeod * * * would purge the State Department of non-Republicans." The paper went on to point out with regret that employees are not likely to speak up and question the wisdom of a proposed foreign policy if they are notified in advance that the executioner's ax is the dissenter's reward.

When it became obvious that the administration would offer no real help to career men who had been separated (fired) for reasons beyond their control, the future of the merit system was even more seriously in doubt.

It was at this point that the two Republican Congressmen, BROTHILL and SMALL, declared that only a clear directive from the President could help careerists.

A statement by Luther Steward, president of the National Federation of Federal Employees, expressed the low state of the merit system: "Prompt, decisive action by the President is required to halt the corroding, destructive wave of fear which is undermining the capacity of the Federal service to do its job efficiently."

That was on September 30. Three weeks later, Federal employees read in their Sunday morning paper that several Government agencies had actually been advertising for new employees around the country to come to work in Washington at the very time that discharged career workers with civil-service tenure rights were pounding the Washington pavements.

The Washington Evening Star warned editorially that if the present trend of firing career men continued "the civil-service system would be in danger of collapse"; it suggested a statement by President Eisenhower, "Drastic action is essential," said the Star, "if the present crisis facing the Federal establishment is to be met satisfactorily."

And all agreed that there was only one person who could make such drastic action stick, and that man is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Unblessed Peacemaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Post of January 31, 1954, shows how volatile is the Middle East situation:

THE UNBLESSED PEACEMAKER

John Cogley, executive editor of Commonweal, the liberal Catholic weekly, went before a conference of an organization known as the American Friends of the Middle East the other night with a quiet appeal for reason. He said it was time for a new American effort to achieve world peace between Israel and the Arab world; he warned that mere reiteration of past grievances by either side was no real contribution to the future. But a vital prerequisite to peace, he pointed out, was the willingness of the Arabs to accept the fact of Israel.

In this connection, Cogley decried the wild words of King Saud of Saudi Arabia, who recently proclaimed that "the Arab nations would sacrifice up to 10 million of their 50 million people if necessary to destroy Israel." This was a declaration of unending war. It is the kind of declaration, Cogley suggested, that can only insure perpetual crisis in the Middle East.

Cogley had criticism for Israel, too; he sharply condemned the tragic Kibya massacre. But his essential point was that there can be no fruitful peace moves as long as the Arab potentates cling to their dream of a new aggression against Israel.

This seems like simple wisdom. The depressing thing is that these calm and measured words provoked a storm of anger among the Arab diplomats attending the conference.

According to the Times report, "a dozen Arab officials approached the dais and denounced the speech. * * * The room buzzed with mutterings as representatives from Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Afghanistan and their supporters debated the issue. Many carried their protests to Garian Hopkins, executive vice president of the organization."

The intemperate reaction of the Arab representatives dramatizes exactly the peril that Cogley had cited. He was not arguing that anyone was entirely right or wrong in the Arab-Israeli conflict; he was contending only that the time had come for the Arabs to concede that Israel is here to stay. That those words stirred so bitter a response from Arab dignitaries is a dismal symptom of the danger that yet shadows the Middle East.

Junk in the Mailbox? Take Look and See

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert into the RECORD an editorial from the Salida Daily Mail-Record of Salida, Colo. This editorial deals with our present mail system and I wish to call it to the attention of the Members:

JUNK IN THE MAILBOX? TAKE LOOK AND SEE

There's junk in the mailbox these days and the folks don't like it. It is the sort of handbill or dodger that bears neither their names or addresses and used to be delivered door-to-door by neighborhood boys who wanted to earn a little spending money.

Thanks to a new regulation by the Post Office Department, Uncle Sam has now taken over another enterprise. He's making a pack mule and bill peddler out of the postal carriers. Advertisers who want to send circulars through the mail do not have to address them to anyone; they simply put in the post office enough circulars to provide one for every patron on the route.

Is the patron to be flooded with these postage-paid handbills with no way of stopping them? And must that long awaited letter from a son or cousin and that much needed check compete with pounds of handouts for space in the postman's pack? An individual's mail is a personal matter, and he should not be required to plow through a pile of junk in order to find his letters. Most people want important mail delivered today and not day after tomorrow.

A startling fact is that some postal officials actually think a greater volume of third-class mail will reduce the loss in this class which occurs already from handling it at present low rates. Just how the figures work out in this respect is difficult to see, but the postal-figuring system has been notoriously poor for years. The idea seems to be that since the postman is coming by your house anyway, he might just as well bring along whatever junk was left in the post office that day. One newspaper says, "If that is the case, he might just as well deliver the milk, too, and collect the garbage on the way back."

The post office has no business competing with private enterprise. The maintenance of mailing lists and distribution of circulars house to house is an established business that has provided occupations for many people. The postman, too, has taken his job seriously and has worked hard at it for a long time. Why should he be made a packhorse for hundreds of pounds of junk that the sender doesn't even consider important enough to write his address on?

This same idea was tried in 1934. The Postmaster General figured that much additional revenue could be taken in from delivering large quantities of advertising propaganda not addressed. In 1935 this order was rescinded with the explanation that revenue from mass mailings had not been sufficient to justify its continuation. The Post Office Department just hasn't learned anything from experience.

There's junk in the mailbox now—look and see.—(Florence Citizen.)

Smuggling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Times of January 21, 1954, points up a serious problem in our customs service. The overworked men in that branch of our Government are doing the best they can against overwhelming odds. A pennywise, pound-foolish national economy policy makes it tougher for them and for the country.

The editorial follows:

SMUGGLING

One day recently a special Treasury Department agent followed a steamship passenger from the pier to the street and took him into custody for an examination of his baggage. The agent was working on one of the many tip-offs that come from abroad, and he found hidden in one of the 5 pieces of luggage a considerable quantity of undeclared jewelry. The baggage had already been "examined" by the regular customs inspector on the pier.

The customs inspector explained that he had followed orders and had examined only one of the five pieces; and true enough, this piece was clear of undeclared goods. Because the staff of the Customs Bureau here has been kept at a minimum that menaces port security the staff has been experiment-

ing in recent months with a "spot check" examination. It is all they can do unless they wish to take the responsibility of delaying passenger debarkations overlong.

The sense of this kind of economy seems dubious. Including the airports and the waterfront, where customhouse men have jurisdiction, more than 3 million pieces of luggage came into the customs district during 1953. As many and perhaps more will be brought in this year, and presumably only one out of five or one out of ten will receive a real examination.

A report in this newspaper of the year's activities of the various customhouse staffs noted that actual contraband seizures during the year had declined in number. The implication was that perhaps smugglers are trying other ports, or have devised new methods of concealment. Perhaps the slackening of surveillance had something to do with the decline. If so, the manpower problem of the collector of the port should be reviewed.

Progress Made in Saline Water Conversion Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, as the water needs of our country grow and our available supplies dwindle, the importance of water to our wellbeing and to our overall national economy is impressed upon us more and more. As most of my colleagues know, water is already a critical item in many sections of our land. In this situation, it is necessary that our study and research of possible new sources of supply move forward as rapidly as possible. In 1952, I authored the legislation which initiated the saline water research program, the objective of which is to develop economically feasible processes for converting saline water to fresh water. The progress being made in this program is encouraging. It is my firm belief that as a result of the research and study now underway, large-scale conversion of salt water to fresh water for municipal and industrial purposes is not far in the future. Conversion for agricultural purposes, though further in the future for economic reasons, is not out of the question, particularly in view of advances in the field of atomic power and other energy sources.

Having authored the saline water research legislation, I naturally have followed the program with great interest. The Secretary of the Interior has just transmitted to the Congress his second annual report covering the program and I am pleased to report briefly to my colleagues upon the progress that has been made.

The Department of the Interior accomplishes this saline water conversion program by conducting research through federally financed grants and contracts, encouraging development by correlating and coordinating research efforts in this field, and encouraging other public bodies and private enterprise in research. Every effort has been and is being made to encourage private research and to interest private industry in the development of demineralization processes. As important as any other phase of the program is the coordination of research with private interests and governmental organizations. This makes available in one place the results of all research in the field.

The organization of the program has been completed. It consists mainly of federally sponsored research projects involving known as well as new approaches to saline water conversion. Contract research in a number of areas is now underway and compilation and dissemination of information on demineralization processes are well along. The services of highly qualified scientific personnel have been obtained both to conduct research and to serve as consultants. Already several processes now in the laboratory development stage show promise of successful application to particular phases of the saline water conversion program. More extensive research on these is planned. As processes are developed in the laboratory of sufficient promise, field tests will be needed to determine feasibility on a large-scale basis. Exploratory research now underway in other fields should result in additional promising methods which will warrant further developments. As one possible solution to low-cost demineralization lies in the use, re-use or conservation of the energy required in any applied separation process, considerable attention is being devoted to potential energy sources which might be used. As a result, it is clear that a part of the saline water conversion program must be devoted to research in the direction of new or little-used sources of energy.

Research projects completed or now being carried out through contracts with scientific, engineering, industrial, and educational institutions, and qualified individuals are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

A study of sea water demineralization by solar distillation has been completed at the University of California. Solar distillation is attractive because no fuel is required and relatively little mechanical power is involved. The results were sufficiently favorable to warrant further study.

Ionics, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., has completed an ion transfer membrane demineralizer and has run tests for producing fresh water from several types of brackish water. The company's cost estimates for fresh water by this process are very reasonable and Department engineers and consultants feel that field testing of larger capacity demineralizers is necessary.

Other research projects that are well along include an investigation by Battelle Memorial Institution of multiple-effect evaporation of saline water by steam from solar radiation; development of an improved method for analyzing vapor compression distillation cycles by the Heinz Engineering Co. of Arlington, Va.; and an engineering survey and evaluation of methods for demineralization of sea water with solar energy by Dr. O. G. Lof, of Denver, Colo. Studies to date under these contracts are encouraging.

Several other projects are under way. The University of Florida has contracted to conduct exploratory research in the development and testing of synthetic osmotic membranes suitable for use in processes for the economical large-scale production of fresh water from sea or other saline waters. A study to determine more exactly the actual energy demands, including energy losses, as compared with basic theoretical thermodynamic minimum energy requirement is being carried on at the State University of New York. Yale University is conducting investigations of a method of improving heat transfer rates in vapor-compression evaporators. Texas A. & M. Research Foundation is conducting exploratory research on the applicability of solvent extraction processes to the economic demineralization of salt water. The objective of a contract with Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn is to develop and test ion selective and ion specific membranes suitable for use in electrodialysis processes.

In addition to the research projects, many surveys have been completed or are under way. In order to have some measure for comparison of costs with the various processes studied, a survey of present water costs throughout the Nation for municipal, industrial, and agricultural uses has been completed. Broad, general surveys of the location and extent of surface and underground brackish water are being made under the supervision of the Geological Survey.

A survey of potential needs for converting sea water for irrigation use is being made under the direction of the Bureau of Reclamation. A contract with the University of Minnesota calls for developing a procedure for surveying waste heat that might be utilized for demineralization purposes.

Many other research proposals have been evaluated and rejected by Department engineers and consultants. Many additional proposals are in the process of being evaluated. Undoubtedly, many will be found desirable for further research and study.

Navy Procurement Contracts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL BROWN
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to note that the Subcommittee on Defense Activities of the House Armed Services Committee, of which Congressman WILLIAM E. HESS, of Ohio, is chairman, has requested Navy Secretary Robert B. Anderson to explain the award of a contract for three destroyers to a manufacturer whose bid was more than $6½ million in excess of the lowest price obtainable. The contract was awarded to the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Co.,

Quincy, Mass., for the sum of $53,022,000, whereas the bid of the Bath Iron Works in Maine was $46,476,960.

The manufacturer who received this award was higher than 2 of the 4 bidders. The bid of the Newport News, Va., Shipyard was $50,400,000, or $3,923,040 less than that of the company receiving the award.

Congressman HESS stated:

I cannot understand why bids were asked for at all if they were to be disregarded; and I must have more than just a plausible explanation of why a $6½ million premium is being paid. I have read some versions of the Secretary's statement, but they do not satisfy me. In my mind the biggest distress area right now is in the taxpayer's pocketbook; and I don't believe we ought to be tossing around $6½ million bonuses when we have good competitive bids. The taxpayers are putting up every dollar that is required for defense; but they ought not to be pitched into other businesses without knowing why. We are very much interested in what the Secretary will have to say.

Mr. Speaker, I have previously stated on the floor that the American people expect and are entitled to receive the maximum in defense for the funds expended by the military services. The taxpayers will not be convinced that economy is being practiced when a large company is given a $6½ million subsidy while a company in the same region is being deprived of the business on which they were the low bidder.

On January 6, 1954, I introduced a bill, H. R. 6864, in an effort to return to competitive bidding and to avoid the unfavorable results of the past under Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 and the interpretations which have been placed on the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 by the defense agencies. H. R. 6864 would modify section 2 (c) (1) of the Armed Services Procurement Act, and it is under this section I am advised that the above $6½ million subsidy was paid.

The award of this contract with the payment of a $6½ million subsidy appears to be in conflict with the language contained in a ruling of the Comptroller General dated January 14, 1952, which was set forth in a letter to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. The Comptroller General stated as follows:

On the other hand, section 2 (c) (1) of the Armed Services Procurement Act of 1947 authorizes the negotiation of contracts, without advertising, when determined by the agency head to be necessary in the public interest during the period of a national emergency declared by the President. Such a national emergency was proclaimed by the President on December 16, 1950. Despite such authority, it would not normally appear to be in the public interest for the military departments to make awards of contracts to a firm or group of firms when it is known at the time that the services or supplies are obtainable elsewhere at a lower price.

In this instance it was known at the time the contract was awarded that the destroyers were obtainable elsewhere at a lower price. The public announcements which have come to my attention have not given any indication that this contract was submitted to the Comptroller General for review.

I would also like to call to the attention of the Department of the Navy the following language in the 1954 defense appropriations bill:

Provided further, That no funds herein appropriated shall be used for the payment of a price differential on contracts hereafter made for the purpose of relieving economic dislocations.

I believe it is time to return to free competitive bidding on the vast majority of Government contracts, and that negotiation be used only when necessary rather than when convenient. I hope that serious consideration will be given to the bill which I have introduced, H. R. 6864, and that legislation will be passed which will curb the recent abuses in Government procurement contracts.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

The President's Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 10, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD two editorials—one from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of January 12, 1954, and the other from Providence Journal of January 13, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of January 12, 1954]

IKE'S FARM PROGRAM

President Eisenhower's farm program, built on flexible price supports rather than the present rigid props for basic crops, seems destined to stir up a tempest when it reaches congressional committee hearings, although it appears to be in line with policies of the American Farm Bureau Federation, whose president, Allan B. Kline, said:

"I am confident that the farmers will support the main points in the program outlined by the president and will work closely with Congress in the enactment of needed additional legislation." The federation last December went on record as follows: "Programs which induce producers to continue inefficient production render a disservice to agriculture by contributing to the accumulation of surpluses."

The President's plan differs from any other plan produced to date in this one respect: it takes cognizance of the fact that billions of dollars worth of Government surpluses which accumulated under former schemes are a constant threat to farmers planning future crops. The very existence of these vast stores, which were released to the market from time to time, threw a monkey wrench into the farm planning machinery and, adding to the market supply, brought down prices. When prices came down parity payments went up and the taxpayer (which included the farmer) got it in the neck.

We now have about $5 billion invested in agricultural surpluses. It was felt that if this amount could be reduced by half, the remainder would be a nearly normal granary condition, and would not hamper future agricultural planning. The President, therefore, plans to seal off from the regular markets $2½ billion worth of surpluses, which would be largely wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly some dairy products. They could not be returned to domestic or foreign markets. Instead they would be used for the school lunch program and other eligible public institutions, for disaster relief, for aid to other countries, and for stockpiles for use in war or any other national emergency.

The present ceiling of the Commodity Credit Corporation is $6¾ billion. The President will ask Congress to increase price-support funds to $8½ billion. Agriculture Department experts have predicted that corporation investments in surpluses may pass $6 billion by spring.

Mr. Eisenhower's plan is certain to find critics as well as advocates. Giving away millions upon millions of dollars worth of agricultural surpluses will rile many taxpayers; others will say that the way out of the present dilemma is worth whatever it costs.

The flexible price supports envisioned by the President would work in this manner—take wheat, for example. The present rigid 90 percent parity price would be abandoned after the 1954 crop. It would be supplanted by flexible price supports—75 to 90 percent of parity, and in an effort to keep supplies in line with market needs, acreage allotments and marketing quotas would be controlled. The new parity for wheat, which would be about 20 percent lower than present parity, would begin to go into effect January 1, 1956. The reduction each year could be no greater than 5 percent of the old formula.

Other crops would shift, gradually, into new and lower parities. This is clearly in line with the view expressed by the American Farm Bureau Federation, namely, "The temporary provisions of law requiring 90 percent of parity price support on the basic commodities without regard to supply should be allowed to expire at the end of the 1954 program."

Already the statesmen have been making predictions about what will happen. Senator HOMER FERGUSON, Republican, of Michigan, said that rank-and-file farmers will endorse the proposals, even if their leaders do not. Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, Democrat, of Washington, said the farm program will not be passed by the Senate, and called the idea of flexible farm price supports a repudiation of the GOP campaign promises. Senator AIKEN, Republican, of Vermont, said the President's program "forms an excellent basis to work out the soundest farm program we ever had."

Whatever happens, one thing is sure; there will be plenty of fireworks.

[From the Providence (R. I.) Journal of January 13, 1954]

THE FARM MESSAGE—COMMONSENSE PROGRAM WITH SLIGHT CHANCE OF SURVIVAL

Although the Presidential message took more than 7,000 words to describe it, Mr. Eisenhower's farm program is centered around a single, simple, reasonable idea:

The price-support system should be geared to protect the farmer's income from disastrous fluctuations, but not to guarantee him perpetual peak prosperity at the expense of other sectors of the national community.

To establish this situation, the President proposes that the Government support the prices of farm products at high levels when there is a scarcity, so that in the following crop year more will be produced. And when supplies are ample, he wants the support prices to drop a few notches so that consumers will be encouraged to eat more and farmers will be put on notice that they won't need to produce as much next season.

The price-support system would thus be used to keep production roughly abreast of demand, and the level of farm income reasonably steady. There would be less tendency for huge surpluses to pile up in Government warehouses, and less likelihood that farm products would price themselves out of the consumer market.

All of this makes the most compelling kind of common sense. Mr. Eisenhower's program would serve the interests of the farmer, the consumer, and the country as a whole. It would lessen the restrictions on agricultural initiative and reduce the drain that price subsidization imposes on the taxpayer's pocketbook. It would assure a more reliable supply of the farm products that the market is ready to absorb. It would provide a long-range basis for dealing with the special problems of the American agricultural industry.

But in spite of all that, the presidential program will be faced with bitter, violent opposition from spokesmen in and out of Congress who insist they are protecting the farmer's interests. And in an election year, their voices will have a frightening ring in the ears of a good many legislators.

It took high courage to advance a flexible parity program less than 10 months before a crucial mid-term election. Of course, it is not intended to take effect until next year and it is designed to avoid any sudden retreat from the highly favorable treatment farmers have received from the Government ever since the beginning of World War II. But it clearly does contemplate a departure from that policy and thus represents dynamite in an election year that is also characterized by declining farm income.

The President made an extended and eloquent argument for the logic of his proposals. The present law, he pointed out, in the long run will work to the injury of the farmers as well the rest of the community. Surpluses are becoming more and more unmanageable; soon their embarrassing size may so disgust the public with the support system that the whole concept might be abandoned. That would spell genuine disaster for agriculture.

On the other hand, the gradual transition Mr. Eisenhower proposes would not be particularly painful at any one stage. He would have the flexible system go into effect on the 1955 basic crops, but year-to-year fluctuations in the parity level would be limited and the changeover to a more modern—and lower—parity formula would be managed in slow steps.

And the President plans definite Government measures to expand the international and national market for American farm output. To make such efforts more successful and to give the new flexible parity system a fair start, he would freeze the bulk of present Government-held crop surpluses and thus minimize their influence on market conditions. This is about the best that could be made of a bad situation inherited from many past high-parity years.

Without passing judgment on the details of his proposals, it seems to us that the President's farm program is the most workable and practical to be advanced in this field and under White House auspices in a good long while. We hope we're wrong in predicting that it won't survive the attacks of the professional farm bloc in this election year.

Foreign Residual Oil Will Make American Breadlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 10, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial,

from the Fairmont (W. Va.) Times of February 4, 1954, on the important issue of the serious threat to the economic health of our great coal-mining areas which is posed by the importation of foreign residual oil.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The population of West Virginia, which has been declining for 2 or 3 years, has now reached the place where its decline, percentage wise, is greater than that of any other State. The reasons given, presumably by the Census Bureau, include the decline of coal production and the West Virginia climate. If we were more political minded we might say that another right cogent reason is that the golden age of prosperity is being shot full of holes by the salvos of depression. But we are not going to say this because we are quite certain that those who have lost their jobs in the coal mines have gone elsewhere to find a living. The thing about it is what will happen when "elsewhere" will have no jobs to give. Doubtless, in that event, the people will come back home again and our lost population will be restored.

There are a lot of factors that have caused the slump in coal production. Natural gas from Louisiana and Texas for one thing, residual oil from South America, for another. It is not often that King Coal can sit firmly upon his throne. His subjects are loyal to him only when they have to be. Coal is like a movie star. The fickle public will acclaim her until somebody more attractive comes along to take her place.

Take residual oil, for instance, which nobody ever heard of except in recent years. It is nothing more than what is left of the oil after all the byproducts are taken out of it at the refineries. We suppose that in the earlier days it was merely dumped in the drain. Then somebody figured out that it could produce steam as well as coal providing it could get an all-water haul from the refinery to the consumer.

All along the eastern seaboard in this country there were scads of electric powerplants and industries which burned coal, preferably our wonderful West Virginia coal. Everybody was happy. The consumers were tickled to death with the way our coal was prepared. All the consumer had to do was to feed it into his boilers and the production of steam was uniform and adequate. Then came the challenge of residual oil. The consumers began to experiment with it because it was cheap. Coal was cheap, too, but coal is tied to the rails. The haulage rates of coal by rail couldn't compete with waste oil hauled to the market in battered old World War II tankers. It was a long voyage from South America, and other distant points in the world, to our East coast, but it was so much cheaper that coal finally had to suffer. The result was that mine after mine had to take the count and thousands of expert miners were laid off. The coal hauling railroads were hit, too. They had to lay off men, thousands of them, because there was nothing for them to do. With these things, and almost overnight, the coal regions of West Virginia and adjoining States ceased being a land of plenty. Men by the hundreds left their homes and their friends, climbed in their flivvers, and sought work wherever they could find it.

In the long run whom does it benefit? Was the differential between oil and coal so vital to industry that the coal industry had to be sacrificed? We suppose that in the government in Washington it was O. K. to bring in the wastages of the world's oil fields even if it might eventually restore the breadlines which America hasn't seen since the great depression.

It looks to us that there should be somebody hanging around in Washington who would be interested in striking a balance.

And, for the love of Mike, don't make the excuse that the West Virginia climate is driving people away. If they're leaving it is because of their quest for bread and meat, not climate.

Infiltration of Subversives Into the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 10, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a highly interesting article entitled "From the Horse's Mouth." The article, which was written by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and was published in today's issue of the Washington Post, deals with the alleged infiltration of 2,200 subversives into the Government, and throws a bright light on the misleading and false information and claims on this subject which have come from high Government sources.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MATTER OF FACT
(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)
FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

The public has been grossly misled about the infiltration of subversives into the Government. The best witness to this fact is none other than W. Scott McLeod, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S (Republican, Wisconsin) personal ambassador to the State Department. According to testimony before a congressional committee, McLeod has failed to find any Communists lurking anywhere in the State Department, despite 12 months of untiring effort.

To date, McLeod has caused a grand total of just 11 persons to be dropped from the payroll, not as Communists or proved subversives, but for loyalty reasons. Of these 11 cases, according to Mr. McLeod's own reluctant testimony, 7 were initiated by the security officers of Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson and merely completed by McLeod. Thus McLeod's personal score now stands at: Communists smoked out, 0; suspected dangerous thinkers abolished, 4.

In view of McLeod's sponsorship and character, facts and figures on this subject coming from him may be regarded as coming straight from the horse's mouth. He was far from eager to give facts and figures. This was only natural. Members of the President's Cabinet and personal staff, officials of the Republican National Committee, and conspicuous figures in the party like Governor Dewey and Senator MCCARTHY, have repeatedly claimed that the vast majority of the 2,200 people dropped from the government as security risks were subversives, spies, and traitors, or just plain Commies.

A breakdown of the security firings that brands these past administration claims as strictly legendary, was reluctantly given by McLeod to a closed meeting of a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. The circumstances were interesting in themselves. The other witness who appeared with McLeod was Under Secretary of State W. Bedell Smith. The subcommittee began by asking Smith how many active Communists had been uncovered in the State Department. He replied that no Communists had been found. In his downright way, Smith added that there had never been any Communists in the Department as far as he knew except for Alger Hiss and one other minor official fired long ago.

McLeod then took the stand. The Democratic members of the subcommittee, JOHN J. ROONEY, of New York, and PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR., of Georgia, asked him about State Department security firings. McLeod replied that a grand total of 534 security firings had now been achieved by his hard work. According to the claims of the administration leaders, "virtually all" of these people ought to have been at least "subversives," if not active Communists.

Under Secretary Smith had said there were no Communists. McLeod was therefore asked how many of the 534 were dismissed on loyalty grounds—suspected of Communist sympathies or connections. After a great deal of uneasy squirming, he gave the 7–11 figure.

What McLeod regards as grounds for dismissal or suspension should also be noted in this connection. A woman employee in the State Department had a great wartime misfortune. She was floating, so to speak, in the stenographic pool of the Board of Economic Warfare when Nathan Gregory Silvermaster sent down an order for a secretary for his office. There is no proof that her assignment from the stenographic pool to Silvermaster's office, where she worked only briefly, was anything but an accident of Government routine. Yet on this ground she is now charged as a loyalty risk and suspended. Unlike others she has chosen to fight the charge.

Nor is this all. McLeod further admitted to the House subcommittee that a remarkably heavy portion of his security firings represented persons who had not been fired at all. These persons have been arbitrarily branded as security risks, without any trial of their cases, or even any notice to themselves, after resigning from the Department or transferring to another agency.

Attorney General Brownell issued the order authorizing this interesting new system of "stab them in the back after they leave; they won't notice it." The situation has not been improved by the Attorney General's recent shambling retreat from the original administration claims as to security firings. The President, who has been so incredibly ill-served in this matter, owes it to himself to deal sternly with the culprits. His whole record repudiates the shabby fakery that has been practiced. And it is not necessary to cook any balance sheets in order to persuade the country that Dwight D. Eisenhower is doing a good job.

Immigration Hoax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 10, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Refugee Act of 1953, which was urged by the President as an emergency measure, was passed by Congress and was signed by the President more than 6 months ago. This morning the Washington Post, in a very informative editorial entitled "Immigration Hoax," has shown that although 209,000 refugees and escapees from communism are authorized to be admitted under the act, thus far a grand total of just 4 persons

have been admitted to the United States. Think of that, Mr. President—only 4, out of an authorized 209,000 persons, have been admitted to our country.

I now ask unanimous consent to have the entire editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of February 10, 1954]

IMMIGRATION HOAX

In the 6 months that have passed since President Eisenhower signed the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, a grand total of exactly four individuals have been admitted to the United States under its terms. The act was urged by the President as an emergency measure. It authorized admission over a 3-year period of 209,000 refugees and escapees from communism. Even to those who, like this newspaper, recognized that the act was inflexible, this dismal failure of its stated purpose must come as a shocking disappointment.

No wonder the Reverend Dr. Paul C. Empie, executive director of the National Lutheran Council, declared the other day that the relief act has turned out to be quite contrary to what we had hoped for. The reaction is felt equally by the other religious and voluntary agencies working on refugee problems. They attribute the throttling of emergency immigration in part to needlessly rigorous security precautions involving an elaborate investigation by American officials abroad of each visa applicant—a hopeless task in the case of those who have fled from behind the Iron Curtain—and needlessly formidable guaranties that the refugees will not become economic risks in the United States—involving a requirement that an individual sponsor assume full responsibility for each immigrant.

The best of laws can accomplish little when there is no will to make it work; when administrators are determined to use it for obstructionist purposes, it can serve no end save mischief. President Eisenhower expressed warm sympathy for the plight of the refugees. No one can doubt that he earnestly desires to have the United States extend its traditional hospitality to the politically oppressed. He can contribute to this result by giving a sharp prod to the State Department's Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs who bears a heavy responsibility for converting the relief act into a seemingly impenetrable curtain.

The Soundness of the Administration's Tax Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, Walter Lippmann recently wrote an excellent article analyzing that portion of the administration's tax program intended to encourage incentives to enterprise and investment.

He makes crystal clear that it is not in conflict with any proposal to reduce individual taxes, and he properly points out that any attempted creation of such a conflict as an issue "is a setup for political demagogery.

The article, entitled "Today and Tomorrow—Stitch in Time," follows:

A person looking for signs of things to come might well pay attention to the dialog, which took place last week before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, between Senator FULBRIGHT (Democrat, Arkansas) and Mr. Martin, the Chairman of the Board of the Federal Reserve System. They were talking about tax reduction. The Senator wanted to know which of two kinds the Chairman preferred. Did he favor increasing the incentives to investment and production by tax concessions to liberalize depreciation allowances and to reduce double taxation of dividends or would he prefer to increase the personal exemption in the income tax in order to leave more spending money in the hands of the mass of consumers?

The first kind of reduction is advocated by the administration. The second is advocated by most of the Democrats. Here in a nutshell are the seeds of a controversy which may grow up to something very big in this session of Congress and in the election campaign next autumn. It turns on genuine issues of policy, principle, and of fact. Yet it is a setup for political demagoguery.

For the concessions would be about the same—say $3 billion—under either tax plan. But the immediate beneficiaries under the administration proposal would be the relatively small number of taxpayers in the upper brackets. Under the other proposal the beneficiaries would be the very much larger number in the lower brackets. There is obviously a great deal of political dynamite in an issue of that kind, especially if there is to be a shrinkage of incomes due to shorter hours in industry and to the troubles in agriculture.

Senator FULBRIGHT has the honor of being as clear of demagoguery as a successful and effective public man can be. His questions manifestly were not designed to create a partisan issue but to open the way to an understanding of the issue—which might prevent it from being exploited by the demagogs. And Chairman Martin has a critical, though by no means the whole, responsibility for navigating in the choppy waters and squally weather through which we are passing.

When the Senator asked Mr. Martin which tax policy he preferred, we may take it that Mr. FULBRIGHT was thinking not of the long run but of the very near future during the present readjustment. That, as I read it, is the way Mr. Martin understood the question. His answer was that "at this juncture," at this point in the course of the readjustment, he would still put the emphasis on the production side rather than to emphasize an increase of consumer purchasing power. He did not, however, say what he would favor at a later juncture. He did not come anywhere near saying that at a later juncture the tax reduction which Mr. FULBRIGHT favors might not be called for.

Mr. FULBRIGHT had asked him which he would prefer now—given the mildness of the recession and the fact that the readjustment might be concluded successfully in the next few months. Mr. Martin did not close and lock any doors against what it might be expedient to do, say by April or May.

The administration's tax program reflects their fundamental economic doctrine. It is that expansion is a continuing political and social necessity in a free and capitalist economy. The first conditions of expansion—the one inseparable from the other—are technological improvement and sufficient incentives to enterprise and investment.

These principles are fundamental to the progress of a free economy over the long run. But they are not the panacea, they are not the whole law of the survival of a free economy. That is what we learned in the thirties and what we can never afford to forget. These principles, though they are fundamental, do not govern the ups and downs—that is to say the short runs—of the business cycle. The principles that are needed for the short runs of the business cycle are not in fact in conflict with the principles for the long run. They are supplementary. The tendency to regard them as conflicting is, however, a deep danger in the free world and especially in the American part of it.

Yet it is only the unreconstructed New Dealers on the one hand, and the unreconstructed Old Guard on the other who believe that there is an irreconcilable conflict. There are still some New Dealers left out of the multitudes during the Nineteen Thirties who contend that the only thing to do is to keep inflating the purchasing power of the masses of the people. If that is done, all the rest in the way of investment, technological progress, and enterprise will follow.

There are, on the other hand, a very considerable number of unreconstructed conservatives, including some highly respected and influential Democrats, who reject with scorn and sharp distaste the ideas which are addressed to governing the business cycle by compensatory action of the Government and the banking system.

If the country and the Eisenhower administration become involved in a destructive brawl over tax reduction, it will be because the unreconstructed extremists take charge and make the pace. That would be very much too bad if the bold steps, which the President has been talking about, should need to be taken.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 10, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD a sermon on the Bricker amendment, delivered by Dr. Edward D. Gates, at the First Presbyterian Church of Peoria, Ill.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHURCH AND THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

(Sermon delivered at the First Presbyterian Church of Peoria, January 24, 1954, by Dr. Edward D. Gates.)

Let me tell you why, as your minister, I am devoting the sermon this morning to a discussion of the Bricker amendment.

My first reason is this: The Bricker amendment, as you may know, is a proposal to amend the provisions of the Constitution of the United States having to do with the effect of treaties on our domestic law. Within a very short time this issue will be be debated on the floor of the United States Senate. It is, without question, one of the most important issues to come before the American people since the founding of our Republic. It is not a question which will be decided along party lines. The issues involved run far deeper than party politics. What the Bricker amendment is concerned with is a reexamination of the principles upon which this country was founded and has prospered these 175 years. Whether or not the amendment is approved will affect the lives of our children and grandchildren. We who take our churchmanship seriously would be dere-

lict in our duty if through apathy or indifference we failed to inform ourselves on such a matter of vital importance to us and our fellow countrymen.

The fact of the matter is, of course, that so-called leading churchmen have already published their views on the subject and are bringing them forcibly to the attention of our lawmakers; and thus my second reason for discussing the Bricker amendment with you this morning: For the implication of the statements issued by these leading churchmen is that they have already spoken for you and me. Witness, for instance, the pronouncement coming out of the National World Order Study Conference held at Cleveland last fall under the auspices of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America. According to a report of the meeting in the Christian Century of November 11, the delegates assembled "denounced any attempt to limit the treatymaking power of the President." The effect of such a meeting in influencing legislation is illustrated by the following telegram, a copy of which was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20. The telegram is dated January 8, 1954, and is addressed to Senator WILEY, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and an outspoken opponent of the Bricker amendment. It reads as follows:

"We commend your firm stand in regard Bricker proposed constitutional amendment. You should know that the churches are behind you on basis of recent action of National World Order Study Conference at Cleveland.

"CLIFFORD EARLE,
"Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

Well, are the churches in reality opposed to the Bricker amendment? Are the churches behind the opponent of the Bricker amendment?

I do not venture to speak about the social action groups of other denominations, but I can tell you that the social education and action department of our denomination, which is supported by the benevolence funds contributed by Presbyterian congregations, has in dealing with the Bricker amendment, disregarded the rulings of our general assembly. The general assembly has clearly pronounced that in the magazine Social Progress which the department published, both sides of a controversial issue should be presented. Yet here we find articles which refer to the "notorious Bricker amendment," the "dangers of the Bricker proposals," and an appeal to "mobilize Christian opinion in the churches" against the amendment. Indeed, in the most recent issue of the magazine Senator BRICKER is accused of attempting to undermine the Constitution. There has been so far no article which defends the Bricker amendment.

Are you willing to let others speak for you on an issue of such momentous proportions? Or does it not behoove us all to exercise our own right and privilege to form our own opinions and express them?

What now is the Bricker amendment? How did the need for it come about? And what can we do about it?

Our Constitution as it now stands contains the following provision regarding treaties:

"He (the President) shall have power by and with the advice and by the consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur" (art. II, sec. 2).

And it is further stated that—

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding" (art. VI, sec. 2).

What this means is that a treaty approved by the President and with the consent of two-thirds of the Senators present on the day the treaty is voted upon becomes the supreme law of our land, presumably overriding the Constitution itself, for no court has evef declared a treaty unconstitutional. No law which Congress passes is valid if found to be in conflict with the Constitution, but treaties do not have to conform. Moreover, treaties can become the supreme law of our land by the votes of only a handful of Senators, as illustrated recently when 2 treaties were ratified with only 6 Senators present, and when on June 13, 1952, a treaty was approved with only 2 Senators present. The latter incident went this way: Senator SPARKMAN, of Alabama, was presiding in the Senate. Senator THYE, of Minnesota, was the only other Senator present. Senator SPARKMAN cast the only vote. Senator THYE did not object. Senator SPARKMAN then ruled that the treaties had been approved by a two-thirds vote. And thus by the vote of only one Senator a treaty became the supreme law of the land.

Now, until World War II and the advent of the United Nations organizations these provisions of our Constitution raised few problems. Treaties dealt mainly with such matters as commerce, navigation, peace, and friendship between nations—with external affairs having to do with relations between nations, as our Founding Fathers intended they should. But with the formation of the UN and America's participation in it a whole new concept of treaty law has come into being. Treaties have now come to be regarded not simply as instruments which deal with the external affairs of nations but with their internal affairs as well.

In the minds of most Americans, you see, the United Nations was formed to keep the peace, but according to the terms of the charter the work of the U. N. is devoted to other activities such as "to promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress." Indeed, about two-thirds of the U. N.'s budget, of which the United States is the largest contributor, is devoted to such activities. As Dr. John P. Humphrey, an official of the U. N., stated in a recent issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationships between the state and individuals, and therefore a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of states. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the state and its citizens."

In other words, efforts are now being made to let the United Nations make our domestic laws in place of the elected representatives in our State and National legislatures. As matters now stand, this can be done by treaties or by executive agreements. In fact, there are today in existence, enacted or proposed, over 200 treaties which would thus seek to regulate the domestic affairs of our Nation.

Here are some examples:

Now pending before the United States Senate for ratification is the Convention or Treaty on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Originally drawn up by the U. N. it was sent to the Senate by President Truman with his recommendation that it be approved. If this treaty were approved, it would become an international law under which a citizen of the United States could be tried in an American or international court for genocide (race killing) or complicity in genocide. For this law makes it a criminal act to cause mental harm to members of a racial or religious group—meaning that an American citizen might be tried and put in jail for even venturing to criticize someone of a different race or religious belief.

Another such treaty proposed is that of the International Labor Organization, now an official agency of the U. N. This agency has drawn up the following treaty which it is now proposed the United States adopt and which, if adopted, would become the supreme law of the land. The treaty is entitled "Maternity Protection" and contains the following provisions:

1. An employed pregnant woman is to get at least 12 weeks off to have her baby.

2. During this time she is to get from the Government cash equal to at least two-thirds of her pay and free medical care, free medicine, free hospitalization, etc.

3. This is to be financed by a payroll tax covering all employed people, both male and female, levied partly on employees and partly on the employer, or on the employer alone, or paid directly out of public funds.

4. A woman cannot be fired while on maternity leave.

5. Work interruptions to nurse the baby are to be on company time and to be paid for by the employer.

The representatives of 60 nations of the world voted favorably that this should be international law, including members of the United States delegation attending the treatymaking conference.

Or, again, there is the proposed Covenant on Human Rights, which, because of its high-sounding title, many persons believe the United States should approve. The effect of such a treaty, however, as pointed out by the American Bar Association, would be to actually abridge the freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly now guaranteed to us by our own Bill of Rights.

Before John Foster Dulles became Secretary of State he stated the whole matter very clearly when he declared:

"The treatymaking power is an extraordinary power, liable to abuse. Treaties make international law and they make domestic law. Under our Constitution, treaties become the supreme law of the land. They are indeed more supreme than ordinary laws for congressional laws are invalid if they do not conform to the Constitution, whereas treaty law can override the Constitution, and treaties, for example, can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President; they can take powers away from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body, and they can cut across the rights given the people by the constitutional Bill of Rights."

A very vivid example of how treaty law might change our form of Government was former President Truman's seizure of the steel industry. The President's action was taken on the premise that while the Constitution forbids such invasion of private property, the President, acting under terms of the United Nation's Charter to which the United States is a signatory, has the legal right to seize private property. His action was upheld by three members of the Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice. Think of it, if the late Chief Justice Vinson had been able to convince two more justices of his position, the United States of America, as a former president of the American Bar Association has pointed out, would as of that moment have ceased to be an independent republic.

Or consider the fact that recently the Supreme Court of California declared that a long standing State marriage law was null and void because it conflicted with a clause in the U. N. Charter. A similar ruling was made by the Supreme Court of Idaho in regard to that State's property laws.

The Senate of the United States recently approved a treaty by which members of our Armed Forces stationed in any of the NATO

countries are denied the right to be tried for offenses under American laws but are to be dealt with by local, foreign courts. This treaty, by the way, is not reciprocal since no NATO countries have sent their troops to be stationed in the United States.

It is also to be noted that President Truman's committee on civil rights proposed that so-called civil rights laws be presented in the form of treaties through the United Nations which, if ratified, would become the supreme law of our land without the enactment of both Houses of our Congress.

The intent of the Bricker amendment, you see, is to clear up once and for all this matter of treaties superseding the rights guaranteed Americans under the Constitution. Furthermore, the purpose of the Bricker proposal is to protect the Constitution against violation by executive agreements. Proponents of the Bricker amendment refer to the secret deals made at Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam as evidence that the President has too much power in making foreign commitments. They point also to the Korean truce, and indeed to the Korean war itself which came about without any declaration by Congress.

Here is how the Bricker amendment reads—this is what would be added to our Constitution if it were adopted as an amendment: "A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." This would definitely settle the question: A treaty cannot override the Constitution.

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." This means that no treaty could become domestic or internal law unless passed by both Houses of Congress. The United States is one of the few countries where such a law does not already exist. As Judge Allen has stated: "It is a rule in all but a very few countries generally, that treaties take effect as municipal or domestic law only when implemented by legislation enacted by the full legislature. This safeguard does not exist for the United States. The Bricker amendment would provide the same protection for the United States which other nations provide for themselves. The third provision of the amendment reads:

"Congress shall have power to regulate all executive or other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

And finally, "The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Now it may interest you to know that the Bricker amendment has not only been approved by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, but is endorsed by the American Bar Association, more than 20 State bar associations, the National Association of Attorneys General (a group representing the heads of the legal departments of our 48 States, both Republicans and Democrats), the legislatures of 9 States, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion, the Kiwanis International, indeed, nearly a hundred responsible trade, business, professional, service, and patriotic organizations in addition to several hundred such local ones. It is a fact that the amendment is the result of long months of study by the Senate Judiciary Committee working with the American Bar Association. In short, the overwhelming majority of the best legal minds of our country have recognized that a dangerous loophole exists in our Constitution and urge the adoption of the Bricker amendment as the proper safeguard.

There are those, of course, who oppose the amendment, such as the church groups we have mentioned. The City Bar of New York issued a statement of disagreement over the protests of many members, as well as the Federal Bar of Washington, D. C. However, these are about the only two lawyer's organizations who have expressed adverse opinion on the amendment. The administration in the persons of President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, are also opposed, at least to certain sections of the Bricker amendment. And Senator KNOWLAND, speaking for the administration, has proposed a substitute amendment which has but one point in common with the Bricker proposal, namely that both provide that a provision of a treaty or other international agreement in conflict with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect. It will be interesting to watch how the 63 Senators of both parties who originally endorsed the Bricker amendment will finally vote after the various pressures from the administration and other groups, including the professional church leaders, are brought to bear upon them.

Opponents of the amendment claim that when the Constitution says that treaties shall be the supreme law of the land it really doesn't mean that and they refer to some court decisions which uphold their viewpoint. It must be admitted, however, that if there were no question on this point, it is unlikely that the amendment would be so vigorously supported by our leading bar associations, and other authorities on constitutional law.

Another objection is that the amendment would tie the hands of the President in his dealing with foreign governments. Proponents of the amendment deny this and state that only so far as laws affecting internal affairs would both Houses of Congress have to act.

There are those, too, who are reluctant to make any changes in the Constitution, believing that the present provisions therein are sufficient safeguards for any ill-advised action in the future. They claim that the Senate can be trusted never to ratify a treaty which would take away the liberties of American citizens. To which the proponents of the amendment respond by declaring that they, too, want to preserve the rights guaranteed Americans, but, quoting the words of Jefferson, say: "In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution." To be sure, Secretary Dulles has said that so long as he is in office he will not press for ratification of any of the U. N. human rights treaties. But, it is pointed out, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles will not always be in office.

And finally, there are those who, recognizing this loophole in our Constitution, want to use the backdoor of the treatymaking power as it now exists to pass laws controlling the lives of American citizens without the consent of their elected representatives in Congress. They naturally oppose the Bricker amendment or any reasonable substitute which would thereby weaken their attempts to bring the lives of American citizens under control of international laws and international courts.

Now let it be said that both the proponents and opponents of the amendment are sincere persons. May I say that I know Senator BRICKER as I know Mr. Earle. Both are sincere in their convictions. But let us not be misled, dear friends. The question before us is not one of sincerity. The question before us is how best to safeguard and preserve our God-given American freedom, how best to protect ourselves from the threat of international socialism. For once American freedom is gone, then indeed will the lamps of hope go out of the world around.

Are the churches really opposed to the Bricker amendment? Does Mr. Earle speak for you when he informs a leading opponent of the amendment that the churches are behind him?

Let no one say this issue is none of the church's business. Our church leaders have made it our business—and rightly so, for is not an issue which so intimately affects our lives and those of our children and grandchildren within the province of the church's concern?

As churchmen, as Americans, the Bricker amendment is our concern. It is your concern. It is my concern. Let your Senators and Congressmen know your opinion. Through apathy or indifference, let us not default in our duty as Christians and as Americans. For in the words of Lincoln: "With you is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?"

The Defense Department's New Look Defense Policy Is a "Shotgun Wedding" of Two Incompatible Military Ideas, Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, an article entitled "The New Look Strategy—'Thermonukes' in the Economy Package," by Lloyd Norman, which appeared in the Combat Forces Journal, spotlights the glaring weaknesses of the new look defense policy. The article raises further question as to the ability of the new look defense policy to buy more defense for less money in the face of an enemy able to deliver an atomic attack to this country. The article bears out that what we are really buying is less military security and committing ourselves to a hazardous venture.

THE NEW LOOK STRATEGY—"THERMONUKES," THE ECONOMY PACKAGE

(By Lloyd Norman)

The new look strategy of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the civilian administrators of the Department of Defense is a shotgun wedding of two incompatible military ideas:

1. The glistening, still untried atomic (hydrogen) airpower theory, that an enemy can be brought to his knees quickly and decisively in a cataclysm of superbombs—without any help from the Army and Navy.

2. The traditional surface theory, brought up to date with atomic weapons and missiles, that the enemy must be conquered on the ground—with the help of the Navy and Air Force.

Before two such irreconcilable theories could reach an agreement there had to be a persuader, and this was the administration's desire for a long-pull military strategy that would balance the Federal budget, nurture the national economy, and still provide a reasonable posture of defense.

The sudden shift of sentiment that left the Air Force so bedazzled was its discovery that it had an economy-sized package that was just what the men with the shotgun coveted. The package had two items in it: the thermonuclear (hydrogen) bomb and a bomber aircraft. Put the 2 together and you have an explosive force of some 5 million tons of TNT that can wipe out a big city in 1 puff.

The simplicity and relatively low cost of the package is what made it the heart and core of the new-look strategy. A step or two

further and it could become the whole strategy—as its most extreme advocates argue.

"Why do we need an Army and a Navy?" asked one of the most brilliant and persuasive airpower strategists. "We can draw a red line across the map of Europe and tell the Kremlin that if they step across that line we'll clobber thme with 'thermonukes'"—Strategic Air "Force-ese" for the thermonuclear bomb (they use the term with easy familiarity).

If you insist upon having some sort of army in Europe, perhaps just for psychological effect, the airpower strategist retorts that the Army had better go back to the Maginot Line defense with deep concrete bunkers to protect the troops from the searing heat and pulverizing blast of Soviet H-bombs.

He will concede that perhaps there may be some residual value in having ground forces in Europe, geographically placed to force the Russians to mass their armies into better targets for nuclear weapons.

"O. K., suppose you do have the Maginot line in Europe," he said. "It will take only 25 divisions, and construction of the prepared positions would cost no more than a supercarrier (about $250 million). I guess we could afford that luxury."

The airpower strategist condescendingly insist that Army and Navy strategists have stubbornly refused to recognize the revolution in arms. (The atomic cannon, he says, is typical of this outmoded thinking because it tries to superimpose the new upon the old.)

The airpower strategist would use atomic bombs of various sizes as point weapons to destroy the enemy's airdromes, atomic stockpiles and works, gasoline and oil stocks, and other sources of the enemy's warmaking capacity. That, of course, is the Air Force's traditional strategic bombing theory.

But he adds something new—the "thermonuke." This, he says, would be the perfect battlefield weapon, an area destruction weapon for tactical employment against enemy troops, vehicles, and supplies.

"The A-bomb is all right for industrial targets but why overkill cities with H-bombs?" he asks. "It's a revolutionary idea but science and technology have given us the finest weapon against troops dispersed over the battlefield. It can destroy or crippie entire divisions. The H-bomb has made mobile ground combat obsolete.

"We must discard the World War II notion of the war of movement. If we have ground forces at all they will have to fight a war of position. They will have to be in position, ready to fight. They can't hope to get to their bunkers along roads jammed with civilians fleeing from atomic attack."

He would keep a small army as a sort of shield to keep an enemy from just walking in with a few machine guns and pistols and taking over. He would have the Army as a police force to keep order and take over key Government centers after the Air Force has destroyed the enemy with nuclear weapons.

As for the Army's role of guarding the Air Force's bases, the air power strategist thinks fighter interceptors and antiaircraft guns could do that job.

The Navy—In this framework reduced to the same insignificance as the Army—would need only submarines and perhaps a few destroyers because the Russians do not have much of an oceangoing fleet. The Air Force could knock out the enemy's submarine pens and shipyards with collateral bomb drops by the A-bombers on their way to more important targets inside the Soviet heartland.

The air power strategist sees no need for a large, well-trained citizen reserve that could be mobilized 3 months or 6 months after D-day. He is convinced the first, or what he calls the decisive phase of the war will be over in 90 days. In those 3 months there will be no time to call up reserves or to mobilize war industries. There will be time only for the fury of atomic blow and counterblow that will leave both sides in ruin and devastation and it would take 20 years to rebuild the factories and start the war over again.

Victory, if victory can be measured negatively in terms of lesser ruins and desolation, will go to the side that was strongest in atomic air power and used it most effectively. But the air power strategist finds that the key to his whole argument is the power of initiative. Fission and fusion war strategy when carried to its logical conclusion is a "hit 'em first" doctrine that United States citizens and high-policy makers find repugnant to our traditions. Yet the air power strategist with coldblooded logic says that we cannot ignore the advantage that initiative provides us in a war for survival. "We can't worry about ethics or morality. If the Russians get the jump on us they'll wipe our cities off the map."

Thus, the atomic (hydrogen) airpower theory rests upon several assumptions that have not become part of national policy: (1) That we will hit first, start a war if necessary to take full advantage of the initiative which in atomic war can be decisive; (2) that we will use atomic weapons against an enemy's troops in the field, exposing us to enemy retaliation against our cities; (3) that we will drop A-bombs on Soviet satellites, turning them and perhaps the neutral world against us; (4) that we will use atomic weapons if necessary against the lands of our allies if they are invaded; and (5) that we will use them in limited or peripheral wars, such as in Korea.

The opponents of the airpower strategy have concentrated most of their assault against what they call "one weapon stategy" as a cheap shortcut to easy victory. Secretary of the Navy Anderson has raised the possibility that the atomic weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain might cancel themselves out into a tacit or formal agreement to outlaw such weapons of mass destruction. Thus we might have to rely primarily upon conventional weapons and conventional strategy for our defense.

Some Army and Navy strategists have based their arguments against sole reliance upon atomic weapons on moral and collective security grounds. They have denounced any idea that "we hit 'em first." They have warned that the world would turn against us if we started an atomic war. Our allies in Europe and in Asia would not countenance our use of atomic weapons except in self-defense, they emphasize. Our defense system, based upon alliances, would fall apart if we engaged in warfare repugnant to our allies.

Besides the fundamental question of whether we will ever use atomic weapons in warfare, the surface strategists also raise the issue of whether nuclear weapons are as effective as the Air Force planners say they are. Will the H-bomb stop armies from moving across Europe? Can the A-bomb cripple Soviet Russia with its economy still largely agricultural and many of its vital factories scattered across the vast reaches of the Soviet land mass or hidden in mountains or in the far North? Won't the Russian Armies move into Western Europe with supplies from long accumulated stockpiles even if their cities and industries are burned and blitzed? Then would we drop our A-bombs upon Western Europe?

Considering these drawbacks of airpower strategy, it is surprising that it has made so much headway in recent months and has become the core of the new look. The new look started a long time ago. It can be traced 50 years back to the birth of the airplane and some 20 years to the splitting of the atom.

That's ancient history. In 1945 the airplane and the atomic bomb were joined and the atomic airpower theory was born. Its doctrine makers worked out a cogent, logically appealing theory that people could understand after seeing pictures of the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and linking those pictures in a cause-effect relationship to the surrender of Japan a few days later.

That was the beginning. The B-36 with its bellyful of atomic bombs became the symbol of strategic bombing that could neutralize a nation's warmaking ability and even bring it to its knees. The Air Force put to work civilian scientists and military strategists to develop a bombing system that could by wily maneuvering and radar countermeasures outwit the Soviet air-defense system and strike at carefully selected targets where our A-bombs could do the most harm.

The air strategists' most telling argument was that atomic airpower was an inexpensive deterrent keeping Soviet Russia from going to war. They also offered their weapon as the decisive method of finishing off the Communists if the Kremlin ignored the deterrent force. They emphasized the truism that we could not hope to match Russia's armies and we could not gain a victory by defeating Russia's navy. Air was the dimension in which we could win.

The Korean war gave the air strategists the boost they needed. They got their 143-wing program and for the first time the Air Force was allotted more funds than any of the other services. Atomic airpower strategy was winning more and more adherents in the high policy councils.

Winston Churchill declared that United States atomic airpower was keeping the Russians from going to war. After an Air Force briefing in the Pentagon in January 1952 on the atomic counteroffensive power of the Strategic Air Command, Churchill became a total convert to atomic airpower, according to Col. John R. Maney, United States Air Force, a faculty member of the Air War College, who wrote about it in the fall, 1953, issue of the Air University's Quarterly Review.

In his article Colonel Maney made a surprisingly bold and frank attack upon so-called surface strategists. The strategic airpower theory has been obstructed in the past by military conservatism which acts to retard the growth of new weapons and new approaches to war, he wrote. He said that General Bradley, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, did not comprehend the full meaning of airpower when he opposed General MacArthur's plan to end the Korean war with bombing of the privileged sanctuary of the Communists in Manchuria and other moves that Bradley feared would ignite a total war with Russia.

Pursuing his argument for more aggressive selling of atomic airpower, Maney said former President Truman would not have taken the defensive containment policy against Russia in 1948 but would have struck out boldly in a diplomatic offensive if the military chiefs had understood the real capabilities of United States atomic airpower at the time.

"A thorough understanding of the full capacity of airpower by persons both in and out of the Air Force might well have served as the basis for a different policy in Korea and for the containment policy in general," Maney wrote.

But a new climate of military thinking has arrived in the Pentagon and in the White House. Maney finds there is evidence that the present [Eisenhower] administration is receptive to reasonable proposals for increasing pressure on China. He urges that now is the time for the Air Force to thump for its air concept against the inertia of vested interests and historical prejudice.

Those who observe closely the trend of policymaking in the Pentagon would agree with Maney. The new look which Defense Secretary Wilson talked about shortly after he took over at the Pentagon was in effect a renunciation of the policies of General Bradley, who obviously did not believe that atomic airpower would keep Soviet Russia from going to war if we bombed Manchuria.

The Defense Department's "New Look" Defense Policy Is a "Shotgun Wedding" of Two Incompatible Military Ideas, Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include part II of the article entitled "The New Look Strategy—'Thermonukes' in the Economy Package" from the February 1954 issue of the Combat Forces Journal:

The new administration found the airpower concept appealing. The new Defense Secretary soon discovered that he could not meet the administration's goal of a balanced Federal budget except by using the tremendous firepower of atomic and hydrogen weapons to reduce military costs.

Better business management, smaller overhead, fewer support forces, less waste would make some savings. But his big one would have to come from new strategic plans and objectives giving proper weight to new weapons and equipment.

Deputy Defense Secretary Roger M. Kyes sketched the shape of the future military plans when he said last November 12 that "we must reassess our strategic planning and logistics in the light of technological advances, and have the courage to discard the outmoded procedures and weapons which will no longer serve more than tradition.

"We can no longer afford to prepare for every conceivable kind of war," Kyes said. "We can no longer afford the luxury of the status quo in strategic planning."

The Deputy Secretary was certainly not thinking of atomic artillery and guided missiles when he spoke of technological advances.

Kyes has had little encouragement from the Army or Navy that war can be made cheaper. Adm. Robert B. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, said last November 27 that the new look could offer no magic or quick results or provide any radical changes in weapons that would save money. He estimated that it cost the Roman Empire about 75 cents to kill 1 enemy soldier and today it costs approximately $250,000 to do the same thing.

General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, took a similar position. On November 10 he said that "notwithstanding new weapons with immensely increased destructive power, notwithstanding the developments in transportation which have brought all points on the earth's surface within a few hours of each other, the ultimate determinant of military victory still is the trained fighting man with his feet on the ground."

Someday, General Ridgway said, control over land and people may be exercised from the sea or sky alone, but "it would be a dangerous, perhaps even a fatal, fallacy to conclude in 1953 that this date has arrived."

General Ridgway declared the Army would not neglect the new weapons and would combine old and new. He stressed the need to be sure. He talked about tests to validate the adoption of the new weapons. He even conceded that someday in the future the United States may substantially alter the ratios of land, sea, and air strength in our present Military Establishment. He added, however, that "No evidence yet adduced today would validate such a course. Perhaps it never will."

What security does the strategic bomber carrying A- and H-bombs offer? A high Army planner, who has given many late nights to this question, wonders about the futility of atomic (hydrogen) air war.

Suppose we do everything that the airpower strategists offer as a cheap and easy way to victory, he said. Suppose even though it's irrational, that we accept the idea of taking the initiative, of hitting them first. Then what? Is that the kind of world we want—a world in smoking, irradiated ruins walking dazedly in a smog of cosmic dust? And who will be left to keep order among the survivors? Who will be able to take control of the seat of government and start picking up the pieces from which a peaceful life can be made? He had the answer—the Army, of course.

Another Army planner doubts that nuclear weapons ever will be used against cities and industries. He believes that when the Soviet's stockpile of superbombs reaches frightening proportions, the American people will insist upon any action, short of surrender of sovereignty, to outlaw the mass killers.

It is conceivable, he thinks, that atomic weapons would be used only against precisely defined military targets—conventional armies and navies.

As far back as 1950, and even earlier, Army planners realized that the atomic weapons and guided missiles would change the nature of future warfare. The Army was experimenting with guided missiles as long-range artillery and antiaircraft weapons as soon as its researchers could disentangle themselves from World War II problems.

Gen. J. Lawton Collins, then Army Chief of Staff, said on June 4, 1950, that atomic weapons could be developed for Army use, specifically in artillery shells and guided missiles. He emphasized the accuracy with which the Army could shoot its own atomic missiles for tactical support of troops on the battlefield.

Two days later, then Army Secretary Frank Pace, Jr., seized upon the revolutionary new weapons as the means to overcome the overwhelming superiority of the Communist armies in men and tanks. Pace said the best way to stop masses of heavily mechanized ground troops is by using smaller ground forces with these new weapons.

On May 15, last, General Collins made it clear that the Army was adapting the new weapons—not necessarily to replace men, but to give them greater firepower to offset our relative disadvantage in manpower.

General Collins estimated that the firepower of the infantry division has been increased 68 percent since World War II, partly as the result of increasing the size of the division by 20 percent, but mostly by providing more and better weapons. He said that the Army's present-day 20 divisions were equivalent in manpower strength to 24 World War II divisions but have the punch of some 34 World War II divisions.

It is this concept of giving the soldier more and more firepower through new and better weapons that has created in the public mind and in the thinking of top Government policymakers the idea that weapons can replace men in battle. The ultimate extension of that idea, of course, is pushbutton warfare in which a few cybernetic generals in their concrete-and-steel command posts would wage war while the rest of us tended to the robot devices and electronic brains.

Gen. Charles L. Bolté, Army Vice Chief of Staff, observed on December 16 that this talk of new weapons replacing manpower has given rise to some misconceptions, including one that ground fighting is now outmoded.

"Nothing could be farther from the truth," Bolté asserted. "America must not as a nation be deceived again into the false belief that victory in war can be won without fighting for it, that machines can ever really replace men on the battlefield."

Bolté suggested that the argument in favor of cutting the Army is based on something more than a desire for economy. He left the hint that the razzle-dazzle about new weapons was being used to delude the American people in favor of a one-weapon defense system.

Recognizing the usefulness of the new weapons, Bolté said the Army is revising its organization tables and tactics to provide for effective application of these weapons and to strengthen our defense against an enemy which also has access to the same weapons.

"The Army, in fact, is undergoing a period of greatly accelerated progress and change," he said. "Its capabilities are greater than they have ever been before."

There are no glittering promises in this dirty business of ground warfare. Army leaders, although they envisioned the day when we could make up in greater firepower what we lacked in manpower, offer no dramatic or exciting escape from the high cost of war. And it has no neat, logical formula that says one atomic cannon can replace one regiment or that 20 atomic regiments could hold Europe against the Communist hordes.

Army planners—those overworked officers who not only have to plan for war against communism but against the aggressive designs of the airpower strategists—have no pat answers for those who want the new-look strategy.

Starting from the fundamental premise that ground warfare has not been made obsolete by the H-bomb, Army planners have come up with ideas which they know will take time to develop and test for wartime use:

1. Army combat units that are smaller, more mobile, more versatile, and more able to disperse and mass rapidly.

2. Deeper and more effective concealment and cover.

3. Conventional weapons adapted wherever possible to fissionable explosives.

4. More and more reliance by the Army on atomic artillery for ground support; less upon Air Force tactical planes.

5. Greater emphasis upon skill and leadership; mistakes will be more costly than ever in the future.

6. Simplification of Army tactics and organizations; they must be stripped of encumbrances, complicated logistics, overmechanization. Simplification will permit greater flexibility.

7. The Army will be needed for brush fires—small, limited wars, as well as global warfare. Army units will have to be so organized and equipped that they can be combined into larger task forces for assignment to fight anywhere.

It is too early in this Army planning for a sharp, clear pattern to emerge. Some think the Infantry division as it now exists will disappear in favor of regimental combat teams or brigades, each with its own supplies and support and capable of fighting as a self-contained dispersed unit.

Divisions might be slimmed down to 12,000 men each and would be spread out to cover a 10-mile front where necessary or massed quickly for a breakthrough. Some planners say that armor may lose its value because it cannot be easily transported by air and tends to be slower than other motorized equipment. Tanks massed for a breakthrough are too vulnerable a target for atomic weapons, they say.

Tactics would not change basically, but they would be adapted to take advantage of mountain passes, rivers, road networks, and all terrain features that would force an enemy to mass his troops and armor if he wanted to go on the offensive. These tactical maneuvers would make the enemy create targets for atomic missiles.

Experiments with new type regiments and squads are now under way. By midyear the Army can be ready to announce basic changes

in its divisions. But it will be 2 years or more—perhaps 1958 or 1960—before the atomic infantry will appear.

Some Army planners think the artillery and tanks will be dropped from the infantry division and will be organized into flexible units that could be added to or dropped from front-line combat outfits whenever needed. Thus, 1 division might have 4 or 6 infantry regiments backed by a half dozen artillery and missile battalions while at another time it might have only 1 or 2 regiments and no support—depending on its task.

But this much is certain: divisions will be smaller, maybe 30 percent smaller. And they will be made more mobile, more flexible, more versatile.

The new-look strategy is then a forced compromise between two incompatible ideas. It provides for an Army because the Joint Chiefs of Staff is not convinced that the Air Force can make the super bombs do what the air power strategist says they will do. And they don't want to take a chance on a one-weapon strategy that has not been tested in the only laboratory where it counts—on the battlefield.

Under this compromise the Air Force has the task of carrying out the total counter-offensive, if it fails to frighten the Russians out of starting a war. Clearly this defense plan will reduce the Army eventually to less than 1 million men. And so the Army is to be weakened drastically and quickly.

National policymakers, therefore, have decided the Army's role will be to provide relatively small, highly mobile combat units for rapid deployment to trouble spots by air or sea. These units would remain in the United States as a mobile reserve.

United States divisions eventually will be withdrawn from Korea and Europe (President Eisenhower showed the trend in announcing the withdrawal of two divisions from Korea) and will be used primarily to defend our global system of bases. Wherever they are placed in a defense line, such as in Europe, the Army units will be so positioned as to force the enemy to expose himself to heavy losses from Army-controlled atomic cannon or missiles—as well as Air Force-dropped bombs.

This concept, although it accepts basically the airpower strategy, does not relinquish the older, proven concepts of land and sea power. But the Army will have to fight to hold its own against an airpower strategy that already has a deeply fascinating hold on some of the Nation's highest policymakers.

The Army will have to be persistent and persuasive. For it is quite evident that the event that titited the balance in favor of airpower was the Soviet hydronuclear explosion. This seems to have persuaded the policymakers to buy the decision that the dimension of decision in a future war was in the air.

A fair question at this point is: If airpower is absolutely decisive why bother with land and sea forces? Indeed, why cling to old-fashioned tactical air forces or a costly continental air defense system? Why not just strip down to a lean strategic air command of 55-or-so combat wings?

That such a question can be put suggests the reasons why there is a growing feeling not only in the Army and Navy but also in some minority segments of the Air Force that there has been too eager and premature acceptance of the airpower package.

So, you hear the counsel from some skeptics that perhaps the White House should establish a superstaff of senior military men and competent scientists and just plain, nonpartisan civilians to take over the role of the weapons systems evaluation group. This staff would advise the President on new weapons systems in an atmosphere removed from the partisanship of the Pentagon. And then the President could decide whether it is the course of prudence and wisdom and morality to stomp about the globe as an atomic Goliath, brandishing a club that would leave this Nation dangerously exposed, if it ineffectively shattered on impact, or would leave the world in such a shambles, if effective, that victory would not only be a hollow mockery but might be a complete disaster.

The Source — An Address by Paul H. Fall, President, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously given to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following speech by Mr. Paul H. Fall, president of Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, which was given at the annual all-college convocation at the beginning of the school year:

An American soldier altered Browning's optimistic assertion, "God's in His heaven; all's right with the world," to read "God's in His heaven; all's riot with the world." We can understand, can't we, why a man who has recently been through the agony and horror of a shooting war should think that way?

"We are composite creatures, to whom our forbears have contributed their share. Our temper and talents, our graces and disfigurements are inherited. We are told that we inherit the genes, upon whose combination and distribution everything depends. Further, we are told that in our genes lies our destiny."

One is reminded of Pascal's statement that "Had Cleopatra's nose been shorter, the whole course of the world would have been altered." But are we bound hand and foot by these dictatorial genes? It might be comfortable to some listless souls to "let the genes do it." But we are men and women of free will and we have our duty—our duty to obey the moral law, which is probably quite synonymous with the law of God. We are not responsible for our features, but only for our characters.

In the midst of his desperate struggle for a Christian faith, Frederick Robertson, the English preacher, wrote this: "In the darkest hour through which a human soul can pass, whatever else is doubtful, this at least is certain: If there be no God and and no future state, yet, even then, it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be chaste than licentious, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward. Thrice blest is he who, when all is drear and cheerless within and without, when his teachers terrify him and his friends shrink from him, has obstinately clung to moral good."

"The world's hope depends on vital persons, ideas, groups representing the best and not the worst. Vital persons count. Men and women of integrity and rectitude are the strong nails that hold the world together," to borrow a phrase from Dr. Fosdick. How do people become vital? What is the source of this vitality as well as the source of wrongdoing?

"Keep your heart with all vigilance, for from it flow the springs of life," is a familiar passage from the book of Proverbs 4: 23.

The springs of life, I would remind you, may bear good water or bitter. What is meant by the heart being the source? Do we mean that muscular organ that pumps the blood to various parts of the body? Hardly, yet this metaphor is used over and over again, in the Bible and out, in daily conversation and radio programs. This metaphor is used freely in popular songs—a recent one, I believe, has a title or refrain, "You poor crazy mixed-up heart."

Some 18 years ago a brilliant scholar, W. M. Dixon, said, "If I were asked what has been the most powerful force in the making of history, you would probably adjudge me of unbalanced mind were I to answer, as I should have to answer, metaphor, figurative expression. Metaphor is the essence of religion and poetry. Remove the metaphors from the Bible, and its living spirit vanishes, its power over the heart melts utterly away. A pertinent question is, Are we to trust the heart or the intellect, for they do not understand each other, and speak a different language? As you cannot prove the existence of a benevolent God, so you cannot prove the values of goodness or beauty. The testimony to God, goodness, and beauty are in the affections of your own heart."

As we think of the source of our conduct, our attitudes, our estimation of values and of life itself, let us consider other references to this metaphorical heart. When God asked Solomon what he should give him Solomon replied, "Give thy servant an understanding heart to judge this people, that I may discern between good and bad." Immediately we are confronted with the eternal problem, what is good, and what is bad, and who is to say what is good and what is bad?

This brings to mind the 2 questions asked by 2 little girls, questions that would stump the wise men of the ages. One asked, "Why should I ask God to make me good, when I want to be naughty?" And another little girl asked, "If I'm very, very good in Heaven, shall I sometime be allowed to have a little devil up to tea?"

I have no pat answer to the agelong question, "What is good and what is bad or evil?" But I like Du Nouy's differentiation as given in his book, Human Destiny. Said he, "Good is that which contributes to the course of ascending evolution and leads us away from the animal, toward freedom. Evil is that which opposes evolution, and escapes it by regressing toward the ancestral bondage, toward the beast. In other words, and from a strictly human point of view, good is the respect of human personality. Evil is the disregard of this personality." Is this a high-brow conception, or can it be applied to everyday living?

Last Thursday night, as I was returning from Indianapolis, in the dining car, across the aisle from my table, sat a belligerent, egotistical individual who showed no regard for the waiter, who was doing his best to render satisfactory service. This man had his foot in the aisle, instead of under the table where it should have been. The train lurched, and, quite unavoidably, the waiter stepped on the man's foot. Instantly he began to castigate and upbraid the waiter in a loud voice, though the waiter apologized promptly and sincerely. But the man seemed to ignore the apology, and in an arrogant tone that made my blood boil, said, "Well, see that you don't do it again." I know not how you would label that action, but I would call it evil, utter disregard of personality.

As students of this college or citizens and children of this village, we shall reap the rewards of a good feeling in our hearts, if, for example, we overcome the impulse to litter the campus or roadside or sidewalks with bits of paper or wrappings, which so often are carelessly discarded. This is a very minor thing and seemingly inconsequential, but it indicates a thoughtlessness, a selfishness, and a disregard for some other personality:

unless the campus, sidewalks, and roadsides are to resemble a city dump, the papers, the wrappers, the cigarette butts, the orange and banana peelings, thoughtlessly strewn on the ground, will have to be picked up by someone. Have respect for human personality. "Be a person," said Hegel; "Be a person and treat others as persons."

One verse in the Bible which was repeated to me a good many times in my youth by a Civil War veteran whom I greatly loved is from the book of Jeremiah (17:9), "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately corrupt; who can understand it?" To the Pharisees and scribes who came to Jesus from Jerusalem to question him about the transgression of tradition by his disciples, Jesus said, "You hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophecy of you when he said, 'This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me'." Subsequent to this particular occasion, Jesus, in explaining a parable He had uttered, said: "Out of the heart come evil thoughts, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness, slander. These are what defile a man; but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile a man."

That's laying it on the line. That does not pass the buck to the genes. It puts the blame for wrongdoing where it belongs. I repeat, we are men and women of free will and we are responsible for our own conduct.

Three weeks ago last Friday, Harold St. John, a 25-year-old AWOL soldier, shot Joseph W. Harding, who had given him a ride from the outskirts of Columbus to near Zanesville. Why did he kill him? Not because the driver attempted to kidnap him or hold him up, but because Harding, who was just making a short trip, refused to take the hitchhiker to Pittsburgh. What kind of heart do you think this young hitchhiker had?

If you want a hair raising story of intrigue, lust and betrayal, read the 13th chapter of II Samuel, which recounts the story of Ammon's abuse of Tamar, the beautiful sister of Absalom. What kind of heart do you think Ammon had? Did reason or his intellect prompt him to commit the dastardly deed?

There are plenty of examples in the past and the present to vindicate Jesus' statement quoted above. A current FBI report indicates that a crime is committed in the United States every 4.3 minutes. I know psychology offers explanations for certain crimes, but very few emanate from other than a wicked heart.

Last year several of our students had money or jewelry stolen from their rooms. Did the intellect stimulate the thieves to take that which belonged to another? Or were the thieves kleptomaniacs? Scarcely. "Out of the heart come evil thoughts, murder, adultery, theft."

Incidentally, one of the bitter disappointments to me as a representative of this college is to have to admit that some of our students are, or have been in the year past, thieves. It ought to be possible for all our students to leave their rooms unlocked and to rest in the assurance that money or jewelry or anything else will be safe and untouched. I dare hope that in the current school year we shall have no one in the Hiram family whose heart prompts him to take that which does not belong to him.

It has been truly said, "No possible rearrangement of bad eggs can ever make a good omelet." But an individual with a wicked heart can have it altered. That's what conversion means—an about-face, a transformation. The psalmist, who knew from experience the tragic results of a wicked heart, exclaimed, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me." (Psalms 51: 10.)

"If you wish to know your world, inquire into its luxuries and frivolities. Where the heart is, there the money goes." This is the converse of the more familiar statement of Jesus, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." (Luke 12: 34.) "The number of eunuchs in the palace of Constantius," relates Gibbon, "could only be compared with the insects of a summer's day." Rome sent a million of money annually to the East for jewelry, perfumes, and spices, in Pliny's time.

But would a comparison of such expenditures today put us to advantage? What is the annual staggering expenditure for intoxicating beverages? Didn't the papers report lately that over $600,000 was gambled at one of the big racetracks in one night?

On another occasion, Jesus said to the Pharisees, "You brood of vipers! How can you speak good when you are evil? For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. The good man out of his good treasure brings forth good, and the evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth evil."

From the abundance of what kind of heart do you suppose the following came? "As for us, we were never concerned about the Kantian, priestly, and vegetarian Quaker prattle about the sacredness of human life." The man who uttered that shocking statement was Leon Trotsky, Soviet Russian Minister of War, 1918–25. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks. "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he."

Recall also these poignant words: "Man looketh on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart." That is something worth keeping in the upper dome of your consciousness.

A question we would do well to ask ourselves daily is, "What kind of heart does God see in me?" If there is bitter jealousy, hatred, selfish ambition, lust, etc., "Do not," says James, "boast and be false to the truth, for where these things are, there is confusion and every evil work."

One of the great characters of the Bible was Daniel. He was a man of strong convictions, with the strength of character to stand by them; yet he was tactful, utterly free from egotism, thoughtful for the welfare of others, and possessed an abiding and unbounded faith in God. In fact, he and his fellow captives from Jerusalem were just the kind of young people that this college or any other college would welcome with open arms. For they had high IQ's; they were of fine physique; they demonstrated good manners; they could be trained for court etiquette; they were wise; they were informed in science, and they were excellent students of the arts and sciences. You will recall that Daniel "purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank."

We remember, too, the words of Sir Galahad, "My strength is as the strength of ten, because my heart is pure."

For the comfort of those who mourn, or are downcast or fearful, are there any words in the Bible or in all the world's literature that are repeated more frequently than those from John's Gospel: "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

No one has ever seen light. Light, which makes all else visible, is itself invisible. Likewise, the heart we have been talking about is invisible, nor can it be found by dissecting the body, but it reflects our character, for from it flow the springs of life. In that solo sung earlier in the service by one of our students, James Moser, is the promise that gives each one of us hope if we are wise enough to heed it: "If with all your heart, ye truly seek me, ye shall ever surely find me, thus saith our God." In the words of the Psalmist, may God "so teach us to number our days that we may get a heart of wisdom."

Future of the Government Lawyer as Seen by the President of the Federal Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the dynamic and informative article on The Government Lawyer Looks Ahead, by Bettin Stalling in the 1953 spring issue of the Brief, the quarterly publication of the legal fraternity of Phi Delta Phi. Mr. Stalling is the national president of the Federal Bar Association. He is presently the chief, direct-loan section, Veterans' Administration. Formerly he served with great professional acclaim in the Middle Western States as regional counsel, HOLC, in Chicago. Aside from heading the powerful Federal Bar Association, which represents the great body of lawyers in the service of the Government, Mr. Stalling is a member of, and active in, the American Bar Association, the Illinois State Bar Association, and the Chicago Bar Association. I am sure his article will prove of great interest to all the Members of the House. It follows:

THE GOVERNMENT LAWYER LOOKS AHEAD
(By Bettin Stalling)

What does the election of 1952 portend for the Government lawyer? What are the implications for the law student contemplating a career in Government service? What does it mean for the private practitioner in his relations with the Federal Government and Federal personnel? Changes are in the wind, and we must seek new bearings.

The new administration brings with it not only a shift of direction and of policy emphasis but also a new set of political concepts. Just what the actual content of the changes will be, how basic or revolutionary they will in the final analysis amount to, and just what they signify in terms of their impact upon the Government lawyer and the legal profession remains to be determined. While all the evidence is by no means in, nevertheless some conclusions seem warranted on the basis of the evidence we already have.

Let there be no doubt about it, the immediate prospect of the Government lawyer is not good. The specter of unemployment hovers close. The new administration is pledged to reduced taxes, a balanced budget, retrenchment in public outlays, economical government. Economy cuts are the political order of the day, and the Government lawyer stands with his fellow-employees before the bar of the economizers. Inevitably morale throughout the Government service is low in the all-encompassing miasma of job insecurity.

If the economy ax were no respecter of persons, the outlook for the Government lawyer would seem bad enough. Unhappily, however, the ancient prejudice against lawyers may single the legal profession out for special adversity in the general purge. In an article appearing in the March 1952 issue of the American magazine the distinguished economy-minded Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, said that "If the Govern-

ment has a monopoly of one commodity, it is lawyers. More so than eggs, potatoes, rubber tires. * * *" The Senator asserted he was "not opposed to lawyers as such" and acknowledged that there were many able and hard-working lawyers in the Government. "But, without wishing to be sadistic toward Government lawyers, I'd like to suggest that many of them return to more useful employment with private industry or in the Armed Forces of the United States." The Senator, though a Democrat, has great influence with the new regime in Washington when he speaks for economy, and he is doubtless not alone in his hostility to Government lawyers. There are only about 7,500 lawyers in the Federal service, comprising about three-tenths of 1 percent of the total Federal personnel of 2½ million, but the number of lawyers to be dismissed in the economy drive may be disproportionately large.

The new administration is opposed on principle to big Government and believes that many control and regulatory functions now being performed by Washington bureaus and Federal field offices should be abolished altogether and that other such functions should be relegated to the States. The economy drive harmonizes with and reenforces the liquidation and curtailment of Federal agencies. It is inevitable that economy cuts plus elimination of agencies plus diminution of the functions of others will reduce the number of Government lawyers. It would serve no useful purpose and in any event would be outside the province of this article to go into the merits of these things to come. The electorate has spoken.

There remains, finally, one source of attack to which Government lawyers in the past have always been especially vulnerable when a change of the political party in power occurs. This is the application of the Jacksonian formula that "To the victors belong the spoils"—in short, the spoils system. Despite public assurances by spokesmen of the administration that qualified competent Government employees have nothing to fear from the change of administration political pressure for jobs is mounting. The legal positions in the Federal Government have long been regarded by politicians as a special preserve for paying political debts and awarding political favors. Regardless of competence or seniority, few Government lawyers enjoy civil-service status which would enable them to withstand the onslaughts of influential job seekers. This basic traditional job insecurity of the Government lawyer is in large measure due to his lack of civil-service status, and the remedy lies in the acquisition of such status. Here the current prospects are not without hope. The efforts to develop a career system for Government lawyers and thus protect them from the ravages of the spoils system have traveled a long and bump road with many detours. We are on the main road again, and the goal is in sight. The subject is so important that a brief statement of its history is in order.

Colonial America knew the spoils system in its most patent form. The royal governors of the colonies had a monopoly on appointments to public office which was exercised as a private right. With the Revolution, this monopoly was destroyed and the principle of rotation in office was adopted. Rotation in office, however, readily lent itself to partisan patronage. Appointments for strictly partisan purposes came into full flower in the Federal Government with the election of Andrew Jackson. In his first annual message (1829) he stated:

"The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance; and I cannot but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience."

This doctrine may have been valid for strictly political jobs, but it was unsuited for public duties requiring technical and professional competence. Still, it became deeply entrenched. Party affairs were consigned wholly to professional politicians who expected payment in high public office regardless of their inability to read and write. Would-be reformers were ridiculed as "anivel service reformers" and intellectuals—a terrible epithet even before the New Deal. After the Civil War the abuses waxed so flagrant that the reformers finally prevailed upon the platform makers of the political parties to adopt civil service planks, and the Pendleton Act of 1883 was adopted. This is known as the civil-service law.

HISTORIC EXTENSION OF CIVIL SERVICE

The essential features of civil service are to provide a merit system as a basis of employment by the Federal Government and to afford job security to employees by protecting them against just such things as the spoils system. Upon enactment of the law in 1883, civil service extended only to a limited group of employees in Washington, and initially but 14,000 were covered. It has steadily been extended to other groups until today all but about 300,000 of the 2,500,000 Federal employees are under civil service. The 300,000 have been excepted from civil service for reasons sometimes logical, but generally political. The most recent group of employees brought under civil service were the collectors of internal revenue.

Lawyers as a professional group have not yet been brought under civil service, although legislation was enacted in 1941 to bring this about. The legislation was, however, for all practical purposes nullified in 1945 when Congress refused to appropriate funds to enable the Civil Service Commission to carry on the necessary examining functions. The net result is that some lawyers are in civil service today and others not.[1] There are no figures available as to just how many are in or out, but the best-informed sources do not believe that over 2,500 of the approximately 7,500 lawyers have civil-service status today. The most recent development in the effort to extend the merit system to the Government lawyer is the recommendation to Congress this past January by the Civil Service Commission that all attorneys be under civil service. The recommendation of the Commission merits the careful consideration of the public and particularly of all segments of the profession. It may well be a gigantic landmark in the progress of Government lawyers as a group to status and security—a status and security that will bring out the best qualities in the incumbents as well as aid in attracting the most talented law graduates to a career in public service.

REPORT OF REED COMMITTEE

All serious thinking about a career service for the Government lawyer revolves sooner or later about the work of the Reed committee. On January 31, 1939, there was appointed the "President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement," headed by Mr. Justice Stanley Reed. This committee made a careful and comprehensive study of the conditions of Federal employment and the means for its improvement. The committee formulated sound principles applicable to employment with the Federal Government which Dr. Emery J. Woodall in an able discussion of the work of the Reed committee aptly refers to as a "Bill of Rights for the Public Servant."[2] The committee found that employment with the Government "should be characterized by permanence and continuity" and that employees (except policy-determiners) "should be free from partisan obligations, either in securing initial appointment or in advancement from time to time." The committee was in "entire accord as to the necessity that the legal positions of the Government be made a career service" but differed as to the best procedures for qualifying attorneys * * * The committee submitted alternate plans of procedure, Plan A approved by Messrs. Reed, Frankfurter, Jackson, and Dunn; and Plan B approved by Messrs. McReynolds, White, and Wood; Justice Murphy submitting a separate proposal. The committee's Plan A was adopted and on July 1, 1941, civil service was extended practically to all incumbents of legal positions. Operations under Plan A were under the Civil Service Commission except for the important function of the examining of applicant lawyers. This examining function, as plan A contemplated, was placed under the jurisdiction of a Board of Legal Examiners. The Board conducted its operations in an efficient manner and upon a high professional level, availing itself of the voluntary services of prominent judges, law teachers, and private practitioners who collaborated with the Board and Government counsel to conduct examinations throughout the country. The response and assistance of the members of the bar constituted a generous acknowledgment by the profession of its duty to aid in achieving for the people of the United States the best possible handling and protection of its legal affairs. In this regard it is significant to note that the American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association, and the National Lawyers Guild endorsed the work of the Board, and sought without success the enactment of legislation to enable the Board to continue its operations. As previously mentioned, the Board's operations were terminated, and subsequently the operations of the successor to the Board, namely, the Legal Examining Unit of the Civil Service Commission (which consisted of the former staff of the Board) were discontinued because of the failure of Congress to appropriate funds. Had the operation been permitted to continue, the Government lawyer would not be so anxious today about his job tenure. Nor would the heads of legal departments of the many agencies of the Government be pressured and molested by practical politicians who all too often regard the legal positions of the Government to be at their disposal for the building up of political fences.

EFFECT OF VETERANS PREFERENCE ACT

There is one other factor which is unrelated to the concept of career service, but is pertinent to our subject in that it operates to afford protection to employees of the Government who are veterans. The philosophy underlying the Veterans Preference Act, as the title implies, is that veterans are entitled to preference when appointments are made to Government positions. The Veterans Preference Act affords protection to attorney veterans, in fact even greater protection against removal than is afforded by the Civil Service Commission in that a right to appeal on the merits to the Civil Service Commission is preserved by the act and the action of the Commission is binding on the agency while no such appeal exists by virtue of civil-service status. A bill (H. R. 3426), was introduced in the House to correct this disparity, the proponent of the bill asserting that there were "a number of instances of loyal, conscientious, and able Federal employees being literally railroaded out of the civil service by arbitrary and capricious acts of their superiors." The Veterans Preference Act applies to veterans irrespective of whether they have civil-service status or not except positions required to be confirmed by, or made with, the advice and consent of the Senate.

It is clear, then, that the signs are hopeful for reestablishing Government lawyers on a sound civil-service basis. The fact that the Civil Service Commission has seen fit to

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Footnotes at end of speech.

recommend it attests to its desirability as does also the Report of the Board of Legal Examiners[3] and the surveys and studies conducted by the Federal Bar Association. Those who survive the storms and stresses of the next few months will have good reason to believe that they will enjoy the tenure and security of career employees. In this regard, the prospect is brighter than at any time during the past decade.

And doubtless there are more false alarms than real dangers behind the evil shadows confronting the Government lawyer as I discussed them at the beginning of this article. Profound reduction of Federal functions is not likely. It is already apparent that the curtailment and liquidation processes will neither be as rapid nor as extensive as might at first have been expected. The Congress is a sober body, dealing realistically with conditions rather than theories, and fears that the new administration will endeavor to turn the clock back seem unfounded. In many cases, both major parties agree that the control and regulatory functions must remain vested in the Federal Government, as for example: communications, aeronautics, atomic energy, national defense, transportation, food and drug, national labor-management relations, to mention but a few.

As the Government of the United States will remain the biggest enterprise in the world, so the need for Government lawyers will remain constant. Senator DOUGLAS to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no likelihood of widespread and wholesale reductions in the ranks of Government lawyers. The Government of the United States is large scale, varied, and complex. Its affairs and business affect the daily lives of every one of us. The interests and rights which are the subject matter of government are expressed in law. In this country law is supreme; "according to law" is the touchstone of our national life. The words of the Reed committee are as true today as in 1941:

"Every branch of the Federal Government proceeds under specific statutory authority, and every statute and every executive action is subject to the limitations of the Constitution. There inevitably arise a swarm of legal problems around every officer charged with administrative responsibility. Legislation must be construed, proposed acts or regulations must be drafted, hearings must be held, legal opinions must be prepared, litigation must be conducted."

If government is to be coherent and intelligible, if "trust no man, but only the law, watch over and renew it" is still good doctrine, if we are to remain a nation of laws and not of men, the Government cannot do without lawyers. Chaos and arbitrary rule are too costly a bargain.

GOVERNMENT LAWYERS' SALARIES

In the months to come, after the initial readjustments and after Government lawyers have ceased to fear the summary loss of their jobs, they must make themselves heard in behalf of a salary increase. The Government lawyer is not being paid what he is worth, considering his professional equipment and the importance of his work. In March 1951 the estimated median income of the Federal lawyer was $6,800; 25 percent earned less than $5,400; 15 percent earned in excess of $7,800; 5½ percent earned in excess of $10,000.[4] A Government lawyer earning $6,400 in March 1951 had a "spendable income," in terms of 1939 dollars, of $2,879. Private practitioners and salaried lawyers in private employment earn more than Federal lawyers and have a gradual rise in their income until about age 60. It is manifest that in the average case the salary scale of Government lawyers is low and inadequate in this inflationary age.

The Government lawyer looks to his fellow-practitioner in private life, to the law teacher, to the judge, and to all segments of the legal profession for continued encouragement and assistance. Each is under the same obligation to protect and enhance professional standards. There is danger in self-deception and an unwillingness to face professional realities. The blistering charge of Senator DOUGLAS that Government lawyers are misinterpreting the laws because they are hired and fired by the heads of agencies and try to please them, is no different in its essence than the charge of Mr. Robert R. Young, chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co. that the legal profession "can take a bribe and call it a fee."[5] Such accusations adversely affect the status and prestige of all lawyers and emphasize the need for cooperative and constructive action. What raises the level of one section of the profession tends to raise the level of the entire profession.

CONCLUSION

A truly professionalized Federal lawyer system, providing for job security and adequate compensation, will help to maintain high standards of professional competence in the legal services of Government, assuring the private practitioner that when he deals with Government he will secure just, conscientious, high-minded, and professional consideration. The growing prestige of the Government lawyer will react to the benefit of the private practitioner and vice versa, and the law graduate will find his professional field more attractive whether he joins the Government or goes into private practice.

From the days of Jefferson and Adams to the present, the lawyer has played a major part in our national life. In the hazardous period that lies before us, the Government lawyer will play a high role in expediting policies that aspire towards a prosperous and friendly world. The Government lawyer looks ahead with hope—and a prayer.

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[1] For a discussion of the perplexing problem of the current Status of the Lawyer in the Federal Civil Service see the article by Mr. John J. McCarthy, attorney, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Federal Bar Journal, October 1951.

[2] Federal Bar Association Journal, November 1941—Career Service for Federal Lawyers.

[3] Report to the President of the United States, of the Board of Legal Examiners, 1941–45; filed June 30, 1945.

[4] See Report on the Economic Status of Federal Lawyers, the Federal Bar Journal, May 1951, by William S. Tyson, former Solicitor, Department of Labor.

[5] Address delivered Oct. 28, 1952, Hotel Statler, New York City.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The Farm Bureau and President Eisenhower's Program for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to make available in the RECORD an excellent article by Glenn Martz entitled "Washington From the Inside," appearing in the current issue of the Nation's Agriculture, published by the American Farm Bureau Federation. The careful analysis of President Eisenhower's farm program is a valuable contribution to the consideration of it.

The article follows:

WASHINGTON FROM THE INSIDE

(By Glenn Martz)

President Eisenhower's farm program—product of one of the most comprehensive studies of agricultural problems in history—hit Capitol Hill in a political and economic setting which assures early and earnest consideration by Congress.

Ever-mounting farm surpluses generated in part by high rigid price supports—heavy storage costs on Government-held commodities—the fact that Government funds authorized to finance farm-price supports will soon run out—the problems being created for other commodities by the products produced on the acres diverted from cotton, wheat, and corn in 1954 and a one-third decline in the foreign farm market—all combine to highlight the difficulties being encountered under the current program.

The full impact of the implications of these facts have not as yet been felt on Capitol Hill. Nonetheless, they are here—and eventually will have to be dealt with.

Under current law, Commodity Credit Corporation funds are limited to $6,750 million borrowing authority. To date aproximately $5 billion of that amount has already been used to finance the handling of surpluses. Indications are that the expansion of the CCC commodity loan and purchase program will, before the end of the year, exhaust that agency's funds.

Recognizing this, the President has asked that CCC's borrowing authority be increased to $8,500 million. He indicated this increase was needed to finance the Government's commitments under the mandatory 90-percent-price-support amendment which is effective through 1954.

The President's program is no new, magic formula. It simply recommends that the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1948 as amended by the act of 1949 be permitted to go into effect as now scheduled with the 1955 crops.

The 1948–49 act provides for 90 percent of parity supports on the so-called basic commodities as long as farmers keep supplies in line with demand, plus a normal carryover.

However, when such supplies exceed market demands, plus a normal carryover, the level of Government supports would range downward in proportion to the overproduction. But in no case could supports drop below 75 percent of parity—a level designed to protect the farmer against sudden and disastrous price declines.

Thus, the variable price-support plan would provide for supports ranging from 75 to 90 percent of parity (as based on the modernized parity formula)—a program designed to promote shifts in production and supply to meet changes in demand.

In contrast, the present system of rigid supports tends to perpetuate surpluses and unbalanced production and ultimately results in lower farm income by establishing a price ceiling on products involved.

The new program was generally applauded by farmers who are convinced they can achieve a higher net spendable income under it than any alternative currently under study.

AFBF President Allan B. Kline termed the proposed farm program "forward looking" and said the principles it embodies "are essentially sound." He said he is confident that farmers "will support its main points."

Paradoxically, the 1948–49 farm program legislation has never had an opportunity to demonstrate its workability. Its effective date has been postponed repeatedly by amendments continuing mandatory supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity through 1954.

A study of the President's program reveals that it requires only a minimum of new legislation to put it into gear. In fact, most of

its provisions can be put into effect if no legislation is enacted.

Strategically, this puts the President in a strong position in his dealings with the Congress.

The newest feature of the President's program was the proposal to set aside or insulate some $2,500,000,000 worth of current Government farm surplus stocks in a special reserve to be used for war emergency, famine relief, foreign aid, school-lunch program, charitable programs, and disposal through newly developed markets abroad.

Secretary of Agriculture Benson, discussing this phase of the program, said this "sealing off" is needed to "facilitate the transition to the new program and, at the same time, strengthen agricultural commodity prices in the market place."

The administration pointed out that the removal of $2,500,000,000 worth of commodities from CCC stocks used in computation of price-support levels would reduce the active surplus in Government hands to a point where the new program could be put into effect without a handicap.

As Secretary Benson put it: "It was recognized that it (the new program) would have little chance of success if it had to carry the initial handicap of a $6 billion stockpile accumulated under prior operations."

The Secretary then went on to explain that "sizable quantities of wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and, possibly dairy products, would be frozen under the plan and thus reduce the annual carryover, for at least the first year, to near normal."

Congressional reaction was mixed.

Naturally, the political price fixers, haunted by the huge surpluses which expose for all to see the unworkability of high rigid price supports, jumped to the support of such a stockpile. But at the same time they expressed opposition to the proposal for variable supports designed to reduce our surplus problems.

However, several congressional farm leaders expressed concern over the set-aside proposal. They frankly said they were skeptical that any such quantity of farm commodities could be sealed off where they could have no depressing effect on the market.

But, they did concede that such a course might be necessary as a temporary proposition to give the variable price-support program a fair chance to succeed.

Questioned at a news conference as to whether or not such stockpiling would be a permanent policy of the administration, Mr. Benson indicated it was merely a temporary device to facilitate the operation of the new program. He said it would be his aim to move stocks into trade and relief channels as quickly as possible and that his department was prepared to vigorously prosecute a program designed to this end.

And he added:

"The Government has a responsibility to move it, and I think a lot of it can be moved in emergency aid and immediate relief situations. We also feel that we can do much more to open new markets. The President is asking in his budget message for increased funds for our work here in this Department on both domestic and foreign markets. We feel strongly that through trade missions we can open doors for many of those items—find new markets. We are going to make a desperate effort to do so."

In appraising the merits of the proposed variable price-support program it should be noted that only 21 percent of the cash receipts of farmers is now derived from the 6 commodities designated as basic. More than two-thirds of the national farm income comes from products which do not have any Government price-support program.

As for the cost factor this also should be considered: Since the Government began supporting farm prices the total cost to the taxpayer, according to statistics compiled by USDA, has been well over $13 billion. The President, in his farm-program message, said variable price supports would materially reduce the overall cost to taxpayers and at the same time get farm prices in a more healthy climate.

In this connection it should be pointed out that in order to figure net income the farmer must compute it on the basis of production times price minus expense.

And taxes are no small part of farm expenses these days.

A detailed study of the President's program reveals that existing authority for support and purchase programs on such commodities as oats, barley, grain sorghums, soybeans, flax, meats, poultry and eggs, dairy products, and fresh fruits and vegetables would be virtually unchanged. Potatoes would become eligible for Government assistance on the same basis as other vegetable crops.

Potatoes, you'll recall, were dropped from the Government price-support list more than 2 years ago, when a half-billion-dollar loss to the Government created a consumer furore.

Price support on 5 basic commodities—wheat, corn, cotton, peanuts, and rice would range between 75 and 90 percent of parity, depending on the supply from year to year.

The position of the American Farm Bureau Federation on price-support legislation, as embodied in a resolution adopted by voting delegates of member States at its last annual convention, was stated as follows:

"The temporary provisions of law requiring 90 percent of parity price support on the basic commodities without regard to supply should be allowed to expire at the end of the 1954 program. The principles of the permanent provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949 with respect to variable price supports should be put into effect. In addition the law (i. e., Agricultural Act of 1949) should be amended to provide that 90 percent of parity price supports shall be mandatory the first year that marketing quotas are in effect for any commodity immediately following a year in which marketing quotas were not in effect on such commodity. Thereafter, the level of price supports would be determined by the producers' response in bringing supplies in line with effective demand."

It was recommended by the President that the modernized parity formula become effective on all commodities as now scheduled.

This modernized parity formula is based on the price relationships of the various commodities to one another over the past 10-year moving average as related to the average prices farmers received during the period 1909–14.

In order to prevent an abrupt change in price-support levels, the President recommended that legislative action be taken to prevent a decline of more than 5 percent in parity itself, as a result of the transition from the old to modernized parity formula. (This is not to be confused with the percentage of parity support.)

For tobacco, the present program would be continued with price supports at 90 percent of parity when marketing quotas are in effect.

Likewise, continuation of sugar program in its present form was recommended.

Honey and tung nuts would be dropped from the list of commodities on which price supports are mandatory. Future supports on these would be at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, as is now the case with most other nonbasic commodities.

The President further recommended that a broad study be made of the problems of the small farmer. The aim of this study is to find out what can be done to improve the welfare of this group of farmers who, because of their limited production, receive little or no benefit from price-support programs.

A completely different program is proposed for wool. As originally provided in the 1948 Farm Act, direct payments would be made to producers to make up the difference between the average price of wool during the marketing season and 90 percent of parity.

Some critics have referred to the President's proposal for wool supports as embodying the basic principles of the Brannan plan. However, it should be noted in this connection that production payments were not the key to Mr. Brannan's proposal, but rather the level of supports, which he said should be set at 100 percent of parity.

In this respect it differs widely with President Eisenhower's wool program, which envisions paying wool growers the difference between current market prices and 90 percent of parity with revenue not to exceed the amount of unobligated tariff receipts from imported wool. It should also be noted that wool is a deficit crop in this country and has been cataloged as a strategic material. Domestic production supplies only about one-third of the Nation's need for this fiber.

Secretary Benson—shortly after the program was submitted to Congress—confided to newsmen that President Eisenhower "has devoted many hours to the farm problem in a sincere attempt to find the right solution."

"Personally, I feel good about the recommendations that have been made," he said. "We've had only one objective—that's to find the very best possible solution to the farm problem."

In this connection he said the administration "tried to bring to it the very best talent that was available anywhere in this country" and added that "We've had literally hundreds of people that have been devoting attention to it in and out of Government."

"We sought something that would be good for agriculture—that would help promote a sound, and prosperous, and free agriculture—and also a program that would be fair to all of the taxpayers.

"A program that's workable—that's been our objective.

"We didn't start with any preconceived notions as to what it should be and we didn't start out feeling that the present program, the old program, should be wrecked or discarded, because we know how much energy and effort has gone into the building of the programs of the past. But we did approach it objectively, and we believe that the most comprehensive study ever made of the farm problem, at least in our lifetime, has been made in the last year. I am sure that it isn't perfect. You don't get perfection through the efforts of imperfect humans, but we do feel that it offers some very definite improvements over the present program.

"I know that agriculture is a very hazardous occupation. Anyone who has farmed as many years as I have, and some of you have, know that is true. I believe generally that farmers prefer to produce for market and not for Government bounty or Government storage. I've always felt that way, and I feel it ever more firmly now. I think the greatest service that Government can render is to help the farmers to help themselves. Government should assist them, not take over and regulate and run their operations."

His Excellency the Cardinal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is always a pleasure for me to be offered

he opportunity to express the senti-
nents of the great people of the district
am honored to represent—the 13th
District of New Jersey—especially when
hose sentiments recoil against the
ruelties of man, recoil against cruelties
s those imposed on Cardinal Minds-
enty.

The letter sent to me recently by Msgr.
ela Varga, former speaker of the Hun-
arian Parliament, citing the gallant
tand of his excellency the cardinal
gainst the real goal of the Bolsheviks—
ubmission of man to confiscation, tor-
ure, and death—reminds one how pre-
ious liberty is—worth life itself.

What is the lesson for Americans in
his? For the people of Hungary and
ll the world? As each of us is strong,
o do we strengthen each other. While
bundle of fagots cannot easily be
roken, it can be, if the sticks are broken
ne by one. Thus do we in America
ddress ourselves to the dignity of man
nd his inalienable right to life, liberty,
nd the pursuit of happiness, here and
r the hereafter.

Socrates gave Europe its concept of
ul. Christ showed man the beatitude
f its salvation. Both were killed.

What of the upward road? The
ad from here to the hereafter: Lighted
y men like his excellency the cardinal—
intly soul, glimpsed in his life are these
es:

would be true, for there are those who trust
me.
I would be pure, for there are those who
care;
would be strong, for there is much to
suffer;
I would be brave, for there is much to
dare.
would be friend of all, the foe, the friend-
less;
I would be giving, and forget the gift;
would be humble, for I know my weak-
ness;
I would look up, and laugh, and love, and
lift.

Thank you Msgr. Bela Varga, for call-
g to our attention the heroic epic of
seph Cardinal Mindszenty. We have
t forgotten. The world will gain by
s faith and example.

The Grange and the Administration Policies for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, in con-
ction with consideration of the Presi-
nt's message on agriculture and his
commendations in that field, I feel
rtain that an article entitled "Grange
eview—A Monthly Summary To Keep
ou Up to Date on Grange Activities in
ashington" by Roy Battles, appearing
the current National Grange Monthly,
ll be interesting to all concerned about
is part of the administration program.
The portion of the article dealing with the views of Lloyd C. Halvorson, National Grange economist, as to national economic trends is important. Those who object to criticism of prophets of gloom should weigh carefully his comments on a psychology depression.

The article follows:

GRANGE REVIEW—A MONTHLY SUMMARY TO KEEP YOU UP TO DATE ON GRANGE ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON

(By Roy Battles)

The Democrats have charged the Republicans with legislation by study commission. This charge came about when Congress at the last session failed to enact laws dealing with a dozen major and urgent matters. Instead the Congress and the administration dilly-dallied and said they needed more time for careful study. Commissions were set up to delve into these highly knotty and controversial issues. An attempt was made to staff these study groups with the best brains in business, education, Government, agriculture, and labor. The Grange was represented on several of these committees. The studies were made, and for the most part the reports have been submitted.

Whether the Democrats will be able to make their accusation stick depends upon what happens on Capitol Hill in the next 5 months. The Republicans stand challenged. Their chances at the ballot box next November hinge to no small degree on whether or not they deliver, and deliver constructively.

The commission idea had the advantage of applying calm study and good horse sense to the task of writing basic legislation. Politics were left largely out of the picture during their deliberations. There was the disadvantage, however, this year of postponing vital decisions until a period when many Congressmen and Senators will have their ear closely tuned to the political ground. The scene is set, nevertheless, for genuine historic progress. But with the Senate and House closely divided along partisan lines, stagnation could result. If this happens, the Eisenhower administration will have perhaps lost its last chance to act. Republican control of the Congress with a Democrat in the White House, or vice versa, often roadblocks progress.

PRACTICAL POLITICS

Like it or not, the National Grange has to cope with practical politics in its work on the Hill. It is charged with carrying out the policies developed by the delegate body. It is often not powerful enough to swing the vote when the crosswinds of political maneuvering are strong. No group is that powerful, and for that reason it sometimes takes considerable time to accomplish basic objectives.

The Farm Credit Act of 1953 is an extreme example. It took nearly 10 years to get it passed.

Where do farmers stand at this time? Well, it's too early to tell. Many signs of the legislative times look good; others are discouraging. After all, the Congress is just now beginning to get fully into gear. The biggest rural issue is the long-range farm program. All of the studies are in; colleges, private research organizations, the House Agriculture Committee, the USDA, special commodity groups, and the general farm organizations, all of them delved deeply into this one. The opportunity for a new direction is at hand. The Grange guns are already in action.

The Randall Committee on Foreign Policy and International Trade worked for months. Its full report will not be submitted until March. Farmers have an enormous stake in the use Congress makes of the findings of this committee. Without added markets abroad, agriculture is in for even deeper price problems and an era of caustic and obnoxious controls. In fact, the ingredients of world peace are contained in world trade.

The Capehart Citizens Committee of One Hundred and Twenty dealt with the financial aspects of world trade and economic development abroad. This is another integral part of the farm problem.

Then there was the Commission on State versus Federal Rights—the committee that delved into the salaries of the judiciary and Congress, as well as many others of lesser importance. The Hoover Commission on streamlining and eliminating overlapping and duplication in the executive branch is also again at work. Committee hearings, of course, are now under way. The real test is at hand. The next few months will write the story for this session of Congress. Our work, testimony and policies will be a part of that story. This represents your Grange in action. It is a part of the Washington parade of forces on the side of the American farmer and the welfare of the Nation.

Talk of a general economic setback is in the air. Farmers continue to experience a marked recession. Some fear that a farm-led and a farm-fed depression may be in the offing. The big bosses of organized labor are making the most noise. They point to the possibility of millions of unemployed by the end of the year.

Lloyd C. Halvorson, National Grange economist, takes a less serious view. He says the country is experiencing a normal postwar period of readjustment and stabilization. He points out that there is no hard-money policy, nor is there a policy of more inflation. Instead there is a policy of an even keel, with machinery set up to put the brakes on deflation and unemployment as well as to check any tendency for still cheaper dollars.

True, the Grange economist is worried about the farm price dilemma and its effect on the total economy. The 1953 gross farm income totaled $35 billion, while the total gross national product reached an all-time high of $370 billion. Therefore, farmers account for about 9.6 percent of the Nation's total buying power, and the resulting cut in rural income is being felt all across the board. Up until now, however, this cut has not been sufficient to head the country down the road to a depression.

ECONOMIC WEATHER VANES

Halvorson has his eye on two other weather vanes of economic trends; both have to do with the attitude of people and are of paramount importance in the course the Nation may take. First, if a psychology of depression spreads across the country, then the wage earner and all others will slow up on buying and start hoarding in anticipation of hard times. This will cut down on retail sales, which will be felt all the way back to the manufacturer level as inventories build up. Manufacturers would cut back production, which means unemployment, and the snowball will have been started. Second, if businessmen become scared and cut back their expansion plans, the same thing will happen. Fortunately, neither of these trends is under way to any significant degree. Halvorson concludes, therefore, "talking as if a depression were imminent is bad." This is the very thing that could induce a cutback in retail buying and in plant expansion. He sees, furthermore, no real reason for a psychology of depression, and states that it is of extreme importance that all groups recognize that our increased knowledge of monetary and fiscal policies, combined with a growing population and fabulous laboratory developments, should engender a spirit of confidence.

There will be periods of minor economic readjustment, but these are necessary to economic progress. Consumer wants are continuously changing, and some industries may have overexpanded. There will be

periods when consumer needs seem well filled, and buying will slow down. But the progress of our country shows that industry can and will develop new and better products. Consumer wants usually are not far behind. Halvorson said that "make-believe confidence is no good at all." It might postpone a depression for a while, but it would just make it that much harder when the time came for all of the king's men to put Humpty Dumpty together again. Blind faith is hard to repair if shattered. What we need is rational understanding.

Attention National Park Service: We Build Ski Lifts in Europe With Marshall Plan Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of Washington overwhelmingly favor a change of policy on the part of the National Park Service which would permit private enterprise to construct a ski lift or aerial tramway at Mount Rainier National Park. This would permit greater winter use of the park by the thousands of people who enjoy winter sports. But it would increase the summer use also by making accessible the higher elevations of the mountain which people cannot now reach.

The Park Service stands in the way of the enjoyment by the people of their own natural resource. I wonder how the Service feels about Marshall plan funds being used to construct ski lifts in Europe for the enjoyment of people there? The attached copy of a letter from one of my constituents calls attention to the ludicrous situation of the Government using its funds to build ski lifts abroad but not permitting private funds to do it here:

SUMNER, WASH.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TOLLEFSON: Just a note of interest concerning ski lifts. While I was at Sun Valley during the holidays I saw a movie entitled "Ski Fantasy," filmed by Warren Miller, who makes skiing movies and travels about the country showing them and giving a narration with them. His show this year showed the many areas in the United States and several in Europe. Among those he filmed in Europe was an area in Austria, Kitzbuehl, I believe, which has a beautiful new chair lift and aerial tram going to the top of one of their higher mountains. The movie took us up to the top of the lift along with many happy Austrian skiers, and there at the top of the lift was a bronze plaque reading "built with Marshall plan aid" in three languages.

Tell Mr. Wirth and those other people in Washington that little story when you next talk to them about defacing Mount Rainier with a new road or (the conservationists forbid) a chair lift of any kind. Of interest also was an article in the paper stating that 900 school children from Seattle and 200 school children from Tacoma had attended the first day of ski instruction at Snoqualmie the 2d of January. This does not include the many who are not taking ski instruction and is only for one area.

I just wanted you to know of the Austrian situation. Maybe they will start an ECA for the American winter sports people.

Sincerely yours,

WALLY STAATZ.

Who Will Sell Timber to Japan, Alaska or the American Pulp and Paper Association?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the other day I received a letter from Sitka, Alaska, which seeks to forestall a possible damaging influence in determining the economic development of that region. It is written by the Reverend John T. O'Brien, S. J., of St. Gregory Church. Under unanimous consent, I include the letter herewith as follows:

ST. GREGORY CHURCH,
Sitka, Alaska, January 29, 1954.

Hon. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: These lines are written respectfully to forestall a possible damaging influence the statement of the American Pulp and Paper Association may have in determining the economic development of Southeast Alaska.

The desire to hold Alaskan timber as a reserve to be developed by the members of the American Pulp & Paper Association, if and when they see fit, is a selfish position, and one that does not further the development of the Territory now, when it is ready and needed. Anyone who knows the conditions of the virgin forest area of Sitka realizes that vast stands of timber are mature and going to waste nearly for lack of harvest by the lumber industry. These conditions have existed for years without effective action on the part of association members.

The statement of the association that the American people would not directly benefit from the utilization of the wood if foreign interests are permitted to buy does not ring true, unless Alaskans living in the district are not to be considered Americans. Technically, it is well known that the proper cutting of a virgin forest is beneficial to its further growth. Certainly under regulations and controls of the Forest Service, the obtaining of the timber on open bids, the formation of an American company, together with other labor regulations and whatever Federal restrictions are necessary, the interests of the people would be protected as well as they are in the States. Economic benefits for the area in question are evident, for with the development of the forests increased employment, larger population, improved transportation and communication necessarily will follow. If Alaska is to be recognized as a State, these benefits would add to the soundness of the economy.

Considering the present cost of paper products and the newsprint shortage, I wonder if the statement of the association about the oversupply of pulp in the world fits in with the recognized law of supply and demand. However, the amount of pulp production planned for this area by the Japanese mill would be but a very small percentage of the amount they require. The rest could be obtained from the association members.

The Japanese, since the loss of their forest lands to Russia at the end of the war, are forced to obtain wood for their industries. Perhaps it is fortunate for us that they seek help in Alaska rather than in Russia. Millions of dollars have been spent on approved lend-lease and in the Marshall plan to aid foreign nations in rebuilding their economy at home. Might it not also be a good idea to have some of that development done in our own possessions to aid the citizens who live there? If our own companies are not now interested, when it is needed, why refuse to allow others to help in this development?

When we come right down to it, Congressman, it seems the kernel of the problem is the answer to the question of who will sell to Japan—the association members or Alaska?

Respectfully yours,

JOHN T. O'BRIEN, S. J.

If They Cut Out the Tongue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in a recent copy of the Morning Observer, a splendid homey paper that serves the city of San Leandro, Calif.

May I urge you to read this editorial? It is indeed timely.

IF THEY CUT OUT THE TONGUE

She is 17, and she just graduated from high school the past week. In the closing weeks of her school life, she had won a prize in a contest with its subject, Freedom of Speech.

"Now, at the church," she said, "I'm supposed to start up a discussion on freedom of speech. What can I say that's new? How can I start off the discussion with a fresh approach?"

That was a poser. The great debate has been going on ever since mankind first had thoughts of any kind and learned to communicate them.

"Have you mentioned the confusion some people have?" we asked. "Some falsely suppose that freedom of speech means the power to compel other people to listen. They demand freedom of speech when really what they want is a captive audience. Freedom of speech does not automatically cancel out the right of other people to pay no attention."

"That's an idea," she smiled. "But hardly a good point for a discussion leader to bring up. Try again."

"Well, let's turn it around," we suggested. "Suppose the people wanted to listen, but someone forced the speaker to shut up. Who is damaged then?

"It's not the speaker," we pointed out. "The speaker still has his ideas, good or bad. It's his audience who suffers. It is the audience who has been denied the right of listening, of judging those ideas, of rejecting those it considers bad and accepting those it believes to be good.

"The right to talk is important. But the right to listen, to see, to hear, to compare, to judge, to understand—the right to know seems infinitely more important."

If 10 people meet and one is silenced, then 9 suffer the loss of his opinion. If the same 10 meet, and all but 1 are silenced, then the injury done must be counted as 9 times 9.

The man or woman whose mouth is stopped indeed may suffer. But all mankind loses when it is denied the power to gain

eas, to compare them one with another, to
noose the more acceptable ones, and thus
establish and fortify standards of value.
If you see one man place a gag in an-
her's mouth, perhaps you may hurry by
d believe he alone suffers the violence. If
s tongue is cut out, you may realize that
e pain is his alone.
But after having abandoned the wretch,
u may ponder this: Why was this mouth
gged? Why was his tongue cut out?
asn't it because he wanted to tell me some-
ing? Wasn't he silenced to prevent me
om hearing what he wanted to say?
Was it done to silence his tongue? Or
asn't it done to plug my ears, and to shut
e open doorways to my mind?

AWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in
der to provide for the prompt publication
d delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the
int Committee on Printing has adopted the
llowing rules, to which the attention of
nators, Representatives, and Delegates is
spectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The
blic Printer will arrange the contents of
e daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate
oceedings; second, the House proceedings;
ird, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the
oceedings of the Senate are not received in
me to follow this arrangement, the Public
inter may begin the RECORD with the House
oceedings. The proceedings of each House
d the Appendix shall each begin a new
ge, with appropriate headings centered
ereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall
nt the report of the proceedings and de-
tes of the Senate and House of Representa-
es, as furnished by the official reporters of
e CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type;
d all matter included in the remarks or
eeches of Members of Congress, other than
eir own words, and all reports, documents,
d other matter authorized to be inserted
the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point
pe; and all roll calls shall be printed in
oint type. No italic or black type nor
rds in capitals or small capitals shall be
ed for emphasis or prominence; nor will
usual indentions be permitted. These re-
ictions do not apply to the printing of or
otations from historical, official, or legal
cuments or papers of which a literal repro-
ction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manu-
ipt is submitted to Members for revision it
ould be returned to the Government Print-
g Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in
der to insure publication in the RECORD is-
ed on the following morning; and if all of
d manuscript is not furnished at the time
ecified, the Public Printer is authorized to
thhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no
se will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Appendix

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered yesterday in Philadelphia, Pa., at the annual luncheon of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE ANNUAL LUNCHEON OF THE PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AT THE HOTEL BARCLAY, PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1954

It is an honor and an inspiration to meet with this fine organization of patriotic Americans.

You are the inheritors of a proud tradition of service in the cause of liberty and independence.

Throughout its history the Daughters of the American Revolution has kept watch on the ramparts of freedom.

You have been front-line soldiers in the battle to uphold the principles upon which our Nation was established. You have proclaimed the glories of our flag and the greatness of our Republic.

On every side in the old city of Philadelphia we find reminders of the glorious pageant of our early history.

Here we recapture the spirit of the patriots and statesmen whose vision and courage established this land of liberty in the New World.

Here is Independence Hall, the cradle of liberty, the birthplace of the United States of America.

Here was adopted the greatest document of human rights ever written, the Declaration of Independence.

Here the Liberty Bell proclaimed a clarion call to duty and sacrifice in the cause of American freedom.

Here General Washington was made Commander in Chief of the Continental Army.

Here Betsy Ross made the first American flag.

Here the Constitution was written and adopted to safeguard the individual citizen in his freedom and to protect his God-given rights against tyranny and oppression.

Upon that foundation of freedom of the individual, there has been created here in Philadelphia a great workshop of industry with vast production for both peace and war.

Here are some of the most important cultural institutions of the world.

Here we have famous centers of education, science, music, and art.

Here we have great strongholds of religion, where the word of God is preached to people of every faith and every creed.

With its rich historic background and its present greatness, Philadelphia is a most appropriate place to discuss the situation in our country and how we can best advance its welfare.

Let us look into this thing called freedom.

How can we protect it? How can we preserve it? How can we bequeath it to our children and to the generations of Americans that will come after them?

With these questions in mind, let us consider some American principles and some of the dangers which confront us as a nation.

First, let us take note of our individual and collective responsibility to our country and to each other.

It can be summed up briefly as follows:

To preserve for all time the divine endowment of freedom of the individual and to hand down untarnished to future generations our rich heritage of liberty and independence.

Those words comprise a living precept by which every right-thinking, God-fearing American should be guided in his everyday life.

They are the essence of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Those sacred documents were conceived and drafted by men who prized liberty above life itself. They were men of deep religious conviction. They sought the truth in the teachings of the Holy Bible.

One of the great teachings of religion is, "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Therefore, for a moment, let us look at the real truth.

Our fathers established this powerful Nation of freedom by courage, heroism, and sacrifice—by sweat, tears, and blood. The Republic they created has advanced, in less than 200 years, from a dense wilderness to the most powerful country in all history.

Other lands have had richer natural resources. Other nations had greater population. But through the concept of government planned by the Founding Fathers the United States has produced the highest living standard, the most advanced cultural position and the greatest spiritual attainments of all time.

What made this unparalleled progress possible?

The answer is found in the God-given freedom of the individual, placed in the basic law of our country and proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence in these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Devotion to those sacred ideals made our advancement possible in the past.

It will be an unfailing guide to greater achievement in the future, provided there is instilled in the heart and mind of every American a clear understanding of his individual responsibility for the future of America.

Our Republic will not attain its full strength until every American recognizes that he has obligations as well as rights under our system of government.

Looking back over my many years of experience in public life I am thoroughly convinced that one of the paramount obligations upon every citizen is to take an active part in the affairs of government.

One of the tragic developments in our country is the indifferent attitude taken by so many of our people toward the fundamental principle that "We, the people" are the government.

Why do so many of our people who are honest and sincere in their private lives, treat such a noble principle so lightly?

How can so many people be so indifferent to the fundamental duties of citizenship that they fail to vote on election day?

One million Americans have given their lives on the battlefield to sustain the right of free suffrage—a right that has been destroyed in so many parts of the world.

We have only ourselves to blame if oppressive or corrupt government results from our failure to accept our share of civic responsibility.

The ultimate result of carelessness, apathy, and neglect can be the loss of our freedom.

If our form of government is to survive we must all take an active and intelligent part in it. I do not mean national affairs alone, but local, county, and State government as well.

It is a vital part of good citizenship to work for the election of men to public office who are imbued with the highest ideals of Americanism.

Another important obligation of patriotic citizenship calls for every American to make his voice heard on the issue of loyalty to the United States.

We must proclaim throughout the land that there is no room under the American flag for those who would tear down our free institutions or our system of government.

We must learn to recognize and to fight every subversive element, whether it is communism, fascism, nazism, socialism, or any other ideology that is contrary to Americanism.

Every Communist who preaches the overthrow of our Government by force is a traitor to America.

They must be driven out of every place where they dare to challenge the American way of life.

Vigorous, courageous, militant patriotism is the most powerful weapon against communism.

We must teach young and old that freedom, under God, is our most precious possession while communism means slavery under the iron rule of godless tyrants.

We must tell over and over again the glorious story of our country's rise to greatness among the nations of the earth.

We must tell and retell the story of our sturdy, courageous pioneers, and the heroic exploits of those who extended our frontiers over the mountains and across the Western plains.

We must point with pride to the patriots and statesmen who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in support of the resolution that "these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

The world has no more inspiring story than that which relates the heroism and the sacrifice of our soldiers from the frozen battlegrounds of the Revolution to the beaches of Normandy, the islands of the Pacific, and the icy mountains of Korea.

My fellow Americans, there is no better preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship than an appreciation of the toil, suffering and heroic courage that made America.

We can best appreciate our national blessings if we have a knowledge of our history.

We must, therefore, put greater emphasis on the teaching of American history on our schools and colleges.

We must teach the greatness of the American form of government and the glory of the American way of life.

Another defensive factor in our battle to combat the spread of communism in our midst is the American home.

The right kind of home is a stronghold of good citizenship, clean living and devotion to God and to the ideals of our country. Communism cannot attack there with any hope of success.

Communism cannot take root where courageous, God-fearing Americans stand ready to defend their homes and their freedom against its evil teachings.

And now, my fellow Americans, I should like to direct your attention to the obligation of citizenship that calls upon every American to work for economy in Government at all three levels, local, State and national.

Spending by Government has reached such heights that it threatens the economic stability and the solvency of our Nation.

We can be robbed of our freedom by excessive Government spending, oppressive taxation and deficits which add new billions to our already crushing national debt.

I plead with you to join in the fight for sound fiscal policies, balanced budgets and Government at lower cost.

I ask you to exert all your influence for the strictest economy, not only at the national level, but also by State and local governments.

Only a solvent America can be a free America.

I have outlined briefly three dangers to the future of our country. These can and will be overcome if we are faithful to the obligations imposed upon us by patriotic Americanism.

I know that every one of you is dedicated to the preservation of our Republic and the God-given rights which it guarantees.

As individuals and as a powerful patriotic organization you can strengthen the United States by arousing among our people a deeper appreciation of the meaning of American freedom.

You can strengthen America by redoubling your part in the fight against communism.

You can strengthen America by demanding that Government spending be held within the limits of what we can afford without danger to our solvency and our freedom.

We are about to celebrate the birthday anniversary of one of the greatest of all Americans, Abraham Lincoln.

In honor of the Great Emancipator and in tribute to his memory I should like to read a portion of an address he delivered at Springfield, Ill. I have read this quotation many times and find new patriotic inspiration with every reading of Lincoln's words.

I quote from his speech as follows:

"Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity swear by the blood of the revolution never to violate, in the least particular, the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others.

"Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty.

"Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap, let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice."

With Abraham Lincoln's standards as our guide we can spread the gospel of true Americanism.

We can arouse in the Nation a new spirit of dedication to the flag and the ideals symbolized by the Star-Spangled Banner.

It is great to be an American. Let us have the courage to be real Americans.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there appeared in this morning's New York Times an article by Mr. William S. White, consisting of an interview with the Honorable Philip B. Perlman, concerning certain inconsistencies in the attitude of the senior Senator from Ohio in regard to his proposals to amend the Constitution.

Mr. Perlman has long been in the forefront of those who would preserve our Constitution in its present form.

I ask unanimous consent that this interesting news article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I hope it will be widely read.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of February 11, 1954]

BRICKER'S STANDS SAID TO CONFLICT—SENATOR'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS VARY WITH PRIVATE ONES, TRUMAN EX-AIDE SAYS

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON, February 10.—Senator JOHN W. BRICKER was accused today of having taken a position in public opposite to what he previously had taken in private on the issue of Presidential treaty power.

The charge was made by Philip B. Perlman, who was Solicitor General of the United States in the Truman administration.

Senator BRICKER, Republican, of Ohio, is at the forefront of Senate attempts to submit to the States a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the Presiden's treaty-making power. Mr. Perlman has been a persistent opponent of all such efforts.

Mr. BRICKER is in Florida for a rest and could not be reached for his comment on the Perlman accusations.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE CITED

Mr. Perlman asserted in substance that private correspondence which has just been brought to light showed that Senator BRICKER on February 18, 1953, had declared:

"I question the wisdom of giving the States what amounts to a veto power over foreign policy."

The reference was to the celebrated "which" clause that later became a part of Senator BRICKER's own proposed amendment and now has been abandoned by him in favor of a modified approach.

It was this clause to which the Eisenhower administration had most vehemently objected, using language similar to that Mr. Perlman now attributes to Senator BRICKER as of the February date.

The "which" clause would have stipulated: "A treaty shall be valid as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

The administration and its backers contended that this could mean the obstruction of a foreign policy enterprise by a single State's refusal to enact the necessary implementing legislation.

On January 20 of this year, Senator BRICKER wrote to all his colleagues and later made public a letter asserting:

"The proposed treaty-control amendment would not require any treaty on any subject to be ratified by any State. It would not give any State a veto power over foreign affairs.

"• • • The President at his press conference last week gave wide circulation to the erroneous charges noted above. The President has been misinformed."

At this time, Senator BRICKER specifically defended the "which" clause.

But, Mr. Perlman asserted, Senator BRICKER, in private correspondence to other Senators in February of 1953 had stated, of the same clause:

"Representatives of the American Bar Association concede that the adoption of their language might make it necessary to negotiate certain treaties subject to the States' taking whatever action might be necessary to make the treaty effective within their boundaries.

"Since the Nation must speak internationally with a single voice, I question the wisdom of giving the States what amounts to a veto power over foreign policy."

The fact that Mr. BRICKER at one time had declined to accept the "which" clause had previously been published. Not heretofore, however, had he been represented as having been in agreement in 1953 with the same objections voiced by the Eisenhower administration in 1954.

Mr. Perlman asserted of this point:

"Senator BRICKER does not seem to have any tangible basis for dispute with President Eisenhower. But others may have a legitimate cause for complaint.

"There is no good reason for a Bricker amendment or any other kind of amendment of the treaty power or the power to make executive agreements."

The Senate will begin about February 16 a series of decisive votes on various treaty-control proposals now pending.

Reduction in Manufacture of Ammunition at the Twin Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I have received a letter from Mayor John E. Daubney, of St. Paul, Minn., with reference to the reduction in operations at some of the ordnance plants just outside the city of St. Paul. The city of St. Paul adopted a resolution on this same question. I have been in communication with the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wilson, regarding the subject of the closing of the Twin Cities arsenal plant, and also the plant of Donovan, Inc., a shell plant. I ask unanimous consent to have the communication and accompanying resolution printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CITY OF ST. PAUL, MINN.,
February 9, 1954.

The Honorable EDWARD J. THYE,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THYE: I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a resolution passed

by our St. Paul city council, opposing the laying off of some 1,900 employees of the Federal Cartridge Corp. and the contemplated discharge of employees of the Minneapolis-Moline and Donovan concern.

For the reasons stated in the resolution, may I respectfully request that everything possible be done to prevent this very undesirable situation from arising in this area.

Your consideration and assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

JOHN E. DAUBNEY,
Mayor.

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the Council of the City of St. Paul that 1,900 workers will be laid off on February 26, 1954, at the Federal Cartridge Corp. at the Twin City arsenal plant, and that employees of the Minneapolis-Moline & Donovan, Inc., shell plants at said arsenal, the manufacturers of 105 millimeter and 155 millimeter artillery shells, will also be laid off in the near future; and

Whereas the efficiency of operation of these plants ranks among the highest, due to the excellent type of skilled workmen available in St. Paul, and the cost of operation of said plants ranks favorably with other similar manufacturing concerns throughout the country; and

Whereas President Eisenhower has stated that if reductions are to be made in the personnel of plants of this nature that due consideration should be given to the labor market in the area in which said plants are located; and

Whereas the laying off of 1,900 men and women during the month of February and more thereafter in the immediate succeeding months will result in a labor surplus in St. Paul: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Council of the City of St. Paul hereby goes on record in opposition to the laying off of 1,900 employees of the Federal Cartridge Corp. and the contemplated discharge of employees of the Minneapolis-Moline & Donovan, Inc., and the Council of the City of St. Paul recommends further study be given to the effect of such layoffs on the local employment picture and comparison of efficiency ratings of the New Brighton Arsenal and other comparable facilities; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Eisenhower, the Secretary of Defense, Senator THYE, Senator HUMPHREY, and all of the Congressmen from Minnesota, with a letter to be signed by the Mayor, urging them to do all in their power to stop the contemplated layoff of employees at the Twin City arsenal plant.

Adopted by the council February 5, 1954.
Approved February 5, 1954.

JOHN E. DAUBNEY, *Mayor.*

Republicans Help Democrats by Assault on Fear Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article written by Mr. J. A. Livingston and published in the Washington Post of today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPUBLICANS HELP DEMOCRATS BY ASSAULTS ON FEAR DEAL

(By J. A. Livingston)

Assistant to the President Sherman Adams, Republican National Committee Chairman Leonard W. Hall, and Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Jr., ought to read a book—a forthcoming book. Yes, President Eisenhower ought to read it, too.

It's entitled "The Frontiers of Economic Knowledge." It consists of essays by Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, written when he was research director of the world-famous National Bureau of Economic Research.

The President, Adams, Hall, and Martin wouldn't have to read the whole book—just bits here and there. On page 170, they'd find: "The gift of prophecy has never loomed large in the endowment of economists, whether lay or professional." That might shake some of their confidence in their own predictions of good business in 1954.

On page 27, they'd find a further admonition: "Practically every forecasting device ever suggested has occasionally proved successful. But it does not appear that any method has as yet yielded, for any long period, consistently good predictions of changes in business activity."

On page 147, they'd find an injunction against cocksureness in Government: "The view has gained some currency of late, as it has in other periods of exaltation, that economic institutions and knowledge have developed to the point where the Government can readily prevent sizable economic fluctuations. This view can be supported by reciting the impressive contracyclical devices that have been built into our fiscal system.

"Recent price history, on the other hand, casts some doubt on the expectation and so does the longer perspective of history. Government policy with respect to booms and depressions is not an innovation of the Employment Act of 1946 or of the Roosevelt administration. It can be traced to the depression of the 1890's and indeed much earlier."

From his researches into the past, Burns has achieved an admirable humility. He knows the unpredictability of economic events. He cannot applaud, I'm willing to wager, the rash assertions of Messrs. Adams, Hall, and Martin, in which, alas, the President, himself, now seems to join.

Adams calls the Democrats who worry about a business decline minions of the "Fear Deal" and "political sadists." Hall charges that the leftwing in America regards a depression as its "one-way ticket to power." MARTIN says, leftwing eggheads are trying to yell the country into a depression. And the President has now started berating prophets of gloom who preach a philosophy of stumble, fumble, and fall.

How can the Republican Party profit from these tactics? Are Eisenhower, Adams, et al., planning an alibi? Are they preparing to blame the Democrcats for talking us into a depression—if the decline gains momentum.

That's like trying to find a scapegoat when you, yourself, are already at the stake and the fire's stealing toward your ankles. In a severe decline, workers and farmers won't hear excuses.

The Republicans are tagging the Democrats as the defenders of the unemployed and the downtrodden. And that's a very good election tag. The Republicans are telling the voters that the Democrats are worried. The Republicans are saying they're not worried. Yet, as the party in power, they ought to be.

The Republican program is now under way—to make credit plentiful, to cut taxes, to encourage housing, and to embark on public works, if necessary. The hope is that businessmen and consumers will continue to buy goods and services; that, as a result, the inventory recession will spend itself. Then along about June, people will have more money in their bank accounts because of lower taxes. With this new affluence, they'll spend freely. That will turn production, employment, and payrolls up.

If that doesn't occur, presumably the administration will try more forceful devices to stimulate business recovery. But nobody can be sure what will happen. And, as Dr. Burns says in The Frontiers of Economic Knowledge, page 24, "the most painstaking studies of experience will not always lead to conclusive answer (on the business cycle); but they should at least narrow the margins of uncertainty."

The President, Adams, Hall, and Martin will be able to buy the book for $5 on or after February 22. And if they can't wait till then, surely the National Bureau and the Princeton University Press would expedite delivery.

History of the Jews of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent address entitled "History of the Jews of Maryland" delivered by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin at a meeting of the Beth Tfiloh brotherhood in Baltimore on January 31, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF MARYLAND

The year of 1954 marks the 300th anniversary of the arrival of the first group of Jews in the land which all of us have since come to know with affectionate reverence as the United States of America.

It is natural that scholars should make this the occasion for a systematic study of the role which Jews have played in American history, but I hope that no one will do this with the apologetic motive of trying to justify the rights of Jews to full equality because of their early and long settlement here. To predicate the rights of any group in America on such an argument is an affront to the very ideals which constitute the American way of life. In the deepest sense all Americans, except the native Indians, are immigrants. And whether our ancestors came here 300 years ago or 30 years ago or 3 years ago is less important than that we have a true appreciation of American democracy and demonstrate our loyal determination to preserve and improve it.

It follows from this that anyone who indulges in racial or religious discrimination betrays America though he trace his family roots back to prerevolutionary times. On the other hand, many of the great scientists, without whose genius we could not have been victorious in World War II, were men who came to these shores as refugees from Nazi tyranny within very recent years.

Neither length of residence nor country of origin, neither racial stock nor religious beliefs are the test of an American. He is an American who is devoted to preserving our Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

If, then, we turn to history it is that we might learn to understand ourselves and our own times better, that from the courageous adventures of our fathers we might derive added strength to meet the problems challenging us and that from an examination of past mistakes we might discover how to avoid at least some of the errors which attend all our human efforts.

Maryland was one of the earliest English colonies to be established in the New World, the *Ark* and the *Dove* bringing the settlers up the Chesapeake in 1633. There is no certainty that Jews were among the settlers who came to the shores of Maryland on the *Ark* and the *Dove*. There is room for some speculation, however, since Father White, the chronicler of the expedition, records that the party picked up an indentured servant on the island of Barbados by the name of Matthias de Sousa. De Sousa was a very prominent name among the Marranos, who were then spread over the Spanish and Portuguese dominions of the New World, and it is possible that Matthias de Sousa was a descendant of Marranos or Crypto-Jews. A goodly number of Marrano names appear in the lists of individuals receiving denization papers in the colony during its early years.

The most interesting character among the early Jews who settled in Maryland was Jacob Lumbroso. Having come to the colony in 1656 from England or Portugal, Lumbrozo was a very versatile fellow, practicing as a physician and also amassing a good deal of wealth as a planter. He seems to have been rather outspoken in his views, too outspoken for his own comfort. For in the fateful year of 1658, he was brought to trial for blasphemy. Blasphemy was a serious offense among Europeans and Americans in the 17th century. The peoples of the continent had just finished a 30-year period of bloodletting, and the English were still in the gripe of a civil war fought for the "greater glory of the Lord." The penalty for blasphemy, as decreed by the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649, was death. Lumbrozo, very fortunately, was saved from such a fate, being freed in the general amnesty that followed the accession of Richard, the son of Cromwell.

In the 18th century there are several references to Jewish settlers in Maryland. The Baltimore Advertiser of December 9, 1773, carried the announcement that Benjamin Levy "has just opened a store on Market Street at the corner of Calvert Street, where he sells wholesale and retail for ready money only." A few years later we find that he was authorized by the Continental Congress to sign bills of credit. He even offered asylum to the outstanding financier of the Revolution, Robert Morris, when the latter was forced to flee Philadelphia before the British. And Jacob Hart, a father-in-law of Haym Salomon, the famous Jewish financier of the American Revolution, was among the Baltimore merchants who helped grant a loan to the Marquis de Lafayette.

The first sign of continuous and permanent settlement in Maryland, however, must be traced to the coming to Baltimore of two families whose members became outstanding in the business, professional, and civic life of the city. They were the Ettings and the Cohens, the first family settling here in 1780, while the second moved here from Richmond in 1808.

Solomon Etting was a prominent businessman and civic leader. He was one of the first directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, served as a street commissioner of the city of Baltimore, and as a member of the city council. Jacob, the eldest of the six Cohen brothers, was founder of a nationwide banking concern and served with Solomon Etting on the city council. Both families established private cemeteries, which are maintained and can still be visited today. A number of family portraits and some very interesting miniatures of the Ettings and Cohens are housed in the Maryland Historical Society. Like many of their contemporaries, these Jewish families in Maryland were outstanding patrons of the early American portrait painters.

Despite the prominence attained by individual Jews in Maryland and the evidence of their good citizenship—a number of Jews aided in the defense of Baltimore against the British in September 1814—it was not until 1826 that a Jew could hold public office in the Free State. Maryland was one of the States in the Union which until that eventful year maintained on its statute books the requirement of a religious test for the holding of public office. The State constitution, adopted in 1776, required all new officeholders before entering office to make "a declaration of belief in the Christian religion."

It should be remembered that by 1787, no nation in Europe had established complete freedom of worship or the mutual independence of religion and civil government. Our neighboring State of New Jersey guaranteed civil rights only to all who were of the Protestant sect until 1844. The effort to remove this disability in Maryland began in 1797 when Solomon Etting and Barnard Gratz petitioned the Maryland Legislature to place the Jewish citizen on the same footing with other good citizens. Their effort failed and continued attempts in the succeeding years were equally fruitless. In 1816, the cause was taken up by several leading Christian legislators, notably E. S. Thomas, of Baltimore County; Henry Breckenright, of Baltimore City; and Thomas Kennedy, of Washington County. Strangely enough, the latter, who was chiefly responsible for the final success of the campaign to make the Free State truly free, never came into contact with Jews until the last years of his life. But Kennedy was imbued with deep religious convictions and with a passionate love of liberty. As a young man of 20 he had emigrated to these shores from Scotland with the intention of spending his days "in virtue's service and in freedom's cause."

Appointed head of a committee to frame a bill to eliminate discrimination, Kennedy brought in a report which stressed the fact that religion was a matter purely between man and God and which contained a fervent plea for Zionism:

"But if we are Christians, we must believe that the Jewish nation will again be restored to the favor and protection of God. May we not hope that the banners of the children of Israel shall again be unfurled on the walls of Jerusalem and on the holy hill of Zion."

Here is the spirit of a true Marylander and a noble American—uncomplicated by foolishness about the dangers of dual allegiance.

Kennedy fought valiantly for the passage of the bill entitled "An act to extend to the sect of people professing the Jewish religion the same privileges enjoyed by Christians"—in popular parlance, the "Jew bill." In the election for the legislature in 1823 the bill became the chief election issue; Kennedy lost. Undaunted, he continued to fight as a lobbyist in the legislature. "Although exiled at home, I shall continue to battle for the measure, aye, until my last drop of blood." He was reelected in 1825. In the meanwhile, pressure had been mounting from all parts of the State and the country at large to eliminate discrimination against Jews, so that in the session of 1826 the "Jew bill" was passed. It was hailed universally as a sign of progress and improvement, and, as one influential journal commented, "Surely we seem about to commence a new era."

The man responsible for the successful passage of the act died 6 years later, in 1832, but he does not lie in oblivion. A monument stands over his grave in Hagerstown today, erected by the Independent Order Brith Sholom in 1918.

When this bill was passed there were perhaps 150 Jews in the State of Maryland. A few years later there were 300, and by 1855 there were approximately 8,000 Jews in the State. It seems reasonable to assume that prior to the removal of the disabilities Jews avoided settling in Maryland, in spite of the economic opportunities which the State afforded to all new arrivals.

Toward the middle of the 19th century there were beginning to be felt the first ripples of the great tides of immigration from all parts of Europe which were to alter the economic, social, and cultural makeup of this country. From Ireland, Germany, and northern Europe came immigrants with strong hands and keen minds to man the farms and factories of an expanding America. Jews, mainly from Germany, were part of this new movement. Their motivations were to a large extent similar to those of the other immigrants—the striving for economic betterment, the need to flee from reactionary governments, and the desire to practice their religion without hindrance.

These immigrants adjusted to life with typical "Yankee" ingenuity. Although penniless on arrival, they managed in a relatively short time to acquire modest fortunes and achieved status in the community. They were quick to organize for charitable and religious purposes.

The Jews evidently cared for their poor, as is traditional, for a Baltimore newspaper of 1857 notes: "Inasmuch as we know, no Jew ever asked for assistance from the general charity fund. The Jews take care of their own poor and contribute to the poor of all nations."

One of the outstanding leaders of the early German-Jewish community in this city was the fiery David Einhorn, who served as rabbi of the Har Sinai Temple in the years 1855–61. Einhorn was a strong advocate of radical changes in religion and a bitter opponent of slavery. He expressed his abolitionist ideas both from the pulpit and in the columns of a paper which he edited, the Sinai. He was adamant on the slavery issue, expressly linking the fate of all minorities in the United States and of all oppressed peoples throughout the world with that of the enslaved American Negroes. For this, he earned the enmity of the sizable proslavery forces in Maryland. When bloody riots and strife broke out between anti and proslavery forces in Baltimore in April 1861, the Sinai press, along with other abolitionist presses, was destroyed and Einhorn's life was threatened. His house was guarded by armed members of his congregation day and night. On the fourth day of the riots Einhorn was compelled by the urgings of his friends to leave the city and move to Philadelphia, since his continued stay in Baltimore was fraught with greatest danger.

A second outstanding rabbinical leader of the period was Benjamin Szold, who came to Oheb Shalom Congregation in 1859. Thoroughly at home in Jewish and secular lore, Szold's principal interests lay in developing in Baltimore an active religious life, based upon the principles of conservative reform. He was extremely active in community affairs and devoted much time to scholarly writing.

Szold's home was a center for scholars and men of affairs, and provided a stimulating environment for his four talented daughters, of whom the oldest, Henrietta, became one of the outstanding women of our century and the youngest, Mrs. Louis H. Levin, who celebrated her 80th birthday on December 21, has enriched our community greatly by

her intellectual leadership and personal charm.

Emigration from Eastern Europe to America began on a large scale in the years 1881–1882, when pogroms, a hopeless economic situation, and the oppressive May laws promulgated by the Czarist Government, forced hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews to seek new opportunities in the land of Columbus, as it was known to them. Many settled in Maryland.

The existing Jewish community was ill prepared to cope with the social, economic, and educational problems posed by this new tide of immigration. The situation is paralleled today in Israel, where they have an even more aggravated problem of absorbing a host of immigrants. Through force of necessity, a multitude of institutions and organizations came into being to help the new arrivals find their way in their new home.

Mutual aid societies were formed. Settlement houses, serving the recreational and social needs of the young men and women in Baltimore were created. Before night schools were established by the city, the Jewish community conducted such schools to assist immigrants in becoming Americanized.

The contributions of the Jews, particularly during the last half centry to the business, cultural, philanthropic, and educational life of our city and State are too well known to need any detailing. No group has demonstrated greater readiness to integrate itself into the life of America and to contribute to the further expansion and development of the democratic idea so that it might embrace peoples of all racial, ethnic and religious groups. The political history of our state includes many prominent names. It is a satisfaction and a pride to me that I appointed the first Jew to sit on the highest court of the State and to preside over it as the chief judge, Simon E. Sobeloff. The faculty of our great university of Johns Hopkins has been graced by the creative scholarship of many Jews, including your own distinguished rabbi, Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt, of the Department of Semitics.

And who can even glance at the chapter of philanthropic and civic progress in Maryland's history without thinking with admiration and gratitude of Jacob Epstein, merchant prince and benefactor of the arts and of every good cause.

There is a lesson of importance to be learned in our day from this all too brief review of the history of the Jews of Maryland. It is a lesson valuable to both Jews and Christians—vital but easily comprehended. It is simply that freedom, mutual regard, and readiness by every element in a community to recognize the equal right of every other element to live its life unmolested and in accordance with its own religious, cultural, and traditional spirit, is the basis of peace, contentment, and progress.

In a Communist or Fascist land such a story could not have unfolded itself. There every group looks with suspicion and ill will upon all who differ from them in race or religion. Every man hates and fears his neighbor, and the state is the oppressor of anyone who dares to be different or to harbor an independent thought. Such suppression grinds out of the people their joy, their initiative, their creativeness.

In our Nation there are some misguided or evil men who do not understand this or who hope to gain from sowing hate and dissension. But, happily, they are in the minority. As a people we have abjured such obscene irrationalities. Though we occasionally falter, as in recent immigration legislation, which I trust soon will be changed, we adhere in the main to the simple but grand doctrine of the brotherhood of men under God. We do not interpret our Americanism as requiring a man to be other than himself, or think in a certain way, or go to a certain church, or vote as he is told, or salute or click his heels to prove his loyalty. We insist only that he live honestly and accord like freedom to his neighbors.

This is the essence of our Americanism, our highest glory; and this is what has caused every element of our population—immigrants all, whether early or late—to contribute so handsomely to our national greatness.

Greater Diplomatic Skill Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from an address which I delivered in Minneapolis on February 6 relating to observations made on my survey trip of our foreign operations program in various Asiatic countries.

In it I emphasized my conclusion that we must match in diplomatic skill and in the task of winning the minds and hearts of the people of these countries the technical know-how with which we have sought to improve the living conditions of the people, in the same intelligent manner that we have so successfully proceeded in the industrial field as well as in the field of agriculture.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I was privileged to see a few countries in Asia this past fall and as I viewed some of the barren hills and mountains of Korea, knowing that Korea had been occupied so long by a foreign power and devastated by the ravages of war, I realized that these denuded mountains and hills were a very serious threat because erosion and floodwaters could jeopardize and threaten the little fertile valleys.

There is a tremendous task ahead in the rehabilitation of Korea and we must aid South Korea in its rebirth, so to speak.

It was not uncommon to see children 10 and 12 years old or younger following along with some of their elders, with their little A-frames on their backs. You could see them up on the sides of the mountains, raking up grass and twigs and any type of vegetation, compressing it in little bundles to be placed on the A-frames, and struggling down off the mountains to their living quarters—all this for the purpose of gathering up grass or twigs for the necessary fuel to keep themselves warm or for cooking purposes.

We in this land that is so blessed with huge surpluses do not realize how fortunate we are.

I thought as I saw these children carry their burdens to their meager homes—what would not they have done could they have gathered up the piles of corncobs that we so often burn or the fence posts and dead trees that we leave lying around our countryside.

We need to see some of these things to realize what our responsibilities are, to make certain that we maintain the fertility of our own land, to prevent denuding our forests, through laws that will protect our forests, not only in Minnesota but all over our great country.

It was a great inspiration to me to see the conduct of American troops in Korea. We were privileged to visit some areas that had been devastated by the ravages of war, where villages were completely burned and bombed out. Our American soldiers, as I was informed by the military leaders, had contributed more than a million dollars out of their own funds to help rebuild schools, churches, and hospitals for the Koreans.

I was in one village where all you could see was the bare foundations and not even those in places where the shellfire had been the heaviest.

I saw a church being built out of granite rock—a beautiful structure.

I saw a kindergarten building going up, of the same material. All this was inspired by the financial contributions of our soldiers and their assistance in developing these work projects among the natives.

I had a feeling of great pride when I went into the little frame schoolhouses that had been erected under the instructions and help of the American troops. I can report to you that the people of Korea were deeply grateful for all of this.

As I went into some of the health centers and dispensaries where American nurses, doctors, and technicians were aiding in teaching better sanitation and health care I was greatly moved to see how these poor folks looked in almost a worshipful manner to the people helping them.

The same could be found in Indochina, where I was privileged to visit some of these health centers out toward the war-torn areas beyond Hanoi.

Here you saw some of the civilians brought back to these hospitals after being injured by mines or gunfire.

Our Americans were helping to provide the know-how not only in the surgical and hospital equipment and the local dispensaries, but in general sanitation and public-health measures also.

For the water supply, they were teaching them how to enclose a well and put down a pump to keep the surface water and filth out of the water supply. All of this is being done by American technicians.

I could relate to you so many instances of our technical-assistance program help, and how grateful the people are. Unfortunately, the area is so vast and the undertaking is so great. You have to see these Asiatic countries and the hungry and underprivileged people by the thousands and millions, who need our assistance, to fully realize how greatly they need our technical assistance and know-how.

In Indochina doctors and nurses and hospital technicians were found to be working with those afflicted people, who without proper medical care would be doomed to blindness in a few years, where a large percentage of children die in the tender young years, where people are infested with all kinds of diseases. Here Communist propagandists have a great opportunity and a readymade audience.

They enter these communities and talk to the people, saying the French or the British, through their colonization, had deprived these people of many opportunities.

They may point to some wealthy property, saying that if the Communist form of government or philosphy were in control all would share that wealth and there would not be any underprivileged persons.

Therein lies the danger of the continuous infiltration and spread of communism.

In the field of technical assistance America is rendering an excellent service in many of these countries. It is a relatively inexpensive undertaking for us, when you consider all the good that it is bringing to humanity.

Such things as how to properly encase a well, how to bring sanitation to a home, how to make an application of fertilizer in the field, how to grow a bush or some type

of woody fiber for the purpose of a fuel, thereby permitting the barnyard fertilizer to go to the fields rather than to the manure paddy for fuel as it is done in these countries, these things are the help and assistance needed to improve the living conditions of millions.

It was my observation that we are doing many of these things in our foreign-assistance program exceedingly well. We are actually following the pattern of our own experiment stations and our practical demonstrations. We are using our technicians to show how it can be done, and we expect the people in the countries we are trying to help to develop and train their leaders and their demonstration agents and their own technicians. We want them to do these things for themselves after we show them how, and help them with supplies and materials they need. This is a task which is wholly in keeping with our American ideals. We are simply transplanting a process which, if we look back into the history of our own country, was exactly how we developed the resources of this Nation and attained the standard of living which we enjoy.

At the same time we face almost insurmountable difficulties in winning the minds and hearts of the Asiatic people. The Communists are wholly unscrupulous in their methods and they have seized upon every conceivable weakness and the misery and poverty of the people to spread the story that these countries will never have decent conditions, never gain real freedom, until they throw off the shackles and unite in the world revolution of communism.

I think we can win through in the end, but we cannot do so by good works alone. We must find a new and more effective psychological approach to reach the people, we must make our objectives clear to the whole world, we must recruit and encourage the best and ablest people we have to bring the message of freedom to these people. Let us not delude ourselves by thinking that we have accomplished our aims. We are far from the goal. We face a hard uphill fight, and there will be many setbacks and disappointments, because there are so many factors that affect the end result.

But we cannot turn back from this task. Our own future, and that of all free countries, is at stake in this fight. It is not simply a matter of helping backward areas of the world. Our self-interest is involved for we will never be free ourselves, or secure in our freedom, so long as there are vast areas of the world and millions of people who are ready-made victims for Communist blackout.

Let us, then, neither underestimate what we have to do, nor be discouraged or turned aside by temporary setbacks that are inevitable by the complex nature of the world situation. Let us rather show a determination, a singleness of purpose, a skill in diplomacy and in mass psychology, and a united spirit that will not merely equal but which will, and must, exceed those of the vast forces that are arrayed against us. Only in this manner will we be successful in the cold-war effort.

Political and individual freedom where it is enjoyed today was not easily or cheaply attained. It will not be easily or cheaply kept.

Tribute to Hon. Edward O. McCowen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the Sixth Congressional District of Ohio has enjoyed distinguished representation in the United States Congress for many years. Representative POLK is a most worthy successor to the late Representative, Hon. Edward O. McCowen, whose passing we all mourn.

Mr. McCowen came to Congress with a remarkable record of public service. As a member of the Ohio State Senate, as a superintendent of the county schools of Scioto County, Ohio, he brought to this House a background of education, culture, and legislative experience. For three consecutive terms Representative McCowen served in this House as a conscientious and distinguished Member. His tenure of office coincided with the difficult period of the Second World War. Throughout those difficult days he never faltered in his faith and always considered every problem before us from the viewpoint of the national interest alone.

Ohio and the Nation have lost a gentleman whose monument must be the good works, the good name, and the good family he has left behind him.

Florida's Sunshine at Last Gets Tax Deductible Rating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I am sure that some of my distinguished friends in the Senate who like to go to Florida in the winter will be delighted to hear that a Federal judge, according to an Associated Press Dispatch from Cleveland in the Washington Star of today has just ruled that Florida's sunshine at last is entitled to a tax deductible rating.

In this particular matter, in connection with which I now ask to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, it appears that a tired business executive who went to Florida because of certain bodily ailments, having to pay $1,401 for the expense of the trip, was allowed that amount as a deduction on his income-tax return by a Federal court, indicating that for the first time in history, so far as I know, the value of sunshine, at least in a particular place, has been recognized as being tax deductible.

I commend the article to the close attention of my colleagues, so many of whom, I am glad to say, do come to Florida, the Sunshine State, during the winter.

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLAND. I yield.

Mr. HENNINGS. Is it not correct to say that a great many of the benefits to be derived from the fine sunshine in Florida are predicated on getting the right doctor, who will insist that a person go to Florida as part of his treatment?

Mr. HOLLAND. I believe that would be important.

Mr. HENNINGS. That would be a necessary predicate for the deduction, of course.

Mr. HOLLAND. I believe it would be a most important feature of the whole matter, but for confirmation of that fact I would have to refer the Senator to some Senator who has had to seek leave of absence from the Senate because of ill health. Because I get my sunshine in Florida during vacations I have had the good fortune to not lose, from illness, as much as a single day in the nearly 8 years I have been in the Senate. Therefore I cannot give the Senator any authoritative information on that point.

Mr. HENNINGS. Then the Senator from Florida does not have any experience in that connection during the best season in his own State. Is that correct?

Mr. HOLLAND. The Senator is correct. I believe that the Senator from Missouri is correct in suggesting that Senators who go to Florida for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of the sunshine should get medical advice before they go if they want to receive a tax deduction.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FLORIDA'S SUNSHINE AT LAST GETS TAX DEDUCTIBLE RATING

CLEVELAND, February 11.—Florida sunshine is a tax-deductible item for a Shaker Heights insurance executive.

Contending the Florida sun had helped his hearing, William B. Watkins, 81, successfully appealed an Internal Revenue Service ruling denying the cost of a trip to Florida was a deductible medical expense.

Judge Marion J. Harron said she was convinced a 4-month Florida stay in 1949 was solely and primarily for mitigation of Mr. Watkins' hearing defect.

The cost of travel and lodgings—amounting to $1,401 in taxable income, or $577 in taxes—but not food, was deductible, she held. A $926 additional claim for food was voluntarily withdrawn by Mr. Watkins.

Mr. Watkins' attorney, Leonard S. Frost, said the executive has been wintering in Florida every year since 1949 and may reap tax benefits in later years. He is there now.

The Proposed Budget and Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I offer for inclusion a splendid letter in reference to our flood-control problems along the Red River, Mississippi River, and other rivers which flow through Louisiana. This letter was written to me by Col. Roy T. Sessums, director of the department of public works of the State of Louisiana:

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
Baton Rouge, February 3, 1954.

Representative OVERTON BROOKS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BROOKS: The budget for fiscal 1955, of $45,200,000 for the

ississippi River and its tributaries, is $6,-
3,000 less than the amount appropriated
r fiscal 1954 and $15,070,000 less than the
mount appropriated for fiscal 1953. The
roposed budget represents a cut of 12 per-
nt from the 1954 budget and 26 percent
om the 1953 figure. Such a rate of reduc-
on far exceeds the rate at which the na-
onal budget has been reduced.

The budget for fiscal 1955, of $4,335,000
r Red River below Denison, is $1,579,000
s than the amount appropriated for fiscal
54 and $1,340,000 less than that appropri-
ed for fiscal 1953. This reduction repre-
nts a cut of 28 percent from the 1954 budget
r that item and 23 percent from the 1953
dget for the same item.

The proposed budget would reduce funds
ailable for the construction of main-stem
vees on the Mississippi and its tributaries
om $3,622,650 in 1954, to $853,000 for fiscal
55. No less than $59,030,000 will be re-
ired to complete the construction of these
ain-stem levees and at the rate proposed
the budget for 1955, almost 70 years
ould be required for their completion.
e firmly believe that the figure for this
em should be increased by no less than
,500,000.

You are well aware that all of us have high
pes for the solution of many of our levee
oblems by means of the bank-stabiliza-
on program. The proposed budget would
ovide approximately $18,775,000 for this
rk which is about the same amount as
at provided during the last 2 years. To
aintain a satisfactory and economical rate
progress on the program of bank stabili-
tion, $40 million per year for the next 3
ars would be required.

Although the budget figure for the
chafalaya River Basin has been increased
om $2,741,000 to $3,175,000, no funds would
available for the solution of the most
gent problem in the basin. This problem
rendering the floodway capable of carry-
g safely the 1,500,000 cubic feet per second
oject flood. An additional $2 million per
ar for 10 years would be required to bring
e floodway up to the standards necessary
this purpose.

A minimum of $550,000 would be required
prosecute the work on the Lake Pont-
artrain levee in an orderly and economical
anner, but only $230,000 is provided in the
dget for fiscal 1955.

While the budget item for the Texarkana
m is adequate, there is only $335,000 pro-
ded for levees and bank stabilization on
e Red River from Denison to Boyce. Of
e five flood-control dams authorized in
46 under the Red River below Denison
n, only the Texarkana Dam in near com-
tion. The $335,000 provided for levees
d bank stabilization under this item is in-
equate even for the purpose of meeting
ergency conditions, without regard to the
rmanent solution of the problem. The
rrels Bridge Dam, the next step in the
d River below Denison plan, should be
tiated at the earliest possible date. At
st $1 million should be provided to initi-
construction on that project.

You are well aware that the flood-control
ojects along the Mississippi and Red Rivers
k much of being finished, with the form-
only about 68 percent complete and the
ter 18 percent complete. For the last 2
al years, funds for the Mississippi and
butaries suffered reductions of 23 percent
d 28 percent, respectively. For the same
iod, the Federal budget was reduced only
percent, or from $70,902,000,000 to
.570,000,000.

There is grave concern throughout the
ate as to the effect of the reductions rep-
ented by the proposed budget for fiscal
55 and it is difficult for most of us to
derstand why flood control work is con-
ered less important than any number of
ier works in which the Government seems
recognize a greater responsibility.

There is concern also with regard to the proposed old river-control structure, to prevent the capture of the Mississippi River by the Atchafalayn. While this project must yet be authorized and no funds are provided in the current budget for construction, the fact remains that if appropriations for such construction are to be made in the atmosphere in which the budget was prepared for the 1955 fiscal year, the old river-control structure will not be constructed at anything like the rate which we had hoped. Time is of the essence in this project and none should be lost either in securing its authorization or in the appropriation of sufficient funds, once the project is authorized.

The department of public works is altogether certain that you will spare no effort to secure an adjustment of these budget items and the foregoing information is furnished to you in order that you might have these data at hand. You may be certain that anything you can do in this connection will be much appreciated.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

ROY T. SESSUMS,
Director.

Conservation Is Growing Stronger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH BUTLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, in a recent issue of Plant Food Journal, there appeared a very fine article entitled "Conservation Is Growing Stronger," which was written by the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, for in that way the information contained in the article will be made available to many persons who will be interested in it.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSERVATION IS GROWING STRONGER

(By Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture)

Much has been said in recent months about what farmers can expect in the way of a conservation program for 1954. Various scare stories have been spread about. And a number of people reportedly are highly alarmed about the situation.

For my part, I welcome this opportunity to set the record straight. I welcome this opportunity to assure farmers that the conservation program for 1954 will be stronger than ever before. And I'm happy to be able to assure them that they have every reason for going right ahead with their conservation work during the year ahead.

Few things that farmers do in 1954 will be more important than their conservation work. For this reason, all farmers should know these facts about the 1954 conservation program:

First. It will be a stronger program, designed to get more conservation where it is needed most.

Second. It will be a more decentralized program, adapted more particularly, to local and individual farm problems, with its administration closer to the farmer.

And third. It will be a more efficient program, designed to streamline various functions so as to render better service to farm families throughout the land.

President Eisenhower laid down the guidelines for our conservation effort in a message to Congress in mid-1953. Here is what he said:

"Our basic problem is to carry forward the tradition of conservation, improvement, and wise use and development of our land and water resources—a policy initiated 50 years ago under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. To do this within the framework of a sound fiscal policy and in the light of defense needs will require the maximum cooperation among the States and local communities, farmers, businessmen, and other private citizens, and the Federal Government. * * * It will require improved Federal organization to accomplish a more logical division of responsibilities among the various Federal agencies in order that resource development programs may be carried on with the greatest efficiency and the least duplication. And it will require comprehensive river basin planning with the cooperation of State and local interests."

This message sets the policy which I am following in carrying out the Nation's soil conservation program. And it reflects the basic attitude that was pursued last year in reorganization of the Department—including the conservation agencies.

In that reorganization, we sought to streamline the functions of the Department in as many areas as possible. For the Department as a whole, 20 bureaus and agencies were put in 4 main groups for more effective administration. And in the field of conservation, the division of responsibility was clarified as never before.

We see the total conservation effort consisting of five main parts: research, education, technical assistance, credit, and cost-sharing. Our present organization follows this division of effort. Research is the primary responsibility of the Agricultural Research Service. Education is carried out by the Extension Service. Technical assistance is the job of the Soil Conservation Service and the Forest Service. Credit is provided by the Farmers Home Administration. And cost-sharing is handled by the Agricultural Conservation Program Service.

Because so much attention has been centered on the Department's actions with respect to the Agricultural Conservation Program Service and the Soil Conservation Service, I should like to direct my statements chiefly to the work of these agencies. Both the ACP and SCS programs have been of great value to American agriculture. And as I shall point out, we are preparing to render them even more helpful in the years to come.

The ACP program for 1954, for example, has been improved particularly in two major respects over the program for 1953.

First of all, we are encouraging what, for lack of a better name, is being called a package practice or conservation job approach. Under this approach, farmers are encouraged to take all the steps necessary to complete a given conservation job. Then the Government shares the cost on the basis of the entire job rather than just on parts of it.

For example, a farmer may be faced with the problem of land taken out of allotment crops. Some of this may need to be put into a permanent sod crop. To do this probably will require the use of lime and fertilizer as well as good adapted seed. In addition, special preparation of the land may be needed. Under the package approach, he will be required to carry out all of these necessary steps to qualify for cost sharing.

In the interests of getting conservation carried out where it is most needed, however,

cost sharing is provided only for the initial establishment of conservation practices. Most farmers likely will have other ground needing conservation treatment, and we can help them with that in coming years.

A second improvement is that every effort will be made in 1954 to see that farmers are told how much of the cost will be borne by ACP before he starts a practice. Previously, the amount was indefinite and its size depended upon the failure of other farmers to complete practices in many instances. In 1954, however, there will be a definite commitment to each farmer which will not be increased or decreased later. So in the year ahead it will be possible for farmers to know ahead of time exactly what to expect.

All this means, of course, that the ACP program stands more ready than ever to be of service to farmers. And it means that farmers have every reason for going right ahead with their conservation work. If they need cost sharing and haven't requested it, they can still go to their county and community committees, talk over their conservation problems with the committeemen, and fill out a simple form requesting needed cost sharing on work yet to be done.

Whatever the scare stories farmers may have heard, they should not let this stop them from taking advantage of the program in every way.

Perhaps the greatest abuse to the conservation effort has been hurled at our reorganization of the Soil Conservation Service. But here again, as in the case of ACP, the program has been strengthened for 1954.

What we have done is to streamline the soil conservation setup for reasons of greater efficiency and improvement of service to the public. We have abolished the regional offices of the Soil Conservation Service, because we believe it is clearly unwise for the Department to impose a regional office barrier between the States and Washington.

The net result, I feel sure, will be less redtape, greater service to the public, and better overall administration. The farmer will benefit from a larger proportion of each conservation dollar. The State offices of SCS will be strengthened as key units in administering the work of the agency. And the change will bring the administration of SCS technical-assistance program closer to the farmer.

I realize that it is natural for some earnest and valued friends of soil conservation to feel that any change at all in the soil-conservation setup is, somehow, a blow at the program itself. But their fears are groundless. No one places a higher value on soil conservation—no one is more genuinely enthusiastic about the program—than I. It is because I know the worth of soil building and conservation that I am determined to do all I can to improve it.

The national interest is too deeply involved in the strength of our soil for me ever to contemplate weakening this work. It is an undertaking for all of us to join in, as partners and friends. I am sure that neither the States, nor local conservation districts, nor the Department, have any wish to change the basic character of our relationships in this work.

I am told that there is fear in some quarters that the Soil Conservation Service is to be merged into the Extension Service. Yet such a change would clearly violate the division of responsibility which we established months ago. I believe—as I have made clear to congressional committees—that these agencies have different functions and their work ought to be done in separate organizations.

I also believe, however, that conservation is a teamwork job. It can only be accomplished by harmonious working relations between the technical-assistance phase and the educational phase. The one complements the other. The better the educational job is done by the Extension Service, the better the Soil Conservation Service can assist farmers with their conservation job. The better the job of assistance is done by the Soil Conservation Service, the more the farmer can capitalize on a good program of education in the broad field of farm management.

There can be no doubt that the technical-assistance phase is the primary responsibility of the Soil Conservation Service. And this technical-assistance job is to furnish on-the-site technical assistance for soil, water, and plant management, aimed at soil protection and improvement, water conservation, flood prevention, and economic production on a sustained scale.

Another fear seems to be that the Nation's system of soil-conservation districts is somehow threatened. This, too, is a groundless fear. We see the national conservation program as a cooperative one between the USDA and the States and localities as represented by the soil-conservation districts. We want everyone to know that the Department believes wholeheartedly in soil-conservation districts and fully appreciates their role of leadership and their contribution in this great undertaking.

We are determined to carry out a dynamic and more effective national program of soil and water conservation, including the protection and improvement of soil and water resources on individual farms and ranches and on entire watersheds. And we in the Department will administer this program through the Soil Conservation Service in cooperation with the soil-conservation districts.

Further evidence of the dynamic conservation program now under way is the effort being made to expedite the small watershed program. This program is designed to demonstrate the physical effect of watershed treatment on the reduction of floodwater and sediment damages. Final approval has now been gained for virtually all of the sixty-odd small watersheds for inclusion in the $5 million watershed-protection program authorized by Congress last year.

Available SCS personnel and other facilities have been marshaled promptly to move ahead with the programs on authorized watersheds as rapidly as they have been approved. And we hope that fieldwork will begin this winter or next spring.

These activities and many others all add up to the most concerted conservation effort yet put forward. They add up to solid assurance that the conservation program for 1954 will provide greater encouragement for enduring progress on American farms than ever before.

A Square Deal for Farmers of the Great Plains

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there recently came to my desk a copy of a statement entitled "A Plea for a Square Deal for the Farmers of the Great Plains," which statement was submitted to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry by Mr. Ben C. McCabe. I ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PLEA FOR A SQUARE DEAL FOR THE FARMERS OF THE GREAT PLAINS

(Statement submitted to the Agriculture Committee of the United States Senate by Ben C. McCabe, president of International, Pacific & McCabe Bros. Co., Minneapolis, Minn., February 1954)

My name is Ben C. McCabe. I am president of the International Elevator Co. which operates country elevators in the four upper Midwest States.

I have learned over the years that our company can't expect to grow and prosper unless our farmer customers are prospering, too.

Consequently I, like yourselves, have been racking my brain for 30 years or more to try to think up a plan that will at least keep our farmers on a par with those of us who live in the cities.

After all that thought, I can tell you a fact, well known to yourselves—there is no perfect farm price-support program. No one program can fit all commodities. Any plan that influences price must bring controls and loss of some individual freedom. I think we have all learned the truth of those two statements.

Another fact is that we have learned that high price supports may leave the gate wide open for substitutes to take over the market. We see that happening today in the case of butter.

We in our area are extremely worried about our dairy industry. Holding the support level for butter at 90 percent of parity is not the solution. Taxpayers will insist on the whole program being thrown out if warehouses fill with mountains of rancid butter.

The dairy industry has embarked on a tremendous advertising campaign to hold and win back the market for butter. In my opinion no amount of advertising can gain back the market for 70-cent butter in competition with yellow colored margarine, well packaged, well advertised, tasty to use and selling at 30 cents a pound.

I am not in the dairy industry, but those who have a direct interest in this problem had better find the best possible solution soon or our whole price-support program may be in disrepute.

My principal interest, of course, is in the grain price-support program. I think Congress framed the present law with grain and cotton in mind and then tacked on the support program of the perishable farm products.

For grains, I believe the present program with refinements is the best. I believe separate programs should be developed for other farm commodities.

Price supports are the most important ingredient of our grain market prices. Without them we would have dollar wheat and 75-cent corn. Ruin would be spreading over the Plains States.

Our farmers need a relatively high support price so as to assure fair income in years of good yields. Two-dollar wheat doesn't mean much to the farmers faced with crop failure.

The certificate or two-price plan, recently tossed out again, does provide in the value of the certificates, a form of income insurance. But our wheat farmers now have crop insurance available which with some broadening can do the same job.

Otherwise, I see little, if any, advantage to the certificate plan. With world-wide overproduction of most grains, this alternative plan would need to be buttressed with acreage and marketing controls. We would need just the same machinery we now have plus the addition of staff to handle the certificate end of the plan. It would bring ruin to wheat farmers of other exporting nations. Finally I believe it would result in less income for our grain farmers.

I am opposed to the flexible support plan for grains. Flexible supports will not immediately cut small-grain production in the Great Plains.

Actually for the short term, seeded acreage s secondary to weather, pests, and disease n affecting small-grain production.

Our farmers, always in fear of drought, oods, frost, heat, rust, and grasshoppers, ould seed a full acreage until the downward exing of support prices brought on bank-uptcy. We would then have reduced pro-uction with a vengeance.

Here are a few recommendations for nproving the present plan.

1. Congress should adopt a modernized arity. Surely the consumer should get ome price advantage from the enlarged se of commercial fertilizers—the use of ybrid seed—mechanical corn pickers—shell-rs and dryers. Corn at present farm parity f $1.77 per bushel can hardly be fed to 20.20 parity hogs at reasonable profit.

Certainly the use of the mechanical cot-on picker and new cultivation methods ave made a tremendous cut in the produc-on costs of cotton compared to the share opper days. The same applies, to a lesser ttent, to small grains.

2. I believe in 90 percent support prices r major grains; but it must be 90 percent nder a modern and fair formula or we will e pricing our grains out of the market. inety percent of parity for wheat plus the ubsidy on exports brings the total cost to e United States consumer just up to arity—a price he should gladly pay.

3. I believe we must have a well thought rt soil conservation program to work in ose coordination with production controls.

4. The mechanics of handling the support ograms can be greatly improved. The lack use of the facilities of the grain trade is tremendous waste of human energy as well the taxpayers' dollars.

5. Our present law provides the machinery limit or halt the imports of commodities nen those imports tend to break down or danger our support program. Years ago is machinery was used to virtually halt the portation of wheat. Our wheat price sup-rt program would have broken down long o if these imports had not been stopped. In recent years the imports of oats, barley, d rye have rendered almost useless our pport program for those grains. The exec-ive branch of our Government under pre-ous administrations failed to act under the w. Our present administration has tem-rized in meeting this vital problem.

Certainly Canada and Argentina would ilike to lose this market for their surplus ts, barley and rye. But what kind of jack-es must they think we are to make loans our producers of these grains at prices r above their market prices—freezing our rn production out of consumptive use and pporting a large part of our commercial quirements.

Reports show that as of December 15 there re 43,366,000 bushels of oats and 32,226,-0 bushels of barley under loan.

Our imports since July 1, 1953, to Decem-r 30, were—oats 35,500,000 bushels; barley, ,500,000 bushels.

What would Canada think if our Com-odity Credit Corporation started selling me of their surplus hoard of butter, cheese, heat, or even oats and barley on the Cana-an market? The Canadians wouldn't like at one bit better than we do.

Sure, the American importers can show fig-es to prove, at least to their satisfaction, at these imports were needed. I will say at, had not our price-support program been ined by imports, our farmers would have sed more of these grains and less of wheat d corn.

Also, the banning of imports would have ifted demand to corn and other surplus mestic feed grains.

Let me also point out one other angle in is case. Freight rates on grain in western nada are set by statute at 3 percent less an what they were in 1897. These extremely low transportation rates are provided by Parliament as one part of their farm program. As a result, it costs the Canadian farmer at Coutts, Alberta, only 8½ cents per bushel to move his oats to Port Arthur. His neighbor across the border at Sweet Grass, Mont., has to pay freight of 24½ cents per bushel to move his oats to Duluth. This freight advantage of 16 cents per bushel compares to the import duty of only 4 cents per bushel. With this tremendous export subsidy, Canadian oats, barley, and rye will always undersell our domestic grains in the eastern market.

We now have acreage controls on wheat production. The resulting lower production of wheat in the United States will ease the worldwide strain of overproduction of this grain. No country will gain more than Canada from our decreased wheat production. I quote from the Northwestern Miller of December 1, 1953.

"James C. Gardiner, Canada's Minister of Agriculture, thinks that Canada owes the United States a debt of gratitude because of the decision to reduce American wheat acreage.

" 'The United States intention to cut the sown area by 16 million acres, equal to two-thirds of the total wheat acreage in Canada, would be of greater assistance to Canada in solving its wheat-surplus problem than any other single measure,' Mr. Gardiner declared. 'It will probably make it much easier for Canadians to sell wheat.'

"Continuing, the minister said, 'From my discussions with experts on the other side of the line I am satisfied that they realize that we in western Canada must be able to grow wheat if we are to live there at all.' Mr. Gardiner pointed out that it was possible for the American farmer to reduce the acreage given over to wheat and plant other crops instead whereas that was not the case in western Canada."

But our farmers are going to seed a large part of these wheat acres to oats, barley, and rye. Are we going to allow the increased yields of these grains to be frozen on Government loans while imports satisfy our domestic consumption?

I say "No."

I quote from the Northwestern Miller of December 15, 1953:

"Acting very much the part of a good neighbor, the Canadian Government this week took the United States administration off an embarrassing hook when it voluntarily agreed to limit shipments of oats into the United States to 23 million bushels during the period of December 10, 1953–September 30, 1954.

"The voluntary Canadian action stipulating this temporary limitation on oats shipments to the United States conforms to United States Department of Agriculture recommendations. USDA had originally sent to the President a proposal that oat imports be restricted to 23 million bushels for the balance of the crop year from all sources and that previous imports not be credited against the recommended import limit.

"In making this concession to the United States Government, Canadian officials noted that they were taking this step voluntarily and that they did not construe it as implying any obligations on their part. In fact, the Canadian officials said that if oat imports from other sources expanded heavily, they would feel free to reopen their present temporary decision in light of changed conditions."

I cannot believe that Congress is willing to stand by and allow a foreign government to administer our farm price support laws.

Our farmers of the Great Plains are citizens of the United States. They deserve and must have, first consideration of the United States market. They feel that if the eastern United States dairy and poultry farmers want to use foreign subsidized grain, then they should sell their products in those foreign countries. But if they want to sell their products on the United States market then we demand that they give feed grains from the United States first consideration. They must pay United States prices if they expect to sell at United States prices.

New crop Argentine corn is now being offered delivered to our Atlantic and Pacific ports at less than the price of domestic corn. Our Midwestern farmers cannot afford to lose these important markets. Congress must not duck this issue. Either protect our domestic markets for United States farmers or turn the Plains States back to the Indians.

I recommend that Congress amend section 22 so that imports of farm commodities will be prohibited except for those commodities for which the United States farmer is receiving more than full parity in the market.

Our present price support law has hardly had a fair chance. Acreage controls should have been put on wheat and cotton for last year's crops, but being an election year, it was not, politically, a smart thing to do.

Much of the present emergency has been brought on by the declining volume of our exports. This has been due to increased foreign production—not our level of prices. A substantial subsidy is now paid by our Government to bring our wheat prices in line with foreign competition, but still this demand continues to shrink.

Under our economic aid program we have exported American farm equipment, improved seed and fertilizer. We have sent along our farm experts to teach our foreign friends and they have really done a job.

We now see such happenings as Turkey selling large amounts of wheat to markets close to us such as Brazil at prices below our export prices.

With our know-how and machinery and their cheap labor, we will have to continue to subsidize our exports or ask our farmers to accept a lower standard of living than that enjoyed by the rest of us.

We must aim to produce some surpluses over and above our domestic consumption so as to protect our supplies in case of crop failure either at home or in friendly nations. The subsidy paid on exports is only an insurance premium to assure adequate supplies at reasonable and stable prices.

One word on supports for meat. Many livestock producers are opposed to price supports. I can understand their reasoning for their own products, but the case for price supports for grains is greatly different. We saw only months ago how hog producers in about a year's time cut down hog production so that prices recovered to the point where they could make a profit feeding corn at support prices.

Much the same thing has happened with feeder cattle during the past year.

We see the same thing happening in poultry in a matter of weeks.

Meat prices have adjusted to feed prices in a relatively short period with the CCC doing little to support meat prices except for buying for the school-lunch program.

Yes, it was rough on the hog and cattle feeders for a time, but perhaps meat had been too high priced in the boom years.

The feeders, of course, cried for lower-priced feed grain. But lower-priced grain would have resulted in meat prices stabilizing on an equally lower basis than we have today.

Let me point out the great differences in risks involved between the livestock and poultry raisers on one hand and the dry land grain farmer on the other.

The livestock raisers can tell you at breeding time within a small percentage just what their calf, or lamb, or pig crop is going to be. The poultry producer can gage his production accurately by the number of chicks he buys. The dairy farmer knows

from the number of cows he is milking and his feeding program just about what his milk and butterfat production is going to be.

But the grain farmer out on the Great Plains doesn't know when he seeds a hundred acres whether he will reap a harvest of 100 bushels or 5,000 bushels. And because of that great variation his income insecurity has been greater than that of the livestock or poultry raisers.

Consequently the grain farmer's need of price protection is greater by far than that of the livestock producer.

Price supports make production controls essential. Production controls are feasible for grains and cotton. I don't believe they are for dairy and poultry products, meat, and vegetables.

Our farm feeding industry has shown us how quickly they can adjust production to meet the demand and the price of feed. Now that the severe postwar adjustment is over, I believe our feeding industry people can pretty well take care of themselves, although they certainly should have price supports available in emergencies. Our price-support system for feed grains will assure them of abundant supplies at reasonable and stable prices.

I have just received a letter from a London friend telling of visits with the wheat buyers of two of Britain's largest milling companies. They are very bearish on world wheat prices. They point to the generally good crops and large supplies in most countries outside the Iron Curtain. They point to countries such as Sweden and Turkey which are ordinarily looked upon as importers but are this year selling large quantities for export. These world wheat experts say that the United States and Canada are holding up a price umbrella, allowing other exporting countries to take over the market. They forecast that Canada will soon have to break away from the minimum International Wheat Agreement price and sell at what importing countries are willing to pay.

There is no doubt about it. There is a large worldwide surplus of wheat and other grains. And if we leave it up to the importing countries to set the price, it will be a price that will bring ruin to the grain growers of all exporting nations.

We perhaps have nothing to say about what other countries are going to do about this critical situation. But here in the United States we can and are doing something about it.

Congress, through our price support laws, has given us the tools to work with. Certainly it is better to have a plan to meet the situation than to just let nature take its course as is being done in most other countries.

In our plan, 90 percent of parity for basic commodities is our main line of defense. Let's be sure that this line is in the right place. The present modernized parity formula will lower parity from to 10 to 35 cents per bushel on the various grains. Perhaps that formula is not just right. If it is not, Congress has the experts at its command who can give us a formula that is right and fair. Then let us adopt it. We can then retreat to 90 percent of parity and take our stand to fight this problem through on that fair line. A retreat to 75 percent of parity would only make the situation worse. It would be like pernicious anemia for our farming community.

No, let's draw the line at 90 percent of parity on grains, buttressed with import controls, and fight it out right there. Ninety percent of a fair price should be a minimum wage for our farmers. Production controls during this emergency will keep any of them from growing rich during this war for survival.

The Bureau of the Census has just reported that in spite of the oil boom, North Dakota's population has dropped from 619,000 in 1950 to 598,000 today. South Dakota's population has dropped from 650,000 to 639,000 in the past 3 years. Even the rich farming State of Iowa has lost population in this same prosperous period.

If our farmers have it so good, why are they leaving their farms? Because economic and living conditions are better elsewhere.

Yes, we are a minority group, but we are citizens of the United States and our homes are on United States soil. We buy farm equipment made in the East. We buy clothing and house furnishings made in the West, the East and the South. We pay transportation charges on the products we raise and the equipment we buy. In so doing, we are paying the high wages of the railroads, the automobile and farm-equipment plants, the oil fields and many other lines.

All we ask of the people who sell us their goods and services at United States prices is that they pay us United States prices for the food we raise to feed them. I plead for a square deal for the farmers of the Great Plains.

I know Congress will do its best, as it has in the past, to meet these critical problems. I, as a private citizen, want to commend and thank you Members of Congress for your devotion to this great public service.

Additional Support of President's Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the House a portion of the monthly economic letter of the Northeast Farm Foundation, published at Ithaca, N. Y., dated February 1, and entitled "The Benson Farm Program."

I do not question that there are those who believe that the President's program is not in their interest but this excerpt from this letter should receive their most careful consideration.

The excerpt is as follows:

THE BENSON FARM PROGRAM

The Eisenhower-Benson farm program charts a middle course. It may not be politically popular, but it is a step in the right direction.

Secretary Benson had some competent advisers, in formulating this program—among them Dean Myers, of Cornell. There is no doubt that to Bill Myers more than any other individual belongs the credit for shaping these constructive proposals and getting them accepted by administration people.

Certainly the administration would have pleased the cotton, tobacco, and wheat politicians far more by simply proposing a continuation of high, fixed price supports. Or it might have won the applause of millions of consumers by wiping price supports off the books.

Neither of these alternatives is tolerable at the present time, as Benson well understands.

Ponder the first alternative. How long can this system be kept—using taxpayers' money to take vast quantities of the most valuable foods and fibers out of the market and pile them up in dead storage? As a practical proposition, is it to be expected that the people would support this indefinitely? Human nature isn't built that way.

The Government has piled up today near a billion pounds of dairy products, 800 million bushels of wheat, over 9½ million bales of cotton—a year's supply—plus innumerable other products. It has nearly exhausted the CCC funds of $6¾ billion. The storage charges alone on this stuff approach half a million dollars a day. These hoards bulge the walls of all the warehouses, grain bins, cold-storage cellars in the country, not to mention caves, barns, idle schoolhouses, churches, and ships.

Now these incredible mountains of food must be largely given away or thrown away. The waste involved is not a waste merely of money. It is a waste of the labor, skill, machinery, and precious fertility of our soil.

A system like that cannot go on forever.

Or ponder the second alternative—to do away with price supports.

The central fact about this country's economy today is that it is dominated by urban industry. And industry has its wages, prices, and charges boosted up on an artificial, inflated plane—far above the world level—held up there by pressure groups and politics. Agriculture is bound to this industrial structure in a thousand ways. Industry's wage level is the backbone of the farmer's costs.

Agriculture could not be suddenly deflated to the world level today and stay solvent. If that were to happen it would go down into a major depression, dragging other groups with it. Agriculture has got to have some support for a time, if its costs are to be held up at an artificially high level.

So Benson did the best that perhaps anybody could do by laying out a middle course, a move aimed in the direction of free markets and a free agriculture. And the President had the judgment and courage to take this program and back it.

In a nutshell, this program proposes to write off the existing mountains of stored commodities and, in time, get over to a basis of flexible price supports.

Obviously all this involves difficulties. No realist can write off the stuff in storage just by the stroke of a pen. But the purpose has been declared. It may be worked out somehow, given time.

But overall, the Eisenhower-Benson program does make sense. In general, it points away from artificially built-up surpluses; away from high subsidies that boomerang; it points back toward a freer market and a freer farm business.

It is apparent that this program is not to the liking of the wheat and cotton interests and the politicians who represent them. They will fight it, though how sensible men can expect to perpetuate the present system of production-for-waste is beyond understanding.

On the other hand, there are a lot of thoughtful farmers—not to mention 130 million consumers—who may rally to the Benson program before the show is over. It will be an interesting spectacle to watch.

As for the Northeast, it is hard to see how our interests could be better served, over the long pull, than by the development of the Benson program. We think it deserves and will have support in these parts.

Congressional Investigations and Civil Liberties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, on January 6 of this year—the opening day of the new session of Congress—I intro-

ed in the House a concurrent resolu- (H. Con. Res. 186) to establish rules rocedure governing investigation by mittees of Congress. At that time I ined my views concerning the matter indicated some of the major provi- s contained in my resolution.

ecently, a most interesting article on subject came to my attention. It is ten by a member of the New York Bar Association, Mr. Lloyd K. Gar- n, who was for many years the dean the University of Wisconsin Law ol. In his article, entitled "Con- sional Investigations: Are They a eat to Civil Liberties?" Mr. Garrison ts out that investigations by con- sional committees are not new, that date back to the administration of ident Washington, and that this ition of congressional investigations become firmly embedded in our form overnment.

recent years, however, the whole ect has become a center of contro- y, partly because of our modern ia of transmitting information to the ic, particularly television, and partly use of certain methods and proce- s used which in the opinion of many titute a threat to our civil liberties. is article, Mr. Garrison discusses e of the problems raised by congres- al investigations and suggests meth- of solving these problems. Some of iews and suggestions coincide with iews and with the provisions con- ed in my resolution.

r. Speaker, I am sure all my col- ues will be interested to read this le, which was published in the Feb- y 1954 issue of the American Bar ciation Journal. It is as follows:

RESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS: ARE THEY A THREAT TO CIVIL LIBERTIES?

Lloyd K. Garrison, of the New York Bar, New York City)

ngressional investigations are a pecu- American invention, born of the sepa- n of the executive and legislative ches. They have served the country and we could not do without them; but cent years some of them have developed ses which have caused their friends both d out of Congress much concern.

the way they treat witnesses and per- accused by witnesses, the committees be likened to a poker, cool at one end not at the other. At the cool end, we hem performing their earliest historical ion of checking up on the executive h, seeking information and scrutinizing or that activity. Congress has been at salutary task since 1792, and in the e of its questions of civil liberties have m been presented.

the cool end also are those investiga- where the object is to get facts needed he shaping of legislation. It was not 827 in the House and 1859 in the Sen- at investigations of this sort, backed by ubpena power, were instituted, but they grown apace with the increasing com- y of legislative problems. In these in- es, private citizens have been witnesses often that Government employees, and te rather than official acts more often ubject of examination; but where Con- has had a clear legislative end in view the committees have sincerely sought on defined and specific problems, ques- of civil liberties have rarely arisen.

both the executive and the legislative the process of investigation may shift d the warmer end of the poker where the committees' motives are less simple and direct than those which have just been described. The bias against particular agencies or private groups has at times been so strong that their representatives or members have been treated less than fairly. Liberals and conservatives alike have complained of this sort of treatment.

The hot end of the poker begins to burn when the committee's target is no longer an agency or group but a single individual. There the individual, on trial for his actions, associations or beliefs, stands isolated and virtually defenseless. He may contend that no legislative purpose can be served by the investigation, or that given questions are not relevant to the subject matter of the inquiry, or that a subpena of his private records is too broad; but these defenses are for practical purposes worthless. (See the illuminating analysis by Judge Wyzanski in the March 1948 issue of the Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.)

The witness may, of course, claim his privilege against self-incrimination and suffer the inferences which the public generally, and it may be justifiably, draws from such a plea. Apart from this he is substantially at the mercy of the committee. In extreme cases, where the investigation may destroy his livelihood, regardless of the truth of the charges, and the committee knows this or even encourages such a result, the committee's action may come close to being a bill of attainder. "A bill of attainder," said the Supreme Court in the post-Civil War case of *Cummings* v. *Missouri* (4 Wall. (U. S.) 277, 323), "is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial"; and a similar pronouncement was made in the companion case of *Ex parte Garland* (4 Wall. (U. S.) 333). In those cases the Court reversed the convictions of Cummings, a Roman Catholic priest, and of Garland, a lawyer, for practicing their callings without swearing that they had never taken arms against the United States or abetted its enemies.

These cases were reaffirmed in 1945 in *United States* v. *Lovett* (328 U. S. 303), where the Court said at page 318 that "When our Constitution and Bill of Rights were written, our ancestors had ample reason to know that legislative trials and punishments were too dangerous to liberty to exist in the nation of free men they envisaged. And so they proscribed bills of attainder." The Court accordingly held unconstitutional an act of Congress prohibiting salary payments to three named employees charged by a committee with disloyalty. The Court said that: "What is involved here is a congressional proscription of Lovett, Watson, and Dodd, prohibiting their ever holding a Government job. Were this case to be not justiciable, congressional action, aimed at three named individuals, which stigmatized their reputation and seriously impaired their change to earn a living, could never be challenged in any court. Our Constitution did not contemplate such a result" (p. 314).

PERSONS UNDER INVESTIGATION SHOULD NOT BE DENIED RIGHTS

When a congressional committee in an investigation aimed at particular individuals stigmatizes their reputation and seriously impairs their chance to earn a living, to use the language of the Court, the action is not far in effect as well as in spirit from the action condemned by the Constitution, even though the committee does not directly inflict the punishment but leaves that task to others, having reason to expect its due performance. The very fact that the committee's action, though close to a bill of attainder, is not literally one, emphasizes the need of affording defendants in these legislative trials to the fullest possible extent, the basic protections extended to accused criminals by the Bill of Rights.

And not to defendants only. Innocent outsiders may be, and in late years frequently have been, accused by witnesses in the course of particular investigations without an opportunity to appear and be heard in their own defense; and even where that opportunity has been given the defense has never yet caught up with the accusation.

In the light of these abuses numerous reforms have been proposed in recent years, by leaders of the bar, law teachers. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, students of government, and Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle. The proposals are of three sorts.

The first would bring the executive and legislative branches closer together in knowledge and understanding, so as to lessen the number of investigations and to improve their temper and narrow their scope. Outstanding is Senator KEFAUVER'S bill for a question period in Congress comparable to that in the House of Commons, but adapted to the American scene. It seems to me wholly admirable in concept and in detail. It would not, however, affect investigations of individuals unconnected with the Government, where the most severe abuses have occurred.

The second type of proposal relates to the all-important question of personnel. One measure, for example, would concentrate investigations in the hands of the standing committees and their subcommittees. This was intended by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, but has not been fully accomplished. The great objection to special committees is that the person who proposes the resolution invariably is appointed chairman and then runs the show, whatever his qualifications.

Another set of proposals relating to personnel would sharply (and I think rightly) curtail the power of the chairman. Thus it is suggested that a majority of the committee should be required to authorize certain important steps, such as initiating an investigation, defining its scope, issuing subpenas, finding a witness in contempt, deciding whether a given hearing should be public or in executive session, releasing or making use of testimony given in executive session, and approving the text of interim and final reports. Plainly there is need of a greater assumption of responsibility by committee members in spite of the heavy pressure for time under which all members labor. There is general agreement that all investigating committees should be provided with expert staff and counsel. It has also been proposed, with obvious justification, that committeemen and staff members should be precluded from speaking or writing about the committee's work for compensation, and that predictions and conclusions, which have so frequently prejudiced individuals, ought not to be publicly aired in advance of the report.

The third type of proposal has to do with procedural rules, of which importance we as lawyers are particularly aware. The rules most frequently advocated are that a person who believes he has been injured by the testimony of another should have the right to appear and be heard, to call witnesses on his own behalf and to cross-examine his accusers, with the aid of counsel and of committee subpenas if need be. These elementary rights, the core of our Anglo-Saxon system of discovering the truth, are long overdue in congressional investigations. They are needed not merely to protect the individual but even more importantly to bring out the truth in the public interest. They must obviously be subject to limitations and controls, lest the time of committees be unduly wasted and the proceedings get out of hand. These limitations and controls will not be easy to work out, and some degree of flexibility and room for experimentation seems desirable. But the practical problems, such as they may be, ought not to be allowed to delay action where the principle at stake is so clear.

At least one committee has successfully conducted an investigation in which all parties were given the right to examine and cross-examine witnesses and to rebut adverse testimony. This was the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on the Study of Monopoly Power, under the chairmanship of Representative CELLER. Concededly, it operated in the cooler zone of seeking light on specific legislative problems and did not have to cope with the emotions and tensions that are aroused where a committee's object is to expose the activities, associations, or beliefs of a particular individual. But even in investigations of the latter sort, where the rights in question are so essential to the ascertainment of the truth, there is no reason to suppose that the successful experience of the Celler committee could not be duplicated, given a competent chairman and rules of reasonable limitation.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE SCOPE OF INVESTIGATIONS?

Now I turn to the question of the scope and reach of congressional investigations. This is of basic importance because even if rights of the sort just discussed are granted, they will necessarily fall short of those prevailing in courts of law, given the practical requirements of committee operation. Moreover the existence of these rights will not prevent the mere making of an accusation from irretrievably injuring the reputation of the person accused, however innocent he may later prove himself to be. This difficulty might be cured if it were possible to establish some closely safeguarded procedure, comparable to that of a grand jury, where charges could be sifted in private before any person was subjected to the humiliation of being publicly interrogated or denounced. But it is doubtful whether such a procedure could be worked out. Probably the nearest thing to it is the frequent practice of examining witnesses in executive session before a decision is reached as to whether to call them publicly; but this procedure, in turn, is unsatisfactory: Because of time pressure, the attendance at executive sessions is generally meager and but little attention can be given to weighing the evidence after it is in; leaks to the watchful and sometimes prying press may occur, to the prejudice of the witness; and, particularly if the witness is a well-known person, the fact that he has been called is almost sure to become public knowledge and in and of itself is harmful to him. Finally, and this applies, of course, to public as well as executive sessions, the triers of the facts are politicians, of whom it can be said with certainty that they are neither juries nor judges.

These difficulties are inherent in trying to convert legislative investigations of individuals into the semblance of judicial trials. The judicial safeguards against falsehood and harassment which we so rightfully revere simply cannot, in full measure, be adapted to investigating committees. It follows from this that Congress should exercise the utmost restraint in launching investigations of individuals where, by the very nature of the process, even after all practical procedural reforms have been made, full justice cannot be done and truthful conclusions cannot be assured. It does not follow, however, that there are any areas of American life which should permanently and under all circumstances be blocked off from the scrutiny of committees. Congress would not stand for such a limitation and the public interest would not be served by it. We need only recall a few of those investigations in which the careers of individuals were shattered but the country was the gainer: Teapot Dome, for example, and the King committee's recent investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and other inquiries into alleged frauds upon the Government. Similarly, some of the exposures of Communist infiltration into Government, illustrated by examples of particular individuals, helped to illuminate the nature and objectives of the Communist Party and the steps that the Government must take in self-defense.

What is needed is not a fixed limitation upon the scope of congressional investigations, but the assumption of a greater degree of responsibility by Congress as a whole for what is done in its name. Even the Supreme Court upon occasion has had to be admonished to exercise self-restraint within its sphere of power. The time is surely ripe for a congressional stocktaking of that which it is permitting its committees to do, particularly in the field of alleged subversion, where because of the natural anxieties of our citizens and the dazzling glare of publicity, committee activities are heavily concentrated.

In this most sensitive field of inquiry, the investigations have proliferated out into the community in an ever-widening circle, embracing all manner of people unconnected with the Government or with the defense effort, in walks of life far removed from any possibility of sabotage, espionage, or interference with the economy, and far removed also from any serious likelihood of Federal regulation. It is in these investigations that the maximum harm can be done to innocent individuals with the least gain to the country. I suppose that wherever in private life a Communist member is made to suffer from public exposure some damage, potential or actual, is done to the party, and this may be chalked up as a gain; but we must measure the cost on the other side of the ledger. There is, to begin with, the injury to those who, having been called to testify, are not shown to have had any connection with the party, or whose connection with it was at some time in the past. More seriously, the spreading ambit of these inquiries into men's beliefs and associations, past and present, contributes to the general state of timidity and conformity that is creeping over the land and sapping our vitality as a nation. Nothing is more un-American than timidity and conformity. And nothing is more risky in the age in which we live.

We are living, as Toynbee puts it, in a "time of troubles." In such a time it is above all things important that we the people of the United States should remain clear-headed, unafraid, resourceful in our thinking as in our actions, and ready to change old policies, and, if need be, invent new ones, as circumstances may require. The censorship of books, attacks upon schools, colleges, newspaper editors, and clergymen, the browbeating of those both in and out of Government who dare to criticize the conduct of investigations, the multiplication of loyalty oaths and tests for various kinds of private employment, the bulding up of multitudinous dossiers on the private lives of citizens, the use against individuals of the undisclosed contents of reports prepared by secret agents, the increasingly intolerant treatment of immigrants and aliens, the excessive encroachments upon executive functions, and the spreading abroad of fear, suspicion and confusion—in these developments lie serious risks to our national sanity and our capacity to deal boldly and creatively with a world in ferment.

It would be unfair to ascribe to congressional investigations all of these threats to our true security. Many of them stem from State and municipal actions, and many are initiated or furthered by private groups. But what Congress does affects the whole body politic more powerfully than any other influence; the dramas of the committee rooms radiate outward to a watching and listening public and profoundly affect for good or evil the patterns of thought and emotion which in the end will shape our destinies.

So I say that there is no more urgent need than for Congress to assume responsibility not merely for improving the procedures of its committees but for passing upon the scope and reach and aims of their investigations.

What, then, specifically should be done? Two possible courses, among many which have been proposed, suggest themselves. The first would be for Congress to establish a joint standing committee on investigations, composed of leading Members of both Houses, to which all requests for investigations would be referred for study and recommendation. The joint committee would first consider whether or not there was need of the investigation, balancing gains and risks from an overall national standpoint. The joint committee would also consider how the investigation could best be conducted, whether by a standing committee or a special committee, or (as has often been suggested) by outside experts or officials together with Senators and Representatives, or by officials or outside experts alone, with or without the grant of particular powers. The joint committee would also consider whether any special procedures or safeguards should be adopted, consistent with the practical requirements of the task to be done, and having in mind the extent to which the rights of individuals might be adversely affected. The joint committee would be required to report within a stated time, and its report would be recommendatory only, final responsibility being borne by the particular House involved.

A second step forward could be taken by Congress' adoption of minimum standards for the conduct of all investigating committees, defining the functions of chairmen and the duties of members, and the rights of witnesses and persons accused by witnesses. The makings of these minimum standards already exist in various pending bills introduced by Senators and Congressmen who have given long and patient study to the matter. Several committees have, in addition, adopted rules of procedure of their own which mark a real step forward. Common agreement should be possible, and the standards when adopted could from time to time be improved by particular committees and by Congress itself after adequate experimentation.

There will of course be many difficulties in the way of any reform: the vested interests of patricular committees, the ambitions of individual Senators and Congressmen. But Congress is responsive to the will of an informed people, and no one can more wisely lead the people or advise the Congress in these matters than our own profession. Upon us whose privilege it has been to discern the true nature of liberty and the proper limitations of political power rests a great responsibility. I hope and believe that we shall shoulder it and thereby justify our birthright as Americans and our duty as lawyers.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Appendix

nproved Benefits Under the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
ION. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I ve today introduced H. R. 7840, a bill amend the Railroad Retirement Act, e Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and e Railroad Unemployment Insurance t. Hearings on this bill before the mmittee on Interstate and Foreign mmerce will begin at an early date.

This bill is jointly sponsored by all ndard railway labor organizations. provides for the liberalization of bene- to retired railroad workers, their dows and children, and increases the ly benefit rate for unemployed rail- d workers. A summary of the anges proposed by this bill is as fol- ws:

First. Widows benefits at age 60: Un- r present law aged widows are not elig- e for survivors benefits until age 65. e bill reduces the eligibility age to 60.

Second. Disability work clause: Un- r present law, a disability annuitant deemed recovered if he earns more an $75 in each of six consecutive nths. The bill provides for withhold- the annuity in any month in which re than $100 is earned. This will re- ve hardships on the one hand, and minate abuses on the other.

Third. Survivor's benefits for disabled ldren and widowed mothers: Under sent law, a widowed mother and her ld cease getting survivor's benefits en the child reaches age 18 even ough the child may be completely dis- ed for any employment. The bill vides that if the child is permanently d totally disabled, the survivor's bene- to the widowed mother and child l continue beyond age 18.

Fourth. Maximum creditable and tax- e compensation: Under present law, maximum compensation that is tax- e and creditable for both railroad irement and unemployment insur- ce purposes is $300 per month. The l increases this maximum to $350 both tax purposes and for credit toward efits under both the railroad retire- nt and unemployment insurance sys- ns. In connection with establishing new benefit rates for crediting this ditional compensation under the Un- ployment Insurance Act, it is also pro- ed that the daily benefit rate shall t be less than one-half the last daily e of pay at which he worked in rail- road employment, but with a maximum of $8.

Fifth. Crediting of compensation earned after age 65: Under present law, compensation earned after retirement age is used in computing the annuity even though through lower earnings in later years this operates to reduce the annuity. The bill provides for disregarding such compensation—though crediting the service—if using such compensation would reduce the annuity.

Sixth. Receipt of both survivor annuity and retirement annuity: Under present law, a widow who has had railroad employment and is eligible for a retirement annuity in her own right and who would also be eligible for a survivor annuity by reason of her husband's employment has the latter offset against the former and cannot receive both; the bill provides for both to be paid.

Seventh. Delegates to convention: Under present law, service as a delegate to a labor organization convention is covered employment. These conventions frequently include delegates from units outside the railroad industry or outside the country who have no other covered employment. The accumulation of these trifling credits is of no substantial value compared with the nuisance of recording it and collecting the taxes on it. The bill excludes such service from coverage where the individual has no other covered employment.

Mr. Speaker, I have received the following letter from representatives of all the standard railway labor organizations in behalf of this bill. I am happy to note that all these organizations are in full agreement in supporting this legislation.

RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 12, 1954.

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,
Chairman, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is to advise that all the standard railroad labor unions, including the four train and engine service brotherhoods and all the organizations identified with the Railway Labor Executives' Association, are in full agreement and in support of the draft bill which has been delivered to your office by Messrs. Johnson and Kolanda, which would amend the railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance systems. For your ready reference, these recognized standard railroad labor organizations are listed below:

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; Order of Railway Conductors; Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Switchmen's Union of North America; The Order of Railroad Telegraphers; American Train Dispatchers Association; Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L.; International Association of Machinists; International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers, and Helpers; Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America; Sheet Metal Workers International Association; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers; Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express, and Station Employes; Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes; Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America; National Organization Masters, Mates & Pilots of America; National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association; International Longshoremen's Association; Hotel & Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union; Railroad Yardmasters of America; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The above organizations represent substantially all the railroad workers in the United States. We will be very grateful to you if you will intrtoduce this bill and do all you consistently can to expedite its prompt consideration.

Respectfully yours,

LAWRENCE V. BYRNES,
Assistant Grand Chief Engineer and National Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

A. M. LAMPLEY,
Vice President—National Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

W. D. JOHNSON,
Vice President and National Legislative Representative, Order of Railway Conductors.

HARRY SEE,
National Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

A. E. LYON,
Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives' Association.

Why Higher Mail Rates?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Why Higher Mail Rates?" which appeared in the February 9, 1954, issue of the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat:

WHY HIGHER MAIL RATES?

Approval by the House of Representatives Post Office and Civil Service Committee of a bill to increase postal rates generally, including a hike of 4 cents for ordinary first-class letters, is not something to be commended lightly even by the most ardent zealots for governmental economy and efficiency.

The Post Office Department claims it is now operating on a deficit of $400 million a year, meaning that it spends this much more than it takes in. A similar statement of operational losses could be prepared for the Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and other departments which have many per-

sonnel, huge payrolls, and spend large sums for the benefit of the citizenry, yet have negligible incomes.

The question of whether it was ever intended for the postal service to operate at a profit, by ordinary business standards, will not down. The penny post card, the poor man's letter, vanished long ago. Within easy memory, the letter rate was 2 cents.

Although quite true that costs of everything entering mail service computations, from truck tires to salaries for carriers, have risen, there are well-founded charges that the huge mail-carrying subsidies to railroads and airlines are unnecessarily lavish.

Certainly all the people are interested in this sweeping proposal, because everybody who writes a letter will be affected. With ordinary letters raised to 4 cents, airmail letters to 7 cents (now 6), and second-class publications (including newspapers) facing 3 more 10-percent rate increases during the next 3 years, the entire population is rightly concerned. Newspapers already have had two 10-percent increases, with another slated for April.

It is quite proper for Members of Congress to express distaste for this increase bill in an election year, as they are doing, especially as Congressmen are now in the process of voting higher salaries for themselves. The proposed mail increases are expected, on paper at least, to bring in more than $240 million. This expectation, however, bases on the presumption that just as many letters will be posted after the rates go up as now. It is highly doubtful that this presumption would ever be realized.

"I Speak for Democracy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the talk of the Colorado winner in the I Speak for Democracy contest. The author of this declaration on democracy, Roger Davidson, of Fort Collins, Colo., is well known to me, and this example of his outlook on life indicates that he is following the fine public service of his family. I do not think that I need to add anything to this fine statement. I intend, rather, merely to call to the attention of the Members this fine example of our youth coming into maturity. If ideals such as these are maintained, then we may face the future with confidence that this Nation will go forward along the clear path marked out by our forefathers.

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Roger Davidson)

This is one of the most important days of my life. I have worked and studied and waited for this milestone.

Yes, I have just received my high school diploma. I have been given a little sheet of paper that says I am the product of a society that assumes there are extraordinary possibilities within every citizen, and accordingly gives them an equal chance to learn.

And today I think of all the other blessings that I enjoy in my home and community: a free church, a newspaper uncensored as to its views and convictions, schools, libraries, businesses—they are all byproducts of this same way of life. Democracy, the Greeks called it—freedom of ideas and convictions; liberty of press and speech; equality of education and opportunity; the worth of the individual.

That's what democracy is, but how did it come to be? How is it that I have fallen heir to this priceless heritage?

A pale, plainly dressed man trudged through the cold New England snow to start a settlement—an experiment in liberty of conscience. Thus, Roger Williams blazed a trail of burning freedom through the wilderness.

A redheaded Virginian had ideas about all men being created equal. For Thomas Jefferson was not afraid to erect the framework of our Government in days of uncertainty.

And there was a backwoods lawyer who told us that this Nation could not exist half slave and half free. So Abe Lincoln steered our ship of state through treacherous waters.

There were lots more, too: Franklin, Madison, Wilson, Roosevelt. They added their voices to the cry for democracy.

That is what we have fought for, too: In grassy fields or steaming jungles from Valley Forge to Antietam Creek, from the Argonne to Guadalcanal, rows of whitewashed crosses give silent proof that patriot's blood was shed for the cause of world democracy.

But my greatest personal debt is to the many people whose quiet, unassuming lives have been a resounding testimony to the worth of the democratic way—people who by patient teaching or loyal example have planted an understanding of these concepts within me.

Those people, and thousands more like them, dedicated their lives that this Nation might be strong; can I do less than live to keep it so?

Graduation is a threshold—a stepping forward, and therefore my first chance to evaluate independently the things for which I, an American youth, must live.

I must first know democracy. I've learned in classes the history and operation of our Government, but to be a worthy citizen, I must also understand the facts in every campaign and election, be aware of every social and political injustice, and keep informed on issues affecting the people of our Nation. For "the truth," not ignorance and indifference, "will make us free."

Then I must practice democracy. This way of doing things is not a mere abstraction, but is at the very heart of life itself—a working conviction that bursts the bonds of idealism and strides into every home and business; each farm and factory. For democracy is the people, and its rise or fall will depend on them.

Then I must be willing to give democracy. Franklin Roosevelt has said, "Democracy is not a static thing, but is always on the march." This does not mean bullying or forcing others into our way of thinking, but democracy can free those in the chains of slavery and oppression, and displacing fear and coercion, it can mold justice and understanding among the nations.

Even in the face of doubt and opposition from every side—both within and without—democracy cannot rest until these lofty dreams are realized. What we need, then, is a positive faith. That is what I and thousands of American youth can give to a turbulent world.

You see, I have the greatest debt in history to pay; I have the most important job in the world in my hands; I have the most powerful story on earth to tell. I will speak for democracy.

Republican National Committee Encourages Distortions by GOP Speakers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Hunting Season," which was carried in the Washington Post on February 10, 1954:

HUNTING SEASON

Speaker RAYBURN and Senator SYMINGTON are right in their warning to the President. The administration cannot expect cooperation of Democrats on legislative matters and at the same time permit the Republican political musketeers an open season with all sorts of defamatory charges. Since the close balance of power in both Houses of Congress necessitates Democratic support if the President's program is to be advanced, it behooves Mr. Eisenhower to exercise his influence as party leader to restrain the below-the-belt attacks.

The Democrats, to be sure, have indulged in extravagances of their own; no one can forget the way they played the Hoover depression to a fare-thee-well. It also is true that the party debates of, say, 100 years ago contained language in some ways more scurrilous than that in use today. But these are hardly admirable standards of comparison. Besides, there is a new element in the malevolence of the worldwide Communist conspiracy. To call a man a scoundrel is to engage in accepted political tactics; but to call him an accomplice of traitors is to accuse him of perhaps the basest of all crimes.

There is a vast difference, then, between hard-hitting but legitimate political attacks on the issues and attempts to smear the Democratic Party as disloyal. Yet it is not only the McCarthys who have overstepped the bounds of propriety. Attorney General Brownell caused justifiable resentment by his exaggerations about former President Truman in the White case. Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams contributed the furor with his remark about "political sadists." Various Republican spokesmen have attempted to make political capital of the 2,200 security risks by implying that they were all traitors. The Republican National Committee seems to be encouraging this kind of distortion.

The truth of the matter is that President Eisenhower's leadership within the executive department and in relations with Congress has not been accompanied by similar leadership in the affairs of the Republican Party. Many of the men who are speaking for the Republican Party today are troglodytes who no more represent what Mr. Eisenhower stands for than a Model T represents the current automotive product. In some instances the loudest proclamations come from the men who fought Mr. Eisenhower's nomination the most vigorously.

No doubt it is impossible for any party effectively to restrain all of its flannelmouths. But without disavowal, the extremist attacks under sponsorship of the Republican National Committee appear indirectly to carry the President's sanction, and they invite low-level retribution from the Democrats. The result, if this trend is not checked, will be to take the party direction away from the

esident and to insure, as a practical mat-, that communism in Government will re-ain an issue contrary to his expressed shes. There is a real danger that Mr. senhower's program may be frustrated in nsequence, for he can hardly expect sup-rt from Democrats whose loyalty is under ack. It is time for recognition that the esident needs the help of moderates in th parties more than the extremists in her. Only if the President himself sets e tone more emphatically can the process political debasement be reversed.

The "Treason" of Cardinal Mindszenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, 5 ars ago this month when a so-called ople's court in Budapest, Hungary—a mmunist kangaroo court with no more semblance to a court of justice than a mmunist people's democracy resem-s a real democracy—handed down the famous verdict of guilty and sentenced seph Cardinal Mindszenty to life im-sonment, the free world was shocked d dismayed.

To any who had even a lingering ubt as to the depths of Communist pravity and barbarity, this made-in-oscow decision was the final convinc-g evidence that free men and Com-nists do not mean the same things by e same words.

Cardinal Mindszenty was adjudged by Communist captors and persecutors guilty of treason. Did they mean ason to the people of Hungry? Of urse not. The charge was treason to e principles of atheistic inhumanity, animallike cruelty, of degradation of e rights and dignity of mankind.

Yes, there can be no doubt that Car-nal Mindszenty was guilty of despising mmunism, of hating injustice and rsecution and slavery, of fighting ainst the conquest of religion, of re-ing to be a party to the degradation the human spirit.

Farce though it was, his trial was the evitable end product of Communist mination of his homeland, for men e Cardinal Mindszenty and the Luth-an Bishop Lajos Ordass who preceded e Cardinal in the prisoner's dock of e Communist court in Budapest stood the way of Communist control over e minds of the Hungarian people.

On that sad day 5 years ago when a ave churchman stood before his tor-entors and thanked God that his con-ence was clear, this House was moved action to protest the farce and cruelty his arrest and sentence, and I am oud that I was privileged to vote for at resolution.

I am proud, too, that our Secretary of ate at that time, Dean Acheson, omptly and in the name of the United ates, labeled the trial of Cardinal ndszenty and the persecution of Luth-an Bishop Ordass as attempts to dis-edit and coerce religious leadership in ngary in order to remove this source of moral resistance to communism. He added that the people of the United States are sickened and horrified by these developments and fully comprehend the threat they constitute to free institutions everywhere.

The words spoken then are truer than ever today. The Cardinal thrust into a prison cell to live out his life in cruel confinement is today more than ever a symbol of the conscience of mankind in resisting the designs of communism to enslave the minds of men and banish religion from the face of the earth.

For Cardinal Mindszenty, this has been no new experience. On February 9, 1919, 35 years ago, he suffered for the first time the indecent affront and hardship of arrest by totalitarian rulers of his homeland. Then, too, it was by a Communist regime—that of Bela Kun. He was at that time held many months without trial as a hostage. It was as a man of 27, a priest for only a few years, that he first experienced the aggression of totalitarian rulers against religion. He learned then that those who would rule men's minds by force and violence feared religion and thus sought to destroy it.

The lesson learned then was repeated in 1944 when he was again arrested and jailed—this time by order of the Nazis, pursuing a similar goal of shackling or destroying religion. Then, more than 5 years ago, he began his third period of imprisonment by totalitarian criminals seeking to crush religion in Hungary.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles accurately described the true meaning of Cardinal Mindszenty's role in history last month when he said, on the anniversary of the Cardinal's arrest in December, 1948:

> The case of Cardinal Mindszenty, a defender of the faith and of human freedom against both of the great tyrannies of our time, is not closed. It is actively before the conscience of his countrymen and that of free peoples throughout the world. The prolongation of his unjust incarceration adds daily to the moral poverty of his captors.

Mr. Speaker, though Cardinal Mindszenty remains convicted under Communist theories of justice of the crime of treason, it is well to note on this fifth anniversary of that tragic occurrence that his guilt consisted of refusing to commit treason to his God, to his religion, to his countrymen or his fellow humans on this earth. His crime was to uphold decency. To communism, of course, no crime is worse. But to those who believe in God and practice His word, his actions stand as a true symbol of nobility of the human spirit.

Hitting the Bull's-Eye With Both Barrels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the San Francisco Call Bulletin of July 25, 1953.

HITTING THE BULL'S-EYE WITH BOTH BARRELS

President Eisenhower has scored a bull's-eye with both barrels in his selection of former President Herbert Hoover and James A. Farley as public representatives on a new commission on governmental organization.

Hoover, of course, is no stranger to the task; the work of the former Hoover Commission, which bore his name and which delved deeply into the ramifications of streamlining the Government and cutting out bureaucratic deadwood, resulted in considerable accomplishment. And it goes without saying that, as a former Chief Executive and as a patriotic and discerning American statesman, he brings a wealth of wisdom and experience to the job.

The choice of Farley gives a valid bipartisan touch to the project. Ironically enough, it was Farley's political skill which contributed in large measure to Hoover's defeat in 1932. Now both are joined in an effort designed to benefit the American people, without regard to party affiliations.

It would be hard to find a better choice among the ranks of the Democrats. Wise in the ways of politics and a former Cabinet member, Farley is, above all, an American-plan Democrat and not one of those left-wing schemers who permeated the Government when the "third termites" found their way to Washington. Indeed, it was his fidelity to constitutional government and genuine Americanism which precipitated his break with the party in power after he had engineered two of its most notable triumphs at the polls.

For a Mr. Republican and a Mr. Democrat who, working together, will have the interests of the American people at heart, the Hoover-Farley combination is a jackpot for Ike—and the Nation.

Legislation by Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include herewith the following editorial published in the Postal Transport Journal:

LEGISLATION BY ADMINISTRATION

Statutory law which can be found in Title 39, United States Code, sections 436, 462a, 463a, and 475 defines domestic air mail as being:

> All mailable matter being transported as mail by air within the continental United States, within any territory or possession of the United States, within any geographical area which is a protectorate of the United States, or between any of the aforesaid * * *. The rate of postage of all domestic air mail as defined in section 462a of this title, shall, except in the case of postal cards and private mailing or postcards, be 6 cents for each ounce * * *. The rate of postage on postal cards and private mailing or postcards * * * when sent by airmail, shall be 4 cents each" (39 U. S. C., ch. 13, sec. 463a).

As we understand the plain provisions of the law as quoted above, domestic air mail comprises all mail transported by air, such mail to bear the rate of postage established by law.

To provide for unforeseen emergencies, the law further provides:

"In the event of emergency caused by flood, fire, or other calamitous visitation, the Postmaster General is authorized to contract, without advertising, for the transportation by aircraft of any or all classes of mail to or from localities affected by such calamity, where available facilities of persons authorized to transport mail to or from such localities are inadequate to meet the requirements of the Postal Service during such emergency. Such contracts may be only for such periods as may be necessitated for the maintenance of mail service, by the inadequacy of such other facilities." * * * (Sec. 405, 52, Stat. 994, as amended, 49 U. S. C. 485.)

Obviously, this language is applicable only in the circumstances specified and only for the emergency period. The very fact that it was deemed necessary to insert such a provision negatives the idea that the Postmaster General possesses the authority necessary to fly first-class mail whenever he sees fit to do so.

Another apparently applicable provision of existing law has regard to transportation of mail by air star route:

"Whenever he shall find it to be in the public interest, because of the nature of the terrain, or the impracticability or inadequacy of surface transportation, and where the cost thereof is reasonably compatible with the service to be provided, the Postmaster General may award contracts for the transportation by aircraft upon star routes of any or all classes of mail, payment for such service to be made from the appropriation for inland transportation by star routes." (Sec. 6, 52 Stat. 219; 39 U. S. C. 470.)

Despite these plain provisions of the law and the obvious intent of Congress, we observe the Post Office Department has filed petitions with the CAB for an order fixing and determining fair and reasonable compensation for the transportation of certain first class and other preferential mail by aircraft between New York City, N. Y., and Chicago, Ill., and Washington, D. C., and Chicago, Ill., where the present surface transportation is frequent, adequate, and efficient. We believe this action to be a clear violation of the law enacted by the Congress.

We are not unmindful of the ruling of the Comptroller General wherein he advised the Postmaster General that "this office will not object to the use of funds for the air transportation of first-class mail in those instances where, in the judgment of the Postmaster General, its use contributes to a more efficient or economical postal service and it is used in such manner as not to impair the basic distinction between airmail service and the regular mail service."

While the ruling of the Comptroller General held that there would be no objection to the use of funds for air transportation of first-class mail, we do not construe this ruling as dealing with the legality of the 3-cent flying experiment which actually gives to 3-cent first-class mail, service comparable to domestic airmail at the 6-cent rate. Numerous tests show that regular 3-cent first-class letters and 6-cent airmail letters receive identical deliveries between New York City and Chicago, and Washington and Chicago. Thus the basic distinction between airmail service and regular mail service is not being maintained.

Nor is the 3-cent first-class mail being transported by air without additional cost. Regular first-class mail originating in the Wilmington-Philadelphia area and in the New England States is being diverted at Philadelphia and at Albany, N. Y., and is transported up to 140 miles by rail to New York City where it is given motor-vehicle service to LaGuardia Airport and then flown to Chicago. These additional ground costs do have an effect on the overall costs, but they do not appear in the Postmaster General's petition filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Numerous efforts were made in Congress before and after the passage of the Civil Aeronautics Act in 1938 to authorize or require first-class mail to be flown. On February 2, 1925, an act was approved authorizing the Postmaster General to "contract for the transportation of first-class mail at a rate not to exceed four-fifths of the revenues" therefrom (39 U. S. C., ch. 13, sec. 464). This provision was repealed by the 74th Congress in the Airmail Act of 1934 (48 St. Park 1, p. 933). H. R. 3420, introduced by Chairman Lee, of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the 78th Congress, provided for an investigation by the Postmaster General and the Civil Aeronautics Commission of "the feasibility and advantages, including the cost of transporting by air all or any class of mail (including parcel post) wherever delivery thereof would be speeded by the use of air transportation." H. R. 1720, introduced at the same session by Congressman Boren, of Oklahoma, directed the Postmaster General "to provide at the earliest practicable date, and to the extent that facilities therefor are available, for the transportation by air * * * without surcharge, wherever delivery thereof would be speeded." It is significant that neither of those bills passed.

Since the repeal of the 1925 act there has been no legislation empowering the Postmaster General to transport first-class mail by air, except certain provisions applying only in unusual circumstances. The action of the Postmaster General in diverting New York–Chicago and Washington–Chicago mail from rail to air appears not to have been based upon any of these provisions.

Small wonder, then, that certain Members of Congress are looking askance at the activities of the Post Office Department. Small wonder indeed that Senator JOHNSTON, former chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee desires additional information and clarification on the so-called reduction in the postal deficit.

We further believe that many Members of Congress will, in the near future, demand an explanation of what appears to us as being legislation by administration.

No Recession Forecast by Ex-Truman Adviser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Canton (Ohio) Repository of Monday, February 8.

The article, titled "No Recession Forecast by Ex-Truman Adviser," reports on a speech made in Canton on February 7 by Leon H. Keyserling, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

As the headline indicates, Keyserling does not foresee any impending recession, declaring that the Nation's economic outlook is good.

Keyserling's statement shows very clearly how little merit there is to the current recession talk of the peddlers of gloom and doom.

The article follows:

NO RECESSION FORECAST BY EX-TRUMAN ADVISER

The chief economic adviser to President Truman for 3 years doesn't think the present downturn in business will wind up in a depression as some Americans fear.

Leon H. Keyserling, onetime Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, even refrained from using the word "recession" in a talk on the United States economy in Jewish Center Sunday night.

He further told the 18th annual meeting of Jewish Welfare Fund the economic outlook is good even though the country has a Republican administration.

"I think the idea that we are going to have a depression because we have another party in power is so much popycock," he asserted.

For a man who served the Roosevelt and Truman administrations for 20 years in various posts Keyserling was surprisingly optimistic about the Nation's economic health.

He described the present economic situation as a "period of economic adjustment" that won't be as severe as the 1949 recession which most Americans have forgotten.

"I look upon it as merely ripples on the surface of the progress of the economy of the United States," he said.

Keyserling said economic conditions have been involved deeply in politics and Republicans are trying to make the picture as bright as possible while Democrats are trying to make it as dark as they can.

He estimated present United States unemployment at 2,500,000, splitting the difference between Republican and Democratic claims.

"We were worried in 1949," he said. "But, as of now, the level of unemployment is only about half of what it was then."

The former New Deal economist said that Americans in 1939 talked about a substantial recovery from the greatest depression the world has known.

"We had 8 million unemployed then and 46 million employed," he said. "We now have 62 million employed, or about 16 million more than in 1939."

Keyserling said he is highly optimistic about the country's economic outlook because "devices available to help sustain economy will be used much more promptly."

He said there is an acute awareness in the Eisenhower administration that "the American people no longer think they have to have another big depression."

Keyserling predicted that in the next 5 or 6 years this country will have a tremendous upsurge in production and its standard of living if it avoids a third world war.

"Some steelmakers are complaining their facilities have been overexpanded but in the next 5 years this country will need a capacity increase of 15 million to 20 million tons," he said.

GOP Lies Insult to Intelligence of the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial titled "A Lie and They Know It," taken from

he February 9, 1954, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

A Lie and They Know It

The Truman and Roosevelt administrations were administrations of unadulterated betrayal to communism and deep-dyed treason that lasted 20 long years. Such is the impression that the Lincoln Birthday orators of the party in power are attempting to put over this week.

This is an insult to the intelligence of the American people. Apparently these partisan blabbermouths cannot remember something that the American people know very well. This is the fact that Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles enjoyed both trust and preferment in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

The blunt truth is that if it had not been for the opportunity for service accorded Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles would not today be the No. 1 and No. 2 men in Washington. Had it not been for their part in the administrations of "Communist treason," the chances are the world would never have heard their names.

Just how crazy can politicians get?

Our People Deserve the Full Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following article by Robert C. Townsend from the current issue of the Townsend National Weekly:

Our People Deserve the Full Facts

(By Robert C. Townsend)

Maybe noisy patriots who've been telling us that it's almost treasonable to use the word "recession" will shut up now that the President of the United States has acknowledged that business has hit a soft spot and conceivably could become mired down. In his economic report, the President struck an optimistic note; he believes the "mild contraction" as he called it should soon be over but he admitted nobody can forecast the economic future with absolute certainty.

Those people who've been telling us to mind our language and not use the naughty word "recession" have taken the line that the country can scare itself into a depression. They've argued that if we just don't look at this business slump it will go away.

Well, pessimistic talk won't bring on recession just as optimistic talk won't cure one. The mood of the Nation was far from pessimistic in 1929 just before the big crash. The voices of scattered prophets of doom were drowned out by the loud insistence of business spokesmen that never had the future looked more bright. And when the roof fell in, brave talk to the effect that prosperity was just around the corner didn't end the depression.

If forecasts of recession can bring one on, why didn't we have one after World War II? Almost every economist agreed that the end of the war would bring on a bad slump.

It didn't work out this way. The Nation refused to be frightened into a depression.

The President's Economic Report was prepared for him by his Council of Economic Advisers. The Council put its money on early recovery from the current business decline but did not go along with those who insist it won't develop into something much worse if we just ignore it. The Council said the main cause of the slump was the fact that business overstocked early last year, expecting that the high rate of consumer spending would become still higher.

When you recognize a danger, sensible steps can be taken to avert it. Yet still there are those who would have us close our eyes to the present threat. There are those who assert it is subversive to talk about recession openly and frankly. The Speaker of the House of Representatives said recently that there is "a small but hard core group of people in this country who are trying to promote us into hard times for political reasons. He said "a majority of these four-alarm prophets * * * are of a political persuasion that is either downright left wing or friendly to it." The President's Council of Economic Advisers could hardly be called left wing but they have warned that this recession could last for a long time and become deeper. And the President has accepted the warning as justified and relayed it to the American people and Congress. So I reckon we too can now suggest the possibility without running the risk of being labeled subversive.

It's healthy for the people to be informed of the real state of affairs because then they can insist that the Government do something about it. The President himself called upon Congress to take certain immediate steps, among them "broadening the base and benefits of old-age insurance." This was in line with his general theme that increased purchasing power is the key to economic stability. That the President struck this note was encouraging, of course, to Townsendites who've been preaching the same gospel for years. Our criticism is that Eisenhower's social-security proposals are only a weak stab in the right direction. Very little additional spending money would be put into the pockets of beneficiaries.

If the President believes that even a little more social security will help promote economic stability, he might now accept the logical conclusion that a lot more social security will really place the economy on a firm foundation of purchasing power.

Postal Employees and the Cost of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, through the years Congress has established, by law, certain basic rights for postal employees. Notable among these rights is the concept that postal workers are entitled to compensation which will enable them to support themselves and their families in a manner consistent with American standards. This concept has been of great importance to the group of Americans who man the postal services.

When living costs rise, the postal workers, with their fixed income, are placed at a disadvantage. Their weekly earnings tend to cover less and less of their expenses. Previous Congresses have recognized this fact and have adjusted post office salaries upward when conditions warranted.

At the present time the average postal employee is again at a disadvantage, and he is slowly being squeezed by the daily demands which exceed his income. In this respect, and to emphasize how the postal employee is being caught under the relentless lever of higher costs, I am including a recent letter from one of my constituents in the postal service:

BECKLEY, W. Va., *January 25, 1954.*
Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am requesting your continued support in effecting increased salaries for postal employees. After working 13 years in the Beckley, W. Va., post office I find myself living by a stricter budget than ever before.

Realizing that more pay is the old, old complaint, here is a brief résumé of my position:

Married, family of 4

	Monthly
Take-home pay	$303
Modest home payment	55
Food	125
Utilities	22
Total	202
	101

The above is figured roughly, but leaves $25.25 each week for clothing, school expenses for one, life and fire insurance, doctor and dentist bills, operation of 1949 Chevrolet, and the many incidental expenses that always pop up out of nowhere. Saving account was not listed, such items are now nonexistent for me.

The large majority of employees here work an extra job, or their wives work. This is far from ideal for a contented home life, or for best performance while on the job.

Surely an employee's welfare should be considered on at least an even basis with a corresponding dollar mark in the so-called postal deficit.

I do not consider myself, or my organization, particularly greedy. We were voted a salary increase July 1, 1951, which has definitely not kept us abreast of rapidly rising living costs.

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL R. FEAZELL.

I call on Congress to recognize and act on this matter as previous Congresses have done. It is clearly the duty of this legislative body to remove the inequity which has befallen the people of the postal establishment over which they have no control. Only through congressional action can this situation be corrected. I therefore propose that a general pay increase be awarded our postal workers. Let no class of personnel be excluded.

The cost of living affects every worker from the lowest to the highest levels. We must, in all propriety, include postmasters who are the local managers of this great communication system, and who deserve to be given full consideration in this matter.

It is entirely proper that we should grant pay increases to those who labor daily to handle the mail. As a group, and a large group at that, they are widely noted for their loyalty and conscientious service. The postal carrier invariably commands the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens.

It is proper from an additional standpoint that we so act. The Post Office Department has developed into a great

institution through the years. In general it has never been considered a moneymaking venture. Rather it has stressed service to the general public, and humanitarianism toward those who comprise its personnel. If we are to keep the faith of this loyal group of men, and of our predecessors in these Halls of Congress, we must act to close the gap between the pay of the postal workers and their living expenses.

Sign Alaska Statehood Discharge Petition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, discharge petition No. 7 is now at the Speaker's desk. I trust it soon will have enough signatures so that the House of Representatives may proceed to consider H. R. 2982, the Alaska statehood bill. That bill was favorably reported by the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on June 26, 1953 by a vote of 19 to 4. There is no sound reason why it should not be considered promptly, and every good reason why it should. This House last year passed the Hawaii statehood bill but we have had no opportunity to debate and vote on the companion measure for Alaska. As one who has always favored statehood for Hawaii and who has voted for it, I appeal to my colleagues to accord Alaska the same consideration Hawaii has had. I am convinced that if the Alaska bill were voted upon it would be passed by a substantial majority. In any event, we should have the opportunity to work our will on the statehood bill. I do not like to suggest that political considerations are involved here in denying Members of the House the privilege of considering Alaska statehood, but frankly I know of no other explanation.

It is true that the Truman administration endorsed, and enthusiastically, statehood for both of our organized Territories. It is likewise true that neither the state of the Union message in 1953 or in 1954 made any mention of Alaska statehood. That omission, however, sets up no barrier which we cannot surmount. We can do so by signing the discharge petition presented by the gentleman from California, Representative CLAIR ENGLE, and thus give ourselves on opportunity to pass on the merits of Alaska statehood, just as we already have done regarding Hawaii.

I should like to present to you the words used by General Eisenhower, before he became President, when in a speech made at Denver in 1950 he was quoted as saying that the granting of statehood to Alaska and Hawaii would serve the people of the world as a practical symbol that America practices what it preaches. For one, I am willing to stand on those words.

When this House passed the Alaska statehood bill in 1950, the Territory had 128,000 people. Now, according to official estimates, the population has passed that of the least populated State. The population gain between 1950 and 1952 was more than 44 percent, thus making Alaska the fastest growing area in the country. Its estimated population in 1952 was over 182,000.

Statehood for this great Territory should not be considered on a partisan basis. Partisan politics has no part in such a cause. I should like to remind you that both the Democratic and Republican platforms of 1948 and 1952 endorsed statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. I should like to point out that when the Alaska statehood bill was passed by the House in 1950, it commanded bipartisan support. With your cooperation expressed by signing Discharge Petition No. 7 we shall have the Alaska statehood bill on the floor again and I confidently predict to you that it will be passed and that it will command strong support from both sides of the aisle. I hope you will sign the petition before leaving this Chamber today.

Development of Our Power Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert into the RECORD a radio talk I have made on the development of our Federal power policy. This is a subject which has been under much discussion and a matter which affects the lives and livelihood of all of our citizens. Thus far, it has not developed into a partisan issue, yet there boils around the fringes of this issue unmistakable signs that certain private interests are attempting to alter a clear policy which has developed over the years. Since I am convinced that our power policy has been the product of like-minded people of both parties, people interested in the conservation and development through use of our national resources, I think that this matter should be placed into historical perspective so that it cannot become confused by the wiles of those who have some particular selfish interest to serve.

The radio talk follows:

Friends of Colorado's Fourth District, I wish to talk at this time about power, electric power, which serves so well to light the farm, the home, and the factory. We have become accustomed to this "wired hand" or this "ready kilowatt" to help us in our day's activities. Here is a ready servant, powerful, quiet, efficient, quick to do our bidding. In ages past, man had but his own puny strength to use in providing for his life. Later came animal power. Still later came inanimate power—steam, gasoline, electricity—which he could use in a great variety of ways to make a bigger and better life. Our great industrial system and advanced way of life is based upon the fruits of nonhuman energy. Today we have begun to learn something of the great power available in the fission and the fusion of atoms. We have unlimited dreams of inexpensive power available for our use in the future.

However, this presents rather than solves our problems. Atomic power is still a virtual monopoly of the Government and is not yet an economic source of power for ordinary use. Why then speak of power at this time? Because a pattern of use which has served us well for 50 years in electric power seems to be changing. Many are not convinced that these changes will be beneficial to the individual citizen and so I wish to examine with you what has gone before so that these changes can be understood.

Last September, the Department of Interior announced a new public power criteria to apply to the Missouri River Basin area where a series of dams and power plants were scheduled to come into production. This criteria was announced as a revision of previous policy. The dams and powerplants from which this power was to come were built under authority and legislation which traces back over years primarily to the Reclamation Act passed during the tenure of President Theodore Roosevelt. For this discussion, we shall not be concerned with the general reclamation laws but rather with those specific parts which refer to power production and distribution. To make sure this is clear, I propose to follow the policy determined by legislative pronouncements by quoting to you from the acts of Congress over the years.

At first, the Reclamation Act provided only for reclaiming valuable lands needing water in the arid and semiarid areas of the West. That was in 1902. By 1906, it was apparent that more than mere provision of water by storage was involved. Two additional points became clear. One was that power was necessary for pumping irrigation water to get it where it was needed, and the other that power was also needed to pump for drainage. Beyond this, the falling water from the dams and water works might provide a surplus which ought to be utilized. Let me quote from the act of April 16, 1906: "That whenever a development of power is necessary for the irrigation of lands under any project * * * or an opportunity is afforded for the development of power under any such project, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to lease for a period not exceeding 10 years, giving preference to municipal purposes, any surplus power or power privilege."

This is the first mention in legislative act of power production and distribution. This far precedes any hint of the New Deal or of cloying words about socialism. This is a clear legislative recognition of the self-evident fact that the fall of our public rivers is an economic asset of public interest which ought to serve its maximum public benefit. Falling water, useful for the spinning of electric-generating units, is a natural and renewable resource and should be so utilized.

In the Raker Act of 1913 allowing the city of San Francisco and other municipal water districts to utilize water rising in a national park and a national forest, the surplus power to be generated by the dam involved was to be used solely for municipal purposes and any attempt to divert that power to private gain was to cause the power to revert to the Government.

In the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, dealing specifically with power sites and power production and licenses therefore, we find the following language: "That in issuing preliminary permits hereunder or licenses where no preliminary permit has been issued and in issuing licenses to new licensees under section 15 hereof the Commission shall give preference to applications therefore by States and municipalities * * * and * * * that whenever, in the judgment of the Commission, the development of any project should be undertaken by the United States itself, the Commission shall not approve any application for such project by

ny citizen, association, corporation, State, municipality." And then follow provi-ons for study and submittal of its findings lating to Government construction. The t also spells out the fact that the Com-ission is to consider carefully plans best esigned "to develop, conserve, and utilize the public interest the navigation and ater resources of the region."

In the Boulder Canyon Act of 1928, when speaks of the utilization of the power oduced at Hoover Dam and related proj-ts and applications therefor, it says: "In se of conflicting applications, if any, such nflicts shall be resolved by the said Sec-tary, after hearing, with due regard to the ublic interest, and in conformity with the olicy expressed in the Federal Water Power ct * * * except that preference to applicants r the use of water and appurtenant works d privileges necessary for the generation d distribution of hydroelectric energy * * * all be given first, to a State for the gen-ation or purchase of electric energy for use the State, and the States of Arizona, Cali-rnia, and Nevada shall be given equal op-rtunity as such applicants."

In the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 33, the preference and public interest use d disposal theory is even more clearly elled out for more surplus power would ob-ously be produced. "The Board is author-ed to enter into contracts for such sale r a term not exceeding 20 years, and in the le of such current * * * it shall give eference to States, counties, municipali-s, and"—this is the first time—"coopera-ve organizations of citizens or farmers, not ganized or doing business for profit, but imarily for the purpose of supplying elec-city to its own citizens or members: *Pro-ded*, That all contracts made with private mpanies or individuals for the sale of wer, which power is to be resold for a ofit, shall contain a provision authorizing e Board to cancel said contract upon 5 ars' notice in writing, if the Board needs id power to supply the demands of States, unties, or municipalities." This is the first elling out of specific withdrawal power by e operating agency from any private sale the public interest uses. This is the origin the "withdrawal" factor. The TVA Act es on from the quotation above to spell t authority for the Board to construct ch distribution lines as shall be necessary get power to farms and small villages not herwise receiving power at reasonable rates. o other act so clearly spells out the public ture of the assets created by Federal con-ruction and the public use they must serve.

The REA Act of 1936, establishing a loan stem to bring power to the farm and small eas, forms another brick in this structure public uses for publicly created assets. he REA Administrator is required to give eference, in making loans to "States, Terri-ries, and subdivisions and agencies thereof, unicipalities, people's utility districts, and operative, nonprofit, or limited dividend sociations." Public moneys are involved, d public interest must be the criterion of tion.

In the Bonneville Act of 1937 this manda-ry provision is emphatically restated: "In der to insure that the facilities for the neration of electric energy at the Bonne-lle project shall be operated for the benefit the general public, and particularly of mestic and rural consumers, the Adminis-ator shall at all times, in disposing of elec-ic energy generated at said project, give eference and priority to public bodies and operatives."

The Fort Peck Act of 1938 repeats this junction. The Water Conservation Acts 1939 and 1940 have it again: "in sales or ases preference shall be given to munici-lities and other public corporations or agencies; and also to cooperatives and other nonprofit organizations financed in whole or in part by loans made pursuant to the Rural Electrification Act of 1936."

The Flood Control Act of 1944, which gave to the Department of the Interior the job of selling surplus power produced by Corps of Engineer projects, contains the same insist-ence that the public interest be paramount as well as the requirement of preference for public bodies and cooperatives.

I do not often quote at such length but seldom is it possible to show so well a de-veloping pattern in legislative enactment. A reading by any citizen, lawyer or not, will illuminate the consistent growth of our power policy. Surplus power produced in conjunction with public projects is to be sold to public bodies utilized in the public in-terest. Power sold to nonpreference users is subject to withdrawal for preference needs and the rates for the power are to be high enough only to return the legitimate costs of the power features. This is no sudden inspi-ration of some pressure group, no sudden move to socialize power or do away with pri-vate utilities. Rather this is a story, told in legislative enactment, of the slow growth of an American idea and an American ideal, and that is that public assets created by pub-lic moneys are to accrue as nearly as possible to all. Renewable resources found in our great rivers in the form of falling water are assets of all.

What has this American ideal meant to this country, to those in rural areas served by REA, to those in the areas where such power is plentiful?

When the REA was created in 1935 only 10 percent of farms were receiving central sta-tion power. Today that figure is about 90 percent. Between 1935 and 1953, about 4 million additional farms received power from all agencies, public and private. More than half of these farms received this service from REA financed systems. The others were added to lines of other suppliers, many of which were stimulated to greater activity in the rural field by the success of the REA program. Only areas difficult to serve are now without power. I do not think comment need be made about the great value of this electric power to rural areas in terms of bet-ter living, better income and easier, though still hard work.

In the area served by TVA there has been a growth far greater than similar areas with-out its power and other benefits, yet total power sales and uses in surrounding areas has grown mightily and beyond previous expectations.

In the Northwest, where other energy re-sources are lacking, the mighty power of the Columbia River has been harnessed for pub-lic benefit. The great growth of that area has corresponded directly to the increase in available power. In both the TVA area and the Northwest we have vital atomic and aluminum installations which require great blocks of power. These assets have served us all.

Some would have us believe that develop-ments such as these, founded on clear public policy, have operated to the detriment of private interests. I, for one, cannot agree with this assertion and the figures bear out my position. In 1942 Federal power ac-counted for 3.9 percent of total available power. By 1952 when great new projects had been added, the Federal percentage was 4.9 percent. That is a mighty small percentage to constitute Federal monopoly. In terms of total power, in 1942, private power sup-plied 86.9 percent. In 1952, 10 years later, private power still provided 81.5 percent of all power or a change of just over 5 percent. During that 10-year period, cooperatives in-creased their percentage from seven-tenths percent to 2.8 percent, municipalities went up from 7.7 percent to 9.4 percent, and State and power districts went up from eight-tenths percent to 1.4 percent. It should be noted also that total private power sales increased in this period from 78.9 billion kilowatts to 285.6 billion kilowatts. Private power had a terrific expansion during this period. The pattern has continued through 1953.

It might be noted that only about a fourth of nonprivate power is Federal. The balance is made up by cooperatives serving rural areas which otherwise would not likely be served and by purely local units of govern-ment. This may be an evil pattern but to those who have insisted upon producing or distributing their own power, it has just been a good economic move. Cheaper power for more general use has without exception de-veloped new uses, new demands, and new highs in total output.

Thus, I should like to return to the new power criterion. It should be noted that this criteria announced by the Department of Interior is not a statutory matter but rather an administrative determination subject to change by the same administrative deter-mination. It must, of course, bear closely upon legislative enactment and that legis-lative policy I have clearly shown to you. It leaves no question but that public power produced in conjunction with reclamation and flood-control projects surplus to the needs of the projects is to be sold and utilized in the public interest with preference to public agencies.

Adverse public reaction to the new cri-teria was immediate and dramatic. Heavy criticism was leveled at the dropping of withdrawal provisions in nonpreference con-tracts and the requirement for a 20-year estimate of power needs by the preference users, although even the need of any re-vision came under fire. This public reac-tion, coupled with hearings on the subject by the Senate Judiciary Committee late in the fall, led to a revision of the criteria on December 11.

As modified, it spells out more clearly the inescapable fact that public bodies and co-operatives are to have preference and prior-ity for the power. The provision for long-term contracts without any withdrawal right for preference users is hedged by the declaration that surplus power, if any, will be sold to nonpreference users only under short-term contracts of between 1 and 5 years. By this process, later power needs of preference users is to be met. These points are obvious improvements in the adminis-trative statement of the Department of the Interior, yet the leeway still exists in that administrative determination. It is still possible that part of this power may end up in nonpreference agencies.

This comes about by the provision, still in the criteria, that power shall be sold to tra-ditional suppliers in the area without any withdrawal clause. This may prove in time to be the most dangerous part of the new power doctrine. As far as I can determine, it runs counter to clear legislative injunc-tion that public bodies and cooperatives are to have preference. This makes their right junior to a traditional but nonpreference use. Once such uses are locked in, I fail to see how they are to be taken out.

All in all, I have a feeling that rough days are ahead for preference users of public power. The mere fact that an administra-tive agency thought clear legislative state-ment needed revision is enough, yet these preference users are faced with mounting power costs, likely increases in interest costs for REA borrowers, and diversion of power sites to private development. The future does not look bright but I take hope in the fight waged thus far by public groups which brought about a quick, though perhaps in-adequate, revision of a power policy they considered inimical to their interests.

B-N-G, a Remedy for Burns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the last session of Congress I inserted an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD referring to the new burn remedy, B-N-G, manufactured by the Worth Pharmacal Co., Oak Lawn, Ill. Mr. Speaker, a number of Congressmen in the last session referred to this product with high praises as to a number of instances that they had used it for their own families. I would again like to be one of those Congressmen to give a small report on my activities in connection with this product and call it to the attention of the House, and also to the attention of the National Research Council subcommittee on burns.

Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, February 7, a member of my family scalded her hand with some hot grease. The burn was severe and would have been a handicap to us as we were being entertained that afternoon. My wife happened to have a bottle of B-N-G in the medicine cabinet and applied it to the hand immediately and in a few minutes there was no pain and after 30 minutes the blisters had subsided. That night when she returned home there was no trace as to where she was burned. I would like to be the first to bring it to the attention of the House and the country that for some 9 years this company has been trying to obtain a burn test by the National Research Council subcommittee on burns.

It certainly looks like the National Research Council should approve testing this product for burns since it is my understanding they have approved research on the Kinsey report.

For the past 5 years, through its regional distributor, Mr. William W. Vaughn of 510 Arlington Village, Arlington, Va., former aide to Vice President Barkley, samples of this product have been distributed freely throughout the Washington area. Therefore, it has fallen in the hands of quite a number of people. I understand now that somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 physicians in the Washington area are familiar and have used it for burns. We think that this company should have a fair and equal test on burns by the National Research Council subcommittee on burns or under the supervision of the American Medical Association. For your information this company has been turned down a number of times in the last 9 years for a burn test by the National Research Council subcommittee on burns. Most everyone who has had any experience with this product for burns praises it highly for the results it has given. Mr. Speaker, this product is also good for treating dermatitis and also poison oak, poison ivy, and sunburn. At the close of my remarks I would like to include a letter from one of the outstanding skin specialists in the Washington area. The letter speaks for itself:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 6, 1954.*
Mr. WILLIAM VAUGHN,
Arlington, Va.

DEAR MR. VAUGHN: Relative to my letter of July 29, 1953, I wish to say that I have continued to use mung bean sprout extract (B. and G. tryosinase solution) in several hundred cases of dermatophytosis (fungous infection) of the feet.

These cases have done well. Clinical cures have been exceptionally rapid.

I am convinced that there is great merit in this product and believe that further medical research should be done to explore the possible uses of this extract in the treatment of other diseases.

Sincerely,

JAMES Q. GANT, Jr., M. D.

Utilization of Reserve Officers in the Regular Establishment as Enlisted Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to submit a lengthy, well-written letter from Hon. John A. Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower. This letter relates to the utilization of Reserve officers in the Regular Establishment as enlisted men, and the letter follows:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., January 19, 1954.
Hon. OVERTON BROOKS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. BROOKS: This is in reply to your letter of December 22 in which you question further the propriety of permitting individuals who were given direct Reserve commissions to be inducted for enlisted service.

First, I wish to emphasize that the problem does not involve a mistake on the part of any military department in awarding Reserve commissions. At the time that the individuals in question were commissoned, there exsted in the active forces a justified procurement objective for officers possessing their qualifications.

Failure to order these individuals to active duty in a commissioned status was not a matter of the service refusing to accept them on a voluntary status. Rather, reductions in personnel strengths necessitated by budgetary and manpower limitations required severe curtailment of officer procurement programs, as well as the involuntary release from active duty of large numbers of officers who wished to remain in the service. Those individuals awarded Reserve commissions direct from civilian status could have been accommodated on active duty only at the expense of releasing involuntarily additional experienced officers.

The fact that such Reserve officers cannot be utilized at this time on active duty and thereby remain liable for induction, would not justify termination of their commissions. The Armed Forces must maintain sufficient numbers of qualified Reserve officers, either in an inactive duty status or on active duty as enlisted men, to meet mobilization requirements. The individuals in question possess qualifications which make their retention as Reserve officers for this purpose highly desirable.

There is a further important reason why the commissions of these officers should not be terminated. As you know, those individuals given direct appointments who were under age 26 upon accepting commissions, acquired under provisions of section 4 (d) (3) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act an 8-year military obligation. The termination of their commissions prior to their entry on active duty would constitute fulfillment of their Reserve obligation. If subsequently inducted, they would have no further obligation for membership in a Reserve component following completion of their national service active duty requirement.

Since my letter to you of December 16 regarding this matter, the Air Force has made special provision whereby those draft-eligibles holding direct Air Force Reserve commissions may enlist for a 2-year term in the Air Force in lieu of being inducted for Army service. Individual notifications to this effect have been dispatched to these officers. This will enable the individuals to fulfill their national service active duty requirement in enlisted status and retain their commissions.

Utilization of Reserve officers as enlisted men is not without precedent. Many fine officers of World War II were individuals who had earned and held Reserve commissions while they were Regular Army enlisted men, and today there are many Regular Army and Air Force enlisted men who hold Reserve commissions in their respective services, including a considerable number who enlisted following their release from active duty during the recent reduction in force.

In the light of the factors outlined above I feel that the solution adopted in this matter is the one which under present circumstances best serves the interests of all concerned.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. HANNAH.

Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for Secretary Hannah's logic and reasoning. The matter, however, impresses me differently to the way it seems to impress Secretary Hannah. Many of the people in the Regular Enlisted Establishment to whom he refers as having Reserve commissions are people who are willing to accept enlisted noncommissioned status in order to remain on active duty although those people hold Reserve commissions.

I can understand that these people may wish to remain on active duty in order to continue uninterruptedly their military career and for retirement purposes. Even in these cases it is not a healthy situation that is produced when the Defense Establishment will permit commissioned officers to serve in noncommissioned grades.

The argument is far stronger in the case of Reserve officers to which I refer. I have in mind, for instance, the case of a Reserve officer who is drafted into the armed services because he is within the draft-age group. These men have offered to serve the Military Establishment in Reserve commission grades. They have been rejected by the Armed Forces because it is stated that they are not needed. The draft laws permit, and the Defense Department cooperates in, the drafting of these Reserve officers, forcing them to serve in enlisted grades against their will.

The matter is worse than this. A Reserve lieutenant in the Army may be drafted and placed in the Navy as an enlisted man. A Reserve officer in the Air Force may be drafted and sent to the Marine Corps as an enlisted man. This action shows, in my judgment, scant

pect for a Reserve commission. It is conducive to a buildup of pride and thusiasm of the Reserve, whether it an enlisted or commissioned Reserve, realize that the Reserve commission is ated with scant consideration by the ency which awards it.

Commissioned officers in the National ard are not treated in this way, and y should not be so treated. A fortiori, mmissioned officers in the Reserve ablishment, should be assured that eir Reserve commission is a badge of nor and a symbol of pride, and we m the Congress, and Secretary Han- n from the Defense Department, uld join in making the service in the litary Establishment fair and accept- le and should encourage our young n to enter on active duty with pride d enthusiasm.

Governor Meyner Addresses State Chamber of Commerce Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, on February 1954, the New Jersey State Chamber Commerce conducted its 17th annual ner in Washington in honor of the ngressional delegation from that State. The highlight of the evening was a ef, but very practical, address deliv- d by the new Governor of New Jersey, n. Robert B. Meyner. His preliminary narks were of a semihumorous nature, ich pleased and captivated his audi- e. His said remarks dealing in large t with one of the prime efforts he is king to improve the efficiency of our te government, and which appeared meet with the universal approbation his listeners, follow herewith:

Mr. Chairman, Senator SMITH, Senator NDRICKSON, members of the congressional egation, and friends, I am happy to attend ther of these meetings and to extend greetings and good wishes to the distin- shed Members of the United States Sen- and House of Representatives from the te of New Jersey.

am happy, too, to find a new face and ew personality among you. I refer, of rse, to PETE WILLIAMS, the new Member Congress from the Sixth District. I hope n be forgiven for alluding to the fact t he is the first member of my own party vin a seat from that district.

hese annual dinners, sponsored by the Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, e the good purpose of bringing officials commerce and industry together with r elected representatives, and of promot- friendship and understanding between two.

he dinners help to bridge a gap which etimes exists between businessmen and ticians. The last word is used advisedly. eems to me time for America to grow up to quit using politics as a dirty word. hould not always be necessary for a poli- an to die before he is given the rank of esman.

his kind of cynicism breeds unreasoning rust and disrespect for the able and honorable men who serve their communities, State, and Nation. And it leads to impaired morale on the part of the public servants.

There are dullards, incompetents, and goldbrickers in business just as there are in politics; yes, and crooks, too. In his autobiography, Lincoln Steffens discussed at length the relation between crooked politicians and the many businessmen who were so willing to bribe them. In one case, he pointed out that politicians "had indeed taken bribes, but they said that businessmen paid the bribes. It was the businessmen, then, who were the corruptor of politics." Many of the conditions Steffens described are still true today.

In this connection, though, I like to think of the remark of Edmund Burke in the House of Commons, when he said: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people."

Nor is there any method of drawing an indictment against whole segments of a population.

To gripe is a great American pastime and our right to do so is guaranteed by the Constitution. But, in the case of politics, those people who are forever griping about politicians are often the same persons who take no direct interest in public affairs. Some of them don't even vote.

There is nothing whatever to prevent businessmen and industrialists from going into politics; in fact, many of them have done so with brilliant success. Surely, such a course is more seemly and constructive than merely to sit in the stands and throw pop bottles at the umpire.

In my own brand-new administration in New Jersey, I am picking the brains of outside business experts to find out whether the State's operational procedures can be improved.

These experts have shown a fine spirit of cooperation and I am confident that out of their studies, the State will get numerous recommendations by which the tax dollar can be stretched to provide more service, and by which the efficiency of State agencies can be streamlined. In some of their preliminary reports they have indicated that many areas of our State government are very efficient.

Under study are the department of civil service, the division of motor vehicles in the department of law and public safety, the division of employment security in the department of labor and industry, and two divisions of the treasury department. These are purchase and property and budget and accounting.

While it is realized that this policy has been announced in the press, I feel free to underscore and emphasize it at this meeting.

The civil-service study is being conducted by Floyd H. Bragg, assistant personnel director of the Prudential Insurance Co., assisted by Warren Findley, of the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, and by a certified public accountant from the Newark firm of Puder & Puder.

The motor-vehicle survey is in charge of Edwin E. Lineberry, whose assistants are William J. Cronin, M. Clayton Healy, Jr., and Douglas L. McCabe, all of Prudential.

Experts for other studies have been drawn from Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Western Electric, and Esso Standard Oil. Three of the projects are being given the overall supervision of Charles B. Laing, second vice president of Prudential, while the remaining two are handled by companies reporting directly to the governor's office.

So here is an experiment in which we are trying to obtain ideas to improve—and here's the word again—New Jersey politics.

I realize the main focus of this meeting, because of the guests of honor and the meeting place, is on national affairs. But you will understand that my own interest is strictly confined to State affairs, and therefore I have not the slightest desire to pontificate on happenings in the national scene.

Having been governor only slightly more than 2 weeks, already it is apparent that the job would tax the energy of a draft horse. I am glad to have had this chance to chat with you and, in the days to come, hope I will be able to renew the many friendships I have among those present.

Politics and the Atom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address made by me before the Lincoln Day banquet sponsored by the Broome County Young Men's Republican League, Arlington Hotel, Binghamton, N. Y., February 11, 1954:

Mr. Chairman, as Republicans we meet here tonight to honor the founder of the Republican Party and in that connection I am pleased to bring you the personal greetings of the President of the United States who recently sent to me the following message sending his personal greetings to you on this occasion:

"The WHITE HOUSE,
"Washington, D. C.

"The Honorable W. STERLING COLE,
"House of Representatives:

"I hope that you will give my personal greetings to our fellow Republicans of Broome County and other citizens who have gathered on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and the centennial of the Republican Party.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER."

A few weeks from now, our Democratic friends will convene in like gatherings and pay homage to the memory of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. During these annual stocktakings, America's two great political parties check their present courses against the background of those traditions which make us in this audience proud to call ourselves Republicans, and which by the same token refresh the loyalty and allegiance of the members of our sister party.

At these reunions, when battle-scarred veterans of past political wars meet to relive old skirmishes and to plot the strategy of campaigns to come, we may be forgiven if our words are rounder, and our phrases loftier, than they would be on other occasions. The give-and-take of hard but honorable political combat is part of our American heritage, and on evenings such as this we need not be too worried about hiding our light under a bushel.

Yet it is not simply exuberant Lincoln Day political oratory—it is a modest statement of fact that this coming November we Republicans can face the American electorate in good conscience, and with good reason to think that the people's verdict of 1952 will be repeated in 1954. Two years of Republican stewardship for our Nation have seen the war in Korea brought to an honorable halt; garden-variety honesty has been restored in our National Government; a real and solid start has been made toward balancing the budget without impairing national security.

The American people have witnessed responsible political leadership in action. I am confident they will acknowledge this fact next November.

One of the tasks of responsible leadership consists in calling our friendly political rivals to task whenever there are legitimate grounds for doing so. This is not only practical politics—it is the very essence of our two-party system of Government, which depends for its vitality upon the exchange of constructive criticism between the ins and the outs.

But in politics also—if we are thinking of political life in its highest and truest sense—any party deserving to stay in office must heed the signs which say: "This national problem is out of bounds for partisan action." Responsible political leadership, in other words, is leadership which knows that all is not fair in politics. It is leadership which never intrudes political passions into issues on which all Americans should be united. It is leadership which knows that a political party must pass the test of dealing with the great and overriding questions of national policy in a completely nonpartisan fashion.

Nowhere should this be more true, and nowhere has this been more true, than in atomic energy. The elemental force of the split atom is indifferent to political affiliations; nuclear weapons are not labeled Democratic or Republican. If our Nation ever falls victim to atomic or hydrogen attack, it will be of no consequence whether we live in Republican New York or Democratic Mississippi. Where atomic energy is concerned, we are all in the same boat together. We will go down in it together, or else together we will ride out the storms of this perilous era until we reach more tranquil waters.

From the very outset of our Nation's atomic enterprise, those Republicans responsible for facing up to the unprecedented problems posed by the unleashing of nuclear energy have heeded the "Political Hands Off" signs posted around our atomic program. This same attitude, let me be quick to acknowledge, has been shared by our Democratic counterparts.

It was a Democrat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who in 1942 made the momentous decision to try to manufacture the atomic bomb in time for use against our wartime enemies. When the die was cast for building the giant wartime atomic plants at Oak Ridge and Hanford, no one could say with certainty that an atomic bomb could even be constructed. President Roosevelt's decision represented a $2 billion act of faith and political courage.

It was a Republican, that magnificent son of New York, the late Secretary of War Henry Stimson, whose counsel carried great weight in one of the most agonizing decisions ever to confront any nation—whether we should employ the atomic weapons to help bring the war in the Pacific to the speediest possible close. With heavy heart, he recommended to President Truman that we had no alternative but to use the bomb against Japan.

It was Democrats and Republicans, working together in unison, who helped the late Senator Brien McMahon, from our neighbor State of Connecticut, draft the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, known for good reason as the McMahon Act. This act stands as a monument to the patriotism of that great Democratic Senator. But its adoption was made possible only through the efforts of one of the greatest Republicans of our time or of any time—Senator Arthur Vandenberg, whose wisdom found the way to reconcile civilian control of atomic energy with the legitimate needs of our Armed Forces for participation in the making of atomic policy.

All the framers of the Atomic Energy Act—and the list would not be complete without the name of Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER, my distinguished colleague on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—were resolved that atomic energy must at all costs be kept outside the arena of partisan politics. The atomic energy law, in fact, was specifically drafter with this in mind. It provided for creating a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, to represent the Congress and the American people in checking on the health and vitality of our national atomic enterprise. It was stipulated that, of the 9 Senators and 9 Representatives who should sit on this joint committee, not more than 5 members from each House of the Congress should be members of the majority party. Had legislative tradition made it possible, I fancy that the framers of the Atomic Energy Act would have provided for a committee in which the balance of political forces was exactly even.

The record of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, since first it met in 1946, answers those who charge that great issues concerning the welfare and peace and prosperity of our people cannot be removed from the realms of passion and prejudice. If the affairs of nations could be treated with the same sincerity of purpose, and the same submerging of selfish political and sectional interests, that we have enjoyed among the Republicans and Democrats who make up the joint committee, then world peace and brotherhood might well be something which could be brought about in our generation.

Do those of us who sit on the joint committtee have honest differences of opinion concerning the nature of wise public policy in atomic energy? Of course we do. Do we often engage in cordial but determined debate? Of course we do. Are we sometimes long in coming to agreement on some particular question? Of course we are. Sit 18 Congressmen, each with earnestly held convictions, down in one room, add to this that no man can pretend to a monopoly of wisdom when grappling with the enormously complicated issues of atomic energy, and you would not expect to find a complete identity of viewpoint on all issues.

But do our differences proceed along party lines? Most emphatically not. When President Truman bore the ultimate responsibility for the well-being of our atomic project, the Democratic members of the joint committee were no less zealous than their Republican colleagues in pointing out shortcomings in the project. And today, when President Eisenhower must be held ultimately accountable for our atomic progress, we joint committee Republicans make our convictions known wherever our atomic program is not moving forward as efficiently and as rapidly as it might. Although it may make no sense whatsoever to the cynics, this long and growing tradition of atomic nonpartisanship makes great sense for our country.

Let me cite one case—and there have been innumerable such cases—of nonpartisanship in action. In the summer of 1952, the Democratic executive branch submitted to the Democratic Congress a budget for a $3 billion atomic plant expansion program. All of us on the joint committee were fearful of the strides the Soviets were making in atomic research and production—and I may say that our fears were subsequently confirmed by the Soviet hydrogen test of last fall. All of us, Republican and Democrat alike, therefore deemed it simple prudence that the proposed expansion program be approved, and then pushed to completion as quickly as possible.

Certain Members of the House of Representatives, properly concerned with economy but possessing less than a full understanding of atomic energy, proposed a series of restrictive riders to the appropriations bill. These amendments would have seriously delayed or possibly even crippled the expansion program. The supporters of these restrictive riders were drawn from the ranks of both parties. Confronted with this threat to the atomic program, the members of the joint committee moved promptly, vigorously, and unanimously to protect it. The issue came to a head in the waning hours of the 82d Congress. The late chairman of the joint committee, Senator McMahon, was then on his death bed. He sent a message to the Senate, expressing his vehement opposition to the restrictive riders. In a dramatic all-night debate, his Republican predecessor as chairman, Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER, argued against the crippling amendments on the floor of the Senate. The view of the joint committee members finally prevailed, and the expansion program was saved.

Thanks to this, the time is now measureably closer when our Nation can place primary reliance for defensive and retaliatory striking power upon nuclear weapons. Do not suppose for one instant that atomic or hydrogen weapons will ever replace conventional armaments completely—they will not. Do not imagine either that nuclear firepower, even though it is hundreds and thousands of times cheaper than ordinary explosives, will permit miraculous overnight slashes in defense spending—it will not. Yet concentration on nuclear weapons will win us far greater military security with lower over-all defense budgets than would otherwise be necessary. This is the real meaning of the so-called new look in our military structure.

The fact that atomic energy is now at the very heart of all our plans for military preparedness and our hopes for material well-being should be reflected within the National Security Council, the final clearing house for the most important issues of national policy. Outside of the President's own office, the NSC is the highest policy-making body in the executive branch of the Government. On it sit the President, Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Administrator of the Foreign Operations Administration, and the Director of Defense Mobilization. The National Security Council was established in 1947 to transform the individual, oftentimes conflicting, policy recommendations of the major departments of our Government into comprehensive national policies—policies which merge the requirements of diplomacy, economic stability, and military preparedness into unified programs best designed to promote the security and welfare of our country.

President Eisenhower, in keeping with his campaign pledges, has brought new importance to the deliberations of the NSC. Moreover, this administration has wisely established the sound custom of inviting the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to attend National Security Council meetings. This is most appropriate, for no person can better advise the President and the NSC on the critical matters of atomic policy than the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. So President Eisenhower is to be warmly commended for taking steps to make sure that the counsel and guidance of the Atomic Energy Commission Chairman is available at first hand to the top officials of our Government.

The time has arrived for us to go even further. I believe that atomic energy is far too crucial to this era, far too intimately entwined with the very essentials of our military planning, our foreign policy, and our national welfare to permit the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to sit on the National Security Council only by invitation of the President. I believe he should be there by act of Congress. Tomorrow I am therefore introducing legislation designed to reflect the proper role of atomic energy in national welfare and security policy. I will ask that the National Security Act of 1947 be amended to make the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission a full-fledged and permanent member of the National Security Council, to serve as such no matter which party has the Presidency.

There is, I think, a foreshadowing of the ture in the fact that atomic energy—hich less than a score of years ago was dden in obscure laboratories of univer-ies—even now demands a central role in r national policy discussions. Atomic en-gy, whether we like it or not, has become extricably woven into our daily individual d collective lives. We must simply accus-m ourselves to living with it, just as we ve with other facets of modern civiliza-n. The atom will always either hang over r heads like the Sword of Damocles or, as ope may be the case, fill all our material nts like the lamp of Aladdin.

The issues that Abraham Lincoln and his sociates faced almost 100 years ago were questionably momentous. They were, wever, strictly national in character. on Lincoln rested the responsibility of termining whether or not our Nation, as nceived and dedicated by the Founding thers, was to endure. Of course, there re side issues—issues of considerable mo-ent—such as the clash of economic and tional interests, a forward-looking, ener-tic, industrial North versus an easygoing, ltured, agricultural South. The high ral backdrop also was there, as it always in every struggle, centered in slavery, ether our Nation could long exist half-ve and half-free.

Today we, and the free nations associated th us in the NATO Organization and the ited Nations, face much the same issues at every country which has experienced il war has faced. But today they are bal issues which cross all frontiers, and ues on which no government can afford be neutral. The battleground is not lim-d to 1 country or 1 continent. It covers e globe. The combatants are not con-ed to the peoples of 1 nation or 1 hemi-here. They are the freedom-loving na-ns against the supporters of the men in e Kremlin and their enslaved satellites. e political stakes today concern the sur-val and advancement of human dignity d the rights of man, won through cen-ries of patient and unremitting struggle. ainst this is the Communist credo that e individual is the property or slave of e state rather than its master. And the gh moral backdrop today is a God-fearing sus a godless world.

Of one thing I am sure. Lincoln would ver subscribe to Communist economic eories or political practices—in respect to perty rights, ethics, or involuntary servi-de. In prophetic words he voiced, simply d clearly, his views when he said:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, tside that of the family relation, should one uniting all working people, of all tions and tongues and kindreds. Nor ould this lead to a war on property, or e owners of property. Property is the fruit labor; property is desirable; it is a posi-e good in the world. That some should rich shows that others may become rich, d hence is just encouragement to indus- and enterprise. Let not him who is useless pull down the house of another, t let him work diligently and build one himself, thus by example assuring that own shall be safe from violence when lt."

That is a wise maxim, full of lessons for It teaches that we must be more than ati," we must also support positive correc-ns for evils that exist. It teaches the nity of man, the incentive of private prop-y, and the community of interest that ds together men who work hard and long livelihood. It teaches that it isn't enough lay to tear down the house of commu-m, we must build and strengthen the als that make our way of life so fine; t it isn't enough to stop with opposing mmunism at home, we must actively not t the evils that give rise to it; that it isn't enough to talk of atomic and hydro-gen retaliation, we must devote our hearts to preventing the occasion for war; and that it isn't enough that the atom has served as a soldier; we must harness it to peaceful uses.

It is for us to choose whether the path ahead takes us to the inconceivable horror of world conflict and ultimate annihilation or to a bright new world of opportunity and promise. Republicans and Democrats alike we face the future confident that under God we shall choose wisely that man may endure.

A Tribute to Shreveport, La.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an editorial from the Shreveport (La.) Journal, issue of January 18, 1954:

SHREVEPORT: ALL AMERICA, 1953

Nationwide praise is being heaped upon Shreveport as a result of its having been chosen as one of the 11 "All America cities" of 1953. Residents of all sections of the United States, its possessions and many foreign areas will have their attention directed to Shreveport next week through Look magazine which, with the National Municipal League, is a cosponsor of the All America awards.

It is significant that the annual awards are made on a citizenship basis—in recognition of noteworthy citizen action directed toward improvement in government, schools, housing, welfare, and other important areas of civic activity. In each case, the action must stem from the citizens, themselves, not from government officials.

In announcing the awards Saturday the cosponsors cited Shreveport's Council of Social Agencies and the work of more than 1,000 white and Negro citizens in conducting an all-inclusive, 3-year survey of the city's Negro community. The city and local civic groups were praised for taking action, once the facts were known, to improve housing, schooling, and hospital facilities for the city's Negro population. Shreveport's example of interracial cooperation for the welfare of its Negro citizens, the cosponsors said, is causing other southern cities to launch similar projects.

Communities which are sharing the spotlight with Shreveport as a result of citizen projects are Canton, Ohio; Daytona Beach, Fla.; De Soto, Mo.; Flint, Mich.; Park Forest Rich Township High School District, in Petersburg, Va.; Port Angeles, Wash.; Richmond, Calif.; Scranton, Pa.; and Peoria, Ill.

Look magazine and the National Municipal League deserve highest praise for their recognition of the individual communities of our Nation. Nothing so heightens civic pride in an accomplishment as does expressed appreciation for it a higher level. The All America City awards provide incentive for great steps of progress in every community of the Nation.

So vast was the Shreveport undertaking and so great was the number who participated in it that it would be difficult to single out individuals for praise in completing it. The nomination of Shreveport for the honor was made by the chamber of commerce after being prepared by representatives of the city government, the Council of Social Agencies, and Shreveport magazine.

Frank Hemenway, Jr., chairman of the Joint Committee for the Survey of Shreveport's Negro Community; William A. Peavy, his cochairman; and Ralph Henderson of the Shreveport Chamber of Commerce did a masterful job in presenting the city's case to a panel of judges at the National Conference on Government in Richmond, Va., in December.

There is no way to give a complete evaluation of the many benefits which should accrue to Shreveport as a result of the honor which its citizens have won.

Good citizenship always pays off. In Shreveport's case, the dividends are more than handsome.

The President Sets Us Right on Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, while I have criticized the President on occasion—especially on his farm program—in the spirit of fairness I have on many occasions given him full credit for what he has done and said.

His latest statement in regard to sending troops to Indochina will be applauded by most Americans. He stated, "I cannot conceive of a greater tragedy than for the United States to become involved in a war in Indochina or anywhere else."

That is what the people of the United States have been waiting to hear. That is what will mark this administration as differing from the past administration. This policy, if pursued, will have the overwhelming approval of the voters of the United States.

If this administration can think this policy through and eliminate some of the billions we are spending on other people's troubles that will be another milestone in preserving this country.

I believe in self-defense, but I have been fearful that we were spending so much of our wealth and the lives of our men in rummaging around the world to stop every backyard cat fight, that in the end we shall not be able to defend ourselves. After all, if it ever comes to the point of fighting for the preservation of the United States, I know of no country that would come to our rescue. If they so desired, many countries would be unable to aid us, and many of the nations that have been living off us will not be inclined to help us.

We have made few friends by our excursion in spending billions, scattering it throughout the world, and on the contrary, we have made enemies. Our wild expenditure of money has caused the people of many countries to feel that our purpose is conquest, when that is, and always has been, contrary to the intent of the United States. Therefore, this country should be strong, and remain strong. Our natural resources, the greatest in the world, should be preserved; our Armed Forces should remain strong, and the people of the United States relieved from this extra, arduous,

and in most cases, useless expense. We cannot afford to lose thousands of our best men.

The fear that Russia is about to pounce upon us from the air is a war scare invented by Russia to keep us spending, just like we have been doing. We need not fear Russia, as no country on earth like the dictatorship now existing in that country, can ever hope to have the support of her people. Less than 5 percent of the Russian population participate in their government. This 5 percent rules the other 95 percent. The conditions existing in Russia today, if continued, will never make the Russians a united force in any war. In this country it takes a majority of the voters to bring into being any administration; and if war comes it will not be fought by a majority of the people of the United States, but by all of them. This powerful country, with that kind of support, should abandon this war scare, and pursue its regular way. Kipling had this pretty well thought out when he said:

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch;
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you;
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth and everything that's in it,
And which is more—you'll be a man, my son!

Mr. Speaker, the efforts of the one-worlders in the United Nations to build a world government is a dangerous move. These advocates readily concede that the United States must give up some of its sovereignty in order to form this organization, but this country cannot afford, ever, to give up any of its sovereignty, as it is the only government on earth that is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The idea of having treaties of the United Nations attempting to hamstring our Constitution is an example of this "giving up some of our sovereignty."

My advice to the American people is to keep our defenses strong; preserve our form of government as it is, and then defend it against any power or combination of powers in the universe. Do not rely on others to come to our aid, but rely upon ourselves, and ourselves alone, to preserve the greatest government yet to appear on the face of the globe.

Minneapolis Faces Unemployment Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a telegram from the Honorable Eric G. Hoyer, mayor of the city of Minneapolis, Minn.

The telegram is as follows:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *February 9, 1954.*
Hon. ROY W. WIER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Understand that 1,900 Federal Cartridge Corp. employees in Twin Cities area will be laid off February 26, due to reduction in defense spending. Urge your continued and renewed efforts toward continuance of full production at arsenal to assure healthy skilled labor market in this area. Increased layoff at arsenal, Minneapolis-Moline, and other industrial plants in Minneapolis now contemplated will result in substantial labor surplus and cause real economic distress. Your support urgently requested.

ERIC G. HOYER,
Mayor, Minneapolis.

Are We Individuals or Members of Groups?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of thought being given during these challenging times to individual initiative and independent thinking, as well as cooperative efforts and group action as the best approach to the problems of national interest in sustaining the American way of life. We observe various editorials on this subject pen-pointing its importance in the public interest. Mr. Clyde E. Palmer, president and publisher of the Texarkana Gazette and several other daily papers in our State, has written a most interesting editorial on this subject, which was carried in the Texarkana Gazette, Texarkana, Ark.-Tex., under date of January 24, 1954. Because of the importance of the subject to the American people and to call this to the attention of the Members of Congress, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include the editorial as follows:

George A. Bowie, of the department of public relations of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., made a thought-provoking talk to the members of the Arkansas Press Association at their semiannual convention last week. He stressed the individuality of each and every person and what this means in the American way of life. No two persons have the same fingerprints and no two persons have the same odor as any hound dog can testify. The very essence of Americanism is the dignity and freedom of the individual and yet too many of us are surrendering our individuality to groups, which we may join. We are inclined to go along with the leaders of our group whether we really agree with them or not. We attend conventions and engage in activities and frolics which we would never dream of doing at home and as individuals.

Our group leaders take it upon themselves to speak for the entire group, generally without any authorization or delegation of authority and knowing full well that many members do not really agree with them.

This was well demonstrated in Ohio when Senator Taft was reelected and union leaders condemned him and campaigned against him, claiming to speak for all members. Yet, when the individual voter went into the privacy of the ballot box and voted—he expressed his own individual opinion and Taft was elected by a substantial majority.

Group farm leaders, national and regional, are voicing their opinions in public and to congressional committees, claiming to represent their entire membership, as opposed to 90 percent parity, though there is no question in our mind but what many of their members if they would speak out, would disagree with them. Do all farmers believe in investing millions of dollars and accumulating thousands of tons of butter which must be stored at very high expense, though no one knows what reasonable disposition can be made of this butter without the Government taking a loss of millions upon millions of dollars? Is this in the public interest? Does the individual farmer believe that it is? Of course, these leaders and the heads of these organizations feel it is their duty to do what they think is best for their membership, but where does the public interest come into their thinking? Can the dairyman be expected to find other uses for his milk and milk products when he is assured of a profitable selling price by the Government?

Does the entire membership of the United Mine Workers Union agree that money contributed from their wages or from the welfare fund they take from the mine owners should be used in backing the ILA, the longshoreman's union which has been expelled from the American Federation of Labor for its dishonest practices?

All of this applies to innumerable organizations of one kind or another which claim an authoritative voice in speaking for their entire membership and always for what these, their leaders themselves, correctly or not, think is in the best interest of the members of that organization or all too frequently what they consider for the best interest of themselves as leaders.

Where does the public interest come in and who is to give thought and consideration to that if not the individual person? We believe a great majority of individuals want to do or see done that which is for the best interest of our people as a whole.

Should we not return to the days when each man and woman was an individual with his or her own ideas, own thoughts, and own freedom to express ideas and thoughts?

When we do this, our legislators, State and National, will be guided in their actions by what they consider for the best interest of the community as a whole, be it local, State, or National and they will no longer yield to the demands and the pressures of various group leaders in an endeavor to placate them.

Then, we will have a better government, more respect for law, and a better life for all.

The Rogers of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1954 issue of the Scroll, of Phi Delta Theta fraternity, there is included an article entitled "The Rogers of Florida," by Frank S. Wright, Florida 1926, of the general council.

The article sets forth the unusual record of DWIGHT L. ROGERS, Member of Congress, representing the Sixth Congressional District of Florida, and his

ree sons as members of Phi Delta heta. It is such an unusual record that feel it is appropriate to make the article part of my remarks. It well illustrates at the boys are "chips off the old block" d possess the same qualities of char-ter, integrity, ability, and friendly alities that have made their distin-ished father such a lovable character. The article to which I have referred ads as follows:

THE ROGERS OF FLORIDA

y Frank S. Wright, Florida 1926, of the general council)

Even the most rabid Florida Alpha folks st have to admit things don't seem the ne these days—none of the Dwight Rogers n are around.

You see, back in 1909 DWIGHT ROGERS, a proughly astute collegian at Mercer, joined i Delta Theta, and then early in his pro-sional law career, moved to Florida (Fort uderdale) and started raising a family—ree sons.

A few years later the first of the sons, right, Jr., went to the University of Florida, n many campus honors, and topped his reer with election to the presidency of rida Alpha.

Then came the middle son, Paul, and he gathered in a host of honors and also came president of Florida Alpha. The rd son, Doyle, then moved onto the ne and he too became an outstanding der and president of Florida Alpha.

Has this record been duplicated in Phi lta Theta's 105-year history, where three thers, each in turn, became president of Phi Delta chapter. Florida Alpha, ofttime nner of the Harvard Trophy, and a chapter h many, many firsts and notable achieve-nts, would like to add the Rogers record its escutcheon of fame if no other chapter n surpass it.

Each of the Rogers, in high school, was a dent body president or president of the ior class. Then in college, each was a mber of Blue Key, at Florida the most dis-ctive campuswide leadership honor. Each d a class presidency to his record; each s outstanding in the organized campus po-cal life. Each earned a bachelor's degree, d then followed with a law degree.

Honors mounted as the Rogers trail deep-ed. Paul added to the fraternity and fam-laurels with a brilliant debate and foren-achievement, winning the national K. A. debate title, and the national ex-mporaneous speaking championship. Po-cally, he was recognied as one of the most ute campus leaders in the university's dent history.

Faced with a record two brothers ahead him had compiled, the younger Doyle nged in, and what a pace that good Phi ther set. He seemingly matched every nor that either brother had made, and ed on additional ones. His organizational dership, publications activities, political ccesses, and the like read like the record 6 college men—not just 1.

Father and three sons—the Dwight Rogers n—make up a quartet of great personali-s, great citizens and great Phi Delts. ight, Jr., is practicing law in Fort Lauder-e, Paul is a barrister in West Palm Beach. ch has attained eminent civic stature in short time out of college. Doyle's civic ry is slightly delayed due to a hitch in Reserves with Uncle Sam, in Virginia.

DWIGHT, SR., of course, continues to be one the Nation's foremost Congressmen in shington. Perhaps the proudest mother l wife anywhere is Florence Rogers, rming wife of DWIGHT, SR., and mother the three wonderful sons.

Yes; Florida Alpha is rolling along to even ater heights it seems, but at that, it's l not the same without a Rogers around.

And, while I am on the subject of the Rogers family, I cannot resist the temptation to record my high regard for our colleague, DWIGHT L. ROGERS, who has represented the Sixth Congressional District of Florida so faithfully and well for five terms. The satisfactory character of his service is evidenced by the fact that he has no Republican opposition to his reelection.

His long-time record of public service both in Congress and in the Florida State Legislature is marked by progressive and forward legislation sponsored by him. He is the author of the Florida homestead law and the Federal terminal-leave pay bill for veterans. He introduced and led the fight in the House for the passage of the south Florida control bill.

He obtains the views and thinking of his constituents through an annual questionnaire submitted through the newspapers of the district.

During the first week of the present session of Congress he introduced in the House a joint resolution calling for a constitutional amendment granting the right to vote to 18-year-olds. Now pending is his bill requiring a record vote—yea or nay—on all appropriations. Representative ROGERS devotes his full time to his congressional duties.

His achievements have been of a high order and reflect great credit on him and the people of his congressional district. His service has been honorable and able and justifies the confidence that has been placed in him.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 145th anniversary of the birth of one of the most illustrious Members this body has ever known—Abraham Lincoln. It is, therefore, most appropriate that we recall the life and character of this great American. This day calls, too, for a reflection of America as a nation. It calls for a return to the belief of our forefathers and their fervent faith in Almighty God. We must rededicate ourselves in order to find new strength to complete the tasks confronting us.

Last Monday I introduced in the House of Representatives House Joint Resolution 371, to amend the pledge of allegiance to the flag by adding the words "under God" following the word "indivisible," making the pertinent phrase "one nation indivisible under God."

Our forefathers recognized the inherent truth that any government of and by the people must look to God for divine leadership in order to protect itself against tyranny and despotism. In the year 1620, when the first Constitution for the complete self-government of the people under its jurisdiction was devised in America, the Mayflower compact, in its opening sentence, declared: "In the name of God. Amen." This was open recognition of the need for the official conjunction of the laws of God with the Constitution and laws of the land.

On July 4, 1776, our freedom-loving forebears composed one of the world's great political masterpieces—the Declaration of Independence. It said, in part:

> When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

The same document speaks of men being "endowed by their Creator" with unalienable rights and appeals to the "Supreme Judge of the World" that this Nation be free.

Later, at Gettysburg, on November 19, 1863, Abraham Lincoln in a 2-minute dedication speech said:

> That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Throughout our history, the statements of our great men have been replete with references to God. Our Presidents have never failed to recognize man's subservience to his Master as the only form of servitude which assures life, liberty, and happiness.

It was William Penn who said:

> Those people who are not governd by God will be ruled by tyrants.

Four years before the Declaration of Independence, we find George Mason arguing to the General Court of Virginia that—

> All acts of legislature apparently contrary to natural right and justice are, in our laws, and must be in the nature of things considered as void. The laws of nature are the laws of God, whose authority can be superseded by no power on earth.

It was during the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln that Congress passed an act on April 22, 1864, directing that the inscription "In God We Trust" be placed on our coins. This avowal of faith has been imprinted on billions and billions of coins during the last 90 years.

Records show that under date of November 20, 1861, the then Secretary of the Treasury addressed a letter to the Director of the Mint, stating, in part:

> No nation can be strong except in the strength of God or safe except in His defense. The trust of our people in God should be declared on our national coins.

If this recommendation had been followed in a material symbol such as our coins, should not the same idea be infinitely more appropriate in relation to the pledge of allegiance to our flag and country? The Pledge of Allegiance is not a confession of faith. It is an affirmation of loyalty to a nation symbolized by its flag.

The tough moral fiber which has characterized this Nation's growth to a

position of world preeminence must not deteriorate. It was fed on the belief that our destiny was bound to the will of God. It cannot survive unless this spiritual fuel is maintained.

Last Sunday, the President of the United States and his family occupied the pew where Abraham Lincoln worshipped. The pastor, the Reverend George M. Docherty, suggested the change in our Pledge of Allegiance that I have offered.

Dr. Docherty delivered a wise sermon. He said that as a native of Scotland come to these shores he could appreciate the pledge as something more than a hollow verse taught to children for memory. I would like to quote from his words. He said:

I could sit down and brood upon it, going over each word slowly in my mind. And I came to a strange conclusion. There was something missing in the pledge, and that which was missing was the characteristic and definitive factor in the American way of life. Indeed apart from the mention of the phrase, the United States of America, it could be the pledge of any republic. In fact, I could hear little Muscovites repeat a similar pledge to their hammer and sickle flag in Moscow with equal solemnity. Russia is also a Republic that claims to have overthrown the tyranny of kingship. Russia also claims to be indivisible.

Mr. Speaker, I think Mr. Docherty hit the nail squarely on the head. One of the most fundamental differences between us and the Communists is our belief in God. Communism rejects God. The spiritual bankruptcy of the Communists can be the very weapon we need to triumph in the struggle for men's minds. I say it can be, for the effective use of this weapon presupposes a firm code of spiritual and moral values. We take pride in the new look we have given our powerful military machine. I believe we need a new look just as urgently in our spiritual armor, and I am recommending one means of achieving it.

After attending church services last Sunday, President Eisenhower participated with churchmen of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths in an American Legion radio and television program that was part of that organization's back to God movement. The President said that this country needs now, as it ever has needed, "positive acts of renewed recognition that faith is our surest strength, our greatest resource." The President went on to say:

Whatever our individual church, whatever our personal creed, our common faith in God is a common bond among us. In our fundamental faith, we are all one. Together we thank the power that has made and preserved us as a nation. By the millions, we speak prayers, we sing hymns—and no matter what their words may be, their spirit is the same—in God is our trust.

On this same program, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, one of our most eminent Protestant clergymen, declared:

Our country will remain strong only as we remain religious.

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, a leading prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, said:

If we are to keep our rights and liberties, then we must also keep our God.

And, finally, Rabbi Norman Salit, one of the Nation's outstanding Jewish leaders, stated:

If we can teach our children to live by the concepts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we can redeem them from moral failure.

I would like to take but a minute to answer beforehand the two principal arguments I anticipate in opposition to my amendment.

The first concerns the relationship of church and state. The phrase "under God" is all inclusive for all religions and has no reference whatever to the establishment of a state church. The first amendment of our Constitution prohibits Congress from passing laws respecting the establishment of a religion. One can pledge one's allegiance to a flag symbolizing a state founded upon a belief in God and, at the same time, accept the doctrine of a separate church and state. A distinction exists between the church as an institution and a belief in the sovereignty of God. The argument that this amendment might be a breach of the separation principle cannot be material.

Secondly, the argument may be made that the proposed amendment violates the right of a person to disbelieve in God, a fundamental of a free democracy. However, there is a vast difference in making a positive affirmation on the existence of God in whom one does not believe, and on the other hand making a pledge of allegiance and loyalty to the flag of a country which in its underlying philosophy recognizes the existence of God.

I cannot accept either of these contentions as valid, if indeed they are at all. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the joint resolution I have introduced will place a new meaning on all the truths which this Nation holds so dear, enabling us to regain our reverence for God in this 20th century America, and making it possible for us to rediscover our own value and the solid basis upon which it rests. Then we, too, can say with Lincoln—"this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

Ambitions of Students in California Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by virtue of unanimous consent hertofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to herewith present for the information and guidance of your own distinguished self and all the Members of this Congress the text of important information which was included in a splendid publication entitled "Your Community College Reports," of Los Angeles County, Calif.

Being frequently asked by distinguished Members of this great legislative body as to what may be the known or expressed ambitions of students in California colleges, including any college in the great 23d district which I have the honor of representing, this my eighth year in Congress.

I am pleased to present the text which was furnished me as aforesaid, under date of June 1953. In this connection, I will state that there is no doubt but that the record in the field of educational facilities, progress, and results clearly proves that said Compton College in said great 23d Congressional District is one of the outstanding colleges in our great Nation in the realm of public education such as we have in my native State of California.

The article follows:

A study was recently made by Mrs. Lucile Douglass, dean of guidance at your community college, regarding the number of students attending Compton, their fields of study, and other pertinent facts regarding them.

The study is based on the enrollment of November 1952, and March 1953.

	November	March
Men:		
13th	647	558
14th	363	242
Women:		
13th	341	330
14th	182	138
Postgraduates:		
Men	236	156
Women	117	131
Total	1,888	1,555

Second-semester enrollment is nearly always lower than the first semester. The figures above do not include the number of students who drop out of school or men students who are either drafted or enlist in the Armed Forces.

Breakdown of age groups on the Compton campus is as follows: Students under 20 years of age make up 61 percent of the total enrollment. The 20 to 30 age group: 28 percent. The 30–40 age group: 6 percent. The 40–50 age group: 3 percent. And the over-50 age group: 2 percent.

What professions or trades are Compton students studying for now? Here is the breakdown:

Business	270
Teaching	240
Engineering	175
Industrial	173
Professional (chemist, architect, etc.)	107
Biological sciences	62
Nursing	58
Dentistry	35
Medicine	29
Law	31
Music	23
Police	8
Homemaking	16
General vocational	32
Miscellaneous and undecided	293

Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

, I include the following poem, Lin-
n, written by Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett:

LINCOLN

mortal symbol of our liberty
d unity, more near today and dear,
rough indecision, you to us appear,
o face your problems with uncertainty!
we confront an unknown rivalry
greater in another hemisphere;
d sensing greater dangers must, too, fear
eir wiles and barbarous brutality.

fear and indecision were no part
you at last; nor must they us dismay,
ough tasks not of our choosing seem too great
times for our democracy to chart
peoples that would be free in the way
planned for our own freedom-loving State.

R. 7530, To Make Tax-Free the Gain on the Sale of a Personal Residence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, on Jan-
y 27, I introduced in the House the
(H. R. 7530) to amend section 112 (n)
the Internal Revenue Code to provide
t gain from the sale or exchange of
taxpayer's home will not be taxed
ether or not he replaces it with an-
er residence.

This bill is intended to correct a sit-
ion which now places an unjustifiable
ancial burden on the mothers and
hers of our population. The home-
ing experience of most American
ilies usually follows this pattern.
The young married couple rents an
rtment. Then, as children come
ng and they need more space, they
chase a small home. As the children
ve on to high school and college age,
re livable space is required and the
ily moves again to a larger home.
is is the general pattern.

The whole panorama of family life un-
ls within these walls. This home is
scene of birthday parties, gradua-
ns, courtships, weddings, and when
se events are but memories, the old
ne has served its purpose for this
ily.

Now the parents have completed the
long task of rearing the family and
y desire to take a smaller home or
ve to an apartment. Then it is that
full force of the present unjust state
the law is felt. Uncle Sam steps in
h a whopping tax bill on the total
fit realized from the sale of the former
dences.

This is the treatment the Government
rds to parents who, in the rearing of
ir families, have played a tremen-
sly important part in the progress
the economy of the Nation, and at
ime in their lives which inevitably
es to most of us, when they want to
re to a smaller home or apartment
njoy their just reward of peace and
.

Such a state of the law penalizes these parents for the fulfillment of their family obligations; in effect that law punishes them after they have sent forth from the old home the families of the future, the bedrock strength of America.

This situation demands correction, and I hope the principles of my bill will be approved by the Ways and Means Committee.

Can We Afford To Prepare for Every Conceivable Kind of War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the risk and danger which the American people are voluntarily expected to assume as a result of the new look defense policy are implicit in a statement by Deputy Defense Secretary Roger M. Kyes. He said last November 12 that—

> We must reassess our strategic planning and logistics in the light of technological advances, and have the courage to discard the outmoded procedures and weapons which will no longer serve more than tradition. We can no longer afford to prepare for every conceivable kind of war. * * * We can no longer afford the luxury of the status quo in strategic planning.

I am impressed with the sentence: "We can no longer afford to prepare for every conceivable kind of war."

I submit that here is the very core of the weakness of the new look defense policy.

Our Nation's safety must rest on defense plans which will prepare us for every conceivable kind of war.

History provides innumerable examples where nations have failed to prepare for every conceivable kind of war. Twelve years ago France prepared to fight a defensive war in the Maginot Line and was not prepared for the kind of air war and the war of armor and movement brought to it by Germany. In our own Nation's Revolution, England was well prepared to fight a naval battle and an orderly encounter between highly disciplined and well-trained soldiers but was not prepared to meet the kind of war the "rag tail, bob tail" Revolutionary Army had learned from its experience in Indian warfare. Today, France is adequately equipped to deal with a sizable military force on ordinary terrain, utilizing conventional air power, armor, and mobile troops, but it is hopelessly bogged down in the kind of war it is fighting in the jungles and rice fields of Indochina. It is too much to ask of the enemy that he satisfy the Defense Department's own concept of defense and fight the kind of war for which his adversary is conceivably prepared.

The administration has committed itself to a calculated risk which it chooses to call its "new look" defense policy. In essence, the administration defense policy springs from political and budgetary considerations. Imprudent as it may have been, in 1952, the Republican office-seekers promised the American people a balanced budget. A balanced defense effort now becomes subordinate to the political implication of an empty campaign promise.

The administration has sent to Congress a budget in which 73 percent of the cuts are in national-security items. The Army, and to a lesser degree the Navy, bear the brunt of these cuts. The following are some of the effects of the military cut:

Army expenditures cut $4 billion—28 percent—from $14.2 billion to $10.2 billion.

Navy expenditures cut $800 million—7 percent—from $11.3 billion to $10.5 billion.

Army divisions cut from 20 to 17 divisions by June 1955.

Total military manpower cut from 3.4 million now to 3 million June 1955.

Army manpower cut from 1.5 million now to 1.164 million June 1955.

Marine manpower cut from 250,000 now to 215,000 June 1955.

Navy manpower cut from 770,000 now to 688,900 June 1955.

No new authority for Army procurement and production is being asked for.

Seven Navy combat ships to be put in mothballs—including 1 battleship and 1 cruiser.

Along with the budget, the Congress receives the suggested bromide: "We have an outstanding military expert in the White House. Who are we to question his judgment."

I cannot, and I hope that the Congress as a whole will not, accept this neat escape mechanism.

The Congress must make a searching inquiry and the American people must know the extent of the calculated risk they are expected to accept.

Political promises of the administration and the insatiable desire of the top 2 percent of the Nation's business and industry for more tax cuts should not stand between this Nation and preparation for every conceivable kind of war.

The new-look concept of defense may be characterized by reliance on fleets of long-range bombers carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs to the military and industrial targets of an enemy nation, with minor consideration given to the use of ground and naval forces. It must be borne in mind that the new Air Force budget is a total reversal of last year's cutbacks. Last year the administration cut the Air Force budget by $5 billion, canceled orders for 1,000 planes, and cut Air Force goals from 143 wings to 120 wings. In an about-face, the new budget increases the Air Force budget by $600 million and raises the Air Force goals from 120 wings to 137 wings. The result is a loss of 1 year in Air Force buildup. Compare this to the statement by Presidential Candidate Eisenhower on September 25, 1952:

> We need a new administration * * * that will call a halt to stop-and-start planning; an administration that will not demobilize and then hurriedly remobilize.

Let me make it crystal clear that I am not playing off the Air Force against surface forces. We must have a strong retaliatory Air Force and adequate homeland defense. In addition, we must have a strong ground force.

Let me describe two conceivable kinds of war we might be forced by the Soviets to fight. Needless to say, we will be forced to fight the type of war for which we are least prepared. I ask you to consider in the case of each whether the new-look defense concept of the administration meets these threats.

AN ALL-OUT GLOBAL CLASH

The air war is joined. Washington, New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago smoulder in ruins. Millions of Americans are dead, wounded, or homeless. Our warmaking potential is seriously crippled.

In turn, a dozen of Russia's major cities and industrial targets are in rubble. Both nations convulse and gasp from the terrible punishment.

Russia, no longer able to sustain a continued effort from her homeland, sends her ground forces in all directions.

A weak European defense army is under assault.

Yugoslavia and Greece are neutralized by Rumania.

Turkey is fighting to save her own territory.

Japan cringes before the threat of Red China.

Chaos reigns in Korea, Indochina, British Malaya.

Italy is neutralized internally by Communists from within.

France is paralyzed.

London is in ruins and the British Commonwealth of Nations is powerless to render aid.

The United States stands in peril of losing its forces in France, its air bases, and great quantities of munitions.

The Russian submarine force harasses our shipping around the world.

As Russia overruns Germany and France, the United States is confronted with the decision of dropping atom bombs on the major cities of its Allies.

Russia consolidates its gain in Asia, France, Germany, Italy, and draws strength for its massive land forces which are surviving off of the substance of conquered countries.

At this stage, where does our new look concept turn the tide?

What I am saying is simply this: We could easily have an atomic standoff and lose a war as the result of the balance of power held by Russia in its enormous land armies.

Let us consider the other conceivable kind of war in relation to the new-look concept.

TWENTY YEARS OF COLD WAR CLASHES AROUND THE WORLD, PERPETUATED BY PUPPET REGIMES

No peace in Korea. We are faced with the indefinite necessity to maintain troops there or must assume perpetual support of South Korean military forces.

Indochina is lost to France.

Trouble is revived in Malaya.

Italy has voted itself a Communist form of government.

France is gripped by internal paralysis.

Japan is weak and Communists are gaining strength.

Red China has stepped up pressure on Formosa and threatens an active military campaign.

Communist gains are noted in the Arab States.

Communists are active in Africa.

Europe as a whole is apathetic to the threat of communism, and anxious to trade with the Reds.

Asia is all but lost.

Russia is systematically arming its new satellites.

Where, in the face of this picture, do we deliberately initiate an all-out atomic war? With what do we intervene to turn the tide? Unless we choose to initiate atomic war, we fight on the ground and in the manner of the enemy's own choosing. We must be prepared for more Koreas, and preparation must not be so meager that a commitment in the future comparable to Korea will leave us without reserves and incapable of defensive retaliation on the ground and on the sea, as well as in the air. Congress must recognize the necessity for a strong ground force and a Navy capable of delivering and sustaining it.

Lincoln and the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HAYS or Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, the memory of no other man has had the unifying influence for this Nation as that of Abraham Lincoln. There are many things for the South to recall in tenderness and appreciation but the utterances and actions of none arrayed against us in 1861–65 compare with those of the man who "though the leader against her in war can never be justly said to have been her enemy." These were the words of J. G. de R. Hamilton, of the University of North Carolina, in 1915, and he also said of Lincoln:

> With the rest of the united Nation the South will not only honor and revere but will cherish the name of her son, the first American.

The author probably meant that in Lincoln new and historic forces produced for the first time a distinctively American type of statesmanship. Jefferson might be regarded as occupying that position but if we consider influences with roots entirely in the New World, the tribute would doubtless be accepted without reservation, particularly since the South's great orator, Henry W. Grady, made use of the same language in his eloquent reference to Lincoln:

> From the union of these (northern and southern) colonists, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slowly perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic—Abraham Lincoln.

The sources of the South's feeling are found in the great human qualities of Lincoln. When others misunderstood the South he seemed to know the mind and purpose of our people. When others expected humiliating admissions of error which the South could not give he asked only that we take our place as restored and honored members of the Union. To Mr. Adams in 1861 he gave instructions "not to indulge in expressions of harshness or disrespect or even impatience concerning the seceding States, their agents, or their people" and further to remember that the people of the South "throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen."

These are examples of the kindness of Lincoln in a period of intense bitterness and are evidences of his greatness of soul and loftiness of character. Surely, reflections upon Lincoln's use of the cement of charity should inspire us to conquer present-day divisiveness and march together regardless of party or sectional loyalties.

There are other reasons beside the charity of Lincoln for the South's cherishing his memory. Our years of reflection upon the forces which brought the rupture in 1861 has produced a clearer judgment regarding the impersonal character of those forces and has emphasized the fairness of Lincoln and the soundness of his policies for readmitting the South. Wisdom and fairness, as well as charity, won the South's affection. His sense of fairness often found expression in his speeches, as, for example, his message to the Congress on December 1, 1862, dealing with compensated emancipation:

> It is no less true for having been often said that the people of the South are not more responsible for the original introduction of this proposition (slavery) than are the people of the North.

Lincoln and Grant were kind to Lee as the great ordeal neared its close and the South could never forget a kindness to its most beloved son.

Lincoln's democracy, his simplicity, his appreciation of the common man—these were qualities which found a response in our hearts. In reverencing the memory of Lincoln we would not detract from the possessive feeling which is rightfully the North's and our pride is sufficiently served in recalling that he lived during the first impressionable years under southern skies and that he spoke feelingly of his southern heritage.

The South does not question that Lincoln shared our suffering in the war. To his friend, George P. Floyd, the hotel keeper at Quincy, Ill., he said:

> I have not suffered by the South, I have suffered with the South. Their pain has been my pain. Their loss has been my loss. What they have gained, I have gained.

This was one of the deep and moving sentiments of his nature and partially accounts for the high place he holds in the affections of the South.

Such a life helps us to pierce the mystery contained in the beautiful lines of St. John: "And the Word became flesh

d dwelt among us." Many of us carry
impressions gained in boyhood from
se who could speak from personal
mory of the work of this great man.
om their accounts as from the pages of
orded history we conclude that the
a of human sympathy and limitless
od will for a little while became flesh
d dwelt among us.

use Joint Resolution 243, To Amend the Pledge of Allegiance To Include the Phrase "Under God"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, in the
t session of this Congress, on April
1953, I introduced in the House, Joint
solution 243, to amend the pledge of
egiance to the flag of the United
tes of America.
That resolution would insert in the
dge the words "under God," so that
pledge would then read:

pledge allegiance to the flag of the United
tes of America and to the Republic for
ch it stands, one Nation, under God, in-
sible, with liberty and justice for all.

have been most pleased to note in the
ss a report of the sermon of the Rev-
nd George M. Docherty at the New
rk Avenue Presbyterian Church, the
rch at which Abraham Lincoln wor-
pped. The sermon was delivered on
bruary 7 with President and Mrs.
enhower seated in Lincoln's pew.
Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address used
words "under God" and Dr. Doch-
y seized the opportunity to urge the
ase be added to the pledge. Without
se words, he said, the pledge ignores
efinitive factor in the American way
life and that factor is belief in God.
thout that phrase, the pledge could be
pledge of any republic.
Relating how his children once de-
ibed with strange solemnity the ritual
the salute to the flag, he added:

could hear little Muscovites repeat a
ilar pledge to their hammer and sickle
with equal solemnity.

For Russia, he pointed out, also claims
be a republic, indivisible, with justice
l liberty.
Dr. Docherty and I are not of the same
ristian denomination, but I may say
t in this matter he has hit the nail
ht on the head. You may argue from
wn to dusk about differing political,
nomic, and social systems, but the
damental issue which is the unbridg-
e gap between America and Commu-
t Russia is a belief in Almighty God.
From the root of atheism stems the evil
ed of communism and its branches of
terialism and political dictatorship.
less we are willing to affirm our belief
the existence of God and His creator-
ature relation to man, we drop man
nself to the significance of a grain of
sand and open the floodgates to tyranny
and oppression.

An atheistic American, as Dr. Docherty points out, is a contradiction in terms.

This country was founded on theistic beliefs, on belief in the worthwhileness of the individual human being which in turn depends solely and completely on the identity of man as the creature and son of God. The fraudulent claims of the Communists to the role of champions of social, economic, and political reform is given the lie by their very own atheist materialist concept of life and their denunciation of religion, the bond between God and man, as "the opium of the people."

As Mr. Docherty so eloquently pointed out, the American way of life is more than the material total of baseball games, hot dogs, Coca-Cola, television, deep freezes, and other gadgets. "It is," he said, "a way of life that sees man as a sentient being created by God and seeking to know His will, whose soul is restless till he rests in God."

It is, therefore, most proper that in our salute to the flag, the patriotic standard around which we rally as Americans, we state the real meaning of that flag. From their earliest childhood our children must know the real meaning of America. Children and Americans of all ages must know that this is one Nation which "under God" means "liberty and justice for all."

The Boy Scouts of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, yes; it was 44 years ago—February 1910—that this great organization, the Boy Scouts of America, was incorporated. Do not think for a moment, though, that that was the beginning of scouting. Dan Beard and Ernest Thompson Seton and many others had groups of boys learning scouting here in America long before that, and so had Sir Robert Baden-Powell and others in Africa and England and Europe. When Baden-Powell was asked whence he drew the principles for the great international family of Scouts, to which we are proud to belong, he listed traditions both worldwide and centuries old, such as the code of the boy knights of Cuchullain, the ancient Irish hero, the Bushido code of Japan, the code of King Arthur's Round Table, traditions of the American Indians, of the Zulus, and of the Pacific islanders. Scouting reflects also the Athenian and Spartan systems of training boys, and Baden-Powell's own system of training men in the South African constabulary.

What we celebrate, therefore, is not a beginning, but a culmination. Forty-four years ago, we drew together into one organization, one member of a great international brotherhood, all the scattered groups in this country that were working with boys in widely varied ways. Some groups stressed Indian lore, some woodcraft, some the pioneer tradition, some the legends of Arthurian chivalry, some religion, some athletics. It is inspiring to read, in the history of the Boy Scouts of America, how, one by one, each of these groups gave up its separate existence and contributed its special interests and qualities to the vast whole that is American boy scouting today. The leader of each such group then would take a place among the high officers of the Boy Scouts of America, and, in helping to lead the organization, would contribute his own special knowledge and abilities. Though Ernest Thompson Seton stayed with the Boy Scouts of America only until 1913, his contributions in planning the program were invaluable, and American scouting still bears the impress of his personality and interests. Daniel Carter Beard, too, a leader of long and faithful service, seems present in spirit wherever Boy Scouts get together. He stands to us as the ideal of American boy scouting, as Baden-Powell stands as the ideal of worldwide boy scouting. Let us never fail to honor the enthusiasm and devotion of such men as these and Livingstone and Boyce and the hundreds of others, in large or small positions, who joined wholeheartedly in the common cause of bringing the ideals of scouting to all American boys.

On such an occasion as this, too, it is fitting to recall how early and how enthusiastic was the support of church groups. The YMCA entered into the formation of the Boy Scouts of America so thoroughly and wholeheartedly that at first it was difficult to make it clear to the public that the Boy Scouts were not a sort of branch of the YMCA. Catholic and Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues have taken a leading part in sponsoring Scout troops and aiding Scout activities since the early days, recognizing the value of the Scout ideals of reverence and religious tolerance. The Mormon Church has promoted Scouting with such vigorous enthusiasm that hardly any Mormon boy does not go through his period of Scouting. The churches know that the Boy Scouts of America will always hold up before the youth of America the two ideals, basic to all religion, of service to God and service to our fellow man.

When a boy becomes a Scout, he begins to develop the best qualities of a man. Whether he is a Lone Scout, a member of a neighborhood patrol, or a member of a troop, he learns to take care of himself in all circumstances, to be independent and unafraid, to act on his own initiative. While he is learning independence, he is at the same time learning to follow orders and directions accurately, and to work and play well with others. He is learning to work for concrete achievements and public recognition, as in the earning of badges and in working up the higher degree in Scouting; but at the same time he is held constantly to the high ideal of at least one good deed to be done every day, without reward, record, or public notice. He learns to value his own rewards more

for the recognition they bring to his patrol and troop than for any personal prestige. He learns, too, one of the most valuable lessons in life, that the real fun and joy of living always comes from struggling against difficulties, overcoming fears, and facing dangers, either alone or in a team with a few good friends.

Democrats and Republicans, we are all together in supporting the Boy Scouts of America. It is a nonpolitical organization, always counting among its honorary presidents and vice presidents the President and ex-Presidents of the United States, and among its most fervent supporters many of the most eager workers of both parties. So I think I, as a loyal Democrat and a good Scout, can close my remarks in no more appropriate way than by quoting the words of a rock-ribbed Vermont Republican, Calvin Coolidge. Speaking of the principles embodied in the Scout oath and Scout law, Coolidge made this simple and magnificent statement:

It would be a perfect world if everyone exemplified these virtues in daily life.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Detroit News concerning the work of our colleague the gentleman from Michigan, Hon. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ. As a fellow member of the Public Works Committee, I can endorse this statement of the fine work Representative MACHROWICZ did on our committee in behalf of the St. Lawrence seaway project:

FRIEND OF THE SEAWAY

Among working friends of the St. Lawrence seaway in Congress, it is not too soon to nominate Representative THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, of Hamtramck, for a special place. So wholehearted has been his attachment to the project that in the 83d Congress he willingly passed up a much-coveted berth in the House Judiciary Committee to claim a vacancy in Public Works, where the seaway bill had languished.

The move failed to blast the measure loose. But this year, when a Senate-approved measure reached his committee, MACHROWICZ was ready. He toiled as strenuously for the seaway—a key item on the Eisenhower program—as he had for the same legislation under Truman. A change in administration had in no wise tempered his devotion to the cause.

Of the 13 Democratic members of the 29-man committee, all but one voted to send the bill to the floor and recommend its passage. Five Republicans were opposed. Thus, without the 13, the vote would have gone down as one more futility in a 30-year story of failure in committee.

Whatever the political advantage that may accrue to sponsors of a successful seaway bill in a political year, it is refreshing to know that a true friend of the undertaking can leave this out of consideration long enough to labor in committee as he talks back home.

Political Sadism—Is Playing Politics With Unemployment Perversion Marked With Extreme Cruelty?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, during the last week much has been said and written as to allegedly unfair political attacks. Reference has been made frequently to the use of the words "political sadists" by Assistant to the President Sherman Adams.

Sadism is defined as "perversion marked by extreme cruelty."

In the issue of the Christian Science Monitor of February 10, in an editorial on these developments, is the following:

And some Democrats are already predicting 7,500,000 unemployed by summer and gloating over expected political gains from such a disaster.

For Democrats who behave in this manner Sherman Adams' "political sadists" is not too strong a term.

The excellent reputation of the Christian Science Monitor should make this statement of fact and the conclusion carry great weight for any objective person.

Certainly gloating over expected political gains from predicted disastrous unemployment is nothing less than a perversion of fair and honorable politics and any willingness to adopt or follow such tactics is extreme cruetly on the part of anyone having any responsibility for the welfare of his fellow citizens.

The editorial follows:

TEMPTATIONS FOR PARTISANS

The November election campaign has opened very early, and very roughly. Unnecessary damage to national unity and legislative business can result unless Americans insist that partisans place some limits on political warfare.

At the moment Democrats such as former Speaker RAYBURN and Senator SYMINGTON are calling on President Eisenhower to curb untruthful attacks by his own staff. But some of these Democratic charges were evoked by Republican complaints that the opposition was resorting to a "fear deal", spreading gloom and doom about the Nation's economic situation.

The truth is that both parties face great temptations to use what Mr. SYMINGTON called rat-alley politics; both face also great opportunities to keep the campaign on the level of decent, responsible party combat.

The temptations and the opportunities arise chiefly in regard to two subjects—communism and depression. The Republicans know that the failure of the Truman administration to act more effectively against Reds in Government gives them an advantage. The temptation is to carry this further and try to equate Democrats with Communists.

Such things as Governor Dewey's recent advice to voters to regard the word "Democrat" as synonymous with "diplomatic failure, military failure, death, and tragedy" has really got Democratic backs up. So has the false impression fostered by several administration officials that 2,200 Federal employees have been ousted as subversives.

The current protests of the Democrats do not ask the President to call off Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. SYMINGTON said Democrats would continue to support those parts of the President's program which they considered favorable to the public welfare.

But he added that it was unfair for Democrats the President needs to get his program through to be subjected meanwhile to "increasingly savage attacks" by his close associates.

The great temptation of the Democrats is to play upon fears of a depression. Republican tenderness on this point is very understandable. When their national chairman, Leonard W. Hall, declared the "left wing" regards "depression as a one-way ticket into power" he described an attitude which would render unscrupulous politicians willing to foster a slump. But the implication that men like Adlai Stevenson and Senator DOUGLAS have such intention is unwarranted.

However, even where there is only a sincere purpose to insure prompt action to prevent a depression it is easy to stir up fears which themselves retard business activity. And some Democrats are already predicting 7,500,000 unemployed by summer and gloating over expected political gains from such a disaster.

For Democrats who behave in this manner Sherman Adams' "political sadists" is not too strong a term.

But Republicans cannot fairly object to calm, factual discussion of the Nation's economic condition. Indeed, the President's economic report set a fine example in frank consideration of current problems and of measures which might be required to check a further decline. Republicans can fairly ask the Democrats to hold to this standard.

The best hope that the parties will resist their special temptations lies with voters. If citizens plainly disapprove playing politics with communism or depression, the temptations will be lessened. If Americans will demand instead more attention to the positive program presented by the President there is hope for a more meaningful, useful campaign.

Conviction of Members of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, on January 13, 1953, I introduced House bill 1574 to succeed House bill 451, introduced in 1951, and House Joint Resolution 383 in 1950. This bill provides:

Be it enacted, etc., That it is hereby declared to be a felony for any Member of the Congress of the United States of America to accept or receive, directly or indirectly, any part of the salary or compensation of an employee whose compensation is paid by the United States, employed by him to carry on his official duties.

Sec. 2. Within 10 days after the close of any session of Congress, every Member of the Congress shall file a written statement, under oath, with the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House (to which body the Member belongs) giving the names of those employed by him during such past session, the salaries or compensation received, and what part of said salary or compensation the Member has accepted or received, directly or indirectly, for any purpose whatever. Such

ports shall be open for public inspection.
SEC. 3. It shall be unlawful for any Mem-
r of Congress to accept any money or any
her thing of value from any person, firm,
sociation, or corporation to enable such
mber to maintain himself while acting as
Representative of the people, and those
o offer and contribute to the maintenance
a Member of Congress shall be guilty of
unlawful act, and shall be liable to prose-
tion for a felony.

SEC. 4. When any Member of Congress files
statement under oath, as provided by sec-
n 1 of this act, he shall give a list of any
ntributions made to him while acting as a
mber of Congress and said statement shall
lude the names and addresses of persons
contributing and the amount thereof.

PENALTY

Any Member who shall file a false state-
nt as herein provided, or who accepts or
ains any part of the salary of an employee,
ectly or indirectly employed by him in the
charge of his official duties, or who accepts
ney or any other thing of value from any
rson, firm, association, or corporation to
intain himself while acting as a Member
Congress, shall be guilty of a felony and
all be punished by a fine equal to twice the
ount of the salary, compensation, or gra-
ity unlawfully accepted or received, and
all be subject to removal from the Con-
ss.

Mr. Speaker, since I proposed the bill
forth above, two Members of Con-
ss have been convicted of unlawfully
thholding part of salary paid to actual
imaginary employees. If this bill
d been in effect neither one of the
nvictions would have taken place, be-
use I do not believe you would ever
d a Member who would walk up and
liberately swear to a statement that
s untrue.

Is it not better for Congress itself to
ect its membership than to have the
blic courts clean up what Congress
ould do?

Every time a Member is convicted, it
duces the prestige of Congress with
e people. When the people find out
at the integrity of a few Members is
ng impeached by these convictions,
cannot help but reduce the respect
ich the people ought to have for the
embership of Congress. I will try
ain to get action on this bill.

A Tribute to the Lithuanian Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a few
ys ago John Hvasta, a man who has
own Communist oppression and has
ed to tell about it, declared to his
eering Hillside, N. J., friends that he
s able to survive the long months of
nfinement in the prisons of Communist
echoslovakia and the arduous trials of
fugitive in a foreign land only be-
use—as he said—"I always kept my
th in the American people and my
th in God. Had I lost that faith, I
uld have lost myself."

In these inspiring words, there lies a profound lesson for all of us, especially at this time when the division between the free and the slave world has been fast becoming more and more crystallized. Simply stated, it is that America must continue to give faith and hope to the many millions of John Hvastas who are now caught up in the awful grip of Soviet tyranny.

On this anniversary of Lithuanian independence it is fitting that the case of John Hvasta, to advance whose welfare I had never ceased my efforts, be singled out as an example of what can be done by a few individuals to keep alive the spirit of a man whose spirit might well have otherwise succumbed to the counsels of despair. That the same can be done for an entire nation, I have not the slightest doubt. Nothing is impossible in this world so long as the spirit and the will are vigorous and firm to press on to their conclusion dedicated objectives.

To the nearly 2 million Lithuanians now under Soviet domination, let America, therefore, pass on to them with resounding declaration the priceless and inspiring words of faith and freedom. Never can the present servitude of this great people be accepted with equanimity; never shall that nation and her courageous people be left in oblivion without hope, to expire as a nation in the awful solitude of forgotten history. America—as indeed the entire free world—has faith in the Lithuanian people that one day freedom shall be theirs.

Closed- and Union-Shop Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 83d Congress I introduced House bill 3999, which, in simple language, abolishes the closed and union shop.

This bill also bans the closed shop on railroads. Just last week a most significant verdict was handed down in the district court at Amarillo, Tex. A permanent injunction was granted forbidding a Santa Fe Railroad labor union to strike for a closed shop and also forbidding the Santa Fe to sign a closed-shop agreement.

In view of the widespread interest in this case, I insert a complete statement of it, including a memorandum decision and the judgment of the court, in the Appendix:

CURRENT CHALLENGES TO VALIDITY OF UNION-SHOP AGREEMENTS

The Supreme Court of the United States has never passed on the constitutionality of the union shop—on the question whether it is a violation of fundamental constitutional guaranties to force an American citizen against his will to belong and pay dues to a private organization as a condition precedent to the right to obtain or retain employment, or on the question whether an employer is unlawfully deprived of property rights when he is forced to discharge satisfactory employees on whose training he has expended large sums of money. It seems reasonably probable that lawsuits recently brought to test the validity of the union shop in the railroad industry will reach the Court in such a way as to secure a ruling on these questions.

Not all the cases take the same form. The usual pattern is a suit in a State court by employees against the railroad company and the unions to enjoin the making or the enforcement of a union-shop agreement. Most of the suits have been brought in jurisdictions like Texas, Virginia, and North Carolina, where State right-to-work statutes are in effect. In the Santa Fe case at Amarillo, Tex., the railroad company filed a cross-complaint against the unions seeking to enjoin a strike for the purpose of coercing the company into executing an illegal union-shop agreement. Most of the suits attack the union shop not only as contrary to the State right-to-work statutes but as depriving the employees of their right to liberty and property under State and Federal Constitutions. In some of them it is specifically alleged that the union-shop amendment of 1951 to the Railway Labor Act is unconstitutional and void.

There are 15 cases pending, all but 1 of them originally brought by railroad employees, some members and others nonmembers, of labor organizations, who unite in objecting to compulsory membership in the union. Four of the suits were brought while negotiations for a union-shop agreement were pending between the unions and the railroads. The others were brought after union-shop agreements had been executed. In the first category are suits against the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co.; Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.; Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad Co.; and the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. In the second category are 3 suits against the Southern Railway Co., 2 against the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., and 1 each against the Union Pacific Railroad Co., the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co., the Virginian Railway Co., Central of Georgia Railway Co., and Florida East Coast Railway.

The Florida East Coast case presents an exceptional situation. There the suit was brought by the principal nonoperating railroad unions in the Federal district court at Jacksonville, Fla., asking for a declaratory judgment upholding the validity of their union-shop agreement with the railroad company. The bringing of this suit indicates a marked concern of union leaders over the constitutional issues that have been raised, as well as perhaps an attempt on their part to get their case to the United States Supreme Court first.

Perhaps a brief sketch of the background of the litigation may be of interest.

The union shop, like the closed shop, is prohibited by State law in many jurisdictions. Right-to-work constitutional provisions or statutes, under which it is illegal to make membership or nonmembership in a union a condition of employment, are in effect in 14 States and have been sustained as consistent with the Federal Constitution by the Supreme Court of the United States. Court decisions have banned the practice in other jurisdictions, reaching the conclusion sometimes under constitutional principles, but usually by applying the common law. The union shop has been sanctioned in still other States by statute or under the common law. Never before, however, has validity of a nationwide union shop been challenged on constitutional grounds. Previously the objection has been to a union shop in a single plant or in a number of establishments owned by a single company. Previously, also, in the litigated cases, the arrangement has involved only the action of the parties, employer and employees, without the presence

of governmental pressure to force the union shop.

The Railway Labor Act of 1934 provided "No carrier * * * shall require any person seeking employment * * * to join or not to join a labor organization."

Early in 1951 at the behest of some, but not all, of the railroad labor unions—part of them, like the engineers, have traditionally favored voluntary unionism—Congress amended the Railway Labor Act by inserting section 2 (11). This section provided "Notwithstanding any other provisions of this act, or of any other statute or law of the United States, or Territory thereof, or of any State" a union-shop agreement shall be permitted.

Immediately thereafter the 17 nonoperating railroad unions demanded the union shop which they claimed had just been legalized. The carriers refused, but the unions persisted in their demands. In the summer of 1951 three major carriers—the New York Central, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Great Northern—evidently feeling further resistance useless, yielded. The great majority of carriers continued to resist. In the latter part of 1951 President Truman appointed Emergency Fact Finding Board No. 98, which made a report early in 1952 recommending a union shop. The railroads at first refused to accept the recommendations of the Board, but, except for the Santa Fe in the West and a number of railroads in the Southeast, they ultimately fell into line, signing an agreement of this type under threat, express or implied, of a strike. On the railroads holding out, matters came to a head in the late spring of 1953. The renewed insistence of the labor organizations for union-shop agreements precipitated the suits which are now pending.

Most of the suits were instituted in a State court apparently for the dual purpose of taking advantage of the State right-to-work statutes and of avoiding the effect of the Norris-LaGuardia Act which practically prohibits a Federal court from issuing an injunction in a labor dispute. In each of these proceedings the unions have removed the case to the appropriate Federal court and the other parties have filed motions to remand the case to the State court. Most of the motions to remand have been granted, and the cases are proceeding in State courts. The principal exception is in the Florida East Coast case which was originally filed in a Federal court.

In the State courts preliminary restraining orders or temporary injunctions have been granted in most cases, enjoining the execution or enforcement of union-shop agreements until the controversy is resolved. In only one case, *Hanson v. Union Pacific*, has a final injunction been issued. It was entered in a decision of January 15, 1954, by Judge Jackson B. Chase, in the State district court at Omaha in which he held that the Nebraska right-to-work constitutional provision was applicable to the employees who had brought the suit.

The Santa Fe case, filed in early May 1953, has provoked especially strong resistance from the unions, who have resorted to many delaying maneuvers and who frankly asked the court to suspend the proceedings while other cases, in which, unlike that of the Santa Fe, the carriers had agreed to the union shop, could be tested out. In the Santa Fe case, the union-shop agreement is alleged to violate the 1st, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 13th amendments. The claim is advanced that the union shop deprives employees of the right of free speech and of the right of assembly contrary to the first amendment; that it deprives both the employer and the employees of liberty and property in contravention of the fifth amendment; that it infringes on liberties reserved to the people under the 9th and 10th amendments; and that by compelling a man against his will to join and remain in a union it brings about involuntary servitude violative of the 13th amendment. A temporary restraining order was issued without a hearing May 5, 1953, followed, after a hearing before the district judge, by the entry of a temporary injunction on October 3, 1953. When the application for final injunction came up for consideration, the defendant unions elected the right to trial by jury. The case was tried before Judge E. C. Nelson and a jury in the district court at Amarillo, January 11–29, 1954. The jury found in favor of the plaintiffs and the cross-plaintiffs.

LEGISLATIVE AND FACTUAL BACKGROUND LEADING UP TO SANDSBERRY V. SANTE FE

In its original form, the Railway Labor Act was passed by the Congress in 1926. It was "agreed legislation"—that is, it was drafted and agreed to by representatives of railroad labor and railroad management. Among other things, this act granted to railroad employees the right to organize and bargain collectively without interference, influence, or coercion by management or labor unions.

The act was amended in 1934 in an effort to remove dissatisfaction with the operation of the original act of 1926. The provisions of the 1934 act were sponsored neither by the railroads nor by the unions but rather by Joseph B. Eastman, who was then Federal Coordinator of Transportation. This amendment, as proposed and subsequently enacted, expressly provided in its section 2, fifth:

"No carrier, its officers, or agents shall require any person seeking employment to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization."

When this 1934 amendment was in committee, the union spokesman proposed an amendment to the bill which, if adopted, would have left the so-called standard unions free to demand closed or union shops. Commissioner Eastman, criticizing Harrison's proposal as vicious, opposed the suggestion and it was not adopted.

In the fall of 1949, railroad union leaders stated to an informal meeting of railroad presidents that they desired to offer an amendment to the Railway Labor Act which would permit the union shop in the railroad industry. They expressed the hope that railroad management would lend their support to such an amendment. At a subsequent meeting, however, the railroad presidents made it plain that they could neither support nor remain neutral in the matter, for they were strongly opposed to compulsory unionism as a matter of principle.

Thereafter the unions had their amendment to the act proposed in the Congress. It was supported by all railroad unions save the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who, like railroad management, were against it on principle. Witnesses before congressional committees on behalf of the Nation's railroads repeatedly pointed out that although the proposed amendment was couched in permissive terms (it states that union shop contracts shall be permitted), in actual practice it would amount to an express direction and would drive all railroad employees either into the unions or out of railroad employment. The leading union spokesman, George M. Harrison, grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, appearing in support of the bill for the nonoperating unions, candidly asserted that without the union shop he had as much collective bargaining strength as he ever would have. The basis of this strength is to be found in the majority-rule provision of the Railway Labor Act. This provision gives to the union which secures a majority of the employees in a bargaining unit the absolute right to bargain for all employees, union and nonunion alike, and means that nonunion employees are prohibited from bargaining for themselves. But, Mr. Harrison said, in spite of this lack of need, he wanted the union shop to get initiation fees, dues and assessments from all employees, and to give the unions disciplinary power over all employees. In spite of management resistance, the amendment was passed and became law when it was signed by President Truman on January 10, 1951.

Less than a month later, on February 5, 1951, the unions served their first notice on practically all the class I railroads in the country, demanding execution of union shop contracts. Negotiations on the individual properties of the railroads served were carried on thereafter for about a month. No contracts were signed as a result of these negotiations.

As a result, on March 9, 1951, Mr. George E. Leighty, president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, serving as chairman of the Employees National Conference Committee, addressed a letter to the Association of Western Railways, the Bureau of Information, Eastern Railways, and to the Bureau of Information, Southeastern Railways, requesting those three regional associations to form conference committees to represent the railroads in their respective territories in further negotiations. The railroads declined to comply with this request.

In July 1951, the Great Northern Railway Co. capitulated to the demands of the unions and signed the union-shop contract asked by them. And in August of the same year, the New York Central and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroads also capitulated.

In August, the unions invoked the services of the National Mediation Board on the union-shop question. The Board suggested to the railroads formation of regional conference committees, but they again declined to comply with such a request. In October 1951 the Board proposed arbitration to the unions and the railroads. Then in November it advised the railroads that the unions had declined to arbitrate the matter.

Thereafter the Board, as provided in the Railway Labor Act, certified the matter to President Truman, and, on February 15, 1951, the President issued an executive order creating Emergency Board No. 98, the so-called Cole Board.

Hearings were held by the Board from December 7, 1951, until the latter part of January 1952. It filed its report recommending the union shop for the railroad industry with the President on February 14, 1952.

In March 1952, Mr. Leighty addressed another letter to the three regional carrier associations, again requesting each to form a conference committee to deal with the union-shop matter. The eastern railroads formed such a committee in March 1952, and the western railroads in May of the same year. The southeastern railroads refused to form a committee. Negotiations between the eastern and western committees and the unions were had in Washington over a period of weeks, starting about the middle of May 1952. Those with the western committee were unavailing and finally, on August 20, 1952, these negotiations were recessed indefinitely. However, negotiations of the eastern committee continued and, on August 29, the eastern railroads and the unions signed a union-shop agreement.

The western committee and the employees conference committee met again in the latter part of September and the first part of October 1952. These meetings also came to no avail and by October 21 the unions were proceeding with the western railroads on an individual property basis.

In November, a strike ballot was spread on the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, with the result that it signed a union-shop agreement on or about December 12, 1952. Shortly thereafter, the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Rail-

also signed and, since that time, all the
I railroads in the West with the excep-
of Santa Fe have, one by one, signed
union-shop contract.
ne unions, on April 16, 1953, asked Santa
or a meeting to discuss the union-shop
ter. An exchange of letters and tele-
as resulted in the meeting being sched-
for May 5, at the railroad offices in
ago.
this meeting, marking the culmination
years and 3 months of effort to settle
controversy, the unions appeared and
ented to Santa Fe the union-shop con-
which had been signed by the eastern
oads. They said that this had been
d to the bone and was the one which
d have to be signed. They went further
said that they were prepared to resort
ne use of economic force to get it. The
ing adjourned after about 5 hours with
ubstantial progress having been made,
when it became apparent that a dead-
had been reached. Shortly thereafter,
a Fe received a telegram from Col. E. A.
son, a lawyer of Amarillo, Tex., advising
ne restraining order he had secured that
from Judge Nelson on behalf of his 14
a Fe employee clients.
rning now to the facts leading up to
filing of the suit by 14 Santa Fe em-
ees to enjoin the Santa Fe and the non-
ating unions from entering into a union-
contract, we find that this move actu-
took root shortly after the union shop
ndment became law, January 10, 1951.
all group of employees formed a "union-
protest committee at Amarillo, Tex."
he night of February 20, 1951, they held
eeting in the same courtroom of the
ict court in Amarillo, Potter County,
in which their lawsuit was subsequently
. About 100 persons attended this
ing and heard from fellow railroad em-
ees about the passage of the union-shop
te and what it meant to them. Meet-
were held almost weekly thereafter, with
group continually expanding and form-
new designs for their resistance to com-
ory unionism.
ey began an active letter-writing cam-
n that extended into other cities in Texas
to other States of the Union. By March
51, they had a petition with 400 names
the Amarillo area alone seeking repeal
ne union-shop statute. When it became
rent about that time that their at-
pts to have the law repealed were hope-
this group resolved to attack the con-
tionality of the law in the courts. They
wed the union-shop movement with
care, particularly, of course, as it bore
he Santa Fe. When they learned that
unions were to meet with Santa Fe on
5, 1953, at Chicago, for what was to be
owdown meeting, as all were well aware
knew of developments up to that date,
carried out their determination to carry
case into court. On May 3, 1953, they
ged Col. E. A. Simpson, well-known
rillo attorney, to handle their case.
the night of May 4, 1953, the group
4 met in Colonel Simpson's office.
ugh that night and into the early hours
he morning of May 5, they assisted
nel Simpson in drawing up their com-
t. The next morning the petition was
nted to Judge E. C. Nelson, of the 108th
ict Court of Potter County, Amarillo,
In this petition, the plaintiffs charged
the unions and the railroad were then
tiating with respect to a union-shop
act; that such a contract would violate
rights secured to them by the Texas
-to-work law and the Texas Constitu-
that the act of Congress under which
unions were pressing their demand for
ion shop deprived them of rights and
ties guaranteed by the Federal Consti-
n; that they would be irreparably
ed by the signing of such a contract;
and that they feared that the unions, in the absence of judicial restraint, would force the Santa Fe to execute a union-shop agreement. The temporary restraining order sought was granted, and word of its issuance was telegraphed to the railroad in Chicago. This, as was noted above, was received by Santa Fe after its meeting with the unions May 5 had been adjourned.

On May 6 Santa Fe filed its answer in the district court in Amarillo, conceding the allegations of the petition filed by its employees. It also filed a cross complaint stating a case of its own, alleging that the union-shop statute violated the Federal Constitution and that a union-shop contract would deprive Santa Fe and its employees of rights secured by the Texas constitution and the Texas right-to-work law.

A week or 10 days later, hearings were begun before Judge Nelson to consider whether a temporary injunction should be granted, pending a full trial on the merits, to replace the temporary restraining order theretofore issued. After 5 days of such hearings, the unions removed the case to the Federal district court sitting in Amarillo, thereby disrupting the proceedings before Judge Nelson. The employees and the railroad vigorously opposed removal to Federal court. After some 2½ months, the Federal court proceedings were terminated with the case being sent back to Judge Nelson in the State court.

Hearings on the temporary injunction were resumed in the State court in August and, after several days, were concluded, with the judge taking the matter under advisement.

In early October, Judge Nelson granted the temporary injunction sought by the employees and Santa Fe, on the ground that substantial questions were presented and irreparable injury might result to plaintiffs and the railroad in the absence of continuing restraint.

Pretrial matters prevented the case from being set for trial until January 11, 1954, and the trial was begun on that date.

The unions, as was their right under Texas practice, demanded a jury trial. A venire of 213 men, the largest ever selected for a trial in Potter County history, was chosen to provide the panel from which a jury would be selected. The first 2 days of trial were consumed in the selection of 12 men to sit as a jury to hear the case. On the third day, opening statements by counsel for the respective parties was heard, and the receipt of evidence was begun.

Forty witnesses were called by the plaintiffs and the railroad, and numerous items of documentary evidence were introduced. Each of the 13 plaintiffs (1 of the original 14 dropped out of the suit when he terminated his railroad employment to enter the ministry) took the witness stand to testify to his or her opposition to compulsory unionism. Two of the thirteen were dues-paying members of a union at the time they took the witness stand. Those not union members testified that they regarded their railroad jobs and seniority as very valuable property. Each said that, although he had no quarrel with unions as such, he did object strenuously to compulsory membership and regarded it as un-American and unconstitutional. The two plaintiffs who belonged to a union related that they had no objection to voluntary union membership but were strongly opposed to compulsory membership. They said that they thought it was their right as free citizens to drop from membership at any time, for any reason, and without fear that they would lose their jobs as a result.

Mr. Daniel P. Loomis, chairman of the Association of Western Railways, traced in detail the enactment of the Railway Labor Act of 1926, the amendment of 1934, and the union-shop amendment of 1951. Then, he told of developments on the Nation's railroads in the union-shop matter following enactment of the 1951 amendment. His testimony vividly brought to light the intention of the nonoperating unions to get union-shop contracts on all the Nation's railroads so that union membership would become a nationwide condition of railroad employment.

Mr. Fred G. Gurley, president and chairman of the executive committee of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway system, testified at some length. He stated that he regarded the unions as playing an important part in our national economy. He said that he had in the past enjoyed quite cordial relations with most union officials. He denied emphatically that Santa Fe was embarking upon or had any thought of a union-busting campaign. He related that the railroad was in favor of union activity and union membership on a voluntary basis, but that it was irrevocably opposed in principle to an employee being required to join a union as the price of exercise of his right to earn a living.

Mr. John N. Landreth, general manager of the eastern lines of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., stated that he had been a member of the Santa Fe committee dealing with the unions with regard to the union-shop agreement demanded by them. He related the events which preceded and took place at the meeting in Chicago on May 5, 1953. Perhaps the principal point of his testimony was his description of the way that the unions had, on May 5, threatened to strike to enforce their demand for the union-shop contract presented to Santa Fe at that meeting.

Other Santa Fe officers testified to the extensive apprenticeship system maintained by Santa Fe and the resulting substantial investment that the railroad has in employees it has trained, particularly in the shop crafts.

A number of individuals who had formally been employed by other railroads but had been discharged for their refusal to join a union, were called to the witness stand by the plaintiffs and the railroad. Some of these had had more than 30 years' experience and seniority at the time of their discharge. One, a young man from Los Angeles, related that he at one time had belonged to a union and had been approached by a local union officer to pay a political assessment to be used to support the reelection of President Truman. Another, after many years of service, was sent a notice that he must join the union within 10 days. Because he was on vacation at the time, he did not receive the notice until after the 10 days had expired. He did what he could to have the union accept his dues but it refused to do so. He asked for a hearing as provided in the union-shop contract involved, but was summarily discharged, and, with several months having passed, nothing has been done. A young man from Houston related that he had fallen behind in his union dues because of a serious illness in his family and resulting doctor bills. He pleaded with the union to allow him to make up this deficiency in installment payments, but this was refused and he was discharged. Still another, an elderly colored man from Houston, was probably the most stirring witness presented. As he told how the unions had worried him about joining, he broke into sobs. He said that the union had offered to admit him to a segregated local but he wanted to belong to the good union, that is, the white man's union. But his request was denied, and because of his refusal to join a segregated local, he was discharged. A young Navaho Indian also took the stand. In response to one question, he let it be known that his people had been here long before any of you white guys. He said he would not join a union because he could not understand why a man should have to pay someone for the right to work.

Dr. Leo Wolman, a professor of economics from Columbia University, and an expert in the field of labor, testified that the nonoperating railroad unions had tripled their membership in the period 1934–1951, when the union shop was forbidden in the railroad industry. He stated further that, in his opinion and based upon extensive studies made by him, large-wage increases in the last decade were more the result of prosperity and mounting productivity than of union action.

The unions produced only three witnesses. One, a local union officer on the Santa Fe Lines, related that he had handled grievances for employees who were not union members as well as for those who were members. Another, Dr. Frederic Meyers, of the University of Texas School of Economics, testified that the union shop was desirable but not necessary.

Following the completion of the instruction of evidence ,extensive closing arguments by counsel for the parties were heard. The judge submitted to the jury 16 specific questions of fact. After deliberating for some 5 hours, the jury on January 29, returned its verdict. It found almost all of the issues submitted in favor of the individual employees and Santa Fe. Outstanding among these were: negotiations between Santa Fe and the unions had deadlocked on May 5, 1953, before notice was received of the restraining order secured by the employees; the unions threatened to strike to secure a union shop; the suit was filed in good faith by the employees and Santa Fe; the employees and Santa Fe would suffer irreparable injury if a union-shop contract were signed; and a union shop is not necessary to the continued existence and well-being of the unions. The single exception of consequence found against the Santa Fe was the conclusion of the jury that a union-shop contract would not substantially interfere with its procuring desirable new employees.

These factual findings serve as the primary basis upon which the court rested its judgment on the questions of law presented by the parties.

M. E. SANDSBERRY, JR., ET AL., *v.* GULF, COLORADO & SANTA FE RAILWAY CO., ET AL.—NO. 28,031—IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF POTTER COUNTY, TEX., 108TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

CHARGE OF COURT, INCLUDING SPECIAL ISSUES SUBMITTED TO JURY (WITH INTERPOLATION OF ANSWERS SUBSEQUENTLY GIVEN BY JURY ON JANUARY 29, 1954)

Gentlemen of the jury, this case will be submitted to you on special issues, or questions, which you will answer from the preponderance of the evidence, by which is meant the greater weight and degree of credible evidence before you. The evidence offered in this case by all of the parties has taken a rather broad scope, raising, or at least suggesting, many questions that you, as jurors, are not called upon to answer. Your duties as jurors are confined to making findings of fact, which you will do by answering the special issues herein submitted to you. Your duties as jurors do not call upon you to decide what the law is or what it ought to be. Insofar as you need to know what he law is, it is stated to you in this charge, and beyond that you, as jurors, are not concerned. As jurors, you are not concerned with whether our laws are good laws or bad laws. As jurors, you are not concerned with whether unions are good or bad, or whether any particular union is good or bad, and you are not concerned with matters of public policy with regard to unions, or in any other particular.

In answering the special issues, you are not to take into consideration the effect that your answers may have on the judgment to be rendered in this case. You must not first decide what you think the judgment ought to be and then undertake to answer the questions so as to bring about that result.

Disregarding all such considerations, you are to answer the special issues, or questions, truly as you find the facts to be from the preponderance of the evidence introduced in the trial of this case, admited by the court, and not withdrawn from your consideration, and from such evidence alone.

When you have answered the special issues, your responsibilities, as jurors, are at an end. The law will then determine the proper judgment to be rendered, and for that you are not responsible.

As used in this charge, a "union shop agreement" or "union shop contract" is a contract or agreement between one or more employers and one or more unions whereby the employees of the employer or employers, unless excepted by the contract, are required as a condition of their continued employment to become and remain a member of a union.

The term "Santa Fe" or "Santa Fe Railway Co." as used herein refers to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Co., and to the Panhandle & Santa Fe Railway Co., to all or any of them.

You are instructed that the term "irreparable injury," as used in this charge, means an injury which cannot be fully compensated in damages or cannot be measured by any certain money standard.

The special issues are as follows:

Special issue No. 1

(a) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at a meeting between representatives of the defendant labor unions and the representatives of the Santa Fe Railway Co., held in Chicago, or or about May 5, 1953, the representatives of the labor unions demanded that the Santa Fe execute with them a union shop agreement containing the terms and provisions set forth in Plaintiffs' exhibit 1, admitted in evidence in this case? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

(b) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the representatives of the defendant unions stated that they would not amend or change the terms and provisions of said proposed agreement? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

(c) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe has made every reasonable effort to settle the union shop controversy with the unions by collective bargaining? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

(d) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the unions have not made every reasonable effort to settle the union shop controversy with the Santa Fe by collective bargaining? Answer "We find the unions have not made such effort," or "We do not so find." (Answer "We do not so find.")

(e) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that by the end of the Chicago meeting of May 5, 1953, a deadlock existed with the union representatives refusing to amend or change the terms and provisions of the proposed agreement and the Santa Fe refusing to sign said agreement as presented to it? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 2

(a) If you have answered part (a) of special issue No. 1 "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the representatives of the defendant unions threatened to use economic force to require the Santa Fe Railway Co. to sign the agreement then presented to them? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "yes," then answer the following:

(b) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that by making such threat, if any, the representatives of the unions meant for the representatives of the Santa Fe to believe that unless such contract was signed, the unions would call a strike on the Santa Fe Railway system or some part of it? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

(c) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at the Chicago meeting the Santa Fe had reasonable grounds for believing and did believe that the unions would call a strike if a union shop agreement was not signed? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 3

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at the Chicago meeting it was the intention of the unions to call a strike if the Santa Fe did not sign a union shop agreement? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 4

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that, following the Chicago meeting held on or about May 5, 1953, it was reasonably probable that the defendant unions would have called a strike on the Santa Fe Railway system, or on one or more component parts thereof, if the Santa Fe had not signed, or agreed to sign, a union-shop agreement? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 5

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe now has in its employ a substantial number of nonoperating employees who, in the exercise of their own choice, are not members of any of the defendant unions? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 6

(a) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe now has in its employ a substantial number of nonoperating employees who are opposed to being required to join a union as a condition of their continued employment? Answer "yes" or "no." (Answer was "Yes.")

(b) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the plaintiffs, all or some of them, are included in the group referred to? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

(c) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the signing of a union shop agreement by the Santa Fe would, in reasonable probability, cause it to lose a substantial number of employees who desire to retain their employment and whose services the Santa Fe desires to retain? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 7

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the signing of a union shop agreement would substantially interfere with the procuring of desirable new employees by the Santa Fe Railway Co.? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "No.")

Special issue No. 7 (a)

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe will in reasonable probability suffer irreparable injury if a union shop agreement is signed? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 8

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that on or about May 5, 1953, the plaintiffs or some of them had a reasonable cause to fear, and did fear, that unless restrained by injunction, the defendant unions would resort to economic force upon the Santa Fe for the purpose of compelling it to sign a union shop agreement? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 9

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that on or about May 5, 1953, the

ntiffs or some of them had reason to , and did fear, that, unless restrained by nction, the Santa Fe Railway Co. would er voluntarily or involuntarily sign a n shop agreement with the defendant ns? Answer "Yes" or "No." (Answer "Yes.")

Special issue No. 10

an injunction is not issued in this case, ou find from the preponderance of the ence that it is reasonably probable that Santa Fe Railway Co. will sign a union agreement? Answer "Yes" or "No." swer was "Yes.")

Special issue No. 11

the Santa Fe Railway Co., on or subse- it to May 5, 1953, either voluntarily or luntarily, had signed a union-shop ement with the defendant unions, do find from the preponderance of the evi- e that the plaintiffs, or some of them, result thereof, would have suffered or ld suffer irreparable injury? Answer " or "No." (Answer was, "Yes.")

Special issue No. 12

) Do you find from the preponderance he evidence that a strike of the non- ating unions on the Santa Fe Railway em, or on any of its component parts, ld prevent or greatly hinder the normal tioning of the Santa Fe as a common ier of passengers and merchandise? An- "Yes" or "No." (Answer was, "Yes.")

) If you have answered part (a) of this ial issue "Yes," then do you find from preponderance of the evidence that such rike would result in irreparable injury ld Santa Fe Railway Co.? Answer "Yes" 'No." (Answer was, "Yes.").

) If you have answered part (a) of this ial issue "Yes," then do you find from preponderance of the evidence that such rike would result in irreparable injury e public? Answer "Yes" or "No." (An- was, "Yes.")

Special issue No. 13

you find from the preponderance of evidence that the signing and enforce- t of a union-shop agreement is not nec- y to the continued existence and well- g of defendant labor unions? Answer, find it is not necessary to their con- ed existence and well-being" or "We do so find." (Answer was, "We find it is necessary to their continued existence well-being.")

Special issue No. 14

you find from the preponderance of the ence that the plaintiffs did not bring this in good faith? Answer "We find plain- did not bring this suit in good faith" or do not so find." (Answer was, "We do so find.")

Special issue No. 15

you find from the preponderance of the ence that Santa Fe did not bring its suit ood faith? Answer "We find that Santa id not bring its suit in good faith" or do not so find." (Answer was "We do so find.")

ou are instructed that when you retire to jury room to consider your verdict, you first elect your foreman and will then and consider the instructions carefully. n you will take up and consider the spe- issues submitted to you and will answer n in accordance with the instructions n you. There will be delivered to you, g with this charge, a form of verdict to used by you in answering the special es. In this form the answers are num- d to correspond to the special issues to ch the answers are to relate. When you agreed as to what your answer to a n special issue is to be, you will have answer written into the proper blank. n you have finished answering the special issues, you should check back over them carefully to see that they are the answers you intend to make. When you have finished, you will have the verdict signed by your foreman and will return same into open court.

If during the trial of this case any of the lawyers have made, or may make, any statement or ask any question that might be construed as indicating what the law is, either generally or on any particular matter, you are instructed to disregard the same and not take into consideration in any manner. Insofar as you need to know what the law is, it is given to you in this charge. You are the sole judges of the facts proved, of the credibility of the witnesses, and of the weight to be given to their evidence; but you are to receive the law from the court, as given you in this charge, and be bound thereby. Insofar as the applicable law is not stated in this charge, it is a matter that will be handled by the court in the rendition of the judgment; and for that you are not responsible.

E. C. NELSON,
Judge, 108th Judicial District of Texas.

M. E. SANDSBERRY, JR., ET AL., *v.* GULF, COLORADO & SANTA FE RAILWAY CO., ET AL.—No. 28,031, FEBRUARY 6, 1954—IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF POTTER COUNTY, TEX., 108TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

MEMORANDUM DECISION

Adding together the time that has been consumed in successive hearings, this case has occupied the almost exclusive attention of the court for some 5 weeks. We have heard the positions of the parties stated, we have read the pleadings of the parties, and have heard them read by the parties themselves. The court and the jury have attentively listened to witnesses from far and near, all that the parties have chosen to offer, and in order that we might be sure that all sides should have full opportunity to be heard, we have allowed a rather wide scope to the evidence, wider, perhaps, than the strict rules of evidence would have required; but in so doing, we have accorded the same leniency to all parties. The jury has returned its verdict, making findings of fact in accordance with the issues submitted to them. We have listened, on repeated occasions, to counsel as they have presented to the court their view of the law and have undertaken to support their views by the citation of constitutional and statutory provisions and by judicial decisions. The entire course of repeated judicial hearings having been followed down to this point, the time has now arrived for the decision of the court to be announced and for the judgment to be entered of record.

There are many parties to this lawsuit, but they fall into three groups. First, there are 13 individual plaintiffs, employees of the Santa Fe, who appear in this case representing themselves individually and others who, for the purposes of this suit, are in position similar to themselves; second, there are 3 railroad companies, together constituting what is known as the Santa Fe system; and, third, there is a group of what is referred to as nonoperating railroad labor unions. While, in their outermost reaches, the issues become many and complex, reduced into proper compass they may be simply stated. The unions are engaged in a process of trying to procure with the Santa Fe what is commonly known as a union shop agreement. Such an agreement, if entered into, would require the Santa Fe within a short period of time to discharge the plaintiffs from its employ unless the plaintiffs joined the union appropriate to the positions held by them. The plaintiffs are employees of the Santa Fe who do not want the Santa Fe and the unions to enter into such an agreement. Many of them have worked for the Santa Fe for long years. They do not want to be forced to join a union, and they do not want to be discharged from their positions for failure to join a union.

The Santa Fe, though a defendant insofar as the original suit of the plaintiffs is concerned, has stated that the plaintiffs are among its trusted and valued employees, that it desires to retain their services, and that it does not want to sign an agreement with the unions that will require it to discharge the plaintiffs if they do not join a union. Both the plaintiffs and the Santa Fe allege that the unions have threatened to use coercive measures, including the calling of a strike, if such an agreement is not signed, and they seek the issuance of an injunction to prohibit the use of such coercive measures. Shall this court grant such relief? Thus, the question for determination is stated in its simplest form.

Our first inquiry, we think, would properly be, When is a Texas court authorized to grant an injunction? Our Texas statutes authorize the district and county courts of Texas to grant injunctions in specified cases, among which are these:

"1. Where the applicant is entitled to the relief demanded and such relief or any part thereof requires the restraint of some act prejudicial to him.

"2. Where the applicant shows himself entitled thereto under the principles of equity, and the provisions of the statutes of this State relating to the granting of injunctions.

"3. Where * * * irreparable injury to * * * personal property is threatened, irrespective of any legal remedy at law." (Revised Statutes of Texas, art. 4642.)

At this point, we think it appropriate to state that to the most casual lay observer it must be apparent that the verdict of the jury is favorable to the plaintiffs and to the Santa Fe and unfavorable to the unions. Only 2 of the total of 26 questions submitted to the jury may be construed as favoring the unions. These are special issue No. 1 (d), which in its simple form is a finding that the unions have made every reasonable effort to settle the union-shop controversy with the Santa Fe by collective bargaining. In answer to special issue No. 1 (c) the jury likewise found that the Santa Fe has made every reasonable effort to settle the union-shop controversy with the unions by collective bargaining. These two findings are consonant with the finding in response to special issue No. 1 (e) to the effect that at the end of the Chicago meeting a deadlock existed, with the union representatives refusing to amend or change the terms and provisions of the proposed agreement and the Santa Fe refusing to sign said agreement as presented to it, all of which findings are tantamount to a finding that nothing more could be accomplished by collective bargaining and that further bargaining on the question of a union shop was useless.

The only other finding of the jury that can be said to favor the position of the unions is the finding in response to special issue No. 7, wherein the jury found that the signing of a union-shop agreement would not substantially interfere with the procuring of desirable new employees by the Santa Fe. It is to be observed that the jury did find, in effect, that the signing of a union-shop agreement would work irreparable injury to the Santa Fe in other ways (special issue 7 (a)), and that it would result in irreparable injury to the plaintiffs (special issue No. 11).

During the consideration of this case many constitutional and statutory provisions have been referred to. Among the statutory provisions is an act of Congress commonly called the Railway Labor Act and an act of the Texas Legislature commonly called the Texas right-to-work law (Rev. Stat. Tex., art. 5207 (a)). Several provisions of the Constitution of the United States have been invoked, including what is referred to as the

commerce clause, which gives to Congress the right to regulate interstate commerce. Thus we are faced with the problem of relating these constitutional and statutory provisions to each other, with the problem of determining whether any of them are in conflict with others of them and, if so, of resolving the conflict so as to determine which of them are controlling. These problems arise out of the complex form of our government, a sovereign federation of sovereign states. Such questions would not arise in a unitary state such as, for example, in the Republic of France. To resolve them, we must keep this complex character of our Government in mind. The fact is that we have at least 49 governments, the Government of the United States and the government of each of the States, each sovereign in its own proper sphere. This is further complicated by the fact there are some spheres of legislation in which either the State or the Federal Government may legislate. Then the power of each of the State legislatures is limited by the constitution of that State, and the powers of the State legislatures and of Congress are limited by the Constitution of the United States. It should be remembered in this connection that, under our theory of government, the final source of all power is the people themselves. The people of the United States, by that great document known as the Constitution of the United States, have given to the Federal Government certain defined powers, and all powers not so delegated are reserved to the people or to the several States. When a State government enacts a piece of legislation and the United States Government enacts other legislation, and there apepars to be a conflict between the two, our first problem is to determine whether such apparent conflict does in fact exist. This statement has particular application to the Texas right-to-work statute and to section 2, 11th, of the Railway Labor Act. This brings up the question as to whether said section 2, 11th, is merely permissive or is mandatory. If it is merely permissive then, in our opinion, it should not be held to be in conflict with the Texas statute. If it is to be considered mandatory, then we must determine whether it is constitutional.

It has been claimed that the Federal act is constitutional under the commerce clause of the Constitution which gives Congress the right to regulate commerce between the several States. Congress undoubtedly does have the right to regulate commerce between the States, but that does not mean that Congress has the right to regulate matters that have no essential relation to interstate commerce. Where the relation of the matter to interstate commerce is incidental and not vital, the field is open to State legislative action. Such, we believe, are the matters involved in this litigation. Whether employees of the Santa Fe are union members or not, is not a matter vital to the carrying on of commerce between the several States. Whether the employees of the Santa Fe are members of unions or not, is not a test of their ability to discharge their duties as employees and has no essential relation to their duties in connection with interstate commerce. Hence, we are of the opinion that under the commerce clause of the Constitution, Congress has no right to enact legislation making union membership a test of the right to work for a carrier engaged in interstate commerce.

It has been said, and truly so, at least to an extent, that a presumption of constitutionality should be indulged in favor of an act of Congress. Generally speaking, an act of Congress should be considered as valid until it has been held otherwise; but that does not mean that its validity cannot be questioned, and the determination of that issue seems to be here involved. If it is, we cannot answer the question on the basis of a presumption. Otherwise, no act of Congress could ever be questioned. It is certainly not a conclusive presumption. Many acts of Congress under which our people have been governed for varying periods of time have been held invalid, when the matter came up squarely for decision. The well-known NRA is simply one among many others.

It has been suggested that we have merely a matter of policy involved, and that matters of policy are determined by our legislative bodies, that is, in national matters, by Congress. There is a question as to whether it is merely a matter of policy that is here involved, but if it is a matter of policy, Congress has no power to establish any policy the effect of which is to bring about a violation of constitutional guaranties. And this is true regardless of the majority in Congress by which the legislation may have been enacted. Otherwise, Congress would have the power to repeal the Constitution, if an act were passed by a sufficient majority.

Coming down to the heart of the case, laying all collateral considerations aside, it is the opinion of this Court that the making and enforcing of a union-shop agreement such as is proposed by the defendants in this case, will naturally and inevitably result in depriving the plaintiffs and the Santa Fe of rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution of the United States and will result in irreparable injury to them, as found by the jury in this case. We find that among the rights that would be so denied to said parties are rights set out and guaranteed under the 1st, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 13th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Over and beyond any express constitutional provisions, we are of the opinion that the making and enforcing of a union-shop agreement such as that proposed by the defendants would violate an essential and inherent right of man, regardless of any constitutional provision. The genius and the spirit of our country is based on the worth and essential value of individual human personality. The thought is expressed in our Declaration of Independence, and, although it may not find literal expression in our Constitution, its spirit is breathed into and permeates every part of that grand document. I refer to the words where the founders of our great Nation declared: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In our opinion, it cannot be successfully denied that that which denies a person the right to work at any of the ordinary vocations of life that he may choose to work at, or that he may be fitted for, effectively denies to him his liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the means of obtaining a livelihood, which is to say, life itself.

An English poet, no longer well remembered, penned these lines:

"Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage;
If I have freedom in my love
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty."

The imprisonment of a man's body is a terrible thing, for it is instinctive in man to love freedom; but the imprisonment of man's body is of minor importance to the imprisonment of his spirit and his will. John Bunyan's body was for many years imprisoned in the Bedford jail, but his spirit and his will were free to roam heaven and earth and to achieve immortality. When man's spirit, his will, his freedom of choice in lawful matters, are taken away from him, he becomes a slave indeed.

Reference has been made to the provisions that physicians and lawyers automatically become members of the medical association and of the bar association, which have been referred to as "closed shops." In this connection it has never been held, so far as is known to this court, that any man has a legal right to practice medicine or law. These professions have been held to be on a different status from the common vocations of life, and to engage in such a profession one must earn not a right, but a privilege, which the State can withdraw the same as it granted it.

It has been suggested that ours is a great democracy in which the majority rules and ought to rule. It is also true that it is a land governed by laws, and not by men; and when the law has been properly fixed and determined, then it is the law, and not men, that govern. This idea has been rather aptly expressed in the saying that one man with the law on his side is a majority.

It is the opinion of the court that the plaintiffs and the Santa Fe have shown themselves entitled to the injunction, and it will be granted. We shall not at this time undertake to outline the order or to define its exact content.. This will come in the order itself when there has been time to prepare it. We may state that the effect of it, in the main, will be to forbid the parties from entering into a union-shop agreement and will forbid the unions, their members, officers, agents, and anybody acting for them or in their behalf, from bringing any coercive measures on the Santa Fe for the purpose of effecting a union-shop agreement.

This must not be in any manner considered as an assault on labor unions. Regardless of how they may have been considered in the past, they are now a recognized part of our industrial and economic life. They are recognized as necessary and proper in our present-day economy. The purpose and effect of this injunction will be only to prevent the unions from doing what, in the opinion of the court, they have no legal right to do. It is not directed at unionism, but only at compulsory unionism. It is a part of our American heritage that, so long as an individual does not violate the law or infringe upon the rights of others, he has the right to do as he pleases. The principle of compulsion in matters that rightfully lie in the field of human volition, is repugnant to the idea of individual human worth and to man's freedom of choice. There have been, in the past, many organizations that have tried to compel membership in them by penalizing those who did not become members. This has been true of political parties, of industrial and business organizations, and even of the church. There was a time when, if a man did not belong to the established church, he was deprived of his political rights. That time has passed. Man must be free to exercise his own choice as to whether he will or will not belong to a private organization, and to require his membership as a condition of his right to work is repugnant to American concepts of individual freedom.

There is a saying that a good rule should work both ways. It is expressed in homely language by the old saying "Put the shoe on the other foot." These are but other ways of expressing the Golden Rule. It should be fair for us to test the matter before us by reversing the situation of the parties; in other words, "by putting the shoe on the other foot." Let us suppose, for example, that the Santa Fe was threatening to discharge all of its employees who belonged to a union. Let us suppose, as would surely be the case, that many of those employees had worked for the Santa Fe for many years and had built up valuable seniority. Let us suppose, as would surely be the case, that many of them had worked for the Santa Fe all, or practically all, of their working lives, that by reason of their long service for the Santa Fe they had failed to acquire skills that would

them for profitable employment in other
ies, industries, or business; let us suppose
t for the latter reason, and because of
ir age, they could not now obtain profit-
e employment elsewhere; and let us sup-
e, further, that they were competent and
l employees and that the only reason the
ta Fe had for discharging them was the
that they belonged to a union. In such a
ation can it be doubted that they would
e to a court of equity seeking an injunc-
to prevent their wrongful and arbitrary
harge? We think not. And, in such sit-
ion, would not the labor unions make
ommon cause with them and join with
m in their suit to prevent their discharge?
think so. And with such a showing
ld not a court of equity grant the relief
ght? Certainly so. If a court of equity
ht to grant relief in that situation it
uld just as surely grant the plaintiffs and
Santa Fe the relief they here seek. The
ience indicates there was a period of
on busting and head busting and of "yel-
dog" contracts. That was wrong, but
t time, thank God, has passed. And it is
as wrong now that the unions should
eavor to compel men and women to join
nion at the price of holding their jobs.
right answer is that they must be free
oin or not to join, as they as individual
sons choose to do.

conclusion, let it be understood that the
unction to be issued will not be designed
ntended to prevent any legitimate union
vities, including collective bargaining on
lawful subject.

he formal order will be entered as soon
t can be prepared.

E. C. NELSON, *Judge.*

E. SANDSBERRY, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFFS, *v.* ULF, COLORADO & SANTA FE RAILROAD CO., AL., DEFENDANTS; CROSS-PLAINTIFFS, ULF, COLORADO & SANTA FE RAILWAY O., *v.* INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ACHINISTS, ET AL., CROSS-DEFENDANTS—O. 28031—IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF POT-R COUNTY, TEX., 108TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

JUDGMENT

n this the 11th day of January 1954 came to be heard and considered the above-tled and numbered cause, wherein M. E. dsberry, Jr., D. B. Barker, C. D. Pratt, ise J. Seelig, R. L. Lovelady, S. E. Dubose, E. Elliott, A. V. King, K. A. Yarbrough, y R. White, Barbara L. Eubanks, Mrs. ine S. Williams, and M. F. Fisher are ntiffs, and Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe lway Co, Panhandle & Santa Fe Rail-Co.; the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Railway Co., International Association of hinists, L. D. Sweet, and J. K. Benson; rnational Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Shipbuilders and Helpers of America; rnational Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, p Forgers and Helpers, Victor P. Muller, E. Davis and E. A. Riddle; Sheetmetal kers International Association, Howard . Duffey, and L. C. Webb; International therhood of Electrical Workers, E. F. Mc-nan, and J. M. Price; Brotherhood of way Carmen of America, R. H. Jamison B. F. McMahon; International Brother-d of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Round-se, and Railway Shop Laborers, Roy G. en and J. R. Damron; Brotherhood of way and Steamship Clerks, Freight Han-s, Express, and Station Employees, John ne and R. B. Pike; Brotherhood of Main-nce of Way Employees, R. E. Hankins and Robertson, the Order of Railroad Teleg-hers, J. F. Anderson and R. A. Wyckoff; therhood of Railroad Signalmen of Amer-W. R. Lewis and J. M. Richardson; erican Train Dispatchers Association, W. Brown and T. A. Cox; National Organiza-. Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America, rnational Marine Engineers' Beneficial ociation, and J. A. Gannon; Railroad Yardmasters of America, V. L. Pond and J. W. Chandler; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union and W. S. Seltzer, are defendants, for a permanent injunction as prayed for in said plaintiffs' verified petition.

And further came on to be heard and considered the application of Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Co., Panhandle & Santa Fe Railway Co., and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., as cross-plaintiffs, for a permanent injunction and declaratory judgment against the cross-defendants, International Association of Machinists, R. I. Beeman, S. H. Smith, and J. H. Arnwine; International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, D. E. Davis, D. Hodge, and H. I. Purkey; Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, L. C. Webb, A. H. Shelton, and B. L. Yoes; Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, B. F. McMahan, N. J. Luman, and C. C. Hasty; Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, J. M. Ming, R. B. Pike, R. R. Wheatley, and D. B. Johns; the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, R. A. Wyckoff, T. L. Gill, and R. W. Hull; International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, D. E. Davis, J. M. DeGan, and E. H. Tucker; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, J. M. Price and R. F. McMahan, Jr.; International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Roundhouse and Railway Shop Laborers, P. M. Wheatley, J. R. Damron, and T. H. Taylor; Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, George W. Golliher, Carl Robertson, and Boyd Moore; Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, B. F. Johnson, V. C. Ludwick, and E. L. Horton; Railroad Yardmasters of America, J. W. Chandler, V. L. Pond and C. S. Greer; American Train Dispatchers Association, P. E. Johnson, T. A. Cox, and W. L. Roche; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, Alan C. Whitehouse and Willie J. Anderson.

And cams a jury of 12 good and lawful men; to wit, J. H. Marshall and 11 others, who, being duly impaneled and sworn and having heard the pleadings, the evidence, and the argument of counsel, did on their oaths duly return their verdict in open court, which was duly received by the court, and which reads as follows:

Special issue No. 1

(a) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at a meeting between the representatives of the defendant labor unions and the representatives of the Santa Fe Railway Co., held in Chicago on or about May 5, 1953, the representatives of the labor unions demanded that the Santa Fe execute with them a union-shop agreement containing the terms and provisions set forth in plaintiffs' exhibit 1, admitted in evidence in this case?

Answer. Yes.

(b) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the representatives of the defendant unions stated that they would not amend or change the terms and provisions of said proposed agreement?

Answer. Yes.

(c) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe has made every reasonable effort to settle the union-shop controversy with the unions by collective bargaining?

Answer. Yes.

(d) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the unions have not made every reasonable effort to settle the union-shop controversy with the Santa Fe by collective bargaining?

Answer. We do not so find.

(e) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that by the end of the Chicago meeting of May 5, 1953, a deadlock existed with the union representatives refusing to amend or change the terms and provisions of the proposed agreement and the Santa Fe refusing to sign said agreement as presented to it?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 2

(a) If you have answered part (a) of special issue No. 1 "yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the representatives of the defendant unions threatened to use economic force to require the Santa Fe Railway Co. to sign the agreement then presented to them?

Answer. Yes.

If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "yes," then answer the following:

(b) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that by making such threat, if any, the representatives of the unions meant for the representatives of the Santa Fe to believe that unless such contract was signed, the unions would call a strike on the Santa Fe Railway system or some part of it?

Answer. Yes.

(c) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at the Chicago meeting the Santa Fe had reasonable grounds for believing and did believe that the unions would call a strike if a union-shop agreement was not signed?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 3

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that at the Chicago meeting it was the intention of the unions to call a strike if the Santa Fe did not sign a union-shop agreement?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 4

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that, following the Chicago meeting held on or about May 5, 1953, it was reasonably probable that the defendant unions would have called a strike on the Santa Fe Railroad system, or on one or more component parts thereof, if the Santa Fe had not signed, or agreed to sign, aunion-shop agreement?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 5

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe now has in its employ a substantial number of non-operating employees who, in the exercise of their own choice, are not members of any of the defendant unions?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 6

(a) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe now has in its employ a substantial number of non-operating employees who are opposed to being required to join a union as a condition of their continued employment?

Answer. Yes.

(b) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the plaintiffs, all or some of them, are included in the group referred to?

Answer. Yes.

(c) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the signing of a union shop agreement by the Santa Fe would, in reasonable probability, cause it to lose a substantial number of employees who desire to retain their employment and whose services the Santa Fe desires to retain?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 7

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the signing of a union shop agreement would substantially inter-

fere with the procuring of desirable new employees by the Santa Fe Railway Co.?

Answer. No.

Special issue No. 7 (a)

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the Santa Fe with a reasonable probability suffer irreparable injury if a union shop agreement is signed?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 8

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that on or about May 5, 1953, the plaintiffs or some of them had a reasonable cause to fear, and did fear, that unless restrained by injunction, the defendant unions would resort to economic force upon the Santa Fe for the purpose of compelling it to sign a union shop agreement?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 9

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that on or about May 5, 1953, the plaintiffs or some of them had reason to fear, and did fear, that, unless restrained by injunction, the Santa Fe Railway Co. would either voluntarily or involuntarily sign a union shop agreement with the defendant unions?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 10

If an injunction is not issued in this case, do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that it is reasonably probable that the Santa Fe Railway Co. will sign a union shop agreement?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 11

If the Santa Fe Railway Co., on or subsequent to May 5, 1953, either voluntarily or involuntarily, had signed a union shop agreement with the defendant unions, do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the plaintiffs, or some of them as a result thereof, would have suffered or would suffer irreparable injury?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 12

(a) Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that a strike of the nonoperating unions on the Santa Fe Railway system, or any of its component parts, would prevent or greatly hinder the normal functioning of the Santa Fe as a common carrier of passengers and merchandise?

Answer. Yes.

(b) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that such a strike would result in irreparable injury to said Santa Fe Railway Co.?

Answer. Yes.

(c) If you have answered part (a) of this special issue "Yes," then do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that such a strike would result in irreparable injury to the public?

Answer. Yes.

Special issue No. 13

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the signing and enforcement of a union-shop agreement is not necessary to the continued existence and well-being of defendant labor unions?

Answer. We find it is not necessary to their continued existence and well-being.

Special issue No. 14

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that the plaintiffs did not bring this suit in good faith?

Answer. We do not so find.

Special issue No. 15

Do you find from the preponderance of the evidence that Santa Fe did not bring its suit in good faith?

Answer. We do not so find.

And it further appearing to the court that under the verdict of the jury as hereinbefore set forth, plaintiffs and each of them and cross-plaintiffs and each of them are entitled to the judgment and relief as prayed for by them and as hereinafter granted, and it further appearing to the court, and the court being of the opinion—

I

That section 2 (11) of the Railway Labor Act (45 U. S. C. A. section 152) is unconstitutional and void because on its face it permits a union shop agreement between an employer and a union in the railroad industry which forces employees in each craft or class against their will to become and remain members of a private organization, to pay initiation fees, dues, and assessments thereto, and to be subjected to the discipline, control and government of such private organization, or in the alternative, to suffer loss of their jobs.

II

That said section 2 (11) of the Railway Labor Act (45 U. S. C. A. section 152), in its natural operation and effect and in its inevitable operation as shown by the evidence in this case, is unconstitutional and void because it brings about a union shop agreement between an employer and a union in the railroad industry which forces employees in each craft or class against their will to become and remain members of a private organization, to pay initiation fees, dues, and assessments thereto, and to be subjected to the discipline, control and Government of such private organization, or in the alternative, to suffer loss of their jobs.

III

That section 2 (11) of the Railway Labor Act (45 U. S. C. A., sec. 152) (a) on its face, and (b) in its natural operation and effect, and (c) in its inevitable operation as shown by the evidence in this case, is unconstitutional and void for each and all of the following reasons:

1. That said statute violates the guaranties of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for the reason that it is arbitrary, unreasonable, and capricious, and, therefore, deprives plaintiffs and cross-plaintiffs of their rights of contract, property rights, and personal liberties without due process of law.

2. That said statute denies to plaintiffs and cross-plaintiffs rights retained by the people under the ninth amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and constitutes an attempted exercise of powers not delegated to the United States by the Consitution, but reserved to the States and to the people thereof under the 10th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

3. That said statute is in violation of the first amendment of the Constitution of the United States because it abridges the freedom of speech, the right to assemble, the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, and the free exercise of religion.

4. That said statute imposes upon plaintiffs and those similarly situated involuntary servitude, in violation of the 13th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

5. That the requirement of union membership has no real or substantial relationship to interstate commerce under the provisions of clause 3 of section 8 of article I of the Constitution of the United States.

IV

That since said section 2 (11) is unconstitutional and void, the Texas right-to-work statute (art. 5207-A, R. C. S.) and restraint-of-trade statute (art. 7428–1, R. C. S.) are applicable within the State of Texas and forbid the execution of any union-shop contract making membership in a union a condition of employment, because if section 2 (4), (5), and (8) of the Railway Labor Act (45 U. S. C. A., sec. 152) are presently repealed, the Texas statutes occupy the field alone; and if the said section 2 (4), (5), and (8) are in present effect, the Texas statutes occupy the field concurrently with them.

V

That the union-shop agreement demanded by defendant unions would if placed in effect deprive plaintiffs of the protection of those provisions of the bill of rights of the constitution of the State of Texas guaranteeing freedom of speech, conscience, religion, petition, and assembly; and would deprive plaintiffs and cross-plaintiffs of the protection of the provisions of said bill of rights guaranteeing that no citizen shall be deprived of liberty, property, privileges, or immunities except by the due course of the law of the land.

Wherefore, upon the petition and prayer of cross-plaintiffs hereinabove named, for a declaratory judgment, it is ordered and adjudged that the rights of the parties are decreed to be as follows:

1. That defendant unions, hereinabove and hereinafter named, and cross-plaintiff railroads, hereinabove named, do not have the right to make a union shop contract, or any contract requiring union membership as a condition of continued employment, because such a contract is violative of the property rights, contracts, contract rights, personal liberties and freedoms of plaintiffs and others similarly situated as guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Texas as set forth in the preceding provisions of this judgment.

2. That defendant unions hereinabove named do not have the right to strike or use any other similar or related form of economic coercion to induce or compel the making of a union shop contract or any other contract requiring union membership as a condition of continued employment because such strike or coercion would be for an unlawful purpose.

It having been alleged by counsel for defendant unions during these proceedings in a trial amendment to their answer that two of the named defendant and cross-defendant labor organizations, to wit: International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, have merged or have been amalgamated into a single new organization, to wit: International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, it appears to the court that, if this alleged merger or amalgamation has been or should be consummated, the resultant organization, to wit: International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, should be bound by the final order of this court.

Wherefore, upon the petition and prayer of plaintiffs for injunction, it is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the defendants named in plaintiffs' petition, and as above set out, and International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, individually and in their representative capacities, and their members, officers, agents, employees, representatives and attorneys, and all persons in active concert or participation with them or acting under their direction, be and they and each of them, in the capacities herein sued, are permanently and perpetually enjoined from:

First. Forming, making, entering into, signing or performing any agreement, oral or in writing, the object and purpose of which will be the formation and entering into or performing of any union-shop agreement, oral or in writing, between the defendant railroad companies, one or all, and the defendant associations, labor organizations and labor unions, one or all, made de-

dants herein, and the result of which said eement would be to force the defendant road companies, one or all, to discharge plaintiffs, one or all, and other em- yees similarly situated as the plaintiffs uld be after the signing of said agreement, he making and entering into same, unless plaintiffs, one or all, and other employees said railroad companies similarly situ- l should join and remain a member of of the defendant associations, labor or- izations, or labor unions.

econd. Particularly with respect to the ndant associations, labor organizations labor unions, their servants, attorneys, ers, agents and employees, from en- voring, directly or indirectly, to force the ed defendant railroad companies, one or to sign a union shop agreement of the ve nature or import by either directly or irectly inducing, encouraging, aiding, tting, ordering, procuring, or causing any loyee or employees of the defendant rail- d companies, one or all, to engage in slow- n, work stoppage, strike, local or na- al, or any other concerted activity as a ns of forcing directly or indirectly, or pelling directly or indirectly the defend- railroad companies, one or all, to make, , or put into effect such union shop ement of the general import above set h.

Therefore, upon the petition and prayer of s-plaintiff railroads, it is further ordered, dged, and decreed that the cross-defend- named in the cross-petition of Gulf, rado and Santa Fe Railway Co., Pan- dle & Santa Fe Railway Co., and the hison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., each of them, as set out above, and In- ational Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and ers, and their members, officers, agents, loyees, representatives and attorneys, all persons in active concert or partici- on with them, or under their direction, and they hereby are, permanently and etually enjoined from doing or com- ing, directly or indirectly, in any man- and by whatever means, the following and each of them: Inducing, encourag- aiding, ordering, causing, calling, in- g, threatening, or permitting a strike, eting, sitdown, slowdown, or work stop- , or engaging in a strike, picketing, sit- n, slowdown, or work stoppage upon the oad lines of, or in any way against, Gulf, rado & Santa Fe Railway Co., Panhandle anta Fe Railway Co., and the Atchison, eka & Santa Fe Railway Co., for the pur- of attempting to require, requiring, ring, coercing or forcing the making, ing, execution or performance by Gulf, rado & Santa Fe Railway Co., Panhandle anta Fe Railway Co., and the Atchison, eka & Santa Fe Railway Co., or either of n, of a union shop contract requiring bership in one of the cross-defendant ons as a condition of employment or inued employment.

Therefore, upon the petition and prayer of ntiffs, it is further ordered, adjudged, decreed, that the clerk of this court is- a permanent writ of injunction enjoin- and restraining the defendants named laintiffs' petition, and as above set out, International Brotherhood of Boiler- ers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, gers, and Helpers, both individually and heir representative capacities, and their bers, officers, agents, employees, repre- atives, and attorneys, and all persons in ve concert or participation with them, or er their direction, from—

rst. Forming, making, entering into, ing, or performing any agreement, oral, n writing, the object and purpose of ch will be the formation and entering or performing of any union-shop agree- t, oral or in writing, between the de- ant railroad companies, one or all, and defendant associations, labor organiza- s and labor unions, one and all, made defendants herein, the result of which said agreement would be to force the defendant railroad companies, one or all, to discharge the plaintiffs, one or all, and other employees similarly situated as the plaintiffs would be after the signing of said agreement, or the making and entering into same, unless the plaintiffs, one or all, and other employees of said railroad companies similarly situated should join and remain a member of one of the defendant associations, labor organizations, or labor unions.

Second. Particularly with respect to the defendant associations, labor organizations, and labor unions, their servants, attorneys, officers, agents, and employees, from endeavoring, directly or indirectly, to force the defendant railroad companies, one or all, to sign the union-shop agreement of the above nature or import by either directly or indirectly inducing, encouraging, aiding, abetting, ordering, procuring, or causing any employee or employees of the defendant railroad companies, one or all, to engage in slowdown, work stoppage, or strike, local or national, or any other concerted activity, as a means of forcing, directly or indirectly, or compelling, directly or indirectly, the defendant railroad companies, one or all, to make, sign, or put in effect such union-shop agreement of the general import above set forth.

Wherefore, upon the petition and prayer of cross-plaintiff railroads, it is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the clerk of this court issue a permanent writ of injunction enjoining and restraining the above-named defendants in said cross-petition, and each of them, and as above set out, and International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, and their members, officers, agents, employees, representatives, and attorneys and all persons in active concert or participation with them or under their direction from doing or committing, directly or indirectly, in any manner and by whatever means, the following acts and each of them:

Inducing, encouraging, aiding, ordering, causing, calling, inciting, threatening, or permitting, a strike, picketing, sitdown, slowdown or work stoppage; or engaging in a strike, picketing, sitdown, slowdown, or work stoppage, upon the railroad lines of, or in any way against, Gulf, Colorado, Santa Fe Railway Co., Panhandle & Santa Fe Railway Co., and the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway Co., for the purpose of attempting to require, requiring, securing, coercing, or forcing the making, signing, execution, or performance by Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Co., Panhandle & Santa Fe Railway Co., and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., or either of them, of a union shop contract requiring membership in one of the cross-defendant unions, as a condition of employment or continued employment.

All costs are adjudged against the defendant unions, for which execution may issue.

Signed and entered at Amarillo, Tex., this 6th day of February 1954.

E. C. NELSON, *Judge.*

The Evils of Political Libertinism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, our system of political parties is an integral part of our American tradition. And so is the popular acceptance of the fact that certain politicians, more interested in publicity and in the retention of their office than in the performance of their official duties, are prone to indulge in spectacular disputations and in the twisting of truth to fit their purposes. It is for this reason that our people have long ago learned to accept political statements with a grain of salt, and not to be overly awed by the glitter of aspiring political starlets.

There comes a time, however, when these harmless antics of some politicians exceed the bounds of tolerance and decency—when their irresponsibility, unchecked by reason, begins to have a devastating effect on those cohesive elements which bind our society, and which make us stand as one in our pursuit of a better way of life for our people, and of lasting and just peace in the world.

In this manner, the irresponsible utterances of a few public figures—when repeated often enough to acquire some illusionary appearance of truth—become a festering growth in the innards of our society. We then fall prey to a social disease which divides us into antagonistic groups abusing and fighting each other, instead of working together for the common good.

These so very evident effects of political libertinism should be apparent to every thinking man, woman, and youth. Even more so, they ought to be fully understood by those who have been elected or appointed to political offices, and who are thereby entrusted with primary responsibility for the welfare and security of our Nation.

Yet it is these very people—the men who have been chosen to guide the destinies of our Nation—that frequently commit the gravest offenses against the rule of reason by becoming political libertines.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of Congress two editorials which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of February 6, 1954, and which deal with certain phases of this terrible malady which is striking at the very heart of our society.

I earnestly hope that these irresponsible actions and statements, full of half-truths, innuendoes, and outright lies, will come to an end before they cause even greater damage than they have done so far. We have a responsibility to our people—a responsibility for the attainment of conditions within which they can live peacefully, without insecurity or want. That job is not being done, and it will not be done if our Nation will be torn asunder.

SECURITY RISK FRAUD PERSISTS

After 3 months of dodging, the Eisenhower administration has finally been cornered by the demand that it furnish a breakdown of the 2,200 Government workers allegedly fired as security risks.

There is still no guarantee that there will be a breakdown. The President has merely informed a press conference that he has asked his advisers to determine whether a breakdown is feasible. And he added that he was surprised to discover that newsmen had such a widespread interest in the matter.

His surprise is in itself surprising. It should surprise no one that there should be interest in a subject that increasingly seems to be political fraud. A breakdown might entail some tough, routine work, but if the

administration can tell how many security risks it has fired, it ought to be able to tell what they were fired for.

The President has said a number of times—and undoubtedly sincerely—that the 2,200 are not disloyal persons and that guilt or guilt by association must not be used in the security program to harm innocent persons.

But what the President believes and says does not prevent members of his administration from making political hay. Postmaster General Summerfield, for instance, said in a recent speech that the 2,200 were security risks—and "somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation."

Earlier, the President's counsel, Bernard Shanley, told an audience that "1,456 subversives have been kicked out of Government" under Eisenhower. The President himself said at a news conference in December that communism would not be an issue in the 1954 campaign because the security program was rooting subversives from Government and had already removed "about 1,500 persons who were security risks."

So, in spite of the President's repeated statements that in most cases subversion was not involved, the figure "2,200" or "1,456" has been tossed about in a political claim that they were subversives.

They weren't, of course. Take the State Department. It has contributed 306 to the list of 2,200 security-risk firings. Yet a breakdown in a study by the Alsop brothers, Washington columnists, shows that only 29 persons have been dismissed for any cause in the Department in the last year. Most of those 29 were dismissed for drinking, talking too much, or other things which made them unsuitable.

None was dismissed for subversion. Another 188 were arbitrarily added to the list when they quit for their own reasons.

The balance haven't left Government at all, but have transferred to other jobs. If all the 2,200 cases are as phony as the 306 in the State Department, the whole figure is phony.

Advisers or not, the President owes it to the country to furnish a breakdown of the security figures. And he owes it to himself and the country to make his subordinates stop their fraudulent use of these figures.

TEARING THE NATION ASUNDER

President Eisenhower, who said he hoped that communism would not be an issue in the 1954 election, has been overruled by the political mudslingers.

Senator MCCARTHY, under the auspices of the National Republican Committee, has started a nine-speech series devoted to what he calls Twenty Years of Treason. The technique is an old one—used successfully for years by the Republicans after the Civil War.

Then it worked this way: "Copperhead" was made synonymous with "traitor." Soon all Democrats were called "Copperheads." Then the label "Democrat" became synonymous with "traitor."

MCCARTHY's campaign—backed by his party's national committee—is designed to do the same smear job again.

Millions of Americans proudly wear the label "Democrat." Yet here's what MCCARTHY said at Charleston, W. Va., Thursday night: "The hard fact is that those who wear the label—Democrat—wear it with the stain of historic treason."

"Democrat," said MCCARTHY, is "a political label stitched with the idiocy of a Truman, rotted by the deceit of an Acheson, corrupted by the red slime of a White."

And the other phrases were there, too. Democrats, he said, are the men who "were too weak or unwilling to fight treason." They are men whose "political heritage is stained with the blood of men betrayed at Taejon."

All this from a man who first ran for public office as a Democrat—in the New Deal heyday—and became a Republican when that party grew more successful.

Does MCCARTHY's series of speeches for the Republican National Committee mean that decency has been officially discarded and that the stops are all pulled? Do the Republican Party strategists intend to try to hold onto office by this sort of thing? Are they ready to set loose a campaign that will split the country and smear half its citizens as "traitor" at a time when only unity at home can keep us safe against a threatening world?

Are these party leaders ready to buy votes with lies and smears and nauseous exploitation of sacrifices Americans made in Korea to resist Communist aggression? They appear to be ready. And if they are, what does the man in the White House, whose every plea is for unity, trust, and cooperation, think and intend to do about it?

The President's every instinct seems fair and decent. Surely he cannot fail to see the terrible forces his party's political leaders are unleashing. He cannot turn his head the other way while men, speaking in his name as it were, tear the Nation asunder.

Address of Mayor Robert F. Wagner, of New York, at Roosevelt Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an address delivered at the sixth annual Roosevelt Day dinner sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action. The dinner this year honored the Honorable Harry S. Truman and was held on February 5, 1954, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City.

The dinner was one of the outstanding events of the year and one of the finest ever held by this splendid liberal organization.

The three principal addresses were delivered by Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN, by our splendid young mayor, Robert F. Wagner, and by the guest of honor, former President Truman.

Because I feel that the addresses were so timely and so important I would like to include all of them with my remarks. However, Senator LEHMAN will insert his own address in the RECORD and the address by President Truman has been inserted by Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, under date of February 8. I am therefore inserting only the address of our mayor, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner.

We, in New York City, are very proud of our new mayor. Neither his name nor his background are unknown to us here in Washington or in New York. As the son of a great and liberal-thinking public servant, young Bob has been present at many meetings at which were formulated governmental policies and social philosphy in the highest liberal tradition, as he puts it. We have high hopes for him and we are certain that he will go far in the public service.

His address, introducing our great former President, follows:

My good friends, I have the joyful assignment this evening of presenting to this audience of liberal leaders one of the greatest Americans of all time. It is a particularly pleasant privilege for me to be here and, at the same time, to have the opportunity to tell you what the people of our city think of Harry S. Truman and to which, I am happy to say, I wholeheartedly subscribe.

I think I have some real understanding of the true meaning of the term "liberalism." All of my life—ever since my formative years—I have been taught the meaning of progressive thinking.

My father permitted me to be present at many meetings at which were formulated governmental policies and social philosophy in the highest liberal tradition. I grew up in the world of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith, Herbert H. Lehman, and other great Americans, many of whom grace us with their presence here tonight. To me liberalism is more than a word. It is a way of life, a philosophy of thinking that encompasses freedom, security, and love of man for his fellow man.

Liberal thinking, as applied to government, found concrete form in the New Deal—a daring experiment which proved the faith and the ideology of those who believe that it is the responsibility of government to care for, protect, and bring opportunity to the people, to use a near-Biblical expression, "increase, multiply, and prosper." The New Deal, and its successor, the Fair Deal, brought our country from the depths of deepest despair to the heights of achievement and hope, and gave to those who dreamed of a better world the opportunity for the realization of their communal aspirations.

The New Deal and the Fair Deal made employment for those without work, gave security to those without hope, provided dignity for those without promise. The New Deal proved the greatness and indestructibility of our American democracy and established a new heritage for the American people. The Fair Deal of Harry Truman built firmly on those foundations.

Tonight the Americans for Democratic Action for the sixth consecutive year pays honor to the memory, the history, and the philosophy that is Franklin Delano Roosevelt. And in paying honor to this revered leader of men, and to the founder of modern American liberal thinking, we also pay honor to his worthy and beloved successor, Harry S. Truman.

Our Mr. Truman has captured the hearts of the American people and the people of the world as has no person who lives today. Here is a man who in every sense is a man of the people. His determination to fight for what he believes to be right, come hell or high water, marks him as a man of courage and character. His devotion to the welfare of the common people, those who are just folks, marks him as a man with a great soul.

There is nothing we can say tonight about Harry Truman that history will not record for eternity. His place in the annals of our world will always be a noble place. But no matter how high his position, he will always be known as a man of deep humility.

The people of this city have just expressed an overwhelming vote of confidence in the doctrine of government which is represented by Harry Truman when they elected me mayor last November. We went to the people on the record of the Democratic Party as exemplified by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and by Harry Truman's Fair Deal. In our liberal crusade for returning the government of our city to the people we had the support of those whose dedication to the public welfare is a lifework. Working side by side with us, helping to bring our message

liberal government to the people, were erell Harriman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., omas K. Finletter, our beloved Senator rbert Lehman, and other great leaders who e in every sense representative of our un-rstanding—yours and mine—of the obliga-n of government to the people. With their pport and with the endorsements of Adlai evenson and our distinguished guest of nor, the issue in our election was sharply awn: To accept or to reject the New Deal, e Fair Deal—the Roosevelt, the Truman—ilosophy of government.

We won overwhelmingly.

And we regard our victory as a mandate m 8 million New Yorkers to further the gram, the tradition, and the responsibility sound, decent, liberal government. If my ministration can begin to match the cour-, the vision, and the nobility of Harry S. man, it will set a fitting example for the eneration of his philosophy throughout country.

And now my good friends, one of the very at men of all time—a truly humble man—rry S. Truman.

Who Is To Blame for Juvenile Delinquency?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, perhaps domestic problem deserves greater at-tion by the American people than the blem of juvenile delinquency. The s and girls of today are the citizens tomorrow and will be the ones who sit in the seats of authority in the ion, on whom will depend the welfare preservation of our country and its cious liberties.

This week we are celebrating Boy ut Week, which brings to our atten-the great contribution being made he welfare of youth by this outstand-boys' organization which, together h other similar organizations, has e more in overcoming juvenile delin-ncy than any other force in our Na-.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the eral Bureau of Investigation, has tten a most interesting article on this ject which appeared in Scouting in issue of January 1954 which deserves eful consideration by all of us. I am uding it as part of the remarks. It ows:

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY?

By J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation)

uvenile delinquency in America has grown larming proportions in comparison with adult crime rate. Only last year 8 per-of all those arrested had not reached while 13 percent were under 21.

f no small concern is the magnitude of offenses of the juveniles as well as the ber of juvenile offenders. The crimes of h have been by no means petty. Wit-the fact that while 8 percent of all per-arrested were 17 years of age or less, group accounted for 19 percent of the sts for robbery, 37 percent of the arrests larceny, 48 percent of the arrests for burglary and 53 percent of all auto-theft arrests.

These are not the offenses of the pranksters or practical jokers; they are not the offenses of an occasional pilfering of an apple or orange from the neighborhood fruit store. The crimes of youth indicate an aping of not only the derelictions of the hardened criminal but also the viciousness and seriousness of his nefarious deeds.

The lamentable record of juvenile delinquents in the past is reflected today in the increasing crime rate among adults. This is only a logical aftermath, for today's criminal was yesterday's delinquent. As you sow, so shall you reap. The full meaning of these biblical words is exemplified in the case of Kenneth Allen Kitts who was recently apprehended by the FBI as a notorious bank robber and burglar. Kitts first came into the custody of prison authorities in July 1929, when he was placed in the South Dakota Training School for Boys as an unmanageable and incorrigible youth. Here he spent four quiet years studying and being observed by persons who hoped to correct the quirks in his youthful personality which threatened to make him a menace to society.

At the time he was placed in this institution, Kitts was 12 years old. By the time he was 18 he had made two attempted escapes from this schcol. On being released, he set out on a series of burglaries and automobile thefts. Intermittent penitentiary sentences followed; his periods of freedom were devoted to more serious crimes. He soon began to hold up banks. It was then that the FBI sought the apprehension of Kitts. In 1952, FBI agents surrounded a tavern in which Kitts was supposed to be employed. As agents entered the front door, Kitts raced through the back door—into the arms of waiting agents who were stationed at the rear of the building. His career of crime ended as he shouted, "Don't shoot—you got me."

The picture of juvenile crime is not a pleasant one. No doubt all of you reading this article have had your attention called to the juvenile problem on many occasions. The important question, however, is whether you did anything or are doing anything to alleviate this deplorable condition. Only when every civic-minded adult begins to take action will the Nation's crime rate among these delinquents decrease. All too often the youth of our Nation have been pawns in the buck-passing tactics of those adult citizens who shirk their responsibilities to the country's youth.

What is needed to combat the rising tide of delinquency is a positive program of action by those responsible citizens who want to be a part of the crusade for youth; a crusade dedicated to moulding youth into respectable God-fearing adult citizens. Any such program must have as its foundation the home, school, church, civic, and social agencies, law enforcement authorities and recreational facilities.

During my 29 years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I have found the basic cause of the high rate of juvenile crime to be a lack of moral responsibility among youth. A youth trained in moral responsibility recognizes his duty to God, his country and his fellow man. He learns that the natural and moral law is the basis for a peaceful and well-ordered society. He develops respect for the laws.

Instilling moral responsibility in a youth must begin at home. It is the parent who is the child's first teacher. The parent must teach the child the lessons of moral responsibility. He must be taught that his desires should be guided by the laws of God and the laws of society. He must realize that many times his desires must be subjugated to the common good. It is the "selfish I" that has been the downfall of our youth. Failure to respect the rights of others—both personal and property rights—has led to notorious crimes. The commission by juveniles of over 50 percent of the auto thefts in 1952 shows a total disregard of the property rights of others. It shows a selfish desire, satiated only by stealing.

In all too many cases the parents have utterly failed to carry out their responsibilities. They have failed by neglect, bad example, excessive drinking, quarreling, and bickering in front of the children. It is little wonder that a child raised in such an environment loses all respect for law and decency. The natural result is too often a serious emotional disturbance in the child reflecting itself in delinquent behavior. The parent who does not take a sincere interest in his child's welfare is surely nudging him into the road leading to delinquency.

The church has a dual purpose to perform in fighting delinquency. It must supplement the training of the youth who is receiving proper parental guidance. In addition, it may be the only source of guidance for the youth who is the victim of neglectful parents. Religious training teaches a child his primary duty in life: namely, obedience to the moral and natural law of God. The teachings are found in the 10 commandments, familiar to children who receive religious training. No crime of burglary or larceny could be committed by a child who practices the Lord's command, "Thou shalt not steal."

Religious training also points out the home as a source of inspiration for the youth to honor his father and mother. Great is the crime of the parents whose conduct prevents a child from honoring them.

The files of the FBI show that many delinquents have had no religious training whatsoever. They have never learned the value of prayer to solicit divine help. In time of temptation they succumb, for they have never learned to rely upon God and to obey His teachings.

Your own great organization, the Boy Scouts of America, has been a leader in combating juvenile delinquency. It has translated a boy's idle time into constructive channels. Boy Scouts cannot but be model citizens as they follow the ideals of the Scout oath, to be good citizens, good men, and to fulfill their duty to God and their country. The Boy Scouts of America are taught respect for the laws of God and our country. They are taught devotion to their fellow men.

Only recently I was present when the President of the United States awarded to a Boy Scout the Young American Medal for Bravery, a medal given annually by our Government to youth selected for deserving acts of bravery. In September 1952, this Boy Scout, aged 14, rescued two brothers from their burning home in Valsetz, Oreg., and then reentered the house endeavoring to rescue others. Amid smoke and fire in their second-floor bedroom, he carried a 12-year-old brother to the window and pushed him to safety. He then saved another younger brother before jumping to safety himself. Badly burned, and overcome from heat and smoke, he dashed back into the holocaust in an unsuccessful effort to save other members of his family. His father and two small brothers lost their lives in the fire and four others were seriously burned.

Many FBI agents were members of the Boy Scouts of America. The ingrained ideals of love of God and country which they learned from their Boy Scout training are reflected in their work as special agents of the FBI. I am proud to be a member at large of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

Youngsters learn the practical lessons of life in properly directed group activities. They are taught the value of team play, of cooperation, of clean living. They are taught to accept defeat in the spirit of true sportsmanship. They learn that training and hard work are the secret of success in life as well as in play.

There is a job for all of us. Are our responsible citizens taking an adequate interest in juvenile activities? Are the parents of American youth raising their own children to be model American citizens? Are they aiding other boys to be just what they want their own children to be? Are the leaders of civic and social agencies making every effort to do good for all the youth of their communities? Have the leaders of recreational activities a planned program to direct the idle moments of the boys and girls of the community? Is there a community of interest in this, a community problem?

It is only when all Americans answer the challenge of delinquency that our Nation will see a spiritual and moral resurgence among our youth, a resurgence that will bring untold blessings for the future.

Cleaning Up the Mess in the State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House a very timely and informative interview with R. W. Scott McLeod, top security officer of the Department of State, which appeared in the issue of U. S. News & World Report for February 12, 1954.

In this interview, Mr. McLeod explains how the method used by the Eisenhower-Dulles administration to deal with the problem of subversives and other security risks differs from that of the Truman-Acheson administration.

The transcript of the interview with Mr. McLeod, which follows, was submitted by him to the high officials of the Department of State under the customary rule and was then authorized for publication:

Question. You are conscious, I suppose, of the criticism that has been visited upon you, Mr. McLeod, from various quarters since you took office; to what do you attribute that?

Answer. Mostly to the generous endorsement that my friend JOE MCCARTHY gave me right after my appointment. As you know, there is an almost pathological hatred for Senator MCCARTHY in some quarters.

Question. You think that put you in the public eye, eh?

Answer. I will never forget the opening paragraphs of the press dispatch that told of my appointment. I worked 5 years as a reporter on the Gazette in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and that's why it startled me so.

Question. What did the dispatch say?

Answer. Well, the dispatch said in the first paragraph, "The State Department, in an apparent bid to get along with Congress, put in a new man Wednesday as its boss of security, above officials who have collided with Senator MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin."

Question. Were you at any time attached to any of the committees that Senator MCCARTHY was operating?

Answer. No; I left the FBI to become administrative assistant to Senator STYLES BRIDGES.

Question. How long were you there?

Answer. From 1949 until last March.

Question. How long were you at the FBI?

Answer. From 1942 to 1949.

Question. When you were on Capitol Hill, did you have any special connection with any of the investigating committees?

Answer. No. I used to be helpful to Senator BRIDGES in connection with Appropriations Committee inquiries. And because of my FBI background, he used me in that type of work perhaps more than the average Senator uses his administrative assistant. And I got to know Senator MCCARTHY. Senator BRIDGES introduced me to him and spoke of my experience as an FBI agent. So I talked with Senator MCCARTHY several times. He used to call me up and ask my advice, but I know of no single instance where he ever took it.

Question. Do you think, then, that it is inaccurate to describe you as having been Senator MCCARTHY's protege, put in there by him?

Answer. It burns me up to be called his stooge, because I'm human enough to think I'm no man's stooge.

Question. Do you think that perhaps those charges are made deliberately, in order to weaken your power in the Department, and in order to weaken the security program?

Answer. Well, I think there are certain elements in the population and in the Government who consciously strive to weaken the security program, but there are a great many other people who simply misunderstand it. They are good Americans, but they don't understand it, and they are apprehensive that basic American safeguards are not being strictly maintained.

Question. Hasn't the Daily Worker given you a great deal of attention since you became security officer?

Answer. Not as much as I would like to see them give me. I consider it quite an accolade when they attack me.

Question. What did Senator MCCARTHY have to do with your appointment?

Answer. Absolutely nothing. Under Secretary Donald Lourl, who has connections in my former home in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, had heard of me through friends. After he came to Washington he asked my boss, Senator BRIDGES, if he could talk to me about a job. We had a long talk during which I presume he was sizing me up. Several days later, while I was in Florida on vacation, he called me to offer the job, saying that he felt it was the toughest assignment in Washington. I accepted with my eyes open.

Question. Well, did Mr. Lourie's prophecy turn out to be accurate? What caused those five former diplomats to write that letter in which they indicated that State Department morale was being lowered by security procedures?

Answer. I don't know.

Question. Does it indicate to you that the morale of the Foreign Service is pretty low?

Answer. No; in my judgment the morale in the Foreign Service is pretty high, considering all the factors involved. The claim that security procedure here is lowering morale is not valid. I think any time you change the head of an organization, be it business or military or whatever it is, there is some apprehension about what the future may hold. The Foreign Service, and the whole Government service, has undergone that apprehension. They should be reassured by now, because there hasn't been any wholesale slaughter.

FINPOINTING THE MESS

Question. Do you think the Department has changed?

Answer. I realize there is a great difference of opinion on that question. But as one who can speak from a personal inside knowledge, I think it is important to draw a distinction as to what kind of change you have in mind. It seems to me to be incontrovertible that we have had a very definite and distinct change in the foreign policy of the United States.

Just as I conclude that Mr. Acheson was responsible for the foreign policy of the previous administration I conclude that Mr. Dulles has really done a bangup job of changing the course of our foreign policy. I think that speech of his on January 12 was a pretty good summation of what he has done in his first year in office.

There is another part of policy, however, which we can call, for convenience, administrative policy. In this field there have not been as many changes as I am sure many of us had hoped for.

In my judgment the mess in Washington, and from my experience the mess in the State Department, is largely the result of loose administrative practices. Perhaps a certain amount of this laxity is inherent in Government administration, but I don't believe that is necessarily true. There are isolated examples, such as Mr. Hoover's FBI, of a tightly administered operation which gives the taxpayer a maximum service for his tax dollar.

I think as you look back, the Department has been attacked in the past on weaknesses which in my judgment are attributable to its administrative policies. The attacks have centered on individuals who in the judgment of the attackers were not suitable for Federal employment, or on the way in which appropriated funds were spent and on various other administrative aspects of the operation.

Just as an example, the Commission headed by former President Hoover recommended 6 years ago that the Department should work toward an integrated personnel system modeled along the lines of our foreign-career service. I believe every person who has ever studied our personnel problems has arrived at the same conclusion. Yet it is an extraordinarily difficult matter to implement the recommendations of the Hoover Commission, particularly on a crash basis. The problem requires long-range solution. We have tackled it. We are working toward it, but like so many other administrative problems, it had not been vigorously attacked until the new team arrived on the scene.

While we haven't done as well administratively as we have in foreign policy we have made some substantial progress. We are working toward an outfit of which we can all be proud. We are gradually cleaning up the mess in the State Department.

I think that is the most encouraging thing. We do keep moving forward. Even though it is an uphill process, at least we are in motion.

Question. How about placing Republicans in the key jobs?

Answer. I don't think it is altogether a question of Republicans or Democrats. I think primarily it is a question of loyalty to the policies of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. There are wide shades of opinion in the Republican Party, just as there are in the Democratic Party and, it is said, patriotism knows no party line. But, in any event, we made a study of how many jobs you could replace in the Department if you took the maximum position and I think it developed there was a total of 137.

Question. Out of how many?

Answer. Out of 11,000.

Question. What is the latest figure on the number of security risks that have been fired or allowed to resign since the Eisenhower administration came in?

Answer. Persons employed by the State Department whose services have been terminated and on whom at the time of their termination there existed some unresolved security question, number around 300.

Question. What period does this cover?

Answer. The calendar year 1953.

Question. Could you break that down in any way at all—the proportions?

Answer. I prefer not to break it down on e theory that we are not pursuing these ople after they leave the job. As soon you start breaking the figure down, you the danger of defining it so narrowly t somebody identifies an individual.

Question. Well, do most of these separa- ns involve subversion, or do they involve er issues?

Answer. All of them are issues defined by cutive Order 10450.

Question. Well, that's a pretty broad class. u are investigating everyone who occupies ensitive position, or you will do so. As- ning that a man occupying a sensitive ition resigns before his security clearance ompleted; would he come within the cate- y of those about whom there was pending uestion of security?

Answer. If his case was within the Execu- e Order No. 10450 criteria.

WHO IS INVESTIGATED

Question. You investigate everybody, don't ; not just those in sensitive positions?

Answer. Everyone is in a sensitive position. sure you understand this thing. The sident put out his Executive Order No. 50 on April 27 to become effective May 27. at was when I had my first real under- nding of how hard it is to work in the eral Government, because it took me un- July 27 to get our regulations through publication in the Federal Register.

low, as a matter of fact, as of January 1, 4, there had been no one who had com- ted that process and who had gone ough a hearing, which is the final stage.

Question. How long would you say it would e in the average case to go through that ire procedure, from the time you start investigation until the time you reach decision?

Answer. It is pretty hard to say. The or- provides that you reevaluate everyone o was under the Truman loyalty program. w some of those cases take longer than resh case, because such a tremendous ord has already been made, and you have review that record. There just isn't any to average the thing.

Question. How many people are there in State Department—outside the Foreign vice?

Answer. Well, there are about half and f in the 2 personnel systems, and we've approximately 11,000 citizen employees, s aliens.

Question. Do you just assume that there some active Communists in the State artment here in Washington?

Answer. I think any security officer would e to assume that. It's the classic an- r—it would be unsafe to assume other- s.

Question. Do you have any sort of guess in back of your mind as to how many there uld be?

Answer. Obviously there is none we know and I can't guess about something I 't know.

Question. What proportion of these 300 ple whose services were terminated made of the appeal system? Did many of m go on with an appeal?

Answer. We haven't had enough experi- e. We have three cases, I believe, now iting appeal, and none of them has been pleted.

Question. What I am trying to get at is, s the average person, when he is told he st leave for one reason or another, carry t any further—does he ask for the right appeal, or just resign and accept it?

Answer. I think that probably the ratio uld be quite similar to the number of ple charged with crimes who plead guilty against those who stand trial. As you w, in a preponderance of cases the fellow ds guilty. I don't think there is a single eption in the homosexual cases. The in- tigation usually terminates in an inter- view, and the interview elicits a confession which results in a resignation.

Question. Did sex perversion turn out to be a problem, after all the talk?

Answer. Since 1947, when they started keeping figures on them, there have been more than 500 homosexuals terminated in the Department.

Question. Isn't that unusual, percentage- wise, for that number of human beings?

Answer. I don't think it is an unusual per- centage if it were compared to the general population, although I know of no reliable statistics on which to base that comparison, but it certainly is an intolerable percentage in a sensitive agency.

Question. Is it your feeling that homo- sexuals would be susceptible to blackmail?

Answer. Well, that seems to me to be self- evident.

Question. What proportion of the people have security clearance?

Answer. Of the 11,000 employees, we have completed the process on 3,000. We have another thousand in the mill, and we have 5,500 to 6,000 we haven't been able to get to as yet. We first took those who had been through the previous procedures—through the loyalty setup. Then those in the most responsible and critical positions have been given priority attention. Incidentally, we are working on a plan to expedite the inves- tigations by asking other agencies to help us.

Question. Do you think if you had had this system years ago you would have detected someone like Alger Hiss?

Answer. The system is not designed pri- marily to detect spies; it is designed to eliminate potential spies as well and to pro- tect the integrity of the Government service. I think that they might have caught Hiss sooner had they paid some attention to the information they had about Hiss, and had they investigated it, and had they made it available for the FBI to follow through.

Let's take the original instance of [Whit- taker] Chambers going to Assistant Secretary of State Berle in 1939. Had that information been immediately turned over to the FBI with the request that it be pursued, why I think Hiss would have been stopped sooner.

HOW JOBS ARE FILLED

Question. Just how do you define your job at the State Department?

Answer. That is one of the things I must continually explain. The press refers to me as "Security Officer," but that is only one- fourth of my assignment. My title is a real tongue twister—Administrator of the Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs, and Personnel. "Consular affairs" means I am in charge of the Passport Office, the Visa Office, and the Office of Special Consular Services, which looks after Americans overseas who get into difficulties. In addition to that, the Presi- dent has designated me to run the Refugee Relief Program. The security officer of the Department is Denis Flinn, Director of the Office of Security.

Question. Are you in charge of the per- sonnel of the Department as a whole?

Answer. Yes; it's under my direction.

Question. Where does Donold Lourie come into the picture?

Answer. He is the Under Secretary for Ad- ministration, and as such has general super- vision over the utilization of people, money, and space.

Question. Do you report to Mr. Lourie?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do promotions come up through you?

Answer. They are handled under by direc- tion.

Question. Foreign Service, too?

Answer. In the Foreign Service, it's all done by boards. The system is established by law and by regulation. It's a matter of operating a system. That is one of the little- understood aspects of Government admin- istration—you don't have much in the way of authority over personnel. Under the law and civil-service regulations all personnel actions for domestic employees can be ap- pealed to the Civil Service Commission or may be reviewed by the Commission.

However, under the Foreign Service Act, in order to separate an employee we have a board of the Foreign Service where you file the charges. They hear the case and make a recommendation to the Secretary as to the final action, and he can accept or reject that recommendation. This is with respect to personnel as apart from security.

Question. Who has charge of the personnel files of the State Department?

Answer. That's under my jurisdiction.

PART OF THE MESS: PERSONNEL FILES

Question. When these boards meet, do they call upon you for the files in a specific motion before they go on, or do they have a copy of the material in their own files?

Answer. They call on me for such files and information as are under my jurisdiction. The file situation was part of the mess that we had to straighten out.

Question. What was wrong with it?

Answer. There are parallel personnel sys- tems, so when you speak of the boards you speak of the Foreign Service boards, as we call them, which operate somewhat like the military boards.

Previously it was the custom to give the selection boards (for the promotion or selec- tion out of Foreign Service personnel) the personnel file, or such part of the personnel file as the personnel people decided to send them. Now we have established a system where they get the entire personnel file, to- gether with pertinent medical reports, the security analysis, and so forth.

Question. You mean they formerly didn't get all the data?

Answer. No they didn't. That was brought out in Senator McCarthy's committee hear- ings last fall and winter—the practice of ab- stracting certain data before giving the file to the board. It wasn't always derogatory information. It was information that the personnel people thought, with good judg- ment or not, was not pertinent to whether a man be promoted, or that they felt was in the nature of rumor and not substantiated.

Question. So that the files were edited be- fore they went to the boards——

Answer. That's what it amounted to.

Question. When did that practice stop?

Answer. Last March. The hearings had been completed by that time, and one of the first things I did was to ask for a factual report on what actually happened, and then I told them that these boards were perfectly capable of deciding whether or not a rumor should be discounted or investigated, that they ought to have all the information.

Question. Since that date they've had it all——

Answer. That's right.

Question. Has there been much complaint on that?

Answer. No; there hasn't. Let me add something else. It was not the practice in the Department to write up administrative action. For example, if some fellow was given a mission to perform, and he didn't do it the way his supervisor felt he should do it, the supervisor might call him in and talk to him and tell him that he hadn't done a good job, but there'd be no record made of it.

Now we are endeavoring to establish a sys- tem so that shortcominga are recorded as you come upon them. There is an example of that in the field of security violations. We have a Marine guard system at our overseas missions. The marines go around at night and make sure that everything is locked up. I was astonished—I think it was the month of May—when I got a report from one geo- graphic area that there had been 223 indi- vidual security violations in that area in 1 month.

Question. What do you mean by security violations?

Answer. Documents left lying on the desk, safes left unlocked—physical security. I wanted to know who were the people involved, how often they were involved in these violations, how serious they were. Well, there was no data on that whatsoever. So, we started the system of security-report-violation forms. Now there is a copy of that form designated to the personnel file. The astonishing result was that there were about 15 violations in that area the month after we started that practice.

I use this as an example of what I feel was the basic difficulty in the Department, and that was bad administration. When people know that they are going to be held accountable for what they do, then they stop doing the wrong thing.

BURIED EVIDENCE

Question. Going back to the question of derogatory information in the files for promotion, what happened to all the derogatory information that was not given to the promotion boards in the past several years? Is it still in the files?

Answer. It's pretty difficult to say what happened to all of it. We found a good deal of it and are putting it back in the files. We found, for example, that a large portion of it had been sent to the St. Louis repository for dead records.

Question. Why would it be sent out there?

Answer. Well, I don't know why. Take a fellow who was in the Foreign Service and then transferred to the Department here. When he does that, he changes from one personnel system into another. I think they used the device then of going through his Foreign Service file and deciding this or that is not pertinent to his work in the Department, and then they sent that out to St. Louis. If he was assigned overseas again, the same process comes up. Well, if that keeps up often enough, you can be pretty sure that there isn't any bad information left in his files.

Question. Were there cases found where that was so?

Answer. Oh, yes. As a matter of fact, we have a substantial number of cases in which we have recovered this material and are still trying to get it back into the files.

WHY EFFICIENCY REPORTS WERE REMOVED

Question. Is some of it actually derogatory?

Answer. Yes. They took out the efficiency reports, for instance, for a fellow who had been in the Department because the form isn't the same as is used in the Foreign Service. That was one reason which was offered. Of course, there's no way of knowing what went through the people's minds when they took this information out—whether it was deliberately done to protect someone or merely felt to be good business.

Question. Did they take out information on whether a person was a Communist, a fellow traveler?

Answer. That normally wouldn't be in a personnel file. That would be in a security file, you see.

Question. Have any personnel changes been made as a result of bringing this material back into the files?

Answer. The most marked change was to bring in George Wilson to run the personnel of the Department—he's the Director of the Office of Personnel. He was Senator KNOWLAND's administrative assistant. I met him when I worked for Senator BRIDGES. He served as a colonel in European headquarters during the war. He's a fine administrator.

Question. Has anybody been fired as a result of bringing back this information?

Answer. I'd say it's analogous to the general who loses a battle—you may fire the general, but you don't fire the privates who were carrying out his orders. That's more or less our theory—that these people were doing whatever they were doing with the implied, if not expressed, approval of their superiors. In any case, they are all under civil service.

Question. But if any derogatory information is found in this recovered material, would that result in a reconsideration of an employee's case to see whether he should be retained in his job or not?

Answer. Yes; definitely. I can't tell you how many there have been, but there have been any number of them. The evaluation unit in the security office is constantly checking this material that we have recovered from St. Louis and so are the personnel people. You see, part of it goes in the personnel file and part in the security file. To explain that, the criteria for security evaluation have undergone constant change since the Government first undertook the thing in 1947. The most recent change was when President Eisenhower put out his security and integrity order.

LOYALTY OR SECURITY

Question. These words "loyalty," "security," and "integrity"—as they apply to this procedure—what do they mean?

Answer. They are labels. The original Truman order in 1947 was based on the question of loyalty to the United States. To take action under that order it was almost necessary to prove a case of treason. The standards under the original order were amended on at least one occasion and possibly twice. When the Truman order became ineffective on May 27, 1953, it had come to be known as the Loyalty and Security Order and contained a double set of criteria.

In my judgment, President Eisenhower has approached this problem in a much more realistic way. In his state of the Union message in 1953, he stated that the people of the United States were entitled to an executive branch which exhibited the clear qualities of loyalty, security, efficiency, economy, and integrity, as I recall the words. The criteria of the Eisenhower order embrace factors designed to provide for the integrity and security of Government personnel.

In addition to the factors relating to subversive activity or association, the criteria include behavior characteristics which reflect on the reliability and trustworthiness of an individual; falsification, misrepresentation, or omission of material facts; criminal, infamous, notorious, disgraceful conduct; sex perversion, drunkenness, drug addiction; and adjudication of insanity, or facts which furnish reason to believe an employee may be subjected to coercion, influence or pressure which would cause him to act contrary to the national-security interest.

Question. What would you say as to the safeguards that have been taken to protect an innocent person who may have a lot of hearsay and rumor stuff attached to his file? Do you evaluate that at all, or have somebody evaluate it?

Answer. I dont evaluate it personally—and that's one of the great difficulties, trying to find trained evaluators. It's most difficult to find trained people because the field has had such a short history that nobody is really an expert in it. This business of screening personnel as to security potential was only formally established in 1947. What you have to do is get somebody of reasonably good judgment and train him according to the standards as presently set up. There is certainly protection against the kind of bad judgment which attaches importance to uninvestigated information, no matter what it might be. Too many people must review it.

The question arises with respect to what do you do with uninvestigated information? What do you do with an anonymous letter? What do you do with a rumor? Do you ignore it? Do you forget it? Do you hide it, or do you try to find out whether it's true or not? Instead of ignoring the information, we have adopted the policy now of trying to prove or disprove it. If you can't prove it, then you can't attach any significance to it.

Question. Can you investigate all of it? Don't you have to judge what is worth investigating and what isn't?

Answer. Obviously you have to do that.

WHERE FBI FITS IN

Question. Can you tell us exactly how you go about investigating it? Do you bring in the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Answer. We have a definite procedure there. If it in any way relates to the internal security of the United States, then we refer it to the FBI, because that's their responsibility. For us to undertake to do anything about information of that kind could very well foul up their operations. If it appears to have no connection with internal security, then we have 20 field offices in the United States with 80 investigators, and we turn it over to them.

We have 48 professional security officers in our overseas missions. There are 276 overseas establishments so you can see they are spread pretty thin. But using the usual investigative techniques, we endeavor to ascertain the truth or falsity of a report.

Question. Do you get very many of these anonymous reports?

Answer. If someone wants to come in and tell us something about someone, we naturally listen to the story. As a matter of fact, considering the number of employees, there have been relatively few anonymous complaints. I can recall only one or two. I have found that most people with complaints are willing to identify themselves and back them up.

Question. Are you speaking of citizens generally?

Answer. Citizens generally and fellow employees.

Question. What percentage of them turn out to be phony?

Answer. Darned few that we've had time to get to. We haven't enough people to investigate all possible leads, particularly when there is a large backlog.

Question. Couldn't that technique be used by somebody who had a grudge and wanted to put somebody on a spot?

Answer. Yes; but it's pointless if the investigation disproves it.

ALL TO BE INVESTIGATED

Question. Hasn't the man who is being investigated got a strike on him in the first place?

Answer. I think not. Under the present system, everybody who occupies a sensitive position is subject to a full-field investigation. So, the mere fact that he is being investigated is no strike against him.

Question. Have you investigated everybody in the Department?

Answer. Unfortunately, no.

Question. Do you plan to?

Answer. Oh, yes. The executive order requires a full-field investigation if the person is assigned to a sensitive job, and we have defined all jobs in the Department as sensitive.

Question. Even clerks?

Answer. Especially clerks.

Question. What is a "full-field investigation"?

Answer. Generally speaking, it requires that you take biographical data, which the employee furnishes you on his application, or is available in his file, and verify it. You verify his date and place of birth by trying to find it in the original records. You thereby establish that he is an American and he is the man he claims to be. Then you verify his education, and, oddly enough, we find that some people, even though they are subject to the penalties of perjury when they file a Government application form, are a

le forgetful about just what degrees they re.

Question. They overeducate themselves?

Answer. In some instances they confer grees upon themselves. Then you verify man's employment. You speak to his mer employers and his fellow employees l get their estimate of him. Then you ify his places of residence and talk to his ghbors and the people who knew him en he lived there. You try to account for entire period of his life up to the time his application to make sure that what says about himself is true. Now, in the inary case, if it proves to be true, that's end of it. You have had a full-field estigation.

Question. That's a matter of weeks, isn't

nswer. Yes. You don't do it overnight. y, as a corollary to that you make what alled the "name check," which is through the agencies of the Government who are aged or have been engaged in this secur- business—the Army, Air Force, FBI, y, Central Intelligence Agency, Civil Serv- Commission. We find as a rule of mb that if you find no derogatory infor- tion on the "name check"—and that ns up 85 percent of the derogatory infor- tion—then there is only about a 15 per- t chance that you will find out anything ddition in a full-field investigation.

ow, in the course of a full-field, if you elop any so-called derogatory informa- , which is the case, perhaps, 50 percent of time—you run into somebody who sn't like the man—then the rule is that investigator has to pursue that informa- until he feels he has proven or dis- ven it.

uestion. Material that has not been ven in investigation is not counted nst that individual?

nswer. No, sir. Why anyone would sup- e that such a thing would be done by onable men is beyond my comprehen- .

uestion. But you do let the promotion rds know that this derogatory material here——

nswer. Yes. As the system now exists, have to do that because we simply can't l to all these files at once. But on the t day, after we've been through this le operation once, everything that goes to boards will have been investigated.

uestion. So that if there is a rumor going the evaluation board in the files, your uation of that rumor will be attached?

nswer. That's right and our advice to the rd is to disregard such information until s checked. If they believe it should be cked we will try to accommodate such e on a priority basis.

AN EMPLOYEE'S RIGHTS

uestion. Does the man against whom the sation is made have a chance to defend self?

nswer. Yes. The system provides for it.

uestion. Are his accusers identified?

nswer. There are several types of accu- ons. If you are going to accuse a man eing a drunkard or dope addict or sexual ert, something of that kind that falls hin the security criteria, I see no reason you shouldn't come forward, into the n, and make your accusation. We en't had enough experience with this to know whether the witnesses who have information would be willing to testify. hen we have the internal-security-type , in the subversive category, we're deal- there with the FBI witnesses, and the evaluates the reliability of the witness re the Department and before the board. re the discretion as to whether the wit- will be called lies with the hearing rd and whether he will testify is left to FBI and its witness, because obviously can't bring some witness out who may be of more use to them undercover in future cases.

Question. Then that is confined to the loyalty cases?

Answer. I don't like the word "loyalty." It is the wrong label. We are talking about cases involving internal security where there is a connection with the Communist conspiracy and where we are projecting a judgment as to a security-risk potential.

Question. Is there a regular trial room, with judge and all that, or is it just a man-to-man interrogation?

Answer. Perhaps I had better outline the procedure under the new security-integrity order because most people are a little vague as to what actually happens. There are three points for judgment. The first follows the investigation and evaluation of the material in the file, and it is a decision as to whether or not a citizen's continued employment in a sensitive position is clearly consistent with the national security.

If the evaluators conclude that it is not clearly consistent, they recommend that the employee be suspended while the matter is adjudicated. Their recommendation can be accepted or rejected by the Director of the Office of Security, by me as Administrator of the Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs, and Personnel, or by Don Lourie as Under Secretary for Administration, or by the Secretary.

If the decision is to suspend all the way up the line, the employee is notified of his suspension and given a letter of charges. These charges, in as much detail as security considerations will permit, notify the employee of the basis for the Department's conclusion that his continued employment is not clearly consistent with national security. He has 30 days following receipt of the letter of charges to reply in writing, furnishing such documentary evidence as he cares to provide.

At this point a second decision is made. The material is reviewed by me and by the Deparment's Security Counsel, John Sipes. We recommend jointly or severally to the Secretary through Mr. Lourie that the employee either be reinstated or terminated. If the departmental decision is to terminate, then the employee has a right to an appeal.

The appeal procedure is set up under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission, and the appeal panel of at least three Government employees outside the State Department considers the matter and makes a recommendation to the Secretary for his third and final determination. At the hearing the employee is entitled to counsel, may present witnesses, and cross-examine witnesses furnished by the Government.

INFORMAL QUESTIONING PLAYS A PART

Question. That is the formal procedure under the order?

Answer. Yes. The regulations provide an informal procedure as a part of the investigation whereby the employee may be questioned by security officers in an effort to resolve issues in the case.

Question. Is a transcription made of these proceedings?

Answer. No. The security officers make reports of such interviews. One of the things I have insisted on is that we be able to pinpoint all along the line who's responsible for what, so that if there is any place where a person who is subject to scrutiny is cleared, we will know definitely whose judgment it was that cleared him.

Question. But is the actual testimony taken down?

Answer. In the formal hearing it is; in the informal hearing it is up to the security officer to report it as he hears it—it's in the nature of an interview with him and may be transcribed stenographically depending on the circumstance.

Question. At what point does a person know that a charge is against him? Does he know, for instance, when the investigation starts?

Answer. When we start an investigation we do not notify an employee. Most people learn of it because their friends come back and tell them about it. We haven't any reason to hide it. If he wants to know whether he is being investigated, we tell him. It's useless administrative procedure to notify everybody when they are about to be investigated.

Question. What is "derogatory information"? If a man has lied about his age, is that derogatory information?

Answer. One of the criteria is that a misstatement of a material fact is reason to produce charges that he is a security risk.

NOT A JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Question. What are the chief categories of criticism that come into the Department about your procedure?

Answer. I'd say the greatest criticism develops from this traditional American approach to the idea that you afford the individual the greatest dignity and protection that you can. That's an idea to which we all subscribe. It's the misunderstanding of the nature of this process and of the process itself, in my judgment, that leads to this criticism.

The common error is to feel that there is some analogy between the security-integrity system and the judicial system.' That's not at all true.

Our Anglo-Saxon judicial system goes back through the centuries, and common law has been developed all through that time. The integrity-security system goes back to April of 1947, and we've had very little experience with it. The point I'd like to make is that, whereas the judicial system is designed to protect society and afford the individual certain rights that are constitutionally guaranteed to him, the security-integrity system is designed to give the individual the largest measure of protection it is possible to devise while, at the same time, protecting the Government to the maximum.

In security we make this investigation we've been talking about, which brings us up to January 1954, in a man's life. We are not trying to punish him for some act he has committed in the past; we are not trying to protect society from something that he might do. We are trying to protect the Government from what may occur in the future. Since you can't prove future behavior—future acts are not susceptible to present proof—there is no proof in this system. It's not a judicial system.

This is a matter of judgment and projecting that judgment into the future. It's a human judgment and is made according to certain standards, and these standards have been shifting ever since this procedure was developed. We try to develop a judgment on the basis of an individual's past behavior and activities as to what his future behavior and activities are likely to be.

It may be that in the future his behavior and activities never develop in the way that you fear they might, but we are taking such precautions as may be expected of reasonable and prudent men to protect the Government from exposure to danger. That is what we are trying to do for our Government.

Question. What would you say about the basic principle that you hear so often that a man is innocent until proven guilty? How is that principle applied in your operations?

Answer. All our people are to us innocent—our security risks are innocent so far as violating criminal laws are concerned. We are not trying to prove them guilty of anything. We are trying to protect the Government from their possible future activities. It's up to the Department of Justice to prove somebody is guilty if there is a violation of law.

Question. You just don't want to hire them to be part of the Government?

Answer. That's exactly it. This is to protect the Government's integrity and security.

Question. You don't put them in jail?

Answer. We can't put anybody in jail.

Question. But isn't that dodging the consequences, really, though? If a fellow is dismissed as a security risk, doesn't he lose valuable rights as a citizen?

Answer. Not as a citizen——

Question. He has trouble getting a job, doesn't he?

Answer. Well, he has no right to Government employment, so if he loses his Government job, he hasn't lost any right.

PROBLEMS OF PUBLICITY

Question. Don't you publish the fact in some way that he has been dismissed?

Answer. That's the next point I was going to make. We don't make it public. Any publicity is the choosing of the individual, with the exception of those cases which reach public view because of a legitimate interest in good Government through the Congress or the press.

Question. If a man is investigated and 40 or 50 acquaintances and friends are interviewed, and then he leaves the Government, won't the gossiping wives say that he had to leave because he was a security risk and a certain amount of publicity will then come out and a certain amount of damage will be done his reputation?

Answer. I don't know that I agree with your premise, that there will be gossip and rumor.

Question. But if the FBI has been around to see all these people, and everybody knows that this man is in the Government, and the next thing they hear is that he has resigned, won't they suspect that cause and effect have taken place?

Answer. I suppose it is possible, but they can't get the Government to confirm that situation. That's up to the person's explanation to his friends as to what has happened, and that has led to some difficulties in a good many cases, where individuals have undertaken to explain publicly why they have left the Government and the Government has had to remain silent. The Department has taken some abuse in those cases.

Question. People have not stated the truth as to why they left the Government?

Answer. That's right. Had the Government's position been known publicly, there wouldn't have been nearly as much criticism, in my judgment. Certainly there wouldn't have been all the barbs that were flung at the security operation.

Question. As a practical matter, doesn't a man who has been discharged have to give a reference wherever he goes for another job, particularly from his last employment, and so your decision in almost all cases would have a great bearing on whether or not he got another job?

Answer. The official statement that you get from the Government when you inquire about previous employment is the same, no matter what the circumstances were. We tell you he was employed from such and such a date to such and such a date, and that he resigned or he was terminated, one of the two.

NO SECURITY BLACKLIST

Question. The Government doesn't say whether he was fired for security, of course?

Answer. No, we don't say that. Perhaps we are not giving the general public all possible protection, but that's not the purpose of this system. We are trying to protect the security and integrity of the Government. In my judgment, we should not pursue these people beyond their Government employment.

Question. I wonder if that fact is generally known?

Answer. I'm afraid it's generally assumed that we publish a list, or something like that, of security risks.

Question. Well, I think it is assuming that, if an employer asks the Government about someone, the Government will tell him the truth—

Answer. The Government will tell only how long he has worked, and that he is gone. I think it would be an infringement of his rights as an individual citizen to deprive him of an opportunty to earn a living without due process. Again, I repeat this is not judicial—no one is convicted.

Question. Can a job rating be obtained from the Government by the employee?

Answer. No, not an official job rating. However, we have no rule against officers of the department writing letters to former employees commending their services. This is an individual expression and not an official departmental statement.

Question. What about another agency taking on a former State employee?

Answer. That's a different matter. When an employee is terminated, we notify the Civil Service Commission as to the facts in the matter. Now the fact may be that he has been discharged as a potential security risk, that he resigned in lieu of the filing of charges, or that he resigned in lieu of investigation, or whatever it is. That is one of the points that are now being criticized.

We notify the Civil Service Commission in order that, should he again apply for Government appointment, the employing agency knows one of two things—either that he has been adjudged a security risk by another agency or that there is an unresolved security question which they, if they are prudent, should resolve before he is assigned to a sensitive job.

Question. As to defense plants in private industry, how can they be protected?

Answer. I think the ordinary procedure there is to fingerprint the applicant, and send it in to the FBI.

Question. That's out of your hands then, isn't it?

Answer. We haven't any authority.

Question. When a man is fired as a security risk, doesn't that in the public mind mean the same as a loyalty risk?

Answer. It is confused with loyalty—I think that's true. President Truman set the pace for this in his original order. He called it a "loyalty order" and labels are hard to change. We now have President Eisenhower's security-integrity order. It places the responsibility squarely in the hands of the Executive, where it should be.

Question. The executive when applied to the Government or the individual?

Answer. When applied to the Government service, and we want to keep it that way. We welcome analysis and examination by Congress, but the integrity of the Government service is primarily the responsibility of the employing agencies, not the Congress.

SNOOPING FORBIDDEN

Question. It is said that you try to regulate the reading habits of individuals. It is said that, if they read something that you don't like, you fire them. Do you go that far?

Answer. That, of course, is ridiculous.

Question. Where does anybody get the basis for such charges?

Answer. I haven't any idea.

Question. You don't think the charges are correct?

Answer. I'm sure they are not and I find it difficult to think that any well-meaning or responsible-minded citizen would either believe or say so.

Question. There have been reports about individuals from your office going around in the Department of State and checking on the reading matter of employees.

Answer. I have heard of them—they're fantastic, and one reason I welcome that question today is to tell you they are fantastic. No one has asked me about these things before. Somebody prints a rumor. Then it is repeated enough so that it becomes a fact. Don't they call that the big-lie technique?

Question. You don't have a private spying system?

Answer. No; we don't. As long as I am in this security business I'll resist anyone's efforts to establish a system of spies or informants in the State Department. We don't solicit such information. We rely on the basic patriotism of our employees to report any activity which seems to be contrary to the best interests of this country.

Question. Well, if you knew that a man had read Karl Marx, you wouldn't fire him, necessarily?

Answer. I would expect that anybody who works for the State Department and pretends to be combating communism would have read Karl Marx. How are you going to fight communism if you don't know anything about it?

Question. It is said that if a fellow reads certain "liberal" magazines, he is automatically fired—is that right?

Answer. That's ridiculous. Let me say this, that if a fellow in some period of his life was subscribing to the Daily Worker, the New Masses, and various other periodicals which are used to support the Communist movement in this country—if you take that fact in connection with his other activities at that period, it might have some significance. But simply taken alone—just that alone—why I expect everybody in this room has read Communist literature at some time or another.

ENVOYS' REPORTS FRANK?

Question. You are doing nothing to discourage United States diplomats from making honest reports?

Answer. Quite the contrary. The Secretary of State told his press conference the other day that he could see no evidence of dishonest reports from the Foreign Service.

Question. Well, that would seem to me to be a terrible indictment of the Foreign Service, to think they have so little guts, if you will, that they would be afraid to make honest reports because of some security system, or something like that——

Answer. Yes; I agree. I think the Foreign Service officers of the United States have more courage than that.

Question. It has been said that Foreign Service officers report just what their bosses want to hear—that is the criticism. Isn't this an outgrowth of specific situations, where officers of the Foreign Service have been in certain areas of the world and have made reports which supported Communist policies, or something of that sort? Hasn't it been the burden of the criticism that a great many of these fellows were being punished in your security system for reports they wrote?

Answer. Yes; that is the supposition. I know of only one case where the security office has ever gone to the trouble of examining an officer's reports. In that case they found the reports quite objective and not an issue in forming a security judgment. There have been all kinds of efforts to obscure the real issue. "Red herring" was a beautiful example of it.

Question. I suppose a man can be thrown out for bad judgment, can't he?

Answer. Well, as a part of the security picture, a man of consistently bad judgment is certainly a security danger. However, such determinations are made on the basis of suitability and not security.

Question. Then how does "security" cover incompetency as well as everything else, as is charged?

Answer. It doesn't, because there is no machinery in this security system for reviewing such incompetency, and we don't claim to have that authority.

Question. Is there some other machinery to deal with that?

Answer. That's a personnel procedure. A competent supervisor or chief of mission should take administrative action against an incompetent or inefficient employee. In

case of Foreign Service personnel, the tion board works on a relatively short . They consider the efficiency reports nitted to cover a short term of service— ar or a few months. That isn't a very view of a man's judgment. Over a t period of time his judgment may look y sound. Eventually history will begin atch up with him. Perhaps we ought ake a long-term look at an employee's ment. I would be inclined to favor a system if it could be devised.

EMBASSIES CHECKED

uestion. You have supervision over those loyees who are not in the Foreign Serv- but who are abroad in our missions with s of the State Department abroad?

nswer. After the Reorganization Plans 7 8, the primary responsibility for those loyees was lodged in the United States rmation Agency and the Foreign Opera- s Administration and the military and r people who employ them. In other is, they are responsible for them until get overseas. Then, on the theory that Ambassador is supreme in the country, Ambassador undertakes that responsi- y, and our security people in the field— personnel people in the field—undertake carry out that responsibility for the assador.

hat it amounts to is that the employing cy makes the primary determination if n is suitable as regards personnel, and with regard to security. If anything ens overseas to question that initial de- n, we report it back to the responsible cy, and say "Here is a person that doesn't to meet our standards and consequently cannot serve under the Ambassador's ority."

uestion. We hear reports now and then you folks have got some wire devices cord conversations either on telephones your offices, with people who visit there. ere any truth in that?

nswer. Well, I hear that all the time, and ly assure someone that they are talking e in confidence, and that my phone is wired up. To my knowledge, there are stening or recording devices in use in the rtment.

uestion. You don't monitor telephone ersations?

nswer. The Federal law requires that if are monitoring a telephone conversation e has to be a beep sound on it. So far am concerned, I'm in no position to te any laws, and I don't propose to do

uestion. Well, can you say that holds also for the absence of any such de- for recording conversations within the rtment?

nswer. There has been nothing of that authorized by me.

LEAKS: SOME PROGRESS

uestion. What about leaks in the De- ment? I think many people assume you he source of leaks, particularly to the ress.

nswer. That is one of the oddities of the ion in which I find myself. It was ap- nt to me as soon as I took the oath of that because of my previous close asso- on with people on the Hill that I would dentified as the source of leaks to the whether they came from me or not. e this was so apparent to me I have to bend over backwards. I answer in- es only in connection with my official n duties.

e Department's position is that Mem- of Congress are entitled to information t the way the Department operates. n I have been asked in writing or at ressional hearings for information, I tried to give the inquiries an honest straight-from-the-shoulder answer. But n protest until the end of time that I am not the source of leaks and some people will go right on believing what they choose to believe.

Restoration of Ford's Theater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in the House of Representatives today a resolution which I hope will lead to restoring Ford's Theater where President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865. The joint resolution provides:

That the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to make a study to determine the most appropriate steps which could be taken to preserve and interpret Ford's Theater, in Washington, D. C., as it was on April 14, 1865, and to determine the estimated cost of reconstructing the stage, boxes, and scenic setting. The results of the study, together with the recommendations of the Secretary with respect thereto, shall be submitted to the Congress as soon as possible after the study is completed.

The Secretary of the Interior shall include in his report to the Congress under the first section of this joint resolution an estimate of the cost of reinstalling the famous Oldroyd collection of relics in the Ford Theater building or in another suitable museum building to be erected on land to be acquired immediately adjacent to the Ford Theater building.

Ford's Theater has become a shrine visited annually by hundreds of thousands of people. Many express a regret that the theater has become a "warehouse museum." It seems to me appropriate that a measure looking to the theater's restoration be introduced on the birthday of the Great Emancipator. Ford's Treater is owned by the United States and as Melvin D. Hildreth, Democratic national committeeman for the District of Columbia pointed out recently, "It's restoration should be carried out by the United States."

Lincoln, the man of the people, belonged to all Americans. He is not the exclusive property of either political party nor faction of a political party.

Those who glibly proclaim themselves the political heirs of the Republican Party which he carried to victory in 1860 seldom quote what Lincoln said, and never match his clarity. As an example, this from his annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861:

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital, producing mutual benefits.

Nor is it likely that the Great Emancipator would have been a party to turning away one of the great musical organizations of this Nation—the Howard University choir—from the doors of the Lincoln Day rally on February 5, 1954.

The man who said "A house divided against itself cannot stand" would take a dim view of the present efforts of extremists in his party to turn neighbor against neighbor, to sow suspicion, to divide our country into warring factions.

When Lincoln finally succumbed to the wounds he had received, Secretary Stanton said, "Now he belongs to the ages." It is fitting and proper that the scene of one of the greatest tragedies in our history should be a permanent memorial to this great American.

A Plea for Bipartisan Action To Solve the Problems of Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the statement which follows was given before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report by Mayor Michael Micich, of Charles City, Iowa. His plea for bipartisan action to solve the problems of unemployment makes clear that he places the welfare of people ahead of the welfare of any political party. So must we all.

Mayor Micich's statement follows:

GENTLEMEN: I took office on January 2, 1954, as mayor of Charles City, Iowa, a small city of 10,000 population. This city is situated in a rich agricultural area that raises corn, oats, soybeans, hogs, cattle, and turkeys. In Charles City proper we have one large tractor plant and several other small manufacturing plants. I work 320 acres of land, feed cattle and raise 30,000 turkeys annually.

On January 4 the chamber of commerce asked me to affix my name to a wire as a cosigner with the president of the local chamber of commerce addressed to President Eisenhower and Senators GILLETTE and HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa. This wire reads verbatim:

"We support President Eisenhower's stand on special consideration for defense contracts going to surplus labor areas. According to the State employment service, Charles City could support a plant employing 800 to 1,000 or more skilled and semiskilled laborers. Advise steps we can take to cooperate.

"WAYNE WOOD,
"President, Chamber of Commerce.
"MICHAEL MICICH,
"Mayor, City of Charles City, Iowa."

We found out that we could not qualify under the Criteria for Classification of Areas of Substantial Labor Surplus (Group IV). We did not have a large enough population.

After January 4, the county auditor discussed with me the serious impending drain on the county poor fund. He informed me that by statute a 1½-mill rate was allowed for the poor fund but by special permission from the State auditor an additional 3 mills could be levied. This meant 4½ mills could be raised or $147,000. His offhand estimate was that $200,000 was needed this year for this county relief. This meant $53,000 had to be raised by the issuance of funding bonds. At present 7 percent of the Floyd County

population receives some form of county relief.

In view of the above situation he requested me to have a meeting held in the city council chambers, which was logical because of its location, for the interested parties. His object was to try to get all parties interested to find out just the exact picture of everything involved. He called this meeting at 11 a. m. on January 18. To this meeting he invited the county board of supervisors, State Senator Zastrow; Bob Thomsen, secretary of the chamber of commerce; Gerald Fisher, president of the local union; John Ingram, vice president of the local union; Martin Harden, manager of the local Iowa employment office; myself; and a news reporter. All were present and Mr. Friedrich, the county auditor, acted as chairman. My position was more or less as a spectator interested in receiving all the information that I could get.

The people present discussed the raising of unemployment compensation benefits, the effects the great drought of the Southwest had on the farm implement manufacturer here in Charles City.

Mr. Harden, employment-office manager, then gave figures and facts about the number of people unemployed here in this area. Out of the Charles City office 566 people were drawing unemployment compensation, and his estimate was that approximately 1,400 to 1,700 were unemployed in this area or about 800 to 1,000 in Charles City alone. Some already had exhausted their benefits. There were three small industries employing 250 people that did not work throughout the fall, and all this unemployment could not be solely attributed to the large implement manufacturing industry here.

The discussion then veered back to the fact that this unemployment situation was only peculiar to certain Iowa cities and was not on a statewide basis. Senator Zastrow pointed out, under the circumstances, that a special session of the State legislature convening would be doubtful. In view of the fact it was only peculiar to certain Iowa cities, he suggested that I call a meeting of the mayors of the affected cities and have a factfinding meeting to see what was happening. To this proposal I agreed and called a meeting of seven mayors of Iowa to Cedar Rapids on January 27. The mayors of Waterloo, Davenport, Dubuque, Cedar Rapids, and myself attended. We recommended to Governor Beardsley that he formulate a committee to further study this unemployment problem. Governor Beardsley agreed, and to this committee he appointed the mayors of Davenport, Waterloo, Charles City, three industrialists, three from the working force, the chairman of Iowa Employment Commission, the chairman of the Iowa Development Commission, and his personal representative, Mr. Whitfield, who is chairman. This committee met on February 1 in Waterloo. The outcome of this meeting was—

1. Further investigate defense contracts for surplus labor areas.

2. Public works to be pinpointed wherever needed in cities having a large amount of unemployment.

3. Unemployment compensation increase to be studied.

4. Iowa Development Commission to submit recommendations to us at our next meeting on January 9 in Waterloo. This meeting I am unable to attend because of my appearance here.

When Mr. Ensley called me to appear before you gentlemen I told him I was not an authority on unemployment and the policy that I would pursue, even being a Republican, is one of looking the horse in the mouth.

Let us go back to the months of December 1949 and January 1950. We find in the State of Iowa that unemployment in those 2 months approximates the unemployment of December 1953 and January 1954. Back in the first 6 months of 1950 there was an intense international situation; today there is comparable tranquility on the international stage. On June 25, 1950, the Korean war started which quickly absorbed the unemployment. Can we expect some situation to absorb our present unemployment? In my opinion, "No," unless the city, county, State, and Federal Governments immediately recognize this malignancy and on all fronts move simultaneously to eradicate it. This leadership should come from the top while we are making a transition in our economy.

To this committee I recommend the following:

1. Restore to the farmer the 25 percent of purchasing power he has lost in the last 2 years.

2. Study, and consider lowering the age from 65 to 60 of those eligible for social-security benefits. This will take many older people out of the labor market.

3. Institute public works of an enduring nature with matching funds from cities and States that have local unemployment problems. Let States and cities administer these funds.

4. Unemployment compensation benefits to be increased, especially in States that are low.

5. Perishable surpluses such as butter, eggs, cheese, dried fruits, etc., to be distributed to counties faced with serious drains on their county poor funds to help alleviate the property tax. Old-age pensioners also receive these surpluses wherever pension is not adequate.

6. Encourage risk capital in small businesses through tax amortizations, etc.

7. Endeavor to reduce Federal income taxes for individuals and corporations.

It would be fair in view of the fact that I am a farmer and also a Republican to point out that unless the Republican Party moves fast to correct this unemployment by recognizing that this is not an everyday occurrence plus their stand for flexible price supports, it will mean the loss of the State of Iowa to the Democrats. This dual problem is dynamite politically.

The restoration of the 25-percent purchasing power of the farmer plus the solution to the unemployment problem should be nonpartisan. The recommendations for the restoration of the purchasing power loss is in my statement following this talk.

At this time I recommend that the Republican Party shift gears since, in my opinion, I feel that I have the pulse of the city people as well as the farmers, and today the people are suspicious of the Republican Party in the great voting bloc of farmers and laborers. This is a dangerous situation for any Republican seeking office this year. This is especially true in my area.

I know further attempt by many authorities to show that everything is rosy is not a true picture. An attempt will be made to smother my testimony by saying I am only a small frog in a big pond. I have nothing to gain or lose by my testimony. Perhaps I am a thorn among roses. My only hope is that a bipartisan approach can be worked out to act quickly before this malignancy approaches the critical stage.

Let us restore faith and confidence by concrete action immediately to show and prove to the people something is being done. This will have an electrifying psychological effect of restoring confidence to the whole economy. Actual deeds and actions are what get results and not words which fool no one. Advertise what is being done and what is proposed to be done and do not hurl charges back and forth.

Thank you for your invitation and kindness in listening to the thoughts that I have expressed, and I hope they will help guide you to a just and proper conclusion to these weighty problems.

Iowans Petition Congress To Keep Salaries Where They Are

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I submit herewith a letter from Rev. B. D. Dykstra, of Orange City, Iowa, who, on his own initiative, went out and secured 53 signatures on a petition in opposition to the proposed increase of salaries for Members of Congress and judges. The letter follows:

The Honorable USHER L. BURDICK.

ESTEEMED SIR: As a diligent reader of the RECORD, I have taken note of the proposed raise in salaries of Congress and courts. Your thoughtful statement appeals to me and many. And the final appeal must be to the people. Entirely on my personal initiative I have undertaken to gather the opinions in my community of Orange City, in northwestern Iowa. My plain method was to contact 50 people as I met them on the street, in business and homes. There was no planned selection. The petition carried the following simple heading:

"To Our National Legislators, Greeting:

"In view of the need of reduction in taxes; in view of the approaching and needed financial recession; and as an example to discourage the general demand for ever higher wages, we, the undersigned, are opposed to the proposed increase of salaries for Congress and judges and any other high offices."

I approached 54 persons and stated the question briefly. All signed most readily with one exception. He holds a municipal office and asked to be excused. These people have good ordinary homes with moderate means from some source. It was not in my purpose to canvass the whole city of 2,000. But I am confidant that these 50 are a fair cross section of the town's view. They are mostly Republican, but party did not enter into the judgment. I discovered that many had been much concerned and they were pleased that the simple opportunity was presented to express their sentiment. The common argument of the proponents that the sum total of the raise would be but a fractional percent of the entire budget does not impress the public I meet. A straw will ultimately break the camel's back and a "mill" here and a "mill" there will ruin our billion dollar economy. The very humble material circumstances of Chief Justice Vinson at the close of a career of devotion to public interest has rather raised the respect of the average man for this noble American statesman. I am sure these 50 common people pay with me their high respect to Mr. Burdick, while he still lives, for his unselfish convictions in the matter here considered.

Very respectfully,

Rev. B. D. DYKSTRA.

P. S.—I append a copy of the names. You are at liberty to use them.

B. D. Dykstra, John R. Reinders, Henry Melles, J. G. Vande Lune, Lambert Top, Sam N. Dykstra, Wm. Kalsbeek, Mrs. Wm. Kalsbeek, Nic D. Bogaard, H. Wobbema, Nick Hulst, Sr., Andrew Vogel, Henry Kramer, Sr., Gt. Aalberts, Mr. Harry Mouw, Mrs. Harry Mouw, Mrs. Minnie Vander Meide, Mrs. Dorothy Wielenga, Mr. A. J. Van Peursem, W. J. Schalekamp, Floris Van der Stoep, P. G. De Jong, Dick Muilenburg, Neal Dykhuizen, W. J. Vanden Bos, Otto De Jong, Walter Schreur, F. B. Mansen, D. P. Haarsma, Albert J. Ger-

en, Gerrit Top, John Blom, Sr., Herman reur, John A. Brink, Mrs. Arie Kanis, S. Meshan, Leonard De Groot, Hessel er, Peter Bylsma, Neal Schalekamp, Peter der Zwaag, Mr. Harry Ver Hoeven, Mrs. ry Ver Hoeven, Geo. J. Van De Brake, ry Tuininga, Edw. Schreur, G. J. te Gro- nuis, Kenneth Van Wechel, Fred De Beer, Mrs. S. Hibma, Henry J. Niemants, Mr. ries Kleinhesselink, Mrs. Charles Klein- elink, Mrs. A. J. Van Peursem.

Don't Cripple Locomotive Inspection Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR.
OF TENNESSEE
N THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Ir. FRAZIER. Mr. Speaker, under nimous consent, I include in the Ap- dix of the RECORD the following arti- entitled "Don't Cripple Locomotive pection Bureau," appearing in Labor, uary 30, 1954:

ON'T CRIPPLE LOCOMOTIVE INSPECTION BUREAU

ail unions this week launched a fight nst a proposal which, they said, would ple enforcement of the Locomotive In- tion Act and thus strike a heavy blow he safety of employees and passengers he railroads.

housands of lives have been saved by the pection Act since it was put through gress in 1911 by the unions against ter- opposition by the carriers. At first pplied only to the boiler, but was later nded to include the entire steam loco- ive and other types of engines, including els.

has always been administered by the eau of Locomotive Inspection, an inde- dent agency in the Interstate Commerce mission manned by men with practical experience.

ow, it is proposed by the 1955 budget for ration of various Government agencies ump the Bureau appropriation with the eral funds for the ICC, and, further, to n the appropriation so that the Bureau employ only 48 inspectors, compared the authorized personnel of 65 inspec-

rong appeals to Congress not to permit crippling of the Bureau were made by rt M. Lampley, vice president and na- al legislative representative of the Loco- ive Firemen and Enginemen, and by y D. Byrnes, assistant grand chief and onal legislative representative of the motive Engineers.

mpley appealed to the Independent es Subcommittee of the House Appropri- ns Committee to prevent the Bureau of motive Inspection being "strangled to h." He stressed the important role of motive inspection in safeguarding lives limbs on the rails.

urged the subcommittee to not only t "sufficient funds to employ enough ectors to maintain safety on the rail- s," but to insure the functioning of the eau as an independent agency, as the provides.

mpley stressed that the commission's figures, showing a greater number of cts found in locomotives than in other pment, weigh heavily against any cur- ment of the inspections.

In another development, Commissioner Owen Clarke said the ICC would recommend to President Eisenhower that the job of Assistant Director of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection be left vacant when A. C. Breed, a long-time member of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, retires March 31.

Incidentally, Breed, who has been with the Bureau since it was established, was "forced out" by revocation this week of a wartime Executive order exempting veteran Government employes from the rule on retirement at the age of 70.

Pay-Raise Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, this editorial from the New Orleans States demands no comment. It speaks for itself:

PAY-RAISE LEGISLATION

Members of Congress apparently continue to be timid about voting pay raises for themselves and the Federal judiciary even though such salary increases have been recommended by a disinterested fact-finding commission.

More than 2 weeks have elapsed since the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries made its report, but there are no signs of real activity toward converting its recommendations into law.

The practical difficulty is that Members of Congress soon coming up for election are afraid the voters will frown on the idea of lawmakers voting themselves a salary hike, no matter how justified it might be.

The major changes in salary recommended by the Commission—a balanced group composed of representatives of agriculture, labor, business, and the professions—are:

Chief Justice of the United States, present $25,500, proposed $40,000.

Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, present $25,000, proposed $39,500.

Members of Congress, present $15,000, proposed $27,500.

Judges of the United States courts of appeals, of Customs and Patent Appeals, of military appeals, and of Claims, present $17,500, proposed $30,500.

Judges of United States district courts, Customs Court, and Tax Court, present $15,000, proposed $27,500.

When the Commission made its report on January 15, its Chairman, Bernard G. Segal, an attorney of Philadelphia, disclosed that it agreed unanimously that Members of Congress and Federal judges should get higher salaries as a means of "assuring the Nation of top-flight leadership."

The Commission found that the judicial and congressional salaries have not kept pace with the growth of the responsibilities of those offices; that they are too low compared with salaries paid for similar ability and less responsibility in private enterprise; that they have lagged behind while salaries of other Federal officials have been adjusted upward, and that for a long time they have been grossly inadequate.

In the light of the strong support given by the impartial Commission, it seems to us that the Members of Congress who hesitate to seek the appropriate legislation are not considering the merits of the case. The pay raises have been deemed proper by qualified authority; therefore, they ought to be put through.

Vocational Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the fact that the proposed budget this year calls for, among other things, a cut in funds of $1,173,260 for vocational education under the provisions of the George-Barden Act.

I am not an expert or authority in the field of education; however, I am keenly interested in all of our educational programs as an average citizen and layman. I do know that in Wisconsin we have had an outstanding vocational education program for many years. The benefits derived from our educational work in vocational fields have been enjoyed by children of citizens living both in the cities and in the rural areas.

Among the letters which I have received opposing the proposed cut in funds for vocational education there are two that I should like to recommend to my colleagues for serious study and thought. One of the letters is from Mr. C. L. Greiber, State director of vocational and adult education.

Mr. Greiber, as an authority in this field, outlines the importance of Federal aid better than I can do it. The other letter is from K. W. Hones, president of the Wisconsin Farmers Union. Mr. Hones emphasizes the value of rural vocational education.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to have these two excellent letters inserted in the RECORD for study by my colleagues. They follow:

FEBRUARY 5, 1954.

The Honorable LESTER JOHNSON,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As you know, the State board of vocational and adult education administers the Federal aids which are allotted to Wisconsin under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts.

I was disappointed to learn several days ago that the budget which has been recommended to the present session of Congress again provides for a recommended reduction in Federal funds for vocational education under the provisions of the George-Barden Act.

Although the recommended reduction this year is substantially less than the reduction which was recommended to the 1953 Congress, I am concerned regarding the effect which reduced Federal aids may have on the program of vocational education in this country. The Congress last year by a large vote rejected the recommended reduction in Federal aids for vocational education under the George-Barden Act. It is also difficult to understand why a reduction in Federal aids for vocational education is recommended this year when the budget provides for a large increase in appropriations for agriculture and home economics extension programs.

The full appropriation authorized under the George-Barden Act which was passed in 1946 as an amendment to the George-Dean Act has never been appropriated by Congress. However, the appropriations which

have been made have assisted materially in the further development of programs of vocational education in this country.

In September and October of 1953 I had the opportunity of visiting West Germany as a guest of the German Government to observe vocational education programs which are being carried on in that country. I am convinced that the tremendous emphasis which is being placed upon vocational education by West Germany has enabled that nation to make its rapid recovery from the effects of World War II. We must continue to develop training programs which will teach our citizens to work with skill in order to meet the competition of European industry in world markets.

We are told that Russia is continuing to emphasize training programs in skills so that their industrial and agricultural production goals may be achieved. We must continue to further develop programs of vocational education in our country because a well-trained citizenry is basic insurance for continued national security and economic prosperity.

While consideration is being given to reduced Federal funds for vocational education in this country, funds are being appropriated for sending specialists in vocational education to foreign countries to assist in the development of vocational training programs.

The Federal aids which have been allotted to Wisconsin have been effectively used to assist local communities in developing and conducting programs which will train the people for productive living. The State Board of Vocational and Adult Education has developed policies through which necessary training programs are promoted through the use of these Federal aids in communities where these programs might not otherwise be carried on. Training programs for indentured apprentices are financed through funds appropriated for trade and industrial education and a reduced appropriation would negatively effect such training in the State.

Under the policies of the State Board, special grants of aid are given to small rural high schools that the programs of vocational agriculture and rural homemaking may be developed. Federal aid allotted to Wisconsin has not been reimbursed to localities as a subsidy but is being used by the State Board for the promotion of necessary training programs.

If there is any specific information regarding the manner in which Federal aids are being used in Wisconsin, I will be pleased to send it to you.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

C. L. GREIBER,
State Director, Vocational and Adult Education.

FEBRUARY 2, 1954.

The Honorable LESTER JOHNSON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN JOHNSON: Today I received a letter informing me that this year President Eisenhower's budget proposes a cut of $1,173,260 in the George-Barden Act.

Last year we had a similar recommendation, which leads one to believe that someone is desperately trying to eliminate vocational education, and particularly vocational agriculture, from the school system of this Nation. Last year Congress restored most of the recommended cuts.

I hardly see the sense in this. While this cut in vocational education is being proposed, agricultural extension is being raised from $27 million to $39 million.

I don't need to tell any Member of Congress from Wisconsin the importance of our future farmer training or vocational agriculture in the high schools of our State. Neither do I need to point out what would happen to vocational agriculture without Federal funds in view of the tremendous local property tax load in this State.

I am enclosing a breakdown of the proposed cuts and recommendations.

We farm people sincerely hope that our Wisconsin Representatives will see fit to at least support last year's budget for this all-important work.

Sincerely yours,

WISCONSIN FARMERS UNION,
K. W. HONES, *President.*

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Republic of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the impending commemoration of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania, on February 16, 1918, gives fresh meaning to the lesson which the free world should have learned from the destruction of free government in that country. The world cannot attain a lasting peace without adherence to those principles of justice and morality by which free men must always be governed. We can achieve nothing lasting when in the name of expediency we conveniently forget the very fundamental truth upon which this country was founded, that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." It is an appropriate time for us to affirm our belief in this principle and in the consequence which flows from it, the right to self-determination which exists for all nations, large and small.

February 16 marks the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania, as a modern nation under a constitutional government. Lithuania as a national group, however, had existed from time immemorial, a people with its own language, its own culture, and its own traditions. These people are not related to the Russians or to any of the other Slavic peoples, but descend from an ancient people of a distinct nationality. How, then, can the seizure of this land by Soviet Russia be justified?

On June 15, 1940, in flagrant violation of existing treaties, which had been freely entered into, the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania. To give a show of right to this seizure, Russian representatives, supported by the Red army, staged mock elections, but 24 hours before the polls closed, Moscow announced the results of the elections. With this farcical background, the elections were null and void, and, from the point of view of international law, Lithuania is still an independent country. The great democracies of the West have never recognized this illegal act of Soviet aggression, and the Lithuanian people and the Lithuanian legation in Washington have never recognized the puppet regime installed and maintained by the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian people have not accepted the Soviet system and are stubbornly resisting it by means of an underground and by open resistance.

The Soviet authorities have taken from the farmers their land and everything that agriculture produces, pauperizing not only the farmers but the entire population of the country. The people are deprived of all human rights; religion is persecuted, and the many closed churches have been converted into antireligious meeting halls. Men and women under the slightest pretext or suspicion are thrown into prison, and without trial are deported to Siberian slave-labor camps. At least 10 percent of the total population of 3 million people have been deported to the Siberian wilderness.

Soviet rule is rule by the clubs and guns of the secret police, not by the people. By this brutal despotism, the Soviets have dominated Eastern Europe, building vast armies, organizing a strongly unified economic system which is subordinated to the aggressive plans of Moscow, regimenting the people and working toward communizing the younger generation and liquidating the upper and middle classes.

Poised behind its ring of buffer peoples, Soviet Russia constitutes an ever-growing threat to the security and well-being of the free world. It has become increasingly apparent that the policy of the United States toward the cause of Lithuania's independence was far too soft and mild.

In the past year, the Baltic committee, under the chairmanship of the Honorable CHARLES J. KERSTEN, has done much to reveal the nature of the threat to all liberty throughout the world, which is implicit in the subjugation of this brave people. Through the work of this group, of the Voice of America, and of voluntary organizations which seek to penetrate the Iron Curtain with the news that the cause of freedom has not been abandoned, the people of Lithuania will receive renewed hope. Strengthened by this hope, they will stand firm in their trust that someday they will once again take their place among the free nations of the world. And while this hope lives, they will remain a thorn in the side of the Soviet Union, to play a significant role in the eventual downfall of the Communist tyranny.

February, American History Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have today received a letter from Mrs. Fred E. Epton, a resident of my congressional district, advising of the action of Governor Patterson, of Oregon, in designating the month of February as American History Month, which is most timely and

itorious and I am including the letter part of these remarks. It follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *February 8, 1954.*
resentative HOMER ANGELL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

EAR MR. ANGELL: In response to a request ch I made to Governor Patterson on be- of the Oregon State Society, Daughters he American Revolution, the Governor issued the following proclamation which may wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL ORD:

Recognizing the splendid efforts of the ghters of the American Revolution in ering greater interest in American his- and realizing the urgent need of a re- cation of our people to the full appre- ion of our glorious record of development, Paul L. Patterson has designated the th of February as American History th.

Governor Patterson urged all to give spe- observance and that our public schools, ges, and universities give primacy to the y of American history."

Your very truly,

MARIAN W. EPTON.
(Mrs. F. E.)

An Editorial by Robert M. Stewart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

r. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, there is lished in New Orleans a community spaper by Robert M. Stewart, the t Bank Herald.

his newspaper devotes its primary ntion to the communities located on west bank of the Mississippi River, osite New Orleans, one of which, Al- s, is in my congressional district. The spaper was formerly known as the ers Herald and has been published tinuously for over 50 years. In Al- s the Herald has been as much a part he household as bread and butter. ing the years it has had several dis- uished publishers and editors, but ert M. Stewart has brought to this munity paper a metropolitan flavor ch it never had before and which he same time has not lost its intimate hborhood charm and attraction.

he editorials in the West Bank Her- are undoubtedly "big time." They well take their places among the er editorials written in contemporary lications in the area of community rnalism.

was particularly attracted by a mn written by Robert M. Stewart a recent issue. It is refreshing to e community newspaper editors ex- s themselves so forthrightly. So ressed was I with this column that I e asked permission to bring it to the ntion of this body. Mr. Stewart does pull any punches and gives as much hink about during an era when many s are attempting to recover from the gover of paternalistic government.

ere is Mr. Stewart's column:

hen a government causes citizens to de- l upon it for handouts and gratuities the people themselves degenerate into human leeches; moreover, they become legitimate spineless beggars that live from the toil of others. This type of government destroys character and causes individuals to lose the moral fiber of private initiative and individual enterprise. Worse, it enslaves people by making them dependent upon the state. Of such things are dictatorships created.

I believe it was Hitler who said "Bring me your problems, drop all of your woes into the lap of mother government and I will see that you are well fed, well housed, and well clothed." The only thing Hitler did not say was that in following his precepts the citizen became a slave to the state and was deprived of individual liberty.

The strategy of dictators is to make people dependent upon government and subservient to its will. To do this the inducement of all sorts of physical attractions are offered in what is now commonly called welfare benefits. The people come to depend upon the government and in so doing lose their will, their creative ability, their personal desire for achievement and advancement. They become mechanical robots without independent thinking. That is what communism is today. That is what socialism offers.

On January 5, the Public Affairs Research Council sent a release to the newspapers of Louisiana wherein was stated that "More than eight persons out of every hundred are receiving public assistance." This release further stated, "Louisiana has the highest public-assistance rate in the Nation with total welfare costs running about $110 million annually. This is the highest rate in the Nation and more than double the national average." Other interesting data gathered from this report shows that Louisiana ranks highest in the Nation in the old-age-assistance program with 604 persons out of every 1,000 over 65 receiving aid. This is 3 times the national rate of 191. By comparison, Louisiana's per capita income ranked 40th in the Nation.

No one in their right senses or possessing a shred of humanity would be opposed to the State looking after those who are aged, infirm, or disabled. But the welfare program has been kicked around in politics in Louisiana since 1928. Ambitious and calloused politicians have preyed upon the greed of voters to use the welfare-assistance program as a means of garnering votes.

Undoubtedly, with such amazing comparative figures as the Public Affairs Research Council offers, each succeeding State administration has poured out more and more of the millions of hard-earned tax dollars into the hands of those who have become dependent upon the handouts of the government of Louisiana. We do not believe that anyone would disagree with us when we say that every worthy and deserving aged, infirm, and disabled person should receive some degree of assistance from the Government after it has been thoroughly proved that they have no other means. But at the rate we are going we are becoming a state of welfare agents, social workers, and pseudo welfare dependents. It is our opinion that all who are receiving money from our State government under the welfare program do not deserve it. It is our further opinion that this situation calls for a governor of political integrity to call a spade a spade and drop those from the rolls who have become leeches on the backs of Louisiana taxpayers. These leeches by taking money to which they are not entitled deprive worthy people of receiving adequate welfare provisions. Much better provisions could be made to the deserving cases if a large number of these parasites were brought to account.

After studyingt the report of the Public Affairs Research Council, logic and reason tell us there must be many such unworthy cases.

Inept and ambitious politicians have brought this condition about because of the appeal to the thousands on our welfare rolls that this money was provided by them in the form of benefits. Up to this moment no governor has had the moral fiber or the interest of the people at heart to correct this condition.

There are more ways than one that an official of our Government can be corrupt beside stealing money from the public till. He is just as corrupt if he allows millions of our tax dollars to be thrown down the drain needlessly upon unworthy leeches. He is more corrupt because he does not possess the moral strength to face the issue and truly represent the best interest of the overburdened taxpayer and stop such practices.

Advocates and adherents of the "welfare state" or, to call it by its true name, socialism, would gain remarkable experience in studying the history of socialism in England. In 1908 England was the greatest nation on earth with an empire flung to all parts of the globe. That was the year the Fabian Society came into being. This group of crack-pot theorists and Socialists did not have the courage to name their organization what it was, a society of Socialists, but called it Fabian after the Roman General Fabius, whose strategy was to conquer his enemies by attacking segments of the army and destroying it piecemeal. From the time the Fabian Society rose to power in England in 1908 to the present day, they impose a form of government upon that nation which brought the entire empire to its knees. Fortunately, the English people recognized the danger and threw Attlee out—in the nick of time.

The tremendous burden placed upon the backs of those who must work and struggle to survive by the taxes of our Government which is handed out so freely to the nonproducers and nonearners is a tragedy to behold.

Why Are 90-Percent-of-Parity Price Supports Justified?—Why Not Flexible Supports?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to present for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the Congress, and for the country, two cogent and convincing editorials written by my most distinguished constituent, Dr. Clarence H. Poe, who recently celebrated his 50th anniversary as editor of one of the leading farm publications of the Nation. Dr. Poe's penetrating analysis of the justification for 90 percent mandatory price supports, and his comparison of the flexible price-support theory, will have meaning and weight to all people concerned with the agricultural economy of our country:

WHY ARE 90-PERCENT-OF-PARITY PRICE SUPPORTS JUSTIFIED?

In answering this question perhaps the first thing to do is to answer another question: "Why is any special farm policy needed at all? Our general Government policies are made for all classes of people. Why aren't they good enough and fair enough for farm people, also? Why shouldn't we just follow the sound old Jeffersonian principle, 'Equal rights for all and special privileges to none'?"

The answer to this is simple: In very fundamental ways the farmer's occupational and economic situation is different from anybody else's. In these respects he simply is not on a similar footing with other groups. And, as a wise man said long ago, "There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals."

Let us contrast the situation of the farmer, a cotton farmer just for example, with that of the manufacturer. In a very few weeks now the cotton farmer must arrange for planting, cultivating, and financing a crop that he cannot finish harvesting and selling until 13 months from now. He cannot be sure whether he will make 20 bales or 40 bales. He cannot know whether he will get 20 cents or 40 cents a pound. He cannot know whether the year's production will be enough to supply cotton manufacturers for 52 weeks or 26 weeks. As someone has said, "He plants in hope, cultivates in faith, and the price he gets may put him on charity."

"The farmer," as has been well said, "is subject to two tremendous uncertainties or variables—production variables and price variables." Or to be specific, we may spell out some of these uncertainties as follows:

1. The uncertainty of temperature: Late frost and cold in spring may injure stands and delay growth. There's an old story of the farmer who heard that "cotton won't grow till you can sleep without cover" and nearly froze in early spring trying to make his cotton grow. Similarly, when fall comes, a too-early frost and cold may check boll maturity and injure yields and quality.

2. The uncertainty of moisture: So serious is this that as a discouraged old Negro said years ago, "Looks like we always got to have a drought. If it's not a dry drought it's a wet drought." Certainly weather conditions make every farmer a gambler.

3. The uncertainty as to pests and diseases: As we have often said, the Lord told Adam "thorns and thistles shall the earth bring forth," but now we have not only thorns and thistles but bugs, blights, and beetles and worms, wilts and weevils.

4. The uncertainty of prices: When a manufacturer makes a product or a merchant orders it, he is usually pretty well protected as to price. He either has customers whose purchases are pretty certain, or else he will get his pay 30 or 60 days before prices can drop much. The farmer, on the other hand, must hire his labor, buy his fertilizer, and make his own commitments in January or February for a crop he may not sell till October or November. And cotton, tobacco, or corn prices which would mean a good profit in spring when he plants may drop to disaster levels before he sells 6 to 8 months later.

From all of these special difficulties, the farmer needs protection. It is not a case of giving him special favors as compared with other groups. It is a case of recognizing this basic fact, namely, that under present conditions he has no equality of bargaining power or price insurance with other occupations. Hence price supports are justified.

Finally, 90 percent of parity on storable or nonperishable products (if farmers will agree to cut acreage to avoid serious surpluses as they should) is not too much for farmers to receive. It is an utterly false idea which is going around that 100 percent parity prices would give farm workers better or even as good per capita farm income as nonfarm workers receive. In 1951 when farm prices stood at 100 percent of parity, the average net income per farm worker was only $1,718 against $3,416 for an average industrial worker. In 1949 when farm prices stood exactly at parity the average net income per farm person was only one-half that of the average nonfarm person. And in a further careful study reported in the September Progressive Farmer the following facts were brought out:

1. At 100 percent of parity or above, farmers have enjoyed their greatest prosperity.

2. When prices ranged from 99 to 90 percent, farmers have been only moderately prosperous.

3. Between 80 to 90 percent of parity, means farmers are sharply pinched.

4. When farm prices have fallen below 80 percent of parity, we have had a full-blown depression.

For all these and many other reasons one must conclude that President Eisenhower was proclaiming a sound farm policy for America when at Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, 1952, he said: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged—even more than that—to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90."

WHY NOT FLEXIBLE SUPPORTS?

The major theory of people who advocate flexible price supports is that a low price for crops will necessarily reduce acreage and production.

In effect they would say in a certain situation, "If you farmers will cut cotton production to 12 million acres we will guarantee 90 percent of parity. But for 15 million acres, we will guarantee only 80 percent of parity. And if you plant 18 million acres only 70 percent of parity will be guaranteed."

But does reducing price necessarily insure a cut in the acreage next year? Not according to the most conspicuous example we know of. Let's see what happened in 1932–33. In 1932 cotton fell to the lowest price but one in 30 years—7.26 cents per pound. The total value of the crop fell to the lowest point for 30 years—$423 million.

Farmers in 1932 were told and knew that another big crop in 1933 would mean still lower prices. And yet what did they do?

In 1932 they had planted 36,494,000 acres. Yet under all these conditions they did not decrease their 1933 planting. They increased to 40,248,000 acres in 1933.

Why was this? For two simple reasons. The average farmer has certain living costs that must be paid for in cash. Clothes, shoes, medical services, taxes, and so forth, all must be provided for. And many a farmer said, "If cotton will bring only 7 cents a pound, I must have twice as many bales as if it were 14 cents a pound"—and so planted twice as many acres.

That is one reason why low prices for cotton increased rather than decreased the cotton acreage planted in 1933. Another reason was that thousands of manufacturers reduced their labor force in 1932 and many of these discharged laborers adopted the back-to-the-farm slogan and added further to the increasing and price-destroying surplus of cotton.

In 1931–32 (1) farm buying power dropped. This (2) reduced demand for manufactured goods. This in turn (3) threw laborers out of work, and (4) many out-of-work laborers began producing money crops (5), resulting in still bigger surpluses which in turn further depressed prices—all in a vicious circle that reasonable price supports in the first instance might have prevented. Too low prices brought about the same bad results which too low-price supports might also produce.

Did You Ever Try Sassafras?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Washington Daily News of February 10, by Fred Othman. This article is timely and is an excellent treatment of an excellent product. Why not try the "switch that satisfies"—switch to sassafras.

DID YOU EVER TRY SASSAFRAS?

(By Fred Othman)

Having spent 2 days listening to a pair of experts explain why coffee costs so much, Senator J. GLENN BALL, Republican, Maryland, thanked them kindly and added:

"I don't know whether I understand your testimony, myself, but it has been most interesting."

If the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee isn't sure what's cooking in the Brazilian coffee pot I don't see why I should bother you with the muddy details. In general the specialists said there's more coffee being drunk than grown and the only way to bring down the price is give the percolator a rest.

Folks need something to drink while they're not drinking dollar coffee and my suggestion is that they drop out to the woods almost anywhere and chop off a few sassafras shoots. When boiled a while these make a brew that doesn't taste like coffee, according to my friend, Joe E. Johnston, of Mount Pleasant, Tenn. He says it tastes better. Now that I have sampled his formula, I wouldn't argue with him.

He sent me parcel post a big chunk of sassafras root, carefully wrapped. Seeping through the cracks in the package was an aroma so pleasantly spicy that the post office at McLean, Va., took on a magnificent new smell.

This odor now has been transferred to my bride's kitchen and there magnified. There's nothing like boiling sassafras root to make a house smell like the spicy islands.

Donor Johnston included directions. He said whack off a chunk of root with a hatchet, toss it in a pot of water and let it simmer a while. Then pour yourself a cup of ambrosial liquid, stir in a little sugar and maybe a dollop of cream, and be glad you're living.

This I have tested, with results as predicted, and costly coffee means nothing much to me. The beauty about sassafras root is that it doesn't perform like a tea bag.

The same piece of sassafras can be boiled and boiled once more time and time again, without losing its flavor. Since it costs nothing in the first place, this added economy makes it impossible for coffee at any price to compete.

Lazy experimenters can, of course, buy a few sassafras twigs at any farmers' market, but the beauty about sassafras is that it's always available for the chopping. In the deep South it grows into trees 100 feet tall; up North, say at Walden Pond, Mass., it's only a bush.

Still and all the naturalist and philosopher, Thoreau, who spent a winter by this pond, said sassafras was easy to recognize. Its leaves look like those of mountain laurel and when you crush them in your hand, according to Mr. T., they give off a heavenly odor of lemon blossoms.

That, of course, is high faluting language suitable for philosophers, but I doubt if you'll ever mistake the fragance for anything else. Once you find a sassafras tree, you may care to dig up a shoot and plant it in your back yard. It grows faster than a coffee tree by far and one bush should provide you with more tea than you'll ever drink.

To the coffee trade, the Senators, and generous citizen Johnston, my profound thanks; between them they made possible (and profitable) my discovery of sassafras tea. It's best, I think, without the cream.

eech Delivered by Hon. Harold D. Cooley, of North Carolina, at Ahepa Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
N THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Sun-, February 7, 1954, I had the great nor of being initiated into the Order Ahepa in Raleigh, N. C. For many rs I have known many fine Greek-erican citizens who are members of s honorable and well-known order, I felt that an invitation to be initi-d into the mysteries of the order was igh distinction. On the same occa-n the Honorable William B. Umstead, vernor of the State of North Carolina former United States Congressman United States Senator from that te, was also initiated.

should like to extend my remarks in RECORD to include the statement ich I made on the occasion of the pa banquet following the initiation emonies:

r. Supreme President, distinguished sts, ladies and gentlemen, "brother eks," I acknowledge with gratitude the ious courtesies which have been accorded Mrs. Cooley and me by the members of r great organization throughout the rs. On many occasions we have been sts of Ahepa, and the magnificent hospi-ty of the members of your order we shall ays appreciate and cherish. We have at-ded many meetings, receptions, and ties, but none have surpassed those which e been provided by Ahepa. Actually, pa was born on my birthday, July 26. To-a great honor was conferred upon me. I initiated into the sacred mysteries of pa, along with my distinguished friend, beloved Governor, William B. Umstead, a large number of other worthy citizens. was a very impressive ceremony and I great pride in being a member of this t Order of Ahepa.

he grand purpose of Ahepa is to advance promote pure and undefiled American-among the Greeks of the United States, Territories and possessions; to educate eks in the democracy and Government he United States, and to promote fra-ity, sociability, and the practice of evolent aid among this great nationality merica. The Order of Ahepa has flour-d through the years and now its fame prestige is known throughout the world. as born of brotherly love, dedicated to evolence and to the welfare of a worthy onality, in this the greatest Republic in the tides of time. Your order has eved greatness in the fields of friendship, ure, and learning; its members have in-ed temperance and tolerance and devo-to the duties and responsibilities of erican citizenship.

reeks have achieved success in every e of American life—in all the profes-s, in all vocations and avocations—and contributed to the greatness of this t Government. Greeks are active in the , social, and political life of every com-ity and State in America, and they are to the life of our country. Through the ks of America we have made a multitude riends across the seas. The Greeks of country are real ambassadors of friend-

In distress Ahepa has given assistance; in hunger it has provided food. In sickness it has ministered to the suffering and it has buried the dead. It has perpetuated the fame and the name of heroes and patriots, and it has practiced the arts of friendship through the years.

I come not to speak of the achievements of Ahepa nor of the glory of Greece, and certainly I shall not disturb the slumbers of Isocrates or Demosthenes. Neither shall I attempt to compete with the last great Greek whose name I have just mentioned. I shall not speak of the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens, of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth, or of the House of Cleopatra, nor of Venus or Aphrodite, but only briefly of Greece and of the Greeks of today.

The Greeks of America know that citizenship in this great Nation is precious and priceless and cannot be measured in dollars and cents. Greeks came to these shores from a land of ancient glory, yet from bleak and barren fields where luxuries of the modern world were unknown. Here on these peaceful shores Greeks have built constructive citizenship and have enjoyed achievements which far surpass those enjoyed by the men and women of other lands.

Here in this great Republic the dreams of the Greeks have come true. Here in the spirit of fraternity and friendship and high morality Greeks have dedicated their lives to the lofty ideals of an exalted code of ethics and have devoted their time and talents to the building of a real brotherhood of man.

Under the Stars and Stripes the Greeks of America have sailed crimson seas and have marched into the vortex of war. The Greeks of America yield to none in the purity and patriotism of their purpose.

Greeks came to our shores from Thermopylae, from Salonika, by the bay, from Corinth and Sparta, and from the plains of Marathon, from Delphi and Olympia to this great land of freedom, and here they have made their greatest contribution because here they have labored in the real laboratories of liberty. As American Greeks have died in the defense of the altars of freedom, tonight their brethren stand on the dark and distant ramparts watching and waiting for those who would destroy the freedoms of men and enslave the peoples of the earth.

A short while ago I stood on Mars Hill where Paul spoke to the men of Athens in ancient days. As I viewed the ruins of that great city and thought of the glory of Greece and of its many hard-fought battles, I thought too of Turkey—of its frontiers and its history. Happy was I in the glad thought that today the sons of Greece and Turkey stand like stalwart brothers ready to fight and to die for the altars of freedom. Though the Ionian Island should sink to the very bottom of the sea and all the lofty peaks of Greece should one by one crumble to dust, the spirit of Greece shall stand like a Gibraltar challenging those who would destroy its cherished institutions.

While your love for your homeland has endured through the years, your love of liberty has not diminished with the passing of time. From the Black Sea through the Bosporus, into the Sea of Marmora, through the Dardanelles and into the Aegean Sea may some day move the hordes of slavery on a rampage around the world, but the Greeks and the Turks will be there to meet them. Mount Olympus will stand as a citadel where freemen shall live on through the ages. Greeks will remember that to the north there is Bulgaria and Albania and other peoples shackled by the chains of slavery. Greeks of America have inspired their countrymen across the sea and they will bear the burden of the cause of freedom in the hope that the world may yet be free. Proud of the glory of their ancient country, Greeks around the world have dedicated their lives to the institutions of freedom.

I have in my home some little trophies which I treasure. Two of them came from the home of Demosthenes, who lived more than 300 years before Christ. They were given to me in 1947 by an archaeologist who lived in the little village Corape, by the sea, where the great orator was born. I have another little gift among my souvenirs—an ashtray which was given to me by the Prime Minister of Greece—all of which I shall keep in remembrance of my visits to that land where your fathers were born, and in remembrance of the friendship between the peoples of the two great countries. When the Raleigh Chapter of Ahepa builds its new home and it agrees to accept these little trophies, I shall be very glad to part with them.

I cannot tonight with propriety speak to you of the policies and programs of our Government. Certainly I shall not criticize the efforts of others now temporarily in high places, but I do assure you that this Nation of ours will cope with every complexity, will meet every emergency, and will solve the problems which seem to confuse and confond us—and with your help we shall succeed in our efforts.

Some say our Government is big, others say our Government is bad, but if you will look around the world you must conclude that as big as it is, and as bad as it is, it is still the best Government on this earth today. Administrations may change, but the purpose of our people and the destiny of our country must not be modified or altered Our Nation was not born to die, and never shall our people be enslaved. Let no one shake your faith in the integrity of your great Government, or lead you to believe that is is helibent for communism. If the people of America lose faith in their Government and in their representatives, our Government will lose faith with the people of the world and the torch of freedom will be held in trembling hands.

God in his wisdom has richly endowed us; God in his wisdom shall guide and direct us as we try to find the pathways which lead to the highlands of peace.

We are the melting pot of the world—we are the cosmopolitan nation of the universe. Here in America we have many races, colors, and creeds, but we have but one flag and one purpose, and that is to lead the world on the paths of righteousness, in the ways of peace, and to the ultimate goal of human happiness.

The Dangers of the St. Lawrence Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Clarksburg Exponent, Clarksburg, W. Va., showing the dangers of the proposed construction of the St. Lawrence seaway project as it affects employment in the State of West Virginia.

The editorial follows:

THE DANGERS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

In the heading for this article we mention the dangers of the St. Lawrence seaway project and we speak of them particularly as they affect West Virginia.

Coal workers, railroad workers, coal operators, and others are against the proposed project for they know that it means increased unemployment in West Virginia.

The railroads are among the largest taxpayers in West Virginia and the citizens as a whole need this tax money. They also employ thousands of workers and that employment is important during a period when business isn't at its best.

The people of West Virginia will be unanimously against the proposed seaway.

Canada will benefit most from the seaway. Canada has always owned and operated the present waterway. Furthermore, the Canadians, if permitted to build the new waterway as they desire, must build a part of it on the American side. Again furthermore, the State of New York is readying to join with Ontario in building a power plant without which there can't be the new waterway. New York's share of this cost would be $316 million.

West Virginia has little, if anything, to gain from the seaway and there is no reason why we should go along with the project simply because New York wants it. West Virginia does have much to lose from the project. We can ill afford to lose more of our sources of employment.

The State of West Virginia is lined up rather solidly against the proposed St. Lawrence seaway.

The Air Force and ROTC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, during the recent consideration of the bill to authorize establishment of an Air Academy I made some pointed observations in connection with the attitude of the Air Force and its failure to keep faith with several thousand students in the universities of the country.

My remarks caused Assistant Secretary of the Air Force H. Lee White to communicate with me.

In order that the record might be complete I am asking that Mr. White's letter and my reply be brought to the attention of this body.

The exchange of correspondence speaks for itself.

DEARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, January 29, 1954.

Hon. F. EDWARD HÉBERT,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. HÉBERT: In your remarks, as reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 20, 1954, in connection with House consideration of the Air Academy bill, no mention was made of your conference with me following my receipt of your letter dated September 9, 1953. This left the inference that your letter was ignored and that no answer was given to you. As you will recall, at our conference you indicated that you appreciated the nature of the problems at that time facing the Air Force as to ROTC, and that you understood the future remedial actions we then planned and which were effected upon subsequent approval by the Department of Defense.

The ROTC program, historically a Reserve training program, had shifted to an essentially active duty program by reason of the selective-service obligation for 2 years active duty service in return for student or ROTC deferment. Further, the program was not producing sufficient flight motivated graduates. The change in policy thus had to remedy two maladjustments: Qualitative, by placing emphasis on graduates willing and qualified to enter flying training to achieve the basic skill of the Air Force; quantitative, by reducing the production to numbers in line with Air Force ability to absorb graduates for 2 years active duty within its officer manpower limitations.

The facts of the matter, in summary, as to the current status of the students in the advanced course (junior and senior years), at the time of our exchange of correspondence and our conference last August and September, are as follows:

1. No student then in an advanced course was prevented from completing the ROTC course. (Entering freshmen have always known that they would have to compete for limited selection into the advanced course.)

2. All students who have completed or will have completed the requirements for commission, including the award of a college degree, prior to May 1, 1954, have been or will be commissioned regardless of their academic fields of study, acceptance of flying training, or Air Force personnel requirements. They have been, or within the year of their graduation will be, called to active duty with the Air Force.

3. All students who will complete the requirements for a commission, including the award of a college degree between May 1, 1954, and September 1, 1954, currently the seniors in the advanced course, will all receive commissions subsequent to graduation on the following basis: All who are willing and qualified to enter flying training, plus approximately 1,000 primarily technical category graduates, will be commissioned upon graduation and called to active duty within the year of graduation, as will additional graduates upon competitive selection in numbers based on Air Force requirements and ability to absorb them into the active establishment; all other graduates will be commissioned in the Air Reserve upon satisfying their selective-service 2-year active-duty obligation.

The future need of the Air Force is primarily for officers who are qualified and willing to acquire the basic skill of the Air Force, i. e., that of the air crew, as pilot, observer, navigator, etc. And our greatest single source for quality officers of that kind is the ROTC program. Following flying training and their tour of duty with the active establishment, they become available to the Air Reserve, whose need in the future is also for younger flying officers.

The Air ROTC program as presently constituted aims for a stabilization so that it would not go through the violent ups and downs that have happened heretofore as a result of program changes resulting from variations in Air Force manpower limitations or obligations incurred by the students, beyond Air Force control.

We have always appreciated your great interest and support of the Air Force. I regret that any misunderstanding has arisen.

Sincerely yours,

H. LEE WHITE,
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

FEBRUARY 10, 1954.

Hon. H. LEE WHITE,
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force,
Department of the Air Force,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is regretted that you infer that I had ignored my conference with you following my letter to you of September 9, 1953, for such was not my intention. My remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for January 20, 1954, were in effect a recapitulation of the recorded comments which had taken place since the original announcement by Mr. John A. Hannah on July 29, 1953, concerning the decision of the Department of Defense with reference to the Air Force ROTC students.

Specifically in reference to my conversation with you on September 9, 1953, I hasten to say that you were most courteous during our conversation, and I thought I expressed myself as being very understanding of your problem. You will recall that you had no answers to the questions raised, that the final decision was in a rather vague and nebulous state, and you very frankly said that you did not know what the Department was eventually going to do about the situation. You also said it was causing you very much concern, and you then asked if I wanted a formal reply to my letter, or would the conference suffice, and I told you there was no need of formally replying to the letter since there was no answer to the questions I had raised, and that it would not be necessary.

However, since you have raised the subject again, it is difficult for me to understand why you and others who have responsibility for these young men in the Air Force ROTC program do not recognize the problem in the situation which you have created. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by the following example:

September 1950: Student A (freshman) enrolled in the Air Force ROTC program for the basic course, and signed a deferment agreement whereby said student agreed to complete the basic course and upon satisfactory completion thereof, the advanced course. It being stated in the deferment agreement that upon completion of the course of instructions said student would accept a commission, if tendered.

September 1951: Student A (sophomore) advanced to the second year in the Air Force ROTC basic course.

September 1952: Student A (junior) is approved for the first year of the advanced course of the Air Force ROTC.

June 1953: Student A having completed the 2 years of basic training and 1 year of advanced training is ordered to 30 days field training.

July 1953: Student A completed field training and is approved for commissioning as to physical and mental qualifications, in the nonflying category. Student A cannot qualify for flying status because of subnormal vision.

If you will review the above dates, Mr. Secretary, you will observe that all of the above was completed prior to or about the time of the announcement made by Mr. Hannah on July 29, 1953, to the effect that student A and all those in the same category would be dropped from the Air Force ROTC program for the reason that they were not eligible for flight training. This decision was subsequently modified to offer student A and all those like him, airman third class (private first class) in the Air Force in lieu of his being subject to selective-service requirements upon graduation.

The whole point of my position is this, namely, that a moral contract (as admitted by Mr. Hannah) is being broken with these young men. They had already successfully completed a year of the advanced course in the AFROTC. The Air Force knew that they were ineligible for flight training. At this point, the beginning of their senior year, it was impossible for these young men to shift to any other branch or to take any action which would give them the opportunity to qualify for a commission. There is no argument concerning the adoption of a new policy for those Air Force ROTC students who enter the advanced course in September 1953. Such a position could be well understood in view of their having received no advanced work. But this is not the case of the young men who had already completed 1 year of the advanced course and the required field training. They will shortly graduate from their respective universities in June 1954. I believe that any reasonable person will agree that they have been treated quite badly and that not only has a moral contract been broken, but that

he intent of a legal contract has been brogated.

All other discussion of the question is irelevant. Whether the Air Force knows it r not, the six to seven thousand young men n this nonflying category who are being ubjected to this kind of treatment are most nhappy. They feel, and I must agree with hem, that they have not been treated fairly n this respect. All of the reasons, such as anpower ceilings, changing policy, etc., will ever, never satisfy them that their Governent has not been fair to them.

No misunderstanding has arisen, Mr. Secetary, between you and me and I agree horoughly with the contents of your letter f January 29, 1954. The only misunderanding has to do with all of the present enior Air Force ROTC students in the catebry of student A described above.

Incidentally, in view of the Womble reort, which among other things points out he lack of public esteem for the military, this the way to develop good public esteem mong the parents, relatives, friends, and cquaintances of these 7,000 young men?

I still hope some measure will be taken correct the situation that presently exists, nd my assurance, Mr. Secretary, of my conuing interest in this vital matter.

With kindest best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

F. EDW. HÉBERT.

Answering the Recreationists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, nder leave to extend my remarks in the ECORD, I include the following editorial rom the Deseret News and Salt Lake elegram of February 5, 1954, entitled Answering the Recreationists":

ANSWERING THE RECREATIONISTS

Utahans were delighted to find Interior ecretary Douglas McKay telling the Los ngeles Chamber of Commerce of plans for immense recreational area around the roposed and much-debated Echo Park Dam, ut not because the Secretary's report was any way news.

Utahans have long seen the obvious possiility of recreational development around e artificial lake which would be created Echo Park Dam, and have many times ointed this factor out to critics who tried argue that the dam would destroy natural eauty and scenic resources. Secretary Mcay told the same story, but it should be ore impressive to Californians than when ld by Utahans. The Secretary has no pernal or sectional ax to grind on the Echo oject, while, at least in California eyes, tahans have. Whether the Los Angeles hamber of Commerce, which has its own ecial interest at heart, will be convinced Secretary McKay's arguments is doubtl, but the argument will carry a lot of eight with the Nation at large.

The recreational possibilities of Echo have en apparent from the start, of course—ough some may legitimately question their aluation in the project budget at $21 milon. The example of Lake Mead is before to study, and the lake behind Echo Dam ll have scenic advantages which the desert cation of Lake Mead does not provide.

Before Lake Mead came into existence, here was scarcely a lonelier spot in the Naon than its present site. Yet last year the lake had 2,220,000 visitors—roughly a thousand times the number who visited Dinosaur National Monument. These figures themselves speak louder than words to dismiss the specious argument of the so-called conservationists that the building of Echo Dam would deprive Americans of great scenic attractions and become a threat to the whole national park system.

Secretary McKay also reminded the Californians of the figures on evaporation which are so important in consideration of the Echo question. Noting that a dam of any alternative site would lose by extra evaporation enough water to supply a city of 600,000 people, the Secretary asked water-conscious Californians if they thought such a loss could be afforded.

Once more, the effect is likely to be with the Nation at large rather than with the California audience to whom Mr. McKay spoke. Californians are fully conscious of the value of water, but water lost by evaporation from upper Colorado River Basin dams gives them little concern. Under terms of the 1922 Colorado River compact, the upper-basin States must let 7,500,000 acre-feet of water flow down to the lower basin each 10 years and the upper basin takes its share of what is left.

This fact undoubtedly accounts in large measure for California's attitude on the whole upper basin development.

Our Airmen At Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to submit herewith an article appearing in the Reader's Digest entitled "On Guard." This article has come to my attention, and I think it will be of general interest to the Members:

ON GUARD—THE DAY-AND-NIGHT VIGIL OF OUR ATOM-BOMBER COMBAT CREWS

(By Francis V. Drake)

The airliner approaching a Strategic Air Command base in the Midwest just at dusk was clearly in trouble. One engine was dead. Smoke trailed behind the other. The landing gear was lowered. Ordinarily, Air Force runways are forbidden to commercial aircraft, but this pilot was desperately asking the base control tower for emergency-landing permission.

Observers held their breath until the crippled plane rolled safely along a giant bomber runway to a stop. The usual "Follow Me" jeep appeared, and the plane taxied awkwardly behind it to the hangars. Its door opened.

Then came an astounding surprise.

Out of the plane swarmed a line of men, all dressed identically in dark-brown overalls, all carrying submachine guns. The base rescue squads, ready with fire extinguishers found themselves staring into the muzzles. As hands went up, minds were already figuring furiously on how to spread the alarm. This might be it. This could be the start of world war III.

Out on the flight line were massed the secret atom bombers, too enormous to be secured in hangars. In minutes, enemy sabotage might damage the combat readiness on which the safety of the Nation is dependent, might take from us the only power that could reach and destroy the aggressor.

Then came a second surprise.

Around the ends of the airliner dashed two of Strategic Air Command's armed squads, alerted by watchful personnel before the plane landed. Their weapons converged on the brown overalls from either side. A voice roared, "Throw down those guns." Submachineguns clattered to the concrete. Alarm sirens sounded all over the base. Figures pelted to emergency stations. Guards ranged beside the planes.

Cordons of armed men snapped tight around the entire base. Passersby were roughly ordered to lie flat on the ground and stay there. Base personnel covered all entrances to headquarters. Staff officers drew the sidearms they always wear. No one was fooling. In a few minutes, the base had become the most hazardous spot in the United States in which a stranger could set foot.

This incident was actually a tough and dangerous test, made without warning by Strategic Air Command (SAC) security officers, to check base defenses against the sort of sabotage that might precede an atomic attack on our country. The mock attempt failed—but had the personnel been less alert, the base less disciplined, hell is a mild term for the dressings down that would have rocked the place within the hour. SAC's formidable boss, Gen. Curtis Le May, does not recognize extenuating circumstances. He believes: "With world safety in the balance, we can't allow ourselves the luxury of being fooled at any time, in any circumstances."

And the free world may well stand hat in hand before our superbly trained atom-bomber crews. Never has so much been demanded, both physical and intellectual, of fighting men in peacetime. Their lives are something new in military history. Dwelling amid a people at peace, they are forever on a basis of war. They stand guard for all of us 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, ready to obey a flash from the White House that might order them to retaliate against an aggressor before the United States could be destroyed.

Their average age is 29, but theirs are not the eyes of young men. Graying hair and nervous exhaustion are common among them from long, grueling hours spent 8 miles above the earth, shadowed by the knowledge that they handle the most terrible destructive power in the world. Sir Winston Churchill, who has some knowledge of the debts owed by the many to the few, has summed up this power as the one force which has prevented the outbreak of world war III.

Every atom-bomber crew is handpicked. Each has its own plane, its individual targets in case of war, and its infinitely rehearsed flight plan to reach enemy territory. There are no duplicate crews; the men must maintain concert-pitch performance by incessant practice missions to the earth's ends—the Far East, Africa, Europe, the Pole, the Equator. In addition, there is scarcely a night when crews do not curve out to sea from this country and return to strike some city picked for its resemblance to an actual war target. While we sleep, they fly over our homes, but too high to be seen or heard. Flights are made under merciless battle conditions which omit only two items; there is no shooting and the bomb bays contain dummy bombs.

This article is able to present, for the first time, a full description of one of these typical simulated war missions as carried out in SAC's latest operational bomber, the swept-wing, 50,000-horsepower B–47, the fastest jet bomber in the world, the plane that has crossed the continent in 3 hours and 46 minutes. SAC has other bombers—the propeller-driven B–29's and B–50's, and the propeller-and-jet B–36, the huge intercontinental bomber that flies with a crew of 15; but the B–47 is the type of the future,

the one on which we are placing our biggest bet for war prevention and national survival. It is also hardest on the crews. Large as the biggest airliner, it is so crammed with fuel and electronic gadgets that there is room for only 3 men, who can never rest or move from their seats, and must accomplish the results that require 15 men in the larger planes.

It is 12 noon. The scene is a brilliantly illuminated, map-lined room where, with the concentration of people watching a high-wire act, an atom-bomber crew is listening to the briefing officer. It is a lead, or select crew, each man the product of years of special training. In the event of war, this crew would strike the first counterblow.

The briefing is conducted under such realistic conditions that a layman, listening to it, feels a creepy premonition of doom. No city will be wiped out, no population extinguished, but the steady voice of the briefing officer, tolling out the routine details of annihilation, stirs up the panicky realization that this might be the real thing. It could be happening. For the first time, an onlooker fathoms the responsibilities these men shoulder.

The high easel holds an 8-foot-square blowup of the target—a medium-sized city almost completely cupped by hills. "Note the resemblance to X, your war target," says the briefing officer. His pointer rests on a complex of ugly, rectangular rooftops. "Here is the aircraft factory. * * * Here's your aiming point. Now, here's how it looks in the radarscope." Another photograph appears. It could be a trick shot of moldy breadcrumbs clinging to a black cloth, but it's exactly what the plane's radar will show when the crew approaches their target on the bombing run.

Briefing lasts 3 hours. Some 20 experts have been working all night to lay out the flight plan. The mission requires more than twice the fuel capacity of the plane, and two intricately planned rendezvous with flying tankers are involved, the first by night.

At last the crew moves out to the plane, which the ground maintenance men have been overhauling since dawn. The skipper is handed a list like a store inventory—some 600 items which the crew itself must check before takeoff, 2 straight hours of meticulous work. The singsong litany begins—nose wheel, check; main gear, check. The plane towers above the little men, a shimmering, brooding engine of destruction as streamlined as an arrow, dangerous, difficult, crammed with tons of secret equipment.

Takeoff has been set for 6 p. m. It is now 5:30 and the crew members are ready to be helped into their gear. The aircraft commander is a lieutenant colonel, aged 32, a veteran of World War II; the copilot a major, 29, also a veteran; the navigator—held by the pilots to be the most important man in the ship—is also a major, 27. Among them, they represent a total of 27 years of service in the Air Force, 10 rows of combat ribbons, and enough scientific training to start a college.

Right now they look like a cross between deep-sea divers and space cadets—glass-fronted steel helmets, skintight decompression suits, survival packs, parachutes; a maze of tubes and electric leads crisscrosses their bodies.

5:50. They stand for a moment under the plane, facing the long line of briefing experts, squadron officers, and ground crews who have prepared their takeoff. The ratio between ground and air personnel seems disproportionate until one remembers that these 3 men control approximately the same destructive power that required 11,000 men in 1,000 B–17 Flying Fortresses in World War II.

5:53. They climb up the vertical steel ladder into the cabin. There is just room under the canopy for the steel seats of the pilot and copilot, one behind the other; the navigator writhes his way into a crowded, windowless dungeon in the nose, where he must stay throughout the mission, working out fantastically intricate computations in solitary confinement.

The men strap themselves into their seats, plug in their oxygen, air and electric lines. The door slams, sealing them off from the normal world. They start their six engines and taxi out immediately, for not a gallon of the precious fuel must be wasted. The control tower has been warned and the runway is cleared.

5:58. The plane reaches the runway. Brakes are locked. Then comes the ear-splitting impact of 50,000 h.p. as the engines are tested wide open. The exhaust-gas temperatures hit 1500° F., the white-hot turbines turn at 7,000 r.p.m. The whole base shakes.

5:59. The pilot must hit takeoff precisely on the nose, for the whole complex flight plan, the fuel consumption, the refueling rendezvous in empty space 3,000 miles away depend on exact timing.

"Tower from Air Force jet No. 123. Permission for immediate takeoff." (The prefix "jet" insures priority.)

"Air Force jet 123, cleared for takeoff."

The tension in the cockpit tightens like a fiddlestring. The slightest power failure with such a load may mean a takeoff crash. The pilot holds the straining plane on the brakes and at precisely 6 p. m. lets go.

"Air Force jet 123, rolling."

"Clear."

The metal monster gets going groggily, lumbering along the concrete, trailing six tunnels of smoke.

"Copilot to pilot. Max refusal speed 125 knots." (This is the point-of-no-return after which there can be no slamming on of brakes; the plane is committed to fly or crash.) "Coming, coming—now." The plane is still heavy on the ground.

"Copilot to pilot. Takeoff speed 145. Speed now 130, 140, 145. The pilot's teeth are clamped tight. The last seconds of a jet takeoff require exquisite judgment. Haul back on the yoke a fraction too fast and the thing will stall; a fraction too slow and it will overshoot the runway. The penalty in either case may be a flaming wreck and no chance to get out.

No. 123 leaves the concrete with reluctance. The landing gear comes up. The pilots, working as one man, flick expert fingers over the crowded mass of controls. Flaps up. Air speed 300. Trim for climb.

At 40,000 feet they level off. With a strong tail wind, speed is nearly 600 miles per hour. There is no sound—the engine roar can't catch up. There is no sense of speed, no vibration whatever. The outside temperature is 60 below zero.

The sky is clear, lifeless, and very dark blue. There is an appalling realization of solitude. Even the clouds that cover the earth are so far below that they are nothing but a dim haze. This is the stratosphere, the lifeless, hostile void, swept by great winds, which is the realm of modern airpower. It is man's latest frontier, where exposure means death in 30 seconds and wings find support only if driven at enormous speed.

Each man is already busy with his constant companion—a slide rule. The experts who produce their flight plan have defined heights, courses, speeds for each leg of the mission, have plotted the storms, predicted the winds, fixed the latitudes and longitudes at which the flying tankers will be waiting with fresh fuel, specified the top-secret codes that will pass them through the last rings of friendly radar and fighter defenses. The navigator is already glued to his radarscope, tracking their true speed across an earth that can be seen through the clouds only by electronics. The pilots are checking the minutest details of power performance and fuel consumption. An 8,000-mile mission lies before them, and no trifling error can be permitted to snowball into disaster.

This top combat crew has worked together for years, and it functions almost as one intelligence. The men cannot touch each other, yet their minds are so intimately bound by common knowledge that the intercom is a living nerve linking their brains. They listen to each other's breathing in the mikes. The pilot has a master blinker that warns him if the oxygen intake fails. Let one of the crew falter, he is instantly checked. The faintest exhilaration or slur in speech may be the first sign of hypoxia, the oxygen deficiency that kills so swiftly.

Just now the crew is bracing itself for a slice of unpleasantness. The air is utterly without turbulence, but they know from experience that a rough deal is coming up. They have not long to wait. Abruptly, a violent shudder vibrates through the plane. The instruments dance and blur. In almost the same breath, three voices chant:

"Here's coffin corner."

Coffin Corner is a strange new phenomenon of very high speed at great altitude. On the way up here the B–47 was too heavily loaded to achieve extreme speed. Now it has burned just enough fuel to make it slightly lighter, and this has increased the speed, which in turn is causing a severe pitching and bufeting. The bomber is now on the outskirts of the fateful sound barrier, the invisible wall which buffets a plane with sledgehammer blows when the airflow over any part of it touches the speed of sound.

Instantly, the pilot eases the throttles. The speed falls back from 610 to around 590; but here he encounters an equally dangerous problem—the plane threatens to stall, and go out of control. The pilot feels his way back to 595, the hairline middle course that means safety. The margin is very narrow; too fast, and buffeting may build up and injure the structure; too slow, and the plane will become an uncontrollable mass of metal.

It takes a sweating, urgent hour of delicate playing with the throttles to keep the balance. Then more fuel has been burned, and Coffin Corner is behind them.

Once more the cabin is steady, filled with eerie soundlessness broken only by the rasp of oxygen inhalations, the brief exchanges on the intercom—and the first wave of fatigue hits the crew. They have already been at work 7 hours, most of it with the exacting preflight preparations. Each man begins the first of a thousand writhings, pickings and fidgetings against the tight-strapped equipment that constricts his body and frays his nerves. As the hours go by, these irritations will build up into a major hazard of the flight.

At first glance, a man's clothing seems a small matter compared with the big job of flying an atom bomber at 10 miles a minute for 15 hours; but how would you like to spend those 15 hours strapped into a steel seat adorned as follows?

Item, a steel, glass-fronted helmet. At 40,000 feet the first rule is BYOO—Bring your own oxygen—and this "brain basket" is piped to an ample supply. You can't do without it, but you can't stretch your ear either, or rub your eyes, or blow your nose.

Item, an unyielding nylon and rubber skin that fits tightly to every part of your body. It is designed to save you from explosive decompression. The cabin is pressurized, but if the system fails or a bulelt pierces the walls, the compressed air will burst out like an explosion; but it can't escape so quickly from you. Without this pressure suit your eyes would be forced from their sockets, your eardrums would rupture, your skin would bleed, and your intestines would balloon up to 9 times normal size and might burst while you were writhing in agony. The suit is piped to compressed-air bottles which will

flate it, fill the helmet and hold you to-ther until your insides adjust themselves. eanwhile, it is chafing at every square inch your body.

Item, a survival pack which is yours to sit without budging. It is strapped tight your thighs, and is stuffed with food, aps, fishhooks, an axe, a folding shotgun, d other items which would enable you to rvive in a wilderness, or perhaps march out an enemy country.

Last of all is the parachute. Normally is is man's best friend in case of trouble, t hardly in this plane. No one has yet cceeded in escaping from a B-47; the mass equipment, the narrow passages, the tre-endous rush of air beating on the polished, lletlike body prevent it. (It will be better on—they are going to put in an ejection vice that will blow a man out of the plane e a shell.)

But even if a man gets out, new perils are iting. At 40,000 feet his initial air speed ll be 280 miles an hour, and if he attempts pull the ring, the wrench of the chute as snapped open would break every bone in s body; moreover, it would take 28 minutes float down, and he would die after the st minute from lack of oxygen. To get wn alive from this altitude a man must ll free for 5 miles—until the thicker air ound 15,000 feet slows him down suffi-ently for the chute to open with safety.

The crew curses every one of these items iently and continuously. For the first w hours the discomfort is bearable; after at it takes on the drop-by-drop character the Chinese water torture.

It is 11 p. m., 5 hours out; 3,000 miles of r have flowed over the ship. The dial glow their panels, the outsize stars seem to be dging the plexiglass canopy above the lots' heads. The tempo of conversation arts to quicken. They are approaching the aginary enemy frontier at which they ust meet their refueling plane. The navi-tor is checking and rechecking in a con-nuous stream of calculations.

Somewhere ahead and 25,000 below them is flying tanker, also headed for the frontier. o neon sign blazons Gas Here in the sky. othing is fixed; the unseen earth rolls be-eath, the stars wheel overhead, the planes hange position every second, the fuel gauges emble steadily toward minimum reserve. he navigator is working his fix with the recision of a watchmaker setting a tiny wel. I must be here at exactly 11:10; he ust be there; my course must be exactly is, said the briefing officer; but there are out a million cubic miles of emptiness sur-unding this neat scheme, and some other ker may stooge in on the act. Each plane searching for the other with its radar.

11:15. Dead on time, the B-47 navigator ts the first blip on his screen, a vague milky t that strengthens second by second. He ists a radio dial. A brief coded challenge cks through the air, is answered. Contact. "Navigator to pilot. Refueling plane ap-oximately 100 miles ahead, 5 degrees left, ight 15,000, estimated speed 300."

"Roger!"

The pilot starts a long shallow dive. The mber is flying nearly 300 miles an hour ster than the tanker. At 20 miles dis-nce each plane sees the other, a moving eck of light against the star-studded hori-n. The B-47 pilot throttles back, lowers ps and landing gear to reduce speed, and eeps up behind the tanker.

"Pilot to crew. Switch off all radar. Fuel ntact in 1 minute." There must be no ance of a spark.

In the tanker the refueling operator is ing flat on his stomach, strapped to a attress in the tail. He is staring through plate-glass window at the hulk of the proaching bomber. Under his hand is a tle control column by which he lowers a ng pipeline boom in front of the bomber's nose. The line has little wings that enable him to fly it up and down and sideways. Colored lights, very dim, outline the nozzle.

The bomber creeps up, yard by yard, each plane swaying up and down in the rolling ocean of air. The nozzle weaves tantalizingly a few feet ahead of the bomber. A touch of the throttle, a quick movement by the refueling operator, and, clang, the nozzle engages in an opening in the nose of the bomber. An automatic device starts pumping fuel at high pressure.

After 5 tense minutes the really critical part of the operation starts. The tanker is now flying as fast as it can. The bomber is almost stalling, and as ton after ton of gasoline fills the tanks, it threatens to break away. A quick word on the radio, and both planes go into a dive to increase speed. Linked together by the pipeline, they go tearing down into the darkness, the bomber's nose 6 feet from the tanker's tail. During this wild ride the bomber must not weave more than 3 feet to either side, or contact will be broken.

For the navigator in the B-47's nose it is life's unhappiest moment. The fuel line is almost touching his head on the other side of the thin metal skin; he cannot see what is going on and he knows that a huge airplane is only a few feet in front of him. But soon the job is done. The tanks fill up, contact is broken, and the bomber sweeps below the tanker and leaves it apparently standing still. There are no goodbyes on the radio. The "frontier" is close, and chit-chat might be overheard by the "enemy."

The pilot puts her on automatic pilot, slow climb. For 10 minutes they can breathe comfortably without extra oxygen at this lower altitude.

"Pilot to crew. Supper!"

Oddly enough, this is not provided by a grateful Government. The crew has to pay for its own food and the little woman does not even get a break at the PX, if she goes there for the makings—the same grateful Government, acceding to pressure from local merchants, has set PX prices a little higher than the supermarkets.

The crew, taking turns, open up their helmets, scratch luxuriously and gulp. They are very thirsty; each man is going to lose at least 5 pounds on the trip, from dehydration in the thin air. Milk is the favorite drink.

This reminds the pilot of the strange workings of the ever-present security that envelops their business. To ease the cabin tension, even for a few minutes, he tells the crew the story. Seems that another bomber commander, an ulcer case living on milk, was tapped for a 6-day mission to Europe. His wife, slipping up for a moment, canceled his four bottles a day. The store talked. People remarked that Mrs. Pilot's husband was evidently on a long mission. Headquarters heard of it. Result: a stern reprimand through channels, and 24 bottles of milk to be wasted next time. Just another part of the unceasing grinding strain that surrounds the family of an atom-bomber crew.

A quick smoke, then helmets are closed, and back to 40,000 feet. The crew, breathing a little heavily from the exertion of eating, braces up for still quicker thinking. The frontier is not far ahead.

From here on, the heaviest work is going to fall on the navigator. His office is right up in the nose. Except for a tiny skylight, he never sees daylight from take-off to landing. Every inch of space, even part of the floor, is packed with some $500,000 of top-secret equipment.

In front of him is the heart of the entire plane—the eyepiece of the radarscope, the instrument that pierces cloud and fog and picks out features on the ground. Built next to it is the mass of the bombsight, an extraordinary calculating machine that can fly the plane over the target, open the bomb-bay doors, figure the precise fraction of a second for bomb release and then drop the bomb. On the left are the innumerable switches of the bomb-release mechanism. On the right is the most top-secret gadget of all, a sinister little panel stamped "Atomic Energy Commission."

There is no sound in this crowded cubby-hole, except the faint whirr of the radar antenna making its ceaseless sweep of the earth. The banks of instruments glow in a stream of invisible ultraviolet light. The navigator is now examining a series of glowing points passing across the radar screen, queer configurations that convey to his trained eye a succession of rivers, lakes, and cities that must provide signposts to the target. As these features drift past the cross-hairs on the scope, he calculates the plane's exact speed over the ground, figures out the strength of the cross wind, relays changes in course to the pilots.

"Navigator to pilot. We've just crossed the border. Target 520 miles ahead. Stand by for evasive action."

In the same second, the bomber is challenged by IFF—information, friend, or foe?—an automatic device that sends up an electronic "Halt, who goes there?" If this were a friendly bomber it would trigger an automatic response from one of the black boxes. As it is, the box is silent, and on the ground the whole vast system of air defense is going into action, red lights are winking, interceptor squadrons are being alerted.

"Navigator to pilot. Change course 20° right."

"Roger."

Now begins a strange duel between the bomber and the ground defense, with the fate of a city as the stake. Atom bombers carry ECM—electronic countermeasures—which throw enemy radar off balance. The ground operator is trying to track the bomber's course and guide jet interceptors in for the kill. The navigator is trying to deceive him, make him send his planes to the wrong place. He knows that somewhere ahead of him the jets are roaring almost vertically skyward to make an interception; but at the tremendous speed of all concerned, a pinpoint miss will be as good as 1,000 miles.

"Navigator to pilot. Forty left, climb 5,000."

The duel goes on, a blind game of chess with the pieces screaming through the night sky at the speed of sound, trailing long streams of fire behind them. This is where the theory of air defense begins to go haywire. On paper, the bomber can't escape. In the air and under battle conditions, interceptions rarely reach 10 percent.

The navigator, working at top speed, is following an erratic course, stopwatch in hand, calculating minutes and seconds on each leg, always returning to his base course. In war, he might have several other bombers out on either side, flying interference against radar detection, drawing off defending fighters.

The big moment is drawing near. The briefing officers have selected a town about 80 miles from the target city, and named it the Initial Point. This is the place from which the navigator must calculate the final approach to the target, and feed the figures into the bomb sight. Attached to his little worktable by adhesive tape are some weird-looking photographs. He snaps on a soft light and holds them close beside the radar eyepiece.

The instrument is pouring down a stream of electronic rays. When they hit the ground, they bounce back like an echo and glow on his scope, which is like a circular television screen. The strength of the echo on each part of the screen depends on what the rays are hitting. Land and water, steel and brick, roads and railroad tracks, all give different echoes. The strong ones make little images surrounded by vague snow on the screen. (The navigator's favorite target is

New York; the unmistakable shape of the harbor, the narrow tongue of Manhattan bordered by two rivers, the bridges across the rivers, the masses of steel buildings make an image as clear as a photograph.)

Tonight the initial point and target are tough ones. The navigator has never seen them. They are far inland. The screen is going to show only a mass of unrelated blobs that might as well be an X-ray of a fowl after a hearty meal of gravel.

To help him, the target experts have dreamed up the radar prediction photographs the navigator is holding in his hand. They have made special models of the initial point and the target city, and have photographed them through real radarscopes, from different heights and angles. The result is a set of photographs which show the navigator the ground not as a camera sees it but as it will look in his scope as he approaches it in the air. SAC experts have made such models of every target city in the world, using old maps, intelligence reports, photographs. A city or a big plant cannot be concealed from radar; no one can change the rivers or lakes or mountains along the way to it, or mask the steel built into the factories.

A little group of blobs swims into view at the top of the screen. As the plane gets closer, they form into a pattern. The navigator matches them up with the prediction pictures. The shape of that factory—that freightyard nearby—those bridges over the tracks—careful, take another look, no snap judgments.

"Navigator to pilot. Initial Point sighted. Steady. Come 8° right; steady; 1° left; hold it."

The little town slides down the vertical hair in the scope. The navigator presses his stop watch. His fingers fly over the complex switches of the bombsight, setting in the height and wind and other figures it needs to know. His hand passes by the panel marked Atomic Energy Commission. His eyes remain fixed on the scope.

Thirty thousand feet below is a 2-mile-thick blanket of storm clouds covering the earth, but the radar rips through the interference with the speed of light. Slowly, a greenish-white image clouds the top of the scope, a vast irregular circle seen almost on edge. Tiny pencils stick up from one portion. Tall buildings! They will diminish, change to tiny dots as the plane passes over them. The navigator adjust a knob, sharpens the image, matches it up with the prediction picture with unhurried care. This is where the mission can be thrown in the ash can in a few seconds.

"Navigator to pilot. Target identified. I'll take her. Give me second station."

"You've got her."

Second station is a little handle sticking up from the navigator's worktable. With it he can control electronic gadgets which manage the whole plane. Quickly the automatic pilot is switched on. Then the bombsight is clutched into the automatic pilot. The navigator adjusts the cross hairs onto the center of the oncoming city, and flips a switch named memory point.

From now on, the bombsight will guide the plane despite gusts of wind or air bumps, while the pilots sit with their hands in their laps. The sight will take care of everything.

As the city grows in front of the onrushing plane, the navigator picks out the exact spot over which the bomb must burst, the aiming point. He grips the second-station knob and makes tiny adjustments until the cross hairs rest unwaveringly on the spot. Steady again. Finally he turns the last knob, the ultimate control that pulls everything together: bomb position. Then he sits gazing tensely into the scope. The radar gadgets will finish the job.

This is it.

From now on no power on earth can save the doomed city unless the onrushing bomber, 40,000 feet high, can be dissolved in the air.

Ten miles a minute, 900 feet a second. There is still no sound, no sensation save the faint vibration from the bombsight as it makes its everlasting calculations. A time-to-go clock clicks off the seconds before bomb release—120, 100, 60 seconds to the death of a city—30—the crew feels the plane shudder as the bombsight opens the bomb-bay doors—10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2.

A little light glows red.

Bomb away.

If this were real war, the pilot would now swing the plane violently away to a reverse course, and after a specified number of seconds, an unearthly light would fill the cockpit. The shock wave would flex the wing tips near to breaking point. If they had dropped a hydrogen bomb, the crew might not escape with their lives. As the light faded, a single code word would flash out from the plane, and SAC headquarters on the other side of the world would mark off some 300 square miles of enemy territory as annihilated.

On this practice mission the only missile is a radio signal sent down by the bomb sight at the moment the red light blinks "bomb away." It is picked up by Air Force operators planted in the target area. They compute precisely where the bomb would have exploded and flash word to the plane and the SAC war room.

Depending on the accuracy of the drop, the navigator's technique, the pilot's economy in using fuel and contacting the tanker, the mission may bring commendation, perhaps a spot promotion, or it may mean withdrawal of promotion already earned, a drop in standing, a loss of pay. No excuses are accepted. The system is tough, but so would be the bitter penalty if these men failed their responsibilities.

Now there is nothing left to do but fly nearly 1,000 miles through the dark and the changing weather, and hit the refueling rendezvous dead on the nose. If this were an airliner, weather reports and constant radio advices would be available to guide the navigator; but they must not be used. They would not be supplied in an enemy country. If the bomber misses its rendezvous it is not going to have enough fuel to get home, so the navigator must not miss. At dawn, with the floor littered with pages of precise calculations, he hits the rendezvous on the nose. There is the same piece of fancy flying, the same dive coupled together by the hose, the same silent breakawy, then coffee and food.

Taking turns, the crew open their visors and eat breakfast. Momentarily, each man is reminded of the woman who prepared it, of the house, the kids, the life that is now only dully visualized through a mist of fatigue and nervous exhaustion. Then back to the stratosphere, to gain speed and conserve fuel.

Again the incessant physical discomfort wears them down. The cuffs of the pressure suits bind and itch. The parachute straps cut into sore flesh until the temptation to unbuckle them is almost irresistible. The survival pack feels like an Indian fakir's bed of nails. But there can be no letup. No mistake must creep into the flight plan, no slightest malfunction of the great engines must pass unnoticed.

The landing is not pretty, but it is exactly on the first few feet of concrete, as it must be. The big plane, with no propellers to stop it, rolls headlong as if it will never stop. The pilot wrenches a handle above the panel, a huge parachute balloons out from the tail, and the mission is over—for the plane.

But the crew must still go through interrogation, for in this new world of the stratosphere only the experts know how much there is still to learn. In the debriefing room coffee flows in buckets, cigarettes go by the pack as the failures and successes are painstakingly picked apart while they are still fresh in mind.

Eventually, however, the crew reaches the end of its resources. Although the pressure suits and straps and masks are off, by now even an undershirt feels like sandpaper. Replies get shorter and gruffer. The final question comes to the navigator. For a moment the tired, unshaven officer looks unseeingly at his questioner, a spruce major general.

"How the hell would I know?" he snaps. The room is dead silent. The enormity of his error hits him. He jumps up. "I'm sorry, sir. I beg your——"

"That's all right, son. Forget it." interrupts the general. "Let's close this up."

But the crew is still too tense to go home. The Air Force has found that twanging nerves must be released gently, or something is apt to snap. Jeeps carry the crew to a gymnasium. The masseurs are waiting, the long, hot shower, the sting of rubbing alcohol, the wonderful stretch on the table with nothing, but nothing, on the naked body. Relaxation won't come yet, not for hours, but ultimately there will be the jeep ride home, and breakfast, and then sleep, and sleep, and sleep.

But a sleep of a day or a night cannot restore this crew to working efficiency, although the bomber will be ready for another mission within a few hours. Even the strongest man cannot endure the tremendous and unnatural strain of repeated high-altitude missions without a chance to restore his nervous system. This crew must be grounded for at least 4 days.

Here we have an illustration of the alarming deficiency in our Government's scheme for preventing the outbreak of war: there are no duplicate atom-bomber crews.

Should the United States ever come under attack, this deficiency would be appalling. The Red Air Force is already much larger than our own. It has ample trained manpower. It could maintain continuous bombardment. Yet at a time when every hour might be beyond price, when millions of our people might be under devastating attack, this bomber—and dozens like it—would have to remain grounded, subject to enemy destruction at any minute.

The men would be willing to fly again, of course, to force their bodies back to the rigors of the stratosphere; but they would not be able to manage the split-second timing of their complex equipment. The Air Force believes that it would only sacrifice plane and crew to try.

In a belated effort to catch up with the Red Air Force, we have more bombers on order. We need these badly. But, still more, we need crews to fly them. Commercial airlines average over four crews per plane. SAC is allowed only one. The reason? Lack of appropriations. It costs $50,000 per man to train an atom-bomber crew. SAC hasn't got the money.

Considering that national survival is at stake, this policy is reckless. It is also unnecessary when the distribution of defense funds is examined. Out of every $100 spent on national defense, $5.50 goes to SAC, the threat-in-being which is conceded to be our best chance of averting world war III. The remaining $94.50 goes to other military forces that, no matter how courageous, could not head off atomic aggression. There is a way to remedy SAC's underpowered condition without additional taxation: If we transferred that odd 50 cents and brought SAC's allocation up to $6, we should be able to train two crews for every atom bomber, thus making twice the use of the expensive aircraft we are producing.

So far, the peace has been kept not by machines alone but by the skillful and devoted men who have made our Strategic Air Command respected by every nation, in-

luding the Soviet Union. The men who y our atom bombers are an elite corps. To e of their number is an honor. Their pa-riotism is so unwavering that they consist-ntly refuse better-paying jobs in industry, n order to maintain their day-and-night igil in defense of their country. But they eserve more than admiration and gratitude; ney need reinforcements.

Their countrymen may properly ask: What holding up the transfer of that 50 cents hen it can double the efficiency of the triking power on which our survival epends?

Edward R. Murrow's See It Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave extend my remarks in the RECORD, I nclude herewith an article which ap-eared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on ebruary 9, 1954, entitled "Alcoa and ee It Now." It originally appeared in usiness Week.

ALCOA AND SEE IT NOW
(From Business Week)

Edward R. Murrow is winning friends for e Aluminum Company of America with program pitched squarely at the sort of rson who likes an intellectual approach d a controversial subject.

When Arthur P. Hall, Alcoa's vice president r public relations and advertising, was ked why his company picked Ed Murrow r this job, Hall replied: "First, because he's lievable; second, because he's a person-lity."

Hall meant (1) that the audience Alcoa ants to reach believes Murrow enough to atch him put on See It Now, and (2) coa gets in Murrow something it has been eking for 5 years: a way "to humanize self," as Hall puts it.

See It Now is a half-hour show that goes er the CBS network every Tuesday night. ecent shows have played on such touchy bjects as guilt by association and civil erties, but over the period of a year the verage is broad.

Alcoa pays CBS about $2 million a year for e It Now. That's a big outlay for a com-ny with only minor lines of consumer oducts. But Alcoa has its reasons.

Five years ago, Alcoa had a feeling in its nes that a lot of people, including cus-mers and the Government, held grudges ainst it.

To test its theory, Alcoa's management, in 49, sponsored a highly confidential and stly survey. When the results were com-led, they found the worst was true all ght.

Customers liked the product. Service was K. Prices were generally right, too. But e customers didn't like Alcoa's attitude. ney didn't really know anybody over at the uminum Co.

Arthur Hall became Alcoa's first vice pres-ent for public relations and advertising 1951. Hall decided that a large part of the w program would be a TV show.

Hall says: "We don't have an end-use oduct, so we didn't want to appeal to the asses. We wanted a show to capture the ought leaders."

Murrow and See It Now seemed to fill e bill. Alcoa bought the package from CBS d started picking up the tab in Decem-r 1951. Murrow and coproducer Fred W. Friendly decide what goes on See It Now, and very often Alcoa's top management doesn't know what will be on until they turn on their own TV sets.

This was true in the Air Force case. Mur-row devoted the entire half hour, skipping the middle commercial, to Lt. Milo Radulo-vich, the Air Force officer who was released from the service as a security risk because of the alleged Communist leanings of his sis-ter and father. Plainly, the program made Alcoa's good friend, the United States Air Force, look pretty bad.

Ed Murrow had tried to persuade Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott to go on the Radulovich show to present the Air Force's side, but as the case was still in lower chan-nels Talbott declined.

But when Talbott later reversed the deci-sion of the military and reinstated Lieuten-ant Radulovich he came on See It Now to make the announcement.

The Radulovich case raised See It Now to new heights in the public's esteem. Murrow was deluged with letters—almost all of them standing behind the young lieutenant.

Alcoa was admittedly shaken by the whole thing, but it knows that these are the terms under which you get Murrow. It would frankly prefer fewer controversy shows, al-though it's aware that they draw the view-ers, particularly in the all-important Wash-ington arena.

A survey indicated to Alcoa that an im-pressive number of legislators and bureau-crats watch See It Now, and that 87 percent of those who watch it are able to identify Alcoa as the sponsor. Of these, 67 percent recalled the content of the commercials.

Has See It Now paid off for Alcoa? The company thinks it has. Twice a year Alcoa has a survey run that uses a sample that cuts across the entire socio-economic makeup of the country.

The number of people who like Alcoa has been slowly increasing, while the number who don't like it or don't know about Alcoa has been slowly decreasing.

Within Alcoa there's growing enthusiasm for See It Now. Every year, in a day-long session, the company's salesmen are briefed on Alcoa's advertising campaigns for the year to come.

According to Hall, at the last two sessions virtually all the discussion has centered around the show. The salesmen say it's one of the first things their customers mention.

One unexpected byproduct: Alcoa rank-and-file employees like to be identified with a company sponsoring such a high-grade show.

Quality Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, whenever I have an opportunity to read one of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson's speeches I receive a tremendous uplift and encouragement that our Nation's agricultural problems are in com-petent hands. I have just returned from a tour through several of our Nation's largest wheat- and corn-producing States, and everywhere I went I found an increasing ground swell in support of Secretary Benson and the administra-tion's plan for a flexible price-support program.

On January 27, 1954, at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., Secretary Benson gave a speech before the 63d Annual Farmers' Conference. I believe his speech, entitled "Quality Farmers," is another indication of the Secretary's statesmanship and his ingenuity in at-tacking the problems of huge farm sur-pluses. I am including his speech in the Appendix in the hope that my colleagues will take the time to read this excellent address dealing with the ways in which our Nation's farmers are helping to find solutions to their own problems rather than seeking for Government handouts.

His speech follows:

QUALITY FARMERS

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the 63d Annual Farmers' Conference, Tuskegee Institute, Tuske-gee, Ala., January 27, 1954)

It is a privilege and a signal honor to have this opportunity to come to Tuskegee and to take part in your 63d Annual Farmers' Con-ference and the 12th annual meeting of the Professional Agricultural Workers.

Ever since I was a boy I have heard about Tuskegee; heard about Booker T. Washing-ton, a man who put his hand in God's hand and with His help built this great institu-tion. I believe he had to borrow the $250 to make the downpayment on this site, which now, with its magnificent buildings, is worth millions.

As a young man I was thrilled when I read the story of Dr. George Washington Carver—a man who knew something about agricul-tural surpluses. I understand a surplus of peanuts in this country sent the great scien-tist to his laboratory to find new uses for the crop. He ended up years later with some 300 products he made from peanuts. We need more achievements of this kind as we tackle our agricultural problems today. We need wider markets at home and abroad. We are going to expand and improve research until we get the markets agriculture needs. We can do it if we all pitch in together; but it takes many heads, many hearts, and many hands.

It took many heads, hearts, and hands to build Tuskegee. It took the leadership of Dr. Moton and Dr. Patterson; and now Dr. Luther Foster is at the helm. We wish you well, Dr. Foster, and we are confident that under your administration Tuskegee will continue to expand its service and usefulness to the people of America and the whole world.

It is a privilege also to witness the pre-sentation of Southwide Men of the Year Awards by the Progressive Farmer to our own John Mitchell and Dr. E. B. Evans—two very fine men who have made important contributions to better rural living in the South. Congratulations to you gentlemen, and congratulations to Dr. Poe and the Progressive Farmer organization for making these awards possible.

Now, fellow farmers, I understand that you have been here since Sunday trying to find ways of attacking major farm, home, and community problems. You have been thinking about some of the knotty problems of farm production, of home betterment, and of improving your churches, your schools, and other community facilities.

You have been thinking about these prob-lems—and doing something about them—for a long time. Ever since Tom Campbell started coming among you with his movable school—the old Jesup wagon designed by Dr. Carver—you have been on the ladder climbing upward. Men like Mr. Campbell and Mr. Mitchell and other devoted Exten-sion workers have told you about diversifica-tion—growing more than one crop—not put-ting all your eggs in one basket. And they have conducted demonstrations to show

you—and your parents before you—how to grow better crops and how to carry on a variety of cash farm enterprises.

You have listened, you have watched, and you have learned. There is evidence, I am sure, of this learning and doing on every one of your farms. Of course, during my 1 year in office, I haven't had a chance to visit with you the way I'd like to. But I have heard about your progress.

Some of you who used to grow only cotton or tobacco are now also raising hogs or beef cattle, or soybeans and peanuts, or fruits and vegetables. Some of you are in poultry production and some are in dairying. You have found that by growing more than one cash crop you have been able to improve your home, put in running water, buy a new kitchen stove, and lay something aside for the education of your children.

Not only are you improving your position on the land by raising 2 or 3 cash crops, but some of you have retired the old mule to the pasture and have bought tractors, combines, corn pickers, and other modern equipment. When I was a boy, folks in some sections used to talk about 40 acres and a mule. It took long hours, in those days, to plow and plant and chop and pick an acre of cotton, and farming 40 acres was a man-sized job.

But today there are over a million tractors on the farms of the South—more than twice as many as a decade ago. Today, right here in Alabama alone, you have 3 times as many tractors as the entire South had in the 1920's. The South now has more than 50,000 combines and over 30,000 corn pickers, and a number of mechanical cotton pickers and strippers. Latest reports show that 1 bale of cotton out of every 5 is machine harvested.

Many of you are also following sound soil and water conservation practices that double and triple your yields. I am happy to know that for the past several years a Southwide soil conservation champion has been chosen at your annual Log Cabin, Georgia, meeting.

Last year, I am told, the No. 1 soil conservation farmer came from right here in Alabama. He is Mr. Claiborne Carter, a former tenant who converted a rundown eroded 160-acre farm into a first-class production unit that now gives 3 times the yield of cotton and corn it used to. We take pride in the fact that our Soil Conservation Service gave him a hand, and that the Farmers' Home Administration made Mr. Carter's loan to buy a farm of his own.

We are trying to bring the services of the Soil Conservation Service closer to all of you by placing the major responsibilities in the States where they belong. We hope that you will take your soil and water conservation problems to these public servants. You can count on their assistance in helping you to determine the capabilities of your land, and to conserve this God-given resource.

Mr. Carter is one of many farmers of whom we are all proud. There are thousands more, such as Mr. Hilliard Jenkins, who was chosen your merit farmer for 1952; or Mr. Carroll Jones, one of the largest livestock farmers in this State; or Mr. Julius Pickett, one of the best small-dairy men in the South. We could go into other States and call the roll of successful operators who are conserving their land, using modern methods, and modern equipment. Some of these outstanding farmers are here today.

Mr. Mitchell, your national leader of Extension Service, refers to farmers of this caliber as quality farmers. That is a good term. You know, sometimes we pick up a handful of soil and feel of it, and there is something in the feel and in the look of the soil that tells us it has quality. We do the same thing with lumber when we are building a house, or with a steer we are fattening for market, or a bag of potatoes, or a hamper of beans.

The word quality means measuring up to standards. A quality farmer has a balanced farming program. He farms efficiently, lives in a comfortable house with modern conveniences, educates his children, and takes full part in community improvement activities.

We need more quality farmers.

Many of you can well be proud of the progress you have made. But we dare not forget the long road that lies ahead for many thousands of farmers here in Alabama and the whole South as they struggle forward toward that goal of quality farming.

My primary responsibility as Secretary of Agriculture is to promote the welfare of farm people—all farm people—farm people in all parts of our country, South or North, West or East.

From the moment that I accepted the responsibilities tendered to me by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, this has been my guiding principle: To do what is right for agriculture, and thus to do what is right for America.

We have faced many problems this past year—the most widespread drought since 1936—mounting surpluses—falling prices—demands from some quarters for hasty and unwise actions that would have injured agriculture rather than helped.

None of these problems was of our making. The economic problems we inherited from our predecessors. The drought was due to natural conditions. The demands for unwise actions were largely political in origin.

But while facing these problems and dealing with them conscientiously, we also set to work to seek out improvements in our long-range farm policies and programs.

Even before the new administration took office last year, we began to explore the entire situation. We have worked with farmers and farm organization leaders—with representatives of more than 60 colleges, experiment stations, foundations, and research organizations—with leaders of all segments of the agricultural industry, including over 30 commodity groups—with leading agricultural economists, and with the Congress. We have analyzed some 16,000 letters offering farm-program suggestions.

We studied all these suggestions. But we did not stop there. We reviewed past farm legislation. We wanted to know what ideas had been proposed and not yet tried—and why.

In addition we did a great deal of independent thinking. The night oil burned long at the Department and in the homes of my staff. We had much consultation with the President and his staff. And I want to make it very clear that the program presented by the President is his program. We were happy indeed to play our full role in its development—but the final decisions were made by Dwight D. Eisenhower in behalf of the administration—and I am proud to support them 100 percent.

Now let me set forth for you the principal elements in this proposed program.

First, price supports would be adjustable rather than rigid. This was the thinking of the Congress when it passed the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949. But these acts have been kept from going into effect by an amendment which says that support for the basic commodities shall be at 90 percent of parity until this year's crops have been marketed. The act of 1949 is scheduled to go into effect next year and the level of price support on basic commodities would then range between 75 and 90 percent of parity, depending on the level of supply.

The President has proposed that the act of 1949 be allowed to go into effect at the end of this year, as is now provided by law.

Variable supports would have many advantages. They would promote shifts in production and supply to meet changes in demand.

You want to raise your cotton, tobacco, peanuts, and other crops for consumers to use, not just for storage in Government warehouses. But the present system of fixed price supports, designed mainly as a wartime measure, has done just the reverse of that. In some instances it has priced your cotton and some other crops out of the reach of people who need shirts and sheets and more food. Instead of being available for these people these supplies are in storage.

If you were to look in the warehouses you would find the CCC has nearly 8 million bales of cotton under loan, most of it from the 1953 crop, and the trucks still come, bringing thousands of bales a week. You would see that the Government owns outright 443 million bushels of wheat, and it has well over 400 million bushels more under loan from last year's crop. The CCC owns a billion pounds of cottonseed oil. It has under loan 29 million bushels of soybeans. It owns outright over 4 million pounds of tobacco and has under loan over 500 million pounds. It owns 250 million pounds of butter. It owns 375 million bushels of corn, plus another 300 million bushels under support. The very presence of these surpluses is bound to depress the price of crops, which results in lower income for you and your families.

To help prevent further accumulations of surplus cotton you have approved acreage allotments and marketing quotas for this year's cotton crop. Let me give you a little of the background that made this action necessary.

Throughout almost all of the 1940's, as you well know, farmers were urged to produce more and more of most of the important crops. But in 1950–51 it seemed that we might have too much cotton and our planted acreage of cotton was cut by more than a third. Production fell from more than 16 million bales to about 10 million. Then we discovered that with the Korea danger and the Korea boom we might not have enough cotton after all. For the first time in 65 years, the Federal Government put restrictions on our cotton exports. The effect, of course, was to make cotton scarce outside the United States. Foreign cottons sold in many cases at 80 cents and even a dollar a pound. This was a bonanza for foreign cotton growers, and they responded just as would be expected; they rushed in the next year to plant more cotton. Now we have world production exceeding consumption and we lost much of our foreign cotton market. These markets must be won back. More cotton must be sold abroad.

Under the proposed new program we might not be able to get away from acreage allotments and marketing quotas altogether, but it would be our hope to invoke them as seldom as possible. Mainly, we would rely on variable price supports ranging from 75 to 90 percent of parity to encourage or discourage expanded production of a given crop.

We believe—and we feel that most agricultural economists believe also—that variable supports over a period of years would produce larger incomes for farmers than the present rigid supports with their by-product of continuing surpluses that hang over the market and hold prices at, or more often below, the price-support level. We must remember that it is not price only but prices times volume that equals income.

Second, the new program would place all price-supported farm commodities on a fair basis by applying the new or modernized parity formula to all of them. As it is now, parity for basic commodities is calculated on either the old formula (based on the buying power of commodities in 1910–14) or a new formula (based on a progressive 10-year average).

Many of the price-supported commodities now come under the new parity calculation. Peanuts, wheat, corn, and cotton, however, are exempted and until January 1, 1956, par-

y for these commodities is based on either
ie old or the new calculation whichever is
gher. The old parity for cotton is 5-per-
nt higher than under the new formula,
it the difference is larger for the other
ree commodities.

Under the new program the parity advan-
ge for wheat, corn, cotton, and peanuts
ould be allowed to expire as now scheduled
n January 1, 1956.

But for most of these commodities the
hange would be too abrupt if it were made
just 1 year. The President has proposed,
herefore, that the changeover be gradual
nd cushioned by the adoption of transi-
onal parity. This would be accomplished
y limiting the parity level change to 5 per-
nt per year until modernized parity would
e completely in effect. We are solidly deter-
ined to do everything in our power to
shion any possible adjustment which
ight be occasioned by the transition to a
ound and effective agricultural price-sup-
ort program.

Third, it is proposed that the present
cess reserves of wheat, cotton, vegetable
ls, and possibly some dairy products should
e frozen—or insulated—from the market—
order to give the new program a chance
work. Unless this is done, any sound
ew program is doomed.

This is a practical solution. Excess re-
rves will be insulated from current mar-
ts until they can be disposed of to meet
nergencies, and for use in famine relief,
nd other domestic and foreign aid pro-
ams.

Merely insulating our excess reserves will
ot solve our problems. We know that. But
would give farmers a chance to correct
nbalanced production patterns without
rrying this burden of huge surpluses on
eir backs. Moreover, the freezing of sur-
uses would reassure our commercial trade,
nd friendly nations as well, that we do not
tend to dump them upon the market.
he excess reserves must be disposed of in
ays which will not interfere with normal
arkets.

Now let me make it clear that this "set-
ide" would be only a one-time operation
give the new adjustable support program
ie chance to operate successfully from the
eginning. Variable supports related to pro-
uction should not permit such burdensome
rpluses to accumulate again.

As a practical step to aid in an orderly
duction of the surpluses, we have discussed
ie feasibility of calling a conference of
inisters of Food and Agriculture of vari-
us countries concerned with international
ade of agricultural products. And the
esident has proposed sending various trade
issions to Europe, Asia, and South America
explore means of expanding foreign
itlets.

Fourth, the new program contains some
ecific commodity proposals. It would place
heat, corn, cotton, rice, and peanuts under
ie adjustable price support provisions of
ie Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949.

The proposals would continue the pro-
ams for tobacco, meat animals, dairy prod-
cts, poultry and eggs, fruits and vegetables,
gar, and feed grains other than corn.
rice supports for tung nuts and honey
ould be continued on a permissive instead
a mandatory basis as is now the case.

A new program for wool would provide
at prices of domestically produced wool—
ly one-third of our consumption—would
permitted to seek their own level in the
omestic tariff-protected market. Direct
ayments would be made to domestic wool
oducers in an amount sufficient to raise
ie average return to a level that when
ded to the market price for the season
ould encourage a stable domestic wool pro-
uction.

Another feature of the President's message
ust also be mentioned. It has to do with the approximately 25 million acres that are being diverted from cotton, wheat, and corn. It would be tragic if these acres were diverted to other crops in such a way as to cause serious surplus problems or if they were allowed to lose fertility through misuse. The President has proposed that in any area where acreage adjustments are especially difficult, Agricultural Conservation Program funds should be used to aid farmers in making wise land use adjustments.

The proposed program will help bring agricultural production into balance. Booker Washington, who during his lifetime encouraged balanced farming, learned something about balance as a boy in Virginia where he used to carry corn to the mill on horseback. I, too, have been through that experience. A couple of hands would balance the sack of corn over the back of the horse for the boy, and he would start out for the mill, but invariably before he completed the 3-mile journey, some of the corn would shift from one side to the other, and the sack would become unbalanced. Of course you know what happened then; it would fall to the ground. Dr. Washington says he spent many hours as a little boy standing by the roadside crying and waiting for someone to come along and balance the sack on the horse's back again.

And that's what the trouble has been: the people have had to wait for someone to come along and establish a farm program which will help maintain a balanced agriculture. Well, I think President Eisenhower has proposed such a program.

Of course, we realize—and I am sure you do also—that price-support programs are helpful primarily to the larger, more mechanized and more efficient farms.

But we need more than price-support programs alone to assure an adequate level of living for the farmer with few acres and little to sell.

Many such farmers are members of your group. Seventy percent of colored farmers are still tenants. Their farms average less than 50 acres. Thousands live in undesirable houses. In this region balanced farming has been achieved by only a fraction of small farmers, white and colored. The majority earn less than $1,000 a year. One-row, mule-drawn equipment is still the mode. The number of tractors is too small.

We cannot, and do not, blame small farmers for this situation. They have big problems. They need special guidance. We shall do all in our power to provide the help and guidance that will enable these farmers to help themselves.

In presenting his farm program to Congress, the President recognized the problems peculiar to small farmers. He has asked the National Agricultural Advisory Commission and the Department to give special attention to this matter in 1954. I invite your careful study and your recommendations. We will need to work together, all of us. Perhaps some of you can meet in groups and think through some of the special problems of small farmers and let us have the benefit of your thinking. We welcome it. We need it.

It is only being realistic to recognize that we may not be able to help all the capable and promising small farmers to find their niche in agriculture. Many already have left their farms and found jobs in town. Thousands more will undoubtedly seek industrial employment and a new life for themselves and their families. But those farmers who are willing and able to remain on the land will find a helping hand in the Department of Agriculture—and they deserve a fair chance to make a go of it in their communities.

We know that there are many ways in which small operators can make satisfactory adjustment as full-time or part-time farmers. Some have already sought and found their own answers. There are broiler growers who are making a go of it on an acre or less of land. There is a crippled Georgia farmer, I understand, who tends 300 layers from a wheelchair and makes a living at it.

We know of a group of brothers who have created off-farm employment for themselves by establishing a small sawmill. Their farm, which never could have supported all of them, is now used mainly to grow part of their food supply.

Louisiana's Honor Family of the Year (Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Foster and their 13 children) are providing a good living for themselves on 40 acres—part in cotton and part in truck crops.

It can be done. It is being done. And we are resolute in our determination to help small farmers help themselves as these people have done.

I am reminded of something Seaman A. Knapp wrote in the Yearbook of Agriculture for 1908. "There are two ways to look at a small farm," he wrote. "One view—the common one—is that it is a place to make a living, but rather a hard place, and should be sold as soon as anything easier is found; the other is that the ownership of land is a mark of honor, that a patent to land is a title of nobility, a right to sovereignty."

Let us take those words to our hearts.

We are expanding the work of the Extension Service among colored people.

Mr. Mitchell has been brought to the Washington office where the whole Federal staff may have access to his advice on matters pertaining to just such problems as providing more educational aid for small farmers, and where he may be able to follow the operations of the agency more closely.

In the States, too, improvements are being made. Last year, 13 new colored agents were appointed, bringing the total number of colored agents and supervisors up to an all-time high of 864.

Within the limitation of its funds, the Farmers Home Administration has helped some 76,000 white and colored farm families to start buying or to improve farms of their own, since the program was begun 17 years ago. Of this number, about 8,000 have been colored and most of them are making good. Some have already repaid their loans in full many years ahead of schedule. But still the agency hasn't had the money to make loans to all the capable and deserving farmers who have applied. However, we have obtained some additional funds through our insured mortgage program which enables private business firms and fraternal organizations to lend a hand. A number of such organizations and firms, both white and colored, have put up funds to assist veterans, tenants, and day laborers to become owners of economic family-size farms. Altogether, colored firms and fraternal organizations have loaned over a million dollars.

Perhaps a million small farmers, white and colored, unable to get credit aid elsewhere, have received production loans to help them get on their feet and start on a sound basis. We have found that it is better to make one loan that really puts a farmer on his feet than to make half a dozen loans only large enough to tide 6 farmers over a crop year, leaving them in pretty much the shape they were at first.

We now know just about what it takes to make a go of farming in every county in the United States. And to the extent of our loan funds, we are now doing the job that I think was originally intended. These as well as the other small farmers represent a challenge to me and to you. And especially is it a challenge to you professional workers in agriculture and rural home economics. This week you have been discussing servicing southern agriculture for maximum productivity and full employment. I know that

you will come up with some answers that can be immensely valuable in rounding out our proposed farm program.

Farmers and friends, I know that all of us have ideals for which we strive in our agriculture. But I think one of the best statements of the ideal we seek in rural America was made by that same Dr. Knapp, whom I mentioned earlier. Almost a half century ago, he said:

"The farm must be made a place of beauty, so attractive that every passing stranger inquires: 'Who lives in that lovely home?'"

To reach this goal, there must be more equality of opportunity for all farmers.

We have far to travel before we reach that goal. Yet I firmly believe we are on the way.

The new program proposed by the President will promote stability and prosperity and a larger measure of freedom in agriculture.

And the new studies of the problems of small farmers that will be made this year can do much to set such farmers on the road to quality farming which many of you have already attained.

We shall approach these studies in a humble and a prayerful spirit. We shall approach them with the reverence that comes from a realization that we deal not with statistics—not with numbers—but with people—with children of the Almighty.

It is our privilege, yours and mine, to help our fellowmen. Let us set about the task with all diligence. With the blessing and guidance of a kind Providence, we shall succeed.

Ike's First Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Reinhold Niebuhr in the February issue of the New Leader, New York:

IKE'S FIRST YEAR—THE ORTHODOX REPUBLICANS HAVE LEARNED LITTLE

(By Reinhold Niebuhr)

It is now possible, after a year's record, to gage the political temper of the business community, which, after being excluded from the seats of political power for two decades, finally achieved a triumph last year. The reason for its long sojourn in the political wilderness was no mystery. In foreign affairs, it had failed to gage either the perils or the responsibilities which our Nation faced in challenging two tyrannical regimes; it tended toward isolationism and extreme nationalism. In domestic politics, it clung to the principles of laissez-faire economy after the common people had made the surprising discovery that their political power could be used effectively to mitigate the injustices and soften the shocks which attended a wholly unregulated economy.

The question is what the Republicans have learned in their sojourn in the wilderness. The immediate answer is that they haven't learned much. They could triumph only by riding on the coattails of a popular hero-general, and it is now apparent that they will survive only as this same general succeeds in resisting their most obvious errors. Since he lacks the political astuteness to make full use of the prestige he enjoys in the Nation (consistently so much greater than that of his party), the prospects are not too encouraging.

In looking at the balance sheet of the first year, and beginning with foreign policy, we find that Eisenhower, after a year in office, is forced to make the fight of his life to resist the Bricker amendment, which embodies all the nationalist illusions of the Republican right wing. It is rather significant that the President, who has frequently disappointed the internationalist wing of his party, does stand with some degree of firmness when an issue like this confronts him. There were no concessions to the right wing in his state of the Union message except the very dubious proposal for robbing citizens, convicted of advocating overthrow of the Government, of their citizenship. This probably unconstitutional, and quite unnecessary, proposal has served only to baffle our friends in Europe and to add another stroke to the caricature which our enemies in the free world pretend to take as a true picture of our nation.

On the debit side in the assessment of foreign policy we must also place the threat to the integrity and efficiency of our Foreign Service, to which six distinguished Foreign Service veterans called attention recently.

On the credit side we must provisionally put the truce in Korea, though nobody is quite certain that it will be to our ultimate advantage. It is quite certain, however, that the Nation desired the truce and that only a Republican administration could have arranged it without a threat of impeachment. On the credit side we must also place Eisenhower's consistent loyalty to the United Nations, despite the fulminations of some Texas millionaires who seem to regard any form of international cooperation as tantamount to treason.

Perhaps the partial fulfillment of the promise to save money on defense costs without weakening our defense could be put down provisionally on the credit side. No one but Eisenhower could have cut military costs as rigorously as the present administration has done. The achievement can, however, be placed on the credit side only provisionally, because it may become increasingly apparent that the savings in the military budget have been bought at the price of excessive reliance on atomic weapons. If the reliance is too great, the temptation to solve every minor dispute with the Soviets by threatening them with the ultimate disaster becomes very great. If this should be the trend, we would have forgotten one of the precious lessons learned in Korea, which was that it is both necessary and possible to resist communism locally without becoming involved in atomic war.

We must probably put on the debit side the dubious achievements of a more positive foreign policy, because they consist in pressing our allies to do what we desire in such an obvious manner that we have increased the wave of anti-American sentiment throughout the world, have complicated our relations with Yugoslavia without improving the cause of democracy in Italy, and have alienated the two neutralist nations, France and India.

If we turn to domestic policy, we must put first on the credit side the administration's unequivocal attitude toward preservation, and even extension, of the social-security system. This may be an historic achievement, because it means that a party has accepted standards, initiated by the opposition, without whose acceptance no social gain in political history can be deemed secure. Of almost equal significance is the evident determination of the administration to employ every strategy of Government to prevent either inflation or deflation. This means a definite break with laissez-faire notions and illusions of the traditional conservatives and a further borrowing from the political philosophy and strategy of the New Deal. Eisenhower's approach to the problem of the Government's responsibility for minimal health standards is more guarded; his proposed reinsurance support for private and voluntary medical-insurance systems may not be adequate. But it acknowledges governmental responsibility in the field of health, which the American Medical Association has consistently disavowed.

Eisenhower's taxation policy belongs partly on the credit side. He has resisted the most irresponsible proposals for tax reduction and has kept some unpopular taxes on the books. His first, and rather ignorant, promise of a $40 billion cut in the budget was forgotten when he took a responsible look at our defense budget. The sales tax has not been proposed as a way out of the dilemma, though the virtue of this rejection of a popular proposal among the reactionaries was forced upon the administration by the knowledge that it would have meant murder at the polls in the next election.

Of course, the almost certain failure to offer even modest and promised amendments to the Taft-Hartley law must be put on the debit side. The administration has probably permanently alienated labor. It could not resist the pressure from the business community at this point. The vision of the middle-of-the-road policy on this issue went out when the plumber left the Cabinet.

Administration farm policy is not easy to assess. Considering the plight of the farmer, suffering from droughts and falling prices, opponents will put it on the debit side. Considering the mounting surpluses (particularly of such perishables as butter) and considering that inflexible supports on farm prices make for a kind of permanent inflation or at least the impossibility of a shakedown of the price structure, the policy must be put on the credit side. That is where it belongs when it is considered that it will probably lose the farmer from the business-farmer partnership which is the foundation of Republicanism. But we must put it again on the debit side if we remember that the weaker partner is sacrificed to the stronger by making him bear alone the first burdens of an unregulated economy.

The conservation policy clearly belongs on the debit side. Beginning with the alienation of off-shore oil, and continuing in the raids on natural resources and public power developments under Secretary McKay, this represents Republicanism at its worst.

If we total up the balance sheet, we will find that the credits are almost solely the President's, while the debits must be put to the account of traditional Republicanism. It is idle to speculate whether the record would have been better if the President had been able to exploit with greater astuteness his popularity in the country and had not thought it necessary to pretend that there is a cohesive Republican team. The total picture after a year of Republican rule is of a party which rather reluctantly allows itself to be led to face responsibilities in both foreign and domestic fields which it had previously fled. We can draw pessimistic or optimistic conclusions from this, according to disposition and party commitments.

Though not naturally inclined to optimism, I find a certain degree of hope in one aspect of past history. Our business community did exhibit a remarkable degree of political stupidity in the past two decades. But it combined with its ideological inflexibility a high degree of pragmatic flexibility in managing its own affairs. Left to itself, it would, for instance, never have accepted even the principle of collective bargaining. But, confronted with a powerful labor movement, it finally decided to come to terms with it, and now bargains responsibly and fairly with the unions. The difference between the attitudes toward labor of the first Henry Ford and the present head of the Ford empire is symbolic of a great deal of social history. It is precisely the history which distinguishes American from, say, French

italism, and tells the secret of the differ-
e between American social health and
French disease. One cannot, of course,
fidently predict that responsibility will
uade the business community to learn
lessons in the field of politics which it
tered with such success in its own field.
he hope cannot be that Republicanism
cease to be anything other than a politi-
expression of the most privileged mem-
of the community, or even that it will
smart enough to win the next election.
may well lose the congressional election
yet squeeze by in the presidential vote.)
t eventually will depend upon the stay-
power of Eisenhower's popularity and
n his ability to match his popularity and
ability with political astuteness and
rage.

he question does not concern itself so
h with immediate political success or
ire as with the possibility of American
servatism becoming other than an
evancy in our present situation, and ac-
ing sufficient wisdom to guard both its
interests and those of our Nation with
e prudence than it has thus far exhib-
. This achievement might be more im-
ant for our future national health than
victory or defeat of the Republican or
ocratic Party. For it is dangerous when
dominant economic group in America
ses to face the facts of life, either at
e or abroad. It is almost as dangerous
n this deficiency prevents it from gain-
or preserving its political power as when
in power.

'S AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL ECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, D INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on inting shall have control of the ar-ngement and style of the CONGRES-ONAL RECORD, and while providing that shall be substantially a verbatim re-rt of proceedings shall take all needed tion for the reduction of unnecessary lk, and shall provide for the publica-n of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL ECORD semimonthly during the sessions Congress and at the close thereof. an. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-ATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, dia-ams, or illustrations may be inserted in e RECORD without the approval of the int Committee on Printing. (June 20, 36, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

rsuant to the foregoing statute and in r to provide for the prompt publication delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the t Committee on Printing has adopted the wing rules, to which the attention of tors, Representatives, and Delegates is ectfully invited:

Arrangement of the daily Record.—The ic Printer will arrange the contents of daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate eedings; second, the House proceedings; i, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the eedings of the Senate are not received in to follow this arrangement, the Public ter may begin the RECORD with the House eedings. The proceedings of each House the Appendix shall each begin a new , with appropriate headings centered eon.

Type and style.—The Public Printer shall t the report of the proceedings and de-s of the Senate and House of Representa-, as furnished by the official reporters of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; all matter included in the remarks or ches of Members of Congress, other than r own words, and all reports, documents, other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Lincoln Day Speech by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Lincoln Day speech I delivered at St. Louis, Mo., last Saturday evening.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of February 14, 1954]

TEXT OF SENATOR KNOWLAND'S ADDRESS TO REPUBLICANS HERE—MAJORITY LEADER STRESSES NEED FOR BIPARTISAN SUPPORT OF EISENHOWER PROGRAM

(Following is the text of the address of Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California, Senate Republican leader, delivered last night at the Lincoln Day banquet of Missouri Republicans at Hotel Jefferson:)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, I am very happy to have the opportunity and the privilege to come once again to your State of Missouri. It's now been my pleasure to have come into your State on 5 or 6 different occasions over a period of years, and I am beginning to feel quite at home among your people in all sections of the State.

I am particularly pleased to be here with the very fine Republican delegation that you have in the House of Representatives, Tom Curtis, William Cole, Jeffery Hillelson, and Dewey Short. We are doing such an outstanding job in Washington I hope that they will not only be returned with overwhelming majorities but I will hope that you add to the Republican delegation in the next election.

During this past year, as your chairman has mentioned, the Senate of the United States, the Republicans throughout the Nation lost a great leader in the death of Bob Taft, who was not only known as Mr. Republican but in a larger sense he was Mr. American as well. Now, in the normal course of events someone had to be selected to succeed him as a majority leader of the Senate of the United States, but in a very real sense, while someone could succeed him, in my judgment, no one will ever replace Bob Taft, the great leader that he was.

I want to say, first of all, that it's been my privilege during the past campaign to travel through about 30 States with our then candidate, Dwight Eisenhower, prior to the election. I have had the opportunity, both as chairman of the policy committee during the first part of the last session, and then as the acting Republican leader of the Senate, and since then as a majority leader, to work with the President very closely in carrying out the legislative program.

OPPOSITION TRIES TO DRIVE WEDGE

Now in the opposition party, and among some of the New Deal commentators and columnists, there is a constant effort to try and give the impression that there are great cleavages in the Republican Party. When Bob Taft was alive, they tried to drive a wedge between Senator Taft and the President. Since then they have constantly tried to drive a wedge between the leadership in the House and the Senate and the President of the United States, or between various Republicans.

I think that I can testify without fear of contradiction that I do not believe that we have had in the White House in the recent history of our country a man who goes along as well with his leadership in the House and the Senate, who is more of a team worker and a team leader, than is Dwight Eisenhower.

Now, there are some who apparently feel that a person can't differ on an issue without that being a sign that the party is torn asunder.

Let me tell you that President Eisenhower made it very clear from the very inception that though there had been some Presidents in the recent history of our country who expected to have a rubber-stamp Congress, that this President has never expected any such thing.

He recognized that men can honestly differ on a particular issue, and still work together for the common good of this great Nation of ours.

Now, we are here celebrating the birthday of a great American, the first Republican President of the United States. In his time he clearly understood that this Nation of ours could not continue half slave and half free, and I cannot help but believe that were he alive today he would recognize the great dangers to our way of life in having a world which is half slave and half free.

The second session of the 83d Congress would be one of the most important in the recent history of our country. The new administration took office less than 14 months ago, and it was confronted by major problems at home and abroad, which were not and are not easy of solution.

ACT AS AMERICANS, NOT PARTISANS

Many of the issues that came before Congress in the first session, and which confronted us when we met on January 6 of this year, must be viewed and acted upon as Americans, rather than as narrow partisans.

We must all recognize that we are in the same plane together. No one, in order to embarrass a new pilot, should tamper with the controls or build fires in the baggage compartment and chase it to the gasoline tanks, just to see what the reaction of the crew would be to a fire alarm. If the plane goes down, all of the passengers and members of the crew go down with it, regardless of their partisan affiliation.

Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield on November 20, 1860, said, "Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feeling."

Tonight I speak as no narrow partisan. I want to acknowledge the fine support of modern Democrats in the House and Senate who have joined with the Republicans in the support of policies, foreign and domestic, which are essential for the national defense and the functioning of our Government.

The longer I have been in the Senate of the United States, the stronger the advocate of States' rights I have become. It is of great importance to the future of our constitutional system that we prevent concentration of power in the Nation's Capital at Washington.

DON'T BELIEVE IN INHERENT RIGHTS

Members of the Eisenhower administration have made it very clear that they do not believe in the doctrine of inherent rights under which the previous Truman administration attempted to seize the steel industry without authority of law.

President Eisenhower believes in our constitutional system of the division of powers between the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches of the Government. He does not want the executive to encroach on the legislative powers, or the Congress to move into the executive responsibilities, nor does the Congress of the United States desire either of these two things to happen.

I can also assure this audience that Congress will continue to occupy a coordinate and equal position with the executive under this or any future administration, be it Republican or Democratic.

Under the Constitution, the Congress was established as a legislative arm of our Government, and it will so remain.

We must constantly guard against efforts of those who would concentrate power in the Federal Government for the purpose of the ultimate association of our economic system. Once a nation embarks upon that path, it is difficult to return as has been demonstrated in Great Britain.

President Eisenhower took office 13 months ago, after his party had been out of the executive branch of the Government for a period of 20 years. I might say that when President Eisenhower took the oath of office in January of last year, there was not a single Republican Senator who had ever served under a Republican President before. Our most senior Senator was STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire, who came in 1936, 3 years after the New Deal.

On Inauguration Day, the new administration fell heir to a stalemated war in Korea, which had already lasted for 2½ years. This war has been brought to an end and the fighting up and down the hills of Korea, with heavy casualties is no longer going on.

GREAT DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM

Our sick, wounded and able-bodied soldiers and airmen, who were Communist prisoners of war, have been returned to this country with the exception of the 21 who have elected to remain in Communist hands. International communism has suffered its greatest loss of face in the refusal of more than 20,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war to return to Communist control.

Secretary of State Dulles has not looked upon the Chinese Communists as agrarian reformers, nor has he waited for the dust to settle before acting in the Far East.

President Eisenhower has not referred to the late Joseph Stalin as Good Old Joe, nor has he since referred to the present ruler of the Kremlin as Good Old Malenkov.

During the recent discussion of the Harry Dexter White case, the former Democratic President observed that it was not unusual for a person to be fired by being allowed to resign. Now, while this is true, as far as it goes, I have never heard a case where, for instance, an embezzler was allowed to resign and then the head of the company, writing him a letter, commending his integrity and his great financial ability.

REVERSAL OF TREND TOWARD CENTRAL POWER

A reversal of the 20-year trend toward centralization of power in Washington has taken place. Wage and price controls have ended, and the free-enterprise system encouraged. The outgoing administration of former President Truman presented a budget in January of 1953 calling for appropriations of $74 billion and made it very clear that in its judgment those funds could be cut from that huge amount. The new Eisenhower administration, and the 83d Congress, working together, reduced the appropriations by approximately $14 billion, the largest reduction ever made in the history of this country.

TREMENDOUS DEBT UNDER NEW DEAL

One of the economic facts that the Nation faces is that when the present administration—when the recent administration, the New Deal, came to power in 1933, the Federal public debt was $22,500,000,000, and when the New Deal administration left office in 1953, this debt was over $267 billion. This huge figure, with interest, carrying charges, is something that the American people are going to have to be concerned with during their lifetime and perhaps that of their children and their grandchildren.

Our Nation today pays in interest on the debt over $6,500,000,000 per year. This interest item alone is 50 percent greater than the total cost of the Federal Government when the New Deal came to power in 1933.

Have we yet faced up to the inherent dangers of indefinite deficit financing on the American political and economic system? I doubt it.

Can we now assure a constant value of the present-day dollar or has the narcotic of inflation dulled the senses of our people in agriculture, business, government, and labor? This is one of the great challenges confronting our people as a free people if we are to remain free.

We have already reached a point in taxation where new investment is discouraged and growing business finds funds needed for plant expansion must be borrowed because of the huge take of the tax collector.

The power to tax is still the power to destroy.

TAX CUTS POSSIBLE THROUGH BUDGET SLASH

On January 1, the personal income tax rates were reduced, approximately 10 percent, and the excess profits tax has come to an end. Just what additional changes can and should be made at this time in our tax structure will have to receive the attention of the House and the Senate. These tax cuts that we have already had were only made possible by the budget reductions of the Eisenhower administration and the 1st session of the 83d Congress.

Certainly any additional tax reduction will have to depend on the amount of reductions that we can make in the budget this year without jeopardizing our national defense needs, for to reduce taxes over and above those which expired in January without first reducing the budget, would merely add to huge national debt and would be passing the problem on to our children. This, in my judgment, would not be sound national policy.

New legislation in the field of agriculture is now being considered by the Congress. This legislation must be fair to the farmer, to the consumer, and to the American taxpayer as well. There are proposals for the changes in the National Management Relations Act, otherwise known as the Taft-Hartley bill. I do not believe that Congress will or should either repeal or emasculate it.

The American people have a right to expect that with power must go responsibility. This applies to labor, to business, and to government.

Legislation will be proposed, which will encourage the return of many functions now operated by the Federal Government back to the States. This is a trend which should be encouraged. There will be certain activities that will be difficult for the States to assume, unless the Federal Government is prepared to release some of its tax sources back to them.

Because the national defense needs are so great, in view of the world Communist menace, the impact of foreign defense policy on our domestic economy cannot be ignored. In order to get a fresh look at the entire picture and to determine what changes can be made to maintain our defense, and at the same time give some relief to our overburdened budget, the President selected an entirely new team to constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This group has been and is now reviewing our defense needs and commitments in the light of existing conditions insofar as they pertain to NATO and the European Defense Command, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East, and the Americas.

While we will, of course, live up to our treaty commitments, our aid should go to those who are doing their utmost to help themselves. We do not have, in my judgment, the resources to give United States assistance to those who want to sit on the sidelines to see how the struggle is coming out between the free world and Communist totalitarianism.

HAVE WAITED TOO LONG ON GERMANY

We have already waited too long for action in bringing free Germany into the European defense command. There will not be effective European defense without the manpower of free Germany being included. We should make it clear that Americans are not going to fill the manpower gap which 240,000 free Europeans should be able to take care of, if they are working together in the common defense of their civilization.

In this age of airpower and the atomic weapon, this country can no more return to isolation than an adult can return to childhood, regardless of how pleasant the recollection may be.

If there was ever a time when it was essential for the Nation and the free people of the world to remain strong and firm, this is the time. The next few years will be the decisive ones not alone whether we can avoid a war or win it if one is forced upon us, but whether human freedom can be preserved. We cannot and we should not depend upon a Maginot line type of defense against potential aggression from the air. Such an outlook would drive our Nation underground with untold billions added to our defense costs for an unlimited period of time. We, our children, and our grandchildren, would be forced to live underground like moles and gophers.

REALISTIC VIEWPOINT ON DEFENSE

A realistic viewpoint must recognize that it is highly unlikely that any method of defense will stop all attacking planes. This is true whether conventional or atomic weapons are used.

From the time of development and use of the spear or bow and arrow for attack and the shield or personal armor for defense, a constant struggle has been going on to find ways and means of inventing defense devices or finding new weapons to overcome the latest offense.

The men in the Kremlin are more likely to refrain from making the first Pearl Harbor type of attack if they know with a certainty that this Nation and the free world will retain an overwhelming and devastating striking power that would bring their godless Communist tyranny crushing down around their ears.

For us to be without the overwhelming power and to sit merely behind radar warning networks and instruments of defense, however good, will present us with a problem of never knowing when and where international communism will strike next. Unless the free world has overwhelming strength in the air as well as adequate defense on the land and on the sea it would result in communism roaming at will in Europe and in Asia.

Now while we might be able to exist under those conditions as an isolated, independent state, it would not be with the same economic and political system which has made our Nation great. We would be reduced to living in an armed fortress with a completely regimented economy, and a growing concentration of power in the central government.

LIKE CONSPIRACY OF ARSONISTS

Basically our problem is that international communism may be likened to a conspiracy of arsonists in a community. With only a penny box of matches, the conspirators can go throughout the communities, cause untold destruction of life and property, and in time could turn the community to ashes.

The United States of America and the free world is in the position of the law-abiding citizen that is forced to maintain expensive fire detection alarm and fire-fighting equipment not only in each zone of the city, but, indeed, in each block. This not only would bankrupt any community but until and unless the conspirators are brought under control it first would continue to be set from day to day and night to night.

As unpleasant as the comparison may be, we had better face up to the fact that it is not solved by being ignored.

There has been some talk in the country and abroad of the desirability of entering into a pact with the Soviet Union. I question the wisdom of any such proposal.

This is a decision which must be thoroughly explored by both the Government of the United States and by the American people before any commitments are made. It will most certainly be subjected to close scrutiny and full debate in the Senate of the United States.

SOVIET HAS VIOLATED NINE PACTS

The facts of the matter are that during the 25-year period between 1925 and 1950, the Soviet Union has violated 9 nonaggression pacts, 11 alliances, 3 protocols, and other agreements committing the Soviet Union to a position against war and 1 neutrality pact.

I want to give a few specific examples of various pacts which the Soviet Union has violated. There are many others but time will not permit me to read them all.

In 1926 the Soviet Union entered into a solemn pledge with Lithuania for a nonaggression pact. What happened? In 1940 they forcibly annexed Lithuania.

In 1929 they solemnly renounced war signing a protocol to that effect with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania. What happened, the Soviet Union attacked eastern Poland in the rear during 1939 while it was being attacked from the other side by Nazi Germany, and in 1940 they forcibly seized Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In 1932, they entered into a solemn pledge with Finland of nonaggression and yet they invaded Finland in 1939, 7 years later. They entered nonaggression pacts in addition to the other agreements which I have mentioned with the Baltic States and I have already told you what happened to them. In 1937, they entered into a nonaggression pact with the Chinese Republic, but in 1945, the Soviets plundered the industries of Manchuria.

In 1939 they entered into solemn alliances with the three Baltic States, and the results I have already mentioned.

In 1943, the Soviet Union announced the dissolution of the Comintern, which was their worldwide revolutionary organization, but in 1947 they organized a Cominform to do the same type of worldwide revolutionary job.

In 1943 they entered into a solemn alliance with Czechoslovakia but in 1948 they supported a coup d'etat by the Communists in that country which destroyed the freedom of the people of Czechoslovakia.

In 1945 they made an alliance with the Chinese Republic and before the ink was even dry on the alliance they were furnishing arms and equipment to the Chinese Communist forces of Mao for the purpose of destroying the Chinese Republic that they had just entered into an alliance with.

Now, this list is exclusive of the fact that the representatives of the Soviet Union and the United Nations has admitted that that government had furnished arms and ammunition to the Chinese and North Korean aggressors in the Korean war which is purely a violation of their obligations under the United Nations Charter.

Certainly this great Government of ours should enter into no pact with the Soviet Union unless Soviet forces are withdrawn from satellite states of eastern Europe and the people of eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Rumania have the opportunity through free elections of electing governments of their own choice.

To enter into a pact until there has been such a withdrawal of Soviet forces and the guaranty of free elections would in fact condemn to permanent slavery behind the Iron Curtain the people of those nations. This, in my judgment, we have no moral right to do. It would in fact confirm all the equal results which have flown out of the secret wartime agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. It would be capitulation by the west in the cold war and would be a decisive victory for world communism. We must have no more Munichs and no more Yaltas.

As of today there are still several hundred millions of people in Asia who desire to remain outside the Iron Curtain. It is essential, not only to the ultimate freedom of Asia but to the security of Europe and the United States as well that communism does not fasten its hold upon the 1,100 million people of Asia and all the vast and strategic resources in that area of the world.

OBJECT OF THE MEN IN THE KREMLIN

This has been and is the object of the men in the Kremlin. It was pointed out many years ago by the succinct statement of Lenin, who said, "The road to Paris is through Peiping."

Unfortunately those in positions of responsibility here and abroad failed to grasp soon enough the grand strategy of international communism. There are some United Nations members who have recommended that Communist China be admitted into the United Nations. To do so would be to reward Communist China for her aggression in Korea. We would have served notice on the world that one of the quickest ways of gaining membership would be to shoot your way in. Communist China, in my judgment, will never be satisfied with merely membership in the General Assembly but will also insist upon membership in the Security Council. Once having yielded to both of these points, they will claim with some justification that they are still not satisfied since they have not been given possession of what they would call their lost province of Taiwan or the island of Formosa.

The passage of Formosa into Communist hands would mean the liquidation of a non-Communist party of approximately half a million and a large part of the free Chinese population of over 8 million now on that island.

This population of free Chinese on Formosa alone is approximately the size of Australia today in population.

It is a larger population than Austria, Albania, Ceylon, Finland, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Chile, Bulgaria, Denmark, Costa Rica, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Honduras, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Uruguay, Venezuela, or Yemen.

I think it is important that we keep in mind that free China, even reduced as it has been to this small island of Formosa, is larger in population than many of the member states of the United Nations. In addition the loss of Formosa would drive a wedge into our defense position which runs from Japan to Okinawa through the Philippines and Australia, outflanking Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and outflanking the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south.

Throughout the entire Far East the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be looked upon as a far eastern unit and a great victory for international Communism. The will to resist on the part of free people of Asia would be weakened and governments would be inclined to go hand in hand to the Kremlin or Peiping to make the best deal they could.

APPEASEMENT IS NEVER THE ANSWER

It is my strong belief that such action will set off a tragic chain of events which will not preserve the peace but will make almost inevitable world war III. Appeasement now, as at the time of the original Munich, is not the road to peace, but is only surrender on the installment plan.

There is still an opportunity to keep the balance of Asia from passing into Communist hands, though the hour is very late. But one thing I believe should be made very clear—that the American people, and in my judgment the Congress of the United States, feel certain that it is a policy of this administration that we must not admit Communist China into the United Nations.

The selection of President Magsaysay in the Philippines, which has been recognized throughout the world as a great free election, offers a wonderful opportunity for him to take a position of leadership in bringing about closer political, economical, and military cooperation between the nations of Asia that are determined to be free. There can be no effective system of collective defense in Asia based on colonialism, for the age of colonialism in Asia is dead. The only sound system that can be built is one in which the nations of Asia are considered as equal partners in a common effort to help maintain a free world of free men.

ANZUS PACT NOT BROAD ENOUGH

While the Anzus pact is a factor in defense of the Pacific, it is not broad enough in scope to do the job that needs to be done. Since the 3 nations mentioned—that is, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, are Western rather than Asian, it does not give the feeling of partnership that is so essential if all of Asia is not to fall into Communist hands. By the Asian nations taking the positions of leadership, it will eliminate the Communist propaganda that the defense of the Pacific is only a blind for Western imperialism or colonialism.

The think that struck me most forcibly in my recent trip throughout the area of the world, which is the fourth time I had been out there, was a determination of a considerable number of the countries I visited to maintain their freedom at all costs, and yet how little effective contact they had with others who had the same determination.

It was interesting to find out that the responsible leaders in Korea and Japan recognize danger to them in the loss of Southeast Asia or Formosa into Communist hands, and those in Vietnam, Thailand, and Formosa fully recognize the stake they had in the freedom of Korea and of Japan.

Without exception I found all the countries I visited after the German elections to be greatly heartened by the victory of Adenauer in Germany and by the discontent that had taken place in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia, even in that remote area of the world, in Asia.

A necessary and desirable preliminary step was taken by the trip of President Syngman Rhee to Formosa to visit President Chiang Kai-shek. The Republic of approximately 660,000 and the Republic of China on Formosa approximately 500,000. These 2 nations, together, small though they are, have a defense force larger than all the rest of the free nations of Asia put together, and it would be unlikely that any effective collective security in the Pacific would be built without these 2 nations being an important part.

The calling of a broader conference by President Magsaysay now that he has taken office would take the initiative away from the Communist world. The free nations of Asia should not delay while waiting for neutralist India to make up her mind for the international policy that Nehru advocates will, I believe, ultimately lead to the communization of all of Asia, including India itself.

I am convinced that if the American people will use the same courage and the same common sense that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and under what I believe was divine inspiration gave us first our Declaration of Independence, and later our Constitution of the United States, there are none of these great domestic problems facing our country that we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Security With Solvency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, at its annual national commander's dinner, January 13, in observance of its 58th anniversary, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America awarded its gold medal of merit to Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle, United States Air Force, retired, for his wartime leadership of United States air forces and his contributions to the development and progress of civil aviation.

The dinner, at the Waldorf Astoria hotel, in New York, was made all the more notable by the presence of four veterans who have earned the Nation's highest military award, the Congressional Medal of Honor. One of these veterans, Ben Kaufman of Trenton, N. J., the national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans, presented his organization's award to General Doolittle, who earned the Medal of Honor for his daring leadership of the first carrier-based air attack on the Japanese mainland. Witnessing the presentation were Medal of Honor winners Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, of World War I fame, and Lt. Gen. Leon Johnson, who led the intrepid World War II raid by American flyers over the Ploesti oil fields of Rumania.

The Jewish War Veterans' traditional interest in problems of American security has led it to honor many distinguished Americans through the years. The organization bases the award of its Medal of Merit on the contributions made by

recipients to the Nation's security and welfare.

In honoring General Doolittle this year, the Jewish War Veterans was animated by this great flyer's steadfast devotion to the principle of developing maximum military efficiency at the most reasonable possible cost. An equally important consideration was General Doolittle's championship of a balanced, unified military establishment and the maintenance of American leadership in research and technology. The address given at the Jewish War Veterans' dinner by General Doolittle, and the introduction by Captain Rickenbacker make abundantly clear the growing public awareness of the need to achieve what General Doolittle referred to as "security with solvency."

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the introduction of Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle at Jewish War Veterans dinner January 13, 1954, by Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, chairman of the board, Eastern Air Lines, Inc.

There being no objection, the introduction was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am honored indeed to be with you tonight. To have been selected by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States as their dinner chairman is a distinction, of which I am justly proud, especially when it is to express tribute to such an outstanding and distinguished American.

It is particularly so for me because the guest whom we honor here tonight is a man whose great heart and rare talents I have long admired, and one who has enriched my life with his friendship through the years.

It seems to me, particularly fitting, that Lt. Gen. James Harold Doolittle should be singled out for the coveted gold medal of honor of the Jewish War Veterans because his plan of life, as an individual, and their course of action, as an organization, both express, in definite, dynamic form, the essence of what we mean by the word "American."

This great land of ours is a land of peace. The very keystone of our Republic was the belief, by our forefathers, that the individual's freedom to live harmoniously among his fellowmen, under God, was one of the most priceless and inalienable of human rights.

To establish that divine principle on this new continent the founders of this Republic challenged, almost with their bare hands, one of the world's great military powers. Into that struggle, they gave everything they had, suffered every hardship, and offered their life's blood. That principle was established, that freedom was won—but not by any particular group.

It was won because men of every race, color, and creed were united, spiritually, behind that principle. Side by side, in that common cause, they fought and bled and died, so they and their children, and the children of generations to come—so that you and I, and our children, and theirs in turn—could live, prosper, and multiply in the bright sunshine and bracing air of freedom.

That has been our great heritage. That has been the source of our great strength, as a people; our great power as a nation.

Today, more than ever, it is important for us to remember—for us to appreciate the simple, fundamental facts, upon which our existence as a free people depends.

In this cause, the Jewish War Veterans have long been rendering the people of our country a great patriotic service in time of peace.

Their aid to fellow veterans is a fine cause, generously served by other similarly devoted organizations. Their help in serving the spiritual welfare and recreational needs of the sick and disabled in our veterans' hospitals is outstanding.

Too, the touch of home and appreciation they bring to those who are now serving in our military forces fills a need which these veterans feel deep in their own hearts because of their own experience.

But, to my mind, perhaps the greatest service being rendered by the Jewish War Veterans today is the fine work they are doing, the splendid example they are setting, in championing human rights at the community level.

Because they, veterans of our wars for freedom, know how important it is to recognize and to be grateful for the rich blessings which have been bestowed upon every citizen under the American flag—blessings which were bought for us by the suffering and sacrifice of our patriots of the past.

Never before in our history have our freedoms been in such danger as they are now. And there has never been a time, in the last 100 years, when we have needed the inspiration of leaders who, by their example, and in their everyday lives, can inspire us, with the courage to live, and to fight for the very freedoms to which we owe our individual well-being and our country's greatness.

Such an individual, such an American, is our guest of honor tonight, Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle. Like each one of us, he had a choice in life. He could have chosen the easy way, to take what he could in life from the efforts of others.

Or—as he chose—he could devote his efforts and his God-given talents to contribute, what he could, to this country which has given so much to all of us.

Jimmy and I both won our wings about the same time, shortly after our country took up the fight against the Germans in 1917.

After that the airplane became Jimmy's mission in life, not because he was fascinated with the mechanical miracle of flight—as most of the early fliers were—but because he could see, in the airplane, a potential means of contributing to the strength and the security of America.

Our current history books spell out the steps he took toward that goal—without ever mentioning the goal itself. They measure his progress in terms of the speed records he set and then broke again in spectacular cross-country flights and other thrilling incidents in his career, during which he carried the cause, and added to the glory of American aviation in many countries of the world.

At the risk of embarrassing our guest, I would like to cite a few incidents in his career which you are all generally familiar with, but concerning which, I am sure, you only know that part of the story that appears on the surface.

You know, for instance, that Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle was the first man ever to graduate with the highest aeronautical engineering degree that was in the province of Massachusetts Institute of Technology to bestow. The record fails to show, however, that it took the combined force of the United States Army and the even more powerful drive of his lovely wife, Jo, to pry him out of a cockpit and into those great halls of learning.

It is rather typical of Doolittle that, in his final thesis he presented his views of what the most advanced technical course in aeronautical engineering should be composed of and how it should be taught. Into that one study he compressed not only the vast store of knowledge he acquired in his schooling, but much of his own engineering genius. And that thesis became a keystone in MIT's world-famous course in education in the aeronautical sciences.

One of the inherent problems in the operation of a machine designed to cruise through the air has been the obstacle of weather. But 'way back in 1926, under a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, Jimmy Doolittle tackled the problem of blind flight. He was borrowed from the Army for the task. Working for months with the best authorities in the country he helped design a set of basic instruments and installed them in a plane. When the time came to test these temperamental dials and fine instruments, it was Jimmy Doolittle who sealed himself in the experimental blind cockpit to attempt to make the world's first takeoff and blind landing.

Refinements of those instruments, today, ride in the cockpit of every aircraft in the sky. Furthermore, the principles they proved, in today's airplane, will enable us to operate with safety and certainty in any kind of weather tomorrow.

Despite the three stars of a lieutenant general's rank, which Jimmy is entitled to wear on the shoulders of his uniform—one of the highest ranks in our military order—Doolittle is, essentially, not a military man but a civilian. This misunderstanding is caused by the fact that he is so good, so far advanced in his thinking and in his ability, that neither civilian life nor the military services can get along without him for every long.

Even with the Shell Oil Co. where he is today, Jimmy never strayed very far from his course. For instance, he helped develop and then persuaded the Air Force to use the high-octane fuels which have given our aircraft engines increased power, speed, and range.

But he was always on call whenever a really big problem turned up, whether it was military or civil.

For when the United States was plunged into a Second World War by the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the shock was paralyzing, the morale of our people was at a low ebb. We had been struck a deadly blow. How could we strike back at a fiendish foe whose homeland was 7,000 miles away? By all the known rules, the project seemed impossible. But the Air Force borrowed back this civilian and the famous Doolittle raid on Tokyo lifted the hopes—and the determination—of an entire nation.

Most people, and I suppose quite naturally, measure the progress of aviation in terms of the spectacular achievements of men and machines. Few know or appreciate that behind each successive and successful assault on some new record or some new discovery are untold months, sometimes years, of heartbreaking and backbreaking study, experimentation, trial, and error.

In the ultimate proof of these trials of progress someone has to gamble everything they have, even life itself, in order that all may benefit by the advancement such experimentation makes possible. Over and over again Doolittle has been this singular individual.

How much we owe to such men. Think back for a moment to the beginning of flight, whose 50th anniversary year our Nation—and the world—has just celebrated—again, a typical Doolittle project.

Think of that frail little contraption of wood and linen held together with glue and wire, hauled into the aid by a little handmade engine—the simple ingredients from which has brought into being the miracle of powered flight, which gave wings to man.

Measure the fantastic progress of those few years, progress that has been made within the lifetime of many men now living, of many of you here in this room tonight. Compare that frail little plane of the Wright brothers with the great transports, the globe-girdling bombers, the faster-than-sound fighters, so commonplace in the skies above us today.

Then I ask you to realize—and remember—two things. First, with the scientific ele-

ments we have in our hands today, aviation will make greater progress in the next 10 years than we have accomplished in the last 50.

In that same thought, appreciate that the basic problems involved in that future have been worked out—some of them years before they could be applied—by such men as Jimmy Doolittle, men whose vision has ever ranged far ahead; men who, having proved what could be accomplished, are impatient with the past, are concerned only with the future. And what lies ahead for aviation?

Our progress will be limited only by the limitations of the human imagination. To make these things, and even far greater wonders, man already has, in his God-given intellect, the capacity for the knowledge they will take.

Yet, unless we can anchor our knowledge to moral principles, science may turn out to be not the guide but the betrayer of humanity.

With aviation's development in the hands of men of goodwill, we have, for the first time in the long history of man, the instrument with which to eliminate, forever, the barriers of time and distance, of ignorance, and misunderstanding, which since time began have set men apart from and against each other.

In terms of human relationships, these advances of aviation mean that the world will grow progressively smaller. Peoples of all nationalities will have, within their own hands, the means of meeting and understanding each other, for eliminating the petty hates and jealousies that tyrants use to breed wars.

For, in the years ahead, every community on the face of the earth will be a port of entry or departure for every other city, town, and hamlet on that vast ocean of air on whose shores every man lives.

Then, and this is our prayer, instead of being the most deadly weapon God ever let man create, the airplane will truly become the angel of peace He intended it to be.

To this end Jimmie Doolittle has devoted a full life of great achievement. In this cause he has been a missionary with a message which deserves our wholehearted support as his service to aviation and America deserves, and receives, the heartfelt appreciation of us all.

Two Hundred and Eighth Anniversary of Birth of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, on yesterday I had the honor of addressing a group of citizens of this city and its environs, who were gathered around the Kosciusko monument, at exercises in commemoration of the 208th anniversary of the birth of General Kosciusko. I ask unanimous consent that the address I delivered on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I want to express my sincere thanks for the invitation to speak to you on this 208th anniversary of the birth of Brig. Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko. I commend your parent organization, the Polish National Alliance for erecting this magnificent monument from which I speak. Here in the shadow of the White House it serves to remind us of the contribution which this valiant son of Poland made to the independence of these United States. It is to your credit that you remember and cherish the name of Kosciusko.

The anniversary of the birth of Kosciusko is a date important in the history of both Poland and the United States, for in both countries he played a vital role in their struggle for independence. So it is not mere coincidence that our two countries regard him as a national hero. When Kosciusko fought in the Saratoga and Carolina campaigns of our Revolutionary War, he was motivated by the same devotion to freedom which brought victory in the Battle of Raclawice to men who fought with scythes against a trained and fully equipped Russian Army.

Kosciusko was the first foreign patriot to heed the call of the "shot that was heard around the world." Landing on these shores shortly after the Declaration of Independence, the young Polish engineer threw himself into the fight the Colonies were waging against the British, with a passion and fervor which characterized his actions whenever the purpose was freedom. His first assignment was with the northern army which was experiencing difficulties checking the advance of General Burgoyne after the defeat at Ticonderoga. It was a happy circumstance that the then Colonel Kosciusko was on the scene when the American forces under General Gates were preparing for another stand. It was this modest Polish engineer who recommended that the Americans make their stand at Saratoga. Fortunately Gates had confidence in Kosciusko's advice and approved the plan. When the British attacked they found that Saratoga was a veritable citadel. Kosciusko's strategic skill and energy in preparing the fortifications is generally acknowledged as a most important factor in our victory at Saratoga, where defeat might very well have turned the tide and changed the course of our Nation's history.

After completing his assignment at West Point, Kosciusko requested to be transferred to the more active campaign which was being waged by the southen Army. There he distinguished himself by his ardor and skill in executing the back-breaking operations incident to conducting a military campaign over difficult and hazardous terrain. In emergencies it was natural for Kosciusko to take his place in the front line sharing the common lot of the soldier. It was this and other qualities which endeared him to his fellow officers and men alike. Quite appropriately fate preserved for him the honor of firing the last shot in the American Revolution at James Island, November 14, 1782.

If ever the term "soldier of liberty" applied to a man, it applied to Thaddeus Kosciusko. He was trained as a military man and his ability in this field made him one of the outstanding soldiers of his time. But his primary interest was not in the methods of warfare. When Napoleon offered him a high command in the world's best army, Kosciusko refused it. He led men to battle only when the issue at stake was the advancement of individual liberties. He was a professional soldier who throughout his life stood at the head of civilian armies, composed of men who as a last report had been forced to take up arms to defend themselves from the oppression of tyrants.

Thus, it was not only Kosciusko the General who endeared himself to the American people during the Revolutionary War. As important as were his military contributions, such as the fortification of West Point, to the outcome of our struggle for independence, his very presence was equally important because he represented the democratic forces in Europe which were in full sympathy with our cause. When Kosciusko came to America in 1777 to join Washington's army he brought with him the best wishes of the Polish people and thus injected new hope in the outcome of the Revolution by personifying the message that Americans did not stand alone in the war on tyranny.

After the Revolutionary War was over, the Congress rewarded Kosciusko with a brevet commission of brigadier general on October 13, 1783, as a token for his years of "long, faithful and meritorious service." He was accepted as a member in the Society of the Cincinnati, whose members to this day, I assure you, are proud of having his name on their roll. The Congress also provided a pension and a grant of land to the young Polish General.

Kosciusko returned to Poland to help his own people win the independence which America had just won. There is no need for me to recount his heroic exploits. I am sure they are familiar to all of you. Under his leadership, the Poles fought against the Russian invaders with such courage that in spite of being completely outnumbered and unequipped, they won the great battle of Raclawice and succeeded in defending Warsaw. Unfortunately, courage alone cannot withstand physical might indefinitely, and when the Prussians joined Russia in the war, all hope for the success of the uprising was lost. Kosciusko himself was wounded in the battle of Maciejowice and taken to St. Petersburg as a prisoner.

General Kosciusko lived out the rest of his life in exile. He spent a few years in Philadelphia, then moved to Switzerland. A whole century passed before the Polish people attained the independence to the winning of which he had devoted his life. But the Poles bore the loss of freedom as bravely as they had fought for it. Kosciusko's name remained as a symbol in the underground struggle which was maintained throughout the long period of occupation. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who had divided Poland among them, attempted to obliterate Polish national sentiment, crush the country's institutions, erase its culture, and, finally, to terrorize the people into an acceptance of their loss of independence.

When at long last in 1919, after the First World War, Poland arose again as a free nation, it became clear that though her territory had been occupied by foreign troops, the people had never been conquered. I had the great privilege of visiting the country on the 10th anniversary of Polish independence and stayed there for several weeks, meeting the people and the country's leaders. I traveled from Poznan on the west to Vilno on the east, from Gdynia on the north to Zakopane in the High Tatras on the south, and everywhere found the people aglow with patriotic enthusiasm. I was tremendously impressed by the sense of unity and progress present in a nation which until so recently had been divided into three sections and ruled by foreign powers. It seemed to me then that the invaders' efforts to destroy the cohesion of the Polish Nation had just the opposite effect. More than a century of persecution had bound Poles closer together, and attempts to deprive them of their national heritage had made that heritage all the more precious.

Now, as in Kosciusko's time, Poland is again ruled by a despotic regime, but many times worse and more powerful. It threatens the freedom of the world. From our hearts goes a salute to the suffering people of Poland. Let us pray that with God's will they may keep their hope for freedom burning. It is my profound conviction that Poland is not yet lost. Indeed, a nation which has given us the immortal human symbols of freedom—Kosciusko and Pulaski—will never be lost.

During my stay in Poland, a reception was held to reopen the restored Wawel Palace in Cracow. There on that occasion the President of Poland presented me with a medal, on one side of which the faces of Kosciusko

and Pulaski were molded and on the other side the face of Washington. These three men, revered alike in Poland and in the United States, represented the historical ties between our two countries. The image of yet another hero, though not engraved on the medal, was very much in our minds on that day. That man was our late President Woodrow Wilson, who over conference tables had fought for Polish independence, just as Kosciusko had fought for that of the United States on battlefields. I had had the great privilege of knowing and working with President Wilson, and I knew how important the cause of Poland's independence had been to him. It was, therefore, immensely gratifying to me to see the honor and respect paid to his memory by all Poles.

Today, President Wilson's principle of self-determination of peoples is again a burning issue. The Soviets have not only deprived the peoples of their right to choose their own governments, but they are again attempting to destroy the very fiber of the Polish nation. While we can take some comfort from the knowledge that previous attempts to this end have failed, we must also realize that the methods now employed by the Communists are far more brutal and thorough than those used by Poland's oppressors in the 19th century.

First we should stop the atrocities being committed by the Communists. This can best be done by exposing those guilty of these atrocities. As I have repeatedly urged, incidents such as the massacre of Polish intellectuals in the Katyn Forest should be presented to the United Nations and referred to an international court of justice. Under the glare of world public opinion, the Soviets will not be able to carry on their work of murder without risking defeat in the ideological battle in which they are engaged.

Secondly, in order to bring about the day of Poland's resurrection, we must keep the very idea of self-determination alive by constantly reminding ourselves and others of the full meaning of this principle. Self-determination signifies not only free governments of independent nations, but it implies that individuals shall be free to live in the way they choose. Thaddeus Kosciusko was keenly aware of the relationship of national independence to personal freedom. He spoke of his fight for Polish independence as a fight for the liberty and right to happiness of each Polish citizen. His views were very similar to those expressed later by Abraham Lincoln, the man whose birth we celebrate on the same day as Kosciusko's.

These views and the noble tradition of bravery and willing service which Kosciusko displayed in the American Revolution have since been maintained splendidly by millions of American soldiers of Polish descent. It is interesting to note here that more than 2,000 are dead, missing, or wounded in the Korean war.

When General Kosciusko left the United States, he wrote a last will and testament in which he disposed of the property awarded to him by Congress in appreciation of his role in the Revolutionary War. In this last will and testament, Kosciusko appointed his good friend, Thomas Jefferson, executor and provided that all his property be used to purchase freedom for Negro slaves and to educate Negroes so that they would be able to make for themselves full and happier lives.

In our present anxiety to rid the world of the horror of communism, we sometimes tend to relax our emphasis on such matters as individual rights and social advancement. Some even tell us that we must temporarily put aside ideas about equality before the law, rights of minorities and betterment of the economic lot of the underprivileged, in order to concentrate all our energies on defeating communism. But the great message left to us by Thaddeus Kosciusko was that the ideals we are now told to lay aside are the very things on which the life of nations depend and that only by fighting for them can we bring independence to all men. Let us remember this as we honor the man of whom Thomas Jefferson said: "He is the purest son of freedom I have ever known, and that is freedom for all, not just for the privileged and the few."

Jefferson-Jackson Day Address by Hon. Spessard L. Holland, of Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the very interesting and effective speech delivered by the distinguished senior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Raleigh, N. C., Saturday night, February 13, 1954.

More than 600 Democrats attended the dinner and enthusiastically responded to the masterful address by the Senator from Florida, who made such a fine impression on the people of my State that they would be very happy to adopt him as a good North Carolinian who speaks the language of real democracy and genuine Americanism.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

You have conferred upon me a high honor by asking me to be your speaker at this annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner of the Democrats of the great State of North Carolina. I thank you warmly, for both your kind invitation and your generous hospitality. It is a rare privilege to be back in the heart of this prosperous, progressive, and truly Southern State, whose progress has been so swift and enduring under the leadership of the Democratic Party.

I bring to you Democrats of the Tarheel State cordial greetings from the Democrats of Florida, the Sunshine State. You have sent to us many of our finest citizens. Thousands of Floridians spend their vacations in your restful mountains, just as thousands of you find vacation pleasures in our State. And so, we always feel comfortably at home in North Carolina, but your kindly greeting has made me feel doubly so tonight.

First, may I voice my appreciation of the six distinguished United States Senators from North Carolina with whom it has been my privilege to serve. Your grand senior Senator and former Governor, CLYDE HOEY, is not only a great Democrat and Southerner, but also one of the most highly respected and deeply loved Members of the Senate. It has been my high privilege to be his seatmate and close friend during all of my years in the Senate. Your splendid junior Senator, AL LENNON, is already making his clear mark as a sound legislator of character, conviction, and ability. Your distinguished Governor, William Umstead, and I went to the Senate the same year, and I recognized there his high qualities of mind and character, and his effectiveness as a hard-working Senator. It was a pleasure, too, to serve with your Dr. Frank Graham, great educator, humanitarian, and public servant, who brought to the Senate a personality so warm and engaging as to become much loved by all who served with him.

I mention with particular affection the last two of your great sons with whom I have served in the Senate, both of them late residents of our host city, Raleigh.

Melville Broughton and I served as Governors for the same 4 years. He became chairman of our Southern Governors' Conference, and a great governor and great chairman he was. With others, I looked forward with keen anticipation to serving with him in the Senate, where his broad experience and rare sense of humor would have meant so much. His untimely passing was, to me, a heavy personal blow.

Willis Smith, I had known by reputation as a great lawyer and president of the American bar, and as one active in government and in education. In the Senate I came to admire him not only as one of our soundest constitutional lawyers, but also as a truly great American whose first concern was the security of our Nation and the preservation of American institutions. He was one of my closest personal friends.

I pay my respects to the State and to the party which has given to the Nation the six fine Senators whom I have mentioned. I compliment you, too, for the extremely high quality of the men whom you have sent to the House of Representatives there to well serve you and the Nation. Your North Carolinians in both Houses of Congress make up a strong delegation indeed, and they are so recognized. No State is better represented.

As the very name Jefferson-Jackson Day suggests, this splendid occasion gives us the opportunity to again contemplate the long and inspiring history of our Democratic Party in serving the Nation by carrying out the principles of the great founder, Thomas Jefferson, which principles were dynamically applied by Andrew Jackson to the lives and fortunes of our everyday citizens. It is hardly necessary for me to mention to this group of stalwart Democrats these imperishable ideals of the Democratic Party. It was in your State that Andrew Jackson grew to manhood and from which he went as a young man across the mountains, there to become the first great leader among those pioneer Americans who were claiming for our Nation what was then the new West. Your constant, strong support of the ideals of Jefferson and Jackson, of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, must be a source of pride to you, as it is an inspiration to all other Democrats. I well know that I stand in the State which, in 1952, at a time of great national defeat of our party, gave to our Democratic ticket the largest number of electoral votes received from any one State of the Union.

However, I do want to mention some of our party's fundamentals, because I strongly believe that we must rededicate ourselves to them if we are to gird ourselves properly for victory in the legislative elections of next fall and the Presidential election of 1956. The Democratic Party has ever been the party of all of the people, the party of the masses rather than of any class or classes. We must keep it such. Claude Bowers once said pungently that we Democrats believe in a democracy of men and not in the aristocracy of money. We must maintain this humanitarian ideal. We have constantly tried to give equal rights to all and special privileges to none. We must preserve this as our goal.

Our party has traditionally worked to make the Government a servant of all the people, and not the master of any of us. It has been, and it must remain, a party that responds to the changing needs of the people and the times, but without moving our Government from the sound constitutional foundations upon which it was built. Our party, in its 150 years, has brought about most of the progressive legislation that the country has enjoyed.

It is undeniable that we southern Democrats have played our full part in building the glorious record of our party on all of the fundamental principles which I have just named. This has been true in all the years of the party's life, right down to the present. Southern Democrats supported and, in many cases, led the fights for the establishment of the great humanitarian and economic programs which were launched during the administration of the late President Franklin Roosevelt and which have now become permanent and valued governmental policy.

Our serious recent division is based upon still another vital issue. We have always kept in high position the preservation of the rights and freedoms of individual citizens. Because this principle is best served by preserving the rights of the several States, our national party has always, until recent years, stoutly supported the doctrine of States' rights, home rule, and local self-government. Until recent years it has continued to hold, with Jefferson, that that government is soundest which is closest to the people and date has largely resulted from these convenleast."

To all Jeffersonian Democrats one of the saddest days in recent Democratic history was the occasion at the Philadelphia convention in 1948 when, on a rollcall vote, the Democratic Party declined to adopt a moderate resolution restating our traditional support of the doctrine of States' rights.

On that same day our Democratic convention adopted, by a narrow margin, a minority plank on civil rights, supporting the Truman civil-rights program, and thus crushing down again the doctrine of States' rights. Every southern delegate voted against the action of the convention in both of these matters. The split in our party since that date has largely resulted from these convention actions.

However, I shall not dwell tonight upon these actions, because I did not come here to conduct a post mortem of the past, but instead to help, if I can, to draft a constructive blueprint for a promising future of an intensely alive and fighting Democratic Party. That is our task now, and I think it is greatly in the interest of our Nation that we Democrats shall do just that.

PROSPECTS IMPROVING FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY

As the embattled leaders of our Democratic Party meet this week in Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners across the Nation, I am sure that most of us are keenly aware that the prospects for restoring unity within our great party are improving with every passing day. This results, in part, from the fact that the ultraliberal forces within our party have had time to realize that in the last Presidential election not a single electoral vote was captured for our party and its candidates outside of seven Southern States and two border States. Our 1952 highly liberal platform and ticket failed to carry a single one of the so-called two-party States. It even lost for us four good States of the heretofore solid South. Likewise, in 1948 four other good Southern States left our national ticket to support the Independent States Rights Democrats. Even those whose convictions are ultraliberal, and who make up a valuable part of our party, should have been forced to the conclusion that there must be a give and take in our party on issues which have held us apart, and a return to the fortress of our fathers by renewing our party's traditional support of the rights of the States and the freedom of individuals. Our platform and candidates must be such as to command the enthusiastic support of moderate and conservative Democrats in the South and everywhere else, as well as those who are highly liberal, if we expect to win. Our party is big enough, and its appeal must be kept broad enough, to attract and hold good Americans of varying points of view, provided they believe in our party and its fundamentals and in its ability to bring responsible and soundly democratic government to our land.

I am sure that we Democrats of the South have been pleased by the clear evidence that our party leaders have adopted in recent months a conciliatory attitude and are apparently willing to seek unity in our party on those issues on which we can agree, and to play down those issues on which we are divided. I was greatly pleased at the friendly and considerate attitude of Gov. Adlai Stevenson and of Chairman Steve Mitchell during their recent visits to the South. You will all remember that on his visit to Atlanta Governor Stevenson remarked, in substance, that the South has made more significant progress in solving the difficult civil-rights problems than have other parts of our Nation. We of the South have long known this to be true, but it was comforting to hear the titular head of our party make this statement, which was so vastly different from anything we could hear in 1952. His further statement to the effect that he believed the two great wings of our party could be brought together under a give-and-take program sounded exactly like what we southern Democrats have been urging for years.

The similar invitation to unity made by Chairman Mitchell at the recent meeting in Washington of the Representatives and Senators from 12 Southeastern States was also most encouraging. We of the South cannot expect to have our ideas prevail one hundred percent, and I am sure that we stand ready to meet other Democrats in most matters on a 50–50 basis. I think we should always make it quite clear in the counsels of our party that we are willing to meet moderation with moderation and that we are earnestly seeking for middle ground on which all Democrats can stand sturdily together. At the same time I am sure that the South does not expect to yield its vital convictions on matters of gravest importance to us, nor will the South ever be satisfied with a platform which ignores our views, and which takes our enthusiastic support for granted. The outcome in 1948 and in 1952, when 8 of our Southern States, all told, left the Democratic Party, temporarily at least, in a presidential election, has made it quite clear that the South cannot be ignored in the framing of party policies. After all the South furnished the inspired leaders who brought our Party into existence, and has consistently furnished the unyielding backbone of solid Democratic strength.

Another development which shows clearly the improved prospects for Democratic unity is the way in which our party in both Houses of Congress is standing together so frequently in supporting the leadership of two great southerners, SAM RAYBURN, the selected Democratic leader of the House, and LYNDON JOHNSON, the selected Democratic leader of the Senate.

Still another factor supporting the improved prospects for unity in our party is the disappearance of some important issues upon which we have been divided and the lessening of tension on other issues. In the so-called Tidelands dispute, which lasted in Congress for 16 years, with ever-increasing intensity, the membership of our party in the two Houses of Congress was almost equally divided, with the South almost solidly in favor of the restoration of the property rights of the States in their submerged lands, and against the further enlargement of an already unwieldy and overgrown Federal Government. The passage of the tidelands bill last year should remove this stumbling block in the path of party unity.

In the field of civil rights, the almost complete disappearance of lynching in the South, an end toward which our good people of both races have been ardently working for decades, has almost eliminated another issue which made for grave disunion in the past. I doubt if there is any other body of criminal statutes on the law books of our States and the Nation which are so completely obeyed as are the laws against lynching.

Similarly the poll-tax issue has largely been eliminated. Your own progressive State of North Carolina led the way in doing away with the poll-tax requirement as a prerequisite for voting. Your leadership has been followed in full by the States of Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and great progress has been made in most of the other Southern States by broadening their exemption statutes. For years a large group of southern Senators has been offering, in good faith, a constitutional amendment which, if adopted, would end the poll-tax requirements in all Federal elections.

The program for a compulsory FEPC has been greatly slowed down, if not entirely stopped. A much larger number of States and people outside of the South have voted down proposed State FEPC laws than have adopted such measures. It is becoming increasingly clear that a large majority of the Nation as a whole does not want this destructive and unsound class legislation. I have noted with interest that some of our most liberal Democrats in Congress have now offered legislation to set up a new Commission to make an entirely new study of the whole subject of civil rights. This carries with it at least the implication that the report of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission is unsound.

Perhaps one of the most important evidences of the growth of solidarity within our party is the indicated disappearance of the so-called loyalty resolution which was adopted in a watered-down form at the Chicago Convention in 1952 over the strong disapproval of the South. You will remember that after its adoption the convention ruled that this loyalty resolution should not apply to the 1952 convention, but only in the future. At the recent meeting in Chicago of the National Democratic Committee it was recognized that the Loyalty Resolution could not be applicable to future conventions unless again adopted, and related only to the past. An excellent Steering Committee was apointed to plan for the disposal of the issue. There was never any wisdom or good politics, either in the past or for the future, in trying to substitute coercion for persuasion. I fully believe that most good Democrats throughout the Nation feel that this misnamed loyalty resolution should be completely forgotten and consigned to the oblivion which it deserves. For it is elemental that no political party can win its battle by coercing a handful of delegates from each State. The real effort must be to build an appealing platform and program and to select as candidates upon that platform nominees who will inspire and command loyal and enthusiastic support throughout the Nation. A party divided against itself cannot win. It does not have the necessary esprit de corps to fight a winning battle, nor can it hope to command the confidence and support of the independent public.

And so our first task must be to recapture unity by playing down those issues upon which we cannot agree and joining in giving harmonious support to those many principles upon which all good Democrats can find common ground. Of course we cannot expect complete agreement on every issue. Our country is too large and our interests too varied for that. Our party has always allowed for differences of opinion. But we can, and I hope that we will, emphasize the fundamentals on which we can stand united. It seems to me that the eastern sky is already glowing with the light of a new day of promise for our Democratic Party—a day of unity and harmony, of joint effort and of victorious achievement.

REPUBLICAN CONFUSION UNPARALLELED

As to our friendly rivals, the Republicans, their party is in such great turmoil and division that our lessening Democratic differences appear, when contrasted with theirs, like some small velvety hill of your famous Piedmont region set against the massive and craggy bulk of Mount Mitchell as it dominates the western North Carolina sky.

Shall we look at taxation? There, we see the President and his leadership in the Ways and Means Committee of the House, where tax legislation must originate, pulling against each other with their full strength throughout the more than a year of the Republican administration. Last year they were battling over the question of extending for a few months the excess-profits tax. The President needed that extension to bring about a more nearly balanced budget, but the fight with his own leadership continued until Democratic votes in the Ways and Means Committee and on the floor of both Houses upheld the hands of the President. When a tax program for the present session of Congress was in the making and the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee was invited to come to the White House to help work out an acceptable program, he gave public notice that he had decided, instead, to take a long ocean voyage. In the current discussion of what rate of taxes against payrolls shall prevail to make the social-security structure sound and solvent, we find the same strong difference of opinion and the same complete disunity. Only last week the Speaker of the House strongly endorsed a program for excise taxes in opposition to that offered by the administration. Mr. Chairman, you could not imagine your own Bob Doughton, long-time chairman of Ways and Means, or Speaker SAM RAYBURN taking such paralyzing positions against their party leadership and the Nation. I hardly think that it is necessary to remind you that our friends, the Republicans, claim to be especially businesslike, sound, and successful in this field of taxation and fiscal affairs. Yet, up to this time they have shown an amazing capacity to fail to work together on any financial program whatever.

Shall we look at the field of foreign policy? There the Secretary of State has met with strenuous opposition to various parts of his program from Republican Members of the Senate. You will recall his difficulty in securing confirmation of the Ambassador to Russia, his difficulty in holding the Republicans together on any program for foreign aid. You will recall the resentment of the Secretary of State and the President to the efforts of various Republican Senators to take over the handling of important international shipping problems. Of late, the whole Nation has seen the all-out effort that the President has made to soften a proposed constitutional amendment, sponsored by a Republican Senator, which most students of international affairs feel would work havoc to the functioning of our executive department in its relations with foreign nations, particularly in the negotiation of treaties. It has become quite clear that the first treaty needed by the Republicans is a treaty between the President and his State Department on the one hand and numerous Republican Senators, on the other.

When we turn to waterpower development, we observe Governor Dewey, of New York, leading one strong section of his party in the effort to secure for the State of New York the important privilege of developing the waterpower on the Niagara River, while another vigorous group of Republicans strives to turn over that immense power potential for private development.

Shall we turn to agriculture? There we find the Secretary of Agriculture opposed most vigorously in committee and on the floor of Congress by various members of his own party, who seek every occasion to declare that they will have none of the administration's agricultural program.

In the field of political patronage, we find the Republican Party divided into two groups—the Old Guard and the Dewey group—battling each other for almost every worthwhile plum. So far the contest has been so keen that many important posts have been left vacant. This battle seems to be going merrily on, not only at the national level, but in many State and local organizations. Such battles leave lasting scars.

Shall we look at the field of labor-industry legislation? There we find the first Secretary of Labor in this administration resigning his post and leaving office with unkind words for those with whom he had worked. The badly needed amendments to the Taft-Hartley law, including among others the highly necessary provision to give to the States complete freedom to deal effectively with stoppages of public utilities, seem further off than ever after more than a year of effort. Unfortunately, the Republicans have found themselves unable to effectively discharge their responsibility to the American people in this matter by reason of the fact that the Republican membership in the Labor Committees is strongly divided.

Then, there is the vital field of reestablishing our diminished foreign trade, in which the Republicans are badly divided as to tariff revision and as to the renewal and strengthening of the reciprocal trade agreement law.

There are many other fields in which the complete lack of unity in the Republican Party has manifested itself so clearly that it must be apparent to all that the Republican Party is not a functioning body, but is hopelessly divided among its various factions and cannot furnish the responsible leadership that this Nation badly needs and I think will demand. I cannot recall, in modern political history, any parallel to the disunity, division, and complete confusion which presently paralyzes the Republican Party.

In a somewhat lighter vein, I think that a clear confession of lack of effective leadership in the Republican Party in humanitarian matters was disclosed in the appointment of the first Cabinet member to head the new and vastly important Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. When the Republicans gladly adopted as their own the whole Democratic social-security structure and put on a new coat of paint by creating the new Cabinet Department, they were apparently unable to find within the length and breadth of their party anyone who had an adequate humanitarian grasp of governmental social programs; and so they turned, naturally, to the Democratic South. The President named as the first occupant of that important Cabinet post the wife of a former Democratic governor, herself up to that time a lifelong Democrat, the lovely and highly capable Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, of the Lone Star State. Incidentally, I was impressed by a description that I heard some weeks ago of the President's Cabinet. It was described as now consisting of nine mere men with but a single hobby.

Mr. Chairman, to return to the serious, I do not think that there is any escape from the conclusion that the inability of the Republicans to get things done, due to their own disunity, is the outstanding fact about the present administration. The few important measures that have been passed by Congress have been possible only through sizable Democratic support of the President.

Of course, the Republicans keenly feel their own impotency and fully realize that they cannot blame the lack of results on any failure of the Democrats to cooperate. Hence, for want of sound political arguments and despite announced disapproval by the President, a few of their loudest political voices are now desperately branding our party as the party of treason and corruption. These false and intemperate charges will come back like a boomerang upon those who hurled them, for the American people believe in fair play and good sportsmanship. They know that gross misconduct is not confined to either party and that it is not typical of the members or the leaders of either party. They know that the vast majority of both parties are patriotic and honest Americans, who place country above party, and who are insistent that treason and corruption be exposed and punished wherever they may be found. For instance, no one ever did a better job in exposing corruption than did your own beloved Senator HOEY in his able service as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee.

I hope that we Democrats shall not be tempted into making a lot of countercharges and pitching the campaigns this fall and in 1956 on such a dismal level. What the people want is, I believe, the restoration of unity and responsibility in their political parties. What we Democrats need to display is such harmony and singleness of purpose as to make it clear that if returned to power, our party will replace the present Republican futility and confusion with a responsible and responsive government, under which we can get things done which are in the interest of the Nation.

We Democrats can recapture the leadership of Congress next fall. We can regain the Presidency in 1956.

Farmers are alarmed. Labor is restless and suspicious. Small-business men are anxious. They know that the head of the Small Business Administration, created last July as a substitute for RFC and to help small business, was appointed only last week. Merchants are perplexed. The general public is uneasy. Our people, in general, have sensed the utter inability of the Republicans to translate their policies and promises into effective action.

If our great Democratic Party, following a path of reasonable give and take, can come up with a solid front and a vigorous campaign, we can win next November. And if we follow with an affirmative performance in the next Congress and with a soundly Democratic platform and ticket in 1956, which shall not attempt to promise all things to all people, we shall elect a Democratic President and again undertake the responsible task of furnishing a government which will conserve and expand our domestic strength and measure up to our heavy international obligations.

Here is not only an opportunity but a challenge. The first and most critical step in the path to victory is to bring our split party back into working unity.

It is my earnest hope that the Democrats of the South and of the Nation will respond to the challenge and speedily take this first and most necessary step. There is no greater objective to which you Democrats of North Carolina, highly respected as you are throughout the Nation, could dedicate yourselves than that of furnishing aggressive leadership to an effort so meaningful to our Democratic Party and to our Nation as a whole.

Bricker Amendment Substitutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in

the Appendix of the RECORD the following two items: The first is a statement issued on February 14, 1954, by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], together with an analysis of various substitutes proposed for the Bricker amendment. The second is an editorial entitled "The Harmless Substitutes," published in the February 15, 1954, issue of the Washington Post.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE

Although the Bricker amendment, as such, appears to have been beaten, the Senate will face a raft of so-called harmless substitutes when it reconvenes Monday.

In analysing the various substitute amendments, I find that they are, in many instances, far from harmless. I thought that it would be helpful, therefore, if I collected the various proposals and set down in the briefest possible form some of the more serious objections to them. This I have done in the attached memorandum.

I am encouraged that my mail, during the past few weeks, has taken a decided turn and that the general public, having been shown the dangers of the Bricker amendment, are writing thoughful letters urging the utmost caution in considering any amendment.

I believe that their reaction to the harmless substitutes will be similar as soon as they realize they are both harmful and needless.

Therefore, I am hopeful that the Senators will not be under pressure to pass a harmless amendment which they hope does not amend anything.

As the debate develops during the coming week, all of these objections which I have outlined and many more will be forthcoming from both sides of the aisle. It will become apparent that the proposed substitute amendments are needless, and at the same time harmful. At that juncture, I am hopeful that a great many Senators will foresake attempts to tamper with the Constitution and will join with me and the other sponsors of a substitute joint resolution which does not result in an amendment to the Constitution, but which serves several useful purposes. It would restate as the sense of the Congress the revered principles surrounding the supremacy of the Constitution above all laws, all treaties, and all other international agreements. It would reaffirm the power of the Congress to annul the domestic effects of any undesirable treaty or executive agreement, and the power of the courts to declare invalid any unconstitutional treaty or executive agreement. It would also provide some useful changes in the Rules of the Senate and House of Representatives to insure that no treaties or constitutional amendments are sneaked through the Congress without proper consideration, for it would require roll call votes with a quorum present.

The other sponsors of this resolution are: Senator SPARKMAN, Democrat, of Alabama; Senator GILLETTE, Democrat, of Iowa; Senator HILL, Democrat, of Alabama; Senator HENNINGS, Democrat, of Missouri; Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts; Senator KILGORE, Democrat, of West Virginia; Senator MURRAY, Democrat, of Montana; Senator NEELY, Democrat, West Virginia; Senator HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota; Senator LEHMAN, Democrat, of New York; Senator MORSE, Independent, of Oregon.

GEORGE PROPOSAL

Summary of objections

Original version: "An international agreement other than a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only by an act of Congress."

Objections:

1. As presently worded it would destroy the requirement of a two-thirds consent of the Senate to change State laws and constitutions by an international agreement; such things as genocide, human rights, etc., could be made internal law in the United States through use of an executive agreement implemented by a simple majority of both Houses of Congress.

2. The only possible justification for the proposed amendment is some rather vague dicta in a single Supreme Court case, the Pink case. The actual holding in the case was quite sensible, since it resulted in the protection of American (vice Russian) creditors from losses due to Soviet expropriations. The dicta has never been implemented in later decisions; in all probability it never will.

3. There are adequate safeguards against abuse of the power to make executive agreements under our present constitutional system of checks and balances. These are (a) power of Congress to annul the domestic effect of any treaty or executive agreement by subsequent act of Congress, (b) power of the courts to invalidate any treaty or executive agreement which contravenes the Constitution, (c) power of impeachment, and (d) power of public opinion, including a presidential election every 4 years.

4. Who is to determine which of the thousands of executive agreements concluded every year should be sent to Congress for implementation? Who can tell which of them should be available to legitimate American litigants and hence require implementation? Will the President, to be on the safe side, be forced to send all executive agreements to Congress, and, if so, what will the Congress do with them?

5. It is not at all clear whether congressionally authorized agreements will require a second implementation before they can become effective as internal law. This question may cause a great deal of needless litigation not only in the Federal courts but also in the courts of all 48 States.

6. The so-called administration objections relate to the impairment of the President's constitutional power. In particular, the proposed amendment would limit the President in his role as Commander in Chief and recognizor of foreign governments. This impairment could be particularly serious in an emergency, when for example, the President might want to admit Canadian troops but would have to await an act of Congress to override the many conflicting State laws. In fact, the President would be forced to act speedily and unconstitutionally.

Several provisos have been suggested to overcome these objections:

First proviso: "Provided that nothing in this section shall diminish the power of the President as Commander in Chief or his power to receive Ambassadors and other public ministers."

This would still encroach upon the President's constitutional powers, because enumeration of two powers would imply exclusion of other powers from the proviso. For this reason, the proviso has apparently been unacceptable to the administration.

Also this proviso would perpetrate the decision in the Pink case, although the destruction of the Pink case (regardless of its merits) is the one avowed aim of the supporters of the George amendment.

Second proviso (to be added to the first proviso): "Nothing in this enumeration shall be construed as in any way limiting any other power of the President under this Constitution."

This would make an absurdity of the whole proposed amendment. It might result in an overall expansion rather than contraction of executive powers.

(It should be noted that neither of these provisos obviates the first five objections listed above, including the States rights objection.)

(A new sec. 3 of the latest Bricker version contains the George amendment, but adds to it the cumbersome provision that all treaties shall be non-self-executing unless two-thirds of the Senate affirmatively provides otherwise.)

KNOWLAND-FERGUSON PROPOSALS

Summary of objections

I. Conflicting amendment: The perfected text would read: "A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Objections:

1. It is unnecessary since, by admission of its sponsors, it is declaratory of existing law. The Constitution should not be cluttered up with such declarations. This would be an anomalous "11th Commandment."

2. The only fear which will be assuaged will be that which has been whipped up by the Brickerites themselves.

3. Our present safeguards against unconstitutional treaties are adequate. We have the President, two-thirds of the Senate, the courts, and public opinion.

4. The Supreme Court may well try to find some amendment in an amendment which is not intended to amend anything.

5. The amendment will undo 165 years of jurisprudence and will result in a mountain of perfectly needless litigation.

6. There are ambiguities in the text. For example, is the treaty supposed to be of no force or effect internally or internationally?

II. Yeas-and-nays amendment: When the Senate consents to the ratification of a treaty the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate."

Objections:

1. The purpose could be achieved by a simple change in the rules of the Senate.

2. The Constitution should not be cluttered up with trivia.

3. It is absurd to ask the 48 State legislatures to pass upon the rules of the United States Senate.

4. In fact, the proposed rule is currently in effect in the Senate through action of the majority leader.

III. Amendment to article VI of the Constitution: At present article VI reads:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The following clause would be added: "Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this clause, no treaty made after the establishment of this Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land unless made in pursuance of this Constitution."

Objections:

1. This amendment is unnecessary. The only reason for the variance in language in the Constitution as it was originally drafted is perfectly clear; there were some valuable treaties concluded before the Constitution was drafted, and the Founding Fathers did not want them invalidated; hence, the language "under the authority of the United States." There is no other significance to the difference in language.

2. Any possible hypothetical problem, if one exists at all, should be taken care of by the conflicting amendment, although this in itself is unnecessary. Certainly there is no reason to have two unnecessary amendments for the same nonexistent problem.

3. As Senator THYE pointed out on the floor of the Senate, the phrase "in pursuance of" is meaningless in relation to treaties.

According to Webster, the phrase means "carrying out or into effect." Although laws are always made to carry out or into effect the provisions of the Constitution, it is not believed that most treaties serve this specific purpose. The treaty power is a separate constitutional power and, unlike the legislative power, is not necessarily designed to effectuate all of the other provisions of the Constitution. Yet at the same time a valid treaty cannot be made under our present Constitution which will contravene the other provisions of the Constitution.

4. According to one of its sponsors, Senator FERGUSON, one objective of this amendment would be to prevent transfer of any legislative, executive, or judicial power to any international organization. This vague objective is in essence section 2 of the original Bricker version of Senate Joint Resolution 1. This section was so objectionable that even the Judiciary Committee rejected it. It is not known how much of the nefarious "which" clause might be read back in via this amendment to article VI.

5. According to Senator FERGUSON, the amendment will be retroactive to 1789, requiring an examination of all treaties concluded since that date to see if they were made 'in pursuance of" the Constitution, whatever that might mean. Will an argument be made that adherence to the U. N. Charter was unconstitutional either as not being "in pursuance of," or as granting some quasi-executive or quasi-judicial power to the United Nations or the International Court of Justice?

[From the Washington Post of February 15, 1954]

THE HARMLESS SUBSTITUTES

As debate is resumed on the Bricker amendment today, it is clearly apparent that no satisfactory curb on the treatymaking power has been devised. The hope that some constitutional amendment could be worked out to quiet the fears that Senator BRICKER and his supporters have aroused, without enveloping the treaty power in new confusion or disturbing the balance of power between the President and Congress, has proved to be an illusion. To be sure, the various substitutes offered have served the purpose of routing the original Bricker amendment, and that is no mean achievement. But every one of them leads onto spongy ground. We agree with Senator KEFAUVER in saying that the so-called harmless substitutes should go the way of Mr. BRICKER's original nostrum.

There is, of course, one useful change the Senate could make. Several persons have written to remind us that in 1952 3 treaties slipped through the Senate with only 2 Senators present and only 1 of those voting. Even though the treaties in question were noncontroversial and had the approval of the Foreign Relations Committee, the effect was to make a farce of senatorial advice and consent. Certainly no treaty should be approved without a rollcall to establish that a majority of the Senate is present.

This reform can be brought about, however, without a constitutional amendment. All that is needed is a change in the Senate rules. Indeed, majority leader KNOWLAND has already indicated that he will demand a rollcall vote on treaties coming before the Senate while he remains in his present position. We think this policy should be written positively into the Senate rules, but it is not necessary to put such details into the Constitution.

Another suggested change in the Senate rules would require that body to label each treaty approved as self-executing or non-self-executing. But the Senate already has power to do this. We can see no reason to give that power special emphasis in a rule. Usually there is good reason why a treaty should become law upon approval by the Senate or should be implemented by an act of the entire Congress, and the method to be followed should be made evident by the text itself. So long as the Senate can require supplemental legislation, there seems to be no point in inviting it to complicate the treatymaking process.

If the Senator wishes to do more than require a rollcall on treaties, it can, as Senator KEFAUVER and 11 of his colleagues have suggested, pass a joint resolution that would restate, as the sense of the Congress, the superiority of the Constitution over all laws, treaties and executive agreements. The resolution offered by this group would also reaffirm the power of the courts to upset treaties in conflict with the Constitution and the power of Congress to nullify the domestic effects of any offensive treaty or executive agreement.

This resolution affords Senators an opportunity to go on record against the imaginary perils that Senator BRICKER has conjured up, without cluttering the Constitution with excess verbiage. In our view, the Senate should turn at once to this modest task, leaving the harmless substitutes in the same pile of relics to which the original Bricker amendment has been consigned.

The GOP Record and Abraham Lincoln—The Deomocratic Party's Responsibility in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of remarks which I made in New York City on Saturday night, February 13, at a dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOP RECORD AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN—THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S RESPONSIBILITY IN 1954

(Remarks of Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN at the New York State Democratic Committee dinner, February 13, 1954, Waldorf Astoria, New York City)

It is good to be here tonight with so many old friends with whom I have had the satisfaction of working through the years to uphold the banners of the Democratic Party.

We have reason to be of good heart tonight. The enthusiasm and high spirits of Democrats throughout the Nation are thrilling and understandable.

It is only 1 year after our defeat, and already we sense victory.

Only a year after the Republicans have taken office, with the largest majority for the Presidency in history, they are devoting their energies not to a concerted attack on the problems of the country, but to hysterical attacks on the Democratic Party. That is a good sign for us, a sign that they sense and fear defeat.

It is well that we Democrats should meet this year, here in New York, on the day after Abraham Lincoln's birthday. It is fitting that we should observe that birthday, the birthday of one of the greatest Americans of all times.

I have always considered it presumptuous and even fraudulent for the Republican Party to claim Abraham Lincoln as its patron saint. The Lincoln heritage is, of course, the heritage of the whole Nation, but it certainly is not that of the modern-day Republican Party. How tragically far has the Republican Party of today retreated from his beliefs, how greatly have some of its leaders betrayed his faith.

Today we Democrats can well assert that we and not they are maintaining the faith of Abraham Lincoln—the belief in the exercise of the power of the National Government in behalf of the common man.

In actual fact the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln is an integral part of that great tradition of liberal and progressive thought in America most clearly identified with Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Abraham Lincoln was, above all, a fighter for human liberty. He was a defender of the dignity of labor, and of the supremacy of human rights over property rights. He was a believer in the responsibility of government for the welfare of the individual citizen. He was one of history's greatest leaders in the age-old conflict to establish the equality of the rights of all men, regardless of race, creed, or color.

What is this but the doctrine of the Democratic Party today? What is this but a definition of the New Deal and the Fair Deal?

It is an interesting but little-remembered fact of history that Abraham Lincoln, aside from his historic role as the saviour of the Union and as the Great Emancipator, was also the chief advocate of some of the first social-welfare measures to be enacted by the Congress of the United States.

He established the first Department of Agriculture in the Federal Government and termed it the people's department.

He was a defender of the rights of aliens, and urged measures to encourage immigration from Europe.

He proposed and fought through to enactment the first measure for Federal aid to education, the Morrill Land Grant Act, for the benefit of State colleges and universities.

He proposed and fought through to enactment the first homestead act, for the wider distribution of land among the people, a measure he described as one to encourage democracy in America.

He asserted the thesis—revolutionary for his time—that labor had a priority over capital, that capital was based on labor and hence was inferior to it in its moral right. Freedom, said Abraham Lincoln, meant freedom from exploitation by private interests as well as freedom from tyranny by government.

And in his day, Abraham Lincoln's principles and proposals did not escape attack from the spokesmen for special privilege, from the extremists, and from the enemies of freedom, equality and democracy. On the contrary, Lincoln was bitterly assailed from all sides, from the extreme left and from the extreme right, from within his party and from outside it.

The party called Republican, although new-born, was already bitterly divided in Lincoln's time. In this, there has been no change to date.

The majority of the Republican Members of Congress opposed him on many occasions. On the most crucial issues of the day, he was constantly obstructed by members of his own party. History certainly repeats itself.

At the outset of the struggle against the South, Lincoln's most influential support came from his erstwhile opponent, a Democrat, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Abraham Lincoln welcomed the support of Stephen Douglas and of other Democrats who favored a liberal policy and liberal principles.

In this, there seems to be no parallel with the present day. Abraham Lincoln refused to sacrifice essential principles to maintain the unity of the Republican Party. He did not undertake to reconcile the irreconcilables. He strove, above all, for national unity as well as for liberty and equality for all men.

What a falling down there is when the attitudes and actions of the present administration, and of the modern-day Republican leadership, are compared with those of Abraham Lincoln. When we stop to examine the attitude of today's Republican leadership toward national unity versus party unity, toward labor, toward agriculture, toward immigration, toward social welfare programs, toward the common man, and, above all, toward individual integrity, dignity and liberty; when we stop to examine the philosophy of the Republican leadership in these crucial matters, it is a little difficult to understand the Republican Party's claim to kinship with Abraham Lincoln. To the contrary, the party leadership has wholly repudiated the great leader Abraham Lincoln. If there is a claim to be made to the philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, we Democrats are the ones who have that claim. We are the party of the people; of labor, of the farmer, of the small businessman; of the cause of the many against the selfish few; of the cause of the weak against the predatory strong.

And speaking about integrity, dignity, and liberty, compare the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said, "Persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander"—compare those words with the baseless and untruthful claim by spokesmen of the Republican administration that 2,200 subversives have been dismissed from the Government service, a claim now proved to be a bare-faced fraud.

Compare the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said, "I do not propose to question the patriotism or to assail the motives of any man or class of men"—compare those words with the recent unprincipled pronouncements charging the Democratic Party with responsibility for treason by that newly formed team of smear-and-run consisting of JOSEPH MCCARTHY and Thomas E. Dewey.

The deliberate distortions and unbased charges by responsible leaders of the present-day Republican Party, including the Hartford Speech of the Governor of this State, will live long in infamy.

How puny and pigmy-like such statements seem when contrasted with the noble words and lofty ideals of Abraham Lincoln.

It would be better if, on the occasion of Lincoln's birthday, the Republican Party would acknowledge and adopt as its guiding maxim Lincoln's words: "he who makes an assertion without knowing whether it is true or false is guilty of falsehood, and the accidental truth of the assertion does not justify or excuse him."

Unfortunately, the Republican Party leadership has not found time to recall or occasion to practice the rules of public conduct laid down by Abraham Lincoln, any more than they are willing to follow the great political principles of liberalism which he enunciated and advocated.

It is we of the Democratic Party who must uphold these precepts if they are to be upheld. And if we are to gain and retain the public trust and confidence, in or out of office, we must uphold and cherish these principles. We must practice them.

Today in this year of critical challenge, the people are aware, as never before, of the responsibilities which accompany public office. They know now, if they did not know before, that peace and prosperity, justice, and liberty, freedom, and security can be safeguarded and promoted by good government, but that they can also be lost through by bad government.

It is obvious now that these vital responsibilities are far too sensitive and serious to be left in the charge of selfish, unscrupulous, or incompetent men.

Yet this is the combination that we have today.

I do not thus indict the entire Republican Party, nor all of its representatives in Congress, nor all of the officials who make up the administration.

There are unselfish men, there are honest men, there are competent men within the Republican Party and its leadership. But they only trail along in the so-called crusade. The voices that are raised, the voices that are heard, the authors and architects of policy are of a different stripe.

And it is for us of the Democratic Party, to make sure that we, in our leadership, present a truly striking contrast.

Political defeat brings its compensations, if we can realize them in terms of lessons learned.

We, in New York, should have learned—I hope we have learned—that we cannot elect candidates who do not inspire the confidence of the people, however much these candidates may have the confidence of the party leadership.

We should have learned that our candidates must symbolize the basic principles of our party—the liberal forward-looking principles—if they are to attract the votes of the people who favor those principles.

The people can detect insincerity. The people think. The people know. Those who believe that the people can be deceived by tricks and gimmicks, by slick public relations and propaganda, will, in the end, to their cost, realize their mistake. We should have learned by now. I hope we have learned by now.

This is a time which calls for the best that is in us. The developments of the past 13 months have filled many of our people and the entire free world with a deep disquiet.

We are experiencing, in our economy, what the leaders of our Government fancifully call a rolling adjustment. I trust and pray that it will stop rolling downward soon, and start rolling upward again. I am ready as a Member of the Senate to support every proper measure to stimulate our economy, to roll back recession, to increase buying power, and to diminish unemployment.

I will, however, not be swayed from pointing out the danger spots in our economy by frantic accusations that we are talking the country into a depression. We are not in a depression. I do not believe we are going to have a depression. But obviously there are many danger signals which we dare not disregard. It is better to be called a prophet of doom than an ostrich.

The status of our economy is one of the chief concerns of all our people. Another principal concern is peace and security. Another is the state of our civil liberties.

On these fronts, and on many more, we need inspired, honest, and bold Government leadership.

Instead of spending the time of Congress in debating completely unnecessary and incredibly dangerous amendments to our time-tested Constitution, allegedly to protect our country against imaginary hobgoblins in the United Nations, we should be moving to repair and shore up the seams and stresses showing in our economy.

We should be amending the Taft-Hartley Act.

We should be granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii.

We should revise our tax structure for the benefit of the whole Nation, but particularly for the benefit of the man of moderate or small income.

We should be providing a real and not a simulated housing program.

We should be expanding and improving our social-security system.

We should stop giving away our great national resources.

We should be drastically revising our immigration and citizenship laws.

We should be enacting a sound and sensible civil-rights program.

We should be doing all this and much, much more.

I hope that we will soon do all this, but I do not expect that it will be done in any substantial way until after November, when we will have, I trust and believe, a Democratic Congress in Washington.

I believe that the people are going to the polls next November to confess that they made a mistake in 1952 and to rectify that mistake by electing qualified Democrats to public office.

I believe that there will be a clean sweep both in Washington and in Albany. But, my friends, let us not count our votes until they are cast. We dare not take for granted that which appears likely but is by no means inevitable.

The tide of victory which began in the special congressional election in Wisconsin late last summer, and which reached its full with the election of our fine mayor, Bob Wagner—that tide can reverse itself.

Let us take sober counsel among ourselves. Let us remember that it is not we, here in this room, who will elect the candidates of the Democratic Party, but rather the people—the great mass of the people who, although they may prefer to vote Democratic, will, in any event, vote for the party which presents the best qualified candidates, running on the best platform, and give assurance based on past experience of the best performance in public office.

My friends, although I am a Democrat in matters of politics, I am first of all concerned for the welfare of our country.

I believe that the Democratic Party must justify itself by providing intelligent and responsible leadership in the days, months, and years ahead.

We cannot serve the best interests of our country trying to outdo the demagogues in demagoguery.

We cannot serve the best interests of our country by practicing the easy ways of political expediency.

We cannot pay lip service to liberty while pretending not to notice transgressions upon individual rights and liberties.

We must take a courageous stand on the issues, fight on the issues, and submit our case to the people on the issues.

For 20 years the Democratic Party has been dedicated to the concept of an expanding and dynamic society, directed toward the welfare of the individual citizen, concerned with the well-being of farmers, workers, and businessmen, and consecrated to the cause of liberty, justice, and equality for all.

That concept is our prescription for victory. It is our charter of leadership for the tasks ahead.

Those tasks are neither easy nor simple. We should not pretend that they are. We must ask for the responsibility of public office with true humility and unassailable honesty.

We must seek not only political victory for our party, but also victory for the causes in which we believe.

For we do believe in those causes with all our hearts, and we must fight for them come what may.

Let us remember the words of the historic man whose birthday was yesterday, who said in 1861: "The struggle of today is not altogether for today: it is for a vast future also."

My friends, the future is our responsibility. Let us beseech the guidance of the Divine, to lead us to it.

Opposition to Flexible Support Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written to me by the general manager of Cass-Clay Cooperative Creamery on January 9, and an enclosure, which is a copy of a telegram sent by the general manager of Cass-Clay Cooperative Creamery to the President of the United States on January 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the letter and the copy of the telegram were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CASS-CLAY COOPERATIVE
CREAMERY ASSOCIATION,
Moorhead, Minn., January 9, 1954.

Hon. WILLIAM LANGER,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Our farmers in this area are gravely concerned about the President's message advocating flexible support prices and we are enclosing herewith a copy of a telegram we sent him.

Flexible support prices will mean that supports will be lowered to 75 percent of parity which is ridiculous. The argument that supports should be low when we have surpluses and high when we have shortages is not basically sound for the reason that when we have surpluses, farmers are distressed and need the supports. When we have shortages, prices become automatically high due to demand and therefore, supports become ineffective under such circumstances.

Seventy-five percent of parity would mean 11.08 cents less on butter, or butter supports would be only 55.42 cents, and on milk powder, the price support of 16 cents would be reduced to 13.34 cents. It seems to us that 90 percent parity must prevail and even that is a sacrifice by the dairy farmer.

It is apparent that the propaganda that has been coming out of the Department of Agriculture and even some of the Secretary's speeches has been made with a deliberate attempt to rally consumer support for flexible supports.

Just the other day, an article appeared in the paper with reference to the total expense of carrying on farm programs, going back to the expenditures of the old Farm Board under the Hoover administration in order that the amount might look staggering. But on the other hand, not a word was mentioned as to the subsidies for industry during the same period. It would be interesting to compare such figures in order that the taxpayers might be informed as to just where the big subsidies go.

Thanking you for your support of a sound and constructive farm program, we are

Yours respectfully,
CASS-CLAY COOPERATIVE CREAMERY,
CHAS. OMMODT, *General Manager.*

MOORHEAD, MINN., *January 8, 1954.*

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.:

We are disturbed by your state of the Union message referring to flexible supports for agricultural products. Should parity drop to 75 percent, it would reduce dairy farmers' income 16.66 percent under the present 90-percent parity. This represents a reduction in payment of more than a half million dollars to our creamery patrons. They cannot stand this drop which not only would bankrupt them but it would affect all business likewise. It is important that the 90-percent parity remain in effect and that the Secretary of Agriculture immediately announce support prices in order to keep markets stable. Unless dealers in dairy products have some assurance they will cut inventories between now and April 1 and sell them to the Government. Had the Secretary of Agriculture announced support prices earlier a year ago, the Government would not have been the recipient of dairy surpluses. Washington propaganda that dairy products are being priced out of the market has been deceiving and misleading to consumers. Dairy products are not high in comparison with other food staples or with consumers' earning power which is the highest in our history. There is no reason why farmers should be discriminated against. Therefore it is urgent that we get immediate action by Congress on this matter.

CHARLES OMMODT,
General Manager, Cass-Clay Cooperative Creamery.

The Bricker Amendment and the Pink Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting letter entitled, "The Bricker Amendment and the Pink Case," written by Mr. Louis H. Pink to the New York Times on February 5, 1954. Mr. Louis H. Pink was superintendent of insurance of the State of New York at the time the much-discussed Pink case came before the courts. I think the Members of the Senate will be very much interested in reading the communication.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT AND THE PINK CASE
FEBRUARY 5, 1954.

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Those in favor of the Bricker amendment have picked out several examples from the past to show that an amendment of the Constitution is in order. I shall confine myself to one of these with which I am personally familiar.

It has been claimed by Senator BRICKER and other supporters that the case of the United States of America against Louis H. Pink, superintendent of insurance of the State of New York, which arose out of the liquidation of the Russian insurance companies shows that an amendment to the Constitution is necessary. Senator BRICKER stated on television a few nights ago that as a result of the Litvinoff assignment, the basis for the litigation, the United States Supreme Court ousted the State of New York from jurisdiction and deprived citizens of the United States of their rights and of their property. It is true that the Supreme Court of the United States, in a certiorari action instituted by the United States against the superintendent of insurance of the State of New York, ousted the State from jurisdiction. But it is not true that any United States citizens lost their rights or their property.

United States creditors of the First Russian Insurance Co., the subject of the litigation, had been fully paid by the superintendent of insurance of the State of New York as liquidator of the company before the United States made any demand for the assets of the company, and the litigation in the Supreme Court did not in any way involve the rights or claims of United States citizens. No one disputed the right of United States citizens to be paid by the liquidator. The Court made it clear in its decision that this issue was not involved.

The Litvinov assignment, dated November 16, 1933, was in letter form and transferred to the United States Government claims which the Soviet had in the United States against our nationals. The Soviets also agreed to relinquish claims in respect to various judgments and litigation in the American courts. In accepting this release and assignment, the Government of the United States assumed no obligations toward the Soviet Union except to notify the Soviet "government in each case of any amount received by the Government of the United States from the release and assignment to it of the amounts admitted to be due." There was no obligation on the United States to prosecute any particular claims in any particular way and it is doubtful if the proceedings in the New York courts were even thought of when the assignment was made. Claims were not being collected for the Soviet Union but for the benefit of United States creditors of the Soviet. The purpose of the assignment was to induce the United States to recognize the Soviet government.

A year after the assignment, the United States demanded of the superintendent of insurance of the State of New York that he turn over to it more than a million dollars in cash which still remained undistributed after payment of United States creditors in full. The insurance department refused to turn over these assets because it was in the process of adjudicating claims of foreign creditors and of stockholders of the company under the laws of the State and pursuant to the directions of the courts of the State. I have always strongly believed that a State is obligated in good faith to recognize foreign creditors after our own citizens, who had a preference, had been paid, and that the United States Government had no legal or moral right to interfere in this distribution because of the blanket assignment to it of Russian claims in this country.

So litigious were the matters arising out of the Russian companies that an insurance department attorney, John M. Downes, was assigned to this work and gave practically all of his time to it for 14 years. Upon his untimely death, due perhaps in part to some of these worries, Alfred C. Bennett, who is still chief attorney in the liquidation bureau of the New York State insurance department, took over and pushed the litigation through to the highest court with credit and dispatch.

The United States brought suit in the New York State courts to secure these assets. The court of appeals, the highest State court, decided against the United States and in favor of the superintendent of insurance. Then the United States brought a certiorari proceeding in the Supreme Court of the United States which ultimately decided the issue in favor of the United States by a divided court, 4 to 3. Justice Douglas delivered the prevailing opinion and was joined by Justices Black, Byrnes, and Frankfurter, the latter writing a separate opinion. Chief Justice Stone and Justice Roberts dissented in a strong opinion written by the Chief

Justice. In the dissenting opinion Justice Stone stated: "By transferring claims of every kind, against American nationals, to the United States and leaving to it their collection, the parties necessarily remitted to the courts of this country the determination of the amounts due upon this Government's undertaking to report the amounts collected as 'preparatory to a final settlement of the claims and counterclaims' asserted by the two governments. They thus ended the necessity of diplomatic discussion of the validity of the claims, and so removed a probable source of friction between the two countries. In all this I can find no hint that the rules of decision in American courts were not to be those afforded by the law customarily applied in those courts. But if it was the purpose of either government to override local law and policy of the States and to prescribe a different rule of decision from that hitherto recognized by any court, it would seem to have been both natural and needful to have expressed it in some form of undertaking indicating such an intention. The only obligation to be found in the assignment and its acknowledgment by the President is that of the United States, already mentioned, to report the amounts collected. This can hardly be said to be an undertaking to strike down valid defenses to the assigned claims. Treaties, to say nothing of executive agreements and assignments which are mere transfers of rights, have hitherto been construed not to override State law or policy unless it is reasonably evident from their language that such was the intention."

I am fully conscious of the unfortunate implications in the opinion of the majority of the court and yet it is plain that the difficulty did not arise because of any defect in our Constitution or from our treatymaking power. There was no obligation of the United States under the Litvinov assignment to override the rights of the States or citizens or the orderly liquidation of an insurance company.

I still believe that the courts of New York were right and that the minority decision of the Supreme Court was the correct one. I want again to emphasize that the rights of United States creditors were not affected by this litigation and that the assignment did not dictate or control the means to be used by the United States in collecting these claims. The Soviet right was to be informed.

The amazing situation which followed the Litvinov assignment, so far as I can see, is not due to the Constitution or with any treaty rights or obligations. The responsibility rests entirely upon the arbitrary method taken by the United States Government in collecting the assets assigned to it and with the majority decision of the Supreme Court in upholding it.

If we try to amend the Constitution everytime there is a Supreme Court decision with which we do not agree, we may be kept pretty busy.

LOUIS H. PINK.
State Superintendent of Insurance, 1935–43.

Average Politician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a penetrating article, written by one of the most incisive and experienced political observers in the Nation. The article reveals what I consider to be the truth with respect to public servants.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AVERAGE POLITICIAN—DISHONEST ONES GET THE PUBLICITY BUT ARE A MINORITY

(By Fred Travis)

NASHVILLE, February 13.—In this election year, before the tumult, the shouting and the mudslinging reach the stage of campaign formality, the voter might pause for a look at the average politician.

Chances are that the average voter will say, if asked, that all politicians are crooked and none of them should be trusted within 100 yards of the smokehouse, much less the public treasury. But the evidence at hand in this center of political activity indicates the average politician is, in most cases, a man neither little better nor worse than the voters who, either directly or indirectly, put him where he is.

That there have been dishonest politicians in the past is established, and that there will be dishonest ones in the future is a certainty. But they are rare. The average politician works hard at his job and his material rewards are, in most cases, small.

A politician may look dishonest because his life is one of constant compromise between what is best and what the people want, what is right and what the voters will accept. If he isn't elected, he is nothing and can do nothing. When he is in, he must please those who put him in and those who will by their votes decide his future. It isn't always a rewarding or a pleasant way to earn a living.

WHY POLITICS?

Why, then, do men enter politics? Some enter it as a career, with a star in their eye and hope of becoming President, governor, senator, or a high-ranking judge. Since these positions are few, the average politician usually has to settle for less.

Others drift into politics. Having by some good fortune received an appointment to one job or election to a minor office for which there was little or no contest, they drift along from year to year, linked to a political faction and taking whatever favors fortune may bestow.

Overlooking the exceptions which occasionally occur, the men who get the best jobs work the hardest for them. A campaign for Congress or governor cannot be started overnight from the obscurity of a village store. A long build-up is required before achieving enough public attention to be regarded as a serious contender. Then comes a long and arduous campaign.

It doesn't begin in late May and end in August after a dozen campaign speeches a day, thousands of miles of travel over sunscorched highways, and consumption of several tons of indigestible barbecue. It begins a year or two in advance with speeches to any group willing to listen. It requires carefully cultivated friendships, careful planning in the selection of campaign managers and associates, in the raising of campaign funds and proper timing of qualifying petitions. A single mistake, or selection of an associate who turns up to be highly undesirable, can in a twinkling wreck the most careful preparations.

AVERAGE OFFICIAL

The average public official encounters approximately the same temptations that greet other citizens. He also runs into about the same opportunities to make money. If he has a little cash and invests wisely, he may end up a wealthy man without ever having fallen victim to any of the temptations of graft. But if he lives on his earnings from political office and keeps himself honest, he will die about like other wage earners—with an automobile, a mortgaged house, a few thousand in insurance.

The successful politician whose shrewd investments bring him wealth probably could have made several times as much had he stuck to private business. The unsuccessful political figure might have been an equal failure at whatever he tried.

Men find in politics a certain fascination it is virtually impossible for those on the outside to understand. When he is in office and riding the tides of success, "friends" flock around. Doors open before him and the best room in the hotel and the best table in the restaurant are waiting. There comes a feeling of power which many men find difficult if not impossible to resist.

Government is a kind of profession, like medicine or engineering or the law, and the politician is the practitioner. He best understands the activities and language of other politicians and he likes to associate with them. He is no more an average man than any other specialist of a profession. And the degree of honesty, integrity, and devotion to duty is likely to be close to that of other citizens.

To make a sweeping indictment that all politicians are crooks carries no more justice than to say the same thing about all labor leaders or all businessmen. Good and bad can be found in all classes. In an election year it is up to the voter to choose the bad and the good among the politicians.

The only unique thing about politics is that every voter thinks he could run the Government better than it is being run. It's the national pastime.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in connection with the pending debate on the so-called Bricker amendment, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief analysis by an old friend of mine, Prof. Philip Marshall Brown, formerly of Princeton University, which was published in the Charleston News and Courier on January 31, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRICKER AMENDMENT STRIKES AT VERY CENTER OF SECURITY

(By Philip M. Brown, former diplomat, former professor of international law at Princeton University)

The Bricker constitutional amendment to which President Eisenhower is unalterably opposed raises two major issues that demand careful consideration and debate.

The first issue concerns the anomalous situation created by the provision of the Constitution that treaties as part of the supreme law of the land may occasionally supersede local State laws.

It is true that some treaties that provide for mutual rights of residence and ownership of property by aliens, as in the case of Turkey more than a hundred years ago, have contravened State laws on the subject.

The treaty with Canada for the protection of migratory birds was made necessary by the impossibility of obtaining the consent

and the cooperation of each of the 48 States.

The second major issue concerns the power of the President to negotiate treaties and agreements, as well as to take effective action for the safeguarding of national interests in times of extreme emergency. This is a vast power subject to control only by the United States Senate, which, by the Constitution, has a restricted share in the conduct of foreign relations.

The Bricker amendment undoubtedly was prompted largely by strong criticism of the action of President Roosevelt during the second World War in negotiating the so-called lend-lease agreements to help those nations which were resisting Hitler. The United States thereby gave them ships and needed supplies, receiving in return strategic air bases for our use over long periods of time.

President Roosevelt likewise at the ill-fated conference at Yalta made important and dubious concessions to Soviet Russia without either the consent or event the knowledge of the Senate.

President Truman, in pursuance of the obligations of the charter of the United Nations, plunged the United States into a sanguinary conflict in Korea without the official approval of Congress, which has the sole right under the Constitution to declare war.

The justification for the extensive powers granted the Chief Executive by the Constitution for the conduct of foreign relations lies in the simple fact that one nation speaks to another nation with only one single voice of authority. Negotiations become practically impossible when there are several discordant voices.

President Eisenhower has drawn attention to the necessity of complete freedom of action by the Chief Executive when confronted by an unforeseen aggression in atomic warfare. There is no time in such appalling emergencies for a national plebiscite or even for consultation with Congress.

The Bricker amendment strikes at the very center of national security by reducing the powers of the President virtually to the status of the President of France, who may not even have a government at hand to assume authority.

The dilemma presented by the superiority of treaties over State legislation would seem capable of some reasonable compromise. The substitute amendment suggested by Senator GEORGE, Democrat, of Georgia, would seem to have considerable merit.

It should be borne in mind that a treaty to become a part of the supreme law of the land must be ratified by the Senate which should protect the interests of the several States. Unfortunately, this requires only a two-thirds majority of the Senators present.

It would seem essential to require a two-thirds majority vote of the entire membership of the Senate in order to afford protection for the rights of the States, notably in such matters as personal status, family, educational and religious concerns, etc.

It would seem desirable, furthermore, to prescribe those areas of legislative action which properly should be reserved by the States against the infringement of treaties.

The major issue of the power of the President to conduct foreign relations as the interpreter and authorized representative of the American people would seem to allow of no compromise or restriction other than the requirement for the ratification of treaties. In normal times he may seek the advice and consent of the Senate. In times of national emergency he must assume full responsibility for the safeguarding of national security. He may be rebuked or even impeached, but he cannot evade this onerous responsibility.

Our Senators and Representatives should be made aware of the opposition and the resentment of sound public opinion against this ill-considered attempt by the Bricker amendment to paralyze the Chief Executive of the United States in the conduct of foreign relations. It would be well to bear constantly in mind the wise Roman maxim, "Salus populi suprema lex esto." No other law than the welfare and safety of the people should govern the President in times of serious emergency.

Sources of Support for the Administration's Legislative Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. MARTIN'S Faulty Argument." The editorial, which appeared in the Watertown Daily Times of February 5, is a very excellent one, and I hope it will be widely read.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. MARTIN'S FAULTY ARGUMENT

Speaker of the House JOSEPH MARTIN thinks that a goodly portion of President Eisenhower's legislative program will be enacted by the present Congress but he warned his listeners at a luncheon of the Republican national finance committee yesterday that the Eisenhower program will never be finally approved unless the voters return a Republican congress this fall.

Mr. MARTIN's desire for the election of a Republican Congress is understandable. As a Republican party leader, he might be expected to use every proper means to urge the election of such a congress. But when MARTIN says that the final enactment of the Eisenhower legislative program depend upon continued Republican supremacy in Congress, he shows a most flagrant disregard of all the facts.

What Senator is giving the Eisenhower administration the most concern right now? Is it a Democrat? It is not. Rather it is that sterling Republican Senator from Ohio, JOHN BRICKER, who has made at least two attacks on the President because Eisenhower opposes his amendment limiting the treaty-making powers of the Chief Executive. BRICKER does not come up for reelection this fall but, if he did, could MARTIN say in truth that his reelection would help Eisenhower?

And who is the Senator who is giving Mr. Eisenhower the most concern in the field of foreign relations? It is, of course, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, who is attacking the Eisenhower State Department hardly less bitterly than he once attacked Mr. Truman's State Department. It was MCCARTHY who led the attempt to deny confirmation to Mr. Eisenhower's appointee as ambassador to Moscow, Charles Bohlen. It was the Democrats who rallied to Eisenhower's support to put through the confirmation.

And, to pass over to the other side of the Capitol, who is the chief fly in the ointment so far as the President's tax program is no less a man than this same Speaker MARTIN, who has announced publicly that he strongly favored a sharp reduction in excise taxes, something which the President just as strongly opposes. Is Mr. MARTIN contributing to put through the President's legislative program? In this particular instance he certainly is not.

Who were the leading men on the Randall tariff commission who signed the minority report and announced that they would fight adoption of that report in Congress? Republican Senator MILLIKIN, chairman of the Finance Committee, and Republican Congressman REED, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Who is the most bitter opponent of President Eisenhower's farm program? Republican Senator YOUNG, of South Dakota. Who tipped the scales in the Senate Labor Committee against a major Eisenhower proposal for changes in the Taft-Hartley Act? Republican Senator IVES of New York.

We might continue this indefinitely. Suffice it to cite 2 or 3 more cases at point. Who led the fight in the Senate against President Eisenhower's seaway bill? Republican Senators BUTLER and BEALL, of Maryland. Who accused President Eisenhower's special envoy to Korea, Arthur H. Dean, with giving aid and comfort to the Communists? Republican Senator WELKER of Idaho. Who leads the fight against the extension in present form of the Reciprocal Tariff Act? Republican Senator BUTLER of Nebraska.

If Speaker MARTIN wants to promote the election of a Republican Congress this fall, he had better find a better argument than he has come up with thus far. If the Eisenhower legislative program depended on the support of Republican Members of Congress to pass, it would never be passed.

Teammates Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial entitled "Teammates Now," from the Portsmouth Herald of July 25, 1953.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEAMMATES NOW

Twenty years make a great difference in the lives of men, as of nations. Two leading antagonists of the national campaign of 1932 are today members of the same panel entrusted with Government reorganization, and they look forward to working shoulder to shoulder now, with no vestige of the bitterness when they were working at cross purposes.

Herbert Hoover, who lost the Presidency in 1932, and James A. Farley, who masterminded the campaign that defeated him, have been named as the two presidential public members on the Commission on Government Reorganization by President Eisenhower. Their acceptance remarks showed an eagerness to work together that left no residue of resentment between them. As a matter of fact, they have been neighbors for years, living in the Waldorf Towers in New York, that fabulous abode also of General MacArthur, the Duke of Windsor, and other world distinguished tenants.

The great engineer and the great politician will bring complementary talents to the work of the Commission. A President cannot possibly know in detail the political pressure his administration must sustain. A President-maker knows intimately the claims and influences that affect Government, and may be able to suggest safeguards against them. It should be a team very fruitful for public good.

Excerpts from Address by Hon. Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois, at Banquet of Beaver County (Pa.) Lincoln Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, on last Wednesday evening the very eloquent junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] made an outstanding address at the 74th anniversary banquet of the Beaver County Lincoln Club, at which time he paid a very well deserved tribute to Representative LOUIS E. GRAHAM, the Member of the United States House of Representatives from that district.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial in connection with the remarks made on that occasion, as published in the Beaver Falls News-Tribune of Friday, February 12, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOCAL LINCOLN CLUB ANNUAL DINNER A MEMORABLE ONE

The 74th anniversary banquet of the Beaver County Lincoln Club, the oldest in the United States, was held on Wednesday evening and it will be recorded as one of the most outstanding and memorable one in the history of the club. Senator EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, of Illinois, was the main speaker of the evening and it was an occasion that will long be remembered by the 450 men and women who were privileged to listen to a powerful and soul stirring address by the midwestern statesman.

The Senator has few, if any equals when it comes to polished oratory and the ability to "literally entrance" his audience with a vibrant and throbbing appeal for the support of President Eisenhower during the transition of our Government from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

Patience, a sense of mission and a sense of fidelity are the cardinal principles upon which the American people have an obligation and a sense of duty in accepting to help in the necessary readjustment period now at hand in this country. Declaring that the country is at stake, he called for the election of Republican Congressmen, that the hands of President Eisenhower be not tied in carrying out his well conceived program for the general benefit of all the people of this great Nation.

The great problem today as the Senator views it, is the preservation of the free system now in vogue in our country. He pointed out that no other nation in the entire world enjoys the freedoms as we have them. He declared the Nation must be united in one great common goal—preservation of a free land and all the constitutional guarantees. Speaking about communism, he decried the infiltration of Reds into our Government and even if only one held a Government job—that was one too many. All must be weeded out of high places and he charged the Democrats while in power over the last 20 years with changing, subverting and attempting to socialize the American way of life, while building a frothy economy. He branded the sniping and talk about recession as one that could lead to the crucifixion of the Nation. This must not happen, and he stressed again his plea for patience and the willingness to take a little pain, as all must, in any readjustment.

Referring to the trying periods during the life of Abraham Lincoln, Senator DIRKSEN pointed out, that as the great emancipator had said, to save ourselves we must think anew and act anew.

Senator DIRKSEN, following his introduction by our Congressman LOUIS E. GRAHAM, paid a high and lasting tribute to Mr. GRAHAM. The Senator served for a number of terms in the House with Mr. GRAHAM, and he said that he like a host of other House Members went and bowed at the seat of knowledge and wisdom when they needed guidance on a sound course of action on matters of vital interest to the national welfare—that seat of knowledge and wisdom being the one occupied only by a Congressman from Pennsylvania, Mr. GRAHAM. He urged upon his hearers the renomination and reelection of Mr. GRAHAM, as being essential to help meet the "grave consequences" facing this nation.

In a special address prepared for Lincoln Day events over the country, President Eisenhower in a film presentation admonished the Republicans, and called upon the people of the Nation to dedicate themselves to a single purpose—the freedom, strength, prosperity, and peace of America—that is the forward way me must seek for America. That is the legitimate purpose not only of Lincoln's party—a century ago today and always—but for all Americans.

Those in charge of the arrangements for the affair are to be congratulated for this memorable anniversary Lincoln Day and Lincoln Club dinner. Indeed, they were most fortunate in having a man of such outstanding character and ability as Senator DIRKSEN for their main guest of the evening. His visit to Beaver County will be remembered for many years to come, and we are sure all those in attendance were buoyed in spirit by the inspiring and eloquence of Senator DIRKSEN. Too bad, that thousands of our citizens didn't have an opportunity to hear him.

The Democrats' Successful Battle Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. John C. Obert, discussing the Democrats' successful battle against communism. The article was published in the Tuesday, January 26, issue of the Park Region Echo, published in Alexandria, Minn.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEMOCRATS' SUCCESSFUL BATTLE AGAINST COMMUNISM

(By John C. Obert)

The 83d Congress has now embarked upon its 2d session, a session which will be watched as closely as any congressional session in the history of this country. Americans will watch with high hopes, keen interest, and some degree of apprehension. Our allies will keep abreast of congressional developments with deep concern.

This is the session which is expected to make or break Dwight Eisenhower—and his party. His proposed legislation, revealed in his state of the Union address, is, to some extent, liberal. The measures he seeks in many instances continue New and Fair Deal programs. The President is a dedicated internationalist and his foreign policy reflects his convictions.

Most competent Washington observers agree that the President's program can be passed only with the help of Democratic Congressmen. They agree, too, that if the program is sabotaged, the sabotage will probably originate within the right wing of his own party.

It is certainly safe to surmise that the President and his intimate advisers are well aware of the situation. Democratic votes and good will can put through the liberal legislation in the President's program.

Few Democrats, in and out of Congress, harbor ill will toward the President. By far the most are aware of his basic decency and inherent liberalism. They will not obstruct his program for the sake of obstruction.

But their good will toward the President hangs on a very delicate thread, a thread which has been weakened considerably in recent months by irresponsible members of the President's party.

The Harry Dexter White episode, Senator MCCARTHY'S slurring rebuttal to ex-President Truman's condemnation of McCarthyism, Governor Thomas E. Dewey's vicious attack, Attorney General Brownell's introduction of secret FBI files into the political arena, and other incidents have infuriated a number of influential Democrats who could seek retaliation by bucking the President's legislative proposals.

The Democratic Party is both angry and hurt over the onslaught of reckless charges flung by some Republicans during the past 18 months.

As a sincere liberal, the thinking Democrat despises communism because of its totalitarian implications. To be unjustly accused of softness toward Reds, of being Communist dupes, or tools of the vast Soviet conspiracy hurts and it hurts deep.

And it hurts the more because the Democratic record in opposing communism both here and abroad has been so monumentally impressive.

To deny that there has been considerable infiltration by Communists into sensitive Government agencies would be as foolish as to join hands with the opposite absolutist camp which sees a Communist under every bush.

There was infiltration by subversive agents and it no doubt hurt this country. But to link this infiltration to the Democratic administrations during and immediately after World War II is grossly unfair. The issue of Communists in Government is not a partisan issue.

As the noted columnist, Dorothy Thompson, recently observed: "There is no proof, but there is likelihood that Communists would have infiltrated into even a Republican administration under the conditions of the time.

"The wartime Cabinet of President Roosevelt was not even Democrat, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull was as conservative as any Republican. The Secretaries of War and Navy were Republicans—Henry Stimson and Frank Knox. So was the head of the OSS, Col. William J. Donovan.

"Alger Hiss entered the State Department under Cordell Hull and resigned to become president of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, with the support of John Foster Dulles (President Eisenhower's Secretary of State). Wendell Willkie, Republican Presidential candidate in 1940, was rather more starry-eyed about our Russian allies than F. D. R.

"Instead of opening FBI files, a course of reading all of the books published between 1940 and 1946 would be more enlightening. Internationalists in both parties followed to some extent the pro-Russian line. The reasons are a problem for historical, not partisan-political, investigation."

No one should minimize the extent of subversive infiltration into government, nor should any one or any political party exaggerate the danger nor minimize the success of the battle to stop such infiltration.

For the fact remains that the Truman and Roosevelt administrations compiled the best internal security record in the free world.

The success of the Democratic party in crushing the Communist conspiracy in the United States can best be measured by comparing the situation today with that of 1932, when the Democrats took office.

1. The number of Communists in the United States is less than one-fourth of what is was in 1932.

2. The top leadership of the Communist Party has been wiped out through prosecution and imprisonment by Democratic administrations.

3. Democrats have added laws to the statute books with which the Government has dealt with internal subversion.

4. The FBI gets 30 times as much money, has 18 times the staff it had when the Democrats first came to power in 1932.

5. The Federal loyalty program, initiated by the Truman administration, has proved a great shield against infiltration.

According to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, appearing before the House Appropriations Committee on February 25, 1953, the number of United States Communists has been reduced to a new low of 24,796 at the time the Democrats left office. There had been a decline of Communists in each of the 4 preceding years, from 54,174 in 1940 to 31,608 in 1952, Hoover said.

Contrast this with the fact that Communists in the United States doubled in number during the 4 years of the Hoover administration, rising from 48,770 in 1928 to 102,991 in 1932.

During its years in power Democratic administrations have passed a number of important laws designed to protect the United States against espionage and subversion. These laws include:

The Espionage Act (Wilson administration) under which the Rosenbergs were convicted; the McCormack (Foreign Agents) Registration Act (Roosevelt administration); the Hatch Act (1939) to bar Communists from Federal employment; the amendment to the Nationality Act of 1940 to prevent naturalization of persons who are members of organizations advocating overthrow of the Government by force or violence; the Smith Act of 1940, making it a crime to teach and advocate violent overthrow, under which the Communist Party leadership was convicted; and the Atomic Energy Espionage Act of 1946, specifically directed against espionage in connection with atomic energy development.

No Republican Congress has ever passed a Federal law designed to catch Communist subversives, spies, or others seeking violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Nor has the Eisenhower administration originated any cases against espionage or other illegal Communist activities since it took office a year ago.

The Democrats have used these Federal laws to shatter the Communist conspiracy at all levels. Under the Smith Act, 83 Communist leaders have been prosecuted. The 12 top national Communist Party leaders were first tried and convicted and then the 11 Communists making up the second echelon of command were subjected to the same fate.

These top-flight Communists headed a list of those prosecuted, which included 10 New York State leaders, 14 top west coast leaders, 7 Hawaiian leaders, 6 Michigan leaders, 5 Missouri leaders, 7 Washington leaders, and 6 Pennsylvania leaders.

In addition to these leaders, nine other Communists, including Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were electrocuted for their crime, have been convicted of espionage and related activities.

Under the Democrats there were 9 convictions out of 14 cases of perjury or making false statements related to Communist activities. There were 46 convictions in contempt of court cases related to Communist activities. There have been 32 convictions out of 47 contempt of Congress cases.

This record was compiled in large part by making maximum use of the FBI. In order to do this, Democratic administrations built up the FBI from a small 801-man division of the Department of Justice in 1932, when it was appropriated only $2,978,520, to a 15,181-man bureau with an annual appropriation of $90 million.

When President Truman instituted the Federal loyalty program in 1947, he opened another expansive program for the Nation's security police.

Under Truman's loyalty program, 6,414,496 persons were checked for loyalty and security; 25,748 were given full FBI field investigations; 2,589 left Government service or withdrew applications before adjudication; 490 were dismissed or denied employment as ineligible on loyalty grounds. In all, 6,411 were dismissed, denied employment, resigned, or withdrew applications.

This is the record of the Democrats in the war against communism. It is a record of which Democrats are proud and a record which all responsible Republicans will recognize.

It is a record which was best summed up in the words of Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, now Under Secretary of State and formerly Dwight Eisenhower's chief of staff. Near the eve of the presidential election last fall, General Smith said:

"I know both the presidential candidates and I have the most profound respect for the integrity and character and ability of both of them. If either of them does as well as President Truman has done in supporting and encouraging the activities of the security agencies of this Government, then the American people will be able to congratulate themselves and will have nothing to worry about."

A Need To Show Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a few days ago I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a speech giving some observations and conclusions which I had made on my survey trip to a number of Asiatic countries last fall. I am convinced that we must find a more effective psychological approach to win the minds and hearts of the people of Asia. We must recruit the best and ablest Americans for the tasks of diplomacy. Unless we match our technical know-how with equal skills in these fields, we may find that we are spending large amounts in our foreign-operations program without making ourselves acceptable to the people of these countries. We must show them what America really is and what we are trying to accomplish.

When I was in Bangkok in Thailand—a land whose Government is most friendly toward us—I saw the handsome building and impressive exhibits of the Soviet Union at the Bangkok Fair. They far outshone any other exhibit on the grounds, including our own. The impact on thousands of people was obvious. I know that the totalitarian government of Russia can simply commandeer the materials for such exhibits, and is willing to spend thousands to set them up, but I am certain also that American industry and business, under the encouragement of our Government, could far exceed anything the Soviet Union can do in this field.

Mr. President, when I was in Bangkok last December there was a fair in progress. The Russians had erected a magnificent white structure which shone above everything else in the fairgrounds. When I went through the grounds and examined the exhibits, I found machinery of various kinds, power plows, cotton pickers, corn planters, and various types of exhibits on display within the building. With the thousands of natives of that section of the world going through the building, I realized at that time that the Soviet had made a special effort to put itself on display, but America, while we have machinery which would far outshine any foreign-made machinery, whether it be farm implements or automotive equipment, was not on display. Consequently, the Asiatic people thought the Soviet was the real power, as it made a greater display of implements and machinery of all kinds, including printing presses, musical instruments, and all manner of artistic work. I thought at that time that the Americans, in spite of all the things we have been doing in aiding foreign nations, are failing to leave the proper type of impression in the minds and hearts of the Asiatic people.

I was very glad to see an editorial in the Washington Evening Star of February 13, 1954, showing a favorable reaction to the proposal of the Secretary of Commerce that the United States actively participate in international trade fairs. I believe this editorial is worthy of note by Members of Congress and the administration, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Evening Star be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEED TO SHOW OFF

There is something more than a simple urge to "show off" American products behind the recommendation by Secretary of Commerce Weeks that the United States should resume participation in international trade fairs. For there are two hard facts involved in the world trade picture today. One is that the fight for markets is growing increasingly sharp as countries that were exhausted or crippled industrially during the war are becoming stronger and more aggressive commercial competitors. Another is that there is a politico-ideological aspect involved in the competitive trade efforts of East versus West throughout the relatively neutral areas of the world.

In the years immediately following World War II, American business held a clear advantage in international trade. Our industrial plant, undamaged and expanded during the war, converted quickly to peacetime production. Our economic-aid programs put dollars in the hands of nations that were ready and willing to become customers. Little by little, however, other nations with business and industrial skills have been improving their position as producers and sellers and, at the same time, filling a greater proportion of their own needs without having to buy from us. Britain, France, and some of the other West European allies of the war were the first to start the upward climb. But the defeated nations, West Germany and Japan, have joined the parade.

In its remarkable economic revival, West Germany has made its most spectacular gains in foreign trade. Despite the loss of normal markets in what is now East Germany and, in fact, in all of Eastern Europe, West German exports have increased sevenfold since 1948. Their dollar value in 1953 exceeded $4 billion—a level comparable to the prewar exports of the entire German Reich. Thus it is that West German salesmen are among the most ubiquitous in the world markets today—and are often the toughest competitors for their American opposites.

But there is importance, too, in the propaganda side of the trading and displaying of national products around the world. Soviet "salesmen" have been armed with more than tractors and trucks in the big trade fairs of recent years, not only in both parts of Europe but in Asia and South America. The very absence of American representation reportedly has been turned to advantage in propaganda ways as well as in orders—the Russian "explanation" being that the Americans are too busy preparing for war to produce peacetime products.

American salesmanship has earned itself a high rating in most times and circumstances. It is facing a situation today where it must justify such a rating, both at home and abroad. Secretary Weeks is proposing that the Government reenter in a modest way, a field that also is open to the private concerns in the export trade. It could be good for the national interest, as well as profitable for the private interests, if American products and representatives of their makers should once more be appearing at the industrial exhibitions and trade fairs.

The Old Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an article published in the December 1953 issue of the Progressive. The article is entitled "The Old Deal," and was written by Seymour E. Harris. Mr. Harris is professor of economics at Harvard, and has served as one of the Nation's foremost economists. He is the author of such outstanding works as Saving American Capitalism, Inflation and the American Economy, Foreign Economic Relations of the United States, and The Economics of Social Security.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OLD DEAL

(By Seymour E. Harris)

In the 20 years between 1933 and 1953, the politicians, college professors, and lawyers, with little help from business, wrought a revolution in the economic policies of the United States. They repudiated laissez-faire. They saw the simple fact that if capitalism were to survive, Government must take some responsibility for developing the Nation's resources, putting a floor under spending, achieving a more equitable distribution of income, and protecting the weak against the strong. The price of continuing the free society was to be limited intervention by Government.

In less than a year, the Roosevelt administration, operating on both the recovery and reform fronts, provided for the reopening of the banks, struck a blow at the old-fashioned gold standard, reformed the banking system quite apart from the guaranty of banking deposits, saved the country from complete financial collapse by making ample funds available to reduce bankruptcies and liquidation, spawned a spending program to provide relief and investment, launched the TVA development, introduced important farm legislation offering farmers protection against declining farm prices and foreclosures, and passed legislation to protect investors.

It is certainly true that President Roosevelt, confronted with a great crisis in 1933, could easily smother nascent opposition. In view of the less precarious state of the economy in 1953, one can hardly expect as much from the Eisenhower administration in its first year. But one would not expect genuine conservatives to try to destroy what has been won in a generation. American businessmen have much to learn from the British in the field of political tactics, even as the British could learn much from the Americans in the fields of technology and salesmanship. The Republican leaders, in trying to move backward, are not showing themselves to be as astute as Mr. Churchill and his party in recognizing that the task of the conservative is to moderate the pace of the impatient liberal. It is the reactionary who would go backward to disaster.

Here one finds the fatal error of the new admipistration. The businessmen in command are enslaved by their ideology, by the nonsense peddled by the chamber of commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee on Constitutional Government, the Foundation for Economic Education, and others of the same breed.

What they propose is to apply business principles and business barometers to public activities. They want to establish the hegemony of the dollar sign. Profits, the goal of business, are to be the guide for Government, too. Service as an aim is not recognized. The less government the better, irrespective of the tasks left undone or needs unfilled.

When there are deficits, the businessman pulls in his belt. But this is a fatal principle in Government. The guiding doctrine should be this: What Government does better, or what cannot be done under private auspices, must be done by Government. But the new administration proposes a return to the 18th century principles that would leave undone all but the minimum tasks of Government.

So compelling is the new slogan, "From Pennsylvania Avenue to Main Street," that the business-dominated administration would even endanger our security in the name of Government economy. So myopic are the new crusaders that they do not realize, in cutting their security budgets, that they are jeopardizing their accumulated wealth, their free markets, their very freedom of choice without which capitalism is an anachronism.

This is the theme with every major issue: Liquidate the farmer if the prices set by free market forces cannot support him. Dispense with new houses if they cannot be built under private auspices exclusively—even if the reduction in housing cuts the total national income and helps precipitate a crisis. (The Government proudly boasted in its August 27 revision of the budget that it had cut the January budget for housing and community development from $502 to $7 million dollars.)

The return of the free market is perhaps the most important objective of the new administration. Here we have a flashback to earlier times—a failure to acknowledge, given the complexity of our society, that the free market can prevail over only part of our economy. How can we have free markets when Government outlays are 25 to 30 percent of all outlays; when monopoly is the rule rather than the exception; when savings, investment, and the rate of interest, free from Government intervention, mean chaos?

II

Concretely, what does the free market mean to the administration in power? It means higher rates of interest which (1) transfer income from the many to the few, (2) may increase the cost of the national debt by several billion dollars yearly, and (3) can induce, through their effects on monetary supplies and hence on spendable funds of the economy, a depression or deepen and extend one. Moreover, it means allowing the farmers to be victimized by the forces of the market even though they are much more vulnerable than other groups.

Fortunately for most of us, the administration has retreated from its own philosophy on occasion. Otherwise the result might already have proved disastrous. As it watches farm prices decline—placing the farm vote in jeopardy—it wavers in its loyalty to the doctrine of laissez-faire.

In farm policy, it is indeed difficult to reconcile Secretary of Agriculture Benson's disinterment of Hume, Adam Smith, Darwin, and Spencer with the trend of prices. In 1 year farm prices dropped by 11 percent while wholesale prices generally declined by only 1 percent. Or put it another way, farm income dropped by 20 percent while the gross national product of the economy rose by 8 percent.

Given these circumstances, the administration wavered. It talked the language of Spencer but acted along Keynesian lines. The largest relative rise in expenditures (over the Truman January budget) was a 100 percent increase for farm-price support. Whereas the Government expended only $1,061,000,000 for price support of the 1951 crop by June 30, 1952, the corresponding figure for 1953 on 1952 crops was no less than $2,865,000,000.

The administration sought to confound the public by shifting responsibility to the distributors of food products. But the figures showed that whereas wholesale prices of farm products declined by 11 percent in a year, the drop for processed foods was but 3 percent and of other food was only 2 percent. (This, however, is the usual pattern, with farm prices declining and rising more than the price of the finished product.)

The 20th century Ricardians recanted from their inflexible devotion to the past, but not until market forces were allowed to determine the rate of interest. As the rate rose spectacularly, as long-term securities dropped about 10 percent in price, the Government bond market became demoralized, and veterans, farmers, and homebuilders cried out at this unnecessary deterrent to construction at the beginning of a decline. In the face of a skittish market, even the fanatical apostles of the free market were obliged to retreat. Who would have believed a modern administration would introduce a hard-money policy in the midst of war, and at a time when it seemed that about $10 billion of new money would be required within a

year and $43 billion of old securities were to mature within 1 year and $22 billion in 1 to 2 years?

A free market means many other things to this administration in power: there are signs that it may mean freedom for monopoly to thrive, encouraged by a new philosophy which holds that with a big economy must go giant corporations unhampered by Federal restraint. It also means turning as much as possible back to local governments. Since local government, inhibited by inadequate resources, cannot do well what it is now responsible for, this can only mean putting the individual more completely on his own—in education, medicine, security, development of power resources, and recreation.

The administration's worship of "solvency" brings up a red-herring issue. Never has our economy been so strong. It is robust because it is an efficient, healthy, highly productive economy which disposes of what it produces. Our income rose from $40 billion to $300 billion in 1933–53; our gross national product, corrected for price changes, has tripled in value; civilian employment has grown by more than 20 million jobs and more than 50 percent. Our debt charge has increased by from five to six billion dollars, but our income has shot up by $260 billion. Is this insolvency?

The fact is, in part, that we have reached our present heights because we are a nation of spenders. Sure we have a 50-cent dollar, but would it not be fair to point out that we have five times as much money as in 1933? If each dollar in circulation buys but one-half as much as its predecessor did in 1933, all of our money commands two and one-half times as much goods. Since when do we count our material blessings on the basis of how much a dollar buys without considering also how much all our dollars buy?

III

What the honest dollar school proposes is to make the dollar more valuable by reducing the supply. This is at the bottom of the proposals to balance the budget, to cut Government spending, to raise the rate of interest, and cut the supply of credit. These apostles of contraction have learned nothing from the history of the last 25 years. They once more stand on the old-style platform of blood-letting, bankruptcy, and liquidation.

Take the issue of social security. The President announced he favored extension of the system, but the whole program is now in jeopardy. Again, the attack springs from the fear of insolvency, from the damage done to the free market because social security means compulsory taxes and compulsory benefit payments, and hence reduced control of spending patterns. Representative CARL T. CURTIS, Nebraska, Republican, in charge of social-security amendments, is a consistent opponent of security. Apparently frightened by commitments already made, he has espoused the chamber of commerce position which would limit all senior citizens to a pension of $25 monthly and scrap the old-age survivors and insurance program. Thus, at one sweep one of our great monuments to social progress constructed over a period of 18 years—a program that promises a modicum of security to the 20 million ultimately aged 65 and over—is threatened with destruction. I do not believe that CURTIS and his cronies will be allowed to get away with this, no matter how great the pressure from the solvency crowd.

Maintenance of a high level of employment is another facet of our security problem. That means averting a depression, or at least shortening its duration. I believe the economists have the answer to dealing with the business cycle and even with declines over long periods. It is probably true that, though they have done much to enlighten politicians and the public, they still have an educational job to do—even with Democrats.

Unfortunately for President Eisenhower and for the country, the present administration has shown virtually no awareness of the threats suggested by the growth of inventories, the prospective decline of other business investment, the reduction in new construction contracts, the piling up of automobiles and the reduction of auto output, the prospective reduction of Government spending, the substantial drop in farm prices, and other warnings.

In spite of these danger signals, the administration in Washington still talks of inflation, of the honest dollar, of the imperative need for balancing the budget, of a free market for money and high interest rates, of the end of foreign grants, and the like. When the administration should be worried over contraction it announces further contraction measures.

No historian is surprised at Republican glorification of the free market, nor is he especially shocked by the mismanagement of the limited public policies allowed. Republican fiscal policies have been perverse over the years. In the last quarter of the 19th century, when the country was growing rapidly, the Republicans paid off debt by destroying money, thus starving a growing economy and flattening the debtor class. In the twenties the treatment of inflationary forces was to cut tax rates twice and thus make much more money available for speculation. In the Hoover administration, under the impact of a record deflation, the persistent medicine was more taxes and less spending as the economy became mired in depression. In the postwar period the Republicans were in the forefront of the campaign to reduce taxes just when the proper policy was, if anything, to raise them as a means of contending with inflationary forces.

Can we expect anything better now? I doubt it greatly. There is much talk of tax reduction and, at the first sign of depression, even of public works. But their words speak louder than their deeds. Try to find a single agency which has been encouraged or even allowed to spend money to plan public works. Is the administration prepared with even $10 billion of public works to offset a possible decline of $30 billion of spending within a year? In the Messrs. Burns and Jacoby and Nichols (the rumored third member), the Council of Economic Advisers has three able economists. They are not unacquainted with modern economics. But how much influence they will have with the fanatical budget balancers is another matter.

Meanwhile, the administration has launched a super promotion program to sell itself as the people's friend. But it is finding the going tough, for an administration which bestows the highest posts primarily on the affluent businessmen and their legal associates; entrusts the major responsibility for determining interest-rate policy on the chairman of one of the largest banks in the country; offers the management of our national resources to one whose antecedents promise their dissipation—such an administration is bound to be suspect with great masses of people.

This is the administration (and I mean the President and Congress jointly) which stalls on a revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, seems disposed to leave the farmer to free market forces, barters $50 billion or more of oil for a few electoral votes, drastically reduces appropriations for enforcement of minimum wages, flirts with the idea of deflating the social-security program (here Congress, not the President, is more likely to be at fault), refuses to help the schools finance $10 to $20 billion of construction needs and 10 millions of additional pupils, vaguely refers to the treatment of catastrophic illness but is doing nothing about the tragic shortage of medical personnel and the uneven allocation of the medical resources, is virtually destroying the Federal housing program and has already taken several steps toward the control on behalf of business of the Nation's agencies supposed to protect the little man.

Recently Secretary of the Interior McKay said: "We're here in the saddle as an administration representing business and industry." The administration can hardly hope to hold the great mass support it received on election day, 1952, if it gloats—and makes goods its gloatings—to be the spokesman of the far right of America—the conservative business group. Recent election returns are more than storm signals; they are the beginning of the storm itself.

Lincoln's Devotion to Duty Prompts Suggestion for Republican Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, in a speech at Cooper Institute, New York, on September 27, 1860, Abraham Lincoln, whose memory is honored by our Nation on this anniversary of his birth, set forth a principle which is especially applicable in the situation today.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us—

Said Lincoln—

nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

In the sincere conviction that President Eisenhower observes this same dedication to duty, I am today asking, on the floor of this House, that he demand the resignation from office of the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Leonard W. Hall.

I believe the President wholly missed the point in his press conference of February 10 when he decried what he called extreme partisanship in the current dastardly and back-alley attacks by certain high officials in his administration and party against the Democratic Party and the loyal Americans who comprise it.

These vituperative orators are guilty of far more serious sins than extreme partisanship and it is incredible to me that the President could so underestimate their actions. Even so, he said in his press conference that he expected his subordinates in the executive branch and Chairman Hall to follow a more temperate view in the future.

So far as I know, there has been no response from Mr. Hall to the President's remarks and other Republican orators have repudiated the President's advice.

I am now asking the President to put some teeth into his words, to show by his actions that he means what he says. The President has no direct control over Republican Members of Congress nor over some of the divisive demagoguery now going on, but it is a plain political fact that the chairman of the Republican

National Committee would not have his office and could not long hold it if the President, the leader of the party, opposed him.

Mr. Hall's part in this plot to brand millions of Americans as traitors makes him the logical object of any firm action by the President to enforce his views.

Mr. Hall and his committee have sponsored the current nationwide tour of Republican luminaries whose disgusting antics have gagged the throats of every decent American citizen.

There is clear evidence in the record of the heavy hand of Mr. Hall and the Republican committee in the planned attack against former President Harry Truman of which Attorney General Brownell was the mouthpiece.

Mr. Hall and his committee sponsored the Republican box-supper affair here in Washington at which Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams accused the Democratic Party of political sadism.

Mr. Hall has indicated his direct opposition to the President on the question of whether communism will be an issue in the 1954 congressional elections.

The real issue here is whether the President is actually the leader of his Party, whether he is the person with those admirable qualities of leadership which were endorsed by the majority of voting Americans in 1952. The time has come for the President to take his stand and grasp the reins of control. The vitriolic campaign of Republican oratory which Mr. Hall has sponsored and enthusiastically supported can lead to a division of the American people that will seriously weaken our Nation in this hour of crisis. Now is the time for the President to act. He can prove his dedication to the principles of Abraham Lincoln, to the principles of decency and fair play, by summarily dismissing Republican Chairman Hall.

Code of Decency and Good Morals in Motion Pictures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, as a Senator who in his official capacity has taken a sympathetic interest in the problems of the motion-picture industry, I am particularly pleased with the formal statement issued this week by eight presidents of the principal American motion picture producing and distributing companies, affirming their intention to stand by their code of decency and good morals.

I ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the appendix of the RECORD. My only regret is that it does not bear the signatures of all makers and distributors of motion pictures.

Unfortunately, there are some irresponsibles in the industry, just as there are in every element of our society. Some have eyes only for the "fast buck," and they do not seem to care what they do to get it. However, the responsible people in the industry practice self-restraint and favor self-regulation. That is greatly to their credit. The others who pander to debased tastes scoff at self-discipline. Hiding behind some well-meaning people who talk profoundly, but not impressively, of artistic license and freedom of expression, they do not seem to realize they are playing with fire.

There is a way to control the libertines and the anything-anytime-anyplace crowd. The public, the millions of people whose regular attendance pays the freight for the actors, the directors, and the writers in Hollywood and the janitors and ticket takers in every movie house in this country can control that small part of the movie industry which gets out of line by refusing to see pictures which bypass a seal of approval.

The moviegoing public knows from long, bitter experience that when a picture does not get a production code seal, it is not decent, clean entertainment fit for family entertainment. And if the public withholds its stamp of approval, the scoffers at decency do not make that "fast buck." One or two lessons at the pocketbook level and suddenly they will lose all interest in what they with highbrow disdain call artistic expression.

We should no more buy shoddy and indecent entertainment in the theater than we buy shoddy and inferior merchandise in the store.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECENT ENTERTAINMENT IS THE BEST ENTERTAINMENT—STATEMENT BY THE EIGHT PRESIDENTS OF THE PRINCIPAL AMERICAN MOTION PICTURE PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING COMPANIES

We believe that the motion picture, as a medium of information and entertainment, is entitled to the freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

We abhor and oppose governmental censorship. Such censorship is alien to our basic American traditions of freedoms.

As producers and distributors of motion pictures for a mass public, we have a continuing responsibility to the people we serve.

It is the responsibility to see that what appears in our pictures is decent and moral—fit for the families of all the world.

It is the responsibility to see that within these principles, artistic and dramatic integrity is maintained, that the screen may deal honestly and faithfully with life, and that the freedom under law which we claim shall not by its abuse descend into license.

The motion-picture production code and the advertising code are effective means for discharging these responsibilities. This voluntary system of self-regulation was adopted in our industry nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The fundamental principles of the production code are not subject to change with the passage of time.

Rules and regulations accompanying the code and dealing with customs and conventions have been changed from time to time in the light of experience.

The code is a living instrument for our guidance.

We believe in its principles. We have adhered to them. We shall continue to live up to them.

Nothing in the code has ever prevented the making of superlative, artistic and dramatic entertainment within the normal standards of decency and morality.

No sweeping changes or revisions are necessary to maintain this objective.

Decent entertainment continues to be the best entertainment.

S. BROIDY,
President, Allied Artists Productions, Inc.
HARRY COHN,
President, Columbia Pictures Corp.
NICHOLAS M. SCHENCK,
President, Loew's Inc.
BARNEY BALABAN,
President, Paramount Pictures Corp.
HERBERT J. YATES,
President, Republic Pictures Corp.
SPYROS P. SKOURAS,
President, Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp.
MILTON R. RACKMIL,
President, Universal Pictures Co., Inc.
ALBERT WARNER,
Vice President, Warner Bros. Pictures, Inc.

FEBRUARY 15, 1954.

The Facts About Facts Forum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, February 15, 1954

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Facts About Facts Forum," published in Democratic Digest for March 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FACTS ABOUT FACTS FORUM

A Texas oil baron who may be the wealthiest man in America has started a new wildcatting venture in the field of political propaganda. On its face, it appears to be a long-shot gamble which could be a real bonanza to those who would benefit from a national administration controlled by the McCarthy-Jenner-Malone wing of the Republican Party.

The oilman is Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, whose money, they say down in Texas, is all tied up in cash. His propaganda venture is a modest (for him) million-dollar experiment utilizing, among other things, several radio and TV shows which go out to hundreds of radio stations and TV outlets.

It all started in June 1951, with Facts Forum, a television, radio, and publishing operation whose programs now appear on 222 radio stations and 58 TV outlets each week. In addition Facts Forum now sponsors the American Broadcasting Co. radio-TV show Answers for Americans, which gets a half-hour of free network time, and produces another free-time program, State of the Nation, heard on 315 radio stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

When Hunt first announced the aims of Facts Forum he said it would be a nonpartisan, nonpolitical educational organization. But it soon became evident that Hunt was out to sell some ideas. The "both sides" Facts Forum claimed to present was an odd sort of impartiality. Dan Smoot, a former FBI agent who presents the Facts Forum radio show, introduces the subject for discussion and announces that he will first state the views of the pros and then present

the opinions of the antis. That sounds fair enough. He then proceeds to present one side of the issue. His manner is calm—almost cold at times—and the substance of this side of the argument, unadorned by adjectives, is unemotional. But then we hear the other side, which is readily recognized as being the side of Smoot and Facts Forum. Smoot becomes alive. His voice impassioned, he pleads the case of America First with well-placed emphasis and sledge-hammer inflection.

He once dramatized the Korean war thusly: "It's cold up here in the winter—sometimes 30 below zero. If a boy cries, his tears turn to ice." Then his melodious voice became a vehicle for a dirge, gradually falling in intensity as he let the gravity of the situation sink in. A pause. Silence. Then: "There, in quick review, are some pros and cons of one of the principal controversies of our time. Korea, police action or war? A question for all Americans. This is Dan Smoot with Facts Forum."

Smoot interviewed Senator JENNER for the Facts Forum TV show on the subject of Communism in Government. Here are some of Smoot's questions:

"Did these loyalty boards which cleared these people have the same or as much evidence as you have against them?"

"Do you think that the present administration is doing a better job taking vigorous action against subversives exposed than the previous administration?"

"I take it that one of their (espionage rings) important functions is not espionage, but the influencing, the shaping, of public policy?"

So on and on, with Smoot setting them up and Senator JENNER knocking them down.

Facts Forum's propaganda slant sometimes is shown in the wording of debate subjects. Is the Korean War Related to Communists or Pro-Communists in Our Government? American Communists in the United Nations; Has There Been a Dangerous Communist Infiltration Into the Religious Field in America?; Are You Satisfied With the Progress of the Cleanup in Washington?

Facts Forum has not been tempted to discuss such questions as: Is McCarthyism causing America to lose friends and allies the world over? Should the natural resources of our people be sold to the highest bidder? Does Eisenhower really have a farm program? How can removal of 134,000 from civil service status promote efficiency?

Facts Forum's targets are often the same as those of the McCarthy and Jenner element.

Our public schools: Textbook writers "promote the collectivist idea." * * * There is "an unmistakable philosophical similarity between the theories of modern education in America and the theories of education in Russia." * * * "Is any child ever taught that America is a constitutional Republic with a Central Government of limited powers; that it is not, never was intended to be, and, God willing, may never become a democracy?"

Religion: "It is tragic that thousands of American clergymen not only resist all efforts to expose this evil conspiracy (communism) but actively support Communist fronts, lending their names and the prestige of their churches to the atheistic forces dedicated to their own destruction. * * * It would take days to list all of the specific evidence indicating a dangerous taint of communism in the religious field."

Civil service: "Even in normal times the civil service system costs millions in waste and inefficiency. The President can remove thousands from their jobs, for no reason at all, by the simple device of reorganising or abolishing an agency. Congress can do the same thing by withholding funds."

United Nations: Those "who see any hope for peace in the United Nations are those who approve of world federation."

Facts Forum outlets are many. Besides the growing list of radio and television shows there is a monthly public-opinion poll. The poll questions seem to encourage the kind of answers Facts Forum wants. For example: "Should the Bricker amendment be adopted requiring treaties to be constitutional?" Eighty percent of the answers to this one were affirmative, for, after all, who would be against the Constitution? Here are some other loaded or slanted poll questions asked by Fact Forum: "Could more harm be done by tolerating treason than traitors inflict?" "Will organized labor eventually govern the Nation?" "Will anti-Communists remain impotent victims of smears?" (Answer that last one either yes or no, and you'll be agreeing that MCCARTHY is a victim of smears.)

Buses and trolleys in some 15 cities are carrying placards advertising Facts Forum and its poll. Results of the polls are mailed to Members of Congress, State legislators, newspaper editors and columnists, and radio and TV commentators.

Facts Forum has organized neighborhood discussion groups in many cities which discuss current poll questions. Available to these groups (or to any at large Facts Forum member not affiliated with a local) are movie shorts, recording of talks by Smoot, and certain books by such well-known authors as Senator MCCARTHY.

Hunt's outfit even has a nationwide circulating library. The library's list includes America's Retreat From Victory, and McCarthyism, the Fight for America, both by Senator MCCARTHY. Other titles on the list are Seeds of Treason, Red Masquerade, the Communist Trail in America, Crisis in Education, Undermining the Constitution, I Spied for Stalin, The Road Ahead, While You Slept, and The Red Plot Against America.

The circulating library has over 20,000 volumes and books are passed from hand to hand until they wear out. Then they are mailed to Dallas for rebinding. A postal-card system keeps FF informed on who has read the books.

Facts Forum's central office in Dallas will provide any of its clubs with a speech instructor, on request, and without cost. It also runs slogan contests, with prizes, and makes cash awards for published letters to the editors of newspapers. It recently completed a Facts Forum song contest. The winning song (with hillbilly chord progressions in the key of F major) states that "From man to man, from heart to heart, our net of truth is spread, to trap the big and little lies that desecrate our dead." The words are ringing, but it is not clear what lies desecrating what dead the author had in mind.

A monthly, Facts Forum News, is mailed to the organization's 100,000-plus members in every State and 14 foreign countries. The News carries the poll questions, transcripts of talks by Smoot, FF TV program scripts, prizewinning letters to the editor, and lists of recommended readings.

At first, Facts Forum had no trouble signing up panelists for its TV shows. But eventually some persons began to shy away. Carleton Kent, correspondent for the Chicago Sun-Times, was invited to participate on a Facts Forum TV show. "I wouldn't touch that organization with a 10-foot pole," Kent said. Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, Democrat, Washington, who appeared on one program with MCCARTHY, was asked to participate again but refused. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee, was on one of the earlier Facts Forum shows. But he since has said: "I wish I knew then what I know now about that organization." Frederic V. Collins, chief of the Washington bureau of the Providence Journal, once accepted a Facts Forum invitation (the fee was to be $125) to appear with MCCARTHY. Collins, however, began asking questions about Facts Forum. When he got the answers, he withdrew the acceptance.

As he explained it: "I had talked with enough people to know I didn't want any part of the program. The thing that I liked least was the fact that the film would be canned. I had recollections of the composite photograph fostered by JOE (MCCARTHY) showing Millard Tydings and Earl Browder in warm companionship that had played such a part in Tydings' defeat in the 1950 Maryland senatorial campaign. I had watched MCCARTHY take statements out of context. I well understood what he could do with a pair of scissors on a film in which he and I appeared, but over which I had no editorial control."

ABC's Answers for Americans is a live show. The moderator is Hardy Burt, formerly a press agent with the United States Chamber of Commerce. The permanent panel of Answers for Americans includes Devin Garrity, president of Devin-Adair, the publishing house which specializes in books by ultra-conservative authors. Devin-Adair is Senator MCCARTHY's publisher.

The people behind Facts Forum are an interesting group. First, there is Hunt, the fabulously wealthy Texan who bankrolls Facts Forum. The publicity-shy Hunt is America's biggest independent oil producer. His name is rarely seen in newspapers, even in Dallas, where he lives. He almost never grants interviews, does not make speeches and will not consent to being photographed for publication.

He got his start 34 years ago when he won his first oil lease in a poker game—and on a bluff. (He still enjoys gambling, and has hired a graduate of MIT as statistician to help him beat the horses.) Today his oil holdings alone are said to be worth more than a half billion dollars. The net from all this, of course, is considerably more than it would be from other types of investment of like size, for oil millionaires (and billionaires) still get a 27½ percent tax break which comes under the heading of oil depletion allowances.

But Hunt hasn't put all his money back into oil. He has investments in gold mines, natural gas, manufacturing, and farmland. His farmlands alone are worth $200 million.

On Facts Forum's advisory board is Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of Sears Roebuck, which sponsors Facts Forum shows in a number of cities. General Wood was formerly chairman of America First, the prewar outfit that so loudly opposed making war on Hitler. More recently, he was chairman of the dinner at which Senator MCCARTHY made his notorious campaign speech against Adlai Stevenson.

The Facts Forum moderator was once Robert E. Lee, named by President Eisenhower to the Federal Communications Commission. Lee has long been close to MCCARTHY personally. He was the man who handled the mysterious now-you-see-it-now-you-don't $5,000 check for the campaign fund of Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER which played a part in the investigation of the Butler-Tydings campaign. Lee's wife was matron of honor to MCCARTHY's bride, Jean Kerr. As Miss Kerr, Mrs. McCarthy was another of the earlier helpers on Facts Forum.

One Facts Forum lecturer was Allan Zoll, who has been called education's public enemy No. 1. Zoll was a big wheel in an organization known as American Patriots, which was placed on the Attorney General's list of subversive and Fascist organizations.

The Facts Forum philosophy is perhaps subconsciously expressed in the title of one of the first books it circulated, We Must Abolish the United States, by Joseph Kemp, a fellow-traveler of the German-American Bund who has been convicted and jailed for contempt of Congress.

Facts Forum, of course, would deny indignantly that it seeks to undermine the American form of government. But Facts Forum might ponder the considered words

of the respected Providence Journal that the net effect of Facts Forum activities is "to disseminate fear, suspicion, and divisive propaganda." The danger of this, ironically enough, was well expressed on a Facts Forum broadcast in which the moderator told his audience that 30 years ago Lenin, the master strategist of the Red conspiracy, uttered these words:

"We will win the Western World * * * without shedding a drop of a single Russian soldier's blood. How? We will bankrupt the Western World. We will create fear, suspicion. We will work inside by creating national hatreds, religious antagonisms. * * * We will frighten them. We will create political chicanery. We will confuse international diplomacy. We will do these things."

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a timely editorial that appeared in the Burlington (Wis.) Free Press. It is well said in this editorial that the people know the Bricker amendment is designed to protect the citizens of this country and to prevent any treaty from usurping the rights of our people under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

Our daily newspapers are making headline news of the fight over the Bricker amendment. But still many of us are unable to make a decision concerning it because of a lack of complete and unbiased information.

Fundamentally, the Bricker amendment is a bill proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the legal effects of certain treaties and executive agreements.

Below, numbered by sections, in few words, is the extent of the legal effects.

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 5. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within 7 years from the date of its submission."

Why all the drumbeating about treaties when for more than a century and a half of our history the "treaty supremacy" clause in our Constitution raised few problems?

Previous to the United Nations the majority of our treaties concerned external affairs whereas now as a member in the United Nations we are being asked to participate in treaties which relate to internal domestic affairs—treaties which would regulate our freedoms, our behavior, our daily lives, our economic system, and even our form of government. The framers of our Constitution never contemplated, when they wrote the "treaty supremacy" clause, that such internal matters would even become subjects of treaty and be governed, in effect, by 49 Senators and the signature and thoughts of our duly elected President at the time.

Under our present Constitution, and under the United Nations Charter which we have approved, delegates from the member nations all over the world could decide that "there ought to be a law." It's simple. Draft a law, call it a treaty, get it ratified by member nations, and then it will become an internal law in the countries which adopt it. There are today in existence, enacted or proposed, over 200 treaties which thus seek to regulate a nation's internal domestic affairs.

A proposal now under consideration is an international law under which an American citizen could be brought to trial before an international criminal court for criticizing foreign governments or their officials. Trial would be without jury and without appeal.

A ridiculous law today but, under our present Constitution with its "treaty supremacy" clause, it could be governing you.

Under our Constitution, treaties are submitted only to the Senate. The House of Representatives does not vote on a treaty, even though its terms may deal with internal domestic law.

A treaty can be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Members of the Senate present and voting on the day the vote is taken. Unless the question of a quorum is raised, a treaty could be ratified by a mere handful of Senators. This has actually happened.

In brief, the Bricker amendment is designed to protect you and your country. It will prevent any treaty from usurping your rights; any international law will not become a law until ratified by both the Senate and House. And also, the Bricker amendment will put the same limitations on Executive agreements such as Yalta, Bretton Woods, and ad infinitum throughout the Roosevelt regime.

More complete information is available from your Congressman LAWRENCE H. SMITH, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., or either of our Senators, JOSEPH MCCARTHY or ALEX WILEY, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

If you favor the Bricker amendment or some similar protective amendment, do not hesitate to relay your thoughts to your Federal Representatives. They want to know what you think about such a proposal.

Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on this fifth anniversary of the trial of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, prince primate of Hungary, I join with many of my colleagues in a message of assurance that we have not forgotten. The circumstances of the cardinal's arrest, the infamy of his trial and his sentencing to life imprisonment continue to move us to deep indignation.

I can, of course, speak only for myself. But from what has been said on the floor of this House, and what I have heard on all sides in conversations with my colleagues, I feel perfectly safe in saying that the sentiment of the Congress of the United States demands with complete unanimity the immediate release of Cardinal Mindszenty and condemns as unworthy of reception in decent society those responsible for his torture and confinement.

In the district in Illinois which I have the honor to represent are many fine men and women of Hungarian blood. For them and for myself I join in this message to the silenced and oppressed people of Hungary: we will not rest in our prayers and in our efforts until Cardinal Mindszenty is free and to all the people of Hungary have been restored the blessings of liberty, the dignity of man and the right to worship God.

Cardinal Mindszenty we hold to be one of the great Christian martyrs of our times. The story of his heroism under the torture of martyrdom will never die.

Businessmen in Minnesota Support Parity Program for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a full-page advertisement which appeared in the Ulen Union, a fine weekly newspaper published at Ulen, in Clay County, Minn. I think this is a unique situation when businessmen will pay for a full-page display advertisement in behalf of parity for the farmer, but it serves to point up that the prosperity of the farmer aids the prosperity of all of us, and when the farmer is in trouble financially, we are all in trouble.

In the heated debates which always accompany a discussion of the farm problem, it is easy to spread abroad the false idea that the farmer wants something for nothing in demanding parity prices and Government assurance that he will get parity prices for the food and fiber he produces.

No group in our society serves more unselfishly, nor contributes more to our high standard of living, than American agriculture and in asking for parity for the farmer, we are only asking that he be treated with the same justice and fairness and concern with which we treat business, labor, and industry.

I want to commend the businessmen of Ulen for their farseeing and cooperative attitude toward the farmer. This advertisement is in the best American tradition of helping one another and being concerned about the other fellow for the common good of all.

The advertisement which appeared in the Ulen Union on Wednesday, February 10, and the list of signatures, follow:

PARITY FOR FARMERS

Being the State of Minnesota is a majority agricultural State the businessmen of this

city feel that it is most imperative that we work side by side with those attempting to maintain a farm program which will enrich and develop the agricultural activities wherever they are a major industry or source of livelihood.

In view of the above conclusions, we the following businesses of this city—

Resolve, That we go on record condemning any effort on the part of any Congressman, the Department of Agriculture, or any agency for attempting to disrupt the stabilization program, effecting all farm commodities; we further

Resolve, That Congress shall not only maintain 90 percent of parity, but shall try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities. We do not favor any tendency toward flexibility of price support, but urge Congress to maintain a production control program which is necessary in order to have stabilized price support.

We further urge all business groups in other cities of this State as well as those of other agricultural States to go on record favoring similar resolutions.

C. E. Pederson, merchant; M. J. Erickson Co., garage; Big 5 Coop, hardware and oils; Asleson Bros., blacksmith shop; Bjerke's Locker Service, locker; Forsythe Garage Co., auto and implement dealers; The Northwestern State Bank of Ulen; Ulen Co-Op Creamery Association, dairy products; Wilcox Lumber Co., building materials; Reiten Hardware Co., merchant; Arnold Wold, merchant; Gunderman Pharmacy, pharmacists; Soren A. Jensen, blacksmith; Dr. D. S. Horn, dentist; Henry Bakkum, merchant; Harold Mesker, cafe; A. M. Mellum, service station; Pastor H. M. Lybeck, Lutheran pastor; Tri-County Co-Op. Association, grain elevator; Mrs. M. Nelson, Cozy Cafe; Ulen Hatchery, chicks and supplies; Ros Geithman, barber; D. W. Murphy, merchant; Ruth Harris, coffee shop; W. C. Lokken, Standard Oil agent; Phils Recreation, billiards; O. M. Fevig, agency, insurance; Dan Ogan, Ulen Electric; Super Service Station, Champlin Oils; R. H. Rossaen, Ulen Implement Co.; Carl Melbye, Northside Service Station; Harry Fevig, Fevig's Service Station; A. A. Bulleyment, Ulen Theater; Ulen Union.

Anniversary of Armenian Revolt Against Soviet Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it was 33 years ago, on February 18, 1921, that the Armenian people overthrew Communist rule that had been forcibly imposed on them in December of 1920. For 6 months the Armenian people were able to rid their country of Soviet domination. This is an unparalleled record. No country once occupied by the Soviets has been able even for a short period to drive the Soviet conquerers out of their land. The record is clear today that behind the Iron Curtain such countries as Armenia, Georgia, and the Ukraine are in a state of constant ferment and it is to our advantage that we see that this situation continues.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including two statements. The first is entitled "When the Communists Were Thrown Out" and the second entitled "Where Fear Rules the Rulers," prepared by the Armenian Committee for the Independence of Armenia, located in Racine, Wis., within my congressional district:

WHEN THE COMMUNISTS WERE THROWN OUT

The free world seems to have accepted as fact that Communist rule in the subjugated lands is so viciously and absolutely entrenched that a successful uprising by the enslaved peoples is well-nigh impossible.

History, however, begs to differ.

For it is a matter of record that on February 18, 1921, after 2½ months of Soviet rule, the people of Armenia rose and not only rid the land of a Communist government, its secret police and Red armies, but reestablished the Free and Independent Armenian Republic.

Armenia had been sovietized under the pressure of Red armies on December 2, 1920. A treaty was then signed by the Communists with the Government of the Armenian Republic, whereby the Communists were pledged to maintain an independent Soviet Armenia and to carry out no persecutions against those who, prior to the sovietization of the land, had been active in political parties other than the Communist Party.

However, immediately after the accession to power, the Communists ruthlessly trampled every provision of the treaty they had signed.

They imprisoned, deported, or shot the political leaders and intelligentzia of the country. They looted the towns and villages and established a reign of terror everywhere.

Oliver Baldwin, son of Britain's Premier Lord Baldwin, who was an officer in the Armenian army and who had stayed on after the sovietization of the country, in his book Six Prisons and Two Revolutions thus describes the Communist plunderings:

"The amount of loot the commissars had collected during their regime was indescribable. In 1 room we found about 50 pairs of boots of different kinds, gold rubles, shirts, suits of European clothes, and silver trinkets of Caucasian work."

But the Communists were not satisfied with looting and plundering. A reign of absolute terror was established. Leaders in all spheres of national activity—whether political, military, or cultural—were arrested, imprisoned without trial and executed. And it was against this barbaric slaughter of the best sons of Armenia that the people rose.

Again to quote Baldwin as he describes the uprising of February 18:

"At about 6:30 on February 18, I awoke to find Dr. Usher shaking me by the shoulder. 'Listen,' he said. And then it came—rifle shots, Lewis guns, Vickers guns, rattling like 1914–18, and on the breeze was borne shouts of the attackers: 'Hayastan, Hayastan' (Armenia, Armenia). I dressed in about 5 minutes and, taking a revolver, rushed into the street. All around there was firing, bullets whistled overhead. The attack was coming from the north, and thither I ran. Up the steep streets, followed and preceded by the inhabitants of the town. Every man knew his place. Every man was armed. From every house emerged old men and young, their women handing them bandoliers and rifles that had been hidden since December. 'Hayastan, Hayastan.'

"The excitement was tremendous. On the northeastern hill we met the first band of peasants. We kissed each other; we cheered.

"We placed Vickers guns in position and opened fire.

"Then came the call: 'To the prison. To the prison.'

"We rushed downhill shooting, calling, shouting. On every housetop stood a sniper—an Armenian. In the center of the town, two companies of Bolsheviks were taken like rats in a trap and marched away."

And thus it was that in Armenia, 2½ full months after the establishment and consolidation of Soviet rule, tyranny was overthrown and in the Red armies were chased out of the land.

And Armenia was once again proclaimed a free and independent republic.

Today it is wise and important for the free world to remember the example of Armenia, to remember that the rule of Soviet tyranny is not one unbroken chain.

That chain was shattered once by an ancient and small people whose wrath had been aroused; it may be shattered again, this time through the coordinated efforts of many.

WHERE FEAR RULES THE RULERS

Historians will in vain seek a regime so eloquent of its own weakness as the Soviet Union. At no time and in no land has there been such abundant evidence of fear ruling the rulers.

The Soviet secret police, the purges and concentration camps are proof of the constant conflict between the people and the masters.

A primary source of this constant conflict are the suppressed nationalities of the Soviet Union. According to the Stalin Constitution, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and 10 other Union republics are equal and independent members of the U. S. S. R. Yet everyone knows that this provision, like the Constitution itself, is just a show-window display designed to deceive.

In reality, the centuries-old struggle and urge of the non-Russian peoples for their own statehood and national independence are ruthlessly suppressed. And no persecution is more drastic than directed against bourgeois nationalism.

This is daily confirmed by none other than the Kremlin itself. For the Communists nationalism is the most criminal of all anti-state heresies.

But what the rulers dread most is—by that very circumstance—the most potent force that may cause their downfall. The Soviet tyrants fear nationalism for they know it to be the one irrepressible and dynamic force that may explode from within setting forth a chain reaction to spell the end of the Soviet Empire and dream of world domination.

In the West it is often asked: if this force is truly present and indeed dynamic, why has it not expressed itself. The question confirms the almost impenetrable texture of the iron curtain. Yet for all its opaqueness those who have been watching closely have seen through.

The fact, of course, is that the most recent uprising by national forces was visible to the whole world. For it took place in East Berlin on June 17, 1953. Yet this was only the latest in an unbroken chain of national insurrections. The earliest occurred in Armenia, in 1921, only 2½ months after the independent Republic of Armenia fell victim to Soviet aggression. Having seized the land the Communists established a reign of terror. Homes were looted, the population starved, villages burned down. Twelve hundred higher officers of the Armenian National Army were driven north in a forced march in the snow and blizzards of the Caucasian Mountains. Scores of intellectuals and political leaders were jailed and literally beheaded in prison.

Then the people rose.

February 18, 1921 is a memorable day in the chronicles of the freedom-loving forces of the world. For on that day the Communists and their armed forces were driven from the length and breadth of a country they had occupied—Armenia. Workers, students,

priests, women, peasants, and children rose, fought and defeated the oppressor.

The Armenian Republic was reestablished.

And as a prophet the prime minister of the land, Mr. Simon Vratzian, sent out a call to the capitals of the world, that in truth was a warning against the impending menace, a menace that in time would reach every corner and country of the globe.

It fell on deaf ears, for in those days the world was innocent in the knowledge of the Communist cancer.

So the reinforced Soviet armies returned.

Yet the resistance against Soviet tyranny did not cease, neither in Armenia nor in the other countries of the Soviet Union.

In 1924 there were mass uprisings in Georgia, in 1929 rebellion exploded in Azerbaidjan, insurrection spread throughout the Ukraine in 1930–31 and again in 1941–42, there were countless revolts in Russia proper and the resistance of the central Asian republics never ceased. Then, to these were added the more recent uprisings in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania.

The unbroken chain indicates, beyond doubt or dispute, that nationalism in the Soviet Union is in constant and ever-growing ferment, periodically exploding over the vast expanses of Soviet-controlled territory.

If as yet it has not gathered sufficient strength or momentum to overthrow the entire Soviet structure, it has nevertheless succeeded in making the consolidation and security of that structure impossible.

In his Marxism and the National Question, Stalin wrote:

"It must not be forgotten, comrades, that there are such reservoirs of strength as the suppressed peoples who though they may be silent, yet by that very silence force every situation and decide everything."

Stalin was then thinking of the nationlist forces to be used against the czarist empire. The tables are turned now. And the silence of the suppressed peoples and nationalities may yet force the situation and bring about the beginning of the end of the Soviet slave empire.

The Washington Pilgrimage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, the fourth Washington pilgrimage will convene on May 1. Many Members of Congress serve on the advisory committee of this splendid institution, the purpose of which is to recognize the basic sources of the Nation's religious heritage. The president is Mr. David C. Cook III, of Elgin, Ill., a distinguished publisher of religious literature. He and Mrs. Cook have worked untiringly for the success of this significant movement.

Miss Patricia Owens recently described the pilgrimage of last year in an article appearing in the New Century Leader, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include her statement, as follows:

We were above Washington. I looked out and all I could see was a white, white world. Then Washington broke through the foam of clouds. It spread out below like a magnificent park. The terra of America bejeweled with gems of greatness symbolized by shrines, monuments, and documents. I could see the Lincoln Memorial—the Jefferson Memorial; and there, of course, just like I had expected it, stood the white, squarelike spire, the Washington Monument pointing toward Heaven.

The headquarters during the 1953 Washington pilgrimage were across from the Treasury Department and almost in the shadow of the White House. Standing on the terrace of Hotel Washington later that night, I looked out and saw the warm, yellow light glowing from the upper windows of the White House. Our neighbors were still up.

The welcoming reception of the Washington pilgrimage was held in the Washington Room. Hosts and hostesses of the pilgrimage greeted me and introduced me to other Pilgrims. I met Mrs. Elson, the charming wife of Dr. Elson, minister of the National Presbyterian Church where the President attends.

Next morning we gathered at the northwest gate of the White House for a special tour. I enjoyed the bright splash of color of the tulips bedded in the center of the lawn, the frilly dogwoods, and the fully leafed trees. Majestic pillars flanked the entrance as we filed past into large hall. We went on through the green, red, and blue rooms noting the furniture: were there scratches on it? the ornate mantel clocks, the drapes and brocaded walls that matched the upholstered chairs in the blue room. Each of these rooms intensified the air with its fortissimo of hues. Needless to say, the impression I carried away was in technicolor.

Downstairs we saw a collection of china and dishes used by former residents. Some were embellished with a crest of the United States, regal and impressive; others had the old-fashioned heavy look of the antique shop. I couldn't help feeling a bit sorry for Lincoln when I saw the lavender dishes that he dined from. I couldn't believe that he really liked them. I wondered how he happened to have them. They would tell an interesting story, but we moved on. Up to the hall again. There looking at us from oils was former President Truman. We had seen many Presidents and their wives on canvas. Then we were outdoors.

From the White House we went to the National Gallery of Art. A special program had been arranged for us. We saw slides of famous religious paintings. Their vivid colors plus the address by the curator, Dr. Raymond S. Stites, made this a memorable moment. We observed the growth of religious art from early times through the Byzantine era; the Renaissance up until the present.

Our day was full, visiting next the National Archives with addresses by outstanding men from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. We viewed the faded Declaration of Independence and read easily only the large, bold signature of John Hancock. I realized as I hadn't before, the courage it took to sign this document. It and the Constitution are housed in glass cases and everything possible has been done to preserve them.

We saw the simple, yet impressive changing of the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and visited the Jefferson Memorial which completed the day except for the buffet dinner that evening.

At the dinner I happened to sit at a table with an interesting couple who had been to India. The man had been a professor and was now retired and interested in gardening. They lived at a delightfully named spot called Craigville-on-Cape-Cod. I didn't learn until the next day that it was she who was to receive the award for Church Woman of the Year.

The Lincoln Memorial. I could see it from the bus window. It had the harmonious lines of a Greek temple. Eagerly we hurried from our chartered vehicle to gain a better view and mount the steps. Folding chairs had been set up for us on one of the broad landings. And from where I sat, I could see the statue of Lincoln looking thoughtfully upon us. He, I imagined, would be happy to know there was a Washington pilgrimage whose purpose was to reveal the presence of God in our Nation's heritage, to renew this religious faith, and to rededicate ourselves to the spiritual calling of our country.

Vivid reds, blues, greens combined with other colors fluttered by; the flags of free nations were being carried by a Boy Scout troop. It was colorful as well as fitting to see these flags assembled behind the band that had played for us, in front of the memorial to the man who believed in freedom.

That same day we visited the Supreme Court where we stood up as Justice William O. Douglas entered the room. I recall his rather homespun appearance as he told us how he had listened to a quiz program where the contestant was to name five Supreme Court Justices and couldn't. I thought, could I?

Douglas told us that the Supreme Court decisions followed to a great extent the path hewn through the years, and that today they were swinging back to the ideas of John Marshall who was known for his outstanding work in constitutional law and was appointed Chief Justice in 1801.

He also emphasized the extreme value of the right to dissent. In fact in the first decision of the Court, there was one dissenting vote. When judges can vote as they believe, then we can be sure our Government isn't above the law.

Next, we entered the Supreme Court chamber. All eyes focused on the bench and then the nine chairs behind it. The chairs were all substantially constructed and belonged to an earlier period, but here the resemblance ended. Some were average in height while others were quite judicial looking with their high backs. The variety of styles evidently meant comfort for each of the judges; this, a minor matter, is a symbol of the lack of regimentation—the importance of the individual in our Government.

That same day we gathered in the old Supreme Court room of the Capitol to await the arrival of Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON and Speaker of the House, JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr. I was looking toward the door when, with a start, I saw a face that looked very familiar. It was Mr. NIXON. He looked just like his pictures.

He told us of President Eisenhower's sincere religious motivation. He stressed the need for a religious reawakening of the American people and said that he believes the struggle between communism and free nations will be determined principally in the ideological field.

A photograph was taken of the entire group, including the Vice President. This made an unusual souvenir, for few photos are allowed in the Capitol. As I left, I saw Mr. NIXON still busily writing his autograph for each Boy Scout of the New Holland troop. I'm sure he was thankful he had a short name.

I felt a pleasant and warm glow as I sat at the table that night with some pilgrimage friends. This was the highlight of the Washington pilgrimage—the awards dinner. Looking around at all who were there I had the impression that they felt the same way I did. There wasn't the thrill of visiting historical places, but instead there was the impressive culmination of all we had seen and heard. We laughed with the master of ceremonies, the Honorable BROOKS HAYS, Congressman from Arkansas, at a humor which his native drawl so aptly depicted for us. Yet throughout the entire program a serious note of enthusiasm predominated. Perhaps it was the quiet confidence of God walking through the room.

Those who received the awards offered us a challenge. They had done and were doing

so much. Mrs. Leslie E. Swain was honored for her "leadership in denomination and interchurch programs and her vision of a Christ-guided world." She is now serving on the central committee of the World Council of Churches, and she has been president of the American Baptist Convention. Yet, when I later congratulated her, she said that it wouldn't have been possible without her husband's understanding.

The churchman of the year award went to George E. Stoll, a retired industrialist of Louisville, Ky. Through his efforts on the Council of Churches juvenile delinquency has been cut in half in Louisville. This is even more amazing because of its rise throughout the Nation. His committees have also been responsible for improving conditions in public institutions. Certainly this is translating religion into action.

Rev. Louie D. Newton, minister of Druid Hills Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga., was selected as the clergy-churchman of the year because of his "lifetime of unselfish service as editor, pastor, and ecumenical leader." He is a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention. Hearing of these outstanding workers for God gave me reassurance and belief that our Nation will continue to be great.

Judge Luther Youngdahl personalized further the importance of religion. "The event of our age is the spiritual something that is growing in the hearts of men." Everyone listened carefully to this tall, broad-shouldered man who in his sincere purposeful manner asked us, "Do we still have religion in the cornerstone position in our hearts?" He told us that the "millions of people who are now indifferent to God are unconsciously giving aid, comfort, and help to the Communists." In conclusion he pointed out that "the job of building a better country * * * is the job for every individual citizen. The world will be reformed only as the consecrated process takes place in the hearts of individuals."

The next day as the plane roared further away from the Washington Airport and Washington looked more and more like a toy city, I thought that I had captured through the Washington pilgrimage the true and deep meaning of our religious heritage. I could still see the Washington Monument standing stark and purposeful, pointing the way toward heaven.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

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LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

Appendix

A Time for Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an article on the tasks and objectives of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The article appears in the February 1954 issue of the magazine State Government.

A TIME FOR DECISION BY THE STATES

(By Representative HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, member of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations)

(HAROLD C. OSTERTAG has been studying government and participating in government for many years—as a member of the New York Legislature and chairman of the New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Cooperation, and now as a Member of Congress from New York and of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. In this article he discusses the task of that Commission, the opportunity and some of the problems of the States in relationship with its work, and the bearing of public opinion on the future of Federal-State relations.)

It has sometimes been said that most of man's troubles arise from his refusal to read the minutes of the last meeting. Certainly our problems in intergovernmental relations stem in large measure from that failure. Since the beginning of this republic, we have known that our strength—perhaps our survival as a Nation—depends upon keeping our Government defined and limited in its powers, and strong and virile at the grass roots.

We wrote an amendment into the Bill of Rights, designed to insure that objective: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." The Founding Fathers had taken the trouble to read the minutes of the last meeting, and the record was clear and unequivocal. It showed, as Jefferson noted, that it is the natural progress of things for liberty to yield and Government to gain ground. Hence, the 10th amendment.

Nevertheless, the shackles forged at Philadelphia to keep Federal powers delimited, with a maximum of powers reserved to the States and the people, were burst almost before the ink was dry on the instruments of ratification. The welfare clause was the leak in the dike that has virtually destroyed the dike. The trend toward centralization has been vigorously resisted over the years, but to what avail? More than 125 years ago, some of our citizens were threatening armed revolt against the national Government's encroachments. And while Jefferson counseled resting on our oars, to see which way the tide will set in Congress and the State legislatures, he felt that we must eventually choose between reformation and revolution.

The Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which was created by the last session of Congress, opens the gateway to reformation—the only course that any of us would uphold today. It is for us to prove that we have the courage, the wisdom and the wit to enter.

As set forth in a recent issue of State Government, the Commission comprises 25 members, including five each from the United States Senate and House of Representatives and 15 public members appointed by the President. The public members include representatives of the Federal administrative departments which are affected, such as the Treasury and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and representatives of the States, the cities, and the public. The Commission's Chairman is Clarence E. Manion.

The magnitude of the task it faces has been likened to that which confronted the constitutional convention. In a sense it is much greater, for it must not only do; it must undo. It must untangle the snarled skein of intergovernmental relations, which, administrators at all levels of Government complain, is today strangling many desirable governmental programs.

There are several fundamental problems which must be resolved if the Commission's work is to be fruitful. First, we must determine what functions and tax resources can properly and effectively be transferred from the Federal Government to the States. Then the States must prove themselves ready, willing, and able to assume these new responsibilities. And finally, there must be a public understanding and support of the program, sufficiently broad-based to insure its success. Of the three, perhaps the last is the most important and the most difficult to secure.

The reallocation of functions and tax resources, while a formidable task, does not, in my judgment, present insurmountable obstacles. Dozens of blueprints have been formulated. Each has its advantages and disadvantages. None could be put into effect painlessly. Nevertheless, it should be possible to agree on a general plan, even though, in doing so, we are each required to "doubt a little of our own infallibility," in the interests of the common goal.

Jefferson's thought was to entrust to the National Government our external and mutual relations, and to each State separately the care of our persons, our property, and our religious freedom. The first Hoover Commission task force, wrestling with the problem a century and a quarter later, concluded that governmental functions must now be conducted at three, rather than two, levels: (1) Federal, (2) Federal-State, and (3) State.

It suggested the following delineation: To the National Government, jurisdiction over foreign affairs, national defense, veterans' services, immigration, interstate commerce, regulation of monopolies, including atomic energy development; supervision of the sale of securities and deposit banking; management of the public debt and operation of the postal service. Federal-State undertakings would include highway construction and other public works serving national as well as State purposes; conservation of natural resources, and agricultural services. State functions would include ordinary civil and criminal-law enforcement, administration of elections, education, public welfare and health services, employment security and slum clearance. There are a limitless number of variations on this general theme, but there are substantial areas of agreement.

The larger question which haunts those dedicated to decentralization revolves around the States. Are they ready, willing, and able to assume new responsibilities? Certainly the Federal Government is not going to vacate governmental fields and leave a vacuum. A great many leaders of the States have labored mightily and patiently over the years to prepare for the opportunity that has now come. But are all States ready? Some still have constitutions which effectively bar them from adequate action in such elementary public services as flood control and highway construction. Many still cling to biennial legislative sessions, rigidly limited as to duration—in a world in which airplanes can fly at twice the speed of sound, and a radio impulse can girdle the globe in a matter of seconds. Some States still pay salaries to their lawmakers which do not even meet public relief standards.

It is evident that the work of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations must be complemented at the State level—in each of the States—if there is to be any substantial transfer of responsibilities. Several States have created counterpart agencies to work with the national Commission, but it is advisable that all do so in order to achieve the full objective.

Are the States willing to take the necessary steps to surmount the present handicaps and rise to the challenge and opportunity? If they are, if they evince a concrete willingness to cooperate in this vastly important undertaking, I do not think they will encounter too much opposition in Washington. As one congressional member of the Commission put it: "I would be delighted to turn over more functions and taxing powers to the States. I am tired of levying new taxes to pay for services demanded by people who want States rights."

And that brings me to the third, and in my judgment, the greatest problem which the Commission faces, if its task is to be accomplished successfully. That is the mobilization of public opinion to support a redress of the balance of power and authority between the Federal and State governments. That task is truly immense.

First of all, the average citizen is only dimly aware of the extent to which his liberty—which is to say, his control over his Government—has been siphoned away in the past decades. There has been no frontal assault on his sovereignty. Yet it has diminished as certainly as his income is diminished by the withholding tax—and on much the same theory; namely, that he will not miss what he never possessed. For the most part, he stands like a man bemused, watching rabbits pulled out of the governmental hat, while government takes his money. Intermittently, he becomes aware that every level of government is reaching deeper and deeper into his pockets, although he can no longer place responsibility for the constantly rising costs, let alone combat them.

How can the average citizen accurately assess the degree of Federal, State, and local responsibility in the financing of our public-assistance programs? How can he tell whether the farmer is being penalized or rewarded by the Federal Government's parity formula? It takes a combined legal genius

and an Einstein to understand the slide-rule formulas on which these programs are based. And they are by no means unique in the field of intergovernmental relations. The lines of responsibility for governmental services and costs have become so diffused as to be incomprehensible to all but the initiate. And when government becomes that complex, it endangers itself and every citizen who lives under it.

That being so, one might suppose there would be a great public clamor for decentralization of government. On the contrary, we must accept the fact that there is no such thing. The average citizen is too overwhelmed by it to cope with it. He reacts to it, therefore, only at the points where it touches his own life. And whether it was planned that way or not, the fact is that the Federal Government often seems today to touch his life more benignly than either local or State government. The postman at the door with the monthly social-security check is to him a more pleasing symbol of government than, say, the mental hospital over the hill, or the county clerk's office. Unless the States are willing to play a more vigorous and meaningful role in the lives of their citizens, public support for a transfer of functions and tax resources to the States may be absent. Yet public support, as I have suggested above, is a vital element in the task in which the Intergovernmental Commission is engaged.

How, then, do we make a start on our problem?

Oddly enough, it seems to me one answer may lie in the rationale and administration of our foreign-aid programs. To some extent, they have been analogous to our Federal grants-in-aid programs, with, however, certain significant differences. In our foreign economic aid programs, we allocated large sums to help our allies help themselves. We required them, in turn, to appropriate matching, or counterpart funds, to insure broad local interest in the common objective. We acted only as counselors and advisers in expending the funds, encouraging and indeed insisting upon a maximum of local initiative and discretion. And throughout the program, we have been preaching to our allies the gospel of self-reliance through strong local government, thus preparing them for the time when we would withdraw, leaving them to go forward under their own power.

Had we instigated and administered our programs of Federal aid to the States on a comparable basis, the results today might be very different. Far from it, however, our own Federal-aid programs have been promulgated on a basis designed to make the States permanently dependent upon Washington, and in constantly increasing measure. (Federal-aid programs have increased dollar-wise some 1,200 percent in the last 20 years; most of the increase has taken place since the end of World War II, and economic conditions generally have never been better than during this time.) Moreover, instead of encouraging local initiative and State sovereignty, our Federal-aid programs have been in a direction that if continued would reduce State governments to administrative offices of the Central Government, with State administrators and State budgets operating in straitjackets.

Perhaps the task of decentralization might best be accomplished by practicing at home what we have been preaching (and practicing) abroad—namely, aid only to those who need it, and for a limited time only, coupled with maximum encouragement and recognition of local initiative.

The original Hoover Commission task force working in this field suggested a program roughly comparable to this. The task force recommended that Federal grants be made to the States on a lump-sum basis, leaving State administrators free to use them to the best advantage. Moreover, grants would be made in inverse ratio to per capita income, so that those States whose needs were greatest would get the most. These are still valid proposals, worthy of the most careful consideration. If to such a plan were added a systematic program to strengthen the economies and administration of those States which stand in need of it, we might realistically hope some day to restore a proper balance to our Government and prove to the world that we can profit from the lessons of history.

The problem is as tough, as basic, and as vital as any, short of war, that this Nation has ever faced. The issue is the preservation of freedom itself. As Somerset Maugham observed, "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom. And if it is money and comfort that it values more, it will lose those too."

Moscow Has Fast Offensive Bombers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the unspeakable folly of basing our estimate of Soviet airpower on the factually unsupported impulsive hunches of a complacent Secretary of Defense, instead of on sound intelligence, is clearly demonstrated by the recent public disclosure of Russia's progress in building modern intercontinental bombers. The evidence indicates that the Communists have already equipped some of their Air Force Wings with strategic bombers conservatively estimated to be as good as our B–36 and perhaps better.

Last year's reduction of American airpower, in spite of current steps toward restoration, has already resulted in the waste of at least $1 billion and a delay of 2 years in our buildup to a minimum security level.

The security of the United States is too important to be gambled on the uninformed guesses of a complacent Secretary. Having proved himself such a poor prophet, he should now graciously retire to a position where his intuition and rash remarks can have free rein without endangering the security of the United States.

I should like to include in our record an article by the Alsop brothers which appeared in the Washington Post on February 15 and also a United Press dispatch of the same date.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post of February 15, 1954]

MOSCOW HAS FAST OFFENSIVE BOMBERS

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

The Russian air industry is now producing two new heavy bomber types capable of round trip strikes at American targets, carrying atomic or hydrogen bombs. These are the Tupolev–200 and the Ilyushin–38.

This highly significant fact of international life has been suspected for some time. The probability that one of these new bombers had passed the prototype stage was reported in this space last summer. Now it is confirmed, however, that both bombers are in active production, and are already being flown by regular formations of the Soviet strategic air army.

The news is a depressing commentary on Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's contention that Soviet military preparations are "not offensive" in character. It proves that the Soviets are pressing the development of offensive weapons with great energy. The Secretary was talking through his hat.

The existence of these new bombers radically changes the whole air-atomic balance. Until now the TU–4, an improved version of the B–29 crudely comparable to our B–50, has been the workhorse of the Soviet strategic air army. The TU–4 is entirely capable of striking any American target, but it cannot do the round trip from Soviet air bases to American targets and back again.

Thus the strategic air army is essentially a one-shot air force, so long as it must mainly depend upon the TU–4. Expert opinion is unanimous that the Soviet air crews are trained to fly one-way missions, and that the Soviet high command will order one-way missions, if need be. Nonetheless, it was and is a severe handicap to have a one-shot air force. The importance of the new bomber types is that they will give the Soviet air planners the power to strike and strike again.

Both the new Soviet bombers have their American parallels. The Tupolev–200 is the size of our giant B–36, with a wing span above 230 feet and a length of 200 feet overall. Its enormous size indicates great range. It is powered by six turboprop engines. The quality of these engines, plus certain features of the air-frame design, give positive evidence of superior speed.

It is thought to fly at more than 450 miles an hour and above 50,000 feet. These are substantially better performance characteristics than the best the B–36 can boast. Because the engines are turbo-props, the new Russian intercontinental giants can also attack efficiently at very low altitude, "on the deck," where existing radar detection system are seriously deficient.

The Ilyushin–38 is a somewhat smaller and more compact aircraft with sharply swept-back wings and a speed estimated at close to 500 miles per hour. Four turboprop engines provide its present powerplant. But its aerodynamic characteristics suggest that it has been designed to permit substitution of jet engines for turbo-props when the time comes.

Even now this bomber has many of the qualities of the American B–52, which is not yet in active production. When and if the jet-turbo-prop substitution is made, the comparison will be exact.

To conclude this collection of disturbing data, both the Tupolev-200 and the Ilyushin-38 are equipped with radar bombsights. The Pentagon's merchants of complacency used to claim the Russians would never make radar bombsights.

When first reported, the Ilyushin–38 was known as "Type 31," while the Tupolev–200 was commonly called the TUG–75. (Besides the brilliant Tupolev, who built the TU–4, another famous Russian air designer, Gurevich, collaborated in the development of the Tupolev–200.) The early reports of both bombers were rejected as inherently incredible by the same merchants of complacency who swore the Russians would never learn to bomb by night and in bad weather.

Now, however, the existence of both these bombers is somewhat glumly accepted even by the Pentagon's civilian overlords, who have learned some hard lessons in recent months. The new Soviet bombers are already in squadron formations.

No operating unit of the American Strategic Air Command will get new bombers of comparable range, speed, and weight for many more months. The hope of SAC for the present is the B–47, a superb aircraft but

a medium-range bomber. And the number of operating squadrons which have exchanged their B–50's for B–47's is still very small.

In short the Soviets may soon be able to claim parity with the United States, in point of equipment at least, in the great military specialty which has always been supposed to justify our neglect of other forms of armed strength. In these circumstances it is plain dishonest for the Pentagon to go on smugly boasting about American air-atomic striking power, without at least uttering a warning word or two now and then about Soviet air-atomic striking power.

BETTER THAN MIG—CZECHS HAVE 500 JETS, FLIER SAYS

FRANKFURT, GERMANY, February 15.—A former Czech air force mechanic said today that Czechoslovakia has almost 500 jet fighter planes superior to the MIG–15 poised on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Jiri Schorm, who was granted political asylum after his plane crashed in West Germany, said his Communist-dominated homeland has developed a new supersonic jet nightfighter known as the "Bis."

The Bis, the former Czech air force corporal said, is capable of greater speeds and altitudes than the Soviet-built MIG–15 used in the Korean war.

In addition to the Bis, Schorm said, the Czechs also have an improved Russian-built jet fighter, the MIG–16.

Schorm said four Czech air divisions are now almost completely outfitted with Bis or MIG–16 jets. He said each division has about 120 planes.

"Three of the divisions are right near the West German frontier," he said. "The fourth is held in reserve."

On this side of the Iron Curtain, the United States Twelfth Air Force has about 400 F–86 Sabrejets, the plane which chalked up a 14-to-1 record over the MIG–15 in Korea.

Schorm said morale in the Czech armed forces is terrible, adding that four jets constantly patrol the border with West Germany to head off deserters.

"In the event of war," he asserted, "most of the troops would not fight for communism. Our soldiers are just ordinary people—opposed to the Reds."

He cautioned, however, that he doubted the Czechs would rise up against the Communists as we did at Pilsen last summer.

"Since that insurrection, the police have tightened their grip on the civilian population and the armed forces," he said.

Farmers' Home Administration Doing a Commendable Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few minutes today to review briefly the progress made under the lending program we set up last summer to help distressed livestock producers. I frankly believe that this program saved the livestock industry. I refer to the Farmers' Home Administration.

Last June cattlemen were faced with what looked like another dry summer. In some of the States—Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wyoming, and Texas—the drought was entering its fourth year.

Many of the cattlemen were liquidating their foundation herds. They had to. They lacked feed and they lacked the money to buy feed. In fact, many of them were carrying debts that they had run up fighting the drought of the year before. In normal times, feed dealers and bankers would have been able to carry them. But these were not normal times. The lenders already had a lot of credit on their books, the ranchers already had liens on most everything they owned.

Around mid-June the House Agriculture Committee held hearings on the need for emergency livestock credit and several of us took a quick trip to the drought area to get firsthand information on the situation. By the middle of July we had enabling legislation and appropriations to carry out the legislation cleared through both the House and the Senate. The emergency livestock loan program was ready to go.

We were fortunate, I believe, in having an organization already established and ready to take the authorities and funds that we made available and put them to use quickly. The Farmers' Home Administration in the Department of Agriculture has a nationwide organization that serves every agricultural county. This agency has many years of experience in the agricultural credit field and had handled emergency credit programs before. By the first week in August they had loan funds available in county offices from one end of the country to the other.

To date more than $29 million has been loaned to 2,900 livestock producers. That is an average of more than a million dollars a week. That is service where and when service is needed.

Let me tell you what that $29 million has done. It has kept foundation herds together, animals that if slaughtered, would have taken years to replace.

It has helped families hang on to their means of livelihood.

It helped thousands of cattlemen who never applied for a loan for it brought about orderly marketings that in turn strengthened the whole cattle market.

It helped the consumer for if there had been mass slaughterings of cattle last summer the cost of beef by next summer would have been so high you could not touch a steak with a 10-foot pole.

It helped private lenders for it bolstered the security of the loans they held.

By and large it strengthened, and I believe saved, the whole livestock industry.

Let me tell you how this loan program works.

The emergency credit is extended throughout the country to established producers and feeders of cattle who are temporarily unable to get the credit they need for regular credit sources. These cattlemen must of course have a good record of livestock operations and reasonable prospects for success with the help of the loan.

The loans are made to meet any usual expenses necessary to successful livestock operations.

Loans are made repayable within 3 years and bear 5 percent interest. Livestock loan committees, composed of men who are familiar with local livestock operations decide whether the applicant is eligible and approve the loans. Applications are made at the county offices of the Farmers' Home Administration.

I believe that everyone who took part in creating and carrying out this program of assistance to cattlemen takes pride in their accomplishments. I know that I do. When the legislation was being considered I was able to call attention to the fact that there are thousands of ranchers who carry on feeding operations as a part of their farming operation. These men raise their own feed and then buy enough young stock to consume this feed supply. The bill was revised to provide for the needs of these farmers. I also supported the measure as a whole.

Time does not permit naming all who took part in formulating this program. But let me mention a few. The chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the Honorable CLIFFORD HOPE, spearheaded the action in the House, his capable counterpart in the Senate, the Honorable GEORGE AIKEN handled the bill in the Senate.

President Eisenhower and the Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson both took an extremely active interest in the legislation. In the Department of Agriculture, Robert Farrington and R. B. McLeaish, under whose direction the Farmers' Home Administration operates, worked long hours nights and weekends to see that the service was made available to farmers with maximum speed and efficiency.

The whole country can take pride in this program. For in the manner in which it was conceived and carried out we proved once more our ability to cope with any crisis. A nation's strength and endurance depends in the long run on its ability to meet emergency situations. The livestock loan program is a testimonial to this Nation's strength.

Special livestock loans as of Feb. 5, 1954

State	Loans approved		Applications pending	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
Alabama	14	$100,975	0	0
Arizona	13	360,890	7	$264,815
Arkansas	338	524,855	23	68,280
California	[1] 13	511,880	9	197,940
Colorado	136	3,093,875	38	891,245
Florida	37	562,265	4	192,075
Georgia	32	306,550	0	0
Idaho	18	637,964	15	943,820
Illinois	2	18,600	0	0
Indiana	7	168,400	1	6,800
Iowa	1	2,000	1	1,575
Kansas	87	1,431,900	18	171,410
Kentucky	23	37,470	7	14,135
Louisiana	4	62,250	1	5,000
Massachusetts	5	11,400	1	1,600
Michigan	2	13,000	0	0
Minnesota	3	13,875	0	0
Mississippi	4	29,195	0	0
Missouri	692	946,490	48	46,680

[1] 1 loan in the amount of $33,900 tentatively approved, has been finally rejected.

Special livestock loans as of Feb. 5, 1954—Continued

State	Loans approved		Applications pending	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
Montana	93	$2,658,845	41	$1,356,765
Nebraska	4	62,450	0	0
Nevada	46	879,715	3	24,570
New Hampshire	1	1,000	5	5,320
New Jersey	13	32,690	0	0
New Mexico	210	2,437,408	22	490,880
New York	16	28,460	10	18,390
North Carolina	1	5,315	0	0
North Dakota	6	24,835	0	0
Ohio	5	7,790	0	0
Oklahoma	100	2,103,230	24	443,500
Oregon	3	149,115	5	364,580
Pennsylvania	19	28,395	15	17,850
South Carolina	1	7,870	0	0
South Dakota	50	893,340	11	170,970
Tennessee	18	25,400	2	1,500
Texas	709	10,004,890	64	795,350
Utah	38	606,304	9	187,885
Vermont	2	5,280	3	6,000
Virginia	52	167,630	6	7,900
Washington	0	0	3	115,857
West Virginia	22	12,395	3	655
Wyoming	28	636,695	8	324,700
Hawaii	5	47,675	2	8,200
Total	2,933	29,353,254	409	7,158,247

Ross Rizley Story Is a Lesson in Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, recently there occurred an event at Guymon, Okla., which I am sure the older Members of the House will be glad to note.

Ross Rizley, a former Member of this House, was the recipient of a high honor. This event was not held in some high-vaulted, ancient, or historic meeting place. The audience for this notable event was not in full dress. Many of the men wore their high-heeled boots and the high plains badge of honor, the white Stetson hat.

But this assembly was made up of men of royal blood—sons of the pioneers. These people in attendance were descendents of the men, who a short generation ago, conquered the high plains—a land made unhospitable by roving bands of Indians, cattle rustlers, winters' howling blizzards, and the searing winds blowing over water courses without water.

The people of this assembly of the high plains came to pay their respects to one of their own. Ross Rizley did not return from some foreign war to receive the praise of his fellow citizens. He came back from the domestic scene in Washington where he holds a high Government position. Those of you who know Ross Rizley know he always has and is now trying to preserve the most fundamental of all American heritages—freedom of the individual.

It was fitting and proper that Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, should make the main address at Ross' homecoming. I commend the following article written by Roy P. Stewart of the Daily Oklahoman in regard to his homecoming:

ROSS RIZLEY STORY IS A LESSON IN FAITH
(By Roy P. Stewart)

We followed a twin Beach airplane carrying Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, Mr. and Mrs. Ross Rizley, and Bailie Vinson, of Tulsa, into the airport at Guymon in a Bonanza, riding with governor-for-another-day James E. Berry and trooper Ray Rice, with Lt. Art Hamilton of the State highway patrol as pilot.

We knew folks on the high plains were planning an appreciation day for Ross and Ruby Rizley in the same spirit some of them once drove miles in wagon or surrey to share work or fun with a neighbor. But we were surprised at the size of the turnout.

Cars were lined up and down the highway by the airport. Hundreds of people could be seen on the ground. The dinner for 200 at Panhandle A. and M. College at Goodwell, the overflow crowd in the 1,400-seat auditorium of Guymon's magnificent new high-school building later, demonstrated the genuine affection in which folk of the plains area held the Rizleys.

Secretary Benson was amazed too because it soon was evident that not just hometown folk but people from Texas, New Mexico, and Kansas were there to honor his assistant. The Secretary told us, "I didn't quite know what this was going to be but it is one of the most memorable experiences of my life. Just to see how people have turned out to honor one of their outstanding citizens is a fitting and deserved tribute rarely seen."

We looked at Ross and thought of just what sort of a fellow he is to receive something rarely given to a man. We saw a humble man who freely admitted he was "all choked up" when he saw that crowd as the plane came in.

A fellow who listened without expression as telegrams were read from President Eisenhower and almost every big wheel in official Washington, yet who could and did wipe his misty eyes publicly when telegrams were read from those of his and Ruby's seven children who could not attend the affair.

We heard a man repeat with utmost sincerity the remark of Kingsley that his success came "because I had a friend." And "I don't deserve the nice things that have been said about me but I'm profoundly touched by your friendship and good will." And we took a peek behind the curtain of Rizley's life.

We saw a rugged-faced man whose parents came into no man's land in 1886 and who was born in the combination dugout and soddy typical of the one Panhandle territorial county before split into Beaver, Tex., and Cimarron at statehood, when antelope was table meat and living was as hard as plains sod.

We saw a tow-haired Ross walking a mile to a one-room school, making up high-school work in summer as he worked through the winter to help a family that once lost its cash reserve for a year—a single $10 bill—only to find it the next day on a thorny tree. And we saw a 10-year-old weep on a mother's grave.

We saw him get a third-grade teaching certificate and teach in Beaver county for $30 a month and board and pay $3.50 a month for his horse's feed. We saw him sell a team he had saved for years to buy to go to Kansas City to read and study law. And in 1915 become a lawyer.

By 1920 he was practicing in Guymon. He was in rotation elected prosecutor and defense counsel. In the State senate he fought hot oil when loose money and reverse valves on wells were sometimes the order of the day.

For 8 year in Congress he laid the foundation for a reputation that was later to carry him into a Republican administration; at the 1952 national convention he handled the credentials committee in a bitter game which everyone knew was being played with a stacked deck—but he was steady in assuring that the opposition side got to deal, too, even with the result predecided—made personal and even political friends by his actions.

And we got sort of a new affirmation of faith in a country where free people, who had tough years that only early day life in the high plains could bring, heard a statement by this native who could say with fervor:

"I accept this honor for my family who have stood by me all these years. And for the pioneers who believed in something—their lives were not interrogation points—they had a dauntless spirit and determination to build this country without the help of anyone but God.

"They couldn't be bought—they wouldn't compromise with wrong—they believed that any one man who tells and lives by the truth today can be a majority tomorrow."

Beck Blames Hard Times on New Treasury Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, one of America's outstanding leaders recently made some comments to the press which pointed straight to the heart of the cause of our current economic difficulties. I should like to include in our RECORD the following Associated Press account of an interview with Mr. Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters Union, AFL:

BECK BLAMES HARD TIMES ON NEW TREASURY POLICIES

MIAMI BEACH, FLA., February 14.—Dave Beck, president of the powerful AFL Teamsters Union, said today the Nation's hard times are growing worse and blamed it to the hard-money policy of Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey.

Beck said Humphrey's experiment shortly after President Eisenhower took office in issuing Government bonds at higher interest rates dried up credit, depressed business, and started the present jobless trend.

"Our present economic situation can be traced right back to the hard money policy launched by Humphrey nearly a year ago," Beck told newsmen. "This search for hard money has brought on hard times."

Beck, who classes himself politically as "nonpartisan," although other labor leaders consider him inclined toward the Republican Party, said he would submit these economic views to the Teamsters' International Executive Board which opens a week-long winter meeting here Monday.

The jobless situations and conditions in the auto industry were cited by Beck as signs that the country may be headed for a serious depression.

Beck told reporters thousands of auto owners are turning their cars back to finance companies. He said used car values have declined to the point where in many cases an owner can go out and buy a similar car for less than the balance owed on the old one.

"You're going to see automobile finance companies all over America going bust," said Beck.

New cars, too, he said, are piling up in dealers' hands to the point that many are "near bankruptcy."

"I contend the auto industry is in the worst shape it has been in for 30 years," Beck said.

He said anyone with cash can walk into a new car salesroom and buy an auto at up to 30 percent off list price—" and that's a damn serious situation."

But Beck said he'd be willing to invest Teamsters Union funds with one of the big auto producers.

In his one year in office he has raised the yield from union investments by $158,000. This was done by cashing low interest Government bonds and investing in mortgages and loans at 4 percent or more.

Beck said if anyone wants to classify him as a "prophet of doom," that was okay.

As to the difference between a recession and a depression, Beck said: "I define a recession as when your neighbor loses his job, but a depression is when you lose your own."

Due Process

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the people who live along the shores of Lake Ontario have been threatened with catastrophic damages to their homes and property if and when the two great international developments on the lake, the seaway and power project, become operative. Both projects can and may raise the water levels of the lake. Either or both may do so to the point where hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage may be done to lakeshore properties.

We have a treaty with Canada which, presumably, protects people who are injured by virtue of water project developments along the international boundary. But time and costly litigation have proved these guaranties almost meaningless. Because these are international waters our own courts have suggested hesitancy in assuming jurisdiction; and where they have done so, the Government of Canada has pleaded sovereignty and withheld agreement to be sued. As a result, the people of the lakeshore find themselves in an international no-man's land, where their constitutional guaranties under the "due process" clause are meaningless, and there is no machinery to implement the treaty guaranties which are, presumably, operative.

In order to overcome this dilemma, Representative KEATING and I have requested the International Joint Commission to undertake the establishment of an international tribunal to which residents of the lakeshore may turn for protection.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a copy of the letter which we addressed to the International Joint Commission earlier this month, together with a copy of the reply which we have just received from the assistant to the legal counsel of the Department of State:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1954.

CHAIRMAN,
International Joint Comission,
Washington, D. C.:

It has been noted with satisfaction that the order of approval authorizing construction of the St. Lawrence power project, under date of October 29, 1952, contains specific guaranties to the effect that "All interests on either side of the international boundary which are injured by reason of the construction, maintenance and operation of the works shall be given suitable and adequate protection and indemnity in accordance with the laws in Canada or the Constitution and laws in the United States respectively, and in accordance with the requirements of Article VIII of the Boundary Waters Treaty."

Nevertheless, long and costly experience, involving protracted litigation, has demonstrated that, in the absence of specific designation as to who is legally and financially responsible for such injury, the rights and properties of thousands of citizens of both countries may be destroyed and that they are, in fact, without adequate legal protection. Two recent instances illustrate the inadequacy of present machinery to deal with these matters.

In one case, affecting the water levels of Lake Ontario, the Canadian Government specifically assumed responsibility for damage to the properties of United States citizens which might result from the construction of a dam in the outlet from the lake. Yet, when destructive water levels resulted, and recourse was had to the courts of the United States, the Canadian Government interposed a plea of sovereignty, arguing that it could not be sued.

In a second case, recently adjudicated by the United States court of appeals, it was held that there is "at least considerable doubt" as to whether an order of the International Joint Commission is subject to judicial review.

Thus, in the first case (which, we are aware, does not directly involve the International Joint Commission, although the Commission acted to provide relief from the damaging high waters), the legal and Constitutional guaranties of protection and indemnity are inadequate; and in the second case, involving projects which involve great potential damage to the lakeshore property owners, the Court has indicated that orders of the International Joint Commission are probably above the law, so far as judicial recourse in the United States is concerned.

Under such circumstances, the guaranties of protection and indemnity written into the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and reaffirmed in the International Joint Commission's Order of Approval of October 29, 1952, are meaningless, and, in fact, convey an implication of assurance that is deceitful.

The two great projects which are now taking shape on the St. Lawrence River, however much they may benefit certain interests, may spell catastrophe to the lakeshore property owners. We refer, of course, to the St. Lawrence seaway and St. Lawrence power project. These projects will involve not 1 but 4 entities, 2 on each side of the international boundary, any or all of which may be responsible for changes in the water levels of Lake Ontario which could be disastrous to the residents of the lakeshore. As evidence of the diffusion of responsibility in these developments, the International Joint Commission's order of approval of the power project vests control of the water levels of the lake at various points in (1) the Secretary of the Army, (2) the International Joint Commission, (3) the Federal Power Commission, and (4) the Congress. The Federal Power Commission, meanwhile, in authorizing the New York State Power Authority to proceed with development of power, has required that the power authority, rather than the United States Government, be held responsible for damages which may result from the project, notwithstanding the fact that the power authority has no funds and no program for taking care of such contingencies.

In this plethora of agencies, among whom legal and financial responsibility is hopelessly confused and diffused, the rights of the individual citizen who may be injured by their joint or several operations become lost in a fog of international complexities. Each of the entities involved can point to someone else as responsible, and there is no agency anywhere to adjudicate the matter.

In view of this situation, may we request that the International Joint Commission undertake, as a part of its continuing responsibility for the St. Lawrence power project and its study of the Great Lakes water levels, to formulate, without further delay, the precise means by which parties injured as a result of projects authorized by it in these international waters may obtain the protection and indemnification which, under the Boundary Waters Treaty, it is obliged to provide.

It is clearly insufficient to point to the appropriate courts of the respective countries, or to the Constitution and the laws of the two countries, as a proper recourse for injured citizens, for costly experience has shown these remedies to be inadequate. These are damages sustained as the result of the undertakings of supranational agencies with intermeshing objectives, and it may well require the creation of a supranational body to hear and adjudicate claims arising therefrom.

We are cognizant of the fact that the International Joint Commission is presently awaiting the findings of the International Lake Ontario Board of Engineers, with a view to making certain corrections in method of regulation No. 5. The treaty mandate to provide suitable and adequate protection and indemnity is not alone an engineering problem, however; it is juridical as well. Just as the Commission has created international boards of engineers and boards of control at various points along the international boundary, to handle the development and operation of these great international projects, it now appears essential to set up juridical instrumentalities to insure that legal and financial responsibility is defined and fixed in these undertakings. Otherwise, the rights of individuals, private and corporate, whose properties are damaged or destroyed by these developments, are in danger of being abandoned in an international no man's land.

May we request a statement from you at your early convenience as to what steps the Commission may contemplate with respect to this vitally important matter?

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Member of Congress.
KENNETH B. KEATING,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 15, 1954.

The Honorable HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: The receipt is acknowledged of a letter signed by you and Representative KENNETH B. KEATING dated February 4, 1954, concerning your desire to have the International Joint Commission undertake to formulate, without further delay, the precise means by which parties injured as a result of projects authorized by it in the St. Lawrence River may obtain the protection and indemnification which is pro-

vided for under the Boundary Waters Treaty of January 11, 1909.

It is understood that a similar letter has been addressed to the United States section of the Commission and that this matter is receiving active consideration by its members.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM R. VALLANCE,
Assistant to the Legal Adviser.

National Defense and the National Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks before the convening of this Congress, and before we were given a glimpse of the promised new look at American defense, a distinguished American aviation official made a speech on national defense and the national budget. I do not know when I have ever read a better organized, more clearly presented, or more convincing statement than that made by Mr. C. R. Smith, the president of American Airlines, before the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce on December 1, 1953. It is more than a new look, it is a deeply penetrating look at the defense and economic problems of our country. It is revolutionary in point of view, and yet the suggestions made are so simple it is amazing they have not occurred to military men and political leaders long before.

The present military buildup was begun after the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 under the assumption that Soviet action on a world scale was imminent. We have now discarded that assumption, but not discarded the military programing inspired by it. We continue to strengthen forces assembled, trained, and armed at a time when the American stockpile of atomic weapons was limited in number, though we have now developed an enormously increased production of atomic weapons. We have yet to plan a national defense based primarily on the firepower of atomic weapons, but continue to maintain and build up a defense based on gunpowder and TNT.

Mr. Smith is troubled, and we should all be troubled, by the fact that our land strategy is patterned upon the great campaigns of World War II in Western Europe, that are unlikely ever to be repeated; our sea strategy ignores the fact that no important surface naval force is arrayed against us; and our air strategy, while shaped around atomic weapons in the strategic sense, is nevertheless heavily grouped in support of ground forces. We have not yet begun energetically and imaginatively to bend our mastery of the atom to our needs and purposes.

Mr. Smith asks us to imagine a 1-inch cube as representing the explosive effect of 1 ton of TNT. By such a standard, the average World War I bomberload would be represented by a column standing 4 inches high. The Nagasaki-Hiroshima atomic bomb, by this standard, would stand three times as high as the Washington monument. The new hydrogen or thermo-nuclear superbomb would be represented by a column 60 miles high, or almost the distance from Washington to Baltimore and back. These columns are symbols of the new facts of military power with which we Americans must live from this point on.

Mr. Speaker, we are ignoring the facts of military power and of life itself in the air atomic age unless we build our defense around the atomic weapons we are producing in such enormous numbers. Only with such a defense can we deter aggressive nations from resorting to war, and provide our Nation with a military force sufficient to win a war, if war cannot be prevented, and at the same time preserve a sound national economy. We cannot go on building armies and navies we do not need, and can never expect to use, and an Air Force programed on a strategy of cooperation with such surface forces.

It is not enough to take a new look; we must take a thorough look. In spite of the highly publicized expenditures proposed for 1955, which would appear to indicate increased emphasis on air power, the appropriations proposed place less emphasis on air power. The 1954 budget appropriations included $12.8 billion for the Army, $9.5 billion for the Navy, and $11.4 for the Air Force. The President has actually requested for fiscal year 1955 $8.2 billion for the Army, $9.9 billion for the Navy, and $11.2 billion for the Air Force. This new budgetary look does indeed cut appropriations for the Army, but it also cuts appropriations for the Air Force, while increasing Navy appropriations beyond the 1954 budget.

I think the framers of the Presidential budget recommendations might well have accepted some advice from Mr. C. R. Smith, and taken a thorough look at the problem of national defense and at the national budget. Making only one quotation, let me share with my colleagues the promise such a thorough look gives. Mr. Smith says:

> First things first. The first thing that has to be done is to sort out the roles and missions of the military services. Once that is done, it should be possible, within a reasonable time, to bring down the United States Military Establishment from 3,500,000 men to 2,500,000 men and to reduce the overall military budget by at least $10 billion.

The 1955 budget, proposed by the President, gives no real priority to the mission of the Air Force.

Mr. Speaker, we all want to reduce the budget, and strengthen the Nation's economy. Under unanimous consent of my colleagues, I wish to extend my remarks and insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a remarkably lucid and readable account of how that can be done. The remarks by Mr. C. R. Smith at the annual meeting of the Tulsa, Okla., Chamber of Commerce, on December 1, 1953, are as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE NATIONAL BUDGET

(By C. R. Smith)

IS THERE ANOTHER BETTER AND MORE ECONOMICAL WAY TO PROVIDE FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY?

Although the national-defense program involves many debatable issues they are not divisive issues, so far as most of us are concerned. Practically everybody is for an adequate defense. The trouble begins over questions of definition.

When is a defense system ever adequate? Are the military forces now in place or being built, the right kind of forces? Is there another and better way to construct forces which will guard our welfare and survival and still be within the national capacity to foot the bill, without ruinous damage to the American way of life?

These questions, you will agree, are among the most serious facing the American people. Any one who follows the day-to-day news from Washington must by now realize that no easy answers will be forthcoming. The experts, both professional and lay, are plainly divided among themselves. A controversy is making up over the nature of American strategy itself. An increasing number of thoughtful men are swinging to the belief that there is something wrong with the prevailing approach to strategy, dominated, as they believe it to be, by the traditional surface approach. They argue, and convincingly, that it fails to reflect the enormous advances stemming from the revolution in weapons, particularly atomic weapons, and the coincidental development of long range aircraft.

We are dealing here with professional considerations of an intricate nature, and I approach them with hesitancy. I am, like most of you, a business man. To the extent that I have had any military experience it has been in the field of logistics. But at the same time, as a citizen, I have given a good deal of thought to these matters. About half of my time is spent in travel over this country. Travel brings me into touch with well-informed people, many better informed than I in military matters, who share the same concern over the state of the national security.

They are concerned, first of all, for patriotic reasons. They are also concerned for economic reasons. The annual bill for national defense has become the most important single factor regulating the national economy. Everybody wants adequate defense—whatever that may be. But, in addition, all thoughtful citizens want a sound economy preserved.

What I have to say will not be taken, I trust, as one man's view of how this strategic and/or economic dilemma can be resolved. Rather it is a composite of ideas gradually formed in my own mind in the course of talks with numerous responsible individuals with whom I have discussed the problem. These ideas are not advanced as the solution. My purpose is a simple one; to raise, in layman's language, the questions which trouble all of us, and to move out into public view those weighty issues which are apparently deadlocked and immobilized by the opposing views of the different military services.

It seems to me to be fairly self-evident that so long as American strategy, and the military forces arrayed in support of that strategy, continue to rest upon existing assumptions, this Nation cannot afford to meet the annual defense bills without something important giving way in the American scheme of things.

I say it is self-evident for two reasons: First, the United States, in the nature of things, must continue to bear, among free nations, the heaviest share of the economic responsibility for world defense. Its propor-

tion of the total cost is certain to remain very high.

Secondly, it is impossible for the Nation to meet the separate demands and expectations of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, let alone those of our allies, and still stay within a reasonable budget.

The costs are spread out for all of us to see—a total of about 190 billions appropriated, and about 118 billions spent, since the beginning of the post-Korean buildup in the summer of 1950. However these are only the costs of the military services. The national defense budget includes a lot of other things as well; for example, foreign aid some 30 billions appropriated since the end of the last war, and a current annual expenditure, mostly for military aid, of around 6 billion.

Then there is the atomic-energy program. This, in itself, has represented some 13 billion in appropriations to date and may total 18 billion by the end of 1957. New policies will no doubt promote in years to come a widening industrial diversion of the energy thereby being created. But in the immediate future, as in the past, this vast investment will be for weapons. It is difficult to imagine any substantial change in this policy until the national stockpile is adequate for all contingencies, or unless an acceptable agreement is meanwhile reached with Soviet Russia—a hope all reasonable men will entertain, but not at the expense of their vigilance and commonsense.

These various outlays—for United States military forces, for foreign military aid, and for atomic energy—should properly be budgeted in one piece as the going cost of national security. They add up to quite a sum—about 50 billions a year in the current or fiscal year 1954 budget—and perhaps something less in the fiscal 1955 budget now in preparation.

These sums take about two-thirds of the total Federal budget. They represent about one-eighth of the gross national product—the aggregate value of all goods and services produced by the work of our 160 million citizens.

These costs, I concede, are not yet crisis costs. If an acute emergency was upon us, the Nation could, of course, divert a much higher proportion of the national product to defense, as indeed was the case in World War II. Nevertheless, the figures are sobering. In the 4 years of all-out war, 1941 to 1945, the United States spent about $330 billion. At the rate of $50 billion a year for national defense we will equal the cost of World War II in something less than 7 years.

The sinister circumstance attaching to these figures is the baffling nature of the present emergency. Events do not seem to be rushing, as was the case before World War II, to an inexorable climax. This time of danger, although global, is insidious and persistent, with alternating lulls and tensions—something hitherto unknown to American experience.

When the present military buildup was begun, after the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the strategic assumption in this country, as well as by our principal European allies, was that Soviet action on a world scale was imminent. In September 1949 Soviet scientists had successfully tested an atomic device, thereby breaking the American monopoly in this previously decisive form of national power. In the face of this and other developments American military planners marked the year 1954 as a date of acute danger, a date when the Soviet stockpile of atomic weapons, and the growth of the Soviet long-range air forces designed to carry these weapons, in combination with the Red Army's vast preponderance on the ground, would, in the absence of rapid rearming of the West, conceivably tip the world military balance of power in the Soviet Union's favor.

For all most of us know that assumption may still be valid. Nevertheless the present administration seems to be proceeding on a somewhat different line. It has evidently discarded the view that Soviet world action is imminent. The new strategic assumption seems to be that we are in for a world struggle of indefinite duration and of uncertain pattern—a test which may go on for years without a major collision.

The difficulty is that the military forces now in being are brought into place under the earlier and evidently now discarded assumption. This country has today some 3½ million men and women in the 3 military services. Secretary of Defense Wilson and his civilian aides have promised to bring these figures down, but the whittling process is obviously proceeding slowly. To maintain the forces at the level which the military still deems essential will require over the next year, by enlistment and draft, an intake of about a million young men and women.

There is already a heavy drain on American youth. Extended indefinitely, it could be a strangling weight on American society, removing the young and virile from the scientific and productive processes which are our principal sources of material strength.

Here is a really serious cost of our present strategy—its incessant demands on the Nation's youth and manpower. Is it not sensible to question that adequate security can best be provided merely by numbers of men? Has the time not come to reexamine the old criterion—divisions, divisions, divisions—in light of the effectiveness of new weapons?

There is another point that to me is significant about the forces now in being. It applies particularly to the Army and Navy and, in lesser degree, to the Air Force. These forces were assembled, trained and armed at a time when the American stockpile of atomic weapons was measured in limited numbers, when the value of such weapons was imperfectly understood and when American military planning was still under the influence of doctrines developed during the last great war. Of the 3½ million men under arms, almost two-thirds are in the Army and Navy, the traditional agencies of surface strategy.

Yet at the same time these forces were being rushed into being, the Government also set in motion an enormous expansion in the production of atomic weapons. The firepower which that outlay is beginning to make available, chiefly for delivery by air, is in itself so revolutionary in its implications as to compel all thoughtful men to question the judgment of tremendous appropriations for the simultaneous creation of two types of military forces—one consisting chiefly of surfaces forces armed, for the most part, with gunpowder and TNT; the other, primarily air, armed with atomic weapons.

Like most of you, I imagine, I have no access to atomic secrets. In my brief service in the Army nobody ever saw fit to give me a "Q" clearance, for I had no need to know about our atomic developments. However, I do read the newspapers, and from these and other public sources it is possible for a reasonably observant reader to discern that something tremendous is going on.

From the atomic or fission-type weapons first used in war at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have come an ever-widening family of weapons, of different sizes and energy yield.

To the list is now being added the so-called thermonuclear or fusion-type weapons, popularly known as the hydrogen bomb. The atomic weapon was so powerful, in terms of energy released, that a new word was invented to measure it—the kiloton, corresponding to 1,000 tons of TNT. Similarly, the thermonuclear weapon is itself so powerful compared to its fission predecessor that it, too, has given rise to a new order of measurement—the megaton, meaning the energy equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT. The average explosive power of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima weapons was about 20 kilotons, equal to 20,000 tons of TNT. The energy release from the device used at the 1952 thermonuclear test at Eniwetok has been estimated as 4 megatons—equal to 4 million tons of high explosive.

It is difficult for the human mind to grasp these orders of magnitude. But an imaginative friend of mine, a retired military officer, has devised a startling illustration:

He asks us to imagine a cube, 1 inch square and 1 inch through, as representing the equivalent of a ton of old-fashioned TNT. The average bomb load carried by a single B–17 or B–24 bomber in the famous bomber offensive against Germany was 4 tons. Thus the weight of the potential destruction carried by a single airplane 10 years ago could be represented by a column 4 inches high.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki introduced a tremendous leap—what the physicists call a quantum jump. Eight years ago the weight of the explosive force transportable by a single bomber, expressed in the same terms, became a colum 1666 feet high, three times the height of the Washington Monument plus 1 foot.

In military circles the bombs of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki era are now known as the "model T" bombs. The conventional model of the atomic bomb has now three times the capability of the earlier model, represented by a column nine times as high as the Washington Monument plus 3 feet.

What happens when the four-megaton power of the thermonuclear weapon is similarly expressed? Our column literally vanishes out of sight. It soars a full 63 miles into the upper atmosphere—plus, my always precise friend assures me, 69 feet.

That much has the potential power of destruction transportable in a single bomber increased in the span of one decade. The 4-inch column standing for the destructive power of a World War II bomber could be lost in the grass at the base of the 60-mile high column representing the relative destructive power of its imminent counterpart.

These columns are symbols of the new facts of military power with which we Americans must live from this point on.

To me they mean that if another war should ever be fought it will have little relationship, in its decisive actions, to wars of the recent past.

The revolution in atomic weapons has conferred upon the bomber a potential destructiveness so vast as to make the effective power of traditional weapons—the infantryman with the rifle, the battleship, all the surface array of weapons—seem almost insignificant by comparison.

With such weapons available, not only to this country but also to our principal adversary, it follows logically that the decisive actions in another major conflict would almost certainly come at once. The outcome may be settled, one way or the other, in the span of a few months, possibly weeks.

The fact that the United States for the first time in its history has become vulnerable to serious military action over its own soil clearly foreshadows the end of the traditional mobilization philosophy upon which our strategy has heretofore rested. Another war could no longer be won, as was the case in the two great wars of the 20th century, by the intervention of forces mobilized, armed, and delayed months after the outbreak of war. Our power to deter an enemy, or to win a war against an enemy that in his recklessness refused to be deterred, must henceforth rest upon ready forces, so placed and deployed that no sudden onrush could hope to overcome their capacity for instantaneous and crushing retaliation.

This telescoping of the time element, deriving from tremendous power of new weapons, seems to me to teach yet another lesson. It is that the decisive air battle would be

fought to conclusion long before the traditional surface forces, except those already in position near the enemy's frontier, could be brought into action on a scale that could affect the outcome.

Hence the idea of maintaining a huge land army, to be deployed across the seas in the event of war, seems to have less and less relevance to the new facts of military power as we are coming to understand them.

It has been argued that an international agreement prohibiting the use of atomic weapons may yet be reached, and it would, therefore, be folly for this Nation to do away with so-called conventional forces in favor of new kinds of forces shaped around atomic weapons.

Desirable as such an arrangement would be, the hope scarcely accords with the realities. The Soviet Union has shown no disposition whatever to join in such an accommodation concerning atomic or any other weapons. Nor, in the absence of a true international disarmament in which we could faithfully repose our trust, can I see how we could possibly hope to gain from a foreswearing of our right to use, in self-defense, our primary element of technological advantage.

It is time that we ceased to regard our mastery of the atom as a windfall. It is time that we began energetically and imaginatively to bend this resource to our needs and purposes.

Believing this, I am troubled, as are others of like mind, when I examine the composition of the American military forces. My perhaps untutored impression is that our Military Establishment is trying to pursue three strategies simultaneously:

A comprehensive land strategy patterned upon the great campaigns in Western Europe, which are unlikely ever to be repeated;

A sea strategy modeled on the great oceanic campaigns of the Pacific war, when, in fact, no important surface naval force is arrayed against us; and

An air strategy, which while shaped around atomic weapons in the strategic sense, is nevertheless heavily grouped in support of ground forces.

I am reminded of the statement by Lord Tedder, Marshal of the Royal Air Force, before the House of Lords, London, April 15, 1953, in connection with his discussion of that vigorous, difficult, but healthy process of selection which alone insures real economy, economy of force, when he said:

"My Lords, one is concerned about this because one remembers what happened before September 1939. No effective selection was made; we tried to be strong everywhere, and only succeeded in being weak everywhere—at sea, on land, and in the air, with the result that we spent the first 3 years of the war fighting in the last ditch, fighting not to win the war—that came later—but to avoid losing it."

I do not intend my statements to suggest that the Army should be disbanded, the Navy scrapped, and everything put into airpower plus atomic weapons.

In the situation now developing surface forces are bound to have new and important roles and missions. But what has never been satisfactorily defined, what has not been convincingly explained, is how the surface forces as presently constituted would fit into a rational strategy as determined by the technical and geographical circumstances that now confront us.

The Army today numbers about 1,500,000 men. The obvious reason for so large a force is the Army's traditional responsibility for fighting land battles.

But where, in the future now rushing upon us, is the United States Army ever likely to fight decisive battles that would justify so preponderant a measure of our armed manpower? Where, in the kind of tests likely to be forced upon us, can so large a force be effectively and economically employed in land engagements?

Certainly not overseas. The enemy's known accumulation of mass-destruction weapons, his rising air capability to deliver them, clearly spell the end of mass invasions on the model of the North African, Normandy, and the famous Pacific assaults.

If a large city could be leveled by one or several atomic or thermonuclear weapons, how much more vulnerable would be the vast grouping of ships required to land an army on a distant shore?

No sensible man can imagine this Nation ever risking again such an expedition so long as the enemy retained an air force and a supply of atomic weapons. Nor is it possible to conceive of the Soviet Army being able to land, supply, and fight a large action on the American continent.

The first requirement is rapidly receding, the second is altogether improbable. It is therefore difficult to accept the current justification for so large a standing army. If its mission is neither to invade a hostile shore in force, nor to defend American shores from a full-scale invasion, nor, let it be hoped, to be committed piecemeal from one end of the earth to the other, then the Army's size and composition should be reexamined in light of the mission that it could be reasonably expected to carry out.

Such a reexamination would, I am sure, produce a considerable saving in manpower and material.

It seems sensible to conclude that comparable savings can be made in the Navy. One of the principal stated missions of the Navy is to safeguard the sealanes for the movement of the Army overseas. A substantial part of the Navy's resources are earmarked for that purpose and the Navy's claim upon national resources, both men and material, is justified largely on the basis of that mission.

But if it is demonstrated that the Army can no longer undertake large-scale invasions, then this particular mission of the Navy will be correspondingly reduced in importance. If that judgment is accepted there should follow a proportionate reduction in the Navy's demands upon the economy.

What about the Air Force? A principal mission of the Air Force is to support with adequate tactical air power Army forces deployed in the field. A considerable portion of Air Force resources are allocated to that mission, and they are so justified by the Air Force in the budget placed before Congress. If it be concluded that large ground forces cannot be landed overseas once war is joined, then, as with the Navy, this part of the Air Force role should be correspondingly reduced.

Where does that leave our promises to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Defense Community, not to mention our allies elsewhere in the world?

Our commitments in Western Europe alone are substantial. Some 280,000 United States troops and airmen are stationed there—too few to be a decisive factor, too many to be called merely a token force.

The United States will, obviously, respect any commitments that it has made, however much changed circumstances may have altered the original necessity. The President has recently announced, for that matter, that no reduction in United States combat forces stationed in Western Europe is presently planned.

Hence, the immediate prospect of any troop reductions in that area, save through the cutting down of supporting elements, is dim indeed. But in the long run it is certain to be different.

Our experience with European nations has taught us that, when the chips are down, they can be extremely realistic. If sound military judgment should indeed hold that another massive landing of American ground forces is rapidly ceasing to be a feasible central element of a coalition war plan, European strategists are likely to recognize the same logic.

So the question arises: What kind of program will produce an adequate defense force, armed with the right kind of weapons, that will be within our capacity to pay for it, considering that the present crisis may go on for years?

It seems to me that any rational program for the present and immediate future should have at least four major policy objectives:

Objective 1: To deter an aggressive nation from resorting to war, and thereby preserve the peace;

Objective 2: To provide us with an effective military force, armed with the most powerful weapons, that will enable us to win a war if war cannot be prevented;

Objective 3: To preserve the friendship and the confidence of our allies, by developing the right kind of forces and by convincing them that these forces will assure them greater protection;

Objective 4: To preserve a sound national economy.

Concerning objective 1—the deterrent to war—there are many wise military men who say that the American atomic advantage is all that has stood between the non-Communist world and another great war. Only a few months ago the same Lord Tedder, whom I quoted a moment ago, told his British countrymen:

"For nearly a hundred years wars were prevented from spreading and peace was kept by an effective deterrent—the British Fleet in being. These days are over, but there is no doubt that during the recent critical years the peace has been kept by a new deterrent—the American strategic bomber force and its atomic weapons."

Winston Churchill, who certainly knows something of war and strategy, has on other occasions said as much.

I believe that the lesson to be drawn from the postwar trend of events is that the Kremlin has not been deterred, and is not likely to be deterred in the future, by conventional military forces. What it fears and will continue to fear is the American capability and the growing capability of the British to counter an attack with immediate and crushing retaliation. This being so, logic argues that we put our blue chips down on those elements of technical strength which Russia fears most and which provide the best promise for peace.

On the second of these points—the ability to win a war if war should come—we find military men apparently divided into two schools of thought; those who hold that the decision would come quickly through an exchange of atomic blows and those, especially among the older services, who argue that it would be a prolonged struggle, to be decided in the end by the soldier on the ground advancing with a rifle in his hand.

But is it sensible to accept the latter view, when we are told by the highest authorities that 100 atomic weapons, accurately placed, could destroy more than a third of our industrial capacity and kill millions of people? Given this power to destroy, is it rational to believe that the soldier with the rifle in his hand could intervene in the struggle in time to have a decisive effect?

There is no evading the conclusion being forced upon us. It is that the deterrent force represented by atomic weapons and the capacity to deliver them is also the only sure war-winning force.

With regard to point three—preserving the confidence of our allies—the problem facing our diplomacy is to convince our allies that a departure from the present conventional strategy would not mean a decrease in their security. On the contrary, would not a different strategy actually bring forward in their defense something far more effective, yet easier to support, which would be better for them in the long run, no less than for ourselves?

If this new strategy is rational, then we can expect the European strategists, who tend to be entirely realistic in matters of this kind, to accept it on the basis of logic and self-interest.

Finally, as regards objective four—preserving a sound economy—it stands to reason that the Federal budget cannot be balanced today, and will not be balanced in the foreseeble future, unless military appropriations can be greatly reduced.

An increasing number of well-informed people, both inside and outside the Military Establishment, are convinced that the military budget can be greatly reduced, with an actual gain in our global military capability, by going to a strategy based upon those weapons systems wherein our margin of technical advantage is greatest. In fact, do we not need to conclude that no other strategy is really open to us?

First things first. The first thing that has to be done is to sort out the roles and missions of the military services. Once that is done, it should be possible, within a reasonable time, to bring down the United States Military Establishment from 3,500,000 men to 2,500,000 men and to reduce the overall military budget by at least $10 billion.

You may believe this estimate a modest one. Perhaps so; some well-qualified military men believe there can be greater savings.

Let me say now, in conclusion, that I do not appear before you with the idea that this discussion will provide the answers to strategy, forces, and the budget. But this much I do believe: unless we as a Nation, and we individuals as citizens, begin to think our situation through, there will be no real savings and there will be no balancing of the budget. Most serious of all, our national security may be increasingly in danger.

A Disabled Veteran Writes to the American Medical Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter written by a disabled veteran to the American Medical Association:

JANUARY 19, 1954.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill.
(Attention Secretary-Manager.)

GENTLEMEN: I like to give credit where credit is due. Accordingly, please accept my tanks, in the spirit intended, for your part in causing me to be singled out for investigation by an agency of the Federal Government under sponsorship of a congressional committee. I am informed by the investigator that the fires under this committee are kindled by your association.

Be it distinctly understood that reference to "you" in this letter is directed to the association, through its managing officials, and not to any one person, particularly not to those in your profession with whom I have dealt since December 1950.

I am investigated by processes and methods, the details of which must bring someone in your association much satisfaction.

A representative of the office of investigations of the General Accounting Office, under the Comptroller General of the United States, has visited me at my place of employment. Because of this latter fact, he had to introduce himself to the head of the organization, present appropriate credentials, and secure permission to interview and question me, at Government expense and on Government time, and secure permission to audit my records of earnings, leave, and make such other checks which he desired. I was also told to be careful to tell only the truth, because my income-tax returns would also be checked. My home was also visited and scrutinized carefully—presumably for evidence of extravagance or obvious wealth. Have you ever had this happen to you? It's such a nice, comfortable feeling.

I have been required to give detailed statements regarding my earnings during the past several years, to date; tell of all other income from other sources; tell the value of my home on today's market; the make, model, and value of my car on today's market; whether or not I own an electric refrigerator, washing machine, television, clothes dryer, etc.; what is the value of my furniture on today's market and how much taxes I pay on it; what are my other assets, if any, and what they are worth on today's market; where my checking account is, how much I had in it on certain dates; have I a savings account, can I confirm whether or not I did, and if the answer is yes, how much was in it; what investments have I in stocks, bonds, and other, if any; give written authorization to visit my bank and review my accounts over the years; how much I owed on my home on various dates, and what are my monthly payments; what other notes do I owe, and what are my payments; what other bills did and do I owe; and on and on into the depths of my life, my soul, and my income-tax filings.

Be it further distinctly understood this is no reflection on the investigator. As such, he, or some other investigator, would apparently have had to obtain all of this intimate detail for the sponsoring committee, I am informed, to serve your purposes.

I am already under embarrassment before my friends and associates because it is alleged (and frankly, I do not believe it) that certain Federal employees in Washington have avoided Federal income taxes—this has received wide notice around the Nation. Assuredly, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has countless easily enforced legal means of collecting overdue taxes. Apparently no other group of citizens of the Nation is involved, all being simon pure, because none other is mentioned in this article. So, as a Federal employee, I am first under a general stigma. Now, before my friends and associates I am under a specific stigma, because I am under special investigation.

Perhaps you ask why all of this? The answer is simple. I am a veteran of World War II, and have had my life saved in a veterans hospital, after several outside medical authorities had failed to accomplish a simple diagnosis over a period of nearly 2 years of trying, and had given up. One of these learned gentlemen called the veterans hospital, in fact, and made arrangements for me to be admitted. Apparently, instead of going to the veterans hospital, I should have waited another 60 days and died, as assuredly I would have.

All of this started, gentlemen, because my friends and neighbors selected me to represent them in the Armed Forces, while they got their deferments and went to work on farms and in defense industries. I had no objection to going. At least, unlike those obtaining deferments, I shall never need to wonder who went in my place and whether or not he lost his life.

Here, gentlemen, is a most interesting phase of this whole business. It never occurred to anyone to investigate my financial status, to see if I could afford to serve in the Armed Forces. No one asked if I had a home, how much I owed on it, what my payments were, did I have a checking account, its balance, a savings account, its balance, or a deep freeze, or what I owed and how I planned to pay my obligations. No one interviewed my employer, checked my pay records, examined my income-tax filings, visited my bank and looked over my accounts, asked for confirmation of balances, checked the payments on my property, inquired as to the sales value of my home, my furniture, my car, my bicycle, or my kiddie car.

No; not one of these checks was made. I did have a home, a new home in fact, and a small quantity of furniture, a new car, a new job, new mortgage, new bills, and all the usual encumbrances, including a new daughter. The latter, be it distinctly understood, was not a draft exemption; she was the normal result of a happy planned marriage and I took pleasure in refusing the draft board, in writing to claim her as cause for exemption or deferment.

My wife's health at that time (as now) prevented her from putting the baby in a day nursery and going to work in order to maintain the home. So, as a matter of necessity, the home was sold on forced sale, the furniture and the car likewise, the job was given up, and my family went to live with relatives.

Are you interested in all of this? Are you interested in what all of this cost me then, and whether or not I could afford it? Are you interested in what it cost all of the millions of others? Your interest in my hospitalization indicates no.

Are you interested in the fact that while in the service I spent several weeks in the Fitzsimons Army Hospital (under the care of doctors of wonderful ability) with paralyzed face, fractured rib and pneumonia, resulting from mistakes or indifferences of some of your profession with questionable ability?

Skipping a multitude of intervening incidents, important to me, immaterial to you, are you interested in the fact that I took examinations and tests for approximately 2 years before going into the veterans' hospital, all given by reputable practicing members of your profession, thereby giving them first chance at my business and that not one of them could diagnose my trouble? One even went so far as to tell my wife that my only trouble was that I was neurotic and also she was an over-anxious wife. Her answer to this was "perhaps, but it's the first time it ever made him sick."

Are you interested in what all of this cost me, and the fact that I paid cash on the barrelhead for everything, and never once questioned whether or not the ailment was service connected?

Are you interested in the fact that I went to the veterans' hospital in desperation, that arrangements to enter were made by our then family physician, and that I went there as a last act because I learned they rated as good or better than Mayo's or Johns Hopkins, and that I would have gone to either of these only by again selling or mortgaging to the hilt everything I owned?

Are you interested in the fact that at the veterans' hospital I was given immediate and competent examinations, and (this you may accept or reject, at your pleasure, its a fact) the admission doctor diagnosed my trouble correctly in less than 5 minutes? Are you interested in the fact that I was confined immediately to bed, and that I was told I must live in it for 4 to 6 weeks before a badly needed operation could be performed?

Are you interested in the fact that it took 64 days of application of the most competent medical skill before I was ready for operation? Are you interested in the fact that even then, to the operation was performed by men of the highest skill and

caliber, I suffered respiratory failure (dead to the common people), but was saved by the skill of those in whose hand I had trusted my life, and required a second operation?

Are you interested in the fact that had your profession outside the veterans' hospital diagnosed my condition properly when I first went to them, I would never have set foot inside the veterans' hospital in the first place, and so placed myself in line for your charming investigation processes?

Are you interested in the fact that all of the doctors I have consulted with in this matter state that they do not know the cause of what was wrong, and therefore could not say with authority that it was or was not caused by incidents occasioned by military service?

No, I must presume you are not interested in these facts. Is your interest in the fact that many men who served in the Armed Forces at terrific financial loss (with countless thousands losing either their lives or their future health and parts of their bodies) may spend time in a veterans' hospital at a loss of a few hundred dollars in fees to some private physician or hospital?

Have you one single man in your entire profession who can state, with absolute knowledge and authority, in every case, whether or not an ailment is service connected or is caused specifically by something else? You know there is not. Please, gentlemen, exactly what is your interest?

Can it be that you are indignant at the loss of these few fees? Has this seriously hurt the pocketbooks of some of your membership? Sincerely I hope it has not. Could you afford to stand an inquisition such as I am now subjected to, to prove you have sustained a loss, the same as this inquisition is attempting to prove whether or not I am able to make up a loss to the medical profession—a loss which is yet unproven? Gentlemen, I cheated the undertaker—definitely not you. All doctors of my acquaintance now have as much or more business than they can reasonably handle, and nonveteran hospitals are crowded to the rafters, without seeking to blackjack the relatively few veterans who may, by manipulated statistics, be proven able to pay, but who have, in fact, paid all they could to those in private practice (as I have) before they resorted to the veterans' hospital. I wonder how many doctors, as individuals and without any pressure from organized lobbies, would approve the action now being taken against other veterans who have used the veterans' hospitals?

The answer may be that you are against socialized medicine and its claimed evils. While, its claimed evils are not yet proven, I too am bitterly against it, probably more than you are.

If your interest is in economy in Federal expenditures, then why do you select this particular target? Why did you not pick on such juicy plums as foreign aid, subsidies to business, parities to farmers, or even educational aid to returning veterans? Under the latter, countless thousands of students (more than will ever do a doctor or a hospital out of a fee by going to a veterans' hospital) received years of free schooling (including tuition, books, subsistence, and so on). Why not investigate schools and colleges, some of which sprang up overnight, some of which taught horseback riding, some of which taught such things as determining the sex of a chicken while yet in the egg, to see if they cannot be accused of nibbling at the public teat? Why not investigate all of the business houses (large and small) throughout the United States, which forced returning veterans to accept jobs only on an on-the-job training basis, so that they could get Uncle to pay part of their salaries—and find out how many of these veterans were already more than well qualified for the jobs for which private business collected great subsidies. These are among the great swindles of all time, gentlemen. Aren't you interested in them also?

Why do you not have those in the medical profession today, who received all or part of their schooling and subsequent training under the GI bill of rights and other free sources (paid by Uncle), investigated to see if they really needed this training, and whether they could have afforded to attend a private medical college? They, gentlemen, are no different from me, and don't you think they should be exposed? At least one of those doctors to whom I went for many examinations before going to the veterans' hospital was one who received such training.

I submit to anyone that the investigation to which I am being subjected is narrow, biased, unfair, and completely prejudiced. I have nothing to hide, and have cooperated completely with an investigator in his soul-searching analysis of me, my family, and our private lives. I have even gone so far as to suggest processes whereby he could check my financial status, processes of which even he was not aware.

This investigation is being performed, I understand, as an act apparently designed to prove something for the direct financial benefit of the AMA, and at what cost to the AMA? Is the AMA paying the bill for any of this investigation? You apparently complain of veterans improperly being in veterans' hospitals who should be in other hospitals—this complaint is made apparently to the Congress of the United States—there apparently is not sufficient proof of your complaint, or the Comptroller General's men would not now be out gathering proof for your benefit—apparently you have great power and influence with the Congress to cause the Comptroller General to do this—and the Comptroller General is investigating to confirm the accuracy of this complaint (or is it a charge) at the expense of the taxpayers. Most assuredly, gentlemen, this cost is terrific. Couldn't you afford to pay it yourselves.

Frankly, I am quite shocked at the action you have set in force, gentlemen. For individuals who have made such truly wonderful progress in medicine and its related fields, you are quite a disappointment.

Please ponder in all seriousness the several questions I have asked in this letter, and consider carefully if someone in the AMA isn't swallowing a camel and straining at a gnat. Then, please tell me whether or not, if I return to the veterans' hospital for further checkup and treatment, if need be, you will send out another investigator to interview my friends.

With my very best wishes for your intellectual awakening.

——— ———.

Important Questions Facing American Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, last night I had the pleasure of attending the winter meeting of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms held here in Washington. There were in attendance several hundred men who are interested in matters related to American finance.

The president of the New York Stock Exchange addressed this meeting and his address covers the subject of American investments very completely and eloquently. I think that many readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be glad to read this address, therefore I am including it as a part of my remarks:

THE ROLE OF THE SAVER IN AMERICA

(Remarks by G. Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange, at the winter meeting of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., February 15, 1954)

Since assuming responsibility 2½ years ago for the operation of the great free market for securities which is the New York Stock Exchange, I have come to appreciate how little understood is the importance of the saver.

We all know the importance of savings to the individual—for me at least the piggy bank is a vivid recollection of my childhood. But few Americans truly understand that the collective savings of our people have an even greater importance to our national strength and growth—to that miracle which we know as the American way of life.

The group here tonight has a common interest in the saver. Those of us in the securities industry spend our business lives helping to link the individual investor with the productive system. And our representatives in Government must continually evaluate the factors which best contribute to the smooth functioning of that system.

It is about the saver, what he does for us, and what we can and should do for him, that I should like to talk tonight.

Political cartoonists of the past liked to depict the workingman—the producer—in overalls and a cap, while they showed the investor, or saver, in frock coat and top hat. The consumer generally wore a business suit and derby. Few of us here have those three hats on the closet shelf—I know I haven't—yet almost every American today can boast, figuratively, of wearing the producer's cap, the saver's top hat, and the consumer's derby.

The workingman today labors for his bread—and also for a fur coat for his wife, or a new television set, and he manages to save something on the side to put Junior through college. His real wages have risen to the point where the man on the production line is now important to our economy as a saver as well as a producer and consumer.

Our standard of living today is due, of course, in large part to our natural resources and to our modern and efficient industrial machine. These natural resources have been developed by the investment of past savings. Our plants and equipment have been provided by similar investment.

As surely as our high standard of living today is based on yesterday's savings and investment, so our standard of living tomorrow will be determined by the savings and investment of today.

Economic progress will require continuing heavy expenditure for capital investment if we are to provide new and better paying jobs, to create new and improved products, and to replace outmoded facilities. Expenditures for new plant and equipment will not only have to be maintained close to the present level of $28 billion a year but must be increased to meet the needs of our growing population.

Before we consider where all this money will come from let's take a look at present savings in America.

Today, there are an estimated 90 million owners of life insurance policies not counting Government insurance. Some 53 million individuals have savings accounts and 43 million persons own series E bonds—10½ million Americans are covered by private pension plans—and shareowners total 8½ million, 6½ million of whom own stock in publicly owned corporations.

In total an estimated 90 percent of all families in this country, represented by 122 million individuals, have some form of savings or investment. Current savings are running at record peacetime levels—about 18 billions a year. This is clear evidence that the average American is wearing his top hat more often today than ever before.

Yet the saver in our economy has been America's forgotten man. The tens of millions who have chosen the promise of security as offered by savings accounts, bonds of all types, or life-insurance policies, have watched their purchasing power devastated by the inroads of inflation.

From 1945 to 1952 the owners of life insurance suffered a loss in purchasing power of $81 billion on the face value of their policies. Since close to 80 percent of all families with life insurance had annual incomes of less than $5,000 in 1951, this loss was a serious blow to millions of Americans for whom life insurance must provide the cornerstone of financial security.

Also, I wonder how many people are aware that since World War II the loss of purchasing power suffered by the holders of savings accounts and other time deposits was more than $21 billion.

It is gratifying to note that the decline in the value of the dollar has been arrested within the past year. It is to be earnestly hoped that the economic policies of the administration and the Congress will prevent any further inflation.

Now how about the more than 8½ million savers who have chosen to invest in ownership securities such as common stocks? How have they made out?

Since stock market averages have generally kept pace with the rise in the cost of living, it would appear on the surface that equity savers had not suffered materially from inflation.

No investor, however, can buy the stock averages. He buys individual securities, the prices of many of which have not kept pace with inflation.

A study made last fall of the market and book values of all common stocks listed on the Exchange disclosed that 62 percent were then selling at a price below book value, with 48 percent of these selling at a price of 20 percent or more below this figure.

Furthermore, an investor who selected an issue where price has kept pace with inflation finds that, when he sells, even though he is no richer in purchasing power, he is faced with a capital gains tax which will take away up to 25 percent of his gain.

The income of the equity saver has also not kept pace with that of certain other segments of the economy. In the 14 years since 1939, dividends have declined from 5.2 percent of national income to 3 percent, a drop of more than two-fifths.

Double taxation of dividends has greatly diminished the equity investor's take-home pay. Of course, everyone has been hit hard by high personal income taxes, but only the equity investor has been hit twice.

What has been the effect on our economy of this neglect of the saver, particularly the discrimination against the equity saver? Admittedly it has not caused the Nation's house to collapse. Since World War II we have financed the greatest capital expansion American industry has ever had. But the foundation of the house is not as strong as we might desire because new stock issues have played only a minor part in this capital formation. For every dollar raised in the postwar period by stock issues, industry raised nearly $3.50 by debt financing and supplied $9 from retained earnings and depreciation reserves. To provide these capital funds industry found it necessary to double its debt and to reduce the percentage of earnings paid out in dividends from over 75 percent before the war to less than 50 percent today.

It should be pointed out that it is only established enterprises that have been able to finance expansion through increased retention of earnings and greater debt financing.

New and growing businesses have found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the new equity capital necessary for growth.

Let me make it clear that our concern is not with corporate debt itself, for of course this type of security represents a sound and necessary investment medium—about $24 billion of which is listed on our exchange. What we are concerned about is the danger of a capital structure topheavy with debt.

The soundness of debt securities, of course, depends upon the cushion of ownership capital beneath them. It is obvious, therefore, that the millions of savers who through their ownership of savings accounts, life insurance, and pension rights have an indirect interest in such debt securities—also have a vital interest in a broadened base of equity capital.

The shortage of equity capital in the postwar period is evidence that, in a free economy, capital flows into forms of investment where the reward is commensurate with the risk. It is axiomatic that adequate incentive for production, for consumption, and for investment are all essential to the proper functioning of a free economy. Take away the carrot and the donkey will sit down. Hold down real wages and the producer will balk; set prices too high and the consumer won't buy; tax incentive away and the investor will seek other avenues of investment.

Continued economic progress makes it imperative that the incentive for equity investment be restored.

Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, in his recent testimony before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, put it well when he said:

"As long as Americans know there is adequate chance for gain they will save and invest. They will try new things that will bring forward new business, growing business, more jobs, better jobs and higher standards.

"In the past decade the growth of American industry was stimulated by debt and war and inflation. With these unwanted pressures fading, we need to again make initiative and enterprise more compelling if our economy is to continue to grow."

The amount of equity funds required in our economy will far exceed the tax-devastated resources of higher-income Americans who have historically supplied the bulk of new equity capital.

New sources for such funds must be developed among the millions of Americans of middle income.

This then is the challenge, and the opportunity, before us—to restore incentive for equity investment and to tap new sources of such funds. The securities industry is ready, willing and able but needs assistance to do the job properly. We ask for no special favors. We do ask, however, for a square deal—for tax changes which will recognize the importance of the saver.

A serious deterrent to the saver considering investment in ownership securities has been the double taxation of dividends, first by taxation of earnings at the corporate level and, second, by taxation of dividends paid to shareholders out of the corporation's after-tax earnings.

This whole concept of double taxation came into our tax law not by design but as the offspring of a discredited experiment, the short-lived undistributed profits tax enacted in 1936. The original proponents of the undistributed profits tax did not intend any double taxation. However, as finally passed by the Congress, the bill taxed both distributed and undistributed earnings at the corporate level and, in addition, taxed distributed income in the hands of individual shareowners.

This taxation, which has been a problem only since 1936, is probably the most discriminatory feature of our tax laws, applying as it does only to dividend income from ownership securities. It does not apply to interest paid on corporate debt nor to the income earned by unincorporated businesses. It strikes directly at the corporate form of business ownership, the one form of ownership offering the greatest opportunity for small savers to share in America's growth.

There are two totally false concepts about double taxation which must be eliminated if the problem is to be viewed objectively. The first fallacy is that relief from this tax is some sort of giveaway to stockholders who will be receiving tax-free income. Such a statement, either deliberately or through ignorance, avoids the heart of the problem. The salient fact is that dividend income has already been taxed once—and at very high rates—before it gets to the shareowner. To permit what remains after taxes to be received by those owners without imposing a second tax is not a giveaway—it is only simple justice.

The second false concept is that relief from double taxation would benefit only the wealthy. This is just not the fact. American shareowners number 8,500,000. All these people will benefit and they represent a true cross-section of America. Thirty-two percent of them have family incomes under $5,000 a year and 76 percent under $10,000. Hundreds of thousands of them are retired people living on the income from invested savings, over 25 percent of all stockholders being over 60 years old. The lower income group would enjoy a large percentage benefit. For example, the current proposal of the House Ways and Means Committee, by 1957, would relieve the group of shareholders having incomes under $5,000 of 78 percent of the tax on dividends which this group now pays.

If the Congress were to follow the lead of Canada and pass legislation providing partial relief from double taxation of dividends, it would greatly encourage modest investment in common stocks by millions of new investors. The present proposals, for instance, would provide complete relief in 1955 from double taxation for a couple investing up to about $4,000 in common or preferred stocks. Multiply this sum by the millions of American families who are financially able to purchase stock and are responsive to financial incentive, and we will open up a vast new pool of needed ownership capital.

The enactment of these proposals would have a beneficial effect on the entire economy. In his budget message, President Eisenhower said, of the proposal to ease double taxation, "This will promote investment, which in turn means business expansion and more production and jobs."

Another of the taxes which does much to shackle the saver's will to venture is the capital gains tax in its present form. This levy penalizes the saver who risks his funds in equity securities and keeps our free markets from making their maximum contribution to the flow of capital into industry.

The capital gains tax makes it difficult for new and growing companies to obtain adequate equity funds.

The tax distorts the value of securities by discouraging the realization of gains and encouraging the realization of losses.

The tax impairs the liquidity of the securities markets by freezing present investors into existing investments and by discouraging new risk taking.

And the tax deprives the Government of hundreds of millions of dollars of revenue because the holding period is too long and the rate is too high.

The present arbitrarily long holding period has robbed capital of one of its most precious assets—its mobility. A cut in the

required holding period to 3 months is one major step that can be taken to restore needed liquidity to our capital markets.

To reemphasize: reduction of the holding period would not be a tax reduction measure, but would increase Government revenues by encouraging transactions which just do not take place at all today. It is estimated that a cut in the holding period to 3 months would increase the take of the Treasury from this tax by several hundred million dollars per year.

A substantial cut in the rate of tax would likewise increase Governmental revenue by lowering the barrier which now blocks most investors from selling securities that have appreciated substantially. Here again the Government would benefit from getting a higher total tax revenue from a greater number of transactions.

Available Treasury figures indicate that the capital gains tax, as well as double taxation, is a tax which affects people of moderate means as well as the wealthy. Figures for 1950 show that 42 percent of all income tax returns reporting capital gains showed a taxable income under $5,000 and 74 percent of such returns were from persons with incomes under $10,000.

While changes in our Federal tax policies can provide a major stimulus to the flow of savings into ownership capital, the task of actually obtaining such funds through broadening the base of corporate ownership must fall primarily on the securities industry. It is my firm belief that our industry can do much to encourage the growth of one of the most powerful ideas of our time, Democratic capitalism, the ownership of our means of production by millions more Americans.

This challenging concept of public ownership of industry—not through government but through individual investment—includes a broadening of corporate ownership not only through the addition of millions of new owners but also by increasing the holdings of today's small investors.

In furtherance of this objective the New York Stock Exchange is adopting as the theme of all its public relations activity in 1954 the simple phrase, "Own your share of American business." We invite all segments of our industry to join us in presenting this idea to the public.

The objective of the entire investment community should be the ownership of a share of American business by every American who is financially able to assume the risks of common-stock investment. To achieve this goal it will be necessary for the securities industry to put even greater emphasis on serving all investors and to seek and utilize new techniques such as the monthly investment plan, a program especially designed by member firms of the New York Stock Exchange for obtaining greater participation in equity investment by individual savers.

Incidentally it was at my last public meeting with the Association of Stock Exchange Firms in St. Louis last May that the trial balloon was launched which eventually resulted in the monthly investment plan. Now only 3 weeks old, this plan has exceeded our expectations—there are already over 5,000 plans in operation and it is estimated that 90 percent of these are plans of new investors. We think that the pay-as-you-go idea may make it possible, over a period of time, for hundreds of thousands of new investors to own common stocks.

We must, of course, remain fully cognizant of the responsibility of carrying out such a program. This involves the education of millions of American savers to the risks as well as the rewards of common-stock investment. The importance of adequate liquid reserves for emergencies as a prerequisite to stock investment must constantly be stressed as must the necessity of obtaining full and complete information from a reliable source before investment.

If our economy is to achieve even greater miracles of mass production and mass consumption, we will need a constantly increasing base of equity investment. We will need to bring about mass investment—to rank it alongside of mass production and mass consumption—so that production, investment, and consumption are equally shared in by all of our people.

In seeking this goal Government can contribute by giving us more realistic tax laws. The securities industry can gear its machinery to the needs of the small investor. The saver himself can contribute by acquiring a better understanding of his indispensable role in our economy. If each of the three groups—Government, the securities industry, and the saver—will work together, we can create for our Nation an economic democracy as pervading and as potent as our political democracy, an economy in which most every American family can have a direct ownership stake in the dynamic future which lies ahead for our country.

Our Best Friend in the Near East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to place before the Members of Congress the very fine article about our friend and ally, Turkey, and its distinguished President, Celâl Bayar, which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of January 30, 1954:

OUR BEST FRIEND IN THE NEAR EAST

(By Ernest O. Hauser)

ANKARA, TURKEY.—When our rough-and-ready Turkish allies, last October, celebrated their 30th anniversary as a republic amidst a joyous pounding of hoofs and screeching of jets, they had two excellent reasons to be pleased with themselves. In three short decades, they had transformed a bankrupt, backward, appallingly mismanaged country into a strong and thriving modern nation. And, in 3 short years, they had furnished living proof—all Marxian teachings to the contrary—that progress and democracy belong together.

A dead man and one very much alive share most of the credit for what has been accomplished: Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, who, on the debris of the sultan's decadent police state, built a new edifice; and Celâl Bayar, now president of the republic, who gave Turkey a two-party system and thus completed the structure which Kemal's death had left unfinished. Founding his Democratic Party 8 years ago, in opposition to the ruling Republican People's Party, he swept into power with a landslide victory in the 1950 elections, and Parliament awarded him the republic's highest office. Not much later, by bringing this nation of 22 million intrepid people into NATO, Bayar presented the Western World with a stanch friend, as well as with a rockbound base adjoining Russia's oilfields.

How fierce a Turk is this Bayar? Americans who during his current visit will get their first look ever at a Turkish head of state may be a trifle disappointed: in both appearance and comportment, Turkey's third President lacks the histrionic assets of his great patron, Atatürk. Mild-mannered, bald, of medium height, slightly overweight, and armed with an ingratiating smile, he seems the very picture of urbanity. His dress is chosen with the care of a downtown executive. Conversing in the deliberate manner of a man who likes to think things through before opening his mouth, and heading straight for the essentials, he has remained, in every outward aspect, the prototype of the successful banker he used to be, back in the pioneering twenties.

Still, Bayar's antecedents aren't quite so harmless as he looks. In revolutionary Turkey, you didn't get to be head of the largest private bank by being good at mathematics. The president explains he has to wear those heavy lenses because stooping over forbidden political tracts by the light of a flickering oil lamp in his paternal village weakened his eyes. Even so, the 70-year-old desk worker still outshoots his military entourage and will puncture a pack of cigarettes with a pistol bullet at 80 feet, 3 shots out of 5, using either hand. Having fought his way up to victory in the upheaval that followed World War I, he remains resilient and alert. He reluctantly abandoned horseback riding a few years ago, but still swims, diving off a boat into the blue Aegean Sea with an alacrity that would be the envy of many a bank president 20 years his junior.

A self-made man without much formal schooling, he talks the language of the common people—a fact which stood him in good stead during the 1950 election campaign which his village-square harangues turned into a stampede to the Democratic tents. His knack for storytelling is something to remark on even in this land of hookahs and coffeehouses. To hear him reminisce about the night he donned the guise of an Ottoman gendarme and proudly rode through the lines outside of Izmir—then ringed by the sultan's men, who were after his scalp—is an experience you don't want to miss. And his account of Atatürk's last hours, with himself at the bedside of the dying chief, is as moving a tale as any to come out of those troubled days.

Even now, Bayar thinks of himself as a devout disciple of Turkey's first president. He never would have drawn the sword, he has explained, against Atatürk's old party, had the Republicans not forfeited their heritage by refusing to go on from where the founder had left off. In this connection, a half-forgotten incident is worth recording. Atatürk himself, in 1930, had experimented with democracy by creating a new party and ordering it to oppose his own. Almost immediately, the opposition had got out of hand and the worried dictator dispatched an emissary to the port of Izmir, hotbed of antigovernment agitation, to smooth things out. The envoy was none other than Bayar—then a Republican deputy from Izmir. Sending for the local opposition leader, a prominent physician, he asked him to behave himself and please pipe down. The doctor, understandably, blew up. "Is Turkey a republic," he demanded, "or is it not? You'll have to change the constitution first." Embarrassed beyond words, Bayar stalked from the room. No further talks were held and Atatürk, deciding the country was not yet ready for democracy, dissolved the troublesome new party shortly afterward.

Today the stubborn doctor is Bayar's Minister of Public Health, and the Izmir interlude is not referred to in polite society. It never shook Bayar's conviction that evolution toward full democracy was what the impetuous Atatürk had in mind for Turkey all the time. Hence, he considers his own program more faithful to the master's guiding principles than that of the Republicans.

Although a president of Turkey no longer lords it over this young nation in the inimitable style of Papa Kemal, Bayar has made is clear from the beginning of his term that wearing a white tie on state occasions wasn't his notion of the job. Nor does the constitution reduce him to the

impotence of a mere figurehead. Elected by Parliament from among its members for a 4-year term of office, the President designates a Prime Minister, who is responsible to Parliament. Whenever he, the President, sees fit, he may preside over the Council of Ministers, taking an active part in its decisions. He recommends, in his annual address on the state of the nation, a legislative program, and he may send a law already passed by Parliament back for reconsideration before promulgating it. His niche, then, is somewhat between that of the President of the United States, who is his own prime minister and has far-reaching veto powers, and the traditional aloofness of the British sovereign. Ensconced in the presidential kiosk, the pink house on a hillock in suburban Ankara which Atatürk built shortly before his death, he remains the grand old man of Turkish politics without whose say-so very little happens.

His life has not exactly been a smooth one. From the medieval squalor of an Anatolian village to the presidential kiosk, the Bayar story echoes the drumbeat of the Turkish revolution. His forebears, like thousands of enterprising Turks, had ventured into the outlying parts of the sprawling Ottoman empire, settling in what has since become Bulgaria. During the Turko-Russian war of 1877–78, Bayar's parents came trudging back to Turkey proper; and, as his father was a teacher and a some-time mufti, he got a job as headmaster of the school at Umurbey, a primitive and crumbling hilltop village in Asiatic Turkey, near the Sea of Marmara. Celâl was born there, in 1883, the youngest of four children, but both his brothers and his sister died at a youthful age, making him an only son. Reared in a deeply religious atmosphere, he remains a faithful Moslem; the only serious charge leveled against Bayar's administration to date is that it has been soft on those reactionary elements who want to see religion restored to its old throne.

Because his mother would not let him go to sea, he did the next best thing and took a job weighing gold coins and doing odd chores in the branch office of the Agricultural Bank in the nearby town of Bursa. In due course, he met and married Reside Hanim, the beautiful daughter of a local silk merchant, and graduated to the Bursa branch of the German Orient Bank—the only foreign bank which would employ Turks in anything but menial jobs.

"As far back as I can remember," he has said, "I've had my eye on politics." Turkey was in a bad way. Her mines, her banks, her railroads, were in foreign hands. Foreigners enjoyed special privileges on her soil. The enfeebled sultan, Abdul Hamid II, was holding things together with the most intricate police-state methods yet devised. Rebellion was in the air. Young Turks, many of them in exile, were assiduously working toward reforms. Even before he left his village, at the age of 17, Bayar was knee-deep in conspiratorial goings-on, receiving and passing forbidden literature and maintaining contact with illegal groups. He continued these contacts in Bursa.

His flair for getting the message across to Bursa's restive youth made him one of the leading lights of the clandestine party for unity and progress. When, in 1908, the reformists swapped illegally for parliamentary control, forcing the sultan to accept a constitutional regime, Celâl became the party's local secretary. Soon he could abandon banking altogether and move down to teeming Izmir, then Turkey's most important city after Constantinople, as the party's full-time secretary general. He became famous for his ability to raise money for progressive causes. Among the reform schemes he promoted, just before and during World War I, were Turkeys first consumers' cooperatives, a school for future cultural and political leaders, a school for Turkish railroad personnel, and an organization for the education of the illiterate and backward masses in town and country. Taken separately, these projects might have looked no more world shaking than the philanthropic dabblings of a professional uplifter. Viewed from a higher vantage point, they set the pattern for the coming revolution, whose major themes were education and independence from foreigners.

But Turkey, going down in defeat with her wartime ally Germany, and occupied by British, French, Greek, and Italian troops, had to pass through purgatory first. Constantinople had become a hostage. What with the sultan siding with the occupants against his own exasperated people, there was little to do for a man of Bayar's strong convictions but go underground. Disguised now as a peasant, now as a village priest, sporting a magnificent black beard, he organized a resistance movement in the Izmir countryside. Taking the field at last with some of the guerrilla units he had helped create, he fought in several battles against the Greek invaders. "That," he explains, "is how I got to be such a good shot."

We find him again in unoccupied Ankara, nerve center of the revolution. Walking briskly into the hall where the Grand National Assembly met in defiance of the sultans orders, and laying eyes on Kemal for the first time in his life, he asked what he could do. "I've been hearing about you," said the general, "I want you near me." And he grandiosely motioned the new arrival to a vacant seat in the assembly. Shortly afterward the sultan was deposed, and the assembly, in October 1923, declared Turkey a republic, with Kemal as its president.

In Kemal's scheme of things, it soon developed, Bayar had been assigned a very special task. The Turkish people from the dawn of history, had led the lives of peasants and of warriors; they'd shown no sense for business, with the result that trade and commerce were firmly in the hands of foreigners. Bayar was charged with rectifying this historic drawback. Having shown his mettle in the earliest days of the regime, as minister of national economy and minister of population exchange—thousands of Greek settlers had to be shipped home, and half a million Turks from the lost territories had to find room in Turkey—he was ordered, in 1924, to establish the nation's first all-round private bank. The purpose: to generate the rudiments of Turkish economic life.

It started as a shoestring affair, financed in driblets by the leading men of the regime—Atatürk himself subscribed one quarter of the capital—and operating in four rented rooms. But, catching the first wave of confidence in the stability of the new state, the enterprise grew fast. Soon the Bank of Affairs, under Bayar's aggressive chairmanship, could plant its branches in every important town, challenging the monopoly of the foreign banks already there. Among the commercial and industrial ventures it started were sugar refineries, textile mills, a glass factory, a shipping firm, an insurance company. Bayar's master stroke, however, was the purchase of the country's largest coal mine from the French-Italian combine which operated it. Today, Bayar's old hole in the wall, transformed into a palatial office building in downtown Ankara, is known as one of the great banking houses of the Middle East.

The problem of the day, however, was what kind of economic system modern Turkey was going to have. Aware that the new nation lacked both money and experience, the founders of the republic had envisaged a tightly controlled economy in which the state would operate all important means of production. Still, there seemed to be more ways than one of applying the principle.

The chief protagonist of extreme statism was Ataturk's Prime Minister, Ismet Inönü. A hero of the war of independence, in which he had won one of the two principal victories, he looked at economics with the soldier's eye, and the results of government planning as he was to observe them during a trip to Russia merely fortified his view. Bayar, by contrast, abhorred the notion of planning for the sake of planning. He, too, believed that, for some time to come, the state would have to play godfather to Turkey's baby industries. But he was far too much of an individualist, and far too Western in his thinking, to see in statism anything but a temporary expedient—a policy to be dropped as soon as there was enough private capital around to carry the ball. Openly opposing Inönü's attempts at regimentation, he would insist on using his own judgment as a banker in extending a helping hand to private enterprise wherever possible.

The running fight between prime minister and banker did not revolve around an academic argument: the future course of the republic was at stake. Apparently, the banker's point of view won out with Atatürk. In 1932, with the world economic crisis rocking the still-delicate Republic, Bayar was once again appointed minister of national economy—this time with full authority to go over the head of Prime Minister Inönü and consult, on economic matters, with Atatürk himself.

It was the lift Bayar had needed to go to town. Where, as a banker, he had merely been able to scratch the surface, he could now plan in depth. Moving into the ministry with two concurrent 5-year plans in his brief case—for the development of light and heavy industries—he proceeded to equip the nation with a solid base of productive capacity. With the help of two large government banks, created by Bayar as launching platforms for new ventures, a string of new industries, including chemical and cement works and a giant steel mill, was conjured up. Existing businesses were strengthened and developed. There was nothing haphazard about this creative spurt. Bayar began the electrification of Turkey's railways, sponsored the first social laws for the protection of industrial workers, boosted the export trade, revised measurements and standards. It was state capitalism, to be sure. But while the government remained the fountainhead of economic power, economic legislation enacted under Bayar's prodding left the door wide open for the economic freedom which was to be achieved in Turkey—with American encouragement—at a much later stage.

In 1937, Atatürk and Inönü, after a bitter personal quarrel, parted company. Bayar was waved into the prime minister's seat, inheriting, at the same time, the vice presidency of the Republican People's Party. It was the highest accolade the ailing Kemal had to offer. And it led to an exceedingly awkward situation when, upon the leader's death in 1938, Celâl Bayar found himself with Turkey on his hands; the monolithic state was his to take over. True, parliament would have to vote in a new president, but parliament was still a rubber stamp, subject to party discipline. Not a few of his friends, both in and out of the Government, urged him to assume command.

If Bayar, instead, decided to instruct the honorable deputies to vote for his old rival, Inönü, his motive was not modesty. Forces of reaction were astir throughout the country and would have to be held in check. He felt that the still-shaky nation needed the hand of the professional soldier who had had 15 years to establish his authority and whose popularity doubtless was greater than his own. "I knew there would be bloodshed in the end if I had taken over," he recently told a visitor, and most observers here agree he acted wisely.

But stepping out meant stepping down; there followed 7 lean years of oblivion. Leading the quiet life of a Republican deputy from Izmir, shunned by the more ambitious politicians because of his known differences

with the boss, Bayar was subject to fits of deep depression. "I have come to the end of my life," he told old friends who dropped in from time to time to cheer him up. To prove he meant it, he sold off his small racing stable of fine English Thoroughbreds, as well as his beloved seagoing motorboat, *Umurbey*.

The worries that kept him awake at night, however, had little to do with boats or horses. Turkey, emerging from her wartime neutrality intact if somewhat the worse for wear, had become a case of arrested development. Inönü was holding in the reins. All economic activities were once again rigorously controlled, private enterprise was discouraged, criticism was frowned on, bureaucracy ruled supreme, and a snoopy police kept the public well in line. There was plenty of resentment, especially in the large towns, but what opposition there was still lacked a voice.

Bayar was 62 years old when he resigned from the Republican People's Party and, together with three other deputies who contrived to get themselves expelled, announced the birth of a new party. Just why Inönü stood by idly while this happened remains a subject of some animated small talk here. Perhaps the fact that Turkey had just joined the United Nations and wished to impress her new associates with a democratic front had something to do with it. Actually, 2 or 3 other parties were allowed to form at about the same time, but none of these were to achieve much importance.

What did the Democratic Party stand for? Nothing more radical, to put it simply, than democracy. Its platform did not differ in essentials from that of the Republicans. But, building on the foundations of Attaturk's model constitution, it proposed to present the nation with the political and economic freedom the leader had withheld during his lifetime. That the Turkish people were thirsting for this kind of freedom was proved dramatically during the 1950 general elections. Bayar, who in 1946 had obtained a disappointing 60 parliamentary seats, now crisscrossed the country in a determined bid for victory: "Time for a change." Traveling by plane, train, sedan, and jeep, and addressing earnest crowds of farmers at roadside stops and in the village squares, he added the decisive farm vote to that of the impatient urban middle class. The result spelled the end of 27 years of Republican rule. With a popular vote of 53.6 percent, and with 396 out of 487 seats in Parliament, Bayar's still untried party had won an overwhelming mandate for a 4-year term of democratic government.

The timing of the victory was perfect. Ever since the 1947 Truman doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey, the United States had been engaged in a determined effort to turn this strategic country into a bulwark of western strength. Obviously, our military aid, while enabling Turkey to train and equip the finest fighting force in the entire Middle East, made little sense as long as the country lacked the economic wherewithal to support a modern army. But when Washington, to keep the Turks from faltering under their great burden, added economic aid to military aid, the very rigidity of Turkey's economic system made it tough for our dollars to percolate.

Bayar's administration, with its accent on flexibility, changed the picture overnight. Today an economic miracle is taking place in Turkey which makes Americans here think of the United States back in the early 1900's. The Turkish Government's new policy of greater economic freedom, combined with $420 million spent here on economic aid within the last 5 years, in addition to some $800 million worth of military assistance, has spawned a boom surpassing all expectations. It is as if the country, free of its shackles, were trying to make up for wasted decades.

For the first time in their wretched lives, Turkey's farmers—still about 80 percent of the population—are getting a taste of prosperity. Two thousand tractors, counted here in 1947, have multiplied to 37,000; 200 combines to 3,500; the acreage under cultivation has increased by one-half; cotton production has nearly tripled; and where Turkey, up to 1951, was a net importer of wheat, she is now the world's fourth largest exporter of cereals. Some 2,500 miles of all-weather roads available just a few years ago, when a drive from Istanbul to Ankara was still a daredevil adventure, have stretched to 13,000 miles. Remote regions are opened up for the first time, goods and people move freely from place to place, the number of registered vehicles has grown by 180 percent. Modern trains are speeding through the country, new dams and thermal stations supply more power, new coal mines are being developed, chrome and copper production has tripled, new sugar plants and textile mills are going up. New houses are rising by the scores in every city, and the shop windows are getting a little less drab every year.

All this is only a beginning, to be sure. Too many of Turkey's 40,000 villages still lie in medieval slumber, scarcely touched by modern civilization. Well over half the people still cannot read or write. There is a shortage of trained men and women, from typists to mechanics. There is a shortage of machinery, and Turkey's dollar gap imposes a narrow limit on what can be brought in. There is, finally, a painful dearth of ready cash. The average Turk earns $200 a year, as compared to our own per-capita income of $1,600. And although many of the new plants and buildings have been put up with private funds, the state—whether it likes it or not—remains the country's leading capitalist.

However, things are moving in the right direction, and moving fast. In an attempt to stimulate the spirit of free enterprise, the government has offered stock in some of its own corporations to the public; and it is even now preparing a law which would guarantee full freedom to foreign investors—including the important privilege of converting their profits into dollars. Already, eight foreign oil companies, some of them American, are poking around the Anatolian hills. And if you talk to foreigners who have been here before, you'll find them pleasantly surprised; no more police surveillance.

To Celâl Bayar, the man behind this bright new era of good feeling, the long-delayed advent of freedom is but the logical conclusion of the Turkish revolution—and, incidentally, the fitting climax of his own career. Working closely with his hand-picked prime minister, Adnan Menderes—an able politician and one of the four founders of the Democratic Party—he is content with charting the general course of Turkey's foreign and domestic policy, leaving day-to-day decisions to his ministers. Whenever the occasion warrants, he drives over to the premier's office to preside, at the head of the enormous council table, over a meeting of his full, all-Democratic cabinet. One thing that will bring him rushing down there without fail is the arrival of yet another "warning" from the Kremlin, which recently has shown concern over Turkey's growing friendship with the West. When, after Stalin's death, a "let's-be-good-neighbors" note arrived out of the blue, Bayar himself is said to have composed the admirably noncommittal answer.

Although the presidency still reflects the glory of the Father of the Turks, little pomp and circumstance goes with the nation's highest office. The Kiosk itself is a modernistic, two-story affair, built in the somewhat frigid taste of the late 30's. Entering through an airy portico, visitors are shown into a lobby agleam with some choice items from the sultan's fine collection of old china. You'll find the ground floor taken up by a suite of spacious reception rooms decorated with modern paintings and oriental rugs, and a state dining room done in red damask, illuminated by three huge crystal chandeliers.

The President's private world begins at the top of the stairs, where he and Mrs. Bayar are at home in a 6-room apartment and where he receives most callers in Atatürk's vast, L-shaped library. An atmosphere of well-bred quiet prevails throughout the house. Two private secretaries maintain a rhythmic flow of correspondence and appointments, and an active army colonel, assisted by three aides, serves as the President's chief aide. That's all.

A late riser, Bayar begins his official day at 10 o'clock, when he has finished reading the papers over a breakfast consisting entirely of fruit. Joining him at his desk in the library, one or the other of his secretaries helps him dispose of the day's stack of documents and correspondence. He may lunch downstairs with a provincial governor, a minister or a couple of deputies, Democrat or Republican. Refreshed by a quick nap, he starts receiving the day's official callers, and leaves his desk by 7:30. Bayar does not believe in direct contact with the press, but all of Tuesday afternoon is given over to the common man—anyone with a legitimate subject on his mind will be granted a 10-minute audience with the President, and you will find the lobby packed with Anatolian farmers, wishing to have water piped into their village, and with executives from Istanbul or Izmir anxious to discuss the credit situation. Each visitor, when talking with the President, is offered a glass of sweetened lemonade, served, with a couple of cookies, on a silver platter.

Three or four evenings a week, friends or official guests are asked for dinner with the President—stag, as a rule, since the first lady, who has shared her husband's tribulations and success for half a century, keeps to the semiretirement still practiced by women of the older generation. At official receptions, she bravely takes her place at Celâl's side. A light but by no means disinterested eater, Bayar is partial to fish, corn, olives, and the succulent grilled meat dishes in which the Turkish cuisine excels. One day a week he subsists on fruit alone. After the meal he may engage in a few hands of bridge or supervise the showing of the latest Turkish movie before escaping to his study. He is likely to be at work there until the small hours of the morning—poring over a new bill or polishing a speech, and he may finish off by adding a few pages to his memoirs.

There are days when the President finds it difficult to sit still, and his aides have known him to jump up in the middle of the afternoon and go for a brisk walk in the landscaped grounds surrounding the Kiosk. Now and then, he'll ask one of his secretaries to walk downtown with him—a distance of 2 miles. Every few months he takes off on a cross-country inspection tour, traveling in 1 of his 2 official cars and stopping, invariably, with old friends. Carefully refraining from partisan propaganda, in line with his concept of the neutrality of his high office, he sees nothing wrong with a few balcony speeches on the wonderful achievements of the Government—another general election is coming up sometime next summer.

For his troubles, the republic pays Bayar a monthly 12,500 Turkish pounds—about $2,500 at the prevailing free-market rate. In addition, the job carries a monthly entertainment allowance of $500, but Bayar has turned it down. Comfortably off, by Turkish standards, he owns a town house in Ankara, now rented, and a beach cottage at Cesme, a resort near Izmir. He still manages to spend a few weeks there during the hot sea-

son, bathing, boating or just loafing with his family. The Bayars' first-born, Refi, died in 1941; Turgut, their second son, works for a Swiss pharmaceutical concern in Istanbul; and Nilüfer, their only daughter, teaches Greek at Ankara University and is married to Dr. Ahmet Gürsoy, professor of medicine. It's Nilüfer's two straw-blond girls, aged 3 and 4, who, during those vacations, monopolize their grandfather's attention.

From the tall windows of the presidential Kiosk, Bayar enjoys a perfect view of Ankara, new Turkey's curiously synthetic capital. High on the nude plateau and topped by Anatolia's glassy sky, it occupies a site where man is known to have been settled for the last 4,000 years. Yet Atatürk's creation, a sprawling modern city with stores and offices and taxicabs and parks and tree-lined avenues, has nudged the old Angora, with its frowning citadel, into a corner. The new jostling the old—the President, as he reflects upon the scene, might well look upon it as a symbol of the vaster struggle which, during his lifetime, engulfed this ancient nation; a struggle which no doubt continues to be waged in Celâl Bayar's heart.

Remarks of National Commander, American Legion, at Annual Pilgrimage to Tomb of Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, of the American Legion, at the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Abraham Lincoln:

A wise man once said that the past is but prolog to the future.

Today we celebrate the birthday anniversary of a great man whose life shed a brilliant light on America's prolog.

We, of the American Legion, have come to the tomb of Abraham Lincoln as pilgrims—and I wish with all of my heart that each of you could share the experience with us. But we have come also as pupils. Like, you, we want to learn and be inspired by the example of Lincoln. We hope to draw on his spirit for the guidance and strength that will make us better Americans.

Lincoln today is a national hero in the fullest sense of the word. No section of the country, no political or racial group has prior claim on his patronage.

There are many reasons, however, and two in particular, why the nearly 3 million war veterans who comprise the American Legion should be represented in a special way here today.

It was Lincoln near the end of a bloody and destructive war who called upon the people to provide care for "those who have borne the battle, and their widows and orphans." That is precisely the cause which the American Legion was organized to espouse—and to which the greater part of our attention and energies are devoted.

Secondly, Lincoln believed in America. His entire life was a testament to his driving, personal faith in the ideals and institutions of his country. Defending those ideals in time of war has helped us to appreciate the tremendous service he rendered.

Our country is confronted today with dangers which could destroy our free Government.

I say this with no wish to alarm. Indeed, we have never been entirely free of perils to our security. Where governing is by consent of the governed—where individual liberties are supreme and man his own master, threats of one kind or another will always exist.

Our purpose, it seems to me, must be to recognize and overcome such threats through conscious, personal allegiance to the fundamental principles of Americanism.

Lincoln once said, "If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time or die by suicide."

We of the American Legion believe there is greater risk that we shall lose our freedom by default than that another shall take it from us by force.

We believe we must guard against that risk by doing everything in our power to become better, stronger citizens. No one can do this for us. No law and no legislative body can protect us from ourselves. Under our system, government is the instrument; the people—you and I—are the power.

Since Lincoln's day the world has turned over many times. It is doubtful whether Lincoln himself foresaw the epic changes that one century would bring.

In fairness to him and for our own sake, however, let us not lose sight of the things that are unchanged—of the timeless truths that represent the character of America.

We live, as did he, in a country dedicated to the greatest measure of freedom for the greatest number of people. We are beholden, as was he, to the God who made us. Our challenge, like his, is whether a nation conceived in liberty can endure.

Abraham Lincoln loved this country with a fearless, manly love, and he wanted others to share it. He preached and practiced a patriotism based upon knowledge of the blessings that belong to the American citizen.

"Let every American, every lover of liberty," he said, "* * * swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate * * * the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others."

And Lincoln went further. Americanism, in his view was a creed to be imprinted upon the minds and hearts of the people. Time and again he stressed this point:

"Let reverence for the laws be taught in the schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice."

Those were Lincoln's words, reflecting his burning faith in enlightened patriotism.

Yet in many places today the very word, patriotism, is spoken on a note of apology—indeed, even of shame. There are some who spend their best energies mocking the efforts of others to honor and glorify our great American heritage. Whatever the motivation, this is a deadly, divisive game, and no American worthy of the name ought to play it.

My friends, we need patriots. We need believers in America, men and women with the spirit of '76 who are not afraid or embarrassed to proclaim their personal belief in the goodness and greatness of our cause.

Our free institutions are made of stern stuff. They have survived assaults from without and within. They can survive anything, in our judgment, except a lack of understanding and confidence on the part of the people.

That is why we of the American Legion strive constantly to do our full duty in educating the youth of the country in the fundamentals of good citizenship. Our Boys State program in practically every State again this year will help thousands of young men to know and better appreciate their responsibilities as citizens. Through junior baseball, oratorical contests, school awards, and a score of other activities, legionnaires are carrying forward this work in your community and mine.

Pride in country has always been accounted a virtue. Let us not deny it to those who will come after us.

There are some, to be sure, who suggest that it is somehow wrong to teach our youngsters the advantages and the values of their heritage. By what trick of logic they arrive at that attitude I do not know. I am convinced, however, that it has no place and serves no good purpose in the American tradition.

If the principles of Americanism are worth the sacrifice of battle, then certainly they are worth the time and effort required to teach them to the youth of the country.

We take great pains to train our doctors, our engineers, our skilled workers. Each must put in a long apprenticeship before qualifying as an expert. Is the practice of good citizenship a less desirable goal, or less important to the well-being of our people?

On the contrary, it is the most important of all.

Love of country stems from knowledge of country. You and I have a personal responsibility to acquire that knowledge and to pass it on to others. Let us remember always that the freedoms we enjoy have been earned for us by the toil and sacrifice of others—that in a democracy there can be neither slave nor master—that our reliance, in Lincoln's words, "is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms."

To the defense of these simple truths the men who signed the Declaration of Independence pledged their lives and their fortunes and their sacred honor. We dare pledge no less.

And yet the most solemn resolves are wasted unless suited to action. A nation dedicated to the God-given rights of the indiviual can flourish only if its people constantly replenish that spiritual strength which comes from individual faith in God.

Patriotism has many meanings and many definitions; no one of us perhaps knows them all. But they all start with religious faith. Our ideals, our standards, our goals as a nation are spiritual in origin.

Lincoln once was asked about his belief in this respect and he answered as follows:

"I believe the will of God prevails; without Him all human reliance is in vain. Without the assistance of that divine being I cannot succeed; with that assistance I cannot fail."

Whatever our creed, as Americans who seek to serve our country in ever increasing measure, we can all subscribe to that testament of faith.

Farmers Not at Fault

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, just before those among us who are supposed to represent the best interests of American agriculture sell our farmers down the river completely, perhaps we should pause to consider a few facts which favor the farmer.

Much is said these days about the high cost of food and the wishes and needs

of the consumer. This constant drumming on the subject gives rise to the idea that the only reason people pay high prices for food is because the farmer is getting too much for his crops, especially those crops where parity programs operate.

This simply is not the case. Most food items increase in cost far more after they leave the farmers hands than the amount paid to the producer.

While the Secretary of Agriculture and others are considering how to get food prices in line with what consumers want, why not place a little emphasis on what the farmer must pay for what he buys. Prices charged the farmer find their way into the value of his crops through actual cost of production. At best the price situation is a two-way road, but we seem to hear only one way discussed—and from the supposed friends of the farmer, too.

Recent editorials in Oklahoma newspapers touch on this part of the problem, and I include three such editorials herewith. They are as follows:

[From the Oklahoma City Times]

FOOD PRICE ESCALATOR

Persons wondering why retail-food prices stay high while prices on the farm are declining may be interested in the average distances traveled by certain commodities that are handled by rail.

Onions moving by rail travel more than 1,000 miles to reach the consumer. Eggs travel 1,353 miles and grapes travel 2,597 miles on average.

Meanwhile railway wages and other operating costs are rising constantly, and these increases are reflected in freight rates. Thus in this respect alone a rising floor is being built under retail-food prices regardless of what happens to prices at the farm.

[From the Ada (Okla.) Evening News]

THE FARMER'S SIDE OF SUBSIDIES

Kenneth Kendrick, of Stratford, Tex., has done about the best job of defending the farmer's subsidies we have seen anywhere. He spoke before the National Association of Wheat Growers, at Wichita, Kans. In making comparison between the farmers and other segments of our population, he was not trying to array prejudice. He was pointing out a bit of history many of us have not thought of.

"For the past 150 years," he said, "American business and industry has enjoyed a relatively high protective tariff * * * from the earliest history of our country we have had immigration laws that limited the number of people coming to this country. This was necessary to keep from flooding our labor market.

"In more recent years we have passed a minimum wage law, and have given the laboring man the right to collective bargaining. Labor has consistently through the years demanded and received shorter working hours and higher pay.

"This was good, and as a result has continued to raise our standard of living until we today enjoy the highest standard of living of any nation in the world.

"Yet, during all the history of America, except the last 20 years, the farmer has had no protection.

"Someone has estimated that American farmers from 1800 to 1932 lost $50 billion because he was forced to produce in a protected market and sell in an unprotected market.

"To put it another way, every person in the United States has had to pay an average of only 45 cents per person per year to maintain price supports for the farmer—during the past 18 years.

"I say to you if they will reduce the tariffs a third, reduce the costs of living a third, reduce the costs of machinery a third—in short, if they will cut the subsidies of the United States Government one-third straight across the board—the farmer will go along and take his chances on survival along with the rest."

This gives the farmer's side. And we believe every reader will agree the farmer has argument to support some protection in an economy in which so many others have it in one form or another.

[From the Stillwater (Okla.) News-Press]

FARM PRICES

Seriousness of the Nation's farm program is beginning to dawn on more and more people. The other day Agricultural Secretary Benson said that 140 million nonfarm consumers are incensed at the cost of the farm program to buy and store surpluses. You wonder just how incensed the 140 million people would be if the farmers just raised enough food for their own tables. The answer is rather obvious that these voters would decide that some sort of rebellion was going on and would take steps to force them to raise more than enough food from their land or would even be tempted, perhaps, to want to follow the Communist route of collectivising the farms.

But the point does remain that prices for American farm products are higher than people elsewhere can produce them for. We reported the other day that Canadian wheat goes on the world market at a minimum of $1.50 as compared to American wheat price of about $2.25. It would seem that if we were to be competitive we are going to have to get out prices down to the level of other countries. And of course that means trouble because no one wants to take less for his products.

But the point does remain that if this Nation is to survive in a strong economic condition it must be in position to export. Now just how they're going to get prices down so that we are competitive on the world market is going to be a most interesting thing to observe. Here in Oklahoma livestock and livestock products grown by our State ranchers and farmers last year were valued at more than $320 million. This figure is about 13 percent larger than the annual income from oil and gas in the State for the same period. The wheat crop in 1953 brought Oklahoma farmers about $148 million. So Oklahoma does have a great State in agriculture and in the future of farming and ranching. Surely there must be some way for American know-how to once again get competitive on the world market.

The Reds' New Sunday Punch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Picture Reveals Reds' New Sunday Punch," written by David A. Anderton and published in Aviation Week of February 15, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PICTURES REVEAL REDS' NEW SUNDAY PUNCH

(By David A. Anderton)

First photographs of Russia's two new turboprop bombers confirm the rapid build-up of offensive airpower within the Soviet Union.

These exclusive Aviation Week pictures show service models of the latest Red intercontinental weapons:

Ilyushin 38, a four-turboprop, sweptback heavy bomber comparing in size to the Boeing B–52.

Tupolev 200, a six-turboprop, sweptback heavy bomber in a size and weight class with the Convair B–36 series.

More than 400 of these aircraft now are reported to be based in the northern provinces of the U. S. S. R. across polar ice-cap from the North American Continent. First reports of squadron strength in that area appeared in Aviation Week (Sept. 28, 1953, p. 10).

Reconnaissance versions have made routine observation flights at extreme altitude above the Alaskan and Canadian defense perimeter.

These two advanced turboprop designs are backed up by a fleet of about 700 aging but operational Tu–4's, Tupolev's adaptation of the Boeing B–29.

ILYUSHIN DESIGN

The smaller of the two bombers is credited to Sergei Ilyushin, designer of the Il–28 series of light bombers, the Il-12 twin-engine transport and the Il–18 four-engine transport.

Ilyushin's big bomber is powered by 4 turboprop engines rated at 4,850 horsepower each. Maximum speed is 480 miles per hour; service ceiling is in the neighborhood of 50,000 feet. Range approximates 3,000 miles without aerial refueling.

Wingspan of the Il–38 is 168 feet and overall length 132 feet. An eight-man crew is reported.

Designation of Il–38 now is believed correct; originally the bomber was called the Type 31 and, later, the Il–31.

TUPOLEV BOMBER

Andrei Tupolev long identified with bomber aircraft design in Russia, and adapter of Boeing's B–29, is the designer of the biggest Red aircraft so far.

With a span of 236 feet, and an overall length of about 200 feet, the Tu–200 can be compared directly only with the Convair B–36.

Maximum speed is reported to be about 465 miles per hour, and service ceiling is 50,000 feet.

Range of the Tu–200 is about 4,800 miles, again without aerial refueling.

Originally designated TuG–75 and believed to be a collaboration of Tupolev with Mikhail Gurevich, codesigner of the MiG–15, the six-engine bomber now is credited to Tupolev alone and designated Tu–200.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE

Easiest way to tell the Il–38 and the Tu–200 apart is to count the engines. Otherwise, the planes resemble each other.

But there are detail differences in the designs. Ilyushin incorporated more sweepback, a split rudder and a high-mounted horizontal tail without dihedral. Flaps are multisegment, stopped either side of the engine tail pipes.

Tupolev's bomber has only small sweepback, and considerable wing and tail dihedral.

Rudder and flaps are continuous surfaces, not segmented.

B–29 SYSTEM

The photographs reveal Red philosophy on bomber defense differs from current United States thinking.

Russian armament engineers appear to be still under the spell of the B–29 remote-control system used in World War II.

Despite the obvious drag disadvantage, the Russians retain a spherical-coverage system with several nonretractable turrets. This contrasts to United States practice, which is to rely on speed and defend the tail only. Even the B–36, last of the United States bombers with spherical coverage, uses retractible turrets to be extended only in combat.

The five remote turrets on the Tu–200 are positioned much like those on B–29's and Russian Tu–4's. From their size, they are assumed to mount paired 20-millimeter cannon.

VULNERABLE NOSE

The small conical appendage at the tail suggests the tail turret may be radar-directed, like the B–36 and B–47 turrets. But there appears to be a gunner's station forward of the turret on the Russian plane.

The photos do not reveal whether either bomber uses a nose turret. If they rely upon the upper and lower forward turrets, both aircraft should be vulnerable to nose attacks, although the bomber's speed will make such an assault difficult.

Effectiveness of the lower forward turret would appear to be handicapped by the large bombing-radar radome ahead of it, which blanks out a large area of forward coverage.

A New Mission for Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, on Saturday, February 6, 1954, at Washington, D. C., Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president of the Pennsylvania State University, was awarded the 1954 citation of the All-Pennsylvania College Alumni Association of Washington, D. C. He responded with an address entitled "A New Mission for Higher Education."

I ask unanimous consent that a summary of his remarks on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is privilege enough to be honored by a citation for service in the cause of education in a land where the freedom to inquire, to learn, and to know is cherished so dearly. But the privilege is enhanced all the more by the ideals and spirit of your organization. For you view education not in a narrow, provincial, or materialistic sense, but rather as the means of promoting (in the language of your Constitution) "the freedom, dignity, and integrity of the individual * * * a government of laws and not of men * * * an enlightened public opinion [and an understanding of] the principles and precepts underlying our American system and the social and economic bases of American life." That is the long view, the proper and enduring view, of education in a democratic society.

Most Americans are keenly aware of the worldwide responsibilities facing their country. Few among us would dispute the fact that the United States must either continue to lead the free nations toward the goal of peace with justice or risk the subversion of freedom everywhere by the forces of totalitarianism.

There is today a growing awareness of the fact that communism poses a total threat to free institutions—a threat that challenges the democracies on four fronts: the military, the economic, the political, and the moral. The United States and its allies are engaged in meeting the Communist threat on all fronts, the nonmilitary as well as the military.

In this global conflict, American higher education has a vital and continuing mission. I should like to discuss three phases of that mission that relate particularly to America's international leadership and to the nonmilitary, ideological fronts in the struggle between freedom and Communism.

First, our colleges and universities today face the task of helping their students think in global, as well as in national and local terms. This means that all college and university students, regardless of their vocational interests, must be given an opportunity to study the social, economic, and political problems of the world in which they live and to come to grips with the basic facts of modern international life. From his study of world affairs, each student can better develop his sense of the international community and of the responsibilities he must shoulder as an adult citizen.

Secondly, our colleges and universities need to assist their students in developing an understandng of the fundamental principles of a democratic society. Whatever a student's field of specialization might be, it is essential that he comprehend the moral and spiritual values that form the heart of the free system; without such comprehension he cannot expect to function effectively either in his personal, vocational, or civic life. If we, as a people, are to display those qualities of wisdom, maturity, courage, patience, and faith that are the ingredients of leadership, we must know what we believe in and what we are willing to defend.

Thirdly, our colleges and universities need to expand those portions of their educational programs that are designed to equip young men and women for service and study in other countries—either as representatives of private industry, or as exchange students or teachers, or as members of American technical assistance missions. Thousands of graduates from this country's institutions of higher education go abroad each year. I met and visited with many of them, including a great number from Pennsylvania, during my recent trip to Latin America.

These graduates are, in effect, American ambassadors without portfolio. The way they conduct themselves, the impressions they make, the attitudes they display—these contribute in no small measure to the overall image of this country that takes shape in the minds of people in other lands. If the graduates of our colleges and universities show themselves capable of understanding the cultures of other countries, and of sympathizing with the needs and hopes of other peoples, then the interests of America are served and our international leadership is strengthened.

There is another important aspect to the role our colleges and universities play in the international-exchange programs. Each year students and teachers from all over the free world come to the United States to study not only engineering or agriculture or science, but also (and more importantly) the way America lives. They visit us in our homes; they watch our political system at work at all levels of government; they observe the vigor of our economy and the marvels of our mass-production system; they see us as we really are—not as the Communist propagandists say we are. Our colleges and universities help our friends from abroad develop a clearer understanding of America—and that understanding pays great dividends when those people return home to tell their countrymen what they learned about us and our political and economic system.

During the past several years, most United States colleges and universities have come to realize the significance of their mission with respect to the international scene. Some institutions have made notable progress toward the fulfillment of that mission, and in Pennsylvania, I am happy to report, there is a deep-felt consciousness among teachers and educational administrators of their job in strengthening America's economic, political, and moral leadership. In the struggle for the minds of men in which our generation is engaged, our colleges and universities are on the front lines. As they meet the ideological thrust of communism by preparing young men and women for the responsibilities of citizenship in a free society, so will the whole community of free nations be enriched and solidified in the years of peril that lie ahead.

Smog Over Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein the following editorial which appeared in the Denver Post, Denver, Colo. on Thursday, February 11, 1954:

SMOG OVER WASHINGTON

"Question. What is the latest figure on the number of security risks that have been fired or allowed to resign since the Eisenhower administration came in?

"Answer. Persons employed by the State Department whose services have been terminated and on whom at the time of their termination there existed some unresolved security question, number around 300.

"Question. What period does this cover?

"Answer. The calendar year 1953.

"Question. Could you break that down in any way at all—the proportions?

"Answer. I prefer not to break it down on the theory that we are not pursuing these people after they leave the job. As soon as you start breaking the figure down, you run the danger of defining it so narrowly that somebody identifies an individual."

The above dialogue is an extract from an interview (published in U. S. News & World Report) with R. W. Scott McLeod, security chief of the State Department. It is a fine example of something new, deplorable, dangerous and downright insidious that is being introduced into the philosophy of American Government. It is the smear by pussyfooting technique.

The administration claim that it has terminated the services of 2,200 Government employees in the past year under the standards established for the new employee security program is so vague that it casts damaging aspersions on the character of everyone who worked for the Government until some time in 1953, and then left its service for any reason whatever. It might even include President Eisenhower's own former Secretary of Labor, Martin Durkin.

In the State Department, McLeod prefers not to break down his security risk figures. Others in the administration have said they could not break down such figures to indicate how many actual subversives have been booted out. Neither excuse is valid.

Harry Truman has pointed out that if the number of security risks can't be broken down it shouldn't have been put together

in the first place. As a matter of fact, if it can't be broken down, it couldn't have been put together in the first place. The whole, as Euclid or somebody once observed, is equal to the sum of its parts.

Careless of justice, McLeod would let the public assume, if it cares to do so, that these 300 former State Department employees were believed to be Communists. Yet that is unlikely. Why can't McLeod say how many of them were actually charged on loyalty grounds? And how many were given hearings and found suspect? How many were given hearings and cleared? How many resigned without charges having been brought against them, without knowing of the unresolved security question about them? And how many resigned or were fired for security reasons that had nothing whatever to do with loyalty?

The same breakdown is in the public interest in the cases of the whole batch of 2,200 ex-employees of the Government. It is also in the administration's own best interest. For without such a breakdown, considerable credence must be given to the opposition's contention that those 2,200 separations were effected under regular civil service procedure and had nothing to do with the effort to rid the Government of security risks.

In the present atmosphere, nobody will dare resign a post in the State Department or any other department to take a better job outside the Government without serious thought of the unfavorable light his resignation will draw. What is more serious, many an able and loyal citizen will avoid entering into Government service. Neither the administration nor the country is strengthened in such a cloudy atmosphere of doubts and suspicion.

Problems of Children of Migratory Laborers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter signed by Elizabeth S. Magee, general secretary, National Consumers League, which appeared in the New York Times on January 5, 1954, and which refers to the problems of the children of migratory laborers in our country.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TO PROTECT CHILD MIGRANTS—FEDERAL REGULATION TO REMEDY FARM WORKERS' CONDITIONS ASKED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It is welcome news reported in the Times that a program for the children of migratory workers who move with the crops along the Atlantic seaboard is being launched jointly by the Federal Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, and the Public Health Service in cooperation with State and private volunteer agencies.

It is doubtful whether any group of American children is as disadvantaged in every way as are these children. Their educational plight was thus described in the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor in 1951:

"Hundreds of thousands of the children of migrant workers are today getting little or no education, and they face the prospect of being slightly, if any, better able to improve their earning power and to raise their level of living than have their parents before them. * * * The education of the children of migratory farmworkers is one of the most urgent and most essential of the many steps which the Nation can and should take to improve the lot of migrants who have for so long been deprived of what the rest of us take for granted."

LACK OF HEALTH FACILITIES

The health situation among migrant workers, both for children and adults, is deplorable. Crowded housing, poor sanitary provisions, lack of access to health facilities are the rule rather than the exception, in spite of improvements which have been made in certain centers. The children are too frequently neglected, either working for long hours in the fields with their parents or left with little or no supervision at the camps. Child-care centers, some under public, and others under private auspices, have been established in a number of communities, but are still "too few and far between."

The migratory problem has many facets. Fundamentally it is a labor problem; yet migrant workers in agriculture are denied the help of laws which other workers enjoy, such as minimum wage, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and protection of the right to organize.

The Government can and should go much further in its cooperative planning than this first commendable step. It should recognize its continuing responsibility toward this group, whose work is essential to the economy. A proposal is now before the Congress embodied in a bill sponsored jointly by Senators HUMPHREY, IVES, MURRAY, DOUGLAS, and KENNEDY (S. 1567), the purpose of which is to create a permanent Federal Committee on Migratory Labor.

This committee would be composed of representatives of Federal departments and agencies which have responsibility toward migratory workers, plus three nongovernmental members, appointed by the President. The bill would coordinate the work of departments and agencies, and also provide liaison with State governments, in grappling with the problems which cut across State lines.

FEDERAL REGULATION

As the report of the Senate Labor Committee recommending an identical bill for passage in 1952 pointed out, there have been many commissions and investigations in recent years concerned with migrants, but no substantive Federal measures, with the exception of child labor, have been enacted to deal with the problem. These commissions and committees have been making practically the same findings for 15 years, and have been making the same recommendations for action: Extension of labor laws to agricultural workers, control of labor contractors, improved housing and health facilities, with no results.

The permanent Federal committee could furnish the machinery for continuous and cooperative attention to the migrant situation, for watching new developments, and recommending action to the administration and to the Congress.

The Humphrey-Ives bill (S. 1567) is now in the Labor Committee of the Senate; it should be recommended for passage and adopted speedily.

ELIZABETH S. MAGEE,
General Secretary, National Consumers League.
CLEVELAND, OHIO, *December 30, 1953.*

Politics in Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. PASTORE
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Politics and Foreign Service" that appeared in the Washington Post on Sunday, February 14, 1954. As the Foreign Service is one of the most important branches of our Government, I commend this article to my colleagues in the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The administration really does not need a special committee to tell it why the Foreign Service is dispirited and demoralized. Every competent observer knows that the chief reason is that the Foreign Service has become a political football. Extremist politicians have succeeded in creating doubts in the public mind about the loyalty and morals of Foreign Service officers, and the administration has not always resisted these attacks as it should. On the contrary, it sought to appease the politicians who would destroy the Service by surrendering the key administrative post in the State Department to a protege of the attackers. Now that protege, who should be presiding over a professional, nonpartisan group, is out making partisan orations.

The future of the Foreign Service depends upon whether the administration really wants a first-class organization of foreign affairs experts who are not subject to party discipline. It depends upon whether Congress will support a career service in the face of unfair and sinister attacks from Members of Congress themselves. Senator GREEN was correct the other day when he said that the blame for the weakened state of the Foreign Service must be shared jointly by the administration and Congress. "Justly or unjustly," Senator GREEN said after a trip to South America, "the Foreign Service feels that the administration has made too many political appointments, has selected too few career men as Ambassadors, and has been too slow in promotions in the lower ranks of the Service." Congress, he said, frequently has been "too glib in its criticisms of the Foreign Service and has not always been wise in its appropriations."

The Senator could have gone much further in his criticism of the administration and Congress. How can a professional group be maintained in the face of smears against virtually all the experts on China and when the Department itself acquiesces in the attacks on its experts? How can there be a proper development of the Service when many men who served under Democratic administrations, even though they may have been appointed during Republican administrations, are regarded with suspicion? How can there be esprit de corps when the Department insists upon extensive screenings of all persons, including the Secretary of State and other members of the National Security Council, invited to lecture at the Foreign Service Institute? Why would men be encouraged to pursue a career in the Foreign Service when they know they may be subjected to exhausting and needless cross-examinations with respect to their loyalty

and ability? Who would want to go through the endless and humiliating attacks that some men have been subjected to because they have been singled out for attack by a Senator seeking political advantage?

Last month 5 distinguished and respected men who long have served their country and fought for a professional Foreign Service said in a letter to the New York Times:

"Recently the Foreign Service has been subjected to a series of attacks from outside sources which have questioned the loyalty and moral standards of its members. With rare exceptions the justification for these attacks has been so flimsy as to have no standing in a court of law or in the mind of any individual capable of differentiating repeated accusation from even a reasonable presumption of guilt. Nevertheless these attacks have had sinister results. * * * A premium has been put upon reporting and upon recommendations which are ambiguously stated or so cautiously set forth as to be deceiving."

The signers of that letter—Norman Armour, Robert Woods Bliss, Joseph C. Grew, William Phillips, and G. Howland Shaw—could tell the administration in 5 minutes what ought to be done to strengthen a service that is indispensable to the safety of the country. The assault on the Foreign Service was begun because the attackers thought it would be helpful in defeating the past administration. But the attack has not stopped with the change of government. It has continued in the spirit of the anti-intellectualism being fostered by blind and ruthless men with no concept of America's role in the 20th century.

United States Drops to Sixth in Building Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the February 14, 1954, issue of the New York Times, which strikes a further note of alarm with regard to the present precarious situation of our shipbuilding industry.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES DROPS TO SIXTH IN BUILDING SHIPS—1953 RATE OF DECLINE THREE TIMES FASTER THAN IT IS IN REMAINDER OF THE WORLD

The rate of shipbuilding in the United States last year dropped three times faster than it did in the rest of the world, the Shipbuilders Council of America has reported. As a result the United States dropped from fourth to sixth place in global standings.

Of world shipbuilding under construction or on order on January 1 the council noted only 48 vessels of 686,653 gross tons were on the order books of American yards, as compared with 92 vessels of 1,309,980 gross tons a year ago. The net decline was 47 percent.

By contrast, the council said, worldwide shipbuilding totals showed only a 16.5 percent drop, from 1,740 vessels of 15,629,780 tons on January 1, 1953, to 1,423 ships aggregating 13,052,574 tons at the beginning of this year.

Tonnage to be completed in this country, the report stated, consisted of 18 cargo ships of 165,685 tons and 30 tankers of 520,950 tons. No passenger ships or combination passenger-cargo vessels were built in this country.

However, other shipbuilding nations had 72 passenger vessels of 1,000 gross tons or more under construction, in addition to 738 cargo vessels and 565 tankers.

Great Britain continued to lead the world with a total of 5,331,375 tons of shipping on the ways or planned, or 40.8 percent of global construction. This future fleet will be composed of 559 units, among them 31 passenger ships.

Germany again held second place with 169 vessels of 1,421,361 gross tons. She was followed closely by Sweden, whose yards will complete 145 ships with an aggregate of 1,387,002 tons. The Netherlands, the only other nation to build more than 1 million tons, ranked fourth with 139 craft and 1,128,459 tons. The Netherlands had been in fifth place a year ago.

France, in fifth place, up a notch from January 1, 1953, held orders for 68 vessels, measuring 757,949 tons.

The National Commander of the American Legion Writes to the Editors of Two Denver Newspapers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter written by the national commander of the American Legion, Arthur J. Connell, to the editors of the Denver Post and the Rocky Mountain News:

When I was elected national commander of the American Legion, an individual with experience told me I'd be a dead duck if I ever lost my sense of humor. The nearest I have come to it during my nearly 6 months in office was during the last couple of days of January when Denver newspapers opened their columns to a series of personal attacks on me. It was the first time in my life that my personal integrity had ever been questioned and it was a new and unpleasant experience.

On January 28, 1954, while appearing before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, I placed in the record certain information concerning a code of cooperation which had been adopted April 16, 1948, by the Colorado Medical Society, the Colorado Hospital Association, the Colorado Press Association, and the radio-broadcasting industry of Colorado.

My statements before the committee were amplified in a news release from national headquarters of the American Legion and later carried over press association wires. I stated at the time—and I have had no reason to change my mind since—that this code is in reality a contract which has had the practical effect of suppressing presentation to the public of many facts in the controversy over medical care for America's 21 million ex-service men and women.

The two Denver newspapers, the Rocky Mountain News—a member of the Scripps-Howard chain—and the Denver Post, long one of the West's largest newspapers, were quick to retaliate with denials in the news columns and on the editorial page. Personal attacks on me were interpolated in the items. I quote a few excerpts:

Jack Foster, editor, Rocky Mountain News: "Of course there is no such contract at all. * * *"

Dr. Claude D. Bonham, president, Colorado State Medical Society (in both papers): "Mr. Connell is totally misinformed. He hasn't really taken the trouble to investigate. * * *"

Dr. John S. Bouslog, of the Colorado State Medical Society: "Connell is stretching the truth about as far as it can be stretched. * * *"

Denver Post news story: "* * * An off-the-cuff charge."

Ed Dooley, managing editor, Denver Post: "The purpose of the code is just the opposite of suppression. * * *"

Denver Post editorial: "* * * Arthur J. Connell has taken a wild swing at the Denver press."

Associate Editor Robert L. Chase, Rocky Mountain News: "I hope the guy is mistaken instead of just being a liar. * * *"

In view of the resulting false impressions, I believe it necessary for me to review for veterans of Colorado the dangers to a free press and to the rights of veterans everywhere resulting from this 1948 Code of Cooperation.

Let me first tell the people of Colorado how the so-called code was established. Back in March and April of 1948 the success of a group of GI doctors who had established a medical center in Colorado Springs, largely through assistance under the GI bill, had attracted the attention of the Veterans' Administration Public Information Service in Denver. The story of their clinic was written up and the Denver Post decided to publish it. The day before it was to be printed an official of a county medical association warned the doctors involved that the publication of the story would result in his preferring charges of violation of the code of ethics.

Several conferences were held and Mr. Alexis McKinney, who was then managing editor of the Denver Post, was outspoken in his determination to print the story and a statement.

A meeting was arranged with Mr. Harvey Sethman, of the Colorado Medical Society, and a compromise was arrived at by the interested parties by which the doctor's story was published in the Denver Post.

Mr. Sethman had, however, several times during the meetings stressed the need of the medical society and the newspapers establishing some working agreement to deal with future problems. So out of an attempted suppression of a GI's success story the code of cooperation was conceived.

I'm sure Mr. McKinney and Sethman will agree on the truth of the above.

Let's take up point 2. The medical society and the papers call this document a code. Every lawyer across the country I have shown it to says it is a contract.

The code is in two parts. Part I, adopted April 16, 1948, contains a preface, as follows:

"CODE OF COOPERATION

"(As adopted April 16, 1948, by representatives of the press, radio, hospitals, and medical profession of Colorado under the sponsorship of the Colorado State Medical Society and subsequently ratified by the constituted authority of that society, the Colorado Hospital Association, the Colorado Press Association, and the radio broadcasting industry of Colorado.)"

Part II is entitled "Supplement to the Code of Cooperation, December 1, 1952." This latter section deals with both radio and television while the first part concerns radio and the press.

Part I sets up the machinery for providing press and radio with accurate news regarding accident victims, important persons in hospitals, and the like. To that extent the code, of course, has merit. However, one paragraph states in part:

"Officers, committee chairmen, or designated spokesmen of the Colorado State Medical Society may be quoted by name for purposes of authenticating information given. A list of current spokesmen of the State Medical Society shall be supplied to representatives of the press and radio and shall be kept up to date. * * *"

And further down, under "responsibilities of the press and radio" there appears:

"On all matters of health or medical news, representatives of the press and radio shall make all reasonable efforts to obtain authentic information from qualified sources indicated above before proceeding to publication or broadcast."

To my mind and to the mind of responsible citizens of Colorado who have spoken to me on this matter, this is censorship, pure and simple. First, the code sets up a committee of the State Medical Society for authentication of medical news, then binds press and radio to "obtain authentic information from qualified sources indicated above * * *" and the only qualified source indicated above is a committee of the medical society. That is censorship.

This arrangement clearly implies that all news reports on medical matters must be cleared with the Colorado State Medical Society, and certainly conveys the understanding that only individuals authorized by the State society may express themselves on such subjects.

Part II, the supplement adopted December 1, 1952, contains two paragraphs which carry this censorship much farther where radio and television are concerned. They read:

No. 5. "As a general policy, the State (medical) society will not approve participation of physicians in TV (and radio) controversial political discussions or in debate on controversial issues (such as socialized medicine) unless specifically cleared.

No. 6. "Physicians who may be invited to discuss matters which involve State society policy shall first obtain clearance for said appearance and also for what they plan to say. Such occasions are comparatively rare, but would involve such policy and professional matters as State and National legislation, support of voluntary health-insurance programs, nurses' education, use of new drugs, etc."

That is quoted from the code, yet on January 29, when I stated that doctors may not discuss controversial subjects such as socialized medicine over the air unless specifically cleared, the Rocky Mountain News unequivocally stated in a news story that the code contains no such provisions.

Then the Rocky Mountain News continued:

"Topics on which he (Connell) said clearance would be necessary are listed as policy and professional matters such as State and National legislation, support of voluntary health-insurance programs, nurses' education, use of new drugs, etc."

"The code contains none of the words quoted by Connell and does not mention such matters."

As you will note, the words I used were lifted in their entirety from paragraph 6 of the supplement to the code of cooperation which was made a part of that code. It is difficult to believe that the news would countenance such deliberate misrepresentations.

The code is certainly an agreement between the various groups referred to, and I understand bears the signatures of the interested parties. I have found general agreement that it is a contract regardless of what fancy name it is called.

A third point I would like to discuss is the accusation that I misinterpreted the code. Well, here's what newspaper editors, fellow professionals, say about it.

A similar code, identical in all essential language, was submitted on February 1, 1954, to the New York State Society of Newspaper Editors by the medical society of that State. The editors criticized it as (New York Times, February 1954): "A libel against every decent newspaper in the State."

Oxie W. Reichler, editor of the Yonkers Herald-Statesman, said: "I don't object to the medical profession having a code for its own conduct, but why should we be a party to engineering something that gags our doctor friends in their relationship with reporters?" He also said: "Certain sections of the proposed code appeared to be written by people familiar with the methods of Pravda and Izvestia" (leading Russian newspapers).

Sam H. Day, managing editor of the New York Journal-American, wrote an editorial February 6, 1954, entitled: "Codes Mean Censorship—We Want None of It." In it he said: "* * * most editors were satisfied with their own code, and suggested that the doctors put their own house in order, and let us take care of ours." He further stated: "Remember that the newspapers' rightful job is to keep you informed. With do-gooders and busybodies continually telling us what we should offer you to read, and what we should not let you read, this simple duty is becoming more difficult every year."

May I repeat, the above opinions are not Art Connell's but those of respected editors.

Dr. Charles W. Mayo, one of the leading doctors in the country, gave further emphasis to the increasing tendency of medical association to exercise rigid control over their members when he criticized the American Medical Association house of delegates for attempting to line up doctors for a controversial bill, saying the action "has the effect of abrogating the right of individuals to make up their own mind."

My observations around the country lead me to believe that the majority of the Nation's doctors support the American Legion's defense of hospitalization for the indigent and sick veteran.

Let me close by saying that a careful reading of my testimony before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the Congress of the United States on January 28, 1954, will fail to reveal any "wild swing at the Denver Press." I placed the blame solely on the existence of the contract. The transcript of that hearing will also prove interesting to the Denver papers because it reveals how leading members of the congressional committee feel about the lack of documentation of the American Medical Association's charges of abuses of the hospitalization regulations.

I have a serious responsibility to the veterans of this country. Their cause is dear to my heart, and I wouldn't injure it by a false or wild statement under any circumstances. My case is documented, and I am sure the fine people of Colorado will make up their own minds as to who is telling the truth in this controversy.

FEBRUARY 10, 1954.

A Last Frontier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Ann Hurd, entitled "A Last Frontier," published in the Public Power Bulletin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A LAST FRONTIER

(By Ann Hurd)

High in the Canadian Rockies, on the rooftree of the North American continent, the vast Columbia icefield, known as the Mother or Rivers, feeds its perpetual waters to three oceans.

Southward and west, Pacific bound, gaining momentum as it goes—roars a mighty stream, the turbulent Columbia * * * 1200 miles of swirling, angry torrent; carrying upon its breast the tonnage of the seven seas, lighting homes, powering industry, feeding the thirst-parched lips of a vast agricultural empire.

The Columbia River—lifeblood of the Pacific Northwest.

Through its rock-hewn channel flows a wall of water twice that of the centuries-old Nile. Between its banks flows, untapped, 40 percent of America's potential hydroelectric power. Dependent upon it are the agricultural, timber, and industrial capacities of almost one-tenth of the Nation's land area—a region rich in resources and fortified beyond imagination with the lusty potential of production.

From time immemorial the flow of water has marked the course of civilization. In the Pacific Northwest, man's dependence on water has determined his destiny. The history of this region is the history of the Columbia, Snake River system. The Columbia and its vast system of tributary streams served human life so bountifully that the Indians worshipped it as a God. The first explorers carried back to the East, a tale of a mighty river that emptied into the setting sun. And when the first pioneers came to the Northwest they found a paradise on earth along the river's banks. In the 1930's over 400,000 persons poured into the Columbia Valley, their eyes turned hungrily toward the water-nurtured lands of the Pacific Northwest, and with them they brought the economic and social problems of a worried nation. There were mouths to feed, jobs to be created, a vast empire of arid wastelands to be made productive—and once again, man turned with hope to his river.

The first big step was to harness the angry torrents and weld their energy into usefulness. In 1933 construction was started on two huge multipurpose dams—Bonneville and Grand Coulee. Their job was to provide electric power, navigation, and irrigation. The Federal Government did what no other agency could do, when with wise insight into the Northwest's problem she lent her strength to prepare for prosperity.

The Columbia, with utilized energy at once became the mightly giant of World War II. Five hundred million pounds of aluminum per year, ships for victory, atomic energy, sawmills, factories, and military establishments. The energy locked behind its dams showed that God's gift to the Northwest would never be limited to a small area, but would benefit the entire Nation.

Is it possible there are still countless volts of energy locked within our rivers' depth? Is it conceivable this mighty river of ours can be developed still further until it is totally and completely a tool of mankind?

The answer lies in a series of comprehensive reports on the development of this region's water resources began by Government engineers in 1927 when they embarked on extensive surveys and studies of the Columbia.

The comprehensive reports are a blueprint for the future. Under the program they outline, we can—in years to come—make available for mankind the full benefits of a richly endowed area that remains, as yet, largely undeveloped.

Navigation, electric power, irrigation, reclamation, flood control—the benefits do not even stop here. In fisheries, in recreation, in greater tax benefits, the river be-

comes a giant tool in the hands of our Nation.

The tempo of future progress, however, depends upon the maintenance of balance between the various facets of regional economy. No phase of the development program, if the over-all welfare of the region is to be served, can be undertaken as a separate or independent project or developed indiscriminately at the expense of other aspects of the program. Only an integrated river development program can safeguard against the useless, wasteful desecration of our river. Let us protect ourselves and our resources so that no man will reap their harvest for selfish interests, for small plans, and prevent full development of the Columbia.

We build upon a foundation that is God-given, let us build a structure that will reach to the height and breadth of our country, and in so doing we will use it as God meant it to be used, for the prosperity of all men, not discriminating between the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong. No petty political issue must ever tarnish the golden symbol it stands for, no selfish partisan plan must ever interfere with its construction. The ceaseless kilowatts that light our farms and cities and power our industries, the great dams that will lift our commerce up the stairways of the river, the massive gates that will hold back the raging flood waters—these are the rich benefits of a river—harnessed to the needs of man.

Let us accept the challenge heard in the roar of the river, let us carry forward with this project, and in so doing we shall keep faith with the pioneers that have preceded us. We shall turn the waters of the Columbia into liquid gold—we shall open this last frontier.

A Red Beachhead in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "A Red Beachhead in Latin America," which is an able discussion of an important subject, published in the March 1954 issue of the Democratic Digest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A RED BEACHHEAD IN LATIN AMERICA

"President Eisenhower," said the New York Times, "seems to us to have been ill-advised in his state of the Union message not to have given more space to Latin America, and it would have been politic to have phrased what he did say more carefully."

The Times does not stand alone in its conviction that a two-sentence call for "solid friendship" with our American neighbors is not enough. Senator J. ALLEN FREAR, Jr., Democrat, of Delaware, concluded after a recent tour south of the border that the United States should "take effective measures to combat the rise of communism in Latin America and the West Indies." The Senator urged that steps be taken "before this Nation finds a ring of Soviet outposts entrenched inside the Western Hemisphere."

Behind these protests lies concern that the government of one of the Central American States—Guatemala—is effectively controlled by Communists. Guatemala is only 3 flying hours from the United States and only 2 hours from the Panama Canal. Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has called it "a serious beachhead for international communism in this hemisphere."

Oddly enough the Communists in this Central American country are only a minority of the coalition supporting a non-Communist President. But their threat to the United States is nonetheless real, for the energetic and well-organized minority actually dominates the Government.

John M. Cabot, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, has described the Guatemalan Government as a "regime which is openly playing the Communist game." This view is shared by such diverse observers as the New York Times, Spruille Braden, Assistant Secretary of State during the Truman administration, and Life magazine, which noted that the Guatemalan Congress recently ordained a moment of silent grief for Stalin. The National Planning Association, a nonprofit research organization, expressed the same conclusion in its authoritative study, Communism versus Progress in Guatemala, published in December.

Surprisingly enough, even the most concerned observers are agreed that there is little popular support for Guatemala's Communist Party. Time magazine recently set the number of card-carrying Communists in the country at 536, while the National Planning Association estimated party members and fellow travelers to be no more than 2,000 to 2,500.

How this group has come to dominate a country of 2,878,000 people is an interesting study of Russian penetration of our hemisphere. The Detroit News has analyzed the problem in capsule form: "The people, barring a lucky few, are illiterate and poverty stricken. * * * They blame poverty on Yankee imperialism, which for the Communists is a setup."

New York Times correspondent Sydney Gruson has explained it this way:

"The Communists have taken over the labor unions, and what is more important during this period of land reform the Campesina (farmers) Federation. They have a major voice in the Government-sponsored newspapers and in the dissemination of radio news. They control the major committees of Congress and their sympathizers appear to boss the two major nonCommunist Government parties."

The Communists have gained this power through dominating the left-wing coalition which has run the Government since 1944. At that time popular discontent led to the downfall of long time dictator Jorge Ubico. Since then, the coalition has put two presidents in office. The present one, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, was elected in 1951.

Desire for reform, intense nationalism, and a traditional hatred of Yankee imperialism have bound the coalition together and obscured the Communist motives from the non-Communist majority.

The Communists' motive is, of course, the complete elimination of all opposition, but their short-run strategy is to drive all foreign influence out of the country and build up their own popular following. They have done this by ardently backing President Arbenz's land-reform program and manipulating it in such a way that they have gained credit for land redistribution in the eyes of Guatemala's poor.

Over 450,000 acres of land, most of it from the American-owned United Fruit Co., have been turned over to a few of the 86 percent of Guatemala's citizens who are landless. Reds have managed to dominate the local agricultural boards which pass out the land, and 1 of the 4 Communist members of the 56-man legislature has invariably attended the ceremonies.

Communists also dominate the labor unions which they have used to injure the American-owned power and railroad companies with unauthorized wildcat strikes and unrealistic wage demands.

These moves against Yankee-owned companies have wide popular support. Past excesses have stirred deep resentments, even though wages and working conditions at foreign-owned companies have traditionally been better than those of local concerns. The Communists have played on this feeling to keep out developmental capital from the American Government and from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the so-called World Bank).

The consequence of these policies is already becoming evident. The Government's traditionally strong fiscal position has been replaced by a sizable debt. Private capital has left the country; the tourist trade has declined and large-scale agriculture is falling off. This last is important since large-scale farming is essential to the successful production of coffee and bananas, the sources of Guatemala's foreign exchange.

There has been no indication that President Arbenz is concerned by this deterioration. He appears to be completely absorbed by his program of land reform and elimination of foreign monopolies.

Life magazine has reported that "Arbenz, who is no Communist himself, looks upon the Reds as Guatemalans first and Reds second. He says he is using them; the evidence is at least as ample that they are using him."

This has come about because beyond the agrarian law and a few social reforms, the non-Communists have no realistic program on domestic issues or on foreign policy. Thus a few Communists in key positions wield an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

Terroristic Communist methods have intimidated all opposition groups. Plantation owners fear confiscation of their lands, from which there is no appeal. Merchants fear heavy fines, which anti-Communists among them were forced to pay several years ago. The church is disturbed over the danger that it might be expelled for meddling in politics.

Most important of all, the anti-Communists have no positive program, so that the rank and file are convinced that a vote for the anti-Communists is a vote for the old regime, and will spell the end of their hopes for land of their own.

The National Planning Association and the World Bank have both suggested positive programs for Guatemala. The country is potentially rich enough to provide a satisfactory living standard for all its population, if unopened areas, transport, and power are developed. But development requires capital, and Communist influence has scared it away.

As recently as December there was no prospect that this would change. The New York Times predicted greater Communist domination, based on "the political opposition's complete collapse." December municipal elections seemed to bear this out. Communists openly ran candidates in 4 towns and won in 3 of them.

But in January the first hopeful development in several years occurred when workers in one of the country's largest shoe factories defied the Communist-led Confederation of Labor, which controls Guatemala's unionized workers. These workers ousted the Communist leaders from their local. The independent newspaper, Prensa Libre, expressed the editorial hope that the action would start a labor rebellion against Communist leadership. But even if this incident touches off other resistance, there will be a long way to go before Communist control of Guatemala is broken.

Meantime, as long as Communism is an important factor in this Central American

country, the United States must concern itself with what steps should be taken for the protection of our own backyard.

Acting unilaterally, the United States has already cut back aid and has plainly indicated its disapproval. Assistant Secretary of State Cabot said last fall that our relations with the Guatemalan Government are "not those which we would like to have." But he has carefully refrained from suggesting the turn-of-the-century technique of sending in the Marines. "The international conspiracy to destroy free government," said Mr. Cabot, "is essentially a matter of inter-American rather than unilateral concern."

Action by the Organization of American States is one possibility which has been discussed behind the scenes. The Rio Treaty of 1947 provides for effective reciprocal assistance in the event of foreign aggression against any American state, including aggression which is not an armed attack.

But the New York Times has reported that the tolerant attitude of Guatemala toward Communists is a common one in Latin America. Preliminary soundings by our Government on possible inter-American action against Guatemala have been discouraging.

"It is far easier," explains the Times, "for Latin America to become disturbed over 'Yankee interference' than over the charges of communism in the Western Hemisphere. Many Latin American leaders believe that Latin American opinion would be outraged by an attempt to condemn Guatemala at the inter-American conference" in Venezuela in March.

Milton Eisenhower, reporting on his 36-day tour of South America, recommended in effect that private enterprise should do the job of improving our inter-American relations. However, Assistant Secretary Cabot is convinced that more than private enterprise is needed. Speaking recently to the University of Florida Caribbean Conference, he called in addition for trade expansion through stabilizing tariffs; United States Government loans for development; direct United States grants to mutually beneficial projects such as the Inter-American highway; dissemination of know-how through scholarship and trainee grants, American libraries, and point 4 technical assistance work.

Secretary Cabot's program dovetails with the Detroit News' analysis of Guatemala's problem. "The biggest lesson," said this newspaper, "is that these situations are best attended to before they happen. We have got to concern ourelves with improving the lot of the Latin American masses, though admittedly • • • this is easier said than done."

Depravity for Children—10 Cents a Copy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PURTELL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PURTELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Depravity for Children—10 Cents a Copy," published in the Hartford Courant on February 14, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPRAVITY FOR CHILDREN—10 CENTS A COPY

(By Irving M. Kravsow)

Ten cents at your neighborhood drugstore or newsstand will buy your child a short course in murder, mayhem, robbery, rape, cannibalism, carnage, sex, sadism, and worse.

These are only a sample of the types of crimes and practices explained in detail with pictures in a variety of comic books being bought and read daily by countless children.

In this country, 65 million comic books are printed each month.

Some of the pictures and texts are so suggestive that it isn't possible to quote them in a family newspaper. Others are just soaked in gore, with the characters mouthing phrases which would earn any youngster a spanking if uttered in the house.

T. E. Murphy, in his column, Of Many Things, in the Courant, was shocked to find his own youngsters reading a few of these comic books, and asked the question, "Do you know what your children are reading?"

To find out, a reporter went to a section of the city where juvenile delinquents, traveling singly and in gangs, have troubled the area in recent years.

With a pocketful of dimes, he visited most of the drugstores in the area to examine the types of comic books sold.

Walking into each drugstore, he asked the same question, "Do you have any comic books for children?"

"Indeed we do," was the answer every time, and the druggists indicated either racks displaying the books or brought out stacks of the comic books from under the counter.

TALES OF VIOLENCE

The stores that kept the books under the counter weren't doing it because they felt the material in the books was unsuitable for children.

Several druggists told the reporter they kept the books under the counter because they didn't want the youngsters coming into the store, reading the books, then not buying them.

All the books had in common a penchant for violent death in every form imaginable. Many of the books dwelled in detail on various forms of insanity and stressed sadism.

Others were devoted to cannibalism with monsters in human form feasting on human bodies, usually the bodies of women dressed in such a way as to put the creators of historical fiction book covers to shame.

One magazine published by Farrell Comics, has for its cover a picture of a rotting corpse evading the clutching hand of a skeleton.

Inside is a story called Bloody Mary. It opens with a picture of a father reading his newspaper in an easy chair while his daughter, Bloody Mary, a child of about six, creeps up behind him with her jump robe fashioned into a noose. She apparently didn't succeed in strangling her father because the next panel shows her stealing cookies from a high shelf, dropping the jar, and getting a spanking from her mother.

Mary's mother then lies down on a couch to take a nap and little Mary says to herself, "Go ahead, nap, you old hag. So you're tired, are you?"

HOW TO KILL

With that the youngster gets her trusty jump rope and strangles her mother with it, yelling all the time that she is killing the old woman, "Close your eyes. It's sleepy time."

When her father returns home he finds Mary calmly reading Mother Goose while her mother's body is in the next room. When police come Mary tells them her father killed her mother, then testifies in court, sending her father to the gallows. After showing a picture of the father hanging from the gallows it shows the child at an orphanage talking to a psychiatrist, who finds out that the child is really a midget. Mary kills the psychiatrist to prevent him from talking and then burns his body.

The last scene shows the child being tucked into her crib by the kindly matrons who runs the orphanage. They call her a sweet child and tell her she'll be adopted by some nice family soon.

The same magazine has a story called One Very Wide Coffin, about a thin husband and a fat wife. The husband has an argument with his wife and says, "You're just a fat, lazy pig. All you do is eat, eat, eat."

He leaves his wife, goes to a mountain cabin and broods. "How can I kill her and stay out of the electric chair?" he says. "There must be a way. If I'm clever enough."

Then follows a detailed drawing showing exactly how a shotgun is rigged to fire when a door is opened. It's as good as a blueprint showing how to set a death trap to spring on a victim while the murderer is far away with a perfect alibi. Fate takes a hand, and the couple make up. The husband takes her to the cabin for a second honeymoon, forgetting he has set a death trap. When he opens the door to carry her over the threshold both are killed.

DEFILE CLASSICS

Tiny Tot Publications publishes a comic book which is billed as a humorous comic magazine. The cover shows a fireplace decorated for Christmas with stockings hung from the mantel to receive gifts from Santa Claus.

It shows Santa's foot dangling in the fireplace an inch above a lethal steel bear trap while a young boy leers in anticipation of tearing Santa's leg off.

The first story is a parody on Mickey Spillane that is so suggestive it would put some adult pulp magazines to shame. Another story in this Tiny Tot publication tells the story of Little Red Riding Hood with a switch. The twist is that Little Red Riding Hood in this story is really a vampire.

The final story in this magazine is a reprint of the lovely Christmas poem, The Night Before Christmas, illustrated by gross and obscene drawings that defy description.

Atlas Publications presents a comic book that wallows in death and madness. The opening story is called Midnight in the Morgue, and is told in the second person, singular. It starts with a shooting and hold-up-murder and by the time it ends eight dead bodies are displayed in various positions.

The crucial scenes in this story are the ones in which the murderer becomes locked in the morgue by mistake and begins shooting the dead bodies in the belief that the dead people have come back to life. There is one picture with text so disgusting it would spoil your breakfast if repeated. It ends with the killer embracing the corpse on a slab and babbling like an idiot.

HORROR TALES

The next story opens with a bunch of youngsters ganging up on a small boy and giving him a vicious beating. By the time the last page is reached, 14 persons die violent deaths.

A company called Superior Comic publishes one which has blood pouring from every page. It has one story about adultery and a murder of a husband for profit. Another about mass murder, bootlegging, lust, and revenge and another about a judge who sentenced a murderer to die and is killed by the slayer's curse.

I. C. Publishing Co. has the slogan, "An Entertaining Comic." The first story in it is called Food for Thought, which shows a ghoul feasting on a rotted corps and saying:

"Heh, heh. I see you're hungry for horror again. Well, rest assured. Your appetite will be satisfied. In fact, when you're

through with this putrid periodical, you will have lost your appetite entirely. So don't just stand there drooling. Come in."

The story is about adultery and murder. The second story is about a man who drowns his best friend in order to steal his best friend's girl. The third features a homicidal maniac and his sister who are boiled to death in hot water. The final story in this one opens with a sadist torturing animals to death, then turns to murder with a butcher knife and an ax and ends with the killer being burned to death in a flaming car.

The record for the number of violent deaths in one issue probably goes to one published by Male Publishing Corp. Twenty persons meet violent deaths in one story alone, while the other tales are well sprinkled with bodies and pungent language.

RIDICULE DECENCY

A comic published by Allen Hardy Associates boasts three full-length horror tales. The cover shows a madman clutching a shotgun dripping blood in one hand and some blood-drenched money in the other. A corpse, its face shot away, lies in a pool of blood in the background. One of the stories is about a small boy who is eaten by a monster, and another little boy who is sent to an insane asylum. Another story in this magazine is about a married man who falls in love with a vampire. The vampire kills his wife and then kills him by drinking his blood.

The opening scene in a book by Classic Syndicates, Inc., shows the locker room of a university called "P. U.," with the football team, looking like thugs and morons, drinking whisky, smoking cigars, and cheating on examinations. The rest of the story tells how the studious pupils are fools and that only the cheaters, gamblers, football players, and other dishonest persons succeed in college, and the penalty for losing a football game is dismissal from school in disgrace and death at the hands of gamblers and crooks.

Another story in this book tells about a man who invents a potion to make himself invisible so he could have fun by tripping pedestrians, stealing from stores, and robbing a bank.

It contains another story called the Bull Thrower, which is pure sex. It is about a lady bullfighter and contains a raft of double entendres and suggestive pictures.

DEGRADED LOVE

Horror isn't the only specialty of these books. Another type of comic book on the market is the love story in pictures.

Superior Comic publishes one which features these stories: I Was a Pickup Girl, Desperate Romance, Kisses of Forgiveness, and Together * * * Forever. All have the same theme of young girls defying their parents and running off with men. All end in marriage, however.

Charlton Comics Group, Inc., publishes a comic book which claims on its cover "Thrilling romances. Exciting. Pulse quickening. Real love stories of real people told in dramatic picture stories. Revelations you will never forget."

Then there is the one published by Romantic Love Stories, Inc. The stories include My Fatal Weakness, Flames Fed My Foolish Heart, Pickup Girl, The Curse of Being Misjudged, and My Undecided Soul.

These are just a sample of the hundreds of books sold each month in this city through newsstands and drugstores.

In one drugstore, where the reporter found the worst selection of all, he overheard the druggist talking to some children in the store. As the reporter leafed through the comic books the druggist was reading a paper and saying:

"It's terrible. Every day more people are getting killed or murdered."

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINT SMITH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, during the past 20 years, many attempts have been made to remake American laws that have to deal with the domestic and foreign concepts of our American way of life. Some of these attempted changes have been openly made, but generally these substitutions and alterations have been deceitful, deceptive, and fraudulent. These modifications, in our age-old American rights, have generally been placed in a gaudy package bound with pinkish, red, and glittering tinsel, with a motto on the outside, "in the name of worldwide humanity." But the opponents of the Bricker amendment have used different wrapping paper because when you cut through their phony legalistic phrases, we see very clearly that their package is wrapped in the clearest of cellophane. Their whole package is designed to make the United States a vassal state in which the internationalists, one-worlders can get control of the sovereignty of the United States.

We, in America, have always won our battles for freedom and sovereignty when we could see our enemy. But the enemy who hides behind the Constitution, while plotting its destruction, is sometimes difficult to control. These modern international Socialists and Communists who use the fifth amendment as a cloak to carry on their so-called enlightening reforms are not always easy to apprehend.

The Bricker amendment, in simple language, is nothing more or less than an attempt to preserve and protect our American heritage.

It might be well to recall that this attempt to destroy our American heritage was started at San Francisco at the first organization meeting of the United Nations; and remember the basic architect after months of scheming with the internationalist, socialistic, pink-fringe crowd was Alger Hiss.

The San Francisco meeting was nothing more or less than the public stage from which the United Nations concept would be launched—and again the United Nations package was wrapped up in gaudy tinsel—to proclaim to the world an organization for international peace—but the real objective of Alger Hiss, Joe Stalin and all the Red international socialists was a back-door entry to steal the sovereignty of the United States.

This weird organizational meeting opened without prayer so the atheists and other international one worlders might not be offended at the mention of God's name.

Did the people of the United States elect the delegates to this organizational meeting? No. They were appointed. These delegates simply gambled with the destiny and sovereignty of the American people. Joe Stalin was not there. It was not necessary—because he had Alger Hiss there as Secretary-General. Edward R. Stettinius, one of the United States delegates, told the President of the United States that this United Nations was a declaration and a constitution.

Emphasis was used as usual by the proponents of the U. N. to show that it was basically designed as a peace organization. Korea is the tragic example of this phony concept. When this U. N. Charter was ratified, it was a blow at American independence—it was dishonoring to the sound doctrine of George Washington and an insult to the memory of the Continental Army—and above all a slave act for the American people.

Senator PAT MCCARRAN, of Nevada, has said:

I made an error which I shall regret all the days of my life when I voted for the United Nations.

The basic objective of the Bricker amendment is to assure two things: that world government cannot be forced on the American people through the back door or by using the Trojan horse technique, and to be doubly sure that the civil liberties of the people of the United States be not destroyed.

Perhaps the Bricker amendment's chief and final objective is to guarantee our basic domestic rights. It is certainly a long jump from our fundamental concepts of basic American rights—if foreign states can change, alter or compel us to change our basic domestic laws. Yet many of those who oppose the Bricker amendment say we must submit to this in order to show international cooperation.

Our own Constitution would have never been ratified by the States if the Bill of Rights had not been added to the Constitution as the first ten amendments.

The makers of our Constitution thought the Federal Government would only be concerned with treaties concerning boundaries, freedom of the seas, right to trade with foreign nations, etc.

Article VI of the Constitution says:

All Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Edgar W. Waybright of Florida has this to say about the intent of the framers of the Constitution:

They did not forsee that in 1848, a little man who had failed at everything, by the name of Karl Marx, would devise a scheme for a cruel worldwide dictatorship to enslave all mankind. They did not foresee that thousands of college professors, school teachers, ministers, labor bosses, writers, businessmen, lawyers, and doctors, could be led by a few sinister men consumed by the lust for power to turn the words of the Constitution upside down, and inside out, so that they would mean what the writers never intended.

They never could in the wildest nightmare have imagined that these sinister men

and these well meaning but shallow thinkers could take from the preamble of this great instrument the phrase "promote the general welfare" and interpret it to mean that these words taken from the context authorized, ignoring the rest of the Constitution, the creation of a Communist, Socialist, or Fascist "welfare" state.

Likewise, the framers of this great instrument could never have dreamed that these same men could twist the above quoted words from article VI to mean that the President of the United Sates and two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, could by ratification of a treaty destroy at one fell swoop the Constitution of the United States, every Sate constitution in each and every of the 48 States of the Union, and every State and Federal law.

By use of the present doctrine in the area of domestic law, the President with consent of the Senate can do anything he wants to do by treaty, regardless of the restrictions and prohibitions in the Constitution. This may seem to be a bold statement, but stranger and sadder things than this have happened.

Harry Truman, by a stroke of a pen and a telephone call, caused 130,000 Americans to die in Korea—simply using the authority granted in the United Nations Charter. The Constitution was nullified because it plainly states only the Congress can declare war.

Patrick Henry well expressed the danger in these words:

If treaties are made to infringe our liberties, it will be too late to say our rights have been violated.

Those who oppose the Bricker amendment just say it cannot happen here, domestic American laws are in no danger.

Recently the United States Supreme Court had this to say in one of their decisions:

The U. N. Charter represents a moral commitment of foremost importance and we (the Court) must not permit the spirit of our pledge to be compromised or disparaged in either our domestic or foreign affairs.

These words coming from the Supreme Court—should warn us all—as a red flag of danger.

Secretary Dulles, before he was Secretary of State, pointed out on two separate occasions the necessity for the Bricker amendment. He said in a Louisville, Ky., speech that treaties can change our domestic law and override the Constitution. But since he has become Secretary of State, he says the danger is unimportant because we will not do anything to undermine the Constitution. That in effect is what all dictators in history have said: "Just give me the power and I'll never misuse it."

Secretary Dulles now says the Bricker amendment would interfere with the international position of the United States. This statement leads to asking Mr. Dulles, the former associate and successor to Mr. Dean Acheson, "which is more important, the international position of the United States or the basic constitutional domestic rights of the American people?"

The great mass of the internationalists, the bleeding hearts for the downtrodden world humanity, the pinks, many scholarly unthinking degree-laden college professors, all are saying, "If we pass the Bricker amendment, we will be placing the President in a straightjacket in his treaty making power." That is just the point—he should be placed in a straightjacket if he makes any treaty or recommends one that in any shape, form or manner interferes or takes away any basic domestic rights of American citizens.

The American people have been accustomed to living under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. I believe they still prefer to live under the constitutional safeguards rather than upon the mere promises of a court. Under the U. N., a supreme court consisting of Chinese, Russians, Arabs, Jews, Italians, and so forth, can make laws and ratify them because we are a part of the United Nations.

It is, therefore, virtually certain that unless we withdraw from the United Nations or secure an amendment to its charter or amend article 6 of our own Federal Constitution, all segregation laws, all laws prohibiting intermarriage of races, all laws fixing national quotas for immigration, and all laws which in some ways affect different races, different religions, different sexes, and different language speaking peoples will fail. This is already the supreme law of the land. The Charter of the United Nations was a treaty.

How easily could such a vicious treaty be slipped through? At least three recent treaties were legally ratified by one United States Senator. He didn't cast the deciding vote, he cast the only vote. They are now the supreme law of the land. If they had concealed any jokers, American law could not protect you.

Several major treaties have been ratified by a small handful of Senators. For instance, our mutual assistance treaty with Turkey was made the supreme law of the land by six Senators.

A distinguished jurist, Florence E. Allen, judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, recently had this to say:

At first I was not particularly alarmed about all this, I said to myself, "Well, these international Socialists can draft all the laws they want to, but it will not affect the United States." But then I learned two things I should have known before, but did not. And these two things are the reason for the proposed Bricker amendment. Here they are:

"Bear in mind, as I said before, that an international law called a convention is considered a treaty. In the United States treaties are submitted only to the Senate. They are not submitted to the House of Representatives. An ILO convention, for example, can be ratified as a treaty by a two-thirds vote of the Members of the Senate present on the day the vote is taken. Not two-thirds of the Senate—two-thirds of those present; and unless the question of a quorum is raised, only a handful present could put through the vote. That's how ratification of a convention might be slipped through."

I am sure we all remember when President Truman seized the steel companies. The Constitution gave him no power to take private property—so said a majority of the Supreme Court. But remember that the three dissenting judges said that our ratification of the U. N. had given our President power to seize private property, in defiance of our Constitution. Had these 3 judges been able to persuade 2 more judges to their way of thinking, our Constitution would be dead and we would be completely at the mercy of the United Nations.

Some years ago the Congress enacted a law concerning migratory birds; namely, ducks and geese. The President approved; no one questioned the validity of this act at the time of its passage. But subsequently, someone got arrested for shooting ducks out of season, and this migratory law was attacked because Congress had no power to legislate in this field—that the States had this power. The courts decided that this migratory bird law was unconstitutional. What happened: The United States made a treaty with Great Britain. Then the Supreme Court held that the Federal Government had jurisdiction over migratory birds; but they got this power by the treaty and Congress then got power from the treaty, which it did not otherwise have, to pass the law regulating the hunting of migratory birds.

That was the much discussed case of Missouri against Holland, decided by the Supreme Court in 1920. The court there decided, notwithstanding the contrary view of Thomas Jefferson and many others, that although Congress under the Constitution did not have power to legislate on the subject of migratory birds, still if a treaty was first made, then Congress got from the treaty power which Congress otherwise has not got; and that the 10th amendment which, in the absence of a treaty, reserves all those powers to the States, did not stand in the way once a treaty was made. In other words, when the Constitution forbids the Federal Government from doing something, then all the Government needs to do is to make a treaty on the subject with some friendly country, and then the Federal Government acquires power over the subject. This has been called the bootstrap doctrine of Federal power, namely, that when the Constitution denies the power, the Government by its own voluntary act of making a treaty with another country, can acquire the power. So, by a broad treaty such as the United Nations Charter covering the whole gamut of human activity, the Federal Government becomes a government of unlimited power, so far as the States and people are concerned—the exact opposite of what the Founding Fathers thought they were creating when they carefully designed a federal government of limited powers only, as we all learned in school.

The Pink case in 1942 went even further. That was a "pink case" indeed. The Soviet Government confiscated the money of a private Russian insurance company held in New York for the protection of policyholders and creditors. In connection with recognizing Soviet Russia in 1933, President F. D. Roosevelt by a letter accepted from Soviet Russia an assignment of these confiscated private funds, agreeing to apply them on Soviet Government debts in the United States. The policyholders and creditors claimed the money, but the Supreme Court, by a 5 to 2 vote, solemnly decided that this executive agreement made by the exchange of letters overrode the fifth amendment and also the

law of the State of New York. Under that decision, if a subject can be said to be part of the President's foreign policy, the 10 amendments and the Constitution cannot stand in the way. Thus the President, by signing a letter, takes over a large part of the legislative power. He gets dangerously close to one-man government by decree. Hence the Federal Government can by treaty or executive agreement do almost anything, regardless of the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the several States of the Union. To be specific, under the doctrine of the Pink case, we can send Americans abroad for trial on account of crimes committed here, without the constitutional safeguards to which they are entitled, or we can join a world government by treaty.

Perhaps there are many of you—who think that these executive agreements apply to big international policy matters and that your rights as a private American citizen are secure.

Treaties are going out of style because the internationalists say treaties are so cumbersome—and the most radical of the New York leftwing crowd say, "Congress is so provincial in an atomic age, this bunch of squareheads just doesn't have the proper viewpoint."

We all know about Roosevelt's secret agreements at Yalta and Teheran. It is estimated by the U. S. News & World Report that in the last 10 years, over 10,000 agreements have been made—most of them secret as far as the American people know.

We now know about Roosevelt's deals, throughout the world—let us take a look at a few bags of potatoes, under Truman's administration.

A man by the name of Capps, a Virgina potato dealer, found out that he could buy potatoes in Canada, pay freight, customs, and still sell them in Florida at a profit.

The reciprocal trade adherents who are always all preaching we must have free trade throughout the world to show this country's friendly good will and cooperation, evidently did not come to the defense of Capps and his potato purchase.

Capps, the Virginia merchant, bought about 50,000 bags of potatoes in Canada. He paid the Canadian price $88,350—freight charges of $19,417.60, customs duties of United States $37,000—and made a profit of $18,000. Two years later the United State Government sued him in Federal court for $150,486.

There had been an exchange of letters between Harry Truman's State Department and the Canadian Government in which it was agreed that Canada would attempt to prevent shipment of potatoes to the United States.

The Federal Government sued Mr. Capps on this executive agreement. The Federal Government also based its case on the fact that there was a high support price on American potatoes and Capps had undersold our United States potatoes; hence this was used as the measure of the damages.

The Federal court in Virginia held that this exchange of letters had the force of law but also held the Government had not proved its measure of damages. The United States court of appeals sustained Mr. Capps. However, Mr. Brownell, the Attorney General, has appealed to the Supreme Court. He had told the Supreme Court "Nothing in the Constitution forbids this established practice," and that such letters as written by the President to the Canadian Government are the law of the land.

It seems readily apparent if they can take the gold from insurance company stock holders by an agreement and give Russia a free hand in Asia by commitments at Yalta and Teheran, sue a dealer for a few bags of potatoes, it is high time that this loophole be plugged.

Mr. Frank Holman, former president of the American Bar Association, answers the foregoing question in the following manner:

> The only possible answer that can be made to this is that in recent years there has gradually developed in our midst another kind of American than those who founded this great Republic—the American who is impatient with the slow and safe processes of law—impatient of constitutional restraints—the kind of American who prefers unrestrained power—the kind of American who believes in so-called unhandicapped executive power.
>
> Behind all this changed attitude of mind on the part of many of our high officials of Government is also the desire to change America from a republic to a socialistic state by and through the treaty process and eventually to use this device to put us into some form of world government. Mr. Dulles in his Boston speech on August 26, 1953, before the annual meeting of the American Bar Association let the cat out of the bag, or half out of the bag, with respect to this matter. He pointed out that the United Nations Charter, by its own terms, comes up for amendment in 1955. It is now no secret that Mr. Dulles and others believe in strengthening the charter in the direction of world government, and that they are planning and hoping to do this by the treaty method in 1955. The clear answer to these diplomatic planners of world government is that whether we have or do not have world government is a matter for the American people to decide. World government should not be imposed upon them through treaty law and through mere action of the President, the State Department, and two-thirds of the members of the Senate present and voting.

The former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and now ratified by Secretary Dulles, proclaim that there is no difference between foreign and domestic affairs and that treaties are supreme and can override the Constitution. Secretary Dulles has said, "Treaties make international law and also they make domestic law."

As you think about the merits or demerits of this Bricker amendment, keep this thought always in your mind. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution forbids the Congress to change your basic American rights, but without the Bricker amendment, since this Republic is now a member of the United Nations, your basic rights can be taken away by a treatymaking agency which consists of the President and two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

The passage of this amendment will establish once and for all, the American theory that basic American rights cannot be changed by treaties or executive agreements; but without the Bricker amendment these rights can be changed and destroyed by such instruments.

The important thing for everybody to remember is that we are up against the most sinister, diabolical conspiracy in the history of the world to destroy the Constitution of the United States and the American way of life, destroy the opportunity state which has made us great, and substitute by the combination of outside force, internal fifth-column activities of fore and deception, a slave state in which a government—a world government—shall dominate and control everybody in everything. It is unimportant whether this is called a liberal or progressive government, a welfare state, Socialist, a Fascist, or a Communist system, they all end up at the same goal post—a totalitarian dictatorship.

In any discussion that is had about the forces and events that are taking place throughout the world, particularly in Asia, Africa, and the Near East. one is always struck most forcibly with this phrase: "self-autonomy—home rule." This is the uppermost in these people's minds—these thoughts even come from Uganda, deep in the jungles of equatorial Africa. These backward and illiterate peoples, just emerging into modern civilization, are trying to light their future with the bright rays of freedom and self-determination.

While many people of the United States seemingly want to hide our bright light of freedom in the dark recesses of that hideous, deceptive, and fraudulent house of the United Nations, this house of the United Nations could in the years to come, be just a shroud for our Constitution.

To the people of the Sixth Congressional District—Kansans all—people of northwest Kansas, descendants of men of royal blood, the pioneers, men and women who subdued and conquered the high plains with its drought, its violent upheavals of weather, dust storms, a land of water courses without water, a land of no high mountain peaks, no wonderland of scenic valleys nestling between forest covered hillsides, there is no hallowed Plymouth Rock, nor a Bunker Hill Monument, nor a statue of a Jefferson, Washington or Lincoln on a high hill to remind us of our ancient heritage. But there are living monuments in each city, town, and village and on the ancient homesteads—these are the men who in yesteryear gave their services in the Argonne, Belleau Wood, and on the Rhine, men who built bridges over the rivers of Europe, who drove tanks through the Siegfried Line, men who crawled off the ships on the beach of Normandy and waded through the snows of Belgium during the Bulge, and more lately men who took and held Baldy and Pork Chop Hills in Korea.

Most of these men are home. They want to live as free men in a free nation, paying a fair share of taxes to help maintain a government that is theirs—a free man's government—and not a government whose laws can be changed by an international body on some foreign shore.

Men of the Revolution, North and South, gave us our Constitution. We must protect it. The United States is your Government. It is not yet international.

Our trust must be in God, not men.

Ours is a government of constitutional law, not officeholders. Let us keep it so.

Lift your voice, protest to those who would come sneaking through the back door to steal your basic American rights.

The Bricker amendment must be passed.

Youth and the Church of Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the opportunity of hearing a sermon delivered by Clarence W. Cranford, D. D., pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., on the subject of "Youth and the Church of Tomorrow." With the great interest the leaders of our Nation have today in the problem of juvenile delinquency, I felt that this message should be called to the attention of Members of Congress and all others interested.

The sermon follows:

The other day in the city of Detroit, two high school basketball teams played against each other. Naturally, one of them had to lose. When the game was over some students from the high school that lost waylayed some of the members of the winning team and beat them up. One player was stabbed so badly that the knife penetrated his lung and he is still in a critical condition. As a result of this incident, the school authorities have cancelled all night basketball games for the rest of the year.

This is but one of the many incidents about which we have been reading in our papers lately as a wave of juvenile delinquency seems to be sweeping across our country. Here in Washington the number of offenders under 13 years of age picked up by the law last year is over 50 percent more than the year before. In the light of these distressing facts it is well for us as Christians and church members to ask where our responsibility lies and what, if anything, we can do about it?

Let me say, first of all, that in spite of the many incidents of juvenile delinquency that have been reported lately, I still believe that youth is pretty much the same as it has always been. I remember once reading a poem that goes like this:

"My grandpa notes the world's worn cogs,
And says youth is going to the dogs.
But his grandpa in a house of logs,
Said youth is going to the dogs.
And his grandpa in the Flemish bogs,
Said youth is going to the dogs.
And his grandpa in his hairy togs,
Said youth is going to the dogs;
But this is what I wish to state,
The dogs have had an awful wait."

Nevertheless young people are subject to many changes in our day. Some of them are superficial. I remember hearing Dr. James Lee Ellenwood say that he used to wonder where he would sit when his children grew old enough to have dates. What he didn't know, he said, was that he would be in bed. He said he used to visualize what his daughters would look like in lovely dresses, but, for the most part, they wore shirts and jeans. Only, he said, they didn't tuck the shirts in the way God and he intended a shirt to be worn. Someone else has said that if Stephen Foster were to come back today he would not write, "I Dream of Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair." He would write, instead, "I Dream of Brownie in the Dark Blue Jeans." In a more serious vein, the youth of today has been subject to all of the disturbing social changes growing out of two world wars and the uprooting of millions of families that have left communities in which they have been well known, to move to new communities where they must begin all over again to put down roots. In the face of these and other tremendous changes in our day, what is our responsibility? In the first place, the church's responsibility is what it has always been and that is to teach children and young people about the Christian life and to seek to win them to Christ. Nothing can serve as a substitute for Christian education and evangelism.

In the Book of Judges, we read about the death of Joshua and following the account of his death, the writer goes on to say, "and also all that generation were gathered unto their fathers and there arose a new generation that knew not the Lord, nor yet the works that He had done for Israel." Joshua saw this happening in his own lifetime. Many of the people who had followed Moses through the Red Sea and who had eaten manna with him in the wilderness had died in the wilderness, or on the way toward the Promised Land. A new generation was rising to which these incidents were only hearsay. Therefore, Joshua did two things. He inaugurated a program of religious education, for in the eighth chapter of his book, we read, that he gathered together all the tribes of Israel and read to them all the Law of Moses. But in addition to that, he used evangelism, for he both bote his own witness and pleaded with the people to make a commitment. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," he said, "but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord."

Joshua has set an example for every generation. We must teach children and young people, and seek to win them to Christ. That is why the work of the church school is so important as it gives us an opportunity to teach and witness to the young and also helps us to train ourselves better to do it.

In addition to that however, I think we must give young people, and older people too, a theological basis for moral living. I wonder if you don't agree with me, that in most people's minds, the lines between right and wrong are becoming blurred. There has been what many have referred to as a moral sag. Recently there was a play on television called Keep Their Honor Bright which illustrated the present-day situation. A group of students on a campus, where the honor system was followed, were caught cheating during a final examination and so, according to the rules, were dismissed from the college. The trustees were incensed at the scandal these students had caused to break on the campus of alma mater. They decided therefore, to pass a strong resolution of censure of those who cheated. The dean, however, urged them to use caution. He reminded them that one of the trustees was known to have souvenirs in his home, such as Pullman towels, for which he had not paid a cent. Another trustees was a notorious speeder but never paid a fine because he knew how to have his ticket fixed. Another trustee had boasted in the presence of some students that he managed to bring into the country, duty free, more goods bought abroad than was allowed. In the light of these unpleasant reminders, the trustees failed to pass their resolution.

This problem isn't a youth problem, it is a general problem. Youth takes its cue from the adults, and one of the reasons, I am convinced, why we have gotten away from a strong moral sense of what is right and wrong, is that we have gotten away from a theological base. We are no longer very conscious of God and His judgments. A young serviceman, who had gone to the hospital on his base for a shot of penicillin to cure a social disease he had picked up in the village, once said to me, "Science has taken the fear out of sin." Certainly we have lost our fear of God, but there are some things penicillin can't cure, and we had better be reminded that God is not mocked—that this is a moral universe—"that whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." And part of the corruption of morals in our society today is to be explained by the fact that we have gotten away from a vital realization of God and of His commandments.

But that is an area where the church cannot function alone. The problem is not just that children and young people have received too little theology from the pulpit, but that they have received too little religion in the home. In millions of homes today, even many that are nominally Christian, religion, if it is mentioned at all, is treated with casual indifference. I am reminded of a boy who got into trouble. Someone told him they could not understand it since his father had done so much for him. The boy replied, "My father gave me everything of a material nature I needed, but I never once heard my father's voice in prayer." No Sunday school teacher is so clever that he can offset the influence of a parent who sends his children to church or Sunday school but does not attend himself. By his own indifference, he is saying with an eloquence that cannot be matched by any teacher, or preacher, that religion and the church are unimportant. And while church attendance is by no means the whole of religion, it is those families that turn to the church for renewal and inspiration with a fair degree of regularity, who are apt to take religion most seriously in the home. The church, therefore, must be concerned with what happens in the homes of youth if it is going to help youth.

Again, however, the church must be concerned about the forces in the community which make it increasingly difficult for the home to do its job. The ease with which liquor is made available even to young people. The way sex is exploited on every newsstand. The problems which are sometimes difficult for parents and children to work out together. Here, for example, is the daughter of a minister who pleaded with her parents to be allowed to stay out all night on a young people's affair in which students from her high school were going to dance until 4 o'clock in the morning, and then they planned to ride around the city from 4 until 5 when an eating place would open, then the young people planned to eat an early morning breakfast together. The parents could not quite see their high-school daughter riding around the city between 4 and 5 a. m. and insisted that she must be home by 2 a. m. They thought they were being very lenient. It was certainly much later than they had ever been allowed to stay out when they were high-school age, but their daughter thought they were being quite unreasonable. In such cases, it seems to me, that parents and teachers are going to have to get together in PTA groups and in every way possible, to talk over what is a reasonable limit to which to let our young people go. Parents and children will have to talk it over so that they can come to some understanding and reasonable conclusions. The day has pretty largely gone when parents can say you will do this because I say so. Young people want, and deserve, good rea-

sons, but the problems have to be solved together.

Finally, I would say this. Nothing can take the place of the example of a godly life and influence. If my library were to burn and I could save only 10 books, I think 1 of the 10 I would try to save is Charles E. Jefferson's book of sermons on the Character of Jesus. In one of those sermons, he points out that when Jesus, the world's greatest revolutionary leader, inaugurated the Christian religion, which he describes as the world's most revolutionary program, he did not set out to change people by changing society, he set out to change society by changing people. He worked with an individual to set him on fire with the light of God in his heart, and sent that individual out to set some other person's heart and life on fire, and that individual out to set someone else on fire, and so on until there would be a chain reaction of Christ's example and influence that would save the world instead of destroying it.

These then are some the answers I would suggest to the problem of juvenile delinquency. There are many practical measures, such as supplying recreational opportunities and the like, but behind it all I think we must try to teach youth and win them for Christ. We must give them a theological basis for moral living. We must encourage the home to meet its responsibilities at this point, and help the home to deal with the many problems that beset it. Above all, we must live before our young people the example of a consecrated and a godly life.

Garrett Lauds Manly's Book on Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, recently there was published in this country a book entitled "The Twenty Year Revolution; From Roosevelt to Eisenhower." It was written by Chesly Manly, a highly gifted member of the Chicago Tribune staff.

The book was so ably written, and its context so full of significant facts and wisely drawn conclusions with respect to the rapidly increasing ascendancy of totalitarian thinking and socialistic political action in this country, that it attracted the attention of Garet Garrett.

The latter undoubtedly is one of the greatest political essayist of our time. Or so, at least, he is in my own estimation. Few, indeed, are those who keep themselves well informed on the economic and political issues of the day, who have failed to read some, if not all, of Garet Garrett's books, such as The Revolution Was, published in 1944; A Time Is Born, published in 1944; Ex-American, and The Wild Wheel—both published in 1952.

In view of his enthusiastic approval of the conclusions drawn by Mr. Manly as to a trend in American economic and political affairs which even yet has not been reversed, Garet Garrett prepared an extended review of the book entitled "The Twenty Year Revolution; Roosevelt to Eisenhower." This review was published on the front page of the Chicago Sunday Tribune, dated February 14, 1954.

Under unanimous consent, I now insert in the Appendix of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a condensation containing what seems to me to be the most significant portions of Mr. Garrett's book review:

GARRETT LAUDS MANLY'S BOOK ON "REVOLUTION"

(By Garet Garrett)

When people were saying "It can't happen here," they were putting themselves off guard. They were thinking of violence, risings, mobs in the street, sudden seizure of the facilities, possibly the dispersal of Congress by force. There was none of that. They knew very little about the scientific revolutionary, who does not prefer violence if he can gain his ends without it.

A bloodless revolution did take place in this country, gradually, over 20 years, amid an endless furore of purposeful and Machiavellian confusion, designed to make people lose their way.

RISE OF COMMUNISM STAIN

Try to imagine with what disbelieving ridicule the people would have disowned a man who at the beginning of the New Deal had prophesied as follows:

You will see the purple gentian of communism rise to the very top of Government, even to the desk of your President.

You will see the Government use its taxing powers according to the Communist manifesto, not for revenue only, but for leveling and for redistributing the national wealth downward.

You will see the Government gleefully eviscerate the vitals of your free, competitive capitalistic system.

You will see it debase your money according to the Lenin thesis, that the quickest way to destroy a capitalistic system is to debauch its currency.

You will see it use inflation for political ends.

WELFARE STATE EMERGES

You will see the rise of a welfare state in the European pattern, which, under pretense of amelioration, will alter the relations between people and government in a radical manner, so that whereas formerly government was a responsibility of people, now people are a responsibility of government; or, whereas formerly it was the Government's part to create an economic climate in which the individual might be expected to take care of himself, now the Government undertakes to protect the individual against the vicissitudes of climate. Thus the individual American becomes the ward of a paternalistic Government.

You will see that obedience to the will of the welfare state, at first voluntary, will become compulsory.

You will see the Government trample the second life out of the old tradition against intervening in other nations' quarrels, take the country into World War II, and afterward launch itself upon a career of empire, buying foreign allies with American billions, arming West Europe against Russia, setting up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization under which other nations' wars automatically become our wars too, with American troops in more than 60 foreign countries, and American Air Force bases on every continent.

You will see it assume unlimited political and military obligations, such as to defend the whole free world.

For all its history and tradition of neutralism, you will see it become the most meddling government that ever existed in the world.

THEME OF MANLY'S BOOK

How mad that prophecy would have seemed at the time. Yet it has all happened here. The story of its happening is the theme of Chesly Manly's book entitled, "The Twenty Year Revolution; from Roosevelt to Eisenhower." As one reads it, two thoughts strike hard. Why were many good Americans in Government so purblind? Why were the the American people so indifferent?

True, the New Deal controlled all the great agencies of propaganda, and the American people had never before experienced Government by propaganda. On the other hand, the voice of warning was never quite still. The truth was available to those who wanted it, and would listen. The trouble was that so few would believe it; they did not want to believe it.

The beneficiaries of the New Deal were many. They weighed the checks they received from the United States Treasury against the reservations they had in their minds, and the checks were heavier, especially during the depression. The words of the Government were sweet and reassuring. The lullaby was recovery. The concealed intention was revolution.

RISE OF RED INFLUENCE

Mr. Manly traces the rise of Communist influence in Government. It grew first in a prepared seed plot. That was socialism, which had been cultivated for a long time in this country not only by Socialists but latterly by a new cult of American liberals. The point at which communism and socialism meet is a common attitude toward capitalism. Both would destroy it, even if ostensibly for different reasons. The anti-communism of the Socialist is unreal. If they had the power they would perhaps not kill the same people but they would kill the same thing.

CAN DO IT BY INTRIGUE

The true beginning of the rise of Communist influence was when President Roosevelt gave diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union, which Wilson, harding, Coolidge, and Hoover had refused to do. This was followed immediately, says Manly, by "the influx of thousands of Communists and Marxian Socialists into the Federal Government."

TLe ease with which the Marxians could insinuate themselves into the bureaus and committees of Government, even committees of Congress, was almost too good to be true. In a little while they were saying to themselves, and to the Kremlin, "We shall not need to use force here. We can do it by intrigue."

CITES WARTIME HYSTERIA

Then came World War II, and the emotional orgy of Russian comradeship in the fight against Hitler. This was a memorable exhibition of American hysteria. Russia was prefered in our outpouring of lend-lease war good,. Russia was the savior of democracy at Stalingrad. Anyone who suggested that Russians were Russians still and could not be trusted as a peace-loving people was denounced as a Fascist and an unpatriot.

After that Communists advanced in Government not in spite of the fact that they were Communists but because they were. With a kind of unerring instinct they found the seats of policy making at top levels, witness Alger Hiss in the State Department and Harry Dexter White in the Treasury, and gravitated to the agencies of propaganda, like the Office of War Information, which was rotten with them.

DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN

Now, hatred of capitalism is certainly a very powerful emotion in the current world. Saying so explains nothing. An alien Communist is one thing; an American Communist who not only embraces an imported anti-capitalist religion but who so hates his own that he will secretly transfer his allegiance to a hostile, barbarian foreign sovereignty, is another thing. It is easier to understand the first than the second.

Where Whittaker Chambers failed Manly has not succeeded. Nobody has yet accounted properly for the extraordinary spread of disaffection on the intellectual plane in this country among teachers, lawyers, scientists, preachers, editors, historians, writers of textbooks, and columnists, in the universities, on the campus, in technological schools, in the forums, and on the radio. Many Americans now beat their breasts and say, "It is our fault. We did not see to it that the American faith was properly impressed on the gristle of the mind."

ONCE OUR BEST SALESMAN

It may not be so simple. For more than 100 years it was not necessary to sell the American doctrine. It sold itself like nature's milk. Note also that this enigma—the decline of patriotism—does not appear in this country alone. Wherever the aggressor has gone he has found his quislings. Hitler found them in Scandinavia, in the Low Countries, even in England and France. After Hitler, Stalin found them in the Baltic countries, in ravished Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and in China.

So many quislings in the world could hardly be classified simply as traitors. It must have been something more than treason. If you say they were surf riders on a wave of power which they thought would sweep everything before it, that would make sense. Might is right. Power makes its own justification. But this thought will lead you to a new speculation.

WHERE DID IT STOP?

Did the Communist, alien and American together, seriously think they were going to overthrow the Government and seize ultimate power—not only political power, but financial and industrial power .besides? Did they really think, as some of them were heard to say, that Roosevelt was their Kerensky? That would account for them. The revolution stopped short of that—or did it?

Inventory Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, most of us take understandable pride in the accomplishments of our neighbors after they are called from home to take a position of great responsibility in Government or business. This great pride is heightened when the local son retains the very qualities that brought him respect at home.

Ancher Nelsen came to the service of our Government from my home county less than 10 months ago to serve rural America as REA Administrator. Before that, he had been called to public service by the voters of Minnesota as lieutenant governor. And before that he had served our community and State as a member of the Minnesota State senate for 15 years. To each of these positions, Ancher Nelsen brought sound commonsense, a talent for successful farming and business management, and a gift for leadership. These fine abilities are now serving our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to bring to the attention of my colleagues the text of an excellent statement which Mr. Nelsen made before the directors and managers of local REA cooperatives at Miami last month. From this statement, rural America can take heart, knowing that its rural electric and telephone programs are in the hands of a man of strong character, clear vision, and stanch Americanism. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the statement of Mr. Nelsen:

INVENTORY TIME

(By Ancher Nelsen)

It is fitting and proper at this time of year that we should take time to review past events, take inventory, and evaluate our present situation as a means for helping us set our sights for the future of rural electrification and rural telephony. It's a job that I hope we will do calmly, objectively, and dispassionately.

Viewed from any angle of material accomplishments, the progress of the rural electrification program in this country has been remarkable. The present status of that program is excellent. I am convinced that its future prospects are no less so.

Here are a few high lights:

1. The percentage of electrified farms in the United States increased from 10.9 percent in 1935 to 90.8 percent on June 30, 1953.

2. REA has, since 1935, made loans aggregating $2,778,000,000 and the borrowers have constructed 1,295,000 miles of line to extend central station electric service to 4,031,000 farms and other rural establishments.

3. REA has, since 1935, advanced $2,360,000,000 in loan funds. Payments on principal aggregating $305,200,000 have been made, and $163,300,000 in interest has been paid.

4. Gross revenues of REA borrowers for the year 1953 totaled $365,300,000, and total power input into their systems for that year totaled 15,765,000,000 kilowatt-hours.

These and similar statistics all point to the same thing: a great record of which all REA borrowers are entitled to be proud. Remarkable as these figures are, however, they are too superficial to afford a true inventory of the success of the REA program and also of the reasons for its success—and the reasons for my faith and your faith in its future.

Your cooperative has brought light where before there was darkness; it has relieved drudgery; it has made the farm an infinitely better place to live; it has raised your standard of living and increased your income; and it has bettered both your community and the national life and economy.

The farmers themselves, acting in the highest traditions of American life, have set out to obtain for themselves—and have obtained—the benefits of that very necessary farm hand, electric power.

NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES ASKED

Those farmers (and you and I among them) did not ask for grants, for subsidies, for handouts, for special privileges of any kind. We obtained loans and obligated ourselves to repay every penny with interest.

That is the way it was; none of us would have preferred it any other way. With simple and basic honesty, self-reliance and business integrity, with a single-minded purpose, and with unceasing energy and toil we farmers built this edifice of which we are now taking inventory.

We were not stooges for anybody and we were not socialists. Some of us were Republicans and some were Democrats but none of us had any political opportunism in mind. Some were Yankees and some were Southerners; some had fertile farms, some had barren ones; some had large farms, some had small ones—yet the REA objectives rose above factions and the whole energy of the group was translated into the accomplishment of obtaining electric service. No one in Washington did this for us. We did it; you did it. And there (rather than in terms of statistics) lies our glory, our strength, and our cause for pride.

We have had the loyal, devoted, and unselfish efforts of those who have served as directors and officers, and of the managers and employees who have built our cooperatives into sound, self-reliant, locally owned, localy managed private enterprise. Associations of cooperatives (both State and National) have provided greater know-how by exchange of experience gained on the systems of their respective members.

The Congress of the United States, which had the foresight and statesmanship to establish the Rural Electrification Administration, has at all times supported the rural electrification program generously with appropriations and loan authorizations. The agency it thus established (and its employees) have worked through the years to carry out the congressional intent and to further the purpose sought by the Rural Electrification Act—a single-minded purpose of making self-liquidating loans for the extension of electric service to unserved persons in rural areas. And right at this point, I would like to pay my compliments to my associates in REA, I feel we have one of the outstanding teams in Government.

To me, all this adds up to a picture of great strength and soundness—a picture of solid achievement inspiring confidence for the future. Of course, we must maintain our perspective. We must see the forest—not merely a few of the trees. We can ill afford to be distracted from our main objective.

Each of us, our cooperatives, their associations, and REA should keep our eye on the ball. We must maintain into the future the progress already attained. We must build, on that foundation, better and better achievements.

I speak here, not merely as Administrator but as one of you. I helped to organize the electric cooperative that serves my farm in Minnesota, and served on its board of directors until my appointment as Administrator. I have also been an official of the Minnesota statewide organization.

When the President of the United States asked me to come to Washington as Administrator of REA, the decision on my part was not an easy one. To leave my farm and my home associations was contrary to my inclinations. Feeling as I do toward the REA program and in view of the President's request, however, my duty was clear.

Since becoming Administrator, I have traveled into every part of the United States in the interests of the program, I attended 9 of your 10 regional meetings last fall, and numerous meetings of local distribution cooperatives and other groups. I have done this not only as a means of handling particular problems which you happened to have at the time but in order to get acquainted with you and familiarize myself with the problems and needs of your cooperatives.

I have had the advantage of meeting with many of you in Washington and of becoming familiar with your problems in that manner. Of one thing I am certain: the people of our country are much the same whether you meet them in the North, South, East, or West. REA folk have the same basic interests, aspirations, and objectives whether they come from Georgia, Texas, Montana, or elsewhere. They have shared these with me as Administrator and I have found that they are essentially the same interests, the same aspirations, and the same objectives as those held by my neighbors and myself in McLeod County, Minnesota.

FOUR PARAMOUNT NEEDS

With due regard for our basic objectives, our past achievements and our present strength, let us look ahead to the future.

I am convinced that there are four paramount needs facing the REA electrification program today. I should like to state these as concisely as I can—not necessarily in order of priority—and make clear my views with respect to each of them.

First, I am strongly convinced that the most valuable possession of the farmers participating in the rural electrification program is their distribution system.

With your own distribution systems, you can bargain for power from the most advantageous source. Competition is a wonderful implement for good in any field. So we need to give most careful attention to the major problem of keeping the local cooperative self-reliant and financially strong.

ANALYZE YOUR CO-OP

To this end, I urge each cooperative to analyze its own financial situation and operations carefully and make its own plans for assuring the strength of its position.

The financial position of the cooperatives as a group is excellent and the financial position of the majority of the individual cooperatives is also excellent. Let us not, however, in making our plans for the future, be lulled into any false sense of security.

Good as the record is, let us not place too much emphasis, in our own minds, upon the fact that, as of the end of 1953, only 21 borrowers were delinquent in payments of principal and interest for more than 30 days and that the total of such delinquency is less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the amount due. Actually a large—too large—percentage of all REA borrowers are currently operating in the red on an accrual basis.

I am concerned about this situation. Obviously, REA's responsibility for the preservation of the Government's security position requires that we be concerned about it and face the problem squarely. Similarly, your interest and mine in assuring the soundness of the cooperatives into the future requires similar concern and willingness to take corrective action.

I am not, however, alarmed by the present situation. Nor need you be.

Like many problems in life, the first step toward a solution is to be aware of and recognize the existence of the problem itself. The next step toward solution would seem to be a careful process of self-analysis to determine the cause and the scope of the difficulty and to evolve a well-planned course of action to work out a solution and to assure the soundness of the cooperative into the future. Basically, this is a problem primarily for each individual cooperative.

REA stands ready to lend every possible assistance in the process of self-analysis and of evolving the necessary curative plan. More broadly, however, the encouragement of this process is, in a very real sense, the responsibility of the stronger cooperatives as well as of the weaker ones. The stronger cooperatives have a very real interest in the success of those which have not yet attained full maturity or which are serving the thin areas.

GENERATING AND TRANSMISSION LOAN AUTHORITY

My second point concerns generation and transmission. I believe that REA's authority to make loans for the construction of generating plants and transmission lines and systems must be preserved and that the best way to preserve it is to use it wisely.

Preservation of this authority is essential in order to safeguard the bargaining power of REA's borrowers. In fact, the existence of the authority is even more important than its use. I propose, however, to use it wherever and whenever the facts of any given situation justify such use in line with the congressional intent as expressed in the Rural Electrification Act. I read that intent in the words of Senator George Norris, one of the true "fathers" of the REA program. On February 26, 1936, in explaining to the Senate the intent of the bill which became the Rural Electrification Act, Senator Norris, quoting Morris L. Cooke, the first REA Administrator, said:

"REA can make loans for generating plants, but we must be shown conclusively, (1) that energy is not available from any existing source; (2) that the proposed generating plant can produce energy at a lower cost than it could be obtained from any other source; (3) that the output of such plant will be used mainly for supplying energy for use in rural areas."

It is essential for REA to have this authority. That is why I am so deeply concerned.

I know you will agree that a sufficient appraisal of each application should be made to assure that the need exists and that the results sought will be achieved—that the farmers who must pay the bill will be benefited, not harmed, by the action taken.

In the Senate debate March 1, 1946, in support of REA generation loans, the late Senator Robert La Follette, as an outspoken advocate of the REA program, said:

"It is as obvious as a pikestaff that no Administrator in his right mind is going intentionally to build competing plants which cannot possibly contribute to the success of the cooperative and may sink it."

Due attention should, of course, be given to such matters as (a) the soundness of load studies; (b) the soundness of construction cost estimates; (c) possible advantages from interconnection of systems for emergency or standby, or sales of power to, or purchases from, others; (d) exchanges of energy; (e) base loading and packing arrangements, etc.

All these factors are to be soberly considered and weighed not from the viewpoint of controversy, or propaganda, or special interests, or partisan politics, but from the viewpoint of the farmer who must ultimately pay the bill through the use of electricity on the farm.

AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF LENDING

Third, I believe that the electrification lending program should be maintained at a level adequate to take care of extension of service to the unserved, system improvements to handle expanding power use, and generation and transmission facilities.

Under our governmental system, it is the executive branch which makes recommendations to the Congress concerning the needs of the program. It is the Congress which makes the final decision. Both the recommendation and the final decision are necessarily made with due regard to the total economy of our country and for other essential needs.

We in REA accept the decision of the Congress as establishing the blueprint for our lending program. The only limiting factors are the merit of the individual applications and the complexities of the problems presented by them.

There is not, as has been alleged in some quarters, any understanding, secret or otherwise, to limit the program or slow down the lending rate.

Let's look at the record in this respect. So far in the present fiscal year we have made 135 electric loans totaling $58,589,600. The number of loans made is substantially the same as during recent years. The amount is slightly smaller than that at this time a year ago. It is higher than at the same time the year before that.

We intend to meet every valid loan need where soundness and feasibility can be established. Also, we are going to keep at the task of expediting the processing of loan applications. We want you to be able to get a prompt answer when you come in with a loan application.

One of our chief endeavors is to increase the efficiency within REA. That is what has enabled us to make staff reductions and realize economies that benefit all.

FIRM AND UNSHAKEN FAITH

My fourth basic point is this: I believe that if we are to develop the maximum strength for the REA program in the years to come—if we are to realize our vision—we must place maximum emphasis upon the development of strong self-sufficient, self-reliant, well-managed local cooperatives.

We have all heard, and are likely to hear much more, about this or that external force or happenstance which is said to threaten the very future existence of our cooperatives and our program. Despite these prophesies of doom and attitudes of defeatism, my faith in the future of the REA program and in your future remains firm and unshaken.

I am convinced that we have basically nothing to fear except that we, ourselves, may fall short of our responsibility of maintaining our own operations on a sound, well-managed, business basis.

Increasingly, the local cooperatives should strive for self-sufficiency and self-reliance and REA should encourage such efforts. This is, I think, important as an end in itself. It is not something which you, or we, should approach apologetically. We in REA will do all we can to further this objective of self-reliance and self-sufficiency because, by so doing, we are convinced that the future of the REA program is best served.

Another point that I wish to call to your attention is the need for a rational approach to the problem of power supply.

CONTROVERSY SOLVES NOTHING

It becomes increasingly apparent that the future power supply cannot be adequately developed by agitated controversy, by distrust of one another or by policies that make a long-range planning difficult or even impossible.

Healthy, normal, and economically sound growth can be brought about by the farmers, REA, Interior, municipalities, and commercial utilities sitting down around a conference table—planning the future and forgetting the past. No one segment of the industry can do the job alone. Each can make contributions of needed facilities and still maintain independence and freedom of action. We in cooperative electrification are grown up. We are strong, and as long as we are unified we have more to gain than lose by working with others. Only in this way will we be able to meet a difficult problem and arrive at the solution we want—low-cost power.

Great benefits could be accomplished by power supply committees set up in each State or area working toward sound and proper objectives through an industrywide approach. It should be recognized that cooperatives in some sections of the country have already acted. Results have been good. Let us now take further positive steps in this direction.

Let us look briefly, now, at the rural telephone program.

One of our first actions after taking office was to reorganize the administrative setup of the telephone program. What we did was separate completely the two programs. The way it worked out, about 60 percent of the staff was assigned to the electric program and about 40 percent to the telephone program. We placed each of these staffs under an assistant administrator.

It seemed to us that this separation was essential if both programs were to be expedited as we wished to do.

PROBLEMS IN RURAL TELEPHONY

We also gave early attention to the very serious problem of high costs of telephone system construction. We found that the costs that telephone borrowers were up against were producing rates so high that people generally could not pay them. So we had a study made by some of the same people who battled this problem in the early

REA years. They have already come up with some very practical and helpful suggestions, and the work to reduce costs is continuing.

We have also given some attention to the problem of getting industry-wide cooperation in the telephone field, recognizing the close interrelationship that must exist between various telephone organizations if rural subscribers are to get good service over a wide calling area. We have pledged to the industry reasonable consideration of its problems, and we feel we are gaining its support in realizing our objective of bringing telephones to the farms of America.

I think it can be said that these efforts are bearing fruit. We have already made some $32,886,000 in telephone loans during the present fiscal year, and we do not have much doubt of the possibility of lending the full $74 million that is available for this program during the year. That will be two-thirds of the amount loaned in the entire previous history of the telephone program.

Good progress is also being made in getting REA-financed telephones to ringing on farms, which is the real test of success. There are now some 64 systems in service, providing modern service to about 38,000 subscribers as a result of REA financing.

It seems to me that any fair-minded, realistic inventory of the REA programs today will show that their conditions is good. I have outlined what I conceive to be some of the paramount needs facing us today. I have tried to state, simply and frankly, my views on each of these points. I believe they are views which are shared by you and by the farmers you represent. These are the views which are guiding and will continue to guide my direction of the Rural Electrification Administration. To that undertaking, I pledge my very best efforts. I ask your support, your understanding, and your help.

Trade and Not Conscience Is the Goal of Great Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly said that the British Government, under Churchill, has no conscience—British trade is their god, and to obtain it this Prime Minister would trade off the independence of any country, including our own, if by so doing he could obtain trade for Great Britian. Many Prime Ministers of Great Britain have exhibited the same trait. How could the perfidy of Chamberlain be explained, if not in the light of obtaining "British trade at all hazards"?

Here is some new evidence of this same trait, and I quote:

APPEAL OF THE RUMANIAN REFUGEES TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE FREE PEOPLES

Through a passage of Sir Winston Churchill's War Memoirs published in the New York Times, of the 2d of November last, we have learned of the way in which the countries of southeastern and central Europe were apportioned. In the course of an interview between the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Stalin at Moscow on the 9th of October 1944, Sir Winston offered the latter a Soviet predominance of 90 percent in Rumania. Naturally, Stalin accepted the proposal.

We consider it essential to make the following observations on this exchange:

On the 9th of October 1944, when Sir Winston Churchill handed over our country to the U. S. S. R., Rumania had already been engaged for a month and a half with 18 divisions on the side of the allies in the war against Germany. Rumania's switch of alliance had been carried out on the repeated insistence of the three great powers, and following the formal guaranties which these latter had given not only to the government of Bucharest, but also to the leaders of the Rumania democratic opposition. Thus Mr. Molotov declared on the 3d of April 1944: "The Soviet Government is not aiming at the annexation of a part of Rumanian territory or the modification in any way whatsoever of the existing social structure in Rumania." This declaration did not represent a unilateral act on the part of the Soviet Government. In fact, Sir Winston Churchill declared in the House of Commons on the 4th of April 1944 that he approved the attitude of the Government of the U. S. S. R. and that His Britannic Majesty's Government guaranteed Moscow's undertaking regarding Rumania. An analogous declaration was made by the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, on the same day in the name of the United States.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain was not unaware of the difficult situation in which Rumania found herself. On the 3d of June 1944, he declared in the House of Commons that "only Hitler's pistol pointed at Rumania prevented that country from rejoining the allied camp."

Rumania, defying the German menace, on the 23d of August 1944 denounced her alliance with the Third Reich and declared war on it. This gesture brought about the complete reversal of the military situation in the southern sector of the eastern front: 300,000 German prisoners fell into the hands of the Red army; the latter were able to advance 700 kilometers without meeting any resistance; the war was thus shortened by 6 months and, consequently, numerous lives—British, American, Russian, and others—were spared. On the other hand, 169,822 Rumanian soldiers fell in the struggle against Hitler's Germany.

In spite of the effective contribution made by the Rumanians to the Allied cause, Sir Winston Churchill, on his own initiative, handed her over to the Soviet Union on the 9th of October 1944, and this while the Rumanian armies were fighting against the German divisions.

Similarly, Sir Winston Churchill's action is in flagrant contradiction with the principles of the Atlantic Charter (August 1941) and with the declaration of the United Nations (January 1942) which nobly proclaim the right of peoples to "choose the kind of government under which they wish to live." Moreover, this action constitutes a unilateral betrayal made without the knowledge of Great Britain's Western Allies: the United States and France. In reality, Sir Winston Churchill himself recognized in his memoirs that President Roosevelt had made it quite clear that his Ambassador in the Soviet capital, A. Harriman, was not authorized to carry on any such negotiation.

The British Prime Minister, aware of the cynicism of his gesture, even proposed to Stalin that the latter should destroy the piece of paper on which this bargain was written in his own hand.

Taking note of Sir Winston Churchill's admission, the representatives of the Rumanian organizations in France declare:

The British Prime Minister had no right to decide the fate of the Rumanian people and of other peoples of central and eastern Europe.

Sir Winston Churchill is morally responsible for the tragic situation in which the countries of central and eastern Europe now find themselves.

The agreement reached between Sir Winston and Stalin cannot be opposed by the Rumanian people and contradicts the laws of ethics.

In order that the peoples, who have fallen under the Communist domination, do not despair of the future, they must know that they do not constitute for the West herds of human being given over to the most pitiless of dictatorships.

By ratifying such traffic as the one concluded to Rumania's detriment the Western Powers would sow doubt in the world regarding the sincerity of their struggle, and suspicion of the guaranties given by the Atlantic nations to the small countries.

We appeal to the sense of justice of the American and British and French nations who are in the vanguard of the struggle for liberty and also to the conscience of all free peoples and we ask them to join with us in protesting against the unjust act of Sir Winston Churchill at Moscow.

The Rumanian Orthodox Church of Paris; the Rumanian Catholic Church in France; the Rumanian Universitary Foundation Charles I; the Rumanian Center of Research; the Association of Rumanian Orthodox Women in Paris; the Association of Rumanian Greek-Catholics Students (ASTRU); the Association of Rumanian Orthodox Youth in Paris; the Association of Rumanian Lawyers in France; the Association of Rumanian Merchants; the Association of Rumanian Students in Paris; the Association of War Veterans of Rumania (France); the Association of Rumanian Journalists; the Trades Unions' Center of Rumanian Democratic Journalists and Publishers; the Association of Doctors of Medicine; the Rumanian Trade Unionists in France; the Association of Refugee Christian Intellectuals in France (Rumanian Section).

The American Legion's Back to God Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following transcript of a television program that was given on Sunday, February 7, 1954, during the American Legion's Back to God program:

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S BACK TO GOD PROGRAM

ANNOUNCER. The American Legion wishes to thank the Columbia Broadcasting System for making possible the presentation of its interdenominational religious program Back to God.

(West Point choir: Music, choir singing For God and Country We Associate Ourselves Together.)

ANNOUNCER. The American Legion's Back to God program has as its purposes the national spiritual rededication of all Americans to the principles and ideals of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man upon which this Nation was founded. It therefore encourages: Regular public wor-

ship; daily family prayer; and the religious instruction of youth.

Music on today's program is by the West Point Military Chapel Choir here in New York and by the United States Naval Academy Chapel Choir in Washington where we will take you later for a special message from the President.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale delivers the invocation as we open our services.

Reverend PEALE. Let us pray.

We invoke Thy Divine blessing, Oh Lord, upon our beloved country. We would return in all our ways unto Thee. Make us mindful of the promise of the Scriptures (II Chronicles 7: 14) "If my people which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and will heal their land." Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

An American family regularly worshiping in the House of God on the Lord's Day is the truest symbol of our country's security and greatness.

Sturdy preaching and sincere worship have formed our national character and ideals.

American freedom rests primarily upon great religious teaching, namely, that God is the sovereign of all mankind; that man being immortal is of sacred significance, and is forever free as a child of God; that all men, being children of God, are brothers one to another.

If parents regularly take their children to church and thereby constantly renew their faith, our political institutions which are rooted in such spiritual concepts can never be shaken.

Ours is the first great nation in history to be established upon a definitely religious base. Our country will remain strong only as we remain religious.

A most heartening feature of our time is the tremendous resurgence of faith and the enormous numbers of our people who crowd our churches each Sunday.

Profoundly blessed are we that our President, who took his oath of office with a prayer on his lips, and who conducts the vast affairs of state in an attitude of prayer, humbly leads his fellow countrymen to church on the Lord's Day.

(West Point Choir: Music, choir singing Softly Now the Light of Day.)

Bishop FULTON J. SHEEN. It is fitting that at least once a year we as citizens examine our consciences and ask ourselves: What is the source of the rights and the liberties that we enjoy? Whence have they come? For example, where have we received our right to own property? What is the origin of freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, freedom of press? Who gave us these rights and these liberties?

The International Bill of Rights of the United Nations says we were endowed with them, but they do not tell us who endowed us with these rights and liberties. Certainly, if we were endowed by the Ford Foundation, we would acknowledge that the Ford Foundation had endowed us. And the Constitution of the United Nations says that we were endowed by nature with these rights. I think that as intelligent people we ought to ask ourselves, by the nature of what? By the nature of whom? Were we endowed by cosmic physical nature? In that case we are only things. Were we endowed by animal nature? Then we are just beasts. And if we are just beasts and if we came from beats and have the endowment of beasts, well then maybe we are expected to act like beasts in the bloody business of war.

Our Founding Fathers were far deeper and wiser. They asked themselves this question: Whence came our rights and liberties? And they looked across the water and they came across one theory there that said that all of our rights and liberties had come to us by the will of the majority. Our Founding Fathers rejected that particular theory, for they said, if our rights and liberties come to us by the will of the majority, then the will of the majority can take away the will of the minority. And they rejected that theory.

Then they considered another theory to the effect that our rights and liberties have come to us from Parliament. And if our rights and liberties came to us from Parliament, then Parliament can take our rights and liberties away. So they sought and looked around for some basis and ground of human rights and liberties that would make us independent of the will of the majority, independent of a Parliament, independent of a state, independent of a Federal Government. For if rights and liberties came from the state, the state can take them away. And they found that basis and right and ground and they set it down in the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, that it is a self-evident principle that the Creator, God Himself, has endowed us with certain inalienable rights, among which are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our rights then have come to us from God.

It becomes as simple as this: If we are to keep our perfume, we much keep our flowers. If we are to keep our light and heat, we must keep our sun. If we are to keep our forests, we must keep our trees. And if we are to keep our rights and our liberties, then we must also keep our God.

(Music, choir singing Lead Kindly Light.)

Rabbi NORMAN SALIT. Man's engineering skills have brought him into the shadow of his own self-destruction. His knowledge, enabling him to conquer nature, has not taught him to conquer himself. He now can reduce civilization to flaming ruins overnight, and bids fair to do so. Does he have the wisdom to understand this, and the moral strength to avert it?

The safety of tomorrow's world depends on what we teach our children today. Centuries ago, in far-off Palestine, the prophet Malachi cried, "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man with his brother * * *? Based on that immortal statement stands the noble concept of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. If we can teach our children to live by that concept, we can redeem them—and ourselves—from our moral failure.

This religious instruction can save the world. It cannot be given in the public schools, for the Constitution of our country wisely decrees the separation of church and state. It must be imparted diligently to our children from infancy, in the homes of their parents and the houses of their God. More than this we cannot do; less than this we dare not do—for the future of civilization hangs in the balance.

Thus we can, if we will, make this a world of peace and plenty and freedom, rising to a status, as envisioned by the Psalmist, "but little lower than the angels."

We can have a fair and fruitful world—in which our latest discoveries, planned so largely for destruction, can be turned to constructive purpose and made man's faithful servant instead of his dread master. We are made in God's image; we can be God-like in fact as well—if only we can buttress our mind with heart, our knowledge with wisdom, our intellect with understanding and compassion. How true today is the ancient injunction of Dueteronomy, "I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed."

Give us, O Father of Mercy, the vision to see this, and the strength to bring it about. We live in a free land. Let us use our freedom for wise choices—the choice of liberty as against intimidation, of brotherhood as against prejudice, of teaching our children to follow Thee in quest of these goals as against following us in the pitiful and tragic road we have trod. Be this Thy will, O God, and Thy blessing to all mankind. Amen.

(West Point Choir: Music, choir singing May the Words of My Mouth.)

Comdr. ARTHUR J. CONNELL. In February of 1943 four men of God gave up their lifebelts and their lives aboard a sinking troopship in the North Atlantic.

The four chaplains represented the major creeds of religious worship in America. Their heroism stands out as a triumph more inspiring and more meaningful than any ever gained by sword and gun.

This religious service, symbolizing the American Legion's continuing "Back to God" program, is offered in the spirit of the four chaplains.

The American Legion in 1919 was dedicated by its founders to the unselfish service of God and country. Today we reemphasize this priority of spiritual values by calling upon Legionnaires everywhere to lead their communities in a conscious effort to acknowledge the need and the power of divine guidance.

We learned as children that God is everywhere. We Legionnaires found as members of the Nation's Armed Forces that nowhere is His presence more comforting or His power more evident than on the battlefield. It is this personal experience which has moved us to appeal in a special way for the strengthening of America's spiritual resources.

Upon this faith our Nation was founded. Apart from it American life has no meaning and no purpose. Let us remember always that the power to judge another whose color or creed differs from our own is vested only in the Father of us all and when we challenge that power we deny our heritage and jeopardize our destiny as Americans.

The President of the United States has aptly stated that we live in an age of peril. As Legionnaires we believe that an America united and strong in religious faith will surmount that peril and build a true foundation for an age of peace.

So we urge: Go to your church or synagog regularly. Promote daily family prayer. Bring up your children to know and love God.

In this way you will make a truly great contribution to our God and country.

(Morton Downey and West Point Choir: Music, singing The American Legion Preamble.)

Commander CONNELL. These, then, are the aims and purposes of the American Legion.

We take you now to the White House in Washington.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

President EISENHOWER. As a former soldier, I am delighted that our veterans are sponsoring a movement to increase our awareness of God in our daily lives.

In battle they learned a great truth, that there are no atheists in the foxholes. They know that in the time of test and trial we instinctively turn to God for new courage and peace of mind.

All the history of America bears witness to this truth. Out of faith in God and through faith in themselves as His children, our forefathers designed and built this Republic. In the 3 centuries that separate the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* from the 4 chaplains of the (transport) *Dorchester*, America's freedom, her courage, her strength, and her progress have had their foundation in faith.

Today, as then, there is need for positive acts of renewed recognition that faith is our surest strength, our greatest resource. This Back to God movement of the American Legion is such a positive act.

(Annapolis Choir: Music, choir singing The Star Spangled Banner.)

National Chaplain TOM B. CLARK. May the grace of God, the Father of all living, be with us.

With families of our Nation united in daily family prayer let their hearts be joyful in the knowledge of His love.

Today as we commemorate the heroic act of our four chaplains aboard the sinking troopship *Dorchester*—John P. Washington, a Roman Catholic priest; Alexander D. Goode, a Jewish rabbi; George L. FOX and Charles V. Poling, Protestant ministers, who united in prayer, gave their lifebelts and their lives for the sake of others, may we be inspired by their sacrifice.

Let us recognize their act as a symbol of the unity of nations founded upon the fatherhood of God, though his children may be of different faiths and many races and creeds. As we realize anew the blessings of our liberty and the truth of our brotherhood, heavenly Father, be with us and lead us in Thy way that, enlightened through divine guidance, we may accomplish Thy will. Amen.

(Annapolis Choir: Music, choir singing America the Beautiful.)

"O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain;
For purple mountain majesties,
Above the fruited plain!
America! America! God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Charge of Treason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting and informative article by the eminent author, Mr. Walter Lippmann, entitled "The Charge of Treason," which appeared in many newspapers of the country.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE CHARGE OF TREASON

Representative CLARE E. HOFFMAN has been asking the Democrats for a list of names that he can use without making them angry. I am afraid that Mr. HOFFMAN has not quite understood just why the President disavowed the charges of treason in the Lincoln's Birthday speeches.

The list of names that one politician may call another is almost, but not quite, unlimited. The list, moreover, can always be enlarged whenever a politician comes along with a knack for calling names. He does not have to refrain because his epithets will make his opponent angry. Indeed, politics being a rough and manly game, he may use names with the intention of making the other fellow so angry that he becomes rattled and does foolish things. This is a very free country.

There is, however, a blacklist on name calling. The test is not whether the name makes a man angry; or whether it is coarse, mean, insulting; not even whether it is untrue. The test is whether the name is one which—if it is untrue and is not retracted—a man of honor cannot forgive. As long as the libel stands there can be between him and the man who made it only an implacable enmity.

Treason, like murder, is a capital offense. To call a man a traitor, to accuse him of aiding and abetting treason, is to make a mortal accusation. If the accuser is right, the traitor should be brought to trial and if convicted he deserves to die. And if the man is falsely accused, if he is libeled and traduced by a deliberate and calculated lie, he must resent it and he must not rest until the accusation is knocked out. It is not merely his private right to vindicate his honor. It is his public duty to vindicate his honor. For the making of false accusations, especially of capital crimes like treason and murder, is a subversion of freedom of speech and grave disorderly conduct which threatens the integrity of a nation.

Is it necessary to spell out why the charge of treason, made deliberately and with knowing untruth by one party against another, is an intolerable political offense? For those who have forgotten why, or perhaps have never known, let it be said that to incite one half of the people against the other half, putting between them the mortal issue of treason, is to enter upon the commission of a political crime which can bring terrible consequences.

It is a gruesome irony that this organized incitement to a fratricidal division of our people was begun, with the blessings of the chairman of the Republican National Committee, at metings in honor of Abraham Lincoln. It makes one shudder at the desecration of his memory—at having to hear cruel and calculating voices summoning the Nation to civil disunion in the name of the martyr of the American Civil War.

The seriousness of the offense lies in the fact that, despite the President's disavowal of the charge of treason, the campaign is sponsored by the chairman of the Republican committee. The evidence is not conclusive but it is very strong that the resort to this tactic, the use of MCCARTHY, JENNER, and the like to force and fix the political issues, reflects a deliberate and high level political decision. With the President himself reluctant and protesting, it would appear from thier actions that there has been a radical decision by the politicians of the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party.

Beginning with Mr. Brownell's Chicago speech and his use of the FBI files for partisan purposes, going on to Governor Dewey's unprecedented—unprecedented for him—political violence and venom at Hartford, and then down to Chairman Hall's encouragement of the firebrands—there is a remarkably clear pattern.

The Brownell speech marked a radical turn away from the principles and the ideals which General Eisenhower represents. It was made almost immediately after the ominous Republican political reverses in Wisconsin, New Jersey, and New York. Since then the underlying economic trends have not been favorable to Republican political prospects. It is only too evident that the politicians around the President are very much frightened. The Brownell-Dewey-Hall line since the lost elections of the autumn can be explained only by supposing that they are afraid not only of losing the House of Representatives to the Democrats but also of losing their own party position and perhaps their political heads to the extreme anti-Eisenhower and anti-Dewey wing of the party.

Their new line is explicable only in terms of something like panic fear, of a profound feeling of political insecurity. Their line is designed as protection against the exploitation by MCCARTHY of a political setback in November. If the election goes better than they now fear, they will still be in the saddle though considerably bedraggled in appearance. If the election goes badly, they hope—though almost certainly in vain—to make MCCARTHY share the blame and not to be able to raise hell at their expense.

The President, who cannot be happy about all this, might find it useful at this point to invite his political advisers to read and to ponder the famous and oftold tale of Dr. Faustus and his pact with a very slick and plausible gent.

A Deserved Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an editorial written by D. K. Woodman, editor of the Mansfield News-Journal. This editorial entitled "A Deserved Tribute," refers to a great American, George J. Kochenderfer.

Mr. Kochenderfer has been editor of the Mansfield News-Journal since its inception. George Kochenderfer is a writer and an American at heart, one whose integrity and honesty never is questioned, and one who firmly carries forward the principles of Christianity and true Americanism.

The new editor, D. K. Woodman, has written the editorial and I join with him and the good people of the 17th district in saying "A deserved tribute to G. J. K.":

G. J. K.: A DESERVED TRIBUTE

Never before in the history of this newspaper has it been possible to pay homage to a man who has been raised to the rank of Editor Emeritus. For, since its inception, the News-Journal has had only one editor: George J. Kochenderfer.

Today "G. J. K."—as he signed many of his editorials and office memos—achieves that rank. And no man ever more richly deserved it. For it means: "earned by service."

George Kochenderfer earned this title not merely by being on the job evedy day, often 7 days a week. He earned it not just by filling expertly one of the key positions on this newspaper while it grew from an idea without a subscription list to a publication purchased daily by 30,000 persons and read by possibly 3 times that number.

No, he earned it as well by applying a sharp and astute intelligence to his responsibilities and by sharing freely his unshakable confidence in the Mansfield community and its newspaper with his fellow workers.

G. J. K. is a writer at heart. He loves the exact word, the precise phrase. He enjoys the sly shade of meaning. And he can build a sentence of truly architectural proportions. Yet he is the antithesis of a wordy dreamer.

He is a businessman, and Mansfield has profited by his business acumen. He helped develop South Boulevards. He was a driving force in the original campaign for funds

to build General Hospital. He was a promoter of the Mansfield-Leland Hotel and is still a member of its board of directors.

In the dark early thirties he combined his skill as a writer and his business sense to write a series of editorials widely credited with curbing local financial panic. Those editorials were so effective that many other newspapers sought and obtained permission to reprint them.

His fellow workers concur that G. J. K. has never been at loss for the right word at any time—and they mean that seriously.

If you don't know G. J. K., you should. He stands a little over medium height, with white hair and blue eyes that appraise you keenly. He moves with decision. His conversation bristles with sharp but not unkindly humor. He is a perfectionist and sees no reason why everyone else should not strive for the same ideal.

G. J. K. is no compromiser. He detests the evils of overindulgence in liquor. He recognizes and has always boldly opposed the danger of gambling not only to the individual but to the community. He has spoken out uncompromisingly in print against graft and particularly against offenders who repeat their crimes.

Yet he has been known to go out of his way to gently and unobtrusively help a young man get back on the right track. In his office he has advised scores of young people. Some have achieved considerable success in the newspaper field; others have become surgeons or lawyers; still others are leaders in industry.

G. J. K. is no respecter of persons as personages, but he is a compass needle at finding ability and sincerity.

This happens to be written by a man who has worked closely with George Kochenderfer for just under a decade and a half. The writer's sincerest hope is that these words can express part of the feeling of genuine affection and admiration for G. J. K. that is felt by employees in all the departments of the News-Journal.

We cannot expect to record in words, George, the devotion of your warm-hearted keen-minded wife, nor the friendly cleancutness of your son, Robert, and his family, nor even the deeply stable confidence of your friends.

We can, however, join our publisher in saying you have richly earned this chance to take things just a little easier. And while doing so, all of us on the News-Journal want you to know how deeply we feel that you merit our pride in you and our respect for you both as a journalist and as a man.

D. K. W.

President A. J. Hayes, of the International Association of Machinists, Proposes Seven-Point National Health Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, President A. J. Hayes, of the International Association of Machinists, has developed a seven-point national health program, which should be of great interest to the American people. Mr. Hayes has given a great deal of his time and energy to improving the health of the American people. Recently he served as a member of President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. Mr. Hayes testified before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the course of the committee's health inquiry, which is devoted to the development of a constructive national health program.

President Hayes' proposals to Congress entitled "Seven Steps to Better Health" and which were published in the January 21, 1954, issue of the Machinist, are as follows:

AL HAYES' PROPOSAL TO CONGRESS: SEVEN STEPS TO BETTER HEALTH

Seven specific steps by which our Government can help now to bring the blessings of modern medicine to more American families at prices they can afford were presented to Congress by IAM president Al Hayes. Mr. Hayes outlined his seven-point minimum program for better health last week in testimony before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Here are the seven points as the IAM explained them to the Congressmen:

1. Training more doctors: Federal grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, and nursing, and institutions for the training of other medical personnel and Federal scholarships to worthy young people who would not otherwise be able to bear the financial cost of a medical education.

2. Building more hospitals: A continuation and broadening of the existing Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Program with more emphasis on modernizing existing facilities and some provision for the establishment of hospitals in rural and remote areas, perhaps as branches of metropolitan hospitals.

3. Group medical practice: Some means of fostering and promoting the development of group medical practice. "Despite strong objections from the medical profession, and laws prohibiting group practice in some States, group practice is made essential by the complexity of modern medicine."

As a matter of fact, the medical profession is already engaging in group practice, especially in metropolitan areas, with patients being referred from one specialist to another at considerable inconvenience, delay, and expense.

4. Public Health Service: The research and community programs of the United States Public Health Service should be further developed. "It is tragic, I think, that in the past year the Service has suffered cuts in appropriations which drastically curtailed existing programs."

As a result, the Service was forced to abandon a number of essential surveys, research programs and informational activity, which had a particularly adverse effect upon the majority of employees who work in smaller plants.

Surely, this type of so-called economy is more truly parsimony.

5. Serious illnesses:

A national system of insurance for catastrophic illness to help people bear the extreme costs which result from the long neglect of their health under our existing inadequate facilities.

The need for this type of program will diminish as more and more of our people have access to health education, preventive medicine, and early diagnosis and treatment, and will completely vanish with the institution of national health insurance.

6. Health insurance: Federal assistance to existing commercial and nonprofit health insurance systems to enable them to offer comprehensive health insurance at reasonable cost. "This may be done either in the form of subsidies or through a system of reinsurance as proposed in H. R. 6949 (Wolverton's bill)." In either case the assistance must be accompanied by strict Federal standards governing the types of insurance offered and the practices of the companies offering them.

7. Government health loans:

Some form of assistance in obtaining proper health care to the millions of Americans whose incomes are so low as to prohibit their taking advantage of even the types of protection made possible by the suggested Federal assistance to insurance companies and nonprofit health organizations.

The number of persons in this category are great. According to the Bureau of Census of the Commerce Department there were in 1949 some 38 million persons in nearly 11 million families whose incomes were less than $2,000 a year.

In addition, there were over 3 million people outside of family groups earning less than $500 a year. "Certainly no program would be complete without making some provision for this large group of more than 40 million Americans who would be unable to take advantage of the other parts of the program because of their severe financial limitations."

We suggest that the problem could be met through some sort of national health loan agency which would make loans available to low-income families and individuals for the purchase of comprehensive health insurance.

Ineffectual Counsel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, our political adversaries, the Democrats, have complained in the past week about the so-called attacks against their party by Republicans who have been abroad in the country during the Lincoln week observance. If my recollection is correct I remember the dastardly charges they made against Mr. Hoover when the poison pen was the chief weapon of our opponents. Cry as they may the record has been made.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial that appeared in the Beloit Daily News, which is pertinent to these observations:

INEFFECTUAL COUNSEL

Thin-skinned Democrats are learning something about political pains now that their donkey is being gored.

They don't like it. It ruffles their jangled nerves. It disturbs their bipartisan digestion.

They dislike being labeled consorts of Communists. Such attacks, they charge, are "dastardly." They hint unless tactics now being employed by certain Republicans are halted they will upset the legislative applecart.

They made a direct appeal to President Eisenhower to call off his rampaging elephants with their pointed tusks.

In response the President, at his Wednesday news conference, counseled members of his administration to avoid extreme partisanship in their remarks about Democrats, adding he would expect the Republican National Committee to show similar tolerance.

Times are too serious, explained the President, to indulge in political partisanship to an extreme.

His remarks are suggestive of a harassed parent admonishing a group of wild-eyed youngsters on a frolic "to be careful, if you can't be good."

The President's plea will be just about as effectual as that of the tormented parent.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, reading the many insertions placed in the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD brings to Members of the Congress a varied background of the views, moods, and activities of the different sections of our country.

One very real problem of our day is juvenile delinquency—and this is not confined to any one part of the United States. Many organizations in our home communities are working very hard to find a solution. In the 16th District of Pennsylvania, the school board of the city of Lebanon has kept delinquency at a minimum through its home and school visitor program.

Mrs. Sara G. Leffler, of Lebanon, has been the active, driving force back of this work. She is an outstanding, energetic woman, and her experience in the school, newspaper, and political life of her community makes her a natural for this particular field—and, by the way, she is also vice chairman of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania.

I am sure a reading of Mrs. Leffler's latest report will be of interest and value to you. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the report, which is as follows:

THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM: LEBANON HIGH SCHOOL

In an evaluation of the guidance program of Lebanon Senior High School, and according to the survey which the subcommittee has attempted to answer, the entire story cannot be told. There may not be a guidance program in the sense of an organization program with a head as such, or a program which is according to the book.

However, in all fairness, it seems to me that we have perhaps something better—and that is a guidance program in which the entire community has a part. We have a great community team for the welfare of the girl and boy and we feel as if it is an effective program because the community helps the boys and girls. And the community is the one in which, in all likelihood, the majority will live, once they leave school. It becomes therefore not only a matter for the community to learn to know them, but to teach them the services and functions of the community in which they live. A guidance program which is housed and conducted only within the confines of a school, has major limitations and therefore the follow-up work which is done by various community agencies, especially with the boy and girl with home and employment problems, is of lasting value to the community. Since we hear much these days about "the whole child" and about "citizenship" we have applied in a practical manner these sound principles and have gone on from there.

In the first place, most problems as such have been recognized before they reach Lebanon High School; teen-age troubles have been discussed and handled; and there is a guidance program which goes on perpetually, even in the summer months.

In the elementary system, the alert teacher recognizes a potential need or problem, and reports it to the home and school visitor who in turn investigates. A written report with recommendation is sent to the principal of the school—sometimes the problem can be handled by the teacher and this is what at first is tried. If this possibility is exhausted, then we go to one or several community agencies, i. e., such as the Family and Childrens Service for home problems, the Visiting Nurse Association or State clinic for medical asistance if a health problem is indicated; if a social problem, the YMCA or the Scout program. Teachers are in charge of the playgrounds during the summer months and here, too, much guidance work is done. Sometimes the help of the police department is asked if there is a possibility of potential criminality. It might be safe to say that the Lebanon city school district has the largest juvenile file of any school district. Files are kept only for the information of those who are concerned, and are treated as confidential material.

Sometimes the school laws are used and parents arrested—here, too, there is complete cooperation on the part of aldermen. In other words, every known private and public agency, individuals, church groups, civic and fraternal organizations will do anything to help children, and the school considers even adult-connected cases as a part of the school program since in many instances these are parents of schoolchildren. The school therefore has become the central point for referral of cases, since next to the home, the school knows the child best. Proof of this is that almost all potential employers refer to the school rather than the parent for recommendations.

A large percentage of so-called problems are cleared up before the junior high stage is reached. Here the work done is similar. However, since the boys and girls are used to the understanding and kindness of most of the elementary teachers they fit readily into the program in junior high schools. In Henry Houck Junior High, the principal, H. J. Swanger, is the guidance director and keeps the open door policy for all boys and girls. He talks to every one of them before the school year is out and learns to know them. His teachers help. This same policy is pursued in Harding Junior High where the vice principal, J. J. Beattie is in charge of the program.

At both schools, parents are called in; letters are written; the home and school visitor gives exhaustive reports on home conditions; the police department, the probation officer—all exchange information which is received in their offices concerning juveniles. The judge of the courts, the district attorney—have helped in counseling work where it was felt it would help. The State employment office assists with the dropouts—the public assistance gives reports on economic circumstances, when required. The school nurses work in complete coordination with the program.

By the time the boys and girls reach high school, the school has learned to know them and they have learned to know the school, because the policy is the same—for the welfare of every girl and boy. Lebanon High School today sends into the community well-adjusted school citizens and like any factory—the product is what counts. Mr. Norman Hemperly, vice principal, is in charge of this work in Lebanon High, with able assistance from the athletic director, Mr. M. Intrieri, together with the class deans, Miss Barbara Christianson, Mr. J. H. Kimmell, and Mr. Ralph Savage. Mr. John Paczak, who came to Lebanon High as the counselor-psychologist this year, already has filled an important niche and works right along with the team.

Teachers and principals, however, who are engaged in doing this work receive no extra pay for their services. This interest and selflessness perhaps are what spell success for the program. In the final analysis, successful counseling depends upon intangibles and the ones who do the counseling—and young men and women in high school respect heart more than head perhaps.

The coaches of the school system, the music teachers, too, do an especially outstanding job in interesting boys and girls in hobbies. Each boy and girl is considered from social, economic, and vocational levels, but one person as a rule works with them, since no child is like Gaul—he cannot be divided into three parts.

Mr. Hemperly has many records on file. We believe an examination, even a cursory one, of these files will reveal a guidance program which for so-called grass roots operation is unequaled anywhere. We hope, therefore, that what is done will receive recognition, and such fine people who do work not written into their contracts, will receive the praise they deserve.

SARA G. LEFLER,
Home and School Visitor.
NOVEMBER 23, 1953.

Communism in Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, with our great concern about the spread of communism throughout the world, we may sometimes neglect events which are occurring in our backyard. Perhaps it is not widely known that the Communists are making strenuous efforts to expand their influence in Cuba.

President Batista of Cuba has taken a firm stand against the Reds and is endeavoring to secure the cooperation of all the democratic groups in Cuba against the dangerous Communist menace there.

The former Communist, Paul Crouch, has recently returned from Cuba and written an article about Communist activity in Cuba for the Christianform. The Christianform, 2200 R Street NW., Washington, D. C., is an organization devoted to fighting communism and the instilling of Christian social principles in our society. I include herewith the article by Paul Crouch which appeared in the November 15, 1953, issue of the Christianform:

COMMUNISM IN CUBA
(By Paul Crouch)

HABANA.—A terrific struggle is in progress today throughout the Caribbean area between the atheistic forces of communism on one side and those fighting for Christianity and freedom on the other. In Cuba, Jamaica, Guatemala, Trinidad, and British Guiana the struggle is taking on various forms, but in these and other countries of the Caribbean the Communist moves are correlated and are under direct supervision from Moscow. While our attention is centered on events in Europe and Asia, Soviet agents are busy establishing formidable bases in this hemisphere—right in our own back yard.

In Guatemala the Communist Party virtually controls the government, with President Arbenz little more than a rubber stamp for Fortuny, Fuentes, Gutierrez, and other Red officials who now run the country. Only

drastic action by the English Government prevented British Guiana from becoming a Soviet military base in this hemisphere, with a satellite government headed by American-born Janet Rosenberg Jager, formerly a member of the Young Communist League, and her husband. The latter has been removed from his office as premier by the English governor, but he is now receiving the backing of Clement Attlee and the British Labor Party.

Cuba, however, remains a major target for the Reds in the Caribbean. The Communist Party, there known as Partido Socialista Popular, has a present membership of 70,000—three times the size of the Communist Party membership in the entire United States. If the Communists were equally strong in the United States in proportion to population, the party in this country would have a dues-paying membership of two million. The votes received by the Communist candidates in the last Cuban election are equal in percentage of the total vote to 5 million votes in a national election in the United States.

Fortunately, this dark cloud is not without a silver lining. During recent years the dues paying membership of the Communist Partido Socialista Popular has declined from well over 100,000 to the present figure of about 70,000. In the trade unions the decline of Communist strength is greatest.

In April 1947 the Communists had 100,000 dues paying party members in the Cuban Federation of Labor, which then had a total membership of 800,000. Another hundred thousand trade union members followed the party line. Lazaro Pena, member of the Communist Party's Politburo, was general secretary of the Federation of Labor, and party members held almost all of the key positions in the unions. In some unions the anti-Communists were forced out of their jobs and blacklisted. Today there are 50,000 dues paying Communists with an estimated 50,000 sympathizers who follow the party line in the Federation of Labor, which now has a membership of 1,200,000. Only 25 union locals throughout the country remain under Communist leadership, and no Communist holds any important national post in any trade union.

FORMER COMMUNISTS POWERFUL FOES OF REDS

The victory over the Communists in the trade unions of Cuba has been won largely through the tireless efforts of a former Communist, Eusibio Mujal, backed by a constantly increasing number of disillusioned members who today are among the most active anti-Communists in Cuba. In an on-the-spot study of the situation in Cuba I find that there are about 10,000 former Communists in the trade unions who have broken completely with Red ideology and now are shock troops on the side of Christianity and freedom. The experience that Eusibio Mujal and many of his close associates obtained in the Communist Party enables them to recognize Red maneuvers and to expose Soviet propaganda clearly and effectively.

Eusibio Mujal in 1947 led the anti-Communist forces in the trade unions in a struggle that ousted Lazaro Pena and the other Red leaders. Since the summer of 1947 he has been general secretary of the Cuban Federation of Labor, and today he is the outstanding leader of the anti-Communists in the trade unions throughout Latin America. Mujal and other Cuban union officials travel throughout the Caribbean, and some go to every country in South America to give a helping hand to those fighting Moscow's subversive agents.

It was in the early thirties that Mujal belonged to the Communist Party. After only 2 years of membership he became disillusioned, and for many years has devoted every waking hour to the fight against the Red menace, working with energy and endurance that is truly remarkable. The free world is likely to hear more of this outstanding man—today the arch foe of the Soviet agents in Latin America.

Although Mujal is not an unconditional supporter of President Batista, he recognizes the fact that Batista is the No. 1 target of the Reds, and that in the face of the Communist menace Batista must have the united support of all truly democratic forces in Cuba. President Batista recognizes the importance of the support he receives from Mujal and many other ex-Communists, and he frequently consults with Mujal. Here I find that business and labor are meeting on a new ground of mutual understanding and cooperation, determined to solve the economic problems of thir country.

VALUE OF EX-REDS RECOGNIZED IN CUBA

The success of Mujal in the fight against communism in the trade unions and the results he has achieved in helping thousands of former Communists to break with the party have been possible because of the almost complete absence in Cuba of the popular prejudices and misconceptions that handicap the efforts of every sincere ex-Communist in the United States. Although the world has seen the splendid work of such ex-Communists as the late Ernst Reuter, Mayor of West Berlin, every former Communist active in fighting the Red conspiracy in the United States is the target for the most vicious attacks by so-called liberals. This phenomena, so widespread in America, is absent here in Cuba. Those fighting for freedom welcome every convert from the Communist ranks and understand that the experience of disillusioned former Reds can be a great asset on our side of the world struggle. I find that many people here in Cuba are speaking of Eusibio Mujal as a man likely to be a future President of the country.

In spite of President Batista's firm stand against communism and the success of Mujal and other former Communists in freeing the trade unions from Red control, the situation in Cuba remains extremely serious. The Communists, always masters of intrigue, have made a united front with anti-Batista politicians in which they are the strategists and the power in the background. The Communists were behind the armed uprising in Oriente Province last July, and they are directing large-scale arms smuggling with the objective of future military attacks on the government and civil war if possible. The Communists in Cuba are working closely with the Reds in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Guatemala. The American public and Government must realize before too late what is taking place in our own backyard, and give adequate support and cooperation to Batista, Mujal, and other fighters against communism in Cuba and all of Latin America.

Judge Needed in San Diego

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the San Diego Union on February 10, 1954. The editorial follows:

JUDGE NEEDED HERE

Delays in the Federal court in San Diego are of such duration as to impair seriously the basic right of a citizen to quick and fair justice.

Because of the great workload on the one Federal court in this growing county, civil cases often are delayed a year. In desperation, many clients are forced to accept compromise settlements rather than wait for justice.

The Ninth Circuit Judicial Council could and should remedy the situation by recognizing the problem and assigning an additional residential judge for San Diego.

An omnibus judgeship bill approved by the Senate and House last week leaves the decision as to the exact assignment of an additional southern California judge up to this council.

There will be considerable pressure to assign the judge to Los Angeles. But a report on file in Congress shows that the average number of Federal prisoners awaiting trial at San Diego averaged 60 during a test period while in Los Angeles only 33 were waiting. Fresno had but five prisoners delayed on an average.

The case total for the 1 San Diego court often totals that of all 8 judges in Los Angeles.

Originally a bill was pushed commendably by Representative WILSON and Representative HILLINGS to have a judge assigned specifically to San Diego. While the House Judiciary Committee took special note of the need here, it made the bill more general.

Despite this technical procedure of generalizing this omnibus bill, it is clear that justice can be served best by assigning a second resident Federal judge to San Diego.

Moley Approves Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by Mr. Raymond Moley, which appeared in the current issue of Newsweek and it relates to the so-called Bricker amendment:

PERSPECTIVE

(By Raymond Moley)

THE DANGER AND THE REMEDY

The issue raised by the Bricker resolution and its various substitutes is not a mere lawyer's quibble. It deeply affects laymen everywhere and should be resolved by lay opinion over the Nation. Most of the legal argument is irrelevant for three reasons: (a) No one can tell what this Supreme Court will say about detailed language; (b) practically all the judicial opinions on the effects of treaties and international agreements have been swept aside by the *Missouri* v. *Holland* case in 1920 and the so-called Pink case in 1942; and (c) the vast machinery of legislation by international agreements that has come with the U. N. and other international bodies has exposed the social, economic, and political interests of every American citizen to new and strange legal restraints imposed not by the representatives of the people in Congress but in fact by bureaucrats unknown to the public.

The Holland case arose because a statute of Congress giving the Federal Government authority to protect migratory birds had been declared unconstitutional. When that happened John W. Davis was Solicitor General. I shall let him state what happened in words used before the New York Bar Association in 1953:

"I took it upon myself * * * to march over to the Department of State and say to them—I think it was to Secretary Lansing in person * * * that if he would negotiate a treaty with Canada providing for the protection of these migratory animals which neither country was able to protect alone, and if under that treaty Congress should be empowered to pass a statute for their protection, I thought it would stand up, and it was so done." In that way the Constitution was breached by a treaty. The same John W. Davis is now head of the leading pressure group fighting the amendment.

In the Pink case the Supreme Court decided that an executive agreement between F. D. R. and Litvinov in 1933 was the supreme law of the land and superseded the fifth amendment and the law of New York.

In three preceding articles I have shown how, through international commissions, agreements are made which have controlled and can in the future control economic affairs within the country. A series of such agreements dealing with tin and other raw materials is in the works or is planned. There are pending in the U. N. international conventions such as the human rights contraption which could take the form of treaties or agreements binding upon the internal affairs of the country.

President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, whose report in 1947 he heartily endorsed, cited *Missouri* v. *Holland* as authority for the statement that civil-rights legislation could be enacted despite constitutional barriers through an international bill of rights. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, also a member of the Davis group, in the first chapter of his book, Decision in Germany, makes the best of all cases for control in his account of the disastrous agreements that led up to the Berlin isolation and all the trouble since. It was an agreement that isolated Berlin. Even Potsdam was an agreement.

Two points embodied in almost all of the proposed amendments would provide the protection needed. There would be clear statements in an amendment that a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect and a treaty or other international agreement shall become effective as internal law * * * only through legislation by Congress. With these solidly in the Constitution, Congress can set up machinery to control and regulate international agreements.

The President and Secretary of State assure us that as long as they are in power there is no danger. But surely the President can see that there is not only a potential danger in the future but that it is reasonable for people to demand constitutional protection against such danger. That demand will not die with some cleverly contrived parliamentary trick that shelves this issue during this session. It will persist until there is firm assurance for the long future ahead.

Shall Radio Take Over Television?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 11, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful and valuable article entiled "Competition in the Broadcasting of Ideas and Entertainment: Shall Radio Take Over Television?" prepared by Henry B. Weaver, Jr., and Thomas M. Cooley II, and published in the University of Pennsylvania Law Review, volume 101, No. 6.

The Government Printing Office estimates that the article will make approximately 5¾ pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at a cost of $488.75.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMPETITION IN THE BROADCASTING OF IDEAS AND ENTERTAINMENT: SHALL RADIO TAKE OVER TELEVISION?

(By Henry B. Weaver, Jr., LL. B., 1935, University of Virginia Law School; member of the Virginia and District of Columbia Bars and the Bar of the Federal Communications Commission; and Thomas M. Cooley II, LL. B., 1935, Harvard Law School; member of the Michigan, Virginia, and District of Columbia Bars)

On May 1, 1952, the Federal Communications Commission entered upon the largest giveaway program in radio history. After 4 years of altercation and deliberation, it issued its Sixth Report and Order [1] establishing the procedures and physical rules under which it will give the Nation's television channels to applicants for television broadcast licenses. By the methods it uses in choosing from the group of applicants those who are to receive these rich prizes,[2] the Commission will create a pattern of station ownership and control of the airwaves which will be difficult or impossible to change later. The tremendous impact of television on our national life, political and social, makes it important to examine the policies which will shape this pattern. Who are to be our television broadcasters, and how is the public interest in the fare they provide to find effective expression? Present indications are that the Commission's answers to these questions will be disquieting in the extreme.

Radio and television broadcasters are licensed by the Federal Government to make use of the radio spectrum, and, because the usable frequencies are limited, enjoy, as a group, a monopoly.[3] This shortage of usable frequencies places an effective limitation on the number of stations and therefore on the possible numerical extent of competition within the group. In spite of these characteristics inherently circumscribing completely free and open competition, Congress, in setting up the regulatory system for radio and television broadcasting, specifically provided in the Federal Communications Commission Act that such broadcasters were not to be considered common carriers.[4] The act, moreover, carries many provisions designed to insure competition within the field; [5] and obviously Congress intended to rely on such free competition as was possible to act as a regulatory factor, and on the Federal Communications Commission to use its powers to assure the maximum amount of competition among those favored with licenses to use this limited public domain.

The United States Supreme Court, in its early decisions dealing with the act, recognized that the preservation of free competition was one of the objectives of Congress in passing the legislation. In *FCC* v. *Sanders Bros. Radio Station*, the Court said:

"Thus the act recognizes that the field of broadcasting is one of free competition. The sections dealing with broadcasting demonstrate the Congress has not, in its regulatory scheme, abandoned the principle of free competition as it has done in the case of railroads, in respect of which regulation involves the suppression of wasteful practices due to competition, the regulation of rates and charges, and other measures which are unnecessary if free competition is to be permitted." [6]

Footnotes at end of speech.

This proposition was again clearly stated by the Court in *FCC* v. *Pottsville Broadcasting Co.*:

"Congress moved under the spur of a widespread fear that in the absence of governmental control the public interest might be subordinated to monopolistic domination in the broadcasting field. To avoid this, Congress provided for a system of permits and licenses." [7]

The Commission itself has, in its Report on Chain Broadcasting spelled out its own philosophy on this point:

"We have been at pains to limit our regulations to the proven requirements of the situation, and especially to insuring the maintenance of a competitive market. Radio broadcasting is a competitive industry. The Congress has so declared it in the Communications Act of 1934, and has required the fullest measure of competition possible within physical limitations. If the industry cannot go forward on a competitive basis, if the substantial restraints upon competition which we seek to eliminate are indispensable to the industry, then we must frankly concede that broadcasting is not properly a competitive industry. If this be the case, we recommend that the Congress should amend the Communications Act to authorize and direct regulations appropriate to a noncompetitive industry with adequate safeguards to protect listeners, advertisers, and consumers. We believe, however, that competition, given a fair test, will best protect the public interest. That is the American system." [8]

Thus, at the outset, there appears complete agreement among Congress, the Supreme Court, and the Federal Communications Commission that the public interest in the broadcast field is to be served by preserving free and unfettered competition.

At this point, however, agreement ceases. Competition between whom? Competition in what respect? These, and a host of attendant questions have been left obscure and confused by the large body of Commission (and Court) actions since the Communications Act of 1934. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest answers to some of these questions which seem to the writers to accord with the public interest, and to demonstrate how greatly those answers reached and apparently forecast by the Commission's decisions in the past diverge from the public-interest concepts postulated.

In the communications field, competition has at least two aspects. One is the familiar economic competition which it is the purpose of the Sherman and related acts to preserve. The other is that competition for the attention of the public which creates the free market for ideas which is believed by many [9] to be the fundamental requisite for workable democratic institutions.

If, as the writers emphatically assume, the preservation of these two types of competition is in the public interest, who are to be the competitors? The airwaves are vertically divided into a number of bands, each devoted to one or more services. Thus, in standard broadcast (AM), frequency modulation (FM), and television, which are of chief concern here, each service operates in a separate band protected from interference by the others. Each service also has horizontal, or geographical, limits to the area which it may cover, within which it is similarly protected. Is the desired competition to be only within each service band and within the geographic service area of the band users? Or will the public benefit be enhanced if competition is also encouraged between the services and between geographic areas as well?

To be more specific, suppose that cities A and B each lie at the center of contiguous, but not overlapping, service areas, and each area has assigned to it 3 AM, 3 FM, and 3

Footnotes at end of speech.

television channels. Assume further that the service areas of A and B also constitute relatively independent, internally integrated market areas. Does beneficial competition require only that the three AM stations within the respective areas be kept in separate bands? That is, will the competitive purpose be satisfied if X, Y, and Z, 3 individuals who compete with each other, each own 1 AM station in A, but are allowed also to have 1 FM and 1 television station in A, and, further, to own 1 of each type in B as well?

The Federal Communications Commission, with some qualifications which appear below, seems to have answered the above question in the affirmative. It has claimed no mandate to foster or compel competition between services, but does so only between licensees in the same service. The course by which the Commission has reached this conclusion is tortuous, but it is worth retracing since, in the process, there will be revealed some of the consequences of its attitude. These consequences, in turn, will suggest guides for future thought and action.

The Commission, at the outset of its career, had to deal with only one mass communication service. There was no FM or television service in existence, and standard, or AM, radio was without competition as a device for bringing public entertainment and information directly into the home.[10]

The Commission did, however, find means to implement its mandate on competition. Long before FM and television appeared, it had established quite firm rules that the same interest could not own two radio broadcast stations which served the same area [11] or which substantially overlapped in their service areas,[12] and had placed a limit on the number of stations a single interest could own regardless of location.[13] These were relatively simple concepts, which could have been arrived at by application of Sherman Act analogies. The Commission's rationale was, however, somewhat broader. It is well summarized in the Louisville Times Co.:

"The underlying principle of the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934 relating to radio broadcasting is that radio facilities must be licensed by the Commission to the end that the public will be best served. In effecting this requirement of the act the Commission must consider many elements, one of which, in this case, becomes of particular importance, namely, the furtherance of competition in program service to a community to the end that the best service will be made available.

"It is true that in this instance the applicant is the licensee of a cleared channel station, and the application herein is for a local station, and it may be argued that the element of competition is not present as the services are different. But the cleared channel station serves all of the area which the proposed local station would cover, and as the people residing in that area may listen to only one station at one time, it is manifest that they would have to choose between the two. It is clear, therefore, that the two stations must necessarily compete for public reception."

Having thus recognized the element of competition for the public's attention, the Commission went on to say:

"The Commission has heretofore pointed out that the available frequencies in the broadcast band are limited, and the Commission is loathe [sic] to grant facilities for an additional broadcast station to one who already holds a license for a station in the same community unless it is clearly shown that the public convenience, interest or necessity would be served thereby. Other things being equal, it would appear that if there were a need for an additional local broadcast station in a community and if there were a frequency available for this service, the facilities should be granted to someone who does not already hold a broadcast license for an unlimited time station in that community. Experience shows that where a real need exists for radio service in a populous area, applications to establish service are readily forthcoming.

"In order to assure a substantial equality of service to all interests in a community, to assure diversification of service and advancements in quality and effectiveness of service, the Commission will grant additional facilities to identical interests only in cases where it clearly appears that the facility, apart from any benefit to the business interests of the applicant, is for the benefit of the community, fulfilling a need which cannot otherwise be fulfilled. * * *" [14]

In a separate group of cases, the idea of furthering competition in program service to a community here expressed led the Commission into a very different field. In brief, it developed the doctrine that, where two equally qualified applicants were applying for the same facility and one was the owner of a newspaper in the area to be served, the nonnewspaper owner would be preferred. The rationale of these cases is that such a preference "will better serve public interest, convenience and necessity in that there will be added to the * * * area a medium for the dissemination of news and information which will be independent of and afford a degree of competition to other such media in that area." [15] The Commission has elsewhere stated that the preference would "result in a greater diversification of the ownership of the media for the dissemination of information and entertainment." [16] Here, the Commission is no longer confining itself to competition between its licenses in a single service band. It has reached out to foster competition between its licensees and media which are not subject to its jurisdiction.[17] Moreover, it has taken cognisance of something beyond the strictly economic field, and the free market place for ideas as indicated by the words news and information and has included the broader cultural category of entertainment. In subsequent cases the Commission has mentioned ownership of local motion picture houses as a factor militating against one of two competing applicants,[18] and thus has clearly evinced its interest in entertainment per se.

This rule has been rather narrowly circumscribed by the Commission in a number of ways, however. First, unlike the rules applied to ownership of two stations in the same community [19] and to the overlap situation,[20] it will not disqualify a newspaper applicant who faces no competing applicant for the channel in question.[21] Moreover, a newspaper interest which shows that it is otherwise better qualified (i. e., better financed or better in technical ability, etc.), will, under the rule, succeed over its weaker rival.[22]

The attempt in the case of newspapers to bar one variety of cross channel [23] or intermedia, concentration of ownership in communications has occasioned, and still occasions, a great deal of argument in cases before the Commission, and has evidently been taken as a serious issue by that body over many years. This course of events leaves the observer totally unprepared for what happened when a new and competing medium within the Commission's own jurisdiction made its appearance.

The first real threat to radio's monopoly in the home was the discovery of frequency modulation (FM) as a method of broadcasting. The advent of FM brought about a second method of invading the home on a 24-hour-a-day basis. Existing radio broadcasters for the first time had to face up to something showing promise of affording real competition for the public's attention. The additional broadcast stations which could be added as a result of the discovery of FM virtually threatened the elimination of radio's monopoly, because now there appeared to be enough frequencies for all who might want to enter the broadcast field.[24]

The problem of allocating this new service was approached by the Commission with only slight attention to competition. While it spoke often of attracting new blood to the radio field,[25] the Commission, which earlier had been worried about newspaper ownership of radio stations, was wholly unconcerned about radio ownership of the new FM service. It is true that originally the Commission provided that applicants for the new service must broadcast during at least 2 hours of the day programs on their FM stations which were not merely duplications of those going out over existing facilities,[26] but no rule was adopted preferring new-blood applicants to those who already owned AM.

The existing radio industry opposed the nonduplication rule vigorously, with interesting results. The original rules governing FM service provided, in section 3.261 (b), that of the 6-hours required minimum broadcast (3 day and 3 night hours) 1 day and 1 night hour must be taken up by programs which did not duplicate a program simultaneously broadcast in the same area.

Section 3.261 (c) elaborated on this requirement:

"In addition to the foregoing minimum requirements, the Commission will consider, in determining whether the public interest, convenience and necessity has been or will be served by the operation of the station, the extent of which the station has made or will make use of the facility to develop a distinct and separate service from that otherwise available in the service area."

These rules were announced June 22, 1940, in a press release which specifically called attention to the importance of the provisions aimed at inducing development of a separate service. On March 30, 1943, the Comission, reciting that difficulties were besetting broadcasting owing to the shortage of material and trained personnel occasioned by the military effort of World War II, issued order 111, suspending the requirement that the 6 hours broadcast be divided into two sections of 3 hours each, day and night, and, of course, obviating the requirement that the nonduplicating 2 hours be similarly divided.[27]

Evidently order 111 was insufficient to meet the military emergency; for on July 6, 1943, the Commission issued order 111–A, suspending the requirement of nonduplicating programs altogether, and reciting the same difficulties and shortages as the cause.[28] However, an accompanying press release, calling attention to the fact that rule 3.261 (c) was not suspended, indicated the Commission's continuing concern that separate services be evolved. Nevertheless, in the succeeding 2 years the contention that the suspension was due solely to military drains upon material and skilled operatives was apparently forgotten. On September 12, 1945, 4 months after V–E Day, and 1 month after V–J Day, the Commission issued completely revised FM rules, and, instead of reinstating the suspended 3.261 (b), finally expunged not only section (b) but also section (c) of the rule. Neither section has since reappeared.[29] The Commission thus not only has permitted existing AM stations to preempt the new FM service,[30] but also it has in effect encouraged them to broadcast the same programs they supply with the old service.[31]

The results of this policy have been lamentable. FM, a static-free service with great promise, capable of much higher fidelity reproduction of sound than standard radio, has almost totally failed to develop

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as a separate service. Carrying only programs which were already available, it evoked no rush to buy new sets. Advertisers, in turn, had no incentive to use it, since it offered them no new market and no new programs to entice a wider market. The entrenched AM owners were able to offer low rates for the new and old service in combination, and independent FM owners were unable to finance a full competing service from such advertising as they could sell at comparable rates. There can be little argument as to the occurrence of these results. They are reflected in the Commission's annual report for the year ended June 30, 1952:

"During the year, 21 new commercial FM broadcast stations were authorized. All of these grants were to licensees of standard broadcast stations. * * * At the end of the 1952 fiscal year, 648 commercial FM broadcast station authorizations were outstanding, whereas, at the end of the 1951 fiscal year there were 659 authorizations outstanding. This decrease of only 11 authorizations contrasts rather sharply with decreases of 73, 133, and 155 for the 1951, 1950, and 1949 fiscal years, respectively." [33]

There is, however, controversy over what caused the failure of FM. The Commission, on a number of occasions, has said that the fault lies with the radio manufacturing industry which, for some reason never fully explained, simply did not want to produce FM receivers and stir up public demand for them.[33] This notion contrasts oddly with the known competitive character of the industry which has a direct financial interest in the development of new outlets for its products by way of strong competing services. This was illustrated by the enthusiasm with which the industry welcomed the opportunity to manufacture television sets when occasion arose.[34] It seems unlikely that, had FM attracted set buyers by offering new programing, the industry would deliberately have refused to exploit this source of new revenue. It is, rather, submitted that the root cause was the fact that the Commission completely overlooked the need to promote competition between services as well as within each service.[35]

The advent of television has again posed a real threat to the vested interests of AM (and FM) radio. It, of necessity, offers a new type of program, and it has now an established public demand. It cannot therefore be suppressed as was FM. With the end of the freeze occasioned by channel allocation difficulties, the Commission has started granting licenses at top speed.[36] What it does in this process may well set the Nation's television (and radio) patterns for all foreseeable time to come. It is therefore of great interest to examine the pattern so far developed.

Two major radio networks have created television networks. A third radio network has recently been allowed by the Commission to merge with motion picture interests so that it may also have an effective television network in the field.[37] There is one television network that has no interest in AM radio, but the Commission recently found that it was controlled by motion picture interests.[38] The networks, having moved early, now encourage their radio affiliates to move into the new field for their own protection.[39]

As of January 3, 1953, there had been 142 construction permits granted for television stations. Of these permits, 121 were granted to radio interests (AM, FM or both), 50 to newspapers, 4 to motion-picture theaters, 18 to networks, and 4 to national magazines.[40]

Thus, more than 87 percent of the existing television stations are owned by radio interests, and 35 percent of the stations are owned by newspaper interests. Only 8 stations, or 5 percent, are unconnected with any other medium of communication or entertainment.

The significance of these figures may be seen by observing the present television holdings in certain large metropolitan areas. In Los Angeles, there are seven television stations. One is owned by American Broadcasting Co., which operates a local AM-FM station, in addition to radio and television stations in other parts of the country. Another is owned by General Tele-Radio, Inc., which operates a local AM-FM station, in addition to radio and television stations in other parts of the country. Another is owned by a local station, which, in turn, is owned in part by newspaper interests. The NBC network owns one of the television stations, as does CBS. A subsidiary of Paramount Pictures owns one of the television stations, but has no radio interests in Los Angeles. The seventh station is owned by the Los Angeles Times newspaper, which has no radio interests. This situation is closely paralleled by those in Washington, New York, Boston, and Detroit, among others.[41]

It should be noted that television stations are extremely expensive to construct and operate and that the early licensees operated at substantial losses for many years. During this period, of course, the Commission did not have a wide choice of applicants. However, at the present time, when the Commission has but recently resumed the granting of construction permits for television stations, the profit in television operation has become apparent. Existing television stations are now operating at substantial profits and bring high prices in the open market when sold. It is now generally believed that television is a very profitable venture, and there is a great rush of applicants from the radio field.[42]

The Commission has made no effort to attract newcomers to the field of commercial television broadcasting. Indeed, the Commission seems to accept it as just and right that this new broadcasting medium shall become the property of those who have done so much to develop the short-playing record and the long-playing commercial in the standard radio field.[43]

On February 15, 1949, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce addressed a series of questions to the Commission.[44] One of these questions was: "To what extent, if any, would such continued use of present television frequencies have the practical effect of denying entry into television operation by the large majority of present day smaller operators of AM radio stations?" [45]

The reply to this question, which was approved at a meeting of the Commission on February 25, 1949, was as follows:

"If additional channels are not made available for television, most of the present-day operators in the aural radio field will not have an opportunity to become television broadcasters. This is true because, with 12 VHF channels, it will not be possible for some cities and towns which have standard broadcast facilities to have any television channels. Moreover, in practically all other cities where there will be some television service, there will be far fewer television stations than there are standard broadcast stations. Thus, as a matter of arithmetic, most of the standard broadcast licensees will not be able to enter television if there are only 12 channels assigned. The only way that a large majority of present-day operators in the aural broadcasting field will have opportunity to get into television will be by action of the Commission in making available more channels for the television service." [46]

It will be obvious from the tenor of this reply, as well as from that of the question, that television is to be given to those who already have radio stations and that the only worry is whether there will be enough to go around.

In a recent appearance before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Commissioner Walker expressed the view that the existing radio interests have a vested interest in television. In the course of questioning by Representative SPRINGER, the following colloquy occurred:

"Mr. SPRINGER. If you cannot state the Commission's position, do you feel yourself that it is a wise provision in the interest of public policy?

"Commissioner WALKER. Diversity of interests in communications?

"Mr. SPRINGER. Yes.

"Commissioner WALKER. Yes; I do.

"Mr. SPRINGER. Now, let me ask you this: Have you adopted the same public policy where radio and nonradio interests have been competing for television facilities?

"Commissioner WALKER. No; we have not. Television is going to play such a tremendous role in communications that I think that if some of these broadcasters found themselves out in the cold, so to speak, not being able to apply for some of the television stations, that they would be up against it in broadcasting, and it would be a pretty severe rule to say to a man who has rendered a fine service in broadcasting that he was prohibited from going into television, particularly if television in a measure supplants the radio interest in the broadcasting field. I do not mean by that to disparage radio broadcasting. There will always be radio broadcasting, in my opinion. Further, in my mind, I do not believe that the radio broadcasters will be forced out of business by television. But as I say, it would be a pretty severe rule which would say to a competent radio broadcaster that he could not get into the television field. You have to have fairness toward the operator and the public interest, fairness to the operator on the one hand, and a diverse opinion about the public interest on the other. [sic] I would not say that we should not grant to a broadcaster a television station just simply on that factor.

"Mr. SPRINGER. My question was only where you had those who were seeking it who were in radio and those who were not seeking it in radio.

"Commissioner WALKER. I would say if you had a much better applicant who was not in radio that he would get the station. But I cannot figure the fact that a man has a radio station would weigh much against him at the moment, because I think he would feel that he was pretty much being put out of business if he knew he could not get a television station because he was in the radio broadcasting business.

"Mr. SPRINGER. Are you arriving at that on economic interest or on a question of public policy?

"Commissioner WALKER. Not on economic interest. I just have a feeling of innate justness about the thing. I cannot feel that you would deny a man a television station simply because he was in the radio broadcasting business." [47]

This, then, is the admitted situation, if the Chairman's position is taken as representative of the Commission as a whole: The Commission which originated, and still pays lip service [48] to, the doctrine that diversification of ownership of the media of mass communication is essential in the public interest is consciously planning to concentrate the three most significant of those media in the hands of a restricted group. A single instance will illuminate the consequences of its present thinking. In 1938 the Commis-

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sion denied to the Louisville Times Co., the licensee of a clear-channel AM station, a license to operate a small 100-watt local station on the ground that diversification of ownership was in the public interest.[6] By 1949 the same interest, which the Commission had stated had a monopoly on daily newspaper expression in its community, while retaining its high-powered AM station, had been granted, in addition, an FM license and a television construction permit to serve the same area.[7]

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to see how the Commission has overlooked the cogency of its own reasoning in arriving at the results sketched above. It had only to substitute the words "AM," "FM," and "television" in the latter of two paragraphs of its opinion in the Louisville case, quoted above,[8] to have a complete answer to arguments that interservice consolidation is permissible. So amended, the paragraphs would read:

"The underlying principle of the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934 relating to radio broadcasting is that radio facilities must be licensed by the Commission to the end that the public will best be served. In effecting this requirement of the act, the Commission must consider many elements, one of which, in this case, becomes of particular importance, namely, the furtherance of competition in program service to a community to the end that the best service will be made available.

"It is true that in this instance the applicant is the licensee (of AM) station, and the application here is for (an FM or a television) station, and it may be argued that the element of competition is not present as the services are different. But the (AM) station serves all of the area which the proposed (FM or television) station would cover, and as people residing in that area may listen to only one station at a time, it is manifest that they would have to choose between the two. It is clear, therefore, that the two stations must necessarily compete for public reception."

Equally applicable is the concluding paragraph, without interpolation:

"In order to assure substantial equality of service to all interests in a community, to assure diversification of service and advancements in quality and effectiveness of service, the Commission will grant additional facilities to identical interests only in cases where it clearly appears that the facility, apart from any benefit to the business interests of the applicant, is for the benefit of the community, fulfilling a need which cannot otherwise be fulfilled."[9]

If we can assume that actual competition among media is as important to the transportation of communications as it is to the transportation of things,[10] the Federal Communications Commission is heading the wrong way down the track under a full head of steam. That body is, to be sure, understaffed, underpaid, and overburdened.[11] These deficiencies may in part explain the doctrinal vagaries explored above, but cannot make them persuasive that the public interest is being served.

To outline the situation developed above: Ownership of a newspaper is, under the Commission's rulings, somewhat detrimental to applicants for AM licenses; ownership of local motion-picture theaters may have a similar effect. One interest cannot own two stations giving the same service in the same place or too many stations in the same service in different places: the public interest demands that the media of mass communication be held in diverse, competing hands. Nevertheless, AM owners are to be preferred applicants for television licenses in the same area served by their standard broadcast operation; radio networks may, and do, own television networks, as does one branch of a very large motion-picture empire.

Some defense can be made of the newspaper rule, taken alone. Newspapers do not compete on a level or very directly with broadcast services,[12] which enter the house on a 24-hour-a-day basis, the paper being read for perhaps an hour. But they do compete to a degree both for advertising dollars and, more importantly, for influence over the thoughts and attitudes of the public. They probably will do so more fully if held by diverse interests.

Far less cogent is the case for insisting on diverse ownership of radio and local motion-picture houses. The owner of the latter, unlike the newspaper owner, has little control over what he shows, and originates none of it. Moreover, what minimal influence he does exert on the public mind is not of a sort which he can readily transfer into such of his radio programs as he in fact produces.

The prohibition of common ownership of stations in the same service at the same place is readily justified—again, only if considered separately from the rules to be discussed below. A little more obscure are the various rules governing the number of stations which can be owned in separate localities. These rules seem rather refined, falling as far short as they do of postulating any threat of unified large-area control.

At all events, combining the maximum effect these rules can possibly have in fostering either economic competition or a free market for ideas in the communications field, the writers submit that their joint force is infinitesimal as compared to the overwhelming contrary effect of the virtually uncontrolled cross-channel, or interservice, unification which is encouraged among the three broadcast services.

Since the dominant AM service has been permitted to make a powerless satellite of FM, the public may ultimately lose all the benefits glowing predictions had said would flow from the country-wide competing service. It is generally assumed that the thriving television service will soon surpass, if it has not already, the competitive strength of the older broadcasting services. If radio interests are allowed to own television, they can be expected to subordinate the weaker service to the stronger, as they did with FM. Television being the more costly, but also the more popular, owners of both will undoubtedly build up their TV service and economize on the other—in all probability by duplicating service where possible.[13] The public will ultimately receive a single service in three forms, although three services capable of competing as the Communications Act requires are actually in existence.

Finally, the single service is to be dominated by four nationwide networks, only one of which, the weakest, lacks "cross-channel" integration.

The objective sought by Congress in providing for free competition and the high hopes of the Commission once aroused for competitive diversity of service on the air waves and its attendant benefits in diverse and competitive programming seem doomed, perhaps permanently, if the Federal Communications Commission cannot be induced promptly to rethink its present course. The writers believe this prospect is a public disaster, the true magnitude of which it probably is not yet possible to foresee.

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[6] 17 Fed. Reg. 3905 (1952).

[7] There are, of course, not enough channels to give to all applicants, especially in the better locations. Not all channels will be in sufficiently dense population areas to repay the enormous cost of building and running stations. But the many that are will bring truly handsome rewards.

[8] Each broadcaster also has a Government-protected monopoly on his assigned frequency within his service area.

[9] 48 Stat. 1064 (1934), 47 U. S. C., sec. 152 (b) (1946).

[10] See, e. g., 48 Stat. 1082 (1934), as amended, 50 Stat. 190 (1937), 47 U. S. C., sec. 303 (g) (1946); 48 Stat. 1087 (1934), 47 U. S. C., secs. 313, 314 (1946); 48 Stat. 1091 (1934), 47 U. S. C., sec. 326 (1946).

[11] 309 United States 470, 474–5 (1940).

[12] 309 United States 134, 137 (1940).

[13] FCC, Report on Chain Broadcasting (Order No. 37) 88–89 (1941).

[14] See generally, Chafee, Government and Mass Communications (1947) and, for a clear statement of the assumptions underlying the first amendment to the Constitution, *Associated Press* v. *United States* (326 U. S. 1, 20 (1945)). It would seem self-evident that what is desirable for the press is at least equally desirable for the air waves. See Chafee, op. cit. supra.

[15] It is true the telephone preceded radio in the home but it could exclude or control the new service only by preempting the communications field. There was at one time a serious threat that it would do so. See Report of the FCC on Investigation of the Telephone Industry in the United States, H. R. Doc. No. 340, 76th Cong., 1st sess. 389 (1939), quoting an address to the representatives of the Associated Bell Companies by A. H. Griswold, then head of Bell radio activities, delivered February 26, 1923.

In his address, Griswold proposed that A. T. & T. organize a group of leading citizens and organizations in each locality to act as the sole broadcast organization. A. T. & T. would erect, own, and operate the station, under a guaranty of expenses and profits by the local group. "The fact remains," said Griswold, "that it [radio broadcasting] is a telephone job, that we are telephone people, that we can do it better than anyone else, and it seems to me * * * that sooner or later, in one form or another, we have got to do the job." One function of the local organization was made clear: "If anyone desires to own his own private broadcasting station, they will say to him, 'come on in with the bunch. We represent the community in radio broadcasting.'"

This grandiose, but not necessarily impossible, scheme became impracticable when A. T. & T. sold its operating radio facilities to RCA in 1926 in the course of settling a patent dispute.

[16] Louisville Times Co. (5 F. C. C. 554 (1938)); Colonial Network, Inc. (5 F. C. C. 654 (1933)); Coryell and Coryell (6 F. C. C. 282, 301 (1938)); South Bend Tribune (6 F. C. C. 733 (1939)).

[17] 47 Code Fed. Regs. sec. 3.35 (1949). The application of this rule is not without difficulties as to degree of overlap and degree of control. See the Enterprise Co., dockets 10286–10288, decided March 3, 1953.

There are also companion doctrines which are troublesome. An applicant who does not will be preferred over a competitor who does own a station in a contiguous but nonoverlapping area. Finger Lakes Broadcasting System (3 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. (hereinafter cited simply as "R. R.") 406 (1946)).

A quite amorphous doctrine seems to regard ownership of other stations in the same State or other limited geographic area as disqualifying the competitor of an applicant without such interests. Carolina Advertising Co. (6 F. C. C. 230 (1938)); Borger Broadcasting Co. (3 R. R. 330 (1946)); Old Dominion Broadcasting Co. (3 R. R. 577 (1946)). This doctrine applies to prevent transfer of an independent to a multiple owner in the area. R. R. Jackman (5 F. C. C. 496 (1938)).

[18] See reply by Commission to questions of Senate Interstate Commerce Committee (1 R. R. p. 91:125, 91:130. The same principle applies to FM stations, rule 3.34, and television stations, rule 3.636. NBC is currently petitioning to have the rule relaxed: Petition of NBC to amend rule 3.640 (b), dated January 3, 1952. (The rule petitioned to be

changed is evidently miscited, but the petition is clear.)

[34] 5 F. C. C. 554, 558, 559 (1938).

[35] Stevens and Stevens (5 F. C. C. 177, 182 (1938)). See also Southern Tier Radio Service (3 R. R. 211 (1946)); Norman Broadcasting Co. (5 R. R. 120 (1940)). There are, in all, upwards of 50 cases expressing this idea. There are many inconsistencies and difficulties in its application; and there will be discussed below certain indications that it is being abandoned or seriously weakened. But it is enough for present purposes to demonstrate that it exists and to note its rationale.

[36] Royal Miller Radio (3 R. R. 168 (1946)).

[37] It did not do so without challenge. Newspaper interests bitterly criticized the rule and finally succeeded to the extent that, in the bill containing the 1952 amendments to the Communications Act, section 7, subsection (d) was inserted in the House of Representatives forbidding the Commission to discriminate against persons associated with, interested in or owning media primarily engaged in gathering and dissemination of information. This provision was, however, dropped in the final enactment. The reason stated is interesting: "This provision was omitted from the conference substitute because the committee of conference felt that it was unnecessary. It is the view of the conference committee that under present law the Commission is not authorized to make or promulgate any rule or regulation, the effect of which would be to discriminate against any person because such person had an interest in, or association with, a newspaper or other medium for gathering and disseminating information. Also the Commission could not arbitrarily deny any application solely because of any such interest or association." (Conference Rept. No. 2426, 82d Cong., 2d sess. 18 (1952)). But compare the qualified approval of the rule voiced in *Plains Radio Broadcasting Co.* v. *FCC* (175 F. 2d 359 (D. C. Cir. 1949)).

[38] See, e. g., Observer Radio Co. (3 R. R. 234 (1946)).

[39] Genessee Radio Corp. (5 F. C. C. 183 1938)); Florida West Coast Broadcasting Co. (6 F. C. C. 586 (1938)).

[40] Courier-Journal (5 R. R. 348 (1949)). But cf. Norfolk Broadcasting Corp. (3 R. R. 1699 (1947)).

[41] Harold M. Finlay (4 F. C. C. 356 (1937)); South Bend Tribune (8 F. C. C 387 (1941)); Fairfield Broadcasting Co. (5 R. R. 190 (1949)). There will be no disqualification even if the newspaper has a local monopoly in its field. See South Bend Tribune, supra.

[42] Orlando Daily Newspapers, Inc. (3 R. R. 624 (1946)). Compare Mason City Broadcast Co. (3 F. C. C. 116 (1936)). It strengthens a newspaper's application to promise that the radio operation will be kept separate. Telegraph Herald (4 F. C. C. 392 (1937)). An existing licensee apparently has an advantage when applying for renewal over a new applicant for the same channel. Hearst Radio, Inc. (6 R. R. 994 (1951)). But contrast sec. 301 of the Communications Act (48 Stat. 1081 (1934), 47 U. S. C. sec. 301 (1946)), providing that a license confers no rights beyond its term.

[43] The term is taken from Chafee, op. cit. supra note 9 at 586, 587 where it is recommended that the Commission's efforts in this direction be continued and intensified.

[44] Report of Federal Communications Commission, announcing allocation of channels for FM service, May 20, 1940, p. 3.

[45] Ibid.

[46] See 47 Code Fed. Regs. sec. 3.261 (b) (Supp. 1940) discussed infra.

[47] See 9 F. C. C. Ann. Rept. 54–56 (1943).

[48] See 10 F. C. C. Ann. Rept. 16 (1944).

[49] Rule 3.261 as it now stands contains the split hours requirement. The only other rule bearing at all on this topic is rule 3.240 (formerly 3.228) which has always required that in order for an entity to obtain a second FM license, it must show that competition among FM services will be fostered or that the station will provide a service separate and distinct from its AM service.

[50] In an able set of exception opposing certain features of the examiner's report in the Aladdin case, the Chief of the Broadcast Bureau, through the Chief of his Hearing Section, says: "It is evident that the Commission's 1945 FM report signalized its decision that it was necessary for the present to abandon its concept of FM as an independent aural broadcast system parallel and competitive with AM. By repealing its 1940 requirement of at least 2 hours daily independent programing of FM stations, dual operators were relieved of an obligation to promote their FM facilities in competition with their AM stations. The Commission's refusal to adopt a diversity or duopoly rule reinforced this impression." (See Docket 9041, exceptions filed March 17, 1953, p. 14.)

This action he attributes to the Commission's belief that FM would ultimately displace AM as the dominant service. (Id. at pp. 14–15.)

[51] See 10 FCC Ann. Rep. 16 (1944): "Most of the existing FM stations are operated by licensees of standard broadcasting stations, and therefore have program material readily available."

[52] See 18 FCC Ann. Rep. 115, 116 (1952).

[53] See, for the latest example, the testimony of Chairman Walker before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Hearing on FCC Before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, 83d Cong., 1st sess., 67 (1953).

[54] By the end of 1951, after starting in 1946 with 8,000, the industry had produced and placed in use over 15 million television sets. (Telecasting Yearbook 49 (1952)). And despite what might be supposed to be a saturated market, the industry produced in 1952 over 9 million radios in addition to over 6 million television sets (Broadcasting Yearbook 54 (1953)).

[55] The degree to which it is overlooked is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Meadville Tribune Broadcasting Co. (3 R. R. 544 (1946)). The Commission at page 548 said:

"The Commission is of the opinion that the public interest, convenience, and necessity will be better served by a grant of the application of M. C. Winslow. This selection is based upon the Commission's policy of so exercising its licensing power as to promote, when practical, diversification in the controls [sic] of the media of mass communication. (In re Southern Tier Radio Service, Inc., et al.; Docket No. 6655, decided March 20, 1946.)

"In the case of the Meadville Tribune Broadcasting Co., a 25 percent interest is held by an individual who owns a 40 percent interest and is general manager of a station in Sharon, Pa., which renders primary daytime service in the rural areas surrounding Meadville; 55 percent of this applicant's stock is held by two brothers who are minority stockholders and active in the publishing of the only daily newspapers published in Meadville. On the other hand, M. C. Winslow has no radio interest except for the fact that he is grantee of an FM station in Meadville."

Similar is the Commission's very recent action in granting a permit for a television station to a company formed by two AM stations operating in the same town. No mention was made of the "cross channel" problem (Macon Television Co., 8 R. R. 897 (1953)).

Finally, on March 19, 1953, the Commission decided, in Southern Broadcasting & Television Co., in favor of permitting strong regional concentration, the facts being sufficiently shown in the dissent of two members: "With today's action, construction permits for television stations have been issued, among others, for 4 cities in southern Idaho. Interested parties in these permits consist of a group composed of Carmon-Wrathall-Smith and McCrea and a group controlled by the J. Robb Brady Trust Co. With respect to 2 of these permits, each group owns a 50 percent interest. A third station is owned by the Brady group while the fourth station is owned by the Carmon group (excluding Wrathall). The parties also have similar if not identical AM and FM interests in the same area. These facts alone, apart from any other problems that may possibly be involved, present a concentration of interest in the media of mass communication in the major cities of a relatively small area that should at least have been the subject of further inquiry, and possibly hearing, to determine whether such a concentration of ownership would be consistent with the public interest" (Rept. No. 2202, Public Notice 88098).

[56] 18 FCC Ann. Rep. 110 (1952).

[57] ABC-Paramount Merger case, 8 R. R. 541 (1953).

[58] Ibid. It is interesting to contrast this development with what the Commission said in its cogent Chain Broadcasting Report about the undesirability of having two radio networks in the same hands:

"Although the sales and program personnel allocated to the Red or the Blue network may now engage in friendly rivalry, it is hardly to be supposed that this rivalry will ever reach the point where NBC employees are acting against the best interests of NBC. Under such conditions, there can be no competition as that term is properly used.

"NBC's chairman testified that if NBC owned all four networks, there would still be a competitive situation so far as the listener is concerned. This is a time-worn argument of corporations facing charges of monopoly. It proves too much, and reduces the whole theory of our competitive economy to an absurdity. What NBC's chairman was pleased to call competition is not the thing that keeps the opportunity to engage in network broadcasting open to anyone willing to risk his capital and energy, nor does it assure the public the benefits of the healthy and vigorous interplay of economic forces among those engaged in the business. If a single company owned and operated all the drugstores in a city, there would be no less a monopoly because the company refrained from closing all the stores but one, or even organized sales campaigns among the various stores. As long as all the efforts of the employees redound to the benefit of a single employer, there is merely the shadow of competition without its substance." FCC, Report on Chain Broadcasting (Order No. 37) 70–71 (1941).

[59] Their entry into the field is facilitated by the channel-by-channel allocation system which compares only the applicants for a given channel instead of considering together all applicants for a given community. As a result, many AM owners will get channels without opposition.

[60] In many instances, these figures overlap, as where a newspaper owns both AM and FM in addition to TV. The source of all figures given here is 16 Television Fact Book 25–84 (1953).

[61] Ibid.

[62] On July 18, 1951, Commission Chairman Coy answered a question by Senator CAPEHART as to the likelihood that there would be a mass of applicants at the date of the lifting of the freeze, "The gold rush is on." Hearings before Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on FCC Policy on Television Freeze and Other Communication Matters, 82d Cong., 1st sess. 30 (1951).

"There seems no doubt that radio and television programing will tend to parallel each other. Thus, Joseph H. McConnell, then NBC president, is quoted in 8 Codel's Television Digest, pp. 2–3 (1952), as stating, on the subject of integrating the network's TV and radio functions:

"Placing of the actual operating management of the radio and TV networks under a single, coordinated control will benefit our audience and our customers. NBC radio network listeners will gain access to the outstanding personalities and attractions which have made our NBC-TV network such a success. The NBC-TV audience will have the advantage of a coordinated schedule of entertainment and information programs on both radio and TV.

"We expect this coordinated management to give new excitement to our radio programing by bringing into radio many of our TV stars and attractions. * * * This same coordinated planning will also offer TV homes a more exciting supplementary program schedule on radio. We expect the result to be more use of radio in both radio-only and TV homes."

[46] 1 R. R. 91: 125.

[47] Id. at 91: 133.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Hearing on FCC before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, 83d Cong., 1st sess., 138–140 (1953). Contrast the Commission's policy statement of January 17, 1944 (7 Fed. Reg. 702, 703 (1944)):

"Aside from the specific question of common ownership of newspapers and radio stations, the Commission recognizes the serious problem involved in the broader field of the control of the media of mass communications and the importance of avoiding monopoly of the avenues of communicating fact and opinion to the public. All the Commissioners agree to the general principle that diversification of control of such media is desirable. The Commission does not desire to discourage legally qualified persons from applying for licenses, but does desire to encourage the maximum number of qualified persons to enter the field of mass communications, and to permit them to use all modern inventions and improvements in the art to insure good public service.

"In the processing of individual applications for licenses, the Commission will inquire into and in its decisions give expression to 'public interest' considertations. The Commission does not feel that it should deny a license merely because the applicant is engaged or interested in a particular type of business. However, it does not intend in granting licenses in the public interest to permit concentration of control in the hands of the few to the exclusion of the many who may be equally well qualified to render such public service as is required of a licensee."

[50] The newspaper-radio cases are, apparently, all but abandoned. An indication of this abandonment, apart from the large numbers of papers which do own stations of all kinds, is the rule, twice recently indicated, that there must be a showing that common control "has been or would be utilized to effect a monopoly of mass communications or has otherwise been or would be exercised contrary to the public interest." Lubbock County Broadcasting Co. (6 R. R. 949, 983 (1951)). Cf. Fairfield Broadcasting Co. (5 R. R. 190 (1949)).

See, also, as to the possible transfer of this new rule to television, the reaction of one of the Commission's examiners, who may properly be assumed to reflect, at least generally, the atmosphere of Commission thinking. In the preliminary decision, issued February 2, 1953, Aladdin Radio and Television, Inc., the examiner held that the questions of radio and theater ownership by applicants could not be considered because there was no proof in the record that such ownership was detrimental to the public interest. (Preliminary decision, p. 59, points 7 and 8.) It is not clear just what sort of record proof could be adduced on such a matter.

The Commission's staff has vigorously attacked this handling of the matter in its exceptions in the Aladdin case, supra note 30, at 16: "It is axiomatic that in arriving at a decision in a comparative proceeding. * * * The Commission cannot ignore a material difference between two applicants and make findings in respect to selected characteristics only: *Johnson Broadcasting Company* v. *F. C. C.* (175 F. 2d 351 (App. D. C., 1949), 4 R. R. 2138, 2144). Since the Commission has decided that diversification of control of media is desirable, the marked difference between the two applicants on this score cannot be ignored. Thus, a grant to Aladdin would concentrate in it three powerful media in the community for the communication of fact and opinion. On the other hand, a grant to Denver would bring a qualified newcomer into the broadcast field. Not only would Denver constitute a new source of communicating fact and opinion, but it would broaden the base for diversified programing. Cf. *Evansville on the Air* (3 R. R. 136, 140, 141 (1948)). Finally, the fact that a grant to Denver would increase the competitive base in the broadcast field in Denver must be viewed in light of the basic fact that from the '* * * Legislative history of the act and from various provisions therein that Congress conceived as one of the Commission's major functions the preservation of competition in the radio field. * * *' Report on Uniform Policy on Violation of Laws (1 R. R. 495, 500 (pt. III)) and cases there cited."

[51] Louisville Times Co. (5 F. C. C. 554, 559 (1938)). The Commission noted only parenthetically that the Times and the Courier-Journal, under common ownership held a complete newspaper monopoly in the area.

[52] Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Co. (5 R. R. 348 (1949)). The opinion recites the five licenses held by WHAS, including a developmental FM and an experimental facsimile station. Id. at 350 (a).

[53] See text at note 14 supra.

[54] Ibid.

[55] The Supreme Court has recently had occasion to comment on this problem which falls, of course, in the public-utility field where free competition is not the norm. *United States* v. *Rock Island Motor Transit Co.*, (340 U. S. 419 (1951)). It was there stated: "Such limitation was in furtherance of the National Transportation Policy, for otherwise the resources of the railroads might soon make over-the-road truck competition impossible, as unregulated truck transport, it was feared, might have crippled some railroads. Motor transportation then would be an adjunct to rail transportation, and hoped-for advancements in land transportation from supervised competition between motors and rails would not materialize. The control of the bulk of rail and motor transportation would be concentrated in one type of operation. Complete rail domination was not envisaged as a way to preserve the inherent advantages of each form of transportation." Id. at 432, 433. The Court also quoted at length in a footnote the similar views of the ICC expressed in Pennsylvania Truck Lines, Id. at 433 n. 11,

[56] 18 FCC Ann. Rep. 18 (1952).

[57] This conclusion is borne out in part by a survey conducted by Daniel Starch and staff, reported in 8 Codel's Television Digest No. 8, p. 5 (1952), which found newspaper reading largely unaffected in homes having television.

[58] Another possibility is that AM stations will be degraded to mere record playing and newscasting organs.

Outlaw Communist-Dominated Unions in Defense Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I plan to introduce a bill in the House to prohibit the Government of the United States from entering into any defense contracts with any contractor or supplier where there are reasonable grounds to believe the employees are represented by a Communist-dominated union.

Communist-dominated unions are endangering the security of the United States. The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, commonly known as the UE, is a Communist-dominated union which has infiltrated its Red tentacles into that indispensable industry of all-American production—the electrical industry. Right today there are many plants working on classified defense contracts where the UE is the collective-bargaining agent for the employees.

One such company where the UE is the collective bargaining representative of the employees is Vickers, Inc., of Detroit, Mich., a plant which I understand is almost entirely devoted to classified defense work. This plant is a glaring example of how the security of the United States is being endangered by the Communist-dominated United Electrical Workers Union. Vickers, Inc., is primarily engaged in producing hydraulic pumps which are an integral part of the control equipment for our military airplanes and ships. Without this essential, complicated hydraulic control equipment, these planes and ships cannot operate. It is essential to American security that no more war contracts be placed with companies such as Vickers, Inc., as long as the bargaining representative of the employees is a Communist-dominated union.

The legislation which I proposed would prohibit the Federal Government from placing war contracts with companies such as Vickers, Inc., and other companies where the Communist UE or other Communist unions prevail.

This bill would also amend the Taft-Hartley Act by redefining the term "labor organization" to exclude organizations which are Communist dominated. Any Communist-dominated union would thereby cease to have any right to act as a bona fide union or representative of employees. The bill specifically empowers the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate and determine if a labor union is a Communist-action or Communist-front organization as defined in the Subversives Control Act of 1950.

The bill also expands the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath by requiring both labor officials and employers to execute such an oath annually and extends the

oath to cover not only the Communist Party but also any other organizations determined to be Communist organizations by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Lithuania's Lesson Finally Heeded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, on this 36th anniversary of Lithuania's tragically short-lived independence there are some encouraging evidences that the lesson of Lithuania and of other victims of Soviet duplicity are being taken to heart and are finding expression in the much more forthright and realistic American foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration.

At least on two different occasions during the current conference of foreign ministers in Berlin, Secretary of State Dulles specifically cited Russia's betrayal of Lithuania as a reason why no reliance can be placed on her promises of freedom and self-government. Mr. Dulles threw in Molotov's teeth the phony assurances given Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia by Molotov himself in 1939, only a few months before the independence of those countries was lost.

The new firmness in rejecting Russian proposals for German unification and so-called freedom suggests that the lesson of Lithuania is at long last being heeded. That means infinitely more, for America and for the ultimate hopes of peoples enslaved by communism, than the most eloquent and sincere tributes of the brave Lithuanian people.

From other quarters, also, there are evidences of a new firmness and realism in American foreign policy. For example, a recent, little-publicized statement by a high official of the State Department gives additional assurance that the Eisenhower administration has no intention of extending diplomatic recognition to the Communist Government of China or of acquiescing in U. N. membership for Red China.

An article in the January 11, 1954, official Department of State Bulletin, written by Walter P. McConaughy, Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs of the State Department, flatly rejects either move and insists that the existing United States ban on trade, shipping, and financial relations with Communist China must be maintained. His article reflects straight thinking and straight speaking of a type deplorably lacking under the two previous administrations.

Mr. McConaughy points out that the Chinese Communists, while currently in control of the mainland of China, completely fail to measure up to the three important requirements for diplomatic recognition. They fail to meet the criteria of sovereign independence, consent of the people to the government, and adherence to treaty obligations.

On the contrary, as the State Department official notes, the Chinese Communists "are subservient to Moscow and international communism; they impose an alien minority rule by force and falsification on an intimidated, isolated, and misinformed populace; and they openly flout every Chinese treaty obligation, every principle of the U. N. Charter, and every clause in any reasonable formulation of human and property rights for aliens."

Mr. McConaughy points out that American recognition of Red China "would be an unthinkable betrayal of the Chinese Government and its people on Formosa and a grave disservice to the mass of Chinese people on the mainland," adding that the Formosan Government "is the only Chinese Government which represents in any measure the authentic aspirations and the bona fide national interests of the Chinese people."

All this is evidence that the State Department, under President Eisenhower's administration, is at long last coming into line with overwhelming public sentiment on this issue—sentiment expressed many months ago by unanimous vote of both Houses of Congress. It is a far cry from the Acheson policies which brought the Nation to the verge of recognition of Red China.

The first gross violation of sound principles governing diplomatic recognition occurred when President Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia in 1933. He abandoned the policies of Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover and gave the Communist regime in Russia desperately needed support by his action.

I was the first Member of Congress to publicly advocate withdrawal of this recognition. I believe the very factors which argue convincingly against recognition of Communist China still support my advocacy of withdrawal of recognition of Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile it is substantial progress in a return to sound foreign policy to have the Director of the important Office of Chinese Affairs of the State Department so forcefully on record against recognition of Red China. It bolsters the faith that we will achieve still further realism and adherence to sound American principles in world affairs.

President Eisenhower's Economic Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an admirable discussion of the President's economic message, which was published in the Washington Post of February 16. The discussion was in the form of a letter to the editor, by the distinguished junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS]. I believe the discussion of the message by the Senator from Vermont merits wide and careful consideration.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

In a letter published in the Washington Post February 7, Mr. Leon Keyserling, formerly Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in the Truman administration, criticized some of the policies contained in President Eisenhower's recent economic report to Congress.

The nub of his criticism is that these policies are not well adapted to the needs of the American economy in the foreseeable future, because they focus upon an enlargement of business investment and underemphasize the need for an expansion of consumer expenditures. He says, "A balanced economy at full employment cannot in the period ahead support as high a ratio of investment to the total national product as existed during the accelerated buildup of productive facilities between 1950 and 1953."

Although he is not clear as to what alternative policies he considers adequate, Mr. Keyserling appears to call for immediate reductions in Federal income and commodity taxes and "voluntary price and wage adjustments reflecting our rapidly growing productivity." Because somewhat similar views have been expressed recently by my colleague Senator DOUGLAS and other Democratic spokesmen, it is well to consider objectively the validity of these criticisms.

There are really two major issues presented. First, does the Eisenhower economic program in fact overemphasize an expansion in investment and underemphasize the need for increasing consumption outlays? Secondly, does an analysis of the present position of the American economy support the view that the principal, imminent threat to prosperity is inadequate consumer expenditures arising from inability to buy the output of a prosperous economy? In my opinion, both of these questions should be answered emphatically in the negative.

The Eisenhower economic program contemplates vigorous action to expand both consumption and investment expenditures in a growing economy; it is not tipped in favor of one rather than the other. A primary aim of the present administration has been to return promptly to the people, through tax reductions, the funds released from national defense purposes and more efficient government, so that they might spend more of their own money directly. As early as September 1953 Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey announced that the administration would endorse the reduction of the personal-income tax, averaging about 10 percent, scheduled for January 1, 1954.

The Eisenhower economic program also calls for the most important improvements designed to defend the income of workers against unemployment or old age that have been made since our social security systems were inaugurated more than a decade ago. Substantial increases are recommended in the coverage, duration, and amounts of unemployment, old-age and survivors benefits.

There is no real conflict between stimulating investment expenditures and stimulating consumption outlays. In fact, stimulating investment ordinarily has a multiplied effect upon markets for consumer goods. If a business can be induced to build a new plant to replace an old one, this decision has a whole train of consequences, including higher payrolls, larger consumer markets and more employment. Perhaps the most important single tax proposal of the President is the one that seeks to liberalize depreciation allowances. This will cost the Treasury little or nothing in lost revenue

and yet it holds forth very large potential gains in consumer spending power.

The notion that the ratio of investment to the national product is now too high and cannot be sustained lacks support. This ratio was about 15 percent during 1953, a figure comparable to years of satisfactory growth in the past, and less than the ratio of some years. As the President's economic report points out, steady and rapid growth is necessary to the survival of the American Nation and the free world; this entails continued large investment in new construction and producers' durable equipment. By stimulating research and development, the economic program aims to maintain a high rate of obsolescence which should foster a higher ratio of gross investment than our economy has experienced in the past. This is the path of progress, a path that leads directly to solid and sustained consumer benefits.

There is no persuasive evidence that the resumption of the growth of our economy is now being held up by an inadequacy of spending power on the part of consumers, or that large tax reductions are needed at this moment to stimulate consumer buying. Despite the reduction in employment that has occurred during the past 6 months of inventory adjustment, consumer incomes and personal consumption expenditures as a whole have been well maintained. There was a small decline in consumer expenditures on durable and nondurable goods during the latter part of 1953, but there was also a considerable rise in consumer expenditures on services.

American consumers now hold more than $200 billion of liquid assets (bank accounts, savings deposits, and United States Savings Bonds) and these assets are well distributed among the different income groups and regions of our country. During every quarter of 1953 the amount of liquid savings by individuals ran between 2.5 and 3.5 billion. Consumer credit has stabilized during recent months and is generally well available.

The evidence strongly suggests that it is the will to buy rather than the absence of means which is limiting the amount of consumer expenditures at the present time. However, the onward march of technology, the steady flow of new and improved products, and the growing obsolescence of the present stock of consumer goods may be expected to tempt consumers to spend more freely during the months ahead. This is especially true because more vigorous competition is forcing businesses to improve the quality of their goods and services and to reduce their prices, a process that needs no stimulus from government because it is part of the normal workings of our competitive, individual enterprise economy.

In his Economic Report, President Eisenhower points out the bases for confidence in the maintenance of prosperity. At the same time, he notes the fallibility of economic forecasts and the need for constant vigilance by government. He states unequivocally the determination of his administration to use any and every economic weapon in the formidable arsenal of the Federal Government to avert recession and to promote stable economic growth. In the face of these pronouncements, the doubts and fears expressed by Mr. Keyserling and others seem premature, to say the least.

After all, the notion of bringing into a balanced program immediate consumer benefits and stimulation to business hasn't been tried for a good many years. Other things have been tried. For instance, in the 7 long years from 1933 to 1940 policies were all directed toward consumer purchasing power. The response in reduced unemployment was, to say the least, tardy and halfhearted.

Furthermore, a policy of active repression of business expansion was pursued, particularly in the undistributed profits tax. The experience of those years is such as to give us confidence in a program which provides on the one hand for immediate encouragement to the consumer and on the other for long-range and solid encouragement to the consumer through the expansion of business, on which employment and consumer purchasing power so largely depend.

We must not again make the mistake of shutting business off from its natural function of working for the well-being of the people as a whole. Once was enough.

RALPH E. FLANDERS,
United States Senator from Vermont.
WASHINGTON.

Statement of Wayne E. Richards, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs this morning by National Commander Wayne E. Richards, of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. I think it is well to point on the question of hospitalization and medical care that the goal of 128,000 VA hospital beds is not a firm program, but rather one that varies from time to time depending upon the construction of new hospitals and the retirement of older facilities. When the hospital program was reduced by 16,000 beds in December 1943, I immediately protested the reduction and have worked since then to see that these beds were restored—I sponsored legislation to accomplish this purpose. The Congress last year granted funds to staff and operate approximately 114,315 VA hospital beds and the estimated average number to be staffed and operated in the fiscal year 1955 is 117,700. This figure is largely controlled, now, by the ability to recruit personnel.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF WAYNE E. RICHARDS, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Madam Chairman and members of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, exactly 1 year has elapsed since my distinguished predecessor, James W. Cothran, appeared before your fine committee to present our legislative program for 1953. Later in my statement I should like to briefly review the events of the past year; but, first, I want to try and find words to adequately express our sincere appreciation for this meeting today. It was gracious of you, Madam Chairman, to grant our request for this special hearing. Again, it is the time of our annual Washington conference of national and department officers. Those men who have accompanied me to this meeting today constitute the top leadership of our organization and come from every State and Territory. It is a rare privilege for them to attend an open session of this committee and it gives you an opportunity to size up the quality, and quantity, of the men who guide our organization.

I know it is ancient history to the oldtimers on this committee, but for the benefit of the new members I am proud to point out that our organization has been honored in the past to have as its commander in chief one of your distinguished colleagues on this committee, Gen. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY, of New York, and one of your distinguished colleagues in the House, Capt. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania. We believe we have an organization that is a positive and patriotic force for good—that opinion, I am sure, is shared by many national leaders who we are proud to number among our membership, including many Members of the Congress, President Eisenhower, former President Truman, Supreme Court Justices, Cabinet members, and others.

May I briefly discuss our organization by recalling a few historical facts. Except for the Mexican War, and a few minor engagements, the Armed Forces of our Nation had never been called upon to fight on foreign soil until the Spanish-American War in 1898. The returning veterans-from that war found a need for an organization of men who had shared common hardships far from their homeland. In September 1899 a small group of these men meeting in Columbus, Ohio, pledged themselves to "honor the dead by helping the living" and formed an organization which they called the American Veterans of Foreign Service. From this humble beginning has grown the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, embracing approximately one and a quarter million members in 10,000 posts in every State and Territory of the United States and some foreign countries.

I am proud to say that all the members of our organization are men who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States on foreign soil or in hostile waters during some war, campaign, or expedition and are native or naturalized American citizens. In its 55 years of existence our organization has weathered many storms—somehow our early leaders imparted to the organization a vision and determination that has given us survival power. We are here to stay and we are proud to point out that during our lifetime we have kept going almost entirely from the financial support of our own membership. On a few occasions we have attempted to share our financial problems with the public but the experiences were unsatisfactory both to the public and to us. The only consistent appeal our national organization makes for public contributions is in the annual sale of the "Buddy Poppy," made by the disabled in veterans' hospitals. The funds received from this source help support our National Rehabilitation Service and our national home for widows and orphans of deceased members located at Eaton Rapids, Mich. The home occupies 640 acres of beautiful farm land and includes a hospital, community center, playgrounds, and family-sized houses in which the children live under the guidance of a housemother. We believe it provides the best possible substitute for normal family life for boys and girls who have been left without a home upon the death of one or both parents.

I am also proud to say that in the 12-month period ending June 1, 1953, our National Rehabilitation Service reviewed 381,694 case folders and processed 175,000 claims for veterans and their dependents, resulting in total recoveries amounting to $128,904,546. This service is rendered without charge and without regard to membership in the Veterans of Foreign Wars. To carry on this service we have 274 accredited representatives of which 175 are continuously active in handling claims. Many of these representatives have offices in Veterans'

Administration facilities throughout the United States and its Territories. Without their services the Federal Government would, no doubt, be required to hire additional employees for this purpose. To this extent, I think we perform a function for Government and in this connection I should like to quote from page 39 of the report of the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure, published as Senate Document No. 186 in the 76th Congress:

"The service organizations, however, perform a role more important than that simply of advocates in a particular case. They have further become an integral part of the administration of the veterans' laws. Each organization maintains offices in the Veterans' Administration itself. In many respects, they may act as a buffer for the Administration. In practice, they may winnow out the irrelevant; they can and do discourage unnecessary appeals and unnecessary production of witnesses. Thus the service organizations may perform an important function of clarification and expedition."

Time will not permit me to discuss in detail our extensive community-service program and other activities which I believe are helping to build a stronger and better America. I am proud, however, that over 8,000 posts and 3,000 auxiliaries engaged in over 175,000 community-service projects in the past year.

Perhaps you wonder why I have taken time to mention these things. The reason is this: Since the end of World War II, I have noted, with concern, a gradually increasing tendency to regard veterans as largely a drain on the Federal Treasury—and veteran organizations as high pressure groups that contribute little to society. What a different attitude now from the almost universal attitude at the end of World War II when some 15 million men and women were returned to civilian life. At that time a grateful public, weary of war, welcomed the return of those who had defended the Nation against its enemies. Thousands upon thousands of discharged veterans started small businesses throughout the country using the word "Veteran" in their firm name to advertise the fact they had been in the service. Veterans were popular—to be a veteran was an advantage in many activities. I'm sure we all remember the Veterans' Taxi Cos., Veterans' Cleaners, Veterans' Garages, etc. of the early postwar years. Now they are a rarity, and I think this exemplifies a growing feeling that it is not so popular now to be a veteran. In fact, there is a growing refrain to the effect that one who defended his country in time of war merely performed his duty and should not expect any special recognition unless specifically disabled in service. Of course, we agree that one who is now a veteran had an obligation to defend his country. He had exactly the same obligation as the able-bodied nonveteran. To those individuals and groups who infer that the veteran is a coddled and lazy bum living off the largess of the Nation I would say: If the business of being a veteran is so profitable, why do we have a Selective Service System to supply men for our Armed Forces? Why is not the problem of our local draft boards that of selecting those who must remain as civilians? I think the answer is obvious—it is as obvious as their viewpoint is dangerous to America.

I should like now to turn briefly to the events of the past year, and, as I do so, I first want to express our appreciation of the efforts of this committee and the spirit of courteous cooperation in which your able and conscientious staff has handled your affairs. The past year was largely one of defense, of holding the line against sharp attacks on the entire structure of the veterans' benefit program. Early in 1953 this committee rendered valuable service in the fight to obtain adequate appropriations for the hospital and medical program. Your fight was fruitful and the House, in the final action, went along with your viewpoint. As the attacks on the hospital program continued your subcommittee on hospitals rendered a great service through its investigation of the operation of hospital facilities which was published as Committee Print No. 53. This was followed by the very important hearings conducted by the Hospital Subcommittee which inquired into the matter of entitlement to hospital and medical care. These hearings turned the searching light of truth on false statements and irresponsible charges made by enemies of the hospital and medical program. It is the best and most current record of actual facts now available and was made possible only by the objective manner in which your committee approached this subject. We recognize that the long fight over appropriations in the last session made difficult, if not impossible, lengthy consideration and favorable action on other needed legislation. We are hopeful for a brighter picture this session and that brings me to some highlights of our current program.

COMPENSATION AND PENSION

In the first session of the present Congress, H. R. 2575 was introduced at VFW request. This bill seeks to revise the disability-compensation schedule by increasing the rate for permanent total disability from the present $172.50 per month to $187.50 per month. It would also correct the incongruous situation created by Public Law 356 of the 82d Congress which established a higher increase for disabilities rated 50 percent or more than was given for disabilities under 50 percent. At the time hearings were conducted on H. R. 2575, we pointed out that compensation for permanent total disability in 1940 was $100 per month, at which time the consumers price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics stood at 100. In the 1953 hearings the consumers price index was 188.6 and is now at approximately that same level. From a comparison of these figures, it is readily apparent that compensation for permanent total disability when measured by 1940 values is less than $100 per month. We also pointed out that in 1940 the average hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries was 66 cents an hour, while in January 1953 the average hourly earnings of such workers was $1.74 per hour, an increase of 163 percent. Time will not permit a thorough discussion of many other factors which clearly reveal that compensation rates have actually declined since 1940. When measured by purchasing power there has been a steady decline, and this, during a period of unprecedented prosperity.

A long-standing objective of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has been the enactment of a uniform pension system for veterans of all wars and their dependents. This has been based on the sound principle that veterans pensions should not be determined by the particular war in which the veteran fought. I can, therefore, say that we approve of the principle embodied in H. R. 7535 recently introduced by the gracious chairman of this committee. Our only objection to the bill is that it adopts the less favorable rates and conditions of part III pensions rather than the more favorable rates and conditions which are applicable to veterans of the Spanish-American War. Rising costs and the decline in purchasing power to which I previously referred apply with like effect to pension rates. We, therefore, suggest that the rates in section 4 of H. R. 7535 be substantially increased and that the income limitations in section 5 be increased to $2,000 and $3,000. We are particularly concerned at this time with the tragic plight of the aging pensioners of World War I who are barely able to keep body and soul together on the present pension rate. As we approach a period of economic readjustment, aging people who were previously employable because of the manpower shortage, now find themselves out of work. It is this group that is most desperately in need of relief and I should like to point out that the dollars paid to these needy people are immediately injected into the economic stream for rent, food, clothing, and other necessities of life. Many economists have pointed out that we have increased our facilities for production and the productive output of individual workers to such an extent that the only cure for our economic ills is to expand consumption. Therefore, in consideration of the compensation and pension program, we should not be unmindful of the effect such a program has on the economic welfare of the Nation.

A discussion of the adequacy of the compensation and pension program would not be complete without a consideration of the element of cost for certainly we cannot expect a program that is beyond the Nation's ability to pay. Many members of the committee will recall that we have previously made a comparison of the cost of compensation and pensions today with the cost of military pensions some 60 years ago, and its relationship to national income. As our statistics disclosed, veterans represented about 3 percent of the total population of the United States in 1890 against slightly more than 13 percent today, and that military pensions consumed a larger percentage of national income in the 1890's than does comepnsation and pensions today. This, it seems to me, requires an analysis of the costs of Government for the purpose of determining if our expenditures for the veteran benefit program are not lagging behind less vital obligations. Certainly, we who have defended this Nation in time of war have no desire to destroy or weaken its financial structure. We recognize that the Congress is better qualified than we are to pass on the complex fiscal affairs of Government. We, however, do seriously solicit your careful consideration of the proper place to be given veterans benefits in our Government spending program.

HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL PROGRAM

The question of entitlement, alleged abuses, and the scope of the hospital and medical program for veterans was discussed at length at our national encampment last August. The findings of the Subcommittee on Hospitalization of your committee confirmed our belief that the actual abuses in the hospital and medical program were negligible. Consequently, the national encampment did not alter our long-standing position with respect to entitlement of veterans to hospitalization and medical treatment. We reaffirmed our traditional stand that adequate hospital facilities should be made available to care for: (a) service-connected disabled in need of treatment; (b) tubercular, neuropsychiatric and chronic cases requiring long periods of hospitalization, regardless of service-connection or ability to pay; and (c) other non-service-connected cases who are unable to pay. Notwithstanding inferences from spokesmen of the American Medical Association and affiliated medical groups, the Veterans of Foreign Wars has never demanded or expected sufficient hospital beds to care for all of the ills and ailments of our 20 million plus veterans. We do believe the bed capacity of Veterans' Administration hospitals should be increased to not less than the 131,000 beds which was established as a yardstick by the Truman administration. It is noted, however, that the recommended budget for fiscal 1954 from the Bureau of the Budget would provide for the operation and maintenance of approximately 111,000 beds. This falls far short of the established goal of 131,000 beds. We are concerned with the campaign

being carried on by spokesmen for the American Medical Association. It is unfortunate that these spokesmen are juggling and distorting statistics issued by the Veterans' Administration in an attempt to make the public believe that approximately 85 percent of all beds in Veterans' Administration hospitals are being occupied by veterans with non-service-connected disabilities who could afford to pay for private treatment. The facts, based on annual clinical bed surveys by the Veterans' Administration, reveal that not more than 10 percent of the available beds are daily occupied by veterans with non-service-connected disabilities requiring short periods of hospitalization. Even among the 10 percent in this category it is open to doubt if many of them could afford to pay for private treatment. The annual bed surveys actually reveal that the great majority of Veterans' Administration hospital beds are daily occupied by veterans with service-connected disabilities or tubercular, neuropsychriatric and chronic cases requiring long periods of treatment who would not be able to pay, even in part, for private treatment. We are also concerned with the decision of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to add a financial questionnaire to the hospital application form after the first session of this Congress had repudiated efforts to change the conditions governing admission of veterans to hospitals. The Administrator has given assurance that these financial questionnaires will remain confidential and will not be used to deny or delay admissions to Veterans' Administration hospitals. Time will determine whether the financial questionnaire will serve as a weapon to prevent deserving veterans from receiving medical treatment which they cannot afford in private facilities.

PUBLIC LAW 16

I am sure this committee is aware that training under Public Law 16 expires in July 1956. Numerous bills to extend the provisions of the act for certain groups of disabled veterans have been introduced in the Congress. Our recommendation for amendment of Public Law 16, pursuant to a resolution of our national encampment, is contained in a bill which has been prepared and pending introduction. This bill is a new approach to vocational rehabilitation of our disabled in that it makes the provisions of Public Law 16 available to those disabled in peacetime service, at 80 percent of the wartime rate, if their disability is evaluated at not less than 30 percent. We believe this is a sound recommendation for its effect will be to return to the production line disabled persons who otherwise might be dependent upon public assistance. In addition to the humanitarian aspects of such a program, we believe it will also pay dividends by reducing costs of the pension program. The value of vocational rehabilitation of the disabled has been recognized by the Congress under the program which reimburses States for one-half the cost of vocational training for disabled non-veterans. Nearly 100,000 disabled persons per year receive assistance under this program at a cost to the Federal Treasury of more than $20 million annually. It seems to us that the principle has already been accepted and we merely advocate that the present program for those injured in the Armed Forces be extended, with the same relationship between war and peacetime service, that now exists in the payment of compensation.

HOUSING

The Milwaukee VFW National Encampment held last August adopted, by an almost unanimous vote, a resolution protesting the increase in interest rates on GI loans from 4 to 4½ percent and called for legislation to roll back the interest rate to 4 percent. At the time the interest rate was increased by agreement between the Secretary of the Treasury and the Administrator of Veterans Affairs it was stated the increase was necessary to break loose private money to support the GI home-loan program. Experience reveals that for the several months following the increase in interest rates money was about as scarce as ever and tighter in some sections of the country. There has been some relief in private money for GI loans in recent months but the additional funds have not warranted or proven the assumption that the increased rate would provide plenty of private money for GI loans. We strongly urge the Congress to consider rolling back the GI interest rate to 4 percent and to keep alive a liberal, direct loan program to take up the slack if private money freezes up.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars has noted with interest the report and recommendations of the President's Committee on Home and Housing Policies. Many aspects of that report are viewed with favor by the leadership of our organization, but the forthcoming department encampments and the national encampment will determine the final position on the recommendations. Representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars were invited to testify before the President's Housing Committee and to express opinions on certain recommendations with respect to the FHA and the VA home-loan programs. The position the VFW has taken, pending a national encampment decision, is to the effect that the VA loan program should remain under the control of the Veterans' Administration, with no transfer of functions, by amending legislation, to the Federal Housing Administration. We know, however, that there are certain technical functions, such as appraisals and inspections, performed by both the FHA and the VA which constitute duplication of effort and costs. We suggest, as the President's Committee recommended, that, if feasible, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, by mutual agreement with the Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration, delegate to the FHA the power to perform such functions with the understanding that if it worked to the disadvantage of veterans the agreement could be canceled and the VA resume performance of said technical functions. We are unalterably opposed, however, to a transfer, by legislation, of any of the functions of the VA home-loan program to the FHA.

THE NORWALK, CONN., INCIDENT

There is another matter which may be of interest to this committee. Recently a national furore developed as a result of information, which became public, to the effect that a VFW post in Norwalk, Conn., was reporting names of persons suspected of being subversives to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This information casually, but unwisely, mentioned to publicize post activities during National VFW Week, was garbled and distorted out of all proportion to the facts. Clever reporters, sensing the possibility of a national controversy, swooped down upon humble men, inexperienced in public relations, and inveigled statements from the unwary which gave the impression that the VFW is organizing vigilante committees, engaging in witch hunts, and setting neighbor against neighbor in smear attacks which deny the accused an opportunity to defend themselves.

I want to assure this committee, and through this committee, the Congress, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars is not, and has never, advocated or encouraged the formation of "vigilante committees" to engage in witch hunts or to investigate, evaluate and screen evidence against persons suspected of being subversives. Notwithstanding distorted and misleading publicity in the Norwalk incident, I am pleased to advise there was no committee, no investigations, no evaluation or screening of evidence, and no discussion of suspects among the post membership.

The action that was taken by a VFW post commander in Norwalk is in complete harmony with public policy as enunciated by the President of the United States, the two immediate former Presidents of the United States, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and more recently stated by the Attorney General of the United States in a press conference which was published on February 5, 1954. Anyone who charges or infers that the Veterans of Foreign Wars is engaging in vigilante tactics, witch hunts, pitting neighbor against neighbor, and smearing innocent persons who have no opportunity to defend themselves, is questioning the patriotism, integrity, and common sense of a million and a quarter men who have followed Old Glory to the far ends of the world to oppose tryanny and maintain the free institutions and ideals of the United States of America.

CONCLUSION

I do not wish to take more of your valuable time in discussing all phases of our heavy program. Our legislative director, Omar B. Ketchum, will offer for the record a complete digest of VFW resolutions which come under the jurisdiction of your committee. In conclusion, may I thank you again for the privilege of this meeting and your kind attention to our views, and remind you of our annual congressional dinner tonight in the Statler Hotel to which you have been invited.

Exempting Agricultural Products From the Federal Tax on Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I hope this House will read and act on this timely concurrent resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina. State Senator R. P. Gallison, of my home county or Greenwood, is the author of this splendid resolution. I have today introduced a bill which will exempt agricultural products from the 3 percent Federal tax on transportation.

The resolution follows:

Concurrent resolution memorializing Congress to exempt milk and other farm products from the Federal tax on the transportation of property

Whereas the return from the Federal tax on the transportation of property is small; and

Whereas said tax has proved burdensome to the farmers of the States and further reduces their income which cannot stand much reduction: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States is memorialized to enact such legislation as will exempt from the tax on transportation of property milk and other farm products being transported from the farm or place of production to market when both are in the same State; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the two Members of the United States Senate and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives from this State.

Public Hearings of Hoover Commission Task Force on Power and Natural Resources

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, at its annual meeting in Miami, Fla., adopted a resolution on January 14, 1954, urging the Hoover Commission to enlarge the membership of its task force on water resources and power in order to provide for representation of public and cooperative agencies in the power field. The NRECA also requested that opportunity be afforded it to testify in hearings before the Commission or the task force.

As a member of the Hoover Commission, I have taken the position from the start that the task force on water resources and power should be broadly representative of the major viewpoints in this controversial field, including public as well as private power. Although the Commission has not accepted my proposal to enlarge the membership of the task force to include individuals with a public-power viewpoint, it directed, on February 8 that public hearings be held, with ample opportunity for all interested parties to be heard, and a verbatim transcript of the testimony to be available for examination by the press and the public.

Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Hoover Commission to direct one of its task forces to hold public hearings marks an unprecedented step in its procedure, and I wish to call it to the attention of the members. Although the task force on water resources and power is the only task force for which public hearings are mandatory at the present time, other task forces may decide to follow the same procedure. I am hopeful that public hearings will contribute to a series of balanced and well-rounded reports of the Hoover Commission.

I include with these remarks the correspondence of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association relating to presentation of testimony at task force hearings:

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1954.

Hon. HERBERT HOOVER,
Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, General Accounting Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HOOVER: The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association represents 91 percent of all the rural electric systems in this country and Alaska which are financed by loans from the Rural Electrification Administration. The 900 rural electric systems which we represent serve over 3½ million farm families and rural establishments.

As you know, the rural electric systems are locally owned and controlled. Their relations with REA have been twofold—REA has been the agency from which they borrowed all their capital funds, and REA has provided them with certain essential technical services which have helped to insure the security of the Government's loans and also aided the systems to do such a fine job of electrifying rural United States and Alaska. This job is far from completed; there are still over one-half million unserved farms and rural establishments, and also the loads of the rural electric systems are doubling every 4 years, which means there has to be REA loan funds available for the necessary heavying-up and other system improvements.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1952, the rural electric systems purchased and generated approximately 11½ billion kilowatt-hours. They purchased 50.4 percent of this from the power companies and 28.1 percent from Federal agencies (TVA, Bonneville Power Administration, Southeastern Power Administration, Southwestern Power Administration, and the Bureau of Reclamation). Because of the importance of this power purchased from agencies of the Federal Government, we have definite interest in the Federal power program and the agencies concerned with it. Also, they purchased 7.9 percent from other public agencies and they generated 13.6 percent themselves.

It is our understanding that your Commission will examine the policies and administration of the REA and the agencies concerned with the Federal power program. Our people are vitally interested in the deliberations of your Commission in these areas. At our recent annual meeting in Miami, Fla., which was attended by over 5,000 farm people, they passed the attached resolution instructing us to request time for their representatives and members of our staff to appear before your Commission and the task forces on water and power and the lending agencies, and present the views of the rural electric systems.

We would appreciate your arranging suitable times for such hearings and notifying us of such dates for enough in advance so we can notify our people in various parts of the country.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
Executive Manager.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT NRECA ANNUAL MEETING, MIAMI, FLA., JANUARY 14, 1954

Whereas there has been formed a commission commonly known as the Hoover Commission to examine the administration of the agencies of the Federal Government and to make policy recommendations concerning the functions of the Federal Government, and there has been created a task force of this Commission on water and power to examine in particular the administration and policy of the agencies of the Federal Government concerned with power such as the Rural Electrification Administration, Department of the Interior, and the Army Corps of Engineers: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Commission be urged to enlarge the size of the task force on water and power so as to provide for adequate representation of public and cooperative groups which at the present time are not represented on that task force; and be it further

Resolved, That it is essential in a democratic government that the people have the right to present their views before a commission with such sweeping authority. Therefore we strongly urge that the Commission permit us sufficient time to present our views before the full Commission and also the task force on water and power.

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1954.

Mr. CHARLES D. CURRAN,
Task Force Administrator, Task Force on Water Resources and Power, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, General Accounting Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CURRAN: The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association represents 91 percent of all the rural electric systems in this country and Alaska which are financed by loans from the Rural Electrification Administration. The 900 rural electric systems which we represent serve over 3½ million farm families and rural establishments.

We, of course, are interested in the deliberations of your task force because of our relations with the REA and also, in many areas, the Federal power agencies, the Bureau of Reclamation, Southwestern Power Administration, Southeastern Power Administration, Bonneville Power Administration, TVA, and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Our members, assembled at their annual meeting in Miami, Fla., on January 14, 1954, directed us to request time for a hearing both before the full Commission and the task force on water and power. A copy of their resolution is attached. Therefore, I want to take this opportunity to request time for the rural electric systems to appear before your task force and present their views on matters of interest to them and within the jurisdiction of your task force.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
Executive Manager.

NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D. C., February 11, 1954.

Mr. PAUL GRADY,
Task Force Director, Task Force on Lending Agencies, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, General Accounting Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GRADY: The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association represents 91 percent of all the rural electric systems in this country and Alaska which are financed by loans from the Rural Electrification Administration. The 900 rural electric systems which we represent serve over 3½ million farm families and rural establishments.

As you are probably aware, the rural electric systems borrow the capital they require from REA and repay it over 35 years with interest. At the end of calendar year 1953 loans in the amount of $2,780,000,000 had been approved by REA. Included in this total was $2,251,000,000 for distribution lines, $508,000,000 for generation and transmission facilities, and $21,000,000 for consumer facilities (loans which the systems make to their members for the purchase of wiring materials, plumbing, appliances, etc., where adequate local credit is not available).

We feel the relationship between REA and the rural electric systems is a healthy one. The systems are locally owned and controlled. Their relations with REA have been twofold—they have borrowed the necessary capital funds from REA and REA has provided certain services necessary to insure the security of their loans and assist them in accomplishing the fine job they are doing of electrifying rural United States and Alaska. But their job is far from completed—there are still over one-half million unserved farms and rural establishments and also the loads of the rural electric systems are doubling about every 4 years. This means that loan funds must be available for heavying up the lines and other system improvements.

We understand your task force will examine the administration and policies of the

REA program. Our people, of course, are vitally interested in the deliberations of your task force. At their recent annual meeting in Miami, Fla., which was attended by over 5,000 farm people, they passed a resolution instructing us to request time for them and members of our staff to present their views before the task force on lending agencies.

Therefore, we would appreciate your arranging suitable time for such a hearing and notifying us far enough in advance so we can notify our people.

Sincerely,

CLYDE T. ELLIS,
Executive Manager.

H. R. 7894

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following bill:

H. R. 7894

A bill declaring the Communist Party and similar revolutionary organizations illegal; making membership in, or participation in the revolutionary activity of, the Communist Party or any other organization furthering the revolutionary conspiracy by force and violence a criminal offense; and providing penalties

SECTION 1. Upon evidence which has been presented and proof which has been established before the Congress of the United States and the courts of the United States, there exists an international revolutionary Communist conspiracy which is committed to the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States and of the several States, such conspiracy including the Communist Party of the United States, its various components of affiliated, subsidiary, and frontal organizations and the members thereof.

SEC. 2. The Communist Party of the United States and its various components of affiliated, subsidiary, and frontal organizations and all other organizations, no matter under what name, whose object or purpose is to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the government of any State, Territory, district, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein by force and violence, are hereby declared illegal and not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof; and whatever rights, privileges, and immunities which have heretofore been granted to said party, its various components of affiliated, subsidiary, and frontal organizations and other organizations with the same revolutionary purposes, by reason of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof, are hereby terminated.

SEC. 3. Whoever, therefore, being a member of the Communist Party of the United States or any affiliated, subsidiary, or frontal organization thereof, or any other organization, no matter how named, whose object or purpose is to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the government of any State, Territory, district, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein by force or violence, knowing the revolutionary object or purpose thereof; or whoever participates in the revolutionary activities of the Communist Party or any affiliated subsidiary or frontal organization thereof, or any other organization with the same revolutionary purpose, knowing the revolutionary object or purpose thereof, is guilty of a Federal offense, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not exceeding 10 years or fined not exceeding $10,000, or both.

Guatemala's Expulsion of American Newspaperman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the Chargé d'Affaires of the Guatemala Embassy:

FEBRUARY 5, 1954.

Senor DON ALFREDO CHACANO,
Chargé d'Affaires, the Guatemalan Embassy to the United States,
Washington, D. C.:

The Overseas Press Club of America protests most vigorously against the Guatemala Government's recent action in arbitrarily expelling the North American newsmen, Sydney Gruson, of the New York Times, and Marshall F. Bannell, of the National Broadcasting Co., and others. The principle upon which the expulsions of Messrs. Gruson and Bannell were based is incompatible with the continued existence of free peoples in the New World. The tenet that all journalists must confine themselves to reporting as truth only the official propaganda versions of the acts and motives of members of the Government, or suffer penalties for disrespect and offenses against the state, is a totalitarian philosophy and a retrogression toward the absolutism that the New World peoples have fought ever since they won political independence from Europe. Further, to punish or penalize one newsman for not reporting the news in accordance with public officials' own interpretations automatically deprives all the press of its freedom to seek and report the truth. Even the threat of invoking such penalties robs a press of its freedom and a people of its right to know the facts necessary to its control of its own destiny.

The Overseas Press Club protests the application of this totalitarian principle by the present Guatemalan national administration not only because it hampers the free flow of news among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere and thus sacrifices true understanding between peoples to the enhancement of the reputations of transitory governing groups and personalities; we deplore it also because it is an alarming step in the undermining of a free press and the prolog to the enslavement of a people by a group of individuals entrenched in government. The action of the Guatemalan authorities threatens hemisphere solidarity at a time when inimical totalitarian powers menace the New World from without. It also imperils the liberty of all Guatemalans, a people who are our honored and valued neighbors. Moreover, the recent expulsion of journalists from Guatemala was not an isolated incident; that it is merely one of a series of official actions restricting freedom of information and opinion in that country is attested by the protest issued by the Journalists' Association of Guatemala on January 27.

The Overseas Press Club of America is composed of more than 900 North American foreign correspondents and former correspondents who today occupy positions of responsibility and influence in the newspaper, magazine, radio, and allied fields in the United States. We oppose unalterably all measures and actions calculated to limit, either directly or indirectly, the right of peoples to be informed the world over.

ANSEL TALBERT,
Chairman, Freedom of the Press and Information Committee.
VIRGINIA PREWETT MICHELL,
Chairman, Inter-American Affairs Committee.

The Harvey Bill: It Is a Significant Measure at This Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH HARVEY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

THE HARVEY BILL: IT IS A SIGNIFICANT MEASURE AT THIS TIME

The bill introduced by Congressman RALPH HARVEY in the House of Representatives to provide Federal aid to States for the construction of school buildings has developed considerable discussion.

It naturally brings up the question of whether this bill is a part of the scheme to centralize control of our schools at Washington, or if it even plays indirectly into the hands of those who promote the federalization of our schools.

This newspaper has opposed Federal aid to education since the day when it was almost by itself and people were not yet aroused to its dangers, and we oppose it for two principal reasons: 1. It would bring Federal thought control, and 2. It would mean standardization of textbooks, teaching methods, and all in such a way that it would be contrary to the nature of education itself. That is, it would provide uniformity in place of many approaches and the freedom to explore all avenues of truth.

The Harvey bill is an attempt to help meet a problem that is very real, that is very important, that is national in scope, and that is not today being solved in any other way.

It is an attempt to help build the school buildings that almost every community in the Nation needs just as New Castle needs them, and as they are needed by the other communities of Henry County and Indiana. It would appropriate $250 million of Federal money to be made available to the States for building school facilities. Indiana, being an average State would get about $10 million of this. The State or local community would be required to match the Federal money in equal part.

There are two things that we believe should be observed about the Harvey bill:

1. It would provide Federal assistance in the construction of buildings, and in so doing it does not enter into the operation of the schools. It is essentially the same sort of thing that has been accomplished in the construction of hospitals with Federal financial assistance. It does not relate to curriculum, textbooks, teachers, or the things which are a part of the learning process.

2. It is not continuous in any given situation. If this law passes and New Castle takes advantage of it, say, to build a $2 million high-school building, the Federal Government will put up $1 million and the

State or local community will pay $1 million. After the building is completed, the relationship with the Federal Government is over.

These two factors make the sort of thing provided by the Harvey bill something entirely different from the Federal aid to education to which we are uncompromisingly opposed.

It is our considered judgment that those persons who are opposed to Federal aid to education because of the reasons we have outlined would do well to give their support to the Harvey bill, or at least not oppose it, and for this reason:

The problem of the shortage of schoolhouses for the Nation, which it seeks to alleviate, is not otherwise being solved.

Let us face the issue squarely:

The support of schools by real-estate taxes has broken down under an unbearable load.

No alternative has been adopted.

Refusing to admit that we have a problem will do no good.

Failing to meet that problem, likewise, plays directly into the hand of the schemers who want to federalize our education.

In the long history of the centralization of government, the same thing has happened over and over again. The Federal Government has stepped in to do a job because local and State governments failed to do it.

That's exactly where we are today.

The people of this community and of Indiana will do far better to let the Harvey bill pass, and dedicate their energies toward the accomplishment without delay of a State school system that will give us an equitable tax, and leave the argument about Federal aid to education high and dry.

A Plan To Lessen the Bookkeeping Load on Employers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter from one of the large manufacturing companies in the Fifth Indiana District:

THE WARD-STILSON CO.,
Anderson, Ind., January 26, 1954.

Hon. JOHN V. BEAMER,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BEAMER: I know you have a number of complaints from your district about everything in general, and I hate to burden you with another. But unless we can get the facts before our lawmakers, nothing can be done about such matters.

I have been doing some analyzing on the time spent by several of our office employees in filling out various governmental forms. It is costing our company approximately $10,000 a year for us to handle various reports to the different agencies. For example, district collector of internal revenue, Federal income tax, Federal excise tax on jewelry and cosmetics, Federal excise tax on eight or more employees. Withholding tax—OAB. United States Department of Labor, labor turnover report. United States Census Bureau, quarterly report, yearly manufacturing census report, report on employment and payrolls. United States Treasury Department report on savings bonds. Federal Trade Commission, quarterly financial report, etc.

Most of these reports have on them the following: "This report is required by law. It is mandatory under authority of section — of the Federal ——— Act." These bureaus are always very willing to spend the taxpayers' money in that if you are a day late in making the report they send a telegram, 15 or 20 words, demanding that the report be filed immediately and where to send it to. But if you request information, you are lucky if you ever get it.

For example: I have been making out a quarterly financial report to the Federal Trade Commission for the past 10 years, and I have yet to receive any coordinated report of financial figures on the textile industry from this office. Since this report costs us about $35 to prepare, I believe it would be cheaper for us to pay a fine for refusing to make out the report, than to get all the data together to submit it.

My plea to you is to lessen the bookkeeping load on the employers for the Federal Government.

Sincerely,

THE WARD-STILSON CO.,
C. DE VAR LITTEN,
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Few Are Disloyal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the State Department numbers more than 30,000 employees on its roster. Serious charges reflecting on the loyalty of these employees have been made in recent years. It is now revealed that 11 employees have been released for disloyalty during the past year. No one will be sorry to see the disloyal element removed, but in all fairness it should be pointed out that many thousands of loyal and hardworking State Department employees undeservedly have been subjected to abuse and suspicion. The following editorial from the Trenton Times of Monday, February 15, 1954, makes a defense of the loyal State Department employees that I wish every Member of Congress would read so that a fine record of loyalty can be set straight:

FEW ARE DISLOYAL

A man is innocent until proved guilty. That is the basis for American law. That is not the present public view of employees of the State Department. In hundreds of political speeches the employees of the State Department have had their loyalty questioned, mostly by campaigning Congressmen. These charges have left the public with the impression that our State Department was largely disloyal.

Now the news comes from Washington that under the loyalty program 11 employees of the State Department have been fired in the past year for disloyalty. There have been 523 others dropped for "security" reasons, which might range from drunkenness to doubtful honesty.

There are more than 30,000 public employees working for the State Department, and 11 have been found of doubtful loyalty. These 11 have done nothing criminal, nothing traitorous; but their background and associations raise questions of their loyalty, and they have been fired.

Nothing has been said in defense of the 30,000 State Department employees who are judged loyal. No mention is made of the way in which loose congressional charges have torn down completely the morale of our Foreign Service.

Wherever and whenever there is reliable doubt of the loyalty of a Government employee, particularly in so sensitive an area as the State Department, it is proper to dismiss him. The 11 who have been dismissed deserve no sympathy; but the thousands of loyal Americans doing their very best to represent the United States at home and abroad deserve consideration.

Isn't it time for loose talkers in Congress and in political campaigns to realize that they have a responsibility to the loyal Americans who work for our Government?

Prelate Attacks Federal Migrant Labor Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Catholic Standard of February 12, 1954:

PRELATE ATTACKS FEDERAL MIGRANT LABOR PROGRAM

SAN ANTONIO.—The interim program established this month by the State, Justice, and Labor Departments for recruiting and contracting Mexican farm workers, was criticized sharply here by Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, of San Antonio.

The archbishop, who is executive chairman of the Bishops' Committee on the Spanish Speaking, in a statement to the NCWC News Service, characterized the program as the work of men "who seem to be living in a dream world or in a vacuum."

The program of the three Federal Departments was put into effect in January.

MEXICO ANGRY

Under the 1951 migrant labor agreement, Mexico recruited the workers in the interior of that country and sent them to the border for admission. Under the new interim program, the Labor Department sets up stations on the United States side of the border for the registration of workers.

In retaliation against the program, Mexico closed its borders to farm workers seeking jobs in the southwestern United States.

The closing of Mexican borders against farmhands seeking jobs in the United States has brought on serious problems of thousands of workers congregating at several points below the Mexican border, with Mexican guards seeking to prevent them from going over to the United States.

The archbishop pointed to one part of the joint statement, reading: "The continued shortage of domestic agricultural workers has meant that farmers in the Southwest and other areas are dependent on some Mexican laborers to plant and harvest their crops."

SHORTAGE NOT REAL

Commenting on this, Archbishop Lucey said: "The shortage of domestic agricultural workers in south Texas is artificial, not real. The Mexican contract worker gets 50 cents

an hour; the wetbacks get as little as 20 cents an hour. American citizens cannot live on starvation wages, and go elsewhere for work. This creates a labor shortage.

"In a recent year 65,000 domestic agricultural workers in south Texas migrated to other States seeking temporary agricultural employment and then the growers imported 45,000 workers to bring in the harvest.

"Under the interim program the Secretary of Labor determines 'that the employment of Mexican agricultural workers will not adversely affect wages and working conditions.' Does not the fact that growers can ignore American citizens and get cheap labor from Mexico 'adversely affect wages and working conditions'? Does not this whole disorderly program make life miserable for the small shopkeeper whose customers are out of town 6 months of the year?

"The last paragraph of the statement is really something: 'It is believed that the interim program provides a satisfactory method for contracting Mexican agricultural workers and that as a consequence there should be no reason to employ illegal migrants'."

STILL MORE NORTH

"In other words, growers who can hire wetbacks for 20 cents an hour will be so sublimited by this program that they will gladly pay 50 cents an hour to workers on contract. Thus with a stroke of the pen these valiant Federal officials have destroyed original sin with all its works and pomps.

"Meanwhile, the immigration chief in Nuevo Laredo reports 'an endless stream' of wetbacks traveling north into Texas. Five hundred illegal aliens were reported crossing the border into California at Calexico.

"The executive manager of the Texas Shippers and Growers Association was reported in the press as declaring that the growers are getting more favors out of the interim program than they asked for. These men are big-hearted and they asked for plenty. The gentleman also promises that the growers will get their wetbacks legalized.

"The illegal alien has come to our country in defiance of our laws. When Uncle Sam begins to legalize lawlessness and posts a reward for crime against the United States it will indeed be a day of infamy."

Lincoln Day Remarks of Hon. Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, at Brooklyn, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. DORN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, last Friday night, February 12, we held in Brooklyn, N. Y., a dinner celebrating the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party. I believe I may say with confidence that it was the largest of any such celebration held in the country, over 1,200 people being present. The distinguished Senator from Michigan, HOMER FERGUSON, addressed the gathering.

Under leave granted, I should like to include his remarks:

Friends, Republicans everywhere have great cause to rejoice in 1954. This year, as we honor Abraham Lincoln, our party celebrates its 100th anniversary.

We remember the story of the few hundred who gathered at Jackson from many parts of the Union to resolve to battle for the first principles of Republican government and to be known as Republicans until the contest be terminated.

Today you are carrying on that battle after playing such an important role in the return of a Republican administration to office last year. You, and the thousands of other Republicans and the thousands upon thousands who believe in the principles of the Republican Party, fought for a Republican administration because of the principles of the party.

You believed in the principles of the Republican Party then.

You believe in the principles of the Republican Party now.

You, the people, are the Republican Party.

It is your party, and because it is your party—the party that represents all of the people, it has withstood attacks on it for 100 years and has grown in strength that will cause it to endure for more than 100 years more.

Now what has the Republican Party got that has made it possible to withstand the test of time.

First, it is responsive to all of the people.

Second, it has had vision.

Its cornerstone is the greatest principle of all time: The God-given right of men to be free and equal, regardless of race, color, or creed.

Hardly had the party been formed some 100 years ago when its first immortal leader—Abraham Lincoln—said:

"Let us, in building our new party, plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us."

Listen to Lincoln at Gettysburg: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," let us highly resolve "that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Thus the Republican Party, with Lincoln's guidance, built its house on the solid rock of these enduring principles: "freedom, liberty, and equality for all men; and government firmly in the hands of the people."

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence," Lincoln asked. And he answered from the heart of truth: "It is not our frowning battlements, or brustling seacoasts, our Army and Navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

My friends, that is why today the Republican Party fights for freedom everywhere—against the enslavement of communism and against totalitarian governments at home and abroad.

That is why we led the fight against our political opponent who sought to centralize too much power in Washington; to fasten control upon our lives, our businesses, and our property, and to weaken us by heavy taxation and bureaucratic red tape.

There are two more principles of government to be found in the Constitution which safeguard the freedom of the people. These are the principle of separation of powers and the provision of checks and balances.

The fathers of the country knew from bitter experience that power is subject to great abuse. The greatest danger to liberty comes from too much centralization of power anywhere in our system.

They therefore provided in the Constitution for the separation of power among the three branches of Government, legislative, executive, and judicial; and between Federal, State, and local bodies. And to be certain that no one of these parts could ever dominate the others, and thus endanger the rights and freedoms of the people, the Fathers also provided for a system of checks and balances. By this system, each part can check the ambitions and aggressions of other parts.

This principle too has become part of the solid foundation which distinguishes the Republican Party. That is why you have heard so much about the Bricker amendment recently, which in essence seeks to protect the States, localities, and the people from abuse of the treaty power by the Federal Government.

Thus, upon these great principles—individual freedom, the inalienable rights of man, a government of laws, not of men, a government limited to powers granted by the people, and the separation of powers with checks and balances to hold power within limits safe for the people—the Republican Party takes its stand. And in the 100 years since its birth as a party we have fought to preserve these principles.

What have we accomplished? What have we achieved?

The history of the Republican Party in the first 50 years after its founding is written in the remarkable growth and development of the Nation. Except for short periods under opposition party control, Republican Presidents, Congresses, and State Governors and legislatures shaped the young Nation.

They strengthened its government, broadened its economy, expanded its territory and population, developed the Nation's great natural resources, and steadily improved the standard of living of our people.

In many respects in 1860, the United States was still a colonial country, with sparse land settlements, dangerous Indian bands, lawless border towns and dependent upon Europe for most of the manufactured goods needed to develop the Nation.

But in the next half century, with Republican Presidents shaping government policy, the Nation became a world leader in agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. Republican policies encouraged the development of our vast natural resources. They laid the foundations for the world's greatest rail and highway systems.

Republicans created our national banking system. They built up the Nation's credit, and gave us the world's soundest currency, based on gold. They provided an Army and a Navy so strong that America was secure and our voice in world councils was heard and respected.

Let us look at the highlights of Republican accomplishments.

STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENT

In the field of government, Republicans passed the first civil-service act in 1883 and later revised it to provide equal pay for equal work. We established the Department of Labor in 1884, the Department of Commerce in 1903, the Patent Office encouraging inventors, the Weather Bureau, and the Postal Savings System encouraging thrift.

In 1921 we set up the Federal budget and general accounting system to make government accountable to the people. We overhauled the Federal prison system to make it more humane. And in 1926 and 1930 we created the Federal Bureau of Investigation to protect our people from crime, fraud, and subversion.

AGRICULTURE

On Lincoln's recommendation in 1862 Congress established the Department of Agriculture. In the same year the Homestead Act was passed providing farms for our people

and opening the West to settlement. By the Morrill Act land was donated for agricultural and mechanical arts colleges which your sons in every State now enjoy. Some of the greatest benefits to our growing agriculture came from Republican tariff acts.

Under Theodore Roosevelt the Bureau of Reclamation Act was passed in 1902 to reclaim waste land; and strong measures were taken to conserve our natural resources. From 1902 to 1932, Republicans created six of the Department of Agriculture's most important bureaus, including the Cooperative Marketing Division.

LABOR

Republicans have always been ready to advance the interests of labor and to protect the workingman from abuses by employers and irresponsible labor leaders alike. We passed railroad employees' compensation acts and limitation-of-hours laws. In 1898 and again in 1926 railway mediation laws were enacted which established the principle of collective bargaining. The 12-hour day was abolished in 1923. We limited the use of Federal injunctions in labor disputes, subject only to their application in national emergency strikes. By the Bacon-Davis Act, provision was made for paying the prevailing rate of wages to workers engaged in Government contracts.

In all this, we never lost sight of the interests of all the people. When labor leaders engaged in unfair-labor practices against innocent employers and against their own workmen, we did not hesitate to enact the Taft-Hartley Act to bring balance and justice into labor-management relations. That act also protects the public from nationwide strikes endangering the public safety.

And let me tell you this. Although Democratic administrations denounced this law for political purposes, and although they had the full power of government for several years after passage of the law, they never repealed it. They never repealed it because they knew in their hearts that the law was just and right for the man at the workbench and for the whole people.

All through the history of Republican achievements, you will find the thread of balance, justice, and equity. It makes no difference whether we deal with government, agriculture, labor, industry, banking, stock and commodity markets, or foreign nations.

Whenever we have seen any special interest pushed to extremes harmful to the general public welfare, we have had the plain courage to eliminate abuses and to redress balance; just as Lincoln had the courage to free the slaves, although it cost him his life.

That is why our party is at once both conservative and liberal. We will preserve what is good, strike down what is bad, and stand by first principles. That is the only way to make sound, enduring progress. We are keeping faith with the Founding Fathers who knew the dangers of extremes and of too much power anywhere.

INDUSTRY

For example, when the rapid growth of industry brought with it abuses by big business, monopolies, and restraints of trade, we did not hesitate to move against these forms of oppression of freemen.

Republicans passed the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890 to prohibit monopolies and to set up fair standards of competition. We provided for protection of the public in the matter of railway, telephone, and telegraph rates. In 1906 we passed the Pure Food and Drug Acts. In 1922 we started regulation of the grain exchanges, and in 1924 of the Federal fisheries. In 1926 we regulated aviation; in 1927, radio and in 1930 came the real Federal Power Commission.

But we did not turn regulation into regimentation. We had to deal with monopolies. We had to deal with frauds and abuses. We had to deal with matters which neither the people nor the States could control. But we dealt with them only to provide fair rules of the game.

We saw to it that standards of fair conduct were set up for the protection of all the people. Otherwise, we preserve the freedom of men to start and run their enterprises, to pioneer and develop, and to enjoy the fruits of their industry without regimentation. This is another point on which our party is distinguished from our opponents. They want to manage, control, and regiment the peoples' affairs. We believe only in preventing the extremes; and allowing people to be free to manage their own lives and affairs.

We have followed Lincoln's advice to this day, that "In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, Government ought not to interfere." This is the same principle the Fathers wrote into the Constitution.

On the other hand, we did everything in Government power to strengthen the young Nation and to protect its growing industries. We provided a climate in which men could start their own enterprises, acquire property, and prosper.

Our policies gave the country a good banking system, ample credit, and a sound dollar. We enacted protective tariff laws. By 1890 Republican President McKinley was able to report that "we lead all nations in agriculture; we lead all nations in mining and we lead all nations in manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after 29 years of a protective tariff."

Today, in 1954, our foreign-trade problem is changing. We are taking a second look at tariffs and restraints on trade. Our party has always adapted itself to the times. But we will be mighty careful in all we do to see that the American workman, the American businessman, and the American consumer is fully protected from any harmful effects that may come to our shores from foreign nations.

HUMAN WELFARE

At the same time that we were shaping an efficient and progressive government; and while under Republican policies the Nation was building the world's greatest farm and factory production, Republicans were also deeply concerned with the problems of human welfare.

You know how slavery was ended and freedom protected by constitutional provisions. I have told you of our concern and protective laws for the workman. I have mentioned how we safeguarded the public by pure food and meat inspection laws. In 1898 we enacted the first of many bankruptcy laws to relieve men of the crushing burden of debt when they met personal or business misfortunes.

But we accomplished much more for the welfare of our people. In the States Republican governors and legislatures were adopting child labor and workmen's compensation laws. In the Taft administration the Children's Bureau was established and put to work. In 1924 Republicans submitted a constitutional amendment prohibiting child labor, but it failed of adoption because too many States predominately Democratic Party controlled refused to ratify it.

In the matter of civil rights, the Republican Party has an unparalleled record. I think the people have at last awakened to the fraud practiced on them by the Democratic Party in the matter of civil rights. Why, do you know, that in the last 20 years while the Democrats have been in power in Washington they did not put a single civil rights measure on the statute books.

Oh, they made many promises and always talked big, but secretly they counted on filibusters to kill civil rights bills.

Republicans spoke softly but they always acted when they had the power. Our party was formed to oppose slavery. Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation. Republicans first took Negroes into the Army on an equal level with all others. We passed the constitutional amendments abolishing slavery. We first appointed Negroes to the diplomatic and consular services. The only two Negroes who ever served in the United States Senate were both Republicans. Howard University, supported by Federal revenue, was founded in a Republican administration. We are quietly ending segregation in Washington. And we are now abolishing segregation in schools operated by the military services.

When Republicans founded their party on freedom and equality, they meant it and they practice it. We will not stand for any second-class races or citizens in America. And that goes for all races, nationalities, creeds, and colors.

Why, do you know that in 11 States which have fair employment practice laws protecting all races from discrimination, 7 were enacted by Republican legislatures and Republican governors; 1 by a Republican senate and Republican governor, and 1 by a Republican legislature.

We do not talk about human rights and civil rights, we work for them, and our record shows it.

If we take the question of housing, the record is equally clear. It was Republicans who set up the Bureau of Housing in 1922. More new homes were built in the 1920's under Republican policies than were built under the comparable period of the New Deal in the 8 years before the war. In 1932 we established the home loan banks and Federal aid for slum clearance.

We have never lost sight of the first principle of good government—that government exists to provide security and to advance the general welfare of all the people. That is why we propose this year to add 10 million people to the social-security system who are not now covered.

Lincoln put our principle in simple words when he said: "So I think of the whole people of this Nation; they will do well if well done by. We will try to do well by them in all parts of the country, North and South, with entire confidence that all will be well with all of us."

VETERANS

The Republican Party which had its first ordeal in Civil War at its very birth has always been conscious of the great debt the Nation owes to its veterans. In 1868 it provided pensions for disabled veterans and their widows and children. It opened up land for them. In 1908 we again took care of our Spanish-American War veterans. We acted again after World War I and in 1924 passed the soldiers' bonus bill. In 1932 we established the Veterans' Administration so that the problems of our veterans could be taken care of more systematically. From 1921 to 1933 Republicans passed laws to build 46 hospitals for veterans.

Altogether, in the history of our party, we have passed hundreds of laws to provide disability allowances, medical services, hospitalization, special care and pensions for those who risked their lives for their country, and for their wives, widows, and children.

PUBLIC WORKS

From the very birth of our party we have placed special emphasis on the building up and development of our country. We encouraged the early railroad and highway construction. We appropriated billions of dollars over the years for rivers, harbors, and canal development. We allotted Federal land for schools and colleges. In 1905 we carried through the Panama Canal, strengthening the national defense and shortening the water route from the Atlantic to the Pacific by 8,000 miles. In 1929 we completed the Inland Waterway System providing 1,600 miles of water transportation east to west and 1,500 miles north to south.

We started the whole idea of conservation of our natural resources. In 1891 Repub-

licans established the first national forests, and in 1905 the Forest Service. In 1872 Republicans established the first national park. Of the 28 major national parks, Republicans established 23. In 1924 we set up the first Oil Conservation Board. In 1930 we began regulating the grazing lands to conserve them. Of the 62 reclamation projects today, 41 were created by Republicans. By flood control we conquered disasters on the Mississippi, the Sacramento, and other river systems. In 1928 Republicans began the public building program which has so beautified Washington and other cities. And in all of this we were careful to practice economy, to avoid waste, and not to trespass on the proper rights of the States, local communities, and private persons.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Republicans first took office when the Nation was weak in foreign affairs. Both France and England took advantage of our involvement in civil war. But Republican administrations compelled France to depart from Mexico and we exacted an apology and reparations from England in the Alabama claims case.

When other nations sought to parcel out China among themselves, Republican John Hay insisted upon the open door policy which restrained them, safeguarded our far eastern interests, and protected the integrity of China. We played an honorable part in bringing about a settlement of the Russo-Japanese War. Republicans took an active part in the Hague Peace Conferences and submitted the first arbitration case to the International Court at The Hague. In the quest for peace, a Republican administration sponsored the Washington Naval Conference which limited naval shipbuilding and averted an armament race in the 1920's. As early as 1890 Republican Secretaries of State established the Pan American Union to advance peace, friendship and good relations in the Western Hemisphere. Under President Hoover we ended intervention in the affairs of Latin American nations. In 1929 he established the good neighbor policy. We sponsored the Kellogg-Briand Pact which would have ended war if other nations had lived up to their solemn pledges. From 1921 to 1932 Republican administrations joined in 60 treaties for the settlement of disputes by conciliation and arbitration.

As you think of peace and war, here is one striking fact to remember. In the last 54 years from 1900, each of our major political parties have shared about equally in controlling the Government. Under Democratic Presidents this Nation has been involved in three of the most devastating wars in our history. But our Nation has not been involved in a single war under Republican Presidents.

DEPRESSIONS

The Democratic Party has campaigned for 20 years on what they liked to call the Hoover depression. But let me tell you something about depressions. In their histories, both major parties have had to deal with many economic depressions. Most of these depressions sprang from speculative abuses, from temporary over-expansion and maladjustments. In Republican years we quickly corrected them, as we did in 1873. And we corrected Democratic depressions as we did after the Cleveland depression in 1893. From 1930 to 1932 President Hoover took many steps to restore prosperity, but was blocked first by a Democratic-controlled House in Congress and then by the incoming Democratic President. Nevertheless, many of the steps he propoeed were later adopted by the New Deal.

This depression was never solved by the New Deal, although the Federal Government borrowed and spent billions of dollars and tried every wild scheme in the socialist book. Only the coming of World War II balled the country out of this depression, but at a tremendous cost in lives, money, and broken homes.

PARTY SCANDALS

Likewise both of our major political parties have had scandals to contend with. There are always a few bad apples in every barrel. But the presence of scandal, which often cannot be helped, is not the test of a political party's morals. The test lies in what the party does about the scandal when it discovers it.

Let me show you what I mean. I guess the worst scandal we have had in the Republican Party is the Teapot Dome affair in the Harding administration. Even the Democrats do not charge us with anything worse.

The Teapot Dome affair involved some bribery and the transfer of valuable naval oil leases to a private oil company. Nine men were involved in the affair.

On the death of Harding, President Coolidge had to deal with the scandal. Here is how he handled it: He summarily dismissed his own Attorney General who was involved. He directed all executive departments to cooperate with congressional investigating committees. A Republican Congress gave a free hand to Democratic Senators Tom Walsh and Bert Wheeler to expose the wrongdoing.

Of the 9 men involved, 2 committed suicide, 1 died awaiting trial, 4 landed in prison, and 1 escaped by a twice deadlocked jury. The naval leases were canceled. The United States got back its land and its oil. The scandal was over and there were no more scandals.

Compare this with the hundreds of cases of graft, bribery, grain speculators, favoritism, influence, and other corruption that occurred in the 20 years before President Eisenhower took over.

How did the Democratic administration handle this vast corruption in its own house? It covered up wherever possible. It charged that the cases were "asinine" and merely "red herrings." It either refused to give infomation to Congress or set up "whitwash" investigations. In many cases it did not dismiss the wrongdoers, but promoted them; and persecuted those who exposed the wrongdoing.

The conclusion from all this is clear; that while both political parties have had their scandals, there is a vast difference between the parties as to how they clean house.

TWENTY YEARS IN THE MINORITY

As you know, Republicans were out of power for the 20 years from 1932 to 1952.

While in the minority, how did we live up to our principles?

Let me give you the highlights.

We fought to preserve the Constitution from side door, back door, and cellar door attempts by the Democrats to get around it.

We fought vigorously against Democratic attempts to centralize all power in Washington, at the expense of the States, local communities, and the people.

We fought against Democratic attempts to regiment our people and to socialize our farmers, electric power, medical care, and other affairs.

We stopped the attempt to pack the Supreme Court.

We fought to eliminate wasteful spending of public money, and to keep down the rise in public debt.

We fought to keep down taxes. Do you realize that in the 20 years of Democratic control, taxes were only lowered once— and that was by the Republican 80th Congress.

We fought Communism in Government and American life, often over the most stubborn resistance from Democratic administrations. Republicans were never fooled by the Communists. In the 1920's we refused to recognize Soviet Russia. There never was a Communist in the Republican Party and there never will be.

We fought to expose the widespread corruption which infested almost every department of the Democratic administration right up to the White House circles.

At the same time we cooperated in every effort for constructive measures at home, and for victory in World War II, the Korean war, and for peaceful relations with other nations.

Republicans can be mighty proud of our record as a minority. It earned us the smashing victory in 1952.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S RECORD

A Republican administration has now been in office for 1 year. What have we done?

Korea: In Korea we first ended the disgraceful ammunition shortage; and then stopped the bloodshed itself, saving the precious lives of American boys.

National defense: We commenced an entirely new military program, bringing our defense up to the modern age of air strategy, atom and hydrogen weapons, guided missiles, and a professional mobile army. We believed with Lincoln that the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so must we think anew and act anew. We now have a better, modern defense, and for less money.

Communists and subversives: We are cleaning the Communists, subversives, and security risks out of Government.

Government spending: Last year we cut $13 billion from the Truman appropriations budget. Our actual spending was $7 billion below the Truman estimate. This year our estimates will cut spending by another $5 billion, and maybe more.

Taxes: Through our economy last year, taxes were reduced 10 percent in January. We will reduce taxes further as soon as we cut down the mountain of upaid bills we inherited from the previous administration.

Government controls: We eliminated all but minor defense contrfols over the people's private affairs and enterprises. Under Republicans, the Government will not go into competition with its own citizens. We hold with Lincoln that "in leaving the people's business in their hands, we cannot be wrong."

Farm program: Before this session of Congress is over we will enact a realistic peacetime farm program, protecting the farmer, reducing the wasteful surpluses, and fair to consumers.

Inflation: We stopped inflation. For a solid year now the value of the dollar (which fell to 52 cents under the Democrats) has been stabilized. This means more buying power for you. It means more protection for your savings accounts, insurance policies, and pensions.

St. Lawrence seaway: We are taking a major stride toward the future economic development of Detroit, the Midwest, and the entire Nation in our successful drive to get action on the St. Lawrence seaway. I am proud to have been closely associated with President Eisenhower in gaining an overwhelming vote in the Senate on this vital measure—and that was the first time in history the Senate ever approved a seaway bill. And let me say to you that I regard the chances for passage in the House as very good.

Foreign policy: We have taken the initiative in foreign policy. So long as Republicans are in control, this Nation is done with appeasement. No longer will America dance to the Volga boat song or any other Russian tune.

In his state of the Union message, President Eisenhower had this to say:

"There has been in fact a great strategic change in the world during the past year. That precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours. Our policy, not limited to mere reaction to crises provoked by others,

is free to develop along lines of our choice not only abroad but also at home."

Already we have seen what this means. Over the Communists' protests, we firmly saw to it that the Korean prisoners of war became free to return to homes of their choice. We electrified the world by the President's plan to use atomic energy for peace instead of war. We plagued the Soviet Union on European peace until they found themselves compelled to meet with us, as they are now doing, to work out a peace for Germany and Austria.

We have restored firmness, dignity, and high purpose to American foreign policy; and we intend to work for real peace on that level.

In that connection, let me remind you that today is the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Yalta agreement. I hardly need to remind any audience in this Polish Falcon Hall what the Yalta agreement meant to Poland and to other eastern European peoples. Let me just say that our administration would never consent to an agreement like Yalta and furthermore we feel a real moral obligation to right the wrongs committed at Yalta and Potsdam.

And there, ladies and gentlemen, is the latest item in the proud record of 100 years of the Republican Party.

Paraphrasing Lincoln: "We have acted well our part, and there all the honor lies."

With Lincoln, we have faith that right makes might and in that faith we dare to do our duty as we understand it.

President Eisenhower has given us our goal for the future. This, in his own words, is: "A nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure—that is what I mean by a stronger America."

That is a fine inscription to put at our masthead as our party starts on its second 100 years.

If we could turn back time and tragedy, and have the immortal Lincoln with us tonight, I am sure he would approve our course in his own words: "The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way fhich, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

1954 Legislative Objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following 1954 legislative objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars presented this morning to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs by the legislative director of this splendid organization, Mr. Omar Ketchum:

1953–54 LEGISLATIVE OBJECTIVES OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, SUBJECT TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The following legislative objectives are based on resolutions adopted by the 1953 National Encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and recommendations of the VFW national legislative committee.

COMPENSATION, PENSION, MISCELLANEOUS VETERANS BENEFITS

1. To establish a new service-connected disability payment schedule based on $187.50 for total disability, $168.75 for 90 percent, $150 for 80 percent, $131.25 for 70 percent, $112.50 for 60 percent, $93.75 for 50 percent, $75 for 40 percent, $56.25 for 30 percent, $37.50 for 20 percent, and $18.75 for 10 percent, and a corresponding increase in statutory awards and dependency allowances (Resolution 280).

2. To fix 10 percent as the degree of disability that will entitle veterans with service-incurred disabilities to increase in wartime rates of additional compensation for dependents (Resolution 212).

3. Seeking enactment of legislation to increase the rates of compensation for disability due to combat by 25 percent of the existing rates (Resolution 407).

4. Seeking legislation by which the mental disorders with which some combat veterans are afflicted may be made compensable under the VA's rating schedule, provided that unemployability, in whole or in part, is due to such cause; and provided further, that the individual veteran is credited with combat service (Resolution 408).

5. Seeking legislation to add a new subparagraph to paragraph VIII of Veterans' Regulation No. 10, as follows: "Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this paragraph, in no event shall compensation be denied under Public Law 2, 73d Congress, upon the basis of willful misconduct, when disability or death is not the result of the veteran's own moral turpitude, provided, that to be compensable such disability shall be ratable by the Veterans' Administration as totally disabled for employment purposes and deemed to be permanent" (Resolution 410).

6. To amend the present disability rating schedule of the Veterans' Administration so that any combination involving the loss or loss of use of any two members or the loss or loss of use of a hand or a foot together with the loss or loss of use of an eye shall be rated as 100 percent disability for compensation and pension purposes (Resolution 282–364).

7. Favoring legislation which would provide that any physical disability, including dental disabilities, or any neuropsychiatric or psychiatric disabilities, having been found within 5 years from date of discharge shall be presumed to have been incurred in service unless rebutted by affirmative evidence of prior existence where it is shown that claimant was at any time held prisoner by an enemy nation during military service in a period of armed conflict (Resolution 284).

8. To allow those diseases of the central nervous system and psychosis to have a statutory period of 5 years to manifest themselves to a 10 percent degree (Resolution 313).

9. Seeking legislation to extend the 1-year presumptive period for carcinoma as provided by Public Law No. 2 of the 73d Congress to a 3-year presumptive period for carcinoma (Resolution 369).

10. Seeking legislation to include ulcerative colitis in the presumptive chronic diseases as provided by Public Law No. 2 of the 73d Congress, as amended (Resolution 370).

11. Seeking legislation to provide that the interval between technical release from active duty and arrival home within a reasonable period shall be considered active duty for compensation purposes; provided, that disability or death during such period is not attributable to the veteran's own willful misconduct (Resolution 363).

12. Seeking legislation whereby section 31, Public Law 141, 73d Congress, section 12, Public Law 866, 76th Congress, and paragraph 4, part VII, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), be amended so that notwithstanding the time limit on the filing of a claim thereunder, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs shall have authority to entertain a new claim at any time based upon the evidence on file within such time limit; removing the 2-year time limit from the aforesaid acts (Resolution 375).

13. Endorsing H. R. 631, a bill to make quarterly rather than monthly payment of compensation to 10 percent and 20 percent service-connected cases, with the idea that administrative savings can thus be effected without reduction of benefits to veterans, providing this proposal is suitably amended to provide that no lapse of Government insurance will occur where premiums are being deducted from such compensation (Resolution 212).

14. Recommending that part III of Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a) should be amended to provide that, effective as of the date of approval of a new law on the subject, a veteran shall be required to have had a continuous period of at least 90 days' active duty to be eligible to pension thereunder, or, in lieu thereof, shall have been discharged for disability incurred in the line of duty; provided that to any honorably discharged veteran, service in actual hostilities in the Armed Forces of the United States, or service in combat with an enemy of the United States, shall establish eligibility to such pension, without regard to the time or place of such hostilities or combat. Such service being recognized by a campaign badge or medal shall be accepted as wartime service for pension purposes (Resolution 316).

15. Seeking legislation placing World War I veterans on an equal status with Spanish War veterans as to compensation, pension, dependents benefits, out-patient treatment, and in all other respects (Resolution 85).

16. To grant to veterans of World War I, World War II, and of service on and after June 27, 1950, service pensions on the same basis and in the same amount as pension is granted to Spanish-American War Veterans (Resolution 280).

17. To confer non-service-connected pension eligibility upon any ex-service person who holds a campaign or expedition medal for war service during any of the various campaigns in which this country has engaged (Resolution 212).

18. To grant general service pension to all war veterans with honorable service (Resolution 212).

19. Favoring passage of legislation making service on the Islands of Jolo and Mindinao in Moro Province, Philippine Islands from 1902 to December 30, 1913, campaign service (Resolution 180).

20. Provide to those persons recognized as members of the United States Military Occupation Forces serving in Europe between November 12, 1918 and July 2, 1921, the same status as veterans of World War I and that they be included within the provisions of all of the acts, regulations and amendments in the same manner and to the same extent as the provisions are now or may hereafter be applied to World War I veterans (Resolution 219).

21. To increase rates of service-connected death compensation payable to widows and children, as follows: widow but no child, $100; widow with one child, $140 (with $34 for each additional child); no widow but one child $78; no widow but two children, $110 (equally divided); no widow but three children, $142 (equally divided; with $27 for each additional child; total amount to be equally divided); dependant father or mother, $75 (for both), $44 each (Resolution 280).

22. Seeking legislation to provide that when a veteran entitled to receive compensation becomes a "missing veteran" as that term is defined by the Veterans' Administration, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs

shall have authority to pay the dependents of such veteran such compensation as would be due the veteran if his claim had not been abandoned, the rates in such cases not to exceed those payable for service-connected death (Resolution 372).

23. Seeking legislation whereby family allowances paid by the Armed Forces shall not be considered income for Veterans' Administration purposes and benefits paid by the Veterans' Administration shall not be considered income for family allowance purposes (Resolution 371).

24. Seeking legislation to amend section 6, Public Law 483, 78th Congress, so that any veteran officially credited as having served in combat against an enemy of the United States shall be presumed to have had sufficient service-connected disability at time of death to meet the requirements of said section, such disability being attributable to such combat (Resolution 409).

25. To amend section 3 of Public Law No. 514, 75th Congress, May 13, 1938 (52 Stat. 353), as amended by section 3 of Public Law 483, 78th Congress, December 14, 1944 (58 Stat. 804), by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions with respect to the validity of marriages, any female person who (1) lived with the person who served and cohabited with him continuously for a period of 20 years or more preceding the date of his death, or (2) gave birth to three or more children as the result of her cohabitation with the person who served, shall be presumed to be the widow of such person for the purpose of payment of compensation and pension under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration" (Resolution 6).

26. Favoring legislative action by which section 3, Public Law 483, 78th Congress, be amended to read, "The term 'widow' of a World War I veteran shall mean a woman who was married on or before the effective date of the amending act" (Resolution 178).

27. To increase rates of pensions payable to certain dependents of World War I, World War II, and of service on or after June 27, 1950, as follows: Widow but no child, $60; widow and one child, $75 (with $6.50 for each additional child); no widow but one child, $30; no widow but two children, $45 (equally divided); no widow but three children, $60 (equally divided), (with $7.50 for each additional child; the total to be equally divided) (Resolution 280).

28. To amend existing laws relative to dependents' allowance to include those veterans who are in receipt of pension benefits for non-service-connected disabilities; and that the dependents' award shall be the same as is now paid to a veteran with a 50-percent degree of disability (Resolution 127).

29. Endorsing H. R. 5483, a bill to exclude for the determination of annual income the life-insurance payments which are paid by any source for death pension purposes (Resolution 212).

30. To increase income limitations applicable to non-service-connected disability and death pension cases from $1,400 to $2,000 for a veteran without dependents, a widow without children or a child; and from $2,700 to $3,000 for a widow with children or a veteran with dependents. Income from Government insurance and/or commercial insurance up to $10,000 shall not be included in the computation of annual income (Resolution 280).

31. To authorize pensions for widows and children of certain deceased World War II veterans and veterans of service on and after June 27, 1950, on the same basis as pensions are authorized for widows and children of World War I veterans (Resolution 280).

32. Condemning methods for reducing compensation and pension payments suggested by the investigative staff of the House Committee on Appropriations (Resolution 435).

33. Opposing any congressional action tending to reduce veterans benefits (Resolution 36).

34. Seeking congressional examination of laws relating to Veterans' Administration forfeiture cases where the claimant appears to have sufficiently atoned for the offense committed taking into consideration such factors as length and type of service, physical and mental disablement, and financial hardship (Resolution 179).

35. To permit Veterans' Administration checks to be forwared from one postmaster to another, so that the checks might be timely received (Resolution 213).

36. To extend the period of allowance of credit in connection with certain homestead entries for military or naval service rendered during World War II (Resolution 59).

37. To reenact the provisions of Public Law 598, 81st Congress, to grant patent time extensions to veterans of the Korean campaign so that said veterans may not be penalized in the exploitation of the patent rights (Resolution 437).

38. To amend the Social Security Act as to the payment of survivors' lump-sum benefit in cases of veterans where death occurred between June 1 and August 31, 1950 (Resolution 229).

39. Seeking legislation which would provide an equitable adjusted service compensation for veterans of World War II; provided that all tangible monetary benefits received by any veterans pursuant to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, be deducted from such adjusted service pay (Resolution 283).

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

1. Endorsing H. R. 2627, a bill to repeal the provision of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 requiring 15 percent enrollment of nonveteran students in approved schools (Resolution 33).

2. Seeking legislation to make vocational rehabilitation under Public Law 16, 78th Congress, as amended, permanent legislation; provided, that a 30 percent degree of disability shall be a minimum requirement for entitlement in peacetime cases; and provided further, that the subsistence rates payable in peacetime cases shall be 80 percent of those payable in wartime cases (Resolution 83-406).

3. Protesting the provisions of Public Law 550, 82d Congress of the United States, providing for a reduction in the amount of subsistence allowance to be paid to trainees in the Institutional On-Farm Training Program, each 4-month period during their training program (Resolution 140).

4. To amend paragraph 4, part VII, VA Regulation 1 (a), whereby the language "as a result of" be changed to "in connection with" (Resolution 374).

5. Opposing H. R. 6376 and S. 2406, bills to amend Public Law 550 by providing for the direct payment to educational institutions of $30 per month as tuition for each veteran attending school under said law regardless of the amount of tuition normally charged by such institutions (Resolution 436).

HOUSING

1. Seeking legislation to extend the direct home-loan provision until July 25, 1957; to provide sufficient money for direct-loan benefits to all eligible veterans in areas where 4½-percent financing from private sources is unavailable; and to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to dispose of the present portfolio of GI 4-percent loans at the market rate for such loans notwithstanding that such rate is below par (Resolution 335).

2. Seeking legislation to repeal the 4½-percent-interest rate on Government guaranteed home loans to veterans; to reestablish said interest rate at 4 percent; and to expand and liberalize the Government direct home loan program to veterans at an interest rate not to exceed 4 percent (Resolutions 212-429).

3. Recommending that the proper legislative committees of the House and Senate give early attention to the matter of restoring loan gratuity payments on or before July 1, 1954 (Resolution 439).

MEDICAL, HOSPITAL, AND DOMICILIARY AFFAIRS

1. Endorsing H. R. 28, a bill authorizing and directing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to proceed with the construction of additional facilities to provide the approximately 16,000 additional hospital beds previously approved by the President, authorization for which was dropped in the budget estimates for the fiscal year 1950 (Resolutions 35-413).

2. To raise the pay scale of Veterans' Administration doctors so that they will receive salaries comparable to earnings of doctors in private practice (Resolution 97).

3. To provide that when a veteran has served honorably for a period of 90 days or more during a period of war and has attained the age of 65 years, all disabilities shall be considered as service connected for purpose of hospitalization and out-patient treatment (Resolution 202).

4. Endorsing H. R. 633, a bill to establish a Federal Board of Hospitalization (Resolutions 285-413).

5. Recommending that any veteran discharged from the service for disability incurred in line of duty and any veteran in receipt of compensation for service-connected disability shall have an affirmative right to hospitalization by the Veterans' Administration for service-connected and non-service disabilities, regardless of such veterans' status (Resolution 311).

6. To allow voluntary admission to Alaska mental hospitals, admission by request of the family, commitment upon certification by competent medical examination, or, if desired, trial by jury (Resolution 329).

7. Seeking legislation which would authorize the Veterans' Administration to provide outpatient treatment in existing Veterans' Administration clinics to any veteran (1) who under present law is eligible to hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities; (2) when any such veteran is in receipt of or entitled to receive pension for 100 percent or permanent and total non-service-connected disability; (3) if in the opinion of the Veterans' Administration Medical Service such out-patient treatment would be medically feasible; and (4) at the same time would be less costly to treat the patient on an out-patient basis than it would be to authorize hospitalization in a Veterans' Administration hospital (Resolution 366).

8. To amend existing laws so that all hospitalized veterans may have equal rights regarding tax-free cigarettes (Resolution 385).

9. Endorsing H. R. 54, a bill to authorize the appointment of doctors of chiropractic in the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration (Resolution 413).

10. Statement of general VFW policy relating to hospital and medical care (Resolution 444).

11. Memorializing the Congress to enact appropriate laws to insure an adequate supply of medical personnel and hospital facilities for the care of veterans, the citizenry and the Armed Forces of the United States (Resolution 471).

12. Endorsing S. 242, a bill to establish and to operate a domiciliary facility at Fort Logan, Colo. (Resolution 37).

INSURANCE—USGLI AND NSLI

1. Seeking legislation to amend section 620 of the National Service Life Insurance Act to give same retroactive effect to June 27, 1950, permitting veterans disabled in service and discharged between June 27, 1950 and April 24, 1951, an opportunity to apply (Resolution 10).

2. Seeking legislation which would authorize the granting of national service life-insurance protection to those who can meet good health requirements and who prior to April 25, 1951, had sought to obtain such protection but were denied same because of noninsurable health (Resolution 13).

3. Seeking legislation which would amend section 602 (u) of the National Service Life Insurance Act so that insurance now payable to an estate thereunder shall become payable under the devolution table of the act (Resolution 15).

4. Seeking an amendment to section 602 (c) (2) of the National Service Life Insurance Act, which would strike out "made prior to January 1, 1950" and insert in lieu thereof "made within 1 year after date of enactment" (Resolution 22).

5. Seeking legislation which would delete the date "January 1, 1950" in section 602 (V) (1), National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended, in order that World War II veterans who went on to incur disability in Korean action shall not be deprived of the protection of this act which is to be preferred over and above the new term policies to which their present eligibility is limited (Resolution 271).

6. Seeking legislation which would extend the 120-day period under section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act to 1 year, making the time limit within which to apply comparable to that authorized when there is service-connected disability (Resolution 274).

7. Seeking legislation to provide that if a veteran has been declared permanent and total for insurance purposes for a period of 5 years or more and has attained the age 60 years, he shall be presumed to have remained so disabled for insurance purposes and no longer subject to automatic review by the Veterans' Administration to follow a substantially gainful occupation (Resolution 293).

8. Seeking legislation to amend section 3 of the Servicemen's Indemnity Act of 1951 so that the parent who refused or neglected to assume the legal and moral obligations of a parent toward a veteran shall not be eligible to indemnification (Resolution 377).

9. Seeking legislation which would amend section 5 of the Servicemen's Indemnification Act of 1951 so that permanent plans of USGLI and/or NSLI obtained or reinstated by disabled veterans leaving the service shall become a liability against appropriations and not a participating liability against the funds (Resolution 378).

10. Seeking legislation which would "toll the statute" under sections 620 and 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act as to mentally incompetent veterans on whose behalf life-insurance protection is desirable (Resolution 380).

11. Seeking legislation to make section 602 (k) of the National Service Life Insurance Act, effective October 8, 1940, in order to permit payment on an annual basis when monthly installments are less than $5 per month on behalf of an individual beneficiary (Resolution 382).

12. Seeking an amendment to section 619 of the National Service Life Insurance Act whereby veterans of service between October 8, 1940, and September 2, 1945, if otherwise eligible, would be permitted to take out national service life insurance during 1 year from date of enactment (Resolution 383).

Who Is Subsidizing Whom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in view of the campaign of propaganda to brand the American farmer as a subsidized orphan child of the Federal Government, I am taking the liberty of placing in the Appendix of the RECORD today an address by Mr. Kenneth Kendrick of Stratford, Tex., before the National Association of Wheat Growers at Wichita, Kans., on February 4, 1954. The title of the address is "Who Is Subsidizing Whom?" Mr. Kendrick is an outstanding citizen in our section of the country and one who is entirely familiar with the problems of the American farmer. His address is outstanding in many respects, but especially so in presenting proven facts that completely and clearly brand the accusations against the American farmer as nothing more than propaganda. I hope all of you will take the time to read and digest Mr. Kendrick's most excellent and pertinent remarks, so that you may realize that it is not the farmer who is responsible for high taxes and high retail prices.

The address follows:

WHO IS SUBSIDIZING WHOM?

Members of the National Association of Wheat Growers, friends, and guests, let me say in the beginning that I am greatly indebted to the program committee of the National Association of Wheat Growers for the privilege of speaking to you here today. Although I do hold an office in NAWG, may I say that the material contained in this paper does not necessarily reflect the opinion and policies of the National Association of Wheat Growers.

I live at Stratford, Tex. I make my living as a wheat farmer. Part of the time I grow wheat and part of the time I just plant wheat. However, I am proud to have a small part in helping to produce the agricultural products of this Nation.

As nations go, the United States of America is a comparatively young nation. In just 165 short years the United States has grown from 13 States with a population far less than any one of a number of our great cities today, to a Nation of over 160 million people and is recognized today as the greatest nation in the world. In all history no other nation has made such rapid progress as has the United States.

What are the reasons for this? There are many reasons, but I just want to dwell on one of the major reasons this country has made such amazing progress. The industrial revolution began in this country about the same time, or perhaps just a little later, than it did in England. Yet, within a period of 40 or 50 years we had far outstripped England and other European countries—with our technical advances. We were able to produce faster than other countries and still are. America is known as the "melting pot" of the races—and from this group there came the ingenuity, the resourcefulness, the desire for perfection, the willingness to take a chance—in short—the know-how to produce everything this country needed and to produce them better and faster than any other country.

In the last generation we have fought two great world wars, and won them both. Why? I say to you that probably the major factor in the winning of these two great wars was because the United States was able to produce more butter, more bread, more food of all kinds, more guns, tanks, and firepower than our enemies could produce in the same period of time. One of the things that has made America great has been her ability to produce.

America is still producing. Today we hear stories on every hand that we have too much butter, too much wheat, too much of a great many commodities—and what are we going to do about this modern problem? Many people today in high places are condemning Americans because of our ability to produce. When this Nation was young, during the administration of George Washington, and for 30 or 40 years afterward, we are told that about 75 percent of the families of this Nation made their living as farmers, tillers of the soil. In between serving our country and leading our armies, George Washington was a farmer, and a good one, I am told. However, with the coming of the industrial revolution this situation was soon to begin a rapid shift, from the farm to a job in town. Before long railroads began to span our country; great cities and towns sprang up along these railroads and our rivers almost overnight. America's inventive genius began to assert itself and machines of all kinds and types were invented; farmers were able to use many of these machines and save labor. There began a steady stream of people moving from the farm to our cities. At first this stream was just a trickle, but it has grown through the years, and now, today, only 15 percent of the people of this Nation engage in the business of farming. Yet this 15 percent is able to produce the food and fiber needed for the other 85 percent of our population, with some left over to feed the hungry of the world.

But, the hungry people of the world do not have the dollars with which to purchase our surplus commodities.

For the past 150 years American business and industry has enjoyed a relative high protective tariff. When foreign goods were produced and shipped to this country to compete with our own manufacturers a tariff was levied on these goods in order that the American manufacturer could sell his goods a little cheaper than the foreign competitor. From the earliest history of our country we have had immigration laws that limited the number of people coming to this country. This was necessary in order to keep from flooding our labor market. In more recent years we have passed a minimum wage law and have given the laboring man the right to collective bargaining. Labor has consistently through the years demanded and received shorter working hours and higher pay. This was good, and as a result has continued to raise our standard of living until we today enjoy the highest standard of living of any nation in the world.

Yet, during all the history of America, except the last 20 years, the farmer has had no protection. He has produced in a protected market and sold in an unprotected market, and during all that time he has paid his share of the protective market yet enjoyed none of the benefits of it. Someone has estimated that the American farmer from 1800 to 1932 lost $50 billion because he was forced to produce in a protected market and sell in an unprotected market. We all know the result of such a policy for the farmer, in the late twenties and early thirties because he had to sell in an unprotected market and the price of farm commodities dropped until in many cases the price received for a good crop would not pay the cost of harvesting. The result was chaos for the farmer; and soon to follow, chaos for

the economy of this country. For the past 20 years the farmer has had protection for many of the crops he has produced, and as you all know, has in recent years received much unfavorable publicity because of these price supports. We have had the potato scandal; the egg scandal or perhaps I should say the bread and butter scandal.

From far and wide we have heard and are still hearing the hue and cry about the high subsidy the farmers are receiving—all the farmers are rich, they are on a dole, they have sacrificed their liberty for a few dollars, et cetera. I know you have read about the Cadillacs in every farmer's garage. Down in my country the story is going around that since the great drought of last summer some of the wheat farmers are now having to wash their own Cadillacs.

FACTS ABOUT SUBSIDIES OF OUR GOVERNMENT

With your permission I would like to examine closely with you the subsidies of all kinds that are paid by our Government and compare these to the farmers' subsidy. First of all, let us examine the subsidy received by agriculture. From information which I have received from the Legislative Service of the Library of Congress—I find that from 1933 to 1951 the net loss sustained on price supports by our Government on all basic commodities was $982 million; and one-half of this loss was on potatoes. The net loss on all nonbasic commodities for the same period of time was $321 million and one-half of this was on eggs. The total net loss to the Government during 18 years of price support was $1,303,000,000. Now if we divide 18, the number of years of operation, into the total we get roughly a figure of $72 million. The average cost of price supports during the first 18 years was $72 million. Keep these figures in mind as we proceed. This means that each person living on the farm has received an average subsidy of $3 per year for price supports. To put it another way, every person in the United States has had to pay an average of only 45 cents per person per year to maintain price supports for the farmer during the past 18 years.

Now let us look at some of the other subsidies which Uncle Sam has been paying—but with relatively little publicity. However, even without the publicity—the cost to the taxpayers is the same.

First of all let us look at the deficit of the Post Office Department. For the past several years the deficit has been close to or slightly more than $500 million each year. Now let us look at the culprit that is causing a good portion of this trouble—second-class mail. What is second-class mail? Advertising—you know that one-third to one-half of your mail that you glance at and throw in the waste paper basket before you leave the post office.

Mr. WALTER ROGERS, United States Representative from Texas, recently made a very interesting comment along this line. This is what he said: "In the Post Office Department it is interesting to notice that the deficit in second-class mail has continually increased. Beginning with the year 1946 we find a deficit of $138 million which increased each year; and in 1951 was $188,567,000. This simply means that the deficit on second-class mail in 6 years was as much as the overall cost of the farm price support program for a period of 18 years."

Now, let us look at the case of the airplane subsidy—another major reason for the tremendous deficit in the Post Office—quoting from an editorial in the Amarillo Daily News as of September 26, 1953. This editorial was written by JOHN F. KENNEDY, United States Senator from Massachusetts: "Airlines enjoying the mail contracts are charging the Post Office around $140 million for carrying the mail each year. After repeated questioning by Representative JOHN W. HESELTON, Republican, Massachusetts, JOHN J. ROONEY, Democrat, of New York, and others, the Civil Aeronautics Board admitted that of this vast sum known as airmail pay no more than $60 million can be considered compensation for mail services actually rendered by those airlines. Subtracting $60 million from $140 million comes to $80 million each year.

"Who gets this $80 million and why? The answer is that it is hidden subsidy that is being dished out to the airlines without either the knowledge or the consent of the taxpayers or their elected representatives in Congress."

One hundred and forty million a year to the airlines for carrying the mail—and $80 million of that is not used or needed to help pay the cost of carrying the mail. In plain and simple words it is a donation from our Government to the airlines. Well, anyway, if there is anyone in the whole country who does not know about the farmers' subsidy, it has not been my privilege to talk with him yet. The cost to the taxpayer for subsidizing airmail equals 88 cents per capita during the past several years, or almost double the cost of price support to the farmer.

Now, let us take the shipping industry. In this we pay two kinds of subsidies; one is called a construction subsidy. Our Government helps build the ships—got to pay the high labor costs. Then we have the operational subsidy. In order to operate his ship and pay the prevailing wage rates, which are much higher than those paid by shipowners from other countries—I have no quarrel with this, I am simply pointing out facts—the shipowner must receive help from our Government.

From July 1, 1937, to December 31, 1946, our Government paid construction subsidies amounting to $380,285,242—an average of almost $40 million per year. In the years of 1951, 1952, and 1953 our Government paid a total operational differential subsidy of $144,135,782, or an average for the past 3 years of over $48 million and over one-half of this subsidy was paid in the year 1953. Seems as if some other subsidies are going up along with the farmers.

Last summer I read in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD about a shipowner making a report on his ship, and the figures showed that for each trip overseas this ship made it cost the Federal Government $30,000 in subsidy differential payments.

Did you know that our Government spent $14 billion to get industry to convert and expand during World War II? Now, I would like to quote to you a few statements from the Honorable CARL H. ANDERSON, chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Agriculture in the United States Congress about what he has to say concerning subsidies and business conversion after the war, and I quote: "May I respectfully suggest that too many Members on the floor of the House have imbedded in their minds that the farmers, that agriculture as such in America, are the recipients of huge subsidies, paid for by the other taxpayers of the Nation. Nothing can be further from the truth. Please let us orient our line of thinking here before we proceed. * * *

"During World War II there was paid out of the Treasury of the United States $4.2 billion for the sole purpose of bringing to the consuming public cheaper food. This is the reverse of expenditures to support the price of farm commodities. Since 1933 through January 1, 1953, the cost to the Treasury of the United States in what might be classified as farm price support was $1,064,000,000. In other words, since 1933 up to this date about one-quarter as much money has been expended in behalf of keeping up the price for the farmer in America as there has been expended for holding down the price of food to the consumer. Let us remember also that if OPA rollbacks on pork, beef, veal, lamb, and mutton, let alone butter and milk products had not been put into effect during World War II farmers of America would have during that time received at least ten billion more for their products than they did. Furthermore through expenditure of $1,070,000,000 during the last 20 years for price supports, at least 10 times that amount has been paid as additional income taxes by farmers because of their prosperity approaching that of other portions of our economy.

"Business as such was subsidized by the taxpayers to the extent of $40,787,864,000 following the end of World War II in what was known as business reconversion payments—including tax amortization."

Uncle Sam paid business and industry $14 billion to change from peacetime to wartime goods, and as soon as the war is over we pay them another $40 billion to get back to peacetime goods. This $40 billion of course includes tax amortization—or fast write-off—charge off the complete cost of a factory in 5 years—all of this just costs Uncle Sam a little over $54 billion—in about 7 years. In other words, this has been a cost to the American taxpayer of an average of about $8 billion per year during a 7-year period. Or to put it another way, for every man, woman, and child in the United States this represents a cost of $50 per year in taxes. Whereas the cost of price supports on agricultural products represents a cost of only 45 cents per capita.

Now, let us look at the railroads: From 1850 to 1871 the Government gave land grants to the railroads amounting to 183 million acres. The estimated value of this land has been placed at $1,282 million and I would say a very conservative estimate. Other special type subsidies which the railroads enjoy are: The Government loans them money on very favorable terms, lowering the import duty on railroad iron (in early days), mail service contracts, and grants of rights-of-way over public lands. And incidentally there have been 11 freight-rate increases since the end of World War II and an almost annual round of wage increases.

I wonder if you know how many tillable acres of land we have in the United States. We now have about 462 million acres of cultivated land—and I just stated that the Government granted 183 million acres of land to the railroads—the railroads owning at one time over one-third of all the land that is now under cultivation.

If we take the facts just presented and apply a little arithmetic, we find that for the past 8 or 10 years our total Government subsidy per year has averaged something over $10 billion, and this does not count the 5 or 6 billions we have given to foreign aid. Out of that 10 billions the farmer got 72 million, or, to put it another way, the farmer got 75 cents out of every 100 the Government spent on subsidies, and if you include the 5 billion for foreign aid, this reduces the farmers' share to about 50 cents out of each 100.

These facts are not presented at all with the purpose of being critical, but simply to point out that a very small segment of our population is aware of the high subsidies paid by our Government. I cannot refrain from speculating on the reaction of the general public if the facts just presented were as well known to them as are the subsidies paid to farmers.

I am not here today to argue the merits or demerits of Government subsidy. Certainly if I could plant and produce all the wheat I wanted to without any sort of Government regulation, and he assured a price for it that is comparable to the goods and services I must buy, I would much prefer that kind of farming. I believe, also, that every businessman and manufacturer would be happy to remove our tariffs if it did not affect their prices adversely; and I am sure the workingman would be glad to dispense

with his labor-union dues and our immigration laws and minimum-wage laws if he could still be assured his present high wages. The industrial man and the laboring man know that this is impossible for them to do and still stay solvent; and I say to the American farmer today that in our present complex society that it is just as impossible for him to remain solvent unless he receives a price for his products comparable to the prices he must pay for the goods and services he must buy in order to produce.

A good many of you present can remember the late twenties and the early thirties. Some of you were farming then, and you know what happened; 9 farmers out of 10 were broke or worse than broke. The more property you owned the worse off you were. You do not want again to see another 1932, when the farmer's share of the national income reached an all-time low—only 5.5 percent. During the years 1910–14, the base period used for figuring parity, the farmers' share of the national income was 12.4 percent.

Yet, I am sure those of you who have been farming since 1947 realize that from that time until the present time every piece of machinery you have bought has been much higher than it was in 1947. Your labor costs, too, have risen about 25 percent. And what about the products you have been selling—wheat was bringing $2.80 per bushel in 1947. In other words since 1947, when you received 9 percent of the national income, everything you have had to sell has gone down and everything you had to buy in order to operate your farm has gone up. The result is—that the farmer is in a price cost squeeze. Your buying power since 1947 has been reduced about 25 percent. Did you know that the farmers' share of the national income last year, 1953, was only 5.5 percent? Exactly what it was in 1932. Today the farmer is simply handling a lot of money and having precious little left.

Did you know that according to the figures of a national farm service that during 1953 the farmer will only net 36 cents out of every dollar's worth of commodities raised, and that this is the smallest percentage we have realized since the depression year of 1932. In other words, your operation costs have risen to the point where it takes 64 cents of each dollar you take in to pay your operation costs. You know as well as I do that it costs just about as much to farm when you make a short crop as when you make normal crops—therefore in 1953 unless you made a normal or better than normal crop the chances are good that you made very little money farming. This is our situation even though we are now guaranteed 90 percent of parity on basic crops. The report of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics gives us some interesting figures with reference to the income of farmers in 1953. They estimate the purchasing power of the farmer in 1953 to be about the same as it was in 1941 while the purchasing power of the average city worker is up about 30 percent over 1941. Farm foreclosures in 1953 have exceeded the combined total of any of the 5 past 10 years and farm debts during 1953 have gone up by nearly $8 billion. Declining prices cut the value of land, buildings, machinery, and livestock by more than $15 billion in 1953. In the face of all that, headlines that labor unions are striking for higher wages do not make pleasant farm reading.

To those who criticise the farmer and the Government for maintaining price supports I can only say that they just simply have not examined the facts. There are many that clamor and say that we must get back to the free market. Just what do they mean by a free market. I think Senator RUSSELL has given the answer to that question much better than I could. As you know Mr. RUSSELL is a member of the Senate Agriculture Committee and I quote: "I hear references around Washington to a free market for the American farmer. Just what does that mean? It should be spelled out. If it means a free market for every segment of our economy and if it means the abolition of every artificial prop or subsidy for every segment of American business and industry the farmer will welcome that kind of free market." (I say "Amen" to that.) "The farmer produces the basic necessities. Everyone must have clothing to wear and food to eat. Certainly the farmer will get along in a free market, but I apprehend that the free market we hear talked about means that farm prices alone are to be permitted to seek their level in an economy in which almost every other segment of American economic life has some artificial support or benefit that is conferred by national law. If 'free market' means that the farmer alone is to have a free market, that means he will be thrown to the wolves and that he is headed for disaster.

"Mr. President, we cannot have a prosperous economy in our Nation if the farmer is to be pushed back into a position of low income, with mortgage foreclosures and heartaches, and actual privations in the farm homes of this land. If I ever hear Secretary Humphrey tell Congress that he wishes to have all the tariffs which have been imposed by Congress repealed; if I ever hear Secretary Durkin tell Congress that he favors wiping out the minimum wage law and doing away with the 40-hour week and doing away with time-and-one-half-pay for overtime, and that he favors the repeal of laws which give the benefit of collective bargaining; and if I ever hear Secretary Weeks tell Congress that he favors a repeal of the subsidies which are paid to the various transportation facilities, including the airlines, shipping at sea, and the railroads—if I ever hear such policies advocated and put into effect then I shall see the day of free economy dawning. But until that time comes, I propose to stand up and fight for the American farmer as an American citizen who is entitled to all the rights that accrue to any of those who live and earn their livelihood in any other segment of our economy."

And, gentlemen, I propose to stand up and help him fight for the American farmer.

I am wondering what percentage of the people realize the problems faced by the farmer in producing goods. The farmer is the only one that is compelled to gamble on the weather and the insects. One storm or one drought can in a very short time wipe out all the farmers' investment. You have all read about the drought last summer in Texas and the Southwest. I live and farm in that area. I know of no one down there engaged in dry-land farming who made expenses in 1953. Again the farmer is the only producer who cannot control his production when threatened with a loss. Once the land is tilled and the crop planted—the farmer is a slave to his investment. Now, nearly any other producer can do something about it—he can reduce his production—adopt a 3-day week for awhile if necessary. All other producers of wealth have means of protecting themselves and their investment—but the farmer does not. I know of no other producer who must place all of his produce on the market in a period of 2 or 3 weeks. Most farmers must do this. The note is due at the bank.

Let me quote one other statement by Senator RUSSELL: "I am quite sure that statistics will show that the farmer, who produces the basic wealth necessary to our existence, receives the least return for his toil, of all the thousands who handle that which he produces before it reaches the ultimate consumer."

There are many who say even now that $2 per bushel is too high for wheat. Yet, we know that with wheat selling for $2 per bushel the value of the flour used to make a 1-pound loaf of bread is now just a little under 3 cents—while the 1-pound loaf of bread cost the consumer 17 or 18 cents. In other words, if you gave your wheat to the millers the price of your loaf of bread would only come down 3 cents.

A lady was fixing sandwiches one day and was in the process of putting lettuce on them. The head of lettuce was about all used up and as she broke open the heart of the lettuce she notices a small piece of folded paper. She picked it up and read this note. "I got one-quarter cent for this head of lettuce—I wonder what it cost you?" The housewife had paid 7 cents for the lettuce. The lettuce retailed for 2,800 percent more than the farmer received for it. This example comes from the Readers Digest 1941. My wife tells me that a 1954 model head of lettuce cost at least 25 cents.

Not long ago I read an article in U. S. News. This article was a report on the incomes of the various groups of workers in the United States. Guess which group was at the bottom. You are right—the farmer. The average net income of the average farmer in the United States was lower in 1953 than any other group.

Yet in spite of these facts, some of the leaders of one of our great farm organizations, of which I am a member, are advocating reduction of our parity, and claim this will do away with our farm surpluses. It seems now, at least since the state of the Union message of our President, that Mr. Kline, who is president of the American Farm Bureau, has not only gained the ear of the Secretary of Agriculture, but also the ear of the President—for the President in his message recommended to the Congress that they give the Secretary power to invoke the sliding-scale parity ranging from 75 to 90 percent of parity. He has said, in effect, the way to keep the American farmer healthy and prosperous is to cut the price of each bushel of wheat about 40 cents per bushel. Furthermore, he has recommended 2 years from now the basic commodities be placed on the so-called modernized parity, and this again would cut the price of wheat another 30 cents per bushel. If this program is carried out, and I do not think it will be, within a 3- or 4-year period the price of wheat will be cut by at least one-third.

The entire theory behind the sliding-scale parity is based on the assumption or belief that if you lower the price of wheat say 20 percent it will automatically cut the production of wheat a corresponding 20 percent the following year and increase the consumption. Factually, this is not true. If there is ever a time when the grower needs protection in the market place, it is at the very time when his commodity is in excess, and let us look at the other side of this question. Just as soon as a commodity becomes scarce, just at the time when the grower does not need protection—for there is a shortage—then, according to the plan, the farmers' protection rises again to 90 percent of parity. In other words, this plan, in actual operation, will take away our protection at the very time we have the greatest need for it and give us our greatest protection when we do not need it.

Let me quote you a statement made on the House floor January 11, 1954 by Representative WHITTEN, in which he gets to the heart of what I have been trying to say: "These sliding scales sound like they are good. They sound like they would stretch when you need them and would tighten up when you do not need them. May I say they are directly the opposite. If a farmer is in a plight and needs protection, it gives him less. If, on the other hand you have a small supply and there is a shortage of a farm commodity they give you more. Of course if there is a scarcity and there is a shortage there is a market and you need none. Instead of a farm program to help farmers, it is geared to something else." He further

states: "There is nothing in the President's message about sliding scale for wages. In fact if you will wait a short time you will probably see the President's recommendation increasing minimum wage levels from 75 cents to $1 per hour.

"There is nothing in the message about reducing tariffs, but it is said that the American farmer, under the law, should be given less protection when he needs it and more protection when he will have no use for it."

Now let us take Mr. Wheatgrower as an example. With wheat selling at about $2.10 per bushel you have been raising say $15,000 worth of wheat. If you were an average farmer it costs you 64 percent of this $15,000 to raise this wheat or $9,660. This only leaves you $5,400 for a fairly comfortable living for you and your family. Now, if within the next year or two the price of wheat drops to $1.50 per bushel, and labor does not go down; your machinery costs do not go down—tariffs are not cut down—your food bill is not reduced—and you live in a strictly wheat producing area—and you do—then the only possible way for you to make $15,000 worth of wheat is to raise 10,000 bushels of wheat instead of the 7,000 bushels you raised in 1953 in order to have an income of $15,000. That, ladies and gentlemen, is the way I believe sliding scale will operate for the farmer. Just force him to plant more of the same commodity in order to make a living—and increase our surplus.

It seems now that 100 percent of parity in the market place can only mean one thing—if the Secretary of Agriculture and Mr. Kline have their way—the farmer will produce in a protected market and sell in a free market—or, as they call it—100 percent of parity at the market place. And this is the program that is to maintain a healthy agriculture and give the farmer his fair share of the national income.

I say to you if they will reduce the tariffs one-third, reduce wages one-third, reduce the costs of living one-third, reduce the costs of machinery one-third, in short, if they will cut the subsidies of the United States Government one-third straight across the board—the farmer will go along and take his chances on survival along with the rest—but we must not sit idly by and allow them to remove our protection and do nothing about all the others—or the American farmer will be forced into bankruptcy.

Gentlemen, I do not believe that Mr. Kline's sliding scale will be passed by the Congress. I have a great deal of faith in the members of the House Agriculture Committee and the Senate Agriculture Committee. These men have their feet on solid ground. They know that such a program will not maintain a healthy and prosperous agriculture. They know that agriculture is fundamentally the very basis upon which all the rest of our economy is based and to destroy this basic industry ultimately will destroy our entire economy. And I further believe that when the time comes to vote on these measures—that partisan politics will have no influence on the ballots cast by our elected farm Representatives and Senators. I believe these gentlemen will vote for the program which they believe will give to the American farmer his fair share of the national income—regardless of which party they may belong.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four is a crucial year as far as the American farmer is concerned because our farm laws are expiring and legislation must be passed to either extend our present program or revise and rewrite a new farm program. It is a matter which every farmer should be vitally concerned. The question then arises—just what does the American farmer want in the way of a farm program. I believe that Representative CLIFFORD HOPE, chairman of the House Agriculture Committte, answered that question in a recent article in the Country Gentlemen where he said that a sound farm program should do two things for the farmer. "The first is a reasonable stability of prices at levels that will afford farmers a fair share of the national income. The second is productivity that will insure a continued supply of agricultural products sufficient to meet the needs of an expanding population at home and whatever obligations we may have abroad."

I believe that the majority of the farmers of this Nation will agree with Mr. HOPE's statement. We ask only for a fair share of the national income. Our historic share of the national income has ranged from 7 to 10 percent. Yet, in 1953 I repeat again the farmers' share of the national income was only 5.5 percent. In no other year in history have we received a lower percent than this and it was equalled only in 1932.

I have read in the papers and in magazine articles a statement by Mr. John H. Davis, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in which he stated: "That we will not scrap or change the present farm program until we have found something equally as good or better." I like that statement very much and believe it is a sound statement from which our leaders in Agriculture can use as a basis for setting up our farm program. And to a farmer this means only one thing—if it is just as good it brings him the same number of dollars for his commodities, and if it is better it brings him more dollars.

As you know, we have heard considerable discussion about a two-price system for wheat—sometimes referred to as the certificate plan. I understand there is a possibility that this plan may be offered to the growers as an amendment to that portion of our present law that applies to 90 percent of parity, and still maintain our present controls and marketing quota features of the law. The plan, as I understand it, proposes to guarantee to the grower 100 percent of parity on that portion of the wheat which is used for human consumption, which would be about 45 to 50 percent, and set a loan value on the remainder of the wheat at about $1.40 to $1.50 per bushel.

My own opinion is that this plan will meet serious opposition from a political standpoint. I am afraid other wheat exporting countries will object to the so-called dumping of wheat on foreign markets thereby depressing the market abroad. I feel that this plan would have a much better chance of being accepted by the growers in this country and also abroad if the I. W. A. quota were included in the 100 percent of parity guaranty. It is my hope that the wheat council will give this recommendation serious thought and study before making their final recommendations to the Secretary. However, I do believe that the two-price system as proposed perhaps has greater possibility of disposing of a substantial portion of our surplus wheat through feed channels. It has been estimated that the two-price system would dispose of 150 or 200 million bushels of wheat annually through feed channels. Therefore this proposal should certainly receive very careful study and analysis by the National Association of Wheat Growers.

In the past 3 or 4 years, it has been my privilege to attend many wheat meetings with growers from a number of our wheat States, and after 2 or 3 conferences listening to the various proposals made to help solve our present wheat problem, I am always reminded of the story about the man who stopped at a farmhouse and asked directions to a place about 15 miles away. The farmer began, "Well, you go this road 2 miles. No, that is wrong; now, you take this east road until you come to a fork in the road; no, that road takes you too far. Well, sir, you go west 2 miles and take the first hand road, then 3 miles north; no, that won't work either." And finally in desperation the farmer said to the stranger, "To tell you the truth, stranger, there just ain't no way to get from here to where you want to go." That is about the way I feel about our wheat program.

I seriously doubt that we will be able to find a program for wheat that will materially improve our present program of 90 percent of parity and acreage allotments. I do feel, however, that some change in our present program ought to be made, especially from the administration viewpoint of the program, and I believe a better method of determining allotments can be found than our present method of using historical base.

However, I believe that our farm leaders and growers themselves should continue to work toward the solution of this vital problem. We need a program that will give the farmer a fair share of the national income and at the same time exercise enough control to keep down surpluses. Certainly more concentrated effort and study should be placed upon our foreign markets. We have the hungry people in the world and our problem is to find a way of getting the food to them.

Sometimes I feel that there is entirely too much space given in our news to the term "burdensome surplus." Today there are only a few nations in the world that are able to produce more than they consume—and I feel that perhaps we might ought to get on our knees and thank God that this Nation does have the ability to produce more goods than we can use. Our population is increasing at the rate of 2½ million per year. In just 10 years—1964—we will have a population of 185 million people. No longer do we have fertile new lands and frontiers. Who can say for how long we will be able to produce surplus commodities. At the present rate of per capita consumption of wheat we will use 75 million more bushels of wheat per year for human needs in 1964. The decade of 1950–1960 may well be the last one in which we are able to produce more goods than we consume.

I certainly am not up here this afternoon to suggest a plan that will solve our problems. I have no such plan. However, I do remember reading in the papers last summer about our President sending $15 million worth of food to the German people under Communist domination. I remember reading that many of those people defied the tanks and guns and threats of their Communist rulers to get food for their loved ones. I have a feeling that we probably were able through this gesture of brotherly love to create more good will for our country and to do more toward combating the propaganda of the Iron Curtain than we could have done with 50 times that amount of money spent for military purposes. In the long run if the nations of the world that have the surplus of wheat, butter and eggs, do not find a way of getting this food to the hungry people of the world—then they will go unfed and we have failed to use what probably is our greatest propaganda weapon—our food surpluses. Our problem is not overproduction—it is a matter of improper distribution of the food produced.

In summation I would like to say that so long as the farmer produces in a protected market, he must be able to sell his products in a protected market if he is to survive. If business and industry are entitled to a protective tariff, and we all agree that they are; and if labor is entitled to restrictive immigration laws, minimum-wage laws, and labor unions to protect their rights, and we all agree that they are; if all forms of transportation facilities, such as airplanes, railroad, and shipping are entitled to subsidies; if business is entitled to reconversion payments and amortization for their investments—if all segments of our American

industry must have subsidies in order to compete and maintain our present high standards of living and at the same time set the price at which their goods and services shall be sold, then, ladies and gentlemen, I say to you that the American farmer does not have to apologize to anyone in asking for price supports of at least 90 percent of parity which will assure him a fair price for the commodities which he produces.

The one indictment I have for the American farmer is that far too few of our farmers take an active interest in and participate in the planning and writing of our farm legislation and farm programs. Too many take the attitude of "let John do it." Our leaders are anxious for farmer opinion and participation in building our farm policies. I hope that each farmer present here will go home and beat the bushes among his farmer friends and do everything possible to get a greater percentage of our growers interested in his own problems.

I say to you, Mr. Wheatgrower—Mr. American Farmer—it is high time for you to stand up and be counted.

Economic Coin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times:

ECONOMIC COIN

One can sympathize with Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President, in his anxiety about a business recession. There has been a lot of careless talk, in recent months, about just how deep the present economic dip is, and whether or not the readjustment will turn out to be any more serious. Politicians, economists, businessmen, and even the man in the street have had their rather definite opinions in the matter and there have been almost as many opinions os people.

Certainly, the Eisenhower administration will have much to lose if there is any serious economic disorder. Just as certainly, a lot of the rest of us will have even more at stake. But we find it difficult to go along with Mr. Adams' charges that leaders of what he calls a Fear Deal are trying to talk the country into a depression. The Fear Deal is identified as the successor of the Fair Deal.

Perhaps obtuseness prevents us from understanding what Mr. Adams means, but for whatever reason, we cannot understand it. The Fair Deal has come and gone, succeeded by Mr. Eisenhower and his administration. At best, the Fair Deal was only a catch phrase—a puny one as such tags go. Yet the man closest to the President would have us believe that the ghost still walks, to the harassment of Ike's program but under another and more fearsome name.

Mr. Adams, we think, coins a phrase that in itself can do some harm, psychologically. It is not only the remnants of the New Deal and the Fair Deal that keep official Washington astir about what's happening and what's going to happen. Much of the anxiety that has been expressed about our present and future economic status has come from within the administration, or at least from Congressmen of that persuasion. Wasn't it Dr. Arthur Burns, Chief of the President's own Council of Economic Advisers, who declared only the other day that the country is going through a "mild contraction?"

Fearmongers certainly are not to be condoned. At the same time, we doubt the wisdom of adopting a Polyanna attitude toward what is happening to us economically, whatever that may be. National administrations in the past have taken a chronically optimistic view of situations which, in all honesty, could not be so viewed, afterwards, they have wished they had been franker.

We have no doubt, from the facts as we read them in the newspapers and magazines as well as from Dr. Burns' candid statement, that the Nation is undergoing what some economists, in Government and out, have called a rolling recession. On the other hand, we are not haunted by ungoverned anxiety lest we go to the economic dogs. We believe the President means it when he tells us that his administration is prepared to act boldly if the situation demands it. Consequently, we may be permitted to wonder at the wisdom of conjuring up a Fear Deal, a phrase which in itself can multiply anxiety at a time when confidence is indicated.

Statement of Ernesto Galarza, Research and Education Director of the National Agricultural Workers Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the problem of recruitment of Mexican nationals for farm labor work in the United States is still unsettled. United States Government agencies are still continuing the provocative course of action they undertook following expiration of the international agreement with Mexico. By that I mean that the present administration, at the behest of large agricultural interests in California and the Southwest continues to break United States law and outrage the Government of a friendly neighbor by procuring Mexican farm workers at the international border.

As a result of House Committee on Agriculture hearings on House Joint Resolution 355, the problem will, no doubt, soon reach the floor of the House. For that reason I commend to the attention of my colleagues the testimony given to the committee by Dr. Ernesto Galarza, research director of the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL. It is well worth reading and I, therefore, insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks today.

I particularly call the House's attention to the eyewitness account given by Dr. Galarza of what is happening at the border since it was thrown open by this administration following expiration of the international agreement. This flagrant disregard for sworn duty by officials of this Government should not go unchecked. We should certainly not give their actions a belated stamp of approval by passing House Joint Resolution 355 when it comes before us. We should instead insist that the United States live up to the principles of human decency and of international good will by negotiating with the Government of Mexico an agreement which Mexico can accept as guaranteeing to its people the protection which we, and the growers who employ them, have refused to give.

The above-mentioned follows:

STATEMENT OF ERNESTO GALARZA, RESEARCH AND EDUCATION DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION, AFL, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 355, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1954

It is a rare occasion indeed when the farm workers of our country are given the opportunity to express their views on matters that vitally affect their welfare. Far-reaching decisions on agricultural wages and the contracting of alien workers are usually made behind the closed doors of the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of State. Therefore, we are all the more grateful to the chairman of this committee for having extended these hearings in order to give us the occasion for making our position known.

This committee, and Congress, have once more been presented with the familiar ultimatum of the corporation farm interests: "Give us what we want or the country will starve." This prefabricated dilemma, as usual, is thrown at Congress in a din of alarms and unnecessary confusion. What those interests now have, and wish to retain, is the complete and unresponsible control of the national agricultural labor pool.

In this statement we shall take direct issue with policies they have thus far prevailed on Congress to endorse, and with the methods they are pursuing and have pursued for many years. We shall explain why we reject their makeshift and make-believe approach to the problems of farm labor placement throughout the country, and we shall once more make concrete proposals for a substitute program that will serve the interests of our country, protect our own farm workers, and keep us on friendly terms with the people of Mexico.

At this point let me say that the situation we face today is the result of the policies advanced by corporation farm interests, enacted by Congress and administered by some highly placed officials who have on more than one occasion shown that they are either ignorant or incompetent. The use of Mexican contract farm workers under agreements with Mexico has been going on for nearly 12 years. The use of wetbacks on a mass scale is a development of roughly the same period. In the States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, California, Oregon, and Washington wetbacks and contract nationals, so-called, are part and parcel of the total pattern of the present national farm labor policy. House Joint Resolution 355 is merely the latest facet of that pattern.

This statement, therefore, falls into two major divisions. First of all we want to call your attention to the basic characteristics of that pattern. Secondly, we will refer separately to the unilateral border hiring system set in motion on January 20, 1954. After a brief reference to the matter of the wetbacks and the international agreement with Mexico, we will conclude with our recommendations.

Looking at the pattern, we run head on into this issue: Is there a critical manpower shortage in agriculture today, and will this shortage continue for the next year or two? We say there is not, and in support of our contention we cite the following instances:

Several months ago the large corporations that control lemon growing in Ventura

County, Calif., asked that 500 alien workers be imported into that area. According to the employers, these alien workers had to be available and on hand by mid-January or a $60 million crop would be lost. On January 19 and 20 I was in that area and again on January 23 and 24. I found that something like 100 pickers from other States had arrived in Ventura to pick lemons. Of these some had already gone home because little work was available. Many others had already applied for Red Cross relief and public assistance. Four large ranches were definitely not encouraging pickers to come until after March 1. Less than 5 percent of the crop was ready for picking. Heavy rains had turned the orchards into quagmires and operations were at a standstill. Moreover, we found some 300 farm workers residing in the country who would have offered themselves for employment if at least the same conditions of employment had been offered to them as were granted alien workers.

The Imperial Valley Farmers Association, for weeks prior to January 20 last, broadcast the story of an acute crisis in manpower. It seemed that the crops in that valley would be lost unless the Departments of State, Labor, and Justice launched their unilateral hiring system.

What is in fact, the situation? Experienced Filipino lettuce cutters in some crews have been working 1 day a week since October 15. They earned an average of $10 a week. Ten days ago these men were preparing to leave the Imperial Valley because they could not earn enough to pay for room and board. Carrot tiers were obtaining 2 or 3 full hours of work on certain days, and on some days obtained no work at all. Families that usually start their yearly migration to northern California in June and July were beginning to leave by the middle of January. In 1953 over 200 California families were turned back from farm labor camps in the Stanislaus county district because there were more than enough Mexican contractees and wetbacks. In the Los Banos melon district of Central California domestic melon pickers, willing to work at reduced wages, left halfway through the season because crews of Mexican nationals were brought in. I found one group of 32 nationals near Los Banos who "stood by" for 2 weeks waiting to pick melons at the peak of the season. Two years ago the State department of employment overestimated the need for Mexican contract cotton pickers by over 20,000. Returning to the Imperial Valley we have this typical instance: Mr. B. A. Harrigan, county agricultural commissioner, who is also on the private payroll of the Imperial Valley Farmers Association, had stated that the unilateral hiring program would have to produce over 4,000 Mexican laborers immediately after the initiation of the unilateral hiring program, and Government officials estimated that the normal hiring per day would have to reach approximately 1,000 men "in order to save the crops." On the third day the hiring rate trickled down to less than 50 a day, but Mr. Harrigan stated that this was quite satisfactory. The situation was well in hand. Because the Department of Labor has consistently refused to post available jobs in agriculture and extend to domestic workers exactly the same rights and conditions—no more and no less—offered alien contractees, our Union began posting such jobs. We offered the department of employment in El Centro over 200 workers on these terms on January 22. Our offer was rejected.

While we are on the subject of alleged shortages, let me invite the attention of the committee to a singular fact: The Department of Labor experts have never taken the trouble to separate and identify the various types of shortages that may exist at a given moment in the farm labor market. This would be a most profitable way for these experts to spend their time. They would find, among others, the following types: (1) Absolute shortage, in which workers are simply physically not to be found; (b) shortage induced by low wages and adverse living conditions; (c) shortage caused by lack of advance planning in cooperation with workers; (d) shortage caused by dispersal of the domestic labor supply as a result of displacement by alien contract labor; (e) shortage due to lack of communication between public placement agencies and the workers; (f) shortage due to the manipulation of the local labor supply by private contractors who profit more from juggling the various elements in that supply than by rendering efficient service; (g) shortage due to the refusal of employers to give preference to domestic workers and the disappearance of these domestic workers from the farm labor market; (h) shortage due to depression of work standards and work methods as a result of the hiring of wetbacks and contract nationals.

One or more of these elements is always present in any alleged general shortage of farm labor. Doubtless there are other factors. But to observe, describe, and report these elements requires more arduous thinking than either the policymakers of the corporation farm associations or their spokesmen in the Department of Labor and other Government agencies have been willing to endure.

There are today in the State of California not less than 10,000 to 15,000 unemployed resident farm workers. There are not less than another 20,000 who are underemployed, meaning by this term employment of less than 24 hours a week. Under a program that would isolate and remove the elements of so-called shortage which have been pointed out, these workers could be brought into the labor market and retained in it.

I now ask the committee to look at another significant part of the pattern of the national farm-labor market created by those who are now asking for authority and money to do more of the same thing. I refer to the following anomaly: How is it that in a period of alleged disastrously critical labor shortages farm-wage levels have remained stationary or have even declined? How can it be explained that the iron law of supply and demand, by which the price goes up when the supply goes down, has somehow melted and folded when applied in the area of agricultural economics? We have been asking the authorities of the Departments of State, Justice, Labor, and Agriculture for 5 years. We have yet to hear the answer. This we know: In the Imperial Valley the base rate of pay per hour in the fields has been 70 cents since 1950 and that is the figure written into the most recent unilateral contracts given Mexican workers. Further, we know that the wages of carrot tiers in the Imperial Valley have been cut this year from the 1953 rate of 27 cents per field crate to 24 and 23 cents. We know that melon picking has been shifted from basically a piece-rate system to the hourly rate system, and that in this crop the trend now is toward stabilization at 70 cents an hour, a good experienced picker being able to make as much as $2.50 an hour at the peak of the harvest. We know that the wages for tomato picking in northern California were cut from 20 cents to 16 cents and 14 cents 2 years ago. We know that the pattern of wages in cotton picking has been reversed in this manner; whereas 5 years ago in California the picking rate increased successively from the first to the third round, today in California the rate for the second picking is less than it is for the first. We know that the carrot tiers in the Imperial Valley were making less than $12 a week. We know that wages in lettuce picking have been cut in some instances from $1.32 an hour to 70 and 80 cents.

Proceeding with our examination of the pattern, we ask the committee to take notice of the fact that migration of domestic agricultural wage earners away from the areas where wetback and Mexican nationals have been most heavily employed, is taking place. The Imperial Valley has lost well over 50 percent of its resident labor force since 1948. The families, representing hundreds of workers have moved in stages as far north as the State of Washington. Some families have even made inquiries on the prospects of settling in Alaska. Since the first of the year families have left Imperial Valley who never before have left before the middle of the year. Stagnant pools of farm labor power are accumulating along the west side of the great Central Valley—the backwash of the forced migration of thousands of displaced American citizens. The radius of the area over which domestic workers scout for jobs on their own initiative has increased in some California instances, to 75 miles a day. When work is found this means daily round trips of 130 or more.

This kind of migration is not the migration of resolute pioneers marching on to the conquest of virgin land. It is the flight of people who can find no work in their community or who are offered work on such low terms that they cannot rear a family or maintain an approximately American standard of living. If at the end of their forced journeys these American DP's were found to be prospering and rising in the economic scale, we would agree that they had left a labor vacuum behind voluntarily. But they are as badly or worse off when they arrive as when they left. Therefore, we cannot agree that they take to the road because of a shortage of labor. And we emphatically cannot agree that people of this kind are merely bums and drifters, as some have described them.

Actually, what we have to reckon with is a basic and startling proposition. The farm employment policies which have prevailed for the past 12 to 15 years represent a systematic assault on all the elements which make for stability in the farm labor market. The thousands of men and women our union organizers deal with, and have dealt with for years, are not, I repeat, bums and drifters. They are Americans who feel the common American urge to settle down, establish a home, rear a family, and take a responsible part in community life. This is a human process and therefore it is complicated, subtle, sensitive, and prolonged. We believe it is something to be encouraged and nourished, for in it is rooted the vitality of our people and the strength of our democracy. Yet I say—and I invite the experts of the Department of Labor and others to refute this—that since 1942 the fundamental objective of policy has been to dislodge these Americans, to make their situation ever more precarious, to make it more and more difficult for them to compete with alien contractees and wetbacks.

This policy has now reached an advanced stage of chaos. If continued—and House Joint Resolution 355 would encourage it—at some not too distant date the bulk of the farm labor supply for the United States will lie outside its territorial limits and will be subject to contingencies we may not always be able to foresee and control. We will be fortunate if this disastrous course can be changed, and its obvious dangers avoided, in another 10 years, assuming that we have the intelligence to realize what we are doing and have the determination to change that course.

We have additional objections to the present pattern which we hope we can persuade Congress to take into account. I refer to the Alice-in-Wonderland premises of the policies we are criticizing; to the methods of administration which have characterized present programs; to the lack of understanding and plain knowledge on the part of certain public officials who are responsible for these programs; to the evasion of relevant facts and pertinent data; and to lawlessness on the part of those public officials who are

now and have been in charge of the administration of farm employment programs.

I said that we object to any public policy which is based on Alice-in-Wonderland premises. Permit me to give you two examples. The contracting of Mexican nationals is based on a notion of a so-called prevailing wage. This is the yardstick of equity, the barricade against discrimination, the front line against lower wage standards. And yet, there is no prevailing wage. The Department of Labor does not know what it is and can't find it when it most urgently needs to. The Departments of State, Justice, and Agriculture have with the greatest of ease adopted this concept of the "prevailing wage" but there isn't a single solitary example of it that any of these Departments can produce.

The reason is obvious. Mr. Edward F. Hayes, director of farm placement for the State of California, has explained it. There isn't any prevailing wage.

The same may be said of the premise of determination of need. We have watched for 10 long years the process by which the Federal and State agencies determine the need for alien farm workers. It is very simple. They ask the employers, principally the corporation farmers. If these public officials want us to believe, as they have got Congress and the public to believe that they determine this need by an open, straightforward, efficient public and democratic weighing of all the factors and interests involved, then we say they are naive indeed. Now these officials come before this committee and ask its members to approve a resolution which is based on an economic myth and an administrative fairy tale.

The methods of administration which have been developed by these Federal agencies could stand a good deal of improvement. We have one principal objection: These agencies persistently refuse to take into account, in local situations, the pertinent facts which the workers themselves are in a position to bring to their attention. Every time we make a suggestion that would seem, at least on the surface, to have enough merit to be considered on the same plane with suggestions made by corporation farm interests, we are met with cold and determined refusal. If the Departments of State, Labor, and Justice had really wanted to know the facts on the employment situation in the Imperial Valley last month they should have held an open public hearing for all to attend who have an interest in this matter. This type of hearing the Department of Labor refuses to hold.

Perhaps this is the most satisfactory explanation for the plain ignorance which at times characterizes these agents of the executive branch of the Federal Government. Let me give you some recent examples of facts these agencies have not been aware of, although they are related to very important duties and functions. They did not know that at the moment unilateral recruiting was going on in Calexico, the California State Department of Employment was turning down applicants—American citizens—for those very same jobs. At the moment that the Department of Labor was pledging its word that all work contracts would be strictly enforced the employers of the Imperial Valley were making illegal deductions from wages of Mexican contract nationals. At the moment that the State employment office in El Centro was in despair over labor shortages, the Federal Department of Labor agent in Indio was reporting that the employment situation was pretty rough.

The Department of Labor did not know, and had no means of finding out on January 22, 1954, how many Mexican nationals whose contracts had expired were still working in California. The Department of Labor does not yet know that there is no prevailing wage except in its imagination. The Department of Labor does not know that when some American agricultural workers have applied for jobs held by Mexican contract nationals, they have been told that American citizens are "of the wrong nationality." The Department of Labor did not know that a few days before the grand opening of the unilateral border hiring system, the large corporation ranches in the Imperial Valley were assembling and harboring convenient hoards of wetbacks so they would be handy for processing. The Department of Labor does not know the difference between the wages paid out by farm employers and the wages received as take-home pay by the workers.

These are not trivial details that only a carping critic would pounce upon. They are essential facts which bear upon whether or not policies laid down by Congress are being carried out, whether or not duties are being fulfilled and solemn commitments are being kept. When Attorney General Brownell returned from California with his now familiar plan for wiping out the traffic in wetbacks, the experts in the Departments of Justice, Labor, State, and Agriculture should have told him what he had every right to know, namely, that his plan would immediately multiply the number of wetbacks and aggravate not solve, the problem. We knew this would happen and the Government experts knew it. The experience of 2 short weeks supports our contention. What will the Attorney General say now? He is too busy a man to have these intricate matters in hand, but he has subordinates who ought to know better, and those are the very officials who now want the authority and funds to continue making more of the same boners.

But far more significant, in our judgment, is that part of the pattern which exhibits the spirit of irresponsibility and lack of respect for law and orderly processes which some officials of the Departments I have referred to so often have shown. We have reached the point, in connection with the unilateral hiring system, where public officials can and have violated the very laws they are paid to administer and enforce, and do so with impunity, indeed with some prospect of reward and promotion. Let me give you examples.

On the day that border hiring opened in Calexico, Calif., more than 20 wetbacks were processed by border patrol officers and immediately sent to the reception center in El Centro for contacts. These wetbacks did not even go through the formality of touching one foot on Mexican soil. Most of these men were picked up by border patrol panel trucks along the international fence and given free rides to the hiring hall. This is not the way in which Federal law prescribes the entry of aliens into the United States. We should like to know who gave the order, or who decided, that wetbacks should be exempted from the operation of the law in this manner.

These same wetbacks were immediately taken to El Centro and handed over to Department of Labor officials, who hired them in behalf of farm employers. What authority does the Department of Labor have for hiring wetbacks in this flagrant manner?

I observed 1 group of 5 wetbacks composed of 5 men. These 5 men were processed in the border patrol office in Calexico in exactly 7 minutes. This processing included the security tests that at other ports of entry takes hours and sometimes weeks.

Yet another example of the breezy way in which legal duty is regarded by public officials is the fixing of agricultural wages by the Department of Labor. This Department has told the Mexican Government that it has positively no authority to fix or determine agricultural wages in this country. Yet note what actually happens. The Department of Labor affixes the signature of the Secretary of Labor to thousands of individual work contracts, in each of which the wage—a uniform wage for the type of work and area of employment—is fixed and determined. The Department of Labor never negotiates a wage with a Mexican worker. It is a dictated wage, and the affixing of the Secretary's signature is a wage determination, but the Secretary has no authority and is prohibited by law from determining farm wages.

The latest example of loose constructionism, to put it charitably, is the abandonment with which the Departments of State, Labor, and Justice entered into the unilateral hiring program, all the while having grave doubts as to their legal authority to spend public funds on this venture. Mr. Rocco Siciliano, Assistant Secretary of Labor, was assailed by these doubts on January 18. He did not have clear authority to go ahead and he knew it. But he went ahead anyway. Now the Department of Labor is in the position of having spent public funds without legal right to do so. They have no course other than to ask Congress to absolve and forgive them, for they knew not what they were doing. Yet, whenever farm workers come, almost begging, for some small relief from a palpable and concrete injury to their interests, they are met with pious regret that the Department of Labor has no authority to do such and so.

We cannot pass this opportunity to call to the attention of this committee what is perhaps the most scandalous and barefaced denial of rights under the law to American citizens in relation to this entire matter. The Departments of State, Justice, and Labor have denied members of this union, citizens of this country, the right of appeal under the Administrative Procedure Act. This act is an important and basic device set up by Congress to prevent or correct the exercise of arbitrary administrative discretion by agencies of the Federal Government. Nevertheless, and I wish to underscore this statement, private farm labor contractors who regularly recruit, transport and employ wetbacks in violation of Federal law may not have their licenses revoked in the State of California without due process under administrative procedures appeal.

Thousands of American citizens are considering these facts, and wondering whether there is in the making a new concept of government, law, and administration in our country.

We request this committee not to grant additional authority and funds to agents of the executive branch who are charged with these serious offenses. We ask that our charges be thoroughly investigated. We ask that the officials found responsible for these violations be removed or at least placed where they cannot do so much damage to their fellow citizens, the Nation's farm workers. We ask this committee not to reward conduct of this kind by approving House Joint Resolution 355.

The foregoing description of the essential characteristics of the national farm employment policy as it relates to contract aliens and wetbacks does not by any means exhaust what we could say about the subject. But we trust it is enough to raise serious doubts in the minds of this committee as to the advisability of endorsing that policy in its present form.

Briefly, we want to comment on the unilateral border hiring program, the problem of the wetback and the negotiation of a new agreement with the Government of Mexico.

We are convinced, by the evidence already available, that the unilateral hiring system will encourage the wetback traffic. This system of hiring is offensive to the Mexican people and to our own countrymen. It is illegal and unauthorized by law. It has all the shortcomings of the old bilateral system and some new ones of its own.

With respect to the solution of the wetback problem, there are simpler, economical,

and direct ways of attaining it. More than 90 percent of the wetbacks on the Pacific coast are recruited, transported, and in some degree hired by private farm labor contractors. Those contractors operate under some type of public licensing. If Federal and State authorities really mean it when they say they are determined to wipe out this trade in bootleg human labor let them take the following measures. Revoke the licenses of all contractors caught trafficking in wetbacks; compel the contractor to pay deportation costs; confiscate the vehicle used habitually in this kind of illegal business; and make available to the press and the public the names of those found engaging in this kind of activity.

We have made these suggestions before and they have been met with the modest and self-denying shyness of those who never have the authority to protect the public interest but always seem to have it to promote private corporate profit. But at least public bodies can and should begin by putting their own houses in order with respect to the wetbacks. I mean that they should stop setting the example for labor contractors. I mean that the University of California should not have been hiring, 2 years ago, wetbacks on its experimental farm in Davis. I mean that high public officials should not employ wetbacks. I mean that the Department of Labor should not process and contract undried wetbacks in its reception center in El Centro, Calif.

As to the negotiation of a new international agreement with Mexico, we have this to say:

We are not now and never have been opposed in principle to the recruitment of Mexican farmworkers under an international agreement. We have always recognized the possibility of a grave national emergency that would bring about real, urgent and demonstrable shortages of agricultural labor. We believe that efforts must continue to maintain orderly processes in this important field of international movement of workers.

But we are opposed to the present features of such agreements: they are negotiated in secret. Although they affect vitally hundreds of thousands of farmworkers in both countries their duly authorized representatives, the trade unions, are excluded from participation in determining the conditions of the agreement. In practice these agreements have led to displacement of our own workers, to the lowering of wages and living standards. Therefore, the administrative procedures must be changed. The determination of wages must be made on a basis that will fully and openly and honestly reflect the facts and interests involved in every local situation. The enforcement of the individual contracts must cease to be the farce that it presently is. The determination of need must become a responsible administrative process accessible to workers as well as employers. The present role of diplomats and Government officials as judges, prosecutors, intermediaries, and signatories of contracts whose violation is made the grounds for a grievance must be taken from them and in their place a legitimate grievance procedure must be set up. The same identical conditions offered to alien workers must be posted and offered to domestic workers.

There will be some, in and out of Government, who will consider these proposals utopian. But to these persons we answer that, after all, the corporation farmers who instigated this system of recruiting have learned many valuable lessons thereby. They have learned that they can sign written contracts with farmworkers without losing their souls or their shirts. They have learned to offer a guaranty of 36 hours of work for as long as 6 months. They have learned to offer and pay a contractual wage in agriculture. They have learned that it is possible to operate labor pools, sustain production, and stabilize employment. They have learned that they can give free transportation and free medical services without going bankrupt. They have learned that employment programs can be planned in advance. They have made public confession of the sin of employing wetbacks.

Who would have predicted, 10 years ago, so swift and broadening an educational progress of the massive corporate interests who are now in opposition to our Union on these issues?

This committee can make a timely contribution to the further education of these interests by denying them approval of House Joint Resolution 355.

The Last Round Coming Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Journal of Commerce:

SHIPPING OUTLOOK

(By Edward P. Tastrom, associate editor)

THE LAST ROUND COMING UP

After considering the project for nearly 30 years, during which time every conceivable argument pro and con has been advanced, Congress is about to enact legislation creating the St. Lawrence seaway.

The amazing speed with which this measure has moved in the present session, considering that nothing new in the way of argument or need for urgency has been advanced, is probably the most surprising development.

In view of the rejections that have taken place over nearly three decades, it is only natural that some people wonder to what extent logrolling may have entered into the present deliberations.

Judging by the 23-to-6 vote in the House committee, which saw three Representatives from the New York port area going along for approval of the measure, it appears likely of passage when put to a vote of the membership, unless opponents of the seaway are able to convince their local Congressmen that, inasmuch as there is no clear-cut national necessity for the waterway, regional interests should now come first.

The reasons why Atlantic and gulf coast ports are opposed to this project have been detailed so often as to need no repetition here.

There are now growing indications that some of the proponents of this waterway are having second thoughts as to the impact a deepened channel, permitting free entry to small foreign ships, will have on their particular interests.

It is pretty well recognized by now that foreign-flag operators will be the major factors in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes trade. Even the iron ore that is to be hauled down from Labrador will move in Liberian, Panamanian, and Honduran vessels, since the steel companies are not required to use American-flag shipping in this trade.

Belatedly recognizing this fact, Canadian and American interests are now moving to limit the expected trading invasion of foreign shipping by restricting its movement between American and Canadian ports.

Canada also is expected to tighten restrictions on the use of Canadian coastal waters by Commonwealth shipping, which under the present treaty can ply freely between Canadian ports. T. R. McLagan, Canada Steamship Lines, Ltd., president, recently called for an end of the Commonwealth treaty, saying United Kingdom lines are taking a large share of Canada's coastal trade, using lower wages and general operating costs as an incentive to shippers.

Also, the Lakes Carriers Association, mindful of the changed picture which might develop, has stated: "In time of war these (foreign) vessels are subject to the control and direction of their respective nations. It would be folly for the United States to rely upon European vessels, in the event of future wars, to move vital commodities over the Great Lakes."

And finally, in a move to control activities of foreign oceangoing ships on the Great Lakes, the National Pilots Association of Canada and the American Pilots Association recently passed resolutions which would require these vessels to have aboard a licensed pilot at all times while in waters from Montreal through the lakes region.

Now what does this all add up to other than realization that the seaway is going to bring a great influx of foreign shipping? This is indirect confirmation of just what New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the gulf ports have been saying for many years, noting also that they will bear the full loss.

Unprotected by subsidies, Canada has seen her oceangoing shipping taken over largely by the British. What assurance is there that the same will not happen to her coastal trade? And in that event will the "Red Duster" be accepted on the lakes as a substitute? And what about the difficulties our own shipping is encountering despite 50-50 clauses and other protective measures?

These are questions that Great Lakes interests who think that legislation or a treaty will protect them against foreign shipping might well consider.

The last round in the seaway fight is now coming up. In a letter sent to congressional Representatives in the New York Port area this week, the Maritime Association of the Port of New York said:

"We feel that when a matter of this kind is in such delicate balance, and where the slightest bit of evidence on one side or another might be controlling in the disposition made of the question, that a most worthy consideration is the economic impact of such a plan on your constituents."

This is something that other port and allied interests likely to be affected might very well ask of their Congressmen at this time.

Under the Dome

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer:

UNDER THE DOME

WASHINGTON, February 14.—Republicans who today are accusing the Democrats of being "prophets of gloom and doom" for pointing to current signs of a recession have short memories.

They have forgotten the slight recession of 1949 when members of the GOP were spread-

ing the word of impending "economic collapse."

Some of the famous Republican "prophesies" make humorous reading now that the shoe is on the other foot.

Dark: Representative USHER L. BURDICK, Republican of North Dakota in a speech on the House floor February 21, 1949, said. "Few soup lines have yet shown up but it is now apparent that there will be plenty of them in the next 6 months * * *"

Senator GEORGE W. MALONE, Republican of Nevada, foresaw an equally dark future in a speech on June 16 of that year.

"Several significant straws in the wind are now pointing to a camel's back that has reached the breaking point," warned MALONE. "The camel's back is our employment, national security, and economic structure, which will surely collapse * * *"

Others: Other predictions included:

Representative JAMES T. PATTERSON, Republican, of Connecticut: "We are facing a period of serious unemployment in this Nation. This is not scare talk but a realistic appraisal of economic conditions. * * *"

Representative LAWRENCE H. SMITH, Republican, of Wisconsin: "Every thinking person in this country is greatly concerned with the possibility of another depression. Prices are falling and unemployment is increasing. * * *"

Representative HOMER CAPEHART, Republican, of Indiana: "I say that business in America is falling. Unemployment is increasing. Anyone who can read and write, anyone who can add, knows that our national income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, is going to be smaller than it will be for the year ending June 30, 1949. * * *"

Unemployment was rising in 1949 as it is today, Democratic Members of Congress concede. However, there are other disturbing signs on the economic horizon which could not be seen 5 years ago when the Republicans thought they saw an imminent depression, the Democrats insist.

For one thing, there was no major drop in farm prices going on in 1949 to compare with recent trends in farm income.

But the Republicans thought they were performing a great service by warning of a depression. However, when the Democrats now foresee economic troubles ahead they are called "left wingers" and "political sadists."

What Is "Russia"?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of every thinking American to an excellent and most instructive discussion on "What Is 'Russia'?" which was recently presented on the Georgetown University Forum. This forum, as many of us know, possesses one of the highest ratings for quality and content of public discussion in this country.

In inserting this particular discussion into the RECORD, I wish to emphasize the fundamental importance of the concept of what is in connection with any subject for human understanding. It is a rudimentary truth that before we can act wisely and with understanding in whatever field of endeavor, we must first obtain a knowledge of the realities of a situation or, in other words, what is.

Yet, on the subject of Russian communism, it is simply astounding how many of our journalists, commentators, educators and self-proclaimed experts show so little knowledge and thus understanding of what is in the Soviet Union. All too frequently they erroneously identify the Soviet Union with Russia, or view the Soviet Union as a nation, or regard the Soviet Union as a federal union comparable to ours, or refer to the nations in the U. S. S. R. as "peoples of Russia." It is amazing how little they appear to know about the 110 million non-Russian peoples in the U. S. S. R. who, in truth, are a majority exceeding in numbers even the total population of the so-called satellite states.

This discussion is most valuable in its disclosure of the many misconceptions and even deliberate distortions being circulated in this country on Russia. It cannot but draw our highest esteem for the service of public enlightenment being performed by the Georgetown University Forum.

The matter referred to follows:

Mr. WARREN. "What is 'Russia'?" is the topic for the 364th consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown University Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

Today's discussion will be "What is 'Russia'?" The participants are Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, professor, history, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., and director of the Slavic Institute; Dr. Slobodan M. Draskovich, formerly a member of the Institute of National Defense of Yugoslavia, author, editor, lecturer, professor; Rear Adm. George F. Mentz, United States Navy, retired, trustee for the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism.

What is "Russia"? More perhaps than ever before "Russia" is on the lips of every thinking American today. What does this term mean to us? Can a better knowledge of "Russia" enable us to curb Moscow from launching a third world war. To furnish the authoritative answers to these and other questions we of the Georgetown University Forum have invited three experts in Russian and Communist affairs to discuss for us the question, "What is 'Russia'?"

At the outset, Dr. Smal-Stocki, as author of the book, the Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union, and as a historian, will probably be able to answer wisely our first question: Just what is "Russia"?

Dr. SMAL-STOCKI. I regard the term "Russia" for the Soviet Union as one of the most confusing terms. Russia in reality is only 1 of the 16 republics of the Soviet Union. And this republic is not a national republic as the other 15, but a Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic, including again many autonomous national republics and national regions. Consequently, Russia is not identical with the Soviet Union. It is the same as we would now use the term "Turkey" still for Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece.

Mr. WARREN. All right. Now, Dr. Draskovich, would you tell us your impression of "Russia." What is "Russia"?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I would say that Russia and the Soviet Union are not identical for two main reasons. First, because Russia in 1917 and the Soviet Union of today comprise besides Russians many non-Russian nationalities. The second reason is that no country under communism is itself. Communists are people who have rejected national values and who are destroying the national traditions and using nationalism only insofar as it can be used for Communist purposes.

Mr. WARREN. How would you define "Russia," Admiral Mentz?

Admiral MENTZ. All too frequently in speeches and in our press throughout the country the term "Russia" is used for the term "Soviet Union" or "U. S. S. R." Actually, the Soviet Union, as mentioned before, is comprised of 16 republics, of which the Russian Republic is only one. In point of view of population the Russian Republic numbers about 46 percent of the population of the U. S. S. R. as against 54 percent of the populations of the non-Russian countries inside the Soviet Union.

Mr. WARREN. Well, now, let's find out just what the relation between the Soviet Union and its 15 republics is, or what the relation between the Soviet Union and all of the republics is. And I am going to ask Dr. Draskovich to comment on that.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Officially, the relation is one of equality and independence. Actually, it is a relation of dictatorship—a relation of only formal independents and, in fact, all these so-called independent republics are just regions, are just part of one territory which is ruled from Moscow, and that is the territory under the central power of the Russian Communists in Moscow.

Mr. WARREN. How many Russians are there in there?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. The number of Russians is between 90 and 100 million people.

Mr. WARREN. And how many live in the Federated Socialist Republic?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. In the Russian Federated Republic?

Mr. WARREN. Yes. Admiral Mentz, possibly you would like to answer that.

Admiral MENTZ. Ninety-one million five hundred thousand is the accepted figure of the population of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Mr. WARREN. Now, before we go any further, suppose we discover the significance of this information to us, as Americans. Would you comment on that, Dr. Smal-Stocki.

Dr. SMAL-STOCKI. I think that this fact is very important for us Americans, because if "Russia" is not homogeneous—our enemy is not homogeneous—that is the first point. The enemies of Russia inside the Soviet Union are our allies. We must have a clear information, scientific facts about these allies, about their history, about their present aims. As a matter of fact, Lenin quotes that before World War I the number of Russians in the Russian Empire was 43 percent and the number of non-Russians, 57 percent. So, the non-Russians represent, factually, the majority—the majority—and the real Russians a minority in the old Russian Empire. Presently, again I stress, the non-Russians still are a majority—the non-Russians. Consequently, if we could convince these non-Russian peoples, these non-Russian nations—because they have their old, centuries-long, own histories—if we could convince them that America is a friend of their aspiration, of their national ideas, they will never fight against us. In World War II, as a matter of fact, the non-Russian peoples in whole masses deserted the Soviet Army. I am absolutely sure if we would convince them that we are their friends, if Malenkov should start a new world war the non-Russian nations would never support this new Soviet aggression.

Mr. WARREN. Now, of course, we must realize that there are those, perhaps, with a difference of opinion on this subject and, of course, we should like to invite them, should

they wish to do so, to express their opinions on the Georgetown University Forum.

Now, in connection with what Dr. Smal-Stocki has said, Admiral Mentz, some anti-Communist underground groups maintain that our line should not be the disintegration of the empire, and they cite historical instances where such aggression from without has had as its reaction the union of all the radical elements. Now, is there anything to this attitude?

Admiral MENTZ. The people who claim that encouragement given to the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union will make for unity inside the Soviet Union are trying to put over a line which is absolutely false. This was not the case in World War II. In World War II we saw in Byelorussia and Ukraine, the Caucasus and other parts—non-Russian parts—of the empire, great masses of desertions to the Germany Army at the initial stages of the German campaign. It was only later that after Himmler and his SS troops took jurisdiction over the occupied areas, that the policy—the German policy—became one of intense cruelty that the non-Russian peoples, particularly in Ukraine, were forced to offer resistance to the Nazis in the west and to the Red Bolshevik Army in the east. They fought exceedingly well, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—it numbered at one time over 200,000 effectives—and their record is very good.

Mr. WARREN. Would you wish to comment on that, Dr. Draskovich?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. Yes, I would like to add a few words. I think the fact that in the Soviet Union we have, besides Russians, many non-Russians is really very important. First, because the motivating force today in the world is nationalism and I think that the main thesis of Dr. Smal-Stocki in his book is essentially sound, that it is contrary to nature that the Bolsheviks have been able to use and are using today nationalism to promote Communist aims. And, unfortunately, it is contrary to nature that the free world is not using nationalism to promote their aim for freedom and equity in the world. That is the first point.

The second point is that I would, perhaps, make one critical observation to the statistics used by Professor Smal-Stocki, because to say that 43 percent are Russians and 57 percent are non-Russians, are statistics. The real political dynamic power behind that is not the same. Professor Smal-Stocki in his own book has pointed out, and very correctly in my opinion, that the assumption of power of the Russians has been tremendous. And, second, that the Communist regime has been in power for 36 years. The third point also stressed by Professor Smal-Stocki is that the three leaders of the Bolshevik revolution were non-Russians or of non-Russian origin, partly or completely—Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. Thus, after a period of 36 years I think that the central power in Moscow is stronger than expressed in the relation of 43 to 57.

The third remark would be that in stressing the problem of non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, which is of tremendous importance, we must never lose sight of communism. I say that because the armies which surrendered to Hitler were not only non-Russian but Russian as well, which means that what Russians and non-Russians had in common in the Soviet Union is anticommunism and, however much I would like to acknowledge the importance of the nationalities problem, I think we must never because of that lose sight of the main problem, the problem of communism.

Mr. WARREN. All right. Dr. Smal-Stocki.

Mr. SMAL-STOCKI. I should like to say a few remarks to you, on the formulation you very often hear now in the discussions in America concerning the disintegration of the Soviet Union or dismemberment of the Soviet Union. In my opinion, that is a false formulation—disintegration or dismemberment. Who disintegrated whom, or who dismembered whom? As a matter of fact, Russia or presently the Soviet Union disintegrated Finland. Old Russia disintegrated Poland and Lithuania. Old Russia disintegrated the great Khanates of the Tartars, disintegrated Turkistan. So, who disintegrated whom? That is the first point.

The second point, as a matter of fact, the Russian power in old imperialism was built up not only by Russians but by many Germans, by many foreign specialists. As, for instance, the whole 5 years' plans were realized with the support of foreign credits and many, many foreign specialists. So, the free world has partly contributed to the buildup of the war potential and the economy of the Soviet Union directed against the free world. That is the second point.

Mr. WARREN. All right. Well, now, would you say there is a connection definitely then between what you are saying here and Beria's liquidation?

Dr. SMAL-STOCKI. In my opinion, in this crisis the nationality problem played a tremendous role. Beria attempted, in order as a born Georgian, he attempted to form a united front of all the non-Russian nations against the Moscow dictatorship, which is a Russian dictatorship. He attempted it and he lost it. My colleague, Draskovich, is right that the Russians also have their anti-Communists. Yes. But, as a matter of fact, in spite of the fact that Lenin and Trotsky and Stalin were originally not Russian in part or entirely, the bad thing is they were more Russian than the Russians. And the whole Russian nation backed them because the instinct of the Russian nation understood that only the Communist dictatorship can preserve the Empire, this present Soviet Union.

Mr. WARREN. Now, Dr. Draskovich. Who does believe or affirm that Russia is a homogeneous state?

Dr. DRASKOVICH. First of all, people who do not know Russia. Then, I think, Communists who would like to identify Russia with the Soviet Union and to say that what we must fight is the Russian idea and to conceal completely the importance of Communism. Also, I think there are some misinformed people who, just because they don't know the facts, think that it is a homogeneous country and don't realize that it is a country with tremendous potentialities both against communism and against a centralism where the strength of nationalism can be used.

Mr. WARREN. Well, now, Admiral, how has the Soviet handled Russia's nationality problem?

Admiral MENTZ. I think it would be a good idea to go back to some recent history for just a moment. At the time that the death of Stalin was announced there was a great call to unity within the Soviet Union. At Stalin's funeral Malenkov's speech, in the very first part of his speech, in a eulogy to Stalin, claimed that he had been the one in history who had been able to solve the nationality problem in the monolithic state of the Soviet Union. Immediately after that he makes reference to the Red army which Stalin had been the father of, according to Malenkov in his speech, and to internal and external enemies of the state. Shortly thereafter, within a few days, there was a tremendous upheaval—first in Ukraine—then in Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia. The top hierarchy, both Communist and state officials, were removed from each one of these countries and all signs pointed to a tremendous upheaval inside the Soviet Union, particularly on the part of the nations of the Soviet Union. We heard nothing, however, of any trouble of any kind inside the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Mr. WARREN. Dr. Smal-Stocki, do the Georgians and the Armenians and the Byelorussians and the Lithuanians want national independence as much as the Ukrainians do?

Dr. SMAL-STOCKI. Absolutely. And I should like to say that the Russian Soviet propaganda does everything presently in the United States in order to obscure this whole problem, that they—not only the Ukrainians but the nations of the Caucasus, the nations of Turkistan, then Byelo-Ruthenia, or as officially called Byelorussia, then the Baltic States—they all fight for independence.

Now, this nationality problem was systematically obscured in the United States by Soviet propaganda and Russian Imperialist propaganda. And I draw your attention to chapter 10 of my book, "The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union," where I collected all the facts. As a matter of fact, our Library of Congress and the responsible adviser in this matter, Mr. Sergius Yakobsen, was, in my opinion, not objective in presenting in the House Document No. 754, Communism in Action, a presentation of the nationality problem based mostly on Corliss Lamont's book, The Peoples of the Soviet Union. Besides, presently there appeared again—on the basis of the legislative reference service of the Library of Congress—a pamphlet Tensions Within the Soviet Union. This pamphlet—responsible for this pamphlet is Dr. Sergius Yakobsen—minimizes the non-Russian nations. Besides, there is an amazing observation—I should like to say an insult to the Ukrainian Catholic Church on page 35. This pamphlet published—I quote:

"Furthermore, there are many large groups of traditional nonconformists within the territories that comprise more than Russia. Important among these and perhaps typical in pattern is the unique group of the Ukraine. This group certainly is a potential enemy of the Soviet regime. This sect which acknowledges the supremacy of Rome has had a long history of suppression at the hands of the Russian orthodoxy, and the state, and more recently at the hands of the Politburo."

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that this church is not a sect. This church is a branch of the Catholic Church and this sect terminology is a Russian Soviet terminology.

Mr. WARREN. Well, now, gentlemen, just how can the understanding of this question prevent a third world war, in your opinion? Dr. Draskovich.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. First, I think that it is very important, since we all recognize the importance of nationalism as a dynamic force against the Soviet Union, not to rely on any Communist that is in the Soviet Union to fight against the Soviet regime. Thus, I do not agree with the opinion that Beria was a man who fought against Soviet power. No Communist will ever fight against the Soviet power. And I think that the best example is Tito. Tito, unfortunately—today we are not going to talk of him, but he is the Trojan horse of world communism. Unfortunately, he is interpreted as an ally of the West, which he is not. Thus, if we speak of nationalism as a force for the dismemberment, for the destruction of the Soviet regime and communism, we must rely not on Communists, be they Georgian or Ukrainian or whatever, but on Georgian, Ukrainian, etc., nationalists. That is the first point.

And then in connection with that, I would say that if we realize the importance of nationalism then everywhere in the world, including the Soviet Union, all nationalists are natural allies of the United States because the United States stands for and fights for their most elementary right as men and as nations.

Mr. WARREN. Admiral Mentz, do you believe that a better understanding of this question could prevent a third world war?

Admiral MENTZ. I do. And I think that a close study of the campaign that the German army pursued inside the Soviet Union and various parts of the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union in World War

It is extremely worthwhile because it has all the earmarks of liberation of those people. Goebbels' propaganda at the beginning of the war was extremely successful when the first parts of the German Wehrmacht arrived in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and the Caucasus; the people greeted them with open arms and there was no opposition whatsoever. It was only later, as I mentioned before, that the people came to understand the true policy that was being pursued by the Nazi Party against these captive countries inside the U. S. S. R. I think that is a lesson that can be very well applied today. We have seen successful guerilla and large-scale fighting, particularly in the Ukraine and Byelorussia and the Caucasus, against the Red armies and we can use the natural ambitions of those people for their freedom and independence in any future world war.

Mr. WARREN. All right. Yes. We have just about 30 seconds.

Dr. DRASKOVICH. I would like only to add that I entirely agree with a very important book and thesis produced by James Burnham in his—both his books—the Coming Defeat of Communism and Containment or Liberation, where he stresses that only an offensive political warfare can possibly avoid a shooting third world war.

Mr. WARREN. Yes. And, finally, Dr. Smal-Stocki.

Dr. SMAL-STOCKI. I should like only to stress that all these ideas have one source and that is the memorable contribution of the American Nation to the world, the great ideas of the American Declaration of Independence. The influence of these ideas—these influences in reality are creating this problem in the world, and especially in the Soviet Union.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have attended the weekly discussion program of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, broadcast of which was transcribed in the Raymond Reiss Studio on the campus of historic Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.

Our topic tonight, What is Russia? Next week you will hear discussed, Cultural Cooperation and Peace. Our panel at that time will consist of Mr. Howland H. Sargeant, consultant, United States Department of State; Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, New York, author of Cultural Cooperation and the Peace; Dr. Raymond P. McCoy, director of the graduate division, chairman of the department of education, Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio, president of the Catholic Association for International Peace. Your comments and suggestions are always welcome. Address the station to which you are listening. If you would like a transcript of today's program, simply send 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing with your name and address to Georgetown University Forum, Washington, D. C.

This program has been presented in the interest of public education by Georgetown University. Your moderator: Matthew Warren.

Our Unpopularity Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an address I made before the New School Forum on Thursday, January 28, 1954:

OUR UNPOPULARITY ABROAD

Our breastbeating about our unpopularity abroad is a symptom of our own uncertainties. We are either bewildered or angry as we face the inescapable fact of our unpopularity. That we have made errors—and it is well to examine them—is incontrovertible. That these errors are the reasons for our unpopularity is a premise I cannot accept. The errors are seized upon to give expression to feelings far more fundamentally resentful than those abroad care to admit.

Some 6 weeks ago I had completed a trip which took me from England to Italy to Israel to Pakiston, India, and Egypt. With the possible exception of Pakistan, each country left me with little doubt of its hypercritical attitude toward the United States. For understandable reasons, nobody said to me, "We do not like the United Staes." The feeling, rather, was conveyed in a series of ways. In Asia, the questions ran: Why does the United States side with the colonial powers, the English, the French, and the Dutch? Why does the United States exaggerate the threat of its internal communism so that it has cast away its civil liberties? How does a man like Senator MCCARTHY accumulate so much power and why are these powers not curbed? Why does not the United States recognize Communist China since it is a government in existence and in operation? Why does the United States view every country as material suitable to be manipulated for her own purposes in her quarrel with the Soviet Union? As I come to think of it, these were the questions asked, with more or less ferver, in England, Italy, and Israel as well. Added to these were comments on our possession of atomic secrets and our hugging them to ourselves, a lingering bitterness over the dropping of the atomic bomb over Japan and a deploring of our inability to see problems only in squares of black and white.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that all these points were correctly made, that we acted according to the wishes expressed, that we recognized Red China, that we voted against England and France in matters colonial, that we adopt legislation permitting the sharing of atomic secrets, etc. Would, then the United States unpopularity vanish? No.

There are Asians and observers of American-Asian relations who claim that hostility exists against us because of our practices and concepts of white superiority. This is not a statement to be laid aside lightly. It is a sound, but only partial explanation of American unpopularity in Asia. In southern and eastern Europe, more particularly Italy, it is claimed, that resentments have grown from the roots planted by our discriminatory immigration statutes, past and present. Again, sound, but also partial. England and France have no such grivances. Shall we then say that we are unpopular for different reasons in different countries? Though that would seem to be the most plausible of approaches, again I would say no.

Whatever our errors in the conduct of foreign affairs may have been and are, it is to be noted that American unpopularity stretches far back into our history; indeed is as long as our history as a Nation. In the thousands upon thousands of critical estimates of us that have been written, only a handful like the de Tocquevilles, the Bryces, the Brogans and the Alistair Cookes have caught the daring, the vigor and the imagination of the American experiment in democracy. Democracy is not a chain as weak as its weakest link. Failure in one area is not the denial of achievement in another. This, these writers, recognized and acknowledged. They remain, however, in the minority—a tiny minority, I might add. Why?

What is the most commonplace cry against the United States? The United States has no soul. Then a breakdown is furnished us. The verbal guns are turned against what I call our three m's—our manners, our morals, our money. Material success is our god; uniformity our goal. Our universities are factories. We revel in our mediocrity. We are brash, bold, and dull.

The unpopularity of the United States is not a new phenonemon. It has only achieved a new prominence because of the East-West tensions and the ability of the Soviet Union through a world wide organization to exploit it. The unpopularity, therefore, appears to be universal.

But is it? I cannot say, but this I do know, that the stream of criticism comes from the intellectual cliques of Europe and Asia. It is an endless, fascinating game for them, in which so many of our own intellectuals join. Please do not misunderstand me, I am not anti-intellectual. I am trying to understand and search for the reasons of our unpopularity abroad. The intellectual abroad sees none of our public figures westling on a mountaintop in soul-searching agonies. We have no public Hamlets. We have not publicly cried out, "Where did we come from, why are we here, where are we going?" It has not occurred to them that perhaps our communions are private. European and Asian civilizations are old—old in agonies, old in failures. The variety, the flavor, the diversity of life and living are also there, flowing from antiquity. The writing and speaking intellectuals, still confined to a group small and elite, cannot reconcile the riddle of a continued existence for so many ages, so culturally rich and varied, with the ugly facts of continuous wars, famines, hunger, disease, illiteracy, the passions that destroy, and the hopes never fulfilled. They understand so well the subtleties and waywardness and idealism and evils in man. Only of the United States do they ask an inhumanly impossible perfection.

Because the political figures of Europe and Asia are drawn mainly from the superbly educated groups, since educational opportunities are open to limited numbers, they cannot grasp the broad gage of our political participation. To them the prized imagination is the imagination of the abstract, again growing out of the brutal gaps in social structures. They cannot see the daring and the drama and the imagination, as well as the freeing of the soul, in release from poverty and pain. The people of the United States have gained. They cannot see the adventure in the opening of a continent, in the successful amalgamation of people of hundreds of different strains. They do not see the country expressing the universal idealism of Jefferson and Lincoln.

This theme could be developed, I suppose, endlessly. I throw it open for discussion because I believe that we ourselves have no cure for our unpopularity abroad. I believe we cannot stop, always, in a fever of hesitancy, and ask, "Do they—will they like us?" They won't—they can't—not yet. That depends upon when they free their own imagination. The pertinent question is: Have we earned the respect of other nations? It is in this area where we need to make reappraisal. You may differ, but that difference need not rule out respect.

Among the reasons I would list for the lessening of respect that has taken place are the following:

1. The demoralization of the civil servant (most highly respected abroad in its own service), particularly State Department personnel by the subservience of the executive department to congressional headline seekers.

Our emphasis on the military aid rather than on technical assistance and economic aid as if only a bullet can stop an idea.

3. Our tendency to overlook the significance of regional disputes between countries (examples, Pakistan and India; Israel and Middle East—arms to Iraq and Syria, etc.).

4. Our inability to identify ourselves with a positive program of liberalism and freedom rather than only on a program of anti.

5. Our present policy reliance on atomic weapons only, the withdrawal of troops abroad, the threat to withdraw if France does not ratify EDC, our nonexplained present policy of telling the world that no war can be localized unless the United States so chooses to keep it localized are hardly conducive to attentive respect from our allies and friends.

6. I believe Europe and Asia are concerned presently with some of our internal matters, such as possible tariff legislation and the passage of the Bricker amendment, both of which affect our foreign relations. How we act with regard to these will influence the measure of respect.

We have been magnificently right about the Marshall plan, the Truman plan, point 4, economic aid, the exchange of student program. These were policies of tremendous vision and imagination. That they did not gain us popularity does not decrease their stature. That popularity was not one of the fruits of these achievements is not important; the other benefits to others and ourselves are far, far more important.

Statement of Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, Before Subcommittee on Flood Control of the Committee on Public Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I present the statement of Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief of Engineers, before the Subcommittee for Flood Control, House Public Works Committee, in connection with hearings for River and Harbor and Flood Control Act of 1954, on February 16, 1954:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a pleasure for me to appear before your subcommittee today. Secretary Stevens regrets that he is unable to attend the opening session before your committee because of other commitments.

Two weeks ago I appeared before the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee at the opening of hearings on river and harbor projects considered in connection with an omnibus bill this year. This hearing today marks the opening of the flood-control portion of the omnibus bill. The flood-control hearings presently scheduled will run from today through Friday, February 19, of this week.

As I mentioned before the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, the omnibus bill now being considered is the first since the Rivers and Harbors and Food Control Act of May May 17, 1950. This is the longest period of time which has elapsed between omnibus acts since their beginning in the National Flood Control Act of 1936. The major flood-control bills in the past starting with 1936 were in 1938, 1941, 1944, 1946, 1948, and 1950.

This week's hearings will cover most of the flood-control reports recommended favorably by the Chief of Engineers and now before the Congress. Other flood-control projects eligible for hearings at a later date include several large basins in Kansas, Missouri, and Texas. It is my understanding that following the hearings this week the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee will take up the remaining navigation projects including some of multiple-purpose nature which were not considered during the first 3 weeks of hearings. Following the remaining navigation projects, I understand that your subcommittee will consider the remaining flood-control projects, including those of multiple-purpose nature. After the individual projects are covered the question of additional monetary authorization for our large comprehensive basin plans will be eligible for consideration.

Because the hearings starting today are confined to flood control, I consider it appropriate to confine my remarks in general to that subject, as I confined them to navigation matters in my opening statement for the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee. For your information I would like again to touch briefly on matters of general concern to the civil-works program of the Corps of Engineers which have come up from time to time during the last 4 years. These matters were covered in my opening statement on navigation, but I think it would be advisable to repeat them at this time for the benefit of members of the Flood Control Subcommittee.

Before I begin on the subject of flood control, I would like to touch briefly upon my experience and background in civil works. I am taking this liberty because, as you know, this is my first appearance before your subcommittee in connection with an omnibus bill.

Over the years the development of water resources of the United States has been one of my greatest interests. My early assignments in this field were as project and district engineer at Eastport, Maine, Huntington, W. Va., and at Vicksburg, Miss., where I took part in water-resource development in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, which involved some of the most important problems in this field. Later, as division engineer of the Missouri River division, I was responsible for continuing development of the comprehensive Missouri River Basin program for flood control, navigation, and related water-resource improvements. During that time I was a member of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, which is responsible for reviewing preliminary examinations and surveys for navigation and flood control throughout the United States and its possessions. I believe that this combined experience has given me a broad working knowledge of the problems related to water-resource development and the activities of the Corps of Engineers in solving these problems.

At this time, I would like to introduce the officers on my staff who will be responsible for testifying on the individual projects and on matters of general concern to the subcommittee. Brig. Gen. E. C. Itschner is Deputy Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works. General Itschner is replacing General Chorpening, who has appeared before your subcommittee on numerous occasions and with whom you are well acquainted. General Itschner comes from an assignment as division engineer of the North Pacific division and has had wide experience in civil works. Col. William Whipple, who is executive officer for the Assistant Chief of Engineers for Civil Works, will testify at a later date in connection with multiple-purpose projects involving major hydroelectric-power developments. Colonel Whipple has had wide experience in this field. He was assigned for several years as executive officer to the division engineer, North Pacific division, where he was directly concerned with the preparation of the comprehensive development of the Columbia River Basin, the largest program of the Corps of Engineers in civil works in the United States. The detailed testimony on the projects to be covered by your subcommittee this week will be given by Col. Alfred D. Starbird, Assistant Chief of Civil Works for Flood Control. I have been personally familiar with Colonel Starbird's work for a number of years and, in fact, made a special effort to have him transferred to my office from an overseas assignment after I became chief of engineers. I am sure that he will be able to answer any questions on the individual projects which you gentlemen may have. Civilian members of my staff will also be available to assist in the presentation of testimony. I would like to ask General Itschner to introduce them at this time.

Before discussing the flood-control reports specifically, it might be of interest to sketch briefly the magnitude and importance of the Federal flood-control program.

Interest in a Federal flood-control program began about 1840, when it became an issue in national political campaigns. Floods in 1849 and 1850 caused widespread damage and increased the growing national concern in the devastation caused by floods and in possibilities of controlling them. The Swamp Land Acts of 1849 and 1850 were enacted by Congress partly in an effort to help communities protect themselves against floods. Federal interest and participation in flood control is an outgrowth of the Federal responsibility for navigation derived basically from the commerce clause of the Constitution. This Federal flood control activity began in the alluvial valley of the Mississippi River and took definite form with the establishment of the Mississippi River Commission by Congress in 1879. The California Debris Commission was established by law in 1893, and its work resulted in the adoption of a project for the control of floods and debris on the Sacramento River in California in 1917. The next major step in this direction was the adoption of the comprehensive flood-control plan for the control of floods in the great alluvial valley of the Mississippi River in 1928. This marked the dawning recognition of the need for intervention in the control of disastrous floodwaters by broader interests than individuals or local communities. It was recognized then that the control of a tremendous stream system like the lower Mississippi was far beyond the ability of local communities or even the States involved.

Flood control as a national policy was firmly established 8 years later in the National Flood Control Act of 1936, which stated as a declaration of policy that floods constituted a menace to national welfare and that it is the sense of Congress that flood control is a proper activity of the Federal Government in cooperation with States and local interests where the benefits are in excess of the estimated costs and if the lives and social security of the people are otherwise adversely affected. From that beginning there has grown the vast flood-control program undertaken by the Federal Government throughout the river basins of the United States and its possessions.

Some brief statistics on the magnitude of this program might be of interest to the subcommittee. These figures I am about to give exclude a few projects of a multiple-purpose nature which embrace several functions such as hydroelectric power development and navigation. The project totals include both single projects and authorized modifications of projects. The costs for the active program are based on revised-up-to-date estimates. The costs for some of the projects in the inactive program, and to a lesser extent in the active program not recently reviewed, are based upon earlier price levels since obviously the expenditure of funds for bringing up to date the costs of projects which may never be built or which are in the distant future would not be worth while. The flood-control program includes 287 authorizations on which work has been

fully completed. The total costs of this completed flood-control program is $545 million. The total number of projects in the general flood-control program now under way is 100. The total estimated costs of these projects is $1,652,000,000, of which $880 million has been appropriated to date and $772 million remains to complete. The project for the alluvial valley of the Mississippi River is handled separately because of its magnitude and scope and because of the original appropriation structure under which expenditures were made. Considering this as 1 project, the total estimated cost is $1,293,000,000, of which $849 million has been appropriated to date and $444 million is the estimated cost to complete. Coming next to the category of flood-control projects not yet started, the total number is 196, with an estimated cost of $1,371,000,000. Of this total about $12 million has been appropriated for planning purposes, leaving a balance of $1,359,000,000 to complete. The total number of projects or project modifications in the active flood-control program including the Mississippi River as 1 project, is therefore, 504, and the total estimated cost is $4,861,000,000 of which $2,286,000,000 has been appropriated to date and $2,575,000,000 remains to complete.

In addition to this active program there are a number of projects in the authorized backlog which we consider inactive or which we have deferred for restudy. These total 325 in number and have a total estimated cost of $1,875,000,000. Including the so-called inactive or deferred projects, the total authorized flood-control program amounts to 909 projects with a total estimated cost of $6,736,000,000 of which $2,286,000,000 has been appropriated to date leaving a balance of $4,450,000,000 to complete.

The flood-control program undertaken by the Federal Government has already brought large returns. It is estimated that if no Federal flood-control measures had been undertaken the total average flood damage in the United States would be in excess of $800 million a year. The Federal flood-control works now in operation prevent flood losses estimated at more than $300 million a year, and a considerable amount of flood damage is prevented by works constructed by local interests. The remaining average annual flood damage actually experienced in this country totals, therefore, about $500 million a year under the present state of development. Not all of this flood damage can be prevented, because of engineering or economic reasons, but a great part of it can be. The flood-control program now authorized by Congress envisages predominantly improvements of the river-basin type rather than isolated projects. Many of these so-called basin plans are composed largely of multiple-purpose developments where in the control of water, beneficial effects are achieved in power development, navigation, low-flow regulation, conservation, and the many other features of water resource development which are needed in our economy. There are three general methods of flood control which are the basis of all planning by the Corps of Engineers in this field. These methods are:

(a) Increasing the flood-carrying capacity of a river or stream by channel improvement, or bypassing flood flow by diverting part of it through diversion channels or floodways.

(b) Reducing flood flows and decreasing flood stages by holding back flows in reservoirs or detention basins.

(c) Keeping the flood away from damage points by means of levees, floodwalls, and conduits.

In flood control, probably to a greater degree than in any other field of engineering, man must work with nature. Rivers have their peculiarities which must be recognized in planning and designing protective works. Proponents of one or another aspect of water-resource development have a tendency to urge one method of flood control as a panacea for all ills; the Corps of Engineers has found that no one method is universally applicable.

For example, it is generally recognized that measures and practices which conserve the soil and improve the vegetative cover on watersheds will contribute to flood control and definitely reduce lesser flood flows. It is dangerous to claim for such measures the ability to control or materially reduce large floods when all history and engineering experience point to the contrary.

There is also a widespread theory that major floods can be controlled by building hundreds of small uncontrolled headwater reservoirs and this has been urged by some not only for their local effect but as a substitute for major protective works. In many cases small reservoirs in upstream tributary valleys, properly located and designed, may offer the best solution of local flood problems. Large numbers of small dams, however, do not provide adequate or economical flood reduction on large rivers and major tributaries. There is also the danger that the construction of large numbers of small dams in upstream areas may skim off enough of the downstream benefits to render uneconomic the needed degree of protection in highly developed urban and industrial areas. Such structures do not permit realization of multiple-purpose benefits which often approach or exceed project costs. Small dams with uncontrolled outlets do not generally permit efficient use of storage in reducing major flood peaks as their capacities are often depleted by a succession of minor rises; and the necessity for a vast number of such dams greatly complicates proper location and adequate design which are essential to avoid undue hazard to life and property.

The Corps of Engineers considers that all practicable methods must be considered and used when appropriate in the development of sound and economical flood-control plans. From an engineering standpoint there is but one best system of reservoirs for a given basin. In developing this system both small and large reservoirs must be considered with a view to determining the most economic and best balanced combination.

Before going into the flood-control survey program, I would like, as I did in my opening statement before the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, to describe for the new members of the subcommittee the report procedures of the Corps of Engineers. These procedures are the basic processes under which flood control and, in fact, all civil works projects in the Corps of Engineers, are authorized.

Investigations for projects are undertaken by the Corps of Engineers only under specific directive by Congress. These directives may take the form of an item in an omnibus bill calling for such an investigation, or, if there have been previous reports in the area, the investigation may be called for as a review of previous reports by passage of a resolution of either the House or the Senate Committee on Public Works. The report on these investigations may be in the form of a preliminary examination, a survey, or a review of previous preliminary examinations or surveys. A preliminary examination is a reconnaissance type of report based upon easily available office and field data and prepared at relatively small cost. The purpose of a preliminary examination is a rough estimate of the situation to determine whether the project or projects under consideration appear to be sufficiently feasible to warrant the expense of a detailed survey. If unfavorable, the preliminary examination report is submitted to Congress. If favorable, the preliminary examination results in the assignment of a survey either through action by the Chief of Engineers or in some cases by the House Public Works Committee. A review report may be either of preliminary examination or survey scope, depending upon the amount of information already available.

After a favorable survey report is transmitted to Congress it is printed as a House or Senate document and referred to the Committees on Public Works. The projects which are before your committee for consideration are all recommended in favorable survey reports such as I have described. If favorable action is taken by the committees and by the Congress, authorization of the projects is contained in a so-called omnibus river and harbor and flood control act. After passage of the act the project is then eligible for appropriation of funds for detailed engineering studies, preparation of plans and specifications, and finally, construction.

The entire flood-control program of the Federal Government has been evolved in general from the system of submitting to Congress reports such as those now before your subcommittee for consideration. These reports have resulted from the procedures I have just described. The fact that there is a large backlog of flood-control projects in the active category which have not yet been built does not mean that new reports should not be considered and new projects authorized by Congress. This is the only procedure which will result in a live up-to-date program responsive to changing local needs, developments in the national economy and occurrence of major floods which may affect the flood-control planning, changes in the national-defense program, and technological advances in the science of flood forecasting, reservoir operations, and engineering design and construction. The submission of new reports means that the program can be kept current, relative priorities can be broadly ascertained to reflect economic urgency, obsolescent projects or parts of projects can be eliminated, and modifications to existing projects necessitated by changed conditions can be authorized. It is only through a steady flow of review investigations that the Federal investment in the flood-control program can be kept effective and the system operating at its most efficient level.

In connection with our flood-control survey program, and as I stated to the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee, I have given the status of the program very serious consideration. I am deeply concerned about the large backlog which has resulted from the assignment of project investigations to us by the Congress and the relatively limited amount of funds appropriated in recent years to carry on this work. For the last several years the amount of money we have received for our general survey program, both flood control and navigation, excluding two large special studies, has been only sufficient to carry on about 10 percent of our backlog. For example, the total number of flood-control studies now assigned to our district offices is 446. The total estimated cost of the reports is $29,392,000, of which $17,131,800 has been made available through the fiscal year 1954, leaving a banance of $12,261,000 to complete. In the fiscal year 1952 there was no appropriation for general flood-control studies. In the fiscal year 1953 the appropriation was $1,200,000. The appropriation for the present fiscal year was $660,000. The approved budget estimate for general flood-control surveys for fiscal year 1955, which is now being considered by the House Appropriations Committee, is $550,000, which we have estimated tentatively will permit work on 52 reports, of which 23 will be completed and 29 continued. The appropriation for the present fiscal year was applied to 43 reports.

As a result of the interest shown in this matter in several quarters, including the Appropriations Committees and the Bureau of the Budget, and because of my feeling that we should make every possible effort to resolve this problem, a study of the whole report program is now in progress. The

problem will be attacked in several ways. We will make an effort to determine if there is any possible way we can streamline our reporting procedure without sacrificing sound engineering and economic analysis. That is, we will make every effort ourselves to submit more reports for the money given us. However, since these investigations form the basis of project authorizations, it is essential that our recommendations as to the feasibility of a project be reliable and give full information to the Public Works Committee which will enable them to make decisions on project authorizations. The importance of this cannot be overstressed since the reports are investments of relatively small cost, running about three-tenths of 1 percent, compared to the cost of projects whose initiation they often determine. Nevertheless, instructions have already been issued to our field offices, in December 1953, outlining procedures and methods to be followed to reduce the costs of survey reports and expedite their preparation.

Another aspect of the problem is the merit of the survey reports which now form the backlog. These reports include some where conditions may have changed considerably subsequent to the date of their assignment. I am having a review made of all our outstanding reports with a view to placing them in 1 of 3 categories: (1) Active, (2) deferred for restudy, and (3) inactive. The first category includes reports which should clearly be brought to culmination because of the obvious merit of the projects under consideration. The second category includes reports involving projects which require further study before definite conclusions can be reached with respect to feasibility. The third category includes reports involving projects which we feel can be demonstrated to be infeasible, as a result of work accomplished to date, because of a marked lack of economic justification, local opposition, or changed conditions in the area. Reports in the last category should require no more work to support an unfavorable recommendation. This study is expected to be completed in the near future.

At this point I would like to call the attention of the subcommittee to a similar study in connection with authorized projects which we have undertaken as a forward step this past year and have recently completed. Several reports of congressional committees have referred to the large backlog of authorized projects, and this matter has given us much concern for several years. Some reports have also indicated the belief that the legislative committees do not have sufficient opportunity for scrutiny and control of the civil-works program. Our study of this matter has resulted in a recommendation that our projects be placed in three categories similar to those which I spoke of in connection with survey reports. Our proposal also contemplates that a project in the category "deferred for restudy" can be moved to the active list only upon further study by us and a showing to the Public Works Committees that the higher category is appropriate, followed by affirmative action of the committees to establish the project in the active category. It may be that legislative action will be necessary to establish this procedure. We have not reached final conclusions on our treatment of the survey-report study but it is possible that recommendations similar to those for authorized projects may be in order.

A third aspect of the survey-report program now under consideration is the matter of local cooperation in the cost of surveys. We have not yet reached firm conclusions on this matter, and I feel that it involves some very serious considerations. Local pressure toward a favorable recommendation might be engendered because of local contributions in cash or work toward the investigation. Prosperous communities might, through a contribution toward the survey, secure faster results in project authorization than less prosperous areas where the problems might be of more urgent nature.

The flood-control reports which are scheduled for consideration by your subcommittee during this week total 13 in number and involve improvements of the channel rectification and levee type. They are located at scattered points throughout the United States and in Alaska and Hawaii. The smallest has an estimated cost slightly in excess of $200,000, and the largest, which includes a number of individual projects along the upper Mississippi River, has an estimated cost of about $31,600,000. The total costs of the projects in the scheduled list for this week is $48,815,000. Detailed testimony on these projects, as I mentioned before, will be presented by General Itschner and Colonel Starbird.

In addition to the foregoing projects, four reports are before your subcommittee, and scheduled for later consideration, covering flood-control projects of the river-basin type. These reports are on the Chariton River and tributaries, Iowa and Missouri; the Kansas River and tributaries, Kansas and Missouri; the Brazos River and tributaries, Texas; and Buffalo Bayou, Tex. The costs of these proposed developments range from about $27 million to about $141 million. The total costs of the four is $262,084,000. The total new flood-control program, therefore, which is now before your committee is comprised of projects recommended in 17 reports and having a total estimated cost of $310,900,000.

I would like to repeat the closing remarks which I made before the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee. These remarks pertain to matters of general concern to your subcommittee in connection with the survey report program. In the years which have elapsed since the passage of the 1950 River and Harbor and Flood Control Act, there have been several significant developments in general policy. These stem from investigations of the civil works activities of the Corps of Engineers by congressional committees, the findings of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission concerning the development of civil works, the activities of the Bureau of the Budget in reviewing the civil works program and firming up criteria for economic analysis, and the development of basic principles and uniform procedures among the water resources agencies of the Government.

The congressional investigations, which include those undertaken by what is commonly known as the Jones Subcommittee of your Public Works Committee, have resulted in an analysis by the Corps of the questions raised, and, where warranted, a modification of existing practices. I believe that Volume 3 of the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1951 has effectively summarized both the nature of the questions raised and the answers to those questions. The Corps is fully conscious of its responsibilities and is eager to adopt justifiable changes.

The findings of the Water Policy Commission and the interest of the Bureau of the Budget in matters pertaining to project analysis and formulation have resulted in the establishment of a policy and a technique of analyzing projects which has been, with some exceptions, generally accepted by the water resources agencies of the Government. A manual on economic procedures in project evaluation, commonly called the green book, and issued by the benefits-costs subcommittee of the Federal Interagency River Basin Committee, has been generally adopted by the Corps of Engineers for use in the preparation of reports. This, I believe, will do much to narrow any discrepancies or divergencies which might have existed in project investigations among the agencies under present legislation and assignment of responsibilities. I firmly believe that all proposed legislation in the field of water resources should be examined in the light of such standard and uniform methods.

In this particular connection, one of the most significant developments in this field is the issuance by the Bureau of the Budget circular A–47 in December 1952, which establishes general criteria for the evaluation of water resources projects. The economic aspects of circular A–47 are generally along the lines developed in the green book. This circular has been put into general effect by the Corps of Engineers and, in response to a request from the Bureau of the Budget, modifications in this circular have been suggested.

The matter of partnership between State and local interests and the Federal Government has assumed increasing prominence in the evaluation of projects, including certain types of navigation projects. Where the interest can be definitely localized I believe it appropriate, and have so recommended in individual cases, that local interests make a substantial contribution reflecting the extent of completely local benefits. This, of course, is not applicable to projects already authorized and under construction where the requirements of local cooperation have been established by previous law.

With respect to interagency cooperation, I am pleased to report that marked strides have been taken in the last few years. Concrete examples are the large comprehensive studies authorized in the New England-New York area and in the Arkansas-White-Red Rivers Basins, which are being currently carried on by six Federal agencies and the States concerned, under the chairmanship of the Corps of Engineers. These studies are well along and are scheduled for completion by July 1, 1955. In this cooperative work, systematic conferences have been held at secretarial level among the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and the Army, in which I have participated.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I would again like to express my pleasure at appearing before the Flood Control Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee. I know that the members of my staff will be able to give you complete information on the individual projects scheduled for your consideration, and on any matters of general concern which you may wish to discuss. I am, of course, available to your subcommittee at any time you desire.

Timely Sayings for Your Use During Americanism Week; Let Us Live So As To Show We Are Proud of Being Americans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me so to do I am pleased to present to the attention of yourself and all the Members of this great legislative body, together with all others who may read it, the following text entitled "Thoughts for Americanism Week."

This was included in the magazine dated February 14, 1954, of the New York Times. Because Mr. Joseph Nolan, who compiled same, apparently was seeking appropriate declarations and statements

by a cross section of American leadership, so, because of my desire to emphasize the destiny-making value of Americanism Week in our great Nation, I am pleased to offer the following text as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee again, this 8th year of my congressional membership. I urge, especially, that the children, the youth, the students of America—be not only taught the precepts of "Americanism"—but that the adulthood of our beloved Nation, set a living, daily example, of the application of the Bill of Rights, to American freedoms; happiness and prosperity. Let us as adult Americans, so live, that our American youth, will know we are proud of being Americans.

THOUGHTS FOR AMERICANISM WEEK

(Compiled by Joseph Nolan)

This is Americanism Week, designated as a period of rededication to American principles and reaffirmation of American ideals. Here are quotations on the meaning of Americanism:

ON INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

"Individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government: and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist." (Thomas Paine.)

"Freedom means that if you are a professor, you don't have to alter science or history as a bureaucrat prescribes. If you own a newspaper, you don't limit your editorial opinions to what an official censor approves. * * * If you think taxes are too high, you can vote against those officials you think responsible. And there is no limitation upon your inherent American right to criticize anybody, anywhere, at any time." (Wendell L. Willkie.)

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein." (Justice Robert H. Jackson.)

"When even one American—who has done nothing wrong—is forced by fear to shut his mind and close his mouth, then all Americans are in peril." (Harry S. Truman.)

ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

"This American animal * * * is nothing but the big honest majority, that you might find in any country. He is not a politician, he is not a 100-percent American, he is not any organization, either uplift or downfall. * * * In fact, all I can find out about him is that he is just normal. * * * This normal breed is so far in the majority that there is no use to worry about the others. They are a lot of mavericks and strays." (Will Rogers.)

"[An Englishman is] a person who does things because they have been done before. [An American is] a person who does things because they haven't been done before." (Mark Twain.)

"I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education." (Thomas Jefferson.)

"Men of widely divergent views in our country live in peace together because they share certain common aspirations which are more important than their differences. * * * The common responsibility of all Americans is to become effective, helpful participants in a way of life that blends and harmonizes the fiercely competitive demands of the individual and society." (Dwight D. Eisenhower.)

ON DEMOCRACY

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy." (Abraham Lincoln.)

"Democracy means not 'I am as good as you are,' but 'You are as good as I am.'" (Rev. Theodore Parker.)

"There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

"Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

"Jobs for those who can work.

"Security for those who need it.

"The ending of special privilege for the few.

"The preservation of civil liberties for all.

"The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living." (Franklin D. Roosevelt.)

"It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." (Sir Winston Churchill.)

"I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives. And among the things we must practice is this: that while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and antidemocratic forces in the country, we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo and smears and other unfortunate tactics, besmirch the very cause that we believe in, and cause a separation among our people—cause one group and one individual to hate another, based on mere attacks, mere unsubstantiated attacks upon their loyalty." (David E. Lilienthal.)

ON THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government." (The Declaration of Independence.)

"There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as heaven does its rain, shower its favors alike on the high and on the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing." (Andrew Jackson.)

"About 75 years ago I learned that I was not God. And so, when the people of the various States want to do something and I can't find anything in the Constitution expressly forbidding them to do it, I say, whether I like it or not: Damn it, let 'em do it." (Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.)

ON THE AMERICAN DESTINY

"The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, and perhaps finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the American people." (George Washington.)

"I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellowmen. He has lost the touch and ideal of America. For America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase." (Woodrow Wilson.)

INSCRIPTION ON THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

"'Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest tost, to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.'"
—*Emma Lazarus.*

"And thou, America,
Thy offspring towering o'er so high, yet higher thee above all towering,
With Victory on thy left, and at thy right hand Law,
Thou Union holding all, fusing, absorbing, tolerating all,
Thee, ever thee, I sing."
—*Walt Whitman.*

Michael J. Goode, Elder Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it has been my good fortune to have known Michael J. Goode for many years. He is indeed the elder statesman of Connecticut, as reference is made to him in the article from the Naugatuck (Conn.) Daily News of February 11, which is contained as a portion of my remarks.

Mike is everybody's friend, a man of impeccable character, friendly as a shaggy dog, and erudite beyond simple explanation. A fixture at all political events in Connecticut, Mike is the person of beaming countenance and firm handshake who rivals Grover Whalen as a greeter. A confidant of the political giants of Connecticut through the years, Mike has betrayed no confidences, has counseled the uninitiated and the near great.

May the observance this year of Mike's 18th anniversary in radio be but a prelude of many, many more to come.

MICHAEL J. GOODE CELEBRATING 18 YEARS WITH RADIO

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Michael J. Goode, WNHC's "elder statesman," is celebrating 18 years of radio broadcasting with his People's Lobby program, the oldest public affairs program in existence. Mr. Goode started this program in 1936 when he was literally hauled into radio by the scuff of the neck. His brother, Patrick J. Goode, then president of a New Haven radio station, was desperately in need of someone to cover the Connecticut State Democratic Convention which was being held in New Haven. He prevailed upon Michael to come up from Washington, D. C., where he was then associated with the Newspaper Foundation, and covered that event. From that moment on People's Lobby, WNHC–AM, Saturdays 6:15–6:30 p. m. (recently moved from Sundays), has been a permanent part of the radio public affairs world.

But Mr. Goode's job as WNHC's elder statesman also includes a weekly television program, Personalties in the News, seen Friday evenings at 7 o'clock. Here he plays host to leading civic and political figures on both a national and local level, leading viewers through the labyrinth of issues and ideas in an adroit, well-informed manner. Viewers have seen Mr. Goode interview

United States Ambassador to Ireland William H. Taft, III, United States Senators PRESCOTT BUSH, WILLIAM PURTELL, and Congressmen THOMAS DODD, HORACE SEELY-BROWN, ALBERT CRETELLA, JAMES T. PATTERSON, ANTONI N. SADLAK, and numerous other outstanding personalities.

Michael Goode is well aware of issues, large and small, for with a background of 40 years in the newspaper business he has encountered nearly every imaginable issue or controversy. Born in Galway, Ireland, he came to New Haven, Conn., with his family at the age of 7. His first recollections of the newspaper business dates back to his job on the Lynn News in Boston, Mass. Following this, he was to become both publisher and editor for newspapers in Stamford and Stratford, Conn.

His feelings about being an elder statesman? He says without a doubt the most interesting people in the world are to be found working at politics, attending local and national conventions, deciding the great issues of the world. Michael Goode's appraisal of politicians? "Politicians and politics is not as opprobrious a term as it sometimes seems. Statesmanship and public duty attract some of the most civic-minded, honest, ambitious individuals in our society, for which we should be most thankful."

Address by Hon. Carmine G. DeSapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I include herewith an address delivered by Hon. Carmine G. DeSapio, at the annual dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee held on February 13, 1954, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

Mr. DeSapio, who has been the leader of the New York County Democratic organization for the past 5 years, has just been elected national committeeman from the State of New York, in the place of the late Edward J. Flynn.

Mr. DeSapio is the first leader of the New York County Democratic organization to hold this high position in the present century. In addition, he is the first American of Italian descent ever to be elected to the national committee.

We are all justly proud of our Carmine and know that he will do an outstanding job as our national committeeman.

Mr. DeSapio's election, with its unifying effect on the Democratic Party in New York State, bodes ill for the continuance in office of the State Republican administration.

The address follows:

My good friends and fellow Democrats, a very great honor was paid to me today in my selection as Democratic national committeeman, and I am very deeply grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me. I welcome this opportunity for party and public service and I accept the responsibility with full dedication to those principles and policies which have always made our party truly representative of the people.

We Democrats have a splendid opportunity this year. The people are disappointed in the Republican records, both in Washington and in Albany, and they are determined to act accordingly when they go to the polls this November.

In order to assure that we elect a Democratic State administration and a Democratic Congress, it is essential that we all work together. Any differences which have hitherto existed among ourselves, must be forgotten because our party's welfare and the public welfare transcends that of any personality, any individual or any ambition.

We have more than an opportunity this year, my friends. We have the challenge of restoring the government of our State and the Congress of our country, to the people. We have the challenge of making available to the citizenry of our State and Nation, genuinely good government, the kind of good government which manifests itself in complete integrity and in compassionate humanity.

We in the Democratic Party will meet our responsibility, our opportunity and our challenge with pride; and with determination to carry forward our heritage and to live up to our tradition. We have always been the party of vision. We have always been the party of progress. We have always been the party of the people.

In rededicating ourselves to the philosophies of the New Deal and the Fair Deal; and in reaffirming the teachings of Alfred Smith, Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman, and Robert Wagner, we will again establish the leadership of New York State in our National Government, and the leadership of our Nation in world affairs.

The Republicans, who are presently—though temporarily—in control of our governmental machinery in Albany and in Washington, apparently can read the handwriting on the wall. Their apprehension is evident by the unprecedented campaign of vilification which they have undertaken against the members of the Democratic Party. Never before in this country's history has a party in power gone to such extreme lengths to disparage and libel their political adversaries. Indeed, never before in the history of America has there been such a concerted and organized effort to malign the characters and reputations of decent citizens with whom political differences exist.

Although all this is carefully calculated to divert public attention from the poor performance of the Republican Party; from disclosures of shocking Republican malfeasance; from the increased unemployment and decreased prosperity of our people; and from the long trail of broken Republican promises, it serves only to lessen the prestige of our great country in a world beset with critical problems and agonizing insecurity.

The use of invective is neither becoming to high public officials nor conducive to the establishment of leadership.

For our part, with the inspiration of the leadership of our revered Senator HERBERT LEHMAN in Washington; our most capable State chairman, Richard Balch; and our dynamic New York City mayor, Robert Wagner, all three of whom have, by their deeds and their records, earned the full support and confidence of the people, we Democrats will carry to the people the lessons of Republican opportunism on the one hand, and Democratic performance on the other.

We will dispel the smog and the smokescreen; and we will define the issues in terms of the lives and the aspirations of the people. We will present not epithets but facts; and we will rest our case with the great jury that is the people of New York State. For it is for the voters themselves to make the final decision and to assume the final responsibility for regaining their State and National Governments.

This, then, is our goal for the future. We will strive to achieve success with every ounce of energy and zeal which we possess. We will work together—all of us together—for the repudiation of Republican retrenchment and reaction, and for the reestablishment of democratic progress and security.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Operation Pray

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by virtue of unanimous consent heretofore given me so to do, I am pleased to present to you and all of my other distinguished colleagues in this great legislative body the text of a resolution furnished me by friends who are members of the junior chamber of commerce in the great 23d Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent this my 8th year in Congress.

It is considered by me as such a worthy, significant, and timely resolution that I do not feel perfectly comfortable unless I compliment the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce in convention assembled in June 1953, upon its having adopted this Operation Pray resolution unanimously. Furthermore, I wish to congratulate the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce membership and all of its component parts on incorporating this significant resolution in its official responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, for many years I have considered and believed that prayer was the channel human beings had by which to undertake to get into tune with the infinite and the divine. It is always timely to bear in mind that as this Operation Pray states in its first line, that "Faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life," all men everywhere could not possibly do more for themselves as individuals than to have such faith in God as is referred to in this resolution. You will understand, Mr. Speaker, why I am especially privileged and pleased to have the unanimous consent and approval of you, my colleagues, to incorporate this inspiring resolution in the records of our daily work.

OPERATION PRAY

Whereas Jaycees everywhere believe that "Faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life"; and

Whereas Jaycees in all parts of the country can spearhead the drive for a national and international moral regeneration through prayer; and

Whereas every citizen can render a real service to his country and to the world by praying each day for divine strength and guidance for our President, the Cabinet, Congress of the United States, and the Judiciary; and

Whereas President Eisenhower has many times expressed his dependence upon God and the necessity for prayer; and

Whereas a tremendous religious reawkening will be brought upon our Nation on July 4 if each of our State Jaycee chapters resolves to offer special prayers on July 4 for President Eisenhower, the Cabinet, Congress of the United States and the Judiciary, to

the end that our Nation may successfully lead the rest of the world to peace; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce in convention assembled this 12th day of June, 1953, at Minneapolis, Minn., That all members of this organization urge citizens everywhere to offer their prayers on July 4 for the success of our country in the role of world leadership which has been imposed upon us; and Be it further

Resolved, That the president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, all Members of the Congress of the United States, all Cabinet members of the United States Cabinet, and all members of the United States Supreme Court.

(Adopted unanimously June 12, 1953.)

Leon Lowenstein, Textile Giant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS B. HELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, a very dear friend of mine, Mr. Leon Lowenstein, chairman of the board of M. Lowenstein & Sons, Inc., is the subject of an article in a recent issue of Southern Textile News. The company which he heads is one of the largest textile firms in the United States. It is a firm with a heart, with a humanitarian approach to its employees, to whom it accords security and decent treatment and in turn reaps great loyalty and devotion from them.

I have had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Lowenstein for some time, having met him through my distinguished friend, the Honorable Louis Goldstein, the former presiding judge of the county court in Brooklyn. Mr. Lowenstein's life story is truly an American success story of a man of humble origin who has attained great leadership in the industrial world. He has built a huge business organization, but has remained a modest man who loves the simple things in life and who is eager at all times to aid the less fortunate. He is a living example of the fact that our country offers the most wonderful opportunities to all, regardless of origin or social status.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to insert this article into the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

LEON LOWENSTEIN IS LEGENDARY GIANT WHO HAS KEPT THE FAITH—INTEGRITY AND KNOW-HOW SPARK 65-YEAR-OLD FIRM

(By Dick Brown)

NEW YORK—On the northeast corner of Leonard and West Broadway in the heart of New York's vast and fabulous textile community, just one block above Worth Street, there stands a venerable and proud building of great dignity and tradition. And within it there presides an almost legendary figure. He is Leon Lowenstein, chairman of the board of M. Lowenstein & Sons, Inc., makers and sellers of textiles.

(The Lowenstein company is erecting a 22-story textile building at 40th Street and Broadway on the site of the old Empire Theater, to be known as "1430 Broadway." The new structure will be occupied by some of the industry's most notable textile firms.—EDITOR.)

A man of distinguished—if not handsome—appearance, of rugged, erect stature and imposing bearing which belies his 70 years, Leon Lowenstein characterizes the kind of man one visualizes as a dynamic executive. Possessed of a razor-sharp mentality noted for its speed of decision, he succeeded his brother, Abraham Lincoln Lowenstein, as president in 1936, after the latter died.

NO DESK SOLDIER

A patron of the new school rather than the old, a perenially young-of-heart individual whose zest and capacity for work is a marvel to many, Mr. Lowenstein is a triple-action individual who is a master of finance, salesmanship, and merchandising—aided and abetted by an expert working knowledge of textiles and their manufacturing processes. As board chairman of M. Lowenstein & Sons, he is no desk-bound commanding officer. Far from it. He is a combat, rapid-fire foot soldier who ranges high on the mountains and low in the valleys of the company's management and competitive front.

For the unknowing it might be difficult to reconcile this high-powered individual with the calmer virtues and inclinations. Actually, Mr. Lowenstein is a serene soul whose body moves about with leisurely rhythmic motion. His pleasant countenance reflects little of his years or the fast pace of his mind. His eyes are windows through which he looks out upon a world of wonder for him and their spark and twinkle reveal a merriment of life and the joy of living it.

A generous benefactor, philanthropist, and humanitarian, always on the watch to aid the less fortunate, Leon Lowenstein is a lover of home and family life—the trimming of shrubs, the planting of flowers, a friend of animals, a lover of rides in the country and visits with friends, a player of golf, and patron of other simple things which are dear to his heart.

In the industry, it is no secret that his organization is one of the most efficient and productive, both in the earning of money and in the turning out of cloth. Equipped with a rare sense of timing and adept anticipation of market trends, some of which he sets himself, Leon Lowenstein has a backfield of employees on the management and mill levels which ranks with any, anywhere in any business. Their loyal devotion to him is a fine tribute to his abilities, and their trust and confidence in his direction of the company must give him a sense of pride that touches him deeply.

HOSPITAL BENEFACTOR

Five years ago, in memory of his father, he contributed a large sum to Hillside Hospital in Bellrose, Long Island, to help provide vastly increased facilities; and, more recently, in 1953, he gave an equally large sum for the erection of an out-patient building, also at Hillside. Next May 9 that building will be dedicated in memory of his mother, Elizabeth Sloman Lowenstein, with Mayor Robert Wagner, of New York, making the dedication address. Hillside Hospital is a component of about 116 other such institutions situated in greater New York, which are beneficiaries of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

BEGAN IN 1889

The company started out back in 1889. With $2,500, Morris Lowenstein, Leon's father, established a cotton-goods firm with his elder son, Abraham Lincoln Lowenstein. From that modest beginning, the company has grown to its present size. In 1953, its business came to $268 million.

As a young immigrant from Germany, Morris Lowenstein came to this country during the War Between the States and grew to love it with a passion. When he died in 1916 at the age of 70, he had attained high respect as an outstanding citizen and merchant. Out of admiration for Abraham Lincoln, he named his first son for him. A grateful and ever-humble man, Morris Lowenstein held his own life in the United States as an example of the American system in action, and as proof that it is indeed the land of opportunity for all. It was his expressed view that the Nation's greatness stems from its freedoms and the rights of its people. Good citizenship was a fervent practice of his life and his tenets were taught and passed on to his sons.

To state that he is a proud and worthy son of Morris would be to set forth the obvious about Leon. On top of his desk is a card bearing the date 1916, and this message from his father: "Life is but a dream. One's good name is better than wealth. I offer my thanks to the Almighty for our companionship and pray for your long and happy life. May good health be yours. Trust in God."

LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON

Like father, like son. Leon Lowenstein has the same deep sense of gratitude and humility which was his father's. At a dinner during World War II, he gave voice to these words: "I think that it is most fitting that we offer a silent prayer for speedy victory; a prayer that all of our loved ones, our friends, and our associates in the Armed Forces come back to us strong and well; for our lost ones that they shall not have died in vain. Also a prayer in memory of the founders of this business; my father, whom some of you knew and my brother whom most of you knew. May their souls rest in peace and may we carry on the traditions that they would want us to perpetuate."

And then, sometime last fall he was heard to say: "The most priceless possession this company has is it's reputation for honesty. It is our most precious asset. From the day my father and brother established this business we have dealt with our customers and fellowmen with integrity.

"Take a look at us. In 65 years we have grown from an almost nothingness to a big company, giving worth-while employment to thousands of fine and loyal people. You don't grow big and you don't last long in this country unless your heart is right and your conscience clear. Integrity is something that no one has a patent on. It is something which you either have or you don't have. There is no middle ground. Just look at our Rock Hill operation and our other mills. However you translate our properties, it all adds up to continuing confidence in us by our customers. No, you don't get where we are unless you keep faith.

"And while I am on the subject of faith let me say this: This is a wonderful land we live in—the finest in the world. We have some great Americans in Washington running it for us and we must keep faith with them. They are men and women who have the best interests of our country at heart and that means you and me. Don't let anybody mix up your thinking. Be a good citizen and keep faith with your country. Whenever I grow tired or whenever I need inspiration I turn first to God and ask for His blessings. And then I think of my father—that wonderful man who came to this country as an immigrant with little money, against the handicap of customs and language—and his beautiful faith—that here he found all the blessings of a great land. When I think of him, my spirits soar and I give my thanks to the Almighty that I am an American."

For a man of such humble origin, Leon Lowenstein has come a long way and the country and the industry have come along with him and all are the better for the distance they have traveled together.

"A Doubtful and Ill-Conceived Venture": Baltimore City Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am inserting in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution adopted by the City Council of Baltimore, Md., on February 1, 1954, expressing the firm opposition of that body to the participation of the United States in the St. Lawrence seaway project, a resolution in which I wholeheartedly concur.

In addition, I want to emphasize that by no stretch of the imagination can the St. Lawrence project be regarded as a defense measure. In 1942, the first year of the Second World War, when we were really having trouble with enemy submarines, the Germans sank 13 allied ships in the channel, and not a single German sub was intercepted. The proposed seaway, with its alleged heavier tonnage, would be decidedly more vulnerable than the channel was in 1942.

It is acknowledged by both supporters and opponents of the project that the seaway will be frozen over from 4 to 5 months of the year. As a safety measure, the seaway could only be a half-time defense; and a half-time defense is no defense at all.

Again, Mr. Speaker, in the event of war with Russia, the Communists first line of attack would be via the polar route, placing the St. Lawrence seaway project in the direct path of the invader where a single bomb could knock it out of operation and scramble up the transportation system the project is supposed to create.

Considering these facts, the St. Lawrence seaway is a liability to our national defense.

The city council resolution follows:

CITY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE,
Baltimore, Md., February 3, 1954.
Hon. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL,
Congressman, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

I have the honor to inform you that the following resolution was adopted by the city council on February 1, 1954:

"Resolution 1782

"Resolution opposing the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway

"(Introduced by Mr. Bertorelli February 1, 1954)

"Whereas the Congress of the United States is again considering the ill-conceived proposal to enlist the resources of the United States in the construction and development of the St. Lawrence seaway project; and

"Whereas it is apparent, for many reasons, that this project is of dubious value; and

"Whereas it probably would require the expenditure of hundreds of millions and perhaps a billion dollars at a time when the Federal Government is again unable to balance its budget and is continuing to operate on an unbalanced budget; and

"Whereas it is probable that this seaway would be closed because of ice conditions for at least 5 months out of every calendar year, thus reducing sharply any potential benefits which may be expected from this project; and

"Whereas the completion of such a project would divert much oceangoing traffic from the port of Baltimore and would be a serious threat to the economy of the Baltimore area and the entire State of Maryland; and

"Whereas it is a matter of doubtful statesmanship to expend untold sums of money on a project of doubtful value while, at the same time, perhaps injuring irreparably the industries and the economies of the great seaports and industrial cities along the eastern seaboard: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the City Council of Baltimore*, That this body expresses its firm opposition to the projected St. Lawrence seaway and particularly to any cooperation of the part of the United States in this doubtful and ill-conceived venture; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the chief clerk of the council be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each of the members of the Maryland delegation in the Congress of the United States."

Very respectfully,
EDWARD P. O'MALLEY,
Chief Clerk.

Make the Roadbuilding Program Adequate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. O'BRIEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Detroit Times of February 13, 1954:

TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE

President Eisenhower at his press conference stated that he favored an increase of $225 million in the annual amounts allotted by the Federal Government to the States for new highway constructions.

Since the present annual Federal aid amounts to $575 million, the increase recommended by the President would bring the total to $800 million.

In this he approximates a bill introduced by Representative McGREGOR, Ohio, Republican, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Roads.

Representative McGREGOR, in introducing the bill, said that he had the support of the administration.

Thus the statistical form of the Federal Highway Act to be enacted at this session of Congress is now apparent.

Is the McGregor bill, the administration bill, a good bill?

It is a good bill if you judge it against other bills.

Is it an adequate bill?

Will it achieve for America the adequate roads that we must have?

It will not.

Highway needs of this country, measured in dollars, are so enormous that the authorization by Congress of $800 million in annual Federal aid does not begin to solve the problem.

The President and Representative McGREGOR are obviously linking the Federal gasoline and diesel tax receipts with the amount to be expended on roads.

This is a popular viewpoint, but even assuming that it is the correct one, $800 million does not represent the receipts of the Federal gas tax.

The tax resulted in receipts of approximately $910 million for the calendar year 1953.

Thus the sum of $110 million still would be diverted to nonhighway uses.

Furthermore, none of the money would go for roads until some time after July 1, 1955, and by that time the receipts from the gas tax would be still larger and still more highway users' money would be diverted from highway construction.

Here is the way Federal gasoline tax receipts have increased the last few years:

1950	$551,450,000
1951	607,756,000
1952	851,588,000
1953	894,000,000

Addition of the 1953 diesel fuel tax receipts brings the 1953 total to about $910 million.

What will the receipts be in 1955 and 1956 when the McGregor bill becomes operative?

The sad fact is that the McGregor bill, despite some intelligent, enlightened and generous provisions, is another in a long line of inadequate Federal highway bills.

An inadequate financial support for highway construction means inadequate roads.

That's the type of roads we have now, and this bill will not change the situation.

Foreclosures on Land Contracts Further Indication of Downward Spiral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in the Detroit News of February 14 entitled "Foreclosures Rise on Land Contracts," by Louis Tendler.

The article follows:

FORECLOSURES RISE ON LAND CONTRACTS

(By Louis Tendler)

The effects of unemployment in the Detroit area were shown in a sharp rise in the number of land contract foreclosure suits being filed in the circuit court, a survey showed Saturday.

The 4 circuit court commissioners who handle the preliminary steps in the foreclosures of land contracts report a 60-percent jump in the number of suits filed in December and January, and some days the increase over the same period a year ago runs to several hundred percent.

"Until recently, we rarely got more than 2 or 3 land contract foreclosures a day," said Commissioner A. Tom Pasieczny, "but now it's not unusual for me to get as many as 35 in a single day."

MORATORIUM URGED

The plight of many Detroit factory workers who are having trouble meeting home payments contracted for during the lush wage-earning period of the last several years moved one State legislator to call for restoration of the depression-born mortgage moratorium.

Representative Stanley Novak, Democrat, of Detroit, has introduced 2 bills to this effect, 1 providing for a moratorium on mortgage payments in distress cases and a companion bill providing similar relief on land contracts. The bills would expire March 1, 1955.

Under both bills the distressed property buyers could go into circuit court, state their reasons for default, and, if the reasons are deemed adequate, obtain postponement of threatened foreclosure for any period up to a year within the discretion of the court.

During the moratorium period, the property buyer would be required to pay a fair rent and to keep up taxes, insurance, and the condition of the property.

The two bills are now being considered by the House Judiciary Committee.

"These bills are based on sound social principle and I am in favor of them," said Pasieczny. "They would give us the authority to give unemployed and distressed property buyers the kind of relief we cannot give them now."

MOST SELLERS PATIENT

Pasieczny said that only by adjourning foreclosure suits can the court commissioners provide any relief for distressed buyers. Some of the suits in his court have been postponed as many as 16 times to give buyers a chance to raise money to meet their defaulted contract payments, he said.

"I do what I can for them," he said, "but if I grant too many postponements, the lawyers for the other side go into the circuit court and get injunctions that take the suits away from me."

Generally, Pasieczny emphasized, sellers have been patient with their defaulted buyers but often they have obligations of their own to meet and this forces them to press for settlement.

Many of the home buyers, Pasieczny explained, purchased their homes on land contracts because they could manage only small downpayments, leaving themselves with large balances and correspondingly large monthly payments.

Pasieczny cited a recent case in which a veteran, his wife and two children appeared in his courtroom in response to a foreclosure suit on his $10,000 home. The veteran paid $3,500 down, spent $3,000 putting another bedroom in the attic, and regularly met his $75 monthly payments until he was laid off.

SIXTEEN ADJOURNMENTS

"I had adjourned that case 16 times because the veteran felt sure he could find another job," Pasieczny said. "But the plaintiff was pressed for money and threatened to appeal any further adjournments to the circuit court.

"I had to order that foreclosure despite those four anxious faces staring at me. I felt terrible."

Unlike land-contract cases, mortgage foreclosure suits have not increased appreciably in recent months. Homes purchased on mortgage usually carry a larger downpayment, leaving a larger equity in the hands of the buyer. Monthly payments usually are smaller and the larger equity gives the buyer greater incentive to retain his property.

Lithuania Shall Be Free Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, no foe, however great, can for time without limit impose its will upon a nation of people who have the fierce and consuming ambition to be free.

The yoke of Soviet tyranny will be lifted from Lithuania; let no man dispute that.

This is the 36th anniversary of Lithuanian independence, a day to be celebrated by freemen everywhere. In 1918 the Lithuanian people formed an independent republic and adopted a constitution fashioned after the one we revere so greatly.

Let me cite the preamble of the Lithuanian Constitution to demonstrate very vividly the thoughts which prompted independence and freedom in the hearts of these fine people:

In the name of Almighty God, the Lithuanian people, thankfully recalling the glorious efforts and noble sacrifices of its sons, made to deliver the motherland, having recreated its state independence and desiring to extend the firm democratic foundations of its independent life, to develop conditions of justice and equity, and to guarantee the equality, freedom, and well-being of all citizens, and suitable state protection for human labor and morality, through its authorized representatives, convened in the constituent assembly, August 1, 1922, has adopted the following constitution of the Lithuanian republic.

When I contemplate the friends I have of Lithuanian origin and their loyalty to the causes of freedom and justice in the United States, I know that by personal example they keep burning the flame of freedom in their native land. Lithuania cannot fail to be free. This Nation cannot fail to assist these brave people.

Following the MacArthur-Hoover Policies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent statement that he would withdraw two divisions from Korea and his firm warning to Russia that, if it is guilty of military aggression, there will be no fooling, indicates that we may at last have a sound traditional American foreign policy.

One of the reasons for recalling General MacArthur from the Far East, as you may well remember, was that he proposed that, if we were to continue at war in Korea, orders to limit our fighting to a certain area should be rescinded and he should be permitted to fight as a true soldier always fights—aggressively, with all the force and means at his command—to end the war with a victory as quickly and with as little loss as possible.

But, apparently, the Communist sympathizers in the State Department and in the administration wanted none of that, so MacArthur was recalled. They apparently preferred a stalemate.

You will also remember that former President Hoover suggested that, instead of dissipating our forces all over the world, trying to hold outposts that could not successfully be supplied and maintained with either men or munitions of war, we determine upon a line of national defense—one necessary to protect us—and one that we could successfully hold against all enemies.

In suggestions which I made, inserted in the RECORD, and sent out to the district, while deploring the war, I several times voiced the same thought—suggested that, if our men were to be sent to Asia to fight and die in what I considered unnecessary wars, we should, if we had the weapons which our military advisers said would win that kind of a war, by plane and bomb carry the war to Moscow.

In talks made on the floor and sent out into the district, it was my privilege several times to suggest a course of action similar to that outlined by General MacArthur and former President Hoover. I claim no credit for the conclusions reached at that time. They were just commonsense—the opinion of nine-tenths of our people, many of us without any personal knowledge of the wishes or power possessed by other nations.

Those conclusions were based upon our knowledge of history, upon our personal experience, upon the fact known to every man, woman, and child who has reached the age of discretion, that it is one of the easiest things in the world to attempt more than one can finish.

If now we will stay out of Indochina, avoid involvement in wars which do not vitally concern us, build up our own national defense, we will save American lives and ultimately attain a sound and lasting peace.

Preventing or lessening unemployment by sending young men to fight and die abroad is a destructive, inhuman policy.

Sound Doctrine Then, Sound Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln is quoted as having said in 1863:

You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. * * * You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn * * * and you cannot help permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.

That one paragraph contains three statements, each a sermon in itself, each applicable to our present situation.

In recent years, we have heard much about "soaking the rich." Frequently, President Roosevelt, though he was a wealthy man himself, pilloried those who had more of this world's material wealth than did the average man. He denounced them as "princes of privilege." What he forgot or ignored, as do many others, was that one cannot take his worldly goods with him when he dies; that even if the very wealthy spend foolishly, someone profits by their foolish spending. He also ignored the fact—and it is a fact—that many who accumulate wealth furnish either employment or the opportunity to purchase necessities or luxuries which otherwise would not be available. Without money,

a man cannot operate a mercantile establishment, build and operate a factory, both of which mean jobs. Why should anyone complain just because another has more wealth—especially when we all profit when it is used or spent?

The same truth is applicable to national affairs. To other nations we have given billions upon billions of dollars until it has now become a question of whether we can maintain a sound economic policy, enable our citizens to continue to have the same standard of living they have previously enjoyed.

If we continue indefinitely our domestic policy of, from the earnings of all, meeting the demands of, first, this, then that, and other pressure groups, we will find that we have finally, while increasing the number of those who have been aided by benefits paid from the Public Treasury, lessened the number of those who pay taxes until they can no longer carry the burden. Without an adequate tax collection from those who have, the Government cannot operate.

That we "cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than we earn" is a self-evident truth which we should now realize and act upon.

We now have a public debt of around $275 billion, with an interest charge of approximately $7 billion a year, and a deficit of $3,274,000,000 for the fiscal year ending in June of 1954; a predicted deficit in the fiscal year of 1955 of $2,928,000,000.

The remedy is not an increase in taxes. The remedy is to cut down our expenditures. If we do, we'll find that we can get along very well without things which we mistakenly think are necessities.

Help the unfortunate? Certainly. But for those who are able to help themselves make available an opportunity to earn, not a gift, and then see that they do something for themselves.

Many of our troubles would be over if we would just follow the advice Lincoln—the honest, industrious, patriotic, and successful man—gave us so many years ago. Instead of crying about our troubles, why not rejoice over our blessings?

Editorial in the Washington News of Monday, February 15, 1954, Entitled "Insurance Gimmicks" Wherein the Editorial Writer Discusses the Deficiencies That Exist in Most Health Insurance Policies Now Being Sold to Our People and Refers to a Feature Article by Albert M. Colegrove

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News on the 15th of this month carried an editorial as well as an article by Mr. Albert M. Colegrove, editorial feature writer, having to do with the problem of the average citizen who endeavors to buy insurance to protect himself and his family against serious or catastrophic illness. The editorial and the article which appeared in the above-mentioned paper are very significant and highly important. They are as follows:

INSURANCE GIMMICKS

We expect to hear from our readers after they have digested the three articles on health insurance by Albert M. Colegrove, the first of which appears today.

From some insurance companies and their salesmen, we anticipate protests and complaints that we are blackening the reputation of the whole industry. We are not.

From the other side, we expect the I-told-you-so letters of those who would solve all such problems by putting more Government in business—particularly the health-insurance business in this case.

And in the middle, as usual, will be the majority—some shocked, some angry, some disbelieving, and a few just plain indifferent.

At the outset, we should make plain exactly where we stand, as of now, on this vexatious question.

First, we do not believe Mr. Colegrove's series will injure the standing of reputable health and accident insurance companies. The articles simply point out what Mr. Colegrove has found to be true and what a lot of insurance companies prefer to keep unmentioned, something that every policy buyer should keep in mind:

It is the fact that health insurance, at its present low rates, is for healthy people; and if your health fails, you may lose your insurance.

These articles further make clear—with examples from policies and brochures, plus ample testimony from experts and unknowing buyers—that how the layman interprets his insurance policy and how the company interprets it often are two widely different matters.

Notably, too many people buy insurance without seeing the policy in advance, as Mr. Colegrove has found.

As for more Federal control, we are not satisfied that is the answer. Few businesses or their patrons have been improved by more Government control.

At present, individual States set up standards for insurance companies operating within their boundaries. Main concern of the Federal Government is directed against false and misleading claims made by the companies, in print and on the air.

The Federal Trade Commission has the power to curb these fraudulent claims. The Post Office Department is empowered to collect evidence and the Justice Department always can prosecute. It is only prudent that there be more enforcement of existing laws before more laws are laid on.

Our duty is to let you know the truth, as Mr. Colegrove found it, about health insurance. We have nothing to sell but those facts. If there must be radical changes, an enlightened public can work its own miracles.

THE GIMMICKS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

(There are two main kinds of health insurance: That which provides money to help pay accident or sickness bills, and that which provides disability income. This year, almost 100,000,000 people in the United States will pay close to $2,000,000,000 for health insurance. About 75,000,000 of these people will be participating in group plans. The rest will be covered by individual policies, bought directly from insurance companies. Today's article pertains to them.)

(By Albert M. Colegrove)

Some 23,000,000 Americans today are buying individual health insurance from among the 800 companies in that field—and most of them have dangerously wrong ideas about what they are purchasing.

Too often they assume that—

The longer they pay on their policies without getting sick, the more "right" they have to expect the insurance company to be generous when they do go to the hospital.

The policies they hold will protect them against long, serious illness.

The truth is:

The amount you may have paid your health and accident insurance company over the past 5 or 10 years has little to do with what that company owes you, legally, when you become ill.

And if you become seriously sick—with the kind of illness that is likely to have you in and out of the hospital several times—chances are that you will lose your policy before long.

More than 90 percent of all non-group health and accident insurance policies have clauses that will let the company either cancel your policy when it chooses or refuse to renew your policy when the next premium payment comes due.

CASE OF COMPANY X

The evidence is that a company having such rights is likely to use them when it decides that a hitherto healthy customer's future is unhealthy.

For example, take this case reported by a Denver man:

"I had a policy with the X insurance company, on which I had paid 2 years' premium," he stated. "Two months before the premium expired, I was taken to the hospital for an operation which was completely successful, and no further complications occurred. Nevertheless, the company notified me after paying its portion of the bill that my policy was canceled."

Here is the experience of an Indianapolis man:

"In August 1951, I took out policies with Y company to cover both myself and my wife for hospital and doctor expenses.

"My wife was taken ill with thyroid trouble, which in turn affected her heart. I received $84 and a notice of cancellation of my wife's half of the policies."

GLIB PATTER

Cases like these led A. J. Hayes, president of the AFL International Association of Machinists, to tell the House Interstate Commerce Committee:

"The tragic side of the story lies in the vast difference between the glowing advertisements and the glib sales patter used to sell such policies, and the stark realities of their shortcomings when it's time for medical need."

Mr. Hayes' interest in health insurance was stimulated from what he learned in 1952 as a member of President Truman's Commission on the Nation's Health Needs.

When Machinist E. M. Richers, of Altoona, Pa., wrote recently that an insurance company dropped him after he developed a lung ulcer, his union's weekly newspaper published the letter and invited comment.

At last count, more than 50 testimonials in reverse had come in.

From Clinton, Iowa:

"I took out a policy on myself and family with the D company. Last year, I found I had diabetes. The doctor put me in the hospital for 12 days.

"This was the first time I had ever made a claim with any insurance company, and I sure was surprised how fast they dropped me."

This man sent along the letter which the company had written him. It read:

"You will find stated on your policy in large type that it is renewable at the option of the company only. We reserve the right to refuse to accept a premium payment on any date that a premium is due.

"We can't tell you exactly why we no longer can insure you."

From Renton, Wash.:

"I am enclosing a letter I received from my insurance company after 18 days of hospitalization for a heart attack. The State commissioner of insurance said it was legal and a normal practice."

The company's letter "regretted" that the policy no longer could be continued.

In the 50-odd letters received to date by the Machinists Union, 27 companies are named.

FOR THE HEALTHY

Machinist President Hayes testified to the House committee that as a result of these letters, he wrote to "one of the leading underwriters of individual health insurance," asking the firm's views.

He read to the Congressmen the reply he received from the Bankers Life & Casualty Co. of Chicago (issuers of the White Cross policy). Its gist:

"Premiums must be kept within the budgets of large numbers of people * * * For health insurance, you must be associated with healthy people, not sick ones.

"If your health is below par, or becomes below par, you cannot expect to continue indefinitely in the group.

"Furthermore, when the time arrives that you meet with an accident or your health fails, you must be prepared to accept benefits, not based entirely on your needs, but * * * limited by an amount which bears a reasonable relation to the amount of your current contributions."

IN AGREEMENT

As the letter explained it, your payments of former years had been used up already and had little to do with your current needs.

After reading this, this reporter went to two insurance men here.

Each represents a company of good reputation.

I asked if the Bankers Life statement represented the attitude of the industry generally.

They answered yes—with qualifications.

"Some companies," one of them said, "will let you keep your policy when you develop a serious illness if you will agree to pay higher rates, to match the risk."

Some companies, too, will let you hold on to your policy if you will agree not to make any further claims based on that particular illness.

The second agent pointed out that there is such a thing as "non-cancellable, guaranteed renewable" health and accident insurance.

Under such a plan, the company cannot drop you until you reach a stipulated age (usually 55 or 60). But such policies cost much more than the average health insurance. Less than 10 percent of all the health policies written are "guaranteed renewable."

"Now let me ask another question," I said. "Assume I had a hospitalization policy with one of your companies for 10 years. It's not a guaranteed renewable policy.

"Now assume that I have some pains. I go to the hospital for an exploratory operation. It turns out I have cancer and that I'm in for a long seige of illness. Would your company drop my policy as soon as it could?"

The first agent said: "That's right."

The second one added: "No doubt about it."

If you have a health policy sold to you by an insurance company, get it out and take a long look at it.

You're very likely to find, somewhere on the policy (and probably in big print) a phrase beginning something like this:

"This policy may be cancelled at any time by the company," or "this policy is renewable at the option of the company."

CLAIMS VERSUS FACTS

Post Office Inspector Melvin L. Goldsmith has been concerned officially with insurance companies (specifically, the claims in their mailed literature vesus the hard facts in their policies) for more than 11 years.

Testifying as an expert witness at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing last December 1, he told Chairman WILLIAM LANGER, Republican of North Dakota: "You examine any health policy and it will be a rarity if it does not contain a clause allowing the company to drop the policyholder."

The existence of such clauses, he said, is one of the worst evils in health insurance.

National Conference on Freedom and Peace Through Liberation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on last December 4 and 5 there was held here in Washington a most significant meeting of patriotic people. It was called the National Conference on Freedom and Peace through Liberation.

The conference brought together about 300 leading citizens of this country and many leaders of nationality groups, including former officials of governments of lands now dominated by Communist regimes, all interested in advancing the cause of freedom and peace.

The purpose of the conference was to discuss principal phases of the problem of the enslavement of peoples under Communist tyranny, to propose ways and means to encourage and strengthen their resistance, and to aid them in attaining liberation and self-government.

Appearing on the program were many outstanding leaders in the movement for liberation of all enslaved by communism including my distinguished colleague the gentleman from Ohio, MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN.

After discussions which covered a wide range of topics pertaining to the achievement of freedom and peace through liberation, the conference adopted a set of resolutions of such importance that I take pleasure in calling them to the attention of my colleagues in Congress and of all our citizens. These resolutions seek the acceptance and the formulation of a policy of liberation founded on the moral spirit and political principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence. I feel that these resolutions lay the basis for worthwhile activity on the part of all officials and citizens who desire to further the worthy cause of liberation of all peoples from Communist control.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert the resolutions in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, followed by the program and the list of sponsors:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM AND PEACE THROUGH LIBERATION, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 5, 1953

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that this world cannot endure half slave and half free, that the free nations cannot coexist with regimes dominated by atheistic, tyrannical, aggressive communism, except to abandon hope of peace based upon freedom, equality, and justice. We hold, therefore, that it is the sacred duty of all free peoples and all free governments to devote their efforts, by every peaceful means, toward liberation of all peoples enslaved by Soviet tyranny.

We respectfully urge upon the Congress, our duly elected representatives, a program of firm and speedy implementation of the policy of liberation, including the following:

1. We seek the acceptance and the formulation of a policy of liberation founded on the moral spirit and political principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence and we seek further to spread its benign influence to all those who today are seeking to attain a life under the same principles of freedom.

2. We urge increased support to those programs which seek to restore a normal way of life and full dignity to those who have escaped from communism and have been given asylum in the free world.

3. We pledge full support for the congressional committee, known as the Kersten Committee, investigating the illegal seizure of the Baltic nations by the U. S. S. R. and to request the members of said committee to give consideration to extending the terms of reference of the committee to include the investigation of all nations illegally seized by the Communist conspiracy.

4. The conference urges the United States Government to take immediate steps to form national military units of escapees from Communist-dominated countries, in accordance with the provisions of section 101 (a) 1 of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which was adopted more than 2 years ago for such purpose.

5. The conference urges the United States Government, in accordance with House Concurrent Resolution 21, to create a joint congressional committee to advise on the conduct of the cold war, to study methods of implementing the policy of liberation, and to recommend measures aimed at weakening and eventually destroying the Communist regimes which have enslaved one-third of mankind.

6. The conference urges the United States Government to provide material aid and moral support to the enslaved peoples who are struggling for their liberation from Communist tyranny, and not to deal or trade with any of the Communist regimes, and to compensate those of our allies who follow a like course.

7. We call upon our fellow American citizens, and the citizens of all free lands, to designate and recognize June 17, 1954, the first anniversary of the uprisings and revolts against Communist tyranny in East Germany, as Liberation Day; and that each June 17 thereafter be so honored and observed until freedom and peace have been attained through liberation for all the peoples of the world, and that the Congress be urged to adopt a resolution to this end.

8. We call attention to the base immorality and cynical disregard for truth and honor in the proposal that the puppet Communist regime of Red China be admitted to the United Nations, in violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Charter. We commend the Committee for One Million, for the petitions being circulated against admission of Red China to the U. N., and urge that every citizen, of every walk of life,

sign and circulate this petition and make known to the administration and Congress that free people will not tolerate such betrayal of the Chinese people and of the responsibilities of the United Nations to guard liberty and security.

9. We call upon our Government to focus by every means available the free world's attention on Communist genocide perpetrated on the captive nations, races, social groups, and religious bodies throughout the entire Communist empire, and urge the ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States Senate as our expression of American moral leadership.

10. The concept of liberation includes the self-determination and freedom of every nation, worldwide in application, as set forth in the Atlantic Charter without regard to existing states.

11. The conference recognizes the right of deported peoples of whatever nationality to return to their homes, and the right of such victims to full restitution. While the perpetrators of crimes against humanity should be punished after guilt is established by full and just trial, the conference rejects the concept of collective guilt.

12. This conference deeply deplores the outrageous persecutions against all churches, synagogues, mosques, and all religious denominations within the sphere of Soviet domination since 1917. Particularly do we solemnly protest before the people and Government of the United States, and before the delegations of all free governments, against the infamous internment of His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, and other representatives of the church hierarchy, which actions once again stress the atheistic policy imposed on Poland by Moscow-dominated communism.

13. The conference urges that every opportunity be afforded the former victims of Communist tyranny who have emigrated to the United States and who know from firsthand experience what life under communism is and what must be done to defeat it, to contribute more fully their talents, their firsthand knowledge and their determination to see communism replaced by human freedom and peace among all nations.

14. We urge that our Government take immediate steps to repudiate the Yalta and other pacts, the provisions of which have resulted in the enslavement of Poland and other nations under the Communist yoke and in the erection of the Iron Curtain in Central Europe.

15. We recommend that the United States delegation to the United Nations be instructed to support the admission into the United Nations of the legal governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, as recognized by the United States.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION

Resolved, That this conference create a continuing committee on freedom and peace through liberation, composed of one representative from each organization registered at the conference, and individuals who may be invited by the committee, to carry on a program of action with officials of the administration, members of Congress, and the public generally, to attain the objectives of these resolutions.

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 5, 1953.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
Bermuda Conference,
Midocean Club, Bermuda:

The National Conference on Freedom and Peace Through Liberation, now assembled in Washington, D. C., and representing 16,300,000 American citizens, assure you, our President, of our support for the liberation policy enunciated by you and Secretary Dulles. World communism is now at war with all free peoples and threatens directly and increasingly American security and hope of peace. Any acceptance of the status quo by agreement with the Soviet Union would strengthen the position of our adversary and would increase the likelihood of all-out war on terms more favorable to him. We, therefore, respectfully urge you in your talks with Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Laniel to adhere steadfastly to the goal of freedom for the captive peoples as a deterrent to war and a cornerstone of American policy.

O. K. ARMSTRONG,
Chairman for the Conference.

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4

9 to 10 a. m.: Registration, Continental Room.

10 a. m.: Call to order.

Advancement of the colors.

Invocation: Dr. Clarence W. Cranford, pastor, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.

Organization of the Conference: election of chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer, and chief usher.

Welcome by the chairman.

Introduction of distinguished guests.

10:30 a. m.: Addresses of the morning.

The Moral Case for Liberation: Dr. Charles W. Lowry, author, lecturer, Washington, D. C.

Four Forces for Freedom: Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN, Member of Congress from Ohio.

Labor's Stake in Liberation: Arthur G. McDowell, Upholsterer's Union, AFL, Philadelphia.

Can Red China Be Admitted to the United Nations?: Christopher Emmett, chairman, Foreign Affairs Round Table, WEVD, New York.

12:15 p. m.: Recess (no formal luncheon).

1:45 p. m.: Resumption of the conference.

Asia and the Liberation Policy: Stephen C. Y. Pan, director, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Seton Hall University, Newark, N. J.

2:15 p. m.: Panel discussions (all conference members urged to take part).

I. Liberation as a Concept in American Foreign Policy: Dr. James D. Atkinson, Georgetown University Graduate School, leader; Tris Coffin, newspaper and radio correspondent, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Stanley K. Hornbeck, diplomat, educator, Washington, D. C.: Prof. Wilmoore, Kendall, department of political science, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Eugene Lyons, author, senior editor, the Reader's Digest, New York.

II. The Policy of Liberation as a Deterrent to War: Stephen J. Skubik, All-American Conference To Combat Communism, leader; Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, Serbian Central National Committee, former member Institute of National Defense (Yugoslav), Ministry of War, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Michael A. Feighan, Member of Congress from Ohio; A. B. Herman, administrative assistant of Senator Alexander Smith of New Jersey; Dr. Jan Karski, author and lecturer, Georgetown University; Jersy Lerski, lecturer and Polish underground figlter, World War II, Washington, D. C.

III. Freedom's Forces for Liberation: Rear Adm. George Mentz, USN, retired, leader; religion, Father William Gibbons, Baltimore; free labor, Arthur G. McDowell, A. F. of L., Philadelphia; free enterprise, William J. Scripps, Scripps-Howard newspapers, Detroit; nationalism, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University.

IV. The Emigre Looks at the Policy of Liberation: O. K. Armstrong, former Member of Congress from Missouri, leader: Dr. A. V. Berger-Voesendorf, former head of the political, legal, and economic department of the Austrian Militia, Washington, D. C.; Albert Kalme, president, American Latvian Information Center, New York; Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. B. Koncius, national president, United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Gen. Ernest K. Moy, Chinese Nationalist Army, retired, Flushing, N. Y.; Prof. Vladimir Petrov, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; Michael Sarcasanu, former director and editor of newspaper Viitorul, Bucharest, Rumania, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; Dr. M. Scors, president of the Byelorussian (Whiteruthenian) Committee of America, New York City; R. Oguz Turkkan, American-Turkic Center, Istanbul, Elmhurst, N. Y.

5 p. m.: Recess.

7 p. m.: Banquet, Continental Room, Sheraton Park Hotel.

Toastmaster: Edward M. O'Connor, former member of the Displaced Persons Commission, Washington, D. C.

Invocation: Maj. Gen. Ivan L. Bennett, Chief of Chaplains, United States Army.

Music: A program of Latvian folk songs, Katrina Aispore, soprano; Mina Gunin, accompanist.

Addresses: Cracking the Kremlin Walls, Robert W. Hansen, national president, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Wilmaukee, Wis.; Liberation Can Be Accomplished, Hon. Charles J. Kersten, Member of Congress from Wisconsin; How Do the People of the U. S. S. R. Feel About Their Liberation? Rev. Leopold Braun, former American chaplain in Moscow.

Motion picture: The Evils of Communism, presented by the Very Reverend Walter M. Propheta, pastor of St. Mary's Ukrainian Church, South Plainfild, N. J.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5

9:15 a. m.: Resumption of the conference.

Invocation: Dr. Charles W. Lowry.

Introduction of distinguished guests.

9:30 a. m.: Addresses of the morning: What Liberation Means to the Polish People, Charles Rozmarek, president, Polish American Congress, Chicago, Ill.; Breaking Through the Iron Curtain, Robert A. Vogeler, chairman, the American Liberation Center, Bedford Hills, N. Y.; Freedom Is Essential for Lasting Peace, Hon. Ben. C. Limb, Chief of the Mission to the United Nations Republic of Korea; NATO and the Captive Countries, Zygmunt Nagorski, Jr., editor, Foreign News Service, Inc., New York City.

11 a. m.: Open discussion.

12:15 p. m.: Recess.

12:30 p. m.: Luncheon, Burgundy Room, Sheraton Park Hotel.

Toastmaster: Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher, president, the Christianform, Washington, D. C.

Invocation: Abraham Vereide, director, International Christian Leadership, Washington, D. C.

Music: Michael Sarcasanu, Rumania, violinist.

Address: Voluntary Repatriation as a Basis for Liberation, Prof. Gray L. Dorsey, school of law, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

2 p. m.: Resumption of the panel discussions.

4 p. m.: Assembly of full conference, Continental Room.

Reports of the panel discussions by leaders.

Report of the resolutions committee.

5 p. m.: Adjournment of the conference.

SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE THROUGH LIBERATION

O. K. Armstrong, chairman; former Member of Congress from Missouri, Washington, D. C.

Stephen J. Skubik, secretary; All-American Conference to Combat Communism, Washington, D. C.

David Keyser, director of public relations; administrative assistant of Congressman CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Washington, D. C.

Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher, treasurer; president, the Christianform, Washington, D. C.

James D. Atkinson, director, department of political science, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Frank R. Barnett, American Friends of Russian Freedom, Inc., New York, N. Y.

James Burnham, author, The Coming Defeat of Communism, Kent, Conn.

Charles M. Cooke, admiral, United States Navy, retired, Sonoma, Calif.

Lev E. Dobriansky, president, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Christopher Emmett, chairman, Foreign Affairs Round Table, Station WEVD, New York, N. Y.

Michael A. Feighan, Member of Congress from Ohio, Washington, D. C.

Geraldine Fitch, author, Formosa Beachhead, Leonia, N. J.

Mrs. Alice Frey, vice president, Women for Freedom of Europe, Inc., New York, N. Y.

JAMES G. FULTON, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.

Montgomery M. Green, international correspondent, Havre de Grace, Md.

Mrs. F. M. Gunther, Washington, D. C.

CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Member of Congress from Wisconsin, Washington, D. C.

Charles W. Lowry, author, Communism and Christ, Washington, D. C.

Eugene Lyons, senior editor, the Reader's Digest, New York City.

William S. Maxwell, Rear Admiral, United States Navy, retired, chairman, American Friends of Russian Freedom, New York, N. Y.

Arthur G. McDowell, director, department of civic and governmental affairs, Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, Philadelphia, Pa.

Frederick C. McKee, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Gen. Ernest K. Moy, Flushing, N. Y.

KARL E. MUNDT, United States Senator from South Dakota, Washington, D. C.

William I. Nichols, editor, This Week magazine, New York, N. Y.

Daniel A. Poling, editor, Christian Herald, New York, N. Y.

Charles Rozmarek, president, Polish-American Congress, Chicago, Ill.

Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, executive director, American Jewish League Against Communism, New York City.

William J. Scripps, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Detroit, Mich.

Robert A. Vogeler, chairman, American Liberation Center, Bedford Hills, N. Y.

How To Cut the Traffic Death Toll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding domestic problems of our Nation is the mounting death toll from traffic accidents. It is reported that 38,000 American lives are lost annually in automobile crashes. The Public Works Committee, of which I am a member, which has jurisdiction over public highways, held extended hearings last year on the subject of highways in an effort to determine what Federal policy should be followed to bring our highway system in which the Federal Government participates to the highest point of efficiency and to prevent the enormous loss of life and property through traffic hazards. We learned that there are some 45 million passenger cars and 9 million trucks traversing our highways, and it is reported that 80 percent of vacation travel in the United States goes by automobile.

Some States by rigid controls have reduced traffic accidents materially, and the evidence before our committee discloses that adequate highways constructed in accordance with the best engineering specifications would aid materially in reducing the heavy burden on our economy, as well as the loss of life through the use of our highways.

I introduced a bill, H. R. 7841, on February 12, 1954, which would, in the judgment of our Committee on Public Works, be of much value in seeking a solution to this important problem facing our Nation.

I include as a part of these remarks the following instructive and worthwhile article on this subject by Irvin S. Markel appearing in This Week magazine in its issue of February 14, 1954:

HOW TO CUT THE TRAFFIC DEATH TOLL

(By Irvin S. Markel)

There is a legislative program, I am convinced, by which we can save a great number, possibly half, of the 38,000 American lives lost annually in automobile crashes; and no time could be more appropriate than this to speak of it.

President Eisenhower has called a National Highway Safety Conference to begin in Washington this Wednesday, February 17. At this conference all 48 States will be represented; eminent men and women will discuss the problem of educating America in concepts of safe driving.

Surely it is important to speak of good roads, adequate lighting, uniform traffic signals, safety glass, and all the rest. A discussion of this kind is invaluable.

But talk alone will not save lives. To be truly effective, the delegates will have to insist on an action program.

AFTER THE SPEED PROBLEM

The first part of that program is one that there can't be any argument about. As long as 3 out of 10 automobile deaths are caused by speeders, speeding must be the first concern of the conference. It has the right—indeed, the obligation—to demand that the speed laws already on the books be rigidly enforced.

"If the 48 States really enforced their existing speed laws," a distinguished traffic engineer has told me, "this Nation could save 10,000 lives a year." And I agree with him. Not to enforce speed laws is a matter of criminal neglect. It is, in fact, mass homicide.

But having recognized this, the conference can—and I hope it will—go further. It can point to the only two areas of danger not now covered by adequate legislation. After working with the causes of automobile deaths for 26 years, and helping to reduce them by more than 50 percent in 1 area of traffic, I am persuaded of this: Any traffic-safety action program, to be really constructive, must include legislation in every State of the Union on at least two major points. The two laws we need are these:

1. The compulsory periodic inspection of all motor vehicles.

2. Limiting the issuance of drivers' licenses to those individuals who are completely qualified to drive and who have reached an age of moral responsibility.

Why do I believe that it is essential for every one of the 48 States to enact such laws?

The answer is that America's drivers do not recognize State boundaries. In their 45 million passenger cars and 9 million trucks they travel everywhere, going from State to State as casually as they go from street to street. In the tourist areas like Yellowstone National Park, or on any of the great cross-country highways, you are likely to see license plates from every corner of the land, and often from every single State.

When summer comes, 80 percent of all vacation travel in the United States, according to the American Automobile Association, is done by automobile.

Eleven percent of all traffic accidents, everywhere in the United States, involve drivers who have left their own States. In some regions the ratio is much higher. Last year in New Jersey 20.5 percent of all fatal automobile accidents involved out-of-State drivers. In Connecticut it was 18 percent.

Your State may have the best traffic laws in the world; yet this will mean little if your roads are cluttered with incompetent drivers from other States.

That is why I say safety legislation must be national in scope. The effectiveness of the two-point legislative program the conference would do well to demand—compulsory inspection of motor vehicles and the intelligent issuance of licenses—is assured by the teachings of experience.

Such a program has drastically reduced the death rate and the accident rate in at least one case where it has been put into effect.

INSIDE STORY

As a director of Markel Service, Inc., I know the inside story of this decrease in accidents.

For 26 years Markel Service has studied and enforced high safety standards on all the 65,000 trucks insured by the American Fidelity & Casualty Co. It has operated under the precise-action program I commend to the attention of the National Highway Safety Conference. It has insisted that all its insured vehicles be periodically inspected for mechanical defects; it has also insisted on maintaining high standards for drivers—and this includes, as far as habitual speeders go, the revocation of the right to drive.

The result? Year after year, in the case of thousands of insured vehicles we watch, the accident frequency rate has been cut to less than half of the national rate.

There is no reason why similar results cannot be achieved on a nationwide scale by rigidly applying the same safety standards to all American cars and drivers.

Considering the fact that every sane citizen wants to reduce the number of traffic deaths, it is incredible that only 14 States now insist on the inspection of motor vehicles for mechanical defects. What can possibly be wrong with requiring cars to have such things as good brakes, good lights, strong kingpins on steering wheels?

ONE-THIRD CUT

Mr. Elliott Daniels, chief of the inspecting bureau of the State of New Jersey, reports that in 1937, before his State began inspecting cars, its automobile death total was 1,278. The following year, with compulsory inspection in force for the first time, the number of such deaths was reduced to 865—a cut of approximately one-third. And ever since, Mr. Daniels adds, New Jersey's fatality trend has been downward. He calls compulsory car inspection a primary safeguard against automobile accidents.

Massachusetts tried inspection on a voluntary basis in 1926, found it so effective that in 1929 laws were passed to make it mandatory. Since then the State has never relaxed the regulation. The only change it made—in 1935—was to insist on 2 inspections a year instead of 1. And Massachusetts has one of the best safety records in the country.

INSPECTION DID IT

Pennsylvania has kept its statistics on a percentage basis. In 1932, when it first began compulsory inspection of cars, 12 percent of all fatal accidents could be traced to mechanical defects. But by 1952 this fatality figure had been cut to 1.8 percent. This was accomplished by rigid inspection.

Finally, my own State of Virginia had 698 automobile deaths in 1931. We had no car inspection up to that year. But in 1933, our first full year of such precautions, we reduced fatalities to 569; saving 129 lives.

Can we ignore the fact that of the 5 States with the highest motor-vehicle death rates—South Carolina, Nevada, Kentucky, New Mexico, and Arizona—4 do not periodically inspect their automobiles? The fifth State, New Mexico, does provide for such inspections; but it offsets this advantage by indulging in another kind of recklessness. It grants its children driving licenses at 14.

WHAT AGE?

Here we hit a contested point: At what age is it safe to have a driving license?

Automobile insurance companies, having made actuarial studies of the risk involved, find themselves compelled to charge higher premium rates to families with teen-age drivers. There is also to be remembered the fact that the States with the lowest rates of automobile fatalities—Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and, technically not a State, the District of Columbia—do not issue a driver's license to anybody under the age of 16.

The simple truth is that children of 14 and 15—eligible to drive in 9 States—have not yet had time to learn what they should know about driving and traffic regulations. Courses in the subject are given at the high-school level, and at 14 most youngsters have just entered high school. Besides, one finds it hard to believe that a child of 14 has learned all there is to know about his responsibility to society.

Though minors may comprise a small portion of our more than 60 million licensed drivers, in 1952 some 800,000 boys and girls under 18 were involved in traffic accidents. Almost 2,000 of them were killed.

ABOVE AVERAGE

Mr. William H. Brewster, manager of the automobile division of the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters, has issued a report that is well worth study. It shows why insurance companies raise their premium rates in families with very young drivers. In fact, the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters is much more conservative than I am; it lists all people under 25 in its lowest-age group. And it reports that their frequency of fatal accidents is 62.4 percent above the national average. In nonfatal accidents they are 37.1 percent above the national average.

In the State of New York the accident rate is even more astonishing.

This State made an independent study of young drivers in 1947, and results have not changed significantly since then.

In New York the youthful group had 97.9 percent more fatal accidents than the State's average; 65.3 percent more than average in nonfatal accidents.

And a few years ago, in 1948, the National Safety Council reported that though the youngest age group comprised only 20 percent of the Nation's drivers, they were involved in 11,400, or 31 percent, of the fatal auto accidents.

It's a sobering record. Many of the experts who have observed young drivers have formed the firm conviction that the minimum age limit should be raised. Commissioner MacDuff of New York's bureau of motor vehicles declares, "We feel that under the age of 16 no driver has attained the maturity and self-discipline he needs to be a safe risk on our roads."

Deputy Registrar Bonzagni, of Massachusetts' motor vehicle bureau, not only supports this view; he adds that in his own State, which has never issued a license to anyone under 16, the public pressure today is to raise the age limit to 18. Over in Pennsylvania the deputy commissioner for insurance, Luther Williams, has approved a new high-rate insurance premium to be applied to the youngest age group of drivers.

ANOTHER DANGER

But extreme youth is by no means the only danger to be considered in our licensing practices. Another is this:

We assume that a person who has once received a license to drive is thereafter qualified forever. All he need do is pay a small annual renewal fee to guarantee his right.

What of the drivers who develop physical defects as they grow older? Impaired eyesight, perhaps? Bad hearing? In defense of our own well-being all of us ought to be required to take periodic reexaminations—say every 5 years.

After all, licensing is a matter of life and death. We had better keep age limits and other considerations at the highest possible level.

There are some hazards to safe driving—weather, for instance, or the density of holiday traffic—about which the President's conference can do little. But in recommending a legislative program such as I have outlined, it can do the Nation a great service.

INTERSTATE EFFORT

Admittedly such a program will require decisiveness throughout the country. Every State legislature will have to cooperate. But if we can eliminate a great portion of the 38,000 automobile deaths we suffer annually, if we can reduce the awesome number of 18 million drivers who had traffic accidents last year—almost 1 driver out of every 3—then it is surely worth an interstate effort.

What happens in the future is up to the legislatures of the 48 States. As a first step, the President's National Highway Safety Conference must call on them for action.

Boy Scout Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on February 8, in connection with the annual observance of Boy Scout Week, I was privileged to meet in my office two Cub Scouts who were selected from the northwest area of our Nation's Capital to make presentations of Scout pins to Members of Congress. These boys, members of Pack 57, are Jimmy Korman, 3314 Stephenson Place NW., and Barry Handloff, 6120 33d Street NW., and were accompanied by their mothers.

During the presentation Jimmy stated to me:

I am a member of Pack 57. This week the Boy Scouts of America celebrate their 44th anniversary. As a representative of the Boy Scouts, I invite you to honor our celebration by wearing this pin during Boy Scout Week.

Then Barry placed the pin on my coat with the following statement:

It is a great honor for me to present this pin and we hope you will wear it in your lapel.

I was pleased to tell these boys that I most certainly appreciated their thinking about me, and that I would wear the pin with pride and honor.

The Boy Scouts of America is a wonderful organization, having high ideals for our boys, and their group is to be congratulated on the very fine work they are doing in molding the characters of American youth.

What Labor Wants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, now that we have the President's message on proposed changes in the Taft-Hartley law, it might be well to see what labor is looking for from this Congress.

I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the interview with George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, which appeared in the U. S. News & World Report of November 6, 1953.

It is most apropos.

The interview follows:

WHAT LABOR WANTS

(Interview with George Meany, president, American Federation of Labor)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—What does organized labor want of the rest of the United States—in income, in understanding? How would a business setback affect labor's strategy? Will AFL and CIO unite? What about Taft-Hartley? The place of labor in politics? To get answers to these and other questions, the editors of U. S. News & World Report interviewed in their conference room George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, as they have interviewed other labor officials. George Meany at 16 was an apprentice plumber, at 21 a journeyman and member of the Plumbers Union, and at 28 business agent for the same local in New York City of which his father had been president. Five years as president of the New York State Federation of Labor led to 13 years as secretary-treasurer of the American Federation. After president William Green died last November, Mr. Meany was elected to the presidency of the AFL. Mr. Meany is 59.)

Question. What do the unions want from employers that they do not have now, Mr. Meany? What types of demands are likely to be served on employers in the next few years?

Answer. They would fall generally into two categories: direct wages and fringe wages—in other words, fringe benefits in the way of security. More and more of our people are thinking of security.

Question. Don't you have most of that already?

Answer. Oh, no. Most of those pension and welfare plans have come into being since 1946 and 1947, some of them came into being during the war. They are not perfect, and what you will find in almost all negotiations where there is a welfare plan is the demand made for increasing the size of the benefits or additional benefits.

Question. Anything else?

Answer. There is a demand in certain trades for a guaranteed annual wage. We have not pressed that demand in the AFL. We may come to it some day—I do not know. But we know without question that it is almost an impossibility under our economic system to have a guaranteed annual wage in certain types of business.

Now, there may be a business—Eastman Kodak, for instance—that can have a guarteed annual wage. They can tell you what their peacetime market will be next year and the year after. They can stockpile and produce in the next 5 or 6 years exactly everything they need. They never have any reason to lay anyone off. That is the reason they were always the leaders in the fight for merit rating under unemployment insurance, where the employer who showed a good record of employment could get a rebate on his unemployment-insurance taxes. A corporation like that could very readily sign a guarantee of annual wages, but there are millions of workers with corporations that could not possibly make such a guarantee.

IF THERE IS A RECESSION

Question. Suppose we get into a business setback, are your demands going to continue or are you going to be willing to take wage cuts?

Answer. The history of that is that the American trade unions are pretty practical. If we get into a business setback, the fight will be to hold on to what you've got. Sometimes holding on to what you've got means taking less wages. We've had that experience. Because the minute you get an economic setback that means a reduction in prices, which affets wages.

Question. You are more interested in the balance, then?

Answer. Oh, yes.

Question. What do you hear about the elimination of overtime around the country in recent months?

Answer. I have had no reports and no great complaint about it.

Question. Do you think you will go back to the 30-hour-week demand?

Answer. That's possible. If we get any widespread unemployment, I am quite sure that will come.

Question. Are you conscious of any widespread unemployment?

Answer. No. There's spotty unemployment, but I'm conscious of a belt-tightening policy on the part of business in many parts of the country.

Question. What does that do?

Answer. It adds to unemployment, but you have this situation: When thousands of men are unemployed now they are not completely out of the market—they have some income through unemployment-insurance funds, and that cushion is now demonstrating its value. Of course, if there is any prolonged unemployment, the cushion is gone.

Question. Have defense cutbacks affected labor?

Answer. Yes.

Question. To what extent?

Answer. Layoffs. Many corporations now are working on a 4-day week.

GUARANTEED WAGES

Question. Do you think industries can get the question of recession has much to do with sion? Is there any chance of that?

Answer. I wouldn't know, but I don't think the question of recession has much to do with it. I think what the employer has to look at, when he's faced with the demand for a guaranteed annual wage, is how can he run his business and keep the people employed.

Now, he's not going to guarantee an annual wage if he knows that one-half of his employees are going to be under normal conditions, laid off for 3 months of the year. In other words, he's not going to pay one-half of his employees 3 months' pay when they don't produce. The guaranteed annual wage is tied up strictly with the type of industry and the ability of the employer to keep going, to stockpile the product that he is producing.

Question. How can a building-trades man give such a guaranty?

Answer. The fellow that we work for in the building trades is just one step removed from us. He gets the job from somebody else to build. He doesn't build for himself. Of course, the old speculative builder does, but there aren't too many of them around. The contractor is usually building for other people with the money to build. He is looking for a job and when he gets a job he employs our members. That's the reason for the so-called employment-agency type of agreement which prevails in the building trades, and that is the reason why the Taft-Hartley law is discriminatory against the building trades.

The building trades cannot qualify under the Taft-Hartley law for representation elections. We don't work for the contractor until he makes the bargain with us in order to know what wages he is going to pay, and he always makes his bargaining periodically in advance of getting work. If he has work that runs from one bargaining period to another, he has to make a guess as to what's going to happen at the end of the bargaining period.

But normally we deal with a building contractor, sitting around a table, and he might not have anybody working for him. We don't care whether he has or not, because we know he's in the business and may get a job and have 1,000 men working for him 2 months from now. But we bargain with him as to the conditions. Now, the law says that we can't bargain with him unless we have elections of his employees designating our union as bargaining representative. He has no employees, so how can we have an election? Still we can't get that representation right for the building trades under the law.

Question. Was that true under the Wagner law?

Answer. Oh, no. We had a perfect right under the Wagner Act to make prehire contracts. That's the reason Senator Taft introduced the amendment giving us the right to a prehire contract and a union shop. He introduced those bills, and the contents of those bills were included in the 19 items [proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act] that have been a subject of controversy [in the recent resignation of Martin P. Durkin as Secretary of Labor].

But, you see, the building trades are subject to every penalty of the law. We can expel a Communist from our union, but we can't ask an employer to take him off the job when he ceases to be a member of the union. If we do, we pay him—and we have paid him. We are subject to every penalty of the law and can't get any benefits of it. [A union can be held financially responsible if, in a union shop, it gets a worker discharged for any reason other than nonpayment of dues.]

Question. Isn't the main target of the building trades the State laws on the union shop or closed shop?

Answer. That's one of the problems. There are State laws which go into the very same field of union security and union representation as the Federal laws.

Question. They are tougher, aren't they?

Answer. Some of them are.

AFL AND CIO

Question. What chance is there for the CIO and AFL to come together into one organization?

Answer. There is a definite possibility. I wouldn't say probability. It depends entirely upon the personnel involved. Of course, the CIO was not really formed to carry the ball for industrial unions. The CIO was set up because there were several men in this country who felt that they needed a political arm among the workers of the Nation. The industrial-union idea was a bugaboo designed to cover up the political motives of the sponsors of the CIO. The AFL has always provided a place for industrial unions in its setup. We have today more industrial workers in the AFL than in the whole CIO membership.

Question. How do you differ from the CIO setup?

Answer. Practically speaking, in no way. For all practical purposes, the CIO is organized the same as we are.

Question. So that if there were an amalgamation of the two, there would be no difficulty in that way?

Answer. It wouldn't change the basic structure at all. You see, the CIO was formed ostensibly to provide a place for industrial unions, which they claimed were nonexistent in the AFL. That was not true. Of course, the AFL did not organize industrial unions in the large industrial fields as fast as the industrial-union people in our own setup wanted us to.

We didn't move fast enough into automobiles and steel, although we did have an industrial union in steel that was not successful. We organized the first automobile-workers union. Practically all these people who are the leaders in the Automobile Workers are former AFL people. We organized under terrific opposition of the motor companies, who spent millions of dollars—and I say that advisedly—millions of dollars to prevent organization through the use of spy systems, through the use of very rigid regulations, as well as the use of company thugs.

Question. What year was this?

Answer. That was in the twenties, and the record is all contained in the seventy-odd volume report of the La Follette committee under sworn testimony.

Question. That was made when?

Answer. It was presented to Congress in late 1934. It shows the whole sordid record of the expenditure of millions of dollars merely to prevent men from joining a union.

Advantages in union merger

Question. What advantage do you see for the worker in having one big labor union of the CIO and AFL together?

Answer. The advantage to the worker would be that there would be more time and effort spent in improving his situation in every possible way, not only as to work, but in every other possible way, in place of that time and money now being spent in union rivalry.

Question. Would you be more powerful politically?

Answer. I imagine so. But that, of course, is not the purpose of the attempt to amalgamate. Too, we lose something if we amalgamate. We lose the competition where the competition has been helpful. However, we eliminate the competition where it has been destructive.

Question. Do you think it might stabilize the strike situation?

Answer. I think it might. I think it would have a salutary effect in many, many ways.

Question. Concretely, what is the outlook for the amalgamation?

Answer. The outlook is that we've got over the first hurdle. We are going to have a meeting as soon as the CIO convention is over. We are going to have a meeting to go into the very basic question of how do we amalgamate, how do we fit these pieces together. When we get into that, it should not take too long if there is a real desire for amalgamation, because the places where we have conflicting interests of equal strength are not many.

But where you have got two big groups, where they have got a vested interest in the structure, a sentimental interest in the organization, and they are of comparatively

equal strength, you then have a much more difficult time.

Question. Where there is talk of a clash of personalities, does that not refer to the fact that so many people would want to be president of the combined organizations and can not because there will be only one president for each union?

Answer. I was thinking of our 111 international unions and the CIO's 48 or 49 international unions.

Basic purpose of uniting

Question. What is your basic purpose in an amalgamation of the AFL and CIO?

Answer. It is not my idea to build a great big union just for the sake of having a great big union. That does not mean a thing to me.

I want labor peace, and I feel that the best way to get labor peace is to get the people who would normally belong in one federation—and, after all, they all came from the one federation originally—to get them back into the one federation. Because with all its faults the federation idea has worked.

We've made a lot of mistakes, and we will make a lot more, but taking the over-all picture we have brought to the American worker a greater share of that which he produces than any other worker on earth gets. We don't think that came about because some captains of industry sat down in a board room and decided it would be good for that to happen.

Question. What about John L. Lewis? Do you think he ought to be in on the unity talks?

Answer. Well—there'd be no unity then. We have no grievance with the miners as such. We recognize that they run a union and run it pretty well. But, on the question of unity—good Lord, he's the fellow who split the AFL. He's the fellow who tried to split the CIO after he got tired of that. He's the fellow who came back to the AFL in 1947 and tried to split it again. Of course, he says every once in a while that there can be no unity without the miners. That's boloney. We can have a lot of unity without the miners. I'm not saying that the miners wouldn't be in. There won't be any decision made not to let them in.

But in what we're doing now we feel that the big question is getting the CIO and AFL together. If we can resolve that and get a meeting of minds there, then we can explore the possibilities of miners, railroad brotherhoods, and the desirability of bringing them in.

Question. You don't have any competing union against the United Mine Workers now? The Progressive Mine Workers are not in the AFL?

Answer. The Progressives are not in the AFL, but they are still in existence and still have their membership, particularly in the Illinois coal fields.

NEW LABOR SECRETARY

Question. Have you been able to make up your mind about the new Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell?

Answer. Make up my mind about him? I've known him for 20 years. I think he's a very fine gentleman, a very fine fellow, and I think he'll be as good a Secretary of Labor as Brother Weeks (Secretary of Commerce) allows him to be.

Question. Do you think he's a better man than the previous Secretary of Labor?

Answer. Oh, of course not. I don't mean that in a personal way. I think they are both very fine.

Question. Do you think that this setup means that he will do the work that John R. Steelman did in the Truman administration?

Answer. I read that in the paper, but I don't know.

Question. Do you think the Secretary of Labor ought to handle all labor problems?

Answer. This is no reflection on John Steelman, who, I think, did a very useful job, but I don't think there should be any John Steelman between the Secretary of Labor and the President.

Question. Keep it out of the White House?

Answer. Not keep it out of the White House, but have the White House operate through its Labor Department. In other words, whatever Steelman did should be done by the Secretary of Labor.

Question. How do you figure Secretary of Commerce Weeks in this? Do you think Mr. Weeks is going to be able to veto appointments to the Labor Department?

Answer. Possibly. There are definite indications that Weeks considers himself part of the Labor Department, at least as an overseer.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Question. As a general observation, do you believe that the trend should be toward more intervention by the Government in labor-management relations?

Answer. No. I think the Federal Government should interfere just as little as possible. Likewise, this applies to State governments.

Question. Aren't we going to get it more and more, however, if we have more Taft-Hartley and Wagner Acts? Haven't we got the Federal Government right in the middle of labor relations right now?

Answer. Yes; but I don't think we can eliminate the Labor-Management Act today or take it off the statute books. I think we've gone beyond that. But I think we could have a very simple act, leaving the problem entirely to labor and management, with the Government setting up a board of some kind to lay down a certain few ground rules.

Question. Wouldn't your economic power be greater under such a setup?

Answer. And our responsibility would be a lot greater.

Question. Does your judgment of the political situation lead you to believe that there will be any changes enacted in the Taft-Hartley Act in the next session of Congress?

Answer. I don't know, but the Congress that went home in July is the Congress that's coming back in January. Of course, maybe they read the papers and maybe they talked to people back home in the meantime. Frankly, I had hoped we could remove Taft-Hartley as a political issue. President Eisenhower said repeatedly he wants to be fair to everybody and he wants Taft-Hartley amended so that it is fair. He didn't say specifically what he wanted to do except in, I think, two instances—one, in the disenfranchisement of economic strikers and, two, on the non-Communist affidavit.

Back of the 19 points

Secretary Durkin set out to amend Taft-Hartley; not to repeal it. What did he use as a starting point? He used the amendments submitted by the Republican members of the Labor Committee in the Senate and the House. He picked up 12 of his 19 points from bills introduced by Wood [John S. Wood, former Democratic Representative from Georgia], who was working with the Republicans in a Dixiecrat coalition, and by Taft and by SMITH [Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee] and others. That's where 12 of his points came from. He added some others. What he wanted was an administration position that would square with President Eisenhower's expressed desire for a law that was fair to all concerned.

If the President had gone through with his message recommending the 19 amendments, Taft-Hartley would have been dead as a national political issue. It still would have been an issue, of course, in local campaigns for House and Senate seats. The message would have embarrassed the diehards in Congress who are opposed to labor and who would have had to take a position in opposition to that taken by the President. But at the same time it would have removed Taft-Hartley as a national political issue because it would have put President Eisenhower as the titular head of the Republican Party in a position to justify his campaign pledges to eliminate unfair aspects of the law.

Question. Didn't both the CIO and AFL come out and say they repudiated the 19 points?

Answer. Oh, no. We said this: We said they are not our 19 amendments, they don't go as far in amending Taft-Hartley as our program calls for, but they are definite improvements in the law. Now, admitting that they are definite improvements in the law, could we then make a political issue of them?

Question. Do you think that the Durkin showdown could have been avoided if Senator Taft had been alive?

Answer. I don't like to say something and try to put words in the mouth of a man who is gone and be accused of misquoting him. I don't know, but I feel that that might be a possibility, because the last time I talked to Taft was on the 10th of June. He was on crutches and was a pretty sick man, although he was very cheerful and, on the surface, optimistic. I spent an hour and a quarter with him. Dick Gray, of the building trades unions, and I went all over this thing with him, and as near as I can reconstruct what was said at the time, and place my recollections of our conversation alongside of the 19 points, there were at least 4 or 5 of them that he would not accept. That I'm sure of. But 12 of the 19 points came from his own bills or bills of others for which he had previously indicated support.

PACKING LABOR BOARD?

Question. To clear up a point on Taft-Hartley, there've been charges made that the administration is trying to pack the National Relations Labor Board with three new members. What do you think of that?

Answer. I am going to make an unreasonable answer. I think that's true, but I can't prove it.

Question. Do you know of any time when past administrations didn't pack it?

Answer. No. They packed it with Commies some years ago.

Question. If they do pack it, then, isn't that going to make trouble for the unions? In other words, on your point about too much law, and so forth, if the Board is packed against unions then the Government control of labor relations could be a bad thing for the unions, couldn't it?

Answer. That may be. It doesn't correct the situation, however. You have the pendulum swinging way out here and then way out there.

On these labor-relations things, we should get down on to the middle of the road. Now, the countries of the world that do have fairly stable labor relations on a middle-of-the-road policy do so because of the fact that each side accepts the other's existence. And until the American employer accepts the fact that there are going to be trade unions, until the American employer gets in the position where he can publicly criticize an official of the union without being open to charges that he is trying to destroy the union, then we're not going to get to that middle road. You've still got this background of employer resistance to unions. However, it's lessening all the time, and I do think the situation is improving.

ATTACK ON RACKETEERING

Question. How effective do you think the AFL is going to be in handling racketeering? You've just had a conspicuous case on the New York waterfront—

Answer. What's happened is an entirely new departure for the AFL. No. 1, we never went into an international union's business to the extent that we did in this case. In other words, we have placed a new interpretation on the autonomous right insofar as it pertains to racketeering. We have said in effect: "All right, you've got your autonomous rights. But there's an unwritten law that you use those autonomous rights for the benefit of the labor movement. If you violate that unwritten law by using those autonomous rights as a cloak for an illegal activity, then you can't belong to the AFL." That was approved by a convention vote of 72,000-plus to 750.

Question. That was at the last convention?

Answer. Yes. That means that the interpretation of the executive council has been approved, and to that extent the so-called autonomous-rights position of our affiliates has been modified. That is a departure—the first time it ever happened.

Now, in addition, the second thing that has happened which is important is what's happening in this longshoremen's case. We put them out. We've put out other unions before, and we've had other unions leave us. Whenever unions have left us in the past—and this is all down through the history of the AFL—that was the end of the action. They just went out on their own volition or we put them out on some violation. They stayed out. We took no action against them when they were out. We didn't go in competition. We didn't approve of any of our unions going in competition. It was sort of a gentleman's understanding—they're mad at us, they're out, and someday they'll come back.

However, in this case, when I first went into this thing last January and presented this question to the council, I was thinking only in terms of an action that would culminate as our previous actions.

In other words, I was thinking of pulling them out, taking the AFL label away from them, and saying, "You're through, and if you ever clean yourself up, we'll be glad to talk to you." In other words, put them out and forget them. However, as time went on in this case—and I'm frank to say that, as bad as I thought it was last January, I found out on examination of voluminous records of the crime commission and so on that it was much worse from a trade-union point of view—the council came to the conclusion that we had to take another step. We had to discharge an obligation and responsibility that we feel we have to the public.

As an organization of tremendous size and influence, we just couldn't walk away from that New York situation and leave that dock union in the hands of the gangsters, if we could avoid it.

Now, we would have been justified, I suppose, on a strictly technical ground, to say, "We put them out, the hell with them, let the law-enforcement authorities take care of crime if there's crime being committed up there." But we realized that the law-enforcement authorities have not been able to cope with this situation.

It takes more than just the law-enforcement authorities—it takes public opinion. It takes the governor of the State, the mayor of the city, and all the public officials.

So, we feel that we have an obligation to do our part to bring about a public opinion that would be favorable to decent unionism as against this group.

I want to say that most of the newspapers have treated our entry into this picture in a reasonable way, but I noticed an editorial in one of the newspapers the other day which said, "Oh, this is just a contest for power, a contest for membership." Well, if it were a contest for membership, we would never have gotten in it. If we were interested in membership, we would have kept them, we wouldn't have put them out. We had the 70,000 longshoremen. They were paying dues in the AFL right up to the minute of their expulsion. We weren't worried about membership. We felt that we had that obligation to the public and, to, we felt that we had an obligation to present to these workers a fair opportunity to get themselves into a decent union.

I've found in these past few weeks that our biggest stumbling block is fear, absolute and complete fear on the part of these workers—fear for their lives, fear for their physical well-being, fear for their economic future. These men are not any different from any other workers. They're just as good and just as bad, generally speaking, as all workers. But they've been in the grip of gangsters. I think if they get into a secret ballot and this fear is removed, that they will vote for a decent union.

Effect of injunction

Question. Does this 80-day injunction help?

Answer. The 80-day injunction gives us some time. The employers wanted to sign up right away. They wanted to sign up with the racket union before the old contract expired.

Question. Are you trying to replace the old International Longshoremen's Association with a new AFL union?

Answer. Yes. After we kicked them out we set up a new International Longshoremen's AFL which is trying to take their membership away. We've taken their membership away along the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi and the Pacific Northwest, and we're working on New Orleans. But the big fight, the key fight, is in the city of New York.

Question. Is there any Communist influence in this fight?

Answer. No.

Question. Isn't there some on the Pacific coast?

Answer. Well, the Communist influence on the pacific coast is in ports that were not organized by the old ILA.

ANTICOMMUNISM

Question. What has been your attitude on the anti-Communist issue as far as congressional investigation is concerned?

Answer. On the anti-Communist question I feel this way: It has to be approached from an overall standpoint. To my way of thinking, the Communist Party is not a political party, it's not just political opposition. It's a criminal conspiracy against the Government and should be treated as such. I think we lean over a little too far backward perhaps at times.

Question. You would outlaw the party, then?

Answer. Yes—as a criminal conspiracy against the Government. And membership in the party would be a crime. I'd go that far. Of course, some of our liberals won't agree with me on that.

Question. Would you bar the Communist unions from getting contracts on defense work?

Answer. I certainly would.

Question. How helpful can the congressional committees be in ferreting out communism in unions? There is a committee soon starting on that——

Answer. Well, they can be helpful in dealing with the Communist-dominated unions. We don't need these unions in the AFL, and the CIO doesn't need them any more. They needed them badly 5 or 6 years ago, but not any more. It's our feeling that any law that you pass on this subject should be general. They should ferret out Communists among the employers. They should find out what motivates these scatterbrained employers who give their money to the Communists. I'm talking about wealthy men.

Question. Is that the reason you have supported some of the congressional committees investigating communism as a whole?

Answer. We've never opposed the investigation of communism as a whole at any time, never.

Question. It is reported that you were one of the groups that supported the congressional committees over the years in their efforts to get at the Communists.

Answer. We have never opposed, for instance, the House Un-American Activities Committee. We've been severely critical of their methods in a great many cases, and of some of the things they were doing. The trouble is that these congressional investigating committees always seem to wind up digging into the unions. They're the favorite whipping boy of these committees.

Now, we don't think that there's any more communism in unions than there is on the general percentage basis. We licked hell out of them in the AFL 30 years ago. We've been dealing with this thing for 30 years, and we know every move they make. We have the best information on the entire Communist world movement that there is in America! We feel we have better information than the Government agencies have.

And why have we got it? Because we've been fighting these Communists for many, many years, and we know just how they operate. We supplied the information, for instance, to the United Nations for affidavits that went into the slave-labor charges against the Soviet Union. That came from the American Federation of Labor.

Spotlight on slave labor

Question. What slave-labor charges?

Answer. The slave-labor charges before the U. N. which were filed against the Soviet Union for maintaining slave-labor camps in the satellite countries and in Soviet Russia. The so-called slave-labor map, which has gone all over the world, is our publication. It has been republished by other people, but it was first published by the AFL.

The first idea of the Communists way back in the 1920's was to tear our people away from us. They had what they called the TUUL, the Trade Union Unity League, and that was sort of a dual movement, pulling our people out. That went on for 5 or 6 years, but they weren't successful. Then the next thing was to infiltrate. And they did infiltrate. They did bore from within. We had a weak spot in our local central bodies. A central body is a coordinating organization and could be a very convenient sounding board in any city. The average trade-union official, who was busy with the affairs of his local union, would not be a delegate to the local central body. He'd give that post to some member who had no experience, as a means of education in the trade-union movement.

So, what happened was that the Communists figured this out and they got into the local central bodies. They got in because they were sent there by people who didn't know they were Communists, but they got into these central bodies and the first thing you know they were raising hell with it. That was in the late 1920's and the early 1930's. We licked them on that. We had quite a time with them, however.

But then in 1935 our AFL Communist problem was solved completely and finally. The CIO was formed and, boy, the Communists lapped it up. They were welcomed with open arms into the CIO at that time. They are, incidentally, very, very good organizers.

AID TO UNIONS ABROAD

Question. Hasn't the AFL been of great assistance to our Government in approaching trade unions abroad, giving them an example of free trade unionism?

Answer. We do much more than give them an example. We've helped them organize.

We've used money of American workers to help built up non-Communist unions in Europe.

Question. What countries?

Answer. In Italy, France, Germany. We've had a representative in Germany since early 1946. He's still there.

Question. Do you finance any revolutionary movements behind the Iron Curtain?

Answer. Not revolutions, but we do finance literature that goes behind the Iron Curtain. We've been doing that since 1946. I can show you the records of the American Federation of Labor, all during the days when Russia was our military partner in fighting Hitler, to show you that the AFL never dropped its guard on the Communist 1 inch. We said back in 1942: "All right, this is the official position. We've at war and we find ourselves in partnership with the Russians and approve of any move that our Government can make in furthering the progress of the war with our military allies, but we warn that Russia, too, is a dictatorial government and just as bad as Hitler's."

We were the only major labor organization in the world that refused to go into the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1945, when the British went in, the CIO went in, the French, and everybody else went in. We refused. We were criticized by some of the most conservative organizations in America because we refused to go into this so-called World Federation. So our record on this thing has been consistent.

Question. In Germany about a year ago there was an effort made by the trade unions to set up a system with a law whereby the trade unions would be part of the management. Didn't the AFL oppose that?

Answer. No; the AFL did not oppose that. That's the so-called "co-determination" program. You've got to look at it from the German trade union point of view. We did not oppose it, we did not approve it. We merely said: "We wouldn't want it in this country—we don't need it and we don't want it. But, at the same time, we think that the German trade unions have a right to fight for it if they think it's going to be helpful to them."

As far as we are concerned, we take the position that this is something that we as American trade unions do not want.

We want management to manage. If management doesn't manage the way it should so that we can get a decent wage out of the business venture, then, of course, we are going to fight for a decent wage anyway. We are going to say to management: "Well, it's none of our business. If you're not smart enough to make money, that's too bad. We still think we are entitled to a decent wage."

In other words, we don't think that the failure of management to manage intelligently is a good resaon to keep people at substandard wages.

However, we don't want to interfere with management. We will cooperate with management, and we have any number of cases of cooperation, but those are completely on a voluntary basis and not on the basis of demand from the union.

We find that, where collective bargaining has endured for a number of years, management sooner or later accepts the philosophy that we're both in business. We can't fight over the right of a return on capital investment. Under our system there's got to be a return on capital investment. Management has got to get a reward for managing, and it has to be a reward that will be an incentive for improving the business.

We feel that labor is entitled to a fair share of what it produces in the form of a decent wage—and that's the only place where there should be any real difference between labor and management. However, we have any number of cases where, to meet a trade problem that is a problem to both management and labor, they have formed joint trade committees.

BIPARTISANSHIP IN POLITICS

Question. Do you still conform to the policy of bipartisanship in politics as initiated by Sam Gompers, your first president?

Answer. Oh, we still conform to it 1,000 percent. We haven't changed the Gompers policy. We are really trying to put it into effect.

Question. Just how would you define it?

Answer. The Gompers policy is very simple. You examine the candidates for public office, and on the basis of their records you decide whether they are friendly or aren't friendly, neutral, and so on, and you act accordingly. The failure of the Gompers policy to give us more results was in the application of the policy.

The impression is prevalent that the Gompers policy prevented an endorsement of a presidential candidate. Well, that is completely untrue, because Gompers not only endorsed Wilson and other presidential candidates—he campaigned for them personally. But we had no local organization, no local political setup to get out the vote or to educate our own people to vote.

Question. Is there an organization that engages in political activity?

Answer. Yes. We have a political arm of the American Federation of Labor known as Labor's League for Political Education.

Question. Will that activity apply to a particular candidate?

Answer. That will apply to particular candidates all over the country.

Function of political league

Question. The league would support a Republican if he——

Answer. Yes, positively. You'll find that the league has supported Republicans, and will continue to support them. It is not partisan in any sense. But, of course, I don't have to tell you that most of the candidates that we would support are Democrats. That's just in the very nature of things, because we find we get support for the things that we are interested in more from the Democrats than we do from Republicans.

There's only one real difference between what we're doing now and what was carried on for many years with regard to Gompers' policy. There's no difference in regard to partisanship or nonpartisanship. We absolutely refuse to allow ourselves to be an appendage of the Democratic Party or any other party. We are absolutely nonpartisan. But what we're doing now that wasn't done before is that we're going into the localities, right down to the precinct level, with our organization, and we're doing it on an educational basis.

We're getting out the vote, and we've had considerable improvement there. When we get them to vote, we expect that the records we are constantly presenting to them through our publications will be used by the labor voters as their guide. Now, of course, we make no pretense of controlling that vote, and we admit very frankly that we don't control it.

In lots of cases our own members say, "Well, we won't vote that way." We expect that, because the tradition has been in our type of trade-union that the trade-union has been formed only for one purpose, and that was to take care of a member as a worker on the job.

Now, we still say that that's the purpose and the only purpose. We also say that, in order to take care of the men who are on the job, we've got to have an interest in politics, because it's through politics now, we find, through the passage of these so-called right-to-work laws, which are strictly antiunion laws and not right-to-work laws at all, that they are able to hamstring us in our organizing efforts and also in our efforts to improve the conditions.

So, we now say to our workers, "In carrying out our prime objective, politics is now in the picture, just as is the use of your economic strength through a picket line or through a strike."

Question. Were you active in the recent Wisconsin election in which a district sent its first Democrat to Congress?

Answer. Oh, yes. Our league was active in that district, because that district is both farm and labor. And, of course, the old tradition up in Wisconsin is something that we've had to contend with, because, every time we want to start a local league, our people up there say, "We don't want a local league for labor alone—we want a farm and labor league." I mean the farm-and-labor tradition is very strong up there.

Question. Did you endorse the Democrat, LESTER JOHNSON?

Answer. Our Political League in Wisconsin did.

Question. Don't you work closely with the CIO's political arm, too, in this vote getting?

Answer. Not nationally. I've never had a political conference with them on it. On the local level in some spots our people do cooperate. And if they can do this without departing from our policy, we don't object.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

Question. There used to be an AFL policy of upholding the protective tariff—what has happened to that?

Answer. That is not true. That is not an AFL policy. The AFL policy has been much closer to the free-trade policy than to the high protective tariff. There was an organization—and, of course, this emphasizes again the completely autonomous character of our unions—an organization known as the Wage Earners Protective League, which was composed solely of a small group of AFL national unions, with an office here in Washington and with a staff and with a paid lobbyist. That was the Wage Earners Protective League, and it spoke for that group of national unions.

While the AFL position was in favor of the reciprocal-trade pacts and of the lowering of tariff barriers, these specific unions were for higher tariffs and protection. They fight for higher tariffs in their specific field, and they also take a position which is contrary to that of the AFL in the general picture.

But they do not make an issue of it within the AFL, and as long as they do not make an issue of it within the AFL—beyond voting against the majority position on reciprocal-trade pacts—it's conceded that they have a perfect right to do what they're doing.

Question. Didn't the AFL convention back in the 1920's always pass protective-tariff resolutions?

Answer. That could be. I think there is something in that. But not in the last 25 years. Then there was the general feeling that any fellow who came across or any goods that came across in some way was a threat to us. Well, we've long since discarded that.

Question. You have opposed immigration?

Answer. Way back in the early days we did. We refused to support unemployment insurance, too, for many, many years. We were torn from hell to breakfast by the so-called liberals of that day, but we finally came around under the pressure of a terrific depression and decided that there was something in unemployment insurance.

RESTRICTIONS ON UNIONS

Question. What is your total membership?

Answer. About 10.2 million, something like that.

Question. Has that grown in the last few years?

Answer. It has grown slightly. The figures, however, represent a new method of

paying per capita tax to the AFL. The unions now are paying on their full membership, where before some paid on only part of their membership.

Question. Have your organizing efforts the last few years been as successful as they used to be?

Answer. Oh, no.

Question. What has impeded that?

Answer. The Taft-Hartley Act.

Question. Could you tell us just how that has happened?

Answer. Well, because any employer who wants to resist organization and is willing to make his plant a battleground for that resistance can very effectively prevent organization of his employees. There's no question about that at all. Any employer who is willing to spend the money and the time and the effort can, under Taft-Hartley, resist organization indefinitely.

Question. What in the Taft-Hartley law brings this about? What can employers do now that they couldn't do before? Are there more steps required?

Answer. Well, there are more steps required, and the employer has in this law all kinds of different avenues of resistance. For instance under Taft-Hartley there are several classes of employees who are barred from organization. The entire building-trades group are denied certification because of the inability of the Board to administer the law as it is written.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act—but not under the Wagner Act—the employer is placed in a position to covertly threaten and coerce his employees not to join the union.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act—but not under the Wagner Act— a limit has been placed on how frequently representation elections may be held. The Taft-Hartley amendment requires that at least 12 months must elapse before a union may call for an election, after it did not succeed initially.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act—but not under the Wagner Act—every legal certification as the collective-bargaining agent requires a long drawn-out formal election.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act—but not under the Wagner Act—full legal protection of collective-bargaining rights is available to a union only when the Federal Government—through its National Labor Relations Board—grants a license or certificate to a union.

Community Center, North Andover, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a portion of the address I gave on Saturday, February 13, 1954, at the annual banquet of the Community Center, North Andover, Mass.:

WHEN A COMMUNITY SLEEPS

Where there is no group of citizens willing and able to take time out from their personal affairs to look after the public interest, trouble begins.

And that goes for any community of any size, whether it be village, town, city, State, Nation, or the whole world.

The United States was founded on belief in individual freedom, of giving the widest possible scope for the development of each person. But that does not mean that we should escape from all authority or responsibility.

Even in the smallest community—that of the family—if there is no interest in the welfare of one another, the seeds of breakdown are sown.

North Andover is not plagued by that lack of public interest, of that indifference which encourages corruption in Government, economic distress, juvenile delinquency, or any of the other problems that get out of hand when a community sleeps.

However, your town is also a part of the larger community that we call the United States of America. In proportion to its size it, like all the other cities and towns from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, must assume some responsibility for what we do or fail to do as a nation.

All is quiet in Korea, the third largest and costliest war that we fought.

Even now there is a movement on foot to recognize Red China as an equal, to forget its aggression, to erase the memory of its war crimes so that a few Americans may make handsome profits.

Even now the youngsters who fought that war for us are being remembered only on Memorial Day and Armistice Day.

All because there are some special interests who want us to forget.

It is my firm belief that we must not forget until the aggressors make amends for their crimes against humanity and show concrete proof that such cruelties will never be perpetrated again.

What happened to some of our young men in Korea could happen right here to us 5, or 10, or some more years from now, if we sleep.

Only an aroused public opinion, knowing the truth and insisting that our State and Defense Departments keep wide-awake, strong in mind and body, can protect us from the Communist conspiracy against humanity.

I want to bring to you tonight some of the inside story on Korea. It is not a pretty revelation. But it is realistic and it is something we should know to save us from bargaining away our chances of survival.

In January of this year, after a thorough and documented investigation and supported by actual photographs taken on the scene, a subcommittee of the United States Senate gave its report on Korean war atrocities.

The purpose of the investigation was to bring to the attention of the world in general—and to the American people in particular—the type of vicious and barbaric enemy we have been fighting in Korea, to expose their horrible acts committed against our troops, and to foster appropriate legislation.

The evidence before the subcommittee conclusively proved that American prisoners of war who were not deliberately murdered at the time of capture, or shortly after capture, were beaten, wounded, starved, and tortured; were molested, displayed, and humiliated before the civilian populace; and were forced to march long distances without benefit of food, water, shelter, clothing, or medical care to Communist prison camps, and there to experience further acts of human indignities.

These are all a planned part of Communist psychological warfare. The atrocities committed in Korea against the United Nations troops by Chinese and North Korean Communists are not unique in Communist history, nor can they be explained away on the grounds that inhumanity is often associated with so-called civilized warfare.

When you see in the newspapers, newsreels, or on television, pictures of Russian leaders at diplomatic conferences they dress, look, act, and talk like human beings, but there all similarity ends.

Remember how they were responsible for the murder in cold blood of thousands of Polish officers in spite of the fact that they were prisoners of war during the early days of World War II?

Previous to the Senate revelations of which I speak, a committee of the United States House of Representatives conducted an investigation of this Katyn Forest massacre. In its report it stated that, and I quote:

"This committee noted the striking similarity between crimes committed against the Poles at Katyn, and those being inflicted on American and other United Nations troops in Korea. Communist tactics being used in Korea are identical to those followed at Katyn. Thus this committee believes that Congress should undertake an immediate investigation of the Korean war atrocities in order that the evidence can be collected and the truth revealed to the American people and the peoples of the free world."

The Communist forces in Korea, trained in Russian methods, flagrantly violated virtually every provision of the Geneva Convention of 1929, as well as article 6 of the charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany.

I shall not give you the direct testimony of young Americans who survived these tortures, because it is too hard to take first-hand.

In general, American war prisoners who were not killed at the time of capture, or shortly thereafter, were forced to participate in what was uniformly described by survivors as "death marches." Shortly after capture, the Communists confiscated the heavy outer garments and the combat boots of the Americans, forcing them to march barefoot. The suffering was intense as the weather was extremely cold, and many prisoners froze their feet. The average food ration consisted of one rice ball a day and a little or no water. Many died from malnutrition, dysentery, beri-beri, and pneumonia. Beatings, lack of food, and inadequate medical care of the wounded resulted in numerous deaths. Prisoners who were unable to continue the marches because of exhaustion were killed by the Communist guards. Many suffered an appalling loss of weight, and it was not unusual for one man to lose as much as 45 pounds.

Those who reached the Communist prison camps were not permitted to practice their religion; and on numerous occasions were beaten, humiliated, and punished. Not only were they denied medical care, but they were subjected to experimental monkey-gland operations. Housing conditions were horrible, resulting in widespread disease.

Political questioning and forced Communist indoctrination was constant, and the men were subjected to physical abuse and other punishment when they refused to be receptive to Communist propaganda. Letters of prisoners were not mailed by their captors, and Red Cross aid was in no way permitted. One witness testified that, during a 7- to 8-month period at camp No. 5, 1,500 prisoners died of disease and malnutrition. During 3 months at camp No. 1, 500 Americans died. The Chinese and North Korean Communists did not bother to make a record of the dead.

All the evidence, and I cannot recount the particulars that are too gruesome, clearly proved that the Communist policy governing the treatment of American prisoners of war came from the command level. This was borne out by the mass slayings on numerous occasions, and particularly during the times of United Nations offensives. In virtually every instance the killing of American prisoners was either ordered, or performed, by a North Korean or Chinese Communist officer.

Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, former commander of the United Nations Forces in Korea, testified that the Communist brutalities were "* * * a studied and calculated course of criminal misconduct, carried out with such callous disregard of human life and suffering as to indicate a design on the

part of Communist leadership to exterminate prisoners of war in one way or another."

Lt. Col. Jack Todd, head of the War Crimes Division in Korea, said that "the animalizing of helpless humanity through starvation, torture, and neglect is one of the most scathing indictments of Communist-inspired brutality."

Lt. Col. Robert Abbott, himself a prisoner for almost 3 years, stated that the Communist policy of starvation was preconceived and "it is something they have given a great deal of thought to, and they have applied it effectively in their own countries against their own type, and they use it continuously against their political prisoners and have found it very effective, and they thought they could do the same with us."

The most accurate estimate of American troops who died as a result of war crimes, as of November 1953, was 5,639. This figure is appalling in view of the evidence that the grand total of all Americans repatriated was only 3,503. This indicates that approximately two-thirds of all American prisoners of war died due to war crimes. This does not include those who survived atrocities and were repatriated, or the verifiable estimate of 5,000 other United Nations troops, or of the 17,000 civilian victims of the Red terror.

This is the enemy who receives his training and his orders from Moscow.

Early in the war I demanded that the United States should trace and verify and keep a record of every atrocity report, with an eye to eventual punishment of those responsible for these deliberate tortures. The evidence cries out to high heaven, but I doubt whether our Government has any intention of following through when the opportunity comes.

As always we must rely upon the American people to remember.

North Andover is a pleasant town in which to live and bring up children. Your homes are neat. Your schools and churches are free. You do your daily work without fear, under laws that are designed to protect you equally, without any discrimination as to race, creed, or color. Yours is the United States in miniature, devoted to peace and progress. But it may not last if we sleep, while the enemy works night and day to conquer us.

That is why I congratulate the public spirit of North Andover and its citizens. Forever alert, it will help us to maintain those American freedoms that have been won at such great cost by young Americans like those in Korea who suffered so much to show us the real nature of the enemy.

The Launching of the "Prairie Mariner" by the New York Shipbuilding Corp. at Camden, N. J., Makes Another Fine Addition to Our American Merchant Marine—The Need of an Adequate Merchant Marine for Our Country Cannot Be Overestimated

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, February 13, 1954, the launching of the *Prairie Mariner* took place at the Camden, N. J., yard of the New York Shipbuilding Corp.

The *Prairie Mariner*, a 13,300-ton, 561-foot dry-cargo ship—one of the largest and fastest of its type in the world—makes another fine addition to our American merchant marine. It is another illustration of the fine workmanship and skill for which this fine shipyard has become famous. It is a welcome and important addition to our fleet of cargo passenger carriers designed for use either in peace or war emergency. We trust that it may never be necessary to use it other than in peaceful pursuits.

The exercises at the launching were brief, but adequately pointed to the importance of this addition to our merchant marine, and the necessity of maintaining an adequate shipping and shipbuilding industry as a means of national security.

The addresses on the occasion of the launching were made by H. W. Pierce, president of the New York Shipbuilding Corp., and CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Member of Congress, representing the First Congressional District of New Jersey. The addresses are as follows:

REMARKS OF MR. H. W. PIERCE, PRESIDENT, NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORP., AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE STEAMSHIP "PRAIRIE MARINER" AT CAMDEN, N. J., FEBRUARY 13, 1954

The ship we are about to send down the ways this cold morning is one of five Mariner-class vessels which this yard has been building for the Maritime Administration of the Department of Commerce.

The name of each is made up of a State nickname and the word "Mariner"; thus we have launched the *Garden Mariner*, honoring our State of New Jersey, the *Diamond Mariner* for Delaware, *Empire State Mariner* for New York, and today the *Prairie Mariner*, named for the great State of Illinois.

To my right is the fifth and last of the group, the *Silver Mariner*, for the State of Nevada, which will be launched in a few months.

These Mariners are among the world's fastest and largest dry cargo vessels. Thirty-five ships comprise the program and were specifically designed not only to serve in the long-haul trade in peacetime, but to be independent of convoy protection in wartime—suitable for military cargoes and quick conversion for wartime use.

For the pleasant task of christening this vessel, we are delighted that the Maritime Administration has seen fit to choose the lovely and gracious lady from our own section, Mrs. Charles A. Wolverton of Merchantville, and I must add "Washington" since the duties of her distinguished husband keep them both in that city the major part of each year. The occasion, therefore, takes on much of the atmosphere of a home-town reunion, and I welcome many civic and political leaders of this vicinity who have braved the cold to be with us today.

The husband of our gracious sponsor needs no introduction here. Congressman WOLVERTON has served his country and represented the people of this district in Washington for over a quarter of a century. He has more than a mere passing interest in shipbuilding, and is extremely well informed on shipping matters. This Delaware River which flows past has been known for generations as the Clyde of America. He told me today that he welcomes this opportunity to talk with you about shipbuilding. I am honored and delighted to present him to you now, Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, AT LAUNCHING OF STEAMSHIP "PRAIRIE MARINER"

The launching of a great ship is always a thrilling occasion. Those of us who are privileged to be here today are about to witness a scene which fills all Americans with pride—the addition of another fine vessel to our country's merchant fleet.

All who have contributed to the building of this huge cargo carrier, soon to carry the American flag on the sealanes of the world, can take deep satisfaction in the product of their skills and energy. To them we say, gratefully and sincerely from all our hearts, "Well done."

We would not be honest with ourselves as Americans, however, if we failed to make this occasion an opportunity for some plain speaking, so far as our country's shipbuilding industry and its future are concerned.

As my fellow citizens here in New Jersey realize only too well, the prospects revealed by an inventory of our situation are far from pleasant. The fact is that American shipbuilding is fast becoming a forgotten trade in the United States. Let us look at the record.

Eighteen years ago we enacted a national law, the Merchant Marine Shipping Act of 1936. The law was statesmanlike in purpose and principle. It gave promise that the United States of America might once again, after nearly a century of decline, become a self-sufficient marine power.

In that law, the Congress reestablished the principle that it was essential "for the national defense and the development of its foreign commerce that the United States have a merchant marine sufficient to carry its domestic waterborne commerce and a substantial portion of its waterborne export and import foreign commerce, and capable of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or national emergency."

That act sought to provide protection for American craftsmen engaged in the shipbuilding trades. It took recognition of the well-known fact that labor standards and wages paid in other shipbuilding countries were far below those prevailing in our own country, and that shipbuilding costs were correspondingly higher here than abroad. Accordingly, it sought to provide for compensation to be paid to American shipbuilders to take care of such differences in costs.

The passage of that act led to the formulation of a 10-year plan of American shipbuilding. The plan was just getting into operation when the clouds of World War II began to show on the horizon, and the 10-year program died, so to speak, in infancy.

Since the war we have affirmed on several occasions the soundness of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. In 1952, it was amended, and somewhat improved, but no orders for merchant ships resulted.

During this past year of 1953, not one contract was let for the construction of a single merchant ship in the private shipyards of the United States.

Last August, the Congress enacted a law creating a Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. It consists of 17 members: 7 appointed by the President of the United States, and 5 each from the House of Representatives and the Senate. Under that law, the Commission was directed to examine, study, and report on international trade and its enlargement along lines consistent with a sound national economy, our foreign economic policy and the trade aspects of our national security and total foreign policy. Finally, it was asked to recommend appropriate policies, measures, and practices, based on its study and conclusions.

On January 23 of this year, the Commission tendered its report to the President and to the Congress. No doubt, it offers some worthwhile, useful observations. But, with respect to our merchant-marine policy, I do

know that the Commission's recommendations reflect a shocking lack of concern for the interests of American labor in the shipbuilding trades and in the ship-operating occupations.

The Commission recommends that, in determining its merchant-fleet requirements under the policies and principles laid down in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, the United States should—and I quote—"take account of the availability of foreign vessels and of the importance to the balance of payments of foreign maritime nations of their dollar earnings from shipping services."

As I see it, this recommendation to the American Nation, stripped of polite language, means that we should ignore the principle set forth in our merchant marine law; namely, that this country should have a strong merchant marine of its own, capable of handling its commerce and of serving as a naval and military auxiliary in time of war or emergency. The recommendation of the Commission means that we should now adopt the principle of letting other countries provide the ships to carry our commerce, and rely on foreign countries to meet our needs in time of war or other emergency because these countries need the money to keep their economies stable.

To put it another way, the Commission is saying in effect something like this:

These other countries can build ships cheaper than we. In fact they have plenty of ships to take care of our needs. They can build more. They need dollars. We should not be helping our own merchant marine to keep afloat, because that means we would have to compensate our shipowners for paying high wages to American workers on those ships. Also, we should not think of building merchant ships because American shipyard workers get high wages, and we would have to compensate American shipyard workers, through their owners, in order to maintain those high wages. The Commission says in effect—let the American shipyard workers do something else; let labor in other countries build our ships.

That isn't all. The Commission has still another recommendation. It says we should drop the statutory requirement that at least half of our shipments of goods owned or financed by us be shipped in American vessels. You see, we now follow the policy that when our Government ships goods and material to our own American defense forces in other parts of the world, or ships goods we are giving to other nations, at least half of such shipments must be made on American ships. The Commission says we ought to let foreign ships carry it all.

American shipyard owners and American shipping interests have been quick to point out that if recommendations such as these should be adopted it would mean the end of merchane marine construction in this country, and American shipping would die on the vine.

They are absolutely correct, in my opinion, that such would be the inevitable result. The only explanation I can see for these recommendations is that the Commission—in its shortsighted concentration upon getting more dollars into the hands of our friends abroad—appears in this case at least to have lost sight of one of the basic obligations with which it was charged; namely, to consider first the soundness and integrity of our own national economy and the interests of our people.

However, I refuse to believe that these recommendations will ever be adopted. A number of the members of the Commission itself have already registered their dissent. I am sure that the vast majority of my colleagues in the House and Senate share my concern for the welfare of our merchant marine, and of the men who build and operate our merchant ships.

But it is not enough for us simply to turn aside proposals such as this, which, if adopted, would kill the principles laid down in our merchant marine law. The 1936 statute itself needs to be supplemented by provisions to make it workable today. That will require study. We must establish a definite method of determining the differences in building costs as between here and in other countries. We should establish more definitely the exact terms and conditions under which our shipyards are to be compensated for these differences in costs. We need to provide against present uncertainties which result in controversy after completion of building contracts.

Needless to say, I am ready to do all in my power to help bring our merchant marine law up to date, so that we may go to work and build the ships we need to provide for our future peacetime needs and to meet any defense emergency.

Let us begin—at once. It is far from a pleasant sight to witness so vital an American organization as our merchant marine fall into decline in the face of the ever-increasing activity and growth of our country's industry as a whole. We of this Camden area are proud to be a part of the dynamic development that has taken place in our Delaware River Valley. But we can hardly be expected to cheer very lustily at the sight of foreign ships steaming up that river with the essential raw materials for our great plants and factories. We don't entirely blame the owners and managers of those factories for getting the most for their transportation dollars. The remedy does not lie with them alone. It lies with all of us, and with our Government.

In the meanwhile, we have naval construction. I hate to even bring that up. Naturally, I was deeply disappointed that this yard was unable to secure a substantial share of the current awards out of the 1954 naval program. I understand that in the case of the aircraft carrier award, the successful bidder had overwhelming advantages by reason of having already started construction of an identical type of vessel, and could therefore eliminate important planning-cost elements from their quotation.

Nevertheless, the differences in bids were uncommonly great, it seemed to me. If I am correctly informed, the cost of production—of building the ship—apart from the costs of planning, of materials, steel, and so on—is a very big factor in estimating for a bid on a ship of this kind. If this be so, the size of your bid, as compared with the others offered, would seem to indicate a need for considerable improvement in efficiency on your part before you can hope to bid successfully on future construction. Regardless of how much new shipbuilding should develop, you would have to get your production performance in line with your competition to get contracts.

Speaking of naval construction, I am confident that our future building programs will be geared to take up a lot of the slack in construction which took place in the years immediately following World War II. In this connection I am told that Russia, now the world's second-largest naval power, has been outbuilding us in almost every class and type of naval craft, such as submarines, destroyers, cruisers. With the world so preoccupied with atomic and hydrogen bombs, guided missiles, jet aircraft, and so on, it is thought provoking to note how much importance that powerful nation attaches to naval equipment.

At all events, we have the facilities, the manpower, the technological know-how, and the craftsmanship and skills to meet any challenge that may come to the peace and saftey of our country. Aware of the realities of our times, we need only the will and the determination to live up to our responsibilities, to keep our Nation strong in all its parts. That means, among other important things, a strong merchant marine, which in turn means a live, working shipbuilding industry, abreast of, not dependent upon, the rest of the world.

Shackles on Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in an editorial published in the Chicago Sunday Tribune on February 14, 1954, a series of inducing causes are noted that provoked the tax mess with which this Congress is concerned and endeavoring to remedy. The editorial stresses the fact that Federal estate taxes at prevailing rates are playing havoc with our prosperity and national economy.

I agree that, as and when recommendations are presented calling for a revision in the present tax structure, equitable adjustments pertaining to present prevailing Federal estate taxes should not be ignored or omitted. This suggestion is in keeping with the informative and analytical editorial.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the editorial hereinbefore referred to, and which is as follows:

SHACKLES ON PROSPERITY

The tax mess which President Eisenhower and Congress seem determined to make a start at cleaning up is an accumulation of 19 years. The man chiefly responsible for the situation was Huey Long, the rabble-rousing Louisiana politician of the depression years.

In the early thirties, Long appeared to be sweeping the country with his share-the-wealth clubs, promising everybody an income of $2,500. With only a week's campaign the Kingfish, as he was called by his associates, won the senatorship in Arkansas for Hattie Caraway, who had not been given a remote chance earlier. After accepting his support fully, and welcoming him at Sunday night suppers at the White House, President Roosevelt, angered by something Huey did, turned over all the Louisiana patronage to Long's enemies. Huey went on organizing his share-the-wealth clubs and by early 1935 was reported to have 200,000 groups in being.

F. D. R. and his advisors were worried. Senator Joe Robinson in Arkansas and Senator Pat Harrison in Mississippi, the leaders in the Senate, were contemplating defeat at the hands of Long's followers on the basis of reports they had received. Mr. Roosevelt, in ill humor because of the setback he had just received when the Supreme Court held several of his reform measures unconstitutional, began to doubt, as Raymond Moley wrote in 1939, "whether Huey's followers could be weaned away by logical argument. Perhaps it would be necessary to woo some of Long's support away with a counter-offer."

With such things on his mind, President Roosevelt wrote his tax message of June 19, 1935. He called upon Congress to change the tax system because existing tax laws operate to the unfair advantage of the few. He

asked Congress to vote increases in individual, corporation, estate, and other taxes to bring about a wider distribution of wealth.

The 1935 tax law, embodying most of the Roosevelt proposals, was signed by the President on August 30. Less than 2 weeks later Huey Long died at the hands of an assassin. If the murder had taken place 6 months earlier, the financial policies of the American Government would undoubtedly have been different.

But despite Long's disappearance from the scene and the resultant breakup of his Share the Wealth clubs, the law was not repealed. In fact, once started on the policy of sharing the wealth, Mr. Roosevelt went further and further. Even when Congress boosted the maximum tax rate on corporations to 95 percent and the tax on individuals nearly as high, he was dissatisfied and called the law a measure "to aid the greedy at the expense of the needy." President Truman followed the same line as his predecessor. The only important reduction in taxes was in 1948, and then it was passed by a Republican Congress over a Truman veto.

The soak the rich or anticapitalist tax policies of Huey Long followed by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations paralyzed private business for much of the last 19 years, except when stimulation was applied to the economy through debt, war, and inflation.

The Eisenhower administration has launched a program of tax reform with the purpose of enabling private enterprise to provide full employment without war, inflation, or debt. But there is one fatal weakness in the Eisenhower program which will prevent it from realizing its declared objective. It does nothing at all to that awful destroyer of equity capital, the Federal estate tax.

The major source of risk capital has been the savings of men of large means. Under the estate tax, the lifetime savings of a successful man are taken upon his death by the tax collector and disbursed for the current expenses of the Government. This has serious consequences for the whole economy.

The $15 billion collected in estate and inheritance taxes since 1935 would have solved many problems. Assuming that such a fund in private hands increased as much as the general price level, it would now total $30 billion. Such an amount could have created 2½ million peacetime jobs in industry. It would have doubled the expansion in electric power output in the last 19 years. Left to the rightful owners the capital would have produced income the Government could have taxed annually in the tougher years that are yet to come. If the present generation is obliged to pay estate taxes at the prevailing rates, what capital will be left in the country?

House Resolution 407

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of barriers to the free flow of interstate commerce which are now being restored as the result of action by various States in retaliation for Ohio's axle-mile truck tax.

Since the introduction of that resolution, four southern States—Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, and Virginia—have begun to tax trucks from Ohio in the dispute over reciprocal agreements and several other States have announced the cancellation of their agreements effective March 1.

The net effect of the breakdown in these reciprocal arrangements, under which trucks from one State could go into another without paying any additional fees or charges, is to resurrect the customs barriers which the commerce clause in the Constitution was designed to eliminate. With each passing day, the situation in the interstate trucking industry is becomeing more urgent.

I have recently received a communication from Representative Roger Cloud, of the Ohio House of Representatives, the author of Ohio's axle-mile tax. Mr. Cloud has endorsed a congressional study such as I proposed, recognizing that the movement in free interstate commerce by trucks has increased so substantially in the past 15 years that problems have been created which the States themselves have not yet been able to solve.

It would seem that the time is propitious for the Federal Government to consider legislation standardizing loading rules for commercial vehicles engaged in interstate commerce and, if possible, to levy a uniform use tax applying equally to all such commerce in each State—

Mr. Cloud wrote.

Such a tax should not be levied, however, unless the Federal Government simultaneously vacated the gasoline tax, which it is now collecting, to the States. By no means should the Federal highway-tax load be increased in total. Like many other people I am averse to increased Federal intervention in governmental affairs but from the inception of our Government, interstate commerce has been conceded to be a field requiring Federal regulation—

Mr. Cloud added.

Admittedly, the issues arising out of the Ohio axle-mile tax are complex. They are far-reaching and of vital importance to the general public and economy of the Nation. Mr. Cloud is to be commended on the time and effort he has applied to this serious problem.

I am convinced that the creeping breakdown of reciprocity among the States is a proper area for examination by the Congress of the United States. It is the very purpose of the commerce clause in the Constitution to foster free trade among the several States.

Pleas for Federal action have come to me and, I am sure, to other Members of Congress from many of our constituents affected by the Ohio truck tax. It has been suggested that the Federal Government should step in to solve the problems of interstate relationships. Other proposals call for Federal standardization of rules and fees for interstate truck traffic. Other recommendations are that the Federal Government should withdraw from the gasoline tax field and permit the States to tap additional gasoline revenues in order to help finance their highway construction program.

The trucking industry itself, I understand, is to meet in Chicago March 8, 9, and 10 to discuss what Federal action might be necessary to restore reciprocity and alleviate the heavy burdens that will have to be borne by consumers from pyramiding of truck transportation costs.

I urge leaders of the trucking industry to be statesmanlike in their approach and to consider constructive proposals for halting the trend toward the breakdown of the American system of highways while at the same time recognizing the legitimate needs of States for additional highway revenues.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following letter addressed to me by Roger Cloud, of the Ohio house of representatives:

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Columbus, February 4, 1954.

Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I understand that you have recently introduced a resolution calling for a congressional study of taxes levied on commercial vehicles which are used in interstate commerce and particularly the Ohio mileage tax. I do not know the purpose for the introduction of the resolution, but if it is to promote a study on the proper rules to be adopted for the use of such vehicles in interstate traffic, then I commend you for it. There is an opportunity for you to perform a real public service in this field. There is now, and has been for some time, a real need for a standardization of rules for intercharges between States for vehicles engaged in such commerce and also for uniform rulest governing load limits and vehicular dimensions.

The enactment of a road use charge for heavy vehicle highway usage in Ohio was made necessary by the adoption of a long-delayed highway improvement program. It is presently being levied on all heavy vehicles which use Ohio highways whether or not they are licensed within this State. Use taxes, including the gasoline tax, cannot be levied equitably unless applied equally to all highway users.

Nevertheless the charge has been made that the Ohio mileage tax has disturbed reciprocity and created trade barriers between States. Use taxes, again including gasoline taxes, do not erect trade barriers. Under them, all who are subject to their application are charged in direct relationship to the benefit derived. There has never been any contention that gasoline taxes and turnpike charges, which are levied on all vehicles without regard to State lines, have acted as trade barriers. Rather, it is the imposition of high flat taxes on out-of-State vehicles which create obstacles to interstate commerce since these have no relationship to usage or benefit. The Ohio mileage tax does not serve as a barrier to trade, but Kentucky's high flat fee does. Ohio's charge is related directly to actual highway usage, while Kentucky's flat charge against Ohio trucks has no real relationship to usage. The courts, including the United States Supreme Court, have held that highway use taxes which are directly related to benefit are not in violation of the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution but that the exaction of flat privilege fees would be so construed.

The word reciprocity seems to hold different meanings for various persons. The dictionary defines it as equal treatment, but it is used by some, in the field of highway taxation, as meaning blanket forgiveness of taxation; wherein truck operators would pay truck taxes for use of highways in their own State, but none would be required to pay such taxes in any State except the State in which they were domiciled. It would seem hardly possible that the highway expansion programs which are needed in every State

could be financed on such a basis. Again, this strange theory has never been applied to the major highway supporting tax—the gasoline tax.

It is wise to refrain from charging license fees, or other flat charges, on out-of-State vehicles and Ohio proposes to adhere to this practice. There are many indications that other States, also wrestling with highway finance problems, are leaning toward the adoption of a policy of avoiding flat fees in interstate highway charges.

The movement of freight in interstate commerce by truck has grown so tremendously in the past 15 years, that problems have been created in this field which have not yet been fully solved. If prudence is exercised, solutions can be reached which will not be damaging to the industry and will still accomplish a proper finance program for highway construction.

It would seem that the time is propitious for the Federal Government to consider legislation standardizing loading rules for commercial vehicles engaged in interstate commerce and, if possible, to levy a uniform use tax applying equally to all such commerce in each State. Such a tax should not be levied, however, unless the Federal Government simultaneously vacated the gasoline tax, which it is now collecting, to the States. By no means should the Federal highway tax load be increased in total.

Like many other people, I am averse to increased Federal intervention in governmental affairs but from the inception of our Government, interstate commerce has been conceded to be a field requiring Federal regulation.

In the absence of such Federal action, mileage taxes can operate successfully in individual States. Such problems of interstate relationships as do arise immediately after the adoption of such a tax in any State, can be readily solved by legislative action by individual States or through pacts made by several States. While Federal standardization of rules and charges in interstate truck traffic would be most advantageous to the commercial trucking industry, such is not necessary to the use of truck mileage or use taxes for highway finance.

I am now convinced, as I have always been, that the Ohio mileage tax is fair and just and that it can operate successfully. I am also convinced that the accomplishment of the highway program, to be partially supported by this tax, will reflect to the benefit of the trucking industry more than to any other class of highway users. This is as it should be for the trucking industry is a most important segment of our economy.

I have gone to considerable length to present some of my views to you for there seems to be considerable misunderstanding as to the views held by several of us who have recently been involved in the enactment of highway finance legislation.

Wishing you complete success in this and every other endeavor, and reiterating the belief that there is afforded you in this matter a real opportunity to render a distinct public service, I am,

Sincerely yours,

ROGER CLOUD.

The Status of the Arts in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, The Status of the Arts in the United States, by Lewis Galantiere, which follows, appeared in the 75th anniversary supplement of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Sunday, December 13, 1953. In connection with the status of the arts in this country my bill, H. R. 7106, would do much to encourage their progress to new heights.

THE STATUS OF THE ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Lewis Galantiere)

Everybody knows that in the jargon of international affairs the word neutralist means a person who refuses to take sides in the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States.

There are several kinds of neutralists. Some, like the Catholic Socialists of France, the Bevanite wing of British socialism, and the Social Democrats of West Germany are hotly anticapitalist, while professing themselves to be anti-Communist at the same time. Others are not anticapitalist, but they suspect that the United States Government is run by trigger-happy men who are not above starting a war against Soviet Russia in which they—Britishers and Europeans—would be the first to be bombed and invaded by the Russians. But whether these neutralists are of one kind or the other, they have this in common: they assert that Russia and the United States are alike in being barbarian lands with no respect for cultural tradition. What is more, certain militant anti-Communist intellectuals agree with them on this point, however much they may disagree on others. There is, for example, the Swiss chairman of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Denis de Rougemont, who speaks of Russia and America as two empires of the masses culturally unrelated to Europe. In faraway Australia, at the University of Melbourne, a Professor Friedmann wrote recently: "Behind all the tension and the fury, there has always been a measure of common values between modern Russia and modern America." Both, he says, go in for mass production and the standardization of the citizenry; both are cut off from the culture of classical Christian and Western Europe.

Leaving aside the astounding ignorance about American life betrayed in this imbecile parallel, what the charge comes to is this: we in America have no true cultural life; instead, we have mass culture, a leveling downward of all the arts in the interest of the mass market afforded by our national magazines, our movies, and our radio and television. With us, the writer's ambition is not to depict the world as he sees it and reflects upon it; his ambition is to make the Reader's Digest, the Book of the Month Club, the 25-cent reprint list. The composer's ideal is not the chaste string quartet, it is a Broadway musical show. The playwright yearns to be engaged to write a TV serial. The painter's ambition is to work for an advertising agency. The architect's dream is a contract from the builders of a suburban development.

For a long time past, this view of our culture has induced a deep inferiority feeling in some of our own writers and artists. An American composer home from a cultural mission abroad wrote indignantly to the New York Times that the American people ought to realize that art is more important than baseball. Another American, having listened to a Radio Moscow symphony concert in Germany and heard the announcer declare: "This is our answer to the American cultural barbarians. Bach or boogie-woogie: take your choice!" was so impressed that he wrote about it, contritely and miserably, in the Virginia Quarterly Review. Many earnest citizens ask if it is possible to look forward to another Emerson, or Hawthorne, or Winslow Homer in a land with 40 million TV sets, where magazines circulate in the billions of copies per annum and 230 million paper-covered books were sold in the single year 1952.

This is not an unfair question. We have had mass culture only some 30 years, since 1920, say. The best that we can do is to see what has actually happened to true culture.

Looking first at the status of American literature, we see straight off that in these 3 decades we have given the world no Joyce, no Proust, no Yeats. The most distinguished poet of our language, T. S. Eliot, was, it is true, born in St. Louis and educated at Harvard (he might murmur, as Sacheverell Sitwell did about his years at Eton and Oxford, mainly self-educated). It is further true that his guide and master was that fantastic American from Montana, Ezra Pound. But nobody can doubt that Eliot is an English, not an American poet. Yet, though we can show no Proust or Joyce, the fact is that from Britain down to Italy, all Europe acknowledges that the 2 decades from 1920 to 1940 were what the French critic, Claude Magny, has called the age of the American novel.

Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and Sinclair Lewis laid the groundwork. Faulkner, Dos Passos, Steinbeck, Hemingway changed the course of European fiction. In those decades the American novel (I must include also Dashiell Hammett as an influence) succeeded the Russian novel as the paramount influence upon the writers of the Continent. Since then, the American novel has declined as a force, but two other branches of American literature have risen in importance. W. H. Auden said recently (at a round table on American culture sponsored by the Advertising Council, Inc.) that living American poetry was more vigorous and interesting than any other he knew, and it is certainly so received in the British literary journals. It is not too much to say that, again in Britain, Edmund Wilson is held to be the first of living literary critics, while Lionel Trilling and the late Professor Matthiessen of Harvard are held in almost equal regard. Here, then, we are bound to say that excellence has survived mass culture, beyond question.

If there is one place where we have mass culture, it is in education. President Wriston of Brown University, speaking also at the Advertising Council's round table, said that an American had about 10 times as much chance as a Britisher or European of going to college. Alistair Cooke reported the sensational fact that proportionately to their numbers, more Negro Americans than Englishmen attend college or university. What is the qualitative result? As to students, our best are as good as anybody's, but on average our seniors are no better than the European sophomores. We may of course plead that where we get this mediocre result, Europe gets no result at all, since its youth, as a whole, do not get to college.

But does this mass culture kill excellence? The answer is a little mixed, but it is emphatically no. We have scientists who are the equal of any on earth. On the other hand, we are as a people too impatient for immediate results, too concerned with applied research; and we are still in too great measure dependent upon Europe for basic research. But taking the sciences and humanities together, any list of world-renowned scholars would show a gratifyingly high proportion of Americans. Our medievalists, for instance, are in the front rank. American scholars have revealed basic new aspects of thought in Victorian England. It is here, not in England, that the great new editions of Dryden, Milton, the Boswell papers, the Horace Walpole papers, the Thackeray correspondence are being produced. McIlwaine on early political thought, Lancaster on the French theater, Painter on Magna Carta and the reign of King John, Merrit on Greek epigraphy, Thorndike on medieval science are the acknowledged peers of the European workers in their field.

There is a mass interest in painting and sculpture, and it is something totally new in the United States. This interest stems from three sources. Primarily, it is the fruit of a quarter century of work done at Harvard by Dr. Paul Sachs and others to train professional art museum curators—a venture only second to professional library training in its cultural impact, and one which prompted a writer in the Swiss Neue Zuercher Zeitung to say that European curators had everything to learn from their American colleagues about bringing the public into the museum. The second cause would seem to be the improvement (and cheapening in cost) of color printing in Europe. Many thousands of Americans have bought these new art books that are a delight to the eye without being an excessive strain on the purse; and on the walls of thousands of American homes we now see color prints of the greatest modern paintings, from Cezanne to Matisse, and beyond.

Here there is no question of killing excellence, for the mass product is itself of the highest excellence. It has certainly stimulated "Sunday painting" enormously. It may have stimulated picture buying, for shows of contemporary American painting tour our many museums with the regularity of concert musicians. Meanwhile, another impulse—the GI education bill—sent thousands of young Americans to the art schools. What will come of all this, it is still too early to say. We know only that, although American sculpture remains commonplace and entirely derivative, the world of American painting is vigorous, experimental, and, for the first time in history, not inferior to the product of the younger painters of Europe. It has certainly not been blotted out by the simultaneous advance in skill and taste of American photography.

Concerning architecture, my own ignorance requires that I do no more than summarize certain observations made by Dean Burchard, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. If Frank Lloyd Wright, that poet of American architecture, was a pioneer, his first disciples were not his own countrymen, but were central Europeans, Scandinavians, and Brazilians, and it was from the Europeans who came to our shores that our architects learned to design buildings reflecting the spirit of the age. Our official (governmental) architecture, Dean Burchard said, was unspeakably bad; our industrial architecture was on the whole first rate (though the same oil company that will authorize a magnificent building as its headquarters will also drop thousands of horrors on the landscape in the way of filling stations); our domestic architecture was the finest anywhere.

Even more than music, the legitimate theater has been threatened by the mass product offered by the movies and later by radio and TV. The movies are on the decline. A majority of their audience is made up of children, and the overall volume of attendance has been dropping for several years. But it was in the heyday of the movie (and of the radio) not in a time of their decline, that Americans first began to write serious plays: Eugene O'Neill, Sidney Howard, Elmer Rice, Robert Sherwood, Thornton Wilder were not deflected from their serious purpose by the glitter of the mass rewards. In fact, they obtained those rewards, without compromising their art, on Broadway itself.

But Broadway is not what it used to be. Its characteristic is economic change rather than artistic decay. High costs—among them the union wages of stagehands and musicians—determine what can be produced. There is no assurance any longer of a comfortable run; there is only the question, Does the producer dare to take the risk of not getting his money back by bringing out a smash hit? Playwrighting talent is scarce on Broadway, though it is commonly agreed that acting talent is better than ever before.

While Broadway has declined, a nationwide interest in living drama has grown up. Thousands of amateur groups are performing the best of modern plays. Numberless local professional theaters are to be found in cities small and large. Scores of universities have not only their drama workshops but their own handsomely equipped theaters. Certainly we could do with more dramatists; certainly it is possible that, discouraged by conditions on Broadway, they find a livelihood in TV and the movies; but if we abstract Broadway from the picture it is not untrue to say that first-rate theater has never flourished so luxuriantly in the United States as in this period of mass culture.

When we turn to music in America we enter a realm that would astound and delight an interested foreigner. I shall not waste time on grand opera, except to agree that we have far fewer opera houses than are to be found in Europe and to point out that we do have, now, a respectable number of native American opera singers of international reputation. What is more significant is that we are in "the golden age of the symphony orchestra." Some 800 amateur orchestras and well over 50 excellent professional orchestras, of which 4 or 5 have not their peer in Europe or in the world, bear witness to this fact. The American composer who thought that our people were more concerned with baseball than with art was not aware that in 1951 we spent $45 million to hear concert music and only $40 million to see professional baseball. He forgot, presumably, the millions of dollars that go into buying phonograph records, of which it is estimated that as many as 40 percent are art music.

I speak here of ballet—that fusion of the three arts of music, design, and choreography—because music is its basis. Our ballet troupes (thanks most of all to the vision and persistence of Lincoln Kirstein, founder of the School of the American Ballet) are as good as the best that England can show, which is itself better than anything to be seen on the continent. (From this statement Moscow must be excepted as regards technical skill; but the Communists have forbidden experimentation. They have no Martha Graham; they have no choreographers with her genius.) In theater music, meanwhile, America leads incomparably. Benjamin Britten is perhaps more fertile in invention and lofty in purpose than our men; but adding all Europe together, there is no galaxy there to compare with our Kern, Gershwin, Porter, Rodgers, Menotti, Bernstein. No first-class Italian opera has been composed in 40 years. Musical plays used to come from Vienna; nowadays the world takes them from New York.

In sum, music is the art with which most Americans are most familiar. Has this mass appreciation cheapened that art in the United States? Certainly not. For one thing, numberless Americans participate actively in our musical life—they play and sing, they do not merely listen. For another, it is in this very period of mass cultivation of music that we have bred, for the first time, not isolated composers like a MacDowell or a Chadwick of 40 years ago, but a whole brood of composers of serious music. One may know a lot about art and yet find it difficult to judge of the quality of contemporary artistic expression. It is therefore hard to say how good the music is that is being written by Copland, Sessions, Barber, Bernstein, Moore, Thomson, Varese, Menotti, Nabokoff, Carter, Shapero, Cage, and a dozen others. The inspirers of most of them were two Europeans who live among us—Stravinsky and Hindemith—and a third who died here, Schoenberg. Of those over 40 years old, most were the pupils of the greatest teacher of composition of our time, Mlle. Nadia Boulanger, of Paris. Europe can show their peers; but it cannot show their superiors in this age.

There is nowhere in the Occident a composer under the ages of 60 years who deserves to be called a genius and a master. There are many in America who have raised musical composition as far above the level of, say, Charles Wakefield Cadman as the novels of Glenway Wescott are above Graustark.

Summing up, we may say that we have proof that in the United States mass culture has not stood in the way of skill, idealism, and seriousness in the arts.

On Vocational Rehabilitation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the Clarksburg Exponent, on January 30, 1954, showing the outstanding rehabilitation record of the State of West Virginia, and the sharp reduction in Federal funds for vocational rehabilitation for the year 1954.

The editorial follows:

ON VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

The economic and social values of vocational rehabilitation were pointed up in the 32d annual West Virginia Rehabilitation Report for the 1953 fiscal year, released recently.

Through scores of case records in all categories of disablement as well as pertinent charts and statistics on cases served, funds expended, rehabilitations achieved and the income of rehabilitants, the report emphasizes that it is cheaper to rehabilitate the handicapped with public funds than to support them on public assistance and in State institutions. It also points out that employed disabled people are taxpayers rather than tax users.

West Virginians can be justifiably proud of their State's outstanding rehabilitation record. As compared with the Nation as a whole for the 1953 fiscal year, it ranked third among the States and Territories in rehabilitations per 100,000 population. On this basis, its average number rehabilitated was 75 compared with a national average of 37, which means that more than twice as many disabled West Virginians were rehabilitated as in the average State on a per capita basis.

Seven thousand one hundred disabled men and women received rehabilitation service during the year. Of this number, 1,655 were prepared for and placed in suitable jobs. The aggregate annual earnings of the 1,655 was increased from $405,964 before rehabilitation to $2,663,232 after rehabilitation. This amount does not include the income of rehabilitated self-employed farmers and family workers. Of the 1,655 rehabilitated, 80 percent were unemployed at time of contact, 20 percent of whom were on relief. Those employed at time of contact were doing jobs injurious to their health and were in need of more suitable jobs.

The average cost of rehabilitation per case was $466.27 which the report points out is far less than the cost of maintaining the disabled person in dependency.

A total of 16,982 disabled men and women have been rehabilitated into jobs since the program was initiated 32 years ago.

The report describes in special sections the division's services to the disabled in a number of areas such as the following: Guidance, training and placement, physical restoration, the blind, the severely disabled, the mentally handicapped, and the controlled vending stand program.

Facts are given on the interagency project for the rehabilitation of incapacitated parents receiving aid to dependent children grants from the Department of Public Assistance. The DPA referred 5,920 incapacitated parents to the division for rehabilitation within the year. Of this number, 4,238 were processed. The report points out that the purpose of this project is to remove as large a number of disabled persons from relief as possible.

The report states that the division was working against a backlog of 5,312 cases which had not been investigated at the close of the fiscal year. It points out that it is cheaper to rehabilitate the disabled as soon as possible after the onset of disability, but states that many requests were deferred for long periods because staff and facilities were not equal to the need for service.

It is pointed out in the report that the sharp reduction in Federal financial participation in vocational rehabilitation by the Federal administration places the future rehabilitation program in jeopardy. The reduction in Federal funds for the 1954 fiscal year is $156,000 with a further planned reduction of $69,000 for the 1955 fiscal year. These reductions in Federal funds were made without giving the legislature an opportunity to make up through State appropriation the amount of Federal reduction.

A Long-Time Observer Smiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in the Washington Star of February 14 by Frank Kent:

WRITER RECALLS ABUSE DIRECTED AGAINST HOOVER AND OTHERS

(By Frank R. Kent)

The Democratic leadership in Congress is achieving a new eminence. It is rapidly qualifying for first prize as the greatest unconscious humorist of the year. This is another way of saying that, aided by the professional propagandists of the Democratic National Committee, it is becoming highly ridiculous.

The basis of this allegation is the obviously contrived and coordinated tirade of various more or less conspicuous Democrats, including Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY of Minnesota, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas and others who broke out this week in violent and pained protests about the terrible Republicans who have been calling them—or their party—names. On the floors of the Senate and House, in various syndicated columns and over the air there have been loud and lugubrious echoes. Some of these gentlemen have beaten their breasts and thundered bitter warnings that unless President Eisenhower at once repudiates these Republican villains, casts them out of the Republican Party and personally apologizes, no further help whatever could be expected for his program from these besmirched, bemeared, and justly angry Democrats.

Another group, instead of being indignant and denunciatory, chooses to pose as terribly hurt and bitterly disappointed that the President should have "let them down." And, of course, it was impossible for the highly repetitious and publicity-craving Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, who bolted the Republican Party in the last campaign and now calls himself an "independent," to keep out of such a congenial uproar. It is true that very few persons pay much attention to anything that Senator MORSE says these days, but it is impossible for him to resist an opportunity to grab a headline or miss a chance to assail the President.

At his most recent press conference the President expressed himself in disapproval of the extreme speeches that have been made and as hoping neither administration officials nor the Republican committee would contribute further to partisan bitterness. This would seem to put an end to the weeping and wailing. It does not, however, alter the fact that the Democrats have put on perhaps the biggest cry-babyish act that has been presented in national politics in years. The essence of the Democratic bleat is that Governor Dewey, Senator MCCARTHY, Attorney General Brownell and others have indicated that the recent Democratic administrations were touched by treason, graft and corruption. These allegations are not new. They have frequently been made since the cases of Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and other traitors in high places were uncovered. So, too, has there been vigorous and general comment upon the numerous petty mink-coat, deep-freeze, etc., grafters of the Truman regime. In addition, the tax fraud and other charges, made on the Senate floor by Senator WILLIAMS of Delaware have neither been challenged nor answered.

Considering all this, the sudden sensitiveness of these Democratic leaders to these old charges is somewhat amusing. No one wants to defend the uncontrollable and irresponsible MCCARTHY, but the names he and others have been calling the Democrats are mild in comparison with those used by that famous name-caller, Mr. Truman, in his "give-'em-hell" speeches and letters since 1948. And when it comes to name-calling, there have seldom been lower depths reached than those achieved by the Democrats in their years of vilification of the now universally respected Herbert Hoover, who never once whimpered or bleated.

However, all these things appear to have disappeared wholly from the memories of these indignant and hurt Democrats who are calling upon General Ike personally to repudiate, eliminate and apologize for these rude Republicans. To repeat, their attitude is silly—and they ought to feel cheap. As to the threat or warning that unless Ike does repudiate, etc., the Democrats will not support any part of his legislative program, there is a very simple answer. Unless they believe in what he proposes they should not support it anyhow—regardless of MCCARTHY and the other name callers for whom he, of course, is in no way responsible.

Furthermore, it may be asked what kind of game these wounded and inflamed Democrats think politics is, anyhow? It, of course, would be splendid if there were no name-calling, no exaggeration and no bitterness in either party at any time. But no such national campaign can now be recalled. While certainly two wrongs do not make a right, nevertheless it does seem more than a little absurb for party leaders whose name-calling record has never been excelled, and whose last two Presidents were accustomed to call liars those who differed with them or whom they just disliked, to become so emotional when some rough epithets are applied to them.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include part of an address I gave on Sunday, February 14, 1954, before the Lithuanian Citizens' Club of Lawrence, Mass., in connection with their program commemorating the 36th anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

Another year brings us that much closer toward that day, as yet hidden in the future, when Lithuania will regain her freedom.

Communist Russia thinks that it has conquered your people. Moscow adds up the number of Red soldiers and tanks and planes and guns and secret police that occupy your homeland, and comparing this force with the folded arms of the Lithuanian people who stare back in silence at their oppressors the Communists think that they have all the power on their side.

They do not understand that even the ground they walk on is resentful of their presence and refuses to yield the crops that they expect.

They fail to reckon on the millions of Lithuanians who are free, like yourselves, both in the United States and in other countries of the Western World, who are beyond their control.

You speak up for those along the shores of the Baltic who cannot.

You keep alive the memory of Lithuania's greatness.

Year after year, in publicly honoring the anniversary of Lithuania's independence, you give men hope and determination to work for the eventual liberation of your fatherland.

Communism, believing only in the material things of this world, cannot cope with the greater power of the human spirit that no Iron Curtain can stop.

There is quiet resistance to the Communists in Lithuania.

It is helped by the thought of you in the United States who will not permit the continuing crimes of the Communists against your people to be forgotten.

Here is the rallying point for the counter-offensive against communism that will someday sweep this vicious tyranny from the face of the earth.

Stalin is gone, and there is evidence that the Reds themselves would like to erase him from their memories. Beria, the dreaded chief of the secret police, and the right arm of Stalin, has also been removed from the scene, but not through natural causes. A group-government has taken over the reins in the Soviet Union, watching one another nervously. Certain minor concessions have been made to the Russian people, to curb the growing restlessness among their own citizens. There are signs that all is not well within the huge fortress that is called Russia.

The Lithuanian people have demonstrated throughout their history that they have the endurance to outlast any conquerors. They can wait for the pressures boiling up within Russia itself to finally explode or force the Communists to make grudging concessions to the Lithuanian people to encourage greater production from them. In either case, Communist controls are bound to weaken, or be destroyed through revolution.

Not this year, nor 5 years from now, but in the future where true progress will doom the Reds to final and complete defeat.

Lithuania survived Ivan the Terrible.

It saw Stalin come and go.

It will outlive Malenkov, or those who succeed him, until tyranny itself falls exhausted from its own hates and fears.

Whatever may have been said or done at Yalta, and we do not know the full story yet, of one thing we are certain. The American people—all your neighbors and friends in the United States, no matter what land their forefathers came from—never recognized the forcible annexation of Lithuania and never will. We are all blood-brothers in our devotion to freedom, and we shall not rest until this wrong has been righted.

The current reaction against one-man power in Russia gives our diplomats an opportunity they never had before.

Now, there are bound to be some divisions of opinion within the Kremlin concerning Soviet policies and tactics.

It is not necessary for us to go to war to win the battle for truth and justice.

As difficulties mount within Russia, our leaders should become firm in all their negotiations at any conference table.

The Communists have been carrying on an international bluff for some time, which they can't back up, because they are not sure how far their own subjects will support them.

Therefore we should speak up now—demanding the liberation of Lithuania and other captive nations before we enter into any agreements with Molotov and company concerning the solution of world problems.

The Soviets can never remove from the records that February 16 of 1918 when the restoration of the independence of Lithuania was proclaimed.

They cannot conquer this stubborn fact.

Lithuania will again be free, and the Soviets will save themselves a lot of trouble by withdrawing soon, before their headaches become incurable.

This much is sure: Lithuania will be a sovereign nation long after the Red terror has disappeared from the earth.

And your faith will be vindicated.

Here's an Arizona Miracle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, Here's an Arizona Miracle, prepared by the public relations department of the Valley National Bank, Phoenix, Ariz.:

Down in the gently sloping San Pedro Valley of southern Arizona, the tailor-made city of San Manuel—the Nation's most modern mining community and Arizona's fastest growing city—is rapidly being dressed in the habiliments of a 20th-century municipality.

The buttoning up of this miracle of American enterprise was made possible when eastern and western banking capital met on common ground outlined by a pattern reading "faith in the future"—and agreed to provide more than $6 million to finance one of the most unique municipalities ever to appear on an architect's drawing board.

San Manuel is located 43 miles northeast of Tucson in what was formerly cactus-choked Arizona desert land. In less than a year it has moved from the drawing board to three-dimensional activity. By midsummer it will be the home of 3,000 persons—consisting of the families and the men who will mine a nearby multi-million dollar copper deposit and the tradespeople who will serve them.

The existence of a huge deposit of copper and molybdenum ore in the Red Hill area, 8 miles northeast of San Manuel, has been known to Magma Copper Corp. geologists for more than a decade. But it wasn't until a few years ago that a combination of a $94 million RFC loan and modern metallurgical advances made it evident that the half-billion-ton deposit could be profitably mined.

There still remained the problem, however, of carving a complete city out of a wilderness in order to house the men who, in turn, would be carving the ore from under the earth's surface. Emphasizing that no shoddy boom town was wanted, Magma Copper let out development contracts to the Aldon Construction Co. and Louis Lesser Enterprises, Ltd., both of Los Angeles, and the Del E. Webb Co. of Phoenix—with the latter firm handling the actual building.

It was at this point that the dynamic Valley National Bank of Phoenix was approached and asked to provide funds for financing San Manuel's construction. Plans called for 1,000 modern homes, business and shopping centers, recreational areas, and civic buildings—and more than $8 million in interim capital was needed.

Valley National promptly agreed to spearhead the underwriting. Later it invited the venerable First National Bank of Boston to join in the venture. For the latter, it is another example of how a bank, founded in 1784, has steadily broadened its horizon in direct proportion to the passage of the years.

For Valley National, the home State bank, it is another example of its slogan—Progressing with Arizona—being translated into reality. Ever since Valley National was born in the Arizona frontier town of Solomonville shortly before the turn of the century, it has geared its own remarkable growth and prosperity to the area it serves.

Perhaps that explains, in part, why Valley National is the largest bank in the eight-State Rocky Mountain area—and has been since 1945. In 1933, when Walter R. Bimson assumed its presidency, the bank's $7 million in deposits ranked it 557th in the roll-call of financial institutions. In December 1952, when he retired as president and became board chairman, Valley National's deposits had climbed to over $300 million.

Last month Earl Bimson, Walter's brother and successor as president, reported total deposits of $316 million and a ranking of 70th among the Nation's 15,000 banks. Ask either of the Bimsons what Arizona needs most and he will promptly reply: "Water and capital."

Valley National can't provide water—although it has helped to finance a major share of the State's privately owned irrigation projects—but its record for providing capital for Arizona's amazing economic development is almost without parallel in financial circles.

Today, for example, Valley National is making sound, constructive loans at the rate of $1 million every business day. And today, as it has been for many years, it is the largest single source of bank credit in Arizona.

Appropriately enough, the bank's 34th branch at San Manuel is in a mining community—as was the first branch. The San Manuel office was opened last November—before anyone was living in the town—ready to cash checks, issue money orders, and open acounts as a service to the construction crews. And, although at the end of the first month's operation, cash on hand was still severalfold the total of deposits, the bank's officials were not disturbed. They know that, by 1956, the city's payroll alone will exceed $10 million annually.

Both in size and scope San Manuel is far more than a subdivision development. It is a gigantic undertaking calling for the creation of an entire new city. Public utilities have been carefully planned. Schools and churches will be conveniently accessible to residential areas. Parks and playgrounds are an integral part of the community.

But a year ago the first engineers on the scene found cholla cactus growing higher than their heads, and ground surveyors found it necessary to use walkie-talkie radios to keep in touch with one another, so thick was the desert vegetation.

Today, the visitor to San Manuel will find a network of paved roads, 400 smartly designed homes already constructed and a business area housing a supermarket, auto agency, laundry, cafeteria, furniture store, drug store, barbershop, doctor's office, and dry goods store. The homes are complete with carports, landscaping, automatic dishwashers, refrigerators, gas stoves, asphalt tile floors, ceramic tile baths, and porch-patios.

As soon as the first group of 1,000 homes is completed and occupied this summer, construction is expected to begin on a second block of 1,000 homes. And ground shortly will be broken for a hospital, theater, additional civic buildings and a 4,200-foot landing strip for aircraft.

Last year Arizona produced 42 percent of the Nation's copper—a tonnage equal to the combined output of the next three ranking copper-producing States. Once the nearby mine gets into production, San Manuel's resources will increase the Nation's total copper output by 7 percent.

Private enterprise is providing the engineering know-how that is making it possible today to profitably mine low-grade ore considered worthless only a generation ago.

And banks like Valley National of Arizona are weaving the financial fabric that is clothing model communities like San Manuel with living standards considered idealistic only a generation ago.

Together, private enterprise and modern banking are fashioning some of the most potent arguments in support of the American way of life at a time when a troubled world is being assailed by a host of spurious counterarguments.

St. Lawrence Folly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Herald, Boston, Mass., of February 2, 1954:

ST. LAWRENCE FOLLY

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

The United States Senate goes all out for the St. Lawrence River project. One hundred million dollars, the proponents say. Others say $500 million. For what? Electric power? The New York Edison Co. can produce on the East River more power with coal than can be produced on the St. Lawrence, and cheaper, because waterpower machinery costs five times what a coal-burning powerplant does, plus the terrific cost of transmission lines.

This proposed waterway will be choked with ice 6 months of the year, and only 10 percent of our merchant fleet could pass through when open.

The railroads are ready, willing, and able to handle all the iron ore they will take out of Labrador (this is the latest excuse for it), and now the proponents of this project would take the gravy from the railroads and leave 'em the grease by putting on the winter burden.

REGINALD H. SPRAGUE,
ORLEANS.

Politics Versus Civil Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, when I was home in Gary, Ind., over the weekend I received dozens of protests from citizens of both political parties criticizing the Postmaster General's explosive and uncalled-for ouster of Postmaster James Neugebauer. While attending a chamber of commerce banquet at the Gary Hotel last Wednesday, February 10, over a dozen businessmen and industrialists asked what they could do to have Postmaster Neugebauer retained as postmaster so he could continue the outstanding postal service which he has installed for the patrons of Gary. Members of veterans' organizations and labor organizations are almost unanimous in their denunciation of this uncalled-for political dismissal of a faithful Federal employee.

If civil-service protection and veterans preference amount to anything, Postmaster Neugebauer's appeal of his ouster will certainly be upheld. I am hereby incorporating with my remarks a resolution adopted by 14 locals of the CIO, which speaks for itself:

Whereas the strategy board of the following local unions of the United Steelworkers of America, composed of approximately 30,000 members employed in and around Gary, Ind.—local union 1009, local union 1014, local union 1066, local union 1117, local union 2143, local union 2695, local union 2697, local union 2852, local union 3008, local union 3061, local union 3069, local union 3603, local union 4061, local union 4402—are aware of the proposed ouster of the postmaster, Mr. James Neugebauer, of Gary, Ind.; and

Whereas an overwhelming majority of the responsible citizens of Gary, Ind., know that the postal service of their city has been greatly improved since the appointment of the present postmaster; and

Whereas a system of 14 substations to expedite the distribution of mail has been inaugurated and put into effect by the present postmaster; and

Whereas the efficiency of the postal department has been greatly improved as evidenced by annual audits, that of 1949 when the present postmaster was appointed showing an operational deficit of $100,633.99, but improving each year, with the 1953 audit showing a gain of $89,511 and this includes the annual expenditure of $50,000 for the operation of the above-mentioned substations; and

Whereas the present postmaster, a United States Marine Corps veteran of the World War II, honorably discharged, and a man of unimpeachable character, who has devoted his life to the motto: "Move the Mails," has shown by his long hours of hard work, his perseverance, his good will and loyalty, to merit his present position of postmaster of Gary, Ind.: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the strategy board of the above listed local unions of the United Steelworkers of America, Subdistrict No. 1 of District No. 31, go on record as requesting the retention of Mr. James Neugebauer as postmaster of the city of Gary, Ind.

ORVAL J. KINCAID,
Chairman, Strategy Board, Subdistrict 1, District No. 31, USA-CIO.
FEBRUARY 11, 1954.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I have been asked to include the address I delivered last Sunday evening, February 14, 1954, before the members, their families, and friends of the Lithuanian Naturalization Club of Worcester, Mass.

The address follows:

As your United States Representative in the Congress, it is a particular privilege to take part in this program commemorating the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Lithuania's Independence.

This annual ceremony is dear to the hearts of all Lithuanians and their American friends because it is held to recollect the date of February 16, 1918, which marked the end of well over a century of suffering under a hostile, foreign rule. Back on that joyful day, Lithuania stood forth as an independent democratic republic. There was cause for celebration then and the future was faced with confidence. Your homeland people were happy and prosperous in their own sovereignty.

Unfortunately, in this year of 1954, our observance here must be shaded with sorrow. The bright star of Lithuania's freedom has been clouded over by the violent storms of tyranny. We gaze with sadness upon the advancing tragedy of sacrifice to ruthless imperialism that has enveloped Lithuania; she has ceased to be an independent nation.

The slavish tyranny now being forced upon Lithuania and the other small nations is a continuing challenge to the moral conscience of this Nation and the United Nations to establish the great basic principles of freedom and liberty for all peoples. In simple justice, our Government can and should insist that the Lithuanian people be permitted their inalienable right to govern their internal existence as they themselves see fit.

Until Lithuania is free, we cannot truthfully say that the Christian objective of freedom for which two great world wars, and indeed the Korean war, were fought, has been accomplished. The major world powers, including the United States, remain acquiescent parties to the disgraceful betrayal of the smaller nations while they continue to allow peaceful, freedom-loving peoples to be cruelly dominated by the Soviet rule of imperialistic terrorism—which defies every decent concept of self-determination and democracy.

Although we mourn over her present plight, there is no cause for despair. Repeatedly through her history Lithuania has proved that her people can eventually overcome the temporary triumphs of oppressors. The Christian faith which in 1399 defeated the Tarter invasion and saved all Europe from barbarism is still with her today. It gives her the spiritual vigor to outlive any dictatorship. From my own knowledge and experience with my fellow Americans of Lithuanian descent, I know that deep in the heart of every Lithuanian is that passion for liberty and freedom which never dies. There is no power that can forever enslave a people who are determined to be free.

As the high mark of this ceremony, may I suggest that we rededicate ourselves in the determination to perseveringly reveal and present to the Christian world the facts and the truth about the persecution of Lithuania so that the United Nations and the United States will be inspired to accept the full moral and humanitarian responsibility of restoring Lithuanian independence.

In this rededication I am sure you will have the complete support of all Christian, freedom-loving people throughout the world. I am confident you can rely upon them to join in your efforts and prayers that your homeland may once again be free. May God grant that such a joyous day will soon be realized.

Congress and the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the New Haven Journal-Courier of January 26, 1954:

CONGRESS AND THE SEAWAY

United States participation with Canada in construction of a St. Lawrence River seaway has been O. K.'d by our Senate, by a fairly wide majority vote, with Connecticut Senators BUSH and PURTELL voting "nay." Now the long-standing proposal is up to the House.

Walter Lippmann calls the plan a project outgrown. He makes the main point that although American help was originally wanted in construction of the seaway for the comparatively short international stretch from Montreal to Ogdensburgh (28 miles, we believe) Canada is now abundantly able and really anxious to do the whole job herself. He says:

"The original plans for joint action have been talked about for decades. The present agreement was reached in March 1941. That was a few months before Pearl Harbor, and during the war the project which had not yet been approved by Congress was of course laid aside. It was revived after the war. But in session after session Congress has failed to ratify it.

"In the meantime Canada was entering upon her extraordinary postwar growth—with the discovery of vast natural resources in oil, iron ore, and other minerals, and with a corresponding industrial expansion. The effect has been to increase and to make urgent Canada's need for the seaway and for the hydroelectric power which can be generated by the fall of the St. Lawrence River. But that is not the only effect of Canada's industrial growth. Canada is now quite rich and powerful enough to build a seaway out of her own resources."

The seaway plan is now quite distinct from the hydroelectric problem, which New York

State and Ontario are ready and willing to tackle. Lippmann thinks the seaway project would be much better left to Canada from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Erie, the United States assuming responsibility for through navigation facilities from Lake Erie to the head of the lakes.

The suggestion seems eminently sensible. We agree with Lippmann that clearly defined zones of responsibility would avoid hazards of disputes and misunderstandings that are always possible in such a joint project as building the lower stretch of the seaway.

City Slickers Foiled Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROBSION, JR.
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, in Louisville we have an editor, Mike Barry, of the Kentucky Irish-American, who has established a national reputation for his unusual style of expressing editorial opinion. An interesting example is found in his editorial in the February 13, 1954, issue concerning the daylight-saving fight now going on in the Kentucky Legislature, as follows:

CITY SLICKERS FOILED AGAIN

The reckless bravery of State Senator Leon Shaikun, who introduced a bill in the Kentucky Legislature to put half the State on eastern standard time, is to be commended, but his bill has no more chance than a water buffalo in the third at Keeneland Race Track. (In the fourth at the Dade Track, maybe, if the track was good and muddy.)

Right away the rubes saw through Shaikun's clever scheme, and they all stood up and yelled, "That'd be daylight saving time the whole year round." Outside the city limits, daylight saving time is considered a step lower than dog poisoning.

It was a blow aimed at the farmers, said the hayshakers, although they know a farmer never looks at a clock except to tune in his favorite hillbilly program. The plow-boys work from "can to can't," from the time they can see to when they can't, and it wouldn't make any difference to their way of life (you call that living?) if clocks were declared illegal. All they need is an almanac.

And the school children, the poor little school children, who'd have to get up in the middle of the night if this devilish daylight time became law. The hearts at Frankfort, Ky., really bled for the kids. You'd think we were back in the pioneer days, when the children had to fight their way through trackless forests and hostile Indians to get some book-learnin'.

Now the kids leave their homes, walk out to the road, and are picked up by school buses. They come home the same way. What the clock says when they leave or arrive doesn't mean a thing.

The whole business is very simple. Daylight saving time is something the city people want, and naturally the yaps have got to be against it. Blind, stubborn opposition to city ways is born in these appleknockers. All they ever want from the shoe-wearing people is one thing—money.

They say the time change confuses them. Considering the level of education among our rural brethren, it doesn't take much to cause mental confusion.

Packages to Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken many times on the floor of the House of my deep concern over Poland's distressing plight, and today I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article entitled "Packages to Poland," which appears in the February issue of the publication News From Behind the Iron Curtain, published by the National Committee for a Free Europe, which follows:

PACKAGES TO POLAND

A Polish decree imposing crippling customs duties on parcels from abroad appeared to be a new step in the Communist anti-West campaign. Propaganda proclaiming the imminent economic collapse of the United States and the low living standards prevalent throughout the West has too often been dispelled by the receipt of gift packages from abroad. It is estimated that 100,000 parcels, mostly from the United States, are shipped to Poland monthly, and that since the end of the war Poles have received $100 million worth of goods. Hitherto, the regime has tolerated these packages because they have relieved considerably the acute shortage of consumer supplies; now, they are to be curtailed, not only because they are an "invidious" form of pro-Western propaganda, but because the government must boost its supply of foreign currency.

Under the new decree, only books, periodicals, photographs, and medical equipment, such as hearing aids and artificial limbs, will be admitted duty free. For other goods, import duties are excessive; at the current official exchange rate of four zlotys to the dollar, Poles will have to pay about $15 on a new pair of nylon stockings and $10 on a used pair. The intention of the decree is that money rather than parcels should be sent from abroad to the official import-export agency, PKO (General Bureau of Savings). Then PKO will keep the money and the recipient of the gift will be given the equivalent in goods from special state stores. The government will thus be assured a supply of foreign currencies.

Due to the unfavorable artificial exchange rate of the zloty it is expected that people will be discouraged from sending money to Poland in place of goods. Ten dollars exchanged for zlotys at the official rate will buy just one pound of coffee. With the curtailment of gift parcels, the Polish people will be deprived of many products which are either unobtainable or far too expensive. A new pair of shoes—of poor quality—costs a person in Poland more than $40.

Mr. Speaker, the purport of the decree issued by the satellite Government of Poland seems to me to be aimed at breaking one of the few remaining ties which exists between the enslaved Poles and their kind friends in the United States.

Poland, which today exists in the state of enslavement to Moscow, knows that once the Communist conquest of a nation is achieved, then the true nature of the ruling power in the Kremlin reveals itself in the most tyrannical form of modern imperialism. The exorbitant taxing of parcels from the United States fits into the well-known pattern of complete Comunist bondage so ruthlessly imposed on peoples behind the iron curtain. In bringing this regrettable situation to the attention of my colleagues, I urge you to wholeheartedly support House Resolution 422, introduced by Congressman EDMUND P. RADWAN, of New York, protesting this latest Soviet state-sponsored device for internally solidifying its power in Poland.

Justice and Discipline

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from the Navy Times of February 13, 1954, entitled "Justice and Discipline."

This editorial deals with the operations of the United States Court of Military Appeals and effectively answers some of the recent charges made against the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

I am sure none of us can disagree with the statement of the able Chief Justice of the Court, the Honorable Robert E. Quinn, when he says:

We do not—and shall not—accept the argument of some that military discipline and true justice are conflicting concepts.

I believe that this editorial approach is a basically sound one, and I commend it to the attention of all my colleagues here in the House:

JUSTICE AND DISCIPLINE

Whether or not it was the Womble report which motivated him, Chief Justice Robert E. Quinn, of the United States Court of Military Appeals recently had this to say:

"We do not—and shall not—accept the argument of some that military discipline and true justice are conflicting concepts. We have not lost sight of the necessity for discipline in military law. We will not lose sight of the fact that the first obligation of armies and navies is to fight and win wars.

"But, consistent with these objectives, we will do everything in our power to see that every member of the military forces accused of crime gets a fair and speedy trial, and an absolutely square deal."

We said in our December 12, 1953, editorial discussing the Womble report that its proposals on discipline were "somewhat too strong." That editorial discussed the benefit features of the report.

Now, we want to say something about military justice.

It is a fact that the pendulum of military discipline seems to swing too far in each direction. The Womble committee feels "The adoption of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, with its unwieldly legal procedure, has made the effective administration of military justice within the Armed Forces more difficult."

That's a long swing backward.

Now, some procedures of the new code are cumbersome. And it is foolish to give a man the grave responsibility of command without

the necessary authority to enforce his orders. Lack of appropriate authority all too often results in the commander being the ready-made goat for the sins of omission or commission resulting from loose administration.

But we do not agree with those who think the Code of Military Justice needs drastic revision. The code reflects the traditional American right to an open hearing of all the facts for and against the accused. It clips the wings of those who once could instruct a court: "I expect you to give this man a fair trial—and find him guilty."

This did not happen often. But it happened often enough, before the code, to give military justice a bad name. Some of that criticism which has been so overgenerously splattered over the "brass" resulted from shortcomings of the old justice system.

To junk the Code reforms unthinkingly would keep the military in hot water with the body politic all of the time. It would work against what is a real requirement both for discipline and for attracting candidates to the career service: the reputation of the leadership.

We know some tightening-up of the Code is due. But we trust the changes will be made by men who recognize the times in which we live, who recognize that all is new should not be discarded simply because it is new.

As evidence of Judge Quinn's sincerity, as evidence that some criticisms of the Code are groundless, readers of the court decisions which Navy Times has published know that the judges have avoided being merely legalistic and have not reversed court-martial verdicts unless some basic principle was at stake. Both courts-martial and review boards have been given more power by the top court than they supposed they had.

Now it takes time for these clarifications to affect justice at the working level. Although the Code itself may need some changes, it should be approached from the standpoint of what the Code is in practice this year 1954, not from what the operating level believed—in 1951 and 1952—the Code provided.

Finally, the Code has been throughly the acid test of war. This means that proponents of changes should be prepared to submit evidence of the manner in which the present system hampered operations in and about Korea.

We are sure that the self-appointed guardian of the Code, the House Armed Services Committee, will consider such evidence sympathetically. We are just as sure that committee—sympathetic as it is proving to the need for enhancing service life as a worthwhile career—will give short shrift to mere generalized complaints.

Clever and Sensible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. DELANEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial written about the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States. This editorial appeared in the Troy (N. Y.) Times-Record:

CLEVER AND SENSIBLE

The President has named James A. Farley as a member of the new Hoover Commission.

This is clever, and it is also sensible. Farley is one of the few top men of the Democratic Party about whose capacity and honesty there has never been any question. He is a man of his word, a deep student of public affairs, and a man tolerant of opposing opinions. He can compromise with anything except conscience.

If the new commission is to do anything in improving the organization of our Government, it needs men from both sides of the fence to study the problem. The Democrats have such men. But we doubt whether they have anyone with the long years of experience and the admitted ability in public affairs who can measure swords with Jim Farley. We think the President was wise to name him. And politically he was clever. He creates a nonpartisan spirit for the work.

Why the Rush—The St. Lawrence Seaway Proposal in Varied Form Has Been Haunting Every Session of Congress for Many, Many Years—It's Time To Take Another Good Look at the Time-Worn Arguments in Favor of Such an Economic Monstrosity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project has been a perennial subject before Congress for many, many moons.

Each time during the many presentations of the issue, advocates have always delighted in dressing it up in new regalia. Each time Congress had no difficulty in unmasking it, and after viewing it in its true light, consigned it to the limbo of impractical legislation.

Running true to form, this year the St. Lawrence seaway proposal played a return engagement, and garbed in the raiment of national defense it was speeded through the United States Senate at a breath-taking clip.

A brief editorial in the January 23, 1954, issue of the New York News asks the timely question: What's the Seaway Rush?

Since the editorial contains much food for thought it should be read by every Member of the House.

The editorial follows:

WHAT'S THE SEAWAY RUSH?

The St. Lawrence seaway bill was hustled through the Senate Wednesday in what looked to us suspiciously like a rush act. This proposal to make the St. Lawrence River navigable for ocean vessels has been kicked around for decades. Yet it passed the Senate by a 51–33 vote after only a few days' argument.

It is now in the bosom of the House Public Works Committee, which may or may not report it out for a vote by the full House. Chances of the bill's being reported out are estimated at 50–50.

DEEPEN THE ST. LAWRENCE?

We've always been dubious about this scheme. By the lowest estimate, it will cost the United States taxpayer some $95 million. For a considerable part of each year, the St. Lawrence is not ice-free. The seaway, by making Great Lakes ports seaports in effect, could be expected to leech considerable shipping business from the already harried Port of New York.

It is now argued that the project is vital to United States defense; also that, since Canada seems determined to put it through with or without our cooperation, we might as well string along.

Maybe. But let's have plenty of debate on the proposal if the Public Works Committee reports the bill out. The people are entitled to be shown the seaway's desirability, if any, before Congress buys it for them.

Absurd, Tragic, Cruel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 13, 1954, entitled "Absurd, Tragic, Cruel."

On Friday, when I introduced H. R. 7870, a bill to provide for the distribution of certain surplus food commodities to needy persons in the United States by the use of a food-stamp plan, I urged consideration by the Agriculture Committee of the House of my suggestion for moving some of the surplus foods out of Government warehouses and into the hands and onto the tables of needy people who are not enjoying adequate diets.

It was with deep gratification that I found an editorial in the Saturday afternoon edition of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch commenting on my suggestion and indorsing the principle outlined in my bill, H. R. 7870.

As the Members know, Mr. Speaker, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, founded by Joseph Pulitzer, is one of the truly great newspapers in the United States, and the indorsement by this newspaper of my proposal for a food-stamp plan is, to me, tremendously encouraging.

I know other Members will be interested in the Post-Dispatch's comments on this matter, and so I am including the editorial as a part of my remarks, as follows:

ABSURD, TRAGIC, CRUEL

"It is absurd and tragic and cruel to build up these mountains of hoarded food while families on relief, or in genuine need but ineligible for relief, struggle along on less than a minimum diet and in some cases actually go hungry."

Can anybody challenge those moving words? They are the words of Representative LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, of St. Louis, and they give powerful support to the bill she has introduced in Congress for a food-stamp plan by which Government-held surpluses would be distributed to needy families.

Mrs. Sullivan drafted her bill with the Dunklin County farm workers in mind. One of her principal aims was to provide machinery by which the Federal Government could deal directly with municipalities in surplus distribution, instead of going through the States. But the principle which she would apply to a particular situation in drought-

stricken southeast Missouri deserves sympathetic study for possible application on a wider scale.

A rudimentary food-stamp plan was in operation during the late thirties. It disappeared during the war, when the goal was unlimited food production and when high incomes enabled most families to provide for themselves. Now the farm surpluses are back, and as shown in Dunklin County in some cases the inadequate diets and inadequate incomes are back. Why not give serious consideration to the simple and unassailable idea of bringing the surpluses and the hungry within reach of each other?

This idea could, if given a chance, change the whole nature of the presently sterile debate over farm policy. No great principle, but only expediency, is involved in the dispute as to whether farm prices should be supported at 100 percent, 90 percent, or 75 percent of parity.

What has not been adequately discussed is the principle of stimulating food consumption as against that of curtailing farm production. Food stamps, expanded school lunches, possibly factory canteens, and direct subsidy payments to farmers—all of these methods of expanding consumption, as well as surplus distribution where possible overseas—should be studied as long-range substitutes for the present farm policy of price supports and crop control.

As C. Clyde Mitchell, University of Nebraska farm economist, told Congress last week, "There are no surpluses in the human sense." Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois, said the same thing recently on Meet the Press.

The real farm problem, here and in the world, is not one of producing less, but of finding ways by which needed production gets into the hands of the needy.

Build Railroad Grade-Crossing Separations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. O'BRIEN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, there are unmistakable signs now of an economic recession. There is increasing unemployment; drops in retail sales; together with a strange ever-increasing rise in the cost of living. These signs are indicative of exhaustion of consumer purchasing power. It might become a major economic catastrophe if the administration's reaction to these signs is an ostrich-like burying of its head in the sands and denying that the signs exist or a too feeble effort that will prove to be too little and too late. I am entirely in favor of an adequate roadbuilding program and in connection therewith and supplementary to an adequate road-building program I contend the Congress should make adequate provision for grade separations at railroad crossings. In this great country the entire job should be done and not by a piecemeal program that will not be finished for centuries and we are able to do it. It is needed to save life and it will be an enrichment to the Nation stimulating travel and trade. I urge this as one of the public undertakings to be pursued with speed and dispatch to help revive our lagging economy and in connection therewith I wish to cite the following resolution adopted by the common council of the city of Detroit:

Whereas the present Federal Aid Highway Act recognizes the danger of railroads crossing highways at grade and provides for the use of Federal funds for the building of grade separations; and

Whereas a very limited number of grade separations have been built in major cities in recent years where the problem is the most serious; and

Whereas there are 268 grade crossings in the city of Detroit at which there have been in recent years a great number of fatal accidents, great economic loss due to traffic delays, and much inconvenience suffered by the public; and

Whereas due to lack of funds at a State and local level there have been practically no grade crossings built in the city of Detroit since 1940; and

Whereas the present Federal Aid Highway Act does not earmark any funds for grade separation work as such, but does permit States to use a small portion of their allocation for grade separations; and

Whereas between the years 1932 and 1940 there was certain Federal emergency legislation passed which recognized and helped to solve the problem of grade separations by appropriating special moneys for grade separation projects as such, over and above the regular Federal aid highway allocations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress provide for a more adequate grade separation program in urban areas, by allocating a separate amount for grade separation projects as recommended by the States and approved by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Roads.

(Adopted unanimously.)

San Manuel, Ariz.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, this article appears in the January 2 issue of Business Week; January 4 issues of American Banker and Wall Street Journal; January issues of Banking, Finance, and Burroughs Clearing House; February issue of Fortune through the courtesy of the Valley National Bank of Phoenix:

Here's an Arizona miracle that makes a piker of Aladdin! Forty miles northeast of Tucson there is a rolling, cactus-studded desert area where, a few months ago, nobody lived.

A few months from now this site will be the ultramodern city of San Manuel, one of the 10 largest cities in Arizona.

Copper, of course, is the magic symbol that accounts for this fantastic transformation.

Magma Copper Co. owns thousands of acres in the area, and through its subsidiary, the San Manuel Copper Corp., is changing the landscape with a breathtaking vision that makes a piker of Aladdin and his wondrous lamp.

In the first place, Uncle Sam agreed to buy $184 millions of copper ore from the San Manuel mines.

Exploration disclosed enough low-grade copper ore at the 700-foot level to keep miners busy for 50 years.

Of course, this required a new crusher plant; a huge, multimillion-dollar mill, smelter, and a railroad. So RFC made the largest business loan in history—$94 millions—to develop this ore body and produce copper. One hundred million dollars will be expended before the first dollar's worth of copper goes to market.

San Manuel is expected to increase the total United States copper production by 8 percent, and the molybdenum production 16 percent. Last year, incidentally, Arizona produced more than 42 percent of the Nation's copper—more than 15 percent of the entire world output of copper.

In addition to machinery and equipment, obviously an operation this size also requires thousands of workers. So Magma rolled up its sleeves and started on a scale that puts the Arabian Nights to shame. A complete, spanking-new town is being built to house the employees and their families.

First, an internationally famous planner laid out the sites and winding roads. Then plans were drawn for modern, attractive, comfortable homes; for schools, churches, shopping centers; for playgrounds, utilities, sewers, paved streets, water systems, and so forth.

The city of San Manuel is designed to house over 7,000 persons. It will be a model community in every respect, with swimming pools, public parks, a hospital, and theater. Already homes and shops are being filled as rapidly as they are completed.

Before the first ore is shipped, San Manuel will take its place among leading Arizona cities with a payroll estimated at $10 millions annually.

The entire town is literally springing up to blueprint specifications, built with $8 millions supplied by private capital and managed by the builders, Del E. Webb Construction Co. An attractive city is planned, with neat lawns, trees, and shrubbery. Starting from scratch, there will be no wrong side of the tracks, no slums. And with a firm 25-year Government commitment on its copper, San Manuel need fear no ghost town future.

Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, February 16 marks the 36th anniversary of the independence of Lithuania, the little Baltic State which was unjustly occupied by Soviet Russia back in 1940, and which has since been ruthlessly enslaved.

The United States has never recognized the fake annexation of Lithuania by Communist Russia. In fact, the American people have on numerous occasions protested against the atrocities perpetrated against the Lithuanian and other Baltic peoples. The Congress of the United States has granted a haven in this country to many hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees since the end of World War II, and among these some 26,000 Lithuanians entered our country and are today loyal and productive citizens.

More recently, Congress has set up a Select Baltic Committee, which is now conducting an investigation of the forced seizure of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of Lithuania's anniversary, we reaffirm our solidarity with these heroic people and we renew our greetings and wishes that Lithuania will soon regain its independence from the yoke of communism. Their cause is a righteous one, they deserve our support and encouragement in their struggle for freedom.

Security Risks

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, in the U. S. News & World Report magazine for February 12, 1954, at page 72 thereof, is quoted a verbatim interview with R. W. Scott McLeod, top security officer of the Department of State. I read the question that was then asked him: "When a man is fired as a security risk, does not that in the public mind mean the same as a loyalty risk?" I now read you his answer to that question: "It is confused with loyalty—I think that is true."

That, gentlemen, was on February 12, 1954. I now read a true and correct copy of a letter by me to the President of the United States dated January 15, 1954:

JANUARY 15, 1954.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am a member again of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Therefore, you will understand that, to me as such committee member, it is of utmost importance and concern to have an itemized breakdown of the 2,200 Federal employees which you are understood to have related publicly were cut off the Federal payroll under the administration's security program. That is, I believe it is important to the people of our great Nation that all of us know specifically how many of this number which you have quoted in your state-of-the-Union message were cut off the payroll because they were found as actually subversive, and how many resigned before they had hearings, how many were found to be security risks because of habitual drunkenness, or lack of discretion, or homosexuality, or other specific causes.

This should include how many were cut off because of Communist affiliations or connections.

Mr. President, I am frequently asked the question whether or not conditions are improving with reference to the Communist conspiracy or subversive activities of the Communist Party in government. And you, sir, many months ago (I believe properly) stated that the executive department would handle its own problem in this regard.

But, to take out the uncertainty, the lack of present specific information, and in order to give the people the actual analysis of those who were cut off because they were actual security risks or on account of subversive activities or connections, I respectfully ask that you communicate to me by prompt mail, or that I be promptly informed with an itemized breakdown of them within the purview of this letter; to wit, the 2,200 Federal employees cut off the Federal payroll since you took over your very heavy responsibilities as President of our great Nation.

Respectfully,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, on January 20, 1954, I received the following letter dated January 19, 1954, signed by Gerald D. Morgan, Administrative Assistant to the President:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 19, 1954.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: This is merely an acknowledgment of the receipt of your letter of January 15 addressed to the President. You may expect a fully reply shortly.

With kind regards,

GERALD D. MORGAN,
Administrative Assistant
to the President.

Mr. Speaker, in this connection I will say that since I received that letter I have neither received a "full reply," nor any reply.

And now I read you a letter dated January 16, 1954, which I wrote to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.:

JANUARY 16, 1954.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

SIRS: I am a member again of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Therefore, you will understand that, to me as such committee member, it is of utmost importance and concern to have an itemized breakdown of the 2,200 Federal employees which the newspapers and other sources relate you have announced have been cut off the Federal payroll within the last year. Also the President in his state of the Union message made the same announcement.

I believe it is of utmost importance to the people of our great Nation that all of us know specifically how many of this number were actually found as "subversive," and how many resigned before they had hearings, how many were found to be security risks because of habitual drunkenness, or lack of discretion, or homosexuality, or other specific causes.

This should include how many were cut off because of Communist affiliations or connections.

I am frequently asked the question whether or not conditions are improving with reference to the Communist conspiracy or subversive activities of the Communist Party in Government. I am also frequently asked how many Communists or other subversives have been found within the Government and discharged within the last year.

But, to take out the uncertainty, the lack of present specific information, and in order to give the people the actual analysis of those who were cut off because they were actual security risks or on account of subversive activities or connections, I respectfully ask that you communicate to me by prompt mail, or that I be promptly informed with an itemized breakdown of them within the purview of this letter, to-wit, the 2,200 Federal employees cut off the Federal payroll since the inauguration of our distinguished President of the United States, President Eisenhower.

Respectfully yours,

CLYDE DOYLE,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, but not until February 4, 1954, did I receive any reply thereto. On that date I received the following reply, dated February 3, 1954, from Philip Young, chairman, acknowledging receipt of a letter very similar to the one I wrote the President of the United States the day before:

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1954.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. DOYLE: This will acknowledge your letter of January 16, 1954, requesting an itemized breakdown pertaining to the number of Federal employees released under the employees security program. I will get in touch with you at a later date.

Sincerely,

PHILIP YOUNG,
Chairman.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Young said: "I will get in touch with you at a later date." I have heard nothing further from Mr. Young, nor anyone for him.

Certainly the text of my letter to the President of the United States and also my letter to the Civil Service Commission, clearly shows that I was seeking important, pertinent information which I am still certain the American people are entitled to promptly and fully receive. I called attention in both letters that I am a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee which deals with the problem of "subversives" under Public Law 601. Under the law it is the legal duty and responsibility of members of that committee to investigate the extent of subversive activities. I wrote these letters on my own responsibility and not on behalf of the committee.

Now a month has passed since the date of my two aforesaid letters. Also, I am aware that by later resolution of the House Un-American Activities Committee some weeks ago, said committee asked the same information, with a breakdown of the number actually found as "subversives." The committee has not yet received such information. Whereas, since the date of my letters to the President and the Civil Service Commission, over a month ago, there has been frequently reported in the daily press, over the radio, and otherwise, statements and claims by high Government officials charged with such matters, by Attorney General Brownell, by the Civil Service Commission, and other governmental departments, to the effect that it would take a good deal of time, work and analysis to answer the increasing demand by Members of Congress and by the public also that it be publicly announced as to how many of the 2,200, or the 1,400 figure frequently used, were discharged on account of "loyalty" as contrasted with the discharging under the definition of "security," I wish to now say, that I am this day critical of the fact that it is now apparent that in the discharge of these 2,200 Federal employees as announced by the President and others in high office, there evidently was not kept any immediately available separate lists of those who were discharged on the grounds of "loyalty." Mr. Speaker, the term "loyalty" in the minds of the general public, I am sure, carries with it the implication of "subversive" conduct. And certainly whatever number of employees were dis-

charged on the grounds of "loyalty" should, therefore, have been carefully and immediately listed and kept separate from those who were merely "security risks" on the grounds announced by Mr. McLeod, in the magazine article.

There is radical difference and distinction between the factors presently used under Executive Order No. 10450 to discharge those who are separated from their jobs on account of security and integrity reasons and those who are separated from their jobs on grounds of disloyalty. Under such order, I hesitate to believe that those in high office today and who are responsible for firing those persons, however few or many there were, on the grounds of loyalty, neglected to, or did not, keep a very close and immediate and careful list of those who were discharged on loyalty grounds. If they did not, Mr. Speaker, why did they not? If they did keep such separate lists, it would be a comparatively simple and easy matter to total the number of such loyalty cases and announce that number. As I said, anyone found sufficiently disloyal to our beloved Nation to be discharged under Executive Order 10450 should, in my judgment, be immediately listed on separate and distinct lists. And these names should not only be promptly sent to the Civil Service Commission, but also to the FBI.

Assuming, therefore, that this brief analysis of the difference between loyalty cases and the security and integrity cases under Executive Order 10450 is correct, I now state that I believe it is in the interest of our national security, it is in the interest of giving the people of our beloved Nation the actual facts, for the administration to immediately release to the people of our Nation the number of loyalty firings and discharges which were listed by the governmental departments at the time that the persons were fired on the grounds of loyalty. Such a list should not have taken more than a very few days to assemble. I, of course, do not expect, nor ask, that their names be made public, but I do ask that further delay be eliminated and that forthwith the number of these persons be given to the public. Otherwise it will still stand in the public minds as a matter unnecessarily confusing. In fact, it is dangerously confusing. Whatever the facts the public should have them immediately. I am not afraid of the full information. Democracy is strengthened only in proportion as full honest-to-God facts and information are given the citizens of our Nation.

The factual truth will not hurt. The keeping from the public of the factual truth as regards "loyalty" and as regards "subversion," and as regards communism will continue to hurt. I cannot believe that anyone in the administration of our Government has a deliberate desire or intention that the American people be either mislead or misinformed, or kept from having the full truth. Knowing the truth is what will help keep us a free people. It will keep us a freedom-loving people.

Furthermore, it is certainly in the interest or accurate information and guidance of the thinking and the actions of the American people that the announcement made of the numbers of those employees discharged on the grounds of loyalty shall specify how many of the total so discharged were persons the investigation of whom had commenced or been finished during the Truman administration, and how many were commenced and finished during the new administration. Until such full announcement is made it appears to me that it is as clear as crystal that four results will remain in full force and effect until the uncertainty is dissolved: to wit: First, the people will be confused as to what percentage of persons of the total number of 2,200, or 1,400, announced by this administration were found to be really disloyal under President Eisenhower's Executive order as contradistinct from the previous Truman loyalty orders; second, the American people will continue in a state of more or less anticipating fear that it is possible that the number or percentage thereof is very much larger than it may actually prove to be; third, unless they learn the facts promptly, millions of American people will no doubt conclude that the fight being put up against subversion and conspiratorial communism, for which so many hundreds of thousands of dollars of tax money has been spent, and is now being spent, is being unwisely expended, or on the contrary, when the announcement for which I now speak is made, the American people may have cause to conclude that the tax money is being wisely spent; and, fourth, the uncertaintly which now continues in the minds of the people as to what percentage of these employees were fired as being subversives, Communists, or disloyal, cannot but pyramid and do irreparable damage.

Mr. Speaker, how can we members of the House Un-American Activities Committee adequately or efficiently perform our official duties under Public Law 601 if such pertinent information as aforesaid is not promptly available to us? Why, Mr. Speaker, should it not be promptly available to the American people who pay the bills?

The Cordell Hull Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, although the Cordell Hull Foundation is yet in its infancy, the scope of its influence for the future good neighborly relations between our Nation and other nations of the Americas has made a deep and lasting impression.

The educational exchange of students of all the Americas, through the means of the Cordell Hull Foundation, will constitute one of the finest possible means of perpetuating the ideal of the good-neighbor policy which grew from the heart and mind of Tennessee's greatest living son, Cordell Hull, during his long and distinguished service as Secretary of State.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have inserted in the RECORD an editorial from the February 2, last, issue of the Nashville Tennessean which points up the importance of the Cordell Hull Foundation in the minds of our neighbors to the south—also the high esteem in which Judge Cordell Hull is held by the people of all the Americas.

The editorial follows:

WELL SAID, SIR

Much has been said here in Tennessee and elsewhere in the Nation in praise of the scholarship program projected by the Cordell Hull Foundation to promote greated understanding in the Americas. Now comes an interesting expression from the other end of the line.

Latin Americans, said Nicaragua's Ambassador to the United States at the Hull luncheon in Washington Thursday, "will always remember the remarkable work of Cordell Hull when he was Secretary of State. * * * He was the outstanding architect of the good-neighbor policy which brought about solidarity in the Western Hemisphere.

"We feel that establishment of the Cordell Hull Foundation is most appropriate," continued Dr. Don Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa. "It will perpetuate the name and ideals of a great man."

The fittingness of the honor and of the work could not be more aptly stated. Coming from the dean of the South American diplomatic corps, this sentiment is one that we know Mr. Hull will cherish and officials of the expanding foundation will find encouraging.

Grant High School, Portland, Oreg., High on 10 Best Schools Lists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of the outstanding record which has been achieved by the Grant High School in Portland, Oreg., which is in the heart of my congressional district.

In a recent article in Pageant it is said:

In the search for the Nation's best high school, Pageant consulted with dozens of top educators. None would award any that accolade. But Portland (Oreg.) Grant invariably appeared high on their 10 best lists, so we went to Grant to find out why. This is our report.

It is pointed out in this article that almost everyone in Grant goes to college. In 1928, 70.8 percent of the graduating class went to college; in 1953, 74 percent, or 3 out of 4. This compares with the national average of 20 percent.

In order to ascertain the reason for this outstanding record made by the Grant High School, it is necessary to examine the full study as it appeared in the March issue of Pageant, which I include in these remarks:

THE BEST HIGH SCHOOL IN AMERICA—HOW DOES IT COMPARE WITH YOURS?

(By Charlotte and Ed Grosheil)

In the search for the Nation's best high school Pagent consulted with dozens of top educators. None would award any that accolade. But Portland's (Oreg.) Grant in-

variably appeared high on their 10 best lists, so we went to Grant to find out why. This is our report.

The dean of boys at Grant High School is a very busy man. Part of his job is to take charge of discipline and attendance, and since there are some 1,200 boys at Grant, his office is headquarters for those who have, or are, problems. But it was a delegation of girls who brought their problem to him last fall just after the term opened.

"We want to talk to you about the freshmen," the spokesman explained. "They don't seem to know how to act. They're noisy in the lunchroom, and they walk on the front lawn, and are marking up the walls. We wondered if there isn't some way for us upper classmen to show them that we just don't do those things at Grant."

The dean's answer showed a typical Grant faculty approach. "What sort of a plan have you worked out?"

"We'd like to divide up into teams of two and go around to every frosh registration room and give talks. Sort of explain things."

The dean nodded. "I think you have a good idea," and so, with official permission, but with neither official dictation nor help, the students carried out their own campaign to teach other students how to behave. That was a recent incident, but far from the first. In fact, it isn't just the freshmen and transfers whom the loyal Grant student worries about. It's anyone who doesn't act as if he or she knew "how things are done" at Grant.

The renegade student might deny it, students of rival schools might pooh-pooh it, but the fact is there is something special about Grant, something which makes undergraduates proud of it and keeps graduates from ever forgetting it.

It isn't the building. Grant added a new 14-room wing last fall but the basic and largest unit was constructed 28 years ago. Current enrollment is 2,365 students, which makes Grant a big high school. But other schools have more and better buildings, and many have more students. Besides, being large is a problem, not an asset, when it comes to developing the spirit which makes Grant "something special." Grant has a championship record in sports, but that's more or less aside from the point, too. The biggest student job, the presidency of the associated student body, has seldom gone to an athletic hero.

You can't define Grant High School in terms of its buildings, enrollment or record in sports. Yet families move into the neighborhood to be able to send their children to Grant; that's one of the problems Portland school administrators face. If they try to relieve the pressure at Grant by redistricting and sending some students to another high school, there are immediate howls from those students' parents. Their feeling is echoed by Grant's trio or administrators: Colton Meek, principal, Harold Kleiner, vice-principal and dean of boys, and Mary Schroeder, vice-principal and dean of girls. Mr. Meek told Pageant's reporters, "If they transferred me to another school, I'd be a very unhappy boy." Mr. Kleiner, who already has his master's degree, contemplates working for his doctorate, but emphasizes, "Not so that I could teach in a college. I never want to leave high school." And Mrs. Schroeder says simply, "If they took me away from Grant, I'd die."

Grant High School is located in the center of an upper middle class residential district in the northeast section of Portland, taking in one-fifth of the city's total area. Homes range from one-story cottages to the estates of the well-to-do on Alameda Drive, and in Dolph Park and Laurelhurst. The average house is priced at about $23,500. It isn't a new or "boom" area. Redistricting several years ago extended Grant's boundaries to the river, taking in trailer courts and poorer homes, but the area as a whole is a "solid community."

The people, like their homes, are well established and tend toward the conservative. There are more bankers than barbers among Grant High fathers, and only 6 percent of them are unskilled laborers. Between the vice president of a chain of banks and the truck driver are the representative Grant fathers: the contractors, engineers, foremen, salesmen, accountants, machinists, and radio and newspapermen.

There are few extremes in Grant's area, and hence few extremes at Grant High. The students come from homes that are pretty much the same; they have had more or less the same home training. They have about the same amount of spending money, the same quality of clothes. Churches in the district represent all major denominations and Grant students have a respect for things spiritual.

This homogeneity extends to racial matters. There are only 12 to 15 Negroes at Grant and about the same number of Japanese. To Pageant's question, "What is good about Grant?" a frequent student reply was "No racial prejudice." Eddie Washington, a Negro, is sophomore class president, and president of the Boys' League, the all-school club to which every boy at Grant belongs, is Japanese-American Robert Kinoshita. When Bob was asked what he thought was good about Grant High, his immediate response was, "Everyone fits so well together."

The secret of Grant's successful teamwork—"everyone fits so well together"—lies in large part in the philosophy of its principal. Colton Meek is, first of all, a well-rounded man. He has been everything from a football coach to an English teacher and he hasn't forgotten the problems of either. He has held a machinist's job and has a good background in industrial relations. He is a quiet man who never tries to outshine the people assisting him. It is his earnest belief that he should not try to run the school alone; he assigns areas of responsibility to members of his staff and then keeps hands off.

Mr. Meek carries on a tradition of trusting others established by the school's first principal. Grant's auditorium is decorated with murals dedicated to the memory of William Fletcher, who died suddenly in the summer of 1928 after only 4 years as principal. "Teachers and students were his friends. He trusted them, and they trusted him," the inscription reads in part, and that's the heart of the matter. As Colton Meek puts it, "We assume the student is going to do the right thing. We never expect him to do the wrong thing."

His vice-principals sometimes suspect that he is a little too lenient. Since they stand the gaff of discipline problems day in and day out, they occasionally feel more weary than broadminded. Weary or not, they always draw a heavy line between occasional misteps and persistent ones. They don't say out loud that everyone's entitled to one mistake, but they aren't rough with the student who makes it. Most first offenders vindicate this theory by avoiding that second time. On only one score is soft-voiced Colton Meek a tiger of a principal. Students may drive cars to and from school, but the boy or girl who as much as sits in the car during school hours is suspended instantly. This isn't just an administrative whim. Traffic is very heavy on the boulevards near Grant; the ruling is a safety measure.

In almost everything else, the emphasis is always on talking it over. This is usually done in the offices of the vice-principals and there's nothing formal or formidable about either of them. In fact, the boys are so little awed by Kleiner that they presented him with a facsimile of a well-known Reno gambling-joint sign, "Welcome to Harold's Club," which now hangs on his office door, establishing the tone of treatment meted out inside.

"We don't treat the students like angels," one veteran on the faculty remarked, "because we know they're not." Nor is the school run on an honor system, which Principal Colton Meek feels is as impractical in such a large school as going to the other extreme and policing everyone all the time. But the talking-it-over process works.

The give and take attitude does not end with the faculty's relationship to the students. There's another force which makes the high morale and camaraderie a three-way affair. That force is the parents. Grant High has the largest PTA in the State of Oregon. It is remarkable not only for its size—there are 1,146 members—but for the number of active male members. Grant students have fathers, a fact PTA membership in many schools does not even hint at. Grant fathers are so very interested in what their kids are doing that they have formed a Dad's Club, 400 strong. Last year its variety show netted $1,300 for school projects.

Every year the PTA helps the school by running a kind of information panel for parents of eighth graders about to enter Grant High; 600 parents, or sets of parents, representing half of the freshmen-to-be, attend the discussions. The panel has smoothed the way for so many students, in effect solving problems before they even rise, that the PTA held similar open discussion meetings last fall for sophomores, and another for freshmen. Interest doesn't stop with these organized projects. It's not at all unusual to see a father watching practice on the football field, or a mother attending a school assembly.

The teachers work with the parents. Every teacher at Grant belongs to the PTA, although the administration has never even suggested that they should join.

And the teachers work with each other. Fletcher, the first principal, believed in a strongly unified faculty and the spirit he fostered has never faded. Within the group of 92 men and women are many different types and ages, from the seven teachers who started with Grant the day its doors opened to the young art teacher who barely finished college last year in time to start her first teaching job. Today, 1 out of every 3 teachers is a man, and there are more married women than in the old days, who perhaps, have different viewpoints than their unmarried sisters. There are faculty clubs and faculty parties, but there are no "cliques."

Forty-five percent of the faculty hold advanced degrees. And that's not because Grant pays more. Salaries start at $3,600, and the highest is $5,600. The principal made better wages as a summer shipyard worker than as the boss of Oregon's largest high school. But few Grant teachers have been lured away by higher salaries.

Harmony among the teachers results in better teaching for the kids, more constructive relationships with the parents. An example of parent-faculty cooperation which has become part of Grant routine is the tardiness letter. When a student has been tardy three times his parents receive a letter inviting them to come and talk it over if there is some problem the school can help solve. As a result, the parent storming in with, "Why didn't you tell me what's going on? Why I had no idea!" is practically unknown.

One of the school's unwritten traditions is that almost everyone from Grant goes to college. In 1928, 70.8 percent of the graduating class went to college; in 1953, 74 percent, or three out of four. This compares with the national average of 20 percent.

Grant teachers encourage, but do not push, their students toward college. In fact, Vice Principal Kleiner sees a danger in this particular Grant tradition: boys and girls who can't afford it or who just aren't college material feel they have to go, too. Right or wrong, Grant remains a leading college preparatory school.

The old quip, "You get what you pay for" just doesn't hold at Grant. Parents and youngsters get a lot more. There are nine high schools in Portland. The total cost per pupil at Grant is $298.84 a year, the second lowest of the nine. Parents of Grant pupils don't pay more for the advantages their children receive, since the tax rate is the same for all Portland high school districts. The fact that the building is not new also means that students get more than they pay for; if the whole school were to be replaced today its probable cost would exceed $4 million as compared with its actual cost of $1,670,856.

"Teaching isn't a matter of buildings," Principal Colton Meek says, "it's a question of people." Grant is outstanding not for new and startling facilities but for the spirit and accomplishments of its people—the pupils and the teachers and the parents—the one thing that doesn't come built in at any price.

Grant doesn't try to be new and startling in its curriculum, either. It offers an interesting list of electives, some of them unique in the Portland school system, but the emphasis is on scholarship, plain, ordinary, basic education.

Minimum requirements for 4 years include 1 year of mathmatics, 1 of science, 3 years of social science, 2 of physical education, and 3 of English. This is a remarkably short list. Grant is unique in offering 4 years of 4 different languages (Latin, German, French, and Spanish) and yet there is no language requirement, and in general there are remarkably few musts for a school with its academic standing. The reason springs from the school's highly developed system of student counseling.

The counseling program, under the direction of Vice Principal Schroeder, who has been at Grant for 27 out of its 28 years, is based partly on citywide methods, partly on Grant's own way of doing things. In the first place, Grant has kept the home room, or registration room, which many schools have dropped. Each student registers with a teacher, and for 4 years for 1 period a day, meets with the same 30 to 35 girls and boys and this same teacher. It gives him a unit that is really home, and a teacher who knows him from his greenest freshman days right through graduation. His "reg room" is important socially, his "reg teacher" valuable when it comes to guiding him into the right course.

Besides this, a teacher is assigned as a counselor to a group of freshmen and remains as that group's faculty adviser right on through school. Every freshman has a private interview with his or her counselor, to talk over what he hopes to be and to try to forecast a 4-year plan of study. He goes back for interviews whenever he needs to, correcting this forecast as he learns where his ability lies.

Counseling, therefore, makes a long list of required subjects unnecessary. Through his counselor and his reg room teacher, the Grant student works out a tailor-made program, adding many pounds of elective subjects to the ounce of minimum requirements. Counselors emphasize that education does not stop with just meeting requirements; it's a matter of figuring out what your goal is and then preparing for it.

Grant's list of electives includes four courses inaugurated by Grant teachers which are not taught any place else in Portland. In each case the instructor began with nothing but a good idea and the principal's permission to try it out, and ended with 1 to 3 capacity classrooms of enthusiastic students. One Grant specialty is the Shakespeare course, created by Miss Ethel Ewer 15 years ago and taught by her ever since. Second is Miss Lydia Anderson's course in creative writing, another full-credit, year-long course. Third is an elective initiated by Mr. Zenas Olson, called "Pacific Rim," a class dealing with the topography, culture, and peoples bordering the Pacific Ocean. Fourth is a course taught by Mrs. Grace Hiestand exclusively to junior and senior girls. It is a class in sex and marriage relationships.

Grant is also unusual in offering 5 different art courses—general art, commercial art, art crafts, art metal, and art design, with a staff of 4 full-time art teachers. At the other end of the academic stick, there is an outstanding spread of senior math classes—trigonometry, solid geometry, and advanced, or college, algebra.

Grant has an enviable sports record, and again it isn't because of extraordinary facilities. The school has a practice field but no football field or stadium—Grant never plays a home game. There are only 2 tennis courts for 2,400 students. And the school has no swimming pool. Yet, in State championship playoffs Grant has won 5 of the possible crowns in football, 3 in swimming, 1 in baseball, 4 in golf. In the city league, Grant has won 10 firsts in football, 2 each in basketball and baseball, 13 in track, 18 in golf, 10 in tennis.

Traditions grow up among people who think, feel, and live pretty much the same way, and the characteristic "oneness" at Grant has resulted in a great deal of tradition.

Some of Grant's traditions are so official as to be carefully documented in the freshman handbook. One of these is the 1-week December "Twirp season." Boys may not speak to girls unless spoken to first, may not date or even telephone a girl; violators are tried in twirp court during lunch periods.

A second is the seating of freshmen during the first assembly of the year. That day, and that day only, they occupy the seats of the preceding year's seniors, thus catching a glimpse of privileges to come; during all assemblies thereafter they sit in the balcony.

Official traditions may be added to or altered. Unwritten traditions, springing from the group spirit which has characterized Grant since it opened, are unchangeable. You don't see "ducktail," "swing," or "Boomer Boy" (named after the boom towns of the war) haircuts at Grant; newcomers who start out with them show up with a standard trim within a week or so. Circulating in corridors jammed with 1,200 or more girls, Pageant's reporters noted only 2 horsetail hair-do's, 1 pair of earrings, not a single pair of high heels. There aren't any pegged pants or extreme jackets; Grant boys have never written on their slickers or on their cars.

"Naturalness" is the style. Uniform attire for girls is a pleated skirt and blouse or sweater; the boys run to sports shirts or T-shirts, and white cord slacks. And the cords are always clean.

One of Grant's traditions is worth over $100,000 a year. The student body owns and operates a club room, snack bar, lunch room, locker and towel rentals, phone booths, about 20 other enterprises which brought in gross receipts of $118,292.86 last year. Profits are plowed back into improvements. Board of directors for student stockholders is the 18-member executive council comprised of school leaders chosen in a general election. They meet daily in a leadership class directed by teacher Cy Butterfield who usually advises, "Figure it out for yourselves." Vice principal Kleiner and two teachers are on finance committees, and the school bookkeeper helps keep accounts but Grantonians, have sharp business heads, seldom need help.

CAN YOUR SCHOOL MATCH GRANT?

The lesson that Grant teaches refutes the old bromide that the best school equates with the most money. Grant's district is well-to-do, but school taxes and teachers' salaries are not notably higher than in many a United States community. Grant uses its money wisely and well, avoids glittery swank for solid, unassuming facilities.

What makes Grant an outstanding educational institution are things that can't be bought but can be attained by any determined group of citizens: a vital, alert, and continuing interest on the part of the parents; a student body alive to the value of an education and eager to take full advantage of it; plenty of teachers with a good background and a willingness to work beyond the call of duty; bright, inspiring surroundings; sound, basic scholarship plus a wide range of interesting electives; a full and varied program of sports, clubs and social activities to turn out a well-rounded personality; and a well-thought-out program of individual consultation and counseling.

What Grant has in addition is a philosophy of trust, understanding and sympathy set forth by its remarkable first principal and carried on by his remarkable successors, and an inordinate pride in the school on the part of parents, students and faculty.

All of these things admittedly are unusual, but they surely are not out of reach of any high school in the Nation.

Chicago Takes the Lead in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Chicago Sunday Tribune under date of February 14, 1954, and which stresses the fact that Chicago has taken the lead in the production of steel.

This phenomenal achievement again demonstrates that Chicago is destined to become foremost among the cities wherein are produced all of the essential products so vital and necessary to our national defense. Forging ahead in the production of steel is another outstanding achievement of which the people of Chicago and its metropolitan area can feel justly proud.

The editorial emphasizes Chicago's "I will" spirit, and is as follows:

CHICAGO TAKES THE LEAD IN STEEL

Last year the Chicago area produced more steel than all of the mills in the Pittsburgh district, as we noted a couple of months ago. Steel trade publications have just come out with year-end reports on the capacity of all the Nation's steel plants. They show that the Chicago district has now passed the Pittsburgh district in the capacity as well as the actual production of its mills.

"By adding nearly 1.79 million tons of capacity," reports the magazine Iron Age (of New York), "the Chicago area overtook Pittsburgh and now stands as the No. 1 steelmaking district, with 19.78 percent of the Nation's capacity. Chicago area mills assured their leadership by topping all others in the amount of capacity added—26.33 percent of the Nation's increase.

The Chicago district, as defined in Iron Age and its competitor, Steel magazine, now has furnaces with a rated productivity of 24,566,700 tons of steel a year. This alone would have been enough to top the capacity with which Pittsburgh led the country at

the beginning of 1953—23,582,600 tons—but in addition Pittsburgh capacity declined by more than half a million tons last year.

The former steel capital naturally has the oldest mills. The decline in Pittsburgh resulted from the scrapping of the least efficient of these facilities, which could operate at a profit only in a seller's market for steel. Pittsburgh, incidentally, was the only area in the country to show a decline in capacity. The net increase in the Nation was 6,782,940, giving the United States a total capacity of 124,330,410 tons of steel as of January 1.

Only one Chicagoland steel company, Inland, has its headquarters in this city. The other mills are run from headquarters in New York and Pittsburgh. There was nothing sentimental about the expenditure of more than half a billion dollars to build new steelmaking facilities in this area.

That money was spent because there are more steel customers in the Chicago district than the existing facilities could supply. Conversely, the old mills that were shut down in Pittsburgh were not replaced because that district still has the capacity to make more steel than it can sell in a competitive market. Freight rates are adding more and more to the delivered price of steel. From now on, steel companies will tend to build near their markets.

The biggest steel plant ever built as a single project is the new Fairless works of the United States Steel Corp., at Morrisville, Pa., near Philadelphia. Last year it was brought to its designed capacity of 2.2 million tons of ingots a year. During the 2 years in which Fairless works were being started up, Chicago district plants increased their capacity by 4.3 million tons. The steel corporation plants alone, Gary and South works, boosted output by 1.4 million tons.

Gary remains the biggest steel plant in the world, now capable of producing 7,117,000 tons of steel a year. South works is third in the country, and the world, and the Inland Steel plant at Indiana Harbor is fifth. And Chicago Heights is the site of the second smallest steel plant in the country, that of the Columbia Tool Steel Co., whose 2 little electric furnaces turn out 6,600 tons a year. The secret is that the Columbia product, hard-alloys that cut other steel in the machine shops of the Nation, sells for better than a dollar and a half a pound, as against a little more than 4 cents for ordinary steel.

Lithuania Can and Should Be Free and Independent Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I have been asked to include the radio address I delivered on February 13, 1954, over station WNEB in Worcester, Mass.

These exercises were sponsored by the Lithuanian Ladies Aid Society of Worcester.

The address follows:

It is a real pleasure for me, more as your friend and neighbor than as your Congressman, to come up here and take part in this radio program commemorating the anniversary of Lithuanian independence.

Thirty-six years ago, out of the ruins of two oppressive empires, there arose the new Republic of Lithuania. It was a new republic, but not a new nation. The Lithuanian past reaches far into antiquity. The original Lithuanians, according to archaeology, came to the Baltic shores several thousands of years ago. It is quite possible that they moved to their present home driven there by more warlike or aggressive tribes, or by the force of a natural calamity. In any case they came in peace, and it was in peace that they developed.

Until the 10th century, the Lithuanian nation lived without larger political organization, but strongly held together by the same faith, customs, and language. Organization into a political entity came in the 13th century. Under the leadership of their kings, the people of Lithuania developed into a great kingdom. For centuries they, together with the Poles, held back the eastward flow of the Teutonic tide.

Then in the 18th century with the emergence of Russia as a political force, Lithuania became also the prey of Russia's westward drive. The pattern for conquest had been established. Lithuania, because of her geographic position, became the center of a pincers movement from east to west, coming first under one tyrant and then another. But the people of Lithuania never lost their national identity. The memory of the days of peaceful development, of the great empire, and of the glorious tradition of the past lived on in the hearts of the Lithuanian people. Their poets, who had sung of past triumph, kept alive the flame of national independence and freedom in the hearts of the Lithuanian people. Their song was not only a lament for the past, but was also a cry of defiance hurled at the foreign despot.

With the end of World War I and the dissolution of the Russian and German Empires, Lithuania found the opportune moment to declare herself an independent state. With high hopes, the Lithuanian people began to build their country after World War I. They were a model democratic republic, but before they had the chance to reach the full achievement of their centuries-long dream, they were once more caught in a new pincers.

Again it suited the purpose of Germany and Russia to partition their weaker neighbors. With the consent of Hitler, Stalin proceeded to take over the Baltic States. When their false friendship came to its inevitable end, Germany invaded this territory. The end of World War II found the unhappy people of Lithuania once again in the grip of Soviet imperialism, devastated by the war and the harsh oppression of occupation. The Russification policy which had been practiced by the Tzars, was once more put into effect. Lithuania was to become another Russian satellite. Thousands were deported, countless murdered without cause or reason. Many more fled in search of a haven, as the early Lithuanians had done centuries before, in the hopes of carrying on their fight from outside the country. Those that remained, continued the struggle so well known to the people of Lithuania. Reports from the country indicate that the underground organized during World War II is still in effective operation. Sullen defiance to the regime is another weapon of opposition.

We know from the past history of the Lithuanian people that though they may be killed and their land devastated, their spirit and the soul of the nation live on. For devotion to freedom and independence is the basic characteristic of the Lithuanian people, and is immutable and indestructible.

Today on the 36th anniversary of the independence of this valiant nation, we extend our message of hope to the people of Lithuania. But we, the free, must do more than that. It is our duty to keep before all nations of the world the tragic truth of Lithuania. It is not enough to offer them hope; we must show that we are resolute, as they are, in our fight against the tyranny of communism. The enslaved people of Lithuania can take heart in observances such as these, and in our policy of continued recognition of the original, legal governments of the Baltic countries. They can find expression of our purpose in the work of the newly formed Baltic Committee of our Congress which is seeking to bare the truth behind the Russian seizure and incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. As long as we keep alive the truth about Lithuania, we keep alive the hopes of the Lithuanian people for eventual freedom and independence. A regime which is founded on lies and terror cannot last, for it bears the seeds of its own destruction. In the same way, a democratic nation—whether as an idea or as a political expression—has inherent in it those qualities which insure its preservation. As long as the Lithuanian people feel and think as a freedom-loving independent nation, Lithuania cannot and never will be destroyed.

A Tribute to Lincoln by Carl Sandburg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Washington Post of Friday, February 12, 1954:

A TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN
(By Carl Sandburg)

(The great American poet, essayist, and Lincoln biographer, Carl Sandburg, wrote this article 30 years ago, as a foreword to his book, Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years. He filed it away, however, and it was never published. Rereading it recently, he felt it had withstood the test of time well enough to warrant publication now. It appears here publicly for the first time, not merely as a piece of literary history but as a moving, eloquent birthday memorial to a great and much-loved President.)

In the time of the April lilacs in the year 1865, a man in the city of Washington, D. C., trusted a guard to watch at a door, and the guard was careless, left the door, and the man was shot, lingered a night, passed away, was laid in a box, and carried north and west a thousand miles; bells sobbed; cities wore crepe; people stood with hats off as the railroad burial car came past at midnight, dawn, or noon.

During the 4 years of time before he gave up the ghost, this man was clothed with despotic power, commanding the most powerful armies till then assembled in a modern warfare, enforcing drafts of soldiers, abolishing the right of habeas corpus, directing politically and spiritually the wild, massive forces loosed in civil war.

Four billion dollars' worth of property was taken from those who had been legal owners of it, confiscated, wiped out as by fire, at his instigation and executive direction; a class of chattel property recognized as lawful for 200 years went to the scrap pile.

When the woman who wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin came to see him in the White House, he greeted her, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war," and as they seated themselves at a fireplace, "I do love an open fire; I always had one at home." As they were finishing their talk of the days of blood, he said, "I shan't last long after it's over."

An Illinois Congressman looked in on him as he had his face lathered for a shave in the White House, and remarked, "If anybody had told me that in a great crisis like this

the people were going out to a little one-horse town and pick out a one-horse lawyer for President, I wouldn't have believed it." The answer was, "Neither would I. But it was a time when a man with a policy would have been fatal to the country. I never had a policy. I have simply tried to do what seemed best each day, as each day came."

"I don't intend precisely to throw the Constitution overboard, but I will stick it in a hole if I can," he told a Cabinet officer. The enemy was violating the Constitution to destroy the Union, he argued, and therefore, "I will violate the Constitution, if necessary, to save the Union." He instructed a messenger to the Secretary of the Treasury, "Tell him not to bother himself about the Constitution. Say that I have that sacred instrument here at the White House, and I am guarding it with great care."

When he was renominated, it was by the device of seating delegates from Tennessee, which gave enough added votes to seat favorable delegates from Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, and from one county in Florida. Until late in that campaign of 1864, he expected to lose the November election; military victories brought the tide his way; the vote was 2,200,000 for him and 1,800,000 against him. Among those who bitterly fought him politically, and accused him of blunders or crime, were Franklin Pierce, a former President of the United States; Horatio Seymour, the Governor of New York; Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph; Cyrus H. McCormick, inventor of the farm reaper; Gen. George B. McClellan, a Democrat who had commanded the Army of the Potomac; and the Chicago Times, a daily newspaper. In all its essential propositions the Southern Confederacy had the moral support of powerful, respectable elements throughout the North, probably more than a million voters believing in the justice of the cause of the South as compared with the North.

While propagandas raged, and the war winds howled, he sat in the White House, the Stubborn Man of History, writing that the Mississippi was 1 river and could not belong to 2 countries, that the plans for railroad connection from coast to coast must be pushed through and the Union Pacific realized.

His life, mind, and heart ran in contrasts. When his white kid gloves broke into tatters while shaking hands at a White House reception, he remarked, "This looks like a general bustification." When he talked with an Ohio friend one day during the 1864 campaign, he mentioned one public man, and murmured "He's a thistle; I don't see why God lets him live." Of a devious Senator, he said, "He's too crooked to lie still!" And of a New York editor, "In early life in the West, we used to make our shoes last a great while with much mending, and sometimes, when far gone, we found the leather so rotten the stitches would not hold. Greeley is so rotten that nothing can be done with him. He is not truthful; the stitches all tear out." As he sat in the telegraph office of the War Department, reading cipher dispatches, and came to the words, Hosanna and Husband, he would chuckle, "Jeffy D.," and at the words Hunter and Happy, "Bobby Lee."

While the luck of the war wavered and broke and came again, as generals failed and campaigns were lost, he held enough forces of the Union together to raise new armies and supply them, until generals were found who made war as victorious war has always been made, with terror, frightfulness, destruction ,and valor and sacrifice past words of man to tell.

A slouching, grey-headed poet, haunting the hospitals at Washington, characterized him as the grandest figure on the crowded canvas of the drama of the 19th century—a Hoosier Michael Angelo.

His own speeches, letters, telegrams, and official messages during that war form the most significant and enduring document from any one man on why the war began, why it went on, and the dangers beyond its end. He mentioned the politicians, over and again the politicians, with scorn and blame. As the platoons filed before him at a review of an army corps, he asked, "What is to become of these boys when the war is over?"

He was a chosen spokesman; yet there were times he was silent; nothing but silence could at those times have fitted a chosen spokesman; in the mixed shame and blame of the immense wrongs of two crashing civilizations, with nothing to say, he said nothing, slept not at all, and wept at those times in a way that made weeping appropriate, decent, majestic.

His hat was shot off as he rode along one night in Washington; a son he loved died as he watched at the bed; his wife was accused of betraying information to the enemy, until denials from him were necessary; his best companion was a fine-hearted and brilliant son with a deformed palate and an impediment of speech; when a Pennsylvania Congressman told him the enemy had declared they would break into the city and hang him to a lamp post, he said he had considered the violent preliminaries to such a scene; on his left thumb was a scar where an ax had nearly chopped the thumb off when he was a boy; over one eye was a scar where he had been hit with a club in the hands of a Negro trying to steal the cargo off a Mississippi River flatbot; he threw a cashiered officer out of his room in the White House, crying, "I can bear censure, but not insult. I never wish to see your face again."

As he shook hands with the correspondent of the London Times, he drawled, "Well, I guess the London Times is about the greatest power on earth—unless perhaps it is the Mississippi River." He rebuked with anger a woman who got on her knees to thank him for a pardon that saved her son from being shot at sunrise; and when an Iowa woman said she had journeyed out of her way to Washington just for a look at him, he grinned, "Well, in the matter of looking at one another, I have altogether the advantage."

He asked his Cabinet to vote on the high military command, and after the vote, told them the appointment had already been made; one Cabinet officer, who had been Governor of Ohio, came away personally baffled and frustrated from an interview to exclaim, to a private secretary, "That man is the most cunning person I ever saw in my life"; an Illinois lawyer who had been sent on errands carrying his political secrets, said, "He is a trimmer and such a trimmer as the world has never seen."

He manipulated the admission of Nevada as a State in the Union, when her votes were needed for the Emancipation Proclamation, saying, "It is easier to admit Nevada than to raise another million of soldiers." At the same time he went to the office of a former New York editor, who had become Assistant Secretary of War, and said the votes of 3 Congressmen were wanted for the required three-quarters of votes in the House of Representatives, advising, "There are 3 that you can deal with better than anybody else. * * * Whatever promise you make to those men, I will perform it." And in the same week, he said to a Massachusetts politician that 2 votes were lacking, and "Those 2 votes must be procured. I leave it to you to determine how it shall be done; but remember that I am President of the United States and clothed with immense power, and I expect you to procure those votes." And while he was thus employing every last resource and device of practical politics to constitutionally abolish slavery, the abolitionist, Henry Ward Beecher, attacked him with javelins of scorn and detestation in a series of editorials that brought from him the single comment, "Is thy servant a dog?"

When the King of Siam sent him a costly sword of exquisite embellishment and two elephant tusks, along with letters and a photograph of the King, he acknowledged the gifts in a manner as lavish as the Orientals. Addressing the King of Siam as "Great and Good Friend," he wrote thanks for each of the gifts, including "also two elephant's tusks of length and magnitude, such as indicate they could have belonged only to an animal which was a native of Siam." After further thanks for the tokens received, he closed the letter to the King of Siam with strange grace and humor, saying, "I appreciate most highly your Majesty's tender of good offices in forwarding to this Government a stock from which a supply of elephants might be raised on our soil. * * * Our political jurisdiction, however, does not reach a latitude so low as to favor the multiplication of the elephant and steam on land as well as water has been our best agent of transportation. * * * Meantime, wishing for your Majesty a long and happy life and for the generous and emulous people of Siam, the highest possible prosperity, I commend both to the blessing of Almighty God."

He sent hundreds of telegrams, "Suspend death sentence," or "Suspend execution" of So-and-So, who was to be shot at sunrise. The telegrams varied oddly at times, as in one, "If Thomas Samplogh, of the First Delaware Regiment, has been sentenced to death and is not yet executed, suspend and report the case to me." And another, "Is it Lieut. Samuel B. Davis whose death sentence is commuted? If not done, let it be done."

While the war drums beat, he liked best of all the stories told of him, one of two Quakeresses heard talking in a railway car. "I think that Jefferson will succeed." "Why does thee think so?" "Because Jefferson is a praying man." "And so is Abraham a praying man." "Yes, but the Lord will think Abraham is joking."

An Indiana man at the White House heard him say, "Voorhees, don't it seem strange to you that I, who could never so much as cut off the head of a chicken, should be elected, or selected, into the midst of all this blood?"

A party of American citizens, standing in the ruins of the Forum in Rome, Italy, heard there the news of the first assassination of the first American dictator, and took it as a sign of the growing up and the aging of the civilization on the North American Continent. Far out in Coles County, Ill., a beautiful, gaunt old woman in a log cabin said, "I knowed he'd never come back."

Of men taking too fat profits out of the war, he said, "Where the carcass is there will the eagles be gathered together."

An enemy general, Longstreet, after the war, declared him to have been the one matchless man in 40 millions of people, while one of his private secretaries, Hay, declared his life to have been the most perfect in its relationships and adjustments since that of Christ.

Between the days in which he crawled as a baby on the dirt floor of a Kentucky cabin, and the time when he gave his final breath in Washington, he packed a rich life with work, thought, laughter, tears, hate, love.

With vast reservoirs of the comic and the droll, and notwithstanding a mastery of mirth and nonsense, he delivered a volume of addresses and letters of terrible and serious appeal, with import beyond his day, shot through here and there with far, thin ironics, with paragraphs having raillery of the quality of the Book of Job, and echoes as subtle as the whispers of wind in prairie grass.

Perhaps no human clay-pot has held more laughter and tears.

The facts and myths of his life are to be an American possession, shared widely over the world, for thousands of years, as the tradition of Knute or Alfred, Lao-tse, or Diogenes, Pericles, or Caesar, are kept. This because he was not only a genius in the science of neighborly human relationships and an artist in the personal handling of life from day to day, but a strange friend and a friendly stranger to all forms of life that he met.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

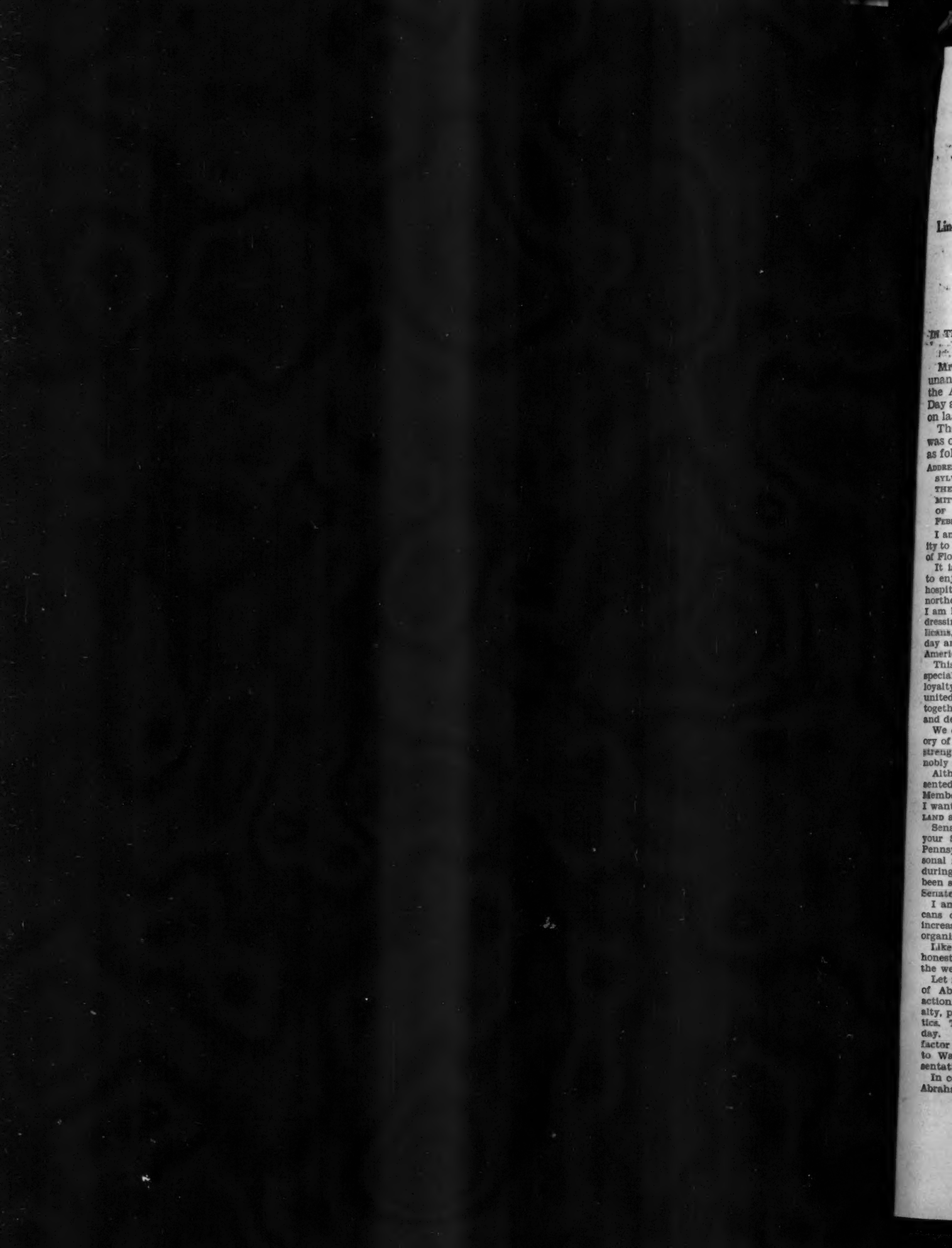

Appendix

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Lincoln Day address I delivered at Sarasota, Fla., on last Saturday evening.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AT THE LINCOLN DAY DINNER OF THE SARASOTA COUNTY REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE AND THE MEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB OF SARASOTA COUNTY, AT SARASOTA, FLA., FEBRUARY 13, 1954

I am sincerely grateful for this opportunity to pay another visit to the Sunshine State of Florida.

It is always a pleasure to come here and to enjoy the wonderful climate and warm hospitality that each year attracts so many northern visitors. Let me assure you that I am highly honored by the privilege of addressing this fine assembly of loyal Republicans, meeting to commemorate the birthday anniversary of one of the greatest of all Americans—Abraham Lincoln.

This meeting, here in the southland, has special significance. It represents true loyalty to the spirit of our Republic—a united Nation of sovereign States—joined together by indivisible bonds of patriotism and devotion to the flag.

We can pay no greater honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln than by working to strengthen the American ideals which he so nobly served.

Although the State of Florida is represented in the United States Senate by two Members who are not of my political faith I want to pay my respects to SPESSARD HOLLAND and GEORGE SMATHERS.

Senator HOLLAND was chief executive of your State when I served as Governor of Pennsylvania. I am proud of the close personal friendship that developed between us during that period, a friendship which has been strengthened by our association in the Senate.

I am happy to congratulate the Republicans of this congressional district on the increasing strength and vigor of your party organization.

Like Abraham Lincoln you believe in good, honest, economical government that serves the welfare of all the people.

Let me remind you that the statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln represented political action at its best. He believed in party loyalty, party discipline, and teamwork in politics. Those qualities spell victory on election day. Those qualities can be the decisive factor by which you can send Ernest Sutton to Washington as your Republican representative in Congress.

In celebrating the birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, we recall the vast contribution of his faith, strength, and courage to the preservation of the Union.

We pay tribute to his greatness as a foremost champion of freedom and human rights.

And we remember, with deep gratitude, his service to the Nation as one of the founders of the Republican Party and as a stalwart advocate of Republican principles which guided our Nation during three generations of its greatest progress.

In reviewing the greatness of Abraham Lincoln we are reminded that his life was one of toil and struggle, self-reliance, humility, faith in his fellow men, and faith in God.

Those qualities combined with his tolerance, his sound commonsense, and his devotion to American ideals exemplify the spirit and the courage of the American way of life.

He truly believed in freedom of the individual—in the right of every American to work and prosper—to establish security for himself and his children by his own initiative, industry, and thrift.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln expounded a principle of government to which the Republican Party has adhered ever since.

In a speech on July 1, 1854, he said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

That was Lincoln's warning against the dangerous course by which the socialistic advocates of a planned and regimented economy sought to control all American business and industry.

In those words Lincoln sounded a warning that interference by government in the lives of its citizens is an encroachment upon individual liberty and a barrier to opportunity.

It was Lincoln's warning against centralized governmental authority with power to stifle free enterprise and to block private initiative.

Let us look into this thing we call free enterprise. What part did it play in the building of America? To what extent did it contribute to the growth and development of the American Republic to its proud place as the greatest Nation of all history?

Free enterprise is based on the proposition that the purpose of Government is not to confer happiness but to give men equal opportunity to work out happiness for themselves.

That philosophy is the essence of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It made every American the master of his own destiny. It opened the doors of opportunity without Government regulation or political control. It gave inspiration and encouragement to ambition, initiative and inventive genius.

It made possible our marvelous industrial development, our great transportation systems, our rich agricultural production. It expanded the employment of our workers and encouraged the establishment of thousands of large and small businesses.

The Constitution of the United States was drafted by the wisest group of men ever assembled on the American continent. It is the world's greatest charter of human rights.

At the same time it upholds the right of every citizen to enjoy the rewards of his hard work, thrift, enterprise, and sacrifice.

It protects the right of every American to work at the job of his choice, to save, to invest, to create new enterprises and to give employment to others.

The right to acquire and possess property is one of the greatest of all human rights. It is the driving force behind the American economy. It is the basis of all the productive investment of savings with the expectation of making a profit and retaining a portion of it.

One of the reasons for the miracle of American progress and prosperity was clearly defined in a recent statement by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable George M. Humphrey.

Secretary Humphrey explained why the American worker produces so much more than those of any other country.

He said, and I quote:

"I do not think people realize, until they stop to think about it, what it takes to make a job in America today.

"The investment that goes into a man working in the steel plants today is $18,000. Every man working in the steel business today has $18,000 invested to place tools and power in his hands to work with.

"You can go through nearly any industry in this country and you will find from $5,000 to $25,000 in every pair of hands that are working. That is why they can produce so much. That is why we have so much."

That statement is sound. It explains why so many leaders of European industries have been coming over to the United States under the Marshall plan. They come here to look into the know-how of our management and our workers.

They want to find out why output per man in the United States is from 50 to 80 percent above the European average.

That, my fellow Americans, is the outstanding product of individual enterprise in which Lincoln believed, to which the Republican Party is dedicated and which the Republican administration at Washington is determined to restore to full power and effect.

Of course there is resistance—not from decent, high principled people of both political parties—but from those with left-wing socialistic tendencies. They see the defeat of all their cherished dreams and ambitions in the return to sound principles. They cry out that a terrible recession is about to gobble us up.

They scream about unemployment and try to spread fear by exaggerations and distortions of the real situation.

They forget that all the millions poured into the so-called pump priming, leaf raking and boondoggling in the New Deal thirties produced little or no result as far as employment was concerned until the outbreak of World War II.

At the end of that conflict there were gloomy forecasts by the same leftwingers that unemployment would leave our economy gasping and helpless. But they were wrong—just as they are wrong today.

Let us look at the figures. In 1933, during the worst days of the worldwide depression, there were 11 million unemployed. In 1941, 8 years later, 8 million Americans were still

without jobs even though our national defense preparations had been widely expanded.

In 1950, when the Korean war began, unemployment had reached the high level of 5 million.

The leftwingers in control at Washington did not cry depression in those days when the national income and industrial production were both going down.

Today, when we are in a period of transition from a wartime economy to peacetime conditions, and our labor force has increased substantially since 1950, they pretend for political purposes to see reason for alarm and gloom.

We all know that the Korean war was a real war, terrible and tragic in cost in lives and treasure. It converted a large part of our industrial capacity into production for war. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to expect a certain amount of unemployment during the time of adjustment.

President Eisenhower's economic report outlines a policy which should give enormous encouragement to every American who believes in the private enterprise system.

The report states, and I quote:

"The best service the Government can render to our economy is to create an environment in which men are eager to make new jobs, to acquire new tools of production, to improve or scrap old ones, design new products and develop new markets, increase efficiency all around, and thus be able and willing to pay higher wages and provide better working conditions."

That policy is one to inspire courage and confidence. It is a solid foundation upon which labor and management can join to create new jobs, increase production and assure prosperity.

Not the Truman variety, built on borrowed money, excessive taxation, extravagant spending by Government, and the tragedies of war—but real, substantial prosperity which places more buying power in the hands of the people and keeps the wheels of industry going for the benefit of all.

We meet as Republicans, proud of the new and more wholesome atmosphere that has been brought into the Nation's Capital by the decisive action of the American people.

We are proud that a Republican administration has restored dignity, honor, faith, and integrity to the National Government.

We are proud that we are gradually eliminating from the Government everyone infected with the poison of communism and every subversive who is disloyal to America.

We are proud and happy that the disastrous course pursued by the New Deal and the Fair Deal has been reversed.

We still have a long way to go to overcome and correct the results of 20 years of socialistic experimentation and the disloyal conduct of men in high places.

To my mind two paramount obligations to which we are pledged as Republicans are:

1. We must do away with the false and deceitful doctrine that leads some of our people to depend upon the Government to solve all their problems.

Back in the days of WPA, when unemployed men were given work on road building and construction projects, we laughed about the "shovel leaners."

They have their counterpart today in those who would lean on the Government for support, rather than stand on their own feet. Too much dependence on Government would make us a nation of shovel-leaners.

We must teach our young people that self-reliance, industry, initiative, and thrift are the only sound foundations for individual progress and national security. We must convince them that the politician, of any party, who promises something for nothing is a dangerous demagogue.

2. The greatest challenge we face as Republicans is to redeem our pledge to cut the cost of government by reducing spending.

We must spend less money at all levels of government, Federal, State, and local. Leadership in that direction must be taken at Washington.

The responsibility is ours. The Republican Party will be held to strict accountability by the American people. We will be judged entirely by the results.

I ask you to give active and vigorous support to every sincere and effective proposal that will enable the administration to reach its goal of a balanced budget.

The most serious threat to national existence grows out of debt and taxes. Excessive Government spending is the road to national bankruptcy and the loss of all freedom. Many great nations of history have been led down that road to their destruction.

Economy in government is the one way in which we can reduce the burden of taxation that rests so heavily upon every family and every industry.

The keynote of this Republican objective was well stated by President Eisenhower when he said:

"Tax burdens should be reduced so that taxpayers may spend their own money in their own way."

That means more money for industrial expansion and production, more jobs, more payrolls, more purchasing power and a broader market for the products of our factories and our farms.

It means more money to contribute to our schools, churches, hospitals, welfare agencies, scientific and medical foundations, and all other activities that raise our cultural and spiritual level.

It means maintaining the high living standard of the American people.

It means also that we must have the courage to battle against every spending proposal that does not contribute to the safety and security of our Nation and does not advance its progress and prosperity.

The great statesmen of the South whose fame rests upon their service to the Nation supported the principles of economical government to which we Republicans subscribe.

Out of the past the voices of honest, clear thinking old-time Democrats sound a solemn warning against Government so costly that it endangers our precious freedom.

Let us listen to the words of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, who said:

"I place economy among the first and most important virtues—and public debt as the greatest of dangers. To preserve our independence—we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our choice between economy and liberty—or profusion and servitude."

Let us listen to the voice of Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, who said:

"From our past experience, it cannot be doubted that simplicity in the character of the Federal Government and a rigid economy in its administration should be regarded as fundamental and sacred."

The Truman Democrats meet each year in their $100 dinners to pay lip service to those great Americans. They claim them as their patron saints but they ignore the teachings of Jefferson and Jackson.

Listen now to the voice of another distinguished southern Democrat who was a soldier in the Confederate Army, United States Senator Benjamin Harvy Hill, of Georgia.

Rising in the Senate on March 27, 1878, he said, and I quote:

"But, sir, I have said I do not dread these corporations as instruments of power to destroy this country, because there are a thousand agencies which can regulate, restrain, and control them; but there is a corporation we may all dread. That corporation is the Federal Government.

"From the aggression of this corporation there can be no safety, if it is allowed to go beyond the bounds, the well-defined limits of its power.

"I dread nothing so much as the exercise of ungranted and doubtful powers by this Government. It is, in my opinion, the danger of dangers to the future of this country."

Let us listen to the voice of Max Gardner, a Democrat who was Governor of North Carolina and a world figure in statecraft and diplomacy. He said:

"Three words—taxes, borrowing, and spending—stand as silent monuments to mark the decline and fall of character, credit, and governmental stability in every hamlet, city, and State throughout the length and breadth of this Nation."

I turn now to the platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention in 1932. It contains this language:

"We advocate an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 percent in the cost of Federal Government."

The Democratic platform of 1932 further stated:

"We favor maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced."

Running on that platform was Franklin D. Roosevelt who declared in a major address:

"Any government—like any family—can for a year spend a little more than it earns. But you and I know that a continuance of that habit means the poorhouse."

Ladies and gentlemen, those are magnificent words.

I commend them to your thoughtful consideration, bearing in mind that for not one single day were those platform promises kept by the socialistic minded spendthrifts of the New Deal or the Fair Deal.

My fellow Americans, the Republican Party today is closer to the ideals of Jefferson and Jackson than the Democratic leadership of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

If America is to survive as a land of liberty and opportunity we must return to those principles.

The Republican Party believes in them and honors them as solemn obligations of real Americanism.

They were the principles that guided Abraham Lincoln in the great task to which he was called by destiny.

We can serve America by accepting them as our guide to keep our Republic strong, prosperous and at peace.

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. Wayne Morse, of Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a Lincoln Day address entitled "Some of Lincoln's Links With Oregon," which I delivered on February 12 of this year before the

Oregon State Society, in Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME OF LINCOLN'S LINKS WITH OREGON

(Speech by Senator WAYNE MORSE, Independent of Oregon, before the Oregon State Society dinner, February 12, 1954, held in Washington, D. C.)

Fellow Oregonians and guests, this is a very enjoyable occasion for me for a good many reasons. I wish to mention jocularly two of the reasons that make it so. Joining a few minutes ago in a unanimous vote for next year's officers of the Oregon State Society was a very pleasant experience for me—one that I seldom have these days in the Senate of the United States. Next I would mention that I am particularly glad to speak here tonight because I was afraid until I received your invitation that I would have to forego the pleasure of making a Lincoln Day speech this year.

This occasion gives me the opportunity to pay homage to Lincoln by discussing the very nonpartisan subject Some of Lincoln's Links With Oregon. I am sure we all know that back in 1849, the United States Government tried to link Lincoln with Oregon and failed. You remember that Lincoln was appointed Governor of the Oregon Territory, but refused the appointment, and sent back his commission. I cannot now regret it. Had he been Governor of the Oregon Territory, he might never have become President.

Oregon, in 1860, was influential in securing Lincoln's nomination and election and, in 1862, the control of Congress by Lincoln's Republican Party was saved by the votes of 6 States, of which Oregon was 1. In 1860, a prime figure in support of Lincoln's candidacy was Edward Dickinson Baker, who had been Lincoln's political ally and rival in the Whig Party in Illinois, and his intimate personal friend. Baker, a former Representative from Illinois, had been living in California from 1852 to 1860, but in February 1860, at the invitation of the Oregon Republican Party, he took up residence in Oregon to aid their organization and to run from Senator from the newly formed State. Succeeding in his campaign, Baker became the only successful congressional candidate of Lincoln's party on the Pacific coast, and exerted a strong influence in winning both California and Oregon for Lincoln. Before the inauguration, and during the first month of Lincoln's administration, Senator Baker of Oregon was one of his closest advisers. Then he took command of a California regiment, and on October 21, 1861, was killed in the battle of Ball's Bluff. I like to remember about him that he was so proud of the honor of being Oregon's Senator, that, in order to keep his senatorial status, he refused successive offers of appointments as brigadier general and as major general.

Another link of friendship between Lincoln and the Oregon region is found in the story of George E. Pickett, hero of the famous Confederate charge at Gettysburg. Young George Pickett was the nephew of Lincoln's law partner, Andrew Johnston (not to be confused with Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee). Through Lincoln's influence, he was given an appointment to West Point in 1842. Apparently he had not told his uncle that he was trying to get that appointment, and Lincoln's letter notifying him of success is adorned with memorable advice on how to let the uncle know about it. "You see," Lincoln wrote, "I should like to have a perfect soldier credited to dear old Illinois—no broken bones, scalp wounds, etc. So I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room window after he has had a comfortable dinner, and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon house." A more generally applicable piece of advice in the same letter is the maxim, "Falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the worst enemy a fellow can have."

Pickett, after distinguishing himself in the Mexican War, served in Texas and on the southern frontier until 1856, when he, now a captain, was sent with his regiment to the Department of Oregon to take part in a campaign against hostile Indians. After the Indians were pacified, Captain Pickett was, in effect, given the task of pacifying Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay Company. He was sent, in command of a force of 68 men, to occupy San Juan Island, in the summer of 1859, when, as you know, the State of Oregon had just been given its official existence, and Washington Teritory and Whatcom County were embroiled with Great Britain and the Hudson's Bay Company over the ownership of the island. By his firmness and diplomacy in this position, Pickett and his 68 men at one time facing the prospect of meeting a landing in force from 3 British warships, Captain Pickett prevented an incident that might have started a war, and also kept for the United States the possession of San Juan Island.

Mrs. Pickett, George Pickett's wife, tells of an incident after the fall of Richmond. One day a carriage, accompanied by a numerous retinue of soldiers, came down the street and stopped before her door. Mrs. Pickett, her baby on her arm, answered the knock that followed, and, as she says, "looked up at a tall, guant, sad-faced man in ill-fitting clothes, who, with the accent of the north, asked: 'Is this George Pickett's place?' 'Yes sir,' I answered, 'but he is not here.' 'I know that, ma'am,' he replied, 'but I just wanted to see the place. I am Abraham Lincoln.' 'The President.' I gasped. The stranger shook his head and said: 'No, ma'am; no, ma'am; just Abraham Lincoln, George's old friend'."

Thus, we should all think of Abraham Lincoln tonight as one whose friendship is undisturbed by distance and years of separation, by political differences, or even by war—and his abiding friendship for the things that make us free.

Lincoln Day Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, it is the custom of the American people to honor their national heroes and of political parties to inspire themselves by recalling the greatness of their leaders.

During this Lincoln Day season I have heard many eloquent tributes and inspiring addresses, but, to my mind, none was more fitting than the remarks of Governor McKeldin, of Maryland, in Hagerstown last week.

Governor McKeldin's address needs no introductory remarks and should be given serious and careful thought by all American regardless of political allegiance.

I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of Governor McKeldin's address printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, AT HAGERSTOWN, MD., FEBRUARY 10, 1954

In the Book of Ecclesiastes there is a somber passage about the time of little hope, which is described as the day when the clouds return after the rain. In some ways it fits our own time all too well." The immediate, deadly danger is long over. The hurricane passed in 1945. Yet the clouds returned after the rain, and instead of the sunshine of enduring peace in which we hoped to bask, we have lived under a gray overcast, never quite loosing the thunderbolt upon us, but always threatening.

It was in just such a period that Abraham Lincoln came to the White House almost 100 years ago. The storm had not burst, but the clouds hung low and were growing thicker and blacker. The hearts of brave men failed when they tried to look into the future; and cowards were already whimpering and whining on street corner and rostrum and editorial tripod. The analogy with our own time needs no stressing.

Yet had the Nation but known it, on March 4, 1861, the Nation was already saved, for the man had arrived. It took a long time for people to realize it, long years of blood and fire and anguish; and longer years for the dust of battle and the clouds of passion to drift away. But when we could see clearly again, the truth was plain—from the moment that Lincoln took the oath of office as President, the Nation was saved.

I draw the parallel no further. I dare not. Men of Lincoln's stature are God's gifts to a nation, bestowed when and as His wisdom, not our wishes, may determine. He may not grant us another in the present crisis; or, perchance, He may have already sent us one whom we have not yet recognized any more than in 1861 men recognized in the gaunt railsplitter a reincarnation of Zeus Soter, the preserver. We cannot know, and on such matters it is unseemly to speculate.

But this we do know—in times when clouds blot out the sun and stars, and the road ahead is shrouded in mist that the keenest eyes cannot penetrate, it is the spirit of Lincoln that this Nation needs above all else, and it is the gift of that spirit for which it should pray. I am no theologian, but I understand well enough the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican in the temple. Prayer is not enough. The man, or the nation, that goes down from the temple justified is the one that prayed for the right thing. I doubt that it is right to pray for another Lincoln; but I am no more firmly convinced of my own existence than I am that it is right to pray for the light that glowed from the minds and heart of Lincoln.

He was a many-sided man and not all of his attributes are of equal importance to us in the situation that confronts us now. So I have tried to single out those qualities that the United States of 1954 needs most desperately, and it is of those that I wish to speak.

Carl Sandburg has recently published as a little book the preface that he wrote for his great life of Lincoln but later for some reason discarded. In it he has a description of Lincoln that may strike you at first as merely curious, but which, when you study it, I think you will admit is great. Sandburg said, "He was not only a genius in the science of neighborly human relationships and an artist in the personal handling of life from day to day, but a strange friend and a friendly stranger to all forms of life that he met."

Translate that into national terms and see what a lordly thing you get. Imagine, not a man, but a nation infused with the spirit of that man—a genius in the science of neighborly human relationships. How soon the worst of its diplomatic problems would dissolve and vanish. Imagine the United States an artist in the personal handling of life from day to day—how magically our

public life would be transformed, how quickly the screaming and vituperation would die away, how rapidly we would suppress the merchants of hate, how we would scorn the sowers of suspicion and prejudice. Imagine us as strange friends and friendly strangers to all forms of life—the Samaritan among the nations, never identified with any, never inseparably bound to any, always a stranger but always a friend, ready with oil and wine for any who was beaten and wounded and left half dead.

Somewhere in that picture I believe you will find every good thing that the United States has done in the 20th century, our blasted and twisted and riven century, the bloodiest in human annals, in which good deeds, God help us, are few and far between. A great deal more is in the picture—it includes every good deed we might have done, but didn't. Take such splendid moments as we have had, such fragments of nobility as we have managed to achieve and fit them together, discarding the weaknesses and villainies, and you will have a portrayal of the grandeur of Lincoln's spirit. Then add the lost opportunities—the times when we didn't quite understand, or didn't quite dare, or weren't quite generous enough to do the great thing we really wished to do—and you will have the sorrow that brooded over his spirit.

In 1861 it was Lincoln's wish to purchase the slaves and set them free at the expense of the whole country, not at that of the Southern States alone. But he was not permitted to do it. Passion was running too high, misunderstanding was too thick on both sides for calm reason to obtain a hearing; so, while the evil was eliminated, it was at the cost of fearful agony and loss on both sides. Lincoln stood, in his own words, "with firmness for the right" as God gave him to see the right; and that constitutes his grandeur. But all the time he knew there was a better way to establish the right, a way that he was not permitted to follow; and that accounts for his sadness.

In 1954 we are facing the same old evil. It has a new name, but that doesn't matter. They call it totalitarian dictatorship now, but in essence it is slavery. It must be and it will be eliminated; but I believe, as Lincoln believed, that there are better ways of eliminating it than by fire and sword. Where Lincoln said "this Nation," we must say "this world," but the rest we may quote verbatim—this world "under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." If that means war, so be it, but the best and wisest among us know that there are better ways of eradicating the evil that must go.

So while I dare not claim that there is a Lincoln among us, I have faith to believe that some men among our leaders are imbued with the spirit of Lincoln to the extent that they will not accept war as the solution of our problem until the last alternative has been exhausted.

You will find such men in both parties, but conspicuous among them is the President of the United States. Under intense provocation at home and abroad, he has yet to utter 1 inflammatory speech, on the one hand, or, on the other, to yield 1 inch to the Communist doctrinaires. With firmness in the right as God gives him to see the right, he is yet convinced that hatred and suspicion, to say nothing of the wild passions of war, are poor instrumentalities to advance the right. He knows that there is a better way and, like Lincoln, he is seeking desperately to find it and then persuade his countrymen to follow it.

It is no partisan appeal to call upon all men of all parties to sustain him in this endeavor. Disagree with him on everything else, if you please, but follow him in his effort to make reason the rule and charity toward all, the spirit of our foreign relations; for this is the spirit in which Lincoln acted, and, so acting, rose above all parties, all sections, all economic interests. In that spirit there is neither Democrat nor Republican, no North, no South, no East, no West, only Americanism.

It was in so acting that Lincoln acquired the piercing vision before which the mists of passion, the dust and smoke of battle that blinded other men, became the thinnest of transparent veils through which he could see that Nation that was to be—that vision without which the people perish.

In so acting, or in merely sustaining and encouraging the leaders who so act, I think that you and I may acquire a little of that vision. No; we cannot become Lincolns, but we do not need to become Lincolns; where he saw life steadily and saw it whole, the merest glimpse will suffice to convert us from whimperers into loyal followers who march breast forward and supply to our great men their conquering power.

For with but a little of this vision people who are no Lincolns, but very ordinary men, even as you and I, may pierce the clouds and mists that surround us today and catch sight of the future that has inspired the greatest among us. Touched with the spirit of Lincoln we can say, like old John Milton, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an eagle * * * kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; * * * while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Independence of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Representative HERBERT B. WARBURTON, of Delaware, commemorating the 36th anniversary of the declaration of independence of Lithuania. The address was delivered before the Lithuanian-American Council of Greater New York, at Webster Hall, New York, on February 14, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

(Address of Hon. HERBERT B. WARBURTON, of Delaware, commenorating the 36th anniversary day of the declaration of independence of Lithuania, before the Lithuanian-American Council of Greater New York, at Webster Hall, New York City, Sunday, February 14, 1954)

Whenever and wherever some memorable or noble deed has occurred in man's long history on God's green globe, there is sure to be some celebration of the event somewhere in America.

For somewhere in this broad and gracious land of ours, that for almost four centuries has been a haven for the whole wide world, there is sure to be, in this generation, at least one descendant of every noble ancestor—of every noble deed—of every people—and of every land.

This is the great inheritance of America—in which we take great pride. And whereas in some other lands perhaps no note may be taken of memorable deeds done by other peoples, in this fortunate land of ours we take particular pride in joining together with our fellow Americans in appreciative memorial of those great events in every land of which all mankind can be proud.

It is in this spirit that we here today join with our fellow Americans of Lithuanian ancestry and those Lithuanian guests within our borders in remembering the deds and events of Lithuania's Independence Day.

February 16 is the anniversary of the new day that dawned 36 years ago in modern Lithuania's history.

For more than a century and a half brave men and women in Lithuania had struggled with tenacious spirit to regain the independence they lost when Czarist Russia scooped up Lithuania and Poland in 1795.

Five times in that century and a half the brave sons and daughters of Lithuania poured out their blood on the holy altar of independence. On their fifth attempt—at the end of World War I—they were successful.

World War I had brought with it incredible hardships to the people of Lithuania. Before the German occupation ended, Lithuania had been denuded of 25 percent of all its forests; nearly all of its animals had been confiscated, its farms and cities with every trace of industry had been destroyed and all its able-bodied men had been drafted for the Russian Army or imprisoned in the German detention camps.

On February 16, 1918, with the war not yet over and Russia in a state of revolutionary turmoil, the Lithuanian National Assembly met and proclaimed Lithuania's independence.

A much-valued moral support in the early days of the young Republic was President Woodrow Wilson's proclaimed principles of "self-determination." But the obstacles to be overcome were enormous. The country had no money, no army, no adequate personnel even to fill all the necessary government positions.

However, organizing their forces, from the oldest to the youngest, and with much valuable assistance from her loyal sons and daughters in the United States and elsewhere, Lithuania began rebuilding its devastated home step by step.

The ravages of war were repaired. Soon modern buses traveled along newly built highways. New railway lines were built. The larger towns were connected by up-to-date telephone systems. The use of electricity became widespread throughout the country. New schools, museums, hospitals, sport and health centers and modern farm buildings sprang up all over the land.

Town after town was literally made over. The provisional capital, Kaunas, formerly an overgrown village and typical Russian garrison town, fast became a modern capital with asphalted streets, fine new apartment houses, excellent shops and dignified public buildings.

During the period from 1920 to 1938, exports increased by 500 percent. Lithuania took seventh place in the European production of rye, third place in world production of flax, and first place in foodstuffs exported in excess of domestic consumption.

Lithuania, like the other Baltic Republics, carried out an extensive land reform which gave most of the land back to the peasantry, from whom it had been taken originally. There was no unemployment problem. And while there were no very rich people, on the other hand, there was no acute misery as there was in the nearby Soviet Union.

But this new dawn in Lithuanian history was destined for a short day. On June 14, 1940, only 22 years after the proclamation of

independence, the blackest night in all Lithuanian history fell in the form of a Soviet ultimatum and an invasion by 300,000 Communist troops.

The Congress of the United States recently authorized an inquiry into the seizure and forced incorporation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. On the preliminary basis of testimony so far presented before the House Baltic Committee, much already becomes clear that is of the most vital interest to the people of the free world.

It becomes clear, for instance, that more than 600,000 Lithuanian men, women, and children have either been deported to the slave-labor camps of Siberia or have died in such ghastly massacres as occurred at Cervene where 6,000 infants, women, and men were wiped out by the sadists of the Soviet Communist political police.

That figure of 600,000 deported to Siberia represents more than one-sixth of the total prewar population of Lithuania.

Since the first Soviet Communist occupation of Lithuania in 1940, seven large mass deportations have already taken place. The first one occurred on the night of June 13, 1941, when more than 40,000 were deported in one night. The others came in 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, and two in 1949.

As long as the Soviet Union hides itself behind an Iron Curtain, it is impossible to give exact figures of the actual number of those victimized in each of these large mass deportations. It has become known, however, that so far the largest mass deportation was that of May 22, 1948, when Lithuania lost more than 100,000 of her inhabitants in a single day.

This is genocide. This is the brutal erasing of a whole nation. The wiping out of a whole people.

And what is the reason for this crime against humanity?

Let us find our answer in the words of Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov himself. Just shortly before the Soviet Union forcibly annexed Lithuania in 1940, Molotov said to the Foreign Minister of the Lithuanian puppet government:

"If the Rusian Tsars, beginning with Ivan the Terrible, were trying to reach the Baltic Sea, they were doing this not for their own personal ambitions, but because this was required for the development of the Russian State and Nation. It would be unpardonable if the Soviet Union did not seize this opportunity which may never recur. The leaders of the Soviet Union have decided to incorporate the Baltic States into the family of the Soviet Republics."

And why would it have been unpardonable if the Soviet Union failed to seize this opportunity?

We can find the answer in an earlier official Soviet Communist Party declaration printed in their Moscow organ Izvestia on December 25, 1918, declaring:

'Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, situated on the road leading from Russia to western Europe, present an obstacle to the success of our revolution—the obstacle must be destroyed—the conquest of the Baltic Sea would make it possible for Soviet Russia to take the Soviet revolution to the Scandinavian countries and in this way to transform the Baltic Sea into a sea of Soviet revolution."

And only a few days ago at Berlin the same Mr. Molotov gave the world an enlarged picture of Soviet Communist goals when he proposed a plan for Europe which would place the entire continent of Europe under the Soviet sphere of influence.

This was the proposal from the spokesman for the Communist empire which already controls a vast portion of the continent of Asia.

To this, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made reply that the European nations must speak for themselves, but that the United States is determined that so far as we are concerned, we will not be absorbed into the Soviet orbit.

And in making that answer, Mr. Dulles gave evidence that he very well understood that the final goal of the Communists is not and never was merely the Baltic States—merely China—or merely Europe.

And we may all rejoice that we have in the State Department today a man who does not make the mistake of thinking that the international Communist conspiracy against the peace of the world has placed before itself any goal of merely limited objectives.

On the contrary, the Soviet Communist goal is and always has been the goal of unlimited objectives—in short, the whole, round globe itself.

Because the leaders of some nations thought that Soviet communism had a goal of limited objectives, appeasement flourished in the hopes that the Soviet Union would go no further.

The apostles of this appeasement saw Lithuania and her two sister republics in the Baltic States swallowed by the Soviet Union, and they shrugged their shoulders, in the vain hope that the Communists would stop there.

They pointed to the declaration by Molotov before the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. at Moscow on October 31, 1939, where he said:

"We stand for scrupulous observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity and we declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs."

And the same shortsighted men, only 3 years later, were listening enraptured to the siren words of Stalin himself, who in an order of the day on May 1, 1942, declared to the world:

"It is not our aim to seize foreign lands or to subjugate foreign people. Our aim is clear and noble—we want to free our Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Karelian brothers from the outrage and violence to which they are being subjected by the German-Fascist scoundrels."

And because some men had not studied what had happened in the Baltic States—or perhaps at that time the Congress of the United States had not ordered an inquiry such as the present one by the House Baltic Committee—the lesson of Soviet Communist faithlessness and duplicity had to be learned all over again from the words of Molotov when he told the Rumanians on April 2, 1944:

"The Soviet Government declares that it does not pursue the aim of acquiring any part of Rumanian territory or of changing the social system existing in Rumania."

Who was fooled by those words? The Rumanians? Or the rest of the free world?

Try telling that to the Rumanians today.

And while you're at it you might try reminding the Hungarians of the afterdinner speech by Stalin himself at the Kremlin in 1946 when he told a visiting group of members of the Hungarian Government:

"The Soviet Union does not wish to meddle in the internal affairs of Hungary; in general, the people of small nations are frightened needlessly of Soviet oppression."

Hungary, Rumania, and millions of citizens of other hapless nations might today have been free if the world and the leaders of nations in those years had heeded the lesson of what happened in Lithuania and in her two sister Baltic republics.

Today it is the conscience of the world which speaks when we say that Lithuania, with her rich historic traditions dating back from the 11th century, her ancient language, and her devotion to religion and western culture, has the indisputable right to be set free again and to have her independence restored.

The United States never sanctioned the foul and infamous deed done by the Red hands of Red terror on the peaceful shores of the Baltic Sea 14 years ago. And it never will.

It is doubly gratifying to me as an American that the United States at the very least gave moral and material encouragement to Lithuania and to her good neighbors, Latvia and Estonia; and that a congressional committee is even now spreading the record of this terrible crime on the pages of history.

And let us recall the ringing words of the Secretary of State when Mr. Dulles appeared as the first witness before the House Baltic Committee on November 30, last:

"What of the future?" asked Mr. Dulles. "First of all, let us never lose hope that there is a future."

And then our Secretary of State went on to speak the words which spring from every truly American heart:

"Some say that it is unrealistic and impractical not to recognize the enforced incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that a despotism of the present Soviet type cannot indefinitely perpetuate its rule over hundreds of millions of people who love God, who love their country, and who have a sense of personal dignity.

"The Soviet system, which seeks to expunge the distinctive characteristics of nation, creed, and individuality must itself change or be doomed ultimately to collapse. The time of collapse depends largely on whether the peoples who remain free produce spiritual, intellectual, and material richness; and a faith which can penetrate any iron curtain. The captive peoples should know that they are not forgotten, that we are not reconciled to their fate, and, above all, that we are not prepared to seek illusory safety for ourselves by a bargain with their masters which would confirm their captivity."

America must continue to be guided by this policy—standing firm against Soviet claims to Lithuania. Our continued confidence in the eventual freedom of Lithuania will keep alive the spirit of freedom and one day will inspire the people to rise up and throw off the Communist yoke of bondage.

Nomination of Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., To Be Brigadier General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, all of us are very much interested in the President's nomination of Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., to be a brigadier general in the Reserves. The Wall Street Journal of this morning contains a very interesting editorial under the title "The Other Side of the Coin." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

In 1927 Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., was one of his country's most popular heroes. In 1932 he was the recipient of a whole Nation's sympathy. In 1941 he was publicly reviled by a President of the United States as a "copperhead," a spreader of defeatism among

his countrymen and an appeaser of their enemies.

The reason for this vilification was Mr. Lindbergh's strenuous opposition to the course his country was following. He made many speeches advising his country not to get involved in the wars of Europe; he inspected the German Air Force and warned that the Luftwaffe was extremely powerful and could bomb London at will. After the Second World War began, and before the United States was in it, he joined with the America First Committee, a group formed to keep the United States out of it.

In all this he may have been wrong. He was definitely challenging the official views of his Government and expressing sentiments unpopular with a majority of his fellow citizens. But the barrage was not levelled at Mr. Lindbergh's arguments. It was aimed at his loyalty.

There was then no great outcry from the self-styled liberals about smears or slander or the right to dissent from public opinion. Those who shared the disagreement with Mr. Lindbergh's opinions were content to let pass the imputations against his loyalty. Indeed, any who sought to note the difference between dissent and disloyalty were apt to share in the "guilt" by association.

It was Mr. Lindbergh himself who answered the imputations of disloyalty with his long war service, which included valuable information on German air strength and the unusual contribution of 50 combat missions as a civilian. Now President Eisenhower has asked Congress to restore him to commissioned status, this time as a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserves.

This is a welcome gesture to correct an injustice done to a man by many who are now so vocal about the persecution of opinion but who then kept shameful silence. But it would be a pity if it were no more. It should remind all of us to think long before we impute disloyalty to all dissent. One measure of our strength is that men may differ deeply about their country's wisdom and yet serve her well.

The Beeson Nomination to the National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on January 25, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICE THROUGH PARTIALITY

Even if it did take some close questioning by Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois; Senator LEHMAN, of New York; and especially Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, it is to the credit of Albert C. Beeson, of California, President Eisenhower's third nominee to the National Labor Relations Board, that he frankly acknowledged his attitude toward the Board's workings.

Mr. Beeson said he believes it is important that business management be represented on the NLRB, even though no previous Board member was chosen directly from the ranks of management or of labor. He also said that the Board has been made up of too many lawyers.

The plain fact, of course, is that a Board member chosen from the bar or any other profession may be either prolabor or promanagement. That some past Board members have had strong convictions of this nature is beyond serious argument. And their presence did not help the long-run record of the NLRB. Yet the solution of this problem is not to pick one member from, say, the National Association of Manufacturers and another from the top hierarchy of the United Mine Workers of America.

The NLRB is supposed to be a quasi-judicial body. Like many similar agencies, it functions in one of the specialized fields of administrative law. This branch of the law is a natural outgrowth of the complexities of a modern economy. Such issues as freight rates, the honest marketing of securities, and the regulation of nationwide telegraph, radio, and television networks call for such a high degree of specialized knowledge that they cannot be judged with the desired dispatch by a judge or a jury—hence the administrative agencies with the courts only looking over their shoulder to make sure that decisions are based on substantial evidence.

An important segment of the judicial process has been entrusted to these agencies, and therefore their members must conduct themselves in the judicial manner. This is hardly to be achieved by staffing them with frank advocates of rival interests—and perhaps an odd man striving to reconcile what often may be irreconcilable. Like judges, they should be above the strife as far as is humanly possible. They should not fight for one side or the other, but rather endeavor to make sure that, between the two, justice is done.

Protect Our National Forest From the Lumber Barons, Fellow Conservationist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to H. R. 4646, and I shall vote against the bill. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to record my reasons for opposition to H. R. 4646.

I am opposed to the bill because from the past history of Wisconsin I am convinced that we should take every precaution to protect our great natural resources. Wisconsin, along with our neighboring States of Minnesota and Michigan, were once great timber producing States in the period from 1870 to 1910. This was in the period before we had any real national forests program to protect our resources.

Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan furnished billions and billions of board feet of some of the finest White and Norway pine lumber to build homes and other buildings for a large section of the United States. The lumber barons of that period gutted our State of its timber resources and at the same time they did nothing to replant the hundreds of acres of land that they exploited without regard to conservation for their day and for posterity.

The White and Norway pine trees are slow maturing trees. In fact, a Norway pine tree is not fully matured until it is from 300 to 400 years old. After the lumber barons raped our State, they left thousands and thousands of acres of barren land—land which is ill-suited for farming.

I am happy that we now have some areas of Wisconsin set aside for national forests. I want to see those areas protected from the greed of thoughtless timber operators who are more concerned with temporary gain and profits than they are in the welfare of future generations.

As I understand it, H. R. 4646 does not give us the needed safeguards to prevent a recurrence of what happened in Wisconsin from 1870 to 1910. We are back on the road in restoring those areas in Wisconsin that are not suited for good farming practices to the days when our State looked good with beautiful and stately pine trees. It will take another 100 to 150 years to make Wisconsin timber areas look like the State did in 1870.

I am sure that there are private timber operators who are now casting envious eyes on these timber acres and licking their chops over prospective profits. I would much rather see our Federal Government do the selective cutting of national forests in Wisconsin until we have fully matured trees. I also want to see sound legislation on the books to prevent a repetition of the 1870 to 1910 timber rape and steal in our State.

In closing, I wish to say that as a result of lumber barons' rape in that period we are paying higher prices for our lumber today in Wisconsin and adjacent States. We have to import a considerable amount of lumber from other States—particularly the Western States. The freight charges on a carload of western lumber are no small item in the building of a home. Also, the lumber from our own State is not of the high quality that it was in the period that I mentioned because we are cutting timber that is not properly matured.

Twisted by Politicos

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of February 8:

TWISTED BY POLITICOS

Why is there so much talk about a recession or possible depression. The answer seems to be: politics.

Unquestionably we are going through a period of readjustment of economic errors of the past administrations, as Economist Merryle Stanley Rukeyser explained in a talk in San Diego last Friday.

But, he said, the readjustment is being twisted to appear like something else, as

the beginning of a recession and perhaps depression. This view is being promoted by those who have political advantage to gain from it.

He said the country had a similar experience, a business readjustment, during the Truman administration in 1949, and the same persons who are now crying depression were insisting then that it was only readjustment.

The creation of fear of a depression can be a dangerous and terrible thing. Rukeyser pointed out that the American people enjoy an era of economic discretion; that is, they have a range of income in which they can buy or not buy as the mood fits them.

The people of China and India do not have this. They live on a subsistence level and if they don't buy, they starve to death. They have enough only to exist and not all have that.

American prosperity is built on the fact that the average person lives far above a subsistence level and enjoys discretion of buying. But frighten him, make him afraid to buy, to build, to spend, and you perhaps can create recession or depression.

That is the danger. Some politicians understand that only too well.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial appearing in the February 16 issue of the Patterson (N. J.) Morning Call captioned "Lithuanians Look Forward to Independence":

LITHUANIANS LOOK FORWARD TO INDEPENDENCE

This is the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's declaration of independence. Lithuanians living throughout the free world are holding patriotic meetings and raising funds to free Lithuania from the yoke of tyranny imposed on her people by Communist Russia. Their battle cry—"The Russians will not succeed in subjugating the Lithuanian people. They tried once before and failed. They will fail again."

February 16, 1918, carries as much significance to the Lithuanians as July 4, 1776, means to every American. But while we continue to enjoy our priceless freedom, Lithuania is again an enslaved nation, her people living under conditions far more terrible than her darkest days prior to World War I. For 40 years her churches were burned, her priests transported to Siberia, her press, language, and prayer books suppressed and her youth compelled to serve 25 years in the Russian Army.

Mayor Titus by proclamation has proclaimed today as Republic Of Lithuania Day. Lithuanians of this area will observe the anniversary in a program on Saturday at school 20. Their efforts will speed the day when Lithuania takes her place as a peaceful country in a European community of nations.

Mr. Speaker, the 36th anniversary of this brave little nation's declaration of independence is being commemorated by the Lithuanian Citizens Independent Aid Club in Paterson next Saturday night. Unable to attend the event due to a prior commitment, I also include the following copy of a letter I addressed to Mr. Anthony Gustus, chairman, under date of February 8:

FEBRUARY 8, 1954.

Mr. ANTHONY GUSTUS,
Chairman, Lithuanian Citizens Independent Aid Club,
Paterson, N. J.

DEAR MR. GUSTUS: I was delighted to receive the invitation to join with my good friends at home in commemorating the anniversary of Lithuanian independence. My only regret is that another commitment made sometime ago will make it impossible for me to be with you.

I would, however, be most appreciative if you would convey to my many friends of Lithuanian descent my best wishes on this memorable occasion.

Like so many free men throughout the world, I cannot look upon the cynical seizure of Lithuania and her Baltic sister states, Estonia and Latvia, by Soviet Russia without being sensibly moved. Indeed, what happened in those fateful months from September 1939 to August 1940, when the Soviet Government planned and willfully carried out schemes leading to the destruction of Lithuanian independence, will surely go down in history as one of the greatest crimes that one nation could ever commit against another.

Our duty, however—yours and mine—is clear: we must never cease in our efforts to dramatize to the world at large, and especially to those nations less inclined to see the intrinsic danger of communism, the case of Lithuania as being a clear illustration of Soviet faithlessness, cynicism and immorality. We must also continue to pay homage to this great nation, Lithuania, and to her courageous people so that by doing our duty as free men we might keep alive the flames of resistance within the breasts of those less fortunate than we; for it ought never to be forgotten that so long as we raise our voices in honor, and in protest, so long will those now enslaved be inspired to look into the future with undiminished hope.

With kindest regards and all best wishes, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,
GORDON CANFIELD,
Member of Congress.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Advocate, Stamford, Conn.:

THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Now that Canada has completed her plans to build the St. Lawrence seaway in the International Rapids section, the Senate has passed a bill authorizing the United States to participate in the venture. There is a big question if we are wanted.

For 20 years, Congress has wrangled over the development of the St. Lawrence. Two years ago the chief questions were decided. Canada, rich in its new prosperity, settled all the questions as to whether it was going to be built, if it was financially and engineeringly sound, whether its costs were right by announcing that Canada was prepared to go it alone.

This settled all the problems as to the effect such a program would have on Boston and New York and on the eastern railroads of the United States. From that point on, all Congress had to worry about was—should we take a part in the project? The Senate has decided, yes, but Ottawa points out the $105 million appropriated buys a partnership at bargain rates.

Canada has already spent $300 million on about 1,100 miles of river. There only remains the rapids section to link the Great Lakes with the Atlantic sealanes. Canada has the money for this remainder, less than 100 miles. She has signed agreements that enables power development of the river to be carried on separately from the seaway. The project will be entirely on the Canadian side of the border. The only possible reason the United States has for entering the picture now is to have a say in the toll rate. As Canada has signed an agreement that American shipping will not be discriminated against, the United States gains little or nothing here.

Connecticut's Senators voted against the seaway bill. We think they were right. The time when such action by the United States was necessary has passed. If the present measure is defeated in the House, it will be welcomed in Canada.

Benson Cleaning Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith a splendid editorial from the February 16, 1954, issue of the News, published in Lynchburg, Va.:

BENSON CLEANING UP

One of the difficulties of a new administration at Washington is to be found in getting full cooperation at all levels in all departments. When Franklin D. Roosevelt's first administration began in 1933, Postmaster General James A. Farley, who as such had charge of patronage, took care of that little matter by the adoption of a ruthless spoils policy. Those at the higher levels who were not believed in accord with the administration were replaced and on the lower levels only the iron clad protection of the civil service saved any. From top to bottom Roosevelt men held the offices and in matters of administration as well as of policy worked with him.

President Eisenhower has not been able to make such a clean up of administrative offices, or, at least, he hasn't made such a clean up. It is one of the counts the party politicians have against his administration. They don't think enough places have been found for the faithful. The causes may be that President Eisenhower has not recognized the importance of packing the offices with his own men, has been averse to ruthless displacements, and has been more handicapped by civil service than the Roosevelt administration of 21 years ago.

It is not surprising, then, to hear that Secretary of Agriculture Benson is complaining that he is not getting support from employees in the field. Many of these are holdovers who are out of sympathy with the Benson policies, especially flexible farm supports and reorganization of field agencies. Quietly the Secretary has been replacing men at higher levels who have been out of sympathy and replacing them with men who approve

his policies and who, incidentally, are Republicans. The purpose, of course, is to give the top figures in the Department firmer control of operations all down the line, to get loyal support for policies from those who have to carry them out, and to satisfy some Republican complaints of keeping too many Democrats in office while loyal party men are on the outside looking in.

In this policy Secretary Benson should have popular support. There will be anguished cries from those losing their jobs and we may expect charges of "spoils" politics, but the first of these are natural and the second can be disregarded because of the source. We may be sure Mr. Farley will not have anything to say along that line. Secretary Benson is right on all counts. Especially is he right in wishing to rid his Department of men who will not or cannot be loyal, who instead of following policy cheerfully will shuffle their feet even if they do not consciously seek to undermine the administration. It is the only way to get a department to function, and it is a job other department heads should get started on.

The Real Enemy: Russian Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend for the thoughtful consideration of every patriotic American the ideas and ideals embodied in an address delivered by Rear Adm. George F. Mentz before the Illinois branches of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the observance of Ukrainian National Independence Day, as proclaimed by the Governor of Illinois, last January 24.

Based on a great fund of accurate knowledge, this address points out the real nature of our enemy. It is obvious that in the present struggle for the minds and hearts of men everywhere, we should first be able to identify, recognize and understand the real enemy threatening us. With remarkable clarity, Admiral Mentz establishes the identity of the real enemy, and ably dispels many misconceptions and even deliberately circulated fallacies that are advanced by the Russia First interests in this country to obscure the real nature of our mortal enemy.

The real, objective enemy is Russian imperialism. It openly reveals itself once a country falls under Muscovite domination and the trojan horse of communism is no longer needed. The history of every subjugated non-Russian nation, from 1920 to the present, proves this. From an objective economic and political viewpoint, theoretic communism is bankrupt. Its only use is that of a Trojan horse to further conspiratorial ends designed to undermine the still free nations in preparation for Russian imperialist domination.

As many are beginning to realize now, Muscovite domination brings in its wake not the promised paradise of theoretic communism, but, instead, nihilist totalitarianism, terrorist police systems, slave labor camps, national genocide, anti-Semitism, religious oppression, Russification of language and culture, re-writings and distortions of national histories, and the propaganda use of native traitors and quislings in the captive states. These characteristic phenomena, found today in every captive non-Russian country from the Danube to the Pacific, have their historical precedents in traditional, autocratic Russian imperialism. Furthered by the bulk of vested Russian intelligentsia for over 500 years, they have brought only misery, tyranny and oppression to the masses of the Russian nation itself.

The best and most effective way to combat the Communist conspiracy in the free world is to identify the real enemy. We can do this by demonstrating its characteristics and acts on the basis of the experiences of the non-Russian nations held captive in the Russian Communist Empire. This address by Admiral Mentz shows how some in our midst, by circulating fallacies that even bear the Muscovite trade-mark, attempt to steer us off this course of truth and ultimate victory:

Mr. Chairman (Mr. John Duzansky), members of the Illinois and Chicago branches of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, it is an honor and a sincere pleasure for me to join with you today in commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day and in paying tribute to the Ukrainian patriots who have fought Moscow since 1920. It is a pleasure because I am confident that in speaking frankly about the threatening peril of Russian imperialistic communism to the cause of human freedom I will not be offending one single participant at this great rally. Strange as it may seem, that is unique even here in our beloved America. It is in every sense an honor because I know well of the gallant and fearless campaign of your American organization to expose the terrible dangers of Russian imperialistic communism, your untiring efforts to awaken free people to the real menace to all mankind and your firm allegiance to those dynamic political principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence. Strange as it may seem, even here in America—the greatest citadel of freedom—you have been attacked and smeared because you have refused to be intimidated by the agents of the world Communist conspiracy.

We can be almost certain that the Communist-controlled and infiltrated publications will launch an attack against the advocacy of freedom and peace taking place here today. It is quite accurate to say that a fair test of the remaining strength of the Communist conspiracy in America can be measured by the violence and overall coverage given to these attacks. This is a truism which can be applied to all freedom manifestations which dare to clearly identify the real enemy of free people. Take it as a sincere compliment when I say that your freedom rallies serve as an accurate barometer to gage the strength of Communist storms and furies.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, all in their time charged religion to be the opiate of the people. They saw religion as a barrier to their false and nefarious theories but they never clearly understood why.

There can be no doubt that their lack of comprehension resulted from their failure to understand religion and its relation to the nature of man. Had they understood the nature of man they would have understood religion. Likewise, had they understood religion they would have believed in it and the unworkable notions of Marxism would not today be the driving force behind traditional Russian imperialism.

FALSE ARGUMENTS ON THE REAL ENEMY

From this simple but proven premise we can begin to understand the form and content of Russian Communist imperialism. Any failure to recognize these basic truths makes it impossible to accurately understand communism as a world menace. It is this failure on the part of many intellectuals of the free world, or their lack of moral courage to face the truth, which has caused the cancerouslike infection of large segments of the human race. The enslavement of many new nations and over 600 million additional people in a decade should have stirred the conscience of every still free man, particularly those who are posed as experts on Russia. But we wait in vain for that awakened conscience. We see on the other hand a determined effort to further becloud and disguise the real issue of our times. To put it bluntly, here are some of the more dangerous themes used by the captive experts:

1. That we should not interfere with the internal affairs of the U. S. S. R. because to do so will unite the captive people with the Kremlin regime. Could you imagine the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, North Caucasians and the other non-Russian people uniting with the Kremlin on any issue? To even speculate on such a possibility is pure folly. There can be no question but what those who advance this dangerous notion are either agents of the Kremlin, crafty advocates of one-world socialism or plain fools.

2. That all the people of the U. S. S. R. are Russians, greater or less, having a common love for the Russian motherland. Can you imagine any non-Russian being called a Russian and liking it? Do you know of anything in the history of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. which shows any respect for the so-called Russian motherland let alone any inclination to support such a mythical claim?

Yet why is this dialectical misinformation being given wide circulation in many otherwise respectable journals of the United States?

3. That Stalin, using the theories of Lenin, has stamped out all nationalism in the U. S. S. R. This line argues that the Kremlin has established a "Soviet man," a "Soviet society," a "Soviet civilization." We all know that the Kremlin propagandists have been attempting to force acceptance of these completely false notions upon the free world for several decades. But why, we must ask ourselves, are some self-appointed experts on "Russia" peddling the same line and getting one of our leading weekly pictorials to carry it?

BASIC IMPORTANCE OF THE NON-RUSSIAN PROBLEM IN THE U. S. S. R.

May I, for a moment, refer to some recent history. First on March 6, 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union announced the death of Stalin. This was in the form of an impassioned appeal to unity of the "Soviet people" under the Communist Party.

A few days later, Malenkov, Beria, and Molotov gave their orations at Stalin's funeral. In the very first part of Malenkov's oration he refers to Stalin's solution of the nationality problem.

"In the history of the development of society and the national question, the greatest theoretician of the national question, Comrade Stalin, secured, for the first time in history within the frontier of a huge multinational state, the liquidation of national strife. Our sacred duty is to strengthen and further the unity and friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union and to strengthen the Soviet multinational state and friendship among the peoples of our country. We are not afraid of any internal

or external enemies. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet army was created and strengthened."

There you have it. Malenkov's first concern was the nationality problem. This was followed by fear of internal and external enemies and a dissertation on the Soviet armed forces.

Signs of internal dissension in the U. S. S. R. became apparent shortly thereafter. First in the Ukraine when Malinkov, the Communist Party leader was charged with carrying out a policy of intense Russianization in the Ukraine. This was followed by similar incidents in Georgia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia and Turkestan where there were drastic changes in the party organizations. Then there were reports of unrest in Poland and strikes in Pilsen and Bohemia, followed by the rebellion of June 17 in East Berlin which spread to the entire Soviet Zone of Germany. Shortly afterward, a new policy was proclaimed in Hungary and in Rumania. The industrialization plan for Hungary was drastically modified as was the collective farm program. These measures seem to point to a temporary easing of harsh measures, at least in the satellite countries. Finally in late June, expulsion from the party and the arrest of Lavrenti P. Beria, Deputy Premier and Minister of the Interior, boss of the Secret Police, the internal and external espionage services, the slave labor camps and the atomic energy program.

These events point to heavy strains and stresses in all of the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. and in the satellite countries. We hear nothing, however, of any dissension, political or otherwise within Muscovy itself. It is in the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. and in the satellite nations that the unmistakable signs of unrest and even rebellion are apparent. The fear on the part of their Russian masters must be plain to all but the most naive.

THE AMERICAN BIRTHPLACE OF POLITICAL SEPARATISM

4. That anyone who advocates national independence for the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, North Caucasia, Turkestan or the other captive nations is a separatist. In the language of the world Marxist movement a "separatist" is a person who is dedicated to destroying the Communist power block by assisting the national independence movements in the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. This is looked upon as the unforgivable crime because it would bring about the end of communism as a world threat. What is worse, in the eyes of the Communists, it would lead to the inevitable destruction of the master plan of the Marxists for world conquest.

The Founding Fathers of America were separatists, and they ably described themselves as such in the Declaration of Independence. How strange then, that right here in America—the birthplace of separatism as a political doctrine—we have people attempting to make separatism appear as a hideous crime. The reason should be quite obvious.

5. That anyone who attempts to identify the aims of historical Russian imperialism with those of Communist imperialism is automatically anti-Russian. This has been a central theme propagated throughout the free world. Yet, when the archcriminals of the Kremlin put out their unity call right after the announcement of Stalin's peculiar illness they emphasized in that appeal their firm confidence in the support of the great Russians in preserving the multinational empire of communism. At the same time they made no bones about calling the Russians the superior people of the U. S. S. R. Here I would like to make an important distinction. This appeal was obviously addressed to the great Russian intelligentsia in the U. S. S. R. and throughout the world. As a matter of fact, the great Russian people have suffered at the hands of the Russian intelligentsia and it could have no real appeal to them. Therefore, we must distinguish the great Russian masses from the intelligentsia and under no circumstances confuse the two. We made one terrible mistake on collective guilt following World War II and we must never make the same error again. It should be clear, therefore, when we speak of Russian imperialism as the political partner of Communist imperialism that we are speaking about the misguided Russian intelligentsia and not the masses of people.

FOR SURVIVAL, KNOW YOUR ENEMY

There can be no doubt but what the challenge to our survival depends in large part upon proper identification of the threat. Once we have identified this threat—devoid of the massive Communist campaign of deception and confusion—we will then be on the road to certain triumph. It follows that this should be a first task and it requires a large scale education campaign in order to destroy the work of the Communists carried on in the United States during the past 25 years.

The forces for good represented here today are in an excellent position to develop such a badly needed educational campaign. A great many of you know from first-hand experience what the evil conspiracy is, you have suffered under it—you know what must be done to destroy it. To carry out such a task you will need the cooperation of all Americans of good will and particularly the free press. This cooperation will be forthcoming because the challenge of our times demands it.

You are united in the cause of freedom and dedicated to the destruction of Russian Communist imperialism. Your goal is the restoration of the national independence of all the nations enslaved by communism. You cannot fail in your objectives because everything that is dear to free men hangs in the balance.

As an inspiration to all of us I can think of nothing better than the words written in the year A. D. 397 by St. Augustine: "The crown of victory is promised only to those who engage in the struggle."

Today when we speak of independence, liberty, and national rights, we should bear in mind that there can be no freedom as long as one-sixth of the world remains under the Bolshevik oppression. We must do everything within our power to nurture human freedom whenever and wherever it takes root.

UKRAINE, A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM'S FIGHT

From the 9th century to the 20th century, the destructive forces ravaged and continue to ravage the lands of Europe. The Ukraine and the Ukrainian people have been a symbol of the unceasing struggle for the preservation of independence, human rights, and dignity. The Ukraine has known the oppression of many tyrants; yet it has never veered in its beliefs. So it is today. Once more the land is exploited, once more a new tyrant obscures human freedom and once more the Ukraine is in the grip of evil.

But all is not too well in the great "paradise" of the Russian Communist empire. On January 21, 1953, the day after Dwight D. Eisenhower took his oath of office as President of our country, Mr. Nicolai A. Mikhailov, Secretary of the Russian Communist party, in a speech in Moscow demanded that the party mercilessly drive from its ranks all degenerates and double-dealers no matter what mask they wear.

After talking about the doctor wreckers and the usual story of imperialistic spies Mr. Mikhailov said:

"Complacent persons have no place in the party—despite the victory of socialism there are still left vestiges of bourgeois ideals, live people, hidden enemies of the people. These hidden enemies supported by the imperialist world have harmed us and will harm us in the future."

Well, thank God for that.

We must let Mr. Mikhailov understand that "bourgeois nationalism" as he calls it means dedication and love of one's country. Indeed, the bourgeois nationalists are the patriots of 1954.

THE INEVITABLE TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM EVERYWHERE

The liberty-loving patriotic people of the Ukraine cannot and will not long endure these terrible conditions. Their history is gloriously replete with the heroic episodes of revolt against such tyranny and oppression. They will be wise to remember that the stronger the free world becomes in its preparations of collective security, the more committed it becomes to the inevitable triumph of freedom throughout the world, the greater will their opportunities be to cast off the yoke of slavery and finally join the ranks of free men once more. This is what the future holds for all mankind. Only time together with the unleashing of these moral and spiritual forces which sustain human freedom can measure the hour of triumph, the hour of peace and tranquility which we hold to be inevitable.

We in America are the inheritors of the sacred flame of freedom which the Founding Fathers have passed to our safekeeping. We shall not rest until it is alight in every quarter of the world where suffering humanity has been crushed under the Godless tyranny of Russian Communist imperialism.

With God's help we shall not be found wanting to meet the challenge which involves everything dear to man: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, in a newsletter which I recently circulated in my district, I stated that I was opposed to the St. Lawrence seaway because I was unable to see any benefit to the people of my district, the industries located in our area, and the overall economic problem of northeastern Pennsylvania. After studying the problem and all the debate which took place in the Senate, my conclusion is that the enactment of this legislation would result in additional hardship to our people.

I would like to include the following two editorials which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader newspaper, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on the 1st and 3d of February 1954, respectively:

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-News of February 1, 1954]

HIDDEN SEAWAY COSTS

The announcement that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved an appropriation of $3 million to study the Passamaquoddy project—harnessing the tides between Maine and Canada to produce electric power—discloses part of the hidden costs United States taxpayers are being asked to pay for the St. Lawrence seaway. This obviously was the payoff for the votes of the two Maine Senators for the seaway.

Passamaquoddy is another New Deal boondoggle which the Eisenhower administration, supposedly pledged to economy, has picked up. Millions were wasted on this under previous administrations and now it is being revived in return for Maine support for the seaway.

It will be interesting in the immediate future to note how much the administration is paying in deals to other Senators who switched their votes for the seaway. The bill is likely to run into the hundreds of millions. A fine way to conduct the public's business with taxpayers overburdened, the debt limit reached, and the specter of a recession looming over the national horizon.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-News of February 3, 1954]

UMWA Official Exposes Seaway

In a statement on the St. Lawrence seaway, addressed to Members of the House of Representatives in Washington, Thomas Kennedy, international vice president of the United Mine Works of America, not only spoke for the union and the coal industry, but he voiced the sentiments of millions of his countrymen who are also opposed to this fraud on the American people.

Mr. Kennedy's indignation is understandable in the light of the additional burdens that would be placed on United States mining, as well as the taxpayers, at a time when both are sorely pressed.

From time to time, we have heard concern expressed for the plight of the mineworkers and their families. Yet, the Roosevelt and Truman administrations did not hesitate to thrust a dagger into their back while appearing to be so solicitous to their face. And now the Eisenhower administration is adopting the same tactics.

This duplicity is enough to upset the stomachs of even the strongest men.

Mineworkers and others menaced by the seaway are Americans and human beings. They have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And no administration in Washington, be it Republican or Democrat, is going to deprive them of their birthright without a protest that well may be heard around the world. The last word has not been spoken on this swindle.

It is a damnable outrage to sacrifice millions of Americans on the altar of greed. We have in mind not only the steel interests of the Great Lakes, but those Senators who accepted pork-barrel bribes for their votes. We sincerely hope the Representatives of the people in the lower House will not demean themselves in this fashion.

The St. Lawrence has reeked from beginning to end. It never has been able to stand on its own two feet, but has been promoted through stealth, pressure, and misrepresentation. A project that has no more merit than that certainly cannot be in the public interest.

Mr. Kennedy's arguments and summary of the situation constitute an indictment that will weigh heavily with conscientious Americans who have at heart the welfare of their country which should take precedence over privileged classes and foreigners.

Price Support for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ezra Taft Benson's latest move on the agricultural front can only bring disaster to the dairy farmers, with very little compensation to the consumer. The cutting of parity support on dairy products from 90 percent of parity to 75 percent of parity, would cut the average dairy farmer's income about 20 percent. In many sections of the country, including my own district, the dairy farmer has already taken a 25-percent cut on his products through the months of December and January. In addition to that, he was about 15 percent below prices of a year ago at this time. Mr. Benson's action of yesterday, cutting him another 15 to 20 percent will mean that the average dairy farmer's income in the coming year will be down between 25 and 50 percent. This is a drastic lowering of farm purchasing power. There has been no drastic price cut to the consumer and I predict there will be none. Mr. Benson promised, when he was appointed as Secretary of Agriculture, that he was going to have a dynamic new program. He has no such program, and has been unable to come up with one. As a matter of fact, I do not know that he would recognize a program if one were presented to him, but even with this risk in mind, I am including with my remarks an article from the February issue of the Country Gentleman, written by Melvin Gehlbach, of Illinois. I do not know Mr. Gehlbach, but his article makes more sound common sense than any approach to the farm program that Mr. Benson, or any of his so-called experts, have come up with so far. As I have said many times on this floor, Mr. Speaker, every depression this country has had has started on the farm. With farmers' incomes being so drastically cut, it looks as though Mr. Benson is doing his best to lower the boom on the farmer, and to start another depression. I am happy to note that such eminent figures in the Republican Party as Senator Wiley, of Wisconsin; Senator Young, of North Dakota; and Senator Thye, of Minnesota, agree that this move of the Secretary means disaster for the dairy farmer. Again I say it means disaster for the dairy farmer with very little compensation, if any to the consumer. Mr. Gehlbach's article follows herewith:

I Believe We Should Give Farmers Incentive Payments for the Acres They Have in Soil-Building Legumes Rather Than Reward Those With Soil-Depleting Crops

(By Melvin Gehlbach)

I believe we're in a rut on farm program thinking. I hope Congress is not afraid to break new ground at this session.

Here's why: I work with farmers in central Illinois helping them analyze their farm records. And last year I came up with some shocking evidence.

The evidence: The returns on feed fed to livestock were the lowest for 1952 of any year for the past 20. That was for hogs, poultry, sheep, and feeder cattle.

Why is this shocking? Because we're in one of the richest agricultural areas in the world. Because 1952 was a year of strong consumer demand, with high employment, high wages. Livestock feeding should have been profitable.

When my farm neighbors and I tried to analyze why feeding wasn't profitable, we quickly ran into evidence that Government price supports on feed grains was the villain. And let me say here that any policy that discourages livestock feeding is most detrimental to our country for these reasons:

1. Livestock helps build up our soil bank.

2. Livestock provides us with a high standard of living, a high-quality diet. We eat steak, pork chops, eggs, butter, ice cream, and cheese, while the Chinese eat rice and beans.

3. The way to prevent surpluses is to let livestock convert 400 to 600 pounds of feed grains to 60 pounds of more refined, higher quality foods.

We find four things wrong with the present program:

High price supports on feed grains make it more attractive for Bill Jones to sell to the Government than feed livestock. Bill raises 8,000 bushels of corn, most of which he normally feeds to cattle and hogs. But today he sells most of this corn to the Government, because it is more profitable, and a sure thing. And the Government buys it even though it has corn running out its ears—and has no hogs to feed the corn to.

High support prices lead to even larger acreages of soil-depleting crops. Bill is planting more corn and soybeans than he ordinarily would. That's why Logan County, Ill., farmers have around 85 percent of their acreage in soil-depleting crops. Also, Bill figures "this can't go on"—that the Government eventually will catch on and there will be acreage allotments. So he wants a bigger base when that time comes. Result: More grain which we don't need. And a heavier withdrawal on our soil bank.

High support prices help most the farmer who needs help least. And the little farmer is not helped much at all.

Bill Jones has done a pretty good farming job in the past few years. His soil is built up, he has a good-sized farm. So he's all set to jump in and make a killing on Government-guaranteed prices. But his neighbor has a smaller farm, rundown from overcropping. He only raises 2,000 bushels of corn, most of it fed to his hogs. He has no corn to sell, thus gets no value from price supports.

We're really robbing Peter to pay Paul, since 85 percent of feed grains go eventually into livestock feed. Peter is the livestock farmer whose farming builds the soil and avoids surpluses. Paul is the grain man. Sometimes Peter and Paul are the same man. However, we all are paying the taxes for administering the program.

Most of my neighbors agree with me—present farm program has dammed up our surpluses; robbed our soil bank; helped farmers least who need help most; and been unfair to farmers who are doing a real farming job.

But don't blame the grain farmer for his corn-corn-corn-Miami rotation. He's only playing the game according to rules laid down by the Government.

So I say let's have a positive farm program—one that will: (1) Build up our soil bank; (2) erase our surpluses; (3) upgrade our diet; (4) be fair to all by protecting both farmers and the Nation.

To do that, I suggest: Give farmers incentive payments for the acres they have in soil-building legumes rather than reward those with soil-depleting crops, as in the present program.

I further believe that we should work toward the objective of having agriculture itself provide the incentive money. Let Government's efforts be at the food and distribution end as needed.

The kind of program I'm talking about would make an acre of legumes return more profit than an acre of low-yielding, soil-depleting crops. Incentive would not have to be very great to bring about such acreage shifts. And if this shift were too great in any one year, the short supply of corn and

corresponding price increase would soon correct the overshift.

What advantages would such a soil bank plan have? I can think of these:

1. Farmers with lower earnings would be helped most. On farms with lower yields per acre, farmers would quickly see that an acre of legumes plus incentive pay would be worth more than a low corn yield—especially since operating costs are so high today.

2. Farmers with high yields and well-planned rotations would find it pays them to continue.

3. Livestock and dairy farms would have larger earnings through lower costs of feed grains, and because they'd receive an incentive payment on their roughage-producing acreage.

4. All farmers would have better land use, and higher fertility balance. This would mean more efficient production and higher earnings.

5. Other areas and commodities would benefit by such a program. For example: Land not in cotton would build fertility instead of inefficiently growing corn. In like manner, the corn belt would build fertility instead of growing a superabundance of soybeans to compete with cottonseed oil and meal.

6. In time of national emergency, more concentrated food would be available in form of livestock products. Also, our soil bank would be built up, ready to tap. Storage in the form of livestock numbers and soil fertility is less expensive and less perishable than stored grains.

I do not say this is the plan, but it is based on sound economic principles—a new approach to accomplish worthwhile objectives. That's why I believe Congress should take a brandnew look at our farm program—and not be afraid to break new ground.

The Late John H. Griffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter which I sent to Mr. John Fox, publisher of the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., on the occasion of the passing of the distinguished and beloved editor of that publication, Mr. John H. Griffin:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 2, 1954.

Mr. JOHN FOX,
Publisher, the Boston Post,
Boston, Mass.

DEAR JOHN: To you and your staff I tender most heartfelt sympathy for the loss of your great, fearless editor, our dear valued friend, John Griffin. Gifted writer, penetrating observer of public affairs, firm in his convictions, fair-minded and just, John was a strong, rugged character who stood unalterably for lofty spiritual concepts and fundamental American principles in which he so devoutly believed. He was imbued with profound religious faith and innate piety and humility. His genial, amiable ways and kindly, generous heart endeared him to all. His whole life was marked by unsurpassed loyalty and devotion to his family, his friends, and his chosen work.

Everywhere he was known he commended universal admiration and respect for his great ability, his courage, his sincerity of purpose, and the fair-minded manner in which he presented his views.

His loss to you personally, and to the press and public which he served with outstanding fidelity and distinction cannot possibly be measured. It is truly irreparable.

His tragic demise in the prime of life and at the peak of his powers leaves a great, irreplaceable void in the hearts of all of us who knew him as the fine Christian gentleman he was—dear friend, noble soul, great American. With a sense of deep sadness and sorrowful bereavement, I join you and his beloved family in mourning his untimely passing. May the memory of this kindly, thoughtful friend and the high ideals he exemplified and lived by, continue to inspire and guide us and may he find in his heavenly reward eternal peace and rest.

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

Here Are the Facts Behind the C–46 Crashes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for many months the American people have been gravely concerned over the C–46 airplane crashes which have cost the lives of over 300 persons to date. Daily, these C–46 planes are in the skies and are operated by irregular or nonscheduled air carriers.

This group of irregular and nonscheduled air carriers are commonly referred to as "the nonskeds." They have constantly violated the operating limitations prescribed by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

This mass killing of American citizens includes a heavy toll among military personnel and can be stopped if the Civil Aeronautics Board will stop being lenient in enforcing its safety regulations.

The following article, which appeared in the February 7, 1954, issue of Parade magazine, which is a supplement to the Washington (D. C.) Post, reveals the facts behind the C–46 crashes:

HERE ARE FACTS BEHIND THE BIGGEST BATTLE IN AMERICAN AVIATION IN YEARS

(By Donald E. Keyhoe and Robert P. Goldman)

Unknown to most Americans, a furious battle is being fought over the C–46, an airplane that daily carries passengers and cargo all over the United States.

The battle is loaded with dynamite because:

1. In the past 6 years, C–46's operated by private companies have been involved in 93 accidents. More than 300 lives have been lost.

2. C–46's are often used by airlines on which the Army sends troops.

3. More than 40 airlines, scheduled and non-scheduled, use the plane in their multimillion dollar operations.

4. The C–46 has recognized deficiencies involving its fire-protection system, and its engine.

5. Next March 31 has been set as a deadline for C–46 operators to submit proposed improvements in the plane.

6. The Air Force is reported to have more than 300 C–46's on hand which it would like to lease or sell.

Those are only a few of the reasons why Government civil air officials find themselves juggling the hottest airlines potato in years.

TWO SIDES TO THE STORY

These Government agencies, the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Civil Aeronautics Administration, have two basic responsibilities: safeguarding the American public; and regulating the ever-growing aviation industry.

There are two sides to the C–46 story. One one side is the grim account of the crashes. On the other are the C–46 operators' claims of what the plane has done and can do.

Here, first are the facts on the grim side:

Back in 1951, the CAB (which sits as judge and rule-maker for airlines) issued a report following a rash of C–46 crashes. The report said in part:

Investigation of tragedies indicated an apparent laxness by some airlines in some or all of the following aspects:

1. Failure to maintain pilot training at a desirably high level.

2. Failure to ensure aircraft and engine maintenance at a desirably high level.

3. Failure on the part of the companies and their personnel to follow certain operating procedures * * * including those pertaining to maximum operating weights.

What happened is a matter of record.

On September 28, 1953, 23 soldiers lost their lives in a crash in Louisville, Ky. Eight months before, 37 other soldiers died in a crash at Fish Haven, Idaho.

Both these crashes involved C–46's. Both were flown by airlines hired by the Army to haul troops.

DEATH AND ESCAPES

Four months before the Louisville crash, another C–46 belonging to the same airline had crashed at Des Moines. The company, incidentally, is still approved for Army charters.

In July 1953, another group of soldiers flown by a charter airline narrowly escaped death in a C–46 crash at Cheyenne, Wyo. The airline was later grounded.

On September 22, 1952, a C–46 with 37 GI's aboard crashed and burned at Miles City, Mont. The men miraculously escaped with their lives.

In still another case, a large group of soldiers had a close call when their Army-rented C–46 crashed at Prescott, Ariz. In two C–46 crashes at sea, involving civilian passengers, 80 persons were killed. The crashes took place between Puerto Rico and Florida a few years ago.

Fifty-six other civilians died at Elizabeth, N. J., in another C–46 crash and 12 more were killed and another 14 seriously injured in another C–46 disaster at Seattle.

A CAB report on the Elizabeth crash said that in addition to engine fire, the C–46 had been overloaded. It also revealed that the airline operating the plane had a long series of violations for overloading.

Actually, Civil Aeronautics Administration records show that there have been a great many instances of overloading plus negligence in maintenance of engines and planes.

That is the tragic side of the C–46 picture.

Here is the other side: Last summer, the C–46 operators set up the Aircraft Engineering Foundation, Inc. Its purpose is to find ways to improve maintenance and operation of the C–46. In addition, it is committed to make basic recommendations on how the plane itself can be improved.

By March 31, foundation representatives must come before the CAB to make their

recommendations. If the CAB approves the recommendations, the life of the C–46 will be extended for just enough time to make the necessary changes.

In defense of the C–46, George C. Prill, an official of the foundation, claims that the plane has been subject to a great deal of unjustified criticism.

Here is the gist of his and the C–46 operator's position:

The plane is rendering outstanding service. Every plane has shortcomings which can be corrected.

The DC–6 and the Constellation both had "bugs" when they were first introduced, but they were corrected. That is also true of one of aviation's greatest workhorses, the DC–3. It, too, has undergone progressive improvement.

THE DEFENSE

The C–46 is no exception. It has shortcomings, but they, too, can be corrected. When the foundation comes before the CAB, it will bring a blueprint for improving C–46 fire protection and engine cooling.

In addition, there will be recommendations to install automatic devices to show a pilot immediately if an engine fails, and an automatic optimum speed indicator.

Those are just some of the major improvements the foundation will recommend.

Says Prill: When correctly maintained and operated, the C–46 can do a wonderful job. Accidents in the past were due in large part to the fact that C–46 pilots and maintenance were not what they should have been.

However, the CAA and CAB, through their directives and enforcement have changed that picture, he claims.

Prill adds:

The C–46 is the cargo plane most widely in use in the United States. There are about 150 C–46s now in commercial use. "It's a wonderful workhorse and it flies beautifully."

Asked why so much criticism has been leveled at the C–46, he replied:

It's an orphan. The company which made the C–46 for Word War II use discontinued production some years ago.

Because there is no parent company to "mother" the plane, and defend it when criticism is leveled, the critics feel free to take whacks at it.

In addition, other transportation interests which are opposed to airlines expansion have found the C–46 a convenient target.

Parade asked both the CAB and CAA for facts concerning the C–46 and its operations here and abroad.

First, the two Government agencies provided vital data concerning the 93 accidents, many of them fatal crashes, in which the C–46 has been involved.

According to the CAB breakdown of causes, here's why those accidents occurred:

The primay cause in 48 out of the 93 accidents was said to be "pilot error." In 13 out of the 93, it was "other personnel error."

In 10 of the accidents the primary cause was "powerplant failure." In 8 cases, "landing gear failure"; in 2 cases, "airframe failure"; in 1 case, "airframe and accessory failure"; in 5 cases, "weather"; in 1 case, "airport terrain"; and in 2 cases, "no determined cause." Three accidents are still under investigation.

THE GOVERNMENT SIDE

In 21 of the 93 accidents there were fatalities. Eleven of these twenty-one cases involved passenger flights. The other 10 were in cargo, training, or other flights.

A CAA official told Parade:

The C–46 was approved for transport of passengers in the late thirties when it was first built. It was then diverted for use in World War II.

The plane is licensed to carry cargo on scheduled and nonscheduled airlines and to carry passengers on nonskeds.

The C–46 does not meet what is termed full-transport category of the CAB.

Say the CAA and CAB: The C–46 was built before present transport category regulations were put in force.

Each year, the agencies evolve new, stricter standards. These standards are considered to increase the safety factor in flying among all airplanes licensed for commercial use.

However, with each new set of tighter standards, all planes which have been in previous service cannot be grounded or the air travel industry would be subject to periodic paralysis.

The C–46 now does not have automatic propeller "feathering." So it cannot meet transport-category standards at its presently approved carrying capacity, about 45,000 pounds. To meet "T–category," it would have to fly at about 36,000 pounds. However, this lowered weight would make it unprofitable to use the plane.

THE JOB AHEAD

The CAB has been pressured repeatedly by the C–46 operators to raise the weight limit.

Parade asked the CAA and CAB why companies which have records of violations for overloading are allowed to continue flying.

In each instance, the Government regulatory agencies said they try to make the punishment fit the crime. In some instances, they feel they should ground an airline, or a pilot, and in some cases, they feel they shouldn't.

One vital fact emerges:

Both the Government agenies and the C–46 operators say the plane needs improvement. The deadline for proposals to change the plane is next month.

There is an obligation to the American public on the part of all the parties concerned. That obligation is to make the necessary changes—or ground the plane.

WHO FLIES THE C–46?

A total of 42 airlines in the United States fly the C–46. According to the CAB, here is the boxscore:

Ten scheduled airlines use the C–46 for cargo handling only.

Twenty nonscheduled airlines use the C–46 exclusively for cargo and passenger service.

Twelve nonscheduled airlines have mixed fleets—46's and other planes.

Twenty-six nonscheduled airlines do not use any C–46's.

Excerpts From Speech by Vice President Richard M. Nixon in New Haven, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include parts of the speech made by Mr. NIXON, before a crowd of 4,500 persons at the statewide Lincoln Day jamboree at New Haven, Conn.

Rather than being satisfied with merely recording spontaneous emotional effects from Republican Party stalwarts, Vice President NIXON delivered a constructive responsible and admirable talk. Mr. NIXON's purpose was one aimed at a constructive summary of the objectives of the Eisenhower administration. These objectives are ones which should be realized by the American people, not merely the Republican Party, and Mr. NIXON brought this point out with the greatest clarity. The article follows:

EXCERPTS FROM NIXON SPEECH AT REPUBLICAN MEETING—VICE PRESIDENT HEARD BY OVER 4,500 AT STATEWIDE LINCOLN DAY JAMBOREE AT ARENA

(Following are excerpts from the prepared speech of Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON before over 4,500 persons at a statewide Republican Day gathering last night at the New Haven Arena:)

This is a particularly significant day for Republicans. It is the first election year Lincoln Day dinner held in 20 years when there was a Republican President in the White House.

For 20 years we had to talk about how to get the other side out. Now we can talk about how to keep them out and keep our side in.

REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

Our immediate objective is to give our Republican President what he needs and is entitled to—a clear working Republican majority in the House and Senate.

I realize there are some who say, "What difference does it make? A Democrat voting for the Eisenhower program is just as good as a Republican." We welcome and need the support of Democrats in Congress who believe in the Eisenhower program. But as the election approaches we must bear in mind two basic political facts of life.

1. An election of a Democratic Congress next November would inevitably be interpreted as a slap at President Eisenhower and his program.

2. As 1956 approaches a primary interest of any Democratic Senator or Congressman will be to defeat the Republican President and elect a Democratic President. That consideration cannot help but have some effect on the votes he will cast.

During the past week several leading Democrats made statements which contained veiled but unmistakable threats to not cooperate with the President's program if the Republicans did not discontinue their criticisms of the previous administration. While it is hard to believe that any of these individuals would place their party above what they know is good for the country we have in these statements the most striking proof of the danger of relying on support of Democrats to put over the Eisenhower program in Congress.

UNITED SUPPORT NEEDED

In order to elect a Republican House and Senate it is essential to get the votes of three different groups.

The first requirement is for an enthusiastic, united Republican organization. I have very little patience with those Republicans who seize on one issue in which they are particularly interested and in effect say, "if the administration doesn't do what I believe should be done on this issue I am going to quit supporting the Republicans and vote for the Democrats." If this administration's middle-of-the-road program is repudiated by the Congress and the Republicans are defeated at the polls the alternative will inevitably be a swing to the far left with all the disastrous consequences that would mean to traditional American principles.

It is time for all Republicans to begin to emphasize more those things upon which we agree than those upon which we disagree. Senator Taft set a magnificent example in this respect. He recognized that if the Eisenhower administration's program failed the Republican Party would suffer defeat at the polls. Let us follow this example in supporting the President's program wholeheartedly.

DEMOCRATS, INDEPENDENTS

In addition to the votes of Republicans we need, as we did in 1952, the votes of

Democrats and Independents who believe in our program. We should avoid indiscriminate attacks on members of the other party as a group. We must remember that millions of Democrats were just as fed up with Trumanism as we were in 1952. We should leave the door open for all, regardless of party, to support our President and his program.

It is also essential for the future of the Republican Party that we continue to appeal to the new young voters who supported the Eisenhower ticket in 1952.

For 20 years a solid majority of the young voters were in the other camp. We won them over in 1952. Let us make sure that we do not lose them in 1954.

How can we get the votes of the groups that I have mentioned? To win the votes we need, we must not be satisfied with a negative, destructive, reactionary approach. It isn't good enough to win and it isn't worthy of our party or our country. We must convince the people that our Republican leadership stands for a program which is based solidly on American constitutional principles but which is not afraid of new ideas and which meets the massive problems of today's world dynamically, courageously and with imagination.

CLEANING UP THE MESS

For the Eisenhower administration, 1953 could be proberly designated as "the year of cleaning up the mess."

It is difficult to recall now the situation that existed in the last year of the Truman administration.

1. Casualties in Korea were continuing to pile up and no end was in sight.

2. Deficits were climbing and inflation could not be checked despite controls on the economy.

3. National morality was at an all-time low. The problem was aggravated by the fact that unethical practices had been condoned and defended by people in high places in the administration.

4. Mediocrity and inefficiency was the rule rather than the exception among appointed Government officials.

5. The loyalty program was failing to accomplish its objective because of the failure of top Government officials to recognize the seriousness of the problem.

In 1 year the Eisenhower administration has made tremendous progress in cleaning up the mess. Today four adjectives can with fairness be applied to this administration. The administration is loyal, honest, competent and solvent.

We have a President who will never tolerate himself or on the part of people in his administration cover-up or defense for political purposes of dishonesty, disloyalty, or incompetence. We have a man as President that every American can be proud of.

Cleaning up the mess would by itself be enough to deserve the support of the voters. But America needs more than that. Any administration should have the virtues which have been enumerated.

This administration does not propose to rest on its laurels after cleaning up the mess. We can proudly go to the country this November, to Republicans, to Democrats, to young and old, with a dynamic, new program designed to keep America prosperous at home and at peace throughout the world.

PROSPERITY, PEACE

At home the great challenge confronting this administration is to prove that it is possible in today's world for America to have peace and prosperity at the same time.

For 20 years the Fair Deal and the New Deal were never able to accomplish that objective. In 1939, after 7 years of the New Deal, there were still 9 million unemployed in the United States. In 1949 before the Korean war, unemployment was 50 percent higher than it is today and the downtrend was reversed only when the Korean war began.

The New Deal and Fair Deal administrations have claimed that prosperity in peacetime was possible only under a system which relies on ever-increasing Government controls and more socialization of the basic institutions of the country. They held to the theory that government has to manage the economy because people are incapable of doing it; that only government can assure prosperity.

EISENHOWER APPROACH

The Eisenhower program breaks sharply with the philosophy of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. It is based solidly on Lincoln's great declaration: "The legitimate objective of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do in their separate and individual capacities."

As President Eisenhower has so eloquently put it in his address at the great Lincoln Day box supper in Washington on February 5, "In all things that deal with people be liberal, be human, and in all those things which deal with the people's money or economy or their form of government, be conservative—and don't be afraid to use the word."

The Eisenhower philosophy holds that people as individuals and as members of the business community have the primary responsibility to provide prosperity. It is the responsibility of government to create the environment for private enterprise to do the job. We believe that we can have real prosperity in peacetime in the United States only if we place our reliance on more jobs and more production by private enterprise.

DEPRESSION TALK

There is no reason for us to have a depression unless we talk ourselves into it.

Let's look at some of the plus factors. Despite the fact that the shooting in Korea ended 8 months ago and that we are in a transition period from a wartime to a peacetime economy, we find:

1. 1953 was the best year in our history.

2. Employment this January was higher than any January in history except 1953.

3. In the automobile field Ford had its biggest month in January, and General Motors has announced a billion dollar expansion program for 1954.

4. Farm income has gone up four points since November.

5. In 37 Eastern and Midwestern States, building and engineering contracts are the highest on record for January. Residential and nonresidential building contracts are ahead of last year at this time.

6. Business will spend more on new plants and equipment in the first quarter of 1954 than in any previous year in history.

There should be honest discussion of the economic condition of the country, particularly when danger signals are evident. But those who become prophets of doom for political purposes render a great disservice to their country. Not only does this hurt us at home but it hurts us irreparably abroad—the nations abroad. The nations know that their economies are affected tremendously by what happens to the economy of the United States. Talk of depression and recession is blown up tenfold and creates fear and instability all over the world.

For 160 years America's greatness has been due to the application of the principle of individual enterprise. The activities of government did not make America a great country. Government created the climate wherein individuals acting alone and cooperatively contributed to our progress.

Today our productivity and our living standards are the envy and the hope of the world. This is no time to lose faith in our system and turn to systems which have failed every place in the world where they have been tried. This administration has faith in America and in its system. We intend to give it a chance to work.

NEW DEFENSE POLICY

One of the most dramatic developments of the Eisenhower administration has been the adoption of a new defense policy. This policy is based on the principle of massive retaliatory power rather than maintenance of American ground forces in every potential trouble spot in the world. As Admiral Radford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has pointed out: "It is obviously impossible for the United States to sustain forces which will enable us to station combat-effective units of superior strength every place where aggression might occur. If we tried to do this we would insure economic collapse."

There can be a legitimate difference of opinion as to the advisability of adopting a new military policy but we are fortunate that President Eisenhower himself approved this decision, and certainly no man in the world is better qualified than he to make such a decision.

PEACE WITHOUT SURRENDER

In the field of foreign policy this administration stands for a program which will bring peace without surrender and without compromise of the basic principles for which so many Americans have fought and died. Secretary of State Dulles deserves the praise of the whole Nation for the splendid manner in which he has stood up to the Communists at the conference table in Berlin. The day is past when our diplomats lose at the conference table the victories which our fighting men win on the battlefield.

The most significant development in the field of foreign policy is the way in which President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have taken the ideological initiative away from the Communists. The responsibility for blockading the road to peace has been placed squarely upon the shoulders of the Communist leaders. The President in his speech of April 16 and his speech before the United Nations made it clear to all the world that it was Russia and not the United States who was responsible for present world tensions and the threat of war which exists.

A hundred years ago the Republican Party was founded and its first great President was elected at a time that the country needed his leadership to save the Union. Today when the Nation and the whole free world needs the best that human leadership can provide to save our civilization, the Republican Party can be proud that another great Republican President is the man whom the whole free world recognizes as being equal to the task.

It is the responsibility of Republicans everywhere to give him the support in the country and in the Halls of Congress, which he deserves; support which will assure the passage of his program, prosperity and peace for America, and a better life for freemen everywhere.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's independence is an occasion for special observance. The people of the United States, through their elected representatives in the Congress, have expressed unmistakably their abhorrence of the enslavement of the peoples of Lithuania and of her sister republics of the Baltic. Last July a

memorable resolution, introduced by Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin, was adopted by this House to create a committee to investigate fully the circumstances of the seizure of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union and the treatment accorded their peoples during and after their forced "incorporation" in the U. S. S. R.

In Washington, New York, Detroit, and Chicago, eyewitnesses, masked or from behind screens, have told this committee of monstrous crimes committed by the Red army in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Films, smuggled out in the closing days of the war, have explained in detail how the Soviets take over a country. Stories have been told of continued deportations from Lithuania during the past year.

But a note of hope has also emerged. Witnesses have told of a courageous and active underground movement continuing in Lithuania.

As this dramatic and terrible story unfolds, the American people will have before them incontrovertible evidence of the cruelty, duplicity, and evil purposes of Soviet communism. They will also see an unforgettable picture of the courage and steadfastness of the Lithuanian people.

Role of the Federal Government in Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address by Albert M. Cole, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, before the Economic Club of Detroit, February 8, 1954.

I believe Mr. Cole's remarks constitute an excellent discussion of the role of the Federal Government in housing. I was particularly interested in his discussion of the problems in connection with low-cost housing, and am pleased at the steps he outlines.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN HOUSING?

(Address by Albert M. Cole, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, to the Economic Club of Detroit, Hotel Sheraton-Cadillac, Detroit, Mich., February 8, 1954)

The housing program outlined by the President in his recent message to the Congress is, I think, expressive of this administration's philosophy of government in terms of the social and economic welfare of the Nation. Indeed, when the President recently stated that this administration is liberal in its concern for human values and conservative in economic affairs, he accurately summarized the thinking that went into the formulation of the housing program which he affirmed in his housing message.

What we are seeking in the field of housing is to advance the well-being of the people through the strengthening and effective support of our vigorous free-enterprise system. After their intensive work in drafting their report and recommendations to the President, his Advisory Committee on Housing, comprised of business and public representatives, agreed unanimously on this statement of policy:

"It is the conviction of this committee that the constant improvement of the living conditions of all the people is best accomplished under a strong, free, competitive economy; that every action taken by Government in respect to housing should be for the purpose of facilitating the operation of that economy to provide adequate housing for all the people."

That is another way of saying what the President himself said with respect to the liberal attitude of his administration in resolving human problems within the framework of a conservative economic policy. If we examine the housing proposals in the light of that philosophy, I believe we will better understand their principles.

These are principles that Americans believe in and that have rooted themselves through our history into the fiber and being of our national life. I think the people of this country have a right to expect their Government to concern itself with their opportunities and welfare. At the same time, I don't think they want the Government to run their lives or business. We in the administration have tried to embody that philosophy in our housing proposals.

There are, as I see it, 3 important new concepts underlying this program, all 3 of which are interdependent and an essential part of a comprehensive and coordinated movement to better our housing and urban standards.

Briefly, these new concepts are:

1. To deal with the causes as well as the consequences of urban decay through a broad-scale urban renewal program to conserve and rehabilitate good housing and neighborhoods as well as to clear slums.

2. To make the total housing supply, existing as well as new, available on equal terms as a source of better housing for all people, instead of discriminating against older housing and making it more difficult for people of limited means to obtain it.

3. To treat the low-income housing field as part of the total housing market, to be served privately as far as possible and made an integral part of the community housing supply, not marked off as a segment dependent on Government subsidy and control.

It is imperative that we all realize at once, as did the Advisory Committee, that we cannot attack these problems piecemeal. We have a comprehensive program of three essential and interrelated parts which cannot be considered independently. It is like the old joke, "You cannot be slightly pregnant."

The first new concept is that of a broad-scale urban-renewal program to eliminate slums and to prevent their recurrence through rehabilitation and conservation, by repair and modernization, of those sound structures and neighborhoods which we now have. We know that large sections of our urban areas already have been economically destroyed through deterioration and obsolescence and must be cleared. This clearance is not only necessary to prevent unhealthy inhabitation of the rotten areas, but also to prevent further economic loss in taxation to the community as a whole—a double loss created in one part by loss of potential tax revenue and in the other by the disproportionately heavy expenditure of the tax dollar on municipal services to support the blighted area. We know that still more areas are in danger of sinking into the same quicksands of expensive neglect if we let them. This is fundamentally a problem which must be dealt with through local resources and organization. But the deficits in most metropolitan slum areas are already so huge that Federal financial aid and support are inescapable. Correcting the causes, as well as curing the sore spots, of these costly and shameful burdens of slums and blight is basic to any successful attack on our overall housing problems, but getting rid of the bad spots is only part of the job.

The second new concept embodied in the President's housing recommendations is that in additional to a high level of new housing production we must look also to the essentially sound housing we already have as a dynamic source of satisfying the variable and changing housing requirements of our people. We should and we can, with the improved aids provided in the new proposals, maintain an annual production of more than a million new homes. But the exclusive emphasis that has heretofore been placed on new homes alone must be rectified. Accordingly, we are proposing that the same liberal terms which apply to new home financing should, on a relative basis, be available for both the marketing and the improvement of existing dwellings. I believe that this new approach will greatly reduce the development of new slums, and enhance the opportunities and the choice of families seeking better homes. It will bring about more improvement and greater marketability for older homes, and will facilitate the movement of families, through their own means, from blighted and slum areas into better homes.

By treating the improvement of houses and neighborhoods, and the clearance of slums, as a whole on the one hand, and the supply of all types of housing, new and old, as a whole on the other hand, I think we establish the basic premises to enable families to improve their housing conditions and thus, for cities to improve their standards.

But the free flow of families from undesirable into desirable houses and neighborhoods as they are made available presupposes that all these families are able to do just that. Most of our families can, of course, buy or rent adequate homes on the private market. But, unfortunately, there are still large numbers in all our cities who cannot do so. Their incomes are too low—and beyond that many, even with adequate incomes, are forbidden to do so because of racial exclusion.

These are the people whose housing problems constitute one of the most serious roadblocks we have to the clearance and prevention of slums and to the renewal of our cities. Their problems must be solved, or we have just failed to solve the problems of slums and blight. Out of 123 slum clearance projects developed under title I of the Housing Act of 1949, at least half of the families living in the project areas are unable under current conditions to afford decent minimum private housing. Nearly two-thirds—or 40,000 of these families living in these areas—are minority families, who face the added difficulty of finding housing open to them at any price.

If we expect to clear slums and renew our cities, the housing problems of these families must be squarely faced and solved.

In the low-income housing field, the President's program also introduces a new concept. Basically, it treats the low-income housing market as part of the total housing market, and endeavors to serve it through private means as far as possible. To that end we will propose, as recommended by the President's Advisory Committee, a special type of low initial payment, long-term loan designed to produce, through private means, both new and modernized housing at low cost and rents. Such special aids would be used for those who are displaced by urban renewal and other public works projects.

We have also found it essential to recommend continuation of the public housing program at a moderate level of 35,000 units a year for the next 4 years. The new plans to assist low-income families to acquire good housing will need congressional authorization and it will obviously be some time before this can be translated into actual homes for these families. In the meantime, it seems only reasonable and necessary to the success of our total program to continue public housing.

Before speaking in detail concerning public housing problems, let me clear the air somewhat as to myself and my well-known views on the subject: I have always been a critic of political housing; I have always been a critic of socialized housing; I have always been a critic of any system of institutional housing which might contribute to the creation of a poor house class or classes among our people. However, if public housing is viewed in the correct perspective, I recognize that it can serve as a helping hand extended to assist our people of low income at this stage in our housing effort to bridge the gap now existing between the slums and either new low costs, or renovated older dwellings, which they can rent and, in time, perhaps, even buy in the American tradition. Public housing cannot be considered an end in itself; it is a conduit through which people can move toward improved and permanent living conditions.

The proposal for low initial payment, long-term insured mortgages will broaden the opportunities for more low-income families to acquire good homes. But it is a new measure and it will take time to perfect and get it into operation in any substantial degree. However, I am confident that in time it will greatly reduce the need for public housing. Out of these experiments and the continuing studies we are undertaking in this field, we are developing still other means for providing satisfactory housing for more of our lowest income families. It seems to me quite obvious, as we increase our supply of good lower cost housing through the efforts now being proposed, that we must also provide a good measure of older but still sound housing within the reach of lower incomes. It would seem to me far preferable to provide limited subsidy for low-cost private housing of these types than to continue indefinitely to build new, isolated housing projects, which inevitably make it more difficult to integrate low income families into a progressive and ever-growing nation.

In the meantime, however, it would be misleading to say that we can make anything like enough such low-cost private housing available for these people right now or in the immediate future—whether they be of minority groups or not. Yet we cannot afford to postpone any longer offering these families the opportunity to obtain homes. The solution to their problem is the immediate crux of our whole effort to clear slums. It is therefore essential to the success of the program as a whole that we adopt the President's recommendation for a limited level of public housing for the next few years during this period of experimentation and the development of new methods.

I want to say frankly, however, that regardless of what measures are provided or developed to clear slums and meet low-income housing needs, the critical factor in the situation which must be met is the factor of racial exclusion from the greater and better part of our housing supply. I must tell you that no program of housing or urban improvement, however well conceived, well financed, or comprehensive can hope to make more than indifferent progress until we open up adequate opportunities to minority families for decent housing.

We cannot do a real job of clearing slums until we accomplish this. At least two-thirds of the slum families in many of our major cities are minority families who, regardless of income, would find it extremely difficult to get other housing. We cannot hope to meet the housing requirements of our low-income families—of which minorities constitute a disproportionately large number—until and unless we open the doors of an adequate supply of good private housing to them.

This is not, let me stress, a low-income problem as such. Low-income simply complicates the problem of many minority families, but all face it—even those with relatively high incomes. A great many of these families are able and willing to pay for good housing, if they can find it. Their incomes have greatly improved over the past decade, and they are ready to enter the market if the market will receive them. Recent studies in a number of our large cities indicate a very substantial waiting market for Negro housing ranging from $40 to $90 in rents and from $6,500 to $15,000 for sales housing, with a fair number of minority families able to enter the luxury housing market.

It is very poor business to ignore one-tenth of our population as a housing market. It is worse than bad business. We are simply not living up to the standards of a free economy and a democratic society. For the housing economy has not been a free economy for the Negro. If he wants to get out of a slum, his best hope usually has been to pay a premium price for a house in bad condition in a deteriorating neighborhood. If he finds a house he can buy, he must pay more than the normal market price for it—simply because he isn't free to compete on the market. If he is able and willing to pay the price, he has difficulty getting financing on reasonable or even equal terms. Yet today these minority families constitute a growing and important part of our society. It is ironic that though they contribute through savings and investments a very substantial part of our capital which is needed to support the overall housing and our other productive activities, they are the last in line when it comes to bororwing money to build or buy a home.

This is not primarily a Federal problem. The President has made it clear that to the extent that Federal policies can be so used, we will do all in our authority to make housing and home finance available to minority families and we certainly will not approve Federal assistance to any community unless the affected minority families are adequately rehoused and are fairly treated. We are also concentrating the efforts of our racial relations service on the task of working with private builders and lenders to work out means of increasing the production of housing available to our minority citizens. We are also in the process of tightening the agency's procedures to make doubly sure that all citizens, regardless of race, are given an even break.

But the real problem lies with the citizens, the businessmen, the builders, the lenders, the realtors, and the civic leaders and officials who will have to face this problem and—working together—correct it. The blockade of custom and code, of unjustified economic fears, must be breached, and the Negro family must be given access to good homes and good neighborhoods No citizen can afford to let this minority housing pressure continue to build up to the explosion point, as it already has in some instances.

Federal help cannot do the job by itself and it should not. It can only assist the communities to do their job—to extend a real helping hand to those of our citizens who need that help so as to live decently and raise their young in healthy and crime-free environments. If you don't want to clear your slums and renew your cities, then forget it. But if you do, then get busy. I am confident that the Congress will, on the basis of the President's proposals, provide an effective and comprehensive program that will give you the help you need.

Saving the Taxpayers' Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of Washington Window for February 12, 1954. Washington Window is prepared by the Public Affairs Institute, a nonpartisan, fact-finding, research organization in Washington, headed by Dr. Dewey Anderson.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOTE TO EDITORS

The operation of the Post Office Department and pending legislation to raise postage rates are moving to the forefront as major issues before Congress. This column deals with the first part, delving into the question of whether the efficient operation of the Post Office Department has actually saved the taxpayers' money. Next week we will consider the issue of increasing postage rates.

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1. Postal-Rate Revision, hearings before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, 1st session, parts I and II, July 13 to 29, 1953.

2. Postal Policy Confusion, an address by Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, Democrat of South Carolina, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 1426–1431, 83d Congress, 2d session, February 8, 1954.

3. Address by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield before the National Industrial Conference Board, New York, N. Y., Post Office Department, Washington, D. C., January 21, 1954.

4. Proposals for Reduction of the Postal Deficit, United States Post Office Department, Washington, D. C., July, 1953.

5. Statement by Postmaster General Arthur S. Summerfield, Post Office Department Information Service, Washington, D. C., no date.

SAVING THE TAXPAYERS' MONEY

How much money is the Eisenhower administration saving the taxpayers through efficient operation and economy?

The case of the Post Office Department offers us some answers. A hot discussion now rages around the question of whether savings are being made in the postal service or whether figures are being juggled.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield, in speeches throughout the country in recent weeks, has declared in summary:

"I am happy to say to you that now our anticipated deficit for this fiscal year (ending June 30, 1954), instead of $746 million as listed in the Truman budget estimate will be $440 million, or a saving to you, ladies and gentlemen, the taxpayers of this country, of more than a million dollars every working day." This would indicate a saving of $316 million.

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, ranking Democrat and former chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has taken strong exception to these claims. On the floor of the Senate he has challenged the methods as well as the motivations of the Postmaster General.

Senator JOHNSTON offered statistics to support his case. Following, however, are the Post Office's own figures on the savings:

An appropriation cut requested by Summerfield 30 days after assuming office based on "what we hope to save through our economy program"	$152,000,000
Airmail subsidy costs shifted to Civil Aeronautics Board under authorization of Congress	79,000,000
Increase in fourth-class mail rates authorized by Interstate Commerce Commission, recommended by the 82d Congress. (Annual rate $160 million; $120 million based on 8 months since enactment)	120,000,000
Increased foreign rates and domestic fees	40,000,000
Requiring the Federal Government agencies to pay for their own franked and direct mail	36,000,000
Total savings claimed by post office	427,000,000

If you subtract the $427 million saved from the Truman deficit of $746 million—and if everything is being accomplished which the Post Office claims—then the deficit should be only $319 million now rather than $440 million.

Aside from the $152 million, which has never been explained in detail, a savings for the taxpayers of $275 million is claimed. Senator JOHNSTON points out that bookkeeping shifts make up part of this and increased rates make up the rest.

"Maybe there are some overall savings," Senator JOHNSTON told the Senate, "but I would like to see them spelled out."

After Senator JOHNSTON's attack on the Postmaster General's figures as designed distortion, Summerfield offered an entirely new set of figures. He said that revenues are $100 million less than estimated by the Truman budget for the year increasing the deficit to $846 million.

His administration, the Postmaster General says, will cut this deficit by $409 million. Since a net savings to the Government * * * was never claimed by bookkeeping shifts (airmail subsidies and franked mail) to other agencies, $92 million is subtracted by the Post Office. This leaves $317 million saved.

"Approximately one-half of this ($317 million) is due to spending less and one-half is due to taking in more," the Postmaster says. No more details are offered.

Confused?

This is one of the several battles of figures going on in Washington. The Postmaster General first said bookkeeping shifts and increased postage rates are savings to the taxpayer. Later he amended this to a claim that increased postage rates and unexplained economies are savings to the taxpayers. Do you think the taxpayers have been saved a million dollars every working day?

Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the Goodwill Industries is one of the finest organizations in this country for the assistance of handicapped persons. The Board of Commissioners for the District of Columbia has proclaimed January 19 through February 28 as "A Time for Goodwill." Of course, we should not limit our support and interest in the Goodwill Industries to any particular day, week, or month, but it is good to recognize such programs by means of proclamation or citations. The Goodwill Industries will soon begin a campaign to increase its facilities for assisting the handicapped and I think that everyone in the Washington metropolitan area should give their assistance and support.

I ask unanimous consent to have the proclamation printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TIME FOR GOODWILL, JANUARY 19 THROUGH FEBRUARY 28, 1954

Whereas Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries is the only all-purpose sheltered workshop for the handicapped in the Washington-Maryland-Virginia area; and

Whereas the Goodwill program is based, not on alms, but on the employment and training of physically handicapped workers who reclaim discarded materials and are themselves rehabilitated in the process; and

Whereas since its founding in 1935 Washington Goodwill Industries has given employment to 4,376 handicapped persons who because of age or physical or mental disability were unable to find jobs elsewhere; and

Whereas hundreds of disabled, aged, or otherwise handicapped men and women in the Washington area are being denied the opportunity to work and learn a useful trade, only because there is no more room at Goodwill; and

Whereas Goodwill is a shining example of industrious self-reliance, a self-supporting, nonprofit organization whose sole purpose is to help the handicapped to help themselves; and

Whereas Goodwill is about to embark on a one-time capital fund drive to raise $600,000 for a modern, 5-story annex that will double the capacity of its workshops and enable it to meet the most pressing demands of the community: Now, therefore

We, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, do hereby proclaim January 19 through February 28 as "A time for Goodwill," and call upon all the citizens of the District of Columbia to be advised of this opportunity to make a significant contribution to the cause of the handicapped by supplying Goodwill with the tools to do its community job.

SAMUEL SPENCER,
RENAH F. CAMALIER,
LOUIS W. PRENTISS,
Commissioners of the District of Columbia.
JANUARY 14, 1954.

Let's Find Some Way To Use Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Let's Find Some Way To Use Surpluses," which was published in the Des Moines Register on February 7, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S FIND SOME WAY TO USE SURPLUSES

Senator GUY GILLETTE is interested in developing a food-stamp plan to get Government surpluses into consumption. But he said, "I am less concerned with any particular method for placing these surpluses on the tables of those who need them than I am with getting action."

We agree, thoroughly.

It is senseless to go on buying butter, beef, cheese, and other perishable foods in order to support prices, and then allow them to pile up in storage where they may deteriorate.

The food-stamp plan is one possible solution to this problem. Senator GILLETTE expressed approval of an idea given to him by C. J. O'Neil, of the O'Neil Dairy Co., of Ames, for letting people on social-security pensions buy food stamps at reduced cost which could be exchanged for foods that are in surplus.

Using food stamps in this limited way would accomplish several purposes. It would prevent the accumulation of surpluses and would permit the consumption of present storage holdings of perishable foods. It would help supplement the pension checks of thousands of elderly people who have a tough time getting along, because their pensions have been eroded away by inflation. It also would provide valuable experience in managing a food-stamp plan which might be expanded in case of a serious industrial recession. Finally, it would help support the incomes of farmers.

We have an idea that most people would object a lot less to price supports on dairy products and other foods if they knew the extra prices they paid went partly to make things easier for old folks on pensions.

Beleaguered Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful editorial entitled "Beleaguered Israel," which appeared this morning in the New York Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BELEAGUERED ISRAEL

Reading the news from the Near East, it is hard not to get the impression of an embattled Israel, surrounded by enemies and fighting for its existence. The reality is not quite so dramatic, for the existence of Israel is in no sense at stake. It is too well guaranteed by United Nations policies and the sympathy of individual countries, especially the United States. Anyway, the unforgotten Kibya massacre was proof that the Israelis are not always merely defending themselves. There are two sides to nearly all questions and it would be wrong to ignore the genuine grievances and justified fears that the Arabs entertain.

At the same time it is a fact that Israel is ringed around with enemies and is, in a sense, besieged. The discussion in the United Nations over the inexcusable blocking by Egypt of ships bound through the Suez Canal

to Israel is a reminder of the sort of thing that is happening. Egypt considers herself at war with Israel and hence has no compunctions in violating the Security Council's 1951 resolution calling on her to cease interfering with Israel-bound ships.

In yesterday's newspaper we also read of a border clash with Jordanians—a now commonplace but always distressing event. There was, too, a dispatch from Washington about Eric Johnston's trouble in getting the Jordan Valley development proposal accepted. This is a reminder of the 850,000 wretched Arab refugees from Palestine whose existence would alone be enough to make the Near East a powder keg.

The whole atmosphere is dangerous because it is based on a profound and apparently ineradicable fear and resentment of the Arabs toward the Israelis and a determination not to accept the permanent existence of Israel or to accommodate themselves to this fact. Brooding like a vulture in the skies above the Near East is Soviet Russia, which on January 22 cast a veto in the Security Council on behalf of the Arabs and which is always alert for mischief anywhere.

There never are easy and quick solutions to problems of this nature. It is not surprising that a cold war of global proportions should be duplicated locally or regionally. Israel and the Arab countries provide one more trouble spot in a troubled world. We have to live with it and so do they, but the cold war must not be permitted to get hot.

Why Coffee Is Costly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, the Sunday Bulletin of Philadelphia published an excellent survey of the coffee situation, written by Mr. Robert Roth, of the Bulletin's Washington bureau. The facts set forth in the article should prove of great interest to all Members of the Senate and the House, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRAZILIANS BUY OWN CROP TO BOOST PRICE—COFFEE CURTAIN VEILS TRADING METHODS

(By Robert Roth)

WASHINGTON, February 6.—The voice of the American consumer, raised in angry protest against dollar-a-pound coffee, is getting respectful attention here.

The Senate Agriculture Committee is investigating, the Senate Banking Committee is investigating, the Federal Trade Commission is investigating. A bill has been introduced to clamp controls on coffee trading.

But to the housewife who wants to know if all this will bring her cheaper coffee, only one honest answer can be and is being given by those who have studied the coffee problem most closely. It is simply:

Not for a long time, and maybe never.

Certainly there is little prospect of coffee selling in the stores at 50 cents a pound as it did 5 years ago, or even at 85 cents, as it did last year.

It is much more likely that the price level will continue to rise, and there isn't anything the Government here can do about it that will be immediately effective.

The consumers, of course, have their own weapon. If they would stop drinking coffee for a while, or cut their consumption in half, it would have more effect than all the probes and all the laws Congress could devise.

But Americans don't take readily to self-denial. They like coffee, it is a part of their lives. They drink better than 100 billion cups a year and they don't want to stop. There has been a lot of talk of a coffee boycott, but no evidence that one is really developing. Coffee prices have soared before—though never quite to present levels—with no appreciable effect on the total consumption.

Besides, there is no guaranty that a boycott would bring the price down permanently. Those who produce and market coffee are not interested in big sales at small prices. They much prefer small sales at high prices. They are not frightened at the prospect of reduced output if they can keep the price up.

The reason is not far to seek. Profit in coffee is figured on a percentage basis. Generally that profit figured at 16 percent gross. On a pound of coffee that sells for $1 the profit is 16 cents gross. On a pound that sells for 50 cents it is only 8 cents.

That is only one of many ways in which the coffee game appears to be rigged against the consumer. Careful research 4 years ago by a Senate committee headed by GUY GILLETTE, Democrat, of Iowa, uncovered some of the others, but by no means all of them. It is doubted that anybody knows them all.

The coffee business is a nightmare of complexity, with overtones of manipulation that approach sleight-of-hand. Coffee economists talk a language of their own, incomprehensible to one accustomed to the way business normally functions in America.

Those in the trade contend it operates strictly in accordance with the law of supply and demand. Maybe it does, but no one has been able to prove it. Protests of traders to the contrary notwithstanding, the fact is that the price a consumer pays today for a pound of coffee is controlled not by the size of stocks available to meet the current demand but by the size of stocks someone says will be available 5 months from now.

The coffee trade operates behind a curtain that no outsider has succeeded in penetrating. Accurate information is always hard and sometimes impossible to come by. Within the last week this correspondent ran into a stone wall when he tried to get guidance from officials of the National Coffee Association and the Coffee and Sugar Exchange in New York on how coffee trading operates. There just wasn't any information available or any questions that could be answered.

AN AWFUL LOT OF COFFEE

According to a popular song of a few seasons back, There's an Awful Lot of Coffee in Brazil. There certainly is, but no one knows how much, except the Brazilian Government, and it isn't saying. There has never been an accurate figure on how many trees are under cultivation and how much they actually produce.

Figures are issued in Brazil, in Colombia, and in New York purporting to show what stocks of coffee are on hand and in transfer, what the size of the coming crop will be, and what anticipated consumption is. Not even a Senate committee, with its powers of subpena and contempt citation, can check those figures which time and again turn out to be wrong.

Those figures control the future prices of coffee, and if, as has happened, it develops that consumption was overestimated and production underestimated, so that an expected shortage failed to develop, there's nothing anyone can do about it. In the interval the price, of course, has been pegged at a higher level.

CONTROLLED BUSINESS

The basic fact about the coffee industry is that it does not operate in a free economy. It is a controlled business, and has been controlled longer than any other product that sells in the world market—since the turn of the century, in fact.

The basic control is exercised by the Government of Brazil, the world's leading producer of coffee and, for all practical purposes and so far as the United States is concerned, the only producer. Some coffee is brought here from Colombia, a milder and higher priced grade that is used chiefly for blending, but whatever the price of Brazilian coffee is, that from Colombia is usually pegged at 4 cents a pound more.

There is good reason for coffee controls. Coffee is a commodity that tends, if left to itself, to overproduction, and Brazil has had some disastrous experience with glutted markets. Since coffee is the backbone of the country's economy, with prosperity or panic hinging on the state of the coffee market the Government can hardly be blamed for seeking the maximum protection.

FIXED BY LAW

From 1902 until 1925 Brazil controlled the market by making Government purchases of the product and withholding or releasing it as market conditions varied. In 1925 the Government adopted a new policy, fixing by law the quantity of coffee that could move to the port of Santos, the chief export point, and otherwise arbitrarily limiting the quantity that might be channeled for export. That policy is still in effect.

During the prosperous 1920's Brazilian coffee growers planted heavily. Then came the world depression of the thirties and the picture changed. Brazil alone was producing more coffee than the whole world could consume or at any rate could buy.

Coffee growers cannot vary their output sharply from year to year. A coffee tree takes 5 years to mature, and then lives for 75 or 80 years more. Once it starts bearing, its production tends to increase over a span of some 30 years. In the 1930's, Brazil was all but buried under mountains of coffee.

In this crisis the Brazilian Government did exactly what our own New Deal Government did under similar circumstances—it stepped in and bought surpluses, and destroyed them. Over a period of some 8 years 78,000,000 bags of 132 pounds each were burned, and there still remained huge stocks in storage. To discourage any future growth in output, new taxes were levied on new tree plantings.

This, as Vernon D. Wickizer, a leading coffee economist, has pointed out, brought Brazil to a new crisis. It was keeping prices up, all right, but it was losing its market to other producers, particularly in Asia. In 1937 the government decided to let prices fall. That worked, and Brazil began to win back its markets.

Then came the Second World War and Brazil found that instead of having all the world to sell to it had, for practical purposes, only two customers—the United States and Canada.

Chaos descended on the coffee business and Brazil and 13 other Latin American countries that produce the bean found themselves faced with ruin.

INTER-AMERICAN PACT

Something had to be done, and the United States did it. Operating under the good-neighbor principle it sponsored an inter-American coffee agreement under which this country agreed to take supplies on a quota basis, and under a price-stabilization agreement, from all producing South American countries.

The coffee market leveled off and order returned to the South American economy. The leadership of the United States in bringing this about was much appreciated to the south. In 1942 Jayme Fernandes

Guedes, head of Brazil's national coffee department, said:

"It (the coffee agreement) is perhaps the most concrete proof of the true spirit of Pan-Americanism, since it has secured the economic welfare of many Latin-American countries."

But not all South Americans felt that way. Many thought the United States had gouged them on price when it had them at its mercy.

That may be why Brazilian producers today appear somewhat insensitive to the anguished protests of American consumers over current high prices.

SHORTAGE DOESN'T DEVELOP

In 1949 a new coffee policy became apparent, and a pattern was established that is, apparently, being followed today.

Early that year it was announced that all reserve stocks of coffee in Brazil had been consumed and that bad growing conditions, particularly drought, made a small crop certain, all this in the face of growing demand. Coffee prices zoomed, but the expected shortage never developed.

This led the Gillette committee to comment in its report in 1950 that "complete, accurate, and reliable statistics on coffee are nonexistent. During all the time that the National Coffee Department of Brazil held coffee stocks, the amounts thereof were not made available."

The Gillette report, as originally written, included a recommendation that Brazil be urged to release complete and honest figures on its coffee holdings. This was deleted on the insistence of the State Department which felt it would be resented in Brazil as a meddling in the internal affairs of the country and as a reflection on its integrity.

The reasons given by coffee traders for high prices in 1949 and 1950 were exactly the same as those being advanced today—no reserves on hand, increased consumption, and bad crop coming up.

The only difference is that today the chief reason adduced for crop failure is frost, rather than drought. In this connection it is noteworthy that the frost occurred in the State of Parara, Brazil, an area new to coffee culture. It is an area higher than is usually used for coffee and one in which it was known that a tree-killing frost might occur. The trees there were planted so recently that they have barely begun to produce. It is difficult to understand how their failure to bear this year could affect the overall picture.

PROFITABLE BUSINESS

Coffee is big business, run on a cartel basis with every element from production to final retail sale under strong control. It is also a profitable business. There is competent testimony that a 45-percent annual profit to producers is usual, and that gains of 300 percent or more are not uncommon.

Who gets it? That is a question that cannot be answered under current information policies hedging in the coffee industry. Certainly it is not the laborer on the farm, who gets a subsistence wage of around a dollar a day.

Unquestionably, speculators get a big slice. Their stomping ground is the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange, at 113 Pearl Street, New York.

That is where the price of coffee is fixed. Less than 30 percent of the coffee consumed in the United States is traded on the exchange, but the future price established there automatically becomes the price for all coffee. No one has ever explained why this should be so, but it is a fact.

AN ODD EXCHANGE

Commodity exchanges serve a useful function. They bring buyer and seller together and they afford a form of price insurance for producers. But the Coffee Exchange, in New York, operates in a peculiar way, and far differently from exchanges where American-grown commodities are traded.

Only one kind of coffee is traded on the New York Exchange. It is called Santos 40, which means that is coffee grown in a particular place in Brazil, the State of Sao Paulo, and shipped through the port of Santos. Whatever is paid for that coffee is the price of all coffee wherever grown. It is as if in Chicago all corn trading was confined to corn produced, say, in Palo Alto County, Iowa, and the price of that corn became the price of all corn.

Efforts have been made, unsuccessfully, to get the exchange to permit trading in other coffees so as to broaden the base that fixes the price.

Under the prodding of the Gillette committee the exchange 4 years ago agreed to allow contracts to be made in other coffees, but it was admitted at a hearing this week that all exchange business is still in Santos 40. The reason is that high penalty fees are attached to trading in other coffees.

COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS

If a commodity exchange serves its true function, coffee producers have a hedge against falling prices. Thus a grower, not knowing what coffee will sell at when his crop is harvested, and wanting to insure his return, can sell in the future market at, say, 50 cents a pound. He is thus certain of getting that price. But that isn't the way the coffee exchange functions.

That is what the Gillette committee found in 1950, and recent testimony indicates that the picture has not changed:

"What puzzled the subcommittee greatly is that these Brazilian traders are buying coffee futures in New York, not selling. Instead of a true hedge their operation is truly a speculative transaction. It was established that the supply of coffee available to meet these contracts is very limited and that as the price of the contract is raised or remains high, the spot market for other coffee tends to follow closely."

In other words, those who have coffee to sell buy on the exchange in quantities great enough to keep the artificially traded price high.

MARGIN OPERATIONS

Many things happen on the coffee exchange that do not and cannot happen on the other exchanges here, which are rigidly regulated by the Department of Agriculture. The Coffee and Sugar Exchange is exempt from such regulation.

On the Coffee Exchange a trader can operate on margin as low as 5 percent, instead of the 50 percent he would need on other exchanges. He can operate under a fictitious name, as traders supervised by the United States Government cannot.

The Gillette committee found that more than 30 percent of all the business done on the Coffee Exchange was controlled by one broker in Brazil. Control of as much as 10 percent of transactions by any 1 trader is frowned on in United States-supervised exchanges.

To correct some of these conditions, GILLETTE has urged adoption of a bill, now in committee, which would put coffee trading under the same type of regulation as other commodities. He has also urged the Attorney General to explore the possibilities of antitrust action.

How much can be done by this Government is problematic. The State Department is almost certain to resist moves that might prove offensive to our good neighbors to the south.

DREADED BY DIPLOMATS

The sort of thing the diplomats dread is what happened only this week when a commission of 14 Inter-American countries, with only 1 dissenting vote, adopted a resolution censoring this country for attempting to discourage coffee consumption because of high prices. The dissenting vote was cast by the United States.

Proposals have been made from time to time that this country attempt to grow its own coffee. It is generally agreed that coffee cannot be produced economically in the continental United States, but a partial answer to the problem might be found in Puerto Rico.

There was a time when Puerto Rico exported more than 400,000 bags of coffee a year. Now it imports all it uses. Development of the island's coffee growing potential might well serve as a brake on coffee prices.

But that, if it could be done at all, would take years. For those who want immediate relief the advice of the late Senator Robert A. Taft still stands. When Taft was asked what American housewives could do to bring high food prices down he answered crisply: "Eat less."

Address by Hon. James A. Farley, Chairman of the Board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp., at the Sales Executives Club of New York Distinguished Sales Award Banquet, the Waldorf-Astoria, January 29, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. DONOVAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address:

I am particularly glad to be with you tonight—mainly for two reasons. First, all my life I have admired good salesmanship and have tried to be a good salesman. Secondly, and most important, I feel what you are doing here tonight puts the spotlight on a great economic force that is often misunderstood, underrated, or ignored—good American salesmanship.

What do I mean by "good American salesmanship"? I have heard a lot of fancy definitions of salesmanship, but I think it all boils down to three simple elements—whether you are selling freight cars to railway purchasing agents or candidates for office to the public.

First, you must have a good product; a product you know is good. No matter how good a salesman you are, you can't be happy selling an inferior product any more than you can be happy living a lie. If you are not happy with the product you are selling you should quit right away and tie up with a product you can push to the limit with a clear conscience.

Second, you must know your product thoroughly, from every angle. And that is not so you can show off to the prospect how much you know. You must know your product thoroughly so that you can determine how it meets the needs and ambitions of your prospect, then sell him on how it fulfills those needs and ambitions.

Third, you must have the desire to work. Not only the desire—you have to get out and work, put in the hours, sell when others are taking the day off. I dare say that if you took a poll of the 80 or so distinguished salesmen here tonight to find out what one thing accounted for their reaching the top of the sales chart in their companies, 90 percent of them would put hard work first. In spite of all the gimmicks, gadgets, and

theories, successful selling is largely a matter of work and percentages. The more calls you make, the more sales you make. Of course, as your skill increases your percentage goes up. But you never reach the heights unless you put in the work.

This is your night and it is not the time for me, another salesman, to offer advice in the selling field. But from my personal viewpoint, I would like to tell you that during the entire period of my selling career I have meticulously followed every prospective sale as closely as I could until it was won or lost. I never give up until I know the order I am after has been definitely placed with the other fellow.

You would not be here if you had not applied the three basic elements that make up good American salesmanship—good product, knowledge of product, and desire to work.

And that brings me to the second point I want to get across to you tonight—a bit of a challenge perhaps to good American salesmanship. To me, this gathering here tonight and the great incentive idea behind it spotlights the important role that you distinguished salesmen and your conferees all over the Nation have in our current economic picture.

Talk of recession today is like Cassandra's cry of catastrophe to come, a prophecy believed in some quarters and discredited in others. But, to my way of thinking, such talk does no credit to our belief in the power of American enterprise.

The one force that can offset a recession, in fact, stay it indefinitely, is salesmanship and not production; not Government controls; not more deficit spending—but good American salesmanship.

How much selling, I mean in the terms of real salesmanship, has been done over the last 15 years? Much of what we have been calling selling over those years has been hardly more than order-taking.

The demand for goods has been so great that little selling has been needed. American industry has toiled mightily to satisfy an ever-increasing hunger for many products. You would not call a cook a salesman if he filled the clamoring needs of hungry men. Well, that has been the role of industry in recent years, straining itself not to sell, but to meet the phenomenal demands of the consumer.

Today the picture is different. The American consumer is equipped with more possessions than ever before, and is almost bored with the magic and versatility of the American production machine. It is now difficult to surprise him. He has seen everything and has everything. Now, to rouse him out of his lethargy of plenty, a new brand of salesmanship must be employed to awaken him to new needs and new products.

Now, the salesman must go out and sell—sell with the same enthusiasm, vigor and perseverance he displayed when he first brought the automobile to America's primitive highways, introduced electric lights to the farm, and established the refrigerator in the kitchen.

The American salesman has been the keystone of the realistic structure of the democratic belief. He still is. If there is to be no recession, he must don his seven-league boots again and go after the business.

The antidote for recession is salesmanship. Let's apply it.

It is now my pleasure and privilege to bestow on 80 outstanding salesmen here tonight the highest award in the selling profession—the Distinguished Salesman Award. These great salesmen have done their part to dispel any thought of recession in their own companies They have done their bit to hold back the tide of recession nationally.

Mr. Chairman, please call the roll of the distinguished salesmen.

Limits of Academic Freedom, by Francis P. Kilcoyne

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an interesting article entitled "Limits of Academic Freedom," which appeared in the February 1954 issue of Columbia, the largest Catholic magazine in the world, written by Francis P. Kilcoyne, a former resident of Lawrence, Mass.

Mr. Kilcoyne, the author, is a product of the parochial and public schools of Lawrence, Mass. He is a graduate of Boston College, a member of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, associate professor at Brooklyn College, and visiting associate professor at St. Michael's College, Winooski, Vt. He is an outstanding teacher and educator, and his writings have received much favorable comment throughout the United States.

The article follows:

LIMITS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

(By Francis P. Kilcoyne)

(Inoculation against a virus: When all the dust that has been kicked up over investigations of teachers in relation to their membership in the Communist Party has settled, it will be clear that the greater good will have been served if the ranks have been cleansed of conspiratorial servants. Every precaution and protection should be accorded both the processes of investigation and those who are under scrutiny; but when society, through such of its agencies as committees of the Congress, seeks to accomplish what is clearly stated as the uncovering of evidence of subversion, it is the obligation of schools and colleges, both for their self-protection and for the wider well-being of society, to remove those whose primary loyalties and obligations belong to agencies which would eliminate freedom from the earth. In the lowest possible terms, it is a matter of self-protection, inoculation against a virus. If there remain some political anti-vivisectionists, they are sorely in need of a lesson on the facts of political life in our day.—F. P. K.)

Academic freedom may be said to have enjoyed a very poor press during the past year or 2, and largely for 2 or 3 basic reasons. In the first place, the average reader of newspapers had never heard of it before congressional committees started to summon what has amounted to a very small percentage of the teachers of the country. Secondly, the interpretation placed on academic freedom both by some of the balky teacher-witnesses before the committees as well as by headline writers, gave rise to a false conclusion that all teachers subscribe to such ideas. Thirdly, the profession itself did little to clarify in the public mind what had been, and continues to be, a very reasonable understanding and practice of academic freedom. Likewise, extreme positions, voiced in statements and letters, both by those within and outside of the profession, have left the commonsense, balanced view without a hearing.

Let it be said at the outset that academic freedom is at this date a well-established professional yardstick that has both its limits and responsibilities, clearly defined and understood. Teachers on all levels have observed and continue to observe the basic, professional responsibilities in the same manner in which the great majority of doctors and lawyers observe the canons of professional conduct in their respective fields. While publicity has always brought more attention to the professional individual who has violated his responsibilities than to the countless others who observe their commitments, freely entered into, a minimum of reflection will make clear that the profession, whichever one it may be, cannot be judged solely on the behavior of one or a few who may have proved to be faithless.

There seems to have arisen a state of mind in a segment of the public which views teachers, on whatever level of education, as second class citizens who wouldn't be what they are unless they had failed in attempts to be something else (and 99 percent never heard of Bernard Shaw's crack about teachers), an attitude which adds to the confusion. There are, in addition, occasional unwise and extreme antics by some few, unrepresentative members of the teaching profession that further confound the confusion.

ELEMENT OF CONSPIRACY ENTERS

To clarify the matter, reference should be made to the 1925 four-part statement on academic freedom, constructed by a conference of representatives of the AAUW, AAUP, Association of American Colleges, Association of American Universities, Association of Governing Boards, Association of Land Grant Colleges, Association of Urban Universities, National Association of State Universities and the American Council on Education. The statement was reaffirmed in 1935 by the Association of American Colleges. Since 1935 there has entered the picture the element of conspiracy represented by those teachers who held and hold Communist Party membership or who, without formal membership, participated or participate in the conspiratorial program of the party.

The problem presented by this infiltration—a problem quite different from such problems as failure to meet requirements in a course or to maintain standards agreed upon—was and still is the protection of academic freedom in the face of conspiratorial totalitarian practices by individuals acting as suh or in groups, directly, or indirectly through membership in other groups. Sworn testimony, as well as the literature of communism, establishes the fact that teaching is to be used as an agency for the establishment of party goals.

The four main points in the 1925 statement may be summarized as follows: (1) an institution may not put restraint upon a teacher's freedom in investigation in his subject, for example, biology, unless the restriction concerns the amount of time he may devote to research in order to prevent undue interference with teaching-administrative obligations; (2) the teacher's freedom in the exposition of his own subject in the classroom or in addresses outside the institution should not be limited save for the needs of immature students or in the case of an institution of partisan character where any limitations should be mutually understood at the outset; (3) no teacher may claim the right to discuss in his classroom controversial subjects beyond the field of his own study or teaching; (4) the teacher, in speaking and writing, outside of the institution which employs him, on subjects outside the limits of his field "is entitled to precisely the same freedom and is subject to the same responsibilities as attach to all other citizens." If such behavior raises doubts as to his professional fitness, then the institution, through its faculty, should act. Teachers should make it clear that they speak only for themselves when such is the case, thus trying not

to entangle the institution in any difficulties which could arise.

Comment on the third and fourth points seems in order. Experienced teachers, as individuals of integrity, know that they must not take unfair advantage of their positions to influence the minds of the young by introducing disputable matters outside the realm of courses being taught by them. Similarly, they must not allow students pressing a cause to use classroom time to impose their opinions on fellow classmen. There seems no valid reason why a professor may not state his personal convictions in his field, provided, of course, he neither (1) insists that students substitute them for material required in the syllabus, nor (2) requires that students return them as answers in a factual examination.

Experience has shown the writer that intelligent students, accustomed to studying with teachers who are diverse in methods, convictions, and subjects, even when in disagreement with teachers, have more respect for them than they do for those who merely retail the opinions of others, however authoritative those opinions and findings may be. It ought not to be forgotten, also, that college and university students have a high degree of sales resistance. The vast majority will not buy a shoddy product. In proportion to the college population of this Nation during the past 25 years, the total of demonstrated adherents to the Communist Party from student ranks has been and continues to be exceedingly small.

In this connection it might be said that many who flirted with the party during their undergraduate days did so for a variety of motives, not the least of which was an opportunity to gain attention and to swing influence of a sort.

The right of teachers to express their views on matters outside of their professional acreage was brought into sharp focus as recently as during the last presidential campaign when certain groups of college teachers, who advertised or allowed to be advertised their institutional connections, bespoke support for one or the other of the presidential candidates. Members of other professions similarly expressed their preferences, as did labor groups.

If the colleges and universities concerned had indicated in advance of publicity that there was no official objection to the use of the institutional name, there seems to have been no ground for objecting to the practice. If, on the other hand, the professors and teachers involved, acted without first having sought an opinion, their actions were, at least, imprudent. The special position occupied by the teacher in the American community imposes on him a clear obligation to protect both the profession and the institution with which he may be associated.

To come now to some questions raised as a result of inquiries conducted by congressional committees. It is generally conceded that the methods followed by a number of such committees could be improved. Representative KEATING, Republican, of New York, took active cognizance of this view in formulating procedures designed to make the processes more orderly. It is generally recognized, also, that such committees have access to data and methods of acquiring data not available to educational agencies. It would be preferable if educational institutions could perform the complete task of housecleaning. But it has been demonstrated that the congressional committees have not gone beyond the act of providing colleges, universities, and boards of education with transcripts of testimony taken in hearings where such testimony involved teachers under their respective jurisdictions. Decisions as to the dismissal or retention of such individuals have remained exclusively with the hiring bodies.

CONCLUSIVE ACTION NOT TAKEN

While colleges, universities, and boards of education can deal and have dealt with cases of professional incompetence, misbehavior, lack of responsibility, etc., they have not, of their own initiative, dealt conclusively with cases of suspected conspiracy through membership in the Communist Party or through participation in conspiratorial programs. The Harvard Corp., after receiving transcripts of testimony involving three of its staff members, decided not to dismiss them. Boston University, also in receipt of transcript data, declined to dismiss a professor for whom it lacked evidence of present party membership.

The board of education and the board of higher education, both in New York City, and the school committee in Boston, after receipt of transcripts and the conduct of their own hearings, dismissed individuals whose conduct in failing to answer committee questions, was deemed unbecoming.

Obviously, there was no interference in domestic matters by any congressional committee. The universities and the educational authorities, respectively, were left perfectly free to reach decisions on retention of staff members. Whatever one may think of the judgment of the Harvard Corp., for example, he is not free to conclude that the corporation suffered infringement of its independence.

Of significance in this picture is the March 30, 1953, statement of the Association of American Universities on "The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and Their Faculties." This statement represents for many a clarification. The writer does not find in it a clear statement of what American universities stand for or what body of acquired truths they profess to teach.

The statement, of course, removed many of the assorted defenses Communist teachers and their allies have endeavored to construct. Clearly stated is the association's conviction that membership in the Communist Party "extinguishes the right to a university position." It seems regrettable that it took as many years as it did for some responsible body, such as the association, to issue a statement such as this. To the average observer it looks as though the AAU waited until legislatures and courts had acted before it decided that the protection of academic freedom and the rights of the scholarly community itself required some such declaration of principles. If, as President George N. Shuster, of Hunter College, declared, "The academic fraternity * * * is the sovereign custodian of the laws of evidence, as well as of the principle that the search for truth must be scrupulously exact, undeviatingly objective, and free of personal bias," then it seems that the universities have waited to take lesson from jurists and lawmakers for the determination of truths which they should have been the first to declare.

This failure to act earlier strikes the average observer as approaching a surrender of a leadership which should be jealously guarded. The years of omission have, fortunately, been terminated by this clear-cut statement. Credit should be given, likewise, for the NEA's report, 1949, on "American Education and International Tensions," which says that the "members of the Communist Party of the United States should not be employed as teachers" (pp. 39–40). Norman Thomas, in a letter to the New York Times (February 8, 1953) asserted that "the right of the Communist to teach should be denied because he has given away his freedom in the quest for truth. And that is fundamental to democracy."

Another aspect of this wider question is that dealing with the right of legitimate authority to ask about Communist Party membership. Mr. Thomas, in the same letter held that good people argue emotionally that academic freedom is lost if in these anxious days a teacher is asked by legitimate authority if he is a Communist, or if, his allegiance to Communists being acknowledged or proved, he is denied the right to teach. Mr. Thomas makes the further point that the constitutional guaranties which properly apply to criminal proceedings do not apply to protect the right to employment in sensitive positions—among which is a teacher's post. The right to stay out of jail is not a right to employment. No man should be found guilty of a crime if there is reasonable doubt, but no man should be employed in a sensitive position if there is reasonable doubt of his loyalty or trustworthiness.

The plea that membership in the Communist Party is membership in an American political party has been dealt with by Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of Rutgers University, who underscores the point that the party's standards of ethics are radically different from the ethical principles on which a free society, freedom of thought, freedom of research and teaching are based. He makes clear the difference between heterodoxy and conspiracy, stressing the need for action against conspiracy which would, if successful, destroy all freedom.

Similarly, the chancellor of New York University, Dr. Henry T. Heald, has stated that a Communist Party member is not a free agent, intellectually or politically. He is not the same as any other person expressing an unconventional opinion. He cannot claim academic freedom because he has forsaken the principles of academic freedom. Dr. Heald does not share the blanket condemnation of investigating committees any more than he supports irresponsible charges against individuals or institutions.

The type of publicity given to the defense of academic freedom has, generally speaking, lacked a clear statement, understandable to the man in the street, that no human freedom is unlimited. In this regard, the remarks made by the Rev. Paul C. Reinert, S. J., president of St. Louis University, during the Religion in Life Week held last March at the University of Colorado, are pertinent. President Reinert, holding that academic freedom is a precious possession based on reason, declared that it must be protected by the personal integrity of those who exercise it. Said Father Reinert: "Any human freedom which is based on reason has its limits in reason. By its very nature, no human right is unlimited because human rights are essentially social and limited by the rights of others, as our American Constitution makes very clear. The teacher must be the servant and minister of truth. His work and teaching must not be determined for him by the opinion of the majority, trustees, or fellow faculty members. The teacher can and should present to students newly discovered facts and laws, new developments or new applications of old knowledge, new theories which may be advanced in explanation of known data, physical or social. But he cannot and he should not teach as true what he knows to be false, or teach as a fact or as a universal law what is as yet but a hypothesis or theory. This academic freedom does not mean that a teacher need not adhere to certain basic, absolute principles. If he denies these limitations, his own freedom goes with them. My academic freedom becomes nonsense if I can advocate academic freedom for myself alone. The man who abdicates reason, who denies the natural law, who considers the Bill of Rights as a restriction on his freedom, forfeits his own right to academic freedom."

That there is sound legal opinion supporting the need of witnesses to answer questions put to them by congressional committees was made evident in a January 7, 1953, communication sent to the Harvard Crimson

by two members of the faculty of Harvard Law School, Arthur E. Sutherland and Zachariah Chafee, Jr. In summary, the 2 authorities made the following 2 points: First, it is both a legal requirement and a principle of wisdom and good citizenship for an individual called before a court, grand jury, or a legislative committee to answer questions frankly and honestly. "The constitutional privilege to keep silent is an exception to the legal obligation to testify; but even when the legal privilege is available, there are times when it is best not exercised." Second, the layman who decides, without legal counsel, to remain silent, acts on the privilege against self-incrimination which is a complex and technical subject.

Fundamental to the whole question is a consideration of conduct. President Harry D. Gideonse, of Brooklyn College, as far back as January 15, 1941, in referring to an investigation of Communist infiltration of schools and colleges by a committee of the New York legislature, asked the pertinent question: "May a teacher continue to function if he lies or perjures himself about his political activity? Are conspiratorial practices by a fraction on the staff compatible with democratic procedures and professional trust?" He held then that the issue was not one of the rights of a minority but it is the cruder elementary question of veracity. It is obvious that congressional committees had available the results of investigations. Some of these investigations pointed to Communist Party membership on the part of individuals who either denied it or pleaded the first or fifth amendment. Where evidence exists as to party membership and when individuals deny such membership or plead incrimination, is not such conduct unbecoming an individual who is, in essence, a public personage?

When all the dust that has been kicked up over investigations of teachers in relation to their membership in the Communist Party has settled it will be clear that the greater good will have been served if the ranks have been cleansed of conspiratorial servants. Every precaution and protection should be accorded both the processes of investigation and those who are under scrutiny. Charity as well as justice has its part in the overall picture. The schools and colleges cannot plead an existence separate and apart from the greater public body, the citizenry. The institutions that are public in nature have a clear relationship to the society which support them in toto. The private institutions are responsible to society, likewise, if on no other basis than tax exemption and other privileges. But both the private and public institutions function in our society in line with its best traditions and the cross-fertilization of their efforts relates directly to the well-being of society. The idea that no man is an island unto himself is something more than a poetic thought. It applies with special significance to such organized bodies as the professions, labor, and the learned units such as schools and colleges. And when society, through such of its agencies as committees of the Congress, seeks to accomplish what is clearly stated as the uncovering of evidence of subversion, it is the obligation of schools and colleges, both for their self-protection and for the wider well-being of society, to remove those whose primary loyalties and obligations belong to agencies which would eliminate freedom from the earth. In the lowest possible terms, it is a matter of self-protection, inoculation against a virus. If there remain some political antivivisectionists, they are sorely in need of a rudimentary lesson on the facts of political life in our day.

Remarks of Gen. N. F. Twining at Galveston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Gen. Nathan Twining, Air Force Chief of Staff, spoke before the chamber of commerce of my home town of Galveson, Tex., the other day. He said such interesting things about airpower that I would like to share his remarks with my colleagues who were not privileged to hear the address. General Twining knows Galveston from residence there 20 years ago. We were glad to have him come back, and glad to have him reminisce about flying at Fort Crockett.

Aviation has progressed a great deal since then, and there have been revolutionary changes in our concept of airpower. As General Twining said:

It is the airplane that has widened the scope of warfare so that the air battlefield now covers half of the globe.

On so wide a battlefield, we must use the resources available to us to assure our advantage over a potential enemy, and our success if he should attack. Since we excel in industry and technology, we must exploit that superiority if we are to survive in the face of the geographical and numerical odds against us.

General Twining spoke of the discouragements of the early days of flying, when there was no very general realization that the air age had arrived. But for the devotion and perseverance of certain air-minded leaders, airpower might not have been ready to play its crucial role in World War II. As General Twining said:

Only the sheer love of flying and the encouragement of friends who believed in the importance of airpower caused us to continue in military aviation.

Mr. Speaker, we are faced with a similar situation today, when only the devotion and patriotism of the officers and men in the armed services can be counted on to keep our military forces staffed with the selected, trained, and experienced men on whom our survival depends. We cannot afford to be indifferent to the reasons hundreds of such men are giving up military careers to enter business or industry. With warfare becoming more and more a matter of electronic devices, we have greater need of technically trained men, and more of them. Those men must be given public recognition for their service, but they must also be given adequate material inducements.

I am sure that General Twining will forgive me if I call him an old-timer, but in the still young realm of airpower, he is an old-timer whose advice should be listened to attentively.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I wish to extend my remarks and insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following remarks delivered at the 108th annual meeting and banquet of the Galveston (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday, February 9, 1954, which were as follows:

Although 20 years have gone by since I lived here, some of my brightest memories center around Galveston and its friendly people. I am happy to be here tonight at the invitation of some of these good friends and to recall the days of old Fort Crockett and its tiny air field.

Galveston has expanded along its island and there are many new buildings and improvements, yet it is still the same distinctive city. From West Beach to the harbor many trim white houses on neat little squares have the same shipshape appearance as in the past. Of course, the bay, the ocean, the bright green waves, and the white sand will never change.

The most notable change in Galveston, as everywhere else in the world, is in the air fields and the flying. Twenty years ago there was little or no commercial flying here and no air field that today would be considered worthy of the name.

Our Third Attack Group that was quartered on the old Coast Artillery post, was one of the proudest and finest flying units in the Air Corps. We flew some 2 dozen little planes from a tiny patch of sandy turf only a few hundred feet square.

It was here that we began to exchange our old fabric biplanes that we called A-3's, for shining metal monoplanes that we called A-8's and A-12's.

These new planes were so much heavier that sometimes on warm days we waited for the morning breeze to spring up from the Gulf before taking off. After a heavy rain we had to wait for some of the water that lay in pools on the field to soak into the sand. Then we would plow into the air through splashing showers of spray.

Throughout the history of airpower in the United States, we have had trouble getting our bases brought up to date to accommodate new types of planes. Twenty years ago our new metal monoplanes demanded more room. We sacrificed a few of them before we could get new runways approved and built, at the cost of a few million dollars.

Today the jet engine demands more room. We still are slow at getting runways and installations provided at a cost that now must be measured in billions of dollars.

One of the tragic sacrifices to the cause of air progress was the life of Horace Hickam, the beloved commanding officer of the Third Attack Group. Colonel Hickam was killed at the edge of the small Fort Crockett field as he brought his new attack plane in for a night landing.

He is remembered by many of us here tonight as one of the brilliant planners and leaders whose work became the foundation of American airpower.

It was Colonel Hickman whose arguments with Washington finally brought a special distinction to pilots based in Galveston. We were the first Army officers who were permitted to discard the cavalry boots that had been prescribed by regulations since World War I.

Our military headquarters in Washington sometimes move slowly today, but not as slowly as then. I can recall a curiously solemn ceremony that often occurred in those days. Before climbing into this plane, the duty officer at the airfield always checked his sword and sometimes his boots with a friend. He came back to put on these traditional but rather inappropriate ornaments after he landed.

Colonel Hickam's arguments wisely avoided any protest against the beauty and utility of the beloved cavalry boot. He simply took advantage of the fact that airplanes in those days often landed unexpectedly. He pointed out that around Galveston there is more water than land. No stubborn advocate of high boots and tight breeches could claim that these garments are good for swimming.

Despite our struggles with encumberances of the past, our flying around Galveston in the early thirties was perhaps the most free and uninhibited in the entire world—either before or since.

The mission of the 3d Attack Group was to train for surprise attacks against ground troops and that involved flying low.

Flying low today means flying below 5,000 feet. Twenty years ago on the Texas coast, flying low meant flying below 50 feet. The flat land around here was ideal for hedge-hopping and we took full advantage of it. It was an amusing sight to see a string of airplanes in formation hopping in sequence over a telephone line—or occasionally pulling up a hundred feet or so to save the dignity of small towns.

The local cattle became accustomed to us. The flocks of rice birds and water birds usually dodged us. You people of Galveston tolerated us in a way that must have strained your hospitality to the breaking point.

We performed our gunnery on the edge of town and dropped old bomb cases on the beach just beyond the sea wall. After digging the old bombs out of the sand, we lugged them back up to 300 feet and dropped them again.

Coming home from a training mission our noisy little formations usually scooted along the beaches and roared past the windows of the ocean front hotels.

We considered ourselves one of the principal tourist attractions of the Texas Coast. If anyone looked upon our dashing beach and highway patrols as a nuisance, he was regarded as simply unpatriotic.

Once in a while a bewildered stranger would run his auto into a ditch or into the surf as our planes approached. His complaints were usually silenced by our friends in Galveston. They convinced the stranger that to confess his fright would betray him as an uncultivated mountaineer from West Texas. He was told that to become alarmed at the sight of airplanes approaching below the treetops marked him as unfit for the new air age.

In the Third Attack Group we believed we were convincing the people of South Texas that the air age had arrived. No doubt we were, but we were the only low flying unit in the United States. The rest of the country, apparently, remained blissfully unaware that military pilots were important.

Only the sheer love of flying and the encouragement of friends who believed in the importance of air power caused us to continue in military aviation.

In our open cockpits we had few of the safety devices of today and none of the comforts. Although a considerable number of pilots were lost from the Air Corps, promotions to fill the vacancies did not come our way.

While I was reluctant to leave Galveston in 1935, I was consoled by the fact that I had just been promoted to captain after serving as a lieutenant for 17 years. That was about average. Service then was scarcely a paying proposition but there were always enough enthusiasts to handle a few hundred planes.

Today, the air is controlled and policed by electronic devices and complicated by elaborate cockpit machinery. An airman must now be a technician as well as an enthusiast and the demand has risen from a few hundred to many thousands.

In addition to more adequate material inducements, the young men of the Air Force today deserve the same public recognition and support that was ours in the old days.

Our importance in the old days was widely debated but there is no question of our Nation's dependence today on the skill, and training of our young air crewmen. We were a promising novelty, while they are an absolute necessity.

The man of the air 20 years ago was but a symbol of airpower to come. The man of the air today is the living embodiment of the new strength that is necessary to protect our freedom and to guarantee our survival as a Nation.

Yet the importance and the potential impact of airpower today is small in comparison to its importance and its impact a few years hence. New planes and new weapons now being developed and tested will further increase the effectiveness of airpower over the next 5 years to a degree that will equal the startling progress of the past 5 years.

To many of us this fact may be disturbing because we are weary of making the effort and paying the price of leadership in airpower. Our Nation has led in the past without question. It is inevitable that as the proven champions in the development and employment of airpower we would like to stop the race while we are ahead.

This is impossible for us now. There is a desperate challenger who has profited from our example and our pioneering. He has set himself to the task of overtaking us in airpower and he shows no signs of tiring in his efforts.

During the past 3 years the Reds have created an entirely new air force in China, and have made it the fourth most powerful air force in the world. During the same period the Reds also have equipped their satellite air forces in eastern Europe with jetplanes. They have now begun the manufacture of jetplanes on a large scale in eastern Europe.

The Soviet Air Force is now more than one-half jet equipped. This force, which includes hundreds of new jet bombers, is an increasingly serious threat to our allies and our position in Europe and Asia. It is for this reason that our progress in the development of superplanes and superweapons has become even more important than in the past.

A simple fact of geography compels us to excel in the development and production of superweapons. That simple fact is that in the air, as on the ground, we and our allies are at a serious geographical disadvantage in western Europe and eastern Asia.

Two comparisons will describe the situation that confronts us. The average distance from our principal strategic air-force bases to the Soviet capital and the principal Soviet industrial areas in that direction is 2,000 miles. On the other hand, the average distance from the Soviet air bases in Eastern Europe to capitals and industrial areas of our allies is less than 600 miles.

In the Far East our range handicap is just as serious. The distance from our bases in Japan and Okinawa to the principal Soviet war industry targets in that direction is nearly 2,500 miles. On the other hand, the distance from the numerous Soviet air bases near Vladivostok to Tokyo and the vital targets in Japan is only 600 miles.

In both the East and West we must cover three times the distance our enemies must cover to reach targets of equal importance. This means that either we must have a larger air force than the enemy in order to deliver an equal tonnage of bombs, or we must depend on bombs of such power that tonnages are unimportant. The more powerful the weapon, the less important the factor of range.

In air warfare as well as in support of our ground forces, we need superior weapons of great power to overcome serious numerical and geographical disadvantages.

The United States Air Force is no more committed to the employment of atomic weapons in war than it is committed to so-called conventional weapons. All our combat planes, including those equipped for atomic bombs, can carry ordinary bombs.

In combat involving superweapons, we would be far less handicapped by our disadvantage in range and numbers than would be the case if only ordinary weapons were used.

Many of our allies and our positions overseas are within reach of the huge Red army and within easy reach of powerful Red air forces. The airpower we can bring to bear in our defense is controlled by two factors—first, by the number of planes we have; and second, by the power of the weapons they carry. With less powerful bombs we would need several times as many planes.

We must be prepared to provide an overwhelming and decisive counterattack in defense of our allies and our overseas positions. To do this with ordinary bombs, we would need a far larger air force than any we have planned.

The most damaging and deadly air raid in all history was not an atomic raid. It was an incindiary raid on Tokyo in March of 1945, in which only conventional bombs were used. There were several heavy raids of this type that destroyed more buildings and a larger area than the atomic bomb that fell on Nagasaki. The big difference was that the conventional raids required hundreds of B–29's, and involved the loss of scores of planes and crews.

It is the airplane that has widened the scope of warfare so that the air battlefield now covers half of the globe. The type of bomb to be used merely determines the number of bombs and planes that are required to accomplish the mission.

These are the reasons why superweapons necessarily play so important a role in our efforts to build a military force of attainable size that is nevertheless capable of overcoming Communist advantages in position, in numbers of armed men, and in quantities of weapons.

It is principally in industry and technology that we excel, and we have no choice but to exploit this superiority to the utmost. If we are to survive in the face of the geographical and numerical odds against us, we must have the most advanced machines and the most powerful weapons we can devise.

It would be foolish indeed to assume that superior weapons somehow cancel each other out. It is no more likely that the major weapons on both sides would destroy each other at the same time, and then reach a stalemate, than that forces using minor weapons would do so.

For example, in a ground battle the fact that both armies have powerful cannon does not prevent these weapons from being decisive. The heavy guns on a battlefield do not create a balance between forces.

The army which has sufficient guns to keep firing after opposing guns are silenced becomes the victor. In the same manner, the nation whose superweapons and planes are used up or destroyed will be at the mercy of an opponent who still has such weapons and planes.

War may not be prevented by an uneasy and debatable balance, but war may be prevented by a superiority of weapons on the side that wants peace. The fact that the United States for years held a virtual monopoly of superweapons and long-range airpower without exploiting that power in war, proves to all the world the sincerity of our defense for peace.

I have mentioned the counterattack that would be necessary to defend our allies and our overseas positions against aggression. This counterattack has been referred to as "retaliation." The word is appropriate only in the sense that it defines the counterattack

as an action to be taken in response to enemy action.

The word "retaliation" is misleading if it is assumed to mean revenge. A desire for revenge may be understandable but from a military standpoint, as well as from a humanitarian standpoint, it should not be allowed to influence our strategic decisions in war.

This is especially true in air warfare. In the early part of World War II there were vengeance bombings between European nations that killed people and destroyed property to little military effect.

Most of these were urged on military leaders by the understandable bitterness of others. They were a waste of military effort as well as an unnecessary waste of human lives and human values.

It would serve neither humanitarian nor military purposes to kill hundreds of thousands of people in an enemy nation just to compensate for similar loss of life in our own country. If the people of the enemy nation are the victims of a dictatorship it would be even more pointless to concentrate on a contest of carnage.

It is true that war involves killing people and there are times and places where killing appears to be the dominant aim. In air warfare, however, despite its horrors and its past errors, the killing of people is not the important goal.

In air warfare machines and weapons are overwhelmingly important, for without them there can be no air warfare at all.

Machines and weapons, not people, are the principal targets to be destroyed. The machines that make modern air warfare possible are necessarily so fragile, so concentrated, and so dependent on each other, that their destruction is just as feasible and far more decisive than the wholesale destruction of human beings.

Furthermore, elaborate machines and machinery cannot be replaced for years. The destruction of these machines and the stockpiles they have created is all that is necessary to render an opponent helpless.

Throughout the long and bloody history of warfare, improvement in weapons has gradually diminished the necessity for killing or wounding opponents. When weapons were simple and easy to replace, victorious armies often killed all their opponents because disarming them could only put them out of action no longer than the time required to make another club or spear.

As armament became more effective and more complex, a longer time was required to replace it. Firearms gave armed man a tremendous advantage. A few men armed with guns could guard large numbers of disarmed men, so it became unnecessary to cripple or kill defeated or captured troops in order to keep them under control.

Modern armies need a steadily increasing amount of supplies. It is often possible to put them out of action by cutting off supplies of equipment, fuel, and ammunition, either at the source or en route to the front. It was our exploitation of this new possibility in World War II that prevented the war from becoming a much longer and more costly exchange of casualties.

Every nation, no matter how powerful, depends upon a few hundred square miles of arms industry for its ability to continue a modern war. The speed at which this arms industry can be reached and destroyed has increased rapidly in the last few years, and will increase rapidly in the future.

It would be a moral blunder and military blunder to concentrate our hopes for victory on the piling up of casualties when the opportunity exists to concentrate with great effect on the enemy's weapons and weapons factories.

Any major attack using weapons of modern war, of course, will cause heavy loss of life. This is true whether the attack is against military installations, war plants, or air fields.

War plants usually contain people and are surrounded by people. Major air fields have many military men who operate them and the civilians who supply them. In thickly populated areas such as central Europe and Eastern Asia, armies move through the biggest cities and are supplied through these cities, because rail and highway nets all feed through centers of population.

Even if it were possible to distinguish clearly between so-called strategic operations and so-called tactical operations in modern war, each would necessarily produce many casualties, both civilian and military.

But it makes a great difference whether victory is sought by the depopulation of a nation or by the disarming of a nation.

Wars of the future, if they must be fought, may be even more horrible than wars of the past.

Yet we can now aim directly to disarm an enemy rather than to destroy him as was so often necessary in warfare of the past. There is room for hope that with the aid of air power it might be possible to win a war—as we did World War II—with less slaughter and destruction than would result from a long war of steady casualties along bitter contested lines of defense on the ground.

No matter how desperately we may be forced to fight in our own defense and in defense of our allies, we shall hold to this principle: America plans no wanton destruction of people under enemy control, and we have no desire for revenge upon unfortunate populations who live in fear of their Communist masters.

If we have to use the weapons at our disposal, we must earnestly seek to avoid all unnecessary destruction and loss of life, either in this country or in enemy countries.

This is the great moral responsibility we assume as we work to improve the effectiveness and the influence of American air power in the cause of peace.

The McLeod Episode

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial from the February 13 edition of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette entitled "The McLeod Episode":

THE MCLEOD EPISODE

The personnel and security chief of the State Department, R. W. Scott McLeod, has been out "politicking" for the Republican Party on a Lincoln Day speaking tour. That is outrageous.

The point isn't whether the Hatch Act, which bars political activity by most Government employees, does or does not apply to Mr. McLeod. Hatch Act or no, a man who occupies his sensitive post—top direction of the State Department's loyalty and security program—has no business running political errands.

The State Department on all but its top policy-making level ought to be outside partisanship. It is administering the foreign affairs of this country and that is primarily an American job, not a party job. The same goes double for Mr. McLeod's position. As security officer he is supposed to concern himself only with the national interest, not the interests of the Republican or Democratic Party. When this officer thrusts himself into the political forum you have the very real possibility that he will use his job for political hatchet work. Such a practice would soon make a shambles of our foreign service.

Mr. McLeod has elbowed into the fight over how many employees have been discharged from the State Department and for what reasons. We have been told, for example, that some 534 persons have been let out of the State Department by the Eisenhower administration as security risks. The administration has so far refused to give a breakdown of what "security" means in these cases. But now we learn, from a House committee, that out of this 534, only 11 were let out for loyalty reasons, that the Truman administration had already begun proceedings against 7 of the 11, that no Communist has been found in the Department.

What concerns us here is not numbers, but the fact that by injecting himself into politics a man in Mr. McLeod's position exposes himself to the temptation of using his powers to make his position look good. If, for example, he were taunted for having a low score on loyalty firings—when the talk has been so big—what is to deter him from arbitrary firings just to improve the score?

Let the Senators, the Representatives, and the party leaders "politick" to their hearts' content. Let the charges and countercharges rend the air. But when a purely administrative officer, one who has full access to the most personal and confidential material, gets into the act, it's time to call a halt.

The Tour of Mr. McLeod

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the New York Times makes sense to me.

At a time when this Nation is engaged as never before in an effort to bring about peace and stability throughout the world, it seems highly inappropriate that a high ranking officer of the Department of State should be devoting his energies to furthering the most narrow and intemperate type of partisanship. For many years the foreign policies of this country have been bipartisan in character, enjoying widespread support of both Democrats and Republicans. It is desirable that such a policy continue. It becomes most difficult, however, when activities of the type referred to in this editorial from the New York Times continue with the apparent sanction of the administration itself:

THE TOUR OF MR. MCLEOD

Scott McLeod, the State Department officer in charge of personnel and security matters, is at present on a political speaking trip at the request of the Republican National Committee. Although the department's legal adviser had ruled that Mr. McLeod was not subject to the Hatch Act barring Federal employees from such activity, it now appears that at least one of the Civil Service Commissioners (a Republican at that) is of a different mind. If there was ever the slightest question about the legal right of Mr.

McLeod to accept the invitation to make partisan speeches, of course he ought not to have done so.

But even granting the legality of his actions, the least that can be said of Mr. McLeod's tour is that it is in poor taste. Mr. McLeod is not only the personnel officer of a department whose employees should be as far removed from partisan politics as humanly possible; he is also the man who passes upon their security. Under the wide latitude afforded by the present "security risk" program he has a special duty to see to it that there is not the slightest ground for suspicion that partisanship enters into any security case. For an officer in this delicate post to undertake a highly partisan campaign trip is, to put it mildly, a grave error of judgment.

And what Mr. McLeod has already said in these speeches gives no room for comfort. He accuses the Democrats of playing "the old numbers game" in their justified demand that there be a breakdown of the 2,200 dismissals of Federal workers as alleged "security risks." Evidence has now come to light that only 11 of the 534 former State Department employees so listed were ousted for possible disloyalty, that not one was an acive Communist, and that action in 7 of the 11 cases had been started in the previous Administration. Furthermore, many of the 534 were termed "security risks" only after their resignation or transferral to other Government jobs. It appears to us that Mr. McLeod has been participating in a rather questionable "numbers game" himself.

A Tribute to Walter S. Buel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest forces in America is the influence of the press. In my home town area of northern Ohio, we have a morning newspaper with a unique name and an equally unique reputation for good, solid commonsense. It is an independent newspaper, and I am not sure of its politics. I am sure of its integrity. Fittingly enough, this paper is called the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Many men have worked long and hard to establish the Plain Dealer as a daily requirement on every breakfast table in my community. One of these top-notch newspaper men is observing his 42d anniversary of service with the Plain Dealer today. He is Walker S. Beul, chief of the Washington bureau and associate editor of the Plain Dealer. I should like to nominate him as my choice for man of the day. Thirty-four years ago when he started on the job in Washington, things were a little quieter than they are today. I think Walker Buel has contributed a good deal to livening it up. He has certainly livened up many mornings for many Americans. I congratulate him on his record of devoted service to the public, and I wish for him many more years of vigorous activity here in Washington where he works and thinks and reports with honesty and intelligence.

America and Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by my good friend, Douglas Fairbanks, which appeared in the well-known English publication Time and Tide and which I thought would be of interest:

AMERICA AND BRITAIN—I

(By Douglas Fairbanks)

No factor is more important to the equilibrium of what we call the Western World than the continued collaboration of Great Britain and the United States. Yet over the past few months difficulties and acerbities have arisen in this field which have put new and heavy strains upon this tacitly accepted partnership. More service might be rendered in the constant and normally healthy exchange of criticism across the Atlantic if greater attention were paid to analyzing some of the basic causes of misunderstanding and concentrating on the development of real possibilities of cooperation.

To the mass of Britons, America seems a large, rich, energetic country, not really foreign. A good proportion look on it as a brash, precocious offshoot of themselves, for whom they feel a certain envy, a certain scorn, a certain affection, and a certain admiration. The maternal instinct, critical though it may at times be, is strong. It is understandably annoying to have one's own first-born grow up, put on long trousers, start a new and rival business, grow abundantly successful, acquire preeminent international affluence and, with a kind of arrogance, probably inherited, behave, on occasion, with a patronizing insolence toward mother.

To the great mass of Americans, Britain is such a very distant cousin (the term "Mother Country" is becoming increasingly rare) that it is almost as alien as any other country. The common history is recognized as the source of kinship, but the kinship itself is, for the most part, remembered bitterly. There are, it must be acknowledged, a great many facets of real affection and admiration illuminating American sentiment toward Britain, but its full and consistent expression is severely handicapped by an inbred, frequently refreshed anti-British tradition. This can be understood by reading the social and political history of the two communities from the middle of the 18th century up to recent years. It can, perhaps, be forgiven by imagining the proud yet sensitive characteristics of a young and vital society, which for generations was faced with repeated official and individual opposition and rebuffs and then, whenever material circumstances altered, a seemingly (to them) high-handed appeal for friendship and support. The prejudice is less virulent and widespread than, say, 35 years ago, but enough remains to require constant attention by men of good will on both sides of the Atlantic.

To many Britons too close a tie to the United States threatens domination, if not absorption. Either eventuality would curtail freedom of action and British ability to reestablish, or even to survive as a prosperous center of its associated communities. There are sizable numbers here who fear that any continued intimacy with the United States would inevitably lead to greater dependency and consequent British subjection to what they call immature and impulsive American adventures in foreign affairs. When these apprehensions are spiced with a well-rooted bias against the brash and untutored New World Republic they became formidable obstacles to overcome.

On the other hand; the number of anti-British Americans has always been proportionately larger than their counterparts in Britain. But even among those who are honestly neutral in their sentiments, there is a widespread conviction that an increasingly close liaison with Britain could only lead to involvement in purely British commitments, to supporting or acceding to policies often of no interest to America and sometimes actually contrary to fundamental American concepts of international behavior. There has always been a strong element of American disbelief in British altruism and a cynicism toward British pretensions at home and abroad. Confident of their own abilities, these Americans harbor an inbred resentment to real or imagined evidence of what they believe to be British arrogance and this tends to color and warp their judgment on many perfectly straightforward and sometimes quite simple matters. It is no good dismissing the majority of these and other prejudices as nonsense or of no political importance. Most of them are, indeed, ill founded and distorted, but they are nonetheless real for all that. As both countries are democracies, it is obligatory to clarify the sources of bias before practical political measures can, with the concurrence of the electorate, be affected.

These traditional prejudices lie behind many of the issues exacerbating relations between the two countries at the present time. Where Americans feel most sensitive is in foreign, particularly British, criticism of their conduct of international affairs. After earning universal applause for the stand they took over aggression in Korea, Americans found, after a short lapse of time, that their leadership, previously praised for its altruism, came under increasingly heavy attack, this in spite of shouldering the overwhelming proportion of the responsibilities. Reflective Britons can recall with sympathy many similar experiences in their own long and fluctuating history.

When Americans tend to criticize what they describe as a lukewarm British attitude in the cold war this is due to two causes. First, the relative failure of British information services to infuse the American mind with a full and sympathetic account of Britain's great and many burdens and, secondly, the more fundamental consideration that anything that Britain does or does not do is subjected to more searching scrutiny in the United States than the activities of any other country. This, naturally, applies to both countries. Failure of either to react in certain situations in a manner directly comprehended by the other often cancels out the effect of any amount of previous united action. Both of us rather foolishly expect each other to be alike and are constantly disappointed when we find we are not. Yet no surprise or even offense is shown when Frenchmen, Germans, or Italians react in a manner totally opposed to our hopes or desires.

It is, of course, possible to dismiss as irrelevant most of the accusations advanced by the lunatic fringe of critics in both countries. However, far more criticism is justified than either will admit, principally because the criticism originates from the other side and because nations are composed of human beings and react accordingly.

Despite Americans and Britons being among the world's best-informed citizens, they are abysmally ignorant about each other. This ignorance begins with omissions and distortions at school age and con-

tinues, for one reason or another, through maturity. American protests that Britain's welfare state has been erected on a foundation of Marshall aid overlook both the unique economic circumstances of a small, highly industrialized country and the fact that the United States, with its many social security and other schemes for public benefit, also enjoys a form of welfare state. Here again the American tradition that the best government is the least government provides an argument ultimately designed for internal consumption. The social and economic vitality of America is stimulated by the general encouragement of individual initiative and the official discouragement, with very few exceptions, of any form of monopoly. Forgetting the singular advantages of their geography—and even of their own greater centralization—they are baffled by any who freely would choose a restrictive or overtly protective system of government. Misconceptions concerning the exact status of the commonwealth countries, which provide fuel for the now less frequently resuscitated anti-imperialist arguments in the United States, are based on the same sort of ignorance which prevents Britons from understanding American constitutional processes.

Fortunately, some of the older and more superficial prejudices based on differences in speech and dress have receded somewhat through the interpenetration of films and radio programs. It will take time for the fact to be borne in on the mass of Americans that their country has been overtaken in its maturing processes by the fact that it has become the major arbiter in world affairs. The altruistic policies which have been such a fresh contribution to world affairs in recent years may yet be nullified by the deep concern felt abroad at such manifestations as witch hunting and McCarthyism. This is a factor sufficiently potent to warrant the attention of a separate article.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDNA F. KELLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, for the years that I have had the honor to represent the 10th Congressional District of New York, I have questioned the program of Government price supports to the farmer. The present system was created as a temporary measure during the depression of the thirties. Oh, it has been revised over the years, but always to the benefit of the farmer and not to the taxpaying consumer who is an integral part of our economic system. The fact that this price-support system is economically unsound is evidenced by the huge Government-owned surpluses. Vast hoards of these products—priced beyond the reach of a large portion of American citizens—support this fact. I believe the present program is unjust and unmoral when the ultimate end of the program lies in the overflowing of Government warehouses with products achieved by labor. These same products could be consumed by Americans who would benefit physically and mentally.

There was one feature of the Brannan farm plan that was noteworthy—the release of perishable agricultural products to seek their level on the open market. Secretary Benson has now used his discretionary authority to reduce the support price of butter from 90 percent of parity to 75 percent. Had he taken this action a year ago, dairy surpluses would not have risen from 1,400,000,000 pounds to about 8 billion pounds. At this point let me mention that the Government now has 469 million pounds of dried milk; 282 million pounds of cheese and 270 million pounds of butter in storage.

I do not deny that the farmer needs continued assistance. I felt that way in the 2d session of the 82d Congress, and in an effort to be constructive, I introduced House Resolution 497. I have reintroduced this measure in the 83d Congress to create a select committee to be composed of seven Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker to study the agricultural program for the purpose of considering necessary revisions and adjustments in the methods of assistance in line with our present national economy and with a view to reducing the existing high cost of living. I expected that the membership of this committee would represent both agricultural interests and consumer interests.

Greatly concerned over the ever-increasing stores of butter by the Government, I wrote Secretary of Agriculture Benson on April 8, 1953, the following letter:

APRIL 8, 1953.

The Honorable EZRA TAFT BENSON,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I, like many others, am concerned over the abundance of perishable and other surplus commodities placed in storage as a result of the parity program. If there is any technicality in the law which prohibits a directive from the Secretary of Agriculture to permit greater consumption of these, then I urge an immediate change in this law.

In addition to the Commodity Credit Corporation funds supporting these perishable items, the Secretary can use annually 30 percent of the customs receipts for the following purposes: "to encourage the exportation of agricultural commodities, to encourage domestic consumption of such commodities by diverting them from normal channels of trade or increasing their use among persons in low-income groups". Under this law I believe the Secretary of Agriculture could use his authority to permit the use especially of butter, eggs, turkeys, etc., by the armed services which would save the Government billions of dollars.

The following figures showing the amount of butter and oleomargarine purchased by the armed services and the price per pound are self-explanatory:

BUTTER

December 1952: 1,746,419 pounds at $0.6957 per pound.

January 1953: 1,119,337 pounds at $0.6944 per pound.

OLEOMARGARINE

December 1952: 2,797,693 pounds at $0.1767 per pound.

January 1953: 3,014,289 pounds at $0.1788 per pound.

No one would object to the use of these commodities by their sons in the armed services.

To ask the consumer to buy butter at this forced price when he is already paying for it by subsidy to the farmer is not an equitable request, nor can these products be given to foreign countries under any aid program as an alternative. People do not use butter when they lack the bread to put it on.

If it is necessary to support farm commodities and if the concern of the Government over the surplus is actual, then why not maintain these prices at 75 percent of parity instead of 90 percent?

I will be very grateful for your advice in this matter and for your opinions concerning it.

Respectfully yours,

EDNA F. KELLY.

On April 21, 1953, Secretary Benson replied with the following letter and press release setting forth the 1953–54 dairy support level:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., April 21, 1953.

Hon. EDNA F. KELLY,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. KELLY: This is in reply to your letter of April 8 indicating concern over the stocks of perishables and other commodities acquired under price support, and raising certain questions concerning the steps that can be taken to move these stocks into consumption.

Before answering your questions, we should like to point out that we share your concern about the problems created by the relatively large stocks of agricultural commodities which are accumulating under our present price-support programs. Our price-support programs should operate to provide food for consumers rather than food to be sold to the Government and then stored away in warehouses where it creates disposal problems. The entire question of our price-support programs is now being explored and we have requested suggestions as to ways in which the program can be improved from advisory committees, Congress, farmers, farm organizations, agricultural colleges, and others affected by these programs.

One of your questions relates to the ability of the Secretary to use the so-called section 32 funds to encourage the consumption of butter and other surplus commodities by the armed services. Programs to encourage domestic consumption under section 32 are limited to those programs which would divert surplus commodities from the normal channels of trade and commerce or would increase their utilization among persons in low-income groups. Programs involving transfers to the armed services would not come within these limitations. You may be interested in knowing that the Department currently has in operation a section 32 program under which butter is being donated to eligible section 32 outlets, such as the school-lunch program and charitable institutions. The Department also is in the process of negotiating the sale of some of its stocks of butter to the Army at reduced prices for use in place of margarine and other spreads.

Your letter also raises a question as to why the price of butter, and other commodities, is being supported at 90 percent of parity instead of 75 percent of parity. All of our price-support programs are conducted in accordance with the laws prescribed by Congress. In the case of the basic commodities—corn, cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and tobacco—the Agricultural Act of 1949 makes it mandatory for the Department to support the 1953 and 1954 crops at 90 percent of parity, except where producers have disapproved marketing quotas. The support level for these commodities naturally affects the support level for others. Existing legislation would permit butter to be supported at less than the 90 percent of parity level announced. The reasons why we are continuing to support butter at 90 percent of parity are discussed in the enclosed press release. We appreciate receiving your observations about our price-support programs. If you require any further information in connec-

tion with the questions raised in your letter, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

TRUE D. MORSE,
Acting Secretary.

SECRETARY BENSON ANNOUNCES 1953–54 DAIRY SUPPORT LEVEL

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 27, 1953.

Dairy product prices will be supported at 90 percent of parity for another year beginning April 1, according to the announcement made today by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson.

This decision follows the recommendation of the Dairy Advisory Group, congressional leaders, farm leaders, and others who have been consulted.

"A primary reason for continuing the maximum support allowed by the law," according to Secretary Benson, "was assurance from the dairy advisors that the industry would immediately start work on programs to reduce to a minimum governmental support purchases. The year will give the industry time to demonstrate to what degree it can solve its own problems.

"Here is one of the great agricultural industries," said Benson, "that has told us they want time to get programs into operation. We know the important dairy industry does not want to depend on Government price supports. The farm and dairy leadership now has the opportunity to demonstrate what teamwork will accomplish."

A representative work conference, including farmers and leaders of their organizations, processors, distributors, retailers, and consumers, will be called together at once. Each segment of the dairy industry will be asked to send representatives prepared to assume definite responsibility for a portion of the solution of the dairy problems. Secretary Benson said, for example, "dairy farmers can shift more rapidly to fluid-milk sales and away from butterfat.

"Milk companies can move more milk from butter-producing areas into regions needing fluid milk.

"Retail dairies, stores, and consumers can more actively promote the sale of milk and milk products.

"There are other adjustments which the industry can make to reduce the accumulation of surplus dairy products.

"The United States Department of Agriculture has offered to help, and the assistance of the agricultural colleges, experiment stations, and extension services can be depended upon.

"Dairy farmers and dairy industry leadership has a major challenge," continued Secretary Benson. "We believe they will put the dairy business on a more solid basis—with a minimum dependence on price supports. They have asked for time—we have agreed. Now we will all pitch in to get the job done."

Such price-support operations as are needed will be carried out through offers to purchase butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk solids.

Purchases of butter will be made on a basing-point method, using the four terminal markets of New York, Chicago, Seattle, and San Francisco, with appropriate differentials at other points in the country. This will be a change from the present policy under which butter has been purchased at a uniform price throughout the country.

The drop in the parity formula will reduce the butter price support about 2 cents per pound.

Program details, which otherwise will be generally comparable with those of present operations, will be announced by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. Speaker, subsequent to Secretary Benson's letter of April 21, 50 million pounds of surplus butter were offered to the Armed Forces at about 16 cents a pound; this purchase to be in excess of their normal purchases.

On January 7, 1954, I protested to President Eisenhower and to the Foreign Operations Administrator, Mr. Stassen, the contemplated sale of butter to Russia. On January 18, Mr. DeLaney, Deputy Director for Mutual Defense Assistance Control, replied for Mr. Stassen as follows:

FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., January 18, 1954.

Hon. EDNA F. KELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KELLY: Governor Stassen is out of the country, and your telegram opposing the sale of surplus butter and cottonseed oil to the Soviet bloc was referred to me. I wish to acknowledge receipt of it, and to assure you on behalf of the Governor and myself that we are glad to have your views on this question and appreciate your letting us have them for consideration.

You know, of course, that the problem directly involves the sale of commodities by the Department of Agriculture and the granting of export licenses by the Department of Commerce. Nevertheless our agency has been among those participating in the interagency discussion on the problem.

Perhaps you noted the statement issued at the White House on Friday by Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. This statement said:

"The law precludes my discussing the details of any application pending before the Commerce Department. But I can say this to you as a matter of general principle: I shall not approve any applications which would permit an exporter to buy butter at considerably lower prices than those paid by the American housewife and then send that butter into Russia."

Sincerely yours,

W. S. DELANEY,
Deputy Director for Mutual Defense Assistance Control.

The following day, January 19, I wrote Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks for further information on this contemplated sale:

JANUARY 19, 1954.

Hon. SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I will appreciate it very much if you will clarify for me a statement which you issued last Friday in connection with a plan contemplated at that time, to export butter to Russia.

I am particularly interested in your remarks, "I shall not approve any application which would permit an exporter to buy butter at considerably lower prices than those paid by the American housewife and then send that butter into Russia." Do I correctly infer that you would approve such application if the price paid by the exporter is the same or is higher than the price paid by the American housewife?

Also I would like to receive from your office a list of those items for which you have approved licenses for export to Russia and the Soviet bloc for the year 1953.

Sincerely yours,

EDNA F. KELLY.

His reply, which follows, did not answer my question, "Do I correctly infer that you would approve such application if the price paid by the exporter is the same or is higher than the price paid by the American housewife?"

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, February 12, 1954.

The Honorable EDNA F. KELLY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. KELLY: This will acknowledge your letter of January 19, 1954, in regard to a recently proposed export of butter to Russia.

I am sending you herewith an extra copy of my latest report to the President and the Congress on the administration of the export-control program. Chapter II thereof, pages 3–9, describes our security-export policy in considerable detail. You will note that there are a number of considerations other than price involved in our determination of which exports are permitted to the Soviet bloc.

Chapter VII of the enclosed report, pages 56–59, contains the information you requested concerning the actual composition of our recent trade with the Soviet bloc.

Sincerely yours,

SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Secretary Benson for his action in reducing the Government support price on butter. This is a step in the right direction to bring the price within reach of the consumer, and we hope it will bring a decline in future butter purchases by the Government.

In the disposal of the stocks on hand, we must be alert that not one pound of butter, or any other surplus commodity, is sent to the Soviet bloc. I do not recognize any conditions which make it expedient to do business with a nation whose avowed purpose is world revolution, whose hands are still bloody from recent warfare, and who has given no evidence of good faith in making a lasting peace.

Health Insurance Policies Being Offered Our People Are Too Often Misleading, According to Staff Writer Albert M. Colegrove in His Second Article in the Washington Daily News of Tuesday, February 16, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, in the Washington Daily News of Tuesday, February 16, 1954, there appears the second of three articles by Mr. Albert M. Colegrove, staff writer, which very clearly shows that the public is being sold insurance policies that do not in fact cover the needs of the people who are purchasing such insurance. Mr. Colegrove's second article is very significant and highly important. It is as follows:

Two congressional committees and at least 1 Federal agency today are taking long looks at the thriving health-insurance business—a business 1 Government official described as like a child running wild without much control.

Meantime, some 23 million Americans are continuing to pay for individual or family

health policies which in most cases give much less protection than they suspect.

(An example: Some policies promise to pay a man $35 a week if he's sick or accidentally injured and confined to his home. Did you know that if he sits on his front porch, he's no longer confined and may lose his payments?)

Federal groups interested are—

The Senate Judiciary Committee: It has listened for hours to bitter criticism involving some of the Nation's 60 mail order health insurance firms. The committee plans to widen its inquiry soon.

The House Interstate Commerce Committee: It has been considering proposals for Government aid to private insurance firms and group health plans. The committee has heard outspoken testimony against a fatal shortcoming of most individual policies—the company's much-used right to take away a person's policy when his health fails.

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC): It is probing information to the effect that certain practices may be prevalent in the accident and health industry * * * resulting in buyers of such insurance being deceived by false and misleading representations of the actual benefits payable. * * *"

All 3 have been concerned with the sharp contrast between elaborate half-promises published and broadcast by some of the 800 United States health and accident insurance companies and the actual provisions in the policies they sell.

So far, there hasn't been too much attention paid to the fact that most people don't understand the legal meanings of everyday words in their policies.

HERE'S GIMMICK CLAUSE

For instance, do you have insurance which promises payments for "accidental bodily injury"? Fine. That means, legally, about what you think.

But perhaps your policy will pay "for bodily injury sustained through accidental means." Many are worded that way.

Watch out for that. The courts have held that you aren't injured through accidental means when you hurt yourself while doing something you intended to do—like swinging a golf club, moving a desk, or painting a house.

Does your insurance offer weekly or monthly payments for disability?

How does it definie "total disability"? Is the wording: "Inability to engage in your own occupation"?

(O. K. Then, if you're a draftsman and become unable to draft, you'll probably get the money.)

"Inability to engage in any gainful occupation"?

(Not so good. If you can earn a reasonable income anywhere, you aren't likely to get any payments.)

"Inability to engage in any occupation or employment for wage or profit"?

(Definitely not good—the most restrictive wording of the three.)

A popular type of health insurance is that which offers monthly payments in case you become disabled; impressive lump sums of cash if you are blinded or lose limbs because of accidents or sickness.

Read that policy carefully. In most cases, when the company pays the big lump sum, it can cancel the policy. A $1,000 lump-sum offer looks pretty impressive (and usually is printed in big type) when you read it in the policy—but by itself, it won't go far if you lose your sight or your limbs.

Or our policy may have words that make it appear that both the monthly benefits and the lump sum will be paid. In that case, watch for the word "aggregate."

CHECK "LUMP SUM"

Let's say the biggest lump-sum payment in your policy is $1,000.

And let's say that the policy provides also for $100 a month payments, "not to exceed a year," if you become disabled.

You'd probably assume, then, that if you lost both hands, you would receive the $1,000 lump sum, plus $1,200 ($100 a month for 12 months).

But if your policy also says somewhere that the aggregate benefits cannot exceed $1,100, that's all you're going to get.

These are but a few pitfalls in many of today's health insurance policies.

What some companies say in printed pamphlets, or what their agents tell prospective buyers, is something else again.

SOME HAVE BEEN CONVICTED

James P. O'Brien, head of the Justice Department's fraud unit, gave the Senate Judiciary Committee an extreme example of just how far apart a firm's literature and its written policies can be.

He cited the case of the Arcadia National Insurance Co.

Mr. O'Brien pointed out the company's head and an agent had been convicted of fraud by a Federal court in Illinois for grossly misrepresenting the company's sickness and accident policies in advertisements in magazines, almanacs, letters, and other types of publications.

He read the court's opinion, which said in part:

"It was repeatedly stated (by the company in its literature) that * * * the company would pay $25 a week and $100 a month for sickness and accident.

"Yet under the policy terms, this payment * * * was conditioned on the occurrence of certain specified accidents and illnesses.

"It was repeated without reservation that there were benefits of $5,000 to $8,000 for accidental death.

"Yet these were payable actually only if the policyholder was injured while ridir,g in a public carrier (such as a street car) and only if the policy had been in force 5 years."

Arcadia also advertised a $100 emergency cash benefit. Actually, the court found, this referred to what the company would spend—if necessary—to notify a stricken policyholder's friends and relatives that he was sick or hurt.

"Obviously," said the court, "such an expenditure would very rarely, if ever, be necessary."

NOT ENOUGH REGULATION

Another witness for the Senate group was Melvin P. Goldsmith, post-office inspector in Chicago, who for more than 11 years has had the duty of investigating possible mail fraud cases.

It was he who said the health insurance business was like a child running wild without much control.

There is no proper regulation of that business, Mr. Goldsmith told the Senators.

He said the people are being deceived and not being protected.

WATCH FOR RATE HIKES

For example, he said, he was powerless to stop practices like this:

A company widely advertised that it gave top protection at low rates which were good for the life of the policy.

People complained to the post office that they paid the advertised low rates for a month and then the company raised them steeply.

When Mr. Goldsmith investigated, he found that the company had a clause in its policies allowing it to revoke those policies at the end of each month.

"So you see," the company informed Mr. Goldsmith, "our low rates are good for the life of the policy—1 month."

Health Policies Is the Subject of Special Article by Staff Writer Albert M. Colegrove, of Washington Daily News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Washington Daily News has the following to say in connection with the printing of the third and last of a series of three articles on health insurance by Staff Writer Albert M. Colegrove:

Albert M. Colegrove informs us that his investigation of health insurance has led him to the following conclusions on the likelihood of a prospect's being able to inspect a policy before buying it:

1. Most company representatives are reluctant to show their printed policies to prospects, but will, if the prospect asks.

2. The sales tactics employed by the agent are sometimes, but not always, an indication of the company's attitude.

The issue of the Washington Daily News of Wednesday, February 17, 1954, carries the last of the three important articles by Staff Writer Albert M. Colegrove covering the subject of health insurance and the type of policy that is in some instances being offered our people. Mr. Colegrove writes as follows:

Sometimes it's harder to get your hands on a health insurance company's policy before you buy it than it is to read one after you buy it.

Few persons would buy a house sight unseen—but important hospital, accident, and sickness insurance is sold that way every day.

Let me tell you of an experience with 1 company—3 visits by a company representative and 4 phone conversations with him failed to produce the "free sample policy" ballyhooed by the firm:

At 4 p. m. on January 10, I was watching television at home when a sirupy voice began praising one company's health insurance.

"Over $16 million paid out in 1953 alone," purred the announcer.

"We'll pay your doctors, drugs, hospital bills—up to $200 a month income protection—the big seven reserve plan—Reserve Life Insurance Co. of Dallas."

And then:

"Just call us to see your free sample policy. We'll send it to you.

"Or write," coaxed the voice. "Just ask to see the free sample policy."

That night—January 10—a newspaper friend, James C. Johnson, agreed to act as a prospective insurance buyer.

He wrote this to the address given by the TV announcer:

"DEAR SIR: Please send me your free sample policy like I heard about on the radio (TV) today.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES C. JOHNSON."

Here are excerpts from Mr. Johnson's subsequent memos to me:

"January 14: Instead of Reserve Life Insurance Co. mailing the free sample policy, an agent came to my apartment today to try to sell me one.

"I asked him for a free sample policy as advertised. "He said: 'The company doesn't give out free sample policies because there are too many factors involved.'

"I asked him for any literature he might have. He said he didn't have anything like that because 'we prefer to have an agent with you to tell you the answers to any questions that might arise.' He said he would call again.

"January 15: Had phone call today from same agent for Reserve Life Co. I asked him please to send me the free sample policy advertised on TV. He insisted on calling in person. I then asked him:

" 'Question. Does your company leave at the home the policy that it advertised on TV?'

" 'Answer. No. There is not a company in the world that would give you a sample policy. We will leave a pamphlet but not a policy.'

"I made arrangements to see him January 18.

"January 18: Was visited today by the agent and given a four-way pitch on four overlapping types of health insurance policies. He explained what was in each policy.

"I asked him if I couldn't please just look at a policy.

"He said he couldn't leave a sample with me—or even let me look at one.

"I asked how I could get a policy to study. He said I could buy a policy good for a month, go over it with a lawyer and, if I didn't like it, get my money back if I returned the policy within 30 days.

"January 19: Agent phoned me tonight. I told him I'd buy a policy for 1 month. He said it would be about $2.85 and that the $6 registration fee would be due at the same time."

(NOTE.—The registration fee, in plain language, is mostly the agent's commission.)

"January 26: Agent visited. Told him I would buy the policy and gave him the $6 registration fee and $2.85 first month's premium. He said I couldn't, because any premium amounting to less than $3 a month had to be paid on a quarterly (four times a year) basis. So I bought another policy, which is to pay higher benefits. I paid a total of $9.35."

Mr. Johnson and I finally have seen that policy. He got it in the mail the other day. He had to pay $9.35 for a look at it.

(NOTE.—After that, I phoned Reserve Life's local office and talked with a man who identified himself as Dwight Stone, an agent supervisor. He said: "We don't like to show sample policies because the average person simply bogs down reading them. We instruct our agents to show a sample policy, however, if the prospect jumps up and down and insists. If your friend wants to see a sample policy, have him call me. I will by all means show him one.")

With another company, I was a little more fortunate—

On January 10, I mailed a coupon to the George Washington Life Insurance Co., asking for free information about its benefits.

On January 14, a company representative phoned and asked to visit my home. I asked him to send some literature and a sample policy first.

"I'll mail you some and later come to see you," he said. I agreed.

Nothing came in the mail, but the agent arrived January 19.

I asked him for a sample policy. He handed me a pamphlet.

Five minutes later, I asked again. He took a policy from his folder, put it on the table, and resumed reading aloud from the pamphlet.

I reached over and picked up the sample policy. I scanned it and asked if I might keep it overnight.

"I'd like to leave it," he said, "but it's the only one I have."

He put the sample policy back in his folder. He left without selling me any insurance. He phoned a week later but I told him I had decided to buy from another company. That ended our association.

(NOTE.—After that, C. T. Payne, general agent here for George Washington Life, was asked about his company's views on sample policies. "We can't use sample policies for advertising," said Mr. Payne. "But our agents carry them at all times and prospects are free to look at them. We have no ironclad rule against leaving a policy with a prospect overnight. But we discourage indiscriminate leaving of policies. Ours is an open-faced contract, fairly easy to read. There's no fine print • • • If the prospect is a lawyer, say, I'm happy to skip the sales talk and leave a contract with him. A lot depends on individual circumstances. With a lot of people, you could leave the contract a week and they still would have to have it explained to them.")

In a third try for a sample policy, my friend James Johnson wrote to the Bankers Life and Casualty Co., which issues policies under the "White Cross Plan." His letter, written January 10, said:

"I understand some companies will furnish a free sample policy to prospective insurance purchasers. If that is your practice I would appreciate such a policy. Please do not (the "not" was underlined) send anybody around to talk with me. I prefer to make my own decisions on insurance."

The company's local office went along in part with Mr. Johnson's wishes.

It didn't send an agent around.

But it didn't send a policy either. Instead on February 2, Mr. Johnson received a mailed mimeographed sheet which ballyhooed the company's policy benefits.

Spread in Price Relationships Between Powder, Cheese, and Butter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement of Iowa creamery officials prepared at a meeting recently held in Ames, Iowa, expressing their great concern over any spread in the present price relationships between powder, cheese, and butter:

To Iowa Senators and Congressmen:

The Iowa Creameries Association is much concerned over reports that support levels for butter and cheese may be lowered to a greater extent than for powder. Our association believes that a revision of the present dairy-support program is needed. But it asks for one that is equitable and fair to all segments of the dairy industry.

We urge you to do everything in your power to see that any lowering of support levels for dairying be in the same ratio as the price-support levels now existing for the various commodities; that is, powder, cheese, and butter.

Iowa is one of the leading milk producing States. Our 1953 milk production was approximately 5,900,000,000 pounds. About two-thirds of this production was utilized for the manufacture of butter from farm separated cream. Approximately 3½ billion pounds of skimmilk was retained on the farm and fed to livestock and poultry.

To give nonfat dry-milk solids a price advantage over butter and cheese above that of the present will bring about the following situations:

1. Much of the skimmilk now being fed to livestock and poultry will be diverted to the manufacture of nonfat dry-milk solids.

2. In feeding the skimmilk on the farms, the milk-solid content is being utilized effectively in the production of livestock and poultry.

3. Present support prices for powder and butterfat show the butter-powder support value of 100 pounds of 3.5 milk to be approximately $1.31 for the nonfat dry-milk powder and $2.77 for the butter or a total value of $4.08.

If butter is lowered 5 cents per pound, the value of 100 pounds of 3.5 milk would be $1.31 for the skimmilk and $2.56 for the butter or a total of $3.87. In either case the producers selling only butterfat compare thier cream checkes with those selling milk. The larger the check is for 100 pounds of 3.5 milk in relation to what it is for only the butterfat, the more the producers change to selling milk.

The resulting changes of the price ratio would look big in the eyes of many Iowa producers already on the verge of diverting from selling farm separated cream to selling milk for manufacture.

4. Iowa plants are now drying almost to their capacity. Condensery and market milk outlets are not interested in more volume under present conditions. Increased market milk deliveries by Iowa producers would require large investments by Iowa creameries for milk handling and milk drying equipment. Recent estimates on these costs by Iowa State College for plants handling 50,000 pounds of milk per day are $125,000 for building expansion and drying equipment and $30,000 for the milk receiving facilities. The costs for such installations would have to be borne largely by the producers. They would have to make these investments in the face of uncertain markets for dairy products.

The Iowa Creameries Association would not protest the discrimination against butter or cheese if there was any evidence that it would aid the dairy producers or the dairy market situation over a long period of time. It might temporarily assist in disposing of the surpluses of butter and cheese. But as fast as the creameries could install drying equipment, the butter production plus the additional powder would become available for the market. We believe better methods can be found for moving the surplus butter and cheese.

There are the traditional price relationships for the various dairy commodities. To break down these relationships only helps one group of producers and processors at the expense of others. For the Government to favor one group at the expense of another is decidedly undemocratic.

JULIUS BRUNNER,
New Haven, President, Iowa Creameries Association.
FRED BACHMAN,
Clarence, Vice President, Iowa Creameries Association.
GLEN GILLET,
Corning, Secretary, Iowa Creameries Association.
EARL FELT,
Adel, Director, Iowa Creameries Association.
A. J. HANSEN,
Hudson, President, Iowa Milk Driers Association.
O. J. KLOOCK,
Garner, Secretary, Iowa Creamery Operators Association.
TOM BODE,
Cedar Falls, Secretary-Manager, Benson Co-op Creamery.
J. B. QUIST,
Ames, Executive Secretary, Iowa Creameries Association.

Highway Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, safe and adequate highways are the concern of every Member of Congress; therefore, without a doubt, the three editorials which appeared in the Milwaukee Sentinel, which I am including as part of my remarks, will prove of great interest:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of February 12, 1954]

TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE

President Eisenhower at his press conference stated that he favored an increase of $225 million in the annual amounts allotted by the Federal Government to the States for new highway constructions.

Since the present annual Federal aid amounts to $575 million, the increase recommended by the President would bring the total to $800 million.

In this he approximates a bill introduced by Representative MCGREGOR, Republican, of Ohio, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Roads.

Representative MCGREGOR in introducing the bill said that he had the support of the administration.

Thus the statistical form of the Federal Highway Act to be enacted at this session of Congress is now apparent.

Is the McGregor bill, the administration bill, a good bill?

It is a good bill if you judge it against other bills.

Is it an adequate bill?

Will it achieve for America the adequate roads that we must have?

It will not.

The highway needs of this country, measured in dollars, are so enormous that the authorization by Congress of $800 million in annual Federal aid does not begin to solve the problem.

The President and Representative MCGREGOR are obviously linking the Federal gasoline and diesel tax receipts with the amount to be expended on roads.

This is a popular viewpoint, but even assuming that it is the correct one $800 million does not represent the receipts of the Federal gas tax.

The tax resulted in receipts of approximately $910 million for the calendar year 1953.

Thus the sum of $110 million still would be diverted to nonhighway uses.

Furthermore, none of the money would go for roads until some time after July 1, 1955, and by that time the receipts from the gas tax would be still larger and still more highway users' money would be diverted from highway construction.

Here is the way Federal gasoline tax receipts have increased the past few years:

1950	$551,450,000
1951	607,756,000
1952	851,538,000
1953	894,000,000

Addition of the 1953 diesel fuel tax receipts bring the 1953 total to about $910 million.

What will the receipts be in 1955 and 1956 when the McGregor bill becomes operative?

The sad fact is that the McGregor bill, despite some intelligent, enlightened, and generous provisions, is another in a long line of inadequate Federal highway bills.

And inadequate financial support for highway construction means inadequate roads.

That's the type of roads we have now, and this bill will not change the situation.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of February 14, 1954]

BUT NOT ENOUGH

The financial inadequacy of the Federal highway bills receiving serious attention from congressional road committees is of great concern to everyone interested in the cause of better roads for America.

It is of similar concern to the Hearst newspapers, which have fought for 16 months for adequate highway funds at both Federal and State levels.

When President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message recommended to the Congress that the full 2-cent Federal gasoline tax be retained we were quick to applaud.

We did so because we inferred that all of the gas tax receipts would be used for, in the President's own words, "an expanded highway program." Indeed, there was no other inference possible.

At a recent press conference, the President said that he thought Federal aid ought to be increased by $225 million annually.

This amounts to saying that he considers $800 million the right sum for Federal authorization for the fiscal years of 1955 and 1956 for highway aid—and not to be spent until after July 1, 1955, almost a year-and-a-half from now.

Our study of the pertinent figures involved demonstrated to us immediately that there is discrepancy here that we cannot reconcile.

We do not know what the gasoline tax receipts will be for 1955 and 1956, but we can estimate that they will be more than $1 million during each of those years.

Our reasoning thus leads us to these conclusions:

The bills now before Congress are inadequate.

If the Congress is not going to spend all of the gas tax receipts on highway construction, then the gas tax should be allowed to decrease ½ cent per gallon. It will so decrease automatically on April 1 unless Congress votes to retain the full 2-cent tax now collected.

We think that Congress cannot have it both ways.

If the full tax is collected, let the full tax be spent on highways.

If the full tax is not to be spent on highways, let it not be collected.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of February 16, 1954]

INADEQUATE BILL

In two previous editorials the Sentinel and the other Hearst newspapers gave objections to the Federal highway bill now being studied by the House Subcommittee on Roads.

The bill has administration support.

We would like to convey the following information to those who still regard the bill as adequate or generous:

All Federal, State, and local expenditures for roads during 1963 do not even equal the total spent in 1938.

Using the 1941 dollar as a base, and adjusting 1938 and 1963 dollars to it, here are the figures:

Total expenditure in 1938	$2,633,000,000
Total expenditure in 1953	2,570,000,000

Actually, in 1953 the sum of $5,277,000,000 was spent by all units of government, but we got only $2,570,000,000 worth of roads in terms of a 1941 dollar.

In the meantime what has happened to our highways?

In 1938 there were about 30 million motor vehicles on our streets and roads.

In 1953 there were about 55 million.

How can Congress expect to solve a 55 million vehicle congestion problem by spending money at the rate we did in 1938?

Obviously the problem is never going to be solved with the sort of thinking that regards the present Federal bill adequate.

It is tragically inadequate, and looks worse the longer we look at it.

Military Utilization of Land Needs Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 6, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Franklin G. Floete, Assistant Secretary of Defense, Properties and Installations, has asked our military commands to report on their utilization of real estate now held by them. This is certainly a timely undertaking. The Secretary's commendabe foresight and initiative will result not only in worthwhile savings but also in better coordination between civilian and military requirements.

The United States Military Establishment now has gigantic real estate holdings. It is, nevertheless, constantly reaching out for more and more land. Furthermore, each service seems to feel it must have exclusive holdings for its limited purposes although proper implementation of our policy of unification should create a trend toward joint use of real property and a consequent fuller and more efficient utilization of it.

Many military properties were acquired long ago and are now in the heart of congested cities whereas when acquired they were well outside crowded centers. In such cases an up-to-date survey might well indicate that both civilian and military purposes would best be served by moving all or part of such installations to less crowded areas. For example, in my own State of California, the Army is hoarding hundreds of idle acres in the great city of San Francisco. This city is literally bursting at the seams for lack of room to grow. Meanwhile, Camp Roberts is put in mothballs. An impartial survey would determine how many of these hoarded idle acres are really still needed by the Army.

My colleagues from other parts of the Nation will, I am sure, instantly think of other examples of questionable retention of real estate by the Military Establishment. Of course, none of us would recommend any curtailment or removal of installations where this would weaken our military forces, but I am convinced that many acres are being held in excess of need both from the standpoint of quantity and time.

Acquisition by the Military Establishment has not always been circumspect. Camp Pendleton was acquired without adequate determination of water supplies. This has resulted in the bringing of a costly and irritating lawsuit by the Government against thousands of civilians.

The military is a large landholder on Chesapeake Bay. It owns Governor's Island in New York. It is ever acquiring more and more land while seeming reticent to let go of any. Assistant Secretary Floete deserves commendation for tackling this important problem.

How To Fight Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, January 29, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, George E. Stringfellow is one of the great men of America. Officially, he is vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., of West Orange, N. J. He personally knew and worked with Thomas A. Edison, and through the years George E. Stringfellow has continued in achievements some of the great work started by Thomas A. Edison.

Mr. Stringfellow's interests are not confined to the business of his corporation. He works for his community and his country at all times. Each year the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society conducts a contest among the daily and weekly newspapers in the State to determine the best editorials in their respective classes on how to fight cancer. The winners are presented with a plaque known as the George E. Stringfellow award.

The judges of this contest are always people outside the State of New Jersey. For 1953 they were John M. Lofton, editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette; Raymond Brewster, editor of the Herald-Dispatch in Huntington, W. Va.; and Dr. Harry Nelson, president of the American Cancer Society.

The editorials selected in 1953 as winners were In Our Time by Jim Bishop, printed in the Paterson Call, and Join Fight Against Insidious Cancer, by John J. Sweeney, printed in the Northern Bergen Shopper. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include these two editorials which last year received the George E. Stringfellow award:

[From the Paterson (N. J.) Morning Call of April 28, 1953]

JOIN FIGHT AGAINST INSIDIOUS CANCER

(By John J. Sweeney)

If the officials of a municipality such as Paterson were to attempt to reduce the size of the police or fire departments for reasons of economy, there would be a tremendous outburst of indignation at the prospect of cutting down public protection. One would see similar protestations, in greater or lesser degree, if there were attempted any tampering with a school department, with parks and recreation or even with changing the direction of traffic on an important street.

Such sharp interest and outbursts from the public when services face curtailment unquestionably have their merit. In most instances these services were established to meet a public need or demand. They are, in one form or another, a people's protection or their insurance against the depredations of criminals, the ravages of fire, the lack of educational or cultural development, etc.

These thoughts occur when we match the contrast between public spirit on the one hand and what approaches disinterest or indifference toward certain other public enterprises. Specifically, we are making the contrast with the work of the American Cancer Society, whose program of research, education, and service can be likened somewhat to police protection against one of mankind's most insidious and dangerous enemies.

Last year in Paterson more than 400 persons died from cancer. Striking like an insidious criminal—maiming, crippling, and killing—it will reach more than 300 new victims this year and will take the lives of as many or more than last year. If permitted to go without check it will touch one in five.

The Passaic County Chapter of the American Cancer Society is winding up a campaign through which it seeks to raise $65,000. You needn't wait to be solicited to help in the great work this organization is doing. Without the constant vigil of this and similar groups cancer and the fear of cancer can never be banished. If it is within your means to do so, send a contribution to the society's headquarters at 625 Broadway, in Paterson. It will be a sound investment in the fight against one of mankind's worst enemies.

[From the Northern Bergen Shopper of April 2, 1953]

IN OUR TIME

(By Jim Bishop)

Every morning I sat up in bed and grinned a dizzy grin and said, "Good morning." And every morning the lady in the pink nightgown and the midnight-blue dressing robe pulled the robe tighter around her neck, glared briefly, and walked by. I'm sure that no one, except her husband, had seen her that way, and I'm twice as sure that my good morning, from my bed as she passed by, unnerved her a little.

That's the way it is in a hospital. Some adjust quickly. Some do not. The lady—as I will call her—was tall and slender and her mules made little clopping noises in the corridor. She was 40 and had long wisps of grey edging her brown hair. Her skin was saffron. She was dying of cancer. I was fighting a stuttering ticker. It was a time for friendliness.

Every morning she took her noisy walk. And got a cheery good morning. And every morning her nose went up. I never stopped saying it. And she never stopped ignoring it. In the afternoon, the retired cop came in to watch the baseball games. He had never seen television before. He had a pain under the left armpit and he used Minit-Rub all the time. It wasn't much of a pain and he wandered through the corridor, looking into rooms and growling that if we had all taken care of ourselves, we wouldn't be here. His name was Barney and he had a big nose and a sour puss. He died of cancer 3 weeks later.

The lady broke down dramatically. One morning she walked into my room and plopped in an armchair next to the bed. Whatever she had to say had to be said in a hurry. She talked without punctuation. She told me her name and of how she lived in Bergenfield with her husband and her son. All her life she had minded her own business. She was proud of that. She had never said good morning to her next-door neighbors and she discouraged friendliness on their part.

She started to cry. A tear staggered down one cheek. Her life had been dedicated to her husband and her son—her "world," she called it—and she had never really known anybody outside of that world and had never been in a hospital before.

"Not even to visit?"

"Not even to visit," she said. "I had no time."

She didn't know what the inside of a hospital looked like. Now she was here—in Holy Name—because she couldn't hold food on her stomach. She had no pain. No temperature. But food wouldn't stay down. It was then that I knew that she didn't know. She was going to be operated on and she had told her husband about the man three rooms down the hall who said good morning. Her husband had said it would be all right to say good morning right back.

Now she seemed ashamed. Now she wanted to talk. And, for the moment, I was it. In the days that followed, before and after her operation, I got to know the lady well. And the better I got to know her, the sorrier I felt for her. Truly sorry. Her life had been empty and lonely, and now they were going to take that away from her. She had been a good mother, a virtuous wife, but she hadn't lived. She knew nothing at all of joy, and nothing of suffering and sorrow.

One day I went to her bed and I sat trying to talk her away from the pain that follows surgery. On that day, she looked so wildly happy that she sounded a little bit nutty.

"Know what?" she said eagerly. "I found out that they accept volunteer workers here. Yes. Right in the hospital. Right here. I can roll bandages. I can clean beds and I can scrub floors. Now, if God will only spare me a little while, I'll make up for all those years. I'll help. I'll pay back. All I need is a chance. A little time. The Sisters tell me that when I get well again—you know, on my feet a little—they'll give me a chance. Now," she said triumphantly, "what do you think of that?"

I said it was great.

When I left, she was still in bed. Barney was still fingering Minit-Rub under his arm. His cancer was now deep in the lung and had metastasized. He had about 10 days to go, but he was still on his feet. The lady went home. Two months later, I found that I couldn't get her out of my mind. I went to see her. Her husband and son met me downstairs. They were pacing. They stopped long enough to tell me that they were glad I dropped in. They glanced at the stairway. She was up there.

The blinds in the room were drawn. The lady was in bed. Her hair looked whiter, as it always does at a time like that. The skin was deep tan and drawn tight against the cheeks. The mouth hung open permanently. The eyes stared hard. She reached a bony hand for mine, but couldn't make it. She could not talk. She was not going to do any work in a hospital. Ever. All that remained for her was the half-world of sedation and the tick of the clock. She was alone, as she had always been.

The lady never had the time to help anyone.

You still have time. And you must ask yourself if you have helped as much as you should. Maybe you have done more for your fellowman than the lady. And maybe you haven't. Only you know. It's your secret. This month, you are going to hear a lot about cancer. It will be on television and radio and in the public prints. And, no matter what town you live in, you will hear about it on your telephone or at your front door.

These people will be soliciting money for the American Cancer Society. If you live in Paramus your mailman will see you. He gets nothing out of it. In fact, he's soliciting on his own time in the name of another mailman's wife—Mrs. Arthur Muhlhahn, of Maywood, who died of cancer.

If you want to help, you can. If you want to plead that you gave too much to the Red Cross and the polio and community chests, and a new Easter outfit, you'll be telling the truth and the man will say thanks and he'll go on to the next house. On the other hand, it will make you feel better, not him, if you give something. Don't rob yourself. That isn't necessary and no one asks it. Thou-

sands of families can't spare more than a dollar. In truth, if every family gave only $1, the American Cancer Society would have $65 million.

Forty cents out of every dollar remains here in Bergen County to help cancer patients. And, God willing, may you be one of those who helps, not one who needs it.

Pledges and Hedges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following pledges and hedges as noted in the February 1954 issue of the Democratic Digest:

PLEDGES AND HEDGES

PROMOTE SOIL CONSERVATION

The pledge: "The Soil Conservation Service is a competent technical agency. The only trouble with this kind of conservation work is that it is moving too slowly." (Eisenhower, Kasson, Minn., September 6, 1952).

The hedge: "Soil conservation service crippled by Department reorganization. Morale [in SCS] is the lowest ever, and work is at a standstill." (Emergency Committee on Natural Resources newsletter, October 23, 1953.)

FARMER-RUN PROGRAMS

The pledge: "I pledge you that the Republican Party is going forward with positive, aggressive, farmer-run programs. The first thing we intend to do is to take the emphasis off Washington." (Eisenhower, Kasson, Minn., September 6, 1952.)

The hedge: "As we see it, Washington is controlling much more of the [soil conservation] program than it ever did before." (Waters, S. Davis, Jr., president, National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, December 4, 1953.)

INSURE FARM PROSPERITY

The pledge: "The Republican Party will create conditions providing for farm prosperity and stability. (1952 GOP Platform.)

The hedge: "Realized gross farm income in 1953 is about 4 percent lower than in 1952 * * * realized net income * * * 7 percent below last year." (Agriculture Department report, October 27, 1953.)

MORE DEFENSE FOR LESS

The pledge: "We can have more defense for less money." (Eisenhower, Troy, N. Y., October 22, 1952.)

The hedge: "Treasury Secretary Humphrey sees budget cut only if defense pared." (Christian Science Monitor, December 1, 1953.)

BALANCE THE BUDGET

The pledge: "We can reduce our budget * * * we can live within our means." (Eisenhower, Jefferson City, Mo., September 20, 1952.)

The hedge: "Treasury sources today confirmed President Eisenhower's forecast of a deficit for the [next] fiscal year [of] between $8 and $9 billion." (Baltimore Sun, November 20, 1953.)

REDUCE THE NATIONAL DEBT

The pledge: "Our goal * * * is a reduced national debt." (1952 GOP platform.)

The hedge: "New move to raise debt limit likely." (New York Times, November 8, 1953.)

REVISION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS A "MUST"

The pledge: "We must get a better law than this McCarran Act. * * * The McCarran Immigration Act must be rewritten. A better law must be written." (Eisenhower, Newark, N. J., October 17, 1952.)

The hedge: "He [Eisenhower] was * * * not ready to state positively that on his priority program there was certain 'must' legislation in that regard [changing the McCarran Act]." (New York Times, October 9, 1953, story on Eisenhower press conference.)

RIGHT TO MEET ACCUSER FACE TO FACE

The pledge: "President Eisenhower declared tonight that one of the basic democratic principles * * * was the right of every man 'to meet his accuser face to face.' He emphasized that there must be 'no weakening' of this code." (New York Times, November 24, 1953.)

The hedge: "Navy security risks are fired without hint of adverse data: An undisclosed number of [Navy] employees * * * dropped as security risks * * * left their jobs without knowing that there was derogatory information against them." (Washington Star, December 8, 1953.)

Disputed Lincoln Quotation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article appearing in the Baltimore Sun of February 13, 1954. This is a story telling how Stephen Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, exposed a plan by Postmaster General Summerfield to put over a Lincoln hoax in a speech intended for delivery February 13 at Akron, Ohio. The hoax consisted of a phony quotation from Lincoln designed to make Lincoln appear just like a modern "Old Guard" Senator.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that, following the article from the Baltimore Sun, a news item from the Washington Star of February 13, 1954, be printed, explaining how Postmaster General Summerfield's hoax was exposed, and how he was compelled to acknowledge the attempted hoax by withdrawing the phony quotation which he intended to foist on the public.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun, of February 13, 1954]

LINCOLN HOAX IS LAID TO GOP—MITCHELL SAYS SUMMERFIELD'S QUOTATION IS A FAKE

WASHINGTON, February 12.—Stephen A. Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said tonight Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield is trying to put over a Lincoln hoax by quoting something Lincoln never said in a speech intended for delivery tomorrow night at Akron, Ohio.

Text of the Summerfield speech, one of a series in connection with the Republican observance of Lincoln Day, had been distributed by the Republican National Committee for release at 7:30 p. m. tomorrow.

Mitchell did not say how he got hold of an advance copy but said in a statement it included a long quotation attributed to Abe Lincoln.

Mitchell did not say that Summerfield himself had drafted the quotation but that Summerfield had used something previously found to be phony.

ENTIRE PASSAGE A FAKE

"This entire passage is a fake," Mitchell said. "Mr. Summerfield has put words in the mouth of the Great Emancipator that he never said. This quotation is intended to make Lincoln sound like a modern old-guard Senator."

Mitchell said the statement that Summerfield attributed to President Lincoln reads:

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

DENOUNCED AS FORGERIES

Mitchell declared that "this quotation is a combination of sheer invention and some paraphrases of Lincoln taken out of context; they have all been denounced as forgeries in the Abraham Lincoln quarterly."

"In other circumstances," Mitchell said, "this kind of fakery might not be taken too seriously, but this is only one of a series of recent Republican fakes and hoaxes. For example in a speech given only a week or so ago, Mr. Summerfield took a leading part in trying to build up the phony claim that the Eisenhower administration had found and fired 2,200 Communists from the Government."

[From the Washington Star of February 13, 1954]

DISPUTED LINCOLN QUOTATION DELETED IN SUMMERFIELD SPEECH

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield last night announced a change in a prepared Lincoln Day speech after Democratic National Chairman Mitchell charged him with quoting something Lincoln never said.

The original text of the Summerfield speech at Akron, Ohio, has been distributed by the Republican National Committee for release at 7:30 p. m. today.

Mr. Mitchell said a long quotation attributed to Abraham Lincoln in Mr. Summerfield's text "is a combination of sheer invention and some paraphrases of Lincoln taken out of context."

A few hours later, the GOP committee asked editors to take out of the prepared speech what it termed "the disputed quotation attributed to Lincoln by reputable sources in the past."

"This entire passage is a fake," Mr. Mitchell said. "Mr. Summerfield has put words in the mouth of the Great Emancipator that he never said. This quotation is intended to make Lincoln sound like a modern old-guard Senator. It is another example of the Republicans trying to rewrite history."

Mr. Mitchell said the statement that Mr. Summerfield attributed to President Lincoln reads:

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the

brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

Mr. Mitchell said, "This quotation is a combination of sheer invention and some paraphrases of Lincoln taken out of context; they have all been denounced as forgeries in the Abraham Lincoln quarterly."

Tribute to Hon. Dwight Griswold, of Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH BUTLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, my colleague, Senator DWIGHT GRISWOLD, is the subject of a most interesting and complimentary article written by Holmes Alexander, a respected Washington news columnist. The article appears today in the Omaha World-Herald and other newspapers throughout the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEDERAL PARTNERSHIP

(By Holmes Alexander)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In real life, as distinct from stage plays and too often from political generalization, there is no such thing as "type." Yet if somebody had to sit for a portrait as a modern middle-road Republican, no great violence would be done to truth by using Senator DWIGHT P. GRISWOLD, Republican, of Nebraska, for a model.

GRISWOLD is middle-aged, Middle West, and he wasn't far off dead center at the 1952 Republican Convention which wanted Taft with its heart but picked Eisenhower with its head. GRISWOLD is a successful businessman and not out of place in this businessman's administration. As a three-term governor of his State, he has the certain sense of vigilant regionalism which statesmen of gubernatorial background bring to Washington. But he can't be called a provincial, for he's carried both arms and alms in the name of our national foreign policy. He was an artilleryman in World War I and a member of the military government for Germany after World War II. Though an active Republican at home, he was President Truman's mission chief for aid to Greece in 1947–48. He was elected to the Senate in 1952.

With these credentials as a middle-roader, GRISWOLD makes an impressive witness on the ever-important subject of Eisenhower leadership. The Senator was out of town for the first Ike-backing test vote, the St. Lawrence seaway, and is currently sticking by his commitments in favor of the Bricker amendment. Has any pressure been brought to bear by the White House?

No pressure whatever, GRISWOLD says. In fact, only once during the past 13 months has the White House attempted to exert the slightest influence on this moderate, middle-road Senator. The one exception had to do with a measure last year for providing that overseas American servicemen cannot be tried for crimes in foreign courts. The President, on the grounds that he had some special knowledge in the field of foreign military service, successfully urged GRISWOLD to vote against the extension of extraterritorial rights. But neither in this instance nor in any other, says GRISWOLD, has there been White House "pressure" in the manner that politicians understand the term—the dangled promises of patronage and purges.

We have here, I suspect, a revealing insight into the much-discussed matter of Eisenhower's leadership. It almost seems that the word itself is a misnomer and that its employment to describe Ike's congressional relationships leads to naught but confusion.

It is not so much leadership which President Eisenhower is practicing; it is partnership. The elusive and unfamiliar truth, now shining through the various contests over seaways, constitutional amendments, and all the rest, is that the President is not striving to coerce Congress but to cooperate in a meeting of minds.

And why not? For many years, as GRISWOLD points out, the GOP has been inveighing against presidential domination over Congress by crude forms of political pressure. What's so surprising, then, to find a Republican President refraining from such pressures and thereby gaining the approval of Republican Senators?

These questions may suggest self-evident answers, but the idea of presidential partnership with Congress takes some getting used to, just the same. GRISWOLD feels that party loyalty traces back to party principles and not to any temporal leader. Thus any Senator should represent the enlightened interests of his State. A President has the same responsibility toward the whole Nation. The particular genius of our Federal Republic lies in our proved ability to make a satisfactory merger of interests. They are frequently diverse but seldom conflicting. There is no excuse for authoritarianism in a President.

Eisenhower's success with the 83d Congress may rest on this partnership idea which belongs, after all, not only to him but to the middle roaders of his party.

Salute to the Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, there appeared in the Washington Evening Star of February 10, 1954, an article, by Constantine Brown, entitled "Salute to the Foreign Service." I can say "amen" to every word of the article, and perhaps I can add some additional words on the same score. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALUTE TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE—DESPITE THE MANY COMPLAINTS ABOUT OUR DIPLOMATS, THEY COMPARE FAVORABLY WITH ANY IN THE WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

Arguments about the efficiency—or lack of efficiency—of the American Foreign Service have been cropping up in Washington for several decades.

Before and after World War I, American diplomats were fair game for critics in Congress and in the press. The appellations of cookie-pusher or pink tea hounds were freely given to young men who joined the diplomatic corps.

The fact is that Foreign Service officers in the last 20 to 30 years have been by and large men who work hard for long hours and no longer enjoy the leisurely advantages of the world of the past.

Even when Foreign Service officers are assigned to diplomatic missions considered in the good old days as juicy plums, such as London, Paris, and Rome, these posts offer mostly headaches. The cost of living is high. While the diplomats' pay looks big to the outsider, it actually is just sufficient to meet the heavy expense of those capitals where foreigners, and especially Americans, are liberally overcharged.

There was a time when only sons of the well-to-do people joined the diplomatic corps. Now only a relatively small number of rich men and women choose that career. A Foreign Service officer may be assigned to Rome for a couple of years. He is certain, however, that at the end of that assignment he will be transferred to Jakarta or Taipeh, or what is infinitely less comfortable and pleasant, to Bucharest, Prague, or Warsaw. Thus there is no inducement for men and women with ample private means to take such chances and join a service which does not give even the prestige which diplomacy offered in the past.

Any weakening of the prestige and quality of our Foreign Service in the last few years was due principally to the fact that at the end of the war a number of individuals from the alphabetic agencies were transferred to the State Department and later integrated into the Foreign Service and some of its branches. The quality of some of these persons was not all that was to be desired. Only a handful of them are doing a creditable job.

Some regular Foreign Service officers, in their anxiety to get quick promotions by pleasing the politicians in Washington, became guilty of a number of serious indiscretions which brought them before various investigating committees of Congress. These few rotten apples, however, did not spoil the others in the barrel. They remained the selfless, hard workingmen who are devoting their time and energy to a work which present world conditions are rendering thankless.

From personal obesrvations during a 13-week trip abroad, this reporter has reached the conclusion that Foreign Service officers, contrary to what is being said by well-meaning individuals in this country, are not afraid to put their views courageously before their superiors. As a matter of fact, the personnel of an embassy reports only to the Ambassador under whose signature dispatches are sent to the State Department.

As a rule, an embassy is as good as the chief of the mission is. Ambassadors who owe their position to campaign contributions for the party in office are generally less efficient than those who have reached that position through the "ranks."

The Embassies at Ankara, Athens, Madrid, Teheran, and Kabul, headed by veterans of the Foreign Service such as Avra Warren, Cavendish Cannon, James Dunn, Loy Henderson, and Angus Ward, run like clockwork. There are cohesion, discipline, and warm relations between all members of the staff. The secretaries and counselors express their views without compunction and with the full knowledge that they are covered by their chiefs, who alone are responsible for the work of the diplomatic mission. These underlings in turn know that it would be unwise for them to go behind the back of their chief and report directly to Washington, as did happen during and soon after the end of the last war in some foreign posts.

A favorable situation also existed, insofar as this reporter was able to ascertain, in Rome, where a political appointee, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, is heading the mission. She seems to know what she is doing, and the staff, diminished as it is because of budgetary reductions, works willingly overtime to see that the job is done. Her speeches, which have drawn violent criticism from the Communists, are the result of consultations with the more experienced members of the staff—civil and military.

Despite the squawks we have heard about our diplomatic service, there is little doubt that it can compare favorably with that of any other world power.

Senator Williams Sets a Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH BUTLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, in the February 15 issue of the Nashville Tennessean there appears a most complimentary editorial relative to one of our most esteemed colleagues. The editorial is entitled "Senator WILLIAMS Sets a Standard." I am certain it will serve a good purpose to make this remarkable editorial available to all Members of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILLIAMS SETS A STANDARD

Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in his Lincoln Day speech here, gave an effective demonstration of how a partisan speech can be made without stooping to demagogery or slander. This famous one-man investigator of the Republican Party, we are sure, had no reason to retailor his address because of public revulsion against Brownell-McCarthy tactics.

No Member of Congress has done a more effective work to hunt out wrongdoers in Government, but he never sought to establish guilt by accusation or denunciation. He was less interested in headlines than in facts, and he is generous enough to say that in probing the Treasury Department and Internal Revenue Service he had plenty of help from those who held positions under the Democratic administration.

Speaking as one who thinks his own party can serve the Nation better than any other, even though he is obviously not prepared to say that everything which bears a GOP label is right, he sought to make out a case on the basis of reason.

Since he is not a cheap politician he could afford to remind that, "There has been corruption in both parties—the Teapot Dome scandal, the internal-revenue scandal, and even down to last year when a little 4-percenter crept under the Eisenhower tent."

In his ethical approach, Senator WILLIAMS could well serve as a model for all Members of Congress. We have no doubt that, if given the opportunity, he would be quick to expose any corruption which might turn up under Republican control, and there are strong indications that the Eisenhower administration has the same feeling. There is no other way to explain why Senator WILLIAMS has been put under wraps since the Democrats went out of power. No longer does he have a free hand, but rather has been explicitly warned against revealing anything unless it has been cleared by administration censors.

When reckless men are encouraged in smear tactics, it is a strange political development when a dependable one is given the word to lay off and watch his step as far as his own party is concerned. For our part, we are convinced that a watchdog role for Senator WILLIAMS would have a healthy effect on any administration.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Bismarck Tribune, Bismarck, N. Dak., under date of February 13, 1954. The honest, sincere, and fair approach of the editor, Mr. John Hjelle, is most commendable.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUNG REPLIES TO MAGAZINE

When a national picture magazine attacked the principle of farm price supports in a recent editorial, and in the process took a stinging swipe at Senator YOUNG, of North Dakota, the matter did not escape the attention of Congress.

Approximately 22 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Senate section, were devoted 1 day the following week to a discussion of the issue the editorial raised. Some of the arguments brought forth then are worth noting.

Among other things, they indicate again that figures and statistics will prove just about anything someone who starts with a preconceived notion may want them to prove. Figures may not lie, but they certainly can be used to deceive.

For example, Senator ANDERSON, of New Mexico, who poses righteously as a defender of the farmer, is quoted as having stated that farm price subsidies have cost $14 billion since 1929.

The quick impression may be that this is the cost of the price-support system, but that is not the fact. It includes, for example, the cost of the school-lunch program, which probably benefits nonfarm children more than it does farmers; the cost of the so-called Sugar Act, which is self-financing; the so-called naval-stocks program; the money loaned by the Farmers' Home Administration, which is being paid back with interest; the money loaned to rural electric cooperatives, which have a repayment record of around 99 percent; the cost of all research programs carried on by the Department of Agriculture, and so on.

Obviously, it is inaccurate to charge these sums against the Federal farm price-support program.

Insofar as the cost of the price-support program itself is concerned, the testimony of a Department of Agriculture official is cited.

This was to the effect that from October 17, 1933, to February 28, 1953, there had been a realized gain of $4,872,708 in Government price-support operations for the basic crops of wheat, cotton, rice, corn, tobacco, and peanuts, exclusive of interest and overhead costs. On nonbasics, there was, however, a loss totaling $1,073,115,955.

Among the basics, operations in cotton and tobacco netted the Government a book profit. Wheat showed an overall loss in the 20 years of $95,125,450—a far cry from the loss of $900 million in 1 year which has been claimed by some critics.

YOUNG, the target of the Life magazine editorial, did not hesitate to take a crack at his critic, of course. He quoted Postmaster General Summerfield as stating that Life itself had been subsidized by the Post Office to the tune of $2,151,000 in the last quarter of 1952 alone. No one has yet suggested that the prosperity of this magazine is essential to the prosperity of the Nation, as is admittedly true with respect to our farming economy.

Of course, all the debate over how much farm programs are costing is probably beside the point. When we buy a farm program, we must assume that it is worth its cost. Talk about costs is in the nature of haggling.

What is to the point now is whether the present farm program is adequate to the job it is expected to do, something that Secretary of Agriculture Benson and a lot of others doubt.

But as long as the subject of costs was brought up, a second look at the record in an effort to distinguish facts from fancy seems well worth while.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there has been transmitted to me a very interesting letter, dealing with the Bricker amendment, addressed to Mr. Leonard H. Pasqualicchio, national deputy of the Order of the Sons of Italy, by the outstanding jurist, Judge Eugene V. Alessandroni, of Philadelphia.

Judge Alessandroni has been judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia for the past 28 years, and is a jurist of great renown and established authority.

Mr. Pasqualicchio has made this letter available to me, and indicated that I might have it printed in the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the appendix.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORDER OF THE
SONS OF ITALY IN AMERICA,
GRAND LODGE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, January 27, 1954.

Mr. LEONARD H. PASQUALICCHIO,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR LEONARD: I have sent telegrams to both our Senators.

The resolution has inspired me to make the following comment. Since 1787 when the Constitution was adopted here in Philadelphia, and only after the limitation of authority on the President was bitterly debated and defeated, the people have never had cause to regret the qualified power of the Chief Executive to make treaties. What has happened now? Do we not trust our Presidents any more? And what of the Senate?

Have the ghosts of Yalta, Potsdam, etc., frightened the wits out of some of our otherwise courageous statesmen? The very cornerstone of our democratic institutions is faith in our chosen leaders. When we have to hamstring our Presidents, then, indeed, we must search other forms of government. The alternative is totalitarianism. The enactment of this resolution will tell the free world what they have been too long suspecting, namely, that we are not too sure that we can put in practice what we so glibly preach here and abroad. Passage of resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 1, would weaken us with our friends and strengthen our enemies. I am opposed to it.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally,

EUGENE V. ALESSANDRONI,
Grand Venerable.

Agriculture Turns Tables With Chemistry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Agriculture Turns Tables With Chemistry." This editorial, from one of the leading daily newspapers of my State—the Tupelo Journal—points out very vividly the important part research plays in the agricultural industry of this country. The Tupelo Journal serves one of the finest farming areas of Mississippi, and its editor is eminently qualified to speak on this subject.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURE TURNS TABLES WITH CHEMISTRY

When Senator JOHN STENNIS was touring Mississippi last autumn reporting to the people on national affairs, he repeatedly emphasized research as the great hope of American agriculture.

At the time neither newspapers nor the public paid too much attention to this part of Senator STENNIS' talk. For research is noncontroversial and even a bit on the dry side of conversation.

But today as the squeeze tightens on the Nation's farmers, it is becoming clear how correct Senator STENNIS was in emphasizing the need for increased agricultural research. And it already is becoming evident that his optimism over the results of a wedding of science and agriculture was justified.

Cotton, for example, which long has been threatened by the chemical production of synthetic fibers, is now depending on chemistry, itself, to stage a competitive comeback.

By means of chemical research cotton is today being made more versatile than was considered possible even a decade ago. It is being changed and modified to meet specific needs of industry which in the past were tightly closed to it.

Under new methods of chemical finishing in fact, cotton is at times emerging even as an entirely new fiber.

Tremendous amounts of fabrics treated chemically to withstand wrinkling now go into women's and children's clothes. As a matter of fact, in this one field cotton consumption has been increased by 75,000 bales.

Other chemical treatments have made cotton fabrics resistant to heat, mildew, and even dirt, thus opening vast new markets.

The synthetic-fiber industry was made possible by chemistry. And now that cotton, long a victim of competition from synthetic fibers, has made an alliance of its own with chemistry, the tide can be expected to turn.

In truth, cotton already is reported to be taking markets away from its chief competitor, rayon, rather than yielding ground to this synthetic fiber as it has in the past.

The South is on the verge of similar progress in other fields of research which can completely change our agriculture.

In recent years, for example, the development of broilers has reached the point where a chicken can be put on the market with much less feed than was necessary as recently as 10 years ago.

Now 13 Southern States are joining hands to develop a breed of poultry which will not only be a good broiler but also a good layer. And an even shorter growing cycle is being developed.

As Dr. Robert Wheeler, of the University of Georgia, director of the 13-State project, commented in describing its purposes and possibilities:

"The poultry industry is now in a position comparable with that of corn production 30 years ago. We have gone as far as we can go with our present tools just as corn yields had reached a dead end before development of hybrid seed."

And indicative of the importance now attached to research in breaking through this barrier is the fact that the poultry industry itself has raised $60,000 to help get the new project under way.

These and similar research programs being conducted by individual States, industries, and the Federal Government—frequently with all three working in close cooperation—offer an opportunity to revolutionize numerous phases of farming which thus far have only been touched by the magic wand of research and chemistry.

With the aid of science, agriculture can match the challenge of the synthetics in every field of production. And as it does farming will become an ever more profitable and more highly respected enterprise.

Though the full benefits of basic research often are years in being realized, it is even now becoming apparent that by placing his faith in research to solve many of the farmer's ills Senator STENNIS was following a course of genuine wisdom.

It is important, therefore, that we as citizens of an agricultural State emphasize research at every level of government as a major contributor to the prosperity of the American farmer, willingly investing dollars today in order that tomorrow we may reap the benefits of new and better ways of production, processing, and marketing.

Your Right To Be Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, last week there seemed to be considerable discussion in the Senate on the subject of what each political party was saying to the other. In This Week magazine for February 14, 1954, there appeared an article entitled "Your Right To Be Wrong," by Samuel Hopkins Adams. I respectfully suggest that the article be read by Senators on both sides of the aisle. I ask that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOUR RIGHT TO BE WRONG
(By Samuel Hopkins Adams)

"Let me remind you, gentlemen, that academic freedom involves the right to be wrong as well as the right to be right."

So spoke the late Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, to his board of trustees. Certain historical writings by a member of the faculty had, in the opinion of some oversensitive alumni, compromised the university. They wanted the historian fired.

Dr. Butler was not upholding the professor's views. In part, at least, he believed them to be wrong. But knowing them to be the honest opinions of a competent scholar, he defended the man's right to be wrong.

Therein by implication, the President of Columbia made hash of some highly respectable and long respected adages. Safety first! Look before you leap. Why take a chance? All nice, convenient slogans for the Caspar Milquetoasts of the world. But if the genus homo had adhered to them, where would civilization have gotten to? Pretty much nowhere.

Columbus did not look before he leaped into an uncharted void. Benjamin Franklin showed little respect for established principles when he coaxed the lightning down his kitestring and bottled it in a jar.

There was no safety first motto printed on the airplane that bore the Wright brothers across the sands of Kitty Hawk. How would the boon of anesthetics have been given to humanity if science had shrunk from a presumptively fatal risk? For that matter, who would ever have eaten a raw oyster but for some dauntless, hunger-driven pioneer?

Trial and error is a method by which progress is made, and it is this principle which Dr. Butler was upholding in his blunt reminder to the trustees. Someone has said that a thousand pioneers may well be wrong before one is right. Shackling the spirit of adventure, or honest inquiry, of risky research by imposing panalties for error does more than set back the clock. It stops it.

Glory is properly the reward of success. But it does not follow that disgrace should be visited upon failure. Error may be as honorable in intent as truth.

Mankind must jealously preserve its "right to be wrong as well as the right to be right." Otherwise, the great and continuing adventure of the human mind would be thwarted. Science and invention would come to a halt. Art and literature would wither. In a stale and stagnant world there would be nothing new under the sun.

Traveling the Hotel Way With Ivan and Igor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to a unique and interesting booklet published recently by the American Hotel Association as a part of its program to combat com-

munism. The booklet is entitled "Traveling the Hotel Way With Ivan and Igor" It tells the story of Ivan, a Russian factory worker who was allowed a short vacation so that he could attend lectures on current doctrine of the party. After describing the almost unbelievable restrictions on travel in Russia, based on actual conditions which exist today, the pamphlet depicts the annoyances, discomforts, privations, and frustrations of the Soviet citizen who is fortunate enough to be granted the privilege of traveling at all.

By practical and concrete illustrations the booklet makes us conscious of the great blessing of freedom of movement we have here in America. After reading the booklet we realize that the comforts, conveniences, and services which we take for granted in America exceed the wildest flights of imagination of the pathetic Soviet citizen.

In the booklet describing the travel experiences of Ivan and Igor, the American Hotel Association clearly brings out the part the Nation's hotels play in our way of life. In contrast to restrictions amounting to almost a complete prohibition of travel in Russia, the pamphlet points out how Americans are encouraged to travel, and to meet and talk with other people in all parts of the country. It points out the comforts, convenience, and service of hotels are among the rewards of freedom here at home.

Other business groups can help to keep us aware of what freedom means to every one of us. In their institutional advertising, other industries can show how their operations contribute to the enjoyment of our freedom. I think the unique manner in which the American Hotel Association tells the story of its place in American freedom will interest every Member of Congress. Therefore I have asked that a copy of AHA's pamphlet be delivered to each of you. The 2 minutes required to read the pamphlet will be well spent.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose editorials from three Indianapolis, Ind., newspapers. These three statements indicate the unanimous thinking on this very important subject:

[From the Indianapolis Star of February 7, 1954]

BROWNSON RIGHT ON SEAWAY

Representative CHARLES B. BROWNSON gave one of the best reasons we have heard for his opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway project now apparently rolling toward approval by Congress. BROWNSON made a fight in the Public Works Committee to change the Senate bill to provide that private interests purchase the revenue bonds needed to finance the $105,000,000 program to build the seaway.

Certainly it is possible to build the seaway without adding to the burden of the taxpayer, that should be done. Just as certainly private interests are in the best possible position to know how sound and how profitable the seaway project is from a revenue producing viewpoint.

The seaway project itself might be a great boon to the Middle West and to Indiana by bringing us closer to ocean-going commerce. But we see no reason at all why the Federal Government should use taxpayers' money to finance it if private interests are able and willing to do the job instead.

[From the Indianapolis Times of February 14, 1954]

SEAWAY: BOON OR BOONDOGGLE?

In spite of some demagogic and apparently strictly partisan cracks about it, we rather like the proposal of Indianapolis' Representative CHARLES BROWNSON to let private capital build the St. Lawrence seaway.

Obviously whatever benefits accrue from this venture will be almost wholly benefits to private business—and to a relatively small segment of private business, at that. The project has been oversold for many years, but it does have some merit now that it didn't have in the past. It isn't going to make "sea ports" of Indiana Great Lakes towns, no matter what they tell you now, nor let ocean liners dock at Chicago. It is going to let some slightly larger ships come up the rivers and into the lakes than can now get through the locks, and may increase by as much as 10 percent the number of existing seagoing freighters that could use the passage if their owners wished.

Since the last time a Congress turned down this plan, though, extensive new iron ore deposits have been discovered in Labrador. They are almost wholly the property of one big steel-coal-shipping combine which is developing mines there. The iron ore from those mines can be brought to the steel mills of the Great Lakes area at somewhat lower freight cost when this canal project is completed because it will permit bigger ships, carrying bigger cargoes, to haul it. It will still have to be hauled some 300 miles by rail to get to these ships, of course, and they can come in only in summer because the seaway is frozen the rest of the year.

Legislation now in process of enactment proposes to build it out of tax money, charge tolls on its use to get the money back. That's a deal that hasn't worked out so well in such past Federal projects as TVA and others, which have simply wound up as big investments paid by all the people in the country for the benefit of a favored few.

Mr. BROWNSON goes a step further and suggests that private capital be offered the chance to build this passage, since private industry is going to use it and get the sole benefit out of it in any case.

Partisan critics immediately shrieked that he wanted to "offer the river for sale," which is, of course, pure nonsense. The same line of reasoning would have the Government building railroads at public expense to serve the segments of industry each would touch.

Mr. BROWNSON's proposal seems to us considerably more fair to all concerned than to hand the bill for a St. Lawrence canal to taxpayers of Utah or Oregon and Alabama who could probably get along in future about as well as they have in the past without one.

We believe it is entitled to more sober consideration than it seems to have had so far.

[From the Indianapolis News of February 15, 1954]

A CONGRESSMAN'S VIEW: BROWNSON SEEKS PRIVATE FINANCING

Representative CHARLES B. BROWNSON, Republican, of Indianapolis, has placed himself on record as wanting to support President Eisenhower by voting for the St. Lawrence seaway.

However, Mr. BROWNSON believes that legislation for the seaway should be such that "there would be no question of the people of my district ever having to dig down in their own pockets to finance the project with taxpayers' dollars."

The Indianapolis lawmaker has expressed doubt about the claims of most seaway proponents that the seaway would involve the same financing principles as those involved in the majority of toll roads, and therefore would be self-liquidating.

He has offered an amendment "which would sever all connections between the United States Treasury and the Seaway Corporation."

The Congressman argues that if the proponents of the Senate-passed seaway bill are right in their self-liquidation claim they should have no hesitation in accepting his proposal that private interests purchase the revenue bonds needed to finance the $105-million program. He would limit the United States Government to a $2 million capital stock subscription.

"I believe the principle of making the obligations of the seaway available for purchase by private investors is sound," Mr. BROWNSON said recently, "especially when the national debt of the United States stands at $274,806,646,812.25 as of February 1."

Congressman BROWNSON cited testimony by Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey as a private citizen and by Allan B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, in support of his position.

Mr. Kline was quoted as having testified:

"If the project is put on a sound revenue-bond basis, investors will not need the guaranty of the United States Government. If the United States Government guarantees the principal and interest, there is no need for the investors to investigate the economic feasibility. In such event the already overburdened Federal finances would be unnecessarily subjected to additional burdens of an indefinite amount."

Mr. BROWNSON concluded:

"Without that guaranty I cannot see how proponents of the seaway can go on glibly promising protection based only on traffic forecasts and rosy glow of optimism. I will support the seaway if there is assurance written into the legislation that the taxpayers will no be betrayed. I hope I have that opportunity."

More Positive Law Enforcement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Vallejo (Calif.) Herald of Tuesday, January 12, 1954, which discusses legislation introduced by my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING]. The editorial follows:

MORE POSITIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT

The prevalence of crime across the Nation offers convincing proof that moral turpitude and more vicious offenses against society cannot be prevented by the passage of laws. If further evidence is needed to prove the statement it is found in overcrowded penal institutions and the rush of paroles to men of questionable stability who have once or more times found themselves behind the bars and who are being released in hope they

have learned their lessons and will go straight if given another chance.

There are men and women who defy the laws and the prospects of being jailed and commit the most sordid crimes, including murder, kidnaping, and vicious sex offenses. We have plenty of law against these crimes, but we seem not to have learned that severity of punishment is not as effective as certainty of punishment. There are too many possibilities of escape to meet the needs of society and so we find murderers, kidnapers, sex offenders plying their trades. They do not profit from imprisonment and many of them become repeaters. The public is quick to forget the vicious criminals we lock up for the safety of themselves and society as a whole.

The Keating committee of the Department of Justice has decided that it does not pay to overlook criminal operations, especially the gang operators who engage in interstate criminal actions, and proposes to fight for passage of laws to make law enforcement more positive and effective in this sphere. Congressman KEATING in announcing his determination to press Congress for action declares:

"The challenge of organized crime may now and then be overshadowed by other problems that face us, but there is no other that is more constant or, in the long run, more dangerous.

"In recent years we have seen how the national crime syndicates have managed to entrench themselves in legitimate business enterprises, in politics, and even in government at various levels. It is not enough merely to expose this process from time to time. Only strong Federal laws, coupled with vigorous enforcement, will reach the gangsters and hoodlums who are operating in interstate commerce." That sums up the general situation. Some drastic legislation is in order.

Distinguished and Qualified

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared recently in the Washington (D. C.) Evening Star:

DISTINGUISHED AND QUALIFIED

President Eisenhower has chosen well in naming former President Herbert Hoover and former Postmaster General James A. Farley as public members of the new Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

Mr. Hoover rendered distinguished service in his chairmanship of the reorganization commission set up in 1947. It was in keeping with his high concept of public duty that when he was called upon then, by a Democratic President, to undertake that groundbreaking and monumental task he accepted without hesitation. During the next two years he applied his great talents in the field of administration and his broad experience in government to this most challenging undertaking. It is fitting indeed that he should be asked now, by a Republican President, to direct a new group study of even broader and more exacting nature. For in this instance the commission will go beyond organizational problems to analyze Government "services, activities and functions" with a view to eliminating those considered unnecessary or competitive with private enterprise and to surrendering to State and local governments those which might be performed more properly at the lower levels.

To this task, a nonpartisan one in the service of the country, Mr. Farley likewise will bring outstanding qualifications. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee and later as a cabinet officer, the New Yorker demonstrated marked ability as an organizer and administrator. His service in Wshington came during the first two presidential terms of Franklin D. Roosevelt, when the Government was entering upon its greatest period of expansion. Mr. Farley, in the years since he has been in private business, has maintained his close interest in government and in public administration.

Both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Farley are deserving of commendation for their willingness to undertake these new responsibilities in the public interest.

Report of Reds Under Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, the press has been concerned recently with regard to the work of Communists in this country, and it occurred to me that it might be interesting to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper article which appeared in a Washington paper a short time ago under the pen of David Lawrence, editor of U. S. News & World Report. Mr. Lawrence is an independent writer and has the confidence of both political parties. The information which he releases to the public is of an authentic character, and he appears to be well acquainted with the affairs of Government in Washington. The article of Mr. Lawrence follows:

REPORT OF REDS UNDER ROOSEVELT—SENATOR JENNER TELLS ROBERT MORRIS' STORY OF HOW HE WAS PUNISHED FOR COMMUNIST PROBE IN WORLD WAR II

(By David Lawrence)

The chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee—Senator JENNER of Indiana—has just exploded a bombshell that may stir up as much emotion as the case of Harry Dexter White, suspected of espionage in behalf of Soviet Russia.

The finger of suspicion regarding laxity in handling Communist suspects is now pointed to the White House staff in the administration of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Senator JENNER told his story at a dinner here in honor of Robert Morris, newly elected judge of the Municipal Court in New York and formerly chief counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. Morris was a lieutenant in the intelligence unit of the Navy during the last war, and it is revealed now that he was the victim of an order from the White House which destroyed the files of his office relating to Communist penetration.

"Bob Morris," says Senator JENNER, "was sent to the Pacific because he had been hustled out of the Office of Naval Intelligence in New York. He knew too much about what the Communists were really up to. In May of 1944, he was in the Counterintelligence Section of Naval Intelligence in the New York district. One of his undercover agents had succeeded in penetrating the Communist organization and in reaching a strategic post in the network."

Senator JENNER said that Kravchenko, an official of the Soviet Purchasing Commission, was ready to reveal Communist activities but Morris was told by his superiors in Washington to let Kravchenko alone.

"Then," says Mr. JENNER, "something else happened. Word came to New York that plans were under way to have Naval Intelligence break up its Communist Counter-intelligence Unit, including the secret apparatus which the New York group had set up. Morris was sent to Washington on Captain Howe's instructions to urge the Director of Naval Intelligence not to take this step. Did he succeed in saving this absolutely vital intelligence function? Well, if he had succeeded, how did he end up in Pearl Harbor?

"Someone scattered the members of the New York Unit of Naval Intelligence to the four corners of the earth—within a few days after Bob Morris made his plea. And they did something even worse. They ordered the destruction of the files gathered by that unit.

"Those were the files that had the basic information on Communists in the maritime units, Communists on the waterfront, and Communists in the convoys that went to Russia itself. Is there anyone who believes that the Chief of Naval Intelligence gave that order on his own initiative? Whoever heard of intelligence officials destroying their own files? Well, then, who would have had the authority to give an order as sweeping and unprecedented as this one? Admiral Nimitz was curious about that.

"A few days after Bob Morris told him the story at that meeting I have just described, Adm. Ernest J. King came to the headquarters of the commander in chief of the Pacific fleet and Pacific Ocean areas, on one of his periodic visits from Washington. Nimitz told King what Bob Morris had told him and asked if it could possibly be true that such an incredible order could have been issued. Admiral King replied that it was true. 'But who,' demanded Admiral Nimitz, 'could possibly have given such an order?' Admiral King replied: 'The White House'."

Senator JENNER mentioned similar efforts to destroy the files of the War Department on subversion. Senator MCCARTHY recently issued a report of his committee pointing out that State Department personnel files were tampered with and many records destroyed under the Truman administration.

But the charge that some one in the White House gave orders around the Government on matters relating to the handling of Communists or Communist sympathizers is not new. The records of the Internal Security Subcommittee show that recommendations on White House stationery were sent to assist certain applicants who were named in FBI reports as being suspected of a relationship to the communistic cause. Similarly, the famous FBI report of November 1945, published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last August, gave an outline of the extent of Communist penetration in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration and gave a list of officials therein.

H. R. 4646: Public and Private Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, while I have great admiration, respect, and affection for the chairman and members

of the committee who have worked so sincerely and wholeheartedly on this measure, I regret that it is impossible for me to subscribe to its provisions. Accordingly, I shall vote to recommit the bill, and if that motion fails, will vote against the bill.

It is my studied opinion that this bill is contrary to the letter and spirit of our long-established national conservationist policy. Reading its terms, and listening to the excellent arguments advanced on both sides, I am persuaded that the measure, if enacted, would work serious damage and cause considerable detriment to the wise program we have adopted to conserve, protect, and develop our timberland and forest-land resources.

Since the issue presented touches not only upon these resources themselves in the economic and scenic aspects, as well as perhaps vital security considerations, and also in no inconsiderable measure upon the recreational outdoor life of the American people, it impresses me very much as a dangerous, unprecedented, and unwise proposal to insert in our existing organic law.

It has been asserted that the bill in effect would lead to unfair, preferential exploitation by private interests of our forest resources. That may or may not be so, although I would not predicate my opposition upon the assumption that our public officials administering the bill would ever be recreant to their duties. I should prefer to assume the opposite that they would invariably act in the public interest.

In my opinion, however, under the act the door would be open, solely upon the use of official discretion and judgment, to the exchange and permanent divestment by the Government of some of our most valuable and vital forest and timber resources. Certainly no strong case, it seems to me, has been made out for such a revolutionary change in policy.

It is my view that aggrieved citizens, corporate or individual, have ample remedy under existing statutes by which they can seek and, if warranted, obtain legal redress and compensation for any damage inflicted upon them as a result of any public operations of Government agencies.

Since I am committed to strong, vigorous, forward-looking conservation policies which shall embrace full protection of our great natural resources and their intelligent, sensible use and development I therefore will oppose this bill.

Tax Exemption of Retirement Income

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CECIL R. KING

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a statement by Ethel Percy Andrus, president of the national retired teachers association, made before the Committee on Ways and Means, which, I believe, sets forth in most excellent and reasonable fashion the situation being faced by so many thousands of our retired citizens and why the provisions of H. R. 5180 should be incorporated in the tax revision bill.

I am much gratified that the Committee on Ways and Means, of which I am a member, has today voted to incorporate this proposal into the tax revision bill, and I trust it will continue to receive favorable consideration during its course through the Congress:

The National Retired Teachers Association, which I proudly represent, is a department of the National Education Association, differing from it in size, and in the age and status of its membership. The NEA is the teacher-group in active service; the NRTA is the teacher-group in retired status. But both groups are teachers, for teaching is not just a way to make a livelihood. The livelihood is incidental. Teaching is a vocation as sacred as the priesthood; as inescapable as desire, as compelling as genius.

In retirement status, the senior-citizen-teacher teaches still. He demonstrates by his own living that the aged can be serene of spirit, stout of heart, eager to work and to help. He can grow and learn and want to know. He can be—and is—purposely and constructively active in community service.

These are our self-imposed responsibilities. They are largely within our own powers, but beyond our control are the foundational factors—the economic status. Dignity, we have learned, cannot be sustained without economic self-respect. Perhaps the most obvious stress-situation felt by members of this group today develops in relation to lessened economic security. This may automatically result in the loss of social prestige and status as well.

Physically the group has profited by the greater general attention to diet and better hygienic conditions. It has raised its life-expectancy by being protected from infections and guarded by more efficient and regular and thorough medical examinations. As a result, the increased number of older people increases their economic tensions.

In general, the group I represent has been poorly paid. In most communities, rural, or semirural, there was little chance for improvement on wages. The school schedule seemed to consist of only 5 hours a day and 5 days a week was considered a privilege in areas where men and women worked from sunup to sundown. Long hours in the overtime of the teacher's work, have never been financially recognized. The teacher had to find his own rewards for the services which are hard to evaluate, since they are so deeply concerned with the intangibles of life. For that—and that is what good teaching is—there was no provision in wages. Their chances of saving were proportionately meager, and any procedure, legal or otherwise, which destroys their margin of economic safety must be carefully and critically scrutinized.

The average retirement salary of the American teacher allows little more than meeting daily needs for substenance and care. It does not provide for that equally insistent need of the individual for recognition of spiritual freedom and respect, which mere sustenance denies him. Yet it is this group that very largely has held itself as guardians of the traditions and the heritage of these practical ideals we call America, cherishing them and sharing them with each on-coming group of youth. For are not the teachers and the public schools America's unique contributions to the world of today? Can we think of America without the one or the other?

Between the Junes of 1940 and 1952, in dollars of current value, the average teacher's annuity increased a little over 35 percent, but the price index for that same period had advanced nearly 89 percent.

In 1940 an average teacher could look forward to retiring on somewhat more than half-pay, tax-free. Today, the average teacher upon retirement is receiving only one-third of the current average pay, and must pay income taxes.

The individual exemption in 1939–40 was $1,000. There was an earned-income credit of 10 percent which could be applied to all incomes under $3,000, and the tax rate was 4 percent. A retired teacher with a current income of $1,800 by way of pension paid at most $20 to $25.

Today's equivalent of that $1,800 retirement income according to B. L. S. would be a retirement income around $3,400. The teacher-recipient would pay upon that a Federal income tax around $370 ($500 if under 65 years of age). This payment would be required of the teacher because the teacher does not belong to a group which had been granted special tax exemptions.

Today, hundreds of men and women, teachers in retired status, are finding that with strict economy they can just get by upon their combined savings and retirement income. With increasing age the imperative need of care and the high incidence of illness with attendant costs of medical service and hospitalization make further drains. Then when the time arrives that they must pay their full 22.2 percent of income tax, they often find no margin out of which to squeeze that amount, and when it is paid, because it must be paid, there is nothing left for 6 weeks or thereabouts for living expenses. Since maintenance and food costs must also be paid, the only recourse is to dip into the rainy day reserves, so cutting down the next year's income, and year by year thinning out the financial cushion that sacrifice and work and thrift had built for later-day comfort. Some are viewing with hopeless dismay the gulf narrowing between the dignity of self-respecting support and the shock of acknowledged indigence.

The National Retired Teachers Association, as a matter of principle, officially takes the following actions:

1. The NRTA recognizes and deprecates discriminations and inequities in Federal income tax treatment.

2. The NRTA realizes the fact that the present tax-exemption situation was not created intentionally.

3. The NRTA appreciates the fact that the Ways and Means Committee did not write the special tax exemption in the Railroad Retirement Act, which was acted on by other committees, and further that they did not make the rulings in the old-age and survivors insurance, the veterans' pensions, and public assistance cases.

4. The NRTA prefers to recommend general legislation to narrow legislation—that is, it prefers the approach of bringing up the retirement income treatment of all retired persons to a reasonable level, rather than the approach of creating additional classes with special retirement income which is nontaxable.

5. The NRTA advocates the amendment of Federal tax laws so as to permit up to a total of $1,500 of retirement income of all retired persons to be exempt from the Federal income tax, in addition to individual exemptions. It accepts the current social-security limitations on tax-free income from employment.

Our plan, in other words, is designed to put tax treatment of pensions for all people on the same level and to demand no special favor for any particular group. Our proposal provides $1,500 as a floor, beneath

which retirement income shall not be taxed and accepts the current social-security limitations on tax-free income from employment. The adoption of such a measure would, we believe, remove the present inequities in the structure of our tax and retirement system.

We of the National Retired Teachers Association have come to you with our problem and our proposal for its solution. We commend it to each of you, many of whom I know are eager to find a solution to this problem of pension-taxation. We ask you to accept it for study and we hope for inclusion in the development of the permanent basis of taxation you are planning to build for our Nation's future.

I thank you for the privilege of bringing to you this proposal of the National Retired Teachers Association.

Anglo-American Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by my good friend Douglas Fairbanks, which appeared in the well-known English publication Time and Tide, and which I thought would be of interest:

NOTES ON THE WAY—ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION

(By Douglas Fairbanks)

If the paramount economic, political, and military interests of the Commonwealth and the United States remain roughly parallel there is little need for concern over the continuing closeness of Anglo-American relations. However, there are a certain number of people, on both sides of the Atlantic, who do not attach particular importance to intimate Anglo-American relationships. They would be satisfied, except in times of mutual peril, to maintain only an impersonal friendly connection.

There are, on the other hand, a vast number of Americans and Britons who, though not overly understanding of each, are persuaded that a smoothly working and increasingly intimate Anglo-American relationship is vital to the preservation of both societies. Assuming this view to be correct, it is as ineffectual to plan a detailed objective as it is unsafe to rely solely on fortune and the cultivation of mutual goodwill to keep such a delicately poised relationship in balance.

We cannot be sure that if outside pressures are relaxed for an extended period, and incentives for a close relationship less apparent, the two countries might not drift so far apart that some later crisis would find them irreconcilably opposed.

There are risks in any dynamic policy. Let us admit that the tangible apprehensions of the extreme "antis" have some merit. Let us agree that most past and present reasons for the efficacy of the Anglo-American "alliance" are due less to our historic kinship and familiarity than to our national self-interests being threatened at the same time by roughly the same source. Let us concede the possibility that a continuing and increasingly close Anglo-American connection could very well lead to American involvement in some purely British problem and that British external and internal policy would be positively and permanently influenced by a more productive United States. But, if the final result of such a policy benefits the vast concourse of people immediately concerned, by the provision of greater security from more incompatible pressures and an even broader scope for their energies, then surely the possibility becomes what the military call a 'calculated risk.' If a permanent Anglo-American collaboration can honestly proclaim to be without any foreign ambitions, other than obligations arising from membership in the U. N., or subsidiary agreements, the basic contributions which such an association could make to itself and the world could be unparalleled in history.

How, in the face of the many innate apprehensions and prejudices on both sides could such an arrangement ever work? How can important members of the same basic family, at once more familiar and more strange to each other than with less closely related peoples, replace rivalry with full, if not always equal, partnership? We must determine first whether, in fact, any kind of formal relationship is positively desired or desirable. How can a voluntary association operate successfully without jeopardizing hard-won freedoms and individual sovereignty (to say nothing of national self-respect)?

In the first place we must recognize that in any permanent partnership the centripetal force would have to center on one or the other. Short of some form of confederation (which is inconceivable within a foreseeable future), it is difficult to consider an arrangement of other than nominal equality. Unless human nature alters considerably for the better and we achieve a common pooling of natural resources, industries and markets, and a relative equality in incentive and reward, national rivalry would sooner or later assert itself. Then one would be obliged to absorb the other into its orbit or else, like planets detached from their gravitational attachment, they would drift apart—and we should be back where we started.

We are forced by history, custom, and circumstances to dismiss, at least within the foreseeable future, the possibility of the United States voluntarily becoming part of the Commonwealth for the same reasons we dismiss the likelihood of the component parts of the Commonwealth declaring for statehood in the American Union. Hence, constitutional partnership as we understand it must be ruled out and we must go further afield.

It would be painful and difficult if not impossible, at this moment of history, for Britain deliberately to pledge herself to a permanent association with America, regardless of how loose the obligation would be, if she expected the association to be fully equal. The obvious limitations of geography and resources, together with their effect on economic and political dynamism, would put her at a disadvantage which only some unpredictable series of events could reverse. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the electorate of Britain would, without pressure, voluntarily support such a plan (although a fairly large number in the dominions have, at certain times, indicated a tentative sympathy). As full working partners, the British would be swamped by the current American superiority in productivity and energy. While size and numbers alone are of limited importance, the fact that the quality of American standards, human and economic, are, and promise to continue for some time to be, extraordinarily high, is a further discouragement to hopes of an early, equal association.

For today's American the main incentive, aside from sentiment, to a continuing association with Britain is to help secure for the world in general and America in particular an area of peace, in concert with others who, though not always in favor of the same thing, are at least against the same things. If, by so doing, they can also enlarge their trading area, can confirm the positive adherence of politically and socially like-minded peoples, they might view a permanent arrangement with active sympathy.

If free trade and administrative integration are not feasible at the present time, it should still be possible to achieve harmony in detail. Britain must remain the magnetic force to give content to the Commonwealth and Empire, but this should not preclude an overall political and cultural interchange with the United States at the highest level aimed at the parallel growth of a twin English-speaking community. Sectional interests should be encouraged to pave the way for ultimate integration in some form. Interchange of information between different branches of industry has shown what can be accomplished in the sphere of economic cooperation. The revival of industrial alliances and reciprocal investments suggests that an amalgamation of sorts is, almost without plan, slowly evolving. If all these fields can be broadened, if the free convertibility of pound and dollar can be achieved—even if a common currency is a distant but desirable goal—standards of living can be raised on both sides of the Atlantic. If six formerly antagonistic and competing nations, faced with necessity, can pool their resources on the continent of Europe in an international coal and steel authority, it should not be beyond the ingenuity of the less pressed statesmen in Britain and America to devise a similar solution to their problems as a prelude to closer political union.

However, no plan or panacea will long remain the answer to questions of Anglo-American relations. We are too nationalistic and too strong in our own spheres voluntarily to do what only a major crisis might one day force us to do. Perhaps it is best that it should be so. The freedoms we have won, and the systems by which we govern ourselves, were not evolved according to charts but by the slow processes of trial, error, blood, frustration, and unquenchable hopes. We have each undergone many changes. The American President, once considered a nonpartisan figure at the head of the state, has become a powerful political institution, a kind of elective monarch. The British Sovereign, once the controversial and disruptive force in the imperial constitution, has become the ever-growing influence and inspiration of the most diversified political organization in the world's history—with potentialities exceeding the visions of past champions. The monarchy has, in its turn, become a kind of hereditary presidency.

To those for whom the natural affinity of Britain, the Commonwealth, and the United States is of overriding importance and who are persuaded that, in one way or another, the close relationship must at all costs continue, it is a waste of effort to force things. Rather, I submit, is it better to work constantly and constructively on the lessening of the sources of tension and of reducing mutual ignorance and to leave to time and circumstances the eventual terms of the contract.

Hospital Survey Construction Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include a letter to me from the Honorable William N. Erickson, president of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Ill., together with the text of a resolution adopted by the board:

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA,
United States Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Mindful of the present pending legislation to broaden the Hospital Survey Construction Act (Hill-Burton, S. 2758 and H. R. 7341), I am taking the liberty of enclosing and calling to your attention a resolution by the Board of Commissioners of Cook County recently adopted with reference to the great shortage of educated and duly qualified registered nurses that has developed.

It would appear that the subject matter of the enclosed resolution is pertinent in this general program and worthy of further consideration.

With best wishes and kindest respects, I am

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM N. ERICKSON,
President.

Whereas in recent years a great shortage of educated and duly qualified registered nurses has developed; and

Whereas because of this shortage of registered nurses it has become apparent that hospitals of every type and description, both public and private in nature, have not been able to completely fulfill their essential and noble mission om ministering to the ill; and

Whereas it is clearly evident that in a community as large, diversified, and cosmopolitan as the County of Cook and its environs that the construction of Federal hospitals and medical institutions has been and is of great service and benefit to many of our people; but it is also clearly evident that such Federal institutions exact and attract a certain number of qualified nursing personnel in this area; and

Whereas nursing is so essentially an integral part of every type of institution having for its purpose the caring of the sick, it does appear that it would be most provident that when and where the Federal Government or any duly authorized agency or subdivision thereof plans a Federal hospital or institution requiring nursing service that the utmost consideration be given to the building of a school of nursing to be integrated with the hospital or institution; and

Whereas it would also be of immeasurable benefit to this community that the Federal Government or any duly authorized agency or subdivision thereof give close and exacting consideration to the possibility of establishing such places for the training of nursing personnel to be coordinated and integrated with presently existing Federal hospitals in this area; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this honorable body that the Federal Government or any duly authorized agency or subdivision thereof, be and is hereby memoralized by this resolution to consider its full tenor and import with the ultimate aim of alleviating the present situation which is straining our resources to the limit; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Hon. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.; Dorothy Wheeler, Director, Nursing Service, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D. C.; American Nurses Association, 2 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y.; Miss Ruth Sleeper, president, National League of Nursing, 2 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y.; for such further consideration and action as is deemed meet and proper; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to every Member of the Congress of the United States representing districts located in the County of Cook, and also to the United States Senators from Illinois.

DECEMBER 18, 1953.

The Truth About Tolls on the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Appendix an article about tolls on the St. Lawrence seaway. The proponents of this legislation have argued that the project would be self-liquidating in 50 years, from the tolls collected. I believe this article will puncture that argument, since it clearly shows that the toll rate must be sufficiently low to meet competitive forms of transportation, or the seaway will not be used. The article follows:

THE TRUTH ABOUT TOLLS ON THE SEAWAY

The following exchange between George M. Humphrey, now Secretary of the Treasury, and Congressman FALLON, of Maryland, is a definite refutation of the argument by proponents of the so-called St. Lawrence seaway that it is important for this Government to have a voice in the tolls that would be levied in the St. Lawrence River, which is 95 percent Canadian. Mr. Humphrey makes it clear that regardless of who levies the tolls they must be competitive with other modes of transportation or else the waterway won't be used; that in the case of Labrador-Quebec iron ore the tolls must be low enough for this ore to compete with Venezuelan and Lake Superior ores, otherwise his group will move their ore in another way.

The exchange occurred before the House Public Works Committee hearings in 1951 and appears on page 478, part 1, of those hearings.

Mr. Humphrey at the time, as head of the M. A. Hanna Co., and an officer in some 30 other steel, ore, coal, and transportation interests which constitute the Hanna empire, was the leader in the Labrador-Quebec venture.

The exchange follows:

"Mr. FALLON. Mr. Humphrey, you agree, of course, that this should be self-liquidating and that the only way it can be liquidated is by tolls? Are you prepared to say just exactly how much toll you can stand per ton on iron ore coming out of Labrador to compete with the iron ore coming from the Mesabi Range?

"Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. FALLON, that is just like everything else. It is relative. The amount of toll that the canal can charge will depend largely upon the rail freight rates and the ocean freight rates that are made in other directions. You have competing methods of transportation.

"Now, under the existing rail freight rates, as I told you at the last hearing, it is my opinion that this ore would move up the canal on anything less than or up to a 50-cent toll. I thing that is a thing that will change from time to time, depending, as I say, upon costs of competitive routes. When the canal goes in, the canal has a service to sell. That service must be competitive with competitive service on other routes, and you will have to have a system of tolls that will keep it competitive and will get the most you can get to attract the most business. That you will decide—whoever is running the canal. The authorities in charge of it will set their tolls to get the proper business. If they set it too high, the business will go down.

"Mr. FALLON. Will not that have the effect of the Government setting the price of the ore?

"Mr. HUMPHREY. No. That is, if we can move over a cheaper route, we will move over a cheaper route. If that is the cheapest route, we will move over that route, and the cost of that toll is an element of the cost of the total transportation.

"Mr. FALLON. Of course, an element also is the liquidation of the cost over a period of years.

"Mr. HUMPHREY. That is right.

"Mr. FALLON. That will govern the toll more than anything else. Now, if the toll is so high that you cannot absorb it and still meet competition, you will not use this canal or seaway at all?

"Mr. HUMPHREY. That is right. We will go the other way."

Jewish Youth States Its Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by one of my constituents, Raphael Kosakoff, which appeared in the fourth edition of the World Assembly of Youth Forum, entitled "Jewish Youth States Its Case," and which I thought would be of interest:

JEWISH YOUTH STATES ITS CASE
(By Raphael Kosakoff)

Delegates—average age 20—representing Jewish youth from all over the United States, gathered at Camp Cejwin, near Port Jervis, N. Y., for the sixth annual assembly of the National Jewish Youth Conference, a coordinating body of youth and young adult councils, sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board.

All the workshop groups agreed that Jews in the United States, in Israel, and throughout the world have much to gain from the most active mutual exchange possible on the cultural and spiritual level.

On the question of "our role in the community," delegates were agreed upon the responsibility of the Jewish youth in relation to groups and organizations in the general community.

Jewish young people should participate actively in the fight against racial and religious prejudice, individually and collectively. Anti-Semitism being only one form of prejudice, the battle against anti-Semitism is a part of the larger struggle against racial and religious prejudice generally. It was felt that Jews should, therefore, identify themselves as active opponents of all forms of antiminoritism.

Youth feels perhaps most keenly the prejudice and discrimination which bar persons from preparing themselves for the vocation or profession of their choice. Delegates, therefore, were particularly concerned in fighting prejudice in education and in employment.

It was felt that the Jewish community should take a stand to prevent the exploitation by certain groups of certain issues, for ulterior purposes. (For example, the Rosenberg case was exploited by Communists as a supposed manifestation of anti-Semitism.)

A number of the delegates felt that a goal in life is in all too many instances either completely lacking or extremely vague in the minds of the Jewish young people today. Jewish youth's need for Jewish goals and ideals, it was felt, is a part of and is reflected

in the search of the entire American Jewish community for a way of life as Jews.

Agreement was virtually unanimous in all of the workshop groups on the desirability of Jewish community centers, where young people may meet others like themselves, study and enjoy themselves together, and develop and grow together, as individuals and as Jews. Many also expressed the need for improvement of those centers already in existence, particularly with regard to Jewish content, which was felt in many instances to be insufficient.

It was pointed out that, while programing for teenagers was stressed, there was very often a dearth in programing and activities for young adults.

The delegates culminated their long weekend at Camp Cejwin by passing a number of important resolutions. One of these—quoted in full—stated:

"Whereas we believe that our immigration and naturalization policies have traditionally offered sanctuary to the persecuted and displaced and to those who have made substantial contributions to the social, economic, and political welfare of our Nation; and

"Whereas we are disturbed by the provisions of the McCarran-Walters Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952; and

"Whereas both President Eisenhower and Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson condemned the act during the presidential campaign; and

"Whereas the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization composed of prominent Americans from all walks of life expressed dissatisfaction with the act because of the following defects:

"1. It is a law of exclusion rather than of immigration and continues special national preferences inconsistent with traditional American concepts of democracy;

"2. It creates individual discriminations between native-born and naturalized citizens;

"3. It establishes unnecessarily harsh rules for deportation, violating the basic concept of due process of law;

"4. It exhibits favoritism towards potential immigrants who supported nazism and fascism: Therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the annual assembly feels that this act be rewritten so as to bring our immigration and naturalization laws into accord with our American ideals; and be it further

"*Resolved*, that the assembly pledges its full support to S. 2855, a humane immigration bill introduced by Senator LEHMAN and seven of his colleagues in July 1953, in order to eliminate the inequities of the McCarran-Walter Act."

Another resolution underlined the belief of the assembly that academic freedom is fundamental to our democratic society and that it must be preserved for the benefit of future generations of students and teachers; and that it is only through open and free discussion and inquiry that we in a democracy can remain free and defeat the internal and external menace of communism and fascism.

The assembly declared its unqualified opposition to communism and fascism and all forms of totalitarianism and denounced the continuing destruction of Jewish communal life in those countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Referring to the fact that the Young Adult Council has stimulated the development of community-wide youth councils and advanced youth participation in community life and that the Young Adult Council, by providing the channel for participation of United States youth in the World Assembly of Youth, has enabled young Americans to join the youth of the free world in fighting totalitarianism, poverty, and disease, and, since WAY itself has made significant contributions to the strengthening of ties of the youth of the free world through programs designed to meet the needs of young people, the assembly resolved that the National Jewish Youth Conference support the program and purposes of the Young Adult Council and World Assembly of Youth and expressed their commendation to both for their many accomplishments.

Americans All—Let's Rededicate Ourselves During Month of Inspiration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, next week is Brotherhood Week. The national slogan is "Brotherhood—Let's Get Together." After some of the bitterness of recent weeks, we need to lift our eyes toward the common goals of our democratic way of life, and rededicate ourselves to tolerance rather than malice.

In furtherance of that objective, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my weekly newsletter to editors of Minnesota newspapers for next week.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S BE FAIR

What Abraham Lincoln said and Lincoln Day orators left unsaid:

"I believe we need nothing so much as to get rid of unjust suspicion of one another.

"Persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander.

"It used to be a fashion amongst men that when a charge was made, some sort of proof was brought forward to establish it, and if no proof was found to exist, the charge was dropped.

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

FEBRUARY—MONTH OF INSPIRATION

The anniversaries of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington should be an inspiration to all Americans. Rather than condemn we should praise the accomplishments of free people and democratic government. We should lift high the banner of emancipation for the enslaved and oppressed of the world. We should rededicate ourselves to the spiritual values of compassion and service for our own needy and underprivileged.

We should devote our lives and talents to making American democracy the fulfillment of justice and fair play to all. We should reveal ourselves to the world as a nation of faith, not fear; strength, not weakness; charity, not greed. Let us be guided by the advice of Lincoln—"with malice toward none, charity toward all, and firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right." In our time, as in Lincoln's time, we are the world's last best hope. Let us not destroy that hope by fostering disunity and bitterness. Each generation must prove again that this "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

A PLEDGE FOR ALL

I am sure it was with such thoughts in his mind that President Eisenhower rebuked those who had permitted themselves to indulge in reckless and irresponsible partisan oratory. Perhaps all of us have been guilty at times. Therefore, let us join in a pledge in this great election year:

"I am an American, proud of my country, grateful for the privileges and responsibilities that are found only where freedom lives. Neither by word nor deed shall I knowingly weaken the faith of the people in the institutions of representative government. I shall dedicate whatever talents God may have given me to the fulfillment of the promises of democracy."

Seven Great Pillars of Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of February 16, 1954, many of we Members of the House and Senate of this great Congress were the pleased and honored guests of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States at a sumptuous and beautifully appointed annual banquet here at the Nation's Capital. At each of our reserved places at the tables was a magnificently printed and prepared booklet in colors entitled "Seven Great Pillars of Civilization."

The appropriate words by this distinguished patriotic order were as follows:

May this brief sketch of mankind's spiritual and intellectual evolution serve as a reminder of some of the historic figures and events that shaped western civilization.

These strong pillars became a part of the structure of our Republic at is founding—symbols of the rights of man, for which the VFW was proud to fight on foreign soil, in hostile waters, and in the air. Today, all that America stands for is challenged.

May we resolve to meet this ominous challenge in the heroic spirit that preserved our Nation in other days of peril; a dedication to the principle "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." (Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.)

The introduction to the booklet was as follows:

This is dedicated to promotion of America. To better perform this service we should become more appreciative of our own product, so that we can ward off the siren songs of our competitors, who, for the past 6,000 years, have been most successful at keeping the majority of their peoples starved and naked, and eternally desolated spiritually, morally, and physically. Also, and even more important, we have tried to design this booklet in such manner as to bring an awareness of the many pillars that go to make up our way of life, of which seven of the great ones are here set up—with a few thoughts as to how they could be effectively torn down.

And then on the pages following in beautiful color and arranged with great artistry and simplicity were the following text:

MAN, THE IMAGE OF GOD

God created man in his own image. So it is written in the Book of Genesis. Man is an individual. There can be none beside

him to say otherwise; no mandate other than from God to make him stay put.

"Man, the image of God," means that no other label can be put on him; neither can he hide under another label, for man must always live with himself; it is the price he pays for his individuality. It is the still small voice that comes in the night—the conscience.

God created man in his own image. God is life, life is energy. Man, as all living things, must struggle for existence. Therefore, man must depend upon his own energy and convert it to human needs. His energy cannot be obstructed by another, neither can he be deprived of the fruits of his labor. This is the first great pillar of civilization. To topple it most effectively, deny man his individuality and replace it with a number; take his energy out of his control and circumscribe it by edict, involuntarily.

Opposite the foregoing Pillar of Civilization there was printed in beautiful color, magnificence, and artistry a drawing entitled "The Creation of Man," followed by the words:

This drawing is taken from a painting by Michelangelo, in the Sistine Chapel, Rome, and shows the divine spark of life passing from the Creator to the listless hand of man.

MOSES AND THE LAW

"1. Thou shalt have no other gods before Me.

"2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath. Thou shalt not bow down to them or serve them.

"3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

"4. Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work.

"5. Honour thy father and thy mother.

"6. Thou shalt not kill.

"7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"8. Thou shalt not steal.

"9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

"10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

If the individuality of man is the first great pillar of civilization, then the second is the Ten Commandments. They afford him his greatest opportunity: the option of choosing good or evil, for it is reasoned that man cannot know good without knowing evil. The choice is his. Man walks with freedom on one side but with responsibility on the other.

To work for the common good is ideal, but it can be no longer common or good if personal responsibility is placed in, or usurped by, manmade gods. There is no greater incongruity than the spectacle of man and law shuffling their feet to the tune of a manmade god who, under the guise of expediency, can today call lies the great truths of yesterday.

To destroy this second great pillar first convince man that he has no worth as a human being—admit to no external truths such as the Ten Commandments.

Opposite this pillar was a replica of a painting entitled "Moses Shows the Commandments to the People," followed by the words:

Moses is here shown as he came down from Mount Sinai after being summoned for the divine revelation of the law. In his absence, the people set up an idol in the form of a golden calf.

CHRIST AND THE GOLDEN RULE

Two thousand years after the great documents already touched upon were revealed to mankind, Christ came on earth. One of His great contributions to the world was a new commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself. Do to others as you would be done by. For whatever you do to the least of human beings you do it to mankind and yourself."

Although a gentle teacher and philosopher, Christ also was a fighter whose sword of truth defended the dignity of man as an individual, fought against the surrender of freedom, and attacked all combinations that stood between direct contact of man with his Creator.

So Christ lifted up into place the greatest of all the pillars of civilization—the importance of human brotherhood. The destruction of this pillar is the aim of the police state, accomplished by pitting human against human—blood brother against blood brother.

Opposite that page was a drawing entitled "The Good Samaritan," followed by the words:

Love thy neighbor as thyself—do unto others as thou would have them do unto you.

MOHAMMED, THE PRACTICAL PROPHET

In the year 570 A. D. the Prophet Mohammed was born. He believed that man must be judged but not controlled; each individual is free but responsible.

Drawn by this great freedom of spirit and brotherhood, the greatest minds of the Middle East and the Orient formed the Saracen culture.

In this culture, education flourished openly. Adapting the experience of others, they laid much of the groundwork of our modern science, medicine, agriculture, and personal hygiene. They invented, among other things, the zero (0), that concept in numerology without which engineering, chemistry, and measurements used in inventions and mathematical findings cannot exist.

There is no denying the Saracen contribution to civilization. The attempt to establish man as a brother, and to further the unhampering of man's thoughts and acts, raised yet another great pillar—most quickly undermined by relieving man of the opportunity of making his own ideas work.

Opposite this page was a drawing entitled "A Saracen University." The words below this drawing were:

There is no enrollment, and no diploma in these seats of learning, found in the mosque; the tuition is based on a voluntary agreement between teacher and student.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

In the year 1066 A. D. William of Normandy defeated the Saxon King Harold at Senlac and became the conqueror of England. People accepted his kingship as coming from God. Secure in his seagirt island, he developed a tolerancy that enabled him to organize the ancient Anglo-Saxon heritage of the "moot"—that local liberty in which the community assembled to give its assent to their leaders' deliberations. In this manner free courts, speech, and the dignity of the individual were encouraged, so that soon the peasantry came to regard themselves as allies of the Crown. Thus we see the beginning of parliamentary institutions, with the conquest becoming the starting point of English freedom, and bringing into being a constitution upon which, 700 years later, we were to form our own great written document. In the conqueror's Domesday Booke we find the basic protection of life and property.

So rises another great pillar—a symbol of law and order, an impartial third party.

A very magnificent drawing opposite this page was entitled "William the Conqueror Being Lifted Up at Westminster" with the following notation:

On Christmas Day, 1066, William was lifted upon the shoulders of his knights so that all men could see, and therefore recognize their king.

JEFFERSON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN

In 1776, Thomas Jefferson, in company with many American businessmen and farmers, drew up a document dealing with the rights of man, and thus created the cause of the American Revolution. In this new Republic no official would ever be permitted to think, decide, act, or judge as one man; a government was devised to divide these responsibilities of man into three parts: a Congress to think and decide; a President to act; and a Supreme Court to be referee. This Government was handed, by the people, a list of particulars which it must not do. This was the first document of its kind ever written. The Government was servant, and not master, and the Constitution is designed to make it stay that way.

Here, then, is that of which the sixth great pillar of civilization is made: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, and all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

An inspiring drawing of the Jefferson Memorial here in the Nation's Capitol appeared opposite this "pillar" stating, "Let everyone ascribe the faith and merit he chooses."

FREEDOM OF HUMAN ENERGY

"A wise and frugal government which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them free otherwise to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government." (Excerpt from writings of Thomas Jefferson.)

Down through the ages many human beings have starved. Many were intelligent people, and with fertile lands of great extent, and yet they were unable to get enough to eat. Modern nations have not been any exception for in Jefferson's day the French people were dying of hunger, and today, even in countries rich in ancient philosophies, famines kill millions. China and India are continually ravaged and in the 1930's thousands died of starvation in the richest farmlands of the Soviet Union.

How, then, are we to account for such abundance in America that the pangs of hunger are unknown; there has never been a famine recorded in this country.

Human beings still live in hovels with no windows, floors, chimneys. We, in America, take these features for granted, and regard electricity, and all its appliances and equipment as everyday necessities, easily available for our use. The forces of nature are harnessed for the use of humblest citizens; sanitation, hygiene, and other services are accepted without questioning, and are not even regarded as luxuries today.

These are facts. Why is it so? The answer is so clear that it will stand up under any scrutiny; simply put, it is this: Possession of freedom, which in turn produces freedom of possession. Without possession one cannot improve; if one cannot improve one has no incentive—no will, or purpose, to improve. Owning something is the first requisite for creating something. The impossibility of Edisons, Fords, and men like Dr. Bell cracking such technical problems of science and engineering, and converting them to human needs, in an authoritarian form of highly centralized government becomes evident when it is realized that the station of these men in such a government would deny them the greatest of all sources of invention and research, namely: incentive.

This booklet does not propose to show Americans as inheritors of a master race, and, as such, superior beings. We only have to remember that the direct ancestors of the people who brought this Government into being were Anglo-Saxons, and they starved alongside all the other nations. One thing they did have, however, was an instinctive sense of personal freedom. What this booklet has striven to show is the truth and the rightness of all the things that have contributed to our present form of civilization; that if we are to be a productive people we must have life, and if we are to have life we must be productive, and this life must be as free as the sun and the air that go to make up our world itself. Thus our seventh great pillar is dedicated to individual man; only he can create productivity, and only man can control the productivity he creates. To destroy this pillar, simply withhold from man the fruits of his own labor.

Following this, on the opposite page, was a magnificent drawing of a stained-glass window entitled "The Fruits of Freedom," which had been dedicated to science and invention.

Mr. Speaker, while the great and continuous patriotic services and contributions made by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America to the Nation's security and happiness are almost universally known and recognized by the appreciative millions of Americans, the printing and distribution of this very appropriate booklet, which was graciously presented to each one of the guests in attendance at the banquet, was only one of the occasions, I am informed, when the booklet is distributed in large and small quantities to leading citizens and public officals throughout the Nation.

In this connection I highly recommend that every thinking patriotic citizen obtain a copy thereof at the earliest possible date.

Thirty-third Anniversary of Armenian Revolt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 33d anniversary of the Armenian revolt against Soviet rule, and the free people all over the world once again raise their voices in encouragement and sympathy to the people of that valiant country.

Despite oppression and torture at the hands of Communist forces, the spirit of the once-free Armenian republic continues to live and burn in the hearts of her sons and daughters, both within their land and abroad. From the earliest revolt which occurred in Armenia on February 18, 1921, to the revolt in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, there has been one unbroken chain of uprisings and insurrections which, though they may not have had enough might to overthrow the Soviet structure in its entirety, have made impossible the consolidation and security of the Soviet rulers. Although occupied by totalitarian power, deprived of their individual, political, economic, and religious freedoms, the people of Armenia long for the day when their country will once again resume its rightful place in the family of free nations.

Mr. Speaker, on this 33d anniversary of the Armenian revolt, I want to extend my congratulations to the people of that brave country, and to all Americans of Armenian ancestry. It is my hope that in this trying period of their history, the people of Armenia will draw encouragement from the warm regard which our country has held for them. I join in their prayer that the oppression of their native land may soon be ended.

Award to Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, in Connection With His Work on Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an address delivered by our colleague, the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN], at a dinner in Baltimore, Md., on January 27, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I commend it to the attention of the Senate as a distinguished address by a great American.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Thank you, from the bottom of my heart, for this award, given me in the name of the Baltimore Community Assembly. I am proud to receive this recognition. I am especially pleased that a similar award is being given to my valiant colleague, Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY. I wish Senator HUMPHREY could have been here in person to receive this award. Unfortunately, as you know, he was suddenly called to his home State of Minnesota and could not join us here this evening.

It gives me much pleasure, however, to be on this platform with Congressman EUGENE MCCARTHY who is to accept the award for Senator HUMPHREY. Congressman MCCARTHY might be called the Hubert Humphrey of the House of Representatives. He is an able, courageous, and deeply sincere Member of Congress, whose reputation as a man of conviction and of high purpose has already been widely established.

He is one of the young liberals in the House of Representatives who can always be depended upon to join in the fight for good causes. He fought side by side with Representatives EMANUEL CELLER and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Jr., of my own State of New York, and others, against the iniquitous McCarran-Walter Act at the time of passage and in support of President Truman's veto of that act.

In being here tonight Congressman MCCARTHY, who is not to be confused with any other Member of Congress by the same name, adequately represents not only my friend Senator HUMPHREY and the State of Minnesota but the cause of liberalism in the House of Representatives.

As long as Senator HUMPHREY is not personally here, I know he would want me to say for him, that he and I both consider these awards not personal tributes to us as individuals, but tributes to all those, and they are legion, both in and out of the Congress, who have been fighting and working over the past years in the great cause of human rights as epitomized in the fight for more liberal, more humane, and more American immigration and citizenship laws.

I consider this award to be a tribute as much to you as to me, to all those great organizations, national and local, which are represented here tonight and have become involved in the effort to make our immigration and citizenship laws reflect the true spirit of America.

Up to now, those laws have denied the American spirit and the American tradition. They have pointed the finger of hypocrisy at our claim that we are devoted to justice for all and that we are the home of the brave and the land of the free.

Indeed, our present laws reflect not equal justice for all, but varying standards of justice—for immigrants, resident aliens, for naturalized citizens, and for native-born citizens. Our immigration laws bespeak not bravery but timidity, not confidence in the American idea, but distrust of the American idea, not faith in freedom but doubt as to the validity of freedom when applied to those who are not native-born citizens.

These laws, and the practices which are followed under them, speak more eloquently than the Voice of America in disparaging the claims upon which we base our role of world leadership.

We are the most powerful nation in the world. We are engaged in a deadly struggle against the evil forces of tyranny and oppression. We seek to lead the free peoples, and the freedom-loving peoples of the entire earth, against the forces of evil and slavery.

But our own 160,000,000 people are not enough to withstand the shock of onslaught against western civilization.

To win in this epic struggle—yes, even to survive—we need and must have a solid, united front of free nations with which to confront the slave world. Even more important, there must be a united will on the part of all freedom-loving peoples to resist Communist penetration and aggression, and a united will to extend the limits of the free world.

To achieve this unity of will and purpose, there must be confidence in the leadership of the United States. There must be conviction in the minds of peoples everywhere that we strive for freedom for all men, and for substantial benefits for all men, and not just for our own national aggrandizement.

The free peoples of the earth must be fired with a faith in the banners we uphold. They must believe that we believe sincerely in freedom, equality, fraternity, and justice.

One of the chief differences between the present world situation and any other in the history of mankind is the fact that in the present struggle almost all of mankind are active participants. The hundreds of millions of human beings who people the great land masses of Asia and Africa are no longer the inert pawns they were in eras past. In the present calculations of world power they are factors to be reckoned with. They are centers of positive strength or of positive weakness.

They are independent and uncommitted factors. They represent powerful forces for good or for evil. They know how to shoot guns and fly airplanes. They do not quail at the threat of blockade or even of atom bombs.

What has all this to do with immigration, with citizenship, and the McCarren-Walter Act?

The answer is that if there were no other reasons—and there are hundreds of them—

it would be vitally necessary, simply for the sake of success in the present world struggle, drastically to revise our present own immigration and citizenship laws.

We can no longer afford the luxury of hypocrisy, of professing one set of principles and practicing another.

We cannot say we believe in the equality of nations, and the equal rights of all peoples everywhere, we cannot plead for equal justice under law for all men, and at the same time suffer on our own statute books an immigration law which is based on racial and national prejudice, and which denies equal justice to immigrants and aliens.

We cannot tell the rest of the world: do as we say, but what we do at home—how we handle immigrants and aliens—is our own business.

We cannot preach brotherhood and practice racism.

Yet that is what the McCarran Act does.

We cannot urge the Italian people to follow our leadership in world affairs, and at the same time tell Italians that they are only one-twelfth as fit as Anglo-Saxons to immigrate here, and to become American citizens.

Yet that is what the McCarran Act says.

We cannot tell the Greeks to stand firm against Soviet aggression, but at the same time tell them that we consider them such poor citizenship material that we will only admit 150 of them every year to this country, while we are willing to admit 65,000 Englishmen.

Yet that is what the McCarran Act tells them.

We cannot tell the billion and a half people of Asia that we are their friends, but that we are afraid that if any more than a handful of them come to the United States, they will contaminate our culture and our so-called bloodstream.

Let all this is what we tell the world every hour, every day, as long as the McCarran-Walter Act is on our statute books. The McCarran-Walter Act speaks in a louder voice than our Secretary of State in proclaiming the aims and purposes of the United States.

I was in Europe last summer. The fund of goodwill for America is running lower and lower. One of the chief drains on that fund is the McCarran-Walter Act.

But I have not fought against that act, and for its drastic revision, just because it is unpopular abroad. We cannot absolutely determine our policies on the basis of what other people would like us to do.

I have fought against that act because it is evil in principle and degrading in practice.

Of course, the McCarran-Walter Act has a few good features in it. It would be ridiculous to deny that. It is also true that some of the worst features of the McCarran-Walter Act were carried over from previous law. They were on our statute books before 1952. But the McCarran-Walter Act revalidated those evil features and gave them a new lease on life.

It has been far too long since the American people have given careful consideration to our immigration and citizenship laws. The last time was 30 years ago. But within the past 2 years, organizations like some of those represented here tonight have begun to bring the facts to light; and there has begun to set in a new public awareness of the evil we have inscribed on our statute books in the form of the McCarran-Walter Act.

That awareness is far too little as yet. It is largely limited to the metropolitan centers in the east. It has not yet begun to penetrate throughout the length and breadth of our country.

But it must penetrate. The process of public education must go on. It must go on and on, until the American people, all the American people, know all the facts about the McCarran-Walter Act.

I am confident that when the people know the facts, they will demand in a voice which will be clearly heard and understood in Congress, that the evil features of the McCarran-Walter Act be discarded in the legislative rubbish heap where they belong.

When the American people comprehend that their own citizenship status has been undermined by the McCarran-Walter Act, and that there has been created, despite the dicta of the Constitution, a second-class citizenship status for naturalized citizens, then we will have action in Congress.

When the American people understand that even native-born citizens are no longer as secure in their citizenship as they once were, and that the process of chipping away at the permanence of citizenship will go on, unless stopped by public opinion * * * only then will we have the kind of substantial congressional action that we need and must have.

The obverse of what I have just said is this: that we are not going to get substantial revision of the McCarran-Walter Act in the immediate future, at this session of Congress. There is no point in fooling ourselves about it, and in building up false hopes.

The McCarran-Walter Act is not going to be revised in any substantial way by the mere introduction of legislation to revise it.

President Eisenhower is on record in favor of revisions in the McCarran-Walter Act. I do not know what specific revisions he would support. I have asked him to support the Lehman-Humphrey-Morse-Celler bill, but he has not responded to my urging. Indeed, he has not said anything, this year, about the McCarran-Walter Act. I hope he will get around to it.

But I do not believe that even Mr. Eisenhower could get substantial revisions of the McCarran-Walter Act through this session of Congress, even if he undertook to lead the fight.

The only ones who can assure revisions in present law are you, assembled here in this room, and the millions of others like you in this country—the citizens of America.

You have the power. You can do the job. It has given me great encouragement, in my own efforts, to know that both the A. F. of L. and the CIO have joined the ranks of the great national organizations pledged to seek a revision of present law. The great religious organizations, of all faiths, and many of the fine nonsectarian organizations of our country, have also enlisted in this effort.

But it will not be accomplished just by passing resolutions. It must be done by public education, especially in those areas of the country which have not, up to now, been aroused on this issue.

I can assure you that as far as I am concerned, and I am sure Senator HUMPHREY will in this instance let me speak for him, we are going to continue our fight on this issue for as long as it takes, with whatever energy and effort we have.

But you are the ones who will, in the end, prevail. The outcome is in your hands. You must determine to make this your business, not only tonight, but during all the weeks and months ahead.

If you will dedicate yourselves to this project, through all the organizations to which you belong, and bring the facts home to all the people associated with your organizations, and to all your friends and neighbors, we will surely win in the end.

This is a fight not only for a more humane immigration and citizenship law. It is a fight for justice, for civil liberties, for nondiscrimination. It e a fight against prejudice, against arbitrary injustice, and against ignorance.

Thank you again for your award. The free world will thank you for your efforts in this fine cause.

Address by Hon. Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio, Before the Business and Professional Chapter, B'nai B'rith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, one of the most illustrious Members of Congress, Representative FRANCES P. BOLTON, of Ohio, recently made an address which I feel merits the attention and consideration of all of us in Congress and of all Americans outside of Congress. I invite attention to it and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Madam Chairman, honored guests, and members of the business and professional chapter of B'nai B'rith, we are here tonight in answer to the call of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to take 1 week, beginning today, and consecrate it to brotherhood. We are here in this place upon the generous invitation of the business and professional chapter of the B'nai B'rith Women and I want, first of all, to express my appreciation to the board for giving me this opportunity to share with you all this first moment of Brotherhood Week, 1954.

Brotherhood Week is a time of reevaluation and observance of the values and the ideals by which we seek to live.

Inaugurated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1934, it is a week dedicated to some of the deep needs of men: the need to belong, the need to love and be loved, the need to share in the on-going life of the community.

Certainly there has never been a moment in the history of mankind when the concept and the practice of brotherhood has been more needed.

Can you think of a time when it was of more vital importance that we understand the meaning of this that we call brotherhood and then practice it? For myself, I am convinced that there can be no true brotherhood, and so no peace in this world of ours, until men and women realize beyond all shadow of doubt that we are all children of one infinite God, members of one family and I do believe that in spite of the darkness into which man has gone, perhaps because of it, brotherhood as a way of life has never been so within our grasp.

It is good that we are together tonight to think upon these things. Let us sweep out of our minds all our thoughts of other matters—let us just look at this one great area of our human living: Brotherhood.

I am sure that all of you, like myself, have had moments of shock over discoveries made in your studies of history, of religion, of the struggles of men for freedom. My history books gave me the idea that the Pilgrim Fathers from whom I stem were men of great wisdom, whose sense of justice had never been equalled. They came for freedom of worship, didn't they? So my child's mind had a most violent shock when I found that the word "heretic" was as familiar in New as in Old England. I had so agreed with my ancestors for leaving England when I found heretics were actually burned at the stake in "good old England" in 1400! Imagine how I felt when I was told that one

of my husband's forebears was "dipped" for a witch in Salem!

The more I read about my forebears and all the other groups that came to America, the more I realized that the first settlers had no idea at all of doing unto others as they would be done by—they had no consciousness of belonging to the great human family.

Prejudice and fanaticism have not been confined to any one period, to any one people, or to any one group, nor has persecution nor discrimination. Let me illustrate my point:

It was just the other day that Guatemala expelled two members of the press and a Franciscan priest. This aired the fact that that Communist controlled little country does not permit the entry of Catholic priests. There is nothing new to that—for here in our "free" America in 1647 Massachusetts forbade entry to Jewish rabbis and Catholic priests. When New York burned in 1741, the Papists were blamed, as they were for plotting with the Indians and the French against the colonists. I confess I did find it hard to believe that until the end of the 18th century, Catholics were not allowed to vote except in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. Then there came an attack upon the whole Masonic movement.

In 1834 convents were burned in Massachusetts—and a movement against Mormonism took place then, and again in the years between 1860 and 1890.

In 1913 the anti-Catholic movement spread out, and the Jews came in for their share. The first Ku Klux Klan started in 1866 but was stopped by the Federal Government in 1868. It was revived in 1915 with a broadened attack against colored people, Jews, foreign born, and Catholics.

And all this in our beloved America that came into being that men might be free.

Wars have so much horror in them—yet always some good results. What an example of supreme sacrifice that of the four chaplains on the *Dorchester*, to whom a shrine has been dedicated.

I am sure you too must be constantly running into groups of boys in khaki—Negroes, Jews, Christians—all so thrillingly American, united in the brotherhood of service to America.

As a nation we are dedicated to building a society where every boy and girl, every man and woman has a chance to become a fine upstanding member of that society. Considering that our Founding Fathers sidestepped the problem of slavery and we had to fight a war to settle it, it seems to me we have made remarkable strides as a nation to give our dark-skinned citizens the responsibilities of full citizenship. Not everywhere as yet, not in every area of living, but each year brings us nearer our common goal. You have only to look at the Union of South Africa, as I did at the United Nations when I was a delegate there last fall, to realize how far ahead we are compared to other areas of the world.

I have been a trustee of Tuskegee Institute for some years. We have there a most interesting department of records and research which has discontinued its annual lynching letter. A recent report says "Lynching as traditionally defined and as a barometer for measuring the status of race relations in the United States seems no longer to be a valid index to such [race] relationships." We believe that a new standard is needed—which would be as objective and as factual as were the lynching reports. This standard, we think, can best be established in such areas as employment and other economic conditions; in political participation; in education; in law and legislation; in health; and perhaps in other fields "significant for the present times."

Yes—we have much to do still in all these areas not only for our Negro citizens, but for all our minorities who go to make up this polyglot population, which is, after all, the citizenry of the most wonderful country in all the world. Prejudice is not confined to race or religion. It crops up almost everywhere. Again let me illustrate:

A group of youngsers came to my office one morning, all of them in a somewhat rebellious mood. I like young people—I have 3 grown sons and 8 grandchildren—and I wondered how I could get under the crust of these lads and lassies. They were Americans of varying backgrounds—some Negro, some Polish, one or two of Swedish and Hungarian culture. There was one just plain John Smith. We got on the subject of changing names, and such a pretty blond girl said she was proud of her name, it was a good name where her parents came from, but because people here were so stupid they couldn't pronounce it she would probably have to change it as no one would hire her.

That gave me a whole new field of discrimination to investigate friends, and I can tell you I found much tragedy and heartache along the way. I am sure you will agree that the battle against prejudice can be won only if we use great intelligence based on true understanding. Blanket accusations that someone or some group is anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, antiforeign, etc.—just increase the problem. If we are to maintain our religious freedom we cannot be anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant. Religious prejudice must be put out of our lives wherever it raises its head whether we be the victims or not. So it is with racial and economic prejudice as well, for all prejudice opposes freedom and all freedoms are inseparable. There is an interesting side to prejudice which we seldom think of—a side sometimes used as a shield by an individual or a group to hide a weakness. I can best illustrate this with a story—a true and very poignant story:

Some years ago, a white friend of mine whose work in the world has been among our Negroes, sent a young colored man who was an excellent mechanic to a factory for a job. He proved his worth and all went well until the regular pay envelope went to his head and he began staying out Monday—then Tuesday—when it got to be Wednesday he was fired. He came back to his very good friend in a surly mood—giving no good reason for the firing. So while he sat there, my friend called the factory and was told the truth—but also given to understand they liked his work. In the course of their conversation, the lad said, "But they can't fire me, Boss, I'm a Negro." My friend then said to him, "So that is your trouble? I can get you a job as a Negro easily, Frank, but I got you that other job because I thought you were like a lot of other lads I know, a good American mechanic." All stories do not end as well as this one did, but Frank went back to the factory and asked for another trial. They took him on again, and so far as I know he is there yet.

We hear much of the job discrimination against Jews. I grant you there is plenty of it—but you would be surprised if you knew some of the people who practice it. May I tell you another story?

Some years ago a dozen of Cleveland's most honored and respected Jewish citizens asked me to dinner to talk over problems. After a most delicious meal, the questions came and we had a most interesting evening. Many of them were full of job discriminations and the injustice involved. When one delightful man spoke suddenly: "I never hire a Jew if I can help it and I'll tell you why. I had a plumbing shop that grew too large for me so I hired a bright young Jew in my own congregation and taught him the business. Do you know what he did? Left me in the lurch and opened a competitive store across the street."

These are just vignettes, friends—little glimpses into the past and the present to bring home to you and to me once again the fundamental need we have for mutual understanding.

People are important in a society such as ours which is based upon the certainty that all men are children of the same Infinite Father, dependent upon Him and responsible to Him. How people feel about each other and about themselves and how they behave toward each other in the light of those feelings are matters of great concern.

That the National Conference of Christians and Jews has dramatized this important need in today's living by setting aside this week dedicated to brotherhood can mean much to us all in increasing measure if we will let it do so. There are those who feel that such things as goodwill, kindness, generosity, and the will to grant others the rights and privileges we want for ourselves are their own reward and need no celebration, no dramatization. But even these will admit, I am sure, that reminders are necessary factors in life, especially when they are associated with a reanalysis of one's own deeper attitudes.

Leadership in what we might call the brotherhood movement cannot be confined to the few. It really rests in the hands of such people as yourselves. I have an odd certainty that you are aware of your separate and collective responsibility. I feel sure that when this week is done, you will let the experience of togetherness continue with you urging you to go forward in two directions—one toward your fellows, the other toward your own souls—for it is in the depth of self-examination and self-revelation that the purposes of life are revealed.

You have been most gracious in giving me the privilege of sharing my thoughts with you tonight. May I close with the words of Walt Whitman, the poet of great understanding and even rarer vision:

"Lo, Soul! Seest thou not God's purpose from the first?
The earth to be spanned, connected by network,
The people to become brothers and sisters,
The races, neighbors, to marry and be given in marriage,
The oceans to be crossed, the distant brought near,
The lands to be welded together."

Security Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Americans Get Hint of Truth About 2,200," published in the Atlanta Journal of February 15, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICANS GET HINT OF TRUTH ABOUT 2,200

Explanations of reasons for discharging certain employees from the State Department during the past year give the American people an inkling of how many of the much-discussed 2,200—the number of "security risks" reported discharged from all Government jobs—really were disloyal. And this, the public has a perfect right to know.

State Department figures, given to Members of the House of Representatives at a secret hearing, indicate only 11 of 534 em-

ployees fired from the Department were deemed disloyal.

Although the 534 is only a fraction of the total 2,200, it gives some indication of how a further breakdown might read.

Ever since Republicans first gave out the 2,200 figure, Democrats—as well as many non-Democrats—have sought clarification of the statement. How many truly were thought disloyal? How many were released for other, less significant reasons? That is what Americans still want to know.

The impression left by Republicans issuing the 2,200 figure was that this many disloyal employees were inherited from the Democratic administration. The recent announcement from the State Department contradicts that impression.

Since that partial report was given, some State Department officials have denied the figures are correct. "Someone in the Department must have leaked the story," they said.

"Leaked" or not, the 11-out-of-534 figure is all that Americans have to go on. From this, they are forced to judge until they have more facts.

Regardless of what the complete explanation would show—whether the Government under the Democrats was fairly clear of Communists, or whether it was completely overrun—the American people deserve to know.

It is hoped a description of the entire 2,200 is forthcoming. That would be only fair to all concerned.

One thing is sure: Final judgment belongs with the American people, and they should be given the facts to make that judgment.

The Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Should Be Given Greater Voice in Military Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "Civilians Losing Military Control," which appeared in the Bloomington (Ill.) Pantagraph:

CIVILIANS LOSING MILITARY CONTROL

In a series of three articles in the Pantagraph Davis Merwin has called attention to a long and continuing process of reducing the stature of the civilian Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force to the detriment of effective military planning by those who should be best qualified to contribute to such planning.

The service Secretaries, having been dropped not only from Cabinet rank but also from the National Security Council, have no direct access to the planning councils in which policies are determined. The recent revision of the Key West agreement, which sets forth the missions of the various branches of service, further insulates the civilian heads of the three military services from the policymaking function.

More and more power is placed in the hands of the single Secretary of Defense who must, because he cannot comprehend all the complexities of the vast military machine, rely more and more upon the uninformed officials rather than the civilian heads who are charged with the responsibility of putting policies into effect.

This is a paradox in the Eisenhower administration. While the President and his advisers are doing everything they can to decentralize Government in general, they are being pushed headlong into greater centralization of the military. Oddly enough, Secretary of Defense Wilson long ago saw the advantages of decentralization of administration and helped formulate the General Motors policy of breaking the company up into smaller, self-managed units. Any single one of the three Departments of the Military Establishment is many times larger and more complex than General Motors, yet Mr. Wilson is now accumulating more and more centralized power over this colossus which consumes most of the Federal budget.

We do not believe Mr. Wilson is a man who grasps for power. Rather we think he is being used in a carefully planned program to centralize the military setup to a point where the uniformed professional military men can take over. While lip service is being given to greater civilian control, the result is making the civilian heads of the military services less influential and their uniformed subordinates more influential.

The Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force should be given a greater voice in military planning. That could be done by making them permanent members of the National Security Council which does the planning.

After 38 Years a Lincoln Hoax Catches Up to a Postmaster General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in Kup's Column in the Chicago Sun-Times is the full story of the Lincoln hoax that finally caught up with Postmaster General Summerfield. Irv Kupcinet is a great columnist, whose reading public includes most everyone in the Chicago area. When folks are keenly interested in something, Irv invariably comes up with the lowdown. Now read on:

KUP'S COLUMN

The Lincoln hoax: Ralph Newman, the Lincoln scholar and bookseller, was the speaker at a Lincoln Day rally in Madison, Wis., Friday. There he predicted that in the great flow of Lincoln oratory over the weekend Ol' Abe most assuredly would be misquoted by some speakers. "Lincoln," Newman told his audience, "has become one of the most misquoted figures in history." Little did Newman realize, when he made his prediction, that a Lincoln misquote would hit the page 1's the very next day.

Postmaster General Summerfield, innocent or otherwise, was the perpetrator of the Lincoln misquote, which has been popping up since 1942 and has been traced back by Lincoln scholars to 1916. Summerfield had included the Lincoln hoax in a speech prepared for delivery last Saturday. Copies of his speech were distributed beforehand and one of them fell into the hands of Steve Mitchell, the Democratic national chairman, who promptly labeled it for what it was, a fake. Thereupon Summerfield deleted the quote from his address.

This is the phony quote so often attributed to Lincoln: "You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. You cannot help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. You cannot further the brotherhood of man by encouraging class hatred. You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than you earn. You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

Now let's see how a hoax like this is born. Way back in 1916, a Rev. William John Henry Boetcker of Wilkinsburg, Pa., published a pamphlet of Gold Nuggets, in which he listed the above statements as a series of don'ts. There was no allusion whatever to Lincoln at that time. But in 1940, the American Federation of Investors published another pamphlet, containing the same don'ts, but calling them Warning Signs on the Road to Prosperity. Again, Lincoln was not mentioned by name, but the investors' pamphlet carried a picture of the Lincoln tomb on its cover, thus implying that the contents were all Lincoln quotes.

By now the hoax was on its way. It turned up again in 1942, thanks to the Committee for Constitutional Government, which was waging a propaganda battle against the Government's wartime directive prohibiting salaries of more than $25,000. But this time the quotes were attributed directly to Lincoln. As a result the hoax spread like wildfire and turned up in radio scripts, Lincoln Day speeches, magazines and newspapers.

The Lincoln hoax even has been inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In 1948 Representative FRANCES P. BOLTON, Republican of Ohio, thought the quotes were an appropriate expression of the times and had them inserted. All this time, Newman points out, Loncoln scholars were fighting desperately to correct the error. But the quotes, attributed to Lincoln, turned up faster than they could be refuted. And the man who unconsciously started the hoax was the Reverend Mr. Boetcker. Lincoln scholars call it, instead of a Lincoln address, Boetcker's Wilkinsburg address.

What Creeping Socialists Have Done for Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the February, 1954, issue of the REA News, edited by Donald J. Kelly, and published in Alexandria, Minn., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU, RASCALS, LOOK WHAT YOU'VE DONE

Some people will tell you that if you are a member of a rural electric cooperative, or a manager, or a director, you must be a creeping Socialist. Well, let's see what you creeping Socialists have done for Minnesota.

Some 90 percent of the Nation's farms are now electrified, most of this being accomplished by people like you. In Minnesota, 92.3 percent of all farms have central station electric service. Minnesota's 53 rural

electric cooperatives have built 75,273 miles of line to serve 182,278 rural consumers.

To make the extension of electrical service possible, the Rural Electrification Administration has advanced (as of April 1) $118,253,457 in loan funds to Minnesota borrowers.

How are you creeping Socialists doing in paying back this money to the Government? You're doing just fine. None of the electric co-ops in Minnesota is in arrears on payments of principal and interest. Up to April 1, your electric cooperative paid back over $27 million on loans and interest.

Another interesting point here is that you rascals are living better now than you did before you got those socialistic ideas and formed your own electric co-ops. You must be living better, because you are using more electricity.

Your average monthly consumption of electricity rose from nothing before your cooperative began bringing you electricity, to a 183-kilowatt-hour average during December 1947 to a 301-kilowatt-hour average during December 1952. This is well above the national average of 197 kilowatt-hours.

All of which leads us to say once again: If this be creeping socialism, let's have more of it.

Politics and Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herewith an editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of Saturday, February 13, entitled "Politics and Security":

POLITICS AND SECURITY

The controversy over Scott McLeod, State Department security officer off on a political tour, now turns upon whether or not he is barred from such activities by the Hatch Act. A Civil Service Commissioner advised that he is barred; the State Department decided he is not. The State Department has the final word, and there, it seems to us, that particular matter could rest. The real question is not one of narrow legality, but of the wisdom and expediency of having a man in a quasi-judicial position, charged with administering delicate personnel issues, become engaged in politics.

In the work Mr. McLeod is doing, it is not only important that his actions be fair and objective; it is also important that they seem so. Is it likely that his actions will seem fair once he has shown a political interest in building up the list of dismissals to the highest possible total? Will they seem objective once he has implied that his success, and the success of the administration, depend on the number of dismissals and firings? As security officer of the State Department he is doing, on a limited scale, what Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is doing on a much larger scale. Mr. Hoover is far too experienced and principled to turn up as the orator at partisan gatherings.

Mr. McLeod, when asked about his present course, replied that he didn't know "how you're going to work in Government and not be in politics." If he does not know that he should not be in the post he now holds. The essence of free government is that there are areas where partisanship does not enter, and that the working of the two-party system does not prevent the fair treatment of individuals. Altogether Mr. McLeod's tour makes it look very much as if he had so misconceived his role as to make his continuance in the State Department of questionable benefit.

Exercises in Obfuscation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the developments at the Big Four Conference in Berlin these recent weeks have worked out much the way the Latrobe Bulletin predicted they would in an editorial in that newspaper on February 3. Molotov acted as if Eastern Germany and Austria were virtually parts of the Soviet Empire. He was anxious to talk about everything else under the sun except the matters on the agenda of the conference—German unification and a peace treaty for occupied Austria.

The Latrobe Bulletin referred to the Russian Foreign Minister's stalling and delaying tactics as "exercises in obfuscation"—a good definition. And his performance has probably done more than any other single development of the past few years to prove to the Western Powers that their only hope for continued freedom, independence, and advancement is through stronger mutual ties with the United States and each other.

It is time for the free nations of Europe to end their own stalling, Mr. Speaker, and get busy on the steps necessary to bring about the European army as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

If there are any doubts left about Russia's refusal to cooperate in the peaceful solution of European problems, Molotov certainly dissolved those doubts.

The editorial from the Latrobe Bulletin is as follows:

Molotov's Big Four antics are analogous to those of a slippery bankrupt at a creditors' meeting. The Russian foreign minister is willing to talk about everything conceivable except German unification and an Austrian peace treaty.

Molotov looks upon both countries as unchallengeable Soviet assets and is hesitant about putting them on the line. But the Western Powers point out that they were simply placed in escrow after the war and ought now to be unfrozen.

Communist talk of a world disarmament conference, like the Reds' insistence on a Big Five session with China, are merely exercises in obfuscation. The Soviets cannot discard the illusion that every time they drop a kindly reference to peace or disarmament the world becomes mesmerized by hopeful anticipation.

As Western observers have pointed out, disarmament conferences can be had for a dime a dozen in the U. N. But none has ever managed to clear the first Russian-injected hurdle.

The Berlin talks are reaching the point where the Reds will either have to fish or cut bait. Continued Russian stalling will send the Big Three away convinced finally that they must complete steps for their mutual self-protection.

Research and Education in Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is absolutely essential that the research and educational program in the general field of agriculture should be expanded and I think vigorous action must be taken in that direction.

Accordingly, on January 18, 1954, my good friend and capable colleague, Congressman T. A. THOMPSON, and I addressed the following letter to the Secretary of Agriculture:

JANUARY 18, 1954.

Hon. EZRA TAFT BENSON,
The Secretary of Agriculture,
Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In his message to the Congress on the subject of the Nation's agriculture the President said:

"Research and education are still indispensable if our farmers are to improve their productivity and enlarge their markets."

First of all we want to commend both you and the President for such a forthright statement on this phase of our agricultural program.

As you know so well, it is most important to continuously develop new and more productive plant varieties and to wage a constant fight against the ravages of disease, pests, and insects. We think that the progress we have made along that line is a monument to agricultural research; and we know that too little recognition has been given to that quiet and humble but very efficient small group of people engaged in that work.

But instead of relenting, we must double our efforts in that direction, else all our gains will be lost. Sugercane and sweet potatoes are cases in point, but the same applies to cotton, rice, and other crops.

For instance, it is absolutely essential to continue to breed superior varieties of sugarcane having hybrid vigor, early maturity, high sucrose contents, and resistance to both cold and disease. When one considers that only one out of about 250,000 sugarcane seedlings becomes a promising variety he immediately realizes that this tedious process is strictly a job for scientists. And the work simply must go on, because sugarcane degenerates to such an extent that an outstanding variety today may be worthless in a few years.

The same is true about sweet potatoes, except perhaps more so. This is illustrated by a statement made to us by Dr. Nullen Miller who is connected with Louisiana State University. On the general subject of the development of new varieties, weevil control, and soil preparation in the production of sweet potatoes, Dr. Miller has probably done as much if not more for this industry than any living man. At a meeting some time ago we asked him, "Doctor, with all the progress we have made, suppose we stood still from here on in the field of research affecting sweet potatoes: what would happen to the industry?" Without hesitation, he said, "Well, the same as would happen to a swim-

mer who quits struggling in midstream. They would both die."

Very fortunately we have many Dr. Millers at our disposal in connection with agricultural research. We must use their brains. But that is not all; after the research is done the information must be passed on to the farmers.

We therefore respectfully suggest, Mr. Secretary, that the subject of research and education should be made the byword of the Department of Agriculture, and we especially urge you to take a last look at the budget before it is submitted to the Congress, to see to it that ample funds are provided to carry on the job.

With assurance of our esteem, we are

Sincerely,

EDWIN E. WILLIS,
Member of Congress.
T. A. THOMPSON,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to receive a reply indicating a proposed increase in the budget of about $18 million for research and education. This is certainly encouraging but I personally feel that we should press for additional funds, for the reasons pointed up in my letter and in the Secretary's reply, which follows:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C., February 10, 1954.

Hon. EDWIN E. WILLIS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. WILLIS: The letter of January 18, 1954, from you and Mr. T. A. THOMPSON is at hand and we appreciate very much your comments on the President's statement regarding the importance of research and education in American agriculture. We are in complete agreement with this viewpoint and hope to do all that is possible to carry it out.

The budget recently submitted to the Congress provides for a strengthened and expanded program of research and education. It includes an increase of almost $9.9 million for research and $8.3 million for the cooperative extension education work. To achieve a more efficient and stable agriculture and to provide for the future needs of a growing population, we fully agree with you that increased attention must be given to research and educational work on problems of agricultural production, conservation, utilization, and marketing. We firmly believe that an adequate program of research and education will enable us to solve many of the problems facing agriculture.

In your letter you commented on the progress that has been made in plant improvement and other fields of research during recent years. We thoroughly agree that a great deal of progress has been made and we also realize that there is much more to be done. In all of our crop-improvement programs, for example, we are striving to develop new varieties and strains that give good yields, that are resistant to the attacks of serious insects and disease pests, and to other hazards of production. We also take into account the question of the quality of the end product, realizing that unless this product is of real value to the farmer or processor it would not represent a real advance. In our plans for the future we hope to continue to strengthen and improve research and, through education, to get the results of research into effective use more quickly.

Since Mr. THOMPSON joined you in the original letter we are also writing to him.

Sincerely yours,

J. EARL COKE,
Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Speaker, I have made a particular study of the subject of research and technology with respect to the sugarcane industry which is of tremendous importance to the district I represent in Congress. In that connection, I was honored to be invited to address the American Society of Sugarcane Technologists at their annual banquet in Houma, La., on February 15. In order to show the vital role of research and technology, their influence on our economy, their accomplishments in the past and the imperative need for expansion of this program I include herewith a copy of my address:

Mr. President, officers, guests, and members of the American Society of Sugarcane Technologists, I am very happy to be here among friends tonight, and I am honored that I have been asked to speak to this gathering of sugar technologists, many of whom are well known throughout the sugar-producing world. The pleasure of being here is doubled inasmuch as I am a native of a sugar-producing parish of Louisiana and am naturally interested in the sugar industry. In addition, I am the congressional representative of a large part of the sugar-producing area of Louisiana and thus have a very lively official interest in the industry.

Although not a technologist myself, I would like to talk to you about a few of the developments which have taken place in the industry, their importance, and the contributions made by the industry, science, and government to these developments.

The starting of a sugar-producing industry required research and technology because sugar does not grow on a tree for picking, but must be produced through a series of complicated mechanical and chemical operations. It was necessary from the beginning to devise methods for extracting juice from sugarcane. Although an individual might satisfy his sweet tooth by chewing on a stalk of sugarcane, such a process held little promise for development of a commercial sugar enterprise. Consequently, research to develop a juice extractor was necessary before the industry could start as a commercial venture. This initial research may have been rather rudimentary compared with today's standards, but it was research of a kind.

Research on the design of mills and the extraction of juice continues today at an accelerated pace, as you well know. Extraction was only one of the research problems of the early industry. Clarifying and boiling techniques were varied from place to place with improvements in both taking place as new ideas were introduced. By necessity, the earliest research was restricted largely to means of extracting sugar, but as these processes developed, attention was diverted to the production of higher quality sugar. Today, more research emphasis is placed on increased productivity in the field and increased recovery in the factory, but quality is still a very important consideration. Thus, it can be seen that the history of the industry has been one of continuous striving for better ways to do things.

If the industry is to continue to grow, research and technology must be given the necessary encouragement and support. The need to increase sugar production per acre means that research will continue to be necessary to develop better varieties and to improve agronomic practices. Parallel research in the factory should strive to put more sugar in the bag and to utilize the by-products which are available from the process. And finally, improved marketing practices must be developed if the industry is to grow more profitable and improve its competitive status.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS RESULTING FROM RESEARCH

Let's look at some of the research and technological developments which have significantly affected sugarcane growing and processing in recent years.

In the field of agriculture, many changes have taken place since the time this society was founded in 1938, as the Louisiana Sugarcane Technologists Association. The men who have been and are now members of this society have contributed significantly to these achievements.

Everyone here is familiar with the history of the variety research program which started several years ago and its importance to the industry. This program has had to cope with such problems in variety development as disease and insect resistance, cold resistance, sucrose content, purity, stubbling characteristics, and yield per acre. These are directly related to production of sugarcane as a commercial crop. In addition to these, other factors such as fiber content and milling characteristics must be considered for factory operations. More recently, growth characteristics and adaptability to machine harvesting have been considered.

Research in cultivation practices has not been neglected. One of the most noticeable changes has been the shift from mule-drawn to tractor-drawn cultivating tools. Heavier and more varied cultivating equipment has resulted from this change. Hoe hands have also become less plentiful and many cultivating jobs which were formerly performed by hand are now done by tractor-drawn tools. Flame cultivating has proven useful as an aid in weed control, and chemical herbicides have been developed into another major tool for control of weeds and conservation of our dwindling labor supply.

Soil fertility has been given attention. Such practices as follow plowing and use of legumes and other cover crops to aid in eliminating weeds and improve the tilth and fertility of the soil have received widespread consideration. Fertilizers and their proper utilization in the growth of sugarcane have been studied on different soil types and under other varying conditions. Nutrient requirements of sugarcane have been investigated as part of the fertilizer research program. Rate and time of fertilizer application have been the subject of research projects. One of the most outstanding fertilizer developments recently has been the use of both aqueous and anhydrous ammonia. They are now among the chief sources of nitrogen fertilizer. This development, in turn, has required research on methods for satisfactorily applying these fertilizers.

At the time this society was founded practically all sugarcane was harvested by hand, but at the present time it is harvested largely by machines. The changeover from hand to machine harvesting created serious new problems which are even now being worked on and solved. It is interesting to note that in one of the papers presented at the first meeting of the society the problem of trashy cane was discussed. The problem is with us today, although the industry has taken steps which partly offset the detrimental effects of trash until such time as the problem can be completely solved. The solution may now be at hand.

Mechanical loaders have been improved. Transportation of cane from field to factory has changed. Truck delivery has almost entirely replaced rail delivery.

Factory operations and processes have also had significant developments in recent years. The development of cold and insect resistant varieties introduced cane with higher fiber content. Since the mills in use at the time were not designed to handle such tough cane, capacity and milling efficiency inevitably declined. These problems have been and are being met by improved mill design and the use of higher milling speeds. New mill drives have been introduced to the factory to give greater flexibility to milling operations. Other processing equipment has been improved; high speed centrifugals have been introduced both to speed up production and to improve separation of sugar from molasses. Factory facilities which are not directly con-

nected with processing have been improved as a result of research. Mill lubrication and lubricants have not escaped attention. More efficient bagasse furnaces have been developed, and in many cases, gas has supplanted bagasse as a fuel in order to utilize bagasse as a profitable byproduct.

Bulk handling of raw sugar has developed into a successful operation and resulted in conservation of labor, time, and materials to the benefit of the industry. Bulk storage of refined sugar has the effect of increasing the flexibility of the refining and of making it possible to handle peak loads as a matter of course.

Byproduct research and development have received more attention than ever before. The most recent development, a very significant one, is the utilization of bagasse as raw material for pulp production. Although this use has already been developed in other countries and considerable research has been done in the United States in the past years, it is only recently that successful pulping methods have been realized in the United States. Even as we are gathered here, one of these methods is being commercially used not more than 30 miles away. Earlier, the well-known use of bagasse in making fiber board was an outstanding research development, and this use continues to be a very important one for bagasse.

Most recently, a process has been perfected to use bagasse for the production of furfural, which in turn is a raw material in the production of nylon—that outstanding result of research efforts. Commercial production of furfural from bagasse will be a reality in the near future.

Molasses has always been a source of chemicals of various kinds, mostly through fermentation—citric acid, yeast, ethanol, butenal, acetone, and others. However, research developments in the field of petrochemicals have caused the use of molasses by the fermentation industries to fall off appreciably. This has resulted in the need to develop other uses for molasses. Molasses has always been recognized as a good cattle feed and has been used as such for years. However, it is only within the past few years that the potential of this market for molasses has been recognized, and a more concentrated effort has been made to sell molasses for that use. It has resulted in more than 50 percent of our molasses supplies being sold for feed uses. This market can be further expanded.

Aconitic acid, a byproduct from cane, has been commercially developed within the past few years as a result of cooperation between the United States Department of Agriculture and the industry. The potential uses for this versatile chemical are quite numerous. Aconitic acid is a plasticizer and is used to make plastics more flexible. It is possible that this byproduct will continue to develop in volume in the future.

United States Department of Agriculture research played an important part in developing methods for the extraction of sugarcane wax. Wax has been extracted commercially in Cuba for several years and more recently also in the British West Indies. This byproduct may hold promise for the domestic sugarcane areas.

There are other possibilities for byproducts from sugarcane and in time research and technology are certain to uncover and utilize them to the benefit of the industry and all the people.

RELATED ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH

There are related economic problems to be solved if we are to get the highest possible returns from our sugarcane lands. Much progress has already been made along this line.

In that connection, I am sure you are all familiar with the Sugar Act and how it works. The Sugar Act was intended to and did provide some stability to an industry which has had serious ups and downs. The Sugar Act itself, however, is not a complete answer to all of the problems involved in the pricing and marketing of Louisiana's sugar. It needs to be administered more realistically.

And then, too, competition up and down the Mississippi Valley with beet sugar and among the sugarcane refiners themselves has sometimes led to price concessions very much below the New York price for refined sugar. Even today with the base price for canesugar in New York at $8.65 per hundredweight bag, the price for beet sugar in the territory west of Chicago is $8.00 and there have been reports of sales below the reported prices.

There is a Federal law which reqirues traders on the grain and cotton exchanges to make periodic reports of their transactions to the Government. Sugar, however, is exempt from that law. Is there any good reason for this? Perhaps research efforts should be directed toward improving the price reporting service as a means of encouraging sugar competition on the basis of more complete market knowledge. For example, two questions:

To what extent may discounts be greater under present marketing reporting than would be offered if all sellers and buyers knew more precisely the prices at which all recent transactions actually have been made?

Is it possible that the lack of foreknowledge of prices provides a situation in which greater margins may be made by the best informed speculators which would go to processors and cane growers in increased prices if better market information were available to all such persons?

Sugarcane prices and prices for most of the raw sugar are geared to a 5-month average of exchange prices from early October to late February. During most of this period and certainly after the turn of the year prices are subject to depressing influences, one of these being the start of the harvesting season in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The suggestion has been made that perhaps it would be better to market Louisiana sugar through the entire year. The higher prices obtained late in each crop year after the harvest seasons are completed in all of the supplying areas may be more than enough to offset the cost of building more adequate storage and other expenses. I do not know the answer and offer no recommendations at this time, but I do think that research should be directed toward this problem.

EVALUATION OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

Concrete measurements of the results of research and technological developments are very difficult to make. Not every research project leads directly to a commercial development. The accumulation of knowledge and data resulting from well-planned research spread over a period of time, however, certainly rewards the industry with greater success. Because of the gradual nature of the advances, it is typically difficult to assign dollar values to research and technological developments. Therefore, we must look at overall changes in the industry to give us the proper perspective on the value of research.

One of the measures of the value of research is the ability with which the industry has been able to meet new problems without a decrease in overall efficiency. As an example, the early freezes in recent years would have practically stopped the industry several years ago, but the industry coped with this serious problem in a satisfactory manner. Cold-resistant varieties played a single, prominent part in this success, but beyond this, the total background of technology which the industry had accumulated made a great contribution to the way this challenge was met.

Perhaps, the most significant measure of the value of research and technology is the reduction in man-hours and costs per unit of production.

We must recognize that research cannot be evaluated by its immediate effect on the industry. Instead, we must study its effect on industry over a period of years.

RELATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS TO RESEARCH

What is the relationship of technologists, the industry, scientific societies, schools of higher learning, and Government agencies to research and technological developments?

You technologists are very personally related to it because you are the ones who are doing research. You not only devise and carry out the experiments, you are also responsible for the development of new ideas and for the application of old ideas to new problems. It is from you that the developments are coming and must continue to come. Therefore, it is essential that you, as individuals, continue to apply yourselves to the problems of the industry.

The industry relationship is very important because the industry must supply a large portion of the financial support for research and development. It is essential that the industry promote research with a view toward benefits in the long run. Industry management must be able to recognize the value of research and make possible the continuation of research, for it is only through industry backing that research will continue. Industry must realize that it is only through research that it will continue to be able to cope with problems which arise from time to time.

Scientific societies also have an important relationship to research and technological progress. These organizations are playing an important role in the collection and dissemination of the results of research and technology. This is a very essential function, for without the dissemination of research information, duplication of effort and delay would result. Meetings which societies have, such as this one, are important because they bring people who are working in research together for the exchange of ideas and the stimulation of new ones. Discussion of problems usually results in many new approaches to a solution even though the problem is an old one. This exchange of ideas and information benefits the industry as a whole. Furthermore, the value of your research is not limited to the boundaries of the industry in the United States. By proper dissemination of information, as encouraged by your society, any sugar producing area benefits from it. Likewise, you can benefit by research from other areas.

Schools of higher learning also play a very important role in research. Everyone here is well aware of the value of LSU and its Audubon sugar school to the industry. This institution is not only constantly working on problems important to the industry but is also training entomologists, agronomists, engineers, chemists, and business administrators who will become an important part of the industry. LSU also provides facilities for other industries to work on problems which are related to sugar industry problems. It is also a very important source of information and disseminates it through its various bulletins and other publications.

The Federal Government also plays a vital role in research for the sugar industry. Congress appropriates funds for research projects which it considers desirable not only for the benefit of the industry but also for the Nation as well. Congress, moreover, has established our sugar policy by passing the sugar acts.

All of you here are well aware of the Sugar Act and its impact on the industry.

In order to have confidence in future development in the field of research, it is essential to maintain stability in the sugar industry. The Sugar Act was intended to provide that stability and the fact that few

changes have been made in it since its original enactment indicates that the act itself has worked well, as distinguished from certain shortcomings in its administration. It is interesting to note how research has taken advantage of such stability and kept pace with the law. In fact, it might be said that research is now one step ahead of the Sugar Act. For instance, as you know, the Sugar Act has established a quota of 500,000 tons for the mainland cane area in Louisiana and Florida. And you are well aware of the fact also that with practically no increase in acreage our production now exceeds the quota established by the act, as a direct result of research both in the cane fields and in the mills. To meet the situation, the Department of Agriculture has imposed marketing allotments and acreage quotas. I think this is an unjust and wrong approach. In a way, it amounts to a penalty for success in the field of research. I think the right approach is to reward the performance with an increase of the mainland cane quota.

Sugar-industry research in the Federal Government is primarily carried out in the Department of Agriculture. All of you are familiar with the experiment station here at Houma and with the work that has been done here. The station is conducting work on agronomy, entomology, plant disease, variety development and testing, farm machinery, and processing problems. In addition to the work there, the southern regional laboratory in New Orleans is conducting research on processing problems and by-products. The Department is cooperating with LSU on varietal work and on milling characteristics of new varieties. The station at Canal Point, Fla., is vitally important to the industry. The northern regional laboratory has done some very valuable work on bagasse and on molasses fermentation. Marketing studies have been made by the Sugar Division of the Commodity Stabilization Service.

The House Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am a member, was instrumental in having the Bureau of Standards conduct tests on bagasse pulping processes for the production of newsprint. These tests showed that bagasse could be utilized for making satisfactory newsprint.

There are several industries which though not directly connected with the sugar industry do conduct research on industry problems. Machinery manufacturers of all kinds, engineering firms, chemical manufacturers are always working on industry problems. Their relationship is one of providing tools, services, and materials for use of the sugar industry. Their research in their own fields is thus as important to the sugarcane industry as the work carried on within the industry itself.

And we must not forget all groups of individuals in our area, including the extension-service people, the county agents, and others interested in agriculture generally, who help to do the work and disseminate the information among the farmers and millowners. The result of research must be brought home to those who need it. The message must be brought to Garcia.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

If the industry is to maintain its present level of productivity and to increase it in the future, it is essential that it support a vigorous program of research and development.

What should be accomplished by these programs? Increased productivity and complete utilization of all valuable byproducts to yield a larger gross return to the industry are the overall accomplishments to be attained. These will come about only as a result of the solution of problems in agronomy, genetics, soils, entomology, engineering, marketing, and all other phases of the entire industry. Another field which has received no previous mention is that of management and public relations. It is interesting to note that the society originally had a management section, and I recommend to you that this section be revived and stimulated to new efforts because this is a very important field insofar as the progress of the industry is concerned.

Who will be responsible for research in the future? The industry, of necessity, must bear a large part of the financial burden of future research, and it also must have the vision to determine what its research needs are. Research must, of course, return a profit to the industry, for without profit, the industry cannot exist. You technologists must continue your active interest in research problems in order to keep abreast of the problems. The scientific society must continue to foster the exchange of ideas and the dissemination of information. Governmental agencies, both State and Federal, must continue to support research which either cannot be handled by smaller groups, has a broader significance than the needs of the local industry, or is of such a fundamental nature that the industry cannot foresee a profit in a reasonable length of time.

I plead with you for close cooperation among all groups and for coordination of efforts so that research will yield a maximum return to the industry and the Nation.

Some old problems have been solved, but new ones will arise to take their place. We have accomplished much since the time of Etienne De Bore, but the industry cannot afford to stand still. We must progress; we must go forward.

Molotov's One Source of Satisfaction at Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, last Friday I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article from Business Week magazine on Ed Murrow's outstanding television program, See It Now. I am sure those Members who read the article and who have seen the Murrow show on the air agree that it is one of the best public-service broadcasts currently shown on TV.

Last night, Mr. Murrow's program originated from Berlin and featured a panel discussion by a group of American and European newsmen covering the Big Four conference. With the exception of the one newsman from behind the Iron Curtain who participated in the program, the panel was unanimous that very little was being accomplished at the conference.

Howard K. Smith, European chief for the Columbia Broadcasting System, had what to me was a particularly noteworthy comment. Pointing to the unity among the Western Powers in resisting Molotov's divisive maneuvers at the conference, Mr. Smith said, as closely as I can remember the words:

About the only satisfaction Molotov has been getting here in Berlin comes from the stories in the Berlin newspapers about the self-mutilation going on in the United States as one political party charges another with 20 years of treason. That, I imagine, has given Molotov a great deal of satisfaction.

The President's Inadequate Program for the Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a statement made recently by my good friend, Mr. Paul A. Strachan, president, American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, concerning the President's rehabilitation program as proposed in his January 18 message to Congress:

The President's so-called program of rehabilitation and employment of handicapped proposed in his message to Congress on January 18, is unrealistic and totally inadequate, according to Paul A. Strachan, president, American Federation of the Physically Handicapped.

He concedes that 250,000 citizens suffer serious physical impairments annually, but at best, only hopes to provide rehabilitation for 70,000 of them in 1955. What will happen to the remaining 180,000? Will they be thrown, as has been the case of millions of handicapped, the past thirty-odd years, upon the human scrap pile?

The President's figure 2 million disabled persons," is far too low. Mr. Strachan says: "Evidently his advisers and ghost writers of his speeches do not read the accurate reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which show an average of approximately 2 million persons injured in industry, alone, each year, for the past 12 years, of whom 350,000 annually have permanent impairments."

This does not even touch the backlog of 7 million to 9 million of the total 38 million physically and mentally handicapped, whose disabilities range from 60 percent to 100 percent, and it does not include those who are victims of traffic accidents, mishaps on the farms, and in the homes, and, the most common of all disabilities, illness.

The President's program is inadequate and simply carries on the incompetent and inadequately staffed services in the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and any expectancy of improvement there, under present management, and experience is very small.

Therefore, we call upon the Congress to immediately enact a realistic, comprehensive program, such as is provided in bills to establish a Federal Agency for Handicapped, now pending before House and Senate, which were drafted very carefully, and in the light of some forty-odd years' experience, to meeting the requirements of a real program, instead of merely shadowboxing with a false, and outworn concept.

The Federal Agency for Handicapped bills provide, also, what the President's program does not—a coordinated program of the 35 Federal agencies, each of which now has a piece of the handicapped program, and such overall program thus, would not condemn millions of American citizens to continue living in misery, want, and enforced idleness, for lack of proper medical, educational, guidance, or placement services.

Our 38 million American handicapped deserve something more than a mere sop thrown to them, in the name of "rehabilitation."

Panama Canal: Memorializations and Modernization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Panama Canal has a great history. Many persons of various nations, professions, and positions in life contributed to the success of the undertaking, its construction, and subsequent operation. Many others will contribute to its future.

The December 1953 issue of the Canal Record, the always interesting monthly publication of the Panama Canal Society of Florida, with headquarters at St. Petersburg, Fla., was primarily devoted to the memorialization of Col. George W. Goethals, Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission during the final years of construction, 1907–14, and the first Governor of the Panama Canal under the permanent operating organization.

It is significant, however, that this same issue also carries an announcement of the election of officers of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, an organization named in honor of Col. William Crawford Gorgas, the great sanitarian of the Isthmus, who served during the entire period of construction of the Panama Canal, 1904–14, and who, in 1952, was elected to the Hall of Fame in the University of New York.

The full text of the indicated announcement follows:

COL. JOSEPH F. SILER ELECTED PRESIDENT, GORGAS INSTITUTE OF MEDICINE; MAURICE H. THATCHER, VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL COUNSEL

The Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, at its annual meeting on October 30, 1953, in Washington, D. C., elected Capt. Miles P. Duval, United States Navy, retired, as a member of its board of directors for 3 years, the first time a naval officer has been so honored.

The other nine members reelected for the same period are former President of Panama Ricardo J. Alfaro, Dr. Herbert C. Clark, Mr. Robert V. Fleming, Senator Lister Hill, Dr. Alberto Lleras, Col. Joseph F. Siler, Dr. Fred L. Soper, Congressman John Taber, and Dr. Willard B. Wright.

Captain Duval is a recognized authority on interoceanic canal problems. He served as captain of the port, Balboa, C. Z., in charge of marine operations in the Pacific sector of the Panama Canal, 1941–44, during which time he developed what proved to be the first comprehensive plan for its operational improvement as determined from actual experience, known as the Terminal Lake plan. He also served as coordinator of Isthmian Canal studies of the Navy Department, 1946–49. He is the author of two important books on the Panama Canal: And the Mountains Will Move and Cadiz to Cathay, both by Stanford University Press.

Captain Duval is now working on what will be the third volume of his canal trilogy, also to be published by Stanford Press.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the foregoing, it is interesting to note that former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher, of Kentucky, is the surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission that had charge of the construction of the Panama Canal and the author, while in the Congress, of the legislation that created the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, the work of which is supervised by the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine.

His many friends, in and out of the Congress, are very happy over the fact that he is yet in health and vigor, engaged in the practice of law in Washington, and giving generously of his time and talents in activities affecting the public welfare, such as are involved in the work of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory.

In addition, it is particularly important to note also that the terminal lake plan mentioned in the quoted announcement is recognized by independent transportation experts not only as supplying the best canal for navigation but also as the most economic plan for the major improvement of the Panama Canal ever developed.

The principal features of the plan and its relationship with the Isthmian canal policy as a whole were presented in a notable address by its author, Capt. Miles P. Duval, 2 years ago before a distinguished audience at the Explorers' Club of New York.

At the same meeting, Mr. John F. Stevens, Jr., international economist and son of former Chief Engineer John F. Stevens, of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1905–1907, who was the basic architect of the great waterway, 1906, and the first man appointed to the combined positions of Chairman and Chief Engineer 1907, stated what he considered would be the views of his late father as to the proper method for its modernization.

Together, these two statements form one of the most comprehensive treatments of the canal question ever presented. To make them available to the Congress and the Nation at large, I included both in an extension of my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 98, Appendix, part 8, January 15, 1952, page A163, under the title "Interoceanic Canals Problem," which I commend for serious study by all concerned with this subject.

To provide the Congress with adequate means for an independent and objective study of this important subject, my colleague, Hon. THOMAS E. MARTIN, of Iowa, and I introduced identical measures in the 82d Congress to create an Interoceanic Canals Commission. The same proposal, H. R. 1048, was reintroduced in the present Congress, and its early enactment is recommended.

Ludwik Lesnicki, Journalist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it will occasion a sense of rejoicing among his many friends in this body to learn that Ludwik Lesnicki, the celebrated veteran Polish-American journalist and Washington newspaper correspondent, is slowly but with satisfactory progress convalescing after a long period of hospitalization. I am extending my remarks to include an article prepared by Mr. Lesnicki while in the hospital and which was published in the January 1954 issue of the Banner, the excellent monthly magazine published by the Resurrectionist Fathers and edited by Father Peter A. Fiolek.

The article follows:

SHE IS GONE—THERE SHE COMES

(By Ludwik Lesnicki)

"In shining rank on rank arrayed
They march, the legions of the Lord;
He is their Captain unafraid,
The Prince of Peace, who brought a sword."

—*Joyce Kilmer.*

A ship spreads her white sails to the morning breeze and starts for the blue lagoon. She is an object of beauty and strength. I stand and watch her till at length, she is only a ribbon of white cloud just where the sea and sky come to mingle with each other.

Then someone on my side says: "There she is gone."

Gone where?

Gone from my sight—that is all. She is just as large in mast and sail as when she left my side. She is just as able to bear her load of living freight to the place of destination. Her diminished size is in me, not in her.

Just at that moment when someone at my side says: "There she is gone," other voices are glad to take the shout: "There she comes."

"Not till the loom is silent
And the shuttles cease to fly,
Shall God unroll the canvas
And explain the reason why.
The dark threads are as needful
In the weavers skillful hand
As threads of gold and silver
In the pattern He has planned."

Here is a reverent toast to all who have given their lives in Iwo Jima and Korea that the Republic and liberty might live:

"There sleep the brave,
Who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest."

Mayor Wagner Appoints Stanley Lowell His Official Representative to American Jewish Tercentenary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following addresses delivered by Mayor Wagner, of New York; Mr. Stanley Lowell; and Mr. Ralph E. Samuel, chairman of the American Jewish tercentenary, on the occasion of Mayor Wagner's announcement of the appointment of Mr. Stanley Lowell as his official representative to the American Jewish tercentenary on February 15, 1954, at 10 a. m., at City Hall:

STATEMENT BY MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

I am glad to announce the appointment of Mr. Stanley Lowell as my official repre-

sentative to the American Jewish tercentenary. The city of New York will, of course, participate officially and fully in the forthcoming celebration of the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States, and I shall in the near future ask a group of distinguished men and women of our community to serve on a citizens committee for the occasion.

We in New York have a special stake in the American Jewish tercentenary. In September 1654, when the population of New Amsterdam was less than 1,000, the first group of 23 Jews arrived. After winning the right to remain, they fought for the right to worship God in their own way, and although they may not have realized it themselves, they thereby paved the way for people of other faiths to conduct religious services in accordance with their beliefs.

The Jews then won the right to serve in the militia, to defend the community in which they lived. They believed that if they were to have opportunities in the New World, they ought also to shoulder responsibilities as well. The things they fought for and achieved were the religious and civil liberties which have become the hallmark of our way of life.

Throughout the last three centuries the Jews have been a vital, constructive, and stimulating element in the life of our city. During the American Revolution, they were among the fighters for American independence. When the British occupied New York City, Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas and his congregants refused to conduct services in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue and fled to Philadelphia, where they helped the American cause. They returned to New York only after the British had left our city.

In the late 19th century, about 75 years ago, when pogroms and oppression were rampant in Russia and other eastern European countries, Jews were among the millions of immigrants from those parts of Europe, who streamed into the United States seeking refuge.

They helped make New York a city of energy and vitality. They have contributed to virtually every phase of the development of New York City.

In the last three centuries, our city has grown and prospered because it has always been a place where all kinds of people have joined in the exciting experience of living and working together. Occasionally you hear the remark, "New York is not America." I think this is an affront to both the city and the Nation. In the best sense—in the exploration of the art of human harmony—New York is the very symbol of America, and the Jewish tercentenary is a vivid illustration of what I mean.

The tercentenary's theme is "Man's opportunities and responsibilities under freedom." It is an inspiring theme. As we review our opportunities, so must we explore and shoulder our responsibilities under freedom. We are faced today with the job of determining how we can effectively exercise our rights as free citizens without fear of controversy. We must find out how we can protect our traditional civil liberties, and, at the same time, avoid falling into the trap of mechanically rising in defense of those who are enemies of democracy. If we are the champions of freedom, we must ourselves be unafraid to be free.

The tercentenary therefore offers a challenge to all of us to look into our historic past in order to chart our course for a brighter, more fruitful future and a better understanding of ourselves.

STATEMENT BY MR. STANLEY LOWELL

I am honored by my appointment as the mayor's representative to the American Jewish tercentenary, and I look forward to working closely with the tercentenary committee in determining how our city can play an active role in this historic observance.

The American Jewish tercentenary is important to the city of New York. Since the arrival of the first 23 Jewish settlers 300 years ago, our Jewish population has grown to more than 2 million, making it the largest in the world. All around us, in our religious and cultural life, our commerce and industry, our social agencies, our everyday life, we see tangible evidence of the useful and constructive participation of the Jews of New York. We are proud of that participation, and proud to commemorate it on the occasion of the tercentenary.

The tercentenary theme, "Man's opportunities and responsibilities under freedom," can well apply to the city of New York as a whole, in terms of the cultural, economic, and social opportunities for all people in our community as well as in terms of the responsibilities all of us must assume in meeting our obligations of citizenship.

Within the next few weeks, in cooperation with the American Jewish Tercentenary, I expect to work out plans for New York City's official share in this momentous celebration. I know that all of us will want to have a part in this great work so that the tercentenary will be fully successful.

STATEMENT BY RALPH E. SAMUEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH TERCENTENARY

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Lowell, ladies and gentlemen, we are delighted with the appointment of so able and distinguished a person as Mr. Lowell as the mayor's official representative to the American Jewish tercentenary. While we expect that similar appointments will be made in cities across the country, New York is the first to take such welcome action in connection with this historic observance.

Although the first Jews arrived in New York City 300 years ago, our city became the center of the great flowering of the American Jewish community in the 1880's which saw the influx of hundreds of thousands of Jews from east European countries. These people, escaping persecution and oppression in the old world, fled to America in search of freedom, as did the 23 who originally settled here in 1654. They went to work in the sweatshops of New York and began building great industries, especially in the needle trades. They helped to build up the trade-union movement.

They made significant contributions in business and industry, social welfare, in the arts and sciences, in the professions, in religion, and in public service. They set up all kinds of educational and religious institutions. In our participation in the life and development of New York City, we have always been proud to be a part of the greatest city of our age. Indeed, as we are a part of New York, so is New York a part of us.

The American-Jewish tercentenary will be launched with a large public dinner on Sunday, September 12, of this year, and by a reconsecration service the same day at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, which was founded by the first Jewish settlers in New Amsterdam in 1654.

November 27 has been set aside as Tercentenary Sabbath to be marked in the synagogues throughout the country. A tercentenary exhibit will open at the Jewish Museum early in December, and will tell in graphic terms the story of Jewish participation in all facets of American life. The observance will be brought to a close with an outdoor religious ceremony in Washington, D. C., on May 29, 1955.

In order to ensure that out of this tremendous celebration will come a memorial of a lasting nature, a major tercentenary project is the production of a 10-volume documentary history of the Jews in the Unite States, under the supervision of a committee headed by Prof. Salo W. Baron of Columbia University. The documentary history will present, for the first time, all the significant documents in American-Jewish history, and will reflect the participation of Jews in the development of the United States. This research work will enable scholars in the field of American-Jewish history to produce much-needed and authoritative narrative histories of the Jews in this country.

In all that will take place during the American-Jewish tercentenary, New York City will, of course, play an important part. We look forward to working intimately with Mr. Lowell and we are certain that our city's participation in the observance will go far to making it an outstanding success.

Be Kind to Democrats Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by David Lawrence appearing in the Washington Evening Star of February 12, 1954, which cites examples of prominent Democratic officials of the State Department who addressed partisan political meetings. The title of the article is very appropriate, namely, "Be Kind to Democrats Week"—and it gives various examples of instances in which prominent members of the State Department in the last 20 years have made partisan political talks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BE KIND TO DEMOCRATS WEEK—IF MINORITY PARTY WANTS ARMISTICE, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT IT REFRAIN FROM KIND OF CHARGES IN DEMOCRATIC DIGEST

(By David Lawrence)

Out of the gracious speech in the Senate of Senator FRANK CARLSON, Republican, of Kansas, may grow a "be kind to the Democrats" movement applicable especially to the period of Lincoln Day dinners, but it will be of little avail unless the speakers of the Democratic Party at Jefferson-Jackson Day banquets will reciprocate with a "be kind to the Republicans" attitude.

The Kansas Senator thinks the Republicans at least have a right to criticize extravagances in Government and "the fact that there was an effort to shield Communists."

Governor Dewey, Republican, of New York, however, sees no good in attempting to gag the members of his party, and charges that the Democrats in Congress who are trying to silence Republican critics cannot by such tactics "lessen the responsibility of the last administration for having bungled us into a war in Korea and for the ammunition shortage that caused the tragic, needless loss of many American lives."

On the other side of the political arena, Stephen Mitchell, the Democratic national chairman, doesn't seem to have taken too kindly to President Eisenhower's plea for more restraint and less extremism in political speechmaking. For Mr. Mitchell, through his publication, the Democratic Digest, has just declared that Attorney General Brownell accused former President Truman of treasonable conduct.

A careful examination of what Mr. Brownell said at Chicago and his statements before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee reveals that the Attorney General merely accused Mr. Truman of laxity in administration and of having misjudged the evidence about Harry Dexter White. But if Mr. Mitchell keeps on repeating his own sensational misstatement as a means of diverting attention from the real charge, must the Republicans remain silent? Or will they now be justified on reopening the publicity on the White case in order to set the record straight? That's the kind of dilemma that has been produced by President Eisenhower's efforts to apply conciliatory measures to political combat.

Incidentally, some of the Trumanite reporters are out to get the Eisenhower administration with as bad a press as they can muster. If the Eisenhower staff are not quick on the comeback, they will lose ground for the Republican Party.

A notable example of the partisanship evident in the news dispatches is the way some of the Trumanite reporters handled the political journey of Scott McLeod of the State Department.

Mr. McLeod happens to be tough on Communists and Communist sympathizers and, though he has said a dozen times his appointment was in no way brought about by Senator McCARTHY, scarcely a press dispatch goes out that doesn't attempt to link him somehow with the Wisconsin Senator. When the fact that Mr. McLeod has accepted the invitation of the Republican National Committee to make a few speeches in South Dakota became known the State Department was bombarded with requests from the reporters as to whether Mr. McLeod had obtained leave of absence without pay. It turned out that he did take leave of absence.

Curiously enough, when other State Department officials under the Truman administration made political speeches for the Democrats, no such fuss was raised and, of course, none was on "leave of absence." Here are a few of those Trumanite speaking engagements:

1. Assistant Secretary of State George McGhee addressed the Young Democrats national convention at Chattanooga in November 1949.

2. Under Secretary of State James E. Webb addressed the Southern Democratic Party Conference at Raleigh, N. C., in January 1950 and also spoke at the National Democratic Party Conference at Chicago in May 1950.

3. Assistant Secretary of State Edward G. Miller, Jr., addressed a meeting in June 1950 under the auspices of the New York State Democratic Committee.

4. W. Averill Harriman, special assistant to President Truman, addressed the Midwest Democratic Conference at Denver, Colo., in May 1951 at which he was substituting for Secretary of State Acheson.

5. Adrian Fisher, legal adviser to the State Department, was the principal speaker at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Charleston, W. Va., on March 30, 1951.

6. Deputy Under Secretary of State Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State Barrett, and Assistant Secretary of State Thorp addressed meetings of the Women's National Democratic Club at Washington on various dates.

There's nothing wrong with what these Truman officials did in making those speeches. Nor is there anything wrong with what Mr. McLeod has done in making a Republican speech, though to read some press dispatches it might be inferred that he had done something that never had been done before. If Mr. McLeod, who took leave of absence, is to set a precedent for all political speeches by Government officials hereafter, the major parties are going to have trouble getting speakers from the Government to go out on the stump unless the political committees compensate them. That's not a good system for either party.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

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Appendix

Wings or Caves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for years I have pointed out that the people of our country are faced in this atomic age by a fateful challenge—to survive or perish under the onslaught of international communism.

I have said that mankind, if it can successfully meet this problem, stands at the threshold of a golden age of discovery and of progress.

I was therefore delighted to note that the recent Women's Forum on National Security which met in our Nation's Capitol, heard a most significant address along this same line.

It was delivered by a distinguished spokesman of the free enterprise system, an honored Republican and outstanding American, Mr. Samuel F. Pryor.

The title of the address was "Wings or Caves," that is, civilization or a new dark ages; progress or oblivion. Mr. Pryor's speech is a splendid contribution, I believe, to the thinking of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that its text be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINGS OR CAVES

(Address by Samuel F. Pryor, vice president and assistant to the president, Pan American World Airways, before the Women's Forum on National Security, Washington, D. C., January 30, 1954)

In the past 3 days you have heard from many key citizens the fateful story of our Nation's security. Few other groups in our Nation are more entitled to the facts than you. Not only do you represent 12 veteran's organizations but you are also women—which means you are possessed of a power which never should be underestimated.

In May 1950 I had the honor of talking to a group of young women on the side of a beautiful valley in Idaho.

I wanted to bring them good news. But I had to report the truth and I said: "We are very close to a shooting war—much closer than you realize."

One month later, in June 1950, came Korea.

This morning I have no prophecies of war to bring you—and if I did, I am morally certain, what I would have to prophesy would be the end of civilization. Not a war for which you would pay higher taxes—and in which you would lose fathers, brothers, and sons—but a war in which—if you were lucky—you might get to a cave, in time.

Money won't help the individual, once war has started. Casualties, as we have known them in past wars, will have no effect because human life, muscles and brains will be useless against atomic power—even when those muscles and brains are uniformed, equipped, and marched forth by the million.

The next war, which cannot and must not take place, will have no bands, no parades, no flags, and no romance. Terrible as was the Civil War, in which many of your grandfathers and your great grandfathers fought, that was at worst but a war of English-speaking brother against English-speaking brother. Cain slew Abel, but the race of man—and the great United States of America—continued to exist.

In the next war—and let me repeat, the next war is a war we pray cannot and must not take place—there will be no distinction between civilians, Red Cross workers, Navy, Army, or Air Force. There will be those who are above ground—and they will be dead. And there will be those who are in caves.

Humanity is at the crossroads.

When I talked to the girls in Idaho I had just completed a fact-finding trip outside the United States by air. I have now just completed another.

If humanity is at the crossroads—and every fact I could gather on my trip indicates that it is—then we at least know our position. We can look back through the long, long vista of human history and we can see that ourselves and the whole cause of human freedom are in the greatest peril mankind has ever known.

Let me now report what appears to be ahead and what I believe our course of action should be. This will require facing facts and—as so often happens—many of these facts lie close to home. Travel abroad brings these facts into sharper focus. Travel abroad often opens our eyes to dangers which lie at our very feet.

Fact 1: The Kremlin is not affected by reason. The Kremlin cannot be stirred by compassion. Human suffering, human degradation, human death by the thousands and by the hundreds of thousands mean nothing to the Kremlin. This, the cruelest enemy Western Christendom has ever faced, recognizes unfortunately only one argument—strength.

Fact 2: Slowly the lies about American imperialism are being unmasked in Europe and all around the world. Slowly the great lie that Moscow has even the slightest interest in the underprivileged is being exposed. These are hopeful signs.

Fact 3: Another hopeful sign is in the Far East where the so-called People's Democracy of China is desperately trying to stop falling production by building labor camps on the Russian model. Over 6 million slave laborers are now estimated to be working, with no wages, on a starvation diet.

These facts cannot be kept quiet on the Chinese mainland. These facts are becoming known to more Chinese people every day. Now, belatedly, they are beginning to recognize what communism really is.

The Communist Chinese leaders have been served warning by the United States Secretary of State that no new aggressions, such as Korea, will be tolerated. Thus, throughout Asia, the United States is recognized as having at least seized the initiative from the Chinese Communists. Our friends in Japan, Thailand, Formosa, Indochina, and the Philippines have now again confidence that they can resist the Reds and they know that the Communists made peace in Korea not from strength but from weakness. There is serious unrest in China just as there has been and is in East Germany. There have been rice riots and there will be more.

Fact 4: My friends of Radio Free Europe are closely in touch with those east-Europe countries now behind the Iron Curtain. They can feel the pulse of these enslaved peoples and they assure me that the Soviet postwar drive to win over the hearts and minds of the satellite lands is an absolute failure. Their best evidence shows that, from the Yugoslavia north to the Baltic Sea, 80 percent of these oppressed peoples are bitterly anti-Communist. They are cowed only by tanks and the crushing weight of the Red army.

Finally, there is the great, inherent weakness of Soviet Russia itself—a monster of might, breathing cynical nonsense about freedom and the holiness of the workingman while at home it murders freedom and kills initiative. Russia rapidly approaches that paradox so graphically described by Arnold Toynbee as "the skeleton in armor"—the civilization which looks and is dangerous to the extreme, but is actually dying inside its armor, grasping for life behind an Iron Curtain it has rung down to hide its own, fatal impotence.

These are hopeful signs.

But what about our own ramparts in the meanwhile?

Who mans them? Who withstands the assault which may come like a thief in the night—like a Pearl Harbor attack on a Sunday—like a murder of the innocents on Christmas Eve?

You and I man the ramparts of freedom. All of us can and must man these ramparts—all of us who are citizens in the greatest experiment in freedom the world has ever known, the United States of America.

As Toynbee has documented, in the case of civilization after civilization, complete destruction comes from within. Egypt, Babylon, Crete, Greece, Assyria—and in our own hemisphere the Mayas and the Incas—were not destroyed from without. In each and every case the conqueror found a civilization which had begun its self-destruction from within. When the final test came, these great, cultural, once-healthy systems found themselves spiritually sick and helpless. They could not defend themselves, because they had already lost faith in themselves.

As Colonel Lindbergh said last Monday: "To achieve a civilization based on human values requires the desire within ourselves. The character of man still forms the essential core of a civilization."

My business happens to take me into 83 countries of the world. I have stood alone among the ruins of most of those civilizations and pondered long about the greatness of their rise and the suddenness of their fall.

You women here today are free. What are you going to do to stay free?

First let me appeal to a God-given instinct which all of us share. The instinct of self-preservation. In this era of the hydrogen

bomb, guided-missile rockets, and a man-made satellite which might revolve around the world and control it, no man, woman, or child—no city, no farm, no animal will be beyond the reach of the aggressors' firepower. Even a brief war would destroy more people, more cities, and more land than have been destroyed in all previous wars combined.

This means we must rally public opinion more strongly than it has been rallied behind our Air Force and behind the great scientifice work being done by our Government. You can better help do this because you are not ordinary citizens. You are members of a special group who have dedicated yourselves to national security. Members of the 12 organizations appearing here today come from towns and cities all over the country. You represent fathers, brothers, sons and friends who have died in 5 wars, beginning with the Civil War. You should initiate at once a nationwide information campaign on air power—on its importance and on its urgency.

How urgent? How much time do we have? Well, Gen. Leslie Groves said back in 1947—and he so advised the medical profession at the time—that we should be prepared for an attack in 1952. So you see we are living on borrowed time and why an urgent job must be done. Your 12 great patriotic organizations can start to do the job.

We have talked about ramparts. And you will remember that what so gallantly streams above "the ramparts we watch" is nothing less than the Star Spangled Banner. How many of you, I wonder, realize the historical significance of those other words in our National Anthem which refer to "the rockets' red glare."

Rockets themselves date back to the Chinese and the Arabs, who used them in the 13th and 14th centuries mainly for signaling and fireworks. But by the time of the War of 1812, when Fort McHenry was attacked not many miles from here, the British had recognized the military possibilities of the rocket and had established their famous Rocket Corps.

The rockets, then, seen by Francis Scott Key as they were fired from British ships in Chesapeake Bay in 1814 are the direct ancestors of the antitank rocket bazookas used in Korea.

Like the propeller-driven aircraft and so many other inventions which could be used for peaceful purposes if the power-drunk Kremlin would permit, the rocket could have many peaceful uses. In the future, mail and freight may be carried across oceans and continents at low cost and at terrific speed. General Doolittle has estimated this speed as three times the speed of sound. There would be no pilots aboard such aerial rocket-freighters. They would be controlled electronically in flight and landed, gently, by the same means.

We learned when we captured German scientific material after World War II, that German scientists had brilliantly carried out the technical details for a man-made satellite which would revolve around the earth in an orbit 600 miles away.

The most outstanding feature of this satellite was to be a giant mirror with an arrangement for changing its focal length so that the sun's rays could be either concentrated on a small area of the earth, resulting in immense heat, or spread over a large area.

The Germans conceived their satellite originally for peaceful purposes—as a waystation for the interplanetary travel of the more distant future, as a superobservatory from which astronomers would have an unparalleled view of the heavens, as a platform from which vast areas of our globe could be studied. And the mirror was to control our weather. This was to be achieved by manipulating the sun mirror in such a way as to melt large ice fields or increase the evaporation rate of large bodies of water or change the course of cloud masses.

But the Nazis, like the Reds, were superior to God and the rest of the human race, and were not interested in the scientific or humanitarian aspects of this plan. What appealed to them was the potential destructive power of a highly concentrated sunbeam that a large space reflector could produce. Such a mirror, properly focused on London, New York, Chicago, or San Francisco might be able to burn to a crisp in a matter of minutes every man, animal, plant, tree, or shrub. There would be no explosive noise as with a hydrogen bomb. Only the crackle and roar of the most horrible fire in history.

Unfortunately we have definite reason to believe that the Russians not only share with us paper knowledge of such an earth satellite—they have also in their control some of the German scientists who worked on this and other V-2 projects.

So we are forced to look this fact in the face—whoever with intent to control the world by force first constructs and operates such a satellite may be able to reduce any country it likes to ashes. Only those in caves might survive—if they could find enough vegetation to sustain life when they came out.

More and more it becomes apparent that our problem goes even deeper than the security of this Nation alone. Analyzing the twenty or so previous civilizations which the world has known, Toynbee makes this important point. "When one society has collapsed in one quarter of the world it has not, in the past, necessarily dragged down others with it."

But "we," he says, "are confronted with a challenge that our predecessors never had to face—we are aware that the atom bomb and our many other lethal weapons are capable, in another war, of wiping out not merely the belligerents but the whole of the human race."

In other words, my good friends and ladies, the choice is unfortunately between civilization and oblivion—or, as it might be said, between wings—or caves.

I believe we can meet this challenge, horrible as it is. And I am confident that, with God's help, and with faith in Him and belief in ourselves, we can keep out of the caves and keep human freedom alive. To make sure of this, the Air Force needs our active support. The ARDC needs our active and informed support. You members of veteran organizations—you who know what war really means—pitch in now with all you have and get the facts over to the American public. Make it your first order of business—each of you—right now.

There is an old saying that he who would reform the world must first reform himself. If we have faith in ourselves here at home in our own community others, abroad, will rally to our standard, others too will gain faith.

And keep in front of you this fact: Potentially the American idea is dynamic. It is exportable because people all over the world are reaching for it. Take home this idea and tell it to your neighbors. If the American idea were not dynamic, if people everwhere were not reaching for it, Stalin would never have had to erect the Iron Curtain to keep it out.

The mere existence of the Iron Curtain is the greatest proof that the American idea is wanted and that the American soul, with all its defects, is a healthy soul. Your job, my job, every United States citizen's job is above all else to preserve our form of government and to make our American idea of freedom even more dynamic and, with God's help, the salvation of the world. You can do it. And I know you will.

Fifth Anniversary of the Trial of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement I have prepared in connection with the fifth aniversary of the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty. We who are fortunate enough to be able to live in a country where we can worship our God in accordance with the dictates of our conscience should be mindful of those who cannot have such freedom of worship. I desire to call to the attention of the Senate and the people of the United States the trial of the Cardinal of Hungary, because it demonstrates so clearly how religion is treated in other parts of the world.

I ask unanimous consent also to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, following my statement, a letter dated January 25, 1954, which I have received from Msgr. Bela Varga, former Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, and President of the Hungarian National Council.

There being no objection, the statement and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FERGUSON

Religion is one of the greatest and most apparent differences which divides the free world and the areas dominated by Communist tyranny. Here in the United States, for instance, our Nation is founded on a basic belief in God and our people have the inherent right to worship God as the dictates of their conscience direct. Communism, on the other hand, rejects the very existence of God and often forbids its subjects to worship at all.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the Communist-ruled nation of Hungary.

I wish to call this to the attention of the Senate because this month marks the fifth anniversary of the trial of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, Prince Primate of Hungary. Five years ago this month the Cardinal was convicted by a Communist-Hungarian tribunal on trumped-up charges. I am certain that the details of that infamous trial are generally known to the American people.

This is a part of the general pattern of violent persecution of Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox and Uniates by the Communists.

Because of the tyranny of Communist rulers, the people of Hungary are forbidden to express their own horror at the treatment Cardinal Mindszenty received or to take effective steps to right the terrible injustices committed against him and against freedom.

We know how the people of Hungary must feel about the treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty. The great tragedy of Mohacs, August 29, 1526, stands as a historic memorial to their strugle against anti-Christian invaders from the East. This great battle is doubly significant in that upon its bloody arena fought some of the leading churchmen of the day, and Archbishop Tomori, who was in charge of the army, was among the dead.

The great traditions of Louis Kossuth are still alive in Hungary and repel every idea of the type inflicted on Cardinal Mindszenty.

We, here in the United States, must take this opportunity to refresh our memories with respect to the crimes committed against this primate of the church, and against all religion, and to renew our determination to erase these injustices.

HUNGARIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL,
New York, N. Y., January 25, 1954.

Hon. HOMER FERGUSON,
Senate Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR FERGUSON: The month of February marks the fifth anniversary of the trial of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, prince primate of Hungary, staged by the Communist regime of Hungary. News of the cardinal's arrest, on the second day of Christmas of 1948, was received with deep consternation by the entire free world. The world immediately realized that the Mindszenty case was not merely a concern of the Roman Catholic Church and the Hungarian nation, but that it affected the entire free world and every thinking man and woman. The circumstances of the cardinal's arrest, the utterly false accusations brought against him, the mock trial, filled the free world with alarm.

America, the land of freedom, instinctively sensed that Mindszenty stood for the principles of human liberty on which this great country was founded. No one in the United States had any doubt that Mindszenty had done the right thing. He did so because he foresaw the real goal of the Bolsheviks: the destruction of the subjugated peoples of Central Europe. The arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty in 1948 marked the beginning of a new era in the fight between Bolshevism and the Hungarian as well as the other Central European nations.

Since the silenced and oppressed Hungarian people are unable to express its opinion and feelings today, we who represent their interests on the free soil of the United States and in the countries of the free world, must speak for them in thanking you for your generous contribution to their fight for liberty and for your firm stand in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty. The moral support received from the United States greatly encouraged the Hungarian nation's resistance to Bolshevism, and was largely responsible for the fact that the Hungarian people did not lose faith and hope. On the contrary, their faith in ultimate liberation is today stronger than ever before, and their passive resistance has already shaken the Bolshevik regime to its foundations.

On the fifth anniversary of the arrest and trial of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, we appeal again to the conscience of all free men to keep the fate of the heroic cardinal and the cause of the suffering Hungarian nation before the forums of the free world, so that liberty and justice may eventually emerge victorious from this great human and national tragedy.

Sincerely yours,

Msgr. BELA VARGA,
Former Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, President of the Hungarian National Council.

Problems of the Peoples of the Near East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the distinguished junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] before the National Conference of the American Christian Palestine Committee on February 16, 1954.

This sobering, thought-provoking discussion of America, Israel, and the peoples of the Near East should have the immediate attention of Congress and the country. After I had read it, the thought would not depart that the United States must try to put out the smoldering fire in the Middle East, and not douse gasoline upon it.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. GUY M. GILLETTE, SENATOR FROM IOWA, AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Ladies and gentlemen, for this final session of your conference you have chosen as the theme "America, Israel, and the Peoples of the Near East." One word in that title stands out as the keynote of your whole conference. While you have been discussing great questions of history, religion, economics, and diplomacy, what you have really been talking about are the relationships of peoples: people living in Israel, people living in the other Near East countries, people living in the United States.

Who are these peoples of the Near East? What are the authentic voices among them? What do they want? What are their problems, and how do they affect us? These are the subjects you have really been considering, while at the same time you have been trying to answer the question of what the United States and the American people are doing and can do about them.

It has been called to your attention, for example, that the king of one Near East country wants to annihilate the people of Israel even if it costs 10 million Arab lives. Does this royal view represent the authentic wish of the peoples living in the Arabic-speaking lands? Neither this nor similar warlike outbursts from Arab leaders accurately reflect the real needs and wants of their people.

During my travels in near-eastern countries I found the thirst for war expressed by leaders in the capital cities was by no means as urgent as the passion for ownership of a plot of land among the toiling peasants.

I found little evidence that the landless farmers were as much concerned about their governments' quarrel with Israel as they were about their own poverty, their crushing rents, or the resistance of the great landlords to proposals for reform.

I frankly doubt that the villagers and farm laborers of Iraq or Egypt, for example, are hungering to die in a wild attempt at exterminating Israel. They would prefer to have the right to mark off a piece of soil, call it their own, and retain more of the fruit of their labor for their own and their families' needs.

I question that the authentic voices of the so-called Arab world are the sword-rattling journalists and politicians. The voice of the millions of downtrodden, disease-ridden, poverty-stricken peasants calling out for a life more suited to human wants is the true voice of the Arabic peoples.

Seventy-five percent of the people of the Near East depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The land usable for cultivation is drastically limited by the parched desert, the eroded soil, the lack of irrigation. In Egypt during the last 50 years the population increased 85 percent while the total area under cultivation increased only 17 percent. Think of the pressure on the land that these figures mean. In some provinces in Egypt there are three persons to every acre of cultivated soil. A few years ago fewer than 12,000 Egyptians owned more than a third of the land, or an average of about 180 acres each, while 2 million Egyptians owned 13 percent of the land, or an average of less than half an acre each, and millions more owned none at all.

What do you imagine is the most pressing problem of the Egyptian people: Driving the British out of the Suez, securing revenge against Israel, or curing the age-old agrarian evils of Egypt itself?

In Lebanon a farmer pays 10-percent interest per month for money he has to borrow. His land, if he owns any, may be divided into 3 or 4 or even more plots widely scattered around the village. In 1 village there are 32,000 different parcels of land, of an average size of 1½ acres, some of them only a few yards wide. In Syria, official statistics show 26 percent of the cultivated acreage is owned by a few score great families, and these figures do not include the many scattered estates held by the same owners but registered as separate holdings.

What are the pressing problems of Lebanese and Syrian farmers, three-fourths of the people of their respective countries? What good would it do them if Israel did not exist at all? Would their own malnutrition, endemic ill health, and hopeless poverty be alleviated in any way by renewed warfare against Israel? Is it improved by continued economic blockade of Israel?

We in America know the close connection between a population of independent farmers and democratic government. More than a century ago Senator Thomas Hart Benton observed:

"Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. It lays the foundation for separate orders in society, annihilates the love of country, and weakens the spirit of independence. The farming tenant has, in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no housegold god. The freeholder, on the contrary, is the natural supporter of free government; and it should be the policy of republics to multiply their freeholders, as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply tenants."

In 1820 Daniel Webster made another statement in this regard:

"A republican form of government rests not more on political constitutions than on those laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. Governments like ours could not have been maintained, where property was holden according to the principles of the feudal system, nor, on the other hand, could the feudal constitution possibly exist with us."

What the peoples of the Near East want is fundamentally the same as what peoples everywhere in economically backward areas throughout the world want: enough to eat, a bit of land of their own, education for their children, health for their bodies, and a decent respect by others for their inherent dignity as human beings. None of these are to be obtained through perpetuation of the Arab-Israeli quarrel.

A few years ago our Government took a deep interest in encouraging agrarian reform in the Near East and elsewhere. While we hesitated to use the leverage of point 4 to press for internal changes in the social systems of recipient countries, our official declarations and our actions at the United Nations were designed to bolster those in backward countries who were seeking to bring about a better system of land distribution. The administration at that time recognized the need to fight communism with preventive medicine by encouraging our friends to give their own people a greater stake in the society in which they lived as the best form of inoculation against the Communist virus.

We no longer hear mention of this approach, but instead we hear only of shipments of arms and munitions and the negotiation of military agreements.

As our officials have apparently abandoned our former concern with strengthening the fibers of near eastern society by internal reform in the interest of a better life for the people, they have also apparently abandoned the search for a peaceful settlement of differences among those peoples.

Until a few months ago, it was the principal aim of our Government to promote peace in the Middle East so as to lay a solid groundwork for a defense system against Soviet aggression. For sometime, however, signals have been going up from official circles in this city indicating a drastic shift in emphasis and approach—a shift which in the nature of things could only be a retreat from peace.

We have all seen signs that the administration no longer cares to stress the need for peace between Israel and the Arab States, but, on the contrary, is wooing the political support of certain governments by publicly chastising Israel and dangling offers of arms before their eyes. This shift in emphasis, in my judgment, is based on a wholly false assumption about America's true interests in that region of the world.

After having seen with my own eyes the eroded land, the wasted deserts, the unimaginable misery of the vast majority of the people in the Near and Middle East, coupled with the outmoded and primitive methods, both technical and social, with which they work and live, I have concluded that there is only one policy which our Government can beneficially promote at this time in that area. That is a policy aimed at creating to the degree possible international conditions under which average people there will have a chance to improve their standards of life. If we should not attempt intervention in their internal affairs, if we refuse to urge their governments to make the necessary domestic changes to block ultimate Communist revolution, then the least we can do is to bring about a situation in international relations in the Near East whereby the energies of governments and peoples are turned to improvement at home instead of conflict with their neighbors.

The first and essential step under a policy with this as its aim is firm, unbending, tenacious pressure for peace between Israel and the governments of the Arab states.

Our Government could make no greater single contribution to a better life for the people of the Near East, not merely in Israel but in every surrounding country, than to use all its persuasive power to transform the present, outdated armistice agreements into a permanent peaceful settlement.

Yet, this no longer seems to be the objective of United States policy. Last fall when the Western Powers submitted their Palestine resolution to the Security Council of the United Nations, the rumor was widely believed that in an effort to win support from the Arab League governments for other purposes, the administration would accept their insistent demand that the resolution omit all references to making peace with Israel. In every previous declaration on Palestine, the Council had always strongly emphasized the need for swift settlement of the lengthy dispute, and the United States had always been in the forefront urging this approach.

But when the resolution was made public, we found that the sponsors did not even acknowledge their own responsibility as permanent members of the Security Council, for bringing peace to the Middle East. Nowhere did they propose any step by which a peaceful settlement could be reached that would foreclose forever any repetition of the type of border incident which their resolution so roundly condemned. All that they did was to perpetuate the status quo of the general armistice agreements written more than 4 years ago.

But this is unfortunately neither the only nor the first sign of the new policy. There have been many others. For the first time since foreign assistance programs began, an administration has suspended aid to a small nation in order to compel obedience of an order issued by a United Nations official. For the first time an administration has joined in censuring one side in a dispute without condemning the whole series of incidents by both sides which result from failure to conclude a peace. For the first time the Security Council, on motion of Great Britain, France, and the United States, has flagrantly omitted any recommendation that the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute reach a permanent peace as soon as possible.

Most serious of all, for the first time plans are going forward to ship arms to friendly countries which are in a state of war with another country friendly to the United States.

Without the security of peaceful relations among neighboring countries, how can there be a common defense among them against an outside foe? Difficult as are the tangled problems in the Middle East, I can see no sense in aggravating them by rash moves that only make ultimate solution more remote than ever. We are in the business not of promoting wars but of preventing them.

I am prepared to consider every reasonable proposal for the defense buildup of the Near and Middle East that carries promise of even partial success. We must find a way to forestall a Soviet flanking operation against the Atlantic community. But what is the purpose of a proposal that instead of unifying the peoples of the area for their common protection gives some of them the means to resume open warfare against others? How does this help prevent a Soviet attack on the Middle East or in any way shore up the defenses of that strategic world crossroads?

If we are seeking military partners against the Red empire, let us look for them among nations that intend to use their military strength against communism instead of against our own friends and allies.

Since its founding in 1948 Israel has become, with the single exception of Turkey, the strongest bulwark against communism in the entire Near East. Its geographic position, with the wedge of the Negev desert separating the easterly Arab countries from Egypt and North Africa, is unique in the world and of supreme significance to the United States in the great struggle against Soviet imperialism.

That is because Israel lies squarely across the only land bridge connecting Asia and Africa.

Israel in fact is the barrier to Red expansion from the continent of Asia where the Soviet empire is dominant, to the continent of Africa with its storehouse of raw materials and its seething anticolonial turbulence.

We in America should work for the day when all the Middle Eastern countries will be sufficiently developed to withstand Communist attack, but until they are farther advanced than they are today, it would be foolhardy to count on all of these counties against the ever-present danger of swift moves to expand Soviet power toward Africa. We must count on the existing forces and bases of democracy. We should not ignore the importance for the national interests of the United States of the strategic position of Israel standing athwart the land bridge linking Asia and Africa. Men are building there a solid base for freedom, a beacon of hope to oppressed peoples, an example of 20th century western society in a region slumbering since medieval times, and a barrier against the extension of Communist power.

In the meantime, whatever military plans may ultimately be developed for the protection of the region, every sincere American friend of the Middle East must have as his prime, controlling objective the reestablishment of conditions of peace between the Arab League governments and Israel.

The tragic refugee problem, to which your conference has given consideration, is itself insoluble except as the prospects for peace improve. As the interim report of the special Near East Refugee Commission appointed by Mr. Stassen stated last December:

"The refugee problem is inextricably woven into the entire economic, social, and political situation which afflicts the Middle East of today. * * * The Commission sees no permanent solution to the refugee problem until there is a more favorable political atmosphere leading to a workable peace established between the Arab States and Israel."

When I realize that none of the real problems confronting both Israel and her neighbors can even begin to be solved until there is peace, I am unable to fathom the reasoning that has persuaded this administration against exerting all possible effort to bring the parties together, to meet, to talk, to negotiate, and to remain in negotiation until a compromise is reached and peace is won. The confusion engendered by the failure of the leading Western governments to insist on this is leading to continuation of the crisis. This confusion as to our true aims must be dispelled. Our own Government must take the lead in reaffirming its aim to be peace: peace among the peoples within the area; peace between those peoples and the other free nations; peace, the only condition in which security against outside attack or internal subversion becomes possible; peace, the only atmosphere in which economic and social progress benefiting all peoples in the region can advance; peace, the essential prerequisite to success in any other aim of United States policy in that part of the world.

The present doubt as to our intentions must be swept aside. We need an official, public declaration by our Government that it is our unaltered and unalterable purpose to bring about a permanent peace settlement in place of the present armistice agreements. It must be made unmistakably clear that America's policy is not only to bring about final peace negotiations but also to oppose any further breakdown of peace or any revision by force of the frontiers now delimiting the territories of any of the middle-eastern states. As a member of the Security Council, the United States in effect would be saying that it would lead the opposition to any attempt from within or without the area to destroy by force the national integrity of any near- or middle-eastern country.

The effect of such a declaration would remove any doubt as to America's attitude in the face of any resumption of the Palestine war. So long as this doubt lingers, fed from time to time by ill-considered moves in Washington, the enemies of peace will pursue their agitation for a second round.

The proper role of the United Nations Security Council, which has been established to preserve international peace and security, is not to avoid taking a strong stand in favor of peace, but on the contrary to create by moral suasion the atmosphere in which negotiation for peace becomes necessary and possible. The proper role for great powers, such as the United States, is to lend all possible encouragement, instead of hindrance, to United Nations efforts in accordance with the charter to influence the parties in dispute to meet across the peace table.

I recall that the great U. N. negotiator, Ralph Bunche, in handling the Palestine armistice talks on Rhodes some years ago, told both sides in effect: "You sit here until you reach an armistice agreement, and the one who walks out will be the one blamed for the collapse of these negotiations." That is a model which his successors could do well to imitate.

Before concluding, ladies and gentlemen, may I take note of the auspices under which

we are meeting tonight. It calls again to my mind three wondrous phenomena which for me partake of the nature of miracles.

The Hebrew people who gave the world the astounding concept of one God, for more than 5,000 years have suffered persecution, dispersal, slavery, and repeatedly attempted destruction, yet have lived through every travail to be reborn as a nation in their ancient homeland. Surely the survival of this remarkable people is a continuing miracle.

Whether one believes that the Jewish boy named Jesus of Nazareth was a Messiah, a great teacher or a Saviour divinely missioned to save mankind, no one can deny or discount the fact that the simplicity and purity of His life and teaching transformed the whole world and furnished the motivation for the great concept of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. That great concept is slowly but irresistably changing a world of cruelty, selfishness, and strife into a world where millions labor together to make effective the two great rules for human society taught by Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that man should do to you, do you even so to them," and "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart and all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself." This is the second great modern miracle.

For thousands of years intense and deep-rooted hostilities have been built up through tribe, clan, nation, and race that shut out the ideals of common human goals and interests. The brotherhood of man and the community of nations are alike impossible in the atmosphere of hatred, suspicion, and fanatic nationalism. Then there came into being, under the dispensation of divine providence, an entirely new nation, and from every part of Europe, Asia, and Africa came people casting aside old false loyalties and recognizing mutuality of interest. Out of this heterogeneous people of many nationalities, creeds, and origins came the revolutionary new concept of human government founded on the principle: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Here was the third miracle: A mighty people drawn from all corners of the earth joined to govern themselves under these principles, dedicated to altruism and recognizing as fundamental law the liberty and equality of all men everywhere.

I am constrained personally to believe that in these three miracles today is shown the working of an omnipotent plan and purpose:

The fatherhood of God.

The brotherhood of man.

The leadership which has come unsought to a Nation dedicated, in the words of the man whose birthday we commemorated last Friday, "to the principle that all men are created equal."

Let us exercise that leadership "with malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

Labor-Management Conference on Unemployment Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this body the following letter received from Mr. George W. Hall, secretary-treasurer of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, as well as a resolution adopted by the executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Both the letter and the resolution which appear below deal with a very serious issue—the growing magnitude of the unemployment problem. The resolution suggests that a constructive step be taken in the direction of solving that problem, by calling a conference of labor and management to find ways and means of stabilizing the economy at a level of full employment.

It is my belief that the suggestion merits careful consideration, because an expansion in the volume of unemployment cannot avoid having a serious effect on our economy, and it would impose even greater hardships upon our people, particularly upon those who are already suffering because of lack of work A solution to this problem must be found, and it ought to be found as promptly as possible.

The letter and resolution follow:

WISCONSIN STATE
FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Milwaukee, Wis., February 16, 1954.

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI: Following numerous requests from its many affiliated unions that something be done to stabilize employment, the executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its meeting on January 8 and 9, 1954, took up the subject of unemployment in the State and Nation.

After full discussion on the matter, the officers were advised to draft a resolution to bring to the attention of National and State governments the acute economic problem that exists at the present time due to unemployment. The resolution requests that a conference of labor and management be called to find ways and means of eliminating wholesale unemployment.

The enclosed resolution carrys out the mandates of the executive board and we petition your good office to assist and support its intent.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE W. HALL,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Whereas the cutting of the National Defense Program has materially reduced the number of jobs throughout the Nation and has placed many workers on the unemployment rolls as a result thereof; and

Whereas since the Federal Government no longer buys the industrial product to the extent that it formerly did, competition for customers has sharply increased, resulting in attempts to cut down costs. Accordingly, there is a great trend in American industry to become more and more mechanized, to the extent that entire departments and even whole plants that previously required the work of hundreds of men, are now being run completely with pushbutton automatic equipment which only requires 1 or 2 men to watch the machines, thus causing vast technological unemployment; and

Whereas the total unemployment for January 1954 has resulted in a new high of 2,359,000, and the Federal Government reports that the number of unemployed will continue to increase through the next several months; and

Whereas no significant effort is being made by private industry to create new job opportunities to stem this increasing tide of unemployment which is seeping into the homes of the American workers and causing economic ruin to their families; and

Whereas periods of unemployment are not a necessary incident to a peacetime economy and with proper use of the means of production and the right guidance by the Federal Government we can maintain full employment and prosperity for all the people during peacetime: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the executive board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor goes on record requesting President Eisenhower to call a conference of labor and management to find ways and means to stabilize the economy at a level of full employment; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Governor, United States Senators and Congressmen from the State of Wisconsin.

Multitude of Sins

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I certainly wish to wholeheartedly commend Representative ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI, of New Jersey, for his courageous dramatization of a serious defect in the present security program of the Federal Government. Branding a person as a security risk because he has relatives behind the Iron Curtain is totally out of accord with the individual guilt concept of American jurisprudence—particularly when it is remembered that the label "security risk" is a serious handicap against anyone who acquires it.

Many citizens of Union County, N. J., have relatives behind the Iron Curtain. This fact, per se, has nothing to do with their loyalty, nor should it adversely affect their opportunity of holding Federal employment.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Post of Wednesday, February 17, 1954, which commends Representative SIEMINSKI for his stand and which points up some important implications of the present security program:

MULTITUDE OF SINS

It is now clear that the designation "security risk" as used by some members of the administration has covered a multitude of sins. In the case of the Treasury Department, which is probably typical enough, it was revealed on Monday that of the 131 employees who were dismissed or who resigned under the terms of the new security program, only 4 were of doubtful loyalty. And the Department's general counsel acknowledged to a House Appropriations Subcommittee that 144 of the separations were brought about through normal civil-service procedures and had nothing to do with President Eisenhower's order creating the security program. In short, those who have been representing the record of 2,200 security separations as proof that the Government was full of Communists and other subversives have been guilty of a barefaced fraud.

Some Members of Congress have been asking what difference it makes whether the

employees were separated because they were subversives, drunks, homosexuals, gossips, or merely somewhat unstable. Obviously, it makes a good deal of difference to the endurance of the fiction that the Government is Communist ridden. Obviously, too, it makes a difference to the individuals involved. Representative J. VAUGHN GARY, who forced the partial breakdown of security separations, declared: "There is a difference between a man being an alcoholic, which is a disease, and being a Communist, which is a traitor."

The difference was dramatized, luridly but effectively, by another member of the subcommittee, Representative ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI. When he heard that one reason for separating a man from the Government service as a security risk might be the fact that he had relatives abroad behind the Iron Curtain, the Congressman revealed that for 7 years, until the past Christmas, he had had a stepdaughter in Poland; and he added that he would kill anyone who charged him with disloyalty on this account. We imagine a great many Americans would feel the same way. It is tragic as well as ironic that the Eisenhower security program, devised to avoid the stigma of disloyalty, should have been misused to brand the innocent with the guilty.

Modern Minuteman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of January 17, 1954:

MODERN MINUTEMAN

Massachusetts' junior Senator, JOHN F. KENNEDY, won a hero's reputation as a World War II PT boat commander. Three days and nights he swam the shark-ridden waters of the Solomons to save his crew after their craft had been cut in two by a Japanese destroyer.

On the civilian level, KENNEDY came close to matching those heroics this week. In an extraordinary display of statesmanship he came out in favor of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway project.

Kennedy's stand represented far more than just the shift of one vote would indicate. It broke the ranks of what for years has been solid opposition from Atlantic and gulf coast congressional delegations. More specifically, in the last 20 years, during which the waterway had been considered on 6 different occasions by Congress, not a single Bay State politician gave it support. Boston port interests kept them muzzled.

This misguided sectionalism received the careful attention of the 37-year-old Senator.

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation in this project for the national security merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere, I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas."

Against the opinion of this genuine American, the seaway's die-hard opponents threw the leather-lunged Senator JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER of Maryland. On Friday he shoveled 94,000 words of obstructionism into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Butler's efforts obviously received the attention they so richly deserved. "Only a handful were on the floor," said the Plain Dealer's Washington Bureau.

His only new argument was an involved scream about the impoverished United States and how we could not possibly afford the $100 million waterway. But if Canada goes it alone, as she surely will, the ultimate costs would eventually be borne by the United States in tolls alone.

As Senator KENNEDY indicated, the Midwest is not attempting to impoverish any one section or the Nation as a whole via the seaway. It is calculated to promote the general welfare. This project is as inevitable and right as were the Suez and Panama Canals.

Frances E. Willard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following address which I made in Statuary Hall at the service honoring the memory of Frances E. Willard:

FRANCES E. WILLARD

It is a unique pleasure to pay tribute to the one woman whom the Congress of the United States has seen fit to honor by granting her a place in our Nation's hall of fame here in the Capitol. The statue of Frances E. Willard justifiably stands among such great leaders of our country as Washington, Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, Robert E. Lee, Ethan Allen, William Jennings Bryan, and many others.

Perhaps no other woman of the 19th century wielded quite so much influence and power as Frances Willard. As leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as politician, as journalist, as organizer, and as slogan maker, she captured the imagination of millions.

This woman was sure to succeed, for she lived in an important period, came from an illustrious family, possessed remarkable ability, boundless energy, and a winsome personality, and was determined to make her mark in the world.

It is probable that Frances E. Willard came into her inheritance, in part, through fortunate parentage. Born in 1839 of New England stock, and transplanted into western soil, she grew up in the days when the slavery issue was agitating the country. She lived through the Civil War and reconstruction, witnessed the growth of the American economic system, and saw the expansion of her Nation's international interests into the West Indies and the Philippines. Not only did her life span the period when a marvelous transition in American history was occurring, namely, the passage of some of the ideals of womankind into political action—but she participated as one of the great leaders in this movement.

During the years between 8 and 18 the child Frances grew in the free air, with leagues of prairie around her, her only companions, her brother and sister; her books few; her teachers a wise and gifted mother, and a bright and talented governess. Education—not described by textbooks and departments—was her daily food and inspiration. There were "sermons in stones, books in the running brooks."

At 18 years of age, school life, in the conventional sense, began. She was sent to the Milwaukee Female College, founded by Catharine Beecher. The next year she went to the Northwestern Female College in Evanston, Ill. There she studied and later taught. Eventually she became president of the Evanston College for Ladies—the first woman college president of America.

In a sense Frances E. Willard was a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln, although she was 30 years his junior. Both were products of the State of Illinois, and in many respects their lives were similar.

Lincoln preached charity for all, malice for none. On one occasion he voiced the hope that this Nation might see the day when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in the land. He devoted his life to saving the Union—to preserving this Nation as one, free and indivisible.

Miss Willard devoted her life to God and home and native land. She held high the white banner of purity and peace, patriotism, and prohibition, justice, and the redemption of humanity. Yes, she was a devout advocate of peace, but she knew that in this sinful world we often have to fight for peace. Like Lincoln, her ambition was to unite the people of her country.

So in 1874 she gave up her career as an educator and accepted the presidency of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Instead of peace, she said:

"I was to participate in war. I was to become a wanderer on the face of the earth; I was to frequent public halls, railway cars, saloons, and gambling houses."

In her new life she was the leader of bands of women who went about singing and praying against the liquor traffic. With a group of temperance crusaders in Pittsburg she delivered her first public prayer, kneeling on the sawdust floor of a saloon.

Her sincere and militant leadership of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union brought to her the presidency not only of the national WCTU but also of the world's WCTU. As a fighter against alcoholism, she realized that behind the drunkard were the facts of poverty and despair. Her great leadership in the temperance crusade sprang from her faith in humanity. She was a great leader, mainly because she understood those who followed, and, with her personal magnetism, drew those who did not have the courage to follow.

She was deeply religious, but so liberal, patient and tolerant that she never offended anyone who differed with her point of view. Her indomitable will, courage, and unfailing faith in the right never left her for a moment.

In the vanguard of the woman's suffrage movement, she extended her fight for the legal protection of women to States where the laws were lax and discriminatory. Social ridicule never dismayed Frances E. Willard. She promoted health measures and established kitchen gardens, kindergartens, and educational measures for mothers.

Frances Willard could be honored for her record in several fields: Pioneering in woman suffrage, coeducation in institutions of higher learning, and reform through State and Federal legislation. But most of all she was the very heartbeat of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

On an occasion such as this, several years before his death, my esteemed predecessor, the Honorable Joseph R. Bryson, said in a tribute to Frances Willard, "When those of us who still fight for temperance and decency become discouraged, we are heartened to learn of the untiring efforts for a better world in which to live as sought by Miss Willard."

The qualifications of Frances Willard as a leader and organizer were exceptional. She

had a compelling personality which made women by the thousands adore her, yet she also possessed a hard, dynamic quality which gave her driving-power. Such characteristics enabled her to develop an association which was the largest, best-organized, and most influential body of women of the century. She carried the Woman's Christian Temperance Union from one advanced position to another.

Realizing the evil effects of drink on health and morality, she dedicated her life to the temperance cause. Then, realizing that women could not protect their homes and families from strong drink without the power of the vote, she gave much of her time to the suffrage movement. She argued for the rights of the laboring man to fair wages and an 8-hour day. She worked for the equality of men and women. Confident in the power of God, she endeavored to build up all that was great in the home, in the Government, and in the Nation.

Hundreds of memorials in the form of hospitals, schools, homes for girls, settlements houses, and other worthwhile projects, attest the far reaching effects of the life of Frances Willard. One can readily see why her statue has been placed in a hallowed place in our Capitol.

Men and women the world over agree that this world has been a healthier, holier, happier place to live in because she did her work.

Perhaps no woman who ever lived was more loved. God bless her name—and may the principles for which she lived and worked and fought, continue to give us better women, better mothers, better homes, and a more Christian America.

Smuggling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of January 21, 1954:

SMUGGLING

One day recently a special Treasury Department agent followed a steamship passenger from the pier to the street and took him into custody for an examination of his baggage. The agent was working on one of the many tipoffs that come from abroad, and he found hidden in one of the 5 pieces of luggage a considerable quantity of undeclared jewelry. The baggage had already been examined by the regular customs inspector on the pier.

The customs inspector explained that he had followed orders and had examined only one of the 5 pieces; and true enough, this piece was clear of undeclared goods. Because the staff of the Customs Bureau here has been kept at a minimum that menaces port security the staff has been experimenting in recent months with a "spot check" examination. It is all they can do unless they wish to take the responsibility of delaying passenger debarkations overlong.

The sense of this kind of economy seems dubious. Including the airports and the waterfront, where customhouse men have jurisdiction, more than 3 million pieces of luggage came into the customs district during 1953. As many and perhaps more will be brought in this year, and presumably only 1 out of 5 or 1 out of 10 will receive a real examination.

A report in this newspaper of the year's activities of the various customhouse staffs noted that actual contraband seizures during the year had declined in number. The implication was that perhaps smugglers are trying other ports, or have devised new methods of concealment. Perhaps the slackening of surveillance had something to do with the decline. If so, the manpower problem of the collector of the port should be reviewed.

A Courageous Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Greenwood (Miss.) Commonwealth and another on the same subject from the Chattanooga Times:

[From the Greenwood (Miss.) Commonwealth of January 21, 1954]

A COURAGEOUS STAND

The best Members of Congress have always been those who have been aware of the dual responsibility that rests with those who sit in our Senate or House of Representatives. They know that they must represent the interests and welfare of the people who send them to Congress; at the same time they are aware that their highest duty is to the Nation as a whole.

In a country as large as ours it is inevitable that this dual responsibility carried by legislators will occasionally result in individual legislators having to make difficult decisions. A Member of Congress who is more interested in winning reelection than he is in fulfilling his oath of office will often let sectionalism dictate his voting. He will support or oppose a measure purely because he knows that his stand will be popular at home.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, junior Senator from Massachusetts, recently took a courageous stand against this sectionalism. He announced his support of the St. Lawrence seaway project, something no Senator from his State has ever done. In announcing his position, Senator KENNEDY said that he refused to oppose the project merely because the economic benefits which will result from it will go to other parts of the country than his own. He said that it was an "arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas.

It is possible to disagree with the young Senator's point of view as to the benefits that will be derived from the St. Lawrence seaway. Even his opponents, however, must applaud his courageous refusal to let sectionalism influence him. The welfare of all the States is tied together. The prosperity of one part without the prosperity of every other part is impossible. In the long run the Senator or Representative who takes this point of view renders the best service to his home State.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times of January 25, 1954]

IT'S STATESMANSHIP

Young Senator JOHN KENNEDY, with whom we sometimes agree, sometimes disagree, went against Massachusetts tradition by voting in favor of the St. Lawrence seaway.

His colleague, Senator SALTONSTALL, opposed it, as Massachusetts lawmakers have done in the past. Their opposition is based chiefly on the claim that Massachusetts would not benefit from the seaway, and that it might take away some trade from Massachusetts ports.

"I am unable to accept such a narrow view of my functions as a United States Senator," said Mr. KENNEDY in a Senate speech. "It has been the arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other States. We cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position."

The young Senator has the right view on true statesmanship.

Vice President Nixon's Lincoln Day Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON on the occasion of the annual Lincoln Day dinner of Alameda County Republicans on February 12, are of acute pertinence to the issues before the Nation today. It is my pleasure to include his remarks for the benefit of my colleagues who were not present on this occasion:

This is a particularly significant day for Republicans. It is the first election year Lincoln Day dinner held in 20 years when there was a Republican President in the White House.

For 20 years we have had to talk about how to get the other side out. Now we can talk about how to keep them out and keep our side in.

WHY ELECT A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS?

Our immediate objective is to give our Republican President what he needs and is entitled to, a clear working Republican majority in the House and Senate.

I realize there are some who say, "What difference does it make? A Democrat voting for the Eisenhower program is just as good as a Republican." We welcome and need the support of Democrats in Congress who believe in the Eisenhower program. But as the election approaches we must bear in mind two basic political facts of life.

1. An election of a Democratic Congress next November would inevitably be interpreted as a slap at President Eisenhower and his program.

2. As 1956 approaches a primary interest of any Democratic Senator or Congressman will be to defeat the Republican President and elect a Democratic President. That consideration cannot help but have some effect on the votes he will cast.

During the past week several leading Democrats made statements which contained veiled but unmistakable threats to refuse to cooperate with the President's program if the Republicans did not discontinue their criticisms of the previous administration. While it is hard to believe that any of these individuals would place their party above what they know is good for the country we have in these statements the most striking proof of the danger of relying on support of Democrats to put over the Eisenhower program in Congress.

UNITED REPUBLICAN SUPPORT NEEDED

In order to elect a Republican House and Senate it is essential to get the votes of three different groups.

The first requirement is for an enthusiastic, united Republican organization. I have very little patience with those Republicans who seize on one issue in which they are particularly interested and in effect say, "If the administration doesn't do what I believe should be done on this issue I am going to quit supporting the Republicans and vote for the Democrats."

If this administration's middle-of-the-road program is repudiated by the Congress and the Republicans are defeated at the polls the alternative will inevitably be a swing to the far left with all the disastrous consequences that would mean to traditional American principles.

It is time for all Republicans to begin to emphasize more those things upon which we agree than those upon which we disagree. Senator Taft set a magnificent example in this respect. He recognized that if the Eisenhower administration's program failed, the Republican Party would suffer defeat at the polls. Let us follow this example in supporting the President's program wholeheartedly.

VOTES OF DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS NEEDED

In addition to the votes of Republicans we need, as we did in 1952, the votes of Democrats and Independents who believe in our program. We should avoid indiscriminate attacks on members of the other party as a group. We must remember that millions of Democrats were just as fed up with Trumanism as we were in 1952. We should leave the door open for all, regardless of party, to support our President and his program.

CONTINUED SUPPORT OF YOUNG VOTERS

It is also essential for the future of the Republican Party that we continue to appeal to the new young voters who supported the Eisenhower ticket in 1952.

For 20 years a solid majority of the young voters were in the other camp. We won them over in 1952. Let us make sure that we do not lose them in 1954.

How can we get the votes of the groups that I have mentioned? To win the votes we need, we must not be satisfied with a negative, destructive, reactionary approach. It isn't good enough to win and it isn't worthy of our party or our country. We must convince the people that our Republican leadership stands for a program which is based solidly on American constitutional principles but which is not afraid of new ideas and which meets the massive problems of today's world dynamically, courageously and with imagination.

1953—THE YEAR OF CLEANING UP THE MESS

For the Eisenhower administration, 1953 could be properly designated as the year of cleaning up the mess.

It is difficult to recall now the situation that existed in the last years of the Truman administration.

1. Casualties in Korea were continuing to pile up and no end was in sight.

2. Deficits were climbing and inflation could not be checked despite controls on the economy.

3. National morality was at an all-time low. The problem was aggravated by the fact that unethical practices had been condoned and defended by people in high places in the administration.

4. Mediocrity and inefficiency was the rule rather than the exception among appointed Government officials.

5. The loyalty program was failing to accomplish its objective because of the failure of top Government officials to recognize the seriousness of the problem.

In 1 year the Eisenhower administration has made tremendous progress in cleaning up the mess. Today four adjectives can with fairness be applied to this administration. The administration is loyal, honest, competent, and solvent.

We have a President who will never tolerate himself or on the part of people in his administration cover-up or defense for political purposes of dishonesty, disloyalty, or incompetence. We have a man as President that every American can be proud of.

Cleaning up the mess would by itself be enough to deserve the support of the voters. But America needs more than that. Any administration should have the virtues which have been enumerated.

This administration does not propose to rest on its laurels after cleaning up the mess. We can proudly go to the country this November, to Republicans, to Democrats, to young and old, with a dynamic, new program designed to keep America prosperous at home and at peace throughout the world.

PROSPERITY AND PEACE AT HOME

At home the great challenge confronting this administration is to prove that it is possible in today's world for America to have peace and prosperity at the same time.

THE NEW DEAL-FAIR DEAL APPROACH

For 20 years the Fair Deal and the New Deal were never able to accomplish that objective. In 1939, after 7 years of the New Deal, there were still 9 million unemployed in the United States. In 1949, before the Korean war, unemployment was 50 percent higher than it is today, and the downtrend was reversed only when the Korean war began.

The New Deal and Fair Deal administrations have claimed that prosperity in peacetime was possible only under a system which relies on ever-increasing Government controls and more socialization of the basic institutions of the country. They held to the theory that government has to manage the economy because people are incapable of doing it; that only government can assure prosperity.

THE EISENHOWER APPROACH

The Eisenhower program breaks sharply with the philosophy of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. It is based solidly on Lincoln's great declaration: "The legitimate objective of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do in their separate and individual capacities."

As President Eisenhower hs so eloquently put it in his address at the great Lincoln Day box supper in Washington on February 5: "In things which have to do with people, be liberal; be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money or economy or their form of government, be conservative, and don't be afraid to use the word."

The Eisenhower philosophy holds that people as individuals and as members of the business community have the primary responsibility to provide prosperity. It is the responsibility of government to create the environment for private enterprise to do the job. We believe that we can have real prosperity in peacetime in the United States only if we place our reliance on more jobs and more production by private enterprise. For that reason, the new Eisenhower program includes these features:

1. A balanced budget to assure the stability which will attract investment.

2. The removal of controls upon the economy.

3. Tax measures to encourage new businesses, small businesses, and investment at home and abroad.

4. Lowered interest rates to encourage borrowing for new enterprise.

5. (a) A farm program which emphasizes high farm income rather than artificial high parity.

(b) Food at lower prices to consumers rather than letting it spoil in warehouses.

(c) Keeping controls on the farmers at a minimum.

As President Eisenhower has indicated, in dealing with human problems, it is the policy of his administration to adopt a liberal program. Toward this end he advocates:

1. Expansion of social-security coverage to include 10 million people not now covered and an increase in benefits.

2. The expansion of unemployment insurance coverage to include 6.5 million not now covered.

3. Expanded housing program—private where possible and public where necessary.

4. A medical program which will encourage private plans of health insurance through a government reinsurance program. This program is based on the sound American principle that anyone who wants health insurance should be able to get it; that those who need it should be encouraged to obtain it; but that no one shall be forced to take it against his will.

This administration has faith in its program and is convinced that its adoption offers America its best hope for a new era of prosperity in peacetime.

DEPRESSION TALK NOT JUSTIFIED

There is no reason for us to have a depression unless we talk ourselves into it.

Let's look at some of the plus factors. Despite the fact that the shooting in Korea ended 8 months ago and that we are in a transition period from a wartime to a peacetime economy, we find:

1. 1953 was the best year in our history.

2. Employment this January was higher than any January in history except 1953.

3. In the automobile field Ford had its biggest month in January and General Motors has announced a billion-dollar expansion program for 1954.

4. Farm income has gone up four points since November.

5. In 37 Eastern and Midwestern States, building and engineering contracts are the highest on record for January. Residential and nonresidential building contracts are ahead of last year at this time.

6. Business will spend more on new plants and equipment in the first quarter of 1954 than in any previous year in history.

There should be honest discussion of the economic condition of the country, particularly when danger signals are evident. But those who become prophets of doom for political purposes render a great disservice to their country Not only does this hurt us at home but it hurts us irreparably abroad. The nations abroad know that their economics are affected tremendously by what happens to the economy of the United States. Talk of depression and recession is blown up tenfold and creates fear and instability all over the world.

For a hundred and sixty years America's greatness has been due to the application of the principle of individual enterprise. The activities of government did not make America a great country. Government created the climate wherein individuals acting alone and cooperatively contributed to our progress.

Today our productivity and our living standards are the envy and the hope of the world. This is no time to lose faith in our system and turn to systems which have failed every place else in the world where they have tried. This administration has faith in America and in its system. We intend to give it a chance to work.

NEW DEFENSE POLICY

One of the most dramatic developments of the Eisenhower administration has been the adoption of a new defense policy. This policy is based on the principle of massive retaliatory power rather than maintenance of American ground forces in every potential trouble spot in the world. As Admiral Radford, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has pointed out: "It is obviously impossible for the United States to sustain

forces which will enable us to station combat effective units of superior strength every place where aggression might occur. If we tried to do this we would insure economic collapse."

There can be a legitimate difference of opinion as to the advisability of adopting a new military policy, but we are fortunate that President Eisenhower himself approved this decision, and certainly no man in the world is better qualified than he to make such a decision.

PEACE WITHOUT SURRENDER

In the field of foreign policy this administration stands for a program which will bring peace without surrender and without compromise of the basic principles for which so many Americans have fought and died. Secretary of State Dulles deserves the praise of the whole Nation for the splendid manner in which he has stood up to the Communists at the conference table in Berlin. The day is past when our diplomats lose at the conference table the victories which our fighting men win on the battlefield.

IDEOLOGICAL INITIATIVE REGAINED

The most significant development in the field of foreign policy is the way in which President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have taken the ideological initiative away from the Communists. The responsibility for blockading the road to peace has been placed squarely upon the shoulders of the Communist leaders. The President in his speech of April 16 and his speech before the United Nations made it clear to all the world that it was Russia and not the United States who was responsible for present world tensions and the threat of war which exists.

A hundred years ago the Republican Party was founded and its first great President was elected at a time that the country needed his leadership to save the Union. Today when the Nation and the whole free world needs the best that human leadership can provide to save our civilization, the Republican Party can be proud that another great Republican President is the man whom the whole free world recognizes as being equal to the task.

It is the responsibility of Republicans everywhere to give him the support in the country and in the halls of Congress which he deserves; support which will assure the passage of his program, prosperity and peace for America, and a better life for free men everywhere.

Seaway Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Detroit News of January 18, 1954:

SEAWAY SUPPORT

Senator KENNEDY's switch from the normal Massachusetts opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway was the kind of break that portends success for the pending bill.

The basis of the Massachusetts position has been identical with that determining the attitudes of other coastal States. It has been feared that the seaway would divert to Great Lakes ports some of the commerce now routed via the seaboard.

KENNEDY's decision no longer to be bound by that consideration was taken on the highest grounds of statesmanship. "I am unable," he said, "to accept such a narrow view of my functions as a United States Senator."

The young Massachusetts Senator is a Democrat. His decision to uphold the President in a matter that Mr. Eisenhower has termed vital to the Nation's defense and welfare provides an example which Republican opponents of the project could hardly ignore.

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to call to the attention of the membership of this body the following three editorials dealing with the St. Lawrence seaway.

Needless to say, all of us who have actively worked for the enactment of the seaway legislation in past Congresses, as well as in this one, have been greatly encouraged by the recent increase in the ranks of the seaway's supporters.

It is my hope that these ranks will continue to grow and that, acting in the interests of national security and well-being, this body will grant early and favorable consideration to this vital legislation.

The editorials follow:

[From the Green Bay Press-Gazette of January 25, 1954]

FOES OF THE WATERWAY

Boston, New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans are almost wild-eyed at the thought of the St. Lawrence Waterway improvement. The fear by these established ports that they may miss the business of some tramp freighters has upset their reason.

When Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, announced his support of the waterway for reasons so logical no one can dispute them in good faith, he also told the country that he was the first Member of Congress from Massachusetts to make such an announcement. May this tribe increase.

We doubt whether it is the people involved in the areas mentioned that want such an attitude of hostility taken. The fact is, of course, that the rest of this country has paid out during the decades billions of dollars to keep the ports mentioned in good shape, by almost constant dredging, the building of piers and other forms of expensive service. One can hardly imagine what the people of this country have paid so that great ocean liners may steam up the Mississippi to New Orleans, a distance of perhaps 50 or 60 miles.

Through the generations we have witnessed small-minded men in Congress securing election from Southern States because of their demand for white supremacy. It is the same sort of mentality that is now trying to prevent this Midwest from securing a natural enlargement of its waterborne activities, which will be to the public benefit of the whole country.

If we are to participate in the same kind of logic which actuates those in Congress from the major port areas, we would have to oppose the appropriation of any further funds to keep their ports open, a step that would probably paralyze them, or at least place upon their own doorsteps the enormous cost of furnishing the support that is now paid by the people all over the country.

[From the Freeport (Ill.) Journal-Standard of January 30, 1954]

DECLARATION BY A NEW SENATOR

When Henry Cabot Lodge, former Senator from Massachusetts, was defeated for reelection in November 1952 by young JOHN P. KENNEDY, this editorial page expressed regret that the United States Senate had been deprived of a useful and well-informed Member. The regret was heightened by some of Kennedy's campaign utterances which seemed calculated to create artificial issues.

Therefore, it was with especial interest that we read the other day that young Senator KENNEDY had not only voted for the St. Lawrence seaway, being the first Member of Congress from Massachusetts, in either House, to vote for the St. Lawrence seaway in a space of 20 years, but had made a speech telling why he did so.

The speech of Senator KENNEDY is one of the best pieces of debunking by a Senator we have read in a long time. Moreover, it ends on a note of high statesmanship. Some of the passages are so significant that they merit quotation.

After explaining that he had been urged to vote against the St. Lawrence seaway because it would work economic hardship on Massachusetts, Senator KENNEDY says he had analyzed the trade figures given him by the Boston Port Authority and discovered that 75 percent of the traffic is coastal and that practically all the rest is for consumption within New England and would therefore not be affected by the seaway.

But the most astonishing thing he found was that 98 percent of the traffic through the port of Boston consisted of imports and only 2 percent of exports. Of the exports, KENNEDY admitted that the grain exports might well be diverted to the seaway, but since they represented only nine-tenths of 1 percent of the total traffic, he thought the effect would be negligible.

If the New England manufacturers, concerned about the well-being of the port of Boston, wanted to help, he knew a way. As pointed out by the President's committee on the New England economy, a 1949 sampling showed that 81 percent of the exports from New England industrial centers were shipped out through the port of New York instead of through the port of Boston.

"If those in New England who have decried the loss to the port of Boston," said Senator KENNEDY, "would only divert their own export traffic to the port, the gain would be many times as great as any loss suffered by construction of the seaway."

Not only did the new Senator from Massachusetts effectively brush away some long-held misapprehensions, but he took his place with the Senators of both political parties who have alined themselves behind President Eisenhower in support of projects deemed nationally desirable, if not sectionally.

Even if the St. Lawrence seaway were not sectionally desirable, KENNEDY said he was unable to accept such a narrow view of his functions as a United States Senator. He said it had been the arbitrary refusal of New England Senators to recognize legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which had created opposition to New England's own needs.

If such words of statesmanship had been spoken by IVES or FULBRIGHT, it would not have seemed surprising. However, both FULBRIGHT and IVES voted against the seaway.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch of January 18, 1954]

SENATOR KENNEDY AND THE SEAWAY

JOHN KENNEDY, the young Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, has given a refreshing demonstration of putting the national welfare ahead of local political considerations.

His announcement that he has abandoned opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway and will vote for the project marks the first time in 20 years that a Member of Congress from Massachusetts has supported a seaway bill. Most Representatives and Senators from the east coast have fought the seaway because Atlantic ports feared they might lose some of their shipping business if more vessels could sail directly to Great Lakes harbors.

Senator KENNEDY has shown he is a bigger man than some of his colleagues in Washington. He has followed the dictates of his conscience as against sectional political pressures. This takes courage. The Midwest owes him a debt of gratitude for his action. It is to be hoped that other opposing Members of Congress, including some from the Great Lakes region, will now show that they also are statesmen instead of mere politicians and will back up President Eisenhower in his program to join with Canada in the long overdue seaway construction.

Help for the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Toledo Blade of January 20, 1954:

HELP FOR THE SEAWAY

The most heartening boost the St. Lawrence seaway has had from a Member of Congress in a long time was its endorsement last week by Senator JOSEPH KENNEDY, of Massachusetts. It's the first favorable word for the seaway from a Bay State Senator or Representative in more than 20 years.

It is a courageous act. Some may deprecate it for the reason that the youthful Democrat was only just elected to his Senate seat in 1952 and need not answer directly to his constituents for almost 5 more years. But even those who are skeptical on this score must concede that endorsement by a Senator from the Atlantic seaboard is an especially hopeful omen.

The real significance of Senator KENNEDY'S stand is reflected in the statement explaining his decision to support the seaway. It is his refusal to permit sectionalism to stand in the way of national interest. He believes the United States should help develop this route to the heartlands for the sake of security and economic expansion. And, he suggests, it needn't in the long run be detrimental to Massachusetts or the port of Boston.

Surely, from the standpoint of national welfare, there never has been a time when this country could so little afford the luxury of sectionalism. Yet, in the face of a resurgence of States rights sentiment, one of the real perils undoubtedly is that Members of Congress will turn increasingly to thinking about national problems in sectional terms. The Senator from Massachusetts had something especially pertinent to say on this subject:

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation in the construction of this project for the national security merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere, I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the Representatives of other areas."

Because it so obviously is to the advantage of the whole United States to join with Canada to construct the St. Lawrence seaway, sectional opposition to it is especially to be regretted. Senator KENNEDY'S endorsement is a tangible contribution to approval by the 83d Congress of American participation in building this vital link in the lanes of world transportation.

Edison the Fighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, in the 11th Congressional District of New Jersey, which it is my high honor to represent, are located the Edison industries and the home of the late Thomas Alva Edison. February 11 marked the 107th anniversary of the birth of the great American whose marvelous inventions have caused our age to be characterized as "an age of Edison." A most interesting tribute entitled "Edison, the Fighter" was given by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, who was his daily business associate for many years, over Station WAAT on February 11.

Like Thomas Alva Edison, Mr. Stringfellow, although not born in New Jersey, established himself there as a young man and is regarded as one of our State's distinguished sons for his outstanding achievements. To name only a few of his activities, he is a director and senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., president and director of the New Jersey Tax Association; member of the board of directors and executive committee of the American Cancer Society and recipient of the society's award; honorary member of the New Jersey Medical Society; member of the imperial divan of the Shrine of North America.

Mr. Stringfellow's address is as follows:

EDISON, THE FIGHTER

Because of my long and close personal association with the late Thomas Alva Edison, I have been asked to make Edison my theme. You are undoubtedly familiar with Edison the Inventor, Edison the Servant of Mankind and Edison's Contributions to Civilization. Today, I shall put on a new record and try to interest you in Edison The Fighter, an aspect of his life that has not been stressed either in the many eulogies of the great inventor, or in the schoolbooks which now give him about as much space as they give our Founding Fathers, who also fought for what they believed to be right.

Some people have a very romantic conception of what it means to an inventor to have a patent issued to him. They think it's something like this:

A young man thinks up an ingenious mousetrap. It will cost 2 cents to make and can readily be sold for 20 cents. He has a drawing and a model made, and applies for a patent. The Patent Office issues a patent. The happy inventor and his relatives put up their savings and they form a little company. They get large orders at the start, and they think their troubles are over. Actually, that's when their troubles begin.

A man out in Akron, Ohio, and another one in South Brooklyn, N. Y., see the mousetrap and say to themselves: "That's a dandy. I can have that made for 3 cents and sell it for 10 cents," which is what they proceed to do, and then several other sharpshooters jump in on the good thing and our young inventor's troubles are beginning.

"But," I can hear you asking, "didn't Uncle Sam issue that patent? Why doesn't he get after the infringers and lock them up? What do we have courts and policemen for? And jails?"

We will now go back to Thomas Alva Edison. When I have told you the story Edison the Fighter, you will have the answer to those very natural questions I have just asked.

If Edison had been able to withhold the public announcement of his electric-light inventions until all the arrangements for manufacturing and financing had been completed and until he was ready to bring out the system as a whole, he would not have had nearly as much trouble with the pirates. But the news of a really workable incandescent light spread quickly and throngs of people visited his laboratory, most of them out of curiosity or legitimate interest, but many others with ulterior motives. They couldn't invent a lamp or a lighting system themselves, but they could copy one that somebody else had invented and sell it profitably. It did not take Edison and his pioneer associates long to learn the sad truth that a "patent is merely a title to a lawsuit" giving the inventor permission to spend his own money and energies to protect his invention.

The resources and energies of Mr. Edison and his associates during the first few years after the invention of the incandescent lamp and its related lighting system, were strained to the utmost in matters of development, improvement, and manufacture, leaving little time and less money for bringing burdensome and expensive lawsuits against the pirates.

If it had been possible to fight a few of the most glaring offenders at the outset, the problem would not have snowballed into the almost overwhelming dimensions that it finally assumed. But, Mr. Edison could not at that time spare $1 or 1 hour of his precious time chasing after pirates. The litigation had to wait. In the meantime, the chiselers got stronger and bolder and more numerous.

The real fight did not start until 1885, more than 5 years after his first successful lamp demonstration. Before the fight was over, Edison and his associated companies, who owned the patents, were obliged to spend over $2 million in prosecuting over 200 lawsuits involving over 50 patents and extending over a period of 16 years. Thomas Alva Edison was in the front line, not only giving skilled direction but the guts to carry on, like Washington at Valley Forge.

The key suit was on the so-called filament patent during which there was a judicial inquiry as to whether Thomas Alva Edison was really an inventor, or a clutterfuddy who went around picking up old ideas that other people had thought up but hadn't taken the trouble to apply for patents. The decision reached by the courts, of course, was that Edison was really an inventor, and not a mere adapter of other people's ideas. The argument in the higher court ran to 850 pages of typewriting and required 8 days of continuous talk.

Thus encouraged, the Edison interests, at Mr. Edison's insistence and confident prediction of eventual victory, got busy with a cleaning-up campaign against a large number of infringing companies, some of which had grown to sizable proportions and were doing a land office business in defiance of the Edison patents. Several injunctions were obtained and things looked pretty good until 1892, when the infringers dug up a man named Henry Goebel and produced affidavits intending to show that Goebel, way back in

1854, had put together a glass glove, with platinum wires, with a carbon filament, in a vacuum, and thus casually invented the lamp which it took Edison and his associates many years to develop. If the Goebel story had been accepted by the court, it would have come pretty near to knocking the props out of the whole Edison electric light patent structure.

However, testimony was taken all over the country. Former acquaintances and neighbors of Goebel were located and made affidavits directly refuting his story. A mass of other evidence gave it a fishy appearance.

At the end of the long controversy, Judge Colt summed up the situation by saying:

"It is easy, after an important invention has gone into public use, for persons to come forward with claims that they invented the same thing years before, and to endeavor to establish this by the recollection of witnesses as to events long past. Such evidence is to be received with great caution," and the judge concluded by stating "the injunction will be granted."

Most of the other district courts throughout the country followed Judge Colt's decision, but the case highlighted the fact that resourceful malefactors, if permitted to get started and become reasonably well-heeled out of their thievings, can spin out such litigation almost interminably, and it is only a man with courage, and the tenacity and the leadership that Edison possessed who could have persuaded others to fight in the face of dubious odds. It takes a real fighter to carry on to victory.

We are freer physically and richer spiritually because of Edison's willingness to fight for what he believed to be right and in so doing he made every person in the world his beneficiary. Little wonder that his memory commands a devotion rooted deeply in human gratitude.

Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Newark Star-Ledger of February 12:

EDISON, THE FIGHTER

The importance placed in United States courts on protecting the rights of an inventor is being recalled in connection with the 75th anniversary celebration of the invention by Thomas Alva Edison of the electric light.

Edison, according to stories now related about him, was so preoccupied with developing his invention that he neglected to take action against the pirates who had stolen his patent. When the matter finally came before the courts, the Edison claims were upheld and the American public benefited by a strict control being placed on the exploitation of the electric bulb by unscrupulous manufacturers.

The right of a man to any product he has created is inalienable with his other rights as an American citizen. As George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., stated in an address last night, Edison's determination to wage the court battle under terrific odds is an inspiration to all those who, at some time or other, have found themselves similarly involved.

Why We Should Preserve Our Heritage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a prize essay by Ruth Ellen Prevo, of Watseka, Ill., entitled "Why We Should Preserve Our Heritage."

Anyone who reads this excellent essay will readily understand why it was selected as a prizewinner, both as to context and literary style.

This young lady is to be congratulated. It should be encouraging and stimulating to us, as parents and as Members of Congress, to see how much our priceless American heritage of freedom means to our youth.

The essay follows:

WHY WE SHOULD PRESERVE OUR HERITAGE
(By Ruth Ellen Prevo)

Our American heritage is as real as love and as abstract as honesty. We are all proud of it and want to preserve it; yet we cannot define it clearly. Heritage means that which belongs to one by reason of birth. Then what is "our heritage"? What is this intangible basis for our way of life? The first thing we think of is freedom. Still, our freedom has restrictions which we believe in wholeheartedly. Perhaps we then say that independence is our heritage. However, we realize that we are not individuals whose welfare is not dependent on the lives and welfare of others about us.

In the Declaration of Independence it was stated: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This one paragraph could be considered the epitome of our American heritage. In it the fundamental beliefs which we treasure are set down. On it many of our sacred traditions are founded. Not only does it hold the basis for our freedom and rights, but it also contains an inspiration for men. Striving to reach a civilization in which everyone is guided by these noble ideals is a goal for all generations.

Another part of our American heritage is the high regard we hold for individual human beings. We believe a man has the right and privilege to make himself the kind of a man he so desires. He must decide upon his own ideals and goals. Then he may and must strive to reach them. We do not set up a standardized code by which every person must live with no deviations; neither do we try to keep him from attaining his own goals. In America a man is free to develop himself or his business. We truly have a land of opportunity. We believe in dreaming dreams and in making those dreams into a reality. This is one reason why we have made so much progress and why we love our American heritage.

In the Constitution and the Bill of Rights Americans were guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from persecution, right of trial by jury and many other privileges. These were the contributions of early Americans to our heritage. As our country developed, each of our early citizens added his part. Still today we should be working to pass on a great, living heritage to future generations.

Although we cherish our freedom and independence and speak about them often, we have other characteristics that we revere. We may well be proud of the strong, healthy nation which has been built by the fusing of such a mixture of races, creeds, and religions. Sometimes our land may seem to be a living paradox. We have such freedom of speech that we often have bitter disagreements; yet we are all in harmony when a national crisis arises. We all want to go our own ways and be independent; yet we are always willing to cooperate and work together for the common good. We have freedom with unity, independence with cooperation.

You might say we have achieved much because we are a questioning and a changing nation. We do not just accept what we see or hear; we want to understand why and how; so we believe in education. Only if we think vigorously, question the desirability of existing conditions, and act freely to bring about advances through changes, can we continue in the course upon which we are launched.

Someone has said, "This is my country, and when my life ends, this country will be a little the better or a little the worse for my having been in it." We should all consider this when we think about the future of our American heritage. We are the present citizens. The future will be built on our acts of the present. Will our great grandchildren consider us as the preservers of a priceless heritage? They won't unless we do something about it. We cannot sit passively by and say, "I believe in all this; let's keep it." We must actively promote it. We must work for better understanding among all the people of our Nation so that we may continue working successfully together. We must strive toward a more just society.

We have been given a glorious heritage by our ancestors. Will our conscience allow us to accept it and do nothing for future generations? Our American heritage was built by individual efforts toward a common cause; we as individuals profit from it. Let us each do our individual part to carry forward these lofty ideals and, like our noble ancestors, leave them to posterity.

Coast Guard Cutter "Yeaton" Is Seagoing Troubleshooter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, today we start our consideration of the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill for 1955. This appropriation bill contains moneys necessary for the operation of the Coast Guard.

As one who has followed closely the work of the Coast Guard, I am proud to make available for the entire membership of the House a well-written article by Mr. Deane C. Avery, staff writer of the New London Day, describing the work of the Coast Guard cutter *Yeaton* and her daring crew. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Avery's article as appearing in the New London Day on February 17, 1954. I only wish it were possible to include with my remarks photographs showing the *Yeaton* and her crew in action.

The article follows:

COAST GUARD CUTTER "YEATON" IS SEAGOING TROUBLESHOOTER—DARING CREW HAS EFFECTED MANY RESCUES
(By Deane C. Avery)

The *Yeaton* is a 125-foot Coast Guard cutter which has operated out of this port since 1945 without much fuss or fanfare.

She's an old vessel, having been launched at Camden, N. J., 26 years ago. And she lacks the sleek lines of some of the newer boats.

But to yachtsmen, fishermen, and others who find themselves in trouble on the water she can be downright beautiful.

The *Yeaton* is 1 of 3 search and rescue vessels which take turns in patroling the waters from Watch Hill to the Delaware Capes.

She patrols 1 week, is in port here but ready to go the next, and is on standby status the third week. Two other cutters, 1 based at New York and the other at Cape May, operate on similar schedules.

Their job: Helping those in trouble.

Sometimes weeks go by without a call for assistance. But when it comes, it can be a matter of life and death. The *Yeaton* is always ready.

COAST GUARD WEATHER

When ships find themselves in trouble it's usually during a spell of "Coast Guard weather." That's when the seas are breaking over bows and the rain pelts you in the face.

Though th e*Yeaton* can be mighty uncomfortable during heavy weather, she can take it. And it's been proved, so can the crew.

During the weeks that the *Yeaton* is on active duty she makes her headquarters off Montauk Point, at the tip of Long Island, where she'll be relatively handy to the broad area she must protect. At other times she lays to at the Fort Trumbull operating base here.

The skipper of the *Yeaton* is a tall young man with a crew haircut who's a year younger than the ship he commands. Lt. (j. g.) Frederick D. Lette 3d is only 25. But he's had considerable experience in small-boat handling.

He started out in the Coast Guard about 8 years ago as an enlisted man and came up through the ranks.

BEST GROUP EVER

The *Yeaton* carries a crew of 32 enlisted men, 5 officers, and 3 chief petty officers. Leete thinks highly of the crew.

"They're the best group of men I've ever served with in search and rescue," says the skipper.

He noted the ship "is blessed with a low turnover in personnel" which keeps the crew at top efficiency. He says about ha'f the crew was aboard the Yeaton at year ago.

The men drill constantly in everything from fire fighting to "stretching a heaving line." The~latter job is considered mighty important.

If a man makes a bad toss, he heaves the line 50 times for practice. "It's a lot like football," says Leete, himself a football player. "If a man makes a sloppy tackle, he's coached."

The crew conducts periodic "man overboard" drills. They've become so proficient that a man who goes over the side while the ship is proceeding at full speed (13 knots) is picked up in 3½ minutes.

Leete considers that darn good, pointing out it takes quite a distance to stop a vessel that's been steaming full ahead.

WELL EQUIPPED

The *Yeaton* is crammed with all kinds of equipment from her lazaret which contains hundreds of feet of line to her 40 millimeter deck gun.

And although her prime function is search and rescue, the *Yeaton* is equipped with sonar gear for detecting enemy submarines and rockets and depth charges with which to destroy them.

To assist her in locating ships in trouble, the vessel has radar. She's also equipped with lorain navigation equipment and a fathometer for determining the depth of water. And she's loaded with all sorts of modern radio equipment.

Leete has been commanding officer of the *Yeaton* since last August. And even in that short time, he and the *Yeaton* have had more than their share of excitement.

ROUGHEST TIME

Leete says his roughest experience occurred last November 7 during a 2-hour fight to save the 60-foot ketch, *Bluebell*, which was drifting helplessly in heavy seas in the lee of Duck Island off Clinton.

The *Bluebell*, with six men aboard, sought shelter behind the island when a severe storm blew up. Although three anchors were dropped, the *Bluebell* couldn't hold her own. It seemed for a time that she would be driven on rocks.

"If she had gone ashore," Leete recalls, "some of the crew would surely have perished."

After some skillful maneuvering the *Yeaton* was brought almost alongside of the *Bluebell* and a towing line made fast.

The disabled craft was pulled outside, then a heavy hawser was put aboard and she was towed to this port.

REMEMBER THE "CORMAC"

You may recall the *Cormac* disaster last September 18, when the 115-foot yacht went aground on Watch Hill reef. Terrific seas pounded the vessel.

The *Yeaton* and a fishing boat which happened on the scene succeeded in bringing all 15 crew members and passengers ashore.

Then the *Yeaton* returned to try and float the *Cormac*. Two coastguardsmen were put aboard the vessel. Then Leete and three others in a small power launch attempted to put an 8-inch towing hawser aboard the *Cormac*.

But the small boat was driven against the side of the yacht by a huge wave. Two other coastguardsmen aboard the *Cormac* reached over the railing in an attempt to assist their comrades.

But the railing gave way and those 2 found themselves in the water alongside the 4 others. A motor lifeboat at the scene picked up all 6.

A big hawser eventually was put aboard the *Cormac* but she couldn't be hauled free. Later salvage tugs tried to free her but with no luck.

The *Cormac* is still high and dry and probably will remain that way until the elements do a job that has stumped man.

"A DARN FINE CREW"

Leete says there are a number of men aboard the *Yeaton* who play important roles in its operation. Among them is Chief Machinist Charles R. Dowlen, who has been aboard the ship more than 3 years, longer than anyone else.

Another is Chief Quartermaster Thomas F. Finnan, Jr., an expert navigator. Then there's Ensign Charles S. Legum, the executive officer.

But of the entire complement, Leete says: "A darn fine crew."

The log shows that last year the *Yeaton* sailed a total of 8,819 miles. It had a hand, both large and small, in assisting ships and cargoes valued at an estimated $4,000,000.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Citizen, of Laconia, N. H., commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR KENNEDY AND THE SEAWAY

Last week JOHN F. KENNEDY, Massachusetts' youthful Democratic Senator, stood up to be counted on an issue of significance to the economic development of this country: The St. Lawrence seaway project.

Senator KENNEDY said on the Senate floor that he would support United States participation in construction of the seaway. By this stand, KENNEDY knew well that he would incur the disfavor of the powerful port of Boston interests. He also knew that precedent was against him, that his stand would represent the first support of the seaway by any Member of the Bay State congressional delegation in the 20-year period the project has been under consideration.

What was the justification given by Senator KENNEDY for this stand? A simple one, but one which we fear serves all too seldom as motivation for congressional action. "Support of the seaway by me is in the national interest," was the gist of Senator KENNEDY's statement. And, considering how unpopular plans for construction of the seaway are in Massachusetts, there is every reason to believe that it was the national interest in which KENNEDY acted, and not that of his own political future.

The major opponents to the St. Lawrence seaway construction are the large eastern transportation and fuel interests. Their propaganda in opposition to the project comes to our desk each week. Many individuals, however, in addition to these pressure groups have sincerely believed that construction of the seaway would cause economic hardship to the East. This, it has been shown convincingly, is not the case.

Senator KENNEDY finds himself in good company in his stand. In favor of the seaway has been every President since Warren Harding, including President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, not to mention a generous portion of Republican and Democratic Senators and Representatives who feel that there is a point in congressional activities where the welfare of the country as a whole takes precedence over sectional or personal interests. We hope these proponents are sufficient in number to assure passage of Senator WILEY'S seaway participation bill when it comes up for a vote in the next few days.

One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Elizabeth Daily Journal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Elizabeth Daily Journal celebrated its 175th anniversary Tuesday, February 16, 1954. One hundred and seventy-five years of free, outstanding journalism in the highest American tradition should not go unnoticed in the Halls of Congress. Here, in one great newspaper, is the history of our country from 1779 to the present. This long record of journalistic achievement is exceeded by only six other newspapers in the country. None, however, exceed its devotion to the high purpose of free inquiry, courageous expression, and independent judgment. I am sure the entire Congress joins me in congratulating the

Elizabeth Daily Journal on its 175th anniversary.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the 175th anniversary editorial of the Journal and my letter to its outstanding editor, Mr. Robert Crane, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Elizabeth (N. J.) Daily Journal of February 16, 1954]

WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY TOGETHER

We have come a long, long way together. Together we were there when liberty was just a-bornin'. Together we have seen the horizons fall back; back, and back until there are no more horizons in the geography of the world. Together we have gone down to the sea in ships under spread of sail and returned in great vessels under magic power that sets down the most distant continent in the proximity of the next street, almost. Together we have fended off attackers with fowling piece and cannon ball—we have helped beat back with fictional weapons other attackers on the sea, on the land, under the sea, and in the air. Together we have seen the atom smashed and with trust in God and faith in our great country confidently face a future more intriguing than any of the wonders together we have known.

We were there together in 1779 when the patriot, Shepard Kollock, first put aside his musket and brought forth from the protecting undergrowth of the forest his little printing press which stirred such frantic wrath among the invading British. Like a second army of Colonials it was, magically flitting from cover to cover, but striking hard with its messages of encouragement and hope, against which there was no counterattacking. Together, indeed, we have come a long, long way, you and that old New Jersey Journal whose 175th birthday we observe today in a newspaper setting as modern as tomorrow.

Together we were there in red fury, redder than the consuming flames, when the "Old First" was fired by a British Army in the January of 1780. And, when it was June, we were there again when the immortal Minute Men ambushed Kynphausen's invaders and drove them from Elizabeth. We were there and mourned with bowed heads at the obsequies of the murdered "fighting chaplain," Rev. James Caldwell, and his martyred spouse—and with beaming faces to the sun we were there at Yorktown in 1781 when Cornwallis extended his sword to General Washington.

Together we were on the bank when General Washington in 1789 left the mainland from a point close by Singer's aboard his barge, propelled by the oars of 13 sailors in white, to be inaugurated in New York as the first President of the United States. What history we have written together.

We were there when Gen. Winfield Scott found Elizabeth fitting domicile for the hero of the War of 1812. We were there, too, at that wild meeting in the courthouse the evening of the day in 1861 Fort Sumter was fired on. That was still another April, and again Elizabeth answered the call through David Hatfield in forming the first company of the First New Jersey Regiment. April? Fateful April. Together we grievously sorrowed when Mr. Lincoln was taken from us by an assassin's bullet in April 1865.

What history we have penned together. Together we were aghast on that murky February morning in 1898 when the word came that the Battleship *Maine* had been blown up in the Harbor of Habana and Elizabeth had given another hero, this time in the person of Charley Fadde. And how we thrilled to the charge as our Teddy Knapp rode up San Juan Hill to victory with Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders.

But there was another dark day to come—a dark and cloudy Good Friday in 1917, when Woodrow Wilson signed the declaration which put us in World War I. What heartbreaks so many of us were to know before the dawn of a frosty, brilliantly bright November 11, 1918, greeted a world bereft of everything save thanksgiving in the midst of wild hysteria.

Then we were together—together at the dinner table—on that Sunday (and again it was dark) of December 7 in 1941 when the Japs struck. Seems like we've been through several lifetimes since then—counting our dead at Pearl Harbor, the early days of war shrouded in grave concern and unpreparedness, then victory, more victories—D-day, "the islands" in the Pacific, V–E Day, V–J Day—but this time joy tempered by a growing realization of the full, foreboding meaning of communism. Then is was Korea.

Together we were there and thrilling when Elizabeth the borough became Elizabeth the chartered city in 1855. Together we sampled the vicissitudes of the new city's early years, we saw gas, electricity, the telephone come and stay; we saw the horsecar and the trolley come and go. Together we saw a darkened main street become a "great white way"; the automobile, radio, television, ships that fly in the air and sometimes fall on our houses. All of these we have known together at the advent. And now, once more, we turn again together toward an unfathomable world, a world we cannot encompass, but turn nevertheless in hope and prayerful supplication to a world of atomic energy harnessed in the peaceful perspective of President Eisenhower.

We have come a long, long way together. In lean years and years of plenty, in years of woe and weal, in strife and serenity, in years of unpaved streets and farflung farms that have become one paved uninterrupted modern city. Together we have sunk our roots down deep in the soil of Union County. With the vibrancy of undiminished youth and the understanding of long relationship let us go forward together.

FEBRUARY 17, 1954.

Mr. ROBERT C. CRANE,
Editor, Elizabeth Daily Journal,
Elizabeth, N. J.

DEAR BOB: Just a note to personally congratulate you and your staff on the 175th anniversary edition of the Journal. I have just been reading it with some care and am learning a great deal about the history of the country. We tend to get bogged down in national and international history of great moment and it was a real satisfaction to read the many interesting articles about our outstanding local history.

I was particularly interested in reading the articles on the proud history of the Journal itself. It must be a real source of satisfaction to you since the traditions of the institution and your family are so closely related. You certainly can be proud of both.

With best personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

HARRISON WILLIAMS.

Armenian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, 32 years ago today, on February 18, 1921, the Armenian people broke shackles that had held them under Communist rule, a rule that had been imposed on them by force in December of 1920, and for several months were free to run their own Government.

During their short-lived period of freedom they displayed to the world that they were not only anxious but well capable of self-government.

Their dream of freedom had become true. The people were fired with enthusiasm and determination to rehabilitate their war-devastated country.

A parliament was established by free election, over 1,500 new schools were opened, the first Armenian university was established, organizations were set up to provide public housing, to build hospitals, to set up relief centers and orphanages.

But to their great sorrow, after only a few months, they were returned by force to Russian rule. They lacked the power to repel the invaders. But they retained their hope that the day would come when they would once again be free. Their hearts were broken, but their spirit has not dimmed. They, like the other enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain, will respond faithfully and well when the opportunity is presented to them to join the other freedom-loving people of the world.

We must not let them down. We must do all we can to help them break the grasp of the Red Bear, and free themselves from the persecution and suffering they have endured for so long.

We must help them regain their freedom.

Logrolling Is an Old-Fashioned Way of Bartering Votes and Has Been Revived To Catch Votes for the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, according to the following editorial from the January 31, 1954, issue of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Inquirer, the old-fashioned way of logrolling for votes is not a lost art.

The editorial follows:

A NEW DEAL GHOST ROLLS LOGS ON THE SEAWAY

Logrolling is an old-fashioned way of bartering votes. You support my project and I'll back yours! Because this venerable custom is being revived to catch votes for the St. Lawrence seaway—we see the ghost of still another New Deal boondoggle emerging from what everybody thought was its tomb.

That other New Deal ghost is called Passamaquoddy. If your memory goes back to 1935 you will remember how President Roosevelt that year allotted $10 million in relief funds for a scheme to harness the tides of Passamaquoddy Bay, between Maine and New Brunswick, to produce electric power.

After much of the money had been spent; after the Army had squandered nearly $700,000 more on drilling; after a model village had been built for this mighty muddle at a

cost of $1 million (only to be sold for $131,755 in 1949) the project was abandoned.

President Truman tried to revive Passamaquoddy in 1951, without success. But now what do we see? We see the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approving expenditure of another $3 million for a "study" of the Passaquamaquoddy project—after which the two GOP Senators from Maine switched and voted for the St. Lawrence seaway.

Senators SMITH and HENRICKSON, of New Jersey, must feel embarrassed. They switched, too, but got nothing in return.

This sharp legislative trading means that the American taxpayer, who has been promised economy, may now be saddled with two New Deal boondoggles instead of 1. Estimates are that Passamaquoddy would probably cost almost as much as the seaway—and nobody can be sure just how many billions that would cost before it was finally finished.

Most puzzling is why, at the same time, the administration pinches pennies here in Delaware Valley, U. S. A. It is prepared to spend vast sums for the seaway—yet insists that the cost of deepening the upper channel of the Delaware River be half paid for by private business. It appears ready to authorize another $3 million to restudy the Passamaquoddy boondoggle—yet it cannot find the mare $50,000 needed to relocate the control tower at our International Airport.

No doubt part of the blame rests upon lack of pressure from the legislators of this area. Some of these legislators seem more interested in ward politics and charter-wrecking than in the welfare of the community.

But it is still pretty hard to understand why millions seem available to bring New Deal boondoggles back from the dead—while obvious and urgent needs of the Delaware Valley get the brushoff in Washington, D. C.

Wellsville Flood-Control Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL A. REED, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE CIVIL FUNCTIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1954

Mr. Chairman and members of the Civil Functions Subcommittee, I appreciate this opportunity to submit this statement requesting favorable action on the proposed $26,000 item in the budget for advanced engineering and design in connection with the Wellsville flood-control project.

Year in and year out I have appeared before House and Senate committees in behalf of this project.

I respectfully request and urge that favorable action be taken upon the proposed $26,000 so that the planning of this project may be completed as soon as possible to enable construction to begin. The Army engineers can begin construction, it is believed, in 1956, if the full appropriation is made by that time, of course, and if the planning of the project is completed.

Wellsville, N. Y., is a splendid civic and industrial town and it is a short-sighted policy not to protect flood-ravished areas. More than once I have taken the floor to oppose sending billions of dollars abroad to build beautiful hotels, power dams, and railroads at a time when flood-ravished areas in our own country could not get the necessary appropriations to rebuild.

From September 1948 through September 1953, Italy has received from this country $12,800,000 in a counterpart fund, for flood-relief control.

There has been earmarked for flood rehabilitation in the Netherlands 400 million guilder ($105,264,000 of our money) which will probably be spent during this fiscal year.

I want to stress the fact that the industries in Wellsville, N. Y., endangered by frequent and devastating floods are industries engaged in national defense. For instance, the Air Preheater Corp. in Wellsville manufactures Ljungstrom preheaters, and it is the only manufacturer of them in the United States. They are for installation in steam plants, furnishing power for public utilities, atomic energy projects, navy yards, ordnance plants, synthetic rubber plants, and refineries producing high octane gasoline.

General Chorpening has advised this committee previously that there are a number of manufacturing concerns in Wellsville, such as the Sinclair Refining Co., Julius Kaiser Co., and Bausch & Lomb Co., all of which plants supplied equipment to the Armed Forces in World War II and are important at this time in connection with defense production.

Let me say this: Wellsville, N. Y., is subject to floods each year. It is a flooded defense area. The flood project has been authorized by law. An item of $26,000 for advanced engineering and design is in the budget. It has the approval of the Army engineers.

This committee has vast material on the Wellsville flood-control project submitted by me and the Army engineers and others, which material gives all of the facts, therefore I shall not go too much into detail about this serious situation.

However, I want to call this to your attention; that flood damage begins in Wellsville when the river rises above 7.5 feet on the gage at the water and light plant. As a result of heavy rains the river rose above this stage early in the afternoon of November 25, 1950. It rose to 14.3 feet. The peak was the highest on record. The damage amounted to $400,000.

The population of Wellsville, N. Y., in 1940 was 7,641. Since 1942 flood damage in Wellsville has amounted to $1 million. (This is about one one-hundredth of the amount the United States has earmarked for flood rehabilitation in the Netherlands.)

In 1948 I had the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress supply me with official and factual information as to what the cost would be to each city, village, and town in my congressional district for the European recovery program. The cost to Wellsville, with its population of 7,641, was figured at $986,530—just $13,470 less than the million dollars worth of damage done to Wellsville by floods.

This small town's share of the foreign-aid program has just about equaled the million dollars it has lost in flood damage. I urge this committee to permit Wellsville, N. Y., to use some of its tax money at home for further planning of the Wellsville flood-control project. I sincerely hope that this committee will approve the $26,000 item in the budget for advanced engineering and design so that the planning of this project may be completed as soon as possible.

The threat of war is ever with us, as vast military appropriations indicate. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we preserve our essential defense industries in Wellsville, N. Y., from flood damage as well as from enemy destruction.

Again I respectfully request approval of this $26,000 item for Wellsville, N. Y.

An Old-Age Security Program Such as Embodied in the Townsend Bill, H. R. 2446, and Its Companion Bill, H. R. 2447, Should Now Be Enacted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, it is of deep interest to note the decided trend toward the adoption of a universal, pay-as-you-go old-age security program. Those of us who through the years have been fighting for such a program are very much encouraged by the trend of recent events in which outstanding organizations have supported a modification of the existing social-security system so as to make its coverage universal and place it on a pay-as-you-go basis.

As we all know, there is a large number of worthy aged citizens of the United States who are not covered by the provisions of the existing social-security legislation and who cannot qualify to come under it. The tax for its support, while contributed in the first instance through employers and employees, is a burden on the economy of the entire country, and it is illogical and unsound to impose such a tax which protects only limited and special groups, as is now done. Under House bill 2446 all worthy citizens would share in the benefits of such a program.

While the President is to be commended for his recommendations for the extension of social security and the increase of the benefits, the coverage still fails to take within its protective shield all those who are entitled to be covered, and the benefits, even as increased by the recommendations of the President, are niggardly and wholly insufficient to maintain the elderly people of America in decency and health according to American standards. The time has come for the adoption of an overall program, and House bill 2446 should receive the consideration of the Congress. I hope that all Members of the House who are interested in adequate provisions for the elderly people of America will sign discharge petition No. 2 to bring this bill on the floor for consideration.

I include as part of these remarks an interesting discussion of this legislation as a "boon and not a burden" to our economy, which appeared in the Townsend Flash in its issue of February 4, 1954:

PENSIONS ARE A BOON, NOT A BURDEN, TO BUSINESS

When a leading businessman acknowledges that pensions are good for business it's news and good news for Townsendites and the Nation's old people. Such an acknowledgment has been made by T. V. Houser, vice chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co., the giant mail-order house. Houser said that pensions are good for business because they create a vast reservoir of buying power that would not otherwise exist, according to an Associated Press dispatch in the Wall Street Journal.

The setting for Houser's comments on pensions was highly significant. He spoke at the annual convention of the National Retail Dry Goods Association. His remarks thus were addressed directly to retail merchants who are deeply concerned with the purchasing power of the public. Their purpose is to move as much goods as rapidly as possible into the hands of consumers. Anything which affects the supply of money in the hands of the buying public quickly shows up in the daily receipts of the retail merchant, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker. It is easy to see then why the National Retail Dry Goods Association should concern itself with pension problems. Convention delegates were in a position to appreciate Houser's statement that good pensions are good business.

When he made this statement, Houser was simply saying what the Townsend organization has said over and over again. It is a basic principle of the Townsend plan that programs which give protection "against hazards of life"—as Houser put it— set free vast new buying power. It is on this basis that the Townsend organization can make its strongest appeal to businessmen of the community. Local businessmen should be quick to see the logic in paying adequate pensions as a means of bringing more purchasing power into the community and more dollars into their cash registers.

Some people continue to argue that paying really adequate pensions would impose too great a burden on taxpayers. Houser's statements concerning pensions take care of this objection. Pensions create new buying power, produce new customers for business, boost sales and profits. Adequate pensions would emphatically not be a burden to the economy. On the contrary, they would strengthen it, usher in a new era of prosperity and a more stable one than this Nation has ever known.

Townsendites can be grateful to the Sears, Roebuck executive for pointing out these facts of economic life so clearly. He was not arguing in favor of any particular pension plan. Houser was speaking as a businessman to businessmen. His words then carried all the more weight with his audience. They will carry weight with local businessmen when presented by Townsendites as the views of one of the business leaders of the Nation, a man not immediately concerned with the humanitarian arguments for adequate pensions but rather with the benefits to business.

Houser pointed out that plans giving protection "against hazards of life" provide a vast new deferred buying power. He said they permit people to spend in a way that would not be "prudent if the protection afforded by these funds did not exist. Thus the average family can more nearly use current income for the immediate enjoyment of better living standards."

Houser continued: "To look at the other side of the coin, families having to draw on such funds when extended illness or retirement comes, have more current income for a sustained living standard than would otherwise be the case."

Pension plans, he explained, bring about "an accumulated buying power, increasing year by year, which in previous decades did not exist at all. This accumulation today is about equal to the public's entire annual purchase of goods such as distributed by the institutions represented here and the annual increase in such funds is around 9½ percent of the national total of general merchandise sales."

These statements of Houser are right in line with Townsend arguments for adequate pensions. People who are protected "against hazards of life" are good customers for business because they are freed from the necessity of saving through extreme self-denial. They aren't afraid to spend their money on something other than the bare necessities of living. Furthermore when the age of retirement does arrive, they remain good customers of business because adequate pensions renew their purchasing power after paychecks stop.

These are facts as the Sears, Roebuck board member made quite clear. Plainly, adequate pensions are not a burden; they are a boon to business, a built-in stabilizer for business activity and employment. In view of this, it is impossible to argue logically against providing adequate pensions right now, ending the social security problem in the United States, once and for all.

ECONOMIST CALLS INCOME OF AGED SHOCKINGLY INADEQUATE

If good pensions are good business, then the present state of affairs is obviously very bad business, bad not only for the old folks but bad for business as well. For the income of aged Americans is to a shocking degree, inadequate. This is the report of Dr. Peter O. Steiner, an economist of the University of California.

Dr. Steiner made his report to the American Economic Association. It is based on findings of his university's Institute of Industrial Relations working on a grant of money from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The report proves that for most old people, life is a dreary struggle for survival in the face of the cruelest sort of handicaps. It demonstrates that when a person retires under present circumstances the chances are that business has lost a customer, for few senior citizens have the income to stay in the market for consumer goods which business must sell to prosper.

Steiner says that two-thirds of all single women 65 and over either depend on relatives for support or live under what he calls submarginal conditions.

One-half of single men 65 and older are equally distressed and the same applies to one-third of aged married couples, according to Steiner's report. By submarginal he means simply poverty-stricken.

This is not just a theory; it is an actual condition. The aged's shocking lack of income is "real and current," in the words of the California economists. It is a present and heavy reproach to those people who could do something about it.

Some economists and some politicians, while admitting the income of the aged is inadequate, say the problem can be solved by persuading employers to hire older workers. Another University of California economist punctured this idea. Dr. Robert Dorfman told the American Economic Association that campaigns to provide jobs for older men do not touch the heart of the problem of the aged.

About 1 out of every 2 men 65 and older didn't quit voluntarily. Because they knew that poverty awaited them when they were scratched from the payroll, they would have hung on. But they were forced to quit because of ill health or because their employers decided they were too old to work. The problems of these men are not going to be solved by campaigns, by proclaiming a National Hire Older Workers Week. Their problems will be solved only by adoption of a true social security system paying adequate pensions to the elderly and others unable to work.

Consider this: The poverty of the aged described by the University of California report exists despite our present system of old-age and survivors insurance, our present system of Federal and State public assistance for the aged, the vast spread of private pension programs in business and industry, programs for retirement of public employees, the railroad retirement system, billions of dollars invested in private insurance and the unceasing struggle of Americans to save money for old age.

All these we have and yet we still have not achieved security in old age. This is the hard truth. It is the striking fact which every Townsendite should make known to members of his community. To do so is to perform a service not only to the aged but to the Nation and the Nation's business as well. For poor pensions are poor business as T. V. Houser of Sears, Roebuck so accurately observed in his address to retail men.

Through such straight talk as Houser's through fact-facing reports such as those by Steiner and Dorfman of the University of California, the case for the Townsend plan day by day unfolds with greater clarity and force. As more and more leaders in business and economics perceive the truth, the stage is set for the most effective campaign that Townsendites have ever waged to strengthen their organization, recruit new members, build new muscle, and push on to final enactment of the Townsend plan.

Soon Congress must face the issue. It must decide whether to try one more patch-and-repair job on the present social security system or make the fresh start required. The administration proposes more patching. It proposes tossing the old folks a few more dollars a month as sort of hush money. This is no solution to the submarginal conditions under which our senior citizens live. That public opinion is now becoming more and more aware of these conditions is a matter of great encouragement. Reports showing the present inadequacy of income of the aged, acknowledgments by business leaders that good pensions are good business—these provide welcome ammunition for the Townsend membership drive. Armed with facts, not theories, increasingly supported by public opinion, the Townsend organization will insist with ever-growing vigor that Congress measure up to its responsibilities—enact true social security by passage of the Townsend bill, H. R. 2446.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Milwaukee Journal commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR KENNEDY PUNCTURES ANTISEAWAY ARGUMENTS

Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, has done more than give the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway its best chance of Senate approval by switching from opposition to support of the measure.

He has, for the first time, broken the solid ring of Atlantic seaboard opposition to the project. And he has done it by recognizing vital truths that Congressmen still in opposition would do well to consider.

First, of course, there is no longer an argument about whether the seaway will be built. Canada is building it. The question is whether we will join Canada or leave to our neighbor full control over the seaway development.

Second, KENNEDY punctured the overplayed opposition fear that the seaway will hurt eastern ports and the railroads. He pointed out that the effect on such ports as Boston will probably be minor and that railroads may well find that improvements to the overall economy will bring them more

business. Generally, when new facilities and resources are developed anywhere in our Nation, they help the entire Nation.

Finally, as KENNEDY again pointed out, those who play at the game of regionalism eventually suffer from regionalism. He put it this way: "The arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the needs and aspirations of other sections has contributed to the neglect and even opposition to the needs of our own region by representatives of other areas." This, of course, is true—and the fact that, to an extent, it is log-rolling makes it no less true. No area can expect the Nation's help if it is not willing that the Nation help other areas.

KENNEDY's enlightened change brings him into sharp contrast with a man like Senator BRICKER, Republican, of Ohio. BRICKER has not even the straw of regionalism to cling to. Steel mills in Bricker's own State need Labrador iron ore and need the seaway to get it. Ports in his own State would benefit greatly by having usable passage to the sea.

Yet BRICKER, who has opposed the seaway in the past, gives no indication that his opposition is weakening or will cease. He clings to defiance of the needs of his State, and his region. He would do well to study KENNEDY's statement—and to wonder how long it will be politically wise to put the desires of special interests (in this case, his railroad supporters) above the need of his region and his Nation.

Income-Tax Trouble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from one of my constituents regarding the experiences of his father in connection with his 1948 income tax:

Congresswoman ST. GEORGE:

Goshen, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ST. GEORGE: In the matter I'm about to bring up, I look upon you as a "Court of Last Resort." It doesn't seem possible that the Government can do this, but they did. I might say that this matter regards my father and his 1948 income tax.

Dad should have had a rebate coming from 1948. He worked for, and still does, the Hohokus Bleachery, in Hohokus, N. J. Early in 1949 he was given his W-2 form about his earnings and his tax withheld. He filed his return in New Jersey collector's of internal revenue office and settled down waiting for a rebate. It never came. Father wrote to them.

They suggested he write to New York since he lived here. This he did. They said they had no record of his filing and suggested he take the matter up with the collector in New Jersey. New Jersey suggested he write to another office in New Jersey. They told him to write to the first office he'd written to. All this takes time, particularly waiting for answers.

When no action and no rebate appeared, I undertook to write for him. Roughly, I got the same routine. Finally the office in which he filed said flatly they could find no account of his filing although he admits to making slightly more than $5,000. They didn't seem in the least concerned that he admitted making it although they had no return or couldn't find one.

Since he still has his W-2 form, I asked that they send me a blank along with a 1948 book of instructions and I'd have him fill out another one. This they did not do. Therefore he couldn't make out another.

By this manner, the departments of internal revenue of New York and New Jersey managed to shuttle requests for information from office to office, delaying in answering until one day New Jersey replied blandly that since the statute of limitations had elapsed on the matter he might as well forget about it.

Now while my knowledge of law is exceedingly limited, it doesn't seem fair that two departments in the same organization should be able to kick a question around and throw it back and forth like a basketball until it either gets lost or the statute of limitations runs out.

Can anything be done about this?

Sincerely,

(Signed by a Constituent.)

Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter received from T. W. Jensen, secretary-treasurer-manager, Utah Water Users Association, Salt Lake City, Utah, dated February 10, 1954, in reference to Echo Park Dam:

UTAH WATER USERS ASSOCIATION,
Salt Lake City, Utah, February 10, 1954.

Hon. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE STRINGFELLOW: I represent the Utah Water Users Association, a statewide group of grass-root farmers whose very lifeblood is in the waters available for irrigation. At best, not more than 3 percent of the area of this State can ever be irrigated even if water were available. This situation make it mandatory that Utah and the other States of the arid West conserve and use every drop of water in the area.

To fully utilize a western stream, its waters must be controlled by storage so that the water will be available when the crops need it. Storage is provided by building dams and creating reservoirs in the canyons along the stream channels. Shallow reservoirs lose much more water by evaporation per unit of storage than do deep reservoirs.

The proposed Echo Park Dam and Reservoir will provide urgently needed efficient storage on the Colorado River. It's true it is in a national monument which was expanded from an initial area of 80 acres to more than 200,000 acres after it was known that it was the site of necessary irrigation and power developments and over the protest of the local citizens. In order to quiet the protest of local users, the United States Government in the presidential proclamation expanding the monument, reserved the right to develop the water and power resources of the river.

Now comes a proposal to build the Echo Park Dam, a part of the Colorado River storage project, after more than 30 years of investigations which have covered every potential site and combination of sites along the river. The result of these investigations is set forth in the report of the United States Bureau of Reclamation which shows that any combination of reservoirs not including the Echo Park will result in a loss of some 300,000 acre-feet of water, increase the cost of power and reduce the effectiveness of river regulations.

The people of the West and this Nation can't afford to waste 300,000 acre-feet of water in order to perpetuate a section of a wild river so that a few souls might risk their lives running the rapids.

A great flood of opposition to the construction of the Echo Park Dam has descended upon you from so-called conservationists and nature lovers. These protests are largely from people who have never been in the West and who know nothing of the absolute necessity of water. These protests are prompted by misled, misinformed people who are basically unfair to the very country and people they profess to support and help. They have no regard for the truth in their statements and refuse to consider the facts established by those who have spent their lifetime studying the problem.

The facts are:

1. The construction of the Echo Park Dam in the Dinosaur National Monument will not set a precedent because specific reservations were made for the development of the water and power resources when the Monument was expanded.

2. The construction of the dam will not destroy the scenic or other values of the Monument but will make the interior areas more accessible to the public.

3. The dam and reservoir will increase its value for fish and wildlife and recreation.

4. It will not destroy the grandeur of the canyons but will make them accessible to hundreds of thousands of people.

In support of my position, I submit herewith two documents which have been circulated to the membership of their respective organizations asking them to write you protesting the construction of the Echo Park Dam. I'm sure you will not be taken in by this kind of mass hysteria propaganda which is pure, unadulterated bunk.

The water users I represent are common dirt farmers trying to make an honest living. They feel that their water resources should not be forever bottled up, but should be used to provide homes and jobs for people and food and fiber for the rapidly growing population.

It is impossible for the water users in the West to reach the voting public in the East with their story whereas the various wilderness, conservation, wildlife, and garden club groups have endless avenues through which to reach you and your fellow Congressmen. For this reason, the water users of Utah are taking the liberty of approaching you this way in order that you may have before you, to a limited degree, our side of the story.

It is our firm belief that without the Echo Park Dam, the keystone of the Colorado River storage project, there will be no Colorado River storage project. If there is no Colorado River storage project, the Upper Basin States will be forever barred from using their share of the waters of the Colorado River, a right over which no one except those entitled to those rights should have control.

We feel that you will act fairly in this matter when it comes before you.

Very truly yours,
UTAH WATER USERS ASSOCIATION,
THOS W. JENSEN,
Secretary-Treasurer and Manager.

CONTENTS OF A POSTCARD SENT TO ALL MEMBERS
JANUARY 14, 1954.

As a member of the American Museum of Natural History, we think you should know that we have just been advised that a hearing of the House of Representatives is sched-

uled for January 18 to 25 to consider bills H. R. 443, H. R. 4449, and H. R. 4463, providing for a series of dams, one of which, Echo Park Dam, would flood one of the canyons in the Dinosaur National Monument. The required storage capacity is available at other sites outside the monument. Your thoughts on this matter of invasion of a National Park Service area should be communicated promptly to the Honorable WILLIAM H. HARRISON, chairman, Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., and to your own Congressman.

HAROLD E. ANTHONY,
Chairman, Advisory Committee on Conservation, American Museum of Natural History.

INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO GARDEN CLUB MEMBERS—DINOSAUR EMERGENCY—URGENT IMMEDIATE ACTION NEEDED

GARDEN CLUB MEMBERS: Secretary of the Interior McKay has just recommended to President Eisenhower the destruction of the Dinosaur National Monument—construction of Echo Park Dam.

Arguments of conservationists have been passed by. Alternative sites exist that will spare the National Park System.

What to do: Write (as an individual) or wire, the President, the White House, Washington, D. C., asking that he act to protect the National Park System and disapprove dams in Dinosaur. Send a copy to your Congressmen.

There is no time to lose, as this will come up at the January session of Congress. Never, since its creation, has our National Park System been in such danger.

Every conservationist must speak at once. The chips are down for sure.

Col. F. S. MATTOCKS,
Legislative Chairman, Colorado State Federation of Garden Clubs.

DEAR CLUB MEMBERS: Herewith a suggested letter regarding the Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument. I urge you to send a letter to the President with a copy to your Congressmen as quickly as possible, as I understand this may come up on the floor of the House about January 14. Club presidents and individual members should write.

Sincerely,

COL. F. S. MATTOCKS,
State Legislative Chairman.

Suggested letter form:

(Your name and address.)
(Your club name.)

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As conservationists interested in the preservation of the beauties of our country, we, as a Federation of Garden Clubs are gravely concerned at the recommendation of Secretary of the Interior McKay for the construction of Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument, and we cannot too strongly urge that this project not be undertaken.

While this Echo Park Dam may not destroy the Dinosaur section, it will have an injurious effect on the Dinosaur National Monument as a whole, and it would also set a precedent for taking over others of the few national monuments existing in our country.

As alternate sites exist that will spare the National Park System, we are asking you to act in protecting the National Park System and disapprove dams in Dinosaur.

I have the honor to be your loyal supporter.

(Name)_____

Club President or Member
Name of Garden Club.

An Era of Stability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence has very clearly expressed the present trend toward economic stability that is taking place in our economy, in an article entitled "An Era of Stability," which I include as a part of my remarks.

We have got to readjust to a quasi-peacetime economy and the Eisenhower administration is making this change-over with remarkable smoothness and a minimum of hardship to our people. In spite of the prophets of doom, the ship of state will be on her true course, sailing ahead on the oceans of peace and prosperity, long before their anguished cries have been silenced:

[From U. S. News & World Report of February 12, 1954]

AN ERA OF STABILITY

(By David Lawrence)

So accustomed have we become in recent years to an upward curve in everything—in sales, in profits, in wages, and in production costs—that we lose sight of the changing value of the dollar.

Throughout history peoples have failed to discern and have often been deceived by the changing value of their monetary unit.

We see it happening with wages. Many an individual today gets more dollars than he received in 1939, but the dollars do not buy as much as they did then. The spiral is unending. When prices go up there is pressure for higher wage levels. This in turn pushes up costs and then prices rise, and in the end many persons are worse off than before.

So the period we have just entered—a period of readjustment—shows the first real progress toward stability that the Nation has made in 20 years.

Incalculable benefits are being bestowed already on the economic community. Wage rates have not been pressed upward in recent months but have remained fairly stable. Such increases as have been granted are moderate. The amount of money that might have been added to production costs by reason of a normal upward rise of wages in the last few months cannot be estimated as yet, but undoubtedly the saving on the expense side is very large.

Similarly the fact that prices are not being raised generally and that businesses have experienced a period of relative stability in prices is another constructive result of the current readjustment.

This is not to say that we must accept hereafter a stagnant economy. For, with our growth of population and improved means of production, we shall expand sales volume more and more in the years to come. Wage levels will go up gradually. As demand comes to be measured more accurately and there is no such panicky accumulation of goods as occurs when a war emergency causes sudden shortages, the economic system will function more evenly and the country will grow progressively more prosperous for all concerned.

The present recession or readjustment, with 2.4 million unemployed, is no mysterious malady that has affected the business health of the country. It can be readily diagnosed. Moderate declines from the preceding year's figures such as are now being experienced have occurred before. Thus in 1921, 3 years after the close of World War I, we felt the impact of a recession. It was a time when the economic system had just about filled the pent-up demands of the war period.

We then went along on an even keel for several years after 1922, and it was not until 1929 that Europe began to feel the full force of the economic convulsions of World War I. The collapse came everywhere as bank and business failures swept through Europe.

Recovery started throughout the world in the summer of 1932. But the American people in November of that year made the mistake of switching administrations in the middle of the depression. Widespread rumors of the incoming administration's plan to tinker with the gold value of the monetary unit disturbed markets everywhere and brought on in March 1933 perhaps the worst panic in our history—an event chargeable to the refusal of the then President-elect, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to cooperate from November 1932 to March 1933 with the Hoover administration so as to avoid the breakdown of our banking system.

From March 1933 to September 1939, when World War II broke out, unemployment was by no means eliminated. Under the New Deal, unemployment was cut only from an average of 12.8 millions in 1933 to an average of 9.5 millions in 1939, when armament orders from abroad started to give jobs to the unemployed.

America continued on a war economy until 1946. In the postwar years our business system struggled through a painful readjustment, with the peak of unemployment averaging 3.7 millions in 1950. Then came the Korean war and another cycle of inflation.

The Nation is confronted now with the necessity of substituting private spending for Government spending as military appropriations decrease steadily and we face a long period of tension rather than a global war.

The Eisenhower administration, therefore, has taken the first steps toward stabilization of the value of the dollar.

We must construct a stable base before the American economy can be expanded. We must find, with new machinery and methods, a way to produce efficiently at gradually descending prices.

We must view the present readjustment as the forerunner of what may prove to be a more satisfactory decade ahead than we have experienced since inflation, starting in 1940, began to reduce the purchasing power of the dollar until it will buy only 52.1 cents' worth of goods today as compared with the 1935–39 average.

The rise in the value of the dollar will benefit not only the people of the United States but the peoples of other countries with which we trade. Stability is the key to a new prosperity.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Dayton (Ohio) News commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

OPENING THE SEAWAY

It is a blot upon the record of the United States Congress that so vital a project as the

St. Lawrence seaway has been stymied for 20 years by selfish political interests.

Fortunately the log jam apparently will be broken within a matter of days, or perhaps weeks. If so, it will give way under the combined impact of some overdue statesmanship in Congress and of President Eisenhower's frank appeal for the project in the interest of national defense.

JOHN KENNEDY, the youthful Senator from Massachusetts, announced this week, in an act of rare political courage, that he will support the seaway despite the fact that it may reasonably be expected to work to the temporary disadvantage of the Boston port. Other Senators who previously have opposed the project currently are engaged in switching sides.

This is not surprising. Since Canada is determined to go ahead regardless of what course the United States chooses, it is surprising only to note that some opposition remains.

The seaway will strengthen the Nation as a whole, not only from the standpoint of defense but also by any economic standard. In providing a water link between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, it will stiffen the very spine of American commerce. It will open new doors to industry.

Through tolls, it also will pay its own cost. In sum, it will be perhaps the most remarkable bargain the Nation has struck since the purchase of Alaska.

The startling feature is not that Congress finally has awakened to this fact and is about ready at last to approve the project. The startling thing is that anyone could remain blind for so long to advantages so compelling.

Editorial Commendation of Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I was extremely interested to read a splendid editorial which appeared in the February 5 issue of the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen.

The editorial praises the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] for his courage, perserverance, and leadership in his stand on the pending issue before the Senate, namely, the constiutional amendment which would limit the President's treatymaking power.

I believe that the editorial is a most appropriate commendation of our colleague.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A SENATORIAL HERO

Day after day when the going was hardest and the opposition was roughest and toughest, he bore in with vigor and determination.

Day after day the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD reflected his labors. There were speeches short and long, some of them brilliant in the scope of their scholarship. Letters, telegrams, editorials sustained his argument. And when the Senator came to his preoration one day last week with the words:

We did not grow to greatness as a nation on a theme of fear. We have grown great on liberty and freedom and on a great Constitution. Let us keep it that way.

the galleries burst into applause and had to be shushed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate.

He, of course, is the other Senator from Wisconsin, ALEXANDER WILEY. For his pains in opposing the Bricker amendment he was denounced by a rump convention of Republicans in his own State. But Senator WILEY bore on. And he bears on his shoulders, we think, both the glory and the burden of arresting a near-fatal attempt to unwrite the Constitution to appease the fears of a few and to upset the traditional separation of powers by wresting the treatymaking power from the President of the United States.

Chairman of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee have been men of distinction, good or bad. * * * Many men of both parties have broken a lance for the preservation of the Constitution in this battle royal but the real hero is ALEXANDER WILEY.

The Hoover Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Lowell Mellett's article entitled Hoover Commission in Daylight, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of Tuesday, February 16, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOOVER COMMISSION IN DAYLIGHT—TASK FORCE ON WATER RESOURCES AND POWER TO HOLD OPEN HEARINGS, A PARTIAL VICTORY FOR PUBLIC POWER ADVOCATES

(By Lowell Mellett)

The Hoover Commission—Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—has just agreed to do an unprecedented thing. It has agreed that its task forces and the Commission itself shall, on occasion, hold public hearings. This decision has been made, at least, in the case of the task force on water resources and power. It is the result of a persistent effort by advocates of public power to obtain some adequate representation on the Commission. It has been their contention that the 26-member task force doesn't contain a single member sympathetic toward public power development. Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, a member of the Commission, had been endeavoring for months to have the task force increased by five members favorable to public power. The agreement to permit public hearings is in the nature of a compromise.

Since the present Hoover Commission, unlike its predecessor, is authorized to deal with Government policy as well as organization, the importance of letting a little more daylight into its proceedings is obvious. Since the present administration, as represented by the Interior Department, has indicated hostility toward public power development, the importance of open sessions is doubly obvious.

Such hearings, however, scarcely compensate for the one-sided character of the task force named by Chairman Herber Hoover. Commenting on his partial victory, Representative HOLIFIELD remarked:

"Had additional members who believe in the principle of multipurpose dams and regional development such as TVA been appointed, these members would have had the privilege of participating in executive meetings of the task force, in the direction of research and in the evaluation of data which will be available to the task force members."

The battle over the Nation's power resources has become intense and public power advocates—particularly farmers' electric cooperatives—are fearful of what may come out of the Hoover Commission under the guise of improved governmental organization. The annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, held in Miami last month, drew 5,600 delegates representing 3.5 million members. The delegates were astonished to hear their executive manager, Clyde Ellis, attacked by Fred Aandahl, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, as a crusader for a Federal power monopoly. In vigorous denial, Ellis declared his opposition to monopoly either by the Government or by the private power interests. The delegates gave Ellis a remarkable ovation. Many departed for home declaring their purpose to make the administration's power policies an issue in this year's campaign.

In this they hope to enlist city voters as well as farmers. One city in which they may be able to attract some support is Detroit. The Detroit Edison Co. and the Hydroelectric Power Commission of Canada have begun an interchange of electric power. As "partners in progress," the American private company and the Canadian public system are now pooling their power generation. They do not pool their distribution, however, or their prices. In Windsor, just across the border, the average household uses 286 kilowatt-hours of electricity per month and pays $3.64 for it. In Detroit the householder pays $3.73 for only 100 kilowatts. The Detroit price is more than double the Canadian price.

Any socialism that may be creeping across the border at Detroit relates only to the electric juice, not to the price thereof. And that will continue to be the case. An act of Congress, authored by Michigan's Senator POTTER and Representative WOLCOTT exempts the interchange from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Wichita Beacon commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

The St. Lawrence seaway project once more occupies the attention of the United States Senate. For more than 2 decades a heated topic for Congress, the project once more is being debated. This time there is a new angle, however. It is not whether or not the seaway should be constructed, but whether or not this country should share in that construction.

For Canada has announced that she is going ahead with the project to link the Great

Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, with or without American participation as a partner.

This introduces a new element into this debate. The question now arises as to whether or not this country can afford not to participate in the St. Lawrence project.

There is a point where sectional interests must give way to national interests. The opposition to this project has come in the main from east coast and Gulf States, who feel their own commerce would suffer from the project.

The late Henry J. Allen, of Wichita, former Kansas governor and United States Senator, was long one of the prime backers for the project. He saw, years ago, the advantages to the United States as a whole from such a project, and he devoted much time and energy in the fight to bring the advantages of such a joint project to the attention of the country.

The legitimate needs and aspirations of all of the States are tied up in the project, and the time for sectional considerations is passing. The times have changed, and with that change come new problems and new technical advances. These must be faced up to, not arbitrarily pushed aside.

For to adopt the latter course would be to penalize our own future. This was the courageous attitude of Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, who this week alined himself with the proponents of the seaway project.

Senator KENNEDY thus became the first legislator from his State to break away from Massachusetts' traditional opposition to the seaway. His action might well have been the move that will assure passage of the measure to make this country and Canada partners in the project.

Our own Kansas Senators should weigh carefully the move by Senator KENNEDY and his reasons for taking that step. So should those other Senators who might be inclined to feel that inland States need give the matter little consideration.

Food Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Selling Our Way Out," published in the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick of February 16, 1954. The editorial deals with the problem of food surpluses.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELLING OUR WAY OUT

A sensible solution to much of the farm-surplus problem has been proposed by the head of a large food chain. He called for a program of aggressive, nationwide selling to move surpluses into the hands of consumers rather than into Government warehouses.

This program, concurred in by the leading farm organizations, is based upon experience gained in depression days, when chains pioneered the producer-consumer campaign idea. Its soundness was demonstrated repeatedly during the thirties when producers of many products were saved from the effects of disastrous surpluses.

Recently the food industry has had notable successes in relieving beef and broiler chicken surpluses. Faced with increasing costs and falling prices, producers of those commodities were being forced, late in 1953, to sell below cost of production. But instead of appealing for Government support, they called on the food-distributing industry to help them with a stepped-up sales effort. Retailers responded, and sales increased tremendously as consumers took advantage of the good buys offered.

One of the greatest and most far-reaching American achievements lies in the aggressive selling of ideas and products. All precedent indicates that intelligent advertising and other promotional effort can go a long way toward selling us out of the farm surplus problem.

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Standard-Times, of New Bedford, Mass., commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

KENNEDY RIGHT ON SEAWAY

Senator KENNEDY's support of the St. Lawrence seaway project is a logical development in his pattern of dynamic thinking about New England's role in the national economy. The Senator's approach to the problem merits endorsement because it is a statesmanlike concept that could destroy the self-defeating tenets of narrow sectionalism.

The Kennedy philosophy, as set forth in his own declarations, is based on the reasoning that what benefits the country as a whole must, in time, benefit each of its parts. It recognizes the interlocking nature of the Nation's domestic economy and calls for a subordination of local claims if they obstruct a wider interest.

When he spoke last December in Chattanooga, Tenn., Senator KENNEDY told his audience that tax subsidies, prevalent in the South in the form of tax-free municipal bonds to attract industry, represented unfair competition. "This is not an issue between North and South," he said, "but one concerning the stability and integrity of our entire national economy."

It was in consonance with this thinking, then, that Senator KENNEDY, in announcing his support of the St. Lawrence seaway, could declare:

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation in the construction of this project for the national security merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere, I would say that it has been this aribtrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas."

Senator KENNEDY does not, of course, support the seaway on the basis of principle alone. Recognizing the political stereotypes that have grown up about the project in the 20 years since it first was presented in Congress, he argues his case on these pertinent points:

The seaway will be built by Canada alone if the United States does not take up its option to participate; surveys indicate loss to the port of Boston would be negligible, and New England railroads might even gain in traffic if the seaway were built; it has been established the project will be to the national interest as a security measure and as a source of economic gain.

The Senator did not mention another pertinent change that should affect consideration of the seaway. Before this year the project always had been presented to Congress in the nature of a two-phase operation: Power and navigation. However, New York State and Canada last year signed an agreement providing for joint development of the power aspects, a move which eliminated the legitimate objections of those who feared further Federal encroachments in the power field.

The United States share of the total investment of $386,038,600 for the project would be $95,780,745, or 34 percent; its annual charges to operate, maintain, pay interest at 3½ percent and retire bonds would be $5,774,928. The seaway is designed to be self-liquidating through revenue received from tolls.

It would appear that Senator KENNEDY has grasped the essential changes in the project and in supporting it is looking to the future; Senator SALTONSTALL, who voted against the seaway when the Senate approved it last week, seems to be arguing from premises that no longer are valid in the face of contemporary considerations.

Indeed, Senator KENNEDY's enlightened attitude could well be interpreted as a testament of faith in New England. Certainly, the Yankee heritage of ingenuity and adaptability survives today with a vigor that can meet any challenge offered by an economic change.

Fulbright Scholarships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD two articles which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of Sunday, February 14, 1954.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIPS: A GATEWAY TO ADVENTURE—ONE THOUSAND AMERICANS STUDY ABROAD IN EIGHTH YEAR OF PROGRAM

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

Another group of American graduate students is currently being selected for a year's study abroad under the Fulbright program. By now the scheme is almost a routine part of American education. But routine or not, the program remains the largest foreign scholarship plan ever established. And the idea remains a rare legislative flight of the imagination. This is its background:

In 1945, with the war only just ended, Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, proposed that America's surplus war materials abroad be converted into local foreign currency, and the resulting funds used for a continuing scholarship program. American graduate students, teachers, and scholars would get their travel and subsistence paid out of the fund; foreign students, eligible for study in the United States, would at least get free passage. (Eventually the Smith-Mundt Act also covered the expenses of some in this country.)

Late in 1946 the proposal became law as the Fulbright Act. It was estimated that within 30 years it would have at its disposal about $140 million. Now in its 8th year, it has 13 years to go.

NEW FRONTIERS

The surplus materials were scattered across the world, from Burma to Great Britain and from New Zealand to Norway. Anything from chewing gum to bulldozers and airplane hangars, in 22 countries, was turned into study grants. Recently Germany and Austria were added.

Senator FULBRIGHT's background explains his interests. An honor student and football star at the University of Arkansas (of which he later became president), he went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar and distinguished himself in modern history and on the lacrosse team.

When the Institue of International Education recently reviewed some of the Fulbright students' careers, Sir Hugh Taylor, graduate dean of Princeton University and early member of the Fulbright selection committees, said: "A thousand young Americans have ventured this year (1953) on their voyage of education and discovery. Within the country there is no longer a frontier to beckon to them. But beyond the gateways, east and west, there still lie opportunities for the bold and adventurous spirit."

The reports on this page, and the pictures of Fulbrighters at work, show some of the adventure. (All the material and pictures were provided by the Institute of International Education and its News Bulletin. The institute is the selection agency for students. The Department of State, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and the United States Office of Education deal with teachers.)

Fulbrighters have ranged from the study of art to animal husbandry. They have helped fight epidemics in the tropics and they have performed in Italian opera (see article by Judith Crist). One Greek doctor who, on a reverse Fulbright grant to the United States, studied at the Mayo Clinic, went back home and opened a 70-bed hospital where he serves 40,000 people a year.

One American student went to New Zealand and worked on experiments to control the breeding of the wapiti, an elk. The wapiti had been brought to New Zealand as a gift of Teddy Roosevelt, but multiplied so as to become a menace. Another Fulbrighter in New Zealand explained the Communist danger in Korea so effectively that his lectures, improvised when the North Koreans attacked, became part of the New Zealand Air Force training manual. Fittingly, the student held a master's degree in United Nations affairs.

THE STUDENTS TALK

But listen to the students themselves:

Richard J. Coughlin, now a member of the sociology faculty at Yale, was the first Fulbright researcher to go to Thailand. He reports: "I found that living or working with the Chinese in Bangkok became after a time a continuous mental exercise, like playing chess without pause. * * * They often saw in my behavior certain ulterior motives which I did not have. * * * Rapport was difficult to achieve. Yet, once won, it endured and led to still other close friendships. * * *"

David T. Billington, who studied construction engineering in Belgium, says: "Most Americans make pilgrimages to Europe to see the old stone. * * * I went and stayed 2 years among the great Gothic towers, to study man's artificial stone, concrete. * * * In northern France, where Gothic architecture had its birth, the newest concept in construction (white, prestressed concrete) also has sprung up. * * *

"To Belgian practicing engineers I was a curiosity. That America—creator of Boulder Dam, the Empire State Building, the Golden Gate Bridge—should come to Belgium to learn seemed remarkable."

PAST AND FUTURE

"I came away stimulated not only by my glimpse at the roots of our own civilization," he concluded, "but also by the new ideas and designs for the future."

Helen Glenn went to Pakistan 2 years ago. At the end of her Fulbright year she stayed there to teach at the University of Dacca.

And so the list goes.

By now 13,905 Fulbrighters, from graduate students to professors, have benefited from the plan. Of these 6,080 were Americans going abroad; 7,825 foreigners coming to America. Of the Americans, 3,618 were graduate students; 1,433 were lecturers and researchers; 1,029 were teachers.

HOW FULBRIGHT GRANTS HELP THE YOUNG ARTIST

(By Judith Crist)

For young American singers, actors, and artists, Fulbright grants for study abroad have put into practical terms the fundamental concept of the arts as the language of international understanding.

Fulbright grants to such young people, the Institute of International Education believes, serve a dual purpose: "Young Americans who intend to make their careers in the arts are given the opportunity for invaluable training abroad" and at the same time "the peoples of other countries also have the opportunity to meet rising American artists and to watch their performances."

The experiences of even a few of the many who have had Fulbright grants bear this out. They report in glowing terms the furthering not only of their careers during and after their year of fellowship but also of a mutual understanding of the peoples and cultures of other lands.

LANGUAGE OF ART

In Italy, "and every country I visited subsequently," Teresa Stich Randall reported enthusiastically, "my stay was invaluable. I not only listened to their music and saw their art, but by actually living with the people and speaking their language, I was finally able to understand their culture as it is. That actually is the key to sincere interpretation * * *."

Miss Stich Randall, a rising young soprano, had received her early training at the Hartford School of Music and the Opera Workshop of Columbia University, was leading soprano in the New Lyric Stage Opera Co. and sang in several full-length operas presented by Toscanini conducting the NBC Symphony. But, by 1950, she felt that she had reached the point "where I needed training more advanced and concentrated than I was able to procure in this country."

THREE YEARS LATER

She won a Fulbright scholarship to study in Milan for 1951–52 and distinguished herself from the start. In 1951 she won the international competition at Lausanne and the international competition at Geneva and appeared as soloist with many European symphony and chamber orchestras, at the International Festival in Salsburg and with the Basel State Opera.

She made her debut with the Vienna State Opera in October 1952 and this year plans to appear in concert and operatic recitals in Milan, Zurich, Cologne, Brussels, Graz, and Aix-en-Provence as well as Vienna.

Another Fulbright alumna, Anne McKnight, known to Italian operagoers as Anne de Cavalieri, distinguished herself before and after receiving a grant in 1949–50. When in 1953 Tullio Serafin, conductor of the San Carlo Opera Co., with which Miss McKnight had sung, was asked by the New York City Opera Co. to recommend an Italian soprano for the company, he said the most suitable Italian soprano was Miss McKnight, a native of Aurora, Ill. She is now a leading soprano with that group, returning for engagements abroad before and after its season.

Still a third young singer, Nell Tangeman, had applied for a Fulbright scholarship to study opera and stage techhnique in Italy, and through performing, "to bring to more serious attention abroad the works of contemporary American composers."

"In Europe," she reported, "I sang as soloist with the Santa Cecilia Orchestra in Rome; also for the coronation of Prince Rainier III, of Monaco, in Monte Carlo, and as soloist with the Berlin Philharmonic."

A young actor matched the singers in their enthusiam. David Mintz, a Californian, had been to England in the summer of 1950 with members of the Putney Summer Theater in Vermont, where he had worked summers while teaching dramatics at the Putney School.

"The summer's experience impressed me with how much I had to learn," he recalled, "and I began to think about returning to England for study. I wanted very much to further my interest in the classical theater and learn the style and discipline that is characteristic of the best of English acting."

He received a Fulbright grant in the fall of 1951 for a year's study at the Royal Academy in London, where he won its award for the most promising male performance. He also took a screen test and is now under contract to Paramount Pictures in Hollywood, under the professional name of David Knight.

"One of the most valuable and cherished parts of the experience in England," he said, "was the opportunity to live in London and attend its theaters and concert halls and learn to know some of its people. It was something of a special year, because of the coronation. * * * Some of the finest acting in the English-speaking theaters is being done today in London and it was a privilege and an education to see it."

Sliding Scale and Sliding Grain Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article prepared for the Benson County Farmers' Union by Douglas Engkvist, secretary. This article contains a copy of a grain-price card mailed from Minneapolis, Minn., on October 11, 1952, to the Farmers' National Warehouse Corp., of Leeds, N. Dak.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DO YOU REMEMBER THIS?—MANY GRAIN FARMERS DO—VOTE AGAINST SLIDING SCALE AND SLIDING GRAIN PRICES

Can the American public afford to risk return of the terrible economic conditions which they suffered when farmers had to sell their grain at prices like these?

Minneapolis, Minn. Oct. 11, 1932

	Dark Nor. 1H&1D	N. 60 lb	8P. 33		Winter:	White	
1	58	32	32	1	60 lb	31	32
2	57	31	31	2	58	29	30
3	55	28	28	3	56	27	28
4	53	24	24	5	54	25	26
5	50	18	18	5	51	19	20

Protein Premiums

12.0% 1c : 13.5% 1c : 15.0% 4c
13.0% 1c : 14.0% 2c :

		Amber Durum	Durum	Mixed	Red
1	60 lb	26	26	24	24
2	58	25	25	23	23
3	56	23	23	21	21
4	54	21	21	19	19
5	51	18	18	16	16

Choice to Fancy Durum 4-8c more

FLAX		OATS	
No. 1	87	No. 3 W 26 lb	06
No. 2	84	No. 4 W 23	05
Sample	79	Sample 22	04
		No. 2	1c over 3 lb

SHELL CORN YELLOW		BARLEY	
No. 2	09	No. 2 46 lb	08
No. 3	08	No. 3 43	06
No. 4	07	No. 4 40	04
No. 5	06	1 Feed 35	02
		Ch. Mlt	4-6c more

Ear 82 lb 3c less Mix & Wht. Corn 3c less than Yel. Spelts Cwt. 20 Buckwheat Cwt. 45 No. 55 Nor. 20

RYE

No. 2 54 lb 15
No. 3 52 13
No. 4 49 11

THE GRAIN BULLETIN

Friend of the Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include an editorial from the Republican Journal, of Ogdensburg, N. Y., commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, upon his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

WHICH IS THE STATESMAN?

We have always considered Senator IRVING IVES one of the best of public servants. He is intelligent and moderate. His work in the field of labor relations has been outstanding.

So it has always been difficult for us to understand the Senator's blind opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway which he renewed in a statement from his office yesterday.

It was a striking example of a stubborn stand in light of the statesmanlike declaration of Senator JOHN KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, in support of the development.

Senator KENNEDY is the first Massachusetts legislator in 20 years to support the project. Why did he do it?

He said it is in national interest that the United States should have a share in the canal system. He admitted there might be some loss to the port of Boston but is convinced it would be minor and added, "There are some who believe in the long run traffic at the port will be stimulated."

Senator KENNEDY is convinced that seaway is going to be built by Canada whether the United States decides to take part or not. In a part of his speech aimed at his constituents he declared:

"To those in my State and elsewhere who oppose our participation merely because the economic benefits go elsewhere. I would say it has been the arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspiration of ther sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas.

"We cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position."

Senator IVES continues to say that he favors the power development of the river. But he says he fears the seaway will not be self-supporting and might become a problem in subsidization "both for the seaway operation itself and for railroads who might suffer loss of freight."

The Senator from New York cannot afford to continue so narrow and destructive a position, either.

He contradicts himself. First he says the seaway can't support itself. Then he says the railroads will lose so much business they will have to be subsidized.

He takes the narrow view when he would vote against a project that will be of great help to his own State because it might—just might—affect the business of one special interest. Actually, the seaway is more likely to stimulate railroad business than hurt it, even as Senator KENNEDY recognizes Boston is more likely to be helped than harmed.

Despite our admiration for Senator IVES in other fields, we must ask which is the statesman, Senator KENNEDY or the gentleman from New York State?

A Little Logic Needed Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from Collier's magazine for December 11, 1953.

With any problem as controversial as the raising of postal rates, Congress is bound to be bombarded with all sorts of pressure, both for and against. I think this is one of those issues on which we have to take a determined stand, even though it may not be the popular one, for what we believe is right and best for the country as a whole.

That should be our sole objective in passing on the administration's request for an increase in postal rates. I think the Collier's editorial presents some clear thinking on this subject and should be read by everyone interested in the true facts concerning the postal rate issue.

The editorial follows:

A LITTLE LOGIC NEEDED HERE

One of the early items of business scheduled for consideration in the January session of Congress is a rise in postal rates. The proposal has the support of the Postmaster General and apparently of the administration, which is pledged to an attempt to cut Government deficits and balance the budget.

We certainly approve the administration's laudable aims. But, in the case of the proposed postal increases, we are far from convinced that a hike in the cost of delivering mail is a logical means of attaining a desirable end.

There is a lot of talk about the Post Office Department's deficit. This implies that the Department operates in order to make money. But is that its primary function? It seems to us that the postal system exists to serve the public. That is the function of all the other Cabinet departments. Nobody talks about the deficit of State or Commerce or Agriculture or the other agencies which serve the people of this country. Yet Postmaster General Summerfield seems to think that his one branch of Government should be run as a paying business.

Well, the Post Office Department is not a business, in the usual sense of the word. For one thing, its operation is influenced by considerations of politics and patronage. Its rates are arbitrary, unlike other Government businesses such as housing construction and power distribution, because there is no private competition to afford a comparison as to what is a fair charge for its services.

Much of the Department's so-called deficit is a matter of bookkeeping. For example, the next Federal budget should show a drop of about $1,500,000 in that deficit because the congressional franking privilege has been revoked, and the cost of Congressmen's free mail will henceforth be paid directly by the Treasury. But there are surely other ways besides figure-juggling to make reductions in postal costs.

Suppose that the delivery of mail was assigned to a regulated private monopoly. It is difficult to believe that a private concern, with any technique of efficiency, would maintain the 41,000 post offices that we have today. It is difficult to believe that the present antiquated methods of handling mail, with all their wasteful and wearisome arm work and leg work, would not be mechanized and improved.

It seems to us that Congress and the Post Office Department should decide whether the postal system is chiefly a public service or a commercial enterprise before the question of rate rises is considered. We believe that the history and very nature of the Department will show them that public service is its basic function. And we do not think that it is wise or just to pass along an increase in postal costs to the public without first making some effort to cut down operational expenses.

EDUCATION BY MAIL

Quite naturally, we are concerned in particular with the proposed postal increases as they affect newspapers and periodicals. Some supporters of a higher rate for second-class mail have said that the preferential rate—which by next April will have increased 30 percent since 1951 and which would rise another 37 percent under the suggested increase—is a subsidy to the publishers.

That is a misapprehension. It is the reader, not the publisher, who is subsidized by a system which permits him to buy reading matter at a moderate cost.

The whole publishing industry, and the buying habits of its readers, are geared to the present postal rate. Mail costs, of course, are only one item in the total cost of publishing. But mail costs are a major factor which, if increased, would not only mean a general increase in expense to readers, but could also be a life-or-death matter for some publications.

The publisher of 13 small farm papers in Iowa told that House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that if the proposed rate increase went through he would have to cease operating. The added postage cost, he said, would be four times the profit that his papers made last year. And surely this testimony was neither an isolated nor unique forecast.

It is no accident that newspapers and magazines receive preferential postage rates. More than 150 years ago Congress established those rates to foster "the widest possible dissemination of intelligence." It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the contribution that publications of both general and special appeal have made, and continue to make, toward preserving the liberty of the American people and keeping them alert, informed, and progressive.

As Senator FRANK CARLSON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has perceptively put it: "Second class is traditionally the great educational category of mail. To provide the American people with information of record—information which is essential if we are to remain a nation of free, knowledgeable men and women—there is no substitute for the newspaper and the magazine. And there can be no substitute. It costs taxpayers billions a year to educate our children in the schools. I cannot see that it is out of line if the great adult-education operation of the Post Office Department, through second-class mail, is made possible at a moderate cost to the taxpayer."

We agree completely with the Senator from Kansas. Sound judgment, tradition, and necessity dictate the merit of keeping the information provided by publications within the reach of the American people at a low postal rate, and of encouraging those sources of information to stay in business, rather than threatening to price them out of business.

We trust that Congress and the Post Office Department, during the coming session, will agree once and for all on a postal policy of public service. And we hope that they will give earnest thought and effort to solve the problems of streamlining and improving postal service, and deemphasizing its political aspects, within the framework of present or even lower costs. These jobs need doing, and we believe they can be done.

Congressman Rodino's "Forgotten Man" Returns Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an article from the February 15, 1954, issue of Life. We in the Congress of the United States are familiar with the amount of work and effort rendered by our colleague, PETER RODINO, JR., of Newark, N. J., in seeking the liberation of his constituent, John Hvasta. For the past few years, Congressman RODINO has been in constant touch with the State Department, seeking their assistance to prevail upon the Czechoslovakian Government to release this Navy veteran from prison. Time and time again Congressman RODINO not only visited the State Department personally, beseeching them to insist upon action from the Czechs, but he delivered several speeches on the floor of the House of Representatives to his colleagues, crying out for timely assistance for this young man. Frequently he brought this unfortunate situation to the press of our country, and other nations, citing the unfair and unjust punishment meted out to his friend while he was studing in their country. He refreshed their memories that this young citizen and veteran of the United States had never been a spy or agent of the United States.

He even carried his fight for the freedom of this victim to the White House to two Presidents of the United States. No stone was left unturned by Congressman RODINO to return John Hvasta; and I for one am pleased and happy that favorable results have been accomplished, in this acute and serious situation, by one man alone, PETER RODINO, JR., of New Jersey. He gained this wonderful result only by giving zealously and unstintingly of his time, his work, and his efforts during these long months of waiting and hoping, finally culminating in returning John Hvasta to his home town of Hillside, N. J.

Congressman PETER RODINO, JR., your colleagues, both on the Democratic and Republican side of the House are proud of you.

The article follows:

"FORGOTTEN MAN" COMES HOME

John Hvasta, a 26-year-old Navy veteran, went to Czechoslovakia in 1948 to study under the GI bill of rights. Last week he came home to Hillside, N. J., having learned a fantastic lot. Although he had served openly as a part-time employee of the United States consulate in Bratislava and was therefore not a man likely to succeed as a spy, he had been arrested as a United States agent and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

In 1950, while still a prisoner, Hvasta persuaded authorities to allow him to marry a Czech girl. In 1952 he broke out of the Leopoldov fortress in central Czechoslovakia. When Czech officials announced his escape, it was believed that he had been executed. But 4 months ago, after almost 2 years spent evading recapture, he appeared without his wife at the United States Embassy in Prague. All this time Congressman PETER RODINO, JR., of Newark, led a crusade in Washington for "the forgotten man." Then suddenly the Czechs commuted Hvasta's sentence and permitted him to come home.

A Bold Plan for the Redevelopment of Southwest Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I call to your attention the editorials from the Washington Post and the Evening Star of the 17th of February commenting on a plan for the redevelopment of southwest Washington. The plan has been presented by Mr. William Zeckendorf, president of the firm of Webb & Knapp. Mr. Zeckendorf is best known for his work in assembling the land for the present site of the United Nations Building. This project has opened up new vistas for midtown Manhattan along the East River.

Mr. Zeckendorf proposes an opera house, symphony hall, and other cultural facilities be built, much along the lines proposed in my bill before the 83d Congress, to establish an American National War Memorial Arts Commission. These cultural facilities have long been lacking in Washington. With these facilities as the core of his plan, Mr. Zeckendorf has also proposed the southwest as a site for much needed office buildings, which, with their resultant increase in tax ratables, would go far toward paying off the cost of the project.

Harry L. Merrick, president of the Washington Board of Trade, has said that the plan is a wonderful idea and economically sound if Congress can be sold on the idea of accepting the three national structures as a Federal responsibility.

I can't imagine anyone being against it if Congress can be sold—

He said.

Granville Gude, chairman of the Greater National Capital Committee, said it appeared to him also that the plan hinges on Congress. He stressed that the entire plan would be a tremendous benefit to Washington as a tourist center.

Edward R. Carr, former president of the National Association of Home Builders, said the plan is a magnificent conception in which he is sure local builders would be anxious to participate. He urged some plan by which people throughout the country might be able to contribute to the cost of the national structures proposed.

Mr. Zeckendorf stressed that the opera house, public auditorium, and symphonic halls are necessary to stimulate the theater and entertainment area proposed. He said the three structures are the only ones that could not be financed initially by private capital.

The entire entertainment district in the plan, according to Mr. Zeckendorf, would be the salt-and-pepper seasoning necessary to take Washington out of the limited realm of a city of esthetics, monuments, and museums and give the visitor something to do with leisure hours after dark. It would help the city get a "much higher percentage of the vacation dollar and the travel dollar," he said.

With the plan presented by Mr. Zeckendorf before us, it looks as though we are moving out of the talking stage into realistic planning of the kind required if Washington is to join other world capitals in providing cultural facilities for the enjoyment and enlightenment of all the citizens of our country.

The Star and Post editorials follow:

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., of Wednesday, February 17, 1954]

SOUTHWEST REDEVELOPMENT—A NEW LOOK

The redevelopment plan for Southwest Washington, proposed in outline form by the New York firm of Webb and Knapp, is breathtaking in the magnitude of its concept. It offers the ultimate in an idealistic approach to urban redevelopment. The hard realities will come under examination later. What gives it a practical substance now is its sponsorship by a firm with a reputation of success in other bold ventures, a demonstrated know-how and ability to attract capital.

The plan seems to make sense on paper, although the difficulties are obvious. It is based on the philosophy underlying the whole theory of redevelopment—partnership between Government and private enterprise in making over, from the ground up, deteriorating areas, and starting them afresh toward a new future. As others have found, Southwest Washington comes close to offering the ideal laboratory for putting this sort of alchemy to the test. It is potentially one of the most desirable parts of the city, with

a waterfront made to order for new and imaginative utilization. Without bold redevelopment, its future is grim. With redevelopment, the transformation of this one area would initiate a new era in development of Washington as a worthy Capital of a great Nation.

That thought is fundamental in the scheme described by William Zeckendorf, president of the firm presenting this new approach to southwest redevelopment. The nucleus of the plan is a new south Mall and L'Enfant Plaza surrounded by such Government structures as an opera house, convention hall, symphony hall, and museum—projects that have been proposed for years. That development, Mr. Zeckendorf believes, would furnish the key for redevelopment of the whole area. It would also represent the National Government's contribution, for the remaining parts of the plan would attract, it is said, the investment of private enterprise and would increase the tax yield sufficiently to offset a large part of the expenses to the municipality. Americans everywhere are proud of their Capital. This pride, Mr. Zeckendorf believes, can be made the force behind his concept of redeveloping of the southwest, bringing closer to realization the ideal of what the American Capital ought to be.

In speaking of these dreams, one is immediately struck by the contrast between them and the realities of such mundane undertakings as a public-works program, designed to produce basic necessities in the form of adequate sewer and water systems, school buildings, municipal institutions, highways and the like, and the difficulties of obtaining agreement on an acceptable financial formula. But the public-works program, and the broad plan of southwest redevelopment described by Mr. Zeckendorf are parts of the same picture. Congress, and the American people, must somehow be made to realize the unpleasant fact that this American Capital is already showing evidence of dangerous deterioration. Unless that trend is reversed by vigorous, farsighted leadership, determined to make this city the most beautiful capital in the world, it is going to degenerate into the uglist—a city in which a few beautiful buildings and parks, reflections of past dreams, are surrounded by slums, with their creeping blight of poverty, disease, and crime, with those who can afford to do so moving beyond its boundaries.

One thing to be accomplished by continuing study of the new plan for southwest redevelopment is clearer understanding of the alternatives between doing something to rebuild this Capital and doing nothing too long.

[From the Washington Post of Wednesday, February 17, 1954]

BOLD PLAN FOR SOUTHWEST

Washington may well sit up and rub its eyes as it reads the bold venture proposed by William Zeckendorf for the southwest sector of the city. This imaginative and highly successful New York developer is not satisfied to propose a mere transformation of one of Washington's worst slum areas. What he envisages is nothing less than a grand new center of culture, recreation, business and residence—almost a new city in itself. If the plan should go through as he has offered it, the southwest would probably be as fine as any part of the city.

This is Mr. Zeckendorf's answer to the flight of business and people from the District of Columbia to the newer surrounding suburbs. The central city, he says in effect, need not be afflicted with stagnation or decay. By skillful use of new planning, backed by adequate private capital with some public funds, slums can be replaced by the modern marvels of urban living. Nothing better could happen to Washington, in our opinion, than to have the southwest blossom into a new showplace complete with an enormous convention hall, opera house, symphony hall, a new mall on 10th Street, a new waterfront shopping center, together with modern apartments, row houses, and ample parking facilities.

Of course, the entire project would be linked with the proposed Southwest Freeway, and the rebuilt area would be closely tied in with the city by skillful concealment of the railroad tracks that now seem to set it apart. The effect would be to stimulate new interest in the entire downtown area—to knit the city together again in recognition of its destiny as a great world capital. The prospective increase in tax revenue is in itself a strong argument for such an effort.

It is true that execution of the plan would raise several difficult problems and that it calls for vision of a variety that is somewhat scarce on Capitol Hill. The $50 million grant requested for the convention hall, opera house and symphony hall will require a powerful conversion effort. The problem of rehousing many present residents of the southwest will have to be met in a realistic fashion. But these hurdles do not minimize the value of imaginative planning, which the city has so long needed. If Mr. Zeckendorf succeeds in arousing the city to the great possibilities of the southwest, he will render a great service, the influence of which may reach throughout the land.

The Maritime Subsidy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Evening Star issue of February 17, 1954, entitled "Of Ships and Shipyards." In presenting this editorial I invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that the maritime studies, started by the Special Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, under the able leadership of my colleague from Michigan [Mr. POTTER], will now be continued by the Subcommittee on Water Transportation, of which I have recently been named chairman.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I join in the request of the distinguished Senator from Maryland.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OF SHIPS AND SHIPYARDS

The Senate Commerce Subcommittee studying the Government's maritime subsidy program has made an excellent start toward directing public attention to a neglected segment of the national economy.

In its first preliminary report, based upon a relatively brief series of hearings and a quick study of foreign shipyards and operating methods, the subcommittee warns that both in transport ships and in the facilities to build them we have dropped below the preparedness level of pre-World War II days. It finds that, as potential military auxiliaries, there is an immediate deficiency of 214 merchant-type vessels. It finds that 80 percent of the active merchant marine will become obsolete between 1962–65 and that much of it already is qualitatively deficient. And it finds that the shipbuilding industry had no orders for oceangoing commercial vessels of more than 1,000 tons in 1953 and has none in prospect for 1954.

The fact that the United States still leads the world in active merchant tonnage does not by any means offset the shortcomings noted by the committee. Ships of obsolescent design and lacking in speed are of limited value for wartime needs and often uneconomic in peacetime. Yards that are employed only irregularly for the building of modern commercial vessels lose the skills and facilities needed for this type of construction.

In 1947, a Presidential advisory commission recommended an orderly program for construction of 46 passenger and combination-type ships over a 4-year period. Only 6 ever were started and of these only 3 big liners are in commercial service. Other studies have been made, complete with recommendations. Chairman POTTER of the subcommittee points out that the 1936 Merchant Marine Act is still the basic statute for our national maritime policy but that revisions over the past 18 years have been of an emergency or patchwork nature. It will be in the national interest if his committee can provide the Congress with the material needed for a complete and constructive overhauling of policy and legislation in this field.

Hydrogen Energy and National Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address given by me before the 38th annual convention of the National Sand and Gravel Association and the 24th annual convention of the National Ready Mixed Concrete Association in Chicago, Ill., February 17, 1954:

HYDROGEN ENERGY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

To be in Chicago and address the members of the National Sand and Gravel Association and the National Ready Mixed Concrete Association on the subject of our atomic energy program is a welcomed relief from Washington's daily pressures.

Ordinarily, one would not think that the businesses in which you are engaged would have a close connection with atomic energy. However, mere ideas of atomic energy application are useless by themselves—they must be reduced to the brick, steel, and concrete of the manufacturing plants of reality.

During the last half of 1953 the construction costs of atomic energy plants averaged about $100 million monthly, or about 4 percent of the national continental average. They are expected to reach $125 million monthly during the early part of 1954, or about 5 percent of the estimated construction expenditures in the entire United States. I know that you and your companies are contributing your share of effort toward making America atomically strong—and I trust you made your share of the profits.

It is particularly appropriate to be discussing atomic energy in this city because it was here—on a squash court in the shad-

End

ows of the University of Chicago—that only 12 years ago scientists opened the Pandora's box which loosed the atom upon an unsuspecting world. It was here that the idea of the chain reaction theory was proven; it was here that men learned that the atom could be split and its energy could be harnessed and controlled. What had been a plaything in laboratories therefore became reality here in Chicago.

But unlike other weapons which have emerged from previous wars atomic energy could not be confined to Pentagons, munitions factories, and general staffs. Its nonmilitary applications and political implications have put it squarely into the arena of national and international economic, cultural, and political affairs.

We now face problems whose solution will require all the ingenuity, good will, and statesmanship with which we are endowed if the atom is to become the servant and not the master of mankind.

It might have been more interesting, perhaps, to have concentrated our discussion today on the relation of atomic energy to our civilization; to speak of the atom and industry; to gaze into the crystal ball and speculate on the manifold coming peacetime applications of atomic energy. It might have been intriguing to talk of the part radioactive isotopes, a byproduct of atomic fission, are coming to play in diagnostic medicine, and in cancer research and treatment.

However, as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for the past 8 years, and as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I am today constrained to talk about the military aspects of our atomic-energy program.

The whole tempo of atomic development, both on the peacetime and military side, has proceeded faster—much faster—than most of us anticipated 8 years ago, when Hiroshima heralded the beginning of a new historic epoch. While pondering the destruction visited upon Japan by the first atomic weapons, how many of us would have predicted then that our Nation's atomic stockpile would today include fission weapons—so-called ordinary atomic bombs—25 times more powerful than the Hiroshima model of 500,000 tons of TNT equivalent?

How many of us, above all anticipated that both we and the Soviets would by now have achieved hydrogen explosions, whose churning cauldrons of consuming heat, cyclonic winds, and lethal radiation would dwarf the mushroom clouds which proclaimed the end of the war with Japan?

Three years ago this month, when our Nation began active work on the hydrogen bomb, many scientists held it beyond the ability of man to create a thermonuclear explosion. Others supposed that the harnessing of hydrogen energy for military purposes would require a giant developmental effort extending over many years. Then, in the fall of 1952—less than 3 years after President Truman's go-ahead order on the hydrogen bomb—we produced a full-scale hydrogen explosion at our Eniwetok proving grounds in the Pacific. This represented a brilliant scientific achievement. Yet the nucleus of the hydrogen atom yielded up its secrets much more readily than even the most ardent advocates of all-out hydrogen development had expected.

The historic moment when mankind entered the hydrogen—the thermonuclear—age has been recorded on movie film, and I hope that within a few weeks the American people will be able to witness in reproduction the full fury of a hydrogen explosion.

That thermonuclear test of 1952 completely obliterated the test island in the Eniwetok Atoll. It tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean—a crater—measuring a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth at its lowest point. Filling this crater would require more than 4½ million truckloads of gravel. The diameter of this crater would encompass all of downtown Chicago, reaching from Madison Street, on the north, to Polk Street, on the south; from Michigan Avenue, on the east, almost to Halsted Street, on the west.

Within the diameter of this crater one could place 140 structures the size of our Nation's Capitol, or 90 buildings the size of this city's great Merchandise Mart.

Nor was this all. If it occurred in a modern city, I am told that the heat and blast generated in the 1952 hydrogen test would cause absolute destruction over an area extending 3 miles in all directions from the point where the hydrogen device exploded. This is an area of complete devastation—using the word "complete" in its most precise meaning—6 miles in diameter. The area of severe-to-moderate damage would stretch in all directions to 7 miles from ground zero. Finally, the area of light damage would reach to 10 miles from the point of detonation. In other words, an area covering 300 square miles would be blanketed by this one hydrogen explosion.

If a thermonuclear weapon with destructive effects comparable to that of our 1952 test shot were to be exploded over the Chicago Stadium, the effects of the explosion would be felt well beyond Jackson Park on the south, beyond Maywood on the west, and in Evanston on the north. The area of severe-to-moderate damage would reach almost to the Midway Airport on the south, past Oak Park on the west, and beyond Foster Avenue on the north. The area of absolute destruction would reach to the lake front on the east, to the intersection of Archer and Ashland Avenues on the south, beyond Garfield Park on the west, and to Fullerton Avenue on the north.

This is the appalling meaning of the hydrogen bomb. But it need not leave us completely dismayed nor distraught. I believe it is more sinful to conceal the power of the atom than to reveal it. If telling the American people the facts about the atom be "atom rattling" then I confess my guilt. My faith in the capacity of the American people to face up to peril is boundless, but only if they are aware of it.

That test whose fearful effects it has been my duty to describe took place almost a year-and-a-half ago. Security keeps me from commenting on where our hydrogen weapons program now stands, and from outlining the directions in which it is now moving. But I can assure you that it is moving. One fact should be obvious: hydrogen energy constitutes no exception to the laws of scientific and technical advancement. The 1952 tests did not mark the end of the line of hydrogen research. Terrible secrets still lie undiscovered in the fusion of nuclei. In due course, we can be sure, the ingenuity of man will ferret out these secrets—with fateful consequences for our civilization, both for good as well as evil. Today we have in being an entire family of atomic weapons. We must now begin to adjust our thinking to the prospect of an entire family of hydrogen weapons, comparable in versatility to the fission weapons of today.

The Soviet hydrogen test of last August should have answered, once and for all, those who naively imagined us to hold a monopoly of knowledge and skill in thermonuclear research and development. It may be possible to debate whether the Soviet dictators at this very moment have it in their power to launch a crippling atomic and hydrogen blow at our country—though the recent unveiling of the new long-range bombers of the Red Air Force should counsel against complacency on this score. But the question of whether the Soviets will have this capacity 1 or 2 or 3 years from now should not be open to reasonable debate. Beyond any question, they will.

We are now crossing the threshold into an age when 1 plane, carrying 1 hydrogen bomb, can unleash on a target a cargo of destructive force exceeding all the TNT dropped by all the allied forces upon Germany, Japan, and Italy combined throughout all of World War II.

It need hardly be said that the hydrogen bomb is ideally suited to a sneak attack—it places an enormous premium upon striking first. In 1914, again at Pearl Harbor, and once more with the invasion of South Korea—aggressors have begun wars believing that the advantage of surprise assault would lead to final victory. Each time the test of battle has proved those aggressors to be wrong. But this need not always be so. Should our Nation ever fall victim to surprise nuclear assault, I am confident we could still maintain our capacity to deal our enemies a retaliatory blow of great effect, but there can be no guaranty of ultimate victory unless we are constantly alert and prepared.

Our best and surest means of preventing nuclear war lies in maintaining and even increasing the strength of our retaliatory striking forces. This is fundamental. But a program for survival which relies exclusively upon our ability to launch a nuclear counterblow would be only half complete. It is not enough to notify an enemy that the attempted destruction of our own cities would be automatically answered by the destruction of his. If it is possible, and it is, we must make it clear that a nuclear Pearl Harbor against us would fail. We must make it clear that our continental defense system could cripple and repel any air fleet directed against us.

It is no secret that our present continental defense system—our existing program for detecting and frustrating a nuclear attack against the United States—falls far short of serving our enemies with such notice. At very best, we might now hope to intercept 1 out of every 4 hostile bombers in the event of a massive assault against our cities. It is entirely possible that 9 out of 10 enemy planes might reach their targets—and this in an age when only 1 hydrogen weapon would be needed to destroy the vitals of any American city, be it Chicago, New York, or Detroit.

President Eisenhower and the members of the Defense Establishment have instituted encouraging remedial steps. Yet I believe that the acceleration in the nuclear armaments race now demands an acceleration of our efforts to improve our defenses.

It may be contended that no continental defense system now foreseeable could guarantee 90 or 100 percent success in intercepting enemy aircraft. I agree—but I point out that this is no argument for resting content with a system only 10 or 20 percent effective.

It may be argued that strengthening our defenses at the cost of weakening our offensive striking power would represent military folly. I concur—but I know of no responsible person advocating such a course. I remind you, in addition, that adequate continental defense preparations are as vital for the protection of our striking forces as they are for the protection of our cities. Without sufficient advance warning of a hostile attack, the planes and bases of our Strategic Air Command might well be destroyed before a retaliatory blow could ever be mounted.

It may be contended that any attempt to win military security through reliance on a Maginot Line philosophy is foredoomed to failure. Again I concur—but I reject the notion that a stepup in our defense preparations represents Maginot line thinking. I point out, moreover, that it was the excellence of her radar warning system and interceptor aircraft as well as the sheer valor

of her airmen that saved England from destruction during the Battle of Britain.

There is nothing secret or obscure about what is needed to improve our continental defenses many-fold. Today's limited warning system would give us for the most part only a few minutes advance notice of an enemy attack. We need new and imaginative approaches to extending the range and accuracy of our radar detection system. We need more of the high-performance, all-weather interceptors just now coming off the assembly lines. We need more, many more, anti-aircraft missiles and rockets, of which Nike is only the first example.

The time is coming when large, though not astronomical, sums of money will be needed to establish and maintain a continental defense system commensurate with our peril. Yet the urgent need of the moment is less for dollars than for determination, less for resources than research, less for manpower than for bold and imaginative brain power.

Here is but one example of the kind of specific, tangible steps we can now take in attacking this problem. I refer to the use of atomic energy in repelling hostile attacks against our Nation. During World War II, the destruction of a single enemy bomber normally required the expenditure of thousands of anti-aircraft shells. With the very limited destructive power of ordinary "ack-ack," a near-miss was of little avail in intercepting enemy bomber formations. Today, when a single plane which penetrated our defenses might cause casualties measured by the million, we cannot afford near-misses. Fortunately, there is a way out. Today, it is possible to manufacture small-size atomic weapons specifically adapted to anti-aircraft defense. The destructive range of these devices is such that they could assure hitherto unattainable degrees of success in destroying hostile bombing fleets.

Provided we are willing to commit the necessary resources to such a program—and the resources would not be huge—it is entirely within our capacity to obtain tens of thousands of such atomic missiles. It is entirely within our capacity to guard all vulnerable approaches to the North American continent with interceptor squadrons and guided missiles armed with atomic warheads, and to have these warheads in such profusion that an enemy seeking to penetrate our defenses would confront a solid barrier of atomic firepower.

Creating a defense system built around atomic deterring power would no doubt involve additional facilities for producing fissionable materials. But the money sums required would by no means be prohibitive. It is my hope, moreover, that private enterprise, using private funds, could participate in such an expanded atomic program by building reactors turning out both electric power and atomic materials.

What continental defense now demands beyond all else is an end to the defeatist talk which suggests that, both on economic and technical grounds, adequate defenses are beyond our grasp. Devising such a system presents far fewer problems than we confronted in our wartime atomic bomb effort. This Nation of ours has not prospered and grown great by heeding the counsel of those who tell us what we cannot do.

The atom has brought us face-to-face with hard choices in offensive strategy and in the defense and protection of our cities and our people. Behind the dark picture of havoc that nuclear and thermonuclear war would work however, there is a bright light—now but dimly seen—of great promise. Atomic energy, unlike other engines of destruction, is amenable as much or more to beneficent use as it is to war. If we pursue these peaceful applications with dedication and with zeal we may well find a way to end the strife and tensions caused by material want in the world today. Atomic energy gives us not only the ways and means to seek out and understand the causes of disease and of human misery, but it can with wise and proper development, provide an answer to the critical power shortages and consequent low standards of living that now exist in many areas of the world less fortunately endowed than our own bountiful America. Our own children or their children may, I fancy, look back at our times full of wonderment at our shortsighted concentration on the explosive application of atomic energy for war, when the peaceful uses of the atom, if pursued with comparable intensity, would have given us the means to end the very causes of war.

Whether we like it or not, and frankly I do not, atomic energy and intercontinental bombers have made us all citizens of the atomic world. In the days ahead, and there will be many when upon the acts of our elected leaders will depend the future of untold generations, each of us must look deep within himself to find the moral guideposts to the right course. With dedication to the cause of good, and in full humility, may we act wisely that atomic energy shall be the touchstone of a golden age, and not the tombstone of mankind.

A Bill To Curb Illegal Gambling Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, a bill which I am today introducing would substantially broaden the Lottery Act of 1895 so as to reach other gambling enterprises and gambling devices. Such a revision of the Lottery Act has been specifically endorsed by the American Bar Association.

The Lottery Act was the very first blow aimed by Congress at organized crime in interstate commerce. It quickly put an end to the national lottery racket which has outgrown the powers of any State, 60 years ago. So this is a tried and true approach. Expanding it to include other kinds of gambling is a most logical way to deal with today's overlords of crime who are still fattening themselves on nationwide gambling operations in all the other categories except lotteries. It is no accident that lotteries are not the problem now. It is virtually certain that other illegal gambling activities—most notably illegal bookmaking—will respond just as readily to this same approach.

H. R. 7311, introduced on January 18, 1954, is designed to control the interstate transmission of gambling information upon which illegal bookmaking largely depends. This so-called wire service bill, coupled with the instant measure, would effectively blanket the gambling activities of notorious crime syndicates.

Under leave granted, there follows a copy of the bill to amend chapter 61 of title 18 of the United States Code:

A bill to prohibit certain acts and transactions with respect to gambling materials

Be it enacted, etc., That chapter 61 of title 18 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 61—LOTTERY AND GAMBLING ENTERPRISES

"Sec.
1301. Importing, transporting, or mailing gambling or lottery materials.
1302. Postmaster or employee as gambling or lottery agent.
1303. Broadcasting gambling or lottery information.
1304. Fishing contests; track racing events; foreign publications.

"SEC. 1301. Importing, transporting, or mailing gambling or lottery materials.

"(a) Whoever knowingly brings into the United States for the purpose of disposing of the same; or whoever knowingly deposits with any express company or any other carrier for compensation or carries in interstate or foreign commerce; or whoever knowingly deposits in the mail, or sends or delivers by mail—

"Any letter, package, postal card, or circular concerning any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind offering money or other prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance;

"Any gambling or lottery ticket or part thereof, or paper, certificate, or instrument purporting to be or to represent a ticket, chance, share, or interest in or dependent upon the event of any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind offering money or other prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance;

"Any punchboard or pushcard;

"Any check, draft, bill, money, postal note, or money order, for the purchase of any ticket or part thereof, or of any share or chance in any such gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme, or for the purchase of, or in payment of any chance taken on, any punchboard or pushcard, or in payment of any bet or wager in connection with any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind offering money or other prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance; or

"Any newspaper, circular, pamphlet, or publication of any kind containing any advertisement of, or soliciting any business in connection with, any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind, offering money or other prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance, or containing any list of the prizes to be drawn or awarded by means of any such gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme, whether such list contains any part or all of such prizes, or containing any advertisement of any punchboard or pushcard

shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both; and for any subsequent offense under this section shall be imprisoned not more than 5 years.

"(b) Whoever knowingly takes or receives any paper, certificate, or instrument purporting to be or to represent a ticket, chance, share, or interest in or dependent upon the event of a lottery, gift enterprise, or similar scheme, offering prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance, or any advertisement of, or list of, the prizes to be drawn or awarded by means of any such lottery, gift enterprise, or similar scheme, which have been brought into the United States or deposited with any express company or any other carrier for compensation, or carried in interstate or foreign commerce, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

"(c) All matter, the mailing of which is forbidden by subsection (a) hereof, is hereby declared to be nonmailable and shall not be conveyed in the mails nor delivered from any post office, nor by any letter carrier, but shall be withdrawn from the mails under such regulations as the Postmaster General may prescribe.

"(d) For the purposes of this section the phrase 'punchboard or pushcard' shall include such boards, cards, or similar devices designed and manufactured primarily for use in connection with gambling, but shall not include devices numerically keyed to an answer sheet or containing no numerical identification of individual plays and designed and manufactured primarily for amusement purposes.

"SEC. 1302. Postmaster or employee as gambling or lottery agent.

"Whoever, being a postmaster or other person employed in the postal service, acts as agent for any gambling or lottery office, or, under color of purchase or otherwise, bends gambling or lottery tickets, or knowingly sends by mail or delivers any letter, package, postal card, circular, or pamphlet advertising any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind offering money or prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance, or any ticket, certificate, or instrument representing any chance, share, or interest in or dependent upon the event of any such gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme, or any list of the prizes to be drawn or awarded by means of any such gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme, whether such list contains any part or all of such prizes, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

"SEC. 1303. Broadcasting gambling or lottery information.

"Whoever broadcasts by means of any radio station for which a license is required by any law of the United States, or whoever, operating any such station, knowingly permits the broadcasting of, any advertisement of or information concerning any gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme of any kind offering money or prizes dependent in whole or in part upon lot or chance, or any list of the prizes to be drawn or awarded by means of any such gambling enterprise, lottery, gift enterprise, or scheme, whether such list contains any part or all of such prizes, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than 1 year, or both.

"Each day's broadcasting shall constitute a separate offense.

"SEC. 1304. Fishing contests; track racing events; foreign publications.

"The provisions of this chapter shall not apply with respect to—

"The sponsorship, management, or advertisement of any fishing contest not conducted for profit wherein prizes are awarded for the specie, size, weight, or quality of fish caught by contestants in any bona fide fishing or recreational event;

"The sponsorship, management, or advertisement of any track-racing event to which the general public is admitted and upon which betting is legal under applicable State laws; or

"The importation and distribution of any foreign newspaper, pamphlet, or other publication distributed as a bona fide medium for news, information, or opinions in any foreign country."

Kutztown's Mrs. America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it was my great privilege recently to be the host to a very popular constituent of mine on her visit to the Nation's Capital. This young lady is Mrs. Erna Snyder, known to people throughout the Nation as Mrs. America. She won this high honor not only because of her beauty, charm, and personality, but also because of her outstanding qualities as a housewife and mother. In all her travels since she was acclaimed Mrs. America it was her trip to Capitol Hill which she enjoyed most. The cordial greetings she received from our distinguished Speaker and from other outstanding Members of the House and Senate, were most inspiring and, she says, will always be remembered.

Mrs. Snyder is traditionally Pennsylvania Dutch, a sturdy people, who compose a large portion of the population of the district I have the high honor and privilege to represent in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Donald R. Shenton and Alliene S. De Chant, published in the Historical Review of Berks County. It gives a more detailed description of Mrs. America, and her background:

KUTZTOWN'S MRS. AMERICA

(By Donald R. Shenton and Alliene S. De Chant)

Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown. The old saying is particularly applicable to the title "Mrs. America." It is not easy to win the title, for the winner must be an uncommonly beautiful woman as well as a skillful homemaker. But once the title is awarded, the winner soon learns that it is a divided title, divided into Mrs. and America. The 50 points for American beauty keep drawing her toward the public celebrations across the country; and the 50 points that are Mrs.—especially if she is a young mother—tug toward home.

Our Berks County Mrs. America of 1954, Mrs. Erna (Furst) Snyder, is the wife of Kenneth Snyder and mother of 2 sons: Stephen, who is nearly four, and Kevin, who is half past one. And all the glory and the glamor have not turned her pretty head from home.

At the homecoming banquet, given in her honor at the Kutztown Fire Hall, she asked permission to leave for a time to help her husband put the little boys to bed. The principal speaker, Lloyd Wood, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, and the assembly of 300 persons were kept waiting. When she returned, breathless and flushed, she explained, "It was the first time in 3 weeks that I had a chance to put the children to bed." The lieutenant governor and all the people understood the wisdom of the queen.

The tug toward home was apparent during the 3-week tour which separated her from her family. When, at the same homecoming celebration, she was presented with a silver tea service and $400 in savings bonds, her husband Kenny had to slip her his man-sized handkerchief. Afterwards she explained, "I should have made a thank-you speech, but my heart was too full." Previously, at a dinner given in her honor at Hess Brothers, Allentown, when Max Hess surprised her with the presence of her husband and the little sons, the large kerchief came into play again. "Erna always was the softhearted one of our children," her mother explained.

Following her crowning at Asbury Park as "Mrs. America," she appeared for the full week at the Reading Fair. When interviewed there, all she talked about was her family. "Though I am not allowed to go home," she said, "Kenny comes every evening, and during the day my sisters bring me the little boys." Of all the gifts showered upon her up to that point, she mentioned only two. "Just imagine," she exclaimed, "They're giving me a cocker spaniel for the boys." And holding at arm's length a handpainted necktie in Pennsylvania Dutch pattern, she said, "This is from 'Die Wunnernaus' for Kenny."

Since the national award has come to a Berks-Countian, the question arises: Is Mrs. America Pennsylvia Dutch? Born in Allentown of Austrian parents, Erna has spent all of her life in or near the little Pennsylvania Dutch borough of Kutztown. Her father came to America in early youth from Glassing-by-Güssing, a village located about 20 miles from the town of Neustift-by-Güssing, Austria, where her mother, Johanna Wechsler, was born. The parents met in America, Erna's mother, explains: "We met at a wedding in Copláy, where my future husband served as best man, and we were married in Northampton."

But to answer the question about Erna we must first ask: Who are the Pennsylvania Dutch? We have heard so many definitions. Are they all Germans? No, for English, French, Scotch, Welsh and other national strains intermarried with the "Dutch" in the colonial period and later. Are they all people who spoke the Palatinate dialect when they emigrated to America? No, for we know from names such as Lincoln, Boone, DeTurck, DeMoss, Williams and Morris that these different people first learned the dialect in America; and today, many people who possess the definitely Pennsylvania Dutch traits no longer speak or understand the dialect. Are they all descendants of early German immigrants? No, for later infusions, the "Forty-Eighters" and other nationality groups, were absorbed into the Pennsylvania Dutch and now are indistinguishable from them.

Shall we venture a definition? They are a people possessed of certain peasant virtues; hospitality, industry, frugality, family love (freundshaft); they are predominantly (but that can mean only more than 50 percent) German and were held together in America for a time by speaking a dialect of German, and practicing common folkways. Thus the qualities that we recognize today as "Pennsylvania Dutch" are as much a matter of environment as of heredity. Hence Mrs. America is Pennsylvania Dutch.

Erna's parents' early life in Austria paralleled that of our early Palatinate immigrants. Life wasn't easy in the old country for Johanna, the mother of Mrs. America. Her father died when she was only 2 and at the age of 9 she was hired out. Food was plain but wholesome; sweets scarce. "Neustift was a lovely town to live in," Johanna says. "On the Sabbath all of us went to the village church, the bells making a pleasant sound."

Nor was life easy in America. During the great depression, the Fursts eked out an existence on a farm near Moselem Church (Berks) and Mr. Furst worked at the cement mill in Evansville. Erna, the future Mrs. America, at the age of 13 took turns with her sister Jo in the cooking and working in the fields. She also helped at harvesttime, milked cows, and plowed with the tractor. Every other night her mother baked bread, pies, and strudels. Sometimes she got to bed at 2 in the morning, only to rise at 4. Two sons were born on the farm. The younger, and now the taller, is a junior in high school. The older, Joseph, Jr., is in business with his father now a contractor. Father and son recently completed a new home for Erna's sister Emma and the father also built the ranch-type residence for Erna and her husband adjacent to the Furst home. The Pennsylvania Dutch like to have the family close by.

Erna's husband, who by inference is the uncrowned Mr. America, works in the lithographing department of the Kutztown Publishing Co. Mrs. America augments his ap-

prentice wages by making her own clothes. This skill helped her in qualifying for homemaking. Erna made the evening dress that she wore at both the Mrs. Pennsylvania contest and later at the Mrs. America contest, and also the afternoon gown she submitted for further judging. "Folks wouldn't believe how little that evening gown cost," she said. "I bought the material right here at the Kutztown Silk Mill."

Another Pennsylvania Dutch-via-environment accomplishment of Erna's is to cook well. For her homemaking demonstration she chose deviled clams, Kenny's favorite dish. "When we started going together," she explained, "I noticed that he always ordered deviled clams when we went out. So I thought I'd better get busy and learn how to prepare them. I selected the best recipe I could find, and it has worked out all right ever since."

Another Dutch trait of Erna's is modesty. (Perhaps it belongs to all people who came up the hard way.) She told us, "I never dreamed of being chosen Mrs. Pennsylvania. In fact, I said very little to the folks about going to Johnstown and didn't even tell the neighbors. And at Asbury Park, the girls were all so beautiful that I felt I shouldn't have come. I had the Mrs. America 1954 picked out and felt sure she'd win. And I'd had a good cry backstage before the final judging. So you can imagine how surprised I was when they chose me instead."

Her mother added, "And now that this blessing has come to us, it's nice for Kutztown too, isn't it?" Kutztown agreed. There was a parade, a banquet and a dance for Mrs. America. The streets along the parade route and her residence were decorated and the banquet hall was crowded. Those who rejoiced with her said, "It couldn't have happened to a nicer person." Papa and Mama Furst danced an old-fashioned polka after their famous daughter and her husband led the grand march.

Only the little sons failed to understand how she could be anything better than mother. Stephen could scarcely wait to dig into his fruit cup at the banquet; and Kevin snuggled close to her throughout the parade. Now, the title, Mrs. America, was no longer a divided thing. And the young mother found that her crown can be worn most happily at home.

Los Angeles County Flood-Control Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today a number of my colleagues from California and I appeared before the Subcommittee on Civil Functions of the Committee on Appropriations. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS] is chairman of that body.

We urged that necessary steps be taken and funds appropriated to cope with flood hazards which now exist in Los Angeles County. I am particularly concerned with the flood problem in the Arcadia-Monrovia-Duarte area of my district where the perils were recently increased as a result of destructive forest fires which denuded the mountain sides.

I am anxious also that funds be appropriated to complete the Whittier Narrows Dam and San Antonio Canyon Dam.

Los Angeles County is most fortunate in having a very competent chief engineer in charge of its flood-control district, Col. H. E. Hedger. I wish to include in the RECORD at this point a statement of Colonel Hedger before the subcommittee in which he presents a comprehensive outline of the needs of Los Angeles County. The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentleman, my name is H. E. Hedger and, as chief engineer of the Los Angeles County Flood Control District, I have been directed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors to report flood-control needs of our district for fiscal 1955 to your committee. I feel that my task in this respect is made much easier by the fact that members of your committee were able to visit Los Angeles County last September and to see for themselves the unusual conditions which create such a great flood hazard in the metropolitan area of our county.

With this visit fresh in mind there is no need to elaborate, as in the past, on the unusual terrain, the exposed location as to storms, the debris problems, the high degree of development—residential, industrial, commercial, and agricultural—of this area. May I say again for Los Angeles County that it is indeed grateful to you for coming and inspecting the need for flood-control works for the protection of our people.

Recent as was the visit of your committee, however, there has since been a major change of conditions as you saw them which points up most strongly the need for accelerating the progress of the flood-control projects proposed for Los Angeles County and completing them at the earliest possible date. I refer to two major fires which took place within the last 2 months with the result that over 18,000 acres of watershed cover in the San Gabriel Mountains were destroyed in areas located immediately above such highly populated cities as Sierra Madre, Arcadia, Monrovia, and Claremont. By watershed cover I refer to the native growth of shrubs and trees on our mountain sides which we call chaparral. Previous floods have shown that destruction of such watershed cover may result in increasing the volume of debris eroded from the mountain slopes and discharged in our flood channels by as much as 10 times, in addition to substantially increasing the amount of flood waters discharged. Hence, the residents of these communities now must live in fear for their lives and property during every storm that may occur, not only for the remainder of the current flood season but for several years to come, since at least 8 years is normally required for the chaparral to regain sufficient growth to effectively protect the watershed from erosion. Within the past few days storms have occurred which would normally create no flood hazard but which, because of the loss of the watershed cover, have caused temporary evacuation of thousands of residents and a substantial amount of property damage by the washing down upon their homes and streets thousands of tons of mud, ash, and boulders. The only possibility of providing protection against such events, which can occur in the upper reaches of nearly all of the flood channels in the Los Angeles County Drainage Area, is through the completion of the debris basins and flood channels that are proposed as parts of this great project first authorized by Congress in 1936.

The effective life of many of our existing flood-control reservoirs, both district and Federal, is also seriously reduced by the tremendous deposit of debris in these reservoirs resulting from such fires and subsequent storms and we believe that you should authorize the Corps of Engineers to join with the Soil Conservation Service, which, under the Secretary of Agriculture, is in charge of the watershed protection project authorized in 1941 for Los Angeles County watersheds, in an intensive study of better means of controlling erosion in the mountainous area and reduction of the debris produced by such erosion.

The chairman of the State water resources board has presented in his description of the statewide flood-control needs for fiscal 1955 the items of immediate concern to Los Angeles County which require the following appropriations:

Los Angeles County drainage area project	$23,619,400
Whittier Narrows Dam	8,513,000
San Antonio Dam	3,856,000
San Antonio Channel	500,000

We are pleased, as you must also be, that construction of Whittier Narrows Dam and flood-control basin is nearing conclusion and hope that this great project, which we deem of highest priority from the standpoint of flood protection to our citizens, will be operative in another year. We are also pleased that we will then no longer need to request further appropriations for this project. Construction progress at San Antonio Dam will also soon place it in this category.

We are sure that your committee will concur in the appropriation of funds necessary to promptly conclude the construction of these two projects, as recommended by the Corps of Engineers.

The State's recommendation for the Los Angeles County drainage area project is based upon the urgent need for construction of the following parts of this project:

Los Angeles River, 7th St. to 20th St., to complete continuing contract	$6,000,000
Los Angeles River, 20th St. to Pacific Electric Ry. (Ceritos trestle), for continuing contract	900,000
Los Angeles River, Atlantic Ave. to Compton Blvd., for continuing contract	500,000
Los Angeles River, Compton Blvd. to Pacific Electric Ry. (Santa Ana line), for continuing contract	3,070,000
Los Angeles River, Sepulveda Dam to Reseda Blvd., to complete continuing contract	2,800,000
Los Angeles River, Reseda Blvd. to Corbin Ave, for continuing contract	500,000
Rio Hondo, Santa Ana Freeway to Whittier Narrows flood control basin, to complete continuing contract	3,870,000
Rio Hondo, Whittier Narrows to Arcadia Wash, for continuing contract	580,000
Lopez flood control basin, to complete continuing contract	549,400
Eaton Wash, Rio Hondo to Encinitas Ave., for continuing contract	600,000
Arcadia Wash, Rio Hondo to Huntington Dr., for continuing contract	3,000,000
Sawtelle-Westwood project, Charnock Rd. to National Blvd., for continuing contract	300,000
Burbank-Western System, Burbank Blvd. to above Scott Rd., for continuing contract	500,000
Centinela Creek, Ballona Creek to Jefferson Blvd., for continuing contract	450,000
Total	23,619,400

To this list must be added the need for construction of a permanent debris basin and improved channel for Sawpit Wash, since some 10,000 residents living adjacent to this channel are threatened by greatly in-

creased flood and debris hazard caused by the recent burning over of this watershed.

A comparison of the above program with the budget recommendations presented Congress by the President, indicates that both the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of the Budget are in general accord as to its urgency, although lesser amounts have been recommended in several instances by the President for expenditure in fiscal 1955. Continuation of the improvement of the Los Angeles River channel between 7th and 20th Streets in Long Beach is provided for in the Federal budget; also the Los Angeles River improvement from Sepulveda Reservoir to Reseda Boulevard in San Fernando Valley. Continuation of the improvement of Rio Hondo channel from Santa Ana Freeway to Whittier Narrows Flood Control Basin, and from Whittier Narrows Basin upstream is included, also completion of Lopez Flood Control Basin. These parts of the Los Angeles County drainage area project are long overdue and need no further justification.

The President's budget also includes the improvement of Eaton Wash from Rio Hondo to Encinitas Avenue, a reach of channel most hazardous to home owners and apartment dwellers living nearby. It is also urgently needed to provide an outlet for one of the principal drains to be constructed under the district's $179 million bond-issue program.

The improvement of Arcadia Wash from Rio Hondo to Huntington Drive also recommended by the President, has in the last 2 months become of even greater urgency because it is needed to provide flood and debris protection to a large part of the watershed recently burned over by disastrous fires in the mountains. This improvement, as well as that of Sawpit Wash, has become an emergent necessity to meet the greatly increased flood hazard thus created. Inclusion in the President's budget requests of an appropriation for flood-control work on Sawpit Wash to meet a situation which has developed in but the past month, must be commended highly as evidence of alertness of these departments of the Federal Government in recognizing and taking action to alleviate a new hazard that has so recently developed.

It is noted that the President's budget requests include planning funds for the Centinela and Sawtelle-Westwood tributaries of Ballona Creek. Construction of these improvements is deemed urgently needed, and lack of funds for this purpose is regrettable, but is alleviated by the expectation that the planning funds will place these improvements in line for immediate construction.

It is our hope that planning of the Burbank-Western improvement likewise will be possible during fiscal 1955.

Continuation of the improvement of Los Angeles River upstream from Reseda Boulevard has been omitted from the Federal budget. The great influx of new residents continues in the upper part of the San Fernando Valley, and the safety of these people and their homes depends on continuation and completion of the upper Los Angeles River improvement as soon as possible. Provision of funds for this purpose is urged.

It may be of interest to learn that the local costs chargeable to this district for our list of the needs of the Los Angeles County drainage area project amount to $14,286,000 as compared to the total Federal costs of $45,156,000, which would be spread over 3 fiscal years. Approval of the President's budget, which contemplates a reduced program with total Federal cost of $31,635,000, also spread over 3 fiscal years, will obligate this district to the extent of $11,676,000.

Since the greater portion of this amount must be deposited with our courts for acquisition of necessary rights-of-way or with the Corps of Engineers for construction of bridges and highway crossings prior to initiation of the channel improvements by the Corps of Engineers, the Los Angeles County flood-control district must include in its fiscal 1955 budget the amount of $8,470,000, to apply to the Los Angeles County drainage area project, which about equals the President's budget proposal of $8,500,000 for this project. For fiscal 1955 the total local costs to our district of these and other parts of the Los Angeles County drainage area project will exceed $11 million. This obligation, plus maintenance and operation of previously constructed Federal and local flood-control works, will necessitate a district budget for 1954–55 of over $21 million. A budget amount of this magnitude will extend the financial ability of our district to the utmost to meet, but this obligation we are most willing to assume, since it is essential to protection of the lives and homes of our people.

Since Los Angeles County, with its population of nearly 5 million people, has become one of the mainstays of the economy of this Nation industrially, commercially, agriculturally, and financially, there can be no question but that the preservation of these values from destruction by flood is of national concern. We have no hesitancy in urging that your committee recommend without qualification the budget appropriations as recommended by the President.

FOE, Collinsville, Ill., Favors Liberalized Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a resolution adopted on February 11, 1954, by Aerie No. 1051, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Collinsville, Ill., which supports President Eisenhower's recent recommendations to Congress for liberalizations in the Social Security Act:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that (1) the minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50; (2) 10 million additional persons be included in the security systems; (3) the first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act; (4) the earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200; (5) the 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressman from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 11th day of February 1954.

COLLINSVILLE AERIE, No. 1051,
O. E. HOOVER, *Worthy President*.
OTTO MUELLER, *Secretary*.

Armenia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, 33 years ago, February 18, the Armenian people rebelled against and overthrew a ruthless communistic dictatorship, which had been illegally and forcibly imposed upon them. Although these brave people have again felt the mailed fist of totalitarian communism, the spirit of liberty still abides with them, and in their land, and among all peoples of Amenian blood wherever they may be.

The Armenian people have a proud and noble ancient heritage. Throughout history their contributions have been noteworthy in trade, commerce, culture, and devotion to freedom. The Armenian people are not surpassed. Their family life and loyalty to each other in the things in which they believe have always been an inspiration. Those of them who have come to this country and their descendants live among us as good neighbors, as lawabiding, industrious, liberty-loving, loyal citizens. Like many other racial stocks, they have come here from distant parts of the world. Their historic culture, blended with our own, has thus added to the composite beauty and fullness of American life.

I have many friends among the Armenian people, whom I consider to be, not only good neighbors and good friends, but among our very best American citizens. They are wedded to the arts and practices of peace, yet their sons and daughters have ably, bravely, and unselfishly served this Nation in time of war and peril.

I am pleased, on this historic day, to pay my tribute to the Armenian people and the Armenian Nation and to pledge my absolute fealty to their cause of liberation and the recapture of their cherished civil liberties. I hope the day is not far distant when they will be freed from abominable slavery and bondage and be restored and reunited, as is their ardent, ever-present desire and purpose, to all free peoples throughout the earth.

May our good Armenian friends in this country be soon relieved of the anguish they feel for their homeland and for their dear ones so far away from our shores, who are visited with cruel serf-

dom and persecution for no reason than they are true to the faith of their fathers and to the principles of human liberty.

Communist-Led Strikes in Italy Show Necessity of Outlawing Communist-Dominated Unions in United States Defense Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill in the House—H. R. 7950—to prohibit the Government of the United States from entering into any defense contracts with any contractor or supplier where there are reasonable grounds to believe the employees are represented by a Communist-dominated union.

On December 9, 1953, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, testifying before a House Subcommittee on Appropriations, asserted that the Communist Party operations in the maritime, mining, electrical, and communications fields constituted a major and dangerous threat to our national security.

The present strike in Italy indicates how dangerous this infiltration into American industry can become for the United States in time of crisis. There are many plants today working on classified defense contracts where a Communist-dominated union is the collective bargaining representative for the employees. The legislation which I have introduced into the House would prohibit the Federal Government from placing any further defense contracts with companies where a Communist union prevails. In those instances where contracts are already existing, the Defense Department would be authorized to take any measures it deems appropriate to protect the security of the United States, including the right to terminate such contracts.

This power given to the Defense Department would be similar to that now existing in the Atomic Energy Commission with respect to the production of atomic energy.

Mr. Hoover, in his testimony referred to above, stated, that a national conference of the Communist Party held in August of 1953, reaffirmed the time-honored premise that control of the labor unions is of primary importance to the development of Communist revolution in this country. On that occasion, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover stated:

> In the regard to the infiltration of labor, the Communists regard labor unions as instruments to be controlled and used to develop the Communist revolution.
>
> A national conference held in August of this year of the Communist Party reaffirmed the time-honored premise that control of the labor union is of primary importance to the development of the Communist revolution in this country.

They designed, particularly, the automobile industry as being the prime target because it is well known that it is one of the most vital industries to our national defense production.

In New York, the party has set a goal for 65 percent of its membership to become employed in the basic industries of the country. Instructions were issued for the reorganization of the Communist Party in Los Angeles recently to organize on an industrial basis and party members were requested to secure work in the basic industries in that area, thus showing the trend of placing as many members as they can in the key industries of the country—the basic industries which if disrupted would materially affect our national defense. Currently, some trade unions operating in the maritime, mining, electrical, and the communications fields are chief strongholds of the Communist Party. The Communist Party still maintains its strongest bases in those unions, which were expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950. All of this poses a major and dangerous threat to our national security, because it involves these various unions that were expelled by the CIO. One of those unions represents a large portion of all employees in the electrical industry of the United States. Another union that was expelled exercises life and death control over our Pacific coast commerce; another union has members employed in the production of copper and zinc which are essential to the national defense efforts. (P. 164 of hearings before the House subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, relating to the Department of Justice, Dec. 9, 1953.)

EXPLANATION OF H. R. 7950

Section 1 of H. R. 7950 amends the Taft-Hartley Act by redefining the term "Labor organization" to exclude organizations which are Communist dominated. Any Communist-dominated union would thereby cease to have any right to act as a bona fide union or representative of employees.

Section 2 of the bill provides additional teeth in law by making it unlawful for a Communist-dominated organization to hold itself out as a labor organization, or act as one in any way. Also, it makes it illegal for a Communist-dominated organization to do anything which is an unfair labor practice for a bona fide labor organization to do.

Section 3 expands the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath to require both labor officials and employers to execute such an oath annually and extends the oath to include any organizations determined to be Communist organizations by the Subversive Activities Control Board and to cover the 5-year period immediately preceding the execution of the oath.

Section 4 prohibits the Government from awarding new defense contracts to companies where there are reasonable grounds for believing that a Communist-dominated union is the representative of the employees. Where such contracts already exist the Government is empowered to take whatever measures are necessary to safeguard the security of the United States, including the power to terminate the contracts.

Section 5 specifically empowers the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate and determine if a labor union is a Communist-action or Communist-front organization as defined in the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

TEXT OF H. R. 7950

Be it enacted, etc., That section 2 (5) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the period and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the following: "but such term shall not include any organization which is directed, dominated, controlled, or influenced by or affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States of America, or any other organization which may be determined by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be a Communist organization (as defined in sec. 3 (5) of the Internal Security Act of 1950), or any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of the Government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods."

SEC. 2. Section 303 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c), and by adding after subsection (a) the following new subsection:

"(b) It shall be unlawful for any organization or group or assembly of persons which is not a labor organization to perform any act which has been defined by section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act as an unfair labor practice or which is unlawful for a labor organization to perform (other than refusing to bargain collectively), or to represent or attempt to represent any employees for the purposes of collective bargaining, or to file any petition with the National Labor Relations Board for an election or with respect to any alleged unfair labor practice or for any other purpose, or in any other way to act or attempt to act or represent itself as a bona fide labor organization."

SEC. 3. Section 9 (h) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

"(h) The Board shall be without jurisdiction to entertain or to investigate any question affecting commerce concerning (1) the representation of employees, raised by or on behalf of a labor organization under subsection (c) of this section, or (2) any charge of an unfair labor practice made by or on behalf of a labor organization under subsection (b) of section 10, or to hold any election or issue any complaint pursuant to any such petition or charge, unless there is on file with the Board, at the time of the original filing of the petition or charge, an affidavit executed within the 12-month period preceding such filing by each officer of such labor organization and by each officer of any national or international labor organization of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit, stating that he is not, and for the 5 years prior thereto has not been, a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America or affiliated with such party, or in any manner a supporter of, or directly or indirectly a contributor of, money, services, or any other thing of value for the benefit, support, or advancement of such party or the principles advocated by it, or any other organization which may be determined by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be a Communist organization (as defined in section 3 (5) of the Internal Security Act of 1950), or a member, contributor to, or supporter or advocate of any organization, society, group, or assembly of persons who believe in, teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of the Government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District, or possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods. The Board shall also be without jurisdiction to entertain any charge of an unfair labor practice made by an employer unless there

is on file with the Board a similar affidavit executed by the employer, or by the corporate officers in cases where the employer is a corporation. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18, United States Code, shall be applicable in respect to such affidavits.

SEC. 4. The Government of the United States shall not make any contract or place any order for the installation, construction, development, purchase, manufacture, shipment, maintenance, or storage of any military equipment, munitions, supplies, or material, or for the construction, modification, or maintenance of facilities at military posts, stations, docks, or ships, with any contractor or supplier when there exists reasonable grounds for the contracting agency of the Government to believe that the collective-bargaining representative of any of the employees of the contractor or supplier, or of any subcontractor or subsidiary of the contractor or supplier, is not or does not represent a bona fide labor organization as defined in section 2 (5) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, whether or not there has been any determination by the Subversive Activities Control Board with respect to such organization. In the case of such contracts referred to in this section which are presently existing, the contracting agency of the Government shall have the power to make such regulations and take such measures with regard thereto as it shall deem appropriate under the circumstances to protect the security of the United States, including the right to terminate such contract.

SEC. 5. Section 3 (2) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 is amended by adding immediately after the word "fund" a comma and the following "or any group purporting to be a labor organization."

Who Are the Fear Dealers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Trainman, the official organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

WHO ARE THE FEAR DEALERS?

Those who want to guard against another panic by recognizing the warning signals of the current economic recession are "fear dealers," according to Sherman Adams, adviser to President Eisenhower. This inspires us to recollect.

Who said "grass would grow in the streets" if Republicans did not win the 1932 national elections? Why Herbert Hoover who, in 1928, promised a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage.

Who said in 1944 that if Franklin D. Roosevelt was reelected there would be no more free elections in the United States? Why Gov. Tom Dewey who wanted Roosevelt's job.

Who described the Social Security Act as a conspiracy to put dog tags on the people? Why GOP leaders who today say they will extend and improve that act.

Who counseled young Americans to quit their country and go to Australia if FDR was reelected?

Who, for 20 years, has been saying this Nation is losing its liberties and becoming engulfed in creeping socialism?

Who has been recently declaring that if we did not adopt the Bricker constitutional amendment proposal, the President and two-thirds of the United States Senate would barter away our freedom and our American way of life?

Who has been charging that the Government of the United States has been infiltrated with Communists, thereby not only spreading fear in our own land and making good and capable American fearful of Government employment, but also encouraging the world to believe the falsity that America is going Communist?

Who gave a Lincoln Day address recently under the title "Twenty Years of Treason," contending that for 20 years the American people's free choices of their leaders have been traitors? Why Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, of course, whom the national chairman of the Republican Party, Leonard Hall, says the GOP supports and considers an asset.

Who are the fear dealers? Who are the political sadists? Why, those who, ever since they attempted to lull the American people to sleep with the lullaby, "Prosperity is just around the corner," have preached fear of overproduction at every effort to achieve economic progress and fear of basic democratic principles and freedoms at every effort to achieve social justice.

Security Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post of February 17, 1954, discussing what it terms, I believe aptly, "a barefaced fraud," under the title "Multitude of Sins." This is a matter of very grave importance, going to the integrity of the present administration.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is now clear that the designation "security risk" as used by some members of the administration has covered a multitude of sins. In the case of the Treasury Department, which is probably typical enough, it was revealed on Monday that of the 131 employees who were dismissed or who resigned under the terms of the new security program, only four were of doubtful loyalty. And the Department's general counsel acknowledged to a House Appropriation Subcommittee that 144 of the separations were brought about through normal civil service procedures and had nothing to do with President Eisenhower's order creating the security program. In short, those who have been representing the record of 2,200 security separations as proof that the Government was full of Communists and other subversives have been guilty of a barefaced fraud.

Some members of Congress have been asking what difference it makes whether the employees were separated because they were subversives, drunks, homosexuals, gossips, or merely somewhat unstable. Obviously, it makes a good deal of difference to the endurance of the fiction that the Government is Communist-ridden. Obviously, too, it make a difference to the individuals involved. Representative J. VAUGHAN GARY, who forced the partial breakdown of "security" separations, declared: "There is a difference between a man being an alcoholic, which is a disease, and being a Communist, which is a traitor."

The difference was dramatized, luridly but effectively, by another member of the subcommittee, Representative ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI. When he heard that one reason for separating a man from the Government service as a security risk might be the fact that he had relatives abroad behind the Iron Curtain, the Congressman revealed that for 7 years, until the past Christmas he had had a stepdaughter in Poland; and he added that he woul kill anyone who charged him with disloyalty on this account. We imagine a great many Americans would feel the same way. It is tragic as well as ironic that the Eisenhower security program, devised to avoid the stigma of disloyalty, should have been misused to brand the innocent with the guilty.

Economic Security for Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include at the suggesting of a friend the following address by Kenneth D. Johnson, dean of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, entitled "Economic Security for Americans":

ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR AMERICANS

The Third American Assembly at Arden House—Columbia's campus on Mount Orama—devoted its research, study, discussion, and report to the topic, "Economic Security for Americans." This was most appropriate and most timely.

This conference was entirely in accord with the basic aim of the assembly as expressed in 1950 by its founder, Dwight D. Eisenhower, then president of Columbia University: "* * * to throw impartial light on the major problems which confront America so that our citizens can take effective steps toward solving these problems." In his greeting to the more than 60 men and women attending the sessions of the Third American Assembly early in November the president wrote: "Few issues are of greater interest to Americans than individual security * * *"

Among the participants there were key people broadly representative of all the groups that one would readily agree have a stake in the sound development of national policy on economic security. In seeking to appraise the progress made in the past 50 years they gave their attention to such questions as: "What have we paid for? What security have we got? Can we do better?"

Something more than a semantic sensitivity prompted the use of economic rather than social security. There is practically universal acceptance of the fact that the words social security, in the minds of most people, convey a meaning limited to governmentally administered programs of social insurance and public assistance. Economic security has a number of ingredients of which the government ingredient is only one—albeit a very vital one.

This conference addressed itself to the need for finding the answers to at least three

questions related to the problem of economic security:

First. What is the role of individual thrift?

Second. What is the role of private enterprise?

Third. What is the role of government?

THE STRUGGLE FOR SECURITY

Striving for security is as natural as struggling for survival. The temper of the times may have much to do with the increase or decrease in the degree of this striving. Certainly, when we believe ourselves to be less secure, we are bound to be more conscious of our need for security.

The problems of security are not, of course, exclusively economic. Social, political, psychological, moral, and spiritual values all have a closely related bearing on economic security. In terms of our security today—not unlike the days of the colonial settlers and our revolutionary forebears—spiritual values continue to be of major importance. The fact that man requires something more than bread by which to live is not just a clerical cliché—it is as basic as life itself.

As human beings we must depend upon each other, and thus our attention is focused upon the ultimate importance of the individual in our economy. This interdependence has its effect on the life of each of our fellow citizens. Thus it is that we begin with the individual who, by his own planning, initiative, and thrift, does everything within his power to provide for the future and to protect his dependents and himself against the vicissitudes of life.

To be sure, misfortune can give rise to circumstances beyond the power of the individual either to prevent or to withstand. Private enterprise may at this point have anticipated just such circumstances and be prepared to deal with them. However, we are well aware of the kind of misfortune with which neither the individual nor private enterprise can cope. Here we run smack into a social problem of widespread misfortune—alias panic, depression, economic collapse. Here it is that the problem can only be solved, as Abraham Lincoln so wisely stated, by a cooperative and contributive effort of all our citizens providing remedies, using the Government as our instrument.

Our economic security, therefore, must depend on these three supports: individual thrift, private enterprise, and Government action.

Definitely related to these three ingredients are certain established facts which characterize our present economy. We have moved from a goods economy to a cash economy. The movement of our population from the land to the cities increases the complexity of the problem. Our increase in the life-span may well be a tribute to medical service and public health, but it is also a cause for serious concern as to how to solve the problem of retirement security.

There is nothing soft about a people who are concerned with the need for providing for their security. Actually, serious and concerted action in that direction is evidence of the recognition of the dignity of the individual and of a determination to maintain and preserve that dignity at all costs. Of such stuff comes our true strength.

The will to work, the will to save, the will to support those who are dependent, the will to succeed—have no fear that any or all of them are threatened by striving to attain a reasonable standard of protection against the security exigencies. Such a security program will provide the very foundation for a well-ordered national morale and for the development of the kind of moral and spiritual values which were conceived on the *Mayflower*, at Valley Forge, and in the Gettysburg Address. True security is both earned and measured by individual responsibility and individual dignity.

INDIVIDUAL THRIFT

There is no question that individual thrift must continue to be the major ingredient in providing for our economic security. Private savings—and by that we mean the all-inclusive accumulation of bank deposits, life insurance, home ownership, investment in Government bonds and corporate securities, and such related items—are an essential part of what the individual must do to provide for his security. Everything should be done to encourage the individual to provide all he can, through his own efforts, for his family and for himself. Related to what we mean as such encouragement are the laws we enact, especially within the field of taxes.

The record is clear that nearly 20 years' experience of social security has actually strengthened the will of our fellow citizens to achieve a high standard of personal savings and thus provide a very significant safeguard against any economic dislocation.

We must not overlook the fact that millions of our American families, even when exerting their own efforts to the limit of their capacity, cannot save enough to provide adequate protection against the many security exigencies which are bound to confront them and at the same time maintain a fair and decent standard of living.

Also we are aware that some 10 millions or more are seriously disadvantaged because they are denied the opportunity to make full utilization of their productive skills, and hence, are unable to meet their current needs. A recent news item reminds us that it has taken a leading railroad nearly a hundred years to recognize that a Negro possesses the inherent skills to work as a brakeman. (What research must have been required!) The efforts we must employ to utilize the productive skills of these people must be given top priority.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

In any discussion of economic security, there is bound to be vigorous emphasis on incentive as one of the compelling factors. Throughout industry the incentive system is a driving force to greater production and, it is hoped, uninterrupted employment.

Were we to seek a definition as to what we mean by economic security in relation to the individual, whose dignity and intrinsic worth are uppermost in our scale of values, may I suggest one which has been offered by Julius Thomas of the National Urban League:

The individual wants: (1) The ability, opportunity, and incentive to work and earn sufficient compensation to permit him to maintain a reasonably satisfactory standard of living for himself and those dependent upon him. (Obviously, that standard is a variable and requires delineation.)

(2) Reasonable assurance that if there is an interruption in his employment there is some provision for him to carry on until such time as he is back at work, capable of exerting all of his faculties in top form. (This includes rehabilitation in line with the basic concept that economic security must encompass the restoration of all human dignity to the individual. It is in this area that every advantage should be taken of increased and improved medical knowledge and skills and of the miraculous readjustments resulting from training for new jobs and entirely strange occupations.)

(3) Reasonable assurance that when he can no longer work, because of age or disability, there will be provision for him to maintain a reasonable standard of living and that he will not become a public charge.

There is nothing too complicated in these wants. A job, when there is one—something to fall back on when there is no job—and something to live on when he can no longer work. As simple as that—and yet, how far we are from meeting those very basic wants. Certainly the opportunity and incentive to work for good wages on a steady job is a most valuable form of economic security. Private enterprise has a major responsibility in attaining this objective. If the profit motive of those responsible for the financial backing of a given unit of private enterprise continues to be so all-consuming as to disregard what the individual worker wants as outlined above, then you can be sure that that particular unit is failing to make its contribution to our economic security. Exclusive interest in what is self-serving and self-advantageous is of no more value to a business enterprise—regardless of size—than it is to an individual. Economic security depends on both cooperation and contribution, evidence of which can be found in the intangibles as well as in the tangibles.

Private pension plans can be cited as one of the foremost examples of what results from cooperation and contribution in building our economic security. Although this type of plan was known 75 years ago, it has been during the past 10 years that the growth and change of concept have been phenomenal. Whether admitted or not, this plan certainly involves employer acceptance of social responsibility for the old-age security of long-service employees. Today there are some 20,000 of these private pension plans in operation, directly affecting the lives of more than 12 millions of men and women employees, to say nothing of the additional millions of their dependents. The estimated annual expense in 1952 to the employers alone was close to three and a half billions of dollars. New plans—in addition to those already in being—are pouring into Washington for Treasury Department (Internal Revenue Service) approval at the rate of 400 a month.

No one contends that the private pension plan is a substitute for social security. The fact that this private enterprise effort has grown to be such a colossus since social security was enacted in 1935 is evidence that the benefits under the private pension plan are and must be regarded as supplemental to those derived from any public governmental program—be it on either a National or State level. By the same token, it is essential that the planning for these private enterprise pension payments must be sound, farseeing, and wisely integrated with the social security planning of Government.

The manner in which these two systems have been and are working in this limited but nonetheless vital section of our entire area of economic security is further evidence that the public and private plans are not competitive and that they need not be in conflict. Actually it is a very widely held opinion that we are better off with the successful operation of both of these systems than we would be were all retirement resources public in origin and administration.

Private enterprise is giving more and more attention to an even wider application of what it increasingly recognizes as its social responsibility. Even though few social objectives have as strong a humane appeal as that of security for the aged, we find large numbers of employers and employees cooperating and contributing in a manner that results in provisions for medical care, for sickness and unemployment benefits, as well as other supplementation of social insurance programs. Many industrial plants and business enterprises maintain private clinics and hospitals; and plans for medical, surgical, and hospital benefits are being proposed, negotiated, and accepted in increasing number. The experience gained from the successful operation of private pension plans can be drawn on heavily in the extension of other undertakings by private enterprise in its determination to strengthen our economic security.

Belief in all this sort of cooperation and contribution carries with it a support of any tax incentives which will encourage employers to participate in these private enterprise plans—be they for pensions or for such other benefits as have been suggested. Similar support is given to the extension of tax

End

exemption to the employee's contribution. Within such limits as are reasonable can there be any reason why we should not extend the tax exemption principle to individual retirement programs?

The problem of vesting of the employee benefits under these private pension plans traditionally has been complicated because of two conflicting views. Union leaders have looked at private pensions as a form of deferred compensation the while many representatives of management have looked at private pensions both as a means of retiring overage employees and as an incentive to younger employees to stay with the company. Federal Social Security is both vested and portable. Why those features should not also be characteristic of private pension plans is something I cannot understand. This I am sure of—whatever differences there are can be reconciled without unduly hindering the free mobility of labor and without depriving the employer of the advantages accruing to him under these plans.

One further item—and a most important one—related to these private pension plans is the question of retirement age. Why must we resort to something compulsory or even automatic? Why not an optional retirement age? The elimination of all workers from productive employment merely because they have reached a certain calendar age, without regard to their physical and mental condition and their own wishes, is economically wasteful and socially harmful. In our private pension planning let us exercise the maximum practicable flexibility in determining the individual worker's retirement age. This problem requires the best thinking and cooperation on the part of those who represent both the employer and the employee. The fact that before too many years we will be having close to 20 millions of our men and women in the currently but erroneously accepted overage group merely magnifies this problem and furnishes a billboard-size warning that calls for action now.

The role of private enterprise in our economic security is most clearly portrayed in every effort that has as its basic concept cooperation and contribution.

GOVERNMENT

How we can expect to achieve economic security without some essential and effective governmental participation is inconceivable. Name calling, usually provoked by partisan political rivalries, does not alter that fact. Welfare state, New Deal, Fair Deal, creeping socialism, and many more; put them all together and they fade into insignificance when we are reminded of Lincoln's admonition that Government should do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all or so well.

Certainly no one can deny that it is an important concern and responsibility of Government to provide, in every possible way, a favorable climate for economic security. Here it is that we have the right to expect protection for the purchasing power of the dollar and prevention of erosion of the savings resulting from individual thrift and from cooperative and contributive private enterprise. We rightfully look to Government to pursue policies directed toward the stimulation of economic activity at a stable level and the maintenance of our economic growth and increased productivity of goods and services.

The fact that Government has an important role does not change the objectives which underlie our need for and our determination to achieve economic security. Linked together with the individual and private enterprise is Government. Actually, there is the complete cast in this magnificent as well as beneficent drama of cooperation and contribution.

The number of governmentally administered activities which have an impact, either directly or indirectly, on our economic security is beyond the scope and limits of this paper. Included in these activities are many more than the income-maintenance systems we familiarly refer to as OASI and unemployment insurance. Some of these programs initiate action—others offer incentives—all of them are intended (whether rightly or wrongly) to improve our economic security.

There are plenty of weaknesses in several of these programs and many reasons why remedial changes are in order. Recognition of the failure in our OASI program to provide coverage for millions of our currently employed workers remains to be translated into legislative action. Here there can be no delay, and it is a comfort to know that the President and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are both pressing for early action in this direction.

Those of us who believe in the ultimate soundness of many of these programs must be alerted to the desire on the part of other citizens to nip and pick—yes, actually scrap—what we have on the books and in practice. Suggestions for applying needs tests or for the payment of uniform grants to all persons beyond a certain age may sound well-intentioned and hence acceptable. They are neither—and come from the very same source that seeks to publicize the names of relief recipients—a practice which Chief Justice Warren recently and appropriately has characterized as inhuman and cruel.

Maybe one of the troubles has been in our social-security system that there has been too little understanding by our people of the essential principles of the system. That is not an unfamiliar problem for social workers, in terms of a public understanding of what they do. Any system is vulnerable to political pressures for unsound changes if the system is widely misunderstood. Hence every reasonable effort should be made to conduct an effective and continuous program of public education in this most important field. From recent press reports it would appear that the need for appropriate interpretation may be found within the ranks of the very congressional committee that is charged with the responsibility of studying and recommending improvement of our social-security system and other related legislation.

Because of our firm belief in the beneficial results which inevitably flow from cooperation and contribution, we call for strong support of a contributory program with respect to government income-security programs. The benefits should bear some defined relation to aggregate contributions. In principle, such programs are better handled by wage-related financing than by drawing on general-tax revenue.

It is not our purpose to get into any further detailed discussion of many of these programs. Not because such details are unimportant. On the contrary, they are of vital importance and require the skill and knowledge of experts.

However, there is one item in the present OASI system which cries out for early adjustment—that is the retirement test. Granted there should be such a test, but please let us make it flexible and easily adjustable. If $75 a month is the fixed monthly payment, it is not only ridiculous but also cruel to say to the recipient, "If you earn $76, you lose the $75." Let us have a test that can be adjusted, as far as practicable, so as to reduce any possible deterrent effect it may have on those seeking employment after retirement age. Here again we run into that basic concept of our democracy—the dignity and worth of the individual. There must never be any dilution of that concept.

Because one subscribes to the belief that Government has an important contribution to make to our economic security is no reason to fear overcentralization of power and a domination by some unidentified Federal characters of all programs directed toward health, education, and welfare. The fact that Government is in—and in very heavily—gives emphasis to the need for appointing men and women to the many positions of grave and great responsibility who are qualified because of their education, training, experience, and character. It is not pleasant to stand by and watch the removal of workers and administrators who, in their public service of 20 or more years, have passed objective tests of competency, and who, by every fair and decent measure, are entitled to continue to render the fine services which have been largely responsible for the accomplishments of the past 20 years.

Recently I joined with my colleagues at the New York School of Social Work in expressing our alarm at some of the recent developments in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington. (This was practically a unanimous expression—not too frequent on a campus.) The fact that Miss Jane M. Hoey, former president of the National Conference of Social Work, was removed from her post as Director of the Bureau of Public Assistance as a step toward "carrying out the administration's policy of placing its representatives in key policy-making positions" (quote from letter to Miss Hoey from Under Secretary Nelson A. Rockefeller)—that fact, together with what has happened prior thereto and what is happening since, necessarily gives rise to the expression that "the failure of the administration to stand squarely for professional competence as against political expediency is dismal indeed * * *. The result of this action can only mean the injection of an air of uncertainty and insecurity into the administration of these governmental services, which, in the long run, results in harm to both the millions of recipents and inefficiency in the expenditure of the taxpayers' moneys."

It is well to sound the alarm—especially when the circumstances are these. But what we all hope for is a clear and unmistakable recognition at the highest official level of the need of continuing on the job the men and women who know the job and who have given us such undisputed proof of that knowledge.

Economic security for Americans is something more than a dream. Today there is increasing evidence of its visibility. It continues, however, to be an ideal. Tomorrow we will be much closer to the realization of this ideal providing we strengthen, maintain, and cherish that cooperative and contributive concept in which there is a sharing by the individual, private enterprise, and Government.

It must be emphasized that social-security payments do pay off in terms of family protection and old-age security. Furthermore, what must be recognized beyond any reasonable doubt is that much needs to be and must be done to remove from our families the haunting fear of loss of income, due to causes beyond their control. We still have a long way to go—and there is much to do.

Secretary Dulles Exposes Soviet Duplicity at Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, has demonstrated at the Berlin Conference the proper technique of

dealing with the Soviets. In the blunt language of truth, the Secretary has exposed to the world the fraudulent falseness of the Soviet proposals. With rapier accuracy, Secretary Dulles showed that the Communists mean by "democracy," "elections," "aggression," and "peace." No longer did an American diplomat accept Soviet words at face value but showed with historic analysis the true Soviet intent.

I include herewith an article from U. S. News & World Report of February 19, 1954, and extracts of Secretary Dulles speeches before the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin:

DULLES HITS BACK—THE OFFENSIVE SHIFTS TO UNITED STATES IN COLD WAR

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Molotov, in Berlin, probably wonders what hit him. He finds himself put on the defensive by United States. His old tricks don't work. Europeans are warned of hidden traps, reminded of what befell their neighbors, given a stark look at Soviet "freedom." It's a new tactic by America. Secretary Dulles is using blunt words to expose Moscow's aims for what they really are.)

BERLIN.—An American Secretary of State has seized the initiative in the cold war.

John Foster Dulles, for the United States, hit back at the Russians in the first top-level tangle between the world powers in 5 years. V. M. Molotov, Foreign Minister for the Soviet Union, was knocked off balance as the conference began, placed on the defensive and kept there.

It's a new experience for Mr. Molotov. One by one he has trotted out all the old Soviet proposals that, in years gone by, have won propaganda victories for Moscow. One by one, in the eyes of Europeans, Mr. Dulles has demolished them by direct counter-attack.

Gradually, Mr. Molotov has been stripped of his propaganda weapons. And, in the space of a few short weeks, the world has been confronted with the spectacle of a Soviet spokesman standing emptyhanded before the raw, basic issues dividing the world.

Mr. Dulles, for the United States, the record shows, pulled no punches. Instead, he moved in with strong words to hit Soviet leaders where they are most vulnerable.

Step by step, from the opening bell of the Big Four Conference in Berlin, Mr. Dulles forced the shifty Molotov back against the ropes.

You get the full picture of the Dulles drive in his own words, starting on page 33. What was accomplished by this method of direct attack on the part of the American was to force the Russian to face the German problem—the basic issue of the conference. On this he offered nothing new.

ROUND BY ROUND

The Dulles tactics caught Mr. Molotov off guard at the start. It became apparent, early in the conference, that the language of diplomacy is no longer in vogue. Tough talk is in style now.

Mr. Molotov, as usual, sought to confuse issues with glowing references to democracy, freedom, disarmament, and peace—all as defined by Moscow. When the conference opened, he submitted an agenda studded with Soviet propaganda. A similar proposal had wrecked a 1951 effort to have a conference after 3½ months of talking in Paris. This time, to Mr. Molotov's surprise, his agenda was accepted. Then the infighting began.

Mr. Dulles, using scathing language, cut through the Molotov propaganda screen.

He reminded the world how the Soviet Union had crushed the Baltic States of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

He pointed to the puppet Communist regime imposed upon East Germany by the Soviet Union as an example of Moscow-style freedom.

He demolished a Molotov disarmament proposal, touted as new, by showing it to be an old, rejected plan.

He forced Mr. Molotov to seek new excuses for delaying an Austrian peace treaty. He denounced the treatment of Austria as a long and shabby story.

He ridiculed the Molotov offer of a European pact, with the United States excluded, as delivering Europe to the Soviet.

He rejected the Molotov suggestion that Communist China be brought into a Big Five conference to talk peace. "This convicted aggressor," said Mr. Dulles of Red China, "could not possibly be considered a peace-seeking nation."

SLUGGING MATCH

The Soviet Foreign Minister, weaving away from Mr. Dulles' attacks, finally charged that the United States, Britain, and France were conspiring to start a new world war by reviving German militarism. At this point Mr. Dulles took off the padded gloves of diplomatic language to show Soviet responsibility in the Second World War.

"I recall," he said, "that Mr. Molotov was wrong in October 1939 when he condemned France and Britain as being aggressors and praised Hitlerite Germany as being the peace-seeking country."

Reading from the Russian's own speeches, Mr. Dulles reminded the world of the alliance which Mr. Molotov had negotiated personally with the Nazis. It was this alliance which left Nazi Germany free to invade and to conquer Western Europe.

Once before, a Western diplomat had commented on the similarity between the views of Mr. Molotov and those of Hitler. The late Ernest Bevin, then Britain's Foreign Secretary, had made a similar reference in September 1945, while dealing with Mr. Molotov. The Russian then had walked off insulted, returned only when Mr. Bevin withdrew the statement.

This time Mr. Molotov staged no such walkout. He was well aware that Mr. Dulles was in no mood to withdraw his words as Mr. Bevin had done.

ATTACK FROM STRENGTH

In each showdown, as forced by Mr. Dulles, Mr. Molotov was up against the unexpected strength and unity of the Western powers.

The Molotov suggestion for bringing China into a conference to be held within 6 months, for example, was carefully calculated to appeal to both the British and the French.

France, weary of an exhausting war in Indochina, was given a hint that a peace could be negotiated with the Communist-led rebels there if only the French would agree to talk with Red China.

Britain, hungry for trade, was offered a combined Russo-Chinese market of "800 million customers"—Soviet figures. And back in Moscow a delegation of British businessmen was told at Mr. Molotov's bidding that Russia was prepared to buy a billion dollars' worth of British goods over the next 3 years—paying in gold.

Despite such offers, however, the Western Alliance, forged by Mr. Dulles, held firm. Georges Bidault for France and Anthony Eden for Britain both rejected the Soviet proposals and urged Mr. Molotov to get down to the real business of the Conference—Germany.

SOVIET WEAKNESS

Up against raw issues, Mr. Molotov, suddenly, was revealed as seeking to exchange nothing for something.

For western trade, urgently needed by Moscow's new rulers to meet Russian demands for consumer goods, Mr. Molotov had only glittering promises of big deals in gold.

For abandonment of Western defenses against possible Soviet attack, Mr. Molotov offered only the protection of Soviet Russia in Europe. That, to most Europeans, meant only Soviet domination. Mr. Bidault, for France, said as much.

For a united Germany, Mr. Molotov offered only a plan, already rejected, for an equal partnership between Moscow-dominated East Germany—small, bankrupt, and close to rebellion—and free West Germany, rich in industrial plant and production.

DECISION IN BERLIN

The Dulles tactics, in hitting back at Mr. Molotov, have strengthened the Western alliance in the eyes of Europeans. It now is the United States, not Soviet Russia, which is taking the offensive in the cold war.

MOLOTOV WANTS VENGEANCE, NOT PEACE

Following is from the speech by Secretary Dulles before the conference of foreign ministers in Berlin on January 26, 1954:

"It was a matter of profound disappointment to hear the opening address of the Soviet Foreign Minister, V. M. Molotov. It was not that he said anything that was new. I have heard the same speech many times before. What was saddening was the fact that he seized upon this occasion, the opening of this new conference, this beginning of what could be a new chapter of history, to accumulate and repeat the old false charges and recriminations which have been heard so often from Soviet rulers. * * *

"As Mr. Molotov pointed out, France, equally with Russia, was a victim of nazism. But M. Bidault, Foreign Minister of France, evoked the spirit which can bind up and heal the wounds of war. Mr. Molotov evoked the spirit of vengeance and of hatred which marked the ill-fated Treaty of Versailles. He recalled the decisions of Yalta. It was Yalta which called for the dismemberment of Germany, for the stripping of Germany of all removable assets and for impressed German labor. * * *

"We can well pause here to pay tribute to the genius of France which has drawn together the six nations of Western Europe in the coal and steel community, which has conceived the European defense community and which stimulates the development of a European political community.

"Such creative thinking marks freedom at its best. It condemns to ridicule those who would destine France to a humble place in the Soviet world of enforced conformity.

"Mr. Molotov professes to fear that the European Defense Community would be dominated by German militarism. That is precisely what EDC is designed to prevent. It is a program which acceptably precludes any German national army and any German general staff. I say 'acceptably' because the treaty operates in a nondiscriminatory way. Each of the countries of the European Defense Community accepts for itself in Europe the same conditions as apply to Germany. Thus, there is brought into being a modest defense force in which individual Germans have a minority part and the whole of which is dedicated to defensive purposes. No part of the European army can ever be used to serve any national ends in Europe.

"That is a program which the Germans themselves willingly accept. The German people are eager, as are the people of France, to find a way to end forever the hideous spectacle of the European nations, fighting each other. The treaty to create the European Defense Community was conceived by France, has been signed by France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The process of ratification is far advanced. There is no known substitute for EDC. Certainly the Soviet Union has proposed none except a return to the obsolete, bankrupt system of Versailles and other so-called peace treaties which have bred war.

"Surely statesmanship can do better than to recreate the world's worst fire hazard. The country and people of the Soviet Union have been cruelly mutilated by the consequences of German hostility toward France. It seems incredible that Soviet leaders should now be devoting themselves to reviving that Franco-German hostility and to obstructing a unification which would realise the vision of the wise European statesmen who for generations have been preaching that unity was the indispensable foundation for lasting peace.

"The Soviet Foreign Minister suggested that the formation of a European or North Atlantic Treaty military force might lead to the creation of a defensive alliance of other European countries, thus splitting Europe into two opposing military groups of states. This is a grotesque inversion of history.

"Following the end of World War II, the United States withdrew its vast armies and air and naval forces from Europe and largely dismantled its Military Establishment. The United Kingdom did likewise. Western Europe itself was left totally devoid of military strength. The Western nations put their primary dependence in the pledges of the United Nations Charter. They continued to do so until June 1950. Then the sudden outbreak of hostilities in Korea showed that the United Nations Charter did not constitute any absolute guaranty against armed aggression. The free nations realized their insecurity if they remained disarmed and disunited in the face of a powerful military bloc combining the resources of 800 million people.

"Mr. Molotov, in his address, cited the principle that action provokes reaction. That is true, as we see; but not with the application which Mr. Molotov gave it.

"Another disheartening aspect of the Soviet Foreign Minister's statement was its reiteration of the importance of accepting the Chinese Communist regime as one of the so-called five great powers which have world-wide responsibility for the establishment of peace.

"This offspring of Soviet communism committed flagrant aggression in Korea, for which it was formally condemned by the United Nations. It is actively promoting aggression against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. All of the nations which are the neighbors of this Chinese Communist regime feel menaced by its scarcely concealed aggressive purposes. * * *

"This convicted aggressor is the nation which the Soviet Union chooses to be its companion in its quest for peace and which it demands should be accepted by the United States and others.

"I would like to state here plainly and unequivocally what the Soviet Foreign Minister already knows—the United States will not agree to join in a five-power conference with the Chinese Communist aggressors for the purpose of dealing generally with the peace of the world.

"The United States refuses not because, as is suggested, it denies that the regime exists, or that it has power. We in the United States well know that it exists and has power, because its aggressive armies joined with the North Korean aggressors to kill and wound 150,000 Americans who went to Korea in company with British, French, and other United Nations forces to resist that aggression in response to the appeal of the United Nations. We do not refuse to deal with it where occasion requires. We did deal with it in making the Korean armistice. We deal with it today at Panmunjom in our effort to bring about a Korean peace conference. It is, however, one thing to recognize evil as a fact; it is another thing to take evil to one's breast and call it good. * * *"

"ROAD TO PEACE ISN'T THROUGH COMMUNIST CHINA"

On January 28 Secretary Dulles said:

"In a book I wrote 4 years ago, I paid tribute to Mr. Molotov's diplomatic skill. I am glad to see that he has not lost his touch.

"Yesterday Mr. Molotov produced out of his hat rabbits for all of us: peace in Korea, peace in Indochina, an end to the armaments race, the abolition of atomic weapons, the end of tension everywhere throughout the world by the pacific settlement of all the disputes which rage throughout the world, and a tremendous increase in economic prosperity.

"These achievements were all to be made possible if only we were to invite Mr. Chou En-lai to come here and sit down with us. The fact, Mr. Molotov implied, would automatically satisfy the aspirations for peace and welfare which men have had throughout all the ages. Who is this Chou En-lai whose addition to our circle would make possible all that has for so long seemed impossible? He is a leader of a regime which gained de facto power on the China mainland through bloody war, which has liquidated millions of Chinese as the only means of maintaining its powers; which so diverts the economic resources of its impoverished people to military efforts that they starve by the millions; which became an open aggressor in Korea and was so adjudged by the United Nations; which promotes aggression in Indochina by training and equipping the aggressors and supplying them with vast amounts of war munitions.

"Such is the man whose presence Mr. Molotov urges would enable them to gain lasting peace and mounting prosperity. * * *

"It is obvious that the five-power conference proposed by Mr. Molotov could not be a conference of temporary duration. It would be incredible that the four of us, even with the addition of the fabulous Mr. Chou En-lai, would be able quickly to solve the political, economic, and military problems with which the United Nations has wrestled unsuccessfully for the past 9 years. The task proposed for the conference by Mr. Molotov would inevitably turn that conference into a permanent body with a vast network of subcommittees and experts. This would in effect replace the United Nations.

"Mr. Molotov scarcely disguises the fact that this is what he has in mind. He has said that because the United Nations does not accept the credentials of the Communist regime of China, therefore the United Nations should be bypassed and its responsibilities must be taken over by a new world organization which would be an assumption by the five so-called great powers of the responsibility and authority to rule the world with reference to political, armament, and economic matters. In other words, because the United Nations has refused to admit into its councils a proclaimed aggressor, Mr. Molotov contends the United Nations must be penalized by having its responsibilities transferred to the aggressor.

"Mr. Molotov has entertained us by an exhibition of his ability to make the preposterous seem plausible. However, we did not come here for entertainment. We came here in the hopes of doing some serious business."

DULLES TALKS TOUGH TO MOLOTOV

Molotov proposed agenda for four-power conference. Dulles accepted. Then, step by step—

Molotov proposed bringing Communist China into talks with United States, Russia, Britain, France.

Dulles rejected this, denouncing Red China as "this offspring of Soviet communism * * * this convicted aggressor."

Molotov retreated, then offered a new suggestion—a world disarmament conference.

Dulles tagged this an empty Soviet proposal, made many times before without success.

Molotov asked that the North Atlantic Alliance and the European army plan be scrapped.

Dulles said both were designed for defense, demanded to know whether Soviet Union was planning an attack.

Molotov, denying aggressive intent, called Soviet Union a "peace-loving" nation.

Dulles reminded Molotov that he called Hitler's Germany "peace-loving" in 1939.

Molotov urged France and its European Allies to cooperate with the Soviet bloc.

Dulles asked if Molotov wanted to drag free nations' living standards down to Soviet level.

Molotov rejected Western proposal for free elections for united Germany, but talked about "a democratic Germany."

Dulles denounced what he called Molotov's "zigzag tactics" and demanded that he get down to business.

Secretary Dulles Exposes Soviet Duplicity at Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as I mentioned previously, Secretary Dulles, at the Foreign Ministers Conference at Berlin, with magnificent courage exposed the techniques of the Soviets. In addition to the previous extracts from Secretary Dulles' speeches before the Conference, I wish to include herewith extracts from speeches by the Secretary made on February 2, 4, 5, and 10:

"MOLOTOV PRAISED HITLER IN 1939—COULD BE WRONG NOW, TOO"

On February 2, Mr. Dulles said this:

"Yesterday, Mr. Molotov delivered himself of a major polemic. Apparently, he felt that we had left far behind us the first agenda item. That item dealt with the relaxing of international tensions. But, since we were on the second agenda item, Mr. Molotov felt moved to intensify international tensions, so he made bitter accusations against France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. He charged us with conspiring to start a new world war with the help of revived German militarism. * * *

"I do not know what the Soviet Foreign Minister really thinks about us. Whatever his judgment is, he must know that he is not infallible. He has sometimes been wrong, and he might have been wrong when he accused us yesterday of being the enemies of peace.

"I recall that Mr. Molotov was wrong in October 1939, when he condemned France and Britain as being aggressors and praised Hitlerite Germany as being the peace-seeking country. I have in my hands a speech which the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs made in Moscow on October 31, 1939. Already the war was on and, in Molotov's words: 'It needed only one swift blow to

Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red army, and nothing remained of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty.' In that speech, Mr. Molotov boasted of the 'rapprochement and the establishment of friendly relations between the U. S. S. R. and Germany.' He then said that 'as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, whereas Great Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. It is,' said Mr. Molotov, 'not only senseless, but criminal to wage such a war—a war for the destruction of Hitlerism camouflaged as a fight for democracy.'

"Perhaps Mr. Molotov would admit that he then made a mistake—we all make mistakes. That fact should lead us not to be so confident of our judgment that we hurl across the table accusations of criminal intent. * * *

"It is the thesis of the Soviet Union, if I understand rightly, that in the making of the peace treaty we are to consult with the German people through what the Soviet Foreign Minister calls the representatives of Eastern and Western Germany.

"We know that in West Germany there is a government which draws its authority from the German people as a result of free and vigorously contested elections. The people of the West German Republic had an opportunity to hear all the issues debated from opposing viewpoints and to vote for candidates of their own choosing. The Government of the West German Republic is, without question, entitled to speak for that large majority of the German people who reside in the West German Republic, and we do not doubt that it reflects the overwhelming judgment of the West Germans as well.

"But how about the so-called government of the German Democratic Republic which rules in East Germany? According to the Soviet Foreign Minister, it was called to power by the overwhelming majority of the population of Eastern Germany.

"It is true that 98 percent of the eligible voters appeared at the polling places. They came because they had been told that if they did not come they would be treated as enemies of the peace and subjected to grave penalties as such. The entire population of many villages was forcibly rounded up and marched to the polls.

"It is true that 99.7 percent of the voters were recorded as having elected the Government of the German People's Republic. The story behind this is that after the voters arrived at the polls, they were handed a ballot. It was a ballot which had been secretly printed. And it was not made public until election day. I have a copy of that ballot here. It is simply a list of names. No place is provided on the ballot to indicate approval or disapproval. There was no way to vote 'No.' There was not even a way to mark the ballot with a 'Yes'—a privilege which, as I recall, even Hitler conceded to his subjects. The voters were merely ordered to put the ballot in the ballot box.

"It might be noted in passing that the name which heads the list on the ballot which I hold here in my hand is the name of Mr. Ulbricht, a one-time Soviet citizen.

"I wonder whether Mr. Molotov really believes that this type of so-called election gives the so-called government a mandate to speak for the people of East Germany. * * *

"Since the October events that I describe, nearly a million East Germans have fled the East zone to the West zone and West sector of Berlin. Does that prove the popularity of the rulers and their capacity to speak for the ruled?

"Last year hungry Germans under the rule of their so-called government sought and obtained 5 million food parcels from the West. Does that prove that the people are satisfied with their rulers?

"In the eastern area there is an armed force of 250,000 to keep order. That is 1 guard for 60 persons. In West Germany there is 1 policeman for 330 persons. Does this shocking discrepancy prove that the East Germans freely accept the order that their rulers impose?

"If the facts I mention do not suffice to prove to Mr. Molotov my point, I can mention more. But I hope it will not seem necessary to do so. * * *

"In his speech yesterday, the Soviet Foreign Minister sought to divert us from the serious discussion of this urgent topic by inejcting a series of charges against the United States, Great Britain, and France, which he claimed 'are trying to form a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union.'

"I will not take time at this conference to reject these charges in detail. There is nothing new in them. The same familiar charges have been made year after year in the United Nations. They have been refuted time after time, year after year.

"For example, Mr. Molotov says that $100 million was appropriated by the United States Congress for subversive activities within the Soviet satellite countries. That charge, often made, was completely rejected when raised by Mr. Vishinsky in the United Nations. I refute it again as being totally untrue. That legislation has been utilized solely for the purpose of assistance to refugees fleeing from the Soviet bloc, such as the 1 million who, as I mentioned, fled from East Germany to the West.

"It is elementary kindness to assist these refugees to make a new start in life.

"Perhaps there would have been fewer of them if, in 1948, the Soviet Union had allowed its satellites to share the thousands of millions of dollars which the United States made available to relieve conditions of economic distress abroad. Perhaps then, too, a Soviet mistake was made. * * *

"It would not be profitable for us here to engage in unseemly competition as to the importance of our relative contributions to the ultimate defeat of Nazi Germany. That defeat required blood and steel, and the United States contributed both. There was a time when the Soviet Union paid tribute to that contribution. * * *

"Mr. Molotov has claimed that the North Atlantic Treaty is aimed at the Soviet Union. That treaty, made pursuant to the United Nations Charter, contemplates the use of force only if there is an armed attack against one of the parties. I hope that Mr. Molotov does not imply that the Soviet Union intends to bring that tragedy to pass. If it does not, then it need not fear the treaty.

"The Soviet Union, which dominates a military bloc of 800 million people, seems to be fearful if any other nations combine for their defense. The reasons for such combination are simple, and the combination conceals nothing sinister.

"If any one of the Western European nations were alone to be strong enough to defend itself against possible attack from the Soviet bloc, it would from an internal standpoint endanger its economy and from an external standpoint endanger its neighbors.

"The Soviet Union proposes that Germany should be allowed to have defensive strength on a national basis. But if Germany had national forces strong enough to defend itself from external attack, it would be so strong that it would threaten all of Western Europe.

"The only way in which nations can obtain necessary defensive strength without themselves becoming an aggressive menace is by community efforts. Under those circumstances no single nation is strong enough to attack alone; but the combined strength deters aggression. This system, it is true, sometimes involves one member of the community helping to maintain deterrent forces on the territory of another member of the community. Mr. Molotov had particularly complained of this aspect of the security arrangements participated in by the United States, the United Kingdom and France in cooperation with their associates. The fact is that such arrangements are a mighty safeguard against aggression. They mean that only the combined will of many nations can set the defensive system into action.

"The greatest danger to world peace lies in the fact that in some cases a vast military establishment can be made to attack by the decision of a single nation, sometimes indeed by the decision of a single man. That is a situation which is understandably terrifying.

"But where a military establishment cannot act without the combined will of many countries, then only a clear defensive need can bring about the necessary concurrence of national wills.

"Furthermore, in this way, it is possible to get adequate defense without forcing the people, and particularly the workers to suffer by requiring them to toil unproductively. It is understandable that the Soviet Union should want to force on the free nations a system which will drag down their higher standard of living. But we shall have none of that, Mr. Molotov. We shall have both security and human welfare."

"MOLOTOV DEBATES, BUT ALWAYS SAYS 'NO' IN END"

On February 4, Secretary Dulles said:

"I have been told that the sigzag was an essential part of the Soviet practice. If so, I think that the discussions of the last few days form a classic example.

"I have seldom been as confused in my life as I am at this moment. We have been debating for several days the plan which you tabled, Mr. Chairman, and we discussed a section to which Mr. Molotov devoted his attention. And after we finally had agreed, the three of us, to amend it to meet what we understood were Mr. Molotov's views, then he said he rejected the whole plan.

"I wonder why we spent so long debating one paragraph of the plan if the whole plan was unacceptable.

"Then, Mr. Molotov, as I understood, attacked our proposal on the ground that it did not give the Germans sufficient freedom of choice as to what they would do in relation to their future international relations.

"And when we had painstakingly explained that the plan did give them complete freedom of choice in that matter, then apparently the plan could not meet Mr. Molotov's approval because it gave the Germans too much freedom.

"He explained at great length how the Germans could not be trusted with freedom; how they had abused freedom in the past; and from that it is to be inferred that they should not have the freedom that they had in the past. And there again I am completely confused and bewildered.

"Then there was a question of the all-German elections. The plan which you tabled, Mr. Chairman, provided for the careful supervision of the elections, not only supervised by the four occupying powers, but also possibly by neutrals, to be sure there would be true freedom of elections.

"But Mr. Molotov says that that proposal indicates that we do not trust the Germans and the elections are not sufficiently free. And in the same breath he also says the elections must be so conducted that what he called the nondemocratic elements in Germany are not going to be allowed to vote.

"I am curious to know as to how that can be accomplished without a supervision of the elections.

"I cannot but believe that what he really has in mind is that there must be conducted in all of Germany the type of elections which I described earlier, which had brought the government of East Germany into power,

End

where everybody was compelled to put in a ballot which was prepared in advance by the authorities so as to assure that there would be no possibility of any undesirable person being chosen. * * *

"The fact is that there is a compulsion on the part of the Germans to aline themselves with the Western European Community. It is not a compulsion of law or treaty. We have made that perfectly clear. It is a kind of compulsion which draws inevitably the East Germans toward the West. It is the same compulsion that has drawn 1 million East Germans to seek sanctuary in the West, and it is that compulsion Mr. Molotov would prohibit by legal and military action, because despite what he says about wanting the Germans to have freedom of choice, the fact is his formula would deny them that freedom which they seek by themselves—which are irresistible attractions unless held back by military power."

"RUSSIA IS AFRAID OF FREE ELECTIONS"

On February 5 Secretary Dulles said:

"The Basic impression which strikes me is this: Mr. Molotov is afraid of genuinely free elections in the East Zone. He is afraid that the 18 million Germans in the East Zone, if given a chance to speak, would overwhelmingly reject the present imposed regime. Mr. Molotov has good reason to be afraid.

"Consequently, the Soviet Foreign Minister has categorically rejected the proposals for genuinely free elections which have been put forward by the Western Powers. In its place he proposes his own blueprint. In the name of peace, he proposes a method for extending the solid Soviet bloc to the Rhine. In the name of what he calls democracy, he has set forth the classic Communist pattern for extinguishing democracy as that word has been understood for 2,000 years.

"The cornerstone of the Soviet proposal is the so-called government of the German Democratic Republic. That government was put in office by Soviet power. It was confirmed in office by Soviet power. If it had not been for elements of 22 Soviet divisions, including tanks and armored cars, it would have been forcibly ejected from power by the workers who in their desperation rose up against it last June.

"It is that regime which, under the Soviet plan, would negotiate on a basis of equality with the Government of the German Federal Republic. However, the scales are to be still further weighted in favor of the Soviet puppet regime, because it is provided by the Soviet plan these initial negotiations shall also involve wide participation of democratic organizations.

"In the Soviet dictionary the words 'democratic organizations' have a clear, precise meaning. They mean those front organizations—captive trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations—which promote the Communist purposes without openly presenting themselves to the people in their true guise.

"It is under these auspices that there would be prepared the all-German electoral law, and the establishment of election conditions.

"We can visualize in advance the type of elections upon which the East German regime would insist, because we already know those conditions from its past. I have already told of the election conditions which were established in East Germany where the voters were compelled by armed force and penalties to go to the polls and, when there, were compelled to put in the ballot box a list of names which had been previously prepared for them and which was made public only on election day.

"Indeed, the Soviet plan expressly stipulates in Communist language that the election conditions would in fact be what they were in the Soviet zone. The election must be so conducted as to assure its so-called democratic character. It must provide for the participation of all democratic organizations. It must preclude pressure upon voters by big monopolies, and it must exclude from voting privilege any organizations which by Soviet standards are of a fascist or militaristic nature.

"If we take the tragic pattern which has spread all over Eastern Europe in the wake of the Red armies, it does not require much wit to see what that means. It means that anyone who dares to express the slightest doubt concerning communism is automatically deemed a fascist or a militarist or a monopolist.

"If this system were to be applied to Western Germany, no organization opposing the Communists or the policies of the Soviet Communists, which are the same thing, would be permitted to take part in the elections.

"It would only be the Communist Party and the Communist-front organizations which, under Mr. Molotov's plan, would participate in the elections.

"I have no doubt that the Soviet Foreign Minister would protest that his plan does not really involve the sovietization of Western Germany.

"I recall that in the October 1939, speech to which I have already referred, the Soviet Foreign Minister explained that the mutual-assistance pacts, which he had recently negotiated with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 'no way implies any interference on the part of the Soviet Union, * * * as some foreign newspapers are trying to make out. * * * We declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs.'

"The memory of what happened within a few months to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and of having seen that same pattern extend to the countries of eastern Europe by the use of the methods which the Soviet proposal prescribes for Germany, will, I hope, explain some skepticism at the Soviet proposals for restoring freedom to Germany.'

"Mr. Molotov is too intelligent to believe that the people or Government of West Germany would accept his proposals or that the three Western powers would suggest that they do so. The Western German Bundestag, representing 70 percent of the entire German people, has unanimously refused to accept the East German regime as having any legitimate status or right to speak for the people of East Germany.

"One can only conclude that the Soviet Foreign Minister does not submit his proposal with any expectation that it might be acceptable. His purpose is quite different. He is actually attempting to hold on to the Soviet position in East Germany by preventing free elections."

"WE ARE DETERMINED NOT TO BE ABSORBED"

In these words Mr. Dulles, on February 10, hit back at a Molotov proposal for an all-European security pact that would include Russia and exclude the United States:

"The division of Europe goes back to the date when the Soviet control, initially confined to the Soviet Union, was extended to a vast area which now includes one-third of the human race.

"I recall the pacts of mutual assistance which the Soviet Union made in 1939 with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. * * *

"What quickly happened to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania has gone on and on and has, I suggest, created the division to which the Soviet Foreign Minister refers.

"It is a division between those who have been absorbed and the others who do not want to be absorbed. * * *

"So far as the United States is concerned, we are determined that we will not be absorbed."

Security Risks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Reading (Pa.) Times:

THE 2,200

The Eisenhower administration has been bombarded with a request to break down the 2,200 alleged security risks the President disclosed last year (there were then less than 1,500) so as to give the public a clear picture of why these persons were dismissed from the Federal service. And although the matter does not have the same impact upon the public consciousness as, say, the farm program or Taft-Hartley revision, it is nevertheless important to know its implications.

The administration has said that it has released 2,200 persons from the Federal service since it took the national reins a little more than a year ago. Since then, there has been a political furor over the matter. Republicans have been mounting rostrums all over the country, tossing that 2,200 figure into their oratory, and suggesting, though not frankly saying, that here is an index of how the previous administration permitted Federal agencies to become infiltrated with dangerous men and women whose real devotion was reserved for another master than Uncle Sam.

With equal heat, the Democrats have challenged the figure from the beginning and have insisted upon a breakdown. They want to know how many of these 2,200 were genuine loyalty risks and how many were fired not because of treasonous intentions or actions but because they were security risks—people who talked too much about their Government jobs, who perhaps drank too much, whose morals were not what they should have been, or who were merely incompetent.

White House correspondents have come to refer to this situation, jokingly, as "the numbers game," but it is not really a matter for jest. It is a matter on which the President, we think, should act forthrightly, as is his wont when he is profoundly concerned about the direction the ship of state is taking. We believe nothing less than complete forthrightness in this matter—a complete breakdown of the 2,200—is due the American people.

We are not concerned with whom a breakdown will hurt; we do have a right to know the facts, all of them. If the facts show that a great number of the 2,200 were genuine "loyalty risks," we have a right, as citizens, to know that so that we may assess the blame accordingly. If the greater number were not "loyalty risks" but are nonetheless "security risks" such as heavy drinkers and people likely, for reasons of their personal makeup, to be easy marks for blackmailers, we have a right to know that, too.

Though the President may be reluctant to release a breakdown some of the facts are beginning to trickle into the record. Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson told Congress on Monday that at least 1 active Communist was among the 2,200 and the Treasury Department told a congressional subcommittee that 4 out of the 190 security risks that Department discharged in 1953 involved disloyalty.

The politicians may not like the idea of breaking down the 2,200 into specific categories, but we are not politicians. We're just plain citizens who think we have a right to know the facts and we believe it would be better for all the facts to go onto the record at once than to trickle out in bits and pieces.

Long Beach Naval Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in this RECORD the below article written by Capt. G. C. Weaver, United States Navy, commanding officer of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard, which describes the general excellence of that defense installation. In these days of contracting military and naval establishments, it is well to analyze existing facilities in relation to their efficiency, productiveness, and relative service to the forces they serve. In all respects, the rating of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard, in naval terms, is 4.0. Captain Weaver's article appeared in the February 1954 issue of that shipyard's magazine.

The article follows:

THE LONG BEACH NAVAL SHIPYARD: AN ECONOMICAL ARM OF DEFENSE

(By Capt. G. C. Weaver, USN)

The Long Beach Naval Shipyard is the most efficient in the United States and all during the 11 years of its existence it has consistently enjoyed a high productive ratio in comparison with the other 10 naval shipyards. Since the reactivation of the shipyard in 1951 over 800 ships and 55 service craft have been assigned to this shipyard for overhaul, repair, and activation. Between 30 and 40 ships can be repaired at one time.

The total area of the shipyard proper is 159 acres and that of the mole is 104 acres, making a total of 263 acres, with 7,092 lineal feet of pier space. The facilities include three graving drydocks, the largest naval ship now afloat. One of the most useful pieces of equipment is the huge German-built crane, the largest in the world, costing $3.5 million, and capable of lifting 450 tons.

The value of the Long Beach Naval Shipyard to the financial welfare of the community is realized when one learns that the annual payroll is in excess of $30 million paid to 6,600 employees, making the shipyard the second largest industry in Long Beach. In addition to 2,000 tons of stores a week received from the various supply points throughout the country, local purchases amount to approximately $300,000 per month, not counting supplies bought by the Navy purchasing office in Los Angeles.

UNITED STATES NAVY INFLUENCES ECONOMY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The United States Navy accounts for the expenditure in over $101 million a year not counting the amount spent by officers and men attached to ships that come to Long Beach. It is thus shown that the naval shipyard, together with her sister establishments, supply depot, and the ammunition depot, play a vital role in the defense of our Nation and a great influence on the economic stability of southern California.

Unsanitary Conditions in Post Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a resolution adopted by the National Federation of Post Office Clerks on the question of unsanitary conditions in some post offices throughout the United States:

Whereas many post offices, post-office stations, and other postal facilities, being equipped only with outmoded, malfunctioning, nonfunctioning, and neglected equipment for the cleaning and maintenance of sanitary conditions necessary to protect the health and well-being of postal employees, have degenerated to a deplorable condition that is inexcusable anywhere within a Federal agency; and

Whereas instances have occurred where post-office buildings have been allowed to deteriorate to such a degree that the municipal authorities have declared them as dangerous to the public welfare and required their abandonment, and where a building used as a postal facility was given up only after post-office equipment crashed through the floors into the public sewers, where a United States Senator has described the conditions as shocking and stated that if it was within his authority he would, to protect the health and welfare of employees, immediately order the closing of some postal facilities; and

Whereas these conditions exist in Government buildings under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration, Government buildings under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department, and rented quarters; and

Whereas sanitary conditions in some buildings formerly under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department have worsened since their transfer to the General Services Administration; and

Whereas comparison of sanitary conditions and cleanliness of postal facilities and that of other Government agencies under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration indicates that there is discrimination against the postal service in the allotment of equipment and labor necessary to maintain proper health and sanitary conditions in the post office, apparently due to a failure to recognize the fact that maintaining satisfactory conditions in places where large numbers of employees work on a 24-hour basis, is a far greater task than that necessary to maintain satisfactory conditions in places used only during business hours and for office work; and

Whereas whenever efforts have been made to correct the unsatisfactory sanitary conditions either in a general way or on specific cases, we have invariably been confronted with statements that inadequate appropriations made by Congress makes satisfactory correction impossible: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the executive committee of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, go on record as strongly condemning the deplorable sanitary conditions in the postal service that we know constitutes a constant threat to the health and welfare of many postal employees and that we call on the Congress and Federal authorities to take every necessary step to assure postal workers the same standard of health and sanitary facilities as those provided for other workers usually required by State and municipal laws; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge that appropriations and personnel now assigned to the General Services Administration for custodial work in post offices be restored to the Post Office Department so that postmasters and the Post Office Department would have some authority and responsibility for the maintenance of cleanliness and sanitary conditions in post offices; and be it further

Resolved, That we request that all payments for rented quarters be immediately withheld wherever evidence is furnished that proper sanitary conditions are not being maintained in such quarters, and be withheld until such time as proper sanitary conditions are restored; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge the Congress to establish a special committee whose duties will be to make a thorough investigation of the health and sanitary conditions in postal facilities and assemble data which we feel sure would convince the Congress that only a thorough overhauling and extensive replacement of postal equipment and facilities could assure the maintenance of proper sanitary conditions for the protection of the health and welfare of postal employees and that necessary appropriations were justified.

JOHN F. BOWER,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Resolutions, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Unanimously adopted Friday, January 15, 1954.

Returning Reserves

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following editorial from the Shreveport (La.) Times of Tuesday, February 16, 1954:

GIVE THE RESERVIST A BREAK

It's about time for people generally to give our military reservists a break.

The shooting in Korea has ended and everybody is happy about that.

Most people also will applaud the efforts of the Defense Department, backed by President Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense Wilson, to scale down the size of the Armed Forces to realistic levels that take into considerations both the fact that there is no shooting now, and that when there is shooting again this Nation will depend chiefly on air and sea power and atomic weapons to resist aggression and destroy the aggressors.

But there are some temporary victims of this period of transition, particularly the military reservists.

Both Reserve officers and Reserve enlisted men who were mobilized for Korea now are returning to civilian life in considerable numbers.

Some of them were volunteers and others were recalled to service, but the point is that the job had to be done in Korea and they did their part and there were not very many bands playing for them, either going or coming.

Many of these men are coming home without any regular job to resume and they want and need and should have a chance to catch up with their contemporaries in the civilian race. Certainly they should not be penal-

ized for having fought the Nation's battles 8,000 miles from home, and this is just a reminder to employers and to business management that these fellows deserve at least an even break with others.

Certainly most employees will be quite willing to give them that break if they understand the situation.

In the first place, reservists are being discharged now in large numbers, but that is not because of any incompetence or inefficiency on their part. It is because they are reservists, subject to call in dire emergency, and subject to release when the dire emergency has passed.

Second, these men are not likely to be called back into service for a very long time, even if a shooting war is resumed in the Far East.

They should not be looked on as undesirable for permanent employment.

They were called up for Korea by presidential order, but by present law those who have served a certain minimum period either in World War II or Korea cannot be recalled again except in case of national emergency proclaimed by Congress.

In that case, every physically fit male of military age would be subject to call, whether he was a reservist.

Actually the chance of business losing a reservist who has been given employment is somewhat less than in the case of other young men without any record of active service.

The Policy of Liberation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been written on the necessity for an American policy of liberation. However, one of the most comprehensive and cogent statements which has yet come to my attention is that prepared by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, of which Mr. Mikola Lebed is the secretary general. Formulated from the vantage point of intimate contact and experience with Russian Communist imperialism, this statement reflects a refreshing objectivity toward the issue of an American policy of liberation, and resolves with factual support some of the doubts raised in connection with it. The introductory part of this instructive statement is devoted to an analysis of the present situation and the goals of Russian and American policies.

THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

INTRODUCTION

A policy of liberation is the only policy which the United States can successfully pursue with definite chances of decisively weakening or defeating the U. S. S. R., and even of avoiding a third world war. Inasmuch as the final aim of the Soviet Union is to conquer the world by any possible means, not excluding war, the possibility of war cannot be ignored by America if for no other reason than the fact that it might be initiated by the other side. But, if there are any chances of avoiding an all-out war, then they lie only along the lines of a positive American policy toward the U. S. S. R., i. e., a policy of liberation. Only a policy of this kind could rally all the colonial peoples to America's side on the one hand, and on the other hand give the peoples enslaved by the U. S. S. R. a chance to win their struggle against Moscow. Such a policy could create a situation which would facilitate the internal collapse of bolshevism through the synchronization of the stronger centrifugal movements of the enslaved peoples within the Soviet Union if supported by the outside world.

We call the policy of liberation a positive policy for two reasons. It is positive, first, because it strikes at the weakest spot of the U. S. S. R., i. e., at its internal affairs. The West has not taken a serious interest in these affairs until recently, a fact which provided the Kremlin with an opportunity to carry on extensive intrigues abroad, at a time when the Soviet Union was weak from internal national and social conflicts which only relentless terror on the part of the regime has been able to quell. Moreover, the regime avails itself of this situation to convince the masses of its enslaved peoples that the West is indifferent to them and thereby creates in them a feeling of complete hopelessness.

The attitude of the West is thus interpreted by the Bolsheviks even today, at a time of unrest in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and their latest concessions in Ukraine and the Baltic countries. Why should the enslaved nations take hopeless chances in open uprising when the West, and the United States in particular, contrary to all propaganda of a liberation policy have no intention of extending any real help to them?

This present passive attitude of the West should now end. If the new policy of liberation is implemented to the proper extent it can create an entirely new type of problem for the Kremlin.

Secondly, this policy is positive because its implementation would terminate the long period of relations between the United States and Soviet Union wherein the initiative lay in the Kremlin's hands. This situation prevailed mainly during World War II but the situation did not change even after the war ended. Such measures as the Truman Doctrine, NATO, or the intervention in Korea were primarily reactions to the initiative of Moscow. The involvement of America in an exhausting war with China must be considered the greatest postwar success of Russian diplomacy, the measure of which the world does not yet comprehend. This does not mean that it is not necessary for America to aid the South Koreans, but it does mean that the American policy toward the U. S. S. R. since 1945 has enabled the Kremlin to provoke the Korean war. The measure of the failure of this American policy can be compared only with the results which it brought about in regard to the Soviet Union after 1944–45. At that time the Soviet Union was able to rise to the stature of a powerful aggressive empire despite the effects of an exhaustive war and the internal conflicts of a totalitarian state.

A similar situation prevails today. Eight years after the end of World War II the enslaved nations are still displaying an amazing degree of vitality, organization, and will to fight. These are obvious cracks in the Kremlin walls. What is the West doing in support of these, centrifugal forces? Does it not, by its current policy of passivity, give Moscow a second chance since the war to squelch the underground forces, and make ready to move against the West within a few short years?

I. ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

Definition of aims

In order to discuss the aims of the present American policy toward the U. S. S. R. it is necessary to know the goals which the Kremlin has in relation to America. One fact is clear: The United States is today the sole serious obstacle to Moscow's conquest of the world. It is not necessary to emphasize that Moscow's aim is to conquer the world, inasmuch as this is clear from the writings of the leading philosophers of bolshevism, especially from the works of Lenin and Stalin. Moreover, this aim is evident in the basic tenets of traditional Russian Messianism. None of the Western European nations, including Great Britain, constitutes such an obstacle. Taking into consideration the present weak military potential of the nations of Western Europe, the low morale of their people, and the aggressive character of the Bolshevik fifth column, Moscow could conquer Western Europe today in all likelihood with no more difficulty than that which Hitler encountered in 1940. Since the Empire of Great Britain is going through a stage of natural disintegration it also would not be able to withstand Moscow's drive for conquest.

The attitude and chances of the peoples of the Near, Middle, and Far East including present-day China, or of the peoples of South America, Canada, and Africa, to fight bolshevism depend to a decisive degree on the attitude and capacity of the United States to oppose Moscow. But for the United States, Moscow would be the capital of the world.

The goal of Russian policy toward the United States

There is no doubt that Moscow is aware that America is the only obstacle in its path to world conquest and that this fact conditions the aims of Soviet policy toward the United States. It is clear that the Kremlin's final aim is not to divide the world into two spheres of influence as the Bolsheviks with tactical motives suggest from time to time and as the Communist fifth column in the West also proposes occasionally. Actually, the theory of this tactical Leninist-Stalinist conception of coexistence is identical with that of the Western World's conception of containment. Both ideas are based on the hope that the opponent's economic and military potential will disintegrate. On the one hand, this is Lenin's theory of the inevitable collapse of capitalism, and on the other hand it is the hope of the author of the containment policy that the rulers of the Kremlin will one day change their attitude, or that in general the regime will collapse from within.

Unfortunately, experience has shown that such a policy gave one side an overwhelming advantage. Because of this policy the U. S. S. R. has:

(a) gained the time it needed after the war to rebuild a war-wrecked economy;

(b) seriously weakened the internal resistance movements;

(c) conquered the satellite countries;

(d) won over China;

(e) provoked the Korean war, and

(f) developed nuclear weapons.

Such gains by the Kremlin can be perhaps partially counterbalanced by the successes of the West in having saved Iran, Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, or having established NATO.

There is much talk in the world today of internal weaknesses of the U. S. S. R. This is precisely our point of departure, long adhered to. But one must not forget that the downfall of any totalitarian dictatorship is caused by simultaneous external blows of sufficient force to aid the internal revolutionary forces in completing the task of annihilation.

It is also not a Soviet aim to rebuild the contemporary liberal-capitalistic American economic system along socialist lines. This is sometimes suggested by the Bolshevik fifth columns in America as the aim of the Kremlin. But the very realistic Russian imperialist policy was never so motivated. The men in the Kremlin cannot be considered so naive that they would wish to gain the sympathies of the American worker whose standard of living is the highest in the world, by baiting him with the social position of the Soviet

worker or that of the workers in other satellite countries.

The Bolsheviks have used slogans of social revolution in colonial countries. But even there they rather use nationalist slogans today, promoting the struggle against the white people's colonialism or against American imperialism. The Bolsheviks use these same tactics in Western Europe, concentrating their attacks primarily on the supposed threat of American imperialism instead of on the existing social tensions, in order to prevent European cooperation with America. Moscow is not looking for an ally among the peoples who are ready to give up the capitalistic system of economy. It is looking for political satellites whose future is slavery.

Were the United States to turn into a Socialist state, it would not be considered a lesser enemy by Moscow than a capitalist America is today. Moscow's American policy is neither a permanent division of the world into two spheres, nor a change of the American social structure. The one aim of Moscow is to turn free America into a satellite, as a prerequisite of a victory of Bolshevism over the world. Moscow cannot afford to lose sight of this ultimate aim, without the realization of which all dreams of governing the world are illusory. The men in the Kremlin are ever conscious of these basic facts.

Moscow will not willingly relinquish its goals

It is evident that the Bolsheviks want to attain world domination by stages, and that its realization can be postponed for many years, because they have always shown that they are capable of long-range planning. But under the conditions of modern technical progress, and taking into consideration the demands of contemporary economy, the world of the future can be but one. Today the policy of a balance of power cannot be formed in long-range terms, or on the principles which were predominant in the 19th or at the beginning of the 20th centuries. This is due primarily to the afore-mentioned technological conditions, and secondly to the fact that the aims of Bolshevism and Russian messianism are not the establishment of a lasting coexistence with any powerful competitors.

Some observers, especially the adherents of containment, but not only they, believe that Moscow can be forced into coexistence by a permanently armed West, by the organization of punitive forces against aggression, and so forth. These arguments are not valid in long-range planning because:

(a) Bolshevik totalitarianism would have greater possibilities to arm for decades than the West which desires peace;

(b) the West does not have the advantage of forced or cheap labor which the Soviet Union and its satellites have;

(c) Moscow would have a chance to incite material and moral subversion and anti-Americanism among the Western European, South American, and colonial peoples, and would benefit from secret trade with the West and from sabotage by its fifth columns;

(d) in the course of years the enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R. who are now an important potential ally of the West can be destroyed and transformed into tools of Moscow's aggression against the West.

The goal of American policy in relation to the U. S. S. R.

In view of the above, there is only one plan which the United States can have in relation to the U. S. S. R., that is, a plan of complete political disablement of the center of Moscow-Bolshevik aggression. Such a goal is the only means of saving the United States and the free world from impending catastrophe. The attainment of this aim would simultaneously solve all other secondary problems which are connected with the existence of Bolshevik Moscow and which now inspire all international conspiracies. Defining America's aims in these terms would also supply the answer to the old controversy in American foreign policy on the question of which is more important: Europe or Asia. In our opinion the answer is neither the one nor the other. The most important is Moscow, because it is from Moscow that the threads of subversion stem. Therefore is it imperative to render the Bolsheviks powerless. It is necessary to strike at the heart of bolshevism, which is also the heart of so-called international communism.

Rendering impotent of bolshevism, or rather of the present Russian Empire cannot be accomplished through the method of the last war. Up to now, no one has been able to defeat such a large empire by purely military means. In this case, if the situation were to lead to a military clash between the United States and the Soviet Union—we have obviously in mind only a war provoked by the Kremlin—then this military stage would have to be preceded by a general psychological war and by Western support of national liberation movements in the U. S. S. R. which would place the very problem of the hot war on a completely different plane.

Having destroyed the center of Muscovite aggression, the United States would find itself in much the same position as that of Moscow if it were able to destroy the United States. But there is one difference—whereas Moscow bolshevism strives to enslave nations and peoples, the people of the world expect that the moral and political leadership of the United States will secure the existence of their independent states and their social freedom. This is expected of the United States above all by the enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R. The peoples of Western Europe, Canada, and South America or Australia would also accept the leadership of the United States, because having to choose between America and Russia, they already stand on the side of the United States. Neither would the colonial peoples oppose United States leadership, since the United States will never become the protector of European colonialism. Even Communist China will not fight for the preservation of Moscow's empire unless America follows in the footsteps of European colonialism and identifies its action against Moscow with action against the peoples of Asia. We do not expect American policy to be built on these lines if only in order not to lose such allies or neutrals as the nations of India, Indonesia, or Pakistan. We also cannot forget that Asiatics, such as the people of Turkestan, are today dominated by Moscow but look to America for assistance. Their internal action against the Moscow center can play a tremendous role in the future disintegration of the Russian Empire. Therefore, America's action would have to be clearly defined as directed solely against Moscow, the center of bolshevism and Russian imperialism, and not against any of the peoples—European or Asian, or against their way of life.

Finally, all American political or even military advance against Moscow would not meet the opposition of the great majority of Russian people if they were informed at the proper time that the struggle is waged against Moscow cliques of aggression and that the Russian people themselves are guaranteed the right to choose their own government on their ethnographic territory. If America declares its disinterest in any sort of territorial gains in the area of the present Russian Empire, and defines the present policy as a struggle for national and social liberation of the enslaved peoples and for the social liberation of the Russian people, there are no objective reasons for the Russian people to oppose such a program.

All of the above constitutes a starting point for the American policy of liberation. Its stipulations should be as follows:

(a) The United States assumes the initiative in future relations with the U. S. S. R.;

(b) Moscow is recognized as the principal enemy and as the center of international bolshevism and communism and historical Russian imperialism;

(c) A concentration of all forces for the defense against the said center, with maximum elimination of all possible secondary fronts; and

(d) An active policy in relation to all the peoples enslaved or threatened by Moscow-Bolshevik imperialism with the aim of winning them for America in the existing conflict with Moscow.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Lincoln's Philosophy Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, on February 12, 1954, at a rally held at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, Calif., my colleague, the junior Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], delivered a Lincoln Day address, and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LINCOLN'S PHILOSOPHY TODAY

(Speech by Hon. THOMAS H. KUCHEL, United States Senator from California, at rally held at Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif.)

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States this week commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, who delivered this Nation from destruction in the 1860's, and emancipated a race of people from the bonds of slavery. The humble son of humble parents, his own long days of difficult preparation combined with a beneficent destiny to to make him our country's leader in one of her darkest hours. At Lincoln's hands, America was saved, and so were the people's liberties. Each succeeding generation, faced with different facts as time moved by, has had before it the same fateful problem of preserving freedom; and you and I and our American Government continue to contend with it in 1954.

Earlier this year, with my family, I visited Ford's Theater in downtown Washington, where on April 14, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was shot by a mad and cunning assassin; and then we walked across the street to the little house where he was taken, and where he died. It was a moving experience. As the end came, the day following, to the President of the United States, one of his Cabinet officers said, "Now he belongs to the ages."

And so he did, and so he does. His own martyred lifetime labor and the heritage he helped to preserve can best be honored by the people of this Nation in these tragically difficult modern days by a firm and steadfast resolve to preserve and strengthen the same free system of free government, free enterprise, and free men for which he gave a full lifetime of devotion.

In Lincoln's words, "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Mr. Chairman, a little over a year ago, a new President of the United States, invoking God's blessings on our country and on his administration, took his oath of office. His election, a few months earlier was, I believe, in the Lincoln tradition. The Republican candidate received the devoted support of the Republican Party, and received, also, the support of tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of members of the Democratic Party, and of Independents, as well. I can bring you the assurance, and I can say to you, that the great majority of the people of our country, now, over a year later, are more grateful and proud than they were when they elected him, that effective, honest, enlightened, and patriotic leadership has been, is, and will be given America by Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the United States. That, too, is in the Lincoln tradition.

I might add that the people of our own State are proud that a Californian is his loyal assistant. Vice President RICHARD NIXON is effectively assisting this administration in achieving the goals which our people were promised and which the Lincoln philosophy requires.

Through the session of 1953, I sat in the Senate of the United States, with the high honor of representing California along with my friend of years, the able majority leader of the Senate, WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of Oakland. My public pledge a year ago was that I would assist, to the limit of my ability, the President of our country in discharging his pledges to the American people. I propose to do that, also, in the present congressional session. I feel assured that the people of California want no rubber stamp in the Senate and neither does the President of the United States. The record shows that of my recorded rollcall votes, I sustained the position of the President 91 percent of the time, and with respect to his Defense Establishment recommendations, I followed his lead 100 percent of the time. In those instances when I went my own way, I did it because, as I saw the light, I was doing what was best for my country and my State. And I propose to continue voting as my conscience dictates.

Let me recur to the history of our country, these last 12 months.

On inauguration day, 1953, American armed forces were giving their lives in Korea. Since then, we give humble thanks, the fighting and the lying have ended. The tragic toll of American youth has been stopped, and so has the expenditure of the billions of dollars which the fighting entailed.

Over the last year, under the Eisenhower leadership, a firmer, a stronger, and a better foreign policy has evolved. The Federal Government has gone a long way toward consolidating the foreign policy gains of the past administration, and toward eliminating the foreign-policy errors of the past administration.

This administration concluded that it is not sound military strategy permanently to commit United States land forces to Asia to a degree that leaves us no strategic reserves, and last December the President announced the progressive reduction of United States ground forces in Korea. He stated our military forces in the Far East will now feature "highly mobile naval, air and amphibious units" which will permit us to oppose aggression, "with even greater effect than heretofore."

Your Federal Government has determined that it is not good policy for the United States to support permanently other countries. Economic aid abroad will be reduced and, broadly speaking, will be limited to situations where it clearly contributes to military strength. By the way, in this connection, I very much hope the people of California will approve my voting, last year, for a modest reduction in this type of foreign expenditure. In my view, we need to help the free nations of the free world without, however, assaulting the economy of our own American people.

One more basic decision was made by the Eisenhower administration. In the field of the defense of our country and the related realm of our national security, I am sure the great bulk of our people acknowledge the preeminent qualifications of our soldier-statesman President to give us guidance and leadership. Only the evil and the misinformed will pillory him in the soul-searching decisions he has made with respect to the defense and security of our country. All the rest of us are assured that Dwight Eisenhower is supplying the leadership this Nation needs. The President and his advisers, the National Security Council, reached a conclusion which I devoutly believe our people will overwhelmingly approve. This United States will now depend on a massive capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing. As a spokesman for the President has said, "Now the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff can shape our Military Establishment to fit what is our policy, instead of having to try to be ready to meet the enemy's many choices. That permits of a selection of military means, instead of a multiplication of means. As a result, it is now possible to get, and share, more basic security at less cost."

Indeed, governmental costs are intertwined with this Nation's security. Listen to President Dwight Eisenhower in this fatefully sound doctrine: "I wish to speak simply of these two truths. The first is this: Our military strength and our economic strength are truly one, and neither can sensibly be purchased at the price of destroying the others."

In his budget message of January 21, the President has stated: "By using necessity—rather than mere desirability—as the test for our expenditures, we will reduce the share of the national income which is spent by the Government. We are convinced that more progress and sounder progress will be made over the years as the largest possible share of our national income is left with individual citizens to make their own countless decisions as to what they will spend, what they will buy, and what they will save and invest."

Now, citizens of California, I want to point out how these concepts have been accepted by both Democrats and Republicans in the Congress of the United States and have been accepted, also, by the American people.

In 1952, Mr. Truman's last year as President, the Congress appropriated $75 billion of new money to conduct the business of the Government, and the Government spent almost that much in the ensuing year. We took in about $65 billion that year in taxes, and so we went in debt about $10 billion more.

As he was leaving the White House in January 1953—1 year ago—Mr. Truman somewhat pared his recommendations for new money spending in the next fiscal year, and recommended that the new Congress pass new appropriations in an amount of $68 billion. Mr. Eisenhower took office a short time thereafter, and in the limited

period he and his advisers had to study the situation, he revised that recommendation downward to $59 billion, which was $9 billion less than his predecessor's recommendation. The new Congress—I stress the fact that many Democrats joined the slim Republican majority in this achievement—sliced $5 billion from that figure, and appropriated $54 billion during the session.

This constitutes an amazing reduction in new congressional appropriations in 1 year, from fiscal 1952 to 1953, of nearly $21 billion, a Federal Government success story unparalleled in modern times. And thus, under the Eisenhower leadership, the United States again started down the road of fiscal solvency.

Indeed, we did more than start. Excess-profit taxes for corporations were scheduled to expire in June of last year. Mr. Eisenhower asked the Congress to continue them the balance of the year. The Congress did just that. That action by your President and your Congress combined to permit a reduction in personal income tax rates for this year—1954—of about 10 percent. I reiterate that earnings of each individual citizen from last January 1 on are bearing 10 percent less Federal personal income tax than income earned in 1953.

I voted to continue the tax on corporations, so that the plain ordinary citizen of our country might have the benefit of a tax reduction on his 1954 income. With a bipartisan majority, I voted to cut the budget so that Mr. and Mrs. Average American could enjoy in 1954 the benefit of a reduction on their Federal taxes. These were Mr. Eisenhower's recommendations. A bipartisan group in the Senate and the House passed them into law, and the American people now will enjoy lower taxes as a result.

That is a pretty good one year's record. Now, about next year? To the present session of the Congress, the President has recommended new money authorizations of $50.3 billion as compared with his recommendations of $59 billion last year. Think of it. Once again the administration has been able to present a budget lower than the year before. That augurs well for the future of America, and, I might add, for the future of the American taxpayer. The new budget is a sound one and a realistic one. Generally speaking the Congress will, I believe, approve it.

Thus, on the appropriation side, you have a picture—I hope a fairly clear one—of how this administration and the Congress are practicing economy in making new money available for spending.

I want also to demonstrate how the cost of Government is going down. There is a tremendous backlog of unspent balances from prior appropriations of the Congress. You understand, I am sure, that the general rule is in Washington, that once Congress passes an appropriation, the moneys under it remain permanently available for spending. It is estimated that next June 30, those balances will amount to $66½ billion.

How are the costs of Government going? Well, Mr. Chairman, in Mr. Truman's last year—in the last part of which Mr. Eisenhower was inaugurated—the Federal Government actually spent $74 billion. Mr. Truman estimated that for the present fiscal year—the one we are now in—our Government would need to spend almost $78 billion. Mr. Eisenhower revised that figure downward and now estimates our 1954 spending will be under $71 billion. And—listen to this—for the next year, Mr. Eisenhower has chopped another $5 billion off actual spending estimates, and proposes to hold the cost of government to 65½ billion. So, in cost of government also, the trend is continuing downward.

I mention one more interesting and productive fiscal development. A year ago, I discussed in California a resolution introduced by Senator BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, upon which I am a coauthor, which would consolidate into one piece of legislation all matters of appropriation, and, equally important, would fix annual limitations on Federal spending. It would do for our Federal Government what the people of California have provided for as respects our State government. It would tighten up fiscal policy. It would make Congress annually responsible for deciding how much annually to spend. I am delighted that that resolution has passed the Senate, and I hope it may be approved by the House of Representatives. Meanwhile, I think it is fair to say that the administration is, at least partially, putting into administrative practice, a portion of the policy of this resolution. Reductions in appropriations are decreasing the accumulated backlog of uncontrolled spending authority, and are gradually returning to Congress the control of the Federal purse-strings.

All this represents, in my judgment, the wisdom of applying governmental principles in consonance with the Lincoln theory. It points a way to a more dynamic America. People can count on a larger part of their earnings to spend or to save as they and their families desire.

In his administration, Abraham Lincoln was deeply concerned with human problems. The dignity and the freedom of peoples were one of his cherished goals. Hatred and animus and ill will were abhorrent to him. Here, again, the Lincoln philosophy guides our Government in Washington. We have made progress in the field of American humanity. Better and happier relationships among all our people can be, and are being, accomplished. At great length, in his state of the Union message, the President commented on the human problems of our people.

In his budget message, the President included provisions for the solution or the alleviation of many of these human problems. It provides for expanding the coverage and increasing the benefits of our social security system. It includes provisions for promoting better housing conditions and more widespread home ownership in our country. It recognizes the need for improving our system of education, and for conserving our natural resources. It contains assistance in preventing the ravages of floods and soil erosion. It provides for encouraging the expansion of adequate health and hospital care for our people. It points the way to a better life for Americans while soberly recognizing the continuing menace to peace and security which plagues us.

Indeed, it is a case in point, when contrasted with the high spending recommendations of his predecessor, of the basic governmental philosophy of the President. At his press conference, a couple of weeks ago, Mr. Eisenhower said: "When it comes to dealing with the relationships between the human in this country and his Government, the people in this administration believe in being what I think we would normally call liberal, and when we deal with the economic affairs of this country, we believe in being conservative."

My fellow Californians, a number of weeks ago, a majority of the Nation's top economists deliberated at length on the outlook for 1954. They concluded that this year would be the second best year in our entire history. We hope they may be correct in their prediction. And yet, across the land, press, radio, and television turned this into a dire prediction of recession for 1954. Beyond that, some bedeviled politicians are chanting incantations of economic doom, indeed are almost praying for it. In New York, one public servant opposed to this administration, is quoted as saying that he would love a depression politically, although he hesitated to hope for it for his family's sake.

I continue to think that most of our citizens repudiate those psychorecessionists who would rather tear down our economy than see this administration succeed. Most of our citizens are Americans first, and partisans thereafter. And most Americans want this country to remain strong and free. It is still true, as it was when a famous American President said some years ago, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

That is the challenge of our Government. It is not unlike the challenge of the 1860's. And we shall meet it, the people and our National Government working together.

In the midst of the Civil War, Mr. Lincoln spoke to the Nation. "Fellow citizens," he said, "we cannot escape history. We of this Congress, and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. • • • The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. • • • The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

Address Delivered by Hon. Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, Before the Annual Meeting of the Monroe County Cooperative

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address which I delivered at the annual meeting of the Monroe County Cooperative, at Waterloo, Ill.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am glad to be here with you today. And I am glad once more—I wish it could be oftener—to be with my friends of the REA cooperatives. I have long had a particularly warm spot in my heart for Waterloo, Monroe, St. Clair, and Randolph Counties.

If you should take a spyglass and examine the whole country, I don't believe you would find a more warmly individualistic and self-reliant area than right around here. And certainly, with 2,200 out of 2,400 farms on REA, you would not find a stronger REA co-op district.

Less than 20 years ago, many of you never dreamed of having an electric refrigerator, a toaster, radio, and electric blanket at night, and you hadn't heard of a deep freeze in those days. You carried a chunk of ice home for the box, toasted your bread in the oven, hoped for one of the old battery radios, and canned your beef and pork over a hot stove. When there were little pigs, lambs, or calves born in dead of winter, you carried them in a tub next to the stove. Now you plug in a heat lamp in the barn to warm and revive them.

If you had to repair machinery and drill some holes for bolts, you did it the hard way, by hand; now you plug in the electric drill and make in minutes the repairs that once took hours.

Your electric pump brings you water for the house, and to your watering tanks for the livestock.

Even your barns, garages, and brooder houses—thanks to REA co-ops—are better lighted, better aired, and better warmed than your home used to be.

I never drive across Illinois at night but what I get a thrill out of seeing the great pole lights that illuminate your yards and lots; to me they stand as beacons of progress. And they are everywhere.

Let's see just how much progress we have made through your REA in 20 years—and I hope you won't mind my adding—20 Democratic years.

In 1935 there were 231,000 farms in Illinois, and only 28,000, or one-eighth of them had electric service. Then came that bad old REA—as the utilities companies, and some Republicans would have you believe. The farmer began to see the light. He learned quickly that he was not condemned to the coal-oil lantern and semidarkness.

The farmer found that he could organize his own cooperative, choose his own directors and engineers and managers, lay out programs most beneficial to his own area at rates most fair to the customers, build his own lines, and have a truly home-directed electric service. It was close to him, and he to it. Policy and programs were directed by himself and his neighbors, instead of a holding coming halfway across the continent. And the farmer accepted REA co-ops with great enthusiasm.

By 1940, 80,000 farms were enjoying the benefits of a growing electrical age, a threefold increase in 5 years. By 1950, nearly 170,000 Illinois farms were electrified. By this year, 185,000 of our Illinois farms had REA. That, my friends, means that 95 percent of our Illinois farms now have electricity.

Some persons—the enemies of REA—would have you believe that this is creeping socialism or creeping subsidism or something equally horrible.

The total amount of funds advanced for this Illinois program, as of January 1, 1954, was $76 million, to build the 44,000 miles of lines. But, now, get this. Of this amount, the REA cooperatives of Illinois had repaid by last June 30, almost $12 million of principal, $6½ million in interest, and actually were paid up in advance to the tune of over $3½ million.

These payments came out of earnings. If that is creeping socialism I'll bet a lot of bankers wish they had more creeping Socialists on their notes.

For the Nation at large, where only 11 percent of the farms enjoyed electric power before REA, 89 percent now are lighted. Here is an amazing fact: To bring light to 4 million farms and homes, the ridiculously low sum of $2,780,000,000 has been loaned; REA has met every financial commitment, and as of the end of the year was $62,500,000 ahead on its principal. Throughout the 48 States, only 34 cooperatives were in arrears, $733,450 on principal and interest.

I imagine any banker with $2.78 billion outstanding in loans and only $733,450 in arrears—and not default, mind you—would think he was a financial whiz.

Now let us turn for a moment to the REA telephone program voted by Democrats. Nine REA co-ops in Illinois have borrowed $3,315,000 to build 1,800 miles of line and establish service for 9,000 customers. There are still pending co-op applications for $6 million of loans, to establish service to another 9,600 customers.

REA has literally moved Illinois and the Nation out of the dark. It has done so at a surprisingly small cost, all of which is being repaid. A telephone company that can establish service for 9,000 telephone customers at a cost of $3,415,000 (in loans), then establish a fair rate of service charges, and repay the loan, is a sound operation.

These are not the only benefits of REA.

Surveys of 10 REA systems, indiscriminately picked, show that for every dollar of REA funds invested to bring power to the home, $4 is invested by the owner in appliances—electric ironers, radios, washers, deep freezes, machine tools, and the equipment that takes the drudgery out of man's and woman's work. In Illinois it is $4.33. For every home electrified by REA in Illinois $2,410 is spent on wiring and appliances.

This benefits the local merchant, the small manufacturers, the hardware man, and the big producers of equipment.

REA expands the tax base, adds to the local and State tax revenues, and contributes to the Federal excise revenues.

REA benefits the private utilities by buying power from them, and sells his power in Illinois at a very small cost to the consumer.

And most important, REA has brought light and telephone service into areas which the utilities companies had either declined outright to serve, had set an exorbitantly high rate of charges, or just plain ignored.

REA co-ops have not driven into areas. They have come in with their services because they were wanted and because they would supply the power that the people wanted and demanded.

If this is creeping socialism, there are thousands of communities that are still thirsting for a large dose of it.

There are other thousands of small-business men, farmers, appliance dealers, housewives, and farm operators who would like to be "inoculated" here and now.

I wish I could paint a rosy picture of REA's future that would match its glowing past. But I cannot. The danger signals are up all around. They are flying from the Interior Department, which manages the Government power program. They are flying in the budget, where REA has been hit hard. They can be read in the actions of Congress, in the attitude of this administration.

After 20 years of brilliant success I believe REA is in mortal danger.

There are elements in this country, and working on this administration, that would turn off the torch on the Statue of Liberty if it were lighted by REA.

If they thought the lightning bug was powered by REA, they'd be after him with a fly net and a hammer to snare and smash him.

They have selected the REA co-ops and the Government power projects as their targets. They have set up a cry of creeping socialism. And they have had their successes.

I warn you now that in the next 3 years you will have to fight with all your energies and abilities to preserve your REA cooperative systems, to obtain power, to keep the Government power projects out of the hands of the heartless greedy, and to preserve local autonomy for your electrical systems.

But first, let's explode this creeping-socialism outcry.

It is not surprising to meet such an outcry from the utilities; we have heard it for 20 years. And utilities have been making money every year. But to have this wrong bill of goods sold lock, stock, and barrel to the administration, to have this propaganda taken up by the Secretary of Interior and Dean Manion, Chairman of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, is shocking.

I remarked a few moments ago that $2,780,000,000 had been loaned to REA co-ops, and only $733,450 is now in arrears, with $62,500,000 of advance payments already made on the principal.

It so happens that the Office of Defense Mobilization has granted private utilities a $2.8 billion tax-writeoff subsidy over the next 33 years. This is $20 million more than the total REA outlay to date, and it's the biggest job of melon snitching in a generation. The Republican Federal Power Commission, against violent protests, has ruled—and get this, please—that the utilities need not pass on the benefits of these tax subsidies to their consumers.

Talk about creeping socialism. And talk about REA. Nobody has ever suggested that REA get such a huge subsidization. It has to repay its borrowings. This is an unconscionable gratuity to big business.

Let's see just who in Illinois gets a slice of this melon, and how big a slice.

My information is taken from the brief of the National Rural Electrification Association, filed in the Federal Power Commission. The figures are the total subsidy benefit to the companies over the next 33 years:

Central Illinois Electric & Gas: $6,506,007.

Central Illinois Light Co.: $3,861,732.

Central Illinois Public Service Co.: $2,562,300.

Illinois Power Co.: $18,902,005.

Public Service Co. of Northern Illinois: $1,297,206.

This amounts to a tax grab of $33,129,250, or just about half REA's total investment in Illinois—with the blessings of the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Federal Power Commission.

What breed of socialism do you call this? Is this administration afflicted with utility-itis?

The REA co-op job is far from complete. That is why it is so important that you friends of REA fight to maintain and expand your programs over the next 3 years. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association at its meeting in Miami, January 14, after a survey of its membership, asked $150 million more for loans, plus another $50 million for allocation for electric cooperatives this fiscal year, and another $200 million for the rural telephone co-ops. What happened? The administration budgeteers cut this to $55 million for electric cooperatives, plus a $45 million carryover. This is at least $50 million short of needs. They whacked the telephone fund by a cool $125 million, leaving only $75 million for this purpose.

Last year, this administration tried to cut the REA loan fund from $135 million to $95 million. But REA friends in Congress wouldn't stand for it and got the full amount appropriated. They tried to cut the rural telephone program from $55 million to $50 million, but again Congress balked and voted $67½ million.

There are still nearly a half-million American farms which do not have electricity. Hundreds of applications for electric and telephone loans are still pending.

The REA loads have been going up about 20 percent every year. In Illinois, average consumption of electricity per REA farm per month has risen from 139 kilowatt-hours in 1947 to 228 kilowatt-hours in 1952 and is still going up.

This simply means that REA must have more lines, and heavier lines to carry the powerload.

Since REA co-ops purchase 51 percent of their power from private companies, they must have—and are not getting—authority and funds to generate their own supply if the utilities should not expand to meet the requirements. If such authority is lacking they will be put in a price squeeze by their utilities suppliers. If they don't have the authority to build their own generators, the private utilities will have them over a barrel in negotiations for fair prices.

This consistent whacking into the loan programs of REA can only mean one thing—a restriction of expansion, an inability to meet planning and operating programs, and a progressive paralysis of the whole REA system at a time when it is called upon to meet heavier requirements. It is a program that should have been written by REA's worst enemy, if indeed, it was not. And I'm not so sure of that, either.

Now, let's look a little further.

The Department of the Interior is going to turn the Hell's Canyon project over to the Idaho Power Co. It is one of the finest remaining waterpower development sites in the country. And undoubtedly Idaho Power will get a tax amortization writeoff subsidy

of lush proportions. Thank heaven Senator MAGNUSON, of Washington, has already taken steps to prevent addition of a 33-year tax gratuity to an outright donation of the site.

This administration sought to eliminate the preference clause for municipal systems and REA co-ops buying Government power. What a sorry comedown from the great principles of Republican President Theodore Roosevelt who advocated that policy in 1903, and brought the preference legislation to passage in 1906.

The method sought to junk preference was utterly arbitrary and almost completely devoid of principle. REA systems were to be compelled to estimate within 90 days their needs for power. This was an impossibility. No businessman in 90 days can plan for 10, 15, or 20 years ahead. But REA was to be compelled to do it. And, thereafter, the remaining Government power would be contracted up to 20 years to (you guessed it) private utilities. It was to be a stampede-cutthroat operation. If REA overestimated its needs, it would be penalized. It was only after more than a score of United States Senators protested, after REA's friend Senator WILLIAM LANGER started an investigation, and after REA co-ops in the Missouri Basin served notice they would file an injunction suit that the Department of the Interior backed down.

The President wrote a letter on this subject. He doesn't promise full preference; it's a sawed-off preference. I quote: "Power available at the time of the contract negotiations with the preference customers but not needed by them until a later date will be reserved for them by disposal under short term interim contracts with other customers so that it will be available to the preference customers when they desire it." Certainly it will be available, but will they get it? Nothing is said about that. And what is a short-term interim contract? Five, ten, or fifteen years? Or just long enough to starve an REA co-op system into failure and sale?

The reassurance which should be given to the REA co-ops and municipal systems simply has not been offered by the administration and is not to be found in the letter, or anywhere else.

I want to quote two sentences by Dean Clarence Manion, who heads the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations:

First: "I think the TVA should be sold to private business."

Second: "I don't think the Federal Government should have built the TVA in the first place."

Dean Manion heads the group which soon will report on recommended areas of activity by the Government. One thing can be said for him; he makes himself understood.

There isn't a single REA friend on the task force which has been set up to recommend policy on Government public-power programs. In fact, the force has been described as "loaded" against REA co-ops and public power.

The Southwestern Power Administration and rural co-ops have been sabotaged. The Department of the Interior has moved to sell public power in Georgia to the Georgia Power Co., withholding it from the co-ops. And in California, Interior has agreed to give up a big slice of the Central Valley project to Pacific Gas & Electric Co. and the Fresno irrigation district.

But let's not continue this dismal catalog. I have told you the facts, enough of them to reinforce my warning and my request that you be vigilant, alert, and active in protecting your REA rights. Senator WAYNE MORSE, a real friend of REA, says, "I suggest that the Department of the Interior be renamed the Department of Private Utilities."

This administration and the Republicans in Congress—on the record and by their own actions—are endangering REA co-ops and public-power development. They would turn back millions of facilities, and millions of electric customers to the most greedy, heartless band of rate gougers and unmitigated propagandists this country has ever seen.

Isn't there any conscience left in them? Do we have to fight all over again the old fight against rate gouges, waterlogged valuations, and withholding of power supplies? You may not have dreamed of a deep freeze 20 years ago, but you are surely getting it now.

I think there are some things that should be done in the immediate future.

REA funds for lines and facilities should be increased, and REA co-ops should have authority, by law, to establish generating facilities where the power load cannot be met otherwise.

Congress should immediately rewrite section 5 of the 1944 Flood Control Act—the preference clause—in such strong terms, and so tightly, that no administration can circumvent it by weasel worded administrative regulations. The clear priority of REA co-ops and public systems to Government power should be established with no ifs or buts.

Secretary McKay and others of this administration should be called before a congressional investigation to clear up their attitude toward REA and public-power projects. We need to know just how far this giveaway of national resources—which started with the many billion offshore oil gift—is to proceed.

Congress should undertake through REA and its associations a survey of national REA and standby-plant requirements, and then proceed on a 3- or 5-year basis to carry out the program. Pending industrial developments in the Northwest, New York State, and other areas make this imperative.

Congress should prohibit the sale, barter, or gift of any existing public-power facilities, or hitherto reserved Federal power sites.

Congress—and not this administration—should reappraise REA loan rates, establish a fair level of rates if the present 2 percent is too low (and Congress should judge that).

Bills to turn St. Lawrence and Niagara power over to the private utilities, and to deliver customers into their mercy, must be defeated.

Finally, it would be well to have a rousing congressional investigation of this drive against REA and the violent campaign of propaganda against the co-ops and public-power projects. Somewhere there is a mainspring to this. It should be uncovered. I was interested recently to note that the National Association of Electric Companies, one of the really well-heeled lobbies in Washington, has started providing free, conducted junkets for such newsmen as are so unwary as to accept their invitations.

I call upon all of you, and upon every REA co-op, and all the members, as well as all persons interested in good government and social progress to fight this gigantic drive which is now aimed to nullify and erase a program that has brought light, comfort, and lighter labors to millions. I thank you.

Our Defense Requirements in a Changing World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix a recent article entitled "Our Defense Requirements in a Changing World," which I prepared for the February 1954 issue of the Reserve Officer magazine.

In this article I point out that we must recognize our full and complete obligation to those men and women who wear the uniform to protect us—whether Regular or Reserve. We owe it to them to make certain that we offer sufficiently attractive incentive to hold in the services our finest and most talented Americans. I feel strongly that we legislators must be prepared to pay a proper price, in incentive payments and fringe benefits, for the services we demand of the members of the Armed Forces.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR OWN DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS IN A CHANGING WORLD

(By the Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY, United States Senator from Wisconsin, chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee)

We are living in an era of difficult choices. No longer do we have a free choice in deciding our role in world events.

Much as we would like to, we cannot beat our swords into plowshares because of the diabolic threat from the Kremlin.

Twice within one generation we have learned the fallacy of a foreign policy that seeks peace by example—the example of shining good will alone. In 1936 the President of the United States repeated over and over his faith in foreign policy by example.

"Things are not going so well on the European Continent and on the Asiatic Continent as they are going in the American Hemisphere," he said on June 12, 1936. "That has been the reason why I have tried to keep the feet of this country on the ground, hoping that by our example—our example of unity, our example of world unselfishness, our example of trying to build up trade between all the nations—we might have some effect on the rest of the world that is thinking too much of armaments and war."

We learned a painful lesson from this unrealism—at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. We learned another painful lesson from another series of errors in judgment—on June 25, 1950, in Korea.

A handful of evil leaders—first in Germany and Italy, then Japan, now in Russia—has controlled the world's direction for two decades. The genius of man—forced by survival itself to fashion ever-more-devilish methods of world destruction as deterrents to each other—has brought the world to the brink of potential destruction.

I have said that we are living in an era of difficult alternatives. Our minds and our souls cry out against the terrible waste, the stupidity, and the cruelty involved in this mad race for world domination by the forces of destruction against the forces of preservation.

Because we know that true victory will never be found in war, we in America are forced to fashion the implements of war in order to prevent that war.

Preparedness, in the form of superior power, is the only language understood and respected by the evil planners of war.

We Americans would vastly rather give to the world the fruits of our abilities in the form of peacetime advantages and living comforts. We would vastly prefer to share our enjoyment of life with the rest of the world—to share our magnificent genius and know-how with those less fortunate than ourselves, that they, too, might work to build a better world for every human being in it.

The Kremlin alone now stands astride the world to prevent this.

The choices we have are limited.

We know that we cannot compete with the enemy in sheer numbers.

Russia and her satellites control a third of the world's population—about 800 million people. Bound together on our side today are less than one-half of that number—about 380 million. Communism's manpower is dirt cheap. Life itself means nothing to the Communists. Where we in this country resisting the thought of sending a single American soul into battle, the Communists would cheerfully toss millions of wretched people onto the pyre of war.

So we cannot compete in sheer manpower.

Neither can we match the enemy in raw materials and natural resources, unless we retain our allies and keep the sealanes open. We are not a self-sufficient nation for many of our strategic materials.

What, then, can we expect to win with?

Our weapons must be intelligence and ideas, translated through the medium of research. We must be technically more proficient than the enemy. We must also be politically more proficient; for otherwise we will dig our own grave.

Unless our Government keeps pace with our science, we will forfeit the advantage we have.

We know that there is no single panacea for our safety—no single line of defense. It would be a grave mistake to think only in terms of retaliatory strength. Our genius must extend beyond this.

Our emphasis must remain in research. I have particular respect for our research reserves. We have 5,000 men, for example, in our ONR research Reserve program—more in our Army branch. Even so, we have a serious problem of maintaining proper strength in our Reserves.

If the peace of the world is to be guaranteed—however shakily—we Americans must lead the free world in welding together and maintaining a superior force-in-being that, by virtue of its very existence, is capable of deterring aggression. This is not to say that every effort should not simultaneously be extended to seek friendly solutions to problems. We must exhaust every possible approach, take advantage of every opportunity.

Our Government must never again be "taken in." In a weak moment of false credulity, we must never again be caught unloading the shotgun behind the door. If we are to maintain a preventive posture, then we must be willing to pay the price for peace—a price which, at worst, is only the barest fraction of the terrible price of war.

In paying the price for peace, we must not short-change our men and women who wear the uniform to protect us. Whether they are Regular or Reserve, we must recognize our full and complete obligation to attract and hold in the services our finest and most talented Americans. In other words, we must be prepared to pay for what we ask.

We must not indefinitely expect an unjust and disproportionate sacrifice from those who volunteered (or were chosen) to disrupt their lives in the service of the rest of us.

Because the Korean action came so soon after World War II, there was no time for a replenishment period. There was no new group of trained men to take over the burden. Many of the same ones had to be called back because of the imperative need for their services.

This is one reason we are having trouble today in maintaining the strength of our Reserves. The problem in some areas, as with doctors, is particularly acute. We are going to have to make up our minds to pay for what we expect to get, in the way of national protection.

As Admiral Carney stated when he assumed his new position as Chief of Naval Operations last August:

"We live in an age of fabulous scientific progress, but science has invented no substitute for morale and fighting spirit which are still necessary for victory in battle; nor is there any substitute for dedicated and highly competent officer leadership. These qualities of dedication and competence are the foundation of the character demanded by the American people in their military leaders.

"When I entered the service 41 years ago, competition for appointments was keen and the vast majority of young officers enthusiastically looked forward to a long and full military career. They were not highly paid, but they received other compensatory benefits and in a modest way they enjoyed a good and respected position.

"Today, there is far less competition for appointments, and all too many fine young officers leave the service for civilian life—a trend which should be of profound concern to the American people. The reasons are known and can be documented; bit by bit the incentives which would attract and hold good men have been whittled away and until and unless they are restored the United States will suffer, because the input of high-caliber young men cannot be maintained.

"I have picked this one point to emphasize because the human element is the most important factor in the combat effectiveness of military forces. This is not just the Navy's problem; it is the problem of all of the Armed Forces, and in the last analysis is the problem of the American people."

We are living in a changing world. Staggering changes have occurred in the past 15 years alone—the atom bomb, the H-bomb, planes flying at 1,700 miles per hour. The center of our continent is no longer safe from attack. We are living in a shrunken globe where every nation is in every other nation's backyard.

We face the grim possibility, as General Vandenberg has pointed out, that 8 out of every 10 enemy bombers arriving in a sneak attack on our shores could get through to drop their bombs on the nerve centers of our cities. In this age of pushbutton war, we must be ready to respond instantaneously.

We cannot close our eyes to the reality of the threat against us. It is too late now to turn back the clock, much as many Americans would like to. America's spiritual and material strength must lead the world to permanent peace.

Crusade for Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks made by Mr. John T. Hay, secretary-manager of the Greater Muskegon Chamber of Commerce, at the White House Conference for Safety, on February 19, 1954.

Mr. Hay is the originator of the crusade for safety program, along with Mr. C. D. McNamee, editor of the Muskegon Chronicle. These two outstanding civic leaders have spearheaded this movement, which has been so successful. The Crusade for Safety has been adopted as a slogan for the Nation.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRUSADE FOR SAFETY

(By John T. Hay, secretary-manager, Greater Muskegon Chamber of Commerce)

Greater Muskegon, Mich., is a highly industrialized midwest city, the largest on the east bank of Lake Michigan and located directly across the lake from Milwaukee. Although the city population is only 48,000, the area's work force totals 51,000, indicating a high concentration of population. In fact, the population of Muskegon County is 125,000. There are slightly over 50,000 registered vehicles in the county, which gives us a high 2.5 ratio.

The years since the war have been typical driving years. Increased automobile production to satiate the public's appetite for private transportation more than left its mark on congestion, carelessness on the part of drivers, and a rising traffic-death toll. Engineering, education, and enforcement were not given proper financing and attention. Year after year the traffic toll mounted.

Twenty-six deaths were recorded in the county in 1950.

Thirty-one deaths were recorded in 1951.

In 1952 an all-time high of 42 traffic deaths occurred in the county.

As is usually the case in traffic safety the general attitude seemed to be that, although automobile fatalities and injuries are regrettable, and something should be done about them, they are the normal course of human events. A typical and possibly normal remark was, "It can't happen to me."

Prior to this, in 1951, the Greater Muskegon Chamber of Commerce had set up a traffic safety committee to make an investigation. The committee held several meetings, made trips to other cities having safety councils, and obtained help from National Safety Council. It ultimately recommended that a full-time traffic safety engineer or director be established within the county government. Eighty percent of the serious accidents were occurring in the county. County board was lukewarm to the idea, and the proposal, endorsed by some 14 local organizations, stalled through failure to obtain a legal opinion on the question.

Meanwhile the chamber, taking up the cry that "traffic safety must be made somebody's business," embarked upon a unique crusade, a crusade for safety. The name was proposed by the man who consented to serve as the general chairman, C. D. McNamee, editor of the Muskegon Chronicle. With 1952 and its heartbreaking number of 42 deaths, 1,180 injuries, and 3,598 property damage accidents rapidly coming to a close, the chamber and crusade leaders felt that a volunteer safety council operation should be set up for 1953 in hopes of proving to the public, and governmental officials, that safety pays; and the application of the three E's by interested citizens can produce results.

The master plan prepared by the chamber included the crusade executive committee and 10 subcommittees, plus a fleet operators division, consisting of additional committees. As I stated before, it embodied the fundamentals of a safety council but it was organized and operated by volunteers—and I might add amateurs. To be specific, we had over 200 volunteers working on our committees.

With 100-percent enthusiasm, real leadership on the part of the chairman, and 110-percent cooperation on the part of his 43,000 circulation daily newspaper, the crusade took hold right from the very beginning. Crusade for safety met with widespread support on the part of business and industry, labor organizations, farm bureaus, granges, PTA's, enforcement agencies, and others.

It was taken to the people right from the very start. Permission was obtained from

the State police to place this crusade-for-safety sticker (show sticker to audience) on the windshield of vehicles. License-issuing bureaus handed out a sticker with each new 1953 plate. Drivers were encouraged to display the sticker. Over 30,000 vehicles carried the crusade badge. The outside of the sticker says, "Crusade for safety." The inside, as a constant reminder to the driver, carried the simple message, "I pledge to drive with care." Governor Williams' official car was one of the first to display the sticker which ultimately resulted in 80,000 being printed and distributed in many west Michigan counties and over the State.

The big job of keeping traffic safety before the public daily was undertaken by the Muskegon Chronicle. It spearheaded the crusade and did a remarkable job. If other newspapers would give the same support, I'm certain the traffic toll in this country could be substantially reduced. The Chronicle made every citizen safety conscious and kept him that way throughout the year.

One of the most important features in the kickoff of the campaign was the safe-drivers pledge. One thousand one hundred persons representing 102 farm organizations first took it. Over 100 other groups subsequently took it. They ranged from 25 in number to 6,000 who stood, raised their right hand at a football game, and repeated, "I endorse crusade for safety. I pledge to drive with care and to urge others to drive with care." Over 25,000 have already taken the pledge.

But now to get into the mechanics of the actual day-to-day operation of crusade for safety. I mentioned previously that we had a definite committee setup. Here are the committees and their programs of work.

Research: A factfinding committee that set up a monthly reporting procedure for all enforcement agencies. The agency heads were also members of the committee. A large 8 feet by 8 feet map of the county was placed on a frame and all death and injury accidents were pinpointed by this committee. Map was used by several other crusade subcommittees. A great deal of information was gathered and disseminated to the proper committees.

Press and radio: Committee included heads of each of our 4 weekly papers, our 3 radio stations, our CIO weekly paper, and our daily newspaper. Various aspects of public information were discussed and agreed upon at committee meetings. Chamber published monthly press and radio reports which were mailed to the two media. Reports summarized the preceding month's program, gave statistical data and outlined plans and projects for the ensuing 30 days.

Education: At first it was difficult to assimilate all the various activities of this committee, so many educational projects needed to be carried out. However, so many clubs, organizations, and various groups joined the crusade and asked to have a part, the task of assigning work projects became easy. Following are some of the major assignments handled:

The windshield sticker campaign was the first project handled by the committee.

A $600 automatic, electric crustade-for-safety scoreboard was erected by the Exchange Club and placed in Federal Square downtown. It carried up-to-the-minute reports on our record with the red light in the stop-and-go signal flashing for 3 days after each fatality.

The erection of 8 inch by 16 inch permanent outdoor advertising safety signs on the 5 trunklines leading into the county and erection of 10 smaller permanent safety signs. Later, farm bureaus, granges, and PTA's sponsored the erection of additional permanent signs. Grange organizations obtained choice sign locations free for the crusade.

The 2 outdoor advertising agencies donated paper and space for standard 12 foot by 25 foot signs. At times we had as many as 10 of these signs out.

The junior chamber of commerce adopted the crusade as a major organizational project and conducted a number of activities among them being:

(a) The largest safety parade in the history of west Michigan with 15 bands, 40 floats and other novelties totaling 120 entries and witnessed by 50,000 people.

(b) A pedestrian safety campaign.

(c) Several wrecked vehicle grim-reminder displays.

(d) A Labor Day safety slogan contest.

(e) Special radio program.

Other crusade projects included:

A 3-month courtesy drivers campaign with awards for unusual courtesies by drivers reported by citizens.

An award campaign to drivers living in the county for 30 years or more and who have never had an accident or a moving violation ticket.

A Fourth of July safety-slogan contest with over 300 entries received and the winning slogan "You don't have to celebrate the Fourth to death."

A Christmas and New Year's campaign and many other programs and projects to be mentioned in other subcommittee reports.

Enforcement: Excellent cooperation and support were received from all law and judicial-enforcement agencies. The main project completed was an approved form letter sent by enforcement agencies to registered owners of vehicles reported in violation by citizens. Citizens were encouraged to report obvious moving violations.

Engineering: Here was a remarkable group of 11 engineers, mostly from industry, who devoted a lot of time making surveys of a number of dangerous areas needing engineering study. I say remarkable because this group won the confidence of the county and State highway departments to a degree whereby most of their recommendations were accepted and necessary changes made. These included stop and go lights, extra passing lanes, turning lanes, warning signs, etc.

Program and speakers: Twelve safety films were scheduled throughout the year in a special film library. Twenty-five men volunteered as speakers—most of them were from the local Toastmasters Club—and were trained by the committee to handle safety programs. A total of 144 safety programs were presented to local groups during the year.

Legislative: This committee worked for the strengthening of legislation for more and better traffic safety. Among these were the endorsement of a uniform speed law for the State of Michigan, safety checking of vehicles, the use of red flashing lights for emergency vehicles, central bureau for issuing of drivers' licenses, and a recommendation that the secretary of state keep a record of every moving violation so that his office can function as a central information bureau. The central bureau for drivers' licenses and a permanent record of moving violations now have become the law in Michigan.

Finance: Originally we started out with a proposed budget of $1,935. We raised $2,400 by mail and an additional $2,000 from the over-the-road truckers and the oil-transport industry making a total of $4,400 raised. We had no paid staff.

Fleet operators: Fleet operators in our county played an important part in the success of the crusade. Safety is big business in this industry and the truckers unselfishly gave of their time and finances to carry safety to the public. The oil industry purchased 2,300 scotchlite signs for commercial vehicles with different wording, such as "Watch out for kids," "Crusade for safety," and "Drive with care." Also, large crusade badges were purchased for drivers and filling station attendants to wear.

The over-the-road truckers staged our largest safety banquet in history in honor of adult safety patrol leaders in the county. Highlight of the dinner was a speech by Walter Carey, president of ATA, at which time he stated, "It's extremely comforting to live in a civilization which produces citizens moved by something besides selfishness." The driver testing lab, owned and operated by the Michigan Trucking Association, was placed on display in our area for 4 weeks, giving free tests to anybody desiring them.

Yes, traffic safety was made everybody's business in Greater Muskegon, Mich. We didn't have any magic formula and our record probably wasn't the best in 1953—but it was impressive. Here is a comparison of 1952 and 1953:

	1952	1953
Killed	42	29
Injured	1,180	1,094
Property damage	3,598	3,101
Total	4,820	4,224

Muskegon County showed a 31-percent reduction in traffic deaths in 1953 while all other major counties showed increases and the State as a whole showed a 9-percent increase. This saving was in spite of a 20-percent increase in traffic conditions.

In the meantime results of the crusade had a real effect on government. The county board of supervisors included the sum of $12,000 in the 1954 budget for the establishment of a separate department with a qualified director to be named by a joint county and crusade committee. The department will be known as Muskegon County Crusade for Safety. Last December a crusade for safety workshop was held, at which time all 11 subcommittees met simultaneously one evening to review the year's program and to set up a program of work for 1954. Reports were made and the program was adopted and we pledged 100 percent support to the new crusade setup; to follow through on the excellent start already made; to continue getting the crusade for safety to stand behind the officials who have the authority to do the job of regulation and enforcement; to sponsor a West Michigan Teenage Drivers Safety Conference; and, to continue work for firmer enforcement, firmer court action, and firmer driver licensing.

Crusade for safety has now been adopted by the 31 counties in the West Michigan Tourist and Resort Association, plus several other counties in Michigan. The Governor's Safety Conference called the crusade the best organizational setup on the county level yet devised.

The crusade has always been interested in the saving of lives and personal injury, as contrasted to what monetary savings can be made. This amount is staggering in itself when you consider that for each fatality, you normally have 35 injury accidents and 225 property-damage accidents with total costs amounting to over $100,000. Savings last year, alone, would thus approximate $1,560,000 in our county.

We feel that we have had success although no more than any other community desiring to achieve similar results. We now have permanency in our organization and our 1954 program is well underway.

So this is our story of crusade for safety—Greater Muskegon, Mich., 1953. We feel that the accomplishments and victory achieved in our community presents a challenge to every community in the country to wage a terrific battle against traffic accidents and the wanton waste of lives, personal injury, and property. Greater Muskegon accepted her challenge. We ask that you join us.

We propose that crusade for safety be endorsed as a national project and carried out on a national scale. We would like to submit to you that the slogan "Crusade for safety" be adopted at this conference here in Washington today. Thank you.

Reactions of Young Listeners Behind the Iron Curtain to Western Radio Broadcasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, there has been presented to me by Mr. Zygmunt Nagorski, Jr., of the Foreign News Service, Inc., a very informative survey of the reactions of people behind the Iron Curtain to our western radio broadcasts. This survey covered the effects of both the Voice of America, British broadcasts, and Radio Free Europe. The comments are very instructive, and I ask leave to incorporate salient portions of this report in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REACTIONS OF YOUNG LISTENERS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN TO WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS

INTRODUCTION

News and more news—of the world and of their own countries—has become the one unanimous cry of captive peoples from behind the Iron Curtain today.

No exception to the rule are the young people who despite youthful interests ranging from jazz and movies to women's fashions, place news highest on their list of Western radio programs.

One hundred and ten young refugees aged 11 to 26 have been surveyed on their listening habits. All but two of them escaped in 1953. A 13-year old and an 11-year old reached the West at the end of 1952.

Occupations of interviewees ranged from medical student to barber, from tractor driver to sailor, from electro-technician to fisherman. Their nationalities, totalling 13, covered eight countries. All of them agreed that they took risks listening to the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, British Broadcasting Corp., and other stations almost exclusively to hear the news.

In most cases, domestic news took precedence over world news. Included under this heading, however, * * * directly popular among adults the young endorsed the need for the same programs though they themselves did not listen to them.

SPECIFIC INTERESTS

Very high on the list of Captive Youth interest are commentaries covering all political, economic, technical, scientific, and production developments connected in any way with the struggle against communism.

FUTURE WAR

A large number of young people believes that war is not only inevitable but the only moral solution to the existing plight of their countries and the imminent threat to others.

A 19-year old Polish student said: "I don't believe United States foreign policy yet is either firm or decisive enough toward U. S. S. R." He wanted to know how Soviet war preparations compare with the West. A 23-year old Hungarian added: "My first and most fervent wish was that Stalin should die and the second that an H-bomb should be dropped on the Kremlin * * * I am now waiting for my second wish to come true."

LIBERATION

Among these young folk the one persistent question is, What America will do to liberate us? When will the liberation come? Adjuncts to this are the questions on atomic weapons, arms production, armed forces' strength, and comparative striking powers of East and West.

"I am convinced and it is a general notion," said a 26-year-old Bulgarian shoemaker, "that America would like to liberate us without war. Nobody believes that this is possible." A 16-year-old Czech who had been employed as a stonemason's apprentice said that he wanted to hear by what means the United States Government intends to compel the Russians to clear out of Europe. He added that the foreign stations keep repeating that the present state of affairs is not permanent.

SATIRES

The need for laughter or light relief behind the Iron Curtain has created a big demand for satires. The situation is too grim for ordinary humor; thus political satires and jokes about the Reds found favor among 80 of those surveyed, while 69 enjoyed attacks on Communists in one form or another.

A 24-year-old Hungarian remarked: "Radio Free Europe brought good entertainment programs, jokes, and satires against Communists. I liked satires on conditions in Russia." "I was thrilled by broadcasts ridiculing the Reds," said a 17-year-old Czech miner apprentice.

CRITICISM

Another aspect of criticism is that leveled rather heatedly by a 24-year-old Albanian teacher-student:

"We Albanians are sufficiently politically mature to be aware of the values of western democracies and we have a pretty good idea how Americans and British people live. We don't need to be told—any more than we need lectures on the terror and communism in our own country. What we want is encouragement based on reality and facts—what's being done to liberate us, what people in free countries are doing to halt the spread of communism, special programs exposing Communists by names."

The 16-year-old stonemason's apprentice said he "did not like repeated statements that the Communists tell lies and deceive people because everybody in Czechoslovakia knows that." There was an implicit request in his criticism for more positive programs.

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS

One question asked of the young refugees was for suggestions as to new programs or program improvements.

Sixteen advocated more special programs for students reporting on student life and opportunities in America and Western Europe. Five wanted programs giving the true history of their own native countries. Twenty-four suggested more programs on United States technical and scientific A- and H-bomb and other developments. Five of twenty-four who fully endorsed religious programs urged more specialized handling to point up persecution of clergy in Red-dominated countries.

A 24-year-old Polish ex-soldier, son of a small farmer, said: "Listening to transmission of the holy mass from the West was a wonderful experience." He hadn't heard such good sermons in Polish for a long time. The Slovak electromechanic, who escaped last August, said religious programs were especially in demand among people of east Slovakia.

An off-propounded request among Hungarians and Rumanians was for program of native folk music. A Rumanian soldier, 23, wanted Rumanian folk music prohibited by the Communists. He was also interested in the popular verses of banned Rumanian writers.

WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

The women's programs, 21st in popularity on a list of 25, were highly criticized. They were called silly, dull, or useless the girls said (nine of them were included in the survey), when what they really were interested in were women's rights, pay scales, work opportunities, and living conditions in Western Europe and the United States.

UNDERGROUND

Finally, the group surveyed found itself in two camps on perhaps the most delicate subject of all—underground movements, sabotage, and escapes.

A Czech male student, 22, and a Polish youth, 17, both felt that Western radio stations should be broadcasting directions to the underground and encouragement to such movements. A Hungarian worker, 22, wanted to hear more about the Ukrainian underground movement in Russia. He wanted a special program to be started by the Voice of America for the Hungarian underground; his idea was echoed by eight others.

A 13-year-old boy who escaped alone admitted his escape was spurred by a game called Partisans, played with other youngsters of which an important feature was listening to foreign radio stations. Several others said they were members of secret listening groups and drew the idea of escape from what they had heard on the air.

The Polish ex-sailor wanted detailed instructions on how to cross the frontier and march safely through East Germany. He suggested inclusion in radio interviews with escapees who safely reached the West.

There were just a few of the young refugees on the positive side of such programs. On the other side were those who felt that this type of program does more harm than good.

Programs with any suggestions that workers should revolt or riot were sharply slapped by several. Heaviest criticism lodged on the period of the East Berlin and Pilse, Czechoslovakia, riots when, according to several refugees, some of the foreign stations seemed bent on inciting captive peoples.

CONCLUSIONS

Summing up, the refugees pointed out that their entire hopes of liberation rested with America and Western Europe. They felt the mission of Western radio stations, therefore, was to sustain hope, lend encouragement, and provide solid ties to the captive peoples with the free world. They all stressed that Western radios were their only channel of reliable information. Many insisted upon being told the truth about every aspect of the international situation without any sugar-coated device.

Brownell's Shocking Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Joseph and Stewart Alsop entitled "Brownell's Shocking Story."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

BROWNELL'S SHOCKING STORY

Just how far can a politician go in rearranging the facts to suit his own purpose? The question is raised by recent sensational statements by Attorney General Herbert

Brownell. Brownell shook the country when he said that he had found in the Justice Department "20,000 lost documents * * * some of them of extreme importance." One of these was the famous 1945 FBI report on internal espionage, which named Harry Dexter White and many others. According to Brownell, this document had "never been evaluated by the proper officials in the Department of Justice, but just tossed into a desk drawer." This document, according to Brownell, contained "many names whose cases should have been followed up by the Department of Justice."

Brownell remarked that he was "terribly shocked" when he made these discoveries, and his charges, which amount at the very least to charges of criminal laxity, are certainly shocking. A good deal of detective work was needed to establish the facts behind these allegations, which are as follows:

The 1945 FBI report which was allegedly tossed into a desk drawer was based on the testimony volunteered to the FBI by Elizabeth Bentley. At the time a high-level decision was taken to try to "reestablish" Miss Bentley as a Communist, thus permitting her to act as a double agent. Absolute secrecy was obviously required for this attempt—a fact which lends a certain color of truth to former President Harry S. Truman's explanation of his failure to fire White.

The attempt to reestablish Miss Bentley continued for several months after White was confirmed. In the meantime about 100 FBI agents were assigned to the New York area, and a similar number to Washington, in an attempt to verify Miss Bentley's story from independent sources. In October 1946 the attempt to make Miss Bentley a double agent was abandoned—apparently the suspicions of the Communists and their Soviet masters had been aroused.

At about the same time the FBI prepared a 296-page summary of all that had been learned since Miss Bentley made her original charges, and this was delivered to the Attorney General in December 1946.

Until the attempt to reestablish Miss Bentley was given up, no legal action could be taken against the people she had named, since this would have alerted them. After the attempt was abandoned, however, the appropriate legal action was carefully considered in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, and it was decided to present the Bentley charges to a grand jury.

Thomas J. Donegan, an able special agent of the FBI, who had been in charge of the FBI's New York office until the spring of 1946, knew a good deal about the case. FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover therefore suggested that Donegan handle the case before the grand jury. Donegan was accordingly made Special Assistant to the Attorney General for this purpose. E. Vincent Quinn, who had been an Assistant United States Attorney General for several years, who had more legal experience than Donegan, and who was also approved by Hoover, was assigned to work with Donegan on the case.

In short, the whole case was given very special treatment, which presumably explains Brownell's charge that the 1945 FBI report had never been through the regular channels in the Department of Justice. It is more difficult to explain Brownell's implication that the names in the document were never followed up.

Actually, all Miss Bentley's charges were considered in the most minute detail, by 2 successive grand juries, which sat for no less than 36 months, starting in the summer of 1947. A determined attempt was made to get indictments on espionage charges against those named as spies by Miss Bentley. This attempt failed, for lack of corroborative evidence. Corroborative evidence against one of those charged by Miss Bentley—White—eventually appeared in the celebrated pumpkin papers. But by then, White was already dead.

Hiss and Remington were, to be sure, both indicted, but on a perjury rather than an espionage charge and the first batch of 12 Communist leaders were also indicted, but for conspiracy rather than spying. The failure to get indictments for espionage appears to be the only reasonable explanation of Brownell's sense of shock.

Yet Thomas J. Donegan, who was principally responsible for the presentation of the case, is still a special assistant to the Attorney General, who is, of course, none other than Herbert Brownell. Nor is this all. The Interdepartmental Committee on Internal Security is directly responsible to the National Security Council for the internal security of the United States. Brownell chose, to represent the Justice Department on this vital committee, none other than Thomas J. Donegan.

Nothing that Brownell said is untrue—undoubtedly, for example, at one time or another, the famous FBI report was indeed tossed into a desk drawer. Even so, what Brownell said does seem shocking, although not quite in the way Brownell intended.

The President's Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on the President's farm program which appeared in the February 1 Monthly Economic Letter issued by the Northeast Farm Foundation of Ithaca, N. Y.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BENSON FARM PROGRAM

The Eisenhower-Benson farm program charts a middle course. It may not be politically popular, but it is a step in the right direction.

Secretary Benson had some competent advisers, in formulating this program—among them Dean Myers of Cornell. There is no doubt that to "Bill" Myers more than any other individual belongs the credit for shaping these constructive proposals and getting them accepted by administration people.

Certainly the administration would have pleased the cotton, tobacco, and wheat politicians far more by simply proposing a continuation of high, fixed price supports. Or it might have won the applause of millions of consumers by wiping price supports off the books.

Neither of these alternatives is tolerable at the present time, as Benson well understands.

Ponder the first alternative. How long can this system be kept—using taxpayers' money to take vast quantities of the most valuable foods and fibers out of the market and pile them up in dead storage? As a practical proposition, is it to be expected that the people would support this indefinitely? Human nature isn't built that way.

The Government has piled up today near a billion pounds of dairy products, 800 million bushels of wheat, over 9½ million bales of cotton (a year's supply), plus innumerable other products. It has nearly exhausted the CCC funds of $6¾ billion. The storage charges alone on this stuff approach half a million dollars a day. These hoards bulge the walls of all the warehouses, grain bins, cold storage cellars in the country, not to mention caves, barns, idle schoolhouses, churches, and ships.

Now these incredible mountains of food must be largely given away or thrown away. The waste involved is not a waste merely of money. It is a waste of the labor, skill, machinery, and precious fertility of our soil.

A system like that cannot go on forever.

Or ponder the second alternative—to do away with price supports.

The central fact about this country's economy today is that it is dominated by urban industry. And industry has its wages, prices, and charges boosted up on an artificial, inflated plane—far above the world level—held up there by pressure groups and politics. Agriculture is bound to this industrial structure in a thousand ways. Industry's wage level is the backbone of the farmer's costs.

Agriculture could not be suddenly deflated to the world level today and stay solvent. If that were to happen, it would go down into a major depression, dragging other groups with it. Agriculture has got to have some support for a time, if its costs are to be held up at an artificially high level.

So Benson did the best that perhaps anybody could do by laying out a middle course, a move aimed in the direction of free markets and a free agriculture. And the President had the judgment and courage to take this program and back it.

In a nutshell, this program proposes to write off the existing mountains of stored commodities and, in time, get over to a basis of flexible price supports.

Obviously all this involves difficulties. No realist can write off the stuff in storage just by the stroke of a pen. But the purpose has been declared. It may be worked out somehow, given time.

But overall, the Eisenhower-Benson program does make sense. In general, it points away from artificially built up surpluses; away from high subsidies that boomerang; it points back toward a freer market and a freer farm business.

It is apparent that this program is not to the liking of the wheat and cotton interests and the politicians who represent them. They will fight it, though how sensible men can expect to perpetuate the present system of production for waste is beyond understanding.

On the other hand, there are a lot of thoughtful farmers—not to mention 130 million consumers—who may rally to the Benson program before the show is over. It will be an interesting spectacle to watch.

As for the Northeast, it is hard to see how our interests could be better served, over the long pull, than by the development of the Benson program. We think it deserves and will have support in these parts.

The Elephant Guns in the Quail Patch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Arthur Krock, entitled "The Elephant Guns in the Quail Patch," published in the New York Times of February 18, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN THE NATION

(By Arthur Krock)

THE ELEPHANT GUNS IN THE QUAIL PATCH

WASHINGTON, February 17.—The public is reported by its pulse-takers to be greatly confused by the flatly contradictory statements on both sides of the current issue over amending the Constitution. The public is also reported to be little interested in the issue, which is regrettable, because it is important to the future international relations of the United States.

But there is ample justification for both public attitudes in the actions taken by the Senate so far on the first two of the amending proposals dealing with the domestic law effects of treaties and of international agreements made by the President. Twice, when the elephant guns of Senate oratory finished roaring, their legislative kill has been disclosed as no bigger than a baby quail. If the people, viewing the quarry, wonder what all the shooting is about, common sense supports them.

THE FIRST VICTIM

The first tiny victim of the senatorial safari was this: "A provision of a treaty or other international agreement that conflicts with this Constitution (of the United States) shall not be of any force or effect." But what agency of the Government has always resolved whether such conflicts existed? The Supreme Court. And what agency will resolve any future issues of this kind under the provision adopted? The Supreme Court. Moreover, no judge ever has conceded or ever will concede, that his opinion gave force or effect to any treaty or other international agreement in "conflict" with the Constitution. So the Senate mountain labored and gave birth to a pious platitude.

The second trophy of the heavy cannonade was this: "On the question of advising and consenting to the ratification of a treaty the (Senate) vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal (a rollcall) * * *." That is one of the most minute quarries ever brought down by a hunting expedition, and rarely has so much ammunition been used on so absurd a target.

A CONSTITUTION OF BY-LAWS

What the Senate did, in adopting this proposed amendment to the Constitution, was solemnly to refer to two-thirds of the House of Representatives and two-thirds majorities of the legislatures of three-fourths of the 48 States a proposition it can adopt itself through a change in its own rules. Senate rule XXXVII, prescribing the procedure the Senate shall follow in voting whether a treaty shall be approved by the necessary two-thirds, does not require a rollcall. A simple majority of the Senate at any time can add this requirement. But, instead of handling its own affairs, the Senate by a vote of 72 to 16 asked the House of Representatives and the State legislatures to make its rules the subject matter of the Constitution of the United States.

The comic aspects of this performance are heightened by the fact that the Senate's jealous guardianship of its every prerogative is historic. The writers of the Constitution, rejecting trivialities and intending Congress to have the widest scope in its internal management, left such matters to the judgment of the legislators. Very accurately, rules of parliamentary procedure are known as by-laws, to distinguish them from organic law, and the Founding Fathers left it to oncoming generations to decide what changes in them might be called for by changed conditions.

AN IDENTICAL SITUATION

The same thing is true of those sections of the Knowland and newest Bricker proposals which, in one way or another, require the Senate, in approving a treaty, to state by the same two-thirds majority whether the treaty shall automatically take effect as domestic statues, which treaties can supersede. But a majority of the Senate can make this provision, without resort to constitutional change, by inserting it by resolution in the same rule XXXVII. Or the Senate at any time can make the statement on any treaty before it for approval.

Among the arguments made by the elephant hunters for lodging such birdshot in the Constitution are these:

Senate rules are subject to quick and constant change, but it takes years to amend the Constitution of the United States.

To add to the National Charter the statement that no treaty or international agreement may conflict with it reasserts a basic principle in a form that will be the most effective restraint on courts, Presidents and Senators.

GETTING OFF THE HOOK

Senators who got on the hook when they endorsed the original Bricker amendment must have some kind of amendment to show the folks back home.

The section approved today—that past, present and future treaties must be "in pursuance of the Constitution" to be valid—is a necessary check on conventions originating in the United Nations and on our commitments under its Charter.

The President has no objection to the submission to the people of an amendment including the "pursuance" section and the two others approved by the Senate. But the paragraph that represents the big game is still out of range of the elephant-gunners. And if they miss it the futile blast will blow away the bag of quail.

Problems of the Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three articles written by Alfred D. Stedman and published in the St. Paul Dispatch of February 14, 15, and 16, 1954, on the problems of the dairy industry.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch of February 14, 1954]

LET'S DRINK MILK

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Why not drink more milk? With only an added glass each day, Secretary Benson says Americans could solve the dairy surplus problem. Milk's food values make it an economy drink. It carries no risks of alcoholism. And it is an answer to the coffee question.

A honey of a plan is what midwestern dairymen call this. Statistics by the ream could back it up. For milk drinking, instead of going up has slumped. Since the war, the average per person per year is down about 47 pints. That is about equivalent to losing a market for Minnesota's milk production. It alone accounts for two-thirds of the Government's dairy surplus.

Millions of children aren't getting nearly the milk they need for health's sake. Especially in the big cities, their bones and bodies are being pinched by a dearth of milk. Isn't that a shabby way for Uncle Sam, with oodles of milk products locked in cold storage, to be treating the Nation's citizens of tomorrow? Secretary Benson seems right about this. Buy why aren't Americans drinking more milk? Well, here are a couple of pointers.

Look, for one thing, at the retail prices being charged for milk in some cities. Here they are in single quarts in stores: New York, 21½ to 25 cents; Pittsburgh, 24 to 25; Boston, 22½ to 24½; Newport, 24; New Haven, 25½ to 26½; Washington, 22 to 24½; Jacksonville, 27; Atlanta, 25 to 26; Savannah, 27 to 28.

Contrast those prices there with St. Paul store prices of 16 to 19 cents. Look at that contrast through the eyes of mothers of large and hungry broods. And suddenly the decline in milk consumption there isn't a mystery any longer. And the mystery is gone as to why milk consumption here has been going up.

Our Dairy Belt is crying for a chance to sell its efficiently produced milk to those outside cities at prices low enough to encourage consumers to drink up the dairy surplus. Our dairies could do it at a profit with modern methods of refrigerating, transporting and concentrating.

But our milk is barred. Cities exclude it on grounds that their inspectors haven't enforced their particular rules for sanitary production—though modern science supersedes those rules with methods of quickly and accurately determining milk's purity at receiving points.

The Federal Government is in partnership with those city barriers against the best milk from this low-cost dairy producing region. Secretary Benson's own milk orders have accepted those barriers. Those orders have levied what amounts to import tariffs, discouraging the bringing in of milk from outside. Even the Nation's Capital has enforced its prices by excluding outside milk.

So those are reasons why Americans are not drinking up the dairy surplus. Consumers are being systematically barred from access to cheaper milk.

Midwest dairymen are officially told and retold that, with present Federal price supports, butter is pricing itself out of its market to margarine. And margarine's swift rise to equality with butter consumption gives supporting evidence. So announcement of lowering on April 1 of price supports on butter and other factory dairy products is now expected, and is even assented to by some Midwest dairymen.

But what about eastern sanitary tariffs and milk-order rules that are maintaining high prices on fluid milk? Is the Government going to lower those too? They are now pricing milk out of its market. Midwest dairymen aren't going to like it if their butter supports are knocked down while their milk continues to be excluded. Drinking up the milk surplus looks like an idea that's good enough to be given a fair try.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch of February 15, 1954]

DAIRYMEN ASTONISHED AT EXTENT OF BUTTER CUT

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

News of Secretary Benson's announced 8-cents-a-pound drop in Government butter price supports on April 1 exploded like a bombshell in the Midwest dairy industry today.

Not the fact of some drop, which had been expected, but the extent of it was what set waves of astonishment going in the industry. The maximum expectations of a cut had been from 90 to 80 percent of parity. But Secretary Benson's action goes the full legal limit down to 75 percent of parity and applies the cut to all dairy products, including powdered milk and cheese.

With Midwest prices of milk for manufacturing already down to the lowest levels since 1945, the Government cut if fully reflected

will mean a further drop of around 40 cents a hundredweight. As of today, that would push manufacturing milk prices down well under the $3 a hundredweight mark, but since this is the time of seasonal declines the industry couldn't predict where prices will go.

A frenzied selling of every possible pound of butter, cheese, and milk powders to the Government between now and the changeover date of March 31 is certain, industry spokesmen said, because no manufacturer can afford to have on hand any more than he can possibly help of a commodity that is to shrink so sharply then in value.

News of the drop flashed around the industry like wildfire. Frank D. Stone, general manager of Land O' Lakes Creameries, Inc., got it by long distance from Washington. W. A. Gordon, editor of the Dairy Record, said he is flying to Washington at once to try to persuade the Commodity Credit Corporation to go on accepting butter at the old price right up to midnight March 31, subject to grading later. This would eliminate an interval of several days used for grading.

The stormiest dairy days since the milk strike period of 1933 were foreseen by some.

Whether the cut of 8 cents a pound in retail butter prices will reduce the Government's butter holdings substantially, the industry doubted. But they said that after April 1 the effect should be to slow down Government purchases.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch of February 16, 1954]

GIANT CO-OPS DEFY BENSON—LEFTIST GRAIN GROUP JOINS DAIRY FIGHT—LAND O' LAKES-GTA DEAL HITS AT PARITY CUTS

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Two giant cooperative groups, a right-wingish dairy group and a left-wingish grain group, today joined forces with the aim to overthrow in Congress Secretary of Agriculture Benson's 15-percent cut in dairy price supports.

At the same time, Secretary Benson's aides made what appeared to be a new bid to attract the backing of multitudes of housewives for his side of the congressional battle. They predicted consumers will get a cut of a cent a quart in retail milk prices as a share in the benefits of Benson's action. Earlier they had put the April 1 cut in retail butter prices at 8 cents a pound.

In the Northwest, the two great cooperative groups in the past often on opposite sides of the political fence but now together on the dairy price issue—are represented by Land O' Lakes Creamery, Inc., of Minneapolis, and the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, of St. Paul.

In the Nation, the two groups are represented by the National Milk Producers federation in which Land O' Lakes men are highly influential and the National Federation of Grain Cooperatives, of which M. W. Thatcher of St. Paul, general manager of the Farmers Union GTA, is president.

Spokesmen in the Twin Cities for these two co-op giants made plain today that a partnership on the dairy price support issue is solidifying. And they appeared confident that the coalition bodes no good for Secretary Benson's plans of flexing downward farm price supports on dairy products and on wheat, corn, cotton, and other products as well.

As to Benson aides' prediction of a cent-a-quart drop in milk prices, dairy spokesmen quickly confirmed today that this will be the drop in the milk price that farmers' receive. But with milk prices in big Eastern and Southern cities being artificially held high above Midwest prices, they expressed doubt whether much of the cut will ever get to those housewives who now are paying the highest milk prices and need it the most.

Translated into the farm value of milk, the cut of a cent a quart on the 120 billion pounds or about 60 billion quarts of milk produced nationally in a year runs into a huge total loss to dairymen, they pointed out.

Minnesota's DFL Senator HUMPHREY put the national loss in dairy income at $600 million. E. M. Norton, Washington representative of the National Milk Producers Federation, said it will run close to a billion dollars. Russell Schwandt, secretary of the Minnesota Farmers Union, said the loss in Minnesota dairy income will be about $35 million a year.

But Secretary Benson's bid for housewives' support was immediately echoed in butter buying circles. Fred C. Lowenfels, of New York, one of the Nation's leading butter dealers, assured Benson that American housewives like your plan to lower butter prices. He said his firm was preparing for a 25-percent jump in consumer demands after April 1. The American Butter Institute of Chicago also praised Benson's slash and predicted an increase in sales.

The United States Department of Agriculture listed 41 areas including the Twin Cities, Duluth, and Superior whose prices to the farmers are regulated by the Federal Government in which it expected milk prices would go down a cent a quart.

But Minnesota dairy interests quickly labeled this an official misrepresentation, saying that the Government is only cutting farm prices, does not regulate retail prices, and has no control whatever over them.

What they called an attempt by Secretary Benson to amass American housewives against the dairy farmers of the country on that kind of an alleged misrepresentation stirred new bitterness in dairy ranks.

Republican Senators THYE, of Minnesota; YOUNG, of North Dakota; and WILEY, of Wisconsin; and Republican Representatives H. CARL ANDERSEN and AUGUST H. ANDRESEN, of Minnesota; and O'KONSKI and BYRNES, of Wisconsin, joined in deploring Secretary Benson's action, their statements showing clearly how a bipartisan farm bloc is solidifying in Congress against Benson on this issue. Some indicated personal resentment at not being consulted by him on it.

Senator THYE, himself a dairy farmer, confirmed Benson aides' estimates of a 1-cent cut in milk prices to the farmer. THYE declared the effects of that cut from milk prices that already are at postwar lows will be much more severe on farmers in the manufacturing milk States like Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa than in the eastern dairy areas that have stronger Federal-State price protection and where much larger proportions of the milk output are consumed as fluid milk.

Howard C. Fedderson, marketing specialist in Benson's Department, said that the price support cuts will result directly and at once on April 1 in lower milk prices to dairy farmers in 41 out of 49 Federal milk marketing areas. These include the Twin Cities and the Duluth-Superior market.

Politics and Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting editorial entitled "Politics and Foreign Service," which appeared in the Washington Post on February 14, 1954. This fine editorial merits careful consideration.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The administration really does not need a special committee to tell it why the Foreign Service is dispirited and demoralized. Every competent observer knows that the chief reason is that the Foreign Service has become a political football. Extremist politicians have succeeded in creating doubts in the public mind about the loyalty and morals of Foreign Service officers, and the administration has not always resisted these attacks as it should. On the contrary it sought to appease the politicians who would destroy the service by surrendering the key administrative post in the State Department to a protege of the attackers. Now that protege, who should be presiding over a professional, nonpartisan group, is out making partisan orations.

The future of the Foreign Service depends upon whether the administration really wants a first-class organization of foreign affairs experts who are not subject to party discipline. It depends upon whether Congress will support a career service in the face of unfair and sinister attacks from Members of Congress themselves. Senator GREEN was correct the other day when he said that the blame for the weakened state of the Foreign Service must be shared jointly by the administration and Congress. "Justly or unjustly," Senator GREEN said after a trip to South America, "the Foreign Service feels that the administration has made too many political appointments, has selected too few career men as Ambassadors and has been too slow in promotions in the lower ranks of the service." Congress, he said, frequently has been "too glib in its criticisms of the Foreign Service and has not always been wise in its appropriations."

The Senator could have gone much further in his criticism of the administration and Congress. How can a professional group be maintained in the face of smears against virtually all the experts on China and when the Department itself acquiesces in the attacks on its experts? How can there be a proper development of the Service when many men who served under Democratic administrations, even though they may have been appointed during Republican administrations, are regarded with suspicion? How can there be esprit de corps when the Department insists upon extensive screenings of all persons, including the Secretary of State and other members of the National Security Council, invited to lecture at the Foreign Service Institute? Why would men be encouraged to pursue a career in the Foreign Service when they know they may be subjected to exhaustive and needless cross-examinations with respect to their loyalty and ability? Who would want to go through the endless and humiliating attacks that some men have been subjected to because they have been singled out for attack by a Senator seeking political advantage?

Last month five distinguished and respected men who long have served their country and fought for a professional Foreign Service said in a letter to the New York Times:

"Recently the Foreign Service has been subjected to a series of attacks from outside sources which have questioned the loyalty and moral standards of its members. With rare exceptions the justification for these attacks have been so flimsy as to have no standing in a court of law or in the mind of any individual capable of differentiating repeated accusation from even a reasonable presumption of guilt. Nevertheless these attacks have had sinister re-

sults. • • • A premium has been put upon reporting and upon recommendations which are ambiguously stated or so cautiously set forth as to be deceiving."

The signers of that letter—Norman Armour, Robert Woods Bliss, Joseph C. Grew, William Phillips, and G. Howland Shaw—could tell the administration in 5 minutes what ought to be done to strengthen a service that is indispensable to the safety of the country. The assault on the Foreign Service was begun because the attackers thought it would be helpful in defeating the past administration. But the attack has not stopped with the change of Government. It has continued in the spirit of the antiintellectualism being fostered by blind and ruthless men with no concept of America's role in the 20th century.

Are You Taking REA for Granted?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. DEANE
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to address on last Wednesday evening in the city of Raleigh the annual Tar Heel Electric Membership Association. This association is composed of the 32 REA corporations in North Carolina. As a part of my remarks, I include the address I made on this occasion:

ARE YOU TAKING REA FOR GRANTED?

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen of the Tar Heel Electric Membership Association, I am most grateful for your very generous introduction, Mr. McKinney. You must not have heard what happened to one afterdinner speaker. The story goes that a man rushed into the county sheriff's office, laid down a smoking revolver, and exclaimed, "Sheriff, I have just shot an afterdinner speaker." The sheriff paid no attention. A second time the fellow demands, "Sheriff, I have just shot an afterdinner speaker." The sheriff turned around and said, "Well, don't bother me; go down the hall to the second door on the right; there is where they pay the rewards."

Tonight, I share a simple thought with you.

Are you taking REA for granted? I predict, friends, that during the next 3 years you will be faced with the most crucial years of your existence.

TENNESSEE VOLUNTEERS AROUSED

Why has an aroused citizens committee of many thousands of businessmen and ordinary citizens been formed in the Tennessee Valley, which in a very short time has received contributions of some $50,000, most of this sum in amounts of $1 and $2?

These Tennessee volunteers are aroused over the constant attacks made upon TVA. No longer are the citizens taking TVA for granted. From the Governor of the State to the most lowly consumer, they are not only pooling their funds to protect their interest but are moving on Washington to rightfully demand that their interests be protected.

My concern about TVA is based upon this fact that the Norris-Hill TVA Act contained the Magna Carta of Federal local partnership in electric power. The preference provision of Federal power marketing policy was not only included but definitely provided.

Likewise why I am also concerned with the fact that there be no "brownout" of the TVA is because the original TVA Act provided for the first Federally sponsored electric cooperatives.

I repeat do not take TVA for granted. It was born out of the combined leadership of great Republican and Democratic leadership. Names like Borah (Idaho), Capper (Kansas), Johnson (California), LaFollette, Jr. (Wisconsin), McNary and Steiver (Oregon), great Republicans, each gone to his reward. On the Democratic side, Barkley (Kentucky), and George (Georgia), only survive who with Smith of South Carolina, Wagner and Copeland of New York, Sheppard of Texas, Walsh of Montana, and Dill of Washington truly

Can we keep it bipartisan?

I pray we can.

I mentioned TVA here because if there is a "brownout" in the program of TVA it will vitally affect every REA in the Southeast and furnish a "brownout" yardstick that can throttle the REA program throughout the Nation.

TAR HEEL ELECTRIC MEMBERSHIP ASSOCIATION

The formation of the Tar Heel Electric Membership Association is evidence to me that some of the leaders of the REA in North Carolina realize that they must not only maintain modern, efficient, cheap and up-to-date electric service to the consumer membership but that through this association they may promote the inspiring story of rural electrification in North Carolina. You come here tonight not only for the fellowship of kindred minds but like the Tennessee Volunteers, you are concerned about the future of REA.

I repeat, Are you taking REA for granted?

Incidentally, I note that in North Carolina there are 32 electrical-membership corporations but only 16 of these electric-membership corporations, subscribed to the Carolina Farmer. These corporations are: French Broad, Marshall; Burke-McDowell, Morganton; Blue Ridge, Lenoir; Davie, Mocksville; Davidson, Lexington; Union, Monroe; Pee Dee Wadesboro; Randolph, Asheboro; Central, Sanford; Lumbee River, Red Springs; Four County, Burgaw; South River, Dunn; Wake, Wade Forest; Tri-County, Goldsboro; Carteret-Craven, Morehead City; Woodstock, Belhaven.

I am not here tonight to drum up circulation for the Carolina Farmer made possible by the cooperation of the 16 electric-membership corporations that I have just named, yet I am led to say that the other 16 electric-membership corporations in North Carolina, whose members are not reading the Carolina Farmer, are missing the vital news of what is taking place in the rapidly changing REA story. A heavy responsibility for the future of REA rests with the officers and directors of the REA cooperatives that all the news about REA be placed in the hands of every consumer. In all kindness, I must say that in days past REA leaders at the grassroots have taken things for granted in Washington. I admire your determination tonight. I have read of your recent national meeting in Miami with much interest. These meetings indicate a new and needed trend in your public relations. It is a good sign.

POLITICAL RUMBLINGS

Today there are political rumblings not only in Washington but also back in the grassroots. Group meetings like this are being held throughout the REA territory of the United States. The little men and the average member of REA within both political parties are asking questions that he never was concerned about before. Here in North Carolina, he is reading REA journals and magazines like the Carolina Farmer. He doesn't like some of the things he reads and he has cause to be concerned.

THE GLORIES OF REA

Most REA speakers point out the great accomplishments of REA. It is a thrilling story. Nothing challenges the imagination any more than the story of throwing an electric REA line over a mountain to a humble farm home. How the light was turned on in 1935 and today some young man or some young woman inspired by victory over darkness has reached success and will be a blessing to mankind forever. We need not go to the mountain slopes to read of the miracles that have come to countless thousands of rural homes. There was darkness in the valleys and the villages and even in the suburbs of our towns and cities.

REA furnished the spark that has created a revolution of change not only in North Carolina but throughout the entire country.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF REA

I shall not dwell too long on these marvelous REA achievements other than to say that on January 1, 1935, there were 300,967 farms in North Carolina. On that same date only 9,672 or around 4 percent of these farms had electricity, yet on the same date 99 percent of the farms of Holland, 92 percent of the farms in Italy, and 95 percent of the farms in France and Germany were electrified.

I repeat, REA furnished the dynamic spark so that in 16 years the percentage of electrified farms in North Carolina had risen from 4 percent to 90 percent. Yes; here in North Carolina, which is true throughout the Nation, largely through the cooperation of the people like yourselves in answering a great and neglected need, walked out of darkness into the light.

THE REA FINANCIAL RECORD IN NORTH CAROLINA

Here is a story that should be memorized by every REA consumer in North Carolina. It should be drilled into the thinking of the children of every consumer. The businessmen in every town should know this record, and right here let me say that you must inform the businessmen in your towns and cities what REA means to them. Time prevents a tabulation of the many hundreds of thousands of dollars that REA consumers have invested in electrical equipment and supplies of all kinds. Don't let your businessmen, because of economic conditions, be led astray because they, too, have profited greatly from the fruits of REA. These businessmen are also taking REA for granted. Advise these businessmen of the great untapped needs of REA consumers.

A FINANCIAL MIRACLE

Here is one of the most thrilling financial stories you will ever read about. REA is a bank. The cooperatives are borrowers. The electric membership corporation gives 100 percent first mortgage to the Federal Government, securing the construction loans made to them. These loans are retired on a 35-year schedule, with quarter-year payments of principal and interest at 2 percent. Now, here is the story you should get across to everyone. Thus far, of $66 million loaned to the cooperatives in North Carolina, over $8 million has been repaid in principal; over $4 million has been repaid in interest; and get this, over $2 million has been repaid ahead of schedule. Moreover, not one dime has been defaulted in North Carolina, and all electric membership corporations are up to date in loan repayments. Nationally, REA has loaned nearly $3 billion. According to the latest available records in Washington, there has been default on less than twenty-two one-hundredths of 1 percent on loans falling due. It has been said that this financial record is unparalleled in the history of credit financing, Government or private. This, I repeat, friends, is a story

that must be drilled into the hearts and minds of every citizen.

REA ADMINISTRATOR ANCHER NELSEN—THE PROBLEMS HE FACES

I have not had the pleasure of meeting Mr' Ancher Nelsen, the new REA Administrator, but I am advised by friends of REA that the new Administrator wishes to preserve the integrity and basic policies of REA. He faces a difficult pathway and divergent views within the executive departments. I have mentioned TVA. Two other serious problems which you will hear a lot about in the coming months involve the very existence of REA. These crucial problems are:

1. Increased interest rates.
2. Maintaining the preference clause.

THE SERIOUS IMPACT OF HIGH-INTEREST RATES ON THE ECONOMY

What about interest rates?

Many times I have pointed out since January 1953 that I want a sound dollar, but I want a dollar. I shall be the last to push down interest rates for selfish reasons, and I will be the first to point out the seriousness of a hard-money policy that will place an undue burden upon our citizenship.

BASIC CAUSES

I am not a financial expert. I do not claim any special knowledge along those lines. However, since July 1953 I have been studying the financial policies of the Federal Government, and I honestly feel that we can today trace our tight credit policies and a great deal of the present slowdown in business to the sudden interest-rate increases that took effect the early part of last year.

I recall that on July 27, 1953, in a speech I made in Congress involving the new fiscal policies of the Government, this statement appeared. I quote from this speech:

"What I shall say today is not to be interpreted as divisive. You hear it said that the so-called hard money and high-interest rates will be the main issue in next year's election. Let me repeat, I do not want anything that I may say to be interpreted as partison. I may not agree with some of the fiscal decisions that have been made. Each of us, however, is entitled to our views. It is my hope that we will in the debate today rise above party and the center aisle."

"While we may be limited in our knowledge of the effects of the new fiscal policy of the Government, I do feel that not only our constituents but the country at large are entitled to have the benefit of whatever knowledge we may have or can bring together on the subject. It is only by discussions and debate, trial and error, and by being absolutely honest that the Congress and the administration will find the answer to what appears to be disturbing signs on the horizon."

Now what has happened since that speech was made? I predicted a serious affect of the increased interest rates.

NOT CRITICAL OF MORTGAGE BANKERS

I am not critical of the mortgage banker these days. They simply don't know what to expect. Caution is the key word in sizing up every loan application. It is my conviction that just so long as the interest factor moves upward, the dollar will get not only harder but it will get scarcer and production will drop.

NOT A PROPHET OF DOOM

In discussing briefly general business conditions, I insist I am not a prophet of doom, but you can't laugh off certain economic facts that even a seventh-grade student can understand. I hold in my hands the business section of the New York Times of February 12th. Here are some of the headlines that I read:

"Business Loans Dip 50 Million in the New York Area, for the Fifth Decline in 6 Weeks."

"Copper Shipments Sag, Supply Soars."

"Freight Loading Declines."

"Store Sales Show Drop."

What about the vacant stores in your community?

Farm income has hit the bottom.

Do you know, as I know, of the number of firms that are being forced voluntarily or involuntarily out of business?

Not only are the signs of the time and the headlines distressing, they are actualities.

NO NECESSITY FOR INCREASING REA INTEREST RATES

There is pending in Congress a proposal to increase the rate of interest on REA loans from 2 percent to 4 percent. I view this proposal to double the interest rate as the second greatest danger to the very life of the REA system. The first I mention is the proposed "brownout" of TVA.

What you see taking place involving the folding up of many small business enterprises throughout the country will come home to many REA groups throughout the country if this drastic interest rate goes into effect.

While it is true the REA corporations in North Carolina can boast a sound retirement of the REA loan program, the most crucial years for REA are just ahead. Many existing REA lines need to be improved. Modernization of service is imperative. Customer service needs to be expanded. The REA rate structure needs to be studied to give to REA customers the maximum of current at the lowest possible rate. To do this and to repay the loans that have been made on schedule absolutely requires a continuation of the present interest schedule.

DOES THE PRESENT REA INTEREST RATE OFFER A FAIR RETURN?

I call your attention to this fact. I have examined the average interest rates that the Federal Government paid on the public debt from 1947 to January 30, 1954 and the fact is that the 2 percent interest rate takes care of the Government charges to REA very well, indeed.

I invite you to study the loans to the great corporations of this country by New York banks and a 4 percent interest rate to such corporations would be absolutely alarming. Four percent interest charges for private corporate expansion and development simply are not required.

The Government interest rate, as I have pointed out, rose suddenly last year. Before the end of the year the Federal Reserve noting the decline in mortgage loans and general business conditions lessened the bank reserve requirements and interest rates dropped.

Credit is still very tight and many small business concerns are urgently needing capital and cannot get it.

But the point I wish to make is that the present Federal Government interest rate now being paid on the public debt is only a little over 2.1 percent. Thus you can see that the 2 percent interest rate paid on loans to REA borrowers is eminently fair to the Government. I sound this warning that you be alert to this proposal to double the interest rate on REA loans. If it should take effect, I repeat, it will be one of the greatest dangers to the continued existence and rightful expansion of the REA system.

If the interest rates are doubled, as proposed, you will see a number of REA corporations throughout the country forced to sell out because they cannot meet the ever-increasing competition.

It will likewise force those remaining REA's to increase the rates to customers.

And most important of all, it will delay for a long time extending electric light and power to the remaining 10 percent of the needy people of North Carolina who still stumble around in the darkness of the kerosene lamp, a relic of the dark ages.

GUARDING THE PREFERENCE CLAUSE

The third real problem facing REA besides preventing the brownout of TVA and maintaining the present interest rate, involves making absolutely secure the preference clause of the 1944 Flood Control Act. This preference clause must be preserved legally and given the right interpretation. It must also be fortified by the voice of the people. To fortify this preference clause, Congress must use every yardstick at its command.

What I mean by the preference clause is that the sound partnership agreements between the Federal Government, REA, and the municipalities on federally generated power must be preserved at all cost. Today you hear much about consolidation. My friends, the squeeze play is on. You don't hear or detect outright attacks on REA, but your corporation leaders know that unless an aroused consumer public takes a stand for what is right, your great REA program may go by default.

CLEAN HANDS

REA has nothing to be ashamed of. Not one dime of profit goes from one cooperative consumer's pocket into the pocketbook of anyone else. REA does not have huge sums to tell its thrilling story or project its present needs and rightly arouse the consumer public. You may have to do what they are doing within the area of TVA, and that is, bring together your dimes and dollars to the end that your leaders may rightly tell the REA story.

ARE YOU TAKING REA FOR GRANTED?

I entitled my remarks "Are You Taking REA for Granted?" I did so for a simple reason. Throughout the world today some have lost their most cherished possessions, their freedom, and the democratic way of life. They took freedom for granted. From our long experience in American history, we know that eternal vigilence is the price of freedom. We cannot let our guard down unless we lose our cherished ideals and American way of life. The same is true of REA.

LIVE AND LET LIVE

Today you see one group arrayed against another group. Extreme feelings develop between management and labor. Class is arrayed against class. Why? Individuals and groups are not willing to reach decisions on the basis of what is right. REA seeks answers on the basis of what's right instead of who's right.

We have just passed on February 11, the birthday of that great American, Thomas A. Edison. It was 75 years ago that Thomas Edison gave the world the electric light and the promise of victory over darkness.

TURN ON THE LIGHT

While I was preparing this speech I read one made in 1951 by a famous American and friend of mine. The title of his speech and much of the content is appropriate to this occasion. The subject was Turn on the Light. In this speech my friend pointed to the chaos and profusion existing in the world. There were wars and rumors of wars. He went on to say that there is a strong militant force out to win the world; we encounter it everywhere, in the dark, in Korea, in Indochina, and other places. It is a global conflict. People are really worried. Fear grips them. They haven't an answer.

We need to turn on the light. Who is willing to act on the basis of what's right instead of who's right? This is no time to array one group against another or one class against another class. If we find an answer to the fears and uncertainty in the hearts of millions of people throughout the world today, we must move from darkness to light and bring God into our partnership.

The GI Home Loan Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include certain correspondence from Gen. William J. Blake, manager of the Boston Veterans' Administration regional office, and my reply to him about the operation of the GI home-loan program in the Massachusetts area.

Mr. John E. Mitchell, loan guaranty officer of the Boston VA office, has rendered outstanding service in the operation of this program and I have found him to be most courteous, helpful, and efficient whenever I have had occasion to bring to his attention the problems of individual veterans seeking advice and information about their housing needs.

The material follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Boston, Mass., October 6, 1953.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PHILBIN: In a recent edition of the Boston Sunday Herald, we were pleasantly surprised to read the enclosed article pertaining to GI home loans. This article was unsolicited, and represents the experience of one of the reputable real estate firms in Massachusetts.

Because there have been some occasions during the past year when there has been a question as to the effectiveness and efficiency of this office in this program by dissatisfied persons, I am taking the liberty of forwarding this statement because it is a fair appraisal and represents, in the judgment of this office, a true picture of how the majority of GI loans are handled. It is, perhaps, the best answer that your office can give to the occasional criticism that is directed to your office in this connection.

You can be sure that this office will continue, as it has in the past, to render the most effective, efficient service to veterans under the rules, regulations, and laws that govern this particular and most important program.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM J. BLAKE, *Manager.*

[From the Boston Sunday Herald]

GI LIVING IN THIS AREA HAS NO TROUBLE IN USING GUARANTY TO OBTAIN SUITABLE HOUSING

(By Fred E. Drew, real estate editor)

"The GI wishing to make use of his home-loan guaranties under the GI bill of rights in the eastern Massachusetts area is indeed a fortunate individual," according to W. John Dunnan, Jr., president of Town and Country Homes, Inc.

"Reports continue to flow in from other sections of the country that indicate many difficulties arising from attempts to put through such transactions and in many areas, veterans are finding it extremely difficult, if not impossible to use their guaranties to obtain suitable housing for their families.

"In our area, however," continued Mr. Dunnan, "we have the happy combination of banks and lending institutions continuing to reserve substantial portions of their mortgage funds for GI loans and a Veterans' Administration regional office staffed with competent, efficient and understanding executives and personnel whose interest lies wholly with the veteran and his needs. The VA field organization is made up of appraisers who are able to protect the unwary veteran in his search for a home that is representative of fair and honest market value and it is this team which combines with the sources of funds to give the Massachusetts veteran a guaranty of performance and value received which is unequaled anywhere in the country. As an example of the kind of cooperation given, last September 1 the gratuity of interest on the first year of the loan, not to exceed $160, payable to veterans on receiving title to a property, expired.

"In the interests of assuring that every possible veteran should get this gratuity before the expiration date, the Veterans' Administration Loan Guaranty Division, however overburdened and undermanned, worked day and night, including weekends, to clear an unprecedented number of transactions so that the veterans involved would receive the gratuity. At Town and Country Homes alone, there were approximately 35 transactions completed, in only 10 working days. Under the direction of John E. Mitchell, loan guaranty officer, the VA can well take credit for the spirit which prompted this effort and the effort that, each day, makes for the high degree of efficiency available to veterans.

"The loan guaranty office of the VA maintains a well conceived and readily available information center for the benefit of those veterans who are contemplating the purchase of a home. Pamphlets, explaining the benefits of the GI bill are readily available and are distributed as a further public service at no cost. As real estate brokers, doing business every day with veterans, we have sustained a continuing educational program at Town and Country Homes for our over 50 brokers on the spirit, provisions and workings of the GI Bill of Rights as it affects the veteran home purchaser. Time and again, we have called upon the regional office for aid, clarification or advice only to find that they stand always ready to help those who are endeavoring to help the veteran.

"In addition to the regular course of their work," concluded Mr. Dunnan, "it is further noteworthy that the VA's loan guaranty office stands as a watchtower against those who wittingly seek to take advantage of the enthusiastic veteran. Their competence and watchfulness are the veteran's best guaranty that he is getting the fair deal which is the object of the administration's existence. Combine this with the willingness and friendliness of lending institutions and one must be thankful that here in our area is indeed a situation which affords a happy prospect for the veteran wishing to enjoy the benefits that his grateful Government has made available to him."

OCTOBER 24, 1953.

Gen. WILLIAM J. BLAKE,
Manager, Veterans' Administration Regional Office, Boston, Mass.

DEAR GENERAL BLAKE: Thanks for your letter regarding the GI home-loan program.

Let me say that I am in full agreement with the views expressed in your letter and regard your home-loan program to be one of the soundest and most efficiently conducted of all the fine programs of the Veterans' Administration. From my experience and knowledge, it is my view that the services rendered by John Mitchell and his staff have been outstanding.

With usual good wishes, I am
Sincerely yours,
PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

Changes in Proxy Rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received from Mr. Henry Mayer, of the law firm of Mayer, Weiner & Mayer, of New York City, enclosing a letter which Mr. Mayer had published in the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1954, dealing with changes in the rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission. As Mr. Mayer points out, the rules are not in the interest of minority stockholders, but certainly are to the great advantage of the majority stockholders.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAYER, WEINER & MAYER,
New York, January 18, 1954,

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am sending you herewith a clipping containing my letter to the New York Herald Tribune which deals with the recent changes in the proxy rules which were adopted by the Securities and Exchange Commission at the behest of the American Society of Corporate Secretaries, Inc., the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., Bethlehem Steel, the railroads, and generally, the larger corporations of this country.

As you will gather from my letter, these changes in the proxy rules mean progressively smaller stockholder democracy and greater mangement control.

In addition to the increased percentage requirements, the new changes will make it extremely difficult for stockholders to use the management proxy statement in order to get proposed resolutions presented to stockholders' meetings dealing with such matters as cumulative voting, electing women to various Boards of Directors, changes in pension and bonus plans, etc.

For the past 9 years, for instance, various telephone labor groups which own stock in the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and represent several hundreds of thousands of A. T. & T. employees, who are also stockholders, have presented a series of resolutions pertaining to the company's pension plan. I am advised that there will be a great deal of difficulty about having such resolutions again presented for consideration even though they received in excess of 10 percent of the votes cast the last time because a new amendment to the SEC rules permits the company to refuse inclusion of such resolutions in its proxy statement upon the ground that such resolutions "deal with the ordinary business operations of the corporation."

It is ironic to me, indeed, that the Eisenhower administration has sponsored strike votes among union members for the purpose of advancing "democracy" in trade unions while, at the same time, it is restricting stockholder democracy in corporations through the Securities and Exchange Commission which now includes as a majority of its members, appointees of President Eisenhower.

I am writing to you because the newspapers have either been silent about the SEC changes in rules, or they have praised such changes as a result of a misunderstanding of their import, or, possibly, I am just being too generous about the matter.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

HENRY MAYER.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 17, 1954]

STOCKHOLDERS—CHANGES IN PROXY RULES OF SEC ARE OPPOSED

To the New York Herald Tribune:

Your editorial entitled "The Stockholder's Voice" completely misses the serious import of the new changes in the proxy rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Instead of making that "voice" more persuasive and articulate, as you suggest, the amendments will actually muffle and gradually muzzle stockholders, changing the "town meeting" and refreshing atmosphere that has recently prevailed at stockholders' meetings, into the old nondissenting, cemetery silence that existed before the SEC adopted its original proxy rules.

Your editorial made no reference whatsoever to the fact that the new amendments increased the percentage of votes which a stockholder's proposal must obtain in order to be submitted at the next annual meeting.

Under the old rules, which existed for 9 successive years, a stockholder's proposal required 3 percent of the total votes cast to be eligible for resubmission at the next annual meeting. The new rules expunge the 3 percent yardstick. They substitute a galloping progression of 3, 6, and 10 percent of the votes cast at stockholders' meetings within a 5-year period in order to qualify a proposal for subsequent resubmission.

The increase in percentages is significant particularly in our huge absentee-owned corporations where invariably over 90 percent of the votes are cast by management through the device of a blanket authority proxy and the ballots are counted in secret by tellers appointed by mangement.

These new rules mean progressively smaller stockholder democracy. They mean progressively greater mangement control.

Contrary to your editorial comments, these new rules have no bearing upon the use of stockholders' meetings to gain notoriety, vent a personal grievance, or advance an illegal proposal. As a matter of fact, the new rules retain the so-called "notoriety" feature that has existed for so many years. Furthermore, under the old rules, as well as under the new, stockholders' proposals which are merely for the purpose of venting a personal grievance or which are illegal are specifically excluded. It is therefore a misconception of the effect of the new rules to state that they exclude matters which have always been excluded. To point to such alleged changes as improvements is to becloud the actual effect of the new rules.

The old 3-percent rule has operated without the slightest inconvenience, embarrassment, or tinge of illegality for 9 years. The total percentage of stockholder proposals has been very small (about 2½ percent of all proposals) as compared with management proposals.

The present rules constitute a subtle but giant step toward the extirpation of preexisting beneficial corporate democracy. At the recent hearings before the SEC, numerous examples were proffered which indicated that stockholder proposals were extremely effective in gaining benefits for stockholders and for the particular corporations involved, even though they failed to receive a majority vote. Their constant repetition served to impinge them upon the conscience of corporate management with the result that they were, in many cases, ultimately adopted by management.

It is to be hoped that the SEC will revert in due time to the thesis of corporate democracy and eschew that of corporate oligarchy. But the eloquent and courageous voice of the Herald Tribune will be needed to accomplish that wholly desirable end.

HENRY MAYER.

NEW YORK, *January 8, 1954.*

Voice Must Combat McCarthy's Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Marquis Childs, entitled "Voice Must Combat McCARTHY's Abroad," published in the Washington Post, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VOICE MUST COMBAT McCARTHY'S ABROAD

(By Marquis Childs)

The head of the United States Information Agency, Theodore Streibert, was surprised the other day to get a friendly letter from one who in the past has been a severe critic of USIA. That critic, Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, started a chain reaction of headlines in America and around the world when he charged that USIA libraries in foreign capitals contained pro-Communist literature.

In his letter to the USIA Chief, McCARTHY said that one of his admirers had provided funds to pay for sufficient copies of the Senator's book, McCarthyism, the Fight for America, to furnish at least one copy to each of the USIA libraries in some 60 countries. The latter took it for granted that with such a windfall the director of the reorganized information service immediately would avail himself of the opportunity to stock the McCarthy book.

This does, however, present a certain embarrassment. The reaction to McCARTHY and McCarthyism among political groups of virtually all shadings in Western Europe is strong to violent. American officials abroad are constantly being asked whether thought control, under the intimidations of McCarthyites, is taking hold in this country.

Moreover, the book contains the lengthy speech attacking Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the Army during the war, later Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense, as a front man for traitors in the Communist conspiracy. Marshall's name is venerated in Western Europe as author of the plan credited with stopping the spread of communism after the war. Europeans will find it strange to see in an official library a book by a prominent American that, in effect, denounces Marshall for advancing the Communist cause.

The fact is that the newly reorganized agency has just been given a nod of approval from the United States Advisory Commission on Information in its ninth semiannual report to Congress. This Commission, which includes some distinguished editors, reported:

"In our judgment the new agency is off to a good start. It has a new directive from the President; a new conception of its mission; a new form of organization and many new men in its top positions. While it is altogether too early to judge the results of its work, yet its efforts reflect an honest and intelligent attemp to comply with the wishes of the new administration and of the 83d Congress for a bold new type of program."

After the sensation based on the charges of a year ago, with the accusation of book burning as certain volumes were removed from library shelves and in one instance actually burned, the USIA had rough going. When the agency was separated from the State Department there was an extended search for a capable director. Mr. Streibert, chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting System, finally was prevailed upon to take the post.

Much of the energy of USIA is engaged in proving to Europeans that freedom still flourishes in the United States and that critics of the McCARTHY viewpoint have no trouble making themselves heard. The doubts and fears of Europe were strikingly epitomized in a Message to Young Americans published recently in the magazine of the Swiss equivalent of the YMCA at Geneva. Admitting that their impressions may be mistaken, the youths, through their spokesman, say:

"Tell us then in what America takes pride. Tell us that it is elsewhere than in the possession of the hydrogen bomb, elsewhere than in naval, air, or scientific superiority.

"Tell us that young Americans are thirsting for true freedom, that they intend to offer their own tastes, their individuality, their sensitivity. For we are surprised—and we are not surprised—at the singular activity of JOE McCARTHY. No one has done more to open our eyes to the strange thought control which rages in your midst. We know, furthermore, that if these words ever come to his attention, he will no doubt assert that Switzerland is rotten with bolshevism."

Some young Americans living in Geneva have already sent their replies to the questions put by the magazine. USIA also has asked the Christian Youth Movement, with headquarters in Chicago, to send a direct answer.

The fact that reckless speeches and wild accusations have raised such doubts is in itself tragic. The agency that must tell the American story is too often put on the defensive. And this is at a time when this country is seeking to win the allegiance of non-Communists everywhere so that they will not be merely neutral, but actively for America and the American way of life.

Reduction of Dairy Support Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by John A. Wickland and published in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of February 16, 1954, on the subject of the reduction in dairy support prices.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"QUITE A BLOW," SAY DAIRYMEN OF SUPPORT CUT

(By John A. Wickland)

The dairy industry was not happy Monday.

Spokesmen for it were unanimous in their disapproval of Secretary of Agriculture Benson's order cutting dairy support prices from 90 percent of parity to 75 percent effective April 1.

The Minnesota Farmers Union called on Congress to reverse Benson. The Minnesota

Farm Bureau Federation pointed out it never had supported a reduction of more than 10 percent.

Peterson said he has not had time to figure out what effect the parity reduction would have on fluid milk prices but he thought it might cause a "substantial" drop of as much as 1 cent a quart.

"It's going to be quite a blow to dairymen in this area," said George N. Peterson, general manager of Twin City Milk Producers Association. Officials of Land O' Lakes Creameries, the big cooperative organization, echoed his sentiments.

Frank Stone, Land O' Lakes general manager, said he though it "unfair" that the dairy industry be singled out for the support price reduction while supports remain high for certain other farm products.

He thought the dairy industry would not be opposed to lowering support prices gradually—about 5 percent a year—but added, "we don't feel a potshot should be taken at dairy income."

M. H. Mauritson, Land O' Lakes president, thought Benson was making an awful mistake. "The reduction," he said, "may make quite a disturbance in the dairy industry."

Loudest objection to the new support-price level came from the Farmers Union, whose secretary, Russell Schwandt, said Congress should act before April 1 to provide mandatory price supports of not less than 90 percent of parity on butter and other dairy products.

"This 15 percent cut in the support rate will mean a loss in income of perhaps $35 million to Minnesota dairymen," Schwandt said.

At the same time, the Farmers Union official continued, the action will do little to reduce the dairy surplus or to benefit consumers, since much of the price reduction probably will be offset in higher marketing costs.

"Farmers cannot stay in the dairy business at prices only 75 percent of parity," Schwandt said.

Although Delbert Wells, secretary of the Farm Bureau Federation, said his organization would not make any immediate comment on Benson's action, he pointed out that it previously had suggested a reduction in parity prices of at least 5 and not more than 10 percent.

Some dairymen said farmers actually have been receiving only about 84 percent of parity rather than 90 percent.

They also explained that parity is now being changed from the old formula based on the 1910–14 average prices of farm products to a new formula which also takes into consideration prices for the past 10 years.

Under the old formula, the support price of butter at 100 percent of parity is 72.9 cents a pound, while it is 74.2 cents according to the new formula.

Thus 90 percent of the old formula would place the present support level at 66.8 a pound, while 75 percent figured under the new parity would mean a price of 55.65 cents a pound.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, what is really going on in Indochina? Not only we cannot tell who is winning; we do not even seem to know who is fighting.

Board Rulings of Local 770

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, we hear a great deal about the failure of collective bargaining and about the unreasonableness of labor and of the breakdown in grievance procedures. Of course, that has not been my experience. The thousands of grievance cases which are settled every year through the process of collective bargaining are seldom heard of. We hear only of the so-called news cases, in which management and labor have failed to get together.

As evidence of the fact that sound collective bargaining is going on every day of the week, I now offer for printing in the Appendix of the RECORD a little column which recently appeared in the publication of the Retail Clerks Union, Local 770, A. F. of L., of Los Angeles, Calif., which was sent to me by the able secretary of the local, Mr. De Silva.

The column refers to a series of cases in which the union grievance committee held against the worker and in support of the employer, because under the contract between the union and the employer the board found that the employee was wrong. I believe that when we have evidence of this nature from time to time it is desirable to put it into the official RECORD, as an offset against some of the wild charges that are being made against union activities.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOARD RULINGS

(By Lois McKinstry)

The following rulings were recently passed by 770's Board:

L. F.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to Henry Sacks and George Kubicka.

Disposition: Investigation proved that member did not follow company procedure although rules were posted. Company position upheld.

A. L.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to Jack Boodnick and Henry Sacks.

Disposition: Investigation showed that member had been absent from her job often during the last few years and had not always reported to her manager during illness, etc. Company position upheld.

M. F.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to Bob Madray.

Disposition: Investigation proved that member did not perform as required by employer. Company position upheld.

B. N.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to John Lowe.

Disposition: Store manager had given the member trouble after union had arranged for his reinstatement. Member was reinstated with back pay. Company representative promised to be fair in the future.

N. R.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to Jack Boodnick and George Kubicka.

Disposition: Member did not appear for appointment with committee to investigate discharge. Field representatives conducted investigation and questioned fellow workers and manager. Committee found member was argumentative with customers and fellow workers and he did not do his share of work. Company position upheld.

A. D.-Food, Los Angeles: Discharge protested. Assigned to Arthur Patterson and John Lowe.

Disposition: Committee met with manager of store and as reason for discharge was not proved, member was reinstated with no loss in pay.

I Believe in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House a series of public-service programs being sponsored by radio station WEIM, Fitchburg, Mass., in my district, on "Why I Believe in Massachusetts."

This special series of broadcasts is receiving widespread acclaim in northern Worcester County. My good friend, Mr. Henry G. Molina, Jr., president of WEIM, inaugurated these broadcasts a few months ago over the WEIM facilities in an effort to make Massachusetts residents more aware of the economic, spiritual, and cultural benefits which are theirs. This undertaking is typical of the public-service tradition which has marked radio station WEIM since the beginning of its operations in Fitchburg.

On Sunday, February 16, I was honored and privileged to participate in this special series, and, under unanimous consent, I extend in the RECORD the text of my remarks on "Why I Believe in Massachusetts," which were recorded in Washington for rebroadcast over WEIM.

The material follows:

My dear friends, this is Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of the Third Congressional District, talking to you from the Capitol at Washington.

I feel highly privileged, honored and very grateful indeed to station WEIM for the opportunity to participate in this discussion of Massachusetts and its future. Let me say at the outset, that this forum is a commendable enterprise and that it admirably exemplifies the high and very fine standards of public service which have invariably been a part of the operations of this station.

I have been asked to speak to you briefly on why I believe in Massachusetts. There would be many facets and many phases to a complete answer to this question and, of course, I shall not undertake to deal with all of them.

Historically, economically, politically and spiritually and in many other respects, Massachusetts is truly an outstanding Commonwealth and, in my mind, by and large, the best place in the world in which to live and work. Famed for its monumental contributions to the establishment of American liberty and American prosperity as we have known them and as we know them today, noted throughout the world for the unexcelled devotion of our people to the great truths of free government, celebrated everywhere as truly a great citadel of free en-

terprise, of free initiative and free incentive for the individual, the achievements of Massachusetts in every field could never be excelled.

There are those who for one reason or another, to serve their own selfish purposes, seek to disparage the work, the importance and the future of our great Commonwealth. If we were to believe these purveyors of dispair, we would have to conclude that nothing was right and most everything was wrong with the good old Bay State.

There are pessimists and cynics in every generation ready to ridicule, to minimize and challenge the present accomplishments as well as the future possibilities of nations, institutions, and men. We shall probably always have such skeptical minds among us, and we may well expect to have our share of the fainthearted and the hesitant members of the body politic, who are prepared to read disaster and failure into every temporary obstacle. Such seems to be the nature of man, yet the true American knows no such words as failure or defeat.

Like other sections of the country, we have had, and still have, our special problems of government, of industry, of finance, of social, and economic need.

Like other sections, we have enjoyed high prosperity and we have suffered financial and economic reverses. Like other sections not all of our industries have been fully successful, and some of them influenced by local, national, and even international conditions have at times been forced to close or to transfer their operations to other States. This is always deplorable but it frequently engenders new hope and new aspirations.

In the generation just passed we have witnessed the serious dislocation of our great textile industry. We have seen much of our cotton textiles leave for other parts and a substantial number of our woolen textiles follow a similar course. The same has been true of our boot-and-shoe industry some of which has been transferred to other States. I think also that a considerable number of other industries struggling against some disadvantages, real or imaginary, have been hard put to maintain themselves in competition with similar industries in other States or nations, and have felt it necessary to relocate their plants.

I would be the very last not to acknowledge these actualities and these stark economic facts because they have most always been followed by the very undesirable consequences of unemployment and industrial stagnation in some of our best communities. While these effects have been temporary in most instances, they have been severe and they have brought undoubted hardships to many worthy individuals and many communities.

We all must be pleased to know, however, as loyal sons and daughters of Massachusetts, as believers in her great destiny and her superlative features as a self-governing sovereign State, that these setbacks, while serious, have been temporary. Recent statistics abundantly bear out this statement because they indicate clearly that Massachusetts enjoyed its best year in all history during 1953 when it showed a greater increase in new business than the rest of the United States as a whole. According to no less an authority than Dun & Bradstreet, new business incorporations in the Commonwealth for the first 10 months of 1953 increased about 20 percent over 1952 as against an average gain in the United States as a whole of about 11 percent.

We are also gratified to know that our shoe and leather industry, to which I have referred, and which has for some years past undergone more or less unfavorable readjustments, now continues to enjoy steady gains. It is a matter of official record and I am quoting from authoritative sources that in the first three quarters of 1953 our New England States produced over 33 percent of the entire national shoe output and this represented distinct gains over previous years.

As an offset against decreases in the textile industries, and I may say that these industries have been affected on a Nationwide scale, has been the tremendous growth which Massachusetts has experienced in electronics, plastics, and other fields related to the development of the wonder sciences of the new atomic age in which we are living.

To cite a very cogent example—no other State can boast of the same high degree of technical and research facilities which have become such a significant part of our Massachusetts economy and which augur so bright for the future prosperity of our State.

For example, right here in Massachusetts at the Air Force Research Center at Cambridge established here primarily because of the availability of the tremendous educational and scientific resources than anywhere in the Union, or the world, there was developed in 1953 a magic electronic brain which automatically brings aircraft into its home base at precise intervals of 30 seconds. What does this mean and why do I cite it as an example of Massachusetts' growth and prosperity? It means that airport traffic controllers in only a few short years when military secrecy has been lifted from this magic device, will be able to handle incoming aircraft at civilian airports throughout the Nation at the rate of 120 planes an hour regardless of weather conditions and this is more than three times the rate of landing operations in ideal weather permitted by any other existing system. In this one electronic device alone, and there are many others, I can assure you, is the foundation of a whole new industry, new opportunities for our people, new jobs, new payrolls, new chances for Massachusetts to forge ahead.

This infant industry of such great promise was largely made possible by the efforts of some of us in the Massachusetts delegation in Congress who some few years ago managed to prevent its transfer elsewhere, and we can all feel proud and assured that the Cambridge Center as well as the new $5 million center rising at Bedford are bound to insure many new and splendid opportunities for Massachusetts workers and businessmen.

Those of us associated with developing and strengthening our own Armed Services well know the great stride which Massachusetts has taken in the field of research, not only because of our concentration of outstanding and unexcelled universities and laboratories but also the distinctively special aptitude and skill of so many of our Massachusetts men and women who were able to master the intricate details and precision requirement of successfully implementing many new and fabulous scientific devices.

And it is with genuine pleasure that we can also make note of the fact that our own private industry is keeping pace with Government research in Massachusetts. There are many examples of advancement ranging from revolutionary new typesetting machines to the metalworking industry which produces everything from common pins, sensitive ballbearings to huge gears and giant presses, razor blades to great turbines which develop power which keeps the wheels of industry spinning across the entire country and in remote parts of the world.

In relatively few years, we have doubled the metal working plants, the number of employees in this industry has more than doubled and the value of these many products, big and little, has increased over four times to the almost astounding figure of more than $4 billion. Thus we in Massachusetts have found in diversification of industry, not only the means to offset previous industrial losses of historic businesses, but the ability to forge ahead to new, higher and broader levels of industrial activity hardly ever envisioned by industrial leaders or economists.

The prophets of gloom, the skeptics, and the cynics have been predicting the economic collapse of our section for many years. But they have lived to see their predictions unfulfilled. Massachusetts and New England have met the challenge that must face every generation of Americans and now instead of going backwards our industries are expanding at a greater rate than ever and our economic strength, well-being, and prosperity are showing a steady and gratifying development.

Yes, my friend, I believe in Massachusetts and we all have every reason to believe in our great Commonwealth because she will fulfill, I have no doubt, our fondest hopes for the future. If we continue under this great free Government of ours to give full, free play to the ingenuity, enterprise, brains, and progressive spirit of our people there can be no question whatever about our future economic prosperity because we are standing on the threshold of another era of advancement which, God willing, will bring us untold prosperity and happiness.

The peacetime uses of nuclear atomic power will open a whole new vista of opportunities for our people and Massachusetts with its superb research facilities is in an excellent position to take the lead. Our region will thus benefit greatly from the production of electric power, with nuclear fuel and as our technologists develop new techniques and equipment we are bound to make further substantial gains in our economic position.

We are developing our roads and transportation systems, our railroads, and our airways, and all these will play a part in Massachusetts' future destiny. In fact, many factors, material, economic, scientific, and mechanical will play their proper part. But above all when everything is said and done, when we move into the unprecedented era of the future, as we will, and as we can, provided Government, labor, and management will work together in the American way to harness our resources and great energies, there will be one other factor, the greatest of all, which will insure our success and our triumph over whatever obstacles appear, and that lies in the inspiring devotion, unswerving loyalty and determined patriotic, progressive spirit of the people of Massachusetts themselves who being among the best of all Americans, are proud of their blessed heritage and, under God, are determined to protect and preserve it.

Hence, my friends, you can see why I believe in Massachusetts and her future prospects. It is primarily because I believe in her fine people and have faith in their strength of purpose, their invincible will, and their unceasing determination, to make Massachusetts, and hence our blessed Nation, even better places in which to live.

Thank your very much.

School for Peace?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the news that Uncle Sam is planning a school for the training of air officers comparable to West Point and Annapolis has moved a reader of these notes to propose a new

type of training to counteract our emphasis upon military instruction. A school for peace is suggested, with teachers brought in from countries all over the world to present their languages, customs, traditions, and ideas. Such a school would be interested in breaking down the cultural barriers which separate the nations and would be a logical place for the training of diplomats who would be prepared for their arduous tasks.

No one can question the soundness of the proposal as a theoretical approach to our very practical world problems. Like other similar good suggestions, the one obstacle in the way to its realization is the adamant attitude taken by the Soviet Union to every proposal for improved international understanding. They don't let their professors out of sight. They screen every student who even dares to think of leaving Russia for foreign training. What would happen in the present state of world affairs, at least, is what has happened every time, the western countries would be all for it, but the Soviet orbit would remain impenetrable. After a while, you get a little tired of making all the overtures.

The McNary Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "McNary Protest Justified," published in the Sunday Oregonian of January 10, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCNARY PROTEST JUSTIFIED

The Federal Power Commission's tentative order assigning 92 percent of the total construction costs of the McNary project for repayment from power revenues will be a major blow to Northwest systemwide power rates if allowed to stand. The Northwest Public Power Association, representing 93 public agencies serving almost 2 million people—about 30 percent of the population of the region—is well advised to petition for intervention and rehearing.

The FPC order appears to conflict with Interior Department policy which denies utility responsibility of the Federal Government for power, and points to Federal laws making power a subsidiary consideration. But if the new FPC policy is applied to other dams now under construction on the Columbia, the effect will be to provide a power subsidy—at the expense of the consumers—for navigation, fisheries, and flood control. That has never been the congressional intent.

The Army engineers, in obtaining original authorization for McNary Dam, ascribed 20 percent of the benefits to navigation. The FPC not only had reduced that drastically, but has assigned nothing to the benefit of fish, though millions of dollars have been spent on fishways. These uses always have been "nonreimbursable"—to be met from the Treasury as a national responsibility. One assumes that the same policy, if applied to the Dalles Dam, would charge to the users of electricity the more than $20 million to be paid Indians for taking away their treaty fishing rights at Celilo.

The location of these two dams, McNary and the Dalles, in itself shows the importance of navigation in consideration by the Army engineers and Congress. One would drown out Umatilla Rapids and the other would inundate the barrier at Celilo. A rehearing of the FPC order should be granted.

Chicago Editor Backs Representative Sieminski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following editorial from the Chicago Sun-Times:

SHADOW OF THE IRON CURTAIN IN THE UNITED STATES

Are Americans with close relatives living behind the Iron Curtain banned from employment by the United States Government?

This question was raised in hearings before a House Appropriations Subcommittee recently. Representative SIEMINSKI, Democrat, of New Jersey, charged that the Government's security program carries the implication that 6 million Americans of Polish descent are disloyal.

If his assumption is right, more than Polish Americans would be affected. Persons with relatives in Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and other nations behind the Iron Curtain would be included.

SIEMINSKI raised the point—loudly and angrily—after testimony by Elbert P. Tuttle, acting security officer for the Treasury Department. Tuttle said that an American may be a rugged individual but if he has a mother—for instance—behind the Iron Curtain such a situation may make him a dangerous security risk.

There seems to be no definite rule or order on the subject. Whether a person is "safe" or not seems to depend on an aribtrary decision by his superiors. There are loose criteria set up for the guidance of those superiors. Tuttle explained one of the criteria in a letter of January 28:

"The presence of a close relative of an employee in an unfriendly nation, or identity of a close relative with a Communist organization or activity, while not raising any inference that the employee is subversive, might suggest the possibility that coercion or pressure could be brought on the employee through such relative to engage in subversive activities. It could be said that a person becomes a security risk due to suitability factors only when such factors raise reasonable cause to believe that such person might, at a later date, actually engage in subversive activity."

That criterion puts on a bureaucrat the responsibility for guessing whether a fellow American at some time in the future might turn disloyal because he has a relative behind the Iron Curtain. The average bureaucrat, we submit, will play his own job safe by assuming the worst.

Such a decision might well deprive our country of the services of some of the most effective anti-Communists. Persons whose relatives have suffered at the hands of the Communists are more likely to be anti-Communist than pro-Communist.

It should at least be made clear that an American is presumed loyal until it is proved otherwise—and proof does not consist of someone's guessing that at some time in the future a Federal employee may turn traitor because he has unfortunate relatives in the hands of Communists.

Millions Are Going Hungry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, if any organization has demonstrated its usefulness and its capacity to act with effectiveness to meet human need, that organization is CARE. This nonsectarian, nonpartisan agency has won the respect and appreciation of the American people by its humanitarian services throughout the world. Mr. Thomas L. Stokes has stated cogently some reasons why this organization should now be used in channeling some of our surplus foodstuffs to millions of hungry people, and quotes Paul Comley French, the competent and experienced head of CARE. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Stokes' article, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 25, 1954]

MILLIONS ARE GOING HUNGRY

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Our warehouses are stuffed with surpluses of basic food—wheat, corn, butter, cheese, dried milk, and the like.

Throughout the world 500 million people live at or near starvation levels.

Our Government Commodity Credit Corporation holds over $6 billion of food and farm commodities on loan, owning over $2 billion outright. President Eisenhower recommended to Congress that the CCC's borrowing authority be upped to $6.5 billion, as it already is pressing the authorized $6.75 billion limit.

This recalls dramatically a discussion on hunger in the world a few year ago by that doughty, heart-warming Scotsman, Sir John Boyd-Orr, first director general of the Food and Agriculture Organization, FAO, of the United Nations. In the course of it, Sir John observed that the human race has not yet solved the elemental problem of providing that everybody in the world can get enough to eat and, until it did, we were not going to get very far with our other problems.

He recognized that feeding the hungry and getting them healthy would, of itself, start the solution of other problems. The nation which can help toward that problem also will build up good will for itself. We are in a position to do that and on a far bigger scale than we have attempted hitherto.

The Eisenhower administration and Congress are seeking ways and means. The President recommended a 3-year program for distribution of $1 billion worth of surpluses in his budget message. Valuable advice based on long experience on how to meet the many difficulties involved is being offered by CARE, that joint organization of religious, labor, agriculture, and service groups. Already it has distributed more than $160 million worth of goods around the world.

It has won friends for us all over the world as a nonsectarian, nonpartisan agency interested solely in the welfare of people. In the past it has helped with distribution of limited amounts of our surpluses. It is ready to help with the bigger job now planned.

In an exhaustive analysis of the surplus distribution problem, CARE's executive director, Paul Comly French, has outlined for the administration and Congress the hurdles that will be confronted and suggested ways to get past them. As a matter of policy, we cannot distribute the surpluses in a way that will harmfully affect our own export agricultural trade, or exports of our allies, or that will depress agricultural prices in the country where the food goes. That, in fact, is specified already in the Mutual Security Act.

There are also obstacles in financing distribution, among them, the inability of dollar-short countries to pay freight costs from points of storage in the United States to the seaboard for shipment, or to handle reprocessing costs where reprocessing is necessary for perishable items, or even, in many cases, administrative costs. There are, however, a number of countries which can supply their own ships to transport surpluses to their own lands.

To get our surpluses where they are needed and without interfering with established trade and markets, the CARE survey has suggestions of value. It recommends that they be channeled to refugees and other blocks of depressed persons; to those who consume such a meager share of local agricultural products and those who lack income to buy imported farm products to the point that they are isolated from regular commercial markets. There are many millions of hungry people in these categories.

Obviously there is no one simple, easy solution to all the complications involved. Accordingly, Mr. French advises a combination of means in meeting the financial problem, for example. One is to set aside and use some of the money now spent on storage which will not be needed when surpluses are removed. Another is to have private agencies negotiate with recipient governments, as CARE has done successfully, for payment of as much of the prime and handling costs as they can afford in dollars and in local currency. Then there are contributions from our people who have already been so generous with CARE and other private agencies. Finally, Congress could make up the gap by direct appropriations.

This problem deserves public interest and public support exerted actively upon those in a position to do something about it—the administration, Congress, and private agencies of all sorts which can help.

Newsletter Published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting newsletter published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, dealing with some of the questions of Government spending.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS YEAR'S GOVERNMENT SPENDING ESTIMATED MORE THAN $72 BILLION

During the current 1954 fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1953, it is estimated that the Federal Government will spend $72.1 billion. Of that figure, 70 percent will go for military defense, foreign aid for military purposes, and atomic energy, 9 percent for interest on the national war debt, and 4½ percent for veteran's benefits. In other words, the cost of present and past wars amounts to 83½ percent of the estimated expenditures.

The estimated receipts are $68.3 billion, which leaves an anticipated deficit of $3.8 billion. Direct taxes on individuals account for 45 percent of receipts; direct corporation taxes are 31 percent; excise taxes, including liquor, tobacco, gasoline, telephone, railway fares, jewelry, and entertainment taxes, are 14 percent; customs and other receipts amount to 5 percent; and 5 percent will be borrowed.

WHERE YOUR TAX DOLLAR GOES

The 1st session of the 83d Congress, which adjourned August 3, appropriated $54,539,342,491, which does not include estimated expenditures of $6,575 million for interest on the national debt, $1,500 million for agricultural price supports from moneys already appropriated to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and $684 million for railroad retirement benefits.

So this newsletter deals primarily with the sums appropriated, over which the Appropriations Committees supposedly have jurisdiction, and which not only do not include the sums mentioned above, but also large carryover funds not yet spent in the Defense Establishment and in foreign aid. Appropriations have been regrouped according to purposes for which they are to be spent instead of the particular department of Government which handles them. Days have been spent in securing and checking these figures, which have been rounded for summary tabulation, but there are many which we still do not have—for example, how much money the military spends in colleges for research, or for propaganda and public relations in the press, radio, and television. It is hoped the following figures and percentages may be helpful in understanding how your hard-earned tax dollars are to be spent.

Appropriations made by Congress for the 1953–54 fiscal year

[Dollars rounded to thousands; percent rounded to the nearest tenth]

I. NATIONAL DEFENSE[1]	
Defense Department:	
Army (including civil functions)	$14, 593, 658, 000
Navy	9, 782, 766, 000
Air Force	11, 523, 776, 000
Office of Public Information (military)	450, 000
Office of the Secretary, Joint Chiefs of Staff, National Security Council, and National Security Training Commission, etc	795, 375, 000
Subtotal, Defense Department	36, 696, 025, 000
Atomic Energy Commission (including nonmilitary development work)	1, 057, 781, 000
Selective Service System	29, 882, 400
Strategic and critical materials	30, 176, 000
Emergency Agencies—Office of Defense Mobilization, Defense Transport Activities, Economic Stabilization, Federal Civil Defense Administration, etc	55, 800, 000
Military aid to other countries—military assistance, mutual defense spending, defense financing, etc. Includes financial aid to Indochina, France, and the United Kingdom, and both military and technical aid to Europe (in addition $2,065,785,000 was appropriated from unexpended 1952–53 balances)	$3, 123, 000, 000
Total (75.2 percent)	41, 001, 661, 000
II. COST OF PAST WARS	
Cost of administering the national debt (this figure does not include the $6,575,000,000 which must be spent in addition as interest on the national debt)	$50, 750, 000
Cost of occupation of Germany and Austria (State Department)	40, 438, 000
Veterans' Administration:	
Expenses of administration and operation	221, 201, 000
Maintenance of hospitals, dormitory facilities, out-patients	697, 409, 000
Compensation, pensions, insurance, veterans' benefits, etc	3, 377, 656, 000
Total (6 percent)	4, 387, 454, 000
III. FOREIGN AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS	
Bilateral aid to India, Pakistan, the Arab States, Iran, Israel	$222, 000, 000
United States technical assistance (point 4)	107, 413, 000
Aid to Palestine refugees, from unexpended balances	44, 063, 000
Aid in movement of migrants	7, 500, 000
Technical assistance through the United Nations organizations	9, 500, 000
International children's welfare work (UNICEF)	9, 814, 000
United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency	50, 700, 000
Payment for ocean freight on relief shipments by voluntary agencies	1, 825, 000
Total (0.7 percent)	407, 752, 000
IV. OTHER FOREIGN RELATIONS APPROPRIATIONS	
Contributions to the U. N. and other international organizations for regular activities	$29, 615, 000
United States representatives at international organizations	1, 100, 000
Voice of America, international information and educational activities	75, 000, 000
All other	62, 694, 000
Total (0.3 percent)	168, 410, 000
V. AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES[2]	
Agricultural experimental stations and extension service	$100, 277, 000
Soil conservation	276, 761, 000
International Wheat Agreement (for subsidizing exports)	171, 740, 000

[1] Includes some nonmilitary funds as indicated.

[2] Does not include loans and purchases by Commodity Credit Corporation.

Other services—crop insurance, Production and Marketing Administration, Farmers' Home Administration, etc.	$459,040,000
Total (1.8 percent)	1,008,318,000

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES NOT PRIMARILY AGRICULTURAL

Flood prevention, watershed projects	$12,000,000
Forest service and control of forest pests	106,264,000
Various bureaus under the Department of Interior—Land Management, Reclamation, Geological Survey, Mines, etc.	194,968,000
National Park Service	24,954,000
Fish and Wildlife Service	12,866,000
Bonneville Power Administration	38,866,000
Tennessee Valley Authority	188,381,000
Total (1.1 percent)	578,004,000

VII. SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Grants to States for public assistance, aged, blind, and dependent children	$1,717,563,000
Office of Education	79,100,000
Children's Bureau (not including grants-in-aid to States	1,525,000
Women's Bureau (not including grants-in-aid to States	350,000
Public Health Service	200,120,000
Miscellaneous health and educational services	58,982,000
Assistance for school construction in defense areas	70,000,000
School-lunch program	83,365,000
Food and Drug Administration	5,200,000
Total (4.1 percent)	2,215,855,000

VIII. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Post Office (including anticipated receipts from postage, etc.)	$2,856,560,000
Highway construction—Federal grants	24,562,000
Rivers, harbors, navigation, merchant marine	146,350,000
Airports and aviation	148,835,000
Total (5.8 percent)	3,176,007,000

IX. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Slum clearance programs and urban development (toward completing 20,000 units already started)	$20,000,000
Operation of Federal Housing Authority, Federal National Mortgage Association, and other such organizations	63,741,000
Total (0.2 percent)	83,741,000

X. COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Regulation of domestic and foreign commerce—Patent Office, export control, National Bureau of Standards (nonmilitary activities), Customs, etc.	$67,540,000
Small Business Administration	57,200,000
General regulatory commissions — Interstate Commerce, Federal Trade, Tariff Commission, etc.	270,093,000
Operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation	$9,500,000
Export-Import Bank	1,116,000
Total (0.7 percent)	375,449,000

XI. LABOR

Unemployment compensation and placement	264,885,000
Mediation and regulation of labor disputes	264,885,000
Information, standards, statistics, administrative costs	48,050,000
Total (0.6 percent)	322,060,000

XII. ADMINISTRATION OF LAWS, COURTS, CRIME CONTROL AND CORRECTION

Federal Bureau of Investigation	$77,014,000
Secret Service	3,505,000
Immigration and Naturalization Service	42,261,000
Department of Justice appropriations not already indicated	284,758,000
Administration and operation of the courts	31,320,000
Total (0.8 percent)	436,358,000

XIII. GENERAL GOVERNMENT EXPENSES

Tax collection, auditing, financial management	$51,127,000
Operation of Congress	67,231,000
Civil Service Commission, General Services Administration, and other central functions	195,544,000
Administration of territorial governments and the District of Columbia	14,184,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	84,163,000
Weather Bureau	27,000,000
Total (0.8 percent)	440,570,000
Grand total (100.1 percent)	54,545,229,000

Actual total appropriations, $54,539,342,000 equals 100 percent (discrepancies due, in part, to rounding).

Taking just that part of Federal expenditures which Congress has appropriated, approximately 75 cents of every dollar will go for military and economic defense, 8 cents for previous wars, but not including the national debt, 2 cents for agriculture, but not including price supports, 4 cents for social security, health, education, and welfare combined, 6 cents for the post office, highways, rivers, and airports, less than a cent for commerce and industry, or for labor, three-fourths of a penny for civilian foreign aid and technical assistance programs, and only one-sixteenth of 1 cent for United States contributions and participation in the administrative activities of the United Nations and its 11 specialized agencies, as well as about 15 other international organizations.

THE MILITARY EMPLOYS MORE THAN HALF OF ALL FEDERAL CIVILIAN WORKERS

Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, reported on October 5, 1953, that employment in Federal executive agencies at the end of August was 2,430,412. Of these, 1,256,066 were employed by the Defense Department and closely related military activities. (This is in addition to approximately 3,500,000 men and women in uniform. According to Senator BYRD, there is a vast number of foreign nations working for United States agencies overseas still unreported, so this figure is very incomplete. Also, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that about 6 million people are employed in primary defense industries.)

Post office employees add up to 497,265 and the Veterans' Administration has 180,289 on its payroll. This leaves only 496,792 employees for all other Government agencies.

In other words, in round numbers, out of every 100 civilian employees of the Federal Government, exclusive of Congress and the courts, 52 work for the military, 20 in the Post Office and 7 in the Veterans' Administration. This leaves less than 21 percent for all other Government activities. Of these, 3 each are involved in the Department of Agriculture and the Treasury, and 2 each in Commerce and Interior. There are approximately one each in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of State, Department of Justice, TVA, General Services Administration, and in operating the Panama Canal. The remaining 5 include one-fifth of a person in Labor, one-half each in Voice of America and the Housing and Home Finance Administration, and the remaining less than 3 jobs divided among the executive and all other Government functions.

United States participation in the arms race, the cold war, and the cost of past wars entails the employment of 89 men as over against 3 engaged in health, welfare, housing, labor, and the TVA combined, or each 3 engaged in agriculture, and each 2 involved in services to commerce and industry.

After the Big Four Talkfest—What?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, whenever a high-level international conference ends, the coroners jury meets to hand down its verdict. This time there can be little doubt. If world peace hopes are not yet dead, they are certainly under deep anesthesia. Only one positive gain from the western viewpoint emerged from the Berlin meeting of France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and Uncle Sam. That was the sturdiness of the political alliance which the Western Powers have established.

Most of the Soviet's propaganda offensives at Berlin were directed at the prospect of easing the French out of their close association with us. The Russians know that the one inflexible factor in French politics is fear of a strong Germany. This has been the cornerstone of Russian Middle European diplomacy—keep Germany divided and the French will not be eager to join any strong military alliance directed at Russia. But the French conservative leadership has shown a surprising resistance to the Soviet's overtures. As a result, Berlin simply puts the countries a little more uncompromisingly on record. The status quo in Europe remains as much in status as ever, and prospects for a return to something approaching normal conditions, with military occupation forces withdrawing from foreign lands are as remote as the South Sea Islands on a February morning.

Translated into American terms, the Berlin business means more preparations on the military front, more un-

certainties for American boys, and continued large-scale spending on exactly those things the world longs to do without—the weapons of human destruction. The stalemate continues, but the players are not yet losing their patience.

Lavish Spending in Political Campaigns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago Miss Gail Heinold, the editor of Ye Olde Octopus, student publication at the Clinton, Mass., High School, wrote me for my comments on the question, "Can a poor man be elected to the United States Senate?"

My reply appeared in the January 15 issue of this excellent school paper and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD with pertinent excerpts from Ye Olde Octopus. I also ask that Miss Heinold's original request to me be included in the RECORD.

The material follows:

[From the Ye Olde Octopus of January 15, 1954]

CONGRESSMAN PHILBIN REPLIES TO RECENT OCTOPUS SURVEY—SAYS THAT ELECTION COSTS ARE SUBSTANTIAL

Today the Octopus presents with pride a reply received from the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN, United States Congressman from the Third Massachusetts District, on the important national question, "Can a poor man be elected to the United States Senate?"

In his reply to Miss Gail Heinold, editor of the Octopus, Mr. PHILBIN wrote, "It is not possible for anyone to be elected to high office these days without a substantial outlay of money."

He said he knew men of no great means who are presently Members of the Senate, but added: "I hardly think that one would be able to refer to them as poor men prior to their election because for the most part they were successful lawyers, professional, or businessmen."

He added, "The answer to this question would be quite different because it is not possible for anyone to be elected to high office these days without a substantial outlay of money for campaign expenses."

Congressman PHILBIN'S full reply to the Octopus will be found on page 5 of this issue.

CLINTON CAVALCADE

Our top weekly orchid goes to the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN for his story to the Associated Press about a question submitted to him by editor Gail Heinold. This gave our newspaper a tremendous boost all over the country for its penetrating insight to pertinent national questions. We are indebted to Congressman PHILBIN for his fine plug to our school newspaper. He should also get another award for his fine and prompt reply to our question Can a poor man be elected to the United States Senate? We expect to publish the replies to that survey in next week's issue. We promise that you will enjoy all the replies as we run them week to week. Among the contributors will be J. Edgar Hoover, Nathan Pusey, president of Harvard University; Senator John Kennedy; Gov. Christian Herter; Senator Leverett Saltonstall; and many, many others. Watch for these articles.

CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL,
Clinton, Mass., December 12, 1953.

DEAR SIR: Our school newspaper, the Octopus, is conducting an opinion poll. The question we have selected is, Can a poor man be elected to the United States Senate? We would be very grateful for your opinion on this question.

We plan to tabulate the results of this poll and build one of the future issues of our school newspaper around this survey.

We would greatly appreciate your help in this poll.

Sincerely yours,
GAIL HEINOLD, *Editor.*

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
December 26, 1953.

Miss GAIL HEINOLD,
Editor, the Octopus, Clinton High School, Clinton, Mass.

DEAR GAIL: I was pleased to have your letter in behalf of the Octopus asking me to comment on the question, "Can a poor man be elected to the United States Senate?"

I assume that you mean a qualified poor man, one who by virtue of ability, training, and experience is fitted to hold this very high office. Generally, I must say that the answer is "Yes," since I know many men of no great means who are presently Members of the Senate. I hardly think that one would be able to refer to them as poor men prior to their election because for the most part they were successful lawyers, professional or business men.

The question takes on a different meaning, however, if we should inquire whether a relatively poor man could be elected to the Senate without having someone put up the money by way of contribution to conduct an election campaign. The answer to this question would be quite different because it is not possible for anyone to be elected to high office these days without a substantial outlay of money for campaign expenses. In some cases the amount spent by candidates seeking election to the Senate and other high offices raises the distinct question as to whether or not such lavish spending is in accord with democratic institutions. In my opinion, huge campaign funds constitute a great evil because in many instances they are accumulated as a result of contributions from self-serving and self-seeking individuals or groups, and from a civic standpoint, this is most undesirable.

Both Federal and State governments have corrupt practices laws limiting campaign expenditures, but there are technical loopholes that permit candidates and their supporters legally to make huge expenditures notwithstanding these laws. I have always felt that there should be very strict legal limits upon lavish expenditures in political campaigns. In view of the high current cost of conducting a statewide campaign, however, any limit imposed should be reasonable so long as it avoids the unsavory results that usually flow from heavy contributions by specially interested persons or groups.

It is certainly not impossible in America, thank God, for one who comes from a poor family, and who by his own integrity, talents, ability, energy, and determination has achieved the confidence of his fellowman, to attain high office. There are many examples of such men who have risen to high public station, and that is the way it should be because that is merely a reflection of that American principle of free opportunity of which we are so proud. However, there have been some glaring examples of the use of wealth and huge campaign funds to influence elections and that is something we must guard against if we are to retain a truly representative Government in the interests of all the people.

Public office is still a public trust, and every American should have the right to aspire to public life. But qualifications must always be a determining factor in electing men to office, because unless we have honest, capable, experienced, courageous men in office we will not have the type of leadership necessary to deal with the great problems which confront the Nation and the world. Without resolute, trained, leadership, democracy will perish.

I want to congratulate you and your associates upon the fine work you are doing with the Octopus, and if there is anything further that I can do, please let me know.

With the season's best wishes to all, I am

Sincerely yours,
PHILIP J. PHILBIN.

Benson Embarrassed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an article by Frederick C. Othman, entitled "Benson Embarrassed," which appeared in the East St. Louis (Ill.) Journal on February 17, 1954:

BENSON EMBARRASSED—SECRETARY HAD CHEAP VACATION SPOT

(By Frederick C. Othman)

WASHINGTON.—My scheme to slip the Department of Agriculture $2 a night rental for Secretary Ezra T. Benson's Blue Ridge Mountain hideaway and there spend my vacation has gone blooie.

The Secretary has moved out two beds, a chest of drawers, a chair, a sofa, a set of dishes, and the pots and pans. Says they're his'n. So I've changed my plans. Two dollars a day is a bargain price for a picturesque rural retreat, but I still figure I deserve a bed, as well as a plate from which to eat my dinner.

What brings up these rueful reflections about the cottage for rent at the Front Royal, Va., cattle research station is the Secretary's own statement concerning what's been going on there. The management had the place fixed up, all right (at a cost of $1,610.80) when he observed last spring that it was dilapidated. Said it would be a good place for official visitors to spend the night.

Well, sir, the only official visitor turned out to be the Secretary himself, and members of his family. They spent 9 days and nights there, all told, and Secretary Benson was presented with a bill for $18, which he paid.

The Washington Daily News first told us taxpayers in January about the nice spot we'd prepared for the Secretary.

Came then Benson before the House Appropriations Committee to explain the billions his Department intended to spend this fiscal year, and first thing you know he was answering questions about life in Front Royal. He was a bitter man.

He said that dispatch in the News was malicious, sensational, and also a smear. The story may have been embarrassing, but it struck me as a simple, straightaway presentation of the facts. Representative FRED MARSHALL, Democrat, of Minnesota, said he'd also read in the Wadena (Minn.) Pioneer

Journal an article that insinuated Secretary Benson had misused public funds.

"I have nothing to hide," said the Secretary. He then produced a formal statement, which said the cottage had been standing a long time, and when he saw it first, in April 1953, it was in need of repair.

From funds which had been established as contingencies for animal husbandry, $2,000 was allotted for the guest house. Workmen sanded the floors, painted the place, and put in new door screens, window glass, hardware, and a water heater, and had $389.20 left over.

Then the Bureau of Animal Industry scrounged a dozen plain chairs from its welfare association and the Secretary loaned—that's the word in the official statement—kitchen utensils, dishes, a chair, a small chest of draws, and two beds.

The statement said Secretary Benson had removed these household effects "because of his desire that things not only be right but seem right."

His statement went on to say that the Bureau decided after proper cogitation, in accordance with Bureau of the Budget Circular A–45, that a proper rental would be $2 per day.

As it turned out, the only official visitors were Secretary Benson and family. He didn't pay nightly for his 9 nights, but got a bill for $18 at the end of the year.

The Congressmen also wanted to know about reports that he's spent $6,000 for a new rug in his office. Secretary Benson said old-fashioned air conditioners had leaked water on the old carpets in 13 rooms occupied by himself and staff. New carpeting cost $5,263.45.

I still wish he'd left the furniture at Front Royal. I'd have paid extra for it by the night.

A Risk Is a Risk Is a Risk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the late Gertrude Stein achieved immortality in the literary world with her new approach to language illustrated by such sentences as "A rose is a rose is a rose." The Democrats are doing their best to embarrass the Republicans with all kinds of hollering and yammering about Communists in the Federal Government. They have been demanding a breakdown of the firings of some 2,200 assorted gentry in key Washington departments, insisting that most of these dismissals did not involve Communists.

To which the reply is obvious enough, "What difference does it make if a man is no good because he cannot keep his mouth shut on atomic secrets, or spills confidential information under the influence of intoxicants, or does the same thing because he is a drug addict, pervert, or just plain sap? A risk is a risk is a risk, and such people are dangerous to the security of these United States." What is more, every one of these peculiar characters got into the Government service under the Democratic administrations of the 1933–53 period, and getting rid of them is as important a piece of business as we have to do.

We are doing it, and neither the Dems' delirium nor the Commies' commotion will stop the process.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Portrait of Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest evaluations of the life and works of Abraham Lincoln that I have seen in a long time is contained in an article by Stuart L. Hannon which appeared in the February 1954 issue of the Foreign Service Journal. The following is a condensation of this article:

The man Lincoln would not fit any of Thomas Carlyle's hero categories as divinity, as prophet, poet, priest, king, or man of letters. Yet he was a little of each, excepting the king, a peculier combination of political evangelist and poetic humanist, as grotesque externally as Don Quixote or Ichabod Crane, and yet as wise and full of moderation as the ancient Greeks.

To understand this strange, lovable, tragic figure who became a saviour and who by many was compared with Moses, it is necessary to look at his early life and mature achievements in broad prospective. It is seldom that one finds in history a man who is such a unique product and reflection of his native environment, and yet who is so universal in his greatness. It would be difficult to find a more complete embodiment of the American ideal than Lincoln. The combinations of lowly origin and exalted achievement, of moral and physical strength with gentleness and forbearance, of woeful unpreparedness and astounding accomplishment, of the love of practical liberty and hate of special privilege, these combinations are part of the American ideal—however unattainable to most of us—so beautifully developed in Abraham Lincoln. His inexhaustible sense of humor and talent for anecdote also combined happily, in the American image, with his tall, awkard, and homely figure with its ill-fitting clothes.

Typical of this pattern and of the unaffected honesty of Lincoln's whole demeanor, was one of the stories told about him when he was President. A slightly pompous but elegantly dressed foreign diplomat decided to amuse himself at Lincoln's expense and said: "By the way, Mr. President, I understand you black your own boot." Lincoln's reply was, "Yes, Mr. Ambassador, I do. Whose boots do you black?" he asked with equal politeness. Lincoln once wrote to a friend: "Through life I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness not quite free from ridicule."

Who was this man Lincoln, whom we revere and around whom so much legend and so many factual studies have grown up? What was his personal background, the background of his time? Historically, it was quite cruel. When Abraham was born Napoleon was ravaging Europe. When he was 3, during the War of 1812, the Indian allies of England massacred the garrison of early Chicago. Two years later the British burned the Capitol at Washington, the Library of Congress, and the White House. Slavery was already a political issue when Abraham was a boy of 10.

Lincoln's world environment was one which might have developed a quite different character and personality, just as it developed fanatics like John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison. But he was protected, in a sense, by the isolation of the frontier, by his poverty, by the proudly free, if hard and ignorant, life of the pioneers. But it was also a restricted, parochial environment in which no one was likely to rise to prominence, at least outside his immediate community.

Lincoln's ancestors were weavers, carpenters, and pioneer farmers. As for the child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, the future appeared almost hopeless. Neither parent could read or write, although Lincoln's father did learn to sign his name, with considerable effort. The Kentucky cabin in which Lincoln was born was grim and cold. When the family moved to Indiana, several years later, they lived in an unfinished cabin, with one side open to the fierce winter. An outdoor fire on the open side was supposed to heat the cabin. There was no floor except the earth, no windows. A bearskin hung over the entrance. The Lincolns at this time had no knives and forks so they ate with their fingers. Soap was rarely, if ever, seen. When the exhausted mother died at the age of 34, Lincoln was 9 and his sister was 12. Things became much worse before they got better.

It was here in Indiana that young Lincoln acquired his elementary knowledge of reading, writing, and Euclid. When he could be spared from work, he walked 2 miles to school. His entire contact with formal education lasted less than a year. But his unending thirst for knowledge, which became almost legendary, began here and never stopped until he was a fully grown and famous man. The young frontiersman borrowed books from miles around. He read the Bible, Aesop's Fables, Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, History of the United States, a Life of George Washington, etc. Soon he was attracted by the Laws of Indiana. Lincoln read his books several times, pondered over their style, debated with himself their arguments or message.

In 1830 Lincoln's father moved the family again, this time to new and better land in Illinois, always farther westward, the pulse of the times. Shortly thereafter, Lincoln left the family for his first independent job at nearby New Salem. He was 22. His contacts with men, the frontier, politics, life in general, began to deepen and broaden. He was soon to fall in love. His reading now included Shakespeare and Robert Burns, and he studied English grammar avidly. At 23, he ran for the State legislature, campaigning for local improvements, emphasizing the value of education, of knowledge of one's own and other countries, of guidance by the scriptures. One campaign statement was prematurely typical of Lincoln. Speaking of men's ambitions, he said: "I have none so great as that of being truly esteemed by my fellowmen, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem." Then he concluded by saying that should he lose, it wouldn't be a matter of much chagrin because he had become too familiar with disappointments already. It was a curious speech, but already revealed a flair for politics. Since he was not known outside his own precinct he lost, but in his territory he received 277 of 300 votes.

Lincoln's reading now moved into a still broader stream—Gibbons' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Voltaire, Paine, Volney, volumes on ancient history, Blackstone's Commentaries on law, poetry, etc. His livelihood came to him through an assortment of jobs—storekeeper, postmaster, surveyor, but his heart had long been set on the law and politics. In August 1834, he received his first big chance for political advancement. Although his early predilection had been for the Whig Party, particularly for the great figure of Henry Clay whom he admired, Lincoln accepted and was elected as Representative to the General Assembly of Illinois.

Lincoln's personal life was absorbed by an excessive, almost supernatural amount of melancholy. * * * His law partner, Herndon, once said: "If Lincoln ever had a happy day in 20 years, I never knew of it, * * * melancholory dripped from him as he walked." Lord Charnwood, one of the ablest of Lincoln biorgaphers, commented that the Great Emancipator "was being molded fo rendurance rather than for enjoyment." The phrase is well-turned because Lincoln, even in the eyes of those who worked and suffered greatly, utterly atounded them with his capacity for mental labor and anguish. * * * From the days of his early Mississippi experiences he had hated slavery, had exclaimed "If slavery is not wrong then nothing is wrong." Yet he disagreed with the violent methods of Abolitionists, and knew furthermore than many Southerners were opposed to slavery. In addition, slavery, was not yet unconstitutional. Now began the period of the great Lincoln-Douglas debates which rocked the Nation. Until this moment, Lincoln was not widely known, although he had represented Illinois in Congress for 2 years.

Douglas was a formidable rival, short of stature, full of vitality, a political expert. On the same platform, Lincoln and Douglas looked like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Lincoln's great simplicity, honesty, and remarkable eloquence caught the imagination of the people. Huge crowds assembled from considerable distances to hear "Honest Abe." We can only give a glimpse of the debates here, but one or two quotations may convey Lincoln's arguments well enough. Speaking of slavery, he said:

"It is the old issue of property rights versus human rights, the eternal struggle between two principles. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same spirit that says you toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it. Whether those words come from the mouth of a king, or from one race of men who seek to enslave another, it is the same tyrannical principle. As a Nation, we began by declaring 'All men are created equal.' There was no mention of any exceptions to the rule in the Declaration of Independence. But we now practically read it 'All men are created equal except Negroes.' If we accept this doctrine of race or class discrimination, what is to stop us from decreeing in the future that 'all men are created equal except Negroes, foreigners, Catholics, Jews, or just poor people?' Many good citizens agree with the judge that we should accept that conclusion—don't stir up trouble, let each State mind its own business. But I advise you, watch out. When you have enslaved any of your fellow beings, dehumanized him, denied him all claim to the dignity of manhood, placed him among the beasts, among the damned, are you quite

sure that the demon you have thus created will not turn and rend you? All I am trying to do, now, and as long as I live, is to state and restate the fundamental virtues of our democracy, which have made us great, and which can make us greater. I believe most seriously that the perpetuation of those virtues is now endangered, not only by the honest proponents of slavery but even more by those who echo Judge Douglas in shouting 'Leave it alone.' This is the complacent policy of indifference to evil, and that policy I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republic of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions everywhere to taunt us as hyocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity. There can be no distinction between one section and another, one race and another, one class and another. A house divided against itself cannot stand. This Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free."

On the day before his 52d birthday, Lincoln left Springfield for Washington. In choosing his Cabinet he chose no yes men or henchmen but strong individualists, including rivals of the recent Presidential campaign, men who were to oppose him and quarrel with him but who were highly qualified in their own right. One of his most ruthless critics, to whom he gave the post of Secretary of War, became one of his stanchest supporters and admirers. And over Lincoln's bier more than 4 years later, Stanton said: "There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen."

With heavy heart, Lincoln stated the Union case in his inaugural address. His closing statement was a strong and warm appeal to the South to stay the hand of secession:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.' I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

The military side of the war between the States posed grave problems for the President, problems which he had to resolve for the first 2 years without much help, and, with almost crushing opposition within his own camp. * * * And so, as the President worried through one military reversal after another, appointing and replacing generals as they proved incompetent or arrogant or both, he himself, the most peaceful of men, the most sensitive to human anguish, became a military leader.

One of the first to recognize this fact was Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War to Stanton. Looking back on his close association with Lincoln and the course of the war, Dana wrote: "If one will study the records of the war and the writings related to it, he will agree with me that the greatest general we had, greater than Grant or Thomas, was Abraham Lincoln." Dana compared him with von Moltke as a strategist. After World War I, an Englishman, Brig. Gen. Colin Ballard, wrote a book entitled "The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln," in which he did a rather effective job of proving the book's title. To Ballard, Lincoln was the supreme strategist of the North, "the forerunner of what we now call the High Command." * * * In one of the most stupendous campaigns in military history, Grant hammered at Richmond while Sherman, with 100,000 men, drove for Atlanta to sever the Confederacy. Of Sherman's Army, a Southern general said "There has been no such army since Caesar." The cost to both sides was frightful, for General Lee, with able lieutenants, still commanded the Confederates, now fighting with their backs against the wall. In 1 battle, in 1 hour, the North lost 7,000 men killed.

Against this background, the election of 1864 was coming up, and Lincoln's enemies were legion. It was a bitter anti-Lincoln campaign and he was almost resigned to losing it. Political opportunism was rampant and rank. But with the fall of Atlanta, the hopes of Lincoln's opponents also fell, and the President was reelected—reelected by the people. Many of them came to serenade him at the White House following the election. He expressed deep gratitude for the confidence placed in him, and refused to impunge the motives of those who opposed him, often most cruelly. He referred to the severe test of an election during a civil war, and said: "But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections." He counseled against vindictiveness. Lincoln wanted no Carthaginian peace. He had long worried about the extremists, the abolitionists, and others, who were only waiting for vengenace at the end of the war. Terrifying issues would be the treatment of the Negroes, even though legally freed in 1863, and the treatment of the rebellious officers and men.

The manificent second inaugural address, filled with the spirit of conciliation, with pleas for moderation, ended with this sublime supplication: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Eighteen days before Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Lincoln left Washington with his wife and one son, Tad, for what appeared to be a brief vacation from his overwhelming burdens. But his destination was General Grant's headquarters, and the purpose of his journey was to help General Lee, commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies. Lincoln had never recognized secession; to him there was only one nation, indivisible. He knew that many men would, at the end of the war, still wish to treat the South like a conquered nation, a segregated state. Lincoln had never clearly stated his plans for surrender. He had to be a shrewd politician to hold the North together, but he had no intention of permitting this political role to compromise his principles or moral judgments. And in this spirit he met with Grant and Sherman in conference.

What was said behind locked doors has never been completely or clearly reported. But when Grant met Lee on April 9, 1865, after a few reminiscences of their days long before the war, Grant wrote out the astonishing terms of a surrender which was unconditional. The enlisted men were to surrender their arms, the officers to keep theirs; all were to go home in peace, with the promise not to fight the Government again. Lee's men were also permitted to take horses and mules with them, "for the spring plowing," as Grant explained the gesture. On hearing that Lee's men were near starvation, Grant asked his men who had 3 rations to turn over 2 to the southerners. As Lee departed, almost in tears over the unprecedented terms, so light and gentle, Union troops who had heard of the surrender began to fire salutes of victory. Grant ordered all celebration to cease. "The rebels," he said, "are our countrymen again; the best rejoicing will be to abstain from demonstrations in the field." The Civil War, which took the lives of 610,000 Americans, was over.

* * * * *

On a bright spring afternoon in April 1865, the President talked to Mrs. Lincoln about their life. "Mary, we must be more cheerful in the future," he said. "Between the war and the loss of our darling Willie, we have both been very miserable." That evening, they went to the theater, and on entering their box the play was stopped and a tremendous ovation given the President. He relaxed and after a while, the war, with its suffering, unbridled passion, and corruption, was for an hour or so replaced by enjoyment. Lincoln smiled and laughed. Mary Todd Lincoln held her husband's hand, and he remarked that the gossips certainly wouldn't know what to make of that. Peace was warm and good and life seemed normal. Then suddenly there was a pistol shot. The President slumped over in his chair, mortally wounded by a bullet in the brain. A man leaped from the box to the stage shouting the incredible words, "Sic semper tyrannis," and disappeared. It was April 14, Good Friday.

And so, with the assassination of its principal actor, the tragic drama and era of the Civil War, of slavery and disunity, came to a close. The struggle of man against the inexorable was classic in its tragic height and depth. Wrote Lincoln's secretary, John G. Nicolay: "It would seem that Providence had exacted from him the last and only additional service and sacrifice he could give his country—that of dying for her sake. Those of us who knew him will certainly interpret his death as a sign that Heaven deemed him worthy of martyrdom." Walt Whitman began his immortal poem When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd, and a world began to mourn—mourn for a man of freedom and democracy, for one who had liberated 3 million slaves and sayed a nation.

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence?" he had asked one day. "It is not our army and navy—these are not our reliance against tyranny. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."

In America, the bells began to toll and the guns, thousands of guns that had just become silent, began to rumble, hour after hour, like distant drums. There was a funeral in the Nation's Capital. And then, a train of eight coaches, draped in black, started north—through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, then west through Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago until, finally, it reached the beginnings of the man who was no more—Springfield, Ill.

In Washington, a Negro regiment led the funeral march. For miles outside the big cities the train tracks were lined with people. Everywhere the Nation stood waiting for the black train. In Philadelphia 500,000 mourners crowded toward Independence Hall where the bier lay in state. All along the road to the west, for 14 days, were the people waiting, the common people Lincoln had loved. As he once observed, "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them."

What really mattered, however, was the event of his life, not the accident, however monstrous, of his death. But as the funeral train moved so slowly westward, as it passed the solemn multitudes, the white and the black, the rich and the poor, men of the cities and of the prairies, those who had fought in blue and those in gray, they could think only of the martyr and canonize his memory with their last devotion and prayers.

Yet many, then as now, must have taken deep comfort and soaring hope, from the evangelical words they had all learned from a place called Gettysburg:

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

TWA: Creator of Good Will

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, one of the world's great airlines, Trans-World Airlines, has its principal office in my home State at Kansas City, Mo., and the following article written by Ernest A. Kehr shows the importance and influence of airline service in promoting international good will:

[From the Western Stamp Collector of January 5, 1954]

AIRMAIL—CREATOR OF GOOD WILL

(By Ernest A. Kehr)

Mail, even airmail, is so taken for granted these days that neither public nor philatelist realizes the importance of rapid postal communications in spheres other than communications. We seem so busy considering the design, color, or printing quality of adhesives that we overlook the significance of the service for which they are prepared.

When Queen Victoria, in 1839, approved the inauguration of the Penny Post and subsequently endorsed the use of labels to frank letters, she is quoted as saying that cheap postage "is of utmost importance in uniting our peoples in the farflung outposts of our Empire."

In these days particularly when the United States is diplomatically, politically, and morally jockeying to rally the free peoples of the world around the banner of democratic liberty, the postal service made possible by American air carriers is playing a role which too few persons recognize.

On my recent tour of Africa and the Middle East, I encountered unexpected praise for United States air service at almost every stop.

I heard it first in Rome, where I visited with Prof. R. de Caterini, director-general of the PTT. "The ability of our citizens to get prompt and reliable airmail service between Italy and the United States is one of the major factors that has kept our country from falling for the fantastic Communist propaganda lies with which our land has been saturated since the exodus of the Nazi-Fascist oppressors," he said.

"Some of our more literate citizenry, when confronted with a new attack on American capitalism can communicate with friends and relatives in the United States, check the veracity or most frequently, the falsehood of statements made and have firsthand answers back before the issue gets cold. Of course, radio broadcasts supply rebuttals within hours, but the effect of a reply from a person one intimately knows has much more effect than a public utterance over a cold radio receiver."

Business, too, is improved by the service offered by Trans-World Airlines, which has direct flights between New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and Rome. The Italian Airline (LAI), of course, spans the Atlantic, but because it flies only once or twice a week, depending upon the season, the majority of last year's 140,000 pounds of mail was put abroad the United States planes.

This same sentiment was echoed in Egypt, where TWA is one of the major business institutions. Although the planes of a dozen foreign airlines serve Cairo around the clock, the bulk of mail to and from the United States is carried in TWA-tagged sacks. The chief clerk at the International Airport post office pointed to the score of men sorting letters with addresses all over the earth and explained that while a TWA plane might leave Cairo only 15 hours after the next European flight, the ultimate time saved by not having to make a transfer in Paris, Geneva, Zurich, Lisbon, or London, guarantees that the letter will be delivered in the United States much faster because of the directness of TWA's route.

In Arabia, the same thing holds true, and in Bagdad and Teheran.

In the Middle East, service is particularly important as an instrument of good will. Before airports replaced the caravansary, hardly any of the nomad citizenry ever got far beyond the sphere of camel transport. Today, as one enters a red and silver Constellation, his companions are Arab businessmen off on a short professional hop, or a whole family going for a vacation somewhere along the cooler Mediterranean.

But even more vital than the service (mail, passenger, and cargo) which TWA offers to these politically critical areas is the manner in which it operates.

The so-called backward nations of this part of the world have in the past been subjected to business methods that were exploitation at best. They have traditionally become suspicious and wary of foreign interests. Imperialism exists and thrived to a point where Communist propaganda could truthfully tell an impoverished populace, "You toil and slave while the capitalists regale in the profits from your sweat and your nation's natural resources."

Officially the United States (which never exploited its territorial possessions) could disclaim any charge of helping with an ulterior motive. But it remained for TWA and a few other American business enterprises (Coca-Cola, International Business Machines, etc.) to prove it.

When it began serving the area roughly 5 years ago, its staff was American from pilot to station manager. Today each station is chiefly staffed by natives who have learned the intricacies of aviation.

As a matter of policy, every new opening, every promotion is made available to a native, and taken by an American only when native talent cannot meet the qualifications demanded by the job.

Knowing that they have equal chances of employment by American firms, the people of the Middle East nations cannot be convinced by enemies of democracy that the United States intends to enslave them.

The regard with which these nations hold Americans is best demonstrated by the fact that the King of Transjordan bestowed upon Jim Keegan, manager of TWA's Middle East district, the title of Bey, an honor received by fewer than a dozen white men within the last decades. A personal honor, it actually was a tribute to TWA for its contribution to the advancement of a desert nation.

This piece may seem far afield from pure philately, yet I feel that stamp collectors ought to knew that the colored pieces of paper in their albums really have a much broader influence on world affairs than is realized as one looks at them on a cover flown by airmail or mounted on a printed album page.

Political Asylum Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Soviet Union and the international Communist conspiracy are the greatest threats to world peace. We can advance the cause of world peace if we encourage the internal disintegration of the Red empire.

One method to accomplish this is to aid Communist government officials to abandon their positions of leadership, defect to the West, and provide us with valuable information. Such a program, if successful, would create chaos and confusion behind the Iron Curtain and divert Soviet attention from its plans for world conquest and would weaken the control of Moscow over the Communist world.

I am introducing legislation today which provides for such a program. This legislation, to be known as the Political Asylum Act of 1954, would allow the admission into the United States of Communist government officials who renounce their allegiance to communism, flee from a Communist country, and supply information to the United States which is valuable and useful to our national security. Any Communist government official who is outside the Iron Curtain would be granted asylum if he refused to return to communism. The term "Communist government official" would include any person who is an officer, employee, or member of the military, naval, or air forces of any Communist country, or of the foreign service, or of the security or the intelligence organization of such country.

To avoid the possibility that members of a Communist official's family might be held as hostages, this bill would also allow his wife and children to enter the United States.

Mr. Speaker, last fall, as a member of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy, I visited 26 countries. I found during the course of my travels, which took me into virtually every country on the perimeter of the Iron Curtain, from Berlin to Korea, that there are thousands of Communist officials who would defect if given proper encouragement. In the course of my discussions with many refugees from the Reds it was brought out that a large number of Communist government officials are civil servants from previous democratic governments who for their own personal safety have remained in the service of the Communists. To date our Government has barely scratched the surface in encouraging escape from behind the Iron Curtain. My legislation would provide a definite program of political asylum.

An undertaking such as I propose could have several salutary results.

First. We would receive valuable information which is not available to us today.

Second. We would create chaos, confusion, and distrust in the inner councils of Communist governments.

Third. Persons who renounce communism and come to the West could form the nucleus of new governments to be established at such time as the Iron Curtain countries are liberated, in much the same manner as refugee governments we set up during World War II. These groups could be clearinghouses for resistance movements and could form underground lines of communication between the East and West.

Mr. Speaker, we must recognize the fact that aggressive steps on our part are necessary to foment the breakup of the Red empire. It is folly to expect these countries to fall apart of their own accord in view of the police states that have been established.

I have studied this matter for weeks since my return from abroad and feel that now is the time for bold action by our country. The riots in Eastern Germany are an indication of the mass unrest which exists. The celebrated Gouzenko case and the defection of the Red diplomat in Japan this year are indicative of individual dissatisfaction with communism by Red officials. I have presented a draft of this legislation to various agencies of the executive branch of our Government with the hope that the administration will support my proposal.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a refugee bill nor is it a bill to increase immigration quotas. It is legislation designed to promote the national security of the United States. In order to be eligible for admission to our country there must be a bona fide renunciation of communism and the escapee must be able to carry out his part of the bargain by supplying us with information. Naturally all eligible persons should be screened to prevent entry of persons who would be a menace to the internal security of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I urge that the House take prompt action toward enactment of my bill. If it becomes law, it will give the Russians such a bad time in their own backyard that they won't be able to launch further aggression.

John Wolfe, Stockyards' Pioneer, Recalls Early Days of Livestock Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I think every Member of Congress reads with interest any interview published in the press giving the experiences in the lives of men who have watched our country steadily grow. After all, our entire national economy is built on the acts of individuals and each one contributes in great measure to this economy and to the life of the Nation.

I have always found it interesting to look back with our elder associates and recall through them how our fathers worked in their individual capacity to build our communities and our industries throughout our country. The life story of John Wolfe, which I think is worthy of merit to the extent that I ask it to be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, presents a saga in the livestock industry in my own area of the country, and I know that it must strike a chord in harmony with the lives of many great men who saw our great stockyards grow and fill their important place in the Nation's life.

We learn much through the story of individual endeavor, and nowhere can we get a more accurate picture of the history of our Nation than through interviews such as the one the St. Louis Daily Livestock Reporter presents on Mr. John Wolfe, who resides at 526 North 29th Street, East St. Louis, in my home community. It follows:

JOHN WOLFE, 84, RECALLS OLD DAYS—STOCKYARDS PIONEER CELEBRATES BIRTHDAY TODAY; VISITS IN TENNESSEE

"Back in the good old days," John F. Wolfe recalls today as he celebrates his 84th birthday, a stockyards pioneer who has a vivid memory of the early trade here.

Born in Flora, Ill., February 11, 1870, Mr. Wolfe remembers it as mostly "old wagon days." There were very few buggies, and farmers would come to town with the kiddies piled in the wagon bed on some old blankets or straw. Very often the trip to town was made in a sled.

"We don't have such cold weather these days," John recalled, telling of what was once a big business in the vicinity of the yards.

"When Ed Medley put up ice from the ponds on General Parsons' farms and the Medley farms ponds, he would often employ 25 men—at 75 cents a day. I was waterboy," Mr. Wolfe went on.

Why would these men work so cheap? "Nothing else to do," John answered himself.

COFFEE, 10 CENTS A POUND

"Ed had a big store with coffee in green stored loose and roasted in wooden tubs, all in front of the counter. The price? Ten and fifteen cents a pound," he continued.

"You could go across the street to Ulrich Bokern and buy 6 loaves of bread for 25 cents and go into Billy Chaney's meat market, buy a round steak for 10 cents and other steaks at 15 and 20 cents a pound. A slice of ham cost a dime, a pound of bacon 20 to 25 cents. Liver and hog heads moved slow," according to this pioneer.

"Before leaving in March 1886, I was working for Charley Brown, who had just married a good-looking girl from Fairfield, Ill. At that time Mr. Brown had 3 strawberry roan horses, and one 1,100- or 1,200-pound bull. He paid me 75 cents a week to take care of them.

"Leaving Mr. Brown's employment, I came to East St. Louis with Billy Mills to work in National Stock Yards for Billy's father, Hugh Mills. That was 68 years ago next March 1.

"Things were moving fast for me. I left Flora at 4 a. m., and had breakfast in East St. Louis at 7. Off to the yards in a sleigh and by 11 a. m. I was sorting sheep—the hard way—by lifting them over the fence, no sorting gates like today.

"Mr. Brown was one of the largest cattle buyers and cattle shippers in southern Illinois, and although he has passed on, he left a nice park about one mile west of Flora. A big sign tells, 'Charley Brown Park.'

"Mr. Brown at one time was well known in the stockyards and exported strings of fat cattle to England from Flora," Mr. Wolfe told.

ANOTHER LOOK AT FLORA

Just a few days back, Mr. Wolfe returned to Flora to take a look around and see what he could find in the way of old timers. "At one time I had about 20 relatives living in Flora, but I could not locate a relative or a face I had seen before.

"Some one gave Mr. Brown a hen turkey for his wedding present so he drove a nail in the side of the house, hung it up and said, 'John, dry-pick this bird.' Some job.

"While sorting sheep, Mr. Mills said, 'John I am going to give you $8 a month, board, and washing, also one suit a year.' My first suit cost $6 at Andy Miller's store in St. Louis.

"After a trip through the yards again, seeing the new hay troughs and watering troughs, John stopped by with a final word, 'Don't forget to mention Harry Bishoff, for whom I bought many, many bulls. We were getting bulls in from Fort Worth, with many arriving dead. One day I bought eight loads at $4.85 a hundredweight from Texas, horned whitefaces, full of ticks. In the native division I got three more loads.' Most of them were destined for the sausage mill."

CATTLE PICKING WEEDS

"Last September," Mr. Wolfe related, "I went on a 10-day trip to Tennessee. Found it hot, dry, and dusty. No rain. Ponds going dry; caterpillars had taken the trees; pastures were as dry as the hard road in some places.

"Along the road you could see cattle picking weeds over the fence. Although they told me last year's cotton crop was about as good as ever, it was hard to get pickers to gather the crop.

"But I found here the most generous people I ever met. I had several good meals with them. In Memphis, Tenn., I visited E. Lewers, Elmer Flowers, Adrian Flowers at White Haven, Tenn., W. D. Flowers at Bradford, Tenn., all farmers, McEwen Bros. at Dyer, Tenn., Jim George at Trenton, and E. Flowers at Dyer.

"They all have seen the Livestock Reporter and like it very much," the octogenarian reported in his most recent visit.

The Livestock Reporter, with his many friends at the market, wish John a very happy birthday today.

The Historical Background of the Czechoslovak Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. Speaker, on February 13 of this year, there was celebrated by a centennial banquet in Chicago, the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Society of America, a fraternal benefit society which has its principal offices in Cicero, Ill., and which today enjoys a membership of some 47,000 persons over a 22-State area. It was my great privilege to attend this banquet and to participate in the program which followed.

During the course of the evening, W. J. Muzik, long-time president of the society, and James Krakora, its capable

secretary addressed the audience on the past achievements and the future program and expectations of this patriotic and benevolent organization. Then the historian of the society, Joseph Martinek, read a very significant paper which he prepared for the occasion, entitled "The Historical Background of the Czechoslovak Society of America."

Its contents should be of great interest to others who, like myself, are of Czechoslovak descent. It should be of interest to all persons who like to ponder on the formation of American culture and civilization which, after over 300 years, is still in active process. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I request unanimous consent that Mr. Martinek's paper be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF AMERICA

(By Joseph Martinek)

Mr. W. J. Muzik, president of the Czechoslovak Society of America gave you an outline of its history and accomplishments. It seems to me that it might be well to add a few words about the historical background of the society. Its centennial comes as a distinct surprise to many people who are wondering that a society with a name seemingly strange and very little known before the First World War is already 100 years old and is celebrating its centennial at exactly the same time as the great Republican Party of the United States.

There are, in fact, two backgrounds to be considered, one European and the other American.

I

Let us first look at the Old World background.

The Czechoslovak Society of America, organized on March 4, 1854, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., and having now 47,000 members in 22 States and District of Columbia, was founded by Czech immigrants. A majority of its members belong to this racial group.

The Czechs and Slovaks are close kinsmen belonging to the Slavic family of nations but historically and culturally they are entirely a western people.

One thousand years ago they had a fairly well established national state of Great Moravia in the very center of Europe.

They accepted christianity in the ninth century and had the New Testament and other liturgic books translated into their Slavic language very early, in 863, long before William the Conqueror landed in British Isles.

Under the name of Kingdom of Bohemia this nation rose to great prominence and power during the Middle Ages. The Charles University in Praha (Prague), then the capital of Bohemia and now of Czechoslovakia was founded 600 years ago, in 1348. It was the first university in Central Europe and 1 of the 5 oldest universities on Continent.

In the 15th century Bohemia became the first Protestant country in Europe. The Czech Reformation, founded on the teachings of Jan Hus (John Huss) who was strongly influenced by the English reformer Wyckliffe, preceded the German Reformation of Martin Luther by one century.

Bohemia lost its independence during the Thirty Years War, a total war which reduced the population of Bohemia from 3 million persons to barely 800,000. Yet in spite of tremendous odds the sturdy Czech people survived and their country was reestablished as an independent nation under the name of the Republic of Czechoslovakia after the First World War. Its declaration of independence was proclaimed on the American soil, in Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1918, and the original copy of this document is preserved in our Library of Congress.

Under the guidance of its first presidents Thomas G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes, Czechoslovakia became the most democratic nation in Central Europe. It was the last democracy in Central Europe to go under in the upsurge of Nazilism in 1938. Again it was one of the last democracies in that part of Europe to fall victim to the Communist aggression, in 1948. But it was the first of the captive countries enslaved by Soviet imperialism to resist openly and actively the new totalitarian regime: the Czech revolt in Pilsen on June 1, 1953, preceded the similar revolt of East Germans in Berlin which occurred on June 17 the same year. The Czechoslovakian democrats struck the first blow for freedom against the Soviet tyranny and ignited the widespread revolt and active opposition behind the Iron Curtain.

II

Let us now take a look at the American background of the Czechoslovak Society of America.

The first Czech immigrants to this country were known here under the name of Bohemians and Moravians; Bohemia and Moravia are provinces of Czechoslovakia.

Augustine Herman, the first Czech settler, landed in America in 1633, only 13 years later than the Pilgrim Fathers. He founded the tobacco industry in Virginia and, being a surveyor by profession, had drawn the first accurate map of Maryland. Frederick Philipse, another Czech is known as builder of a church edifice in Tarrytown, one of the oldest church buildings in the State of New York. These pioneers are best known of the group of Czech political and religious exiles who fled to this country when Bohemia lost its independence in 1620.

The Moravian Brethren, another Protestant group exiled from Bohemia and Moravia, began arriving here since 1735. They were accompanied by many Germans whom they converted to their religious beliefs in Saxony, their first stepping stone on the way to the New World. In 1749 these Moravians have founded the city of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania and established the first interdenominational college for women in this country. They were the first Protestant group to send missionaries among the Indians and were well known for their original church music. Last but not least, they strongly influenced the religious doctrines of John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church. His brother, Charles, became a member of this Moravian church which was founded in 1457 in Bohemia and which will soon be celebrating its 500th anniversary as the oldest duly organized and fully documented Protestant denomination in the world.

The third and by far the largest wave of Czech immigration began during the first decades of the last century. Until 1848 it remained sporadic. The first newcomer of this group was Antonin Filip Heinrich who settled here in 1810 and became known as one of the first American composers of note. This early precursor of famous Czech composer Antonin Dvořák (who lived in Spillville, Iowa, in the nineties) presided at the first meeting of the New York Philharmonic Society. Heinrich was followed to America by several compatriots, teachers, adventurers, exiles, and Czech deserters from the Austrian Army.

The short-lived Czech rebellion against Austrian despotism in 1848 sent a larger group of new political exiles to American shores. Vaclav Pohl and Hynek Vodicka, two of the founders of the Czechoslovak Society of America, belong to this group of famous "Forty-Eighters." True to this tradition later on, during the Civil War, one-fourth of members of the original society of the CSA answered the call of the country and volunteered for the Army of the Union.

Since 1848 until the First World War a steady stream of Czech immigration flowed to this country. Since 1880 it was joined by the Slovak immigration from Northern Hungary, now the eastern part of Czechoslovakia. In 1930 the official census enumerated 1,380,000 persons of Czechoslovakian ancestry living in the United States, the highest number ever recorded.

The CSA grew up with the country. Its first century largely belongs to the first, the immigrants generation, although its first English-speaking lodge composed of native-born Americans was organized half a century ago in 1904. Its second century will belong hundred percent to the native sons and daughters of America, who already outnumber, in this racial group, the immigrants by 3 to 1.

May they succeed as well as the founding fathers of the CSA did.

Legion of Decency Combats Communist Plan To Destroy Moral Fiber of American People

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is disturbed over increasing juvenile delinquency and lowering of the moral standards of our people. Certainly this is cause for concern. Many who have given serious attention and thought to such a situation have recognized that the No. 1 problem in America today is a spiritual problem.

While this has been said on frequent occasions before, editorially in newspapers, from the thousands of pulpits in every church of every denomination in America, it is said so well in a speech delivered by the Honorable John J. Griffin, vice president of United Bank & Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo., on Sunday night, February 21, at a Knights of Columbus banquet at Chester, Ill., that I feel Colonel Griffin's remarks should be called to the attention of Members of Congress.

Colonel Griffin has been doing a magnificent work for many years in awakening the thoughts of his fellow citizens to the dangers of atheistic communism, and to the breakdown of our spiritual fiber, that any statement made by him on this subject merits wide attention.

I have personally felt for a long time, as Colonel Griffin indicates he feels, that the most deadly weapon that the Communists can use in their definite attempt to destroy America and the free world is a breakdown in the moral fiber and character of our people. I have felt that much obscene literature that we find on our bookstands throughout the country, the objectionable movies, and poor taste we find in so many fields of entertainment could well be a planned operation of subversive elements.

Because I agree so completely with Colonel Griffin's presentation of this subject, I cannot pass up the opportunity

to insert his fine speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

Being chosen as principal speaker for this momentous occasion in the history of Chester, Ill., is greatly appreciated by me, and particularly so when you have so many able and more gifted speakers in your own community.

I was given an open book on the subject and, therefore, in view of the fact that this banquet is the climax of the initiation of a charter class in this new council of the Knights of Columbus, Chester, Ill., I think it would be well to end it as it has begun, in service to God and country.

You, the new members of the Knights of Columbus, have been initiated into an organization of Catholic laymen pledged to be a living example of the gospel, "Render unto God the things that are God's and to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

During the entire history of the Knights of Columbus from the days of its founder Father McGinley to your present class today, this organization has never failed in living and preaching the principles on which it was founded. It has never failed to prove that no man can be a good Catholic and a bad citizen. It has continued to live the doctrine that all authority comes from God, that men are merely his instruments in the just administration of such authority and in keeping with such a philosophy, therefore we as Catholics must of necessity not only be obedient and subject to lawful authority but support it in its full concept wherein it does not violate the law of God.

We are living in a secularistic time—a materialistic age. We have become a so-called modern people, so modern in fact that we have brought into being in this country a philosophy that is so far from the intent and purpose of the Founding Fathers that they would hardly recognize us today as the outgrowth of the infant they nurtured and cradled in their arms and brought to maturity through the lean, trying times in the history of a free people. I am of the opinion that if they could come back they would think a rather peculiar condition existed—this great giant for good had forgotten the basic principles of its strength, that is, the words of wisdom written into its being at the time of its inception, and in forgetting these words of wisdom had supplanted a love of God and belief in the hereafter with a philosophy of power and materialistic aims to the extent that thinking people in America of all faiths (by that I mean all people in this country who believe in God and a hereafter) are concerned as to our future destiny.

These are rather far-reaching statements and, of course, to follow them throughout all of their channels to their ultimate ends would take more time than is allotted this evening. So, of necessity, we can only hit the high places with the hope that we can revitalize your thinking, bring home to you the need and the necessity of returning the minds and hearts of the people of this Nation to the basic principles that made America great, service to God and country.

Atheistic communism as advocated by the Russians, is a satanic philosophy that has brought the demons from the depths of hell into being in our everyday lives in order to wage the war of anti-God openly in the world. These satanic inspired leaders know that the most sure, positive, and completely destructive weapon they can use to destroy America is to destroy the moral fiber and character of its people. Once they have done this, they will have been successful in bringing the desired and hoped for destruction of our country from within. It is not their intention or purpose to fire a shot or destroy a car in a garage or a pan on a kitchen stove in taking over America. Unfortunately for us it seems our people, whether they are doing it knowingly or unknowingly, are certainly doing the job that Joe Stalin and his bloody stooges laid plans for their followers to carry through.

Conditions in the entertainment world became so offensive that it was necessary for the Catholic Church to organize a Legion of Decency. A Legion of Decency is not for Catholics alone—it is for all decent people in America, all fathers and mothers who are interested in and devoted to the preservation of the morals of their children. Were we Americans living properly, we would not need a Legion of Decency.

Why do we need a Legion of Decency? Look about you, look at the men who are growing rich in bartering the souls of our youth for dollars. Look at the type and kind of entertainment that is being foisted upon us and most recently the Jane Russell episode. Look at the type and kind of printed matter that is sold openly on the market as literature and found in the homes of our people. Stories, pictures, incidents in print and picture that you would never expect to find outside of a brothel, and I think in many instances, would bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of the inmates therein. Nevertheless, they are published and circulated in neighborhood stores wherein your children spend their spare moments. I am sorry to say that many times I have found this filthy outpouring of the printing press in the homes of good respectable citizens I have visited. But we are "modern" people and we would be considered "old-fashioned" and out of date if we would not have such publications at hand.

In our modern world, in our great modern minds, it has been decreed that it is a violation of the Constitution to teach a child in a public school that there is a God but nowhere has anyone declared it unconstitutional to teach a child that there is no God, yet it is being done by professors and teachers conducting classes in many of your schools and universities, and you as tax payers are taxed to pay salaries to such professors and teachers. If you raise your voice against this type and kind of so-called "modern" education, you are interfering with the freedom of education—that you are opposed to the public system of education. Therefore, you must not have any voice in its operation. Oh where does freedom end, and license, degradation and destruction begin?

I could go on and give you incident after incident. Here are but a few of the people who not only are concerned with the trend of America but are worried as to its future.

New York Police Commissioner Thos. F. Murphy, in an interview as published in a Kansas City paper of April 7, 1951, says the moral breakdown visible in society today is due to the lack of moral training in the home, then spreading to all fields.

Clayton Rand in St. Louis Globe Democrat, as far back as January 18, 1949 states—"in his experience as he moved about the country in 1948, he became convinced that the Nation's real problem is neither economical, political, or social, but a spiritual problem. That in his opinion we are a people economically fat but spiritually sick and that you do not have to be too smart to see that we have been overworking the materialistic. Therefore, getting money has become a kind of religion with us." He further states "that prostration of the soul takes a heavier toll than heart failure."

John Foster Dulles, now Secretary of State, when acting as chief of the United States delegation to the United Nations, advancing a 10-point program, puts first among his peace prerequisites, "more religion" and that the people seek satisfaction in terms of spiritual values and not in terms of material values alone.

Again let me repeat that as you study the problem confronting us in America today, you find the attempt to bring about moral decay has reached an almost uniform design and that all those who are responsible for the cancer of moral decay taking hold in America, are people who are willing to barter the souls of our youth for dollars.

A magazine called This Week recently published an article by scientist Pitirim A. Sorokin, exiled by the Communists in 1922, who was a professor at Minnesota and Harvard Universities. Prof. Sorokin, in this article, raises a much needed note of warning concerning matters of modern sexual degradation. I would suggest and advise everyone of you to obtain a copy of this article and read it and in reading it, be ever-mindful of the fact that God Himself established the family as a unit of society and as such the family precedes both the state and the church. He goes on to say "Marriage is a permanent institution, not a sexual plaything" and husbands and wives who fail in their duties to train children but adopt the moral code of the gutter, are pushing all of us along to chaos. Prof. Sorokin again repeats what has been common knowledge to those who are interested and either are now or have been in a position to know that there is a very close connection between the low state of sexual morality and the rise of crime and suicide, juvenile delinquency, and insanity. True freedom and morality are inseparable; they stand or fall together.

Most recently Charles A. Lindbergh states that he changed from a youthful worship of science to a realization that "spiritual truth is more essential to a nation than the mortar in its cities' walls" and in his words which are as old as the church, he says "that we must draw strength from the almost forgotten virtues of simplicity, humility, contemplation, and prayer." Of course, remember if you do these things, you will be old-fashioned and not modern.

Let us again return to the thing I mentioned earlier and that is the most recent flagrant violation of moral ethics that we have seen—this picture produced by Howard Hughes, of RKO, called the French Line. After its rejection, not by the Legion of Decency, because it was not presented to them, but after its rejection by the movie industry's own censorship board, it was released to spread its poison and help destroy us. Just recently, according to the papers, the perpetrators of this violation of the movie industry's own censorship board were called to task and fined heavily for such violation.

It became necessary for the hierarchy of the church to issue a statement that the film was indecent, that it had been placed on the condemned list and that Catholics under penalty of sin could not view it. This, of course, if we were living as we should live, should not have been necessary. It became necessary in St. Louis for our archbishop to not only prohibit Catholics to view the film but the defiance of the theater owners where it was showing was so flagrant, it necessitated a prohibition of attending their places of amusement regardless what picture was showing. Again the archbishop found it necessary to deal with the purveyors of this filth in the only language they understood—and that is dollars.

Naturally, the archbishop was condemned for his statements as depriving individuals of their freedom. Of course, most of this criticism was from people who do not know or understand the meaning of democracy and are taken in by the promotion of such nonsense in the name of democracy and freedom.

Again let me quote from the St. Louis Register—"There are two kinds of freedom, physical and moral. The one is entirely different from the other. We are and should be free from physical restraint except in unusual circumstances when the common good is endangered. We are not free from moral restraint. There is never any moral freedom to violate the moral law even though there is physical freedom to do so. When the church exercises censorship, she reminds her members and all right-thinking people of

their moral obligations. She, of course, does not compel them physically. The church is a teacher speaking effectively to those who accept her teachings." I could enlarge on this but it isn't necessary, it is merely calling to your attention what the church has preached from its inception.

We, as Catholics, have an obligation to form a right sense about moral values and to have our way of living so firmly established that we not only know and avoid that which is evil but can quickly sense immoral evils in person, place, or thing.

You might say to me, "Well, all of this you say is fine, we realize it and we know it but what are we going to do about it?" Fine. Let's see what we can do about it. If every little crossroad in America were to clear up and clean up the filthy situations existing in their particular community, the great national picture would take care of itself. I have heard some of our Catholic people say, "Oh, I know that this show is risqué, indecent, and bizarre; I know it has a great deal of profanity in it; I know it advocates loose morals; but then these people are great actors and we want to see these great actors." It is true they may be actors, but I cannot conceive that they be great actors because in my opinion the greatness of any person primarily and fundamentally is found in their greatness of character and their moral development of personality, or as the St. Louis Register so recently put it, "There is a decisive difference between greatness of recognition and greatness of notoriety. We would say Pope Pius XII is famous and so recognized; Stalin, infamous and notorious."

Now, let us get down to some basic principles of Catholic action in your own community.

1. Nothing admitted to your home whether it be in printed form, TV or radio that can corrupt the morals of your children.

2. Do not deal with or have any business association or connection with or spend your money in or with any business that is selling or distributing indecent, immoral filthy printed matter.

3. Do not attend any place of amusement that brings into your community a portrayal of filth or indecent entertainment. If the owners of such places of amusement or business know they will be shunned by you and that you will use your influence to have all decent people stay out, they will soon improve the caliber of entertainment.

4. Concern yourself with and know where your children spend their spare time and with whom they associate; where do they seek entertainment? When your children were small you were very much concerned to keep them out of places or conditions, or protected them from contact with any person, place or thing that would bring to them a contagious disease such as smallpox, etc. A diphtheria sign was shunned and they were warned to stay out of such places. Now they are older, you should be just as much concerned that they do not come in contact with moral leprosy which is more deadly than the physical.

5. Rededicate ourselves and those about us to the ideals and principles upon which this nation was founded. Reconsecrate ourselves to the basic principles of honesty and justice that have made us great. Devote our lives to living for God and country. Let us know, understand and help those about us to know and understand that we, as Americans, are determined to take out of our way of life the worship of the golden calf and to replace it with the worship of God, to take the golden calf off the altar of liberty and freedom and again replace thereon the statute of Christ and His blessed mother.

Finally, all the armies, navies, and the machinery of destruction in the world will not insure the safety and security of this Nation.

If it is our desire to hand down as a legacy to generations yet unborn the right to the enjoyment of the liberty and freedom that we seem to enjoy so fully, and to value so lightly, let us now rededicate our lives to keep the flag flying within the protective shadow of the cross because then and then only, will it be safe. It is the only way to preserve our inheritance to leave as our legacy to generations yet unborn.

Navy Procurement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday in the other body the procurement policy of the Department of the Navy was severely criticized in connection with the award of contracts for construction of certain combat ships.

Having previously commended the Department of the Navy to the Members of the House for the very action which a distinguished Member of the other body is now criticizing, I ask the indulgence of my colleagues to supplement my previous remarks.

First, I want to say there is only one thing in this picture that is shocking to my mind, and that is that we have no program in this country of private merchant marine shipbuilding construction. After the lesson of World War II, and now with the Soviet Union threatening the free world, with this country having undertaken to set up a global defense against such attack, it is inconceivable to me that no provision has been made to insure our security by the building and maintenance of a private fleet of fast, modern merchant ships. The point is, however, that other than to naval construction, our private shipyards have nowhere to turn.

That being the case, in the national interest, the least we can do is preserve certain strategic ship construction facilities so that in the event of war their mobilization potential and nucleus of skilled workers will be available.

The Department of the Navy has been assigned this latter task, and now when the Bureau of Ships awards a contract for construction of three destroyers to a yard which is destitute of work, the Navy Department stands accused of discrimination.

Lay men and women can throw stones in the one little well that gives water but there are factors in allocating naval construction work which should be understood.

There is such a thing as quality of work; there is such a thing as suitability of facilities; there is such a thing as a yard's particular experience in certain types of construction; there is such a thing as ability to meet time schedules. These and many other factors have a direct bearing on ultimate cost and record of economy.

For example, last year the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton in my own district was selected to modernize the first Midway class aircraft carrier, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Recently work work began on the details of this modernization job, which includes the installation of a canted flight deck. I am told the design section of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard made certain proposals on modernization design which will result in a savings of about $800,000. The Bremerton yard is a so-called carrier yard—it is experienced in this type of work. It saves the taxpayers money in this class of work.

The Bureau of Ships knows this. It recognized on the basis of records and statistics, of past performance, of trained manpower, of existing drydock facilities and other factors, that great savings can and will be made on carrier work when allocated to the Bremerton yard, just as it knows the special favorable factors, as well as unfavorable ones, of other yards.

Outside of allocating, here and there, certain construction work to help sustain private shipyards, the Navy Department is an excellent example of obtaining the most defense for the taxpayer's dollar. The award of the third Forrestal class carrier to Newport News Shipbuilding & Construction Co. at a saving of $28 million over the next lowest bid, is a case in point.

Of course, an award is much like the appointment of a Postmaster—only one candidate is happy. Every Congressman knows what I mean; and Mr. Speaker, I for one compliment the Bureau of Ships on the way it has considered all factors—tax dollars, relative efficiency, and employment potential—in letting contracts. There just is not enough work to go around. For what business there is, I say the Bureau of Ships of the Navy Department is doing a splendid job for the taxpayers and for the national interest.

Criticism should be directed in another direction; because the solution does not consist of a changed policy of Navy procurement, rather it exists in a wiser policy of building and maintaining a private merchant marine—a fleet of fast, modern vessels to carry supplies in the event of enemy aggression, and meanwhile in trade and aid to carry goods from where they are to where they ought to be.

George Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, 101 years ago a new Territory was established which took the name of the Father of our Country, and 65 years ago this very day on February 22, 1889, a Federal enabling act was approved allowing the

people of Washington Territory to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union.

In commemorating the birthday of our first President I venture to suggest that if George Washington were alive today he would take great satisfaction in the State that bears his name—in its human progress, its development, and its living standard as well as its scenic wonders. Washington would appreciate a living memorial to himself of men, women, and children, of rich farms, of expanding industry, of good homes, churches, and schools amid the beauty of streams, lakes, forests, mountains, and seashore. The State of Washington would please the man who cherished dreams of a free people and a free Nation.

Mr. Speaker, under another great and good President, Dwight Eisenhower, who is likewise "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," I am privileged to pay a brief, simple tribute to George Washington on behalf of my constituents who share the honor of his good name and heritage of his great deeds.

Breckenridge Has Everything To Offer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Breckinridge Has Everything To Offer," which appeared in the February 18, 1954, issue of the Union County Advocate, of Morganfield, Ky.

This editorial very ably sets forth the advantages of Camp Breckinridge, Ky., as the site for the location of the Air Force Academy. This military reservation is located in a beautiful section of Kentucky and contains some 35,898 acres of land now owned by the Federal Government and with some in standby status. The real estate and improvements thereon cost some $38.8 million in the year 1942. Its close proximity to Morganfield, Ky., and Evansville, Ind., together with its transportation facilities, climate, availability of power, water, sewage facilities, drainage, excellent building sites, recreational facilities, and location of excellent airfield in same county where the Air Force can acquire immediate landing and training rights makes this location desirable from every respect. Selection of Camp Breckinridge would save the Government millions of dollars and would place the Air Force Academy in a State where hospitality, beauty, culture, and Americanism prevail.

The editorial is as follows:

BRECKINRIDGE HAS EVERYTHING TO OFFER

When the Honorable Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the Air Force, and his committee make a thorough study of all sites considered as a permanent home for the proposed United States Air Force Academy. The Advocate believes they well discover Camp Breckinridge, now on a standby basis, has everything to offer.

This military reservation established April 2, 1942, consists of appoximately 35,898 acres for which the Government paid the sum of $3.1 million and has expended $35.7 million for construction. Now the sprawling Army post stands idle and, therefore, seems not necessary as far as present plans of the Army are concerned.

The acreage is fully equipped with every facility such as an abundance of electricity, an excellent water system, complete and modern sewerage system, including a disposal plant, and paved roads. It is located near the center of population of the United States, and aerodynamic experts point out that Camp Breckinridge is situated geographically so as to provide weatherwise the maximum flying hours required in the full operation of an Air Academy program.

The camp is bounded by U. S. 60, State Highway 56, and U. S. 41 is just a few miles to the east. The Illinois Central System has a railroad operating in the area, and the Ohio River is only 5 miles away to the northeast.

It has thousands of acres of level land, and Sturgis Air Base could easily be used in conjunction with Breckinridge for a temporary airbase. Morganfield, a friendly city of 5,500, is only 2 miles from the main gate of Camp Breckinridge, and to the north 22 miles is Henderson, a city of 20,000, and just across the Ohio River is Evansville, a metropolis of 150,000.

The Advocate believes that the Federal Government should make every effort possible to economize without jeopardizing our safety, and in view of reported Russian airpower we believe no time should be lost in selecting a site for the Air Academy and getting the program started. We contend, therefore, that Camp Breckinridge is a logical site for the academy, and that it is ready for use immediately.

It has been pointed out, too, that the Air Academy will not be located in a place where the citizens do not want it. We'll guarantee you, Mr. Air Force Secretary, that we folks in the tristate area are most hospitable, and would welcome the opportunity to be part of an Air Force Academy community.

Washington and the Cherry Tree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. LANTAFF
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. LANTAFF. Mr. Speaker, many delightful stories about our first President, George Washington, have endeared him to American schoolchildren. Perhaps the most famous of these is the tale of George Washington and the cherry tree. As the story goes, George Washington as a boy took his hatchet and chopped down his father's favorite cherry tree. When his father asked who had done this mischief, young George admitted the blame, saying, "I cannot tell a lie," and took his punishment like a man.

In more recent times, some modern day hatchetmen of one of our major political parties have been attempting to create the impression that the other party allowed our Government to become infested with traitors and subversives. They have done this by allusions to 1,456 subversives and 2,200 traitors.

It is now apparent that there is more fiction than truth in these wild charges. One of the hatchetmen who made them—a White House aide—has finally admitted 3 months later that his charges were false. The others might well profit by George Washington's example.

Air Force Disasters at Long Beach Municipal Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have risen before to point out the dangers of maintaining Air Force training and ferrying operations at airports located in metropolitan areas, and more specifically, at the Long Beach (Calif.) Municipal Airport. In the past 10 years 15 crashes have occurred in residential areas near this airport.

This is an average of one crash every 9 months. Twelve of the 15 tragedies involved Air Force airplanes. These 15 crashes were not all. Several others have occurred at locations more remote from this airport, but involvings airplanes using it. Additionally many mishaps occurring within the actual confines of the airfield—which easily might have extended outside them—are not included in this number.

It is hoped that the following tabulation of these accidents will give the Secretary of the Air Force and the Congress additional information upon which to base a reevaluation of the wisdom of continued use of this airfield for military purposes:

1. May 14, 1944: P–47 (military) developed motor trouble on takeoff, landed vicinity Wardlow and Olive in built-up area. No casualties.

2. January 1, 1945: A–26 (military) being test flown crashed and burned in residential area 67th and Lime. Two killed, three houses demolished.

3. April 17, 1945: P–38 (military) motor trouble after takeoff, crashed and burned in open lot in residential area, south of Pacific Coast Highway, west of Community Hospital. Pilot killed.

4. May 9, 1945: P–38 (military) motor trouble on takeoff crashed west end of field. No casualties.

5. July 1, 1945: F–80 (jet) (military) overshot runway 30, crashed at northeast end. Pilot died of injuries.

6. August 29, 1945: P–61 Blackwidow experimental (military) crashed north of 223d Street west of Santa Fe, open field. Pilot parachuted.

7. November 15, 1945: USN Corsair (military) crashed in street 3300 block, Brayton Avenue, residential district. Pilot parachuted.

8. January 12, 1949: BT 13 (military) crashed in street 3500 Lemon, built-up residential district, damaged apartment house.

Two killed, three saved, developed motor trouble after takeoff.

9. December 4, 1949: Beechcraft Bonanza (civilian) crashed in center of field. Five killed.

10. November 18, 1950: TWA Constellation (civilian), 56 passengers, developed trouble after takeoff from Los Angeles to Chicago, overshot runway 30, undercarriage and other under parts of plane demolished, gas tanks ruptured, etc., crashed 300 feet from end of runway. No casualties.

11. September 15, 1951: B-45 (jet) (military) crash landed in open field north of Carson, west of Lakewood golf course, plane burned. No casualties.

12. May 29, 1952: F-80 (P-33 jet trainer) (military) undershot runway 12 on field northeast corner. No casualties.

13. September 22, 1953: Civilian plane undershot runway 25R, crash landed east side Lakewood Boulevard, bounced across highway, through fence, into field. No casualties.

14. January 12, 1954: F-87 jet (military) crashed and burned in residential district, 19th and Raymond Avenue (Signal Hill). Nine killed, six houses demolished.

15. February 3, 1954, F-80 jet (military) undershot runway 30, hit blast barricade, skidded on belly 500 feet. No casualties.

A Bill To Amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act so as to provide for assistance in the restoration of pastureland which has been damaged by drought or insects, and the placing of protective vegetative cover on croplands which are not to be tilled for an extended period.

A serious emergency now exists in the Second Congressional District of Kentucky which was brought about as the direct result of the drought of the past 2 years. The farmers of my district are without pastures and meadows, and many of them have exhausted their credit and resources. The crops of 1953 were consumed during the summer months in supporting the livestock. Many streams were dry for the first time in the history of the district. Beef cattle and dairy herds were disposed of due to the shortage of hay and other forage crops.

Winter rains and snows have been light, and unless we have good rainfall during the next few weeks our reserve of subsoil moisture will be dangerously low.

The Kentucky drought committee approved each of the 16 counties in the second district during the year 1953 for drought emergency assistance. The Secretary of Agriculture directed that the entire district be designated as a part of the disaster area of Kentucky.

There seems to be some misunderstanding on the part of the Secretary of Agriculture at the present time as to just what authority he has under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act in the present emergency. Passage of this bill will clarify the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture and the provisions of same will make it mandatory that practices designed to restore our soil's fertility be included in the ACP program for this year. It is imperative that relief provided by this bill be granted and that the Secretary of Agriculture carry out the terms of same during the year of 1954.

Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of February 17, 1954:

RESPONSIBILITY

When the Republican Party chose President Eisenhower as a candidate he did so with a program offered as a contract to the American people. The reprehensible uproar during the past fortnight seems to have either obscured or nullified this contract.

The Korean war was to be brought to an honorable and rational end. There was to be peace and prosperity. There would be less coddling of our allies and a firm demand for them to produce the defensive strength that they promised. There would be lower taxes, more employment, larger profits, more efficient government. In short, the Republicans were going to start doing something for Americans after Americans had just about broken their backs doing something for the world.

All the name-calling during the past fortnight has the suspicious sound of a synthetic uproar. Is it to distract the attention of the American people from the fact that Republicans haven't assumed the responsibility for doing the things that they promised 2 years ago come November?

The utterances from the White House are a disturbing reminder of the Biblical quotation that "the voice is Jacob's but the hands are the hands of Esau."

If the minimum performance of the contract offered to the American people is not attained before November, Democrats will cheerfully assume responsibility for the job.

Not much can be said to whitewash either the utterances or the motives of spokesmen of either party during the past fortnight. They simply did not face up to the fact that there is a Communist conspiracy, that the objective of the conspiracy is to divide and rule and that none of them are blameless for failing to deal with it before it reached such menacing proportions.

There are a few basic political facts to be considered. Republicans not only got a great popular mandate, but they also had effective control in the Congress through bipartisan support. If they are incapable of so ordering their program and party affairs to complete their contract, then the people will be quick to reject Republican leadership.

Democrats have more than an opportunity. They are in a logical position to fill a vacuum—for politics as well as nature abhors a vacuum.

Woodville: Population 410

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to introduce an article which appeared in the Lions magazine for February 1954, regarding the wonderful progress made by the citizens of Woodville, Wis., a community in St. Croix County in the Ninth Congressional District of Wisconsin. I, as a fellow Lion and as their Congressman, am proud of the work done by the citizens of this community.

The article follows:

WOODVILLE: POPULATION 410—HOW A LIONS CLUB REVIVED A TOWN

(By Wendell Tozer)

If you live in a small town that is losing its young people to the big cities, if your town lacks the vitality to keep people wide-awake to community needs, it may pay you to take a look at Woodville, Wis. A small, quiet village (population 410) on United States Highway No. 12 in western Wisconsin, Woodville is typical of the communities that dot St. Croix County.

Like many another small town, Woodville faced a crisis after World War II. Business was falling off, young people were leaving in quest of more opportunity, and community spirit had hit an all time low. Businessmen were thinking of pulling out and leaving the land to the dairy cattle.

Then lightning struck. A benign sort of lightning, though it was, Woodvillagers will never forget the day in March 1952, when community spirit was rekindled. The "lightning" was the organization of the Woodville Lions Club. When Special Representative Shafeec Mansour explained what Lionism could do for Woodville, businessmen attending the organization meeting knew in a flash they had the solution to the village's problem.

Right off, the new club tackled a project that staggered the imaginations of the people. In fact, the infant club met some bitter opposition from a few ultraconservatives who were content with what was "good enough for grandpa." The club felt that the pressing need of the village was a first-class medical center if it was ever to attract the long-sought physician, dentist, and optometrist. So building a medical center it was that the club picked for its first big project.

The club sponsored the remodeling of the village hall's basement, which fronts on the main business street, as the home for the center. Also, it assisted in furnishing the center.

Through the international office, the club contacted a dentist in Milwaukee who jumped at their invitation. He happened to be acquainted with a young physician he thought would like the opportunity Woodville offered and induced him to come along to Woodville. Together, they persuaded an optometrist with offices in nearby Hudson to set up regular office hours at Woodville several days each week. The three were operating as a team in time to direct the purchase of the clinical equipment.

Adjusting to life in Woodville was a simple matter. According to one patient's story, which could not be verified, last duck season he went to the center for an appointment only to find a sign on the doctor's door reading "Back in a half hour." Not being in a

hurry, he waited. His ailment, so his tale goes, was somewhat aggravated an hour or so later when his doctor arrived with two plump birds slung over his shoulder.

When moving vans carrying the doctor's belongings arrived in Woodville, members of the Lions club turned out in force to help unload the furniture. This gesture, typical of small town hospital and friendliness, overwhelmed the doctor and won him for Woodville. And, of course, like Woodville real-estate men do for any new settler, the physician and dentist lived in their new homes rent-free the first 6 months.

The handsome medical center with its modern brick front and new landscaping sparked the complete renovation of Main Street. Rundown old buildings looked worse to their owners every time they saw the spanking new building.

Results were soon noticeable. Several new businesses opened in Woodville: a ladies' apparel shop, a photography studio, and an iron works and auto-body shop. The owner of the iron works had been in Woodville before, but left for lack of business. With the revival of the village, he returned. Any list of new businesses should include the remodeled drugstore which was opened under new management. The new owner became interested in Woodville business possibilities while attending a Lion-sponsored festival. A new four-lane bowling alley is something new for Woodville, too. It is the offshoot of another thriving business that decided to keep pace with new Woodville. Plans are now underway to knock out five rundown buildings on Main Street to make way for a new supermarket.

Continuing in their relentless drive to improve their community, members of the Lions Club planted 9,000 Norway pine and white spruce seedlings along the road leading to Woodville's entrance from United States Highway 12. And this brought them to another step in their plans. At the very entrance to Woodville was an eyesore, the office of the St. Croix County Co-op Association. When the association saw how business was picking up in the village, it took little persuasion to get it to replace the shack with a modern concrete-block building.

If this sounds like all work and no play, it shouldn't. Lion Kenneth Kongshaug, manager of a lumber company and director of the Woodville Lions Club, sums up the feeling of most of the villagers on this point: "We Lions have had as much fun building our main street as we have with our personal businesses. There seems to be no end to the good things happening around here." Others see no signs of overwork or dullness coming over the hard-driving Lions. It seems that the optimistic and enthusiastic spirit the club has engendered takes all the strain and pain out of work.

Showing Woodville a good time happens to be a specialty with the Lions Club. Each year Woodville Lions have sponsored the Syttende Mai, a national Norwegian festival which draws huge crowds in this area, where a non-Scandinavian is a rarity. Under the sponsorship and direction of the Lions Club, the celebration gained such popularity last year that it was carried on four radio stations and televised by WCCO-TV cameras of Minneapolis. For parades, instead of sinking money in a one-time float, Woodville bought itself a 1915 Overland, sanded and repainted it, and the relic now steals the show in many a parade.

To say that Woodville Lions have been busy would be a gross understatement of the facts. In 17 months the club sponsored 24 projects. Add to this the club's record of sponsoring three new Lions Clubs—New Richmond, Knapp, and Boyceville. Just a few of the projects, rated routine in this club's book, are the sponsorship of a band mothers' auction which netted $1,700 for high-school-band uniforms; twice sending the entire band to the Minneapolis aquatennial; establishing regulars farmers' day institutes; and donating $1,000 toward an annex for the hospital in Baldwin, Wis., while working on their own medical center.

How did Woodville Lions Club gain such success in such a short time? Different people give different explanations, but Club President Donald Hagen and Village President Art Best give complete credit to Lionism. Others point out that having Art Best, the village's top office holder and editor of the only newspaper, as a working member of the club hasn't exactly been a drawback, either.

In brief, Woodville's secret of success is a simple, workable formula any town could use. In the organization of the club, outstanding men were selected. They in turn recommended other leading civic-minded men who were vitally interested in the welfare of the community. Once chartered, they chose the single most-needed project and worked until it was finished. Working together toward a common goal integrated the club and won public support for future projects. It would be difficult to overemphasize the working together angle. Woodville can cite numerous examples. During a recent board of directors meeting, one of the members received a phone call. It was an appeal for help from one of the new store proprietors who had just arrived in the village with a truckload of shelving. The meeting was adjourned until the job was finished.

How can you measure what the Lions Club has done for Woodville? True, since the club was organized, business has picked up nearly 35 percent. But there are other yardsticks besides dollars and cents. Far more important to all villagers is the new community spirit. Now the village is forward looking, optimistic, and progressive.

Now, when you pass a friend on the street and he asks you "What's new?" the ensuing conversation may last for hours.

Mitchell Should Lead or Quit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Michael J. Galvin, of Boston, Under Secretary of Labor of the United States from 1949 to 1953, before the Bunker Hill Post of the American Legion, Charlestown, Mass., on Tuesday, February 16, 1954, at 8:30 p. m.:

MITCHELL SHOULD LEAD OR QUIT

Secretary of Labor Mitchell should do something about rising unemployment or get out. From Madam Perkins to Secretary Durkin the policy leadership to combat unemployment has come from the Secretary of Labor, heretofore the representative in the Cabinet of the 60 million members of the working population of the country. Right now the policy leadership on unemployment appears to be in the hands of Secretary Wilson, Mr. Mitchell's former boss in the Pentagon, and all Mr. Wilson is doing is firing people by the tens of thousands by curtailing defense orders, while Mr. Mitchell sits back and does nothing and says nothing.

The unemployment situation now is definitely worse than in 1949. The 1954 figures have brought fear into the hearts of our great working population and small-business owners. In 1949 unemployment rose 1,500,000 from April of 1949 to February of 1950, but the average weekly work week rose 1.3 hours in the same period, thus compensating in a great degree for the loss in purchasing power due to unemployment. Today the twin horses of economic destruction—unemployment and a declining work week—seem to have burst all controls. In the last 3 months there has been an unprecedented loss of purchasing power due to lack of employment and a declining work week roughly equivalent to several million jobs.

Fear in unemployment is and always has been the burden of the administration in power. Democratic leaders can neither add to nor detract one iota from the element of fear in unemployment in 1954 for they have not the power to alter the situation. This principle was true in 1949 with respect to the Republicans and is true now in 1954 with respect to the Democrats. Nor can tearful utterances of Mr. Wilson as he wipes out 10,000 jobs here and 10,000 jobs there have any effect except to increase fear. This was true of the Democratic Secretary of Defense in 1949, and it is true of the Republican Secretary of Defense in 1954. As a great American the best thing that Mr. Wilson can do on the subject of unemployment and its related problems is to remain silent. Nor should any member of the official family be permitted in these delicate times to say that a little unemployment is a good thing, and if they have said so they should be required under penalty of dismissal to retract such statement publicly immediately. A little unemployment is not a good thing in the United States. The leaders who should start talking to the great working population of the United States to allay their fears in this period of transition are the Secretary of Labor and the President of the United States.

The men who know most about how to curb unemployment and how to dispel fear in a transition period are the great labor presidents like Meany and Durkin and Reuther and Potofsky. The business of men such as these labor presidents is jobs. Men such as these can tell the administration how to curb unemployment and how to dispel fear during a transition period, and will be glad to plunge in to help do it if the administration will but listen to them. These men command the respect of tens of millions of men and women in the great working population, and they have the power to reach them and dispel fear. These things I know to be true. For without the great help which those two great statesmen President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, and President Philip Murray, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, gave to us in 1949, our successful struggle against rising unemployment in a transition period would have been extremely difficult. In 1949 fear never was allowed to develop. In 1954 it is developing unchecked as yet.

I would recommend to the Secretary of Labor that he visit his constituents—the great working population—in our cities and in our towns, and find out first hand their unemployment problems. Suppose he has no specific invitation. He will be welcome. The 60,000,000 workers of America are good people, they are the backbone of the country, and its hope and redemption in good times and bad. If the Secretary of Labor has a cure for unemployment that will work they will support him with whole heart and soul, and withal suffer cheerfully the attendant hardships.

To the administration I say with all sincerity: Don't let this happen to our great people don't let unemployment and fear rise unchecked. These scourges of our great free enterprise system will not go away of their own accord like a bad nightmare. Unem-

ployment is what the Russians have been waiting for. I can still hear the ringing taunts of the Russian Ambassador as in July of 1949 he thundered back at me before the representatives of all the nations of the world at Geneva, that rising unemployment in the United States would destroy us, and my answer to him was that our people were unafraid and that under God we would solve our unemployment problem and be a stronger and yea even a better country for having endured it. We worked at this problem in 1949 and we solved this problem in 1949. Disregarding the problem at this time will be playing right into the hands of Russia. Unemployment is the business of all our people; it knows no party lines. The stake: our country under God.

I would suggest to Secretary Mitchell that as a starter he come to Massachusetts, where unemployment rose 15,000 last year, and now stands at 90,000 persons unemployed, a figsubstantially higher than the national average. I would specifically request that he visit—

The Greater Boston area, where there are 35,000 unemployed. I would like to have him look into the situation in the Boston Navy Yard where layoffs have already been effected and where others are pending; into the situation at the Quincy shipyard where last year 3,400 were layed off and where some 4,000 face a doubtful future; to the situation at the Watertown Arsenal where layoffs are pending; and to the situation in the electrical plants in Newton, Allston, Woburn, Quincy, and Cambridge where sizable unemployment has developed.

The Newburyport area where employment is 10 percent less than last year.

The Springfield-Chicopee area where 4,500 are unemployed.

The Pittsfield area where employment has declined for the fifth successive month.

The Lawrence area, where several thousand are out of employment in textiles alone.

The New Bedford area, where unemployment is rising.

The Lowell area, where unemployment continues to rise and now stands at 4,300.

The Worcester area, where another 4,500 are unemployed.

The mayors of these great cities in Massachusetts will be glad to welcome you and help you obtain the facts first hand.

Small Business Failures and the Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to relate some statistics pertinent to the current "gloom and doom" situation which will disclose heartening facts rather than the wishful thinking of these melancholy prophets.

There has been a great deal of exaggeration, misinterpretation, and distortion of current economic statistics. An analysis of the statistics compiled by the Small Business Administration on business failures, about which there has been so much discussion, puts the situation into its proper perspective.

During the last 4 months, October 1953 through January 1954, failures have been on the uptrend. However, the failure rate is not significantly high. Here are the salient facts:

First. Total failures in 1953 were 8,862, only a slight increase over the 7,611 figure for 1952. This is an increase of only 1,255 out of a total business population of 4,200,000.

Second. During the last 4 months in which failures have been rising, the annual rate has amounted to only 10,040. This is far below the annual average of nearly 14,000 in the last 50 years.

Third. Let us compare this present failure rate of 10,040 which has caused so many shrieks of danger with the figures during the recovery period from the Roosevelt recession of 1937–38. During this period, in which business had supposedly gotten back on its feet, failures were 14,768 in 1939; 13,619 in 1940; and 11,848 in 1941.

Fourth. The number of businesses, however, was much smaller before World War II. It is therefore instructive to compare the failure rate per 10,000 concerns. The figure for the last 4 months is 36.6 per 10,000 concerns. The figure for 1939 was 70 per 10,000 concerns; for 1940 it was 63; and for 1941 it was 55. In other words, the failure rate during this period of Roosevelt prosperity ran between 50 and 100 percent higher than this present period.

Lest We Forget the Spanish-American War Veteran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, in America we owe a debt of gratitude to every man who left home and family to defend his native land in answer to his country's call to arms. It is a debt that can never be discharged, for as long as our Nation lives, as long as American citizens can walk erect as freemen under the protection of Old Glory, so long will all living Americans owe that freedom and the might and posperity of our Nation to each and every veteran of every war fought to defend and preserve the United States of America.

Today we as a people try in some measure to express our appreciation to our American veterans, to give certain privileges and care which in some measure may assist the returning veteran to reestablish his future, to guard his health, and to give him necessary hospitalization and medical care when he returns to civilian life with disability resulting from his military service.

We can look with pride with the advance we, as a nation, have made in establishing services for our veterans to which they are fully entitled. But this was not always the case.

And it is something of a shock to realize that Americans once fought and died in a war where there were no draftees, no Government war-risk insurance, no vocational training, and no hospitalization for 20 years after the war ended.

This was the Spanish-American War, a war which has been dwarfed and pushed from attention by the more recent World War I and the terrible holocaust that was World War II. But our Spanish-American War veterans have not forgotten and take rightful pride in the record of their achievement in service to our Nation.

In a recent publication entitled "I Am Proud to Be a Spanish War Veteran," some vital and important facts about this war of not too long ago are brought out. These facts should make each of us realize anew the debt we owe to these men who fought so valiantly for the United States, and at such great personal sacrifice. They should remind us of the gains we made as a nation as a result of the glorious victory we won at the end of this conflict.

The article follows:

I AM PROUD TO BE A SPANISH WAR VETERAN

A veteran in America's first war for humanity.

A veteran of the only 100 percent volunteer army the world has ever known.

A veteran of the only war in history that has paid dividends.

A war that was not fought to a draw—we dictated the terms.

It was responsible for the building of the Panama Canal.

It was responsible for the passage of the National Defense Act.

It caused the abolition of yellow fever and kindred diseases.

It united the North and the South so that there now is no North, no South, no East, no West, but one people united under one great and glorious flag.

It furnished every commander in World War I from the Commander-in-Chief on down.

It was the first campaign fought on foreign soil.

We did not bring the flag home—we left it where we put it and it is there yet.

We fought the war with poor equipment, poor food, antiquated guns, and black powder.

It caused the improvement in maintenance of the Army and Navy and for the formation of a standing army through training camps.

It marked the industrial reconstruction of the South.

It taught the lesson of unpreparedness that claims more lives than war.

It caused the United States of America to take the head of the table in the concert of nations.

It marked the rebirth of a nation.

It marked the last great conflict between the people of a free, self-governing republic and that of the last absolute monarchy.

The commands preserved their State entity and were responsible for the honor of their State.

Four hundred and fifty-eight thousand were engaged in this conflict, exceeding in number those engaged in the Revolutionary War, the Mexican War, or the War of 1812.

The losses in deaths from all causes were 4.3 percent as compared with six-tenths of 1 percent for the Civil War and seven-tenths of 1 percent for the World War I.

The average length of service was 14 months as compared with 9 months for World War I and 11 months for the Civil War.

The pay was $15.60 a month as compared with $30 for World War I.

We received no bonus, no war risk insurance, no adjusted compensation, no vocational training, and no hospitalization until 1922, 20 years after the war was over.

The cost of the war was one billion, eight hundred million; the Civil War eight billion,

five hundred million; and World War I fifty billion, eight hundred million.

Property was acquired valued at eight billion as compared with none for the Civil War and none for World War I.

Sixty-one percent saw foreign service as compared with 46 percent for World War veterans.

Seventy-three percent of our veterans were sons of Civil War veterans and 42 percent saw service in World War I.

The duration of the War with Spain and the Philippine insurrection was 4 years and 2 months, as compared with 4 years for Civil War and 1 year and 7 months for World War I.

Our motto is, "Freedom, patriotism and humanity."

An 1840 Comment on Washington's Farewell Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on July 4, 1840, Dr. Richard C. Rhodes, a distinguished citizen of Lumberton, N. C., delivered an address on the Constitution and in the style of that period's oratory paid tribute to George Washington. Dr. Rhodes' grandson, Mr. W. R. Rhodes, a resident of North Little Rock, Ark., has made available the remarkable document which preserves the address. Under leave to extend my remarks I include the follow excerpts:

In looking out up the face of nature, we discover evident tokens of infinite intelligence, power, and goodness, and in the passing events of providence how clearly do we distinguish the hand of an omnipotent being pointing out that mercy prompts, and that wisdom which directs in all the operations of his government. Every advancing step in the history of the dealings of providence with man reveals new wonders in his economy, and calls for higher notes of admiration and praise. Every revolving day sheds richer blessings upon our world, every month should awaken new emotions of gratitude and pleasure in the heart of the Christian and the philanthropist, every returning period which repeats the song of of country's freedom swells a new chorus to the praise of our Father's God.

Dealing with the question of a strong and permanent union of the States, Dr. Rhodes spoke eloquently for a point of view not voiced by all of the public men of those times. His plea follows:

The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for the preservation of the Union was earnestly pressed upon his fellow citizens by the Father of His Country. He told us "that while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bonds." And he has cautioned us in the strongest terms against the formation of parties as one of the means which might disturb our Union. This invaluable legacy left to his countrymen should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation. And perhaps at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present, when we look out upon the scenes that are passing around and dwell upon the pages of his parting address; his parental counsels would seem to be not only the offspring of wisdom but the voice of prophecy, foretelling events and warning us of the evil to come.

More than 40 years have passed since this imperishable document was given to his countrymen. The Federal Constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment, upon the success of which the last hopes of his country depended. And we all know that he was prepared to lay down his life if necessary to secure to it a full and fair trial. The trial has been made. It has succeeded beyond the proudest hopes of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended Nation has felt its blessings and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid the general prosperity and splendid success, the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts made to sow the seeds of discord between the different parts of the United States, and to increase party divisions, to excite North against the South and the South against the North, to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics. Let us not forget the warning voice of our fathers. But let our motto be "At every hazard and by every sacrifice this Union must be preserved."

And the orator reached the climax of his speech in the following accolade:

Could conscience, the judicious inquisitor, persuade me that an event of this kind could be passed over with propriety and justice without mentioning the name of that man who under divine auspices procured our independence, I would willingly forego the attempt; for I am conscious of my inability to do justice to his character; but however inadequate I may be to render the full measure of adoration due to his memory, justice it could not be called to omit on such an occasion the name of the Father of His Country. What true American within the hearing of my voice whose heart does not glow with gratitude at the name of Washington? What language so barbarous as does not speak his name? What nation so distant that does not resound his praise? Eminent without magnificence, superior without vanity, elevated without pride, he was the admiration of an astonished world.

Mr. Speaker, I have quoted the above lines from Dr. Rhodes' address because of their historical interest and the quality of devotion to Washington's memory which they reveal.

Labor Market Situation in Los Angeles County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the United States Department of Labor has kindly prepared for me an analysis of the labor-market situation in Los Angeles County, Calif. Since this is one of the areas of most concentrated employment in the country, I believe the data will be of general interest to all. The analysis is based on information available as of February 10, 1954.

SUMMARY

During most of 1953, employment in the Los Angeles area continued its steady uptrend, while unemployment was lower than in the corresponding month of 1952. In November, however, the trend was reversed, unemployment rising slightly as a labor dispute in aircraft and layoffs in seasonal industries brought employment totals down. Despite this increase, the Los Angeles are a continued to be classified as a group III area of moderate labor surplus, a classification it has held all during the past year.

A further employment drop was expected after the usual preholiday spurt in December, with some accompanying increase in joblessness. The area's labor surplus nevertheless was expected to continue at relatively moderate proportions during the foreseeable future.

DEFINITION AND INDUSTRIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Los Angeles labor market emcompasses all of Los Angeles and Orange Counties in southern California. The 1950 census showed the area had one of the largest increases in population of any area in the United States, rising nearly 50 percent to reach a total of 4,368,000. Measured from a standpoint of population, the Los Angeles area is the fourth ranking metropolitan area in the Nation. About 1,970,000 of this total reside within the city limits of Los Angeles. Among the larger of the numerous smaller places in the area are: Long Beach with a 1950 population of 250,767, Pasadena 104,577, Glendale 95,702, Burbank 78,577, Santa Monica 71,595, Alhambra 51,359, and South Gate 51,116.

The economy of the Los Angeles area is well diversified. As a result of the sharp pickup in manufacturing activities, factory workers now account for more than one-third of the area's 1,842,800 nonfarm wage and salaried workers. Before Korea, this proportion ranged between 25 and 30 percent. Trade and service activities account for more than 40 percent of the area's employment. Important segments in these industries are the area's thriving tourist trade and the motion-picture industry. Government (including military installations) and transportation, communications, utilities also employ many nonmanufacturing workers. Aircraft, with 160,000 workers (plus 15,000 involved in a labor-management dispute) is the dominant manufacturing industry; more than four times as many workers are employed in Los Angeles aircraft factories than in any other area in the country. Nonelectrical machinery, metal fabricating, electrical machinery, primary metals, textiles, and apparel manufacturing also have large concentrations of factory workers. Largest area employers include: Hughes Aircraft (electrical machinery), Lockheed, North American Aviation, Douglas (three plants), Northrup (aircraft), and Long Beach Naval Shipyard (shipbuilding).

The Long Beach subsector of the Los Angeles area covers about 80 square miles of the south portion of Los Angeles County bounded by the Pacific Ocean and the Los Angeles-Orange County line. The population is estimated at 350,000 to 400,000. In addition to the city of Long Beach proper, other centers in the sector include Bellflower, Lakewood, Signal Hill, and Artesia.

Employment expansion in the Long Beach section in the year following the Korean outbreak had been largely in shipbuilding and aircraft, due to the reactivation of the Long Beach naval shipyard and extensive hiring by Douglas Aircraft. Petroleum extraction, although important in this sector, did not gain significantly following Korea. More recent detailed information covering this subsector of the Los Angeles area is not available.

POST-KOREAN DEVELOPMENTS

The 3½ years since Korea have witnessed a strong employment exemption in the Los Angeles area. In an effort to meet pressures developing from the mobilization effort, em-

ployers increased their work forces by 25 percent, a tremendous expansion for an area of this size. The major share of the employment buildup took place in manufacturing, which increased the number of workers on pay rosters by 210,000 or 50 percent, during the period from Korea to November 1953. In aircraft manufacturing alone more than 100,000 workers were added, including 15,000 on strike in November. The large hiring program required to staff these plants reduced unemployment in the area from 150,000 to 72,500, a drop of more than 52 percent. Currently, the area is characterized as having a moderate labor surplus. Primarily responsible for this continued surplus of labor has been a wave of immigration which has brought more than 100,000 workers to the area since the Korean outbreak.

Between November 1952 and November 1953, largely as a result of expansion in trade and service industries, nonfarm employment in the area increased by 41,300 or 2.3 percent, and rested just below the previous all-time peak of 1,860,200 set in October 1953. The November estimate of 1,842,800 excluded 16,000 persons involved in the labor-management dispute in aircraft.

RECENT TRENDS AND OUTLOOK

In addition to the strike-caused decline in aircraft, small losses in primary metals, fabricated metals, and electrical machinery, and seasonal drops in food processing and construction, helped to cause the employment downtrend between September and November 1953, while trade and service showed normal seasonal rises. Slackening defense requirements and completion of contracts caused the dips in primary and fabricated metals, while slower markets for TV sets and components affected electrical machinery employment. Automobile factories recalled some workers previously laid off during model changes.

In the Long Beach sector aircraft, although not directly affected by the strike, showed a small decline. The navy yard also laid off several hundred workers during the 2-month period.

Excluding the effects of strike-end recalls, the aircraft industry in the Los Angeles area as a whole was scheduled to show sizeable losses to March, but a seasonal uptrend in apparel was expected to almost equal this drop. Construction layoffs and a heavy postholiday decline in trade loomed, and were expected to be the major factors in a slight net employment loss to March. The rise in service was expected to continue. Despite the prospective increase in the labor force, continuing shortages for specialists and skilled aircraft workers were forecast. A wide variety of unfilled job openings was reported from the Long Beach aircraft plant.

Also Mr. Speaker, I desire to update the foregoing with the following information supplied by the California Department of Industrial Relations, under date of February 19. This data applies to the entire State of California:

California factory employment decreased to 1,024,700 wage and salary workers in January, a loss of 7,400 from the preceding month, Paul Scharrenberg, California director of industrial relations, announced today.

Reflecting the high level in the aircraft industry, manufacturing employment this January, nevertheless, was 6,300 above a year ago and was at the highest January level since World War II.

The primary factors in the overall December–January decree were seasonal losses, totaling more than 13,000, in food products and in lumber. Added to these were smaller decreases in stone, clay, and glass products; electrical equipment, chemical products, and apparel.

Offsetting these declines was a rise of 10,300 in the aircraft industry reflecting recovery from a work stoppage.

Moderate gains between December and January were registered in automobiles and ship repair. Recovery from a work stoppage in can manufacturing resulted in a rise of 1,300 in the fabricated metal products group, reversing the usual December-January dip in this industry.

The gain in aircraft brought employment in that industry to a new postwar high of 225,300. This was 14,800 above January 1953.

Excluding aircraft, total employment in all other manufacturing industries combined was down 8,500 from a year ago.

General Washington Emphasized Gratitude to Catholic People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an article entitled "General Washington Emphasized Gratitude to Catholic People," which appeared in the February 19, 1954, issue of the Messenger, the official newspaper of the Belleville, Ill., diocese:

GENERAL WASHINGTON EMPHASIZED GRATITUDE TO CATHOLIC PEOPLE

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—The Commander in Chief of American forces today ordered his troops to stop plans to burn the Pope in effigy at traditional Guy Fawkes Day observances. He called the custom ridiculous and childish.

That's how this story might have been datelined and written 178 years ago. The Commander in Chief was Gen. George Washington. He had come to Massachusetts from Virginia only 5 months before to take military command of the 7-month-old American Revolution.

And General Washington took over the rough, undisciplined troops with a firm hand. When he learned that his soldiers planned to whoop it up on November 5, 1775, by burning a scarecrow of the Pope, he quickly issued an order. In it, he reminded the men they were fighting in defense of liberty. He called the Guy Fawkes Day plan so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused and the officers and men who planned it void of commonsense.

His order was delivered to ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-paid soldiers entrenched outside the city of Boston where the British had holed in. These soldiers, who had fought courageously to take the city, but had been repulsed at Bunker Hill, now faced a New England winter's wait, holding Boston in siege.

In his order General Washington gave the disgruntled troops a common-sense reminder—America was depending on Catholic allies in its revolt for freedom; the most successful campaign against the British had thus far been conducted by Catholic Canadian forces.

"It is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren" rather than "to be insulting their religion," General Washington said.

Records also reveal that more than 38 percent of the soldiers in Washington's armies were Catholics of either Irish birth or Irish descent. They had joined in the Revolution despite the discriminatory statutes then in force against them.

But regardless of these facts and the general's order, a group of Revolutionary soldiers carried out the Guy Fawkes Day custom which their ancestors had long practiced in memory of England's notorious "gun powder plot." (The plot in which Guy Fawkes, a Catholic, was accused of attempting to blow up the House of Parliament, was falsely interpreted as a Vatican-directed plan against England, and resulted in the death of many Catholics.) An effigy of the Pope was burned that night on the hills south of Boston.

The incident, however, was one of a series that marked a turning point in the position of Catholics in America, long regarded as the objects of Juritan distrust and their religion considered as "supbversive of society," according to historian Father Paul J. Foik, C. S. C. Father Foik noted that with the Revolution the condition of American Catholics began to improve."

Throughout the Revolution Catholic Americans proved their patriotism to such an extent that, years later, President Washington was to write them:

"I presume that your fellow citizens of all denominations will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of our Revolution and the establishment of our Government, or the important assistance which they received from a Nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed."

The Farm Price-Support Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith a letter received from the New Jersey State Poultry Association, together with a resolution adopted by the association, endorsing the flexible price-support program for agricultural products recommended by the administration:

NEW JERSEY STATE POULTRY ASSOCIATION,
Newfield, N. J., February 18, 1954.

The Honorable GORDON CANFIELD,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am pleased to enclose a resolution endorsing the flexible price support program for agricultural products recommended by the administration.

Our poultry industry is New Jersey's No. 1 agricultural industry. Our association definitely represents by far the majority of our 6,700 commercial poultry farms in New Jersey.

We hope that you will give the administration program your full support.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT O. WEGNER,
President.

RESOLUTION ON FARM PRICE-SUPPORT PROGRAM

Whereas high fixed farm-price supports on the basic commodities have encouraged uneconomic production, caused very large expenditures of tax funds, and required the imposition of arbitrary production controls on agricultural production; and

Whereas the operation of this program has made more serious the basic problem of agriculture, that of keeping farm production in line with market demands; and

Whereas President Eisenhower and Secretary Benson have recommended a program of flexible farm-price supports which will encourage the efficient producer to adjust his production to demand and at the same time

will not force him out of business during periods of very poor prices: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the New Jersey State Poultry Association at this annual meeting held at Trenton, N. J., on January 27, 1954, That the Congress of the United States be urged to enact this program into law; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Secretary Benson and the New Jersey representatives in Congress.

(Presented and adopted at the annual meeting of the New Jersey State Poultry Association, held at the Contemporary Auditorium, Trenton, N. J., January 27, 1954.)

A Fair Farm Policy for Dairy Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a timely editorial from the Racine (Wis.) Journal Times of February 3, which is a fair statement of opinion as to the treatment to be afforded the American dairy farmer. There is one phase of the butter-surplus problem that is too infrequently mentioned and that is, will the reduction suggested by Secretary Benson dispose of surplus butter now on hand? It seems to me that it will not and unless a program is suggested whereby these stocks will be reduced, it is idle to think in terms of reduring parity price. The editorial is included herewith:

FARM POLICY MUST BE FAIR TO DAIRYMEN

Within the next 2 months, the Eisenhower administration, and Agriculture Secretary Benson specifically, must decide what to do about the price supports now maintained under butter, cheese, and milk.

That decision is putting wrinkles in many brows in Washington, but it is also a matter of great concern to Wisconsin people, especially the dairy farmers whose entire economic level can be determined by the price of butter and cheese.

A year ago, Secretary Benson decided to keep price supports of butter at 90 percent of parity, which meant that the Government would continue to buy butter at that price, forcing the retail price of butter to an artificially high price. Because there continued to be a great surplus, and because the dairymen did not cut production while the Government was in the market as a willing customer, the huge surplus of butter continued to pile up in Government warehouses. That surplus now has reached 265 million pounds of butter, 260 million pounds of cheese and 425 million pounds of dried milk, all carefully stored away in Government warehouses, where it probably will be left to spoil. At least, no one has come up with any sensible suggestion for distributing it without upsetting the market.

Last year, when he agreed to hold the price for another 12 months by artificial means, Secretary Benson warned the dairy farmers to put their houses in order and to prepare for a relaxation of Government supports this year. The producers' principal reply to that warning, as far as we can learn, was to continue overproducing and selling to the Government. There has been much brave talk about finding new markets, but the problem of overproduction is still with us.

The question at hand now, however, is: Should the Government reduce the parity level on butter, cut the price it is willing to pay, and thus let the market fall? Many Congressmen seem to think that this is exactly what the administration plans to do, although it will meet with great resistance. Senator AIKEN, of Vermont, predicted this week that the Department of Agriculture and the Commodity Credit Corporation will drop support prices of 75 to 80 percent of parity, which would bring the Government's offering price down from the present 67 cents on butter to 56 or 60 cents, and could bring the retail price down 8 cents or more.

We point out that these plans are being made while the Government still maintains the prices of corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, wool, and other farm commodities. This is where, we believe, the Government errs.

We cannot support the Government's present program of maintaining artificially high prices on butter while piling up surpluses which probably will be wasted. The program is contrary to good economics, contrary to common sense, and contrary to everything but cheap politics. But, at the same time, we do not believe that the Government, in fairness to the dairy farmer, can drop his prices radically and suddenly, while maintaining high artificial prices on other farm commodities which he must purchase. There should be a more orderly way to change this price-support program so that the dairy farmer is not selling his milk cheap while paying a high price for feed for his cattle and the other commodities he needs.

The Eisenhower administration has promised a sensible, orderly farm program, fair to the producer and the consumer. That program must be considered as a whole, unless we are to impose unfair penalties on one segment of the agricultural economy.

Dinosaur National Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there is among my constituents on the South Side of Chicago a keen and a growing interest in the proposed construction of a dam in Dinosaur National Monument. I am extending my remarks to include a letter just received by me from Frances J. Carter, 5736 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, together with an editorial from American Forests, as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL.

HON. BARRATT O'HARA,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. O'HARA: Your letters of January 21 and February 5, in regard to the pending legislation on the Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument, have been greatly appreciated.

I have delayed answering them until I could take time off from my work to do further checking on the matter, including a study of topographic maps, geological surveys, and other material available in the Chicago Public Library and the John Crerar Library.

The changes in the appearance of the central part of the national monument, where the scenery is the most spectacular, would be comparable to flooding State Street up past the first few floors, thus obscuring all the display windows and leaving the upper stories for shoppers to gaze at in understandable disappointment.

However, it seems difficult to obtain specific information on the alternative dam sites. One of the best summaries of the present confused situation has just appeared in the new February issue of American Forests, in which the American Forestry Association presents both sides of the argument, by some leading proponents, on pages 33-40, and an editorial on page 7.

This editorial expresses my views far better than I can. I have been unable to purchase a copy of the magazine on the newsstands, so I am enclosing a typed copy of the editorial. The American Forestry Association is located at 919 17th Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

It is a satisfaction and a source of local pride to realize the careful consideration and recognition which you give to the communications from your constituents in the Second District of Illinois.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCES J. CARTER.

[From American Forests of February 1954]

LET'S NOT DESECRATE THE DINOSAUR

An organization that regards our system of national parks and forests as the two greatest conservation achievements of our century, the American Forestry Association is gravely concerned over the recent proposal, as endorsed by the Department of the Interior, to build a dam in the heart of Dinosaur National Monument. The national parks and monuments have been set aside for the health and enjoyment of all the people of the United States. Most of these areas preserve scenic wonders which could not be duplicated if destroyed or severely modified.

The Dinosaur Monument is no exception. It was approved by an exacting historical board and created by Executive order. Described by former Parks Director Newton B. Drury as "unique," the monument has two special attractions. One of these is the quarry of dinosaur fossils for which the monument is named. It is understood that this area would not be disturbed by the proposed dam. The other attraction consists of the deep river canyons of rare and wild beauty first brought to the attention of the public by the late John Wesley Powell. In the opinion of some, these canyons rival the more famous Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in picturesque grandeur. It is these canyons which would be partially filled by water backed up by a proposed dam at Echo Park. This water would greatly alter the present appearance of the monument.

The threat to Dinosaur Monument in its present natural state is embodied in three bills: H. R. 4443, introduced by Representative WAYNE N. ASPINALL, of Colorado; H. R. 4449, by Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON, of Utah; and H. R. 4463, by Representative DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW, of Utah. These bills call for the construction of initial units of the Colorado River storage project consisting of dams, reservoirs, powerplants, transmission facilities, and appurtenant works. As set up in the plan of the Bureau of Reclamation and approved by Interior, the initial projects outlined in the bills are listed as Echo Park Dam in Dinosaur National Monument, Flaming Gorge, Glen Canyon, Navaho, and Curecanti.

At this point the American Forestry Association would like to make it abundantly clear that it is in full sympathy with the need for developing the water resources of the West. More specifically, the association is in accord with the broad outline of the Colorado River storage project to provide water for irrigation, and power for industry and municipal use in five Western States. The key question in the case is not whether there should be a water storage project on the Colorado but whether it is necessary to invade a national monument to assure the success of this whole project.

What are the facts? Proponents of these bills, including Secretary McKay, Under Secretary Ralph A. Tudor (see p. 39), and the Bureau of Reclamation would lead us to believe that the Echo Park Dam is a key link in the overall storage project and vital to its success. Opponents of the bills, including Maj. Gen. U. S. Grant III, former Interior Secretary Oscar L. Chapman, and practically every conservation organization in the United States, declare that a judicious selection of alternative sites could accomplish substantially the same objective without going into the monument at all. For example, former Secretary Chapman, who has been in touch with this project since its inception in 1950, informed American Forests last month that "the Echo Park Dam and the Split Mountain Dam (also in the monument and proposed for future authorization by Interior) absolutely are not necessary." (See p. 38.) General Grant, an officer in the Corps of Engineers for 43 years and presently president of the American Planning and Civic Association, is equally emphatic on this point. (See p. 37.)

As clearly shown in the report on this problem starting on page 32, this is a case where the experts disagree. The American Forestry Association does not feel competent to judge on the relative merits of these sharply divergent technical viewpoints. It does feel it is reflecting the viewpoint of a puzzled public when it states that there appears to be a reasonable doubt as to the necessity of building a dam in the Dinosaur National Monument.

Furthermore, it does not appear that a thorough study on all possible alternates has yet been made by the Bureau of Reclamation. A sincere search should be made for an alternative which does not encroach upon existing parks and monuments. For whether the proponents for Echo Park admit it or not, invading a national monument would set a serious precedent—a precedent that the public is not likely to consider lightly once it is acquainted with the facts. Pending such a study and report, the other phases of the overall Colorado River storage project, which are not in dispute, could proceed providing the Congress finds Reclamation's estimates and plans valid and in order.

Meanwhile, the Echo Park Dam should not be authorized.

The Policy of Liberation—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, with the resourceful advantage of knowing Russian Communist imperialism at first hand, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council has prepared a statement of views on an American policy of liberation which in many respects contributes to our understanding of the conditions and factors rendering this policy necessary. This portion of the statement brings to light the motivating ideas applicable to the present situation, followed by a constructive plan of action for the western nations and colonial and semicolonial peoples.

II. MOTIVATING IDEAS APPLICABLE TO THE PRESENT SITUATION

While the very recognition of aims is a prerequisite for the survival of the United States and of the free peoples, the policy of liberation is equally:

(a) A means of their realization, and

(b) An aim in itself, since its success depends on whether or not the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and the rest of the world recognize that the United States would truly bring them assurance of their national and social freedom.

Therefore, the policy of liberation must be viewed from two aspects:

(a) From the positive aspect, i. e., as the realization of national and social slogans such as the slogan of free national states for the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union and the developed colonial peoples, or the slogan of individual freedom and social justice on the basis of which the world can be built and for which the captive peoples and the United States are fighting;

(b) From the negative aspect, i. e., as a means of weakening the Soviet Union from within with the help of these slogans and with adequate help for the liberation movements. To destroy the Soviet Union through military means would be very difficult as we mentioned above. If we assume that the present atomic age presents a possibility for this, we cannot yet forget that the present struggle against Bolshevism and the imperialism of Moscow is not only a struggle for the destruction of the existing regime, but also for the reorganization of the postwar world on the basis of certain ideological and moral principles.

Therefore, taking into consideration the moral and political principles of the struggle against Moscow, it is necessary to keep in mind the following points which characterize the current situation:

1. The first half of the twentieth century, particularly the period since World War I was a period of decisive and expanding struggle by humanity for the realization of two leading ideals:

(a) The ideal of political liberty for the enslaved nations, achieved in the establishment of free, independent states; and

(b) The ideals of individual social freedom and economic prosperity.

A consciousness of this historical process of the present age should be the basis of any American planning in relation to other nations. In particular it should be the basis of the American policy of liberation.

2. The following events were to a great extent the result of the struggle for these ideals during World War I:

(a) The collapse of the Empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, and Turkey, and the establishment of free nations in their place,

(b) Great social and national revolutions in the area of the Czarist Empire which began in 1917 and brought partial national and social liberty for the peoples of that Empire.

3. The period between the two wars was characterized by—

(a) The unceasing struggle of the peoples of the former Czarist Empire who had not been able to maintain their independence in the struggle with Russian imperialism regenerated in the form of bolshevism,

(b) The gradual degeneration of Bolshevism into traditional Russian imperialism, the betrayal of the ideals of social justice and economic prosperity declared by the Bolsheviks in 1917, the transformation of the regime into the most reactionary system of uncontrolled economic exploitation and into a dictatorship over people and nations; and

(c) The destructive activities of Bolshevik fifth columns in the colonial states and the western nations, which represented themselves as spokesmen for national and social liberty.

4. The second World War affected this process as follows:

(a) Between 1939 and 1941 it brought about full operation between German and Russian imperialism in enslaving nations with the aim of temporarily dividing the world;

(b) From 1941 to 1945 increased the terroristic activities of Hitler's Germany in relation to the enslaved peoples of Europe, and temporarily rehabilitated the idea of the U. S. S. R. (among some of the nations of Europe and the world) as alleged proponent of the freedom of peoples and social rights, and as the spokesman of a new type of democracy;

(c) Intensified the struggle of all the peoples enslaved by Russian or German imperialisms primarily for national freedom;

(d) Increased the struggle of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa against European colonial states and Japanese imperialism, and brought victory for some of them.

5. In the postwar period we are witnessing:

(a) The gradual weaking of the western European colonial powers paralleled by the national rebirth of such nations as India, Indonesia;

(b) The victory of the Chinese Communists who carried on their fight primarily under the slogan of social freedom and anticolonialism, which victory brought China into the Russian sphere of influence;

(c) The aggressive policy of the Bolsheviks and their fifth columns carried out under the slogan of the struggle against American imperialism among the nations of the entire world, and of the supposed liberation of these peoples from national and social oppression by Anglo-American capital;

(d) The West's policy of containment and Bolshevik Russian terror weakening the struggle of the enslaved peoples against Moscow for national and social liberation;

(e) Complete degeneration of Moscow, that is, of their ruling clique, into the caste of the exponents of militant Russian imperialism and Bolshevik totalitarianism with the obvious aim of physical and spiritual destruction of the suppressed peoples and of rendering them into slaves of Russia, and with the aim of future enslavement of the entire world.

The theory of supposed leadership of the Russian nation is an exact analogy to Hitler's theory of a superior nation of supermen.

Thus from the beginning of World War I two characteristic processes evolve with particular clarity. They are:

1. The process of the victorious progress of the ideals of national and social liberty which became the powerful 20th century liberation movements of the enslaved peoples, and

2. The process of the unusually skillful use of these ideals by the reborn Russian Empire in devising fighting slogans for a mobilization of the colonial and semicolonial peoples, and for the assault on Western civilization.

Both of the described processes were accompanied by a state of spiritual and moral weakness of the Western European societies, and their consequent incapability of opposing Russian bolshevism with fighting slogans and programs to win the soul of men. The Western European community has been in a constant state of moral retreat before the Bolshevik advance.

In such a situation it must be accepted until a time of a decisive military clash, if such cannot be avoided, that the present conflict between the two worlds should be carried out in the field of ideas. In this stage of the struggle which will be decisive for the final victory of one of the opponents, the Western World should:

1. Assume the initiative, and go over from its position of defense before Bolshevik subversion to its own ideological attack on the most sensitive spot of the U. S. S. R., i. e., its internal structure.

2. Expose the Soviet Union and its regime morally and politically, and wrest from it its powerful moral and political weapons which it uses to develop its contemporary attack

aimed at destroying the world; it can be said that the successful exposure of the U. S. S. R. as an enslaver of peoples and as a reactionary regime of totalitarianism will predetermine the outcome of the future clash with the West in favor of the latter.

3. Declare ideals which mobilize all the freedom-loving peoples and which would rally them under the banner of the West.

III. PLAN OF ACTION

Admitting that the processes described under II illustrate the present world condition and that the United States is the only nation which has the moral and material resources to organize a policy of liberation, then the following political spheres of activity would have to be considered by America:

A. The Western European nations including the former and present colonial powers, and also the peoples of the Americas and Australia,

B. The colonial or semicolonial peoples and those who recently attained their independence,

C. The enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R. and its satellites.

Finding a common denominator for the defense of all these peoples from Moscow as the center of communism and traditional Russian imperialism would be the formulation of a great part of that which is called the policy of liberation.

It is necessary to mention here that in using the slogan of liberation the United States is not introducing a new, unknown slogan. On the one hand, it is the slogan of all nations fighting for national and social freedom, and above all, the nations enslaved by the U. S. S. R. On the other hand, these slogans served and were abused by various imperialistic forces which tried to camouflage their aggressive plans behind them. Czarist Russia carried on its policies under this slogan and the Bolsheviks have used the same slogan with the greatest success. The suppression of Ukraine, or Georgia, or other nations, and the suppression of the satellites after World War II was carried out by the Bolsheviks usually under the banner of freedom and liberation of peoples. Even Hitler talked about liberation in the East. Thus this slogan has been abused among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Hearing of liberation from any side, the people of the Soviet Union must be told what sort of liberation it is to be, because so far all the liberators brought only slavery. This fact must be taken into account by America when it declares its policy of liberation, inasmuch as the Bolshevisk are trying to present Americans as the enslavers of other nations and to commend themselves to the people as liberators. Therefore the psychological stage of war between the United States and the Soviet Union is in essence a struggle of the opponents to win over the peoples enslaved or threatened by Moscow, as well as the colonial peoples, and to convince them of the justice of their own conception of liberation. The side which wins this gigantic struggle for the souls of millions will also be the victor in the military field.

We have just affirmed that the question is one of formulating the American policy of liberation in relating to three groups of peoples. The question remains as to the two main types of slogans and principles—those related directly or indirectly to all three groups, and those which are related only to individual groups.

Under the first category we include the formulation of an official ideological program of a declaration of faith or credo by the United States Government, which should include such leading mottos:

1. That the United States Government and the American people recognize that the ideals contained in the foundation of the American Nation and the establishment of the Union are valid and obligate the United States to recognize the right of every people to a free development on their own territory in their own state, to a free election of a government, and the right of the individual to develop freely within the bounds of his own community;

2. That this right is the God-given right of all peoples without respect to nationality, creed, race, or color;

3. That the main causes of the present international crisis are that (a) this right is deliberately abused by the Government of the Soviet Union which has been carrying out a policy of brutal genocide, enslavement of nations, and terror for 35 years, and (b) that this regime strives for further enslavement of other peoples, particularly those of Western Europe and Asia, thereby prolonging the policy of the Czars even though it attempts to disguise its true nature with the slogans of so-called international communism and freedom;

4. That despite the horrible terror of the regime, the captive peoples of the Soviet Union are carrying on an unceasing struggle for the national and social liberation of their own States;

5. That lasting peace can be won only through the cooperation of the free peoples, and that all totalitarianism and tyranny lead to war;

6. That the United States supports the struggle of the captive nations of the Soviet Union for their freedom, and believes that these peoples, in particular those who now have their own republics on the basis of the Soviet Constitution, have the right to a genuine national independence and the election of their own government without any kind of exteral interference;

7. That the colonial peoples also have the right to express their will freely and that they should also be included among the free nations of the world;

8. That the United States, declaring its moral support of the enslaved peoples and those threatened by bolshevism, assumes the leadership in this struggle against tyranny; that the United States will carry out this mission without any pretense to forcing its will on any nation, with complete rejection of any aspirations for foreign territories or wealth, and will condemn imperialism and totalitarianism in all forms.

Thus having declared its attitude to the vital problems of the present crisis which affects all nations, the United States would arrive at a relation with the above-mentioned separate groups of peoples on the following basis:

A. The Western European nations and peoples of western civilization

1. The basic defensive action of these peoples against the attack of Moscow bolshevism must engender their spiritual rebirth and strengthen their attitude and will to fight for the idea of liberty. The only way in which this spiritual reawakening can be brought about is through eliminating their attitude of neutralism, their feeling of inferiority, and their spiritual apathy in the face of the psychological attacks of bolshevism and Russian messianism.

2. The idea of freedom of nations and individuals must above all be contained in the roots of this spiritual rebirth, in order to bring about (a) their readiness to defend their national independence from the threat of Moscow enslavement, (b) a willingness to join politically and morally in the struggle under the slogans of the American Declaration of Faith, in the name of freedom for nations and with a sincere desire (on the part of the colonial European powers) to find a basis of understanding with the colonial peoples and to make possible their free development.

3. As to the peoples of the Americas, Australia and Japan, the United States' respect for their independence and its encouragement of their growth through cooperation has won them to the United States point of view rather than the threat of Russian enslavement.

B. The colonial and semicolonial peoples

1. Declaring itself on the side of the colonial peoples and on the side of the peoples who only recently shed the yoke of colonialism, the United States as a nation which upholds principles of freedom, will have every chance to: (a) Win for itself the sympathy of these peoples without fear of being accused of any kind of imperialism, (b) convince these peoples of the necessity of cooperation with the West and point out all the dangers of Bolshevism which under the banner of social and political freedom brings only totalitarian enslavement, dictatorship, and genocide in the name of the alleged superiority of the Russian Nation, (c) support the progressive and democratic elements among these peoples, and wrest the nationalist groups among them from the influence of the Russian fifth column and win them over to cooperation with the West.

2. In relation to the Chinese and Indochinese people the United States in a separate declaration should recognize their right to a place under the sun, i. e. their right to a free national and social development without foreign interference. The psychological war against Mao's regime in China should be waged mainly along the lines of exposing him as an agent of Russian imperialism and colonialism, and of proving that his policies in actuality lead only to the enslavement of China by Russia and to dictatorship and oppression of the masses by Communist cliques.

3. The American policy in relation to these peoples, with due respect to the Asiatic national aspirations and their resentment of external interference, should contain clear elements of the decision and resolution of the United States Government to oppose the influence of Moscow on these territories. This policy cannot contain any vagueness or inclination to indulge Bolshevik pretenses. But, when we consider that Moscow's aim is to involve America in inexpedient wars, and in particular with a continual war with China, then Mao and his regime must always be regarded as enemy No. 2 whose elimination is possible only after the liquidation of enemy No. 1—Moscow, and not vice-versa.

Twelfth Report on Legislation of the 83d Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include my 12th report on the legislation of the 83d Congress, which covers all of the legislation so far enacted at this session. It is my practice to report to my constituents in the Second District of Illinois on all measures that have passed both bodies and have been approved by the President. As my vote is in reality their vote, I feel under the moral obligation of an agent reporting to a principal to let my constituents know how I voted on each measure.

The 12th report follows:

DEAR FRIEND: In the first 6 weeks of the 2d session of the 83d Congress exactly 7 bills passed by House and Senate have been signed by the President, thus becoming public laws. This is the accomplishment up to date.

In previous reports to you I have covered the legislation of the 1st session of the 83d Congress. Report No. 11, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 25, 1954, pages A539–A542, completes the coverage up to the opening of the second session.

Now continue:

PUBLIC LAW 289

S. 727. Repayment contracts for irrigation construction.

This is the first public law of the 2d session of the 83d Congress. It was passed by the Senate on July 18, 1953, in the closing weeks of the 1st session. Exactly 6 months later (January 18, 1954, 12 days after the convening of the 2d session) it reached the House and was passed on a voice vote without opposition. The measure was approved by the President on January 30, 1954.

I think you will find some interest in this. In irrigation projects the ability of the water users to absorb and repay the costs of irrigation construction is determined by studies undertaken by the Bureau of Reclamation. Amendatory repayment contracts become necessary where existing contract requirements are beyond the wealth-producing ability of the project lands. The cost of the physical and economic analyses incident to the renegotiations has never been charged up to the irrigation districts as reimbursable. However, in legislation of recent years (affecting the Deaver, Prosser, Belle Fourche, Willwood, Bitterroot, Kittitas, and Okanogan Irrigation Districts) through inadvertance to authority was given to make the study costs nonreimbursable. Public Law 289 accomplishes that end.

PUBLIC LAW 290

H. R. 6665. Cotton allotments and marketing quotas:

There are about 26 million acres planted to cotton in 19 States (9,656,400 in Texas, 2,400 in Illinois). Public Law 290 sets a total national cotton-acreage allotment of 21,379, 342 acres for 1954. That means about 5 million acres of cotton land left to be plowed under or turned to other crops.

To add to the headaches (very real in Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi) California and Arizona have gone into cotton growing in a big way. In California acreage is up from under 600,000 acres in 1950 to 1,400,000 acres. One reason: utilization of large tracts of irrigated lands by corporations with large capital and benefiting from special tax dispensations, much in the nature of subsidies. If interested further, see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 12, 1954, pages 148–149, for colloquy between Senator FULBRIGHT and Senator ANDERSON on $15,781,000 in tax certificates to one corporation and its subsidiary.

Arkansas, third State in the Union in cotton production, has 100,000 cotton farmers, average farm acreage 20. South Carolina has 39,000 cotton farmers with an average acreage of less than 5. On the other hand California, which has skyrocketed to fifth place in cotton production, has only 8,000 cotton growers, many corporations, practically no small farmers. With cotton now in overproduction the historical cotton States of Dixie are worried.

Irrigation in the Southwest is nurturing a competing giant for them; likewise, the development of water power in the Tennessee Valley is aiding and abetting the South's threat to the industrial position of the Middle West. An interesting and a changing world. By attention to the debates in Congress I try to keep sensitive to regional trends, to see signs of pending changes, some fairly immediate and some remote, and the effect upon the district and the people I am privileged to represent.

I voted for Public Law 290 as a matter of routine duty. There had been no cotton marketing quotas since 1950, due to Korea. But production for 1953 much exceeding 12 million bales (actually it went 2 million bales above the estimate of late summer); the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 required the proclamation of marketing quotas for 1954. As planting time was at hand delay in fixing the acreage allotment would have been unfair. The members from the cotton States seemed agreed that the limitation upon the acreage was not so drastic as to destroy the cotton economy. These included Congressman PAUL BROWN, who as No. 2 Democratic member of the Banking and Currency Committee invariably has shown sympathetic understanding of urban problems I have presented in the committee. Congressman BROWN is from the cotton country and I hold him in high esteem.

Public Law 290 was signed by the President on January 30, 1954. In its original form it had passed the House on July 31, 1953 (first session) but did not get to the floor of the Senate until January 12, 1954, in the second week of the second session. Bills introduced in the first session of Congress continue alive in the second session until disposed of.

PUBLIC LAW 291

H. R. 7209. Extends the Missing Persons Act until July 1, 1955:

The Department of Defense is currently carrying 3,205 persons as captured or missing in Korea. Latest official figures: Army, 2,608; Air Force, 336; Navy, 74; Marine Corps, 187. How many of these have been killed, how many are secret prisoners is not ascertainable. Our Government still maintains the Chinese are holding many American prisoners.

The Missing Persons Act (first enacted in 1942) is the only legislative authority for keeping them on the payroll and continuing payments to dependents. It was scheduled to expire February 1, 1954, but the Congress and the President came through with the extension just in the nick of time. Public Law 291 was signed by the President on January 30, 1954. It had passed the House 3 days previously. Of course, I with all other Members on the floor at the time voted for this measure.

PUBLIC LAW 292

S. 373. Trading with the enemy: Under the Trading With the Enemy Act right was given for the filing of claims for the return of property seized by the Custodian of Alien Property. This right, however, expired in 1949. Because of war-aftermath conditions, notice of the right did not come to general attention with the result that many with meritorious claims were shut out. Public Law 292 extends the time for filing to February 9, 1955. Several claimants in the second district have spoken to me on this matter. I would suggest that they file their claims at once, as it is unlikely there will be another extension. As a matter of fairness, Public Law 292 went through by consent. Further extension, however, would interfere with the expeditious liquidation of the Office of Alien Property.

PUBLIC LAW 293

House Joint Resolution 354. Sixty thousand dollars for travel.

In 1953 the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, created in 1953 and known as the Hoover Commission, was limited to a $14,700 expenditure for travel. Public Law 293 increases the travel allowance to $60,000. Why? Congressman PHILLIPS (subcommittee chairman, appropriations), in recommending the increase to the House, said: "A great many of the members, advisers, staff members, and other people interested in the Commission are men who serve without pay; they are paid only traveling expenses." I am sure that Mr. PHILLIPS did not intend what a literal interpretation of his words might imply. There is, of course, no valid reason why the expense of travel and food should be greater for a volunteer than in the case of a paid staff worker.

The original Hoover Commission did a splendid work, because it was entirely nonpartisan, nonpolitical. Unfortunately, Public Law 108 of the 1st session of the 83d Congress, which created the present Hoover Commission, has no provision for minority representation. Despite the fact that in this regard it was politically rigged, I voted for it because of my deep belief in the objectives of the Hoover Commission as we had known it in earlier years. For the same reason, I voted for Public Law 293, but only after assurance had been publicly given to the House that no part of the $60,000 would be spent in foreign travel.

PUBLIC LAW 294

S. 15. Additional Federal judges: Republican lawyers seeking the security and dignity of the Federal bench will find interest in this legislation creating 27 new judges, 3 in the United States circuit court, 24 in the district court. None is in the Chicago area; one in Michigan. I voted to recommit the bill for the purpose of deleting the additional judges for Nevada and Utah. At present there is a Federal judge in each of these States (Judge Roger Foley of Nevada grew up in the Second District, was graduated from Chicago Kent College of Law.) I thought it an unwarranted waste of public money to create judicial jobs for patronage use and where no real need existed. Unfortunately, the House defeated the motion to recommit.

PUBLIC LAW 295

House Joint Resolution 358. Discharges indebtedness of Commodity Credit Corporation:

The Commodity Credit Corporation is the agency which the United States Government uses to support farm prices. It has been spending money so rapidly (storage charges alone total $14 million a month) that it got within a few dollars of its authorized debt limitation of $6.75 billion. In short, CCC and the farm support program were broke. To complicate matters, the Secretary of Agriculture seemed hesitant about asking Congress to raise the limitation on CCC's debt because that would add to the national debt which already is close to the authorized limitation.

What Public Law 295 does is unusual to say the least. CCC owes the United States Treasury $741,548,788. Public Law 295 orders the United States Treasury to give CCC a receipt in full, canceling the entire indebtedness. Thus CCC is given three-fourths of a billion dollars, not by an appropriation bill but by a subterfuge. In that its one and only purpose is to make it possible for CCC to violate the debt limitation law it is downright dishonest.

I think most Members of Congress resented the position in which we were put. The Department of Agriculture did not make known to Congress its financial condition until the very last moment. It was then a matter of going along with the Department in a wierd and immoral act of legislation or permitting the farm-support program to collapse. Meanwhile a meeting of the House Banking and Currency Committee has been called for February 24, 1954, to consider H. R. 7339, a bill to increase CCC's borrowing authority.

PRESIDENTIAL VETO

In addition to the above bills that became public laws with the Presidential signature the House and Senate passed another bill which the President vetoed. This was H. R. 1917, providing for the coining of 50-cent pieces commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase.

I supported this measure in the Banking and Currency Committee on the reasoning that a commemorative coin is among the intangible influences to pride and patriotism that cannot be evaluated by the measure of small inconvenience its issue might impose upon the mint. Apparently this was the

view of my colleagues generally since no vote against the measure was cast in either body.

In his veto message President Eisenhower referred to the fact that President Hoover had vetoed a bill of similar character.

President Hoover in his veto message of April 21, 1930, said:

"The monetary system of the country is created and exists for certain well-defined and essential purposes. Sound practice demands that it should not be diverted to other uses."

President Eisenhower in his veto message of February 3, 1954, said:

"The principal objection to commemorative coins is that they detract from the fundamental function of the coinage as a medium of exchange."

BARRATT O'HARA.

Postal Employees Deserve Adequate Increases in Salary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include in our RECORD a statement I have submitted to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee:

STATEMENT FAVORING SALARY INCREASES FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. Chairman, I agree wholeheartedly with my several colleagues who have made statements before this committee advocating an immediate pay increase for the postal employees of the United States.

The case presented for increased postal salaries at this time is not based upon emotional, psychological, or even political considerations; rather, it is based upon simple economic logic and equity. This conclusion is compelled by any reasonable consideration of certain facts:

1. The relative purchasing power of the take-home pay of postal employees has continued to decline in recent years with a depressing effect upon their standards of living.

2. In the effort to offset this reduced purchasing power, it has become necessary for a great majority of the postal employees to accept additional part-time employment or allow their wives to enter the labor market to supplement the family income. This trend has an unfortunate effect upon the traditional social pattern of this group of American families.

3. There has been improved efficiency and increased productivity per man-hour of this group of Government workers.

4. Postal employees must spend long hours of their own time in the study of various subjects directly or indirectly relating to the performance of their duties in order that they may better serve their Nation.

Therefore, to overcome the bad effects of lowered living standards referred to above and to compensate for greater demands on the individual postal worker, pay-raise legislation can and must be enacted as soon as possible.

It has been said recently that such a pay raise at this time would tend to exert inflationary pressures because a pattern would be set for increased wage demands on the part of industrial workers. Unfortunately, the logic of this statement escapes me. Let us look at the facts in this case.

In the months between July 1951 and the same period in 1953—I mention 1951 because that was the date of the last enactment of pay-raise legislation for Federal employees—the weekly earnings for women clerical workers increased as much as 14.3 percent in Atlanta, Ga., and 8.4 percent in San Francisco, Calif. In this same period the gross average weekly earnings of production workers in all manufacturing industries in the United States increased by 11.6 percent; in the retail trade the increase was 8 percent; banks and trust companies increased 8.7 percent; insurance carriers, 10.7 percent; and gas and electric utilities, 13.2 percent. My friends, the advocates of pay-raise legislation for Federal employees are not endeavoring to set a new pattern for possible additional wage increases in the private sectors of the economy, but rather we strongly urge that Congress allow these employees to follow and catch up with the pattern which has already been set. They should be allowed to receive enough compensation for their toil to buy not only the necessities of life but also a few pleasures.

At a time like this, when a great many authorities, both in and out of Government service, are pointing up some of the storm warnings which now exist in our economy, I do not feel that any action on the part of Congress which would make available additional income to be translated into purchases of consumer goods would exert any particular inflationary pressures. On the other hand, it would seem that such increased consumer spending would more probably be a stabilizing influence.

For the reasons which I have outlined here today, I strongly urge that Congress act without delay in making a realistic salary adjustment for postal employees a part of the law of the land.

Comment on Statement of Chief Economist of White House—Purchasing Power Needed Now More Than Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Chief Economist Dr. Arthur F. Burns, who is head of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, is quoted in the New York Times today, February 22, 1954, as follows:

As the facts are now, he said, if you cut a consumer's tax $1 he may spend from zero to $1, no more. If you cut business taxes $1, business may spend as much as $50. A new environment for business spending is created.

Not being an economist, I am at a loss to understand Dr. Burns' reasoning. I just wonder if all economists are agreed on his statement, particularly about business spending $50 for every $1 saving. Possibly there is a difference on the tax saving for a consumer, if you consider the particular consumer who receives the tax reduction of $1. If he is a wealthy individual and is already buying all the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries that he desires, Dr. Burns is probably right—that he will just put the $1 savings in the bank and it will not enter the blood stream of business and commerce. However, if the $1 in tax benefits is granted to a person in the lower-income group he will immediately spend it, and there is no reason why it should not accumulate in business transactions through velocity, the same or even better than if the $1 had been granted to business.

To my mind, that is the issue involved in the administration's tax program. The administration seems to want practically all the tax benefits to flow to business, whereas many of us in the Congress would like to see the benefits go to the consumers who need it and will use it as additional buying power. I have always contended that old-age recipients contribute more to the economy and general welfare of the people than the amount they individually receive. In other words, every dollar that an aged person receives he puts into immediate circulation. It probably goes into the hands of 20, 40, or 50 individuals or business concerns within the year. If 20 of these individuals or business concerns pay a 5-percent tax on it the Government has its money back by the end of the year.

If Dr. Burns refers to the kind of consumer who receives the $1 tax benefit as the one who will sterilize it and keep it out of circulation, he is right, according to my judgment. But if it is given to one who will spend it, the behavior of that $1 is entirely different.

TWENTY-DOLLAR BAD CHECK AND FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS IN BUSINESS

During the depression in the early thirties, in a certain town in the United States, a check for $20 was given by a person to a retail store in exchange for a $20 purchase of goods. The bank was closed that day and the bank holiday continued for more than 2 weeks. During that 2 weeks this $20 check went to the wholesaler, to one of the wholesaler's employees, to a doctor that the employee owed, to a druggist that the doctor owed, and from one to the other until this $20 check had gone into the hands, and had been endorsed by, 20 local individuals and business firms. When the bank opened it was presented for payment. The banker observed that it was given by a person who did not have an account in the bank. Looking at the 20 endorsements on the back, and recognizing them as being depositors in his bank, he decided that instead of turning the check down, and thereby causing a cancellation of $400 worth of business, he would charge each one of these customers of his bank $1 and open an account for the giver of the no-good check, and deposited to his credit $20—taking $1 from each of the accounts of the 20 endorsers. The check was then paid and each of the 20 was only required to take a 5-percent discount, or received 95 cents on the dollar. Velocity of money, of course, is just as important as the money itself.

CANNOT FATTEN HERD BY FEEDING BULL

The administration's policy of helping the people by benefiting a few wealthy individuals, who would not use their increased wealth to buy goods and services, is like the cattleman trying to fatten his herd by feeding the bull.

PURCHASING-POWER GOOSE NEEDED TO LAY GOLDEN EGGS

Our productive capacity is sufficient for our present needs. Automobile plants are capable of turning out 8 million cars this year, but will probably produce 5 million. Steel companies are producing at the rate of 74 percent. Our problem now is consumption of the production. This gap can only be filled with adequate buying power in the hands of the people who need it and will use it to buy goods and services.

New Proof of GOP Deceit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to an editorial from the Los Angeles Daily News, of which our former able colleague, Clinton D. McKinnon, is editor and publisher:

NEW PROOF OF GOP DECEIT

Slowly but surely the administration is being forced to reveal the contemptible phoniness of the attempt by some of its spokesmen to make it appear that the 2,200 Federal employees discharged for security reasons were all Communists or associates of Communists, or in some way disloyal.

New proof of the duplicity being practiced by these deceitful Republicans has been afforded by Elbert P. Tuttle, General Counsel of the Treasury Department, who admitted that of 130 employees discharged for security reasons, only 4 cases involved reasons of disloyalty.

Another damaging blow to the Republican pretense that this administration has rooted out subversives whom the former administration coddled was Tuttle's admission that of the 130 security discharges in the Treasury Department, 114 proceedings were begun under President Truman.

Just as Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., previously had to admit, so did Tuttle admit that everything from incompetence, drunkenness and perversion had been lumped under the classification of security risk along with loyalty cases.

Tuttle, however, added a new twist to the low comedy of Republican politics. He told the House Appropriations Committee, by which he was being questioned about the Treasury Department's budget, that a man doesn't have to be disloyal to be classed as a security risk.

Tuttle explained that a man might not be disloyal, but that even the most rugged individualist would be viewed as dangerous if his mother were behind the Iron Curtain. The Republicans appear to have brought us to the point where the mighty United States Government cowers before somebody's mother.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, testifying before the same committee, provided further evidence of the mean game that has been played. Though he refused to say how many people had been discharged from his Department for security reasons, he disclosed that only one Communist had been found.

It was the first time the administration announced that there was even one Communist in the list of 2,200 security discharges. And it turns out that this Communist had not been in Washington at all, but in one of the Department's agencies in the Northwest.

These disclosures were forced from administration officials after the State Department, which, according to Republican gospel, was supposed to have been ridden with Communists, had to admit there weren't any.

What the State Department was backed into revealing was that, of its 534 security discharges last year, only 11 involved loyalty reasons and that of these 11, seven proceedings were begun under the Truman administration.

As the truth is forced from one Department after another, the hypocrisy of the Republicans' communism in Government issue stands naked before the American people. The political desperadoes who devised this sly lie technique of security discharges have violated what the American people treasure most: elementary decency and fair play.

It is obvious that the spiritual home of these Republicans is not Washington but Moscow where their talents for deceit and lying propaganda would be warmly welcomed by the Communists.

GOP's Big Hoax Is Fully Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Thomas L. Stokes, entitled "GOP's Big Hoax Is Fully Exposed," which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution of February 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOP's BIG HOAX IS FULLY EXPOSED

WASHINGTON.—The big hoax is crumbling. This is the attempt of the high political command of the Eisenhower administration to palm off a phony. That was through creating the impression that the administration had fired 2,200 "subversives," "Communists," "traitors," "spies"—depending on who who had the platform—who had been left in the Government by the Truman administration.

As curious as the big hoax itself is the strange psychology motivating it, and the species of political trickery that is as dangerous as it was naive.

Before going into that, it might be pointed out that the 2,200 figure, which for several weeks had been 1,456 until President Eisenhower boosted it in his annual message to Congress, was supposed to represent security risks. That term had come to include several categories besides Communists or subversives—drunks, blabbermouths, perverts, irresponsible persons, and such.

Yet one high-placed Republican after another in public speeches sought to plant the idea that all were, in fact, traitors, spies, Communists.

Their careful creation is being torn down bit by bit before the House Appropriations Committee. There, through questions to heads of departments and agencies and security officers as they appear, one after another, it is being shown that an almost negligible number involve any suspicion of disloyalty, and with question still in some of these cases. It is being shown that there is not even a question of security risk in any category against a good many who left the Government for what is traditionally a good and sufficient reason in a change of political control, to wit, they belonged to the wrong party—in this case Democratic.

Likewise it has been indicated that the number really is not 2,200, may not even be the original 1,456, as some merely were transferred from one agency to another and still are working in the Government today. Also, most of the cases were started in the Truman administration and still were going through the mill when the Government changed hands.

How can the "big hoax" be explained?

It seems to represent a combination of impulses, paramount among them being the need of a political issue for the congressional campaign this year.

For showing up the "big hoax" great credit must go to some very alert newspapers, among them three in the National Capital.

To local newspapers, as to us who have lived here for many years, Government employees are people, human beings. They are the city, they are the National Capital, they are the community, our neighbors who participate in community affairs, go to our churches, whose children go to our schools.

They have an individuality and a dignity which it behooves our new governors to recognize and respect, even as do the newspapers.

Mexican Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, many informed persons are greatly concerned over the threat to our friendly relations with Mexico due to the so-called unilateral system of foreign labor recruitment along the Mexican border. The report of President Truman's Commission on Migratory Labor indicated that proper domestic labor policies might eliminate the need for importing farm labor. Nothing along this line has been given a fair trial.

If Mexican labor is really needed, such labor should be brought in under the bilateral protection which previously existed. The calloused unilateral plan should not continue.

One sympathizes both with the growers who need to get their crops harvested and the Mexican laborers who want to harvest them, but the time has come to stop haphazard, temporary palliatives and attack this problem with a will to permanently solve it. It must be solved, not only in a manner satisfactory to both nations, but also with a definite regard for the interests of American workers as well as American growers.

I should like to include in our RECORD the following statement by a distinguished California leader, Mr. C. J. Haggerty:

STATE AFL LEADER HITS UNITED STATES POLICY IN MEXICAN DISPUTE

(Statement of C. J. Haggerty, secretary-treasurer, California State Federation of Labor, AFL)

Organized labor in California is greatly disturbed by the violence which has marked

the border relationship between the United States and Mexico during the past week.

For many months the American Federation of Labor in this State has warned that our Federal Government was blundering its way into an international crisis of sorts in respect to the importation of Mexican farm workers.

The present situation could have been avoided by fair and intelligent action on the part of the national administration.

Until January 15 the importation of Mexican workers was covered by a mutual agreement binding upon both the United States and Mexico.

No such agreement now protects the workers of either country. And more, the United States Department of Labor and the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service are lending their efficiency and prestige to practices which cannot help but aggravate an already acute situation.

Our Federal Government has been hiring Mexican farmhands at border recruiting stations in defiance of Mexican Government policy and in defiance of the American labor movement which knows such conduct serves only a powerful bloc of growers bent upon wrecking the concept of bilateral responsibility for decent working conditions.

The admission of Mexican farm hands without bilateral contract protection is a dangerous blow aimed at both the American standard of living and the welfare of the Mexican workers.

The American Federation of Labor has conceded the right of the Federal Government to import foreign agricultural workers into areas where domestic workers are not available.

However, the developments of recent days prove beyond doubt that if the United States Government spent the same energy in recruiting domestic labor as it does in hauling Mexican workers from border posts to American farm, there would be little need for any foreign labor.

The American Federation of Labor is under moral obligation to protect the living standards of all who work on our soil regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

We will continue our historic policy of cooperation with fair business and fair government for the welfare of the Nation, but we must protest the deplorable indifference of the United States Government to any extension of a mutual agreement pact with Mexico. This indifference is in marked contrast to the enthusiasm with which our Federal agencies are dancing to the demands of the growers for cheap and defenseless labor.

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, Before the New York County Republican Central Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a speech delivered by me before the New York County Republican Central Committee in New York last evening. It deals with our foreign relations, the Berlin conference, and the proposed Geneva conference.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH OF UNITED STATES SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, OF CALIFORNIA, AT DINNER MEETING SPONSORED BY NEW YORK COUNTY REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 22

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, I am glad to have this opportunity to once again come into the State of New York which has had such an outstanding administration as that given by Gov. Thomas Dewey.

It is also pleasing to be here in the State of my friend and colleague, Senator IRVING IVES, who is one of the outstanding members of the Senate of the United States.

The Berlin conference has demonstrated that the Communist leopard has not changed its spots. There is no Austrian treaty because the Soviet Union does not desire to loosen its hold on any area where Soviet troops are now stationed.

Once they were out of Austria, which would be required by a treaty, there would no longer be any legal basis for Soviet forces being kept in Bulgaria, Hungary, or Rumania. They are now there on the fiction that it is necessary in order to keep open the lines of communication to the Soviet forces in Austria.

It has also been made clear at the Berlin conference that the Soviet Union is not prepared to accept a free and independent Germany. They would support a neutralized Germany with a coalition government which, of course, would mean inevitably a Communist dominated Germany either by internal coup d'etat or by external aggression. It is equally apparent that they desire to destroy the effectiveness of a collective security system among the free nations of the world as proposed by the European Defense Command, while at the same time keeping their own combination with the satellites that would be a constant menace to the rest of the world.

The Geneva conference set for April 26 will have the close scrutiny of the American people and the rest of the free world.

If the only question to be discussed at Geneva was to be the Korean peace there would be justification for Communist China attending such a meeting.

Communist China was declared by the United Nations to be an aggressor in Korea. Both her material and moral support of the North Korean Communist aggressors prolonged the war inflicting heavy casualties upon us and the Communist system represented by these two nations, inflicted atrocities upon our forces and those of our allies in Korea.

If there is any possibility, which I now doubt) of getting a free and united Korea at the conference table it could only come through Communist China participating in and abiding by the decision. There are still an estimated 1 million Chinese Communists in North Korea under arms or supplying logistical support to the Communist forces.

The question the American people, as well as the Congress, will want answered is what price is expected to be paid? Not only the future of the free nations of Asia is involved in the answer to this question, but also the honor of the United States. The American people will not consent to a Far Eastern Munich.

Since we were a major participant in the Korean war and the other allied members also furnished forces there, it was contemplated by the armistice that a political conference on Korea would be held. It is clear that the Republic of Korea will be an active and important member of the allied delegation. Geneva is as satisfactory a location as could be agreed upon.

My own misgivings, which are substantial, stem not from the agreement to discuss the Korean peace at Geneva. They relate to our participation in the conferences with the Chinese Communists relative to Viet Nam before there is a chance to determine what kind of a Korean peace can be achieved.

After all we are not active belligerents in Indochina and we were in Korea.

If the political pressures on France are such that she felt the necessity of exploring the ending of hostilities in Indochina she could have explored that labyrinth on her own responsibility.

France herself discouraged Laos and Thailand from appealing to the United Nations last year during the Communist invasion of Laos. She has turned down the offer of Korean forces to help defend Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

If the war is to stop in southeast Asia it is equally clear that the Chinese Communists who are furnishing arms and ammunition to the forces of Ho Chi Minh will have to agree. Again the question must be asked, what is the price to be paid by France and those who assume part of the conference responsibility with her.

A coalition government with the Communists in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia would, in my judgment, result in Communist domination in those countries within 2 years.

Outside of these 2 areas, 1 in which there is a troubled truce and the other in which fighting still goes on, the question may properly be raised as to what has been the demands of the Soviet Union in regard to "a general far eastern settlement".

We had better make sure that none of our supplies come under the control of a coalition Vietnam Government of which the Communists are a part.

Some of the shipments now designated for Indochina might better be diverted to Thailand and Formosa.

The Government of the United States should forthwith give assurances to all of the free people of Asia that their liberty and sovereignty will not be discussed except in the presence of their chosen representatives sitting with an equal voice to those of the other powers attending any such conference.

The world, I hope, has passed the stage where a group of 4 or 5 nations can sit down together and determine the future of other nations, large and small. They have neither the legal nor the moral right to do so. I hope and expect that the Secretary of State will fully inform the American people regarding these and other matters which have and are causing concern in the Congress and throughout the country.

In this age of airpower and the atomic weapon this country can no more return to isolation than an adult can return to childhood, regardless of how pleasant the recollection may be.

If there was ever a time when it was essential for the Nation and the free people of the world to remain strong and firm, this is the time. The next few years will be the decisive ones—not alone whether we can avoid a war or win it if one is forced upon us, but whether human freedom can be preserved. We cannot and we should not depend upon a Maginot-line type of defense against potential aggression from the air. Such an outlook would drive our Nation underground with untold billions added to our defense costs for an unlimited period of time. We, our children, and our grandchildren, would be forced to live underground like moles and gophers.

A realistic viewpoint must recognize that it is highly unlikely that any method of defense will stop all attacking planes.

The men in the Kremlin are more likely to refrain from making the first Pearl Harbor type of attack if they know with a certainty that this Nation and the free world will re-

tain an overwhelming and devastating striking power that would bring their Godless Communist tyranny crushing down around their ears.

For us to be without the overwhelming power and to sit merely behind radar warning networks and instruments of defense, however good, will present us with a problem of never knowing when and where international communism will strike next.

During the 25-year period between 1925 and 1950, the Soviet Union has violated 9 nonaggression pacts, 11 alliances, 3 protocols, and other agreements committing the Soviet Union to a position against war, and one neutrality pact.

Certainly this great Government of ours should enter into no pact with the Soviet Union unless Soviet forces are withdrawn from satellite states of Eastern Europe and the people of Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Rumania have the opportunity through free elections of selecting governments of their own choice.

To enter into a pact with the Soviet Union until there has been a withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe and the guaranty of free elections would, in fact, condemn to permanent slavery behind the Iron Curtain the people of those nations. This, in my judgment, we have no moral right to do. It would, in fact, confirm all the evil results which have flown out of the secret wartime agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. It would be capitulation by the West in the cold war and would be a decisive victory for world communism. We must have no more Munichs and no more Yaltas.

As of today there are still several hundred millions of people in Asia who desire to remain outside the Iron Curtain. It is essential not only to the ultimate freedom of Asia but to the security of Europe and the United States as well that communism does not fasten its hold upon the 1,100,000,000 people of Asia and all the vast and strategic resources in that area of the world.

This has been and is the object of the men in the Kremlin. It was pointed out many years ago by the succinct statement of Lenin, who said, "The road to Paris is through Peiping."

Unfortunately those in positions of responsibility here and abroad failed to grasp soon enough the grand strategy of international communism. There are some United Nations members who have recommended that Communist China be admitted into the United Nations. This the Government of the United States should resist to the utmost.

To admit that nation would be to reward Communist China for her aggression in Korea. We would have served notice on the world that one of the quickest ways of gaining membership would be to shoot your way in. Communist China, in my judgment, will never be satisfied with merely membership in the General Assembly but will also insist upon membership in the Security Council. Once having yielded to both of these points, they will claim with some justification that they are still not satisfied since they have not been given possession of what they would call their lost Province of Taiwan or the island of Formosa.

The passage of Formosa into Communist hands would mean the liquidation of a non-Communist army of approximately half a million and a large part of the free Chinese population of over 8 million now on that island.

I think it is important that we keep in mind that free China, even reduced as it has been to this small island of Formosa, is larger in population than many of the member states of the United Nations. In addition the loss of Formosa would drive a wedge into our defense position which runs from Japan to Okinawa through the Philippines and Australia, outflanking Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and outflanking the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south.

Throughout the entire Far East the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be looked upon as a far eastern Munich and a great victory for international communism. The will to resist on the part of free people of Asia would be weakened and governments would be inclined to go hat in hand to the Kremlin or Peiping to make the best deal they could.

It is my strong belief that such action will set off a tragic chain of events which will not preserve the peace but will make almost inevitable world war III. Appeasement now, as at the time of the original Munich, is not the road to peace, but is only surrender on the installment plan.

A few months ago I made my fourth trip to far eastern countries. The thing that struck me most forcibly on that trip was that a considerable number of those countries have a determination to maintain their freedom at all costs. Yet, I noted that there was little effective contact between the countries who have the same determination.

The selection of President Magsaysay in the Philippines, which has been recognized throughout the world as a great free election, offers a wonderful opportunity for him to take a position of leadership in bringing about closer political, economical, and military cooperation between the nations of Asia that are determined to be free. There can be no effective system of collective defense in Asia based on colonialism, for the age of colonialism is dead. The only sound system that can be built is one in which the nations of Asia are considered as equal partners in a common effort to help maintain a free world of free men.

While the Anzus Pact is a factor in the defense of the Pacific, it is not broad enough in scope to do the job that needs to be done. The three nations included in the Anzus Pact—that is, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States—are western rather than Asian and it does not give the feeling of partnership that is so essential if all of Asia is not to fall into Communist hands. By the Asian nations taking the positions of leadership, it will eliminate the Communist propaganda that the defense of the Pacific is only a blind for western imperialism or colonialism.

The free nations of Asia should not delay while waiting for neutralist India to make up her mind. The international policy that Nehru advocates will, I believe, ultimately lead to the communization of all Asia, including India itself.

I think the time is ripe for someone like President Magsaysay to call a broad conference of the free nations of Asia. Now that he has taken office he is in a position to take such a step which would take the initiative away from the Communists in that part of the world.

We dare not ignore the fact that the hour in Asia is very late. Communism hopes to gain at the conference table that which they did not get on the battlefield.

The next 6 months will be crucial in Asia. Our own survival may well depend on the results. Our people must be fully informed at all times.

One of the economic facts that the Nation faces is that when the recent administration, the New Deal, came to power in 1933, the Federal public debt was $22,500,000,000, and when the New Deal administration left office in 1953, this debt was over $267 billion. This huge figure, with interest carrying charges, is something that the American people are going to have to be concerned with during their lifetime and perhaps that of their children and their grandchildren.

Our Nation today pays in interest on the debt over $6,500,000,000 per year. This interest item alone is 50 percent greater than the total cost of the Federal Government when the New Deal came to power in 1933.

The power to tax is still the power to destroy.

On January 1, the personal income tax rates were reduced approximately 10 percent and the excess profits tax has come to an end. Just what additional changes can and should be made at this time in our tax structure will have to receive the attention of the House and Senate. These tax cuts that we have already had were only made possible by the budget reductions of the Eisenhower administration and the first session of the 83d Congress.

Certainly any additional tax reduction will have to depend on the amount of reductions that we can make in the budget this year without jeopardizing our national defense needs, for to reduce taxes over and above those which expired in January without first reducing the budget would merely add to our huge national debt and would be passing the problem on to our children. This, in my judgment, would not be sound national policy.

Members of the present administration have made it very clear that they do not believe in the doctrine of inherent rights under which the previous administration attempted to seize the steel industry without authority of law.

President Eisenhower believes in our constitutional system of the division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government. He does not want the executive to encroach on the legislative powers or the Congress to move into the executive responsibilities. Nor does the Congress desire either of these.

I can also assure this audience that Congress will continue to occupy a coordinate and equal position with the executive under this or any future administration, be it Republican or Democratic. Under the Constitution the Congress was established as the legislative branch of our Government and it will so remain.

We must constantly guard against efforts of those who would concentrate power in the Federal Government for the purpose of ultimate socialization of our economic system. Once a nation embarks upon that path, it is difficult to return, as has been demonstrated in Great Britain.

President Eisenhower took office 13 months ago after his party had been out of the executive branch of government for a period of 20 years.

On Inauguration Day the new administration fell heir to a stalemated war in Korea which had already lasted for over 2½ years. This war has been brought to an end and the fighting up and down the hills of Korea, with heavy casualties, is no longer going on.

Our sick, wounded, and able-bodied soldiers and airmen who were Communist prisoners of war have been returned to this country, with the exception of the 21 who have elected to remain in Communist hands.

International communism has suffered its greatest loss of face in the refusal of more than 20,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war to return to Communist control.

During the recent discussion of the Harry Dexter White case the former Democratic President observed that it was not unusual for a person "to be fired by being allowed to resign."

While this is true as far as it goes, I have never heard of a case where, for instance, an embezzler was allowed to resign and then the head of the company writing him a letter commending his integrity and great financial ability.

A reversal of the 20-year trend toward centralization of power in Washington has taken place. Wage and price controls have ended, and the free-enterprise system encouraged.

The outgoing administration presented a budget in January of 1953 calling for appropriations of $74 billion, and made it very clear that in its judgment no funds could be

cut from that huge amount. The new administration and the Congress working together reduced the appropriations by approximately $14 billion. The largest reduction ever made in the history of this Nation.

New legislation in the field of agriculture is now being considered by the Congress. This legislation must be fair to the farmer, to the consumer, and to the American taxpayer.

There are proposals for changes in the National Labor Management Relations Act, otherwise known as the Taft-Hartley bill. I do not believe that Congress will or should either repeal this act or emasculate it. The American people have a right to expect that, with power must go responsibility. This applies to labor, to business, and to government.

Because the national defense needs are so great in view of the Communist menace throughout the world, the impact of our foreign and defense policy on our domestic economy cannot be ignored. In order to get a fresh look at the entire picture, and to determine what changes can be made to maintain our defense and at the same time give some relief to our overburdened budget, the President selected an entirely new team to constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This group is now reviewing our defense needs and commitments in the light of existing conditions insofar as they pertain to NATO and the European defense command: Asia and the Far East; the Middle East, and the Americas.

While we will, of course, live up to our treaty commitments our aid should go to those who are doing their utmost to help themselves.

We do not have the resources to give assistance to those who want to sit on the sidelines to see how the struggle is coming out between the free world and Communist totalitarianism.

This month we celebrate the birthdays of two great Americans, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

In his day George Washington represented the spirit of the new America that overcame the dark days of Valley Forge and brought us through perilous times to the creation of a new constitutional Republic.

Abraham Lincoln furnished inspired leadership to the Nation at a time when we were passing through the convulsions of a great Civil War. He recognized that our Nation could not continue half slave and half free.

In this atomic age in which we now live we face challenges and dangers which may be even greater than confronted these great patrons.

I have a deep conviction that if we show the same courage and common sense they demonstrated in their time, and place the same reliance upon divine guidance they demonstrated in their darkest hours, there are none of these domestic problems which, as free people, we cannot solve, and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Address Entitled "George Washington: Yesterday and Today," by Hon. Karl E. Mundt, of South Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, last evening, at the banquet of the American Good Government Society, very appropriate homage was paid to our former great President, Herbert Hoover, and to Gov. Allan Shivers, of Texas, for their contribution to good government. During the course of the evening the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] made what I believe to be a very provocative address. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GEORGE WASHINGTON: YESTERDAY AND TODAY

(By KARL E. MUNDT, United States Senator from South Dakota)

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the heart rejoices at the chance to talk about George Washington before a distinguished audience of Americans like this but the mind rebels. I approach this assignment with the most profound humility. What can any man say that would add luster to the majestic figure of George Washington? What can any man say that you here have not heard a score of times before? It is obviously absurd to recite from the writings of the Washington biographers; which biographer would one choose? They are almost overpowering in their abundance, and each of us has his favorite Washington historian.

The life of George Washington has been combed and recombed. Every curlicue in his signature has been placed under the magnifying glass. Hundreds of able students have tried to read between the lines of his terse, matter-of-fact diary. His public pronouncements and his speeches have been read and reread over and over again. Nor is the end of this persistent scrutiny anywhere in sight. I do not know exactly how many biographies of Washington have been produced in the 155 years since his death, but I am quite certain that many more will roll off the presses of the world in the next 155 years. I doubt if any mortal man has ever been the victim of such insatiable curiosity nor the subject of so much biographical research.

All of which is thoroughly wholesome, of course, although we are posed with something of a quandary. How can we separate the legends of Washington from the facts? Shall we deal with the legends as well as the established record? That temptation is ever present, for the legends—with a few extreme exceptions—are largely in keeping with the Washington personality as it emerges from the incontrovertible chronicles of recorded history. In short, most of the legends are based on incidents that could have happened. I rather like to think that some of them did happen, despite the lack of conclusive evidence.

For example, let us consider the legend of the hatchet and the cherry tree. This story is perhaps all too precious to be true, but many consider it too closely identified with the character of Washington to be false. All agree that George Washington was a most unusual and unique lad and that early in his life he gave unmistakable signs of the greatness which was to attend his career. He was a competent surveyor at an age when most modern boys are in the seventh grade. At the age of 13, he surveyed a turnip patch, and his sketch was accomplished with a precision that a graduate of MIT might today envy.

At 16, we are told his surveying talents were netting him an average of $7.20 a day, and sometimes he would earn up to $21.60 a day. Even by today's standards, that was a splendid monetary recognition of his great talent and ability. Before he was 21 years old, he owned 1,158 acres of valuable land—every inch of it purchased with money he had earned for himself. I am forced to the conclusion that George Washington was born with a practical mind, and one may reasonably doubt that such a practical individual would waste his time cutting down a cherry tree for the sheer fun of hacking away at something.

However, my conclusion is reduced in net effect to a useless exercise in mental gymnastics. The legend of the cherry tree and the hatchet will persist so long as our Nation survives. Undoubtedly, half the classrooms of the primary schools of the United States are today decorated with little red paper hatchets and fathers and mothers will recite this bit of historic lore to their children in the year 3000. This is as it should be because what else but good can be the end result of such a humanizing bit of history?

I have no more patience with those who sneer at the pleasant and cheerful little legends which have grown up about George Washington than I have with the malicious minds busying themselves with muckraking methods in a futile effort to discredit the Father of our Country.

The Washington legends will be outgrown, but as they kindle a child's interest in the origin of our country, they have a definite place in our American folklore. I will vote for the cherry tree and the hatchet.

It is now more than a century and a half since the death of Washington, but I feel that we can still reach across the span of years and touch him without any feeling of distance. He was a rigid disciplinarian as a commanding officer, but after the Revolution was successfully concluded, the lowliest militiaman could write to Washington about his back pay and be sure that the great general would do his best to help him. His dignity was overwhelming to some people, but it is logical to conclude that that was their own fault instead of his. We know that he returned from almost every journey with knickknacks in his pockets for his stepchildren and the children of his neighbors. He virtually adopted the brash and youthful Lafayette, and Alexander Hamilton was in everything but fact a younger brother. The friendship of Washington and Hamilton is almost proof positive of Washington's approachability.

Young men do not take austere older men into their confidence. Hamilton had no secrets from Washington, personal or otherwise. After the death of Washington, Hamilton wrote Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary, urging him to keep secret certain confidential letters he had written to his chief. Through the magnifying glass of time, the intimacy of Washington and Hamilton becomes increasingly apparent, and I am glad to note that the American Good Government Society is working toward a national celebration of the Hamilton bicentennial year in 1957. This should serve to stimulate fresh interest in the immortal Washington and the immortal times in which he lived as well as to bring about a better popular understanding of the contributions made to our early American history by the genius of Alexander Hamilton.

We can improve our appreciation of Washington, but no one has successfully debunked the image that we cherish. It has been tried, but all attempts ricochet against the serene truth that cannot be obscured or overlooked. One historian has engaged in a lengthy debate with himself as to whether Washington was infatuated with a married woman while betrothed to Martha Custis. He has made quite an issue of Washington's letters to the young lady in question. One can almost see him licking his chops in the sly hope that his readers will infer that young Washington was not quite the steady character that he should have been.

I, too, have read those letters, and I arrive at an entirely different opinion. As they read to me, it appears that young Mr. Wash-

ington was engaged in a game of banter with a clever lady possessed of an equal sense of humor. Both of them could pursue this pastime with complete freedom and candor. She was the wife of one of Washington's closest friends. Letters, in those days, were practically occasions, one might say. It is entirely improbable that the lady's husband was ignorant of their correspondence. I must use the salt shaker on this type of Washingtonia, precisely as I use it on the legends that Washington erred on the side of materialism.

He liked land, there is no question about that. Land was the only real value in his day and age. He set about acquiring as much as he could, and he held on to what he had. But he earned and secured it honestly. Is there anything wrong about that? Indeed, the keynote of Washington's personality was character. He was shrewd, but in the American lexicon which has seen us safely through perils that have rocked other societies to the very core, we interpret shrewdness as the practice of honesty toward ourselves.

Washington, in substance, epitomizes the American temperament. We trap ourselves if we believe for one moment that Washington was, in fact, an Englishman by sentiment before the United States was a reality. We are sometimes inclined to forget that a greater span of time separated such pioneers as John Smith and Roger Williams from Washington than Washington is separated from ourselves. Washington was distinctly American, representing then, as he represents now, the qualities by which we identify the American and which all of us hope are contained in ourselves.

Washington met every disaster with fresh courage. He could look disaster in the face and give it stare for stare. He was a soldier, but he regarded war as an altogether unreasonable and fantastic occurrence. He was a realist, as we all hope to be, and his common sense gleams through every scrap of his writings and every deed and act—as a private citizen, as a commanding general, and as the President of the United States.

Washington, as I see him, is a common denominator of the American man. He is the average man raised to the *n*th power. If he exceeds all other Americans in his greatness and his wisdom, it is because he packed into one personality the ingredients of leadership and greatness which are usually distributed to half a hundred men.

Destiny rocked the cradle of George Washington. Destiny rode beside him on his youthful surveying adventures. Destiny spared him from what should have been certain death in the fiasco of the Braddock expedition. Call it luck, if you prefer; I prefer to think in terms of destiny.

It is true, of course, that no one man makes a revolution. No one man can create a nation. Had there never been a Washington, the Revolution would have come to pass and the United States would have been born. Providence elected to make both events more successful by endowing us with Washington. The good judgment, counsel, and the prophetic pronouncements of our first President steered us past many dangerous shoals at the beginning of our national journey, and live on to help guide our decisions and direct our course down to the present time. Each man has his favorite quotation from Washington that he cherishes as a personal creed or an individual lodestar. For me, and for the multitudinous problems we confront today, I accept with the importance of a sacred text the words attributed to him when he gave his definition of government, putting it in the sound and succinct terms: Government, like fire, is a dangerous servant and a fearful master.

In an era of chaotic world history, which for at least a quarter of a century has witnessed governments in the main succeeding in their efforts to become the masters of men, I wish that bit of Washington wisdom could be carved on the archway of every public building of every capital city in the world.

Looking out upon this great audience of Americans gathered in the presidential room of the Statler Hotel here tonight, and knowing most of you the way I do, I am convinced that one would find here scarcely a dissenting voice to the admonition that government is indeed a dangerous servant and a fearful master. Here, too, we have a great assemblage of Americans willing, ready, and able to devote their talents to the end that here in the United States our free and independent citizens will continue to be the masters of their Government.

There is no lack of good intentions or of willpower here tonight to make certain that in this Republic, we shall continue to recognize both the rights of individual citizens and the rights of our separate sovereign States.

We have in fact, just honored here tonight two great Americans each of whom was introduced by another great American, and all four of whom have contributed much to making certain that, in this wicked era of top-heavy governments growing still more powerful in capital after capital after capital of this world, we are resolved that in America, the people rather than their politicians shall continue as a voice of destiny and the force of freedom in this great land of ours.

Let us look back for a moment at Washington as he traveled from Virginia to New York to assume the Presidency. He rode on borrowed money. Rich in land, he was, as usual, short of ready cash. Every town and village on the way was a blare of booming bands and saluting cannon. It was April 1789, and the first flowers of the year were tossed in his path with the abandon of delirious adulation. There had never been a shadow of a doubt that Washington would be the first President. Undoubtedly, had he desired, he could as easily have become the first American king. But George Washington was a statesman who practiced what he preached, and who was somehow Divinely guided to realize that the power and the potentiality of free men reposed in the genius of the people rather than in the greatness of their leaders.

If the authors of the Constitution had deliberately failed to mention a method of electing a President, Washington would have attained that high office almost by spontaneous combustion. John Adams may have toyed with the ambition for a while. Possibly he did. But in the all-transcendent desire that Washington should be the man, ambitions were suppressed, vanity was subordinated, and virtual unanimity was attained. This has not happened since in America, nor will it repeat itself. Perhaps it is just as well that this is true, but the very fact that such conditions attended the election of George Washington as our first President themselves speak eloquently of the greatness of the man.

Today, we are concerned with the problem of electing Presidents in a fashion that will approximate the expression of public will and majority desire that dictated the election of George Washington. Our present methods of electing the President leave much to be desired. The architects of America envisioned the electoral college as a body of men too serene of purpose to ballot in any way outside of the dictates of conscience and with the guidance of God. It is rather strange that the consitutional authors, who exhibited such a practical working knowledge of human nature combined with prophetic wisdom in all other respects should have had a blind spot when it came to establishing the electoral college.

They did not, apparently, envision the growth of political parties. Washington, himself, did not consider himself the head of a political party. But, by 1804, when the 12th amendment to the Constitution was adopted, it was all too clear that the original design for the electoral college was imperfect. In closely contested elections, the candidate of the losing party was assured of the Vice Presidency. To a considerable degree, that destroyed the effectiveness of the administration. It gave the minority faction a powerful opportunity to confuse the legislative plans of the party in the saddle. It made both for divided authority and for divided responsibility. Those conditions we now know, many decades later, provide the formula for disaster in the all-important business of self-government.

The 12th amendment made progress by insuring that the President and the Vice President should be of the same political party. It was a step in the right direction. But the time has arrived, in my opinion, to think in terms of bringing our electoral college up to date with the 20th century. The Congress of the United States today is an accurate reflection of the people's will. The Presidency is not. In the days of George Washington, both the Presidency and the Congress reflected the will of the people. It is my hope and my conviction that we modern Americans can find a method whereby those conditions which were so happily true in the yesterday of George Washington's time can be produced again in the political picture of which we are a part today. It is my studied opinion, ladies and gentlemen, that the two basic problems of how to keep Government strong enough to operate without permitting it to become the master of the people and of how to construct an electoral and political mechanism which will faithfully reflect the will of a majority of our people and implement that will through leaders in the Presidency and in the Congress are problems which are interrelated, which are growing in importance, and which should demand the active attention of alert Americans everywhere.

The eternal hazard that Government will become the master of its people is magnified by anything in our electoral system which tends to frustrate the will of a majority of our citizens as they seek to implement those desires when they go to the voting places in which they are privileged to vote.

It is our constant duty to defeat the efforts of pressure groups; of selfish interests; of clandestine cells; of ambitious politicians, and of all other factors which might strive either to build the power of the Central Government too strong, or to place too much authority in the hands of an individual man, or to circumvent the determination of a majority of our citizens by devices which prevent them from registering their collective will be exercise of the American ballot.

During the past several years, I have devoted considerable time and study to the problem involved in our American political and electoral system. I have discussed these challenges in most of the States of the Union including all of the States of the South. It is a problem which is as nonpartisan and as nonpolitical as the scales of justice but which in my opinion is also one approximating justice in importance.

In the main, today, pressure groups, selfish interests, and splinter political parties cannot dictate the complexion of the Congress. In fact, they can seldom elect a single Congressman. They can, however, dictate the selection of the President and, on occasion, influence substantially the nominations and the platform promises arrived at by both of our great political conventions.

Presumably, the Chief Executive of the United States should represent the majority rule of the national constituents. He should in fact as well as in slogans be the people's choice. As the electoral system operates today that is not always possible. We have two great political parties—Republican and Democrat—which are theoretically identical in their devotion to the constitutional principles and to the verities of our American

way of life. There is, however, a hidden third party that has grown up and that is gnawing away vigorously at the vitals of our political existence. The pressure groups and splinter factions functioning in America today combine to form this hidden third party.

By concentrating their recruiting and organizational activities in a few of the metropolitan cities of 6 or 8 of our largest States, leftwing propagandists, socialistic schemers, and other pressure groups contrive successfully to control sufficient votes so that leaders of both parties in those States are compelled to bend in the direction—if not to capitulate entirely—to the desires and demands of these hidden third party operatives. As presently operating, both our electoral college system and our political party structure play directly in the hands of those who would control the destinies of America from the vantage point of well-financed and highly organized pressure groups capable of tipping the scales of an election one way or another in America by determining the decisions made in the polling places of our vast cities and these decisions in turn deliver such sizable and solid blocs of electoral votes of the half dozen of the largest States of the Union that they can to a large extent ignore the desires and the attitudes of the people in the other 40 or 42 States.

Consider if you will the city of New York. I choose New York not because it is either the best or the worst example but simply because it is the largest and the most conspicuous. No Republican has ever been elected President without New York's electoral vote. Few Democrats have been in the White House without New York's support. The importance of this vote has compelled every Presidential candidate for many years to court the favor of New York City and to bow before some of the demands of its largest and best organized pressure groups. It consequently follows as the night follows the day that New York City contains the greatest concentration of pressure voting and bloc voting in the United States.

The House of Representatives has 22 Members from New York City. Some are Democrats. Some are Republicans. That is as it should be. Each voter in any given district in the city can feel that his particular Congressman at least represents the majority will of the people within his district. But what about the presidential electors chosen by the people of the entire State of New York? That is something else again. By the margin of a single vote, all of the electors of the State of New York could be Democrat or Republican and the minority in such an election representing as it would virtually 50 percent of the voters would have no representation whatsoever in the electoral college. Is this right? In my opinion, it is entirely wrong. I believe that the President of the United States should be elected in a manner that will give him the same political roots, the same base, and the same constituency as that of the whole Congress.

To that end, I am the sponsor of a senatorial resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution to change the method of electing the electoral college. A counterpart of my resolution is before the House of Representatives under the sponsorship of Representative FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR., of New York.

Congressman COUDERT and I propose the election by congressional districts of the 435 electors who correspond to the 435 Members of the House of Representatives and the statewide election of the 2 electors from each State who correspond to the 2 Senators from such a State. That is the essence of the proposed Mundt-Coudert amendment. There are other minor details but they are not of sufficient significance to discuss on this occasion. The gist of our proposed amendment is that every congressional district in America would elect 1 presidential elector and every State of the Union would elect 2 presidential electors. Thus, each State would retain precisely the same number of electors to be chosen within the State as is now the situation except that instead of voting for the electors as a solid bloc, the voters of each congressional district would decide for themselves whether the elector from that congressional district would be a Republican, a Democrat, or a representative of some other party.

Our resolution proposes to cure a chronic ailment in our political anatomy. We are constantly distressed and perturbed by an ideological struggle frequently cropping out between the President of the United States and the Congress. It is the end result of choosing a Congress one way and our President another way. It occurs whether we have Republicans or Democrats in authority. It is an almost inevitable result of having one set of voters select our President and another set of voters choose the Members of our Congress.

Districtwise, you see, New York City can send 11 Democrats to the House and 11 Republicans. On the statewide basis of selecting presidential electors which is used at present, however, either those who voted for the 11 Democrats or those who voted for the 11 Republicans are virtually disfranchised since the rules of the game call for all of the electors from the State of New York to vote as a tight little unit either Republican or Democrat.

The question grows: Do we want the President of the United States to represent the people in a near approximation of George Washington or do we want him beholden to the self-interested constituencies of pressure groups able to exercise sufficient voting strength to become the effective balance of power in determining where great blocs of electoral votes are to be recorded under our electoral-college system of the present?

Today, using New York State as an example now, every voter in the State votes for 45 presidential electors. Just a few miles away from New York State, however, every voter of the State of Delaware votes for only 3 presidential electors. The simple truth is that each voter in New York State packs 15 times the power of every voter in the State of Delaware. Each of you can adjust these statistics to your own State. It is perfectly right and proper that New York State should have 15 times as many votes in the electoral college as the tiny State of Delaware, but it is equally all wrong to select those electors on a basis which gives the individual voter in New York State 15 times the importance, the vote power, and the determining effect of a voter in the State of Delaware. The Mundt-Coudert amendment would correct all this by giving each voter in New York State the right to vote for 3 electors, just as each voter in the State of Delaware has the right to vote for 3 electors. There would be no difference in the importance or the influence on a voter-for-voter basis between the people of New York and the people of Delaware. If New York State has 43 congressional districts and 2 Senators, the total of electors chosen by the people of these several separate voting districts would be 45 in New York and 3 in Delaware, but in each State it is not only possible but highly probable some congressional districts would vote Republican and some would vote Democrat, and the citizens voting either way would be represented at the electoral college.

Thus, our amendment would equalize the voting power of all citizens throughout the country and give the effective franchise to those in many areas who now have no possibility whatsoever of having their individual votes reflected in the decision of the electoral college.

I believe the passage of this amendment would help greatly, also, in bringing about a realignment of our two political parties, and for several years I have been arguing the desirability of this in order to produce a more realistic political structure in America. As of today, there are traditions, prejudices, and geographical reasons which do more to dictate why one citizen should be a Republican while another is a Democrat than the principles, the platforms, and the personalities of the respective parties. Two streams of political thought run through America, but they are not in separate channels. I believe that a realignment of the political forces of this country is essential to the preservation of American liberty with its concept of private ownership, our reward of merit system, the continuation of our division and balance of power among the three great branches of our Government, and the maintenance of the local autonomies and the rights of States guaranteed in the 10th amendment to the Constitution.

Under our present political structure, we frequently find that the differences existing within the ranks of a political party are sharper and more substantial than the differences existing between a majority of the people in each of our two major parties. I sometimes think that we should bring down from Mars a mighty dictator to rule our land for only 60 seconds and issue one decree. That dictator could serve freedom well in this Republic by issuing a mandate that every American citizen must leave his political party and within a fortnight reregister in either 1 of 2 great political parties, neither of which by Executive mandate would be permitted to use the name of Republican or Democrat. It is an interesting mental exercise to ponder the result of such a transmigration of political forces. When the new parties were set up for operation, I predict that each would have within it a more homogeneous and happy grouping of like-minded men and women than now prevails in either of our major parties. While in the predicting business, incidentally, I prophesy that whatever the name of the party might be that when the principles were written, the platform adopted, and the candidates selected, you would find all of the individuals appearing on the program this evening as members of the same political party despite the fact we now find ourselves about equally divided between Democrats and Republicans.

Of this much I feel certain, eventually a way should be developed or evolved in this country so that citizens who think alike economically and politically should find it possible to vote alike for President and for their Members of Congress regardless of where they live geographically or how they are registered politically. All of us interested in good government, it seems to me, should strive to make it possible for every citizen to have an opportunity to register the impact of his judgment as directly as clearly and as effectively as every other citizen in this free land. Surely, a people who can invent and develop the atom and hydrogen bomb should be able to evolve or develop talents of political engineering which can produce within our midst the needed political and electoral reform to let our people have the same feeling of satisfying achievement after they have voted today that those early Americans must have felt when they voted so overwhelmingly for George Washington as the first President of our country.

Let us keep working and thinking about these problems in the hope that great constructive organizations like the American Good Government Society which has sponsored the ceremonies here tonight will push us and prod us and propel us to the point where we will never permit a problem of semantics or an inherited error in our electoral system to so seriously frustrate the forces

of freedom in America that while straining at these governmental gnats we find ourselves swallowing a collectivistic camel.

I am sure that in this room tonight there is talent enough, determination enough, high purpose enough, courage enough, I know, and perseverance enough, I hope, to move forward with whatever steps are needed to consolidate the voting strength and the political powers of the people of America typified by this great audience. By that, I mean the stronghearted, tough minded, freedom loving, all-American type of citizen that we have seen honored here tonight and that you who honor them so clearly and conclusively characterize.

If we do that, we can send out the word to George Washington, who must be looking down on us from somewhere up there in the great blue yonder tonight, and say, "Mr. Washington, with men like these in charge of our Government, we need fear no mastery by the state. No, sir; neither are these men dangerous servants because Americans have come to love freedom so much and have learned to operate it so effectively that the perils of yesterday have finally been replaced by the realization that when given the proper tools with which to work Americans can be depended upon to protect their freedoms at home as effectively and enthusiastically as they defend them abroad."

Thank you very much indeed and may Providence give strength to your collective endeavors.

Proposed Amendment of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1949

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received from Mr. F. D. Stone, general manager of Land O' Lakes Creameries, Inc., under date of February 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAND O' LAKES CREAMERY, INC.,
Minneapolis, Minn., February 18, 1954.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
United States Senator,
New Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THYE: We have just received word that you have introduced in the Senate an amendment to the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1949 which would limit the Secretary of Agriculture in reducing the support price on milk and butterfat. We are extremely pleased to learn that you did this.

While we supported President Eisenhower's recommendations for flexible price supports in his message to Congress, we feel that Secretary Benson did not act in conformity with the recommendations. His decision means that in 1954 the dairy farmers will be receiving 75 percent of parity or less for their milk or butterfat, at the same time being obliged to buy feed at high prices.

Dairymen were the first to say, as a commodity group, through their representatives, that they were willing to accept revisions downward insofar as support prices were concerned, but they did likewise say that this revision should not be made on the products they produced before it was made on other agricultural commodities. There just doesn't seem to be any reason in our minds why they should be singled out to take the brunt of the drop in support prices as they have been.

All of this is said without relation to what might best be done in the way of downward revision of support prices on other products, excepting that the President, in his message, repeatedly said that these adjustments downward should be gradual, and we don't see how it could be considered that a 15-percent drop in support prices is a gradual drop.

For these and many other reasons, Senator, we think that you should have done as you did in introducing the legislation that you did, and we hope that in the interest of all concerned the legislation will be passed.

Yours truly,

LAND O' LAKES CREAMERIES, INC.,
F. D. STONE, *General Manager.*

Greetings to Farm Bureau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter of greetings which I sent to the 1953 annual convention of the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 25, 1953.

Mr. J. L. MORTON,
President, Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation,
St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR MR. MORTON: May I ask you to extend, in my behalf, this message of greetings to the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation during its 1953 annual convention?

In my opinion, enactment of sound and constructive improvements in existing farm legislation will be one of the most important issues before the Congress in the forthcoming session. Because of my serious concern over the unfortunate effect decline in our farm economy is having not only on farm people but upon economic conditions in our State generally, I intend giving my utmost support to every constructive effort toward expanding overseas markets for farm commodities, developing new domestic outlets for our farm abundance, and assuring the diligent farmer a reasonable opportunity of earning a fair reward for his investment and his toil.

I have long subscribed to the historic position of the American Farm Bureau Federation that economic justice for agriculture is necessary for the soundness of our entire economy, not as a special privilege to agriculture, and that therefore our Government representing all the people has a responsibility of so directing its policies as to seek equality of income for farm people with that of the nonfarm segments of our population.

Toward that objective I have consistently directed my efforts in the Congress. In looking over the resolutions adopted at your last State convention, I find that legislative steps I have proposed would specifically carry out many of your recommendations. I would like to call your attention to just a few of your recommendations on farm policy, along with what I have done to carry them out:

In your 1953 resolution on the national farm program you recommended:

1. "We strongly urge that the program (price supports) be expanded by increasing the number of basic commodities from the present number of six items to a larger number of storable commodities so as to include all cereal grains and oil-seed groups."

On March 4, 1953, I introduced amendments to the price support legislation carrying out that recommendation.

2. "We urge the removing of perishable surplus commodities from competitive markets when prices are depressed and using them for the best advantage of society."

I have repeatedly urged and supported similar action, on the floor of the Senate and directly to the Secretary of Agriculture; introduced the legislation for sending wheat to India, started the move for sending wheat to Pakistan; introduced and supported legislation giving the President authority to use surplus foods to combat famine; and sponsored a proposal for creation of International Food Reserves for similar purpose.

3. "We approve of commodities that are in large supply being used in the school-lunch program."

I have repeatedly pushed for expansion of the great school-lunch program, and fought against reduction in appropriations for that purpose.

4. "We also ask that the possibility of distributing surplus perishable commodities to the aged or other people on county relief roles be investigated. We think that this could be accomplished through present retail channels by county welfare agencies. This need not be by outright gifts of items involved but rather by increased allotments of aid when surplus foods are purchased."

I have proposed in the Senate that a butter-and-milk stamp plan be established for providing new outlets for these commodities to the aged, blind, and dependent children, now on public assistance roles as supplemental aid, to be handled through normal retail channels with a partial subsidy chargeable to public assistance funds rather than to agriculture. I have also cosponsored with Senator AIKEN his food-stamp plan to encourage greater food consumption by all low-income families.

5. "We recommend that the administration of any farm or commodity program be administered by elected farmer representatives at local, county, and State levels."

I have introduced legislation for that specific purpose, including making State committees elective rather than appointive as at present.

I am sure that even this brief review shows there is much on which we see eye to eye, but it is only a small part of my effort in support of Farm Bureau recommendations. You will find my record equally consistent in support of the St. Lawrence Waterway, greater use of food as a strong arm of our foreign policy in combating spread of communism, support of appropriations for construction of the proposed grid system for transmission of Missouri River power into Minnesota, continuation and expansion of the REA program and the greatly needed rural telephone program, and protection of farmers' cooperatives against unfair and punitive taxation.

I want to assure you I am looking forward with interest to the recommendations from your current convention, and pledge my vigorous support toward the continuing fight for economic justice and equality for the American farmer.

Sincerely,

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Red Menace to Italy Not so Great as Pictured

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, last Sunday I read an interesting and highly informative article written by Msgr. Maurice S. Sheehy, who, incidentally, was recently nominated by by the President to be a rear admiral in the Chaplain's Corps of the Naval Reserve. His article is entitled "Red Menace to Italy Not so Great as Pictured."

I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED MENACE TO ITALY NOT SO GREAT AS PICTURED, OBSERVER SAYS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Monsignor Sheehy is head of Catholic University's religious education department. A chaplain in the Naval Reserve who was promoted last week to rear admiral's rank, Monsignor Sheehy has been a frequent visitor to Italy and an adviser to the Navy on Italian problems.)

(By Maurice S. Sheehy)

There is currently an insidious and widespread campaign to encourage the withdrawal of aid from Italy and abandon it to communism. This defeatism is more dangerous to the United States than was the isolationism of 15 years ago.

Loudest among the prophets of Italian doom are those who call also for big, quick tax reductions. Certainly, withdrawal of aid from the NATO countries might effect temporary tax relief. But at what cost? The cost could not be calculated in billions but in millions—millions of American lives that will be sacrificed if the United States does not fulfill its commitments.

If Italy goes behind the Iron Curtain it may take not years but centuries to undo the damage done by abandoning it to the Moscow master plan.

How likely is Italy to go Communist? Actually, those who are chanting Italy's requiem are for the most part casual visitors who spend 2 weeks or 2 months in a strange land among people they do not understand. Those who know Italy better do not write her off as a lost territory.

The Government led by Italy's Democratic Party has been firmly and consistently anti-Communist. It has supported European unification and NATO. It is committed to passage of the European army plan. Russia has five times vetoed Italy's admission into the United Nations.

Of course, there are facts which cause alarm. Italy is still beset with postwar economic problems. There are about 1.5 million active Communist Party members. Yet the Government has encouraged the establishment of American troop bases. Operations of our 6th Fleet would be seriously hampered without cooperation from Italy.

It is possible that blood may flow in the streets of Italy before the tide of Communist expansion is arrested. Italians are fearful of that eventuality—but reconciled to it. Italian internal security, under Mario Scelba, was organized to combat any Communist military or parliamentary coup. Communist leaders and their techniques and plans are known. The anti-Communist celere—jeep-riding, helmeted riot police—are ready for a showdown.

Will the anti-Communist forces fight if necessary? Italy's military leaders are definitely anti-Communist. They expect that the friends of Italy will carry out commitments for material and, if necessary, reinforcement on land, air, and sea. Italian factories are today turning out orders for United States and NATO deliveries. It seems likely that the military would revolt against any Red cadre that succeeded in seizing the Government.

What of the political instability of Italy? In the last election the Christian Democratic Party and its center bloc lost by only 55,000 votes. But did it really lose? Over 1 million votes were contested. The recount shows that the Christian Democrats, according to their election law, should have had 65 percent of the Parliament. However, by their own volition, the Democratic bloc has not deemed it expedient to force this issue now.

In 1948 the Democratic Parties obtained about 62 percent of the vote while the Communist and their Nenni-Socialist cohorts garnered 31 percent. The remaining 7 percent went to the Monarchists and Neo-Fascists. In 1953 the Democratic Parties received just under 50 percent of the incomplete count, the leftist parties 35 percent and extremists of the right approximately 15 percent.

Right now Italy's big need is for a strong leader and a good government. Premier Scelba, if he maintains his premiership, probably will provide just such strong leadership.

There are three chief reasons why I am convinced Italy will not go behind the Iron Curtain.

First, the people themselves. While wanting economic security and a place in the sun, the Italian hates war. Even the saber-rattling Mussolini did not convert Italy into a warlike nation. And the Italian knows that the fatal step to communism might be the prelude to conflict. He has problems, to be sure, but feels quite correctly that these can be solved in other ways. Italy can, with a fair measure of cooperation, solve all its internal economic problems, including a redistribution of land—save one. The problem of overpopulation can be met only through cooperation with other countries, particularly in this hemisphere. Many Latin American nations are encouraging the industrious Italian to immigrate. But more need a haven.

Second, religion. The average Italian walks through life as if Peter and Paul and the early Christian martyrs lived next door. In Italy, 2,000 years is as yesterday. Two things have enkindled the fires of Italian devotion in recent years: The leadership of the Pope and the presence in every village and on every wall of the beloved Madonna. There is some anticlericalism, true; but this is not a symptom of irreligion.

The question arises: Are the Italians who vote Red Communist-Catholics or Catholic-Communists? A large percentage who vote the Communist ticket are voting for what they believe is a full dinner pail. They are Communist of the stomach. No Italian likes to look into the faces of hungry children. There are, of course, Catholic-Communists who give lip service to religion but practice Marxist morality. The Italian who votes Communist with serious intent is, of course, excommunicated by the church.

In Italy, as in the United States, shrewd politicians sometimes confuse issues. Togliatti and the other Moscow-trained Communist leaders are shrewd; much shrewder than some we have sent to extricate Italy from its plight. But it is a fair bet they are wrong about the Reds' strength.

Third, American support. Ambassador Luce, who has become the chief target of Communist hate programs, states that our economic assistance has created 1 million jobs. Italians know that if it had not been for United States aid, unemployment could be that much worse. And they know that without such aid, Italy's position is precarious.

At Nettuno Beach, at Florence, and in other historic spots are the graves of American soldiers who died in World War II to stop black totalitarianism. Is it not cheaper to stop Red totalitarianism with money than with blood? That question will be answered partly in Washington. Of course, a nation must work out its own salvation, just as must an individual, but where the liberty of an entire nation is at stake there is an added reason why it must be helped:

Edmund Burke wrote, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

National Health Problems and Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, in view of the current recommendations made by the administration with respect to national-health problems and the general interest and participation in hospital and accident programs being advanced by insurance companies, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very timely editorial from the February 12 issue of the National Underwriter, entitled "Accident and Health Needs To Speak With One Voice." I have found the editorial to be very informative.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACCIDENT AND HEALTH NEEDS TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE

The current concern over the public's hospital and medical-care problems has served to point up as never before what one observer has referred to as the schizophrenic character of the accident and health business. For many years the business has been pulled one way by the companies that were trying to give good value for the premium dollar and in the opposite direction by those that regarded the accident and health business as an opportunity to gyp the public legally.

The accident and health business never needed so urgently to speak with one voice as it does now. But who's going to do the talking? And, more important, what position will they take and how well will it stand the scrutiny it is sure to get?

Probably the first premise in formulating a position consistent with sound public relations should be a complete and sincere realization that deception, whether deliberate or through oversight, can no longer have a place in any part of the A. & H. business—have a place in any part of the accident and health business without contaminating the entire business in a dangerous way.

This statement may sound like a swipe at limited-coverage policies, but it is not. There is no reason why a company should not sell a policy that provides little but protection against injuries resulting from falling meteors—provided that is the kind of coverage the buyer really wants and he

knows exactly what he is getting and whether he is paying a fair price.

After all, there isn't a policy sold by any company or nonprofit organization that doesn't have limitations. The important thing is that they should be understood. Unscrupulous agents have been known to sell naive buyers 20-payment life insurance policies while giving the impression they were 20-year endowments but that is no criticism of a 20-payment life policy. In such cases it's the agent that needs controlling—and the company, if it is conniving in such a flimflam.

Where, then, can the line be drawn, if not between limited coverage policies and the more comprehensive variety? Well, there are in the accident and health business, as in all businesses, what might be broadly referred to as men of good will, interested in making money but not at the expense of their own self-respect and the standing of their companies. At the other extreme are those interested only in keeping sufficiently within the law to escape prosecution. And there are those in between who aren't worried much one way or the other.

The men of good will need all the help they can get from the in-betweeners who haven't given the problem much thought and both groups need to prevail upon the rogue fringe either to get religion or face ostracism from the community of reputable accident and health insurers.

Actually, what is the accident and health business? As it stands now it is an assortment—life companies, casualty companies, accident and health specialty companies, and the so-called nonprofit insurer, which despite their slightly holier-than-thou tag are just as much a business enterprise as the nonprofit mutual life and casualty insurers or the profit-making stock life and casualty insurers.

The nonprofit insurers got off to a good start in public esteem, partly because of their nonprofit status and partly because of their close association with the hospitals, which have a generally high ranking in the public mind. For a while it looked as if the nonprofit plans were going to enjoy a special status in the current probing of the health care problem, but at the Wolverton committee hearings last fall the insurance companies made an excellent showing and made it clear to one and all that even though tagged with the "commercial" designation they could and would give the public good value for its premium dollar. The recent report of the commission on cost of financing hospital care also shows evidence of a reassuring degree of respect for the "commercial" insurers.

But none of this should be taken to mean that there isn't going to be a determined effort to separate the sheep from the goats. The insurers that depend for their profits on kidding the public on coverages and taking an unwarrantedly tough attitude on claims are going to be exposed. It is entirely possible that legislation will be enacted to cramp their style severely.

The credit that has been built up thus far by representatives of the accident and health business could be seriously impaired if honest critics can say, "Sure, we like you all right but what about those other guys under your umbrella? Are you speaking for them or aren't you, and if you aren't, why are they in your gang?"

There is of course no legal compulsion on the accident and health business to speak with a united voice. But certainly its position will be much more influential if it can speak with such unanimity. The question still remains, "Influential in what direction?" as long as there are men of ill will trying to palm themselves off as being in the same group as those who have the good of the business and the public genuinely at heart.

Letter to His Eldest Son, Written by Capt. John Drum, United States Army, December 8, 1889

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, yesterday we observed the birthday anniversary of the Father of our Country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, a letter from another father, Capt. John Drum, of the 10th Infantry, United States Army, to his eldest son, John Desmond Drum, on the occasion of the latter's 21st birthday. The letter is dated December 8, 1889, and was written at Fort Union, N. Mex. I commend its simple eloquence to all Americans, and it should be heeded by all of us. The descendants of this Army captain have all been outstanding patriotic Americans both in times of war and in times of peace. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT UNION, N. MEX., *December 8, 1889.*

MY DEAR SON: By the time this reaches you it will be near your birthday, which on the 15th instant makes you a man. You will then have attained your 21st year, and I hope it will reach you in time and find you well both in body and mind.

I will say here that your mother and myself have done all we could for your education and welfare, and that I know you have appreciated our efforts, and that we will continue to help you until we can see you started on your career.

As you will soon be your own master I will say a few words to you. Never forget your father and mother. Never cease to help your mother if she needs it. Never forget your brothers and sister, and as you are the eldest, be their friend and mentor. Stand by them through thick and thin. Unite them. In union there is strength, and certainly with six of you much should be accomplished if you are one in sentiment and feelings. I should have put it first, never forget our God or religion. Keep out of bad company or society. Be sober, honest, truthful, and industrious. Be slow to take offense, but protect yourself and family from insult. Be charitable, and always take the part of the poor and lowly, not running to extremes.

You are a native citizen of the greatest and freest nation on the earth. You will have a say in the Government more than I ever had or could have had, and I tell you now, guard well the freedom handed down to you. Support the Constitution as handed down by the fathers of the Republic. Vote as your conscience tells you. Oppose all measures looking to any change in the Government from its present free standard. Watch men and oppose them who would try to break it up or would attempt to take away any of the rights of the poor, lowly, or uneducated, for the rich and educated can always defend themselves. If you should enter political life, try to bring back its tone, and the men who lead, to the simple life and the sterling worth of the days of Jefferson and Jackson, so that riches and luxury may not sap the foundation of our Government. Oppose any man who attempts to stir up religious strife, no matter what his politics may be. Never oppose a man on account of his religious views if he is otherwise patriotic, pure, honest, and a believer in the Republic, and that all citizens have the same rights and are equally protected.

At last, never forget that you are of Celtic blood and that your ancestors came from Ireland. Never forget that poor old mother land, and if you can ever help her consistent with your duties as an American, do not fail to do so.

And now I will close by sending you my blessings and wishing you a long, prosperous, honorable, and happy life. God bless you, my son.

JOHN DRUM.

Color Line Vanishes in Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Color Line Vanishes in Services," written by John G. Norris, and published in the Washington Post of February 14, 1954. The article analyzes the recent book entitled "Break Through on the Color Front," written by the United Press reporter, Mr. Lee Nichols.

I take this opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Nichols' splendid work. His book is another demonstration of the constant movement in the United States toward greater democracy.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLOR LINE VANISHES IN SERVICES

(By John G. Norris)

Big news stories don't always break with a flash; sometimes they unveil so gradually you almost miss them. That's what has happened in a silent revolution which has taken place in the Armed Forces of the United States in the last few years.

This perhaps most conservative segment of our national life has performed a social about-face and wiped out racial segregation. Acting under orders from the President and Commander in Chief, the services have just about completed the job.

Former President Truman's postwar directive on the subject was, of course, well known. So was the opposition to the move, within and without the services, and so were the forecasts that it would bring race trouble in the ranks and weaken American military power generally.

The news is that it works. If we are to believe the evidence set forth in a revealing new book, the new social pattern is working successfully at military bases both in the North and South, at home and overseas.

NOT MERELY TRAINING

Breakthrough on the Color Front, by United Press Reporter Lee Nichols (Random House, $3.50), gives eyewitness pictures of the situation at posts, interviews with men in the ranks and local commanders and quotations from official reports to show that nonsegre-

gation is now accepted throughout the services.

He also makes a good case, bolstered by quotes from officers and from an Army survey in Korea, that it has strengthened rather than weakened the United States militarily.

Reporting on visits to many bases in the South, Nichols says:

"Negroes and whites in the Armed Forces were not just training and fighting together; they were eating at the same tables, sleeping next to one another and drinking beer together at military post canteens. They were going to church and the movies together, often attending the same dances.

"Families of white and Negro servicemen were coming more and more to live next to one another on military reservations. Their wives gossiped over the clotheslines and learned to be friendly neighbors. Their children attended schools together on military posts."

Nichols says that swimming pools as well as athletics, post canteens, and movies at Fort Jackson, S. C., and other southern bases are completely shared. Two service clubs often are maintained, one largely white and the other largely Negro, but both races are admitted to both clubs.

Mixed dances are discouraged or even prohibited at some southern bases, but mingling of Negro and white couples at canteens and soda fountains was reported by Nichols.

The 234-page book traces the history of the Negro in the Armed Forces, showing that segregation was the pattern until the latter days of World War II. The Navy, under the late Secretary James Forrestal, was the first to establish racial integration. It works satisfactorily, but half of the Navy's 23,000 Negroes are messmen and still are segregated in fact.

The Air Force integrated next. It succeeded, says Nichols, because Air Secretary Stuart Symington called in his generals and told them to stop the double talk and act. There were a few crackdowns and then the order was accepted. Today, the 66,000 USAF Negroes are completely integrated.

Army chiefs, however, protested that the military services should not be an instrument of social evolution and strongly resisted the President's policy. Not until Korea did segregation start to become a fact.

SPEEDED UP TRAINING

Curiously, the first big break in segregation came at Fort Jackson, S. C. Faced with a heavy influx of recruits and mounting demands from the front, Brig. Gen. Frank McConnell, the commander, tried integration on his own initiative to speed up training. It worked.

In Korea, some division commanders started integrating their units and reported that the men fought well. But Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters stopped the experiment, Nichols reports.

Later, under Gen. Mathew B. Ridgway, all-Negro units were broken up. After the resulting mixed units had been fighting for some time, interview teams were sent out to question battalion and company commanders.

"Of 185 officers who completed the forms," Nichols reports, "majorities of 66 to 90 percent rated Negroes in mixed units about on a par with white soldiers on nearly every one of 28 aspects of combat behavior.

"On the crucial test of standing up to mass attack, where Negro soldiers in the past had sometimes broken and run, 85 percent of the officers found that Negroes in mixed units performed about the same as white soldiers."

RATED BY BUDDIES

The survey teams also questioned 1,563 white and 221 Negro soldiers in integrated infantry squads scattered through 4 divisions. The white soldiers reported they had observed slightly more instances of good morale, courage, and judgment among whites than Negroes; about the same number of instances of lack of courage and poor judgment, and slightly fewer specific cases of poor morale among Negroes.

The never-released survey, said Nichols, found that 11 to 15 percent of the men who had served in integrated units rated mixed units superior in morale to all-white units. The explanation offered for this feeling and for the great improvement among Negro soldiers assigned to integrated units: The Negro gains pride and self-respect and both whites and Negroes are put on their mettle.

Today, less than 10,000 of the Army's 200,000 Negroes are in segregated units and all, say Pentagon chiefs, will be integrated by this summer.

Next on the list of integration advocates, he adds, is upgrading of the Pentagon's Negro civilian workers, who are almost entirely in the low-pay brackets; ending of segregation in the National Guard, and breaking up of the solidly Negro messmen's branch of the Navy.

The success of integration in the Armed Forces, the author believes, has brought these important results:

1. It has blunted Russia's best propaganda weapon among the colored populations of the world.

2. It has increased our military power and potential by more efficient use of our manpower. Army leaders generally were right, Nichols concludes, in branding all-Negro combat units unreliable. The evidence from Korea, he says, is that integrated fighting units there were largely on a par with all-white units.

3. It has hastened the abolition of segregation in civilian life: by example; by changing race attitudes of youths leaving the services, and by its influence on communities near military posts.

A Tragedy for Minnesota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by Mr. L. A. Rossman, the editor and publisher of one of our outstanding Minnesota newspapers, the Grand Rapids Herald-Review.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRAGEDY FOR MINNESOTA

Any reduction in the price supports for dairy products will be a high economic crime against agriculture in Minnesota, and particularly northeastern Minnesota. That statement is not based upon provincial selfishness which believes that controls should be applied to other areas, products, and industries and not applied to these parts and their people. There are basic and good reasons why dairy production should always be encouraged. Discouragement will be a blow and, perhaps, a disaster.

Take a little look at the past and the present in this neck of the woods. This was the land of the pine and the big trees. The pine was cut. Stumps which constantly became harder remained. Brush and smaller trees took over where the logger had made his way. Then came those who would convert stumps and brush into farms. They made great strides in that task by the most heroic form of agriculture that exists. They cut out the stumps with ax and grub hoe, smoothed their fields with their arms and backs and made homes and homesteads by the most slow and difficult processes.

As these farms developed, their place in the scheme of agriculture became very apparent. These smaller fields are not adaptable to commercial growth of grains. The climate does not permit a sure corn crop and several factors limit the area in hog and beef production. The potato was, and still is, a staple root crop but small fields in this area are finding competition in the great fields of the Red River Valley where planting and cultivation is most efficient and disease may be treated from the air. As the timbered area of Minnesota has grown it has become evident that the principal agricultural production must be in the form of milk and butterfat, that the cow must produce and enrich the land on which she lives.

The process of bringing the dairy production to its present level has taken a long, hard generation. Not only were the fields to be cleared and the barns built, but the area had to come to the realization that the cow was the basis of its farm life. It takes a long time to build dairy heards and a long time to make a generation of frontier farmers into capable dairymen. Not only does it take time to make any kind of a dairy herd but it takes a much longer time to build a profitable herd, to equip the farm as it should be made ready and develop the markets, near or far. The process of building a strong dairy industry in northeastern Minnesota has been brave, intelligent and slow. To discourage that which is still building will strike not only at the pocketbook but the heart and the spirit of this great area.

Northeastern Minnesota is making some great economic progress. There is great employment in mines and the vast new plants which mark a new day in iron. Employment is marked by a high general wage level and increasing earnings based upon skill. Business in the communities is prosperous. By what line of reasoning should a great industrial area buy its milk, butter, and cheese at a price which will discourage, and perhaps destroy, the neighboring farmers who produce these things? Of course that question strikes to the whole theory of parity prices an issue too long for a column.

If there is too much wheat, the acreage of wheat can be reduced and should surpluses disappear those acres are ready and willing to go to work. The corn crop can be reduced and expanded almost at will. This is more true of pork than of beef. The dairy herd can be reduced and its production discouraged and decreased. Within a year or two the Nation might not have the milk that it needs and the damage of one thoughtless year can be overcome only through long years of slow restoration of the dairy herds. The dairy industry is a precious and sensitive thing. The belief that it can be put into the same economic straitjacket as corn and cotton is not even sensible. The willingness to milk cows and to manage dairy herds requires time and discipline. A lack of confidence that hard work will not be repaid will do damage beyond repair.

There are still other considerations. If there is too much wheat, people of the Nation will not eat it. Surplus potatoes will spoil. But America has never seen the day in which it had more milk than it could consume. There are millions of children who do not have the milk they need. There are millions of homes without butter and cheese. There are ways to sell things.

The automobile makers sell their cars. The booze makers sell their alcohol. The merchant with too many winter clothes in a warm fall sells his surplus and when his

inventories are down he is back in the market. The encouraging thing about dairy products is that there is a vast and unsatisfied market and if the Government wishes to dispose of a surplus it can do so by the rapid process of reducing prices and the slower process of stimulating basic demand. In the process of establishing a fair price for dairy production there may be times of temporary surplus, a condition greatly to be preferred over a contingency of long continued shortage. The children of America can grow stronger with the use of more milk. The cost of having that blessing is but pennies compared to the dollars that the United States spends for bombers and cruel devices maintained to destroy other lands and create greater hunger throughout the world.

Doubts About Loyalty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by James Reston, entitled "Doubts About Loyalty," published in the New York Times of February 19, 1954. I think it is very much in point in connection with the issues confronting us at the present time.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOUBTS ABOUT LOYALTY—FEW OBSERVERS THINK NEW BREAKDOWN WILL CLEAR UP SECURITY NUMBERS GAME

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, February 18.—The administration is now dividing its security risks into four categories—subversives, perverts, convicted court cases, and the rest—but this is not likely to end the confusion on this subject.

For a variety of reasons, most of them political, this question of the security risks has been made to appear extremely complicated, but the major question is simple enough. It is:

How many people have been dismissed or allowed to resign by the Eisenhower administration because officials had reasonable doubt about their loyalty to the United States?

The system adopted by the Eisenhower administration when it came to office a year ago last January did not answer this question. It merely lumped together all undesirables, the drunks and perverts, the liars and the blabbermouths along with those of suspected disloyalty, and called them all security risks.

The new system will undoubtedly be an improvement on this. Those among the 2,200 fired last year whose files contained information indicating sex perversion will be put in one category. Those convicted of felonies or misdemeanors will be placed in another; and those charged with bearing false witness or being too casual with security information, or having various other character weaknesses will be put in a third.

However, on the main question, the number dismissed because of reasonable doubt of their loyalty to the United States, the new regulations are so loosely drawn that they are subject to a vast number of different interpretations and are therefore likely to perpetuate the confusion.

Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, asked the heads of the Government departments and agencies to place in category No. 1, the subversive category, the "number whose files contained information indicating, in varying degrees, subversive activities, subversive associations, or membership in subversive organizations."

On the face of it, however, this could cover everybody from a proved spy to a man whose file contained a charge that he had dinner one night with a suspected Communist.

TERMS NOT DEFINED

Is membership in the Institute of Pacific Relations subversive? Some prominent politicians charge that it is; other prominent officials, such as Ambassador Arthur Dean, who was a member, assert it is not. But Mr. Young does not define his terms, and it is thus open to the security officers in the various departments to place in the subversive category almost anybody who has anything in his files, proved or unproved, about associating with "subversives."

Accordingly, while the 2,200 number is likely to be reduced the "numbers game" will probably go on. For under Mr. Young's new categories, any security officer who wishes to inflate the number of subversives among the 2,200 can place in this list anybody whose files contain information "indicating" in any degree any association with anybody even thought to be sympathetic with the Communists.

It was not necessary to perpetuate this vagueness. Mr. Young himself has suggested in private conversations that there was a way closer to the heart of this problem. He has pointed out that when there were reports of disloyal conduct or associations, the normal process was to order a full field investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the person so suspected.

CATEGORY CALLED TOO VAGUE

If such an investigation turns up evidence that leaves the Government in reasonable doubt about the man's loyalty, then there is some basis for dismissal and for placing that person in the anonymous category of "loyalty risk."

To place in the "subversive" category, however, anybody "whose files contained information indicating, in varying degrees, subversive activities, subversive associations, or membership in subversive organizations" does not really disclose how many persons were ousted or allowed to resign because of reasonable doubt about their loyalty to the United States.

There seems to be agreement here that it is important to know the answer to this question. Many security officers who deal in this field agree that it is possible to go through the files of "the 2,200," and by starting with those whose FBI field investigation have raised reasonable doubt of loyalty, to come fairly close to measuring the extent of the "subversives menace" in the Government.

But those who were willing to talk today did not believe the new system would really throw much light on the problem.

Planned War on Religion Laid to Tito

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. FULTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in a recent issue of the Catholic Review:

PLANNED WAR ON RELIGION LAID TO TITO—REGIME ACCUSED OF CALCULATED EFFORT TO DESTROY ACTIVITY

ERIE, PA.—In Yugoslavia today there is a genuine, calculated effort by Marshal Tito and his civil administrators to destroy once and for all time religious activity.

This is one of the conclusions of a booklet published here under the title, "The Real Truth About Communist Yugoslavia." It was distributed by Father Rudolph Hrascanec, former assistant professor at the Croatian University of Zagreb, and now on the faculty of Gannon College, conducted here by the Diocese of Erie.

Devoted to reviewing political, social, and economic conditions in Communist-ruled Yugoslavia, the booklet was written by Richard D. Goodman, a student, after he and two other students—James E. Beveridge and Joseph M. Proctor—had had a long interview in New York with Janez Stanovnich, counselor of the Yugoslav Mission to the United Nations.

Mr. Goodman described the conference as having "confirmed many startling truths about the oppression, brutality, and satanic cruelty imposed upon the Yugoslav peoples by the Tito government." He said, "we were also destined to learn of the firm and resolute acceptance of communistic philosophy by the entire Yugoslav Government and of its pragmatic, utilitarian policy measures."

Reduction in Price Support Levels of Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I have just received a copy of a press release dated February 15 and issued by the National Milk Producers Federation, with reference to the effect on the dairy industry which is anticipated as a result of the order of the Secretary of Agriculture reducing the parity price support on dairy products from 90 to 75 percent.

I believe that this statement gives a correct picture of the situation and that it merits the study and attention of Members of Congress. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAIRY FARMERS FACE BILLION INCOME CUT

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15.—The slash in price support levels of dairy products to 75 percent of parity will drop milk producers back into depression era prices and cost them an estimated $1 billion in income, it was stated here today by E. M. Norton, executive director of the National Milk Producers Federation.

"America's dairy farmers will be surprised and shocked when they fully realize the impact of the 75 percent support level, announced by Secretary of Agriculture Benson for the marketing year beginning April 1," Mr. Norton stated.

"The drop from 90 percent to 75 percent of parity in support levels means a cut of

65 cents per hundredweight in milk prices, or two-thirds billion dollars," he declared. "This, together with the lower returns they took last year will bring their loss to $1 billion. On top of that they have taken in the past year a 26-percent cut in the inventory values of milk cows on farms—another loss of $1.25 billion.

"Certainly a drop in supports from 90 to 75 percent of parity will further drastically lower inventory values of milk cows on farms. Only in the depression periods of 1930–33 and 1938–39 have dairy prices been so low as 75 percent of parity.

"No segment of agriculture or industry could be expected to sit quietly in the face of such a cut. This is particularly true when the dairy farmers have apparently been singled out as the only segment of agriculture to take such an official cut. Cotton and wheat acreage allotments were increased by this administration to prevent undue economic hardship to growers, but the dairymen received no such consideration."

Mr. Norton explained that the dairymen had expected some revision in the support level but believed it would be within the 5-percent limit that President Eisenhower had recommended in his farm message as being the most that would be allowed in any single marketing year on the basic crops now supported at 90 percent of parity.

"The President in his message pointed out that agriculture should be protected against too drastic drops in income and recommended 5 percent as being the maximum allowed in a single year. He referred to this as an orderly transition," Mr. Norton stated. "We are wondering whether the cut of 15 percent in our support level comes under the head of orderly transition. It will mean a 25-percent drop in dairy farm income if our 1954–55 prices are set by the support level."

BUTTER DISPOSAL PLAN URGED

Norton also expressed disappointment that the administration had not announced a disposal program for present Commodity Credit Corporation stocks.

"The National Milk Producers Federation," he said, "proposed a two-price scale-down of retail butter prices. This would be brought about by a lowering of CCC prices to average out, when combined with current market prices, at a price at which the housewife would buy butter. For example, the present support price is about 65 cents. We suggest that CCC set a price of 30 cents per pound for its butter and sell it back to the trade. This would average the price of butter to wholesalers at 95 cents for 2 pounds of 47.5 cents a pound. Adding necessary processing costs, the butter could go to the housewife for about 57.5 cents a pound. If it does not move at that level, CCC could further lower its price.

"Our proposal is strictly a suggestion to get rid of present CCC stocks. It is entirely legal and no new legislation would be required. If butter did not move at the lower price in the domestic market, we recommended that it be sold abroad to any bidder."

In explaining the federation's proposal, Mr. Norton pointed out that the Government must in justice assume some responsibility for the present surplus.

"During the war," he said, "60 percent of the butter and 80 percent of the milk solids output was commandeered by the Government. They 'went to war' and were removed from civilian consumption. We have not regained that market, largely because the Government has continued to control our commodity. Today there is a butter surplus amounting to about 2½ months' supply—not large when compared to Government holdings of other commodities, including a year's supply of wheat, cotton, and cottonseed oil. Nor is it much when compared in dollars—a billion dollars in cotton and almost twice that in wheat. We feel an effort should be made to move the surplus. The federation's plan is applicable right now.

"The other plans for surplus disposal that are being considered are a stamp plan and 'wash-sale' program. Both would require legislation. We have no objection to any plan that will do the job, but to believe that legislation will be enacted in time to do us or the housewife much good seems to be an idle dream."

Mr. Norton expressed no opinion as to what action the NMPF would take in preventing such a drastic cut in dairy farm income.

"Doubtless our board will take immediate action," he concluded. "Practically every farmer in this country produces milk for income. They feel they were begged to increase production and should be permitted the opportunity for an orderly price retreat. The present level would cut dairy income to a dangerous level."

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, Mrs. R. Templeton Smith, of Pittsburgh, Pa., is an outstanding American who works constantly in the cause of good government.

While she is a registered Republican, she is very independent in politics. She is president of the Allegheny County League of Women Voters, an independent political organization which seeks the truth for the guidance of its membership and the general public.

Mrs. Smith has come to the conclusion that the Bricker amendment is necessary to prevent the loss of our God-given rights as American citizens.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the formal statement issued by Mrs. Smith as published in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of February 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Many of the citizens of the United States do not appreciate the difference between our system of government and that of the other nations of the world. In our country power is granted to the Government by the people, and this power which the people grant is limited. We call it delegated power.

There are certain things the Federal Government cannot take action upon. Some of these are contained in our Bill of Rights; such as freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and freedom of speech. In practically all other countries the rights of the people are derived from the government and can therefore be regulated by government.

But we have a loophole in our Constitution which says that treaties, when ratified, become the supreme law of the land and can supersede our Constitution. In the last 25 years the Supreme Court has so held.

This is the reason for the Bricker amendment which makes no change whatever in the treatymaking process as it exists today. If the treaty concerns a subject within the constitutional domain of the Federal Government, it would require implementation by Congress.

In other words, that part of the treaty which touches on internal law must be acted upon by Congress and would only be valid if it is constitutional. All the Bricker amendment seeks to do is to protect the American citizen within the Constitution and not by treaty take away from him his God-given rights which Congress lacks power to legislate upon.

Pasture Permits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 19, 1954, which I received from Mr. George A. Montgomery, associate editor of Capper's Farmer, of Topeka, Kans., which points up the situation which might develop if farmers who seed wheatlands, which are taken out of production this year, are not permitted to have the lands grazed as late as possible.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 19, 1954.

Hon. ANDREW SCHOEPPEL,
United States Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SCHOEPPEL: Recently I made a trip through southwestern Kansas, western Oklahoma, and the Texas Panhandle.

Most of the farmers and county agents I visited believe that pasture permits should be granted every year to growers in the hard winter Wheat Belt.

They would like to comply with wheat allotments, whatever they may be. But they'd like to seed wheat to be grazed in excess of the acreage allowed to go to harvest.

County committees are now measuring up the acreage that can go to harvest. The farmer designates the acres he will let stand. He will graze it until time to remove livestock.

Then he will graze the excess acres until native grass pastures are ready. Generally the excess acres will be fallowed when the wheat that remains after grazing has to be destroyed.

In the meantime, the wheat serves as a soil cover to prevent blowing.

The county agents are for such a plan for several reasons, principal of which are: (1) It will help them to organize a diversified farming system for their counties; (2) it will help them to keep farmers from seeding rye, which volunteers to contaminate wheat and lower its value; (3) the extra wheat will fill a feed gap that occurs between the time cattle must be taken off grain-crop wheat and the time when native grass is ready to graze.

I believe this feature ought to be retained in the agricultural program.

Very truly yours,

GEO. A. MONTGOMERY,
Associate Editor, Capper Farmer.

A Cross Section of Opinion From California's Fourth Congressional District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, on December 29, 1953, I mailed a questionnaire to every sixth registered voter in my district, without regard to party affiliation. I asked my constituents for their opinions on 13 important issues.

The volume of replies delivered to my office has been overwhelming. To date I have received answers from 20 percent of those receiving the questionnaire.

This unusually large response indicates, to me, a real desire on the part of the voters of my district to assume their individual responsibility in our representative government—that of keeping the officials who represent them informed of their thinking on current issues. It has been a stimulating experience for me to read the detailed comments provided in the returns and the arguments presented will be most helpful when these questions become matters for legislative action.

In the belief that other Members may be interested in a cross-section of opinion from California's Fourth Congressional District, located wholly within the city of San Francisco, I am inserting in the RECORD the following compilation of replies as prepared by Farquhar & Heimbucher, a highly respected firm of certified public accountants:

FARQUHAR & HEIMBUCHER,
San Francisco, Calif., February 10, 1954.
Hon. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIR: At your request we have tabulated 6,369 replies received by you to a questionnaire issued under the date of December 29, 1953, with the following results:

Question	Number of replies			Percentage of replies		
	Yes	No	No answer	Yes	No	No answer
1. The excess-profits tax expires Dec. 31, 1953, and a 10-percent reduction in individual income taxes becomes effective on Jan. 1, 1954. Do you favor further tax reductions, even if such reductions mean an increase in the national debt?	2,090	3,932	347	32.8	61.7	5.5
2. Do you favor statehood for Hawaii?	4,951	1,169	239	77.9	18.4	3.7
For Alaska?	4,716	1,199	454	74.1	18.8	7.1
3. Do you favor continuing United States economic aid to foreign allies?	2,816	3,015	538	44.2	47.3	8.5
Military aid?	4,081	1,611	677	64.1	25.3	10.6
4. An armistice has halted the fighting in Korea. Do you favor the all-out use of force against further Communist aggression?	4,789	1,050	560	74.7	16.5	8.8
5. Do you favor raising the minimum wage from 75 cents per hour to $1 per hour?	4,070	1,957	342	63.9	30.7	5.4
6. Do you approve of congressional committees investigating communism in the Federal Government?	5,476	712	181	86.0	11.2	2.8
Do you approve of the procedures now being used by congressional committees in their investigations of communism?	3,479	2,424	466	54.6	38.1	7.3
7. Do you favor Federal aid to education?	4,076	1,909	384	64.0	30.0	6.0
8. Do you favor retention of the fundamentals of the Taft-Hartley law?	5,046	945	378	79.2	14.9	5.9
9. Recently the United States Attorney General urged the enactment of a new law that "would allow the Government to use wiretap evidence to prove espionage cases. At present [such] information cannot be used * * * in the Federal courts." Would you favor the enactment of such a law?	4,381	1,537	451	68.8	24.1	7.1
10. Do you favor the inclusion of more people under the social-security system?	4,664	1,197	508	73.2	18.8	8.0

Respectfully submitted.
FARQUHAR & HEIMBUCHER,
Certified Public Accountants.

Proposed Establishment of a Standing Committee on Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Small Business Committee I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release by George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, issued upon the action taken by members of the committee, when they introduced a resolution creating the Small Business Committee a standing committee.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The unanimous action of the members of the Senate Small Business Committee today in introducing the resolution, through its chairman, the Honorable EDWARD J. THYE, Republican, of Minnesota, creating the Small Business Committee of the Senate as a standing committee the same as all other standing committees, by eliminating the word "select" is hailed by George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, as another forward step by the Congress to recognize the increasing importance of adequate protection to small business of this Nation, giving it the same protection in the Congress as is given to all other segments of our economy.

The original resolution adopted by the Senate, February 20, 1950, under the leadership of the late Senator Kenneth Wherry, Republican, of Nebraska, was a step in the right direction when that resolution made the committee a permanent committee of the Senate.

It is significant and important to note in the testimony of a day or two ago by the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, Mr. Wendell Barnes, he advised the committee as to the plight of small business and called for most vigilant action on the Government's part in protection to small business.

Burger stated that the action of the committee today in presenting the proposed resolution to the Senate will eliminate the heretofore confusion as a result of the word "select" as the designation for the committee. Further, he said, in any and all future conferences by the President of the United States with congressional leaders, the action of the committee today, and approval by the Senate, will call for the committee being included in all future conferences by the White House.

We Should Continue Increases Provided in Public Law 555

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 555, which was approved on July 16, 1952, amended the Civil Service Retirement Act, inter alia, to increase the payments to annuitants receiving relatively small pensions, based on prewar pay scales, which were shrinking under the impact of the higher cost of living of the postwar period. It increased annuities $36 for each 6-months' period from the commencing date of the annuity to October 1, 1952, provided that such increase would not exceed $324 or 25 percent of the present annuity, whichever was less, and provided further that no annuity would be so increased as to exceed $2,160 by reason of the enactment of the amendment.

The act provided that the increases would terminate on June 30, 1955, or earlier as follows: First, termination on June 30, 1954, if Congress does not appropriate for the fiscal year 1955 an amount sufficient to pay the increases during the fiscal years 1954 and 1955; or, second, termination at the end of the second month following the third consecutive month for which the consumers' price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is less than 169.9, which was the figure for April 1948. This is the old index which used 1935–39 prices as a base; but provision is made in the act for the BLS to furnish a conversion factor designed to adjust to the 1947–49 base.

Congress did appropriate $31,397,000 for 1954, and the President's budget for 1955 contains a request for an additional $29,623,000 for 1955. We may assume that this requirement will be met and that the funds will be available in the civil service retirement and disability fund to continue to make these additional payments to the annuitants receiving less than $2,160 a year until June 30, 1955.

The possibility that the consumers' price index will go down to 169.9 on the old index is very remote. The range of the index has been less than two points during the entire period in which the additional payments were made. For the latest date available, December 1953, the old index was 192.1. While we may say that the consumers' price index, representing the cost of living of low income groups, has been stabilized in the past 6 or 7 months, there is nothing on the horizon to lead us to anticipate a drastic decline of more than 22 points.

In passing Public Law 555, we in Congress recognized our obligation to this necessitous group of former Government employees. These annuitants are of an age when they incur additional costs for medical attention and attendance. Their total number and the appropriation necessary to maintain the increases provided will decline each year. A ceiling of $2,160 is not likely to be a luxurious or even a comfortable pension in their lifetime. We cannot permit this act to expire on June 30, 1954, and thereby reduce the amounts now received by these lowest paid annuitants who have been hardest hit by the new plateau of prices and the cost of living. The increases provided should be made permanent as applicable to the present recipients.

Wool Growers Support the President's Wool Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN PHILLIPS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, following a 2 days' meeting in Washington at which representatives of all sheep-producing States were present, as well as Government officials and Representatives of the Congress, Mr. Ray W. Willoughby, of San Angelo, Tex., president of the National Wool Growers Association, issued a statement in support of President Eisenhower's wool program. This has been introduced in legislative form by Senator GEORGE AIKEN and by Representative HOPE. Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Willoughby's statement in full:

The wool growers of the United States will support and work for the passage of President Eisenhower's wool program in Congress, as introduced in legislative form by Senator GEORGE AIKEN and Congressman CLIFFORD HOPE.

I make this statement at the conclusion of 2 days of meetings in Washington between representatives of every range sheep-producing State of the West and both legislative and administrative officials.

There are, of course, refinements in the legislation as presented, which the wool growers desire and which we believe the Department of Agriculture will join us in bringing before the committees of both Houses considering this measure.

This endorsement of the President's wool program was not quickly or easily arrived at because the industry believes that any long-range solution to the problem created by the 50 percent decline in production over the past decade must of necessity be found in a fair and equitable tariff to protect both producers and workers of the United States against unfair competition from countries which do not have the standards of living and wage levels of this country.

Respecting the sincerity of the President in his decision that world conditions force him to oppose a tariff increase at this time, the wool growers are wholeheartedly of the opinion that a payment program, based upon conditions which will, first, provide an incentive to reverse the downward trend in American wool production, and, secondly, base that incentive payment upon wool tariff receipts rather than funds taken from the American taxpayer, is a vast improvement over the past and present loan support program which results in a Government stockpile of wool.

We call to the attention of the public that the Government owned wool stockpile of today is one which the wool growers have long felt unnecessary because we produce less than one-third of the wool used in the United States. But previous support programs, patterned upon the same principles as those of the farm commodities produced in surplus, have created the paradox of a deficiency crop piling up in Government hands while foreign wool took our domestic markets under the present tariff rates, with the American taxpayer footing the bill for storage and losses. We have constantly, and still do, oppose such support methods.

Under the principles of the administration program, growers will sell in the open market, but in lieu of a proper tariff level, the present wool tariff revenue will be used to provide the funds for a direct payment to the grower in the event average prices fall below a level which will provide an incentive for the American growers to provide the Nation with wool as a recognized critical and essential material for the national security and welfare.

I have just received a telegram from Mr. James Lemmon, of South Dakota, president of the National Wool Marketing Corp., sent from Chicago where this largest cooperative wool marketing group is holding its annual membership meeting, stating that they too have endorsed the principles of this incentive payment program advanced by the President.

The National Wool Growers Association, in endorsing this administration's wool program, reaffirms its position that it will work for a national foreign trade policy which will make it unnecessary for either the wool growing industry, or any other domestic producing group, to depend upon the Government rather than the free markets of the United States for its income. This endorsement does not mean that the program is being sought by the industry as a substitute for fair and equitable tariff, but as a substitute for a support program which has both cost the taxpayers money and completely failed in its objective of assisting our segment of agriculture.

Navy Club of the United States of America Opposes Admission of Red China to United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a resolution adopted in executive session of the Navy Club of the United States of America at Fort Wayne, Ind., on January 24, 1954, supporting the Committee for One Million against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and add their expression in opposition to the admission of the so-called Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations:

Resolved, That the national staff of the Navy Club of the United States of America convened on January 23, 1954, adopt a resolution supporting the Committee for One Million against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and add their expression in opposition to the admission of the so-called Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations for the following reasons:

1. Such admission would destroy the purposes, betray the letter, and violate the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The charter dedicates the organization to insure peace by promoting freedom and respect of human rights, and subordinates the admission of new states to their ability and willingness, in the judgment of the member nations, to carry out the obligations defined above. The so-called Chinese People's Republic is constitutionally unable to do this since it officially declares itself to be a dictatorship based on democratic centralism (arts. 1 and II or the Organic Law of the Central Government of the Chinese People's Republic). This is the basic principle of communist totalitarianism and excludes freedom of discussion or criticism of government; that is, it excludes freedom and democracy altogether.

2. Even if the so-called Chinese People's Republic were qualified for admission under the charter, the fact still remains that the duly constituted Government of China exists and functions, not only as the rightful Government of China but as a charter member of the United Nations. In order to give membership to the usurpers the legitimate Government of China would have to be expelled. Such action would be an outrage against human decency and international justice.

3. The so-called Chinese People's Republic has shown its unwillingness to carry out the obligations of the charter by systematically disregarding every human right and violating every freedom.

4. By participating in Communist aggression in Korea and making war on the United Nations it has proved itself an aggressor.

5. Its admission would destroy the prestige and the position of the United States and of the free world in Asia. The countries of that continent which still resist Communist aggression or infiltration would be discouraged by the cynical surrender of the free world to expediency and appeasement on the betrayal of the ideals of the United Nations. The Asian nations, in turn, would then make fatal compromise with the Communist bloc.

6. The so-called Chinese People's Republic violated the most elementary laws of war in mistreating, torturing, and murdering United Nations soldiers who were prisoners of war, in an unlawful war which it waged against the very organization in which its supporters now claim membership for it.

7. At a time when Communist dictatorship seems to be badly shaken inside the U. S. S. R. and its satellite empire, the admission of the so-called Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations would restore the prestige and authority of the Soviet Government. It would help to destroy the hope of the enslaved peoples for ultimate freedom. This hope is one of the chief deterrents which has restrained the Kremlin from risking a worldwide conflict.

8. The admission of the so-called Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations

would encourage subversive totalitarian movements in the free nations of the world in the expectation that the success of the movements would be sanctioned by the free nations which still survive. Thus the danger of a new war would be vastly increased by such rewarding of aggressors; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States; Secretary of State; Henry Cabot Lodge, chief delegate to the United Nations; and a copy of said resolution be sent to the Committee for One Million against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations; and to each ship of the Navy Club of the United States of America.

(Adopted unanimously in executive session at Fort Wayne, Ind., January 23, 1954.)

The Warren Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, only in this sinister and shameful political climate where the national chairman of the party in power condones and encourages irresponsible "smear" tactics could the current foul charges against the Chief Justice of the United States find their way into our official records.

The prompt reaction of many Republicans to the base charges leveled against one of their distinguished leaders should remind them how their silence condoned equally foul charges against one of America's greatest citizens, Gen. George C. Marshall.

As Walter Lippmann so clearly points out in one of his ably written columns, more than the reputations of the individuals immediately concerned is at stake in the fight to preserve our political institutions from violent erosion through uncontrolled licentiousness.

I hope the Warren case will have a sobering effect on Republican leaders who have certaintly veered toward irresponsibility with a speed in direct proportion to their fears of political defeat.

The following column by Mr. Lippmann should be carefully studied by every American:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

Last week the country was treated to a double dose of humiliation. The Chief Justice of the United States was defamed by the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Senator MCCARTHY insulted and tried to intimidate an honorable and gallant officer of the United States Army. These two events, each a spectacular example of our descent into lawlessness, have brought us to a parting of the ways.

We have gone as far as we can go without endangering profoundly the peace and order of this country. We cannot continue to put up with this lawless invasion of the administration of the American Government and this assault on the system of American justice. The country is faced with a usurpation of the executive and of the judicial powers by these investigating committees, and with a rebellion against the principles and the procedures and the usages of liberty and justice under our law.

This is said advisedly. Mr. Warren, nominated by the President to be Chief Justice, has been accused by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee on 10 counts. Of these, at least seven are accusations which, if they were true, would call for criminal indictment, trial, conviction, and a prison sentence. They are not, in short, the mere name-calling of rough and tumble politics, and they are not to be pooh-poohed by the tough boys who think that anything goes. If Earl Warren is guilty of the things of which he is accused, he has committed crimes; if he is not guilty, he has been libeled.

Senator LANGER, in his office of chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has published these accusations on his own motion and decision. They have not been investigated by his committee. Not one shred of evidence has been brought forward to support them. Though they are unsupported, unexamined, unverified, the allegations made by these unknown defamers are protected, they have immunity against any legal redress because the Senator is a privileged man.

This is an intolerable outrage, it violates the first principles of our law. The Senator has a power to injure other men in deadly ways while he himself is subject to no rules of law or evidence when he does it. He is answerable to no one when he does it. This is abhorrent to the spirit of our society, and good men will not and cannot accept it.

Senator LANGER meant to destroy Earl Warren. No man would or could charge another man with permitting organized crime to make its national headquarters in his State, or knowingly appointing dishonest persons as judges, unless he meant to kill him as a public man. It does not mitigate the horror of Senator LANGER's offense that in fact Earl Warren is unscathed because his character is invulnerable. The offense is against the American people far more than it is against Earl Warren. This lawlessness on the part of a Senator is a threat against the power of the law to protect the liberties of our people. Were we to aquiesce in this lawlessness, we would assent to the impairment of our own liberty, and we would accept humiliation and disgrace.

It is no adequate remedy or sufficient compensation for the offense that Earl Warren should be promptly confirmed by an overwhelming vote. He should be confirmed by an overwhelming vote. But the Senate of the United States has a responsibility in this matter which it will not have discharged merely by confirming Earl Warren.

The Judiciary Committee is a committee of the Senate and Mr. LANGER is the chairman of that committee. The Senate is answerable for him and his committee. It is answerable for the failure to bring this committee under the rules of decent and lawful procedure.

The Senate cannot condone this offense. It should rebuke it. It must act to assure the country that it will not happen again.

This must be said not merely as an exhortation but primarily as a warning. Lawless action breeds lawlessness, and when the lawless behavior is in so high a place as the Senate of the United States, then those who practice it and those who countenance the lawlessness are playing with fire.

The Senate must be warned that in failing to restore law and order within its own committee, it is creating grievances for which there is no lawful remedy, it is permitting abuses for which there is no lawful redress.

These arbitrary men who exercise the power of political life and death, who are a law unto themselves, who respect none of the rules of law and of evidence, none of the reason and courtesy of debate, will—if they are allowed to go on—incite and provoke and exasperate men beyond endurance and restraint. It is very dangerous to suspend the restraints of reason. For beyond them is only the primordial violence into which men, when their laws are broken down, relapse.

Dale Wimbrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DWIGHT L. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, just a few days ago Dale Wimbrow departed from this life. Dale was the editor, publisher, and owner of the Indian River News, published in Sebastian, Fla., in the northern part of my congressional district. He was one of our fine and outstanding editors in Florida.

Dale won many honors during the short time he published the Indian River News. He was the winner of the Florida Press Association First Editorial "Oscar," and also was awarded first place in the John P. Herrick Americanism Award in 1953.

He carried on a one-man crusade for a better America, never hesitating to express his views and opinions on any subject, no matter how controversial, and his writings were widely read and respected over the State of Florida. He undertook everything he did with vim and energy and his writings were dynamic and fearless.

We will miss Dale and his writings that could get to the heart of the matter with his homespun phrases, and get to your heart at the same time.

Just a few days before Dale died he wrote a most excellent editorial entitled "Thy Kingdom Come—Thy Will Be Done." It is such an excellent editorial and so true of the character and writings of Dale that I am including it as a part of remarks so that you might see what manner of man he was:

THY KINGDOM COME—THY WILL BE DONE
(By Dave Wimbrow)

So you think flying saucers and hydrogen bombs and supersonic jet planes are expanding man's viewpoint and horizon.

It is just about established that there are such things as flying saucers and that they are neither secret weapons of ours nor of any other world power.

One reliable observer says he saw 6 flying saucers being taken aboard a mother ship of incredible size, all traveling at a radar-verified airspeed of 5,000 miles an hour.

If you have the most rudimentary knowledge of physics or dynamics you know that travel at that rate requires hours of slowly decreasing speed before a human body can survive even a slight deviation from its course. The saucers make exact right-angle turns—even reverses—at such speeds according to reports.

A body of matter—as we know matter—would, under such a condition, explode into an instantaneous mass of bloody vapor. Therefore, the beings who operate these saucers must be a composition we have never

dimly conceived; or the saucers may be viewing or exploratory devices equipped with instruments for photographing and sounding and testing our planet and its atmosphere. That there are such things as the so-called flying saucers can't logically be doubted any longer. Too many sane, calm, controlled, and intelligent people have seen them.

It is believed in high circles that Russia has bombs of a power and scope that we have never approached—unless we, too, have weapons that no one has yet heard about.

These things, coupled with our own advances in science, seem to be immensely expanding man's mental and material outlook.

So they are. They are also forcing man to back up spiritually and take a good look at himself. The evidences of forces, that not only can but probably will reduce everything man knows in a material sense to a cloud of cosmic dust, are causing man to think as he never thought before.

Most of us today who bother to think are thinking about some of the phrases we have been taking for granted all our life.

Our Lord's Prayer is known to all of us. I think even the Igorots and Hottentots know the Lord's Prayer.

"Our Father, who art in Heaven—hallowed be Thy name."

Hallowed? We grit out a Goddamighty nowadays as casually as we say, "Ouch!" We've forgotten the meaning of hallowed. We have, too many of us, lost the capacity to hallow anything whatever—even God.

We have worshiped at the shrine of the goddess, who vanishes the moment we try to really establish contact. Material things—matter—is being shown up for the transient, fleeting, nebulous thing it actually is. When the intelligent brain of man realizes that at last even the earth (weighing its countless billions of tons of basic salts, carbons, and silicas) can go out like a puffed candle in any one instant of some fanatic's folly then he'll begin to ask himself: What is enduring, what is lasting, what is real?

"Thy Kingdom come—Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

You think, and you think; and as you think you slough off the old patterns of thinking.

You finally stop thinking of Heaven as the ultimate gathering place of the faithful. You grow to accept Heaven as a condition that pervades all space, all of time, all of infinity and eternity. You view Heaven as the quintessence of what you create in your own soul here.

Think of an inimical power, either on the earth or above or outside it, with a destructive force that, since it can, someday probably may, ignite the whole mass and leave a void where our planet once rolled around the sun; and you'll become a lonesome, little atom scrambling along among a mass of matter that no longer has significance or worth or stability.

You can't help then, if you think along these lines, but wonder just what is stable, what is permanent, what are basic immutable values.

I think you only then will really begin to realize the eternal significance of "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

Instead of looking out to a broadened, enlarged horizon you'll feel the horizon closing in on you, for you face at last the realization that the solution is with you, of you, in you—and only you.

The coming of the Kingdom of God—the Kingdom having only one law, "Do the best you can with what you have to do with," can't come to you through or because of some outside force. Even God can't force the Kingdom upon you. God divested Himself of that prerogative intentionally when He gave man, created in His image, the power to make his own decisions.

When man realizes that our entire solar system can flicker out in one incandescent instant—as astonomers have observed other suns do many times—he realizes that in grim fact he is at last on his own. He realizes that the only timeless values and the only permanent possessions are the virtues he has acquired by his struggles to travel the high road, rather than saunter down the lotus-strewn low road.

God looked out upon an empty void in the beginning. He felt the pangs of emptiness; so He sprinkled space with stardust, each star a sun and each sun surrounded by its satellite planets.

But there was yet emptiness, so God caused various forms of life to appear.

Still the Creator was not satified, and man was His last creation and His last hope.

To man God said, "I give you the power to do good or evil—but you only can make the decision. For unless you have equal power to do either there can be no fault in one or virtue in the other."

Man, as we know the mammal called human, has had his dominion over matter many thousands of years. He has sown grief, heartache, death, destruction, joy, happiness, love, and sublimity. He has sunk to the depths of ignominy and he has risen until one more reach of his hand could have touched the pedestal of God.

Now he, man, has plumbed the infinite. He has learned how to take apart the atom itself—the basic element of which all creation is made.

The secret is man's—the power is man's—but the judgment is God's.

The Kingdom is at hand. Perhaps nearer than we think, and each man brings his own set of books to the bar.

Lonesome? You bet you are.

It is not only a small world—it is even a small universe.

Dairy Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following article from one of the influential newspapers in my district, the Portage (Wis.) Daily Register:

OTHERS SHOULD SHARE IN PRICE READJUSTMENT

Some rather disquieting reports to dairy State citizens have come from Washington of late respecting the probable price support level for dairy products.

Authoritative reports seem to indicate that the support price may be dropped to 80 percent, or even down to 75 percent of parity.

If this takes place, and we may all well expect it, milk prices will fall. The National Milk Producers Federation estimates that milk will decline 25 cents per hundred for every 5-percent drop in dairy price supports. Thus we may see milk go down a total of 75 cents per hundred.

This will be a serious economic blow to dairymen. For it is doubtful if their costs will decline in any appreciable degree.

It may well be pointed out that since basic crops, including grain, will be supported at 90 percent of parity, the dairyman's feed costs are bound to remain at a high level. His situation will be difficult indeed.

It seems to us that if the great dairy industry is to receive only 75 or 80 percent price supports, then the time has come to reexamine the support pegs under basic crop markets. If that is as far as the Government can go for dairying, then that is as far as it should go for the wheat producer, or the grower of any other basic product.

There might be no serious economic result in the long run from a flexible support program for all agricultural commodities. For under such a program production costs would go down along with price declines.

It is to be acknowledged, of course, that the Government cannot indefinitely continue to put more and more butter into storage without any plan or program to move that surplus. Public opinion in nonagricultural circles will not support such a policy.

But attention should be called to the fact that the dairy producer should not carry the whole brunt of such a readjustment.

Other branches of agriculture industry and labor should also share in any major price readjustment in this country.

The argument in favor of flexible price supports has some merit. A decline in price may move some of the present dairy surplus into channels of consumption, and this surplus must be moved before the industry can be placed on a sound and healthy economic basis.

But we still contend that if flexible supports are good for dairying then they should apply throughout agriculture. And at the same time attention might well be given to other factors and agencies which prevent the free operation of the law of supply and demand.

Anniversary of Armenian Revolt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, 33 years ago, on February 18, 1921, the Armenian people overthrew Communist rule forcibly imposed on them on December 2, 1920, and for 6 months the Armenian people were able to rid their country of Soviet domination.

This feat has remained unparalleled since. For no country once occupied by the Soviets has been able, even for a short period, to drive the Soviet conquerors out of the land.

Today, unrest has been recognized as a permanent phenomenon in those countries of the Soviet Union where nationalism is still alive. And fortunately for the free world, it is so by the very confession of the Kremlin itself. In Armenia, in Georgia, the Ukraine, the other thirteen "republics" of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe the forces of nationalism are in constant ferment.

The story of Armenia's forced incorporation into the U. S. S. R. is one of tragedy, and few Americans outside of those of Armenian origin know this chapter of human suffering. It has been obscured by more dramatic and highly publicized suffering elsewhere. In paying tribute to Armenia's valiant efforts to divest itself of Soviet domination, I include the following statement entitled

"February Revolt," prepared by the Hartford, Conn., regional secretary of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia:

FEBRUARY REVOLT

The Independent Armenian Republic was established toward the end of the First World War.

Democratic elections to establish the Parliament were carried out in July 1919. The same year, over 1,500 new schools were opened, the first Armenian university established, organizations set up to provide public housing, to build hospitals, relief centers, orphan homes.

For the war had had disastrous effects in Armenia and the land lay in ruins and in waste.

By the summer of the next year Armenia was well on its way to recovery. The centuries-old dream of a free fatherland had fired the population with a tremendous creative urge and everywhere the signs of a quick rehabilitation were evident.

The general enthusiasm was made even greater by the recognition of the Armenian Republic in January 1919, by the Supreme Allied Council in April 1920, by the United States Government, and in August 1920 internationally through the Treaty of Sevres.

Yet the age-old dream was to be smothered by the Communist aggressor. And by the end of the 1920's Soviet aggression had claimed one of its earliest victims. The Red armies moved in and forcibly sovietized Armenia.

What followed was worse than the persecution and the suffering to which the Armenians had been accustomed throughout the centuries.

The population was deliberately starved, homes were looted, villages were burned, 1,220 higher officers of the Armenian National Army were subjected to a "forced march" through the snow and blizzards of the Caucasian mountains, hundreds of Armenian intellectuals and political leaders were jailed and literally beheaded in prison.

Then the people rose.

As the waters which have been held back in a powerful dam, they swept everything before them. Students, priests, peasants, women, teachers, workers, children—all armed themselves with whatever they could lay their hands upon and in a fury of hatred drove the foe from the land.

The victory was sweeping. The Communist Party central committee, its secret police, and the occupying Red armies were routed and had to withdrew from the length and breadth of Armenia.

The Republic was reestablished and Prime Minister Simon Vratzian sent out a call for help to the capitals of the free world.

But in those days the world was innocent in its knowledge of the Communist cancer. And the warning went unheeded.

So the Armenian people held out by themselves for 6 months.

Then with overwhelming numerical superiority the Red armies returned and once again occupied the land.

But since that time resistance has been a chronic phenomenon, not only in Armenia but in all the countries of the Soviet Union where nationalism is the most explosive single force that instills terror in the hearts of the tyrants.

And now in the countries of Eastern Europe this has been evident even more dramatically because more closely.

The fact remains that from the earliest revolt which occurred in Armenia on February 18, 1921, to the revolt in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, there has been one unbroken chain of uprisings and insurrections, which, though they may not have had enough might to have overthrown the Soviet structure in its entirety, have made impossible for that structure to consolidate itself or feel secure.

Thomas Alva Edison: A Determined Fighter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 18 a talk entitled "Edison the Fighter," by the great inventor's longtime friend and business associate, Mr. George E. Stringfellow, of West Orange, N. J. In this connection the following editorials appearing in the Paterson (N. J.) News of February 13 and the Daily Home News, New Brunswick, N. J., of February 16, are of interest:

[From the Paterson (N. J.) News of February 13, 1954]

EDISON THE FIGHTER

Stories about the remarkable career of the late Thomas Edison have grown through the years as almost to be fabled records of the great New Jersey inventor.

But it remains for George E. Stringfellow, vice president of the Edison company, to tell from firsthand knowledge some of the facets of Edison's life which have been hitherto unknown.

Most of us know of Edison as the genius who conceived the light which today illuminates the world. We know in a vague sort of way of his painstaking efforts to develop the incandescent light, but Mr. Stringfellow, marking the inventor's life with a characteristically interesting address, reveals still another phase of Edison.

Having discovered the little bulb with its incredible filament which lit up when touched to current, Edison became the center of attention not only of those purely curious about the discovery but of others interested in perhaps capturing the secret for conversion to profit. But he was a fighter, Mr. Stringfellow reveals, who refused tenaciously to yield to the schemers the baby he had created. Caught in the early stages between need for funds for development of his idea, and the thieving scheming of the connivers, the inventor had to fight his way through the courts to prove the legitimacy of his own claims, prevailing finally.

"Only a man with the courage and the tenacity and the leadership that Edison possessed could have persuaded others to fight in the face of dubious odds," Mr. Stringfellow comments, adding: "It takes a real fighter to carry on to victory."

There is a lesson in life in the point he makes. And a new view of the man many thought a dreamer, now so firmly woven into American history.

[From the Brunswick (N. J.) Daily Home News of February 16, 1954]

THOMAS ALVA EDISON: A DETERMINED FIGHTER

In a radio speech the other evening on the occasion of the birthday of Thomas Alva Edison, George E. Stringfellow, longtime friend and business associate of the great inventor, disclosed for the first time a new and most interesting aspect of Edison's character.

Everyone is familiar with the story of Edison the great inventor. The story of his dogged determination to stay with a problem until he solved it is familiar to every American schoolboy. Not so familiar, however, is the story of Thomas A. Edison the fighter, which Mr. Stringfellow unfolds with his usual eloquence now.

One of the best examples of Edison the fighter is the story of his invention and development of the incandescent lamp, as related by Mr. Stringfellow. When Edison got his patent on the lamp which he had invented, throngs of people descended upon his laboratories to examine the miracle he had wrought. Most of them were sincere in their interest, but some had ulterior motives. While Mr. Edison and his pioneer associates devoted all their waking hours to develop, improve, and produce the lamp, his invention was being copied. Neither money nor time was immediately available to prosecute these imitators.

In 5 years Edison was ready for the fight. He and his associated companies had a bitter struggle on their hands. It took $2 million and 16 years to prosecute 200 lawsuits involving 50 separate patents, but Edison was determined. In 1 suit alone, the record ran to 850 typewritten pages and 8 days of continuous argument. Ultimate victory came, as Edison knew it would, to crown the good fight.

The American people are indebted to Mr. Stringfellow for illuminating this little-known facet of Edison's character, for the lesson from this story is a valuable and inspiring one in these days when our very way of life is threatened and when we need the strength of character to fight on and on. As Mr. Stringfellow says, "It takes a real fighter to carry on to victory."

Flood Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following article, Flood Insurance, by W. B. Langbein, hydraulic engineer, United States Geological Survey, appeared in Land Economics, November 1953, volume XXIX, No. 4. It deserves the careful consideration of every person who is concerned with the social, economic, and political effects of the floods which periodically devastate parts of the United States. In this connection, my bill, H. R. 377, although requiring certain modifications because of events transpiring since its introduction on January 3, 1953, represents a serious attempt to meet the problem discussed so thoroughly and intelligently by Mr. Langbein.

FLOOD INSURANCE

(By W. B. Langbein, hydraulic engineer, U. S. Geological Survey)

The aggregate property damage caused by floods in this country has been estimated variously to average from $200 to $800 million per year. The record also shows the value of property damaged through flooding is increasing. This increase is a part from that attributable to any possible increase in flood frequency. A flood which a few decades ago was merely an inconvenience would today in some localities be a disaster. There has been a great extension of flood-plain use, largely for urban and industrial purposes, despite nature's design of the flood plain for the discharge of flood water. Rivers are economical in the use of their valleys. The river occupies a small channel during its normal regimen and calls upon its flood plain only when the low-water channel is overtaxed. The flood plain therefore remains available for man's use for long

periods, subject only to a prior lien by the river.

River flood plains are natural avenues of commerce. Their topography favors the construction and lay-out of towns and factories. Water supplies are near at hand. They are attractive to the farmer and indeed a large part of the national food supply is produced on alluvial soils. These present advantages seem, therefore to over-balance the seemingly distant threat of damage by flood. Nevertheless, at intervals wide regions are inundated with cataclysmic losses. The present situation in its aspects of public pity and private charity recalls that prevalent before fire insurance became nearly universal.

The stabilization of economic life on valuable flood plains is a national problem. The flood plains represent valuable and productive lands. Transportation lines, farming, industrial plants, all make effective use of the flood plains.

There are good and sufficient reasons for use of the flood plains, and abandonment would not make sense. But not all use and occupancy of the flood plains is prudent. Any use of the flood plain should recognize that it was built by the river and therefore embodies certain factors not involved elsewhere. It is not use or occupancy in itself that is unwise, but that so much of it is unadjusted to the facts of flooding.[1] Too few cities have zoning regulations that seek to achieve sensible flood-plain development. Lessons are learned slowly and it may be many generations before wise and safe use of flood-hazard lands generally is achieved. Flood insurance can hasten the process. Mortgage holders would soon learn to require it; and its cost for buildings in danger spots would be an effective deterrent to unwise construction. On the other hand, the cost might well be borne where the enterprise yields or holds promise of great return. But in either case the economic facts would be known.

Flood protection is increasing rapidly since the enactment of the Flood Control Act of 1936 adopted flood control as a national policy. Flood protection through reservoir storage and levee confinement affords a substantial and, in many places, a calculable measure of protection.[2] However, flood control is generally partial and absolute protection is seldom an accomplished certainty. The Army engineers rarely provide protection above their so-called standard project flood. Levees can be and are overtopped; reservoirs do fill and spill flood waters.

There are many more places where flood control is not practicable, feasible, or desirable than the public is led to realize. A report of an American Society of Civil Engineers Committee on Floods[3] said in part: "A false sense of security appears to be engendered in the public by the many flood-protection works completed, as well as projects not yet completed." Flood control does not eliminate the need for flood insurance, nor does insurance reduce or eliminate the need for flood protection. Indeed, the gap between ideal and actual protection is the field of insurance.

Flood insurance would serve to encourage the diminution of risk through self-interest of the assured and of the insurance fund. The fire and casualty companies have contributed enormously to the public welfare through fostering safety education and inspection. Possibly the most satisfactory method of reducing flood damage would be through effective and timely flood warnings. Sound flood-insurance coverage would be contingent upon and would demand prompt and dependable flood-forecasting and accompanying emergency plans.[4]

Although most students of the problem agree that insurance would be desirable, it has been found impracticable to insure losses by floods. Mannes[5] outlines many of these difficulties that have bankrupted all attempts to write flood insurance. This experience shows that wide distribution of risks and long-term contracts are essential ingredients of successful flood insurance. Related problems would be to keep interest alive and to avoid prohibitive premiums. Any policy that would lead to selection of adverse risks must also be avoided.

FLOOD DAMAGES

The following is a list of the total damages due to floods in the United States during recent years as reported by the Weather Bureau, together with a list of annual losses from fires as reported by the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

[In millions of dollars]

	Approximate damages by flood	Approximate damages by fire
1927	348	473
1928	44	465
1929	63	480
1930	16	502
1931	3	452
1932	10	401
1933	36	271
1934	10	271
1935	127	235
1936	232	266
1937	441	255
1938	101	258
1939	14	275
1940	40	286
1941	40	304
1942	98	314
1943	200	373
1944	101	437
1945	166	484
1946	71	554
1947	272	648
1948	230	715
1949	94	668
1950	176	688
1951	1,029	731
Average, 1927–51	160	431

Figure 1 (not printed) shows annual damages adjusted to a 1950–52 basis. The adjustment includes variation in the prices and the increase in amount of property on flood plains and exposed to risk. The general average for damages thus adjusted is $225 million. The adequacy of the Weather Bureau figures, however, is challenged by the Army engineers and the Department of Agriculture; each for different reasons. These agencies indicate that the loss is much higher. The Army estimates of the damage include more of the indirect and intangibles, whereas the estimates of the Department of Agriculture give greater weight to damage caused by floods in the small upstream tributaries. In view of the divergent viewpoints and of the importance of figures of flood damages in the justification for proposed measures for flood protection, there seems ample reason for treating these basic economic facts in the same way as fundamental hydrologic data that are the responsibility of separate fact-finding natural-resource organizations such as the Geological Survey and the Weather Bureau. It would not seem inappropriate, therefore, to charge a public agency experienced in economic surveys with this duty.

Great year-to-year variation is shown in the amount of flood losses as compared with fire losses. Variations in annual fire losses largely reflect business activity and replacement costs. Flood losses contain these economic factors, but even greater natural elements as well. Figure 1 shows that flood losses are concentrated in the years when outstanding floods occurred, viz: 1913 (the Ohio River and tributaries in Ohio during February), 1927 (the Mississippi flood in April and the New England flood in November), 1936 (floods of March in the northeastern States), and 1937 (Ohio River and Mississippi River floods in January-February). In these years total losses by flood approach or even exceed those by fire. The erratic distribution of flood damage presents a special problem in assuring this kind of risk, and emphasizes particularly the importance of (1) countrywide dispersion of risk to balance losses and (2) long-term contracts to maintain coverage for building reserves during the long periods when there is no flood news on the front page of the daily paper. These figures also show that some central reserve must be provided against the chance occurrence of catastrophic losses in the early years of operation.

The importance of countrywide dispersion may be made apparent immediately by comparing the national figures of losses with those for single regions or drainage basins. Even though, as shown above, the national losses vary greatly from year to year, those for a single basin vary even more so. For example, the reserves that would be needed to average out the year-to-year national losses for the above 25-year period is 7 times the average rate of loss. However, in a single region, even one as large as the Pacific Northwest, this ration is 12, in the Ohio Valley the ratio becomes 14.5, and for a single stream the ratio may be nearly 20 for a 25-year period.

MAGNITUDE AND FREQUENCY OF FLOODS

The primary actuarial problem in evaluating a risk is the determination of its magnitude and frequency. In assessing a flood risk, a continuous record of river stages and discharges provides an essential basis for making an appraisal of flood frequency. The longer the record of experience, the better the data and the higher the grade of the insurance.

River records in the United States extend back with diminishing completeness to about 1880. A few records antedate even this, but reasonable coverage did not begin until about 1910. The principal agencies for the collection of river records include the United States Geological Survey, the United States Weather Bureau, and the United States Corps of Engineers. The Geological Survey now operates a program of river observations at about 6,500 points; records of daily flow are published annually in its Water-Supply Papers, but many more details are contained in its files. The Weather Bureau reports its observations in an annual series entitled "Daily River Stages on the Principal Rivers of the United States."

The flood record in the United States rapidly is attaining a degree of completeness that will permit workable estimation of flood risks by accredited statistical methods. The weight of evidence, though not conclusive in all details, is that floods occur fortuitously or at least with a sufficient degree of fortuity to warrant taking advantage of theories based on that condition.[6] The records indicate that in the United States as a whole floods may occur at any time of the year although there are distinct seasonal characteristics in most localities. Large floods occur less frequently than small ones; floods occur at irregular intervals with only secondary relationship to preceding and following events.

When studied in relationship to their magnitudes, floods reveal a marked skew-frequency distribution.[7] The form, however, of this distribution as yet is unknown from a priori deductions. Pearson's well-known curves have been used,[8] and recently Gumbel[9] suggested a form of distribution for annual floods based on the consideration that the annual floods are the maxima in samples of 365 independent daily events. Ordinarily, the satisfactory definition of a

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skew population by Pearson's curves requires evaluation of at least three characteristics—the mean, the standard deviations, and the skewness. However, the relatively short records generally available make a competent evaluation of the skewness uncertain; higher moments are entirely out of the question. The theory of maximum values, adapted by Gumbel to floods, suggests a coefficient of skew of 1.139 that conforms to a large range of evidence and thereby serves to restrict that otherwise uncertain value.

The literature on flood-frequency analysis is large, and there are many methods available for determining most probable values from the available records of flood peaks. The kind of data to be studied and the method to be used depends on the nature of the problem. Certain kinds of risks are seasonal, thus one logically might list only floods that occur during the season of risk. In any case, computation of annual damages requires not only considerable actuarial acuity but knowledge of river hydraulics and wide familiarity with sources of river data. Obviously it would be prohibitive to analyze each property separately to determine flood risks. Such procedure might be justifiable where a costly industrial plant is to be insured, but some shortcut needs to be worked out where large numbers of small units are involved. In great centers of flood hazards, it should be possible to establish flood zones on existing city plats, defining risk areas in which all buildings are subject to floods of approximately the same frequency. By this means, premium rates could be established for the first level of buildings in a given zone for the second level, etc. The rate for a 1-story house would be different than for a 2-story building, and so on. The Army engineers, in the Passaic River Valley in New Jersey, were able to assess damages to 10,000 properties for a cost of $50,000, or about $5 apiece. That is comparable, it is believed, to the cost of paperwork normally involved in writing insurance.

Or again, it might be possible to issue policies as in rain insurance. Under this practice, the assured buys a policy that pays a specified amount when rainfall at a designated rain gage exceeds a specified depth. Applied to floods, this form of insurance would provide a schedule of specified payments when the stage at a designated river gage reached specified levels. This method makes it necessary for the assured to judge his own risk and thereby minimizes the problems of premium determination and the adjustment of claims. But to avoid abuse, it seems essential to provide that the payments in the event of loss do not exceed some fraction of the actual damage, whatever the face value of the policy bought.

Some limits may be desirable in writing insurance for a given property. An upper limit would be essential to the extent that it would delimit reserves needed. A minimum limit would be desirable to the extent that it would save the company from many small claims and thus reduce operating costs. It would also seem desirable to limit indemnity to a flood from a specified river to exclude claims from incidental local sources not included in the evaluation. Some feature of coinsurance would be essential. The insurance policy should not underwrite the whole of the loss in order to maintain some stimulus, however small, on the part of the assured to mitigate losses.

RELIABILITY OF FLOOD-FREQUENCY ESTIMATES

The effect of errors in the flood-frequency curve on the computed flood risk depends on the form of the flood-damage curve. In cases where most of the damage occurs as a result of the frequent smaller floods, the rare floods may have little weight on the estimate of risk. On the other hand, where damage occurs only during extreme, widespread floods, then the estimate of the flood risk depends greatly on the reliability of the estimate of the frequency of such rare floods.

In general, the sampling error of an estimate varies inversely as the square root of the number of data on which it is based, and it is important to recognize that flood data are few compared with the number of statistics commonly available in other actuarial fields. Consequently, successful flood insurance will require that considerable emphasis be placed upon complete and thorough search through published and unpublished sources of data. No single fact can be overlooked. In considering a 25-year flood record, the estimate of the 25-year flood is based on only one figure, i. e., the highest. The estimate of the 5-year flood would be based on five data, and so on. In general, the error of estimate varies as the square root of T/N where T is the recurrence interval and N is the number of years of record. Consider again the greatest flood in a 25-year record; it represents a single sample of a 25-year flood. The sampling error is large. There is a 50-percent chance that the highest flood in a 25-year record lies within limits of a 12-year and a 50-year flood. There is also a 50-percent chance that it is greater or less than these limits.

A list or record of flood discharges represents only one sample of the whole history of a river. Different periods display differing characteristics. Flood damages, as assessed on a particular flood record will therefore be biased, depending on whether the period is characterized by great, normal, or little flood activity. This conclusion in no way diminishes the value of a given record but is a fact that must be accorded proper recognition in the evaluation of damages. One method is to construct confidence bands that will give conservative or safe determinations of the flood damage. The main actuarial problem here is to determine what confidence limits will be used. In this case one again has access to statistical principles. If the confidence limits are increased unduly, the estimates of damage may be raised to such an extent that the cost of insurance becomes prohibitive. On the other hand, if the confidence band is narrowed, the consequences of bias in a flood sample may be reflected in loss to the insurer. The actuarial problem is to obtain an economic balance between the two.

PRIVATE VERSUS GOVERNMENT INSURANCE

Obviously flood insurance has not been attractive to those in the insurance business. Of the problems to be solved, probably that of the heavy reserves required is the most formidable. If this obstacle can be met, then other problems, though critical, can be solved.

After the 1951 floods on Kansas and lower Missouri Rivers, President Truman asked Congress to consider setting up a national insurance fund, "based, if possible, upon private insurance with reinsurance by the Government. This was the principle of the war-risk insurance in effect during World War II." [10] The testimony of those in the private insurance business was quite hostile to the proposal. The reaction in Congress was to defer action. Later a group of leading insurance businessmen undertook to inform themselves more clearly on the matter and employed a firm of civil engineers to study the physical aspects of the problem. The engineers' report described the methods of computing the frequency of floods and of determining damages and premium rates, but did not express any conclusion as to the merits or feasibility of the scheme, leaving the general impression, nevertheless, that the technical problems could be solved. But the group of insurance executives found the scheme unpracticable, stating: [11]

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"To the experienced insurance mind the flood peril presents the same sort of unpredictable widespread devastation and destruction that we associate with modern war damage, and the same considerations which prompted the business of insurance to refrain from assuming liability for war damage to property on land during World War II. * * * Because of the virtual certainty of the loss, its catastrophic nature, and the impossibility of making this line of insurance self-supporting due to refusal of the public to purchase such insurance at the rates which would have to be charged to pay annual losses, companies generally could not prudently engage in this field of underwriting. It is our considered opinion that insurance against the peril of flood applicable to fixed property cannot successfully be written and that any specific promise of indemnity for loss by flood must therefore be regarded as in the nature of a subsidy or relief payment, which are quite outside the scope of private business and insurance.

"Since for reasons outlined private underwriters cannot undertake to provide specific flood indemnity as an insurance venture, it follows that Government likewise could not undertake to provide specific flood indemnity by means of insurance. There is no reason to believe that the Government would encounter fewer obstacles to such an undertaking than private insurers."

The reaction of the insurance executives indicates, it seems, a justifiable attitude on their part, but extending their reasoning to Government seems questionable. The insurance industry like any other business would not readily enter an undertaking in which the books could not be balanced over a reasonable period of years to obtain a statement of profit and loss. In conventional business the averaging-out process is almost continuous and most certainly is completed within a period no longer than 5 years. Even an occasional peacetime catastrophe places only a temporary drain on reserves which can be recouped in a relatively short period. The ratio of necessary reserves to the volume of business is relatively low.

Flood insurance seems vastly different. It cannot pay off in the working life of an individual and hence could not be attractive to the managers or stockholders of a business enterprise. But government as a permanent, enduring function, with much already at stake, can take a long-range course.

Crop insurance is a pertinent example of the ability of the Government to provide insurance against risks which the insurance industry has been unable to cover or considered imprudent to assure. The analogy to flood insurance is very apt. R. M. Bissell, president of the Hartford Fire Co., stated in April 1937: "The serious problem confronting the underwriters of crop values is the calamity of simultaneous hazards which may reach such immense proportions that vast resources and tremendous reserves would be necessary to cover losses." [12]

Recognizing the stabilizing effect of agricultural insurance in our entire economy and its attractiveness to farmers, several private underwriters began selling all-risk crop insurance in 1899. Through the next 40 years, several companies attempted to operate all-risk crop-insurance programs. Every attempt failed but did not end the need or demand for all-risk crop insurance.

The Federal crop-insurance undertaking has gone through three stages of development until a sound basis for writing all-risk (including floods) crop insurance seems attainable. The first began with the insurance of wheat in 1939. Cotton was added to the program in 1942. The first 5 years of operations resulted in losses each year as a

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result of bad weather and adverse selectivity, many of the same troubles that beset the earlier private ventures. Because of the heavy losses Congress ordered liquidation of the program in 1944.

Widespread demand for the insurance, by then greatly stimulated, was felt during the ensuing presidential and congressional campaigns of that year; and Congress reinstated the program late in the closing sessions of 1944. National operations at the end of crop-year 1947 showed such a substantial deficit that Congress placed the insurance program on a limited experimental basis (Public No. 320, 80th Cong., 1st sess.). By limiting operations only to those necessary to gain experience and make necessary studies under controlling conditions, it has been possible to develop the means for putting the all-risk crop-insurance program on a sound basis. The first 4 years of the experiment have yielded a net surplus to the insurance funds. The record, though too short to give assurance of success, shows good prospects that a sound and workable national program can be developed gradually.

SUMMARY

Floods are almost the sole natural hazard not now insurable by the industrialist or homeowner. To achieve it, despite the abortive experience of bankrupt companies and the unfavorable advice of prominent insurance executives, seems very unlikely. Yet, in the writer's opinion the problem has not been subjected to adequate tests on sound hydrologic and actuarial principles. Experience in crop insurance seems to indicate that a small-scale experiment would be essential before any scheme is put into operation. The main points that an experiment can answer are whether there is a market at the rates that must be charged, whether methods of determining risks can be simplified, what amounts of reserves are needed, and most important, whether politics can be kept out. If there is a reasonable chance of success, there should be no reason why the experiment should not be tried. With much already at stake, the Government stands to gain much from successful no-loss insurance. It would spare the tremendous public and private handouts that follow every flood, and it would avoid the considerable loss in tax revenues to the Government. Flood insurance would provide the means whereby those on the flood plains would share the major burden of their damages and thereby provide a check on heedless occupance of flood-hazard land. In a highly developed industrial country such as the United States, flood insurance seems conspicuously needed to give economic stability to threatened areas, and to provide a handle by which to grasp the problem of flood-plain occupancy.

[1] H. C. Klein, "Flood-Plain Zoning and Evacuation," National Fire Protection Association, Quarterly, April 1939, pp. 3–17.

[2] Edgar E. Foster, "Evaluation of Flood Losses and Benefits," Trans. Am. Soc. Civil Engrs, v. 107, pp. 871–924, 1942.

[3] Report of Joint Committee on Floods, Am. Soc. Civil Engineers: Civil Engineering, p. 155, March 1943.

[4] G. F. White, "Economic Aspects of Flood Forecasting," Amer. Geophys. Union Trans., pt. 2, pp. 218–233, 1939.

[5] Alfred Mannes, Insurance; Facts and Problems (New York: Harpers, 1938).

[6] Allen Hazen, Flood Flows (New York: John Wiley, 1930).

[7] C. S. Jarvis and others, Floods in the United States Magnitude and Frequency (U. S. Geol. Survey Water-Supply Paper, 771, 1936).

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[9] E. J. Gumbel, "The Return Period of Flood Flows," Annals of Mathematical Statistics, v. 12, 1941.

[10] "Rehabilitation of Flood-Stricken Areas," hearings before a subcommittee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, 82d Cong., 1st sess., 1951.

[11] Report on Floods and Flood Damage (Insurance Executive Association, New York, N. Y.).

[12] J. L. Buckler, All-Risk Crop Insurance (Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, United States Department of Agriculture, 66 pp.), Dec. 1950 (processed).

Flexible Farm Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article written by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG] and published in the Farm Journal of March 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Senator MILTON R. YOUNG, of North Dakota)

I am opposed to flexible farm supports, and with good reason.

After World War I, farmers went through a depression that led to low prices, low incomes, foreclosures, rural bank failures, and finally a great national depression.

It was a terrible experience. The farm price of pork and beef was less than $2 a hundred, yet consumers couldn't afford to buy it.

Cheap farm prices didn't solve our surplus problem then, and I don't think they'll do it now.

Now that supply is exceeding demand somewhat, must we repeat the mistakes of timidity and inaction, with the consequent tragedy of the 20's and early 30's?

WHY NOT CONTROL PRODUCTION?

It is as certain as night follows day that, unless we act with courage and wisdom, a farm depression will set in. Plenty of farmers and small businessmen say it is here.

I feel strongly that neither a farm depression nor a national depression is necessary to make the adjustments of a war-expanded farm plant to our (perhaps temporarily) reduced demand for farm products. The demand is still large; the reduction in supply which is necessary to prevent our drowning in surpluses isn't tremendous.

Our adjustment can be orderly and fair, and need not be achieved by putting agriculture through the economic wringer. Farmers have the same right as industry and others, including labor, to adjust supply to effective demand.

Labor has minimum wages, and a 5-day, 40-hour week. Retail distributors have fair-trade laws. Utilities have rate fixing, to insure a fair return on invested capital. And we have liberalized the administration of antitrust laws for industry.

We can keep production in line with effective demand. If farmers want to do that, and I think they do, they should be permitted to go ahead.

We want plenty at all times for farmers' customers here and abroad. It's not unreasonable to expect consumers, in return for this assurance of plenty, to bear a small part of the insurance premiums. It won't be much—in fact, if farmers were permitted self-financing programs such as we have for sugar, the United States Treasury would not be called on for a cent.

The total CCC loss in the past 20 years is less than $10 per person. The CCC has provided the greatest bargain consumers ever had—the assurance of adequate supplies at small cost.

No wonder that our consumers are the envy of the world. No wonder that the enemies of the farm program are trying to mislead us into believing that billions have been spent and wasted.

WOULD HURT CITIES TOO

Less than one-quarter of the average income of United States families goes for food. They spent almost exactly the same percentage of their income for food when food was dirt-cheap, during the thirties.

If the price and, therefore, the income of farmers is cut, farmers can't buy from the cities and the factories. They pull in their belts. They can't pay their debts or their taxes, or to pay them must forgo something else.

Reduced farm income is one reason why demand for petroleum products is down, and heading further down. Has that meant widespread price cutting of petroleum products, a dog-eat-dog competition at any price, in the sales program of oil companies?

No, indeed. Instead, under our laws, each oil well in most States is now being limited in what it can produce. I don't begrudge the oil industry this protection. It is only common sense. I simply say that farming, too, should have protection from economic anarchy.

Why, just why, is that good business in the oil industry, and socialism, or regimentation, when the principle is applied to agriculture? The modernized parity formula is wrong. The Government uses the base period of 1947–49 for other major indexes; why isn't this fair for farm parity too?

The administration's plan to reduce support prices to 75 percent to 90 percent of parity, and to adopt modernized parity after January 1, 1956, really means this for wheat producers:

The market price, which will drop to or below the support price, will be dropped to 64 percent of parity as now figured under the 1910–14 formula. This means an average support price of approximately $1.57 a bushel at Minneapolis, after the so-called cushion period has expired.

The prices of many other important farm commodities would be affected just as adversely as wheat. I say the flexible support program will bankrupt a very high percentage of our farmers—with the blow falling heaviest on the small farmers and the beginners.

White House Aide Responsible for Misrepresentations on Security Separations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial titled "Unfortunate Mistake," which appeared in the Washington Post today, February 23, 1954:

UNFORTUNATE MISTAKE

It takes courage to acknowledge a wrong. Bernard Shanley, the President's special counsel, has acknowledged an unfortunate

mistake last fall in labeling Government employees separated for security reasons as 1,456 subversives * * * kicked out of Government jobs. Mr. Shanley's confession of error comes only after considerable outcry and it does not atone, of course, for the political use made of the security figures by other administration spokesmen. The spasmodic breakdowns now being made, showing that few of the separations have been connected with loyalty, make such distortions hollow and tawdry indeed. But Mr. Shanley has taken a necessary step toward the restoration of honesty and decency in the handling of the security problem. His example commends itself for adoption elsewhere.

The Wetback Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the March issue of the International Teamster a most informative and challenging article on the wetback menace, and it is pointed out that, in the interests of the protection of American labor, drastic action is imperative to halt the inroads against American labor at the border.

I include the article as part of these remarks:

THE WETBACK MENACE

The wetback menace continues to be a threat to national security, a weapon leveled at American wage and working standards by large employers of cheap labor in the South and Southwest and a social and health danger to the area affected.

"Wetback" is the name given Mexican illegal entrants who cross the Rio Grande River forming the border between Mexico and the United States from the Gulf of Mexico to California.

The explosive wetback question erupted on the front pages of the Nation's newspapers and caused a major controversy in Congress last month in a bitter battle over the problem of bringing in cheap farm labor from Mexico. Principal events in the problem, heavily charged with political, security, and economic dynamite, were:

1. An end of the agreement between the United States and Mexico in mid-January whereby thousands of legal Mexicans were brought into this country to work on farms, ranches, fields, and orchards of the South, Southwest, and West.

2. Action by the United States Government to bring in cheap Mexican labor in the face of growing unemployment.

3. Shocking revelations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that more than 100 Communists a day are coming across the sparsely patrolled border.

4. Blasts by the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and others, including the International Brotherhood of Teamsters revealing shameful conditions in farm labor which threaten job security, wage, and working conditions and comprise serious menaces to health and safety in the areas affected. Labor groups made concrete proposals to Congress on ways and means of coping with the wetback situation.

5. Efforts by the Department of Labor in support of a congressional resolution which would allow unilateral (one-way) action in recruiting labor.

6. Continued pressure by large farmers, ranchers, and growers associations for cheap labor.

The United States and Mexico have had an agreement whereby needed imported labor would be recruited jointly. The agreement also contained certain guaranties of wages and conditions. On January 15, 1954, this agreement expired. Mexico refused to renew unless the pact provided for minimum guaranties of wages and conditions of work. Since the expiration of the agreement the Department of Labor through its field force has been recruiting at the border farm labor. Charges were made last month before the House Agriculture Committee that the Labor Department has been engaged in hiring wetbacks—some who had come into the country illegally and have been picked up by Labor Department field forces and turned over to large growers. A spirit of irresponsibility was charged against Government departments in their handling of the Mexican labor problems.

Evidence was also submitted to the committee that the need for imported farm help is greatly exaggerated—a "prefabricated dilemma" one witness called it. An American Federation of Labor representative, Walter J. Mason, of the legislative department of the Federation, warned the committee that there "is not the slightest shred of evidence that emergency action of the kind that has already been taken is needed. There is no urgent immediate demand for recruitment of workers from Mexico. On the contrary, the available facts indicate that there is already a considerable amount of unemployment in the border States and it is likely to increase in the coming months; unemployment in California was already near the 200,000 level in mid-January."

The bill of particulars recited by Mason and Ernesto Galarza of the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL) spelled out to the committee the shocking story of the large corporate interests combined with the political pressure groups including Members of Congress and the Government agencies, especially the Department of Labor into a cabal of evil which is perpetuating and making a serious condition worse by the year.

So intense has become the hiring of Mexicans, both legals and illegals, that American farm labor is being displaced and is moving out of some of the areas of the Southwest. A witness said that the Imperial Valley has lost well over 50 percent of its resident labor force since 1948. This exodus was described as a flight of people who can find no work in their community or who are offered work on such low terms that they cannot rear a family or maintain an approximately American standard of living. "The flight of labor and the transition to mass hiring of Mexicans may create a situation," the committee was told, where "at some not too distant date the bulk of farm labor supply will be from outside United States territorial limits and will be subject to contingencies we may not always be able to foresee and control."

An easy avenue of entry is provided by the inadequately patrolled border for Communists from Mexico, Guatemala, Dutch Guiana, and other countries, the Immigration and Naturalization Service warned the committee. The Service said that over 100 Communists (past and present) a day are coming into the United States via the "wetback" route. Another witness said "security" checks at the border take a few routine minutes with apparently no effort made to screen the incoming illegals.

The AFL recommended to the committee establishment of safeguards for American workers; establishment of hearings on the farm-help problem; preference to American workers in hiring; strict enforcement of the immigration laws. The AFL estimated that more than 2 million crossed the border illegally last year.

General President Beck, in a special statement to the committee, supported the AFL, and called for a strong twofold approach: protection of jobs and standards of American workers, and steps to end "this festering sore which gives propaganda to the open Communists * * * while it permits underground Communists to enter and leave our country under the guise of job-seeking Mexican farmhands."

Despite the recommendations before the committee from labor leaders, the group recommended approval of a joint resolution which would permit unilateral recruitment of farm labor. In the meantime labor groups were continuing their efforts to bring before the country the information on the evils and dangers of the wetback situation.

WETBACK HOUSING: FILTHY HELLHOLES OF DIRT, DISEASE, MISERY

Wetback housing is an index of the status of these illegal workers who come into the country without guaranties or protections. The photographs shown on these pages speak more eloquently than words in describing the conditions found in the wetback country of the Southwest.

A recent report of a State federation of labor said that conditions prevail today in much the same measure as they did when University of Texas investigators made on-the-spot studies, and declared "without exaggeration that almost all (shelters provided for wetbacks) are small, bare, dark, untidy, and underfurnished, and overcrowded." Some of the huts visited by the University of Texas experts are in use and have been described as "dirtier, more rundown, more dilapidated" than ever.

Lack of basic sanitary facilities results in serious health perils. Failure to have protection from the elements and even the most rudimentary comforts makes for living in a state which is scarcely above that of animals and far less than of well-cared-for livestock on the average American farm. The improvised shacks do not deserve the name "housing," and the conditions breed disease and discomfort and discontent.

CHILDREN MOST TRAGIC OF VICTIMS

One of the saddest chapters in the miserable saga of the wetbacks is found in the impact on the children of the illegal immigrant families. Children of all ages are brought in by Mexicans. Those old enough to help have to work in the fields and those too young to work too often have to shift for themselves around the unsanitary surroundings which the wetbacks call home.

Health surveys in the areas using wetbacks extensively reveal a shocking increase in the rates of tuberculosis, venereal disease and dysentery. The rate of infantile diseases, particularly diarrhea is especially high.

Children of wetbacks often start life under a serious handicap, for expectant mothers are so ill-nourished that children are brought into the world without the heritage of health and stamina children born in America deserve.

Preschool children play in filth, have unsanitary drinking water and inadequate diet. Education is a hit or miss proposition and with children of these migrants growing up without the minimum standards of either health or learning. The handicaps of environment and education are being reflected in higher disease and illiteracy rates among the wetback families.

ONE HUNDRED COMMUNISTS A DAY INVADE UNITED STATES BY WETBACK ROUTE

The 2,000-mile-long Mexican border is virtually an open gate for Communists to come into the United States. The Department of Justice has issued a sharp warning to Congress on the easy entry of aliens from the south. More than 100 Communists, present or past, a day are coming into the United States via the wetback route, says the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

So great are the pressures from large farming interests to get wetback labor that security screening on the border has virtually become a joke, according to evidence before congressional committees. One witness described seeing a group of five wetbacks processed in the border-patrol office at Calexico in exactly 7 minutes—and this processing included so-called security tests. Ordinarily security tests in other ports of entry take hours and sometimes weeks, yet wetbacks come in virtually without checks.

An increase in Communist activity in Central America, particularly in Guatemala, raises the problem of stricter security on the Mexican border for it is easy for a Guatemalan to enter the country disguised as a wetback. Once in the country, he can get on his way to carry out whatever mission the Communist Party may have cut out for him.

Why I Am a Democrat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article which appeared in the March issue of the Democratic Digest. It is a reiteration of faith which I found inspiring, and I am sure others will too.

The article follows:

WHY I AM A DEMOCRAT

(By Charles E. Limpus)

I suppose there are a great many reasons why a person belongs to a certain political party. I've heard some of them, such as, "I'm a Democrat because my Daddy was," or "I couldn't be anything else but a Republican in this Republican stronghold."

Well, none of the above reasons are the reasons why I'm a Democrat. I cannot follow family tradition for my family has been Republican ever since the Republican Party has existed. As for this section of the country (Florida), where I've spent practically all my life, being a Democratic stronghold, I could readily be a Republican if I believed in the principles of that party. Then, too, it is nice to be on the winning side but not always best. I've been on the losing side probably as often as I've been on the winning side.

The basis of my loyalty to the Democratic Party is actually twofold. First, I believe that the preservation of our system of two major parties is an excellent thing for our country and contains more good than any other political system in the world today. Secondly, I believe further that it is the duty of a good citizen to attach himself to the party which most consistently stands for the principles in which he believes.

I respect Jefferson for his fight to extend suffrage, but I certainly don't share his recorded distrust of factory workers. I think very highly of Jackson's concern for the little people but I do not subscribe to his spoils system. Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland furnish a fine tradition but it is the principles advanced by the Democratic Party during the past 40 years that made me a Democrat when I became old enough to vote thirty-odd years ago, and those it holds today which keep me a Democrat now.

There is no one who can claim that the Democratic Party has not done something in the past 20 years and I believe that most of us would further agree that those somethings that have been accomplished by the Democratic Party have brought about a greater change in government than this country has ever witnessed throughout its history.

It is my conviction that the Democratic Party blocked the rise and probable success of communism in this country by its campaign of 1932 and the carrying out of the campaign promises during the following years of its administration. Certainly, there are none among us who can forget the long breadlines of the early thirties, the millions of unemployed, the hungry and ill-clothed women and children, the open mass raids on food stores which our police forces in our larger cities were unable to prevent, mortgages on homes being foreclosed by the thousands.

No part of our economy was harder hit at that time than American agriculture. The gross farm income of 1929 of $14 billion had slipped down and down until it stood at $7 billion in 1932. Hundreds of thousands of small farmers lost their holdings completely. Violence flared in many farm communities. Milk was dumped on the highways and corn was burned for fuel. Judges who ordered foreclosures were hanged in effigy. At one time, more than a million farm families were on relief.

I submit to you that the conditions mentioned above are the very seeds from which grow a husky communism. We didn't need to fear Russian-sponsored communism in those days. We were within a few months and maybe weeks of just handing the country over to communism without any help from outside influences.

If you don't think that the political philosophy of the Democratic Party stopped communism in 1932, please tell me what did.

After several years of floundering by the party previously in office, the Democratic Party went to work in earnest in 1933 and soon put a stop to this downward spiral of bank failures, falling prices, unemployment and the loss of homes and farms by their owners, and eventually brought about a level of living that was never dreamed of even in this country a few short years before.

Such growth was based on the Democratic faith that our economy is capable of producing an ever-growing amount of the things that we all need so that everyone can achieve the American standard of living. The Democrats are for a constantly expanding economy, not one of scarcity, periodically thrown back by man-made depressions. Significantly, after World War II, when arms spending dropped 90 percent, the Democrats maintained full employment. That was the first time in United States history that a major war was not followed by a major depression.

Families and individuals were living much better at the end of the Democratic administration in 1952 than ever before in the history of our country. Twenty million more people had life insurance with private companies at the end of 1952 than in 1940. The size of the average policy had risen 60 percent during that time, and 75 percent of all families had life insurance.

In 1929, Americans saved $5.5 billion. In 1932, far from saving anything, they went into debt $2.9 billion. Last year, on the other hand, the total of savings in the savings banks of this country was $17 billion. Huge as this nest egg was, it would have been far greater had it not been for the successful fight of the Republican Party in the 80th Congress (1947–48) to throw off controls that were needed to check inflation, and the further impairing of their effectiveness since Korea. Senator WHERRY, Republic majority Senate leader of the 80th Congress, stated on February 5, 1948: "It was the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House that was responsible for ending OPA." And so it was that because of a lack of controls in the beginning of the Korean war, General Marshall estimated the loss to inflation at $7 billion in the first 6 months of that war.

Why should I not be for the political party which has worked hard to prevent such a loss as this and which had brought about individual savings as I have shown above?

At the end of 1952 our national production was tremendous. During last year we turned out $332 billion worth of goods and services. This was almost three times as much as the last year under the Republican Party in 1932, when the figure was $119 billion—and this figure of $119 billion is in terms of 1952 prices in order to allow for price changes.

We have lots of jobs, too. In 1932 there were only 39 million persons employed in the United States, with unemployment averaging around 12 million. In 1939 civilian employment was up to 46 million and last year there were 61 million jobs with less than 2 million unemployed. And we don't have to convert that figure for a person is still a person even if the dollar isn't still a dollar.

Why shouldn't I support an administration that could cause that to happen?

The Democratic Party has consistently shown itself to be for a program of full employment by (1) increasing productivity through greater productivity capacity, better research and technology, and well-trained, healthy manpower; (2) by developing and conserving our national resources; and (3) by expanding the purchasing power in the hands of all the people. I subscribe to that principle and I fully believe that it is one of the best principles to use in fighting communism. The Democratic Party has continually used it since those dark days of 1932.

I believe in the social-security system that has been developed by the Democratic Party. Even though it is not perfect in many of its parts, I believe that our economy is much safer because of it than in the years before.

It would take a $28,000 life insurance policy to match the maximum benefits that a widow and her young children may be entitled to under social security. In some States, unemployment insurance can bring as much as $30 a week to help pay the bill when a worker is out of work.

I believe in the democratic philosophy toward education as expressed a long time ago by Thomas Jefferson when he wrote on July 23, 1818, as follows: "If the condition of man is to be progressively ameliorated, as we fondly hope and believe, education is to be the chief instrument in effecting it." And I believe in this philosophy as it is today carried out in the Democratic-sponsored GI Bill of Rights. It has been the means of 2,750,000 young men getting a college education and has helped an additional 5,250,000 ex-GI's to get other types of training and education.

I believe most soundly in the democratic principle of national preparedness and the fight the Democratic Party has put up to achieve it. I believe that adequate national defense is our greatest national need and I must reject a political party which ignores the warnings of our best experts on adequate defense in order to reduce the taxes of the wealthy. I don't believe that what is good for General Motors is necessarily good for the country. I simply think it is criminal to take chances on cutting our Air Force in the days of the atomic and hydrogen bomb.

But this recent step to cut national defense has been only one of many such Republican moves throughout our history. It is a significant fact that after every one of our major wars, when the Republicans were either in power or came into power, our national defense has been cut by them and very soon we found ourselves with another war on our hands. They can be for every single item in the military budget and be for economy too. It's much easier to be a butcher than a real surgeon.

I believe, too, with the Democratic Party that international cooperation offers the best chance for world peace. I believe in NATO and the U. N. and feel that they are serving a good purpose and I think the Democratic Party is much more sincere in its support of them than the Republicans, who give lip service to them and then cut the appropriations for keeping them going.

I fully believe that the principles of public housing, social security, and aid to the farmers are quite in keeping with the teachings of Jesus Christ; and you cannot shake this conviction by making a claim that Karl Marx also believed in them. I believe in guaranteeing bank deposits. I am glad my party supported price controls because we are now discovering that all the promises made by the opposition party when they were removed is pure bologna. I believe in public power development and cheaper electricity and I have at least a mild distrust of the efforts to give TVA, Niagara Falls, etc., to the private power trust. I believe in the Democratic Party's labor policy and I don't like the Taft-Hartley law which permits revival of the labor injunction.

I think the Korean truce is a phony and I am a little ashamed that we exposed ourselves to the Red claim that they licked us there. I wonder what effect that has had and will have all over the East.

In conclusion, I am a Democrat because I can't swallow the things that the Republicans have done and what they stand for today. The fact that his own party won't support Ike when he tries to carry out the better promises he made and that he must rely on the Democratic votes for what progress he does make, is conclusive.

Navy Club of United States Advocates Restoration of Fringe Benefits to Military Personnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a resolution adopted by the Navy Club of the United States of America in executive session at Fort Wayne, Ind., on January 24, 1954, calling upon Congress to reconsider its action in connection with fringe benefits of the military services and restore them to the military personnel:

Whereas there has been action in Congress which has taken away from the military services many of its fringe benefits, such as commissary and exchange privileges; and

Whereas this action has in many cases actually reduced the living conditions of the military personnel and as a result many men who have considered the services as a career are returning to civilian status upon completion of their contract: Therefore be it

Resolved by the National Staff of the Navy Club of the United States of America assembled at Fort Wayne, Ind., this 24th day of January 1954, That the Congress be requested to reconsider its action in connection with fringe benefits of the military services and restore them to the military personnel; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be sent to the chairmen of the Armed Services Committees of the House and of the Senate.

Vocational Education Services in Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, in the American Vocational Journal, in its issue of February 1954, much of its space is devoted to a noteworthy article on unlimited opportunities for our people through vocational training in Oregon. There also appeared in the same issue two guest editorials which are worthy of consideration by all of us, one by the Honorable Paul L. Patterson, Governor of the State of Oregon, and the other by the Oregon State superintendent of public instruction, Rex Putnam.

I include these two editorials as part of these remarks:

"Preparedness," a word full of meaning in this present age and one which carries with it the challenge of meeting every demand with adequate equipment and qualified personnel. Preparedness must necessarily be a vital part of our civilian and military defense operations, but our preparedness need not be limited to these particular fields.

In the State of Oregon there has been a marked increase in population during the past few years, and at the same time there has been a noticeable increase in business and industrial activities. A need for trained workers has developed as a consequence, and a great many of our citizens, both young people and adults, have been able to qualify for these jobs because as vocational education students they were prepared to assume responsible positions in the fields of agriculture, trade, industry, homemaking, public service, and the like. This preparedness from the State level stems from the fact that since 1918 there has been a continuous program of vocational education in Oregon, and from time to time courses have been added, thus opening avenues for practical training. At the present time there are 167 local centers throughout the State and 3 vocational schools where students are availing themselves of a wide range of educational opportunities—students of today and skilled workers of tomorrow.

Vocational instruction is a very important phase of our educational program, and the results of this excellent training will have a far-reaching effect on the State as a whole as we prepare to meet even greater opportunities for service in our communities, State, and Nation.

PAUL L. PATTERSON,
Governor, State of Oregon.

Prior to the inauguration of the federally subsidized vocational education program in 1918, many school administrators were aware of the value of a vocational education program as an integral part of public secondary education. However, the constant efforts to obtain enough money to administer the academic type of program seemed to preclude the possible availability of additional funds for vocational education. The Smith-Hughes Act some 35 years ago opened the door a bit, and many school administrators took advantage of it to introduce the agriculture program in their high schools. As the years went on, more and more administrators saw the advantages to be gained for the high school youth and, at the present time, a public high school of a reasonable size that does not support a vocational education program of some kind is not considered as meeting its responsibilities completely.

The federally subsidized vocational education program in Oregon has made steady and consistent growth, and we are especially proud of the contribution it made to the country during World War II. Hundreds of thousands of men and women were given special training to take their places as skilled workers and technicans in war industries, and more thousands were trained to do specialized work in the armed forces.

Those in position to judge feel that the vocational education program in our public secondary schools has also made an incalculable contribution to the health and welfare of the State in training youth to fit into our industrial and service activities in a highly efficient manner at the close of their high school career.

At this time I also wish to pay tribute to the American Vocational Association for the splendid assistance and inspiration it has given to the growth and effectiveness of the vocational education program from the national level. Its leadership has been a tremendous force in shaping public education in our great Nation.

REX PUTNAM,
Oregon State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Administration of the Refugee Immigration Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Hon. CHAUNCEY W. REED, chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives:

I am disturbed to note that certain organized pressure groups, as well as individuals associated with more or less obviously political organizations, have initiated a campaign of accusations against the Department of State for an alleged "slowdown" in the administration of the refugee immigration program, authorized under the law enacted on August 7, 1953.

A small section of the public press has, unfortunately, joined the vociferous campaigners clamoring for a "speedup" in the admission of immigrants outside the regular quota system

It has also been brought to the attention of our committee that the Administrator of the special immigration program is being pressed to have collective or group movements initiated, or even individual visas issued faster than the aliens can be screened for security or before a check is made in this country in order to ascertain whether employment and housing is actually available for the new immigrant and his family without displacing American citizens.

I wish to state that should the present campaign succeed and should the Administrator succumb to pressures brought upon him from certain sources—well known to our Committee, I might add—the intent of Congress expressed in the enactment of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 would be misconstrued and, indeed, the law itself violated.

Speaking in behalf of those Members of the House of Representatives who have drafted, amended, reported to the House,

and secured final passage of the 1953 law, I wish to stress that while attempting to provide a haven for refugees and to offer new opportunities for economically handicapped Europeans, we have made the welfare and the security of the American citizens the paramount, overriding consideration in writing that statute.

We intend to see to it that no inconsiderate dumping of immigrants into crowded metropolitan areas is done under the so-called blanket assurances of employment and housing, assurances which, in fact, do not assure anything and therefore have been outlawed by the 1953 act.

We also intend to see to it that no security screening and other necessary checks and verifications be dispensed with for the sake of a speedup of admissions.

I am certain that the Department of State will remain mindful of the injunction contained in the unanimously agreed to statement included in the conference report recommending to the House and to the Senate the final enactment of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. This is what the conferees said:

"The conferees desire further to stress that this legislation constitutes in no way a mandate to issue, within the prescribed period of time, the full number of visas allocated under this legislation. These are, in each case, maximum limitations, not quotas to be filled. It is to be clearly understood that this bill offers opportunities to enter the United States to a certain number of eligible aliens but that no special effort should be made to evade any of the provisions of this act or of the Immigration and Nationality Act in order to bring in such number or any number. Similarly, it is the unanimous consensus of the conferees that no efforts should be made to induce aliens to seek entry."

We do want aliens eligible under the law to come to this country, but not under any speedup program which would be in clear violation of the law and to the detriment of our citizens.

Jim Farley's Appointment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Syracuse (N. Y.) Herald Journal:

JIM FARLEY'S APPOINTMENT

There will undoubtedly be a lifting of eyebrows among the intelligentsia over President Eisenhower's appointment of former Postmaster General James A. Farley to serve with former President Hoover as a public member of the new Commission on Government Reforms.

But to us this appointment seems wholly justified. Jim Farley is a politician, yes. But he is a great deal more than just a politician. He is an exceptionally able man with broad experience in public life and business. If any man in America knows his way around, that man is Jim Farley.

Beyond this, Jim Farley is an honest patriot, genuinely interested in his country's progress. In all his public service, there has never been a suggestion that his conduct was in any way dishonorable. His record couldn't be cleaner. He didn't quit as postmaster general because there was anything against him but because he opposed a third term.

Syracusans may recall that after the first Hoover Commission reported, Jim Farley came to Syracuse and made a public address urging adoption of the commission's recommendations.

This time he is going to participate in making the recommendations.

Evidently the President and Mr. Hoover wanted a practical politician who had been through the mill and couldn't be bamboozled by the sharpshooters of either party. Yet at the same time they wanted a man of incorruptible honor who could be depended upon to put the country's interests above all other considerations.

That was a large order. But in Jim Farley, they've got their man.

Safety Record of York, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES P. RICHARDS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to call to the attention of the House the outstanding highway safety record of the town of York, Fifth Congressional District, South Carolina.

York has received nationwide publicity in view of the fact that for 1,000 days there was not a traffic fatality in the town. Under the inspiration and leadership of Mayor Raymond H. Tyler and Chief of Police W. T. Ivey, the citizens of York formed in 1950 a pedestrian safety council, said to be the only one of its kind in the United States. Since that time there has been no pedestrian fatality in York.

In view of the effectiveness of this program, Mayor Tyler and Chief Ivey have been honored by a request to participate in the White House Conference on Highway Safety which met here last week. Mayor Tyler delivered the following splendid address at the conference:

SPEECH ON YORK SAFETY PROGRAM DELIVERED BY RAYMOND H. TYLER, MAYOR, YORK, S. C., BEFORE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON HIGHWAY SAFETY, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 19, 1954

While I take much personal pride in participating in this White House Conference on Highway Safety, I am prouder of the great honor accorded my city as exemplified by this recognition of our safety work.

York, S. C., is a fine place in which to work and to live. It is the county seat of York County, an industrial-agricultural center with traditions deeply rooted in the past but always with an eye to the future.

Should there be doubting Thomases, I would refer them to the York Chamber of Commerce, post office box 97, York, S. C.

I have been asked to tell how our local safety organization supports our police department and safety program.

We have no secret formulas for safety, unless you call hard work a secret formula.

Mr. Ralph Thomas, president, American Automobile Association, tells us that we have the only pedestrian safety council in the United States.

How did York acquire a pedesterian safety council? In 1950, I was elected mayor of York on the promise of better law enforcement. City council cooperated with me in selecting a chief of police who was qualified to do the kind of job we wanted. Our choice was W. T. Ivey who already had attained recognition in the safety field, and who enjoyed a reputation for energy, firmness, and fairness in law enforcement.

No matter how well qualified the chief of police may be, he cannot do the job alone. Law enforcement and safety is a community project. Two things are essential: (1) Community support; and (2) convictions in court upon sufficient evidence of guilt.

Community support requires more than wishful thinking on the part of city officials. It requires extensive public education. In October 1950, I appointed a five-member pedestrian safety council at the request of the chief of police. We selected people in our city who were interested in civic improvement; the local manager of the power company, a superintendent of a textile plant, two retail merchants, and one of the owners of several mills. These men, working closely with the chief of police, began an intensive, and at the same time extensive, campaign for citizen education and support.

The second essential point, which was conviction in court, presented no problem. As mayor, I am charged with the duty and responsibility of serving as judge of the city court. Records in the York Police Department will show convictions in better than 95 percent of the cases. These convictions were based upon sufficient legal evidence presented in court by the police officers.

The York Pedestrian Safety Council recognized from the beginning that most people generally regard safety as a dull, uninteresting subject. It was desirable to add a dash of color and to attempt to give the subject an interesting personality.

The chairman of our pedestrian safety council and the chief of police were members of the York Rotary Club. They convinced the club that a safety committee should be organized. The pedestrian safety council chairman was elected chairman of the Rotary Club committee to coordinate the activities of both organizations. Other civic clubs were soon drawn in to help. These clubs are a definite part of our program. They support it. They contribute money to it.

Within a few months, city officials, civic clubs, schools, churches, and citizens were working together as a team, thanks largely to the groundwork and foresight of the pedestrian safety council.

After the initial contacts were made to obtain the support of various organizations and individuals, the pedestrian safety council met with the chief of police at regular intervals to plan safety activities. In the beginning the council had no funds for their work. At my suggestion, the chairman appeared at a city council meeting to request $100 for the safety program. The appropriation was made immediately. Since its inception, the pedestrian safety council has made two requests for funds from the city—the total amount being $300. During the approximate 3 years of its existence, the pedestrian safety council has had a total of $1,005.45 to finance its activities. No additional sum has been needed since there is on hand a balance of $75.58. It is the philosophy of the safety council that money should not be spent for the sake of spending; that energy and activity will do most of the job.

To show you that we have a community project, approximately two-thirds of the pedestrian safety council's funds have come from our two local banks, our textile plants, a trucking company, private citizens, both Negro and white, and sponsorship of baseball games. I might add in passing that we have no more loyal supporters than some of our Negro citizens.

To give you some indication of the scope of activity of our Pedestrian Safety Council, let me point out some of their more notable achievements. Some of these may be attributed to the Pedestrian Safety Council, others to the chief of police, and still others to both. It is my intention to state them for your consideration without reference to their direct source.

Both Negro and white schools in York are provided with dual-control cars for driver training. We believe our youngsters should be taught safe and sane driving practices. York school officials have made this part of the curriculum and they have provided competent instructors.

School safety patrols are selected by the principal of each school. Chief Ivey gives adequate instructions on the do's and don'ts of safety patrol work. Constant vigilance is maintained by the chief of police and his officers. During the school year 1952–53, the York Police Department and the school safety patrols handled more than 4,000 school children per day with no child involved in any accident as driver, pedestrian, or passenger.

An accident prevention car is equipped with radio, first-aid kit, camera, special lights, and public address system for pedestrian traffic control.

Athletic events with large numbers of cars and pedestrians are efficiently handled. There is ample room for off-street parking of more than 4,000 cars.

In our shopping and business district we have facilities for off-street parking for more than 500 cars.

When a child in our city reaches school age, the police department sends a letter to the parents requesting they train the child in safe walking habits. This letter is followed by a visit to the home by a police officer who points out on a city map the best and safest route for the child to follow to and from school.

The police department keeps close check on the maternity ward at the hospital. Upon the birth of a child, the mother receives a letter while in the hospital congratulating her and asking that the child be properly supervised at all times when outdoors to prevent accident and injury. Playground supervision is maintained during summer months to help our children develop in the proper direction and to keep them off streets and out of danger.

A recent development of our program includes a printed card listing instructions that should be given to babysitters. A space is left for the doctor's name and telephone number and the place where the parents may be reached if needed. The police department and fire department numbers are listed.

Our police officers carry courtesy cards to be given to visitors. The visitor is welcomed to York; he is given some interesting facts about our city; he is permitted to park without charge as long as he wishes; and, he is asked to cooperate with our city by walking and driving safely. I have had letters from out-of-State visitors expressing their appreciation for this unusual treatment. We like to have people like us. The York Chamber of Commerce bears the expense of printing courtesy cards.

The junior chamber of commerce sees to it that safety slogans are stenciled on sidewalks at intersections. A good many of our safety slogans come from our annual safety slogan contest for boys and girls of school age. There are four winners who each receive a new bicycle; 1 white boy and 1 Negro boy; 1 white girl and 1 Negro girl. Business and industry donate the bicycles.

The office of the York County probate judge is in York. The probate judge issues marriage licenses and performs the marriage ceremony for hundreds of couples each year. Immediately following the ceremony, the probate judge gives each couple a card from our city which congratulates them on their marriage. They are admonished to drive carefully and keep their wedding day a happy memory.

Church weddings, funerals, and other activities are occasions for traffic accidents. Ministers and church officials have formed the habit of notifying our police department in advance of these activities. Plans for efficient and courteous handling of traffic are carefully devised and the proper church officials are informed of each step in such plans.

The South Carolina State Highway Department is known for its excellence in highway matters. Our city is fortunate to receive advice and engineering service from the highway department for better traffic control and reduction of the accident rate. Our city council has adopted the Uniform Traffic Act and our police department works closely with the State highway patrol. We have made our city court available to the highway patrol for speedy trial of traffic-law violators.

Traffic ordinances are printed and distributed to every home in our city. The Boy Scout troop is most helpful in distributing these and other matter. Last year, more than 600,000 pieces of safety literature were distributed in York with the Boy Scouts being responsible for a large part of the total. Only a small part of this literature was paid for by the city. Many insurance companies as well as other agencies provide literature for distribution. All you need do is ask for it.

A local insurance company provides mirrors with safety slogans for all public restrooms. Safety slogan calendars are placed in barbershops and other businesses. All city mail and most business firms' mail are stamped with safety slogans.

It is the practice of our police department to investigate all accidents regardless of the amount of damage. Full records, photographs, and other data are kept in permanent files.

York is served by a weekly newspaper and numerous dailies from other cities. The pedestrian safety council has the cooperation of the newspapers. Last year, the safety activities of the York Police Department and the York Pedestrian Safety Council received in excess of 12,000 inches of newspaper space. None of this was paid advertising.

In 1949, York had 157 accidents.

In 1953, York had 35 accidents. Out of 35 accidents, only 1 involved both drivers who lived in York. Fourteen York drivers were involved with out-of-town drivers. Twenty accidents occurred with both drivers being nonresidents.

To facilitate the handling of traffic cases and to give every opportunity to persons charged with violations to present their cases in court, I have established a traffic court separate from the criminal court.

The York Pedestrian Safety Council recognizes that death takes no holiday; that safety for our citizens must come as the result of hard work and education 24 hours a day. An effective safety program cannot be maintained on a 40-hour week.

We are now engaged in developing a kit for the use of other cities and communities which will be called the York safety plan. This kit will contain materials, ideas, and experiences we have had in York. Anyone wishing one of these kits may write to the York Police Department or the York Pedestrian Safety Council, York, S. C. We hope to have the kit available within the next few weeks. It is the belief of our safety council that we have a workable, inexpensive plan for citizen safety. We hope it will be of value to others.

If this program seems easy—do not be misled. It has its thorns among its roses. There are some who disparage our efforts and call us publicity hounds. The publicizing of a safety program is necessary. People must be educated through every available medium. A book could be written but no one would read it. Nearly every one reads newspapers. It is mainly through constant bombardment of the citizen with pamphlets, news stories, and announcements that cause him to acquire safe driving and walking habits.

We will continue our bombardment.

Atomic Armaments Race

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of an interview by the editors of U. S. News & World Report, published in its edition of August 21, 1953:

WE ARE LEADING THE WORLD IN ATOMIC DEVELOPMENT—INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE W. STERLING COLE, CHAIRMAN, SENATE-HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—How does the United States rank in the race for atomic energy? Is Russia making headway? Does she have the H-bomb, or even the A-bomb? When will industry start using the atom? These and other questions relating to atomic energy and its future are discussed in the interview that follows. Answers are supplied by Representative W. STERLING COLE, who is chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of Congress. Mr. COLE was interviewed by editors of U. S. News & World Report in their conference rooms. W. STERLING COLE, a lawyer who is serving his 10th successive term in Congress, is in a position to speak with authority on atomic development. The committee he heads is required by law to receive full reports on the subject from the Government's Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. COLE, a Republican, makes his home at Bath, N. Y. He is a graduate of Colgate University and Albany Law School. In Congress, he represents New York's 37th District, made up of four counties.)

Question. From the information you have, Mr. COLE, would you think we are leading the world in atomic development?

Answer. We are. There's no question about it. This applies not only to the production of fissionable material and weapons, but to industrial applications of atomic energy as well.

Question. How many years ahead of the rest of the world do you think we are?

Answer. I'm not sure I can really answer that. I'm a layman, and I lack the competence to give you such an estimate. In addition, atomic science has developed so amazingly in the last 10 years that anybody would be foolish to lay down hard and fast rules about its future.

Question. Do we have enough fissionable material for all the uses we have for it?

Answer. I can't say that we have enough of it. This is a field where new uses are constantly being discovered, and greater needs therefore develop.

Question. Is the supply of raw materials limiting the output of our atomic plants or weapons establishments?

Answer. We now have a vast expansion program in production plants under way, and we'll need all the raw materials we can get. But I don't think raw materials will be a bottleneck.

I think we should remember one thing about so-called fissionable materials—which we use to make an explosion in an atom bomb. These now are primarily used for national security—they go into atomic weapons. But any fissionable material which is used in weapons today can be used as fuel in atomic reactors tomorrow. After we develop the right kinds of atomic furnaces, these materials can be used to run factory engines and furnish electricity for our homes. To me, this means that in manufacturing fissionable materials we're converting our dollars into the modern equivalent of gold. We're spending the public's money for a material which has a double purpose—defense uses and peacetime uses.

Question. And sooner or later you are going to be able to create new material from that material?

Answer. I suppose you are thinking about what we call breeding. Yes; this is on the horizon.

Question. So we are not wasting any of our money in the meantime by putting fissionable material into weapons?

Answer. No; we're simply putting it in the bank of national security.

Question. Does that apply to H-bombs?

Answer. What is that?

Question. I mean the ability to put this stuff into H-bombs and let it sit there. I thought that an H-bomb dissipates itself——

Answer. When you use the term "H-bomb," I suppose you mean the principle of fusion of atoms, rather than the splitting of atoms. If I talk about the H-bomb, I am talking about a concept. I can't talk about a weapon, or established fact. I'm simply not in a position to discuss an H-bomb.

Question. Can you say that we have exploded one?

Answer. I'm afraid I can't say anything at all on this business. At the beginning of 1950, President Truman announced that we would proceed with our hydrogen-bomb program. The Atomic Energy Commission has publicly stated that tests held at Eniwetok in the spring of 1951 and the fall of last year were related to the thermonuclear program. I just can't go into more details than this.

Question. What is the difference between the H-bomb and the atom bomb, the A-bomb?

Answer. Mind you, I'm not a scientist, but I do think I understand the rudiments of it. An A-bomb employs very heavy elements—uranium 235 or plutonium. When a sufficient quantity of such elements are put together, we have a chain reaction. They split, and terrific energy is released in the process. That's an A-bomb.

With an H-bomb, it would be just the opposite. Instead of splitting heavy atoms we would make light elements come together, or fuse. And tremendous energy is released in this fusion process.

Question. You split the atoms first, and then fuse them?

Answer. Well, we need terrific heat to fuse atoms, and there is only one source of such heat on this earth—the heat released in an atomic explosion. One possible way to fuse atoms, then, would be to use an atomic weapon to generate the heat we need to fuse the light elements.

Question. Mr. COLE, what is your impression of the Malenkov statement about Russia's having an H-bomb?

Answer. There is no doubt whatsoever that she has the A-bomb. If the same people who told us she had the A-bomb—American scientists and public officials whose judgment and knowledge can be relied on—told us that Russia also has the H-bomb, I would be inclined to accept that fact. But I've had nothing to confirm Malenkov's claim. Incidentally, Beria was in charge of their A-bomb program and presumably also their hydrogen work. If their H-bomb program is as good as Malenkov claims, I think Mr. Beria has gotten very poor payment for his efforts. As a matter of national policy, I don't think we can operate very well on a Beria weather vane, however. I think we have to assume that the Soviets have been successful in developing an H-bomb—to assume otherwise would be foolhardy.

Question. Could you give us the reasons why you have reached the conclusion that there is no doubt that Russia has the A-bomb? Our methods of detection have been questioned at times. Could you tell us anything?

Answer. I don't think it would be appropriate for me to discuss the precise means by which we have decided that Russia has the A-bomb, and by which we have identified their three explosions. However, when an A-bomb goes off, it's only a matter of time before some of the radioactive debris is spread all over the world.

Question. We do know through both military and scientific methods, do we?

Answer. We know, through methods which are sufficient to establish beyond any question the fact, that the Soviets have atomic bombs.

Question. Could they not have set off an atomic explosion rather than have the atomic bomb?

Answer. If you can do one, you can do the other with no real trouble. If you can set off an atomic explosion, it's just a matter of simple engineering to manufacture a weapon which can be transported by air.

Question. If you set off an explosion, would it mean that you also knew how to control the materials? If they have the physical knowledge to set off the explosion, does it necessarily follow they have the engineering knowledge to make the proper use of it?

Answer. Yes. That very much follows. Let's not underrate the Soviets. They have had German scientists working in their atomic program, they have had their own scientists, and, as we all know, they have had active help from within our own program. The Fuchses and Rosenbergs and the Alan Nunn Mays have all helped them along.

NO DOUBTS OF RUSSIA'S A-BOMB

Question. Of course, you get your information from the Atomic Energy Commission, and you don't find anyone in the Commission who has any doubts about the Russians' having the atomic bomb?

Answer. Our sources of information are the Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and the President. No one has given us any reason to doubt that Russia has the A-bomb. In fact, they have given us positive proof that she does.

Question. Does it take a tremendous effort and expenditure of money to produce the H-bomb after the A-bomb?

Answer. I can assure you that H-bombs won't grow on trees.

Question. Isn't it possible that there might be many ways of producing an H-bomb, and might not the Soviets have discovered theories that have not occurred to us?

Answer. I suppose this could be so, but I am prayerful that it is not.

Question. Now you say you have no knowledge of the fact that there has been a Russian H-bomb explosion. If there had been one, wouldn't you know about it?

Answer. The Atomic Energy Commission is legally obliged to keep the joint committee informed on what is happening in atomic energy, and I said that we had not been notified of any happening such as you mention.

Question. But isn't it true that the Russians might have exploded the bomb a week ago and the Commission itself have no evidence of it?

Answer. I think not. We have detected atomic tests held in Nevada within 2 or 3 days at points in New York.

Question. Could these scientific air samples detect any difference between an ordinary A-bomb explosion and the A-bomb explosion necessary to trigger the H-bomb?

Answer. Scientists claim that it is possible to tell the difference.

Question. It's a major industrial task to keep ahead of the atomic race, and we've put our industrial facilities and know-how and our best scientific brains to work. Since we are the greater industrial power, wouldn't it seem just natural that we are probably ahead of the Russians?

Answer. I'm very confident that we're ahead in the general atomic-energy field. We have a bigger and more efficient industry; I think we have better sources of raw materials; and I believe our scientific brain power is also better.

Question. Do you think that Russia's supply of uranium is a limiting factor on her operations?

Answer. Judging from the feverish efforts she's making to mine uranium ore in Czechoslovakia by slave laborers who swing a pick with a soldier pointing a gun at their backs, I don't think she has uranium available for the asking.

Question. We have sources in Africa, in Canada, and in our own country, haven't we?

Answer. Yes; we've gotten a great deal of material from the Belgian Congo, Canada, and the Colorado plateau region. And now we are beginning to get it from South Africa, where, curiously enough, it is one of the waste products of the gold mines up in the Rand. The South Africans are now discovering that the stuff they had been throwing away for years is valuable as a source of uranium, and they are now processing mounds of it. There are also promising new finds of uranium in Australia and Canada, and we're steadily increasing the output from the Rocky Mountain region in our own country.

Question. So we get uranium from around the world, whereas Russia has a narrower source?

Answer. It would seem so. But, remember, the Kremlin now controls one-third of the world's land area, and, as we are now coming to know, uranium is where you find it. I wouldn't sell the Soviets short on raw materials.

OTHER NATIONS IN ATOMIC RACE

Question. Excluding the United States and Russia, what other countries are seriously engaged in atomic development—I mean going beyond the talking stage?

Answer. Canada has made a great deal of progress and so has Britain. The British have an atomic reactor for producing electric power under construction.

Question. Britain has had an atomic explosion, hasn't she?

Answer. Indeed she has. It was last fall, and she has announced that another test has been scheduled.

Question. Do any of these countries have an atomic pile—a reactor, that is?

Answer. Oh, yes. The British, the Canadians, the French, and the Norwegians all have atomic reactors, but only the British have made a weapon.

Question. Are any of these countries ahead of us in any respect?

Answer. Certainly not in over-all terms. Here and there, they have probably learned some things we could put to good use.

Question. Are any of them working on an H-bomb?

Answer. I just don't know.

Question. But they need the A-bomb first?

Answer. Britain has the A-bomb.

Question. If Russia has these bombs, doesn't that add to our civil-defense prob-

lems? Shouldn't we be paying more attention to this?

Answer. To my way of thinking, all this talk about H-bombs only underscores an already existing need for civil defense. We know for a fact that Russia has the A-bomb, and that in itself should be sufficient incentive to make us put our civil-defense house in order. Of course, H-bombs would be much more destructive, but—as far as wrecking our cities is concerned—it doesn't make much difference whether the Kremlin would use one H-bomb or several A-bombs.

DEVASTATION BY H-BOMB

Question. How much more destructive would an H-bomb be?

Answer. That is another one of the matters I can't talk about, but some people have said it would be thousands of times more powerful than the Hiroshima-type A-bomb. And that Hiroshima one—the one we now call Model T, and obsolete—was estimated as having the destructive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. That's a whale of a lot of damage in any man's book. And now Malenkov claims the Kremlin has the H-bomb—well, it's terrible to speculate on what those could do if dropped on our cities.

Question. On the basis of your knowledge of what Russia does have, are we devoting enough attention and enough money to civil defense? Or is the alternative of a deterrent force more effective?

Answer. Our civil-defense program today is in a lot better shape than it was 2 years ago, and 2 years from now it will be in still better shape. We have firstrate people working in this program, and their job is vitally important.

But at the same time, I wouldn't want to put all our defensive eggs into the civil-defense basket. We can't think of defense against enemy attack as simply a passive, storm-shelter kind of defense. I am afraid that some people—all too many—think of defense along this kind of line—that is, wait until you see the other fellow swinging and then run for your shelters.

The point is that we have to supplement civil defense with other kinds of defensive preparations. For one thing, we must maintain and increase our atomic lead, and keep up our ability to strike a terrible counterblow against any aggressor who attempted an atomic Pearl Harbor. This will make him think twice before he undertakes it.

For another thing, I think we have to build a much more far-reaching and effective system of defenses in depth against atomic attack from the air and the seas. I'm thinking here of measures which would give us warning of attack while the enemy was still hundreds of thousands of miles from our shores, so that we could have a real chance to intercept him before he reached our cities.

In other words, this isn't an either-or proposition. We need good civil defense plus good continental defenses plus a high level of offensive striking power.

Question. Isn't there another defense in letting the other fellow know of your superior power—and that he might be blown up?

Answer. Well, that's part of it, of course. If Malenkov doesn't know now, he'd better make up his mind to the fact that a Soviet atomic attack would meet with a terrible answer on our part. But it isn't as easy as that. I would go home tonight and sleep much more comfortably if I were sure I could convince Malenkov to stay at home and behave himself just by telling him that I've got many more bombs than he has.

Question. Don't you think that influences his mind a little?

Answer. I hope it does.

Question. Well, the value of that kind of defense depends on who is telling him the facts and whether he is willing to believe his sources—

Answer. Yes, that's the problem. I think history shows that whenever a dictator makes up his mind to wage war, he tends to believe exactly what he wants to believe, and he treats as untrue any unpleasant information which might discourage him.

Question. Do you think we should embark upon a great program comparable in scope to the atomic program itself—in order to get us a good defense and better methods of detecting enemy planes?

Answer. Certainly the consequences of any failure to get early warning of any enemy planes would be so serious as to justify a greater effort to improve our perimeter defenses.

PROBLEM OF AERIAL DEFENSES

Question. How do you think we now stand in regard to these aerial defenses?

Answer. I'm certainly not happy with it, but at the same time, we have to recognize the fact that the dollars in the public treasury aren't unlimited—there is a bottom to that barrel, too. What we have to do is make our defense dollar go as far as possible, and use it in such a way that we get the best balanced program for national security.

The people in the Pentagon know about the importance of this kind of a perimeter defense, but they also have the responsibility of keeping up our retaliatory striking power, so that we can carry the war to the other fellow in the event of an emergency. Again, it is a question of balance.

Question. Of the three methods of defense—and they call them that—early detection, retaliation, and civil defense, do you regard early detection as most hopeful?

Answer. I just wouldn't want to rank them 1, 2, and 3. But certainly—assuming that we have sufficient civil-defense preparedness and the greatest possible capacity for devastating retaliation—early detection is tremendously important.

Question. Which is more vulnerable, Russia or we?

Answer. In one sense, I suppose we are.

Question. Because we are more concentrated and have more highly developed industry?

Answer. Yes. But at the same time, we are less vulnerable in that we have many industrial centers for every one of Russia's. Our steel industry, for example, is spread all over the country, whereas Russia's is concentrated in a few locations.

Question. Is there anything in sight that you know of in the way of, say, missiles or some other atomic devices that might be the future answers to stopping all atomic attacks on this country?

Answer. I suppose there might now be such an answer in some scientist's brain or dreams. But as far as the here and now is concerned, I don't see any such 100 percent defense system on the horizon—although the guided missiles we now have under development and in production will do a great deal to ease our defense problem.

Question. Are there missiles in production?

Answer. Yes; there are. There's a long way to go in this field, but we've already made remarkable progress in developing guided missiles which will be very effective against aerial attack.

Question. We're going to be spending a great deal of money for a long time on this program, then, aren't we?

Answer. I don't see any other way out. So long as we have this tremendous threat from the Communist-ruled countries, I think we have to resign ourselves to pouring a great part of our national wealth into our defenses.

Question. Couldn't we get together on it and make some kind of agreement?

Answer. Well, I suppose we could get together and make some sort of paper agreement—but we should have learned by now that paper agreements are worthless when we're dealing with evil men. They're meaningless, unless they're backed up by force.

Question. Aren't they reviving the idea of some kind of control over weapons?

Answer. Yes; but you have to do more than sign on the dotted line to have control that's really effective. You need constant policing and inspection of the other fellow's military establishment.

WHAT PUBLIC SHOULD KNOW

Question. Do you think it's time to let the public in on a little more information on atomic energy? In other words, should we announce the size of our stockpile?

Answer. Everybody will agree—and I think this even includes the military—that the public should be more fully informed than they now are about any subject—and this includes atomic energy. The argument comes when you get down to cases and try to specify exactly what you're talking about. I don't think, for instance, that it's necessary for the public to know the size of our atomic stockpile. This figure doesn't mean much unless you know a great deal about the various types of weapons we have, and especially the way we would deliver them against enemy targets—and that means detailed war plans. So I don't see where knowledge of the size of our stockpile is important to the public.

I think it is important, however, that the public be assured that we are producing atomic materials as rapidly and as efficiently and as economically as we can. And that's one of the things our joint committee does. We try to make sure that this is so.

Question. Hasn't the argument been made that the Russians should know more about what we have in our stockpile, so that it will serve as a deterrent to them?

Answer. I think the Russians may already be in a position to make a very rough estimate of the size of our stockpile.

Question. You don't feel that the public is being misled in any important degree about our atomic program?

Answer. No; I don't think so at all.

LETTING PEOPLE SIZE UP HAZARDS

Question. Isn't it more important for somebody to determine whether we are making the most progress we can in this field, and doesn't that perhaps involve more exchange of information with some of our allies? Isn't that possibly at the bottom of this whole agitation for more information?

Answer. I doubt if that is at the bottom of it. I think there is an honest belief that people should be given more information. Now, there is one specific field in which I think this makes sense, and serves a real common-defense purpose. I am thinking here about releasing more data concerning the destructive force—the energy capacity—of our nuclear weapons. Up to now, all our public information has been in terms of the so-called conventional atomic weapons—the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. These were terrible weapons in their own right, but today we have in our stockpile atomic weapons of considerably greater destructive force.

I don't at all see where it would jeopardize our national security to tell the public, if it is a fact, that we have weapons which give, say, 50,000 tons of TNT equivalent or 100,000 tons, or that we have other smaller weapons which give, say, 10,000 tons. It seems to me that knowing such information would help the public do a better job of sizing up the hazards we'll be facing in case of atomic attack. And I don't see how such information would particularly help the Russians.

Question. Senator WILEY's example was pretty vivid the other day: He said that if the H-bomb exploded in Chicago it would destroy Milwaukee, 90 miles away.

Answer. If you want to assume that an H-bomb has a destructive radius of 100 miles, then the Senator's arithmetic is quite correct.

Question. It—an H-bomb—has to be dropped from a very great height, doesn't it, to destroy a vast area?

Answer. Well—and of course this also goes for A-bombs—the altitude of the explosion does have a bearing on the size of the area destroyed.

Question. Since the Russians may be able to figure out a rough estimate of our stockpile, I wonder if you could explain how they might go about doing that?

Answer. Well, Russia has exploded her own atomic bombs, so she knows how much material it takes to make at least one type of weapon. And if they couple this figure with their estimates of the amount of raw uranium we take in, they might be able to make a rough prediction of our overall capacity, based on Soviet weapon design.

Question. Wouldn't she have to know the amount of uranium we consumed? She has no way of knowing whether we stockpile the uranium or put it into bombs.

Answer. I am not saying that she could come up with a good estimate of our stockpile. My point is simply that she has several peg points on which to hang a guess.

Question. With reference to Russian estimates of what we have, there have been startling disclosures in the past as to what the Russians really did know about what was going on and about how they found it all out. Do you feel more confident that we have things more under control in that respect? Is espionage less effective?

Answer. I don't think any of us should ever feel complete confidence where espionage is concerned. We've got to keep up our guard constantly. However, I have no indication whatsoever that our atomic plants are not being operated by reliable people.

Question. The Russians probably have the secrets, don't they?

Answer. Well, the Soviets have made atomic bombs—and that's what really counts. As to how much they know about our own processes, I would hope that we still have quite a few tricks up our sleeve.

TENS OF THOUSANDS OF SECRETS

Question. Aren't know-how on production and the ability to produce really more important than the secret of how it is done?

Answer. I think so. And of course there isn't just one secret—the secret—in this field. It requires knowledge of literally tens of thousands of items of information to construct an atom bomb. Certainly, however, it makes no sense to reveal any facts that will make the job of our rivals easier.

Question. You mentioned that plutonium that is made in reactors could be used as a future source of energy in addition to being used for a bomb. Apparently private business is hesitant to get into atomic energy until it is assured that the Government will buy the plutonium. What use is there for plutonium, other than for the bomb?

Answer. Plutonium could also provide fuel for atomic-driven planes, ships, and other types of energy-producing reactors.

Question. This is going to go on expanding, isn't it? We are going to have more and more weapons?

Answer. We are going to have more and more of the fissionable materials which can be used either to make weapons or to furnish the fuel for peacetime power-producing reactors.

Question. But if private companies say they can't go into atomic energy unless the Government will buy the plutonium, doesn't there seem to be a limited market for it?

Answer. My own guess—and I think it is more than a guess—is that we can profitably use all the plutonium we can manufacture. At the same time, I can understand the hesitancy of the industrial study groups which have looked into the possibility of nuclear power and which have decided that, for the time being, they need a Government guaranty to buy the plutonium which could be produced as a byproduct of power. They're responsible to their stockholders, and if they're to invest millions of dollars they need a reasonable prospect of not going broke. Personally, I can see nothing improper or contrary to our historic practice in a Government guaranty to purchase plutonium.

PLUTONIUM: PERMANENT ASSET

Question. What could the Government do with the plutonium?

Answer. It can use it in atomic weapons; it can use it to generate power in Government powerplants, or it can sell or lease it back to industry for use in powerplants some day. This isn't a material that decays. It will be as good a hundred years from now as it is today. Even if the Government didn't do any more than dig a hole in the ground and bury it, the public would still benefit through new sources of power in the future.

Question. We've been talking here about plutonium. Exactly what is it?

Answer. It is a manmade material that is manufactured from uranium during the fission process in an atomic reactor.

Question. It is what they use in the bomb?

Answer. Yes, that is one of its uses.

Question. Your committee has recently concluded a long series of hearings on the development of atomic power. Did any of the witnesses from industry indicate that they had plans to go ahead with building experimental plants for atomic-power development?

Answer. They all indicated that they had plans of some sort along this line, but some were more ambitious than others—some of these plans are nearer the point of ready to go.

There was one company which said it was ready to get started, provided that the law was adjusted so that it would be legal for a private company to own fissionable material, to build a reactor, to sell the byproducts, and to own patents.

Question. Is there anything new in peacetime uses? Is there any revision on the timetable, for example, as to when we might be generating power?

Answer. No; I'm not aware of any such revision. On the basis of the atomic-power hearings the Joint Committee has just concluded, I would estimate that within the next 5 years there will be at least one—and perhaps as many as a dozen—reactors producing electric power. These first reactors may not be economically competitive with power from coal or oil or hydroelectric sources, but they will be nearly so. Ten years after the first ones are constructed I would guess that nuclear reactors will become really competitive with conventional power.

Question. That would be 15 years altogether?

Answer. Yes; something in that neighborhood. And if we look 50 years in the future, I think we are going to be very pleasantly surprised at the way atomic energy has broadened our available energy resources.

We are making truly remarkable progress. After all, about 30 years elapsed between the Wright brothers and what we would call a commercial airplane, and the steam turbine took about 50 years to develop.

Question. Then the day of useful atomic power isn't as far distant as we think?

Answer. It is a lot closer than many people imagine.

Question. And industry is interested?

Answer. Very, very much.

ELECTRIC POWER AS PRIME USE

Question. What new things could atomic energy offer us? What new products would we get out of the atom that we don't have now?

Answer. The real pay-off comes in atomic power, in generating electricity from the atom. There are, of course, also hundreds, even thousands, of other very important industrial applications in the radioisotopes field, but these things are essentially secondary.

Question. Then it is a new source of power rather than a new product that we are after?

Answer. That's quite so.

Question. At this time the main interest is in atomic weapons, isn't it?

Answer. Yes; it's got to be this way so long as we face the Soviet threat. But there are other uses of nuclear energy besides weapons, of course. There are isotopes, for instance, which have increasingly valuable uses in industry, in agriculture, and all research fields. In fact, I believe, and the Commission also tells me this is so, that more people have been benefited or helped or have had their lives prolonged by atomic energy than were killed at both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And, as you know, more than 150,000 people were killed in those cities.

Question. What diseases are treated with best results by radioactive isotopes?

Answer. The most outstanding and spectacular uses, of course, are in certain kinds of cancers—thyroid troubles are particularly helped. And that applies not only to treating these diseases, but to diagnosing them in time, and to understanding their fundamental causes. Atomic energy now means as much to medical research as the invention of the microscope meant to the early days of science.

Take the matter of cancerous brain tumors, for example. Patients are injected with boron salts. These settle in the diseased cells in the brain. The patients are then put on top of an atomic reactor at the Brookhaven Laboratory on Long Island. The neutrons from the reactor penetrate the skull and reach the tumor. But because the boron solution becomes radioactive under neutron bombardment, the cancerous tissue is destroyed without harming the healthy brain cells. As a result of such treatment, seemingly hopeless patients have had as much as a half a year added to their life. This isn't a cure as yet, but it is a beginning.

OPENING FOR INDUSTRY

Question. Do you expect to make important changes in the atomic energy law at the next session of the Congress? Wouldn't you have to make some changes in order to allow for industrial participation in atomic energy?

Answer. Naturally, I can't speak for my congressional colleagues, but my personal hope is that by the time Congress reconvenes, we will have drafted a revision of the basic act, which will make it possible for private capital to use fissionable material and to build atomic reactors—under supervision by the Commission, in order to protect the health of the people in the plants and the surrounding areas, and in order to make sure we do not impair atomic security.

Any such revision would have to be based on the premise that no fissionable material would be diverted to power development, if this is any way kept us from meeting our requirements for atomic weapons. Of course, there would be no real point in changing the law unless it is clear that private industry would then be ready to build atomic reactors with its own money, or unless it would be willing to enter into partnership arrangements under which public funds would be made available in reasonable amounts.

I myself very much hope that private industry will soon build these reactors, under an arrangement which would protect the public's investment in atomic energy. But if private capital is not forthcoming, then I think the Government should build such machines, using public money. The main thing is to bring about an actual demonstration of large-scale atomic power as quickly as possible.

Hats Off to an Alert VFW Post, Post 603, Norwalk, Conn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I have been honored by a request from the Veterans of Foreign Wars to make available to all Members of Congress the true facts regarding the Norwalk, Conn., incident, which has recently received so much publicity—both favorable and unfavorable.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert the following article entitled, "Hats Off to an Alert VFW Post," which was written at the national headquarters of the VFW in Kansas City. This article is to appear in the next issue of Foreign Service, the official magazine of the VFW:

HATS OFF TO AN ALERT VFW POST, POST 603, NORWALK, CONN.

In "doing just what comes naturally" to any VFW post that is alert to the dangers of subversive activities, post 603, Norwalk, Conn., recently attracted nationwide attention via the press, radio, and television.

The fact that members of post 603 have been reporting suspicious evidence of subversive activities to the FBI suddenly became public knowledge with a news story that was released to the local press in conjunction with the observance of National VFW Week.

According to Comdr. Albert A. Beres, the members of post 603 have always been conscious of their duties as good citizens to report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation any person whose activities or utterances might possibly endanger national security.

"Everything we have done, or are doing, is rooted in the traditional policies of the VFW," declared Commander Beres. "We have done nothing that conflicts with the directives that we received from the VFW national Americanism department, or with the many appeals for public cooperation which have been voiced by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"Certain known leftists, and misguided liberals, have suddenly found out that the members of Post 603 take their loyalty to America seriously. They are deliberately guilty of twisting the truth and distorting the facts. We are cooperating with the FBI as we have been asked to do. We don't pretend to be investigators nor vigilantes, but just ordinary good citizens who would be just as quick to report a bank holdup or a fire to the proper authorities.

"We have done nothing to justify the ridiculous leftist charge that we are trying to take the law into our own hands. It is not our duty or purpose to label any person as a Communist, or as a traitor guilty of treasonous activities. We are not conducting an organized search for spies or saboteurs.

"As overseas veterans we have risked our lives to defend the ideals of Americanism. No group of citizens is more jealous of the individual rights and freedoms to which every loyal American citizen is entitled.

"We are trying to discharge our duties as good citizens, by cooperating with the FBI when we have the chance, because we do not wish to see these basic rights destroyed by our enemies from within.

"We will continue to notify the FBI in the future if we should encounter any evidence that subversive elements are at work in our community."

The Americanism activities of this VFW unit became a national issue when Post 603 was publicly criticized in a paid newspaper advertisement, sponsored by the Norwalk chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action. The incident was immediately pounced upon by the press associations and radio and television networks. It inspired one of the questions which reporters directed at President Eisenhower during his regular White House press conference on January 24.

Both Department Commander Charles J. Post, who belongs to Post 603, and Commander in Chief Wayne E. Richards promptly commended the work of Post 603 in cooperating with the FBI.

"The members of Post 603 are fulfilling their obligations as loyal Americans in bringing to the attention of the FBI persons whose actions or utterances could help the enemies of national security," declared Commander in Chief Richards. "This program is not a witch hunt. No names of suspects are being released to the public. The final determination of whether an investigation shall be made rests with the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

A writer in the New York Times pointed out that the anti-Communist activities of Post 603 are based on presidential directives, beginning with one issued September 6, 1939, as war broke out in Europe, by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He directed the FBI to assume the task of assuring internal security against espionage and sabotage. There were renewals of that directive on January 8, 1943, by Mr. Roosevelt, by President Truman on July 24, 1950, and by President Eisenhower last December 15, when for the first time a President urged alertness against atomic sabotage. Each of the directives was accompanied by an appeal to the public, to patriotic organizations and to local police agencies to report suspicious persons and activities to the FBI.

Ever since 1940, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has written several articles for publication in VFW magazine. His repeated requests for the same type of assistance currently being rendered to the FBI by Post 603, Norwalk, are summarized in this quotation from one of his articles published in the May 1943 issue of VFW magazine:

"If you know any person or situation possibly dangerous to our well-being, report it at once to our nearest field office. Do not evaluate the matter and wonder if it is significant, for we would rather receive a thousand unfounded reports than miss one that is worthwhile. What may seem trivial alone may fit nicely into a case already under investigation. How do you call the FBI? Consult your local telephone directory for the number of our office nearest you, or in an emergency, ask the telephone operator to connect you with our nearest office. I urge every loyal American to do his part in helping the FBI protect our Nation from internal attack."

War at Peace Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK SMALL, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Times-Herald of February 17, 1954:

WAR AT PEACE CROSS

Representative FRANK SMALL, Republican, of Maryland, presented an argument before the House appropriations subcommittee Monday that may finally bring about some relief for the area often flooded at Peace Cross.

He pointed out that Bladensburg Road has been designated as a civil defense highway by the District Commissioners and remarked: "Bladensburg Road would be rendered virtually useless as a civil defense road during an emergency if Peace Cross were flooded at the time of an enemy aerial attack."

The threat of such a disaster is real enough to call for the expenditure of Federal funds to supplement the money already earmarked for the improvement of conditions at Peace Cross by the State of Maryland.

For 20 years conditions have been allowed to worsen while State, county, and Federal officials kicked plans for flood control and road improvement back and forth. The most satisfactory overall program calls for a combined effort on the part of the State authorities and the Federal Government working through the Army engineers.

Maryland has $4.25 million set aside for the work. Through the efforts of Senator BUTLER, Republican, of Maryland, President Eisenhower recommended a $1 million appropriation from Federal funds to start the program.

We believe the effective way to meet the problem is by the coordination of the State and Federal authorities and therefore urge Congress to approve the appropriation so something can be done about this bottleneck.

Security by Concealment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM RAYBURN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Washington Post of February 20, 1954. I think this editorial is sane and sound and should call attention of those who have been talking about the 2,200 security risks and subversives and every other name in the calendar, and what is the honest thing to do about it.

If Chairman Philip Young, of the Civil Service Commission, and those working with him, do not give a definite list of those of the 2,200 who were supposed to be subversives it will not be an honest appraisal of this matter. The kind of talk that has been going on about this will embarrass everyone who has been separated from Government service in the last year.

I fear that when the thousands of others who have been separated from the service apply for a position elsewhere and they are asked where they have worked last, and they say for some department of the Government, they will be asked if they are 1 of the 2,200.

All I want is fair play, decency, and honesty.

The editorial follows:

SECURITY BY CONCEALMENT

The breakdown proposed by the Civil Service Commission on the 2,200 security separations from the Federal Government is re-

grettably inadequate. The CSC will divide these separations, according to the announcement by Chairman Philip Young, into four "broad categories." This will, admittedly, be some improvement over the undiscriminating lump sum statement on which certain GOP orators have based extravagant charges that the Government was shot through with subversives. But it will embody neither the candor nor the concern for fair play which the public expects of the Eisenhower administration.

Mr. Young says, quite irrelevantly, that it would be "neither feasible nor in the public interest" to list "a specific reason" for finding each individual a security risk. No responsible critic has suggested that this be done. But it is hard to see how either the public interest or the interest of the individual employees could be injured by a breakdown of the separations into the eight general categories of security risks set forth by the President in his Executive order creating the security program last spring. And in addition to this, we believe, there should be a clear disclosure as to how many of the 2,200 were separated by dismissal, how many resigned after charges had been lodged against them, how many resigned without any knowledge that they were under suspicion, and how many merely transferred from one agency of the Government to another and remain in the civil service today.

To lump into a single category, as the Civil Service Commission proposes to do, all Communist cases, ranging from someone suspected of being a Soviet spy to someone suspected of nothing more sinister than having a relative behind the Iron Curtain, is to make the category altogether meaningless. The public is entitled to know—as a matter of elementary justice—just how many of the 2,200 separated individuals were actually suspected of disloyalty. It will embarrass the administration a great deal less to give the facts now than to prolong the deception.

Continuance of a Bipartisan Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, during Democratic administrations, one of the hardest fighting members of the Republican Party for everything he believed was in the best interests of our country was the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable ALEXANDER WILEY. He appraised our foreign policy in a truly bipartisan manner.

Now that his party, through President Eisenhower and his appointees, is charged with the responsibility of formulating and implementing that policy, he continues his statesmanlike approach to these problems. He does not urge that anything initiated by prior administrations be discarded solely for that reason. He still fights for those policies most of us believe are right and proper and he does so without thought of partisan advantage.

It is, therefore, pleasant indeed to call our colleagues' attention to the following article written by Roscoe Drummond, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of February 21, 1954:

COURAGEOUS RECORD OF SENATOR WILEY

While the facts are still fresh in the records, its deserves to be put down that the most consistent, politically courageous, forthright, don't-wait-until-the-battle-is-nearly-lost defender of administration foreign policy is the senior Senator from Wisconsin.

He is Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who on the three most critical and controversial issues of the last 12 months has been a virtual "Horatius at the Bridge" while the President and Secretary of State were deciding how and when to speak out.

He did not hesitate to do battle with formidable figures in his own party at a time when each issue was imperiling the leadership of the White House.

When the late Senator Robert A. Taft delivered his famous "go it alone" speech in Cincinnati last May, belittling the United Nations, suggesting we ignore our allies in Asia, and deriding NATO and the North Atlantic Treaty, Senator WILEY was the only prominent Republican foreign policy spokesman to voice prompt and public dissent. Later, the President gently disagreed with Senator Taft.

When Acting Senate Majority Leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND approved Syngman Rhee's release of prisoners held by South Korea for the U. N., blamed President Eisenhower for the breach with Rhee, and encouraged Rhee to resume the war if he wanted to, Senator WILEY took the floor of the Senate the next day to counter the damage which Senator KNOWLAND had done to the truce negotiations.

After Senator BRICKER offered his amendment last year to reduce the treatymaking power of the Federal Government, there were weeks on end when Senator WILEY was virtually the only Senator, Republican or Democrat, who lifted his voice in the Senate to stem the onrushing tide of pressure and propaganda for it.

Because Senator WILEY stood out against three strong Republican personalities, he ran serious political risks. Despite the fact that he was defending the administration—or because of it—he began to be punished by his own party in his own State. He didn't buckle under the pressure.

To Senator Taft's "go it alone" Cincinnati speech, Senator WILEY gave this reply:

"The enemies of that American boy who lies in that tomb (the Unknown Soldier) would like nothing better for us than to 'go it alone.' They would like nothing better for us than to lose all hope that Western Europe can be successfully defended. They would be delighted if we were to lose our faith in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the U. N.

"We will honor America's dead best by preserving unity among the living. We know, as Lincoln knew, that 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' The free world's house cannot stand if it pays heed to those who would split it in twain—wittingly or unwittingly."

Shortly thereafter, the Wisconsin Republican State convention passed a resolution condemning Senator WILEY for his support of "a bipartisan foreign policy" and warned him "to heed its words."

To Senator KNOWLAND's uncritical indorsement of everything Syngman Rhee was doing, Senator WILEY replied:

"I want to express the firm view that President Rhee is doing his nation, his allies, the United Nations as a whole, and the cause of world peace infinite damage by his continued reckless attitude.

"The unilateral action which he has already taken in violation of his commitments to the United Nations Command and the unilateral action which he has indicated he may take—are actions unworthy of his own fine record as a spokesman for free peoples. * * *

"President Rhee has been playing with global dynamite. He has been tossing matches about in an utterly reckless manner."

On the Bricker amendment, while the President was waiting to make up his mind, and while Secretary Dulles was waiting, Senator WILEY was leading a lone and what appeared to be a losing battle against the plan to curb the treatymaking authority of the Federal Government.

It wasn't evident then that the President was going to take any strong stand personally. Senator WILEY kept speaking from the floor of the Senate, kept sprinkling the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with his considered arguments against the amendment. At the end of the session, by showing that he would insist upon lengthy debate of such an important matter, there is good reason to believe that he, more than any one else, succeeded in postponing the vote at a time when support for the amendment in its most restrictive form was at its peak.

Pro-Bricker Wisconsin Republicans tried to take WILEY out of the play by threatening him. They got the Republican Party of Wisconsin formally to "censure the senior Senator for his failure to actively support the Bricker amendment and insist that he reconsider his stand."

They didn't know their man. Senator WILEY may be taking political risks, but he is standing by his convictions. He is doing battle boldly on the great issues, as he sees them, and he is often standing up for the administration even when the administration doesn't always seem ready to stand up for itself.

Political Asylum Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill, H. R. 8000, to provide for the admission into the United States of Communist government officials who renounce communism and seek asylum. I hope that this bill, text of which is printed below, will receive early consideration by the House:

H. R. 8000

A bill to promote the national security of the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Political Asylum Act of 1954."

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. (a) "Communist country" means the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and any country declared, pursuant to this act, by the Secretary of State to be governed or dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or any other branch or subdivision of the international Communist movement.

(b) "Communist government official" means any person who is an officer, employee, or member of the military, naval, or air forces, of any Communist country, or of the foreign service, or of the security or the inteligence organization of such country, or of any agency working for a Communist country as defined in section 2 (a) of this act.

SPECIAL NONIMMIGRANT VISAS

SEC. 3. Notwithstanding the provision of section 212 (a) (28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 184), a special nonimmigrant visa may be issued to any alien Communist government official and his wife and his children, who—

(a) renounce his allegiance to the Communist country's government and to the inter-

national Communist conspiracy which he has been serving;

(b) departs from a Communist country and proceeds to a country in the free world, or, being physically outside the border of a Communist country, refuses to return thereto;

(c) is determined, under procedures to be prescribed by the President, to possess information or other assets of special value to the United States in furtherance of its security program, and not to constitute a menace to the security of the United States of America; and

(d) agrees, actively, to cooperate with the United States in programs to expose and to defeat the purposes of the international Communist conspiracy.

AUTHORITY TO TERMINATE VISAS

SEC. 4. Nonimmigrant visas issued pursuant to this act shall be terminated by the Secretary of State whenever the country of origin of the alien shall no longer be governed or dominated by the Communist conspiracy: *Provided*, That the personal safety of the alien would not thereby be placed in jeopardy. The Secretary of State is further authorized to revoke any such visa when the best interest of the United States so requires.

NUMBER OF VISAS

SEC. 5. Not more than 1,000 such visas shall be issued pursuant to this act.

REPORTS

SEC. 6. The President shall report to the Congress on the operation of the program established under this act on December 31 of each year.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such funds as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

Congress Is Shirking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following constructive editorial from the Boston Daily Record, Boston, Mass., Thursday, February 18, 1954:

CONGRESS IS SHIRKING

In two previous editorials the Daily Record and the other Hearst newspapers have given our objections to the Federal highway bill now being studied by the House Subcommittee on Roads.

The bill has administration support.

We would like to convey the following information to those who still regard the bill as adequate or generous:

All Federal, State, and local expenditures for roads during 1953 do not even equal the total spent in 1938.

Using the 1941 dollar as a base, and adjusting 1938 and 1953 dolars to it, here are the figures:

Total expenditures in 1938, $2,633,000,000.

Total expenditure in 1953, $2,570,000,000.

Actually, in 1953 the sum of $5,277,000,000 was spent by all units of government, but we got only $2,570,000,000 worth of roads in terms of a 1941 dollar.

In the meantime what has happened to our highways?

In 1938 there were about 30 million motor vehicles on our streets and roads.

In 1953 there were about 55 million.

How can Congress expect to solve a 55 million vehicle congestion problem by spending money at the rate we did in 1938?

It is tragically inadequate.

And it looks worse the longer we look at it.

Dean Jerome Prince

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the Brooklyn Eagle of Sunday, February 21, 1954, has very fittingly chosen as Brooklyn's Man of the Week, the dean of my alma mater, Brooklyn Law School. Dr. Jerome Prince is most deserving of this tribute. Wendell Hanmer tells the story as follows:

BROOKLYN'S MAN OF THE WEEK FINDS LAW A THRILLING PROFESSION

(By Wendell Hanmer)

When he was a high-school junior Jerome Prince, son of a tobacco salesman, wandered one day into a courtroom. Trials and legal arguments, he soon found, were more interesting than vaudeville or a baseball game. Inevitably, he became a lawyer, this third dean of Brooklyn Law School.

From the school, founded in 1901 when he was 6 years old, Dr. Prince obtained his LL.B., summa cum laude, in 1933 and his S. J. D., summa cum laude, in 1934. He previously had earned a B. S., cum laude, at C. C. N. Y., where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. On receipt of his doctorate he began part-time legal practice and became assistant to the late William Payson Richardson, founder and first dean of the school.

From assisting with administrative duties, Dr. Prince gradually extended his teaching activities until he had to discontinue private practice entirely after 4 years. He has taught every branch, though specializing in criminal law and evidence. When the late Justice William B. Carswell of the appellate division became dean, Dr. Prince was initially his assistant, then successively vice dean and associate dean.

A VERY SATISFYING LIFE

"We've a very fine school, with a fine faculty," said Dr. Prince. "With our current enrollment of 1,400 students, we rank as the second largest undergraduate law school in the country, though only third when undergraduate and postgraduate are combined. This school has provided me with a very satisfying life."

Dean Prince gives the impression of fitting into his career like the well-machined part of a fine instrument. He is doing what he likes best to do and therein frankly feels himself among the especially fortunate of men. He gives the impression of being fascinated with the law and its evolution from logic and experience, and to enjoy imparting this knowledge to others.

ONE OF HIS BIGGEST THRILLS

He even finds the law thrilling.

"I suppose one of the biggest thrills I ever experienced," he ruminated, "was while I was a second-year student in this school. I was a founder and member of the editorial staff of our Brooklyn Law Review, and was later its editor in chief. But then, in my second year, I did an article on the constitutionality of the statute abolishing ex parte injunctions—and I had not yet had the subject in class. When the New York Law Journal reprinted it—that was truly my big moment."

Absorbed as he is with the law, it may seem surprising that Dr. Prince has enjoyed a degree of success as a writer of detective stories. He still finds time to write—evenings and weekends. Not surprising, this "made-time" writing is about the law.

He is the author of the sixth and seventh editions of Richardson on Evidence, an authoritative reference on that subject. He is now working on an eighth edition, hoping to complete the task for publication late this year.

He also is committed to complete by September the manuscript of a new edition of Matheson & Prince on Cases and Materials on Evidence.

Doubtless he will complete both tasks on schedule. "One somehow does," he remarked.

He also is expected, as in the past, to continue lecturing on evidence before the Practicing Law Institute and to participae in various activities of the American Bar Association, New York State Bar Association and the Manhattan and Brooklyn Bar Association, in all of which he holds membership.

Dean Prince was the first student in the history of Brooklyn Law School to receive both his Bachelor's degree and his Doctorate with highest honors. For this accomplishment he was awarded the school's top scholarship prize, and he also copped the Mathison Award as the student evidencing the highest degree of legal ability."

HE'S MARRIED TO A LAWYER

That he married a lawyer should be no surprise to anyone. The former Martha Kenith, she has now given up practice to care for their children, Elaine, 6, and Karen, 4.

To Dean Prince the former Miss Kenith was just another student during 1941, when she attended his classes in criminal law and evidence. She was a practicing attorney when he met her socially and discovered that she was a woman and attractive.

Formerly resident on Brooklyn Heights, the Princes now have a home on Long Island. One big room of their house is fitted out as a law library, which must prove convenient when any legal point is in dispute.

The American Legion Reader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Victor Lasky, well known New York reporter and writer, has chosen from the American Legion magazine a fine selection of articles of humor, fiction, and cartoons, which have been published in a book entitled "The American Legion Reader." This volume provides some very pleasant and provocative reading. Many of America's best known authors and writers are represented in Mr. Lasky's compilation, representing a great collection of material which has appeared over the years in the American Legion magazine.

Mr. Lasky, coauthor of the best seller, Seeds of Treason, an exposé of the Alger Hiss case, in editing the articles from the American Legion magazine, gives a very

fine cross section of the ideals espoused by that periodical.

Columnists and book reviewers from coast to coast have acclaimed Mr. Lasky's anthology as the best of what has appeared over the years in the American Legion magazine—every article worth republishing. He is to be complimented on doing a magnificent job, introducing a book of rare quality and high entertainment value.

The Excise Tax on Phone Calls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. VORYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Columbus Chamber of Commerce, I wish to place the following letter and data in the RECORD:

THE COLUMBUS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Columbus, Ohio, February 12, 1954.
The Honorable JOHN M. VORYS,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN VORYS: We understand that the House Ways and Means Committee is considering the reduction of excise taxes including the excise tax on long distance telephone calls.

We feel that excise taxes on long distance calls impose a penalty on business, and should be eliminated entirely. Modern day business uses the method of long distance telephoning as an integral part of its daily function, and is in no way a luxury; although it has been so considered heretofore.

There is no Federal excise tax on other utilities, such as gas, electricity, and water and therefore, telephone service being also a necessity should be in the same category as these utilities.

We urge your support for the elimination of such taxes, which hamper efficient business administration.

Sincerely,
LOU WILSCH, *President.*

THE FEDERAL TELEPHONE EXCISE TAX

Telehpone excise taxes are high, being 25 percent on long distance calls over 24 cents and leased wire facilities, and a 15 percent tax is levied on local service and long distance calls under 24 cents.

The 15 percent tax on local service and calls under 24 cents are much higher than the tax on fishing equipment, television sets, musical instruments and wages.

In comparison with luxury items carrying the excise tax, the rate on telephone service is higher than the tax on jewelry, furs, and cabaret charges. In fact, the 25 percent tax on long distance calls and leased wires is higher than any excise tax imposed on any service or commodity other than liquor and tobacco.

The present Federal excise tax rates were enacted during time of war primarily to discourage civilian telephone usage. Telephone facilities have been greatly expanded to meet civilian and defense needs and these restrictive taxes should not be continued.

This tax imposes an undue burden on telephone users. It is estimated that Ohio Bell customers in the year 1953 paid out $30 million in excise taxes. This amounts to an average of $15 for every telephone in service.

Telephone service should not be subjected to a luxury tax since it is a necessity, being essential to commerce and to the general welfare of the Nation.

There is no Federal excise tax on other utilities, such as electricity, gas, and water and therefore, telephone service being also a necessity should be in the same category as these utilities which have no Federal excise tax.

The public is dissatisfied with the telephone excise taxes as indicated in the Gallup poll of September 1953, the American Institute of Public Opinion poll of March 1950, and the Opinion Research poll of December 1953. Further, the public has indicated its displeasure with the tax in our own public opinion surveys made in October 1953.

The National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners objected to this tax in November 1952. Furthermore, the State Utilities Commissions of Maine, Michigan, Washington, and New York have all pointed out that this excise tax on telephone service is burdensome to the subscriber.

No part of this tax savings would be retained by the telephone company. It all will be given to the telephone subscribers.

Twenty-two Hundred, Two Hundred and Twenty, Twenty-two, Two

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the numerologists are up in arms. And they have a right to be. Any day a law may be introduced consigning them to jail as subversives. They are sure the least that will happen will be a law outlawing numerology.

They have believed and taught that all life is governed by numbers. A new administration devoted to change has destroyed their science.

Republican campaign harangues of 1952 established beyond doubt that our Government was full of subversives. They were in every home, under every bed, in every closet, in every office, under every desk, and in every drawer.

So an enlightened electorate gave a mandate to the discoverers of the evil to clean house and rout out the devils.

With much shouting in and out of investigative halls, not good, but loud, the crusade began.

Now the army of revolutionists has dwindled, first to a regiment, then to a battalion, next to a company, and finally to a squad, and that a squad which had been decimated by the prior Democratic administration.

Now that the name calling is beginning to pall on the American people, please, my friends in the Republican administration, leave the numbers to the numerologists. I assure you they will leave the real problems of government to you. But not for too long, I trust.

Let us see if you cannot do a little better on your other campaign promises.

It is high time to start the serious work of bringing about true world peace, balancing the budget, guaranteeing peacetime prosperity to our people, and improving the condition of our Nation.

Do not be annoyed by the discovery that to do those things you must adopt and pursue the Democratic Party's program and policies. We do not care about the labels. As long as the principles are what is good for our country, we will vote for them.

Oregon: Opportunities Unlimited for All of the People, That's What Vocational Education Means in the Famed Beaver State—Read Now About Bill, and Tom; Students, Employees, and a Pretty, Young Bride; While the Journal Salutes Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, we in Oregon are deeply interested in vocational education in affording an almost unlimited opportunity for our people. In the American Vocational Journal, in its issue of February 1954, a most illuminating and comprehensive article appeared on this subject which was characterized on the front page of the Journal, where there was also a very fine cut of the Oregon State Capitol, as the Journal salutes Oregon. I enclose this article as part of these remarks:

OPPORTUNITIES UNLIMITED FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE, THAT'S WHAT VOCATIONAL EDUCATION MEANS IN THE FAMED BEAVER STATE—READ NOW ABOUT BILL, AND TOM; STUDENTS, EMPLOYEES, AND A PRETTY, YOUNG BRIDE; WHILE THE JOURNAL SALUTES OREGON

YOU'LL FIND IMPORTANT ANSWERS TO AN IMPORTANT QUESTION: WHY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION?

As the sun drops low in the Oregon sky a small boy in a house perched along the Columbia Gorge presses his nose against a breath-steamed window and strains to see many familiar sights—a giant aluminum plant across the Columbia River, a large sawmill on his side and in the distance a huge hydroelectric dam which is always just a little out of sight.

In the nearby city another boy rides his bike along a wet pavement automatically throwing his papers as he thinks hard about another problem.

Out of classrooms and school shops in Eugene and Klamath Falls stream groups of youngsters noisily shouting and joking—they are teen-agers full of ambition and optimism like thousands of other boys and girls returning home from high schools in every part of the State.

On a farm near Corvallis a future farmer boy brings the milk cows into the barn, proud of those he owns and of his partnership with his father.

On a huge wheat farm near Pendleton an older farmer turns his tractor around and heads for home a little earlier than usual.

All these people are Oregonians, but they have something in common other than living in the same State. They have something in common with a sales clerk rushing for a bus in Milwaukee, a widow reading some lessons in Portland, a happy young wife cooking her first meal in a new home in Coos Bay, a Korean veteran finishing guidance tests in Salem. They are all benefit-

ing from Oregon's broad vocational-education program, just like thousands of others have during the 36 years it has been in operation.

Take the small boy looking out of his window. He's seeing some of the results of vocational education—industries which are flourishing in the Northwest because they are supplied with competent, trained workers. Many of these workers are products of vocational education—his father is one. He works as a millwright at the nearby sawmill and his salary has made it possible for them to have a home of their own on the cliffs of the gorge which is world famous for its scenic grandeur. And the boy himself will be able to enter a vocational-training class when he is a little older and has decided how and where he would best like to earn a living.

The lad delivering his evening papers is thinking seriously about his problem. He is the boy on the fence so to speak because he and his buddies all realize a decision must be made soon. His industrial arts teacher, Mr. Jorgensen, has often led the class in discussions of how industrial arts function as trade exploration, and he plans to have each boy list the vocations that appeal to him. Mr. Jorgensen has a big ring binder filled with information and pictures concerning local and State industries and vocations and charts showing how people live and make their living in Oregon. One fact impressed the boys when they were looking through that wish book—only 9 percent of the persons gainfully employed in Oregon are in professions and semiprofessions.

"Gee," says his friend Bill, "looks like we might belong to the larger group who will need some vocational training pretty soon."

Mr. Jorgensen will refer the boys to their school counselor who will further aid them with their problem.

Of the thousands of young Oregonians bounding down the front steps of the school in the late afternoon, many have a particular reason to be full of ambition and optimism. These are the boys and girls who have made an occupational choice and are receiving vocational training along with their regular high school subjects.

Regional and vocational technical schools serve additional hundreds of eager boys, girls, men, and women who desire to learn and who have the ability to benefit by the training.

When young Hillman saw the radio servicing classroom and its equipment in the Eugene Vocational School last fall, he was fascinated because he saw an opportunity to get some real training in radio and communications which had been his hobby for the past 6 years.

"Two years from now I'll be in Uncle Sam's Air Corps and radio will be my specialty," he boasted as he glanced back at the equipment upon leaving the room.

Former Sergeant Jennings, recently returned from Tokyo and 2 years of front-line duty in Korea, stood up a bit awkwardly on his new artificial limb after completing his battery of aptitude and other guidance tests in Salem. His vocational rehabilitation advisor had given him a glimpse of a most promising future; the nightmares of the past 3½ years faded and left only the bright memories associated with the service ribbons and his purple heart.

"That's it," he half shouted as he pictured himself entering a most interesting class now offered at Oregon Technical Institute near Klamath Falls.

Tom Jennings just knew that opportunities unlimited were shaping his destiny; hadn't the guidance man told him that his tests proved him to be mechanically inclined and unusually dexterous? A very unique course in the repair of sports equipment appealed to Tom; here he was in Oregon, the very paradise of sports, his experience with firearms as a boy and in the Army had prompted him to brush up on the subject while in the hospital; now he could take the gunsmithing course as well as the sports equipment course at OTI.

"You're so nice to come home to" sang the hungry bridegroom in Coos Bay as he greeted his happy wife cooking her first meal in their bright new home.

"Dad used to sing it a little differently—he used the old version—can she bake a cherry pie." His confident bride of a few days just smiled as she busied herself with an appetizing dinner that included chinook salmon and Deschutes potatoes for her lineman husband while he peeled off his waterproof gloves and jacket.

She is a recent product of Oregon's family centered homemaking program—a program designed to meet the needs of today's family. Her active participation as an officer and member of the Future Homemakers of America has not only given her additional poise but has developed also in her a keen appreciation of the importance of the homemaker's role today. Yes, she can bake a cherry pie, but she also possesses a wealth of skills and knowledge—all mastered for one purpose—to be a real companion, wife, and mother, a happy family member in a thriving community.

"I am impressed with a program which combines the teaching of good personal relationships with the practical skills as a means of guiding people toward wholesome family living," says Mrs. Fern Fratzke, mother of a present homemaking student.

As soon as our ambitious lineman apprentice had finished a hearty meal of all the good things an Oregon homemaker can purchase or grow in her garden, he announced:

"Got my unit packet today; you know, the Oregon instructional materials we use as a study guide in our related class 2 nights a week at the high school. The materials are developed right here in Oregon and are the result of a trade survey, and cooperation between the operating companies, the employee organizations, and the State department."

The FFA boy learning the dairy business near Corvallis is a typical example of Oregon's farm youth who appreciate the opportunities offered by a most comprehensive vocational agricultural program. His father is a successful dairy farmer who takes advantage of the evening classes in dairying conducted by the vocational agriculture instructor. The boy is learning farming practices similar to those acquired a few years ago by Everett Struckmeier, former vocational agriculture student and star farmer for the Pacific region in 1941 who is now a grade A dairyman at Scio, Oreg., and who says:

"My home project helped me get started in farming. It provided training and responsibility that was impossible for me to get in any other way."

That senior citizen, the wheat farmer near Pendleton, headed his tractor for home a little early because he was due to attend a meeting of the district advisory committee that night. Three of his young neighbors planned to ride the station wagon with him; they wanted to meet with that committee and make arrangements to attend an evening class in farm machinery repair, and to find out about future evening classes in such subjects as contour farming, fertilizers, new types of grain, and any specific problems which they might wish to discuss with more experienced men.

"What's cookin', Mom?" and "When do we eat?" both rang out in chorus from the front hall of Mrs. Jackson's neat white cottage on the outskirts of Portland just as the deep blue haze covered the fading orange of sunset on the fir-covered hills to the west. Two hungry youngsters gladdened the heart of their youthful mother. Widowhood had left a trace of gray in her dark auburn hair, but the warmth of her smile told a more cheerful story.

"Well, we can eat right away; and I don't mind telling you I've a surprise for both of you, but that can wait until after the dishes."

That evening there was a real down-to-earth family conference between Mrs. Jackson and her young charges. Harold, a lad of 17, attends school half days and works in a retail store every afternoon and all day on Saturday. His earnings help fortify the family budget and provide for his clothes and recreation. Next year he will graduate from high school with the rest of his class because he is receiving approved wages and school credit at the same time as a distributive education student. An employer of some of these students, J. D. Swenson, superintendent of the Meier & Frank Co., says: "We have found the distributive education program in the Portland high schools of great value to those students interested in working in the department store field."

Helen listened quietly while her brother painted his picture of the future and then asked pointedly, "Mother, would you think me wise to enter college next fall and get a degree so I could qualify as a homemaking teacher?"

Helen is 19 and had spent the past year selling yardage in a department store.

This was becoming a serious meeting after all. Helen knew that many young women have used their home economics college training experience as a stepping stone to other fields of activity, including marriage.

It was agreed that Helen was old enough to know her own mind and wise enough to settle down to serious study. Then the mother revealed her surprise. She had decided that a course of practical nurse training was exactly what she wanted. Several young widows had attended a meeting at the hospital where the vocational supervisor had outlined the program.

In another city, when he and Jake met on the church steps that October Sunday morning, the school board chairman asked:

"Well Jake, how do you like your new building?"

"This new high school building and equipment are modern in every respect and almost automatic, but we custodians who attended the special training offered at Lebanon last summer learned a lot of things that will make our work much easier and help keep this new plant in tip-top shape for a long time," Jake replied.

An administrator in another part of the State, Errol C. Rees, superintendent of Multnomah County schools, says, "The janitorial and custodial services of the Multnomah County schools have been greatly improved by the training provided by Oregon's vocational education department. This improvement provides more pleasant buildings in which to work and has greatly reduced the cost to the taxpayers."

The Milwaukee sales clerk, running to catch the bus, was looking forward to his final session in a group of young assistant retail store managers. His primary interests were simple showcard writing, window display and inventory control. Skillful instructors had guided his progress through the 10 sessions that had been set up by a local advisory committee and the vocational coordinator in cooperation with the Oregon DE program.

"Teaching is a craft, Mr. Adams, just the same as bricklaying is a craft and we are indeed fortunate to have found an experienced tradesman who is skilled in teaching his craft to others."

This conversation is typical when a vocational supervisor and one of his advisory committees meet to decide upon the key man in any effective vocational training, for it must be agreed that there's no substitute for a good instructor. Physical facilities, instructional materials, and other necessary aids are important, but the down-to-

earth direct contact of the instructor motivates every phase of the program. This is emphasized by Clarence Hines, superintendent, Eugene public schools, who states:

"Each member of the staff of the Eugene Vocational School has demonstrated his occupational competency by earning his living working at his trade and most are constantly seeking to improve their professional competency by in-service and college extension courses."

The future of vocational education in the Pacific Northwest is indeed unique. Well-informed citizens, excellent school plants, enthusiastic instructors, and agencies all cooperating to meet every reasonable request for training are the order of the day. Let's take a look at the future picture.

The Columbia Basin Interagency Committee's report of 1952 brings out some startling predictions:

Compared to only 4 million kilowatts of hydroelectric electrical energy already developed the potential is 30 million kilowatts.

Millions of acres of fertile land are being brought under water.

Population increases are estimated at 25 percent in the next 10 years.

Older industries, such as lumber and wood products, are being greatly enlarged—new industries, such as aluminum reduction, extrusion, and rolling, are resulting in rapid expansion in metal-products manufacturing.

Those involved in vocational education in Oregon are proud of their past and present records of achievement and equally anxious to prove that they recognize the enormous challenge of the future.

OREGON OFFERS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICES THROUGH 167 LOCAL SCHOOL CENTERS

Agriculture—83 centers: In-school projects; Future Farmers Association; adult classes.

Distributive education—15 centers: In-school—part-time co-op, adult classes.

Public service—150 centers (including itinerant localities).

Trade and industrial—51 centers: High school; post high school, vocational and technical schools; adult classes (statewide coverage).

Institutional on-farm—34 centers: occupational information and guidance.

Homemaking—85 centers: In-school; Future Homemakers Association; adult classes.

The vocational education services cooperate with agencies within the areas serviced, and place special emphasis on the use of local advisory committees in the establishment of classes. The two most important characteristics required of Oregon vocational education studens are: the desire to learn, and the ability to learn.

Vocational agriculture

Oregon started vocational agriculture classes in 1918. At the present time 83 agriculture departments are in operation and the objective goal is 110 departments. A teacher training department at Oregon State College places prospective agriculture teachers for one college term with supervisory teachers in various schools.

During World War II vocational agriculture supervised the training of over 30,000 rural people in farm machinery repair, food conservation, and agriculture commodity courses in aiding the war effort.

Oregon vocational agriculturalists point with pride to this record in supervised farming. Average investment last year for each Future Farmer of America member was $484.35 and the labor income amounted to $247.05 per boy. The Oregon FFA program was organized in 1928 and has progressed at a rapid rate, with members capturing a considerable share of national honors.

Institutional on-farm training began in 1946 and reached a peak enrollment of over 2,000 veterans in 1949–50. The program has contributed to the welfare of all farmers in Oregon.

Trade and industrial

The first part-time cooperative class (DO program) in the United States was established at Roseburg, Oreg., in 1926. T and I was instrumental in setting up an Oregon apprenticeship law and plan, which went into effect in 1931. The DO program formed the nucleus of prewar training in Oregon, with programs for adults and apprentices beginning in the larger cities.

The Eugene Vocational School, the first of its type, was opened in 1938 as a regional school. Oregon City Vocational School was started in 1941. In 1946 a former Marine barracks near Klamath Falls was purchased. This later became the State operated Oregon Technical Institute which features a school of industrial technology.

Local school districts have continued to expand their offerings in the trade preparatory and trade extension fields.

During the war years 266,756 men and women were trained for the shipyards and airplane factories under the supervision of the State division of vocational education. The United States Office of Education and local school districts were cooperating agencies.

After the war, T and I supervised veteran-on-the-job trainees, established related training classes for veterans in apprenticeship, and provided for the development of instructional material. Requests for the Oregon apprentice course material have come from as far away as Alaska, Hawaii, South Africa, and Israel.

Home economics

The home economics section features its family-centered program of homemaking—a program that is constantly revised to meet the needs of families in today's rapidly changing world. Many adult classes are offered in planning and preparing family meals, furnishing the home, clothing the family, and in understanding children.

The Future Homemakers of America is an integral part of the homemaking program. At the present time more than 3,500 Oregon high school students belong to this national organization.

There are 59 homemaking departments in vocational education in Oregon, with 71 homemaking teachers conducting classes; however, the State supervisory staff also cooperates with 229 teachers in the secondary schools.

Oregon State College in Corvallis has a home economics building, equipped with curriculum laboratories and work areas, and staffed with personnel for approved teacher training.

The largest number of enrollees in adult homemaking classes was 8,163 in 1948–49.

Distributive education

Oregon was one of the Nation's leaders in providing an organized training program for distributive education in 1936. At present, over 650 students are enrolled in part-time classes in 15 Oregon high schools. Extension classes are conducted for employed adults in sales and service occupations.

The program was especially effective during the war in supplying business establishments with service personnel.

During the last biennium, high school students in distributive education classes earned $611,853.52, with an estimated tax return to the Federal and State Governments of approximately 20 percent of that amount.

Public service

Oregon's public-service training program began in 1930, when an instructor training course was given to 197 officers of the Portland Fire Department. Courses were conducted for the United States Forest Service, educational advisers in CCC camps, the Public Works Administration at Bonneville Dam, and municipal and county finance officers.

During the war more than 9,000 copies of the vocational education division's publication Police Reserve Training, P. S. Bulletin No. 9, 1941, were distributed to police departments throughout the United States.

Later over 3,000 copies of a fire training manual, entitled "Technical Instruction for Firemen," published in 1948, have been sold to 150 fire departments in Oregon and other States.

From 1949 to 1951, classes for 180 REA workers were conducted in 10 rural electric cooperatives in Oregon.

Practical nurse training began in 1949.

Occupational information and guidance

Occupational information, counseling, and related guidance services rendered students by high schools have steadily increased since establishment of the occupational information and guidance service in 1943. Many of these youth are realizing that 91 percent of the people in Oregon and the United States earn their livelihood in occupations other than professional and semiprofessional types, and that there is a wide range of both occupational and educational opportunities in the State and Nation.

R. E. Jewell, superintendent of schools at Bend says: "A significant number of students in our community has been enabled to make a sounder choice of high school and post high-school courses because of the variety of occupational information and guidance services offered them; the variety of vocational education courses also better fit students to select more wisely their fields of work."

Industrial arts

While the objectives of industrial arts are designed to serve a different purpose than those of vocational education, both programs have much in common and the two groups maintain cooperative relationships. O. N. Mickelson, State president of the Industrial Arts Association, says: "Today all of Oregon's industrial arts courses are considered a fundamental part of general education for boys and girls."

Approximately 175 schools now employ about 250 teachers of industrial arts. The Industrial Arts Handbook for Oregon's secondary schools (published in 1952) outlines 29 different units that may be selected in different industrial areas and grade levels, and indicates the diversity of instruction offered.

This is a brief outline of the activities and opportunities provided by vocational education services in Oregon. For specific information concerning any phase of the program, write to: Oscar I. Paulson, State director, division of vocational education, 105 State Library Building, Salem, Oreg.

Sleep Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following timely and well-constructive poem by Mr. Henry Kravetz, 75 Warren Avenue, Malden, Mass., who formerly resided in Chelsea for a number of years:

SLEEP WASHINGTON

(By Henry Kravetz)

In distrust, rebellion,
Nations rise.
In woe and bitter,
Sweetness lies.
Glory to the fathers,
Who are first in step!
They are the surveyors,
Who boundary-lines—map.

On the ruins of dictation,
Freedom will rise!
Glory to the soldier,
Who in battle dies!
Their names inscribed forever,
Remains, on histories scroll.
Ever to remember,
When taps—will call.

Sleep Father Washington!
Thy spirit leads your children
Throughout the land.
In sorrow or joy, united they stand.
One flag, one nation!
And in God, we trust.
With faith, so great,
No nation is lost.

What Price Coffee?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am moved to make the observation that in the present tempest in a coffeepot it ill becomes us to criticize what the Brazilians may or may not have done to coffee when we consider that we have done to price butter out of the market. Secretary Benson is to be commended for looking at the butter situation realistically and the following editorial, taken from the February 19 issue of the Times-Herald, deals with equal realism with the subject of coffee:

WHAT THE BRAZILIANS HAVEN'T DONE

Jules Dubois, our correspondent in Latin America, has sent a dispatch from Sao Paulo, Brazil, which should provide a salutary warning to the small-bore politicians who are trying to make capital out of the high price of coffee.

Mr. Dubois reports that the increase in coffee prices cannot be blamed on manipulation of the market by the Brazilians or anyone else. There is an increased demand all over the world and a shortened supply. Brazilians themselves are paying $1.50 a pound for coffee that is inferior to what we are getting in this country for a little more than a dollar a pound.

In these circumstances, the Brazilians are properly resentful of the tactics that American politicians, including some within the administration, are using. Their newspapers are advocating boycotts of American goods in reprisal for the coffee boycott that is being talked up, but not widely practiced, in this country.

When it comes to the price of agriculture products, American politicians are living in a glass house. Before they begin popping off about the price of coffee, they should reflect on some of the things that the Brazilians, either individually or through their government, have not done to increase the price of coffee—things that we have done with other commodities.

The Brazilians have not organized a cartel to gouge American consumers, as British, Dutch and French colonial producers have in the past with commodities like rubber, tin and cacao.

Neither has Brazil entered any international agreements to gouge its domestic consumers and dump surpluses abroad at cut prices. That is what the United States has been doing under the International Wheat Agreement. Nor is Brazil buying coffee and storing it to maintain prices. The same American politicians who are howling about coffee prices are trying to find means of unloading the mountains of butter and the enormous stores of wheat, corn and cotton that have been purchased to support farm prices.

The Government of Brazil has done one thing regarding coffee exports. It has a marketing arrangement under which the coffee grower gets only about half of the current price of the commodity. The rest goes to the government, and is in effect an export tax. The United States is prevented by the Constitution from taxing exports, but that does not render the practice in any way unlawful in other countries.

Many nations, including particularly those whose exports are agricultural products or industrial raw materials, get a large proportion of their revenue from export taxes. Any country that imposes an export tax does so at the risk that another country, by exporting the same commodity tax free, can win away its market. That hasn't happened, yet, with coffee. Brazil still produces more than half of the world supply, and we drink two-thirds of it.

About 90 percent of the boycott talk in this country is humbug, but the Brazilians are disposed to give it full credit. The use of any commodity will decline to some extent when the price rises, but the demand for coffee is relatively inelastic. We didn't drink three times as much coffee a few years ago when the price was a third what it is now. You either drink coffee or you don't drink coffee, and if you drink it at all your consumption doesn't decline much as prices rise.

Brazil is the largest and most populous country in South America. It is in many respects the most stable, and it has a long record of consistent friendship with the United States. We can't afford to sacrifice that friendship to oblige a few political blatherskites who, when they get through orating, won't have done a single thing to help the American coffee drinker—because there is nothing they can do.

Student Editor Recites Experiences and Observations Behind Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the district in Illinois which honors me with election to this distinguished body is the great University of Chicago. This fact is not entirely unknown to my colleagues. A proper sense of pride has moved me on numerous occasions to refer to the University of Chicago's outstanding contributions to our country and to the world. I take especial pride in the fact that Miss Marie Crowe, my administrative assistant, and Miss Dorothy Taylor, chief of my secretarial staff, are graduates of the University of Chicago.

I am indebted to Miss Crowe for calling my attention to the March 1954 number of the University of Chicago Magazine, featuring the article on Russia by Richard E. Ward, managing editor of the Maroon, the student newspaper of the Midway campus. Mr. Ward was 1 of 7 American student editors who recently spent 3 weeks behind the Iron Curtain. I have found Mr. Ward's recital of his observations and experiences so interesting that I am extending my remarks in order to share with my colleagues a bit of worthwhile reading. The article follows:

AN AMERICAN STUDENT ABROAD

(By Richard E. Ward, managing editor, the Maroon)

Returning from a visit to Russia is not a restful time. The visitor finds himself besieged by a swarm of questions. Six other student editors and I spent 3 weeks in the U. S. S. R., traveling over 4,500 miles through Russia. Certainly such little time—with so much travel—does not give anyone the opportunity to see even the smallest country. (Sometimes our questioners, be they friends or newspapermen, forget this.) The trip, however, did give us a chance to see parts of a country which few Westerners visit these days. Even though the trip was short and the distance covered more than the length of America, there are certain facts and feelings reportable here.

The trip was planned last September, after an editor from Vassar and I found that we could not join the tour of another student group. The Christmas vacation permitted us to schedule our own trip. By the middle of November, fater the unassisted word got around, eight other college editors had asked to be included. Near the end of November we applied for visas from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, which were granted 3 weeks later. Seven of us, by borrowing money from our schools, parents, and friends, were able to go. Christmas afternoon we climbed aboard a plane for Moscow via London and Helsinki, and arrived in Moscow December 28.

Two representatives of Intourist, the official Soviet travel agency, were waiting at the airport to take us to our hotel—the fashionable National, where Intourist has its offices. The 2 of them, a married woman of 39, and an amiable chap about 25, were interpreters for us during the trip.

We stayed in Moscow for 5 days. Two of us, Craig Lovitt, editor of the Knox College Student, and I, went on to Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, Kharkov, and Tbilsi (Tiflis), then back to Moscow. The other group also toured Tbilsi, Kiev, and Kharkov along with side trips to Baku, and Odessa. We had asked for a much larger itinerary, but—for one thing—our time was too short. Then, too, we were not permitted to go to Sevastopol because, according to our guides, it is a naval base. Nor were we permitted to visit Vilna, the capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Our guides could give no explanation for this.

Besides factories and schools, we visited orphanages, palaces of culture, universities, collective farms, and a few homes. Between cities we traveled by train or plane; within the cities we usually were driven by limousines or regular cars. Our interpreters were with us most of the time, although when we had free time, usually at night, we would wander on our own.

Moscow is a fast-paced city of about 5 million people, who—if the crowds we saw are any indication—always appear in a hurry.

The moving crowds of people on the streets are very similar to crowds in New York or Chicago. Sharply dressed policemen, in red, white, and blue uniforms, hurry the traffic over wide avenues. Trucks far outnumber the passenger cars, and we were told that the average worker—the vast majority of the population—cannot afford a car.

People seem to make up for this lack of cars by either walking or using the public transportation system. As a result these systems were extensive in the cities we visited. Outlying districts or suburbs are not as adequately serviced, thus people in these parts were isolated from each other. In Moscow public transportation equipment appeared to be all postwar. The trolleys, trolley-buses, and diesel buses in use looked almost exactly the same as those used in Chicago. The older rolling stock is relegated apparently, to other cities, where we saw them. But the pride of the Muscovites is their subway. Opened first in 1936, and richly decorated in marble, it handles about one and one-half million passengers a day.

Despite many impressive buildings, many sections of Moscow are rundown. Living conditions, on the Russians' own admission, are a great problem. According to the Russians, much of this problem is due to the tremendous population increases of most Soviet cities over their prewar populations. In any event, there are many overcrowded areas in Moscow.

The people on the Moscow streets seemed to dress rather drably, but we saw no one who did not seem warm. Prices of good clothing, which is available now in the form of show pieces, are very high. Thus clothing is an exceedingly large budget item for the Soviet citizen. We were told that the colors of clothing brighten up during the warmer season. While we were there it snowed continuously, with the temperature always under or about zero.

Moscow's stores were crowded, so crowded that it seemed to us evidence of the need for more stores. Their newest department store, which has a good selection of merchandise, was packed. Clothing, small household items, and small gifts were the things I saw sold. What to the Russians are luxury items,, such as refrigerators and television sets, are available but highly priced. Besides, television is very new. Steady production began 2 years ago, and if one compares Russian and American equipment, it is about 5 years behind that produced here. Only Moscow, Leningrad, and a few other large cities have television stations, even though other cities we visited are building them. While radios are reasonably priced, production is not great enough to meet demands. A familiar sight is the outdoor loudspeaker and the common set servicing many speakers in the same building. These sets cannot receive the Voice of America, at least in Moscow, because it is jammed there. The BBC can be heard, however.

In the factories we visited, in Moscow and other cities, we found that the workers put in an 8-hour, 6-day workweek, and receive 4 paid holidays a year along with vacations ranging from 2 to 4 weeks depending on the type of job. Wages were stable so they are not the concern of trade unions, which, we were told were primarily interested in administering pensions, the educational and vacation programs, and workers' recreational activities.

The assistant director of the tractor plant in Kharkov told us that the factory employed about 13,000 people. One-third of them were women, 60 percent under 25, with the minimum age set at 17.

The same assistant director told me that he had been to Chicago, about 15 years ago, visiting farm equipment and steel plants. He said that he admired our production methods very much; then he asked me what I thought of their assembly methods. To me they seemed similar to American factories, except that most of their machines are old. He also pointed out the nurseries and kindergartens for the women workers who had children. Here, he said, were facilities better than in the workers' flats, which were part of the inducement to get women to work in heavy industry during the day.

Workers' flats are often an integral part of a factory unit. They are located within walking distances of the plant and are even built by the factory. Up to half the factory's profit may be used to improve these facilities, but the profit is never very large since it is the balance left from the cost of running the plant as compared with what the Government pays for the product. The two figures don't usually fall far apart. (The Government then sells the product at its own prices.)

We visited 4 workers' flats near the Tbilisi wool factory. The distinguishing feature was their smallness; each had a kitchen, bath, and 2 or 3 small rooms (with possibly a sun porch). Invariably someone slept in the living room. Two of the flats were comfortably furnished, another was somewhat drab by our standards. I do not recall seeing any radiators, but if they existed, they were off, because it was quite cold.

The collective farm we visited was about 20 miles outside of Kharkov, with about 4,000 acres which supported 1,200 people. There were about 400 families and about the same number of workers, only 70 of whom were men. The director told us that this ratio was a result of the Ukraine's heavy losses during the war.

FOUR RUBLES

The farm did not appear to be a showpiece. Its facilities were rustic. The common hall for recreation and meetings had no heat. Each family had its own house. The 2 we visited each had 3 rooms. At the present time, only the director's quarters and a few other buildings have electricity, so we found kerosene used for heating and light. Each family also has its own plot of land for individual use. The plots are used for raising the family's food, and any extra produced may be sold by the family itself by traveling to the special city markets.

The Ukrainian farmers we met seemed very proud of their collective farm or Kolkhoz, even though they readily conceded that life on them was difficult. They told us that they planned building a greenhouse and a central heating plant this year.

Back in Moscow we inquired about the prices of Russian-made items such as refrigerators and bicycles. We were told that refrigerators sold for 2,000 rubles—they held about 6½ cubic feet—and bicycles cost 550 rubles. (We asked about limousines, but we were told that only the government buys them.) We then compared this (and other prices) with what we had been told about a worker's wages. In general a Soviet worker can buy considerably less than the American worker, although a close comparison is difficult. The beginning worker receives about 700 rubles a month, and—if he has certain skills—he can earn up to 1,000 rubles after a few years' experience. While the American dollar will buy 4 rubles, 1,000 rubles is not equivalent to $250 in purchasing power on the American market. Consider rent and the price of a reasonable suit: Rent is not more than 5 percent of a worker's income, but the suit will cost him 700 to 800 rubles, or almost a month's pay.

Even with our interesting visits to factories, houses, and farms, we were more interested in the Soviet citizen and what he thought—both about himself and us. While we could meet only a very few, we found all of these warm people who greeted us as friends. The same cannot be said about their feelings toward our Government.

Anti-American propaganda is found in the press, posters, Soviet literature, drama, and even the ballet. In Kharkov we saw a beautifully executed ballet—as are all Russian ballets—called the Red Poppy. But it was as skillfully anti-American as it was beautiful.

Briefly, the story told of the Chinese revolution, the victory of Mao Tse Tung. Most of the ballet was used to show the American soldier in China, led by a caricature of General MacArthur, mistreating China, portrayed as a beautiful woman. The Americans tried to get what they wanted by flashing large rolls of money. They were presented as rude and generally sloppy men. The woman is, of course, saved by Mao, and the ballet ends with a symbolic joining of the Soviet and Chinese people. I remembered that during the war the same ballet had been shown in the United States, but then it was the Japanese who was the villain, then the Chinese beauty was saved by the Russian and the American sailors.

Most of the audience at this ballet were teenagers. At the end of the second act some of them noticed our white shirts and light suits, and we soon found ourselves surrounded by a large crowd, which was full of questions. They wanted to know about American life. None of their questions seemed hostile. One finally asked if we minded the criticism in the ballet. We said we thought it was rather unfair, that it was full of nothing but stereotyped caricatures of both history and Americans. They did not agree with us.

Anti-American posters will be found mainly in the factories. There is usually some reference to war in them. The main themes are American soldiers dying in Korea and the symbolic American subjugation of the U. N., France, Britain, and Western Germany.

We found no Soviet students critical of their Government. When we questioned this we were told that they felt no need to criticize the Government because it represented the wishes of the people. They did not seem to understand the possibility of there being dissatisfaction which could never be heard. They also jokingly said that our own Government is so unstable that we must change it every few years. All of these students relied mainly on Pravda for their views on the American scene.

EISENHOWER?

We also asked their opinion of Eisenhower, but they avoided this question by saying that he did not represent the Government, but rather was an administrator. Some of them did have slight praise for the President's recent suggestions for atomic energy control, even though they were not satisfied with it. For Truman the Kiev students had nothing but invectives. They said he started the Korean War.

Before we left Moscow to return home, we met some of the editors of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) daily newspaper, which goes to almost 2 million Russians. We asked these bright young people what they believed the chances were for peace—in particular, what assurances could the Soviet Union give to a capitalistic America which was manifestly unsympathetic to communism. On the theoretical level they replied that "Revolution is not for export." This we knew to be something Stalin said about 30 years ago. We were not satisfied. We suggested that Marx's theory of capitalism destroying itself could be discussed here. Did the Russians believe that this would actually happen in America? If it did, would Russia help push the revolution which theoretically would follow? The answers to these questions, and others like it, were very vague indeed. One student hinted that Marx's theory had been modified. That was about all. On the practical level they suggested that we wait for the outcome of the Berlin Conference.

Their eagerness to ask questions, questions which actually were also criticisms of America, along with their reticence to answer questions about Russia, was of course a kind of contradiction. But, then, this strange cojoining of different forms could be found in other spheres of Russian life as well.

SAD CONCERN

Soviet cultural life, for instance, is a curious blend of the classics—the famous paintings, literature, and music of all countries—and modern Soviet art and literature. (The Soviet citizen is offended if the label "Russian" is applied to work produced after the revolution; such work is called Soviet.)

Then, again, religion is widespread in Russia. It receives no official encouragement; children cannot receive religious training in schools. But we were told that most towns have churches—mainly the Russian Orthodox. We visited one church for the Christmas service, in Kiev. It was packed. While we could got no figures on church attendance at other times, our interpreter told us that priests are still trained in Zagorsk, a small town northeast of Moscow. Our interpreter also told us that the war seemed to increase the interest in religion. But the young people we met did not seem at all interested in religion.

There were two other reactions on the part of our hosts. Our interpreters, in replying that Russians still needed passports to go from one city to another, could hardly believe us when we told them that this was not necessary in America. Finally, as part of a cheerful sendoff after our trip to their land, a number of the young editors expressed sad concern that we would not be able to express our views about Russia when we got back home to America.

Lincoln Day Remarks of Hon. Charles E. Potter, of Michigan, at Sheboygan, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, February 10 the Republicans of the Sixth Wisconsin Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent in the Congress, observed the birthday of Abraham Lincoln and the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party.

I am pleased to state that it was the largest Lincoln Day event held in this district. Over 1,200 persons attended and were thrilled by the masterful address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, CHARLES E. POTTER.

The Senator told the Lincoln Day gathering that the divided Nation of Lincoln's era and the divided world of today strikes similar parallels. He pointed out that a century ago a deep and bitter conflict raged between the advocates of slavery on one hand and the advocates of freedom and emancipation on the other. Tension prevailed through the divided Nation just as tension now prevails through the divided world. He said the objectives of international communism will never veer from the diabolical goal of world conquest and sounded a warning that all of the people in the free world must give greater attention to the simple but terrible fact that communism is dedicated to the complete enslavement of the world.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to insert excerpts from Senator POTTER'S address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The Communists occupy half the land area of the world and control nearly half of the world's population. Within the last 20 years they swallowed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, China, and North Korea. They are indoctrinating East Germany, infiltrating France, Italy, Britain, and Central America, fighting with satellites in Indochina, and gazing jealously on the vast riches of the East Indies. I say to you if this is not a calculated pattern of world conquest, what is it?

Under the Roosevelt-Truman administrations, this Nation followed one of the most confusing, meaningless, vacillating, and inconsistent foreign policies ever enunciated by a major power. It coddled Communists in one hand and slapped their wrists with the other. We were fighting them in Korea and trading with them in China. We conceded everything at Yalta and Potsdam then spent millions keeping up the Berlin airlift. All of this has cost the American taxpayer dearly. Truman spent more in 8 years than Roosevelt did in 12—and Roosevelt was no miser. In fact, Truman spent more money in 8 years than all preceding Presidents, excepting Roosevelt, spent in 144 years. These wasteful expenditures underlie every domestic and foreign problem we have.

We cannot afford to support the free world and I do not believe we have any obligation to do so. In fact, the time has arrived when we should give greater consideration to the needs of America and the American people. If we don't—no one else will.

Over the past 15 years, this Nation has been on an economic bender of great proportions. In the process, it consumed intoxicating quantities of war, inflation, taxation, crime, communism, corruption, and handouts. Then we came to 1953—the year of the "big hangover." We inherited headaches, dislocations, debts, and readjustments. But we diagnosed the pains for what they really were—past excesses and not signs of an impending crisis. The only cure is plenty of hard work and exercise. That's what Republicans are doing right now to straighten things out.

I am convinced that the greatest threat to our national security and welfare will come from within. These threats could come in the forms of subversion, lax security measures, inflation, wasteful spending, mismanagement, stupidity in foreign policy, and burdensome taxes. Abraham Lincoln said in his Cooper Union address when asked as to our greatest danger: "I answer, if danger ever reaches us, it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time or die by suicide."

Another First for the Second District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Second District of Illinois is one of the three congressional districts in the United States with largest Japanese-American constituencies. As a group and as individuals they are making a large contribution to the economy and culture of the life of our community. I am extending my remarks to include a news dispatch from the Pacific citizen of Los Angeles, Calif., as follows:

WASHINGTON. — Congressman BARRATT O'HARA, Democrat, from the Second Congressional District, Chicago, Ill., informed the Washington office of the Japanese-American Citizens League that he has appointed a Nisei to serve on his Washington staff.

Mrs. Mary Matsumoto Ono thus becomes the first Nisei to be employed on a full-time basis in any congressional capacity. She is a secretary in the Chicago lawmaker's office in the new House of Representatives Office Building.

The Washington JACL office noted that while several Nisei have been employed in the past on temporary or part-time work by Members of Congress, Mrs. Ono is probably the first person of Japanese ancestry to be employed in a regular, full-time position.

"Congressman O'HARA is to be commended for opening up congressional employment to the Nisei," Mike Masaoka, Washington representative, said. He expressed the hope that other Congressmen would welcome qualified Nisei secretaries and staff workers.

"This is another demonstration of the growing acceptance of the Nisei in positions of public responsibility," Masaoka declared.

A native of Gary, Ind., Mrs. Ono has resided in Illinois since her graduation from the Chicago St. Thomas Apostle High School. She accepted a scholarship to St. Francis Xavier College for Women and was conferred a bachelor of science degree in the physical sciences in 1938.

Her father, Junji Matsumoto, arrived in the United States in 1897 from Wakayama, Japan. For a time he was employed in the Monterey (Calif.) home of the socially prominent Henry family. Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States, married a daughter of the Henry family while Mr. Matsumoto was in her employ. Mrs. Ono recalls that her father received personal Christmas greetings from the White House while Mr. Hoover was President.

In 1943 Mary Ono began her career in Government service while working for the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in Chicago. Later in the same year she transferred to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation where she was the first of many Nisei later to be employed by that agency.

Transferring again in 1945, Mrs. Ono continued Government employment with the National Housing Authority. When the National Housing Authority was dissolved, she continued in Government in the office of the Housing Expediter until 1947.

Mrs. Ono initiated her own business enterprise providing bookkeeping and secretarial services until 1949 when she returned to Government work in the Office of Rent Stabilization in order to better help take care of her aging father. Junji Matsumoto passed away in April 1951.

In September 1953 she was persuaded to leave Government service for employment in the Chicago office of Congressman BARRATT O'HARA. In January, as Congress convened, O'HARA invited her to work in his Washington offices.

Harry Ono, her husband, is one of the original members of the famed 100th Infantry Battlian from Hawaii. After his military service, Harry Ono remained in the United States to attend New York University. He was conferred a bachelor of arts in the field of sociology in 1949. At the present time he is employed by the Veterans' Administration.

Civil Defense Award Given Endicott Johnson Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following summary of remarks prepared by me for delivery at the civil defense award to the Endicott Johnson Co., of Johnson City, N. Y., on December 17, 1953:

Fifty years ago today man first flew. In less than the span of one lifetime, the airplane has become a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde which affects each one of our lives.

On the one hand, it has become our swiftest means of mass transportation and timewise has reduced the world to the size of a single nation in 1903. In times of disaster it is an angel of mercy. As a research tool it has taught us much about our atmosphere and the weather. It sprays our crops and forests. It is rapidly becoming a major transport medium for valuable, fragile, or perishable cargo, and as a supplier to remote areas it has no peer. In the brief span of 50 years, it has done more for the good of all of us than the Wright brothers ever foresaw in their wildest dreams.

But like all material things, it has capabilities for evil as well as good. As an engine of war it has overshadowed all of its companions in modern man's vast arsenal of weapons. When coupled with atomic and hydrogen bombs, it can bring, in a blinding flash and with little or no warning, the four horseman of the apocalypse to the doorstep of any one of us.

The atom, like the airplane, is developing at a fearful pace. It too has great powers for both good and evil. To date, it has reached its highest state of development as a weapon of war, but I firmly believe it too will be one of the great benefactors in the lives of our children.

Your effective civil-defense program at Endicott Johnson will help to insure these benefits to our children. It is part of the shield which protects us all from atheistic communism while the peaceful side of the atom is being developed and perfected in the laboratories of America.

As citizens living some distance from large cities—Albany and Rochester are 150 miles away, New York, Philadelphia, and Buffalo just under 200—you may think that your major civil-defense problem will arise as a result of a local attack on key industrial plants in the Triple Cities area. I should like to suggest, however, some problems which an attack or the threat of an attack on our major cities would present, and the important role which you would be called upon to play. I refer to the heavy burden which will be placed on the surrounding countryside if one of our great cities is hit.

In commenting on the Hiroshima disaster, the United States Strategic Bombing Survey states:

"There was no organized activity. The people seemed stunned by the catastrophe and rushed about as jungle animals suddenly released from a cage. Some few apparently attempted to help others from the wreckage, particularly members of their family or friends. Others assisted those who were unable to walk alone. However, many injured were left trapped beneath collapsed buildings as people fled by them in the streets. Pandemonium reigned as the uninjured and slightly injured fled the city in fearful panic * * * there were physically intact teams on the outskirts of the city which did not function. Panic drove these people from the city just as it did the injured who could walk or be helped along."

In Japan, under atomic attack, there were indications of a feeling of utter helplessness evoked by the impact of the violent physical concussion. And then, after emotional recovery began, there took place a second emotional shock, produced by the inescapable sight of mutilated human beings.

Among those who were at the periphery of the target cities and who escaped the full physical violence of the explosion, the primary emotional stimulus seems to have been the human devastation. Many people located in towns several miles away from the target cities were acutely disturbed by the casualties inflicted by the atomic weapon. Apparently, it was not simply the large numbers of casualties that had a powerful effect upon those who witnessed them, but also the specific character of the injuries, particularly the grossly altered physical appearance of persons who suffered severe burns.

Available sources of information consistently indicate that a dominant reaction to the bombing was acute anxiety. In some cases, the acute emotional disturbance took the form of profound apathy and depression. In others, feelings of deep hopelessness and pessimism prevailed.

Fear reactions persisted among a sizable proportion of the population for many days and possibly weeks after the atomic bombings. Anxiety-laden rumor circulated among the survivors during the postdisaster period.

This is what happens to a people totally unprepared psychologically for such an attack. Their civil-defense program was not geared to atomic weapons.

President Eisenhower, in his magnificent address before the U. N. on atomic power for peace, stated: "Atomic bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the Atomic Age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent." This is a force great enough to utterly destroy the heart of even the largest cities and to extend terrible damage far into the suburbs.

To be without a sound and active civil defense program in the face of such a threat would be foolhardy. But a civil defense program is like a fire department—it must be fully trained and equipped long before fire breaks out if it is to be of any use. Paper plans and pious statements are worse than useless. They are a public deception and sow the seed for panic in a time of attack.

To take an example, let us suppose there is an attack on one of our large neighboring cities. If aid and relief measures are not well planned, an extremely critical situation is to be expected. Following the emergency evacuation of the attacked city, homeless survivors would be widely scattered over a large region; thousands of half starved people would be wandering about for a long period, seeking their lost families or friends; there would be frantic competition for the scarce quantities of food, water, and medical supplies available. Many groups of survivors who received no help from people in outlying communities might become extremely hostile and attempt to obtain shelter or supplies by force and violence.

Obviously, if this type of social disorganization occurs following an atomic disaster, a prolonged period of demoralization is to be expected. On the other hand, if the essential needs of the survivors are well provided for and if there is sound community leadership, there is every reason to expect that within a short period of time the vast majority will willingly participate in reconstruction work and make a fairly adequate adjustment to the deprivational situation.

If survivors cannot be permitted to return to the target city for a prolonged period because of the presence of lingering radioactivity or other reasons, there are likely to be serious problems of social reorganization which may have an unfavorable effect upon behavorial morale. Deprived of the opportunity to return to their own community and to engage in its reconstruction, they are likely to become depressed, apathetic, and deeply pessimistic about their future. To meet this contingency, special plans are required to provide for either prompt relocation of the community on a site or the rapid absorption of survivors into other existing communities. In the event of such a catastrophe, we would all thank God for a well-organized local civil defense program.

In order to provide the needed technical information to the State and Federal civil defense organizations, the AEC and Defense Department have special research programs.

I attended one test last spring at the AEC Nevada Proving Ground which was designed just for this purpose.

The atomic explosion selected for the operation was one in which the Federal Civil Defense Administration had a well-organized test program. The program had three major objectives: (1) Exposure of two typical American homes to atomic blast in order to determine what would happen to the homes and to test the effectiveness of simple basement shelters; (2) exposure of eight outdoor home-type shelters; and (3) exposure of a variety of typical passenger cars to determine the amount of protection afforded to passengers, and the effect on the mechanical operation of the cars.

In evaluating the results of any test, two important things must be kept in mind. The tests were made with an atomic weapon of known size and power, and test items were placed at known distances from ground zero. But in translating the test results into what would happen in case of atomic attack on our cities, we do not know the size and power of the enemy weapons which might be used against us. We do not know where those bombs would fall in our cities, i. e., what their ground zeros would be.

What civil defense and the public need are general conclusions which will apply in the majority of cases under the principle of the 'calculated risk' which is basic to all realistic civil defense planning.

Thus, when civil defense recommends a home shelter design, they are saying in effect: "Since no one knows where ground zero would be, the chances are that you would not be within the total destruction area of an atomic burst over your city. Therefore, this home shelter should give you good protection from blast, heat, and radiation. It probably would save the lives of yourself and your family in areas where persons with less protection might be badly hurt or killed."

FCDA learned that the shelters which were tested can withstand blast, heat, and radiation. They learned that with such shelters, the chances for survival under atomic attack are greatly increased.

In the face of the present-day, high-speed airplane, coupled with atomic and hydrogen bombs, America must for the first time learn to live under the constant threat of large-scale destruction. A sound military defense coupled with an effective civil-defense program provides the best defense against attack. We all yearn for quick, complete, and automatic protection, but today there is no such protection and there is no reason to believe that any such protection can be provided in your lifetime or mine. As long as the threat of militant atheistic communism exists, our best defenses will be a sound military program and a sound civil-defense program. The success or failure of the civil-defense program will rest

upon the effectiveness of the local civil-defense groups and the cooperation of local homeowners in setting aside family supplies of food, medicine, and water. It is organizations such as yours, however, which will carry out the actual rescue operation, and supply medicine and food in quantity. It is the local civil-defense organization which will have to carry the burden if the Triple City area is struck, or if we have to come to the aid of one of the nearby metropolitan communities. When the catastrophe has struck, it will be too late to learn the fundamentals of first aid to obtain medical supplies, to set aside a store of food and water. If we do a good job now on civil defense, we will not only be better prepared in the event of an emergency, but if the country as a whole does a good job, the chances of our facing such an emergency are reduced. A potential aggressor will be keenly aware of the efficiency of our civil-defense organization, and it is an important factor in the determination of his chances of success. As was true in Hiroshima, the panic following the bomb explosion can do more damage than the explosion itself, and civil defense is as much protection against panic as it is aid to the injured. I believe you can, therefore, take great pride in the award which you are receiving today, for it indicates that you, as a responsible group of citizens, have done your part in the civil-defense program, and as a result both you and the country as a whole are better for it.

In closing, I should like to point out the positive nature of good civil defense. A good civil-defense program, coupled with a sound military program, may well supply the time needed for men of good will to work out a solution to the atomic dilemma—a solution which will permit the world to enter upon the era of peace and plenty, which science and industry have now made possible—an era in which the atom and the airplane will be the peaceful servants of man in a peaceful world.

Representative Hale Boggs, Democrat, of Louisiana, Defeated in an Attempt To Reduce All Excise Taxes Above 10 Percent to a 10-Percent Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following:

On February 23, 1954, Representative HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, moved in executive session, in which the committee was considering revisions of the tax laws, to reduce all excise taxes that are now above 10 percent to a 10-percent level.

Mr. BOGGS stated:

My motion to reduce excise taxes would have reduced the rates on the following items, which are now taxed at the rate of 20 percent, to 10 percent: Admissions and dues, safe-deposit boxes, camera lenses and film, electric light bulbs and tubes, jewelry, furs, toilet preparations, and luggage (including handbags), and so on. The 15-percent excise tax rate would have been reduced to 10 percent on transportation of persons, mechanical lighters, pencils, fountain and ball-point pens, and sporting goods which are now taxed at a 15-percent rate, and the present 15- and 25-percent rates on telephone, telegraph, radio, and cable services would have been reduced to 10 percent. This is not a complete list; however, the effect of my motion would have been to reduce all excise taxes which are above 10 percent to a 10-percent level.

The chairman of the committee ruled my motion out of order on the grounds that it violated the committee procedure which had been agreed to at the beginning of executive sessions on revisions of the tax laws. The Republican members of the committee unanimously supported the chairman in this position.

I am sure that those businesses which are straddled with these high tax rates will believe that this is a poor excuse for denying them relief. The committee could have considered a reduction in these rates by unanimous consent, regardless of what the prior agreement as to parliamentary procedure may have been. The Republicans refused to grant such consent.

I am perturbed over the recent statements of the Speaker of the House to the effect that all excise-tax rates above 10 percent should be reduced to 10 percent, because such a statement from the leader in the House of Representatives is bound to create a buyers' strike, because the public in many instances will hold off buying items subject to these excise-tax rates in anticipation of the promised reduction. My motion today would have relieved this situation by setting the legislative process in motion which would have insured prompt consideration of these reductions by the Congress.

Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, local union No. 47 of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada recently unanimously adopted a resolution in regard to the Social Security Act.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this resolution adopted by local union No. 47 of Ottumwa, Iowa:

Whereas the Social Security Act provisions relating to old-age benefits and survivors' insurance, enacted originally at the request of the American Federation of Labor, are both sound humanitarian policy and a bulwark to our economic system; and

Whereas proposals are now being made that the trust fund which insures these programs be depleted and the financing of them be placed on the so-called pay-as-you-go basis, which would wipe out all the necessary reserves; and

Whereas the excessively high cost of living, as reflected in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Price Index, has in effect decreased the benefits being paid under these programs; and

Whereas large numbers of citizens are not covered by the present law, who should be allowed to pay their share of the tax and to participate in benefits; now, therefore be it

Resolved by the general executive board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, AFL, That the trust fund by the payments of the employers and the employees be protected and the scheduled rate of progression in premium payments be maintained; and be it further

Resolved, That we support the Lehman bill, S. 2260, and the increased benefits provided for therein, and the Kean bill, H. R. 6846, and the extension of coverage provided for therein, and we strongly urge Iowa's Senators and Congressmen to support these measures and the intent of this resolution, wherefore we direct that copies of this resolution be sent to them at once.

A-Bomb: How Much Threat?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interview with persons in the Capital who have authoritative information regarding the threat of atomic war and the United States preparations for continental defense conducted by the editors of the Town Journal and published in the December 1953 issue of the Pathfinder magazine:

A-BOMB: HOW MUCH THREAT?
(By Howard La Fay)
HERE ARE SOME SURPRISING ANSWERS YOU MAY NOT HAVE HEARD BEFORE

Perhaps nothing is so much on the minds of most of us these days as the threat of atomic war. Yet the conflicting statements that have come out of Washington have left us more confused than enlightened.

In an attempt to get the most trustworthy answers there are, Town Journal last month held another of its Give us the Answers forums, this one in Sycamore, Ill. Some 30 leading citizens of this typical countryside community asked the questions which doubtless puzzle most of us. Then the Town Journal editor who conducted the forum brought the questions back to Washington where the magazine's staff went to work on them. Town Journal editors interviewed everyone in the Capital who has authoritative information. The result is what we believe to be the truest picture that can be assembled at this time.

Here are the questions and the answers:

Business executive Marc Buettell asked: "Can the Russians drop an A-bomb or an H-bomb on the United States today?"

Yes. The Russians, whose store of A-bombs is measured in hundreds (we have thousands), could drop one on almost any target in the United States. Their standard heavy bomber—the TU–4, a copy of our own B–29—has a range of 4,500 miles, placing most American cities within reach of Soviet Arctic bases. In addition, the Russians have probably already developed a newer, faster intercontinental bomber. Our present defenses could stop only about 3 of every 10 attacking planes.

It is unlikely that the Reds have a finished H-bomb at this time. If they have, chances are it would be too bulky to fit in any plane they now possess.

A doctor's wife, Mrs. Emery Fenwick: "Is a sneak attack on cities our greatest threat?"

Decidedly not. Now and for some time to come Russia will save her slender stock of atomic weapons for better strategic use.

Squandering bombs on United States cities is a luxury the Reds cannot afford. Our own meager stockpile was one reason we did not use A-bombs in Korea. Only last April did the United States accumulate an adequate quantity.

Since the Reds—who are tactical realists—can never hope to take over America, an attack would have one object: to stop us from helping West Europe or southeast Asia resist invasion.

So the Reds would logically:

1. Attempt to destroy aircraft carriers and major airbases in the United States, Western Europe, Africa, and the Near East. We could still retaliate. Our bombers, fitted with jet assisted takeoff, could use smaller airfields among the 5,800 in North America alone.

2. Make a token raid on Washington.

3. Explode atom bombs concealed in cargo ships or smuggled in by enemy agents. If our 10 best harbors were destroyed, we would be cut off from surface communication with our allies for many months. Even the most efficient airlift could ferry less than 1 percent of Europe's military needs.

Submarine-launched guided missiles equipped with atomic warheads are a greater menace than mass air attack. Half or more of our critical industry is located within easy missile range (200 miles) of the United States coastlines.

Despite popular belief, most American cities would not be primary targets until more profitable means of attack had been exhausted or thwarted.

Manufacturer Don C. Patten: "Do we have any plans for an effective defense against atomic attack?"

Yes. Our network of radar stations will be expanded and several new warning devices will be introduced. Defense in depth will be provided by American and Canadian jet fighters.

Key metropolitan centers will be protected by NIKE, a guided missile with an atomic warhead capable of seeking out and homing on enemy aircraft. NIKE will shortly be installed in the Washington-Baltimore area.

Our most effective defense, however, will continue to be the ability to mount a devastating atomic counterattack. So long as we have more and better nuclear weapons than a potential enemy we need have little fear of an atomic Pearl Harbor.

News Editor Herb Carroll, of radio station WLBK: "What might cause Russia to attack?"

Some possible motives would be: (1) their decision to grab Western Europe or southeast Asia; or (2) their counting on our staying out of a little war which could explode into a big one if we responded as we did in Korea; or (3) desperation. (If Russia slips further and further behind in the cold war, actual war might be a last resort.)

But there are deterrents to Soviet attack, too, including these:

Our superiority in the field of nuclear weapons, which should continue for at least 4 or 5 years.

The presence of 50 NATO divisions in Europe.

Our determination to resist aggression—proven, to Russia's surprise, in Korea.

The negative consideration that the Reds are doing rather well as is; why risk everything in a war where they would be underdogs?

Banker Clifford Danielson: "How would we strike back after an atomic attack?"

The moment an enemy hit the United States a well-rehearsed timetable of retaliation would be underway. Roughly outlined, it runs like this: At H-hour + 1 nuclear weapons would be made ready and picked air crews would report to their preassigned posts; at H + 2 our planes would be winging from land bases and aircraft carriers toward preassigned targets; at H +? our bombs would blast every important military installation in Russia.

Executive Robert L. Boyd, of the Turner Brass Works: "Is Russia more or less vulnerable than the United States?"

Slightly less. Ours is an industrially-concentrated nation. For example, 40 percent of our entire industrial capacity is crowded into 15 target areas.

Russia has about 160 suitable atomic targets, including air and submarine bases, oilfields, industrial sites, and atomic energy facilities. But its heavy industry is more widely scattered.

Furniture dealer Stan Gullberg: "What does an A-bomb cost?"

Disregarding the tremendous outlays for manufacturing processes, atomic explosives are surprisingly inexpensive. In fact, when measured in terms of detonating power, fissionable material is hundreds of times cheaper than TNT. According to Representative W. STERLING COLE, Republican of New York, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy: "An atomic weapon—at a cost measured in tens of dollars—can deliver the same explosive force which costs thousands of dollars to produce by ordinary means."

Utilities Executive H. J. Etchison, of the Public Service Co.: "Does America stockpile A-bombs in other parts of the world?"

Storage points are known only to the President and a few high-echelon associates. While certain components—such as bomb casings—may be kept at a few overseas bases, the device that actually triggers the bomb, as well as the fissionable material itself, is probably stored only in the United States.

Engineer Dick Anderson: "What atomic weapons have we other than the bombs?"

Besides its well-publicized atomic artillery, the United States possesses land mines capable of contaminating given areas with radioactivity, making them inaccessible to enemy troops. Typical uses would include: covering a withdrawal; filling gaps in a defensive line; protecting the flanks of exposed units.

In addition to NIKE, we have a Navy-developed supersonic guided missile—called Regulus—which will carry an atomic warhead.

Some ships in the Pacific fleet are equipped with ultrasecret antisubmarine devices which could be some form of atomic depth bomb.

Farm Woman Mrs. Margery Malen, who lives just outside Sycamore: "What could we expect if Russia overtook us in the atomic race?"

A war that would leave the U. S. S. R. a shambles of radioactive ruins will never tempt the Kremlin. Therefore, neutralization of nuclear weapons would be the chief Russian goal prior to war.

In view of this, if the Reds gained atomic equality with us, they might conceivably announce to the world (1) that they would renounce such weapons if we do likewise; (2) that if we do use them, they will immediately atomize the great cities of Western Europe. Gambling that fears of our allies would prevent us from using our A-bombs, the Russians might then unleash their powerful armies to fight a conventional war for control of Western Europe, with no atomic danger to Moscow.

The unpleasant truth is that the Soviet Union has been steadily gaining in the atomic race. Experts give us only 4 to 5 years before the Reds actually pull abreast.

Superintendent of Schools Arthur C. Muns: "Why don't we exchange information on atomic weapons with England, Canada, and other friendly nations?"

We already trade atomic information, but for security reasons we have excluded data on weapons. Most scientists and military men consider this shortsighted. Legislation will soon be introduced to expand the exchange.

President Margaret Adams, of the Sycamore Business and Professional Women's Club: "Is there any hope of outlawing atomic warfare?"

Says Representative COLE: "It just takes one country to start a war, but it takes at least two nations to make an agreement. After Hiroshima, we submitted to the United Nations a control plan offering a rascal-proof way of regulating the output of atomic weapons. Eight years of striving on behalf of such a plan have met only with rebuffs from the Kremlin. Nevertheless, we must continue to press for some kind of international control."

Bill Gould, a member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce: "When may we expect atomic energy to benefit us on a personal level?"

The practical uses of atomic radioisotopes already include treatment of some cases of diseased thyroid as well as leukemia. Industrially, they are used to determine the thickness of paper and metals in manufacturing processes. They are used in agricultural research.

Last month the Atomic Energy Commission—which has been spending 8 percent of its funds for peacetime uses—announced that it would build a $30 million atomic plant for large-scale production of electric power. Production costs are expected to be twice those of conventionally generated electricity, so it will be some time (best estimate: 5 years) before such plans will be commercially practical.

Nuclear reactors have been built to propel submarines; work is already well advanced on a nuclear power system for aircraft. There now seems little likelihood that atomic power will be adapted for propelling automobiles because the reactors are bulky and require heavy shielding to protect against radiation.

County Nurse Rose Phelps: "What could I do for someone exposed to atomic radiation?"

Symptoms of radiation sickness—nausea, vomiting, fever, prostration—do not appear until some time after exposure, so no program of on-the-spot care exists. Symptoms within 24 hours generally indicate a fatal radiation; if they appear later the dose is probably nonfatal. Treatment consists of rest and—above all—good nursing care. Antibiotics and blood transfusions are used.

Insurance Representative Everett A. Smith: "Is industry being decentralized?"

In the first half of 1953, 162 of the 198 new defense plant authorizations—$1.4 billion worth—were for construction on dispersed sites.

The most meaningful question asked in Sycamore was that of Comdr. Fred E. Jansen, United States Navy (retired), Sycamore's director of civil defense. Wounded on Guam in World War II, Jansen asked simply: "Isn't a spiritual and moral reawakening the only means of promoting the international good will necessary to save the world from destruction?"

The answer to that question can be found only in the heart of each of us, here and in Russia. And in the final analysis that answer is mankind's only possible response to the deadly challenge of the atomic age.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Warrensburg (Mo.) Daily Star-Journal of February 5, 1954:

OUR QUEER UNCLE SAM

Is a woman's handbag a luxury? Washington regards it as such, adding 20 percent to the regular price. If a bag is a luxury, so are a man's pockets. The Bureau of Internal Revenue has disregarded this point. More than one candidate for Congress is running on a promise, if elected, to exclude handbags from the luxury tax.

The same 20 percent penalty applies to cosmetics and baby supplies. Any woman will tell you that looking her best is not a luxury but a necessity. And any man will be apt to agree. If baby supplies are a luxury, so are babies.

Evidently Uncle Sam is not a family man. He does not seem to recognize the facts of family life.

The 100th Anniversary of the Construction of the Famous Horseshoe Curve on the Pennsylvania Railroad Near Altoona, Pa., February 15, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1954, the world-famous horseshoe curve on the Pennsylvania Railroad, just west of Altoona, Pa., was 100 years old. This curve was at the time of construction, and still is, an outstanding engineering feat, attracting an estimated 75,000 visitors each year.

In the early days of the 19th century three seaboard cities were in position to benefit from the growing trade of the West. Two of them, Baltimore and New York, were already on their way; the historic, paved national road was building from Baltimore to the Ohio country, and the Erie Canal was being dug to join the waters of the Great Lakes with the Hudson River and so open an inland route for New York.

Philadelphians, and Pennsylvanians generally, came to realize that they could not continue to rely on a transportation system that required from 18 to 35 days for a wagon loaded with less than 2 tons of freight, drawn over unpaved roads by 5 or 6 horses, to cross the State to Pittsburgh and the open vista of the Ohio River.

Pennsylvania's first solution was a system of canals and railroads, known collectively as the main line of public works, built by the State. This consisted of 82 miles of railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, a 172-mile canal to Hollidaysburg—at the foot of the Alleghenies—36 miles of the Portage Railroad—built in 10 inclined planes over which cars were drawn by ropes and stationary steam engines—to Johnstown, and a 104-mile canal to Pittsburgh. This system was in operation by the spring of 1834. Passengers left Philadelphia at 8 a. m. and arrived in Pittsburgh the afternoon of the fourth day.

While it operated successfully, this arrangement was unsatisfactory in many respects. Service was suspended when the canals froze, the waterways were damaged by spring freshets and were affected by low water in the summer. And it was slow.

In 1839 the State legislature acted by appropriating $30,000 to finance a survey for a continuous railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh, and Charles L. Schlatter was hired to carry it out. Schlatter's surveys covered three routes across the mountains, of which the middle route, up the Susquehanna, Juniata, and Little Juniata rivers to a crossing at the lowest peak in the area, appeared the most promising.

On April 13, 1846, the legislature's act incorporating the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. was signed by the Governor, providing for construction of a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. A year later John Edgar Thomson was retained as chief engineer of the company, a selection which was most fortunate for the new railroad, and which is reflected in its operation to this day. He rose to become the Pennsylvania Railroad's third president—1852–74—and one of the world's greatest railroad executives.

Thomson resurveyed Schlatter's middle route and improved the line to provide lower grades all the way from Harrisburg to the mountains, distance of 134 miles. Other surveys to determine the best crossing, thoroughly exploring the ridges for a distance of 44 miles, were carried on for nearly 2 years until a satisfactory location was found late in 1849. Work was begun in 1851 on the mountain section of the railroad.

Meanwhile, in 1850 the new line reached Altoona, selected by the railroad in 1849 as the site for its principal shops and a major engine terminal. The line was continued on to Hollidaysburg, where a temporary connection was made with the old Portage Railroad to provide a rail route, using the inclined planes, across the mountains to Johnstown, to which the railroad was built eastward from Pittsburgh.

The first cars to operate over rails through to Pittsburgh, avoiding use of the canals, arrived December 10, 1850. This first rail link across the State included the State-owned Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad to Lancaster, the privately owned Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy, and Lancaster Railroad to Harrisburg, the new Pennsylvania Railroad and the Portage Railroad.

The most formidable problem facing Thomson in completing the Pennsylvania line across the mountains was construction of the summit tunnel to cut off the last 150 feet of grade. But the most spectacular engineering feat turned out to be location of the line along the east slope, from Altoona to the summit. The slope on the west side is more gradual and much less demanding of engineering skill.

It had been decided that the new line was to mount the east slope with a grade of not more than 1.8 percent, or a rise of 1.8 feet for each 100 feet of distance. Crossing low ridges southwest of Altoona, the line came to a valley running westward and followed it along the side of the ridge on a 1.75 percent grade. But about 5½ miles from Altoona the valley was found to split into two ravines, divided by another mountain. Across the valley at his point lay the ridge which could carry the rails on toward the summit at a 1.73 percent grade. To have crossed the valley from one ridge to the other would have required a great bridge with a grade of 4.37 percent—much too steep for practical railroad operation.

So, to gain distance and reduce the grade, Thomson's engineers built a huge earth fill across the first ravine—Kittanning Run, carved away the face of the dividing mountain, and crossed the second ravine—Burgoon's Run—by means of another great fill. The rails reached the ridge on the other side of the valley in a great semicircle 1,300 feet across—horseshoe curve.

The earliest known use of the term "horseshoe" to describe the curve dates from 1862. In a railroad guidebook published by George H. Thurston it was stated: "This horseshoe bend is one of the greatest engineering triumphs of the age"—a description not diminished with the intervening years.

The new line between Altoona and Johnstown was opened for service February 15, 1854, eliminating the inclined planes of the Portage Railroad. Some grading and other finishing work remained to be done, but the line was opened as early as possible to capture the spring travel volume of 1854.

At first there were two passenger trains a day in each direction over the line. A local left Philadelphia at 7:30 a. m. and arrived in Pittsburgh 17 hours later, making all stops. Another left at midnight, taking 14 hours for the run. In March 1854 a third train was added, leaving Philadelphia at 1 p. m. on a 13-hour schedule. There were also three eastbound trains a day.

The exact cost of building the curve is not available, but Thomson's final cost estimate for the entire Altoona-Johnstown line was $2,745,000. The only portion of the work for which the cost is available is the summit tunnel, for which $450,000 was spent.

With completion of the new line it became evident that the Main Line of Public Works could not compete with the all-rail route. It was sold to the new railroad in 1857, including the Philadelphia & Columbia line. Four years later the Pennsylvania leased for 999 years the Harrisburg, Portsmount, Mount Joy, and Lancaster, placing the entire route from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh under Pennsylvania Railroad management.

Horseshoe curve lies 242 miles west of Philadelphia and 111 miles east of Pittsburgh. It is 2,375 feet long, its curvature is 9°15′, and the grade is 91 feet per mile. The lower calk of the shoe is 1,594 feet in elevation and the upper calk is 1,716 feet high. From Altoona to the summit tunnels at Gallitzin—now 3 bores about 150 feet below the top of the ridge—trains ascend 1,015 feet in 11 miles.

Originally single-tracked, the curve was double-tracked during 1854. For

many years it has had four tracks. Over its heavy-duty rails passenger trains operate on the two inside tracks, freight trains on the outside tracks.

Today the Pennsylvania's great fleet of streamliners, headed by the all-pullman Broadway Limited, traverse the horseshoe curve on their runs between East and West. The time between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia has been reduced to about 6½ hours.

Scores of freight trains powered, like the streamliners, by modern diesel-electric locomotives, carry the raw materials and finished products of industry around the curve in an unending parade of reliable, efficient mass transportation. The operation is an unmatched display of railroading at its best.

Drawn by this sight, and by the breathtaking natural beauty of the valley, an estimated 75,000 visitors yearly make their way to the curve over a paved road which follows an old Indian trail. In 1953, 16,600 of the sightseers took the trouble to sign a register in the refreshment shop at the site. They were from all 48 States, 7 Canadian provinces, 39 other countries, and from 65 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties.

No route more practical than that achieved by the horseshoe curve has been found across the Alleghenies. It has won and kept the admiration of the engineering world for its skillful design and execution, and for its builders' courage in undertaking the project in a day when it had to be done by strong-backed men wielding picks and shovels and assisted only by horses and drags.

Moving CCC Dairy Purchasing Division From Minnesota Is Not in the Interest of Economy and Efficiency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, all of us want to cooperate with the various departments and agencies whenever a proposal is made to increase the efficiency of the agency or lead to greater economy. However, sometimes a proposal is neither efficient nor economical. In my opinion, such is the case with the proposal of the Department of Agriculture to move the Commodity Credit Corporation Dairy Purchasing Division from Minneapolis, Minn., to Cincinnati.

Instead of saving money, this move will actually create substantial waste because fully 75 percent of purchases of butter, dried milk, and cheese have been made in the Minneapolis office entirely from producers right in that area. Minnesota and Wisconsin are predominantly dairy States and provide the greatest production of milk and milk products in the United States. All vendors and companies working with the Minneapolis office have had satisfactory cooperation, and the Department of Agriculture as well as suppliers have benefited immensely through close contact with each other. This close contact and experience would not be possible with the office located in Cincinnati.

No other commodity is experiencing such discrimination. Department of Agriculture headquarters for the cotton program are in New Orleans, the center of cotton production; in the case of wool, the headquarters and general operations office is in Boston. It just makes sense, then, that the natural place for the dairy office is Minneapolis since it is much more of a center of the dairy industry than Cincinnati.

I open the CCC will reconsider this action in the interest of the majority of dairy farmers and processors and manufacturers of dairy products. In moving for efficiency and economy, let us be practical so that efficiency and economy will be real for all concerned.

Lithuania's Declaration of Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and resolution adopted by the Lithuanian-American citizens of the town of Norwood, Mass., on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's declaration of independence:

ST. GEORGE'S RECTORY,
Norwood, Mass., February 16, 1954.
Hon. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

"Lithuanian-American citizens of the town of Norwood, gathered on February 14, 1954, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's declaration of independence, held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Catholic Federation.

"Having considered the present plight of Lithuania created by continued occupation by Soviet Union;

"Taking cognizance of the steadfast adherence by the United States of the policy of nonrecognition of the spoils of aggression committed by Soviet Union;

"Appreciating the cooperation which the President of the United States and the congressional leadership of both major parties extended in the passage of the House Resolution 346, creating a select committee to investigate the enslavement of Lithuania, and the other two Baltic States;

"Do hereby resolve—

"To pledge cooperation with the Government of the United States in its efforts to resist forces of Communist imperialism and to achieve international peace and order based on principles of justice and freedom for all nations;

"To express their sincerest thanks to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, to Congressman Charles J. Kersten, and the House Baltic Committee, to Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Jr., other leaders and Members of the Congress of the United States, for strengthening the hope of liberation of Lithuania and other enslaved nations."

VINCENT J. KUDIRKA,
Chairman.
ANDREW T. VENCKUS,
Secretary.

Representative Jere Cooper, of Tennessee, on February 23, 1954, Challenged the Republican Members of the Committee on Ways and Means To Increase Income-Tax Exemptions for Individuals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, ranking minority member of the Committee on Ways and Means, today challenged the Republican members of the committee to increase individual income-tax exemptions by $100 by raising the exemptions from $600 to $700.

Mr. COOPER stated:

"It is expected that the committee will complete its work on the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 sometime this week. The revisions go far beyond removing complexities, uncertainties, and so-called inequities. In effect, substantial rate reductions have been made in substantive changes in the tax laws.

"I have watched the bill very closely, hoping that individual income-tax payers would receive a fair share of reductions in their taxes. The Treasury Department has assured us that it would be agreeable to a loss of revenues in the current fiscal year from the tax revision bill of around $1.2 billion, and that this loss would not adversely affect the fiscal stability of the Government nor our outlays for necessary governmental functions, including national defense.

"It is my belief that individual income-tax payers have not received their fair share of tax relief in the bill. It will be recalled that the Democratic motion to increase the individual income-tax exemptions from $600 to $700 was defeated earlier by a straight party-line vote, with all 10 Democratic members of the committee supporting the increase and all 15 Republican members of the committee voting against it. To me, this is the least which should be done for individual income-tax payers in this bill.

"The Democrats have all supported the few minor relief provisions in the bill for individuals. Under the parliamentary procedures which govern the committee, it is not possible for the Democrats to again attempt to increase individual income-tax exemptions, since we have already been defeated by the Republicans in our earlier attempt, and the Democrats cannot move for reconsideration of this action.

"It is my hope that the Republican members of the committee will see fit before the bill is reported to the House to include a provision which will increase individual income-tax exemptions to at least $700. If this is not done, the motion to recommit by the Democrats will include instructions that the bill be reported back to the House with a provision which will increase individual income-tax exemptions."

Boosting the Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on February 20, 1954:

THE MINIMUM WAGE

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, in 1949, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was amended to raise the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour.

Big thing.

So generous.

The very people who opposed this so-called raise are the ones who expect such poorly paid Americans to be their customers.

Doesn't make sense—not even business sense.

Take the case of a girl getting the legal minimum pay for a 40-hour week of $30. After deducting the withholding tax and the social-security tax her real pay is twenty-odd dollars a week, which is a coolie's wage when measured against the average standard of living in the United States.

Sad to say, there are employers who make a profit at the expense of this girl's health, her well-being, and her morale. That is why we must have laws to protect the defenseless from such scavengers.

The present law is a mockery.

One thousand five hundred and sixty dollars a year is a slave wage no matter how you look at it—and I repeat that $1,560 is the minimum before deductions.

I maintain that any person, company, or corporation engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce—any employer so identified who cannot pay his employees a minimum of $60 a week—has no right to be in business. He is a menace to his employees who are struggling to make a bare living; he is a drag upon the economy; and he plays right into the hands of Communist propaganda to the detriment of our national security.

Humanitarian appeals won't move him because he has no humanity.

Solid facts to prove that his own business would be bettered by an enlightened policy toward his help won't convince him that the way to real prosperity is by cooperating with labor.

Only laws—adequate laws—will make him behave in a civilized manner toward those who are producing far more than they are getting from him.

That is why the present outmoded minimum wage of 75 cents per hour must be increased to $1.25 per hour.

With heavy penalties to force compliance with the law.

We are not getting enough enforcement of the present law for one thing—and the law itself is riddled with too many ifs and buts—for another. These insincere exemptions and exceptions were increased by the Congress in 1949, taking much of the meaning out of the law itself.

How anyone can keep a straight face and describe 75 cents per hour as a minimum wage, when it is so far under minimum existence standards, is evidence of how false words have become.

Seventy-five cents was not enough in 1949, when the raise was put into effect, and it has lost ground since then. No one needs arguments to be convinced that the cost of living has gone up steadily from 1949 to 1954.

It is nothing less than shameful when we recall that early in 1949—before the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 were passed—the misnamed "minimum wage" was 40 cents per hour in this Nation that prides itself upon its material progress.

Thirty dollars a week today is an insult to any American, even to the organized industrial workers who rightfully enjoy an average pay that is double the minimum. For there is always the danger—in time of adjustment—that the hard-won victories of organized labor may be imperiled as long as the unorganized are paid slave wages of $30 a week.

Business may be business, but it has no right to run any human being into the ground.

Most American enterprises are conducted by men and women who know and live up to the obligations they owe to their employees.

Apart from these are the few exploiters who manufacture misery and drive a wedge between employer and employee that threatens the teamwork upon which are progress depends.

No one maintains that all workers should receive the same wage.

But the present disparity is nothing less than shocking.

This Nation—throughout its history—has been dedicated to the principle of building up, not tearing down.

Therefore, the plain imperative is that we must raise the wages of those who are living, not on the economic floor, but in the cellar, and protect them with a law that has teeth in it.

A higher minimum wage would serve as a prop to our economy, helping to maintain the purchasing power, upon which all business depends. It is no good to have customers in name only without the means to buy the products they want and need.

And it would discourage those exploiters of labor who are always watching for the chance to cut down the living standards of Americans for their own profit. What a contrast to the enlightened and truly successful employer who does not hesitate—on his own volition—to give material and moral recognition to extra effort and improving quality in production.

Those of us who live in labor-surplus areas have seen the exploiters at their vulture-like trade bidding wages downward as they play the worker against the man who is out of work, or hire the unemployed at the lowest possible wage level.

These are the sweatshop employers who are attracted to ghost towns hoping to fatten on the sacrifices of others. Perhaps they have become so material that they have lost all conscience. That is why we must have laws to fill the gap.

Reputable manufacturers, as in New England and elsewhere who pay an average wage of better than $1.60 an hour, are being undercut by other employers who can get away with paying less than half that amount.

It is unfair to take advantage of a worker because that worker is a woman, or has a dark skin, or is over 40 years of age, or has no labor organization to give him or her the protection of collective bargaining. Any employer who uses the above-mentioned dodges to underpay an employee—ignoring ability and production—would surely fail a lie-detector test.

If he will not operate by the moral code of economic justice, then he must be compelled to do so legally.

It is not supposed to be good etiquette to even refer to those people who are unemployed on the theory that, if we pay no attention to the problem it ceases to exist.

This is very convenient for those in responsible positions whose selfishness or neglect stands in the way of any solution. "Don't rock our business boat" they say, forgetful of the unemployed who are floundering in the water and are calling for help.

Of course, they know that there are serious pockets of unemployment here and there throughout the Nation which they admit in private. But their attitude is: "We'll look into it 6 months from now to see how they're getting along."

Getting along? On what?

Unemployment benefits that have expired?

Getting along—on hope?

Businessmen should understand that customers without money or a job cease to be customers.

This fact should be elemental by now, but some business enterprises—and flourishing ones at that—are constantly objecting, not only to the present and disgracefully inadequate minimum wage of 75 cents per hour, but to the whole theory of a floor under wages. Some of them manage to squirm out of it by having their industries exempted from the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Here we are considering not the well-paid workers but the ones at the bottom of the totem pole. The ones who can't sacrifice much more without tightening their belts.

I submit that raising the minimum wage would spread purchasing power, would help to maintain decent standards of living, and would serve to strengthen the base of our economy.

The policy of the Fair Labor Standards Act is and I quote:

"To correct and, as rapidly as practicable, to eliminate labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and the general well-being of workers"; end of quote.

The Nation's ability to produce wealth and distribute it has increased many times since President Franklin Roosevelt first proposed wage-and-hours legislation in 1937.

It therefore came as a surprise to most legislators when the present administration a few weeks ago asked Congress to wait until economic conditions improve before boosting minimum wages above 75 cents per hour.

It also surprised the second man to hold the position of Secretary of Labor so far in this administration, for Secretary James P. Mitchell told the CIO convention last November that the administration was working hard to raise the minimum, and extend its coverage to millions more workers.

The facts are that only 24 million of the Nation's more than 60 million workers are covered by the present low minimum. Farmers, professionals, Government employees, and those in local enterprises are excluded because they are outside the scope of interstate commerce.

I maintain that any business—coming under the authority of Federal legislation—that refuses to pay a fair wage must be required by law to do so.

It is the responsibility of Congress to increase the minimum to $1.25 per hour and to provide for enforcement because there is no room in the United States for those who profit from the underpayment of those who produce for them.

Trumanite Reporters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Washington Star:

TRUMANITE REPORTERS

What is a "Trumanite reporter"? David Lawrence has been using the term. Perhaps it might be defined as follows:

"A Trumanite reporter is a reporter who asks President Eisenhower a question, the reply to which places the President in the position of having said something of which Mr. Lawrence does not approve."

The "Trumanite reporter" who, according to Mr. Lawrence, "entrapped" the President "into pulling the rug from beneath his own party's spokesmen" in his press-conference comments on excessive partisanship, was Merriman Smith of the United Press. The Star does not regard him as a "Trumanite reporter" or an "Eisenhower reporter"—but merely as a good reporter. The reason he happened to ask the question was that the President recognized him first. Otherwise, it might have been the Star's Gould Lincoln, who was trying to ask the same question, along with about 200 other reporters who are more interested in getting the news than in laying down the rules of political strategy to be followed by the President or anybody else—for which, praise be.

The Policy of Liberation—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, which is the guiding source of support and encouragement to the resistance of the 40 million Ukrainian nation against imperialist Russian Communist domination and for independence and self-government, has circulated a remarkably objective statement bearing on an American policy of liberation. The ideas embodied in this statement furnish us with perspectives of thought deserving of our most careful consideration. This part of the statement treats with the enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R. and the satellite countries, and concretely sets forth the expected results of an implemented policy of liberation:

C. THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES OF THE U. S. S. R. AND THE SATELLITES

In formulating the United States position on the enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R., it is necessary to take into consideration the following facts:

1. The czarist empire, which collapsed in 1917, developed as a result of the ruthless enslavement policy of Moscow and Petersburg in relation to the surrounding non-Russian peoples. Before World War I the Russian policy of constant Russification of other peoples and of their national suppression brought about an advanced stage of superficial unity in the empire. At the same time, that empire was characterized by social retrogression and economic exploitation of the lower classes.

2. Regardless of this nationality policy of the czarist regime, the very first years of the war saw a huge national rebirth of the enslaved peoples which found final expression in the declaration and defense of independent states by these peoples: Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, Byelorussia, and others. Such peoples as the Poles and Balts were able to hold out longer in their independence, since they were supported by the West. At the same time, the Russian empire became the arena of a great struggle for social freedom.

3. The struggle which evolved on the territory of Czarist Russia for national and social liberty was skillfully used by the Bolsheviks and aided them in assuming the power of the former regime. Their social slogans of landownership, socialization of industry, and the realization of all democratic liberties under conditions of allegedly temporary dictatorship of the proletatriat made the Bolsheviks a shining success. The Bolsheviks estimated the revolutionary force of the national consciousness of the enslaved peoples in the empire no less clearly and deceitfully declared themselves champions of the national idea. At that time the so-called democratic Russian parties, the Russian monarchists and along with them the entire Western World (Entente) were supporting a revival of a "unified and indivisible Russia." That is why the masses of the enslaved nations regarded them as forces of reaction and fought against those Russian parties which denied them the right to national independence, as well as against the members of the Entente, which inadvertently supported the concept of indivisible Russian empire. At the same time, the deceitful policy of the Bolsheviks which utilized slogans of liberty and free states for each of the peoples of the former czarist empire brought them victory. The Bolsheviks themselves never denied this. None other than Stalin himself explained these policies in the following manner:

"Do not forget, comrades, that we advanced against Kerensky with flying colors and overthrew the Provisional Government partly because we were backed by the confidence of those oppressed peoples which were expecting liberation at the hands of the Russian proletarians. Do not forget, that if in the rear of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and Yudenich we had not had the so-called "aliens," the oppressed peoples, who disorganized the rear of these generals, we would have not nailed a single one of those generals. Why? Because these generals depended on the colonizing elements among the Cossacks, they held out to the oppressed peoples the prospect of further oppression, and the oppressed peoples were therefore forced into our arms, while we held aloft the banner of the liberation of these oppressed peoples. That is what decided the fate of these generals."

"More, the Russian workers could not have defeated Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel had they not enjoyed the sympathy and confidence of the oppressed masses of the border regions of former Russia. It must not be forgotten that the field of action of these mutinous generals was confined to the area of the border regions inhabited mainly by non-Russian nationalities, and the latter could not but hate Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel for their imperialist policy and policy of Russification. The Entente, intervening and supporting these generals, could rely only on the elements in the border regions who were the vehicles of Russification. And thereby it only inflamed the hatred of the population of the border regions for the mutinous generals and increased the sympathy of this population for the Soviet Government." (Marxism and the National and Colonial Question by Josef Stalin. A collection of articles and speeches. London, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. 1942, pp. 154, 155, 118, 119.)

In this respect, has the situation changed? Is the national idea less valid now? In the West it is often thought so. Perhaps that is why some American circles completely ignore the existence of the ranks of enslaved peoples and non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, and want to force them to be "Russians." The entire top ranks of the present Red Empire do not think along these lines. Not being able to prove with facts that America enslaves other peoples they fall back on lies. They declare to the entire world that Americans enslave the peoples of South America, of Western Europe and so forth. They go even further in advising their fifth columns in the West not to use the slogans of "proletarian" revolutions in their countries, but to act as defenders of national sovereignty from the attack of "American imperialism." They clearly advise them to raise the banner of the struggle for national independence of their countries against the United States because they realize the power of that idea. Stalin demanded this of all the Bolshevik fifth columns in the world at the 19th Party Congress in October, 1952. He said: "Now the bourgeoisie is selling the rights and independence of their nations for dollars. The banner of national independence and sovereignty is thrown overboard. There is no doubt that you will have to raise this banner, you, the representatives of the Communist and democratic parties, and you will have to carry it forward if you want to become the directing force of the nation."

The importance of the strength of the idea of national liberation of the enslaved nations in the Soviet Union and the unpopularity of the concept of the indivisible Russian Empire is not denied even by the most rabid Russian imperialists. The Russian newspaper, Novoye Russkoye Slovo, published in New York is the organ of so-called Russian democrats, but which clearly stands on the platform of an indivisible Russian Empire refusing Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians and other the right to their national independence, was forced to admit on September 28, 1951, that "* * * The White movement fought for a unified and inviolable Russia. This slogan might have been a good one, but the good part of the Russian people understandably was not pleased. History showed this."

4. Thus using the striving for freedom of the peoples enslaved by the czars, the Bolshevik regime embarked as quickly as possible on the road of historic Russian imperialism. Under pressure of the national aspirations of each of the nations, Moscow was forced to tolerate the existence of formally independent states of these peoples within the borders of the U. S. S. R. But in practice, it caried out a policy of ruthless Russification and destruction of the leading elements of these peoples including the Communist leaders. Walter Kolarz discusses this matter in his book, Russia and Her Colonies; he states:

"Thus the non-Russian peoples lost two sets of their national elite during the period stretching from the October Revolution until roughly the outbreak of the Second World War. The first included intellectuals who had championed the cause of their peoples under the czarist regime and the second group was made of those Bolsheviks who had taken their place and had tried to defend the interests of the nationalities and the territories of which they had been put in charge." (Walter Kolarz: Russia and Her Colonies, London, 1952, p. 11.)

Thus the process of destroying the leading class of these peoples began approximately 20 years before the same process was begun in the satellite countries after World War II.

Lately, as a result of the pressure of revolutionary forces of the enslaved nations of the U. S. S. R., Moscow has been compelled to make overt tactical concessions in Ukraine and the Baltic countries, thereby conceding that the Russification of these countries was being carried a little too far and too harshly on the part of Moscow's "gauleiters."

5. Coupled with this policy of gradual annihilation of the enslaved non-Russian

peoples the Moscow Bolsheviks assumed the goal of complete rehabilitation of Czarist imperialism and the glorification of the Russian people as a natural supernation which must be credited with all the greatest achievements and inventions of human culture and civilization. Therefore, it was necessary for them to subjugate other peoples. This process acquired a unique force after World War II, especially after Stalin on June 25, 1945, announced a toast to the Russian nation as the greatest of all nations. It is characteristic that all the Soviet peoples were forced to follow this deification of "Mother Russia," the satellites and Eastern Germany included. It is hard to believe that it was necessary to Russify other peoples forcefully only in order to bring about the victory of socialism, that while carrying on an unceasing struggle against the so-called bourgeois nationalism among the defeated peoples it was necessary to act at the same time as the most fanatic chauvinists and messianists. For the victory of socialism alone it would not have been necessary to force the defeated peoples to denounce all their national heroes who were always oriented toward the West, and to make these peoples glorify such tyrants as Ivan the Terrible and others. In such a situation it is understandable that Gen. Walter B. Smith, in his well-known book on the U. S. S. R., says that "communism today is great Russianism."

6. As to the social gains of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellites, bolshevism brought them instead of the promised liberation and freedom only a totalitarian dictatorship and economic exploitation of the colonial type.

7. Therefore, 35 years of domination by bolshevism in the territory of the Soviet Union did not achieve any of the national and social ideals for which the masses strove. On the contrary, it exposed the regime before the nations of the U. S. S. R. and its satellites: (a) In the social-economic sphere as a regime of totalitarianism and terror and of unprecedented exploitation of the masses; a regime which created a two-class society, i. e., the party upper class and the government bureaucracy on the one hand, which live a luxurious life, and on the other hand the millions oppressed by that privileged caste; (b) in the national sphere as a chauvinistic Russian imperialism with an avowed superiority of the Russian nation over the enslaved nations and which committed genocide upon these nations.

In this manner certain most important conditions for every revolution in a totalitarian regime were brought about in the U. S. S. R., and its regime was exposed as one of exploitation and reaction and as an enemy of enslaved peoples. The counterpart of this can only be an upper class of the party and a bureaucracy which consists in the main of Russian chauvinists and of Quislings from among all the peoples of the Soviet Union. In reference to youth, even though it is maturing in a situation completely cut off from the outside world the last war brought serious changes in that respect to the detriment of the regime. But it is clear, that the prolongation of this situation can cause a completely new generation to be more devoted to Moscow than the previous one, that is, than the one which lived through World War II.

8. Regardless of the fact that one of the important prerequisites for internal revolution exists in the Soviet Union, that is, that the regime has been exposed before the masses and has demonstrated its decadence, a revolution at the present time is not possible because of—

(a) The lack of an extensive revolutionary organization spread throughout the entire Soviet Union. The existence of some revolutionary organizations among the enslaved peoples, for example Ukrainian, is by the nature of things territorially limited and greatly hindered by the police system of the regime. Again, in the question of the area of Russia itself, that is, the Russian people themselves, the existence of such organization is not possible from the political aspect, since the Russian people are not enslaved politically but on the contrary, are the ruler of a colossal empire. Such a feeling prevails primarily among the leaders of the Russian intelligent class which is the only one which could become the directing nucleus of a revolution. Also, in the question of social freedom, no one but the new Russian bourgeoisie benefits from the system of the regime.

(b) The complete indifference to the fate of the peoples enslaved by the U. S. S. R. on the part of the West, which twice after World Wars I and II, treated the entire ranks of peoples enslaved by the Soviet Union and its satellites as "an internal problem" of Russia. Such indifference in the West, which often makes appeal to lofty slogans of liberty in relation to these peoples, has evoked a feeling among these peoples that the West's slogans often mask its true political interests.

In its policy toward the U. S. S. R. the United States should to no lesser extent than in other areas, declare itself the champion of national and social liberation of the captive peoples, outlining its position thus:

1. The United States does not strive for the realization of any kind of political or economic goals on the territory of the Soviet Union, with the exception of a desire to include the peoples living in that area in the community of free peoples and to make possible the exchange of their spiritual and material resources with the rest of the free world.

2. The United States affirms the existence of a state of brutal enslavement of the nations and peoples in the U. S. S. R. by the totalitarian regime of Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, and in particular:

(a) in relation to all the peoples of the U. S. S. R. and its satellites the United States affirms that Bolshevism never fulfilled its promises of social progress and economic prosperity, but instead built a system of brutal terror which consists of a bloody dictatorship and destruction of all democratic freedoms; it forbids freedom of speech, thought, religion, free association, and so forth, in the destruction and dissolution of the church, in a terrible exploitation of the worker, in a complete enslavement of the peasant by making him into a modern bonded slave.

(b) In relation to the Russian people, the United States believes that that nation with its colossal human and material resources fell victim to the imperialist totalitarian clique of the Kremlin which, reviving the ambitions of national superiority in the Russian nation, is leading its people on the road to enslavement of other peoples and finally the entire world. Such encroachment is leading the Russian nation to complete catastrophe, since the wrath of those enslaved and threatened by Moscow is already directed against the Russians, whom the Bolsheviks declare to be a superior nation. Moreover, such an imperialist policy and such Bolshevik activity makes the Russian masses themselves share and suffer a part of the social pressure of the regime (dictatorship, economic exploitation of the lower classes).

(c) In relation to the non-Russian peoples enslaved by Moscow the United States believes that in addition to the social and economic slavery into which they fell together with the Russians, they are the object of national-political enslavement of modern Russian chauvinism and imperialism. The United States affirms that Moscow strives for a gradual liquidation of national and cultural characteristics of the suppressed peoples and for their planned economic exploitation and to establish their complete dependence upon Moscow as separate economic units. The United States declares in relation to this, that along with the general discontent which prevails on the territory of the entire U. S. S. R. and in the satellite countries as a result of the system of Bolshevik terror and dictatorship, the satellite countries and the countries of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus countries, Turkestan, the Baltic countries, and others, are imbued with sentiments of national independence and their people carry on a struggle against Russification and Russian domination of their countries and strive for full national independence from Moscow. This being so, the United States—

1. Declares its full sympathy with all the peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries in their struggle against the tyranny of Bolshevism for the realization of all democratic freedoms, in particular the freedom of thought, speech, creed, religious practice, economic prosperity, and especially for the realization of those freedoms from which the free nations of the West now benefit.

2. Declares the absence of any kind of hostile design in relation to the Russian people, their culture, or their material resources; declares its sympathy for the Russian masses showing them the ruinous road upon which the Kremlin rulers are embarked and calls on the Russian masses to join the common front of the enslaved peoples of the U. S. S. R. and the free nations of the West against the Bolshevik dictatorship and against the enslavement of other peoples. The United States invokes the Russian masses to recognize the right of other nations in the Soviet Union to their own statehood, and proposes to the Russian people that they struggle for the overthrow of the Bolshevik clique in order to rebuild a free Russian state with a democratic structure on Russian ethnographic territories, and that they relinquish the ambition to enslave others. The United States declares its support of the Russian people in their struggle for such ideals.

3. Declares its sympathy for the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and for the peoples of the satellites, and declares its moral support of their struggle to rid themselves of the yoke of Russian imperialism and to eliminate the local quisling cliques which serve Moscow.

4. Believing in the principle that freedom is indivisible, the United States in relation to the Russian empire rejects the thesis of so-called nonpredetermination which has helped enslave many nations, which has brought misfortune to the Russian nation itself, making it a superior over other nations of Europe and Asia and the initiator of war and aggressive enslavement of other peoples. Moreover, the Russian Empire formally ceased to exist as an entity upon the constitutional reformation of the Soviet Union on the basis of multiple formally independent Republics of peoples different one from the other, each with the right to secede at any time from the Union. Therefore, guaranteeing the Russian people the right to their national independence in all territories where a majority of Russians live, the United States declares the same right for other peoples of the U. S. S. R. and does not wish to oppose in any way the right of the contemporary Republics of the U. S. S. R. to their genuine independence and the severance of their ties with Moscow. The United States leaves the question of closer cooperation to the Republics of these peoples.

Nevertheless, the United States desires that these Republics strive for a close supernational cooperation based on the pattern of those processes which are now underway in Western Europe. The United States also holds the position that all the Republics in the future, should maintain friendly relations with a nonimperialist state of the Russian people.

IV. EXPECTED RESULTS

The future policy of the United States formulated in such a declaration of faith or credo, can—

1. In relation to the countries of Western Europe, (a) give them new faith in themselves and a desire to defend themselves from the totalitarian barbarism of Moscow; (b) enable them to recognize American leadership without fear of "American imperialism," and therefore, relinquish the desire to be neutral in the struggle between the two giants, the United States and the U. S. S. R.; (c) facilitate their reciprocal relations with the colonial nations, and enable the western nations to be included in the large bloc of nations fighting for freedom under the leadership of the United States.

2. In respect to colonial and semicolonial peoples, (a) convince them of the sincere endeavors of the United States to support their aspirations for national and social freedom; (b) convince them to ally themselves on the side of the West and to relinquish their present attitude and secret hopes of Moscow's support.

3. In relation to the Chinese people, to convince them that the United States is not eager to force its social-political order upon any people, that America is ready to support the liberation movements of these people and to facilitate economic cooperation with them, and that its sole aim is to prevent the inclusion of China into the Russian colonial empire.

4. In relation to the Russian people, (a) to demonstrate to them America's friendliness and good will; (a) to show them positive means of resolving the present situation and give them a chance to join ranks of free peoples, just as America gave nonimperialistic Germany;

5. In relation to the non-Russian peoples and the satellites, (a) convince them that they are not alone in their struggle, and that despite Russian propaganda, America is their genuine friend and will not permit Moscow to destroy them or convert them into tools of its imperialist policies; (b) convince them that in the event of a decisive battle with Moscow they will receive aid from the West, and that the United States will support a genuine independence of their states.

6. In relation to fellow-travelers and Communist sympathizers in the West, (a) convince them that the United States is not an enemy of social progress, but is always ready to support it; it can show them that America is not fighting against any social and political movements, with the exception of those which would destroy society and which foreign agents organize from within in their role of tools of aggression, as in the case of the Russian type of communism.

7. In relation to all the peoples of the world, it can imbue them with the belief that in today's world of warring totalitarianism and imperialism, nations and individuals have the chance to remain free and that they need not fall victims to advancing tyranny, and that the United States is ready to carry the banner of this historical struggle to final victory.

8. In relation to the American people, it can renew their belief in the high ideals of their forefathers and the founders of America, and make them aware of their historical mission for the glory of the American Nation and all the nations of the world who strive to be free.

Welcome, President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial appearing recently in the Times-Enterprise of Thomasville, Ga., entitled "Welcome, President Eisenhower":

WELCOME, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Naturally local people and those in Tallahassee and vicinity were delighted to learn that President Dwight D. Eisenhower would make a pilgrimage to this section as the guest of our own George M. Humphrey, his Secretary of the Treasury. This has been expected for some time and recent rumors showed that the usual thoroughly effective plans are being made by the best men in the country in their line to see that he is not molested, annoyed, or interfered with in any way. We can rely on Thomasville and Tallahassee for that without the additional safety which is gained from supervision of Government agents. It is possible that Governor Talmadge who will be in Cairo will pay an official call on the President, if he remains in the territory long enough.

It is quite possible that his visit may be extended for the full weekend and in that event Milestone Plantation will be closed and only those given entree by the owner will be allowed near the lovely winter home that he has erected and uses every year at the plantation on the Metcalfe Road. The President, however, will take time to have a period of relaxation and rest during which he can indulge in quail shooting in the best game section of south Georgia. It may entice him to return and to make this one of his regular stops, where he is assured of quiet and a plenteous supply of game.

Thomas County did not go for Eisenhower and it was not expected to in view of its long association with the rival party that helped elect Eisenhower President. He did most of the job, however, and his record and distinguishments brought him the acclaim of all of our people from all sections of the country. Thomasville gave him the biggest vote that a Republican has ever secured here, greater in numbers even than that of McKinley when he was elected President after visiting Mark Hanna here, then a Republican leader in Ohio and the Nation.

As a matter of fact it was a relief to know that Eisenhower won, after we had endured 20 years of the Roosevelt and Truman regimes, especially the latter. But for the claptrap of designing politicians over the race segregation, promoted by elements in other sections of the country there would be a possible muster of more than the expected number of Republican votes for Eisenhower if he elects to run for a second term, which many of us hope that he will be spared to do.

As a professional expert in military affairs he has enjoyed the respect and the admiration of millions of people all over the world and there has never been one instance of his deviation from the path of loyalty to country and to its fundamental institutions. He is and has been for some time one of the leading men on the world stage and his conduct has been such that it is not marred with even the smears that usually accompany the efforts of every one who achieves success. The President has done it as nearly on his own as any man that has occupied the White House. The people trust him although they do not all expect to agree with all of his policies.

He is steady, calm, and rarely intelligent in sensing the needs of our country. We are honored by his presence in this section and we feel for him an affection that is magnified by his close association with our George Humphrey and with a program that has as its prime objective the best interests of all our country. Welcome, thrice welcome Mr. Eisenhower.

Never Have So Many Organizations Felt It Necessary in the Interests of American Taxpayers To Unite in Opposition to the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is a generally recognized fact that the big push for the so-called St. Lawrence seaway is coming from a small group of Midwest steel companies which have made an investment in Labrador ore and are seeking cheap transportation for their product at the expense of the taxpayers of this country.

I know, of course, that the project has been agitated in varying degrees over a period of more than 30 years. But the organized pressure for it is being largely supplied and financed by these six companies: The Hanna Co., Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Wheeling Steel, National Steel, and Armco.

The reason I cite this influence and backing, Mr. Speaker, is that by comparison I want to show that whereas the force for the seaway is largely a steel combine, the opponents of this scheme are diversified groups, representing virtually all segments of our economy, ranging over the entire United States, united in their belief that the seaway proposal is inimical to the national welfare.

Mr. Speaker, I know of no legislative proposal which ever had so many representative groups affiliated for a single purpose as are assembled in the organizations banded together to prevent the United States being maneuvered into buying this white elephant.

Not only does the opponent's list include representatives of business, transportation, shipping, and production, but high on the list are the United Mine Workers of America, the American Federation of Labor, several of the Railroad Brotherhoods, the entire maritime industry of the United States, as well as the port authorities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Wilmington, Charleston, S. C., Savannah, Ga., and the port authorities of all the gulf ports, and the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, the largest and most representative business organization of the largest port on the Great Lakes.

In addition, more than several hundred organizations from all sections of the country are affiliated in the joint endeavor to prevent the seaway folly being foisted on the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the organizations mentioned as opposing the St. Lawrence seaway, let me read the names of the following organizations who are united in their efforts to defeat this economic monstrosity:

Alabama Department of State Docks and Terminals; Alabama State Chamber of Commerce; Allegheny Regional Advisory Board; Altoona (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce; American Association of Railway Advertising Agents; American Coal Sales Association; American Merchant Marine Institute; American Mining Congress; American National Livestock Association; American Short Line Railroads; Amsterdam (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce; Anthracite Institute; Appalachian Coals, Inc.; Association of American Railroads; Association of American Ship Owners; Associated Industries of Alabama; Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association; Atlantic States Shippers Advisory Board; Auburn (Maine) Chamber of Commerce; Aurora (Ill.) Chamber of Commerce.

Baltimore Association of Commerce; Baltimore Chamber of Commerce; Beaver Falls (Pa.) Board of Trade; Beckley (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce; Bergen County (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce; Binghamton Junior Chamber of Commerce; Bluefield (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce; Blytheville (Ark.) Chamber of Commerce; Bogalusa (La.) Chamber of Commerce; Borough of Queens Chamber of Commerce; Boston Chamber of Commerce; Boston Grain and Flour Exchange; Bradford (Pa.) Board of Commerce; Bridgeport (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce; Bristol (Va.-Tenn.) Chamber of Commerce; Bronx Chamber of Commerce; Bronx Board of Trade; Bronx (N. Y.) Traffic Club; Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce; Buffalo Chamber of Commerce; Business and Civic Association of the Tonawandas, Inc.; Business Improvement Association; Butler (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce.

Camden County (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce; Campbell County (Ky.) Chamber of Commerce; Canal Carriers' Association; Cape Cod Chamber of Commerce; Central Western Shippers Advisory Board; Charleston (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce; Charlotte (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce; Charlottesville and Albemarle County (Va.) Chamber of Commerce; Chelsea (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce; Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce; Coal Trade Association of Indiana; Colorado State Chamber of Commerce; Columbus (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce; Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc.; Connecticut Chamber of Commerce, Inc.; Cortland (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce; Cumberland (Md.) Chamber of Commerce.

Danbury (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, Davis (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Delaware Chamber of Commerce, Delaware State Coal Club, Dubuque (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce.

East Liverpool (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce, East St. Louis (Ill.) Chamber of Commerce, Elmira (N. Y.) Association of Commerce, Evansville (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce.

Findlay (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce, Flatbush (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Club of Boston, Frankfort (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce, Freeport (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Fuel Merchants' Association of New Jersey.

Galveston (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce, Garfield (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce, Glens Falls (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Gloucester (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, Gloversville (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Goldsboro (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce, Greater Wilmington (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce, Greenville (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce, Greenwich (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, Gulfport (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce.

Hagerstown (Md.) Chamber of Commerce; Hampton Roads Maritime Exchange; Hampton Roads Wholesale Coal Association; Harbor Carriers of the Port of New York; Hazleton (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce; Hornell (N. Y.) Board of Trade; Houston (Tex.) Chamber of Commerce; Huntington, Long Island, Chamber of Commerce.

Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, Inland Water Petroleum Carriers' Association, International Longshoremen's Association.

Jackson (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, Johnston (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce.

Lackawanna (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Lawrence (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, Lewiston (Maine) Chamber of Commerce, Lima (Ohio) Association of Commerce, Lockport (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Logan County (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Long Island Association, Louisville (Ky.) Board of Trade, Lynn (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce.

Manchester (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, Maritime Association of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, Maritime Association of the Port of New York, Massachusetts State Chamber of Commerce, Merchants Exchange of St. Louis, Merchants' & Manufacturers' Traffic Bureau of Muskogee (Okla.), Merchant Truckmen's Bureau of New York, Meridian (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, Mid-West Shippers Advisory Board, Millville (N. J.) Board of Trade, Mishawaka (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce, Mississippi Valley Association, Moline (Ill.) Association of Commerce, Montgomery (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Morgantown (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Mount Carmel (Pa.) Businessmen's Association.

Nashua (N. H.) Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Shippers' Advisory Board, National Coal Association, New Bedford (Mass.) Board of Commerce, Newark (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce, New Brunswick (N. J.) Chamber of Commerce, New England Shippers' Advisory Board, New England Fuel Dealers' Association, New England Traffic League, New Hampshire Manufacturers' Association, New Haven (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, New Orleans Association of Commerce, Newton (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, New York Board of Trade, New York Produce Exchange, New York State Chamber of Commerce, New York State Retail Solid Fuel Merchants' Association, New York State Waterway's Association, Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce, Niagara Frontier Industrial Traffic League, Norfolk Association of Commerce, Norfolk Port-Traffic Commission. Norfolk-Portsmouth Traffic Club, Northwest Shippers Advisory Board, Norwalk (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, Northeast Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

Ogden (Utah) Chamber of Commerce, Ohio Valley Transportation Advisory Board, Oil City (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce, Olean (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce.

Pacific American Steamship Association; Parkersburg (W. Va.) Board of Commerce; Pawtucket (R. I.) Business Chamber, Inc.; Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association; Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce; Peoria (Ill.) Association of Commerce; Petersburg (Va.) Chamber of Commerce; Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce; Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce; Port of Newark (N. J.); Port of Portland (Maine) Authority; Portland (Maine) Chamber of Commerce; Princeton (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce; Propeller Club of the United States; Propeller Club, Port of Baltimore; Propeller Club, Port of Boston; Propeller Club, Port of Buffalo; Propeller Club, Port of Chicago; Propeller Club, Port of Cleveland; Propeller Club, Port of New Orleans; Propeller Club, Port of New York; Propeller Club, Port of St. Louis; Propeller Club, Port of Wilmington (N. C.); Pueblo (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce.

Reading and Berks County Chamber of Commerce, Rensselaer (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Ritchie County (W. Va.) Improvement Association, Roanoke (Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Rochester (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, Rock Island (Ill.) Chamber of Commerce.

Sapulpa (Okla.) Chamber of Commerce, Scranton (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce, Seacoast Regional Development Association of Portsmouth, N. H., Seminole (Okla.) Chamber of Commerce, Shenandoah (Pa.) Merchants Association, S. E. Shippers Advisory Board (Southeastern), Southern States Industrial Council, Solid Fuel Institute of Milwaukee, Southern Pine Association, Southern Traffic League, Southwestern Industrial Traffic League, Springfield (Ill.) Chamber of Commerce, Springfield (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, Staten Island Chamber of Commerce, Sweetwater (Tex.) Board of City Development, Syracuse (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce.

Tennessee Manufacturers' Association, Torrington (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce, Trenton Chamber of Commerce.

United Real Estate Association (New York).

Vicksburg (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, Virginia Coal Merchants Association, Virginia Manufacturers' Association, Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Virginia Peninsula Association of Commerce.

Warehousemen's Association of the Port of New York, Washington County (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, West of Central Park Association (New York), West Side Association of Commerce of New York, West Virginia Association of Retail Grocers, West Virginia Chamber of Commerce, West Virginia Coal Association, Williamston (W. Va.) Chamber of Commerce, Wilmington (N. C.) Port-Traffic Association, Wilmington (N. C.) Port Commission, Wisconsin Coal Bureau, Inc., Worcester (Mass.) Chamber of Commerce, Wyoming Valley (Pa.) Chamber of Commerce.

Yazoo County (Miss.) Chamber of Commerce, Yonkers (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce.

Liberalized Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a resolution on the subject of liberalized social security adopted by the Centerville (Iowa) Aerie, No. 2675, Fraternal Order of Eagles, on February 4, 1954:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that (1) the minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50; (2) 10 million additional persons be included in the security system; (3) the first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act; (4) the earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200; (5) the 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all American: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressmen from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 4th day of February 1954.

CLAUDE N. BREESE,
Worthy President.

Attest:

GUY L. EVANS,
Secretary, Centerville Aerie, No. 2675.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. F. NORRELL
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter received from Hon. Lawrence E. Dawson, attorney, of Pine Bluff, Ark., as follows:

PINE BLUFF, ARK., *February 12, 1954.*

Hon. W. F. NORRELL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN NORRELL: Last November I had the privilege of serving as one of the judges for the finals of the Voice of Democracy contest, at the Pine Bluff High School, sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Pine Bluff.

The contest is nationwide and is now in its seventh year. It is open to all sophomore, junior, and senior high-school students. Contestants prepare a 5-minute talk for radio broadcast.

The talk of Miss Rita Goolsby, 1924 Olive Street, Pine Bluff, a student of Pine Bluff High School, was selected by the judges as the best at Pine Bluff High School. Miss Goolsby entered the State contest and won second place.

I enclose herewith a copy of Miss Goolsby's first-place speech. If you could insert this speech in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am sure that it would stimulate much interest in this area in this worthwhile project sponsored nationally by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in conjunction with the Radio and Television Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

Thanking you and with kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE E. DAWSON.

Miss Goolsby's prize-winning speech is as follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

MY DEAR SON: You are now only 2 months old, and I have just learned that I will not have the privilege of watching you grow up. You see, I have only a few weeks to live. That is why I am writing this letter. I don't want to die without trying to leave something that will help you be a good citizen and make a worthwhile contribution to the world.

This is not a perfect world in which we live. There are so many adverse elements all around us, that we must keep uppermost in our minds the ideals and goals for which we want to strive, or we will become affected by these polluted qualities.

There is war in various parts of the globe today. It might seem as though people hate each other and have no good will in their hearts at all. But I have always believed that there is something good in everyone and every nation—and that those good qualities can be brought out through patience, love, and understanding. I firmly believe that America is the one hope we have to show the world the way to real peace. Why? Because America is a democracy. This simply means that the people rule and when you come right down to it, that means you and others like you.

There are countries in which the people are without voice, vote, opinion, or importance. In those countries, force rules and the people can't go out and write boldly on the page of history how they want things run as you can with your vote. But Americans love freedom so dearly and hate force so much, that you are not even forced to vote. You can stay at home, take it easy, and you can let others do the job of choosing. I know you won't be satisfied with a nonchalant attitude about the important task of government in a democracy.

But more than likely, you won't work full time at governing. You'll have your studies in school along with good times with other young people. Then you will choose your vocation in life, take on the responsibility of marriage and settle down with a living to earn, a lawn to mow, and children to play with and love and look after. So for the hard job of running the country, you'll hire other men. But you'll listen to what they say, watch what they do, and form opinions about the administration of your government. If you disagree with the manner in which it is run, you can speak out against things that harm it, and you can print those convictions for all to read, even though your name is not one that people hear every day. Some might even term it as "foreign." But, son, you are an American—and I want you to be proud of that fact always. What is it they say? "Liberty is every American's birthright." We should try to eradicate the fallacy that a name is the key to whether or not one is an American. There is no "old American name" and I want you to always remember that.

By the time you are old enough to understand what I am saying, times may have changed. But there is one fundamental freedom which will always be the same. The desire for this freedom was the inspiration for the beginning of our democracy. Yes, I'm referring to freedom of worship. My son, the wish closest to my heart as I write this letter is that you will have an unshakable faith in God and that you will look to Him for leadership and guidance in all things. Honor God and honor the country which He has so richly blessed.

My son, because I am a parent—because I love you, I want you to have a happy childhood, to acquire a sense of responsibility, to realize the importance of integrity, to develop a sense of tolerance, and, above all, to realize the value of peace and contentment. Because only one form of government guarantees you the right to take advantage of these opportunities, I speak for democracy. This is the heritage that I bequeath to you, my son. Make the most of it. You speak for democracy, too.

Mr. Speaker, the clarity and apparent great sincerety of Miss Goolsby's 5-minute talk, on a subject of greatest importance to this Nation at this time is, I think, worthy of note. In paying my own compliments to Miss Goolsby for her achievement, I should like most heartily to commend the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Pine Bluff, Ark., and the National Junior Chamber of Commerce for the sponsorship of so worthy a project, and hereby do express personal appreciation to the Radio and Television Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters for their cooperation. It seems to me particularly important that we should seek to educate our boys and girls of high-school age in the ways of democracy, and I can imagine no more effective stimulation to their interest in such education than by the sponsorship of such a program.

Gen. Kenneth F. Cramer Dies at 59

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I bring the attention of the House to a front-page story in Sunday's Hartford (Conn.) Courant of the untimely death of Maj. Gen. Kenneth F. Cramer. The article details the life of this outstanding citizen and soldier of Connecticut whose friendship I have treasured since meeting him back in 1925. Ken Cramer was a close friend of my older brother, William Sadlak. They enjoyed occasional fishing and hunting trips together. It was a severe shock to me to learn of the general's sudden death.

General Cramer was well known to the membership of the House, especially the members of the Armed Services Committee. He was a close friend of Congressman CARL HINSHAW, of California, who was a classmate of the general's at Princeton.

Also included are tributes from Governor Lodge and two of the general's former associates in the Connecticut National Guard, Major General Reincke, the Adjutant General of Connecticut, and Brig. Gen. James M. Quinn, Assistant Adjutant General. Their glowing tributes bespeak our Nation's loss of a great man and a great soldier.

The article follows:

GENERAL CRAMER DIES AT 59—GERMAN AREA COMMANDER

Maj. Gen. Kenneth F. Cramer of Wethersfield, commanding general of the Southern Area Command of American troops in Germany, died Saturday.

According to the United Press, Cramer was stricken while hunting deer with 2 Army doctors deep in the Bavarian forests 30 miles from the Czech frontier. The doctors

said they were powerless to save the 59-year-old general.

General Cramer was named commanding general of the Munich military post and was appointed commander of the Southern Area Command on December 1, 1952.

Mrs. Cramer was living in Germany with her husband at the time of his death. Besides his widow, he leaves two daughters, Mrs. Don Ellsworth Olmstead, whose husband was killed in action in Korea June 8, 1951, and Mrs. Roderick Van Pelt, both of Alexandria, Va., and a sister, Miss Beatrice E. Cramer, of Scarsdale, N. Y.

Mrs. Van Pelt told the Courant Saturday that it will not be possible to return General Cramer's body before the end of the week. She said that Mrs. Cramer called her Saturday and said tentative plans are being made for burial in Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. No date has been set for the burial, she said.

General Cramer began his military career in 1917, right after being graduated with honors from Princeton University. He enrolled in the Civilian Military Training Camp, Plattsburgh, N. Y., later attended OCS and was sent overseas as a second lieutenant in the Infantry.

He took the step, he said later, "because I believed our entry into the war was just a matter of time, and I wanted to prepare myself."

It was a hard, realistic decision for a young man just out of college with a degree in literature, but one which was to characterize him the rest of his life. His dedication to the defense and preparedness of his country made him a hard-driving officer who eventually became chief of the National Guard Bureau.

It also earned him the only serious criticism of his career. Cramer was a soldier who cut his eyeteeth on combat in France, and he felt that training for war should come as close to the real thing as possible. A soldier's strength, he also believed, runs deeper than the uniform, and he demanded of his men—and himself—austere and moral behavior.

RIGID DISCIPLINARIAN

When the 43d Division was recalled to active service in 1950, officers and men alike under his command at Camp Pickett, Va., chafed under his discipline. Their letters home brought a congressional examination of Cramer's methods. As recently as last summer, another congressional investigation was launched when unofficial reports from Germany charged that Cramer's strictness was destroying morale among occupation troops.

General Cramer rode out these storms as he had many others in his long career. Veterans of Cramer's command have described him as a tireless officer who pushed—but never legally transgressed—the limits of his authority. Official investigations of his conduct came to nothing.

At the same time, he had built an outstanding record. In 2 World Wars he earned, among other decorations, the Silver Star with 3 oak leaf clusters, the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Air Medal (he flew 50 missions in observation planes during combat in the Pacific) and the Purple Heart. The 43d Division under his command at Pickett was second to none in military proficiency.

CHOSEN BY TRUMAN

When President Truman needed a man to head the post-war National Guard Bureau in 1947, he picked General Cramer—on the personal recommendation of the then General of the Army, Dwight D. Eisenhower. In a couple of years, Cramer had built the guard to a strength of 300,000 men.

General Cramer was born October 3, 1894, in Gloversville, N. Y., a son of a glove manufacturer. He earned a Phi Beta Kappa key at Princeton, where he received a bachelor's degree in literature in 1916 and a master of arts degree in 1917.

As a second lieutenant he served overseas with the 310th Infantry Regiment, 78th Division, seeing combat in the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives, in the Limey and Hazebrouck sectors and at Non Paisir Ferme.

On November 5, 1918, he was taken a prisoner after a last-ditch fight in which he was wounded near Sy in the Ardennes, France. He was released on Christmas Eve, 1918.

CIVILIAN INTERESTS

Between the wars, Cramer, a resident of Wethersfield, founded and operated the K. F. Cramer Coal Co. in Hartford, a wholesale coal firm. At the same time, he remained active in military and civic affairs.

In 1927 he became State commander of the American Legion, and later served as a national committeeman. A Republican, he served four terms in the general assembly, in 1933 and 1935 as a State senator and in 1929 and 1931 as a State representative.

By 1931 he had achieved the rank of major in the Army Reserve, but resigned to become a captain in command of the 43d Tank Company, Connecticut National Guard. "I wanted more military activity," he explained.

His love of work advanced him rapidly to the rank of colonel. When the 169th Infantry Regiment was called to Federal service in February 1941, he was the commanding officer.

Another promotion in 1942 took him from the 43d to 24th Infantry Division as assistant commanding general. In that post, he took part in 4 assault landings and 11 engagements in the Pacific combat theater.

RETURNS TO 43D

He returned to the 43d as commanding general in 1946. His success in the division's postwar reorganization in part accounted for his selection as Chief of the National Guard Bureau in 1947.

General Cramer held both positions until September 1950, when the 43d was recalled to Federal service. He chose to go with his old outfit to Camp Pickett. There he launched the vigorous training campaign that brought complaints that his discipline was overzealous. However, when the Army needed 3,400 well-trained men for immediate Korean service, they came to Cramer and got the troops.

By October 1951, General Cramer had refilled the 43d's ranks with troops who met the rigorous standards for overseas duty. The division became, under Cramer's command, the first National Guard division to arrive in Europe in time of peace.

The general immediately launched training in Bavaria, climaxed with a maneuver involving 95,000 United States and French troops.

In November 1952, he left the 43d to become commander of the Munich Military Post, later renamed as the Southern Area Command, the post he held at his death.

Governor Lodge, led the State Saturday in tribute to General Cramer.

"The news of General Cramer's tragic and untimely death is a severe blow to me and to his many other friends and admirers both in Connecticut and elsewhere.

"General Cramer was a first-class soldier and a splendid citizen. He had an outstanding record of dedicated service in his profession, both as a courageous and capable field officer and in his command position.

"His uncommon capacities were matched by an integrity and a high sense of duty which won for him widespread respect and appreciation.

"My wife joins me in this expression of our deepest sympathy to General Cramer's family in their bereavement."

REINCKE'S STATEMENT

Maj. Gen. Frederick G. Reincke, adjutant general of Connecticut who served with General Cramer in the 169th Infantry and in the 43d Division during World War II issued the following statement while en route to a conference of State adjutants general in Santa Fe, N. M.:

"General Cramer's many friends and comrades in Connecticut's military forces will be grieved at his loss. He has served his State with distinction as a soldier and a statesman.

"Entering the Connecticut National Guard as a captain shortly after gallant service in World War I, he rose through the ranks to command the 169th Infantry and later the 43d Division. His service in World War II was outstanding. The State has lost a skilled soldier and a true patriot."

Brig. Gen. James M. Quinn, assistant adjutant general and former commander of the 102d Infantry during World War II.

"General Cramer will long be remembered in Connecticut military history as a fearless leader, a natural organizer and a skilled tactician. He commanded the admiration and respect of all who served with him and his passing will be a distinct loss to the Army he loved and served so well, and to his many comrades and friends."

Be Kind To Democrats Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following copy of a letter addressed to the editor of the Quincy Patriot-Ledger in Quincy, Mass., and sent to me in Washington by a good friend and neighbor recommending the first week in April as Be Kind to Democrats Week:

FEBRUARY 15, 1954.

EDITOR, QUINCY PATRIOT-LEDGER:

I see by the papers that the editor of the Quincy Patriot-Ledger has joined the weeping Democrats because the Republicans have said some unkind and possibly exaggerated things about the Democrats. What possible difference does it make whether 2,200 Federal employees were communistic or not? Stark, cold historical fact is that we lost a large part of the world to communism and have paid thousands of American lives because our Government failed under Democrat administrations.

I think this weeping because of hurt feelings is the funniest incident in my half century of observing the political scene. Talk about the pot calling the kettle black. The most slanderous and malicious assault in our political history was the considered and professional attack on poor old Hoover. It was the 72d Democratic Congress which blocked every move Hoover tried to make and deliberately put us in a 10-year depression. Of course, the 1929 depression was due to international causes not domestic. We could mention several more recent vituperative gentlemen on the Democrat side; but we will forbear.

But cheer up, my Democrat friends, the Republicans are not smart enough to play the hand. They will get out their handkerchiefs and wipe away your tears. They let you get away with that Hoover depression story for 20 years.

I nominate the first week of April as Be Kind to Democrats Week.

ERNEST W. TOWNE.

WOLLASTON, MASS.

Faulty Tax Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Reading (Pa.) New Era:

FAULTY TAX POLICY

Once more the battle of economists is raging over the proper method for stimulating our economy—by giving tax relief to big business and corporation stockholders as a means of inspiring expansion of plants; or, by promoting policies of pumping purchasing power into the hands of consumers on the theory that their expenditures will automatically step up production and expansion of plant facilities.

The administration obviously is pursuing the policy of giving lower taxes to big business. Theoretically, this procedure is supposed to encourage business to expand. Theoretically, investors then will take more chances. And theoretically, all of this is calculated, it says here, to revive full employment and prosperity.

We're not necessarily from Missouri on this theme, but we cannot quite understand how you get full employment by building more plants when consumers don't even have enough money to purchase the overflow of commodities already coming from existing plants.

There is no shortage of productive capacity. Yet the administration says big business and investors need a greater incentive to build more plants. On the face of it, this proposition is ridiculous and economically unsound.

In our opinion, the only corporations willing to expand facilities are those competing for a greater share of the existing market. General Motors, for example, announced with much publicity that it is going to put billions into new facilities. This is not surprising. For as GM grows in size and garners a greater percentage of the market, it needs more facilities. But for every increase in sales recorded by GM, one of the other manufacturers is taking a licking.

There are just so many potential sales in the automobile retail market. Obviously, if General Motors increases its percentage of sales, then another company loses. And in effect General Motors is expanding in order to do a quicker and better job of putting competition out of business.

This monopoly trend is dangerous in many ways for its long range effect is to stifle production. Only when the total demand of the entire Nation is for more and more cars, only then will expansion of plant facilities make sense. And all the talk of tax relief for big business becomes economic foolishness.

The small businessman is caught in the squeeze play through no fault of his own. As the big guy grows bigger, the little fellow finds he cannot compete and its swallowed up. Furthermore, as monopoly grows, jobs disappear and purchasing power of the consumer falls. This again hits the small-business man who finds he no longer has as many customers as formerly.

It's about time the fallacy of administration tax policies is exposed. The only sound relief must come in the form of aid for workers, farmers, and small-business men. Unless they prosper, the future must indeed remain cloudy.

Editorial Commendation of Hon. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include these five editorials commending Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, for his support of the St. Lawrence seaway.

These are a few of many editorials I have read which most properly and justifiably commend this able and courageous young legislator for his statesmanship in placing national interest above narrow sectionalism.

The editorials follow:

[From the Chelsea (Mass.) Record of January 26, 1954]

A COURAGEOUS STAND

The best Members of Congress have always been those who have been aware of the dual responsibility that rests with those who sit in our Senate or House of Representatives. They know that they must represent the interests and the welfare of the people who send them to Congress; at the same time they are aware that their highest duty is to the Nation as a whole.

In a country as large as ours it is inevitable that this dual responsibility carried by legislators will occasionally result in individual legislators having to make difficult decisions. A Member of Congress who is more interested in winning reelection than he is in fulfilling his oath of office will often let sectionalism dictate his voting. He will support or oppose a measure purely because he knows that his stand will be popular at home.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY recently took a courageous stand against this sectionalism. He announced his support of the St. Lawrence seaway project, something no Senator from his State has ever done. In announcing his position Senator KENNEDY said that he refused to oppose the project merely because the economic benefits which will result from it will go to other parts of the country than his own. He said that it was an "arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas."

It is possible to disagree with the young Senator's point of view as to the benefits that will be derived from the St. Lawrence seaway. Even his opponents, however, must applaud his courageous refusal to let sectionalism influence him. The welfare of all of the States is tied together. The prosperity of one part without the prosperity of every other part is impossible. In the long run the Senator or Representative who takes this point of view renders the best service to his home State.

[From the Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, Mass., of January 16, 1954]

KENNEDY TAKES COURSE OF STATESMANSHIP

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY's particular reasons for breaking with New England sentiment and supporting the St. Lawrence seaway are cogent. The loss to the port of Boston will be negligible, from the figures he submitted; the seaway will be built anyway, whether the United States contributes or not; the Nation should have some measure of control in all waterways around its boundaries; the railroads, instead of suffering from it, will eventually stand to benefit from it, Senator KENNEDY believes. Altogether, he names 17 separate reasons for his action.

But the reason for commending Senator KENNEDY is not for any or all of these specific reasons. It is for a fact greater than all of them put together, namely, that he has placed national and long-term considerations above sectional and immediate ones. He has taken the broad, general point of view against the narrow, parochial outlook; he is saying, in effect, that what is best for the people of the United States of America is best for the people of Boston, of Massachusetts, and of New England.

This attitude is in refreshing contrast to practically all those who oppose the bill, as well as to avery large proportion of those who support it. The roster of the individuals and organizations leagued to fight the bill includes some as far south as Florida and as far west as the Rockies. The interest of some seems remote, but in practically every instance is nakedly selfish; the seaway will hurt business in Stumpville-on-the-Sangamon, so let it be anathema, and let's lick it. A good example is Senator BUTLER of Maryland, who has threatened a filibuster against the project because it threatens the prosperity of the port of Baltimore.

We doubt if the seaway in the long run will do Baltimore much harm. The very criticisms of the channel made by the opposition, to wit, that it will not be deep enough to accommodate the larger ships and at best, will be closed by ice 4 months in the year, strengthens that doubt. The fact that the Atlantic stays open when the St. Lawrence is closed justifies the hope that the importation of iron ore from abroad (including Labrador) will build up the steel industry in the East despite the seaway.

At any rate, the criterion should be the national benefit. The navigation question should not depend on particular interests, any more than the question of power should depend upon the attitude of the private utilities. Senator KENNEDY has taken the statesmanlike position.

[From the Washington Post of January 15, 1954]

STATESMEN ON THE SEAWAY

Members of the Senate debating the St. Lawrence seaway would do well to take as a model of statesmanship and clear analysis the speech last week by Senator KENNEDY. In the past, every Senator and Representative from Massachusetts has opposed the St. Lawrence project principally on the grounds that (1) it would hurt the port of Boston, (2) it would hurt the New England railroads, and (3) it would not help Massachusetts. Senator KENNEDY addressed himself to these points, but he held as his beacon the question of national interest.

His study of the facts, he said, convinced him that the national arguments outweighed the sectional ones. Although the seaway would not benefit Massachusetts, he could not oppose it "because the direct economic benefits will go to the Great Lakes and middle western areas. * * * I would say that it has been this arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas. We cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position."

But yesterday Senator SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts, insisted upon maintaining

the narrow and destructive opposition on purely sectional arguments. "Though I recognize its (the seaway's) advantages," Senator SALTONSTALL said, "these seem to me to be outweighed by the added difficulties it will create for our Atlantic and gulf ports, our oceangoing merchant marine, and our competing systems of inland transportation, and by the tremendous added costs necessary to make it useful to us." If this negative test were applied to every great national project, few would ever become fact.

Senator SMITH of New Jersey, who never before has supported the seaway, replied that he had come to the conclusion that the overall benefits to our Nation as a whole transcend the alleged immediate interests of the ports on the Atlantic seaboard and our railroads. It is in this broad spirit of national interest that we hope the Senate will vote.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 16, 1954]

SUPPORT FOR THE SEAWAY

Support from an unexpected quarter has significantly enhanced the likelihood that the St. Lawrence seaway will be approved by a healthy vote. Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, came out in its favor—the first Massachusetts representative in the National Legislature to do so in seven tests over a 20-year period. The young Senator put national considerations above those of his State. In so doing he set a fine example of political sagacity and courage.

The arguments in favor of the seaway have been often rehearsed; they received a powerful impetus when Canada made it plain that, if necessary, it would proceed alone with this great construction. Can there be any doubt but that the two North American neighbors, partners in peace and allies in war, are destined to share both the toil and the achievement? As Senator KENNEDY remarked, the undertaking is bound to go forward. We confidently expect it will go forward with United States participation. All the better if Senator KENNEDY's course has indicated that it will go forward also with the assent of the vast majority that puts national welfare above regional economic interests.

[From the Lynn (Mass.) Telegram-News of January 17, 1954]

CLEM NORTON SAYS

SENATOR

The seaway will help Boston, not hurt it.

United States Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, has made the most courageous move of his political career. He has come out in favor of the St. Lawrence seaway. No Bay State Senator dared do that in the past, because most all the powerful propaganda agencies of Boston yelled: "Defeat the St. Lawrence seaway idea or the port of Boston will be destroyed." It was an hysterical opposition, sparkplugged by special local interests—railroad, shipping, banking. Every question has two sides, but with this one, it was considered to be sacrilegious to even whisper about the "other side." So, it was a real superduper "shocker," something utterly unheard of in the political history of the Bay State, when Senator KENNEDY took the stand that he did.

RIGHT

Is Senator KENNEDY right? After a 25-year, careful study of the problem, I say "Yes." A St. Lawrence seaway will help, not hurt the port of Boston. For years I was the head of Commonwealth Pier, one of the country's biggest piers, a position obtained after taking competitive statewide civil service exam, so I think that I have a little idea of what the fight is all about.

To be brief, how would it help Boston? Autos that now come partially over the road from Detroit, at a transportation cost of around $65 per car, might be shipped by water from Detroit to Boston for around $20 a car, water transportation being by far the cheapest.

Southern New Engand has diversified industries. The seaway would allow, say, a baby carriage manufacturer in Gardner, Mass., a shoe plant in Lynn to ship goods at lower freight costs than ever to the big Midwest market, a market that it cannot now touch. Conversely, goods from our great Midwest area could reach New England at lower freight costs.

Other facts. The seaway means a great 2,200-mile-long Mediterranean Sea into the heart of our country from the Atlantic to Duluth. Every President since Wilson has recommended it. It means a tremendous boost to the economy of the entire country; of the entire free world. The main job is to dredge out the river for about 100 miles to a depth of 27 feet around the International Rapids. A small job for such a great return. It will give our Midwest access to the oceans of the world.

We must not selfishly stand in the way of this great improvement. If we do so any longer Canada will go ahead without us. President "Ike" is right. Senator KENNEDY has taken the most courageous stand of his political life and he is right. The seaway will help Boston, not hurt it.

A Prisoner of Its Own Doctrines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the Trainman:

A PRISONER OF ITS OWN DOCTRINES

(By Dr. Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia University, in the Saturday Review)

A society that applies doctrinaire notions to social conduct will find itself in the end the prisoner of its own doctrines. A society that takes refuge in shibboleths like "subversive" or "un-American" will find itself unable to recognize reality when it appears—even the reality of danger.

A society that discourages experiment will find that without experiment there can be no progress, and that without progress, there is regress. A society that attempts to put education and science and scholarship in straitjackets will find that in straitjackets there can be no movement, and that the result will be intellectual stagnation.

A society that repudiates free enterprise in the intellectual arena under the deluded notion that it can flourish in the economic alone, will find that without intellectual enterprise, economic enterprise dries up.

A society that encourages State intervention in the realm of ideas will find itself an easy prey to State intervention in other realms as well.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Excerpts From Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, at 45th Annual Dinner of Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Madam President, the 45th annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association was held last night in Philadelphia. Twenty-five hundred Pennsylvania leaders assembled for the affair. Every one of the 67 counties of Pennsylvania was represented. That fine audience was given the opportunity of hearing an able and eloquent address on the affairs of our country, particularly as they relate to foreign affairs, by the distinguished majority leader, the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND. I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts from his address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a great pleasure to once again come to Pennsylvania and to this city of Philadelphia so rich in the history of our Republic.

From the foundations built here we grew from 13 colonies with 3 million people to a great free world power of 160 million population and the most productive economic system the world has ever known.

During this past year, the Senate of the United States, the Republicans throughout the Nation lost a great leader in the death of Bob Taft, who was not only known as Mr. Republican but in a larger sense he was Mr. American as well. Now, in the normal course of events someone had to be selected to succeed him as a majority leader of the Senate of the United States, but in a very real sense while someone could succeed him, no one could replace Bob Taft, the great leader that he was.

I want to say, first of all, that it's been my privilege during the past campaign to travel through about 30 States with our then candidate, Dwight Eisenhower, prior to the election. I have had the opportunity, both as chairman of the policy committee during the first part of the last session, and then as the acting Republican leader of the Senate, and since then as a majority leader, to work with the President very closely in carrying out the legislative program.

In the opposition party, and among some of the New Deal commentators and columnists, there is a constant effort to try and give the impression that there are great cleavages in the Republican Party. When Bob Taft was alive, they tried to drive a wedge between Senator Taft and the President. Since then they have constantly tried to drive a wedge between the leadership in the House and the Senate and the President of the United States, or between various Republicans.

I do not believe that we have had in the White House in the recent history of our country a man who has worked as well with his leadership in the House and the Senate, who is more of a team worker and a team leader, than is Dwight Eisenhower.

Now, there are some who apparently feel that a person can't differ on an issue without that being a sign that the party is torn asunder.

Let me tell you that President Eisenhower made it very clear from the very inception that though there had been some Presidents in the recent history of our country who expected to have a rubber-stamp Congress, that this President has never expected any such thing.

He recognized that men can honestly differ on a particular issue, and still work together for the common good of this great Nation of ours.

President Eisenhower took office 13 months ago after his party had been out of the executive branch of Government for a period of 20 years.

When the New Deal came to power in 1933, the Federal public debt was $22,500,000,000, and when that administration left office in 1953 the debt was over $267 billion. This huge figure, with interest carrying charges, is something that the American people are going to have to be concerned with during their lifetime and perhaps that of their children and their grandchildren.

Our Nation today pays in interest on the debt over $6,500,000,000 per year. This interest item alone is 50 percent greater than the total cost of the Federal Government when the New Deal came to power in 1933.

The power to tax is still the power to destroy.

On January 1, the personal income tax rates were reduced approximately 10 percent and the excess profits tax has come to an end. Just what additional changes can and should be made at this time in our tax structure will have to receive the attention of the House and Senate. These tax cuts that we have already had were only made possible by the budget reductions of the Eisenhower administration and the 1st session of the 83d Congress.

The outgoing administration presented a budget in January of 1953 calling for appropriations of $74 billion, and made it very clear that in its judgment no funds could be cut from that huge amount. The new administration and the Congress working together reduced the appropriations by approximately $14 billion. The largest reduction ever made in the history of this Nation.

Certainly any additional tax reduction will have to depend on the amount of reductions that we can make in the budget this year without jeopardizing our national defense needs, for to reduce taxes over and above those which expired in January without first reducing the budget, would merely add to our huge national debt and would be passing the problem on to our children. This, in my judgment, would not be sound national policy.

Members of the present administration have made it very clear that they do not believe in the doctrine of inherent rights under which the previous administration attempted to seize the steel industry without authority of law.

A reversal of the 20-year trend toward centralization of power in Washington has taken place. Wage and price controls have ended, and the free enterprise system encouraged.

We must constantly guard against efforts of those who would concentrate power in the Federal Government for the purpose of ultimate socialization of our economic system. Once a nation embarks upon that path, it is difficult to return, as has been demonstrated in Great Britain.

President Eisenhower believes in our constitutional system of the division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government. He does not want the executive to encroach on the legislative powers or the Congress to move into the executive responsibilities. Nor does the Congress desire either of these.

I can also assure this audience that Congress will continue to occupy a coordinate and equal position with the Executive under this or any future administration; be it Republican or Democratic. Under the Constitution the Congress was established as the legislative branch of our Government and it will so remain.

New legislation in the field of agriculture is now being considered by the Congress. This legislation must be fair to the farmer, to the consumer, and to the American taxpayer.

There are proposals for changes in the National Labor Management Relations Act, otherwise known as the Taft-Hartley bill. I do not believe that Congress will or should either repeal this act or emasculate it. The American people have a right to expect that, with power must go responsibility. This applies to labor, to business and to Government.

During the recent discussion of the Harry Dexter White case the former Democratic president observed that it was not unusual for a person "to be fired by being allowed to resign."

While this is true as far as it goes, I have never heard of a case where, for instance, an embezzler was allowed to resign and then the head of the company writing him a letter commending his integrity and great financial ability.

Because the national defense needs are so great in view of the Communist menace throughout the world, the impact of our foreign and defense policy on our domestic economy cannot be ignored. In order to get a fresh look at the entire picture, and to determine what changes can be made to maintain our defense and at the same time give some relief to our overburdened budget, the President selected an entirely new team to constitute the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This group is now reviewing our defense needs and commitments in the light of existing conditions insofar as they pertain to NATO and the European Defense Command, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East, and the Americas.

While we will, of course, live up to our treaty commitments our aid should go to those who are doing their utmost to help themselves.

We do not have the resources to give assistance to those who want to sit on the sidelines to see how the struggle is coming out between the free world and Communist totalitarianism.

On Inauguration Day the new administration fell heir to a stalemated war in Korea which had already lasted for over 2½ years. This war has been brought to an end and the fighting up and down the hills of Korea, with heavy casualties, is no longer going on.

Our sick, wounded and able-bodied soldiers and airmen, who were Communist prisoners of war have been returned to this country, with the exception of the 21 who have elected to remain in Communist hands.

International communism has suffered its greatest loss of face in the refusal of more than 20,000 Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war to return to Communist control.

It has been made clear at the Berlin conference that the Soviet Union is not prepared to accept a free and independent Germany. They would support a neutralized Germany with a coalition government which, of course, would mean inevitably a Communist-dominated Germany either by internal coup d'etat or by external aggression. It is equally apparent that they desire to destroy the effectiveness of a collective-security system among the free nations of the world as proposed by the European Defense Command, while at the same time keeping their own combination with the satellites that would be a constant menace to the rest of the world.

The Berlin Conference has demonstrated that the Communist leopard has not changed its spots. There is no Austrian treaty because the Soviet Union does not desire to loosen its hold on any area where Soviet troops are now stationed.

Once they were out of Austria, which would be required by a treaty, there would no longer be any legal basis for Soviet forces being kept in Bulgaria, Hungary, or Rumania. They are now there on the fiction that it is necessary in order to keep open the lines of communication to the Soviet forces in Austria.

The Geneva Conference set for April 26 will have the close scrutiny of the American people and the rest of the free world.

If the only question to be discussed at Geneva was to be the Korean peace there would be justification for Communist China attending such a meeting.

Communist China was declared by the United Nations to be an aggressor in Korea. Both her material and moral support of the North Korean Communist aggressors prolonged the war inflicting heavy casualties upon us and the Communist system represented by these two nations, inflicted atrocities upon our forces and those of our allies in Korea.

If there is any possibility (which I now doubt) of getting a free and United Korea at the conference table it could only come through Communist China participating in and abiding by the decision. There are still an estimated 1 million Chinese Communists in North Korea under arms or supplying logistical support to the Communist forces.

The question the American people, as well as the Congress, will want answered is what price is expected to be paid? Not only the future of the free nations of Asia is involved in the answer to this question, but also the honor of the United States. The American people will not consent to a far-eastern Munich.

Since we were a major participant in the Korean war and the other allied members also furnished forces there, it was contemplated by the armistice that a political conference on Korea would be held. It is clear that the Republic of Korea will be an active and important member of the allied delegation. Geneva is as satisfactory a location as could be agreed upon.

My own misgivings, which are substantial, stem not from the agreement to discuss the Korean peace at Geneva. They relate to our participation in the conferences with the Chinese Communists relative to Vietnam before it is determined what kind of a Korean peace can be achieved.

After all we are not active belligerents in Indochina and we were in Korea.

If the political pressures on France are such that she felt the necessity of exploring the ending of hostilities in Indochina she could have explored that labyrinth on her own responsibility.

France herself discouraged Laos and Thailand from appealing to the United Nations last year during the Communist invasion of Laos. She has turned down the offer of Korean forces to help defend Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

A coalition government with the Communists in the Viet nam, Laos, and Cambodia would, in my judgment, result in Communists in the Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia 2 years.

We had better make sure that none of our supplies come under the control of a coalition Vietnam Government of which the Communists are a part.

Some of the shipments now designated for Indochina might better be diverted to Thailand and Formosa.

The Government of the United States should forthwith give assurances to all of the free people of Asia that their liberty and sovereignty will not be discussed except in the presence of their chosen representatives sitting with an equal voice to those of the other powers attending any such conference.

The world, I hope, has passed the stage where a group of 4 or 5 nations can sit down together and determine the future of other nations, large and small. They have neither the legal nor the moral right to do so. I hope and expect that the Secretary of State will fully inform the American people regarding these and other matters which have and are causing concern in the Congress and throughout the country.

In this age of airpower and the atomic weapon this country can no more return to isolation than an adult can return to childhood, regardless of how pleasant the recollection may be.

If there was ever a time when it was essential for the Nation and the free people of the world to remain strong and firm, this is the time. The next few years will be the decisive ones—not alone whether we can avoid a war or win it if one is forced upon us, but whether human freedom can be preserved. We cannot and we should not depend upon a Maginot line type of defense against potential aggression from the air. Such an outlook would drive our Nation underground with untold billions added to our defense costs for an unlimited period of time. We, our children, and our grandchildren would be forced to live underground like moles and gophers.

A realistic viewpoint must recognize that it is highly unlikely that any method of defense will stop all attacking planes.

The men in the Kremlin are more likely to refrain from making the first Pearl Harbor type of attack if they know with a certainty that this Nation and the free world will retain an overwhelming and devastating striking power that would bring their godless Communist tyranny crushing down around their ears. For us to be without the overwhelming power and to sit merely behind radar warning networks and instruments of defense, however good, will present us with a problem of never knowing when and where international communism will strike next.

During the 25-year period between 1925 and 1950, the Soviet Union has violated 9 nonaggression pacts, 11 alliances, 3 protocols, and other agreements committing the Soviet Union to a position against war, and 1 neutrality pact.

Certainly this great Government of ours should enter into no pact with the Soviet Union unless Soviet forces are withdrawn from satellite states of Eastern Europe and the people of eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Rumania have the opportunity through free elections of electing governments of their own choice.

To enter into a pact until there has been such a withdrawal of Soviet forces and the guaranty of free elections would in fact condemn to permanent slavery behind the Iron Curtain the people of those nations. This, in my judgment, we have no moral right to do. It would, in fact, confirm all the evil results which have flown out of the secret wartime agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam. It would be capitulation by the West in the cold war, and would be a decisive victory for world communism. We must have no more Munichs and no more Yaltas.

As of today there are still several hundred millions of people in Asia who desire to remain outside the Iron Curtain. It is essential, not only to the ultimate freedom of Asia, but to the security of Europe and the United States as well that communism does not fasten its hold upon the 1,100,000,000 people of Asia and all the vast and strategic resources in that area of the world.

This has been and is the object of the men in the Kremlin. It was pointed out many years ago by the succinct statement of Lenin who said, "the road to Paris is through Peiping."

Unfortunately those in positions of responsibility here and abroad failed to grasp soon enough the grand strategy of international communism. There are some United Nations members who have recommended that Communist China be admitted into the United Nations.

To do so would be to reward Communist China for her aggression in Korea. We would have served notice on the world that one of the quickest ways of gaining membership would be to shoot your way in. Communist China, in my judgment, will never be satisfied with merely membership in the General Assembly, but will also insist upon membership in the Security Council. Once having yielded to both of these points, they will claim, with some justification, that they are still not satisfied since they have not been given possession of what they would call their lost province of Taiwan or the island of Formosa.

The passage of Formosa into Communist hands would mean the liquidation of a non-Communist army of approximately half a million, and a large part of the free Chinese population of over 8 million now on that island.

I think it is important that we keep in mind that free China, even reduced as it has been to this small island of Formosa, is larger in population than many of the member states of the United Nations. In addition, the loss of Formosa would drive a wedge into our defense position which runs from Japan to Okinawa through the Philippines and Australia, outflanking Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and outflanking the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south.

Throughout the entire Far East the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be looked upon as a far-eastern Munich and a great victory for international communism. The will to resist on the part of free people of Asia would be weakened and governments would be inclined to go hat in hand to the Kremlin or Peiping to make the best deal they could.

It is my strong belief that such action will set off a tragic chain of events which will not preserve the peace but will make almost inevitable world war III. Appeasement now, as at the time of the original Munich, is not the road to peace, but is only surrender on the installment plan.

The free nations of Asia should not delay while waiting for neutralist India to make up her mind. The international policy that Nehru advocates will, I believe, ultimately lead to the communization of all Asia, including India itself.

I think the time is ripe for someone like President Magsaysay to call a broad conference of the free nations of Asia. Now that he has taken office he is in a position

to take such a step which would take the initiative away from the Communists in that part of the world.

The hour in Asia is very late. We have entered a crucial 6-month period wherein the future of the Far East and the ultimate security of America may be determined.

This month we celebrate the birthdays of two great Americans, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

In his day George Washington represented the spirit of the new America that overcame the dark days of Valley Forge and brought us through perilous times to the creation of a new constitutional Republic.

Abraham Lincoln furnished inspired leadership to the Nation at a time when we were passing through the convulsions of a great Civil War. He recognized that our Nation could not continue half slave and half free.

In this atomic age in which we now live, we face challenges and dangers which may be even greater than confronted these great leaders.

I have a deep conviction that if we show the same courage and commonsense they demonstrated in their time and place, the same reliance upon divine guidance they demonstrated in their darkest hours there are none of these domestic problems which, as free people, we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

The Voice of Democracy Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, yesterday the distinguished Senator from Kansas [Mr. SCHOEPPEL] introduced to the Senate the four winners in the Voice of Democracy contest.

I had the privilege of addressing these young people and the other contestants in the contest, at Williamsburg, Va., on last Saturday evening. At this time I should like to invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that the contest is sponsored by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, the Radio-Electronic-Television Manufacturers' Association, and the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. The meeting in Williamsburg was attended by the winners in 38 States. It was a fine demonstration of a democracy workshop in action. I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of my speech on that occasion.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Tonight on the other side of the world men in mud forts ringed with barbed wire are standing watch for freedom. This is Indochina, and here is being waged a strange, savage war which may yet touch the life of each of us in this room. Here at stake are important economic resources—rice, tin, oil, and rubber. Here also at stake are the more important human resources—the free men, women, and children who are our allies in a struggle for security and self-respect in Southeast Asia.

This weekend you young people have talked of our form of government as it operates here at home. This evening let me turn to the role of our Government abroad. Does the heritage of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Mason offer us counsel in our new era of crisis? I believe that it does. I believe that this counsel can guide us even as darkness falls on mud forts in a land of which our forefathers had never heard.

No one—not even a Member of Congress responding to your interest and your hospitality—should attempt to guess the probable advice of our early patriots on any specific issue of today.

Mr. Jefferson, for example, has been quoted often and irrelevantly through the years to suit both sides of many issues. Yet it is possible, I believe, to underscore at least three principles which link our own times to those of Williamsburg when a new nation was being born.

The first common principle is that our conduct of foreign affairs must be based on a realistic and informed appraisal of the effect of events abroad on our own security and self-interest.

Our forefathers were acutely aware of this interdependence of national and international interests. News was slow to travel and often hard to acquire, and yet our political leaders were then remarkably well informed. Almost all the space in the Virginia Gazette and other early papers was given to reports from overseas. Benjamin Franklin was constantly concerned with the climate of opinion abroad. Washington was frank to acknowledge that American independence could not have been won without French aid and continuing sympathy for the American cause within Great Britain. And for the first quarter-century after freedom was won, the domestic policies of the young Republic were shaped chiefly by developments abroad.

Today, we are forced again to recognise this interdependence. The world has shrunk.

When I was a boy in Montana the oceans were broad barriers and the sky over my head was free. Today, man can fly anywhere in the world in 50 hours—tomorrow perhaps in 25; there can be no guaranty for men anywhere against assault from the air. This threat has been compounded by the atom bomb and now the hydrogen bomb, and there is already talk of a cobalt bomb far more deadly and less expensive to produce than either.

The similarity between our interest in international affairs in the 1700's and our interests in international affairs today to me is fascinating. Then our fledgling democracy's chief concern was the ambition of predatory nations. Today it is the same in many respects. The chief difference, of course, is that then we were weak and now we have great strength, and the capabilities and responsibilities of the weak are necessarily less than those of the storing. But neither in those days nor in these could we live apart—or go it alone—however much we wanted to.

Let me add that there is no easy and simple answer to the problems of today, any more than there was an easy and simple answer to the problems of the Virginians who gathered in this patriot headquarters. When I taught history at Montana State University, I sometimes felt sure of a few answers; when I came to Washington and struggled with issues at first hand, I learned how really difficult answers could be. It is easy to be critical, to condemn, to call the other fellow a muttonhead. But it is difficult to find the lasting solution.

The second principle common to the 18th and 20th centuries is the resistance to oppression * * * mental, physical, spiritual. In a sense, men have always struggled for self-government and freedom, as well as for military, political, or economic power.

Today—when brainwashing and thought control are the scientific weapons of totalitarians—how applicable is Jefferson's pledge of eternal hostility to any form of tyranny over the minds of men. And how applicable George Mason's ringing phrases in the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

"That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Today, when nations under new-won freedom from a colonial status are groping for effective democratic forms of government, you have a new measure of respect for those who shaped our own Constitution. Today, when there is too often only silence and rumor behind the no man's land which separates the free world from the slave world, you must say a prayer as fervent as that of any of our forefather's in behalf of the freedom of the human spirit. We are impelled now, as we were impelled then, by what Washington called an innate spirit of freedom.

The third principle which most Americans have shared over the years is that in times of crisis political partisanship must be subordinated to the public good. In his Farewell Address, Washington warned against "the baneful effects of the spirit of party." He said that party faction "serves always to distract the public counsels, enfeebles the public administration, agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, [and] kindles the animosity of one against another." This is a message which ought to be read again and again against the headlines of today.

Subject all important issues to the keen test of debate—yes; limit freedom of speech and opinion—never. But let us be responsible in what we say. Let us not search for a scapegoat in order to divert attention from the real issue or to camouflage insincere purpose. Argument, discussion, the exchange of views, whether the form is oratorical or conversational—these are the proper, tried and proven tests of soundness. But let the tests be honest, not devices of demagogery. No true citizen of a true democracy seeks to curb difference of opinion and debate, but the times cry out again for the spirit that animated our first President almost two centuries ago. We must learn now, as our predecessors learned then, to live above our political prejudices.

This weekend we honor George Washington. As we grope together in America today for solutions for the many problems of both foreign and domestic policy, let us remember a single episode at Valley Forge. You all recall the peril of the winter encampment. The ragged Continental troops were short of fuel, short of food, short of ammunition, and—even more serious—short in morale. They asked Washington if there was some play they might put on which would rouse their spirits. For Washington, there was only one choice—Addison's Cato, which he recalled from his youth at Mount Vernon and which he had read in company with his beloved Sally Fairfax.

The most significant lines in the play are those spoken by Cato's son Portius, whose "steddy temper" was so much like that of Washington himself. Portius promises to rouse the spirits of the Roman soldiers in words which breathe the essence of Washington's own philosophy. Turning to his comrade in arms, Sempronius, Portius says:

"I'll animate the soldiers' drooping courage
With love of freedom, and contempt of life;
I'll thunder in their ears their country's cause
And try to rouse up all that's Roman in 'em.
'Tis not in mortals to command success—
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it."

We can never, in Washington's day or in ours, command success, no matter what our strength. We must, in all humility, deserve it.

If, then, we can agree that we were then and are now a nation which cannot avoid a responsible role abroad; if we agree that our two times of crisis are linked by common issues at stake; if we agree that we again require statesmanship which transcends party; and if, in the language of Washington, we are prepared to merit success, rather than command it; then we have here this weekend paid effective tribute to those patriots who once made Williamsburg their capital. History viewed in this perspective is not a dead exhibit, but a living process which should enter our lives and our decisions. If we look at history this way, Williamsburg becomes a living adventure in history, and a place where the present and future truly learn from the past.

The Problems of the Living Theater

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a brief statement which I have prepared on the problem of the living theater in the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that this statement, together with a stimulating address delivered before the National Association of the Legitimate Theater by the distinguished past chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, Mr. Ralph E. Becker, of Port Chester, N. Y., and Washington, D. C., be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WISCONSIN CONFERENCE OPPOSES THEATER TAX

(Statement by Senator WILEY)

I recently heard from Mr. Ronald C. Gee, executive secretary of the Wisconsin Idea Theater Conference relative to the continuing heavy burden which the Federal admissions tax imposes upon the living theater in our country.

As we are all aware, the theater is an indispensable element in American culture.

It may not be generally realized that the present 20 percent tax involves more than simply the problem of the professional theater.

There are, for example, 1,858 college and university nonprofessional groups, I am proud that one of the finest such groups is our own University of Wisconsin Idea Theater.

There are 26,800 high school theater groups, over 1,400 community groups and over 111,000 miscellaneous amateur groups.

All of these are indirectly vitally affected by the revenue problems of the professional theater which, unfortunately, has been declining very seriously in recent years.

In other words, so long as young people in high school or college or community plays can look forward to the possibility of entering upon a stage career, they will be particularly encouraged in their nonprofessional theatrical activity.

But they now see in the world of the professional theater, a drastic drop in attendance; mass unemployment of actors; and all economic blight generally.

The American Educational Theater Association is but one of the many groups interested in this problem. It consists of over 2,000 members in every State of the Union, and at all levels of instruction, including children's theater, primary and secondary school theaters, college and university theaters, and community theaters.

UNITED STATES DOES NOT BELIEVE IN THEATER SUBSIDY

The United States is the only major country in the world where the living theater is not regularly subsidized by the National Government.

We still rightly believe that our private enterprise system is and should be sufficient to look after the cultural needs of our people without Government subsidy.

We see no reason for such subsidy, but at the same time, we know that tax conditions must be favorable for the private enterprise theater to continue.

ADDRESS OF RALPH E. BECKER, DELIVERED DECEMBER 27–29, 1953, ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE LEGITIMATE THEATER, INC., AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE THEATER LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY THEATERS, SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, NATIONAL THEATRE CONFERENCES, AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL THEATER ASSOCIATION

The National Association of the Legitimate Theater, Inc., has retained me as its counsel in Washington. I am presently engaged, in its behalf, in a program which has for its objective the repeal of the Federal excise tax on legitimate theater admissions, including both the professional and nonprofessional theater throughout the country. The association was organized more than 20 years ago for the general welfare and preservation of the American living theater.

As you know, the legitimate theater—the American living theater—includes all presentations of both plays and musicals where live performers, whose roles develop the theme of the play or musical, are actually present and acting before an assembled audience. This term is also used broadly to include all groups and individuals, both professional and nonprofessional that present such plays, and all theaters used principally for the staging of such attractions.

As defined, the living theater is thus not confined to Broadway in New York, but includes many thousands of amateur and professional groups located in each of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories. As such, it involves many thousands of people who earn their living in the theater and it provides entertainment to many millions who, as audiences, enjoy the living theater.

The living theater has always played a basic cultural and entertainment role in the United States. From the opening of the first theaters in Philadelphia and Williamsburg, more than 200 years ago until the present time, the theater has been the outstanding medium of culture and entertainment. It has served both as a training ground and as a final goal for artistic talent in all major entertainment media. Community groups and stock companies have provided invaluable experience from which the most talented may graduate into all other fields of entertainment.

This tax is a war tax. It was first imposed at the rate of one-tenth of admissions prices in World War I. Congress promised its removal after the war but it was not removed. It continued without abatement until World War II when, in 1944, it was doubled to one-fifth of the admissions prices. Again a promise of removal and yet the tax continues—it would seem forever.

Effective November 1, 1951, the Morano bill granted discriminatory exemption from the excise tax for certain nonprofessional, educational, and charitable entertainments, including the operas, symphonies, and certain other functions. That is the only inroad to date on the admissions taxes.

In effect, this war tax means that every fifth seat throughout the house is roped off for the Federal Government. The American living theater cannot afford this war tax.

As an outsider, I consider it to some extent presumptuous to talk to you about the economic conditions in your industry—the American living theater. Until I became engrossed in this present program, like all outsiders I had no idea of the economic distress in which your industry finds itself. Just as in any industry the views of an outsider, however, are sometimes most helpful and this is particularly true in the case of the legitimate theater industry since Members of Congress—in whose hands possible relief lies—are outsiders. They see the hits—the great money-making shows like South Pacific and Oklahoma. They buy tickets at premium prices for these hits, and for that reason think all is well and much money is being made in the theater. Figures which the outsider does not and which most Members of Congress do not know point dramatically to a sorry showing.

Only 63 professional plays and musicals were presented on Broadway in New York City last season, compared with an average of 108 productions in each of the past 22 years. This represented a decline of 68 percent from the 195 plays produced even during the depth of the depression in 1931–32.

One authority states that costs of production have quadrupled in the last 12 years while in New York City admissions prices have been raised 28 percent for drama—37 percent for musicals. One of the odd results of this situation is a recent musical play that played over 90 weeks both in New York and on tour, but nevertheless lost $30,000. Conditions do not permit the further raising of prices. Attacked by the tremendous unfair competition of admissions tax-free entertainment such as radio and television, the theater has become further crippled. Excise tax relief in 1951 to the nonprofit and educational operas, symphonies, and certain other entertainments has only intensified such competition. Yet the theater is the very heart of the entire entertainment industry. Without it, motion pictures, radio, and television would suffer.

In the past 30 years the number of legitimate theaters has been reduced by over 100 percent. Practically no new theater has been built in over 25 years. Since 1930 the number of legitimate theaters in New York City has dwindled from 68 to 20. Since 1937, in New York City alone, 14 former legitimate theaters with a normal seating capacity of 16,955 have been taken over for either radio broadcasting or television performances. These theaters, as well as countless studios throughout the country where broadcasting or telecasting are carried on, are filled several times each day by tremendous audiences that are not only seeing entertainment without paying for it, but for which the Government is deriving no revenue in the form of taxes. It is live entertainment they are seeing too—the sort we provide, and not films, kinescope, or any other mechanical forms of reproduction.

There are some who say that relief lies in subsidy from the Government. The United States remains the only important country of the world which does not recognize the theater as an invitation worthy of subsidy from national funds. Even England, in the midst of her postwar financial troubles, recently appropriated the equivalent of $4 million for the establishment of a national theater.

It is worthy of note that in early 1949 a bill was introduced in Congress calling for Federal action in the promotion of theater arts throughout the Nation and requesting an appropriation for this purpose. The bill died in committee, but maybe the bill was

meant to die. The American living theater does not want subsidy. It wants repeal of the war tax.

To this end, on August 5, 1953, the formal program for the repeal of the war tax was launched by testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee in Washington. The witnesses who testified before the committee were:

James F. Reilly, executive director, the National Association of the Legitimate Theater and the League of New York Theaters.

Henry Kaiser, counsel, American Federation of Musicians.

Lawrence Langner, on behalf of the National Association of the Legitimate Theater, the League of New York Theaters, the American Theater Society, the Council of the Living Theater, and the American National Theater Association.

Wolfe Kaufman, president of the Association of Theatrical Press Agents and Managers, AFL.

Dennis King, representing Actors' Equity Association and Chorus Equity Association.

Reprints of this testimony have been ordered and will be distributed on a selective basis throughout the country. These witnesses have told a story much more eloquently than I, of the absolute necessity for relief from the war tax.

It is now the purpose to implement and factually document the testimony of August 5, 1953, which is now included in the hearings before the House Ways and Means Committee.

An economic survey is now being prepared by Dr. O. Glenn Saxon, professor of economics at Yale University. This survey, when completed, will be submitted to the House Ways and Means Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, various officials in the Treasury Department, and other officials in the executive, administrative, and legislative branches of the Federal Government.

The economic distress of the industry, its contributions to the recreation, amusement, education, and culture of the Nation, and the unfair competition from other mediums of entertainment are all a part of the theme of our program. In addition, it will be stressed that legislative relief for the legitimate theater will involve the least revenue loss to the Government as compared with other industries paying the excise taxes. Admissions-tax collections from the living theater industry totaled less than $16 million in 1952. The alltime peak was only $17 million during World War II. To the industry, admissions-tax collections equal one-fifth of its total gross income. To the Federal Government they represent less than three ten-thousandths of 1 percent of total budget receipts.

The legitimate theater is suffering the greatest injury from the continuation of the war tax and upon the granting of relief could in innumerable ways express the greatest appreciation: In addition, the role of the legitimate theater in the social and cultural life in America and the high status in the public mind which it presently enjoys will be emphasized.

The theater is not just another business or industry whose existence or disappearance would mean little to the welfare of the country. It is one of the arts by which the greatness of a nation's culture is judged. It is an art to which our country turns instinctively when disasters threaten, when emergencies develop. Its great patriotic contributions to America during the world wars cannot be forgotten. Its USO's and stage door canteens, its troupes of live actors touring the South Pacific and the Army posts in Alaska, Europe, and throughout the world are a familiar and beloved memory to all.

The relief which we seek will benefit all segments of the American living theater, not just the Broadway productions or the many hundreds of summer and winter stock companies throughout the country but the community theater, the college theater, and all other nonprofessional theaters as well.

As a part of the overall program it is imperative that this program receive the active support of all organizations and individuals who are affiliated with or interested in the American living theater. Actors' Equity, Chorus Equity, American Educational Theater Association, National Association of Community Theaters, Speech Association of America, American National Theater and Academy, Council of the Living Theater, American Federation of Musicians, National Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees, the Association of Theater Press Agents and Managers, AFL, the Theater Library Association, and many other interested organizations as well as individuals, in both the professional and nonprofessional American living theater are supporting this program and will play a vital role in the program.

Cooperation and assistance from community groups and the many nonprofessional and educational organizations within the theater will be of inestimable value. United support is most important and it must be remembered that the war tax affects everyone in both the professional and nonprofessional theater and that the aforementioned efforts are directed toward relief for all rather than for any one particular group.

Individuals and organizations in the community, educational and other nonprofessional phases of the American living theater are especially aware of this significance of the theater to the future of this country. Accordingly, the association is confident that they will unite in this effort for the repeal of the war tax.

It is hoped that if relief is granted at all, it will be granted to every group within the American living theater and that is the objective for which we have been striving for many months.

The only equitable relief to the living theater industry is outright repeal of the 20 percent admissions tax. Return to the discriminatory system of exempting from the tax all tickets up to 75 cents or $1 would do nothing to relieve the critical financial condition of the living theater.

At this time it is more important than ever that all individuals, associations, and organizations within or affiliated with the American living theater join in a united effort, that all the resources, talents, and energies of these groups be marshaled and coordinated along a solid front. The national association will keep all these groups advised of progress from time to time and will specify exact ways in which each group can help make the program a success.

The present Federal tax-revision program is approaching in scope one of the greatest legislative undertakings of all times. Staff subcommittees have been working for months on the entire range of revision problems. It has been the effort of the House Ways and Means Committee to bring to bear on the present tax-revision program a personal viewpoint and experience instead of merely the technician's approach. At least 40 different groups have testified before the House Ways and Means Committee on the matter of excise taxes. Coupled with the tax-revision program is the President's general legislative program. The budgetary problems are unusually complicated, particularly in view of the sympathetic view in Congress for lower taxes. Whether Government expenses can be cut sufficiently to permit tax relief in the excise-tax field is, of course, conjecture. It is more important than ever that we continue alert, active, and united.

In the President's veto message of the Mason bill which was sponsored by the Council of Motion Picture Organizations and which if approved would have exempted motion-picture theaters from the admissions tax, Dwight D. Eisenhower indicated that his disapproval was based not only on loss of tax revenues but also on the ground that it was unfair to single out on industry for relief at this time. President Eisenhower also indicated that a strong case could be made out for tax relief on other forms of entertainment subject to the admissions tax. For this reason we believe that the overall program upon which we have embarked and which seeks relief for the entire American living theater stands a greater chance of success than relief for any one particular group within the theater.

We believe that you can readily satisfy yourself from other sources that in joining us and lending our program your wholehearted support will lead to a greater possibility of success than, so to speak, going it alone.

We believe that you are interested in any project which will be of benefit to all types of theaters. Since our program includes, without any question, all groups in the theater, professional, educational, and community, we hope that we can rely on your support which we seek.

Address by Mrs. Edith S. Sampson Before the Rhode Island General Assembly on the Anniversary of Lincoln's Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address of Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, my alternate United States Representative to the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, given to the Rhode Island General Assembly when Mrs. Sampson was the guest of Gov. Dennis J. Roberts, of Rhode Island, and the Rhode Island General Assembly on the last anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is fitting that we should be gathered here today to commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States. When we honor Lincoln, we also honor freedom, and all those who have promoted freedom.

With your experience in this legislature, you know that the practical promotion of freedom is not always as easy as it looks in the history text books. Abraham Lincoln, who had had his share of the give-and-take of practical politics, both in Illinois and Washington, also knew this to be true.

Amid the tumult and the shouting of abolitionists and slaveholders, unionists and secessionists, radicals and conservatives, his way was often troubled and dark. It is said history seldom repeats itself, but sometimes it seems to me that our troubled times here in the 20th century are merely the reflection of the chaos which beset Lincoln. There were spy scares in his time too, and in their wake the same frightened excesses of intolerance which mar the record of our day.

There even were rumors that Mrs. Lincoln was a spy. The rumors were discussed by a congressional investigating committee. One morning, Lincoln's biographer tells us, the weary but patient President appeared at a secret session of the committee. For what? To vouch for his wife's loyalty.

Abraham Lincoln was dedicated to the cause of freedom, and hoped it would prevail over slavery, but not at the expense of war. He loved peace, and hoped that war could be avoided—but not at the expense of disunion. And, so, amid the shifting sands of controversy, he found his way to the bedrock—the bedrock necessity for saving the Union. On this rock of unity he took his stand, and on the issue of union or disunion, he led his country into war.

But Lincoln's loyalty was never negative. His was an active loyalty to the best in America and to the role which he knew the Almighty intended America to play.

Abraham Lincoln possessed patience and long-range vision. "The central idea pervading this struggle," he once said to John Hay, "is the necessity of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves."

Standing on the bedrock of complete unity in America, Lincoln was fortified against all the shocks of the storm. As the South pulled away, he saw the supreme importance of holding the border States. If he could not at the moment save the whole Union, then it was necessary to hold on to the largest part.

At one point, the hinge of fate seemed to turn on the decision of one State, Kentucky. "I think to lose Kentucky is nearly • • • to lose the whole game," he wrote. "Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this Capital."

So, with characteristic quiet patience, he turned his attention to the supreme task of holding Kentucky. He was cautious and watchful. He tried every technique he knew. Having found the bedrock moral issue, he knew he was right.

At length, he got a kind of uneasy neutrality for his efforts. He worked on, never losing sight of the paramount goal of unity. And at last the Legislature of Kentucky resolved that Federal aid and protection should be sought. From that moment that State was irrevocably on the side of the Union.

Thus was Kentucky saved for the Union; and the Union, perhaps, and who knows what else, saved in Kentucky.

The recollection of that mighty drama unfolding on that small stage often came back to me when I served as an American delegate at the United Nations.

In working to hold the small states of Asia and Africa on the side of freedom, it seemed to me we were dealing with the key border states of the 20th century—dealing with people who could tip the balance between freedom and slavery—with people who might some day help save America. We can compare our global problems today with the troubled times of Lincoln's era. These are crucial times because disaster and deliverance are divided only by a hair's breadth of judgment. In such times all partisan and special interests must be submerged. The future of America is in the balance. We must look at the whole picture and see what is possible and best for our country. We need infinite patience.

In 1950, while one of Rhode Island's distinguished statesmen, John Muccio, was serving as American Ambassador in Korea, the Communists began their aggression. This act of aggression can be compared to the events during Lincoln's time in 1861 when the guns were turned on Fort Sumter. The aggression in Korea gave us unusual concern. I was particularly disturbed, and I wondered whether the free world had the courage and character and the imagination to repress this Communist rebellion against the United States.

Of course, most of us never really doubted that we would prevail. And, under the leadership of America, the free world has, until now, stood the acid test.

But let's not deceive ourselves. Much—very much—remains to be done. The shooting in Korea has stopped. The cold war of economics and ideas continues wherever the interests of freedom and the Soviet slave system are in conflict. And I can tell you, after my service at the U. N., and after my travels in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific islands, that the battle between the Soviets and ourselves is carried on relentlessly all over this shrunken globe.

Your Rhode Island's distinguished United States Senator, THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, knows this to be true, for he heard the resentment and bitterness spit out against Americans when he served as a member of the American delegation to the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

On every continent, freedom is locked in mortal struggle with the Soviet slave system and its propaganda agents. Sometimes it seems that a showdown is inevitable. While preparing for the worst, as Lincoln did, we can pray to God, as Lincoln did, that the ultimate showdown can be avoided. But we must be ready for anything, for the Communists are unpredictable.

We are engaged in a great global war, hot in some spaces and cold in others, testing whether the U. N., or any association of nations so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure.

Whether we like it or not, history has thrust America, as once it thrust Lincoln, into a position of leadership. We cannot avoid this responsibility. It's our lot, for better or for worse. In the 20th century, as America goes, so goes freedom.

The important question is, What is America going to do about it? Will we, as Lincoln did in his day, measure up to this awesome responsibility? Or will we, as the doubters and scoffers expected of Lincoln, flinch and fail, while tyranny writes the death warrant of freedom?

I submit that the first thing we must do is plant our feet on bedrock—the bedrock of unity—just as Lincoln did. With disunity in America, we jeopardize our leadership.

The Soviets welcome lack of unity. They know that on this bedrock of unity the free world is impregnable.

The twisting and turning of Soviet policy at the U. N. sometimes seems a little puzzling. It puzzled me at first. They speak with one voice to Europeans, with another voice to the Asians, another to the Arabs, and still another to the Africans. The sounds they make are contradicting and baffling, even when translated into English. But it all makes terrible sense in terms of their constant, relentless aim to divide us from our friends and cut us off from our allies. Their objective is to divide the free nations and deal with each separately. Their one hope of gaining ground is by dividing their opponents.

They have powerful weapons for accomplishing their purpose. Their largest weapon is the big lie. It would not do to underestimate the Soviets.

The big lie about American Negroes, for example. Time and again, a Soviet or satellite speaker will take 2 hours or more at the U. N. giving his fantastic picture of the terrorization and exploitation of American Negroes by the ruthless capitalists.

The tragedy is what the Communists say in the United States enures to their benefit elsewhere. Their speeches and their vindictive utterances are not necessarily for American consumption, but fundamentally aimed for people in far-away places. They aim to reach the people in Europe, Asia, and Africa. And the vast Russian propaganda machine makes sure it reaches its destination.

The hundreds of millions who have won their freedom or are determined to win it, admire and respect the achievements of our great human experiment here in America. But because we are the wellspring of their hopes, our shortcomings here dismay and injure.

We seek security for our Nation in a world in which two-thirds of the people are dark-skinned. Can you imagine our achieving lasting security in a world in which two-thirds of the people looked toward us with bitterness, resentment, or hostility because we forsake our ideals and deny equal citizenship to one-tenth of our fellow Americans whose skins also are dark?

This question reflects a fact, not a theory. I have had these sentiments of bitterness and hostility poured out to me by white as well as by black in countries as widely separated and different as Norway and India. I have seen Communist agitators stir up and inflame these resentments. They have been flung at me on platforms all the way from Stockholm to Manila.

When I am abroad, I fight back at these maligners of our Nation, at these cynics who obscure, distort, or deny the progress we are making. But I am come home to crusade for faster progress in human relationships, for speedier denial to our enemies of the facts and conditions which permit them to attack us. Until the 16 million Negro citizens of our great land achieve the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow Americans, we will not succeed in the search for security. So long as discrimination persists, tens of millions of people in the world community will be doubtful of our leadership, will be hesitant to join their destiny with our own. From such a situation, only the Communists gain. Though we have made progress, we have a long way to go. We have a big job to do if we are to build invincible strength on the bedrock of the unity of the free world. It is a job for all Americans.

To get the job done, we will need the loyalty, the techniques, the strengths, the skills and the devotion of all Americans, black and white alike. We need more than the negative loyalty of guarding Government secrets and not being an agent or dupe of the Communist conspiracy. We need active loyalty.

Perhaps I can show you what I mean by paraphrasing Lincoln again:

We can only defend freedom by strengthening and extending the union—the union of free nations. Our paramount object must be to save the union. Everything that will strengthen the union must be done. Everything that will weaken the union must be avoided. There is no longer any real distinction between domestic affairs and foreign affairs. Everything we do or say—at home or abroad—must be done in a way that will help strengthen the union. We must not do or say anything in a way that will weaken us.

I would be the last to claim—and I know that you practical legislators would be the last to believe—that there are any easy solutions in politics. But I think you will agree that our practical day-to-day problems become a lot less difficult when we stand on bedrock and test them against first principles as Lincoln did.

It certainly helps to clarify the problem of loyalty. It shows us what active loyalty to America really means.

We need a police force to maintain law and order in the community. But the power of the police does not insure good citizenship. Irresponsible vigilantes destroy good citizenship and they destroy valuable good will abroad.

We need to be alert to the dangers of espionage. But irresponsible investigating committees, hiding behind their congressional immunity and misusing their legitimate power of inquiry, will not insure active loyalty to America.

Most of us know the objectives of these phony negative patriots. We even joke about them sometimes, as we do about Vishinsky. But again, the huge joke or the big lie at home is often a huge propaganda victory for the Russians abroad.

Those who work to strengthen the free world are actively loyal to America. Those who oppose measures to strengthen the free world—while they may be law-abiding citizens and know the Constitution and the Bill of Rights by heart—are not actively loyal to America.

Men and women who are actively loyal to America will work to strengthen America's economy and the economy of the free world. There are those citizens who realize that if we cut off aid—and do not permit trade with our allies—America's interest will suffer.

Can there be any doubt about this? Last week there was talk in Washington about the difficulty of carrying out the tariff reductions recommended by the Randall Commission. In the very same week, the Soviets offered the British a billion dollars worth of trade contracts. Let me ask you: will refusal to trade with our allies hurt or strengthen America?

I believe that the recent announcement in the U. N. that President Eisenhower will support full independence for Puerto Rico if the Puerto Ricans desire it is a splended and concrete example of active loyalty to America. Whenever we ring the bell of freedom in America—and back it up with deeds—I can almost hear the cheer that goes up in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East—among the border states where we might some day need a lot of help that only they can give us.

The Communists want the world to think our democracy is a sham. Their best allies are the small group of Americans who try to make a sham of American democracy.

The Communists want to isolate us. Who else wants to isolate us? Our own isolationists. Whether they know it or not, they are playing the Russian game. It's called Russian roulette, and the life of America is at stake. So far, they've pulled the trigger on blank cartridges only. Personally, I doubt they have any live ammunition. But the noise those blank cartridges are making must be mightily pleasing to Russian ears. For the Kremlin's best hope is that America will commit suicide and disintegrate.

What kind of America would the Kremlin most like to see? A strong America, united with her allies, and by her shining example exercising a strong attraction to the underprivileged people of the world? Or a weak, inward-looking, suspicious America, isolated from its friends in the western community of nations and powerless to attract the uncommitteed millions of Asia and Africa?

Actively loyal Americans do not urge a constitutional amendment to deprive the President of the authority he had and needs to conduct a strong American foreign policy. They do not weaken American influence abroad by slandering the loyal and hard-working men and women of our Foreign Service. They don't spread distrust and suspicion of the Voice of America. People who do these things are not defending America, they are helping the Soviet Union defame part of the Soviet plan to divide America from its friends, to destroy the union of the free.

All over the world, people want to believe in America. But they want proof that Americans believe in it too.

Actively loyal Americans will work to achieve the reality of the American dream. They will back it up with deeds, not words alone. They will seek to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with their friends, their freedom-loving friends on every continent.

And on the bedrock of the union of the free, they will stand the shock of every storm that blows.

Courageous Record of Senator Wiley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on last Sunday, February 21, there was published in the New York Herald Tribune an article entitled "Courageous Record of Senator WILEY," written by Roscoe Drummond, about our distinguished colleague, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. WILEY]. As ranking majority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, I have always had the highest regard for the work of our chairman. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COURAGEOUS RECORD OF SENATOR WILEY
(By Roscoe Drummond)

While the facts are still fresh in the records, it deserves to be put down that the most consistent, politically courageous, forthright, don't-wait-until-the-battle-is-nearly-lost defender of administration foreign policy is the senior Senator from Wisconsin.

He is Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who on the 3 most critical and controversial issues of the last 12 months has been a virtual Horatius at the Bridge while the President and Secretary of State were deciding how and when to speak out.

He did not hesitate to do battle with formidable figures in his own party at a time when each issue was imperiling the leadership of the White House.

When the late Senator Robert A. Taft delivered his famous "go it alone" speech in Cincinnati last May, belittling the United Nations, suggesting we ignore our allies in Asia, and deriding NATO and the North Atlantic Treaty, Senator WILEY was the only prominent Republican foreign policy spokesman to voice prompt and public dissent. Later, the President gently disagreed with Senator Taft.

When Acting Senate Majority Leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND approved Syngman Rhee's release of prisoners held by South Korea for the U. N., blamed President Eisenhower for the breach with Rhee, and encouraged Rhee to resume the war if he wanted to, Senator WILEY took the floor of the Senate the next day to counter the damage which Senator KNOWLAND had done to the truce negotiations.

After Senator BRICKER offered his amendment last year to reduce the treatymaking power of the Federal Government, there were weeks on end when Senator WILEY was virtually the only Senator, Republican or Democratic, who lifted his voice in the Senate to stem the onrushing tide of pressure and propaganda for it.

Because Senator WILEY stood out against three strong Republican personalities, he ran serious political risks. Despite the fact that he was defending the administration—or because of it—he began to be punished by his own party in his own State. He didn't buckle under the pressure.

To Senator Taft's "go it alone" Cincinnati speech, Senator WILEY gave this reply:

"The enemies of that American boy who lies in that tomb (the Unknown Soldier) would like nothing better for us than to 'go it alone.' They would like nothing better for us than to lose all hope that Western Europe can be successfully defended. They would be delighted if we were to lose our faith in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the U. N.

"We will honor America's dead best by preserving unity among the living. We know, as Lincoln knew, that 'a house divided against itself cannot stand.' The free world's house cannot stand if it pays heed to those who would split in in twain—wittingly or unwittingly."

Shortly thereafter, the Wisconsin Republican State convention passed a resolution condemning Senator WILEY for his support of a bipartisan foreign policy and warned him to heed its words.

To Senator KNOWLAND's uncritical indorsement of everything Syngman Rhee was doing, Senator WILEY replied:

"I want to express the firm view that President Rhee is doing his nation, his allies, the United Nations, as a whole, and the cause of world peace, infinite damage by his continued reckless attitude.

"The unilateral action which he has already taken in violation of his commitments to the United Nations Command and the unilateral action which he has indicated he may take—are actions unworthy of his own fine record as a spokesman for free peoples. * * *

"President Rhee has been playing with global dynamite. He has been tossing matches about in an utterly reckless manner."

On the Bricker amendment, while the President was waiting to make up his mind, and while Secretary Dulles was waiting, Senator WILEY was leading a lone and what appeared to be a losing battle against the plan to curb the treatymaking authority of the Federal Government.

It wasn't evident then that the President was going to take any strong stand personally. Senator WILEY kept speaking from the floor of the Senate, kept sprinkling the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with his considered arguments against the amendment. At the end of the session, by showing that he would insist upon lengthy debate of such an important matter, there is good reason to believe that he, more than any one else, succeeded in postponing the vote at a time when support for the amendment in its most restrictive form was at its peak.

Pro-Bricker Wisconsin Republicans tried to take WILEY out of the play by threatening him. They got the Republican Party of Wisconsin formally to censure the senior Senator for his failure to actively support the Bricker amendment and ipsist that he reconsider his stand.

They didn't know their man. Senator WILEY may be taking political risks, but he is standing by his convictions. He is doing battle boldly on the great issues, as he sees them, and he is often standing up for the administration even when the administration doesn't always seem ready to stand up for itself.

Washington Badminton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to a letter describ-

ing the current confusion in the matter of sending surface mail at air cargo rates:

TIGERGRAM,
THE FLYING TIGER LINE, INC.,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1954.

WASHINGTON BADMINTON

Mr. Sparrow reached the home nest quite late one evening minus his tail feathers. Under sharp cross-examination by Mrs. Sparrow, he confessed he'd gotten tangled up in a badminton game over Washington.

This CAB-Post Office hassle on the surface-mail-by-air experiment would be unique Washington sport if we could somehow get out of being the shuttlecock.

On May 1, 1952, we make formal tender to Post Office to fly mail at cargo rates.

On September 8, 1953, Post Office petitions CAB to start experiment. On same date we petition CAB to participate.

On October 15, 1953, Post Office supports cargo carriers by brief to CAB.

On October 20, Post Office supports again by oral argument.

On December 3, CAB decides it has legal right to grant our request.

On December 5, we re-petition CAB.

On December 14, Post Office resupports with letter to CAB.

On December 23, CAB says "No" after spending 2 months deciding it could say "Yes"—thus bagging one of the largest snarks[1] on record.

On January 13, 1954, cargo carriers re-repetition CAB to re-reconsider and on January 21 Post Office re-resupports with amicus curiae re-repetition.

Here, then, is the amazing spectacle of the administration, through its Cabinet officer, the PMG, thrice (and so far unsuccessfully) asking CAB (with its Republican majority) to do something which it (the CAB) prayerfully concluded it could do. And mirabile dictu, on the previous vote as to whether it should do what it said it could do, the 2 Democrats voted "yes" and the 3 Republicans voted "no." We, the certificated all-cargo carriers, now find ourselves unhappy refugees in a cul de sac[2] within a cul de sac—and it's real dark in here.

[1] Snark: Lewis Carroll's mythical creature discovered on a trip to nowhere.

[2] Cul de sac: Webster's preferred definition for bottom of the bag.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRICE DANIEL
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Statehood for Hawaii?" published in the Palm Beach Post-Times of February 21, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII?

A half-ton roll of newsprint mounted on a truck was unfurled along a blocked-off downtown Honolulu street the other day when some 5,000 persons signed a petition asking Congress to approve statehood for Hawaii.

As petitions go, that is a big one. As newsprint goes, that is only a drop in the bucket compared to the amount that has been used and will be used on the controversial subject of making the Paradise of the Pacific the 49th State. There is no doubt that residents of the islands are highly in favor of the idea. People of "the 48" have good reason to be less enthusiastic.

We believe the great majority of the people of Florida are in full accord with their junior Senator, GEORGE SMATHERS, who is leading the fight in the Senate against admission. His arguments are clear, unequivocal, and potent.

Admission of a State to the Union, Senator SMATHERS points out, is the most irrevocable act that Congress can pass. Once adopted, it can never be repealed. Once admitted, a State can neither secede nor be expelled. For this reason admission of a new State is a step that should be taken only after exhaustive study of the far-reaching possibilities involved. And first consideration should be given to the effect, not on the proposed new State, but on the United States as presently constituted. The burden of proof is definitely on the supplicant.

Granting statehood to Hawaii would, in more ways than one, be a radical departure from United States tradition. The tiny islands comprising the Territory are more than 2,000 miles from our western shoreline. Its half-million population is predominantly oriental, largely of Japanese origin or ancestry.

There, it seems to us, are two insurmountable obstacles to making Hawaii a State. The United States of America has grown great in being just that: United States of America. The great distance of Hawaii from the mainland, despite today's rapid aerial transit, will keep it from ever being truly united with us, geographically or otherwise.

And what has the United States to gain? No opportunity for future migration; the small area is already densely populated. No new horizon in economic or agricultural development; less than one-third of the land is arable and no mineral or other resources hold promise of industrial expansion.

Instead, we would be opening the door to a loss of integration that might mean national suicide. It is evident that there must be some limit to the extent of our national boundaries if we are to make the basic institutions of our well-being permanent. If we expand 2,000 miles into the Pacific, who can say what demands for further extension we may face in the future?

We are closely bound in history, racial characteristics, and human aspirations to the "tight little isle" of England, but would we consider making England one of the United States even if its people so desired? Should we admit Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and Okinawa? If not, why not?

For the same reasons that we should not admit Hawaii.

The people of Hawaii and their proponents contend that the islanders as citizens of an incorporated Territory should be given a voice in our Government. Yet the population of the District of Columbia exceeds that of both Hawaii and Alaska, and residents of the District have no vote.

The whole issue appears to be political. Hawaii statehood has become a political promise because it was a plank in the platforms of both major political parties. It is no secret, either, that the two new Senators from Hawaii probably would be Republicans. That may account for some of the pressure for immediate action.

We can readily understand why the citizens of Hawaii would like to see the Territory granted statehood, but we can see no valid reason for the citizens of the United States to accede to the request. Much as we respect the opinions of President Eisenhower, we fear that his endorsement of the fateful step was heavily influenced by advisers with an eye on short-term political advantage.

We commend Senator SMATHERS for his forthright stand on the issue and urge his colleagues to join in the fight to keep America American.

Pension Leader Declares Administration Program Ignores Plight of Aged Receiving Public Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, throughout the United States our senior citizens dependent upon public assistance are existing on so-called pensions which barely provide them with even the most urgent necessities.

Mr. George McLain, president of the National Institute of Social Welfare, has written a letter to Members of Congress pointing out the failure of the administration to show any concern for the welfare of so many of our needy aged citizens.

I should like to include his letter and his proposals in our RECORD:

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL WELFARE,
Los Angeles, Calif., February 22, 1954.

HONORABLE SIR: According to the information we have, the administration's proposal dealing with the Federal Social Security Act has no improvements for applicants or recipients of public assistance.

Outside of several meager monthly increases, allowing the blind to earn $50 per month, and adding the physically handicapped, these needy people have been ignored by Congress since the act was established in 1935.

Isn't it quite possible that overzealous Federal agencies have oversharpened their pencils, thus dooming our own most needy at home to slow starvation while too generously bestowing our abundance to all of the Western World?

Any increase given to old-age and survivors beneficiaries who are receiving the minimum, and, therefore, dependent upon public assistance to live, will naturally be deducted by the State and not represent an actual increase to the recipient.

Enclosed with this letter are our recommendations. Thirteen years of effective research into the need of amendments to the public assistance section of the Federal Social Security Act has gone into this study.

We trust that an effort will be made by you to get all or a part of these amendments into law.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MCLAIN,
Chairman of the Board.

AMENDMENTS TO THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE SECTION OF THE FEDERAL SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AS PROPOSED TO THE 1954 SESSION OF CONGRESS, DESIGNED TO EASE THE HARSHNESS OF THE MEANS TEST AS PRACTICED BY THE VARIOUS STATES AS IT RELATES PRIMARILY TO AID TO THE NEEDY AGED

1. That the present restrictive ceiling of Federal matching of funds be eliminated and a formula worked out to encourage States to grant larger aid payments.

2. That an increase of $10 be granted by Congress to the needy aged, blind, and physically handicapped as well as a proportionate increase for dependent children.

3. Prohibit the States from demanding liens against the real property of the applicant or recipient as a condition for receiving such aid.

4. Prohibit deductions as an occupancy value from the aid payments to a recipient home owner.

5. Prohibit States from using the public assistance laws to force collections from relatives of aged recipients.

6. Where an otherwise eligible person does not meet the residence requirements of a State, the Federal Government will assume the entire aid payment until such residence has been established according to State law.

7. That needy aged recipients be granted the same privilege as the blind now have—the right to earn $50 a month without penalty of deduction.

8. That the value of any United States surplus food made available to those on public assistance be not deducted or taken out of the amount of aid payment for which the recipient would otherwise be eligible.

9. That the law which permits States to make public the names of recipients, commonly known as the shame list law be repealed.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *February 22, 1954.*

Fairness to Indian Tribes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 24, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which appeared on the editorial page of this morning's Washington Post. It is entitled "Fairness to Indian Tribes," and was written by John Collier, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

There being no objection, the latter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAIRNESS TO INDIAN TRIBES

Last summer, the Washington Post joined other Indian and non-Indian organizations and newspapers in urging that President Eisenhower veto a bill subjecting American Indians residing on Indian reservations without their consent, and even over their opposition, to State civil and criminal jurisdiction. At that time, these organizations warned that if the bill became law it would unleash an assault, as it had in the past, upon Indian tribal and natural resources.

Although President Eisenhower approved the measure (now Public Law 280), he denounced the failure to require even "full consultation in order to ascertain the wishes and desires of the Indians" as a "most un-Christian approach to the problem," and directed the Department of the Interior to submit amendments to remedy these basically immoral omissions.

Several months have gone by, yet no such amendments have been proposed by the Department. Instead, without requiring the consent of the Indians, the Department of the Interior has adopted the policy of terminating "Federal responsibility for administering the affairs of individual tribes * * * as rapidly as the circumstances of each tribe will permit" by (1) turning over to the States and their subdivisions the responsibility for fulfilling these Federal obligations, and (2) distributing tribal resources as soon as possible, in the manner the Federal Government, not the Indians, deem best. (Letter of Assistant Secretary Orme Lewis to Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS, March 13, 1953.)

To carry out this program, promptly at the start of the present congressional session, the Department sponsored 10 termination bills (S. 2743 through S. 2750, S. 2866, S. 2877; H. R. 7316 through H. R. 7322; H. R. 7679, and H. R. 7680) without approval of the Budget Bureau, affecting approximately 70,000 Indians, or about one-sixth of the total American Indian population. Joint hearings of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of both Houses of Congress began on February 15, 1954.

Already, as the Department of the Interior admitted when it proposed the bills, vigorous opposition has been registered by various tribes.

The Department of the Interior now urges, as was argued last summer in inducing the President to sign Public Law 280 despite its most un-Christian approach, that Indians must be equalized. In the words of Indian Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons, Indians are entitled to "exactly the same rights and privileges as the rest of us," thus implying that Indians possess less than, but ought to enjoy, the rights and privileges of all other citizens.

These bills, however, in no way guarantee that the Indians will secure these services and protections from State and local governments, as do other State citizens. In fact, two States, North Dakota and Florida, have already expressed their unwillingness to assume the Federal trusteeship obligations. Thus, despite the beguiling slogan of giving "equal rights and privileges" to the American Indians, the measures would deny them equality.

Neither would enactment of this termination program benefit the Nation. In implementing the termination policy, the Department of the Interior is acting without regard to the basic facts of Indian life and the Federal-Indian relationship. It is uprooting the ancient trusteeship obligation, as formulated more than 400 years ago, and as reformulated initially under President Herbert Hoover, and thereafter implemented under Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. The termination policy conflicts with Commissioner Emmons' own assurances that the long-range policy in administering Indian affairs should be to reclaim land, promote tribal industries, and push Government health and education efforts, and with his warning that "in promoting self-sufficiency the Government must not pull out and leave unprepared Indians to fend for themselves."

Even more, adoption of this policy will dishonor the Nation's standing in the international community, and reflect upon our good faith in abiding by our solemn covenants. Implementation of this policy without obtaining the prior consent of the Indians would be viewed by the approximately 30 million Indians of the Western Hemisphere and the many other disadvantaged peoples of the world as a yardstick of the sincerity of our commitment to the principle of government by consent of the governed and to our belief in equal treatment under the laws.

Unless these basic facts of Indian law and Indian life can become known to the public and the President, and by them and him be impressed upon the Interior Department and the Congress, the Indians and the entire Nation will suffer again in the very manner they have so frequently in the past.

It is impossible to oppose each of these individual bills (and more as they come in) section by section. However, the public can insist that the Indians be consulted at each stage in the formulation of all programs affecting them and that enactment of these programs be contingent on the Indians' own desire and consent, in line with the views expressed by the Post in its fine editorial of August 5, 1953, entitled "Whither the Indians." The public can insist that the bill now pending and any others materially affecting the American Indians contain a provision requiring the Indians' consent as expressed through their tribal governing bodies or referenda of the tribal membership, before any such measures can become effective.

In so insisting we will be certain of according the Indians their equal rights to local self-government, consistent with the principle of government by the consent of the governed.

JOHN COLLIER,
President, Institute of Ethnic Affairs
(formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1933–45).
NEW YORK.

Misinformation and Untruthful Information About the Social Security Reserve Fund Answered by Secretary Hobby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has, in her usual forthright and convincing manner, answered several questions concerning the social-security reserve fund that were propounded to me by a correspondent. I believe that the answers to these questions will clarify much of the misinformation that is being disseminated concerning this fund. I am inserting herewith the letter of inquiry and the letter from Mrs. Hobby in reply; also a statement that was attached to her letter, entitled "Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund." These two documents should clear up any question in the mind of any person concerning this important matter. They are as follows:

POLO, ILL., *January 1, 1954.*

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PATMAN: The existing situation re the social-security fund seems very baffling. I have been trying to come at the exact truth through reading all I find printed about it and by correspondence with friends who, I had believed, knew something about finance and the general subject discussed.

I have written out several questions that seem to me pertinent, but I receive no answers. One of my friends sent the questions I posed to him to the U. S. News & World Report, which he claims animated the article in its December 11 issue titled "Your Old-Age Pension, etc," page 96. It covered the law (I suppose) but avoided my questions. At least, none was to be found in the article. I'm wondering if you will be so good as to clarify the matter. It seems clear to me that all attempted explanations of the bond substitution for the actual cash fund of some $18.5 billion in the social-security fund are fallacious if not downright falsifications—and there serving as coverups to delude the public. My questions follow:

1. Is it true that United States bonds have been deposited in the Treasury as security for cash taken from the fund? If so, do such bonds constitute genuine security?

2. Has the entire fund been converted to the use of the Government?

3. Assuming that United States bonds are being used as a guaranty or substitute for the cash taken, who owns the bonds?

4. Who gets the interest on such bonds?

5. Were the social-security beneficiaries, the payers-in and those receiving monthly checks consulted before the money was taken and the bonds substituted?

6. Will not taxes have to be levied to pay the interest on the bonds?

7. If so, will not the social-security payers and those receiving checks have to pay their share of such taxes? (Most of us believed we had paid all the premiums demanded by law of us to become eligible to receive benefits.)

8. If the fund dissipation is a straight borrowing transaction (which Secretary Humphrey stated in a radio quiz that it is), why doesn't the amount borrowed appear in the national-debt statements?

9. It seems to be generally held among the public that a special bond issue was provided by the Treasury to serve as security for the money taken from the fund. Not sold to the public but merely as evidence (I suppose) of the Government's good faith. Can this possibly be true?

10. If anything of the sort happened, are the bonds interest-free?

11. If interest-bearing bonds were in fact deposited in lieu of the cash used up by the Government, do not the 65 million workers pay the interest for the most part?

12. If the Government issued the bonds for the sole purpose of providing security and are not interest free but carry an interest charge, who receives the interest on such bonds? The Government?

Further study, without doubt, will pose many more questions. I enclose a memorandum coming from the U. S. News & World Report. I cannot believe there is any validity in its statements.

Sincerely and with high respects,

HENRY A. CHENEY.

MEMORANDUM

(From the office of U. S. News & World Report, December 22, 1953)

Many observers, some of them informed in finance, have contended that a social-security fund invested in Government bonds is no fund at all—that Government will have to raise revenue by taxes when it wants to pay out funds.

Misunderstanding about the nature and reality of the social-security reserve fund stems usually from a failure to think ahead to what will happen when Government has to use the fund to pay benefits.

When the time comes for Social Security to cash in its bonds in order to get cash to pay benefits, then the Treasury can do just what it does now when a bond issue comes due. It can sell a new issue of bonds, and use the proceeds to redeem the bonds now held by Social Security. The national debt does not rise—since one block of the debt is simply replaced by another—and no additional taxes are levied in this process.

If, of course, Government desires at the appointed time to cut its national debt and can get revenues from taxes with which to do this, then Government can take tax money and pay off the bonds held by Social Security. National debt will go down accordingly. Note that, in this process, the purpose of levying the additional taxes will be to reduce the national debt—not to pay off Social Security.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION AND WELFARE,
Washington, January 26, 1954.

Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PATMAN: With your communication of January 5, you sent me the enclosed letter from Mr. Henry A. Cheney, Marco Polo Hotel, Polo, Ill., who requests answers to a number of questions about existing arrangements for financing the social-security program. The questions and answers are as follows:

Questions 1, 10, and 5. Is it true that United States bonds have been deposited in the Treasury as security for cash taken from the fund? If so, do such bonds constitute genuine security? If anything of the sort happened, are the bonds interest-free? Were the social-security beneficiaries, the payers-in and those receiving monthly checks consulted before the money was taken and the bonds substituted?

Answer. It may be helpful, at the outset, to realize that when the original contribution schedule and subsequent amendment thereof were enacted Congress was aware that there would be an excess of income over disbursements in the early years of the old-age and survivors insurance program. Recognizing that it would be unwise from an economic and financial standpoint to leave these cash balances uninvested, Congress prescribed the method of handling the money collected to finance the program.

The Social Security Act provides specifically that 100 percent of the taxes collected to finance the old-age and survivors insurance program are to be transferred to a trust fund which is kept separate from the general funds of the Treasury. The managing trustee of the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund (the Secretary of the Treasury) is directed by law to invest in interest-bearing Government bonds that portion of the fund which is not required for meeting current benefit payments and administrative expenses of the program.

The investment of the fund's cash receipts in Government bonds constitutes the highest degree of security and, in addition, provides interest income which is available for payments to beneficiaries. The practice of investing the assets of the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund in Government securities is exactly the same as that followed by banks, insurance companies, trustees for workers' pension plans, and other private investors who seek the most sound investment for their funds, and, at the same time, a reasonable income therefrom. In either case, the investor receives for his loan a bond or other form of obligation as evidence of the Treasury's indebtedness. When the Treasury repays the loan, with interest, the money becomes available for social-security benefits just as the Treasury's repayment of loans made by an insurance company makes this money available to the company's policyholders and beneficiaries.

Question 2. Has the entire fund been converted to the use of the Government?

Answer. None of the assets of the fund have been converted to the use of the Government. As indicated in reply to the preceding questions, assets of the fund have been invested in United States Government bonds. At the end of December 1953, the assets of the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund amounted to $18,707 million. All of these assets, except for $416 million held in cash for current disbursements, were invested in interest-bearing Government securities.

Question 3. Assuming that United States bonds are being used as a guaranty or substitute for the cash taken, who owns the bonds?

Answer. The Social Security Act provides that the trustees of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund—the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—shall hold the fund in trust for present and future beneficiaries. The Government bonds, which constitute virtually all of the assets of the fund, are held in safekeeping in the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C., by the Secretary of the Treasury as managing trustee of the fund.

Questions 4 and 12. Who gets the interest on such bonds? If the Government issued the bonds for the sole purpose of providing security and are not interest free but carry an interest charge, who receives the interest on such bonds? The Government?

Answer. Interest collected on the fund's investments is added to and becomes a part of the trust fund and becomes available for the payment of benefits. A total of $2.7 billion has been received in interest during the period 1937–53.

Questions 6, 7, and 11. Will not taxes have to be levied to pay the interest on the bonds? If so, will not the Social Security payers and those receiving checks have to pay their share of such taxes? (Most of us believed we had paid all the premiums demanded, by law, of us to become eligible to receive benefits.) If interest bearing bonds were in fact deposited in lieu of the cash used up by the Government do no the 65 million workers pay the interest for the most part?

Answer. It is true, of course, that the Government will be required to levy taxes to pay the interest on and redeem the principal of the obligations issued to the trust fund. This levy will be borne by all taxpayers, including persons covered by the social security program. However, these taxes are not for the purpose of paying social security benefits. Rather, they are to pay for the costs of the war and its aftermath and the general operating expenses of the Government, that is, the purposes for which the money was originally borrowed. Taxes levied to cover the cost of, say, the war would have to be paid whether the bonds were held by the trust fund or by some bank or insurance company. The fact that the trust fund, rather than other possible investors, holds part of the Government's debt means that the interest on the bonds accrues to the fund.

Questions 8 and 9. If the fund dissipation is a straight borrowing transaction (which Secretary Humphrey stated in a radio quiz that it is) why doesn't the amount borrowed appear in the national debt statements? It seems to be generally held among the public that a special bond issue was provided by the Treasury to serve as security for the money taken from the fund. Not sold to the public but merely as evidence (I suppose) of the Government's good faith. Can this possibly be true?

Answer. The Social Security Act as amended restricts investments of the trust fund to interest-bearing obligations of the United States Government or to obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States. Regular obligations of these types may be acquired on original issue at par or by purchase of outstanding obligations at their market price. About 12.5 percent of the investments of the trust fund fall in this category and are exactly the same issues as those held by life insurance companies.

In addition, the Social Security Act authorizes the issuance of special obligations exclusively to the trust fund. Such special obligations are required to bear interest at a rate equal to the average rate of interest borne by all interest-bearing obligations of the United States forming a part of the public debt. About 87.5 percent of the fund's investments are of this type.

The Government indebtedness represented by all the bonds held in the trust fund is a part of the national debt and is included in published figures on the debt. For example, a summary tabulation of the public debt at the end of 1953 appearing on page 9 of the Daily Statement of the United States Treasury for December 31, 1953, shows all the special issues held by the trust fund on that date as $16,005,605,000 bearing an interest rate of 2⅝ percent. Copies of the Daily Statement are generally available at public and university libraries.

Several copies of a fact sheet entitled "The Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund" are enclosed which Mr. Cheney and your constituents may find helpful in understanding the operations of the fund. I appreciate your giving me the opportunity of replying to Mr. Cheney's questions.

Sincerely yours,

OVETA CULP HOBBY,
Secretary.

THE FEDERAL OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE TRUST FUND

The trust fund was established by the Social Security Act to hold the reserves of the old-age and survivors insurance program. Into this special fund in the United States Treasury go all the contributions made by employees, employers, and self-employed people under the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program.

Guardians of the fund: A board of trustees, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, holds the trust fund and makes regular reports to Congress regarding its operation and its amount.

An independent account: Receipts and expenditures of the trust fund are separated from all other accounts in the United States Treasury.

Expenditures: Benefit payments and administrative costs of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system are the only expenditures which may be made from the trust fund.

How the money is invested: That part of the fund not required for current expenditures is invested in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States.

The interest from such investments is added to and becomes a part of the trust fund. Thus the interest increases the size of the fund. The interest, like the original payments into the fund, may be used only for payment of benefits and administrative costs of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system.

The investment of amounts in the trust fund is similar to the investment of funds by banks and insurance companies. Banks and insurance companies do not store in a vault all the money deposited with them or paid to them as premiums. They put the money to work. They invest it so that it will earn interest. They invest it in securities, including United States Government bonds. Life-insurance companies, for example, now have about 14 percent of their assets invested in United States Government bonds.

The safest investment in the world is investment in United States Government bonds. Since money belonging to the trust fund is invested in United States Government bonds, it will be available for old-age and survivors insurance payments when needed. The law expressly provides that all Government bonds in which trust fund money is invested shall be available for payment of benefits at any time.

Status of the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund as of June 30, 1953

[In billions of dollars]

Total income since 1936:	
Taxes	$26.0
Interest	2.5
Total	28.5
Total disbursements:	
Benefits paid	9.5
Administrative costs	.6
Total	10.1
Balance on hand:	
Cash	.6
Invested in Government bonds	17.8
Total	18.4

THE FINANCIAL SOUNDNESS OF THE TRUST FUND

Here is the opinion of some responsible authorities in the field of private insurance, investment, and Government finance.

I. Is it real, or a phony?

M. Albert Linton, chairman of the board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.; member, Committee on Economic Security, 1935; member, Senate Advisory Council on Social Security, 1948; etc., statement dated February 17, 1953, to the Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"Many charges have been made that the trust fund in the old-age and survivors system is a phony or a fraud. As the program will probably come up for review this year it is important to arrive at the facts in the case.

"As a first step in understanding the problem, it helps to realize that those managing the OASI program find themselves in a position very similar to that of a life insurance company management. Moneys flow into them out of which benefits and expenses are paid. If there is an excess of income it must be invested, just as in a life insurance company. Life insurance companies have a wide choice of investments, among them Government bonds, of which they owned about $10 billion at the beginning of this year.

"The investment of the excess income of the OASI system is quite properly limited to Government bonds. If that limitation were not imposed and the funds could be invested in the securities of private enterprise, we would be on our way to national socialism. When investing in Government bonds, the OASI trustees are authorized to purchase them, either in the open market or directly from the Treasury. Some of the bonds in the trust fund are exactly the same issues as those held by the life insurance companies.

"However, to simplify administration, provision is made for the Treasury to issue special bonds available to the OASI fund, bearing the average interest rate on all Government obligations. By borrowing from the fund, the Government is relieved to a corresponding extent of the necessity of borrowing from the commercial banks or from the public generally. The fact that the bonds are special bonds does not change the essence of the transaction. However, the special tag has led to much misunderstanding. Nor is it changed by the fact that the trustees of the fund happen to be a part of the administrative branch of the Government.

"As a result of investing excess income, the OASI trust fund now amounts to about $17 billion—represented by Government bonds, some regular but mostly special. The question at issue is whether or not this trust fund is phoney or a fraud. Are the bonds no good because they are simply Government IOU's representing money that has been borrowed and spent by the Government?

"To throw light on the question, consider what would happen if the trustees should be authorized by Congress to make all of their bond holdings salable to the general public on terms as to interest rates and maturity dates which would be attractive to the market. If this should be done, and the bonds should be sold in due course to the public, then $17 billion of Government bonds would be in the hands of the public and $17 billion would be cash in bank standing to the credit of the OASI trustees. But, what would that benefit them unless they had need to spend it in the near future? They would want to receive interest on such funds until needed to meet obligations. Therefore, they would seek for places to invest it. Since the only proper outlet would be Government bonds, the natural thing for them would be to purchase the new bonds being issued periodically by the Treasury either for general purposes or to replace recurring maturities of outstanding issues. Then the cycle would be complete and the trust fund would be invested in regular Government bonds bought in the market in the regular way, and the former $17 billion in Government bonds previously held would be in the hands of the public. Nobody would be worrying about the fact that the Government had spent the money.

"It therefore is clear that intrinsically the Government bonds in the OASI trust fund are just as valuable as if they were owned by a private institution; and could be as easily turned into cash if Congress would make these salable and permit the interest and maturity dates to be set to meet market conditions. The claim that the trust fund is not a tangible asset simply is not true. * * *

"Double taxation? From what has been said it is clear that the excess income in the OASI trust fund has been invested in Government bonds for the benefit of the OASI system, and that these Government bonds are just as valuable an asset as though they were owned by a life insurance company. Let us now see how the ownership of these bonds serves to reduce further taxation.

"The OASI trust fund of some $17 billion produces interest amounting say to $400 million a year. This interest is raised by taxation just as though the bonds were in public hands. However, if the bonds were in public hands and the OASI system needed the $400 million to pay benefits—as one of these days it will—then $800 million would have to be raised in taxes—$400 million for interest to public bond holders and another $400 million to the OASI system to pay benefits.

"However, when the $17 billion is in the trust fund, only $400 million need be raised—not $800 million—so that the interest dollars raised by taxation then become "double duty" dollars, serving two purposes. The excess income in the OASI system which is being invested in Government bonds is therefore building up assets which will reduce future tax burdens.

"This does not go to the heart of the question as to whether it is wise from other points of view to create trust funds. That is another matter. What we must avoid is to claim that the building of a reserve fund is a detriment to the future of the OASI system because it involves double taxation. The fact is that today's payroll taxes when invested in the trust fund will lighten the burdens on future taxpayers."

II. Will you pay the tax twice for old-age and survivors-insurance benefits?

The following statement of the Advisory Council on Social Security to the Senate Committee on Finance, 80th Congress, again gives an answer to this question:

"This reserve (the trust fund) has been invested in United States Government securities, which, in the opinion of the Council, represent the proper form of investment for these funds. We do not agree with those who criticize this form of investment on the ground that the Government spends for general purposes the money received from the sale of securities to that fund. Actually such investment is as reasonable and proper as is the investment by life-insurance companies of their own reserve funds in Government securities. The fact that the Government uses the proceeds received from the sales of securities to pay the costs of the war and its other expenses is entirely legitimate. It no more implies mishandling of moneys received from the sale of securities to the trust fund than it does of moneys received from the sale of United States securities to life-insurance companies, banks, or individuals.

"The investment of the old-age and survivors-insurance funds in Government securities does not mean that people have been or will be taxed twice for the same

benefits, as has been charged. The following example illustrates this point: Suppose some year in the future the outgo under the old-age and survivors-insurance system should exceed payroll tax receipts by $100 million. If there were then $5 billion of United States 2-percent bonds in the trust fund, they would produce interest amounting to $100 million a year. This interest would, of course, have to be raised by taxation. But suppose there were no bonds in the trust fund. In that event, $100 million to cover the deficit in the old-age and survivors-insurance system would have to be raised by taxation; and, in addition, another $100 million would have to be raised by taxation to pay interest on $5 billion of Government bonds owned by someone else. The bonds would be in other hands, because if the Government had not been able to borrow from the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund, it would have had to borrow the same amount from other sources. In other words, the ownership of the $5 billion in bonds by the old-age and survivors-insurance system would prevent the $100 million from having to be raised twice—quite the opposite from the 'double taxation' that has been charged.

"The members of the Advisory Council are in unanimous agreement with the statement of the Advisory Council of 1938 to the effect that the present provisions regarding the investment of the moneys in the old-age and survivors insurance trust fund do not involve any misuse of these moneys or endanger the safety of the funds."

Membership of the 1948 Advisory Council: Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman; Sumner H. Slichter, Harvard University; Frank Bane, Council of State Governments; J. Douglas Brown, Princeton University; Malcolm Bryan, Trust Co. of Georgia; Nelson H. Cruikshank, American Federation of Labor; Mary H. Donlon, New York State Workmen's Compensation Board; Adrien J. Falk, president, S. & W. Fine Foods, Inc.; Marion B. Folsom, treasurer, Eastman Kodak Co.; M. Albert Linton, chairman of the boad, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.; John Miller, National Planning Association; William I. Myers, dean, New York State College of Agriculture; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers' Union and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Florence R. Sabin, scientist; S. Abott Smith, president, Thomas Strahan Co.; Delos Walker, vice president, R. H. Macy & Co.; Ernest C. Young, Purdue University.

Treasury Secretary Humphrey's remarks concerning OASI trust fund

On the national NBC television program Meet the Press, Sunday, May 24, 1953, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey was quizzed on fiscal policies by a panel of reporters. The following exchange concerning the OASI trust fund is from a transcript of the program:

Question: "May I ask you this (referring to old-age insurance), is it not true that you've already spent all the money we turned in and all we have is Government I O U's for the billions we've collected so far?"

Secretary Humphrey: "That is not true, and I'm very glad you raised that question, Mrs. Craig, because what we have done is this: as the money was collected for these pension funds and other funds of the Government, it's been the practice right along to take that money out of most funds and put in those funds Government obligations, Government bonds.

"Now, one day a businessman said to me, 'Isn't that practically thievery; aren't you just reaching in there and stealing that money?' indicating the same thought you've just had in mind. He was a man operating a large company; he had a large pension fund of his own.

"I said to him, 'What have you got in your pension fund? You have a large amount of pension funds on hand; what are your pension funds invested in?'

"He said, 'Ours are invested in Government bonds.' I said, 'So are ours.'"

Question: "You think that's a good way to do it?"

Secretary Humphrey: "I'm sure it's a good way, and in fact I think it's the only way to do it."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE.

DEBT PAPER

Mr. Speaker, debt paper plays an important part in our economy. There is a great demand for debt paper. It is in the interest of banks that create or manufacture money, equal to several times the amount of the actual money that they possess. They are very much interested in having available at all times a big backlog or large supply of debt paper that can be purchased and placed in their portfolios. This is particularly true as to United States Government obligations, direct or guaranteed. This particular debt paper is riskless and, although the interest rate is low, considering the fact that a bank can buy from 6 to 10 times as much of it as it has in reserve, makes the low-interest obligations very profitable.

UNEARNED INTEREST

It is seriously contended, and with much logic and reason, that commercial banks enjoy a great special privilege in being allowed to purchase Government bonds on what is tantamount to the Government's own credit and continue to draw interest on the bonds purchased with created money. It is contended that interest so drawn is unworked for and unearned interest. At the same time, it is contended, with logic and reason, that if the banks are not allowed to increase their earnings in this way it would be necessary for the Government to subsidize them directly in order to enable the banks to render the public service they are rendering at such a low cost. It seems almost idiotic, but the truth is that practically all of our money is based on debt. If all debts were paid, we would not have sufficient money to do business, and we would be reduced to barter. We do not see screaming headlines about debt paper and its value, but in financial circles it is about the most important commodity under discussion and involves interest charges of billions of dollars a year. These interest charges are not always paid to people who use them to purchase consumer goods.

BANKS AND OTHER INVESTORS LOOK WITH DISFAVOR ON FUND

That brings me to the point I desire to try to make about the old age and survivors insurance trust fund. At this time the fund is approximately $18,707 million. Many financial institutions, including banks, do not look with favor on this fund. They would like to have the fund in their own portfolios in order that the interest when paid would be paid to them and would go to them and not go to the recipients of the fund. At the same time, looking at it from the standpoint of the people and the Federal Government, it is a wonderful thing for the interest that is paid to be used in the manner that it is used, which increases the fund and helps all the recipients of the fund.

I do not claim that all the objections to this fund come from those who are selfishly interested in getting it broken up, but I do not doubt that some of the opposition comes from that source. It all goes back to the desire of financial houses to have plenty of debt paper available at all times and certainly they are not expected to look with favor on the accumulation of trust funds over the country, including the Federal social security fund, that will take more and more of the present debt paper which will deprive them of the opportunity of buying by manufacturing more money on the books of the banks.

Letter From Dave Beck

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in our RECORD a widely quoted letter by Mr. Dave Beck. The letter appeared in the International Teamster for March.

Mr. Beck, an outspoken and able leader, has done a great deal of straight thinking and writing about some of our problems. Those who call the rest of us prophets of doom for wanting to act now to halt increasing unemployment will get little comfort from his frank comments on this subject. I myself was recently called a psychorecessionist for insisting that unemployment was worse than the statistics indicated. A week later the statistics were revised and I was proved correct. I am pleased indeed to be in the company of leaders like Dave Beck in the fight to maintain full employment and prosperity for the American people.

The letter follows:

LETTER FROM GENERAL PRESIDENT DAVE BECK

WETBACKS: AN EXPLOSIVE PROBLEM

The welfare of the wage earner is and always should be the first concern of labor unions and labor leadership. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is concerned with the welfare of the workers and is not solicitous concerning the problems of political expediency or the welfare and machinations of capital which may be exerted in a discriminatory fashion against the workers. Labor unions are organized to advance the status of workers, to improve their wages, hours, and conditions. That is their concern—first, last, and all the time. Their continued welfare is the target—and we must keep our eye on the target.

Today we are witnessing shocking, shameful and flagrant examples of a total disregard of the workers' welfare on the part of the Federal Government. This disregard takes the form of a dismal failure—perhaps utter refusal would be better—to cope with the problem of properly policing the border between the United States and Mexico. As the result of this failure, this country is being flooded with cheap labor, coming in to work in competition with American labor.

Both the executive and the legislative branches of the Federal Government must

share the blame for this shameful condition. The executive branch is permitting itself to be pressured by southern and southwestern employers who wield strong influence. Likewise Congress has refused to take a realistic look at the problem and legislate accordingly. As a result, we have on the Mexican border what amounts to an economic and social sore which is festering and threatens the economic health as well as the security of this Nation.

Not a new problem

The problem is not new nor can past or present national administrations escape responsibility. Adequate consideration in the way of funds for patroling and policing the border and adequate funds for apprehending lawbreakers could and should have been provided long ago. But Congress has succumbed to the pressures of the large growers and the big food, farm, and processor associations and declined to pass a law with teeth in it,

For years the Federal Government—under Democrats and Republicans—has apparently taken the attitude that dollars are more important than people, and winking at the law a practice to be condoned in order to favor the wage-cutting employers of the South and Southwest.

In the past few weeks the country has seen photographs, television pictures, and heard reports of the shocking events at the Mexican border where thousands and thousands of wetbacks gather to come over in the hope of finding work. These shocking events point up a problem now before Congress which demands an answer and not an evasion, an honest effort toward a solution and not a postponement.

There is a great challenge and great need for a motion-picture producer to make a film on wetbacks which would dramatize and bring home to the Nation the dangers in the problem much as the Grapes of Wrath some years ago pictured the problems of refugees from the Dust Bowl.

We are permitting and condoning a flouting of our immigration laws on the Mexican border in a fashion which insults our neighbor to the north, Canada. We wouldn't think of opening the gates for labor from any other country without seeing that compliance with the law is observed. If the nationals of other countries attempted to come in the United States as the Mexicans are, they would be promptly jailed. But with the Mexicans, there seems to be an understanding—an understanding dictated by the selfishness and greed of the large farm and processor groups to get labor as cheaply as possible, use it and then kick it out.

The mentality of these forces which use and campaign for the wetbacks and for their entrance has no appreciation or understanding of human rights, human decency, or human advances.

Dangers to health standards

The wetback menace is a social danger to the miserable souls who come into this country in the hope of finding work and returning to Mexico with their earnings. These people are not protected, they have no guarantees of wages, hours, or conditions. Their status in Mexico is so poor that they can come in the United States and undercut even our lowest-paid workers. Not only do they break down wage levels, but they also break down standards of work and living. They create serious problems of health and sanitation, housing, and education.

As serious as these problems are—and I would not for a moment underestimate the tragic consequences to these people themselves and the effects on the rest of the country—the main results that I would like to invite attention to are these:

1. The menace to our workers; and
2. The danger to our national security.

The first danger of these wetbacks is to the workers of this country immediately involved. Domestic workers in the South and Southwest are becoming displaced. The wetback menace threatens to create in this country a group of displaced or dispossessed. As unemployment grows—and don't let any politicians soft-soap you into believing there is no serious unemployment—the situation will become more intense.

An area of unfair competition

One important aspect that apparently many Members of Congress are overlooking is the fact that the wetbacks are creating in the South and Southwest a great area of unfair competition. This unfair competition wrecks wage levels and gives the big growers of the favored areas advantages over farmers and ranchers of other parts of the country who pay legitimate farm wages. Some of these days Members of Congress in other States than those favored by wetback labor are going to awaken to this unfair competition and realize that their constituents are being seriously hurt. Perhaps this will bring home to them that this wetback proposition is a serious one, indeed.

But these wetbacks are not only working in the South and Southwest; they are migrating to other parts of the country—they are fanning out in all parts of the country. Many are getting lost and not apprehended, and soon become part of the country's labor force. Surveys show that these illegals are taking all sorts of jobs—including work as truckdrivers and in other teamster jurisdictions. And farm work is one step this side of moving into the cannery division jurisdiction.

Whole families of financially distressed Mexicans are coming into the country to compete with American workers. As miserable as their wages are, they are siphoning millions back into Mexico, which means subtracting important purchasing power from our own communities and business people.

A serious security threat

There is a serious security angle to this stupid, incompetent handling of the wetback problem on the part of the Federal Government. We have so few border patrolmen that they cannot be expected to police it properly. There can be, under present pressures, no adequate security checks. The Mexican border is virtually an open door for subversives.

That this is true is shown by the shocking report given recently by the Immigration and Naturalization Service which told Congress it had recently discovered that approximately 100 percent and past members of the Communist Party have been coming into the United States every day illegally from Mexico. This report indicates a grave situation which is a national scandal and should alert us to the peril at our back door and impel Congress to take immediate remedial action.

I wonder if we could infiltrate behind the Iron Curtain as easily as Communists are getting into this country?

While Mexicans are coming into this country from Mexico to take jobs of our citizens, some of our big cities with increasing unemployment are trying to cope with the problem of Puerto Rican workers, our own citizens looking for work, and are seeking means of sending these people back to Puerto Rico which is American territory.

News stories of recent weeks indicate the magnitude of the Communist threat in Central America. And we are getting, according to testimony of our own Government, hundreds of Communists coming in via the wetback route. This poses a serious menace to our security which is twofold; there is immediate danger of Communists infiltrating into our working force and into our cities, and the economic situation created by American incompetence and bungling in handling the problem is serving the long-range aims of the Communist masters.

Supported AFL position

At the recent meeting of the American Federation of Labor executive council, I strongly supported the AFL position on wetbacks and further recommended that the AFL bring this national scandal to the attention of America by daily nationwide broadcasts. Moreover, last month I submitted a statement to the House Agricultural Committee which was holding hearings on the wetback question. In that statement I strongly endorsed the AFL position and recommendations. The Teamsters will continue to support recommendations for action on this wetback problem which I emphasize is a national scandal. We want to see an attack on the problem which will be translated into a practical, humane, and decent program in the interest of American wage earners and national security.

UNEMPLOYMENT: A MOUNTING CRISIS

I referred above to unemployment and would like to make a few observations on this subject, which is one of increasing importance. Currently we are hearing the definition of the difference between a recession and a depression: a recession occurs when your neighbor loses his job; a depression is present when you lose your job. But to the hundreds of thousands now out of work and the additional hundreds of thousands who are losing their jobs, this is no joking matter. Yes; you are in a depression if you lose your job regardless of what the apologists say who decry "prophets of gloom."

A luxury we cannot afford

This country cannot afford the luxury of playing politics with unemployment. If we continue to close our eyes to the fast-developing unemployment situation, we are headed for a major depression. We can discount these political pipsqueaks who try to label those who would warn against unemployment "prophets of gloom." We all remember the days even with our people in breadlines, when we heard public officials say that business is fundamentally sound and that prosperity is just around the corner. We can even recall the assurances given by multimillionaire investors saying that the country was safe; they had just sunk another couple of million in common stocks. All of this talk by the pipsqueaks who are trying to pump up assurances is but the tintinambulations of automatic mouths.

We must face the facts and have a "to hell with" attitude toward the political fortunes of any individuals or any party which may be so shortsighted as not to realize the evils of growing unemployment.

Our organization is comprised of members of both major political parties, and we will raise warnings against one party just as quickly as we will against the other when we see it taking the wrong step. We are interested in the welfare of the people, not the politics of partisanship. We will not knowingly tolerate playing politics with human misery and misfortune.

The early fiscal policies of the present administration may be blamed for much that is now happening; I refer to the termed "hard-money policies" of the Treasury Department. The fact that the administration has had to reverse its course is proof that the original decision policies were wrong. Early in 1953 the Treasury Department insisted that the banks cut down on loans and increased the borrowing rates of banks in the Federal Reserve System. Today there is a complete reversal with the Government renewing 90-day Treasury loans at less than 1 percent which it paid 2½ percent for several months ago.

Financial hocus-pocus

The administration floated 30-year 3¼ percent loans at the highest rates ever paid. Financiers are today holding these bonds which are several points above par and are

netting a windfall and will continue to profit for years at the expense of the taxpayers. This financial hocus-pocus is a gift to the big money investors at the expense of the taxpayers.

We have spent millions in added interest and have boosted the national debt and now after a year of financial experimenting we are back at what the Treasury Department through one of its chief assistants, W. R. Burgess, called "soft" or "cheap" money. Politicians who are so blind that they will not face facts only emphasize their incompetence when they try to say that factual statements are the "bunk" and are assertions of gloom and despair. We are primarily criticizing Eisenhower's financial advisers for the present state, not the President himself, as the big financial powers are having a field day. The President, in our opinion, trained and ably qualified as he is in the field of military progress, is dependent on financially trained men in the field of finance.

The automobile industry, certainly a key segment of our economy, is in an unhappy state and its troubles are being and will continue to be reflected in steel, transportation and other industries. The troubles in the automobile business are extensive. Dealers are forced to move 1953 models at sacrifices in order to make room and get money to finance 1954 models. Normally this causes no serious problem but the difficulties this year emphasize trouble is ahead. The whole dealer system appears to be having serious difficulties. General Motors and Ford have been slugging it out in a titanic struggle for the major share of the American motor market, each advocating greater and greater production regardless of the ability of dealers to move the products. However, we are informed recently from confidential and highly qualified sources that even General Motors and Ford are not so certain but what they shouldn't cut back production as they are faced with rising dealer inventories and the entire collapse of the secondhand auto market. It is also reported 1955 models will come out in September, 1954, thus intensifying the financial problems of the dealers, but all a part of production sales technique.

Banks are putting the squeeze on the auto business also. Many are canceling out loans to finance companies handling automobile paper and this financial pressure is being seriously felt by the dealers. The automobile business is an important barometer of the economic health of the country. Detroit, Mich., America's auto capital, was recently declared a surplus labor area with 150,000 to 200,000 unemployed. Recently, Toledo, a great auto and parts manufacturing city, was added to the surplus-area list.

Politicians are shortsighted and unrealistic unless they come to grips with the facts of economic life. But the politicians who cry "prophets of gloom" are not affected by the current joke about recession and depression. They are employed—they have a job, at least until their present terms run out, and in the Senate that means a 6-year term. Unfortunately, the thousands and thousands being thrown out of work don't have any such job security.

Tens of thousands of wage earners are joining the unemployed. Funds for unemployment are being drawn upon heavily and will stay the crisis for a short time—in fact they are doing it right now. Overtime work is rapidly dwindling thereby reducing markedly the take-home pay of workers. Families are cautious about their spending and are paying more attention to savings, trying to lay aside something for the rainy day which the present economic storm clouds appear to forecast. Studebaker recently discontinued its night shift. That is a hard economic fact to the thousands of workers affected—what do the critics of the prophets of gloom say to that?

The present acute unemployment situation is ample proof that we should strengthen our unemployment insurance system. President Eisenhower is to be commended for his recommendations in the field of social security, a recognition of the social responsibilities of the Nation toward its people.

Construction, another major segment of the American economy, faces a crisis. This situation calls for bold and intelligent planning of worthy public works—and there are thousands of types of projects which are needed and would provide employment and would pay off over the years. Sound public works can be great assets in time of an economic downturn, but we cannot afford to wait until a full-scale depression is upon us then rush out with hasty and improvised schemes, such as raking leaves and other nonproductive work. We should make efforts toward intelligent and foresighted planning right now in the public works area.

In the face of this growing economic situation we find several important facts: The continued attempts to get cheap labor from Mexico is one fact that is important, as we have heretofore indicated. Another fact is found in the stiffened attitude on the part of employers toward the working people with regard to the Taft-Hartley law. This statute, in all its viciousness—rigid enforcement it's called—is a major weapon against the working people, particularly those in trade unions.

We are seeing nominated to the National Labor Relations Board men to fill quasi-judicial posts who have been working on and advocating management's side of labor-management problems. I wonder what the reaction would be if the President were to nominate John L. Lewis or George Meany to the NLRB?

The workers are becoming convinced that the cards are being stacked against them and the working people of the country will not be misled by "sunshine" speeches on how sound conditions are. Let's see an end to this unadulterated bunk about refusing to recognize the fast-approaching crisis and insist that there be inaugurated a program to deal with these pressing problems. The Government and public officials are on the spot. I wonder if there is any business in America worthy of the name that, faced with the present economic situation, would not take remedial steps. Business concerns have to face the facts and act accordingly or perish. Banks have already started programs to deal with the economic situations and other business enterprises are also beginning to, in their own investment interest. But the Government, unfortunately, seems to have a Pollyanna attitude which seems to say that everything is just dandy. The biggest fools are those who would fool themselves—and the economic crisis is no matter to fool with.

We must have without delay national and local programs which will stimulate consumer income and purchasing power—we cannot tolerate indifference and callousness which allow our working people to be crucified while the politicians try to soothe the American people with siren songs of prosperity. We want a realization of the facts of life and we want action and action now.

Fraternally,

DAVE BECK, *General President.*

Fallbrook: Republican Run Around?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the bill passed by the House last year to settle the Fallbrook controversy is still pigeonholed in the other body where hearings have not commenced although over a month ago the interested citizens were promised hearings within a month.

This case certainly represents a Republican run around. By their vehement criticism of the lawsuit and its use for Republican propaganda during the 1952 campaign the Republicans certainly promised, at least by implication, that they would end the lawsuit and settle the controversy to the satisfaction of all parties. So far, although it was in July of last year when the House passed the bill to authorize construction of a dam and divide the water between the civilians and the military on a fair basis, there has been no action except promises interspersed with threats to renew prosecution of the lawsuit.

Both Democratic and Republican members of our Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs who studied the problem felt this suit should never have been brought and urged that it be settled by joint civilian-military payment for a conservation dam and joint use of the water to be thereby impounded and conserved. We Democrats went directly to President Truman about the controversy on more than one occasion. He interested himself in the matter and expressed sympathy with the solution provided in the House bill.

It was my amendment to a Justice Department appropriation bill which first started the move which prohibited funds for prosecution of the suit pending a solution of the controversy. That prohibition has so far been continued annually but it will expire again this June 30. In the meantime the Fallbrook bill is lying dormant in the other body and I have not heard of any Republicans obtaining appointments to even discuss the matter with President Eisenhower, much less protest this administration's stalling tactics.

It seems to me it is time for the Republicans to quit giving the victims of the lawsuit the run around. They should settle the controversy or admit that they were only interested in it to the extent it could be exploited for partisan political propaganda.

Growing Importance of Inland Waterways Makes Calumet-Sag Bill a 1954 Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my purpose in extending my remarks in this instance is to bring home to my colleagues the tremendously expanding importance of inland waterways in our national economy. To Members in sections of the country removed from the Mississippi Valley the revelations in an article by Laurence Greene in the March 1954 Nation's Business will prove, I am sure, both surprising and illuminating.

It is the story of the amazing development in river transportation that followed the introduction in 1939 of high-speed diesels. Today, 158 million tons are being carried annually by 20 major barge lines and 80 minor lines on the Mississippi River system, with regular runs from Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, and St. Louis to New Orleans, rapidly becoming an outstanding port of the world.

Chicago and the great industrial region of which it is the capital cannot adequately share in the flow of progress in inland transportation so vital to the economic well-being of the Nation because of the delay of the Congress in providing funds for the Calumet-Sag project. I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the House will act favorably and quickly on the bill appropriating at long last the money for the Calumet-Sag development authorized many years ago.

I am extending my remarks to include a large portion of Mr. Greene's article in the current Nation's Business:

WATERWAYS' LOAD: BIGGEST IN HISTORY—TOWBOAT TRAFFIC JAMS ARE COMMONPLACE NOW AS INDUSTRY MOVES ITS WARES IN RECORD QUANTITIES ON THE NATION'S RIVERS

(By Laurence Greene)

You can't very well call him "Ol' Man River" any more. He's still the crotchety, cantankerous, unpredictable devil he's always been, but he's "totin' dat barge" at a record-breaking rate.

Tonnage carried on the Mississippi River system, including the Gulf Intracoastal Canal, totaled more than 158 million tons in 1953, according to the best conservative estimates. This tonnage included virtually everything needed for mass production—coal, steel, chemicals, petroleum—plus such incidentals as enough wheat flour to make New Orleans the No. 1 port in flour exportation.

The Gulf Intracoastal Canal, running from Carrabelle, Fla., to Brownsville, Tex., and the Ohio River are at times so jammed that tows must wait more than 48 hours to clear a lock. The Mississippi, while open from New Orleans to Cairo, Ill., had its own troubles navigationally in 1953, when the water was at its lowest level since records first were kept in the eighties.

A deskbound mortal in New Orleans, bemused by the staggering figures of inland waterways traffic, remarked sadly, "There isn't any romance on the river any more." He was wrong on two counts. The figures are romantic, in their way, and so are the new-day techniques in navigation. There is no more resemblance between the modern, high-speed diesel towboat and the old packet than there is between the Staten Island ferry and the *Queen Mary*. But even though no *Robert E. Lee* beats a *Natchez* to St. Louis in 3 days and 18 hours (a record, incidentally, which has stood for 83 years), the little towboat, looking like an uninspired slavey from the shore, has her high moments—and plenty of them.

Let's look at the figures which have so much to do with industrial production wherever the inland waterways reach. A few comparisons will show the enormity of the hauling job the 20 major, 80 minor barge lines on the Mississippi system are doing.

An ordinary tow—the Jordan River Lines' *Cherrystone*, for instance, pushing 9,000 tons of petroleum products from Houston to Pittsburgh—does a job that would require 630 tank cars of 8,500-gallon capacity, or 1,300 tank trucks of about 5,000-gallon capacity.

A coal barge can handle from 1,000 to 3,000 tons—20 to 60 rail carloads—and will constitute part of the tow of as many as 16 barges.

The contribution the inland waterways are making, then, is that of the heavy laborer—the movement of those essentials to industry and commerce at a cost sufficiently low to make the overall economic figure a sound one. The star of the show is the towboat, a squat rectangular craft without the slightest outward appearance of the excitement it contains.

We live in a land of provinces. The easterner conceives the West to be entirely peopled by Hopalong Cassidys. To the southerner, damyankee is a fact and a single word. To the landsman, life on the Mississippi remains unchanged after a century.

We have all been told in song, story, and technicolor, what a Mississippi river boat is: a glamorous stern-wheeler, belching smoke and flame from a pair of stacks with crowns on them. On her lower deck the Negro roustabouts "lif' dat bale" to the rhythm of mellow spirituals. Above them the snake-slick river gamblers puff on elegant cheroots and wicked ladies slink about, exuding the scent of magnolia. High above them, on the texas, is a god called Pilot.

So it was, when Mark Twain wrote. But not today. The packets were built for speed and their pilots geared to competition, with the result that between 1812 and 1850 more than 1,000 boats blew up or were otherwise wrecked, bringing death and injury to some 4,000 persons.

The towboats, so scientifically contrived that models are tested in basins before building begins, are small and slow. They are built to do a job, with speed secondary to safety. The pilot, likely to be a young man in a sport shirt who would go green if he tried a chew of tobacco, is assisted by every possible gadget, from radar to a tow-long public-address system. Electronics permit him to run in all but the densest fog and he would guffaw at the notion that he tie up at night, as his father did.

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Day and night, the radiophone is in constant use. Pilots miles apart discuss conditions on their stretches of river, warn of traffic jams and obstructions and agree on the best way they can pass each other. The skipper of a modern towboat is in constant touch with his home and office through the marine radiophone. He has a gyrocompass which shows him instantly the slightest change in his tow's course, so he can compensate at once to keep the bow from going out of control. The depthometer—which calculates the water depth under the hull by electronically computing the time it takes a sound wave to bounce off the river bottom—not only saves the pilot from going aground but allows him to cut closer corners.

This last, with the bow steering-engine now in the final stages of experimentation, saves many miles on a long trip.

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The movement of bulk cargo by towboat is much more than a business of so many thousand tons transported so many hundred miles. There are men in the story and since they are of a new type living by old traditions, they are as interesting as any aspect of the whole tale.

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In Twain's day, and even as recently as the depressed thirties, the riverman was a low beast. He was considered "half alligator, half horse." Pilot Gentry Lowe, of the *Cherrystone*, is another of the young men, and he remembers working for 50 cents a day, his work year one of 365 days except when the boat was tied up, and his workday "a thing of 18 hours—and all hands on deck in off times to lash down a boom."

The beginning of the great change may be said to date from 1939, when a New Orleans lawyer financed the construction of the first high-speed diesel, the 750-horsepower *Bull Calf*. Advocates of the stern-wheelers ridiculed him, but in no time Joe Jones proved he had the answer to cheap, heavy-duty towboating.

The *Bull Calf* was a prototype, no more. Improvements came swiftly. The average river boat built in the past 10 years is a twin-screw diesel with 1,000 horsepower in each engine. She may have a Kort nozzle, a patented cylinder housing her propellers (or wheels, as the rivermen call them), which will add from 25 to 35 percent in thrust by a sort of jet action. Triple-screw vessels turn up as much as 5,400 horsepower, and can drive a tow of 20,000 tons in 15 barges upriver at a steady 7 miles an hour.

The coming of finer boats brought a better class of men. * * * The rate for a deckhand-oiler is about $200, with the former eligible for a $20 increase when he qualifies for a Coast Guard tankerman's license. Pay goes up to $675 for pilots and $850 for captain-pilots. The schedule is 30 days on and 15 off; many men let their time pile up and then give themselves a 2-month vacation with pay.

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Today, the average deckhand is a youngster, perhaps just out of college, with his eye on a pilot's license. He is just as proud of his boat as her owner, and he respects every improvement made on her.

One of the newest and finest of the Mississippi towboats is the *Joseph Chotin*, of the Chotin Lines. Seen from the riverbank, she is a workhorse, sparkling white, but still a drudge. Inside, however, she has the appearance and comforts of a small yacht. The rooms are walnut paneled, each with double bunks. There is a bath connecting each pair of staterooms. Her lounge is small, but as comfortably appointed as anything you would find on a cruise boat.

She even has a guest stateroom, complete with twin beds, dressing table, indirect lighting, private bath, and a separate dining room.

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It is in the day-by-day operation of the tow—the enormous load to be moved, the crew and its pride in its boat, the skill of the pilot—that the full drama of waterways transportation comes to life. The *Cherrystone*, with her 9,000 tons of oil for Pittsburgh, has been mentioned as an example. Seen from the shore, she is a ridiculous little boat nosing four unwieldy barges against a current. Aboard she is a marvel of maneuverability and her pilot house is the center of action which changes with every bend in the stream.

These tows, with a good pilot at the controls, have amazing maneuverability. On the Ohio, for instance, the *Cherrystone*'s tow of slightly less than 1,000 feet must be broken for each of 53 locks. The two forward barges are made fast to the lock's walls and the other two, with the *Cherrystone*, are ranged alongside. This would seem to require a great deal of backing; actually, the pilot uses rudders and wheels to make the after half of his tow sidestep, and accomplishes the whole maneuver—entrance into lock, breaking of tow, reassembly of tow and procedure up river—in about 40 minutes.

On the Mississippi the pilot's problems are compounded. His is what they call an integrated tow. The barges fore and aft have spoonbills, designed to offer minimum resistance to the water in front and in back. The center barges are boxes. The whole is tied together with a system of pins and cables, presenting a single unit of about 1,000 feet. Since there is no space between barges for water to escape, the entire length offers resistance, so that the pilot must begin compensating for the stress on his bow long before he has met the trend in the river which will demand it.

Stark limitations of space prevent us from following the *Cherrystone* all the way from Houston to Pittsburgh with a load of oil. But to show that romance is not dead on the rivers, consider the night of October 25, 1953.

The *Cherrystone* had worked her tow through 3 of the Ohio's 53 locks. At midnight the pilot house was hushed when the radio said:

"*Willie Mayo* to all boats. I lost a man overboard near lock 52. Think he walked in his sleep. Please watch the banks for him." Both searchlights went on and for an hour Captain Cosgrove and Pilot Lowe watched for a bedraggled figure. Then the fog socked in, as suddenly as a curtain. Captain Cosgrove followed the buoy-marked channel but before he could cut down his engines "Li'l Cherrybelle," as the crew knows its boat, was aground. One of the buoys had been knocked out of position.

Eighteen hours later—after the *Willie Mayo*, running light, had passed upstream and return in a futile search for its crewman, and the lock tender at 51 had reported a barge sunk in the western entrance—the *Cherrystone* was wrenched clear, with the aid of a big steam-towboat the *H. A. Bayless* of the American Barge Lines. (Such aid, by the way, has nothing to do with salvage; it is freely offered.)

Because of the barges, New Orleans has become a port perhaps unique in all the world. It is the hub with a spoke radiation bringing it commerce from everywhere. The barges, running regularly to Minneapolis-St. Paul (1,800 miles), Pittsburgh (1,596), Kansas City (1,550), and St. Louis (1,000) carry the South's products north—cotton, oil, paper and wood products, sulfur and other chemicals. They bring back grain from the Central States, dairy products from Wisconsin and Minnesota, iron and steel from Chicago and the Ohio Valley, coal from the Ohio and the Kanawha valleys, automobiles from Detroit.

What this means, in sheer bulk, is to be found in the records of the Army engineers. In the war period, for instance, the peak year was 1944, with a total of 20,382,000,000 ton-miles. There was a slump in 1945 and 1946. In 1947 the system carried cargoes totaling 23,479,000,000 ton-miles—and in 1953 a total of slightly more than 33 billion ton-miles.

Pauper's Oath an Insult to Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the recent bulletin of General A. W. Greely Camp, United Spanish War Veterans, Chicago. R. S. Gill, the camp adjutant, is the author. Dick Gill served in the Philippines with great distinction, never misses a department or national encampment, and punches a wicked blow with his typewriter. So that my colleagues may know how a Spanish-American War veteran reacts when you prick his pride by throwing a pauper's affidavit in his face I am quoting Mr. Gill's words, as follows:

At this writing we are fortunate, so far as known, not to have any of our members in the hospital. However, we have several ailing—generally the natural effect of age, which is steadily creeping upon us all.

When outpatient treatment was accorded, we were somewhat thankful and were led to understand that it would now be easier to obtain domicile or hospital treatment that the Government neglected to give many of us when we came out of the service in a precarious condition.

Spanish-American and Philippine war veterans are being forced to sign an obnoxious oath proclaiming an impoverished condition, notwithstanding there are many empty hospital beds at Hines and other veteran hospitals.

Because of poor records kept over 50 years ago we are now unable to prove service-connected disability. It is contended if we were able to live for over 50 years we must have been in good or better shape than before we enlisted in spite of the fact that it is known we lost by percentage 10 times more men through sickness and neglect than veterans of other wars and showed an average loss of about 20 pounds when discharged.

Those of us who did not succumb to dysentery or fever and are fortunate to be alive are told to sign a mandate, before being examined, stigmatizing ourselves as an object of charity, or goldbricks. Even though some of us might do as they hope and enter a private hospital for treatment or operation, we have no assurance but what the exorbitant cost might be entirely beyond our means.

Our service according to the organization is practically meaningless. We are placed in the same category as nonveterans and slackers, who enjoyed our jobs as civilians while we were serving our country at a mere pittance and given pediculous rations.

It is quite probable that private treatment would be better for those who could possibly afford the cost. I believe that in many instances that much of this is done. However, there is a principle involved. Is our service of such little importance we are not entitled to worthy consideration? Should we be thwarted in the right which we were led to expect when veteran hospitals were instituted by our Government?

No doubt the AMA, through the pauper oath, expects to enhance their trade through the antipathy or reluctance of veterans to submit to the indignity of being grudgingly admitted to Government facilities because of the odious 10–P–10 conditional attestment.

Space will not permit me to go further in this matter. However, we have confidence and can rely upon our National Tribune and our legislative committee to call attention to the injustice, particularly insofar as we "Spaniards" are concerned. Think it might be a good idea to write to your Congressman.

Holding Company Banking Is Branch Bank System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following item is an important contribution to the discussion of the subject of eliminating bank holding companies.

It appeared in the American Banker of February 1954.

SAUK CENTRE, MINN.—Ben DuBois, secretary of the Independent Bankers Association, has entered the controversy as to whether bank holding companies are, in essence branch banking systems.

In Washington, the Home Loan Bank Board has concluded hearings on a proposed regulation which would define holding company banking as branch banking in connection with its intention to put branches of Federal savings and loan associations under the same limitations as banks.

Harry Harding, president of the West Coast Independent Bankers Association, recently concurred with the Home Loan Bank Board's identification of holding company banking as branch banking. His views drew a reply from E. O. Jenkins, president of the First Bank Stock Corp., of St. Paul. Mr. Jenkins quoted several authorities to show that the two types of banking were fundamentally different.

The statement of Mr. DuBois follows:

"The Independent Bankers Association of America believes in home-owned, home-managed financial institutions. It deplores the trend toward economic concentration. It believes that bank holding companies have potentialities for great harm; that there are seeds within it that could sprout nationwide branch banking, and could bring about a banking monopoly. And that statement indicates our belief that bank holding companies are in substance branch banking. Our organization has always opposed the branching of savings and loan associations, be they either State or Federal.

"Chairman McAllister, of the Home Loan Bank Board, logically classifies bank holding companies as branch banks. Therefore, he feels justified in granting charters to Federal savings and loan associations in States that permit branch banking or States that, unfortunately, have bank holding companies.

"Ellwood O. Jenkins, president of the First Bank Stock Corp., of St. Paul, vigorously disputes the fact that bank holding companies are the same as branch banks.

"There is a corporate difference, but the end results are the same. They are, in fact, birds of a feather.

"The bank holding company came into existence as a means of evading statutory prohibitions against branch banking. The holding company provides the policy, the direction, the hiring of personnel, and completely runs its subsidiaries, as if they were the branch of a central institution.

"Even the directors serve at the pleasure of the holding companies. The qualifying shares in a director's name have strings attached that dispute real ownership. The directors of the subsidiaries are largely for window dressing, an attempt being made to give the impression that the subsidiary is managed by people of the community. But, with no firm hold on their qualifying shares and with the control of the subsidiary in the hands of the holding company these directors only serve as long as they are convenient to the home office.

"Mr. Jenkins quotes from representatives of the Federal supervisory agencies in his contention that holding-company banking is not branch banking. As imposing a list can be supplied by equally important people who believe directly to the contrary. It hardly seems necessary to provide this list, as bankers who have had experience with bank holding companies know that, in full substance, branch banking and holding-company banking is the same thing, works to the same end.

"Just recently, the Texas Banking Department found that certain bank-holding companies operating in that State had violated the constitutional prohibition as to branch banking and that their subsidiaries were, in fact branch banks, and they have been ordered to dissolve.

"It is unfortunate that the bank-holding company ever came into existence. It was of questionable birth, brought forth for the purpose of evasion and, therefore, conceived in sin. The holding company operating in certain States that have statutory prohibitions against branch banking puts those

States in the category of branch-bank States in the eyes of the Home, Loan Bank Board, and undoubtedly those States will now suffer from a rash of Federal savings and loan association branching, another sin to be laid at the door of the bank-holding company."

That "New Look" in Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, permit me to direct attention to an important article by Joseph C. Harsch which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor. The questions raised by Mr. Harsch are in the minds of many Americans. He has stated them clearly and succinctly:

THAT "NEW LOOK" IN FOREIGN POLICY
(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—Three situations unsatisfactory to the West have raised in sharper form a question which bears increasingly on the thinking of all men in high Western places responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs.

The three unsatisfactory situations are:

1. Soviet diplomacy at the Big Four foreign ministers conference in Berlin continues to be intractable.

2. The political situation in Italy is degenerating, and there are some observers who doubt an ability of the Italian Government to resolve it short of admission of Communists to a popular-front government.

3. The military situation in Indochina is getting worse, not better, to the point that President Eisenhower has ordered a special study of the problem by several of the highest officials of Government with a view to new emergency action.

The question is whether the new American foreign and military policy of reliance primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly and at places of our own choosing is adequate to the needs of our times.

THE "NEW LOOK" IS NARROWED

This policy was enunciated by United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on January 12. It was expounded by Mr. Dulles as a policy which would make it possible for the United States and the western world to get, and share, more basic security at less cost.

It since has been described by highest officials of the Eisenhower administration as the "new look" in United States foreign policy.

But last week the scope of the new policy was narrowed specifically by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, who declared that American retaliatory power involving atomic weapons would be used only when necessary "to protect our freedom" and then only in the event of a "very substantial overt act" of aggression.

And last week the great American capacity to retaliate instantly was not inducing Soviet reasonableness at Berlin; was not exerting any influence on the Italian political situation; was not touching and affecting the deteriorating military situation in Indochina.

INSTEAD OF RATTLING THE A-BOMB

More than that, Mr. Wilson complained that American newspapermen were responsible for too much rattling of the atom bomb in the United States. He said he wished we would quit rattling the atom bomb. He said there were nine times as much such rattling being done in the United States as in the Soviet Union and that Moscow, by contrast, had been careful to play down talk of atomic weapons.

If the United States is to refrain from rattling its atomic weapons, and if these weapons are to be employed only in the event of a very substantial overt act, how, then, is Moscow to be led to reasonableness over Germany and Austria?

How is a Communist penetration of the Italian Government by internal political action to be avoided? How is the military situation in Indochina to be retrieved?

The apparent fact of the moment is that the American atomic weapon is useless against a Moscow which refuses to mitigate its terms for German and Austrian settlements, while dangling the bait of trade contracts before trade-hungry western European eyes. (British merchants were offered a billion dollars' worth of Soviet-trade contracts last week.)

It is also useless against a serious and sustained domestic Communist push to political power in Italy. It is equally useless against Communist guerrilla fighters in Indochina who fight in such dispersed formations in the jungles that they never present a target for atomic weapons.

Yet this weapon which is useless in these three immediate situations is officially the primary reliance of the United States and the primary instrument of its foreign policy.

GAP BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW

This situation exposes the basic difference between the new and old looks in United States foreign and military policy—and also the reason why there is rising doubt about the adequacy of the new look.

The great, overriding preoccupation of foreign policymakers in the old days was with the problem of how to avert local losses to communism in situations where a substantial overt act did not justify the use of atomic weapons. This led to the expansion of conventional American military forces, to expensive aid programs, and to the extensive use of equally expensive propaganda operations.

The tendency now is to cut down on the weapons which work in the area of the gap below the level of justification for use of atomic weapons.

But the objectives of American policy continue to call for the liberation of Germany and Austria, the maintenance of a right-wing political government in Italy, and a military success by the French Union forces in Indochina.

SETBACKS EXPLAINED AS NORMAL

American foreign-policy commitments were supposed to have been brought into balance with American resources under the new policy of primary reliance on strategic and atomic weapons, at a money saving. But the commitments have not been curtailed while, if one is to judge by present appearances, the resources are being curtailed.

When Mr. Dulles enunciated the new policies January 12, he covered the gap by the doctrine that setbacks to the cause of freedom are normal. This may be all very well in theory, but now the question arises whether setbacks to the cause of the West in Italy and Indochina would be accepted by American public opinion as normal.

When Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce was in Washington from her post in Rome recently, she is reported to have argued that a loss of Italy to communism would be harder for the Republican administration to explain away than the loss of China to communism was for the Democrats.

Certainly the vast majority of Americans would not be disposed to accept a loss of Italy as normal. The same might go for the loss of Indochina.

The Divine in Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following item by Rabbi Samuel D. Soskin appeared in the February 1954 issue of the Truth, the weekly publication of Temple Beth Emeth, of Flatbush. It is most apropos:

THE DIVINE IN MAN

"We will not recognize the conventional grouping of men into a talented elite, the leaders and thinkers on one hand and the colorless clay of lesser mortals on the other." (David ben Gurion.)

The month of February commemorating the lives of two great Presidents, tells us of the powers of achievement that may be unlocked in the ordinary man. The Revolution of 1776 was won by farmers and workers who pursued a dream of freedom. The story of Abraham Lincoln speaks to us of the hidden powers and spiritual riches released in time to serve our country. Had he been born in a European land amid the same circumstances, he would have been condemned to poverty and oblivion.

Rabbi Nathan H. Perilman states that Germany will always remain a threat to world peace so long as the leadership principle is accepted. In the home, the father is the authority to whose will all must bow. He alone decides the future for his children. In school, a small group is singled out to be candidates for the higher halls of learning. Their classmates must resign themselves to be the servants for these future leaders.

America stands as eloquent refutation to this concept. Our country is founded on the profound principle that every human being must have the freedom to be his best.

It was St. Antoine de Exupery who described a ragged Arab urchin as a lost Mozart whose dreams and infinite longings would never be developed. The wonder of Democracy is found in our belief that in every man, woman, and child are traces of the Divine. To release them, to nourish them that they may flower into words and deeds of creativity is the purpose of our America.

Mr. Speaker, this month Americans take time throughout our country to celebrate Brotherhood Week. A worthy supplement to Dr. Soskin's remarks is the following:

BROTHERHOOD STATEMENT

God being my Father, and all men my brothers, I make this declaration:

My religion is to me not merely a privilege to be enjoyed—it is a trust to keep and maintain.

There are those in the world who would loose intolerance and division. They would take the small hatreds of men, and make them a fire of destruction.

But I cast my lot with the multitudes of good men. I intend to do unto others, of whatever race or creed, as I would have them do unto me.

It is my purpose to respect the rights of human beings, and to judge each fellowman on his individual merits alone.

I will oppose any effort to evoke fear or hatred of any religious or ethnic group. I will do my best to act toward every man in justice and love, and to remove rancor and prejudice from my heart.

So that I may hasten the establishing of the kingdom of God.

Appendix

The Tragedy of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, this week we commemorate the birth of George Washington, who led the American Colonies in their successful struggle for freedom. In contrast with the freedom which we enjoy is the serfdom of the peoples of central and eastern Europe under Communist rule imposed on them by the Soviet Union.

The fate of the Baltic States is a grim reminder of the perfidy of the Soviet Union. In 1939, these three little republics were forced by the Soviet Union to sign pacts of mutual assistance with the Kremlin. Under the guise of assistance, Soviet troops were lodged in these states, and were used to overthrow the existing free governments. Typical of the tragedy of these three states is that of the Republic of Lithuania. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement prepared by me concerning the tragic fate of the Lithuanian people under Communist rule.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TRAGEDY OF LITHUANIA

February 16, 1954, marked the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania. Ordinarily, such an event would be an occasion for celebration among Americans of Lithuanian descent and for an expression of friendly greetings from our Republic to the Republic of Lithuania. But such is not the case. The Republic of Lithuania, along with her neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, is dead—a victim of the ruthless Communist regime which crushed Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, East Germany, and China. Freedom died in these lands with terrible consequences for the people there, and for the civilized world.

Our Government extended diplomatic recognition to Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia on July 28, 1922. Three years earlier these little nations had declared themselves independent of Russia, an independence which Russia acknowledged in 1920. Although these events marked the beginning of the modern Lithuanian Republic, the history of the Lithuanian nation has been long and full of accomplishment.

The known history of the Lithuanian people extends back a thousand years. Only last year we observed the celebration of 1,000 years of Lithuanian nationality. Here in Washington at the Hotel Statler, a distinguished group of our Nation's leaders were the guests of a large gathering of Americans of Lithuanian extraction. The assembly paid honor to the cultural and political achievements of the Lithuanian people.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in a statement before the Select Committee of the House To Investigate the Seizure and Forced Incorporation of the Baltic Republics by the Soviet Union, summed up the accomplishments of the Republic of Lithuania in this way:

"For two decades the Baltic republics showed the good fruits of freedom. Their creative accomplishments were impressive. Their natural resources were meager. But the peoples were skilled in agriculture and by their hard work they achieved a good measure of economic well-being. National arts and crafts flourished. They established a high standard of social justice and won worldwide respect as exemplary members of the family of nations. Their spiritual and moral strength, their love of liberty, their energy, and their self-discipline showed that they possessed those qualities which, more than mere numbers, area, or wealth, make for national worth."

Modern Lithuania is a small nation, but the contributions to freedom and the sacrifices for freedom with the Lithuanian people have made over the centuries are disproportionally large. Lithuania has been a free, independent state since the 11th century. At crucial times in the history of western civilization they have borne the brunt of invasions from the steppes of Asia. In 1326 the Mongol hordes swept westward from behind the Ural Mountains. They were stopped short of the heart of Europe by the Grand Duke Algirdas of Lithuania. We should also remember that, in our own time, the people of Lithuania were the first to defy Kremlin rule.

The suffering of the Lithuanian people and their Baltic neighbors at the hands of the Communists is a story of unparalleled horror. This story is now being unfolded before a committee of the House of Representatives. It is a true story, told by survivors who witnessed these things and somehow managed to escape. The details of these atrocities should be known to the free, civilized world. Let me list a few:

Proveniskes: Where several hundred peasants were murdered by the Soviet Army in 1940.

Cervene: Where 6,000 political prisoners were machinegunned by the NKVD. After the machinegunning, these martyrs were run over by Red army tanks. Only 20 survived, 6 of whom have testified before the House committee.

Panevezys: Where Lithuanian medical doctors were murdered.

Telsiai: Where the Communist police executed 100 Lithuanian Boy Scouts.

The free world owes a great debt to these Lithuanian heroes, and others like them behind the Iron Curtain. We must do all that we can to give them aid and comfort in their fight for freedom. It is, after all, our fight that they wage against incredible odds. The very least we can do is to make their sacrifices known.

We look forward to a future when free men, everywhere, can once more pursue their individual destines in freedom and dignity. This national administration is not content to silently acquiesce to the enslavement of nations like Lithuania. Secretary Dulles, on November 30, 1953, made this statement of policy:

"The captive peoples should know that they are not forgotten, that we are not reconciled to their fate, and, above all, that we are not prepared to seek illusory safety for ourselves by a bargain with their masters which would confirm their captivity."

The Soviet record in Lithuania is one of treachery, deceit, and brutality. It is a terrible example of Communist depravity. The resistance of the Lithuanians and the other Baltic people, on the other hand, is an inspiring memorial to the vitality of free institutions and to man's desire to live free.

The Spirit of Moderation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRESCOTT BUSH
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, recently I prepared an editorial for a new weekly publication called the Fairfield County Fair. The editorial is entitled "The Spirit of Moderation." I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SPIRIT OF MODERATION
(By PRESCOTT BUSH, U. S. Senate)

Among the cherished liberties safeguarded to us in the Bill of Rights are those of freedom of speech and of the press. Everyone in this great Nation of ours may express his opinions without fear of repression. Freedom of expression is subject only to standards of decency and the legal sanctions, often inadequate, available against those who unjustifiably blacken the character of another.

Too often we forget that these freedoms, like others, should be exercised with responsibility. Especially at times when emotions are aroused, there is a tendency to exaggerate, to make charges with slender foundation in fact, to resort to name calling instead of appeals to reason.

This debate by epithet is nothing new. A review of history shows that it has existed from the founding of America. George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, many other great Presidents of the past, were subjected to gross abuse.

Although the practice has precedent, it should, nevertheless, be discouraged. Especially in these times, when we are confronted with important domestic issues as well as the supreme issue of national survival which has been raised by the cold war against communism, we should strive to approach our problems in the spirit of moderation.

What is the spirit of moderation? That question cannot better be answered than in the words of a great American jurist, now retired, Mr. Justice Learned Hand, of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

"It is the temper," he wrote, "which does not press a partisan advantage to its bitter end, which can understand and will respect the other side, which feels a unity between all citizens—real, and not the factitious

product of propaganda—which recognizes their common fate and their common aspirations—in a word, which has faith in the sacredness of the individual. If you ask me how such a temper and such a faith are bred and fostered, I cannot answer. They are the last flowers of civilization, delicate and easily overthrown by the weeds of our sinful human nature; we may even now be witnessing their uprooting and disappearance until, in the progress of the ages, their seeds can once more find some friendly soil. But I am satisfied that they must have the vigor within themselves to withstand the winds and weather of an indifferent and ruthless world; and that it is idle to seek shelter for them in a courtroom. Men must take that temper and that faith with them into the field, into the marketplace, into the factory, into the councilroom, into their homes; they cannot be imposed; they must be lived. Words will not express them; arguments will not clarify them; decisions will not maintain them. They are the fruit of the wisdom that comes of trial and a pure heart; no one can possess them who has not stood in awe before the spectacle of this mysterious Universe; no one can possess them whom that spectacle has not purged through pity and through fear—pity for the pride and folly which inexorably enmesh men in toils of their own contriving; fear, because that same pride and that same folly lie deep in the recesses of his own soul."

Those words contain great wisdom. The spirit of moderation cannot be imposed from without. Neither courts nor Congress can decree it. We must find it within ourselves.

Charlotte, N. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. JONAS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as several Members, interested in having the proposed Air Academy located in their home regions, have called attention in speeches here to the attractions they see in their respective areas, I feel that it is appropriate that I point out the merits of Charlotte, N. C. The record will show that a site near Charlotte was one of the finalists in the list of proposed locations considered by the Air Academy Site Selection Board in 1951.

If Charlotte could qualify as one of the top 7 locations in the country 2 years ago, it should even be higher on the list today, for this area, which I know intimately, continues its amazing growth and progress with each passing year.

What the 1951 Site Selection Board found noteworthy about Charlotte as a prospective site for the Air Academy were two attractions that cannot be duplicated anywhere in the country—an ideal climate which produces the desirable atmospheric conditions for flight training and a location superbly suited for an educational institution.

Charlotte's climate is unparalleled anywhere—not extreme in any season but with enough variety to offer flying experience under changing conditions such as an airman will undoubtedly face in combat. During the past year, the major commercial airline serving Charlotte was obliged to cancel only 18 flights, some on the same day, in or out of the city because of weather conditions.

I shall not quote Charlotte's mean temperature for a year since it is the extremes that bother people. I do wish to point out that in the winter there is little fog and, although it may freeze during the night, the ice seldom lasts until noon. In summer it gets hot—and where does it not get hot during the summer except in the mountains where serious drawbacks to air training exist—but Charlotte is close enough to the hills to be blessed with cooling breezes.

The site Charlotte offers for the Air Academy lies along an inland lake large enough for use by amphibious aircraft. From this location the Charlotte airport, only a few miles away, is easily accessible over excellent highways. But enough acreage is available at the proposed site for the Air Academy to build its own field if desired.

The location is approximately 200 miles from the ocean and about 100 miles from the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains. While this section of our State is growing rapidly, neither the land nor the air is congested and there are no nearby major targets to attract an attacking enemy.

The site at Charlotte is one of great natural beauty. The gently rolling, wooded terrain would form a perfect setting for a beautiful campus. Beauty of setting is recognized—ask West Point and Annapolis men—as a strong psychological factor in the education of young men who follow a strict curriculum which emphasizes not merely technical skill but strength of character, esprit de corps, faith and pride in country.

Annapolis, West Point, and Washington are only short flights away from Charlotte by an air route that crosses no mountain chain. Flight time from Washington to Charlotte is little more than 1 hour.

Nearby Davidson College, a renowned Presbyterian college for men, and Queens College for women, give Charlotte an academic atmosphere and will provide an opportunity for the cadets to have social intercourse with college students, both men and women, of their own age.

Charlotte is said to contain a higher percentage of church-going population than any major city in the United States. Whether this is true or not, I can certainly testify that it is unexcelled anywhere in its cultural, civic and religious life.

I believe Charlotte is exceptionally favored in the number of features the Air Force can be expected to specify as most desirable for the Academy. A detailed analysis of these features would be out of place here even if time and space permitted their listing. Some of them will be presented to the Site Selection Board in brochure form.

All I have attempted in this brief statement is simply to call attention to the fact that we who reside in the Charlotte area sincerely believe that we have the best possible location for the Air Academy in the entire country and we urge that our claims be carefully considered before a final selection is made.

Why the Bricker Amendment Is Important to the Medical Profession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Why the Bricker Amendment Is Important to the Medical Profession," published in the Journal of the American Medical Association for February 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY THE BRICKER AMENDMENT IS IMPORTANT TO THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

The controversy stimulated by the amendment to the Constitution proposed by Senator BRICKER and 63 of his colleagues has spread to every segment of our population, including the medical profession. The American Medical Association has received a number of letters from physicians during the past few weeks expressing various sentiments concerning the proposal. Some endorse the amendment wholeheartedly; others have deplored the intervention of organized medicine in what they consider to be a nonmedical issue; still others have requested additional information defining the threat to our system of medical care posed by our present method of negotiating and ratifying treaties.

On January 7, 1953, Senator BRICKER and 63 cosponsors introduced Senate Joint Resolution 1, 83d Congress, which proposed the adoption of a constitutional amendment limiting the treatymaking authority. This resolution was referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee together with Senate Joint Resolution 43 (sponsored by the American Bar Association). On June 15, 1953, the committee submitted a favorable report on Senate Joint Resolution 1, with amendments, and recommended that it be adopted. The amended version of the resolution, as approved by the committee, stipulated that any provision of a treaty that violated the Constitution would be invalid and that the treaty power could be used to establish or modify internal law in the United States only through the enactment of domestic legislation that could have been adopted in the absence of such treaty.

In tracing the interest of the medical profession in the Bricker amendment, it is important first to recognize the fact that treaties become the supreme law of the land if ratified by two-thirds of the Senate present and voting. In addition, it must be noted that significant changes have occurred during the past few years in the scope of treaties and executive agreements negotiated by the executive branch of the Government. Although these instruments formerly involved only international matters, there are now pending treaties or executive agreements whose ratification would change our domestic laws.

In the health field three specific situations can be explored. They deal with the activities of the United Nations treaties of friendship with other countries and the conventions of the International Labor Organization.

The United Nations Charter, which was ratified in 1945, has two general sections that lay the framework for broad treaty provisions in the field of health.

Article 55 provides, in part: "The United Nations shall promote solutions of interna-

tional, economic, social, health, and related problems."

Article 56 provides that "all members of the United Nations pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in article 55."

Agreements and treaties negotiated pursuant to these provisions could fundamentally change medical practice in this country if ratified by two-thirds of the Senate present and voting.

The second example deals with a series of friendship treaties that were before the Senate this past year. These include treaties with Denmark, Holland, Israel, and Greece, which dealt with immigration quotas, citizenship requirements, and matters of professional licensure in the various States. If these treaties had been ratified as originally prepared, some of the requirements of the State medical licensing boards would have been abrogated.

The International Labor Organization, an affiliate of the United Nations, in June 1952 adopted a convention known as the "Minimum Standards of Social Security." This convention includes almost all of the Socialist medical proposals that have until now been rejected by the Congress. If this convention is ratified under the existing provision of our Constitution, Government control of medicine will have been achieved. Because of the danger of the socialization of medicine via international treaty, the American Medical Association favors a redefinition of existing treatymaking powers.

The exact wording of a suitable amendment is a matter for constitutional lawyers to determine, not for physicians. The house of delegates of the American Medical Association recognized the impropriety of an action to endorse the wording of any specific bill, and therefore endorse the principles embodied in Senate Resolution 1. Whether modifications of that resolution achieve the objectives sought is primarily a legal issue. Certainly the interest of the medical profession in this historic and constitutional controversy is wholly proper. The action of the house of delegates was based on careful study, the resolution adopted temperate and reasonable.

The Strangers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article written by the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., appearing in the March 7 issue of the American Weekly.

In this article, Mr. MARTIN writes of one of the most important yet least publicized humanitarian undertakings of the American Red Cross—the reclamation of youth. The opening of the 1954 campaign in behalf of the American Red Cross lends added significance to this article, which I heartily commend to the attention of my colleagues:

THE STRANGERS

(By JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., Speaker of the House of Representatives)

I am going to tell you about three children who, in a roundabout way, always will be beholden to you, although I'm sure you haven't realized it.

I know the children. They were born in my home State, Massachusetts, and they live there.

One of them—I'll call him Tommy Jones—used to be the loneliest little boy in the world. That's what he says. On the playing field outside of school he'd stand apart from the others. He'd make believe he didn't care to play. When games were going best and voices were highest, he'd admit to himself: "I'm lonely. Nobody's as lonely as me."

The other boys didn't care. They usually ignored him. The girls used to run away from him. Once in a while one of the children, in thoughtless derision, would call out to him:

"Harelip. Tommy Jones has got a hairlip."

It looked to Tommy Jones, that little outcast, as if he'd always walk the world alone.

Then, one day, some strangers talked to Tommy's parents.

"Surgery can help him," one of them said. "Will you allow it to be done?"

Tommy's parents agreed, and the strangers arranged for the operations at a clinic. They took Tommy there, again and again, and a skilled plastic surgeon reconstructed his mouth and jaw.

Now he plays with the other boys. Girls don't run away from him any more. He can even smile.

I'll explain more about the strangers in a moment. Now, here is little Annie Brown—a name I'll give her. She couldn't play at all. She was born without hip sockets.

Some strangers came to her parents, too. They interested surgeons in her case and arranged for the many operations needed without cost to her needy parents. They helped in other ways, too.

Annie Brown goes to public school now for the first time. She skips rope. She plays tag. Tears of happiness come into her mother's eyes when Annie calls out: "Look mother. See me run."

Now the third child whom I keep in mind. Her name, I'll say, is Janie Smith. On June 9, 1953, a tornado whipped through Massachusetts and when it had passed, the humble apartment where Janie lived with her two sisters and her invalid father in Worcester was a shambles.

All suffered, Janie the worst. Her body was cut and her legs were crushed. Her family went to live in a trailer, while she was admitted to a hospital.

She was a brave child. She didn't worry so much about herself as she did about her father. At a time when she might have been raging with self-pity, she said:

"My father's wheelchair was smashed. His glasses were broken. What will my father do now?"

Strangers stepped in, as they did for Tommy and Annie. They had the wheelchair repaired and they bought new glasses.

They looked after Janie, too. At first they paid the transportation cost, so that her mother could go back and forth every day between the trailer and the hospital. Then they paid for surgery, and then for a brace on one of Janie's legs.

"Will I ever be able to walk without the brace?" Janie asked the other day.

The strangers were prepared for this question.

"Yes," one of them said. "One more operation, and you will."

"I'll put on my best dress," Janie said, in wonder. "I'll go walking."

Perhaps you have guessed who the strangers are. It is no secret.

They are you—you who read these lines. For you, with your gifts, in a way are the Red Cross, and these strangers were your Red Cross representatives. You, through them, gave the wide world to three children.

Plattsburg Air Force Base the Newest Link in the Chain of United States Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEAN P. TAYLOR
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, January 29, 1954, a significant event took place in the 31st New York Congressional District which I have the honor to represent. Ground-breaking ceremonies were held for a new Air Force base on the site of one of the oldest Army posts in the United States, near the scene of one of the most important naval engagements in American history. Plattsburg Barracks is to be rebuilt as a base of the 8th Air Force of the Strategic Air Command and is now to play a new role in American defense. The Strategic Air Command is our long-range, land-based atomic striking force. I am proud that the 31st District and Clinton County has provided this eminently suitable northern base as a location for this very important base.

The hospitable city of Plattsburg was host on January 29 to many distinguished visitors, who took part in the ground-breaking ceremonies. Among them were my esteemed colleague the Honorable LESLIE C. ARENDS, of the Armed Services Committee, and Maj. Gen. John B. Montgomery, commander of the Eighth Air Force. Both gentlemen made important speeches explaining the need for this northern base and the significance of airpower to national security. Both gentlemen made very clear the place of long-range striking power in military defense.

Airpower is the keystone of such defense in the air-atomic age.

Personally, I was very happy that General Montgomery emphasized the importance of personnel to long-range striking power. We all know that we cannot hope ever to match the Communist Soviet forces, man for man; nor would we be as careless of human lives if our manpower resources were inexhaustible. Airpower gives us our only opportunity to match Soviet Russia in striking power, and modern airpower makes extremely economical use of men. For instance, a long-range bomber crew in World War II was composed of 11 men. A long-range jet bomber today carries only three men. These men, cross-trained as pilots, navigators, gunners, radar operators, and bombardiers, carry on their shoulders a great responsibility. Therefore they are picked men, carefully trained. But they are backed up by an organization of mechanics, supply, and administrative personnel just as carefully selected and just as extensively trained. All together, they represent a valuable investment to this country. Plattsburg is ready and proud to welcome such men and their families into the life of the community.

The economy of modern airpower in the use of personnel is comparable to

the economy of modern airpower in the employment of force. Today a single airplane carrying modern explosives can accomplish the job which, in World War II, required over 1,000 bombers. As General Montgomery pointed out, the 100 modern jet-atomic bombers that will ultimately be stationed at Plattsburg could, in one combined strike, accomplish the same destruction which in 1944 would have required over 1,000 bombers using TNT bombs and operating for a period of more than a year.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with General Montgomery that there is no better way to prevent war than to make it impossible for anyone to profit from it. A strong atomic striking force represents a threat of annihilation; but the existence of it is the best way to convince an enemy of the futility of ever starting a war. If we maintain such a force, it is basically to protect the United States against aggression; but it is also to convince the world that we mean to protect democratic principles and preserve peace. A bomber base like Plattsburg Air Force Base is a material symbol of the promise of peace, which only airpower can give.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I wish to extend my remarks and insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the illuminating and stirring address of General Montgomery at the groundbreaking ceremonies of Plattsburg Air Force Base on January 29, 1954. His remarks follow:

Mayor Tyrell, Congressman ARENDS, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, today, ground is being broken to mark the beginning of construction of the Plattsburg Air Force Base. It is my pleasure and privilege to be here and to take part in this ceremony.

First, the construction of this great base, which is earmarked as the future home of two combat wings of the Strategic Air Command marks another step forward in strengthening our national security and in the enhancement of world peace.

As you know, the Strategic Air Command, which is commanded by Gen. Curtis LeMay, constitutes the long-range, atomic, land-based striking force of the United States. It is manned by approximately 170,000 people and is equipped with such aircraft as the B-36, B-50, B-47, F-84, plus tankers and other support-type aircraft. Your air base will eventually take its place in the chain of bases of this powerful force.

The foremost purpose of the Strategic Air Command is to prevent war through the discouragement of aggression. Should war occur anyway, it is our job to help end it as quickly as possible with the minimum amount of damage to this country. Plattsburg with its air base is destined to become a part of this great American and democratic endeavor.

Although today's ceremony marks the beginning of air base construction, we realize that a great number of people have devoted a vast amount of time and effort to making this occasion possible. Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York; Congressman Dean Taylor of this district; Mayor Tyrell and the air-minded citizens of Plattsburg; Mr. Clyde Lewis, your very able chairman, and members of his committee; Colonel Davidson of the engineers and his group, all merit our special recognition and sincere gratitude.

The Air Force looks forward to joining you here in Plattsburg and in becoming a part of your community. The citizens of this region have always displayed an enlightened interest in national security—an interest stemming from the revolutionary period that gave birth to our Republic and which has been notably sustained through the years. The establishment of the Plattsburg barracks in 1838, and its contribution through two great world wars, is an example of this interest. Our presence here today gives testimony to the fact that this interest is alive and vigorous today among the citizens of Plattsburg. Your wholehearted acceptance and support of the air base project is encouraging and deeply gratifying to the personnel of the Air Force and to the men of my command.

The Corp of Engineers has already started to award contracts involving many millions of dollars worth of construction. From this point on, the development of your air base should proceed at a rapid pace. According to present plans and schedules, the first contingent of Air Force people will arrive here in the spring of next year and, by the fall of that year, you should see the arrival of our jet bombers.

When fully developed, the Plattsburg Air Force Base will be manned by approximately 7,000 men. With their families, this number will be about doubled.

It is our hope you will like the men we send here and that you will be as proud of them as we are. They are fine people whose efforts are dedicated to the defense of their country. Most of them are in this business because they believe in it. It takes real men, courageous and willing to work and fight, to man the type organization which is earmarked for your air base. On their arrival here they will be enheartened and encouraged by the air-minded atmosphere of your city and by your pride and interest in the airbase.

You will find these men to be responsible citizens, eager and willing to become a part of your community and to foster and promote your civic activities. This will be their home and I am sure that Plattsburg will accept them in that light.

The men who will man this station are important to you, to the Air Force, and to the country. Their task will be to develop, maintain and operate two combat wings. Let me give you a general idea of the potential military power of the force of this size.

Today, a single airplane carrying modern explosives can destroy a great industrial city in one single mission—a job which, in World War II with TNT bombs, might well have required over 1,000 bombers. At Plattsburg Air Force Base it is planned to station approximately 100 of these modern jet types. These 100 bombers could, in one combined strike, accomplish the same destruction which in 1944 would have required a large bomber command of over 1,000 bombers using TNT bombs and operating for a period of more than a year.

One interesting aspect of such a comparison hinges around the number of aircrew personnel exposed to enemy action. For instance, a World War II operation utilizing 1,000 bombers operating continually for more than a year would involve on the order of a million individual exposures of air crew members to enemy action. In such an operation personnel losses could well run into the thousands.

In the case of the modern striking force involving 100 jet bombers of the type destined to Plattsburg only 300 men would be exposed to enemy action in one strike. If the losses were as high as 10 percent only 30 men would fail to return.

I cite these general comparisons to emphasize that the men who will come here to operate this air base and its equipment represent a valuable investment to you and to the people of this country. They are selected with care and are subjected to a great amount of training. An elaborate system has been established to test their capability under various conditions. In turn, they carry on their shoulders a great responsibility and therefore deserve the best you can give them in the direction and supervision of their efforts.

The Strategic Air Command is composed of three major Combat Air Forces: The 15th Air Force with bases generally situated in the western part of the United States; the 2d Air Force with bases in the southeastern part of the United States; and the 8th Air Force with bases extending from El Paso, Tex. to Limestone, Maine. Plattsburg Air Force Base will become a part of the 8th Air Force.

In the Strategic Air Command are hundreds of long-range bombers, tankers, and fighters. This force is capable of rapid flight across the oceans to any targets of significance. Backed up by our national stockpile of atomic weapons, it exerts a very powerful influence on the trend of current world events. It is more than just a military force—it is a power for peace. It represents the will of American people to oppose aggression and to prevent world war III through the threat of atomic retaliation. Plattsburg, through its air base, will become a part of this great enterprise.

Let me tell you something of the average officer who commands a crew of one of our atomic bombers. The senior officer on each airplane is known as the aircraft commander. In a B-36, for instance, the crew consists of 16 men under the command of the aircraft commander. In a B-47-type bomber, the crew consists of 3 men. These 3 men accomplish the same basic functions carried out by the larger crew of the B-36. They must therefore be cross-trained in many specialties, including piloting, gunnery, navigation, bombing, radio, etc.

The average aircraft commander is a senior captain, 32 years old. He is married and has one child. He makes a modest salary and spends a sizable part of it on his insurance. He has 8 years of military service during which time he has accumulated approximately 3,500 hours of flying, representing about 1 million air miles flown.

He has flown the oceans and has seen a large part of the world. He is well educated, smart, alert, patriotic, and is not lacking in courage. This is the type of man who commands our combat crews. He is the man who would be called on to deliver our atomic weapons should it become necessary.

He is both a responsible citizen and a well-prepared officer. He will be the first to go into action should we go to war. He and his crew will push through to his target when told to do so. In that we have no doubt.

Back of these air crews and aircraft we have an organization of mechanics, supply and administrative personnel. These people are also carefully selected and are subjected to extensive training. We rely on them to keep our aircraft flying and ready to go.

Over 8 years ago, a single airplane approached Japan and dropped a single bomb which destroyed a large city. Since then the power of modern bombs has been vastly increased.

Today bombers exist which are capable of flying nonstop across the oceans and delivering bombs to any of the important industrial centers of the world. These bombers are equipped with instruments which enable their crews to locate, identify and bomb their assigned targets in all kinds of weather, day or night. Such is the power of today's Strategic Air Command.

There is no better way to prevent war, in my opinion, than to make it impossible for anyone to profit from it. A strong atomic striking force is one way of convincing an enemy of the futility of ever starting a war.

The atomic bomb makes it possible to deliver wide-spread destruction to centers of

population and production on a scale surpassing human imagination. Therefore, the atomic delivery force in peacetime exerts a tremendous influence on the plans and actions of would-be aggression.

There is an old adage and a very true one which says, "It's an ill wind that blows no good." This may well apply to the atomic bomb.

Although it is intrinsically an instrument of destruction, in the hands of our country it stands for the preservation and protection of world peace and democratic principles. It promises to take the profit out of war and therefore promises to prevent war.

Today, our Strategic Air Command is strong and becoming stronger. Our presence here today at the ground-breaking ceremony for a new and strategically located air base attests to your determination and to the determination of the people of this country to remain strong and to maintain peace in the world.

In closing I leave with you the personal greetings of my Chief Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, and the men of my command—the 8th Air Force. We look forward to pleasant associations in the future with the citizens of Plattsburg.

Too Little, Too Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Journal-American of February 13, 1954:

TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

President Eisenhower at his press conference stated that he favored an increase of $225 million in the annual amounts allotted by the Federal Government to the States for new highway constructions.

Since the present annual Federal aid amounts to $575 million the increase recommended by the President would bring the total to $800 million.

In this he approximates a bill introduced by Representative MCGREGOR, Republican, of Ohio, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Roads.

Representative MCGREGOR in introducing the bill said that he had the support of the administration.

Is the McGregor bill, the administration bill, a good bill? It is a good bill if you judge it against other bills.

Is it an adequate bill? Will it achieve for American the adequate roads that we must have?

It will not.

The highway needs of this country, measured in dollars, are so enormous that the authorization by Congress of $800 million in annual Federal aid does not begin to solve the problem.

The President and Representative MCGREGOR are obviously linking the Federal gasoline and diesel tax receipts with the amount to be expended on roads. This is a popular viewpoint, but even assuming that it is the correct one, $800 million does not represent the receipts of the Federal gas tax.

The tax resulted in receipts of approximately $910 million for the calendar year 1953. Thus, the sum of $110 million still would be diverted to nonhighway uses.

Furthermore, none of the money would go for roads until some time after July 1, 1955, and by that time the receipts from the gas tax would be still larger, and still more highway users' money would be diverted from highway construction.

Here is the way Federal gasoline tax receipts have increased the past few years:

1950	$551,450,000
1951	607,756,000
1952	851,538,000
1953	894,000,000

Addition of the 1953 diesel fuel tax receipts bring the 1953 total to about $910 million.

The sad fact is that the McGregor bill, despite some intelligent, enlightened, and generous provisions, is another in a long line of inadequate Federal highway bills.

And inadequate financial support for highway construction means inadequate roads.

That's the type of roads we have now, and this bill will not change the situation.

Accusations Against Chief Justice Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following comment by Mr. Robert W. Akers, the distinguished editor-in-chief of the Beaumont Enterprise and Beaumont Journal, which appeared in the Beaumont Enterprise on Tuesday, February 23, 1954. I believe the views expressed so cogently are particularly pertinent at this time and commend them to the thoughtful consideration of my colleagues:

IT'S LIKE THIS

(By Robert W. Akers)

Publicizing of an unconfirmed accusation that the Chief Justice of the United States has a 100-percent perfect record of following the Marxist revolutionary line is the tragic but logical climax to a trend of the times.

Congressional committees for several years now have been making public damaging charges against various citizens, although the accusers remained anonymous and no move was made to give the accused a hearing.

Finally this technique has reached the point where the victim is Chief Justice Earl Warren. Vice President NIXON and leading Republican Senators have indignantly denounced the unfairness of questioning the character of the jurist on hearsay evidence and have declared no fair-minded citizen doubts for a moment the honesty and integrity of Mr. Justice Warren. They are right.

But so is such a course unfair in the case of humbler citizens. Our Constitution and our laws provide a way of calling any American to account for disloyalty. The case against the accused should be presented to a grand jury with request for an indictment charging violation of a specific law. If the indictment is returned, the suspect may enter court, hear the accusation, confront his accuser and defend himself before a jury.

If a man has violated a law of the land he should be convicted and punished. If he hasn't, he should be cleared. It's the in-between system of publicly accusing on unsubstantiated evidence, and then never providing for a day in court, that congressional committees have been following all too often.

Said Senator KNOWLAND, Republican of California, of the Communist accusation against the chief justice of the United States:

"The dignity and responsibility of the Senate of the United States will greatly suffer if proceedings of this kind continue."

I can tell the Senator that the dignity of the Senate and of the whole Nation already has suffered from previous cases.

All over India, a year ago, citizens of that land rose to say to me words that ran something like this:

"We get the impression that America is suffering from a great fear complex over communism, Mr. Akers. It appears to us that committees of your Congress don't hesitate to brand a citizen publicly as being disloyal, but he is never given a trial, and after that he is ostracized."

Chief Justice Warren will, of course, easily rise above the accusations made against him, but the incident has served the worthy purpose of dramatizing an increasingly dangerous bypassing of our constitutional system of justice.

Watch Industry Vital to Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, at the request of a constituent I wish to set forth, for the benefit of the Members of Congress, a very excellent letter published in the New York Herald Tribune which points out the relationship between the American watch industry and our national defense:

AMERICAN WATCHMAKERS AND THE UNITED STATES TARIFF

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

Your editorial entitled "Wrong Kind of Protection" is a distinct disservice to the three remaining American watch manufacturers, to the skilled American craftsman who is faced with the loss of his job, and to the American people as a whole.

You refer to these American companies as "one segment of the domestic watch industry." With the exception of Bulova, which imports 70 percent of its movements, these three companies are the only concerns manufacturing jeweled watch movements in this country today. All other so-called domestic companies simply put imported Swiss movements into cases, an operation that requires very little skill by the worker.

You give absolutely no recognition to the fact that the American jeweled watch industry, represented solely by these three companies and Bulova, is not just vital but absolutely indispensable to the Nation in time of war because no other industry can produce the intricate precision parts that are commonplace to watch manufacturing, parts smaller than the periods in this telegram in some cases. At least no other industry could do so without a development period that at a most conservative estimate would be between 3 and 5 years.

The industry's wartime role is not limited simply to production of military timepieces, but involves ultraskilled production of highly classified devices, in addition to mass production of fuses and other most essential

ammunition components. As an example, one of this Nation's largest industrial enterprises, internationally known for its research and production skills and now a large supplier of a certain ammunition component buys no less than 10 precision parts from one American watch manufacturer, admitting frankly that it lacks the necessary skills to make them itself.

Another example is that of marine chronometers of which every naval fighting ship needs from 3 to 5. Prior to World War II we depended entirely on Switzerland for such chronometers and of course this source was cut off entirely. Despite the fact that none had ever made a marine chronometer the members of the American jeweled watches produced superior instruments in quantities amply adequate for naval needs. There was literally no other industry capable of this accomplishment.

Our pleas for tariff safeguards is a most legitimate one based on incontrovertible proof that serious injury has been done to the American watch industry and that further grave injury is threatened. Less than 20 percent of the American market remains to American manufacturers and workers and that largely in the 19- and 21-jewel classifications.

During the 2 years since the Tariff Commission recognized that our industry had suffered grievous hurt and unsuccessfully recommended restoration of higher tariff rates, our unit production has fallen 27 percent and our employment has dropped 24 percent. Those importers opposing our plan maintain that American manufacturers are making profits. They neglect to mention, though they know it well, that we are relying increasingly on imported movements for our own watches and on other forms of diversification. This course may maintain our corporate economic health, but it will not preserve United States watchmaking facilities or desperately needed skills.

You have apparently swallowed whole Swiss claims to the effect that prices of watches to consumers will rise sharply. We maintain that in many cases the tariff increase can be wholly or in a large measure absorbed by the highly prosperous importers without reducing their profit levels beneath those of United States manufacturers whose earnings they repeatedly describe as adequate. You ignore the fact that at least 2,000 American workers who now are not theoretically but actually experiencing an inability "to buy American food products, machinery, household appliances and a host of additional products," would be reemployed. We doubt very much that any American consumer wants to buy cheap watches at the expense of his fellow worker's job security or at the expense of our entire national security.

Finally, you blithely assume that once Switzerland has complete control of the American market—simply inevitable if present trends are allowed to continue—they will gratuitously maintain the same low prices now required, because there still exists an American industry in competition. A glance at official statistics of the Department of Foreign Commerce of Switzerland for 1952 export prices might cause you to awaken to the fact that the Swiss are not quite so altruistic as you seem to believe.

These statistics show that the average price charged for wrist watches in base metal cases exported to the United States that year was 21.23 Swiss francs. But what did they charge nations wholly dependent upon Switzerland for the same timepieces? They charged Norway 42.49 francs, approximately 100 percent more; Italy 28.56, about 33 percent more; Turkey 31.3, or 46 percent; China 34.65, or 62 percent; Thailand 55.39, or 161 percent. In the case of automatic watches the average charge to the United States importers was 23.36 Swiss francs. Mexico paid 47.47 francs, 100 percent more; Venezuela paid 40.41, or 72 percent more; China, 58.8, or 151 percent; Turkey 42.08, or 80 percent; Italy 90.22, or 285 percent; Thailand 125 francs, or 435 percent.

In the light of this record of expendiency isn't it unrealistic and foolhardy to expect that Swiss watch prices in the United States would remain reasonable once the competition of American manufacturers has been destroyed?

Congress in adopting so-called "reciprocal" trade agreements unquestionably desired to safeguard any American industry, whether essential or not, which was threatened by tariff inequities and for that reason insisted on insertion of escape clauses in such agreements. If an industry essential and indispensable to our national security in a unique and irreplaceable way can prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that it is being threatened with extinction unless granted tariff relief and if, despite such proof, it is denied this relief, then we might as well concede that the escape clause and other supposed safeguards granted to American industry and American wage earners are simply window dressing and not intended for use.

PAUL F. MICKEY,
Vice President, American Watch Manufacturers Association.
WASHINGTON, *February 10, 1954.*

The "New Look" at the Air Force Actually Means Less Airpower Than Last Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the 1955 budget we will soon be considering is not quite what it is cracked up as being. We have been told, on authority we would be inclined to accept, that the keystone of the new budget is airpower; and considerable publicity has been given to expenditure estimates that show the Air Force ahead, dollarwise, of Navy and Army.

The emphasis on expenditure estimates rather than budget requests is misleading, however, and perhaps deliberately so. The 1955 budget includes requests for $8.2 billion for the Army, $9.9 billion for the Navy, and $11.2 billion for the Air Force. If that is the "new look" at defense, it is a backward look, because the 1954 budget, on which we are currently operating, called for $11.4 billion for the Air Force—or $2 million more than the 1955 budget calls for. It is a "new look" with less money.

The truth is, we have not yet taken a good look at airpower, or decided to base our defense planning on air strategy. A balanced military force, with roughly equal amounts of appropriated funds divided between the three forces, is hardly a military force with emphasis on airpower. The "new look," so far as the Air Force is concerned, is disturbingly old and familiar. The Air Force was cut $5 billion last year—this budget reduces it again.

Pertinent comment to this effect is to be found in the editorial in the February 1954 issue of Aviation Age, which, with unanimous consent of my colleagues, I wish to insert in the RECORD. The editorial is as follows:

THE "NEW LOOK" IN THE AIR FORCE

Airpower proponents generally are not fully satisfied with the administration's "new look" in the proposed 1955 military-spending program. True, it seemingly places first reliance on air-atomic power. The new concept, the budget message declares, "points toward the creation, maintenance, and full exploitation of modern airpower." It increases Air Force funds by $1.1 billion, while both Army and Navy are reduced together by $7.4 billion as between 1953 and 1955.

But the message also frankly admits Army and Navy reductions are not due solely to the strategic "new look" heralded as the new Joint Chiefs of Staff's first assignment. The major source of these reductions would appear to be the ending of the Korean war. This permitted reductions in Army combat manpower and, to a certain extent, Navy surface forces.

Comparison of the proposed Air Force strength figures with the previous 143-wing program also reveals how slight the change is in basic military strategy.

	137 wings (June 1957)	143 wings (June 1955)
Strategic Air Command	54	57
Air Defense Command	34	39
Tactical Air Command	38	40
Troop carriers	11	17

It is an accepted fact that no nation can obtain 100 percent effectiveness in preventing a determined air attack. Therefore, it would seem the increase in air defence command strength is more a political than military decision. The value of this increase is rendered even more dubious by the statement by President Eisenhower that atom bombs could be carried into this country in suitcases.

It being impossible for any nation to prevent a determined attack by air, it follows the best deterrent is a strategic force capable of hitting the enemy mortal blows until he quits. The best defense is still the capability of the best offensive.

No one, for instance, would mind climbing into the same ring with the world's heavyweight champion if he knew the champion would only defend himself. But no one—except a professional equal—would care to take on the champ if he knew lethal punches would meet the challenger.

In war, even a professional would think twice before starting a conflict that could only mean his own destruction.

With this in mind, it seems incredible this country—unlike England and Australia—has not based its defense planning on air strategy. We still fail to recognize the immense potentiality of military airpower. And this despite the fact we have led in the development of the intercontinental bomber and nuclear weapons.

Critics have said airpower did not prove itself in World War II. But World War II saw only the beginnings of airpower capabilities. These capabilities were never fully realised, (1) because airpower was merely auxiliary to surface forces and strategy, (2) because the intercontinental bomber had not been built, and (3) because the airplane and its armament had not evolved into an air weapons system.

All critics of the effectiveness of airpower have ignored these facts. Such criticisms of the shortcomings of airpower are like sneering at a child for not doing the work of a man.

A fourth factor immeasurably adding to airpower effectiveness is the nuclear device. The significance of this is that today one aircraft can do the work of hundreds of World War II bombers.

Aviation Age does not quarrel with this or that dollar allotment to the buildup of our airpower. We do question the policy of our defense planners in not gearing their military strategy to the revolutionary changes in weapons development and airpower capabilities since World War II.

The New Look Doesn't Go Far Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the story of the 1954 Air Force budget reflected anything but credit on the Secretary of Defense and those who planned it for him. The story of the 1955 Air Force budget happily puts one man in a thoroughly creditable light. That man is the new Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Nathan F. Twining. But the favorable light in which Twining shines hardly reflects luster on Messrs. Wilson, Kyes, McNeil, and others. They have been more than slow in coming around to seeing that their new look at the Air Force merely revealed the correctness of the old look, and they have not yet honestly admitted that fact or the loss of time while the new look was being taken.

Last week Joseph and Stewart Alsop made some important revelations on Russian long-range bomber developments and the offensive air force the Soviets are building up, though Secretary Wilson has assured us that the Russian Air Force is purely defensive. I find in this morning's papers an interesting follow-up by the Alsop brothers, interpreting the known facts of Russian bomber strength as they affect the United States military defense budget, and the new look at the Air Force. The trouble about the new look is that it has proved after all to be only the old look reaffirmed. Without quarreling in anyway with the old look, and the 143 wing Air Force program that was decided upon before 1953, I do question the adequacy of that same program for 1955. It does not allow for the fact of the enemy's steadily increasing air-atomic power, the inadequacy of our air defenses, or the incompleteness of our effort to develop guided missiles.

I should like, therefore, to include in the RECORD this second article by the Alsops, which appeared in the Washington Post on February 24. The article follows:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

NEW LOOK PRACTICE

The novel American defense concept that is called the new look is essentially simple in purpose. It is an attempt to redesign our Armed Forces around the new air-atomic power that has caused a revolution in warfare.

The practical question that has to be asked is whether this attempt is honest. Doubts on this score are natural. After all, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and his alter ego, Deputy Secretary Roger M. Kyes, took office only 13 months ago with the apparent conviction that the national defense was a dubious leftist hobby.

Is the new look, then, a mere political facade, to dress up political budget-cutting in the style of the unlamented Louis A. Johnson? The best answer to this very serious question is the story of how the new look's air power requirement was determined.

In the Wilson-Kyes budget-cutting last year, the Air Force got most of the 40 whacks that the new team dealt out. The voting of the budget did not end the bitter conflict, either. The Secretary of Defense's office angrily maintained that a 120-group Air Force would be quite big enough, if not too big. The air staff obstinately continued to argue that the Truman administration target of 143 air groups was, if anything, too low.

This was the difficult situation inherited last summer by the new Chief of Air Staff, Gen. Nathan Twining. On taking over, General Twining ordered what was, by service standards, a radical new departure. He told the Air Staff to make a root and branch reexamination of Air Force requirements, with a completely open mind.

What was wanted, Twining explained, was a careful reconsideration of the effect of recent developments in the field of the new weapons. First of all, the successful American hydrogen bomb test had at last provided a true "one city-one bomb" weapon. Thus fewer sorties would have to be flown to knock out an enemy, and a smaller Strategic Air Force might do the job satisfactorily.

Then, too, tactical atomic bombs had been devised. These greatly increased the effectiveness of airpower over the battlefield. Most important of all, American production had reached the stage where atomic bombs were no longer in short supply. It was no longer necessary for the Joint Chiefs of Staff to dole out the new weapons, target by target. The Air Force could now plan on using the new weapons freely, for any significant military purpose.

During the summer the air staff made its reexamination in the light of General Twining's instructions. Twining had not been asked to order his subsidiary new look at airpower requirements. No civilian pressure was placed upon the Air Staff to lower its sights. But in August, the Air Staff came up with a revised overall requirement for a 137 group Air Force—a small but meaningful reduction of the old plan.

Meanwhile, Wilson and Kyes had gradually learned that the Air Force was not so willfully wasteful as they had supposed. Awareness of the revolutionary importance of the new weapons had also united General Twining and the new chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Adm. Arthur Radford, in a somewhat unexpected alliance. The 137-group Air Force became the backbone of the new look, when the change of defense concept was made last fall.

As to the backbone, then, there can be no reasonable suspicion of politically motivated pennypinching. The real criticism of the new look is not that it is dishonest, in the Louis A. Johnson manner; but that it has not been carried to its logical conclusion. A national strategy that is built around air-atomic power is not worth much, after all, if it does not adequately allow for the fact that the enemy has air-atomic power too. Here, quite serious deficiencies can be described.

The appearance of the new high-speed, long-range Soviet atomic bombers, the Ilyushin 38 and the Tupolev 200, makes the air defense problem more urgent than ever. Much is being done to strengthen our air defenses. Indeed, we are now spending close to the $5 billion a year for air defense that was ridiculed as monstrous when these reporters revealed the administration's anxiety on this point last year. Yet the air defense effort is not yet an all-out effort; and the need for an all-out effort cannot be doubted.

There are other such gaps, which are unquestionably grave. The Soviets are already building brombproof underground bases for their strategic air army. Until our Strategic Air Command has a minimum of bombproof bases, it will always be a deterrent that the enemy can destroy.

There is evidence, too, that the Soviets are now ahead of us in the vital area of long-range guided missiles. A Manhattan District-type approach to long-range guided missile development is now needed, if we are not to wake up one morning to find that a Soviet missile test has overturned the whole world balance of power.

Yet these gaps in the "new look" are now being actively studied at the Pentagon. Great progress has also been made in reducing the incredible waste of military manpower that is the worst sin of our services. Overall, in short, the "new look" in practice has a sober, sensible, businesslike character that is remarkably reassuring.

Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the celebration of Brotherhood Week, I wish to call attention to the excellent editorial on the subject appearing in the current issue of the AFL News Reporter:

Brotherhood Week, celebrated February 21–28, is a reminder that, although progress has been made in eliminating discrimination, much remains to be done.

Children still must attend segregated schools because their skin is of a certain color, although their fathers may have won medals for bravery on the battlefield.

Physicians may not practice in certain hospitals because of their religion, although many of their faith have made outstanding contributions to the science of medicine and the prevention of disease.

The barriers must, and will, come down. Until that time as Bernard Baruch says, each of us must fight bigotry wherever we find it and cleanse our hearts of blind animosity against our fellows.

Brotherhood Week is dedicated to the preservation of basic human rights, tolerance, and religious freedom. Brotherhood should be a virtue practiced in our daily lives; it is essential to our well-being as a Nation in these perilous times. The Communists want the world to think our democracy is a sham. America's discrimination against minority groups is our greatest single handicap in our efforts to win the friendship and respect of foreign peoples. The United States must demonstrate a continued and steady record of progress toward equal treatment and equal opportunity for all. In order to insure adequately the protection of civil rights, legislation is essential as a basic authority. I urge the

Republican leadership to take early action on my bill, H. R. 366, and similar measures, designed to protect the rights of individuals to be free from discrimination or segregation by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Development of Natural Resources in Idaho

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a front-page story from the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News of January 15, and two articles from the Idaho Farm Journal of December 31, which are of direct and immediate concern to every citizen of Idaho. Both articles pertain to an initiative proposed by the Idaho Citizens Legislative Committee, Inc., which would place on the ballot next fall an amendment to establish a State commission empowered to develop the State's natural resources.

The commission, when set up, would bet similar to one that has been operated effectively in Arizona over a period of years. I am heartened to see the people of Idaho take action to secure for themselves the privilege of developing their natural resources for the greatest benefit of the greatest number of people rather than for the special benefit of a private utilities monopoly.

My interest in circularizing this information arises from the fact that in my State and in other States similar commisisons are already operating very satisfactorily. Every citizen of any State is also a citizen of these United States and is interested in seeing his neighbor State developed to its maximum in order that all of us can prosper.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Twin Falls (Idaho) Times-News of January 15, 1954]

LEADER OF INITIATIVE MOVE CITES MOTIVE

The initiative proposed by the Idaho Citizens Legislative Committee, Inc., to put Idaho in the utilities business is designed to protect the public against the abuses of monopolies, according to the chairman of the committee.

Answering the Idaho State Chamber of Commerce attack of the initiative as "State socialism of the worst type," Asher B. Wilson, Twin Falls attorney who heads the committee, declared recourse should be open to citizens when fees charged by privately operated utilities for services become exorbitant.

The initiative would establish a commission empowered to take over the facilities of privately owned utilities and develop new resources. The committee is circulating petitions to obtain the 27,000 signatures necessary to put the bill on ballots in the November general elections.

In the opinion of Wilson, the extent to which the commission would exercise powers to acquire privately owned systems would depend largely upon the ability of the companies to meet competition from the public power developments which would come about as a result of the bill.

Cheap power holds the key to the growth of the State, he declared. The State of Washington, where he says residents can buy electric power for 40 percent less than Idahoans pay, has had a 60-percent increase in population in the past decade. The savings and the growth have been largely the result of competition between public and private power, Wilson claims.

"The thing we propose is not revolutionary," he said. "It is nothing more than New York has had for 30 years. The same thing exists in California, Arizona, and Washington."

If the issue reaches ballots in November, the vote will go a long way toward solving the debate over Hells Canyon, he opined.

If the initiative were to carry, it would place Idaho in a position to enter a compact with Washington and Oregon for the development of Hells Canyon—provided Federal hearings on the question were to rule that neither the Government nor Idaho Power Co., but the States involved should undertake the project, he said.

Cheap power, whatever its source, would pave the way for refining phosphates from deposits in eastern Idaho, he said. At present power rates the project is not feasible, he claimed.

The bill takes in communications systems to give the people recourse against the telephone monopoly as well as the power monopoly, he said. The term "communications systems" is not intended to cover radios, newspapers, and transportation utilities, he said.

[From the Idaho Farm Journal of December 31, 1953]

FARM JOURNAL'S STATE LETTER

GOVERNOR GOT EXCITED

When Gov. Len Jordan read the suggested initiative which would make it possible for Idaho to govern its water, its communications, and its electric power, if such were the wish of the people, he squealed like a stuck pig. Immediately he declared he was opposed to the Government going into business and declared that's just what the initiative would do. That the governor will fight even having Idaho's citizens sign the petition to put the matter before the voters seems sure. And yet, in the opinion of most observers, Governor Jordan himself is more to blame for the matter coming up than anyone else.

TALK ALONE WON'T CHANGE IT

Ever since he took office, Governor Jordan has been an open and vicious foe of the Federal Government building multiple-purpose dams which would generate power, even when irrigation would be benefited. He has been particularly adamant on Hells Canyon Dam and has fought against a high Federal project all the way, declaring that Idaho Power Co. alone should have the 100 miles of the deepest gorge in the United States. But the governor has gone even farther and has now brought out a partnership plan for building future dams, and that is perhaps one of the biggest reasons for the proposal to give the people themselves a chance to vote on public power. Talk alone, even by a governor, does not change people's minds.

WHAT KIND OF PARTNERSHIP?

What made the public-power advocates of Idaho, as well as of all other Northwestern States, so furious at Len Jordan's partnership plan is that it isn't they maintain, a partnership at all. Public-utility districts, REA's, municipalities, and others are not included. As they see it, the plan would provide for the power companies to divide up the rivers of the Northwest, each one taking whatever power sites it wanted. Then the States would cooperate by giving the power company the sites. The Federal Government would cooperate by granting each power company as many licenses as it wanted. But the final bit of partnership by the Federal Government would be to dig up money for the nonreimbursable features of these partnership dams. In other words, a power company could build a dam primarily for power, but it could claim that such a dam, even though a small one, aided in flood control. The United States Government would fork over the money for that. Then it would be found that there were recreational advantages, and Uncle Sam would dig up for that. The taxpayers would probably shell out for navigation benefits too, and there would, no doubt, be other claims on Partner Uncle Sam.

RECLAMATION KICKED IN PANTS

There is no provision in Governor Jordan's plan for further irrigation, except by pumping from wells. Public utility districts, Bonneville Power Administration, REA co-ops and others would be frozen out. The Bureau of Reclamation would no longer be needed, for the Army engineers, who are deft politicians, would be the logical ones to make surveys for the States, the power companies and the Federal Government. Supporters of Hells Canyon, many irrigationists, dozens of municipalities and public utility districts became genuinely alarmed at the Governor's plan. But they heard rumors that disturbed them more. One such rumor is that Len Jordan, who has only a little more than a year to serve in office, is pushing his partnership plan as hard as he can to complete it if possible so that when he steps out of the State house in Boise, he can walk right into a Federal job as coordinator of the partnership plan. That is when public power advocates got down to serious business in Idaho and brought out the petition for an initiative. They want to make Governor Jordan an issue, his partnership plan an issue, and air the whole matter before the people.

WHO IS BACK OF INITIATIVE?

Asher B. Wilson, of Twin Falls, a lawyer and farmer; Elmer F. McIntyre, Boise, labor union; J. G. Bowers, of Nampa; Carl A. Harder, of Buhl; and Frank Atkins, Buhl, all farmers, incorporated the Idaho Citizens Legislative Committee, Inc. Their avowed purpose is to bring government back to the people, especially where natural resources development and utilities are concerned. They point out that Idaho people under Idaho Power Co. and Utah Power Co. pay approximately 40 percent more than is charged in Washington and Oregon where there is Federal power. Because of telephone rates, 60 percent of Idaho's people have no telephones. When charges become oppressive, or better methods can be found, the initiative—if it ever gets on the ballot—would allow the people of Idaho to take over utilities. Such a proposal is bound to be termed socialistic.

WHO OWNS THE WATER WORKS?

As the Idaho Citizens Legislative Committee points out in its letter accompanying the petitions, 40 years ago Idaho's citizens were voting to take over domestic water systems in the cities and towns. That was branded socialistic. Yet today, only Boise, Coeur d'Alene, and Jerome have private companies owning the water systems. All the other towns own their own wells, pumps, water mains, and distributing systems. Perhaps that is creeping socialism, but few towns today would give up their water systems or the revenue they get each year from them. The petition does nothing more than let a group of Idaho citizens put the proposed

initiative law on the ballot for next fall. At that time every citizen of Idaho can vote for it, or against it. Even if it is put on the books, it does not mean that the State is going into the utility business. But it would give the people of Idaho a pretty strong weapon for controlling utilities and monopolies.

[From the Idaho Farm Journal of December 31, 1953]

NOW ADMITTED THAT TAXPAYERS WILL DIG UP FOR PRIVATE POWER DAMS

(By Ed Emerine)

Under the new partnership policy outlined by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, 5 Pacific Northwest private power companies lost no time in filing a joint application with the Federal Power Commission for a preliminary permit to investigate 2 huge hydroelectric sites in Idaho.

The companies are Montana Power Co., Washington Water Power Co., Pacific Power & Light Co., Portland General Electric Co., and Mountain States Power Co.

One or more other companies may join the group later, J. E. Corette, president of Montana Power, said.

The permit application follows the announcement on December 7 that the companies would cooperate to build new powerplants in line with the Government's partnership policy.

The sites are in north Idaho. Bruces Eddy is on the north fork of the Clearwater, about 43 miles east of Lewiston, Idaho. Penny Cliffs is on the Clearwater's middle fork, about 80 miles from Lewiston.

ESTIMATED AT $305 MILLION

Army engineers have estimated the cost of the 2 projects at about $305 million.

Kinsey Robinson, president of Washington Water Power Co., said the exploration would be on plans worked out by the Army engineers to meet objections to earlier proposals. The new plan keeps the south fork of the Clearwater open for unobstructed fish migration and also makes it unnecessary to relocate Kooskia, which was in the original idea, Robinson said.

The proposed dams would provide 3,730,000 acre-feet of useful storage for power generation, flood control and other uses, the statement said.

The tentative plans of the five companies call for a 576-foot rock-fill dam at Bruces Eddy with a power installation of 244,000 kilowatts. The dam would provide 1,430,000 acre-feet of storage for river control.

A 596-foot dam at Penny Cliffs would have an installed capacity of 292,000 kilowatts and 2,300,000 acre-feet of storage.

HOW PARTNERSHIP WOULD WORK

Under the partnership, the Federal Government would either build the dam or reimburse the power companies for building it. This Federal portion of the cost would be charged to flood control, recreation, navigation, and other useful purposes for the general public and the welfare or defense of the United States. The power companies would pay only for power installations, generators, lines, etc.

As John Corlett pointed out Tuesday in the Boise Statesman:

"It is presumed that under a partnership arrangement, for example, Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliffs would be built by private enterprise. The Federal Government would contribute to the construction in the amount of costs assessable to flood control, navigation, and recreation.

"The other costs—power, etc.—would be charged to the private power companies.

"After the dam was built, the Federal Government would sell falling water at the penstocks to the private power companies. Over a period of years, even the nonreimbursable costs, never repaid under the present arrangements of building Federal dams, would be paid off."

AS WE HAVE LONG CONTENDED

Just as this writer and the Journal have been telling the farmers, merchants, and others in Idaho for months, the taxpayers themselves will build and pay for all of these partnership dams. This admission from the partnership crowd was long in coming, but we're glad at last that they have come out and told the truth.

Mr. Speaker, the response to this initiative in Idaho is evidence of the growing grassroots desire of the people there to preserve for themselves their own natural resources and to revolt against the monopolistic practices of the private utilities which are detrimental to the public interest. It should serve as a warning to the private utility monopolies that they have more than their own financial interests to serve.

I should like to point out that the sponsors of the Idaho Citizens Legislative Committee are well established and financially responsible citizens in their communities. Mr. Asher B. Wilson, chairman, has been for a third of a century a highly respected owner and operator of extensive irrigated farmlands on the Twin Falls tract. His interest in the development of Idaho's natural resources is of long standing, is well-grounded and is genuine.

Skimping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Journal-American of February 20, 1954:

SKIMPING

In previous editorials the New York Journal-American and the other Hearst newspapers have given our objections to the Federal highway bill now being studied by the House Subcommittee on Roads.

The bill has administration support.

We would like to convey the following information to those who still regard the bill as adequate or generous:

All Federal, State, and local expenditures for roads during 1953 do not even equal the total spent in 1938.

Using the 1941 dollar as a base, and adjusting 1938 and 1953 dollars to it, here are the figures:

Total expenditure in 1938___ $2,633,000,000
Total expenditure in 1953___ 2,570,000,000

Actually, in 1953 the sum of $5,277,000,000 was spent by all units of Government, but we got only $2,570,000,000 worth of roads in terms of a 1941 dollar.

In the meantime, what has happened to our highways?

In 1938 there were about 30 million motor vehicles on our streets and roads.

In 1953 there were about 55 million.

How can Congress expect to solve a 55 million vehicle congestion problem by spending money at the rate it did in 1938?

Obviously the problem is never going to be solved with the sort of thinking that regards the present Federal bill adequate.

It is tragically inadequate, and looks worse the longer we look at it.

Where Ike's Headed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, on leave to extend my remarks, I include a timely and noteworthy article which appeared in the March issue of Town Journal, as follows:

WHERE IKE'S HEADED—HE HAS NOW POSTED HIS PROGRAM FOR ALL TO SEE

President Eisenhower is producing a new political climate in Washington.

It is a full-cycle change from a year ago. It stems mostly from changes within the President himself and is reflected in two important developments:

1. A new decisiveness in the White House.

2. Vigorous, sustained, outspoken Presidential leadership in support of a big legislative program.

These developments will, in the coming months, bear directly upon the work of the Congress, the struggle for control of the Republican Party and the outcome of this fall's congressional elections.

The most significant fact of all is this: For the first time since he entered civilian life, for the first time since his nomination, for the first time since his 13 months in the White House, we now know what the President really thinks; we have had his full political philosophy laid out before us. You can like that philosophy or not, but at least it's now posted where all of us can see what it is.

After a slow start—an unusually slow start—President Eisenhower is moving full-steam ahead. In six rapid-fire, proposal-packed messages to Congress in the span of 18 days the President has spelled out his program. It is like launching a major offensive after taking 12 months to mass forces.

First, where is the President headed? Does his heroic budget cutting make him a penny-pinching reactionary? Or is he, as some critics in both parties contend, just a cut-rate New Dealer?

Mr. Eisenhower has given his own answer to these questions in his press conferences, and under prevailing White House rules he can now be quoted verbatim in third person. Therefore, let the President speak for himself:

"Question. Some people characterize your legislative program as an extension of the New Deal. Would you care to comment?

"The PRESIDENT. Take a look at the budget. Take a look at the budget Mr. Truman proposed, and what we did.

"Question. How would you draw a distinction between the two?

"The PRESIDENT. The difference is in the direction in which it would go. One was going further and further into debt at an increasing rate; and the other is trying to reduce the expenditures of Government and go the other way.

"Question. What about the rest of your program?

"The PRESIDENT. When it comes down to dealing with the relationships between the human in this country and his Government, the people in this administration believe in being what we would normally call liberal, and when we deal with the economic affairs of this country, we believe in being conservative."

What does the President mean when he avows that he is an economic conservative and a humanitarian liberal? Don't fool yourself into thinking that these are just throwaway political phrases. He is spon-

soring a legislative program which gives them meaning.

Mr. Eisenhower emerges as a total believer in the American system of competitive private enterprise. He wants to free business from retarding Government regulation and carry through a series of tax reforms which will provide new incentives both to individuals and to venture capital. He wants the climate of the Government and the climate of the Nation to be friendly to enterprise.

Mr. Eisenhower also emerges as a total believer in the social-welfare legislation which has been enacted during the past 20 years. He counts it a fixed and accepted part of the fabric of America. He doesn't want to touch it. He doesn't intend to touch it. He said during the campaign: "We are not going to turn the clock back—ever"; and after a year in office the President is proposing to turn it ahead moderately.

How is the President proving his words by acts? This is the record:

He cut $12.5 billion from the projected Truman appropriations for 1953–54 and reduced the appropriation budget $4.4 billion more for the coming year.

He cut spending $7.1 billion over the last Truman budget and reduced it $5.6 billion more for the coming year.

These reductions have made possible a $6 billion tax reduction this year.

The 1954–55 budget will be within at least $3 billion of balance and 1955 will see a cash budget surplus of about $100 million.

At last Federal spending and Federal appropriations are under control and some further tax relief is justifiably in sight.

The President has taken most of the remaining Korean war controls off business, inflation is halted, and he is redeeming his campaign pledges to cut taxes, reduce Federal spending, and bring the budget into balance.

On the "human" side of Government the President is asking for a level of social-welfare spending as high, if not higher, than any Democratic Congress ever approved under President Truman. There is certainly no dismantling of the previous humanitarian measures.

Mr. Eisenhower is appealing to Congress to—

Extend social-security coverage to 10 million more citizens.

Increase social-security payments.

Enlarge unemployment compensation coverage by 6,500,000.

Provide Federal aid to encourage broader health protection to more families.

Continue low-cost public housing with 35,000 new units this year.

Be ready to cushion any possible recession with large-scale public works.

Economically conservative, humanitarianly liberal—this is the authentic middle-road Eisenhower in action.

Farm Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, I am quoting from today's press when I say that the Eisenhower administration's greatest domestic problem is farm surpluses. Even economically sound proposals to increase agricultural production are sheer foolishness under present conditions. Like the weather everyone in recent years has talked about our surpluses but little has been accomplished and many feel that it is high time that Congress take action.

I am today introducing a bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to provide for the sale of surplus feed grains to farmers for feeding purposes. To forestall grain speculation, penalties are provided. The Secretary will have discretionary powers as to the quantity to be disposed of and with the sole provision that the price shall not exceed $1 per bushel.

It is anticipated that such action will particularly and in the first instance benefit the dairy farmers of the entire country whose price support has been recently reduced to 75 percent while his feed grains remain at 90 percent of parity. These farmers use large quantities of wheat, corn, and other surplus grains in their rations which can be processed and blended in their immediate localities. Their feed bills frequently represent one-third of the total cost of their production so this is an important item to them and to the ultimate consumer of milk and other dairy products who will benefit through lower retail prices. In due course the price of beef, pork, and all retail meat prices will also reflect their decreased costs.

I am reliably informed that practically all of the large milk companies have plans which would reduce their cost of distributing milk to the consumer but they are satisfied with their present margin of profit and their plans are just gathering dust on the shelf. For instance in Akron, Ohio, one large distributor retails milk at 16 cents per quart while the average price of home deliveries throughout the country is about 26 cents. There is no reason why consumers in other localities should not enjoy similar price benefits and it is high time that Congress shows an active interest in consumer prices as well as the vast sums of the taxpayers' money that are daily being expended to store surplus wheat and other grains. This bill deserves the prompt and serious consideration of all Members of Congress.

A Proposed National Potato Marketing Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAL HOLMES
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HOLMES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and proposal:

MOSES LAKE, WASH., *February 19, 1954.*
Hon. HAL HOLMES,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HOLMES: Enclosed you will find copy of my proposal for national potato marketing order.

We shippers in Moses Lake feel that this is the only solution to an orderly marketing of our national potato crop. With the National potato marketing order we should eliminate all criticism from the people due to our past mistakes in the Government's handling the potato crop. This proposal would be financed by the producers and administered by the producers in each potato-marketing area. The 1953 crop of potatoes, if it had been marketed under the enclosed proposed order, would not have been a long crop this past season.

We find in making surveys at retail level, that potatoes are being marketed at U. S. No. 1 prices, with U. S. No. 2 and culls being displayed. Therefore, we further propose that some regulation be enacted that will require potatoes, displayed at retail level in bulk, carry on the bin the U. S. grade and State from which potatoes were grown. The proposed marketing order would require all potatoes be marketed with Federal inspection.

If this had been done this past season, we would have had no culls marketed, which might have taken care of our surplus. If not, we could have raised the size requirement from 2 inches to 2⅛ inches, which would have taken off 5 to 7 percent of the crop.

I am opposed to removing the U. S. No. 2's in any marketing order because the public needs a low budget potato. By raising the size limit on both U. S. No 1. and U. S. No. 2, we will be able to get the results desired.

We are starting this proposal with our own State organizations and will spread it throughout the Nation.

Will you please have my letter and the proposed marketing order read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Very truly yours,

OTIS C. MOYER.

A PROPOSED NATIONAL POTATO MARKETING ORDER

It is proposed that a national potato marketing agreement and order program be developed under the authority of the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, or as it has been or may be amended in the future, for the purpose of establishing and maintaining more orderly conditions in the marketing of potatoes.

It is proposed that a national potato marketing order be developed along the lines as outlined below, which are designed to give each producing area a maximum of local control and responsibility for administration of the program in their particular area.

1. A national marketing order would become effective only under the following conditions, which are outlined in the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended:

(a) The handlers of not less than 50 percent, by volume of the commodity covered by the marketing agreement, must sign the agreement.

(b) At least two-thirds of the growers by number, or by volume of product covered by the program, must approve the issuance of the marketing order. The two-thirds majority means two-thirds of those participating in a referendum and not two-thirds of all growers in the industry.

If the handlers sign the agreement and the growers approve the issuance of the order, as outlined above, the Secretary may then issue such an order. If, however, handlers fail or refuse to sign the agreement, the Secretary may, nevertheless, issue the order, if he finds and determines that it is the only practical means of advancing the interests of producers, and that the failure of handlers to sign the agreement tends to prevent the effectuation of the declared policy of the act.

2. The national potato marketing order could be terminated at any time by the Secretary upon a determination that the order no longer effectuates the purpose of

the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended. In addition, the Secretary shall be required to terminate the order whenever a majority of the growers, who produce at least one-half of the volume of potatoes, vote in a referendum to terminate the order.

3. The commercial potato producing areas of the United States would be divided into several districts composed of one or more States, taking into consideration the various recognized commercial potato producing areas. Areas now operating under a Federal marketing order would each comprise one district, and such areas would continue to elect their own committees, establish grade, size, and maturity regulations for their areas, and otherwise operate in the same manner as they have in the past. The balance of the commercial potato producing areas in the United States would be formed into separate districts, and a district marketing order would be developed by the local industry in each of such districts following the same pattern of the marketing orders currently in effect.

4. A national potato committee would be made up of the chairman of each of the district marketing committees. It would be the duty of this national committee to appraise the national supply and demand picture facing potatoes prior to the beginning of the early, intermediate and late marketing seasons and to recommend to the district committees the percent of the estimated production which they feel should be kept off the fresh market, for diversion to livestock feed or other noncompetitive outlets in order to effectuate the purpose of the act. It would be left to the committees in each of the various districts to appraise the quality, sizes, etc., of the crop in their area and to decide what minimum grade, size, maturity, or other regulations should be established to accomplish the recommendations made by the national committee.

Since the national committee would be made up of the chairman of each district marketing committee, one additional handler member from each of the larger producing districts should be appointed to the national committee so such committee would consist of approximately two-thirds growers and one-third handlers, or about the same proportion provided for in most of the marketing orders currently in effect.

5. A national marketing order should contain certain basic provisions to be applicable to all potato-producing districts, which might include:

(a) Compulsory inspection.

(b) Compulsory branding requirement so as to require proper marking of the grade, State of origin, etc., on all containers, including those repacked at terminal markets.

(c) Prohibition against the sale of cull potatoes on the fresh market under any conditions.

There may be other provisions which should apply to all areas which would be in the best interests of the industry as a whole, but in general these should be held to a minimum, particularly at the beginning of such a program. Regulations dealing with actual limitation on shipments themselves, such as grade, size, maturity, and other similar regulations, should be left to the district committees who are familiar with conditions in their areas.

6. As provided in the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, as amended, no action should be taken under either the national or the district marketing orders which has for its purpose the maintenance of prices above parity, except, as provided in the act, those minimum standards of quality, maturity, inspection, and grading requirements as will be in the public interest.

7. The National Potato Marketing Committee should be authorized to levy assessments against all shipments, which would be collected by the district committees. It should be provided that such assessments should be kept to a minimum. Collection of even one-fourth of a cent per hundredweight on every shipment of potatoes, however, would provide the national committee with a sizable income with which a great deal could be accomplished in the field of marketing research and otherwise promoting the consumption of potatoes in the event the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 is further amended so as to authorize the expenditure of assessments for such purposes.

The above recommendations regarding the approach toward a national potato marketing agreement are the result of discussions with potato industry representatives from several areas. They include only those ideas on which there appears to be general agreement. Many more drastic suggestions have been omitted to avoid possible controversy and delay in its development. They are purposely conservative in their approach toward the goal of an industrywide flexible program which would be financed by growers and administered by local or district industry committees. They are not offered as a solution to all potato marketing problems, but as a step in the direction the potato industry must take if it is to compete in the market place and regain acceptance by the American consumer.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of the Republic of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1954, we celebrated the 36th anniversary of the Republic of Lithuania Day.

I, join with citizens of Lithuanian descent, and all other American citizens, in sending to the people of Lithuania our solemn rededication that we have not forgotten them and their desire for freedom.

At the moment Lithuania is behind the Iron Curtain. We know from past history, however, that her freedom-loving peoples cannot, and will not, endure forever the brutal chains of Soviet domination. The day of delivery is approaching. The nations of the free world have given their pledge that every effort will be made to unshackle all nations from diabolical Soviet control.

The evidence emanating from Lithuania is that under Russian Communist rule the people continue to carry the torch for lost liberties. The history of Lithuania is marked with bravery and heroism of the highest order. Hundreds have been killed by the Russians. With all this tragedy Lithuanians still persist in this year 1954, to fight and fight and fight.

This gallantry of character will not go unrewarded. God in His almighty wisdom will one day have an accounting. In the interim we exhort the people of Lithuania—stand firm. God bless you. America sends her friendship and sympathies.

A Fine Tribute to General Wheeler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROBSION, JR.
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I am very glad to extend as a part of these remarks an editorial which appeared in the New York Times of September 11, 1953, concerning one of our most distinguished Army engineers, Lt. Gen. Raymond Albert Wheeler. The editorial refers to General Wheeler's selection for the post of Chief of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees—a very difficult and important assignment of duty. Following this appointment, however, a serious illness of General Wheeler's wife prevented him from entering on the duties thus imposed, and he was obliged to remain in the United States, and was never able to undertake the refugee labors. Nevertheless, what is stated in the editorial constitutes a well-deserved tribute to him, and for that reason it is now and here used.

General Wheeler, a native of Illinois, graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1911, and among many engineering assignments which have come to him were three in the Canal Zone; the first of which followed upon his graduation from West Point; later he was Assistant Maintenance Engineer, 1927–30, of the Panama Canal; and finally, in 1940–41, was Engineer of Maintenance for the Panama Canal, and Vice President and Director of the Panama Railroad Company. In addition to his Panama Canal service he has discharged his duties as an Army engineer with distinction and ability, both at home and abroad.

His domestic assignments of duty included those of construction engineer on the Mississippi, Ohio, and Kanawha Rivers, 1911–12; district engineer, Newport, R. I., 1920; instructor of engineering, Infantry School, 1920–22; district engineer, Wilmington, N. C., 1930–33; also at Rock Island, Ill., 1933–35; Assistant Engineer Commissioner, Washington, D. C., 1922–26; regional engineer, WPA, Chicago, 1935–36; resident member, Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, Washington, D. C., 1937–40.

His foreign and overseas tours of duty—in addition to those in the Canal Zone—included services with the Corps of Engineers in Mexico, 1914; in Hawaii, 1915–17; in Europe, 1917–19; the posts of United States Delegate, Permanent International Association Navigation Congresses, Brussels, Belgium, 1936; Chief, United States Military Mission to Iraq, Iran, and India, 1941–42; Commanding General Service of Supply, United States Army Forces in India, Burma, China, 1942; and, following October 1942, on the staff of Admiral Lord Mountbatten; following February 1944, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander,

S. E. A. C.; and in June 1945 he was appointed commanding general, India-Burma theater.

Following these distinguished and varied engineering and administrative labors, in September 1945, General Wheeler was appointed Chief of Army Engineers, Army of the United States, with the rank of major general for a period of 4 years. In this important office he discharged the duties imposed with his accustomed ability. He became a lieutenant general in March 1944.

He now holds the important position of engineering adviser of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), in the National Capital.

The editorial follows:

A SPLENDID NOMINATION

It is hard to imagine a better choice of a man for a job than the nomination of Lt. Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler for the post of chief of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. The task of improving the lot of some 800,000 persons who are adrift as the result of the conflict in Palestine is monumental. It requires administrative skill, engineering knowledge and ability, diplomacy and tact, and a readiness to absorb the punishment of long and hard work.

Those qualities happen exactly to describe our distinguished former Chief of Army Engineers. He has shown all of them in the course of a career that contributed greatly to the honor of the services and to the objectives of our country. General Wheeler has always been a builder and he has built wisely in the human as well as the physical sense. In the case of this post he has another prime recommendation. He knows the Middle East and southern Asia at first hand. He knows the people with whom he will deal. And he can win their confidence, as he has done in the past. The United Nations has the chance to get the best man for one of its hardest jobs.

Tribute to Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleague from Kentucky in the tribute which he has voiced to the outstanding services to our country of a distinguished general, Raymond A. Wheeler. During World War II, I had the honor of serving under this great leader of men, who was beloved for his personal qualities and admired for his outstanding abilities. So long as the Army continues to produce soldiers like General Wheeler, the military security of our country will remain strong.

General Wheeler has fortunately continued his public service as engineer-adviser with the World Bank. His services there have been invaluable, as I know those associated with him in the work of that important institution would attest.

Industrial Builders Soon Forgotten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Industrial Builders Soon Forgotten," published in the Prescott (Ariz.) Evening Courier of February 18, 1954. The editorial is commendatory—and properly so—of James G. McNary, who for many years actively participated in the business and industrial development of the Southwest.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDUSTRIAL BUILDERS SOON FORGOTTEN

Arizona, moving forward with lively tread, can credit its steady progress to industrial builders whose accomplishments are pillars whereon the structure of permanence rests. Their faith and purpose formed an epic phase in development no less inspiring than the record of pioneers in early settlement days. Almost forgotten and little appreciated during time's swift march, their works remain as reminders of what vision, determination and persistence can do. Each was enthralled by the tyranny of toil.

Among these shapers of destiny, an outstanding personality in a galaxy of commanding figures, is James G. McNary, now in semiretirement at Albuquerque. Few today remember his contribution to the welfare of a large section of the Southwest, or, if the benignity is recalled, appreciation appears entirely lacking.

Taking over a chaotic Apache County outfit 30 years ago, his foresight and diligence gradually carried it into a position of stability and supremacy. He changed the Tom Pollock organization at Cooley to the Cady Co., and the latter became the Southwest Lumber Mills, Inc., easily the largest concern of its kind in this part of the country.

Since Jim McNary placed the corporation on a solid foundation, there has flown a steady stream of benefits to other portions of the State. In addition to bringing in excess of $12 million outside capital into Arizona, more than $150 million has been expended in wages, salaries, supplies, taxes, and stumping payments. At this time the company's business volume approximates $10 million annually, an appreciable sum, anyone will admit. Because of the heavy investments involved and the constant demands from various sources upon its treasury, the corporation's stockholders have received only a small percentage of the expenditures.

The task of creating such an establishment was fraught with discouragement; except for those he kept as aides, like Dan Benchoff, there were no helping hands in the long and tedious upward climb. He traveled a rocky road to achievement. Weathering blasts of envy, rebuffed in endeavors to expand, and sometimes harassed by public agencies seeking to exact unjustified taxation, his courage did not weaken, his energies never relaxed. There is an elemental passion to succeed in this fine man's being too deep-seated for obstacles to subdue. The enterprise he directed and made lasting and great is a monument to his perseverance and sagacity more enduring than any shaft of stone or fashioned bronze could be.

Jim McNary won a measure of distinction before venturing into the White Mountain forests' new activities. As bank president in El Paso, business executive, and member of the YMCA War Work Council, he discharged every responsibility he faced without a fault. Twice he was a delegate to Republican national conventions, and in 1923 President Harding appointed him Comptroller of the Currency, a post he declined prior to Senate confirmation. He was president of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association from 1937 to 1939. As a member of the Arizona payroll savings bonds committee he helped install that method of selling Federal securities to workers throughout the State. From 1926 until 1929, he was chairman of the New Mexico Republican Committee on Finance, collecting money for two campaigns. In 1950 he served the Arizona GOP organization in a similar capacity, procuring the funds which did a lot toward giving Howard Pyle his first governorship term. Perhaps leaders of the party he assisted so effectively still are thankful for his services; and maybe not, since politicians and gratitude usually are very far apart.

A high-class citizen, a clear thinker and loyal friend, he always remembers a favor and has an abiding trust in humankind. The world would be a better place in which to live if it contained more men like Jim McNary.

No Gravy Train

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor of the Saturday Evening Post:

NO GRAVY TRAIN

The implications and innuendoes of Thomas Drake Durrance's article I Rode Uncle Sam's Gravy Train, January 9 are contrary to our own combined first-hand experience.

Having all of us worked overseas for the Government for varying periods of time, we should like to state that—

1. The average Government worker overseas is doing his darnedest to accomplish the most critical job of our generation under exceedingly difficult conditions.

2. The vast majority of Government workers overseas are trying to do their jobs faithfully, effectively and with a sense of dedication which rarely leaves time or interest for personal indulgences.

3. There is every reason why our Government should pay its Foreign Service employees enough to maintain a decent standard of living.

4. Many of the charges made by Mr. Durrance cannot properly be leveled against the United States Government. The service afforded by steamship lines, the length of European lunches, the pace of European business, are not faults—if faults they be—of the United States Foreign Service. Neither is the practice of United States free enterprise of giving discounts to Government overseas employees.

5. Almost to a man, the many leading American industrialists and businessmen who rode the same gravy train as did Mr. Durrance testify that never have they worked so many hours so often for so little financial reward as they did while in the Government service. Mr. Durrance's assertion that he worked 5 and sometimes 6 days per week must have brought a hollow laugh to the countless Government servants who work consistently 7 days per week and would work an eighth if they knew where to find it.

6. Government expense accounts, living and travel expense allowances are no greater—usually far less—than private industry gives its foreign employees.

For those of us who have served a period in Government and have returned to better-paying jobs in private industry, Mr. Durrance's distorted charges mean nothing. They are, however, unfair, misleading, and prejudicial to the vast majority of loyal, hard-working Americans who are trying, in every way they can, to further the interests of the United States Government, despite the fact that they are often the targets of purposeful and malicious abuse.

ROSCOE DRUMMOND,
Chief, Washington Bureau, New York Herald Tribune.
ALFRED FRIENDLY,
Assistant Managing Editor, Washing Post.
ROBERT R. MULLEN,
Executive Director, National Citizens' Committee for Educational Television.
WALDEMAR A. NIELSEN,
Assistant to the President, Ford Foundation.
WALTER T. RIDDER,
Chief, Washington Bureau, Ridder Publications.
THOMAS W. WILSON,
National Citizens' Committee for Educational Television.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

National Park Policies Should Be Revised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, many organizations in the State of Washington firmly believe that certain policies of the National Park Service need revision. Particularly is that true with respect to winter recreational use and facilities at Mount Rainier National Park. One of those organizations is the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, whose board of trustees has sent me a copy of their resolution dealing with the subject. The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOARD OF TRUSTEES, SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, FEBRUARY 2, 1954

SEATTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Seattle, Wash.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce supports the efforts of Governor Langlie's Mount Rainier National Park development study committee to secure the establishment of policy by the Federal Government which will make it economically feasible for private enterprise to build and to operate tourist and winter sport facilities in the Mount Rainier National Park.

Specifically, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce endorses the request which the study committee will present to the Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay and to the National Park Service of the Interior Department to:

1. Permit operators of hotels, lodges, and other tourist accommodations to construct modern overnight and restaurant facilities of various types in certain areas of the park and to operate them without unnecessary restrictions.

2. Permit the construction of a permanent chair lift or aerial tramway for uphill transportation in Mount Rainier National Park.

3. Keep the road to Paradise Valley open on a year-round basis.

Review of Book on the Rosenberg Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a review by Bob Considine of an informative and thought-provoking book by Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg. The review appeared in the European edition of the Star and Stripes.

There being no objection, the review was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOOK DETAILS A-SPY TRIAL'S FACT, FICTION

(By Bob Considine)

NEW YORK.—An important book has been published in defense of American justice. It is the Rosenberg Case—Fact and Fiction, by Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, former Marine, president of the National Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers and author.

Published by a firm named Oceana Publications, it will not get a very good review in the Daily Worker. It is a book of truth. Perhaps only one other man could have done better—Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman—and it is not the desire of this man of tremendous character and nobility to write about the case.

About the last official statement about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg came from their attorney Emanuel H. Bloch, who, in addition to shouting that he was ashamed of being a United States citizen also said, "This was the face of nazism that killed the Rosenbergs. I place the murder at the door of President Eisenhower, Attorney General (Herbert) Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover. This is not American justice. America today is living under the heel of a military dictator garbed in civilian attire."

Bloch, who has done pretty well in this dictatorship he speaks of, figures prominently in Dr. Fineberg's book. The Bloch who put on the show at the funeral parlor and at the grave is the same Bloch who said at the close of the trial, "I want to extend my appreciation to the court for its courtesies (and to) the members of the FBI."

To the jury he said, "* * * a lawyer does not always win a case. All that a lawyer expects is a jury to decide a case on the evidence with mature deliberation. I feel satisfied by reason of the length of time that you took for your deliberations, as well as the questions asked during the course of your deliberations, that you examined very carefully the evidence and came to a certain conclusion."

Dr. Fineberg, like all students of this unique test of the Espionage Act of 1917, was attracted by what seemed to this reporter the most fascinating part of the story: Who tipped off the Kremlin that the Rosenbergs would not "talk" and who kept them silent while the Reds spent millions propagandizing them? You must read Dr. Fineberg's book to get the lowdown.

For a full year after the arrest of the Rosenbergs they were ignored by the Communist press. The Daily Worker did not cover their trial. Then, acting in concert in November 1952, Communist papers and writers and followers of the Red line opened up a worldwide campaign to "save" the Rosenbergs. There were mass meetings in African jungles, and the propaganda program assumed so many false guises that even Pope Pius XII, the earth's foremost opponent of communism, felt it necessary to inform Washington of the pleas for intercession he was receiving.

Dr. Fineberg calls Dr. Harold Urey, famed nuclear physicist now with the University of Chicago, "the chief witness of the propaganda campaign." Dr. Urey cast public doubt on the statements of David Greenglass, Mrs. Rosenberg's brother, whose testimony helped to convict the pair, and in other ways lent his name to a movement which Dr. Fineberg finds to have been Communist-inspired and Communist-directed.

The Reds did a good job with the Rosenbergs, two thoroughly indoctrinated and dedicated Communists who readily entered into the machinery which led them to their deaths.

The Reds persuaded perhaps millions through the world, and a lot of people in this country, that the pair was railroaded. The Rosenbergs, Dr. Fineberg points out in great detail, were but smokescreens for the Kremlin's vicious purges of Jews behind the Iron Curtain.

Not Nearly Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Journal-American of February 17, 1954:

NOT NEARLY ENOUGH

The financial inadequacy of the Federal highway bills receiving attention from congressional committees is of concern to everyone interested in better roads for America. It is of similar concern to the Hearst newspapers, which have fought for 16 months for adequate highway funds.

When President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message recommended to the Congress that the full 2-cent Federal gasoline tax be retained we were quick to applaud. We did so because we inferred that all of the gas tax receipts would be used for, in the President's own words, "an expanded highway program."

At a recent press conference, the President said that he thought Federal aid ought to be increased by $225 million annually.

This amounts to saying that he considers $800 million the right sum for Federal authorization for the fiscal years of 1955 and 1956 for highway aid—and not to be spent until after July 1, 1955, almost a year and a half from now.

There is discrepancy here that we cannot reconcile. We can estimate that gasoline tax receipts will be more than $1 billion during each of the years 1955 and 1956.

Our reasoning thus leads us to these conclusions:

The bills before Congress are inadequate. If Congress is not going to spend all the receipts on highway construction, then the gas tax should be allowed to decrease one-half cent per gallon. It will so decrease automatically on April 1 unless Congress votes to retain the full 2-cent tax.

If the full tax is collected, let the full tax be spent on highways. If the full tax is not to be spent on highways, let it not be collected.

Rally to the Banner of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUTH THOMPSON
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Miss THOMPSON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and poem:

ARCADIA, MICH.

Hon. RUTH THOMPSON,
Representative in Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MISS THOMPSON: It is of great concern to me that our country should not be bound to honor treaties and agreements with other countries, entered into secretly by our President.

It is so much easier for the crafty statesmen of other countries to manipulate the thinking of one man and his advisers (oftentimes men with pro-English or pro-Russian leanings) with the flattery that by going along with their plans they show super intelligence, than to convince a group of Congressmen and women who represent all of us.

The treaties and agreements entered into by President Roosevelt and President Truman have brought us nothing but war and an insurmountable debt and have lost us the respect of other nations.

President Eisenhower may be honest and loyal if not always well advised, however, we may have Presidents who will be neither honest nor loyal, nor well advised, and it would not be wise to put too much power into their hands.

Some time ago when Mr. Truman was still our President, I wrote a poem which expresses my great concern about these things.

May God give our Congressmen and women the wisdom to guard our freedom.

Mrs. A. S.

RALLY TO THE BANNER OF FREEDOM

A call goes out to every son
To you and me and everyone
To guard and keep our home sweet home
The fredom once so dearly won.
True sons of freedom take your stand
Against the foe on every hand;
Firmly united let us be
'Gainst traitors of our liberty.

Let not the lying tongue beguile
That points to profits gained, the while
Our sons are sent to pay the price
For bungling, treachery and vice.
Think hard before you sign away
(By treaty bound) your right to say
When sons shall go to fight and where
And how much of our wealth we'll share.

Our parents came from many lands
England, Germany or by chance
Yours came from Poland or Timbuck'
It make no difference, all forsook
Their fatherland that they
Might worship God in their own way,
Might speak up when they felt they should
Pursue happiness as they would.

They did not find an easy berth,
Each man was judged by his own worth;
They often worked from dawn till night
But always with a goal in sight,
For was not this the land where they
Might be the President some day?
A Lincoln or a Washington,
They came from poor or wealthy homes.

To guard their freedom they designed
A Constitution that defined
Clearly what the rights should be
Of government in branches three.
No President should have the right
To send our boys in wars to fight
Without the Congress' consent
To guard our safety this was meant.

O let us not so carelessly
Give 'way our right to liberty,
Let not desire for selfish gains
Forge 'round our hand and feet the chains
That our forefathers struck away
That memorable Independence Day
When with firm reliance in the Divine Donor
They pledged their lives, fortune, and sacred honor.

Hard Questions Ahead for Dairy Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I have before me an editorial entitled "Hard Questions Ahead for Dairy Farmers," which appears in the latest issue of the Northwest Farm News, of Bellingham, Wash. The editorial shows that the editor of that farm newspaper certainly realizes the situation regarding support prices for dairy products.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARD QUESTIONS AHEAD FOR DAIRY FARMERS

The drop in Government support for dairy products will bring hard questions to the door of dairy farmers. Nobody at the moment has any sure or fully satisfactory answers.

A few facts can be seen, though, through the fog of complications and uncertainties.

Paying prices at the farm will drop almost immediately after the first of April when Government support drops from 90 percent to 75 percent. Grade A will not escape.

How long it will take for prices to drop at the store or city doorstep will be something to watch. Low prices to consumers could have both good and bad effect. They could help melt away the surplus on the one hand. But they could make it hard to get consumer prices up again afterwards without a drop in consumption.

An attempt will be made to get support restored by a mandate of Congress for another year at 90 percent of parity. A fight will be made for it. But if a majority of Congress should be mustered for it, there would still be a question about President Eisenhower. His agreement, too, would be necessary. A return to 90 percent for milk products certainly can't be counted on.

Contrary to the general idea, Secretary Benson had no legal authority to keep the support up to 90 percent on any dairy products. Former Agriculture Secretary Clinton Anderson and others in Congress have been pointing to the special wording of the law which Congress passed to govern dairy supports. The mandate on the basic (storable) crops was 90 percent through 1954. But not so on dairy products. There the Secretary was told to set the support at whatever level between 75 and 90 percent of parity he finds necessary to insure an adequate supply. This apparently is what he had in mind when a short time ago he said he doubted if his conscience would allow him to continue the support at 90 percent.

With the chance of getting rid of the surplus looking as bad as that to Secretary Benson, it would seem doubtful if President Eisenhower would sanction a continuance of 90 percent, even though a majority in Congress would consent to it. There is some talk of a possible difference between the Secretary and the President on the general subject of fixed or flexible supports, but that may be only wishful thinking by the fixed-support advocates.

So, on almost any view of the whole problem, it looks as if help for the dairy farmers will fall back pretty much on their own shoulders.

The National Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the East Grand Forks Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ESSAYING ALONG
(By M. LeRoi)
FUNNY PECULIAR

We often hear the remark, "People are funny." Or we hear that people are silly, or stupid, or unpredictable. What all these remarks boil down to is that people are people. And I do not flatter myself that that is a very astounding deduction.

Right now the American people are being people, and if they seem funny, stupid, and unpredictable, that is their constitutional right. But the fact that it is their constitutional right does not stop them from seeming funny, stupid, and unpredictable.

What I am leading up to is this: Less than 2 years ago all we cried for was peace. Peace with freedom, peace with honor, and finally just plain peace. We dropped all the additions and decided on peace without any trimmings.

I never heard a single voice cry, "We want peace with prosperity," although there were probably those who put such a limitation on their private pleas for peace. But to have made the plea aloud would have been a distinct bid for social castigation.

So we went to the voting polls and voted for what we hoped would bring peace. And peace came. With very little fanfare, no hys-

torical celebrations, and many deep sighs of relief. Quite a few of us were fed up with war. Only one trouble—already quite a few of us seem to be fed up with peace.

We often hear the remark, "Boy, if they were to hold that election today, there would be a different buch of winners."

And there no doubt would be a different outcome if conditions remained as they are today. But if conditions were as they were in November of 1952 the election would bring the same results as it did then. That's the trouble with us people. After we get what we vote for we sometimes start jumping up and down and claiming we wanted something altogether different.

In 1952 we wanted peace and hang the prosperity. Today we want prosperity and peace is something for the doves. We do not even fear the atom bomb any more. All we need and want now is better farm prices, higher minimum wages, increased Government spending, decreased taxes, and a generous slice of heaven served by angels with halos, be the good Lord and the administration willing.

In other words are are acting very much like people. And since we haven't got all we want including heaven we are looking for someone to blame besides ourselves. We can find several persons to blame just by glancing out past our own doorsteps. And it is such a comfort.

Labor has the Taft-Hartley law and all the persons responsible for the fact that it hasn't been repealed.

Farmers have Ezra Taft Benson and little does it matter that we are still operating under the same farm laws which have been in effect during past administrations. Ezra Benson is bound by the laws through 1954 but many of us think he alone is responsible for surpluses and falling prices. They have taken to dreaming of the good old days of 90 percent parity support without realizing that that is what they still have. There have been no new farm laws to bring about the present situation. This monster was spawned by past administrations and Ezra Benson is only a distraught nursemaid trying to keep his charge from breaking all the bounds. And having a difficult time of it.

Business claims it is suffering a recession and the Government has to do something.

White-collar workers yell where is the tax reduction we were supposed to get? Our take-home pay is about the same now as it was last year. They choose to forget or ignore the rise in social security which was made law a good many years ago.

Everybody inquires, "What about balancing the budget?" and eyes are closed to the fact that $14 billion have been lopped off that budget.

Well, as I say, people are people. And if they held an election today the vote no doubt would be different. Mine would be, I know. Right now I am all in favor of giving us back to the free handout gang. Now that we have peace and sit on the back of our laps with our hands held palm upward and yell "gimme" with a clear conscience.

Electricity for Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Electricity for Memphis," which appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal on February 19, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTRICITY FOR MEMPHIS

The President of the United States has spent most of his life in the Army and done an extraordinarily fine job in that profession.

Since he took up politics he has learned with extreme rapidity and emerged at the end of a year in office in better mastery of that profession than some of his admirers hoped for.

But he has had little time to learn the facts of electrical engineering. Instead, we suspect, he has leaned on the advice of his assistant, Sherman Adams, whose experience with electricity has been in the high-price power region of New England.

And so President Eisenhower reveals that he would like to have Memphis build its own generating plant instead of calling on the Tennessee Valley Authority for more power.

If he knew electricity better he would have found it is almost always a monopoly business. Selling electricity is very different from selling dry goods. Another store can be opened easily but a second power company is a very rare occurrence. The cost of the idle generators that must be on hand for the August air-conditioning peak and the December lighting peak is simply more than two companies can support without unreasonably high prices for the consumers, and consequent low volume of sales.

In Memphis this monopoly is held by TVA and neither in this city nor any other is it practical to set up a second power business to look after future needs beyond the abilities of a limited present supply.

Another fact of life in the electrical-engineering business is that modern plants are built at tremendous sizes because they produce power more cheaply. A plant to produce power for the future of Memphis, or even for all of Memphis, would be inefficient compared to the giant TVA plants.

Memphis once had a plant more than large enough for its needs, at the prices it sold electricity. It had a capacity of 50,000 kilowatts. TVA has the Kingston plant, largest in the world, which will have 1,440,000-kilowatt capacity.

The little old Memphis plant is still here. Cost of the power it produced last year was 3.605 mills per kilowatt-hour. This plant was so inefficient that the old power company had bought land for a new generating plant when TVA appeared on the horizon, but TVA still has to use it sometimes because of the power shortage. It still has to use an old and little plant at Nashville, where the cost was 10.726 mills per kilowatt-hour last year and the very old steam plant at Wilson Dam, where the cost was 8.111 mills.

But some of Memphis' power now comes from Johnsonville, a 675,000-kilowatt plant, where the cost is 2.855 mills per kilowatt-hour. These are all steam plants. Water power is cheaper.

Small size so inevitably means high cost that neither public-power managers nor private-investment owners build little plants today if there is anyway around them.

The President said he was disturbed by the Tennessee Valley section of the Nation waiting for the Government to provide power, which infers the TVA region has a choice in the matter, and infers the Government was being asked for a gift.

What the Government does is loan the money for the power portion of TVA's operations. This money is paid back to the Treasury in a way that returns the full amount in 40 years, plus interest. Buyers of TVA electricity are supporting this Government investment, and more, as set out in detail in annual TVA reports. The President might direct Assistant Adams to read the latest report and either accept it or specify in what way it is false.

Assistant Adams has apparently passed on to the President some of the abundant propaganda claims of Government subsidy in TVA power and failed to let him know that TVA has the sole responsibility for power in this region.

It might be very well for Congress to put definite boundaries on the TVA region and fence it off from enlargement. But TVA is in this region and it has been built on a grand scale, which makes any other power in this region thoroughly impractical.

It may be that Assistant Adams and others wish we could move back to pre-TVA days, but the fact is that TVA power sales methods were approved by the Supreme Court in the Ashwander case and that has been nearly 2 decades ago.

TVA power sales methods have become of prime importance to Memphis, the town in which candidate Eisenhower on October 15, 1952, said:

"Certainly there would be no disposition on my part to impair the effective working of TVA," and a moment later said, "Our goal should be to work out river basin development the way the people of the region want it done."

Memphis also is the city to which TVA officials came more than 18 years ago to obtain a contract in which the city of Memphis bound itself to obtain its entire supply of electricity from TVA and TVA bound itself to provide all power needed by Memphis. These are the words, with our parentheses added:

"Board (of light and water commissioners) agrees to purchase from (Tennessee Valley) Authority, and Authority agrees to supply the entire power requirements of Board * * *." This contract runs until June 1, 1958.

TVA had the authority of Congress to make that contract and it's much too late for a new President to question it.

National Park Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the Tacoma News-Tribune published a very timely editorial on February 16, 1954, concerning the neglect of our national parks. It points up the wishes of the people of our State for winter recreational facilities at Rainier National Park. I desire to insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD for the information of the Members of the House:

NATIONAL PARK NEGLECT

The plight of this country's national parks may seem of little consequence right now when the Big Four ministers are meeting in Berlin to discuss the prospect for world peace, when Republican speakers seem to be inclined to ignore President Eisenhower's suggestion that they clam down in their attacks on the Democrats and when other big events are in the news. And yet, even in midwinter the importance of the national parks should not be overlooked. An estimated 46,000,000 people visited them last year and Congress appropriated $35 million for the upkeep. Both these figures are large and indi-

cate that the parks are a matter of concern to many people. Tacoma and the Puget Sound region has its own problem in attempting to make Mount Rainier National Park available for winter sports.

Considering the national parks as a whole it is obvious that they are in trouble. They are overcrowded, undermanned and actually deteriorating in some places. They lack the facilities for handling vast numbers of tourists attracted by their scenic beauties.

Along with the others Mount Rainier National Park has suffered from lack of adequate funds but the meeting last week in the office of Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay was partially devoted to the discussion of opening the parks to winter sports through keeping the roads clear of snow and by erection of ski lifts or trams. Lack of funds was said to prevent the first while a traditional park service policy against structures which would mar the natural beauty was cited as the compelling objection to the latter.

The Everett News asserts that the deterioration of the national park facilities is a problem that only the people can solve, and continues:

"All realize that this is a time for economy. All realize also that an investment must be maintained. We believe that when the people who use the parks make that point crystal clear that the question will be solved and promptly. The parks are our parks. Their maintenance cost comes out of our pockets. If we are willing to meet that cost then the problem disappears, doesn't it? We've merely to speak out, one way or the other."

Perhaps, too, the people should have some voice in whether or not such a park as Rainier, recognized as potentially ideal for winter sports, should be unavailable for half the year.

Governor Langlie's Rainier development study committee proposes that the Park Service permit construction of adequate lodges and other accommodations, plus the building of a ski lift or aerial tramway in certain areas. Of this the Seattle Times says:

"It is a program which should be supported by other organizations of the State. There is no intent to despoil the park's natural beauty, but rather to make it available for the enjoyment of recreationists and vacationists from near and far. The adoption of such a program is long overdue."

Resignation of Clarence E. Manion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Manion Says Is Good News if True," which appeared in the Memphis Scimitar on February 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT MANION SAYS IS GOOD NEWS IF TRUE

Clarence Manion says the real reason why he was ousted as Chairman of President Eisenhower's Intergovernmental Study Commission was his proposal that the Federal Government sell the Tennessee Valley Authority to private interests. He says he believes that his opposition to the Bricker amendment only "triggered the explosion."

We hope Mr. Manion is right.

We hope it is true that President Eisenhower is moving toward a more realistic and practical policy in regard to the TVA than has been indicated by his expressions up to now—a policy which the people of Tennessee thought he meant to adopt when, during his campaign, he promised in a telegram to the editor of the Press-Scimitar that the TVA would be operated at maximum efficiency.

When President Eisenhower spoke of TVA as creeping socialism, that sounded more like something Mr. Manion might say than what we expected our President to say.

When later President Eisenhower mentioned the possibility that Memphis should build its own steam plant, we were disappointed, for that would not be practical, as Maj. Thomas H. Allen, manager of the Memphis electric system, showed in his comment. Major Allen showed that a steam plant is only a supplement to TVA's hydroelectric power, that both should come from a regional, not a local supply.

The whole trend of power production, whether public or private, is toward large systems of production and distribution in which power is interchanged, not local municipal systems. To operate TVA at maximum efficiency requires continued progress along this line, not a return to the less efficient methods of the past.

We trust President Eisenhower will recognize that TVA is not creeping socialism but something quite different—Government enterprise in the power field which has greatly stimulated private enterprise. The people of the TVA area are conservative. They do not want Government operation extended to other fields. They do want it continued in this field where it has proved efficient. They do not want it extended to other areas. They only want it to be operated with maximum efficiency in this area, where it is and must continue to be the only source of power.

When Senator George W. Norris and President Roosevelt launched TVA, much of the area it served was economically below par. It isn't now, at least it isn't to the extent that it needs a power subsidy. The question is whether TVA is now paying its way, or whether it isn't. On this question people honestly differ.

There are growing numbers of people in the TVA area, and the Press-Scimitar is among them, who believe it should be made clear beyond doubt that TVA is not being supported by the taxpayers of other areas. We believe that TVA power extensions should be financed out of TVA's own revenues and by its own bonds, so the bookkeeping would make it absolutely clear that this great enterprise is standing on its own legs.

If President Eisenhower will take this friendly and constructive approach, we will support him in the endeavor. If he does not, there is little hope that the Republican Party can be established in the South at this time, and the establishment of the two-party system in the area, most hospitals of all the areas in this Nation to the growth of the Republican Party, will be indefinitely postponed.

Civil Aeronautics Board Analysis of the C. & S. Offset Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, the Civil Aeronautics Board has handed to the Senate Commerce Committee an analysis and discussion of the Supreme Court decision in the C. & S. Offset case, handed down February 1, 1954—*CAB* v. *Summerfield* (No. 222 October term 1953) upon the subsidy, estimated by the CAB to be required by the certificated air carrier industry for the fiscal year 1955. This decision has far-reaching effect and impact on air commerce at home and abroad.

I ask unanimous consent to insert the analysis in the Apendix of the RECORD, where it may come to the attention of all who are concerned.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORANDUM RE ESTIMATED EFFECT OF C. & S. DECISION BY SUPREME COURT UPON SUBSIDY REQUIREMENT FOR FISCAL 1955

The Board has not yet, of course, had an opportunity to consider fully all of the ramifications of the decision of the Supreme Court; nor have the studies been completed necessary to determine the course of action to be taken in all those cases to which that decision appears to be applicable. As regards the impact of that case upon mail rates to be determined for prior fiscal years, the matter is most complex and will require considerable staff effort and an extended period of time for resolution. However, it is possible, with the assumptions and qualifications noted below, to mark out the areas in which that decision has implications for the future and to make a rough approximation of the dollar amount of subsidy which may be involved.

Currently the C. & S. decision could affect, at least theoretically, the following carriers: Alaska Airlines, Inc.; Braniff Airways, Inc.; Colonial Airlines, Inc.; Delta Air Lines, Inc.; Northwest Airlines, Inc.; Pan American World Airways, Inc.; and Trans World Airlines, Inc.

These are the carriers which conduct services in two or more divisions, and for which the Board has in the past established separate rates for each division. All carriers other than those named above are currently treated as single-rate entities so that in their cases the "offset" problem does not arise.

For fiscal 1955 the Board's subsidy separation report of September 1953, and its request for subsidy appropriations, indicated an estimated overall subsidy requirement for the industry of $80,252,000. This total was derived on the basis of projection of the estimated requirement for each carrier, as shown in the appendixes to the separate report. In the case of all carriers whose rates were final at the date of completion of the report, those rates were projected without change; and in the case of carriers on open rates, the subsidy requirement was predicated upon detailed analyses of the examiner in charge of the processing of the mail rate for each such carrier, employing his knowledge of the carrier and current trends.

The overseas and international operations of each of the carriers named above are estimated to require subsidy, without exception, in fiscal 1955. Generally, the question whether this subsidy will be reduced by reason of the C. & S. decision hinges upon the level of earnings of the carrier as a whole and its overall need. For the purposes of this memorandum only, it is assumed without further discussion that earnings above an eight percent return after taxes of the domestic division would represent the maximum amount available for offset against the subsidy need of the international division. As regards the seven carriers, the picture currently is as follows:

Braniff is currently operating on open rates in both its domestic and international

divisions, and apparently requires subsidy in both divisions. Accordingly, no question of excess earnings for offset purposes is involved now as to this carrier. Thus, there is no likelihood of reduction of the estimated international subsidy for Braniff for fiscal 1955 as a result of the C. & S. case. The same applies equally to Alaska Airlines and Colonial, which are, however, currently on a final rate status.

In the last show cause order issued by the Board for Delta Airlines, Inc. in 1953, it was estimated that the carrier would, in its domestic operations, earn a return on investment approximately $700,000 in excess of 8 percent (after taxes). Assuming that the C. & S. case would require application of that excess, as a maximum, in determining the subsidy mail rate for Delta's international operation, the subsidy estimated for the international services for fiscal 1955 could theoretically be reduced by approximately $700,000. This does not currently appear to be appropriate because, on the basis of current trends, it is likely that Delta will require subsidy for fiscal 1955 in its domestic operations. Under these circumstances, there could be no saving of international subsidy by offset from the domestic division for fiscal 1955.

Northwest Airlines, Inc., was operating under a service-mail rate of 53 cents per mail ton-mile during the calendar year 1953 and earned less than an 8-percent return domestically for that period. In addition, the Board recently reduced the carrier's domestic service-mail rate to 45 cents, effective January 1, 1954. Accordingly, it does not appear that any amounts will be available for offset to reduce the estimated international subsidy for this carrier.

Pan American operates four divisions—Alaska, Atlantic, Latin American, and Pacific. The estimate for the Pacific division for fiscal 1955 now appears to be understated by about $2,700,000 for the following reason: At the time the estimate was prepared, that division was operating in the Korean airlift and earnings of that operation in the amount of $2,700,000 were utilized to reduce that division's subsidy requirement. The division's airlift contract expired October 31, 1953, and was not renewed by the Department of Defense. Under these circumstances, and with due regard to the financial results of the carrier's three other divisions, it does not appear at this time that the offset ruling will decrease the overall subsidy requirement for Pan American.

The last carrier involved is Trans-World Airlines, Inc. Based upon the reported earnings of the carrier on its domestic division for calendar year 1953, it appears that there might be available approximately $1,500,000, which could be offset against the previously estimated subsidy for its international division.

In summary, therefore, based upon currently known facts, for fiscal 1955 the only real offset to the original forecast subsidy requirement for the United States-flag carriers is the $1,500,000 in TWA's case. It should be noted, however, that in addition to the development as regards Korean airlift contracts referred to above, which has caused an understatement of subsidy for Pan American and Northwest totaling $3,500,000, there have been other changed circumstances since the preparation of the original $80,252,000 subsidy estimate which currently indicate that that estimate was conservatively low. For example, five local service carriers have reopened rates which were final at the time when the estimate was prepared. However, as to all carriers operating on closed rates, the $80,252,000 subsidy estimate was based upon projection of such rates without change and without any cushion for future increased costs. Thus, based upon the local service carrier petitions, it naw appears that an additional amount of approximately $2,800,000 might be required for them for fiscal 1955. Other increased requirements are indicated by a petition of Pacific Northern Airlines, Inc., filed in 1954, requesting a subsidy of close to $900,000 above that originally forecast by the Board; and by Braniff's petition for subsidy in its domestic services of about $2,800,000 above that in the current estimate.

Accordingly, based on current facts the amount involved in the offset principle for the United States overseas and international carriers is more than outbalanced by increased subsidy requirements stemming from other causes. Later developments may, of course, change the picture as regards various carriers. As of today, however, it appears that the $80,252,000 subsidy estimated by the Board for the industry for fiscal 1955 understates the carriers' current requirements for that period.

Address by Secretary of Labor Mitchell at the James P. Mitchell Day Labor Rally

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, on February 23, at Flint, Mich., the Honorable James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, delivered an address entitled "Labor's Future With Eisenhower." The address was broadcast over the entire network of the National Broadcasting Co. Secretary Mitchell delivered his address before some 4,000 persons at the IAM Auditorium in Flint, Mich.

Secretary Mitchell's views are well worth being brought to the attention of every Member of the Senate and of all other persons who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR'S FUTURE WITH EISENHOWER
(Address by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell)

Let me say at the outset that both Mrs. Mitchell and I are deeply grateful for the courtesies that you have extended to both of us today here in Flint. I have looked forward with interest and enthusiasm to addressing you in one of the largest centers of the great automotive industry. And after today's visit, I can well understand the pride you all possess in your awe-inspiring and busy plants.

Millions of persons throughout the world look to Washington as the symbol of America. Not having visited our shores, they think that the whole country is directed from our Capital City.

My visit to Flint today has reminded me again how wrong such an impression is. For it is your city and cities and towns like it from coast to coast which make up the heartland of America, and are the real symbols of our way of life. It is here—as I have just today seen again—that the miracle that can be wrought by freedom is achieved. It is here in Flint and in its sister cities across the land that mankind can see the magnitude of that progress that began when man made his first crude wheel.

Great though our progress measured in terms of products and machines has been, it is even greater when measured in human values. Over vast areas of the earth, what man has learned and the creations of his ingenuity from the dawn of history have not been turned to the service of humanity. But in our society, invention, skill, intelligence, and work have no real meaning unless they produce higher standards of living, enriched lives, and easier, happier, more secure times for our people.

Only where labor and management are free has the industrial revolution served mankind. When labor loses its freedom, management has suffered a defeat. When management is made less free, labor, too, has lost. Where workers and employers are both strong and free, the entire country gains. In our land, and within the framework of our twin philosophies of democracy and free enterprise, men who work and men who manage other men can help each other up the ladder of success.

Visitors from foreign lands are sometimes amazed at the degree of cooperation which exists between labor and management in this country. They are astounded to see strong and independent organizations of labor and management enjoying the degree of industrial peace which has been achieved here. They are surprised at the extent to which both workers and employers are able to maintain their freedom and their strength while cooperating with each other. Their biggest shock, however, usually comes when they learn that methods for increasing productivity are encouraged rather than resisted in our country. It has been traditional for unions in other lands to attempt to retard the installation of labor-saving devices and to discourage and impede technological changes.

In America, however, we have found progress in productivity and a higher standard of living in lower production costs. We do not fear the machine; we use it. We do not retard progress; rather, with our eyes and hands we seek ever more distant horizons. We are never satisfied to "stand pat" within the status quo.

In my position as your Secretary of Labor I have had in recent months a magnificent opportunity to see and study firsthand the policies and ideas of your Eisenhower administration in Washington. Never have I seen such devotion to the task of giving you Government service in its finest sense.

Tasks and problems—complex almost beyond description—are being met and studied with great care and with great courage. Never have the interests of all the people been better protected and assisted.

But of all the things that are confronting us as your public administrators, the most basic and the most challenging is the current tremendous change from 15 years of a war or near-war economy to a prosperous peace economy.

The real challenge of our times is to meet this problem successfully. It is to show to the world once again that within the framework of our enterprise system we can provide for ourselves an even higher standard of living in a climate of peace or near peace. But this is not the problem of the Federal Government alone. The basic responsibility must be shared by each and every citizen of our country, for the initiative, resourcefulness, and imagination of the leaders of the local communities and their citizens are indispensable aids in the resolution of our social and economic problems. The Federal Government can and should help; it cannot alone be expected to solve the problem, for the Government is a servant, not a master, and this is the essence of the democratic principle.

In his state of the Union message, in his economic report, and in separate messages which he has transmitted this year to the

Congress, the President has not only outlined a dynamic program for economic progress which will lead to an ever higher standard of living wholly within the scope of this concept of service, but has also set forth the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration, the highlights of which are:

1. The cessation of hostilities in Korea.

2. The strengthening of our defenses and those of the free world against Communist aggression.

3. The development of a strong and consistent policy aimed at gaining and retaining the initiative in foreign affairs.

4. The conception of an unique plan to harness atomic energy to the peaceful service of mankind.

5. A reduction in budget requests of $13 billion.

6. Reduction in individual income taxes.

7. The halting of inflation which cheapened every dollar you earned, every savings account and insurance policy you owned and every pension payment you received.

Let me also enumerate for you the depth and the breadth of some of the recommendations that have been made and some of the things that have been done in the interest of the working men and women.

The President has asked that unemployment benefits be restudied in all the States in accordance with their own wage levels and be revised upwards and coverage extended wherever necessary. It is my understanding that here in Michigan your unemployment checks are the third highest in the Nation and that the entire program is currently being restudied in accordance with the President's suggestions.

The Housing bill that the present administration recently proposed is unique in its recognition of the problems of housing and home ownership for persons in the lower income groups. Its provisions for 100 percent guaranteed mortgages for those persons with low incomes can greatly stimulate home ownership for a great many American families. In Flint, for example, I am told that when this plan is enacted it will increase the number of people eligible for home ownership by 25 percent over current levels.

A forward looking health and medical plan has been recommended by the President. This imaginative plan, when put into practice, can assist in bringing better health protection to millions of people. The plan would enable a private or nonprofit insurance carrier, within certain limits, to buy reinsurance from the Government to protect it against a series of abnormal losses in a short period. It would thereby enable health insurance organizations to reach more people, to expand the scope of protection afforded by their policies, and to pass the resulting benefits on to the American people.

The President has also recommended that 10½ million additional persons be covered under the Social Security Act and that the benefits under that law be increased. These changes in the act will, when enacted by the Congress, represent a tremendous step forward in the strengthening and improvement of the social-security program.

Since this is Brotherhood Week, I want to take note of the fact that the President's Committee on Government Contracts, on which I have the honor to serve, is making a real contribution in eliminating discrimination in employment. It has succeeded in having a nondiscrimination clause written into District of Columbia procurement contracts, and has been successful in inducing the voluntary elimination of restrictive hiring and promotional practices in important industrial activities. In addition, as you know, progress has been made in the last few months in the elimination of segregation in the Armed Forces. The ultimate goal of total integration in the Armed Forces of persons of all races is clearly in sight.

I have described these measures and my own attitude toward them in some detail because there seems to be a new national debate getting underway. As sharply as it can be put, the proposition being debated is: Are we heading into a recession? I don't think every professional participant in this debate is motivated purely by a desire to find the truth. I think I detect a trace of political partisanship in some of the rhetoric which now fills the air.

Nevertheless, there are many people deeply and genuinely concerned over whether reports of layoffs, reduced-work schedules, and lower business profits mean that we are on a slide. That we are coming down from an artificially high peak of economic activity created by war and inflation cannot be denied. But I want to tell you as emphatically as I can: We are not going from boom to bust.

We know from careful study and intensive analysis of daily reports that the underlying state of the American economy is vibrant, healthy, and vigorous. These measures which I have described will strengthen it even more.

Now, I don't propose that we call a halt to the argument over our economy. It is a vital matter to all of our people, and it is a good and valuable thing to keep it under constant discussion. But I have little patience with the irresponsible few who seek to exploit the legitimate national concern with this matter for their own sinister and self-serving purposes.

And let me make this crystal clear.

My patience is no more durable for those who would welcome a substantial volume of unemployment because they think it would weaken unions and curl the lash of fear upon the backs of American workers than it is for those who would welcome exactly the same thing because they think it would help them to turn the people against the Eisenhower administration.

Let me pose against the schemes and prophecies of the reactionaries and the radicals, my own forecast of where we are going. It is not, believe me, something that I have dreamed up, nor something contrived from congenital optimism. My view is the summary of careful work and analysis carried on by the Department of Labor, the Council of Economic Advisers, and many other departments and bureaus of the Government. We are coming down from the artificially high peak made by war and inflation to a plateau—and we are almost there. There may be a slight, but not significant, increase in unemployment for the next 2 months. Then, for another few months, we will rest at that level. This is part of a necessary readjustment that we could only postpone, not avoid—and it is my view that we are better off getting it over with fast, rather than adopting schemes to postpone it which would themselves make the adjustment sharper, more painful, and more protracted when it does occur. Then—to complete my forecast—before long I would hope and expect to see the beginning of an upward climb which would eventually see employment growing, incomes increasing, and an America safely and soundly moving toward a new prosperity and new records of security and living standards for our people.

Now we've heard a good deal about unemployment lately. It seems to me high time that this subject is dealt with objectively and is placed in proper perspective. Let's look at the figures over the past 15 years for a moment. In the year 1939, unemployment in the United States amounted to 17.2 percent of the total civilian labor force; in January 1950, it was 7.8 percent, and in January of this year, based on the same reporting methods previously used, it was 3.8 percent of the civilian labor force. Here in Flint, the second largest automotive city in the world, current unemployment is 2.8 percent of your total labor force. I am told that before the middle of May there may well be a labor shortage among the people of your town.

And what of the future? My experts tell me that for 5 successive weeks there has been a decline in the number of workers who have filed unemployment insurance claims and that last week for the first time in many weeks the number of people receiving unemployment compensation declined.

It just doesn't make sense to me that we are heading for depression in the light of facts like these. And I don't think it makes sense to you either.

Since early this morning, it has been my good fortune to examine the anatomy of industrial America at work. I have seen the plants and the people who make the great machine that is Flint, Mich., work and produce for the people of Flint and for the people of America.

I have also seen workers and employers with different political viewpoints and with different union affiliations working together for their mutual advantage. I have seen industrial relations in operations where they ought to operate, in Flint, and not in Washington. I have seen workers and employers settling their problems voluntarily and freely in the best American tradition. In other words, I have seen a free-enterprise economy in a democratic society operating for the well-being of the people who created it and who have kept it going.

This is as it should be. Our country was created and grew great as the result of efforts of millions of citizens scattered from one end of the land to the other—the man behind the plow, the mother in the home, the worker at his bench, and the newsboy on his route—all have made their contribution toward the American standard of living, and have shared in the fruits of the products which they and their fellow countrymen have created.

I ask that you let us know your needs, your aspirations, and your hopes. Tell us how we can best serve you, and see that by your vigilance and our devotion we are kept ever faithful to our charge. For a free American citizen, there is no hope too great, no aspiration too high. See that you strive constantly to improve and strengthen the fiber of our democracy and the standard of living of our people. From what I have seen today, I am greatly encouraged. You have shown me again the moral, spiritual, and material strength which is ours.

As long as America is composed of cities and towns like Flint, I have no fear for the future of the United States.

Address by Hon. Herbert Hoover Upon Receipt of 1954 George Washington Award of the American Good Government Society

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address made by the Honorable Herbert Hoover on February 22, when he was presented with the 1954 George Washington award of the American Good Government

Society. I had the honor to make the presentation to Mr. Hoover.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SPEECH BY HERBERT HOOVER AT GEORGE WASHINGTON DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 22, 1954, UPON RECEIPT OF 1954 GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD OF THE AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT SOCIETY

You expect me to say a few words in response to your kind reception and the honor I have received. I have examined a number of possible subjects. I first explored the present anvils of debate about the Communists at home and abroad, the recognition of Red China, the United Nations, the Berlin conference, and then Molotov arose in my mind.

Momentarily he seemed a good subject, as he has been in the headlines for 30 years. In fact, he is the only important Communist who shows durability in Russia. I thought a speech on his life and words might be appropriate, but then it seemed a depressing subject for a pleasant occasion like this.

I then explored our domestic anvils of debate for a fitting subject to try my hand at. There is the constitutional amendment pending in the Congress; the commission on organization of the executive branch of the Government; the budget, taxes, and socialism. But none of these subjects seemed appropriate for a happy party, and I must not leave you depressed.

It finally occurred to me that there was one of the current headline debates in which I could spend 5 minutes. That is the subject of where we are in an unemployment phase of the economic cycle. And I should keep my remarks friendly and hopeful. In this atmosphere I will not quote the dead cats being traded in by some debaters.

Some of the differences of opinion on the economic situation are over whether or not we are in a dip, a slump, a readjustment, a recession, or a depression. Another part of this current battle of opinion is whether or not we are going into or coming out of this particular hole. The words "readjustment" and "recession" were invented some years ago to make the unemployed feel better. By way of comfort I may observe that, except for foreign impulses we have had one of these dips, slumps, readjustments, or recessions—whichever term you prefer—occur about every 5 or 7 years. That is the inevitable result of the ebb and flow of a free economic system. The rising tide of business is overspeeded by its self-generated optimism. And the inevitable readjustment results in an outgoing tide which is overspeeded by its self-generated pessimism. Like some diseases, these domestic tides are never fatal—except when candidates for public office are on the wrong side of the tide.

I should be regarded as an expert on these subjects. At least I was credited with having constructed one all by myself, the entire worldwide depression which lasted in the United States for 10 years from 1931 to 1941. I even received the honor of having that depression named after me by various political candidates. However, out of modesty, I must again state that this was an overdone honor and that I have never claimed such gigantic political, economic, or intellectual power.

Yet I will admit that I am an expert on a certain phase of those problems. At that time I learned something about what economic dips, slumps, recessions, or depressions are made of. I got that skill from burning my feet in the ordeal by fire.

From this expert experience I can assure you that the combustible materials are not hereabouts to construct another conflagration like that of the decade of the thirties.

At that time there was the combination of two gigantic destructive explosives in addition to the normal explosion from domestic overoptimism. The first of these great explosives was a total financial collapse of all Europe in which all European banks closed; even the Bank of England ceased to meet its obligations. All but two nations abandoned the gold standard. For months we scarcely had an order for our farm products from Europe. Our security markets were drenched with the sale of foreign-held American securities. Most countries defaulted in their debts to American banks and they demanded that our banks pay their debts to them in gold.

The second group of explosives were the 51 different, weak, and motley banking systems in the United States that could not take the shocks. Without some combustibles like these dips, slumps, or recessions do not develop into great depressions. I do not see them anywhere on the landscape at the present time.

I may venture my analysis of the present trouble. I believe that due to scientific discovery, invention, and improvement of production methods, our present industrial plants can support the present standard of living of our people and, beyond that, can produce some surplus. It is these surpluses, plus some dehydrated optimism, that are worrying the situation today.

And, like everybody else, I have a remedy. My remedy follows the proposal of President Eisenhower—that if necessary we should reduce taxes in such fashion as to increase the buying power of all the people, so that they can absorb the surplus and thus lift the whole level of the standard of living another stage. The surest route to that end is to reduce Government expenses and thus reduce taxes.

That is what the Commission I head is striving for in cooperation with the Government agencies.

There is plenty of room in this situation today for this kind of action. On the occasion 20 years ago when I was battling with that progressive "dip-slump-recession-depression," our Government was spending only about four billion a year. Now we are spending about sixty-five billions. Somewhere in this increase of sixty billions we have an opportunity for remedy that was not open to us 20 years ago.

Thus in the absence of the gigantic combustibles and with an opportunity for remedy you can have high confidence that this is only a passing dip, a slump, a readjustment, or a recession, not a great depression.

Presentation to Governor Shivers, of Texas, of George Washington Award of the American Good Government Society

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, on February 22, the distinguished Governor of Texas, the Honorable Allan Shivers, received one of the George Washington awards of the American Good Government Society. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered on that occasion by former Representative Ed Gossett, of Texas, and also the address delivered by Governor Shivers in accepting the award.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF SPEECH BY ED GOSSETT AT GEORGE WASHINGTON DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 22, 1954, PRESENTING GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD TO GOV. ALLAN SHIVERS, OF TEXAS

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the men whom we honor tonight have several things in common with each other and also in common with the Father of Our Country, whose birthday we celebrate.

Both of our honorees could have retired years ago to the peace and luxury of broad acres and comfortable estates, there to enjoy the happiness of loving families and affectionate friends. Both could have escaped with honor the further trials and tribulations of public service. Both, however, chose to answer the call to duty and have continued to serve their country with outstanding distinction, one as an elder statesman, the other as governor of a great State, and as a leader in his party. Their reponses to the needs of our day and generation were not for gold or glory; neither have needed or sought such emoluments.

One of our honorees is a distinguished Republican; the other, a distinguished Democrat. But like our first great President, each has been and is, first and foremost, a great American.

George Washington, you will recall, was fearful of the growth of political parties and fearful that they would become simply vehicles for securing power rather than instruments of public service. He warned against sectionalism and selfish pressure-group activity within party organizations. Like the Father of Our Country, the leaders whom we honor tonight have been concerned more with national good than with party weal. They have abhorred and condemned the prejudice and hypocrisy that has tended to confuse issues and destroy confidence in government.

So, we honor a great Republican and a great Democrat not so much for service to parties but rather for service to the country; not because one is a Republican and the other a Democrat, but rather because both are great Americans. Both have contributed immeasurable to the cause of good government, without which no country can survive or prosper.

Most conservative Democrats have a rather definite political creed with which, we believe, most Americans agree. We believe that the purpose of government was well described in the preamble to the American Constitution; that is, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Through constitutional stipulation, the Founding Fathers sought to abolish all forms of false aristocracy, to set up a social, political, and economic merit system. They never intended through government to reward indolence or to penalize diligence; they did not intend to limit individual achievement; they knew they could not put a floor under failure and should not put a ceiling over success.

Like Thomas Mann, we believe that "democracy is the political name for the spiritual ideals that Christianity brought into the world." In fact, we believe that the nearest transposition of Christian principles into political institutions ever accomplished by man were set forth in the American Declaration of Independence and in the American Constitution. From the brains, sacrifices, and labors of our forefathers, we believe this Nation has become a chief repository of both political and Christian ideals. Democ-

racy, like Christianity, is based upon the decency, the dignity, the free moral agency, and the self-sufficiency of the individual. We believe that neither men nor nations live by bread alone, and that only a knowledge of the truth and the will and courage to defend the truth can make and keep men free.

Many self-styled liberals cry out that we live in a new day and that the old rules no longer apply. They call this an atomic age, as, verily, it is. They say that science and technology have practically eliminated time and space, indicating that man is no longer capable of self-government. Science and technology, in truth, have changed many things. Many things, however, science and technology have not and cannot change. They cannot change human nature. They cannot change man's aspirations to be free. The things that make men and nations great are the same yesterday, today, and forever. They are as immutable as the stars and as eternal as God Himself. Man has not and cannot become smart enough to secure release from the physical laws of the universe or from the spiritual laws of Him who made the universe. Therefore, we contend that each generation must rededicate itself to the Christian principles and the political ideals set forth in the American Constitution. We believe the sovereignty of nations is essential to the preservation of social orders and in the promotion of the welfare of peoples. National pride is not chauvinism; love of country is not bigotry; devotion to existing institutions is not aversion to progress but is essential to it. Love of home and country, love of truth and justice are the stimuli that have caused men to work and to fight and to build and to create. Take this privilege and this responsibility away from any generation, and you have contributed to its degradation.

These things, we fear, many of our intellectuals have failed to remember, and most of our enemies would have us forget. In the forgetting of these things and in the failure to sustain them, lies a sure road to destruction.

We believe in our tripartite form of government and in its system of checks and balances. We believe with Woodrow Wilson that the history of democracy is a history of restraints upon the power of government and that unrestrained power leads always to tyranny. We believe in the dual sovereignty of the States and the Federal Government, believing in States' rights, not on a basis of sentimentality, but on the basis of operating efficiency. We condemn all forms of dictatorship, of either the right or the left, of either the bourgeois or the proletariat. We believe that governments exist to be the servant of and not the master of the people. We do not want a government to become a holding company for a bankrupt society.

We want our Government to discharge her full responsibility in the cause of world peace. Being a good neighbor, however, does not mean that one's home should become a tourist camp and that one's land should become a public common. We cannot make the world safe for democracy unless we make and keep America safe for democracy.

So tonight we honor distinguished leaders, public servants, whom we believe have contributed greatly to the principles upon which this country was founded and to the principles which have made it great. In other words, these gentlemen have served the cause of constitutional democracy.

What we have tried to say can be best summarized in the appropriate words of Daniel Webster.

Speaking at the 100th anniversary celebration of the birth of George Washington in the city of Washington on February 22, 1832, Daniel Webster expressed the fears and sentiments that still burn in the hearts of true patriots when he said, in speaking of the Constitution:

"Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our Treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvest. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with States rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty."

Tonight we honor the great Governor of Texas, not only for his sound philosophy, but also for his vision and spirit. He has been the Andrew Jackson, the Sam Houston type of Democrat, a fearless and courageous fighter, one who refuses to compromise principles for political expediency. He has been a political crusader, a plumed knight in the cause of good government. In these times of moral and political confusion and cowardice, his star has continued to shine brightly. He has enriched our finest traditions of statesmanship.

The scroll we now present to Governor Shivers reads: "Alan Shivers: lawyer, farmer, soldier, statesman, and religious leader, has for 20 years served with rare distinction the people of the great State of Texas, first as State Senator, next as Lieutenant Governor, and then as Governor.

"Wisdom, integrity, and courage have characterized the career of this young Governor. With reverence for the American constitutional system, he has fought to preserve and strengthen American institutions and traditions. Rising above petty and partisan political strife, he did not hesitate to imperil his political life by crossing party lines when he thought his country's welfare demanded it.

"Allan Shivers is a resolute foe of those who would destroy liberty for imaginary security. His ideals of statesmanship give hope and added dignity to his generation. Such men as he built the United States, and only such men as he can sustain it."

TEXT OF SPEECH BY GOVERNOR SHIVERS AT GEORGE WASHINGTON DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 22, 1954, UPON RECEIPT OF 1954 GEORGE WASHINGTON AWARD OF AMERICAN GOOD GOVERNMENT SOCIETY

Human beings are always weak and often wrong, but through faith in God, we are given feelings of humility, gratitude, and appreciation. Tonight, I am overwhelmed by such feelings.

When we look at our friends and our families, we recognize the fact that the Almighty gave us those also. He gave us so many wonderful things, and we give so little in return.

Among the great things He has given Americans is constitutional government, for which we should be especially thankful. It is a Government that allows a boy to run barefooted through the streets of his hometown with few restrictions, to sell newspapers, to get an education, to become an Eagle Scout; and, later, to become successful as a preacher, a lawyer, a teacher, a doctor, or as a public official.

I have always taken constitution government in the phraseology of its founders—particularly that part of the Declaration of Independence which says that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." These rights are the same now as they were when our forefathers recorded them as a gift from God. One of the fundamental precepts of constitutional government is the citizen's responsibility for its preservation.

Just as political parties do things to people, so does a government do things to—or for—people. Any government that is good is responsive to the desires and demands of the people. Those of us who hold public office must recognize our duty to provide that responsiveness. Any contribution to good government comes from the people. It may be made through an individual, but that individual is only the instrument through which the desires and demands of the people are translated into action. The ideas of individuals as to what constitutes good government vary widely.

But we are all proud of the rights we have under our constitutional government. It gives a citizen the right to private property and the right to protection from the Government itself. He has the right to select his own church without interference from the Government. He has the right to criticize public officials—even the President—without being thrown into jail or being sentenced to die.

It is my humble opinion that the framers of the Constitution did not intend to give any individual the right to use these privileges and freedoms on the one hand while trying to destroy them with the other. Just as religious freedom does not include the right to tear down your neighbors' church because you think yours is better, political freedom should be used to cloak the right hand with protection while the left hand carries on dastardly acts of destruction.

Constitutional government is, under its own rules, subject to change—but not to termination.

The old proverb, "To be commended by those who might blame without fear, gives great pleasure," seems appropriate on this occasion; and yet it is a tremendous understatement of the pleasure and happiness this night has brought to me.

No man can fully merit the honors bestowed on him, for there are so many others with whom he must share any accomplishment. To my devoted wife, who has suffered most through the trials, troubles, and problems of my public life, I want to say: "I share with you the honor of this event."

May both she and the One who looks after all of us continue to hold me firmly by the hand.

Thank you.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a condensation of an article which I prepared on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which appeared in the September 1953 issue of the

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(By Hon. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD)

The Committee on Foreign Affairs had its genesis in the Continental Congress, which had a Committee of Secret Correspondence even before the Declaration of Independence for the sole purpose of "corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world."

By the spring of 1777, the specialized nature of its work had become recognized and its title was changed to "Committee for Foreign Affairs." However, specific problems in foreign affairs were occasionally dealt with by select or temporary committees appointed for the purpose.

The practice of utilizing select committees to deal with foreign affairs continued even after the Congress of the United States was organized under the Constitution. It was not until 1822 that the Committee on Foreign Affairs achieved permanent status as a standing committee, beginning with a membership of 7 and gradually increasing through the years to its present alltime high of 29.

The present committee has a political composition of 16 Republicans and 14 Democrats. Other parties have been well represented in past years, with the membership lists including National Republicans, Clay Democrats, Federalists, Union Democrats, Unionists, Liberal Republicans Tammany Democrats, Readjustors, Independents, Independent Protectionists, Progressives, and members of the American Party, the Unconditional Union Party, and the Silver Party.

FAMOUS CHAIRMEN AND MEMBERS

The membership lists of the Foreign Affairs Committee contain names of many who achieved fame in long careers of public service. Outstanding among the early committee chairmen were such men as John C. Calhoun, Caleb Cushing, and John Quincy Adams.

Also well known to us are the names of my immediate predecessors: Sol Bloom, who presided during the consideration of the lend-lease program and the years of World War II; Charles A. Eaton, who headed the committee during the launching of the Marshall plan; John Kee, who was chairman when the House passed the first of the military assistance bills, and James P. Richards, under whose chairmanship the committee acted to terminate the state of war with Germany and revised and extended the program for mutual defense.

It is not common knowledge, but the present Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, is a former member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Senators J. W. FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas; THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri; MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana; KARL E. MUNDT, of South Dakota; and GEORGE A. SMATHERS, of Florida, served on the Foreign Affairs Committee during their terms as Representatives. Former Senator Tom Connally, for many years chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, obtained his early experience in international matters as a member of the House counterpart.

The late James W. Wadsworth, after a distinguished career in the Senate, served for a number of years in the House and during part of his service made a valuable contribution to the work of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Before leaving the House of Representative to become the Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, respectively, Christian A. Herter and John Davis Lodge took leading parts in the work of the committee.

DUTIES AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

Since its establishment as a standing committee of the House in 1822, the duties and frame of reference of the Committee on Foreign Affairs have, in the broadest sense, covered "relations of the United States with foreign nations generally." The subjects covered have ranged from declarations of war, neutrality laws, treaty termination, to international expositions, and the regulation of whaling.

By tradition and precedent the committee maintains a close watch over the operations of the Department of State and the executive branch with reference to foreign affairs. The committee is authorized to exercise continuous surveillance of the execution of the laws within the committee's jurisdiction by section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, which reads as follows:

"SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government."

In the past, it was customary for legislative committees to pass authorizing legislation with subsequent action and annual review by the Appropriations Committees only. In recent times, the practice has increased of passing authorizing legislation with fixed time limits, so as to require review and renewal of the authorization by the legislative committees. Examples are the lend-lease, UNRRA, and foreign military and economic aid bills, which have required annual reauthorization through the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees before appropriations could be made.

In recent years it has become customary for the House to adopt resolutions increasing the committee's authority and the scope of its activities. Of practical assistance to the committee in the exercise of its watchfulness over matters within its jurisdiction is the latest of such resolutions, House Resolution 113, 83d Congress, passed by the House February 24, 1953, which reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct thorough studies and investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee.

"SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places as the committee may determine, whether or not the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents by subpena or otherwise, and to take testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee and shall be served by any person designated by such chairman. The chairman of the committee or any member designated by him may administer oaths to witnesses."

WORKLOAD

The tremendous growth in the committee's workload during recent years is apparent from a comparison of the funds involved in legislation considered. Thus, during the 73d Congress the amount of money involved in public bills before the committee was $102,000, whereas the approximate total authorization considered by the committee, passed by the House and enacted into law during the 82d Congress was $14,121,758,750. And, as stated in the Survey of Activities of the 81st Congress, "There is every indication that the growing leadership of the United States in world affairs will continue to require the cooperation of the Congress on a scale unprecedented in our history. Thus, it may be expected that the heavy workload of the Committee on Foreign Affairs will increase in intensity and will reflect more than ever before the importance of the legislative process in shaping the foreign affairs of our Nation."

A cross section of the great variety of subjects covered by legislation pending before the committee during the 82d Congress includes United States membership in and relationship to the United Nations; emergency food relief for the people of India; Communism; Arab and Israeli refugee relief; military, technical and economic assistance covering all areas of the world (mutual security program); international bridges; fluctuating water levels of the Great Lakes; diplomatic privileges and immunities; unjust imprisonment of American citizens by Iron Curtain countries; termination of the state of war between the United States and Germany; Foreign Service buildings program and annuities for retired Foreign Service Officers; establishment of a United States Peace Academy; and an international effort to discover a cancer cure.

STAFFING

The enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 coincided with the mounting pressure of the committee's need for more adequate staff facilities. No longer restricted to the services of a clerk and one assistant, the committee for the first time received authority to secure the services of four professional staff consultants and a substantially enlarged clerical staff.

The committee approached the problem of acquiring an enlarged staff with the same degree of care that it was accustomed to give other phases of committee work. Every effort was made to select staff members on the basis of their proven qualifications to meet the committee's work requirements. In so doing, the committee pioneered in spelling out staff qualifications and functions, making the services of all professional and clerical staff members available to each member of the committee, as needed on committee work, on a nonpartisan basis.

A 1951 bipartisan staffing subcommittee described the work of professional staff consultants in these words:

"Studies prepared by the staff must aid the committee in evaluating, analysing and summarizing the testimony and documents given to the committee during its hearings. This includes a great deal of statistical work. The staff prepares drafts of committee reports on bills and prepares staff documents, through original research, for the use of the committee and all members of the House on international problems. Staff members must have the ability to work under high pressure, must be able to serve the 27 [now 30] members of the committee of both parties in independent research and, in addition, must be amenable to the routine direction and discipline of the chairman and staff administrator. The individual opinions of staff members are valuable, but in many instances they will be expected to prepare and draft material which does not necessarily support their own opinions."

The professional staff consultants are individually responsible to the chairman and to the members of the committee for the accuracy of their work.

The committee clerk serves as staff administrator. His duties have been described in a committee resolution which provides that "he shall be responsible to the chairman and the committee for efficient administration, under the direction and control of the chairman, of the work of the professional and clerical staff. He is expected to achieve, as far as possible, a coordination in effort among the personnel of both branches of the staff."

PROCEDURES

All bills, resolutions, and documents introduced in the House of Representatives during the current Congress within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and referred to it for action by the Speaker of the House of Representatives are recorded in the committee's legislative calendar and published monthly. As action is taken on these legislative items, it is posted in the calendar. This includes requests for and receipt of reports from pertinent executive departments; consideration by the full committee and the subcommittees, either in executive or open session; disposition of the measure, such as the reporting out of the measure by the committee, the debate on the floor of the House of Representatives and the vote of the Members of Congress on the bill or resolution.

The procedures of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, like all standing committees of the House, are governed by the rules of the House of Representatives. From time to time, however, the committee has adopted supplemental rules which it has found particularly applicable to its operations. An example of such supplemental rules is the 5-minute rule for interrogation of witnesses testifying before the committee. A witness, having first made his statement to the committee, is questioned by the members under this 5-minute rule which was informally inaugurated during the 80th Congress and adopted formally February 26, 1953. The chairman, following this rule, calls alternately on the majority and minority members according to seniority, granting each 5 minutes for interrogation of the witness. After all of the members have had an opportunity to question the witness for 5 minutes, the chairman repeats the procedure until there are no further questions. In this way an equitable opportunity to question the witness is given to each member.

In the present Congress eight new members have joined the Committee on Foreign Affairs. To encourage the fullest possible participation by the junior members of the committee, a variation of the 5-minute rule has been initiated and used on some occasions, so that the chairman calls first on the junior members, alternating from the majority to the minority side until the ranking majority and minority members have had an opportunity to question the witness for 5 minutes. This is an example of the committee's adaptability as well as democracy in action.

NONPARTISANSHIP

In taking action, the committee has exhibited an outstanding degree of nonpartisanship. The nature of the legislative matters within its jurisdiction are such that more than ordinary care must be exercised in determining what legislative action to take. The extraordinary requirements in the consideration of foreign policy legislation were fully expressed during the 81st Congress in a minority report by certain members of the Foreign Affairs Committee on the extension of the European recovery program (Rept. No. 323, pt. 2), as follows:

"We believe that politics should end at the water's edge for both parties. In fact, we believe that partisan politics in foreign affairs should end before our policies reach the water's edge. The party in power must not take political advantage of the requirements with reference to confidential information, and insist upon withholding from the Congress and the public matters that are not military or diplomatic secrets, but are clearly political secrets. * * * For politics to end at the water's edge, there must be bipartisan participation in the formulation of policies; bipartisan agreement in the measures adopted; and bipartisan sharing of credit for the success of such policies.

"We are now the minority party [Republican Party], the loyal opposition. We believe that we should avoid taking political advantage of situations that might in any way embarrass our country in the conduct of its foreign affairs; we believe that we have a duty to help, insofar as we are permitted, in the formulation and implementation of sound and righteous foreign policies; but we also believe that it is our duty to oppose, without fear or favor, wrong policies that our Government is attempting, to expose the failure of our Government in critical situations to arrive at any policy at all, and to offer constructive alternatives."

MINORITY REPORTS

The records show that during the critical period beginning with Pearl Harbor in December 1941, until consideration of the first UNRRA (United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration) bill (December 1943–January 1944), when there was an overriding objective—to win the war—the committee was in unanimous agreement on the measures reported out. Since then there have been a number of minority reports, as follows:

Congress	Report No.	Subject
79th	259, pt. 2	Lend Lease.
80th	239	Relief Assistance to the People of Countries Devastated by War.
80th	314	Assistance to Greece and Turkey.
81st	323, pt. 2	Extension of European Recovery Program.
81st	569, pt. 2	International Children's Emergency Fund.
81st	770, pt. 2	International Claims Settlement Act.
81st	962, pt. 2	Aid to Korea.
81st	1265, pts. 1 and 2.	Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949.
81st	1802, pt. 4	Foreign Economic Assistance.
82d	185	India Emergency Assistance Act of 1951.
83d	569, pt. 2	Mutual Security Act of 1953.

These minority reports are not mere expressions of partisan views; they are the careful and deliberate thoughts of members whose views differ with the numerical majority. The minority report on the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, for example, cut across party lines and was signed by 2 Republicans and 2 Democrats. The minority report on assistance to Greece and Turkey was the expression of only one member—all other members of both parties constituting the majority.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Keeping informed on every aspect of foreign affairs is vitally important to the legislators who are members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs so that they may act in the best interests of the people of the United States whom they represent. They seek and receive information—factual, interpretative, and theoretical—from many sources, official as well as unofficial, written as well as oral. The committee receives volumes of official data, classified as well as unclassified, concerning foreign policy generally as well as pertaining to specific legislation. On the original Marshall plan legislation, for instance, 40 pounds of written data were received.

Also, the committee holds two types of hearings: (1) To obtain information in connection with specific legislation, and (2) to hear at first hand about current foreign policy developments from those who are making or administering it. Witnesses include Government officials as well as private citizens and representatives of private organizations. During the hearings held on the Mutual Security Act extension in March and April 1952, the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense as well as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff appeared twice; 3 Members of Congress gave testimony; 43 Government officials appeared, and 12 private citizens or representatives of private organizations appeared. In addition, 18 statements were submitted by those who wished to appear personally but were not able to do so.

Throughout the years it has been customary for the committee to receive officials of foreign governments for informal discussions, particularly concerning relations between their country and the United States. There are even occasions on record when representatives of foreign countries testified in support of pending legislation before the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The practice in recent years, however, has been to limit appearances of foreign officials to informal discussions. Since 1940 there have been over 50 such meetings, including meetings with the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia; the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg; the President of Czechoslovakia; the President-elect of Costa Rica; the President of the Norwegian Parliament; the President of Haiti; the Prime Minister of Poland; the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; the Prime Minister of Norway; a member of the German Bundestag; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Australia; and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

INFORMING THE PUBLIC

As often as practicable, meetings with witnesses are open to the public. Also, when facilities in the meeting room make it possible, the general policy of the committee has been to permit coverage of meetings by television and newsreel services. During and since the war, however, much of the testimony received by the committee has involved matters concerning national security. Nevertheless, of the total of 440 hours of committee and subcommittee meetings during the 82d Congress, it proved possible for only 84 hours of meetings to be held in open session.

Keenly conscious of the disadvantages of proceedings in executive session, the committee has made a special point of publishing transcripts of these meetings after deletion of testimony involving matters relating to national security. Also, it is the chairman's practice after executive session meetings to give the press a digest of information received or action taken during the meeting, carefully omitting references involving matters affecting the national security.

Practically all documents published for the use of the committee, with the exception of those having a security classification, are available either for distribution to the public or for inspection by the public. These include the committee's legislative calendar, legislative hearings, reports on legislation, reports of study missions, and background studies on special subjects. Also, it has become customary for the committee to compile and publish a survey of its activities during each Congress which is given public distribution.

SHARE IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION

For more than a decade, major elements of foreign policy have involved increasingly the expenditure of vast sums for many forms of military, economic and technical assistance to foreign nations.

There has been a notable shift in emphasis from the use of treaties to programs requiring congressional implementation. Key foreign policy programs requiring congressional approval to become effective have included the lend-lease legislation, Greek-Turkish aid, the Marshall plan, and the Mutual Security Acts.

With its constitutional power over "the purse" it was inevitable that the role of the House and the Committee on Foreign Affairs

would be enormously enhanced by participating in the establishment of such foreign policy undertakings.

Increased participation has meant a corresponding increase in responsibility. Legislation sometimes has its origin in recommendations by the Executive; sometimes it originates in the Congress. Frequently, legislation results as a merger of ideas emanating from both branches. This has been particularly true of legislation to implement the foreign military and economic assistance programs.

During consideration of the original legislation to effectuate the Marshall plan for foreign economic aid, the Foreign Affairs Committee initiated action on a military-assistance program, going so far as to include language for that purpose in a committee working draft of the bill. This was in March 1948. Executive support was not forthcoming, however, and the provisions were dropped in final committee deliberations. The committee's consideration had been anticipatory, and a year and a half later, on October 6, 1949, the administration-supported Mutual Defense Assistance Act became law.

To a very considerable degree, the policy clauses embodied in the foreign-aid bills are legislative in origin and a good share of the drafting of such provisions has taken place in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The actual programs have also been shaped to a great extent by committee action, such as the decision to supply wheat to India on a loan rather than on a grant basis. The course of foreign policy has also been affected by committee reductions of requested fund authorizations.

CHANGES IN EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL COLLABORATION

The expansion of committee activity and responsibility has necessitated substantial changes and improvements in the working relationships between the executive and the legislative branches. Subcommittee systems have been devised to coordinate and facilitate briefing of committee members on current world developments. The post of Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, with a sizable staff, has been established.

There has been another significant response to the need for closer executive-congressional collaboration and participation in basic decisions affecting foreign policy. This has found expression in the service by Members of Congress as members of United States delegations to international conferences, such as the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

SUBCOMMITTEES FOR LEGISLATION AND CONSULTATION

Prior to 1945, the Committee on Foreign Affairs made only a desultory use of subcommittees and had no organized subcommittee structure. In that year the committee pioneered in creating a system of standing (permanent) subcommittees. Five geographical area subcommittees were established to assist members, through consultation and briefing meetings with officials of the executive branch, to keep more fully posted on world developments.

The subcommittee system evolved further during the succeeding years. Functional subcommittees were added to the geographical area groups in 1947 and considerable use was made of them and of ad hoc or temporary subcommittees, for preliminary processing of legislation before consideration by the full committee.

The subcommittee structure has developed into the following eight standing subcommittees: Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Personnel, Subcommittee on Near East and Africa, Subcommittee on National Security, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific, Subcommittee on Europe, Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, and Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs.

The changed role of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has necessitated the use of still another type of subcommittee, groups which undertake study missions abroad to gather firsthand factual data for the committee. Such special study missions are formed without limitation as regards membership on the standing subcommittees. For example, members of the Far East and the Pacific Subcommittee have not been barred from participating in a study mission to Europe or South America. Some of these study missions have been joint affairs, involving participation with the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees of the House and of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

The committee's use of study missions has in a measure decreased its dependence on the Executive as the principal source of detailed information on our foreign relations. The knowledge thus gained has materially assisted the committee in discharging its responsibilities. It is worth noting that after a joint study mission in 1951, the executive request of $8,500,000,000 for the continuation of the mutual security program was cut to an authorization of $7,483,400,000—a difference of more than a billion dollars.

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

The need for a specialized legislative group to deal with foreign affairs matters was felt and met as far back as the days of the Continental Congress. The history of the Foreign Affairs Committee and its development is an example of the ability of the legislative branch to adapt itself to meet changed circumstances.

Developments in transportation, communications, and the elimination of the formerly protective barriers of distance, through technological advances which have literally shrunk time and distance, have all heightened the importance of American foreign policy.

Our hopes for the winning and establishment of peace depend in great measure upon our foreign policy and the steps we take to implement it. That is why a Member cannot serve on the Foreign Affairs Committee without acquiring a special sense of accountability. It is recognition of this added responsibility which has led to reorganization of the committee, with its simple, but effective subcommittee system. It is why there has been insistence upon having a more adequate committee staff. It is the reason why the committee voluntarily tightened its oversight functions and has insisted that each year legislation for continuance of the foreign military assistance program be renewed only after thorough review by the legislative as well as the Appropriations Committees of both Houses of Congress.

Republican Prospects Looking Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article by Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles Times, which appeared in the issue of February 21, 1954:

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS LOOKING UP
(By Kyle Palmer)

Political opinion around the country appears to be veering favorably toward the Republican President and the Republicans in Congress.

And while this trend is setting in a little early and might easily fade away before the autumn balloting, the causes and influences back of it hold fair promise of remaining constant.

Public respect for and confidence in President Eisenhower are paying off, not only in popularity around the country but in practical ways, too.

No whips have been cracked, no heads have been knocked together, no undue pressures have been brought to bear, but the President's program is moving ahead in Congress, recalcitrants among the Republicans are less and less bold, and the Democrats are taking a second look at election prospects that seemed a few weeks or months ago to be roseate.

And all of this despite the administration's current inability to balance the Federal budget, despite a mere token reduction in taxes, despite a drop in employment, despite an almost solid front of opposition by CIO and AFL political leaders, and despite some dissatisfaction among the Nation's farmers.

Ordinarily such undertones might easily presage greater dangers and troubles ahead, but in this instance they appear to be regarded and accepted—by other than partisan critics—as the inescapable and normal consequences of adjustments all along the line which, in due course, will lead to sound results.

Changing the Nation's economy from an essentially wartime basis to a peacetime basis entails incidental and individual problems that are inescapable.

But there are substantial and significant facts that justify a conclusion that the steps taken by the Eisenhower administration to cushion the impact of the transition are practical and wise.

As, for instance:

The fact that a real start has been made in reducing Government expenditures and on a scale that holds more than a promise of further substantial tax reductions.

The fact that a President with a thorough professional knowledge of war and preparations for war has induced a drastic overhaul of the entire concept of military operations in the future, thus increasing national security and at a reduced cost.

The fact that a free economy is gradually regaining the ground lost during two decades devoted to Socialist planning and experimentation, thus advancing Government toward the Eisenhower objective of greater service and less interference.

The fact that military and economic assistance to non-Communist nations has been placed on a national basis, thus enabling the American people to help others without injuring themselves.

The fact that a policy of firmness and reason has supplanted vacillation and bluster in our dealings with Russian communism, thus restoring the United States to a position of real influence in world affairs and gaining for this country the respect both of friend and foe.

Possibly the entire process can be summarized in one, the most important fact of all, and that is from the President on down through each department of the Federal establishment he has been able to bring under his direct control, the objective is to make Government better, more useful, less burdensome.

This represents quite a change of pace; for Washington's formulas to meet every economic, social, and political ill during the last 20 years have been formulas of politics and expediency.

The changeover has called for courage, commonsense, and perseverance. And the end is not yet.

If the Republican Party manages to increase its almost vanished control of the House of Representatives and can gain sufficient additional seats in the Senate to give it a working majority there, then the battle can be won.

Return of Democratic majorities next November, on the other hand, would result in hamstringing the Eisenhower program and, in all probability, result in a return 2 years later to the White House of a Democratic President who would promptly undertake to reverse all of the impulses set in motion by 4 years of Republican control.

The most persuasive influence in the fall elections, of course, will be the country's overall economic status—employment, production, customers, sales, and so forth.

And on this point the responsible Government heads and their advisers believe they are secure.

Whether there will be a substantial business upturn later in the year or a continuation of current levels they are not prepared to assert, but they anticipate no further serious downtrend.

In such calculations the so-called labor vote will play an important but not an expected decisive part and it is believed that Republican candidates will get a fair share of union membership ballots.

President Eisenhower has sought, through suggested amendments and modifications of the Taft-Hartley labor law, to eliminate irksome conditions in the statute and to write certain procedural improvements into its administrative machinery.

The President has refused to be drawn into controversial exchanges with the union leadership, which is almost solidly lined up against him, and has mapped a general course calculated to appeal directly to the mass of union men and women.

Checks made here and there over the country indicate this policy is accomplishing results as there is no evidence of any widespread feeling against the administration among the organized workers. A real drop in employment, of course, might generate trouble, but here, too, the Government is prepared for prompt action to prevent any serious slowing of industry and business.

When the election outlook is broken down by States and congressional districts the situation becomes spotty as local conditions rather than partisan and national issues will play a large part in voter decisions.

Democratic hopes for upping the party's strength in Congress are pinned right now more on expectations of capturing a majority in the House of Representatives than of taking over the Senate, which now is about equally divided and functioning by agreement rather than by majority control.

As viewed by Washington's political analysts, pundits, prophets, grass roots investigators, and poll takers, the critical battles for seats in the House will occur in the Middle West and Northwest. The big question is, What will the farmers do? And the farmers, as of the moment, are not saying.

California is regarded as one of the key States in this approaching struggle for power not only because a United States senatorship is at stake but also because of conflicting reports concerning individual congressional battles.

Among the incumbents from California—both Republicans and Democrats—there appears to be no undue uneasiness, and it seems to be their common conclusion that incumbent Republican United States Senator THOMAS KUCHEL will retain the seat to which he was appointed more than a year ago.

The recent flurry of charges, cheers, and jeers growing out of Democratic complaints that Republicans are hitting below the belt in their partisan attacks gives a foretaste of the exchanges to be expected in the coming election battles.

Leaders and candidates on both sides fully realize the decisive nature of the contest, and neither side will pull its punches. But the Republicans have one great and, it may be, all-persuasive asset. They have Dwight Eisenhower. And I will miss my guess if, in the long run, Mr. Eisenhower doesn't tip the scales.

Morale in the Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, morale in the armed services is one of the major problems of the Defense Department today. A recent report of President Eisenhower's Womble Commission has pointed out the alarming number of cutbacks in benefits that all the services have suffered over a period of 10 years.

In my opinion, it is high time for Congress to take steps to restore the slashed benefits and, in so doing, to reassure the members of our armed services of our interest in their efficiency and welfare.

A revealing and factual series of newspaper articles on this subject has been appearing in the San Diego Union. They were written by Rembert James, the Union's military editor. They deserve the attention of all of our colleagues. Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include the abovementioned articles in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?

(By Rembert James)

A military career is losing its attractions for Americans.

At a time when the United States must keep more than 3 million men in uniform on duty around the world, the Armed Forces—except for the Marine Corps—are failing to hold the kind of people they require to keep up their standards.

Reenlistments are down. Growing numbers of officers with the kind of experience that would make them most valuable to the services have shown less and less interest in military careers.

The number of eligible top-ranking military students in the college ROTC and naval ROTC programs who are applying for regular commissions is far below the level that the services hoped for.

Even the cadet corps at the naval and military academies have been affected. The percentage of resignations at West Point, for example, increased from 5.4 in 1950 to 11.9 in 1952. At th Naval Academy, 73 quit out of the first year class in 1952, and there have been 39 resignations from the 1953 beginners.

The situation has developed to a point where the Nation's leaders have begun showing deep concern. They say the long-range effect of the things that are happening now can bring the level of efficiency and morale in the services down to the danger point.

A confusing factor in the overall picture is that these things are not visible on the surface. The services seem to have an adequate—even plentiful—supply of personnel.

The Navy, for example, is getting adequa numbers of new officers. It has a waiting li of men who want to enlist. In some par of the country the waiting time is as muc as 8 months.

This is misleading, because the proble lies elsewhere.

The officers the Navy is getting are brand new ensigns and most of them are going i as reservists, not as professional career off cers. They will serve their tour on activ duty and then the majority will becom civilians again.

The situation among Navy enlisted me is basically the same. The Navy's overal enlistment rate is 48 percent. This look good, until the whole picture is examined The total percentage represents an average o reenlistments of men in various categories

The key to the situation in the Navy i that the rate for first reenlistments is onl 12 percent. This indicates that the ex perienced young sailors are getting out. I is the older chief petty officers and petty officers who are staying.

The Navy has just over 32,000 regular ca reer officers out of its total of 81,000 commis sioned officers. Up until a few days ago, th regular officers were not allowed to resign except by special permission. Now they ma do so after 4 years of active commissioned duty.

The regulations, in effect for years, for bidding regulars to resign from commis sioned duty in the Navy were highly unpopu lar. Naval authorities will wait with con siderable interest to see what effect th change makes, and how many quit.

These regulations, incidentally, may hav an important helpful effect on the Navy' subsidized education program, the Holloway plan—a program that could stand a power ful shot in the arm.

Under the Holloway plan the Navy pay $600 a year to selected young men who study naval science and tactics part time at civilian colleges of their choice. Only about 1 ou of 6 of these students has been winding up as Regulars.

Naval officers hope that the new regula tion, permitting the officers to resign even after becoming Regulars, may cause many more of these Holloway-plan students to stay in the Navy. Up to now they had to make what looked like an irrevocable decision at the end of 2 years on active duty, and few were that certain they wanted a naval career.

If the Navy is having a hard time, the Army and Air Force are almost incomparably worse off.

The Army's reenlistment rate declined from 69 percent to less than 10 percent in the last few years. Even among the top grades of enlisted men, where the reenlistment rate might be expected to be highest (in the Navy in those ratings it is from 70 to 90 percent), it was down to 24.3 percent late in 1953.

The Air Force is suffering reenlistment rates as low as 15 percent among some of its more highly trained technical enlisted personnel. The Air Force also is deeply concerned over getting enough pilots. Even after cutting educational requirements so that flying applicants need only a high-school diploma, the Air Force is doubtful about filling its February pilot-training quota of 1,200 men.

AIR FORCE RESERVES

The disturbing career situation in the Air Force is disclosed in another way. Only 19 percent of the Strategic Air Command personnel are Regulars. This is the outfit that flies the largest atom bombers and is supposed to be the spearhead of any retaliatory attack against the Russians if they start another major war. More than any other unit in the Air Force, it should be made up of professional, career men. Yet 4 out of 5 of its people are reservists.

In the whole service picture, the only really bright spot is offered by the Marine Corps, which hit an average reenlistment rate of 62.6 percent in the first 9 months of 1953. The Marine Corps also seems to have a strong voluntary hold on its officers.

Probably the first top military figure to point out the gravity of the situation was Gen. Omar N. Bradley. Back in February of 1953, before he retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Bradley sent a memorandum to Defense Secretary Wilson saying that the services "have been unable to attract and hold as many high-type career officers, warrant officers, and noncommissioned officers as are needed to maintain the high standards of our Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force."

BRADLEY CITES DOUBTS

"There are doubts in the minds of capable young men as to the long-term desirability of a military career," Bradley explained.

Since then, many other military men and national leaders, including President Eisenhower, have publicly discussed ways of making the military service more attractive as a career.

The problem is one that well could be considered the Nation's No. 1 military concern.

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?—FAMILY LIFE IS FOUND TO BE FACTOR IN UNITED STATES ARMED SERVICES

(By Rembert James)

The great underlying reason that the American military services are in such deep trouble trying to keep the required number of high caliber young officers and enlisted men is a matter of simple arithmetic.

The services are so large nowadays.

There were 3,455,954 men and women wearing American military uniforms last month.

By comparison, before World War II, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps totaled only 250,000 altogether.

There used to be enough men who wanted a military life to fill the services' requirements. They were adventurous, eager to get away from home and to see the world. Few got married until they were 30. Most of the officers came from the Naval Academy at Annapolis (only 6 percent come from there now), or from the Military Academy at West Point.

They were military professionals, and so were the enlisted men who served under them. It was not hard, with such men, to man the duty posts, the ships, and the few overseas stations that the United States maintained before 1940.

Now the bulk of the American forces is made up of civilians doing involuntary military duty. Maybe they were drafted, or maybe they volunteered for one service to avoid being drafted into another—in most cases, the Army, which might put them in the infantry.

A great percentage of the present group is married. Even the youngest corporal is likely to have a wife and one or two children.

Early marriage, now a national habit, has made almost every military man also a family man. His family wants him to stay at home.

The commonest reason that young naval officers give for wanting to leave the service (and why Naval ROTC students say they turn down regular Navy commissions) is that they do not want to be separated from their wives.

The Navy tries to solve this problem by rotating ships as often as is reasonably possible between United States mainland ports and foreign stations. Under a new plan, it will even try to take into consideration the start and beginning of school terms in transferring personnel.

The Army and the Air Force, with foreign commitments, haul thousands of American families overseas, and when the man's tour of foreign duty is ended, the service brings him and his family home again.

The problem still remains, though, largely because these young American families are timid about foreign places, and really yearn to live in an American town along a street where everybody lives a life of regularity and ease, with household conveniences and luxuries they have come to expect as a natural right. Abroad, they haunt the well-stocked American PX's and post movie theaters. They never wanted to leave home at all.

Money also plays a large part in the lack of attractions of a service career.

Military personnel are paid in two ways—through base pay and allowances, and in so-called fringe benefits. These benefits include commissary privileges, medical treatment for dependents, and so on—a long list of items that originally made up what professional military men considered a "package deal" which the Government had contracted to provide for them.

The career man's feeling now is that Congress has broken what military men considered a contract—that it has hacked away so many of the fringe benefits that few of them remain.

Item by item, the career military man's complaints make quite a list.

Men in the services say, for example, that base pay has not kept up with the cost of living—that living costs have risen 13 percent since 1949, while their pay has gone up only 5 percent (as against increases of many times that for Government civil servants).

They point out that extra pay for hazardous duty has been threatened, and the extra pay for sea and foreign duty has been threatened or lost. Less medical care for dependents is offered. Military personnel save less by buying at post exchanges, ships' stores, and commissaries, because these establishments have been forced by Congress to raise their prices. They get lower travel expenses, and less reimbursement for movement of household goods.

They say, also, that family survivor benefits are inadequate and sometimes discriminatory against career personnel and that there is inadequate provision for dependent education and family housing (the latter, of course, a direct result of the haste to get married and have families).

One final complaint is that Congress' efforts to be generous to war veterans on their return to civilian life are actually working out to injure the services.

The GI bill of rights, with its free schooling and chances to buy a house for nothing down, apply only to men who have been separated from the military service.

A career naval officer in San Diego, a veteran of World War II and the Korean combat, told me the other day, "I could get a GI loan to build a house, and I could go to school for years, at public expense—if I were out of the Navy.

"I don't object to Congress being generous with benefits to ex-servicemen, but it ought to be made clear to somebody that bonuses to men leaving the services are certainly an inducement to get out."

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?—BENEFITS WHITTLED DOWN, MEN SHUNTED ABOUT, RANKS BELITTLED

(By Rembert James)

Apart from reasons of family or money, there is still another cause why a career in the United States Armed Forces has lost much of its old attraction.

This reason is that such a career has been offering less and less personal satisfaction to men who make a profession of it.

Officers and enlisted men who remember the life in the pre-1940 Army and Navy agree almost without exception that nowadays there is little of the feeling of doing something worth while, and doing it teamed with people you know and respect.

There is little feeling of being part of a proud, closely knit group, of having a tradition. The units are not proud of themselves and nobody else, including the public, is interested in them and in what they do as units.

Without a sense of belonging to a group, without any large degree of civilian respect or public prestige, most alert, able young men in the Armed Forces are bound to wonder if the military services offer a worth-while career.

A senior naval officer told me not long ago he had been feeling increasingly unhappy about the changes in service life.

"I am not talking about money," he said. "All a naval officer ever should ask is enough pay, allowances, and retirement prospects, so that he can be reasonably indifferent about money.

"Congress can't be expected to be as good to 3 million or more people in the services now as it was to a quarter of a million 20 years ago.

"I do feel that I had a contract with the Government for certain things when I made the Navy my career. I feel that the Government has broken the contract by taking away many of these benefits. People in all the services feel that way now.

"But I didn't come into the Navy to make money. I felt I wanted to be a sailor. I thought it was a place where I could have a sense of doing a job in company with people who felt like I did, and whose opinions counted. And we used to be like that, too. The people in the Navy had a pride, and they loved their ships.

"But now they shift people around so much that nobody ever feels he belongs anywhere. That includes commanding officers, too. You have to stay aboard a ship for a while, to love it.

"Responsibility and authority has been watered down. As an officer, I do not like this. My chief petty officers feel just as strongly. They say their duties and rights have been reduced. It has injured the Navy. The same kind of thing has happened in the Army, and it has hurt the Army, too."

Anyone who talks to career military men can add a lot of detail to this officer's remarks. Professionals in the Army, Air Force, and even the Marine Corps—though the Marines have changed less than any of the other services—are likely to hold the same opinions.

The military career people who take this view usually trace the changes back to the Doolittle committee. This group, headed by Gen. James H. Doolittle, of the Air Force (now retired), set out in 1946 to change the military services to fit more nearly into civilians' ideas of a democratic pattern. Doolittle was publicly against what he called a military caste system.

The Doolittle committee, because it represented the majority civilian view at the time, had things pretty much its own way. Nowadays, though, the changes it ushered in have few friends among career military men.

The professionals mostly feel that distinction between ranks should be increased, not reduced. They say discipline needs to be reemphasized. They say many of the Doolittle changes should be wiped out if the services are to restore pride and discipline and high morale.

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?—DILIGENT STUDIES MADE TO DETERMINE CAUSES FOR UNPOPULARITY

There has been much careful work done by competent men in the last 6 months in hunting out the causes, and offering remedies, for the severe trouble military services have developed in getting and keeping top-rate career people.

Defense Secretary Wilson and his top aides all have taken a look at the problem and are still coming up with new ideas.

There was the Strauss Commission, which reported several months ago, and the Womble committee, whose finding were disclosed just before the end of 1953.

The Strauss Commission's report was concerned mostly with pay and fringe benefits. The Womble group, so named because it was headed by Rear Adm. J. P. Womble, Jr., drew up a full-scale report on: (1) What is wrong; (2) how to correct, and (3) what should be done—by whom.

The central idea in the Womble report was that unless the services can stop the loss of experienced officers and men, the "inevitable result must be mediocrity in the conduct of military affairs." This, of course, confirmed President Eisenhower and others that second-rate men cannot comprise a first-class military service.

Womble's committee supported a cost-of-living military pay increase. It said that if military authority is to be reestablished, discipline must be emphasized; that a positive danger exists that budgetary considerations may rise above combat effectiveness. It said that the Bureau of the Budget should allow the services to exercise judgment as to areas best susceptible to reductions with the least calculated risk.

The Womble report went on to say that the "attractiveness of a service career must outweigh inducements to leave the service—we must acknowledge the great savings involved in continuous service by providing most of the benefits afforded to personnel on separation from the service."

This last was a reference to the benefits that Congress gives under the GI bill, such as free educations and home loans.

The larger part of the Womble report was concerned with money matters—such things as increased combat pay, exemption of retirement pay from income taxes and equalization of survivor benefits for Regulars and Reserves.

The Womble committee also took up discipline and morale, calling for increased penalties for desertion and a. w. o. l., more authorities for officers and noncoms, and the treatment of personnel as individuals—not just as so many impersonal MOS (Military Occupational Specialty) units, to be shoved around into any spot where there might be a vacancy in their specialty.

The Womble committee said people in uniform ought to be given a chance to identify themselves with units as a way of bringing about esprit de corps—a unit pride and loyalty.

The committee urged an adequate rotation policy at all costs. It suggested deemphasis of the USO and what it called other dubious morale aids. Another recommendation was the retention of ships' stores, commissaries, and post exchanges. Permanent laws to assure medical care for dependents was recommended.

The report said service pay and other benefits should be raised to meet present living costs; that many career men were unable to cope with present-day prices.

The Womble recommendations were announced by the Defense Department without any hint as to which ones will be approved and pushed by the Department. Assistant Defense Secretary Hannah said that release of the report does not imply approval or acceptance of the report in every respect.

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?—WOMBLE RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD RAISE PAY, RESTORE BENEFITS

WASHINGTON, February 17.—The fate of the Womble commission's recommendations for restoring the one-time luster of a military career rests with the eventual actions of five agencies.

The individual services—Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force—are reviewing the findings of the commission headed by Rear Adm. J. P. Womble, Jr.

Next the Joint Chiefs of Staff will study the commission's recommendations. Then Defense Secretary Wilson, on the basis of the service and Joint Chiefs' reactions, must decide which of the commission's proposals he will translate into proposed legislation for action by Congress.

Congress itself will be the next arbiter. House and Senate Armed Services Committees and the Appropriations Committees of both Chambers must put their approval on legislative proposals before Congress can vote on them.

The final judge of what will be signed into law to enhance the attractiveness of a military career, of course, will be President Eisenhower.

If that seems a long and complicated course, it is because legislation governing the lives and careers of millions of service personnel always is a complicated affair and one involving millions of taxpayers' dollars every year.

Pentagon supporters of the Womble commission report, with its recommendations for higher pay and restored fringe benefits for service personnel, have confidence that the President is with them.

They recall that last April 30 Mr. Eisenhower expressed concern over the dwindling benefits of a military career when he sent Congress a message explaining his plan to reorganize the Defense Department.

Indeed, it was the man who had a military career of his own spanning 40 years who directed the Defense Secretary to study the problem. The result was creation of the Womble Commission.

The services, it is a certainty, will be back of most Womble report recommendations. Presumably so will the Joint Chiefs, for last February they sent Wilson a memorandum reflecting their increasing concern over the "growing lack of confidence among Armed Forces personnel in military service as a worthwhile and respected career."

That seems to leave Wilson and Congress as the big question marks.

It would be hopeless to predict how many of the Womble Commission's recommendations Wilson will send on to Capitol Hill or how many of his proposals Congress will act on in its second session.

Whatever the fate of the Womble recommendations, seldom has the work of a Defense Department committee attracted so much interest not only among service personnel—naturally enough—but among civilians as well.

Thousands of letters from active and retired service people and civilians poured into the Commission's office. It leafed through all these communications, along with a great bulk of evidence submitted by the military services.

The Commission concluded, after months of study, that "military service as a career that will attract and hold capable and ambitious personnel has deteriorated alarmingly in comparison with other fields of skilled endeavor."

WHY IS MILITARY CAREER LOSING ITS APPEAL?—FIRMER CONGRESSIONAL POLICY URGED FOR ARMED FORCES

Adoption of a clear policy by Congress making it plain how much pay, and what fringe benefits, that people who make a career of the military service can expect is the first necessary move in raising the attractiveness of military careers.

Civilian incomes have far outstripped servicemen's pay. Congress should vote pay raises.

These are among conclusions reached by the San Diego Union after a 2 months' survey of the service career situation.

Other recommendations:

1. Reasonable duty tours in the United States mainland for men who reenlist (some Air Force and Army personnel have spent up to 10 of their first 12 years in overseas service).

2. A change in the rotation system to keep officers and enlisted men attached to the same ships or units for much longer periods than at present.

3. Improvement in living conditions aboard ship, through better design and arrangement of quarters.

4. Approval of the long-delayed proposal to build an Air Force Academy (this will take part of the load off the Naval and Military Academies that now have to turn over 25 percent of their graduates each year to the Air Force).

5. Changes in the Holloway naval officer-training plan to give top-flight young enlisted men preference in going to college at Government expense to study to become career officers (preference of Navy enlisted men over civilian youths just out of high school).

6. Reexamination of Pentagon policies to see if morale would not be helped by creation of model units (designed to have something of the unit pride and spirit evident in the Marine Corps) in the Army and Air Force.

7. Action to relieve the situation where top military service officers charge that civilian junior advisers in positions of influence in the Bureau of the Budget are deciding how the services can spend their money—a situation that military men say can affect combat readiness.

8. Reexamination of the Uniform Code of Military Justice with a view to returning more authority to unit commanders and other officers, and restoring more prestige to chief petty officers and sergeants.

9. Recognition by Congress that GI bonuses are direct and immediate inducements to personnel to leave the career-military service, and the voting of benefits for people staying in the service equal to those given on discharge.

The feeling of many career people, in all the services, is that they had certain definite promises from the Government when they became professional military people. These included all sorts of fringe benefits—sea and foreign-duty pay, hazardous-duty pay, big savings at commissaries, generous reimbursement for cost of travel and movement of household goods, voluntary retirement, survivor benefits, and many other things.

Now the prevailing feeling among military-career people is that the rules were changed on them in the last few years, and that many of these benefits were whittled away.

To many of them, probably to most, a clear-cut policy on fringe benefits that can be depended upon would be more important than a raise in pay—the value of which was reduced by the creeping inflation during the Truman administration's years.

A clear policy on fringe benefits should be worked out and voted by Congress.

As for the question of pay, there is no doubt that civilian incomes have gone up much faster and higher in the last 10 or 15 years than the servicemen's incomes. Civilians who remember pay scales of the 1930's can recall private businesses and civil service jobs where pay started around $25 a week for beginners and rarely went above $45 or $50 a week. Now pay for these jobs is more likely to start around $60 and range up to 2 or 2½ times that much.

SERVICE PAY LAGS

Servicemen's pay has gone up to no such degree.

The basic monthly pay rate for various ranks in the United States Army now is as follows:

Private (first class), $90.37; corporal, $122.30; sergeant, $145.24; second lieutenant,

$222.30; first lieutenant, $259.36; captain, $298.04; and upward, to major general, which rank is paid $963.30 a month.

All grades of enlisted men, and the low-ranking officers, up to the grade of Army and Marine Corps captain, and lieutenant in the Navy, are entitled to a pay raise. Congress ought to give it to them.

The problem of fringe benefits, such as the maintenance of commissaries with low prices, must be considered in close connection with that of pay scales.

PAY HELD ANSWER

When the Army and Navy were extremely small, it was no problem to make merchandise available to service people through the post exchanges and commissaries.

Now, however, with more than 3 million men in the services, the problem is different. It has to do with the buying habits of these millions of families in the services.

The real answer is to pay enough money to soldiers and sailors, marines and Air Force personnel to permit them to buy from civilian merchandise institutions on a par with civilian buyers.

Far from being restrictive, this gives them the widest free choice of buying whenever and wherever their tastes dictate, allowing them the full benefit of the Nation's free enterprise system.

The Eisenhower administration's new policy of bringing home certain military units from overseas, and in general, keeping a large mobile reserve in the United States, will reduce the number of military personnel whose family lives are strained by foreign duty. There will remain large numbers, though, and it should be the policy to give men coming up for first reenlistments an assurance of a duty assignment in the United States for at least the first 12 months of their new enlistment.

SYSTEM CHANGED

Reenlistment bonuses also should be increased. The top bonus now is $360 for a 6-year reenlistment. It should be boosted to $800 or $1,000. The cost of training a new man would be much greater than the reenlistment bonus.

The unit rotation system, that is, sending in a full new division to relieve a tired division in the battleline, was dropped by the United States on the basis that it takes an excessive amount of manpower. In its place was substituted the present system of individual replacements.

The United States has kept certain divisions in Korea for the last 3 years. Probably, though nobody who was in the division 3 years ago is there now. All the old ones have been rotated out as individuals, and replaced by others, sent in as individual replacements.

The result of this has been that nobody, including commanding officers, ever stayed around long enough to feel that he belonged to the unit.

MORALE AFFECTED

This has proved ruinous to morale. It should be changed so that officers and men, including naval personnel on ships, are left in the same duty assignments for much longer periods. The Army also might be well advised to try out a British system. The British Army assigns a man to a certain regiment, and he stays in it. The regiment's battalions sometimes are scattered around the world, but the battalions and the men in them never forget they belong to that regiment.

Assignment and service in the same unit, whether it is a regiment or a ship, makes for pride of unit, if the unit is well officered and smartly trained. This adds up to high morale, giving people who belong a sense of service and the desire to stay.

In the same category is the idea of restudying the idea of creating elite military units. This is against Pentagon policy, which is that it is undemocratic and bad for morale to have the idea spread around that one division is better than another.

POSSIBLE EFFECT TOLD

It would be worth finding out if the Pentagon is wrong. Creation of a couple of experimental model divisions might improve morale in other divisions by arousing a certain competitive feeling, which would result in pride of unit. The Army could hardly have less pride of unit than it has now.

The morale of the services, the attractiveness of a service career, can be improved by Congress and the public taking attitudes of respect toward career people. After that is done, the services themselves must take over.

The Commander of the Pacific Fleet Cruiser-Destroyer Force, Rear Adm. M. E. Curts, in recommissioning the radar picket destroyer *Fechteler* at Long Beach, pointed out that servicemen themselves have to supply the final strength.

ADMIRAL'S VIEW

"Morale cannot be measured in fringe benefits, commissary privileges, ship's exchanges, and pay ranges," Curts said.

"Our leaders have warned us that the public is unconsciously diluting our morale in the Armed Forces today. They are pecking away at things which are needed to attract and hold the type of men that they themselves want manning our ships and defenses.

"I sincerely believe this, and think it should be brought to their attention. But I also believe that in the final analysis, morale can only be measured in the ability and willingness of a crew to rise above the small irritations and to work together as a team."

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Bricker Amendment: What It Is; and It Isn't a Partisan Issue," written by David Lawrence and published in a syndicated column on February 16, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRICKER AMENDMENT: WHAT IT IS; AND IT ISN'T A PARTISAN ISSUE

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—Many people are writing in to ask what the Bricker amendment controversy is all about.

Certainly, it is confusing to find, for instance, so eminent an organization as the American Bar Association after several years of study advocating a change in the Constitution and yet to hear from individual lawyers of prominence that somebody has started a conspiracy to hamper President Eisenhower in his conduct of foreign policy.

It is, of course, a controversy over the meaning of treaties and whether by merely signing an agreement with a foreign government a President can commit the citizens of the United States to a course of action that normally would require both Houses of Congress to bring about only by the passage of a law.

But back of the Bricker amendment controversy is something deeper. Senator GEORGE of Georgia, a Democrat, widely regarded as an able constitutional lawyer, stated the issue in its simplest form to the Senate the other day. He said that he did not want "any President to make an agreement with Turkey that will preclude me from killing a cat in my back alley at night." Then he shouted:

"Neither do I want him to negotiate an agreement with India that will preclude me from butchering a cow in my own barnyard."

These are blunt words but they certainly should dispose of the smear argument that the controversy is just a piece of Republican isolationism and that it is merely a fight between Mr. Eisenhower and some reactionary elements in the Republican Party.

Nor is it accurate to spread the fiction that this is just a fight between President Eisenhower and his party or that it somehow concerns only Mr. Eisenhower's conduct of foreign policy. For the truth is the abuse of the treaty power has been going on for many years and if not remedied will go on long after Mr. Eisenhower ceases to be President.

Perhaps the clearest explanation was given to the Senate recently by Senator BRICKER himself. He said:

"Most of the opposition to this treaty-control amendment comes from those who yearn for the domination of a supranational government. Some of them would surrender national sovereignty immediately; others would destroy it gradually by means of United Nations treaties and by less formal agreements. Some would organize a supra-state on a global scale while others would first establish a regional government."

The basic object is to prevent a future President from agreeing to some action by one of the numerous subsidiary bodies of the United Nations which would take away constitutional rights. The average person looking on wonders what harm can come from saying in the Constitution itself that this cannot be done, even if there is little likelihood that Mr. Eisenhower would ever allow his envoys to sign such an agreement.

Remarks of Gov. Christian A. Herter at Lincoln Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to place in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks of Gov. Christian A. Herter at the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the Middlesex Club in Boston on February 12.

I know they will be of interest to his many friends here who served with him.

I am happy to add that Governor Herter's administration of his important office has received and is receiving widespread approval in all parts of Massachusetts. I am sure that those who read these brief remarks of his and who know Chris' character, ability, and objectives as a public official will appreciate why that is so.

For another important reason, I am glad to make these remarks a part of the RECORD. It is because an outstanding Republican official outside of Washington recognized the significance of the one hundredth anniversary of the return of

Abraham Lincoln to political life and spoke in a manner which brought the memory of Lincoln back to his audience without offense to the millions who are not members of the Republican Party but who honor Lincoln and respect his contribution not only to the Republican Party but to the Nation as a whole.

Governor Herter's remarks were:

The occasion of our meeting here this evening impels me to share with you an experience I have never mentioned before. It seems proper at this time and place. 1954 marks the 100th anniversary of the return of Abraham Lincoln to a political life, the beginning of the road which led him 6 years later to that destiny which commands today the admiration of an entire people.

It was early summer of last year. The general court, to its great relief, was about to prorogue and I was looking forward to proroguing with it. The summer heats were already invading those precints built by Bulfinch and, since the air conditioning had prorogued ahead of us, what little relief there was came only through open windows from a steaming Common. It was late at night. While much was transpiring in the Senate and House, nothing at all was transpiring in the office of the Governor where fate and a discriminating electorate had contrived to place me. My staff was busy on the countless errands that crowd themselves into the closing day of a session. I was alone—all alone—just sitting in the governor's chair waiting—when I fell asleep.

One of those tall doors to my office opened and a courtly and impressive gentleman, wearing old-fashioned clothing with a tremendous gold chain across an expanse of waistcoat, said to me, "Governor, the Republican Party is still young. You desire to see it grow and prosper. How would you like to meet an accomplished administrator in troublous times? You would. Then I suggest you change that strange clothing you are wearing."

I followed him out the door, snatching a coat from the portrait of Gov. John A. Andrew, some unpressed trousers from the picture of Gov. Nathaniel P. Banks, and borrowing a stock from Gov. Emory Washburn's portrait. I had some trouble with a vest until I noticed that the one Salty had on in his portrait was good 1864 material. So I borrowed that, too. I was buttoning the last button on Salty's vest when suddenly I was standing in a vaguely familiar room. It was the President's office on the family floor of the White House. Across from me sat the awkward figure and rugged face of the man whom we honor here tonight. He rose and we shook hands. Then he said, "Herter, this business of running a sovereign Government is something no one can know who has not done it. When I first came in, my main trouble was office seekers. I've always liked Artemas Ward. You need some one like him or Petroleum V. Nasby around to keep things in their proper perspective. He came out to see me in Springfield before I arrived here this time, and do you remember what he said about office seekers: Good God,' he cried, 'they cum upon me from the skise—down the chimneys and from the bowels of the yerth.' As a matter of fact, one fell down the chimney that day and scattered soot all over Artemas."

"As a further matter of fact," he continued, "the official records of the War Department carry this correspondence which I had with Secretary Stanton over a preacher whose friends drove me to bother him. I took off a transcript. Look at this." I looked and read:

"DEAR STANTON: Appoint this man Chaplain in the Army.

"A. LINCOLN."

"DEAR MR. LINCOLN: He is not a preacher.

"E. M. STANTON."

"DEAR MR. STANTON: He is now.

"A. LINCOLN."

"DEAR MR. LINCOLN: But there is no vacancy.

"E. M. STANTON."

"DEAR MR. STANTON: Appoint him Chaplain at large.

"A. LINCOLN."

"DEAR MR. LINCOLN: There is no warrant in law for that.

"E. M. STANTON."

"DEAR MR. STANTON: Appoint him anyhow.

"A. LINCOLN."

"DEAR MR. LINCOLN: I will not.

"E. M. STANTON."

I said, "Mr. President, I have a faint appreciation of what you mean about filling offices. It was you who stated, 'When I give away a place, I discern that I always make a hundred foes to a friend.' And sometimes in governing Massachusetts, Mr. Lincoln, I wonder how long I hold the friend when he begins to assess his pension privileges."

"Well," said the President, "in that as in other matters I have no policy. I pass my life in preventing storms from blowing down the tent and I drive in pegs as fast as they are pulled. I told Coffey, who filled in for Attorney General Bates a while after Bates' resignation and everyone was howling for a southern appointment. 'My cabinet has shrunk up North and I must find a southern man. I suppose, if the Twelve Apostles were to be chosen Monday, the shrieks of locality would have to be heeded.' "

I sighed again, this time rather loudly.

"And yet," he said, "we must put up with these things. If we did not hold our present responsible positions, others could be found to do so." I was somewhat appalled at that prospect.

"No," said Lincoln, "a number of days ago, recruits by the brigade lined up outside here on Pennsylvania Avenue and I remarked to the Secretary of State, 'Seward, I suppose there are a hundred men in these ranks who could hold your job or mine.' It is something to keep in mind."

"That particular thought, Mr. President, has not impressed me." I said: "I strongly believe the race stands in need of a development of a peculiar breed fitted to handle a governor's problems. That sober belief of mine, however, will not prevent me from seeking another term in Massachusetts. I have a stronger belief that in 2 years a governor is unable to do full justice to those who elect him. He is barely able to initiate and implement a good program before he is on the hustings again."

"Well," said the President, "when the Baltimore convention was over this summer, a delegation waited on me to congratulate me on my renomination. There was some doubt about that, you know, but New England was solid for me on the first roll call and that's the only roll call there was. I told this delegation that the convention must have concluded that 'it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river' and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it trying to swap. I judge that to be your theory too, Mr. HERTER."

I replied, "Yes, Mr. President. My river is not so broad as yours, but as a horse I couldn't agree with you more. I hate to leave a task where so much remains to be done."

Lincoln turned and looked out over that area which is now occupied by the Ellipse. Then he looked at me from under his brows and said, "There is a satisfaction presiding over a democratic government, isn't there? Chase came running in here the other day and stood just where you sit now. 'I have come to consult you about the national debt,' he announced. I just raised my head a bit and said, 'It's great interest will always claim my most devout attention.' Now, I don't know whether you have a debt or not. I can't imagine any Republican government without one as a legacy from the next prior Democratic incumbent, but maybe you don't have one. Anyway, the main thought that I want to leave with you is this: The clouds of crisis are not always what they appear. Like the darknesses of summer wind, they pass over and are gone. The good administrator acts slowly at times. As a girl, Queen Victoria followed Leopold's advice never to give a Prime Minister an answer on the day he put his question. That has proved of sound assistance to her and by following it she has gained a reputation for sagacity. Then too, the people sometime, slowly, but always eventually recognize that action which is based on the good motive. Problems of office seeking, debt servicing, crises quelling, and all those countless woes which attend the administration of a government, fade in the light of that final recognition by the people. Remember that constantly and all will be well."

I heard a more and more insistent knocking. I forced my eyelids open and in the doorway stood the Sergeant at Arms followed by a delegation of estimable ladies and gentlemen of the General Court. It seemed that they wanted me to prorogue it. I wasn't quite sure whether I should until I returned Salty's vest, but I sent a bewildered messenger outside to survey his portrait. He returned to tell me that the vest was where it should be. I was remembering these words in Lincoln's wise and gentle voice, "The people sometimes slowly, but always eventually recognize that action which is based on the good motive." I looked at the clock. It was 4:37 a. m., July 4, 1953. I arose and went into the Council Chamber to carry out the ancient ceremony which lost none of its flavor even at that ungodly hour of the morning. And do you know I have never told anyone all this before? I tell it to you in confidence. I wish that you would not repeat it to a soul.

Let's Protect Our Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the General Court of Massachusetts:

Resolutions memorializing Congress to continue Federal grants to State relief programs for the aged and to preserve the Federal social-security program

Whereas the General Court of Massachusetts considers it inconceivable that the Congress of the United States would take away retirement benefits earned under the present system; and

Whereas the full faith and credit of the United States Government lies behind the benefit rights contained in the law: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States to continue the present level of grants to State relief programs for old-age assistance; and be it further

Resolved, That the general court hereby urges the Congress of the United States to broaden the present Federal social-security program to include persons engaged in the professions, in agriculture, and in domestic services; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the

Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, February 15, 1954, adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

Senate, February 18, 1954, adopted, in concurrence.

IRVING N. HAYDEN,
Clerk.

Editorial Tribute to Hon. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, for His St. Lawrence Seaway Address and Vote

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, all of us were profoundly impressed, not only by the legal and economic arguments, but also by the real national statesmanship of our colleague, the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] in the recent debate on the St. Lawrence seaway. In recognition of his contribution to that debate, which was of the same high quality as his service on other matters, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of editorials paying tribute to the Senator for his St. Lawrence seaway address and vote.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit News of January 18, 1954]

SEAWAY SUPPORT

Senator KENNEDY's switch from the normal Massachusetts opposition to the St. Lawrence seaway was the kind of break that portends success for the pending bill.

The basis of the Massachusetts position has been identical with that determining the attitudes of other coastal States. It has been feared that the seaway would divert to Great Lakes ports some of the commerce now routed via the seaboard.

KENNEDY's decision no longer to be bound by that consideration was taken on the highest grounds of statesmanship. "I am unable," he said, "to accept such a narrow view of my functions as a United States Senator."

The young Massachusetts Senator is a Democrat. His decision to uphold the President in a matter that Mr. Eisenhower has termed vital to the Nation's defense and welfare provides an example which Republican opponents of the project could hardly ignore.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 18, 1954]

SENATOR KENNEDY PUNCTURES ANTISEAWAY ARGUMENTS

Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, has done more than give the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway its best chance of Senate approval by switching from opposition to support of the measure.

He has, for the first time, broken the solid ring of Atlantic seaboard opposition to the project. And he has done it by recognizing vital truths that Congressmen still in opposition would do well to consider.

First, of course, there is no longer an argument about whether the seaway will be built. Canada is building it. The question is whether we will join Canada or leave to our neighbor full control over the seaway development.

Second, KENNEDY punctured the overplayed opposition fear that the seaway will hurt eastern ports and the railroads. He pointed out that the effect on such ports as Boston will probably be minor and that railroads may well find that improvements to the overall economy will bring them more business. Generally, when new facilities and resources are developed anywhere in our Nation, they help the entire Nation.

Finally, as KENNEDY again pointed out, those who play at the game of regionalism eventually suffer from regionalism. He put it this way: "This arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the needs and aspirations of other sections has contributed to the neglect and even opposition to the needs of our own region by representatives of other areas." This, of course, is true—and the fact that, to an extent, it is logrolling, makes it no less true. No area can expect the Nation's help if it is not willing that the Nation help other areas.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 22, 1954]

STATESMANSHIP IN A YOUNG SENATOR

JOHN F. KENNEDY is the junior Senator from Massachusetts, now just beginning the second year of his term. He is also the youngest Member of the Senate. Yet he not only showed himself far more of a statesman on the St. Lawrence seaway vote than his Republican colleague * * *; he stood up above many Members who are in their second or even third terms. Because Senator KENNEDY was not only on the winning but the right side, we reprint in today's Mirror of Public Opinion extracts from his splendid address in the Senate explaining why he was breaking with the traditional prejudice of Massachusetts' political figures against the seaway. The young Senator's words have the mark of statesmanship on them. Many of his elders ought to think over what he said.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 22, 1954]

UNPRECEDENTED VOTE FOR THE SEAWAY

Senator KENNEDY was first Massachusetts man in Congress in 20 years to support and vote for St. Lawrence project; says damage to New England ports and railroads would be negligible; rejects narrow sectionalism obstructing Nation's progress.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, in the United States Senate, January 14:

"I have been urged to vote against the St. Lawrence seaway on grounds that it will work an economic hardship upon Massachusetts and will be of no direct benefit to Massachusetts.

"These questions explain the basis of much of the traditional opposition to this measure in my State and other States. On 6 different occasions over a period of 20 years no Massachusetts Senator or Representative has ever voted in favor of the seaway. (The bill was passed by the Senate Wednesday.)

"I have analyzed carefully figures furnished to me by the Boston Port Authority. At least 75 percent of the traffic is coastwise, intraport, and local, which no one has claimed will be affected by the seaway. Of the remaining foreign traffic practically all is for consumption within the New England area. It is obvious that none of this traffic will be diverted by the seaway.

"I have had the opportunity to see a comprehensive analysis of New England's chief rail exports. Only a small portion of these were foreign-made imports arriving through the port of Boston. Even a smaller portion went to the area which the St. Lawrence seaway would serve. Consequently, only an extremely small percentage of foreign-import trade will be lost to the port of Boston at most.

"With respect to exports, which total less than 2 percent of port traffic, it cannot be denied that some or all of the port's export grain trade may be affected by the seaway. However, in 1952 this trade amounted to only nine-tenths of 1 percent of the tonnage traffic in the port of Boston.

"If the entire export grain trade were lost to the port, the overall effect upon its traffic and the economy of Boston and New England would be almost negligible.

"In short, I do not feel that the effect of the seaway upon the port of Boston will be of any lasting significance. What is more important to the port of Boston, as pointed out by the President's Committee on the New England Economy, is that a 1948 sampling showed 81 percent of their exports were shipped out of New York instead of Boston.

"If those in New England who have decried the loss to the port of Boston resulting from the seaway would only divert their own export traffic to the port, the gain would be many times as great as any loss suffered by construction of the seaway.

"I know of no direct economic benefit to the economy of Massachusetts from the seaway, and I have been urged to oppose the seaway on these grounds, inasmuch as the initial investment, even though repaid, will come in part from Massachusetts tax revenues.

"But I am unable to accept such a narrow view of my functions as United States Senator.

"Where federal action is necessary, it is my belief that New England must fight for those national policies.

"It has been the arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region New Englanders to recognize the legitimate

"We cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position."

[From the Minneapolis Morning Tribune of January 16, 1954]

ANOTHER CRACK

The decision of Senator KENNEDY, Democrat of Massachusetts, to vote for the St. Lawrence seaway is another welcome crack in the dike of historic opposition to a project that will be of great benefit to the midwest and to the Nation as a whole.

During the past 2 decades, no Massachusetts Senator has voted for the seaway. This determined resistance has been in response to pressure from Boston's port interests, who fear that the seaway would draw commerce away from the hub of the universe.

* * * * *

Senator KENNEDY rightly declared that narrow sectional interest is not a legitimate basis for opposition. It is to be hoped that this argument will help to persuade Senator SALTONSTALL of Massachusetts, the Senate Republican whip, to match his Democratic colleague's support of the administration in this important measure.

[From the Warren (N. H.) Kearsarge Independent of January 29, 1954]

PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

(By Ben Johnson)

For the past 20 years or more the United States Government has been trying to get the St. Lawrence seaway bill passed by Congress because of the benefit the Nation would receive as a whole. Certain sections have opposed it for various reasons, New England

in particular. Never once has any Senator from that section voted for the bill to my knowledge.

In the news last week Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts said he would vote for the seaway, because, as he put it the seaway would benefit the whole Nation. This was the first break in the ranks of the New England Senators.

To my mind this is a good sign. The seaway would benefit the Nation as a whole and sectionalism should not be allowed to block passage. We are one Nation under one flag, not a group of sections. All of us should lay sectionalism aside and think of the Nation as a whole. For any part of the Nation to stand up for its own section would be sheer folly. "United we stand, divided we fall."

[From the Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel of January 28, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Despite the fact that Canada is willing to build the St. Lawrence seaway without the help of the the United States, we are of the opinion that this great continental project which reaches into the heart of both countries should be developed jointly. And that will be the major consideration of members of the House of Representatives, about to take up the Wiley-Dondero bill for American participation in the seaway project.

Insofar as security, engineering, and neighborly relations are concerned, there is no question that those interests will be best served through a joint undertaking. At least $35,000,000 will be saved by building canals on the American side of the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence river instead of building them all on the Canadian side. Here is a rare combination, along and on both sides of the border, of vast power and material resources that the United States would be foolish to let Canada exploit alone. And like the building of the Erie Canal or the Panama Canal, the seaway is bound to affect American economy, trade channels, and geography.

It actually seems as though we are reaching the end of a chapter of history that began as long ago as 1895 when a joint American-Canadian commission was appointed to study improvements in the St. Lwrence system. American presidents from the time of Woodrow Wilson have failed to get far with the seaway project; perhaps the end of the road will come with the Eisenhower administration. It is significant, too that Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of Massachussets gave his support to the seaway—the first Bay State representative in the National Legislature to do so in seven tests over a 20-year period. He put the national welfare above regional economic interests linked with the port of Boston.

[From the Butte (Mont.) Standard of February 7, 1954]

A STAND AGAINST SECTIONALISM

The best Members of Congress have always been those who have been aware of the dual responsibility that rests with those who sit in the National Legislature. They know that they must represent the interests and welfare of the people who sent them to Congress; at the bame time they are aware that their highest duty is to the Nation as a whole.

In a country as large as ours it is inevitable that this dual responsibility carried by legislators will occasionally result in individual legislators having to make difficult decisions. One such occurred in the recent Senate debate on the St. Lawrence seaway project.

Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, junior Senator from Massachusetts, announced his support of the proposal for this country to join Canada in constructing the seaway. It was a departure from the position taken by Massachusetts representatives in Congress in the 20 years the seaway has been under discussion. In announcing his decision, KENNEDY said that he refused to oppose the project merely because the economic benefits expected to result from it will go to other parts of the country than his own. He said it was an arbitrary refusal of many New Englanders to recognize the legitimate needs and aspirations of other sections which has contributed to the neglect of, and even opposition to, the needs of our own region by the representatives of other areas.

It is possible to disagree with KENNEDY'S point of view as to the benefits that may be derived from the St. Lawrence seaway. Even his opponents, however, must applaud his courageous refusal to let sectionalism influence him. The welfare of all of the States is tied together. The prosperity of one part without the prosperity of every other part is impossible. In the long run the Senator or Congressman who takes this point of view renders the best service to his home State.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 16, 1954]

SUPPORT FOR THE SEAWAY

Support from an unexpected quarter has significantly enhanced the likelihood that the St. Lawrence seaway will be approved by a healthy vote. Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, came out in its favor—the first Massachusetts representative in the National Legislature to do so in seven tests over a 20-year period. The young Senator put national considerations above those of his State. In so doing he set a fine example of political sagacity and courage.

The arguments in favor of the seaway have been often rehearsed; they received a powerful impetus when Canada made it plain that, if necessary, it would proceed alone with this great construction. Can there be any doubt but that the two North American neighbors, partners in peace and allies in war, are destined to share both the toil and the achievement? As Senator KENNEDY remarked, the undertaking is bound to go forward. We confidently expect it will go forward with United States participation. All the better if Senator KENNEDY'S course has indicated that it will go forward also with the assent of the vast majority that puts national welfare above regional economic interests.

[From the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle, January 16, 1954]

SEAWAY AND SENATORS

If we had thought at all about young Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, it was to dismiss him as the fortunate son of a wealthy and politically powerful father. Right now we are compelled to recognize him as a personality in his own right and as one who possesses commonsense and statesmanship.

This admission does not grow from his surprising support of the St. Lawrence seaway as much as it does from the reasoning which led to his decision. Boston and all other Atlantic port cities have opposed most bitterly the opening of the St. Lawrence to heavy shipping. They were strictly selfish in this; they saw their own ports withering if foreign cargoes could slip into the Midwest without transshipment on the coast.

"We cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position," asserts the shockheaded young Senator.

* * * * *

KENNEDY, we are sure, is correct in believing that the seaway will not damage Atlantic ports. It simply provides an avenue for more business, more commerce, a development which will benefit all. We are confident, too, that all the railroad, power company, and chamber of commerce opposition to real development of the St. Lawrence is shortsighted. No one can foretell what general prosperity would result from the expansion of what amounts to our State's last frontier.

[From the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times of January 21, 1954]

THE SEAWAY—A VICTORY OVER REGIONALISM

Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, the first Member of Congress from that State in history to come out for the seaway, showed a new and encouraging sense of statesmanship. * * * Senator KENNEDY warned his State that we cannot continue so narrow and destructive a position as it has in the past. Senator KENNEDY has revealed this statesmanlike approach on other issues, such as TVA. He is, incidentally, showing himself to be a Senator with courage and considerable intelligence.

Resolution Favoring Liberalized Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the Fraternal Order of Eagles is one of the great organizations in our Nation. It has forever been in the forefront of drives to alleviate the economic problems of those who have reached the twilight of their lives. For years this great fraternal organization led the fight to enact legislation providing for adequate assistance and security for those who had reached retirement age. The FOE's campaign resulted in successful fruition with the passage of the Social Security Act. It is now engaged in the fight to liberalize this law by providing for more extensive coverage and greater payments. I am pleased to submit for consideration by this Congress a resolution bearing on these points. It was passed by the Springfield, (Mass.) Aerie No. 148, and represents the attitude of the membership of this fine organization:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age-pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that—

(1) The minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50.

(2) Ten million additional persons be included in the security systems.

(3) The first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act.

(4) The earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200.

(5) The 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressmen from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 17th day of February 1954.

EDGAR DAIGNEAULT,
Worthy President, Springfield Aerie No. 148.

Attest:

JOHN J. SHEA,
Secretary.

Resolutions on 50th Anniversary of Panamanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the Republic of Panama is now celebrating the 50th anniversary of its independence, which was achieved on November 3, 1903. I am sure that all the Members of both Houses of Congress are deeply grateful for the fact that our Isthmian neighbor has reached this auspicious anniversary date and that its history as an independent nation has been characterized with its great contribution to the success of the Panama Canal enterprise and its progress along strictly internal lines.

May the Republic of Panama forever continue in its historical role and in general advancement.

In this connection, I include as part of these remarks resolutions adopted by the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., at its last general meeting, which was held on October 31, 1953, extending its congratulations to the Government and people of the Republic of Panama on the attainment of its 50th anniversary of independence.

This society is made up chiefly of survivors of the construction days of the canal, one of whom, it is to be noted, proposed the resolutions and is himself a survivor of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which had immediate charge of the construction of the canal, having served also during his commissionership as Civil Governor of the Canal Zone and afterward as a highly esteemed Member of the House of Representatives from the State of Kentucky. I refer to our former colleague, Maurice H. Thatcher.

The text of the resolutions follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

At the regular luncheon meeting of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., held at the Fairfax Hotel on October 31, 1953, the folowing resolutions, offered by Gov. Maurice H. Thatcher, honorary life president of the society, were unanimously adopted, to wit:

"Be it resolved by the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., That its heartiest congratulations be extended to the Government and people of the Republic of Panama on the attainment of the 50th anniversary of their independence, and marking a half century of splendid cooperation between the Republic and the United States of America, in and about the construction, maintenance, and operation of the greatest industrial enterprise of the ages; and be it further

"Resolved, That the society express the most earnest hope that the indissoluble bonds, fashioned by a divine destiny, existing between our two nations, and consecrated by the deeds and memories of a glorious past, and constituting the basis for the fullest measure of mutual aid, collaboration, good will, amity, understanding, and esteem, shall grow in strength and breadth throughout the years to come; be it also

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the President of the Republic of Panama, the press of the city of Panama, and the Ambassador of Panama to the United States."

PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARTIN A. SEILER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

To Hasten Peaceful Days

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. GRANT
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, last week marked the observance of Freedom Week and the national observance of free Europe and the crusade for freedom everywhere.

J. Mitchell Pilcher, of Montgomery, Ala., upon the occasion of the observance of Freedom Week, composed a sonnet entitled "To Hasten Peaceful Days," which was first read by him last Thursday evening at the advanced group meeting of the American heritage project in the Montgomery Public Library and which was dedicated to several friends who have rendered outstanding service to the veterans of Alabama and the Nation.

This sonnet is still appropriate, inasmuch as we are at this time observing Brotherhood Week in the crusade for universal peace that augurs a free world:

TO HASTEN PEACEFUL DAYS

Our stripling soldier vowed to freedom's quest,
Spurs to struggles that challenge bold talent.
The road is through dread, for the lad's conquest
Dares thralldom's dark-fettered environment.
Spending and being spent, hopeful teenage,
Light-limbed boys on dark shores plant the standard,
Scale dawning heights that beckon and presage
Youth's role: Free crusaders in the vanguard
Turn the tide, mold fate with faith, furthering
Four freedom's frontiers. In his stride the young man
Takes war as a must till peace—fostering
Good will's one-world neighborhood—crowns the plan
Free lads pursue beyond night's hostile ways.
Pledging spring years to hasten peaceful days.

—*J. Mitchell Pilcher.*

Ability, Not Disability, Counts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the sixth national wheelchair basketball tournament will be held in New York City on April 9, 10, and 11. It will be sponsored by the Fifty-two Association of New York, Inc., a nonprofit, nonsectarian, nonpolitical organization which since 1945 has been keeping its pledge that "the wounded shall never be forgotten" with outstanding programs of entertainment, job assistance, hobby programs, adapted sports, and other special rehabilitation services for hospitalized servicemen and veterans from Massachusetts to Virginia. Other chapters of the Fifty-two Association serve the wounded in Chicago, Buffalo, Los Angeles, and Miami Beach.

The national wheelchair basketball tournament is an exciting and dramatic sports demonstration of the significant rehabilitation idea that "ability, not disability, counts." The players come from California, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, New England, New Jersey, and the New York City area. They include veterans and nonveterans, disabled by polio, amputations, and paraplegia. Every game convinces the spectators that if these men can play wheelchair basketball so effectively, surely they can "play" wheelchair bookkeeping, bench assembly, watch repair, and many other kinds of useful work just as well.

The tournament will be held in the 212th AAA Group Armory, Columbus Avenue and 62d Street in New York City. There will be two games at each session, with sessions on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday afternoons, and Friday and Saturday evenings. Because this activity, like all of the Fifty-two Association's activities, is a nonprofit activity, ticket prices are set remarkably low in the hope that the largest possible number will attend.

It is worth noting that very few changes have been made in regular basketball rules as a concession to the fact that this game is played in wheelchairs. The safety record of this sport is as good or better than other competitive sports. Thrills and excitement are as high or higher.

Because of the game's tremendous values in physical, social, and vocational rehabilitation, the Fifty-two Association willingly accepts the financial responsibility, knowing that the tournament will probably result in a deficit. Last year's deficit of $2,500 was underwritten by the Bulova Foundation.

Attitudes toward the severely disabled, which play such a large role in the total adjustment of those disabled, are bound to be affected favorably by the encouragement of this activity; all who witness the games are inspired by the courage and ability of all the participants.

America is strong because we respect each individual for the contribution he can make to the national welfare. America is strong because of voluntary groups of citizens like the Fifty-two Association. America is strong because of the performance and spirit of all our men and women whether they are more or less disabled.

Wheelchair basketball may seem to be just a game. Actually, it is a moving symbol of our Nation's character. Men and women of good will can help to keep that character sound by encouraging such worthwhile public service activities like the national wheelchair basketball tournament. The Fifty-two Association at 840 Eighth Avenue, New York 19, would be delighted to receive communications from all who would like to attend any of the tournament sessions or know more about how they can organize or sponsor wheelchair basketball activities in their own communities.

Orange Is Given Top Honors as County of Year for 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. DURHAM
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an article on Orange County, which is my home county. Orange County is one of the pioneer counties. It was made a county in 1752, and I join in paying tribute to those who are responsible for these improvements. These improvements have added much to the economic life of all its citizens.

The article follows:

[From the Durham (N. C.) Herald of February 12, 1954]

ORANGE IS GIVEN TOP HONORS AS COUNTY OF YEAR FOR 1953—PROGRESS IS CITED ON FARMS

GREENSBORO, February 11.—Orange County was named this week County of Year for 1953 in the annual North Carolina rural progress campaign with special reference to Negroes. It was a clean sweep for the county. A few weeks ago the Orange won the general campaign for both white and Negro, using the same criteria.

The announcement, released today by Dr. W. E. Reed, dean of the School of Agriculture at A. & T. College and chairman of the State evaluating committee, stated in part, "The spirit, complete working understanding and concern of all workers, both white and Negro, for the total program, represents one of the most unique approaches to the development and progress in agriculture, family living, public education, church and community development that we have ever seen in this State."

A total of 410 Negro farm families out of a possible 570 participated in a special 16-point program designed to improve farm, family, neighborhood, community and county production and income. These improvements ranged from seeding, both permanent and temporary, pastures, improving livestock herds; better and scientific practices in crop production; better family clothing programs; and better housing and community improvement and development.

Seventy-eight community leaders assumed the responsibility in close cooperation with such agencies as: Farmers' Home Administration, Agricultural Stabilization Cooperation, Soil Conservation Service, Production Credit Association, State Extension Service, vocational-agriculture and home economics teachers, Orange County Ministerial Alliance, public schools, public health department and farm bureau and rural electrification, to carry this 16-point program to the farm families. Four hundred and ten families made one or more improvements under the program. The county had a total of 35 "Honor Families," those who cooperated in every phase of the 16-point program. Of this number, 14 were Negro families.

Considered outstanding in the Orange County campaign was the fact that the program was uniformly supported on a biracial level.

The awards of $1,000 for the general campaign for all races, given by Dr. Clarence Poe, Progressive Farmer and Gordon Gray, president, University of North Carolina, and North Carolina Newspaper organization, and $500 for the Negro phase, given also by Dr. Poe, will be presented at a joint celebration to be held at the county courthouse February 25.

The State committee selected Orange after visits to five counties picked for making the most outstanding progress during the past year. These included, in addition to Orange County, Duplin, Robeson, Edgecombe and Rockingham counties. In the second year of operation of the double North Carolina Rural Progress Campaign, Orange County was the first to win both prizes.

Composing the State evaluating committee are, in addition to Dr. Reed, R. E. Jones, State agent, extension service at A. & T. College; S. B. Simmons, Greensboro, assistant supervisor, vocational education; A. W. Solomon, Greensboro, field representative, N. C. Farm Bureau; Mrs. Lucy F. James, Durham, supervisor, Vocational Home Economics Teachers; Mrs. Ruth Lawrence Woodson, Raleigh, supervisor of N. C. Negro elementary schools; Dr. S. E. Duncan, Raleigh, supervisor of Negro high schools; and E. F. Corbett, Greensboro, director, A. & T. College public relations department.

Yugoslavia Plans Bigger War Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it was not with surprise but with chagrin that I read the following news release in the New York Times of February 25. This news report is from Belgrade which adds to my furor. It is the first public release, to my knowledge, stating the exact amount of economic aid to Yugoslavia for the year 1953, $218 million. This is over and above the increasing number of jet planes that Yugoslavia is receiving from the United States.

This is not news to the House Foreign Affairs Committee of which I am a member but it is news to many of our colleagues and to most Americans. The members of the Foreign Affairs Committee were prohibited from mentioning jet planes in the discussion on the mutual security bill when it was before the House last year although I tried, by innuendo, to bring it to their attention in offering amendments to prevent money authorized to be used for jet planes. I have been and will continue to be opposed to aid to Yugoslavia, whether economic or military. I sponsored amendments in committee and upon the floor of the House to prevent aid to that country in any form. I was continually defeated. Changes in the higher echelon of the Kremlin do not alter their objective. They might change their method to achieve their goal but the free world must not succumb to their "new look." Of greater significance would be the strengthening of those policies of the free world which caused the U. S. S. R. to seek a new method—tighten the noose.

Tito in Yugoslavia is no different. In mid-1953 he challenged the United States and Britain on returning even a part of Trieste, Zone A, to its rightful owner, Italy. Tito won—the Italian Government lost. No one would object to aid to Yugoslavia if the United States or the United Kingdom or the United Nations could use those bases and operate out of them. Yugoslavia is a member of the United Nations but refuses to be a member of NATO, refuses to commit her troops to the West if the West is attacked, refuses to permit United States troops in Yugoslavia except in civilian dress, refuses every act of cooperation except upon her terms.

How long will it take the American people and the members of the free world to realize that a Communist is a Communist whether you find him in Moscow, Berlin, Belgrade, Panmunjom, Paris, Rome, or within the United States. I did not have to go to Belgrade to learn that, although my visit there strengthened my belief.

The above-mentioned follows:

YUGOSLAVIA PLANS BIGGER WAR FLEET—SHIPBUILDING PROJECT VIEWED COOLLY BY UNITED STATES, BUT BELGRADE LINKS IT TO BALKAN PACT

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, February 24.—Yugoslavia's defense chief disclosed today plans for building up a war fleet, although the United States is not sympathetic to the idea.

Yugoslavia's coastline is on the Adriatic Sea, opposite Italy; but it is foreseen that this country's needs might expand into the Mediterranean in view of the potential obligations arising from the Balkan pact. Yugoslavia is allied with Greece and Turkey in a tripartite defense agreement that is gradually being strengthened with the sanction of the Western Powers.

The existing Yugoslav fleet is small and Belgrade's projected outlays for the Navy are not likely to lead to a major aggrandizement.

"We, of course, do not intend to build up a great Navy," said Col. Gen. Ivan Gosnjak, State Secretary for Defense, "but only what is necessary for the defense of our country."

Yet the United States, which General Gosnjak had credited with enabling Yugoslavia to build up her army and air force, was not inclined to favor Yugoslav requests for aid in naval construction.

BUDGET TO PARLIAMENT

"I must stress that in the military aid we have received from the United States we have not received so far all that we requested for our war fleet, although our requests were minimal," General Gosnjak asserted. "Unfortunately, we did not find understanding for the strengthening of our war fleet."

General Gosnjak presented to Parliament a defense budget calling for 166 billion dinars [about $554,000,000]. This was 2,200,000,000 dinars more than set forth in a draft budget last month, but, as General Gosnjak emphasized, a drop from the 180,000,000 dinars for defense in last year's budget.

About a year ago, Yugoslavia's Navy was unofficially listed as being made up of 4 old destroyers, 2 or 4 submarines, and about 40 motor torpedo boats.

The building program for the past year envisaged the production of 77 vessels. General Gosnjak reported today that 64 were under construction. There was no clarification as to whether the 1953 building program had been completed or what types of vessels were included.

General Gosnjak asked for 24,500,000,000 dinars [about $80,850,000] for port and ship construction. Neutral observers commented that this sum was scarcely likely to produce a substantial fleet—just in the event that Italy might worry about it.

UNITED STATES PREFERENCE HINTED

General Gosnjak noted that the portshipbuilding items involved more than Yugoslavia was required to spend herself on her Air Force. The United States, he implied, preferred to see Yugoslavia build up her Air Force rather than her seapower.

Reporting that United States military aid to Yugoslavia for this year would amount to about $218 million, General Gosnjak asked for Yugoslav expenditures of 100,475,000,000 dinars for the Army and 20,500,000,000 dinars for the Air Force.

He announced a big program of building airfields with concrete strips to handle the increasing number of jet planes that Yugoslavia is receiving from the United States.

Where Do We Stand Today With Communism in the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, the March issue of the American Legion magazine contains an outstanding article which should have the attention of not only every Membery of this body, but also of all the American people.

The article follows:

WHERE DO WE STAND TODAY WITH COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES?

(By J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation)

Question. Has there been a decline in recent years in the number of Communists in the United States?

Answer. Yes. In January 1947 there were approximately 74,000 members of the Communist Party in the United States. In July 1948, the top 12 Communist Party leaders were indicted on charges of violation of the Smith Act. This was the first legal action instituted against the top leadership of the Communist Party. In January 1949, party membership was approximately 54,000. On October 14, 1949, the Communist Party leaders were found guilty. As of December 31, 1949, party membership numbered less than 53,000. On June 25, 1950, the war in Korea began, and on September 23, 1950, the Internal Security Act of 1950, which called for the registration of all Communist action organizations, went into effect. By December 31, 1950, party membership in the United States numbered less than 44,000. On June 4, 1951, the Smith Act was upheld constitutionally, and during the summer of 1951 additional Communist leaders were indicted under this act. By January 1952, party membership totaled less than 32,000, and as of September 30, 1953, it numbered approximately 24,000. That is a decrease of 50,000 members, or about two-thirds of the total membership since January 1947.

Question. Has there been a corresponding decline in Communist influence in the United States?

Answer. I would not say that Communist influence has declined in direct ratio to the decrease in members. The influence of the Communist movement can never be determined in terms of members. Many of the members who have dropped out of the Communist Party are still sympathetic with some of the aims of the party and can still be counted on to assist in certain phases of party work. The large number of members who have defected or have been expelled in recent years does not represent the most influential or the most devoted members. Those who now remain in the Communist Party are essentially the real nucleus of hard-core Communists who are devoted to Marxism-Leninism and are willing to obey any party instructions. Essentially they are the members who were the most influential 6 years ago. The party still has its publications, its schools, and its fellow travelers. On the other hand, the prosecution and incarceration of the leading functionaries have forced the current leadership underground, which has hurt their effectiveness. Public exposure has neutralized the influence of many other members. These factors have been a damaging blow to the overall influence of the party.

Question. What has been the greatest blow suffered by the Communists in this country in recent years?

Answer. Unquestionably the greatest blow they have suffered has been the successful prosecution by the Government of over 60 of their leaders for violation of the Smith Act. This has deprived the party of much of its most powerful leadership, disrupted many of its operations, and heavily drained its financial resources. It has thrown confusion, uncertainty, and fear into the rank-and-file membership. It has made them realize how thoroughly they have been investigated for a long period of time and how closely their activities have been observed, with the result that they have gone underground and have invoked such strict security measures among the membership that they cannot operate nearly so effectively as in past years. It has revealed to them that some of their most trusted comrades were actually informants for the Government, which has created suspicion and distrust of their associates. It has caused many of the less-devoted Marxists to drop out of the party, and some of them to make a full disclosure to the FBI of their knowledge of Communist activities. It has turned the spotlight on the Communist conspiracy against this country, so that the American public has now seen it in true perspective and has taken an enlightened stand against this foreign-inspired menace. This positive action by the Government has been and continues to be a staggering blow to the Communist Party.

Question. What is our greatest present danger from American communism?

Answer. So long as public opinion is aroused and there is widespread resistance to Communist infiltration, the greatest danger lies in the moment of great emergency which would arise should the Soviets try a "Pearl Harbor" sneak attack. Then, by disrupting our defense program, they could do us the most damage. It is of utmost importance to the security of our Nation that we maintain a constant state of preparedness to repel successfully any attack and to deal swiftly and effectively with any aggressor. Any breakdown in our productive ability would imperil our national security now, and would create a critical situation in the event of open hostilities. For that reason we must take every precaution to safeguard our productive might.

Question. Do you think the public has been getting a fair picture of the danger from Communists within this country?

Answer. I feel that the press, radio, television, and congressional investigating committees have done much in recent years to educate the public as to the nature, operations, and objectives of communism; and the educational program of the American Legion has been particularly effective.

Question. Do you think the public now understands and appreciates the danger?

Answer. Those who are interested in learning about the Communist menace have certainly had the opportunity to become better informed during recent years; but, of course, there are many people who are apathetic about the danger and consequently have little or no understanding of it.

Question. Because of the Korean war most Americans now recognize the overall menace of armed aggression. They also know that Soviet spies have been at work in this country. However, is it not true that most Americans are hazy when it comes to Communist fronts, how they operate, and what should be done about them?

Answer. The fact that there are so many Communist-front groups now operating in the United States leaves no doubt that many Americans have not checked into the underlying purpose and nature of such organizations before becoming affiliated with them.

Communist-front groups are organizations of a disguised character which the Communist Party uses to further its aims. They would appear on the surface not to be under Communist control, and their ostensible objectives would seem to be entirely legitimate. Only in this way can they attract the support of many individuals who would not openly uphold a known Communist Party program.

Front groups are particularly valuable to the Communist Party as a recruiting field for potential party members, as a source of funds, as a pressure group advocating a particular Communist program and as a means of disseminating Communist propaganda. They are established either by actually organizing a new group around a particular issue or by infiltrating a legitimate existing organization. Among those who participate in front groups are open Communist Party members, concealed Communists, fellow travelers, and Communist sympathizers.

Legal action has been taken with respect to such organizations. The Internal Security Act of 1950 provides that organizations determined by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be Communist front organizations, and officers of these organizations, must register with the Attorney General; and certain restrictions are placed upon such organizations and persons. The Subversive Activities Control Board has been holding hearings on certain organizations on the Attorney General's list, to determine whether

they are Communist front organizations within the provisions of this act.

It is highly important that any person stop, look, and listen before he allows his name to be used by any newly created organization with whose aims he is not completely familiar.

Question. You have often predicted that the Communists would go underground when things became hot. With public resentment increasing, hasn't there been a general movement from open Communist organizations to more or less nebulous front organizations?

Answer. Very definitely. Almost all Communist Party activity is being carried on in a disguised manner. Many of the top leaders and most trusted members of the party have gone underground, and the rank-and-file membership carry on party activities through Communist front organizations and even through infiltrating legitimate organizations. For example, under party instructions they have joined parent-teacher associations, church, civic, and similar groups in which you would not expect to find them. They are transferred to different sections of the country where they assume fictitious names and backgrounds and infiltrate unsuspecting groups and right-led labor unions in order to further the Communist program. Therefore it will be increasingly difficult for unsuspecting citizens to detect Communist influence in organizational activities.

Question. This, then, means a tougher problem for Americans since the fight moves into a twilight zone. Issues are confused, and the public is confused. How can communism be fought most effectively in America today?

Answer. I have always felt that an alert informed citizenry is our most potent weapon against communism. The vast majority of Americans are patriotic, loyal citizens. They abhor treachery, deceit, and any forces which would deprive us of our freedom and democratic liberties, and will not long tolerate the perpetuation of such evils. Through the schools, churches, press, and radio, the public should be given the facts about communism. Not through demagoguery or appeal to their prejudices and fears, but through a clear, factual, truthful presentation, the public should continue to be informed of the real purposes, objectives, loyalties, and methods of operation of the Communist Party. Because communist strategy is based on deceit and its true motives are concealed, communism cannot flourish under the spotlight of truth. The more fully it becomes exposed to the public eye, the more limited becomes its area of effective operations and the more restricted the number of people who will be duped into serving its evil purposes.

Along with informing the public of the truth concerning communism, and publicly exposing it as the foreign-inspired conspiracy that it is, another effective method of fighting communism is by prosecuting Communists for violations of Federal law.

Question. Where can the private citizen go to get authentic information about organizations and individuals he suspects?

Answer. To determine the organizations which have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450, one should either contact the Department of Justice or refer to issues of the Federal Register dated May 12, 1953, July 21, 1953, and October 6, 1953, which contain all deisgnations by the Attorney General up to September 25, 1953. The fact that a particular organization does not appear on the Attorney General's list, however, does not necessarily mean that the organization is clear of subversive influence. Actually that organization may be under investigation, and an individual should be careful of what organizations he joins and should keep his eyes open to detect Communist influence. With regard to obtaining authentic information about individuals he suspects as being Communists, there is no one single source to which he can go to obtain complete information. The FBI must necessarily keep the contents of its files confidential.

Question. How can the individual assist the FBI in its investigation of subversive activities?

Answer. By voluntarily furnishing any information he may have concerning subversive activities to the FBI, and by cooperating in any way he can when requested to by the FBI, the individual is not only rendering valuable assistance but is also measuring up to the responsibilities of good citizenship.

Question: Specifically, if a person feels he has valuable information, how should he go about offering it?

Answer. He can write to me personally; he can go in person to the nearest field office of the FBI; or he can call the nearest field office and arrange for a special agent to contact him. The telephone number of the appropriate FBI office is listed on the first page of all telephone directories. He can be certain that his assistance is appreciated and that his identity will be kept confidential if he so desires.

Question. There is a certain amount of confusion in the public mind concerning the functions of the FBI. Some people feel that "we should not permit Congress to go after alleged subversives since this is a function of the FBI." Others maintain that the FBI could round up all the subversives in the country on short notice; therefore, what are we worrying about?

For the record, will you explain just what the FBI can do and what it is not permitted to do?

Answer. By presidential directives, legislative enactments and instructions of the Attorney General the FBI has the responsibility of investigating espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and related domestic intelligence matters and of serving as a coordinating agency for the dissemination of domestic intelligence information to other Federal agencies authorized to receive it. The FBI is a fact-finding agency and does not institute prosecutive action on the basis of its investigative findings. Information reflecting a violation of Federal law is referred to the Department of Justice for an opinion as to prosecution. Any information received which pertains to the responsibilities of some other Government agency is transmitted directly to that agency without recommendation or evaluation.

While the FBI for years has exposed the Communist conspiracy, it cannot divulge the confidential details of its files as to specific individuals. A congressional committee having the power of subpena and contempt citation is able to focus public attention on specific situations.

Question. Can a person who believes that the FBI has wrongly pegged him as a Communist present his side of the case so the record shows his version?

Answer. Not only can he present his version, but the FBI welcomes any such person's coming in and relating his story. We are a fact-finding organization and we are just as zealous to protect the innocent as we are to detect those who pose a threat to the internal security of our country.

Question. Ex-Communists are held in low regard by some people who maintain that they shouldn't be trusted and their testimony is worthless. What is your experience with ex-Communists in this respect? Have these people to any great extent redeemed themselves by the help they have given you?

Answer. The assistance which ex-Communists have given to the FBI has been invaluable. Having had their eyes opened to the true nature of the Communist conspiracy, many of them have reevaluated the privileges of American citizenship, have realized the duties inherent in such citizenship, and, through makng a full disclosure to the FBI of the information they possess, have made contributions of great value to the internal security of this country. The truth of their testimony has been verified by corroborating evidence. Many ex-Communists have been tested by vigorous and searching cross-examination, and their opponents have been unable to contradict their testimony. Many of them have suffered ostracism, public rebuke and social distrust as a result of their breaking with the Communist Party and testifying against it. All religions teach that redemption is possible for any man who sincerely repents and seeks to make amend for his errors. The sincerity of a former Communist can be judged by his willingness to stand up and be counted and by taking positive action to attempt to rectify his wrongs. I am always glad to see ex-Communists make their change of conscience and philosophy a matter of record, assume earnestly the responsibilities of good citizenship and join in the fight against the evil they formerly espoused, and I welcome the information which they can furnish.

Question. We have asked about past and present dangers. Can you indicate what the Communists are planning for 1954 and later?

Answer. The Communist Party has three primary plans for future action. One is the infiltration of labor. In this respect the party is concentrating on the infiltration of right-led unions, or non-Communist-dominated unions, and labor unions in the basic industries. Its vicious purpose is both to influence the trade-union movement in this country and to be on the ground floor in the event the labor movement ever forms a third major political party in the United States.

A second diabolical plan is to infiltrate and strengthen its ties within the two major political parties in this country, in order to advance more effectively the interests of the Communist Party within the existing political framework and to bring about a new political realinement in this country on the basis of which the Communist Party hopes ultimately to be the dominating force.

A third and probably the most important plan is the continuation of the so-called peace offensive. Here the Communists are attempting to capitalize on the deep desire of the American people for peace. They would lay sole claim to any real efforts to achieve that goal; yet it is their Soviet masters who make the achievement of world peace so difficult. In order that we may not be misled by Communist peace propaganda, it is important that we understand the Marxist-Leninist distinction between two kinds of peace—lasting peace, obtained only after world revolution; and temporary peace, regarded as a tactical necessity as the tide of revolution ebbs and flows. In short, the peace which figures so prominently in Communist propaganda today is a temporary tactical peace designed to strengthen the Soviet Union and to stupefy its adversaries.

Question. The lone individual often feels he can do nothing to fight communism, and in most cases there is not a great deal he can do. However, there are some things open to him. What are they?

Answer. Every loyal American citizen can and should join in the fight against the Communist menace. These are some of the things each person can do:

1. Learn the facts about communism—its history and objectives, its program and techniques in this country. The better informed one becomes, the more rapidly he can detect Communist influences and the more intelligently he can fight communism.

2. Through such media as the press and radio, keep up with Russia's stand on matters of foreign policy. The Communist Party in America will take the same position, and the party line will fluctuate as Soviet foreign

policy changes. Sudden reversals in Soviet policy will cause members of the party to make sudden similar reversals in their pronouncements, which is one of the best ways to spot Communists.

3. Become familiar with the names of organizations publicly cited as Communist fronts, and refuse to join such groups, to sponsor their causes or to contribute to their fund drives.

4. Be alert to Communist tactics in unions and other organizations. Outmaneuver them. Keep them under control and in the minority at all times and attempt to eliminate or neutralize their effectiveness. Openly oppose their efforts to promulgate pro-Communist activities or resolutions.

5. Keep Communists out of official positions in schools, churches and other institutions where they can poison the minds and influence actions of youth.

6. Exercise your privilege to vote and keep Communists and their sympathizers out of public office.

7. Develop an intelligent, participating interest in civic affairs and programs for social improvement. Don't let Communists claim a monopoly in such matters or move in and direct established programs.

8. Report to the FBI immediately any pertinent information relating to subversive activities.

9. Conduct no private investigations of suspicious persons or organizations but leave that to trained investigators who are authorized to perform such investigations. Do not become involved in the Communist movement for whatever worthwhile motives without first discussing the matter thoroughly with the FBI and establishing a cooperative relationship.

10. Learn as much as possible about America—its history, government, culture, laws and heritage of freedom; and make the practice of democracy its own bulwark against subversion. Speak up for America and work for America.

Housing Industry Is Now Less Vulnerable to Economic Setback, Ike Tells Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I include in these remarks a discussion which appeared in the February issue of the Magazine of Prefabrication on the housing industry and particularly with reference to the recommendations of President Eisenhower in his economic report to Congress on January 28, as follows:

HOUSING INDUSTRY IS NOW LESS VULNERABLE TO ECONOMIC SETBACK, IKE TELLS CONGRESS

President Eisenhower, in his annual economic report to Congress on January 28, gave the following analysis of the housing market outlook for 1953 and the next few years:

"Housing construction, which has played so important a role in the rapid rate of increase of investment expenditures since World War II, may be expected to continue at a level close to that of 1953. Despite the record volume of home building in recent years, we are still confronted by a good housing market. Vacancies in our cities are, with few exceptions, below the level regarded as necessary for a healthy, competitive housing market.

"During the next few years, the rate of formation of new families and households is likely to diminish as a result of the lower birth rate of the depressed thirties. Other factors on the side of demand are likely, however, to press for a high volume of residential construction. These include the continued movement of the city population toward the suburbs, the high birth rate of recent years and the improvement of incomes during the past decade. The recent easing of funds in the mortgage market will strengthen the forces of supply as well as of demand.

"Further, in contrast to earlier times, many of today's builders have considerable overhead expenses to reckon with, and they will not be averse to making price concessions if this will help to keep their organizations intact. The rental housing market, especially in the medium-price ranges, has been neglected of late and could offer investment opportunities. Finally, if the volume of housing showed persistent signs of declining, the terms of FHA-insured mortgages could at once be liberalized under existing law.

"Taking a longer view, it is well to recognize that the housing industry has become less vulnerable to recessionary influences and is less likely in turn to contribute to economic instability, as the result of a number of institutional changes during the past 20 years.

"The introduction of the long-term amortized mortgage, and the establishment of a system of mortgage insurance and guaranties, also the establishment of the Federal Home Loan Bank System and of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, have greatly strengthened the home mortgage market. While facilitating the maintenance of high levels of residential building, they have also provided more protection against possible economic setbacks."

How Much Is Your Congressman Worth?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article which is to appear in the April 1954 issue of the Independent Woman is worthy of our colleagues' attention.

Independent Woman is the magazine of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and is read by some 160,000 members of that organization throughout the United States and Canada.

It is my hope that our colleagues will take to heart the views expressed by Marjorie L. Temple in this article and that they will act accordingly.

HOW MUCH IS YOUR CONGRESSMAN WORTH?

(By Marjorie L. Temple)

Like almost everyone else, your Congressman has been hard hit by the increased cost of living. His difficulties have been further complicated by the fact that the increased responsibilities of his job keep him in Washington more and more days of the year. This means that he must keep up two homes—an expensive business as everyone knows. His financial burdens are made still heavier by the innumerable demands made upon him by his constituents, by all kinds of organizations and by requests for contributions to worthy causes which he cannot very well refuse.

Unlike other employees, however, your Congressman cannot go to the boss and ask for a raise. He is in the unique position of having to give himself a raise and then to justify it to the voters who gave him his job and pay him his salary.

Last year an impartial Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries was formed to study the matter of salaries for the judiciary and Members of Congress. It uncovered some economic facts which caused it to recommend a raise in salaries from the present $15,000 to $27,500. Congress can vote itself less than the amount recommended by the Commission but not more. The current gossip on the Hill is that the most that can be hoped for is a $5,000 increase.

A lot of money, you say? It is indeed. But then, we expect our Congressmen to do for us a lot of things we would never ask a person in private life to day.

Here are some of the facts the Commission brought to light.

First of all, let's go back in history. That always brings forth interesting facts. When the first Congress took up the matter, its intention was to fix the pay of Members at a figure that would provide an adequate standard of living yet avoid extremes. According to the records, two standards were used: "First, the compensation be not made an object for indigence to pursue; and second, that it not be so low as to throw the business of legislation into the hands of rich and aspiring nabobs, but such as to compensate a man in the middle grade of life." Six dollars a day was settled upon as adequate by these standards even though it was noted a man might "live for $2 a day."

Since 1939, which is regarded as an acceptable base year for comparing the purchasing power of the dollar, the cost of living has risen about 92 percent. In terms of the 1939 dollar, your Congressman has today, after taxes, about $6,500. Not even a modern Houdini could do what we expect our Congressmen to do on that salary. Nor should they even try.

As business and professional women, we are constantly concerning ourselves with good personnel practices and particularly with the problem of adequate pay for the job done.

Let's take some salary comparisons from the report of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries, 83d Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 300 and see how our Congressmen make out:

"Thirteen of the highest paid executives of labor organizations surveyed, receive from $20,000 to $50,000 per year in salary. In agriculture some of the heads of farm cooperatives receive salaries of $15,000 to $35,000 or more per year. The top officials of 100 of our largest corporations average, in round numbers, $120,000 per year with a range from $38,522 to $279,707. In 1951, the year of latest available statistics, 46 of our largest railroads paid their presidents an average of $69,270 with a range of from $40,000 to $125,000; their general counsels, an average of $35,590."

These salaries are net and do not include expense allowances for all expenses attributable to these private positions, that is, legitimate business expenses deductible from income for tax purposes. Nor do they include bonuses, retirement rights, stock purchase rights, or survivor benefits.

Also keep in mind that you, the taxpayer, pay their salaries when you buy their products or ride their trains, just as you pay the Congressman's salary when you pay taxes.

Because of the demands of travel, dual-home maintenance, extra office expenses, unavoidable entertainment of constituents, and appeals for contributions to good causes (to say nothing of regular campaign costs), the average Congressman operates at an annual deficit of about $3,000 so far as his congressional salary is concerned. This means

that if the present situation continues, Congress will be composed of those who can afford the office because of independent means or because they are subsidized in one way of another.

To quote once more from the Commission report:

"One of the most striking and disturbing facts which the Commission's inquiry disclosed was the number of experienced, able Congressmen who have been forced to abandon the public service solely as a result of economic pressures. No one can say how many more qualified candidates for public office have been forced by these same limitations to abandon any thought of Federal service; though the evidence shows there are many."

Every Member of Congress is entitled to mileage expenses of 20 cents per mile for 1 round trip from his home to Washington and back again each session of Congress. All other trips are at his own expense. Those who live near Washington are expected by their constituents to be home frequently. Those who live a long distance from Washington seldom get home and consequently lose touch with their constituents politically and otherwise.

Although the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has no item on its legislative platform authorizing it to deal with this problem as an organization, this information is being presented to the members as an issue of direct interest and concern, and one in which each member may act as an individual.

Every BPW member is aware of the fact that our Congressmen are our business, that we rely on them for many favors. We ask them to do tape recordings, to place statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to speak to our clubs, to attend our functions, to provide information, and to help us introduce legislation and get it passed. All this costs the Congressman money—money which he frequently cannot afford, but he never says "No." We are only one of hundreds of organizations making such demands. The wide range of demands from individuals is impossible to imagine unless you spend a day or two in his office. He does everything, from furnishing materials for term papers to introducing private bills and making reservations in Washington hotels for the Cherry Blossom Festival.

Because I have become increasingly aware of their heavy burdens and the many tasks they must perform outside their legislative activities and outside their own political districts, I have taked to many Senators and Representatives on this subject during the last 4 years. In the 1930's congressional sessions averaged 198 days a year, and there was practically no committee activity between sessions. Since 1950 the average has increased to 279 days, and Members are on duty 365 days a year either in Washington, on committee tours, or in their districts. They even get called at home at night when other people have finished a day's business.

Your Congressman represents this country in the tremendous tasks now placed upon it by virtue of its leadership in the free world. He must be all things to all people. He is the one person who must have at least some knowledge of law, banking, international relations, immigration, conservation, and interstate commerce.

I have known several very fine young members who, having served 1 or 2 terms, found they could not afford to continue because they could not make enough money to educate theid children as they desired.

As individuals, we have an opportunity to say 'thank you" to the many members who have helped us in the past (including those with whom we did not always agree) and to help see that we do not eventually perpetuate a Congress composed primarily of those "who can afford to serve." All it would take would be a post card to your Representative and Senator. He would appreciate an expression of your opinion and he would probably appreciate it even more if you also wrote that no answer would be necessary.

How much is a Congressman worth? Think of the support we have got from Congressmen in legislation sponsored by our Federation that has meant increasing opportunities for all of us in the professions and in business. Think of the number of club programs on which Congressmen have made personal appearances as speakers or provided us with recorded speeches. Think of the place of Congress in our concept of government. And then see if you can put a price tag on the services of your Congressman.

Crusade for Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very illuminating series of questions and answers on the great American crusade which supports Radio Free Europe and other activities of the National Committee for a Free Europe:

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON RADIO FREE EUROPE AND THE CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

Question. What is the Crusade for Freedom?

Answer. The Crusade for Freedom is the great American crusade which financially supports Radio Free Europe and other activities of the National Committee for a Free Europe. General Lucius D. Clay was the first chairman of its board of directors. General Eisenhower was a charter member.

Question. Just what activities are supported by the Crusade for Freedom?

Answer. Radio Free Europe is a major project of the Crusade for Freedom. Other important activities include the University in Exile, support of refugee self-help projects, national language bulletins and publications such as News From Behind the Iron Curtain.

Question. What is Radio Free Europe?

Answer. Actually it is a number of stations in western Europe broadcasting truth through the Iron Curtain to the people of captive countries in their own tongues and in the voices of their own known and trusted exiles.

Question. What is the Iron Curtain exactly?

Answer. It is actually a strip of Communist-controlled hell-on-earth between the free countries of Europe and the Soviet-enslaved nations. It is composed of armed guards, alarm systems, mine zones, electrified barbed wire, blood hounds, and booby traps. And back of this strip is a wider strip, some 30 miles deep, where travel is restricted and through which escape is difficult.

Question. What is the difference between Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America?

Answer. The Voice of America is run and paid for by the Government. Radio Free Europe is operated as an independent American enterprise by a committee of private citizens. It is people talking to people—Poles telling the truth to Poles, Czechs telling the truth to Czechs, etc. It is not bound by diplomatic limitations.

The Voice of America broadcasts to a number of countries and can only devote a limited amount of time each day to any one country. Radio Free Europe's "Voice of Free Czechoslovakia," on the other hand, broadcasts about 20 hours each day to Czechoslovakia alone.

Question. Exactly what countries does Radio Free Europe reach?

Answer. Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania with a total of 70 million population.

Question. How do we know they're listening?

Answer. Letters by the hundreds are spirited out, testifying to the big audience which listens. Quotes: "Everybody listens. Those who have no radio ask 'What was on today'"? "RFE is simply like daily bread * * * I do not know what we would do without it." "RFE is considered the bridge between Poland and the free world * * * on which lie our hopes for the future."

Question. How many transmitters do the Radio Free Europe stations use now?

Answer. 21. They're located in Western Germany, and in Portugal. And they are powerful. By putting them all on different waves lengths they can be used—and have been—to crash through Communist "jamming."

Question. Why are transmitters needed?

Answer. More transmitters, and still more transmitters are needed now to let truth speak louder than ever to these captive people. Transmitters in new locations are needed too—as added insurance that this "Voice of Freedom" will never be stilled. Each new transmitter insures a new listening position on a captive radio dial.

Question. Is it being efficiently run? Is my money likely to be wasted?

Answer. Representatives of American business and labor have investigated it on the ground. One typical report stated, "Its approach is direct, and practical * * * There is no overstaffing at the head * * * Each individual has a well-defined task to fulfill * * * Support of this organization is one of the very best investments American citizens can make in their efforts to win the cold war."

Question. Who operates Radio Free Europe?

Answer. Millions of American citizens like yourself, through voluntary contributions of millions of dollars. More than 1,000 carefully screened people man the stations. The management is American, but the staff is largely composed of editors, reporters, teachers, clergymen, and entertainers, who have come from behind the Iron Curtain.

Question. What sort of programs does it broadcast?

Answer. Good shows—shows that outpull in popularity the Communists' own programs. Worldwide and local news, advice, music, religion—better and more complete than they get from Radio Prague or Radio Warsaw. And hot truth through it all. And hope.

Question. What do you mean, "Hot truth"?

Answer. The true version of news events aired so fast it scalds Communist lies almost while they're being spoken. Frequent news "scoops," where truth beats the Soviet lies to the punch. For example, RFE scooped Communist radio by many hours on both Stalin's illness and Beria's arrest.

Question. How does it get its news?

Answer. Radio Free Europe monitors all Communist broadcasts. Every program is analyzed by nationals of the captive countries who know the truth. Voluminous information from many sources is compiled and evaluated constantly by exiled experts. New exiles bring out new truth daily—and they bring it to RFE.

Question. Doesn't all that cost a lot of money?

Answer. Yes, millions. But every dollar works like 10, because so much of the effort is supplied by loyal exiles anxious to serve

their people—and because every receiving set serves so many truth-hungry ears.

Question. How much is needed now?

Answer. At least $10 million. But, as important as the money, the widest possible participation—to communicate the truest possible feeling of friendship from millions of American people in all walks of life.

Question. How much should one individual give?

Answer. All he can * * * a "truth dollar" is suggested.

Question. What will one dollar buy on LIFE?

Answer. A dollar buys 100 words of truth broadcast through the Iron Curtain. Send your contribution to "Crusade for Freedom," c/o your local postmaster. He will forward it. Your money will start working right away.

Question. Why is it so important to me?

Answer. Because it is devoted to the single most important job in the world—to help keep World War III from happening. If 90 million people in the Iron Curtain countries reached by RFE continue to resist Soviet tyranny, the Kremlin is kept off balance in one of the most strategically sensitive areas of the world.

"Every American who joins this Crusade for the support of Radio Free Europe can be sure in his heart of these things:

"1. He is supporting the cause of peace throughout the world.

"2. He is helping arm the spirits of captive people with hope and courage.

"3. He is helping to keep Central and Eastern Europeans strong-hearted, nationally proud, determined to win their own way back to freedom.

"I urge every American to support this independent American enterprise dedicated to strengthening the will-to-freedom overseas.

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
"President of the United States."

Carrying the Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared in the February 17 issue of the Long Island Daily Press entitled "Carrying the Mail."

We Long Islanders are definitely interested in the readjustment of postal rates as it will affect Long Island, but as pointed out in the editorial we are also concerned with the plight of the postal employees, who are now seeking an increase in salary.

Many times in the past I have urged my colleagues to enact an adequate pay raise bill, and I am most hopeful that this year, in the very near future, we will have an opportunity to vote on legislation which will provide that necessary increase to these employees.

The editorial follows:

CARRYING THE MAIL

Long Island's case against discrimination in the proposed readjustment of postal rates has been put into the hands of the Senate and House Post Office Committees.

The Press exhibit of news stories, editorials, cartoons, and letters from readers was taken to Washington by Andrew Viglietta, chief of our news bureau in the Capital.

Our case is that Queens, Nassau, and Suffolk will be discriminated against by the proposed changes. Mail would go up to 4 cents between districts. Queens has 4 districts, Nassau has 55, and Suffolk has 109. Yet Manhattan and the Bronx together form one district, and all of Brooklyn is one district.

We also question the wisdom of having so many districts from an economy viewpoint. We suspect they're mighty expensive, with plenty of overlapping and duplication.

We are not unalterably opposed to raising first class mail rates to 4 cents, however, if we are assured at least that Long Island gets the same break as the rest of the U. S. A.

While it astounds us that a Government monopoly of the size of the Post Office Department can fail to make money, it unquestionably does.

And we have to pay for it, if not in a 4-cent mail rate, in other taxes, to make up the Post Office Department's annual deficit.

While on this subject, we'd also like to get in a plug for the postal workers.

They should get more pay. They are notoriously underpaid, as everyone knows, and deserve that $600 raise that has been asked for them.

If Postmaster Summerfield can prove that there's no way to give them that raise without increasing mail rates, then that will have to be done.

We don't like the looks of any tax increase in the form of higher priced postage stamps. But neither do we like to see these faithful fellows of the post office walking their legs off and making themselves stoop-shouldered for the low wages they get.

Senator Symington Issues Timely Warning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the February 17, last, issue of the Washington Evening Star an editorial calling attention to the preeminent right of Senator STUART SYMINGTON to speak with regard to our air superiority. The editorial takes note of Mr. SYMINGTON's recent warning not to underestimate the engineering and production ability of the Soviet Union.

In my opinion the Nation would well heed any words of Senator SYMINGTON with regard to our air strength. Under his guidance the Air Force moved forcefully to a stronger buildup and to strengthening our resources of research and development through the establishment of the great Arnold Air Engineering Development Center in the district which I have the honor to represent. The force, foresight, and intelligence which the then Secretary of the Air Force Symington displayed in overcoming this lag was a characteristic of all his activities during his tenure in the top Air Force job.

In view of these facts, I ask that the editorial, to which I have referred and which emphasizes a warning which an expert has given us, be included in the Appendix of the RECORD along with my remarks.

The editorial follows:

NOT TO BE UNDERRATED

Senator STUART SYMINGTON has done a timely thing in warning against the danger of underestimating the Soviet Union's engineering and producing ability in the field of long-range strategic bombers. He has been moved to do this by fresh indications—in the form of an article and two photographs in the magazine Aviation Week—that the Russians are making further inroads on the air superiority of the United States.

The first of the photographs (Mr. SYMINGTON has been assured that both are authentic) shows the Ilyushkin-38. A modern swept-back-wing plane driven by four turboprop engines, it has the appearance of being somewhere between our B-47 and B-52 in terms of size, and between medium and long in terms of range. As for the second photograph, it shows the Tupolov-200. Equipped with six turbo-prop engines, this also is a swept-back-wing type—about as big as our giant B-36, but said to be far more modern, much faster, and fully capable of round-trip intercontinental attack. Further, as regards the operational status of these 2 bombers, Aviation Week has received reports that at least 400 of them are already in service at Soviet bases located across the polar cap from North America.

All this information, of course, is quite unofficial, and it must therefore be viewed with a considerable measure of reserve. Yet, in a speech last August, Air Force Secretary Talbott hinted at something like it, and Mr. SYMINGTON—who is no novice in such matters—has been sufficiently impressed by it to declare that if it is true, as it may be, "then the Soviet position from the standpoint of a combination of performance coordinated with atomic potential may be superior to ours, because we have not a single modern long-range bomber wing in action." Accordingly, as he has just suggested to the Senate, the Defense Department's reassuring statements of the past are very much open to question and challenge.

As recalled by Mr. SYMINGTON, these statements—specifically those of Defense Secretary Wilson—have included the following: (1) On last May 20, "I think our people can take some comfort" from indications of Soviet concentration on producing fighter planes and defensive craft; (2) on September 29, "The Russians' best bomber is an improved version of the B-29"; and (3) on October 6, "It will take the Russians at least 3 years to get either the aircraft or a droppable bomb to deliver a hydrogen attack on the United States. . . . We give the Russians credit for having aircraft that they just don't have." Mr. Wilson's sources of information are much better than those of any magazine or newspaper, and he may well have good reason to adhere to views of this sort, but Mr. SYMINGTON's Senate remarks have raised valid doubts to the contrary. It could be that the reassuring words of the past now need drastic revision.

In any event, because of his experience as Air Force Secretary from 1947 to 1950, Mr. SYMINGTON speaks with enough authority to be listened to when he warns the country not to underrate the Russians and their strategic-bombing potential. After all, since they are capable of producing atomic weapons and the hydrogen bomb, it is simple common sense to assume that they are sparing no effort to build the planes needed for long-range delivery.

New Entranceway Would Be an Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to exend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "New Entranceway Would Be an Asset" which appeared in the February 21, 1954, issue of the Park City Daily News of Bowling Green, Ky.

Mammoth Cave National Park is the most widely known tourist attraction in Kentucky. This national park contains 51,000 acres of land. In the year 1926 Congress provided for the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park with the proviso that the Federal Government would not pay for the land and the caves necessary for this park. At this time, the Mammoth Cave National Park Association was organized and through its efforts and the efforts of the officials of the Commonwealth of Kentucky some $2,800,000 was raised and used in the purchase of the land and caves for this beautiful tourist attraction. Mammoth Cave National Park was officially dedicated and taken over by the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service in the year 1946.

Mammoth Cave, one of America's most famous show places, has been a national attraction for more than a century. There are more than 150 miles of explored corridors in Mammoth Cave. In the year 1953 some 499,416 tourists visited Mammoth Cave National Park. Thousands upon thousands traveled thousands of miles to visit Mammoth Cave National Park.

Again, this great organization, the Mammoth Cave National Park Association, which continues to function assisting the Department of the Interior and the Commonwealth of Kentucky in making Mammoth Cave National Park a success, has announced a fund-raising campaign with its goal being $60,267.50, with said amount to be used in purchasing rights-of-way for new entranceway for Mammoth Cave National Park on United States Highway 31–W. This organization will be successful in its efforts and again is making a great contribution to Kentucky and to the Mammoth Cave National Park.

As a citizen of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, I am proud of the achievements of the Mammoth Cave National Park Association and the splendid cooperation received by this organization from our distinguished Governor, Lawrence W. Wetherby, and from his able Commissioner of Conservation, the Honorable Henry Ward. Our Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Douglas McKay, and his Director of National Park Service, the Honorable Conrad L. Wirth, are to be congratulated for their efforts in making Mammoth Cave National Park one of the main tourist attractions of the United States and one which is financially a success.

I include at this point in the RECORD the editorial:

NEW ENTRANCEWAY WOULD BE AN ASSET

Kentuckians have a big stake in the proper development of the Mammoth Cave National Park. Already interested citizens and the public as a whole, through appropriations of Kentucky's General Assembly, have invested approximately $3 million in the widely known tourist attraction. These funds helped make it possible for Mammoth Cave to become a part of the National Park System in 1946.

Much of the work and most of the inspiration that make the park possible was provided by the Mammoth Cave National Park Association, an organization of Kentuckians interested in this natural wonder that Conservation Commissioner Henry Ward describes as the most widely known tourist attraction in the Commonwealth.

Now the Mammoth Cave National Park Association is calling on Kentuckians for new support. The organization has launched a campaign to raise $60,267 to assure a fitting road from U. S. 31-W to the park proper.

Already the Kentucky National Park Commission and the national park association have invested $26,712 in this project, while the State Property and Building Commission has expended an additional $62,800. This money has gone for the purchase of options along the proposed right-of-way. The money which the current campaign seeks to raise will go for the actual purchase of the land involved.

The Mammoth Cave National Park Association and the National Park Service feel that the proposed entranceway is necessary to the proper development of the park. The association claims it would attract many thousands of additional visitors to the park, and, of course, make it possible for them to enjoy their visit more thoroughly.

The National Park Service plans to build the new entranceway, which would connect with 31-W just north of Park City, as soon as all rights-of-way have been purchased.

It seems to us that this is a campaign that merits the support of those many citizens of Kentucky interested in the future of this world-renowned wonder, although it is sure to be opposed by those who have interests along the route of Ky.-70 leading from Cave City to the park.

Most right-of-way options expire June 1, so the time in which to raise the required amount is short. It will take prompt and enthusiastic response to bring the drive to a successful conclusion before this deadline.

H. R. 8068

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. LANTAFF
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANTAFF. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the remarks that I made on the floor today, I submit herewith a copy of H. R. 8068, providing increased clerk hire, postage, telephone, and telegraph allowances for Members of the House, two editorials from the Miami Herald, and a column by one of the most outstanding and respected columnists in south Florida, Bill Baggs, of the Miami Daily News:

A bill relating to clerk hire and postage allowance of, and telephone and telegraph service for, Members of the House of Representatives

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4 of the act entitled "An act relating to telephone and telegraph service and clerk hire for Members of the House of Representatives," approved June 23, 1949 (2 U. S. C., sec. 60g), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. The clerk hire of Members of the House of Representatives shall be as follows:

"(1) At the rate of $13,125 per annum in the case of each Member from a district the population of which is less than $400,000;

"(2) At the rate of $13,750 per annum in the case of each Member from a district the populatoin of which is 400,000 or more but less than 500,000;

"(3) At the rate of $14,375 per annum in the case of each Member from a district the population of which is 500,000 or more but less than 600,000;

"(4) At the rate of $15,000 per annum in the case of each Member from a district the population of which is 600,000 or more.

No person shall receive basic compensation from such clerk hire at a rate in excess of $5,000 per annum."

SEC. 2. Section 2 of such act of June 23, 1949 (2 U. S. C., sec. 46g), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. (a) In the case of any Member of the House of Representatives other than the Speaker, the majority leader, the minority leader, the majority whip, and the minority whip, there shall be paid under the first section of this act—

"(1) Toll charges on strictly official long-distance telephone calls made by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 157½ minutes a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is less than 400,000, except that if such aggregate number of minutes is not used in any 1 month the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(2) Toll charges on strictly official long-distance telephone calls made by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 165 minutes if such Member is from a district the population of which is 400,000 or more but less than 500,000, except that if such aggregate number of minutes is not used in any 1 month the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(3) Toll charges on strictly official long-distance telephone calls made by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 172½ minutes a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is 500,000 or more but less than 600,000, except that if such aggregate number of minutes is not used in any 1 month the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(4) Toll charges on strictly official long-distance telephone calls made by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 180 minutes a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is 600,000 or more, except that if such aggregate number of minutes is not used in any one month, the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs.

"(b) In the case of any Member of the House of Representatives other than the Speaker, the majority leader, the minority leader, the majority whip, and the minority whip, there shall be paid under the first section of this act—

"(1) Charges on strictly official telegrams sent by or on behalf of the Member aggre-

gating not more than 1,050 words a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is less than 400,000, except that if such aggregate number of words is not used in any one month, the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(2) Charges on strictly official telegrams sent by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 1,100 words a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is 400,000 or more but less than 500,000, except that if such aggregate number of words is not used in any one month, the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(3) Charges on strictly official telegrams sent by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 1,150 words a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is 500,000 or more but less than 600,000, except that if such aggregate number of words is not used in any one month the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs;

"(4) Charges on strictly official telegrams sent by or on behalf of the Member aggregating not more than 1,200 words a month if such Member is from a district the population of which is 600,000 or more, except that if such aggregate number of words is not used in any one month the balance may be used at any other time during the term of office of such Member in which such month occurs."

SEC. 3. Section 6 of such Act of June 23, 1949 (2 U. S. C., sec. 461), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 6. As used in this act—

"(1) the term 'Member' or 'Member of the House of Representatives' includes a Representative in Congress, a Delegate from a Territory, and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico;

"(2) the term 'district' includes a State in the case of a Member elected at large from such State, a Territory, and Puerto Rico."

SEC. 4. (a) The allowances of Members of the House of Representatives for each fiscal year for the purchase of United States airmail and special-delivery postage stamps shall be as follows:

(1) $131.25 in the case of each member from a district the population of which is less than 400,000:

(2) $137.50 in the case of each Member from a district the population of which is 400,000 or more but less than 500,000;

(3) $143.75 in the case of each Member from a disrtict the population of which is 500,000 or more but less than 600,000;

(4) $150 in the case of each Member from a district the population of which is 600,000 or more.

Such allowances shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives.

(b) The tenth paragraph under the heading Contingent Expenses of the House in the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1953, is amended by striking out "the amount allowed to Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico for each fiscal year shall be $125 each and to standing committees $50 each;" and inserting in lieu thereof "the amount allowed to standing committees for each fiscal year shall be $80 each;".

(c) As used in subsection (a) of this section—

(1) the term "Member" means a Representative in Congress, a Delegate from a Territory, or the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico;

(2) the term "Members of the House of Representatives" includes Representatives in Congress, Delegates from the Territories, and the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico;

(3) the term "district" includes a State in the case of a Member elected at large from such State, a Territory, and Puerto Rico.

SEC. 5. This act shall take effect on July 1, 1954.

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald of January 18, 1954]

BETTER PAY FOR BETTER MEN

If Congress needed its backbone stiffened to vote itself adequate salaries, it can point to the recommendations just made by President Eisenhower's Salary Commission.

That 18-man Commission said Congressmen are grossly underpaid and should not hesitate to vote themselves a $12,500 pay raise to $27,500 a year.

At the same time it urged increases of $10,000 each for the Vice President and Speaker of the House and $12,500 to $14,500 yearly increases for overworked and poorly paid Federal judges.

The recommended increases are not out of line with what thoughtful students of government have long urged. The Commission said the net cost of $7,508,793 was a small price to pay for the advancement of the public interest which is served * * *.

It repeated the familiar argument that present low salaries not only drive competent officials into private employment but tend more and more to restrict the positions to persons of independent wealth or outside earnings.

This was one of the major points emphasized by the American Bar Association in a formal statement by the Senate Judiciary committee last April 14.

Urging a salary scale "at once dignified and bearing some measure of decent relationship" to their responsibilities, the association said:

"To do otherwise is to make the Congress open only to the wealthy few and thus to do disservice to the constitutional intendment and to strike a blow at the foundation of representative government. Economy in this sense is both false and dangerous . . . to hazard it at the sacrifice of ability without purse is to pay lip service to the democratic ideal and to reward with a pittance men to whom we have committed our purse, the general regulation of our federal policy, our relationships with other nations, and, all too often, fateful issue of peace or war."

At those hearings many members of Congress testified their present pay was not big enough to cover the cost of maintaining two homes, the expense of frequent campaigning, and the variety of social expense incidental to their office.

It was for precisely these reasons that Congressman William Lantaff of Miami recently announced he would return to private law practice.

Like others without an outside income, he found the constant worry over financial problems distracting and enervating to a point where it interfered with his efficiency as a legislator.

Actually, a salary increase for our legislators is long overdue.

Congress has not had a raise since 1946 when it increased salaries from $10,000 to $15,000.

Inflation and taxes, however, have more than canceled out the increases, leaving them poorer than before the war.

We believe no thoughtful person will quarrel with them if they follow the Salary Commission's recommendations to the letter.

[From the Miami (Fla.) Herald of January 5, 1954]

AS WE SEE IT—CONGRESS HAS A SALARY PROBLEM

Congress has long had its eye on a pay raise but has been reluctant to take responsibility for hiking its own.

Yet the evidence brought out at hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee shows that our Representatives are worse off today with their $15,000 than they were in 1939 when they received $10,000 a year.

There is almost unanimous agreement that they must be given some financial relief or we will see more announcements like the one just made by Miami's Representative BILL LANTAFF.

LANTAFF said bluntly that the financial hardships of serving, of maintaining two homes and of trying to conduct both public and private business were forcing him out of Congress. He will not seek reelection. At the conclusion of the present session of Congress he will return to his private law practice.

Supporting LANTAFF'S statement, the Senate Judiciary Committee pointed out that the compensation of a Member having one dependent and no outside sources of income actually comes down to $6,724 in terms of 1939 purchasing power.

Obviously that is wholly inadequate in view of the numerous demands on our legislators. That view is shared by virtually all groups working for better Government. They urge pay increases in the interest of attracting good men to Washington and keeping them there.

We think the majority of voters would agree that a sound increase would not be out of line if it would keep experienced legislators like LANTAFF on the job.

[From the Miami (Fla.) Daily News of January 4, 1954]

WHAT WE PAY FOR

(By Bill Baggs)

On the seventh day of Christmas, a gentleman with no partridge in his pear tree, took a hard look back at 1953, also 1952, 1951, etc.

He considered that Mr. Lincoln once phrased as "whither we are and whither we are tending."

He decided that he was tending fast toward personal bankruptcy.

Here he was, at 40, a talented, knowing man who had sat in the National Congress for 4 years. He had helped to save the patient taxpayers of America hundreds of millions of dollars, and by his own reform studies, had directly saved the same burdened animals tens of millions of dollars.

Yet in his hand was a checkbook, his own, and the figure under that little heading "amount forwarded" was less than $100.

If you forgive the obvious, things to this man didn't seem to add up.

THEY WILL QUIT

So, BILL LANTAFF decided then to quit the Congress and to come home to Miami and practice law. He is assured here of an income three or more times what the people of the Nation will pay him.

This new year, about 25 or 30 other men will quit politics. They will not be defeated at the polls. They will be defeated at the grocery store.

A Member of the Federal House of Representatives is entitled to get $12,500 a year, plus a taxable $2,500 expense account. Thousands of Americans, looking at 15 grand for 12 months, possibly will splatter in the sentiment that they might be able to make ends meet, and even overlap, with that income.

These same thousands probably do not have the special expenses of a Congressman above the routine demands. Mr. LANTAFF has 3 children, one a 12-year-old, and it is time to begin thinking of college for the growing lad. Washington is an expensive place to live. The rent for the Lantaffs was almost $200 monthly. The coal bill, urged upward by entertainment in the house, sometimes ran $50 monthly in the bleak winters that nature lowers on Washington.

"ON YOU"

There is the special account of entertaining. Men who support a candidate (who wins) often show up in Washington, and many a national legislator has heard the remark:

"Well, where are we going tonight?"

The remark should be amended to:

"Well, where are we going tonight on you?"

It was only a short time ago that another able man from Florida quit Congress for economic reasons, Hardin Peterson.

In our Congress are 531 women and men. The decisions which will keep this Nation growing, or let it slide slowly into decline, must be joined on the floors of that Congress. No 531 citizens have such a responsibility as the Federal legislators of America.

PATRIOTS, BUT

In industry, of course, we pay men what we think they are worth. We pay many civil-service employees more than $15,000 a year. An entertainer in a nightclub using second-hand jokes can make more than $15,000 a year.

It seems time we put aside our own grocery bills for a moment, and took the same hard look Mr. LANTAFF did at this problem. It is not the personal problem of 531 women and men. It is your problem and it is mine. There are many patriots in America willing to neglect pure economic opportunities, and thereby serve the Nation. But I think generally it is true, even unto Congressmen, that we shall get approximately what we pay for.

Statement of Purpose and Justification of Administration's Legislative Program on Personnel Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the administration I have today introduced a bill intended to carry out a part of the administration's legislative program on personnel management. Under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am including herewith the statement submitted by the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission explaining the purpose and justification of the legislative program included in the bill. The statement follows:

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY CHAIRMAN OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

REVISION OF PAY SCHEDULES OF THE CLASSIFICATION ACT

Purpose

Without changing the lowest and the highest rate of pay of the Classification Act, to adjust the pay scales of the various grades so as to secure a better internal alinement; specifically, to relieve the compressions in the middle salary brackets; to recognize more adequately the differences among these grades in difficulty and responsibility of work; and to provide adequate money incentives in promotions to more difficult or responsible work.

Justification

The pay schedules of the Classification Act are founded upon grades or levels of difficulty and responsibility of work. Naturally, this basis has facilitated the construction, revision, and administration of pay scales. In addition it is intended to provide a firm and fair basis for promotions, transfers, and reassignments to higher positions as the employee develops in knowledge, ability, and experience and his capacity for accepting heavier responsibilities.

However, uniform dollar increases and other salary increase formulas since 1945 have compressed the middle grades of the Classification Act so close together that they do not lend themselves effectively to all phases of personnel administration.

Where, between a lower job and a higher job, the pay differential is too small compared to the responsibility differential, there is little or no incentive to an employee to aspire to the higher job and little financial reward that the Government may offer for undertaking new and weightier responsibilities.

The proposed revision of the pay schedules is intended to improve their structure in this respect.

New schedules are proposed of both the General Schedule and the Crafts, Protective, and Custodial Schedule. Other proposed legislative provisions in the bill contemplate having but one continuing schedule, the General Schedule. Crafts, trades, and labor employees are to be shifted to prevailing wage schedules within a year. Guards, firefighters, and messengers will be shifted to the General Schedule within 6 months. Until these shifts are completed the revised Crafts, Protective, and Custodial Schedule would apply.

The structural form of the existing pay schedules is maintained. Except in grades GS–16 and GS–17, there is no change in the number of grades, the number of steps within a grade, or in the amount of within-grade step increases. Like grade GS–18, grades GS–16 and GS–17 are each proposed as a single rate grade.

The proposed pay schedules would affect approximately one million employees. The range of adjustments in rates would run from no increase to $800 a year. The average increase would be $150 or slightly more than 3½ percent. Based on Classification Act population as of September 30, 1953, the estimated cost for the first year would be approximately $151,500,000.

POSITIONS IN GRADES GS–16, GS–17, AND GS–18

Purpose

1. To increase the Classification Act limit from 400 to 700 positions in grades GS–16, 17, and 18.

2. To remove existing limitations on the number of positions allowed at each of these grades.

Justification

The Clasification Act of 1949 specifically provides a ceiling of 400 on the number of positions that may be authorized at grades GS–16, 17, and 18. The act provides for 25 positions at GS–18, 75 at GS–17, and 300 at GS–16. We believe that the ceiling should be raised to 700 and that all limitations on numbers allowed at each grade should be eliminated.

At present 465 positions in grades GS–16, 17, and 18 have been authorized in addition to those specifically provided by the Classification Act. These are authorized for given agencies and programs through the Defense Production Act and various reorganization plans and appropriation acts. These positions are provided to meet particular special needs and would not be affected by the proposed general legislation.

An increase in the number of positions at grades GS–16, 17, and 18 is necessary in the interests of Government program requirements, sound and equitable pay administration, and accurate position classification. The Civil Service Commission recently asked for agency estimates of their need for positions at these grades. More than 700 additional positions were requested by the Federal agencies involved. Initial Commission review indicates that at least 300 of the requested positions warrant classification above grade GS–15 on the basis of their duties and responsibilities. These positions would be distributed among 26 different agencies.

Almost half of the requested additional positions are in the fields of engineering and scientific research for which there is a critical shortage of qualified personnel. The provision of appropriate pay rates for needed positions in these fields would help to place the Government in a fair competitive position with private employers for these shortage skills.

Non of the 300 positions which warrant classification above grade GS–15 can be placed in the correct grade because of the present Classification Act ceiling. Thus the present ceiling actually is contrary to the policy of equal pay for substantially equal work expressed by Congress in the Classification Act. This creates serious pay inequities among employees, some of whom receive considerably less pay than their work assignments call for.

The limitation on numbers of positions at each grade over GS–15 also hampers effective administration and correct classification of jobs. For example, although a position warrants classification at grade GS–18 it may be impossible to place it in that grade because the quota for grade GS–18 positions is filled. As a result the position must be placed in grade GS–17, or even GS–16, depending on the availability of "spaces" in these grades. Under this proposal, the Civil Service Commission would continue to maintain close control on the number of positions at each grade through prior review and approval of every classification action above grade GS–15.

We estimate that the salary cost of placing 300 additional positions in grades above GS–15 would approximate $550,000 a year.

LONGEVITY PAY INCREASE FOR EMPLOYEES IN GRADES GS–11 THROUGH GS–15

Purpose

To authorize longevity salary step increases for employees in grades GS–11 through GS–15.

Justification

Longevity pay increases are now limited to employees at grades GS–10 and CPC–10 and below. Approximately 11 percent of the Classification Act employees are above these grades. The incentive provided by longevity pay increases is as essential in grades above GS–10, where opportunities for advancement are more limited, as it is in the lower grades.

At present, about 13,000 employees in grades above GS–10 are at the top of their grades. Not all employees at the top of their grades are eligible for longevity step increases and some are eligible for more than one such increase. We estimate that about 8,000 employees over grade GS–10 might now qualify for longevity step increases. On this basis, the first year cost of the proposed legislation for employees in the executive branch would be approximately $1,585,000.

TEMPORARY ADJUSTMENT OF MINIMUM PAY RATES IN ORDER TO RECRUIT AND RETAIN NEEDED PERSONNEL

Purpose

To authorize the Civil Service Commission to permit recruitment to Classification Act positions at within-grade salary rates above the minimum rate of the grade whenever it finds that such action is necessary to attract and retain needed personnel.

Justification

The Commission's recruiting experience indicates that for certain types of jobs in specific localities it is sometimes impossible to obtain persons who will accept Govern-

ment employment at the minimum rate of the appropriate Classification Act grade. Where this is true, in the interests both of recruiting and retaining qualified workers, the Commission should be able to set a proper within-grade salary rate as the official minimum rate for given positions in specified agencies and localities.

Pay above the minimum rate would be authorized only where absolutely necessary to recruit and keep employees who cannot be obtained at the minimum rate. These within-grade rates would be reexamined periodically and reduced to the minimum rate of the grade as soon as recruitment conditions allowed.

PAY FOR CRAFTS, TRADES, AND MANUAL LABOR POSITIONS

Purpose

1. To exclude crafts, trades, manual-labor and other similar positions from the Classification Act of 1949 and pay them in accordance with local prevailing wage rates.

2. To move all other positions from the Crafts, Protective, and Custodial Schedule (CPC) to the General Schedule (GS) of the Classification Act.

3. To abolish the CPC pay schedule of the Classification Act.

Justification

Under this proposal, the CPC pay schedule would be abolished and the approximately 116,000 positions now in it would be placed either in the General Schedule of the Classification Act or would be paid on a local prevailing rate basis under wage boards or similar pay authority. This change was contemplated when the Classification Act of 1949 was passed. Various maintenance work and similar positions were not consolidated in the General Schedule but rather were placed in a separate pay schedule (CPC) to facilitate later transfer to a local prevailing rate-pay system.

Over 750,000 Government crafts and labor positions in production and construction work are paid on the basis of local prevailing wage rates. A much smaller number of similar positions in maintenance work (about 69,000) are paid under the statutory, nationwide CPC pay schedule of the Classification Act. This means that employees having similar qualifications, performing similar duties, appointed from the same civil-service lists, and many times working side by side are paid at different rates. The proposed legislation is necessary to eliminate this pay inequity. This action is also necessary to place the Federal Government in a better competitive position with private industry in the recruitment and retention of blue-collar workers.

Moving the 69,000 crafts and labor positions to a local prevailing rate basis would leave 47,000 positions in the CPC schedule. The proposed legislation would transfer these 47,000 jobs (consisting of such occupations as guards, messengers, and firefighters) to the General Schedule of the Classification Act of 1949. This would simplify the pay structure of the Classification Act. The number of grades under this act would be reduced from 28 to 18.

We estimate that the total cost of placing 69,000 of the present CPC schedule jobs on a prevailing wage basis and transferring the other 47,000 to the GS schedule would be approximately $36,500,000.

The proposed changes are in line with the recommendation of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (first Hoover Commission) that rates of pay for blue-collar workers should be fixed and adjusted in relation to prevailing local wage rates.

PREMIUM PAY

Purpose

1. To authorize, for salaried employees covered by the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended, (a) a time-and-one-half overtime pay rate for employees with salaries up to the maximum rate of grade GS–9, now $5,810, and (b) an overtime rate of one and one-half times the hourly equivalent of the maximum rate of grade GS–9 for employees above that salary, subject to a ceiling on aggregate pay (base pay plus overtime pay) at the top rate of grade GS–15, now $11,800.

2. To give agency heads the option of granting compensatory time off in lieu of overtime pay for irregular or occasional overtime duty performed by employees whose salaries are above the top of grade GS–9.

3. To authorize additional annual pay, in lieu of hourly rates of premium pay, for employees whose working conditions are not suited to payment of hourly rates for overtime, night, and holiday work.

4. To provide "call-back" overtime pay and to make other relatively minor changes in existing premium pay provisions.

5. To prescribe statutory policies on tours of duty for salaried employees.

Justification

Other than temporary wartime legislation, the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945 was the first general statute providing overtime, night, and holiday pay for salaried employees of the Government outside the postal service. With minor changes in 1946, the 1945 statute has remained the basic premium pay authority.

The legislative proposals on premium pay are designed (a) to adjust the overtime pay rates of the Federal Employees Pay Act, primarily to take account of changes in salary schedules since 1945, and (b) to revise the overtime and other premium pay provisions of the act in the light of administrative problems which have arisen during the nearly 9 years of the act's operation.

Overtime pay rates: The Federal Employees Pay Act establishes a time-and-one-half overtime rate for employees whose salaries do not exceed $2,980 a year. Above this salary level, overtime pay is provided in accordance with a diminishing scale. This scale decreases from the full time-and-one-half rate at $2,980 to a flat rate of $628.33 for 416 overtime hours (8 hours a week for 52 weeks) for employees at salaries of $6,440 or more. The $628.33 figure amounts to less than half the straight-time rates, even at the $6,480 salary level. Overtime pay, like other premium pay, is subject to a $10,330 ceiling on aggregate pay (regular salary plus premium pay).

The proposal would provide for (a) overtime pay at a time-and-one-half rate for employees at salaries up to the top rate of grade GS–9, now $5,810 (b) overtime pay at a rate equivalent to time-and-one-half of the top rate of grade GS–9 for employees above that salary level, and (c) raising the ceiling on aggregate pay to the top rate of grade GS–15, now $11,800.

Extending the time-and-one-half overtime rate to salaries above its $2,980 maximum under the Federal Employees Pay Act is necessary to maintain a reasonable degree of consistency with the original intent of the act, standards set for industry by Federal statutes and regulations and existing practices of American industry.

We believe that the time-and-one-half overtime rate should cover employees at salaries up to the top rate of grade GS–9, now $5,810. This level is sufficiently low to exclude from the full overtime rate most employees in the executive and administrative group and the higher professional levels. At the same time, it would extend the time-and-one-half rate to certain groups with special overtime problems, such as quarantine inspectors of the Public Health Service and to the lower levels of engineering and scientific positions, where the existing rates of the Federal Employees Pay Act have proved disadvantageous to the Government in times of national emergency.

For employees at salary levels above $5,810, the proposed legislation would set a fixed dollars-and-cents hourly rate of overtime pay, equal to the time-and-one-half rate on a salary of $5,810. This fixed dollars-and-cents rate becomes equal to a straight-time rate in the grade GS–13 range, and less than a straight-time rate at grades GS–14 and GS–15.

Overtime pay above grade GS–9 is necessary to maintain reasonable differentials between aggregate pay rates (salary plus overtime) of employees and their supervisors when the workweek is extended, for example, to 48 hours. The Federal Government does not have available the devices used by American industry to meet this need, such as lump-sum salary adjustments and various kinds of bonuses.

The fixed overtime rate proposed would maintain exactly the same differentials in aggregate pay rates for an extended workweek as the differentials in regular salary rates. For example, there is a difference of $665 between the salaries of an employee at the middle rate of grade GS–10, $5,875, and his supervisor at the middle rate of grade GS–11, $6,540. The same dollars-and-cents overtime rate is proposed at both these salaries. Thus, if the Government in time of emergency should be placed on a 48-hour workweek, the employee and his supervisor would receive the same overtime pay. The difference between their aggregate pay rates, base pay plus overtime pay, would continue to be $665, equal to the difference between their regular salaries.

Overtime pay, as well as other premium pay, would be subject to a ceiling on aggregate pay at the top rate of grade GS–15, now $11,800, rather than the existing ceiling of $10,330. This proposal would restore the ceiling to its grade level from 1946 to 1949. It would conform with the ceiling used for such other purposes as the proposed extension of longevity rates, the highest grade of the Classification Act in which an agency may place a position without advance approval by the Commission, and rates for experts and consultants under the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946.

Compensatory time off in lieu of overtime pay: The Federal Employees Pay Act requires that overtime be paid for in money unless the employee himself asks for compensatory time off. The proposed legislation would continue this requirement at the lower salary levels but would require monetary overtime pay for employees at salaries above $5,810 only when the workweek is extended, for example, to 48 hours. Agencies would be authorized to decide whether employees at salaries above $5,810 would be given compensatory time off duty or paid in money for irregular, unscheduled overtime work.

In practice, agencies and employees alike generally consider irregular overtime work of personnel at the higher grade levels to be voluntary and such overtime is not paid for. The proposals recognize this practical situation and would bring the overtime pay statute closer to administrative practice. It would still permit an agency to pay in money for any overtime work at these levels which, for example, it might consider exceptionally burdensome.

Special provisions for certain kinds of work: Two special types of Federal employment do not fit well within the standard overtime pay provisions. Some employees, such as fire fighters, are on duty for long periods but are in a standby status for much of their time on duty, at their stations ready to answer any calls but not performing actual work. Hours of work of certain other employees, such as investigators of criminal activities, cannot be controlled administratively in the usual way. Such assignments as trailing suspected criminals require sub-

stantial amounts of unscheduled overtime work and night and holiday duty.

The Federal Employees Pay Act includes these two groups under its hourly premium pay provisions. This has resulted in administrative problems and, in the case of such employees as fire fighters, unwarranted expense to the Government. Accordingly, the Commission is proposing additional pay on an annual basis for these groups in place of hourly rates of overtime, night, and holiday pay.

Under the Commission's proposals, employees with long tours of standby duty could receive additional annual pay at rates up to 25 percent of their rates of base pay. The additional annual pay would take the place of all other overtime, night, and holiday pay. Because they would already be on duty for 48 or more hours a week, as a rule, these employees would not be affected by any extension of the Federal workweek.

The Commission is proposing additional annual pay, not in excess of 15 percent of base pay rates, for employees, such as investigators of criminal activities, whose hours of work are not subject to the usual administrative control and whose duties require substantial amounts of unscheduled overtime, night, and holiday work. The additional annual pay for such employees would take the place of other pay for unscheduled overtime work and for night and holiday duty. These employees, in addition, would receive overtime pay on the same basis as other employees when the work-week is extended, for example, to 48 hours.

The proposed additional compensation on an annual basis for these two groups would be easy to administer, fair to the Government, and equitable for employees, especially those investigators whose peculiar working conditions now frequently require substantial amounts of overtime work without any overtime pay at all. Like overtime pay for other employees, the additional annual pay would be computed on only the first $5,810 of an employee's salary rate and would be subject to the $11,800 ceiling on aggregate pay.

Other premium pay proposals: The most important of the other premium pay proposals is that on call-back pay.

In American industry, it is common to guarantee a certain minimum amount of pay for an employee called back to work on one of his days off or after having finished a regular day's work and gone home. Although call-back work is found in the Federal service, special call-back benefits are not authorized by the Federal Employees Pay Act. The proposal would authorize a minimum of two hours' pay at the overtime rate for any employee called in for overtime work on one of his days off or after having finished a regular day's work. This would protect the employee from being called in for assignments of such short duration that pay for only the time on duty would be grossly inadequate compensation for his inconvenience. This minimum would also apply to non-overtime holiday duty.

Other proposals would make very minor changes in night differential pay provisions to meet specific administrative problems that have arisen, and would enact into law the principles currently expressed in rulings of the Comptroller General on overtime of employees in a travel status.

Tours of duty: The Federal Employees Pay Act prescribes a basic workweek of 40 hours, to be scheduled on not more than 6 days of any 7 consecutive days. Other than this, the act places no restriction on scheduling of employees' tours of duty.

The proposed legislation would include a statutory statement of policies on work schedules of employees covered by the act. The policies expressed would be mandatory except where an agency would be seriously handicapped in carrying out its functions or costs would be increased. Proposed provisions would require weekly tours of duty to be scheduled in advance, on 5 days of the week, Monday through Friday, if possible; the 2 days off duty to be consecutive; the same working hours each day; workdays not in excess of 8 hours; that the basic workweek not be shifted to avoid holidays; and that work schedules not include split shifts with a break of more than 1 hour.

Most of these requirements have at some time been proposed as a basis for premium pay. Proposals to require overtime pay for work in excess of 8 hours on any day have been especially numerous, as have proposals for premium pay for Sunday work included in an employee's basic 40-hour workweek.

Some Government activities, such as operation of hospitals, weather services, and airways communications and flight control, require Sunday duty. Others, such as construction inspection, which are necessarily synchronized with hours of contractors or other business establishments, may require more than 8 hours of work on some days, and cannot always be scheduled in advance.

The Government should not be penalized by having to pay premium pay rates whenever its activities require deviations from the usual tours of duty. In the absence of such penalty pay provisions, however, we believe that employees should be assured that they will not be assigned to undesirable tours of duty unnecessarily. The proposed statement of policies on work schedules would provide such assurance.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' INCENTIVE AWARDS

Purpose

1. To place authority for direction of the Government employees' incentive awards program with the Civil Service Commission.

2. To authorize Presidential honorary awards to civilian employees.

3. To authorize monetary awards based on governmentwide savings when appropriate.

4. To make employees under all pay laws eligible for all types of awards.

5. To eliminate salary increase awards and provide for cash awards in their stead.

6. To eliminate the present $25,000 annual limit on total cash awards an agency can make for adopted employee suggestions.

7. To eliminate the present $1,000 limit on individual cash awards for employee suggestions.

8. To eliminate the present maximum (an amount equal to three within-grade salary steps) on certain cash awards.

9. To specifically extend the awards program to cover inventions by Government employees.

10. To permit delegation, within departments, of the authority to make awards.

Justification

At present monetary and honorary awards for civilian employees of the Government are authorized under a number of different laws administered by different agencies. There are a considerable number of statutes authorizing awards for employees of given agencies. In addition, responsibility for administration of other awards applying to employees in all agencies is split between the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission. The Commission is responsible for superior accomplishment pay increases under title VII of the Classification Act, while the Bureau of the Budget is responsible for cash awards for efficiency under title X of the Classification Act and employee suggestion awards.

Consolidation of present laws: We believe that consolidation of existing laws authorizing incentive awards would improve and simplify administration of a coordinated Government-wide program. Such legislation would cover all monetary awards and honorary recognition for employee suggestions, inventions, superior accomplishments, personal efforts contributing to the efficiency, economy or other improvement of Government operations, and special acts or services in the public interest.

Program responsibility: The present split responsibility of the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission for direction of the Government's incentive awards program hampers effective administration. Because the program is primarily a personnel-management function it should be administered by the Civil Service Commission. The Commission, of course, would seek the advice and assistance of the Bureau of the Budget on the management-improvement aspects of the program.

Presidential honorary awards: Public recognition by the President of outstanding employee accomplishment or service would provide a valuable incentive to improved employee performance and would increase public understanding of the work of the Federal service. For example, a Presidential award might be made to the outstanding supervisor in Government each year. Under this legislation the President could establish such awards and provide for agency nomination of candidates for them.

Awards based on governmentwide savings: Monetary awards are now based only on savings achieved in the employee's own agency. Where a suggestion or an accomplishment produces savings in a number of agencies, this additional benefit is not considered in determining the amount of the award made to the suggestor. It should be possible to make equitable monetary awards based on the full savings to the Government.

Employee eligibility for awards: Cash awards for efficiency under title X and pay increases for superior accomplishment under title VII are now available only to employees under the Classification Act. Employees paid under wage-board authority and under the Postal Pay Act are not eligible for either of these types of awards. There appears to be no reason for limiting award eligibility for efficiency and superior accomplishment in this way; the practical value of such awards to the Government should be realized to the greatest practicable extent.

Elimination of salary-increase awards: Superior accomplishment awards under title VII of the Classification Act are pay increases of one salary step in the employee's grade. Since the amount of such a salary step is greater in the higher grades, this results in awards according to base pay rate rather than according to achievement. Salary increase awards produce other inequities. Because they can be made only within the regular salary schedule their value depends also on the employee's salary step within the range for his grade. Depending on a number of factors not related to savings achieved or the employee's accomplishment, the net worth of a salary-increase award under title VII varies from practically nothing to $1,500 or more. Because of this inequity salary-increase awards should be eliminated and cash awards for superior accomplishment used in their stead.

Elimination of annual limit on total agency suggestion awards: There is now a statutory limit of $25,000 on the total cash awards an agency can make in any one year for adopted employee suggestions. The military departments are exempted from this restriction. The present limit has forced a curtailment of the awards program in the Veterans' Administration for several years. It will soon force curtailment in other agencies if the present rate of increase in the use of the suggestion program continues. This situation produces the undesirable effect of limiting the number of awards which can be made for worth-while suggestions.

Elimination of limit on individual cash awards for suggestions: There is now a stat-

utory limit of $1,000 on any one cash award for an employee suggestion. The military departments are exempted from this restriction. At present an employee suggestion must have produced savings of $375,000 to warrant a $1,000 award. If the savings run into millions of dollars as has happened in some cases the award would still be $1,000. A recent survey shows that almost two-thirds of the private businesses that have suggestion systems place no maximum dollar limit on their awards. We believe that the amount of Government employee suggestion awards should also be directly related to resulting savings without arbitrary limits.

Maximum limit on other cash awards: Title X of the Classification Act places a maximum on cash awards of an amount equal to three salary steps within the employee's grade. This results in monetary awards based on rank instead of relative accomplishment. For example, for achieving savings of $3,000 a CPC–1 employee could be awarded a maximum of $180. A GS–5 employee, $375, and a GS–15 employee, $750. The present limitation diminishes the incentive value of the awards.

Awards for inventions: Existing statutory authorities provide for awards for employee inventions under some circumstances. These authorities differ in that they apply to different employee groups, and do not afford uniform treatment. In some cases private relief bills have been used to obtain rewards for an employee inventor. An interagency committee of the Government Patents Board has studied this problem and concludes that employee inventions should be covered under a governmentwide incentive awards program. Our proposed legislation would carry out the recommendations of the committee on this point.

Authority to make awards: Cash awards under title X of the Classification Act may be granted only by a top agency awards committee. In an active program this means that a burdensome workload falls on the central approving committee in large agencies such as the Department of Defense, Veterans' Administration, and the Post Office Department. The committee members with operating jobs do not always have the time required for careful review of awards recommendations and the effect of centralized approval is to delay consideration and thus impair successful operation of the awards program. Agencies should be authorized to make appropriate delegations of authority to approve awards in the interests of program efficiency and effectiveness.

During recent years the Government's awards program, even with its deficiencies, has produced large dollar savings and many important operating improvements for the Government. We believe that the proposed legislation would greatly increase the effectiveness of this program and thus further promote the administration's goal of increased efficiency and economy.

SECTION 1310 OF THE SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1952

Purpose

To repeal section 1310 of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1952, as amended by section 1302, Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1952 (Whitten amendment).

Justification

Section 1310 introduced restrictions on Federal personnel management soon after the sudden expansion of the Federal service as a result of the Korean emergency. Its objectives were (1) to prevent any increase in the number of permanent employees of the executive branch, (2) to prevent unduly rapid promotions, (3) to prevent overgrading of positions during the emergency, (4) to encourage transfer of employees to defense work, and (5) to protect the rights of permanent employees called to military service or transferred to defense activities.

While there has been general agreement with these broad objectives of section 1310, this administration believes that they can best be achieved through flexible administrative action rather than by law. The attempt to administer needed emergency restrictions by rigid legislative control has produced serious administrative problems and inequities to employees.

THE RULE OF FIVE IN SELECTION

Purpose

To authorize appointing officers to select 1 from 5 qualified candidates whose names have been certified to them rather than from only 3 in filling positions in the competitive civil service.

Justification

We believe that this proposal would improve the efficiency and quality of the Federal civil service. By almost doubling the appointing officer's range of choice it would make possible better matching of applicant's qualifications and personal characteristics with position requirements.

Under the rule of five regular civil service examining practice would be followed, with a list of qualified candidates being sent to the appointing officer. The only change involved would be that the appointing officer could select from among the top 5 instead of the top 3 qualified persons on the list. The basic principles and procedures of competitive merit and veteran preference, such as the current procedures on passing over veterans, would continue to be observed.

This proposal is in line with the first Hoover Commission's recommendation that appointing officers be given more leeway in the selection of personnel.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR FEDERAL WORKERS

It is understood that the Department of Labor is presenting recommendations to Congress with respect to legislative proposals for covering Federal employees under unemployment compensation. Accordingly, specific legislative language for this purpose is not included.

Purpose

To provide unemployment insurance coverage for Federal employees comparable to that granted to employees in private industry.

Justification

Financial protection against unemployment is particularly important for Federal employees because of the typical fluctuations in Government employment levels. In spite of general impressions to the contrary, the risk of unemployment is as great in Government as it is outside of Government. Government functions do not continue at a consistent level. Some activities become obsolete and are discontinued. Appropriations are cut and staffs are reduced accordingly. Certain activities are self-limiting or temporary. There is a constant movement of workers back and forth between Federal employment and private industry; the absence of unemployment insurance protection for Government employment places these workers at a disadvantage.

The employment statistics clearly show the great fluctuations in Government employment. For example, in June 1938 there were approximately 855,000 civilian employees in the executive branch of the Federal Government. As a result of the defense program and our entry into World War II, this figure increased to a peak of 3,770,000 in June 1945. After the war, Federal employment dropped until it leveled off at about 2 million by June 1950. As a result of the Korean conflict, Federal employment again increased to approximately 2,600,000 in June 1952. It has since declined to less than 2,400,000.

The recent reductions in force of Federal workers have reemphasized the need for extension of coverage under State unemployment insurance laws to these workers. In calendar year 1953, for example, there were approximately 155,000 employees who were involuntarily separated.

Unlike employees in private industry, these separated Government employees cannot apply for unemployment insurance to tide them over while they are seeking other work. In the past, these separated Federal workers have been forced to depend on their contributions to retirement funds and accrued annual leave for financial assistance while looking for other jobs. Neither of these sources of income can be regarded as a proper substitute for unemployment insurance. Recourse to annual leave accruals is an unintended use of the leave system which is designed for recreation purposes and for visits back home.

Separated Federal workers who are forced to withdraw their retirement contributions wipe out their rights to retirement pensions based on such service. Thus, to provide needed current income, they have to risk their future financial security. Even this source of income is not available to the more than 600,000 indefinite employees who are covered under old-age and survivors insurance rather than under the Retirement Act. It should be noted that the turnover in employment is especially heavy in this group of employees who have no retirement contributions to withdraw, and who, as a rule, have little or no accrued annual leave which can help tide them over a period of unemployment.

Need for New Construction at New York Shipyard Is Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the need for new construction at the New York Shipyard, located at Camden, N. J., is imperative.

During the year 1953 there was not a single contract for construction of a merchant-marine type of ship let in the entire United States. This would seem unbelievable but the fact is indisputable. At the same time foreign shipyards are teeming with work. Much of the construction in the foreign shipyards is the result of the financial aid we have dispensed to such nations with such a lavish hand.

What is going to be done to correct this situation? If something is not done the American Merchant Marine will be a thing of the past.

I include as part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, Camden, N. J., issue of February 11, 1954. It points out and emphasizes the need for new construction to keep New York Shipyard fit and able to meet any emergency. It reads as follows:

DRIVE FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION AT NEW YORK SHIPYARD RESUMED

Camden and the entire Delaware River Valley naturally are disappointed at the failure of the New York Shipbuilding Corp. to win the contract for the Navy's new supercarrier. The disappointment, of course, is most acute among the men and management at New York Ship.

Since the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. is already building another Forrestal-class carrier, it had a competitive bidding advantage and it was expected that it would be the low bidder on the new one. But the Navy had indicated that other considerations than cost would be weighed in awarding the contract and thus both New York Ship and the Quincy, Mass., plant of Bethlehem Steel Co., the other two bidders, had high hopes of winning it.

There was some surprise, however, when the Newport News bid of $117,750,000 turned out to be so much lower than the $146,064,000 bid by Quincy and the one of $161,033,195 submitted by New York Ship. While these figures are not completely comparable, the bids varying on certain points such as fixed prices and renegotiations, if the Navy had not awarded the contract to the low bidder in this case there would certainly have been a big uproar in Congress. The Navy could hardly have acted otherwise.

With Newport News getting the carrier job and Quincy getting the three destroyers which were awarded at the same time, New York Ship remains the one big east coast private yard which has not gotten a share of the Navy's new construction program. "Its fair share," one might indeed say.

The remainder of this program not yet awarded consists of 1 submarine, 4 mine sweepers, 1 mine hunter, 2 escort destroyers, 1 attack cargo ship, 2 landing ships, a dock and 2 ammunition ships. The South Camden yard has every right to expect a goodly proportion of this construction to be awarded to it, and all friends of the yard should join its management and union in pressing its case for a fair share of it, as urged by Thomas W. Saul, executive secretary of the union, in thanking all who aided the fight to have the carrier built here.

Pointing out that the award of the carrier was only the first round of the drive for new naval construction at New York Ship, Saul notes that unless the yard gets much of the remaining work, mass unemployment could result which would work an economic hardship on the whole community. The threat of such unemployment and community hardship now has been averted at Newport News and Quincy, and the Navy should do all it can to avert it here in future awards.

The Camden County Chamber of Commerce has expressed its intention of actively aiding in the fight to bring new work for New York Ship, including merchant as well as naval ship construction.

"The Federal Government today is holding a sum of $95 million earmarked for spending in foreign shipyards," says Ray J. Dunn, executive vice president of the chamber. "The chamber proposes to urge our congressional representatives to inaugurate a drive to obtain at least half this sum for contract work in the Camden yard.

"First step should be a request to Joseph M. Dodge, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, to freeze the sum set aside for contracts in foreign yards. Then Congress could vote that the moneys be spent in the United States."

The chamber proposes to enlist all Members of Congress from the Delaware Valley in this campaign, which could prove successful if actively pushed, since there already has been considerable grumbling about our building ships in foreign yards under the program of economic aid to which Dunn refers.

The same kind of a campaign should be persevered in to bring a fair share of the new naval construction to New York Ship.

Success will mean continued high employment there with all that means to the community, but failure will mean that in from 3 to 6 months the situation will be much darker.

Alien Farmworkers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to present for the consideration of the Members the implicit comment on recession and unemployment and proposals to facilitate the importation of alien farmworkers contained in the following newspaper stories:

[From the Fresno Bee of February 17, 1954]

WORK PROGRAM IS ORDERED FOR FARM JOBLESS

HANFORD, KINGS COUNTY.—The board of supervisors late yesterday authorized Welfare Director Henry Rible to commence a work program tomorrow in order that families of unemployed agricultural workers may obtain food.

The supervisors allocated $7,500 for the project and designated a 50-cent hourly wage for workers. In return, the workers will be given surplus foods at parity prices on the basis of work hours for their needs.

The foods available from surplus commodities are cheese, butter, milk solids, pears, canned meats, and shortening. In addition, Rible will purchase flour, beans, potatoes, and raisins. He stated this will give the families a well-balanced diet which will help them to keep well and, in the long run, will be cheaper than caring for them in a hospital.

AFFECTS 250 FAMILIES

Rible told the supervisors the agricultural relief problem here is serious but not grave. He said it has affected 250 families embracing 1,100 persons here.

"We have the greatest agricultural relief load since the depression," he said. "There has been a considerable change in the economic cycle throughout the Nation since the change of conditions in Korea last June.

"In the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys many agricultural workers will be reemployed by spring, but the outlook is not so good."

The welfare director stated many farmers are in serious straits and are dismissing their help. He said in Corcoran, farmers and the chamber of commerce are painting a gloomy picture.

EMPLOYMENT SOURCES

Rible asserted work is expected to be available on county highways, parks, and school cleaning.

He is of the opinion clothing needs can be met from other sources in the county.

The welfare director's plans to hire 2 intake workers and 2 fieldworkers on a temporary basis for the program.

"We can do it with less help or just on a certification basis with no questions asked," he said. "It was done in Kings County before, but it ran the cost up to some $20,000 and increased the wrath of the public.

"People were disgruntled with the supplementary food offered and threw it in ditches."

He warned spot relief is dangerous.

Robert Williams, the chairman, stated he favors taking care of the basic needs of the unemployed agricultural worker, and the work project adds to their dignity.

Rible was of the opinion work production will reduce the crime rate and if there is a bona fide need a family man will be glad to work.

Supervisor L. H. Thomsen said he is afraid the program might create an influx of people into Kings County. He asked if 50 cents an hour was a fair wage to pay.

Supervisor C. R. Swanson pointed out a market price is not placed on the food and the commodities will be priced in relation to the work pay.

Rible reported deficits in the old age and aid to needy children program. The supervisors indicated they will transfer $1,500 for the old-age security program and $14,000 for the aid to needy children.

Rible pointed out the budget was based on the assumption of encouraging people to work but the economic conditions changed within the past 6 months following Government production cutbacks.

At present there are 1,085 children being assisted. The ANC peak of 1,606 was in May 1951, and the low of 1,014 reached in 1952.

[From the Bakersfield Californian of February 16, 1954]

FRESNO TO ASK MORE AGENTS TO ROUT WETBACKS

FRESNO.—Fresno County supervisors are going to appeal to the Immigration Service for more agents to rout wetbacks who are displacing domestic farm workers and causing a relief problem.

Sidney Cruff, chairman of the board of supervisors, said today a letter will be sent to Bruce Barber, district immigration chief in San Francisco, asking for more border patrol agents for Fresno and the San Joaquin Valley area.

The step resulted from a meeting in Fresno yesterday of border patrol men, immigration service, State unemployment, constables, and welfare department representatives to explore the problem of mounting unemployment and relief costs.

Border Patrol head James York said that with six men he could round up 1,000 illegal Mexican aliens a week in the Valley, but most of them would be back within a few days.

L. L. Adams, Immigration Chief in the Valley, said the best is being done with the limited help available.

The constables reported wetbacks are numerous on farms of western Fresno County.

Welfare director Reed Clegg said long lines are forming at the welfare office to get free food in a newly adopted county program to aid mounting numbers of unemployed.

Cruff declared:

"There is no doubt that every wetback at work in the county is keeping a citizen out of a job."

He suggested the border patrol conduct a big drive for about a month to clear the area of border jumpers.

[From the Fresno Bee of February 17, 1954]

COUNTY APPEALS FOR SPEEDUP IN DEPORTING ALIENS

Fresno County has appealed formally to the Federal Immigration and Naturalization Service for a more vigorous program of apprehending and deporting illegal Mexican aliens to relieve the agricultural unemployment situation.

In a letter drafted by County Counsel Robert M. Wash and approved by the board of supervisors, the county asserts a large percentage of available jobs is being taken by the aliens with the result citizens must resort to charity or crime in order to exist.

CALLS ARE INCREASING

The letter reads in part:

"The demand upon our county welfare department for general relief to employable but unemployed citizen agricultural workers is rising out of all proportion to normal seasonal expectations.

"At the same time a rapid increase in thefts, burglaries, and robberies may be

traced to some of these destitute and needy people."

WORRIES TAXPAYERS

"The temper of these unemployed citizens and the taxpayers who are called upon to help support them causes us to feel justified in demanding the Federal Government take steps to relieve the situation by accelerating its program to apprehend and deport these aliens.

"We are entering our most critical period of the year with respect to farm employment and foresee grave consequences unless the major cause of unemployment is removed."

REPORTS THOUSANDS

The letter asserts the illegal aliens are in Fresno County "literally by the thousands."

It also points out the present immigration service staff in Fresno is doing a fine job but does not have adequate personnel to do a complete job.

Wash said the letter will be sent to Bruce G. Barker, the district director of the immigration and naturalization service in San Francisco, with copies going to Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Congressman OAKLEY HUNTER, of the 12th Fresno District.

[From the Fresno Bee of February 17, 1954]

FOOD DENIAL TO CITIZEN, ALIEN AID ARE CHARGED

Jess Rowe, of Firebaugh, late yesterday complained to the board of supervisors his brother, Jack, was denied relief by the county welfare department but saw an illegal Mexican alien loading a car with groceries while in the welfare office.

"He might have been getting those groceries for someone else," Rowe commented, "but I don't know. You gentlemen don't know what the (illegal alien) situation is. You have to know how much work they're taking."

In response to a request from the supervisors, Rowe agreed to provide the name and address of the person receiving the groceries. Aliens ordinarily are ineligible to receive assistance from the county.

Rowe said he and his son have been taking care of his brother's family, a total of 16 persons, on $50 a week.

Government Aid to Health Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower so clearly has expressed a long-needed opposition to socialism and to socialistic practices. In his state of the Union message, for example, he definitely stated that he was opposed to socialized medicine.

Since that time, he has translated his words into action, and the 83d Congress in its 1st session was able to dispose of, or authorize the sale of Federal property that was in competition with private industry. It is being proven that social service can be rendered by the Federal Government without adopting socialized methods.

Soon it will be shown, too, that the Federal and State Governments can give assistance and aid to health plans without adopting socialized medicine as was proposed by members of the previous administration. The reinsurance bills that are being studied by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee point the direction for this important approach. Again, it can be assistance without excessive cost to the taxpayer, and the reinsurance of health and accident insurance can be modeled after the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Marion (Ind.) Chronicle under date of February 21:

GOVERNMENT AID TO HEALTH PLANS

The Eisenhower health program, now awaiting action by Congress, is based on a new conception of the part the Federal Government should play in making better medical care available to more people at lower cost. The Eisenhower plan bears small resemblance to the Truman plan for compulsory health insurance, although designed to bring many of the same results.

The compulsory health insurance proposal remained before Congress for more than 10 years without action. It contemplated establishment of elaborate Federal machinery to administer the plan and a special payroll tax to finance it. Cost of the plan was estimated at $9 billion a year. The Eisenhower plan calls for relatively small amounts of Federal money, much of which would be returned to the Treasury in later years. For this, among other reasons, it is believed to have a considerably better chance of adoption by Congress.

The central feature of the new plan is the President's proposal for "limited Federal reinsurance" of special risks of the private and nonprofit health insurance plans already operating in many parts of the country. The purpose would be to encourage the voluntary prepayment plans to offer broader protection to more families, particularly against the costs of illnesses which require prolonged and expensive treatment.

The administration reinsurance bill has not yet been introduced in Congress and there has been no advance explanation of just what it will contain. However, it is expected to follow the general lines of a bill by Chairman WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, on which extensive hearings have already been held. The Wolverton bill was first offered in 1951, but attracted little attention until the reinsurance principle was put forward by President Eisenhower.

In its present form, the Wolverton bill would set up a Federal Health Reinsurance Corporation, modeled on the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation which guarantees private bank deposits up to $10,000. Group health plans which admitted low-income subscribers at reduced rates, and which offered benefits spelled out in the bill, would be eligible for the reinsurance protection. They would be charged 2 percent of their income from subscribers and would be guaranteed up to two-thirds of each claim in excess of $1,000 paid to any subscriber during any period of 12 consecutive months.

President Eisenhower said his reinsurance plan could be launched with capital of $25 million. The Wolverton bill would require purchase by the Treasury of $50 million of reinsurance corporation stock and would establish two reinsurance funds—one to underwrite medical care plans and the other to underwrite hospitalization insurance.

In addition to reinsurance for private health plans, the President recommends more Federal aid for construction of various facilities for examination, treatment, and convalescent care of the sick—facilities which would be needed to establish new health care plans offering more comprehensive benefits.

The American Medical Association characterized the health program of the Truman administration as "socialized medicine" and conducted a million-dollar campaign against it. President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message, January 7, that he was "flatly opposed to the socialization of medicine" and believed "the great need for hospital and medical services can best be met by the initiative of private plans." These statements were welcomed by the American Medical Association, but it has not yet taken a position on the reinsurance proposal. The administration is now trying to draft its bill in a form that will command the support of the whole medical profession.

Forty-second Anniversary of Girl Scouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, on March 12 Girl Scouts everywhere in the United States will observe the forty-second anniversary of the founding of the movement to which they belong. It was on that date, back in 1912, that Juliette Gordon Low organized the first Girl Scout troop in the United States and started the nationwide movement which has grown to more than 2 million members.

Girl Scout Week, March 7–13, a 7-day observance, will open on Girl Scout Sunday, March 7. The theme of the week will be Know Your Neighbors—Know Your Nation.

Girl Scout Week will open on Girl Scout Sunday when troop members and leaders will attend their churches in uniform.

As the founder of Girl Scouts, Juliette Low held as an ideal an organization in which all girls could be brought together in common understanding through activities of common interest which would help them gain valuable experience in the important business of living, playing, and working with other people.

The organization has been built on the fact that while its program of activities has grown with the times, its principles have remained the same. Membership in the organization means acceptance of certain ideals and a personal code of ethics, such as the Girl Scout laws and the Girl Scout promise.

I am proud to say that over 17,000 Girl Scouts in greater Cleveland, Ohio, accept the same pledge, live the same code of honesty, service, loyalty, and kindness, and are united with Girl Scouts and Girl Guides all over the world by a bond that transcends the differences of language and custom.

Through scouting the girl acquires many skills which help her adapt to adult responsibilities. The program has been consistent in its objectives ever since scouting was founded by Juliette Low. The purpose of Girl Scouting then as now has been "helping girls develop as happy, resourceful individuals willing to share their abilities as citizens in their homes, their communities, their country, and the world."

Underlying the Girl Scout program is a firm ethical principle based on one's duty to God, one's country, and one's neighbor—a practical application of the moral code which is common to our three major religions. The Girl Scout expresses that principle through service—by carrying out her family responsibilities, by learning to live as a friend and neighbor with her fellows in the community, by giving of her time and energy to make life happier or more satisfactory to others.

Engineers' Contribution to Society Outlined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, as a token of recognition and respect to the engineering profession, which is celebrating National Engineers' Week, I have asked unanimous consent to place in the RECORD a letter by Mr. Arthur E. Fryer, historian, Toledo Society of Professional Engineers, which was published in the Daily Forum column of the Toledo Blade last week:

ENGINEERS' CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY OUTLINED

To the EDITOR OF THE BLADE:

During the week of February 21 to February 27, engineers throughout the Nation will be celebrating National Engineers' Week in Ohio, and I believe it fitting to write of the engineers' importance to society.

This week is established to coincide with George Washington's birthday; for the Father of our Country also was our first famous engineer and, more important, the prototype of those who follow in his footsteps. It was he who formed the American Army's Corps of Engineers, and who commissioned Engineers Pierre Charles L'Enfant and Andrew Ellicott to lay out the Capital City of our country. And it was he who founded the precepts and emphasized the ethical code to which all engineers are dedicated.

Supreme among the engineer contributions to society is the fact that he is a creator. He transforms the raw discoveries of science into tools for the use and betterment of mankind. He is continuously striving to make our world a happier place in which to enjoy the triumph of its labor.

Through the formation of and the belonging to his societies, the engineers is a giver. In 1852, a group of engineers formed the American Society of Civil Engineers; the word "civil" was used to distinguish them from those engaged exclusively in military projects. Since that date, civil engineering has branched out into many individual categories, such as the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the American Society of Tool Engineers, the American Institute of Architects, and so on.

The National Professional Engineering Society coordinates the activities of all registered engineers. Its function is devoted chiefly to the humanics of engineering.

Here in Toledo, the Toledo Technical Council coordinates the activities of the 23 engineering and technical societies in this area. The council is concerned primarily with the technical aspects of engineering. It is the common meeting ground for all societies and the governing body for welding their activities into an integrated whole.

Recently, a new engineering society has been formed in Toledo. Named the Engineering Society of Toledo, its aim is to fuse the humane, the technical, and the social aspects of engineering. Its goal is to provide a suitable building for the engineer and his family. Most of our larger cities have a headquarters for the members of the engineering profession, and it is our fond expectation to have a suitable building within the next few years.

As a member of his society, the engineer meets with his fellows to exchange ideas, to broaden his scope, and to give freely of his knowledge to the other members of his society. Through the mutual sharing of these ideas emerges the fulfillment of his dream of a better tomorrow.

The engineer is an adventurer. Some 6,000 years ago the rulers of Egypt conceived the mighty pyramid and constructed the first stone road to transport the stone and material for its building.

Over 2,000 years ago, the Romans constructed the remarkable Appian Way, parts of which are still in use. The American steel industry is the outgrowth of a few adventurous souls who started an iron works in Salem, Mass., in 1644. From the beginning of time, the science of engineering has been linked with the romance of adventure.

The engineer is a crusader for freedom! He fosters the principles of free enterprise; of rugged individualism tempered by the nobler need for cooperation. The fact that he is a cunning inventor at the time of war is merely a summary tribute to his interrupted crusade.

In the final reckoning of man's contribution to man, truly I believe the engineer has demonstrated his importance to society.

ARTHUR E. FRYER,
Historian, Toledo Society of Professional Engineers.

Stimulating Thinking by Students at Memorial Junior High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, the most valuable resource our Nation possesses is our youth, our sons and daughters who will soon assume the reigns of leadership of this greatest country in the world. It is therefore great personal satisfaction to me to receive a letter of the type included below, which illustrates how the young people of my district keep themselves fully informed of the vital topics of the day and express measured and sensible opinions. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Miss Joan Mash, secretary of a geography class at Memorial Junior High School:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *February 12 1954.*

Hon. FRANCES P. BOLTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. BOLTON: The question of the St. Lawrence seaway came up in our seventh grade geography class. We would like to express our opinion about it. Some of the reasons we feel the United States should take part in the building of the seaway are as follows:

First of all, Cleveland would benefit from the seaway, being a port on the Great Lakes. Not only Cleveland, but many other cities in that area, would increase in both industry and trade as a result of this project. Our rich Mesabi iron deposits are giving out. A seaway would allow ore from a huge new deposit in Labrador to be brought to our industrial cities.

The power projects built along with the seaway would help cut the cost of electricity. In case of war, the seaway would take off some of the strain the railroads would have in carrying supplies.

We will have no authority over the seaway if Canada builds it alone. Therefore our ships will have to pay tolls for the use of it.

For these reasons we urge you to vote for the St. Lawrence seaway.

Yours very truly,

Miss JOAN MASH,
Class Secretary.

As It Looks From Mid-Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present for publication an article appearing in the January 1954 issue of the News Bulletin, published by the Institute of International Education, Inc., by Dr. Gregg M. Sinclair, president of the University of Hawaii, that outlines concisely and effectively the philosophy that has governed the administration of this university in recent years.

The article follows:

AS IT LOOKS FROM MID-PACIFIC

(By Gregg M. Sinclair, president, University of Hawaii)

The year 2000 is only 46 years away, a short enough time in the memory of many of us. What will the world be like then? Can anyone doubt that—if the atomic bomb lets us have a world at all—these intervening years will see the rise of Asia to overwhelming importance? India, China, Indonesia, Indochina—yes; they are down economically, backward from the point of view of an industrial civilization. Yet, as Gandhi once pointed out, "There is more to life than increasing its speed." The peoples of these and other Asiatic countries have qualities that resemble those of our forebears in Europe and Britain before Watt invented the steam engine, and it will be upon these characteristics that this Asiatic renaissance will be built. I refer to such qualities as people close to the soil have shown down the ages: a willingness to work; a decency in family relations; a religious sensitivity to the unknown forces, and a capacity for improvement.

Possibly because so many of our fellow-citizens have their ancestral roots in Asiatic countries, we in the Territory of Hawaii have been conscious of the significance of this world movement for a great many years. Though the University of Hawaii is not an old university, almost from the beginning it has offered courses in Japanese and Chinese subjects, and these courses have been extremely popular, not only with those of Japanese or Chinese descent, but also with haoles (Caucasians). Even now our current curriculum lists 47 courses relative to Asia:

in language, literature, history, government and international affairs, art, philosophy, sociology, anthropology. It is our aim to give our students a well-balanced intellectual diet.

We have felt that the world has been poised upon the threshold of a pacific era. Pacific Era and Education was the theme of our anniversary celebration in 1947. As far back as 1939, we held an East-West Philosophers' Conference. This was repeated on a broader scale just 10 years later. In 1959 a third such conference is projected. Meantime, we are planning a conference on race relations in world perspective in cooperation with the University of Chicago and the University of California during the 1954 summer session.

We hear a lot about point 4 experts; how proficient they are in their work; how lacking they are in a knowledge of the psychology of the people they have to work with. This is natural. We in America have never been deeply concerned with faraway peoples. We shall make mistakes, of course; yet with the stakes so high—no less than the mind of Asia—we should make as few as possible. We cannot tread on spiritual toes with impunity.

If we are not to make costly errors in terms of money, time, and prestige, our representatives—our diplomats, businessmen, military leaders, educators, agricultural trainees—must be familiar with the thinking of Asiatic peoples, with their cultural patterns, their beliefs, their psychology, with the motivating factors which rule their thinking.

Whatever happens militarily in Asia, we shall always be faced with human problems of relationship between the hemispheres; and no one can deny that the more we know of the peoples we are dealing with the better will be our approach. Yet we should realize that the same kinds of problems we face will probably confront our grandchildren. It is human nature to believe, however, that whatever we do to make for enlightenment will be all to the good. Asia will never be less important to us than it is now; our thesis is that it is certain to become more important with every decade.

Pennsylvania State Council of Farm Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the members of the Pennsylvania delegation were honored on February 16 by a visitation from representatives of the Pennsylvania State Council of Farm Organizations. The group consisted of Messrs. Joseph W. Hallowell, J. Collins McSparran, Beatty H. Dimit, Mark S. Hess, Clarence C. Smith, George W. Slocum, George Goodling, William S. Hagar, Albert E. Madigan, Joseph O. Canby, Ralph L. Culver, and M. K. Zimmerman.

In discussing the agricultural situation, the members of the council set forth their views in the following statement of policy:

We favor a strengthening of programs of research and extension with special emphasis on marketing.

We favor the continuation of cooperative programs of Federal and State Governments controlling diseases of plants and animals.

We favor a gradual reduction of price supports.

We favor the elimination of agricultural conservation payments.

We oppose the reclamation of new farm lands.

We favor economy in all branches of Government.

We favor the maintenance and strengthening of broad basic policies of Federal services to agriculture; the gradual elimination of direct subsidy to agriculture and all other segments of the national economy; and the adoption of a sound economic agricultural program designed to protect and preserve this basic industry.

We favor the elimination of the Federal tax of two cents on a gallon of gasoline.

We oppose the elimination of trip leasing of trucks by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We favor agricultural representation on the committee appointed by the Secretary of Commerce which is to formulate the transportation policy of the administration.

Mr. Speaker, the members of the delegation who were present expressed themselves as being satisfied that the council speaks for a large portion of Pennsylvania farmers and took note of the fact that its membership is spread among this list of farm organizations:

PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF FARM ORGANIZATIONS

Pennsylvania Flower Growers, Pennsylvania Horticultural Council, Pennsylvania Nurserymans Association, Pennsylvania State Grange, Pennsylvania Association of Farm Cooperatives, Pennsylvania Farm Bureau Federation, Eastern States Farmers Exchange, Pennsylvania Horticultural Association, Interstate Milk Producers, Dairymen's League, Dairymen's Cooperative Sales Association, Pennsylvania Guernsey Breeders Association, Pennsylvania Crop Improvement Association, Pennsylvania Holstein Association, Pennsylvania Raw Milk Producers Association, Pennsylvania Mushroom Growers Association, Pennsylvania Dairy Goat Association, Pennsylvania Poultry Federation, G. L. F. Cooperative, Pennsylvania State Bee Keepers Association, Pennsylvania Christmas Tree Growers Association, Pennsylvania Association of Artificial Breeders Cooperatives, Pennsylvania Jersey Cattle Club, Pennsylvania Poland China Association, The Farmers Cooperative, Pennsylvania Society of Farm Women, Hampshire Swine Breeders Association, Chester White Swine Breeders Association, Lancaster County Tobacco Growers, Aberdeen Angus Breeders Association, Duroc-Jersey Swine Breeders Association, Pennsylvania Vegetable Growers Association, Pennsylvania Hereford Breeders Association.

The Ticket Agent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting article that appeared in the January-February 1954 edition of the Ticket Agent, the sales organ of the Ticket Agents Association, affiliated with the American Association of Railroad Ticket Agents:

CAN SUCH THINGS BE?—THEY CAN

The Washington Union Station represents an investment of more than $27 million. It provides terminal and station facilities for several railroads serving the Washington area. To remain solvent, it must earn a return on its investment, take care of depreciation, operate its plant, and meet its payroll. And it must also pay large sums in taxes each year to Federal and local governments. Its taxes in 1952 amounted to $889,921.

The Washington Airport, representing an investment of more than $23 million, serves the commercial airlines industry, just as Washington Union Station serves the railway industry. It provides terminal facilities for all commercial airlines doing business in the Washington area.

But here the similarity ends.

Being a Government-owned and Government-operated facility, it is not required to earn a return on its investment.

Moreover, it is tax exempt.

In the year ended June 30, 1952, the cost of operating the Washington Airport was $1,362,968, and air traffic control operations cost $1,078,957 more, bringing the total operating and traffic-control costs up to $2,441,925.

The airport in that year collected $286,553 from all airport users—commercial and private—in landing fees, ramp-service fees, and the like.

Other revenues, such as store and restaurant concessions and toilet and locker facilities, yielded $1,265,819 additional, bringing total revenues from all sources up to $1,552,372.

That left a deficit of $889,553 for the year.

This deficit was passed along to the taxpayers.

Here we have a striking example of the inequalities, which characterize competition in American transportation today and the way in which the taxpayers are being called upon to foot the bill.

Here, on the one hand, is a railroad passenger terminal which must earn interest on its investment and must also pay heavy property and income taxes.

Here, on the other hand—in direct competition with this privately owned tax-paying railway terminal—is an airport which does not have to charge its users enough to pay interest on its investment, or to pay taxes, or to make up any losses it may sustain in operations. All these costs are borne by the taxpayers.

Washington is but one of hundreds of American cities having similar situations. Its case is typical of that which prevails in nearly every city in the country where railroads and airlines compete for business. It all adds up to an enormous subsidy for the airlines. (The L. & N. Employees' Magazine.)

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the American Lithuanian Council of Lake County, Ind., held a mass meeting in

East Chicago, Ind., on February 22, 1954. This gathering was celebrating the anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence after World War I.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the council, which organization represents Lithuanians residing in the Calumet region of northern Indiana:

At a mass meeting sponsored by the American Lithuanian Council of Lake and La Porte Counties, to comemmorate the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's independence held February 21, 1954. At St. Francis Church hall, 3905 Fir Street, East Chicago, Ind. The following resolution was presented, motion made to adopt, after some deliberation unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas Lithuania, the country of our our fathers, has been, and still is, unlawfully occupied by the Soviet military and police forces;

"Whereas the Soviet rulers apply ever-harsher methods of oppression and outright annihilation of the indigenous population of that country;

"Whereas the Government of the United States, though recognizing the independence of Lithuania, has failed to condemn the unlawful acts of the Soviets in the occupied country, and to extend any help to their victims: Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That we, as Americans of Lithuanian descent and ancestry, shall continue to support the efforts of Lithuanian people to regain freedom and reestablish an independent Lithuanian Republic; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we appeal to the Government of the United States to denounce openly the Soviet policy of destruction of native population, and take effective steps to make Russia respect the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge the Government to use its power and influence to help Lithuania and other Baltic States regain their freedom and sovereign rights in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, and not to make any peace settlement with Soviet Russia until this has been achieved; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That this meeting express gratitude to the Government of this country, which has never recognized the fruits of Soviet aggression against Lithuania and other Baltic States, solemnly condemned the unlawful annexation of those countries in the memorable policy statements of July 23, 1940, and has ever since demonstrated a favorable attitude toward the cause of independent Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia."

ALBERT G. VINICK,
President.
Rev. PETER CELESIUS,
Secretary.

Increase in New Postal Rates Strongly Supported by the Maui County Chapter, Hawaii Postal Employees Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present for publication a letter from the Maui County Chapter of the Hawaii Postal Employees Association supporting increases in the postal rates proposed by the present administration.

The letter follows:

MAUI COUNTY CHAPTER,
HAWAII POSTAL EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION.
February 20, 1954.

JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON,
Honorable Delegate to Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FARRINGTON: We would like to ask your kokua in doing whatever you can through your contacts in Washington to support the proposed bill to readjust postal rates now before the Congress. This proposal is embodied in H. R. 6052 and S. 2836.

The members of this organization are in full accord with President Eisenhower and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield both of whom have repeatedly gone on record for an adequate postal rate increase.

The rate proposals now before Congress ask for an adjustment in the cost of out-of-town letters by 1 penny—from 3 cents to 4 cents. The rate hasn't been raised in 22 years despite the fact the cost of operating the postal establishment has doubled.

A very modest raise in second-class mail rates for newspapers and magazines to bring in added revenue equal to less than 9 percent of the present loss on this class of mail has also been requested.

The Post Office Department lost $247 million on this second-class mail in fiscal 1953 with magazines being responsible for 67 percent of that loss.

Second-class mail rates generally are lower today than they were in 1925, and in some important instances are lower than they were in 1879. The proposed increase—if granted—would reduce the loss on second-class mail by only $20 million—from $247 million to around $227 million a year.

Congress has been asked for an increase in rates on third-class mail—comprising advertising matter, circulars and packages up to 8 ounces. The Post Office Department lost $150 million handling this class of mail in 1953. The proposed increases, if granted, would reduce that loss to only $107 million a year.

The total postal deficit in 8 years since the end of World War II as $3,800 million. The interest alone on this deficit is costing the taxpayers $100 million a year.

The present management of the Post Office Department is operating the postal establishment on an efficient basis. Its efforts to reduce the staggering postal deficit so that it may do its share toward balancing the national budget deserve the wholehearted support of the Congress.

It is said that most Americans, nearly 4 out of 5 according to a recent nationwide survey, believe the Post Office Department should be self-supporting and should take in enough money to pay its own way. While we cannot substantiate that statement, we believe that it is time the Congress decide on a very basic issue regarding the huge deficit of the Postal Establishment. That issue is this: To what extent is the postal service a service (i. e. what proportion of its costs should be borne by tax dollars), and to what extent must it pay its way? As the situation presently stands, the American people are indirectly subsidizing those in the publishing and the advertising business. If we agree with those who declare that the dissemination of information is at stake in this broad issue, then why not go ahead and subsidize those in the publishing and advertising business directly?

As far as the small increase on individual letters is concerned, we feel certain the American public is ready to go along with the proposal before the Congress.

We heartily recommend once again your backing of H. R. 6052, and S. 2836.

Respectfully,
EMIL W. BALTHAZAR,
President, Makawao, Maui, Hawaii.

Parting the Atomic Veil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial entitled "Parting the Atomic Veil," from the Toledo Blade, Saturday, February 20, 1954:

PARTING THE ATOMIC VEIL

The proposals President Eisenhower made this week to Congress calling for liberalization of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946—the so-called McMahon Act—are generally along lines this newspaper has considered inevitable simply because they conform to facts instead of fears.

They keynote of the President's message, indeed, is this: America must face the nuclear realities of 1954. What are some of those realities, and now have they changed in the 8 short, tumultuous years since the McMahon Act endeavored to guard a secret scientists warned did not exist?

One by one, Mr. Eisenhower recites circumstances which have profoundly altered the case: "Generations of normal scientific development have been compressed into less than a decade. The assumption that the United States could maintain its monopoly in atomic weapons for an appreciable time was quickly proved invalid. A wide variety of atomic weapons, considered mere possibilities, are now realities. The utilization of atomic energy for industrial power, a once remote prospect, is clearly in sight. The dread thermonuclear weapon is in being, dwarfing its atomic companions.

In short, both hopes and dangers envisioned in 1946 have been enormously exceeded. We know now, or should know, that the absurd fetish made of atomic secrecy has served us ill. It has not made us the exclusive masters of a great force for destruction, but it has crippled our development of the greatest modern source of energy for peaceful purposes.

Mr. Eisenhower is moving cautiously to get our national atomic policy off its base of illusion and onto firmer ground. In the most controversial field, that of sharing knowledge with our allies, he suggests that we at least tell those who would fight at our side how tactically to use atomic weapons and to defend themselves against these weapons in the hands of a common enemy. He would permit also an exchange of information and fissionable materials for industrial and research use. In both areas, needless to say, the change would redound to our own benefit as well as that of the free world as a whole.

In the industrial field, he proposes to open the door so that American productive genius can apply itself to atomic development in the same way that it has done in the electrical, chemical, and the manufacturing fields generally. By so doing, he would ultimately end a Government monopoly far more real and threatening to a free economy than the so-called socialization attributed public welfare programs, valley authorities and the like. He would shatter the foolish notion that peacetime application of atomic energy must be forever subordinated and shackled because of atomic military uses. (But in making it possible for private enterprise to enter the atomic field on a broader basis, he wisely suggests precautions against the few companies now associated with the Government in the atomic program establishing a patent monopoly.)

Finally, the President would alter, clarify, or remove some of the present useless, often paradoxical, and sometimes plain silly security restrictions which have created so much needless bother and confusion to the Government agencies, scientists, and contractors connected with the atomic program.

Seaboard: A Good Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been interested in sound programs of conservation. A real cooperator toward that end in the territory it serves is the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co. This company has been most active in forestry development work throughout the Southeast in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. The Seaboard has taken the lead in this work with vocational agriculture forces through such groups as Future Farmers, Young Farmers, and veterans enrolled in the institutional on-the-farm training program.

This company has just completed the first in a series of programs for 1954, a cooperative forestry demonstration held near Starke, Fla., and which was witnessed by more than 500 farmers. Appearing as guest speaker on this program was my good friend and colleague, the Honorable D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS.

An editorial which appeared in the Claxton Enterprise, of Claxton, Ga., brought out forcibly the efforts of this company in education work:

SEABOARD: A GOOD CITIZEN

Last Wednesday's forestry demonstration in Hagan brought over 500 farmers, Future Farmers, and others to see the latest methods and ideas in handling one of the largest crops in this country. It was planned and executed by Bob Hoskins, industrial forester of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., with the help of Ellis Sikes, vocational agriculture instructor of Claxton, James Brannen, county agent for Evans County, and District Forester Walter Stone of the Georgia Forestry Commission.

The Seaboard, in selecting Evans County and putting its full efforts, publicity and manpower toward making this demonstration a success, has shown to be a first rate member of this community.

In advance of what a lot of farmers are gradually realizing, they know that timber resources are one of our greatest assets. We are centrally located, have plentiful supplies, and intelligent farmers who can carry out the new and best practices being developed.

The Seaboard's industrial men have seen our best side and are bending every effort to develop and help our prosperity. Like any other good citizen, they realize that we must each one do the most we can to improve our community, for, in the long run, we will all benefit. We appreciate their efforts.

Approximately 1 year ago I had the pleasure of appearing as guest speaker at a similar demonstration held at Mullins, S. C. This demonstration was also sponsored by the industrial department of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co. in cooperation with the vocational agriculture department of Mullins, the South Carolina Forestry Commission, and the Extension Service. At this particular meeting more than 600 farmers were in attendance.

Participating on this program were Warren T. White, assistant vice president of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co.; R. D. Anderson, associate director of vocational education for South Carolina; A. E. Kunz, district forester, South Carolina Forestry Commission; C. Hall, extension forester; H. L. Stoudemire, agriculture teacher at Mullins; and Bob Hoskins, industrial forester, Seaboard Railroad, who was in charge of the program.

Considerable emphasis was placed on timber stand improvement, which practice can be carried on by the farmer during his slack season and which yields a number of valuable forest products. The effectiveness of such programs has played a major role in the increased production of pulpwood in Marion County. Pulpwood production for Marion County for the years 1949–51—based on information contained in Forest Survey Releases Nos. 35, 69, 38—was 4,790 cords, 6,039 cords, and 7,982 cords, respectively. Following the forestry demonstration in January 1952 the production increased to 13,674 cords—nearly double the production for 1951. According to E. C. Pickens, assistant State forester in charge of management, South Carolina State Commission of Forestry, during the past 18 months the increase in requests from Marion and Horry Counties was sufficient to interest the county forestry board and legislature members from the 2 counties to request additional professional forestry assistance for their areas. A bill was introduced in the State legislature in the spring of 1952, and passed, providing for an additional forester to be hired to work Marion and Horry Counties, primarily in forest-management activities. This forester assumed his duties on July 15, 1953, with headquarters in Conway. The request for seedlings in Marion County increased in 1952–53 over that for the past 2 years.

The Seaboard Air Line Railroad has shown itself ready to help strengthen and develop its territory economically through sponsoring and promoting sound forestry.

A Columbus Memorial Commission Should Be Established

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, no man, by his character and accomplishments, is more worthy of honor than Christopher Columbus; and no country on earth is more happily obligated to do him honor than our own United States. We honor him for what he was and we honor him for what he did.

Character and accomplishments usually go together. The one is the result of the other. When we consider carefully those traits of character which made Columbus remarkable in what he undertook and in what he achieved, we may be surprised, though we ought not to be, to find in him an epitome of our typical American character that has brought us as a nation into world leadership. In that sense Columbus was the first American.

He had imagination. He was gifted with vision. He saw when others were blind, and looked ahead with anticipation where others failed to look at all. His westward-directed gaze that brought him to the New World was continued by the early settlers, and it carried them across the continent. They builded as they went, always guided by that constructive imagination that is the source of all great achievement.

Columbus was a modern American also in his use of scientific knowledge and instruments. His imagination, of which we have spoken, was not a wild undisciplined daydreaming, but was an originality stemming from and nurtured by the best science of his time—science in distinction from superstition and folklore. He was the "Connecticut Yankee" of his age.

To a scientifically disciplined originality he brought the quality of high courage. He would risk his life and his reputation on his westward hopes. And he had the power of imparting this courage to all about him who were not absolutely immune. This is the prime quality of leadership. It is what has made America and Americans great. Columbus had it.

And it was a courage that did not falter nor fail in the face of difficulty, delayed success, or even apparent defeat. Columbus displayed what has come to be a characteristic American quality—persistence in spite of difficulty and opposition. He has become the very symbol of persistence, the embodied ideal of those who sail on and on when others would turn back.

A chief source of those qualities may be found in his faith. Columbus had faith in God. He believed that God had a plan for the world as well as for him personally, and that he was working in partnership with God and in accordance with His Providence. He expressed this idea clearly to Queen Isabella. His faith explains his courage and his persistence. One who is in league with the Eternal cannot know base fear. A sense of duty and of destiny forbade him to quit. So has America progressed in the centuries since. And we as Americans have nothing to fear unless we lose that power which is born of faith.

There is still need in this old world for leadership based on originality, imagination, science, courage, persistence, and faith. We hope that it may continue to characterize our own dear land. Truly Columbus was the epitome of our American character. We are the beneficiaries and the continuators of his work. No other land can more fittingly do him honor.

Many of us feel that the time has come to erect a fitting national memorial to Columbus here in the Capital City of our Nation. It is true that there is an exquisite little monument over in front of Union Station, of a type and size suitable for a small city. We want a Columbus Memorial Commission appointed to consider plans for a monument of national proportions, a monument which in size and design and position will do justice to the man in whose honor it is erected and also to the Nation building it.

Some days ago a writer in one of the Washington papers suggested that this proposition was originated and promoted because the Senators and Representatives concerned were ignorant that there is a monument of Columbus at the Union Station. The article named Congressmen who denied such ignorance and one who admitted the charge.

Now, let me ask you, What stronger evidence could be adduced to indicate the inadequacy of the little monument at Union Station than the admission of a Congressman that he did not know of its existence? It would be interesting to know what a poll of the city of Washington would reveal concerning the percentage of residents who have never heard of the beautiful little memorial at Union Station. It is time we had one that people would know about, and I believe that a properly constituted Memorial Commission is the best approach to the problem.

Declaration of Americans of Ukranian Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a declaration adopted by the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc., assembled on January 31, 1954, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine and the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslaw Pact; also raising protests against Russian lies about this pact, and forcing on them a puppet government:

DECLARATION OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT

Assembled at the Ukrainian Rally in the number of 350 which was held on January 31, 1954, in Chicago-Westpullman to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine and the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic.

In Kiev on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Council (Rada) promulgated the Fourth Universal and thereby brought about the rebirth of Ukrainian independence and established the Ukrainian National Republic.

The 36th anniversary of this important event in the life of the Ukrainian nation is being celebrated by Ukrainians throughout the free world.

Ukraine today is a country occupied by Russian Communist armed forces which installed a puppet government against the will of Ukrainian people. The Communist system with its collective economy has brought about the ruin of Ukrainian peasants, and the bureaucratic character of the Communist production and the unheard of exploitation of labor has turned Ukrainian workers into slaves of Communist oligarchy.

The Ukrainian people have been deprived of all the freedoms they enjoyed under their own independent government, have been deprived of those freedoms now enjoyed by the citizens of the free world.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent, those of us who arrived here many years ago, those of us who were born here, and those who arrived only recently, having fled our native land to escape the terror of Communist domination commemorate this day of Ukrainian Independence, this great anniversary of the Ukrainian people.

We, who are of Ukrainian descent and are cognizant of the desires of the Ukrainian people speak today to the honorable representatives of the United States Government and to the freedom-loving people of this country, and do aver that the Ukrainian people are striving for their independence, for their right to freedom, for their right to a democratic Ukrainian Government, to such a government as was established during the revolution by the act of Ukrainian Independence in 1918.

We emphasize that the Ukrainian people have been fighting since 1918 for their freedom from Moscow Communist domination. This fight has taken different forms, among them armed resistance, and has not waned until this day.

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent assembled today at the Ukrainian Rally for the commemoration of the 36th anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence appeal to the United States Government and to all the free nations of the world assembled in the United Nations to aid the Ukrainian nation in freeing itself from Communist tyranny and in reestablishing in Ukraine a government by the will of the Ukrainian people.

By the order of the Government and the Communist Party of Soviet Russia are being organized all over the Soviet empire with all the means of advertisement the celebrations of 300 year anniversary of Pereyaslaw pact, that was signed between Ukraine and Russia on January 18, 1654 in Pereyaslaw. Ukraine exhausted in defensive wars (against Poland and Turkey) was forced through the circumstances to accept the treaty as an emergency solution in order to preserve the independence.

Russia had never complied with the signed agreement, careful in the beginning but later on she started to spread their influence in Ukraine. In the meantime they moved in their armed forces which increased in size rapidly. Ukraine was made a colony, a puppet state as she is doing today to Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries.

Now after 300 years Russia is trying to convince the world that Ukraine truly united with her to safeguard her nation and economy. In celebrating this 300th anniversary Russia wants to show the unity of Ukaine with Russia to accomplish this the Russians are changing the style of life to match their own, also they forcefully gather large crowds in towns and cities and force them to concede that the unity of Russia and Ukraine is good and necessary for the Ukrainian people.

We, Americans of Ukranian descent assembled on 36th anniversary of the declaration of independence of Ukraine protest before the free world against the endeavorings of Russia to destroy the free and independent life of the Ukrainian people they are trying to show ostensively that Ukraine and Russia are united with the bonds of eternal friendship.

We declare that Ukranian people never did and never will agree to live under the Russion imperialism. Ukranian nation forcefully occupied always defended and will defend its right to freedom from Russia and this freeom, renewed 36 years ago will always be defended in all circumstances and all times.

JAROSLAW KOMARYNSKYJ,
Chairman of the Rally.
MYKOLA WYSENEWSKYJ,
Secretary of the Rally.

Members of the celebration committee: Mykola Bilecky, O. Zrada, W. Samczak, O. Jazem, A. Haduk, W. Dobrianskyj.

Our Constitution and the Dangers of the Bricker Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, matters involving amendment of our Constitution are of such importance that they must be approached with a completely nonpartisan attitude. It is of the utmost importance that we bring to bear upon discussions of such proposals the best thinking of the country. Within that category comes the report on the Bricker amendment prepared by the committees on Federal legislation and on international law of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. A mere reading of the names of the very distinguished members of the American bar subscribed to the report in and of itself is sufficient to command the highest respect and confidence.

I am pleased to set forth that report for the benefit of our colleagues:

OUR CONSTITUTION AND THE DANGERS OF THE BRICKER PROPOSALS

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

The Senate Judiciary Committee by a divided vote on June 15, 1953, reported for consideration by the Senate a third version[1] of Senator BRICKER's proposed constitutional amendment (S. J. Res. 1) to curtail the power of the Nation in making treaties and the power of the President in making other international agreements.

We oppose the amendment.[2] We believe it conceals within its catchword phraseology real damage to the United States of America.

The 1952 version was opposed by leaders of the Truman administration, and the version introduced in January of 1953 was opposed by leaders of the Eisenhower administration, including Attorney General Brownell and Secretary of State Dulles.[3] After the Judiciary Committee majority had announced its amended version (which for brevity we shall call "the resolution"), President Eisenhower himself roundly condemned the proposals. In a statement made public on July 22, 1953, he declared: [4]

"I am unalterably opposed to any amendment which would change our traditional treatymaking power or which would hamper the President in his constitutional authority to conduct foreign affairs."

The resolution has been vigorously attacked by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator WILEY.[5] Leading

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scholars of the country are practically unanimous in their opposition.[8]

We are concerned mainly with three provisions of the resolution: First, that no treaty can affect internal law except in the fields where Congress has power to act without a treaty. Second, that no treaty can affect internal law at all unless Congress passes a statute in addition to the treaty. Third, that Congress shall have explicit power to regulate the President in making all international agreements other than treaties, and that these shall also be subject to the two above-mentioned restrictions on treaties.

These three provisions are the heart of the resolution. They are a frontal attack on perhaps the two greatest contributions which our Constitution made to the world in framing a method of self-government for a great and varied people. These were the plans of a federal union in which the National Government's powers are specified but supreme over the powers of the local governments, and the plan for separating the National Government's powers among three equal and independent branches—the Congress, the President, and the courts.

In these days when atomic destruction can descend from the skies without warning, we rank it as stark folly to adopt a constitutional amendment which would prevent such a plan for the control of atomic energy as that sponsored by this country—the Baruch plan based on an international agency having broad powers for the management and ownership of atomic facilities. Yet the resolution is drawn to stop such a plan, as Senator BRICKER admits.[9] Now that Russia has produced the atom and hydrogen bombs, our country cannot afford to make the path to peace more difficult.

In addition, the resolution would put us back into a national impotence which obtained under the old Articles of Confederation. Under the resolution, the United States as a nation could not even enforce the treaty ending the Revolutionary War, and a great unifying work of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 would be undone.[9] In this respect Senator BRICKER, apparently unable to enlist sufficient support for either of his previous versions, has now adopted the worst provision of another proposal (the "which" clause of sec. 2).[9] The destructive consequences of this provision can be realized from what Senator BRICKER himself said previously when he was still resisting it: "I feel there are certain fields in which the treaty power must be protected in the interest of the integrity of our country, and the very sovereignty of our country."[10] If the long-term strategy of the Soviet Union is to wait for the internal disintegration of the United States, and to hasten it as much as possible, we would be a long way toward cooperating with this objective if we were to adopt the resolution as part of our Constitution.

Finally, the principal argument made for the resolution—that it is needed in order to prevent treaties from conflicting with the Constitution—is a completely false issue, as we show elsewhere.

OUR CONSTITUTION, AND WHY IT HAS WORKED WELL.

Before we discuss in detail the changes which the resolution would make, we shall review briefly the existing provisions of the Constitution which govern our country's foreign relations in the field of treaties. Even as lawyers, it is easy for us to forget how important these provisions are, and how they work.

It was "We the People" who established the Constitution. In their Constitution, the people decided what the powers of government needed to be, and how those powers were to be divided between the Federal Government and the State governments. It is some of these basic decisions which the resolution attacks.

The Constitution provides that the President shall have power to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.[11] This recognizes the universal custom of nations in having treaties negotiated by the executive branch of the Government.[12] Also, since under our Constitution treaties operate as laws, this provision recognizes the desirability of having the making of treaties participated in by at least part of the legislative branch.[13]

The Constitution provides that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; also, that no State shall (without the consent of Congress) enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power.[14] Thus the entire treatymaking power is lodged solely in the Federal Government, and the States are completely excluded. There was no dissent on this point at the Constitutional Convention in 1787; a similar provision had been contained even in the Articles of Confederation,[15] but standing by itself had proved ineffective.

The Constitution provides that the Constitution itself, and laws which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; also, that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any State constitution or laws.[16] This provision (the "supremacy clause") makes the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the Federal Government supreme over the constitutions and laws of the States. Though we take this arrangement for granted today, it is one of the cornerstones on which the United States of America was built. Without such a provision, the Constitution could not have created a nation.

A primary weakness of the Articles of Confederation was that though the Continental Congress had power to make treaties, it did not have power to compel the States to observe them. For example, the treaty ending the Revolutionary War (1783) provided that creditors should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the value of their debts, and that there should be no future confiscations or prosecutions for the part taken by any person in the war. Nevertheless, prosecutions of former British sympathizers were frequent, and some States passed or continued laws obstructing the collection of British debts. In retaliation, the British continued to occupy fortresses in our Northwest Territory, in violation of the treaty provision requiring them to withdraw. The Continental Congress, powerless, unanimously adopted a resolution that all State laws restraining the execution of a national treaty ought to be forthwith repealed. This problem of enforcing treaties was one of the first and most urgent subjects taken up at the Constitutional Convention in 1787.[17] As James Madison expressed it, "the necessity of some adequate mode of preventing the States in their individual characters from defeating the constitutional authority of the States in their united character, * * * had been decided by a past experience."[18] That is why the Constitution makes both treaties and Federal laws part of the Supreme law of the land.

The Constitution provides that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States.[19] Thus the Federal courts are given power to enforce treaties, in order to insure further their observance throughout the States.

Finally, as we have noted, we must recall the arrangements which the Constitution makes for dividing the powers of Government between the Federal Government and the State government, and particularly how this division is different in the making of treaties from what this division is in the making of laws apart from treaties. (This is precisely the point at which the resolution would make its most drastic change in our present method of government.)

Thus the Constitution provides that Congress shall have a number of specified powers, such as the power to lay taxes, borrow and coin money, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, establish rules for naturalization and bankruptcies, establish post offices, declare war, raise armies, maintain a Navy, and legislate for the National Capital. After enumerating these specific powers that are thus delegated to Congress, the Constitution then provides that Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and also all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.[20] Under this last provision (the "necessary and proper clause"), accordingly, Congress is empowered to make laws not only for carrying out the specific powers delegated to Congress itself, but also for carrying out the powers which the Constitution delegates to other branches of the Government, such as the treaty power vested in the President and Senate. (It was under this authority to carry out the Government's treatymaking power, therefore, that Congress passed the law which the Supreme Court upheld in the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland* mentioned below.)

The 10th amendment to the Constitution provides that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.[21] This amendment has no application to the treaty power, because the treaty power is delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution (and is also prohibited by it to the States). The amendment was adopted shortly after the Constitution as a reassurance to the States and the people. It does not purport either to add to the powers which the Constitution delegates to the Federal Government, or to reduce them, but merely to declare who it is that possesses these undelegated powers—the reserved powers. The 10th amendment is mentioned here only for completeness, and because it has sometimes been referred to (incorrectly) as limiting the treaty power.

Although the Constitution specifies the powers which it grants to Congress in the field of legislation, plus the necessary and proper clause, the Constitution does not expressly define the subjects which may be dealt with by treaty. As we have seen, it provides that the President with the Senate shall have power to make treaties. Thus in the field of making treaties the Constitution delegates to the Federal Government all the powers which either the Federal or State governments could have (subject, of course, to the Bill of Rights and other limitations in the Constitution itself [22]), leaving none in the States.

A few examples from decisions of the Supreme Court will show how these constitutional provisions work. In the famous case of *Ware* v. *Hylton* (3 Dall. 199), decided in 1796 only 7 years after the Constitution became effective, the Court enforced the treaty ending the Revolutionary War and held that it invalidated a confiscatory statute which Virginia had passed during the war, providing for the discharge of debts owed to British subjects. In *Asakura* v. *City of Seattle* (265 U. S. 332 (1924)), the Court held that a city ordinance preventing aliens from being

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pawnbrokers was overriden by a treaty with Japan (under which we obtained the right of our citizens to conduct their business in Japan without discrimination, and granted reciprocal protection to Japanese here). In *Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416 (1920), the Court held that a treaty protecting migratory birds flying over the United States and Canada superseded State law on the subject (it being assumed that State law would have controlled in the absence of the treaty); the case involved not only a treaty but also a Federal statute carrying out its provisions, but in holding them both constitutional the Court was governed by the same principle which controlled in *Ware* v. *Hylton* 124 years earlier.

In each of these cases the treaty dealt with a subject which (apart from the treaty power) was not within the delegated powers of Congress and therefore was within the powers of the States. In each case the State law was contrary to the treaty (or to the Federal statute implementing it). In each case—because of the "supremacy clause" and the other provisions of our Constitution—our Nation was able to enforce the treaty here and thus carry out our part of the bargain. If the Constitution had not given our Nation the power to make such bargains and perform them, then the other nation would probably have repudiated its agreement, or more likely would have made its agreement either on terms less favorable to us or not at all. Our settlement of the Revolutionary War might have been less advantageous; we would find it difficult to obtain nondiscriminatory protection for our businessmen abroad; and the migratory birds would have continued to be slaughtered in Canada before reaching the United States—though Senator BRICKER himself has recognized that this was "certainly an appropriate subject for a treaty calling for implementation by national legislation."[23]

We are a country with two concurrent sovereign authorities—the Federal Government and the State governments. In governing ourselves for purely domestic purposes, we do so partly through a National Government of specified powers, and partly through the powers of the 48 States. But in obtaining agreements from foreign countries, and in performing our part of these bargains by making the agreements effective at home, our purposes and needs are different. In order to obtain the foreign country's promise to apply the agreement within its borders, we need to promise to apply it within ours, i. e., to assure that our own domestic law will conform to the agreement. Hence in making treaties we must not be limited by the distribution of powers which we have made between the Federal and State governments for purely domestic purposes. Thus the Constitution gives our Nation the power to speak with one voice in making agreements with other countries. Without that power we would cease to be a single nation ourselves. The necessity of achieving unity and uniformity in matters of national interest is not confined to the treaty power—as we have seen, the Constitution places many other powers in the Federal Government relating to domestic as well as foreign matters.

When the Constitution was being submitted to the States, some people opposed it because treaties would override State constitutions and laws, but the Constitution was ratified despite this opposition.[24] And the wisdom of not limiting treaties to specified subjects was endorsed in later years by even the greatest States rights advocate of all—John C. Calhoun.[25]

But although the Constitution vests the complete treatymaking power in the Federal Government—including power to conform State law thereto in fields where otherwise the Federal Government could not act—the Constitution protects dissenting States by vesting in them two potent forces for restraining the exercise of this power.[26] Treaties must be approved by the Senate, where each State has an equal vote irrespective of population, and treaties must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senators present. So in passing on treaties, the 4 votes of of the New York and California Senators combined are only just enough to outweigh the 2 votes of Nevada.

As we have seen, the Constitution recognizes the necessity of preventing the States in their individual characters from defeating the constitutional authority of the States in their united character.[27] The method which the Constitution adopts is to have the people of the several States make their decision (on whether and how to conform State law to a treaty), not by separate action of the individual States but by collective action of two-thirds of the Senate, and then to make this collective decision binding on all of the States through the supremacy clause. In this way the Constitution makes it possible for our people to achieve the autonomy and adaptability of local government in our States and, at the same time, to face and deal with the rest of the world as one complete and united nation.

Finally, we must keep in mind the three-way relationship of the Constitution, Federal laws, and treaties among themselves, entirely apart from their supremacy over State laws and constitutions. So far as the relation between a Federal law and a treaty is concerned, the one which is later in time controls (just as one statute can repeal an earlier statute). Thus, to the extent they are inconsistent, a treaty will be overridden by a later act of Congress, and an act of Congress will be supplanted by a later treaty.[28] Of course, where a treaty is superseded by a later Federal law, the other nation with whom our country made the treaty may claim that we have in this way violated the treaty, but that does not alter the fact that the later Federal statute has become the internal law of the United States instead of the treaty.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, however, it stands at the apex of this pyramid of supremacy, and is superior not only to State laws and constitutions but also to treaties and acts of Congress.[29]

These are the basic clauses and principles of our Constitution in the field of treaties. Let us now consider how they would be changed by the proposed resolution.

We shall discuss first the three principal changes, already mentioned, which are made by its sections 2 and 3. Finally, we shall consider section 1, as that is apparently not intended to make any change in the present constitutional principle, and also the Knowland substitute, which is largely based on section 1.

SECTION 2 OF THE RESOLUTION

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation [which would be valid in the absence of treaty]."

These two dozen words look harmless and plausible. Actually, as we shall show, they are deceptive and dangerous.

They would knock treaties out of our fundamental-supremacy clause, and thus set the clock back to our impotence under the Articles of Confederation. They would kill our present power to make many of the main provisions of our basic treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation—which we have been using since our treaties of alliance with France in 1778 and which we now have with over 50 nations.[30] In addition to shrinking our country's power to deal with other nations, these words of section 2 would impose on us the most cumbersome treatymaking procedure in the world, and a procedure which would invite ridicule and even suspicion from other nations at the international bargaining table. In peace, in war, and in preventing war, section 2 would make it harder than ever for us to get what we want in treaties. It ignores the very lesson we are learning by bitter experience—that we must have not only the war power but also a peace power.

THE DESTRUCTIVE "WHICH" CLAUSE

The first clause of section 2 deprives a treaty of all force as internal law except to the extent that it is reenacted as a statute; the embarrassments of this change we shall discuss later. The words which actually destroy part of the Nation's power are those we have included in brackets above—the "which" clause. It would confine our treaties affecting internal law to those specific subjects on which Congress has power to make laws generally. In other words, we could not make a treaty that would be binding on the States in the fields otherwise reserved to them. (We could, of course, go through the motions of making and ratifying a treaty which dealt with these fields, but the likelihood of obtaining such a treaty, and its value to us if obtained, would be much reduced by the fact that we could not assure the other nation that it would be carried out.) We would stop being a complete nation like others, able to make treaties on any subject on which they can, and become instead only a partial nation.

Space does not permit full description of the treaties we have actually made which we could not have made enforceable under the "which" clause. As we have seen, we could not have enforced the treaty ending the Revolutionary War, nor a treaty giving an alien the right to engage in a local business, nor even a treaty protecting migratory birds.[31] The United States Government would no longer be able to protect the rights of aliens here—or obtain corresponding protection for our citizens abroad—regarding land and other property, such as the right to own and the right to inherit. The right of an alien to collect debts, and reciprocal protection for our citizens abroad, could not be assured. Such matters have been a traditional subject of treaties since the early days of the Republic,[32] and the protection of prewar debts was included in the Japanese Treaty last year.[33]

A treaty for nondiscriminatory taxation of aliens could not be enforced, insofar as it applied to the States,[34] and so we could not bargain effectively for like protection of our citizens abroad. The "which" clause would impair the basis for our assuming obligations under international treaty for the control of narcotics. It would block the making of enforceable treaties for the extradition of criminals, at least for crimes in State courts.

Each of these actual examples, in some or all of its aspects, does not come within any power which the Constitution delegates to our Federal Government—aside from the treaty power. If the treaty power were shrunk by the "which" clause, there would be no way whatsoever for us to make effective treaties dealing with these or any other matters which are now reserved to the States for purely domestic purposes. And with the uncertainties that lie ahead for all nations, who can be sure, now, that we shall never want to use additional fields in which to make treaties? We shall need a broader base for peace and friendship than what we can get by military alliances against war. "We must provide machinery and techniques to encourage that peaceful communication and mutual confidence which alone can finally lift the burden of arms from the backs of men."[35]

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In a significant speech delivered to the American Bar Association on August 26, 1953, Secretary of State Dulles reaffirmed his opposition to the resolution. He pointed out that 12 of the 23 treaties approved by the Senate this year would have been unconstitutional under the proposed amendment, and that on 8 of them the approving vote was 86 to 1—including Senator BRICKER and 54 of the cosponsors of the original resolution.[34] Thus when it comes to concrete cases, the Senate recognizes that our Nation must be able to make treaties which will bind not only the Federal Government but the States.

Much of the argument adduced in support of the resolution is based upon opposition to multilateral treaties or convenants which have been proposed or drafted, especially in the field of human rights.[35] We do not undertake to express an opinion on such treaties, and indeed, even if it were possible to predict now what their terms may be if and when they are submitted, we would regard their advantages or disadvantages as not relevant to a discussion of the resolution. The best results, it seems to us, will be obtained by considering any particular treaty on its own merits and at the proper time. We should not evade frank consideration of controversial subjects by relegating them in advance to the limbo of unconstitutionality.

The Senate is congenitally cautious in considering treaties, and is sometimes called "the graveyard of treaties." Of the nearly 1,200 treaties submitted from 1789 to March 24, 1953 (excluding those then pending), 29 percent either failed of Senate approval because of rejection, failure to take action or withdrawal, or were approved only with reservations or understandings.[36]

The proponents of the "which" clause tacitly admit that it would limit the Federal Government in the international field. Their main answer is that with the existing power to declare war, regulate commerce with foreign nations, and the like; "the Government would be far from impotent" if the resolution were adopted.[37] In other words, their proposed emasculation of the United States is only partial, and therefore they are content. In any event, we find it hard to see how these powers would let Congress legislate on various aspects of even the few subjects which we have instanced above.

With similar equanimity the proponents apparently accept the prospect that their "which" clause would make treaties in some fields ineffective unless legislation were adopted in each of the 48 States. We would be improvident, indeed, to freeze such a requirement into the Constitution as the only machinery for all cases, including those where the national interest may be considered more important than that of any State.[38] Then the President and the Senate could never make treaties effective in these reserved fields, and each State would always have a veto power within its borders. Imagine trying to negotiate a Baruch Plan on a State-by-State basis.

In our dealings with other countries we must speak with one voice. In furtherance of giving the treaty power to the Federal Government alone, the Constitution forbade it to the States. As Secretary Dulles said, the "which" clause would create a "no-man's land in foreign affairs."[41] It would dig a hole in the Constitution, a hole where neither the States nor the Nation could make treaties. This would be just where history and enlightened self-interest tell us our country may well want to act.

THE MOST CUMBERSOME TREATY PROCEDURE IN THE WORLD

Even without the "which" clause, section 2 of the resolution would require that all treaties, to have internal force, must have five separate approvals: (1) Signature by the President; (2) approval by two-thirds of the Senators present; (3) approval by a majority vote of the House; (4) approval by a majority vote of the Senate; and (5) signature by the President of the requisite law. As pointed out by Attorney General Brownell, no other country in the world requires so cumbersome a procedure.[42] This red tape would make peace far more difficult for us to obtain than war. A declaration of war requires only a joint resolution of Congress signed by the President, but a treaty of peace (which normally contains some provisions affecting internal law) would require the five separate approvals.

Many treaties affect internal law, as we have seen, and must do so in order to achieve their legitimate ends. The actual effect of this requirement of section 2 would probably be that most treaties would be submitted for the double approval, in order to avoid any possible question of invalidity.

The objections to the double approval procedure are developed in our 1952 report.[43] The main justification given by its proponents is that it would eliminate any question of whether the terms of each treaty make it carry out its own provisions (a "self-executing" treaty), or whether they require further governmental action such as an act of Congress (a "non-self-executing" treaty).[44] The proposed method of resolving any such question is to make all treaties non-self-executing, that is, to require that they shall become effective as internal law only through legislation. But we do not need a construtional amendment to eliminate any ambiguity in treaties. The requirement for a supporting law may be written into the treaty itself, or may be attached by the Senate as a reservation at the time of ratification.[45]

There has been considerable support for the proposition that the two bodies which enact our laws by majority vote might well also be entrusted with the task of consenting to treaties by majority vote. Indeed, such a constitutional amendment was passed by the House in 1945[46] and a similar proposal is pending today.[47] But there is no logic in the proposal that the United States, having validly ratified a treaty by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, must appear as a treaty breaker because the House or Senate later fails or refuses to make the treaty effective as internal law.

The proponents of the double approval requirement recognize their own dilemma, but leave it unsolved. On the one hand, they rather conspicuously emphasize that where the United States made a treaty intended to operate as internal law, Congress would be under a moral obligation to enact the necessary implementing legislation. On the other hand, in describing the advantages of their proposal, they point out that the President can negotiate a treaty with any country in the world and the Senate can promptly ratify it, but that the requirement for implementing legislation will afford an opportunity to present views to both Houses of Congress if the treaty proves to be objectionable as internal law and for hearings, committee discussion, and floor debate."[48]

Thus the true objective of the proposal seems to be a device for making treaty promises quickly and then killing the moral obligation quietly in committee or by inaction. It would place in our Constitution a sanction for signing and ratifying treaties with tongue in check. We can early imagine how our adopting such a device would affect our position in negotiating with other nations. Our attitude would be incomprehensible to them, and their distrust of us inevitable.

SECTION 3 OF THE RESOLUTION

"Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

Executive and other agreements with foreign nations have been well known since the early days of the Republic. They cover extraordinary varied subjects which almost defy classification, such as the inspection of vessels, navigation dues, the admission of civil aircraft, customs matters, commercial relations generally, international claims, postal matters, registration of trade-marks and copyrights, etc.[49] They are an essential tool with which the State Department accomplishes a great part of its day-to-day business with foreign countries.

The overwhelming majority of executive agreements are made by the President under prior authorization by Congress or subject to its approval, as the proponents of the resolution recognize.[50] Some are made by the President without congressional action, under the powers which the Constitution vests in him alone, his powers as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and his power to receive ambassadors and public ministers of other nations.[51] Our previous reports outlined the scope and usefulness of executive agreements and the present checks upon them.[52]

The power of the President to make certain executive agreements without the sanction of Congress has been recognized by the Supreme Court.[53] On the other hand, as the proponents recognize, the Congress has some regulatory power with regard to such executive agreements.[54] Under existing law, for example, Congress has required the Secretary of State to publish all treaties and all international agreements other than treaties, within 1 year after they are made.[55]

Thus under the Constitution as it stands we have an arrangement under which the President has some powers to make executive agreements on his own authority, and the Congress has some powers to regulate executive agreements. This is fully in accord with our basic constitutional plan of checks and balances. As the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Senator WILEY) says, "Speaking for myself, I do not want the legislative branch to arrogate unto itself the powers of the executive branch, any more than I want the executive branch to arrogate unto itself the powers of the legislative branch."[56]

Section 3, however, would give Congress the broadest powers of regulating the President in the making of executive agreements. The proponents apparently intend that Congress could then prohibit executive agreements, for they take pains to point out that "the power to regulate carries with it the power to prohibit."[57] Under section 3, what would prevent Congress from passing a statute which required that all executive agreements shall be made "only in the manner and to the extent to be prescribed by law?" In other words, no law—no executive agreement. That would take us right back to the prohibition in these very words which Senator BRICKER included in his own version of Senate Joint Resolution 1 (a prohibition which was not only drastic but unworkable, as we showed in our April 1953 report.[58] Of course no President worth his salt would ever sign such a prohibitory statute, but a hostile Congress could pass it over his veto and produce a complete stalemate in our foreign affairs. The proponents want Congress to be able to treat the President like a bad boy, but they know the American people would never authorize the throttling in this way of the Chief Executive whom they have personally elected. So the proponents have rephrased their proposal with the innocent sounding word "regulate." But they have shown no need for any such "regulation" of

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Presidential powers by the Congress beyond the authority already available to it under the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution.

We do not exaggerage the lengths to which the proponents intend to go in empowering Congress to regulate. Under it, they say, Congress could prescribe the conditions, limitations, or prohibitions under which executive agreements might be made.[59] Under such confinements the President would be demoted from the spearhead of our foreign policy to only a figurehead. Our country would find itself in a position where there would be no one who could act in foreign affairs on matters of urgency and dispatch.

Most startling of all, the resolution by its terms would let Congress regulate the President even in making agreements as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. Where allies are involved, as they usually are, it is impossible to wage war effectively without a continuous process of understandings and agreements. The framers of the Constitution knew from their own experience in the Revolution that Congress cannot direct campaigns, and thus the Constitution makes the President alone the Commander in Chief.[60] Yet the resolution, as drawn, gives Congress the power to regulate and prohibit his dealings with allies and their forces. And even if Congress did not use this power at all, its mere existence would be a threat to our Commander's authority. It would shrink his stature in the eyes of our allies and thereby his usefulness to us.

Let us take a look at what these proponents of regulation are thinking about. They do not intend it to be merely a reserve or dormant power. Senate Joint Resolution 2 (introduced by Senators McCARRAN and BRICKER) is a proposed law which includes a provision limiting the duration of executive agreements to a single presidential term (unless extended by proclamation of the succeeding President). This provision of necessity would have the effect of permitting the nation on the other side also to reopen the agreement. The instrument of surrender ending the Japanese war in 1945, was an executive agreement and, if this type of regulation had been in effect, we would have been in the absurd position of having the agreement completely reopened in 1949, when our armies were demobilized and the Russians were eager to change the terms of our occupation. The Korean truce could also run afoul of the proposal now embodied in Senate Joint Resolution 2. Our 1952 report outlined the objections to a comparable proposal then in Senator BRICKER's Senate Joint Resolution 130.[61]

The resolution would tie the hands of the President as Commander in Chief in fighting a defensive war on our own soil with the aid of an ally. In most of our wars, specifically including World War II, military action has taken place on our territory. Under the resolution executive agreements may become effective as internal law only through legislation. The result flows from the second sentence of section 3 read in conjunction with section 2. Let us suppose that an enemy is invading Alaska and a Canadian motorized division is being rushed to our aid from Nova Scotia. To take advantage of our road network, the division is routed along U. S. 20 south of the Great Lakes, under agreement with our President. An ordinary Canadian citizen in taking such a trip could not bring along a pistol without license from various States, would not be permitted to go through red lights, and could not exceed speed limits. Neither could the Canadian Army legally arrange for such matters by agreement, because the agreement would not have effect as internal law until the time-consuming business of further congressional legislation had been taken care of. Meanwhile, the invader would be rolling south without such impediments.

The answer made to this situation by proponents of the resolution is to call it fanciful, and to argue that under international law a foreign army is entitled to sovereign immunity.[62] But the resolution contains no exception in favor of sovereign immunity, and of course the main purpose of the resolution is to supersede existing law, if such there be. And executive and other agreements are essential to the business of routing and supplying an allied army. What the proponents are really saying is that in an emergency they expect the President to violate their resolution and bring the allied army into the country under an illegal agreement. But is this any justification for amending our Constitution in such a way that hereafter our President may have to break it in order to save it?[63]

These provisions of the resolution are a body blow against the ability of the United States, in its own self-defense, to cooperate with an ally. Further, they shift the responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs—which under the Constitution is now shared—so that hereafter the ultimate power over executive agreements would be vested solely in Congress. Even as a purely practical matter, a Congress composed of 96 Senators and 435 Representatives is not a good organ in which to place the responsibility and power of a nation in day-to-day dealing with foreign countries. As the minority report has pointed out, there are obvious advantages in having some overlapping in the field of international agreements, so that the President can act on his own authority (subject to checks and balances) as well as under congressional sanction or with treaty ratification by the Senate. The ideal would be some formula which would retain this adaptability and at the same time provide a complete protection against abuse, but our study of section 3 and other proposals makes us doubt that such perfection can be achieved in words.[64]

We recognize that there may have been bad executive agreements as well as good ones, and that there may be in the future.[65] This may also be true of treaties and legislation generally, even laws passed over a Presidential veto. But the question is not whether the Senate would at the time have rejected as a treaty any executive agreement which may have turned out to be unwise. The problem is whether to adopt a new and restrictive arrangement for the conduct of foreign affairs in place of the present pattern which history has demonstrated to be workable. As Secretary Dulles says, "The test of any constitution is not the way it reads but the way it works."[66]

The problem should, we believe, be approached not solely in the light of what may happen under any particular executive agreement, however important. There must be taken into consideration the effect of the continuing day-to-day relations between the two branches, on the chances of the President's thereby flouting the Congress. The Congress always has the power of the purse and the power of investigation, and the Senate has the power to reject appointments. In addition, Congress has power to legislate against an undesirable executive agreement to the same extent that it can against a treaty. In the case of most executive agreements, they will not be effective unless Congress appropriates the money necessary to carry on the governmental functions for which they provide. And of course an executive agreement (unlike a treaty) cannot override an act of Congress.[67]

Section 3, in our view, offers no practicable safeguard, while raising substantial risk of serious evil. We consider it a dangerous and cumbersome restriction on the administration of foreign affairs.

SECTION 1 OF THE RESOLUTION

"A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Returing now to section 1, we note that the main reason its proponents give in urging its adoption is that there may be some doubt as to whether the Bill of Rights and other provisions of the Constitution are safe from invasion by treaties.

Obviously Federal action taken under the treaty power can no more override the Bill of Rights or other basic principles of the Constitution than can Federal action taken under any other constitutional power, such as the money power, the taxing power or the power to regular commerce.[68] This is another example of the application of the doctrine laid down by Chief Justice Marshall in the classic case of *Marbury* v. *Madison* (1 Cranch 137 (1803)), that Federal action is subject to the Constitution and to the courts.

Our 1952 report documents the conclusion that the Constitution is supreme over treaties, as well as supreme over Federal laws.[69] This conclusion is found in impressive judicial authorities that should lay to rest any fears on this point.[70] The Constitution is the source of the treaty power just as it is the source of all Federal power. As between a treaty and a Federal law, the one which is later in time controls, thus further emphasizing the subordinacy of treaties to the Constitution.[71]

The Supreme Court has affirmed this subordinacy of treaties to the Constitution on many occasions. Thus in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (133 U. S. 258 (1890)), the Supreme Court said: "It would not be contended that if (the treatymaking power) extends so far as to authorize what the Constituiton forbids, or a change in the character of the Government or in that of one of the States."

In writing for the Supreme Court in *Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416, 433 (1920)), Mr. Justice Holmes was careful to avoid any implication that there were no provisions of the Constitution which could affect treaties, stating:

"We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treatymaking power."

"The treaty in question does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution."

Citing various cases, the Attorney General of the United States testified that "the Court has repeatedly emphasized the subordinacy of treaties to the Constitution." Specifically, he has shown that treaties cannot impair our Bill of Rights.[72]

While the proponents never tire of quoting a remark made by Mr. John Foster Dulles in 1952, while a private citizen, to the effect that treaties "can cut across the rights given to the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights," they never mention the fact that in the same speech he expressly left open to question the desirability of a constitutional amendment and urged further study of the subject.[73] His own testimony at the hearings a year later plainly shows the benefits of further study.[74] In addition, in his speech before the American Bar Association last August he declared, "I believe that this [sec. 1] states the law as it now is."[75]

Other subsidiary and diversionary points raised by the proponents have been answered fully elsewhere.[76] At best, section 1 merely declares the existing law; at worst, it contains within itself certain ambiguities, discussed below in connection with the Knowland substitute. As Attorney General Brownell has well stated: "The history of the past and the decisions of our courts are completely reassuring on the place of the

Footnotes at end of speech.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

treaty power in the constitutional scheme. They render unnecessary the amendment proposed." [71]

Actually, section 1 raises a false issue. When a person not familiar with the Constitution hears that an amendment is proposed stating that treaties shall not conflict with the Constitution, he naturally infers that at the present time treaties can conflict with the Constitution. He assumes that the amendment is intended to change the Constitution—not to keep it the same.[72] Also, the issue which section 1 seems to raise is false in another way: it implies that somebody wants treaties to conflict with the Constitution. Any such implication is of course absolutely false—nobody has ever made such a suggestion. Thus the function of section 1 in the resolution is merely as a self-serving preamble, seeking to justify the drastic changes proposed by its sections 2 and 3.

THE KNOWLAND SUBSTITUTE

In the President's public statement of July 22, 1953, opposing the Bricker resolution,[73] he gave his support to an amendment in the nature of a substitute which was introduced on that day by Senator KNOWLAND, the acting Republican floor leader. The vital difference in this proposal is that it is not intended to change in any way our present constitutional powers and principles as described above. As the President said: [74]

"While I have opposed other amendments which would have had the effect of depriving the President of the capacity necessary to carry on negotiations with foreign governments, I am glad to support the Knowland amendment for it confirms that this Presidential power cannot be used contrary to the Constitution.

* * * * *

"It is my belief that the reassurances contained in the Knowland amendment meet all legitimate demands that have been made in this field of foreign relations."

The full operative text of the Knowland substitute is set forth in the appendix, in parallel form for comparison with the resolution. The first sentence of section 1 of the Knowland substitute is in essence the same as section 1 of the resolution, that is, it provides that a provision of a treaty in conflict with the Constitution shall be of no force or effect.[75] The other two sections are markedly different. Section 2 provides for a roll-call vote on treaty ratification; and section 3 provides that the Senate, when ratifying a treaty, may require that it shall not become internal law unless followed by legislation. The Knowland substitute thus omits the most damaging features of the Bricker resolution. It is frankly proposed to achieve the purpose which President Eisenhower ascribed to it, namely, an enactment to declare the existing constitutional law and thus lay at rest any fears that treaties may override the Constitution.

On the same day the Knowland substitute was introduced, Senator BRICKER made it plain that he would not accept it.[76] The rejection of the Knowland substitute by proponents of the resolution shows that they are not primarily concerned with curing any self-created doubts as to whether treaties are subordinate to the constitutional guaranties in the Bill of Rights, but rather that their prime concern is to freeze into the Constitution for all time their dislike and distrust of dealings with other nations. The proposal of the Knowland substitute has thus served a useful purpose, because it has turned the spotlight to what is the only real issue: the destruction and obstruction which would be effected by sections 2 and 3 of the Bricker resolution.

On its merits, however, the Knowland substitute raises the question of whether the insertion of declaratory language in so fundamental a document as the Constitution is wise as a matter of public policy. The only affirmative matter is contained in section 2, which would require a rollcall vote on treaty ratification, and this could be accomplished forthwith by a change in the Senate rules, a sensible change already proposed.[77] The declaratory section 1 is unnecessary, for reasons which have already been discussed. As to section 3 (stating that the Senate in ratifying may require supplemental legislation), it is well recognized that this is merely declaratory of an existing power.[78]

Aside from the undesirable precedent of declaratory supplements to the Constitution, there is always the risk of future interpretation of untried language. For example, it might be argued that section 3, by specifying one kind of condition which may be attached to ratification, by implication forbids any other condition.[79] And there are many passages in the majority report which suggest that section 1 might be given more than merely declaratory scope, for example, that it might of itself reverse *Missouri* v. *Holland*.[80] To advocate declaration is almost of necessity to risk misinterpretation and hence revision. We see no occasion for running such a risk.

CONCLUSION

We are proud of the success of our Constitution in the 164 years of its history. No case has been made proving a threat to our institutions from the present scope and distribution of the Nation's powers to conduct its foreign affairs.

The nature of the changes proposed by the Bricker resolution, moreover, would place so many impediments upon the conduct of our foreign affairs and military operations, as to constitute a grave threat to our chances of survival in the modern world.

Respectfully submitted.

Committee on Federal Legislation: Theodore Pearson, chairman; Prescott R. Andrews; Don E. Cooper; Ambrose Doskow; Thomas H. Dugan; James J. Flanagan; John French; Herbert J. Jacobi; Charles L. Jaffin; John C. Jaqua, Jr.; Arthur Kramer; James P. Murtagh; Arthur L. Newman, II; Charles D. Peet; Charles I. Pierce, Jr.; Orville H. Schell, Jr.; Solomon I. Sklar; Jay H. Topkis; Royall Victor, Jr.; Joseph L. Weiner; Charles H. Willard.

Committee on International Law: Dana Converse Backus, chairman; Florence Brush; Clarence U. Carruth, Jr.; Henry P. de Vries; John V. Duncan; Thomas K. Finletter; David F. Freeman; A. Michael Frothingham; E. Douglas Hamilton; James N. Hyde; Samuel Anatole Lourie; Benjamin C. Milner, III; Edmund L. Palmieri; Stanley F. Reed, Jr.; Gerard Swope, Jr.; Theodore E. Wolcott.

NOVEMBER 17, 1953.

APPENDIX

Senate Joint Resolution 1 as reported by majority of Senate Judiciary Committee

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Knowland substitute

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect. The judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases, in law or equity, in which it is claimed that the conflict described in this amendment is present.

"SEC. 2. When the Senate consents to the ratification of a treaty the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate.

"SEC. 3. When the Senate so provides in its consent to ratification, a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress."

The final section, requiring ratification by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States within 7 years, is identical in both versions.

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[1] On February 7, 1952, Senator BRICKER on behalf of himself and 58 other Senators introduced S. J. Res. 130. Hearings on this proposal were held before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in May and June of that year (1952 hearings), but no report was rendered and the proposal died with the adjournment of the 82d Congress. When the 83d Congress convened, Senator BRICKER on January 7, 1953 introduced S. J. Res. 1, on behalf of himself and 63 other Senators. This proposal, as Senator BRICKER said, expressed the same basic objectives. Hearings were held in February–April of this year by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee (1953 hearings), which rendered no report. It is evident that many of the Senators acted as cosponsors simply to have the subject studied. On June 15, 1953 a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee filed a report (S. Rept. No. 412) recommending an amended form of the resolution (see appendix hereto). Of the 15 members, 9 voted for the majority report (majority report), and another who was absent is understood to have concurred. Four members signed minority views (minority report) holding that there was no need for any constitutional amendment. Chairman LANGER voted against reporting the resolution, and filed individual views explaining that he did not join neither the majority or the minority report; his thought was that reporting the resolution was premature, since he was informed that efforts were being made to work out a compromise text acceptable both to the administration and proponents.

[2] We have made two previous reports opposing Senator BRICKER'S proposals. Our first report set forth the basic reasons for opposition to the proposals made in this field (as well as to the particular language of S. J. Res. 130, 82d Cong.) and was approved at the annual meeting of the association on May 13, 1952. Our second report concerned primarily S. J. Res. 1 as originally introduced by Senator BRICKER; it was printed in the Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for April 1953. We shall occasionally refer here to these reports, to avoid repeating some of the more detailed legal discussion. The chairmen of our two committees testified against the proposals at both the 1952 and 1953 Senate hearings (1952 hearings, pp. 72–87, 513–515; 1953 hearings, pp. 190–235. Our 1952 report, and the action of the association approving it, are reproduced in full at pp. 235–252 of the 1953 hearings).

[3] 1952 hearings, pp. 173–196, 345–421. 1953 hearings, pp. 823–984, 999–1022, 1035–1082.

[4] Statement by the President, press release July 22, 1953; 99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 9757 (July 22, 1953).

[5] Speech at League of Women Voters Council dinner at Washington, D. C., Apr. 21, 1953. Speech at Constitution Day celebra-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

tion before Joint Service Clubs at Madison, Wis., Sept. 15, 1953.

[4] Unequivocal opposition to the Bricker amendment was evinced by the following: Dean Maynard E. Pirsig, University of Minnesota Law School; Edmund O. Belsheim, dean, College of Law, the University of Nebraska; Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland, Harvard Law School; Prof. Austin V. Clifford, Indiana University, School of Law; Prof. Bernard C. Gavit, Indiana University School of Law; Prof. Mark DeW. Howe, Harvard Law School; Dean Harold C. Havighurst, Northwestern University; Dean Oliver S. Rundell, the University of Wisconsin; Dean Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard Law School; Dean Jefferson B. Fordham, University of Pennsylvania; Dean Ray Forrester, Tulane University; Charles B. Nutting, vice chancellor, University of Pittsburgh; F. D. G. Ribble, dean of the department of law, University of Virginia; Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, president of the Church Peace Union; Dean Martin Tollefson, the Law School of Drake University; Clyde Eagleton, professor of international law, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University; Prof. Kenneth C. Sears, University of Chicago Law School; John J. Parker, United States circuit judge; Dean Douglas B. Maggs, Duke University School of Law; A. J. Thomas, Jr., associate professor of law, Southern Methodist University School of Law; Eric C. Bellquist, acting chairman, department of political science, University of California (99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 8881 (July 13, 1953), A4335 (July 6), A4469 (July 10), A4745 (July 20), A5284 (Aug. 3)). For exhaustive analyses opposing the various proposed amendments, see Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Amending the Constitution to Cripple Treaties, 12 La. L. R. 345 (May 1952); Arthur E. Sutherland, Jr., Restricting the Treaty Power, 65 Harv. L. R. 1305 (June 1952); Philip B. Perlman, On Amending the Treaty Power, 52 Col. L. R. 825 (November 1952). A report opposing the proposals was made by a committee of the New York State Bar Association, dated May 28, 1953, and signed by William D. Mitchell, chairman (Attorney General in the Hoover administration), John W. Davis, Lewis R. Gulick, John J. Mackrell, Henry S. Manley, Kenneth C. Royall, and Harrison Tweed (99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 9307 (July 17, 1953)). A report opposing the resolution was made by the Committee on International Law of the Federal Bar Association, dated July 29, 1953, and was adopted by that association at its annual meeting September 25, 1953. A committee of the section of international and comparative law of the American Bar Association rendered a report opposing the resolution dated August 24, 1953; as indicated in note 9 below, the section adopted this recommendation and the house of delegates rejected it.

For a checklist of 110 recent books, articles, and monographs on the treatymaking power and the proposed amendments (prepared by its librarian), see The Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for October 1953 (vol. 8, No. 7), pp. 376–381. Since the preparation of that list there have appeared articles by Henry Steele Commager, The Perilous Proposal of Senator Bricker, published in the Reporter for October 13, 1953 (vol. 9, No. 6); Arthur H. Dean, The Bricker Amendment and Authority Over Foreign Affairs, 32 Foreign Affairs, p. 1 (October 1953); and James M. Mullen, The Supreme Law of the Land, 39 Va. L. R. 729 (October 1953)—all opposing the resolution. In favor of the resolution is an article by Donald R. Richberg, The Bricker Amendment and the Treaty Power, 39 Va. L. R. 753 (October 1953). A survey pamphlet published by the Public Affairs Institute, The Assault on the U. N., by Alexander Uhl (Washington, 1953), devotes one section to the resolution. Aside from Senator BRICKER's speeches and other material in the hearings, and Mr. Richberg's article, the legal articles supporting the resolution have, so far as we know, been written mainly by members of the American Bar Association Peace and Law Committee (see note 9), and have appeared in the A. B. A. Journal: Frank B. Ober, Eberhard P. Deutsch, George A. Finch, Orie L. Phillips, and Vermont Hatch; for citations, see the above-mentioned checklist. Some of these articles supported the previous versions of that committee's proposed constitutional amendment. See its reports of September 1951, February 1952, February 1953.

[5] 99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 8435 (July 8, 1953). George A. Finch, of the American Bar Association Peace and Law Committee (see note 9), testified at length on this point. 1953 hearings, pp. 1148–1151. The only international control of the atom which he wished was inspection by a commission "provided safeguards are placed so that they cannot get access to secret information." His testimony does not show what would be accomplished by an inspection confined to nonsecret information.

[6] See pp. 4–9.

[7] The present text of the resolution is almost word for word the same as S. J. Res. 43, introduced by Senator WATKINS with no cosponsors. This in turn was based upon proposals made by the majority of the house of delegates of the American Bar Association on the recommendation of its committee on peace and law through United Nations, over the opposition of its section of international and comparative law. 38 A. B. A. Journal 435, 1069 (May, December 1952); 39 A. B. A. J. 353 (April 1953). At the meetings in August 1953, the section of international and comparative law opposed the resolution by a 64-to-12 vote, but its recommendation was rejected by the house of delegates 117 to 33. 39 A. B. A. Journal 876, 1034–6 (October, November 1953).

[8] 1952 hearings, p. 28.

[9] United States Constitution, art. II, sec. 2, par. 2, clause 1.

[10] 3 Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention (1911 ed.), 348.

[11] Hamilton, The Federalist, No. 75.

[12] United States Constitution, art. I, sec. 10—Powers Denied to the States.

[13] Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, art IX.

[14] United States Constitution, art. VI, par. 2.

[15] See Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–89, XXXII, pp. 124, 181–182. Denys P. Myers, Treaty and Law under the Constitution, 26 Department of State Bulletin, March 10, 1952, p. 371. 1 Farrand, Records of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 (1911), pp. 47, 54, 61.

[16] 3 Farrand, p. 523.

[17] United States Constitution, art. III, sec. 2.

[18] United States Constitution, art. I, sec. 8.

[19] United States Constitution, 10th amendment.

[20] See discussion under sec. 1 of the resolution, pp. 21–23.

[21] 1952 Hearings, p. 28.

[22] Luther Martin of Maryland—Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention, 1911, ed., vol. 3, p. 287; Patrick Henry of Virginia—Henry, Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches, vol. 3, p. 556.

[23] 4 Elliott's Debates, p. 464.

[24] For statistics showing how effective these brakes have been in slowing down or preventing the ratification of treaties in the Senate see p. 12.

[25] See p. 5.

[26] The Cherokee Tobacco, 11 Wall. 616 (1870); *Chae Chan Ping* v. *United States*, (130 U. S. 581 (1889)); *Whitney* v. *Robertson*, (124 U. S. 190 (1888)); *In re Green—Estate of Brater* (305 N. Y. 148 (1953)), appeal dismissed sub nom. *Kalmane* v. *Green*.—— (U. S. —— 74 Sup. Ct. 32 (Oct 12, 1953)).

[27] See discussion under sec. 1 of the resolution, pp. 21–23.

[28] The Government's brief in *Clark* v. *Allen* (331 U. S. 503 (1947)) lists over 50 treaties now in force relating to reciprocal inheritance rights. We have well over 50 extradition treaties.

[29] See p. 7.

[30] *Chirac* v. *Chirac* (2 Wheat. 259 (1817)); *Hauenstein* v. *Lynham* (100 U. S. 483 (1879)); *Santovincenso* v. *Egan* (284 U. S. 30 (1931)); the three treaties of alliance with France (1778), 1 Malloy, United States Treaties and Conventions, pp. 468, 479, 482.

[31] 46 American Journal of International Law—Documents, p. 80 (in force Apr. 28, 1952), T. I. A. S. 2490.

[32] *Nielson* v. *Johnson* (279 U. S. 47 (1929)).

[33] President Eisenhower's address before the United Church Women at Atlantic City, the New York Times, Oct. 7, 1953, p. 3.

[34] Department of State Bulletin, Sept. 7, 1953, p. 306. These were treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Israel, Denmark, Greece, Japan, West Germany, Ethiopia, Finland, and Italy; an agreement with the Bonn Government regarding the ownership of West German bonds; a NATO Status of International Military Headquarters protocol; and two NATO Status of Forces protocols regarding jurisdiction of criminal offenses and exemptions from civil process, etc., 99 Cong. Rec. 9623 (July 21, 1953), 8948 (July 13), 9089, 9091 (July 15), 9024 (July 14).

[35] Majority report, pp. 8–10, 14–15, 17, 22.

[36] Statement by the Department of State, 1953 Hearings, p. 830 at p. 836.

[37] Majority report, p. 17.

[38] Our present arrangement lets us select whichever method is more appropriate for the particular case. When the national interest is considered more important, we have the power to make the treaty binding on all States. Where the desires of each individual State are considered more important, the treaty or a Senate reservation may specify that it shall be operative within each State only in accordance with State law. The latter method was followed in the case of the treaties of friendship with Israel, Denmark, Greece, Japan, and West Germany (see note 36 above), as regards leaving it to each State to determine whether aliens should be permitted to practice law and certain other professions.

[39] 1953 Hearings, p. 829.

[40] 1953 Hearings, p. 920.

[41] Pp. 23–28. See also our April 1953 Report, pp. 181–184.

[42] Majority Report, pp. 8–10.

[43] Memorandum of Parliamentarian of the Senate 98 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 2602 (Mar. 20, 1952). See also Majority report, p. 22.

[44] H. Rept. No. 139, 79th Cong., 1st sess.

[45] H. J. Res. 12 and 65.

[46] Majority report, p. 11.

[47] Hackworth, Digest of International Law, p. 397.

[48] Majority report, p. 24.

[49] United States Constitution, art. II, secs. 2 and 3.

[50] 1952 Report, pp. 29–36; April 1953 Report, pp. 184–190.

[51] *U. S.* v. *Belmont* (301 U. S. 324 (1927)); *U. S.* v. *Pink*, (315 U. S. 203 (1942)).

[52] Majority report, p. 25.

[53] 64 Stat. 980 (1950). Memorandum Relating to the Making of International Agreements other than Treaties (Department of State), 1953 hearings, pp. 853–4.

[54] Speech at League of Women Voters Council dinner at Washington, D. C., Apr. 21, 1953.

[55] Majority Report, p. 20, quoting *U. S.* v. *Darby* (312 U. S. 100 (1941)).

[56] Pp. 187–189.

[57] Majority report, p. 29.

[58] See our April 1953 Report, pp. 185–186 and notes thereto.

[59] Pp. 34–36.

[60] Vermont Hatch, The Danger of Abuse of the Treaty Power, 39 ABA Journal 808, 854 (September 1953).

[74] Senator BRICKER himself has ably stated the difficulties and dangers of adopting constitutional provisions for executive agreements: "Should the executive branch be unduly restricted, one of two things would happen. Observance of an unduly rigid constitutional provision might seriously interfere with the conduct of the Nation's foreign affairs. This fact would tend to place a high premium on evasion of the fundamental law." (1952 Hearings, p. 29).

[75] Minority report, p. 62.

[76] As the Minority Report states (p. 51), it seems clear that the provisions for limiting the making of executive agreements would not have been proposed at the present time but for the Yalta and possibly the Potsdam agreements. For literature pro and con on these agreements, see our April 1953 report, p. 168 and footnote 69.

[77] 1953 Hearings, p. 829.

[78] See McDougal and Lans, 54 Yale Law Journal 181, 317 (1945); and Borchard, 54 Yale Law Journal 616 (1945).

[79] *Hepburn* v. *Griswold* (75 U. S. 603 (1869)); *Farrington* v. *Tokushige* (273 U. S. 284 (1927)); *Heiner* v. *Donnan* (285 U. S. 312 (1932)).

[80] Pp. 10–17.

[81] The Supreme Court and other decisions are collected and discussed at length in the testimony of Attorney General Brownell, 1953 hearings, pp. 905–913.

[82] See p. 9 and footnote 28.

[83] 1953 hearings, pp. 907, 909–910.

[84] Speech before a regional meeting of the American Bar Association at Louisville, Ky., on Apr. 11, 1952; reprinted in 1953 hearings, p. 862 at p. 863.

[85] 1953 hearings, p. 823.

[86] Department of State Bulletin, Sept. 7, 1953, p. 307 at p. 308.

[87] Scares have been created by the misconstruction of the dissenting opinion in the Steel Seizure case (*Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* (343 U. S. 579, 667 (1952)), though the dissent actually was founded on the President's power (alleged by the minority but denied by the majority) to enforce the legislative programs of Congress by seizure of the steel mills. As Attorney General Brownell pointed out, the argument of the dissenting minority of judges would not be affected one way or the other by the proposed amendment (1953 hearings, p. 927). Senator BRICKER has referred to one provision of the 1924 treaty with England, under which liquor under seal as ship's stores on British ships in United States harbors was made free from interference in the same manner "as now provided by law with respect to the transit of such liquors through the Panama Canal." He has stated that this treaty violated the prohibition amendment and that its validity was never judicially determined. This statement, relied upon by the majority report (pp. 7, 8), is erroneous on both counts. Actually, the treaty was made in aid of the 18th amendment, to obtain for us the important right of search and seizure of British flag rum runners beyond the 3-mile limit up to an hour's travel from our shores. In the debate on the treaty, it was supported by the dry forces and was ratified by a roll-call vote of 61 to 7 (New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 14, 1924, p. 1). In a case requiring release of a Canadian ship seized from rum row beyond the treaty limit, the Court said the treaty controlled and "I have no doubt that it is constitutional" (The *Frances Louise* (1 F. (2d) 1004, 1006; D. C. Mass., 1924)). The treaty became a model for at least 11 others. The proponents have attempted to justify the resolution by claiming that a few court opinions have reached certain results on the basis of the treaty power and the United Nations Charter. But the ground of these decisions was the protection afforded by the 14th amendment to the Constitution, which we enjoyed for three-quarters of a century before the U. N. was ever heard of. The fundamental doctrines that all men are created equal, and are entitled to the equal protection of laws, stem from our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. The source of these results is not the treaty power. *Peres* v. *Lippold* (198 P. 2d 17 (1948)); *Fujii* v. *State* (242 P. 2d 617 (1952)).

[88] 1953 hearings, p. 913.

[89] At a news conference President Eisenhower indicated that it seemed to him to be a little bit of an anomaly, to amend the Constitution in order to show that it is going to remain the same. The New York Times, Mar. 26, 1953, p. 30.

[90] See p. 2.

[91] See note 4 above.

[92] The second sentence of sec. 1 would give the courts power to resolve a claim of such conflict. See note 85 below.

[93] The New York Times, July 23, 1953, p. 1. Senator BRICKER later attacked the Knowland substitute on the floor of the Senate, 99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 11090–5 (Aug. 1, 1953).

[94] S. Res. 145. At the same time, Senator LEHMAN also introduced a resolution (S. Res. 144) to amend the Senate rules by requiring a rollcall vote on any proposed amendment to the Constitution.

[95] See note 45 above.

[96] Also, is it clear that the provision for judicial review in sec. 1 does no more than confirm the existing law? Senators BRICKER and KEFAUVER strongly assert that it goes further. 99 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 11093–11094 (Aug. 1, 1953).

[97] The proponents mention *Missouri* v. *Holland* 5 times in 6 pages in seeking to show the necessity for sec. 1. Majority report, pp. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8. See also Mr. Hatch's article (note 60 above), 39 ABA Journal, 808, 811.

Alien Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the attention of the other Members to the comment on the alien labor and unemployment situation in my section of California contained in the following editorial from the Fresno Bee of February 17, 1954, and the following news story from the Hanford Sentinel of the same date:

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of February 17, 1954]

AMERICAN, NOT ILLEGALS, SHOULD BE JOBHOLDERS

Although unemployment is not an extremely serious problem in Fresno County it has reached the point where competent observers are concerned about the demand for help from public and private relief agencies.

As a consequence, the Federal Immigration Service will be asked by county officials to make a special effort to rid the district of illegal entrants from Mexico.

Americans seeking work certainly should fill the available jobs rather than be compelled to get charitable assistance. But whether the Immigration Service is able to do much about the situation is something else.

L. L. Adams, chief of the Service's Fresno area office, says he has only 3 officers to cover 7 counties extending from Stanislaus to Kern.

They have little chance, indeed, to round up and deport even a fraction of the thousands of Mexican workers who have no legal right to be in here.

The problem originates at the border. The illegals come into the United States practically assured they will find employment, even though many Americans are jobless.

If there were legislation providing a penalty for those who hire them, the inflow would be curbed immediately for there would be little, if any, inducement for them to come.

A law of this nature long has been needed. The urgent requirement for it is emphasized by what is happening in Fresno County.

[From the Hanford (Calif.) Sentinel of February 17, 1954]

SUPERVISORS EXPAND KINGS FARM RELIEF PROGRAM—ALLOCATE $7,500 FOR ROAD-WORK PROJECT FOR JOBLESS

(By Julius Jacobs)

An agricultural relief program to alleviate the hardship of persons who belong to farm labor families was expanded Tuesday by the supervisors.

They made an appropriation of $7,500 from their county reserve and told Henry Ribie, welfare director, to go ahead with speedup plans to get the program underway.

It will entail a work program in which jobless heads of families will earn 50 cents an hour working on the roads of Kings County.

This 50 cents will then be applied to the amount of food commodities to be made available by the welfare department to feed families.

The figure of 250 families was given by Ribie Tuesday in a lengthy discussion with the board.

He also said the family sizes range from 3 to 15 to a family—with 7 being the average size.

MAKE SATISFACTORY DIET

The commodities include low-score butter, shortening, canned meat, honey, and some canned pears. The $7,500 will be used to buy flour, potatoes, beans, and raisins to make up a satisfactory diet for the people who work to receive the commodities.

Chairman Robert Williams asked Ribie if he had a sufficient staff to administer such a program. Ribie said he did not. "We can't take on an additional case load of 250 families and maintain efficiency without some aid."

Williams said "if the need arises we have no choice but to go along in conjunction with the State and Federal Governments." He then asked what proposals Ribie had to offer.

The welfare head said that "as of now, we have 250 cases, and somewhere around 80 to 85 can be handled by each worker. We could do it with 2 people, but then there would just be certification of families, saying they were entitled to food, but no investigation."

"That," said Ribie, "was done once before here, before I came, and it ran the cost up to some $20,000, and also incurred the wrath of the public.

GIVE ONE ORDER WEEKLY

"The present system is to give one order a week, based on need, investigation by home visit, check with other sources to see how the family gets by. I propose that if you do it, you do it right."

Ribie said the program would need 2 intake workers, and 2 case workers following up to see if people were eligible or ineligible. Ribie also said that it costs money

for such a program. Agricultural aid dropped from being way up, to $1,200 2 years ago and $3,500 last year. Now, he said, all but $1,000 has been expended.

He had with him on display before the supervisors a complete sampling of the surplus commodity foods available for distribution. He called them of excellent quality.

Williams then asked about the work program. Ribie said he had spoken with Harold Carlson, road commissioner, and he has stated there are lots of jobs along the roads of the county. Ribie also said he understood that Curtis Lindley, forestry ranger, has a good deal of work at Burris Park, and that there is school cleanup work to be done.

* * * * *

Federal Power Policy—Missouri Basin Power Marketing Criteria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, Missourians have not hesitated to voice their opposition to the Interior Department's new power policy and to the Missouri Basin power marketing criteria. President Fred V. Heinkel, of the Missouri Farmers Association, has recently made an important and clear-cut report to their membership on the special meeting of the National Electric Consumers Conference held in Denver early in December.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his report together with the proposed statement of principles and position of the participants in that conference.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT FRED V. HEINKEL—THEY SHALL NOT STARVE REA

A meeting of great significance was held in Denver, Colo., on December 10 and 11. It was a special meeting of the National Electric Consumers Conference, and was attended by representatives of 30 organizations from nearly every State. The organizations represented were REA cooperatives, farm organizations, municipalities, church, and labor groups.

Arrangements for the meeting were made by the National Farmers Union because the conference was held in that organization's home town. There were about 650 people in attendance, and the MFA was represented by A. D. Sappington and H. E. Klinefelter. Mr. Sappington took my place on the program since I was unable to be there, and Mr. Klinefelter served on the resolutions committee.

Why was such a nationwide meeting as this held at this particular time? And why was such unanimity shown in all the speeches and in the resolutions adopted?

The conference was held to discuss what's happening to electric power these days. We have a power shortage over practically all America. Notwithstanding this shortage, Congress and the administration have failed to make a single new start toward building more power dams. They have, in fact, curtailed the REA's appropriations and have cut back some of the projects already started, including Table Rock in Missouri. The cutbacks were apparently made at the behest of the big utility moguls who maintain a powerful lobby in Washington to look after their selfish interests. Because of the good work he accomplished, the utilities increased the pay of their head lobbyist in Washington from $65,000 to $75,000 per year, it was reported at the Denver conference.

POWER IS SCARCE

Not only is there a shortage of power now, but it will grow increasingly severe, unless something is done to prevent it, because our population is growing at the rate of 2 million per year. By 1960, the Bureau of the Census predicts our population will be 180,276,000 and by 1975 it will be 225,310,000. Unless we, the people, move forward and build additional hydroelectric and steam powerplants, and unless we make the most of atomic energy, our standard of living cannot continue to improve. Indeed, it will gradually sink to a lower level.

Without an abundance of low-cost electric energy to run the modern machinery needed to clothe, feed, and serve our growing population, all of us, producers and consumers alike, will soon be compelled to do with less. For it is an indisputable fact that before goods can be consumed they must first be produced.

The resolutions adopted by the National Electric Consumers Conference completely cover, it seems to me, what the situation is today with respect to public power and what must be done to meet the needs of the people. The resolutions are reproduced here in full, for this reason and for the further reason that the MFA membership indicated their keen interest in the subject of public power when they stated their views on matters of utmost concern to farmers in filling out questionnaires at the recent regional mass meetings.

As president of the MFA, I regard your answers to the questions on public power and the REA in the questionnaire, plus the resolutions adopted by our last annual convention, as a mandate to help out in the great power fight that is being waged throughout the Nation today. That is why I asked Messrs. Sappington and Klinefelter to represent our association at the big conference in Denver.

THEY WOULD DESTROY

It is clear to me that the big utility interests are out to destroy our farmer-owned electric cooperatives by starving them to death. Their strategy is to curtail the funds with which the Rural Electricification Administration finances the electric cooperatives, transmission lines, and steam plants. They intend to grab all power produced by publicly owned plants and to squeeze out the farmer-owned electric cooperatives by depriving them of power to energize their lines and by forcing the farmers to pay high rates.

If all of us, throughout the width and breadth of the Nation, stand united and fight for our rights we shall win their battel with the utility grants and special interests. If we do not fight, we will simply have less to eat and less to wear. Without an abundance of electric energy to produce and process the food and fiber we need, the American people—all of us—will suffer from a decline in our standard of living.

As Mr. Sappington told the Denver conference, if we don't win this great fight, it may well be that one day we shall look back on the 1940's as the golden age when the American people enjoyed an abundance that enabled them to live better than any other people at any time in the history of the world. Too late, we would regret that we lacked the wisdom and the will to fight to hold what we had won.

PROPOSED STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND POSITION OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONAL ELECTRIC CONSUMERS CONFERENCE HELD IN DENVER, COLO., DECEMBER 10–11, 1953

The assurance of an abundance of electrical energy for the farms, the cities, and the industries of America need never be a problem. However, until the early thirties of the present century, securing power needed for national development was a continuing struggle. An unbridled, unprincipled, and gigantic power monopoly was the reason.

Instead of building power systems, the power monopolists watered stock. Instead of selling power at reasonable cost, they influenced and captured rate-regulating bodies. Secretly paid speakers, secretly supported front organizations, and even tampering with textbooks, were but parts of their campaign to brainwash the American public. The financial, political, and propaganda activities of the private power companies, uncovered by the Federal Trade Commission in the late 1920's and 1930's, constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of American business.

However, in the early 1930's there was begun a true partnership arrangement between the Federal Government, municipalities, and rural electric cooperatives which began to break this electric power monopoly. Measuring sticks as to fair and reasonable costs of electric power were established. Through them was begun a great program which has brought power to millions of homes previously unserved and power for new business and great new industries. The result has been lower electricity costs for all American consumers, either directly or through the effect of the yardsticks.

Much remains to be done, however, to complete the job of assuring abundant power. Power use is increasing and population is increasing. Power supply must be continuously expanded or our standards of living will fall. Low-cost power in abundance is necessary to a full employment economy.

Events which have transpired during the year 1953 have brought the Federal power program to a halt, raising serious doubts as to its continuance, and even foreboding the liquidation of existing facilities.

What are these events of 1953 which are disrupting the true Federal-local partnership to foster national interests?

Private power monopolists, coddled and assisted by Federal officials, have moved toward its liquidation. No new Federal power projects are to be built. Power from present dams is to be leased on long-term contracts to private interests. Federal power supply responsibilities are to be denied. Our great regional resource development programs are to be impaired or made wholly infeasible by a giveaway of key dam sites. Present local public and cooperative power systems are to be made dependent on local private power monopolists for their continued existence. The public right to preference is to be denied.

The power monopolists are today again deep in the unethical, immoral, and evil political and propaganda practices of a quarter century ago.

The current developments constitute a threat to our electric-power systems, our standards of living, and our whole national economy which has aroused the indignation of citizens across the Nation.

Recognizing this threat, we, the participants in the National Electric Consumers Conference, called at Denver, Colo., December 10–11, sponsored by the National Farmers Union and attended by more than 600 representatives of nearly 100 REA, farm, labor, church, consumer, and other organizations in 30 States, acting as individuals, do adopt

the following statement of policies and principles:

I. PRINCIPLES FOR A FEDERAL POWER PROGRAM

In fulfilling the responsibility of the Federal Government for assuring an electric-power program that fully serves the people's needs, the following principles should be followed:

1. Establishment by Congress of the principle of Federal utility responsibility for that portion of regional power supply required to meet the expanding needs of present or future nonprofit electric systems and to support sound expansion of the regional economy.

2. Legal provisions requiring that preference be given to public and cooperative nonprofit agencies in sale of wholesale energy produced by Federal projects must not be impaired.

3. Establishment by Congress of regional development agencies which will recognize hydroelectric development as a primary objective of multiple-purpose river-basin programs, but will also provide for the optimum conservation and development of all values, including flood control, navigation, irrigation, recreation, and others.

4. Construction by Federal agencies of steam-electric stations and transmission lines necessary to firm hydropower and meet power requirements of service areas, and to carry that power to load centers.

5. Limitation on the discretion of the Federal Power Commission to grant licenses for private development wherever they conflict with a Federal program.

6. Full technical and financial support for the vertical as well as horizontal expansion of the rural electric program, including—

Assistance to generation and transmission cooperatives where needed to provide the member cooperatives with an abundant power supply in the future;

Financial and technical assistance in acquisition programs; and

Removal of population limitations on communities which rural electric cooperatives may serve, which are creating serious problems in connection with annexations and community growth, and which deprive communities of a free choice as to who shall serve them.

7. Establishment by Congress of interregional wholesale power supply grids interconnecting Federal hydroelectric systems, Atomic Energy Commission nuclear power plants, local public and cooperative generating facilities, and private electric systems.

8. More active Federal development of atomic power by the Atomic Energy Commission in cooperation with the program of the proposed interregional grids. Atomic power so developed should be marketed as an element in the general power supply from the Federal grids under the general Federal responsibility set forth in this statement.

9. Federal legislation to make it illegal for any electric or other utility engaged in interstate commerce and enjoying guaranteed profits without economic risk while operating as a private monopoly under franchise privileges granted by the public, to finance or engage in either directly or indirectly, any activity designed to influence political action at either local, State, or national levels of government, or to create public opinion for or against any such actions. This legislation should be enforced by the Federal Power Commission. The Internal Revenue Act should also be amended to preclude the charging-off of expenditures for institutional advertising, contributions to organizations, or other public relations activities, to expenses as deductions for tax purposes. Owners of electric utility companies should not be privileged to advance their personal political prejudices and interests by the expenditure of tax-free income which is collected from rate-payers above and beyond the legal fair rate of return.

10. Federal legislation requiring that benefits from accelerated tax amortization be passed on to consumers.

II. ACTIONS CONDEMNED

We specifically condemn:

The Interior Department's new power policy.

The Missouri Basin power marketing criteria which penalizes public power systems and farmer-owned electric cooperatives.

Violation of the Federal preference clause by long-term contracts with private utilities without withdrawal provisions to protect preference customers, such as already negotiated by Bonneville Power Administration and those proposed in the Missouri Basin.

The cutback of REA loan programs and crippling of its technical assistance programs.

Any alterations of established credit policies of REA which might impair the financial feasibility of the cooperatives thereby curtailing any necessary system improvements and expansion of service to unserved consumers.

Federal withdrawal of opposition to the licensing of private power dams at Hells Canyon which will ignore tremendous downstream power benefits and great secondary flood control, irrigation, navigation, recreation, and other conservation benefits.

Federal withdrawal of opposition to private power dam license on the Kings River in California.

Surrender to the private utilities of public power from the Central Valley project in California and destruction of the Federal preference provision by disposal of Central Valley properties to the States.

Repeal of the 160-acre limitation on the use of water in Federal irrigation projects in the Federal reclamation law.

The shameful repudiation of legal contracts between Southwest Power Administration and REA generating and transmission cooperatives.

The proposed giveaway of Niagara Falls to five power companies and the licensing of a New York State development on the St. Lawrence River without provision for preference to public and cooperative bodies.

Failure to maintain an adequate rate of generation installation in the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia River Basin.

The proposed Georgia contract which would establish private monopoly tollgates between Federal projects and public preference customers.

Elimination of new starts and slowdown of projects through unwise reductions of Federal investments provided in the annual national budget.

Retarding of industrial growth by refusal to sell additional power from Federal transmission systems directly to new industry.

Packing of administrative agencies and regulatory bodies and commissions with enemies of the public power programs.

Wrecking sound conservation policy of the past 50 years by removing the Federal Government from responsibility for full multiple-purpose development of the Nation's river basins.

Inequitable allocation of project costs to power by deliberate, unwarranted and unfair deflation of other multipurpose use costs so as to increase electric rates.

Proposals for a Federal tax on income of Federal, municipal and cooperatively owned power systems, and to a Federal tax on municipal bonds.

III. A 20-YEAR PLAN

We insist that during the coming session of Congress authorizations and appropriations be made, adequate to provide electric power and transmission lines necessary to give substance to the true Federal-local partnership power program which is based on legislation dating back through a half century.

Necessary Federal construction programs should be planned on a 20-year basis, with authorization of construction geared to the needs of at least the 6 succeeding years, and with construction scheduled so as to assure the lowest possible construction costs.

The next session of Congress should approve funds for the construction of projects, chosen from among those already authorized or planned so as to meet the power needs of all areas of the Nation and assure abundant energy for national defense and full employment.

IV. A PROGRAM OF ACTION

Citizens of America who demand abundant, low-cost energy for the Nation are uniting in a rising tide of indignation against the proposed new power policy through this great meeting, and at others across the Nation in Portland, Albany, Omaha, Washington, Sacramento, Oklahoma City, and elsewhere.

There is recognition everywhere that the fight to save America from the blight of energy shortages, high rates, watered and inflated rate bases, reverse yardsticks, unbridled exploitation and continued brainwashing with the canned propaganda of unprincipled monopoly publicists cannot be won by forces divided into tiny units. An enemy cannot be repulsed by each citizen waiting to fight alone at his own doorstep.

The cause of the Central Valley of California, the New York-New England area, Hell's Canyon, the Columbia Basin, the Tennessee Valley, the upper Colorado, the Missouri, the Southwest, the Southeast and other areas is each the cause of every one of us.

Our Congressmen and Senators must be urged to support Federal development programs in every area. They must be judged on across-the-board support of a total national program and not on their votes on local projects alone.

Our growing unity must be perfected.

We urge all organizations to publish full voting records on all power issues.

We strongly endorse the Electric Consumers Conference being planned in Washington, D. C., for early in the coming session of Congress.

We urge that regional Electric Consumers Associations and similar groups, already appearing in many parts of the Nation, be encouraged and supported.

We urge that the Electric Consumers Conference to be held in Washington complete an effective federation of all our groups to assure nationwide unity of action on each front.

Essential Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Daily Evening Item, Lynn, Mass., February 20, 1954:

WASHINGTON'S LEADERSHIP

Those among us who still toot the horn of national selfishness love to cite the words of George Washington in justification.

Washington's advice in his Farewell Address, to stay free of entangling alliances, has been widely supposed to mean that he saw the ideal America as a sort of walled-off paradise—a Nation that would walk its way alone, guarding its precious gifts by avoiding entanglement in the fights of other nations.

But the entanglements Washington feared were chiefly those of the moment. He knew that the infant Republic needed time to build sturdy muscles. Stronger foreign powers that seemed to offer help might really exploit its weaknesses.

He did not imply, by any means, that America should not respond to the world around it, or should shirk from battling universal problems. As he wrote in 1795, "* * * sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquility 20 years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever; such in that time will be its population, wealth, and resources."

Washington saw that America's just cause was the defense of freedom, wherever that right was threatened. He and his brilliant colleagues—Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Adams, Jay, Madison, and the others, knew that the more perfect union has a timeless calling to answer, a calling greater than personal safety.

Americans today cannot be blamed if their duties as a leader of nations do not make them feel like dancing in the streets. Leadership has not been a joyride; it has cost us tremendous wealth and the blood of our sons.

The thought of foresaking the duties, forgetting the troubles of others and caring for only our own, naturally seems attractive.

That, however, we cannot do, for the right to freedom is not exclusive. Those who have that right are bound by its very nature to protect its existence for others, no matter who the others may be. And as long as a single man must chew on the bit of tyrants, a threat exists to our own liberty.

History has shown many times that with brave, alert, and inspiring leadership the cause of freedom will not lose its way. But leadership is always essential, and now that our own great strength has given the task to us, we must not fear to assume it.

George Washington would have been among the first to endorse such a role. For, above all else, he was never afraid to lead.

The Mountain Labored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, information furnished the House Appropriations Committee by officials of the Treasury and Agriculture Departments shows that five persons have been released from these departments for reasons of doubtful loyalty. As the Trenton Times says in the following editorial, this revelation makes the administration hue and cry about subversives in the Federal Government appear rather ludicrous. The mountain has labored mightily, but only a mouse has come forth.

The editorial follows:

THE MOUNTAIN LABORED

In view of developments in the hearings by House Appropriations Subcommittees, it would seem to be expedient for administration and congressional spokesmen to sing mighty low on the controversial issue of the separation of 2,200 persons from Government service as security risks.

Revelation of the facts is giving this issue rather ludicrous aspects. During the year, according to the testimony of its officials, the Treasury Department dismissed four employees whose loyalty was questioned. The Department of Agriculture ousted one as a Communist member.

This may be the stuff of which political propaganda is made; but its blatant exploitation does not reflect intellectual integrity or fair treatment of honest and loyal Federal employees who inevitably become objects of suspicion when indiscriminate smearing becomes the order of the day.

In this particular instance, the mountain has again labored and has brought forth a feeble and decrepit little mouse.

Foreign Policy Sacred?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Traer (Iowa) Star-Clipper of February 12, 1954, entitled "Foreign Policy Sacred?":

FOREIGN POLICY SACRED?

Opposition in the Eisenhower administration to the Bricker amendment, now before the Congress, comes almost entirely from dyed-in-the-wool internationalists in both political parties who have been responsible for our Government's world cooperation policies and long series of foreign-aid programs which since 1940 have cost United States taxpayers over $100 billion. Virtually every one of these people profess to be devoted to the Constitution of the United States and a champion of the Bill of Rights. But they don't want any restrictions on the bipartisan foreign policies, which since 1941 have involved our country in two hot wars and continuous cold wars in between.

In a personal appeal to the Congress, Mr. Eisenhower said he was unalterably opposed to the Bricker amendment because it would be a notice to friends and enemies abroad that the United States intends to withdraw from world leadership. He said it would impair plans for peace, and the achievement of important international objectives now under discussion, including the diversion of atomic energy from warlike to peaceful purposes.

You will discover that virtually every speaker and writer who has joined in the attack on the Bricker proposal is against it because they believe it would hamper the President's and the State Department's intervention in foreign affairs. They want no restraint. They do not attack the purposes or objectives of the amendment, but they fear it will tie their hands.

The syndicated newspaper columnist Marquis Childs, an ardent globalist and defender of Roosevelt-Truman foreign policies which have been largely continued and championed by Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, recently wrote:

"Even though a compromise is finally agreed to on the Bricker amendment, it cannot conceal the deep split in the Republican Party. There is nothing new about this split. A fundamental difference over foreign policy has divided the party for at least two decades.

"Any assessment should take into account the fact that most of the machinery of the party is still in the hands of Republicans who did their best to prevent the nomination of President Eisenhower. These are State and county chairmen, members of the Republican National Committee, the faithful workers in the vineyard through the long famine when the Democrats won victory after victory.

"These men and women for the most part believe in the concept of a Fortress America supported by sea and air power.

"The administration's initial error was in underestimating the strength of the pressure, particularly in the Republican Party. One can easily oversimplify what this pressure means. But it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it represents a resurgence of the extreme nationalism and isolationism which took America out of the current of world affairs after 1920. And the pressure is being generated by many of the same elements that after the end of World War I, when the mood of most people was one of weary disillusion or indifference, worked to keep the United States out of the old League of Nations.

"In a large sense, the contest over the Bricker amendment is the familiar crisis of distrust. The ultranationalist, go-it-alone mentality regards all foreigners with dark suspicion, convinced they must be plotting against kindly, simple old Uncle Sam. More important, this suspicion is carried over to the Americans who must deal with these tricky foreigners—the Secretary of State, our diplomats, those striped pants, cookie-pushing boys who live in exotic foreign climes."

This last paragraph particularly gives some idea of how desperately the internationalists defend the blundering foreign meddling of the past 20 years, and cry out against everything, even the Bricker amendment, that seeks to furnish some safeguards against future foreign-policy errors.

Our foreign policies have been furnished for 20 years or more by internationalists and big-business leaders, mostly in the industrial East, who profit handsomely by foreign giveaway programs and international tension which bolster up prices and wages of our country, stimulate the inflation fires, and will, they believe, prevent another business recession. Since 1940, the internationalists have managed to engineer the nomination of candidates supporting their foreign policies to head tickets of both major political parties. Regardless of which party wins an election, there is no change in foreign policies, although glaring blunders and failures have marked most of these policies, and are obvious to everyone. While the Republican Party was supposed to be a party of opposition to the New and Fair Deals, many of the party leaders argued that while there is some honest difference of opinion on domestic issues between the two parties, the foreign policies are bipartisan, and wholly outside the realm of political debate.

Public demand for the Bricker amendment is the result of the abuse of power by both Roosevelt and Truman in making far-reaching commitments in foreign policy in secret agreements without consulting the Senate. The globalists say that the Bricker amendment is unnecessary and unwise because President Eisenhower will be different from his last two predecessors in the White House.

Columnist David Lawrence says, accurately, we think, that what 1 President has done in abusing power can be done by some future President, if not Eisenhower, and he points out that the most recent amendment to the Constitution prohibiting a third term for a President was enacted because Roosevelt used governmental power and funds to get himself elected to 4 terms. It was no answer, when that amendment was adopted, to say that no other future President would try the same tactics.

Lawrence added:

"There is plenty of ammunition for the campaign in the record of important executive agreements that have been made in disregard of the wishes of Congress and

without being submitted to the Senate for approval or rejection.

"If the American people are told that, by making a treaty with a foreign government with the approval of a two-thirds majority in the Senate—such a majority as the late President Roosevelt had in his own party early in his administration—a President can amend the Constitution and take away the people's rights, there will be a greater clamor next year for Bricker resolutions of various kinds than there is today. The obvious lesson is to write a compromise now and dispose of the issue."

They're Not Fair Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "They're Not Fair Game," which appeared in the Anniston Star of Anniston, Ala., on February 13, 1954. The editorial follows:

THEY'RE NOT FAIR GAME

In view of the merit system's proven worth, as opposed to the discredited spoils system, there is no legitimate defense for what appears to be a calculated Republican effort to force the resignations of Democratic postmasters holding their offices under Federal civil service law.

It seems that in the selection of postal inspectors, the Post Office Department in recent months has been concerning itself with selecting applicants regarded as capable of causing so much embarrassment to Democratic incumbents in higher postmaster offices that those jobholders will resign, thus making more patronage available for Republicans.

A case in point, as reported by James Free of The Birmingham News Washington bureau, involves Row W. Greer, Sylacuga postmaster, who, after having impressed one inspector with the capable manner in which he was performing his duties, was visited by a second inspector whose instructions were to give effect to the ideas of the new Washington team.

Of course, the thinking behind such tactics is that since Democrats now holding postmasterships very likely were placed in office during Democratic administrations, and then blanketed under civil service, they are fair game now that control has changed hands in the Nation's capital.

But this approach ignores the basic principle of civil service—namely, that qualified persons have to be retained in governmental employ if public affairs are to be administered efficiently and economically. Civil service vacancies, it should be remembered, are filled by open competitive examination, not by appointment.

Incidentally, even taking the human factor into account for whatever bearing it might have in the filling of civil service vacancies with applicants professing allegiance to the party in power, the 20 years of Democratic Administrations from 1933 through 1952 undoubtedly witnessed the addition of many Republicans to civil service rolls.

Although the inclusion of postmasterships under civil service was a Democratic reform, we submit that political considerations, if they entered into the picture, were far outweighed by a desire to enhance the efficiency of the postal service. This is the controlling argument on behalf of the merit system, whether at national, State or local level.

In these circumstances, we hope the prospect of wholesale persecution of postmasters serving capably will not materialize. The national interest inevitably would suffer if it did, and collaterally, the Eisenhower administration would do well to remember that the fate of its program easily could be decided by Democratic Senators and Representatives whose support could be alienated by high-handed dismissal of postmasters on the sole ground that they happen to be Democrats.

Broken Promises—A Far Cry From the Republican Pledge Made at Kasson, Minn., on September 6, 1952, to the Farmers of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address I delivered on Tuesday, February 9, 1954, over several radio stations in Minnesota and the upper Midwest on farm parity prices and abundance of farm production.

The address is as follows:

This is Congressman ROY W. WIER, representing Minnesota's Third Congressional District.

In discussing the farm problem, one has the advantage of talking on a subject that has been before the American people in various forms, even long before the American Revolution. The Virginia colony had trouble with overproduction of tobacco 60 years before the revolution. This is the first record of any overproduction in America I can find, though tobacco is not a food crop. Throughout history mankind has always been disturbed about underproduction and famine or possible famine, of which there have been so many as to be beyond calculation, each devastating the human race in the affected areas or countries.

The never-failing capacity and willingness of our farmers to produce has led our people to take for granted something that our Lord taught them to pray for. When there was enough food and fiber in sight to take care of our people, the farmer was immediately in trouble.

Most of us though the President promised our farmers 100 percent of parity in his Kasson, Minn., speech. After the President's appointment of a Secretary of Agriculture, things began to change. A few speeches by the new Secretary of Agriculture started prices on a toboggan downward. The farmers were frightened, and retrenchment along the whole line was in order. The farmer's costs were up 7 percent, and his prices down 10 percent, with apparently no part of that reduction going to the consumer. Big layoffs of industry followed immediately, with layoffs in farm equipment, transportation, auto industry, and so forth. Farming, an industry that spends over $30 billion a year for goods and service, cannot be injured without an immediate effect upon labor and business.

As one who has spent his whole productive life in the service of labor, I am fully aware of the calamities that fall on the working man when the farmer loses his purchasing power. I have been around too long not to know that the same people who tell the farmer that he has nothing in common with labor are the ones that use labor cunningly to impair any workable farm program.

It amuses me to read in the February Farm Journal, which is a Pew publication, an article over the signature of Wheeler McMillan, whose brother, Robert, is now about the seventh public relations man for the Secretary of Agriculture. The article had the following to say about the Taft-Hartley Act. "Farmers benefit from the restraint on needless strikes and from the provisions against secondary boycott in which pickets try to stop another manufacturer from filling the orders of a struck plant or stop trucks carrying farm products. It is to the interest of farmers that the Taft-Hartley should be strengthened, not weakened. It would be still more to their advantage if the Federal Government were put out of the labor relations field entirely." That's the end of the quote.

I am happy that labor has always supported the farmer in whatever he has felt would be beneficial to him. As one Congressman who supported the Brannan plan a couple of years ago, I am not greatly surprised to see this administration aim to use its present plan to flex the farmer. Naturally, I shall oppose the flexing plan. There is no parity save 100 percent parity. The idea of 75 percent is actually a 25 percent penalty. It becomes a penalty system instead of a parity system.

In 1934, Congress passed the original AAA farm support act, which was found unconstitutional in 1936, after which the present type of an act was passed and held to be constitutional as a soil conservation act. The program, under this act, has done more to place the farmer on a basis of economic equality than anything heretofore devised. However, there has been a continuing struggle in Congress to maintain salient features in support of farm prices. And now, with a new administration, new faces, and alleged new ideas, it begins to look like the farmer is again in trouble. The farmers have voted to accept acreage allotments on wheat, cotton, and peanuts by 8 or 9 to 1 majority, thereby indicating their willingness to cooperate.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, from our former colleague, John T. Wood, of Idaho, comes a worthwhile statement on the Bricker amendment.

It reads as follows:

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

JANUARY 25, 1954.

On January 8, 1954, over the Columbia Broadcasting stations, Edward R. Murrow made some untrue and misleading statements, regarding the Bricker amendment as follows:

1. The Bricker amendment would seriously cripple the President's powers to negotiate treaties and agreements with foreign powers.

2. He said that no treaty could be ratified, were the Bricker amendment passed, without being subjected to vote in both Houses of

Congress, and also by two-thirds vote of a majority of the State legislatures.

3. He said that when the Bricker amendment was brought before the Deans of Law whatever that organization may be, 17 out of 18 of them voted against it. Now let us look at the record:

1. The Bricker amendment would not interfere with the President's unquestioned authority to negotiate treaties with foreign government, or to conclude agreements with them, unless those treaties or agreements contained clauses which abrogated the constitutional rights of our Government, our States, or our people, as guaranteed by our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Should such treaty or agreement contain such clauses, the treaty or agreement would have no effect until that part received legislative action; which means that portion so conflicting with our basic freedoms, receive a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress. And that is the way it ought to be.

2. It is true that the Bricker amendment itself would require passage through both Houses of Congress and a majority of the State legislatures. It is not true that any, or each and every treaty or agreement would require such action.

3. Mr. Murrow's statement about the deans of law requires examination and checking. It is possible that if the Bricker amendment were submitted to the deans of law in our leading internationalist toadying universities, 17 out of 18 would vote against it. The astonishing thing is the single vote for it.

But when the Bricker amendment was submitted to the American Bar Association meeting at Boston last year, over 85 percent of them voted for it, and these were the mouthpieces of the legal profession in America.

The Good Book contains the command: "Thou shall not bear false witness against thy neighbor." I wonder if that might not be paraphrased thus: "Thou shall not bear false witness against thy country." Ignorance might excuse such a statement, but Mr. Murrow is far from ignorant.

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

The amendment is very short. It is herewith presented in full:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive or other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article.

"SEC. 4. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The following State legislatures have already passed resolutions in support of such an amendment: California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, Texas, and Wyoming. The following State bar associations are supporting it: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The only one which has disapproved it is the Bar Association of the City of New York—the home of the U. N.

Be sure to sign a petition for the Bricker amendment, if and when one is presented to you, or send a request for its passage to Senator DWORSHAK or Senator WELKER.

JOHN T. WOOD.

An Ethnological Exploration Expedition in the Holy Land, Syria, Iraq Arabi (Mesopotamia), and Persia (Iran)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including herewith a report made by the well-known explorer, Wendell Phillips Dodge, on an exploration expedition in the Holy Land, Syria, Iraq Arabi, and Persia made some 50 years ago.

Commander Dodge is the editor of the Explorers Journal, and in that capacity has contributed much to the studies and reports on various explorations and expeditions which have appeared in that journal.

Because of the importance of the Near East in the worldwide pattern of survival today, I believe that this article will prove to be most interesting to those who take advantage of the opportunity to read it.

The article follows:

AN ETHNOLOGICAL EXPLORATION EXPEDITION IN THE HOLY LAND, SYRIA, IRAQ ARABI (MESOPOTAMIA), AND PERSIA (IRAN)—MAKING A STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD—DESERT METEOROLOGY

(By Wendell Phillips Dodge, F. R. G. S., also, fellow of the Royal Egyptian Geographical Society)

With the Explorers Club about to celebrate its 50th anniversary, it seems appropriate that the extensive explorations by the editor of the Explorers Journal, and which members of the Journal editorial committee on several occasions have suggested he write of for the Journal, be done at this time, the expeditions having been made 50 years ago.

Beginning in 1901, these studies in the field of the religious systems of the world at their fountainheads were to become that of a full lifetime. Most fortunately, the journal editor's explorations, primarily of an ethnological nature, but with archaeological and anthropological overtones, in the Near East and the Middle East (a definte distinction is to be observed, despite the influence of British diplomacy upon the American mind generally) began under the most auspicious circumstances. Landing in Haifa, Syria (then) as the first base of operations, this author was highly privileged to be a greatly honored guest of the noted Persian religious leader and most profound scholar, Abdul Baha Abbas, who continued to be technically a "political prisoner" of the Turkish Government and confined within the interior limits of the ancient walled city of Acre, Syria—the St. Jeanne d'Arc of the Crusades, never taken and even repulsing Napoleon's vast armies—Acre, "the Key to Syria."

It was an opportunity of a lifetime to have such an all-inclusive ethnological exploration expedition preceded by the daily Table Talks of Abdul Baha, which fired one's very soul. During 19 wonderful days living under his ever-watchful eye and most inspiring tutelage in that ancient fortress of Acre with its 36-foot thick rounded walls of brick and masonry that no cannonball ever had been able to pierce, I absorbed the true history of the peoples of the East. The windows of my own room, semicircular in shape, were like cannon holes in a fort—which, indeed, they had been for many centuries—extending the full thickness to daylight or to perceive the wonderful Star of the East leaving its track like the moon on the waters of the Mediterranean. The furiously pounding waves against the fortress walls rising straight up out of the sea would break and toss off their beautiful light green, purple, and white foam which often would splash in one's face standing by the open window on the near side of that deep cannon-hole projection that formed a funnel to receive the water.

An expedition through the Holy Land may reasonably be expected to be in some sort a sacramental event in a man's life; and, to me, at 18-19 years of age, it was no exception. Everything which revives the long past has power to quicken the imagination.

Half way between Acre and Tyre, and only about 6 miles from the sea, our party came upon a seat of archives and treasury of the Order of the Hospital of Our Lady of the Teutons, in what the Germans renamed Starkenberg after being known by the French name of Montfort since the beginning of the 13th century. Moulds, finely chiseled in stone, into which the Crusader pressed his straps in decorating his belt for sword and dagger, and his badges worn as marks of recognition, were uncovered. Likewise, an ancient tent peg carved with heraldic bearings, which apparently was pressed into the ground with a heavy hammer.

As I set out on my expeditions in fairly nearby Syria and Palestine my early study of art enabled me to more fully appreciate what I was to find. Every land has a scheme of color of its own, and while form and outline are the first, they are not the most permanent nor deepest impressions which a region makes upon one. It is the color of the land which slowly and most unconsciously sinks in upon the beholder day by day. This is especially true of Palestine. Syria's edge-lines are sharp, but they are traced in such faint shades as to produce an effect very difficult either to reproduce or to describe, and yet impossible to forget. The colors are manifold and they vary considerably with the seasons of the year. Yet the bare hillsides, which form the greater masses of color in most landscapes—the desert, and the distant mountain ranges—are ever the same. In some places the outcrop of white and gray limestone appears in characterless and irregular blotches whose grotesque intrusion seems to confuse and caricature the mountain side. This, however, is only occasional, and the usual and characteristic appearance is that of long and flowing lines of striation which generally follow pretty closely the curve of the skyline. The colors of these strata are many—rich brown bands, dark red, purple, yellow, and blackish ones; but these are toned down by the dominant gray of the bordér bands, and the general effect is an indistinct gray with a bluish tinge, to which the colored bands give a curiously artificial and decorative appearance. As a work of art, Judea is most interesting; as part of nature it is almost incredible.

Nature in Syria seems always to have something of the supernatural about her. The whole country offers you stones when you ask for trees. As an indirect consequence trees, when they are found, assume a factitious importance, and a supernatural significance either for good or evil. Some of the fairest plants of Syria are treacherous as they are fair.

In her grander and more impressive features, Nature is in Syria constantly suggestive of the play of occult powers. The thing most characteristic of Syrian color is its faintness and delicacy. The general impression is of dim and faded tints, put on, as it were, in thin washes. In the stoniest regions there seems to be no color at all, as if the

sun had bleached them. The curious coloring of the Judean valleys is never aggressive and it takes some carefulness of observation to see anything in them more than a blue green in the sparsely-planted olive groves fading into faint greenish gray above. The valleys of ripe sesame and vetch are washed into the picture in pale yellow or yellow ochre. The Sea of Galilee appears light blue; the Dead Sea, light green, with a haze of evaporation rendering it even fainter in the distance. There is, perhaps, nothing more delicate and spiritual in the world than those faint dreamlike mountains in the extreme distance of Syrian vistas—the hills east of Jordan—gray, with a mere suspicion of blue in them, or the lilac and heliotrope mountains of the desert which form the magic background of Damascus looking eastward.

This faintness, however, is but half the truth of the color of Syria. Everywhere it is rendered emphatic by certain vivid splashes of the most daring brilliance. Wherever springs are found you have instances of this contrast, and Palestine is essentially the land of bright foregrounds thrown up against dim backgrounds.

The geographical formation of the land and its strange coloring lend themselves to the spectral and the uncanny. The Dead Sea presents the most sinister landscape in the world—a sense of ghostliness by these unearthly shores. A ring of "scalded hills" encircles them, and a perpetual haze lies upon their waters. Their soil is nitrous and their springs sulfurous. Blocks of asphalt lie among their shingle; and fish, dead and salted, are cast up by the waves. There is little life visible about them, whether of man or beast or bird. Here and there the tempting apple of Sodom grows, to appearance the most luscious of fruits, but so dry that its core is combustible and is used as tinder by the Arabs. A few feet above the summer level of the sea runs an unbroken line of driftwood washed down by winter floods and left white and sparkling with crusted salt.

The winds of Syria are very regular, being most favorable in the economy of her life. They prevail from the west, and, aided by the sea, they fulfill two important functions throughout the year. In the winter the west and southwest winds, damp from the sea as they touch the cold mountains, drop their moisture and cause winter rains. The Lord said: "When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye say, 'There cometh a shower, and so it is'." (Luke xii: 54.) Indeed. "He maketh His ministers of winds." (Ps. civ. 4; Book of Enoch lxxvi.)

In the summer the winds blow chiefly out of the drier northwest, and meeting only warmth do not cause showers, but greatly mitigate the daily heat.

THE SHERKIYEH—OUR SIROCCO

The other winds are much more infrequent and irregular. From the north wind blows chiefly in October, and brings a dry cold. The name Sherkiyeh, our Sirocco, literally "the East," refers to all winds blowing in from the desert—east, southeast, south, and even south-southwest. They are hot winds: "When ye see the south wind blow, ye say, 'There will be heat, and it cometh to pass'." (Luke xii: 55.)

They are most painful airs, bringing no rain to help at harvest. Blowing chiefly in spring, and for a day at a time, they neither fan nor cleanse the atmosphere. Sometimes the east wind breaks with great violence even on the coast. It was such that Jeremiah likened the scattering of Israel, by an east wind that Ezekiel saw the ships of Tyre broken, and the Psalmist the ships of Tarshish.

It is important to understand that the climate of the Holy Land lends itself to the service of moral ideas. There being no inevitableness in the Palestine year, its climate is partly due to its doctrine of Providence.

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Effort was made to "dig in" at the sites of Sodom and Gomorrah, which were destroyed by "fire and brimstone" from Heaven because of their wickedness. Of particular interest were ruins belived to be the House of Lot in which he entertained the angels who brought about Sodom's destruction, in the middle of a plain dotted with little hillocks, between the Wady Gharaba and the Wady Djarafa, on the eastern side of the River Jordan a little to the north of the Dead Sea. Lacking sufficient equipment, as this was primarily an ethnographical and ethnological exploration expedition, not much was accomplished in this instance.

Among the rivers of the world the Jordan is unique by a twofold distinction of nature and history. While there are hundreds of other streams larger and more beautiful, there is none which has been more spoken about by mankind. Of none has the music sounded so far, or so pleasantly, across the world. In influence upon the imagination of man, the Nile is perhaps the Jordan's only competitor. But the Nile has never been adopted by a universal religion.

No other part of our earth uncovered by water sinks to 300 feet below the level of the ocean as does the Jordan Valley. It falls to as deep as 1,292 feet below it at the coast of the Dead Sea, while the bottom of the latter is 1,300 deeper still. The other depressions of the surface of the continents below ocean level are the Caspian Sea, more than 80 feet below that of the Black Sea; and the Shott Meir'ir marshes and salt fields in the Sahara, from 95 to 279 feet below the Mediterranean.

Of interest to note, however, was that it was from Mount Nebo that Moses viewed the promised land, and where Jeremiah is said to have hidden the ark and other sacred temple furnishings. It was felt that some very real "finds" may be unearthed there, as well as between Jericho, a few miles farther south, and the Dead Sea, where there is an extraordinary region consisting of mounds resembling in design little forts, with cupolas and other fantastic shapes. They are composed of soft clay formed by the erosion of the winter torrents. In rainy weather they become exceedingly slippery and slimy, making pedestrian or hoof traffic over them virtually impossible. In dry weather, however, they are easily negotiated by foot or on horseback. These are no doubt the slime pits referred to in Genesis xiv: 10.

To return to Sodom and Gomorrah again, one of the most significant things is the presence everywhere of ashes, littering the main street to a depth in some places of several inches. Exposed bricks show evidence of having been cracked and reddened by apparently great heat: "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and He overthrew those cities and that which grew upon the ground." (Genesis xix: 24–25.)

There are few, if any, passages in the Bible which dwell on the beauty of the sea. From Genesis to Revelation the waste of waters seems to suggest thoughts of fear; and Saint John, writing on the Isle of Patmos, has a final vision of a new heaven and a new earth, "and the sea is no more." (Revelations xxi: 1.)

He differed widely from St. Paul. For even the vast armada of Xerxes had far less influence in human destinies than the single ship which bore Paul, Silas, and Timothy to Neapolis, near Philippi. Paul's last voyage, leading to the shipwreck at Malta, probably his fourth shipwreck, abounds in interesting details.

However, the Philistines, next to the sea, and probably coming from Crete, and of Helladic stock, preceding the Hellenic, fortified and held great cities like Gaza, Ekron, and Gath, and gave the name of "Palestine." This offshoot of "the Peoples of the Sea," vaunting its fish-god Dagon, symbolized as half man and half fish, finally occupied the great and fertile plain from Gaza to near Mount Carmel.

It is interesting to note that Pharoah's Fleets, as early as the fourth millenium B. C., went forth on trading expeditions, sailing out from Egypt down the Red Sea, across the Sinai Peninsula and up the Syrian coast, seeking tin and copper ores, gold, silver, precious stones, perfumes, spices, incense, peacocks, apes, and other exotic luxuries to grace the persons and homes of the noble classes. Such an expeditionary fleet was sent by Queen Hatsheput, of the 18th Dynasty, at some time between 1501 B. C. and 1480 B. C. to the land of Punt outside the mouth of the Red Sea.

As a writer and editor of shipbuilding periodicals in recent years, and a member of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers and, also, of the American Society of Naval Engineers, I cannot resist making the interesting observation that by 3,000 B. C. the plank ship had attained the form it was to retain for the next 3,000 years, except for alterations in detail.

Palestine, whose environment means sea and desert, is a great oasis—a fertile strip between Egypt and Mesopotamia (Iraq). Her neighbors are the sea and the desert.

With no natural harbor, the sea was never looked upon as a friend. The desert was Israel's real neighbor. Southeast from her it stretched for a thousand miles. From north, northeast round through east, and south to west, it hemmed her in. To one of a seafaring nation watching the dromedary post from Damascus to Baghdad the desert seems infinitely more appalling and unnatural than the sea. For 10 days these uncanny beasts and men will travel, marching 20 hours out of every 24. The stretch of dreariness which opens to the western imagination, as you watch the lessening specks in the tawny distance, is indescribable. To the eastern it is not so, and it never was so. He knows its horrors, and yet he loves it. The modern Arab calls it Nefud, meaning exhausted, spent. There are, in the Arabian Desert, sands no less than 600 feet in depth. Yet with all its horrors it is, after all, his home.

Besides occasional oases which dot its barren expanse, there are many regions where grass and herbage may be had continually, so long as the flocks keep wandering. Accordingly, the long, low, black tent, with its obliquely pitched tent ropes and skillfully driven pegs, takes the place of such substantial building as might create a city. It has been so for countless generations, until even now most desert Arabs fear walls and will not be persuaded to enter them.

One is impressed by the frequency with which those black haircloth tents are seen, sprawling like the skin of some wildcat pegged out along the ground of sand. Descending the Jordan Valley you see the haircloth covering a hut whose sides are of woven reeds from the river, and sometimes, too, a roof of reeds replaces the tent top of haircloth.

Truly, the desert is the sea of Syria. And the sun is the magician of Syria, who bleaches her and then throws up against his handiwork the boldest contrasts of strong light and shade. No one who has seen the crimson flush of the sunset on the olives, or the sudden change of a gray Judean hillside to rich orange, or the whole eastern cliffs of the Sea of Galilee turned to the likeness of flesh-colored marble, will be likely to forget the picture. Loti's wonderful description of desert sunsets—"incandescent violet, and the red of burning coals"—is not overdrawn. The yellowish dark desert changes to the luscious dark of lengthening indigo at the foot of a great rock; and the shadows of clouds float across the Plain of Esdraelon, changing the red plain to deep wine color as they pass. Silhouettes are of daily occurrence in that crisp air.

Galilee, the garden of the Lord, is crossed by many of the world's most famous highways, such as they are—roads from the harbors of the Phoenician coast to Samaria, Gilead, Hauran, and Damascus; roads from Sharon to the valley of the Jordan, roads from the sea to the desert; roads from Egypt to Assyria. From the earliest times to the present a great thoroughfare has connected Damascus with the sea. The port of Damascus was sometimes Tripoli, sometimes Beyrout, sometimes Sidon or Tyre, sometimes Acre (Acca), with Haifa. Acre alone is the natural port for Damascus, and the nearest ways to Acre run through lower Galilee.

The Great Road to the East from Acre across lower Galilee to Bethshan, and over the Jordan into Gilead, was the road for Arabia.

Coming to the village of Kafr Kenna, believed to be the Cana of the New Testament (John II: 1–11) where our Lord performed his first miracle at the marriage feast, we note a change. The transition from Canaan to stony Arabia—the herbage gradually disappearing till all that is left of it is shrubs tufting the ridges of low undulating sandhills; then the sand becoming stony, with no plantlife remaining but an occasional thorn until plains of sand end in dull ranges of mountains covered with loose flints. Journeying from Bethlehem to the Dead Sea the transition is even more abrupt. Hardly have you left the fields of the shepherds when you perceive that the herbs, though still plentiful among the stones, are parched. In a mile or two there is nothing round you but wild grayish-yellow sand and rock. You thread your way precariously along the sides of gorges till you reach that sheer yellow cleft down which Kidron is slicing its way with the air of a suicide to the sea.

Then you come up to a lofty ridge from which are seen the dreary towers of Mar Saba, among the most impressive of all the Syrian spectacles. Part of this impression comes from the shape of the surrounding hills. Ranged in a wide semicircle, their fronts eaten out with landslips and torrents, they are polished and smooth like gigantic sculptures. In some parts the regularity of their cones and tables suggest the work of purposeless but mighty builders. In other parts the rocks are twisted as if by tormentors, or tumbled in utter confusion.

The winds that blow from east or south have crossed the sand before they reach the mountains. When they are cool, they are pure and fresh, unbreathed before—"virgin air." The evening breeze of Syria is "the respiration of the desert" after its breathless heat of day. When the wind is hot, it is terrible as only wind can be that comes off burning said. The shirky, or sirocco, interprets the desert in a fashion which the explorer is not likely to forget. Riding against it half the length of the Plain of Esdraelon, when the thermometer registers 104 degrees in the shade, until the steel of your colored eyeglasses become so hot that you are glad to remove them, and endure the terrific glare by preference.

The third general feature of eastern Palestine is its openness to the desert. Bashan, Gilead, and Moab all roll off, with almost no intervening barrier, upon the great Arabian plateau.

We experienced several sand storms, the first one outside Jericho, when the hot wind rose suddenly in the middle of the night. The tent curtains shook loudly, the door fastenings gave, and the door itself flapped like a flag in a gale. Rising, we fastened it firmly to its stakes, but soon the whole tent began to shake violently, and its heavy pole swung. Sleep was impossible, and we lay wondering what would happen next. Then the sound of feet outside was heard, and of hammers driving home the pegs. We rose and went out, just in time to see the tent next to our own lifting its pegs one after another, and its loose ropes lashing free upon its roof. We seized what ropes we could, and all hung on to them together. The wind drove clouds of dust and straw, and even pebbles, about us like a hot hailstorm. We fought the wind until we were beaten. The ropes pulled us in spite of all we could do; the pegs lifted and the pole swung down flat, with some men inside and some outside the canvas. The Syrian still feels enough of the desert's fiery touch to fear it as an enemy.

Deserts are violent places. A North Sea gale is nothing compared with that in the western Sahara, often lasting for 9 or 10 days, and so violent one cannot stir out of the lee of a sheltering rock, if there's one around. Similarly, in the Harra Desert between the Badiet esh-sham, or Syrian Desert, and Ard es-Sawan and Ard-Hudrush, just north of the great Arabian Desert.

The great Palearctic desert embraces the Sahara and all of Egypt save the coast and the Nile valley; Sinai, Arabia, the Syrian desert, and on across parts of Persia and Afghanistan to Turkestan, Tibet, and the Gobi ,with a side branch into western India.

Deserts are not only hot places; they are places with very great fluctuations of temperatures, both yearly and daily. This is doubtless in the main due to the clearness of the sky and to the absences of vegetation and of water vapor. With a clear sky heat radiates unbrokenly in from the sun, out again into space; but a blanket of vegetation impedes the passage of heat into or out of the soil. Where plenty of water exists, much of the sun's heat is used up, without rise of temperature, in transforming water into water vapor; the restoration of this latent heat during night cooling again acts as a damper on rapid temperature change. In a desert this temperature buffer is almost absent. Night temperatures may drop below freezing point after a day's maximum of 104 to 110 or more degrees Fahrenheit. In many deserts, however, the minimum temperature usually keeps just above freezing. In the daytime the positive weight of heat makes men bend low in their saddles.

The unspeakable loneliness of the desert has its own magic—a melancholy spell which has no parallel in other lands. In the desert, too, the sky conspires with the earth in its bewitchment.

CROSSING A SERIES OF DESERTS TO PERSIA

And now the great voyage of the desert over the old caravan route with muleteers and camel caravan, into what would be the Wild West of today's Syria. Leaving Acre, also known in ancient times as Accho and Ptolemais, then in what was widely known as Galilee, just north of what was known as Samaria, and almost due east of the Sea of Galilee, we sailed from Haifa to Beirut (Beyrouth), and took the railroad to Damascus. This oldest, and certainly the most enduring city of the world, is a great harbor of refuge upon the earliest sea man ever learned to navigate. It is because there is nothing but desert beyond, or immediately behind this site that Damascus has endured throughout human history, and must endure. She was once capital of the world from the Atlantic to the Bay of Bengal.

Standing on the utmost edge of fertility, on the shore of the much-voyaged desert, Damascus is indispensable alike to civilization and to nomads. From there on fine 'Aenezeh-Beduin Arabian horses we proceeded to Karyaten (Nezala), and thence by military escort to Adra, where we left behind our fiery and high-spirited Arabian horses to mount the famous large Oriental white donkeys, bred by the Sieb-Bedouins, and which are more nearly allied to the wild ass, being much more active than his European congener. Obtaining a dragoman, tents and camels at Dumer, where the desert really begins, we proceeded toward the mountains, passing several caravanserais. Passing the Wadi 'Amij and the Wadi Hauran, we eventually reached Baghdadi (not to be confused with Baghdad, which is southeast on the other side of the Euphrates River), then Hit. Following the Euphrates and crossing it at Al Falluja we arrived in Baghdad.

En route we were introduced to "body dances," which form the staple entertainment providing the wandering Arabs with pantomimic art. Their crude realism is unspeakably disgusting, yet which is of much interest in the science of ethology, the art of depicting character by mimic gestures, and may also be considered as ethopoetic, as designed to express character with esthopoetic gestures, perhaps more truly a form of ethnicism.

Nature, however, actually did provide the true picture of the desert nearing its bordering mountains. Lott, for instance, describes a little sandhill in the desert as "all bespangled with mica, which sets itself out, shining like a silver tumulus."

BEGINNING OF MAIN EXPLORATION

The Assyrian Empire, if we regard it as continued in the later Babylonian, lasted 800 years, and extended, as its acme, from the Persian Desert to the Aegean Sea and the Sahara. It included in it Persia, EX Media; Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria Proper, Mesopotamia, Armenia, a great part of Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Indumaea, and Egypt. It was the first example of a really great empire. It consolidated all western Asia under a single head. It broke the power of the Egyptians. It made great advances in the arts. At a time when Europe was sunk in barbarism it had reached a degree of civilization beyond realization.

Assyria was the fated instrument in God's hand for the destruction, first of the Kingdom of Samaria, and then of the Kingdom of Judea, and so for the elevation and purification of later Judaism by the "sweet uses of adversity." The names of Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzer must always remain household words in every land in which the Bible is read; and to many Bible readers of any intelligence, as well as among students of history generally, there must always be a desire to know what manner of men they were whom those great chieftains led from the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris to those of the Jordan and the Nile, to Damascus, Samaria, Jerusalem, and Memphis.

The most important element in the thought of a people, the chief influence by which their character is formed, and their inner and even their outer life determined is their religion.

Babylonian and Assyrian legend had it that before the creation of the world, there had been war in heaven. Seven spirits, created by Anu to be his messengers, took council together, and resolved to revolt. "Against high heaven, the dwelling place of Anu the king, they plotted evil," and unexpectedly made a fierce attack. The moon god, the sun god, and Vul, the god of atmosphere, withstood them, and after a fearful struggle beat them off. Then there was peace for a while.

The Chaldean legend of creation was: "In the beginning all was darkness and water and therein were generated monstrous animals of strange and peculiar shapes. There were men with 2 wings, and some even with 4, and with 2 faces, and others with 2 heads, a man's and a woman's; and there were men with the heads and horns of goats, and men with hoofs like horses; and some with the upper parts of a man joined to the lower parts of a horse, like centaurs; and there were bulls with human heads, dogs with 4 bodies and with fishes' tails; men and horses with dogs' heads; creatures with heads and bodies of horses, but with the tails of fish; and other animals mixing the forms of various beasts. Moreover there were monstrous fishes and reptiles and serpents, and divers other creatures which had borrowed something from each others' shapes, of all of

which the likenesses are still preserved in the temple of Bel.

GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY

A woman ruled them all, by name Omorka, meaning "the sea." Then Bel came forward and split the woman in twain; and of the one-half of her he made the heaven, and of the other half the earth; and the beasts that were in her he caused to perish. And he split the darkness, and divided the heaven and the earth asunder, and set the world in order, and the animals that could not bear the light perished. Bel, upon this, seeing that the earth was desolate, yet teeming with productive power, commanded one of the gods to cut off his head, and to mix the blood which flowed forth with earth, and form men therewith, and beasts that could bear the light. So man was made, and was intelligent, being a partaker of the divine wisdom. Likewise, Bel made the stars, and the sun and moon, and the 5 planets.

Geographically as well as ethologically and historically, the whole district enclosed between the two great rivers of western Asia, the Tigris and Euphrates, forms one country. It always had been under the general name of Assyria, though Babylonia may have been a more accurate designation. Naturally, it falls into two divisions, the northern being more or less mountainous, while the southern division is flat and marshy. The near approach of the 2 rivers to 1 another, at a spot where the undulating plateau of the north sinks suddenly into the Babylonian alluvium, tends to separate them still more completely. In early times the northern portion was included in Mesopotamia. Excepting Assur, the original capital, the chief cities of the country, Nineveh, Calah, and Arbela, were all on the left bank of the Tigris. This preference in locating them was due to its abundant supply of water. The great Mesopotamian Plain on the western side had to depend upon the streams which flowed into the Euphrates. This vast flat, the modern El-Jezireh, is about 250 miles in length, interrupted only by a single limestone range, rising abruptly out of the plain, and branching off from the Zafros Mountains under the names of Sarazur, Hamrin, and Sinjar. Further north tower the massive ridges of the Niphrates and Zagros Ranges, where the Tigris and Euphrates take their rise, and which cut off Assyria from Armenia and Kurdistan.

The name Assyria itself is derived from that of the city of Assur, now Qal at Sherqat (Kalen Shergat), which stood on the right bank of the Tigris, midway between the Greater and Lesser Zab. It remained the capital long after the Assyrians had become the dominant power in western Asia, but was finally supplanted by Calah (Nimrud), Nineveh (Nebi Yunas), and Kuyunjik, and Dur-Sargina (Khorsabad), some 60 miles north.

In contrast with the arid plateau of Mesopotamia, stretched the rich alluvial plain of Chaldaca, formed by the deposits of the two rivers by which it was enclosed. Eastward rose the mountains of Elam, southward were the sea marshes and the Kalda or Chaldaeans and other Aramaic Tribes—and to the west lay the civilization of Babylonia: Babylon, with its suburb, Borsippa (Birs Nimrud). The Arakhtu, or river of Babylon, flowed past the southern side of the city, and to the southwest of it on the Arabian bank lay the great inland freshwater sea of Nejef, surrounded by red sandstone cliffs of considerable height, 40 miles in length and 35 in breadth in the widest part. Above and below this sea, from Borsippa to Kufa, extend the famous Chaldaean marshes, where Alexander was nearly lost.

The primitive seaport of the country, Eridu, the seat of the worship of the Ea the culture god, was a little south of Ur, at Abu Shahrain or Nowawis on the west side of the Euphrates. It is now about 130 miles distant from the sea, as about 46 miles of land has been formed by the silting up of the shore since the foundation of Spasinus Charax (Muhamrah) in the time of Alexander the Great. This city was in existence more than 6,000 years ago.

The alluvial plain of Babylonia was called Edin (the Eden of Genesis II), where the Bedouins pastured the flocks of their Babylonian masters.

Numerous mounds indicate that the country was thickly studded with towns, but few of the sites have been identified. Bismya, between Nippur and Erech, was proved by American excavations in the early 1900's to be the site of Udab.

The science of irrigation and engineering seems to have been first created in Babylonia, which was covered by a network of canals, all skillfully planned and regulated, the Zabzallat Canal (Nahr Sarsar) running from Faluja to Ctesiphon, the Kutha Canal from Sippara to Madain, passing Tell Ibrahim or Kutha on the way, and the King's Canal or Ar-Malcha, between the other two. These three chief canals carried off the waters of the Euphrates to the Tigris above Babylon.

Thanks to this system of irrigation the cultivation of the soil was highly advanced in Babylonia. According to Herodotus, wheat often returned 200-fold to the sower, and occasionally 300-fold. Pliny states that it was cut twice, and afterwards was good keep for sheep. Wheat, sesame, barley, ochrys, palms, apples, and many kinds of aschened fruit grew wild, as wheat still does in the neighborhood of Anah. Marcellinus says that from the point reached by Julian's army to the shores of the Persian Gulf was one continuous forest of verdure.

Such a country was naturally fitted to be a pioneer of civilization. Before the decipherment of the cuneiform texts our knowledge of its history, however, was scanty and questionable. The authenticity of the Chaldaean historian, Berossus' list of ten antediluvian kings who reigned for 120 sari, or 432,000 years, has been partially confirmed by the inscriptions.

However, most valuable ancient authority on Babylonian and Assyrian history is the Old Testament. The excavations of P. E. Botta and A. H. Layard at Nineveh opened up a new world, coinciding as they did with the successful decipherment of the cuneiform system of writing. He was the first to excavate in Babylonia, where C. J. Rich already had done useful topographical work.

Excavations in the mounds of Balawat, called Ingur-Bel by the Assyrians, 15 miles east of Mosul, resulted in the discovery of a small temple dedicated to the God of Dreams by Assur-nasir-pal III (883 B. C.), containing a stone coffer or ark in which were two inscribed tablets of alabaster of rectangular shape, as well as of a palace which had been destroyed by the Babylonians but restored by Shalmaneser II (858 B. C.). From the latter came the bronze gates with hammered reliefs which are now in the British Museum.

In 1899, 2 years before I was exploring in the same vicinity, a German expedition was dispatched by the Orient-gesellschaft with the object of exploring the ruins of Babylon.

TOWER OF BABEL

Babel, native name of the ancient city of Babylon, the modern Hillah, meaning "gate of the god," not "gate of the gods," was one of the principal aims of our expedition. According to Genesis xi: 1-9, mankind, after the deluge, traveled from the Mountain of the East, where the Ark had rested, and settled in Shimar. Here they attempted to build a city and a tower whose top might reach unto heaven. They failed in their attempt by being confounded by language. And in this way the diversity of human speech and the dispersion of mankind were accounted for, and an etymology was found for the name of Babylon in the Hebrew verb babl, "to confuse or confound," Babel being regarded as a contraction of Balbel. (See Genesis xi: 9.) According to Genesis x: 10, it is said to have formed part of the Kingdom of Nimrod.

The origin of the story has not been found in Babylonia, but the tower no doubt was suggested by one of the temple towers of Babylon, possibly the East-Saggila, the great temple of Merodach (Marduk.) According to the Lisan el-'Arab (xiii:72) mankind were swept together by winds into the plain afterward called "Babil," and were scattered again in the same way.

Existing remains on the east bank of the Euphrates consist of three vast mounds, the Babil to the north, the Qasr or "Palace," know also as the Mujelliba, in the center, and the Ishan 'Amran ibn 'Ali to the south. Eastward of these come the Ishan el-Aswad, or "Black Mound." West of the Euphrates are the remains of the ancient Borsippa.

One of the oldest names of Babylon, and of which poets were especially fond, was Din-tir (Sumerian), meaning "the life of the forest." Earlier mention of Babylon is in a dated tablet of the region of Sargon of Akkad (3800 B. C.). In 689 B. C., its walls, temples and palaces were razed to the ground and the rubbish thrown into the Arakhtu, a canal bordering the earlier Babylon to the south. It was rebuilt by Esarhaddon and again Babylon was beseiged by the Assyrians and starved into surrender. Later Nebuchadrezzar made Babylon one of the wonders of the ancient world, to be surrendered without a struggle to Cyrus. Incidentally, Alexander was murdered in the palace of Nebuchadrezzar.

The Babylonian temples were massive but shapeless structures of crude brick supported by buttresses. Rain was carried off by drains, in some instances of lead. The use of brick led to the early development of the pilaster and column, as well as of frescoes and enameled titles. The walls were brilliantly colored, sometimes being plated with bronze or gold, as well as with tiles. Painted terracotta cones also were embedded in the plaster.

CULTURE, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE

One of the most famous literary works to come down to us was the Epic of Gilgamesh, in 12 books, composed by a certain Sin-liginunninni, and arranged upon an astronomical principle. Each division contains the story of a single adventure in the career of Gilgamesh. Another epic was that of the creation, the object of which was to glorify Bel-Merodach by describing his contest with Tiamat, the dragon of chaos. In the first book an account is given of the creation of the world out of the primeval deep and the birth of the gods of light. Then comes the story of the struggle between the gods of light and the powers of darkness, and the final victory of Merodach, already described.

The legend of Adapa, the first man, explains the origin of death. Adapa, while fishing, had broken the wings of the south wind, and was accordingly summoned before the tribunal of Anu in heaven. Ea counseled him not to eat or drink there. He followed the advice, and thus refused the food which would have made him and his descendants immortal.

The culture of Assyria, and still more of Babylonia, was essentially literary. Cuneiform literature made during the reign of Assur-banipal of Assyria (669–626 B. C.) and deposited in the palace of Nineveh bears out the astral theology of Babylonia and Assyria, indications representing the popular belief that divination through the lives of sacrificial animals as representing divination through the observations of the heavens, based upon the primitive view which regarded the liver as the seat of life and of the soul. Animal sacrifice, libations, ritualistic purification, sprinkling of water, and symbolical rites of all kinds accompanied by short prayers, represent a religious practice which in Babylonian-Assyrian religion, as in all re-

ligions, is older than any theology, and survives the changes which the theoretical substratum of the religion undergoes.

The influence exerted by the Babylonian-Assyrian religion was particularly profound on the Semites, while the astral theology affected the ancient world in general, including the Greeks and Romans. A remarkable civilization unfolded in the Euphrates Valley, influencing many of the traditions, myths, and legends embodied in the Old Testament. Indirect influences are to be found in the prophetical books, as also in the Psalms and in the so-called Wisdom Literature. Even when we reach the New Testament period, we have not passed entirely beyond the sphere of Babylonian-Assyrian influences.

The religion of Babylonia carries us back to so remote an antiquity, before the birth of the most ancient of the religions with which we are familiar, and which have formed the data upon which the students of the science of comparative religions have formulated the laws governing the growth of religions in general, that it is extremely difficult to trace its growth and development in accordance with those laws which are applicable to the Aryan and other systems.

Our earliest inscriptions from the cities of southern Chaldea carry us back to a period certainly long prior to 3800 B. C., yet these inscriptions prove that religion already had passed through more than one of the earlier stages of development. Animism or Shamanism, the crude cultus of the magician and sorcerer, ever in contact with the evil opponents in nature, the spirits which waged war against man, had passed away and given place to the worship of the Creator, God.

Cyrus, the Persian, was hailed alike by Babylonian and Jew as the one who would restore the capital (being spoken of in Isaiah xliv: 28, xiv: 1, as "Cyrus, my prince.") and bring peace to each alike. Cyrus entered city after city, and lastly Babylon itself, without fighting. It was on the evening of the 15th of the month Tammuz, the great festival of the marriage of Ishtar and Tammuz Adonis, in the year 538 B. C. that Babylon fell, Belshazzar was slain, and the empire fell. Cyrus was hailed as a deliverer, a messiah. He freed the Babylonians from the eccentricity of an unpopular man, and afforded to the Jews the prospect of deliverance. Thus is the Persian ruler spoken of: "Merodach, the great lord, restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vice-agent, who was righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he summoned his march; like a friend and a comrade he went by his side; without fighting or battle he caused him to enter his city of Babylon. The lord God, who in his mercy raises the dead to life, and who benefits all men in difficulty and prayer, has in favor drawn to him and made mighty his name. Merodach, the great lord, freed the heart of his servant, whom the people of Babylon obey."

Cyrus was welcomed by the Babylonians, and the short time in which he assumed and established there in his new empire proves the willingness of the people to submit to him. The policy of Cyrus in thus recognizing the religion of Babylon, and becoming a prayerful servant of Nebo and Merodach, would seem to directly contradict the statements of the Hebrew prophet Isaiah (ch. xiv: 1), where he attributed with the most iconoclastic tenets, but it is only in perfect accordance with the subsequent action of Cambyses and Darius in Egypt, where the former conformed to the worship of Neit, and the latter to the adoration of Ammon, to whom he built a temple in the oasis of El Kargeh.

Merodach occupies exactly the same position that is assigned to Cyrus by Yaveh in Isaiah xliv: 28, xiv: 1, where he is spoken of as "Cyrus, my prince."

From the vast mass of Babylonian literature, which for centuries have lain hidden in the treasurehouse of antiquity, we learn that not only was Babylon the motherland of culture, but also that in her temple schools were taught the first principles of many of the great doctrines of religion which we hear at the present day set forth from our pulpits.

Too, astronomy was of old standing in Babylonia, the standard work on the subject, written from an astrological point of view, which was translated into Greek by Berossus, was believed to go back to the age of Sargon of Akkad. The zodiac was a Babylonian invention of great antiquity, and eclipses of the sun as well as of the moon could be foretold. Observatories were attached to the temples, and reports were sent regularly by the astronomers to the king.

The stars had been numbered and named at an early date and tables of lunar longitudes and observation of the phases of Venus made. Indeed, in Seleucud and Parthian times the astronomical reports were of a thoroughly scientific character.

Great attention was paid to the calendar, a week of 7 and another of 5 days being in use.

The Babylonians invented an extremely simple method of ciphering, and discovered the convenience of the duodecimal system. The ner of 600 and the sar of 3600 were formed from the soss or unit of 60, which corresponded with a degree of the equator. Tablets of squares and cubes, calculated from 1 to 60, have been found at Senkira. Also, fragments of the clepsydra, the lever and the pulley, indicating the knowledge of mechanics.

FINDS IN BABYLONIA

We discovered a fragment of a Babylonian clay tablet which was one of the earliest scriptural accounts of the Deluge, dating back to 1714 B. C., and beautiful painted pottery and other objects were found in the remains of one of the ancient temples of the period beginning of the fourth millennium before Christ. Also, a baked-clay cylinder of an early king of Babylonia, of the period 555 B. C. to 538 B. C., inscribed with a prayer on behalf of Belshazzar.

ON TO PERSIA

From Baghdad we next proceeded into ancient Media, to Diyala, Shahrabian, Khanaquin, Qasr-i-Shirin, Karind, Shahabad, Kermanshah, Sehneh, Kangavar, Hamadan, Malayer (Daulatabad), Iraq (Sultanabad), Khumain, Gulpaigan, Khunsar, and Isfahan. Thence south-southwest to Shiraz, via Yezdi-Khast (Samirum), Kuh-i-Bul, and Persepolis, and the Plains of Pasagardi to the south.

We had passed through the classical province to Fars, the cradle of Persian greatness. And entering a stony valley on our divine mules, the valley being bounded by parallel chains of hills and mountains belonging to the province of Luristan, we sighted the hamlet of Yezdikhwast, a natural fastness perched on a precipitous rock. The inhabitants, apparently, do not care to have strangers dwelling in their cliff-girt abode.

By now everyone was inquiring if we were on our way to Shiraz. "There is no other city like Shiraz; all about it the earth is green with grass; even the roofs of the bazaars are covered with herbage. It is the Green City of Solomon (Shahr-i-sabz-i-Suleyman). And the people are so quick and clever and generous. Not like those miserable, miserly Isfahanis, nor yet like those stupid, thick-headed Khurasanis. Have I ever told you the verses made by the Isfahani, the Shirazi, and the Khurasani, Sahib?" our scholarly Persian coexplorer asked, and when we said "No," and that we would like to hear them very much, he went on:

"Once upon a time an Isfahani, a Shirazi, and Khurasani were traveling together. Now, one night they succeeded in getting a dish of pilaw, and the Isfahani, being a witty fellow, as well as stingy (like all his rascally countrymen), suggested that no one should be allowed to have a share of the pilaw unless he could make a verse about his native country. To this they agreed, and the Isfahani began:

"From Isfahan fruits of seven colors come forth."

The Shirazi, without a moment's hesitation—for all Shirazis have a natural gift for versifying—went on:

"Our stream of Ruknabad comes forth from the rock."

It was now the Khurasani's turn, but he, poor fellow, being very stupid and slow, after the manner of his countrymen, could not think of a rhyme for a long time, and was in great fear that he would lose his pilaw after all, when suddenly an inspiration came to him, and he concluded the stanza thus:

"Out of Khurasan come forth blackguards like me."

ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES

The most striking feature of the Persians as a nation is their passion for metaphysical speculation. This passion, so far from being confined to the learned classes, permeates all ranks, and manifests itself in the shopkeeper and the muleteer, as well as in the scholar and the man of letters.

That dogmatic theology is unfavorable to speculation is obvious, and as few theological systems are more dogmatic and uncompromising than that of Islam, it might be expected that Persia, being one of the strongholds of the Muhammadan faith, would afford at best a sterile soil for the growth of other systems. Such, however, is far from being the case. Persia is, and always has been, a very hotbed of systems, from the time of Manes and Mazdak in the old Sasanian days, down to the present age.

To the metaphysical conception of God as Pure Being, and the ethical conception of God as the Eternally Holy, the Sufi superadds another conception, which may be regarded as the keynote to all mysticism. To him, above all else, God is the Eternally Beautiful—"Janan-i-Hakiki," the "True Beloved."

Mysticism is in its nature somewhat vague and difficult to formulate varying in character between an emotional philosophy and a devotional religion. On one side of it stands metaphysic, and on the other theology.

Mulla Muhsin-i-Fey left behind him a multitude of books, mostly in Arabic, and his systematic and voluminous work called the Asfar-i-arba'a (Four Treatises) has had the greatest reputation. The three points claimed as original in Mulla Sadra's teaching are as follows:

1. His axiom "Basiku 'l-hakikat kullu 'l-ashya wa leysa bi-shey 'in minha"—"The element of real being is all things, yet is none of them."

2. His doctrine that true cognition of any object only becomes possible by the identification of the knower with the known.

3. His assertion that the imagination is independent of the physical organism, and belongs to its nature to the world of the soul: Hence that not only in young children, but even in animals, it persists as a spiritual entity after death. In this point he differed from his predecessors, who held that it was only with the development of the Rational Soul that immortality became possible.

The study of Persian philosophy is not a thing to be lightly undertaken, and proficiency can only be the result of diligent application, combined with good natural capacity. It is not a thing to play with in a dilettante manner, is properly regarded by its votaries as the highest intellectual training, and the crown and summit of all knowledge.

Scholastic theology teaches that man, born of matter, is yet capable of spiritual development which will lead it back to God, and enable him, during the span of mortal life, to accomplish the ascent from matter to spirit, from the periphery to the center. In

the arc of ascent also are numerous grades; but here again, as in the arc of descent, seven are usually recognized. The arc of ascent, or the microcosm, the seven principles of man, takes in the heart, the spirit, the soul and the nature, being preceded by three preliminary stages; the third being "the secret." The arc of descent, or the macrocosm, consists of a series of emanations: (1) exploration of the world of divinity; (2) the world of divinity; (3) the world of the intelligences; (4) the world of the angels; (5) the world of ideas; (6) the world of form; (7) the material world.

The whole universe is to be regarded as the unfolding, manifestation, or projection of God. It is the mirror wherein He sees Himself; the arena wherein His various attributes display their nature. It is subsequent to Him not in sequence of time (for time is merely the medium which encloses the phenomenal world, and which is, indeed, dependent on this for its very existence), but in sequence of causation; just as the light given off by a luminous body in causation, but not subsequent to it in time. This amounts to saying that the universe is coeternal with God, but not coequal, because it is merely an emanation dependent on Him, while He has no need of it.

Just as the light proceeding from the luminous body becomes weaker and more diffuse as it recedes from its source, so the emanations of being becomes less real, or, in other words, more gross and material, as they become further removed from their focus and origin. This gradual descent or recession from the primal being, which is called the Kaws-i-Nuzul (arc of descent), has in reality infinite grades, but a certain definite number (seven) is usually recognized.

Man finds himself in the lowest of these grades—the material world; but of that world he is the highest development, for he contains in himself the potentiality of reascent, by steps corresponding to those in the arc of descent, to God, his origin and his home. To discover how this return may be effected how the various stages of the Kaws-i-Su'ud (arc of ascent) may be traversed, is the object of philosophy.

The race exists for its highest development; humanity for the production of the perfect man (Insan-i-Kamil), who, summing up as he does all the grades of ascent from matter—the lowest point of the series of emanations—to God, is described as the Microcosm, the compendium of all the planes of existence (hazrat-i-jami), or sometimes as the "sixth plane" (hazrat-i-sadisa), because he includes and summarizes all the five spiritual planes.

It has been said that some men never rise beyond the second grade—the world of form. These are such as occupy themselves entirely during their lives with sensual pursuits—eating, drinking, and the like. Even in these cases where the "rational soul" (Nafs-i-natika) has not been developed during life, there does exist a spiritual part which survives death and resists disintegration. The spiritual part is called "imagination" (Khiyalat).

Interestingly, especially in the light of so many preachings even under the Christian faith, yet even in this low state of development, where no effort has been made to reach the plane of the reason, a man may lead an innocent and virtuous life. What will then be the condition after death of that portion of him which survived the body. It cannot reenter the material world, for that would amount to metempsychosis, which is uncompromisingly denied by all Persian philosophers. Neither can it ascend higher in the spiritual scale, for the period during which progress was possible is past. It derives no pleasures from spiritual or intellectual experiences, and would not be happy in one of the higher worlds, even could it attain thereto. It desires material surroundings, and yet cannot return to the material world. It therefore does what seems to it the next best thing: It creates for itself subjective pseudo-material surroundings, and in this dream-dwelling it makes its eternal home. If it has acted rightly in the world according to its lights, it is happy; if wrongly, then miserable. The happiness or misery of its hereafter depends on its merit, but in either case it is purely subjective and absolutely stationary. There is for it neither advance nor return; it can neither ascend higher, nor reenter the material world either by transmigration or resurrection, both of which the philosophers deny.

It is not uncommon for Sufis to describe a man by the form with which they profess to identify him in the world of similitudes. Thus, I have heard a Sufi say to his antagonist, "I see you in the world of similitudes as an old toothless fox, desirous of preying upon others, but unable to do so."

Although a soul cannot rise higher than that world to which it has assimilated itself during life, it may be delayed by lower affinities in the world of the barrier on its way thither. Souls temporarily delayed there to undergo a species of probation before passing to the worlds above.

"No one yet hath unraveled a knot from the skein of the universe,
And each who came and essayed the same but made the tangle worse.
And I know not, when bound for the land of my quest, if my portion shall be
The good which I hope for and seek, or the evil that seeketh me."

The scholastic theology (Ilan-I-Kelam), the physics of which have been retained by all Persian metaphysicians up to the present day, consists of 5 mental faculties, corresponding to the 5 senses. These, with their cerebral seats, are: (1) Forebrain, the compound perception which has the double function of receiving and apprehending impressions from without. It is compared to a two-faced mirror, because, on the one hand, it "reflects" the outward world as presented to it by the senses, and, on the other, during sleep it gives form to the ideas arising in the midbrain. (2) The imagination (Khiyal), which is the storehouse of forms. (3) The controlling or coordinating faculty (Mutasarrifa), which combines and elaborates the emotions or ideas stored in the Vahime and the images stored in the imagination. It is, therefore, sometimes called the keeper of the two treasuries. (4) The emotional faculty (Vahime), which is the seat of love, hate, fear, and the like. (5) The memory (Hafiza), which is the storehouse of ideas.

Nothing below the plane of the imagination survives death; e. g., in the lowest animals, whose culminating faculty is a sense of touch, like worms, death brings about complete disintegration.

As regards the interpretation of dreams, these are of three kinds, as follows:

I. Dreams due to disordered health: (a) Blood—red things, such as fire, etc., are seen; (b) bile—yellow things, such as the sun, gold, etc. are seen; (c) phlegm—white things, such as water, snow, etc. are seen; (d) melancholy—black things, such as ink, etc. are seen.

II. Dreams arising from impressions produced during waking hours.

III. Dreams not arising from the external or internal causes above enumerated. These are reflections from the eternal or internal causes above enumerated, obtained during sleep from the world of similitudes (Alam-i-Mithal). Just as every man has his appropriate "form" in the world of similitudes, so also has everything else. Knowledge, for instance, is symbologized by milk; and enemy by a wolf, etc.

The Persians paid divine honors to the sun, and represented him in their ensigns. They used ornaments and devices on their ships: "Some other things there are in the prow and stern extremities of the ship, which beautified sometimes with living creatures, named Corymbi and Coronae." Geese were looked on as fortunate omens to mariners "for that they swim on the top of the waters and sink not." Thus Ovid in his epistle to Paris: "The stern with painted deities richly shines."

The ship wherein Europa was conveyed from Phœnicia into Crete had a bull for its flag, and Jupiter for its tutelary deity. The Boeotian ships had for their tutelar god Cadmus, represented with a dragon in his hand, because he was the founder of Thebes, the principal city of Boeotia. The name of the ship was usually taken from the flag, as appears in the following passage of Ovid, where he tell us his ship received its name from the helmet painted upon it:

"Minerva is the goddess I adore,
And may she grant the blessings I implore;
The ship its name a painted helmet gives."

Hence comes the frequent mention of ships called *Pegasi, Scyllae, Bulls, Rams, Tigers,* etc., which the poets took liberty to represent as living creatures that transported their riders from one country to another; nor was there, acording to some, any other ground for those known fictions of Pegasus, the winged Bellerophon, or the Ram which is reported to have carried Phryxus to Colchos.

"The system of hieroglyphics, or symbols, was adopted into the mysterious institution, for the purpose of concealing the most sublime secrets of religion from the prying curiosity of the vulgar, to whom nothing was exposed but the beauties of their morality." (Ramsay: "Travels of Cyrus," lib. 3.)

The old Asiatic style, so highly figurative, seems, by what we find of its remains in the prophetic language of the sacred writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the mode of the ancient hieroglyphics; for as in hieroglyphic writing the sun, moon, and stars were used to represent states and empires, kings, queens, and nobility—their eclipse and extinction, temporary disasters, or entire overthrow—fire and flood, desolation by war and famine; plants or animals, the qualities of particular persons, etc.; so, in like manner, the Holy Prophets call kings and empires by the names of heaveny luminaries, their misfortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and extinction; stars falling from the firmament are employed to denote the destruction of the nobility; thunder and tempestuous winds, hostile invasions; lions, bears, leopards, goats, or high trees, leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empires; royal dignity is described by purple, or a crown; iniquity by spotted garments; a warrier by a sword or bow; a powerful man, by a gigantic stature; a judge by balance, weights, and measures—in a word, the prophetic style seems to be a speaking hieroglyphic. These represent symbolism of a high and methodical order.

The first and second phases of this exploration expedition, in the Holy Land, Syria, Assyria and Babylonia, were under the searching leadership of Haji Seyed Mohammad Taki Manshadi out of Acre; and the third phase was under the leadership of Prof. Edward G. Browne, fellow of Pembroke College, and lecturer in Persian to the University of Cambridge (England). Under the tutelage of this leading authority of the English-speaking world on oriental peoples and history of the Middle East, I learned much, including a fair smattering of the beautifully poetic Persian language. It was a rare opportunity in the flower of youth.

ALLAHU AKBAR

Whoever first beholds Shiraz is constrained by the exceeding beauty of the sight to cry out in admiration, "Allahu Akbar"—"God is most great."

The Shiraz road takes a bold sweep towards the west and enters the grand defile through which flows the river Pulvar, and all the ruins except the Tomb of Cyrus (Masjid-i-Madar-i-Suleyman) are situated within a short distance of it and one another. The Tomb of Cyrus is half a mile beyond them on the opposite side of the road, and is encircled by a little village. It is regarded by the Persians as a place of considerable sanctity.

The Tomb of Cyrus is built of white stone and forms a landmark in the Plain of Pasargadae. It consists of a rectangular roofed chamber of extraordinary solidity, situated on a square platform approached on all sides by steep and lofty steps. The building bears no inscriptions in cuneiform or Pahlavi characters, but numerous Musulman visitors have engraved their names on its walls, much in the manner of English and American boys carving their names or initials, a la "Kilroy was here."

But it is the beautiful minaretted, turquoise-hued city of Shiraz, home of Persian culture, the mother of Persian genius, the sanctuary of poetry and philosophy, that reminds one of that verse of Sa'di's:

"Pleasant is the enjoyment of the New Year, especially in Shiraz,
Which turns aside the heart of the wanderer from his native land."

Massachusetts Fisheries Association, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter I received from Mr. Thomas D. Rice, executive secretary, Massachusetts Fisheries Association, Inc., with respect to the importation of breaded fish sticks that completely nullifies the token protection afforded the fishing industry under paragraph 717 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended:

FEBRUARY 17, 1954.

Representative THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOM: The Customs Bureau has recently rendered a decision with respect to the importation of breaded fish sticks that completely nullifies the token protection afforded the fishing industry under paragraph 717 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended.

I refer specifically to the practice of exporters of ground-fish fillets, who are now cutting fresh fillets into fish-stick sizes, breading and packing them uncooked in "immediate containers, weighing with their contents more than 15 pounds each, net."

The Customs Bureau has already issued a ruling that the rate of duty on this commodity shall be 1 cent per pound and have classified the commodity under 720 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930. They are at the present time considering the rate of duty to be established on cooked fish sticks. You can be assured that the commercial fishery of New England isn't going to get the best of that decision.

In the name of the New England fishing industry I vehemently protest the right of the Bureau to render any opinion which in any way supports an attempted subterfuge.

When paragraph 720 (b) was written, the manufacture of breaded fish sticks was unheard of; paragraph 720 (b) was not designed as a catchall; "prepared or preserved" fish does not refer to a "further processed" commodity. I contend that breaded fish sticks constitute a processed commodity, hence, not eligible for classification under paragraph 720 (b) "Fish, prepared or preserved."

It is our intention to arrange a meeting between industry representatives and the Bureau of Customs as soon as possible to end this subterfuge and to demand a strict adherence to the prevailing rates of duty. The industry is entitled to all the protection it can obtain under the law.

You will be properly notified of the meeting date. Your support of our position is vital.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS D. RICE,
Executive Secretary.

New York Republican Ethics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I submitted on February 15 to the special legislative committee on integrity and ethical standards in govern, appointed pursuant to a resolution of the New York State Legislature.

I am sure the Members are familiar with the recent exposé of scandal and corruption in the New York State government. I am not one who believes you can legislate morals. In my judgment the moral tone of an administration is determined by its leadership.

In the 20 years that Governors Smith, Roosevelt, and Lehman were the chief executives of the State of New York, there was no need for a code of ethics and there was no taint of corruption or maladministration. Now, after almost 12 years as Governor of the State of New York, Governor Dewey feels that a code of ethics is required. I am willing to accept his judgment and I, therefore, have made these proposals in the belief that if the State of New York is to legislate in the field of integrity and ethics in government, such legislation should not be a sham but should be capable of accomplishing its stated objective.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., SUBMITTED TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON INTEGRITY AND ETHICAL STANDARDS IN GOVERNMENT

It seems incredible that the State of New York which has led the Nation in the development of progressive social legislation and law reform does not have a conflicts of interest statute to prevent unscrupulous public officials from using their office for private gain.

One would think that in this day of billion dollar budgets when the mechanical complexities of modern government have so great an impact on the lives of our citizens, our State would have been among the first to enact conflicts of interest legislation.

Graft, corruption, and venality are by no means modern phenomena of government any more than the contagious disease is a new problem to medicine. But as in the case of the contagious disease, the techniques for control of venality are vastly improved.

It is therefore amasing that in all this time, and particularly during the period when the State government has expanded its attraction to those who prey on public funds, there has been no recognition of this problem and no constructive solution until the venal practices of public officials exploded into newspaper headlines.

Many of the situations which the newspapers have described in recent months have shocked the public and have undermined confidence in the democratic process. Yet not only were some of these facts known to many of the associates of those who used their public or party position for private gain, but could easily have been ascertained by the leaders of the administration if they were at all interested.

But there is little value in looking to the problems of the past unless we also look to their future solutions. It should be no consolation that venality is an age-old problem of government. The mechanical complexities of modern government provide greater opportunity for subtle betrayal of the public trust. The stakes are higher; the potential for graft and venality is larger, and the paths of access more devious.

In your deliberations you will be confronted by many problems of a general philosophical nature. Many of these problems have been discussed and analyzed many times, and I will not burden your record with repetition, although I commend to your attention the hearings and report of Senator Paul Douglas' Subcommittee on Improvement of Ethical Standards in Government of the 82d Congress.

A study of the broad policy concepts is necessary and useful, and you should consider such problems as making certain that in establishing restrictions they are not so unreasonably rigid as to bar from public service all but the privileged, or the unimaginative, the impoverished, the inept, or the professional political racketeer whose propensity for marginal maneuvering thrives under rigid restriction.

But all of these policy questions are difficult to resolve in the abstract. Therefore I would suggest that in your deliberations you also consider specific questions involving potential conflicts of interest such as—

1. Is it proper for a legislator or party official either directly or through his family to acquire a financial interest in an enterprise licensed by and operated under the supervision of the State?

2. What is the propriety of having a former legislator who sponsored legislation legalizing a particular type of business under State license to acquire a financial interest in such business soon after he leaves the legislature?

3. Is it ethical for an appointed official charged with the responsibility of law enforcement to acquire either directly or through relatives a financial interest in a business over which he has a responsibility for enforcing the law?

4. Is it proper for a party official to accept fees for influencing or trying to influence legislation when in his party capacity he has the power to withhold renomination or promotion for members of the legislature? Should he be permitted to engage in such activity immediately after leaving office when the officials he is seeking to influence owe their positions to him?

5. Is it proper for a legislative leader to have an interest in the continued prosperity of a concern licensed by or doing business with the State by rendering legal services or acting as an insurance agent for such a firm?

6. Shouldn't there be some time limitation preventing former employees of State agencies from doing business with or practicing before those agencies?

9. Is it proper for public or party officials to practice before or otherwise attempt to influence the decision of a State agency for their own private gain?

In your deliberations you will have to decide whether activities such as those I have described are proper or improper. You will also have to decide whether they should be classed as criminal or otherwise illegal. And if you conclude that a code of ethics without legal sanction is advisable, you will have to decide whether such conduct is merely indiscreet and impolitic or frankly immoral.

Also, in view of the Governor's message to the legislature seeking the creation of this committee you will have to decide whether to treat such questions, and I do not mean to imply these are the only questions, as "genuine conflicts of interest" or in the sphere of what the Governor has seen fit to label "theoretical conflicts, too tenuous to be actual."

Having raised some of these problems, let me suggest my concept of what changes in the law would seem appropriate.

I. CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

To cover the broad range of subtler influences which attend major governmental decisions such as those involved in regulation of business, I suggest a comprehensive conflicts of interest statute. This statute should provide, among other things, that:

1. Public officials be prohibited from holding or executing any commercial contract for their private gain to which the State is a party either directly or indirectly.

2. For a reasonable period after termination of their service, former State officials be prohibited from transacting any business with the department of Government with which they were affiliated.

3. Former State officials should be forever prohibited from dealing with the State on specific cases with which they were directly concerned while in State employ.

4. Public officials should be prohibited from practicing before State agencies except in the discharge of their official duties and from receiving compensation for their services in connection with a claim against, or a subsidy or other benefit from the State.

5. The statute should apply to legislators as well as the officials or employees of other departments.

6. Party officials should be prohibited from accepting fees for influencing legislation and administrative decisions during their tenure and for a period of years thereafter.

II. BRIBERY

Bribery statutes now on the books prohibit some of the transactions most subject to public censure. However, the need for broader definition of what constitutes the bribe is obvious. Such general statutory language as "anything of value or of personal advantage" renders the difficulties of proof almost insurmountable in many instances of obviously immoral conduct by public officials.

The diversity of benefits to be derived from the State under our extensive scheme of administrative regulation makes it imperative that possible items of consideration be spelled out in greater detail. Modern advantages are seldom clearly personal and the sophisticated public officer of dubious integrity has long since abandoned the crude procedure of direct exchange under specific agreement. In view of these developments, the following modifications might prove effective:

1. Payment or concession to a third party with the consent or connivance of a public official in exchange for an act on the part of that official should be prohibited.

2. A public official frequently receives things of substantial value for using his influence with other officials rather than for acts in his own official capacity. This situation should be specifically covered by the bribery statute.

3. The thing of value for which the act of the official is procured should be defined specifically to include such benefits as rate schedules, subsidies, authority, loan, privilege, service, license, product, certificate, contract, ruling, opinion, decision, etc.

4. Immunity from prosecution granted the offeror of the bribe who testifies against the accepting public official should be withdrawn. The briber contributes no less to the betrayal of public trust than the bribed.

5. The legislature should make voidable any transaction consummated in violation of the bribery statute, granting the State the option of recovering the amount of State funds, if any, expended.

III. ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

Beyond the range of the criminal statute there is a wide field of activity which should be subject to administrative sanctions. These regulations would have the advantage of swifter and surer sanctions than the criminal law. They have the further advantage of flexibility, permitting adjustment to less serious infractions. They should duplicate in many instances the criminal provisions. Then, where criminal prosecution is difficult or unduly expensive to the State, administrative sanctions could be easily invoked. Regulations should provide for the dismissal of State employees or public officials and party officials for engaging in any personal business transaction or private arrangement for personal profit which accrues by virtue of their official position or based on confidential information obtained in an official capacity. Dismissal should also be provided for acceptance of any gift, favor, or service, directly or indirectly, from a person or firm with whom the official transacts business for the State.

Since it is the responsibility of the administration to set the moral tone of the public service, extreme care should be taken to select individuals for appointive positions whose personal integrity will contribute to maintenance of high moral standards in government.

IV. EFFECTIVENESS OF VOLUNTARY CODES OF ETHICS

Ethical codes are traditionally characteristic of self-regulating professional groups, the oath of the medical profession and the legal profession's canons of ethics being the most notable examples. To be effective, a code must emanate from the group as a standardization of its best practice.

The report of the United States Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government headed by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, lists four requirements for effective ethical code. It should be (1) clear and explicit, (2) practical, (3) based on a real understanding of the situation, and (4) applicable in good faith.

In order to fulfill the practicality requirement a code should have application to a specific functional group. Since it is designed to regulate group practices, the criterion for application should be "what the group does" rather than the fact that it has a single employer. The American Bar Association recognized this need for functional specialization when it formulated a judicial code despite the fact that all judges are lawyers and subscribe to the canons of legal ethics. Where the group whose conduct is to be regulated represents too broad a cross-section of professional activity an ethical code may well be a platitudinous farce. For this reason, I do not believe a code of ethics applicable to the broad and vague category public officials would have any value. Is there a possibility that the conduct of a specific functional category of public officials might be best regulated by such a code?

Career civil servants might be best subject to regulation but this group is already the best regulated. They do not represent the sore spot.

For the politically appointed public official a code would have little value. If the established policy of his political affiliation emphasizes primacy of the public interest or if he has personal integrity no code is necessary. If either the policy of his affiliation or his personal integrity is questionable, no code will suffice.

Since the legislature is the most nearly autonomous group of public officers and since many of their functions, particularly in the area of investigation, are subject to such tremendous abuse, an individual ethicade could serve a most important function in this particular field.

Let me suggest the following as the code which a legislator should adopt for himself:

1. I shall not participate in any legislative decisions in which I have either a direct or indirect financial interest unless I shall fully disclose the nature of my interest.

2. I shall never use my office to exert extralegal pressure over decisions of executive or administrative agencies which may affect me personally.

3. I shall treat witnesses who appear before committees on which I sit with courtesy and fairness, following those limitations which have been the hallmark of the judicial process in our legal system.

4. I shall not abuse my privilege of immunity. I shall not say things under the cloak of immunity that I am not prepared to say outside, nor shall I betray any official confidence of the legislature or of any committee thereof.

5. I shall not indulge in personal villification of any kind, but I shall not hesitate to criticize public figures and public policies with determination and courage whenever the facts justify such criticisms.

6. I shall not vote on any issue without an attempt to consider the voiceless interest of the unorganized in our society.

The most convincing evidence a legislative assembly can give that unethical conduct is not the accepted pattern is rigorously to discipline conduct reflecting on the collective integrity of the body and not to hide such conduct as a family skeleton.

V. PERMANENT COMMISSION ON ETHICS

I heartily endorse the recommendation of the State crime commission that a permanent watchdog agency or commission be established. The commission should have at least 2 legislative members (not of the same party), an authority in the field of public administration who is neither a party or public official, a retired member of the bench, and at least 1 law or citizen member. It should have the power to investigate matters of unethical conduct by any public official, including legislative and judicial officials, and to make recommendation to the appropriate disciplinary power.

The present counterpart of a commission on ethics, with its membership comprising one commissioner (the commissioner of investigation) is too restricted in its scope to constitute a meaningful attack on the problem of ethics in government. The present commissioner is not empowered to hold hearings or to inquire into the conduct of the legislative or judicial branch. The most serious criticism, however, is that the present commission concentrates too much power over too vital an issue in the hands of one man.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. BONIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the St. Lawrence seaway,

I wish to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to include the following two editorials which appeared in the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on the 4th and 9th of February 1954, respectively:

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-News of February 4, 1954]

VOTE ON SEAWAY

Approval of St. Lawrence seaway legislation by the House Public Works Committee by a vote of 23 to 6 does not imply this controversial measure, already passed by the Senate, will have easy going in the lower Chamber of Congress. The showdown will come when the measure reaches the floor, if and when it gets by the Rules Committee.

The Public Works Committee was packed with administration stalwarts, so this vote is no criterion of what action the House itself will take. All that has been done is to move the legislation along for a decision.

Even proponents of the bill are not too optimistic about the results. That does not mean the House will hand the administration a setback. Under the circumstances, those who oppose this boondoggle should leave no stone unturned to shelve it permanently.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader-News of February 9, 1954]

NEW SEAWAY ESTIMATES

Press reports from Canada suggest that new estimates will increase the cost of the St. Lawrence seaway. In Washington, great stress is being placed on the expenditure of $105 million for the project which, we are told, will be self-liquidating. Both statements are false.

The truth is the $105 million is just the down payment on the seaway like money spent for clearing land before the erection of an industrial plant. When and if the seaway is completed, the bill will, from indications, exceed $2 billion. Yes, that figure is $2 billion.

As for the announcement that the project will not cost the taxpayers a cent, the truth is the United States Treasury is to guarantee payment. If there is any money available after splitting with Canada, the indebtedness will be met during the ensuing 50 years; otherwise, Uncle Samuel will pick up the check as usual.

If the seaway is such a sound proposition, the suggestion has been made that bonds should be sold directly to the public without Government backing. This issue will likely be raised in the House of Representatives when debate on the seaway gets under way.

"Some Hungry People Would Gain a Great Deal"—Article from the Fresno Bee Endorsing the Sullivan Food Stamp Bill

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, many of the Members, I am sure, will be interested in an article which appeared on February 14 in the Fresno Bee, Fresno, Calif., entitled "Federal Surplus Food Could Help Needy."

This article, discussing my bill, House bill 7870, which would authorize the disposal of up to $1 billion in surplus foods each year through a food stamp plan to persons on relief or in need of assistance but ineligible for relief, declares that a plan of this nature would be of particular value in a State like California, which is faced with a growing relief problem.

County welfare agencies say they have reached a crisis so far as granting aid is concerned—

The Fresno Bee reports.

It adds:

Farming States in particular have large numbers of migrant families who fail to meet the residence requirements of counties to be eligible for relief. To be told they do not qualify for relief does not make them any less hungry.

In summarizing the plan outlined in my bill, the Fresno Bee declares:

The Government would have little to lose and some hungry people would gain a great deal.

The specter of malnutrition is real, Mr. Speaker, and an increasing number of the Members from all types of constituencies—urban, industrial, or rural agricultural—is every day receiving reports from back home on the spread of want and misery and hunger among American citizens not getting adequate supplies of food while these surpluses continue to pile up higher and higher.

The full text of the article from the Fresno Bee from which I have quoted is as follows:

FEDERAL SURPLUS FOOD COULD HELP NEEDY

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN, Democrat Congresswoman from Missouri, has come up with a surplus food plan which could help some of the States with unemployment problems.

California is faced with a growing relief problem as indigent families seek help. County welfare agencies say they have reached a crisis so far as granting aid is concerned.

Mrs. SULLIVAN's plan, to be embodied in a House bill, calls for the issuance of food stamps to a value of $1 billion redeemable in food from Federal surplus stocks.

It would make the food available to those on welfare rolls and to other persons needing financial aid but who are ineligible because of local rules.

Farming States in particular have large numbers of migrant families who fail to meet the residence requirements of counties to be eligible for relief. To be told they do not qualify for relief does not make them any less hungry. Mothers and children get hungry regardless of rules. To what county or State are they to go when they are without funds?

Experience during the depression of the thirties taught that private agencies cannot deal with such a problem.

Many families live from one paycheck to the next. And the migrant's chance to save is lessened by his frequent periods of unemployment, even in good times.

Mrs. SULLIVAN's plan could result in killing 2 birds with 1 stone. It could save the counties and States a great deal of money they might otherwise have to put out for relief and would dispose of some of the worrisome food surplus.

The Government would have little to lose and some hungry people would gain a great deal.

A Concrete Plan for Civil Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I direct the attention of the House to an outstanding accomplishment of cooperation of industry and the Civil Defense Administration.

E. P. Spratlen, Jr., president of the Ready Mix Concrete Co., of Denver, Colo., and Lt. Gen. Henry L. Larsen, Director of Civil Defense of Colorado, have worked out a plan to supply water should an atomic attack occur. This plan contemplates the entire industry engaged in the manufacture of concrete to make their trucks available in carrying water to minimize the disaster. This plan is set forth by E. P. Spratlen, Jr., and Lt. Gen. Henry L. Larsen at the National Concrete Association meeting in Chicago. After the explanation of the plan the concrete industry agreed unanimously to cooperate with the civil defense authority.

The plan is as follows:

One of the most provocative questions before and now since the Korean peace is, "What have the Russians got regarding the A-bomb? And what are their intentions in their plan for world domination? Will they strike first and if so what can we do in the United States of America to protect a sneak attack from the air similar to the Jap sneak attack of Pearl Harbor? Since the Revolutionary and Civil War our homeland has never been attacked. Will the Russians, presuming they have the A-bomb in quantities and a tremendous number of long-range bombers capable of carrying heavy loads of bombs, attack our motherland? If so, where? Will they attack in several locations simultaneously; and where are the most likely places of attack? What have we in the way of protection such as radar screens, guided interceptors, and what are our chances in repelling such an attack? Will we attack them first? And many other pertinent basic questions.

We are sure of one thing, as often expressed by President Eisenhower, that we are a peace-loving country with no desire or necessity of any acquisition of additional territory and under no condition will we attack first. But we are not blasé enough to think that we, the last stronghold of free people, and contrawise to the philosophy of the Russians, will go unchallenged.

So much realistic thinking is necessary even though we want and pray for peace. It becomes necessary to protect ourselves from the rapier attack when and if it occurs, God forbid, whether we want to or not.

This brings us for the first time with possible attack on our mainland, always before secure because of our natural protection of oceans and security by distance from the former battlefields to a very rude awakening, namely: The fast tremendous bomb-carrying war weapon to shake our security to its marrow.

The natural genius of the American people can approach but never completely protect us from the air regardless of our radar screens and many other protections, many of which

we, the public, do not know. Hence the Civil Defense Administration.

Knowing that we must face stark realization to protect our beloved country it is only natural that we take rapid and full action to anticipate such an attack. So, again, our industries can take an active and constructive step to loyally help in this program of civil defense. So much has to be done—and of course, first things must come first—that we bring it before this convention realizing full well we would prefer to truly have peace on earth universally but also knowing that we must be ready on a minute's notice to fully protect all the things we hold dear, against any aggressor.

We will discuss one phase of the problem this morning and shall approach it in three ways. First, we shall hear from General Larsen, second, we will show you a short film we have made up to show demonstrations of what we can do, and lastly have a question and answer period to fully develop this phase of civil defense. So without any further delay it is my real personal pleasure to introduce our speaker, Lt. Gen. Henry L. Larsen.

A Concrete Plan for Civil Defense

(By Lt. Gen. Henry L. Larsen, Chicago, Ill., February 15, 1954)

Modern inventions are making enormous changes in our way of life and in the art of war.

The invention of powered flight introduced a third dimension into warfare—depth. The airplane has given us long range vision of the battle areas and far into the enemy's homeland. It has increased immeasurably the range and flexibility of firepower resulting in a great change in the mode of warfare. The homefront, cities, our industrial and populous centers have become the principal objectives of military forces—the military forces themselves are objectives of attack only incidently, and then only as they obstruct attacks upon the homefront.

The introduction of the atomic bomb into warfare has provided military forces with a highly destructive weapon which is especially effective in conjunction with the fast, mobile, long range heavy bomber, with its ability to deliver that bomb on a selected target with pinpoint accuracy.

We have knowledge of the potential destructive power of such weapons and the extent of fire damage which may be anticipated, depending upon the characteristics of the target city at the time of the attack. It may be assumed that cities under such attack by modern weapons will experience mass fires of proportions far beyond the capacity of regular city fire departments. Even after building up regular fire departments within the capacity of the taxpayers, there will be required great numbers of auxiliary fire fighting units, equipment and personnel.

We know the Communists have a stockpile of A-bombs which is increasing every week, and the know-how to produce H-bombs.

We know the Communists have several hundred long-range bombers capable of carrying those A-bombs to their selected targets anywhere in the United States.

We know that as long as the United States persists in its policy of not starting a war, any enemy of our country would enjoy the advantage of the initiative which means more in this air-atomic age than ever before in history. It could make Pearl Harbor look like a Sunday-school picnic.

We may expect any aggressor to exploit to the maximum the advantage of surprise. He would do that in his initial surprise attack by inflicting upon us the maximum damage of which he is capable. He knows that the worst thing he could do to us would be to destroy simultaneously as many as possible of our important industrial cities and our strategic air-command bases. In that first blow without warning, before we could initiate our retaliation counter measures. He know that he might never again have such an opportunity after we are in a full shooting war.

Some months ago competent military authorities in Washington stated that the best we could expect to do against such an attack would be to stop only 30 percent of the attacking planes. We know the Germans knocked down only 6 to 8 percent, or at the most 10 percent of our bombers on any mission over Europe, and that was on a narrow front, with heavy bands of radar fences, backed up by ground observers, a strong fighter air force, and antiaircraft batteries. In contrast we have thousands of miles of perimeter, in frigid zones, with much less radar protection per thousand miles, with less fighter-plane protection proportionately, against faster, more mobile bombers than existed in World War II. But whatever the percentage of enemy planes which could get through, whether 90, 70, 50, or 5 percent, there would be too many reach our cities resulting in enormous destruction.

Fortunately President Eisenhower immediately upon taking office undertook the strengthening of our military defenses against aerial attack, and this program is being pushed vigorously. But this program cannot be completed overnight, and much remains to be done in our radar installations, our ground-observer corps, our ability to give timely warning to our military forces, and our civilian population, to building up our air-defense command to what it should be, and our antiaircraft forces, as well as our civil defense.

We must realize that there is no such thing as an absolute defense.

One hundred bombers in one trip today can carry as much potential destructive power in modern weapons as all the bombs dropped by all the British and American planes throughout World War II. There is probably as much potential destructive power in existing stockpiles of A-bombs today as all the explosives in all wars in history combined.

The effectiveness of fire as a weapon was fully demonstrated in the attacks in Europe and Japan during World War II. It has been stated that approximately four-fifths of the destruction on Britain resulting from enemy air attack was fire damage. Whatever form of weapon may be used in the future, it is recognized that fire will remain a major form of attack and one of the chief problems of civil defense. It can be assumed that no urban area in the United States is immune to such attacks.

The lessons learned from the great fire attacks on the cities of Britain, as well as Germany and Japan, which were scientifically planned to produce the maximum damage, and later the atomic bomb attacks upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki, all provide us with valuable guidance in planning measures to minimize the effects of fire damage to American cities in any future war.

An estimated 7,000 buildings, 129 miles of street frontage were afire at one time in the attack on Hamburg on July 27, 1943.

Warfare by fire from the sky reached its climax in the campaign against the Japanese homeland where about 175 square miles of nearly 100 percent damage resulted.

In Japan great fires sometimes took the form of either a fire storm or a conflagration. The most notable example of a conflagration occurred in Tokyo in March 1945. Here the aiming points of the attacking force were chosen to cover 8 square miles of the most highly combustible portion of the city. An extended fire swept over 15 square miles in 6 hours. The area of the fire was nearly 100 percent burned; no structure or its contents escaped damage. The fire spread largely in the direction of the natural wind.

It was estimated by the United States strategic bombing survey that 168,000 persons died, 200,000 were seriously injured and nearly 8 million persons were made homeless by the major incendiary attacks on Japanese cities. The great attack on Tokyo in March 1945, alone accounted for half the total deaths. This attack caused more deaths than either of the atomic bomb attacks, and more than the great Hamburg, Germany, attack. Probably more persons lost their lives by fire in Tokyo in a 6-hour period than at any other equal time in the history of man.

The attacks on Hamburg (population 1,760,000) are illustrative, and present a picture which was common in varying degrees in other German cities. Four Royal Air Force attacks in July and August 1945, destroyed 55 to 60 percent of the city. Of the physical destruction, 75 to 80 percent was caused by fire. An area of some 30 square miles was damaged, which included 12½ square miles completely burned out. Some 300,000 dwelling units were wiped out, and 750,000 persons were made homeless. At least 60,000 persons were killed. There were 1,200,000 evacuees.

Bomb loads of 1,000 to 2,000 tons were sometimes dispatched over German cities in a single night. These bomb loads would generally be approximately half high explosive and half incendiary. A total of 7,000 tons was dropped on Hamburg and an even heavier bomb load was dropped on Dresden in the closing days of the war. In contrast, the heaviest single attack on an English city was of the order of 70 tons of incendiary and high explosive bombs. These figures show that the German attacks on England were comparatively light, despite the great damage they caused.

As estimated and described by scientists, the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki changed into a fireball generating heat probably exceeding 3,500° C. at ground zero which lasted for about 3 seconds. The fireball of an atomic bomb is hotter than the surface of the sun or 1,000,000° C.

Although many fires close to ground zero were undoubtedly started by heat from flash (primary fire), most of the fires in Hiroshima were secondary, because of frame construction and from electrical short circuits, overturned stoves, lamps, broken gas lines, and other damage caused by the blast. In round numbers in Hiroshima 55,000 out of 75,000 buildings were totally burned out. Sixty-eight thousand or 90 percent of the houses were damaged by fire or blast. It may be safely estimated that deaths approximated 100,000 among the civilian and military population.

In Nagasaki, blast and fire destroyed or seriously damaged 20,000 out of 52,000 buildings, with 35,000 dead and somewhat more than that injured.

Beside the problem of water contamination, which must be anticipated, one of the lessons learned in World War II was that water supplies designed for normal peacetime use were not adequate for fighting wartime fires. In the heavy Allied air attacks on German and Japanese cities, all water systems were damaged and some were completely disrupted. Similar conditions could prevail in American cities if they should be attacked with atomic, incendiary, or high-explosive bombs.

The water mains in Hamburg were broken in 847 places by high explosive bombs during the great attacks mentioned. The breaks disrupted distribution to the extent that the public water system was useless.

In Tokyo pressure in many districts rarely exceeded 8 pounds per square inch, and the maximum pressure noted was about 25 pounds per square inch.

The public fire department and rescue units played a minor role in the extinguishment of the fires in Hiroshima, as 80 percent of the public firemen on duty had been killed

or critically injured, 60 percent of the public fire stations totally damaged, and 68 percent of the fire trucks destroyed. As a result, only 16 pieces of fire equipment were available.

On the contrary direct damage to the fire department in the Nagasaki attack was much less than at Hiroshima. The paid fire department lost only two fire stations and one truck. The auxiliary police and fire units lost 4 fire stations and 4 pieces of equipment. Fire department casualties were minor as compared to the Hiroshima loss. However, the effect of fire fighting was negligible due mainly to failure of the public water supply. A major contributing factor to the failure of the water supply was breakage of approximately 5,000 house service pipes due to collapse of dwellings from the blast or destruction by fire.

Officials of American cities under attack would be faced with two major water-supply problems:

(1) To keep in service as much of the public water supply system as possible.

(2) To provide auxiliary water supplies separate from the public water system, which may be used in fire-fighting emergencies.

Plans for increasing the available water supply will vary from city to city, but there are several features which they generally have in common. In every city, the following emergency conditions should be considered:

(1) The simultaneous occurrence of a large number of fires over a wide area.

(2) The possibility that these fires may combine and assume the proportions of a fire storm or conflagration.

(3) The exhaustion or serious curtailment of normal water supplies resulting from excessive damage to the public water systems.

Without doubt the most important single part of fire defense planning is that covering emergency water supplies; water is the ammunition of the fire-fighting service. Without adequate supplies of water for fire fighting, even the largest force of men and appliances is rendered comparatively useless.

In addition to inadequate water supplies, the regular fire departments themselves would be inadequate and unable to cope with the extensive fires in cities under modern mass air attack.

In Tokyo the situation was completely out of control 30 minutes after the first bomb dropped, and efforts to combat the fires were futile.

The organized fire departments in Britain in World War II numbered 378,000 men and women on whole or part time. They plan to augment this force in personnel and equipment in an emergency.

There are about 16,000 organized fire departments in the United States, about 900 of which are composed of full-time professional firemen numbering about 92,000. New York City with an approximate population of 8 million has about 11,000 paid firemen. In cities of 5,000 population, the number of full-time firemen may be as few as 5 or 6. Additional personnel and equipment beside regular fire departments will be needed to meet major disaster fire conditions and should be provided for in the planning.

Civil-defense fire services must be built around existing organizations. Auxiliary fire units must be ready to mobilize and work together during civil-defense emergencies, since no regular fire department in any city is strong enough to cope with the magnitude of the fire we may anticipate in an A-bomb attack. Therefore, we must plan to save from destruction as much of our existing equipment as we can, to mobilize as many neighboring units as practicable from support areas, and also to expand, organize, equip, and train as strong and effective an auxiliary fire-fighting force as is practicable.

Large industrial plants and public or private institutions in large cities often have their independent water-supply systems and have facilities which fit them naturally into any auxiliary fire-fighting force.

The ready-mixed concrete industry is the best adapted in this category. You generally have your own water supply; you have the heavy equipment capable of transporting impressive quantities of water to the scene of a fire; your forces are not only mobile but generally dispersed in areas probably outside the mass fire area, and they can readily be organized into auxiliary fire units.

The local fire department must form the basis for civil-defense fire service within the community. The chief of the local fire department should be the chief of the civil-defense fire program in the area under his jurisdiction. On his emergency staff should be one member representative of the ready-mixed concrete industry, who should be selected by the latter and who would be supplied with all pertinent data about all such firms, location of plants and equipment, their fire-fighting capacity, and communications with them to insure appropriate and timely instructions to all. After equipment has been ordered to report to the scene of a fire with instructions as to routes to be taken, point of contact, and person to whom to report, such forces will thereafter operate as auxiliaries under the direction of the regular fire department authorities.

"Warning yellow" means an attack by hostile aircraft is probable. It will not be made public by the audible public devices such as sirens, horns, and whistles. Your company executive should have an instrument or device in his office to receive the yellow warning and means of communicating this word to all his personnel who should thereupon automatically take designated dispersed posts prepared to undertake their fire-fighting duties upon further instruction based upon local standard operating procedure. This means that there must be effective communications between competent authority and the standby dispersal posts. If the yellow warning comes outside normal working hours there must be someone known and ready at all times to receive this warning and with names, addresses, or phone numbers at hand, and a procedure for warning the personnel involved immediately. In the larger organizations this phoning may be done by the chain reaction method, that is, 1 person calls 4, for example, each of whom calls 4 more, and so on. By being in the early warning net of civil defense with plans for prompt dispersal of mobile equipment, much invaluable transportation may be saved, and be available to fight the fires to follow. The latter communication may be wire or radio in the established civil defense net. Maps and plans of all these main and satellite plants, together with their capacities and hydraulic characteristics should be filed with the water department and be integrated into the overall emergency plans developed by the city. Besides the personnel of any Ready Mixed Concrete Co. who have enrolled as civil defense auxiliary, reserve, or emergency firemen, it may seem desirable to augment them with other auxiliary manpower for relief drivers, firemen, first-aid or rescue men having in mind around-the-clock operations.

The personnel of each Ready Mixed Concrete Co. should be enrolled with the local civil-defense agency and should be trained in fire-fighting techniques, and at least the rudiments of first aid and rescue work. They should have certain distinguishing emblems readily available at all times to identify them and their vehicles as belonging to the civil-defense organization in accordance with local instructions and procedures. They should participate in test warning drills from time to time to insure that they know their stations and duties. The auxiliary equipment, pumps, hose, nozzles, fire apparatus, chemicals, tools, tarps, etc., which they should take with them in an emergency, should be kept in workable order in a convenient place for instant use upon receiving the yellow warning. The personnel of each company should form an auxiliary fire unit according to organizational and functional lines with prearranged line of command and/or communications.

In America, the residential section, much of the commercial, business, and the older industrial sections comprising the major portions of our cities, are built up predominantly with load bearing, masonry wall, wood frame buildings, and are highly susceptible to fire and blast, and the disasters which occurred in the cities of Germany and Japan could happen here. You yourselves know the amount of highly flammable and explosive material in our cities and even in or near your plants.

It may surprise some people to know that the percentage of combustible construction in five major cities in the United States may be said to be characteristic of all our cities. These figures have been supplied by the National Security Resources Board:

	Percent combustible
Chicago	98.3
Detroit	97.8
New York	97.7
San Francisco	99.0
Washington	96.4

The great destructive fires resulting from incendiary attacks upon cities in general take the following pattern:

Hundreds or thousands of small fires are started within a radius of 2½ or 3 miles from the center of the city. These fires should be extinguished on the spot in their incipient stage before they expand and combine to become large fires. The intense heat generated by the explosion of an atomic bomb will ignite combustible material within a radius of 3 miles. Within the first hour the fires will combine and become serious, and unless controlled, will become either a conflagration or a fire storm within 4 hours.

The term "conflagration" is generally applied to great mass fires entirely out of control. These fires are generally accompanied by strong natural winds.

A fire storm involves the rapid ignition over a large area. In the absence of a strong ground wind the perimeter fires combine, and augmented by the effects of heat rising in the center of the area merge the aggregate blazes into one inferno with its own pillar or column of burning gases which rise almost vertically. The rapid burning of great amounts of combustible materials is accompanied by a corresponding consumption of air, causing an influx of new air at the base of the pillar. This inrush of air, or fire wind reaches gale-like proportions as it heads toward the fire center, capable of uprooting trees as much as three feet in diameter. Nothing combustible remains in the area.

Fire fighting is of three categories:

1. By householders.

2. By organized fire guards, factory employee groups, and organized civilian auxiliary units.

3. By professional fire-fighting services.

The ready-mixed concrete industry is in an admirable position to serve in the second category. I know of no group which is more favorably situated to provide so vital a contribution in our civil defense program. With fire causing 75–80 percent of the destruction, with regular fire-fighting departments with inadequate auxiliaries never able to meet this emergency alone, with the destruction of city water systems and resultant water failure the greatest handicaps, the

personnel and facilities of the ready-mixed concrete industry are in a position to assist very materially in meeting this challenge. No other industry has the auxiliary capacity, the dispersed facilities and the mobility to get as much water where and when needed as yours. Yours could be the vital contribution which might prevent hundreds of millions, or billions of dollars of fire loss, and spell the difference between defeat and victory. Providing this emergency auxiliary fire-fighting equipment would also save hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes which might otherwise have to be appropriated for fire equipment, and in my opinion if your industry as a whole undertook this program it would not only be a notable patriotic effort, but one of the greatest demonstrations of good public relations, and give you all a great and well deserved sense of pride of citizenship.

Health Needs of the Nation—Address Delivered at Lady of Lourdes Hospital, Camden, N. J., by Hon. Charles A. Wolverton, of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday evening, February 18, 1954, the annual dinner of the staff of Lady of Lourdes Hospital, at Camden, N. J., was held. On that occasion I delivered the following address, entitled, "Health Needs of the Nation":

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure and a privilege to have the opportunity of speaking to you on a subject in which you are interested; namely, the health needs of our people.

Your interest in this subject arises naturally as a result of your daily activities in the practice of medicine, and my interest from the standpoint of legislation to provide adequate medical and hospital care.

My duty in this respect arises from the fact that I am a Member of Congress charged with an obligation to promote the general welfare, and specifically as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, of which I am chairman.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is one of the three oldest committees of the House. It was instituted in 1795 and has been in continuous existence ever since that time. There is no committee of Congress that has such a wide and varied legislative jurisdiction as this committee. To indicate how general in character is our jurisdiction, I will mention some of its activities.

The committee has jurisdiction over most of the regulatory bodies and commissions now existing in our Federal Government, including the Interstate Commerce Commission which exercises jurisdiction over all the railroads throughout the country, and other means of surface transportation such as buses and trucks; the Securities and Exchange Commission, which exercises jurisdiction over all stock exchanges, large and small, together with investment securities; the Federal Power Commission, having regulatory jurisdiction over electrical power that crosses State lines, natural gas lines, pipelines conveying petroleum; all civil aviation, both domestic and foreign; Federal Trade Commission, with the duty so to regulate interstate trade as to insure fair dealing; petroleum in all its activities, including production, transportation, and marketing; Federal Communications Commission, with jurisdiction over television, radio, telephone, telegraph, and cables; scientific activities of our Government, including the Bureau of Standards, to develop, examine, and standardize scientific instruments and articles that enter interstate commerce; the National Science Foundation to develop pure or true scientific developments. This is an outgrowth of our atomic studies and developments. The purpose of this foundation is to encourage and develop scientific knowledge in all branches of human endeavor. War claims growing out of world wars and the Korean conflict; War Assets Commission as custodian of all alien enemy property; and public health.

The jurisdiction of the committee over public health is by no means last or least in importance of all the committee activities. In fact, it stands high on the list and is without doubt one of the most important of all the committee activities. While our other activities in some instances at least deal with great aggregations of wealth, yet there is none that is more vital to the welfare of our people. While other activities only directly affect a part of our people, public health activities affect all our people.

The jurisdiction our committee has over public health has enabled the committee to inaugurate and establish activities that have resulted in great good to our people. For instance, the laws that insure pure food and drugs, and all the research institutes that have been established at Bethesda, Md., for the study of cancer, heart, mental, and other diseases, is the product of the work of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the two Houses of Congress. If time permitted, a whole evening could be profitably utilized in discussing what has been done in the way of promoting the welfare of our people in the matter of providing ways and means, programs and facilities of improving the health of our people by means of legislative action.

For instance, our hospital construction program has been of great assistance in building and equipping hospitals. As an illustration, this hospital has received $159,037. The total amount of Federal funds expended in New Jersey since the adoption of the legislation in the last 6 years has been $1,320,001. This, you will not, is only one type of Federal expenditure to promote the health of our people. The total amount in all the different categories of health runs into millions each year. And yet, the sum so expended falls far short of the need, and is small, very small, when compared to the overall cost of illness in this country, including not only the actual cost of medical and hospital care, but also the tremendous loss of income due to illness.

COMMITTEE PROGRAM

I now wish to set forth in as brief a manner as I can the extent and purpose of the committee in making a study of the health needs of the Nation, and the resultant legislation that has been proposed.

In the first place, I want to emphasize the underlying factor that impelled us to make the study, namely, a recognition of the fact that a long-term illness today represents a financial catastrophe to the average family. Heart disease, cancer, tuberculosis, arthritis, rheumatism, polio, blindness, diabetes, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, and like diseases represent a crippling burden even where the best in medical care is available.

With this problem, one of the most serious and important facing our people today, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is properly concerned. We set for ourselves the task of trying to see what might be done about it. Thus, last fall, after the adjournment of Congress, members of the committee returned to Washington and initiated a series of hearings to study what can and should be done to provide additional protection for our people against the heavy burden—and all too frequent financial catastrophe, arising from the major long-term illnesses.

These hearings sought to ascertain what is known today about the causes, control, and treatment of the principal diseases. We were concerned specifically with finding out just what has been accomplished, how it has been accomplished, what the problems are, what the future holds, and what additional steps might be taken by way of research or other measures, to hasten relief from these dreadful diseases, mitigate human suffering, and curtail the losses which disease inflicts upon our national economy.

During these hearings the committee received extensive testimony on the present state of research into causes and control of some of these principal scourges of mankind. The committee had the unstinted and cordial cooperation of some 95 outstanding and distinguished physicians, scientists, and laymen, who had devoted their lives to research in the fields of these major diseases. They advised us on the current status of knowledge in their respective fields of endeavor as to what the causes might be, and as to what were the means of preventing or curing the particular diseases, in mitigating its effects, and what further might be done to bring successful culmination by means of research. Through these witnesses we also learned in great detail the extent of public and private efforts to find the causes of and to control disease.

Their testimony presented a dismal catalogue of the magnitude of the disease problem.

Disease by disease the witnesses enumerated the number of people afflicted, the number of premature deaths, the number of people crippled, the cost of illness to the individual and his family, and the cost of the disease to the Nation in terms of lost production, lost manpower, and the tax burden for medical care.

We were told that heart disease is the leading cause of death in the United States, causing more than 1 out of every 2 deaths each year. It is the leading cause of death among children, and exacts a toll from every age group.

At the rate at which we are acquiring cancer, 50 million of the present population of the United States probably will acquire cancer, and about 25 million of them will die from that disease.

The number of mentally ill patients in the United States exceeds the number of patients suffering from any other type of disease, approximately half—662,500 out of 1,425,000 hospital beds in the United States are needed and used for this group of illnesses.

Cerebral vascular disease, while causing some 160,000 deaths yearly, is more serious as a permanent crippler, leaving 1,800,000 now alive and crippled, paralyzing the body, or seriously limiting the powers of movement, speech, and vision. The other neurological and sensory disorders, similarly affecting the brain or spinal cord, are responsible for the disablement of another 8,200,000 persons.

There are 300,000 men, women, and children in the United States who are totally blind, and 300,000 more have visual defects so serious as to create partial or almost total disability.

Arthritis, with a total of 10 million victims today, with over 1 million permanently disabled, afflicts more people, cripples and disables more people, and brings more pain to more people than any other chronic disease.

There are at least 1 million known diabetics in the country today.

Last year more than 250,000 Americans of working age alone were unable to work because of active tuberculosis.

During the years 1938–52, 302,677 cases of poliomyelitis were reported in the United States and its Territories. During the same years 20,916 deaths were caused by this disease. The estimate for 1953 is 35,000 cases.

However, the testimony of these witnesses was not all gloom.

They also outlined for us the tremendous progress which has been made in reducing the illness and death rate from certain diseases, particularly those of infectious nature. Infectious diseases have diminished as a national problem, for with the identification of the causes of these diseases, it has been possible to develop means of prevention, control, and, when the diseases occur, their prompt and adequate treatment.

In the case of noninfectious diseases, improvement has not been so marked. There has been an actual increase in the incidence of and death rate from these, especially those classed as "chronic." One of the principal difficulties is lack of knowledge, knowledge about the causes of these principal diseases which plague mankind today. Without such knowledge, the prevention, control, or cure of any disease is impossible.

From the testimony these distinguished witnesses gave before our committee, it does not seem that adequate treatment is available for such afflictions as heart disease, cancer, arthritis and rheumatic disorders, cerebral palsy, and muscular dystrophy. For example, the physician knows that after an attack of coronary thrombosis or a cerebral hemorrhage, he can aid the patient by treating symptoms, but he cannot prevent or cure the disorder. If he does not fully understand the underlying causes of these ailments he is therefore not able to eliminate them. Similarly, he may completely remove a malignant growth by surgery, or slow its growth by X-ray treatment. But if those treatments are not completely successful, as is too frequently the case, the physician is unable to do much more than to provide palliative treatment. He does not know the causes of tumor growth and is thus unable truly to conquer it.

While it is obvious that in some of these fields we do not yet know how we may provide a complete cure, nor, in others do we know just what we are fighting, research activities already have produced marvelous results in the prevention and treatment of some of them, and we may be well along the road to a solution in some of them.

I would not in any way wish to disparage the great progress that has been made, nor discourage, nor fail to support to the utmost, even greater research into the causes and prevention of these diseases of mankind.

Yet, it is all too evident that at the present time these diseases continue to be, and probably will continue to be for some time, a tremendous burden upon the families of our Nation as they attempt to meet the costs of providing the medical care which long continued illness places upon them. Indeed, the very fact that we are now able in some degree to treat many of these diseases and prolong human lives but increases the problems of an economic nature. Extended hospitalization and medical attention prove exceedingly costly, and such costs are mounting.

What families today—with one of their number suddenly stricken—can afford from their own resources to pay $4,380, the amount given to us as the possible cost involved in the hospitalization of a chronic heart patient for 1 year; or the monthly cost at a cerebral palsy center offering the full range of medical, psychological, and social services, averaging as much as $750 per child; or the heavy cost per year in keeping a seriously involved polio case in an iron lung?

Or if from their own resources, and those of relatives, they can meet the costs of such illness, at what cost to them in financial readjustment, lowered standard of living, interrupted schooling, uprooted children, loss of "lay-away" for old age, or assumption of the bread-winner's role by someone else?

With such background, accordingly, the committee next undertook as part of its inquiry, the study of just what protection against these costs now may be available to the average American family. Last October we heard from various insurance companies which write insurance on an individual or group basis. This January we heard from the sponsors and administrators of many group plans, from labor unions, from private clinics, from the New York Health Plan, the St. Louis Institute, the Kaiser Foundation, Group Health Associations, the Blue Cross and Blue Shield organizations, and others. In addition, we have heard various proposals as to what can or should be done by members of health commissions, foundations, and others.

It has seemed to me, however, that no one should be in better position to set forth for us a concrete proposal of just what can be done to provide a real and adequate protection against these costs than the medical profession itself, as represented in its official organization, the American Medical Association. This is an association of men who have dedicated their lives to the mitigation of human suffering, men devoted to making available the best of medical care to all of our people, regardless of their economic status. I think we have a right to look to them to come forward with a constructive program, in accord with the kind and type of government we have, to meet this problem, one of the greatest facing us today.

The very fact that we are now able to treat many diseases and prolong human lives, has resulted in new problems of an economic nature: Extended hospitalization and medical attention prove exceedingly costly, and such costs are mounting astronomically. While society makes some provision for the very poor to be taken care of, if they require extended hospitalization and medical treatment, and while the very rich are able to take care of themselves in such regard, the large majority of our people does not appear to be protected adequately from the high cost resulting from extended serious illness.

Many plans are in existence in this country which seek to give protection against hospital and medical expenses. Last fall, and again more recently our committee has inquired into how extensive the protection afforded by this coverage may be. The committee likewise has considered plans which are in existence abroad by a survey conducted during the recess of the Congress.

We are concerned with the cost of the protection given by these various plans, and more especially, with whether this protection extends to major or catastrophic medical and hospital expenses. We have been interested in the arrangements under these plans which have been made with hospitals and physicians, the experience which has been gained under these plans, the difficulties which have been encountered, and suggestions arising from their operation. Out of such study the committee has hoped to learn of ways and means by which voluntary protection can be improved and broadened.

On January 18 of this year a great stimulus was given to the movement to improve the health of our people and to provide ways and means of meeting the burdensome cost of long-term illnesses. On that day President Eisenhower sent to Congress his memorable message expressing concern for and making recommendation to improve the health of our people, and, suggesting ways and means to enable our people to better meet the burden of long term medical and hospital care.

The President in recognizing that the high cost of medical care could become a financial catastrophe for the average family, very aptly and truly said:

"Even where the best in medical care is available, its costs are often a serious burden. Major, long-term illness can become a financial catastrophe for a normal American family. Ten percent of American families are spending today more than $500 a year for medical care. * * * The total private medical bill of the Nation now exceeds $9 billion a year, an average of nearly $200 a family, and it is rising. This illustrates the seriousness of the problem of medical costs.

"We must, therefore, take further action on the problems of distribution of medical facilities and the cost of medical care, but we must be careful and farsighted in the action that we take. Freedom, consent, and individual responsibility are fundamental to our system. In the field of medical care, this means that the traditional relationship of the physician and his patient, and the right of the individual to elect freely the manner of his care in illness, must be preserved.

"In adhering to this principle, and rejecting the socialization of medicine, we can still confidently commit ourselves to certain national health goals."

To further emphasize the question of cost to which the President refers as a burden to the normal family, it is pertinent to consider that testimony was presented to our committee in its recent hearings from the Security Exchange Commission that 3 of the larger small loan companies showed a total of 445,000 loans that had been obtained to pay medical costs. The total of all such type of loans, if an examination was made of all small loan companies, banking institutions, and private loans or advancement made by friends and otherwise, would be appalling.

There are numerous approaches which may be made to the problem of providing protection against the cost of such major illnesses.

One of these is contained in the bill which I have introduced which was drafted by the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education, under the leadership of its Secretary, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, to meet part of the program advanced by the President in his message on health.

This has to do with the broadening of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, so as to provide for the construction of facilities to take care of the chronically ill, either through special hospitals, supervised nursing and convalescent homes, or rehabilitation facilities for the disabled. In addition, provision is made for construction of nonprofit diagnostic or treatment centers for ambulatory patients, so that greater help is given in getting at these diseases at their start. The importance of facilities of these types goes without saying, for it is not necessary that these patients all be treated in general hospitals which are more costly to build, and it is self-evident that we do not now have enough facilities to give proper care.

Other approaches to the problem of long-term illness are contained in other bills which I have introduced. One of these bills is drawn to provide mortgage loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with voluntary prepayment health plans.

That you may readily understand the policy and purposes intended to be accomplished by this proposed bill I shall read from the bill:

"DECLARATION OF POLICY AND PURPOSES

"SEC. 701. (a) Declaration of policy. It is the conviction of the Congress that there is

a serious need throughout the country for a greater number of hospitals and related medical facilities and services than now exist or are being planned under existing programs. The shortage of health facilities and services handicaps efforts to improve the health of the people in peacetime and would create a crisis in time of military or other emergency. The American people are earnestly and urgently seeking ways by which the cost of good medical care can be brought within their means and reach.

"Solutions to the people's health needs can and should be attained through free enterprise and private initiative without resort to so-called Government or socialized medicine. Extension of voluntary, prepayment health plans offers an effective way for better distribution of health services and costs. Insurance of mortgage loans for construction offers an effective way for better distribution of health facilities.

"(b) Declaration of purposes: This title therefore is enacted by the Congress for the following purposes:

"(1) To stimulate private lending institutions, through Government insurance of mortgages, to loan funds by which medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other medical facilities can be financed, built, and operated on a self-sustaining, self-liquidating basis.

"(2) To encourage the extension of voluntary, prepayment health plans providing comprehensive medical and hospital care of high quality to the people at reasonable costs within their means.

"(3) To increase the opportunities and facilities by which doctors may associate themselves together in groups, partnerships, and other private initiative arrangements of their own choosing, in order to broaden the distribution of high quality medical care through general practitioners and specialists working together, making the most efficient use of medical skills, facilities, and equipment, and emphasizing preventive medicine, detection of disease and early diagnosis.

"(c) Federal control limited: Except as otherwise specifically provided, nothing in this title shall be construed as conferring on any Federal officer or employee the right to exercise any supervision or control over the administration, personnel, maintenance, or operation of any medical facility or group practice prepayment health service plan, or as authorizing any person, association, or corporation to engage in any manner, directly or indirectly, in the practice of healing or the practice of medicine as defined by the law of any State; or as conferring on any person the right to exercise any control over any person with respect to the personal right of each individual freely to select the hospital and licensed physician that he desires."

This bill is drawn upon the same principles that underlie the Federal housing program that guarantees to lending agencies 90 percent of the loans made in accordance with the standards set up to make certain the security of the loan.

Another bill I have introduced creates a Health Service Reinsurance Corporation. The purpose of this bill is to strengthen existing voluntary prepayment medical and hospital insurance plans by adopting the same principles that now apply to Federal insurance of deposits. This bill would thereby guarantee to policyholders that the conditions of the policies would be fulfilled and require certain standards to eliminate the possibility of cancellation of policies under conditions detrimental to the policyholder, and, that would provide for extended coverage and benefits to meet the higher costs of medical and hospitalization not covered under many policies issued today.

Another bill I have introduced proposes to amend the Public Health Service Act to promote and assist in the extension and improvement of public health services and to provide for a more effective use of available Federal funds.

The purpose of this proposed bill is to make available Federal funds for "(1) grants to States to assist them in meeting the cost of public health services; (2) grants to States to assist them in initiating projects for the extension and improvement of their public health services; and (3) grants to States and to public and other nonprofit organizations and agencies to assist in combating unusually severe public health problems in specific geographical areas, in the carrying out of special projects which hold unique promise of making a substantial contribution to the solution of public health problems common to a number of States, and in meeting problems of special national significance or concern.

"The portion of such sums which shall be available for each of such three types of grants shall be specified in the act appropriating such sums."

Still another bill that I have introduced is designed to encourage individuals to carry voluntary prepayment insurance policies to cover medical and hospital expenses. This bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code to permit the deduction from income tax returns all payments for health insurance premiums up to $100 each year. This would be in addition to the present allowances already existing in the Revenue Act to cover medical expenses.

It is my intention, in addition to bills I have already mentioned, to introduce other bills from time to time that will effectuate the administration program in providing assistance to our people in carrying the heavy load of medical and hospital care.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that we can have full-hearted cooperation in making this program effective to the end that relief will be given to our people in meeting the burdensome cost of medical and hospital care.

The Red Underground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, the Parent Teachers Associations constitute one of the most potent forces for the promotion of true Americanism in this Nation. These patriotic groups work in close contact with our schools and for years have devoted their efforts to the betterment of our educational system.

Because of great influence the PTA organizations have upon our schools, it is imperative that eternal vigilance be maintained to make certain that they are not subverted by our enemies. A warning of this nature is contained in an article by Herbert A. Philbrick in the February 21 issue of the New York Herald Tribune. You will recall that Mr. Philbrick worked for an extended period as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. His recent disclosures concerning the Red underground startled the Nation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert author Philbrick's article, exposing a plot to infiltrate the PTA groups in the New York area, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The article follows:

THE RED UNDERGROUND—ORDER GIVEN COMRADES TO INFILTRATE THE PTA

(By Herbert A. Philbrick)

During the last few weeks in a number of secret cells throughout New York State special orders were received: "As a Communist you must participate in organizations concerned with schools." Comrades with children in school were thereupon directed to infiltrate one of the largest and most important organizations in this area—the Parent-Teachers' Association.

Detailed instructions were given to the underground cell members, outlining the issues to be exploited, tactics of infiltration, and strategy of exerting influence.

TACTICS OUTLINED

Tactics of penetration were carefully prescribed. The members were warned not to be too aggressive, but to exert utmost diplomacy. "In joining a parent-teachers' association," they were instructed, "you join a well established organization, many of whose members have been active for many years and are in positions of leadership. They are not looking for someone to tell them what to do."

The proper procedure, the Reds were told, is to volunteer to serve in a minor position, such as on a committee, or as typist, or offer to solicit advertisements for the parent-teachers' paper or publication. They were cautioned that "the PTA is an organization in which you work your way to the top, slowly and patiently." Even after careful cultivation moves are to be made cautiously: "We can then give leadership on issues like the raising of the school entrance age."

TEAMWORK

The cell members were also instructed to work as a team, and to discuss the objectives and progress of individual comrades in branch meetings of the party.

Party branch bosses are to provide instruction as to how to approach and influence non-Communist members of the PTA; analysis of mistakes; and coordination of the efforts of individual members for better effect. "The party branch gives our work a Communist orientation so that we can help set in motion thousands of women," they were advised.

Finally, specific victims are to be singled out, according to the Red instructions; the branch leadership will determine, for example, which PTA member is to be invited to attend a meeting to be addressed by a teacher discharged for subversion, and whom to approach with an invitation to purchase party literature. After successful infiltration, the members were told the cell could concentrate on the task of recruiting PTA members into the party itself.

As to the issues to be exploited for party purposes, the members were instructed to include a number of legitimate slogans, such as "better schools," "more teachers," "more money for education," etc. In addition, however, they were instructed to "fight atom drills," to hurl charges of "bookburning" whenever a pro-Communist book is not used for school purposes, to protest the discharge of teachers who have refused to answer questions relating to Communist affiliation or membership, and to make other attacks against the Government and policies of the United States. "Our schools," concluded one party boss, "are weapons in the cold war."

OH, HAPPY DAY

Accompanied by claims of a "powerful upsurge of the economy and culture" in Russia allegedly due to the Communist Party, the supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. has announced that an "election" will be held March 14.

According to the Cominform bulletin published by the Communist information bureau in Bucharest, and now being studied

by Communist cells here, the announcement expresses "the conviction that in the forthcoming election all will vote unanimously for the candidates of the election bloc * * * election day will develop into a nationwide festival of the working people."

"The Soviet people reacted with tremendous political enthusiasm and wholehearted approval," the paper states.

ON THE PARTY LINE

Several Communist progroup members have been assigned various tasks preparatory to an International Women's Day meeting to be held Saturday, March 13. Paul Robeson has been booked to appear at several Communist-sponsored meetings in connection with Negro History Week.

From One Cow and Calf to a Cattle, Land, and Timber Empire—A Modern Success Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a story from a great newspaper in the First District of Alabama, the Citronelle Call, Citronelle, Ala. It is quite a story—almost a Cinderella story, except that it happens to be about a man instead of a girl. The headline, you will note, says: "Son Writes Story of Father's Rise to Head of Cattlemen's Association," and that M. C. Stallworth, Jr., was elected president of the State cattle group.

It is a great story by a worthy son of a great father. I had the pleasure of introducing M. C. Stallworth, Sr., to Minnie Wilkins, the lady whom he later married, many long years ago. I attended the wedding. I remember the day that M. C. Stallworth, Jr., was born, and also his sisters and one brother.

So many people say there is no chance for success like there used to be in the old days. Well, I knew M. C. Stallworth, Sr., and Jr., too. I knew Minnie Wilkins Stallworth, Carlton Stallworth's mother. I knew his grandmother; I knew all of his folks, and they worked, pulled, and prayed, and now they have everything that people could want. They have beautiful forests, thousands of acres of land, lots of deer, wild turkeys, and all sorts of game, and some of the finest cattle in the Nation—and I mean this Nation or any other nation. And they have beautiful homes to live in.

I saw this same Carlton Stallworth riding a Brahma bull that was supposed to be so wild. It was quite a sight and a picture was taken and I have this picture of this young man, who has worked so hard and faithfully, not only for his firm and his family, but for that whole community.

I thought this story might interest the young men and women, as well as the old men and women, all over this Nation, and that is the reason that I wanted it to go in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where it will go into every beat in this Nation, where it will go into all the libraries and to many foreign lands, and where they will know of the success that my friend, M. C. Stallworth, Jr., has made way down home in the pineywoods, in south Alabama, where they are bringing in oil, and where we have everything that everybody else has, and so many things that nobody else has.

M. C. Stallworth, Jr., and his family have certainly helped to bring us into our own, down in that part of the country; and we haven't even started; it is just the coming country of this earth; and so many good people are coming from every part of this great Nation to settle there with us, and we are so glad to have them. We have so much room, and we do welcome them with open arms. I wish everybody could come there just at this time and see the beautiful sights, especially the Bellingrath Gardens and the billions of blossoms that are blooming right from the Tennessee Valley all the way down to the great Gulf of Mexico, where we have so much natural beauty; we have bathing, boating, fishing, and shrimping, not only in the Gulf of Mexico and Mobile Bay, but in so many rivers and creeks and streams. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, we have more miles of navigable streams in the State of Alabama than in any other State in the Union. Such men as the Stallworths have made the progress of our State possible—their fathers and their fathers' fathers.

We are very, very proud of the Stallworths, and we know that their families and their friends and everybody that reads this story will know that M. C. Stallworth, Jr., had to do more than his part, and that he had to work while other people played, and he had not only to work, but to plan and pray for the great success that he has made here right in his own home country.

So, I say, God bless not only M. C. Stallworth, Jr., but all of his loved ones. I know how proud his mother will be and his brother and his sisters and all of his kinsmen, and especially his lovely wife and all of his children. It is a great day for the Stallworths, but it means more responsibility for this man, M. C. Stallworth, Jr., who would make a great Governor of our State, or who would be a great man to be the head of our Agriculture Department, because he knows so much about it and he has done so much to make it a success.

So, I say again, God bless M. C. Stallworth, Jr., and every drop of Stallworth blood there is in this world.

The article follows:

SON WRITES STORY OF FATHER'S RISE TO HEAD OF CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION—M. C. STALLWORTH, JR., ELECTED PRESIDENT OF STATE CATTLE GROUP

(By N. B. Stallworth)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The publisher of the Washington County News requests your indulgence, while he pays tribute to his dad—M. C. Stallworth, Jr.)

Last week when I learned my father had been elected president of the Alabama Cattlemen's Association, I was overcome by a surge of deep pride in him.

It occurred to me that at this time, when he has reached the top-rung of the ladder in a statewide organization of great importance to which he has devoted much time, it would be completely fitting for me to say how very proud I am of him.

Like any other son who sees his father attain great things, I'm overjoyed. Not only has he been a wise and kind parent, but he's been like an intimate buddy to me.

The news from Montgomery, where the election took place, set me to thinking back through the years, and of the hardships and sacrifices which Dad has made to attain his station in life. His friends and acquaintances know of the many times he has worked long hours, at a sacrifice to his own health, on charity and other public projects as well as on his own business. Then, too, I know that he came up in the business and industrial world through the "school of hard knocks."

The honor bestowed on Dad last week, quite appropriately, came in the very industry in which he had his first real business experience.

I remember years ago he told me about that first venture. By working at various jobs in the woods and at the turpentine still, he saved $15 and bought himself a piney woods cow and calf. He's been in the cattle business since that time, except for the years 1919 to 1922.

My father was born April 9, 1901, in Fairford (Washington County, Ala.), the oldest of eight children of the late Montgomery Carleton Stallworth and Minnie Watkins Stallworth.

Because his father was a timberman, my Dad spent his early days around turpentine and logging camps of south Alabama and south Mississippi.

Inasmuch as schools where he grew up did not go beyond the seventh grade, dad had to get his education away from home.

He attended Southern University Prep School at Greensboro, Ala., then enrolled at Gulf Coast Military Academy at Gulfport, Miss., where he graduated from high school. Later he attended Georgia Tech in Atlanta, but left college before finishing to help his father in the timber and turpentine business.

While forestry, and the industries it supplies, have been my father's prime interest, he has engaged in livestock raising, farming, automobiles, and other operations.

Thinking back over the years, I can remember several posts or positions he has held from time to time which were not connected with his business. They include being a member of the welfare board of Washington County; chairman of the board of tax equilization of Washington County for 8 years; member of all road committees for several years to get the first paved roads in Washington County; director of Southeastern Brahman Breeders Association; treasurer of Alabama Cattlemen's Association; chairman of Alabama Forestry Council; president of Washington County Farm Bureau for 3 years; vice president of American Brahman Breeders Association; director of Alabama Cattlemen's Association; vice president of Alabama Cattlemen's Association; member of Pulpwood Advisory Board for Southeastern States during war.

He also negotiated the first prisoner of war contract in Alabama utilizing labor of war prisoners. He also headed Red Cross drives, bond drives, war-chest drives, and various others.

At present he is serving as director of American Turpentine Farmers Association; president of South Alabama Sweet Potato Association; chairman of the Washington County Hospital Association; chairman of mechanization committee of American Turpentine Farmers Association; director of Washington County Farm Bureau; member of Alabama Forestry Council; member of executive committee of American National Cattlemen's Association; director of Washington County Cattlemen's Association; member of permanent advertising and finance committee of American Turpentine Farmers Association; vice president and

member of executive committee of Alabama Farm Bureau; advisory committee of Southern Forestry Experiment Station and the Lake City Naval Stores Experiment Station.

Cashing In On Poultry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Cashing In On Poultry," which appeared in the Anniston Star, of Anniston, Ala., on February 23, 1954. The editorial follows:

CASHING IN ON POULTRY

In this part of the country, where conditions are highly favorable for poultry production, farmers can be sure of a great and growing cash market not only for eggs, which presently are not being produced in sufficient quantity even to meet Alabama's own needs, but also for chicken itself, as an American dish whose popularity is mounting by leaps and bounds.

This growing favor was made clear in the course of a recent meeting of the Institute of American Poultry Industries, held in Kansas City, it being brought out that as a result of new ways of preparing poultry for retail sale, per capita consumption has advanced 75 percent over the pre-World War II era. The explanation, as with the citrus industry, is that new techniques of processing and quick-freezing are being utilized with highly gratifying results.

It has been possible for several years to buy dressed chicken by the part, meaning that the preferences of each particular family can be satisfied without any chicken being left uneaten.

More recently, processors have been turning out frozen chicken pie, described as the fastest-growing item in the whole frozen-food line. All that the housewife has to do is to place it in the oven for half an hour so as to brown the crust and warm the precooked filling, and it's ready to serve. Last year an estimated 150 million chicken pies were sold, with processors forecasting total sales in the neighborhood of 250 million pies this year.

Also, a new method has been developed for packaging prestuffed frozen poultry in a plastic bag, and it involves scarcely any more exertion on the part of the housewife than does the more familiar chicken pie, in order to prepare it for serving.

And the present prospect is for frozen prefried chicken in retail outlets generally within the next few weeks. A packing company with headquarters in New York City placed this product on sale in markets there 3 years ago, expanding distribution to include 2 other population centers more recently.

Of course, we're concerned about a New York outfit's qualifications for turning out fried chicken, southern style, which is a delicacy having few peers throughout the world. However, the fact of a new way of freezing prefried chicken would seem to indicate that if the frying isn't being done properly now, it can be here in the South. And there's no limit to the potential market for such offerings.

Indeed, it's unthinkable that Kansas City was the site of last week's meeting of the Institute of American Poultry Industries. The sessions should have been held here in the South, where poultry is an important item both on farms and on the dinner tables, appearing there in a variety of delightful forms.

America on Its Knees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by Mr. Conrad N. Hilton delivered at a prayer breakfast at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., on February 4, 1954:

Mr. Chairman, President Eisenhower, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I am privileged to play host to you this morning. I am honored to be able to greet you. In greeting you briefly as host, what I have most to say may be illustrated by a story.

The place was the South Pacific. The time, June 1945. Virginia company was lost. The brush was so thick they could not see 10 feet in front of them. There had been a path, but they had lost it a mile back. The woods in front were alive with the enemy and the snarl of bullets whipped through the trees. Suddenly the bullets increased. The aim began to get better. Men began to fall. "Call headquarters," shouted the leader, "and find out if we can get some help."

A few minutes later reserves were on their way to support the company. If Napoleon had been around, he never would have been able to understand. It would have been a mystery to Caesar and to Bismarck, even to General Foch. But our most distinguished guest this morning, President Eisenhower, in fact, every youngster in America, could have told you that it was a walkie-talkie that got them out of trouble.

Walkie-talkie is as old as Adam and Eve. We have all had one since the day we were able to talk. We did not have to wait for the improvements brought on by years of research in the world of radio communication. What I mean is that we have always had prayer.

We have always been able to talk to General Headquarters any time we wished. And we never had to worry that our Commanding Officer might think our calls unimportant, or that we were lacking in courage for consulting Him too frequently, or asking advice too often.

What I like about prayer is that it is a means of direct communication with God. You can speak to Him any time, night or day, and you can know with certainty that He is listening to you. What I like about prayer is that there is no set formula for calling General Headquarters on our private walkie-talkie. There are no call letters. You are free to send any message you want. You can just say "Hello." You can ask for something. You can tell Him that things are going rough and you need reinforcements—as these boys in the jungle did. You can call up to thank Him for the things He has done for you. You can tell Him you are baffled, bewildered, discouraged, or that you are the happiest person in the world.

It has been said, ladies and gentlemen, that all men fall, ultimately, into two classes: Those who pray and those who do not, and it is the incredible thing of the past 150 years that those who do not pray have become so dominant. In our own country until quite recently, the trend, I think, was in that direction. It took a war to put prayer at the center of the lives of our fighting men. It took a war and the frightening evil of communism to show the world that this whole business of prayer is not a sissy, a counterfeit thing that man can do or not as he wishes; rather, it is a part of man's personality, without which he limps.

It is a projection of that personality into eternity, a relationship with divinity which every people from the most primitive to the most delicately cultured have been trying to achieve in every age.

When you want to know how something works, you ask the manufacturers, the maker. I am convinced, ladies and gentlemen, that this modern world of ours has got to follow more closely the directions of our Maker as He has outlined them for us in His divine revelation and continues to outline them to us personally in prayer.

We here are fortunate in having the grace to accept this divine revelation and the principle of prayer. But great sections of the world have slowly fallen into the hands of those who refuse to accept God's plan. There are political practices which obviously oppose that plan. There are economic practices which ignore the directions of both God and man. That is the sad kind of thing man must come to when he refuses to maintain his communication lines with God in prayer. It is with this limp that man walks without God. That is how men grope in darkness unless they believe that God in His kindness is willing to life the shadows if we ask him in prayer—is willing to raise men to the vision of the children of God if we ask him in prayer—is willing to help us live like children of God with the permanent peace and happiness of the children of God—if we ask him in prayer.

New England Has Largest Number of War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following United Press article which gives the exact number of veterans of all wars in the New England States.

The article follows:

NEW ENGLAND HAS LARGEST NUMBER OF WAR VETERANS

The last Civil War veteran has vanished long since from the New England scene. But the six-State area today has more war veterans than at any time in its history.

No fewer than 1,383,180 New Englanders are veterans. Thus more than 16 percent of the region's total population have military records.

Though Veterans' Administration records show there are only 5,180 Spanish-American war veterans left in New England, it's estimated that the last of these will not pass on until the 1980's.

New England has 139,000 veterans of the Korean conflict, 226,000 World War I veterans, and 1,013,000 World War II veterans.

The breakdown by States is as follows:

Massachusetts: Spanish-American, 2,660; Korean, 67,000; World War I, 115,000; World War II, 522,000; total 706,660.

Connecticut: 930, 29,000, 51,000, 224,000; total, 304,930.

Maine: 560, 15,000, 20,000, 82,000; total, 117,560.

New Hampshire: 390, 8,000, 13,000, 57,000; total, 78,390.

Vermont: 230, 7,000, 8,000, 32,000; total, 47,230.

Rhode Island: 410, 13,000, 19,000, 96,000; total, 128,410.

Appendix

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on Lithuanian Independence.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

(Statement by Senator DIRKSEN)

On February 16 we honored a people whose saga is as old and as strange, as sad and as proud as that of any in the Western World. The Lithuanian people may indeed be proud. They have repeatedly survived vicissitudes which would have downed a lesser breed of men. Their homeland a peaceful hamlet between two mountains of force, a frequent battleground beset from west and east, the people of Lithuania have been scattered but undivided, conquered but ever cowed. Escaping the heel of the Germans only to fall under the yoke of the Russians, they have nevertheless maintained an independence of action and of spirit that is enduring. Their story is full of such anomalies. They are at once young and old. Though their history goes far, far back into the centuries, the anniversary which we celebrate today is that of the proud young nation which became of age between World Wars I and II. No sooner had it reached maturity—a political conditions which at its birth represented the consummation of a long overdue right to independent status—than it was again seized by the Russian giant. The legality of this seizure the United States has never recognized. It has refused to recognize so unjust, so ill-founded an action.

The Lithuania we recognize is a Baltic State. It is not a part of the Soviet Union. It is one of the three republics newly established after World War I in recognition of their right to the liberty which, though lost to them for centuries, was their rightful heritage. Possessing as they did an independence in their hearts, in their ideals, in their literature, and in their language, miraculously preserved in spite of suppression, the Lithuanians showed their ability to recreate their nation when given the opportunity. After nearly 800 years of domination, their own individuality and their own aspirations, suppressed but never dying, were allowed to flourish. With epic greatness they turned to new achievement.

The blood of the Lithuanian defenders ran in their veins; but they were a peace-loving as well as a brave people. For more than a thousand years they had been content to work out their destiny and had preserved their identity on the shores of the Baltic, apart from the Slavs. A separate branch of the Indo-European family, with their national spirit dating back to the early centuries of the Christian era, the Lithuanians have a language which attests their age. One author has called it the most antique in its forms of all living languages of the world; but, perhaps more correctly, it can be unquestionably designated "the best-preserved, living language of the Indo-European family."

At one time the realm of this ancient race extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The town of Vilna—so dear to the Lithuanian heart, and the source of so much trouble—became the capital of the country in 1323. This period marks the summit of Lithuanian glory. Shortly thereafter the country, rich in forests and in rural areas, became the envy of Germanic neighbors. Russia, meantime, was advancing from the east. Lithuania had fallen upon evil days. After serving for several centuries as a battleground, Lithuania found herself with the last remnants of her independence torn from her, by the Russia of the Tsars.

Under Russia her lot was a hard one, but the national spirit was never killed. Emigration began. The United States became a haven for large numbers of Lithuanians. They never forgot the less fortunate at home. With the coming of the Russian Revolution in 1905, the time seemed to have come for Lithuania's liberation. Many of her sons returned. Within 10 years, however, she was again to be the bloody battleground between Germany and Russia. Again her forests were the target. They were devastated. Her freedom was delayed. But not for long. In spite of destruction and the desperate efforts of Germany to block the move, Lithuania was proclaimed an independent state on February 16, 1918. Thirty-six years ago today.

Among the steps which the new Lithuania took to rebuild her country, a primary one was the planting of trees. In the towns small, single oak saplings were carefully guarded by wire, and pointed to with pride, as symbolic of the country's aspirations.

Like the oak trees they planted, the Lithuanians are stalwart. The country, young and promising, has again been slashed back to its roots, this time by Communist aggression and tyranny; but those roots are practically indestructible.

Have you ever tried to eradicate an oak tree? Even a very small oak tree? Over 2 feet high or so? The limbs and the trunk may disappear beneath the ax; the stump may be battered to the level of the ground. But the oak is not dead. From its roots will spring a multiple-trunked tree, more hardy, more persistent, more difficult to batter down than its predecessor.

The spirit of Lithuania is as the root of the oak. It has persisted in spite of innumerable slashings; it has been battered beyond visible existence, but the basis, the roots of regeneration remain. We may, therefore, expect that an independent Lithuanian nation will rise again.

The Price Support Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received from a constituent in Fordville, N. Dak., dated February 15, 1954. I shall read a few paragraphs from it:

DEAR BILL: Just listening to the news. I hear that Secretary Benson finally cut butter and other dairy product prices. You know, BILL, I sold cream for 56 cents back in 1944. I now get 68 cents. Now that is a 12-cent increase. That same year I bought a Ford tractor for $900. That same tractor sells now for $1,700. I priced a L Case tractor. The same time it was $1,800. The same today is $3,400. A Ford car sold for $1,200 in 1945. Today $2,200. An overall sold for $2.25. Today, $4. Now I could go on and mention others. But BILL, you know yourself that comparing these prices, cream hasn't even kept up to the things we have to buy. I know it because of all the butter the Government has on hand. That makes this action necessary. But that still don't help us farmers. Do you think that oleomargarine will sell for the price it is today when the farmers quit producing butter?

I skip a portion of the letter and continue to read:

You know, BILL, I am a farmer with five children. I farm 640 acres of land. I own 320 and rent 320. This past month I filed my income tax. I was $1,800 short before I had to pay any tax. My neighbors are most in the same boat. Now if our Government thinks it is because of our poor farming, they can have my half section anytime they want it, because it is for sale at $50 per acre. And to prove I am not bluffing, just write G. A. Schultheis at Grand Forks and you will see I listed with them last fall. I just can't see how I can make a go at farming.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the whole letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORDVILLE, N. DAK., *February 15, 1954.*

WM. LANGER,
Washington, D. C.,

DEAR BILL: Just listening to the news. I hear that Secretary Benson finally cut butter and other dairy product prices. You know, BILL, I sold cream for 56 cents back in 1944. I now get 68 cents. Now that is 12 cents increase. That same year I bought a Ford tractor for $900. That same tractor sells now for $1,700. I priced a L. Case tractor. The same time it was $1,800. The same today is $3,400. A Ford car sold for $1,200 in 1945, today $2,200. Overalls sold for $2.25; today $4.00. Now I could go on and mention others, but BILL you know yourself that, comparing these prices, cream hasn't even kept up to the things we have to buy. I know it is because of all the butter the Government has on hand, that makes this action necessary. But that still don't help us farmers. Do you think that oleomargarine will sell for the price it is today when the farmers quit producing butter?

Now, BILL, what do you think about increasing the Congressman's salary. What about other Government officials. Also these pension increases we hear about. It sure don't add to my way of thinking.

You know BILL, I am a farmer with five children. I farm 640 acres of land. I own 320 and rent 320. This past month I filed my income tax. I was $1,800 short before I had to pay any tax. My neighbors are most in the same boat. Now if our Government thinks it is because of our poor farming, they can have my half section anytime they want it because it is for sale at $50 per acre. And to prove I am not bluffing just write G. A. Schulthus, at Grand Forks, and you will see I listed with them last fall. I just can't see how I can make a go at farming. You know BILL I voted for a Republican President for the first time in 1952, because I thought they had a good man, but I think now I made a mistake. I still believe they are being run by Wall Street.

Yours truly,

ARVID HULTIN.

Religious Programing on the Voice of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, for many years I have urged that the United States mobilize the fullest moral power in its worldwide efforts against international communism. For us to rely exclusively on material strength and material appeals in our Voice of America and other information programs is to fall into a trap laid by the arch-materialists, the Communists themselves. Our strength is a spiritual strength. The enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain hunger for spiritual light, as they hunger for freedom.

Over the years, in my many contacts with Assistant Secretaries of States for Public Affairs, Administrators of the Voice of America, and heads of our press, motion picture and other information divisions, I have emphasized the importance of spiritual appeals.

I was most pleased, therefore, to receive word recently from the distinguished director of the United States Information Agency, Mr. Theodore C. Streitbert, that a survey had recently been conducted, and that it affirmed the extensive religious programing beamed behind the Iron Curtain in the fight against godless communism.

I send to the desk excerpts from the Voice of America memorandum. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SURVEY OF VOA RELIGIOUS PROGRAMING

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

During the period of October–December 1953, a survey of religious programing was conducted by the religious desk.

The results of this survey indicate that between 7 and 8 percent of the total broadcasting time of VOA is devoted to religious programing. Twenty-six percent more religious programing is broadcast to the Communist world than to the free world. Since the estimated broadcasting time given over to religion on the 4 major domestic networks averages in the neighborhood of 1.2 percent, it follows that VOA devotes as much as 6 to 7 times more programing to religion than the average of these networks.

Nineteen language services have regular weekly religious programs. Two other desks have religious programs almost every week. Thirteen desks have no regular religious programs, but many of these nevertheless have a substantial amount of religious programming.

DEFINITION OF RELIGIOUS PROGRAMING

The definition of what constitutes religious programing is to some extent arbitrary. In general, it follows the conception adopted by the radio networks, although in certain areas like the Far East, a broader definition is used.

The classification observed in this survey includes the following:

1. Statements, interviews, sermons, prayers, religious holiday messages by clergymen which touch to any extent on religion or religious life. These statements may be made in person, in translation or paraphrased in newsreporting, in nature.

2. Services recorded in church, recordings of prayers or religous ceremonies outside of church, or recordings in connection with the meetings of some religious organization, and readings of sacred writings.

3. Sacred music, hymns, carols, religious songs. Also classical music with a religious inspiration when treated as such and not as part of a symphonic program. Music for the mass and liturgy and all music connected with church services.

4. Programs about religious activities and life in the United States and the spiritual principles on which democracy is based. Commentaries on religious persecution, religious bases of democracy and other current developments.

5. Religious news.

6. In languages where the dominant element is non-Christian, the definition of religious programing is broadened to include spiritual and moral content in cultural-type programs, or commentaries of a philosophical nature that touch indirectly on moral and spiritual elements.

As we use the term, "religion" includes the major ethical faiths, principally Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Statements of clergymen that are essentially political in nature or which do not relate in an important way to religion are not considered religious programing.

The increase of religious programs initiated early this year has ben generally maintained, although in certain languages lack of budget facilities has caused a slight decline. The Central Services religious output made available to our 34 language services has prevented a sharper decrease.

These centrally distributed features include the following:

1. Faith To Live By, a weekly series of sermons of representative American clergymen of all denominations.

2. Light of the World, a simplified dramatic story illustrating the ethical teachings of various Biblical passages.

3. Review of Religious Life in the United States, a biweekly report containing feature material pegged to the news, statements by United States citizens pertaining to religion, religious items of interest, and general background on American religious institutions.

4. Religious News Roundup. This is a weekly program of religious news.

This material, together with special features originating on the language desks, are woven together into a number of types of religious programs.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN O. PASTORE
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter and memorandum I have received from Mr. Harvey M. Spear, an attorney, who has done considerable research on behalf of the American Bar Association with reference to the Bricker amendment.

This memorandum has to do with the problems posed by the so-called Knowland-Ferguson amendment to the Bricker amendment recently adopted by the Senate.

There being no objection, the letter and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK, *February 24, 1954.*

Hon. JOHN O. PASTORE,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR PASTORE: On Wednesday, February 17, 1954, the United States Senate voted 44–43 to replace the so-called "which" clause by the Ferguson-Knowland substitute which provides: "No treaty made after the establishment of this Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land unless made in pursuance of this Constitution." There is a real and serious danger that this new "pursuance" clause contains all the implications of a hidden "which" clause.

Article X of the amendments to the Constitution reserving to the States all nondelegated powers might well operate to create a "which" clause effect since a treaty made under this new Ferguson-Knowland substitute, coming after the establishment of this Constitution, would have to be made "in pursuance" thereof, which might well mean in pursuance of article X. The only reason treaties made hitherto have not been bound by article X is that they were deemed to be made by the United States under its inherent authority as a sovereign state in the international family of nations, the source of which authority predated article X.

In addition to the Ferguson-Knowland substitute, there is additional language in the Bricker amendment which says, in effect, that a treaty which conflicts with the Constitution shall be of no force or effect. When this conflicts clause is read together with the pursuance clause, 1 of the 2 clauses may operate further as a which clause. The conflicts clause would operate at the minimum to restate existing law that no treaty shall violate any of the affirmative rights assured in the Constitution; such assurances having been provided by the conflicts clause, the new pursuance clause might well be interpreted to signify a which clause effect, for otherwise it would be mere surplusage.

Transmitted herewith is a brief memorandum on the above-mentioned points, together with an extract from a speech in 1829 by the famous Mr. Justice Story on the dangers of legislative imperfections.

Sincerely,

HARVEY M. SPEAR.

PROBLEMS POSED BY THE KNOWLAND-FERGUSON SUBSTITUTE FOR THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

The pursuance clause and the conflicts clause in the Knowland-Ferguson amendment present certain legal problems. The

difficulty in a declaratory amendment is to add language without changing meaning. The President put it very well at a press conference, pointing out that it is strange to amend the Constitution in order to show that it is going to remain the same.

But to change things twice—in the conflicts clause and in the pursuance clause—in order to keep them the same gives rise to constitutional stuttering of a high order. The danger is that at the political level it will be argued that a hidden change exists in the double negative.

If the conflicts clause trims off all unconstitutional treaty provisions, then what is there for the pursuance clause to operate on? Thus there is set up the argument that the pursuance clause must change something.

At the judicial level the courts may be expected to make a dispassionate approach to reach a correct result, but there is no reason for promoting an amendment which will raise the question of giving a new twist to the 10th amendment or altering other established interpretations. A perfect example of the evils of incorrect legislative construction is found in Senator FERGUSON'S speech in favor of the pursuance clause (29 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 16, 1954, pp. 1704–1705). He is a cosponsor, and he said, and repeated for emphasis: "The amendment would prevent the delegation of executive, legislative, or judicial power to an international organization." Thus, he says that the pursuance clause is the same as the old section 2 of Senate Joint Resolution 130, which was subsequently revised by Senator BRICKER (sec. 2 of S. J. Res. 1, January 1953 version), and then dropped by the Judiciary Committee for good reason. The arguments of the Attorney General and the Secretary of State and other witnesses against the original section 2 of Senate Joint Resolution 1 are set out in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee hearings (see 1953 hearings, pp. 827, 913–918, 191 et seq.). In the 1952 report of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (see 1953 hearings, p. 235, 241 et seq.), the evils of the original section 2 of Senate Joint Resolution 130 are pointed out. The construction urged by Senator FERGUSON could outlaw the Baruch plan for the control of the atomic bomb, invalidate the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in many important respects, and destroy the command structure of NATO.

Such a record gives ground for political misconstruction of the "pursuance" clause, and gives the basis for the possibility that there might even be urged upon a court a judicial misconstruction. The country should not be asked to adopt an amendment which means so many different things to so many different people.

Even the "conflicts" clause, standing alone, carries the severe risk of legislative misunderstanding. In 1905, it was argued in the Senate that Mr. Hays' proposed arbitration treaties were in conflict with the Constitution. The treaties were never ratified. (Vol. I, Willoughby on the Constitution, 473–475.) Happily, this view has not prevailed subsequently, but it exemplifies the type of political opposition which is invited by the attempt to write a declaratory amendment.

There have been some hints that the conflicts clause contains a hidden "which" clause (majority report No. 412, Senate Judiciary Committee, pp. 3–8). A recent example of misinterpretation of the "conflicts" clause is in the article of Mr. Hatch in the September 1953 A. B. A. Journal, page 811, where he states that the "conflicts" clause (Bricker, sec. 1, which Knowland-Ferguson carry over) would invalidate the Baruch plan.

An incorrect construction of the Knowland-Ferguson amendment at the legislative level is a hazard which would have to be faced at every turn. This could be fatal in impeding desirable action. There can be more confidence in a proper judicial construction than in a proper legislative construction, but restrictive senatorial construction could smother desirable agreements which would never reach the courts.

Central Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Democrats of California in convention meeting in Fresno recently endorsed a candidate for Governor. This splendid candidate, Richard Graves, has been forthrightly discussing the major problems which confront our great State; moreover he has had the courage to recommend solutions which may be anathema to special interest groups but overwhelmingly acceptable to the great mass of our people. The following stories from the Fresno Bee reflect such a discussion and proposal with respect to the overwhelming problem of water supplies:

[From the Fresno Bee of February 19, 1954]

GRAVES URGES CVP PURCHASE PLAN DEATH

MODESTO.—Richard Graves, Democratic candidate for governor, last night called on the California State Legislature, at its session next month, to kill off once and for all the unsound proposal the State purchase the Central Valleys project from the Federal Government.

He was the guest speaker at a dinner meeting of the Central California Press Club. Present were radio and newspaper representatives from Stanislaus, Merced, Tuolumne and San Joaquin Counties and their guests.

Graves urged that, with the hobgoblin of State purchase of CVP thus removed, the State government get on with the job of formulating a long-range, integrated State plan for the complete development of our water and power resources for the benefit of all the people of California."

CITES MASTER PLAN

"The master plan," Graves declared, "will require the cooperation and participation of the Federal, State and local governments, and also the private power companies, in a manner consistent with sound policy.

"The proposed purchase by the State of the Central Valleys project is unsound. It makes no sense to buy what you already have.

"And so long as this foolish idea is kept kicking around, its mere existence impedes our moving ahead with the formulation and execution of a sound water and power policy for the State.

"I say the time to kill off this hobgoblin of State purchase of CVP is now, and by now I mean next month, when the State legislature meets in budget session."

TELLS OF REASONING

"Here is my reasoning for this conclusion:

"We should squarely face the fact the State's lack of a firm, sound and workable water and power policy has adversely affected, and will continue to affect, the development of agriculture and industry throughout California. We should eliminate the uncertainty as quickly as possible, get agreement on an overall policy and get on with the job of water and power development.

"The legislature can immediately eliminate one major uncertainty by resolving once and for all against State purchase of CVPM.

"Opposition to State purchase is growing even among groups originally advocating the plan. It would be foolish to pour a single additional dollar down the drain in the further study of a proposal so contrary to the interests of our State.

"Already about $700,000 has been wasted in this fashion. There is a balance of $9,300,000 in the fund set up to study and implement State purchase.

"The legislature has, and should exercise next month, the power to cancel out appropriations for this purpose and either return the entire balance to the State general fund or hold it in reserve for some other proposal relating to the further development of the Central Valleys project. The legislature also has, and should exercise in March, their power to make a legislative finding against the desirability of State purchase of CVP.

"Rather than have our State take over as a debt the existing Federal investment in the Central Valleys project we should use every available State dollar to carry out a long range program for the complete development of our water and power resources for the benefit of all the people of the State."

WANTS FEDERAL PROJECTS

"Rather than excuse Congress from commitments already made for completion of CVP, we must keep the Federal Government committed to our vast flood control, irrigation and power programs.

"State finances must be conserved in order to do those things which the Federal Government cannot or will not do.

"Instead of wasting time and money studying State purchase, we should be formulating an integrated long range State plan for the maximum development of our water and power resources. This program requires the cooperation and participation of Federal, State and local governments and also the private power companies in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

"We need such a master plan now.

"We no more can recover lost water than we can recover lost time. We should lose no more of either."

PRAISED BY MAYOR

Graves was introduced by Mayor Harry Marks, who described him as a fine public servant and a Californian of the highest standards.

"His entire adult life has been devoted to the improvement of the priceless principles, machinery, and administration of self-government," said Marks. "He is a man of outstanding character and capacity, with an intensely keen mind and a wide acquaintance with California's people, its problems, and its potential.

"I know of no other person who is as well qualified to serve as governor of the State of California as our speaker. As an American first, a Californian second, and a Republican third, I am most sincere in saying if a decision of the people at the general election this year is that our speaker be the next governor of California we will have the greatest governor this State has ever had."

RAPS GOVERNMENT SECRECY

Graves said he is a strong believer in freedom of information and access to information on all levels of government. He pointed out the antisecrecy bill in government intrduced by Assemblyman Ralph M. Brown, Democrat, of Stanislaus County, and now State law, is a step in the right direction.

However, he said such a bill should apply to State government as well as local governments. Graves said he and the League of California Cities, which he headed for 20 years, helped get the Brown bill through the legislature.

"As governor," he said, "I would see the State government be conducted in full view of the public. The people have a right to know."

But he cautioned the responsibility and obligation falls on the press to report the facts accurately and objectively, to work for the uniting of America and the world, rather than to aid with its division.

He stressed the need for strengthening the economic base of the State; for moving up more on a program of industrial expansion needed to meet employment needs of the increasing population.

Constructive Liberal Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address made by our colleague the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] on February 10, 1954, before the independent voters of Illinois.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS, OF ILLINOIS

It gives me deep pleasure to have the chance to take part in this 10th anniversary of the Independent Voters of Illinois.

I hope you will all come out and participate in my sixth anniversary next November.

When the IVI was formed in 1944 the independent voters of my ward were one of its important components. Some wards like my own found in the IVI the means to perpetuate a tradition of public service, a sense of politically independent responsibility, and a devotion to the general good. These men and women of 1944 had grouped themselves together in the aldermanic battles of 1939 and 1943, when so much was at stake, and had found that by hard work they could influence politics for the common good and in the job find personal enjoyment and fulfillment.

Our fifth ward movement had deep roots in the splendid aldermanic work of Charles E. Merriam from 1909 to 1917, and of Mrs. Katherine Goode and Mrs. Flora Cheney in the Illinois Legislature during the 1920's. They wrote the solid record on which we could and successfully did attempt to build.

Since the IVI was founded it has been active in many elections and the general impact of its work has been decidedly good, quickening the consciences and activities of independents whose only stake in politics is decency in government.

Naturally I felt that the IVI showed especially good judgment in endorsing and working hard for Mrs. Douglas in her 1944 and 1946 campaigns for Congress. And I have always been grateful for the fine work it did in my behalf and for Adlai Stevenson in 1948. But leaving personal considerations aside, many worthy men and needed reforms have been advanced by IVI's efforts.

However, it is primarily of the future, not the past, that I would speak tonight. And what I want to discuss is the rather thorny question of the relationship between political organizations and political independents.

Let me say first that both are absolutely necessary if our democracy is to work properly.

In the first place, we cannot operate a democracy without political parties. For parties are the instruments by which candidates are selected, issues stressed, and elections waged. To do this effectively, a party must have more or less permanent leadership and a nucleus of dedicated workers who will labor steadily at the job. One cannot spring to arms a few weeks before election and then disband immediately afterward if one is to be effective. Instead, the work of education and of organization must be carried on continuously.

If enough volunteers will come forward unselfishly to do the hard and grinding work required of a good precinct committeeman, and we know that many of them do, so much the better. But since it is generally much easier to get sporadic rather than continuous service from volunteers, this means that the manning of the precincts and the control of the party machinery tend to gravitate into the hands of the organization, the professionals or semiprofessionals. These men make all or part of their living from politics, and thus have a direct incentive to carry on the work of organization and of propaganda, of making converts, and of getting out the vote.

When I hear some overcritical persons damn these semipros of politics, I am reminded of the lines from Housman's poem on An Army of Mercenaries, dedicated to the Tommy Atkins who fought so bravely:

"Their shoulders held the sky suspended;
They stood, and earth's foundations stay;
What God abandoned, these defended,
And saved the sum of things for pay."

Until enough competent volunteers come forward to work continuously at the job, the services of these pros and semipros is absolutely necessary. It is, moreover, just as much a mistake for the political independents to believe that the professionals are devoid of ideals as it is for citizens and reservists to believe that the soldiers of the Regular Army or Marine Corps are devoid of patriotism. The professional does not talk so much about ideals as the citizen-soldier. He tends to be more interested in the process and to be somewhat inarticulate about the ends. But every soldier worthy of his salt feels his spine tingle as the colors go by, and the party workers also feel the thrill of working for great ends and of realizing that he is helping to shape history.

This need for professional and semiprofessional precinct workers is all the greater in the case of a party like my own—which has arrayed against it in the North and West a almost solid assembly of dailies and weeklies. There is only one Democratic daily in all of New England, only one in New York, and only one between New York and Richmond. In all of the Midwest, there is not a single Democratic paper of any size. On the Pacific Coast there is only one.

Bad as this situation is—and it is very bad for us in getting our story across to the people—we Democrats have learned to live with it. But I sometimes wish a bit that the newspapers could find more good in old fashioned democracy. I think it would do them good, and it wouldn't hurt us. No one party has yet lived up to the Sermon on the Mount. I do submit that we have a case that ought to excite the thoughtful consideration of editors, commentators, and the TV and radio stations. Now, like the early Christians, we have to get our message across mostly by word of mouth.

In such circumstances, while party organization is indispensable, the active support of independents is equally necessary. In the first place, the proportion of strict party men and women in the country is diminishing, and the independents are increasing. Along with this has gone an absolute decrease in the number of party workers. The city and county machines, once the reliance of both parties, have greatly diminished in importance. It is therefore no more possible for the professionals and semipros to win an election by themselves without the help of the independents than it is for the Regular Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to win a large scale war by themselves without the help of the citizen-soldiers who form the Reserves and the National Guard.

While it is perhaps inevitable that there should be some distrust of each group by the other, just as there is between the regulars and the reserves, within the military service, since each needs the other there is every reason why the two groups should cooperate and work together. There is nothing within the structure or purposes of the Democratic Party to bar such cooperation. The Democratic Party of the North and West is a progressive party in principle and practice. Virtually every great improvement in our political life has come through the Democratic Party. Rooted in the liberalism of Jefferson and Jackson, it created reforms through the Interstate Commerce Commission, the beginnings of Federal civil service and rural free delivery with Grover Cleveland, the Federal Reserve System, the Clayton Anti-Trust and Federal Trade Commission Acts, the launching of rural credits and a host of other measures under Woodrow Wilson to the flowering social reforms under Franklin Roosevelt.

The Democratic Party has been the first to recognize and meet the responsibilities of national growth. The Republican Party missed its great chance when it turned its back on the visions and policies of Theodore Roosevelt.

Throughout its history the Democratic Party has worked for freer trade between nations, for the cooperation of nations to resist aggression, against private monopolies, and for justice to the workingman. It is still working for these objectives and it will continue to do so.

But the Democratic Party is not and, I hope never will, become a class party as such. Unfortunately, in its direction the Republican Party is coming perilously close to being a class party, namely one whose policies are primarily determined by great wealth. There are those who say that we should frankly recognize this fact and become a party of opposing classes ourselves. Or that at the very least we should stress very clear ideological and basic differences from the Republicans.

I believe this would be very unfortunate. This is precisely what has happened in Europe and the results have been unhappy. There it has resulted in the division of the democratic forces in the face of Communist aggression and subversion. In the United States virtually all classes and both political parties are basically united on two major propositions.

1. That we should resist Communist aggression and seek to prevent dictatorships from being established, either in our own country or elsewhere.

2. That domestically an economic system of democratic free competitve enterprise has far more to offer the people than socialism since it stimulates individual initiative more fully and decentralizes economic and hence political power.

Within this common framework, there are, of course, sharp differences of opinion. We Democrats do not believe in a dictatorship of big business. Dominant sections in the Republican Party do. Instead we believe in a diffusion of economic power which will give to all sufficient power to be truly free without giving to any so much power as to be able to oppress others. For this reason we favor a wider diffusion of property and income and in our 20 years of national domi-

nance we helped to effect this. We are, therefore, primarily the party of the workingmen, of the white-collared and professional groups, and of the small-business men. Here and there we even have a sprinkling of big-business men whose sympathies transcend their narrow economic interests, and whom we are glad to welcome to our ranks as long as they do not succeed in twisting our policies to the detriment of the American people. We do not preach class hate; we stress instead the great common interests of mankind and the basic unity of all religious faiths whether Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish.

I would like to say here that we freely acknowledge that there are some Republicans like my able friend, Arch Carey, who also share these general interests and fight for these objectives. They place national or public interests above partisan ones. In fact, they really act like independents on the basic questions of principle—and only revert to Republicanism briefly at election time. Perhaps they are the greatest idealists of us all—still hoping to win the Republican Party to progressive principles. In any case, the fact that our opposition can enlist men of ability and idealism like Archibald Carey should help us to maintain an essential national unity, and to bridge the gulf of partisan bitterness that is sometimes created by outrageous charges of treason or near-treason leveled at all Democrats.

There are men in the Republican Party—and Arch Carey will never be among them—who need to be reminded of what Thomas Jefferson wrote to Abigail Adams in 1804 about partisanship: "I tolerate with the utmost latitude the right of others to differ from me in opinion without imputing to them criminality. * * * Both of our political parties, at least the honest part of them, agree conscientiously in the same object—the public good; but they differ essentially in what they deem the means of promoting that good."

Since the Democratic Party represents different groups and is composed of people whose views differ on many detailed issues, from time to time efforts are made by one group or another to purge those who disagree. At times the liberal or professional wing seeks to purge the conservatives and from time to time the conservatives seek to purge the liberals and professionals. This would be fatal, for it would permit our opponents to fragmentize the Democratic alliance and win an easy victory.

In this connection, I have always been impressed with an analogy which as a boy I heard given by William Jennings Bryan. He likened the internal behavior of the Republican and Democratic Parties to that of wild horses and jackasses when they were attacked by wolves on the open prairie. The Republicans, he said, were like the wild horses who when attacked grouped themselves in a circle with their heads on the inside and their hindquarters on the outside and who then proceeded to kick the stuffing out of the wolves. The Democrats, on the other hand so he said, were like their totemistic symbol, the jackass. The too grouped themselves in a circle, but their heads were on the outside and their hind-quarters on the inside and they then proceeded to kick the stuffing out of each other.

Let us not continue to make any such mistake. Let us recognize instead that just as the common interests of all Americans regardless of party, are more important than the points upon which they differ, so within the democratic alliance the common interests are more important than the conflicts. A recognition of these facts will preserve national unity in the face of the Communist peril and the divisive attacks on freedom here at home. It will at the same time permit of social progress. After all, the 20 years from 1932 to 1952 were years of great social advance and at the same time of economic progress for all.

If we take the short-run view we may be disappointed with the rate of progress but from the long-run point of view, we have done and will do very well. The fighting out of different points of view within a party may slow up immediate gains but it does not unduly delay ultimate and real improvement. In the process it keeps a more united nation and alliance, it muffles class hatreds and ultimately produces a better consensus.

It has taken a long process of work, but we have succeeded in doubling the standard of living, protecting the rights of workingmen, in abolishing child labor, in advancing the rights of our colored friends, in improving education and bringing monopolies or near monopolies under public control. It takes time and work to accomplish such objectives.

If this basic principle is recognized by all or even by most, the proper division of functions between the formal party workers, the forces of labor and the political independents becomes fairly clear. The party workers aided by labor in the cities can and will carry the main burden of effort within the heart of the city and in the wards and some suburbs. But the independents, who are primarily white-collar, professional, and small business people can be of mighty assistance in the lake-front wards, the outlying regions and the so-called residential suburbs. There is work enough for all, and enough common purpose for all.

We still have great and good objectives to attain. The future still challenges us. Our work is not done. We have to advance and achieve a full measure of civil rights for all people. We have not yet discharged our responsibility to shelter and care for the refugees from communism and nazism. We have not completely achieved equality of economic opportunities. We still have to insure fair play toward all Americans, regardless of creed or color. We have yet to establish a fair-play code for Congress, that will carry into the legislative committees a measure of the same Bill of Rights that protects us in our courts. We have not done full justice to our schools, or our hospitals, or our aged and handicapped. Muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, heart disease, cancer, and other diseases challenge us to be up and working at their elimination.

No—our job is not done.

Then, let us without bitterness against our political opponents, and with inner friendship for each other, set ourselves to work in the months which lie ahead for continued prosperity and social progress within our Nation, State, and county, and for strength and cooperation within the free world.

United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL
OF GEORGIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a distinguished American, Hon. James A. Farley, made a notable speech in the city of Atlanta recently on the subject of international relations. On February 16 the Atlanta Constitution carried an editorial expressing its approval of Mr. Farley's philosophy, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES MUST DEAL WITH WORLD AS IT IS

James A. Farley stood before the Atlanta Rotary Club yesterday and said:

"The United States will have to work with the world as it is, and not as we think it ought to be."

That was his text.

It was, and is, a true one.

At the root of much of our international policy troubles is the fact that we continue to try to make Frenchmen, Italians, and other nationalities act, think, and react like Americans. Too much of our policy has consisted of trying to fit American-colored spectacles on the eyes of the rest of the world.

This is the way we are. It is reflected in the wistful tourist who, while in Paris or London, keeps trying to find ham and eggs cooked as he has them at home, who judges a civilization by its plumbing and telephones.

We extend this into our thinking about foreign policy.

"If the rest of the world would only become just like us, or do exactly what we tell them to, all would be well."

Jim Farley travels much of the world every year. He has been doing this for a good many seasons. He knows what he is talking about.

We cannot live alone in the world.

We must accord to other peoples "self-determination."

We can't be concerned with how they do things so long as they are on the side of freedom and morality.

Jim Farley is noted for talking sense. He did so yesterday. We hope at least some of what he has to say sinks in.

We can't live alone. We do have to take the world as it is because it isn't going to be what we think it ought to be. Not all the dollars we could mint would make it that way.

Mitchell Should Lead or Quit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Michael J. Galvin, former Under Secretary of Labor, before the Bunker Hill Post of the American Legion, Charlestown, Mass., on Tuesday, February 16, 1954. Mr. Galvin made an outstanding contribution to the progress of labor in this country when he was in the Department of Labor.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MITCHELL SHOULD LEAD OR QUIT

(Address by Michael J. Galvin, of Boston, Under Secretary of Labor of the United States from 1949 to 1953)

Secretary of Labor Mitchell should do something about rising unemployment or get out. From Madame Perkins to Secretary Durkin the policy leadership to combat unemployment has come from the Secretary of Labor, heretofore the representative in the Cabinet of the 60,000,000 members of the working population of the country. Right now the policy leadership on unemployment

appears to be in the hands of Secretary Wilson, Mr. Mitchell's former boss in the Pentagon, and all Mr. Wilson is doing is firing people by the tens of thousands by curtailing defense orders, while Mr. Mitchell sits back and does nothing and says nothing.

The unemployment situation now is definitely worse than in 1949. The 1954 figures have brought fear into the hearts of our great working population and small business owners. In 1949 unemployment rose 1,500,000 from April of 1949 to February of 1950, but the average weekly workweek rose 1.3 hours in the same period, thus compensating in a great degree for the loss in purchasing power due to unemployment. Today the twin horses of economic destruction—unemployment and a declining workweek—seem to have burst all controls. In the last 3 months there has been an unprecedented loss of purchasing power due to lack of employment and a declining workweek roughly equivalent to several million jobs.

Fear in unemployment is and always has been the burden of the administration in power. Democratic leaders can neither add to nor detract one iota from the element of fear in unemployment in 1954, for they have not the power to alter the situation. This principle was true in 1949 with respect to the Republicans and is true now in 1954 with respect to the Democrats. Nor can the pious utterances of Mr. Wilson as he wipes out 10,000 jobs here and 10,000 jobs there have any effect except to increase fear. This was true of the Democratic Secretary of Defense in 1949, and it is true of the Republican Secretary of Defense in 1954. As a great American the best thing that Mr. Wilson can do on the subject of unemployment and its related problems is to remain silent. Nor should any member of the official family be permitted in these delicate times to say that a little unemployment is a good thing, and if they have said so they should be required under penalty of dismissal to retract such statement publicly immediately. A little unemployment is not a good thing in the United States. The leaders who should start talking to the great working population of the United States to allay their fears in this period of transition are the Secretary of Labor and the President of the United States.

The men who know most about how to curb unemployment and how to dispel fear in a transition period are the great labor presidents like Meany and Durkin and Reuther and Potofsky. The business of men such as these labor presidents is jobs. Men such as these can tell the administration how to curb unemployment and how to dispel fear during a transition period, and will be glad to plunge in to help do it if the administration will but listen to them. These men command the respect of tens of millions of men and women in the great working population, and they have the power to reach them and dispel fear. These things I know to be true. For without the great help which those two great statesmen, President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, and President Philip Murray, of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, gave to us in 1949, our successful struggle against rising unemployment in a transition period would have been extremely difficult. In 1949 fear never was allowed to develop. In 1954 it is developing unchecked as yet.

I would recommend to the Secretary of Labor that he visit his constituents—the great working population—in our cities and in our towns, and find out firsthand their unemployment problems. Suppose he has no specific invitation. He will be welcome. The 60 million workers of America are good people, they are the backbone of the country, and its hope and redemption in good times and bad. If the Secretary of Labor has a cure for unemployment that will work they will support him with whole heart and soul, and withal suffer cheerfully the attendant hardships.

To the administration I say with all sincerity: Don't let this happen to our great people; don't let unemployment and fear rise unchecked. These scourges of our great free-enterprise system will not go away of their own accord like a bad nightmare. Unemployment is what the Russians have been waiting for. I can still hear the ringing taunts of the Russian Ambassador as in July of 1949 he thundered back at me before the representatives of all the nations of the world at Geneva, that rising unemployment in the United States would destroy us, and my answer to him was that our people were unafraid and that under God we would solve our unemployment problem and be a stronger and, yea, even a better country for having endured it. We worked at this problem in 1949 and we solved this problem in 1949. Disregarding the problem at this time will be playing right into the hands of Russia. Unemployment is the business of all our people—it knows no party lines. The stake—our country under God.

I would suggest to Secretary Mitchell that as a starter he come to Massachusetts, where unemployment rose 15,000 last year and now stands at 90,000 persons unemployed, a figure substantially higher than the national average. I would specifically request that he visit:

The greater Boston area where there are 35,000 unemployed. I would like to have him look into the situation in the Boston Navy Yard where layoffs have already been effected and where others are pending; into the situation at the Quincy Shipyard where last year 3,400 were laid off and where some 4,000 face a doubtful future; to the situation at the Watertown Arsenal where layoffs are pending; and to the situation in the electrical plants in Newton, Allston, Woburn, Quincy, and Cambridge where sizable unemployment has developed.

The Newburyport area where employment is 10 percent less than last year.

The Springfield-Chicopee area where 4,500 are unemployed.

The Pittsfield area where employment has declined for the fifth successive month.

The Lawrence area where several thousand are out of employment in textiles alone.

The New Bedford area where unemployment is rising.

The Lowell area where unemployment continues to rise and now stands at 4,300.

The Worcester area where another 4,500 are unemployed.

The mayors of these great cities in Massachusetts will be glad to welcome you and help you obtain the facts firsthand.

Reaction of Idaho Dairy Farmers to Rollback in Butter Price Support

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, with reference to the rollback in butter price support, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the answers of 12 dairymen of Idaho to the question:

What is your reaction to the 8-cent-a-pound rollback in butter price support, and what effect do you believe it will have on the dairyman and the industry?

The question and the answers were published in the Idaho Statesman of February 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the question and answers were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INQUIRING REPORTER

THE QUESTION

"What is your reaction to the 8-cent-a-pound rollback in butter price support, and what effect do you believe it will have on the dairyman and the industry?"

THE ANSWERS

H. Aldridge, Ustick, dairy farmer: "I think if they will let it go that way it will right itself in a short time. It will hurt the farmer, but if he can stand it for a while he will come out all right in the long run. Ike will be the goat, although the present mess isn't his fault."

Don Schmitchger, Boise, route 2, dairy farmer: "I think it is a pretty rotten deal, but I don't believe in subsidy. We have been better off in the past after a period of adjustment after supports were taken off other things, though. It will work a hardship on the farmer when he buys feed and will work a hardship on the whole State, since 20 percent of our agricultural economy is dependent on dairy income."

Arthur B. Wright, Meridian, route 1, dairy farmer: "I think it is going to hurt the dairy farmer, because other prices are too high now in comparison with the price we will receive for butterfat. I would like to have seen the 90-cent price kept in effect. I'm afraid it will have a lasting effect, especially in the Boise Valley."

Curtis Samp, Meridian, Route 1, dairy farmer: "If a man is raising his own feed, he will make it, but he can't buy feed and come out on top. I think they should cut out supports on other farm products if they quit supporting one. A lot of the little fellows will go under, but the man who has his place all paid for will come out all right."

L. J. Lucek, Nampa, Route 6, dairy farmer: "I'm in favor of it if everything else could be rolled back. The rollback has to start somewhere and it generally starts with the farmer. I don't think it will hurt the industry. This is just the beginning, though, and I don't know where the ending will be. If the 75-percent level were maintained the farmer would probably forget about it after awhile, although he would howl for awhile."

Albert Baer, Meridian, Route 2, dairy farmer: "Well, we all have to suffer, anyhow. If they take off one type of support, though, they should take them off everything and not just make one kind of farmer the sucker. The price has got to come down—we all know that—but the one who does the most work for his money is the one who gets the first kick in the pants."

H. L. Fish, Meridian, Route 2, dairy farmer: "I don't believe there will be a lot of effect felt because they had to come down anyway. If the powers that be will only find some way to bring the price of feed down in proportion we will all get along fine and dandy."

Enos V. Hill, Nampa, route 6, dairy farmer: "I think it is a good thing. Lowering the price of butter by lowering the support price will have a healthy effect on the industry. The law of supply and demand will take care of the situation."

C. C. Loveland, Nampa, route 2, farmer and dairy farmer: "It will cut us down a little in the cream check, I suppose, but butter has been too high for city people to buy and I believe we can get along ok. Maybe we can compete with margarine if we get it down enough."

Arthur Cave, Eagle, route 1, farmer: "I don't think much of it, but it probably wouldn't be too bad if they would bring other things down accordingly. It will put the Boise valley in a bad way, but it isn't

any worse than I expected when the Republicans came into office."

Otto Muller, Eagle, route 1, dairy farmer: "It is absolutely all right if they will roll everything else back. It will mean less income. We will have to find a way to produce butterfat more cheaply or eliminate the low producing cows so we can make more money out of the cows we have."

Harold Hoffman, Meridian, route 1, farmer: "I think it is all right. We can't keep the price of butter going as it is. It will be rough on the dairymen, but I think eventually that other things will come down and the lower prices will help the farmer on purchase of equipment and other things he needs."

Effect of TVA in Controlling Floods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a timely editorial published in the Chattanooga Times, of February 24, 1954, with reference to the part played by TVA in the matter of flood control.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT? NO FLOODS?

Some of the editorial writers in the North and East in writing about the TVA show that they know little about the subject. Certainly, a glaring ignorance on the facts about TVA was shown in an editorial entitled "You Pay For TVA" in the Chicago Daily News of the 10th of this month.

We have been accustomed to critics of the TVA saying that taxpayers in other parts of the country are paying for the valley development. The Chicago Daily News editorial says:

"Tax money drained off for TVA has left us less for schools and sidewalks and homes and clothing and all the other things that local governments and individuals spend their money for."

The TVA is required by law to pay back into the National Treasury all money spent on its power projects. It is not required to pay back the money spent for flood control and navigation.

The Government has been spending money on rivers for 100 years, and Illinois has certainly benefited. To attack the improvement of the Tennessee River and say that it leaves Illinois with less money for schools makes no more sense than for Tennesseans to attack the greater sums which will be spent on the St. Lawrence seaway and which will open Chicago and the Great Lakes to sea traffic on the ground that it will take money away from Tennesseans which they might use on their schools.

But the Daily News sets a new mark in ignorance of the subject when it says: "In what started out as flood control—for a river that never has floods—investment in power facilities now totals $702,149,569."

A river that never has floods. Before the TVA Dams were built, floods were a yearly threat to every town and every farm on the banks of the Tennessee.

We remember a flood of less than 40 years ago when downtown Chattanooga was an island.

Between the creation of TVA in 1933 and 1948, 22 floods occurred at Chattanooga which, before TVA, would have equalled or exceeded a flood stage of 30 feet—at which damage begins. All of these floods were lowered by the TVA water-control systems by amounts to as much as 12.5 feet, and the total estimated savings in flood damages averted at this city alone in the 15-year period exceeded $45 million, more than one-fourth of the flood-control investment in the entire river system.

If the flood which the Tennessee River poured over Chattanooga in 1867 were to occur today and if there were no TVA Dams, experts say that the damage would reach $100 million in the city, but with the present TVA reservoir system this damage could be reduced to some $12 million.

Flood control wrought by the TVA Dams has been a miracle. It has been so good that an editorial writer in Chicago imagines that the Tennessee River never had any floods. That a newspaper of the standing of the Chicago Daily News could print such a statement shows the need for educating the citizens of all parts of the United States on what TVA has done in conservation, navigation and flood control. Such a statement is exasperating to a region which, before TVA, really knew what hell and high water meant.

Allocation of Funds to Federal Fish and Wildlife Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a news item from the New York Times of February 15, 1954, by Charles Egan, relative to the bill which the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] and I introduced recently for the purpose of allocating more funds to the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service for research in the fishing industry.

There being no objection, the news item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESEARCH TO SAVE FISHERIES URGED—EXPERTS SUGGEST AGGRESSIVE MERCHANDISING PROGRAM TO AID INDUSTRY

(By Charles E. Egan)

WASHINGTON, February 14.—Technological improvements, intensive research, and an aggressive selling program offer the most likely solution to the problems of New England's shrinking fishing industry, according to a consensus of experts here last week.

A curb on imports by means of higher tariffs or fixed quotas, would be but a temporary help in a situation that calls for long-term planning to stabilize conditions in an industry that earns upwards of $75 million annually, it was held.

Interest in New England's fishing industry and that of other States along the eastern seaboard was heightened last week by the efforts of Senators JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, and LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, both of Massachusetts, to get backing for their joint bill giving more funds to the Federal Fish and Wildlife Service for research in the fishing industry.

Support for the measure, introduced in the current session of Congress, has been solicited from officials of every State in which commercial fishing accounts for an income of $1 million or more annually.

WOULD DIVERT DUTIES

The bill would divert duties collected on imports of fish ($11,982,000 in 1952) to the Interior Department's Fish and Wildlife Service, to be used to conduct a fishery educational service and research programs and to develop markets for fishery products of domestic origin. The research activities of the Federal Government in behalf of commercial fishermen now is confined to an allocation of $175,000 made annually by the Department of Agriculture to the Interior Department.

The development of quick-freezing methods for preserving fish, with the accompanying development of filleting fish, in the 1930's proved a boon to the New England fishing industry.

The rapidly expanding market that made it possible to sell fillets in Midwestern States and other areas not only proved profitable to the New England industry but also attracted the interest of foreign shippers, mainly Canadians, Icelanders, and Norwegians. They are now offering stiff competition to the New England producers.

According to figures gathered by the Fish and Wildlife Service, groundfish fillet production, which is centered in New England, totaled 129,500,000 pounds in 1952, a decline of 19 million pounds, or 13 percent, compared with the preceding year. Groundfish are cod, haddock, lake, pollock, cusk, and ocean perch.

FISH

Imports of groundfish, including ocean perch fillets, on the other hand, increased through 1952 to a total of 108 million pounds, which was equivalent to 85 percent of the domestic production, and a 24-percent increase compared with 1951.

The high level of recent imports, according to the Federal agency, is accounted for by increased imports of ocean perch fillets. Domestic production supplied the entire consumption until 1950. Before 1950, imports were confined almost wholly to cod and haddock fillets. In 1951 entries of ocean perch fillets were about 12 million pounds or about 30 percent of domestic production.

TARIFF HAS LITTLE EFFECT

At present there is a tariff on fish products, but it has had relatively little effect on imports. The present duty is 1¼ cents a pound on imports of whole or filletted groundfish up to 15 percent of average domestic consumption of fillets during the previous 3 years, and 2½ cents a pound on all imports in excess of the 15 percent.

The New England fishing industry twice has tried to persuade the Tariff Commission that higher duties should be imposed under the escape clause of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, but has met with little success.

Under the escape clause, an industry that feels it is threatened with serious damage because of competing imports may appeal to the Tariff Commission for greater tariff protection.

A variety of studies of the plight of the New England fisheries has been made over the last few years by the Government, the Committee of New England of the National Planning Association, the Tariff Commission, and others. Practically all seem in agreement on these major points:

Nearby fishing banks where the profitable catches of ocean perch used to be made have been overfished, and vessels must now make trips as far as 900 miles or more to fishing grounds off Newfoundland, compared with the 40-to-60-mile trips formerly made. This adds greatly to the cost of catches.

High operating costs including wages, insurance, and repairs put New England vessels at a disadvantage compared with competing Canadian and Icelandic ships. For instance, insurance rates in Massachusetts average around 10 percent of the cost of a vessel compared with 5 to 6 percent elsewhere, according to officials.

Dissension within the ranks of the industry, including feuds among unions, fishermen, processors, importers, and distributors prevent any concerted action by the industry to solve its problems.

There is a need for new high-speed fishing vessels, equipped with quick-freezing plants that can freeze fish on the banks and bring them rapidly into port where they can be processed and refrozen quickly for distribution.

A pressing need for the development of a research, merchandising, and promotional campaign aimed at attracting a wider market, exists. This campaign should be carried on with a consistent effort to insure the marketing of only the best quality fish, it is held.

In a recent monthly review the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, in discussing the rising imports of fish, said:

"Whether the New England fishing industry likes it or not, market development provides the principal defense against foreign competition. The task of lifting American fish consumption will be slow and difficult."

COOPERATION URGED

Government aid can help but cannot solve the problems of an industry torn by inner conflict, the statement added. It said that the abandonment of internal conflict is the fundamental requirement for the future prosperity of the New England fishing ports.

The committee of New England of the National Planning Association, in a fisheries study it completed last year, urged increased emphasis on the promotion of New England fish products by individual firms, by trade associations, by labor unions, and by Government groups.

Among 10 recommendations the group made was 1 that the industry should search out better ways of using foreign supplies to supplement New England's own production, rather than looking to increased tariffs or to import quotas for protection against foreign imports.

The committee also urged further research on fish technology, fish biology, methods of catching fish, and other basic industry problems.

Continuing analysis and improvement of packaging and merchandising techniques was recommended along with a plan for keeping the quality high, either by educational programs among members of the industry, by self-policing of the industry through dealers' associations, or through the use of a portwide or New England-wide seal of quality.

Although there have been numerous reports of New England fishing vessels transferring to Gulf of Mexico waters for shrimp fishing, there are no reliable figures on the number that have moved South. Estimates range from a dozen to more than 40. The vessels are reported operating out of Key West, Fla., and Brownsville, Tex., with considerable success.

According to the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Boston fleet now is only about 60 percent as great in number as in 1939, and only 55 percent of the tonnage.

The same Government agency estimates that New England in 1950 had a total of 14,093 fishing craft ranging from large vessels to small motorboats. The fleet had a total value of $63 million, the agency estimates.

The Fish and Wildlife Service said that in 1950 New England fishermen and boatowners earned $42 million, manufacturers and processors earned $11 million, wholesalers $8 million, and retailers $14 million for a total of $75 million.

Communist-Dominated Labor Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a provocative article by Prof. Lewis Haney, of New York University, regarding Communist-dominated labor organizations. The crux of this problem surrounds a basic weakness in section 9 (h) of the Taft-Hartley Act and the need for more effective legislation to deal with this question.

Once again the attention of the Senate is invited to the fact that an Internal Security Subcommittee task force, of which I am chairman, is now considering several bills which would provide the great free labor movement in America with the practical machinery it has long sought to purge itself forever of the small but united minority within its ranks which is a part of the international Communist conspiracy dedicated to the suppression and subjugation of the entire free world.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baltimore News-Post of February 16, 1954]

HANEY DECLARES LABOR BOARD UPHOLDS COMMUNIST-LED UNION

(By Lewis Haney, professor of economics, New York University)

Do you just happen to think the Taft-Hartley Act bad, particularly the non-Communist affidavit requirement? Do you doubt the goodness of the anti-Communist Smith Act?

Do you think the Communist danger is about over? If so, you should read up on the now pending case of the Precision Scientific Co., of Chicago, against the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

The Precision Co. does research and manufactures classified or secret products for the Armed Forces. But the undisputed evidence shows the following facts:

1. The mine-mill workers' union has been led by Communists who have turned it into a subversive political organization. This organization is active (or was to my knowledge as late as November last year). Such unions are not primarily for collective bargaining, but are part of the Communist plot to overthrow our system.

2. A Communist-dominated union can and does get around the Taft-Hartley Act requirement of non-Communist affidavits. Its officers can and do turn in phony affidavits, perhaps formally resigning from the party and then continuing to operate with it. Their bitterness in attacking the requirement is a giveaway.

3. The Taft-Hartley Act and the Labor Relations Board have been abused by Communists and Communist sympathizers, and still need overhauling and strengthening.

The Precision Co. case shows that:

(a) A part of the personnel of the Board, and particularly the "trial examiners," are New Dealers to the extent of warping their rulings to fit Communist purposes. They have even ruled that an employer can be compelled to bargain with a union that is Communist-dominated, without a chance to prove that affidavits required by law are not on file, or if so, that they are false. (What do you think of that?)

(b) The Board has ruled that under the law the employer has no interest in the compliance with the law by the union that represents his employees—but it seeks to force him to bargain with them.

(c) Contrary to the Constitution, it has sought to use Federal power to overrule a State court's action to protect its republican form of government against attack.

The facts in the case are these: The mine-mill workers' union has been led by Russian-trained members of the Communist Party, and has even been expelled from the CIO. The Precision Co., therefore, has refused to deal with it.

The Labor Board, influenced by its trial examiners, ruled against the company. The company appealed and refused to accept the ruling. The union struck.

The company then obtained from an Illinois State court—Cook County—an injunction, and the employees are now working peacefully full time.

But the Labor Board has still to rule on the company's appeal. Can a Communist-dominated union be recognized as a lawful bargaining labor organization in America? Can the Taft-Hartley provision for non-Communist affidavits be flouted?

Can the National Labor Relations Board continue to hold that employers have no lawful interest in their employees' noncompliance with the law? Or that States can't protect their citizens from organizations that seek to violate their republican form of government?

The Communist danger lies in the ideas of communism, and it strikes hardest, not in Indochina or Guatemala, but right here among our unions, our teachers, our Government employees, not yesterday, but today.

Pittsburgh's Union Workers 5-to-1 for Secret Strike Ballot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the Pittsburgh area has very diversified labor and industry. Recently a Gallup poll was taken there, and the results of the poll are dealt with in an article appearing in the February 21 issue of the Pittsburgh Press, under the title "Pittsburgh's Union Workers 5-to-1 for Secret Strike Ballot." The subhead of the article is "Trend Here Is Higher Than in Nation—Opponents Fear Government Meddling." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PITTSBURGH'S UNION WORKERS 5-TO-1 FOR SECRET STRIKE BALLOT—TREND HERE IS HIGHER THAN IN NATION—OPPONENTS FEAR GOVERNMENT MEDDLING

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is the second of two articles showing public reaction to the proposal for Government-sponsored secret polls of workers before a strike is called. For today's story, John M. Fenton, staff representative, with the help of six Gallup Poll reporters, talked to the union workers of

Pittsburgh in order to get at their reactions to this hotly debated issue.)

(By John M. Fenton)

Rank-and-file union members throughout highly industrialized Pittsburgh like the idea of a secret ballot to decide whether or not to go out on strike.

For 3 days, with the help of Gallup reporters from Pittsburgh, I have talked to union workers in all laboring districts of the city, querying them about what they thought of this secret-vote plan now being debated in Congress.

Among the men we questioned we found an almost 5-to-1 ratio of approval for the proposal.

Actually, this represents a higher vote of approval in Pittsburgh than that found by the institute for the whole country. Nationwide interviewing showed that the public at large were in favor of the secret ballot by a 3-to-1 ratio.

HOW UNITED STATES POLL WENT

Among union mmbers interviewed on this same issue throughout the Nation the results show the same 3-to-1 ratio as the following figures reveal:

Union members—nationwide

	Percent
Favor	66
Oppose	21
No opinion	13
Total	100

A great industrial center, heavily unionized, Pittsburgh was selected for this special survey to get at the reasons behind the average union member's reaction to this hotly debated question.

A hub of industry, Pittsburgh has seen its share of labor difficulties. At the present time a strike involving several department and furniture stores and some 11 unions has been in progress for almost 3 months.

WHY THEY WANT SECRECY

Along the walls of one of the store's warehouses in the Manchester district of the city wooden barriers and "No Trespassing" signs testify to the bitterness of this strike. One union warehouseman tersely stated his reasons for wanting a secret ballot:

"So they won't know how you vote. So we can go back to work."

The workers with whom we talked represented a cross-section of the laboring population of Pittsburgh. My staff and I conversed with steel workers, railroad men, teamsters, construction men, and coal miners. Everywhere we found a large majority favoring the secret ballot proposal.

The main reason behind the workers' heavy endorsement of this plan is the opinion held by many that every man should have a right to be represented in the vote to go out on strike.

Those who oppose the measure do so largely because they fear the Government's intervention in strike questions. They feel that this is not the domain of the Government, and that the unions and the men themselves can handle it alone.

From the high front porch of Elliot Sims' house you can look out over the huge, sprawling Jones & Laughlin steel plant where Mr. Sims works as a patcher on the furnaces. He invited me into the kitchen where the family was just sitting down to Sunday dinner, and talked of his reasons for wanting a secret ballot.

"Well, sometimes when people put something out publicly they put it out the other way from what they mean. Every man should have a right to say what he means."

EQUAL CHANCE WANTED

A Baltimore & Ohio fireman from the south side, voiced his opinion. "A secret ballot would give everybody an equal chance."

"Sure I would be in favor of it," said a plumber, also from the south side, who has been out of work for the last 4 months. "We're paying for our rights in union dues, and don't get a chance to say anything." He continued bitterly: "The union doesn't let the men decide—they just tell us what to do."

Uppermost in the minds of those who oppose the secret ballot plan is the fact that it would be—as the proposal stands now—run by the Government. Though often agreeing with the theory of a secret ballot, they just canont agree to it if the Government has a say.

"The Government shouldn't have anything to do with it," said a diesel engineer for the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad. "They would stick with industry and not with the workers."

A 38-year-old laborer in a steel mill commented: "The Government doesn't know what's going on between companies and the unions."

"The Government isn't paying us, so let them keep out of it," was the sentiment of one truck driver, out on strike at present.

Those workers who oppose the measure completely do so, by and large, because they feel the unions have better judgment in strike questions and could handle the whole matter more easily. They believe that union decisions should be followed without question.

"You're in the union and the union boss wants to go out, you should go with him," remarked a stock boy from the Hazelwood district.

UNION KNOWS

A timekeeper in one of the big steel mills said: "The union representatives know what the working people want."

"I believe the unions could handle it better. The workers are not united in their beliefs," was the opinion of a 35-year-old lithographer pressman.

If the union members of Pittsburgh are representative of the union workers across the country, then the main argument in favor of the secret vote is that it gives every man a chance to express his opinion. The chief reason for disapproval is the prospect of Government intervention in their industries.

The Case of Col. Frank Schwable

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the February 22 issue of the Washington Post concerning the current case of Col. Frank Schwable.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLONEL SCHWABLE

Whatever the court of inquiry may decide about it, the case of Col. Frank H. Schwable is a profound and poignant tragedy. It is one of the requirements of classical tragedy that the victim be a man of superior qualities and station; it is another that he must be in some way the agent of his own calamity, that he must contrive his fate without deserving it. Yet this particular tragedy also shows how large a part mere chance may play in the shaping of destinies and reputations. Colonel Schwable is a professional soldier of tested and demonstrated courage; he is also a man of great technical skill, and was considered the Marine Corps' foremost expert on night operation of fighter planes. Had he not been shot down and captured his rise to still higher rank would have been more than probable; had he been killed in combat his memory would have been cherished by the corps and by the country.

Or if on that fateful reconnaissance flight his copilot, Major Bley, had not been badly injured by shrapnel, all might still be well with them both. At Thursday's hearings, Major Bley told how Colonel Schwable had given him the order to jump from the stricken plane; and how, when both were parachuting to the earth, he had called to him not to move from the place where he might alight, so that the colonel could find him. Major Bley also testified that if Colonel Schwable had not lingered in enemy territory to aid his companion, he might have been able to escape to friendly lines. It is clear from this account that the thought of abandoning a wounded comrade to seek his own safety had not entered the colonel's mind.

Thus we are under the ironic necessity of including an act of unselfish heroism in the train of circumstances that eventually led to Colonel Schwable's moral collapse under prolonged physical and psychological torture. The man who in the moment of sudden danger and crisis thought of his comrade rather than of himself was not the same man who agreed to make the false confession about germ warfare. In the long interval between these actions he had been subjected to a regimen directed with diabolical ingenuity at nothing less than the disintegration and destruction of his personality.

True there were some who were apparently subjected to comparable ordeals but did not confess; and from this fact it would be easy enough to moralize, but all such moralizing from those who live in freedom and among friends and sleep comfortably in their own beds is utterly worthless.

Perhaps Colonel Schwable was right in saying that only those who have had experience of a Chinese brainwashing can hope to understand the mental conflicts by which he was torn, or those agonies of solitariness and demoralization in which he "would have given my soul for advice or guidance," or the pathetic processes of rationalization which tempted him at length into his desperate compromise with his jailers and the Red propagandists.

Revising Taft-Hartley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Revising Taft-Hartley," written by Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and published in the February 8, 1954, issue of the New Leader. I

commend the article to the attention of the Congress.

Mr. Goldberg is one of the outstanding attorneys in the United States, who has earned for himself a reputation for high integrity and profound scholarship.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REVISING TAFT-HARTLEY

(By Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel, CIO)

THE ADMINISTRATION BILL IS A DISGUISE FOR NEW ANTILABOR RESTRICTIONS

The President's labor message and the bill introduced by Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican, of New Jersey, which its sponsor says is the administration's bill, would make the Taft-Hartley law worse than it is. The few improvements are sugarcoating to disguise new antilabor restrictions.

This is not a middle-of-the-road approach to labor-management relations by an administration pledged to justice and fairness. It is not the reform of the Taft-Hartley law promised by President Eisenhower as a candidate. The message and the bill are a victory for the National Association of Manufacturers. This is another giveaway to the Republican Party's financial angels.

The antilabor philosophy which motivates the administration's proposal is evident from the strike-vote recommendation. This proposal is based on the misconception that unions act contrary to the will of their members and not in response to it. This same misconception prompted the strike-vote section of the Smith-Connally Act, which Congress abandoned as a demonstrated failure at the end of the war. Even the 80th Congress, in the light of the Smith-Connally experience, refused to write such a provision into Taft-Hartley. Under the Smith-Connally Act, 2,168 polls were taken by the Government at great expense; 2,923,655 workers were eligible to vote in these polls. Of this number, only 332,874 voted against striking; 1,593,937 voted to strike. Now a strike-vote plan which was repudiated in wartime is offered to us in peacetime.

The Taft-Hartley law itself contained a similar misguided attempt to demonstrate that unions do not speak for their membership by requiring a vote on the union shop. Wage earners thereupon voted more than 90 percent for union shops. After this demonstration of membership support for union leadership and unions, this provision was dropped from the law in 1951 at the instance of Senator Taft himself, among others.

It was assumed from the President's message that a prestrike vote was contemplated—an assumption shared by the Secretary of Labor. Senator SMITH'S bill, however, provides for a vote during the strike. Whether Senator SMITH'S bill is the administration's bill is, therefore, still in doubt. He says it is. The President refuses to say. A prestrike vote is an attempt to drive a wedge between the union's leadership and its membership. A poststrike vote seeks, in addition, to break a strike. Such votes intensify industrial disputes instead of solving them. They freeze the positions of both unions and management and hamper realistic bargaining.

Experience here, too, demonstrates that union members will overwhelming support their union's position in a dispute. The President and Senator SMITH seem to overlook the fact that the Taft-Hartley law still contains a last-offer vote procedure in national-emergency strikes. Results under this provision have led congressional committees as well as impartial experts to the conclusion that this vote at best is futile and expensive, and at worst hampers reasonable settlement. Almost without exception, every last-offer vote under the Taft-Hartley law has resulted in an overwhelming rejection of the employer's last offer.

Our objection to the strike-vote proposal is not based on any fear that workers will repudiate their unions. The record proves we have no reason for such fear. Furthermore, almost all unions provide for democratic determination of strike action. Our objection is rather to Government interference in labor-management affairs in such fashion as to hamper, rather than encourage, collective bargaining and the reasonable settlement of disputes. Moreover, we reject the basic philosophy behind the proposal that the way to improve labor-management relations is to weaken unions.

One of labor's fundamental objections to the Taft-Hartley law is that is expressly authorizes the States to adopt laws which are even more restrictive of union security than it is. The administration itself proposed to eliminate this provision in the abortive 19-point message during Secretary of Labor Durkin's tenure. This significant change in the Taft-Hartley law is omitted from the present proposals. Thus, the administration has placed its stamp of approval on the right to work laws enacted in 16 States under the guise of States rights. When the sweatshop brigade says States rights, it means merely the right of a State to enact harsh restrictions on the rights of workers. Nor does the slogan right to work include a worker's right to a job all the year round. States' rights and right to work, in this context, mean just one thing: weakening unions so that an employer can pay his workers less for the same work than organized workers are getting in other States.

The President's message would also permit the States to adopt compulsory arbitration as a means of dealing with alleged and underfined local emergencies, thereby overruling a decision of the Supreme Court invalidating such statutes under present Federal law. Here the President is advocating what he expressly opposed in the campaign. The next step is plainly forecast in his message. The President states that he will propose legislation overruling a recent Supreme Court decision preventing State and local governments from usurping the authority of the Federal Government in the field of labor-management disputes affecting interstate commerce. This will intensify the drive for State antilabor laws. Instead of evenhanded justice in the field of labor-management relations in interstate commerce, there will be 52 brands—one for each State, Territory and the District of Columbia.

During the election campaign, President Eisenhower was against labor injunctions. In his message, too, he says: "Where a collective-bargaining relationship exists, the issuance of an injunction often has the effect of making settlement of the dispute which led to the injunction more difficult." Yet, he would leave in the Taft-Hartley law all the types of injunctions now permitted, with only one slight modification: the changing of the mandatory injunction in boycott cases to a discretionary one.

Everyone recognizes that the national-emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley law are unsound. Yet, the President's only proposal in this field would make them even more so. Mr. Eisenhower proposes that emergency boards of inquiry be empowered to make settlement recommendations after an antilabor injunction has almost run its course and presumably accomplished its purposes. Whatever virtue there may sometimes be in such recommendations is lost by this ill-conceived procedure. Moreover, the fundamental defect of the Taft-Hartley law's emergency provisions—the reliance on the labor injunction—is retained.

The President's message speaks of the right of free speech as fundamental and states that Congress should make it clear that free speech applies equally to labor and management in every aspect of their relationship. Translated into Senator SMITH'S bill, this results in further legalization of employer brainwashing of employees in captive audiences.

One of the President's flat commitments in the campaign was to rid the Taft-Hartley law of its provision prohibiting economic strikers from voting in a National Labor Relations Board election—a provision which the President said licensed union busting. His message and the Smith bill fall short of realizing this commitment. They merely postpone this ineligibility for a period of 4 months, after which strikebreakers are free to vote and economic strikers prohibted from voting. The President now proposes not to outlaw union busting, but merely to slow it down.

Everyone familiar with the realities of collective bargaining knows that its essence is maximum freedom of negotiation and discussion. The Wagner Act, based on this reality, permitted the parties to raise and discuss any issue, regardless of whether or not it was covered in the contract. The Taft-Hartley law narrowed this area of discussion to subjects not covered in the contract. It is now proposed that the law be amended to prevent negotiation or discussion on any subject during a contract's term unless the express consent of both parties is obtained. This proposal to stifle discussion of problems of concern to either party during the life of a collective-bargaining agreement is utterly impractical and unrealistic.

Organized labor and management have worked out satisfactory checkoff arrangements under the present law. The latter permits an employee to authorize a checkoff of his dues by an assignment which is irrevocable for a period of a year and renewable from year to year thereafter unless revoked at stated annual periods. In all of the lengthy hearings last year before Congress, no one advocated any change in this practice. Yet, the President's message and the Smith bill now would make the checkoff revocable at will, thereby disrupting well-established practices.

The Taft-Hartley law, as it now stands, holds a union liable for acts of its members when the union has not actually authorized, ratified, or participated in these acts. Neither the President's message nor the Smith bill seems to change this provision in any material way, and a change is long overdue.

The message and bill give belated recognition to the fact that the present Taft-Hartley provisions for union security are unworkable in industries where employment is casual or sporadic. But the beneficial results which might accrue from this recognition are substantially vitiated by the fact that another Taft-Hartley provision, which permits the States to override the union-security provisions of the Federal law, is left intact.

The President's proposal would liberalize the Taft-Hartley boycott provisions, but not nearly enough. Still prohibited would be justifiable types of union mutual assistance, such as refusal to handle goods produced under sweatshop conditions, during a strike, or by runaway shops.

If there was one theme constantly stressed by the President and other Republican orators during the last campaign, it was that the heavy hand of Government should be kept out of industrial disputes. The President's proposals for amending the Taft-Hartley law would make the Government's role in such disputes even more heavy-handed than before. We need a sound approach to collective bargaining and labor-management relations. Even less than the Taft-Hartley law does the President's message offer such an approach.

Red Infiltration of Labor Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, recently a new pocket size magazine entitled "Labor Guide" has made its appearance, and I note that it is done in most attractive fashion and should generate real response on the part of readers everywhere.

The initial edition contains a very illuminating article by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the title "Red Infiltration of Labor Unions." I believe this article is worth wider publication, and I therefore ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED INFILTRATION OF LABOR UNIONS

(By J. Edgar Hoover)

The American labor unions have long been singled out by the Communist Party as a primary object of infiltration. A desired goal of the Communists is the domination of the labor movement in our country. Infiltration into labor leadership is their stratagem; their weapons are lies, trickery, and deceit.

The great god of communism, V. I. Lenin, stated, "It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

The titular leader of the Communist Party of the United States, William Z. Foster, in 1932 wrote, "The Communist Party bases its work directly upon the mills, mines, and factories. Its principle is to make every shop a fortress for communism. It follows closely the life of the workers in the industries, adapting its immediate program of struggle to their needs."

These statements, made long ago, are observed daily in their practical application. The Communists seek the cover of labor unions and the support of the laborer solely to carry out their aims of communizing and regimenting the lives of the workers.

The Communists only recently set forth the latest strategy to be followed in their program of infiltrating into the labor unions. The theme of their party line is that the party will now fight for united labor action and this fight must take place everywhere, although the tactics of the fight may vary in different areas. They say that united labor action is the decisive pattern through which organic unity can be achieved. They state that organic unity is the most desirable, most necessary, and the highest form of labor unity.

By organic unity the Communist Party means that the labor movement must unite into one federation consisting of the right, left, and independents. The role of the Communist Party in the fight for organic unity in the labor movement will be:

1. As a party, to explain to the workers this purported need for unity.

2. To help organize the fight for this unity on a basic industry, city and area level.

3. To develop class consciousness.

4. To recruit new party members.

The Communists are taught that a disciplined minority group can win control of a union by capturing key positions. This constitutes the heart of their plan of infiltration. One of their techniques in capturing a union consists of sending a small group of party members to obtain employment in a plant represented by the union they seek to capture. They are instructed to do nothing initially to attract attention. Gradually, they become very active in union affairs and try to gain a following among the union members. The Communists strive for friendly relations with those members who are interested in leadership. They encourage them to take active part in union affairs and even to run for office. They work diligently, day and night, to win support in the union. The Red group urges each of its minions to mold his or her following into a unified voting bloc.

These Communists may very well assume an anti-Communist attitude and make anti-Communist statements. Whatever their guise, they will, nevertheless, attempt to control all policy decisions. They will be schooled in parliamentary procedure and will attempt to gain the floor at union meetings in order to advance their cause and to obstruct the measures of the opposition.

Even the physical seating arrangement at union meetings is taken into consideration. The party members and followers will be scattered strategically throughout the hall; concerted action, whether of applause or loud shouting, will follow at a prearranged signal. Such strategic seating arrangement may give the appearance of a definite majority for or against any proposal.

ATTENTION TO DETAILS

The Communists select, in advance of the meeting, the members who are to place before the union the motions favorable to their cause. Those who are to second the motions are also handpicked. If the Communists can place one of their own in the position of chairman, they can effectively silence the opposition. This is accomplished simply by the refusal of the chair to recognize a known non-Communist speaker. With such systematic planning, a motion can be rushed through an unprepared and disorganized opposition; the affairs of a union can be dominated.

The same techniques are followed in electing their fellow Communists to the various offices of the union. At all union meetings, and especially at elections when the ultimate control of the union is at stake, every parliamentary trick is used. Motions are rushed through without debate; the Communists have been known to tamper with the ballot boxes.

DISTURBANCE TECHNIQUES

Non-Communist members are sometimes denied the opportunity, because of the raucous shouting of the Communists, to present their side of an issue to their fellow members. If these techniques should fail or serious opposition develop, the session is allowed to drag on and on. Finally, the opponents of the Communists depart either through disgust at the Reds' evasive techniques or through sheer exhaustion. This leaves the Communist minority in control, with enough of their supporters present to constitute a quorum.

A typical Communist plan of action currently being used to infiltrate into labor unions involves the building of as many caucuses in as many unions as possible. The influence of the party in those unions is to be increased. The sale of party literature to union members is to be stressed. Industrial unions and right-led unions are to be primary targets. Such tactics of infiltration bear all the earmarks of carefuly formulated and skillfully executed military campaigns.

MOTIVES ARE CLEAR

The motives of the Communist Party in organized labor are clear. The Communists seek to destroy the American way of life with its unparalleled standard of living. Victory is sought through domination of the labor field. The work of the Communists in labor organizations is part of the same international scheme of conquest as is their aggression on foreign fields by force of arms. The Communists cry "peace in the world," but they obstruct efforts to have peace. So, on the labor front, they incessantly clamor that they seek only the betterment of the workers. Yet their tactics are only to disrupt, and in those lands where their system has stolen control of the reins of government, labor has suffered.

Contrast the motives of the Communists with the legitimate aims of unions dedicated to the advancement of labor. The objective of a non-Communist labor union is to secure stable economic benefits for its members. This is sought through establishing mutually compatible relations with management. The tactics of the Communists are geared to interfere with constructive labor relations. They nurture and exploit periods of unsettled labor problems.

Their disruptive tactics, accompanied by chicanery and trickery, expose the pretended claim of the Communists who say they are striving only for labor's economic betterment. Their ever-changing techniques of obstruction, of false claims for propaganda purposes and their acts of war while spouting slogans of peace, make a mockery of their very slogans and propaganda. Our heroic dead in Korea bear mute testimony to their concept of peace and the deceit they practice.

The Communists have never truly sought the economic betterment of the individual. The improvement of working conditions is to them a slogan which is but a means to an end—power. Power in the hands of the Communists means the destruction of the heritage which is ours—freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of worship and speech. The destruction of these freedoms behind the Iron Curtain, more than anything else, has demonstrated to the American people the true meaning of communism.

The leaders of labor have not been oblivious to this tyranny. The late great labor leader and labor president, William L. Green, declared: "No organization can be free under communism because it is compelled to subordinate the interest of the workers to those of the Communist Party."

In more than half a century of the existence of the American Federation of Labor, the tribute can be paid to its leadership that they recognize the dangers in the never-ending assault by the Communists to seize control. They recognize that communism is nothing less than a Red Fascist conspiracy to conquer and rule the world by any means.

The fight is not an easy one. The Communists continue to preach their insidious doctrines of class warfare, of a natural and unceasing hostility between labor and management. Many leaders of labor organizations have met these falsehoods by demonstrating the existence of mutual understanding between labor and management. These leaders are bargaining collectively in an atmosphere free of armed troops, controlled national government elections and government-directed puppets.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Communists should accuse these labor leaders of a failure to defend the interest of the workers. William Z. Foster called for an enlightened leadership in labor organizations of the same character as in some foreign countries where union leadership has passed into the hands of the Communists. The steps taken by many American labor unions to guard against Communist infiltration and Communist indoctrination might well serve as a guide not only for labor, but for all

organizations whose influence upon the lives of the people indelibly stamps them as an objective of Communist infiltration. The American Federation of Labor has recognized that there can be no compromise with communism. It recognizes that there can be no compromise with a movement devoted to the destruction of the historic objectives of our free American society.

TRUTH IS OUR WEAPON

Intelligent labor leadership has refrained from fighting communism with the deceitful tactics employed by the Communists. Instead, this leadership has utilized a weapon unknown to the Communists, yet more deadly than any the Communists have ever devised. That weapon is truth, before which communism cannot survive—truth about our national institutions, truth about our economic problems, truth about the leadership necessary in labor and management, and, finally, truth about the manifold lies and distortions utilized by the Communists and the system they espouse.

The power of truth in the fight against communism is demonstrated in the bitter struggle engaged in by one union to drive the Reds out of positions of leadership. The president of the union said the Reds were on the point of capturing the union and using it as a wedge for greater gains in labor. He said they fought the Communists by relying on the intelligence and the integrity of the union members. Union members in each factory and each union local were contacted. The falsehoods of the Communist cause were pointed out to them. At the outset, only a few took up the fight against communism. Then, by the thousands, the union members, including many former Communist sympathizers, joined forces against the Communists and now form a determined opposition to them.

The strongest counterforce against the attempts by the Communists to seize control of labor is labor itself. Labor must continue to meet this challenge. Constant vigilance by rank and file union members and by labor leaders against Red infiltration is the price that must be paid on the homefront for the preservation of our democratic mode of living.

FREEDOM'S REWARD

Sacrifice it does entail, but the reward is freedom for the individual, his family, his fellow citizens, and all posterity. Just as labor and management can work together to solve economic problems, so too they can work together to render impotent the threat of communism. Both responsibilities should and must be shared.

This threat of communism does not concern labor alone. It is a problem to be faced squarely by all Americans. The Federal Government, in the services of the people, continues its relentless fight on the common enemy. The FBI is charged by Congress with the investigative responsibility of preserving the internal security of the United States against subversive movements. FBI investigations are conducted concerning espionage, sabotage, and related subversive activities. The most important single menace today is communism.

We of the FBI have also been a target for Communist attack. A favorite allegation is that the FBI investigates labor and labor unions. The truth is the FBI never has and never will concern itself with the employer-employee relationship, nor do we investigate labor unions and their members. The FBI has no intention of interfering with organized labor. Great numbers of our personnel come from the homes of men and women who have long been active members of labor unions. We have, however, investigated instances of Communist infiltration into labor unions. To a non-Communist, there should be and there is a vast difference between the investigation of a union and the investigation of Communist infiltration into a union. In fact, it can now be revealed that able, loyal labor-union members and leaders have asked the FBI to investigate Communist infiltration in their ranks. The Communist infiltration into unions, especially unions working in industries essential to our national defense, offers the greatest danger of sabotage and disruption of our defense efforts.

The primary emphasis of the Red-infiltration program has been on the heavy and strategic industries, since control of these is useful for the accomplishment of their ultimate purpose—the overthrow of this Government by force and violence. Such industries as railroads, shipbuilding, atomic energy, steel, communications, the electrical and automotive industries have long been the targets of Communist infiltration.

RED CONTROL, A PERIL

Communist control of any union is a matter of serious concern. Communist-inspired strikes not only injure the interests of labor and management but also hurt the general public welfare. The Communist-controlled union has an opportunity to promote factional disputes, dissatisfaction among union members and a general feeling of hostility and unrest.

A second spurious allegation of the Communist is that the FBI violates civil rights. This too is typical of the Communist method of attack. The FBI is essentially an investigative agency. In our responsibilities to the Nation, we strive to get the facts. We do not establish policy, nor do we make decisions as to prosecutions—that is solely the responsibility of the Attorney General, his assistants and the various United States attorneys.

Any honest and fair-minded individual can easily observe that the FBI is constantly working to protect civil rights. During the fiscal year 1952 the number of civil-rights investigations conducted by the FBI reached an all-time high when 1,841 such investigative matters were handled. During the first 9 months of the fiscal year 1953 there were 1,579 such investigative matters handled by the FBI.

The jurisdiction of the FBI is fixed by Congress and by presidential directives. Our investigators are trained special agents. They entered under an educational requirement that they be graduates of an accredited law school or accounting school with practical accounting experience. Their investigations are objective and impartial; their investigative methods scientific, pointed, and conducted so as to preserve inviolate the civil rights of the individual.

Communism recognizes no rights at all. The Communists place their trust in their Soviet masters. American labor has rejected and must continue to reject the ruthless creeds of a Communist state. The strength and hope of America lie therein.

HITLER'S BLUEPRINT

In 1927, Adolf Hitler completed his two-volume work Mein Kampf, explaining the aims of his movement and portraying its development. He said that "for the uniform and unified propagation of a doctrine, its principles must be laid down for all time." He wrote that "Whatever Heaven's purpose with us may be, people must know us even by our visor." The tyranny of his movement and the treachery and cruelty seen through their visors by the armored columns of his forces as they carried out the dictates of Mein Kampf were halted only through untold sacrifice by free peoples. But, through all the years of his transgressions, in periods when he pretended peace and made treaties only to break them; when he kidnapped and murdered the opposition; when he cajoled and lilted overtures of friendship and international cooperation, never once did he renounce the doctrines spelled out in Mein Kampf.

The Communists, too, have their Mein Kampf—The Communist Manifesto—written a hundred years before the flames of World War II. Communists • • • openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant order. Like Hitler, our Red Fascists have an outline of their movement. Like Hitler, they alter tactics from time to time, hiding their true aims behind beguiling promises which merely veil the treachery lurking behind. Only fools would be deceived. Despite tactical measures adopted by them for temporary ends, they, like Hitler, have never repudiated their basic doctrines. The lesson of Hitler is one to give us pause.

A foreign inspired movement is among us. Its sinister aims should not be underestimated. Its fervor and burning hatred of our cause should be realized. Its sniping and underhanded tactics should be intelligently exposed. It is a malignant growth which is nurtured in darkness; it cannot survive where there is light. Truth will defeat it. All of us must so conduct ourselves that truth is freed and is allowed to counteract and remove this cancerous growth.

LABOR IS VIGILANT

The ranks of labor have been and will continue to be of an inestimable help. Indeed, vigilant labor can be the main bulwark against which all the frenzied surges and furtive moves of communism strike in vain. It is in the field of labor where the major Communist issues will be fought on a day-to-day basis. American laborers are not dreamy, timid, and confused men. American laborers are practical, courageous, and clear-thinking people. They are not easily fooled and victimized. They have, in many instances, met Communist deceit with forthrightness and honesty. Again and again this has meant defeat for the Communists. It must always spell this defeat until communism, like the noxious weed it is, has been torn out of the field of organized labor, root and branch, and consumed by its own poison. Free American laborers will insure the freedom of America.

The Value of Investigations of Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the Philadelphia Inquirer is a conservative newspaper, but is strong in its advocacy of American ideals. In its issue of Saturday, February 20, it had an editorial entitled "Old Army Game Covers Up for Reds."

This newspaper has had the courage to condemn a congressional investigation; but on the other hand, it has equal courage in commending a congressional investigation when it is for the purpose of ferreting out wrongdoing.

This newspaper has exerted all its power for Americanism, and against all who would tear down our flag. I feel that every real American should read the editorial. I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OLD ARMY GAME COVERS UP FOR REDS

If half the energy and vituperation devoted to attacking Senator MCCARTHY had been devoted to attacking Communist infiltration in this country, the Red issue might not be what it is today.

There are two stories in the news which highlight this observation. In one story the Senator's enemies declare that European Communists are using McCarthyism to split the United States from its allies. In the other story, MCCARTHY discloses that even after the United States Army had been warned that an officer was charged with being a Communist Party leader and had invoked the fifth amendment to avoid answering questions—that officer, Dr. Irving Peress, was still promoted from captain to major, and given an honorable discharge as well.

If our European friends want to know why so many Americans support current Senate inquiries even when they do not support all of the methods used, they have a dramatic illustration here. It is bad enough to find Communists in Government, in high places, even in the Army. It is still worse to find officials covering up, whitewashing and pooh-poohing when the truth comes out.

This is a long-standing pattern. President Truman cried Red herring in an effort to brush off the Alger Hiss case.

There was indignation when a State Department official, Oliver Edmund Clubb, charged with being a poor security risk, was allowed to resign and was put on a $5,800-a-year pension to boot.

Even after the FBI gave President Truman the facts on Harry Dexter White, the man was promoted. When the truth finally came out, Mr. Truman juggled alibis in the air for days.

William W. Remington was an admitted associate of Communist sympathizers. He was promoted several times by the Truman administration.

Even one of MCCARTHY'S British critics, Prof. D. W. Brogan, reminds the British people that "there were secret Communists in high places * * * and the Tydings investigation of communism in Government did lean over backwards in giving the Department of State a clean bill of health."

Now this pattern is extended to the Army. And while Army Secretary Stevens says changed regulations will prevent the Peress case from happening again, we would have been more impressed had he declared that he would institute every possible measure to strip this man of his honorable discharge from the Army.

We are glad to see that men like Brogan and Alex Faulkner, writing in the Daily Telegraph, are telling Britons that communism in Government over here is not a matter of myth but of fact. When we find alleged Red sympathizers with access to secret work in the Government Printing Office; when a Harvard scientist admits he was 1 of 6 Communists who worked in a wartime radar laboratory; when an engineer hides behind the fifth amendment to avoid saying whether he was a Red while working on critical Army contracts—when case after case of the kind piles up, it ought to be obvious that the answer to this infiltration does not lie in attacking those who expose the truth.

It lies in attacking Communist infiltration.

These facts must be gotten over to our European friends. We cannot hope to convince the neutralists. Before they pounced on MCCARTHY they were screaming at General MacArthur. And unless we are prepared to appease Communists both abroad and at home they will always be against us, and we had best make up our mind to accept that fact.

What is important is to keep the investigation of Communists on a fair and factual basis. In the Peress case, for example, the charge was made openly by a New York policewoman who posed as a Red to get evidence; and when Peress was asked to explain—something the Government surely has a right to expect of an Army officer—he ducked behind the fifth amendment, 33 times.

That is not witch-hunting. It is showing up a scoundrel.

Address by Hon. Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, at the Churchmen's Washington Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. STENNIS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, today an excellent address was delivered by the junior Senator of South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], before the Churchmen's Washington Seminar. He was invited to be a representative there of the Democratic Members of the Senate, and to speak on the political parties and the election issues of 1954. I ask unanimous consent that his timely address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR OLIN D. JOHNSTON BEFORE THE CHURCHMEN'S WASHINGTON SEMINAR

In my opinion, the issues in the 1954 campaign will be as follows: (1) Unemployment, (2) farm problems, (3) labor issues, (4) the foreign policy, and (5) probably communism.

Taking them up in the order in which I have named them, first, unemployment:

Many Democrats have been attempting to warn the administration of the dangers of economic decline. We, the Democrats, have attempted to persuade the administration to take the action necessary to stop the decline and restore prosperity to the Nation. For this we Democrats have been assailed as fearmongers and political sadists. I must confess that I do not understand why we are attacked for doing our best to help stave off the one event that could only result in political advantage to ourselves, namely, another Republican depression. I fear that not enough people are interested in the difference between a recession and a depression. It has been said that a recession is when somebody else loses his job and a depression is when we lose our own job.

Yet the thing that disturbs us most about the administration's attitude toward the economic decline is the belief expressed by many administration officials—including the President himself—that an occasional economic downturn is not only normal but inevitable. The President recently termed this a "healthy" readjustment. But there are each year 700,000 more job seekers on the market and 2 million more people in America. We Democrats believe that in order to maintain prosperity we must have an ever-expanding economy—one that goes on growing. And in order to have this we must have an ever-growing consumer purchasing power.

I believe that I speak for all my Democratic colleagues when I say that we would far rather the Nation remain prosperous and that we stay out of office forever than for the Democratic Party to come to power at the expense of national tragedy. Therefore, we think it is our duty to the Nation, to warn where the facts warrant it under every administration to take the action necessary to prevent a further decline.

Likewise, the administration housing program gives us cause for concern. Just after the Eisenhower housing message came up to Congress, Housing Administrator Cole told the press that the Eisenhower program was based on 1 million new units a year. This is about 100,000 units less than 1953 and 1952. We Democrats believe that we cannot afford a smaller year in 1954 than in 1953, because our population is growing and each year there are, as I have said, roughly 700,000 more job seeks in the market and 2 million more people in the United States. As a matter of fact, the Eisenhower housing program is much more conservative than one proposed many years ago by Senator Taft. He expressed the belief in 1949 that the Nation needed at least a million and a half new housing units each year. And yet the Eisenhower administration is basing its housing program on only 1 million units.

There are many aspects of the administration's program which give us concern, in light of the economic downturn. One of these is the Eisenhower tax program. It is admittedly based on the belief that the main need of the economy at the moment is far more incentive to business to induce business to expand its productive facilities. We of the Democratic Party have always been for the maximum possible incentive for business expansion. But we believe that the most powerful incentive is a strong consumer market.

We believe, too, that more consumer-purchasing power is the most vital need our economy faces at the moment. There is evidence all around us that the basic cause of the economic downturn lies in the fact that consumers are not able to buy what our production facilities are already able to produce. For example, the steel industry is operating at only 74 percent of capacity; auto plants are operating part-time, and farm-implement centers are suffering from acute unemployment.

For that reason we believe that any program of tax reduction that is pursued at this time should concentrate upon relief to the lower-income taxpayers, who want most and need most to spend. This is the reason we are concerned about the Eisenhower tax program, nearly nine-tenths of the benefits of which are directed toward corporations and their stockholders. Democrats in both the House and the Senate have proposed instead to increase the personal exemption, so as to give the most immediate and most effective relief to families with lower incomes.

Another aspect of the Eisenhower program that gives us concern is its farm program. As all of you know, the great depression of the 1930's began on the farms long before the Wall Street crash. Likewise, the economic downturn we are now experiencing began on the farms in 1953.

I am satisfied that I speak for the Democrats when I say we are in favor of a 90-percent parity on basic commodities, that is, nonperishable commodities, the production of which can be controlled. But despite declining farm income the Eisenhower administration has proposed lowering farm price-support levels at a time when the Nation needs most to bolster farm income. From 1952 to 1953 the farm income from the farmers' cash crop fell approximately 25 percent, and in terms of dollars a $10 billion drop in 1 year in the cash crop for the farmers from approximately $38 billion to $28 billion.

I have always been a great advocate of labor and laws to protect the man who earns his living by the sweat of his brow. I must admit that it looks as if the Republican administration is not going to pass any laws effecting labor, and we must remember that this is one of the largest purchasing

elements in America. You cannot keep this from being an issue. As an example, in South Carolina at the present time the cotton mills have cut down to 3 and 4 days per week where 1½ years ago they were running 5 days per week. This means the cut down of either 20 or 40 percent of the purchasing power of each employee.

The Republicans, who at the present time are tossing communism around like a football will try to make communism an issue, but I am somewhat doubtful just how much of an issue this will be because in order for communism to become an issue, there must be two sides, and there is only one side as to communism as far as I know it: Democrats, Republicans, and all good Americans, are opposed to communism. We know that communism is opposed to all of our American ways of life, and we want to see communism blotted from the face of our country.

As a member of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, fortunately, I claim to know a little about these problems, which have faced and now menace the Nation. Now listen, I will be the last man in America to ascribe all virtue to my party and all vice to the Republicans. By and large, we differ widely on policies and principles, and in our approach to the solution of our problems, but we are all good Americans.

The facts show that under the Democrats, the United States Government has the most successful record of any free country in the world in crushing the Communist apparatus. When Eisenhower took office the number of Communists was less than a fourth what it was in 1933—when the Democrats took office.

It is my firm opinion that we will never have a permanent and lasting peace at home or abroad until the people of these United States return to God. When we study the history of nations, we find that many nations have prospered and built up enormous wealth within their kingdom, but in every instance where that nation forgot God it meant destruction to the nation. We find that according to facts laid down in the book of all books God protected His people. The same was true then and will continue to be true as long as this world continues to exist.

Setting the Paducah Record Straight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Setting the Paducah Record Straight," which was published in the Saturday Evening Post of February 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SETTING THE PADUCAH RECORD STRAIGHT

In our issue of December 26, 1953, appeared an editorial entitled "Those Strikes at Our Atomic Plants Need Probing." The editorial deplored the frequency of the strikes and stoppages which were said to have plagued the builders of plants at Joppa, Ill., and Paducah, Ky. It asserted that "there have been so many strikes and stoppages at our half-billion-dollar Paducah project that the work schedule is almost a year behind."

A letter from R. J. Mayo, project manager at Paducah for F. H. McGraw & Co., the engineers who have the prime contract for the construction of the atomic-energy plant there, takes exception to much that was said in the editorial, especially to the statement that work on the plant was behind schedule. Mr. Mayo is authority for the assertion that work under the original contract negotiated in 1950 was completed "well ahead of the completion date of December 1953" and that work on a later contract, negotiated in July 1952, "is proceeding ahead of schedule." Also, according to Mr. Mayo, the effect of such strikes and stoppages as admittedly took place at Paducah has not been to hamper the work to a serious extent. He adds that "we have not experienced any instances of lawlessness and violence—even sabotage—on this project."

The Post accepts Mr. Mayo's statement as a factual appraisal of the situation at Paducah, adding, however, that our reference to violence was based on episodes at Joppa and not at Paducah. The Post of course regrets the inaccuracies that were inadvertently permitted to remain in the editorial.

Farm Commodity Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 26, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the farm price-support question, which I submitted at the request of the Farm Journal. The Farm Journal was printing statements from four members of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and, because of space limitations, had to reduce the length of all of them. I prefer to submit the one I sent as I prepared it, and I ask consent to have it printed in full.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON, OF NEW MEXICO, TO THE FARM JOURNAL

My proposal in our current farm problem is simple and, I hope, understandable—let our basic laws go into effect. The President in his farm message to the Congress suggested we build on the agricultural laws of 1948 and 1949. Why not? Why all this endless searching for something other than what is on the statute books and has yet to be tried?

It is my belief that the history of our permanent farm legislation should persuade the farmers of this Nation to give it a chance to work. The Department of Agriculture in the first few months of World War II began to plan the type of agriculture that this country could sustain once peace was achieved. Department officials appointed committees to study other wars and to evaluate their postwar effects. Soon after I entered the Department in 1945, I tried to bring all these studies together into one comprehensive report.

The final program was formulated by longtime Department of Agriculture people who were familiar with all the efforts to aid farmers since the days of the Farm Board and the early days of the Triple A. They knew, as well, world-wide agricultural conditions. On that foundation, career department executives developed the program submitted to Congress in 1946. It provided for flexible price supports with a range from 75 percent to 90 percent. It carried no sliding scale. It would have left to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture the level at which he would establish price supports within the 75 percent to 90 percent range. It included modernized parity.

I believed in that program then. I believe in it now. I do not see why there is so much resistance to letting it be tested.

Today people claim that flexible price supports mean that the farmers will not always get 90 percent of parity. Who says they are now getting 90 percent under high rigid mandatory 90 percent supports? And if they do, who is making up the difference between these high levels and a true market price? The Treasury of the United States, of course. Farmers should fear that some day that an economy-minded Congress will come along and cut down artificial price supports just as an earlier economy-minded Congress chopped down pay for veterans when everyone said such an act would be political suicide.

Flexibility shows up during rigid price supports because these rigid price supports can only be available when the farmer can find storage for his commodity. When our Nation has huge unmanageable surpluses brought on by these high incentive guaranties, farmers have trouble storing their commodities and are forced to take not a supported price but a sacrifice quotation offered him by the operator who is in position to ship or store the product.

Let's start with a commodity which is not supported at mandatory levels—cattle. I have been looking at the annual report of a packing company for the year 1953. The net earnings per share for that well-managed concern was $2.04 in 1951, $3.66 in 1952 and $5.72 in 1953. Yet the volume of sales in the 3 years is almost identical. What accounts for the huge jump in earnings? Bargain cattle prices. Cattle were shipped into markets packed and jammed with stampeding herds of other cattle. A year ago, there were, in my opinion, 10 million too many cattle on the range. But those cattle did not hurt as long as they stayed on the range. It's surplus cattle in the market place that cause prices to slump. When drought came on through the Southwest, these surplus cattle were hurried to the market. The resultant piling up of distressed cattle in the market broke prices so that our livestock centers became a packers' paradise. Cattle brought outrageously low prices, and yet the price of meat dropped very little in the market place.

The same thing can happen with other commodities. Take wheat, for example. The American farmer today faces a mountain of surplus wheat. Our surplus carryover will be at least 600 million bushels. Our normal domestic consumption of wheat for food has been about the same for a period of 20 years—500 million bushels. Therefore, as we come into the 1954 growing season, we have on hand enough wheat to supply all of our domestic needs for food, feed and seed—without ever growing a single bushel. That full year's supply hanging over our market has two effects: it lowers prices because of the very size of that carryover, and it clogs up our normal storage facilities. The average market price for wheat has been 79 percent of parity but it went as low as 76 percent in August 1953—with mandatory 90 percent price support in effect. What is so terrible about the 75 percent minimum in the Aiken-Anderson laws?

Further, I am willing to predict that when the winter wheat crops in the States of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas start pouring into the elevators next summer, we will be so short of storage space that many farmers will take the bottom figure of the price levels set in the Agricultural Act of 1949—namely, 75 per-

cent—and wheat prices could go lower than that.

Let me tell you more about flexibility under supposedly rigid 90 percent supports. Last November, due to the huge carryover of corn (764 million bushels on October 1) brought on by high rigid supports that made it look more attractive to seal and store corn rather than feed it to steers, the market price of corn went to 75 percent of parity. Does the farmer have 90 percent of parity? No, and he never gets it by overproduction.

I want farmers to get 90 percent of parity as a support level when they hold production nearly in line with demand. I want them to get 100 percent of parity in the market place—more if they can. So I remind them that beginning in 1910—the year we use to begin parity calculations—through 1953, the farmers of America got in the market places over $65 billion more than 100 percent of parity—and they had some pretty bad years in that average. They got that $65 billion above parity by having peaks as well as valleys; but when surpluses are everywhere—in cattle, corn, wheat, cotton, butter, and soy beans—there are no peaks—there are only valleys—and all the mandatory rigid 90-percent support laws in Christendom will not then bring equity to the American farmer.

What I am trying to say is that ahead lies a fight between two groups: (1) People who want to try to fix prices at 90 percent of parity and fail because the high rigid price levels become incentives which bring about overproduction, and (2) people who prefer support prices at 90 percent when production is reasonably in line with consumption, but would use them as well to discourage or correct overproduction.

There's a lesson to be learned from butter. Price supports on dairy products were set a year ago at 90 percent. That isn't too high for milk. It's too high for butter. There is no satisfactory substitute for milk, but in oleomargarine there is a very definite competitor for butter. It was too high for cheese and for dry nonfat solids. Now we have in the hands of Commodity Credit 265 million pounds of butter, 260 million pounds of cheese, and 420 million pounds of nonfat dry milk solids.

What do we do now? Do we again put supports at 90 percent? Do we give in to those farmers who have asked for supports at 100 percent? Do we price butter completely out of the market? Where do we turn?

Some people suggest a bargain day. They would sell 1 pound of butter for 75 cents and 1 pound of butter for 1 cent and thereby try to make butter competitive with oleomargarine. Well, the oleo manufacturer might have a little bargain sale of his own and drop his price temporarily to meet this price threat from butter. Then we would have to sell 2 pounds of 1-cent butter with every full price of butter. Thus we would go on until we demonstrated to the Congress that a rigid 90-percent support on butter was sheer tommyrot and foolishness in the first place and should not go on any longer.

The American public is not stupid on these matters. The public will not tolerate this type of performance any more than it stood the performance we had in potatoes.

I had experience with potatoes. We tried in the Department to persuade the Congress to lower the support level on potatoes or remove it entirely. The record will show several letters from me to the Congress of the United States saying that it must either take supports off potatoes or must put effective controls on the production of potatoes. But every time we tried that sort of legislation it was defeated. The day came when the Congress took all supports off potatoes—barred them by law—and the day will come, if the present dairy program continues, when the Congress will take all supports off dairy products—bar them by law.

Do we have to wait for that to happen? Must we lose the price-support program on potatoes and then the price-support program on dairy products and then the price-support program on something else, maybe wheat, until we gradually get down to where only tobacco remains and the farmer has no assurance whatever of Government assistance as he markets his products? I have always believed that price supports should assist the farmer in the orderly marketing of his crop. Should he be forced to sell all his product in the first few hours after he hauls it from the field? Should he not have a reasonable time in which to dispose of it? Everyone says "yes" and therefore CCC gives him a loan program under which it will support his product at 90 percent or 75 percent of parity while he waits for a reasonable market.

That was the original concept of price supports. It's still a sound concept. This idea that you must use price supports to stimulate abnormal production of wheat, corn, and cotton is completely unsound. I hope that this Nation is ready to try an agricultural program which represents years of study by the Department of Agriculture, which was presented to the Congress in 1946, and was the subject of extended hearings all across this country during that year and 1947, which was endorsed by all the major farm organizations, and was adopted by the Congress of the United States on a nonpartisan basis. In my humble opinion, it is still good agricultural legislation. These temporary devices that put off its operation for "just 1 more year" to let the farmer get in one more big return are wrong and destructive to the ultimate welfare of the farmers of this Nation.

Except for some lucky breaks, we would have seen earlier the effect of high rigid price supports. For instance, cottonseed meal had piled up to where it was running out of the ears of the Department of Agriculture. Along came a drought and Commodity Credit started selling it for $35 a ton, where previously some farmers had paid $100 for it and even more. Of course, it quickly moved off the market and we got off of our glut on cottonseed meal by selling it at bargain prices.

We had corn and wheat that moved into these drought-stricken areas at a dollar a bushel for corn and $1.10 a bushel for wheat and today farmers are looking for bargain prices on both of those. I talked not long ago to a feeder who said he wouldn't ever buy anymore cottonseed meal as long as he lived at more than $50 a ton. He'd been spoiled by the low prices offered by Commodity Credit Corporation in the drought program.

Farmers should remember that when we clean up surpluses by bargain prices, we tend to destroy our future markets by letting people enjoy cheap food. Bargain days in agriculture are like taking sugar-coated pills and sweet medicine—they are habit forming. If we start selling butter to the American public with the second pound for a penny, we will have started to wreck the dairy farmer of this country unless he can dispose of all of his product as fluid milk, rather than as butter or cheese.

It helps little to set aside and insulate $2 or $3 billion worth of CCC stocks this year unless at the same time we let agricultural laws apply that will not build burdensome surpluses. Otherwise we will be setting aside each year—until the consumer and taxpayer rebel.

I want to give the Agricultural Acts of 1948 and 1949 a chance to operate. I believe that the Congress should carry out the recommendation of President Eisenhower and build its agricultural program on those two acts.

Aftermath of Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article from the December 1953 edition of the Democratic Digest, the author of which is my friend and constituent, Irwin E. Klass, whose outstanding editorial direction of the Federation News has stamped him as one of the great editors of the labor press of America. The article follows:

EIGHTEEN DIED IN FLAMES IN THE SLUMS THEY DIDN'T CLEAR

(By Irwin E. Klass)

It happened in the small hours of the morning on Labor Day. Fire swept through a slum dwelling at 3616 South State Street, Chicago—suitable for 17 people but housing 150. The toll—18 dead—most of them children.

That was a summertime fire—before makeshift heating apparatus zooms the statistical picture of death and crippling in the blighted areas. The cool breezes are a hint of early autumn—and soon will waft smoke from tragic ruins of crumbling tenements—with more lives needlessly snuffed out.

There are the usual investigations of the Labor Day fire. The press reports reveal law violations, improper wiring, overcrowding—all products of someone's greed, reaping rents from property long past the point of repair.

Who shall investigate? Shall it be the blue-ribbon juries? The fire department? The State fire marshal? Legally, it's their job.

I recommend another type of investigation: by all the Congressmen and Senators who emasculated the public-housing program in the 83d Congress. Let them view the charred unrecognizable bodies of the children, the remnants of the hovels they knew as home.

For there is this revealing item in the Daily News report on the fire:

"The tenements are on a site earmarked for early clearance by the Chicago Housing Authority. The CHA had planned to acquire land between 35th and 39th Streets, State and the New York Central tracks for a housing development.

"Negotiations for the purchase of the fatal buildings already had commenced.

"The negotiations were halted when Congress recently curtailed the public-housing program."

That's why Congressmen who slashed the housing program should investigate. Let them feel the impact of their actions. They voted to cut the public-housing program for the year starting July 1 to 20,000 units and to prohibit any contracts for construction of public housing after June 30, 1954.

The 20,000 units compare with the 135,000 units a year originally authorized in 1949. The American Federation of Labor has always supported this program. Under the 20,000-unit limitation many communities, including Chicago, which have public-housing projects ready for construction will have to abandon them altogether.

Of 8,015 units ready for construction, only 1,827 are authorized. Then the program is dead.

All the investigations and cries for stricter law enforcement are fine—as far as they go—but they'll do little to stop this winter's holocausts.

There are junketing Congressmen in practically every country of the free world, investigating some phase of our foreign policy. If these taxpayer-financed trips add up to nothing else—travel is broadening.

We're willing to create a committee to raise funds to bring Congress to 3616 South State Street, Chicago.

Shall we in Chicago get more acreage cleared by fire, with death the byproduct of accidental slum clearance?

Congress, State, and local officials can provide the answer. And if we all act through our unions and community organizations, we can make the answer a worthy memorial to those who died at 3616 South State Street on Labor Day.

Talking Tough and Carrying a Small Stick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, this administration surrendered to the Communists' strategically located islands off Korea, the loss of which would be surely felt if hostilities broke out again. We appeased them by agreeing to their construction of air fields in North Korea from which they can now attack our troops and installations with an intensity heretofore impossible.

While still involved in an unresolved war, we broke all American precedent by cutting back our military power, originally our Air Force and now our Army and Navy. This certainly is encouraging to the cynical masters in the Kremlin.

We broke off negotiations at Panmunjom rather than let Russia come to a Korean peace conference as a neutral—which she certainly is not. We permitted Red China to send representatives to confer with us at Panmunjom under the fiction that they represented volunteers although everyone knows we were at war in Korea, not with volunteers but with the Red Chinese Army. Red China might very well claim later not to be bound by agreements made by these so-called volunteers.

Now we have agreed to let Russia jointly call a Korean peace conference and attend it as a neutral. Surely it would be better to completely refrain from publicly announcing such adamant positions on similar matters if we must later squirm around to find face saving ways of backing down and appeasing the Communists. We appear to repeatedly become the prisoners of our own needlessly solemn pronouncement.

We all want to strive for peace, and we all want to keep, at least, our short range policies flexible, but weakness and appeasement do not lead to peace. Clear cut reasonable policies backed by strength offer our best hope for avoiding the horrors of another world war.

This administration appears to be adopting a policy of wider and wider fixed commitments based upon talking tough and carrying a small stick. Administration tough talk may fool some of our own people for a time but it will never fool the Communists. They will not be impressed with our claims of growing strength made concurrently with cutbacks in military power, particularly when the tough talk constantly gives way to further concessions whenever the Communists refuse to budge.

To what extent the current irresponsible charges on the domestic front are a smokescreen to distract attention from appeasement of communism abroad is difficult to determine, but it is not difficult to determine that we are following a policy of drift that leads straight to increased danger. One does not in fact gain the initiative in foreign affairs by making exaggerated propaganda claims for domestic consumption.

We had better face the facts now. We should immediately base our military requirements on the known Communist military power instead of upon wishful guesses induced by Communist soft talk and rash fiscal promises made in the heat of a campaign.

When Communists, already armed to the teeth, keep increasing their destructive power while trying to lull us to sleep by purring about peace, we had better look to our defenses.

I should like to include in our RECORD an excellent article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch written by the distinguished columnist, Roscoe Drummond, and also an article from the Christian Science Monitor written by its far eastern correspondent, Henry S. Hayward:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of February 17, 1954]

UNITED STATES LACKING IN POLICY EQUAL TO MEETING INDOCHINA PROBLEM—ADMINISTRATION SAYS IT WOULD BE TRAGIC FOR REDS TO WIN OUT, BUT FEARS BECOMING INVOLVED IN WAR

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—President Eisenhower often has remarked that he values his weekly press conference because it gives him guidance on the way people are thinking and what is worrying them. For several weeks now there have been recurring questions on Indochina. Does the war look bad? Is it looking better? Are we sending more aid? Isn't there danger we'll get drawn into a hot war? One week's answers do not forestall the next week's questions.

There is probably a very good reason why the questions outrun the answers.

The reason, I think, is that the administration's answers do not really add up to a coherent policy, a persuasive policy, or to a course of action equal to the problem of Indochina.

NOT GETTING RIGHT ANSWERS

The country just doesn't feel it is getting the right answers, and the evidence suggests that the administration hasn't got them, either.

We say that it is critically important to the United States and to the free world that Indochina not be allowed to fall to Communist aggression. If that be true—and few deny it—are we doing enough to help? Couldn't we do more, and shouldn't we? There are some in Washington who are convinced that our aid to Indochina, currently running at about $800 million for the year, is more cut to fit a preconceived budget than it is to fit the size of the Indochinese problem.

We say that the loss of Indochina eventually would mean the political and economic domination of all southeast Asia by Communist China and that such a development would be the gravest calamity for the United States. The administration avows it is intent on averting that calamity.

We say that if the United States were to send troops to Indochina we would almost certainly involve ourselves in another hot war in Asia and that to do so would be the gravest calamity.

The administration avows it is intent on averting this calamity.

BOTH OBJECTIVES SINCERE

I am sure that both of these announced objectives are completely sincere: That is, to help Indochina secure its freedom and not to become involved ourselves.

But have we decided whether it is important enough to prevent southeast Asia from falling to the Communists even at the risk of becoming involved ourselves? Or does the administration believe that it is better for the United States to avoid involvement at all costs even at the risk of allowing Communist China to overrun all southeast Asia.

Obviously, there are no easy or comfortable answer to these questions. But it cannot be said that the United States has an Indochinese policy equal to the problem until it does encompass these questions. So far, the administration has fallen considerably short of answering them.

The administration says that defeat in Indochina would be a catastrophe and our involvement in a hot war in Indochina would be a catastrophe. The administration does not tell the country which it thinks would be a worse catastrophe.

[From the Christian Science Monitor of February 19, 1954]

BIG FOUR RESULTS ANALYZED—UNITED STATES CONCESSIONS JOLT TOKYO—KOREAN PARLEY GAINED

(By Henry S. Hayward)

TOKYO.—Reports from the Big Four Foreign Ministers conference in Berlin that an Asian peace conference will be held in Geneva in April are received here with mixed emotions.

There is pleasure that the long-delayed Korean peace talks apparently have been scheduled at last.

There is also satisfaction that the agenda will include an effort to solve the Indochina conflict.

Mingled with this, however, is surprise over certain basic concessions by the West.

Despite verbal hedging, it appears to observers here that the United States, Britain, and France now are willing to permit the Soviet Union to attend the conference without accepting the label of "belligerent" in the Korean war.

This was the prime United Nations stand during the fruitless preliminary negotiations for a peace conference that were held in Korea in November and December.

Arthur F. Dean, chief allied delegate to the Panmunjom sessions, repeatedly refused to allow the Soviet Union to slip into the postarmistice negotiations unless Moscow was willing to admit responsibility for military support to the Chinese Communists and North Koreans during the hostilities.

This position now appears to have been abandoned at a higher level, presumably in deference to Soviet pressure in Berlin.

RECOGNITION ISSUE

Another cardinal U. N. point was refusal to grant international recognition to the Peking regime, particularly U. N. membership.

While some western face saving appears to have been attempted on this score, it nevertheless seems certain that Communist China will be present at an international conference of sweeping importance—a parley in which all other members of the former Big Five will be seated, as well as many of the foremost United Nations members.

While no formal western recognition is accorded thereby, Peking will be able to

operate in a conference of even greater scope than the strict Korean peace parley.

The Allies also originally insisted that Korean unification would have to be accomplished first—with other Asian problems to be considered subsequently. The developing Indochinese crisis may have changed that view, according to informed sources here.

In return for these concessions, the western powers gained one vital objective. The Korean peace conference, plus discussion of other pressing Asian issues, is at last within grasp.

Observers here, however, believe such a parley always was possible if the Allies were prepared to give comparable ground on Communist demands.

So the unanswered question becomes: Why was the West willing to moderate its position considerably at Berlin when only two months ago it refused to grant any concessions at Panmunjom?

CHIANG APPEARS LEFT OUT

At this distance, no explanation for such policy changes is visible. Lacking full information, however, it is presumed the western Big Three Foreign Ministers felt some desirable quid pro quo was either obtained or in the offing.

While United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles cited the "possibility • • • of effecting unification of Korean in freedom" as one justification for the Geneva conclave and one concrete result of the Berlin sessions, it nevertheless remains certain that Communist China, the Soviet Union, and North Korea will oppose almost any unification plan acceptable to the Allies.

Moreover, while the Chinese Communists will be active at the world parley, it seems likely the Chinese Nationalists will be omitted, since they were not direct participants in the Korean affray.

Summerfield Backs Down on False Lincoln Quotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include the following article entitled "Summerfield Backs Down on False Lincoln Quotes," which appeared in the February 20, 1954, issue of Labor:

SUMMERFIELD BACKS DOWN ON FALSE LINCOLN QUOTES

Should a top Government official and party leader put into a speech a hoary old fake cooked up by reactionary propagandists and exposed repeatedly in the past? That question was raised this week when Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield was forced to drop some false Lincoln quotations from his Lincoln's birthday talk at Akron, Ohio.

The written version of his speech, containing the fake quotations, was distributed in advance to newspapers, and a copy reached Stephen A. Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mitchell declared that "the quotations are intended to make Lincoln sound like a modern Old Guard Senator. It is another example of the Republicans trying to rewrite history." After Mitchell's blast, the Republican National Committee told newspapers to kill that part of the speech.

The quotations are too long to repeat in full here, but all of them are similar to these samples: "You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift." "You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."

EXPOSED BY LABOR

In short, the fake quotations were designed to suggest that good old Abe Lincoln, if he were alive today, would be against such socialistic things as the New Deal and Fair Deal.

Labor exposed this fake 4 years ago, when it was trotted out on Lincoln't Birthday in February 1950, in Look magazine, published by the wealthy and reactionary Cowles interests. The conservative Time news magazine criticized Look for publishing the quotation, and told where it came from.

"To Lincoln scholars," Time said, "there was one thing wrong with Look's 'snippets of wisdom' from Lincoln. He never said them. All have been denounced as spurious in the Abraham Lincoln Quarterly," a learned publication devoted to study of Lincoln's doings and sayings.

Time reported that Look got the false quotations from a Republican Member of Congress, "who had gotten them from a friend, who heard them on a broadcast by radio commentator Galen Drake. Drake could not remember where he 'picked them up,' but said he might have gotten them from the Royle Forum, house organ of a New Jersey manufacturer."

SPREAD BY CCG

The editor of that house organ, Richard Cook, told Time he got the quotations from "some direct-mail advertising of another manufacturing concern."

Finally, Time reported, "the chain led back at least as far as a 1942 leaflet distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government, the well-heeled, reactionary Washington lobby backed by New York State newspaper publisher Frank Gannett."

The trail goes back even further than the CCG, according to an article published several years ago in Harpers magazine. It said that, about 50 years after Lincoln was in his grave, the "quotations" were written by the Reverend William J. H. Boetcker, of Erie, Pa., who put his own mean-spirited words into the mouth of "Honest Abe."

A hoax dies hard. Summerfield also would have misquoted the Great Emancipator if Mitchell had not spotlighted the fake in the nick of time. Unfortunately, Summerfield is not the only GOP spokesman who is "rewriting history." When Government and political leaders stoop to such tricks, how can the American people trust them?

ROA Stands for a Single Catalog

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Saturday, January 23, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the House the following editorial which appeared in the January 1954 issue of the Reserve Officer, the official publication of the Reserve Officers Association:

ROA STANDS FOR A SINGLE CATALOG

(By Col. Thomas H. King, national president, Reserve Officers Association)

In a recent issue of a service journal appeared this statement:

"Despite previous pressure from Capitol Hill to speed work on the Federal Catalog for the Armed Forces, the Defense Department wants to avoid any 'crash basis' program and will explain to Congress such action would cost several hundred millions of dollars."

Here's the tipoff: Ike's lieutenants in the Defense Department have been captured by the service politicians who have opposed successfully to date the development and use of a single language of supply. The opponents well realize it is the greatest threat to military empires built on the most wasteful use of men, materials, and facilities by any armed force in history.

While the whole sordid story was reported last year by the Hébert subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, Congress and the administration will be interested in a few facts.

The present program was initiated in 1914—almost 40 years ago. How at this time can any reference to a change be described as a crash-basis program? After 40 years.

The objective of a single catalog is simply that it be "single"—one catalog containing all items, all information on items and no other catalogs being utilized. What has the present program accomplished in 40 years? In 1914 each supply agency of the armed services issued its own catalog containing its own supply language. Today each supply agency still issues its own catalog—15 of them in the Department of Defense.

After 27 years of failure the present program was eliminated during World War II in favor of a makeshift temporary expedient to meet exigencies of the hour. One may inquire why the original dodo was returned from the dead to be incorporated in the business-as-usual supply operations of the Defense Department?

Every attempt to alter the present system has been stopped cold by the warning a change would upset a fine program on which great progress is reported. Progress? After 40 years?

The Nation's taxpayers have an important stake in a single catalog. Official reports to Congress reveal the elimination of waste and duplication in functions of purchasing, storing, distribution, stock control, transportation, inspection, and disposal would save $4 to $5 billions annually. No longer can we afford to be misguided by statements this amount can't be saved because the Defense Department spends only $10 to $12 billions yearly for the purchase of supplies and equipment. This is only part of the story—the elimination of duplication and waste in functions is where financial savings can be achieved.

At this point it is important to emphasize that the working supply personnel of the services have always recognized the need for effective supply language. However, all their efforts to achieve a single catalog have been blocked by the anti group.

The services have never attempt to withhold their desired plan. It definitely calls for a single name and single number. However, such a single name and number would not be used in all processes of supply but rather as a number to which all existing numbers would be cross referenced and all existing numbers continued. In other words, there would be no change, except to the present 15 catalog systems. The 16th number would be added.

What objection is there to investing several hundred millions of dollars for a return of $4 billion annually? Whatever happened to the Hoover Commission estimate that the whole job could be accomplished for $76 million? What have we received for the $200 million spent in the Defense Department on cataloging over the past few years? These queries can be mighty embarrassing when balanced against the facts.

Congress has the answers to these questions and Government officials should think twice before making any move to obtain con-

gressional approval for continuing the present program of cataloging for another 40 years.

Citizens. Write your Congressman to stop the annual waste of $4 billion—stop it now.

A Smalltown Editor Speaks Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial written by Mr. L. D. Pettey, editor and owner of the Calvert Tribune, Calvert, Tex., a weekly paper.

I think Mr. Pettey presents some sound thinking on basic fundamentals, and I commend the article to my colleagues here in the House of Representatives.

The editorial follows:

While attending the Robertson County teachers meeting at Hearne last Thursday night I heard a noted educator make the statement that "a good public relation program in a school required the teachers and administration to know what was going on in the community and for the community to know what was going on in the schools." Since this is the day and time when every group or should it be said that everything within our universe is undergoing severe criticism and the public-school system seems to be coming in for its share, I would like to devote this week's column to my opinion of the present criticism of your public schools and this could be applied equally as well to the major criticisms in other fields.

It has been called to my attention that people in general do not read weekly newspapers and those that do read them pay little or no attention to the contents of their "daily gazette." This is the opinion of some few people and since I enjoy the privilege of owning my own weekly newspaper, I suppose it will do no harm to say what I darn well please, since it won't be widely read and those that do read it won't pay any attention to it.

First of all, it is my opinion that an informed public is, generally speaking, a group that will make sound decisions for the community. The basic fallacy in our present system is that the truth is not told and the people no longer make the decisions. Bear in mind that the following statements are in no way meant in criticism to isolated cases but apply in general to our present mode of life from city, county, on up to the national level. If the majority of the people could be accurately informed at all times I think sound judgment would prevail. There are numerous ways that this could be accomplished but about the only way it will become a reality is for the people to become interested and civic minded enough to demand accurate information. It is not too late for this to come about, for in most cases public officials are still elected by popular vote.

In regard to the many statements that our public schools do not do a good job of teaching fundamentals, this in my opinion is one of the biggest falsehoods ever to reach the American public. By and large your child that graduates from high school today is better prepared, better trained, and better qualified to meet life's problems than any other person in that age group in the entire universe.

The average high-school graduate has received training in reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, science, civic economics, English literature, social studies, home economics, vocational agriculture, typing, shorthand, driver's education, health, shop work, and many other subjects too numerous to mention. If somewhere along the line some of our graduates do not measure up to standards in the fundamental courses taught in our public schools it is just as much the fault of the individual and the parents as it is the teacher, the school system, and its staff.

The thing that gripes me the most about investigation committees in regard to your public-school systems is the fact they loudly cry, "present day school children are not getting thorough instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the basic fundamentals are not being taught," high school and college graduates can't even spell or express themselves clearly. Most of the time this is a gross exaggeration. By way of comparison if by chance the present high school graduates are not scholars in the field of English language and spelling, it might be mentioned that 20 to 40 years ago, little else was taught in the public schools except a basic group of courses that teacher and pupil alike could spend enough time on to master thoroughly. In this day and time the teacher is supposed to produce a highly trained scholar in English, spelling, math, science, and in addition to teaching the fundamental courses, a working knowledge of everything from business administration to the actual learning of trades is supposed to be taught. This does not mention social studies, manners, discipline, improved personality traits, and in many cases a thorough program by physical education which includes football, basketball, volleyball, track, tumbling, baseball, and bodybuilding courses. In other words our public schools and their teachers are supposed to teach the above-mentioned fields and subjects and also assist in the development of character, morals, and see that graduates are capable of taking their place in society. Many of the things formerly taught in the home are now a responsibility of the school, yet if a finished product is not turned out, our school systems are accused of unsound teaching principles. Schools, churches, and newspapers are the nucleus of any community. A reflection upon them is a reflection upon parents, the home, and every citizen in the locality. It is your duty and responsibility to take an interest in and visit your school so you may better acquaint yourself with the type of job it is doing for your children.

Granting Immunity to Witnesses Before Congressional Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following report by the committee on Federal legislation of the New York County Lawyers' Association disapproving the bill S. 16 and House Joint Resolution 11, which seek to set up a means of granting immunity to witnesses called before congressional committees:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON S. 16 AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 11, 83D CONGRESS, PROPOSING TO COMPEL WITNESSES SUBPENAED BEFORE EITHER HOUSE OF CONGRESS OR THEIR COMMITTEES OR BEFORE THE DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION TO TESTIFY, EVEN THOUGH SUCH WITNESSES AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGE OF REFUSING TO ANSWER UPON THE GROUND THAT SUCH ANSWERS MAY TEND TO INCRIMINATE THEM

This is to be accomplished in the case of S. 16 by empowering (in the case of proceedings before one of the Houses of Congress) a majority of the members present of that House, or in the case of proceedings before a committee of either House, two-thirds of the members of the full committee including at least one member of each of the two political parties having the largest representation on such committee, to grant immunity to the witness with respect to the matters on which he has claimed his privilege against self-incrimination.

In the case of House Joint Resolution 11, the objective is to be accomplished by conferring upon the Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation the power to compel a witness examined by him—in connection with investigations delegated to him by the President—to give testimony and produce correspondence, books, papers and documents, notwithstanding any claim of privilege against self-incrimination advanced by the witness thus subpenaed. The witness so compelled to testify is to be protected against incrimination by being exempt from prosecution in any court for or on account of the transaction testified to.

RECOMMENDATION: DISAPPROVAL

These bills, of course, are neither novel or unprecedented. For many years efforts have been made to deal with the problem of unsealing the lips of witnesses whose testimony is regarded as vital in a particular investigation or judicial proceeding but who refuses to testify upon the grounds of possible self-incrimination. No doubt there are cases where public interest will be served in granting immunity to certain witnesses and thereby obtaining the desired testimony which only those witnesses are in a position to give. For the reasons more fully hereinafter set forth, however, it seems very doubtful that the two bills, here under review, are either feasible or desirable.

With respect to S. 16: It is obvious, as a practical matter, that this bill, if it were ever enacted into law, would be used principally—if not entirely—in investigations carried on before a committee of one of the Houses of Congress. It rarely, if ever, happens that such investigations are carried on before the full House. Thus, in effect, what this bill would permit is the granting of immunity by two-thirds of the members of the investigating committee of the House of Congress conducting the investigation to a witness who has claimed his privilege against self-incrimination. It would not even be necessary to submit the question of whether immunity should be so granted to the full House. All that would be required would be that two-thirds of the members of the committee should decide to grant immunity and that would be the end of it. A political complexion is then introduced by requiring that at least 1 member of each of the 2 largest political parties represented on the committee should join in the decision to grant the immunity. In all the annals of our legislative bodies and, in deed, in our entire history, no proposed legislation has even gone so far as to empower a congressional committee to grant immunity to a witness for offenses that he may have been guilty of. This certainly seems like a most dangerous step. It is not difficult to envision how such a

power could be gravely abused by politically minded members of a committee conducting an inquiry. In the light of our recent experiences with investigations carried on by congressional committee, it requires no stretch of the imagination to realize what a powerful political football the grant of any such power might become. Politically minded committees would be more interested in obtaining sensational disclosures than in seeing to it that witnesses guilty of violations of law be punished.

In the case of House Joint Resolution 11, the proposed grant of power to the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to compel testimony that may be self-incriminating by merely exempting the witness giving such testimony from prosecution and punishment seems even more reckless and dangerous than Senate bill 16. It is not only unprecedented but extremely unwise to confer upon a single individual—not even an elected one—the power to confer immunity on a person who may have committed the most serious crime by compelling this person to testify. At the present time the Director does not even have the power to compel testimony. It is true that House Joint Resolution 11 confines this grant of immunity to investigations relating to improper and illegal conduct in transactions involving the business of the Federal Government. Even so, that does not excuse or justify such an extraordinary grant of power to a single individual. In the hands of a politically minded or unscrupulous Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it would be an easy matter to absolve a guilty person of any punishment for his crime against the Federal Government by merely compelling him to testify with regard to such transaction. There would be no means of reviewing the discretion of the Director and he would have sole, uncontrolled power to decide who should receive immunity through the device just described. It is difficult to conceive of any legislation more undesirable in character, with all of the grave abuses that would be opened up.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION.

Post Official Confusion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in the December 1953 issue of the Wilson Library Bulletin two of the staff of the Montana State College Library have presented an enlightening sidelight on postal regulations from the librarian's viewpoint. Lesley Heathcote is the Montana State College librarian, and Bettie Eagle is exchange assistant. Their article follows:

POST OFFICIAL CONFUSION OR WHY DON'T WE JUST DUMP THEM?

(By Bettie Eagle and Lesley M. Heathcote)

With a sigh of relief Jane Doe, exchange assistant, dumped the package on the counter. It was heavy and she'd had to stand in line and her feet hurt.

"What's in it, lady?" asked the postal clerk.

"Magazines, books, and documents," Jane replied glibly.

"It'll have to go by the highest rate then, and that's for documents," said the clerk, hefting the package on to his scales and reading them carefully.

"Sorry, lady," he continued. "You'll have to make two packages of it. It weighs 25 pounds and it's going to a first class post office in the third zone."

We draw a veil over the next few minutes for Jane almost forgot she was a lady. But the clerk explained the rules to her patiently and after all it wasn't his fault. It was only when she got back to the library and went to see the boss that Jane exploded and asked the question in the title of this piece. It was a natural reaction and the boss sympathized with her. But somebody needed those items and so there was nothing to do but start over.

We had always had a suspicion that the post office didn't really want to carry the mail, but now we're almost certain. Why otherwise would it make life so difficult for earnest, honest, frugal librarians?

MAGAZINES

Take for instance Jane Doe's package. It had in it magazines and if they had second-class mailing privileges they could still go this way, i. e. 2 cents for the first 2 ounces and 1 cent for each additional 2 ounces (9 cents for the first pound and 8 cents for each additional pound with fractions of pounds paid for by the 2 ounces). Furthermore, at this rate there is no weight limit and Jane could have sent all she wanted to (within reason, no doubt, but where does reason reside in the post office?).

BOOKS

Then she had books—8 cents for the first pound and 4 cents for each additional pound (less if sent to a point within the State). But wait. There's a weight limit (no pun intended). The post office doesn't like books, it will carry only 70 pounds of them in one lump.

DOCUMENTS

But what about the documents? Ah, there's the chance for the post office to get even for having had to carry them free the first time. Howls of glee must have rung through the halls as the post office saw its chance and took it. Documents can be sent only by parcel post; that means zoning. And what did the rest of the postal clerk's speech mean? Why, simply this: On parcel post going to a first-class post office in the local, first, or second zones there is a 40-pound weight limit, in the third through eighth zones there is a 20-pound limit. First-class post offices are, of course, in large cities, but evidently they have second-class trucks. For observe this: If the parcel is going to a second-, third-, or fourth-class post office the weight limit is 70 pounds. It must be that the country air makes postal employees huskier. Of course, the first-class post offices will accept 70 pounds of books—but documents? Unh-unh.

A BOOK IS A BOOK

Ah—but there may be a way out. The magic question is, "What is a book?" Not what do you think a book is. How would you know, you poor, ignorant librarian? The post office will undertake to tell you:

"Books containing 24 pages or more, at least 22 of which are printed and consisting wholly of reading matter * * * and containing no advertising matter other than incidental announcements of books, may be sent at the postage rate of 8 cents for the first pound or fraction thereof and 4 cents for each additional pound or fraction thereof when in parcels not exceeding 70 pounds in weight." (United States Official Postal Guide, July 1951, pt. 1, p. 34.)

There, you see how you can get around the document deal? Most of them are books anyway—the post office says they are, so use the book rate and listen to the wails of anguish from Uncle Sam's post office as it sees them getting out of its clutches.

Every once in a while, though, it catches someone who in his ignorance has packed books, magazines, and un-book documents in one parcel and who is too weary and discouraged to contemplate the alternative. "Pile on the postage. Only one document? All the better. Look what the rest in the parcel will bear. Ha! We'll get even for having had to carry those documents free to you in the first place."

It's a wonder the post office ever has a deficit—or is it?

The Freedoms We Defend

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, as the House Committee on Education and Labor starts its work on amendment of the Taft-Hartley law, it would be well if each of our colleagues took the time to read the following excerpt from a booklet published by the American Federation of Labor:

THE FREEDOMS WE DEFEND

The Freedoms We Defend is a declaration of the American Federation of Labor convention held in St. Louis in September 1953. In adopting it, the convention said:

"We ask that this affirmation of our faith in the fundamental freedoms on which our Republic was founded, be widely proclaimed, not only as a statement of our belief, but also as a rallying call to all Americans not to falter in the defense of their rights as freemen."

The right to dissent, to object, and to protest, the right to speak freely, to worship in accordance with one's wish and conscience, and to have freedom of assembly, are among the fundamental rights of man that have gone into the making of the American way of life since the day of independence. Insistence on these rights and freedoms through the years has shaped our institutions, our Government, and our laws. On their exercise and devotion to them the American labor movement was built.

These rights and freedoms are denied those forced to live under the Communist rule or other totalitarian dictatorship. In the unrestrained exercise of these rights under our flag lies this country's strength. It is easier for us to cherish these gifts of freedom in the days of clam and ease than it is to preserve them in the days of storm and stress in which we now live.

Today our country, our institutions, and our very lives have been threatened by the insidious and pervasive world conspiracy of communism. Infiltration, subversion, falsehood, and provocation are among the common methods of Communist penetration. The American Federation of Labor has been alive to the menace of communism from the day Communists seized power in Russia. It is largely due to our alert and farsighted policies that our movement has remained free from Communist capture and infiltration. Our outspoken and unremitting warnings have helped the American people to recognize the Communist menace for what it is.

Clearly, communism is a conspiracy subversive to our way of life and our institutions. A free society, such as ours, must devise new methods to protect itself against such a conspiratorial threat. We must find ways and means to deal with it far more effectively than in the past. But our means of doing so must be carefully designed and soberly used. Orderly, competent, and judicious procedures must replace the too-often capricious and haphazard rovings of the spotlights of competing congressional investiga-

tions. Internal security of the United States must not become a weapon serving partisan political ends. Appropriate investigative agencies in the executive branch of our Federal Government must be strengthened. Exposure and the determination of guilt must be made both speedy and conclusive, but only with full observance of the due process of law.

We cannot tolerate the wrecking of lives of innocent citizens by the mere casting of a suspicion or allegation. Nor can we relinquish the tenets which safeguard the dignity of the individual in a free society, such as the sanctity of a man's home and his person against search, seizure, or arrest without a warrant, or the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven.

Above all else, we must safeguard the freedom of the mind. Free access to information, free inquiry, free press, free argument and debate are the sources of all progress.

Democracy is not so weak, our faith in it is not so faltering, and our fight for it is not so dubious that we should seek refuge in censorship and the suppression of ideas. Books must not burn in America as long as America stays free.

We stress these essentials of our freedom, because without them freedom is meaningless. The real meaning of man's freedom is made up of the specific rights of citizenship in a free society. This is the meaning of freedom that divides the world in the present conflict. This is the meaning of freedom Americans have defended, and are prepared to defend with their lives.

Our federation will work and strive not only to defend this freedom, but also to enlarge and enrich its meaning and to bring it within reach of all who are denied it today.

Look Behind McLeod's Smokescreen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial which appeared in Labor on February 20, 1954. The editorial, titled "Look Behind McLeod's Smokescreen," follows:

LOOK BEHIND MCLEOD'S SMOKESCREEN

State Department Security Administrator McLeod is running around the country making speeches in which he says it makes no difference whether those "2,200" Government employees were fired because they were "subversives, drunks, or sex perverts." The American people, he declares, want all such persons thrown out of the Government.

That's true. Drunks, perverts, and subversives are security risks and don't belong on Uncle Sam's payroll. But McLeod is trying to falsify and cover up the real issue in the dispute about the "2,200."

As reported elsewhere in this issue of Labor, even some conservative Republican newspapers are charging that practically none of the 2,200 were found to be Communists, that many or most of them were not security risks of any kind, and that many or most of them were not fired. They died, retired, resigned, or transferred to other Government agencies, with no security question being raised against them, so far as they know.

Yet all were counted in the security-risk list compiled by McLeod and other top officials of the Eisenhower administration in an attempt to discredit the preceding Democratic administration.

As a result, any employee who leaves or loses his Government job nowadays, for any reason, faces public suspicion and difficulty in getting a private job. People look askance at him and think, "You must have been one of those subversives, drunks, or perverts." His wife and children also suffer.

That's unfair and cruel. It violates all the principles of American justice and human decency. The facts are coming out, and they are embarrassing to men like McLeod. That's why he is trying to hide the real issue behind his smokescreen speeches.

Army Times Editorial Challenges Reader's Digest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared recently in the Reader's Digest entitled "Must We Follow the VA Route to Socialized Medicine?" Harold Stagg, editor of Army Times, has taken a dim view of the Digest article and labeled it as phony and "a piece of scare propaganda." Stagg has challenged the editor of Reader's Digest to allow him to write a factual rebuttal of the article. It will be interesting to see whether Reader's Digest will print both sides of this issue.

Mr. Stagg's article follows:

A CHALLENGE
(By Harold G. Stagg)

I know of no magazine which enjoys more universal popularity than the Reader's Digest. Therefore, when the Digest goes deliberately haywire in the field of antiveteran propaganda, it becomes doubly important to try and set the record straight.

Every couple of years or so, the Digest comes up with an editorial pipedream that is a nightmare of misleading information about veterans' affairs. These articles reflect the usual prejudices of those who count profits and taxes before principles, truth, loyalty, or gratitude. As a consequence, my experience has taught me to take with a very large grain of salt anything that appears in the Digest in relation to veterans' affairs.

I've just finished reading the March issue of Reader's Digest. It carries an editorial camouflaged as a magazine article under the trick title: "Must We Follow the VA Route to Socialized Medicine?"—It is—to put it mildly—as phony a piece of scare propaganda as I have read anywhere.

It is dollars to doughnuts that the Digest will ignore this, but I'd like to challenge Editor DeWitt Wallace to prove that the camouflaged editorial was not written and published for the express purpose of striking fear into the hearts of the American taxpayers and to turn the Nation's entire nonveteran population against veterans. He can do this by authorizing me—or any member of the Times' Staff—to prepare an honest 100-percent factual and documented article giving Digest readers the true story about VA hospitalization.

In March 1949, the Digest printed an abusive piece on VA entiled: "How Bureaucracy Swindles The Taxpayer." VA, in a 26-page rebuttal, said the article was "made up of unsupported generalizations designed to create a state of mind where the reader will accept opinions as facts and half-truths as truths.

Then, in June 1951, the Digest took a few more drags on its dream pipe and came up with a specially prepared article entitled, "Veterans' Medicine: Back in the Doldrums." In another 26-page rebuttal, VA said that article was designed to create the belief that VA medicine has suffered a dire setback.

Now, 3 years later—and wailing a different tune—the Digest bemoans the fact that VA is providing eligible veterans with hospital care and treatment by one of the finest medical staffs in the world.

Certainly that unintended praise of the VA medical setup would seem to contradict a prediction in the June 1951 Digest that "on the eve of tackling its biggest job—care of our Korean casualties in addition to veterans still hospitalized from World War II—the Veterans' Administration medical program seems headed back into the doldrums from which it was rescued so dramatically in 1945."

Now, sounds the Digest false alarm, VA's medical program, instead of heading back into the doldrums, is bringing the United States to the verge of socialized medicine with bewildering speed. This is unadulterated nonsense compounded by the do-you-still-beat-your-wife technique of asking, "Must we follow the VA route to socialized medicine?"

The Digest article offers rather conclusive evidence that the writer—one Holman Harvey, a staff writer for the Digest for the past 4 years—and the Digest editors are either bewildered or have, with malice aforethought, decided to join the American Medical Association in its determination to destroy VA's hospital program.

The latest Digest article comes to its frantic and wholly false conclusion that VA policies are leading us with bewildering speed into socialized medicine because, after 3 major wars in the past 40 years, VA finally has enough hospital beds to treat at any given time a mere 1/200ths of the Nation's total living veterans' population or one-half of 1 percent.

This is a terrible situation, indeed, and my heart aches and bleeds in sympathy for the frightened editors of Reader's Digest.

What worries the Digest is that all 20 million living veterans are potentially eligible for VA hospital care and that, within 10 years half of all able-bodied Americans will be able to claim free hospitalization, though why any able-bodied person would claim something he didn't need is beyond my unbewildered reasoning.

Take this statement from the Digest article:

"One of the foremost authorities on veterans' affairs in the United States conservatively estimates that, if present policies permitting NSC care (non-service-connected care) at Federal expense are continued, the current VA system will have to be augmented by at least 200 more hospitals of 1,000 beds each."

Who is this nameless authority? Could it be a spokesman for the American Medical Association? And if, after all our past wars, the Congress has seen fit to authorize only about 130,000 VA hospital beds to care for over 20 million veterans, why does the Digest seek to create the impression that Congress will appropriate funds to build an additional 200,000 beds?

Why this very phony and unrealistic prediction from a foremost authority whom Reader's Digest is unwilling to identify? We are presently discharging a mere 50,000 servicemen a month. At that rate, it will be 35 more years before 20 million additional veterans can be even potentially eligible for hospital care. And 35 years from now how many of today's potentially eligible will still be around to test—and find wanting—the objective honesty of writers of the ilk of Holman Harvey?

The Digest goes deeper into the realm of irresponsible fantasy when it accuses the four major veterans' organizations of having a clique of political sharpshooters * * * intimidating Congressmen * * * a powerful lobby which has abused the natural sympathy of the American public toward war veterans and which if its designs are carried out, socialized medicine may in the end be foisted upon a people who do not want it and which will continue to abuse this sympathy until exposed and curbed, preferably by veterans themselves.

Well, I practically live with the political sharpshooters who make up this powerful lobby. As political sharpshooters they couldn't hit the broadside of a barn. They are lucky these days if they can even get the right time from Congress—let alone any broadening of veterans' benefits.

Now, to wind up this overly long discussion, I think a quotation from the March 1949 Digest article is applicable to the author and editors in connection with the 1954 editorial:

"Little people who are displeased with their lives sometimes make the most of their miserable authority by pushing veterans around," the Digest said in 1949.

Enough said.

The New Look in the Air Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to the following editorial and article published in the February issue of Aviation Age:

THE NEW LOOK IN THE AIR FORCE

Airpower proponents generally are not fully satisfied with the administration's new look in the proposed 1955 military spending program. True, it seemingly places first reliance on air-atomic power. "The new concept," the budget message declares, "points toward the creation, maintenance and full exploitation of modern airpower." It increases Air Force funds by $1.1 billion, while both Army and Navy are reduced together by $7.4 billion as between 1953 and 1955.

But the message also frankly admits Army and Navy reductions are not due solely to the strategic new look heralded as the new Joint Chiefs of Staff's first assignment. The major source of these reductions would appear to be the ending of the Korean war. This permitted reductions in Army combat manpower and, to a certain extent, Navy surface forces.

Comparison of the proposed Air Force strength figures with the previous 143-wing program also reveals how slight the change is in basic military strategy.

	137 wings (June 1957)	143 wings (June 1956)
Strategic Air Command	54	57
Air Defense Command	34	29
Tactical Air Command	38	40
Troop carriers	11	17

It is an accepted fact that no nation can obtain 100-percent effectiveness in preventing a determined air attack. Therefore, it would seem the increase in Air Defense Command strength is more a political than military decision. The value of this increase is rendered even more dubious by the statement by President Eisenhower that atom bombs could be carried into this country in suitcases.

It being impossible for any nation to prevent a determined attack by air, it follows the best deterrent is a strategic force capable of hitting the enemy mortal blows until he quits. The best defense is still the capability of the best offensive.

No one, for instance, would mind climbing into the same ring with the world's heavyweight champion if he knew the champion would only defend himself. But no one—except a professional equal—would care to take on the champ if he knew lethal punches would meet the challenger.

In war, even a professional would think twice before starting a conflict that could only mean his own destruction.

With this in mind, it seems incredible this country—unlike England and Australia—has not based its defense planning on air strategy. We still fail to recognize the immense potentiality of military airpower. And this despite the fact we have led in the development of the intercontinental bomber and nuclear weapons.

Critics have said airpower did not prove itself in World War II. But World War II saw only the beginnings of airpower capabilities. These capabilities were never fully realized, (1) because airpower was merely auxiliary to surface forces and strategy, (2) because the intercontinental bomber had not been built, and (3) because the airplane and its armament had not evolved into an air weapons system.

All critics of the effectiveness of airpower have ignored these facts. Such criticisms of the shortcomings of airpower are like sneering at a child for not doing the work of a man.

A fourth factor immeasurably adding to airpower effectiveness is the nuclear device. The significance of this is that today one aircraft can do the work of hundreds of World War II bombers.

Aviation Age does not quarrel with this or that dollar allotment to the buildup of our airpower. We do question the policy of our defense planners in not gearing their military strategy to the revolutionary changes in weapons development and airpower capabilities since World War II.

AVIATION INTELLIGENCE—DIGEST OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS—MILITARY

Future of United States military airpower is obscured by administration claims that are contradictory to facts of the proposed budget. President Eisenhower has affirmed United States must confront an aggressor with "a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing." Air Force Chief of Staff General Twining, in presence of Defense Secretary Wilson, declared the Air Force still packs the "big bang" under the "new look" program. Secretary Wilson added, "We are building up all along the line in the Air Force, which is getting an increasing percentage of the total."

Budget message, however, shows: Reduction of Strategic Air Command wings from 57 to 54; reduction of troop carrier wings from 17 to 11; reduction of combined Navy-Air Force research and development funds by $112,422,186; reduction in amount of new money requested for Air Force from $3.5 billion for fiscal 1954 to $2.7 billion for fiscal 1955.

These items in the budget message hardly seem in line with either Wilson's assertion, or the President's declared aim to provide "a strong military position" and pointing toward the "creation, maintenance, and full exploitation of modern airpower."

Furthermore, Air Force Secretary Talbott reports that the pilot training rate is being scaled down from 10,000 pilots in fiscal 1953 and 12,000 each succeeding year to 7,200 each year. Assistant Air Force Secretary H. L. White later said the rate would be increased to 7,800 a year by next December. The indicated vacillation in defense planning here does not argue for a soundly thought-out program for Air Force buildup.

As of today, this country possesses in the B–36 the only operational bomber capable of intercontinental bombing missions. All other SAC equipped must be based in foreign lands or refueled in flight to retaliate on an aggressor's blow. The security of foreign bases in the event of war is open to question.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Secretary of States Dulles' Agreement to a Conference With Communist China at Geneva in April of This Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a press release made February 24 concerning the telegram from the Committee for One Million, 36 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y., and regarding Secretary of State Dulles' agreement to a conference with Communist China at Geneva in April of this year:

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Yesterday morning I received this telegram which in essence seems to indicate that Secretary of State Dulles, by agreeing to a conference with Communist China at Geneva in April, has retreated from a previous position of rejecting any such conference. The telegram claims that such action on the part of Secretary Dulles does afford a degree of recognition to Communist China and, in any event, indicates weakness on our part. The telegram, which is signed by Charles Edison and JOHN W. MCCORMACK, minority whip of the House, allegedly on behalf of the Committee for One Million, 36 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y., reads as follows:

"Hon. ALVIN BENTLEY,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

"As an initial signer our petition will you join other initial signers in issuing following statement: 'In view of the statement of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles from Berlin on January 27 rejecting the proposal that the Big Four confer with Communist China, in which Secretary Dulles argued then that the real purpose of such a meeting was to attempt to attain for Communist China "a position in the councils of the world which it had not earned or had accorded to it by the international community in general including the United Nations." The decision announced on February 18 to hold just such a meeting cannot be accepted without apprehension. Any such meeting with Communist China must be studied realistically. In effect it appears to afford a degree of recognition to Communist China that has heretofore been denied by this country. At a minimum it is a calculated risk in view of Communist skill in maneuvering apparent concessions by the democratic world into propaganda victories for their side. To the population of the Far East who cannot stop to weigh subleties of diplomatic give and take, it must indicate weakness on our part. At the same time that Secretary Dulles, less than 3 weeks ago, refused demands for such a meeting, French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, supporting Mr. Dulles' refusal, noted that China was still killing French soldiers in Indochina. Said Bidault, "as long as this situation lasts we cannot meet with the Chinese Peoples' Republic to discuss issues. If the spirit in which China deals with the rest of the world is not changed there is no use in sitting around a table if the facts should change, of course France could then reconsider the position." The facts have not changed.' Please reply Western Union if agreeable.

"The COMMITTEE FOR ONE MILLION,
"CHARLES EDISON,
"JOHN W. MCCORMACK."

I greatly deplore the impression being given that the United States Government agreed at Berlin to a conference which might involve United States recognition of Communist China or a dealing with Communist China on general matters as an important member of the international community.

The facts are that Secretary Dulles fought through to victory on both of these propositions. Mr. Molotov finally had to agree that the Geneva conference would be on the express condition that no recognition by the United States was involved.

Furthermore, the Berlin resolution rejected Mr. Molotov's demand for a broad agenda and strictly confines the subject matter to Korea and to Indochina where Communist China has to be dealt with as an aggressor, direct or indirect.

Impressions contrary to the above merely play into the hands of the Chinese Communist regime, and enable it to claim a success when in fact it had a grave setback of its ambitions.

Prize-Winning Oration by Joel Howard Cyprus in Voice of Democracy Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, more than 1 million high-school boys and girls from all the States and 4 Territories entered the seventh annual Voice of Democracy Contest, sponsored by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

One of the four coequal national winners of this contest was Joel Howard Cyprus, a 17-year-old high-school senior from Wichita Falls, Tex.

When Joel was in Washington earlier this week to receive his award, I invited him to appear with me on a radio program broadcast throughout Texas. He delivered the original oration which won him the award from the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

This oration, which Joel calls I Speak for Democracy, is an inspiring speech—a simple, soul-stirring message that will appeal to all Americans.

In order that Senators may know for themselves this 17-year-old boy's concept of the meaning of democracy, I ask unanimous consent that the oration, I Speak for Democracy, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the oration was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY
(By Joel Howard Cyprus, of Wichita Falls, Tex.)

Who are you? Yes; you. I am but a voice, but you are a living person, a human being. And you can answer me. You have no fear. You are not ashamed. You hold your head up high and say proudly, "I am Bill Smith; I am a Catholic." Or your neighbor may say, "I am Saul Greenburg; I am a Jew." The couple down the street may answer, "We're the Robinsons; we are Protestant."

And here I, the voice, begin to wonder. What is this? I speak into a microphone and ask a simple question like "Who are you?" and get back 3 completely different answers from 3 neighbors. How can this be? People as different as they are cannot function as a unit. Yet I look around and see that an entire Nation is made up of these diverse people. Indeed I have good cause for wondering.

Once again I try a question: Which political party do you favor? And again, I receive answers like "the Democratic," "the Republican," "any reform party," "the party with the best ideas, no matter which one it may be." Again, too, I wonder. Such opposing political views cannot live together in a single nation. Yet I look around and see that they can and do.

I try a third question: How much money do you earn? And for the third time each answer is different. They range from $20 a week to $250 million a year. I can see no sense, yet I can see a nation.

Again in my quest for knowledge I try a question. Where were you born? "England," "Texas," Germany," "Outer Mongolia," "Brooklyn," "Timbuktu," "South Africa" * * *. The answers stream on and on. A nation made up of people from all over the world? Impossible. But an impossibility come true.

I continue my search, asking question after question. I seek something that holds this Nation together. Then, suddenly, it comes—the key to the whole affair. Quite innocently, I ask the question, "What are you? And, instead of a great deluge of answers, comes just one: "I am an American. I believe in democracy. I am satisfied to let the opinion of the majority govern my actions."

Finally I have my answer. At last I know. There is a simply solution. Or is it so simple?

Two men hold opposing political, religious, and financial views. Yet these same two men are willing to work together to sponsor the homecoming dance for the local football team. These same two men meet casually on the street and greet each other as closest friends. One of these men has his house burn down, and the other offers to shelter his family until they can find a new place to live. They cooperate to the fullest measure, and then we say the answer is simply, "They are Americans."

And we are right.

It is their idea of principles and their idea of majority rule that makes America succeed. They believe that if the other fellow is down, he should be helped back up;

and they believe that regardless of their own views, if the majority of the people involved favor something, then it must be carried out.

My first question was all wrong. Rather than "Who are you?" I should have asked, "What are you?" I would have received my answer immediately, for I would have heard a unanimous uproar: "We are America."

Oh yes; just one more thing. You may be wondering, Who am I? I am the intangible. I have been flattering myself with my little quest for knowledge. For you see, I am the voice of democracy.

Republican Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, within the past few days I have had an opportunity to read a splendid address by our distinguished colleague, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], which he delivered in Champaign, Ill., on February 13, 1954. I believe it should be brought to the attention of the Senate, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS AT CHAMPAIGN, ILL., BY HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

In November 1952, the people of this country voted for a change of administrations. They did so on the basis of definite promises which were made to them by the Republican Party and its candidate.

Now, as I talk with people and read the mail which comes to me, I find that men and women are discovering that they got a lot of things besides a change of administration. Things they didn't want and never imagined they'd get.

Since our Republican friends have now been in power for over a year, let us see whether the kind of a change which they have helped to bring about is what the voters wanted and hoped they were going to get.

First, let us look back to October 1952, the month before the Republicans convinced the voters that there should be a change.

There was virtually no unemployment in the United States. Everyone had a job.

The farmers were getting an average of 100 percent of parity for their crops.

Inflation had been stopped and for 20 months the general price level had been stable.

Personal income after taxes had risen to $235 billion a year, or in terms of real and not merely dollar income $31 billion more than it had been in 1946 and nearly $100 billion more than in 1939. The increase since 1950 had indeed been more than enough to meet the added costs of the Korean war.

Business was very profitable and prosperous, although you would be led by advertising techniques and sales hoopla to believe that the GOP discovered and patented private enterprise. The corporations made after taxes no less than $18.6 billions and were investing in industry at the rate of $26.5 billions.

Automobiles were still selling and so were farm implements; the sales lots were not stacked with unmovable merchandise.

Steel was operating at 107 percent of capacity.

The railroads were moving a vast volume of goods to consumers, carloadings were high, and employment was stable.

Now, let us see what kind of a change we have experienced.

Internally, the unemployed are beginning to show up in numbers looking unsuccessfully for work. The farm-equipment industry—the mainstay of western Illinios—is in grievous trouble. So is the radio and television industry, so are automobiles, and so is steel. All heavy good industries are down, as are the railroads and mail-order sales and a large number of others. It is not yet a depression and we pray that it may never become one.

If it doesn't become a depression, it will be due to the stabilizing measures which we Democrats built into the economy from 1933 to 1952, namely, unemployment insurance which partially protects men's income when they have lost their jobs, the guaranty of bank deposits up to $10,000, social security for the aged, the protection of home ownership, the SEC, and many other measures.

Nearly all of these measures were bitterly fought by the Republicans when we proposed them. Now, they are beginning to realize that they will help to ward off a depression, and we hope they are duly thankful to us for them.

Should they not be successful and should the situation greatly worsen, we northern Democrats will demand that the Government take immediate and drastic steps to help protect the jobs and income of the American people.

1. In the first place, we shall ask for a reduction in taxes on the lower income groups so that they may have more income to spend and hence can build up demand, production, and employment. This we shall try to do by raising the exemption limit on income taxation from $600 per dependent to at least $800 and by decreasing taxes on nonluxury consumption.

2. Second, we shall insist upon speedy action on a program of needed and justifiable public works to build up employment and purchasing power. This should be concentrated in slum clearance and housing for the cities, and on roads, schools, and hospitals everywhere.

We Democrats had the plans for all these projects drawn in 1945–46. They are on the shelves ready to be used if there is a will to use them. While we are not asking that this strategic reserve of public works be committed prematurely, we will demand that there shall be no delay if and when economic conditions become more serious.

First, let me say that I, in company with all other Democrats, want from the bottom of my heart to prevent a depression from developing. We Democrats want to regain or retain prosperity even if it means keeping the Republican Party in power forever. For the human consequences of a depression are too severe for us to go through one again. We Democrats want to join with our Republican friends in preventing a depression. At the same time, no one can prevent a sickness from developing into a chronic disease if the man who is sick insists that he is absolutely well and needs no treatment and no care. We all know that in the last 4 months there has been a marked contraction of employment and production which is especially acute in the farm equipment, auto, radio, television, and steel industries, and which has carried freight carloadings and sales very much below last year at this time. Unemployment has increased markedly. If you don't know this, then I invite you to talk with those working in these industries or to read the Wall Street Journal—one of my favorate papers.

But most of our Republican friends are refusing to recognize reality or to face the facts—just as they refused from 1929 to 1933—and pretended that all was well. But if you do this, then you stop yourself from taking effective action to prevent a sickness from becoming a disease. Only if we face the facts are we ready to act. That is all I have been trying to do—namely, for us to see things as they are and then without fear or hesitancy to act in a positive and constructive fashion when the need arises.

Nobody in the Democratic Party, to my knowledge, advocates premature use of these weapons against a depression. But we do not propose to stand by while you lose your jobs, your homes, your earnings, and your security, leaving unused the economic weapons we have prepared against just that. I certainly promise you that I will not.

Well, what did our Republican friends promise about farming? General Eisenhower, in his speech at Kasson, Minn., said that he was not only for a guaranty of 90 percent of parity, but for 100 percent. I want to quote exactly what the President said at Kasson:

"And here, and now, without any 'ifs' or 'buts', I say to you that I stand behind—and the Republican Party stands behind—the price-support laws now on the books. This includes the amendment to the Basic Farm Act, passed by votes of both parties in Congress, to continue through 1954 the price supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity. * * * All I know of farmers convinces me that they would rather earn their fair share than to have it as a Government handout. And a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity * * * it is full parity."

And here is some choice language from the Republican platform:

"We favor a farm program aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place."

I would hate to think of what might happen to the Lord's Prayer if it ever got slipped into a Republican platform.

What are the realities? Let us take corn. One hundred percent parity for most of Illinois would $1.79 a bushel, and they were supposed to be guaranteed 90 percent of this, or $1.61. But in practice, due to the failure of the Republicans to provide sufficient storage, our Illinois farmers had to sell their corn last year for from $1.30 to $1.38, or only 73 to 76 percent of parity. The wheat farmers fared even worse. Full parity was $2.58 a bushel. The farmers were supposed to be guaranteed 90 percent of this, or $2.31. But again lacking storage, they had to sell for from $1.60 to $1.80, or from 62 to 67 percent.

I leave to any farmer whether this is keeping the 90-percent parity pledge.

And now what is it that the President and the administration are proposing? They are proposing two things: (1) That a new formula for parity be adopted which, by itself as Secretary Benson has stated, would reduce the parity price of wheat by 40 cents a bushel, corn by 18 cents, and so forth; and (2) that instead of the 90 or 100 percent of parity which President Eisenhower promised, that the farmers only get from 75 to 90 percent of this new parity. Thus a 75 percent ratio for corn would mean only 67 percent of the old parity or only about $1.06 a bushel, and for wheat only 68 percent or $1.65 per bushel; but unless adequate storage is provided the farmers may not get even that.

I submit that the Republicans got farm votes in 1952 under false pretenses. If the farmers fall for this line of "sweet talk" again, will they not deserve the old Chinese saying, "Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me." Personally I don't believe the farmers are going to do it.

Finally, before we leave the farm situation, I have some choice language for the cattle growers and feeders. It is taken from the President's farm message:

I quote: "It is recommended, therefore, that the existing conditions with respect to meat animals be continued."

Maybe he should have added the new slogan: "Vote Democratic. The farm you are losing may be your own."

(3) Of course, one of General Eisenhower's big promises was to balance the budget, reduce taxes and preserve national security all at the same time. Well what has happened?

In the fiscal year 1952–53 the deficit was $9.4 billion, the largest peacetime deficit in history. For the first 7 months of the current year, on January 20 the deficit has been $9,758,000,000. The President says this will be cut down to only $3.3 billion by the end of the year but I would like to predict that it will be at least $5 billion and possibly more for the full year 1953–54. And it will amount to many billions for the year 1954–55. Instead of balancing the budget, our Republican friends are now asking for a $15 billion increase in the national debt limit.

If they really think they can and will carry out this big promise, why, I ask you, are they asking for $15 billion more spending authority?

When our red-faced Republican friends are asked about their pledge to balance the budget, they bring forward a new alibi. "There are two kinds of deficits," they solemnly state, namely, bad deficits and good deficits. Bad deficits are Democratic deficits. Good deficits are Republican deficits. Under the bad Democratic deficits, the expenditures are more than the receipts. Under the good Republican deficits, the receipts are less than the expenditures." What a triumph of logic and of public relations palaver this is.

Have there been tax reductions? Yes; the excess-profits tax and the increase of 2¼ percent in the basic income tax came off on the 1st of January, as we Democrats had provided in the original legislation. The Republicans did not do anything to take these taxes off; they merely allowed nature to take its course. But they will claim the credit, again under false pretenses.

In order to cut expenses appreciably, the Republicans have found, as we told them was the case, that they must reduce our Armed Forces. They cut the Air Force by $5 billion last year, reduced the number of wings from 137 combat units to 110, canceled orders for over 700 combat planes, and discontinued the pilot training of thousands of Reserve officers. Now they are tacitly admitting that they were wrong since they say that they are now going to restore the 137-wing schedule and rely for defense predominantly on airborne atomic bombers. But they will have lost at least a year's time from the cancellation of the planes and it will take at least 2 years to train the pilots whom they let go. And they promised us a stronger national defense.

Having reduced the Armed Forces by 200,000 last year, the Republicans are now out to cut them by nearly 300,000 next year, or by a reduction of 10 percent for Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. The new budget would cut the Army 17.5 percent (from 20 to 17 divisions), the Navy 7 percent, the Marine Corps 4.5 percent.

This must be cheerful news to Malenkov and Molotov with their 175 Russian divisions at ready, some 90 in the satellites, and Lord knows how many at arms in Red China.

This will mean fewer men in our combat units and less strength on the land. I see nothing in the military or diplomatic situation which should permit us to run such a grave risk. If we really do not want Soviet Russia to take over the world and ourselves, we should not let our guard down at such a crucial time. To the degree that there is an excessive number of men in the noncombat services of the Armed Forces, and I believe there is, they should be squeezed out and transferred to the combat units so that we will get more firepower and more combat efficiency from the same number of men instead of reducing the total number.

They promised to maintain, strengthen, and improve the civil-service system. How they expected to accomplish this by waves of dismissals, reductions in force, and disregard of the civil-service regulations, which have occurred in the past year, I cannot understand.

They promised that they would stabilize the cost of living and every month until November it went up to new highs.

What is it then that the Republicans have accomplished?

They have failed to preserve our national prosperity. They have gone back on the farmers. They have produced bigger deficits than ever before. They have weakened our national security and defense.

In justice to the Republicans however it must be admitted that there is one campaign pledge which they have lived up to. This was their pledge to give away the Nation's priceless off-shore oil resources to Texas, California, and Louisiana. They bought the Texas vote with this pledge and they were faithful to it. Since it was the peoples resources which they gave away, it was not an intense moral strain upon them to do this.

This enormous political frittering away of a great resource, I predict, ultimately may become a scandal that will make Teapot Dome look like a 10-cent bottle of 3-in-1. And all for the benefit of a few oil millionaires, and three States, at the expense of the public treasury, national defense, and possible future improvement of our school system.

I submit that on the record, the leaders of the Republican Party have shown that they cannot be trusted. It has flunked out on every major campaign commitment and promise—on the budget, on defense, on civil service, on the cost of living, on full employment, on farm policy.

It clearly has not governed in the best interests of the American people.

A Democrat wouldn't dare run on such a record. Somebody would shoot him.

As fine a man as General Eisenhower is personally, he has been under the control of old line political manipulators who have learned nothing from experience. The world has passed them by.

It is time for a change—a change that will return the government to the people. We need a government with more callouses on its hands, a bigger heart for the people, even if it has less rating in Dun & Bradstreet.

Freedom and Morality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered on Friday, February 26, at the annual dinner of the Unitarian Churches of the Greater Washington area, entitled "Freedom and Morality."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM AND MORALITY

(Address of Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, of New York, at annual dinner of Unitarian Churches, Greater Washington area)

I consider it a privilege to be here tonight, and to speak to you about freedom and morality.

I know I could not have a friendlier or more sympathetic audience. You are deeply concerned with the questions of both morality and freedom. I propose to indicate tonight that they are in major respects the same question.

Surely it is true that man's aspiration for morality and his aspiration for freedom are his noblest yearnings.

For hundreds, yes thousands of years, man has been pushing painfully in the direction of these goals. In various eras and in various nations, there has been progress, and there has also been retrogression. But there has gradually developed a general awareness, in most parts of the world, that these goals are good and desirable.

The great debate of the last several thousand years has been over the means of achieving these noble ends.

Philosophers and prophets, teachers and saints, patriots, heroes and martyrs have sought to define these goals, and to move mankind in their direction.

We, in our age, and in our country, may think that we have made more progress toward these goals than other ages and other peoples. There are different opinions about this. There are some who believe that in our material progress we have grossly neglected spiritual progress. I shall not discuss this vast question tonight, but I do suggest that the progress which mankind, and which our share of mankind here in America, has made is but an inch compared to the miles of distance yet to be traversed.

Yes; the quest for the good life has been going on for a long time.

The translation of the principles of the good life—of integrity, individual dignity, and morality—into the rules and practices of everyday life has proceeded haltingly but, in the long view, steadily.

This has been going on, for instance, in the field of law and government. In a major sense, law is a fundamental reflection of morality, being a codification of the rules, conventions, and customs which, in any land, guide the conduct of men and their institutions.

But morality is not guaranteed by laws. The real spirit of morality springs not from the laws, themselves, or even from the observance of them, but from an understanding and acceptance of the truths, the principles and the values which underlie those laws. Clever men, lacking the spirit of morality, can and do devise ways of abiding by the letter of the law while grossly violating their basic spirit. And a land in which the letter of the law is observed while the spirit of the law is openly evaded is a land sadly in need of moral repair and spiritual reawakening.

What I have said about the practice and the spirit of morality is equally true about the practice and spirit of freedom. Indeed the two go hand in hand.

I believe it was Emerson who said that the essence of morality is the selection between right and wrong. A land in which men are free to select between right and wrong and do, in fact, make such a selection is both a truly moral and a truly free country.

I do not believe that true virtue lies in people who do right by compulsion only. And any effort by government to insure absolute morality by absolute compulsion destroys morality as it destroys freedom. In the end, there is neither morality nor freedom.

In recent years we have had gross examples of this kind of destruction, both in Nazi Germany and in Communist Russia. In those countries, and in areas dominated by them, freedom was banned, it was said, for the good of the people. The underlying assumption was that the people of those countries could not be trusted to choose and select what was good for themselves and for the national welfare.

The party in power claimed that it knew what was best for the people. No opposition or dissent was tolerated. The firing squad

and the concentration camp was the answer to any deviation from what the party leadership said was good and right.

The philosophy of this kind of state was expressed by Adolph Hitler when he said, in his book Mein Kampf: "What the masses want is the victory of the stronger and the annihilation or the unconditional surrender of the weaker. They are far more satisfied by a doctrine which tolerates no rival than by the grant of freedom."

We believe that Adolf Hitler was wrong. We believe that Lenin, and Stalin and Malenkov were and are wrong. We believe that the people want freedom. We believe that the people can be depended upon to decide what is right, and that minorities, even minorities who hold the wrong doctrine or opinion, should not be oppressed or annihilated.

We believe that there should be a constant interchange of ideas between the Government and the governed. We believe in freedom for public criticism, even invalid criticism, of the Government and of those in power.

In an atmosphere of complete freedom, a moral people will make the right choice. They will distinguish truth from falsehood. And if they choose wrong once, or even twice, they will correct their error. They will choose right in the end. And it is more important that they have the freedom to choose than that they choose rigt every time.

This is our faith, the democratic faith, the faith of true liberalism and democracy.

This is our only absolute and unshakable assumption. In every other particular, the true Democrat, the true Liberal, the true believer in freedom must always admit the possibility of error. While we fight for what we believe is right, we dare not, at our peril, deny to others the right to fight for what they believe is right, although it may differ completely from our own view. Error or lack of it in regard to any particular issue can best be established by an appeal to the principles of reason and morality, in what Oliver Wendell Holmes called the free market place of ideas.

That is why the exercise of freedom is so important to a democracy. That is why the principles of morality are so important to the exercise of freedom.

But we are faced today, as men have been faced time and again through the ages, with a challenge to our basic assumptions.

We are confronted with those who not only deny the truth of what some of us believe but who would deny our right to believe in it and to advocate it.

We are confronted, in short, with a challenge to the concept of democracy and freedom, itself.

This challenge is posed, first of all, by the doctrine of communism, backed up by the might of the Communist world. Those behind the Iron Curtain who do not subscribe to the orthodoxies of communism, as interpreted and reinterpreted by the successive leaders of the Communist state, are denounced as enemies of the state and subjected to the penalty of death. Those beyond the Iron Curtain who do not heed the demands of the Communist world are to be overrun and destroyed.

This Communist world has its agents and dupes abroad in every country. These agents, with evil intent, do the bidding of the Kremlin. The dupes blindly subscribe to the evil cause and, wittingly or unwittingly, advance its violent and immoral purposes.

A famous philosopher once said that the guaranty of the instability of evil lies in the moral order of the world. We believe, and history has shown, that an evil cause will not long prevail. It cannot prevail. In the long run, error cannot conquer truth.

The chief and most obvious defect of the Communist doctrine is its total disregard and violation of all the principles of morality. Communist theory and practice presuppose that the ends, whatever they are, justify the means. And the means have universally turned out to be evil, brutal, and violent.

Freedom, of course, is the first victim. Integrity, honor, individual personality and dignity, and justice are trampled underfoot. Any evil is accepted if it serves to uphold the power and authority of the state. Truth, itself, is captured, perverted, and enslaved to serve the state.

Our problem and challenge is to oppose this array of evils and to overcome them.

How do we do it?

Do we do it by adopting the very evils and weaknesses of the Communist system? Or do we do it by opposing those evils and weaknesses with our own virtues and strengths?

What is our strength? Does our basic strength lie chiefly in our steel production, our armaments factories, in our Army, Navy, and Air Force? Is it our supply of atom and hydrogen bombs, our flame throwers and guided missiles?

No, my friends, these are merely our physical and military assets. They are, indeed, vitally important pieces on the world chessboard of power politics. But they are not the basic elements of our strength in opposition to the Communist power.

Our basic strength stems precisely from our freedoms and our morality. Our moral strength lies in our belief in a moral order of things—in the brotherhood of man, the dignity and worth of the human personality and in the supremacy of truth over error. Our physical strength rises from the development of our bountiful resources by our people, by their ingenuity, and their industry, which, in turn, are based on the people's strong and active faith in democracy, justice and freedom.

These elements of strength constitute our real power in world affairs. These elements made it possible for us to produce our great physical assets, and to support and direct them. These elements constitute the banners around which the free world and the freedom-loving world have rallied. This unity of the free world, around these banners, will surely—as surely as night ends in day—bring victory to our cause.

At home, through our free and democratic ways, we have produced an unrivalled prosperity, and arranged a fairly equitable distribution of our great wealth among the masses of our people. This is one of our strongest defenses against Communist influence and infiltration..

These factors have developed among our people an abiding confidence in ultimate justice for all, and a strong spirit of neighborliness and deep kinship among them. This spirit, in turn, has promoted an understanding that in our Nation of many strains and origins, there is a fundamental brotherhood stronger than any ties of blood or race.

But, my friends, destroy this confidence, this faith, and this understanding, and America, with all its factories, wealth, armies, air forces, atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, will ultimately lie exposed and defenseless before the invader, the aggressor, and the tyrant.

Yet today there is underway in our country a sustained assault on these basic elements of our national strength. I have already dealt with the designs of the Communists and their camp followers. Their purposes are known and their influence, in the field of ideas, is gone. The only danger we still face from them is from possible espionage, sabotage, and overt conspiracy. The detection of these activities is the responsibility of our security and police forces. The punishment of their illegal acts is the responsibility of our courts. This certainly is not a proper responsibility for congressional committees sitting as judge, jury, and prosecutor. No; our current danger here at home is not from the accused but from the accusers.

Demagogs have arisen among us who have discovered an easy path to power through the fears and anxieties of our people—fear of the Communist menace. Seizing false banners of anticommunism, these demagogs have launched a wholesale attack against the very sinews of our power to oppose communism.

They have invented strange new techniques and devices—the multiple untruth, the splattering smear, the trial by headline, the intimidation by innuendo, the grisly blackmail by threat of subpena—all these and many more.

In the course, and as a consequence of the activities of these demagogs, the time-hallowed doctrine of innocence until guilt is proved has almost disappeared. Freedom of association has been rubbed out in favor of guilt by association. The high crimes of heresy and sedition have been reestablished without benefit of legal enactment. Neighbor has been set against neighbor. Fear and suspicion have replaced trust and confidence. Intellect and intellectualism have been discredited. Whole institutions have been condemned. Subversive lists, based upon irresponsible citations, circulate widely, carrying their own damning authority.

New words and phrases have been introduced into the language—sly substitutes for the words traitor and traitorous—like fifth amendment Communist, soft toward communism, Communist stooge, special affinity for Communist causes—words and phrases vague in meaning but specific and tragic in their effect.

A new halo of heroism has been invented—redemption by accusation. He who will reveal and accuse his former associates—real or fancied—receives full pardon and restoration to the ranks of good citizens. Indeed he is marked a superior citizen, a hero of this troubled time. Congressional committees have been converted into confessional booths, where sinners may come and publicly confess and accuse, receiving in reward full absolution by congressional committee chairmen who have thus usurped the prerogatives of conscience and of God.

These are but some of the results of the activities of those dark forces which have arisen among us in these recent years.

Using first the cloak of congressional immunity, and later the potent weapon of congressional committee power, the demagogs and irresponsibles have made such inroads upon our entire structure of liberties, and the entire fabric of public morality as will not easily be repaired for some time to come.

They have, indeed, been characterized by a complete disregard for morality and decency and by a cynical and deliberate confusion of ends and means.

To begin with, these inquisitors asserted that their purpose was to expose Communists in the Government service, and traitors and spies in high office; instead, they have exposed the Nation to confusion and dissension at home, and to contumely and ridicule abroad.

Do I need to name these demagogs and irresponsibles? You know their leading spirits as well as I do—McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, and that entire coterie of headline-hunting inquisitors who have been well called the hucksters of fear and smear.

They are not alone, by any means. An imposing array of imitators, admirers, and supporters have gathered in their cause. There are, for instance, the several industrialists of great wealth, politically naive and socially reactionary, who have been publicly revealed in recent days as among the financial supporters of the dangerous forces now at work.

There are also the blind and bigoted purveyors of hate and prejudice in our land, loud in voice though small in numbers, who, whether invited or not, have joined the anti-

Communist crusade as a likely caravan for their own evil designs.

There are the foolish superpatriots, the blind isolationists and the rabid xenophobists who applaud with shrill acclaim the activities of the inquisitors, and troop along in their sorry parade.

And finally there are more than a few plain, bewildered citizens who are deceived and deluded by their fears and apprehensions over the real Communist menace into supporting this false anti-Communist show.

But even this assembly, as dangerous as it may be, is not the only one with whom we, who love freedom and strive for morality, must contend.

Lately the demagogs have received the tribute of emulation from seemingly respectable public leaders who have now put forward their own claims to the leadership of the motley forces of McCarthyism.

I must refer, I fear, to such men as the Attorney General of the United States and the Governor of my own State of New York. And there are others of the same rank and standing.

The Attorney General, Mr. Brownell, made his record when he recklessly charged former President Truman with complicity in espionage and treason, by knowingly promoting an alleged Soviet spy to high office.

This same Attorney General Brownell gave the first utterance to the most shameful and brazen political hoax perpetrated upon the American people in my generation—the 1,456 alleged subversives, called security risks, allegedly uncovered and discharged by the administration now in office. The number, 1,456, subsequently became 2,200, but it also became revealed as the most spurious trick of recent record.

The whole country knows by now that there were only a handful of Communists or actual subversives included in this number. Many of even these had actually been uncovered by the previous administration and were in the process of being investigated, prior to discharge, when the new administration took office. But the great majority of the 2,200, it is now known, were, first, persons who had left the Government service by routine resignation, or by reduction in force, without ever knowing that there was a cloud of any kind on their records; second, persons who were transferred from one Government agency to another, and are still today on the Government payroll; and, third, persons who had physical or psychological defects, completely unrelated to any question of loyalty, who were dismissed because they were deemed unfit for their jobs.

I personally have no doubt that at least some of the 2,200 were persons dismissed for purely partisan political reasons, which, I suppose, is the prerogative of the party in power.

But it was evil, it was vicious, it was unconscionable to have given the country and the world the impression that 2,200 traitors had been discovered in the Government service, and dismissed.

Yet that is the depth to which responsible public leaders descended in their audacious attempt to share the anti-Communist spotlight with the congressional inquisitors.

I mentioned the Governor of my own State, one of the outstanding public figures in the Nation. He gave the imprint of his high authority to this same numbers fraud, when he said, in a speech at Hartford, Conn., on December 16, 1953, that the United States Government under the Truman administration was, and I quote, "infested with spies and traitors." Governor Dewey went on to claim that in less than 11 months, from January to December 1953, the Justice Department under Brownell had, and again I quote "discovered and dismissed 1,456 security risks planted in the Government of the United States under the Democrat administration."

But this wasn't the bottom of Governor Dewey's descent from the levels of political decency. He repeated and justified Attorney General Brownell's shocking libel that President Truman had knowingly promoted a Soviet spy, a traitor, and allowed him to remain in a high policymaking position in our Government.

In this same speech Governor Dewey made a number of other, similarly extreme and irresponsible statements, all in the name of politics—all designed to ride the same crest of public fear and hysteria which had and has given such fearful prominence to McCarthy, Jenner, and the others.

My friends, I have not cited these facts and named these names out of a partisan feeling. This is not a partisan issue. This is a question of our basic morality, and of our freedoms. I have several times said, and I say again tonight—that we in public life must raise this alarm and make this issue, regardless of its effect on our political fortunes. The survival of every value we hold dear, at home and in the world abroad, is at stake.

What we confront here is a cynical distortion of truth to serve temporary political ends. This undertaking, by its nature, is beyond the immunity of politics. It is a blow at the heart of the whole body politic. It is a desperate thrust at the basis of political morality.

It may be said, both on behalf of Senator McCarthy and his cohorts and of the Brownell-Dewey approach, that what they have done was justified by the need to arouse the people to the dangers of communism.

I do not believe that the prescription was designed to remedy the disease. It had a far more cynical purpose. But, in fact, the cure has turned out to be much worse in its effect than the disease.

There cannot be any justification of evil or improper means, whatever the ends. It is axiomatic that corruption of means inevitably corrupts the ends.

The Great Teacher said, "How can Satan cast out Satin?" And this parable is true of the present situation.

No, my friends. The way to oppose Satan is not through ways of evil, but ways of good. The way to oppose tyranny is not through ways of tyranny, but through ways of freedom. When freedom, itself, is under attack, freedom must fight in her own right and with her own weapons. To strip her weapons from her and to place in her hands the weapons of her enemy is to destroy her.

We seek security, but our security must be based on freedom. Tyranny provides a kind of security. But it does not endure.

Freedom, of course, has its own limits, where it borders on license and irresponsibility. Those limits must be reasonably determined and redetermined in every age under every new set of circumstances.

But those limits are to be defined in the light of reason, in an atmosphere of hope, and in the strength of faith.

Our decisions must be made, and our course of action determined according to the unshakable principles of morality and decency. When we have abandoned these, we have abandoned all.

There is a prayer attributed to St. Francis of Assisi, which is appropriate for all faiths and for all time:

"Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace. Where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy."

If we, here in America, will but strive in our political, business, and social lives, to translate these words of prayer into everyday deeds to adopt them as rules of conduct, and to cherish them as eternal truths, we will succeed in conquering ourselves and in meeting our dangers. We will overcome evil. We will live in peace and in freedom. We will save our country from its enemies. We will save our eternal souls.

Current Economic Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, representatives of the administration seem to be in a state of confusion over the serious business downturn which has been confronting the Nation in recent months. Nowhere have I seen the current economic situation described more concisely, or a more complete remedy offered for its ills, than that presented by President W. P. Kennedy, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, in the Trainman News of March 1, 1954. I ask unanimous consent that the statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

W. P. KENNEDY TELLS OF PLIGHT OF UNITED STATES WORKINGMAN

WASHINGTON.—"Inventory adjustment," "business downturn," "economic adjustment."

What these cold, heartless expressions mean in terms of human want, fear, and misery was made clear to the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report by President W. P. Kennedy in his recent appearance before that group.

In sincere words that grew out of the concern he came to know in recent meetings across the land with BRTers who are suffering economic hardships in this period, he told the committee the story of human privation and threatened and actual hunger that have come to pass during the economic downturn.

And he left with the committee a list of suggestions from the BRT, designed to protect the dignity of the workingman, secure his right to work, and to provide an expanding and healthy economy for his future.

From his talks with BRTers across the land he brought the simple truth to Congress—the truth that while this current downtrend may reach the rich and the top layers of management as a ripple and an adjustment, it is hitting hard and low at the workingman; it is making him lose his possessions, and in many cases, go hungry.

FEAR RETURNS

It is making fear part of everyday life for the workingman again, economic fear such as he has not known since the great depression of the 1930's.

He told of many specific cases in the brotherhood where men are out of work, or on a curtailed workweek.

"Many of these men have worked for the railroad for 2, 3, 5, and up to 8 years," he said, "and, of course, they have never experienced unemployment until this tragic shock came to them, and they find themselves now unemployed with nothing to look forward to but unemployment insurance benefits, and when that has been absorbed, the breadlines, which is certainly a very gloomy picture for a newly married couple, or even a single man, to look forward to."

And President Kennedy outlined the even more drastic consequences of unemployment on the feelings and minds of men:

"Many of these men are men who have just come back from World War II or the Korean war. They have never experienced unemployment.

"They had a reason to believe that this democracy which they were glad to give up their life for in battle overseas was strong enough and efficient enough and capable enough to give them full employment, and it is a tragic period in their life when they find that the Government that they had so much faith in and the economy that they felt could not crumble is now unable to give them the living that they are entitled to."

This may mean, he said, the loss of their homes to many of these men; they are now unable to meet the substantial mortgage payments they have incurred unless help comes along.

And such items as home appliances, automobiles, and furniture come under the threat of repossession. And, said President Kennedy, the merchants don't know what to do with the stuff if it is repossessed—many used cars now sit on the lots up for sale at lower prices than the balance on repossessed cars.

WARTIME ECONOMY?

President Kennedy also reported that he has heard many statements, from loyal citizens, indicating that they fear the situation has some to the point where the Nation must have a so-called wartime economy for full prosperity.

We find foreign agents pumping such information into the country—that a democracy such as the United States cannot live unless it lives on war and a wartime economy, he added.

And, he said, the BRT members are all loyal citizens of Canada and the United States.

"To my knowledge, we do not have a Communist within the ranks of our organization," he said, and we want to keep out the idea that the only way we can prosper is in a war economy.

Many members are stopped when they try to borrow because the high rates of interest, has pushed money out of their reach, and many institutions don't want to give them a loan because they are not good security risks, being on short workweeks, or unemployed.

If you want the real picture, he said, get out and travel around the States—you can't get it traveling around the city of Washington.

The downward spiral is bad at the 3 million unemployment mark, he said; and the outlook is not promising.

In addition to the unemployed, he reminded committee members, we have many thousands working 1, 2, and 3 days a week, whose income is seriously curtailed, and who are not even reported as unemployed.

"Now, the peculiar part of it is this," said President Kennedy:

"We have too many men holding Government positions of high responsibility, and we have too many men that are in big business in the financial institutions and otherwise, who think that this unemployment situation is a necessity in this economy of ours.

"In other words, they feel that there must be a leveling-off process, and that unemployment probably is the avenue of approach to the so-called leveling-off. * * *

"They look at our economy as being healthy when there are 3 or 4 million workers out of work in this country."

With that, he said, we disagree—"There is no reason why in this country of ours every man should not be employed and given an opportunity to work."

President Kennedy continued:

"This is looked upon as one of the greatest countries of the world where democracy rules supreme, where everybody is to get a square deal, where everybody can have full employment, and yet here we find now in these days of prosperity that millions of workers are out on the streets."

UNHEALTHY SITUATION

"That is not, certainly, a healthy situation, and anybody that indicates that this economy should have unemployment really does not know what he is talking about, because there is nothing that will bring communism into this country quicker than to disregard these millions of people that have had positions and owned their homes are thrown in the bread lines of the country."

OFFERS SUGGESTIONS

President Kennedy left a statement with the joint committee listing the recommendations of the BRT.

"I believe the Government now and in the future, must set a goal for industrial and business activity in the ensuing year that will provide a job for every person who is able and desires to work," he said.

"The recent economic report of the President falls short of establishing such an objective. The report leaves the impression that the problem of expanding the rate of economic activity is to be left primarily to the voluntary actions of the business community.

"The businessmen and business groups of the country, however well-intentioned, must of necessity act as individuals, and their uncoordinated action cannot be relied on to avoid want and hardship for millions of American citizens."

He referred to the practice of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report of holding annual hearings on the President's economic report as "one of the most important contributions being made to the future economic growth and prosperity of this country."

He called for action in five major areas of the Nation's economy:

Preservation of living standards through maintenance of purchasing power as a necessary weapon against recession.

Some of the specific suggestions President Kennedy made were: Lessen income-tax burden on lower-income groups, with immediate increase of exemptions to $800; closing of loopholes in tax laws to recover about $5 billion now lost in revenue from high-income groups; elimination of the 15-percent excise tax on railroad passenger travel; and repeal of Taft-Hartley law to insure strong unions, able to bargain equally with employers.

Also adoption of a higher national minimum wage; increase of unemployment compensation and pension payments; expansion of housing for middle- and low-income brackets; and a slum-clearance program.

Reduction of prices to bring more consumers into the market.

Specific suggestions were: Vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws to curb monopoly; investigation of the price spread between producer and consumer; and progressive leadership to bring lower prices.

Public spending to offset decline in spending by private businesses.

Specific suggestions: Appropriations for immediate preparation of plans for emergency public works; Government machinery to set in motion a vast public-works program on all levels; construction of public schools, hospitals, roads, and other public projects to remove shortages in these fields; acceleration of programs of resources, conservation, and continuation of the public-power program in such river basins as the Missouri, Columbia, upper Colorado, and others.

The Nation's school situation is desperate and scandalous, President Kennedy said.

"We have communities in the western part of the United States where children must necessarily travel for a great many miles to find a public school, and in many instances they are unable to find a school within any reasonable distance of their homes."

Kennedy also invited attention to another grave problem—rural and back country roads:

"A great many communities are still bogged down in mud," he said.

Protect small business from unchecked recession by establishment of a permanent small business agency to provide credit at low interest rates; revision of corporation income tax to encourage small business, and uses of low discount rates and stabilization of low interest rates by Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury to encourage business expansion to full employment level.

To provide the same high living standards to agriculture as other sections of the economy enjoy, and to protect the important relationship between agricultural prosperity and a general high level of economic activity, President Kennedy called for a price support program that will maintain the income of farmers at the same time that food prices are kept to a level where consumers can get the commodities necessary to an adequate living standard.

Letter Mail Rates Should Not Be Increased

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to reduce the current postal deficit, the Post Office Department is bent on a course of action which, if carried through, promises to boomerang.

I speak of the bills in both the House of Representatives and the Senate—H. R. 6052 and S. 2836—designed to raise first-class mail postage from 3 cents to 4 cents and air-mail postage from 6 cents to 7 cents, in the belief that additional postal revenues would thus be generated.

Such legislation is unrealistic for two major reasons:

FIRST-CLASS MAIL A PROFITMAKER

First, the Post Office Department is presently realizing a substantial profit from first-class mail and air mail at the going rates of 3 cents and 6 cents per ounce, respectively. The Post Office Department's own cost ascertainment report for 1952, the last complete year for which postal data are available, shows that first-class mail returned a net profit to the post office of $52,400,000 on first-class revenues totaling about $843 million, which represents a profit of about 6 percent.

AIR MAIL RETURNS GREATER PERCENTAGE OF PROFIT THAN FIRST-CLASS MAIL

In addition to profits resulting from first-class mail, the Post Office Department in 1952—excluding subsidy, for which the Department is no longer responsible—realized air-mail profits from the services provided by the scheduled airlines of approximately $10 million. The Department's total domestic air-mail revenues were about $120 million, so it actually made a profit of more than 8 percent on gross air-mail business.

CALIFORNIA TOP STATE IN ORIGINATING AIRMAIL

A substantial percentage of these revenues was accounted for by the State of California. Los Angeles and San Francisco alone generated domestic airmail revenues for the post office amounting to nearly $9 million, or more than 7 percent of total domestic airmail revenues accruing to the post office in 1952. Compare this figure with the year 1940, when these 2 cities returned less than $2 million to the Post Office Department in airmal revenues. Los Angeles, which ranks third among United States cities on airmail revenues, accounted for more than 4 percent of the national airmail revenue total in 1952, returning nearly $5 million to the post office. The importance of airmail to California is further indicated by the fact that during 1952, according to an air commerce traffic pattern study made by the CAA, more tions of airmail originated in California than in any other State in the Union—approximately 14,000 tons or about 15 percent of all airmail originating in the more than 650 cities currently on the airmail map.

As exemplified by California, there is no reason why these airmail profits for the post office should not continue to grow—providing, that is, that "the goose that lays the golden egg" is not killed by hiking airmail postage from 6 cents to 7 cents. Which brings me to my second major reason for opposing the proposed legislation.

HIGH POSTAL RATES REDUCE MAIL VOLUME

A sound case can be made for the conclusion that an increase in postal rates has a detrimental effect on volume—that such an increase does not raise revenue sufficiently to compensate for the higher unit costs due to decreased volume. Let us examine the record.

The beginning of scheduled domestic air transportation coincides roughly with the establishment of the first uniform airmail postage rates. Prior to February 1, 1927, airmail rates had been very complex. As a result of the Kelly Act of 2 years previous, postage rates had been established at 10 cents per ounce per contract route. On the above date, a simple blanket postage rate of 10 cents per half ounce was established between any two points in the United States. Data on revenues and expenses both before and after this rate change are incomplete; but it did result in a 15.6 percent increase in volume in the first month after the new rate was instituted.

On August 1, 1928, a new airmail rate was inaugurated. The first ounce was reduced from 10 cents to 5 cents, with all additional ounces at 10 cents. The assumption that the number if not the total weight of airmail might be increased was borne out immediately. The first month saw a 95-percent rise in the volume of airmail. The increase for the fiscal year 1929 was over 200 percent.

The first opportunity to observe the adverse effects of airmail rate increases came in 1932 when the postage rate was raised to 8 cents for the first ounce and 13 cents for each additional ounce. The results of the increase were immediate and substantial. The following fiscal year saw a 33-percent reduction in the volume of airmail. This rate increase occurred at the heighth of the depression, a fact which in part may account for the substantial increase in the airmail deficit resulting from smaller volumes. However, the period of the great depression also saw experimentation with a rate decrease. In 1935 a flat 6 cents per ounce rate was inaugurated. Volume increased 21.2 percent during the first month and the fiscal year 1935 witnessed an increase of 50.5 percent over the previous year.

The new 6-cent rate remained unchanged for almost a decade, during which period domestic airmail experienced a very healthy increase.

During the war an 8-cent rate was established, and the volume of airmail dropped severely, from 1,091,000,000 pieces in fiscal 1944 to 716 million pieces in 1946. Revenue dropped from $8,500,000 monthly in fiscal 1944 to $6,770,000 in 1945, a drop of 11.2 percent. While a portion of this reduction resulted from the decrease of military mail, a major part was clearly attributable to the high rate, because the percentage of airmail to total first-class mail dropped during this period from 5.02 to 3.68 percent.

In an effort both to promote the use of airmail and to reverse the trend in costs, a 5-cent rate was inaugurated on October 1, 1946. An immediate upsurge took place. In this 1 month some 40 percent more airmail was carried than in the previous month under the 8-cent rate. The first 9 months of 1947 saw increases over September 1946, which ranged from 42 to 53 percent. Undoubtedly the sharp increase in airmail volume which followed the inauguration of the new rate was to a large extent the result of the very considerable rate reduction effected.

In an effort to derive more revenue from airmail without disturbing this favorable trend the postage rate was increased cautiously to 6 cents an ounce on January 1, 1949. Even this modest increase resulted in a reduction in volume of the mail to which the rate applied, from 33 million pounds in 1949 to 32 million pounds in 1950. There can be no doubt but that the postage rate increase caused this reduction, because the trend of total first-class mail was in the opposite direction. While the airmail lost a million pounds, the surface first-class mail gained approximately 12 million pounds.

It is true that total airmail service, which includes airmail and air parcel post, has been increasing during the years since 1950. This overall increase results from the growth of air parcel post, which was introduced in 1949.

SIX-CENT RATE MAXIMUM AIRMAIL LIMIT

From this record it appears that Congress has already proved that the existing rate is as high as airmail postage should go. An increase to 7 cents will repeat a mistake made before with adverse consequences. It is no answer to say that in view of the general inflation the public would be willing to pay the additional 1 cent for airmail, and that for that reason no reduction would be suffered. This is disproved by the fact that even the modest increase of 1 cent in 1949 resulted in a reduction of a million pounds, to say nothing of the adverse effect the increase had on the growth of airmail service as such.

EXPEDITED FIRST-CLASS MAIL A BOON TO POST OFFICE

In addition to the profitable service which airmail is currently providing the post office, note should also be taken of the profit the post office is making by flying nonlocal first-class mail between New York and Chicago on an experimental basis. The scheduled airlines are now well in their fifth month in providing this expedited service to the public. Postal revenues accruing to the Post Office Department amount to $2,310 a tone, of which $134.66 is paid to the airlines for services rendered. This means that the airlines receive only 5.8 percent of the postal revenues for flying the New York-Chicago mail and the remaining 94.2 percent, or $2,175.34 on each ton, is retained by the post office to pay ground expenses.

Regular airmail moving over this same route is sold to the public, under the existing 6-cent rate, at $4,200 per ton. The Department pays the carriers $325.80 per ton for transporting it. The remaining $3,975 per ton is retained by the Post Office Department to pay its ground handling costs, which, surely, are not greatly in excess of those incurred for the handling of surface mail.

AIRMAIL SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY POST OFFICE

These figures show two things. In the first place, the Post Office Department must be making a good profit out of the services of the airlines. Second, airmail is the service that should be encouraged most by the Post Office Department, because the Department receives almost twice as much to pay for its ground handling costs as it does in the case of surface mail, even though the handling of the two types of mail is very similar.

In this bill, however, the Department, far from encouraging the use of airmail, is, on the basis of the previous record of rate increases, endangering not only the continued growth of this very profitable service but even the present volume.

For these reasons, I am firm in my conviction that the increase of first-class mail from 3 cents to 4 cents an ounce and of airmail from 6 cents to 7 cents is not in the best interests of the Federal Government, or of the general public, and, therefore, should be opposed.

Tabulation of Results of Questionnaire Sent to 53,370 Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the tabulated results of a questionnaire sent to 53,370 of my constituents. Nine thousand three hundred and ninety-four questionnaires were returned, which gives an average of

between 17 and 18 percent. My remarks are in the form of various press releases issued between February 18, 1954, and February 27, 1954:

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Congressman ALVIN BENTLEY, of Michigan's Eighth District, today released a portion of the tabulated results of a questionnaire sent to over 53,000 of his constituents. Approximately 9,400 questionnaires were returned, which gives an average of between 17 and 18 percent. Congressman BENTLEY stated that further results will be released as they are tabulated.

1. Government expenses should not legally exceed Government income in any given fiscal year.

This was rejected quite decisively by all groups, except professional people. The majority of people evidently felt that there are more important things than a balanced budget at this particular time.

2. Social security should be extended on a compulsory basis to farmers, professional people, etc.

Replies to this question showed almost an exactly even division of opinion. It was rejected by those people who would be directly affected such as professional people, white-collar workers, and farmers. Returns would indicate this to be the most controversial issue in the entire questionnaire.

3. The social-security retirement age should be lowered from 65 to 60.

This was generally endorsed by all groups except professional people.

4. The social-security system should be put on more nearly a pay-as-you-go basis.

This principle was so overwhelmingly endorsed that it clearly represents the outstanding opinion of the district with regard to the social-security program.

5. A person should be required to contribute for 20 quarters for social-security eligibility.

The heavy endorsement of this statement showed a definite impression that there is too great a disparity between contributions and benefits as the social-security program is now operated.

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage		Business		Professional		Labor		White collar		Farmer		Miscellaneous	
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	6,585	2,596	3,989	39.57	60.43	267	354	227	173	234	494	520	581	631	1,229	717	1,158
2	6,717	3,410	3,307	50.92	49.08	353	272	193	210	443	327	582	586	865	1,024	974	888
3	6,388	3,648	2,740	58.40	41.60	326	299	165	238	538	126	710	499	967	762	1,142	816
4	6,208	5,591	617	90.06	9.94	309	45	358	32	627	89	974	128	1,688	121	1,575	202
5	6,136	4,413	1,723	71.92	29.08	435	153	280	84	488	143	865	263	1,122	567	1,223	513

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Following is the second series of tabulated results in questionnaire of Eighth District of Michigan, conducted by ALVIN M. BENTLEY, of Michigan:

6. Postal rates should be raised sufficiently so that the Post Office Department can show a profit.

This controversial question won a measure of close support from all groups. It is presumed that the majority of answers merely desired the Post Office Department to reach an approximate breakeven point in its revenues and expenses.

7. I am in favor of universal military training as part of a high-school course.

All groups except farmers supported this measure which was basically a vote for or against universal military training in any form.

8. Selective service calls should be sufficient to maintain our Armed Forces at their present levels.

Evidently a very large majority of persons oppose any reduction in the strength of our Armed Forces at this time of crucial international relations.

9. Veterans with non-service-connected disabilities should only receive medical care in cases of proven poverty.

A wholesale endorsement of the present policies of the Veterans' Administration in this respect.

10. The American Communist Party should be outlawed.

An expected and very gratifying majority.

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage		Business		Professional		Labor		White collar		Farmer		Miscellaneous	
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
6	6,508	3,828	2,680	58.80	41.20	378	222	233	153	449	284	675	433	1,023	808	1,070	780
7	6,813	3,830	2,983	56.22	43.78	424	245	228	177	460	296	677	495	921	997	1,120	773
8	5,844	5,060	784	86.50	13.50	485	88	301	61	530	69	928	147	1,452	275	1,364	244
9	6,475	5,200	1,275	80.30	19.70	510	100	351	53	534	206	964	226	1,497	368	1,344	320
10	5,531	4,926	603	89.05	10.95	469	46	288	51	538	69	812	126	1,437	146	1,384	165

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Following is the third series of tabulated results in questionnaire of Eighth District of Michigan conducted by Congressman ALVIN M. BENTLEY.

11. Persons testifying before congressional committees should be required to answer questions as to Communist Party membership.

This question was more heavily endorsed than any other and shows overwhelming feeling that the fifth amendment should not be abused as has been done in the past.

12. Senator JOE MCCARTHY is performing a distinct public service to the American people.

Most of the people seem to like Joe.

13. The Taft-Hartley Act is basically fair to both labor and management.

Even labor voted better than 2 to 1 in favor of this statement—a surprisingly strong endorsement.

14. Price supports should be retained at 90 percent of parity for the time being.

This proposal won better than a 3-to-1 endorsement from the farm group.

15. Crop surpluses should be built to guard against future drought or other unfavorable conditions.

This proposal received overwhelming endorsement from all groups. Evidently the accumulation of surpluses is not as much of a concern to the people as it is to the administration.

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage		Business		Professional		Labor		White collar		Farmer		Miscellaneous	
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
11	5,759	5,483	276	95.20	4.80	618	23	370	33	732	24	1,130	51	768	55	1,865	90
12	5,911	4,645	1,266	78.50	21.50	447	128	278	97	480	149	809	264	1,321	283	1,310	345
13	6,370	5,210	1,160	81.79	18.21	549	55	336	162	463	229	950	153	1,505	225	1,407	301
14	5,930	4,000	1,930	67.46	32.54	331	216	221	129	443	219	619	403	1,396	460	990	503
15	6,740	5,824	916	86.43	13.57	497	102	307	77	660	62	904	216	1,685	212	1,571	247

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Following is the fourth series of tabulated results in questionnaire of Eighth District of Michigan conducted by ALVIN M. BENTLEY, of Michigan.

16. I am in agreement with Secretary Benson's announced plans and policies.

The Secretary of Agriculture received a solid vote of endorsement from the district with the farm vote being more than 2 to 1 in his favor.

17. Soil-conservation payments to farmers should be continued.

Although professional people voted slightly in favor of this proposition, other groups showed substantial opposition, including farmers.

18. Farm co-ops and other such nonprofit organizations should be taxed similarly to private corporations.

Farmers strongly opposed this statement but it was substantially endorsed by all other groups.

19. Production controls should be maintained on all price-supported commodities.

Business voters divided evenly but all other groups appeared to believe that production controls and price supports must go hand in hand.

20. Our present tariffs should gradually be reduced over a period of time.

The district showed considerable support for the idea that our present tariff structure is still too high. This is in line with general administration policy.

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage		Business		Professional		Labor		White collar		Farmer		Miscellaneous	
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
16	4,969	3,873	1,096	78.10	21.90	398	80	266	43	329	130	703	153	1,140	440	1,037	280
17	6,178	2,771	3,407	44.85	55.15	231	246	178	171	315	362	485	558	781	1,116	781	954
18	6,276	3,960	2,316	63.09	36.91	394	64	205	88	475	203	879	250	704	1,084	1,243	567
19	5,816	4,531	1,285	77.87	22.13	97	97	325	53	570	153	843	100	1,348	454	1,348	338
20	5,618	3,865	1,753	68.78	31.22	390	148	267	90	430	204	741	178	907	674	1,129	459

PRESS STATEMENT BY HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN

Following is the fifth and final series of tabulated results in questionnaire of Eighth District of Michigan conducted by Congressman ALVIN M. BENTLEY:

21. Foreign aid should be cut at least 50 percent from the last appropriations authorized.

By a very heavy margin, the Eighth District endorsed further sharp reductions in our foreign military and economic assistance programs.

22. American troops should be left at full strength in Korea until a political settlement is reached.

This proposal also won strong support which would indicate that the people believe in maintaining a strong defense against the Communist enemy.

23. Atomic weapons should be used wherever American troops may have to fight Communists.

The heavy favorable vote on this question would show that people feel that, if we are at war, it should be fought with every resource at our disposal.

24. No country trading with the Communists should receive American military or economic aid.

Rather surprisingly, this thesis was rejected except by professional and white-collar groups.

25. A constitutional amendment is required to protect domestic law against international treaties (Bricker amendment).

It would seem from this vote that the principles of the Bricker amendment were overwhemingly endorsed by the people of the district.

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage		Business		Professional		Labor		White collar		Farmer		Miscellaneous	
				Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
21	6,102	5,377	725	88.10	11.90	549	55	299	58	608	71	893	180	1,588	180	1,440	181
22	5,059	4,631	1,428	71.80	28.20	246	159	242	125	579	140	838	264	1,342	373	1,394	367
23	6,116	5,507	1,109	81.87	18.13	497	83	272	120	601	92	814	222	1,497	257	1,351	336
24	6,596	2,952	3,644	44.77	55.23	293	304	242	120	368	482	620	472	677	1,166	752	1,100
25	4,305	3,682	623	85.50	14.50	343	57	231	43	433	42	613	132	1,067	189	995	180

Address by Hon. Hugh G. Grant on Segregation of the Races

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks on the racial-segregation issue by Hugh G. Grant, former member of the State Department and United States Minister to Albania and Thailand. Mr. Grant addressed the Exchange Club of Augusta, Ga., on the afternoon of January 21, 1954, and subsequently in the evening at 8 o'clock his views on segregation were broadcast over radio station WRDW, Augusta, Ga.

The address follows:

SEGREGATION OF THE RACES

I appreciate sincerely the invitation extended to me to address the Exchange Club of August, Ga., on the most momentous question confronting the American people today—segregation of the races. That question involves the right of the people of the 48 States of the Union to establish and operate, as they see fit, their own educational and social systems without interference by the Federal Government or the Federal judiciary. Specifically, shall the people of Georgia, 16 sister States and the District of Columbia retain the right to separate the white and black races in their public schools, involving today some 12 million school children? Integration of the races in the public schools, as proposed, means ultimately complete integration throughout the educational system, including the colleges and universities maintained by public funds. This will result in gradual social integration of the races and miscegenation which would constitute a major disaster for both white and black races.

The issue of segregation in the public schools is now under consideration behind the closed doors of the United States Supreme Court. The issue is based on five suits brought at the instigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia. The four State cases are based on the so-called "equal protection clause" of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The District of Columbia case is based on the fifth amendment to the Constitution which states that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." The Supreme Court heard final oral arguments in December and a court decision is expected sometime in the spring or before the court adjourns.

Stripped of legal verbiage, these suits constitute another round in the grand assault by representatives of a minority racial group in this country against the social customs and traditions of some 40 million white people whose ancestors played an important role in fighting and winning the American Revolution, established a Republic of member States and wrote the Federal Constitution, leaving wide powers to the discretion and judgment of the people of the contracting States.

This assault had its inception at the end of the tragic War Between the States, in 1866, when a few radical Republican Party leaders, in a vengeful mood against the conquered South and through a desire to build up their party, forced through legislation which subsequently became the 14th amendment to the Constitution. This amendment, upon which the four State segregation cases rest, was added to the Constitution through trickery, subterfuge, and oppression while the Southern States (which Lincoln said had never been out of the Union) were under rigid Federal military rule. The legality of the 14th amendment to the Constitution is very dubious. My own studies of the political procedures in that tragic era of reconstruction, as both student and teacher of American Government have led me to believe that the 14th amendment itself is unconstitutional. I would certainly like to hear the eminent Justices of the Supreme Court discuss that phase of the school segregation issue.

There is not sufficient time in this brief discussion to give the details of the grand assault by the representatives of the minority group. Charles Wallace Collins states in his revealing volume, "Whither Solid South?": "When the Negro was lifted out of slavery (during the War Between the States) there was handed to him as a gift the ancient charters of liberty which the white man had gained for himself through centuries of struggle against ignorance and tyranny." And it may be added that the Negro race in Africa has never made any contribution to what we call civilization—what the Negro has acomplished in America has come through imitation of the white man's religion, customs, and manners. The Negro has copied well.

The appetites of the Negro agitators against segregation appear to be insatiable. The more they get, the more they want, and demand. Pursuant to the plan of campaign formulated by the attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, individual Negroes began knocking for admission at the doors of southern white professional institutions, claiming they could not find the courses they needed elsewhere in the State. The Supreme Court subsequently applied the theory of "separate but equal doctrine." The first major case of the kind, in 1938, resulted in a Negro being admitted to the law school of the University of Missouri.

Now Missouri happens to be the native State of former President Harry Truman, who back in 1947 told a conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington that "we can no longer wait until the most backward areas catch up with the main movement of liberalism." Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who also addressed the Negro conference, told of alleged embarrassments she suffered at sessions of the United Nations when foreign representatives referred to press accounts of discriminations against the Negroes in the

United States. Other cases similar to the Missouri law school case followed until today there are several hundred Negroes enrolled in the graduate schools of southern universities.

Meanwhile, President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), established in 1938, began to function effectively against segregation in the ranks of organized labor through the action of the new Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). President Truman vigorously espoused the philosophy of the FEPC during his administration. Only determined opposition through the filibuster by such southern Democratic leaders as Senator DICK RUSSELL, of Georgia, aided by a few Republican States' Righters, stopped this vicious piece of legislation from becoming law. Today, the FEPC measure appears to be pigeonholed, but only temporarily, likely, while the assault is on to wipe out segregation in the public schools through court action.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its supporters in strategic positions in the Federal Government have been successfully active against segregation on another important front, the United States armed services. According to Time magazine of May 11, 1953, the system of integration in the armed services has today been widely extended and is causing little or no friction. Of course, Time fails to point out that men in the armed services have their mouths sealed by strict military discipline. Any open protest against the system would result in the meting out of punishment for the protester.

In his state of the Union message on January 7, President Eisenhower told the Congress and the people of the Nation through radio and press that "segregation in the Armed Forces and other Federal activities is on the way out." The President added that, "We have also made progress toward its abolition in the District of Columbia. These are steps in the continuing effort to eliminate interracial difficulty."

I respectfully ask the President if he is really convinced that the abolition of segregation of the races will eliminate interracial difficulty? Long years of practical experience in race relationship in the United States does not indicate that, either north of the Mason and Dixon line or south of it. Elimination of segreration, especially where large numbers of people of both races are involved, will increase interracial difficulties, result in strife, perhaps bloodshed in race riots such as have occurred on a larger scale in the North than in the South. Even Time magazine, which never overlooks an opportunity to take a whack at the South and its methods of handling the racial problem, states that "the worst race riots in recent United States history took place in Detroit (1943) and Chicago (1951)—and today, both cities live in somewhat uneasy peace."

The fact of the matter is, certain leaders of the present Republican administration, including Attorney General Brownell, former handyman for Gov. Tom Dewey, are playing with the issue of segregation for votes—votes in the coming congressional elections this fall and in the next Presidential election in 1956. That was what prompted me to send my telegram to President Eisenhower while he was the guest of this community at Thanksgiving time, asking him to repudiate his Attorney General's action in urging the Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in the public schools. I sincerely and earnestly hoped that Mr. Eisenhower would refuse to join his Attorney General in this action. I was keenly disappointed in the President's negative response, along with probably millions of warm admirers of Mr. Eisenhower, many of whom supported him for the Presidency here in the South.

The motive prompting Attorney General Brownell's action, approved by the President, is clearly indicated in a statement by Mr. Brownell printed on the cover of a book on the racial issue, entitled "Balance of Power—the Negro Vote," by Henry Lee Moon who, I assume, is a Negro writer, since he is described as public relations head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is also stated that Henry Lee Moon was Sidney Hillman's assistant in the infancy of CIO–PAC (Political Action Committee). Sidney Hillman, it will be recalled, is the man who was reliably reported to have cleared Mr. Truman as the Vice Presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket with Mr. Roosevelt in the campaign in 1944. Well, Author Moon quotes Brownell, as chairman of the Republican National Committee in a 1944 post-election analysis, as claiming that a shift of 303,414 votes in 15 States outside of the South would have enabled Gov. Thomas E. Dewey to capture 175 additional electoral votes and to win the Presidency with a 8-electoral-vote margin. And, according to the author of Balance of Power—the Negro Vote, in at least 8 of the 15 States listed by Brownell, the Negro vote exceeded the number needed to shift in order to place them in the Republican column.

And yet the United States Supreme Court designates the former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Herbert Brownell, as a friend of the Court to advise the Court as to what it should do about segregation of the races in the public schools. It is not a pretty picture.

The author of Balance of Power—The Negro Vote, lays all the plans of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against segregation right out on the line for all to see. For instance, in the last chapter of this book, entitled "The Ultimate Objective," it is asserted that the Negro wants "full equality and the elimination of the Jim Crow. Negroes must have equal opportunity for the development of individual personality, the attainment of a fair and adequate share of the world's economic goods, and the enjoyment of life." (I wonder how many of our white population would dare to aspire to all of this.) Again, quoting the author, "it has long since been demonstrated that so-called equal but separate accommodations mean inferior facilities for Negroes. Finally and urgently, the Negro must have equal educational opportunity." And note this, "equalization will eventually bring an end to segregation in education; the sheer cost of maintaining an adequate dual system will lead to its collapse. Meanwhile," the author continues, "it is necessary to resort to legal tests and mobilize for political action in the drive to push back the frontiers of segregation in education as well as in other fields. Equality the Negro must have. And that equality can have meaning only in terms of the level of our total society. The universal demand among Negroes is for full equality."

Well, there you are, ladies and gentlemen. There is the program spelled out for some 15 million Negroes, of whom about two-thirds live here in the South, by a top-ranking officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I doubt if in all the history of human beings here on earth there has been such another example of gross presumption and ingratitude on the part of one racial group toward another, in this particular case a people only 90 years out of slavery toward the white people to whom they are indebted for practically everything they have accomplished. One needs only to look about him to see the ever-increasing signs of Negro prosperity—expanding individual income, new modern housing units, ownership of homes (nearly a third of the places in which Negroes live), greatly increased farm ownership, 50-percent increase in industrial workers since 1940, bigger and better public schools, increase in life expectancy are only a few of the gains for American Negroes.

Born and reared in the South, in Alabama, and numbering many Negroes among my good friends since early boyhood, I cannot bring myself to believe that the attitude of the Negro agitators of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is representative of the feeling of the great majority of Negroes. The average Negro citizen has a lot of good common sense. He is not a quarrelsome, vengeful person. He is a happy person among his own people. He has many fine qualities not possesed by any other race of people. Surely the Negro who thinks must sense the danger to his own way of life through such a change as the agitators demand. But he is being led along by these people, a great many of whom, more white than black, appear to want to be classed as white persons. I can understand the deep emotions of the members of this group who are neither white nor black, but the welfare of society cannot be sacrificed for a relatively few dissatisfied individuals. There is too much at stake for both races. Unfortunately, the Negro agitators are being given material aid by designing local white politicians in the congested areas of the North and by high political party leaders in those areas, both Democrats and Republicans, and by other white persons in the North and South too, who pride themselves on their so-called "broad-mindedness" and "liberalism." The latter have shut their eyes to the fundamental fact that race is a fact that cannot successfuly be ignored. Unfortunately, we have a few of these people right here in Georgia and in Alabama and elsewhere in the South.

Not many days ago I was a guest of the Augusta Woman's Club, a splendid civic group, as the invited representative of one of our luncheon clubs. The meeting featured as guest speaker the distinguished editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. Ralph McGill. The affair was widely advertised and representatives of practically all the civic organizations of Augusta were present by invitation. Mr. McGill's subject was announced in advance in the press as "Current Events."

Introduced by Miss Johnnie Hilburn, prominent social worker of Augusta, Mr. McGill, in his opening remarks said that since President Eisenhower would not address the Congress until the following day, there was not much talk about on "Current Events" and so he had decided to discuss the issue of segregation. After stating rather casually, it seemed to me, that he hoped the Supreme Court would rule in favor of leaving the separate school system as it is, Mr. McGill proceeded to expound his views against segregation, as outlined previously in his front page editorial column in the Atlanta Constitution. There were several editorials in December while the case of school segregation was being argued in the Supreme Court. For instance, on December 1, 1953, under the caption, "The South Faces a Fact," Mr. McGill said—"segregation by law is finished—either this year or within the next few to come—the problem of the future is how to live with the change." And in his column on December 11, 1953, Mr. McGill said "no one knows what a court will do but we can assume, since it obviously is not constitutional to discriminate against any citizen, that the court very probably is going to declare against segregation by law." If Mr. John W. Davis, the distinguished New York lawyer and former candidate for the Presidency of the United States, who so ably represented the State of South Carolina and companion States in the hearing before the Supreme Court, could have conversed with Mr. Ralph

McGill prior to the hearing, he probably would have been sorely tempted to abandon the case and remain at his law office in New York. Mr. Davis is a busy attorney and not in the habit of wasting his time.

Mr. McGill, in his Augusta speech, said, "Segregation does not fit the concept of the world today," and he referred to the alleged strong feeling against the United States on this score in India and Pakistan. He failed to mention the fact that India has practiced for 1,000 years or more the most rigid caste system ever known. Do we hate the Indians for this? Is it any of our business to interfere with this internal problem of India? Mr. McGill also referred to segregation as a violation of the Christian ethic, declaring that "the South must face the most serious change that has come to us in a century with intelligence and according to Christian ethics." In his December 1 column in the Atlanta Constitution, Mr. McGill said: "Christianity cannot well afford to be on the wrong side of a moral force, as it was in some areas when it defended slavery." And also in the same article, "The Christian of today cannot help but wince at the full implications and the jarring clash of his creed with discrimination against any person because of his color."

I challenge the assertion that segregation violates the Christian creed or that segregation and discrimination are synonymous.

Continuing in his Augusta speech, Mr. McGill said that under the system of nonsegregation by law, it might be possible for members of both races here in the South to work out mutual agreements of some sort, providing some schools for both races and others to continue as segregated schools. "So many things," he added, "could be worked out." I ask in all sincerity, does Mr. McGill actually believe that? Let him read, if he has not already done so, the objectives of the spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as outlined in the Balance of Power—the Negro vote.

Mr. McGill admonished his Augusta audience to be calm, appealing to them as leaders in the community and makers of public opinion to prevent exploitation of the issue politically, and he added "Segregation has now reached the point where no one gains anything by shouting likes and dislikes." He reiterated what he said in his column in the Atlanta Constitution on December 11, 1953: "If politicians and hotheads will stop talking violence, we can meet this issue as a civilized people."

In heaven's name, I ask, who is doing the shouting, the agitating about this question? Who are the hotheads and politicians? Let Mr. McGill take a look at his own editorial column in the Atlanta Constitution dealing with this issue of segregation. Let him review the statements of representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during the past several years. Let him take a good look at the methods of designing white politicians, Democrats and Republicans, in the great congested population centers of the North and East where the Negro vote is heavy—in the quest for votes.

Listening to Mr. McGill's speech at the Augusta Woman's Club meeting, it seemed to me that Mr. McGill applied an opiate to soften up his audience for what he thinks is going to happen in the matter of segregation and to which change he himself is not averse. And Mr. McGill may have succeeded with the majority of his hearers as the result of his skillful and subtle manner of presenting the subject. A native southerner, born in Tennessee, I believe, Ralph McGill is a clever writer, a forceful speaker. He represents a great newspaper, for many years in the hands of southerners with a firsthand knowledge and appreciation of the South's racial problem, but today, under the guidance and ownership of a former Governor of Ohio, James M. Cox. In my judgment, Mr. McGill is unfriendly to the cause of the South in its battle to maintain its traditional way of life and to preserve the integrity of both white and black races.

Although Mr. McGill did not list or name the so-called hotheads, I got the impression that perhaps he had in mind any and all citizens who believe strongly in segregation of the races, who are willing to stand up and be counted on the issue and speak out.

You ladies and gentlemen ask, "What can I do about it?" My reply: Start talking about the issue to your teen-age sons and daughters, your friends, neighbors, business and professional associates. Give your encouragement to such political leaders in this fight as Georgia's Governor, Herman Talmadge, and South Carolina's chief executive, James F. Byrnes. Write them. Commend their efforts. And write to your Senators and Congressmen, urging them to be on the alert in Washington, the big center of the assaulting forces against segregation. Write the members of your State legislature from your district. And, above all, don't accept defeat on this momentous issue, even if the Supreme Court rules against segregation. A spirit of defeatism never won a battle. If we lose this battle, we face chaos and the disintegration of our society.

Pickets and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Edward J. Fahy which appeared in Economic Council Papers of February 15, 1954:

PICKETS AND POLICE

Any thinking person who regularly reads a metropolitan newspaper soon comes to realize that people involved in management-labor disputes, particularly those who make up the picket lines, seem to temporarily vest themselves with greater rights than they normally possess.

Many self-styled liberals seem to argue that any means employed by a picket at a struck plant is justified by the supposed social gains which they anticipate will follow as the end result. This cloudy and pernicious thinking can bring only destruction to our society of freemen with equal rights.

The problem is made more complex because the cause of organized labor is often a popular one and the police officers frequently are not anxious to enforce the law in such cases.

LABOR ISN'T ABOVE THE LAW

Conversely the problem is actually a simple one. There are no special laws governing conduct on a picket line, and there need be none. All people, whether pickets or nonpickets, have the same rights and the same duty to respect the rights of others. Pickets are subject to the same rules of conduct which regulate the daily lives of all of us.

Thus, at the beginning of a strike we frequently read a news story in which a picket captain is quoted as having said that "no one will be permitted to enter the plant unless he has a pass issued by union headquarters" or that "only officers and supervisors will be permitted to enter the plant, and they may enter only so long as they refrain from doing work normally performed by the workers on strike."

We all know of situations where pickets actually prevented other workmen, sometimes nonstriking members of other unions, from entering a plant to work, or have caused them to leave a plant against their wishes. Yet any such activity obviously designed to prevent another person from working or from obtaining work is a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. Sometimes such activity also constitutes false imprisonment for which an offender may be arrested, fined, and imprisoned.

The act of preventing a man from working or from obtaining work, even when not compounded by false imprisonment, is usually accomplished by threats, intimidation, or suggestions of danger, all punishable under our criminal laws.

Too frequently there is physical combat, fighting, and resulting personal injuries. Sometimes even death is the unfortunate byproduct. Certainly such activities constitute the crime of assault or battery, or an affray, or possible riot. In any event a crime has been committed which will subject a normally law-abiding citizen to arrest, fine, and imprisonment.

CRIME IN PLANNING CRIME

Sometimes physical combat is anticipated and pickets carry, or others approach the picket line armed with brass knuckles, clubs, knives, and even firearms. They commit a crime before a blow is struck and possibly before they even reach the scene of the expected strife.

In the meantime the already pyramiding criminal violations are probably compounded by the fact that the activities of the parties involved may also constitute a criminal conspiracy or, more probably, one of the various types of unlawful assembly, or possibly they may subject themselves to arrest and conviction as a mob.

Property rights must be respected. Trespass is still punishable by fine and imprisonment, as is the possession and use of stink bombs. Arson carries a penitentiary commitment. Over and above all this, it is a separate and a serious crime to wilfully destroy, injure, deface or secrete another's personal property. Destruction of power lines or railways constitutes additional possible offenses.

Too frequently pickets will attempt to achieve their objective by obstructing sidewalks. Yet this simple activity subjects the pickets to arrest and prosecution.

Quite often striking employees seek to increase their economic pressure by preventing the movement of goods into or from the struck plant or business place. Here again they are apt to violate the criminal law. Conviction of the crime of preventing passage of a train carries a severe sentence. Obstructing highways, streets, alleys, commons, private ways and loading places is, by statute, a public nuisance.

Sometimes, when motor vehicles are involved, there is broken glass, punctured tires, upsetting or other damage to the vehicle, any one of which constitutes a crime.

A TRAP FOR RACKETEERING

Any person who attempts to secure personal gain during a labor dispute may soon find himself the victim of his own greed.

The parties to the dispute must express themselves with carefully chosen words or pictures, lest their utterances be considered a criminal libel.

Persons involved in a labor controversy, like all other citizens, must take care that their activities or expressions, though otherwise unobjectionable, do not subject them to arrest and prosecution for disorderly conduct or for wilfully disturbing the peace.

A contemplated unlawful act need not be an accomplished fact before arrest. The mere attempt, even though unsuccessful, to commit an offense prohibited by law is itself a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Parties to a labor dispute are normally good, law abiding citizens. Law enforce-

ment officers are normally honest men willing to do their duty even in the face of great personal danger. Yet, too frequently, during industrial strife, participants misled by persons of questionable motive lose all perspective and do things they would not ordinarily do; and nonparticipants take no interest in the matter; while police officers hesitate to perform what may appear to be an unpopular duty; and many people are ill-informed by cloudy thinkers, slogans, half-true stories and professional propagandists.

Capt. George T. Barnes, of the Chicago Police Department's Labor Detail, has almost completely eliminated industrial violence in Chicago by his strict and impartial enforcement of the law.

REEDUCATION IN FUNDAMENTALS

But the chiefs of law enforcement departments cannot alone carry on the necessary educational work because the problem goes beyond their sphere of influence. If our children are to grow up to realize that they may not take the law into their own hands whenever the cause appears to be right; if our children are to grow up with respect for the property rights and the human rights of others; if we are to have law and order on the picket lines and elsewhere, we must return to and be reeducated in these fundamentals: the Moral Laws; the Ten Commandments; the Golden Rule.

In this great project all men of leadership, influence, stature, integrity, and good will must do their part.

A Plea for Another Great Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a splendid article by Hon. Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut and Ambassador to India, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I seriously commend it to the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PLEA FOR ANOTHER GREAT DEBATE

(By Chester Bowles)

To list the great debates over our foreign policy since World War II is to call the roll of the historic steps America has taken to accept the world responsibilities thrust upon her. The Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the dispatch of troops to Europe, the refusal to expand the war in Korea—all these were basic decisions and all were made after basic debate.

Sometimes the debates were marked by shrill partisanship. But differing points of view were heard, and the essential questions were asked and answered. The debates, some feared, would split the American people. Instead, the result was new agreement and new determination.

We need another great debate.

We need to debate the doctrine—it might be labeled the doctrine of instant retaliation set out first in a speech made in New York last January 12 by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles before the Council on Foreign Relations. In his address Mr. Dulles outlined clearly the new look of our world strategy. And in doing so he revealed what appears to be a far-reaching shift in our foreign policy.

On reading Mr. Dulles' report I braced myself for the familiar round of committee hearings, congressional speeches, and heated public controversy. Curiously, although there has been increasing discussion, the kind of nationwide debate this issue deserves has been slow in starting. This, to my mind, is disturbing. For there are questions, crucial questions, to be raised.

My purpose is to clarify, not to cavil. If the questions I present here help to define some of the grave and complex issues which our foreign policymakers face, and encourage them to spell out their own views further, they will have served their purpose.

The first question, it seems to me, is precisely what does Mr. Dulles mean?

Some passages of his speech deal with the development of a concentrated military striking force, a highly mobile Reserve, armed, presumably, with tactical atomic weapons. These sections seem to suggest the freer use of our ground, naval, and tactical Air Forces to meet aggression at threatened points. Wars would still be limited.

These parts of the speech involve no real departure from the old policy. They simply provide a somewhat different kind of support for local resistance to local aggressions.

But in the other parts of his speech—parts upon which he lays very heavy stress—he seems to propose the virtual abandonment of the local-resistance, limited-war concept. He emphasizes the deterrent of massive retaliatory power and says our new strategy places "more reliance on deterrent power and less dependence on local defensive power." Formerly, he says, "we needed to be ready to fight in the Arctic and in the tropics, in Asia, the Near East, and in Europe; by sea, by land, and by air, with old weapons and with new weapons." This is now said to be changed by a new basic decision—to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing.

The term "instant retaliation" has always been associated with strategic atomic bombing. Retaliation at places of our own choosing implies places beyond the area of aggression, for that area is chosen by the enemy. The places we choose if they are to provide the most suitable A-bomb targets, are likely to have highly concentrated populations. And since it makes little sense to bomb Warsaw or Budapest in retaliation for an attack on, say, Burma or Iran, they are likely to be cities in China and Russia.

All told, the administration seems to be saying that in dealing with future armed Soviet or Chinese aggression into non-Communist territory anywhere in the world, it proposes to rely chiefly upon atomic attack by the Strategic Air Force against the major cities in Communist countries. This interpretation is supported by off-the-record statements of high Government sources that this is the most important speech that Mr. Dulles has ever made or is ever likely to make.

If this, then, is the new policy, what are its chances of success—first, in discouraging aggression; and, second, in repelling aggression if it should break out? Will it, as Mr. Dulles maintains, give us more security at less cost?

First, it should be said that in Western Europe such a policy is neither new nor untested. From the time of our pellmell demobilization at the end of World War II until the NATO buildup in 1950, the greatest military deterrent to a Red army move into the vacuum between the Elbe and the Atlantic was our ability to destroy Russian cities through our monopoly of the atomic bomb.

Russia undoubtedly knows that we would consider an attack on Europe as an attack on ourselves, and that in response to such an attack we would use the atomic bomb against her, even though the ensuing general war would probably involve widespread atomic destruction in our own country. But would America be willing to accept these same terrible risks to meet local aggressions in Asia—say, in Afghanistan, Burma, Iran, or Indochina? Our deep-felt reaction to the war in Korea and to the bare prospect of an even more limited involvement in Indochina seems to say clearly that we would not.

This fundamental difference between American commitments in Europe and Asia is almost certainly apparent to the Russians and to the Chinese. If we place our principal reliance in Asia upon a method of retaliation which carries what are probably unacceptable risks, and at the same time reduce our capacity for more limited local responses, as the new po[illegible]eems to do, will we not, in fact, invite [illegible] than deter local aggression in Asia?

Even if, in the event of such aggression, we do prove ready for atomic retaliation and possible general war, does not the new policy tempt the Communists to miscalculate our readiness? And if, on the other hand, the Communists calculate that we will not risk general war over some small Asian aggression, and they do succeed in once calling our bluff, does not much of any deterrent value of the policy disappear overnight?

These questions assume that American strategic atomic bombing of major Chinese cities, as of Russian cities, would result in the outbreak of world war III. But suppose, for some reason, that after an American retaliatory attack on Chinese cities, Moscow decided to ignore its commitments under the Soviet-Chinese alliance and held its fire. Suppose it did not even take the next step, that of supplying the Chinese with some atomic bombs and bombers for retaliation on us. How vulnerable is vast, decentralized China to our atomic attack?

China, unlike the Soviet Union, has no major industrial concentrations. The entire steel production of Manchuria is no more than one-half that of the new United States Steel plant on the Delaware. The Chinese economy is not dependent upon highly articulated transportation and communications networks. Chinese armies are mobile, schooled in guerrilla warfare and in survival off the land, and they operate without the elaborate supply and support formations of Western armies.

Against China we could not limit ourselves to the use of sea and air power, which we employed so effectively in World War II in defeating integrated, industrial nations—Japan and Germany. We cannot hope that the atomic devastation of Chinese cities would mean anything but a lengthy, sprawling, indecisive conflict in which China's main asset, manpower, might occupy most of continental Asia.

And is there not a broader issue, indeed a fundamental moral issue, implicit in this new policy, which in all conscience we should resolve with our eyes open? We are a religious people, who believe that man is sacred to God. We pride ourselves on our democratic faith in the ultimate worth of the individual. It is these beliefs that distinguish our way of life from that of the Communists.

Yet, if we threaten to bomb China's cities, we would seem to be proposing to wipe out millions of Chinese men, women, and children, huddled in metropolises which, unlike those of the Soviet Union, are almost devoid of legitimate military or industrial targets. Are we prepared to exact this frightful toll of helpless people in order to punish the rulers who control them?

Communist propaganda has already convinced hundreds of millions of Asians that we dropped the atomic bomb on Japan and not Germany because we considered Asians inferior people. Would not the atomic destruction of defenseless Chinese cities—while Russian cities remained untouched—turn

all Asia into our bitter and unrelenting enemies?

So much for Asia. What of Europe? It is clear from his speech that Mr. Dulles remains convinced of the necessity of maintaining the coalition of European nations which now range themselves against the Communist bloc. Does his new policy fulfill the requirements of this most delicate diplomatic problem, keeping the coalition intact and vigorous?

We have been successful so far in keeping the NATO alliance in moderately good working order only because each nation is still convinced that the military power of communism poses a direct threat to its own survival, and, on the other hand, that the common action itself does not increase the possibility of the threat's becoming a reality. Even these convictions, however, are not completely compelling. They have not, for example, dispelled the ancient antagonisms between France and Germany. Will the new policy make our European friends more or less eager to be associated with us?

We may be willing to accept the all-or-nothing risk of a third world war which the policy of atomic retaliation entails. But our war-weary European allies, only a few hundred miles from Soviet bases, would suffer even more grievously than we from atomic counterattack. Suspicion that our new policy incurs unnecessary risks of a third world war may further dampen their enthusiasm for the essential task of European defense.

Another fundamental question is, What effect will the new policy have on whatever hope still exists for international atomic control?

One of the most important steps we have taken to create confidence in our goals has been to press wholeheartedly and with imagination for workable international control of atomic weapons under the United Nations.

If we move toward almost complete dependence on atom bombs to keep the peace, we may kill the dream of atomic disarmament for which most human beings have yearned since the atomic age began. And for this we would bear the full responsibility before the world.

Still another question which I believe should be soberly considered concerns the basic structure of our Government. Under the Constitution, Congress, and Congress alone, has the power to declare war.

Of course, the President, as Commander in Chief, has wide authority to deploy our Armed Forces and even to commit them to battle, and this can create a situation in which the declaration of war by Congress becomes a formality. But while this has always been a possibility, we have never adopted a policy which, in advance, turns the possibility into a likelihood. The new policy seems to me to come perilously close to doing precisely that.

If Chinese troops invade, say, Indochina, will the President ask the consent of Congress before he launches a retaliatory atomic attack on China itself? If so, how can retaliation be instant, and will he not run the risk that, while Congress deliberates, the Russians will deliver their own savage atomic attacks on American cities? Or, faced with such a possibility, would he launch the Strategic Air Force bombers on his own authority, and start or invite world war III without giving Congress an opportunity to exercise its constitutional authority?

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, at a recent Washington press conference, said, "I wouldn't think that would happen." His words are reassuring, but are they official?

Another question: In conceiving of the situation before us almost exclusively in terms of military power—and one type of military power at that—does not the new policy seriously underestimate the range and scope of the Communist threat?

One of the most striking things about the cold war is the fact that nowhere have the Communists resorted to overt action by Russian armies. Indeed, only in Korea has even the attempt been made to change the boundary line of the Iron Curtain by means of external military aggression.

Instead, we have been confronted with a wide variety of effective Soviet techniques. In Iran, in 1946, the Russians lent their support to a rebellion in the northern provinces which was clearly stimulated by the Iranian Communist Party on orders from the Kremlin. In Greece, Burma, Malaya, Indochina, Indonesia, the Philippines, and in China itself, the fighting has been carried on by well-trained and well-organized local troops or guerrillas, often supplied with Soviet arms and advised by Soviet experts.

These Communist onslaughts have been successfully resisted and defeated in every country where the government has earned the allegiance of a clear majority of its people. But where colonial power has persisted, as in Malaya and Indochina, or where the opposition to the Communists has been led by men in whom the people had ceased to believe, massive Western military and economic aid, and even the intervention of Western troops, have not yet proved decisive.

In other cases, notably in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union has depended upon the well-organized subversive efforts of local Communist parties. In France and Italy, the Communist strategy calls for a combination of subversion and destructive parliamentary tactics. Thus the Kremlin, seeking world domination, has always used a highly flexible strategy.

How does the new policy deal with these most frequent Communist threats, which do not take the form of external aggression?

Now, in addition to maintaining its great conventional military power, stepping up its output of guided missiles and atom bombs, and pursuing a program of internal subversion, Moscow seems to be moving into additional fields. There is every evidence, for instance, that Russia plans to use her rapidly increasing production to launch an aggressive trade effort designed not only to aid the Soviet economy, but to create new divisions in the Western World and to establish close ties with the new governments in Asia. There are even signs of a Russian point 4 program. In the face of Russia's diversified attack, can we afford to put all our eggs into a single military basket—and an atomic basket at that?

Have we ceased, for instance, to hope and work for the development of dynamic, independent nations in Asia, willing to fight, not for us, but for their own right to remain free?

Two-thirds of Asia remains uncommitted in the "cold war." We are right when we say that the "neutralist" nations are simply not facing the facts of world communism. But we ourselves are not facing the facts of modern Asia when we ignore the deeply rooted attitudes of anticolonialism and Asian nationalism which motivate these 600 million people.

What about point 4, which received only half a sentence in Mr. Dulles' speech? (In his next sentence he added, "But broadly speaking, foreign budgetary aid is being limited to situations where it clearly contributes to military strength.")

It may be said that Mr. Dulles' speech dealt primarily with military policy, and that it did not presume to lay down a foreign policy. Why, then, was it delivered by the Secretary of State and not by the Secretary of Defense? And why has it not been followed up and amplified?

Finally, what of the pessimistic estimate of American capacities on which the new policy seems to be based? Mr. Dulles has said we must bring our commitments within limits that we can sustain "over the long haul." This suggests that, unconsciously or not, we have started with a budget decision and attempted to fit our foreign policy to it.

Every thoughtful person must agree that the strength and vitality of our American economy is the kingpin of all our plans for the defense of the free world. If a broader, more fully rounded foreign and military policy would really bankrupt us—in the sense of imposing such a strain upon the economy as would lead to collapse—then, of course, it would be untenable.

But it does no make sense to talk about wrecking our economy when our steel mills are running at 75 percent of capacity, when we have agricultural surpluses that we can't dispose of, and when our ability to produce goods and services is increasing by $15 billion annually. The richest nation in the world should be able to afford to underwrite its own security and the continued existence of the ideas by which it lives.

The Russians, with a gross national income one-third our own, are supporting, as we have seen, a foreign and military policy far more broadly conceived than that which Mr. Dulles now proposes. We should not be talking of bankruptcy, even over the long haul, in the face of hard facts such as these.

A great debate on instant retaliation would serve not only to air the issues raised above, but to produce something in the way of positive alternatives to the new policy. This article is designed to raise questions and to invite better questions. But it may be useful to suggest certain fundamentals for the conduct of American foreign policy in this atomic age.

Any substantial reduction our burden of defense effort and expenditure is dependent upon the development of indigenous strength in the areas of the globe which may be threatened by Communist aggression or subversion. This indigenous strength can only arise with the growth of truly independent governments and healthy, expanding economies. Although we may hope that such governments will support our views, day-to-day agreement with us is far less important than their success in creating a dynamic faith of their own for which, if necessary, they are prepared to fight against all comers.

Stable, effective governments will not mature everywhere overnight. During the maturing period we carry an extra responsibility which cannot be wished out of existence.

Although atomic striking power has a vital and continuing function, it will be folly to assume that it offers a guarantee against Communist aggression, much less subversion and internal revolutions, in the tempting vacuums of Asia. When we announce to the world that under no circumstances will we become directly involved in Indochina, for example, we are hanging out the welcome mat for the Communists to a far greater extent than it was ever hung out in Korea. Mobile defense units armed with tactical atomic weapons, which the world knows we are prepared to use in a crisis, will do far more to discourage aggression in such situations than threats of wholesale atomic retaliation which every informed person on both sides of the Iron Curtain knows we are unlikely to carry out.

Our diplomacy must be resolute and yet profoundly alive to the revolutionary forces in the world which are shaping the future. It must be alert to seize and exploit internal contradictions in the far-flung Communist world. It must avoid the danger of becoming hypnotized into negation by the actions of Communist nations. It must support, to the absolute limit of practicability, the aspirations of all people to be free. Most important of all, it must maintain an attitude which our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence described as "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

Equipped with broad, patient, positive policies we may look forward to the gradual development of a free and economically healthy worldwide community, sufficiently strong to turn the balance of power eventually against the Soviet Union and thus induce a settlement which will allow all nations to develop in their own way without fear of interference.

Such policies are not to be found in a budgetary bargain basement. The continuing existence of the ideals by which we live involve substantial claims not only on our material resources, but on our resources of will and courage and purpose as well. Out of the great debate on these issues we can hope to find the solutions that will enable us to meet the challenge. In any case, such debate in which the Congress and the people participate is the only enduring and proper way to develop foreign policy in a democracy.

Are You Cheated by Social Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Coronet contains a brilliantly written article by my esteemed colleague, the Honorable JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, entitled "Are You Cheated by Social Security?"

Under unanimous consent I include this timely article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

ARE YOU CHEATED BY SOCIAL SECURITY?
(By Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Democrat, of Mississippi)

I warn you that you are due for a shock when you read this article.

When your social-security taxes are deducted from your paycheck, you probably heave a resigned sigh, wryly noting that what's left after other deductions seems smaller than ever in the face of today's high prices. But, you are likely to console yourself, those social-security taxes you pay, supplemented by an equal contribution by your employer, will provide you with a nice nest egg during old age.

I hope you never discover, as have nearly half the total number now eligible to retire under our social-security law, that this happy dream is only a dream and that, after paying into the security fund for decades, you will never collect a single cent in benefits from it.

The unpleasant fact is that our present social-security law is working many cruel injustices on millions of oldsters today. If you are one of the 48 million people covered by the act, or a dependent of one of them (and just about everybody falls into one or another of these classes), read this article carefully, for you have a sizable financial stake in the matters discussed.

Under our present law, millions of people who are eligible to retire can't afford to quit work and are unjustly penalized by the loss of all the social-security benefits for which they have paid. The joker is a provision which says you are not permitted to earn more than $75 a month from outside employment without forfeiting your rights to all benefits until you reach 75, a which time Uncle Sam magnanimously allows you to collect.

The provision doesn't apply to anything except earnings. You can collect dividends from stocks, have an income from an annuity, or get your money from any of a thousand and one other ways—and still collect social security. It's only if you are really hard up, cannot live on the small sum you get from social security, and must work after age 65 that you forfeit your rights. Unfortunately for them, more than 2 million Americans over 65 today fall into this class.

What many people who resist reform of the social-security law fail to realize is that the issue is not simply one of actuarial tables; it is a matter of human beings. Many old people are in financial trouble through no fault of their own—inflation and high prices being what they are. They need help in their struggle to stay self-supporting and self-respecting.

After I introduced a bill into Congress to remove the $75 monthly earning limit from the law, thousands of old people wrote to me about it. These letters tell eloquently why we must revise our social-security system.

One letter came from Wilmington, Ohio. "I am a man 69 and have been drawing a pension of $20 a month since the first of 1951. As we all know, a man and wife can't exist on such an amount. I leased a little filling station. At the end of the year I showed a profit of $874 and was living nicely until this January, when I had a notice from the social-security people in Chicago saying that I had showed too much profit and would have to return 5 months of my pension money, plus $20, which totaled $120. I had to borrow the money from friends to pay it back. They stopped my pension and have not reinstated it as yet."

Another letter came from a 74-year-old Baltimore man: "A few weeks ago I was offered a job at $83 a month for working 5 hours a day, 5 days a week. But if I take the position—and it's the only thing I can do at 74—I must give up my social security. The $83 is only $16.50 more than my benefit from social security. In other words, I would be working a full month for $16.50."

A 65-year-old Ohioan wrote that since he broke his hip in a fall 12 years ago, he has hobbled around on crutches and makes about $100 a month repairing sweepers in his home. He can't see why he should not be allowed to continue this and still collect his social security. Must this man give up the work his self-reliance has brought him? Must he exist on a substandard of living just to collect his social security?

There are many other cases I could cite, but they would only repeat the same point: the benefits paid by social security are inadequate live on today. To force old people to give up the extra money they earn on the side in order to collect their social-security benefits is literally to sentence them to a lifeterm of peonage.

The most ironic part of our social-security system is that income limitation most hurts those who can least afford to do without the financial benefits for which they have paid. And the crowning blow to the oldsters, covered by social security, who are now working after 65, is that the money they earn is all taxable under State and Federal income tax laws, while the money they forfeit as social-security benefits is never subject to Federal income taxes, and is subject to the taxes of only a few States.

The income limitation provisions of the law are the result of a principle being continued long after the reason for its enactment ceased to exist. When social security was adopted back in 1935, we were in the middle of a depression. Ten million wage-earners were out of work. We had relief, breadlines, men and women looking frantically for a job—any job. Often, the jobs didn't exist.

Then came the social-security law. Planned strictly as a retirement act, one of the conditions imposed on receiving benefits was that people who got them really quit work and retired. This made sense, because other people were desperate for jobs, and the positions left by retirees were quickly filled.

Today, however, the situation is drastically changed. The depression is gone. Many part-time jobs, the kind most retirees would be interested in taking, are going begging. In some cases, this limitation is working against the national welfare. Take the case of retired engineers, technicians, and other highly skilled persons needed in the national defense.

America has a chronic shortage of such persons. By taking part-time work, many retirees could help in our technological race with the Iron Curtain countries. The present social-security law, however, lays too great a penalty upon them for accepting this work. If they take it, they lose social security—so most of them don't.

People now covered by the act pay a substantial amount in contributions. As of last January, the amount withheld from your wages went up from 1½ percent to 2 percent. Your employer is required to contribute an equal amount. That means a total of 4 percent of your wages, up to the first $3,600 (the maximum sum taxable for social-security purposes) goes into the fund every year.

It is outrageous that a person should be forced to contribute so much year after year and not get anything back, no matter what the reason. Why, then, is there opposition to removing the income limitation? Because it will cost money.

There are two ways to get around this objection. The first is to increase the payments slightly to cover this cost. The second is to reduce benefits slightly to see that everybody gets what he paid for—a retirement income.

If we increase payments, by how much must we increase them? The answer is little, perhaps not at all.

The Social Security Administration estimates that it would take about three-fourths of 1 percent to 1 percent of taxable income up to the $3,600 maximum to remove the income limitation. This would require only one-half percent extra payroll deduction, matched by a corresponding contribution from the employer.

But since the social-security fund is bulging at the seams, it having taken in so much more than it has paid out, this is strictly a maximum estimate. By trimming benefits slightly, the increase would be neglible or nonexistent. President Eisenhower has pointed out that the fund is in splendid financial shape, and has called the present increase "unnecessary."

Since the American people are now paying at least 80 to 85 percent of all they would have to pay to have this unfair limitation removed, it would seem that most thinking people would be in favor of removing it.

There are several other changes I would like to see made in our social-security law. One of these is to include more people under its coverage—if they want to be covered. At present, many important groups—doctors, lawyers, professional engineers, dentists, farm workers, and others—are barred.

I am against forcing these persons to be covered by social security. But polls show that a substantial proportion of professional people want to be included in the program, although a majority do not. Why does social-security have to be run on an all or nothing basis? Why not let those who want to have its benefits come in, while those who do not can stay out? Freedom of choice is part of the American way of doing things.

There are other changes in the law which could profitably be made, but they are technical and it would take too much space here to go into them. Let's sum up by saying that right now, to millions of people, the program provides not security but a limitation of security. Run properly, the program can mean much to the American people. Social security can protect them from one of the most frightening nightmares which faces human beings—poverty in old age.

A Red Beachhead in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, of increasing concern is the growth of communism in the Western Hemisphere. I urge the careful reading of an analysis of the problem which was published in the Democratic Digest for March 1954:

A RED BEACHHEAD IN LATIN AMERICA

"President Eisenhower," said the New York Times, "seems to us to have been ill-advised in his state of the Union message not to have given more space to Latin America, and it would have been politic to have phrased what he did say more carefully."

The Times does not stand alone in its conviction that a two-sentence call for solid friendship with our American neighbors is not enough. Senator J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., Democrat, of Delaware, concluded after a recent tour south of the border that the United States should take effective measures to combat the rise of communism in Latin America and the West Indies. The Senator urged that steps be taken before this Nation finds a ring of Soviet outposts entrenched inside the Western Hemisphere.

Behind these protests lies concern that the government of one of the Central American States, Guatemala, is effectively controlled by Communists. Guatemala is only 3 flying hours from the United States and only 2 hours from the Panama Canal. Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has called it a serious beachhead for international communism in this hemisphere.

Oddly enough the Communists in this Central American country are only a minority of the coalition supporting a non-Communist President. But their threat to the United States is nonetheless real, for the energetic and well-organized minority actually dominates the Government.

John M. Cabot, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, has described the Guatemalan Government as a regime which is openly playing the Communist game. This view is shared by such diverse observers as the New York Times, Spruille Braden, Assistant Secretary of State during the Truman administration, and Life magazine, which noted that the Guatemalan Congress recently ordained a moment of silent grief for Stalin. The National Planning Association, a nonprofit research organization, expressed the same conclusion in its authoritative study, Communism Versus Progress in Guatemala, published in December.

Surprisingly enough, even the most concerned observers are agreed that there is little popular support for Guatemala's Communist Party. Time magazine recently set the number of card-carrying Communists in the country at 536, while the National Planning Association estimated party members and fellow travelers to be no more than 2,000 to 2,500.

How this group has come to dominate a country of 2,878,000 people is an interesting study of Russian penetration of our hemisphere. The Detroit News has analyzed the problem in capsule form: "The people, barring a lucky few, are illiterate and poverty stricken. They blame poverty on Yankee imperialism, which for the Communists is a setup."

New York Times correspondent Sydney Gruson has explained it this way:

"The Communists have taken over the labor unions and, what is more important during this period of land reform, the Campesino (farmers) Federation. They have a major voice in the government-sponsored newspapers and in the dissemination of radio news. They control the major committees of Congress and their sympathizers appear to boss the two major non-Communist government parties."

The Communists have gained this power through dominating the left-wing coalition which has run the government since 1944. At that time popular discontent led to the downfall of long time dictator Jorge Ubico. Since then, the coalition has put two presidents in office. The present one, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, was elected in 1951.

Desire for reform, intense nationalism, and a traditional hatred of Yankee imperialism have bound the coalition together and obscured the Communist motives from the non-Communist majority.

The Communists' motive is, of course, the complete elimination of all opposition, but their short run strategy is to drive all foreign influence out of the country and build up their own popular following. They have done this by ardently backing President Arbenz's land reform program and manipulating it in such a way that they have gained credit for land redistribution in the eyes of Guatemala's poor.

Over 450,000 acres of land, most of it from the American-owned United Fruit Co., have been turned over to a few of the 86 percent of Guatemala's citizens who are landless. Reds have managed to dominate the local agricultural boards which pass out the land, and one of the four Communist members of the 56-man legislature has invariably attended the ceremonies.

Communists also dominate the labor unions which they have used to injure the American-owned power and railroad companies with unauthorized wildcat strikes and unrealistic wage demands .

These moves against Yankee-owned companies have wide popular support. Past excesses have stirred deep resentments, even though wages and working conditions at foreign-owned companies have traditionally been better than those of local concerns. The Communists have played on this feeling to keep out developmental capital from the American Government and from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the so-called World Bank).

The consequence of these policies is already becoming evident. The government's traditionally strong fiscal position has been replaced by a sizable debt. Private capital has left the country; the tourist trade has declined, and large-scale agriculture is falling off. This last is important since large-scale farming is essential to the successful production of coffee and bananas, the sources of Guatemala's foreign exchange.

There has been no indication that President Arbenz is concerned by this deterioration. He appears to be completely absorbed by his program of land reform and elimination of foreign monopolies.

Life magazine has reported that "Arbenz who is no Communist himself, looks upon the Reds as Guatemalans first and Reds second. He says he is using them; the evidence is at least as ample that they are using him."

This has come about because beyond the agrarian law and a few social reforms the non-Communists have no realistic program on domestic issues or on foreign policy. Thus a few Communists in key positions wield an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

Terroristic Communist methods have intimidated all opposition groups. Plantation owners fear confiscation of their lands, from which there is no appeal. Merchants fear heavy fines, which anti-Communists among them were forced to pay several years ago. The church is disturbed over the danger that it might be expelled for meddling in politics.

Most important of all, the anti-Communists have no positive program, so that the rank and file are convinced that a vote for the anti-Communists is a vote for the old regime, and will spell the end of their hopes for land of their own.

The National Planning Association and the World Bank have both suggested positive programs for Guatemala. The country is potentially rich enough to provide a satisfactory, living standard for all its population, if unopened areas, transport, and power are developed. But development requires capital, and Communist influence has scared it away.

As recently as December there was no prospect that this would change. The New York Times predicted greater Communist domination, based on "the political opposition's complete collapse." December municipal elections seemed to bear this out. Communists openly ran candidates in 4 towns and won in 3 of them.

But in January, the first hopeful development in several years occurred when workers in one of the country's largest shoe factories defied the Communist-led Confederation of Labor, which controls Guatemala's unionized workers. These workers ousted the Communist leaders from their local. The independent newspaper, Prensa Libre, expressed the editorial hope that the action would start a labor rebellion against Communist leadership. But even if this incident touches off other resistance, there will be a long way to go before Communist control of Guatemala is broken.

Meantime, as long as communism is an important factor in this Central American country, the United States must concern itself with what steps should be taken for the protection of our own back yard.

Acting unilaterally, the United States has already cut back aid and has plainly indicated its disapproval. Assistant Secretary of State Cabot said last fall that our relations with the Guatemalan Government are "not those which we would like to have." But he has carefully refrained from suggesting the turn-of-the-century technique of sending in the Marines. "The international conspiracy to destroy free government," said Mr. Cabot, "is essentially a matter of inter-American rather than unilateral concern."

Action by the Organization of American States is one possibility which has been discussed behind the scenes. The Rio Treaty of 1947 provides for "effective reciprocal assistance" in the event of foreign aggression against any American State, including "aggression which is not an armed attack."

But the New York Times has reported that the tolerant attitude of Guatemala toward Communists is a common one in Latin America. Preliminary soundings by our Government on possible inter-American action against Guatemala have been discouraging.

"It is far easier," explains the Times, "for Latin America to become disturbed over Yankee interference than over the charges of communism in the Western Hemisphere. Many Latin American leaders believe that Latin American opinion would be outraged by an attempt to condemn Guatemala at the Inter-American Conference" in Venezuela in March.

Milton Eisenhower, reporting on his 36-day tour of South America, recommended in effect that private enterprise should do the job of improving our inter-American relations. However, Assistant Secretary Cabot is convinced that more than private enterprise is needed. Speaking recently to the University of Florida Carribbean Conference, he called in addition for: Trade expansion through stabilizing tariffs; United States Government loans for development; direct United States grants to mutually beneficial projects such as the Inter-American High-

way; dissemination of know-how through scholarship and trainee grants, American libraries, and point 4 technical assistance work.

Secretary Cabot's program dovetails with the Detroit News' analysis of Guatemala's problem. "The biggest lesson," said this newspaper, "is that these situations are best attended to before they happen. We have got to concern ourselves with improving the lot of the Latin American masses, though admittedly * * * this is easier said than done."

Brotherhood—A Force That Can Be as Dynamic for Good as the Atom Bomb Can Be for Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the observance of Brotherhood Week is becoming more generally recognized with each passing year. It is gratifying to realize that such is the case. In accordance with custom, the Congregation Ahav Zedak, Camden, N. J., with Rabbi Samuel Tabak in charge, held a service to commemorate and emphasize the importance of brotherhood.

I was privileged to address the congregation on the occasion of the service it held. The address which I delivered was as follows:

Mr. Chairman, in selecting "Brotherhood" as a theme for thoughtful consideration in meetings throughout the Nation our attention is being directed to a force that can be as dynamic for good as the atomic bomb can be for destruction.

Words cannot express the tremendous influence for good that would result if the spirit of brotherhood was given full play in our individual lives, in the life of the Nation, and, in the affairs of the world.

The time was never more appropriate to consider this important subject, nor, more necessary if peace and good will is to prevail in our attitude toward each other as individual citizens, or in our treatment of groups within our Nation, or in the relationship between nations.

The time is appropriate because we have only recently gone through a World War and a Korean conflict. These two experiences together with that of World War I were fought to establish the principles of justice as between nations and all the peoples of the world regardless of race or other distinguishing features.

The frightful cost in lives and loss of material wealth, and, the distress brought to millions of people, many of whom even today remain fugitives and displaced persons, although hostilities have ceased, cannot, should not, and, must not be overlooked nor become forgotten. To do so is only to drift into another and far worse catastrophe. To avoid it we must encourage and keep alive the importance of the spirit that underlies brotherhood, not only during one week of the year—Brotherhood Week—but constantly throughout each year until there is a general recognition of the principles of brotherhood, in our individual lives, a fulfillment of it in our national affairs, and, an acceptance of it as between all nations and peoples in their dealings with one another.

While the importance and necessity of establishing the underlying principle of brotherhood—namely, doing unto others as we would that they do unto us, is being more generally recognized and emphasized in these days, yet, the fact is that there is no principle of human conduct that has been recognized for so long a period of time. Its beginning was in antiquity. It even antidates the rules of conduct given to Moses on Mount Sinai centuries ago.

In the Book of Genisis, immediately following a description of the creation of the world, an incident between two brothers is related wherein one named Cain, because of jealosuy, took the life of his brother Abel. Following which it is recorded in the fourth chapter of Genesis, verses 9 and 10:

"9. And the Lord said unto Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' And he said, 'I know not: Am I my brother's keeper?'

"10. And He said, 'What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.' "

Am I my brother's keeper? Thus, this question has come down to us through all the centuries that have intervened between the time when it was first spoken and the present time. Although our conduct as individuals and as nations has not been a complete acceptance of our full responsibility as implied in the thought of brotherhood, yet, there has been a growing recognition of this responsibility.

Compare conditions today with those of earlier times, even comparably recent times, and, it is readily apparent that progress has been made. However this advancement in our thought and action is yet so far removed from what it should have been in all these centuries, one cannot help but be disappointed, even discouraged at times.

This is particularly so, when we consider the worthwhile results that would have come to the people of the world had there been, through all these years, a full and complete acceptance of the principles of brotherhood.

With the acceptance of the principles of brotherhood as the rule and guide of our individual, national, and international actions, there would be now, and would have been heretofore, an elimination of greed and selfishness, intolerance, bigotry, and domination of the weak by the strong.

In their place there would be, and would have been, equity, justice, honesty of purpose, understanding, and acknowledgment of the rights of others. The sum total of these beneficent results would be peace and good will. Peace and good will in our individual lives, and peace and good will in national and international affairs.

There is no greater need today, in this time of unrest and uncertainty in domestic and foreign affairs, at home and abroad, than an acceptance and exemplification of the spirit of true brotherhood.

What do we mean by brotherhood? Whatever the answer that may be given, no matter how differently expressed or phrased the result would be the same, "doing unto others what we would that they do unto us." Thus, it is all inclusive. It is all embracing. It is right by whatever standard is applied. It includes the best in every creed. A study of the religions of the world, old and new, reveals that in every one of them, no matter what their concept of religion may be, recognize this principle of good will. Thus, this concept of brotherhood provides a common meeting ground for all men of peace and good will.

The searching question "Am I my brother's keeper?" has reverberated through all the centuries. It continues to challenge and activate the mind and gain the acceptance of all men of good will. Notwithstanding the passing of time, with all its changes, and the complexity of our present-day life, man has not nor never can change or lessen the force and logic of the inevitable answer.

Think in terms of the numerous disturbances that now exist in our land, in other lands, and between nations. What is the cause of all these disturbances? Determine for yourselves what you consider to be the cause. Having done so, then apply as a means of solution the spirit of true brotherhood—doing unto others as we would that they do unto us. Would it not solve each difficulty if each of the contending parties applied this principle? Of course it would. The fogs and mists that now surround us would disappear as before the rays of the morning sun.

If the spirit of true brotherhood should be accepted and exemplified in the affairs of men and of nations, that which now disturbs us domestically and in world affairs would disappear. It would solve our economic problems. It would create tolerance and promote better understanding. It would protect the weak from the aggression of the strong. It would eliminate selfishness and greed that bring conflict between nations. It would make the world a better place in which to live.

Today, the spirit of brotherhood between nations is the fundamental need of the world. The future peace, security, and welfare of the world depends upon the extent to which its principles, based upon equality of man, is recognized, and governments are willing to practice it in their dealings between each other.

It was to accomplish this ideal of brotherhood, namely, equality of man, that America has participated in two World Wars and the and the Korean conflict. In these conflicts we have given unstintedly of our wealth, our resources, and the precious lives of our young manhood. All of this was done that the principles of brotherhood might be established and thereby make for peace and security in the world.

We did not engage in World War I, World War II, and Korea to advance the prestige of any king, monarch, or dictator. We did not, as a Nation, seek territorial or material gain. We did not seek anything that was material in character. We fought for a spiritual ideal—equality and the principles of brotherhood to be applied between nations and peoples.

Notwithstanding victory crowned our efforts we see, today, throughout the world a spirit of deep unrest instead of the tranquillity that should come from pence. Fear in its most aggravated form still prevails. Why is this the case? The answer is simple. Because the principle of equality of men, founded upon the principles of brotherhood for which these wars were fought, are not recognized and made the rule of conduct of all nations.

What is the duty of America under these circumstances? Our duty is plain. We have no right to equivocate, no right to appease, no right to haul down our flag that stands for liberty, justice, freedom, and democracy based upon principles of world brotherhood and the equality of men. It is cowardly to do so. It breaks faith with those who have died.

In the First World War, America through Woodrow Wilson provided a spiritual leadership, based upon principles of equity and justice, that rallied the strength of the embattled nations and revitalized those who were the victims of that struggle. His 14 points became the rallying cry of the oppressed and the discouraged. They saw Wilson as someone striving to achieve a world brotherhood, a peaceful world, without planting a new field of dragon's teeth. However, history may finally record its conception of Wilsonian ideals, it must be granted that for a time at least our allies in that struggle seemed to rise to this American idealistic position. Unfortunately, the vision faded, and with its disappearance World War II came upon us in the gloom of that failure.

World War II broke upon us as a world bankrupt in idealism and unwilling to accept or practice the principles of brotherhood. But, again the cry of distress from the oppressed brought forth a new expression of ideals to provide future peace and security, based upon the principles of brotherhood—the Altantic Charter with its principles of equality, freedom, and democracy. It was embodied in a resolution and adopted by all of the United Nations on January 1, 1942. It became the rallying point against oppression throughout the world. It brought hope and courage to the distressed. It provided idealism that brought America, wholeheartedly and unreservedly into the conflict.

Today, notwithstanding the terrific sacrifices of two world wars and a Korean conflict, there is not that recognition by all nations of the principles of brotherhood for which we fought. All of which illustrates that until the hearts of men in the nations throughout the world accept the principles of brotherhood, mere words no matter how well expressed in treaties and agreements will have no substantial and abiding results. If the heart is not in accord with the principles then all is in vain. Until there is full acceptance in the heart and soul of men and of nations mere words will be discarded once the end for which they were uttered is attained. We need sincerity in act and deed and not mere words that are like "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals."

Now is the time for America to assert a position of claims to moral leadership in the world. Now, with victory gained, it is our duty to demand that the principles for which we fought shall be recognized. This is not a time for the rebirth of "blocs," "power politics," seizure of territory, establishment of regimes upon a basis of force rather than the will of the governed. We owe it to the men who have died on the battlefields of war to keep the faith for which they fought. To whittle it down, to dismiss it as the empty phrasing of wartime strategy is to make a mockery of all that our people regard most sacred.

The time is at hand for America to assert in strong and easily understood terms that the principles of equality, based upon brotherhood, for which we fought must be acknowledged and given support. Failure to do so means that the ideal of brotherhood among nations that the oppressed nations expected as a result of victory, will not materialize. We are then no better off than after World War I.

If we are to rebuild something of value on the ashes of the terrible wars in which we have so recently engaged, we must supplement the United Nations Organization for Peace, by strong language condemning the failure to practice the principles of equity, fair dealing and brotherhood for which we have sacrificed, and demand that they be given recognition in present and future actions of all governments. The time to do this is now.

In conclusion, I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance and the necessity to accept and make effective the principles of brotherhood if we are to have a better world in which to live. Thus, meetings such as this, which give recognition to and seek to advance the principles of brotherhood, are performing a service to their fellow man of the greatest importance. To obtain the universal recognition of these principles is no easy task, but, it is our individual and collective duty to persevere in the hope that our efforts and those of others of like mind will eventually, and at no distant day, bring forth results that will make for the establishment of the principles of brotherhood as a rule and guide of conduct in our relationships with each other and between the nations of the world.

Adequate Air Service for the East Bay Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, for over 7 years the people in the East Bay Metropolitan Area of California have been fighting for air passenger service commensurate with the importance and dignity of that popular region on the eastern side of San Francisco Bay.

Alameda and Contra Costa Counties have a population rapidly approaching a million and a quarter people. They can best be served by the Oakland Airport, owned, developed, and operated by the city of Oakland through its port commission.

The present airline schedules which include Oakland Airport are inadequate and insufficient to meet the demands of this rapidly expanding territory. East Bay residents and visitors are forced to go to the San Francisco Bay Airport for convenient flights. This means traveling over the heavily taxed facilities of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. It involves over 30 miles driving through congested travel on both sides of the bay.

The port of Oakland, acting for the city of Oakland, has filed a petition with the Civil Aeronautics Board praying that the Southern Service to the West case, Docket No. 1,102, et al., be reopened. I include this petition as part of these remarks and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

[Before the Civil Aeronautics Board in the matter of the reopened Southern Service to the West Case docket No. 1102 et al.]

PETITION FOR RECONSIDERATION ON BEHALF OF THE CITY OF OAKLAND, ACTING BY AND THROUGH ITS BOARD OF PORT COMMISSIONERS

Comes now the city of Oakland, a municipal corporation of the State of California, acting by and through its board of port commissioners, and petitions the Civil Aeronautics Board to reconsider its decision of autics Board to reconsider its decision of December 22, 1953, in the above entitled case, and also requests reargument, and in support of this petition shows to the Board the following:

INTRODUCTION

The city of Oakland, a municipal corporation of the State of California, acting by and through its board of port commissioners, owns and operates the Oakland Municipal Airport. It has participated actively throughout the proceedings in the Reopened Southern Service to the West case, and before that throughout the attenuated proceedings in the Southern Service to the West case. It appeared, very fundamentally, as a champion of the Civil Aeronautics Board, in the proceedings in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia attendant upon the challenge of National Air Lines to the Board's supplemental order approving the TWA-Braniff-Eastern interchange. It represents a growing, wealthy, modern metropolitan area of over 1,200,000 population.

It cannot, therefore, be considered an idle, ill-considered or uninformed castigation when it is asserted that the opinion of the majority, decided December 22, 1953, in this case is so contrary to basic principles and the facts, and so disdainful of the public interest, as to be shocking.

The decision has completely and utterly failed to meet headon any major issue of the case. There is no finding on any material point to which the decision can anchor. It has been well described by Member Lee in his thorough and well reasoned dissent, as "arbitrary and capricious" (p. 55).

The importance of this 3 to 2 decision transcends local interest: It is important not only to the peoples of the South, Southeast, Southwest, and West, as to whom the rejection of the service is a telling and direct blow, but in its broad aspects it is significant to all the peoples of the country, with especial emphasis perhaps on their Representatives in the Federal Government, because it points up both the ability of a reconstituted bare majority of a board to upset established principles relating to nationwide commerce, and the obvious stultifying effect on the Nation's otherwise expanding commerce of the application of such a progress-spurning decision.

Reconsideration of the decision will clearly show that it should be reversed.

I

The majority opinion (p. 4) refers to three fundamental findings that justified and supported the previous decision of the Board approving an Eastern-Braniff-TWA interchange. How are those conclusive points disposed of in the later decision? Taking them separately, the first is the finding of "ample traffic to support two daily round trips": that is "refuted" by noting that the record shows a substantial increase in the traffic pool theoretically available for the interchange services (p. 5). The second point is that the proposed interchange will provide substantial public benefits by offering competitive service, and improved one plane service: that is answered (p. 8) "we do not deprecate the efficacy of competition in the improvement of quality and quantity of service." Thirdly, the finding that the diversion to result from the proposed interchange would not "outweigh the beneficial results of the service," is answered by describing the impact the competitive service would have on the lush revenues of the various American Airlines' interchanges, in complete disregard of the facts that those interchanges were only established as part of this case under Board policy expressions that they were not thereby to be considered as acquiring "grandfather rights," and in equal disregard of the devastating impact of those newly formed and now inviolate interchanges on these applicants, especially Braniff and TWA. Members Adams and Lee present that picture forcefully and in detail in their dissenting opinions to the majority opinion.

It is submitted that those three fundamental findings of the previous decision remain sound and conclusive, and compel a reaffirmance of that previous decision.

II

There would appear to be no Board rule or other legal bar or prohibition to the institution of a three-carrier articulated service by Eastern, Braniff, and TWA, or any other interested airlines, over the proposed southern transcontinental route or any other route. Schedules could be adjusted for optimum connecting service, and ticket sales could be handled on a joint basis. Missing, of course, would be the single-plane service and the consequent convenience and comfort for the passenger. The airlines participating in such an arrangement might not

attract many through passengers—in competition with a single carrier or single-plane service—but would have their local traffic and would be offering the best through service within their capabilities. Could rejection of an airlines' proposal to improve such a service by the institution of a single-plane service, in the public interest, be justified? Is that hypothetical situation markedly different in principle—particularly in its public-interest aspects—from the facts in the Reopened Southern Service to the West case?

The principle of reliance upon local traffic to justify through (interchange) service as enunciated in the Southern Service to the West case decision (p. 7), and the recent decisions of the Board approving new interchange services to and from the Pacific Northwest, and to and from the Twin Cities, are irreconcilable with this majority opinion in the Reopened Southern Service to the West case.

III

A Jekyll and Hyde passenger must be conjured up to meet the specifications of the majority opinion in this case. That passenger is well served by the existing interchanges; he develops high-load factors for the 27 flights per day operated by American across the South (as noted by the majority, p. 8); he has increased in numbers since the previous decision of the Board approving the Eastern-Braniff-TWA interchange; he has caused an increase in the number of schedules offered by the existing interchanges; he produces very, very substantial revenues for the air lines participating in the existing interchanges; and diverting his patronage from the existing interchanges would be devastating to them.

But when examined on behalf of the proposed interchange what happens to that passenger? He becames nonexistent (or, in any event, all but possibly the seven referred to in the decision, p. 6); he cannot generate enough traffic to keep the proposed interchange out of the red; there are not enough of that passenger to support the proposed interchange; he doesn't need service, and anyways (p. 8) a "dingle daily round trip would hardly afford a substantial competitive stimulus" (to the growing, well patronized, profitable, protected monopoly).

The apparent inconsistencies of the majority opinion demand reconsideration and clarification.

IV

With specific reference to the direct application to the more than 1 million residents of the Oakland metropolitan area (and the over 2 million persons as to whom the Oakland Municipal Airport constitutes the center of population), the majority's decision in this case is erroneous in the following respects:

1. There are not, contrary to the majority (p. 7) "a minimum of four daily through services": San Francisco is served by one daily flight in each direction by each of the three American interchanges—that with Continental, that with Delta, and that with National and Delta. One of those schedules, that of the American-Delta-National interchange, also serves Oakland. Oakland is not served by either of the other two interchanges. The most that can be claimed, then, is that except for Los Angeles the entire Far West is served by one through service daily to each of three other areas of the South and Southeast.

2. The opinion is in error also (p. 7) in referring to the existence of only one area to which the proposed interchange would offer new one-plane service. As Oakland is not served by the American-Continental interchange, it has no one-plane service to and from Houston.

3. There is a tendency discernible in the findings and opinions in these proceedings, to overemphasize the South and Southeast, and to minimize the importance of the West. That thinking results in the entire transcontinental service being considered in the nature of an addendum to the Eastern Airlines' segment. That might have been avoided had the case been designated "Southern Service to the South." It works both ways, and we urge that the case be looked at from a western vantage point: the West is growing, perhaps faster than any area of the country; passenger traffic at Oakland Municipal Airport, now over 500,000 per year, has tripled since this case started; the one interchange schedule Oakland acquired under the original authorization of the Southern Service to the West case opinion replaced the one existing American Airlines' schedule then serving Oakland, and that situation has remained unchanged through the ensuing years despite marked population and traffic increases and very high load factors. The majority's aversion to granting Eastern authority to fly from Florida across the Gulf results in the whole service failing. If the matter is examined from the equally important vantage point of service for passengers to the South, and the service from the West to Houston is approved (as, it would seem, it clearly must be), can it reasonably be held that the entire transcontinental service must fail because interchange rights from Houston to Florida over the Gulf is too much to award Eastern? Should that local competition between National and Eastern be permitted to prevent a great public service, particularly as the record is clear that National is amply protected if New Orleans is preserved to it?

4. The citizens and taxpayers of Oakland are doing their part to further the development of air transportation. Most recently and forcefully their faith has been shown by their approval in 1953 of a $10 million general obligation bond issue for the development and expansion of the Oakland Municipal Airport. That work is proceeding. That undertaking never would be freely forthcoming from the people if they thought that the Civil Aeronautics Board had adopted a repressive policy prohibiting the authorization of further important new air transportation routes.

CONCLUSION

It is respectfully urged that the Board's December 22, 1953, decision in the Reopened Southern Service to the West case should be reconsidered, that the very real public interest in and need for additional transcontinental service over the southern route be recognized, and that the proposed Eastern-Braniff-TVA interchange be authorized.

Dated at Oakland, Calif., January 29, 1954.

Respectfully submitted.

J. KERWIN ROONEY,
Port Attorney,
EDWARD A. GOGGIN,
Assistant Port Attorney, Attorneys for Board of Port Commissioners of the City of Oakland.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
County of Alameda, ss:

D. W. Frost, being first duly sworn, says: That he is the duly qualified and acting port manager of the Board of Port Commissioners of the City of Oakland; that he is duly authorized to sign the foregoing petition on behalf of the Board of Port Commissioners of the City of Oakland and has read and is familiar with the contents thereof; that he intends and desires that in granting or denying the prayer of said petition, the Civil Aeronautics Board shall place full and complete reliance upon the acuracy of each and every statement therein contained; that he is familiar with the facts set forth in said petition and to the best of his information and belief every statement contained therein is true and no statement is misleading.

D. W. FROST.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 3d day of February 1954.

J. KERWIN ROONEY,
Notary Public in and for the County of Alameda, State of California.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that I have this date served the foregoing petition upon all parties of record in this proceeding by causing to be mailed to each of them a copy thereof properly addressed, postage prepaid.

Dated at Oakland, Calif., February 3, 1954.

ROSE MARY GERECKE.

I am sure that the action of the city of Oakland reflects the attitude and thinking of the people of the other nine contiguous cities and the unincorporated areas adjacent to them, that make up the vast bulk of the population in the East Bay metropolitan area.

This is best evidenced by an editorial appearing in the Oakland Tribune for February 10, 1954. The Oakland Tribune is the largest daily paper in the Alameda-Contra Costa County area which it serves. Incidentally, the paper is published by the Honorable Joseph R. Knowland, who served with honor in this body, and the father of Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican floor leader.

Here is the editorial:

EVIDENCE JUSTIFIES OAKLAND'S PLEA FOR NEW SOUTHERN ROUTE AIR SERVICE

A strange situation has developed in respect to the application for a new plane service over the southern route to Texas and Florida, serving Oakland and six other cities.

The Civil Aeronautics Board by a bare 3 to 2 decision has denied the application of three airlines to operate a one-plane service over this route.

But it was only in February 1952, that the CAB found that there was ample traffic to support the new line and that the benefits of competition were sufficiently compelling to allow the new service. The TWA-Braniff-Eastern service was to start in the spring of 1952 but it was halted by an injunction obtained by National Airlines and ultimately referred back to the CAB for rehearing. The competitive service is now provided by American, Delta, and National Airlines over a slightly different route than that proposed by TWA-Braniff-Eastern.

The new CAB decision rejected its original findings and declared the proposed service would be economically unsound.

The Oakland Board of Port Commissioners finds this decision is "so disdainful of the public interest as to be shocking."

And the record supports the conclusion. When the CAB made its original favorable decision, the passenger pool for the route to Texas and Florida numbered 532,000 annually. But when the CAB rendered its adverse finding the pool had increased to 789,000 a year.

What is economically unsound about such an increase in business?

Two dissenting members of the CAB could find nothing. They were Joseph Adams and Josh Lee. The latter's 55-page opinion was one of the longest and most sharply worded dissents in the CAB's history. He called the majority "arbitrary and capricious" and accused them of protecting "monopolistic control" of traffic between California, the Southwest and Southeast. He charged that 26 percent of the population of the United States is denied the benefits of competitive service over the southern route and, after all, private enterprise on such a basis is a primary objective of American economy. More specifically,

Oakland, under the latest CAB ruling, is denied its long-sought service to Houston and the traditional right to choose between airlines.

Oakland's port commissioners now demand a reconsideration of the "shocking" decision. A petition to this effect has been prepared by Mr. Rooney and Mr. Goggin, port attorneys, who point out that Oakland now has only one daily schedule over the important southern route, although it serves a population of more than a million people.

On the basis of the evidence there seems every good reason why the CAB should reconsider this case and bring its findings into line with the legitimate requirements of this area, the population, the potential traffic, and the principles on which our economy is founded.

I also wish to include a letter written by me to the Honorable Chan Gurney, Chairman of the CAB, in support of the position taken by the port of Oakland:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 15, 1954.

Mr. CHAN GURNEY,
Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CHAIRMAN GURNEY: May I lend my voice and request to those you have already had to reopen the southern service to the West Coast case, docket No. 1102 et al.?

Oakland Airport, which prays additional connecting service, sewer in excess of a million and a quarter people and is an entity of its own, and should not be confused with any other in the metropolitan area within the overall bay area.

I use air transportation a great deal in getting from here to my home in Alameda, Calif., and find that the number of flights touching Oakland Airport is entirely inadequate, and I, therefore, am forced to travel some 40 miles through very heavy traffic to get to the San Francisco Bay Airdrome.

I want to make it crystal clear that I in no way feel that any service now in operation in San Francisco should be curtailed. I rather feel that we should factually study the situation and accord to Oakland Airport that served the east side of San Francisco Bay adequate service to meet the demand of its large population.

Sincerely,

GEORGE P. MILLER.

I sincerely hope that the Civil Aeronautics Board will accede to the petition of the city of Oakland and reconsider its present stand.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Estonian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include my remarks made over the Voice of America regarding the 36th anniversary of Estonian independence on February 24, 1954:

On February 24, 1954, Estonians all over the world celebrate the 36th anniversary of Estonian independence. Those who are living in Soviet-occupied Estonia, or in the slave labor camps of the Soviet Union, mark this day in silent hope for the freedom they once enjoyed.

I would like to join you in commemorating this day. I do this because of my belief that freedom is the concern of us all. The loss of freedom by a nation should serve as a warning to all other countries that they, too, may stand in danger of losing their liberty.

I have observed at first hand the subjugation of a people by the leaders of communism. I have lived behind the Iron Curtain in Hungary as a diplomatic representative of the United States. I was able to see for myself the results of this terrible oppression—an oppression that began earlier in the swallowing up of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

Since coming to Congress I have served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Baltic Committee. As a member of these committees I have been able to join my colleagues in the task of making the true nature of communism known throughout the world. I sincerely believe that the hearings of the Baltic Committee will once and forever make the free world realize that the Baltic peoples have never accepted communism and Soviet domination voluntarily—and that restoration of your freedom must be included in any program devised for restoration of peace in a free world.

I need not remind you that the United States Government has never accepted this incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union and we still extend full diplomatic recognition to the representatives of free Estonia who are in this country with us today.

May I assure you on your independence day that with God's help and through the strength and the spirit of her people, Estonia will live through these dark days of national enslavement to take again her rightful place in a community of free European nations.

Mighty Odd Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, of late we have heard many dark words concerning the national economy and the outlook for the future. Many words on the floor of the Senate have been directed toward what some call a depression.

It is enlightening in these days to read words which tell the truth to the American people about the conditions of our economy. For that reason, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Mighty Odd Depression," published in the New York Daily News of today, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MIGHTY ODD DEPRESSION

New Deal officeseekers, for reasons best known to their political managers, continue to shriek that a depression is here, or anyway almost here, and it's just a matter of weeks before we'll all be hawking apples.

There are, right now, some distressed spots around the country, mostly in one-industry regions like Detroit or the textile towns of New England.

But there's nothing unusual or depression-indicating about this. We've always had seasonal lags in such industries, and probably will until some Henry Ford-type supergenius of merchandising arrives on the scene, to tell our manufacturers of autos, woolen overcoats, etc., how to keep their factories humming more steadily, in season and out.

In the meantime, how are we average American citizens—the great majority of us who aren't working at any of those up-and-down trades—actually doing today?

The best available financial reports seem to indicate we're not only doing O. K., but a bit better than that. For instance, a few days back the Institute of Life Insurance completed its authoritative estimate of Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public's personal savings, as of 1953. Their nestegg proved to be a whopper.

WE'VE SAVED OUR DOUGH

For the first time since Truman's 1946, it develops, United States citizens' personal savings increased more than their debts. In the first Eisenhower administration year our liquid savings (that means quickly-available dough in banks, savings and loan institutions, insurance policies, etc.) went up $12 billion. Same time, our personal debts rose only $10½ billion. In nonbankers' English, this means that in 1953 we squirreled away more than we ever did before, and we also got ourselves out of New Deal hock to the tune of $1½ billion.

And how's it going in 1954? The New York State savings bank associations have figures on that.

This past January, thrifty Empire Staters banked more cash than in any other January in history. Our savings deposits scored a net rise of $101,214,000, compared to the $100,634,000 increase of January 1953.

More than 10 million New Yorkers are savings account depositors. We may be accused of being frugal, but, obviously, we're far from being broke.

So why the wails—nothing serious but still a few bleats from some businessmen—that business is bad or even awful; and what good does all that cash do if it stays stashed in Mr. Public's savings account or Mrs. P's nylons?

THE CASH SHOWED UP

Our very best suggestion to any merchants who may still feel that way is that they take a quick, educational look at the photo above.

Better than any words, we think, it tells what lusty happenings can start happening, when enterprising merchants decide to offer and advertise some real bargains. Naturally, some of those recent 14th Street events, like the smashed windows and the ladies who got squeezed 1½ sizes smaller in the crush, weren't exactly on the program.

But those sensational sales did prove the bankers are 100 percent right when they say we've got more cash than ever before—and that our hot little American hands will still snatch at anything that's a genuine buy.

Sorry, fear dealers; we just can't spot that depression. If we ever do, we'll be the first to let you know.

Declaration of Americans of Ukrainian Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a declaration adopted by Americans of Ukrainian descent sent to me by the Organization

for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, Inc., Branch 24, Chicago, Ill., together with letter of transmittal dated February 26, 1954.

There being no objection, the declaration and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, INC., BRANCH 24, CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., February 26, 1954.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
Senator of Minnesota,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We are sending you a copy of declaration, resolved at the Ukrainian rally which was held on January 31, 1954, in Chicago-Westpullman, for commemoration of 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine and 300th anniversary of Pereyaslaw Pact. This declaration is not only the expression of thoughts of Americans of Ukrainian descent in Chicago, but the thoughts of all the Ukrainians in Ukraine and all over the world.

Our sides, we ask you humbly, dear Senator, to consider the contents of this declaration, to inform about it official persons, and knowing of your and whole American Nation friendly attitude to Ukraine in her struggle for freedom, we are convinced that the contents of this declaration will add to you a new energy and will help you to speak in support of rights and freedoms of Ukraine and other subjugated nations in what we Americans of Ukrainian descent sustain you with all our heart.

Sincerely yours,

ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF FOUR FREEDOMS FOR UKRAINE, BRANCH 24, CHICAGO, SOUTH,
JAROSLAW KOMARYNSKYJ,
President.
MYKOLA WYSZNEWSKYJ,
Secretary.

DECLARATION OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT

Assembled at the Ukranian rally in the number of 350 which was held on January 31, 1954, in Chicago-Westpullman to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine and the establishment of the Ukranian National Republic.

In Kiev on January 22, 1918, the Ukranian Central Council (Rada) promulgated the fourth universal and thereby brought about the rebirth of Ukrainian independence and established the Ukrainian National Republic.

The 36th anniversary of this important event in the life of the Ukrainian nation is being celebrated by Ukrainians throughout the free world.

Ukraine today is a country occupied by Russian Communist armed forces which installed a puppet government against the will of Ukrainian people. The Communist system with collective economy has brought about the ruin of Ukrainian peasants, and the bureaucratic character of the Communist production and the unheard of exploitation of labor has turned Ukrainian workers into slaves of Communist oligarchy.

The Ukrainian people have been deprived of all the freedoms they enjoyed under their own independent government, have been deprived of those freedoms now enjoyed by the citizens of the free world.

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, those of us who arrived here many years ago, those of us who were born here, and those who arived only recently, having fled our native land to escape the terror of Communist domination commemorate this day of Ukranian independence, this great anniversary of the Ukrainian people.

We, who are of Ukrainian descent and are cognizant of the desires of the Ukrainian people speak today to the honorable representatives of the United States Government and to the freedom-loving people of this country, and do aver that the Ukrainian people are striving for their independence, for their right to freedom, for their right to a democratic Ukrainian Government, to such a government as was established during the revolution by the act of Ukrianian Independence in 1918.

We emphasize that the Ukrainian people have been fighting since 1918 for their freedom from Moscow Communist domination. This fight has taken different forms, among them armed resistance, and has not waned until this day.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent assembled today at the Ukrainian rally for the commemoration of the 36th anniversary of the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence appeal to the United States Government and to all the free nations of the world assembled in the United Nations to aid the Ukrainian nation in freeing itself from Communist tyranny and in reestablishing in Ukraine a government by the will of the Ukrainian people.

By the order of the government and the Communist Party of Soviet Russia there are being organized all over the Soviet Empire with all the means of advertisement and celebrations of the 300-year anniversary of Pereyaslaw Pact, that was signed between Ukraine and Russian on January 18, 1654, in Pereyaslaw. Ukraine exhausted in defensive wars (against Poland and Turkey) was forced through the circumstances to accept the treaty as an emergency solution in order to preserve the independence.

Russia had never complied with the signed agreement, carefully in the beginning, and open later on Russians started to spread their influence in Ukraine, in the meantime they moved their armed forces in the Ukraine increasing in size rapidly. Ukraine was made a colony a puppet state as she is doing today to Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and other countries.

Now after 300 years Russia is trying to convince the world that Ukraine fully united with her to safeguard her nation and economy. In celebrating this 300th anniversary Russia wants to show the unity of Ukraine with Russia, to accomplish this the Russians are changing the style of life to match their own, also they forcefully gather large crowds in towns and cities and force them to concede that the unity of Russia and Ukraine is good and necessary for the Ukrainian people.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent assembled on the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine protest before the free world against the endeavorings of Russia to destroy the free and independent life of the Ukrainian people, they are trying to show ostensibly that Ukraine and Russia are united with the bonds of eternal friendship.

We declare that Ukrainian people never did and never will agree to live under the Russian imperialism. The Ukrainian nation forcefully occupied, always defended and will defend its right to freedom from Russia and this freedom, renewed 36 years ago will always be defended in all circumstances and all times.

JAROSLAW KOMARYNSKYJ,
Chairman of the Rally.
MYKOLA WYSZNEWSKYJ,
Secretary of the Rally.
MYKOLA BILECKY,
O. ZBODA,
W. SOWECZOCK,
O. JOREMS,
A. HAJDUK,
W. DOBRIANSKYJ,
Members of the Celebration Committee.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, the Hutchinson News-Herald, of my home State of Kansas, recently published an analysis of the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson. Believing it to be of much interest, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"What kind of a man is Ezra T. Benson, Secretary of Agriculture?"

This question will get you a variety of answers. These depend on whether you're talking to a Republican, a Democrat, a cattleman, or a wheat farmer.

But there's an afterthought, or an aside, you'll get from friend and foe alike: "He's one of the most sincere men I ever met."

Ezra T. Benson is a man with a task to perform—a task which includes solving the problem of huge commodity surpluses, and bringing American agriculture back to a firm and stable footing.

He feels he knows how it can be done. And as long as he is in charge of administering the agricultural program, he's going to do it in spite of hell and high water.

One thing has characterized Benson since the day he was appointed to his present position. That is his total inability to play the politician.

In many ways, the Secretary of Agriculture could be a political chairman's dream.

Ezra T. Benson is a big man, standing 6 feet 2 inches tall, and weighing 220 pounds, an impressive man. He speaks clearly and concisely. There is nothing of the orator about him, though there easily could be.

He is a friendly man, with a quick boyish smile, and at the same time a little shy. But though friendly, he seems a bit detached.

What he lacks—from the standpoint of the professional politician—is the ability to compromise, to sacrifice a few of his ideals, to indulge in the wellknown political horse trade.

It is this characteristic which has caused the administration no end of pain. Doubtlessly, there have been many attempts to school the Secretary in the fine art of politics, and there is plenty of evidence that all such attempts have failed.

Failing, the administration has done the next best thing—surrounded Benson with assistants, able public administrators to pat and smooth the feathers ruffled by the blunt, outspoken Secretary of Agriculture.

But curiously enough, these may not be needed. There is every indication that Benson, by the sheer power of his unmistakable sincerity, is winning the confidence of the American farmer.

And the confidence he has won has not come from honeyed words, pleasant generalities, jovial handshaking, and conferences in the famous smoke-filled rooms. It has come from grabbing a problem by the throat and hanging on as the antagonist threshed this way and that.

At Guyman this week, Benson alighted from a plane with his able assistant, Ross Rizley, and walked smiling up to an assembled crowd which included farmers engaged in two great segments of American agriculture—cattle and wheat production.

In the packed briefcase under his arm, he carried a hard-hitting speech which he delivered later that night—a speech in which he praised the handling of the cattlemen's problem and pointed to the folly of carrying on the wheat program as it had in the past.

There is no way to know how many he convinced of the soundness of his administration's program. He did convince his listeners of his utter sincerity—that America is faced with a tremendous farm problem. And the only way to solve it is by drastic action.

When he had finished, his listeners applauded—not the farm program he expounded but the man Benson—his courage, his lack of personal ambition in politics and his dedication to the tremendous task he has.

In the most emphatic part of his talk, Benson said, "I pledge I shall never support any program unfavorable to agriculture regardless of political pressure."

And he made you believe it.

Address by Gov. Frank G. Clement on TVA at Tupelo, Miss.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Gov. Frank G. Clement on TVA at Tupelo, Miss., on February 6, 1954:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, my friends and neighbors of the Tennessee Valley, it is a great honor and pleasure to be allowed to address you on this happy, this joyous, and this auspicious occasion. It was a kindly light, indeed, that the enterprising city of Tupelo lit 20 years ago to lead the valley into a blaze of hydro electricity, to lead the valley along the road of progress into this day of abundance. And so the contract Tupelo executed with the Tennessee Valley Authority, singly, and in an atmosphere of uncertainty, on Feburary 6 of 1934, we are gathered here today, in numbers and in gratitude and rejoicing, to witness Tupelo renew. Lighted by the subsequent record of achievement in this great little city and throughout our great river valley, today's renewal of Tupelo's power contract with TVA for another 20 years, casts a heartening, a cheering beam into our future.

Our good fortune has been great: We have much for which to thank our God. And one of those things is that Tupelo can renew her contract today for another 20 years against an uncertain future, against a future that appears now as dubious and as fraught with hazards as the beneficial score of years just concluded must have appeared back in February of 1934.

This contract signing is an auspicious event. It augers for our good; it stil insures a kindly light against encircling gloom.

But first let us look to the past and give thanks.

I understand that the event we are celebrating here today is the actual execution of the contract rather than its signing, which occurred 3 months earlier, the throwing of the switch that brought the current. For it may be said for the enterprise of the city of Tupelo that your then mayor, J. P. Nanney, signed a contract with the Authority before TVA was quite ready with the power to serve you.

Signing that first contract with Mayor Nanney there were Dr. Arthur Morgan and David Lilienthal representing TVA, and both of them members of the new three-man Authority then. And present for the occasion, either in person or in spirit, I am sure, was your eloquent former Congressman here with us today, the Honorable John Rankin, who so ably advocated TVA back in those days. And there were other leaders and foresighted citizens on hand. But in many quarters in the valley there was still headshaking and uncertainty about TVA.

The TVA came to us in 1933 as something new under the sun. The unified development of natural resources had long been preached by conservationists, and had to a degree been put into practice in some parts of the country. But such a comprehensive plan of development for a whole river valley had never before been undertaken. Moreover, the TVA's promotional power rate was a new and revolutionary sales idea for American consumers of electricity.

But the times were ripe then for experiment, for trying something new. The adult members of this audience will remember that we were in the depths of a national, indeed, a world-wide depression.

And we, in the South, of course, hadn't known anything much, except hard times since the War Between the States. And the Tennessee Valley was a land of scarcity and had been a land of scarcity for a long time. Conspicuous among the scarce and dear commercial goods of that day was electricity, back there under the dispensation of the private power companies. Some of you will remember that the rates ranged around 7, 8, even 10 cents a kilowatt-hour then, in town. Electricity was commercially nonexistent out in the country.

The development of the Tennessee River, to be sure, was no new idea to us, either for flood control, navigation, or waterpower. It had been a public issue, it had been a political issue, longer than any of us here can remember—or any of us could remember even back there in 1933.

And conception of the TVA Act was typically American and democratic. It was not, as some have supposed, struck full-grown from the brow of a New Deal brain truster. It originated with Congress, and is the product of thirty-odd years of their trying to harness the public interest and private enterprise, of worrying and wrangling, of trial-and-error procedure.

Over those years, the Members of Congress—and Republican Congresses they were—as they exhausted one recourse after another to protect the public interest under some plan for private operation, gradually shifted ground to favor public operation, so that you had a public power bill passed by a Republican Congress, vetoed by President Coolidge in 1926, another vetoed by President Hoover in 1931.

There were, to be sure, the shades of two great conservationists of the Republican persuasion—Theodore Roosevelt and Theodore Burton, chairman of the House Rivers and Harbors Committee—present in that congressional committee room in 1933, when the TVA Act was written. And there was the broad injunction from the then President Franklin Roosevelt. But there was another influence upon those Congressmen greater by far: Congress' vision of public development of the Tennessee River Valley had been born, primarily because of the lack of vision and boldness of the procession of private enterprisers who had come before them.

I hasten to say that such a comprehensive plan of development as the one the Congress finally came up with could not, to be sure, have been undertaken by any power company then in existence, or, perhaps, even any workable combination of private enterprises.

So on that February 6, in the year 1934, the mayor of Tupelo executed a contract with the new and experimental political entity, the Tennessee Valley Authority, to supply this city with electric current under the new and experimental idea of a promotional rate—about all of which there had been in Congress and in the press and elsewhere a lot of general and rather windy talk but no previous specific and actual experience.

Was Tupelo right? That question sounds absurd to us now, but it was asked by some sensible people back there at that time.

It was very soon obvious to all who inquired that Tupelo liked the new arrangement with TVA. The reason was simple and substantial. Tupelo found that they had saved $70,000 on their electric bills in the first year. They published this fact, but word about the TVA rates in Tupelo had already got around.

And America's first electric cooperative was then organized here in Mississippi, in Alcorn County, to become TVA's second customer—the second public distributor of TVA's cheap power. The Alcorn County Electric Power Association signed a 20-year contract on June 1 of 1934.

Mississippi had broken the ice, had pronounced the water fine, and others of us began to dive in. The next public distributor to sign a contract was Athens, Ala., the home town of Senator SPARKMAN, in the State of one of the authors of the TVA Act, Senator LISTER HILL, and that occurred on the same day that the Alcorn County co-op signed. Amory, Miss., became the fourth contractor on September 2 of that year. Then the first community of my State of Tennessee followed, to become the fifth TVA customer. This was the conservative but enterprising little city of Pulaski, and the contract was signed on January 4, 1935. Other Tennessee communities followed. There was Dayton, on February 1 of that year, and the Lincoln County Electric Membership Corp., the second co-op to be organized, on October 1 of that year. Then my home town of Dickson became the fourth Tennessee community to sign. This was an event of peculiar importance to the Clement family because my father was city recorder at the time and greatly interested in the organization of the corporation. I had just finished high school and obtained my first grownup, hard, manual-labor employment, digging post holes for that enterprise. It was a man's job and still remains a vivid memory with me. I believe there may be still a few calluses on my hands from it.

"Promotional electric rates"—a phrase to conjure with.

Promotional rates were an implementation of the resale clause of the TVA act. This idea was of democratic design and was based on a sound principle of private enterprise—the principle of cutting the price to increase the sales.

Yet, the so-called private enterprise power companies screamed in protest against promotional rates then. They made all sorts of dire predictions about promotional rates. And first and foremost they assured us that they wouldn't work.

That aspect, that story in the many-sided drama of TVA's development of our river valley, is, perhaps, the most spectacular—and it is certainly the most significant and meaningful for the individual well being and the domestic and business welfare of all the citizens of these United States.

Did it work, my friends and neighbors? Did it work?

The rate history of this small progressive Mississippi metropolis is an eloquent answer to that question. Yes, Tupelo can answer it with facts and with figures. I have them here, furnished me from the RECORD.

The original rates offered by the city of Tupelo, back in 1934 were what TVA still

refers to as basic rates; that is, its commercial and industrial rates plus a 10-percent surcharge—it was this rate that saved Tupelo consumers $70,000 a year. But within 2 years, the city of Tupelo made another rate reduction; eliminating that 10-percent surcharge. This represented an additional $6,000 a year savings to the customers. And 2 years later, Tupelo modified its basic-rate schedules to save the customers another $8,000 a year. And 2 years after that, Tupelo cut the rates again to add another $7,000 a year in savings.

And let me point out that these reductions were made possible not through technical efficiencies merely, but through increased demand, bigger power sales, through the operation of that well-known principle of private enterprise, of production costs lowered by increasing the quantity of production.

During the war years, Tupelo's financial position would have permitted further rate reduction, but the promotional aspects of a rate reduction were inconsistent with the wartime need for conservation in the use of electricity. In lieu of rate reduction, annual dividends were issued to their consumers in the form of war saving bonds and stamps to the amount of $115,000.

With the end of the war, it was possible for Tupelo to reduce rates again, and to accompany that rate reduction with a program to encourage increased use of electricity. In 1944, Tupelo adopted the lowest rates applied by any TVA distributor, to effect a savings of $23,000 more annually on the basis of the quantity of power then used.

Of course, each of the savings I have cited is based on quantities of electricity used at that time. For the year just ended, Tupelo consumers, now using more than six times as much electricity as they did in 1934, paid $1,500,000 less for the power they used than they would have had to pay for it if they had been billed under their pre-TVA rates.

The story of Tupelo is substantially the story of the whole valley. Among the 150 distributors of TVA's power, there are 14 others who are able to apply rates as low as Tupelo's 33 who are able to give rates just a little higher than that, and the remaining 102 distributors, who apply the basic rates that Tupelo began with in 1934.

And as for the amount of power now used in the valley, my friends, I will tell you this: TVA is recognized as one of the most economical and technically efficent producers and distributors of electric energy in the world and its line loss is exceptionally low. Nevertheless, the line loss—that unavoidable frictional wastage—the line loss on the great TVA system today is as big as the total amount of electricity that was consumed in the valley before TVA, or about 1½ billion kilowatt-hours then, as against 27 billion kilowatt-hours last year. And it costs us about one-fifth, or less, what it cost us 20 years ago.

What have we done with this abundance of cheap electric power? What has it meant to us? It has inspired and impelled an industrial and agricultural development in the Tennessee Valley without precedent in our history. It has developed 1,360,000 consumers who use 6 times as much energy in their homes today as they did in 1933 at a savings of $60 million a year over what they would have had to pay at old prices. It has begot among us an abundance in the material goods of life, where before there was scarcity. There have been some 1,600 manufacturing and processing plants added to the valley's industry in the past quarter of a century. The number of jobs in manufacturing has increased by 72 percent, as compared with 41 percent for the Nation as a whole. Our per capita income, though still low, has increased from 40 to 60 percent of the national average. It isn't a pleasant thought to talk of taxes, but we are now proudly paying almost twice as great a proportion of the Federal income tax as we did in pre-TVA days. And that would not be true, of course, if our income had not greatly increased.

I cannot go into it here today, but, as we all know, an abundance of cheap electricity is but one of the benefits TVA has brought to this glorious valley.

Although it operates chiefly in one region, TVA is a national investment and a national asset. Among its national contributions are flood control and river transportation, for example. Then it has become a powerhouse for our national-defense program and it is perhaps more significant in this role today, with the national administration's shift of emphasis in arms from armies and navies to Air Force and atomic weapons, even than it has been before.

But the most widespread benefit that TVA has brought to the average American is the benefit it was originally intended to bring about when the act was drawn and the conservation enterprice was first dubbed an electric-rate yardstick. I speak of the national reduction in the average of power rates of 60 percent over the 20 years since TVA came on the scene with its promotional power rate to increase electricity consumption in America fabulously, and to increase also profits for private as well as public power producers.

When the Nation was plunged into World War II, the tremendous electric energy potential of the Tennessee Valley was a major factor in the country's being able to produce the atom bomb in time to shorten hostilities and save American lives, and already 60 percent of munitions grade elemental phosphorus for the Armed Forces was being produced in the valley. With the Korean conflict, 5 years later, came redoubled defense demands on TVA's power resources. The defense power requirements stood at 2.8 billion kilowatt-hours in 1951. They jumped to 7 billion kilowatt-hours for last year. They have been estimated to reach 28.4 billion kilowatt-hours in 1956. No other region of the country has been called on to devote so large a proportion of its power supply to national defense.

To meet these demands for electricity in unprecedented quantities (already the Atomic Energy Commission requires more power of TVA than the whole hydropower system can generate) to meet demands, the Authority had to build a series of steam plants, so that now it has, either completed or under construction in the system, six of them.

The big defense demand that pushed TVA into a large steam-plant-construction program and the change from a Democratic to a Republican national administration have furnished the opportunity and the occasion for a long-planned onslaught on TVA by the private power lobby.

This general attack has been in progress now, as I am sure we are all aware, for the past year. There had been attacks against TVA from the private power lobby for years and we have lately come to realize that this organization has been directing a concerted and insidious national advertising campaign against it for the past 4 or 5 years, but not until the advent of the current administration did the private power lobby become an effective political force, both through the executive branch of the Federal Government and in the Congress.

When we learned of the threat to the future of TVA last spring, I, as Governor of the State most vitally affected, went into action to alert the people, not only of Tennessee, but of the Valley generally and of the Nation. TVA was born under, and has been nurtured by a Democratic national administration. Most of us in the valley are Democrats and our representation in Congress is preponderantly Democratic. Nevertheless, Tennessee and Kentucky both have Republican representatives in Congress who have given TVA support. Since TVA was not a partisan issue in Tennessee and since it cuts across party lines nationally, also, and since we are living under a Republican national administration with a term extending through 1956, we have deemed it a wise and practical policy to treat TVA bipartisanly.

From the hour the first blow fell upon our great conservation enterprise imperiling the electricity supply for the whole valley, we have put TVA politics first and the future power supply of the valley has been our major concern.

I have never defended the President of the United States for any failures of his, but I am constantly refusing, in the name of the party I serve and believe in or anyone else, to malign him unfairly and to say that he did anything other than to give me a courteous hearing when I went there as your spokesman. The man is entitled to be treated with the same courtesy when I am 500 miles away from him as he treated me when I was there. If we find that we cannot get from the President that which we deserve, there will be plenty of time to call him to task personally and the presidential election is not up for a couple of more years. But until the time comes, I refuse, in order to make political capital for myself, to call the President of the United States names which should not be applied to him.

In the same spirit, I propose that we give his recent TVA budget recommendation nonpartisan consideration. For we have upon us, first, and foremost, responsibility for the economic welfare of the people of the valley.

What is the President's budget proposal and what does it mean?

We have had comment upon it by the man who is best qualified to estimate its effect upon the Tennessee Valley Authority—Mr. Gordon Clapp, its Chairman.

And on Tuesday of this week, I called into conference, in Nashville, representatives of the Tennessee Valley Public Power Association, of the cooperative association of my State and of citizens for TVA to consider both the budget recommendation and its significance for us in the valley in our present circumstances.

I do not mean to imply that I shall speak officially here today for any person or group whom I have mentioned. My conclusions are my own, but they are informed by the counseling I have done with these gentlemen. First, there appear to be some improvements in our position with respect to the attitude of the national administration toward us now, over what it was a year ago. This has been indicated in both utterances and acts of the President. Mr. Clapp said several days ago, summing up the budget proposal:

"The absence of any funds in the President's budget recommendations for starting new generating capacity in the TVA system is based on the assumption that new defense loads will not develop and that AEC will secure from non-TVA sources 500,000 to 600,000 kilowatts which TVA is now committed to supply at Paducah from generating capacity now under construction.

"And TVA capacity released by AEC would thus be available for other regional power needs."

On the face of this summation, we can afford to be grateful that our position of 1 year ago has been somewhat improved both from the viewpoint of attitude and proposal, but it is incumbent upon us, to point out to the President at once the obvious inadequacies, the liabilities and contingencies of his recommendation fairly and frankly.

Let us consider first the contingent character of the President's offer. His budget message stated the plan but vaguely, but if we, in the valley, have got to gamble on this power transfer for our economic future, we had better dig into its possibilities. The

message was unspecific as to which TVA powerplant would be relieved of 500,000-kilowatts of the load it has contracted to deliver to the Atomic Energy Commission, but a logical point—and perhaps the only point, without bringing disruption to the TVA's intricately balanced system—from which to release this power would be the Shawnee steam plant, near the mouth of the Ohio River. While this plant is on the edge of the area TVA serves and was built expressly to furnish power to the Paducah installation, it is not the sole supplier for AEC's gigantic power requirements there.

Electric Energy, Inc., a combine of 5 private power companies, has contracted to supply about 35 percent of AEC's prospective needs at Paducah, the remainder having been contracted for by TVA. The plant this private company combine has under construction will have only a small margin of capacity above its contract load—about 200,000 kilowatts, I am told. Moreover, I am informed, it has already once refused to increase its capacity to any considerable degree. The reason is understandable. Both in the case of Electric Energy, Inc., and in the case of the Ohio Valley Electric Corp., a combine of 15 private power companies, to supply the AEC installation at Portsmouth, Ohio—there is a hesitation to construct more capacity for this single governmental defense demand than could be later absorbed in the territory the plant might economically serve, should the Government demand be discontinued. The plants of the Ohio combine at Madison, Ind., and Gallipolis, Ohio, are very far away for any economical transmission of power to Paducah, but we must assume in the absence of their positive assurance to the contrary that both private groups would be reluctant to add 600,000 kilowatts to its AEC load—a 600,000-kilowatt capacity that we have every reason to believe would have to be increased to a million kilowatts, if the President carries out his promise to make adequate provision for the normal economic growth of this valley.

The budget message further qualified its provision for the power transfer, by saying that if any unforeseen national defense demand should develop, or if AEC fails to make satisfactory arrangements for obtaining this power from other sources—the question of starting construction of additional generating capacity would be reopened.

The joker in that deal, of course, is the time element. TVA is already tardy on construction schedule, if it is to add the 750,000-kilowatt capacity each year between now and 1957 that its experts have estimated will be required if the defense load is to be carried and normal growth in the valley is to be safely provided for also.

AEC must cancel or revise its contract with TVA to release the 600,000-kilowatt capacity before the President's provision for our future has any status in the realm of reality. The valley's 150 TVA distributors should urge him to act with realism and dispatch in this situation. Perhaps we all should express our concern.

But Mr. Clapp has said that even if we get the 600,000 kilowatts additional capacity that this region will face—I quote, "An exceedingly tight power situation in 1957." The President's budget document estimates that by the transfer of 500,000-kilowatt capacity and by stabilizing TVA's defense load, TVA would have for all purposes a capacity of 9,483,000 kilowatts by the end of 1957. TVA estimates that the power needs of the valley in 1957, in the circumstances the President suggests, will be 9,500,000 kilowatts so that the budget estimate is 17,000 kilowatts under TVA's minimum or tight estimate.

It should be pointed out here that over the years TVA's estimate of the valley's future needs have been conservative. Moreover, this figure of 9½ million kilowatt capacity provides no safety factor, no reserve for the invisible prospect or demand. No private power company makes estimates without such an allowance—in fact, it is customary for private power companies to allow at least 8 percent for this factor, I am told. Such a provident provision would add, at least, another one-half million kilowatt capacity to any realistic forecast for the valley's future requirements.

The President has proposed, too, that TVA pay interest on its power investment and here again his words are surrounded by such vagueness that we cannot know what they mean. Since the Federal Government owns TVA's power facilities and makes a profit on them—an average of over 4 percent over the 20 years of their operation—the concern here cannot be the soundness of the Government's investment in TVA's generating plant.

It must be assumed that the interest payment proposal is to be justified in the name of TVA, the yardstick for power production. And that it would be argued that private power companies have to pay interest on their borrowings.

Yet, nothing has been said about the fact that TVA rate payers are now repaying the Government for its power investment on a 40-year schedule of amortization—although the Government will continue to own the property when it has been paid for. And this is an element in financing that private compaies in fact, avoid by the reissuance of their bonds so that by common practice their investment is never amortized. To make TVA pay interest on top of its amortization payments would not then equalize conditions between TVA customers and private power customers, but would penalize us here in the valley.

Moreover, the financial circumstances of a branch of the Federal Government, used as a cheap power resource for national defense and ever subject to the political demands of the President and Congress, cannot be made to parallel those of a private corporation, on any realistic basis.

I clearly implied at the outset of this speech that I still had confidence in the President's sincerity of purpose while questioning his actions. Perhaps you feel that the criticism of his proposals for TVA, which I have presented here, makes such a position untenable.

My answer is this: The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is Jacob's voice. How can a President, with a multitude of duties, be well advised of the best interests of TVA or of our best interest by—

1. Herbert Hoover, who vetoed a TVA bill put through Congress by his own party leaders when he was President and has only recently said, "The object of the whole proceeding [the Hoover Commission] should be to get the Federal Government out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible." He heads the President's Commission To Study TVA.

2. Clarence Manion, who said—I quote: "I think the TVA should be sold to private business. I don't think the Federal Government should have built TVA in the first place." The President's Chairman of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

3. Douglas McKay, who in response to the question, "Do you think the TVA model is wrong?" responded, "In my opinion, it is definitely wrong." The President's Secretary of Interior who advises him on public power.

4. Fred G. Aandahl: Who recently attacked TVA as being against the best interest of the American people. The President's Assistant Secretary of Interior and so-called power expert.

5. Congressman GEORGE A. DONDERO, author of a bill to knock out the resale and sole supplier clauses from the TVA Act. Chairman of the House Public Works Committee and supposedly a White House adviser.

And, finally, the Edison Electric Institute: The so-called research organization of the private power lobby. The President's Budget Director quoted to me this outfit's power estimates for TVA last year, as an independent and unbiased source of expert opinion.

Yes, the hand may look like Eisenhower's, but the voice unmistakably is the voice of the enemies of TVA.

So that, the Tupelo TVA light, switched on 20 years ago and which we ceremonially renew here today for another 20 years, illuminates at least two landmarks into a prudent future course.

The first I will call the valley's mission. We admittedly enjoy more of, and more closely at hand, the benefits of this great conservation enterprise—our future welfare is more directly bound up in its welfare. Hence, it is our obligation—each and every one of us, to keep the Nation aware of the real individual and collective benefits that flow from TVA to all America.

Each man of us must become a salesman for TVA. And I charge you to turn to your neighbor first, who may not have heard the call to arms, who may not be well informed of our danger. Convert him or her to our cause, for it is his cause, too.

As sure as shouting, American must be sold on TVA or TVA will be sold down the river.

And the second clue to our course, is perhaps but an aspect of the first. TVA must be lifted above the level of partisan politics if it is to endure. Whoever may have created it and nurtured it, it should nevertheless not be bound to the fortunes of either the Democratic or the Republican Party, but should enjoy bypartisan support.

I believe those landmarks lie definitely on the way to a greater TVA, a greater valley, a greater Nation.

For two decades, the Tennessee River Valley has been a pilot plant to show how men can develop their resources by democratic means, for the benefit of all the people and, I humbly submit, to the greater glory of God. It has been a civic inspiration and an economic touchstone to us, in this land.

And the whole world has been watching our progress here. Today, in India, in Syria, in Japan, in Australia, and in Peru the story of the Tennessee River Valley carries a message of faith in man's ability to build a stronger material basis for greater freedom—and more. But let me first add that in this disillusioned and fearful world, there is no symbol of American democracy more persuasive to those enslaved by poverty and those enslaved by communism, alike, than the TVA.

I mentioned TVA as more than a material basis for greater freedom and what I mean is that an electric-power dam can be a religious symbol, as certainly as a mission; that a rural cooperative board can be devoted to godly ends, as well as a board of Methodist stewards. For economic man is an abstraction that doesn't exist, and man builds his way to heaven or hell with his hands, as well as with his heart. To begin with, conservation is but the application to our God-given natural resources of Christ's injunction in the parable of the talents.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself," said our Lord, and responsible cooperative organizations provide a good practice ground for the exercise and development of an important political analog of that love. We call it cooperation and along with it we find a by-product we refer to as; sense of community. If we employ these to our own material prosperity, we, nevertheless, recognize the welfare and act for the prosperity of our neighbor, too—and more.

In the Tennessee Valley, we believe in praising God and passing our ammunition for peace and prosperity, cheap and abundant electric power, not only among ourselves, not only to our fellow Americans in all regions of this favored land, but to all the world who want freedom. Lead on Tupelo; lead on.

Coming Events in Israel in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker with the advent of the Easter, Passover, Shueib, and Ramadan seasons, it is of interest to note how important holidays will be observed in the Holy Land.

The following schedule mutely testifies to how Moslems, Christians, Jews, and all Monotheists can live together as brothers:

COMING EVENTS IN ISRAEL IN 1954

January 30–February 20: Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem, an exhibition of engravings in copper by Joseph Hecht, the most outstanding engraver of Jewish origin in Paris.

February 11: Feast of Notre Dame de Lourdes, celebrated with special ceremony and Pontifical mass during Marian Year.

March 19: Purim, the Feast of the Lots, traditional celebration of Queen Esther's victory over Haman. Celebrated by masked balls, carnivals, and folk dancing in the streets and public places.

March 19: Feast of St. Joseph.

February 27–March 20: Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem, exhibition of paintings by Shemi, one of the earliest contributors to Jewish art in Israel.

March 20–May 1: Bezalel Museum, Passover Seder table, set with examples of ancient Haggadot and works of art, a beautiful reproduction of a European Seder table of the 17th century.

March 25: Feast of the Annunciation, Pontifical mass at the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.

April 16–19: Good Friday, Easter Sunday, and Monday, services are held at the Coenaculum (Room of the Last Supper) on Mount Zion, Jerusalem.

April 18: Passover, the week-long festival commemorating the Exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt. One of the three festivals when pilgrims used to come to the Temple at Jerusalem from all over the country. Now commemorated by pilgrimages to Mount Zion.

April 19–22: Ein Gev music festival. Prominent conductors and artists from all over the world participate in the programs held at Ein Gev, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

April 19: Feast of the Omer, festival celebrating the cutting of the first ripe barley. Picturesque ceremonies are enacted at settlements all over Israel, particularly notable are those held in Ramat Yochanan.

April 25: Easter (Armenian, Coptic and Orthodox Churches).

April 25: Shueib, the Feast of Jethro, the Druse Prophet. Celebrations are held at Hittin, near Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee and include oriental dances, music and horse-riding contests.

May 4: The beginning of Ramadan, a major Moslem fast period lasting a month. Each fast day culminates with a feast in the evening.

May 9: Independence day. Festivities throughout the country will mark the 6th anniversary of the establishment of the state. Street dancing, sport events and military parades add to the gay holiday atmosphere.

May 21: Lag Ba'omer, the 33d day of the counting of the Omer. Celebrated by the lighting of bonfires on hilltops throughout the country. At Meron in Upper Galilee, thousands gather at the tomb of Rabbi Simeon Bar Yohai, the founder of the Kabbalah, and perform ecstatic Hassidic dances all through the night by the light of bonfires.

May 27: Feast of the Ascension, one of the oecumenical holidays ranking in importance with Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.

May 30–June 10: Festival and Congress of the International Society of Contemporary Music in Haifa. The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra will be among the participants in a series of concerts and festivities scheduled to take place at which a number of distinguished artists will perform. One of the concerts will be held in Jerusalem. Immediately following the festival, the International Music Council of UNESCO will hold a 2-day symposium on "Oriental Influences in Contemporary Music."

May 31: Close of Mary's Month, observed by special ceremonies during Marian Year.

June 2: Eid El Fitr, Great Moslem feast following the conclusion of Ramadan (see May 4).

June 6: Feast of the Pentecost. Ceremonies are held at the Church of the Dormition and at the Coenaculum of Mount Zion. Jerusalem, and at the Mount of Beatitudes (near Capernaum).

June 7: Shavuoth, the Feast of Weeks, a holiday marking the giving of the law to Moses on Mount Sinai, and the gathering of the first fruits of the season. Particularly picturesque are the ceremonies held all over the country when children "bring the first fruits."

June 7: Haifa flower festival.

June 24: The Feast of St. John the Baptist at the Church of St. John of the Mountain and the Church of the Visitation in Ein Kerem (near Jerusalem).

July 21: Herzl day, commemorating the death of Dr. Theodor Herzl, founder of modern Zionism, buried on Mount Herzl, Jerusalem. Pilgrimages to his grave are held annually.

July 22: Bialik day, commemorating the death of Haim Nahman Bialik, the national poet.

August 6: Feast of the Transfiguration, celebrated at the Basilica on Mount Tabor where the miracle of the transfiguration took place.

August 8: Tisha B'Av, fast day to commemorate the fall of the second temple. In Haifa there will be a pilgrimage to Elijah's cave.

August 9: Eid El Adha, Moslem Feast of the Sacrifice.

August 15: Feast of the Assumption, another major event during Marian year. Celebrated with a pontifical mass at the Church of the Dormition.

September 4–October 13: Bezalel National Museum, exhibition of prehistoric art, including works discovered during excavation, particularly in the Beersheba region.

September 8: Feast of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin. Celebrated with solemn masses.

September 28: Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, ushered in by the blowing of the ram's horn in all synagogues throughout the country.

October 3: Feast of Notre Dame du Rosaire, an important Marian year event.

October 7: Yom Kippur, the solemn fast Day of Atonement.

October 12: Succot, the Feast of Tabernacles, commemorating the years of desert wandering which followed the exodus from Egypt. Succot is also a feast of vintage and fruit harvest and during the week-long holiday foliage-covered tabernacles are built in gardens and balconies. A visit to the famous decorated tabernacles in the oriental quarters of Jerusalem is recommended.

October 15: Annual international swimming championship across the Sea of Galilee. Inaugurated in 1934, this event attracts contestants from all over the world.

October 19: Simchat Torah, the rejoicing of the law marks the conclusion of the yearly cycles of readings from Pentateuch. The scrolls are carried in procession amid singing and dancing. A visit to the Hassidic or oriental synagogues on Simchat Torah is a tourist must.

October 24: United Nations Day. Ceremonies marking the occasion take place throughout Israel.

November 19: Mawlid E'Nabi, the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed. The ceremonies at Remleh's great mosque and at the Al Jezar Mosque in Acre.

November 21: Feast of the Presentation, solemn masses commemorating this event in the life of Mary.

December 8: Feast of the Immaculate Conception, close of Marian Year with special service at the Church of the Dormition, Jerusalem.

December 21–28: Chanukah, the Feast of Lights, marking the rededication of the Temple by the Maccabees after their victory over the Syrian Greeks. In memory of the tradition that a small jug of oil lit in the temple lasted for 8 days, 1 additional arm of an 8-branched candelabrum is lit on each day of the feast. The Torch of Freedom is lit at Modi'in, the birthplace of the Maccabees and carried to Jerusalem by a relay of runners. A torchlight procession ascends Mount Zion.

December 25: Christmas Day. Pontifical mass is held at the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.

House Concurrent Resolution 58

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including the text of a television presentation by the Georgetown University Forum on January 10. The debate involved my own House Concurrent Resolution 58, which would give diplomatic recognition to the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

The moderator was Mr. Matthew Warren.

The text follows:

Mr. WARREN. "United States Envoys to Ukraine and Byelorussia" is the topic for the 372d consecutive broadcast of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, another in a series of educational and informative programs from Washington. The Georgetown University Radio Forum was founded in 1946.

This is Matthew Warren speaking by transcription from the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of Georgetown University, historic Jesuit seat of learning in the Nation's Capital.

Today's discussion will be "United States Envoys to Ukraine and Byelorussia." The participants are Hon. Michael A. Feighan, member of the House Judiciary Committee; Dr. Eugene Bacon, professor of European history, Georgetown University; Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky, professor of economics, Georgetown University, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and Dr. James Atkinson, acting head of the department of political science of Georgetown University.

Two independent sovereign states of the U. S. S. R., recognized and represented as such by the United Nations, have yet no

official recognition with the United States, the Soviet Ukraine, and Byelorussia.

Congressman LAWRENCE SMITH introduced Resolution 58 before the 1st session of the 83d Congress designed to establish direct diplomatic relations with these states.

Congressman FEIGHAN, I understand you support this resolution, I wonder if you would explain it to us.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Yes, but perhaps for a better understanding of what the nations of the Ukraine and Byelorussia are, I think it would be advisable to identify the Soviet Union. The first we must ask ourselves is, Is it Russian? The answer definitely is no, because the U. S. S. R. is made up of 16 distinct and different nations, and 14 of these nations are non-Russian.

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic is approximately 91 percent non-Russian, and the Byelorussia Soviet Socialist Republic is approximately 93 percent non-Russian.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I should like to ask Congressman FEIGHAN, and right at the start here, as to whether the Moscow Government, namely, the Government of the Soviet Union, as an entity recognizes these non-Russian peoples as nation states?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Very definitely they do. But I think that in their recognition it is merely a propaganda piece. Each of these 16 U. S. S. R. nations have constitutions of their own, as likewise does the U. S. S. R. itself. These different constitutions promise a utopia, and for that reason I call them propaganda pieces. They promise freedom of religion, but then they say it is freedom to organize religions, but secondly the state of the Soviet Union may organize antireligious satellies. The constitutions of the Union Republics have differences tailored to the background of the particular nation. For example, there are similarities which guarantee the right to freely secede from the Union, but secondly they have the right to establish their own diplomatic relations with foreign states.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. If I may supplement some of the remarks made by the Congressman, I would like first to make reference of course to some of the other nation states within the Soviet Union. As many of you know, the Baltic States constitute nation states, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, likewise, as the Congressman has mentioned here, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and you have, too, Georgia, Armenia, Turkistan, and Azerbaijan, and numerous others. There are certain areas within the Soviet Union in which there are people of course who are regarded as being an autonomous region and are not of this aggregate set of nation states.

So, consequently, one would say that in the Soviet Union you have, of course, the Russian national state, but in addition you have 15 other non-Russian nation states. That is the general pattern of this political entity called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. WARREN. Dr. Bacon, would you add something to that?

Dr. BACON. First, I would like to clarify some points, and I would like to ask Dr. Dobriansky just what he hopes to accomplish or what are the objectives of this resolution.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Well, the main objective, of course, is to establish political, psychological, perhaps even cultural, contact with two of the largest non-Russian nation states within the Soviet Union.

The significance of such an objective, I think, has been disclosed and revealed, in fact, this past week. For the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, in fact, the history of the Russian Empire since the emergence of Muscovy as an imperialist political entity have you had the celebration in the form of a national holiday, what they call the organic union, between Ukraine and Russia.

They celebrated the 300th anniversary of what has been called the Peryaslav Treaty. This Treaty of Peryaslav, consummated 300 years ago between the Ukraine and Russia, was a treaty which was very similar to some of the treaties we have had today.

In fact, the annexation of the Baltic States has been executed through a treaty, and you see the consequence of it. So here in the case of the Ukraine and the case of Byelorussia, particularly, are two nation states which have been placed under the force of an imperialist power.

The main objective of this particular resolution is to establish this contact with the subjugated peoples via diplomatic means.

Mr. WARREN. Dr. Atkinson, are you in favor of this?

Dr. ATKINSON. I would like a little bit of clarification perhaps from Dr. Dobriansky, if I might. Of course, as faculty members at Georgetown University, naturally we are all interested in the policy which is best for the United States, quite obviously. Just how would this recognition of these two republics constitute an advantage to United States policy? Frankly, I can't quite see that it does, but perhaps Dr. Dobriansky may be able to enlighten me.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Perhaps befor we get into the specific advantages or possible disadvantages of it, I should say this. I was asked a moment ago about the objective. In order to appreciate and understand that objective there are numerous other angles here that have to be investigated. Of course, advantages and disadvantages come into play. We must understand first the nature of the resolution. The resolution specifically calls for the dispatch of American ambassadors to Kiev and Minsk, which, respectively, are the capitals of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Secondly, we already recognize the delegates of these two states in the U. N. Consequently, there is no problem here that would arise or emerge similar to, let us say, our recognition of Communist China.

Point three, and this is part of the advantage, in establishing contact with these two particular capitals, which incidentally are the only two U. N. capitals from which foreign representation is excluded, we are able then to set up listening posts in areas that have been hitherto excluded from foreign representation or even foreign tourists and today is of course under very strict restriction.

The Kiev and Minsk areas are, particularly from a territorial point of view, close to the entire Balkan area and Baltic area respectively. So there is much in the way of information that we can derive from having Ambassadors in these two capitals.

Believe me, we certainly need much in the way of information governing the majority peoples within the Soviet Union.

Dr. ATKINSON. Of course, I note that you make a rather interesting point there about our representatives, if they were permitted to be in these two capitals, if this resolution should eventually cause this recognition, of being able to move about and report back to the United States concerning conditions in those areas.

Isn't it true that the movements of our diplomats in the Soviet Union are extremely circumscribed? What is there to lead you to believe that these people would see anything worthwhile?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. It is true that the representatives, for example, in Moscow are highly restricted, but on the other hand it doesn't mean there are not ways and means of absorbing and acquiring a great deal of information necessary and very strategic for our own purposes.

Secondly, then, when you stop to consider the particular geographical location of these two capitals, and keep mostly in mind that the Soviet Government right along has prohibited individuals and even representatives from coming to these areas, because of course they are two of the most sensitive areas in the Soviet Union, I think you can begin to appreciate and understand that particular advantage.

Mr. FEIGHAN. I think that further we should recognize that over the centuries these two nations have been opposed to subjugation by the Moscovites. That was very patently shown in World War II, when the peoples of these two nations opposed the Moscovites and were willing to go along with Hitler in the idea that they may be able to regain their own independence and freedom.

I believe that the peoples of these two nations would be tremendously inspired by the fact that the United States, which of course assumes and has had placed upon its shoulders moral world leadership, that the United States was behind them. That would assist them in all their endeavors to try to relieve themselves from this yoke of subjugation by the Muscovites.

Mr. WARREN. Dr. Bacon, do you believe this would really encourage these two states to desire their freedom?

Dr. BACON. That is a point which I think has been rather neglected in the congressional hearings on this very interesting resolution. I think implicit in this Joint Resolution 58 is the fact that the United States is intervening in the domestic affairs of a presumably, or at least legally, friendly nation. Also, I think it has been forgotten that when President Roosevelt and the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Litvinov, exchanged their notes of November 16, 1933, in which the United States extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union, the United States also promised, and of course the Soviet Union promised, not to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. So I think very definitely in this resolution that we are stirring up the nationalistic feelings of the Ukrainians and the White Russian people. And I think we should be extremely careful in dealing with this whole fluid of nationalism.

Also, I think another point which might be raised in objection to this resolution is the point that American foreign policy, at least in Western Europe, has been predicated upon the idea of union. Yet here in eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union we are trying to disrupt that union.

Mr. WARREN. Why do you say we should be careful in this field of nationalism?

Dr. BACON. Nationalism is an extremely risky subject. I think a careful reading of that congressional hearing will indicate the strength and validity of that nationalistic feeling in the Ukraine. Congressman FEIGHAN has mentioned some aspects of it. I think it is rather dangerous for the United States to perhaps assume the role of pulling Ukrainian chestnuts out of the Soviet fire. After all, these people have been under Russian or Soviet rule for centuries. So what indication do we have that they are even ready for independence?

Mr. WARREN. What would you say to that Congressman FEIGHAN?

Mr. FEIGHAN. I disagree with Dr. Bacon that we would be interfering in the internal affairs of these nations, because in the constitution of each of these non-Rusisan nations it is provided they will have the right to establish their own diplomatic relations with other foreign nations. Secondly, the Soviet Union has declared that these two nations are independent, and the latest example was last Friday's declaration celebrating the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Peryaslav, in which the peoples of all the non-Russian nations as well as the Karelo-Finnish-Muscovy were told to celebrate this 300 years of independence, in which they said the Ukrainians were given their independence for which they had fought for centuries.

However, they said that this is a different kind of independence than the old patriots fought for, that this is an independence that is national in appearance and Socialist in substance. But I still think we would not be interfering in their internal affairs.

Mr. WARREN. Dr. Dobriansky, do you believe this would be interference?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. Not at all. How could it be interference where you have, even recognized by the Soviet Union, a multinational affair with nation states.

But I would like to comment on some of the remarks made by Professor Bacon. In fact, I find them very interesting, curious, and even self-contradictory. On the one hand he tells us, "No, let's not further this resolution because it may inspire the extreme nationalism on the part of these peoples and produce a disruptive force within the Soviet Union." I wonder how many Americans in the course of the cold war would not want disruption in the Soviet Union, which is close to the heart of the entire Russian imperialist base, than even a disruption in Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, or elsewhere.

Point 2. Then on the other hand, he tells us, "Well, after having said that, we can't be too sure that the people want independence."

That is rather curious when you stop to consider that even perhaps less advanced peoples in southeast Asia and elsewhere are seeking their independence today and advanced peoples and highly civilized peoples in the Soviet Union are not seeking their independence. If the nationalist urge is so great, then why question or even doubt that such urgings will be canonized in the form of independence.

Another point here that the listener might be very much interested in, I imagine, is this: Why should the Soviet Union waste so much effort or action? Certainly the Soviets, the people in the Kremlin, are about the most businesslike politicians you could find anywhere in the world. They follow lines of least resistance and certainly do not waste efforts. Why is it necessary for them to go ahead and have a multinational holiday claiming that the Ukrainians are all independent. The reason for this is this, that they know their own history, East European history, whereas many who are dealing with the resolution or who have comments on our resolution are somewhat deficient in that history.

The Ukrainians and the Byelorussians in the historical scene over the centuries have had their independence. And anyone who looks carefully into non-Russian versions of these peoples' histories, not Imperialist Russian emigré versions, cannot but be impressed by the heavy nationalism, which to any American is patriotism, seeking to bring about independence.

It happened, if you please, when the Empire broke down, collapsed in 1917, and country after country which today is supposed to be a republic or a nation state within the Soviet Union declared its independence spontaneously.

Dr. ATKINSON. I would like to ask Dr. Dobriansky to consider for just a moment perhaps the effect of this recognition in the exchange of ambassadors. Of course, if they grant us the right to exchange ambassadors, this would entitle them to establish two embassies here in Washington in addition to the present Soviet Embassy. Don't you think the past several years have shown us how difficult it is to deal with the Communist networks which are organized by the various embassies in the United States and elsewhere. We have of course the report of the Canadian Royal Commission, which gives you a very thorough picture of the espionage organized from the Embassy in Ottawa all over Canada. Don't you think that would simply give them two additional staffs of people with which they could organize their espionage a great deal better and organize their subversion a great deal better in this country?

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. That objection has been brought up, and my feeling of course is no, for two reasons: (1) When the U. N. Assembly convenes up in New York these two countries, nation states, via their Communist representations do set up missions so that if there is any problem here or question about their promulgating Communist networks to our internal danger, in that case then you already have that established up in New York.

Point 2. Certainly we cannot be naive enough to think that the Soviet Embassy, which is located on 16th Street, hasn't explored and even exploited all the possibilities of internal Communist activity or infiltration. Consequently, I would say that considering the establishment of the Soviet Embassy, representing the Soviet Union as an entity here in Washington, that certainly they have gone beyond the point of diminishing returns.

Another angle here that occurs to me is that certainly there must be this reciprocity, but imagine what tremendous, incalculable effect that would have upon the peoples, 45 million Ukrainians and 10 million Byelorussians in Kiev and Minsk, as against the meager possibility of Communist infiltration here via 2 new embassies.

Dr. BACON. I would like to comment on this aspect of the security question. Of course, I do not like to make statements without authority, but I do wish to say that I have discussed this aspect of security with people who have been intimately connected with the question of Soviet espionage. They are extremely dubious and would look, I think, with very critical eyes upon the establishment of two additional Soviet Embassies.

Remember that the Soviet Union and its Embassy here in Washington has been largely curtailed in its operation. For example, we have stopped the publication of the Soviet information bulletin, which, of course, was merely a front for espionage activities. So I think most security people who have been engaged in this problem will look with very, very critical eyes indeed upon the establishment of an additional Soviet Embassy.

To take up the gauntlet again which Dr. Dobriansky has so ably laid down, I think we should also consider in the context of this resolution a basic and implicit part of the resolution is that of course this is part of the cold war. Just how far do we go into this cold war and how far are we willing and how far is it to America's advantage to advocate, to back nationalism in the Ukraine and White Russia?

Mr. FEIGHAN. I think our policy of liberation is one that is based primarily on the prevention of world war III. I believe that if we can continue to have this disruption and dissent within the Empire of Communist Russia why we will to that extent be creating a deterrent war.

Mr. WARREN. What is the status of this bill in Congress?

Mr. FEIGHAN. Hearings will be held before the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee. The resolution was unanimously passed, and it is now before the full committee for consideration.

Mr. WARREN. What chance do you think it has?

Mr. FEIGHAN. I certainly feel it should be passed promptly, as quickly as possible.

Mr. ATKINSON. I would like to ask Dr. Dobriansky what is the position of the Department of State on this bill.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. I was going to supplement some of the remarks made by the Congressman here concerning the status of the bill.

I have right along, of course, been in close touch with the author on this particular measure, and right from the start, as early as March, the State Department took a position in opposition to the bill. However, people must not be too impressed by that when you stop to consider there were still at that time in the State Department individuals subscribing to a containment viewpoint and having no appreciation of initiative, such as our own President referred to in his state of the Union message at that time. They submitted a letter to the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. CHIPERFIELD, giving their reasons why the measure should not be passed.

Hearings nevertheless were held and people from the State Department were invited for the hearings. They neglected to come. This was in July. However, as a result of the hearings the subcommittee was so overwhelmingly impressed by this particular measure that you have this unanimous passage.

It was brought before the full House Foreign Affairs Committee and the sentiment there, toward the close of July, was overwhelmingly in favor of this particular bill.

The State Department on the very eve of adjournment of Congress performed what I thought was a very slick trick by submitting a letter to the chairman, Mr. CHIPERFIELD, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee requesting now that they be heard at the beginning of the next session. So as it stands now the State Department, or at least the group within it that has been concerned with this particular measure, will seek to be heard in possibly a month or two.

Dr. ATKINSON. Before we indict the State Department too strongly——

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. On the contrary——

Dr. ATKINSON. I am glad you are not.

Dr. DOBRIANSKY. But I do indict certain laggards or people who have no conception of the initiative within the State Department.

Dr. ATKINSON. May I ask for your opinion, then, in this regard? Of course, Dr. Dobriansky, as you know quite well, since you have studied quite a bit concerning the Soviet Union, you know, of course, in the Soviet Union there is no such thing as the dissemination of any view whatsoever that is against the Government. Of course, we all know this.

How do you think the Soviet Government would portray to the people the establishment of American Embassies in the Ukraine and in White Russia? It seems to me that they might very well, using all the tremendous assets of propaganda which they have at their disposal, portray this as simply one more acknowledgment by the United States that we approved heartily of the Soviet Government. It seems to me they might add to this the entire point that this supported the recognition of the Soviet Union back in 1933.

Mr. WARREN. I am sorry, gentlemen, our time is up. We will not be able to get an answer to that question, but perhaps it has posed some questions in your minds. If you have questions, send them along to the Georgetown University Radio Forum.

You have attended the weekly discussion program of the Georgetown University Radio Forum, broadcast of which was transcribed in the Raymond Reiss Studio, on the campus of historic Georgetown University, in Washington, D. C.

Our topic tonight was United States Envoys to Ukraine and Byelorussia. Next week you will hear discussed the Choice Before France Today. Our panel at that time will consist of Dr. Leon E. Dostert, director, Institute of Language and Linguistics, Georgetown University; Dr. Jean Camu, professor of French and comparative civilization, Institute of Language and Linguistics, Georgetown University; and Dr. Donald R. Penn, assistant professor of history, Georgetown University.

Your comments and suggestions are always welcome. Address the station to which you are listening. If you would like a transcript of today's program, simply send 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing with your name and address to George-

town University Radio Forum, Washington 7, D. C.

This program has been presented in the interest of public education by Georgetown University. Your moderator: Matthew Warren.

Road Program Is Essential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, recognized the great need for an adequate Federal highway program. He recommended cancellation of the one-half-cent decrease in the Federal gasoline tax which otherwise is scheduled to become effective on April 1. Later he announced his support of an increase in Federal highway appropriations of $225 million, making Federal highway aid total $800 million. While I doubt that this amount will come near being adequate, it is a step in the right direction.

I hope the Members of the House will read the following editorial which appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer for Thursday, February 18, 1954:

CONGRESS SHIRKS ROADS

In previous editorials the Post-Intelligencer and the other Hearst newspapers have given our objections to the Federal highway bill now being studied by the House Subcommittee on Roads.

The bill has administration support.

We would like to convey the following information to those who still regard the bill as adequate or generous:

All Federal, State, and local expenditures for roads during 1953 do not even equal the total spent in 1938.

Using the 1941 dollar as a base, and adjusting 1938 and 1953 dollars to it, here are the figures:

Total expenditures in 1938... $2,633,000,000
Total expenditure in 1953... 2,570,000,000

Actually, in 1953 the sum of $5,277,000,000 was spent by all units of Government, but we got only $2,570,000,000 worth of roads in terms of a 1941 dollar.

In the meantime, what has happened to our highways?

In 1938 there were about 30 million motor vehicles on our streets and roads.

In 1953 there were about 55 million.

How can Congress expect to solve a 55 million vehicle congestion problem by spending money at the rate we did in 1938?

Obviously, the problem is never going to be solved with the sort of thinking that regards the present Federal bill adequate.

It is tragically inadequate, and looks worse the longer we look at it.

Mr. Speaker, the above analysis shows what the inflationary trend of the past 20 years has done to the Federal highway program. It clearly shows the desirability of augmented Federal aid for our interstate highway system. To insure such a program it will be necessary, I believe, to temporarily relieve the States of the obligation of matching funds on a 50–50 basis. This reduction in total expenditure could be made up by adding to the appropriation the diesel fuel tax receipts amounting to more than $100 million. This should be a billion dollar a year program which is about the difference each month between a shooting and a cold war in Korea. It is time to start straightening out the interstate traffic jam.

Guiding Principles in Atomic Energy Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the President has sent a message to the Congress recommending certain changes in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946—see House Document No. 228, 83d Congress, 2d session, February 17, 1954. These recommendations seek to accomplish several purposes: namely, a limited sharing of atomic information with friendly nations to enhance cooperation for mutual defense and peacetime applications; a redefinition of "restricted data" to facilitate security clearance of personnel and access of industry to atomic information; and authorization for private ownership of fissionable materials and atomic reactors to promote industrial development of atomic energy.

Some of the legislative changes which the President recommends are in the nature of perfecting amendments to improve present procedures or to make progress toward mutual defense objectives which are well understood and generally accepted. Regarding such changes for improvements in existing legislation, there should be no major areas of disagreement, and I believe such changes merit support by the Congress. Of course the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, on which I am privileged to serve, will make a careful appraisal of these matters and report to the Congress its findings.

Other recommendations of the President, however, are directed to basic revisions in the Atomic Energy Act which introduce the new concept of private enterprise in the atomic field. I say "new concept" because to date the United States Government is by law the exclusive owner of atomic materials and facilities even though private firms are engaged as contractors or agents of the Government. This new concept opens up wide areas of disagreement and controversy.

A substantial body of opinion hold that atomic energy development based wholly on the investment of public funds—now about $12 billion in the aggregate—should remain a public enterprise and that atomic materials and works are properly to be considered a part of the public domain.

Others believe that private industry has a legitimate and useful place in this field, but that authorizing legislation now is ill-advised and premature and, if enacted, would result in freezing the strategic monopoly position of a few large corporations which possess the technical know-how and equipment to carry on atomic operations.

Finally there are those who maintain that the existing atomic energy legislation is a brake on industrial progress; that the restrictive provisions of the law are holding under lesh a great potential atomic industry ready to burst forth in all its glory, investing huge sums, and pioneering new developments, if only the Congress will say the word.

There are other divisions and shades of opinion, but I believe that these broad avenues of approach indicate the legislative situation which confronts us in the atomic field. How to resolve the many problems is a complicated and difficult task. There are no easy answers.

Those who believe that atomic energy should remain exclusively a Government monopoly and those who argue for a complete redirection of emphasis in favor of private industry, both state some fundamental truths; and yet neither position is sufficient by itself, in my opinion, to qualify as public policy. That is why I am inclined toward the intermediate position.

Wider industrial participation should be encouraged, but the time is not yet ripe for fundamental changes in the basic legislation. The President seemed to take that position when he said in his message that "the act in the main is still adequate to the Nation's needs." Therefore, I wonder whether the President is fully aware that his proposal to confer private ownership rights in atomic energy is a radical departure from the concept that has guided atomic developments to date. Legislative authority for such rights would recast the whole pattern of the Nation's atomic energy program.

There are factors to be considered which transcend in importance the providing of incentives to private enterprise in atomic energy. As I have said before on several occasions, how to wring a profit from the atom is a problem much less compelling to solve than how to save our beloved country and indeed the whole world from savage and wholesale destruction.

And even when we come to the matter of permissive legislation for private enterprise, we must consider the role of labor as well as management, of consumer as well as producer, of the public as well as the private interest. All Americans have a stake in the atomic-energy program, and any benefits to be derived now or in the future must be widely shared. If the promise of atomic energy is not belied, its impact will be far-reaching, and we as legislators must consider the consequences for all groups and all sections of the country.

On the floor of this House and elsewhere I have set forth what I consider to be the implications of legislative changes in the Atomic Energy Act proposed by the Atomic Energy Commission and by industrial spokesmen—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 1, 1953, pages 5996–6002; June 22, 1953, pages 7251–7253; February 2, 1954, pages A789–A791;

February 9, 1954, pages A1034–A1035. I have introduced a joint resolution outlining what inquiries I believe the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy should make before any further legislation is adopted—House Joint Resolution 317, 83d Congress, 1st session. For text of resolution and accompanying statement see Atomic Power Development and Private Enterprise, hearings before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 83d Congress, 1st session, pages 573–577. And finally, I have participated actively in the hearings held this past summer by our joint committee which explored at great length and in considerable detail proposals for industrial participation in the atomic field.

For the convenience of the Members, I may note that the recent hearings of our joint committee have been ably summarized by the committee staff and summaries are available at the committee office.

Our chairman, the Honorable STERLING COLE, always has been fairminded, objective, and considerate in the conduct of the committee hearings, and I take this opportunity to commend him again for his excellent leadership and statesmanlike demeanor.

The committee hearings, as I said before, were exploratory; we were not considering specific legislation. The committee was apprised informally of legislative proposals drafted in the Atomic Energy Commission, but that draft was incomplete and objectionable in many points. Since the close of our hearings last July, the Commission under the chairmanship of Lewis Strauss, who succeeded Gordon Dean about that time, has been reworking the draft legislation. President Eisenhower's message now signifies apparently that the administration has made up its collective mind as to what changes in the Atomic Energy Act it considers desirable for the promotion of private enterprise.

The President's message is couched in very general terms. The Commission's followup proposals for amending the law will be carefully analyzed by the committee. If and when the proposed legislation reaches bill form and is introduced in the Congress, I presume our joint committee will hold further public hearings. Proposals of such far-reaching effect require a full-dress review in public.

It is too early to discuss point by point the Commission's legislative recommendations or to say what modifications will be made by the joint committee. However, I think it is timely and important to outline what I deem to be guiding principles for any new legislation that may be enacted relative to atomic-energy development and private enterprise. By these guiding principles I will measure any legislative proposals that come before us, and if the principles are violated in any substantial degree, I serve notice here and now that I will oppose the legislation down the line.

NONINTERFERENCE WITH INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC AGENCY

Some weeks ago the President addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations and kindled new hope among peoples everywhere by his proposal for cooperation with other nations in peacetime atomic pursuits. The hope is that nations working together on the atom for peace will be less inclined to work against each other for atomic war. At the Berlin conference Secretary Dulles entered into preliminary discussions with the Russian representatives concerning the President's proposals.

In a public address soon after the President's statement before the United Nations General Assembly, I said:

> We should put first things first, and the first task ahead in atomic energy legislation is to clear the path for the creation of the international atomic agency proposed by President Eisenhower.

Then I continued:

> Exactly what our commitments to the international atomic agency should be in the way of contributing uranium ores, fissionable materials, atomic facilities and devices, scientific and technical knowledge, and trained personnel, we cannot know in advance. There are matters to be worked out in the months ahead, if the atomic agency proposal is to become a reality. Whatever legislative changes are necessary to back up the commitments should not be hampered by the intrusion of proposals to legislate electrical utilities or industrial firms into the atomic energy picture.
>
> In a special sense we are on our best behavior before the world. Its hopes and prayers can be worn away quickly by corroding cynicism if we fail to make good with deeds our noble words. We must take care lest other nations see us preoccupied with seeking ways to make a profit from the atom instead of seeking ways to advance the welfare of mankind. There is a compelling urgency about concerted efforts for peace; no compelling urgency about authorizing Consolidated Edison or Monsanto Chemical to own an atomic reactor. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 2, 1954, pp. A789–A791 for full text of speech.)

Later, in a message to the Congress recommending changes in the Atomic Energy Act, the President stated with regard to his proposal for international cooperation:

> Consideration of additional legislation which may be needed to implement that proposal should await the development of areas of agreement as a result of our discussion with other nations.

Thus, I say we are not warranted in pushing ahead with legislation for private enterprise in atomic energy before we know the legislative requirements for the international atomic agency. Our negotiations should not be obstructed in any way by domestic controversy over the handling of atomic business.

And if these negotiations, by some good fortune, prepare the way for effective international control of atomic weapons, the Government, in striving for peace, should not be tied down by vested private interests in atomic energy which conflict with our international commitments. Our Government could hardly put its best foot forward if it were faced with the burden of confiscating private atomic plants to meet requirements of an international control arrangement such as we have advocated in the past.

In the meantime, we can proceed, as the President recommended, with legislation to authorize the sharing with our allies of such tactical and training information as they need for mutual defense purposes. We can take steps, too, at this time to permit the wider dissemination of atomic data needed by American business and by friendly countries for industrial application.

CLEAR DECLARATION OF CONGRESSIONAL POLICY

If and when the Atomic Energy Act is rewritten to confer private ownership and patent rights in atomic energy, specific legislative amendments should be preceded by an explicit declaration of congressional policy stating what the Congress intends to achieve by the new legislation and what safeguards are being provided to insure that the congressional objectives will not be thwarted or dissipated by administrative interpretation.

Certainly the Congress would want to prevent monopoly, to encourage participation by small business as well as large, to insure the widest possible distribution of the benefits of atomic power and other peacetime developments, to protect collective-bargaining rights of labor in a new industry hedged in by stringent security regulations, to guarantee the priority of military requirements, and otherwise to promote the public welfare and protect the public interest.

In view of the necessarily broad areas of administrative discretion that must be left to the Atomic Energy Commission, it would be wise for the Congress not only to draft the law as carefully as possible, but to illumine its provisions with a coherent and well-rounded statement of congressional objectives.

MAINTENANCE OF CIVILIAN CONTROL

The great battle of civilian versus military control over atomic energy development was fought out 8 years ago when the McMahon Act was passed. The principle of civilian control, though bloody and bowed, emerged victorious. Despite the fact that the atomic energy program was born of urgent wartime need and its military phases have received paramount and overriding consideration in these troubled years, we have ever been willing, as a matter of national policy, to let this program be an exclusive province of the military. Administrative control is vested in an independent civilian commission appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

We must be on the alert to detect and prevent any backsliding toward greater military control of atomic energy. Vigilance is called for especially in these days of the so-called new look, when atomic weapons are assuming even greater prominence in the councils of military strategy and are rapidly acquiring the status of conventional armament.

Doubtless the Department of Defense has contributed its suggestions to the legislative proposals of the Atomic Energy Commission. I dare say the military will want a greater voice in the atomic program. Proposed amendments that seem harmless on their face will have to be scrutinized very carefully to make sure that they do not carry con-

cealed weapons to vitiate the principle of civilian control.

In this connection I wish to point out that the two most important posts in the Atomic Energy Commission's program are now occupied by former high-ranking military officers. The Chairman of the Commission, Lewis L. Strauss, achieved the rank of rear admiral for service rendered our Nation during World War II. The second most important position is the office of general manager which is occupied for the first time since passage of the McMahon Act in 1946 by a career military man, a graduate of West Point, Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols. Thus we see today a situation which would not have been feasible or acceptable on policy grounds at the conclusion of the great civilian-military legislative controversy 8 years ago. These two men possess unusual backgrounds of atomic experience, a high degree of intelligence, and administrative ability. Whether their administrative policies and legislative recommendations will preserve firm civilian control or will strengthen the military influence unduly remains to be seen.

Our duty as legislators is to maintain a clear position of civilian control. This position should be safeguarded in the law, and, in my opinion, accords with the views of the great majority of our citizens.

AN ATOMIC INDUSTRY FREE OF SUBSIDIES

Industrial spokesman for changes in the Atomic Energy Act sound this refrain: Atomic power and other industrial advances in atomic energy will be brought about only by the aggressive, dynamic activity of private enterprise; progress is held back by the heavy hand of Government monopoly. It sounds good, but there is more fancy than fact in the assertion. Here is what General Eisenhower said in his message to the Congress:

> Since 1946, however, there has been great progress in nuclear science and technology. Generations of normal scientific development have been compressed into less than a decade. Each successive year has seen technological advances in atomic energy exceeding even progressive estimates. The anticipations of 1946, when Government policy was established and the Atomic Energy Act was written, have been far outdistanced.

The blunt fact is that existing atomic energy legislation—Government monopoly and all—has provided the framework for great progress in this field.

Nevertheless, industrial spokesmen argue that only private enterprise can make such progress, and they insist that the law must be changed to provide a favorable climate in which private atomic enterprise can flourish. Closer examination of the conditions demanded for a salubrious climate usually will reveal that private enterprise expects the taxpayer to offer subsidies of one kind or another to minimize the risks of private investment.

It may be a demand for rapid tax amortization, which amounts in effect to an interest-free loan by the taxpayers. It may be a demand for direct Government financing at low interest rates and lenient repayment terms. It may be a demand for a Government-guaranteed supply of fissionable materials or Government-performed technical services at favorable prices—favorable, that is, to the industry. It may be a demand for Government-guaranteed purchases of fissionable and by-product materials from private plants, again at prices favorable to the industry. In these and other ways, private enterprise undoubtedly will seek to bring about the proper climate.

It will be necessary to examine carefully the proposed legislation to determine the nature and extent of the subsidies demanded. I believe that private atomic industry should not expect to live and grow on the largess of the taxpayer. If those who say that what atomic energy needs is more private enterprise are sincere, then they should be prepared to make good on their own, to stand on their own feet and to be self-supporting. I quite agree with the statement in President Eisenhower's message that—

> It is essential that this program so proceed that this new industry will develop self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

TEN-YEAR BAN ON EXCLUSIVE PATENT PRIVILEGES

Industrial spokesmen for changes in the Atomic Energy Act argue that conventional patent privileges, now banned by the Atomic Energy Act, must be given to private enterprise as one of the necessary incentives for development. When it is pointed out that patents could become an instrument of monopoly control by a few large corporations favorably situated in the atomic energy program, they contend that the basic scientific knowledge is not patentable and that the issuance of patents on new inventions would not seriously handicap any competing firms.

Commonsense and an awareness of the history of patent monopolies combine to support the counter argument that the exercise of ordinary patent privileges is premature in this field. President Eisenhower, recognized the danger of patent monopoly when he said in his message to the Congress:

> Until industrial participation in the utilization of atomic energy acquires a broader base, considerations of fairness require some mechanism to assure that the limited number of companies, which as Government contractors now have access to the program, cannot build a patent monopoly which would exclude others desiring to enter the field. I hope that participation in the development of atomic power will have broadened sufficiently in the next 5 years to remove the need for such provisions.

The President proposed not that industrial atomic patents be banned outright, as they are in certain cases under existing legislation, but that persons or firms obtaining such patents be required to license others for a limited period to use the inventions. This procedure is known as compulsory licensing.

I believe the President's expressed hope that 5 years would be a sufficient period to broaden the base of atomic industry is unduly optimistic and unwarranted by the present state of atomic technology. It takes 3 or 4 years to build a reactor, even on the assumption that the design has been perfected. It will take at least 10 years before we can reasonably expect to see reactors of sufficient diversity in design and techniques of operation to determine the economics of the industry.

The decade ahead must be regarded as the crucial period of atomic experimentation and development. It will be a fluid period of testing and rejection, of new discoveries and rapid obsolescence. To really broaden the base of atomic industry the use of all inventions should be made readily available to all interested and qualified businesses for a period of not less than 10 years.

And when I say "made available" I mean that any business duly licensed to carry on atomic activities should automatically have access to the desired invention or discovery which is patented, upon payment of a reasonable royalty fee. There is no good reason, as I see it, why one licensed company should have the privilege and not another, or why the applicant must be subjected to burdensome justifications before the Atomic Energy Commission to gain access to any given patent when he has already met the qualifications for licensing in the atomic energy field.

Unless the licensing of patented inventions to all qualified parties is automatic, the purposes of so-called compulsory licensing may well be defeated. A clue to this possible result is provided in the testimony of Caspar Ooms, a patent attorney who was formerly United States Patent Commissioner and later Chairman of the AEC Patent Compensation Board. In his appearance before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Mr. Ooms proposed instead of automatic licensing "that each applicant for a license must demonstrate separately that the license is necessary to effectuate the policies and purposes of the act. This restriction is maintained to make the invocation of this licensing power an exception and an infrequently used device. It is intended to guard against the fear that the inventor who is willing to devote his resources to making developments in this field would be compelled to share his contributions with his competitors and to insure that he will be required to give license only in the extreme and infrequent situation where that is necessary to accomplish the designs of this legislation."

It seems to me that Mr. Ooms has thrown out the baby with the bath. Whereas our objective should be to broaden the base of atomic industry by affording equal access to technical innovations, for a period of time at least, Mr. Ooms makes only a grudging concession to that objective and prefers that the limited and exceptional instance be the rule.

I am most deeply concerned with basic patents which might restrict use of processes or mechanical gadgetry and which would be of such major importance as to prohibit development of peacetime uses by others who are competent to bring to the mass of the people important benefits. I am not so much concerned with patents in a peripheral or secondary zone, which would not give to any inventor a major or basic control over the industry.

PREVENTION OF MONOPOLISTIC TRENDS

Ready access of licensed firms to all patents for 10 years is an essential element, as I have indicated, in preventing monopolistic exploitation of atomic enterprises by a few large firms. In addition to patent measures, other safeguards must be established to prevent the growth of monopolies to the detriment of small business and competitive business.

I doubt very much that the antitrust laws are a sufficient instrument for preventing monopoly growth in this new and untried field. The limitations of the antitrust laws in this regard were well stated in testimony before our joint committee by Andrew Biemiller, a former member of this body, speaking for the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Biemiller said:

We believe that the Congress should not relieve the Atomic Energy Commission of its positive obligation to prevent or discourage monopoly in the field of atomic power. It is not enough to rely simply on the antitrust laws and to pass the buck to the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice. Although these laws have an important function in limiting the monopolistic tendencies of big business, the protracted and cumbersome procedures for determining whether the antitrust laws have been violated in a given case may not work very well in the completely new field of atomic power.

The antitrust lawyers, working in an intricate maze of judicial decisions, are accustomed to thinking in terms of degrees of market control and percentages of production accounted for by established firms. In the case of atomic power, which breaks new ground and contains no precedents for evaluating industrial controls, it would seem more appropriate for the Atomic Energy Commission to maintain its original responsibility through its licensing powers to prevent the growth of monopoly in atomic energy. No proposals should be entertained which would weaken the positive mandate in the Atomic Energy Act to strengthen free competition in private enterprise.

WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF ATOMIC POWER BENEFITS

Although the potential peacetime benefits of atomic energy are many and varied, our primary concern in this context is with atomic power. How to harness this vast new source of energy to perform the daily tasks of mankind and to further industrial progress is the problem that intrigues our scientists, engineers, businessmen, legislators, and administrators of Government.

The Atomic Energy Commission, perhaps because of its preoccupation with atomic weapons, has not shown great imagination or ingenuity in fostering the development of atomic power, except to propose that private industry take over the responsibility.

For years the Commission has been devouring enormous amounts of electricity from conventional sources to run the various atomic installations, even while the energy potential of atomic fission has been allowed to go to waste. The Commission today is the largest single consumer of electricity in the United States, accounting for possibly 4 or 5 percent of the total electrical-power demand of the Nation.

One would expect the Commission to be enterprising in figuring out ways and means of cutting down its huge power bill and working toward self-sufficiency in power requirements by utilizing atomic power. In fact, the Commission has not only been lacking in such enterprise; it has entered into agreements with private utilities in some areas to supply a large portion of its power needs for the next 25 years. And the utilities, in turn, have asked for—and received—Government guaranties of compensation in the event the AEC power demand falls off and eliminates the need for the utilities' output.

When the Atomic Energy Act was passed in 1946, the Congress contemplated the possibility that atomic power would be generated. Section 7 (d) of the act authorizes the Commission to use and sell electricity derived from the atom. But the Commission is not a power-minded agency; it does not like to think of itself as a producer and marketer of atomic power. Perhaps other agencies of the Government are better equipped for this task. In any event, the Federal Government has an important responsibility in atomic-power production and distribution.

After the investment of billions from the Public Treasury in atomic energy, and the glowing promises of its ultimate contributions to human welfare, how short of expectations would be our atomic power program if the only end results were to build up the power supply position of a few private utilities without any noticeable effect on the prices that consumers pay for electricity or the availability of power to areas and populations now denied its blessings.

The cardinal principle—though it may sound old-fashioned in the "giveaway" age, still remains, namely, that the benefits created by public investment should be widely distributed throughout the national economy.

PROTECTION OF LABOR'S RIGHTS IN ATOMIC INDUSTRY

Greater freedom of enterprise in atomic energy carries with it the commensurate obligation of insuring the like freedom to labor. Management-labor relations in this field have been handicapped by onerous security requirements. Legislative safeguards must be written to prevent the abuse of secrecy to evade collective bargaining.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS

If opportunities are to be opened up to private enterprise in the atomic-energy field, Government controls necessary for maintaining security, health, safety, and other basic measures should be administered in a fair and impartial manner. I deem it essential that persons or firms who may have grounds for believing fair treatment has been denied them in regard to licensing or other actions should be accorded the right of appeal to an independent review board or tribunal apart from the Atomic Energy Commission itself.

To minimize further the possibilities for arbitrary administrative action, I believe the Commission should exert the necessary controls only at strategic points in the atomic industrial process without suffocating the whole industry by bureaucratic redtape. Thus, a leasing system for fissionable materials, with title remaining in the Government, would provide an intelligent control mechanism, eliminating the need for a complicated licensing procedure for atomic production facilities.

Mr. Speaker, I have endeavored to outline some of the more important considerations that must guide our approach to new legislation in the atomic-energy field. Our joint committee will make an intensive study of proposed legislation and in due time report to the Congress.

Increased Tax Exemptions Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the most equitable way to reduce income taxes is to allow higher individual and dependents exemptions. Accordingly I have introduced House bill 8116 to increase exemptions to $700 this year and $800 next year.

Our tax policies should, to the fullest extent possible, foster a dynamic, expanding economy. It is not enough that we maintain our total number of employed persons at a fixed, stable number. The increase in our population makes it imperative that our labor force constantly expand proportionately.

The unwise economic policies of this administration have contributed to the current downward trend in total employment and made certain individual tax reductions more necessary than would be the case otherwise. I believe in a balanced budget but adverse economic conditions have made the threat of a reasonable deficit less dangerous than increasing unemployment coupled with decreasing consumer purchasing power.

It is now painfully evident that the administration put the brakes on our economy too fast with its short-lived but fast-reacting "hard money" experiment. The effects of "hard money" were aggravated by the sudden sharp defense cutbacks which were ordered before plans for transition to civilian production could even be formulated.

The reason for the individual and dependents' tax exemption, according to my understanding, is to allow the taxpayer and his family enough income for subsistence before subjecting him to the income-tax levy. By this test it is evident that $600 is too low and should be increased before tax relief is voted for stockholders or corporations.

Only the needs of national defense and our fiscal situation justify keeping the exemption at less than $1,000 even for this year.

Increased consumer purchasing power should stimulate production and help reverse the current unemployment trend. Other methods now seem less desirable primarily because of the time factor.

Shortsighted campaign promises followed by rash fiscal policies have produced a serious threat not only to our own economy but also to the economic confidence of the entire free world.

As long as a tax-reduction device is to be used at this time it should be a fair one. Increasing the individual and dependents' income-tax exemption appears to be the fairest and most practicable way to try to stimulate economic activity through tax reduction.

Enormous Issues Raised

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix a newspaper editorial from the pen of a former colleague, Clinton D. McKinnon, now the editor and publisher of the Daily News of Los Angeles:

[From the Los Angeles Daily News of February 19, 1954]

ENORMOUS ISSUES RAISED

President Eisenhower's reasons for recommending changes in the atomic energy law of 1946, as they relate to sharing certain information with our allies, are so lucid that no American interested in the cooperative protection of the free world can quarrel with their rightness.

But when the President dwells on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and proposes such changes in the law as will permit private industry to exploit atomic energy, the President raises such enormous issues that there must be the most searching debate before the relationship between public and private use of atomic energy is decided by legislation.

The President undoubtedly is correct when he says that only further research is needed to make practical industrial use of atomic power. But what does he mean by the "establishment of conditions in which the spirit of enterprise can flourish?"

The President speaks of permitting private industry to own and operate atomic plants, to buy or lease atomic fuels from the Government, manufacture such materials and obtain patents; all of this, presumably under license from the Atomic Energy Commission.

But the research that may soon make industrial use of atomic power possible, the plants that have been built and all that to date has been accomplished, whether for industrial use or for defense, was done with billions upon billions of dollars contributed by the people of the United States, and the great question is, how shall this unprecedented public asset best be put to use for the benefit of the people who paid for it?

The development of the greatest force known to man was the creation of the people, and this is a novel factor in our history. In such a situation the President's recommendations are trite, especially since he ignores all the implications of the unprecedented situation.

This is said without disrespect for President Eisenhower's noble objectives envisioning the betterment of the whole free world, in defense and in peace.

But because our whole future development may hinge on how we make industrial use of atomic energy, we must have the kind of serious and extensive public discussion the President's message skirts.

Nevertheless, President Eisenhower's message has accomplished a very important purpose; it has, at long last, rung up the curtain on a debate long hovering in the wings and which has now been pushed stage center before the American people.

The Problem of Trieste—Italy's Historical Right to the Territory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, at the head of the Adriatic Sea lies Trieste, a city which currently is a powder keg in Europe. Italy and Yugoslavia both make historical and geographical claims to Trieste.

The history of the Trieste problem ought to be better known by the American people. It would then be understood why Italy's claim is much more than a sentimental attachment to the city. Trieste was Italian for centuries—under the Romans, then under Venice and later as a free Italian "Commune" within the framework of Austrian feudalism. Trieste has always maintained her Italian character. The predominance of Italian people in this area has been confirmed over the years by successive censuses of the population.

Italy intervened in World War I on the side of the Allies, in large part for the purpose of unifying Trieste to Italy; this war cost Italy more than 600,000 dead. At the end of the war Italy's request for Trieste was accepted by the Allies at the London conference; by the Yugoslavs with the Rome pact; and was acknowledged by President Wilson. Then, some 25 years later, toward the end of World War II, Italy many times brought to the attention of the Allies its anxiety over Trieste. In spite of assurances to Italy by the Allies, Marshal Tito occupied the city. At the peace conference following the war, American officials proposed the line most favorable to Italy; unfortunately this line was not accepted. To please Russia the Allies found it necessary to agree as a temporary measure to a Free Territory of Trieste, by which Trieste was divided into Zones A and B to be supervised over by Italy and Yugoslavia, respectively. This arrangement has never been acceptable, either to the local population, or to the people and Governments of Italy and Yugoslavia. Numerous times Italian officials have presented proposals for a settlement of the Trieste issue. Recently Italy has proposed a plebescite in harmony with the democratic principles of the right to self-determination; but these overtures have been rejected by the Yugoslavs. It has been increasingly evident that Italy is anxious for a settlement of this issue by an agreement with Yugoslavia, but today there appears to be little chance for an immediate solution. It is to be hoped that Italy's legitimate claims in this area will be realized soon.

Mr. Speaker, Italian-Americans are vitally concerned with the actions of our Government in this matter. They have expressed themselves as favoring a speedy solution in Italy's behalf. The oldest Italian-American fraternal organization in the United States is the Columbian Federation of Italian-American Societies. Three units of this great organization are quartered in Springfield, Mass.—they are Loggia Figli del Lavoro, No. 188; Loggia No. 221, Societa' Unione e Fratellanza Italiana; Societa' Venezia Italiana, No. 229. I am proud of these societies, their members, and their accomplishments. All three recently passed resolutions calling for the return of Trieste to Italy. Under unanimous consent, I include the resolutions in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY LODGE FIGLI DEL LAVORO, NO. 188, OF THE COLUMBIAN FEDERATION OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS., ON JANUARY 8, 1954

Whereas the great majority of inhabitants of the city of Trieste are Italian; and

Whereas that our Government in April 1948 pledged publicly to use its moral force in order to revise the Italian Peace Treaty and to return the city of Trieste to Italy; and

Whereas tens of thousands of people of the Italian cities and towns of Istria, such as Fiume, Pola, Parenzo, Zara, etc., left their belongings and escaped from the dictatorship of Tito in order to live in a free and democratic country are now refugees in Trieste; and

Whereas in supporting these refugees the economic, financial, industrial, and health structure of the city of Trieste are crippling the town forever if the present situation will endure: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the members of this organization, American citizens of Italian extraction, support the policy of our Government in pledging the return of the territory of Trieste to Italy; be it

Resolved, That the pledge will be enforced with facts in future meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, or through our delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN TATTY,
President.
AUGUSTO DAGRADI,
Secretary.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Resolution passed by Lodge Societa' Unione e Fratellanza Italiana, No. 221, of the Columbian Federation of Springfield, Mass., on January 7, 1954:

"Whereas the great majority of inhabitants of the city of Trieste are Italian; and

"Whereas that our Government in April 1948, pledged publicly to use its moral force in order to revise the Italian Peace Treaty and to return city of Trieste to Italy; and

"Whereas tens of thousands of people of the Italian cities and towns of Istria, such as Fiume, Pola, Parenzo, Lussino, Zara, etc., left their belongings and escaped from the dictatorship of Tito in order to live in a free and democratic country are now refugees in Trieste; and

"Whereas in supporting these refugees the economic, financial, industrial, and health structure of the city of Trieste are crippling the town forever if the present situation will endure: Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the members of this organization, American citizens of Italian extraction, support the policy of our Government in pledging the return of the territory of Trieste to Italy: Be it

"*Resolved*, That the pledge will be enforced with facts, in future meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, or through our delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations."

Respectfully submitted.

FRED PEZZINI,
President.
RENZO VEDANI,
Secretary.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Representative EDWARD P. BOLAND,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Resolution passed by Lodge Societa' Venezia Italiana, No. 229, of the Columbian Federation of Springfield, Mass., on January 5, 1954:

"Whereas the great majority of inhabitants of the city of Trieste are Italian; and

"Whereas our Government in April 1948 pledged publicly to use its moral force in order to revise the Italian Peace Treaty and to return the city of Trieste to Italy; and

"Whereas tens of thousands of people of the Italian cities and towns of Istria, such as Fiume, Pola, Parenzo, Lussino, Zara, etc., left their belongings and escaped from the dictatorship of Tito in order to live in a free and democratic country are now refugees in Trieste; and

"Whereas in supporting these refugees the economic, financial, industrial, and health structure of the city of Trieste is crippling the town forever if the present situation will endure: Be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That the members of this organization, American citizens of Italian extraction, support the policy of our Government in pledging the return of the territory of Trieste to Italy; be it

"*Resolved*, That the pledge will be enforced with facts, in future meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, or through our delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations."

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH MARCHETTI,
President.
RENZO VEDANI,
Secretary.

Report on Military Surplus Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHET HOLIFIELD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members the report on surplus military property prepared by the Subcommittee on Military Operations under the chairmanship of the Honorable R. WALTER RIEHLMAN. The report is identified as House Report No. 1196, being the sixth intermediate report of the Committee on Government Operations.

It was my privilege as a member of the Riehlman subcommittee to participate in a number of the subcommittee hearings at various military installation. Chairman RIEHLMAN and other members of the subcommittee, as well as the staff, are to be commended for their hard work and careful investigations in the field of military supply management in an endeavor to save the taxpayers' money and to improve the efficiency of the military services.

Judging from our findings in surplus property, Mr. Speaker, there is considerable room for improvement. Today we are witnessing the end results of excessive procurement, unrealistic stock levels and ineffective utilization of military supplies. The military services have on their hands a gigantic problem of surplus property disposal. During fiscal 1953 the Department of Defense disposed of personal property—as differentiated from real property—which originally cost the taxpayers $1¼ billion. In the next few years the magnitude of their problem will be several times greater.

Several years ago, when I called attention on this floor to the imminent development of a surplus-property problem—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 13, 1952—and to the importance of devising effective machinery to cope with that problem, it was difficult to arouse much interest. The agencies of government, content to pursue their usual routine, were inclined to make light of the problem. They displayed no great interest or concern to make ready for what is upon us today.

When the Hoover Commission was reestablished during the 83d Congress, and I was honored by the Speaker in being appointed to that Commission, I proposed that a task force be created to deal with the specific subject matter on surplus-property disposal. My colleagues on the Commission immediately accepted that recommendation and agreed to set up such a task force. The group now is engaged in making the necessary studies, and I am hopeful that it will present soundly conceived recommendations to the Congress at a later date.

In the meantime, I believe our Subcommittee on Military Operations is performing a very useful service by inquiring into the surplus-property field. The report to which I call attention today will be followed by further reports.

The Members will note in this report that for the $1¼ billion worth of property sold as surplus by the military services in fiscal 1953, the return averaged something like 6 cents on the dollar. I am convinced that the txapayers should be getting a better deal from returns on surplus. A major difficulty is the lack of interest and experience of military officials in doing an effective merchandising job. In view of the billions of dollars involved in the entire program, surplus-property disposal requires a new appraisal and a fresh approach; it should no longer be regarded as a dull, routine chore by military officers temporarily assigned the disposal task.

It has been my view, and this report bears me out, that civilian merchandising experience should be brought into disposal operations. By offering some incentives to private industry merchandisers under proper safeguards to protect the Government, I believe that large portions of this vast surplus can be sold more expeditiously and for a larger percentage of return to the Treasury.

In a previous report—House Report No. 857, 83d Congress, 1st session—our subcommittee called upon the Department of Defense and the General Services Administration to prepare jointly a program for effective disposal of surplus. Under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, the General Services Administration has basic jurisdiction in this field. I trust that the Agency will display enough ingenuity and imagination to come up with a sound and workable program and will not sidestep its primary responsibilities in handling surplus disposal.

Mr. Edmund B. Mansure, the General Services Administrator is aware of this rapidly growing problem of surplus property disposal and has recognized his primary responsibility under the statute for developing a formula which will insure maximum use of excess property among Federal agencies and maximum dollar recovery to the Government from final surplus disposal.

Further, he has assured our chairman, Mr. RIEHLMAN, that the subcommittee will be kept informed of the progress of the present study which is being made by his staff in this field.

Disposal of Synthetic-Rubber Plants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address which I delivered at the annual dinner of the Rubber Trade Association of New York, Inc., at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, February 23, 1954:

I appreciate the opportunity of attending the 1954 annual dinner of the Rubber Trade Association of New York for several reasons.

During the course of the past few months it has been my pleasure and privilege to address the Manufacturing Chemists Association and the Rubber Manufacturers Association. This evening I am afforded an opportunity to complete the cycle by appearing before you gentlemen, who represent such an important segment of the rubber economy of this country.

It has been noticeable in the past that in emergency situations the members of this association have unreservedly placed themselves and their facilities at the disposal of the Government whenever the dictates of national security so required. This attitude, I assure you, is both recognized and appreciated.

The question has often been propounded as to the reason for my interest in rubber, particularly in view of the fact that not one rubber-manufacturing company is located in my own district in Michigan. The reason is simple; in my opinion, no single commodity is more important to the national security of the United States than rubber.

Some of my colleagues in the Congress refer to me as a rubber expert. As I look over the faces before me, however, I assure you I am aware of the honorary aspect of that designation. Gathered here this evening are natural-rubber importers, agents of natural-rubber producers, producers of synthetic rubber, consumers of both natural and synthetic rubber, chemical and petroleum interests, members of the Foreign Service, and officials of the Government agencies concerned with rubber, including my good friend Willis Armstrong, the able and conscientious United States delegate to the international rubber study group—truly, a most representative assembly of experts from all of the fields of rubber.

After World War II, the Committee on Armed Services concerned itself with rubber legislation because, although the war had terminated, the Government still exercised

control over the rubber economy of this country. I am, have always been, and will always be a firm believer in the system of free enterprise, and a supporter of the principle that the Government should never inject itself into the field of private business unless such action is necessary in the interests of our national security.

In conducting our hearings in 1947, we heard conflicting testimony as to whether the Government should continue to exercise controls over the rubber industry. However, the Congress removed the then existing Government controls over natural rubber through the enactment of Public Law No. 24, on March 29, 1947. It proved to be a wise decision but the conflict of testimony, at that time, turned out to be prophetic for all future hearings on rubber legislation.

Subsequent action by the Congress has been devoted primarily to the question of the disposal of the Government-owned synthetic-rubber industry, and legislation designed to accomplish this result was enacted at the last session of the Congress.

Frankly, the legislation was not entirely to my liking. However, since the appointment of the Disposal Commissioners by the President, I have conferred with Mr. Pettibone and Mr. Cook and Mr. Rounds on numerous occasions, have found them to be completely capable and cooperative, and I am hopeful that a program will be developed which will result in the sale of the Government-owned synthetic-rubber facilities during the early part of 1955. The magnitude of this undertaking, however, should not be underestimated, as the Disposal Commissioners are faced with a tremendously complicated task. But if the caliber of the Commission determines the outcome of the project—it will be successful.

In connection with the disposal program, I would also like to say this. It is my understanding that a very considerable interest for the disposal of the synthetic-rubber plants is being evidenced not only by the present operators of those plants but by a considerable number of important concerns which, up to this time, have not participated in the Government-owned synthetic-rubber industry.

I am also told that in its recent meetings with various interested companies the Commission has indicated that it would be pleased to receive at any time, and the earlier the better, draft proposals in as complete detail as possible setting out all currently available ideas but excluding the dollar amount proposed to be offered. In the Commission's opinion, this procedure would be mutually beneficial in the case of all prospective purchasers, since it would afford opportunity for necessary discussions of technical details and conditions prior to the submission of definitive proposals. I understand that the Commission believes that in this way it can render the greatest possible assistance to interested parties, particularly those who have not heretofore been familiar with the operations of the industry.

I merely wanted to mention this for the benefit of any persons here tonight who may be contemplating the submission of a proposal to the Commission.

For many years I have been deeply concerned over the spread of communism and the effects thereof upon our friends in the Far East. As early as August 9, 1949, in an address before the Congress, I forecast the events which, sad to relate, subsequently followed terminating in Korea, and the reimposition for a period of time of Government controls over rubber. This I do not wish to happen again. I am deeply concerned over the problems with which the rubber producers in the Far East are faced, for I believe that rubber, like tin and oil, is an international problem and one which cannot be determined entirely upon the basis of our domestic desires.

I attended the meeting of the International Rubber Study Group in Copenhagen, Denmark, in May 1953, and was both surprised and disturbed over the statements which were made by representatives of rubber-producing countries. While I did not subscribe to all of the statements which were made, the fact remains that the rubber-producing countries still consider our Government-owned synthetitc rubber industry as the greatest deterrent to a healthy and stable natural-rubber economy. They also feel that our synthetic-rubber operations are conducted under what may be called a cloak of secrecy. This thinking, if at all possible, should be dispelled.

During the past few months several steps have been taken by our Government at the request of natural rubber producing countries. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation put into effect a firm order system, requiring consumers to order their materials 3 months in advance of actual delivery, the mandatory ceiling on the consumption of synthetic rubber was removed, and certain revisions were made in the rotation procedures of the General Services Administration.

It is apparent the results have been unsuccessful insofar as the rubber-producing countries are concerned, for if an increase in the price of natural rubber was the primary objective, it has not been attained since the price has declined rather than increased.

However, the steps which have been taken should certainly indicate a willingness on our part to remove barriers that have been some of the grounds for charges that our Government seeks to control natural-rubber prices.

But—we must be realistic in facing this problem for the alternative could be far more costly than many people realize. The establishment of a reasonable, stable price for rubber, would, in my opinion, contribute far more to the strained economies of the Far East than any form of economic aid which may be devised and also at far less cost to our Government. We have done much for the free world—but certainly anything further we can do to encourage self-help should be done.

Natural rubber producing countries must realize, however, that there is a limitation upon our resources and the extent to which we can go without impairing our own economy. This Government has already invested a tremendous sum of money in a security stockpile of natural rubber. Other consuming countries would do well to follow our example.

Producing countries should also put forth every effort to improve the quality of natural rubber and within the limits of their financial ability institute replanting programs. The demand for natural rubber is not going to diminish in the years ahead. It will increase—as will the demand for all new rubber.

In addition to my inherent belief in the principle of free enterprise, I have always felt that should it become necessary for our Government to venture into the field of private business, the fullest information possible relative to such activities should be made available to the American public, provided such information does not infringe upon security requirements.

In this connection, I am happy to announce that I have been authorized, through the cooperation of the very able Administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Mr. Kenton Cravens, to advise you that effective with the current month, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation will today and each month hereafter make public its synthetic-rubber production schedule, and its estimated forward sales of synthetic rubber for the next ensuing quarter. I am further at liberty to inform you that for the months of March, April, and May, it is expected that Reconstruction Finance Corporation will produce 118,890 tons of synthetic rubber, and that its estimated sales for the same period will amount to 113,000 tons. The inventory of synthetic rubber in the hands of the Government on January 31, 1954, totaled 80,289 tons.

Broken down by months, I think you will be interested to learn that the production figures from January to June of 1954 are are follows:

	Tons
January	43,426
February	40,250
March	42,640
April	37,250
May	89,000
June (estimated)	37,000

Sales figures and estimates are as follows:

	Tons
January	43,600
February	37,000
March	37,500
April	38,500
May	37,000
June	[1]

[1] No estimate.

I am sure that this information will prove of interest to everyone in the rubber industry.

In conclusion, if I may be permitted to do so, I should like to inject a personal element in my remarks. I have known the president of your association, R. D. Young, for a number of years and at all times I have found his advice and counsel to be sound, unbiased, and completely honest. On behalf of myself personally, as well as other Members of the House of Representatives, I should like to publicly express appreciation to him for the valuable assistance which he has rendered from time to time in connection with rubber legislation.

It has been a great pleasure to spend the evening with you and I hope that I may be given similar opportunities to share your hospitality in the future.

Veterans for St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, the American Veterans of World War II have adopted a mandate urging the development of the St. Lawrence Waterway. This is part of their peace and preparedness platform which they adopted at their last convention. They are an influential body of opinion in this country. Their only object is the welfare of the country, and I am sure the Members of the House and the country at large will be interested in the following letter from their commander, Henry J. Mahady:

AMVETS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D. C., February 23, 1954.
Hon. CLARENCE E. KILBURN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KILBURN: I am writing to invite your attention to AMVETS support of S. 2150, authorizing the United States to participate with Canada in construction of the St. Lawrence seaway.

AMVETS has consistently supported this proposal for several years. Our present mandate—forming a part of the peace and pre-

paredness platform adopted at our last national convention—reads as follows:

"We request the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to promote development of the St. Lawrence Waterway for the reason that it is an essential transportation facility and is necessary to provide movement for materials for national defense, and that the project promises to increase economic prosperity of both the United States and Canada."

For the record, perhaps I should indicate that AMVETS, one of the four major United States war veterans' organizations granted a charter by the Congress of the United States, was formed by men who had served on active duty in the United States Armed Forces in World War II and now includes veterans of duty during the Korean conflict. Our members live in every State of the Union, the American Territories and possessions and many foreign countries. We are fully aware of our grave responsibilities.

The test we always apply to any legislative proposal is, in words taken from the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, "What is best for the common defense and the general welfare of the people of the United States?" We sincerely feel that support of the St. Lawrence seaway passes this test with flying colors, especially since Presiden Eisenhower, the Cabinet, the National Security Council, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff unanimously declare that the St. Lawrence seaway is in the interest of the national security of the United States.

Members of AMVETS know first hand the conditions of modern mechanized warfare. We know the importance of steel in defense activities. We regard the St. Lawrence seaway as the best means of getting necessary Labrador ore to inland United States steel plants through a water route protected from torpedo attacks, at a time when the Mesabi range is fast facing depletion, forcing United States steel manufacturers to seek ore from foreign sources. Important as are ore shipments from Africa and South America, in times of emergency and outright war they must always move through submarine-infested waters. The St. Lawrence seaway has no such danger.

By building a portion of the waterway on United States soil, as proposed in S. 2150, the United States will be in a strong position in negotiating terms of tolls, ship and cargo priorities, and antisabotage procedures.

I trust you will give S. 2150 your serious consideration and I would be most appreciative if you would write me your reaction to the view of AMVETS as set forth in this letter.

Yours very truly,

HENRY J. MAHADY,
National Commander, AMVETS.

The Atomic Pool Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on December 10, 1953, President Eisenhower proposed in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly that the nations involved in the atomic race contribute to a supervised bank of fissionable material—an international pool of nuclear energy and talent whose purpose would be, as the President said, to strip atomic energy of its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace.

This speech was hailed by the peace-loving nations as a great and new innovation and great credit was given to the President for a statesmanlike and challenging declaration. The Soviet Government apparently recognizing its propaganda impact on world opinion did not treat it lightly as is its usual custom with free-world proposals. After due deliberation a serious and thoughtful answer was given. That answer should be read by every thoughtful person in the free world in order to evaluate its effect on the Soviets.

I do not wish to be critical of the President's proposal, because I am substantially in favor of its purpose and the content of the message. I believe it was of powerful value as a propaganda move in the ever-present cold war—but I do not believe that the American people should bask in the illusion that the proposal was basically new, or that such an interchange of techniques and knowledge is not, even though in a limited way, in existence already.

The President's proposal was to begin with a renewal of the principles of sharing peacetime benefits which was first officially expressed in the Baruch plan; although dressed up in a different approach.

That its practice, as distinct from a theoretical proposal, has been in effect for the past 3 years may come as a surprise to many of our people, but it is nevertheless a fact. I am including with my remarks a very informative article by Mr. Lin Root, of the New York Herald Tribune News Service, which was printed in the February 28 issue of the Washington Post. A careful reading of this article will enlighten those who may have overevaluated the newness of the President's proposal.

The 3-year-old experiment referred to in Mr. Root's article rests upon the operational partnership of Norway and the Netherlands, but access to all phases of laboratory developments and theoretical presentations is extended to all of the world's scientists. At the informal international conference on atomic reactors which was held in August 1953 at Kjeller, Norway, over 100 scientists from 19 different nations were in attendance.

There is a great danger to not only our leadership in the atomic field but to our own scientific development in our continued reluctance to recognize that the great stream of scientific advancement will not be checked just because we dam up our own tributary stream. Other tributaries will furnish their contribution to the onrushing major stream of scientific knowledge and progress and we may find that we have only created a stagnant backwater because of our illusions.

NORWAY PIONEERS ATOMIC POOL PLAN

(By Lin Root)

More than 2 months have passed since President Eisenhower proposed before the United Nations General Assembly that nations in the atomic-arms race contribute to a supervised bank of fissionable material—an international pool of nuclear energy and talent to strip atomic energy of its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace.

Although in that time the plan has been acclaimed in the western nations and treated with apparently sincere interest in the Soviet world, one basic question has been raised repeatedly: Assuming the nations concerned are willing, can such an international operation work? Is it practical?

The answer is, "Yes." Just such a joint operation has been working—and working well—for almost 3 years. The Joint Establishment Experimental Pile (JEEP) in Kjeller, Norway, is owned and operated in equal partnership by Norway and the Netherlands.

Although still, comparatively speaking, in its adolescence, JEEP has made $7,000 worth of commercial deliveries of radioactive isotopes, is producing radioactive iodine for a pharmaceutical company, is at work on a 5,000-kilowatt atomic generator, and is conducting extensive research in the production of atomic energy for industrial power.

JEEP came about in a simple, neighborly way. Early in 1951, Norway was just completing construction of a heavy-water reactor—an atomic furnace which operates on natural uranium in heavy water. Norway was a producer of heavy water—which is H_2O with a heavier H—but not uranium.

The Netherlands, it turned out, had several tons of uranium oxide, bought before the war by a professor, who thought it might come in handy later, and cached under Nazi noses during the war.

Both countries planned industrial expansion and an increased demand for power. Both were maritime countries, aware that atomic ship propulsion was the coming thing. But neither could proceed alone. So they did the natural thing—they pooled resources and set up shop at Kjeller.

A committee of three Norwegian and three Dutch scientists was set up to govern the project, which was to be managed by a director, either Norwegian or Dutch. Dutch and Norwegian scientists were to work under the same rules, and the whole project was to be run as an open scientific institution.

And that is how it has worked. Not only are security safeguards dispensed with, but the Kjeller Institute is open to the public and well visited. I have been there many times. In addition, any qualified scientist can come and work at Kjeller. The staff has included physicists from Italy, Yugoslavia, Sweden, and the United States, and visitors from almost every other nation in the non-Soviet world.

Not the least of JEEP's values has been its stimulus to atomic research in other small countries. Many of the visiting scientists are working on plans to build reactors in their homelands—and the Kjeller pile is an ideal model. It is perhaps the cheapest of its size and achievements ever built. Its total cost was about $2,300,000—a million in cash and $1,300,000 worth of heavy water contributed by Norsk Hydro.

As a result, Sweden has almost completed an industrial reactor, and others are planned or in progress in Switzerland, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, The Netherlands, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Australia, and India. Norsk Hydro, incidentally, is filling these countries' orders for heavy water.

JEEP has solved the problem of private or public ownership with a compromise—a public and private ownership plan. Norsk Hydro owns a sizable chunk. Other industrialists, notably ship owners, have bought shares in the expectation of industrial usage of atomic power. Part of the public money comes from the Norwegian State Soccer Betting Pool, which controls public wagering.

In the Netherlands, the setup is similar. The Dutch Reactor Commission has signed contracts with industrial firms, and private industry has supplied sizable funds for future rights. New laboratories and research groups also have been established to cooperate with the joint project.

Meanwhile, JEEP is starting to take care of its own financing by selling isotopes, and has more orders than it can fill. But this

is a sideline. The scientists are primarily interested in studying the possibilities of various reactor designs and production of industrial power. Already JEEP heats its own building by utilizing the heat produced in the reactor.

It seems likely that President Eisenhower had knowledge of the Kjeller pool when he made his proposal in the U. N. Dr. Gunnar Randers, the Norwegian scientist who first conceived the Kjeller project and is now its director, had conversations last fall with Adm. Lewis Strauss, head of the United States Atomic Energy Commission. And the informal international conference on atomic reactors, sponsored by JEEP and held at Kjeller last August, was attended liberally by American representatives—scientists, AEC observers, members of the United States Office of Naval Research in London and the United States scientific attaché in Stockholm.

More than 100 scientists of 19 nations, from India to Brazil, attended. Every one was a member of the atomic energy group of his own country. But many had never seen a reactor. Their excitement ran high. Instead of working in lonely insecurity, informed only by declassified documents from the United States and Britain, they knew what others were thinking and planning in their field.

For example: Over coffee after a session in which there had been a Swiss report on atomic progress, a Norwegian physicist turned to me and said:

"You see, there is Switzerland going through the identical heat-exchange determinations that we have just finished. If we had known, we could have put the money into measurements in a different range—or they could have. Together we could have covered more than twice the ground in half the time."

All around me the same idea was taking form in many languages. The conference culminated in a proposal by Dr. Randers for the establishment of an International Nuclear Energy Society, open to scientists of all nations, for the promotion of peaceful uses of atomic energy through the exchange of knowledge.

Dr. Stevan Dedijer, head of Yugoslavia's Institute for Research on the Structure of Matter, was on his feet immediately.

"I support wholeheartedly this proposal," he said. "The country I represent can only invest a few dollars a year. We cannot afford to make mistakes."

Another delegate jumped up: "Yes, we would spend less money together than the sum of what each would spend separately, and we would move faster. We should pool our ideas. Say one country has graphite, another has uranium, another the possibility of making enriched uranium. Each could carry out experiments that we decide on centrally—and we would all benefit."

The vote was unanimous. The society is still in the process of formation, but before the delegates disbanded, three countries agreed to set out immediately on a joint attack on a group of experiments. They were Norway, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

Here is how the joint attack has started to work: Dr. Arne Lundby, nuclear physicist in charge of the reactor development department at Kjeller, was working at the reactor shield recently when an airmail special delivery letter arrived from Dr. Werner Zunti of the Physikalisches Institut in Zurich, Switzerland. Handing over his work to an assistant, Dr. Lundby ran across the snow-packed road to his office in the projecta' physics building.

There he fished out some notes—from a half-open drawer, not a triple-locked safe—pushed a space clear on his desk and made fast calculations. Then, taking letter and papers, he consulted with Director Randers and then went upstairs to the office of Dutch Physicist Dr. Jacob A. Goedkoop. The two conferred for a half hour about the possibilities of a changed design for reactor fuel elements. An answer was drafted and Lundby went downstairs to send it off to Dr. Zunti by the first plane to Zurich.

Without formality, without the rigors of security, a 3-nation exchange of information had taken place.

JEEP is a small-scale but working model, a practical demonstration of the President's proposals. Although few outside the scientific world are aware of its existence, it is inconceivable that any progress toward an international atomic pool will be made which will not include, if it is not based upon, the pioneer work of Norway and the Netherlands.

Eight Hundred Dollar Increase Should Be the Bedrock Minimum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I have requested a hearing by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on measures now pending. I understand a large number of Members have made similar requests and it will be a matter of weeks until all can be heard, making allowance, of course, for other witnesses, many of them from out of town.

Originally I had been scheduled by the committee to appear before it on February 16, 1954, and I so notified my constituents who had written me on the subject. I did appear on that date, only to learn that the Postmaster General by an unexpected development was before the committee for the entire time available. Pending the time when I shall be called by the committee, I am extending my remarks to include the statement I have prepared for delivery. It follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to be here. I would be ashamed to go home and face honest people in the Federal service if while here I did not do everything within my power to advance legislation offering relief so long, so cruelly and so unfairly withheld. As I am not a member of the committee, this opportunity of voicing my convictions is doubly appreciated.

Mr. Chairman, I understand that close to 100 Members of the House will testify, some already have testified, for legislation proposed to give the fullest measure of justice to the Federal workers in the humble places. The $800 annual postal increase provided in the pending measure is the very least that any real friend of the postal workers can consider. In my considered opinion the minimum should be $1,000. As it has been put at $800 in the bill, no real friend of the postal workers should permit $800 to be used as a bargaining figure.

The fact that so many Members of the Congress are participating personally in these hearings is proof that the postal workers, indeed all of the Federal workers, have strength and power. These Congressmen would not be here in such unprecedented numbers if the American people from coast to coast were not behind the just demands of the Federal workers.

It is more important to us as a nation founded on principles of morality that we deal fairly and honestly with our faithful servants in the humbler places than that we balance the budget.

There are other ways of bringing the Post Office Department to solvency than committing grand larceny on the men and women who have made the United States post office a pattern throughout the world of efficient public service. These men and women are entitled to a minimum increase of $800. Every cent less than $800 that is given them is as money stolen from those who have earned it.

MATTER OF SOUND POLICY

I am here to recommend a favorable report on H. R. 2344 as a matter of sound business policy.

The business and industrial world depend for their daily functioning upon efficient mail service. Efficiency demands a trained experienced personnel. Today postal service is suffering from a labor turnover that private business would not attempt to survive. Wages paid to postal workers cannot hold personnel against the wages which private industry can pay. The result is that the post office can neither attract ambitious youth nor hold experienced workers.

Recently 30,000 applications for Civil Service examinations were passed out in the Chicago area. Five thousand people were asked to take that examination; the post office hoped to get 100 out of the 5,000. Some of the main activities in mail distribution require an experience of at least 4 years for perfection.

If a complete working force is continuously drained of its help no efficiency can be developed and we all pay the cost. Experienced employees are leaving the service attracted by better pay elsewhere. Failure to attract energetic younger help and losing the experienced older employees means an eventual breakdown in the whole service. Letters coming into my office tell a story of discouragement and loss of morale that survey of the speed of mail (or lack of speed) fail to analyze.

RATION OF SKIMMED MILK

The 81st Congress gave to postal workers a ration of skimmed milk which it euphoniously called a "raise." Since then the gap between take-home pay and the cost of living has widened until the two are no longer within shouting distance of one another. Within the past year postal workers in the Chicago area have been faced with a series of increases. For example: (1) Rents have increased with the ending of rent controls; (2) real-estate taxes have jumped; (3) Illinois Central commuters' fares have increased 25 percent; (4) telephone rates are higher; (4) gas rates have increased; (6) streetcar fares have jumped. Increased costs of these items have been accompanied by increased costs of food and clothing. The postal worker must pay the increased costs of 1954 out of a salary that lagged behind the cost of living in 1952.

HUMAN SIDE APPEALS

There is however another side, the human side, to my appeal for an $800 increase in salary for postal workers. The American people whose charity has encompassed the globe and embraced both friend and foe, do not wish to be placed in the position of demanding that the postal workers shall serve them at the expense of their own home life, health, and security. Yet we Americans are pretty much in that position today.

Hundreds of letters coming into my office present a picture of which we cannot be proud. To eke out existence the postal worker must get a part-time job in another field, thus leaving him no time to spend with his family.

His wife must work. That means no mother to supervise their children or just to give them that which every child needs, a mother to greet them when they return

from school and to help them with their homework. Instead the child of the postal worker must shift for himself after school. If, without supervision, he becomes one of our growing numbers of juvenile delinquents, that is too bad for them, but not for us?

I cannot hear our American fathers and mothers agree to such a thought.

WHEN ILLNESS COMES

The letters which I have received tell another story. The postal worker cannot save for emergencies. When they come, they mean cashing in on insurance policies, borrowing on other tangible goods and assets. To be sure the Letter Carriers Association operates a hospital and surgical program for which the letter carriers themselves pay. Experience with these plans shows that they are inadequate when major emergencies develop.

As a matter of good business, as well as in the name of humanity, I recommend a favorable report on H. R. 2344.

GREAT MERIT IN H. R. 2585

I recommend also the enactment of H. R. 2585. This is not a pay raise bill as such. It reclassifies supervisory employees in the field service of the Post Office Department into 36 step-rate grades comparable with those for other postal employees and employees in other Federal services.

Supervisory employees of the post office do not now have ingrade promotions comparable with other postal employees and employees in other Federal services. H. R. 2585, therefore, merely corrects an inequity and like H. R. 2344, will serve to improve the postal service.

Since supervisory experience does not count there is now no inducement for a man to remain in that branch of service. The Hoover Commission has recommended the adoption of the provisions of H. R. 2585 as a means of improving postal service.

IN CLASSIFIED SERVICES

H. R. 4556 and similar measures make various increases in compensation to employees in the classified services. One letter, which I have received, comparable to others in the same vein makes the following points:

"Both in the interest of justice to Government employees and in the interest of good government such a pay raise is urgently needed so that the Government may retain young and well-qualified employees. At the present time, inability to retain such employees is seriously affecting the efficiency of Government operations.

* * * * *

"As a meat-inspection employee, I am impelled to call your attention to the seriously inequitable rates of overtime pay for employees of Federal Meat Inspection. These employees are compelled to work probably more overtime than any other group of employees in public service. Many work over 60 hours per week and some as many as 70 hours at arduous tasks. Their overtime rate is much less than time and one-half and in most cases even less than straight time. I am not referring to high administrative officials but to routine inspectors. In my own case, my overtime rate is 60 cents per hour less than straight time. These rates result from the overtime law enacted in 1945 which provides for progressive reduction in overtime rates on salaries over $2,980 per year. A number of pay raises since that date have made the $2,980 figure entirely unrealistic and the present deplorable situation is the result.

"HOW INSPECTION WORKS

"Under the circumstances, employees feel that they are paying a large part of the cost of Government operations. This is particularly true in meat inspection where the Department of Agriculture collects $2.40 per man-hour from the packer receiving overtime inspection.

"Under this system the Department of Agriculture is encouraged to perform as much inspection as possible on overtime, as overtime inspection is not chargeable to the appropriation but to the packer, and to the extent that the rate is inequitable, to the employees.

"It is true that under an act approved July 24, 1919 (41 Stat. 241) the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to pay overtime compensation to meat inspection employees at rates which he may determine and charge all overtime rates to the packer; but for years the Department of Agriculture has informed us that it would be contrary to good policy to pay its meat inspection employees a higher overtime rate than that paid to Government employees in general.

"Under these circumstances the Government is guilty of gross duplicity for, under the Public Contract Act, contractors engaged on public contracts are compelled by the Government to pay their employees full time-and-one-half rates for overtime, but the Government refuses to pay its own employees even straight time rates for comparable work. * * * It appears we can secure redress only through legislation."

IN CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, again I must express my appreciation of your courtesy in giving me this opportunity to speak my heart and mind in support of legislation proposed for the betterment of the conditions surrounding the Federal employment. I trust that the action of the committee will be favorable and thus consistent with the great weight of American public opinion.

A Good Friend Returns

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased to note the return to the United States, representing again his Government of the Philippines, our former colleague, Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo.

While a citizen of the Philippine Government, my valued friend, Carlos Romulo, is truly "a citizen of the world."

There is so much good that could be said or written about General Romulo that it would take volumes to fill.

He is well grounded in those fundamentals, spiritually and idealistically, that makes him outstanding. He is not only brilliant but possesses other qualities that make real greatness: he is honorable and trustworthy.

General Romulo already has a great past, but despite that his future still lies ahead of him.

In my remarks I am pleased to include an editorial relating to General Romulo, entitled "A Good Friend Returns," appearing in the New York Times of February 28, 1954:

A GOOD FRIEND RETURNS

The United States will say a hearty "welcome back" to a stanch friend of Americans and their country, Brig. Gen. Carlos P. Romulo. He returns to us today as the Ambassador of the newly elected Philippine President, Ramon Magsaysay. He returns also in the capacity of a spokesman for his fellow countrymen, an interpreter of their thinking and feeling.

Like any good interpreter, he must be fluent in two languages. He must know something of our thinking and feeling also. This is part of General Romulo's splendid equipment for his job. He knows his own people and he knows us. In his own personality he is the best possible denial of the old falsehood that East and West cannot meet in mutuality of understanding. One definition of friendship is that of understanding someone and liking him, anyway. General Romulo happens to like us, as well as understand us, and we like him.

This newly forged team of Magsaysay in the Philippines and Romulo in the United States ought to be a good one. Each has confidence in the other that stems from the knowledge that each is in the right place. We believe that General Romulo can actually do more for his country here than he could at home. And we believe that President Magsaysay can do a magnificent job as Philippine President if his people give him the strong support that he richly deserves.

Dr. Clarence Manion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the dismissal of Dean Clarence Manion from the chairmanship of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, regardless of the real reason back of the dismissal, leaves the Commission decapitated, without a directing head.

Dean Manion had laid the groundwork for a very effective job of unscrambling the functions and finances of government—Federal, State, and local—that have been centralized in Washington during the past 20 years. The task when completed would have been the basis for such a strong, thorough, and emphatic report and recommendations that legislative action to unscramble the mess would have been inevitable.

In my opinion, as a former enthusiastic member of that Commission, we can now look forward to a job superficially carried on, a stereotype anemic report, and little if any legislation to correct the evils of centralized government that have developed under the New Deal regime.

The following editorial, taken from the Chicago Daily Tribune, of Friday, February 19, 1954, presents such a clear picture of the Manion dismissal that I include the same as a part of my remarks:

DR. MANION DEPARTS

The firing of Dr. Clarence Manion from his position as Chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is easily explained.

The White House requested Dr. Manion's resignation for the simple reason that he isn't a New Dealer. He does believe in the principles of the Republican Party as they were declared in the Republican platform of 1952 and echoed in the speeches delivered by President Eisenhower when he was a candidate.

The immediate occasion for requesting the resignation seems to have been Dr. Manion's advocacy of the Bricker amendment which is now opposed by Mr. Eisenhower. Mr. Manion's position has not changed. When he was dean of the Notre Dame law school and ever since he has been a leader in the fight to place limits on the treatymaking power. His position was and is that expressed by the Republican Party in its 1952 platform which said:

"We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution."

The best way to get along in this administration is to be a New Dealer. The best way to get in bad is to uphold Republican principles. This administration pays scant heed to the advice given it by Republicans. The voices it follows are those of the same crowd that served the New Deal long and faithfully.

These columnists and commentators have been gunning for Dr. Manion almost from the day of his appointment. They didn't want him to head the commission of Senators, Representatives, and private citizens which was created to examine the relations of the Federal Government with the States. The New Dealers wanted Manion's scalp because he was known to be an enemy of Federal socialism and a believer in private enterprise. He was known also to be against expansion of the Federal Government and its authority at the expense of the States and their subdivisions.

That, of course, is why the New Dealers feared him and determined to do their utmost to ease him out of the chairmanship. Apparently it didn't take much doing. An administration elected to end the reign of New Deal ideas has chosen to continue the New Deal both in foreign and domestic policy. It insisted on sending Mr. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia in the face of his record as a New Deal diplomat at the secret conference. When Dr. Manion deplored the socialism of the TVA, just as when he advocated the Bricker amendment, he gave deep offense to this so-called Republican administration.

The Republican platform of 1952 indicted the New Dealers for weakening local self-government which is the cornerstone of the freedom of men. The same platform expressed vigorous opposition to the efforts of the New Deal to establish all-powerful socialistic valley authorities.

Dr. Manion was dismissed, we repeat, because he believes in the principles of the Republican Party, the principles on which the Eisenhower administration was elected, and disbelieves in the principles of Roosevelt and Truman. The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. Eisenhower has abandoned the principles and pledges that won him his election. It is unfortunate that the President chose just this moment to start on another vacation, for the country was entitled to hear the explanation of the Manion incident from his own lips.

"Truth, Crushed to Earth, Will Rise Again"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I deplore the defeat of the George substitute for the Bricker amendment, but I believe the cause is not completely lost. The defeat, says an editorial published in the Chicago Sunday Tribune as of February 28, 1954, "is disappointing, but it is not disheartening."

Hope and consolation can be taken by the proponents of the Bricker amendment in the face of defeat. It is not disheartening because a check of a list of the legislatures, bar associations, and many lay organizations which have heretofore taken official action in support of a constitutional amendment on treaties and executive agreements, indicate that these militant organizations will not accept the 1-vote defeat and cease their activities in agitating for the remedial legislation which was lost by 1 vote the other day. To date, eight State legislatures have passed resolutions favoring a constitutional amendment on treaty law.

The American Bar Association and 21 State bar associations have indicated by appropriate resolution or by some other overt act that they favor congressional action in support of a constitutional amendment on treaties. Outstanding organizations, including leading patriotic, professional, business, and women's organizations throughout the United States have given support to the Bricker amendment in one form or another.

In the light of such overwhelming interest and activity, it is not disheartening to suffer temporary defeat. What took place to date is a temporary setback but not complete annihilation.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein an editorial appearing in the Chicago Sunday Tribune under date of February 28 entitled "Defeat by One Vote," and is as follows:

DEFEATED BY ONE VOTE

The Senate defeated the George substitute for the Bricker amendment by just one vote. Sixty Senators—32 Republicans and 28 Democrats—favored amending the Constitution to make sure that our liberties and our plan of Government cannot be altered through misuse of the treaty power. Only 31 Senators—14 Republicans, 16 Democrats, and an Independent—voted as President Eisenhower and the seaboard internationalists wished them to.

The majority was large but it fell just short of the two-thirds required in each house in a vote on a constitutional amendment. The project is disposed of for the moment but it is altogether certain that it will be revived, if not in the Senate at this session, then in the house and if not at this session, then at the next one. In the end it will prevail.

Just as the approval by Congress of the proposed amendment limiting a President to two terms was a judgment on Roosevelt, the politician, so the overwhelming vote in favor of the George amendment was a judgment on Roosevelt the architect of foreign policy. It was his dreadful abuse of the executive agreement at Tehern and Yalta especially that gave the first great impetus to the demand for clarification of the executive power in foreign affairs. Then came the drafting of a whole series of United Nations treaties and covenants which alarmed the American Bar Association among others, for if these treaties had been ratified by this country they would have jeopardized our own constitutional liberties Mr. Eisenhower, badly advised, found himself supporting Roosevelt against the majority of his own party.

Sixty Senators—more than two-thirds of the Republicans who voted and nearly two-thirds of the Democrats—have gone on record against Presidents Roosevelt and Eisenhower on this issue. Even Senator KNOWLAND of California, the Republican leader of the Senate, voted against the President. All the New Dealers voted with Mr. Eisenhower. The great majority of the Democrats, who are not New Dealers, voted against him.

The defeat of the amendment is disappointing but it is not disheartening. It showed a great majority on the patriotic side and the sensible side. It showed only a minority in favor of yielding any of our independence and any of our liberties. The vote may foreshadow the realinement of parties that is long overdue in this country.

Among those who voted against the amendment was Senator DOUGLAS of Illinois. The fact is bound to play an important part in the election this year. The Republican candidate can make a great deal of this issue provided, of course, that he too is not against the amendment.

Noted Writers Declare Investigation Needs Attention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, two very distinguished columnists commented in this morning's Washington Post on the crying need for a return to fairness, decorum, and dignity in the conduct of congressional investigations into subversive activities. I should like to include in our RECORD the following articles by Mr. Walter Lippmann and Mr. Roscoe Drummond:

THE MCCARTHY-STEVENS AFFAIR

(By Walter Lippmann)

There was a brief moment in the McCarthy-Stevens affair when the basic issue had not yet been muddled up. That was when Secretary Stevens took the position that as the civilian head of the Army he, and not General Zwicker, an officer acting under orders, was accountable to Congress for the handling of the Peress case. Secretary Stevens had already acknowledged that the Peress case showed a condition which required corrective action, and he had promised to revise the Army regulations. Senator MCCARTHY's examination of General Zwicker took place after the Secretary of the Army had acknowledged his responsibility to act.

Why then after that was General Zwicker to be held accountable to the McCarthy committee? The general was not responsible for the regulations, for the orders which were issued to him, and he had no authority to reverse the decision or to revise the regulations. Putting aside the the bullying brutality of the treatment he received, what was the justification for examining him at all? When Secretary Stevens took the position that he had the authority and the responsibility and would therefore himself be accountable, he spoke not only as a man of honor must but he was upholding loyalty the first principles of good administration.

It makes for mere befuddlement to contend that because the Peress case is a bad one, Secretary Stevens should have thrown his officers to the wolves and undermined the foundations of responsible administra-

tion. A good administration is not one in which no mistakes are made and there is never a bad case—it is absurd to think that public men must not stand up to defend good government except when the case is perfect and beyond criticism. A good administration is one which is at all times willing and able to correct its mistakes. That is all that can be expected. That is all that one has a right to ask.

Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, already had a letter from Secretary Stevens admitting that the Peress case was a bad one and undertaking to bring about reforms. What then was the purpose of continuing a congressional investigation of this case before the Army had had the chance to institute the reforms which the Secretary promised? Was General Zwicker bullied before the committee in order to help the Secretary of the Army do what he had promised to do? Or was the bullying of General Zwicker done to discredit Secretary Stevens and his officers and to take the Peress case away from the Department of the Army in order to exploit it in the McCarthy subcommittee?

Manifestly, McCarthy's purpose was not to help but to discredit Secretary Stevens, and by way of association to discredit Mr. Stevens' chief, the general of the Army, and the President of the United States. McCarthy's quite evident purpose was to demonstrate his power to intimidate the Army, to show that he was so powerful that he could reach over the head of the Commander in Chief and terrorize individual officers.

To suppose that McCarthy's objective in these affairs is to protect the Army against Communist infiltration is to be blind and extremely gullible. If that were his object, he would uphold instead of breaking down the authority of the President and of the Secretary of the Army. McCarthy's object is to show that even in the Army he is a bigger man than they are, and thus to expand his power by making himself feared.

Everywhere in the country, and all over the world, men and women are asking one another what is McCarthy's ambition, and how is the integrity of the Government to be defended against this brutal usurpation, and how are the peace and liberties of the people to be preserved against this essentially totalitarian assault.

For the short run, until and after the presidential election of 1956, McCarthy's purpose is plain enough. He is not, one may fairly assume, himself a candidate for President. He is a candidate for supreme boss, for the dictatorship, of the Republican Party. Knowing quite well that he could not be elected, his unconcealed purpose is to break and subdue the President and the executive branch of the Government, the Republican Party in Congress, the national organization of the party. If any Republican still thinks that McCarthy's primary target is communism and not the capture of the Republican Party, he will live and learn differently.

And how does a people preserve its peace and liberties against such an assault? By realizing that his strength with the people is a product of their fears. They are afraid of the cold war, which is indeed a momentous and dangerous thing, but never to be mastered except by men who, knowing the danger, have mastered their fears. But the people are becoming afraid not only of the cold war and not only of McCarthy's exploitation of their fears of the cold war. Our people are being made afraid of McCarthy himself, and in such a fear there are the seeds of totalitarianism.

This is the totalitarianism of the man: His cold, calculated, sustained and ruthless effort to make himself feared. That is why he has been staging a series of demonstrations, each designed to show that he respects nobody, no office, and no institution in the land, and that everyone at whom he growls will run away.

Though it is not flattering to the human race, it is true that there is always a crowd which is impressed by and will follow a man who makes himself feared. That is how McCarthy's influence has grown as the President has appeased him. He has grown powerful as the administration has acted as if it felt he was too powerful to be resisted.

His power will cease to grow and will diminish as and when, but only as and when, he is resisted, and it has been shown to our people that those to whom we look for leadership and to preserve our institutions are not afraid of him.

A Sad Record—Senate Must Restore Its Good Name

(By Roscoe Drummond)

It is impossible to look honestly and candidly at the record during the past 12 months and to make any other report than that the United States Senate has fallen upon very evil days.

Not in a long time has the Senate as a whole reached such a low level of conduct and such a peak of irresponsibility.

There are many able and upright men in the Senate. They don't relish what has been going on. They are men of worthy motives and goodwill. They are in the majority in both parties.

But they are guilty, too. They are guilty of moral paralysis. They are in the majority, but for the past year they have stood immobile as a few Members, utilizing the prestige and power of the whole Senate, have committed a whole series of actions driving good men from Government and good government from men—actions which have been disorderly, disruptive, and dangerous to the very functioning of democracy.

In the wake of Mr. Stevens' didn't-know-what-hit-him encounter with Mr. McCarthy—in which Mr. Stevens tried to protect the Army with a paper sword and ended by autographing it for the Senator—President Eisenhower will, perhaps, succeed in shielding the deteriorating morale of the officers corps from further inroads. But, finally, only the Senate can, collectively, protect the good name of the United States Senate and keep its own Members from traducing it.

What are some of the worse things which the Senate has done to itself and to good government in recent months? Here is just part of the record:

1. It has permitted a one-man investigating committee to berate and deride a great World War II soldier and battle hero, Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, as stupid, unfit, and of doubtful honesty because he was carrying out the orders of his military superiors, including the President. This attack on the integrity and discipline of the Army went so far that Senator McCarthy's strongest newspaper supporters, Col. Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune and Washington Times-Herald, broke with the Senator on this matter, rebuked his conduct and sided with Secretary Stevens.

2. The Senate stood by and watched the vengeful chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, use his unchecked power to publicize unevaluated, uninvestigated, undocumented, hearsay, wild and scurrilous charges against the Chief Justice of the United States. How irresponsible can you get?

3. It has indulged in such a rain of exaggerated, meat-ax attacks upon the personnel of the Foreign Service and upon the United States Information Agency that these vital arms of the Nation's cold-war effort have been weakened to near impotence.

4. It has allowed one-man investigating committees, as in the Fort Monmouth radar-center spy hoax, to take limited testimony in secret; release one-sided fragments of that testimony, and broadcast charges which do the individuals and the Government as a whole great harm and which later prove to be unfounded.

5. And now the Senate has provided the dismaying spectacle of trying to rewrite and patch back together on the floor of the Senate sections of the treatymaking provisions of the Constitution during the heat and scuffle of debate. Sometimes the proposed changes haven't even been in writing. One Senator asks for a copy of the proposed change just so he can look at it and he gets a scrawled chit from across the aisle. What kind of undeliberative process is this? Is there so little regard for this precious document that it can be rewritten on some Senator's knee with a stub pencil?

Ultimately the proposed changes were rejected by one vote, but only after the Republican leader, Senator Knowland, defended his approval of the George amendment on the ground that if even this version was obscure in its wording the House of Representatives could correct it.

Surely these aberrations and depredations do not reflect the real desires of the majority of the Senate. But the majority cannot escape responsibility for them. They have assented. They have stood by immobile. They have not joined to say, "No; this must stop."

Isn't it time to stop it? Isn't it time for the Republican policy committee to sit down with the President and the Vice President and decide that this has gone far enough?

The prime responsibility is with the Republicans. It has been Republican Senators who have been in the forefront of these abuses. This itself has posed a difficult dilemma for President Eisenhower. He has been constantly harassed by the rightwing of his own party. He cannot long refrain from acting to protect the executive branch from this mounting, feverish, unjustified harassment and he can do this only by taking the political risks of some controversy within his own party ranks. After all, Mr. Eisenhower has an obligation to all the people.

Shall the Privilege and Duty of Voting Be Extended to Citizens Between the Ages of 18 and 21 Years?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, an important question raised to a position of immediate consideration by President Eisenhower's message is: Shall the privilege and duty of voting be extended to citizens between the ages of 18 to 21 years?

In my judgment the most important factor in this matter is the answer to the question: Do these younger Americans desire to assume this responsibility and duty? Before this Congress takes such a step I recommend a national expression, participated in by at least 50 percent of the young men and women of this age bracket. If a majority of a quorum wish to assume this duty, I will support the proposal. In the meantime, I have queried citizens in this age bracket singly and in groups. Typical of my findings is an editorial from the Sizzle. This is a mimeographed school newspaper put out weekly by the journalism class at Waite High School, Toledo, Ohio.

The editorial follows:

WHAT'S YOUR STAND

One point of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's legislative program for 1954 is the question of 18-year-olds voting.

Like any argument, there are two sides to the question. The strong point of those in favor of 18-year-olds being allowed to vote is that if a boy is old enough to be drafted, he's old enough to vote. But what about girls? Just because a guy can fire a rifle or drive a jeep doesn't mean that he can sensibly wield such a powerful weapon as the freedom to vote.

Our personal stand is against this privilege. Of course, 18-year-olds are just as well educated as 21-year-olds, but the 3 years between 18 and 21 are 3 important years, experiencewise.

A man is a lot more worthy of this privilege after he gets out of the Army than before he spends a few years of travel and close companionship with a large variety of boys of his own age and older.

That's our opinion. What's yours?

Injustice and the Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully suggest that those members of the House Judiciary Committee who are opposed to amendment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 read the article written by J. Campbell Bruce. He is a veteran west coast newspaperman and presently a member of the staff of the San Francisco Chronicle. His exhaustive investigation of our Nation's immigration policy as reported in his new book, The Golden Door, makes excellent reading.

The article follows:

INJUSTICE AND THE IMMIGRATION LAW

(By J. Campbell Bruce)

Years ago, Marcus Steinberg, a Canadian businessman, visited California and liked what he saw. He returned to Canada, sold his business and packed off again to California, an alien admitted for permanent residence. By the late thirties he had taken out first citizenship papers.

Shortly thereafter Steinberg was offered an excellent position in Honolulu—if he hurried over. Liners out of California ports were booked solid for months, so Steinberg tucked his first papers in his bag, flew off to Vancouver, British Columbia, and there embarked. At Honolulu he presented his American papers to the immigration authorities. He was passed without question.

In due time Steinberg applied for his final papers. Instead of the citizenship he had so eagerly awaited, he got a cold shock. He was an alien unlawfully in the United States.

Why? He had failed to get a reentry permit before flying the few miles across the Canadian border to take passage for Hawaii.

Steinberg was stunned. He had been a resident of the United States for almost 20 years. Indignant, he returned to California to fight for his citizenship. He never got the chance. Immigration authorities promptly lodged him in jail, where he was kept 5 months, then deported to Canada.

This flypaper adherence to the letter of the law worked a severe hardship on Steinberg. But even worse, his harmless oversight branded him forever, in the eyes of the Immigration Service, as some sort of monster. He repeatedly asks permission to come back to California—just to visit old friends—but every request is rejected without explanation.

"I am a law-abiding person," Steinberg protests. "I have never been convicted of a crime either in the United States or Canada. I am a businessman and I desire only to visit the United States. Why is this privilege refused me?"

The answer, of course, lies with Immigration—and it need not say.

Steinberg's plight points up two salient flaws in our immigration policy—the law itself, and its administration. The law invests too much power in little men, who often wield it without common, ordinary discretion. The law is rigid, its administration despotic. The law fosters in its administrators an attitude of hostility toward the alien, whether he is a refugee seeking haven from tyranny or a distinguished visitor to our shores.

The McCarran-Walter Act—The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952—was touted by its sponsors as an omnibus measure designed simply to clarify and codify all the earlier immigration statutes. Clarify? Max Rheinstein, professor of law at the University of Chicago, told the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization:

"I would like to say * * * as a lawyer [what] may look a bit petty and perhaps insignificant, but I don't think it is * * * [I] refer to the technical defects. To put it more popularly, nobody can understand it at all, it is so complicated * * *. May I invite your attention to section 202 which I think nobody can understand until he has read it 12 times. I have read it now 13 times, and I think I understand it. If and when a revision of this law is undertaken, I hope to goodness somebody will be called in as an expert in English. As it stands now, it is an abomination of the English language."

Codify? The law retains the worst of the prejudices incorporated in old statutes, and it adds more than 100 new restrictive features. Ironically, for a nation that is the world's leading democracy and bulwark against communism, its immigration law makes racism a national policy.

The law did remove, at long last, the racial barrier to immigration and naturalization. But then it destroyed this achievement by erecting a barrier just as formidable—a modified Oriental Exclusion Act. This is the infamous Asia-Pacific triangle, embracing 21 quota areas from Afghanistan to Japan and alloting to each a minimal annual quota of 100, with the exceptions of Japan (185) and China (105).

No matter where you were born, no matter what your nationality, if one-half of your ancestry is oriental, the McCarran Act automatically makes you an oriental. Thus, if you were born in London of an English father and a Burmese mother, you are a British subject in the eyes of all except the McCarran Act, which consigns you to the restricted Burma quota. (Yet Great Britain, with an annual quota of 65,364, utilizes less than a quarter of that number.)

Rabbi Judah Nadich of Boston told the President's commission: "This bigoted slur upon the Asians and individuals of Asian extraction must be read within the context of international politics. Gratuitous insult woven into the legal fabric of a nation upon whose leadership the free world depends, serves to upset a delicate balance of power, alienate desperately needed friends and helps thrust them into the Soviet orbit."

Rabbi Nadich cited the Filipinos as a case in point. After their independence was proclaimed in 1946, they encountered no specific racial barriers. But the McCarran Act ends that. Now a person of Filipino background, born outside the vast Asiatic-Pacific triangle, must trace his genealogical ties and satisfy irrational criteria of acceptability if he wishes to become a United States citizen.

The McCarran Act deals a discriminatory slap at the Negroes of the British West Indies by setting up a special quota of 100 for each of Great Britain's colonies in this hemisphere. About 1,000 Negroes emigrated yearly from Jamaica to the United States under the large British quota. The McCarran Act cuts that flow, small as it was, by 90 percent.

The national-origins formula discriminates against immigrants—predominantly Catholic now, heavily Catholic and Jewish in prewar days—from southern and eastern Europe. It has always done so by design. The architects of this formula made no bones about it. The late Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, who tacked it onto the 1924 Immigration Act, to take effect 5 years later, bluntly told his colleagues: "I think most of us are reconciled to the idea of discrimination. * * * We have got to discriminate."

Congressman EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, a Member of the House during that 1924 debate, recently told the President's Commission: "It [the formula] was deliberately adopted to proscribe not only southern and eastern Europeans, but also Catholics and Jews. That is the unvarnished truth. I heard it stated time and time again on the floor of the House * * *." Such is what the law long ago set out to do—with malice aforethought.

It seems incredible that our great democracy should harbor within its body politic two little police states but such indeed are the immigration and consular services. The McCarran Act grants consuls absolute, nonreviewable power over visas—an autocracy that breeds arrogance and damages our prestige broad. Likewise, under sanction of the law, immigration officials at home have traditionally displayed a callous brutality toward aliens.

Consider the case of the Edward Chans. In a way, they were lucky their ordeal happened in 1950—before the McCarran-Walter Act.

Chan, a native American, went to Shanghai some years ago and there married a Chinese secretary who spoke fluent English. Their only child was stillborn. To ease the pangs of their loss they immediately adopted a week-old baby, reporting the adoption to the American consul. Some say they were foolish, because citizenship does not descend to an adopted child, but the Chans are conscientious people. That meant the child could come here only on a quota immigrant visa, for which there always is an interminable waiting list.

When the Communists began closing in on Shanghai, the consul granted Mrs. Chan a nonquota visa as the wife of a United States citizen. Out of the goodness of his heart he eventually gave the boy, now 10 years old, a temporary visa, but by that time the Communists had taken Shanghai and the family was trapped.

They tried a daring stunt. Mrs. Chan posed as a well-to-do matron, accompanied by her manservant and his child, and thus they made their way to Kowloon, and across to Hong Kong. From there they sailed for America.

Chan landed at San Francisco without difficulty; he had an American passport. His adopted son was refused entry. The inspector said the boy was a quota immigrant not in possession of a regular quota visa. Mrs. Chan, although bearing a valid nonquota visa, was also denied admission "as an accompanying alien whose protection is required by the rejected alien on account of infancy." A medical officers had certified that the mother's care was necessary for the welfare of the child because, to quote his singular diagnosis, "the child cried when out of her presence."

Mother and child were held in detention for 6 months. During that time Chan could

see his wife and son only on regular visitors' days—twice a week, a half hour each visit, separated from his family by a triple thickness of fine-mesh screen, in a small, crowded room noisy with voices shouting in a variety of tongues.

They were finally paroled into the United States for the purpose of applying for suspension of deportation on the ground of economic detriment to the citizen husband-father. They were then arrested and given a hearing to determine whether deportation would indeed result in hardship. The hearing officer so found, and Congress eventually approved.

This was a needless ordeal for the Chans. Actually, the immigration authorities at the outset could have admitted Mrs. Chan permanently and the child temporarily on the visas they presented. Then the boy could have applied for a stay of deportation. However, when questioned by a board of special inquiry, Mrs. Chan frankly admitted that the boy wanted to stay with his parents. So the board took the view that the child—because he wished to be with his parents—had committed fraud by intending to remain here permanently, whereas he arrived on a visitor's visa.

Mrs. Chan's reward for honesty was good compared to what would happen now, under the present law. Both mother and child would be excluded—sent back to the Reds they had so daringly escaped—because in their case the McCarran Act would require 5 years' residence here to qualify for a stay of deportation.

These are only bare examples of a law that runs to more than 300 pages and of an administrative record stained with countless injustices. Yet they reveal the evil spirit pervading our whole immigration policy. Congress needs to revise both the law and its administration. We are such a great nation, to act so small.

Public and Private Power in the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Denver Post of September 27, 1953:

STRAIGHTEN RECORD ON PUBLIC POWER

There is room and demand in this country for both public and private power. We believe that farm, home, and factory will benefit from federally generated kilowatts, as well as from energy spun out through private investment, and we know that public power is vital to the West.

It is not our wish to harass a taxpaying enterprise such as the commercial utility industry. But neither do we propose to stand idly by while that business performs acts that amount to sabotage of the public interest.

After two decades of harsh and often ruinously discriminatory treatment at the hands of the New and Fair Deals the industry seems to think that now, with the Republicans in office, is the time to run government all the way out of the power business. It had better think again.

A recent ruling by Secretary of the Interior McKay is designed to permit private companies to buy a larger share of Government-produced power than they have been able to get in the past.

As the middleman, the distributor of power the Government generates, the utility companies will be cut in for a profit born of an investment of public money. That should make them happy. But they aren't happy. They are asking for trouble. And they're going to get it.

In an advertisement appearing on page 163 of the current Saturday Evening Post, paid for by America's electric power and light companies, the private-utility industry declares war on Federal Government power. And that declaration must be of concern to all the people of the western part of the United States.

This region is on the threshold of an era of unprecedented agricultural and industrial development. To achieve farm developments billions must be invested in irrigation and the orderly use of water resources.

Those billions cannot be obtained—or, if obtained, cannot be repaid—unless revenue-producing electric plants are incorporated in plans for the big dams which will be needed.

The generating plants, if provided, will not only help to pay for irrigation costs but will, also, attract new industries to this part of the country because industry has to go where power is available.

If private power companies should be successful in their fight against public power, we will have neither the new agricultural projects nor the industries.

This then is a war against the West. It is a war against Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah which are asking the Federal Government to develop the water resources of the upper Colorado River. It is a war against other States, too. It is a war against Denver, which, for continued growth, will need water from the Blue River, another project which will be too expensive to finance unless power revenue features are included in its plans.

In its declaration of war in the Satevepost the electric companies outline what they conceive to be the benefits of private power as opposed to public power.

They say, for example, that rates of private companies are strictly regulated by people chosen to represent you, while Government power rates are exempt from normal regulation.

The plain inference there is that Government power rates, because they are unregulated, are a gyp; that the consumer gets a better deal from regulated private rates.

Such an argument might trap the unwary or the ignorant, but it is deceitful; because the constant complaint of the private companies has been that Government power is too cheap, not that it is too expensive because of lack of regulation.

It should be obvious, of course, that Government fixes the rates in both instances. And those who set Government power rates are chosen to represent you just as surely as are those who set rates for private utilities.

According to the advertisement, another benefit of company power is that it is available to everyone in the company area without discrimination, while Government power goes first to certain favored groups.

That sounds great. But what it doesn't say is that the companies always have the right to determine what its area of service shall be. For many years farmers in Colorado and elsewhere, could not get the private companies to give them electricity.

The companies said the farmers were outside their areas of service. So the farmers could have no electric lights or refrigerators or brooders or pumps or electric milking machines.

When Government power became available in those areas, Congress decided that farmers should be among those who would have the first opportunity to benefit from the new source of electricity.

If private companies had been more inclined to extend their service areas there would have been less reason for giving favored treatment to certain groups when Government power was created. The power companies' advertisement doesn't say anything about that.

The advertisement says "company electricity pays taxes (about 23 cents out of every dollar you pay for electric services)" while "Government electricity pays little or no taxes."

The Government, being sovereign, pays little or no taxes on any of its properties, its post offices which compete with telegraph and express companies, its national parks which compete with other tourist attractions, its office buildings which take business away from privately owned office buildings, etc.

Of course, the Government does not pay itself income taxes, partly because there is no point in taking money out of one pocket to put it in another. Instead of paying income taxes out of power revenues, the Government uses power profits to pay for irrigation projects and, sometimes for flood control and navigation projects which otherwise would be a direct charge against taxpayers, including private power companies.

A lot of hokum has been put out by private power companies about the failure of the Government to pay taxes. It is part of a long-standing effort to discredit Government projects which are important to the general economy of the country.

"Company electricity," the power companies say, "plays a key role in America's free-enterprise system" while "Government electricity is a step toward a Government power monopoly, and socialism." Sounds great, doesn't it? But don't be fooled.

What is this key role, the companies talk about. Actually, private power companies have never been free and can't be because they must of necessity be monopolistic. That's why they have to be regulated whereas grocery stores and toothbrush companies and most other forms of business in which there is competition are regulated without Government intereference by economic laws.

Neither have many of the free enterprise power companies been very enterprising. This country has never had all the electric power it needs for a constantly advancing standard of living. That's why Government power came into being. For many years power companies preferred to sell small amounts of electricity at high prices rather than sell lots of power at lower rates.

How about the bugaboo of socialism? A good case can be made, we believe, for the claim that Government power, in areas where it is available in large amounts has done more to promote free enterprise than private power companies ever did.

Notably in the Tennessee Valley and the Pacific Northwest the building of Government powerplants has given birth to new industries by the hundreds—many of them large industries. Those areas are the "hottest" markets in the entire country for electric appliances. Is it socialistic when the country is short of power to provide the electricity which will turn thousands of persons into customers for electric irons and deep-freeze units? We think not.

The final claim of the electric companies' advertisement is that "taxpaying, business-managed electric companies can provide the electric power America needs." "Isn't it extravagant for the Federal Government to spend your tax money to provide it?" the companies ask.

Electric generation, both public and private, has been increasing all the way across America for a great many years. But it has never caught up with demand. More uses for electricity are being found constantly. No one can tell if there is a ceiling of any kind on the potential demand.

Before there was Government power the private companies never met the demand. Large sections of the country are short of

power now although both public and private generators are running constantly.

The private companies must have a very low estimate of the Nation's needs if it believes we do not require for our homes and our factories the power that is coming from Government projects.

If electric power were a drug on the market, there might be some conviction to the arguments that the Government should get out of the power business. But as long as both private and public power is needed for domestic comfort and a healthy economy, the private companies are not helping their cause, in our opinion, by demanding that Government plants shut down.

All around the world, the material well-being of peoples can be measured quite accurately by the per capita consumption of electricity.

The private companies have declared war, war against the West, war against a legitimate function of government, which is to provide power when private power is not sufficient and when the public interest is involved.

If they should win, it would be a national tragedy.

Who Commands Army?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article by Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, the able and noted military analyst of the New York Times:

[From the New York Times of February 28, 1954]

WHO COMMANDS ARMY?—HANDLING OF INQUIRY ISSUE LEAVES MCCARTHY WITH SHARE IN THE ROLE

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

On a raw June morning almost 10 years ago a man known to the millions who commanded as "Ike" made one of the great decisions of his life—and of our lives.

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower assumed the awful responsibility of the lives of others, met that responsibility squarely, and decided—despite dubious weather prospects—to launch the invasion of Normandy.

"Ike" was a general then, remote by the echelons of rank and the layered mechanism of an Allied command from the men he commanded. But somehow his warm personality and sense of justice and loyalty to those beneath him had communicated itself to the armies. The men who fought and died in Normandy believed in their cause and in their leader.

Last week, in Washington, a man known to the millions he leads as Ike faced another decision—and who can say it was not comparable in gravity in its ultimate implications to the decision of 10 years ago?

The current decision, unlike the prior one, did not involve life or death on the battlefield, but it concerned, no less than did Normandy, the soul of the Army, its morale, its pride and prestige, and above all its faith in its leaders.

Last week's decision may have been made for President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, by some of his principal political subordinates, but as Commander in Chief he, of course, shares the responsibility.

The current decision, unlike the one of 10 years ago, was neither clearcut nor definite; in fact it appeared to be an attempted compromise on an issue, and with a man, where no compromise is possible.

Almost at the 11th hour, and secondhand, through his press secretary, the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces backed part of the stand of Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens. The President was said to be in 100-percent agreement with a statement made by Mr. Stevens, which, in effect, reiterated the Secretary's prior stand that he would never accede to the abuse, browbeating, or humiliation of Army personnel by anyone, including Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

But Mr. Stevens' claim, endorsed by the White House, that he had received assurances that future Army witnesses before Senator MCCARTHY's permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, would not be humiliated was promptly called completely false by the Senator.

NET RESULT APPRAISED

And other concessions that Mr. Stevens made, partly in answer to administration pressure, to Senator MCCARTHY in a prior luncheon compromise meeting, concessions which agreed to most of the things the Senator demanded, were still in effect.

The net result at the weekend was some muddying of the water, a sense of frustration and irritation by the Army, a definite loss of face by both Mr. Stevens and the Commander in Chief, and obscuration of the basic issue in the latest McCarthy tempest.

That issue, simply put, is whether an officer can be browbeaten and ordered by a legislator to disobey the lawful orders of his superior in the executive department. In other words, who commands the Army?

The importance of this issue is well phrased in a letter from an Army officer to this writer.

"The only way that an army can carry out its functions successfully is to have a strong sense of duty to the superior officers who command it. When the legislative branch steps in and attempts to assume a position of command, even if only for so-called investigative purposes, the entire organization is disrupted and a weakness is introduced that can only lead to failure.

"The big question, today, is just how far MCCARTHY will be allowed to carry his program, and whose side the President will take in the final analysis.

"Will Ike risk certain political injuries by supporting the Army, or will he lend his aid to MCCARTHY and have a hand in the inevitable weakening of our Armed Forces which will follow?"

That question was not answered with complete finality at the weekend, although, if anything, the muddled compromise of the week seemed to favor the Senator rather than the Army.

As a result, the once clear-cut separation of executive and legislative powers has become more fuzzy than ever before and politics has enlarged its already sizable beachhead in the Pentagon.

This is all the more serious in the present case because of the frequency with which the Pentagon has yield in the past to dangerous political pressures and to misguided reforms. Officers of the services are resigning daily, partly because they feel politicians have taken over the Armed Forces.

The Army today is a far call, indeed, from the tough units that sailed from the ports of England for the assault on fortress Europe a decade ago. Its morale is depressed, discipline and efficiency leave much to be desired. Its officers have hoped, almost against hope, that the Nation's top leaders in Washington would extend to them the same loyalty that is demanded of them.

The services have felt that for these long years they have had no champion in Washington; they have been criticized and lashed with a scourge of words on Capitol Hill.

That is why the short-lived stand of Secretary Stevens electrified the Pentagon for a time. That is why Army morale is depressed today. And that is why—until the issue of command and loyalty "down" as well as "up" is settled definitely—morale will continue bad.

High Rents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am most unhappy to have to report to the House a growing volume of complaints coming to me from renters in the south side district of Chicago which I represent.

Henry Wilson, of the office of the corporation counsel in Chicago calls my attention to 3 cases, in 2 of which the tenants are now looking for homes in the suburbs. Mr. Wilson writes:

Movement to the suburbs is not by homeowners but by tenants; high rents not high taxes is the primary reason. The grumbling one hears indicates that the cases submitted to you by me in this letter are not isolated ones. In many areas throughout the country tenants will be at the mercy of landlords for some time to come. The complete removal of controls is one of the mistakes the Republican Party will pay for next November.

FACTS IN THREE TYPICAL INSTANCES

Cases cited by Mr. Wilson are:

Case No. 1: Tenant has occupied an apartment in this 13-apartment building for 17 years. After meeting previously allowed increases, he is now asked to pay a $42 a month increase (from $78 to $120). In April 1953 he was compelled as shown by enclosed receipted bill to pay $168 for decorating.

Case No. 2: Tenant moved into apartment in August 1953 after paying $300 to clean and decorate. He is now asked to pay an increase of $52 a month (from $68 to $120), failing to do, he must vacate.

Case No. 3: Tenant has occupied an apartment in this 19-apartment building for 20 years. She is now asked to pay increased rent from $62.50 to $90 under a lease running only to next September 30, indicating another raise at that time.

Mr. Wilson continues:

From these cases you can see the whole picture. The enclosed rent receipts and notices of increases are contrary to the publicized real estate board's denials and are substantial evidence of what is happening in Chicago. In view of the Chicago Real Estate Board's assertion that rents are now stabilized and that increases of more than 5 to 10 percent are not warranted you may wish to consider the advisibility of introducing a new rent control bill, providing that rents shall not be increased more than 10 percent over the amount of rent paid on January 1, 1954.

PREPARING FOR THE STORM

Mr. Speaker, in the first session of the 83d Congress I pleaded with my Republican colleagues on the Banking and Currency Committee to have confidence in the President of the United

States to the extent of giving him the authority to reimpose rent controls in the event of necessity. With an economic storm even then building up, I thought it nothing short of folly to leave real estate entirely without any stabilizing protection against price gouging.

I pointed out to by Republican colleagues that while the first to suffer would be the tenants it would not end there. The hardest hit in the long run would be the honest holders of equities in real-estate properties. It happened in the early thirties, when real estate investments were washed away as completely as though hit by a tidal wave. As surely as night follows day it will happen again if heed is not given to the experiences of the past.

The crash of the lates twenties and early thirties could have been averted. If we are to have another such devastating disruption of our economic life, a good deal of the blame will be on Republicans who refused to trust their own Republican President with emergency authority to act promptly and effectively in the presence of an emergency.

The Chicago Real Estate Board has recognized the truth in my contention. The board knows that unfair and unreasonable rent demands on the whole do more mischief to property owners than to tenants. When the demands are by the necessities of the moment agreed to, false real-estate values are created since the manner of fixing a sales price is by multiplying the total gross rentals. Excessive rentals, geared to high wages and overtime, of course, can be paid only as long as wages continue high and there is extra pay for overtime. Usually, the price-gorging owners sell when total gross receipts are at high level and it is the new owners who are left holding the bag when unemployment comes, and, even though wages continue fairly high, overtime is eliminated, and in consequence, there is a material reduction in family income.

The Chicago Real Estate Board strives as best it can to preserve the stability of real estate. I am told it has taken the position that rent increases this spring should not reflect an increase of more than 5 or 10 percent. Unfortunately, however, the board cannot control the actions of any landlord who insists upon having things his own way regardless of the ultimate disaster to befall.

If the Republican members of the Banking and Currency Committee had been disposed to place their trust in the President of the United States, as I had suggested, and the rent-control bill introduced by me had been approved and passed, neither the Chicago Real Estate Board nor tenants in the classification described by Henry Wilson would be in the present unhappy position.

This is decidedly no time for anyone to attempt a boat-rocking stunt. Make no mistake, we are in a storm. If real estate starts sinking as it did in the early thirties we are well on our way to the big depression all over again. It must not happen. A depression destroys not only property but hope itself.

Whether he knows it or not, every landlord who goes it alone, despising his tenants' appeals to reason and the real-estate board's counsel of caution, is contributing to an economic engulfment from which he can have no hope of being spared.

Mr. Speaker, my conscience would not be easy if I did not do everything in my power to protect the American home, on the level of both ownership and tenancy, from the storm now gathering and which we are told will become more severe before its abatement. Consequently, I shall introduce this week a bill reestablishing Federal rent control on this simple basis. First, no rent either of residential or of commercial property to be more than 10 percent greater than that obtaining on December 31, 1953; and, second, the law to become effective and operative in any community only when and if the President of the United States declares the existence of an emergency and an urgent necessity in the public interest.

There is nothing drastic in this. It is as much common sense as carrying an umbrella when the skies are heavy. If it does not rain you do not have to open the umbrella. If the President thinks he can keep things from busting wide open, he does not have to use the power my bill would give him. It is just that simple. It can be the means of stopping a recession becoming a depression.

But voting for it, of course, does require of a Republican that he put his faith in President Eisenhower. Not many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle were disposed in the first session to go that far in faith revelation.

Discriminatory Restrictions Imposed by Germany Against American Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to call the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives to a recent action of the Bonn government of Germany.

While the architects and advocates of the so-called Randall Commission report seem quite concerned over having the United States lower its tariff barriers to permit extensive importation of foreign products into our country, the Bonn government of Germany recently arbitrarily acted to impose a discriminatory restriction against American coals.

As if enough harm is not being done already to injure the American coal industry, and particularly in my own State of West Virginia, through the unrestricted flood of foreign residual oil into east coast markets, now we are faced with restrictions on our own export activities. West Virginia coal mines supply the great preponderance of overseas coal exports.

This is a serious matter. What the Bonn Government of Germany has done is place a quantitative restriction on the import of American coals into Germany by refusing to issue licenses to her coal importers to purchase United States coals, except in very limited quantities. But, and I call this to your attention especially, no such restrictions have been issued against English coals coming into Germany, although fine quality American coals can, and were being laid down in Germany at a cost of from 4 to 5 United States dollars a ton under English coal.

While coal is being produced today at a rate slightly in excess of 400 million tons annually, in the war years we were geared to an output of 600 million tons, and the uninformed in our midst seem to think, should we get into a hot war again, this excess tonnage would be forthcoming much as water would from a faucet when the tap is turned from two-thirds to full. This is not the case, however, because a mine which is idled by loss of markets, exports, or otherwise, cannot be brought back into immediate capacity production. This situation is a matter of grave concern to the coal producers and miners, to the railroad and shipping companies, and certainly to the general public. Every ton which can be exported helps; every ton which is shut off hurts.

The discriminatory restrictions imposed by Germany against American coal set a dangerous precedent. If our Government acquiesces in them, other countries might be encouraged to take similar steps—and not only against coal. This arbitrary action is typical of some of the restrictions placed against America—who has liberalized her tariff regulations—by other countries.

While Europe must be helped to full recovery, this cannot be done entirely at the expense of the American economy, a vital and basic segment of which is our coal industry.

United States Wants No Part of Red Conspiracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 11, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw attention to an editorial which appeared in the Cleveland News, January 14, concerning United States foreign policy toward the captive nations of Eastern and Central Europe. This editorial sets forth once again the need for a firm United States policy for the future liberation of those nations now held captive by the tyrants of Muscovy. The Honorable Mr. John Foster Dulles has made his position clear on this vital question on a number of occasions. He can be assured of the warm and whole-

hearted support of the American people when he stands firmly by this position. When he does so, he advocates a foreign policy which is strictly American. More important, he advocates a policy necessary to the survival of the United States of America.

The Cleveland News is to be congratulated for this editorial and I sincerely hope that our Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, will become more vigorous and determined in the support of the principles outlined in this editorial, which follows:

UNITED STATES WANTS NO PART OF RED CONSPIRACY

Secretary of State Dulles made a reassuring declaration to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York the other night that this country would not be a party to any deal for a division of world power with the Soviet Union.

There is strong sentiment, especially in Western Europe, for a security understanding by which Soviet supremacy in Eastern and Central Europe would be recognized, meaning that permanent Communist control of the satellite States would be accepted. That, in the words of Mr. Dulles, would be an endorsement of captivity and a partnership with those who suppress freedom.

The United States, by virtue of its own principles of liberty and democracy, could never join in such an arrangement. The Soviet imposed its own brand of totalitarianism and slavery on its smaller neighbors through conspiracy, the doublecross, and threats. To accept such criminal action as honorable and legal, would be to repudiate everything America stands for and to destroy completely the remaining faint hope of the victims that some day they may regain their freedom.

Mr. Dulles did well to kill off any thought that this country would join in such an evil conspiracy, and to notify the Soviet Union that it can expect no sympathy for such a policy.

Washington's Views on Popular Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, on the anniversary of Washington's Birthday, Walter Lippmann had some things to say about Washington's concept of popular government, which I think will make thought-provoking reading for many of our Members and for the public, and therefore offer the article at this time for inclusion in the RECORD:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE AMERICAN IDEA

(This being Washington's Birthday, I hope I may be forgiven if I use a shortened version of something I wrote several years ago. In this way I am able to pay as good a tribute to Washington as I am capable of producing and also to have a day off.)

In the oration which Henry Lee delivered in the House of Representatives a few days after Washington's death, he spoke the words that have become so celebrated. Washington, he said, was "Everywhere present * * * himself a host, he assuaged our sufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering Republic. * * * First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life." Yet in the veneration which has always been given to Washington, must we not add that he has in these later days become separated somehow from the inner life of his countrymen?

The cause of it is not in the legend of his immaculate perfection. Nor is it in any want of flesh and blood in the man himself. The cause is much deeper and it cannot be removed by proving that he was less perfect than his legend, or by popularizing anecdotes of his life and aspects of his character which provide what is called human interest.

The truth of the matter, I believe, is that we are separated not from the man but from his ideas. There is an opposition between what he believed to be the conditions and the first principles of free government and what has come increasingly to be the working belief of the great masses of the people who, in their impact on public affairs, invoke the ideals of democracy.

This opposition appeared while Washington was still alive, and it has been accentuated during the past 150 years. In our time it has reached its climax and its crisis. If, then, we wish to understand Washington, and to appreciate the universal importance of his example, what is it that we must do? We must, I believe, refuse to identify the cause of freedom, justice, and good government with the rule of the majority.

There lies the root of the matter. Washington believed that the people should rule. But he did not believe that because the people ruled there would be freedom, justice, and good government. He did not believe that the sovereign people, any more than the royal sovereigns whom they succeeded, could be trusted with absolute power.

He did not deceive himself. As a young man he had served the Royal Governor, Dinwiddie. Later on as Commander in Chief he had served the Continental Congress. He had no illusion that the mere transfer of power from a King to the people would insure free, just, and good government.

He knew, on the contrary, that the new popular sovereign, like its royal predecessors, was subject, as he once said to Edmund Randolph, to the various passions which are the concomitants of fallibility. He did not believe in what has become the prevailing ideology of democracy—that whatever the mass of the people happen to think they want must be accepted as the right. "I am sure," he once wrote to John Jay, "that the mass of citizens in these United States mean well, and I firmly believe that they will always act well whenever they can obtain a right understanding of matters: but * * * it is not easy to accomplish this, especially as is the case invariably when the inventors and abettors of pernicious measures are infinitely more industrious in disseminating their poison than the well-disposed part of the community to furnish the antidote."

Thus Washington did not look upon the rise of popular government as the triumphant culmination of the struggle for freedom and justice. He knew that there was no guaranty that the rule of the people would not in its turn be despotic, arbitrary, corrupt, unjust, and unwise. The people, too, had to be restrained. They, too, had to be held to account. They, too, had to be taught. They, too, had to be raised above their habitual conduct. Because their power when passionately aroused, was overwhelming, it could be fearfully abused.

Though he was an ardent supporter of the new Constitution, he did not believe that any mechanical device, such as the system of checks and balances, would in itself insure freedom and good government. Least of all did he believe that bad government could be cured by weak government. He had learned from his own hard experience that popular government tends to be weak, and that local and private interests may so divide its authority and may so paralyze its decisions that the time may come when there seems to be no remedy for anarchy except the surrender of freedom to a despot. He knew that in the last analysis there was nothing which could save a nation from this choice between anarchy and tyranny except the restraint imposed by the virtue of its citizens and the wisdom of those leaders whom they are sufficiently enlightened to follow.

This conception of popular government has become obscured by another which, though it uses many of the same terms and proposes the same ideal ends, is its profound opposite. There the will of a majority of the people is held to be sovereign and supreme. That majority is bound by no laws because it makes the laws. It is itself the final judge from whom there is no appeal, of what is right and what is wrong. This doctrine has led logically and in practice to the totalitarian state—to that modern form of despotism which does not rest upon hereditary titles or military conquest, but springs directly from the mass of the people. For if all power is in the people, if there is no higher law than their will, and if by counting their votes, their will may be ascertained—then the people may entrust all their power to anyone, and the power of the pretender and the usurper is then legitimate. It is not to be challenged since it came originally from the sovereign people.

This is the supreme political heresy of our times. It masquerades as democracy. Though it is widely current among us, here at home at least it is not uncontested. But elsewhere, in many countries, it has led to a fantastic and tragic paradox. We have seen a majority of the people vote away their own right to continue to live by majority rule; we have seen the declared enemies of human freedom allowed to exploit free institutions until they have captured the power to destroy them. We have seen the right of a nation to be independent interpreted to mean that it was independent of all the laws of God and of man.

We who have seen these things, happen, are perhaps prepared, as we could not have been before, to appreciate the significance of the original American idea: that the sovereignty of the people is never absolute, that the people are under the law, and that the people may make no law which does not conform to that higher law which has been gradually revealed to the awakening conscience of mankind. In this, the American doctrine, the will of the people does not, then, determine its own standard of what is right and what is wrong. It is itself accountable to standards superior to its own opinions and its own will. Here the moral order does not stem from the will of the people. The people, like all other rulers, are within the moral order, and they are subject to it.

This American doctrine is also the ancient and central doctrine of civilized mankind. Washington himself lived by and worked in that tradition, and by his achievements and his example he did more than any other to establish it in this new land. We are greatly blessed that such a man was the Father of this country.

Eisenhower Economy in Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the House the

following newspaper article by Richard T. Baker, which appeared in the New York Times of February 28, 1954:

CITY POSTAL SERVICE 50 PERCENT EFFICIENT—FOUR-DAY LOCAL DELIVERY NOT UNUSUAL

(By Richard T. Baker)

Letters posted at random hours and in random places around the metropolitan area, for local delivery, stand only a 50–50 chance of being delivered the following morning.

Oftener they will not be delivered until the second morning, and weekends and holidays can so upset even the 2-day schedule that deliveries 3 or 4 days later are not unusual.

Overnight delivery, which is the goal of local postal service, is what you hope for when you mail a letter. Half of the time it will go through, and you couldn't ask for better service.

The other half of the time, however, when play tickets, vehicle license tags, insurance notices, checks, and other vital necessities often seem to be involved, anything can happen.

For the last 3 weeks the New York Times has been crisscrossing the metropolitan area with test mailings to study the quality of the city's postal service.

How long do ordinary letters take to be delivered? Are deliveries in certain areas speedier than in others? When and where and how should a letter be posted to insure fastest delivery? If the service is slow, what is being done and what can be done to improve it?

These were among the questions that the test sought to answer concerning the largest post office in the world, one that handles a tenth of the Nation's total postal business.

From the study certain facts stand out:

Of the entire test mailing slightly less than 50 percent received overnight delivery, slightly more were delivered in 2 days or more. Letters were posted at all hours of the day and night and in all parts of the area.

Distance inside the metropolitan area made little difference insofar as speed of delivery was concerned. Letters mailed from the Bronx to Staten Island received overnight delivery. Letters mailed across the width of Central Park took 2 days to reach their destination. One which struck a weekend was 4 days on its way.

Special delivery inside the metropolitan area might as well be forgotten. Ordinary letters posted at the same time reached addressees faster.

Time of mailing, while a significant factor inside the post office in relieving peak loads and the 6 to 9 p. m. climax of the postal day, made little difference to the customer. Letters mailed early in the day were received at the same time as letters posted at the peak hour.

Similarly, addressing with the use of the postal zone number is a boon to the post office, but in the test showed no results for the user of the mails. Three sets of letters were sent from outside the city to New York addresses. One set used the postal zone number; one did not use the zone number, and the other used an improper zone number. All the letters arrived without exception in the same length of time.

Service was better in certain areas of the city than in others. Business zones, like midtown and the Wall Street area, where 2 and 3 deliveries a day are the rule, showed the promptest mail-handling. Residential zones, where one-a-day deliveries prevail, suffered.

A test of first-class and third-class commercial mailings revealed that first-class, the queen of the services, received little in the way of preferential handling. Both first-class, and third-class letters were delivered in the same mail.

ANTIQUATED ORGANIZATION

Inadequate service is in part due to antiquated postal organization in the New York area. Brooklyn has a single post office and one postmaster, Queens has four independent post offices. Manhattan and the Bronx have 1 post office with 4 dispatching stations, dozens of carrier stations and many more collecting and business offices. Around this core are the hundreds of individual suburban post offices.

As population has grown and moved, the post-office structure has merely been adjusted. No basic organizational changes, no major abandonments or consolidations have come to keep pace with the growth of the city and its suburbs.

Postal service within the single metropolitan unity is, therefore, made more difficult rather than helped by the structure of the organization upon which the service depends.

Following are some of the specific findings of the test of mail service in the New York area:

A number of letters, mailed simultaneously from a single box in the Bronx, addressed to scattered points around the city, reflected the general average for local delivery. A few more than half of them took 2 days for delivery. A few less than half arrived the following morning.

One of them, directed to a residential address in a remote area of Staten Island, was delivered the next morning. Another, directed just across the Harlem River to an upper Manhattan address, took 2 days for delivery. Another, to the lower tip of Manhattan, took 2 days. Another, to a New Jersey suburb, arrived promptly the next morning. Another, to a closer Westchester suburb, took 2 days.

"We don't try to explain it," a postal official said. "We work to keep the mails moving just as fast as possible. But the time comes when a sorter has to stop sorting and make a bundle for dispatching. At that moment two identical pieces of mail may be separated, and the difference will show up when the two letters are delivered."

Service was conspicuously bad in areas east of Central Park. In fact, for a man to get a billet doux eastward across the park from Central Park West to Fifth Avenue, he might far better walk. Ordinary mail took 2 days, and 1 missive was 4 days on the way.

The reverse was not true westward across the park; mail took only a day for delivery.

If you live on a residential street in a predominantly business neighborhood or, conversely, yours is a business address in a predominantly residential area, your postal service is apt to suffer. Letters addressed to a residence in one of Manhattan's busiest postal zones were frequently a day late in delivery, a lapse attributed to the fact that in such a zone residential mail was receiving secondary consideration.

Mail went easily overnight from the Bronx to Queens. But, returning from Queens to the Bronx, it took 2 days for delivery.

While postal officials contend that same-day deliveries are not unusual, the test mailings developed not one instance in which a letter was posted, however early, and delivered the same day.

Letters moving north on the East Side showed a tendency to run into snags. Two-day deliveries were more common than with letters moving south.

MATTER OF DIRECTION

Mail from Brooklyn to Queens was delivered in 1 day. Mail from Queens to Brooklyn, 2 days.

Normal overnight delivery prevailed across the East River from downtown Manhattan points to Brooklyn.

Mail the length of the city, from the Battery to Riverdale, was more often 2 days in passage than one. Generally, it took 2 days to move letters between the Bronx and Brooklyn.

With only one exception, letters exchanged inside Queens took 2 days for delivery. The exception was an exchange of letters between 2 persons across the street from each other. They were delivered overnight in both directions.

An airmail letter from New York to Paris was delivered in 43 elapsed hours. A New York-bound letter from Paris took 60 elapsed hours for delivery.

Airmail from London was delivered in a Bergen County suburb in 3 days, the same length of time that is customarily taken in delivering an ordinary letter from Brooklyn to the same suburban address. An airmail letter from Hong Kong took only a day longer.

Deteriorated postal service has been complained about by big business users of the mails, by chambers of commerce and by ordinary citizens. A year ago the then acting postmaster, Harold Riegelman, admitted that 24-hour delays were not unusual in the city.

Some steps have been taken to improve service and some progress has been made. Within the last year window hours in post offices have been lengthened, and night collection hours in many areas of the city have been extended by as much as 2½ hours.

Local post office officials report that complaints fell off noticeably when the later collection hours went into effect.

Officials are convinced that greater efficiency can be achieved through better systems for sorting the mail and conveying it, and research is under way to improve these systems. Mechanical sorters are still hoped for. Personnel practices are being revised and incentive systems organized for workers. All these, officials hope, will bring better service.

They point out that much depends upon the user of the mails for the kind of service he gets. They urge care in addressing, use of zone numbers and early mailing.

Don't expect overnight delivery if you mail your letter in a box that is closed for the night," they say.

While tests made by the Times showed no appreciable results from early mailings and use of zone numbers, the post office was quick to point out that if everyone posted late and without proper addresses the results could be chaotic.

Experiments in presorting the mail by users are under way in 52 business buildings of the city today, and postal officials are convinced that the experiments are speeding delivery.

Bill Amending Reclamation Contract Repayment Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to settle some of the long controversy in regard to contracts under section 9 (e) of the 1939 reclamation law.

This bill relates to the administration by the Secretary of the Interior of section 9 of the Reclamation Project Act of 1939. Its purpose is: First, to provide for renewal of contracts under section

9 (e), second, assure credit toward repayment and eventual repayment of construction costs; and third, give assurance of permanent water service.

The bill provides that an long-term contract entered into under section 9 (e) of the 1939 act could be renewed by the Secretary of the Interior, at the request of the other contracting party. Such renewal would take into consideration increases or decreases in construction, operation, and maintenance costs and improvement or deterioration in the contracting party's repayment ability.

There are two provisions in the bill which assure credit toward repayment and eventual repayment of construction costs. First, the bill provides that any contracting party entering into a long-term contract pursuant to section 9 (e) will be credited each year, toward repayment of construction costs, with the amount paid in excess of the operation and maintenance expenses. After the sum of such credits is equal to the amount established as the party's appropriate share of the construction cost, then no construction component will be included in the water charges. Secondly, it provides that a long-term contract entered into under section 9 (e) can be converted to a contract under section 9 (d) at such time as the amount of the construction costs remaining to be repaid can be repaid within the term of a contract under section 9 (d).

With respect to assurance of permanent water service, the bill provides that any party to any contract entered into pursuant either to section 9 (e) or section 9 (d) will have first right to a stated share of the project's available water supply during the term of the contract or any renewal thereof. Upon completion of payment of that part of the construction cost assigned for ultimate return by the contracting party, the right to a stated share of the project's water supply would become permanent.

Keenotes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD copy of a newspaper column titled "Keenotes" and published in the Bluefield Sunset News, Bluefield, W. Va., on Saturday, February 27, 1954:

KEENOTES

(By Representative ELIZABETH KEE)

Shades of our pioneer grandmothers. What do you think the august Congress of the United States has been told? Drink sassafras tea. Most of us from West Virginia, over 40 years old, were raised on sassafras tea. Our grandmothers brewed it for a spring tonic, to thin the blood, and the children drank it for pleasure. From experience I can say it is a satisfying, tangy tea, with a distinctive, tempting aromatic quality.

Now Missouri is making a lot of news in the sassafras field. Representative CARNAHAN extolled the virtues of sassafras tea from the floor of the House and invited everyone to come to Missouri for this treat. West Virginia is much closer, and I'll wager the sassafras from the West Virginia hills is better, sweeter, and tangier than any to be found in the Ozark hills.

An enterprising town in Missouri served sassafras tea as a coffee substitute and found itself in the national news and in business. More orders came in for sassafras root than could be handled. Could it be that there are people in the United States who don't know the taste of sassafras tea? It is hard to realize how woefully underprivileged our urban population has become.

Sassafras tea was America's first beverage. Long before tea from the Orient or coffee from Brazil was introduced into this continent, sassafras was a popular drink as well as a medicinal one. It became famous in Europe as a cure-all before the first settlers came to the United States.

As early as 1574 a Spanish physician wrote of the sassafras in his "Joyful Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde." Here he says, "From the Florida, which is the firme Lande of our Occidentall Indias, lying in XXV degrees, thei bryng a woodd and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes, of greate vertues, and greate excellancies, that thei heale there with greevous and variable deseases. The name of this Tree, as the Indians doeth name it, is called Pauame, and the Frenche menn doeth call it Sassafras."

The English heard of this "Marvellous tree" and sent explorers to find it. As early as 1584 a party of Englishmen searched for the sassafras tree on the shores of what is now North Carolina. Before our first colony settled at Jamestown, an expedition had been sent to Virginia with the sole purpose of gathering sassafras. Later it was exported from Jamestown by Capt. John Smith.

The sassafras tree grows from Massachusetts to Florida, and west as far as Kansas. It is a large tree in the South and a bush in the North. In autumn it is one of the most beautiful of forest trees with leaves turning gold, scarlet, and purple. It has shiny blue berries on coral stems. It carries all of the colors of the tabernacle—blue, purple, scarlet, and gold.

We are urged to drink tea because of the coffee shortage and the consequent high cost. I agree with the gentleman from Missouri that we should "switch to sassafras."

Historic Landmarks Should Be Preserved—Judge Boyd Sends Message to Post Office Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department, in what may be called questionable economy practices in a number of instances, has recently ordered the closing down of a number of post offices within the district which I have the honor to represent. While I do not for one moment question the high purpose of economy, I do feel that in some instances the basic purpose of the Post Office Department—service to the people—is being overlooked, and economy is being practiced at the expense of service to the people.

One of the casualties of the Post Office economy drive has been the little office at Double Springs, Tenn. This post office is the oldest in Putnam County, Tenn., and has a record of historical significance. Here is an instance in which I strongly question the overall soundness of the present cutback in United States Post Office operations.

In connection with the closing down of the Double Springs post office, there recently appeared in the Putnam County Herald, issue of February 25, a historical article, written by the Honorable Ernest H. Boyd, summarizing the history of this post office. The author is a distinguished jurist, member of a pioneer Tennessee family, and an attorney and historian of note. I ask consent for his fine article on the Double Springs post office to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD along with my remarks.

The article by Judge Boyd follows:

DOUBLE SPRINGS IS COUNTY'S OLDEST EXISTING POST OFFICE

(By Ernest H. Boyd)

N. R. Abrams, Assistant Postmaster General, has informed Congressman JOE L. EVINS that the Double Springs post office is to be discontinued and that the patrons of the Double Springs post office will be served by an extension of a rural mail route out of Baxter. No date has yet been set for the discontinuance of the Double Springs post office.

Congressman EVINS had protested against the proposed discontinuance of the Double Springs post office for several reasons, one being that the post office is essential to good postal service in that area. It is to be hoped that he can yet prevail with the Post Office Department to rescind its tentative announcement of the proposed discontinuance of the Double Springs post office. Certainly the name of the post office should be the same as the name of the town and railroad station, otherwise confusion in mail would necessarily result, but there are also sentimental reasons which should prevent the discontinuance of the Double Springs post office. It is the oldest post office in Putnam County. There were a few other post offices in what is now Putnam County that were established a few years before or a few years after the Double Springs post office was established, but they were all discontinued many years ago, most of them being discontinued when rural free delivery mail routes were established.

The Double Springs post office was established over 135 years ago. It was established 70 years before the building of the Nashville & Knoxville Railroad and the consequent founding of the town of Double Springs as a railroad station in 1890.

The Double Springs post office was named for the noted large double springs on the south side of the Walton road in the suburbs of the present town of Double Springs. The name of the railroad station and town likewise originated. For many years before the Civil War, the Double Springs post office was kept in the store of Maj. Joseph A. Ray, located near the double springs. The post office may have been established as early as 1801. Fort Blount was in Smith County prior to the establishment of Jackson County on November 6, 1801 and sessions of the quarterly court and court of pleas of Smith County were held in 1801 at Fort Blount. The minute book of that court, containing the minutes of that court of June 16, 1801, contains a court order authorizing "Benjamin Blackburn to keep an ordinary (lodging house or stand) at his now dwelling

house at the Double Springs." Benjamin Blackburn built Fort Blackburn at the double springs at a very early date, probably about 1790, building his fort and stockade on the original frontier or North Carolina road running from Knoxville, by way of Standing Stone and Fort Blount, to Nashville. Later Double Springs was his post office address.

Double Springs was the post office address of Maj. Richard F. Cooke for whom Cookeville was named. Mrs. Ruth Huddleston, wife of Judge B. C. Huddleston, of Cookeville, is a great-granddaughter of Maj. Richard F. Cooke and she has in her possession letters written by him as early as 1840, all of which are headed "Double Springs, Tenn.," and his address so appears in the journals of the sessions of the State senates of 1852 and 1854, of which he was a member.

Maj. Joseph A. Ray, in whose store, very near the double springs, the Double Springs post office was kept for many years before the Civil War, was an officer in the Mexican War. He was the first county court clerk of Putnam County under its original establishment and he was elected circuit court clerk after the Civil War and died holding that office.

Reasons of sentiment, as well as the present need of the Double Springs town and community of the continuance of their post office, should cause all of our civic organizations to urge upon our United States Senators and Congressman to exert every possible effort to prevent the discontinuance of the Double Springs post office.

Fight To Save "Olympia," Dewey's Flagship, in Naval Victory at Manila Bay

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include a statement prepared by me for presentment to the Committee on Armed Services on the occasion of my appearance before that distinguished body in support of H. R. 6815, a bill introduced by me for the restoration of the U. S. S. *Olympia*. The *Olympia* was Admiral Dewey's flagship in the memorable naval victory in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Her last mission was to bring home to his own United States the Unknown Soldier of World War I.

H. R. 6815 provides that the *Olympia* shall be berthed permanently in or adjacent to Chicago, a gracious recognition of the large contribution of the Middle Western States to the Navy of the United States.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity of speaking in behalf of H. R. 6815 and your graciousness in according place on your calendar to an item of sentiment.

The enactment of H. R. 6815 will not add to the material strength of the defenses of our country. The U. S. S. *Olympia* never again will ride the waves in line of battle. Repair, equip, and restore her with all the skill of modern engineering and construction and you cannot bring back the majesty and the power of the past.

Her place now is in that imperishable fleet of American naval traditions. American youth of my generation, of preceding and succeeding generations, have been brought up on those traditions of American ships and American sailors. So may it continue. May the blood of young America never cease to tingle at recital of naval victories from *Old Ironsides*, from the *Olympia* under Dewey at Manila, to the climaxing and never equaled triumphs of World War II that gave to these United States the supremacy of the seven seas.

I believe in the power of monuments and of memorials in the shaping of a national character on the molds of a patriotic nobility. Nowhere better than in Washington are we brought to realize the vitalizing and inspiring effects that are produced. Daily I have watched the visitors, young and old, coming to Washington as to a national shrine, eagerly making the rounds of the statues and the monuments and the sites of great historical import. Never have I seen on any face any expression save that of respect, usually one approaching the look of religious awe. Mr. Chairman, I know as all my colleagues know that the best way to make good Americans even better Americans is to prove that a good American who has done much for his country is not forgotten when he is dead.

The U. S. S. *Olympia* was Admiral Dewey's flagship at Manila Bay. It was at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, that Dewey, commanding the *Olympia*, electrified the world and started our country on the road to world destiny by a quick and decisive defeat of the entire Spanish fleet in the Pacific.

HER LAST MISSION

I shall return to the narrative of the years of sea service of the *Olympia*, but first I wish to mention her last mission. It was in September of 1921 when she was assigned the duty of bringing home for burial in Arlington Cemetery the Unknown Soldier, representative of the heroes of the American Forces of the World War. She left Philadelphia Navy Yard on this mission on October 3, 1921, reaching Plymouth on October 16, 1921. She arrived at the Washington Navy Yard on November 9, 1921 with the Unknown Soldier. In 1922 the *Olympia* was placed out of commission.

As the last remaining veteran of the Spanish-American War in the National House of Representatives, I have a natural, and I trust an understandable interest, in the preservation of the *Olympia*. As a veteran of World War I, I am sure I will be joined by all the veterans of that war, many of whom are serving in the House, in the desire to preserve the ship that brought home the Unknown Soldier. As an American I have the faith that I am joined by all other Americans in the prayer that the *Olympia* will be saved as a continuing inspiration to the good deeds of patriotism.

TO BE BERTHED IN CHICAGO

House bill 6815 provides that the *Olympia*, after restoration, shall be berthed in or adjacent to the port of Chicago, provided such is, in the determination of the Secretary of the Navy, feasible, otherwise in Philadelphia Navy Yard. I can assure the committee that the permanent presence of the *Olympia* in the Chicago area would be greatly appreciated by the people of the great Middle West. We are proud, Mr. Chairman, of the large contribution made to the Navy of the United States by personnel coming from the States of the Middle West and many of it passing through the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. We venture the thought that the Navy would derive much satisfaction from the permanent berthing of this historic vessel in the waters in or adjacent to Chicago.

In the event, however, that the location in the Chicago area should not be feasible in the determination of the Secretary of the Navy, my bill provides for the permanent berthing in the Philadelphia Navy Yard. It is all a matter for the Secretary of the Navy to decide.

HISTORY OF U. S. S. "OLYMPIA"

The *Olympia*, protected cruiser, was built at the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, Calif. Authorized on September 7, 1888, her keel was laid in 1890. Launched November 25, 1892, and named for the capital city of the State of Washington. She was commissioned on February 5, 1895.

Her dimensions are: Length overall, 344 feet 1 inch; breadth on waterline, 53 feet ½ inch; normal displacement, 5,865 tons; speed, 21.69 knots; armament, ten 5-inch, 51-caliber, two 3-inch, 50-caliber, antiaircraft; complement, 34 officers, 346 men.

After service as the flagship of Rear Adm. F. V. McNair, from 1895 to 1898, cruising in waters of Japan, China, and Sandwich Islands, the *Olympia* became the flagship of Adm. George Dewey in command of the Asiatic squadron on January 3, 1898, Capt. G. V. Gridley, United States Navy, commanding.

On May 1, 1898, at the Battle of Manila Bay, the *Olympia* led the attack on the ships of the Spanish squadron. Admiral Dewey in his autobiography states:

"At 5:40 when we were within a distance of 5,000 yards, I turned to Captain Gridley and said 'You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.' While I remained on the bridge with Lamberton, Brumby, and Stickney, Gridley took his station in the conning tower and gave the order to the battery. The very first gun to speak was an 8-inch from the forward turret of the *Olympia*, and this was the signal for all the other ships to join in the action. The action lasted from 5:41 a. m. (with an interruption of 3 hours) until 12:30 p. m. and ended in the destruction of the enemy's vessels."

On account of the ill health of Captain Gridley, Comdr. B. P. Lamberton was ordered to take command of the *Olympia* in June 1898. The vessel continued with the Asiatic Squadron until she went out of commission November 8, 1898, at the Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.

In January 1902, the *Olympia* was recommissioned under command of Capt. H. W. Lyon, and joined the North Atlantic Squadron as flagship in April 1902.

From December 1903 to April 1904, the *Olympia* was protecting American interests and lives in Panama, going on the same service in June to Smyrna and Turkey. In May 1905, and from July to December 1905, she was on a similar mission in Dominican waters.

OUT OF COMMISSION

This vessel was placed out of commission on April 2, 1906, at the Norfolk Navy Yard, but was recommissioned in May 15, 1907 and cruised with the midshipmen from the Naval Academy. Place in reserve at Annapolis and later taken to Charleston, S. C., where she remained in ordinary until 1916.

When the United States entered the world war, the *Olympia* was en route from St. Thomas, V. I., to the Norfolk Navy Yard. A week later she was designated flagship of the United States Patrol Force (commander of the Patrol Force, Rear Adm. Henry B. Wilson, and Capt. Waldo Evans, in command of the *Olympia*).

She was employed in patrol duty off the coast of Nova Scotia and ocean escort from British merchantmen en route to and from New York and the war zone. On April 28, 1918, she sailed from Charleston for Europe, arriving on May 20 at Scapa Flow, Scotland, and arrived as Murmansk, Russia, May 24. She transported Lieutenant General Poole, of the British Army and a small detachment of troops. They drove off an attack at Pechenga.

On June 8, 1918, the *Olympia* sent a detachment 150 strong to Kandalaska to assist

in guarding that point. When the Murmansk Government broke with the Bolsheviki allied troops landed in Murmansk. In August a detachment from the *Olympia*, under Captain Bierer, took part in the successful expedition against Archangel. This same detachment, under Lieutenant Hicks, bore their share in the pursuit of the retreating Bolshevists to the interior, having some hard fighting.

CRUISE OF BLACK SEA

In December 1918 the *Olympia* became the flagship of the Commander, United States Naval Forces, Eastern Mediterranean, visited ports along the Adriatic and made a cruise of the Black Sea.

In September 1919, was underway for Trau, Dalmatia, having been informed by the Italian senior naval officer present of the occupation of Trau by renegade Italian troops from the Italian occupied zone, which he urged the United States naval authorities to induce to return to the Italian zone prior to an inevitable clash of arms with the Serbian military authorities. Arriving at Trau, disembarked a landing force of 101 men and officers. The mission having been accomplished, the landing force returned to the ship which returned to Spalato the same evening.

On November 7, 1920, *Olympia* assisted in the delivery to the Italian Government of the ex-Austrian battleship *Radetzsky* and ex-Austrian battleship *Zrinyi*. These two vessels held in trust by the United States after the armistice were towed out to sea and delivered to the Italian authorities as per agreement.

At Ragusa, Dalmati, assisted in caring for refugees who had landed there and were in desperate circumstances due to hunger, lack of shelter, and the outbreak of typhus and smallpox. The ship distributed fuel, soap, clothing and food and the medical officer cared for the sick.

The *Olympia* remained in European waters until May 4, 1921, when she left for the Philadelphia Navy Yard. She participated in the bombing exercises of the ex-German ships *Frankfort* an *Osterfriesland*.

In September 1921 she was assigned the duty of bringing home for burial in Arlington Cemetery the Unknown Soldier, representative of the heroes of the American forces of the World War. She left the Philadelphia Navy Yard on this mission on October 3, 1921, reaching Plymouth October 16. She arrived at the Washington Navy Yard on November 9, 1921, with the Unknown Soldier, where she was met by representatives of the Army and Navy and the other services.

In 1922, the *Olympia* was placed out of commission.

During the Sesquicentennial Exposition, visitors to the exposition were admitted to the *Olympia* as part of the Navy's exhibit at that celebration.

SINKING OF THE "MAINE"

Mr. Chairman, it was the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, that brought on the war with Spain. Four and a half months after the sinking of the *Maine*, Dewey with the *Olympia* as his flagship had wiped out the entire Spanish fleet in the Pacific. I ask consent to include in my remarks the complete roster of men who went down with the *Maine*. The list is of officers, sailors, and marines who were killed or drowned or subsequently died of their injuries. My purpose in including this list of heroes at this time is to emphasize the fact sometimes glossed over by some that no one group, no one sect, no one nationality has a monopoly on American heroism. These are the names of the 266 who, died on the *Maine* 56 years ago. Anglo-Saxon names and Japanese names, Irish names and Jewish names, German names and Scandinavian names, Italian names and a Korean name, names of men of all colors, of many faiths and countries of origin, names now that glorify the roll of American heroes who went to their deaths 56 years ago.

The list follows:

"F. W. Jenkins, assistant engineer; D. R. Merritt, lieutenant junior grade; John T. Adams, James P. Aitken, John Anderson, Holm A. Anderson, Charles Anderson, Gustav A. Anderson, John Anderson, Alex C. Anderson, Frank Andrews, Abraham Anfindsen, Bernhard Anglund, Harry Auchenbach, John P. Barry, Lewis L. Barry, Henry S. Baum, Jakob Becker, John R. Bell, Fred Blomberg, John Bockbinder, Fritz Boll, James Boyle, Leon Bonner, Heinrich Brinkman, Arthur Brofeldt, Adolph C. Bruns, Edward Burns, Robert Burkhardt, Frederick F. Butler, Thomas Caine, Walter Cameron Herbert M. Carr, Wm. R. B. Caulfield, Suke Chingi, Charles A. Christianse, Thomas Clark, James C. Clark, Michael Cochrane, Thomas M. Cole, William Coleman, Wm. Coleman, Anthony Conroy, William Cosgrove, Charles Curran, Berger Dahlman, Charles Dennig, Wm. Donoughy, James Drury, George Edler, Charles F. W. Eiermann, Andrew V. Erikson, John P. Etts, Karl Evensen, Charles F. J. Fadde, Rudolph Falk, George D. Faubel, William J. Fewer, Trubie Finch, Frank Fisher, Alfred J. Fisher, Michael Flaherty, Lewis M. Fleishman, Patrick Flynn, John Fougere.

"Bartley Fountain, Charles Frank, James F. Furlong, Patrick Gaffney, Frank Gardner, Thomas J. Gardner, Wm. H. Gorman, Joseph F. Gordon, James A. Graham, Edward P. Graham, Patrick Grady, Wm. A. Greer, Michael Griffin, Henry Gross, Reinhardt Grupp, John A. Haliberg, Wm. Hamberger, Charles A. Hamilton, John Hamilton, Wm. Hanrahan, Edward Harris, Milliard F. Harris, Daniel O. C. Harley, Thos. J. Harty, Charles F. Hassell, Charles Hauck, Howard B. Hawkins, Albert B. Henneken, Benjamin H. Herriman, Frederick Z. Holzer, Gustav Holm, Alfred J. Holland, Wm. J. Horn, Wm. L. Hough, Patrick Hughes, Otogiro Ishida, Peter C. Johansen, Charles Johnson, George Johnson, John W. Johnson, Peter Johnson, Thomas J. Jones, Harry Jectson, Carlton Jencks, Frederick L. Jernee, Charles F. Just, Michael Kane, John A. Kay, Hugh Kelly, John Kelly, Alexander Keskull, Harry J. Keys, Fritz Kihlstrom, Frederick E. Kinsey, Thomas F. Kinsella, Yikichi Kitagata, Frederick H. Kniese, George W. Koebler, Charles Kranyak, Hugo Kruse, Charles Laird, William Lambert, Luther Lancaster, George Lapierre, Edward Lawler.

"James M. League, William J. Lee, Daniel Leene, Samuel Lees, Gustav Leupold, John B. Lewis, Daniel Lewis, George Lieber, Jorgen J. Lorenzen, James Louden, Clarence E. Lowell, William Lund, John T. Lydon, Matthew Lynch, Bernhard Lynch, Benjamin L. Marsden, Johan Martensson, James H. Mason, Carl Matiasen, John Matza, Hugh McConigle, John J. McManus, Francis J. McNiece, Elmer M. Meilstrup, John Merz, Eldon H. Mero, George Miller, William S. Miller, George Mobles, Edward H. Moore, William Montfort, Gerhard C. Moss, John H. Moss, Noble T. Mudd, Cornelius Murphy, Tamekicki Nagamine, Sophus Nielsen, John C. Nielsen, Charles M. Nolan, William Noble, Mas Ohye, Gustave C. Ording, James O'Connor, Thomas J. O'Hagen, Patrick O'Neill, Henry M. O'Regan, Frederick Paige, John Palmgren, Robert Perry, Francis C. Phillips, James Pinkney, John Porter, John Powers, Daniel Price, Thomas J. Quigley, Charles P. Quinn, Joseph Reilly, William A. Reiger, Newell Rising, Wm. Henry Robinson, Peter Roos, William Rushworth, Clarence E. Safford, Michael E. Salmin, August Schroeder.

"Charles A. Scott, Joseph Scully, Joseph Seery, Walter S. Sellers, Patrick J. Shea, Thomas Shea, John J. Shea, Owen Sheridan, John H. Shillington, Alfred Simmons, Carl A. Smith, Nicholas J. Smith, Nicholas Stevenson, Isa Sugisaki, Frank Sutton, Kashitara Suzuki, Frank C. Talbot, Daniel J. Tehan, George Thompson, Frank B. Tigges, William H. Tinsman, Constantin Todorescu, Thomas Troy, Martin Tuohey, Joseph F. Walsh, John Wallace, John Warren, Charles O. White, Robert White, George W. Whiten, Johan E. Wickstrom, Albert Wilson, Robert Wilson, George W. Wilbur, John H. Ziegler.

"Marines: Henry Wagner, first sergeant; John Bennett, Vincent H. Botting, George Brosnan, James T. Brown, James R. Burns, John H. Dierking, Michael J. Downing, Charles E. Johnson, William J. Jordan, Edward F. Kean, Frank Kelly, George M. Lauriette, Peter A. Losko, Joseph P. Monahan, John McDermott, C. H. Newton, F. J. Newman, A. H. Richter, James H. Roberts, Joseph Schoen, H. E. Stock, James Strongman, E. B. Suman, E. B. Timpany, H. A. Van Horn, Asa V. Warren, A. O. Wills."

Mr. Chairman, I trust that the committee will act favorably on the proposal to preserve the *Olympia* as a reminder of the glory of the past and as an inspiration to brave deeds and noble thoughts in the years ahead.

Emporia Aerie, No. 2587, Fraternal Order of Eagles, Emporia, Kans., Urges Proposed Amendments for Liberalization of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the membership of the House, I am including a resolution recently adopted by Emporia Aerie, No. 2587, Fraternal Order of Eagles, at Emporia, Kans. It is with respect to proposed amendments to the Social Security Act pending before Congress.

It is well known the Fraternal Order of the Eagles is one of the great patriotic, benevolent, fraternal organizations in America.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that (1) the minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50; (2) 10 million additional persons be included in the security system, (3) the first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act, (4) the earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200, (5) the 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestion as a long step forward

in providing adequate old age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act and respectfully urge the Congressman from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 17th day of February 1954.

CHARLES K. FAUST,
Worthy President, Emporia Aerie, No. 2587.

Attest: C. O. BAIN, *Secretary.*

Economy in Government and More Equalized Tax Statutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting at this point in the RECORD an article by Mr. Roger W. Novy which appeared in a recent issue of the Wisconsin Young Republicans' paper, dealing with the subject of economy in Government and our tax laws. This is a most interesting article by an outstanding young Republican in my State, and I commend it to the attention of all Members:

The intervening months between now and the reconvening of Congress in January are certain to be filled with discussions of taxes, for a good deal of criticism has been and is being leveled at the existing tax law structure. It has been said, with some justification, that many of the tax laws now on the books are unfair, biased, and discriminatory, and that they tend to discourage business expansion and stifle personal initiative.

To say that no form of tax is completely fair or pleasant is to state the obvious. No one likes to pay taxes, no matter how intricate or carefully written the laws which provide for their collection may be. Still, Americans have been faithfully paying their taxes since our Nation began, for the simple reason that it takes money to run a government. To again state the obvious, the higher the costs of running the Government, the higher the subsequent taxes must be.

This, of course, is precisely what has happened here in America. Costs of government have risen into the stratosphere, which, needless to say, is hardly surprising after 20 years of New and Fair Deal experiments in semisocialism, bureaucracy, and foreign handouts. To untangle this financial mess and put the Government back on a businesslike basis was one of the herculean tasks confronting the new Republican administration last January. Like countless other Democratic messes, however, Republicans have found cleaning it up much harder than the previous administration found creating it. A tremendously successful beginning has been made, with the firing of countless bureaucratic hacks, the elimination of useless Government agencies, and the pruning of overstuffed department budgets, but much more remains to be done.

Looking toward the financial stability of the country, one of the most important steps will be taken on January 1, when the excess-profits tax is allowed to expire, and when a 10-percent personal-income-tax reduction will go into effect. Taxes are rapidly reaching, if they have not already reached, the point of diminishing returns. Taxes, spiraling continuously upward, can reach a level so high as to render them virtually useless—a level at which they utterly destroy initiative and strangle private enterprise * * * thereby lowering instead of raising the revenue they amass. During the past few years, the tax burden upon the people of this Nation has been rapidly reaching this level. A tax reduction will reverse this dangerous trend, and it should be noted that it took a Republican administration to give our taxpayers this long overdue relief.

Tax relief and economy efforts should not, however, stop with this initial beginning. The American people will demand, and will have a right to receive, still greater tax reductions in the near future. News that some nations receiving financial assistance from us have substantially reduced their own taxes certainly calls for an extremely critical review of our foreign-aid programs with an eye to further reductions, or in some instances, complete termination.

On the domestic scene, more and closer scrutinies of department and agency budgets are in order, particularly in regard to any socialistic schemes left over from previous administrations. The Government has no business in any field where private industry can be equally effective, and tax-paying, besides.

This budget cutting should not, of course, be allowed to cripple or curtail our defense buildup. This, however, is precisely the type of screeching we may expect from the socialistic free spenders in the Democratic camp each time a dollar is cut from the budget of any of their favorite pork barrels or from money-squandering brass hats who have been on an unlimited spending spree for the past 20 years. Despite all the flimsy arguments of the Democratic spendthrifts, substantial budget cuts can be made without endangering national security. Those who shout for bigger appropriations for this, that, and everything, might well be advised that it is not necessarily how much the Government spends that counts, but simply how it spends it.

A long-range view of our financial picture discloses a very definite need for a complete and drastic revision of our entire tax law structure. Many of our tax laws are completely outmoded, having been written for an era which has long since passed into history. Many fail to take into consideration the economic conditions of today. Many laws should be abolished and replaced by new.

Treasury experts are now at work on an exhausive study of our entire tax structure with an eye to a new set of statutes. Already, these experts have wisely ruled out a national retail sales tax, which was rumored to be under consideration. Besides hitting those least able to pay and being generally unacceptable to the American people, the levy of such a tax would give the Democrats exactly the issue they are searching for to use in the 1954 Congressional elections. New and more equalized tax laws are necessary, both to correct inequalities in the present system and to cover whatever, loss of revenue from impending tax reductions that governmental economies cannot absorb—but a sales tax is not the answer Treasury experts obviously realize this and they can be expected to present some more acceptable recommendations in the coming months.

The present need of the fiscal system of this Republic boils down to a requirement for greater governmental economy and a new set of more equalized tax statutes. During the past 20 years of Democratic administrations, both were an impossibility. Today, under an able and conscientious Republican administration, both are a challenge—a challenge, we might add, well on the way to being met.

ROGER W. NOVY.

Benson Action Hits Dairy Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Agriculture Benson's announcement on the lowering of dairy support prices from 90 to 75 percent of parity, effective as of April 1, certainly threw an economic bombshell in the midst of the Nation's dairy farmers.

From the volume of protest mail that I have received not only from dairy farmers in my district, but also from other sections of the country, I believe that the dairy farmers are not in accord with the Secretary of Agriculture's meat-ax approach to this problem.

Among the many statements that I have received, and also from personal contacts with dairy leaders, I should like to call your attention to a statement by William O. Perdue, manager of the Pure Milk Products Cooperative at Fond du Lac, Wis., to the attention of my colleagues. The statement contains a great deal of statistical information that is worth reading because it comes from the grassroots, and not from a governmental agency. The statements also contains some recommendations, including a suggested culling of dairy herds.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the statement by Mr. Perdue as follows:

Pure Milk Products Cooperative is the largest milk producers bargaining cooperative in the Nation. We have a membership of dairy farmers in excess of 18,000 residing in the State of Wisconsin.

I appear before you today to appeal to each of you to support the overwhelming majority of farmers in Wisconsin in their pleas to continue price supports for dairy products at not less than 90 percent of parity and to use your influence to bring about the necessary legislation to make this possible.

The proposed cut in dairy support prices announced by the Secretary of Agriculture will mean a reduction in income for Wisconsin dairy farmers of at least 65 cents a hundredweight for milk, or more than $95 million annually.

This slash in the support program would mean a reduction in income of $10½ million annually to the membership of Pure Milk Products Cooperative alone. Pure Milk Products is the largest milk producers cooperative in America, with a membership of over 18,000. The annual production of this cooperative last year was 1,666,000,000 pounds of milk. It will exceed 1.75 billion this year. At no time have dairy prices sunk to the level of 75 percent of parity since the early days of depression in 1930–33. This cut in supports spells ruin for the American dairy farmer. The reduction from 90 percent to 75 percent means the lowest percentage of parity realized by dairy farmers in the past 20 years.

In the past year 90 percent of parity did not yield a 90-percent return for manufactured milk to the dairy farmers of Wisconsin. Support prices in the past year were calculated at approximately $3.34 a hundred pounds of milk used for manufacturing purposes, but actually the farmers in this State only received $3.20 to $3.25 per hundredweight from the major plants.

While major plant operators were paying below support prices to the farmer, the same

companies have been in a position to sell their products to the Government at the full 90-percent support level. More than 1 large concern in Wisconsin has purchased milk from producers as currently as December at prices as low as $2.95 per hundredweight and enjoyed a market with the Government of 90 percent of parity or approximately $3.34 a hundredweight yield.

This reduction in supports will not reduce the surplus. Every critical period in prices has shown an increase in milk production on the part of the dairy farmers. Dairy farmers are prone to boost their milk production to keep the level of their income at about the same figure. This procedure can be traced as far back as the records for milk production go for the United States.

The early 1930's was a demonstration of this procedure. Milk production in those days jumped from 100 billion pounds annually to as high as 105 billion pounds. How did our present increase in production come about? Dairy farmers answered a patriotic call. Dairy farmers all over the Nation were pleaded with by the President, Secretary of Agriculture, and every other agency in the Nation that makes contact with the farmer to increase milk production for the war purposes. They responded by boosting production from a level of 115 billion pounds annually to a high of 120 billion pounds of milk in response to the patriotic call to serve their Nation.

Dairy farmers now are entitled to an opportunity for an orderly retreat from this high production and it cannot be done overnight without the assistance from the same people that brought on the plea for more milk to get into the field and plead with the farmers to reduce their herds.

I believe there are today in the Nation, enough boarders (low producing cows) which could be sent to slaughter and reduce milk production of the Nation between six and eight billion pounds annually. This could be done almost overnight with the help from all available agencies.

If the President of the United States, Secretary of Agriculture, chairmen of Agriculture Committees in the House and Senate, county agents and all other agencies pleaded with the dairy farmers for a nationwide program of production of economy instead of high production, our problem would be solved.

To say the American dairy farmer is surprised by the announcement of the new support program is putting it mildly. Only a few short days ago while I was in Washington, we were given to understand by the Secretary that he would proceed in an orderly manner to reduce support prices by degrees. The President indicated in his message to Congress that this should be the policy.

Most dairy farmers believed that the President meant just what he said, that reduction in support prices would not exceed 5 percent of parity. The President in his message said "that agriculture should be protected against too drastic a drop in income" and recommended 5 percent as being the maximum allowed in a single year. He referred to this as an orderly transition. It is inconceivable for anyone to believe that 15 percent reduction in support levels comes under the head of orderly transition, especially when it means a 25-percent drop in dairy farm income of our 1954 to 1955 prices are set by this new support level.

If Wisconsin dairy farmers are to be expected to receive in proportion under this program the same treatment they did under the program which will expire April 1, then dairy prices can be expected to drop as low as $2.20 per hundredweight for manufactured dairy products. No industry in America could stand such a reduction in its sale prices while at the same time everything it purchases to bring about these sales has increased.

Dairy farmers continue to pay more for every item they buy to make their production than they did at any time in the past 12 months with a very few exceptions. The board of directors of Pure Milk Products were called for a special session to consider future immediate action with respect to obtaining new legislation nationally to gain at least 90 percent of parity support for dairy products. The cooperative will not cease in its efforts to obtain at least 90 percent of parity. Dairy surplus holdings on the part of the Government which have been singled out almost daily in the newspapers, represent only 2½ months' supply for the Nation. This is not large when compared to Government holdings of other commodities such as wheat, representing 1 year's supply, and cotton and cottonseed oil, representing more than a year's supply.

We are solidly behind the principle of removing surpluses and have offered several plans to the Government to remove these surpluses at little or no loss to the Government. I also feel that dairy production should be reduced in an orderly fashion, not in a manner that will spell ruin to dairy farmers and especially those of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin dairy farmers stand to receive the brunt of the most severe agricultural income reduction of all other States in the Nation by the very nature of the Secretary's announcement.

A review of total production by years

[Billion pounds]

1930	100
1935	101
1940	109½
1945	121½
1948	115½
1949	119
1950	120½

REDUCTION OF "BOARDERS" (LOW-PRODUCING COWS)

We could eliminate our stockpile of surpluses almost overnight by eliminating the so-called boarders in the Nation's herds, at the rate of 1/16. That is to say, if we eliminated 1 out of every 16 cows, which is a conservative figure as a boarder, we could reduce milk production in excess of 5 billion pounds annually.

HOW IT COULD WORK

If we'd take the lowest production per cow with respect to annual production, use the average of 1925 to 1939 when the average dairy cow was producing 4,379 pounds—then use the cow population for 1953 which was estimated at 22,256,000. There would be, conservatively speaking, 1,391,000 head of producing cows available for culling. This figure multiplied by the annual production of the lowest figure published recently of 4,379 (1925–39) would give 5,085,000,000 pounds of milk annually as a reduction.

This program has far more merits than has attracted the attention of Secretary of Agriculture. This program was presented to the Secretary of Agriculture by Pure Milk Products Cooperative, February 6, 1954, in the Secretary's office. The program was adopted by resolution by the National Milk Producers Federation executive board in session, Friday, February 5, 1954.

The program has a lot more merit if it is to be considered as a method of price support. I will dwell upon that later. It is necessary here to review how we came into this tremendous surplus of production. In 1925 to 1939, our annual milk production was about 100,400,000,000 pounds. In 1940, this production had increased to 109 billion, largely because of low milk prices.

Then came World War II, and this is an important era in milk production to review and remember how we came about producing more milk than our Nation would consume.

It is a pathetic picture. Every public spirited person who came in contact with farm people was called upon by the President of the United States, and by the Secretary of Agriculture, by the War Production Board and every public spirited organization who was trying to be of some patriotic service to his country. These people put on the most dramatic program of pleading with farm people to increase production—increase all phases of agricultural production—for food and fiber.

Special emphasis was placed upon milk production. The plea went up that we were desparately short of shipping space for food, and that dairy products could be condensed and dried and take up so much less space than other food items. So dairy farmers were especially singled out to serve their country, and a patriotic plea went up to them to increase milk production—the dairy farmers of America and especially of Wisconsin responded wholeheartedly to this cry of more milk production. They wanted to be patriotic and serve their country. You will recall during this period that huge subsidies were handed out as bait—some not quite in the form of bait to increase milk production.

There were subsidies as high as $1.20 a hundredweight if my memory serves me right, in some of the Southern States, Wisconsin was paid as much as 60 cents a hundredweight to encourage more milk production and as I have said Wisconsin dairy farmers responded beyond the fondest dreams of all of our war agencies. We lifted our milk production from a former high of 115 billion pounds to 119,828,000,000 pounds in 1945. Then the war ended, and there was not so much need for milk production. Shortly thereafter the Korean war came on, and tremendous demands were again made upon the producers of Wisconsin for dairy products for manufactured products. They responded again and continued the high flow of milk.

The point I am trying to make here is that if we as a public-spirited group of American people would put forth the same effort and the same patriotic spirit of saving our agriculture as we did to save the world, then I am quite sure if it was done on a national basis, that farm people again would respond to reason of economy and reduce their herd, thereby reduce the milk production, and at the same time increase their prices due to the law of supply and demand, to the point where I believe there would be no need, no legal reason, for price supports, because I believe that milk production would level off to such a point that prices in turn would increase upward to where dairy products for manufacturing purposes as well as fluid milk purposes would soon reach a level of in excess of 90 percent of parity.

Let's pursue this reasoning a little bit further and assume that we are seeking a program of price support that would require less outlay of dollars, and at the same time provide food for the starving nations that we are trying to help. Assume the average weight of the average boarder cow to be around 1,000 pounds, and assume that the Government wanted to reduce milk production, and not persecute the dairy farmer. It would be a very simple matter to indemnify boarder cows at up to 10 cents a pound for beef and have less money involved in these cows than 1 year's production of milk and butter to be supported at the new 75 percent parity level, and believe me, farmers would really get rid of the boarders.

For example: Taking the lowest milk-production record since 1925, 4,379 pounds with 172 pounds of butterfat, the butterfat would yield a little over 200 pounds of butter. For example, use 200 pounds at the new 75-percent level, butter will be supported at Chicago at 57½ cents a pound. This would amount to $115 that the Government would have invested in the production of this boarder cow for butterfat alone—saying nothing

for the amount of skimmed milk that would be produced. The Government could save a minimum of $15 per cow by encouraging farmers to cull their herds and get down to economical milk production, eliminate the surplus, and have less dollars involved.

Therefore, I appeal to you as Members of Congress from Wisconsin to use your best efforts to help bring about an orderly retreat in this overproduction of dairy products—bring about a retreat that will not mean financial ruin to the average dairy farmer of America.

In conclusion, I would like to point out another apparent injustice—one that has been passed over—this whole program of supports has been geared to the large-type operator—that is, the favor has been in the direction of the largest operators. The huge corporation farms of America that produce cotton, corn, and wheat, soybean operators—these are the farmers that will receive the highest percentage of parity—those are the farmers that need less margin to operate on than the small farmers operating dairy farms.

I believe I am safe in saying that the average dairy farmer of Wisconsin who milks 18 to 20 head of cows has far more money, proportionately, in land and machinery and cattle, invested in his little plant than the average wheat grower has invested in his tremendous plant. Yet, these dairy farmers have been singled out at the Nation's whipping post. They are to be pictured as the one seeking more and more Government help, when as a matter of fact, they are not asking for that; our only plea is that dairy farmers be given equality of treatment, justice of treatment, and an opportunity to survive in an economy of equality. Not that their prices be supported at 75 percent of parity and the commodities they have to buy from brother farmers be supported at higher percentages of parity.

We are not asking that supports be brought down, or supports brought up. We are asking that there be an equality among all crops in a comparable manner rather than in an arithmetical manner.

Wisconsin dairy farmers have demonstrated their faith in you. This was done last November—a year ago. They placed their confidence there year after year. They have voted for you. Now, they are asking that you work for and vote for them, and the welfare of all our people of this Nation.

More Eisenhower Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include the following editorial entitled "A Needless Move" which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of Saturday, February 27, 1954:

A NEEDLESS MOVE

The proposal to transfer the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency at 84 Sands Street to Battle Creek, Mich., makes little sense. And we hope our Congressmen of both parties, will join in effective protests. The shift, while only in the rumor stage, must be balked now before reported negotiations proceed any further.

A strong opponent of the plan is New York State's Commissioner of Commerce Harold Keller who says that 1,000 persons would be deprived of their jobs in this area. He insists in a letter to Defense Secretary Wilson that the Agency's economy would not be improved nor its effectiveness or strategic location.

Liberalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 17, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a timely article by Mr. Russell G. Cleary, who is the Young Republican national committeeman from Wisconsin and which appeared in the Young Republican publication for Wisconsin. The writer exhibits a good understanding as to the meaning of the word liberalism and how it has been used to fool the American people. The article follows:

Probably the most used and least defined word in the English language today is liberalism. It is used by self-appointed liberals to judge the validity of legislative acts and individuals. The word liberalism is used by others as a form of profanity and as a supreme insult.

The question that plagues the average citizen today, is the interpretation that he must give to liberalism when it is used as an adjective to describe men and movements. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Citizen read that the Bricker amendment is a plot by reactionary conservatives (antiliberals) to weaken the administration's position in world affairs. The next day Mr. and Mrs. Citizen hear a commentator discuss the methods that are being used by liberal internationalists to wreck the amendment's chance of plugging the Constitution's loophole for which the amendment was intended.

Traditionally, liberalism, as it developed under the Anglo-Saxon and American experiments, was a very definite thing. It was a trend that emphasized the belief in and the sanctity of the individual. From the Magna Carta to the Declaration of Independence, the emphasis was placed on man's natural rights and his freedom from government tyranny. Our traditional concept of freedom in thought and action applies to the right of a worker to bargain collectively as well as the right of a businessman to make a profit.

The thing that confuses many people in trying to think out this liberal dilemma is the position of the liberals in regard to the Federal Government. If traditional liberalism meant the freeing of the individual from the state, how can a good many of the present-day liberals advocate socialized medicine, permanent price and wage controls, and continued high taxation?

Western democracy, as we know it today, is the result of long centuries of struggle during which the powers of kings and dictators have been slowly and painfully transferred to the people. The basic tenet of this early liberal crusade was that power corrupts and a concentration of power in the hands of a few people would be the cause of tyranny and should be eliminated.

Under the heading of modern-day liberalism, there is a segment within our Nation that advocates a permanent return of a great many economic and ultimately constituent powers to the Central Government. If even half of the measures proposed by the ADA were put into effect, the Federal Government would have almost life-and-death power over everyone in the Nation. A permanent set of price and wage controls would mean the end of free enterprise as it exists today. Controls such as this would give Government agencies dictatorial power over our economic life.

Senator KARL MUNDT summarized this point very well when he said that "A continued increase in controls by the Government over the individual citizen, whether they are businessmen or workers, can hardly be called liberalism."

In the traditional sense of the word, we as Republicans are by nature liberals. We believe that the Government exists to serve the people, and not the reverse.

With the existing confusion in the use of the word, it might be wise to find a new word which will make a distinction between the traditional concept of liberalism and its modern inverted interpretation.

RUSSELL G. CLEARY.

After 20 Brilliant Years in the Congress, Hon. Edward J. Hart, of New Jersey, Will Retire at the End of This Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an outstanding lawyer, Democrat, and Member of Congress has just announced that he will retire from the House of Representatives at the end of this term. It saddens us that this distinguished, brilliant, brave, and warm-hearted friend of man, that beloved fighter, the Honorable EDWART J. HART, representing the 14th District, in Hudson County, N. J., will leave us at the end of this session.

The 14th District of New Jersey is a most unusual district, Mr. Speaker. So is its Congressman. The booming, golden voice with a brain of Congressman HART will not only be missed here on the Hill, on the House floor, in committee, but on the stump as well.

Up and down the State of New Jersey, year in and year out, Congressman ED HART sparked and racked up victory after victory for the Democratic Party. When the going was toughest, and times were tightest, it was Congressman HART who smashed through the line, yard after yard, time after time, scoring gain after gain for the little man, his wife, and child—scoring gains for the triumvirate of life, the trilogy on earth, the family unit, symbolized by a man, his wife, and child.

The race each of us runs, Mr. Speaker, is at best 60, 65, 70, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95 yards down the field. Born alone, running down the field, crossing the 20-, 25-yard line, one gains a mate, a beloved wife. On the 30-, 35-, 40-yard line, the couple runs interference for the children that follow. As he peels off on the 60-, 65-, 70-, 75-yard line, Pop throws a lateral to Mom. She keeps going. The kids follow. Mom laterals. The kids score.

It seems the goals of life we set for others, they generally reach. Those we

set for ourselves, we rarely reach. Setting none for himself but all for others, to laugh, and love, and lift, Congressman HART today roams in acres of diamonds, aglow with the light of pathways he has pointed out for others to follow, in health, in happiness.

One of the most glorious letters of my life, Mr. Speaker, was the one I received in November 1950 in North Korea, above the 38th parallel in Hamhung. It was from Congressman HART. He told me that it was his pleasure to join with Mrs. Sieminski from one end of Hudson County to the other to score one of the most sensational congressional elections of the day against one of the hardest fighting political machines in the United States. Sparked by that magnificent leader, the Hon. John V. Kenny, mayor of Jersey City, Congressman HART and Mrs. Sieminski smashed the Hague opposition—tore it to shreds, in that terrific, sensational November congressional election.

Congressman ED HART's letter to me in North Korea telling of my wife's victory on my behalf shows the kind of a man ED is, shows his regard for the trilogy of life—for a man, his wife and child—for Alfred, Marie and Christine, as he has shown for others all through his Godly life.

You see what it is, Mr. Speaker, to come down Hudson County, to represent it here in the Congress? It has been the gateway to the Nation—streams on streams of people have passed the Statue of Liberty, landed on our Jersey shore, hammered out their living; since 1609, when the *Half Moon* and Henryk Hudson cast anchor off our shore there was laid down a fighting, warm-hearted, good and brave tradition for us to follow and pass on to others. That's Hudson County, Mr. Speaker; that's ED HART, Congressman, brilliant Representative of our country, Nation, State, county, city, community, friends, and fellowmen. A salute to you ED, coach, father, brother, uncle and friend.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, cited below is an editorial on the announced retirement of Congressman HART as it appeared in the February 23, 1954, issue of the Jersey Journal:

TWENTY YEARS IN CONGRESS

Now it is official. Months ago, this newspaper was first to publish the news that Representative EDWARD J. HART would retire at the end of his current term. Yesterday, in Washington, the veteran of two decades in Congress announced he will not seek another term. He will take his pension, perhaps practice law. There is a good chance that his years of experience will be put to use somewhere in the State government.

His 20 years in Congress have seen great changes in the Nation and at home. When he went to Washington for the first time, the Nation was fighting its way out of the depression and was in the first term of Franklin Roosevelt's momentous era. In the ensuing years, Congressman HART grew in seniority in the controlling Democratic delegation and played a larger and larger part in public affairs.

In the same period, fundamental changes occurred within the Democratic Party at home. His public career continued through all that without becoming enmeshed in the deep bitterness which marked the battle within the party.

For years Congressman HART has been noted as the legislator with the shortest biography in the Congressional Directory. It says simply, under the Fourteenth District caption: "EDWARD J. HART, Democrat, lawyer, Jersey City." In a volume which includes some extravagant autobiographical articles, this is a refreshing change.

It tells much more than its brief recital of facts. Its simplicity and freedom from conceit go far to explain the reasons for a long career in Congress.

There Was a Shooting in the House Chamber Today, Mr. Speaker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, this noon, when the House met, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, it was my intent to discuss here the origin and the development of the grand jury, the full appreciation of which might serve to ease our tensions and give us that public calm needed for the proper maintenance of law and order.

An inflamed people can hardly be expected to enforce their laws with balanced scales. Since the Congress adjourned last July a mounting pitch of emotion has risen in the country. This, in inverse proportion to truce developments in Korea.

Last August, on active duty with the Sixth Army, at the presidio in San Francisco, under the command of Lt. Gen. Jos. M. Swing, it was my high honor to meet several POW ships as they slid up the bay. Bands played. Fire hoses sprayed. "Welcome home, boys, welcome home." Soldiers double timed down gangplanks, into the arms of weeping relations, into stalls for final processing. Chow. Then home. After Korea, peace and quiet was theirs. To what extent?

For the last 6 months of 1953, Congress was not in session. Charges flew. Here and abroad, on most all continents, accusations filled the air, man against man. England, Canada, Australia, alone, seemed unaffected.

In the first 2 months of this year, the pitch mounted. Last week, in America, it reached its crescendo.

Today, there was a shooting in the House Chamber. Five of our colleagues were felled.

The question is, will our beloved colleagues and friends pull through, again alive and alert, able in body, mind, and spirit? They must. Our deepest sympathies go to their brave and beloved families, their wives and children, their loved ones, and their constituents. Each of us feel the hurt.

What now? Close the Chamber? Deny the galleries? Secret service men at the portals? America, an armed camp? What is best for America will be done. Scalping and the tomahawk did not stop our hearty pioneers. Since 1776, eight generations of Americans have eight times shed blood for the love and glory of America, the beautiful and the free. Blood on the House floor today was in that line of march.

In 1922, Mussolini marched on Rome. Communists, gangsters, racketeers, and Socialists were blamed. Black Shirts, "Viva Duce—Viva Duce," war, desolation, and the Communist threat followed.

In the thirties, the German Reichstag was burned. A Dutch Communist was tried and executed. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, and Von Papen rode the crest. Storm troopers "Seig Heiled," marched, fought, and died. Germany went up in flames, one-half of it Communist-ruled today.

Earlier, in Russia, Rasputin terrified the court. Then the Bolsheviks slaughtered the Czar and his family.

Fear, slaughter, conquest. Then communism. Are these the four horsemen of our century?

What horse do we ride? None. Our foot is not even in the stirrup. Thank heavens. It must never be.

I shall always remember today, Mr. Speaker. The shooting was so strange. Just before it started, I phoned Mrs. Sieminski to say there would be a roll-call or two, to hold supper. I would call back. I took a seat in the center of the last row, on the Democratic side, just in front of the page's desk.

Then the Speaker called for a standing vote. We were on the so-called wetback bill. Those in favor of the rule rose to their feet. It seemed as though an overwhelming majority of the Members stood to be counted. Speaker MARTIN seemed to be nearly finished with his tally. I was in my seat. Then, the shooting started.

I stayed in my seat, eyes glued to the black guns in the hands of the assassins who were directly opposite me in the gallery, across the Chamber. As the shooting continued the membership took more and more cover, got down behind the benches.

In front of me, to my left—I saw Congressman ROBERTS fall. To my front right Congressman FALLON grabbed his thigh. More and more Members got down. As if hypnotized, I stayed in my seat, eyes glued to muzzles of the weapons. I looked at the ceiling, saw a hole. Then a man came through the gallery door—smashed into, grabbed, and lifted one of the shooters off his feet, up and out of the gallery. Just before that, one of the shooters ran out. Just then, a woman unfurled a flag, red and white, and seemed to shout "Viva —ico."

To my right rear, a bullet hit the wall, just between the heads of two pages. Just over my head, another bullet lodged in the wall, over the page's desk.

I went forward, Congressman ROBERTS was down, blood on his trouser leg, tourniquet on his thigh. Congressman FALLON held his thigh and left the Chamber. Moving forward, toward the well of the House, over on the right, sat Congressman DAVIS of Tennessee. He was hit in the leg, sitting upright. I moved on, forward, on the Republican side, in the well Congressman BENTLEY was on his back. His eyes open, his face ashen. He was hit in the chest. His shirt sopped up blood like a blotter. Over him kneeled the House Chaplain, Dr. Braskamp.

Near me stood Congressman FULTON, of Pennsylvania. He was telling someone how he moved toward the door with Congressman JENSEN, of Iowa, following him. BEN got two slugs in the back and dropped.

People in the gallery seemed frozen in their seats. The membership milled about, comparing notes, who was where, and how close each was to a colleague who was hurt, or a bullet that had hit. Congressman BONNER had a close call. Sat right next to Mr. ROBERTS. Congressman BARDEN kept his eyes glued on the killers all the time. There was Congressman HERLONG—and over there was Mr. CANFIELD. Judge RUTH THOMPSON, Congresswoman from Michigan, and Mrs. CHURCH, in her seat, calm, possessed. Everyone was there. Calm. The phone booths were filled.

In came the plainclothesmen. Some cushions were removed. One was slashed open for a sample slug, which had embedded itself in the leather upholstering.

I met Russell Saville, House librarian, told him I had thanked the Almighty for a few more precious moments here on earth, not so much for myself as for a chance to try to do a little more for my wife Marie, and daughter Christine and Isabella who had only recently come through the Iron Curtain from Poland. Alone, the three of them would have had a bit of a go of it. I was thankful to God.

I phoned home. Isabella answered. She had not heard. We spoke Polish. I told her to reassure mother who had gone to fetch Christine at school.

Then John Murphy, my able and outstanding assistant called. All was well. His young son was ill. They were at the doctor's. I spoke to newsmen.

When I arrived at the office Mrs. Sieminski, Christine, and Isabella were there. We embraced. Christine was pale. Came over, sat on the arm of my chair, kissed me and said, "Daddy, I'm glad you're all right."

In the outer office, I gave a statement on the above to crack reporter, Washington representative of the Jersey Journal and the Newark Star Ledger, Tom Buchanan. Then I said good night to Miss Connie.

Our dinner was quiet. News has just come in, all colleagues are alive. BEN is gaining in strength. They will operate in the morning. ALVIN is holding on.

May the lesson of this day, O Lord, grow clearer and clearer.

Our Fourth Area of National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the American merchant marine is the lifeblood of the United States during wartime; it is imperative that we recognize the danger as well as the false economy of allowing our merchant marine to degenerate. On a number of occasions I have called the attention of this body to the vital importance of maintaining a fleet of fast, modern, dependable merchant ships in readiness at all times, and rise to do so again.

The American Legion, at its 35th National Convention at St. Louis, Mo., on September 3, 1953, adopted a merchant marine resolution with which I am in full accord. This resolution recognizes the need of a long-term shipbuilding program to keep the merchant marine equipped and ready for any emergency. I ask that each Member of the House study this resolution with the care and attention it deserves:

Whereas the American people do not realize that the United States is a maritime nation whose economy and very survival depends upon seapower; and

Whereas seapower is the ability to command the seas with the combination of a powerful Navy and a merchant marine, capable of carrying on our trade and commerce throughout the world, and of providing raw materials without which our peacetime economy cannot exist; and

Whereas the United States is no longer a self-sufficient nation but depends on imports of more than 50 strategic raw materials such as iron ore, manganese, petroleum, tin, sisal for both our peacetime needs and defense programs and since these would not be available to us in either peace or war without American flag merchant ships to transport them; and

Whereas the American Legion has long recognized that American merchant shipping is essential to the security and prosperity of the United States; and

Whereas our existing merchant fleet is inadequate because it is composed of many vessels too old and slow to meet the demands of peacetime commerce and requirements of modern war as military auxiliaries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Legion reaffirms its 35-year support of a strong, effective, and modern American merchant marine, privately owned and operated, and urges the Congress of the United States to enact, and the Government to administer, such policies as will—

1. Encourage and assist private enterprise to build and operate a merchant fleet of fast, modern, safe ships to guarantee the essential ocean services of our peacetime trade, and to be immediately available to serve our national security requirements;

2. Base ship operating and building aid on equality of opportunity, and provide incentives for private enterprise not only to equal but to exceed and excel foreign competition;

3. Require that Government-financed cargoes and civilian passengers, whose transportation is paid for by Government, make maximum use of private United States steamship facilities, and that not less than 50 percent of United States foreign-aid cargoes be transported on private United States-flag vessels;

4. Assure that supplies purchased abroad by and for the Government of the United States should be transported on private United States-flag vessels;

5. Correct and remove discriminatory practices of foreign nations against American shipping;

6. Encourage and assist domestic American shipping to reestablish itself as a vital part of our transportation system and our national security;

7. Prevent restrictive provisions in appropriation bills which limit the development of a strong fleet; require that maritime legislation be considered by the appropriate committees of the Congress;

8. Encourage and aid the United States Merchant Marine Academy and the Maine, Massachusetts, California, and New York Maritime Colleges by standardizing allowances at $65 per month per cadet; establish policies that will attract the highest type of young men to these facilities;

9. Assure that action be taken on the Navy's recommendation for specialized merchant vessel types, including heavy-lift ships adapted to the loading of tanks, locomotives, etc.;

10. Assure that Government encourage and assist a program to increase the private financing of ship construction;

11. Guarantee that immediate action be taken to remedy the existing deficiency in defense tanker capacity; and

Whereas the American Legion has adopted and intends to continue a program of direct action for a strong American merchant marine; and

Whereas, in order to implement the broad and extensive information and educational campaign by the American Legion on behalf of a strong American merchant marine for our national security: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the director of the national security commission and the chairman of the merchant marine committee of the American Legion are hereby directed to continue to seek and obtain from all possible sources such information and assistance as will insure the effectiveness of the mandates of this Convention concerning the American Merchant Marine; and to encourage public relations officers of the various departments of the American Legion to arrange meetings and forum discussions on maritime affairs and recommend that the department commanders invite informed speakers on such subjects to appear before their annual department conventions; and, further, that the director and the chairman of the merchant marine committee be, and are hereby authorized to participate in all hearings affecting said program; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Legion at its 35th Annual National Convention, assembled in St. Louis, August 31-September 3, 1953, instructs the national headquarters of the American Legion to prepare and to conduct an extensive informational and educational program about the American merchant marine as our fourth arm of national security.

Citations of Capt. John Philip Cromwell and Comdr. Howard Walter Gilmore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include notice from the Military Order of the World Wars announcing the presentation to the submarine service of citation of Capt. John Philip Cromwell, United States Navy, Medal of Honor, and Comdr. Howard Walter Gilmore, United States Navy, Medal of Honor, for their undaunted devotion to their country's service in World War II. The ceremony took place at the United States Submarine Base, New London, Conn., on Thursday, February 18, at 12 o'clock noon.

Both of these naval heroes were awarded the Congressional Medal of

Honor posthumously for their dauntless devotion to their country's service in World War II. Rear Adm. George Crawford, commander of the submarine force of the Atlantic Fleet, accepted the citation, presented by the Military Order of the World Wars, for the submarine service, announcing that it would be hung in the administration building in Gilmore Hall for all present and future officers of the submarine service to see and feel the inspiration of these two commanders' greatness.

The following are the citations:

CAPT. JOHN PHILIP CROMWELL, UNITED STATES NAVY, MEDAL OF HONOR

From the staff of Admiral Nimitz at Pearl Harbor becoming Wolf Pack Commander in the Marshall-Caroline Islands, Captain Cromwell had information of operations plans priceless to the Japanese, could they capture him. He was embarked in U. S. S. *Sculpin* operating near Truk when, in October 1943, after prolonged attack by a Japanese destroyer, the *Sculpin* was in sinking condition, had to surrender and be abandoned. Survivors taken prisoner reported after the war that Captain Cromwell said, "I don't know how much a man can stand under torture, but I am taking this information where it will be safe." And he rode down in the *Sculpin* in her final dive.

COMDR. HOWARD WALTER GILMORE, UNITED STATES NAVY, MEDAL OF HONOR

Commander Gilmore was in command of U. S. S. *Growler* operating against Japanese evacuation from Guadacanal after having invaded an Aleutian harbor and sunk a Japanese destroyer. Roaming midst the thick of convey and patrol traffic, on February 4, 1943, the *Growler* was depth-bombed; 2 days later, damages repaired, resuming the hunt, she emerged to confront a Japanese gunboat. Too close for torpedoing, the *Growler* rammed the guncoat head-on at 17 knots. Machine-gun fire from the gunboal killed 2 and wounded 3 on the *Growler's* bridge, including Commander Gilmore. Clutching the bridge frame for support, he ordered "Clear the bridge." The officer of the deck and quartermaster went below, and two bleeding lookouts were pulled through the hatch. The captain then ordered "Take her down." Hestation below; the captain was still on the deck. Seconds counted. Then, "Down, I said take her down." A hurricane of fire swept the bridge; Commander Gilmore did not appear; the hatch was closed; and the *Growler* dived. At dawn the gunboat was not in sight, probably sunk. The *Growler*, her bow bent at a right angle, made port, was repaired, and by her commander's self-sacrifice could continue active to the war's end.

Who Is a Communist?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, lately I received a letter from a constituent of mine, Mr. Harry H. Heckel, Wellsville, Ohio. Mr. Heckel says in part:

Here in Wellsville we have about 12 grocery stores and you can buy all the coffee you want. There is no shortage of coffee here, but we do have a shortage of take-home money. The Midland Mill has laid off 350 men just last week. Others get 4 days per week. The State utilities commission has been requested to grant a 50-percent increase in gas rates. Bus fares are now 24 cents and 2 cents transfer.

Mr. Heckel goes on to say:

I am a veteran of World War I. My father was a Civil War veteran. My brother is a Spanish War veteran and World War I veteran. I had an uncle killed in the Civil War. My father was wounded. My oldest brother died of wounds in the First World War. I am a lifelong Democrat, and now after all of my family's sacrifice in defense of this country, a Democrat is branded a pink, a fellow traveler, or a Communist. I am an American from way back, and I am willing to be investigated at any time and any place. I will not use as my defense the fifth amendment whatsoever, and I will defend my country at all times. I resent very much the Republicans calling a Democrat like me a Communist.

Mr. Speaker, I think you can see what reaction the name calling is bringing to the citizens of this country. It seems to me we need to work together instead of being split into warring camps in this time of critical emergency throughout the world. I think the whole Congress can withdraw a lesson from the attitude of Mr. Heckel, who was kind enough to grant me permission to quote part of his remarks.

Korean Chief Urges Local Anti-Red Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks, I am including an editorial appearing in the Ashland Times Gazette which embodies a personal letter from President Syngman Rhee, President of Korea, to a mutual friend, Robert M. Beer, president of the Ashland Printing Co.

President Rhee has often visited Ashland, and he has many friends in that fine city.

I think that Mr. Beer and the Ashland Times Gazette are to be congratulated for being able to get direct statements from Dr. Rhee, which are so important at this particular time.

I respectfully suggest that all Members of Congress to read this editorial:

[From the Ashland Times Gazette of February 26, 1954]

KOREAN CHIEF URGES LOCAL ANTI-RED SOCIETY

Urging that people in communities like Ashland join into an international anti-Communist crusade, by forming anti-Communist societies in their communities, President Syngman Rhee of Korea today wrote Robert M. Beer, president of the Ashland Printing Co., publishers of the Ashland Times-Gazette.

In what is believed to be his first public appeal to people of the United States to join in his international crusade, Rhee outlined five points to Beer for formation of the anti-Communist movement in this country.

Telling Beer that "the spirit of comradeship deeply rooted in the hearts of all liberty-loving men and women" can be combined "in an articulate global movement" that will become a mighty power, Rhee confirmed his previously stated appreciation of Ashland's interest in Korea. He visited here in 1945.

The letter was a follow-up of a cable of six questions sent to Rhee in June, 1953, by Beer and Don E. Beattie, Times-Gazette editor, at the time Rhee was obstructing the peace negotiations prior to the Korean truce.

On June 19, 1953, Rhee answered the questions in a cable to the Times-Gazette, explaining his determination at that time to block any truce which did not give his Government control of both North and South Korea. He later relaxed his objections after a special conference with Assistant Secretary of State Robertson.

Rhee's suggestions to Beer marks an interesting departure from Rhee's usual position. Here he outlines a worldwide program to fight communism by local societies dedicated to educating and reforming pro-Reds.

He says that communism is a "dangerous epidemic—the most contagious disease man has ever known."

The full text of his letter of February 9 follows:

"DEAR MR. BEER: I constantly recall with appreciation the inspiring message you so kindly sent, assuring me of your support for our position on the armistice. When so many prominent free world leaders were condemning us for blocking peace efforts by obstructing the armistice, you and many others like you in America and throughout the world provided us with a great source of strength and cheer.

"Your message and others demonstrated the spirit of comradeship deeply rooted in the hearts of all liberty-loving men and women. If we can combine this universal spirit in an articulate global movement, what a mighty power it will be. Liberty cannot be defeated when liberty-loving people consciously exert themselves to fight for its defense. We hope to start such a movement in the hope that it will develop into an international anti-Communist crusade. A number of East Asian countries and peoples are supporting us, and naturally we want to tell you of our plan in the hope that you, too, may start a similar movement wherever you are. Here are several suggestions:

"1. Organize an anti-Communist society in your locality and accept as members all those who will pledge themselves to keep their homes, communities and Government free of Communist infiltration and indoctrination.

"2. Get in touch with anti-Communist groups and individuals in your own and in other countries, and urge them to start similar societies. Hold regular meetings to discuss plans for making your society more effective in combating communism, and then act on the plans.

"3. Urge each member to devote a certain number of hours each week to recruiting new members and in carrying the fight against communism into other organizations and all segments of the community.

"4. Use every possible channel and means in attempting to rescue and reeducate those who have been deceived by Communist propaganda. Warn those who are ignorant of the Communist peril to stay away from those who have been duped and who are seeking new slaves for the Red totalitarians.

"5. Enlist the assistance of editors and publishers, and those engaged in the radio and television industries. If you develop an active program that makes news, you can depend upon them to spread word of the crusade far and rapidly.

"We should, I believe, deal with communism as we would a contagious disease. It is the most dangerous epidemic man has ever known. The only way to combat it effectively is to isolate and confine it and then

eventually to eradicate it. One of the most important needs is the broadcasting of warnings to our friends and neighbors, far and near.

"Those who have become infected with the Red virus are no longer fellow citizens of yours or mine. They are diseased tools of a worldwide conspiracy and must be exposed and isolated. As you know from your own observations, once they gain control, it is too late.

"We are dealing with a vigilant and insidious enemy thoroughly conversant with arts of infiltration and subversion. More than half the world's population now stands in the Communist camp and the enemy is gaining in America, too. None of us can afford to forget even for a moment that their ultimate objective is to defeat and destroy democratic, imperialistic and capitalistic America. As the Red world revolution proceeds, we must watch carefully for such precursors as riots, strikes, sabotage and guerrilla warfare. These are all part and parcel of a global conspiracy to bring about a single Communist world. Governments alone are helpless against the Communists unless the people provide united and informed support for an unceasing endeavor to expose and render harmless every single person who gives allegiance to the Red cause.

"I, and the many who are trying to help me, will appreciate deeply any suggestions that you may make for the furtherance of this struggle to preserve our liberties, our free institutions; in fact, our very selves. Let us have your ideas and good tidings of your successes in this common task of all freemen. Help us make this crusade the beginning of the end for those who otherwise would destroy us and all we believe in.

"Yours sincerely,

"SYNGMAN RHEE."

Lithuania: A Victim of Soviet Imperialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a resolution adopted by the Lithuanian Americans of my home city of Racine, Wis. This resolution states with great emphasis the fact that Lithuania is today a victim of Soviet imperialism. This gallant little nation will not yield forever to slave conditions imposed by Russia, and it will continue to fight for liberty and justice and respect for individual human rights.

The resolution follows:

FEBRUARY 21, 1954.

Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolution unanimously adopted at the mass meeting of Lithuanian Americans of the city of Racine, Wis., held under auspices of the local branch of the Lithuanian American Council, Inc., on the 21st day of February 1954, to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania:

"Whereas the Republic of Lithuania fell as a victim of imperialistic aggression of Soviet Russia on June 15, 1940; and

"Whereas the incorporation of Lithuania in to the Union of Socialist Republics was completed by ways and means directed from the Kremlin; and

"Whereas the Lithuanian people were and are the subjects of a continuous policy of terror, murder, and mass deportations; and

"Whereas wherever Communists rule no respect for individual human rights exists; and

"Whereas the Communist drive for the world conquest creates a great danger for the free nations; and

"Whereas the principles of liberty, justice, and respect of individual human rights on which the foundation of the United States of America is based are still alive in our hearts; and

"Whereas for these purposes so many great Americans gave up their lives: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That this meeting appeals to the Government of the United States and the Members of Congress never to recognize the occupation of Lithuania as a legal act; and further be it

"*Resolved*, That the true facts about the enslavement of Lithuania and other countries should be brought up before the General Assembly of the United Nations; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That all the possible action should be taken to stop the crime of genocide in all the countries behind the Iron Curtain; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That no treaties or agreements should be made in favor of the Communist bloc until freedom for the occupied countries is restored; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge immediate ratification of the Genocide Convention and stepped up investigation of Communist activities both inland and abroad; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That this meeting express its gratitude to the President, the Secretary of State and the Congress of the United States of America for their favorable attitude toward the Lithuanian nation in its struggle for liberty; and for its creation of a congressional committee to investigate the seizure of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union and for their expanded political and strategical efforts to stop Communist aggression in any place of the world."

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL
BRANCH, RACINE, WIS.,
MARTIN KASPARAITIS, *Chairman.*
STANLEY P. BUDRYS, *Secretary.*

Prudent Housekeeping for Our National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial, printed in the Oregonian, a Portland, Oreg., newspaper, on February 9, 1954, concerning the need for improved conditions in our national parks, monuments, cemeteries, battlefield sites, and parkways:

WHERE TOO MUCH THRIFT IS WASTE

The prudent householder knows that it is economical in the long run to keep his home in repair. If the paint is renewed, the holes patched when needed, costly deterioration is prevented.

The Federal Government is the housekeeper for the grounds and buildings on the more than 22 million acres of 180 national parks, monuments, cemeteries, battlefield sites, and parkways. Each year more than two people per acre scuff over the threshold, some of them scattering paper wrappers over the grounds, polluting the waters, carving their initials on trees and furniture, tossing matches into the woodlands. It is more than the Park Service can do just to hold its own.

Today representatives of the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government and of the public will sit down in Washington to see what can be done about the housekeeping budget. They will be the guests of Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, whose Department includes the National Park Service, and Ralph Thomas, president of the American Automobile Association, whose wheel-borne members are particularly interested in seeing that the Nation's park facilities be saved from deterioration.

"In the last year before the war there were 21 million visitors to the national parks," Mr. Thomas said in sending out bids for the conference, "but by last year that figure had soared to 46 million. We learn, at the same time, with considerable distress, that facilities are far from keeping pace with demand. Trails and roads are in poor condition, outmoded, and unsafe. Conditions at campgrounds jeopardize the sanitation and health of visitors. There appears to be fewer personnel to protect park property."

Mr. Thomas is right about the personnel. Where there were four park attendants in 1945 there are only three now, because appropriations have not kept pace with inflation-swelled costs. In Washington recently, Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service, expressed the fear that Congress may trim several million dollars off the President's modest budget recommendation of $35 million for the parks.

"We cannot, with available funds," said Mr. Wirth, "furnish new facilities or enlarge old facilities to meet the tremendous demand of the greatly increased number of visitors. Existing facilities are going to pieces. Complaints are mounting. Our ability to protect the areas of the park system and the people who use it has diminished to a critical pace. It is now a question of how long it will be before the parks will deteriorate to the point where they no longer serve their purpose, when the public will be in danger, and when use of the parks will have to be limited."

The national parks were born nearly a century ago. President Grant signed a bill setting aside Yellowstone "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." President Taft urged that a bureau be established to administer park areas, and in 1916 the National Park Service was created and directed by Congress "to conserve the scenery, the natural and historic objects and the wildlife" of the parks and "to provide for the public enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Nearly 40 years later it is becoming impossible, on the authority of the chief caretaker himself, to obey this mandate.

Bernard DeVoto, a great friend of the parks, suggested facetiously in a recent edition of Harper's magazine that the parks be closed and the struggle to preserve them on an unrealistic budget be given up. This, of course, is not the solution. The value of the parks is incalculable. It would be grossly wasteful to sacrifice them for the lack of a few million dollars in a budget that totals more than 65,000 millions. The reasonable men who will meet in Washington today should be able to provide a basis for a better understanding of the needs of the national parks.

The United Nations and Atomic Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, after very careful and thoughtful consideration, the Rochester (N. Y.) Association for the United Nations has issued a statement through its policy committee, urging support for President Eisenhower's recent proposal relating to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

This statement deserves wide circulation and, under leave to extend my remarks, follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AND ATOMIC POWER

(A statement by the policy committee of the Rochester Association for the United Nations)

In view of important new developments in the use of atomic energy, the undersigned members of the policy committee of the Rochester Association for the United Nations desire to support President Eisenhower's historic proposal in December before the United Nations to explore the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Attached to this statement is a review of some of the new developments. They include scientific, engineering, and economic factors which require a courageous and constructive reappraisal of our situation.

The principal considerations which lead us to urge persistent effort toward achieving the President's goal follow:

1. Secrecy is not as important a factor as it once was. When our country made the Baruch proposals for supervision of the production of atomic material we were the only nation which had harnessed the atom. Today the situation is vastly different. Russia, Great Britain, France and Canada are now indepently producing fissionable material and it is likely that other nations will be doing so shortly.

Scientific work on nuclear energy is proceeding with little secrecy in a number of countries and in our own a reactor is being built at a State university on an unclassified basis. The cloak of secrecy as far as nuclear fuel is concerned is already being pulled aside.

2. It should be remembered that other nations have even more incentives than we have to develop nuclear power for peaceful purposes. Good sources of power are essential for the economic development of a country. European nations with diminishing coal supplies and growing dependency upon imported oil are urgently searching for a new, practical source of power. In addition a number of the so-called underdeveloped countries are tremendously interested. Technically, nuclear power has an advantage in that a small amount of material performs a great deal of work. Transportation of the source of energy, then, is a much smaller factor in long-term costs.

We point also to the scientific discoveries which have greatly increased the amount of nuclear fuel which can be derived from uranium and to the recent engineering developments which have made fissionable material operate machinery. Practical, commercial use of this fuel does not seem to be far off. Such a result is being so urgently sought by other nations that it is conceivable they may lead the race in finding it.

Commissioner Murray, of the Atomic Energy Commission, has remarked that, alarming as it is for Russia to have the hydrogen bomb, it would be far more alarming if she had developed the power potentialities of nuclear energy and were bargaining her knowledge and material with other countries for their special benefits.

3. We import most of our uranium from abroad. The Belgian Congo and Canada are our principal suppliers. Large new sources of ore have been discovered in Australia. In making arrangements with foreign nations for the importation of ore, it would seem elementary prudence to consider their desire for cooperative action in the use of their supplies.

4. Though President Eisenhower couched his proposal in very general terms, presumably it would be effected by an international group of scientists working in laboratories to which we furnished a small amount of fissionable material. Evidently the project could be started on so small a scale that no great commitment or dangers would immediately ensue. There would be opportunity to assess the project as it developed.

5. The President's proposal provides a new approach to a problem upon which Russia and ourselves have long been at an impasse. In suggesting that the peaceful use of atomic energy be explored under the aegis of the United Nations, the President opened up a new line of action which skirts the problem of atomic disarmament. This raises the question of how separable are the two problems and how much do we stand to lose should the Russians accede to a United Nations project.

We are told that the use of fissionable material can be divided into two parts. The first is the production of fuel which can be used as a source of power, either for peaceful purposes or otherwise. The technology in using the fuel to operate machinery does not raise strategic questions but it is quite possible new and better ways of making the fuel from the ore would be discovered and this would be known to the Russians, should they participate in an international project. The second step, from a military point of view, is the method by which the fuel is packaged as a weapon of war. This information would not be available to an international agency.

The area of risk, therefore, lies in promoting the international knowledge of how to produce fuel. This risk has to be balanced against all of the other considerations which we have listed.

6. The exploration of peaceful uses of atomic energy may provide a way of penetrating the wall of difference which lies between ourselves and the U. S. S. R. It is advisable, we believe, to make efforts in this direction as best we can. There is always the possibility that differing conditions inside Russia may make them succeed.

But should the U. S. S. R. refuse to collaborate, we believe that the President's proposal should still be explored by the United Nations. The project is too important and too necessary to be subject to a Russian veto.

7. The advantage of our action through the United Nations can hardly be overestimated. It demonstrates our interest in collective effort toward making a stable world. It removes from us the charge of imperialistic diplomacy or exclusive preoccupation with the cold war. It reassures the so-called uncommitted countries who understandably prefer to deal with an international agency. It is a visable and dramatic sign of our constructive approach to world problems at a time when we need to persuade others that this is our goal.

Large and powerful as we are, we need friends and advocates among the nations of the world in the global problems which press upon us. Implementation of the President's proposal would provide striking evidence of our positive and responsible leadership.

Mrs. Marian Allyn, Mrs. Raymond N. Ball, William E. Diez, Sol M. Linowitz, Julius Loos, Mrs. Susanna H. Marvel, John H. Millett, Justin Wroe Nixon, Edward M. Ogden, Joseph B. Platt, O. Cedric Rowntree, Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Mrs. Andrew Wolfe, Mrs. Alice Wood Wynd.

FEBRUARY 28, 1954.

Ford Millions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to an editorial that recently appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune, and which I believe contains information that will be of interest to the citizens of our Nation.

In order that this editorial may be made available to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I extend my personal remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include the editorial appearing in the Chicago Tribune under date of February 25, entitled "Twenty-five More Ford Millions for Education":

TWENTY-FIVE MORE FORD MILLIONS FOR EDUCATION

The Ford Foundation has just turned over another $25 million to its subsidiary, the Fund for the Advancement of Education. In the 3 years since the foundation was established, the fund has received a total of more than $55 million.

It is difficult to see how one of the purposes for which all this money is to be spent can be promoted with money. We refer to "clarification of the functions of education." That is a job which requires a great deal of thought and no money at all. Pretty nearly everybody in or out of the education business who has anything to contribute to the subject is at work on it, without subsidy, and that has generally been so, generation after generation, across the centuries. Only the naive or the purse-proud would expect that the answer could be bought.

The Ford educationists wish to buy what is not for sale and then, as if to pile paradox on paradox, refuse to use any of their money for some important educational adjuncts which can be had only for money. Thus a spokesman for the fund announced loftily that none of the money was going into endowments, building programs, or operating expenses. The slogan for the fund might almost be, "Millions for an abstraction called education, but not 1 cent for schools."

The managers of the fund can say in reply that they do give money to schools but it is to be noted that the fund's managers don't go about it the simple way. That is, they don't give money, without strings, to institutions whose records over the years clearly prove that they will make good use of it. Instead, the Ford bureaucracy baits the schools and colleges into experiments that, to the men and women who will conduct them, often appear to be a second best and sometimes a tenth best way to use the money for the advancement of education.

The fund managers profess to be concerned about improving the curriculum and the quality of teaching. If they were intellec-

tually modest men, these bureaucrats would realize that their concern with these matters is no greater than that of every competent school principal, college president, and dean in the land. Able school administrators don't need to turn to the Ford Foundation for ideas. What most of the privately supported schools and colleges, including the best of them, need desperately is money to work out their own ideas.

What has been said here of the Ford fund applies to a greater or less extent to some other foundations. We may hope that the good sense of the trustees of the fund newly established under the will of Anita Blaine will keep them from repeating the same mistakes.

J. Edgar Hoover: 30 Years As Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. CARROLL REECE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on May 10, 1954, J. Edgar Hoover will have completed 30 years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and today I am introducing in the House a joint resolution authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be struck a gold medal for presentation to this distinguished American and public servant.

"It is altogether fitting and proper," to quote the words of the immortal Lincoln, that we single out and honor this fine, patriotic American, who for 30 years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has so ably devoted himself solely to the interests of the Government.

J. Edgar Hoover is a man who is not only incorruptible, of high character and integrity, but he has stayed on in this office and continued to devote himself to the public service despite tempting offers of hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly for his services in private industry.

He has served this Nation under seven Presidents, and built the FBI, from a few agents, appointed largely on a political basis, without automobiles, without authority to carry firearms, without jurisdiction over kidnaping, bank robbery, or subversive activities, and with no laboratory or fingerprint system or teletype machines, into an organization of thousands of well-trained agents, detecting and waging war on crime, corruption, and communism.

Our entire citizenry has a high admiration and respect for J. Edgar Hoover because of his devotion to the cause of America, and in introducing this resolution, and in what I may say, I feel that I am expressing the wishes of the Nation in pointing out our indebtedness to him for the distinguished public record he has achieved in organizing and firmly establishing as an agency of the executive branch of the Government the Federal Bureau of Investigation, about which there has never been a breath of scandal, as it has quietly gone about rendering efficient public service.

The FBI is universally regarded as the most efficient organization of its kind anywhere in the world and we cannot think of the FBI without thinking of J. Edgar Hoover and the able staff of assistants which he has built up and trained. He has the complete confidence of the American people, and I think the time has come, upon the completion of his 30 years of service as director, that we show our gratitude in an official manner to such an outstanding and honorable public servant.

This act of recognition will be an inspiration to the young people of America.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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Appendix

They Say

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, our Chaplain, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, has written an excellent and most timely article, They Say, which appeared in the Washington Star on February 21, 1954.

I invite the attention of the Members of the Senate to the article and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEY SAY

(By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, minister, Foundry Methodist Church; Chaplain, United States Senate)

"They say that necklines are to be somewhat lower, skirts a trifle longer and considerably fuller." This edict was announced some time ago in an American magazine by the fashion dictators in Paris. The slavish haste to comply with the "they say" decrees as to what one must wear, see, hear, read, and eat puts obedience to the Ten Commandments in the shade.

In our contemporary life the advertising juggernaut, often with methods crude and rude, enforces standardization. There are almost irresistible pressures to stereotype popular responses. A keen observer of the mid-20th century scene does not exaggerate when he says: "The uniformity extends not only to dress and manners, but to speech and thought. Indeed, speech and thought are so conditioned as to be for millions practically automatic. Individuality of expression and independence of judgment are in danger of being lost arts." In the religious, political, and educational realms, leaders who are above or ahead of the crowd are constantly in danger of being liquidated unless they bend and bow to the great god conformity. It was that brand of tyranny that Robert Louis Stevenson had in mind when he remarked: "To do anything because others do it, and not because the thing is good or kind, or honest in its own right, is to resign all moral control and captaincy upon oneself and go post haste to the devil with the greater number."

The arrogant dictators who hide behind the facade of "they say" have residences other than the turreted towers of the Red Kremlin. But there is another and a very vital thing to be said about these two mighty monosyllables, "they say." They form a mammoth cave of echoes which often have sinister consequences. The "they" in the "say" at first may be the murmur of but one pair of lips. But the whisper grows to thunder as what is said is amplified and multiplied until, at last, sweeping on in momentum, it is shouted everywhere. When one, perhaps innocently, assumes the role of a bearer to others of what "they say" no credentials need be presented, no identification of the "they" need be attempted. The unnamed "they," whose assertions may have power to devastate the reputation of the one involved, remain safely anonymous. "They say" and, lo, the guided missile is on its way to the unsuspecting target.

Over the gateway of University College in Aberdeen are these words: "They say. What do they say? Let them say." Admirable sentiments these to be gazed at day by day by college students. That inscription carved over an academic archway constantly suggests to youth facing the verified verdicts of the centures that the rumors and gossip wrapped up in the "They say" of today are like the grass that withereth. "They say. Let them say" is a phrase freighted with scorn for malicious whisperings over the back fences of irresponsible gossip. "They say" is the most vicious anonymous slanderer which preys upon the sons and the daughters of men. Its stock in trade often is half-truths, utter falsehoods, and twisted interpretations and insinuations. Frequently these two words hide fangs as deadly as those of a viper, as devastating as the poisoned pen of a character assassin. Once uttered, it is given credence and passed on its blighting way by other lips not too reluctant, who ascribe as the source of their information none other than "They say."

"They say" is the symbol of a mock trial where the accused has no recourse to representation or jury. Here the accuser deals in charges, and not in evidence. He has to prove nothing. His protection is simply to point to this nameless source of sensational information, the familiar "They say" which may be the epitaph of another's reputation. The formula is quite simple: "Have you heard about So-and-So? They say—" It may be—

"Only a faint suggestion,
Only a doubtful hint,
Only a leading question
With a special tone or tint;
Only a low 'I wonder'—
Nothing unfair at all,
But the whisper grows to thunder
And a scathing bolt may fall."

Yes; you may slay with "They say." Those barbed words have slain their thousands. History fairly shouts that. Looking over a lifetime spent dealing intimately with his fellows, Dr. Henry Van Dyke said: "How easily we pick up the juicy morsel of gossip—quite careless of any investigation of its origin. We shake our heads sadly and pass it along, adding a quaint little twist of our own lest it lose anything in the telling." Yes; we pass on what "They say," with a lifted eyebrow, a significant smirk, and somebody's name permanently is tarnished.

"Do you know what they are saying about your preaching," asked a painfully orthodox lady of that prince of preachers, Frederick Robertson, who in matters of belief was a nonconformist. "I don't care what they say," replied the great prophet pulpiteer. The irate sister then demanded: "Do you know where 'don't care' brought a man?" "Yes," instantly replied Robertson, "to a cross." The ecclesiastical racketeers of the day saw to it that the air was filled with the damning "They say" about Jesus. "They say He was a devil. They say He blasphemes against our church and our religion. They say He stirreth up the people. They say He consorts with the riffraff, with publicans and sinners."

A famous student of the life of Jesus comments that "They say" contains the most precious bit of slander that ever slipped from slimy lips. Why? Because that very accusation shows the kind of a person that the Master really was. He refused to allow any fences of false pride to separate Him from those to whom His great heart went out in brotherly understanding. Those two beams of crossed wood at the place of Calvary tell the story of what "They say" did to Jesus. All the nails that spite hammered into His quivering flesh, as hate hung man's Best Man to that shameful cross, were stored in the false witness of "They say."

Revision of United Nations Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have previously referred on the Senate floor to a most memorable hearing over which it was my privilege to preside in Akron, Ohio, on Lincoln's birthday, on the subject of revision of the United Nations Charter.

I was delighted, therefore, to note in the February 22 issue of the Trainmen News as published in Cleveland, Ohio, official publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, a most interesting and gracious account of our hearing that day. I send to the desk the text of the article.

I append to it the text of an editorial from that issue which was published, appropriately enough, on Washington's birthday.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of these two items, as forwarded to me by the editor of the Trainmen News, Mr. B. A. Whitney, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROBLEMS OF U. N. CHARTER AIRED AT IMPRESSIVE AKRON MEETING

AKRON, OHIO.—On Lincoln's birthday this community experienced a realistic application of Lincoln's ideal of "government of the people, for the people, and by the people." For the first time in American history a United States Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee went out into the hinterlands and held formal Senate hearings to obtain the views of the American people. Additional hearings in other parts of the Nation are planned.

These hearings were conducted by Senator ALEXANDER F. WILEY, Republican, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, a member of that committee. Senator WILEY is also chairman of a special Senate committee of

8 Senators (4 Republicans and 4 Democrats) to study and report back to the Senate on problems of United Nations Charter review, the subject of the Akron hearings. The U. N. Charter provides for a revision in 1955.

Notices were carried to the people in Akron newspapers and by other methods of mass communication that if they wished to testify before the Senate subcommittee, they need only make their wishes known. As is the case in testifying before all congressional committees, copies of the written testimony were requested to be submitted in advance. One witness who complained, although he had done nothing to request time before the committee, was given opportunity to testify, and did so. Senator WILEY's anxious desire to be fair to all was apparent to everyone. In the advance announcement of the hearings WILEY said:

"We want to hear from the ordinary citizen who strives in all humbleness to find the answer which we are seeking—a better way to preserve and strengthen our country, and to establish a world at peace."

The Akron hearings should be an inspiration to every devoted American. Sixteen witnesses appeared before the committee. They represented churches, business and industry, labor, schools, and various professions. College professors and college students, library clerks, and substitute teachers, corporation officials and labor union officials all made their appearances.

Both Senators and audience received genuine satisfaction from several witnesses who began their testimony:

"Now, I don't represent anyone but myself."

It might be added that those witnesses gave some of the best testimony. The Senators must have found it a refreshing experience to depart from the lobbyists of the "interests" in Washington, to commune with the "lobbyists" of the individual "grass roots" people.

FOREIGN POLICY MADE INTERESTING

Normally one would not consider the subject of foreign policy of general interest and appeal, but the 100 or so people who attended both afternoon and evening sessions of the Akron Senate hearings were genuinely interested and happily entertained. With few exceptions, there was no name-calling—just two earnest and sincere Senators, a Republican and a Democrat, listening to many equally earnest and sincere fellow citizens, all with a determination to make a better world wherein man's hopes and deepest desires for peace and progress might be guarded by international governmental machinery.

Senator WILEY's rich sense of humor, never allowing the hearings to become boring; Senator MANSFIELD's generous commendation of each witness for his contribution; nervous, quaking witnesses, making their first appearances before a Senate committee, witnesses whose love of truth, and determination to search for it, gave them the strength and poise that produced effective testimony; all this made a dramatic portrayal of free, democratic America at her best.

May there be many more such portrayals!

U. N. OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED

Of the 16 witnesses who appeared before the committee, only three opposed the U. N., and one of them admitted the U. N. had already accomplished much good. The hearings effectively demonstrated that the American people are determined to live in peace with their fellow citizens of the world; that they are conscious of the lessons of 4,000 years of recorded history, namely, that military force will not keep the peace; that universal enforceable disarmament in this atomic age is desperately necessary to the very existence of the human race; that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is right when he insists that a system of world law must precede world disarmament. As a witness before the committee, Joseph G. Miller, Akron attorney, stated it:

"The heavy burden imposed on the American people to pay for past, present, and future wars cannot be reduced until a foolproof system of disarmament under the United Nations can be evolved. Certainly, the United States should not disarm unilaterally. Disarmament can only be achieved effectively through a foolproof system of inspection and policing by the United Nations."

ALL AGREE: STRENGTHEN U. N.

To this end, both Senators and witnesses were agreed that the U. N. should be revised to give it the strength to accomplish the high purposes for which it was instituted. Said Senator MANSFIELD:

"The United Nations has been required to assume responsibilities that were not present at the time it was established. Before these responsibilities it has been like a babe in swaddling clothes."

Witness Miller testified:

"I think that the men who drafted the present charter were wise in providing for the question of a Charter Review Conference to appear on the agenda automatically at the end of 10 years. It would seem that ordinary prudence would dictate that the question of the workability of the charter be reviewed at a later date in light of new developments.

"Even our own Federal constitution has been amended over 20 times, and our Constitution has been referred to as man's best example of a good 'basic document.' So, we should accept the necessity of 'review' as being part of the normal process of civilization's development."

UNIVERSALITY FAVORED

Contrary to the isolationist name-calling and the nervous tensions that prevail in Washington and among politicians, witnesses in the Akron hearings seemed to be living nearer to basic American concepts and therefore feeling a greater courage and urge to express them. Chester G. Wise, an attorney speaking for the Akron Bar Association, recognizing the simple truth that government is needed mostly because of criminals and aggressors, rather than just for good people, demanded that Russia be kept in the U. N.

"Keep her in so we can watch her," said Wise. "If she's out, there's no telling where she'll ramble."

U. N. IS A PROTECTION

A refreshing contrast to the raucous, isolationist, fear-hate-suspicion-breeding cry of "Get the U. S. out of the U. N. and the U. N. out of the U. S.," was a dominant impression of the Akron hearings. There was a distinct feeling that a strengthened U. N. is needed to protect humanity. It was well voiced by Witness Thomas G. MacGowan, director of marketing research, Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., and a representative of Akron chapter of United World Federalists, Inc. Said MacGowan:

"I believe you will discover that the people at the grassroots know more about the need for the United Nations, about its workings and about its strong and weak points than we are sometimes given credit for knowing. In recent years there have been growing efforts in this country not only to discredit the United Nations but to suggest that the American people are opposed to it and wish our country to withdraw from it. I feel sure that as this subcommittee visits communities throughout the country it will learn that the people everywhere support the United Nations strongly, want it to survive, and want it to move forward.

* * * * *

"I believe that the people at the grassroots in this country feel as I do, that the United Nations can reach the point where it will provide a solid assurance of continuing peace under a system of world law and order."

BRT PIONEERS

This feeling for the need of a strengthened U. N., and for adequate government at the international level has long prevailed among members and representatives of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The BRT was represented by its then national legislative representative, Martin H. Miller, at the original international conference at which the United Nations was born, held in San Francisco, April-May-June 1945. At its 1950 quadrennial convention, BRT delegates from almost every community in Canada and the United States adopted two resolutions urging the strengthening of the United Nations into a limited world government with powers strictly limited to prevention of war and maintenance of peace. Its resolutions urged effective cooperation with all like-minded groups.

SURPRISED AND PLEASED

At the conclusion of the hearings, both Senators WILEY and MANSFIELD expressed enthusiasm over the successful hearings. WILEY generously thanked Akron community for its enthusiastic and intelligent response. "You can't pass the buck to Washington," said WILEY. "One hundred and sixty million American people have an interest in and responsibility for foreign policy. That is why we are going out into the hinterlands, asking for your guidance and direction."

Said Senator MANSFIELD: "I am frankly surprised and inspired at the many stimulating nad helpful ideas and opinions we have received from the people of Akron."

PEOPLE WILL BRING PEACE

As one witnessed this first experience of a Senate Foreign Relations Committee holding hearings out among the people, his thoughts reflected over 4,000 years of recorded human history, during which there have been only about 268 years of complete peace. Maybe if the people's voice, rather than the exclusive voices of diplomats, admirals, and generals, becomes stronger in the determination of the foreign policies of nations, peace rather than war will be the norm of human living.

GOVERNMENT, A HATE WORD?

With great vehemence and emotions, isolationists have bandied the term "super world government." As a result some very well-meaning people are becoming jittery over the word "government" when used in connection with foreign policy. It will be a sorry day for civilization and for the hope of a peaceful, stable society if government ever becomes a hate word.

We once heard a Federal judge emphatically protest assertions that there is no world law—he insisted treaties are world law. Secretary of State Dulles has said that a system of world law must precede world disarmament. The concept of law without government or government without law is an absurdity. Many well-meaning people say they favor enforceable world disarmament, world inspection, and a world police force, but quickly, if not fearsomely, explain they do not favor world government.

What do they mean? If they mean a super world government of tyranny, without the vital protections of individual rights that have made the Magna Carta and the American Bill of Rights deathless instruments of government, and we do not apologize for use of that word, then we are as opposed to that concept of government as Senator JOHN BRICKER is. But if they mean to impose disarmament, inspection, and a police force without democratic government that derives its authority from consent of the governed, then they either do not understand their own proposals or, to appease name callers, they thoughtlessly advocate international vigilantism or interna-

tional anarchy. As is so often true, name callers and their appeasers are more un-American than those they would discredit.

By definition, anarchy is absence of law and government. Is that what some good friends of the United Nations, of world peace and order, stand for? We urged them to reappraise their glib assertions that they do not believe in "government" in the affairs of men at international level. They may discover that isolationist propaganda hate words have persuaded them far more than they had realized.

High-sounding words must not prejudice or deceive us * * *. The sovereignty that has made America great and free is the individual's sovereign rights under the Bill of Rights, the exercise of which on the part of any one individual enlarges, rather than diminishes, the sovereign rights of all other individuals. So it is at the international level—nations do not surrender, or even diminish, their sovereignty by exercising it. In the false isolationist concept, a nation "gives up some sovereignty" each time it enters into a treaty.

Akron city police stood guard over Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings in Akron, Ohio. Behind those police was the force and authority of the governments of the City of Akron, the sovereign State of Ohio and of the sovereign government of the United States of America. Those policemen might even have been "foreigners" from Indiana or Iowa. In fact, those Federal hearings in Ohio were in charge of "foreigners" from Wisconsin and Montana. The hearing room was filled with Ohioans, none of whom had the least fear that Ohio's sovereignty was being even slightly diminished. Yet, at the time of formation of the Federal Union, many American colonists were cocksure that loss of state sovereignty would inevitably result from federation.

The sovereignty of every American, of every State of the Federal Union, of the Federal Union, itself, has been strengthened becaused our forefathers had the foresight, courage, and intelligence to resist the isolationists of their time. As the American colonists exercised and pooled their sovereignty to enlarge their sovereign rights to live in freedom, peace, and progress, so can modern nation-states guarantee like new freedoms, peace, progress, and greater sovereignty for all.

In the opportunity to blow the human race into eternity with cobalt bombs, there can be no sovereignty that decent men could want; there must be no sovereign power among indecent men that might enable them to commit this atrocity upon the human race. Before anyone differs with this, let him ponder Senator STUART SYMINGTON'S amazing statement—if the destructive power carried by one World War II airplane was represented by a block 4 inches high, then it would require a block 63 miles high to represent the destructive power one airplane can carry today.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I was extremely interested to read in the Saturday, February 27 isue of the Milwaukee Journal an editorial praising the contributions and leadership of our distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] in seeking to preserve the treatymaking power of the President.

I quote one portion of the editorial:

Wisconsin has cause to be proud of the vision, political courage, and doggedness of its senior Senator, ALEXANDER WILEY, on this issue. * * * He did probably as much as any one man to bring about the final and complete rejection of the Bricker plan with its backward looking and inevitably isolationist effects.

I believe that the editorial will be of the greatest interest to the Senate, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONSTITUTION IS UPHELD AGAINST TAMPERING BY THE BRICKERITES

The failure of any amendment of the treaty power to win two-thirds Senate approval will come in time, we believe, to be fully recognized as the right and wise outcome of the Brickerite agitation.

What the month-long debate had boiled down to on Friday night, the substitute proposal by Senator GEORGE, Democrat, of Georgia, had the minor virtue of avoiding the radical overturn of present treaty provisions that the original Bricker plan would have inflicted. Mainly it would just have required an act of Congress on the rare occasions when an international agreement (other than a treaty) needs to apply as domestic law—something Congress and the President can work out by themselves.

By the same token, the George amendment was empty of anything substantial that actually needs changing in the Constitution. The 60 Senators who voted for it, or most of them, were merely clinging to an idea that some amendment was better than none. Even Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican floor leader, was so taken with that idea, that at the last minute he went back on his Chief, President Eisenhower, who had opposed GEORGE'S plan as well as BRICKER'S.

But the 31 Senators who stood firm for no amendment were exactly enough under the two-thirds rule. Unless there should be a successful move to reconsider the vote, that's it, at least for this Congress. The most significant vote, however, was not the 60–31 count on the George amendment, but Thursday's 52–42 majority against a clause that BRICKER himself had labeled as the real test of his ideas.

Wisconsin has cause to be proud of the vision, political courage, and doggedness of its senior Senator, ALEXANDER WILEY, on this issue. Although cruelly mistreated for it by leaders of his party organization back home, he did probably as much as any one man to bring about the final and complete rejection of the Bricker plan with its backward looking and inevitably isolationist effects.

That may be said even after the President's great influence was brought to bear this year. For WILEY took the lead against the Brickerites a year ago, before Eisenhower had grasped the danger and while his advisers were bumbling over the mere intra-party implications of the struggle.

It was WILEY who led in fighting the issue to a standstill last summer, when the Brickerite tide was at flood. By the time Congress reconvened this year, a lot of sober second thinking had been done, and so the threat to make this great sovereign Nation incapable of acting effectively abroad by the tested processes of 167 years was averted.

The George amendment is not worth reviving. It would merely add surplusage to the Constitution, now so great a document, among other reasons, for its lack of such clutter. Nonessential provisions in a constitution can cause no end of trouble when the courts try to figure out why they were put in.

A nation does not wisely tinker with its constitution for piddling reasons. And the reasons behind this movement, even the George compromise, were piddling—partisan pique at past Presidents, fear of the modern world and our national role in it, timid mistrust of ourselves, our Presidents, Senates, Congresses, and courts, to handle our affairs with care and legality.

Let's now skip all that and move on to meet the challenges of our real troubles. Congress has plenty of work to do.

Address by Very Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins Before Conference on United States Responsibility for World Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, on Sunday last, I was privileged to hear a most thought-provoking and inspiring address delivered to the Conference on United States Responsibility for World Leadership by that distinguished churchman so many of us know, the Very Reverend Monsignor George C. Higgins.

Monsignor Higgins took as his theme a subject which is occasioning much soul-searching among Americans today—the relationship of this Nation to the United Nations.

To those troubled in their minds by this many-faceted and most complex problem, Monsignor Higgins' closely-reasoned and illuminating address comes as a most welcome, doubt-dissolving appeal to both reason and faith.

He sets forth most cogently, the realistic basis for support of the U. N.

His temperate and reasoned analysis of the motivations of those good Americans who are tempted to decry the U. N. as an instrumentality of world peace comes as a needed lesson to those on either side of the dispute.

His explanation of the impossibility of expecting moral law to rule throughout this world of ours in the absence of an adequately powered international organization is a compelling one.

His analysis of the difference between the internationalism of the Communist—based on the desire to create limitless class war—and the internationalism of the true Christian based on the recognition of all men as brothers bound together in one communion before God and yet distinct from one another in a mutually enlightening diversity of custom and culture, penetrates to the core of the one problem which I believe is most disturbing to the patriotic citizen of today.

His conclusion, with its recital of the impassioned prayer for peace of His Holiness Pope Pius XII, is conclusive.

Mr. President, because Monsignor Higgins' address represents so important

a contribution to the solution of so grave a problem which confronts so many of our colleagues, I ask unanimous consent that it be set forth in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Theologians, like metaphysicians," an English friar observes in a recent treatise on political philosophy, "are particularly susceptible to the attractions of what has been called the linotype school of history. They can easily be found to argue, like a Cobdenite or a Marxist, that if certain ideas are applied then they are bound to produce certain results. If all men served justice there would be no social problems—if free trade were adopted the world would be economically balanced and stable—both arguments impose a hypothesis after much the same fashion." This method, he continues, is legitimate but only within limits.

It would be fair to say, I think, that these limits have long since been exceeded by some of the more vocal critics of the United Nations or, more precisely, by those particular critics of the United Nations who seem to argue from the hidden premise that international order can be established and international peace maintained as a sort of automatic byproduct of individual moral reform or by the automatic application, in an institutional vacuum, of abstract principles of morality, or, to put it another way, which comes to substantially the same thing, by the ideal implementation of disembodied moral principles in an ideal world organization. Few of these critics are theologians or metaphysicians properly so-called. On the contrary, the record will show that professional theologians and metaphysicians or at least the official religious organizations of the United States have been eminently realistic in their appraisal of the United Nations and in many instances have publicly endorsed it, not indeed as a perfect organization, but at least as a step, a very important step, in the right direction.

Official religious pronouncements to the contrary notwithstanding, however, many thousands of religious-minded men and women in the United States give the appearance at the present time of being extremely cynical about the United Nations. Assuming, as I think we must, that the majority of these people, the professional demagogs excluded, are men and women of reasonably good will, acting upon reasonably worthy motives, we would do more harm than good, in my opinion, if we were to try to shame them out of their cynicism and their attitude of defeatism by the lazy rhetorical device of branding all of them indiscriminately as benighted or reactionary isolationists. It might be added, by way of a parenthesis which could easily be expanded into a full-length treatise by a competent theologian, that arguments or slogans derived from the philosophy of secularism are also calculated to do more harm than good to the cause of the United Nations. Nineteenth century rationalism helped to create many of the problems of the 20th century, but it can hardly be depended upon to solve them. Logical positivism is unequal to the almost superhuman task of driving out the devil which made its appearance in a fiery cloud of smoke over Hiroshima and Nagasaki almost 10 years ago.

What is needed at the present time is a patient attempt to exercise the evil and enervating spirit of cynicism and defeatism in the field of international relations, not by belittling the importance of religion and the moral law, but by demonstrating to the best of our collective ability, the practical impossibility of ever adequately implementing the principles of the moral law at the international level without benefit of an international organization with adequate legislative, executive, and juridical powers. This will involve the added and more subtle task of demonstrating that patience is a virtue even in the natural order, that the best is often the enemy of the good, or, to put it another way, that half a loaf is better than no bread at all. It will also involve a sincere effort on the part of all so-called internationalists to make the necessary distinctions between good and bad internationalism and a sincere effort on their part to understand why it is that so many good people are instinctively suspicious of any kind of internationalism. In this connection it may be helpful to quote a couple of paragraphs from the Code of International Ethics compiled by the International Union of Social Studies:

"The fervent support given by Socialists and Communists to internationalism has greatly helped to discredit both the term and the reality in Catholic circles and not altogether without reason, since internationalism thus patronized implies the suppression of frontiers, the abolition of nationalities, making the world a vast battleground in which a merciless class war will replace national antagonisms. This idea has been a useful instrument of Marxist propaganda, but it is utterly chimerical, since it ignores the natural law of differentiation which will ever continue to endow each nation with special characteristics.

"There is another internationalism which we would rather call—if usage allowed—universalism, so as to emphasize the sense in which it complements the particularism of nations.

"This type of internationalism does not disdain the very diverse cultural values which distinguish the various national groups and form their heritage. It respects them fully, for it knows their worth. But it goes beyond these contingent aspects of human life to discover and retain as a higher reality that identity of nature which makes all human beings to be members of one family, and all nations the constituent parts of a much vaster, supranational, universal society."

This is neither the time nor the place to embark upon the difficult assignment of convincing the cynics that they are wrong about the U. N. All that we can hope to do in the limited time available is to suggest a few tentative approaches to the subject, with the emphasis on the spiritual, but with no intention of blurring the distinction between the natural law on the one hand and revealed religion on the other.

As a convenient point of departure, I would open the discussion, from the point of view of Catholic theology, with a pertinent quotation from a posthumous treatise by a brilliant young Jesuit who was executed in France by the Gestapo during World War II, Father Yves de Montcheuil, S. J.:

"The Christian receives from his Christianity an ideal of universal communion between men, for the communion of each man with God implies the communion of all men in God. God cannot, so to speak, be possessed by each individual for himself, but only in common. The ideal is realizable only in the hereafter, both in its intimacy and in its extension. But it should begin to take form here below; its beginning has a value, not only as a means to a future realization, but as a preliminary rough draft thereof. * * *

"The communion between human beings, a very imperfect good but a very real one, cannot simply be postponed for the beyond. Anyone who desires it (and could one be a Christian without doing so passionately?), will seek to bring it about without delay and will always wish to increase and deepen it. Such an endeavor not only presupposes an effort toward individual understanding, but also the creation of objective conditions which facilitate it. Every factor of hate or discord which divides, which opposes mutual understanding and love, will unceasingly be opposed by the Christian. Everything which may aid in bringing minds and hearts together will be abetted. Therein lies the basis for an untiring activity in the political, economic, and social domain which is carried on in this life and which applies directly to the temporal order."

The application of this very pregnant summary of the Christian law of human brotherhood to the field of international relations is, I think, patently, if not transparently, obvious. Father de Montcheuil refers to the necessity of creating whatever objective conditions are necessary to facilitate the application of the universal law of charity. Paramount among these objective conditions is an international organization charged with the responsibility and endowed with sufficient power, coercive power if necessary, to maintain order and peace in the world community of nations and to give flesh and blood to what would otherwise be vague and ineffective sentiments of human brotherhood.

If it be said by way of rejoinder that the United Nations as presently constituted is not such an organization, those of us who believe in the U. N. would be well advised, in my opinion, to concede the point as gracefully as possible without rancor or embarrassment. We can then go on to remind the critics of the U. N., in the name of political prudence, that the present United Nations, with all its admitted imperfections, is better than nothing and is certainly capable of being perfected as time goes on.

This is the realistic attitude taken by the bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States. They are realists in the best sense of the word—not susceptible to the attractions of the so-called linotype school of history. They are the official guardians and interpreters of the moral law within their jurisdiction, but they do not believe that abstract disembodied moral principles will automatically or inevitably produce results if applied in a vacuum. They recognize the necessity of institutional reform side by side with individual moral reform, and they are sufficiently patient to bear manfully with the fact that institutional reform, in the nature of things, is almost inevitably a discouragingly slow process.

A recent commentator, Father Thomas Gilby, of the English Dominicans, has said of St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholastic philosophers, that "He was a moralist, not a moralizer. As his theology did not extinguish, but protected, profane value, and as his metaphysics acted like an unbrella under which the special sciences could shelter, so his moral science, while postulating the principles, did not dictate the procedure of politics." The same thing, it seems to me, can rightfully be said, mutatis mutandis, about the American bishops with reference to the position they have taken on the subject of world organization. They are moralists, not moralizers. A moralizer is quickly disillusioned and easily tempted to throw the baby out with the bath. The bishops, on the other hand, following the realistic lead of the Holy See, recognize the importance of changing the water, but they are prudently concerned lest the baby—in this case the United Nations—be abandoned in the process. They have refrained, in Father Gilby's terminology, from attempting to dictate the procedure of politics. They have postulated certain moral principles designed to improve and strengthen the United Nations, but they recognize full well that politics, especially in the virgin territory of international relations, is the art of the possible and that statesmanship, as Father Gilby puts it, "cannot be treated as a mere prolongation of ethics, for it is a quasi-independent art, working in its own proper medium. * * *"

The position of the bishops with regard to the United Nations has been publicly

stated several times but never more clearly than it was in their official statement of November 18, 1945, 6 months after the completion of the U. N. Charter:

"Our peace program envisages a world organization of nations. The charter which emerged from the San Francisco Conference, while undoubtedly an improvement on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, does not provide for a sound institutional organization of the international society. The Security Council provisions make it no more than a virtual alliance of the great powers for the maintenance of peace. These nations are given a status above the law. Nevertheless our country acted wisely in deciding to participate in this world organization. It is better than world chaos. From the provision in the charter for calling a constituent assembly in the future, there comes the hope that in time the defects may be eliminated and we may have a sound institutional organization of the international community, which will develop not through mere voluntary concessions of the nations, but from the recognition of the rights and duties of the international society."

Charter revision, as recommended by the bishops in the above statement and as recommended by most of the organizations represented at this conference, is the intelligent via media between utopianism on the one hand and cynicism or defeatism on the other. Father John LaFarge, S. J., associate editor of America, sees it as a challenge to all intelligent and God-fearing citizens of the United States. "I know of no more challenging opportunity, before it is too late," he says in his recently published autobiograph, "for all those who like myself see the need of an adequately juridic and morally based world organization, than to take an active part in the present worldwide deliberations for the proposed revision of the United Nations Charter in 1955."

The majority of those who are here this evening will undoubtedly agree with Father LaFarge. On the other hand, however, it would be a serious mistake to center all of our attention on the political, technical, and psychological problems involved in bringing about an adequate revision of the charter. An effort will have to be made simultaneously to dramatize the unspectacular but tremendously important accomplishments and potentialities of the specialized agencies of the U. N., particularly those which are directly concerned with problems of social justice and economic betterment. The American people, even those who are currently cynical about the United Nations considered as a purely political instrumentality, are traditionally the very opposite of cynical when they are made aware of problems of human suffering and human misery whether at home or abroad. The cynic has been described facetiously as a man who believes if you cast your bread upon the waters, it will get soggy. The American people, by and large, have traditionally acted upon the opposite belief as propounded in the Scriptures. If anything they have erred on the side of utopianism rather than cynicism in the field of human welfare. They are capable, however, of becoming cynical about the ILO, the FAO, and other specialized agencies of the U. N. because they are not sufficiently aware of the humanitarian work which these organizations are attempting to do. If they knew the facts of the case, there is reason to believe that their native generosity and their religious heritage would incline them to say amen to the encouraging message which Pope Pius XII recently addressed to the delegates attending the seventh session of the FAO:

"The civilized world always looks with great sadness at the pitiful picture of hunger victims at a time when the earth is capable of feeding all men. To abolish such an evil once and for all is certainly worth sacrifices and justifies great devotion. Was not Christ careful to satisfy the hunger of the crowds which followed Him? Did He not teach His disciples a prayer that asks for daily bread? In pursuing the goal which you have set for yourselves you are undoubtedly seeking an end dear to Him who consecrated Himself to the salvation of humanity. That is why we want you to go on with your work without faltering. It is without question only at its beginning, but you have already learned a great deal from experience. The tools with which you work are being improved and your prestige is increasing among governments who appreciate more and more the usefulness and the fruits of your activities. If the final goal is not yet in sight, you can at least hope that a greater understanding and a more active cooperation will come to reinforce and multiply the results already obtained and to guarantee more rapid progress in the future."

What the Holy Father was saying, in effect, is that the FAO and other specialized agencies of the U. N. working in related fields of human welfare are a very important, if not an indispensable means of carrying out the corporal works of mercy in the spirit of the Gospel under 20th century conditions. His emphasis on the spiritual aspects of the U. N. and his unflagging spirit of Christian optimism in the face of many discouragements should serve to dispel the fearful misgivings of many religious-minded men and women who, with the best of good will, have ironically, but let us hope only temporarily, become cynical about the United Nations in the name of abstract disembodied moral principles.

When all is said and done, however, no amount of logical argumentation, even if backed up to the hilt by authoritative quotations from the highest religious sources, will ever convince the people of this country or any other country to support the objectives of this conference. Something much more fundamental is required. "Unless the Lord builds the house, he labors in vain who builds it." I conclude, therefore, as I probably should have begun, by reciting a prayer for peace which was composed in 1942 by one whose entire life has been dedicated to the cause of international understanding, His Holiness Pope Pius XII:

"Doing penance, then, and supplicating with humble soul, let all—and especially the innocent boys and girls—ask of the Divine Redeemer and His most holy mother that, while sky and sea are daily more convulsed with the flashing storm, light from on high may shine before us who are sailing at the helm of the mystical ship, and that heavenly aid may be with us; that to the wretched and starving, the needed food of soul and body may be supplied; that to exiles, their fatherland may be restored; to the wounded and sick, health; to prisoners, freedom; and that lastly to the whole human race, its evil desires being tamed by reason, and the right order of justice and charity toward God and neighbor being restored, Christian peace, which is true peace, both in the private life of each and in civil society, may at last be established."

The Indochina War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I invite the attention of Senators to a series of articles carried in the Washington Star relative to the war in Indochina. I do not know all the reporters who wrote these stories, but I am well acquainted with Larry Allen who has been in Indochina for the past 3 years covering that almost forgotten war for the Associated Press.

Larry Allen is one of the world's best known foreign correspondents and is the only American who has continually been in Indochina during the past 3 years to observe conditions in that struggle at first hand.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORLD'S NO. 1 CONFLICT—CIVILIAN'S INDIFFERENCE CREATES VAST RIDDLE IN INDOCHINA WAR

(By Olen Clements and Max Clos)

HANOI, INDOCHINA, February 25.—Every night church bells beckon the faithful in misty old Hanoi. Heavy guns rumble on the city's outskirts. The devout go to worship. The others—French, German, Arab, Moroccan, and Vietnamese soldiers and civilians—flock to the cafes, the teahouses, the taxi dancehalls.

The Indochina war is in its eighth year and the people in Hanoi are used to it. This city is a center of the French Union forces, including French colonial soldiers, the heavily German Foreign Legion, and Vietnamese troops that can call this land their own. They are at war with forces which are led by a Communist but backed by many non-Communists. These forces are known as the Viet Minh. Some civilians say there are so many Viet Minh sympathizers in Hanoi that Moscow-trained Hi Chi Minh would never attack the city—he would endanger too many of his friends.

MILLIONS OF MOSQUITOES

Just now a sort of red haze blows down through the river delta and from Communist China, 90 miles to the north. Millions of mosquitoes buzz in and out of the separate nightclubs of the Arabs, the German legionnaires, the French, and the Vietnamese.

French Union troops patrol the countryside and fight along the wet roads.

A thousand miles to the south is hot Saigon, where shops display Paris gowns and good food abounds. It, too, is under control of the French Union forces. All through that southern area watchtowers manned by 4 to 6 men keep an eye on roads that may be mined.

The civil population is more or less indifferent. Vietnamese and Chinese carpenters work all day building hundreds of new homes and apartments for people who apparently never give a thought to the war or to prospects that artillery or planes might knock down some of these new buildings some day.

The indifference to the war has created a grotesque riddle for all of southeast Asia—Indochina, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia. The indifference and weariness of the war extend to many places in Vietnam and the associated kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

Many now believe a military victory by either side is an impossibility unless far more troops and supplies are poured into the fight. They hope the Big Five conference in Geneva in April and the conference of prime ministers of southern Asia in Ceylon in May will help to solve the riddle.

Gen. Henri Navarre, commander in chief of French Union forces, says:

"We have here a politico-military war. It is only when the Vietnamese Government

will have won the approval of the population that a victory will be possible."

Since 1949 Chief of State Bao Dai has been trying to set up a national front without success. Probably almost half of the 12 million Vietnamese living in the zone controlled by Bao Dai's government are directly aiding the Viet Minh or indirectly supporting them out of sympathy for Ho Chi Minh. But only a fraction of the population is really Communist. Most are just anti-French. Many are anti-Communist.

REASONS FOR STAND

The Nationalists, who for 5 years have been refusing to support Bao Dai effectively, give two reasons:

1. Bao Dai has not obtained independence for Vietnam. The ex-emperor signed a 1949 treaty with France which gave his country semi-independence within the framework of the French Union, but France retained actual political control.

2. The Nationalists are critical of the system of personal power established by Bao Dai and of the corruption of his regime. The 40-year-old ex-emperor holds all the executive and legislative powers.

The new government formed in January by Prince Buu Loc persuaded Bao Dai to announce a program seeking to give satisfaction to the Nationalists' aspirations. Buu Loc has promised general elections for a national assembly within as short a time as possible. He also has demanded total independence from France to be guaranteed by the United Nations, and has denounced the 1949 treaty. The new premier and members of his cabinet are to go to France at the end of this month to negotiate a treaty of association to establish a union between two partners equal in rights and duties.

TWO THREATS TO PROGRAM

Two factors menace the program. To gain Vietnamese approval, Bao Dai must take a firm attitude toward France.

But until Vietnam's fledgling army is a great deal bigger and better trained, French forces are still the only protection against the Viet Minh, and Bao Dai cannot remain in power without them.

He must take care to avoid risking a bad reaction from the French public, which seemingly has begun to doubt that there is any point in pushing the war against the Viet Minh. It thinks France is going to be pushed out even in case of victory by the Nationalists.

If Buu Loc is too adamant in the Paris conference, the French may demand an immediate end of the war. Foreseeing such a possibility, Buu Loc has given assurance that Vietnam will not nationalize any French property and will give France economic privileges.

Vietnamese leaders believe that within 2 or 3 years it will be possible to create a united Nationalist front capable of effectively opposing the Viet Minh. They question whether any peace or armistice ought to be accepted earlier.

Meantime there is an Alice-in-Wonderland aspect to the situation. The forces on both sides cannot go anywhere militarily because it takes all their strength to stay where they are.

WORLD'S NO. 1 CONFLICT—INDOCHINA WAR A CIVIL ONE, FRENCH COLONIALISM IS ISSUE

(By Larry Allen)

HANOI, INDOCHINA, February 26.—The Viet Minh forces generally attack at night. They come out of the jungle with mortars, rifles, pistols, grenades, knives, and razor-sharp bamboo spears.

Against this kind of foe the French Union forces, even with their American-supplied firepower, never have been able to land a crushing blow.

The average soldier on the French-Vietnamese side is dead tired of the shadowy war fought in jungle, ricefields, and on forest-covered mountains. He is dead tired, but goes on fighting—usually against overwhelming numbers.

Indochina is half again as big as France, and has 25 million inhabitants. Vietnam, with 20 million, is the largest state. About 8 million of the Vietnamese live in the areas controlled by Communist Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh forces. The other 12 million live in the zone of the Boa Dai government. The French-Vietnamese forces hold most of the richer areas, principally the deltas of the Red and Mekong Rivers.

BASICALLY A CIVIL WAR

The conflict that has marred this land for more than 7 years is basically a civil war. To millions of Vietnamese, Ho Chi Minh is the symbol of a fight for independence and an end to the remnants of French colonialism. Many of them dislike communism but still admire Ho Chi Minh.

The French count upon the increased zeal of loyal Vietnamese as the hope of an eventual military victory.

French admit there is much to be achieved before the Vietnamese become a first-class fighting force—and before the people as a whole realize there is a war on.

Overall casualties top 1 million killed, wounded, captured, or missing. The conflict has cost France and the Indochinese about $10 billion. Two million Vietnamese have been uprooted from their homes.

AFFECTS UNITED STATES SECURITY

The United States Government regards the war as a struggle against the spread of communism into southeast Asia and hence affecting the security of the United States. It has cost the United States half a billion dollars annually in war equipment supplied since 1950. This year America will pay out about $800 million to support the anti-Communist struggle.

Red China is supplying the Viet Minh with 3,000 tons of war equipment monthly. If it decided to throw in regular or volunteer troops to help Ho Chi Minh, the situation obviously would change.

Currently, one hope for ending the war lies in the April conference at Geneva, where Indochina as well as Korea is to be discussed. While some leaders of the Vietnamese Government say the time is not ripe to discuss peace, there is an underlying eagerness for peace among French Union forces (including the fledgling armies of Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos) and among those Vietnamese aligned with Ho Chi Minh. France also is eager for peace.

Viet Nam's Premier Prince Buu Loo says Viet Nam wants a peace that guarantees individual liberties, respects the government of the Viet Nam and the continuation of the Viet Nam nation. These will be guiding principles for the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian delegations at Geneva.

IN HANDS OF RED CHINA

On the other side, Ho Chi Minh in unofficial peace feelers has demanded independence for the Viet Nam he professes to head and recognition of his democratic government.

How far Ho Chi Minh's demands may be pressed probably will rest in the hands of Red China.

The fighting is in the final 8 weeks of the winter, before the start of the seasonal rains which always bog down military operations.

The only place a battle seems likely in the near future is at the French Union fortress of Dien Bien Phu in northwestern Indochina, 80 miles west of Hanoi. There the Chinese trained and equipped elite Viet Minh divisions encircled the fortress. French Union troops have been stabbing out from the fortress in groups of 4,000 to 5,000 men in an effort to draw the Viet Minh into a showdown battle.

If the French Union forces finally succeed and knock out of action the bulk of the 36,000 rebel troops, they will have scored the first major victory of this long war.

LITTLE CHANCE ELSEWHERE

Elsewhere there does not appear to be any chance for a victory. The Viet Minh have their 308th division deep in northern Laos pointed at Luang Prabang. Gen. Henri Navarre, French commander in chief, says there is no chance of the Viet Minh's taking Luang Prabang.

The French express optimism that the coming months will bring a favorable turn, particularly with the more effective help of the expanding Vietnamese army.

But as the situation stands now there is nothing to indicate where, when, or how that favorable turn might come.

WORLD'S NO. 1 CONFLICT—WAR IN INDOCHINA CAN GO ON ONLY BECAUSE OF AMERICAN AID

(By John Roderick)

SAIGON, INDOCHINA, February 27.—"If it hadn't been for American aid, the Indochina war would have been lost 3 years ago."

This statement was made by a responsible American official here recently. He would have had little difficulty getting the French and the Indochinese to agree.

Since 1951 the United States has been pouring an ever-swelling torrent of money, material, and munitions into Indochina to help hold back the hordes of Moscow-trained Ho Chi Minh.

By last January 31, 400 American or French ships sailing from San Francisco had disgorged in Indochina's ports a veritable mountain of the weapons, explosives, guns, airplanes, ships, and other material required for modern warfare. The list: 260 million rounds of small-arms ammunition; 21,000 transport vehicles and trailers; 1,400 combat vehicles; 360 military aircraft; 390 naval vessels; 17,000 radio sets; 175,000 small arms and automatic weapons.

Huge amounts of mines, rockets, mortar and artillery shells, hospital supplies, engineering and technical equipment.

UNITED STATES PAYS 60 PERCENT OF COST

In all, the American taxpayer will pay nearly a billion dollars this year to help fight a war some 10,000 miles from his own shores. He will foot three-fifths of the money cost of a fight whose causes and motives remain even more obscure to him than did the battle for Korea.

But in helping the French and Indochinese to fight Ho Chi Minh, the United States Government feels it is getting its money's worth. It sees these alternatives: The loss of southeast Asia to world communism, or personal involvement of more Americans in another Korea-type war.

While the United States is aiding the French and the established governments of Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos on the one hand, the Chinese Communists are doing the same for Communist Ho Chi Minh. Over about 16 highway routes the Reds from safe bases along the border are shuttling an average of some 3,000 tons of war material a month to the Viet Minh. Without this kind of propping up, they too would have collapsed long ago.

Though American aid is broken down into military and technical programs, all of it is channeled into one stream—a massive war effort which may subdue the Viet Minh in a war now in its eighth year.

ARMS BIGGEST ITEM

Four hundred million dollars of the near-billion America has alloted to Indochina for 1954 goes to purchase arms and munitions. Of the rest, 385 millions go for soft goods—uniforms, food, and other services—25 millions for economic, technical, and refugee aid; 30 millions for harbor improvements, roads, reservoirs and other projects which

are militarily important now but can be converted to civilian use.

The American Military Advisory Assistance Group handles the huge supply job involved in the aid program. It is housed in a former Japanese brothel of neoclassic design in the nearby Chinese city of Cholon. Its staff of some 100 officers and men is headed by Maj. Gen. John Trapnell, lean West Pointer who survived the Bataan death march, 2 sinkings of Japanese death ships, and 3 years in a Japanese prisoner of war camp.

A sport-loving 51-year-old cavalryman who turned paratrooper—he has more than 90 jumps to his credit—General Trapnell won the Distinguished Service Medal by personally setting fire to a tank which blew up a bridge the Japanese wanted very much to cross.

General Trapnell is due to wind up a 2-year tour here in a few months. Already there is much talk of replacing him with Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel.

DEPARTURE WOULD BE SLOW

Americans in the know here say that General Trapnell's departure would be little short of catastrophic. For one thing, he is tremendously popular with Gen. Henri Navarre, the French commander in chief. For another, he is getting a tough job done fast and efficiently.

Big blunt "Iron Mike" O'Daniel would be likely to run into difficulties with the French chiefly because he has been touted as a man who could train Vietnam troops. General Navarre said the other day that for an American to train the Vietnamese was "unthinkable." That is a job General Navarre has cut out for himself.

The American mission so far has been confined almost entirely to aid, not training. The 200 air technicians in Indo-China are an exception. They will teach French ground crews the skill needed to maintain 10 United States B–26 light bombers America recently has provided. In 3 to 4 months they will pull out.

DIFFERENT FROM KOREA

This is a far cry from training the Vietnamese national army of 250,000 men how to fight, as some elements in the United States wish to do. The French view is that they are doing fine, and that American experience in Korea is not applicable to the jungle and rice field war here.

Head of the economic and technical assistance program is former Brig. Gen. Wilbur R. McReynolds, an old China hand who did the same sort of job in Nanking before the Communists took over. The smaller civilian program has tackled an ambitious job not least of which is placing some of the half million refugees of the war in new homes. It is building highways and bridges, giving a lot to the cost, rubber, textile, lumber, and tobacco industries and helping to boost the production of rice.

Its big problem is getting people to come out to this tropical country where disease, the high cost of living and a war are some of the disadvantages of the daily job.

Deficit Financing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial written by Wilfley Scobey and published in the Saturday Evening Post of February 2, 1954, on the subject of deficit financing.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The United States has now gone 2 years without a real depression. This stands as a record. The Keynesians and leftists who infest our colleges and universities will claim this is largely due to their policies and is but proof of their theories. This is pure bunk, because the United States of America has been living to a large degree on borrowed money for the past 21 years. If a recession has been postponed, it is at the expense of the value of the dollar.

It is almost as though a family itself, 21 years ago, was hard up and in sore straits. So the family, already owing the bank $19,000 went down and borrowed a few thousand more. That means they now had cash—plenty of cash. Mamma bought a new fur coat, paw a new car, and the kids each a new bicycle. This was prosperity. When that money ran out, paw simply went down to the bank and borrowed again. This kept up for 21 long years, year after year, until paw finally owed the bank $275,000, the limit of his credit.

The United States can be said to be almost identically in that predicament today. Twenty-one years ago the public debt was only $19 billion, and we have borrowed and borrowed until just recently, when the public debt reached the limit of its credit of $275 billion. No wonder the Keynesian professors kept dishing out the same line or bilge water.

Were this country normal, which it is not, the exceeding of the legal debt would have caused a furor and made headlines. There was nothing resembling a furor last fall when the limit of our credit was reached. A bemused and well-regimented public said nothing.

So what are we going to do now?

Are we going to borrow some more?

Tax Proposals by Hon. Walter F. George, of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the U. S. News & World Report of March 5, 1954, there is an article on the tax proposals made by the distinguished Senator from Georgia wherein he suggested that the tax exemption be raised from $600 to $800 this year and from $800 to $1,000 the next year.

I am in full accord with the proposals of the Senator from Georgia and I want to assure him that he will have my full support in his across-the-board tax recommendations.

I should like at this time to request that the article by the distinguished Senator from Georgia be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

HOW A DEMOCRAT GUIDES REPUBLICAN TAX POLICY

Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, as much as anyone else in Washington, will determine whether your taxes are to be cut this year. Senator GEORGE is a Democrat, but he also is the man the Republicans must consult—and heed—in making the tax decisions that lie just ahead.

The Senator has moved squarely into the argument over whether tax revision should help the small or big taxpayer. He wants to favor the little fellow by increasing his exemptions, eliminating some excise taxes, slashing others. The White House has other ideas. But when Senator GEORGE talks taxes, Congress listens. This time it is listening with much frank surprise.

In more than 3 decades as a Senator, Mr. GEORGE has shown himself to be a sturdy conservative. His inclination has been to support tax measures that encourage business expansion, avoid taxes that punish business. Now 76, the Senator, a kindly Georgian of impressive personal dignity and reserve, is ranking Democrat of the Finance Committee, through which all tax legislation must pass.

Over the years, too, he has attained a unique position in Congress. He is respected as an elder statesman of stanch integrity and outspoken independence. Sometimes he is called the "conscience of the Senate." Leaders of both parties, especially of the conservative factions, often look to Senator GEORGE for guidance.

Many of these are puzzled that the Senator now should bob up as the champion of a tax program that conservatives usually avoid. They ask whether, with elections approaching, there may be some politics involved. But Senator GEORGE is hardly known as a party man. He has been scornful of party regularity, in fact, and has opposed official Democratic policy more often than he has supported it.

REASONS

The fact is that Senator GEORGE has his own carefully considered reasons for his tax proposals. He is worried about economic conditions and wants to bolster business by putting more individual spending money into the economy. No prophet of doom, the Senator hardly is predicting a serious depression. But with things as they are, he thinks the United States should be wary, take action in time.

An increase in tax exemptions, Mr. GEORGE says, is a ready-made weapon for combating any decline in business. Such action, he argues, would give nearly every wage earner a small raise within a week after the proposal becomes law. The withholding rate would be less, take-home pay increased. The amount might be small in individual instances, but cumulatively it would provide a stimulating increase in purchasing power.

Similarly with excise taxes: The price to the consumer of many articles and services would be decreased, leaving more money for buying other things. Senator GEORGE has his knife out for the excise taxes on telephone and telegraph charges, passenger fares, ladies' handbags, leather goods, jewelry, and some others. The whole schedule, he says, should be reexamined.

All this would be costly to the Treasury, of course. There would be deficits this year and next, perhaps even in fiscal year 1956. Senator GEORGE, long a foe of deficits and unbalanced budgets, sees this prospect as regrettable but unavoidable. He argues that Treasury revenues would suffer even more if unemployment were permitted to increase to five or six million.

In coming to these conclusions, Senator GEORGE has scarcely lost his sympathy for the businessman taxpayer. He favors—but not for immediate action—such Eisenhower administration proposals as reducing taxes on income from dividends and easing the rules that cover depreciation allowances. He would like to cut the corporate income-tax rate, slightly.

His view is that such courses would have only a slow, gradual effect on the economy, while also reducing Federal revenues and

further increasing the prospective deficits. So he believes that these actions should be deferred in favor of the exemption increases and excise cuts that he considers would be an immediate stimulus to business.

Such is the Senator's position, and he intends to maintain it, although in the end he may have to yield a little on some points. Chances are the administration will have to do so also, for Senator GEORGE is well-bulwarked by voting strength.

SUPPORT

In a closely divided Senate, the George proposals are attracting much Republican interest, despite President Eisenhower's reluctance to cut individual income taxes. And almost the entire Democratic membership is rallying behind the Georgia Senator. While he, himself, is aloof from politics, other Democrats can see campaign advantages in championing the little fellow.

This means support for Senator GEORGE from many Democrats who, over the years, have loudly berated him for his opposition to New Deal and Fair Deal proposals, and even helped at one point in an effort to defeat him for reelection to the Senate. Mr. GEORGE now is willing to overlook such things.

The Senator came to Washington in 1922, an old-fashioned Democrat, proved himself industrious and scholarly, and rose rapidly in the councils of the old-fashioned Democrats who then were guiding party policies. With the coming of the New Deal and a new brand of Democratic leadership, Senator GEORGE continued to be old fashioned.

By 1938, the Senator had piled up such a record of resistance to the New Deal that a group about President Roosevelt decided the Georgian should be "purged" from the Democratic Party. President Roosevelt, himself, invaded Georgia, called for Senator GEORGE's defeat in the Democratic primary. Senator GEORGE, who was present, accepted the challenge, went on to win handily.

In addition to taxes, Mr. GEORGE has had two other fields of interest and influence. In protecting the interests of the South, he largely makes policy, which is translated into floor action by his Georgia colleague, Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL, an aggressive and resourceful parliamentary tactician.

Mr. GEORGE's views on foreign affairs also are widely respected. He is senior Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee as well as of Finance. And he is a constitutional lawyer. In the heat of the argument over the Bricker constitutional amendment to limit the President's powers to make treaties and executive agreements, Mr. GEORGE stepped in with his own ideas. He proposed a substitute that replaced the Bricker resolution as the center of discussion.

TAXMAN

Senator GEORGE has taken turns as chairman of the Finance Committee with Senator EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, a conservative Republican from Colorado, depending on which party has controlled the Senate. Those who watch the committee closely say it has been difficult to discern any changes in committee policy accompanying changes in the chairmanship. The two work closely together. As a rule, one seldom makes a proposal without consulting the other.

Some question has arisen, however, as to whether Mr. GEORGE talked over his proposals on exemptions and excises with Mr. MILLIKIN. The latter, now chairman, is holding back, says only that they must be studied. Meanwhile, opposition to Senator GEORGE's ideas is developing in the House of Representatives.

The House Ways and Means Committee is writing tax legislation, too. It is largely dominated by Chairman DANIEL A. REED of New York. Mr. REED, in general, wants to encourage prosperity by tax levels that permit business to expand through reinvestment of profits.

The final terms of the legislation apparently are, as is usual, to be written in a House-Senate conference committee. In that committee, Mr. GEORGE will be bargaining directly with Mr. REED. The latter is a hard bargainer. But Senator GEORGE, especially with the expected backing of a sizable Senate majority, can be determined, too.

Both may have to make concessions. The Senator now wants personal exemptions raised from $600 to $800, at once, with a thousand-dollar figure set for next year. As part of a compromise he may have to accept some of the Eisenhower proposals that he now thinks should be deferred, and settle, many believe, for a $100 raise in exemptions.

There remains a possibility that the White House may yield a little on cutting individual taxes, which would simplify the situation. But, whatever the developments, the fact remains that it is Senator GEORGE, backed by his personal prestige and a conviction of what is best for the economy, who probably will have the most to say about the size of your coming tax payments.

Enslaved But Unconquered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IVOR D. FENTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of the House, the following editorial which appeared in the February 16 issue of the Evening Herald, Shenandoah, Pa.:

ENSLAVED BUT UNCONQUERED

There are no public celebrations in Lithuania today on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the independence of its Republic because Soviet troops, acutely conscious of the date, are on the alert to instantly halt any such attempts.

Outwardly, the people are going about their business in normal fashion, grim and tight-lipped. Officially Lithuania was declared a part of the Soviet Union on August 3, 1940, due to a rigged election held at the point of guns. That election was a monstrous farce and the results have never been recognized by the free world, notably the United States.

But the people of Lithuania had no alternative; they were compelled to accept their fate.

There is, however, a most consoling thought inspiring this enslaved country to endure its trials and tribulations. The Lithuanian people know they have strong moral support and this knowledge has prevented them from yielding to despair. They know their day of liberation must eventually come to pass, hence their courage remains unbroken.

There is a vigorous underground in Lithuania. From time to time partisan bands assemble in the woods under cover of darkness, strike out at the enemy, and vanish by dawn. Luck does not always hold out. Red patrols succeed in capturing some of these gallant partisans, yet there are always fresh replacements. The resistance continues.

This much is accomplished through such sorties: There is real terror in the ranks of the Soviet tyrants, for they never know when they will fall before a band of avenging patriots.

Meanwhile, the antireligious campaign goes on. Only a few churches remain untouched. But one bishop is left where once there were almost a dozen. The Kremlin is not satisfied with efforts of the Ministry of Culture in Lithuania to wipe out "religious superstition."

Only recently Radio Vilna broadcast a sharp attack on the Ministry's "inefficiency and clumsiness" to stamp out religion. It called for an increased amount of the latest scientific godless literature. And quoting a Communist newspaper, Radio Vilna added that "it is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen to spare nothing in the fight against religious superstition."

The attitude of the United States Government to this enslavement was restated last fall by Secretary of States John F. Dulles before a House committee probing the infamous crime committed by the Soviet on the peaceful shores of the Baltic Sea.

Mr. Dulles said:

"Some say that it is unrealistic and impractical not to recognize the enforced incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that a despotism of the present Soviet type cannot indefinitely perpetuate its rule over hundreds of millions of people who love God, who love their country, and who have a sense of personal dignity.

"The Soviet system, which seeks to expunge the distinctive characteristics of nation, creed, and individuality, must itself change or be doomed ultimately to collapse. The time of collapse depends largely on whether the peoples who remain free produce spiritual, intellectual, and material richness; and a faith which can penetrate any iron curtain.

"The captive peoples should know that they are not forgotten, that we are not reconciled to their fate, and, above all, that we are not prepared to seek illusory safety for ourselves by a bargain with their masters which would confirm their captivity."

That statement echoes the sentiments of the free world, and today we reaffirm those words on Lithuania's Independence Day, rejoicing that the flame of liberty still burns brightly in the hopes and aspirations of Lithuania's gallant people.

In her many centuries of existence Lithuania has cast off the yoke of the tyrant in the past; she will do so again in the future.

Freedom Must Be Defended Constantly After It Is Won

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR.
OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a very fine editorial written by Mr. William J. Fielder, associate editor of the Savannah Morning News, of Savannah, Ga. It is significant that the Freedom Foundation selected this editorial from among thousands to receive its top award of $1,000 and a gold medal. The title of the editorial is "What Is This Thing Called Freedom?" To me it is the best explanation of the word "freedom" that it has been my privilege to read and I place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that all Americans may have an opportunity to read this splendid interpretation authored by an outstanding Georgian and a great newspaperman. The editorial follows:

WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED FREEDOM?

We sometimes think that of all the blessings that accrue to man in these United States, the least understood is freedom. It is probably the most discussed and the least understood of all the subjects which fill our editorial pages, our pulpits, and our street-corner discussions.

We talk of freedom as though it were a concrete thing which can be bandied about like a ping-pong ball, traded like a bale of hay, or bestowed like a medal. Our discussion of the subject ranges from the wild-eyed arguments of the radical who in essence interprets freedom as a cloak behind which he can do the very things that will eventually kill it, to the equally questionable opinions of the individual who shouts that since this is a free country he can disobey all the traffic laws whenever he pleases.

We accept freedom as a heritage: a boon from our ancestors, or as straight from above. We forget that freedom must be constantly defended after it has been won. We forget that only a people with the will to remain free are worthy of the heritage.

One of the charges most often leveled at our civilization of today is that in its very complexity, freedom has become so circumscribed that it has almost ceased to exist. Laws, taxes, neighbors, mechanization have with inexorable force ringed freedom about. The pioneer who roamed the sawgrass savannahs of inland Georgia made his own laws, and was answerable only to himself and to the rigid code of Nature herself. That, say freedom's critics, was real freedom.

Today, these critics hold, all that is gone. Life has become but a steady succession of pausing for traffic lights, filing income-tax returns, running to catch a bus, keeping off the grass, joining a union, or punching a time clock. Legal servitude has been replaced by economic servitude, they say. They argue that it is no more possible to break the bonds with which a lack of dollars hedge us than it was for the serf to sever the shackles that bound him to his plow. Our complex life may permit a very few people to be free, these critics say but these are economically independent persons or the hermits who can still find a cave in the hills.

This is bosh. Man today can be as free as he ever was or more so. But to recognize the truth of this one must elevate his concept of freedom and of the individual also. There is no place in a free system today for either the brutish individual who obeys only the laws of the jungle or the disciple of organized collectivism with the inevitable despotism it imposes.

To maintain the freedom which we still enjoy in America, we must have a clearer concept of it. We must recognize the prevailing truth that men must live together; that the "freedom" enjoyed by one individual must not come at the expense of the freedom of his neighbor. One must contribute something of individual freedom to the community, the State, and the Nation in which we live in order that this community, State, and Nation themselves may remain free. For a system under which many men can live with a maximum of freedom for all, we must individually submit to the slaveries imposed by the tax collector, the draft board man and the machine age. At the same time, to maintain freedom we must relentlessly fight against those who would lead us down the easy road which ends in collectivism.

This is no easy task. It calls for a better man than the rugged individualist who sought new country when neighbors moved closer than 7 miles. This man in effect fled the very discomforts and inconveniences we today must stand and fight.

The free system we have evolved in America is the noblest the world has ever seen. Into it have gone the contributions of millions of men from the pioneer who conquered the plain to the coal miner who provides the fuel of industry. It is a unique combination of economic, governmental, and philosophical forces which work in harmony, and to which today we must contribute just as did our forefathers who brought it into being.

We of today are charged with the responsibility for defending this freedom. And we must always remember that it must be defended not alone against alien systems and alien philosophies, but also against those picayune people who should so carp at the little things that we should become helpless against our major foes.

Long Beach, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 14, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues served here in the House with the Honorable Ward Johnson, who preceded me by several years as Representative from the 18th District of California in which is located the city of Long Beach.

Yesterday I received a copy of the December 1953 issue of Western Banker along with a note from Ward saying:

It's news when a conservative banking magazine devotes its cover and many inside pages to a glowing description of the benefits a city offers to industry.

He referred, amongst other things, to the following article by Warren A. Harlan, president, Long Beach Clearing House Association, entitled "Long Beach: A Model of Metamorphosis":

In all of amazing Southern California, there is no other locality with a past, present and future to match that of fabulous Long Beach, according to members of the Industrial Development Committee of the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce.

They are not alone in their thinking. The rapid growth in population has been matched with a compensating increase in industrial plants to keep these new residents busy.

The fame and attractions of Long Beach are so varied that it is hard to name just one outstanding characteristic without slighting the many others. Long Beach gets its name from the 8-mile clean, gently sloping each line that is warmed by the sun, yet kept comfortably cool by ocean breezes, to lure thousands of vacationists to Long Beach every month throughout the year.

Long Beach is a city of beautiful homes, and fine churches and schools. It has a rapidly growing industrial area. Its oil-producing facilities are beyond belief. It is a world-famous recreation, tourist and convention center. It is the heart of a rich marketing area. Long Beach Harbor is America's most modern port, and the home port for hundreds of vessels of the United States Fleet. Long Beach is all of this—and more.

BANKING FACILITIES

An indication of the richness of the Long Beach area is found in the metropolitan banking services provided by ten banks, conducting twenty-three banking offices, with combined deposits of approximately $360,000,000. The growth of the area is demonstrated by this total compared with total deposits of about $160 million 10 years ago. Banks now serving the Long Beach area are the Bank of America, Bank of Belmont Shore, California Bank, Farmers & Merchants Bank, Long Beach National Bank, National City Bank of Long Beach, Pacific National Bank of Long Beach, Peoples Bank, Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles, and the Western Bank.

RICH MARKET AREA

Long Beach is situated as the hub of a network of progressive, rapidly expanding, rich Southern California communities. The steady upswing in Long Beach population figures now places it second largest in Los Angeles County, 5th in California and 42d in the United States. Long Beach serves not only its own population of over 280,500, but the more than a million and a quarter people from its environs with an annual purchasing power of over two and a quarter billion dollars.

TWO KINDS OF CLIMATE

Long Beach boosters claim two kinds of climate—both good. An obvious factor in attracting new residents—and new industries—is the year-round air-conditioning provided by Mother Nature. Industrialists are reminded that this makes for happier employees, resulting in lower absenteeism and reduced turnover, as well as higher working efficiency.

The "industrial climate" also offers fair weather the year-round with many advantages that add up to sunshine on the profit ledger.

NEW INDUSTRIES WOOED

Early growth of Long Beach was due to its natural resources of climate and the beach. Then nature gave tremendous new impetus to the city's growth when one of the world's most valuable oil pools was discovered under much of Long Beach. World War II brought ship-building, aircraft and many other defense plants to the area, and again the population doubled within a short span of years.

A systematic program was started ten years ago by the city fathers and civic leaders to provide an economy that would not suffer too severely by the possible loss of defense industries and a conceivable cutback in civilian and naval personnel. Two years ago the Long Beach City Council wisely appropriated advertising funds to attract new industries to the area. Moneys were made available again this year with the total budget increased by additional funds through the cooperation of the board of harbor commissioners.

With the money provided by the city and the harbor department, actual planning and administration of the industrial development program is done by a volunteer committee of the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce working with the Patch & Curtis advertising agency of Long Beach. Display advertising in twelve national and regional publications, direct-mail campaigns, industrial trade show exhibits, various brochures and other printed matter, and national publicity are all used to extol the advantages of Long Beach as an industrial area.

TWELVE INDUSTRIAL ADVANTAGES

What does Long Beach have to offer industry? These points head the list featured by the chamber of commerce: rich market area; large pool of skilled labor; low taxes; better living profitmaking climate; cheap and ample gas; abundant water supply; lowest electric rates; transportation savings; Americ's most modern port; available raw materials; and economic stability.

TOURIST INDUSTRY

One of the major sources of income in the Long Beach area is the tourist trade, credited with bringing nearly 55 million of outside dollars into the coffers of local firms. The Long Beach Municipal Auditorium is the site of many regional and national conventions which are serviced by local hotels and motels. Many events attract visitors to the area, the outstanding one being the "Miss Universe" contest when beauties from all over the world attract thousands for the week of pageantry.

AMERICA'S MOST MODERN PORT

While "Miss Universe" is a glamorous "industry" and a great attraction to Long Beach, probably the city's most famous asset is its harbor "America's Most Modern Port" is more than a slogan—it is a fact, a fact made possible by the harbor's fabulous income from shipping and oil revenues. These have permitted a rapid and continuous development of facilities in the debt-free harbor, and present income assures still further improvement and expansion.

Economic handling of freight results from such facilities as the world's largest clear-span cargo-transit shed, the world's longest pier, the first shore-based port radar in the Western Hemisphere, bulk-loading conveyor, deep channels, quick access to the open sea, quiet waters, and proximity to rail, highway, and air-transportation facilities.

HISTORIC LONG BEACH

The history of Long Beach dates back to 1542 when Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovered the Catalina Islands and sailed into what is now known as San Pedro Bay. In 1784 a Spanish soldier, Manuel Nieto, came by 185,000 acres of what is now Long Beach, as a gift from grateful Governor Fages. His heirs divided their inheritance and the son, Juan Jose, got Rancho Los Alamitos (the little cottonwoods) and Manuela, a daughter, got the adjoining Rancho Los Cerritos (the little hills). Eventually both ranches were acquired by the Bixby family—a name famous today in Long Beach along with those of other early settlers including Nieto, Temple, Cota, Flint, and Stearns.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The history and origin of the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce is as deeply rooted and as colorful as the history and traditions of the city itself.

In 1891, city leaders realized that cooperative effort on the part of business people was necessary to achieve civic growth and community development. They formed the Long Beach Board of Trade which, in 1906, adopted the name of the chamber of commerce.

Today, the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian and nonsectional organization, made up of approximately 2,500 serious-minded and civic-spirited citizens. The chamber offers its experienced leadership, facilities, trained staff and "know-how" to coordinate a business-building program for the betterment of all. Many and varied are current activities being performed by the 22 chamber committees, composed of over 500 business and professional leaders who meet at least once a month.

One program which is particularly important to the chamber at the present time is attracting new industries and aiding business and industrial firms to locate in the industrial sections of Long Beach.

Recognizing the fact that every city in the Nation is competing for people, payrolls and industries, the Long Beach Chamber of Commerce is forging ahead with new ideas, top leadership and renewed enthusiasm to meet the competition.

Problems Confronting Older Reserve Officers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I am in receipt of a letter from a number of older Reserve officers in which they present some of the problems which confront them at this time. It is my hope that the Armed Services Committee will give every possible consideration to the statements made in this unsigned letter so that every possible protection can be given to this particular group of people.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 22, 1954.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

TO OUR HONORABLE SENATOR: Please investigate and consider the plight of the Reserve officers in the older group who have been serving their country in a Reserve capacity for probably 30 years, but have been on active duty only 15 or so years. Now they are told they must serve 20 years of active duty (active Federal service was once considered service for the reserve but now they're changing the language to read active duty) and where will the Reserve officers get these 20 years when the Army is releasing its Reserve officers? And if they have put in 15 of these active-duty years it means the Army is releasing them just before they reach their goal—just in time to deprive these Reserve officers of their pension which they could get with 20 years of active duty regardless of age, but if they don't get the 20 years, they can't retire with their pension until they reach 60. In the meantime they will be under such a mental strain they will be unable to reach retirement age.

Severance pay has been suggested which is fine for the young officer who probably can go out and establish himself in civilian jobs, but what about the man who has reached 50? He is too old to start a new job—remember he has been in military service since 1940 and 1941—he has nowhere to go—he has no home—he has had to maintain two homes most of the time as he has had no opportunity to remain with his family. He hasn't even had the privilege of watching his children grow up and now they are adults and ready for college they need his financial support. He will like a little life with his family and his wife who has had to go it alone all these years while he was serving his country, but how can he get it when his reward for all his military service is to be released without any way of collecting the pension which was supposed to be his on retirement—but he cannot retire. He must have 20 years active duty. He has had only about 15. But he has put in 30 years of Reserve service, having been in the ROTC group since he left college back in the 1920s.

This older group of Reserve officers who gave to their country an engineering education, an industrial background, and day and night work for years, without which the war never could have been won as quickly as it was won. Today they are being given the runaround. The group of older Reserve officers could retire on their point system if the language of the retirement law read that they could take this retirement if they had put in half of their Reserve service in active duty—instead of the 20 years. Otherwise the Army should give these men the extra 5 years to make the 20 years so they could retire. Surely they are worthy of their pension after having given their all to their country. They have a law now that a lieutenant colonel and under must go at 55 and a colonel at 58—but can a Reserve officer if let out collect his pension at these ages? We are completely at a loss. "No," say some writers, not unless he has put in 20 years of active duty. "Yes," some say if they have had 30 years of Reserve service—others say this means 30 years of active duty. How can a Reserve ever get 30 years of active service—he puts it in as active Federal service, but it isn't all on active duty.

Just what is the law? How do these older Reserve officers stand? Or have they no rights and is there no retirement pension coming to them until they reach 60 under Public Law 810? If this is the case it won't do them any good, as they are being released, thrown to the dark streets of unemployment, with nowhere to go, no home to live in, and nothing else, and it seems to us severance pay for the young man is all right, but the pension for which the Reserve officer has put in so many years—long, hard work—honorable service—ought to be given to these older Reserve officers. If a Reserve officer has had 30 years of Reserve service with at least half of it on active duty, he should be entitled to his Reserve pension—on the point system under the law of 810.

Whatever became of the law which said Reserves could retire at the end of 30 years of service and not have to wait until they are 60? How could a Reserve put in any other kind of service except Reserve service?

Whatever became of the interpretation that if a Reserve was put out at 55 or 58 or even less—involuntarily, he could collect his retirement pension? Or were there any such laws in the first place?

Won't you please give this some consideration and save this group of older officers from being sent back into civilian life which they have not known for 15 years—since Pearl Harbor time—or else, allow them to take up their retirement pension rights regardless of age, if they are let out involuntarily? They have given long, honorable service to their country—surely their reward isn't a kick into insecurity.

Will appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

OLDER RESERVE OFFICERS FROM MONTANA, MICHIGAN, WISCONSIN, OKLAHOMA, WEST VIRGINIA, VIRGINIA, MARYLAND.

Labor Market Situation in Los Angeles County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, since my remarks here Monday on the employment situation in Los Angeles County, I have received additional data which I am pleased to pass along, namely, that during January 1954 employment in all

Los Angeles metropolitan manufacturing industries totaled 636,500 wage and salary workers. This was 3,800 above a year ago, represented the highest January total since World War II, and was 7,100 above the previous month.

I hope this information may help clear the tears from the eyes of some of our solemn, tormented, dispirited, and brooding gloom-shrouded prognosticators of doom.

You Wouldn't Fool Us, Would You, Mr. Dulles?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, one of the great daily newspapers of America is the Hudson Dispatch, published in Union City, N. J., a part of my congressional district. From humble beginnings, this paper, under the direction of its present editor and staff, has been built into a great organ of information and instruction to many thousands of readers.

Its news columns carry daily all news of general and local interest. Its editorials attract wide attention. They deal always with timely topics, and do so with clarity, vigor, forthrightness, and irresistible logic. The writer never misses the point. Nor in his discussion of the question upon which he comments does he permit others to do so, as is indicated by the following editorial which appeared in the paper on February 23, 1954:

WHAT DID WEST GAIN AT BIG FOUR PARLEY?

It is hard to swallow the estimate of the 25-day Big Four parley in Berlin as given by Secretary of State Dulles on his return Friday night.

We think that Mr. Dulles must have been unrealistically optimistic when he stated at Washington, D. C., Airport that the United States got 100 percent of what it wanted, and that the place and composition of the conference are precisely what we sought.

Mr. Dulles referred to the one major accomplishment of the parley of Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States Secretary, the setting of a date, April 26, and the place, Geneva, Switzerland, for peace talks on Korea and Indochina. Russia and Red China will have invitation seats.

To practical observers this might seem like a diplomatic backdown for the West, since the Allies in United Nations last fall, under the leadership of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., fought bitterly and beat down the proposed invitation of those two nations to negotiate a permanent peace in Korea.

Since representatives of the U. N. have utterly failed to arrange such a conference after the armistice was signed on July 27, 1953, we think that it is well that some official decision has been reached, even if it is a substitute for the long delayed treaty conference. The longer permanent settlement is deferred the longer we must keep a large military establishment in Korea. Nevertheless, Eisenhower administration has certainly backed down from its position of last fall in United Nations General Assembly.

Outside of this positive accomplishment for a peace parley, what did either this country or the West achieve? Certainly nothing of major consequence. The 2 principal subjects on the agenda when the parley was agreed upon were the unification of Germany and the final signing of a treaty with Austria. It is outrageous that nearly 9 years after the surrender of Hitler's Germany there is no signed peace treaty save that between the West and the Bonn Republic. There is no signed peace treaty between Russia and East Germany nor is there one between the West and Austria nor between Austria and Russia. Both Germany and Austria are still occupied by foreign troops. Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov of Russia, at the outset of the parley, sought such impossible terms for unification of Germany that the West would not even give them consideration. Mr. Molotov would have had anti-Communists disfranchised, and before occupation troops were withdrawn would have had the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-sponsored European Defense Community (EDC) army killed before it had become organized.

Mr. Dulles will be questioned this week by both Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee. There is much criticism from both Democratic and Republican members of the recognition of Red China. Of course, Mr. Dulles protests that this is not so and there is no relation between the parley set for April 26 and recognition of the Peiping Government as a member of United Nations. Nevertheless, some day, if the U. N. continues to exist, and the Communists hold on to the mainland of China that long, the Red government must be recognized under the charter of U. N.

Since Russia, as a member of the Big 4, will be an inviting nation, the question as to whether she was a neutral in Korean war is not to be discussed. The Big 4 are inviting Red China, North and South Korea, and the 15 nations who did something—some very little—to help this country fight the Reds to a stalemate. That would make 22 nations to gather around the conference table in Geneva, with the Big 5, including Red China, probably deciding all issues.

President Eisenhower's Social Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, in my contact with the people of my district, I find considerable support for President Eisenhower's social security program.

It is my firm belief that the program is a worthy one and deserves speedy enactment at the present session of Congress.

I want to congratulate the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Buffalo, N. Y. Aerie No. 46, for taking an interest in this important legislation and for submitting the following resolution in support of the President's proposals:

RESOLUTION FAVORING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that—

1. The minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50;

2. Ten million additional persons be included in the security system;

3. The first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act;

4. The "earnings base" for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200;

5. The 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressman from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 22d day of February 1954.

CHARLES F. BOYLE,
Worthy President.

Attest:

VINCENT M. SCHARF,
Secretary.

The St. Lawrence Seaway Is a Threat to Pennsylvania's Transportation, Mining, and Manufacturing Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for years I have called the attention of Congress to the devastating effect the St. Lawrence seaway will have on the economy of the Nation and in particular on the State of Pennsylvania and her sister States on the eastern seaboard.

The following editorial, appearing in the January 22, 1954, issue of the Sunbury (Pa.) Item, discusses the subtle manner in which advocates of the St. Lawrence seaway have sought to overcome every obstacle, including plain commonsense.

The editorial follows:

THE SINISTER SEAWAY

Nothing is more impressive in connection with the St. Lawrence seaway battle in Congress than the persistence of those supporting this project, and the subtle manner in which they have overcome every obstacle, including plain commonsense. As a matter of fact, these advocates have, after more than 20 years of unceasing effort, brought some minds in Washington to the point of believing that unless prompt action is taken for participation by the United States, Canada will go it alone in constructing the proposed channel through the St. Lawrence

River from the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes. This reasoning, of course, overlooks the great truth that the opportunity for Canada to proceed along this line has been present from the very outset.

The great threat to Pennsylvania transportation, manufacturing, and mining industries posed by the proposed seaway was cited by Senators DUFF and MARTIN when they opposed enabling legislation in the Senate Wednesday. The measure was passed by that body, however, and now goes to the House, where, because the Members are closer to the people, there is hope of defeating it.

The seaway project has been pictured by eminent engineers, shipping interests, and military experts as an economic and military monstrosity that no doubt will entail an investment of billions by the United States, with no reasonable prospect of a fair return.

Despite the fact that legislation authorizing it remains to be finally acted upon by Congress, more than $135 million has been siphoned from the Treasury for preliminary work on the scheme. In the face of its harmful effect upon the economy of the Middle Atlantic States and its liability in time of war, such presumption calls for vigorous protests along with an unceasing effort to prevent further dissipation of American funds.

The Irony of It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed editorial from one of the fine papers of the 28th Congressional District of the State of New York, the Livingston Manor Times, brings to mind again the truth of the saying that, we "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

Many people are wasting precious sympathy over a man who hardly rates it and are not considering the case of Colonel Schwable, who is in a most tragic predicament which certainly does deserve both understanding and consideration.

The editorial follows:

THE IRONY OF IT

A person cannot help but be disgusted, when we read in the press of this land of ours how a brave man with a brilliant record of combat experience, now broken and humiliated is forced to stand trial before a 4 member court of inquiry, because he signed a false confession under torture, while the Top Brass in the Pentagon, permits promotion and an honorable discharge to a man who refused to answer 33 questions about possible Communist activities and connections.

On one hand, we have Col. Frank Schwable, a flying Marine with a brilliant record, who was broken by torture, and abuse, who after hours of humiliation finally signed a false confession and who may have to stand a court-martial.

On the other hand we have a Dr. Irving Peress, a reserve dentist, who refused to answer questions that any honorable man or good citizen would not hesitate to answer, unless he had something to hide. Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY says, and it is not refuted that Peress was a Communist party leader. Despite that he was promoted from captain to major and, as MCCARTHY says, "was given a hurryup discharge."

All we can say is "that it is time for heads in the Pentagon to start rolling." The entire proceedings smells so bad that it calls for action by every veteran organization in the country to right a wrong.

Medical Research Center for South Jersey Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is very gratifying to me to record the fact that a group of public-spirited citizens of the Camden, N. J., area has recognized the importance and, indeed, the necessity of instituting for the south Jersey area a research center for diagnostic services in communicable diseases.

I have been for a long time greatly concerned about the inadequacy of our research facilities, not only for communicable diseases but for all kinds of disease in the south Jersey area. In fact, this lack of research facilities is not confined to the south Jersey area. It exists throughout the entire Nation.

It was a recognition of this fact that gave rise to the health inquiry which was inaugurated by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of which I am chairman. The hearings which were held by our committee last fall after the adjournment of Congress, continued by a worldwide study in which I participated, and a continuation of the hearings during January and February of this year, developed and made plain the necessity of a research program of wide proportions.

It has been my privilege as chairman of the committee to introduce legislation that will greatly expand and extend research facilities in every State and enable the State health authorities in each State to institute research facilities to meet the particular requirements of each State. This is being done on the same theory that pertains to hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act. In fact, it is an amendment to that act by expanding its provisions. Thus, Federal funds would be available to each of the States to match funds made available by the several for the purpose.

As part of my remarks, I include an editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., issue of January 27, 1954, entitled "Medical Research Center for South Jersey Area." It reads as follows:

MEDICAL RESEARCH CENTER FOR SOUTH JERSEY AREA

An extremely important addition to this area's medical facilities will be the new research center to be operated by the South Jersey Medical Research Foundation.

The center will offer research and diagnostic services in communicable diseases, and will be the only institution of its kind in this area. Drs. Lewis L. Coriell, of Camden Municipal Hospital, and Joseph Stokes Jr., of Children's Hospital, Philadelphia, will direct its work. The two have been associated in field experiments in the South and Southwest with gamma globulin as a temporary immunizing agent against paralyzing polio.

The laboratory will be located in Camden. It will not be tax supported but will rely principally on grants-in-aid from organizations sponsoring research work. Funds already are available for operating expenses, but a campaign to raise $250,000 by public subscription for building purposes will be launched soon. It is hoped to have the laboratory in operation within a year.

Half the building fund will be used for the laboratory and half to expand existing activities of Children's Hospital in cooperation with New Jersey institutions.

President of the foundation is Philip E. Scott of Esterbrook Pen Co. John T. Dorrance, Jr., of Campbell Soup Co. is vice president and Bryant W. Langston, president of the Samuel E. Langston Co., is treasurer. Its board of managers includes other prominent business and professional men. Dr. Coriell is secretary.

Establishment of the center, according to Scott, will:

1. Permit research into fields relatively unknown, with special emphasis on children's diseases.

2. Permit the use of tissue culture technique in various diseases, including the common cold.

3. Provide a virus diagnostic center with expert aid for south Jersey doctors in ailments difficult to diagnose.

4. Increase medical knowledge and experience in south Jersey institutions which now have to rely on remote facilities, causing loss of vital time, efficiency and money.

5. Afford research facilities to doctors interested in them.

Scott points out that the center can provide especially important services in epidemics of various diseases.

It will make available under one roof research facilities hitherto bottled up and not so readily accessible.

It is obvious that in many ways it will be a great boon to this area.

The men who conceived the idea of it, and the men who are helping bring it into being and supporting it, have earned the gratitude of the community.

Camden should and will be proud to be the site of an institution such as this will be.

With the GI's in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "With the GI's in Indochina," published in the U. S. News & World Report for March 5, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WITH THE GI'S IN INDOCHINA—THEY'RE ALREADY AT WORK IN ANOTHER WAR

TOURANE, INDOCHINA.—Most of the American air technicians working in Indochina have heard sounds of battle before in World War II or Korea. But in Indochina it's different. Here they are close to war and yet not part of it. It's nerve racking.

The chatter of machineguns and the dull boom of French 155's firing into the brooding hills just across from Tourane airstrip is a nightly occurrence. Americans are not

particularly jittery. They know that minefields, barbed wire and fortified outposts are between them and the Communist Viet-Minh. The French also have a large garrison nearby.

Communist forces in this area, the Americans are told, are not strong enough for a major offensive against the Tourane base. But they harass French outposts nightly and have been within a mile of American billets.

At Doson, only 8 minutes' jet flying time from Communist China's border, unease is more tangible. This base is on the edge of the Red River delta, for 7 years a fluid but major battleground between the French and the Communist Viet-Minh. Raids, ambushes, fire fights, and artillery harassments are within sight and sound of American billets, and are now a part of daily life there.

Viet-Minh raiders, not long ago sneaked into the Doson base and destroyed 2 American C–47's with explosives, damaging several others. Early this week, another raiding party tried to land at the edge of the base from small boats. The French blew them out of the water.

Vapor trails from jet planes were seen over the field recently. Neither French nor Viet-Minh forces have jets in Indochina, but Communist China does have Russian-built MIG jets at airfields just across the border.

No one in official position expects trouble in larger quantities than the French have been able to deal with in the past. But Americans have plans for orderly evacuation—by air if there is time, or by retreating to a nearby landing beach if the field should be under direct attack.

The relative closeness of these two fields to possible danger draws forth this comment by a United States Air Force major: "At Tourane, we discuss the possibilities of a fight. At Doson, we talk about the probabilities."

American GI's at Tourane look, talk, and work exactly like GI's at Clark Field in the Philippines, or Tachikawa and Iwakuni in Japan, their former bases. They wear fatigues during the day and uniforms at night. Officers wear kahki during the day, but can don civilian clothes at night when visiting the French officers' mess. But the superficial resemblance to their former life ends there.

Pilots of transport planes are required to carry pistols, sheathed bayonets, water bottles, and emergency rations. All officers have pistols in their rooms. Men are not permitted to leave base except on conducted tours or Sunday swims at a beach guarded by French machinegun squads. The French, as another precaution, are beginning to evacuate villagers living near Doson, to guard against any grenade throwing or other terrorist incident.

Americans arrived here with one plane loaded with tents, but the French had evacuated a military hospital on the base and turned it over to the technicians for their quarters. Rooms are clean and comfortable. But the local power output is so low that movies cannot be shown at night and reading is difficult. For recreation, then, enlisted men visit French clubs on the base.

Food for the American technicians is the usual Air Force fare, minus frozen meats but with fresh vegetables flown in from the Philippines. Until the doctor ordered the men not to, most men brushed their teeth with tap water and expected to kill any germs with bourbon.

When the American technicians arrived at these bases, they started operations from scratch. They unloaded their transport planes by hand until fork lifts were flown in. They ripped boxes apart and used lumber to construct workbenches. Then they started repairing and overhauling American B–26's and ex-Navy Bearcat fighters, backbone of the French combat forces in Indochina. At Doson, Americans also repair C–47's, which the French use to supply and reinforce outlying garrisons.

The Air Force has pledged that none of these new arrivals would have to stay in Indochina more than 120 days. Lt. Col. Walter Miller, unit commander at Tourane, intends to send hardship cases—mostly men whose wives now are crossing the Pacific—back to their base in Japan or the Philippines in 30 days. Some others will be rotated in 60 days. That means there will always be a nucleus of experienced men here to assimilate newcomers, no matter how long technical groups remain in Indochina.

Morale is no better than one would expect under the circumstances of this new United States commitment in Asia. Some of the men here had only 4 to 8 hours' notice that they were leaving for an unknown destination. One officer got his orders a few hours before a surprise birthday party he had planned for his wife. He missed the party.

All of the technicians shipped here were hand-picked for the job. They are mature men who have been through this sort of thing before. But they still get annoyed about some things—like the fact that mail is not arriving. English-language newspapers are not printed in Indochina, and and the Stars and Stripes is not provided free of charge because Indochina is not a combat zone. So reading matter is scarce.

About the only American who really enjoys life at Tourane is Lt. Glendon Frazer of Centerville, Mass. He is making a study of the new French technique with chloropromazine, a drug that lowers body temperatures in a sort of artificial hibernation or freezing. The French claim the drug has reduced battle deaths from shock by one-third in Indochina.

Language differences, it turns out, are not an insurmountable handicap. Americans are not giving direct instructions to the French in how to maintain planes. The French have good technicians, but are woefully short of them and of proper maintenance equipment. The Americans' job is to get all planes back into service and hope the French can keep them that way.

An early attempt at dictionary French produced one extraordinary reaction. The Vietnamese maids were told by an enterprising airman to clean the wastebaskets every morning. The girls assigned a special detail to do this job and maintained for a while the cleanest soap-scrubbed wastebaskets in the world.

Where the Americans really ran into trouble was in coping with the French supply system. The French supply officer carries the location of all items of supply in his head. When he is absent, a research party must go into action. Now the Americans are building a locator and cross-index filing system.

Urgently needed replacement parts are flown in from Clark Field, in the Philippines. A requisition now is filled within 2 days, and Clark Field is on a 7-day supply alert. A search party also is being readied to go through stocks at this base and at Haiphong and Saigon to locate items that the Air Force knows were shipped to Indochina in the past but which apparently have been misplaced.

Thus far, the French and Americans seem to cooperate well. The only real clash has been over ground safety rules. The French insist on loading up their bombers on the same line where other planes are being overhauled. Last week a 500-pound bomb was jolted off its carrier and exploded, destroying an American Air Force C–47. Two Americans were knocked down by the explosion, several were hit by flying glass and pelted with spent bomb fragments. But the French still "bomb up" at the old stand.

The $64 question that is of all-consuming interest to American technicians now in Indochina, however, is what their role here may turn out to be. A captain posed it this way: "We may turn out to be the forgotten troops who just did a job. We may be heroes who helped the French to win. Or we may be the men who started another war."

No one in Tourane can give the answer.

We Need Another Like Lantaff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DWIGHT L. ROGERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the announcement by Representative WILLIAM LANTAFF that he would retire from the Congress at the end of this session was a most unwelcome message by the Members of the Florida delegation.

BILL has been very cooperative and worked with the Florida delegation on legislation for the betterment of the State of Florida. His contribution and advice have been invaluable. With his experience in the Florida Legislature he came well prepared to put on the toga of Federal service in the Congress. His leadership will be missed not only by the Florida delegation but by the other Members of the Congress.

He is highly regarded not only in his congressional district but by the citizens of the State of Florida. As evidence of the high regard in which he is held I am including in my remarks an editorial appearing in the Miami Daily News, one of the leading newspapers of Florida, in its issue of January 4, 1954.

This editorial is entitled "We Need Another Like LANTAFF" and is as follows:

WE NEED ANOTHER LIKE LANTAFF

Announcement by Miami's Representative WILLIAM LANTAFF that he will retire after his second term, or at the end of the 83d Congress, second session, came as a surprise to all but his personal friends. The question is whether many Miamians will fully understand the stated reason, the hardship involved, for the retirement. Whatever Representative LANTAFF's other feelings in the matter, we do not presume to pry into them. We do feel that Miami will lose as a result.

Unfortunately it is too true that Miami's Congressman has had a promising career in the law interrupted without comparable compensation. There is a familiar pattern of such careers all over the country, in the case of exceptional young men attorneys with profitable practice and promise. There are occasions when such men go on in politics, lending their talent and their lives to the country's benefit. But the personal sacrifice is still considerable. True, congressional salaries and allowances are up, but the economic transformation required in a Congressman's life is no easier with inflation.

The Miami Congressman will be well and gratefully remembered by his district for his 2 terms, even though 1 is still unfinished. The assistance he has given to his district lies not so much in the field of legislation as in his diligent attention to his constituents. One notable aspect of that attention was the campaign he conducted

throughout the district last summer—long before it was rumored he might not run again. It was a campaign to get information as to his constituents' wishes in pending legislation and public issues. We trust that information will still be helpful to the Congressman.

Miami's need is for another conscientious, capable Congressman in the future succeeding Representative LANTAFF. It is to be hoped that such a one will rise to meet the challenge for this community's future and for the country's future in the Nation's capital in which both are fatefully intertwined.

Pay of Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the recent statement of the Postmaster General when he said that "the correction of inequities will result in better work performance and greater efficiency." However, I do not believe that he will correct pay inequities by following the recommendations proposed in the report of Fry and Associates, nor, will he get "better work performance and greater efficiency" as a result of the adoption of such a plan.

The new 20 grade pay proposal does not answer nor solve the problem confronting the rank and file postal workers. Under the proposed reclassification scheme and pay increase plan, postal employees will receive an average increase of $200 per year but the great majority of clerks and carriers will average only from $10 to $100 a year. This, to me, represents a token pay raise—and a shameful gesture toward a faithful and devoted group of civil service employees.

This report, in making specific comparisons between postal employees and other non-Federal workers, says that the average weekly earnings of regular clerks and letter carriers are better than the average weekly earnings of large city policemen, firemen, and teachers. The fallacy of such an argument is found in the fact that these city employees are also underpaid and rightfully entitled to substantial pay increases. We also know that these city employees, as well as the Federal postal workers, have been attempting to catch up with the rapid rise in the cost of living.

I believe, and I am sure the Members of Congress agree, that every employee, be he in private industry or Government service should be paid adequate compensation—a salary that will retain his purchasing power parity with his pay check of 1939.

The Postmaster General's proposal fails to meet the dire needs of these postal employees. It offers them no relief from their economic plight. It is unrealistic—inadequate and unfair. It is a shameful attempt under the guise of a pay raise.

These Federal servants are entitled to fair and just treatment at the hands of Congress—it is our duty to see that they get a decent pay raise. We can only attain an efficient and effective postal system through a dedicated and loyal group of postal workers who are treated and paid fairly. That is a solemn responsibility none of us can bypass nor shirk. Let us not fail them in this hour of great need. Let us correct the pay inequities and thereby get "better work performance and greater efficiency."

Danger of Increased Vegetable Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the production of vegetables is a very important part of Maryland's agricultural industry. Our farms are located close to the market places of several large cities, and those engaged in vegetable production keep a close eye on what goes on in Washington and in Congress.

The Packer, a newspaper for the fruit and vegetable industry, recently commented editorially on remarks by President A. Lee Towson, president of the Vegetable Growers Association of America. Those engaged in vegetable production, Mr. Towson pointed out, have neither desired nor accepted Government aid, potato crops excepted.

The failure of the Government's interference in potato production is well known to Mr. Towson, and he is convinced that the taxpayers also have unfavorable memories of that failure.

Mr. Towson's remarks, and the comments by the editor of the Packer, deserve the most serious consideration of the Department of Agriculture and of the United States Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Packer of February 20, 1954]

SPOTLIGHTS DANGER OF INCREASED VEGETABLE PRODUCTION

Spotlighting the danger of increased vegetable production from acreage now being diverted from growing cotton, wheat, and corn, President A. Lee Towson, of the Vegetable Growers Association of America recently told his group that the American vegetable industry, with one notable exception—potatoes—has always been balanced by the law of supply and demand without Government aid. The balance of this industry is now seriously threatened by acreage diverted from production of our basic crops which carry high support programs and which can flood our markets with vegetables. If 1 percent of our diverted acres should go into vegetables we would have an increase of 10 percent in our vegetable acreage he warned.

"This diverted acreage question is potential dynamite to the American vegetable grower and to all those other segments of our agricultural economy that have been operating under the law of supply and demand. There must be a program for these diverted acres, else our whole agricultural economy will be unbalanced. The law of supply and demand which has regulated so well that half of our agriculture which is not producing under Government programs, will be swamped, so that in another year those operating outside of agriculture programs will have no choice but to ask for Government supports. Let us dam the flood at its source before it can swamp more acres. The production from these acres should be required to be put in a soil-fertility bank as a basis for eligibility for support and these acres should remain unharvested and ungrazed.

"An acre of well grown cover crop, when plowed under, contains plant food equivalent to 1 ton of high grade fertilizer. The organic matter is quivalent to 10 tons of manure. In addition, it forms a cornerstone of first rank importance for soil conservation and good tilth. By using these principles we will be removing acres from production of marketable crops and using these diverted acres for production of the best sources of nutrients—organic for the soil fertility bank, and a reduced cost for the following years. We offer this as a solution."

Turning a critical eye toward some of the present-day production programs in agriculture, Mr. Towson told his group that we are now spending one-half million dollars a day for storage fees for billions of dollars worth of unneeded consumer goods—the list is getting larger each day of producers who are only producing for Government purchase at unrealistic high supports. If the vegetable industry had been guided accordingly, said he, "the stink of rotting vegetables would already have reached the taxpayers' noses worse than that of potatoes. Are we not storing other products in large quantities which will have a similar ending? We in the vegetable industry want no part in contributing to these burdensome holdings."

So Many Good People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the New York Daily Mirror last Monday published the following inspiring editorial in tribute to Brotherhood Week:

SO MANY GOOD PEOPLE

The Mirror Saturday told the story of Hilda Lausberg, 7, suffering from critical burns, who needs donations of skin so that she may live. The child is in Meadowbrook Hospital, East Meadow, Long Island.

Offers began coming in as soon as first editions of the Saturday Mirror were on the streets Friday night. They total more than 1,000 now.

This was not an appeal for money. It was an appeal for volunteers who, if their skin proved to be of the right type, would be willing to spend weeks in the hospital during the delicate grafting operations. The incident warms our faith in humanity and our pride in our readers.

The comments of a surgeon, and those of the little girl's mother, widow of a GI lost in Korea, are particularly apt.

The surgeon said: "It's amazing. All these people, willing to stay several weeks in a hospital, just to help a girl they don't even know."

The mother said: "Who would ever believe there are so many good people in this troubled world."

Improvements Needed in Civil-Service Retirement System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I favor amendments to the retirement system for Federal employees under civil service which would make two necesasry improvements. H. R. 5556, introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FINO], provides full retirement benefits after 30 years of service at the age of 55.

H. R. 3936, introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LESINSKI], would permit all civil-service employees to retire after 35 years of service, regardless of their age, and without deduction of any kind due to age of the person retiring.

At present retirement is permitted after 30 years of service at the age of 55, but an employee who exercises this right loses 3 percent of his retirement for each year under the age of 60. This means a reduction during the years of 55 to 60, when he has the option to retire, of 15, 12, 9, 6, and 3 percent of his retirement. The reduction, particularly in the earlier years, is too steep for most of the civil servants to afford to exercise this right. These employees have made their contributions for 30 years and the Government has matched them. If it is right to plan retirement for long-service employees, they should not then be penalized by a deduction from their modest retirement checks.

Even though servicemen make no contribution to a retirement fund, they are entitled to retire after 20 or 30 years of service without deduction for any years under 60. On the other hand, employees in the civil service, from whom deductions of 6 percent of their salaries are taken, which accumulates in interest more than the contributions during the 30 years, cannot receive their retirement payments unless a substantial deduction is made if they are still under 60 years of age.

The provision for full benefits without reduction of any amounts for any of the years under 60 is not limited to pension plans for service personnel, but exists also in the systems for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, for the Public Health Service, for investigative and Foreign Service employees, and for policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia.

I am not questioning the wisdom of the provision which has been made in these systems. I thinnk, however, that other civil servants who have put in 30 years in Government service and who have reached the age of 55 should be permitted to retire and receive the retirement pay to which they would then be entitled by length of service—amounting usually to less than half of their earnings while at work. Deductions up to 15 percent for those under 60 make such retirement impractical.

The other bill which I favor to improve the civil service retirement system, H. R. 3936, would make it possible for an employee to retire if he or she has worked in the civil service for 35 years. The age requirement after a person has served all of 35 years in the Government seems to me to be purely formal and perfunctory. Persons who have worked for the Government for at least 35 years are not young persons. It is the years of service and the contributions which have been made which are the true basis for an equitable claim to retirement. As already indicated, the retirement systems of the military services and the Public Health Service and Coast and Geodetic Survey are based on service and not age requirements, and the service requirements vary from 20 to 30 years. When they are entitled to benefits they receive full benefits, without deductions because they may not have reached a certain fixed age.

Two States have followed this example—Ohio permitting retirement at any age after 36 years of service and Colorado after 35 years of service. This principle is also commonly used in many municipalities for policemen and firemen, with terms of required service much less than 35 years.

The average age of retirement of Government employees in fiscal 1953 was 61½ years. The overall average years of service of these employees was 23½ years. This is broken down in the following categories under which retirement is permitted by the present law:

Basis of retirement:	*Average years of Government service*
Disability	17.7
Mandatory (at 70, at least 15 years of service)	29.2
Optional, 60 to 70 years (at least 30 years of service)	36.6
Optional, 62 to 70 years (at least 15 years of service)	21.8

While we have no exact figures on the number now employed who have had 35 years of service, the sample of retirements in 1953 suggests that a comparatively small number of long-service employees would be involved.

Welcome, Rommy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I cannot help but feel that every Member of the House who remembers Gen. Carlos P. Romulo is happy to learn that he is soon to return to the United States as the personal representative of the new President of the Philippines, Ramon Magsaysay. The Washington Daily News yesterday editorialized as follows:

WELCOME, ROMMY

We welcome back to this country, Brig. Gen. Carlos Romulo, a former Ambassador, who returns as the personal representative of the Philippine's new President, Ramon Magsaysay.

It has been well said of the Filipino people that they are really 20 million oriental Americans. The brilliant, friendly, and forward-looking Rommy is a true embodiment of that sentiment.

President Magsaysay, the most promising of all the leaders of free Asian nations, couldn't have picked a more articulate or effective envoy. The long-standing link between America and the Philippines will be happily strengthened by the presence here of General Romulo.

Russia's Trade Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article by Sylvia Porter:

RUSSIA'S TRADE BOMB

(By Sylvia Porter)

Russia's shopping tour in the West is becoming the key weapons in the cold war, and she is using this commercial and propaganda bomb against us with increasingly frightening success.

She is now pulling eager traders to Moscow by the carloads—from Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Argentina, India, Egypt.

She is offering trade deals to the West designed to bait even the most hardheaded, suspicious enemy of the Kremlin.

She is making friends among our allies, helping to split them from us, feeding on the free world's fear of American recession and resentment against America's trade-tariff policies.

She is buying materials for war or for peace, building up her own industry for war or for peace.

She is making our ban on the sale of strategic—war—goods to the Soviet bloc look silly, shortsighted, and selfish.

She is making communism more palatable and popular in Western Europe and among her own people, too.

All this she is doing while we do nothing in return.

The Soviet trade drive couldn't be more exquisitely timed from the Soviet point of view. Throughout the West, surpluses have replaced shortages and depression has become the great terror. Throughout the West, there is a desperate longing for new markets in which to sell.

So what is Russia doing? She is tempting the West with a potential market of 800 million customers. She is proving she means business by actually buying butter from Denmark, herring from Norway, wool from Australia, textiles from France, ships from Britain, cloth from Italy.

She is paying for what she buys with precious gold or even with deliveries of goods our allies want—manganese, chrome, oil—or she is arranging credit deals.

She is showing the West what could happen by offering Britain a billion dollars' worth of contracts for ships, railway, and power equipment, steam boilers, machine tools, etc., to be delivered between 1955 and 1957.

And she is throwing out the lures. We have a surplus of butter; so she offers to buy our butter. Britain's shipbuilding industry is slowing down; so she places orders for ships.

And what are we doing about this grand offensive?

We are fumbling. We are just antagonizing our allies by insisting they sell only nonstrategic goods to Russia.

Nonstrategic? What is nonstrategic in the mid-20th century? The other day Bernard Baruch, America's revered elder statesman, told me that when he was testifying before the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy recently, he asked the Commission to name our one nonstrategic material.

"The distinguished body of men there was silent," Baruch reported, "until the chairman said, 'bubble gum.'"

Which puts "nonstrategic" into focus.

What will happen? This, I am convinced:

Trade between Russia and our friends in the free world will continue and mount to new postwar highs;

This commercial link will make friends for Russia among our allies and also make them less dependent on us and our aid;

The pressure for trade will compel us to stretch our definition of nonstrategic to the breaking point or to close our eyes while our allies stretch the definition for us;

We will have to accept the realities of the trade or revise our own tariff-trade policies—or get in on the deals ourselves.

We will be on the defensive on this vital cold-war front.

Medical Care Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a statement by Dr. Alfred P. Ingegno, president of the Medical Society of the County of Kings, N. Y., and Academy of Medicine of Brooklyn, N. Y., on medical care insurance. This statement given by Dr. Ingegno was supported also by the Kings County Physicians Guild, represented by Aaron Kottler, M. D., its president, and by the New York Academy of General Practice, represented by John Flynn, M. D., cochairman of its legislative and public relations committees:

The Medical Society of the county of Kings and Academy of Medicine, of Brooklyn, N. Y., which, as its president, I have the honor to represent, appreciates very much the opportunity to express its views on medical-care insurance. Our society has well over 3,000 members; in point of membership it is the second largest county medical society in this country. I presume to speak only for the great majority of the practicing doctors in my community. But it would be a mistake to assume that the fundamental beliefs of the doctors in Kings County with respect to medical-care insurance are significantly different from those held by doctors elsewhere.

Changing times impose new demands. Even though the rise in costs of medical care has not been as great as in some other essential fields it has become necessary to devise new methods for meeting these costs. It is no longer sufficient for the doctor to personally adjust his fees to the means of his patients. It is no longer enough that doctors give away a billion dollars worth of medical service in free clinics and on the wards of hospitals all over the country annually. This has been done in the past, is being done now and will continue to be done just so long as it is necessary. For this is an accepted obligation of the medical profession. But this is not sufficient now for the simple reason that doctor's fees are at present such a small proportion of total medical care costs that lessening of this factor alone can bring at best but partial relief. At least two-thirds of the medical care dollar goes for such things as hospital care, nursing care, laboratory and technical services, drugs and medications, etc., and the costs of these are certainly not under the control of the medical profession.

Medical care costs more than it used to not only because all of its ingredients are more expensive but because with advances in medical knowledge more can be done for the sick than was once possible. Some cures would have cost much less years ago for the simple reason that there was not as much cure available. Many modern medical techniques require the use of methods, procedures, services, personnel, products, and facilities which were formerly not available, and all of these things cost money. These simple and obvious facts indicate how unjust it would be to accuse the medical profession of primary responsibility for the rise in costs of medical care.

It has become something of a fashion to publicly criticize the doctor. Specialists in this field enjoy the advantage that sensationalism always confers. In some quarters attempts to discredit the medical profession have reached such implausible proportions that one can readily foresee their inevitable collapse of their own bombastic weight. Aside from the erroneous charge that the medical profession is to blame for high costs of medical care, it has even been alleged that doctors have shown no concern, have done nothing to meet the problem, and have not come up with any quick, simple, single, sure-fire panacea. Upon false premises such as these it seems hardly likely that one can rationally and intelligently build a durable solution of medical care problems. For, as a necessary consequence of these faulty assumptions, the reasonable proposals and sound advice and leadership of the medical profession are unfortunately too often disregarded. There is a lamentable tendency to ignore the obvious fact that medical plans which automatically exclude the possibility of hearty cooperation and approval of the vast majority of the doctors who must give the service necessarily start out on a very shaky foundation indeed.

In the development of voluntary medical care insurance, which in our democracy is certainly best calculated to help meet the problem of rising medical care costs, the medical profession has for years taken a leading role. In spite of statements made by some, the medical profession has been very seriously concerned with medical care costs and has done very much to meet the problem.

If we look at the record of voluntary medical care insurance honestly, how can anyone deny its drama, its speed, its success, and its promise for the future?

In the 12 years from 1940 to 1952 there has been this phenomenal achievement: The number of people covered by hospitalization insurance has risen from 12 million to 90 million. The number of people with surgical care insurance has risen from 5 million to 73 million. The number of people insured against medical ills has risen from 3 million to 36 million. The breathtaking pace of developments in these fields in the past 6 years is almost unbelievable. Curiously enough, however, this makes few headlines.

It should be recalled that it is the medical profession that has had the major role in this startling progress. It has been the most important factor. The encouragement, support, and sponsorship of hospital, surgical, and medical care plans by doctors through their State and county medical societies has been the keystone of the arch of this success. So much so that since 1950 there has been at least one medical society approved or sponsored prepayment medical care plan in every State of the Union, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Hawaii.

In the development of sickness insurance of the so-called service type, with its augmented guaranty of full coverage without extra charges for people in the low- and middle-income groups, the leadership and support of the medical profession has been crucial. Indeed it has been the willingness of the doctor to accept full payment fee schedules at considerably less than the going rate that has kept the premiums for such service plans within the reach of those with modest incomes. This is certainly practical leadership and cooperation of the highest order.

It is not denied that much remains to be done. But the comprehensiveness and completeness of coverage is increasing rapidly as actuarial experience accumulates. And it is by extension of the benefits obtainable under such voluntary prepayment free-choice plans that the greatest hope for the future lies.

Insurance against the less common major costs of prolonged illness, so-called catastrophic coverage, with a deductible feature like collision insurance, is still in the experimental stage. Although of relatively recent vintage there are already probably over a million people who now have some form of this type of insurance. This too is making very rapid strides and holds great promise for the very near future. Combinations of presently available medical-surgical coverage, hospitalization insurance, and insurance against the costs of catastrophic illness should provide a satisfactory and acceptable cushion against the costs of most illness.

In the Medical Society of the County of Kings, as in many other county and State medical societies all over the country, we have long had what we believe to be very constructive attitudes toward medical care insurance. Statements made before this committee that county and State medical societies oppose medical care insurance are completely false. The Medical Society of the County of Kings, for example, has already approved two voluntary prepayment unrestricted free-choice medical care plans which together service several millions of subscribers in the New York metropolitan area. These medical care plans are the United Medical Service (Blue Shield) and Group Health Insurance, Inc. Both of these plans have service features which guarantee that people in the low and middle income groups will not be subject to extra charges for medical and surgical service. In other words, the participating doctors in these plans have agreed to accept as full payment for their services the amounts listed in the service fee schedule. This service fee schedule is very modest indeed and indicates an earnest willingness of the doctors in our community to cooperate in making medical care costs more manageable for the average family and to avoid the necessity for additional charges. Improvements in the extent of coverage under these plans is constantly increasing. In addition to in-hospital medical and surgical coverage, there are now contracts which include home and office care. It is important to bear in mind that all this has been accomplished without resort to panel practice, and without resort to restriction of the patient's right to freely choose his own physician.

One of the aspects of medical care costs which requires improved insurance coverage involves consultative and diagnostic services. This of course includes laboratory and X-ray studies. To a limited extent such services are insured by appropriate riders added to existing medical care plan con-

tracts. This, however, is as yet admittedly inadequate and we of the Medical Society of the County of Kings are at the present time working on what may prove to be a constructive answer to this problem. I am submitting herewith a proposal which I made before the Medical Society of the County of Kings last October and which is now receiving the careful study of the society's medical care plain committee. I believe there is a voluntary prepayment way to give comprehensive diagnostic and consultative care as an extension to the medical and surgical benefits provided under the service-type plans already mentioned.

My proposal was that the Medical Society of the County of Kings should sponsor the formation of a "consultative and diagnostic group." Of course, any county medical society could do the same thing. In essence, the plan would provide for the creation of a consultant and diagnostic group of physicians, a voluntary partnership of all specialists willing to participate. This group, which in a county the size of ours would, of course, be gigantic, would contract with various medical-care insurance plans to furnish complete diagnostic and consultant services to subscribers in the lower economic brackets. The group would be paid by the insurance company on a per capita basis, so much per patient annually. Payment to the physicians rendering the service, however, would be on the basis of a fee-for-service schedule.

A simple diagram of the proposed plan outlines its essential structure. There would be an appropriately modified fee schedule, but the services would be rated in units instead of dollars according to their relative worth. The dollar value of each unit would be determined at intervals by dividing the total net income of the group by the total units of service rendered during the interval. Payment would then be made to those who gave the services in accordance with the number of units of service each had rendered. All services of the group would be supplied on a free-choice private-practice basis on the request of the patient's personal physician. In other words, the group would be paid on a per capita basis by the insurance company. The group in turn would pay the individual specialist rendering the service on a fee-for-service basis.

Note that under the proposed plan the insured patient would go to his family doctor in the normal way to obtain the usual medical and surgical benefits insured against. If the services of a consultant, or if X-ray or laboratory aid is required, even of the so-called preventive or checkup type, the patient could then be referred to any of the specialists in the group for necessary services just as is done in ordinary private practice. The specialist would report his findings to the referring doctor in the usual way and send notification of services rendered to group headquarters. At intervals payment would be made to the specialists in accordance with the dollar value of the units of service rendered.

The dollar value of each unit of service would fluctuate somewhat depending on the degree of utilization of services. But these fluctuations need not be violent if proper allowance is made for anticipated utilization. Abuses of the plan from unwarranted overuse could, of course, be guarded against to a certain extent by limited exclusions and limited coinsurance features. This plan is not meant to be a bonanza for specialists. Indeed to begin with the fee schedule would recognize the economic limitations of the people being serviced. Its primary purpose would be to guarantee a fully paid consultant and diagnostic service for the lower income patient through his own family doctor. Freedom of choice would be assured not only by wide specialist participation, but also by provisions for indemnification of nonparticipating specialists as well.

It seems to me that a plan such as this, appropriately modified in accordance with the needs of the patients of a particular community, could be tried on a limited experimental basis for a period. If found practicable it could then be extended to more people, and possibly, with additional premium increments, to people in higher economic brackets. It thus seems quite possible to extend present plans with their medical and surgical benefits to include even such expensive items as consultative and diagnostic service. It is possible to do this in the voluntary way, and it is possible to do this without sacrificing the patient's right to unrestricted free choice of doctor.

We of the Medical Society of the County of Kings have been seriously concerned not only with ways of making medical care insurance more comprehensive and more inclusive, but have also given considerable thought to the problem of people who are not insured and can afford little or nothing in the way of payment for medical care. Such people are being taken care of for the most part in the free clinics and wards of hospitals all over the country and in the care of these patients physicians of course give their services without charge. It is also true that most physicians in private practice adjust their fees downward for people who are economically limited and often give part or all of their services entirely without charge. Those people who are on welfare aid are cared for by physicians who receive very modest fees for their services from the community. It may well be that people receiving welfare aid should preferably have the benefit of better medical care through the agency of voluntary prepayment free-choice medical care insurance paid for out of community funds. In this field Government aid may be of definite benefit.

In order to meet any immediate needs however, our medical society has taken what I feel to be a most constructive step. It has recently unanimously agreed to form a medical aid committee, made up of as many hundreds and thousands of our members as possible. This committee will pledge itself to give medical and surgical care to anyone who needs it whether or not he can pay for it. If the problem is one for a general practitioner, the general practitioner on the list whose turn it is will see the patient, or the surgeon if it is a surgical problem, or anyone of the different specialists. Whichever doctor sees the patient will from that point on have the responsibility of his proper care. If the doctor can handle it alone, all well and good. If the patient requires something more, consultation with another doctor, or hospital care, or some special kind of clinic care, or some special kind of welfare or social service care, the doctor will take the personal responsibility of arranging for it through our headquarters setup. We intend to do this just as quietly and efficiently and conscientiously as we can, and we will do it on an intimate person-to-person basis without any thought whatever of the fact that no fee is involved. Our main purpose will be the satisfaction of knowing that no one in our community is lacking the proper medical attention just because he can't pay for it.

Much has been accomplished in the voluntary way. Much can continue to be accomplished in the voluntary way without the whiplash of compulsion and restrictive control; without infringement of the patient's unrestricted right to choose his own doctor; without compromising the medical profession's ability to render competent, efficient, ethical, personal service; without panel-practice medicine; and without resort to a production-line or department store philosophy of medical care.

President Eisenhower's insistence on a framework of voluntary method and freedom of choice of physician should have everyone's wholehearted support. We are in complete accord with his desires in this respect. There is merit, too, in the thought that a Government-sponsored reinsurance corporation may have value in covering some of the marginal actuarial risks that privately sponsored medical care plans may have to assume to broaden some types of coverage. It remains only to be certain that in any such program the utmost care be exercised to avoid encouragement and support of medical care plans which negate the essence of our free society.

Such a Federal reinsurance corporation should not be a prop to plans which deny unrestricted free choice of physician, which encourage panel practice, and which create conditions of medical practice that may lead to underserviced, dissatisfied patients and impersonal medical care techniques. It is worthy of note that the right to free choice of doctor is enforced under the compensation rules of the State of New York. The aim should be to make free choice available to everyone. The aim should be to try to see that everyone who needs medical care can go to his personal physician for it and not be forced to go to some big impersonal clinic or center. The economics of medical care is important, but even more important is the quality of medical care. Let us not make the fatal mistake of taking on a shoddy product because it is cheaper or statistically alluring. We must not for 1 moment forget that patients and doctors are people and not inanimate objects on a production belt.

I want to assure the members of this committee that the Medical Society of the county of Kings, along with other county and State medical societies has been and will continue to be earnestly cooperative in the solution of medical care problems. In this respect we are ready and willing to work in every way possible with any interested group, whether it be management or labor or Government to effectuate constructive solutions by voluntary methods.

Up to this point I have avoided mention of certain erroneous statements made before this committee by a spokesman for the Health Insurance Plan of New York, Inc. I will refer to these statements now with the brevity that they merit. This HIP spokesman implied that county and State medical societies oppose medical care insurance. How ridiculously false this is should be readily evident from what I have already said. The statement was also made that county medical societies oppose group practice. This, too, is a complete untruth. The medical profession and county medical societies do not oppose group practice. There are many medical groups all over the country practicing perfectly ethical medicine and rendering fine service. Indeed, in a sense every doctor practices group medicine, for every doctor avails himself of the specialized knowledge of his colleagues in his community for consultation when required for diagnosis and treatment. The essential element in medical teamwork is the cooperation among competent men, not the construction of fancy clinic buildings or centers. An important thing about group practice among doctors is that any group or partnership of physicians is expected to abide by the medical code of ethics just as an individual physician does. The fact that a physician is practicing in a group does not release him from his ethical obligations which after all, are primarily intended to protect the rights and interest of patients.

Other reported statements of this spokesman of the Health Insurance Plan of New York, Inc., should be accepted with extreme reserve. It is not true that the AMA has approved this plan. Nor has the plan been approved by the Medical Society of the State of New York or by any of the county medical societies in its area of operation. Indeed HIP has not even been approved by any significant numbers of subscribers in the New

York metropolitan area. Out of a population of about 10 million people HIP has only 400,000 subscribers of whom, in a sense, about half are "captive" New York City employees. Compare this with the 3,000,000 subscribers of the United Medical Service, for example, which has the approval of both the State and County medical societies.

The major reason why the vast majority of doctors and of potential subscribers oppose HIP is because HIP does not allow unrestricted free choice of doctor. When a subscriber joins HIP he must go to one of the groups of physicians chosen by this insurance plan to service its subscribers. This is in direct contrast to United Medical Service and Group Health Insurance, Inc., the subscribers to which may go to any doctor of their choice to obtain their insurance benefits. It is this HIP denial of unrestricted free choice of doctor in direct contravention of a clearly stated principle of the medical code of ethics, and in direct contravention of the fundamental rights of patients that has made it unacceptable.

In essence, HIP is a privately controlled insurance corporation with a governing board of which only one third are physicians and none of those practicing physicians, which directs that its doctors must practice group medicine, passes upon their qualifications, solicits patients for them, channels patients to them, limits the subscriber's choice to its restricted panel of physicians, and assigns a per capita remuneration to medical groups for service, the groups in turn having physicians in partnership or on salary. This is a far cry from medical care insurance but is rather a system of medical care practice which carries in its objectionable compulsory features.

A serious ethical question has also arisen with respect to HIP advertising, which as you know, is prohibited to physicians by the medical code of ethics. Through inspired publicity, group publications sent to patients, advertisements, throw-aways, door-to-door solicitation and so forth, HIP advertising has benefited the relatively few physicians on its panel. All this is ethically denied to solo practitioners and independent groups of doctors.

HIP has also manifested curiously monopolistic and restraining tendencies. It has a virtual monopoly on medical-care insurance of city employees. The fact of the matter is that the city of New York will pay half the premium of employees who subscribe to HIP, but not of employees who subscribe to any other medical-care plan. If a group of employees wants to join, let us say, United Medical Service, they have to pay the whole premium themselves. But if the group joins HIP the city pays half the premium. What is still worse, the city will not even pay half the employee's hospitalization insurance unless he joins HIP. The result of this unfortunate and anomalous situation is that there is severe economic pressure on the city employees to join HIP. HIP has frantically opposed any attempts to liberalize the city's attitude in these matters. It is reasonable to hope, however, that Mayor Wagner's support of the free choice principle will be a potent influence toward the correction of present inequities.

We have made constructive suggestions to HIP which would enable it to carry on its prepayment group practice insurance scheme and at the same time allow the subscriber the right to unrestricted free choice of doctor, and which would permit groups of New York City employees to democratically choose the medical-care plan they prefer, the city to pay half the premium of any medical-care plan chosen. All of our conciliatory efforts have been brusquely rejected by HIP.

These facts are mentioned to emphasize that there is no opposition to prepayment group practice as a concept as has been repeatedly and falsely alleged. The opposition has been to specific and correctable deficiencies involving restriction of free choice of doctor and other questionable practices and procedures. Every medical-care plan should be evaluated on the basis of what it does, not what it claims it does. We should be mindful not only of what a medical-care plan gives but also of what it takes away.

I can only conclude with one general observation. The medical society of the county of Kings has supported and will continue to support any and all worthy medical-care plans. In justice to our patients and in justice to the obligations of our professions it cannot be expected to give approval to medical plans which deny unrestricted free choice of doctor and which nurture the seed of compulsion.

Sixty Days of Accumulated Annual Leave in the Federal Government Service Should Be Reinstituted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, as a result of the concerted cry from many sources for relief from the so-called Thomas rider, Congress enacted Public Law 102, 83d Congress, approved July 2, 1953, for the purpose of overcoming some of the criticisms of it.

After a closer view of the new leave law, many students of civil-service reform and personnel administration came to the conclusion that for most employees in the Federal Government Public Law 102 is not a betterment of the bad situation, but that in reality the situation is probably worse, even if unintentionally so. A careful analysis reveals that the new leave law goes even further than the Thomas rider in curbing employee leave benefits. The only employees benefiting from the new law are those who had less than 30 days of accumulated leave. Under the Thomas rider they could not accumulate any more leave, but these employees now can save up to 30 days. For the great majority of Federal employees who have in excess of 30 days' leave, the new law hurts them even more than the old one.

Congress has decreed in this new law that all employees must reduce their accumulated leave to 30 days within a reasonable length of time. The new law also prevents departing employees from receiving cash payments for unused leave for any current year. They are entitled to cash payments for the amount of leave they had accumulated at the beginning of the year, but all unused leave of the current year will have to be taken as vacations before they depart from Federal service. Survivors of deceased employees are discriminated against even more, for now they are not entitled to cash payments for the unused leave of the current year left by an employee.

This is the way Congress answered the impassioned plea of many Government employees and employee unions for some relief to the inequities which had crept into our annual leave law.

It is imperative that we now reexamine the annual leave picture and make some drastic changes in the annual and sick leave law with a view to restoring to this group of loyal and devoted employees some of the rights which they have enjoyed historically in our Nation.

The privilege of receiving annual and sick leave benefits as Government employees is not a new idea; the first legislation providing sick and annual leave for Government employees was passed in 1893, over 60 years ago. Prior to 1932, however, Federal leave statutes made no provision whatsoever for accumulation, but the Economy Act of June 30, 1932, made annual leave accumulative without limit. The Annual Leave Act of March 14, 1936, preserved the right of employees to leave which they had accumulated under restrictions of the Economy Act, and authorized future accumulations in amounts up to 60 days. During World War II, Federal employees were requested by the President to limit annual leave to a period of 2 weeks a year, except in emergencies. Because of this stipulation, the accumulation limit was increased, to a total of 90 days. Since wartime, however, Congress has constantly been chipping away at this reserve by various acts.

Public Law 239, 80th Congress, returned to the 60-day accumulation limit. Section 1212 of the General Appropriations Act, 1951, required that all annual leave earned in calendar year 1950 be used or forfeited by June 30, 1951. Section 601 of the Independent Offices Appropriations Act, 1952, required that all annual leave earned in calendar year 1951 be used or forfeited by June 30, 1952. The basic law regulating annual and sick leave rights was rewritten in 1951, repealing section 601 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act. This act also provided a 60-day limit on accumulation—except for a 90-day limit for certain categories of overseas personnel—and protected existing accumulations, although providing for a gradual reduction of such accumulation to the 60-day level through normal use. Section 401 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1953, ordered as permanent legislation forfeiture each June 30th of all unused annual leave earned in the preceding calendar year. This was the so-called Thomas rider.

It is my honest opinion at this time that we in Congress must enact legislation as rapidly as the legislative process will allow restoring to the loyal body of Federal employees the right to accumulate annual leave to an unrestricted maximum of 60 days. In my mind, the justice of such an action would be unquestioned. Think with me for a moment if you will of the many reasons which necessitate such an action on the part of Congress in the name of fairness, equity, and even good business and personnel management practices.

First, Government workers have no financial protection against unemployment. Almost all employees in private concerns now are covered by unemployment insurance, and in addition many of them receive severance pay as well.

Federal employees alone among the Nation's major groups of wage earners have absolutely no unemployment insurance or severance-pay benefits to buffer them against any possible personnel action in the future which separates them from their jobs. Under the provisions of the old laws which allowed accumulation of up to 60 days of annual leave, Federal employees were at least given an opportunity to save their leave so that they would be assured of transitional pay in the event of a sudden separation from Government service.

Second, the accumulation is imperative for effective and equitable Federal personnel management. Under the present graduated leave system, new employees earn only 13 days annual leave a year. All of this amount is not likely to be available for vacation purposes, since every absence for necessary personal business also must be charged to the employee's annual-leave account. As a result, many new employees working in locations distant from their homes, such as in California, have difficulty in returning home for vacations when they cannot accumulate enough leave to make the long trip possible and financially practical. This provision tends to hamper recruitment of needed workers in Washington and discriminates against citizens from Western States such as my own State of California. In short, the denial of leave accumulation is unfair, creates additional recruitment problems, and results in poor employee morale.

Third, leave accumulation makes possible more efficient administration. Reasonable leave accumulation allows needed flexibility in personnel utilization. Government agencies often find it necessary to ask employees to restrict or give up annual leave for given periods of time, particularly during emergencies. In this situation, if leave cannot be accumulated, administration officials are left with a poor choice of forcing employees to lose earned leave, which is obviously very unfair; or granting leave to employees when they cannot be spared, which results in loss of production, replacement cost, and additional work at overtime rates.

Last, but not least, the ban on accumulation of annual leave is not in reality an economy measure. It does not reduce the amount of annual leave earned in any 1 year. The morale of public employees has been seriously impaired by this enactment by these provisions.

I would like to point out to all the Members of Congress that the efficiency of our Government depends in the long run upon the caliber of our Federal employees. We cannot expect to recruit and retain the best qualified persons in Government service unless we treat them justly and fairly. We should assure them that we are concerned sincerely in their best interest and that we recognize the economic facts of life well enough to allow them this accumulation of leave to serve as a buffer against any eventual separation from their employment. Moreover, it is in the interest of this Government to reward faith and loyalty in service with just consideration. Such practice is in the tradition of American standards, which are as valid in day-to-day affairs as in great matters of state.

Top-Shelf Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, people are more apt to criticize than to praise, and therefore, it was indeed a pleasure to note the fine editorial which appeared in the South Milwaukee Voice-Journal, a weekly published in my district. It is very gratifying to witness such public acclaim for loyal and efficient service as Mr. Gordon R. Lewis, the editor, gave to the excellent postal services rendered in the city of South Milwaukee.

Such service should, in my opinion, be rewarded by prompt and favorable action by Congress on legislation which would provide for a long-overdue adjustment of the classification and salaries of postal employees.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial:

TOP-SHELF SERVICE FOR SOUTH MILWAUKEE

Good governmental services are a great deal like health. You don't appreciate them until you don't have them.

Consequently, we feel there may be many persons in South Milwaukee who don't fully appreciate the high type of postal service we have here.

We wouldn't be too much aware of it ourselves, perhaps, if we hadn't had numerous opportunities to compare what we have with the type that many other communities have.

Our attendance at State and National press association meetings never fails to bring up a discussion of the type of postal-delivery service enjoyed (maybe that's a loose use of the term in many instances) by residents of other communities.

It always gives us a great deal of pleasure to brag about our post office and the cooperation the Voice-Journal gets from every postal employee, from Postmaster Bill Corry right down to the clerks, mail carriers, and building custodian.

While we appreciate the service, too many of us remain mute about it. But when we have a beef we're frequently loud about that.

We don't maintain that all the postal employees are perfect. No one is. And we don't maintain that they sometimes don't make mistakes. The only person who doesn't either isn't doing anything, or he's dead. But the mistakes are few indeed, considering the volume of business handled by the post office here.

In some cities not too far from here, weekly newspapers have had to go to their own carrier system of delivery, because their mail delivery by letter carriers was so poor. We've heard of instances in which newspaper bundles were found in corners of post offices as late as Saturday—when they should have been delivered Thursday.

By Federal regulation, newspapers are supposed to be handled with dispatch. Thus postal employees are not giving the Voice-Journal any special privilege in getting the papers out on time. But they always give that little extra attention which makes the difference between a lackadaisical job and a superb one.

Not only is this efficiency accorded the distribution of our newspapers, which, of course is the life blood of an operation like ours, but it also marks the handling of letter mail and the tracing of urgent packages or letters which may have become sidetracked along the way—perhaps in some other post office.

A word should be said, too, for the friendliness and courtesy of our letter carriers—wherever you meet them around town. They do their jobs well and have a cheerful pat on the head for the youngsters, a smile for the homeowners and even an occasional kind whistle for the dogs on their routes.

We say South Milwaukee is extremely fortunate to be served by these postal employees.

The newspaper has a minimum of complaints, despite the fact that about 2,700 of the 3,725 newspapers printed each week are distributed by mail. The chance for error is great. Comparatively speaking, only a handful of complaints is registered.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the Bricker amendment, as amended by the George amendment, was an effort to amend the Constitution so as to prevent a President, without the knowledge or consent of the Congress or the people, making what is known as an executive agreement with another nation or group of nations, which would have the effect of permitting the imposition upon the people of the United States of laws restricting their rights which have not been enacted by either the States or the Congress.

Our forefathers, in writing the Constitution, did a remarkably fine job, but they could not anticipate changing conditions, practices, or needs which might arise in the future.

That they expected the Constitution to be amended is evident from the fact that in article V they provided the procedure for adopting constitutional amendments. Twenty-two times the people have amended the Constitution in accordance with that procedure, once repealed an amendment.

It follows then that all this hue and cry by the opponents of the Bricker amendment that it, or any substitute offered in lieu thereof, would destroy the Constitution is—to use a common expression—"bunk."

The question now before the Senate is not whether President Eisenhower should be deprived of the power to make executive agreements with other nations without the knowledge or consent of the Congress or the people, but whether any President should have opportunity to exercise that power.

Apparently, no one dreamed of the necessity of an amendment similar in substance to the Bricker proposal until we discovered that both former President Roosevelt and former President Truman had made executive agreements, the results of which were to get us into two unnecessary wars, impose laws upon us which neither the States nor Congress had passed.

Our taxpayers are now being asked by United Nations to pay thousands of dollars to U. N. employees who were dis-

charged because they were either commies or invoked the fifth amendment.

The thought and purpose involved in the Bricker amendment were sponsored by 64 Senators—more than two-thirds of the Senate membership—including both Michigan Senators. Then, the internationalists—that is, those who want to permit the President of the United States and the United States to make secret executive agreements, that is, become involved in foreign entanglements, contrary to Washington's advise—and some who are willing to take a chance, apparently thinking more of pleasing foreign powers than they do of maintaining our independence, began to cry that the adoption of such an amendment was a declaration of a lack of confidence in President Eisenhower. It is no such thing.

Obviously, under the Constitution, President Eisenhower cannot hold that office to exceed two terms. What those who are in favor of this proposal to amend the Constitution are trying to do is to prevent any President from hereafter following the precedents set by former President Roosevelt and former President Truman in making secret agreements with other nations, which would automatically curtail the liberties of our citizens, impair the security of our Nation. Certainly, the people should be permitted to vote upon that proposition.

Though on the 26th of February, the amendment was defeated 61 to 30, lacking 1 vote of the necessary two-thirds, it will be up again. The Michigan Senators voted one for, one against.

Private Development Is the Issue in Navy's Alaska Oil Reserve Fight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. KARSTEN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I include as part of my remarks, an article which was published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on February 28, 1954.

The controversy over public versus private development of oil reserves in Alaska is of such great importance that I would like to bring this information to the attention of all the Members.

The article follows:

Far up in northern Alaska, where the sun is never seen from late November to late January, the United States Navy owns a vast oil reserve. It covers 37,000 square miles, a tract the size of Indiana but with only a tiny fraction of Indiana's population. Hundreds of lakes dot the 24 million acres and herds of caribou wander through the icy wastes. From the air, it looks forbidding, empty, and water-soaked when not covered with ice.

Beneath the surface are substantial quantities of oil and gas. Exactly how much isn't known yet.

At the turn of the century when the Navy switched from coal to oil to fuel its ships, Navy officers realized it would be important in times of war to have a large supply of oil in reserve. The first of four oil reserves was set aside in Elk Hills, Calif., in 1912. A second reserve was created just to the south of Elk Hills at Buena Vista Hills, a third at Teapot Dome, Wyo., and finally the fourth and largest at Point Barrow, Alaska, set aside by President Harding 30 years ago.

Now, it has been urged by Senator HUGH BUTLER, Republican, Nebraska, powerful chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, that the Alaskan oil reserve be opened up for exploitation by private companies.

If approved by President Eisenhower and Congress, this would be another major step in the administration's program of turning over natural resources to private developers.

Starting in 1944 when a shortage of oil threatened the Navy in World War II, exploration began in the Alaska reserve. Seabees, jacks-of-all-trades, began the first drilling. After the war, private contractors took on the job. They found oil, not in big quantities but enough to indicate that there may be very large fields of oil and gas.

Last spring, after the Navy had spent $52 million developing the Alaskan reserve, all work halted. The new administration was looking for places to save money and the Navy agreed that it could save $10 million by stopping work in Alaska.

Then on February 11 came a surprising announcement by Senator BUTLER. In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, BUTLER quoted the Navy as saying it would "interpose no objection to returning the reserve to the public domain under the administration of the Interior Department."

BUTLER, a man with strong feelings about the superiority of private companies over bureaucrats in any field, added: "I believe the Naval Petroleum Reservation should be canceled immediately and that area opened up to private development under the Mineral Leasing Act. I am writing to urge that this be done at the earliest possible date. I hope you will initiate action toward that end."

In Alaska, Senator BUTLER said, "This oil reservation is taken as a symbol of a Federal policy which has stifled all development there. This outworn policy, far from fostering true conservation, has simply locked resources up in a state of nonuse. Prompt revocation of the orders establishing this reservation would have a tremendous effect in convincing the people of Alaska that there has been a marked change for the better in Washington."

FOR FURTHER DETERMINATION

But the Navy, in its letter quoted by Senator BUTLER, said that this was a policy matter "for determination by the White House and by Congress through the Senate and House Armed Services Committees."

The Navy letter added: "Insofar as the oil potential of this Territory is concerned, the Navy's primary interest is in its ultimate economical development whether by private or governmental interest."

On the surface, this appeared to be a complete reversal of the Navy's historic policy of 40 years—the policy that the best place to keep an oil reserve is in the ground, where it will always be available if needed in an emergency.

Inquiry in Washington by Post-Dispatch reporters showed, however, that the Navy letter was not quite what it seemed.

Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson said he still felt exactly as he did last spring when questioned by the House Armed Services Committee—that the oil reservation should remain a reservation, in the ground, and should not be turned over to private companies for development.

Surprisingly, Anderson added that he had not been consulted by Senator BUTLER or by anyone in his Department before the Navy announced it would have no objection to returning the Alaskan reserve to the public domain, under the control of the Interior Department.

Moreover, said Secretary Anderson, who is an oil man himself, he had no knowledge of Senator Butler's proposal until he read it in the newspapers.

Two visits to Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay also brought some unexpected replies. He, too, said he had not been consulted by Senator BUTLER before the committee chairman announced that he wanted the naval oil reserve opened up for private exploitation.

In fact, said Secretary McKay, he did not know the Navy had a big oil reserve in Alaska.

What had happened, as pieced together from various sources, was this:

Franklin G. Floete, Assistant Secretary of Defense, in charge of properties and installations, appeared before Senator BUTLER's committee January 28 and was asked what Federal properties in Alaska could be made available to the proposed State.

Several questions dealt with possible release of Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4. Floete did not have the answers immediately but said he would get them from the Navy.

MEMO WRITTEN BY FOGLER

He relayed the committee's questions to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Raymond H. Fogler, who is in charge of oil reservations. Fogler told the Post-Dispatch he consulted with Navy Secretary Anderson and with the Navy chief of operations before writing the memorandum to Floete, in which he said: "The Navy would interpose no objection to returning his reserve to the public domain under the administration of the Interior Department."

But Navy Secretary Anderson, who has been described in an official Navy biography as a man who "has been one of the oil industry's most persuasive witnesses before committees of the United States Congress," said he had no recollection of having discussed the matter with his assistant, Fogler. It is possible it came up in a casual conversation or at a staff meeting, Anderson said.

Regardless of how it reached him, the Navy's statement was used by Senator BUTLER in proposing that the reserve should be opened up to private development.

Once BUTLER's proposal became known and its implications understood, some signs of opposition developed quickly.

Democrats in BUTLER's committee beat down a proposed amendment to the Alaskan statehood bill under which the Federal Government would have released the oil reserve for private exploitation.

CONCERN AND MISGIVINGS

Conservationists also expressed concern and at least one former Interior official expressed misgivings, wondering whether a "slick deal" was in the works.

How valuable is the naval petroleum reserve in Alaska?

Here is what John C. Reed, staff coordinator for the United States Geological Survey, said in testifying January 25 before the Senate Interior Committee on the statehood bill:

"The exploration that the Navy carried on for 9 years has demonstrated very substantial value in Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4. Or let me recast that and say has revealed substantial quantities of oil and gas within and near Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4. To convert that into value presupposes that it can be got out at a profit. That has not yet been determined.

"There was found in that exploration program one moderate-sized oil field called the Umiat field in the southeast part of the reserve. The consensus of the quantity of oil in that field is somewhere between 50 million and 75 million barrels of oil.

"The Navy found also a large geologic structure—an immense geologic structure

more than 50 miles long—called the Gubik anticline, that is known to contain a tremendous quantity of gas. That particular structure is partly within and partly outside the reserve.

"So far as is known, there is no oil in that structure. It is all gas. The quantity is very large. We can't even measure it. We don't have enough data to measure it.

"Other smaller oil fields have been found, but primarily structures have been found, knowledge has been gained as to detailed geology and conditions that would lead informed petroleum engineers and geologists to believe that the Umiat and Gubik structures are only examples of what is likely, both within and outside the reserve."

ALASKA DELEGATE'S QUESTION

Alaskan Delegate E. L. BARTLETT asked: "Dr. Reed, I had heard that if the Navy had continued its drilling instead of suspending its operations in the autumn of 1953, that it then would have gone into deeper structures and many geologists believe that the opportunity to find really sizable deposits would be better than in the exploration work already done. Does that have any merit?"

Reed replied: "Yes. Your statement is a little one-sided perhaps, but it has a great deal of merit. What you said is just about 95 percent right.

"This program had to start from Point Barrow because that was the place you could get to in ships and where you had an airfield. As the program has gone on, the work has moved farther and farther afield but more and more information on the whole environment has been gained, and the next steps that would have been undertaken would have been the testing of some of the older rocks, the Lisburne limestone, which crops out near the north flank of the Brooks Range all the way around the reserve. That is the inland area. It is the farthest distant from Barrow.

"In general, those are the deepest rocks throughout most of the reserve. To get them near the surface you have to go farther south. Experts who had been involved in this business feel the possibilities probably are greater back there than they were where the work has gone on to date. There has been no testing, however, of those rocks in that area because the program did stop." Only one deep hole was drilled, to 12,000 feet.

There are several potential oil areas in Alaska, Reed pointed out. One is the Prince William Sound area; the second is the Alaska Peninsula; a third is north of the Brooks Range where the Navy has its reserve and a fourth is the south side of that range, which is the Alaskan counterpart of the Rocky Mountains. Along the Pacific Coast area, oil exploration has been going on for years and "interest seems to be reviving," Reed noted.

PROOF THAT OIL IS THERE

In the Katalla-Yakataga area in southern Alaska, Phillips Petroleum Co. and Kerr-McGee Oil Industries, Inc., controlled by Senator ROBERT S. KERR of Oklahoma, are drilling now. Production from that field totals about 155,000 barrels—"a very small drop in a very big bucket," Reed said, but he added it proves oil is there. It would be a fine place to find a major oil field because it is almost on the great circle route between North America and the Orient, he remarked.

Arctic Contractors, Inc., which did the drilling for the Navy, was made up of three companies—Hoover, Curtice & Rudy, Inc., of New York City, consisting of Herbert Hoover, Jr., and two associates; C. F. Lytle Co., Sioux City, Iowa, and Green Construction Co., of Des Moines.

The geophysical work was done under subcontract by United Geophysical Co., headed by Hoover. This company was sold by Hoover 2 years ago to Union Oil Co. Hoover, a director of Union Oil, recently was named an adviser to the State Department on oil matters of the Near East. At that time he severed all his connections with oil firms, he told the Post-Dispatch.

Union Oil has kept in close touch with Alaskan oil developments, as have other companies. Standard Oil of California, Standard of New Jersey, Shell Oil Co. and Deep Rock Oil Corp. are among those which have either sent geologists and engineers into Alaska or have asked for results of the Navy's work.

Reed, the staff coordinator for the Geological Survey, explained the Navy has not attempted to produce oil in its reserve in Alaska since the purpose was only to explore the possibilities. A few thousand barrels have been pumped. Some of the gas was used to heat the camp at Point Barrow.

SUMMARY OF WHAT NAVY FOUND

A summary of what the Navy found in Alaska was given to Senator BUTLER in a letter last November 30 by Comdr. M. V. Carson, Jr., Director of Naval Petroleum Reserves.

He reported that before work was stopped last year, the Navy drilled 36 test wells and 44 core holes in the reserve and on adjacent lands. Core tests are to determine what the structure of the earth is like.

In addition, the area was completely mapped by aerial photography and about 90 percent of the workable area was covered by surface geological exploration.

Oil was found at Umiat, Simpson, and Fish Creek. At Umiat, 7 of 11 wells drilled indicated oil production ranging from 25 barrels daily to more than 350 barrels daily. One well indicated a potential gas production in excess of 5 million cubic feet daily. At Simpson two of the core holes produced oil. At Fish Creek a small quantitiy of oil was produced.

Oil found at Umiat had good refining qualities for diesel oil and jet fuel.

"This oil is susceptible of transportation by pipeline while that at Fish Creek and Simpson is of too low gravity to transport at temperatures existing in Arctic Alaska during the greater part of the year," Commander Carson reported.

ESTIMATES OF RECOVERABLE OIL

Estimates of the possible amount of recoverable oil in the Umiat area range from 18 million to 37 million barrels, by DeGolyer & MacNaughton, to a high of 103 million barrels by Arctic Contractors, Inc. Lack of extended production history and other factors make closer estimates impractical at this time, Carson said:

Then the Director of the Navy's oil reserves made this significant statement:

"While the Umiat field alone cannot be considered commercial due to its remote location and relatively small reserves, discovery of that field has proved that high-gravity oil exists in the reserve, and which oil, if found elsewhere under better-producing conditions and in larger quantities, would be of great commercial significance."

"It should be emphasized," Carson concluded, "that while no really large commercial deposits of oil and gas have been found in the reserve, their presence has not been disproved, as a large portion of the reserve remains to be tested. • • • Remaining areas have most certainly not been condemned as unfavorable."

In World War II most of the Navy's oil and most of the Nation's oil came from domestic sources—private companies. Our present oil reserves in the United States total 34,636,000,000 barrels. The rate of depletion is 8,014,000 barrels a day, or about 2,925,100,000 barrels a year. If no other reserves are found, the present reserve would last 11 years and 11 months. However, new reserves have been found in past years which have kept the total reserve at about the 12-year level.

NO GIVEAWAY, SAYS BUTLER

Senator BUTLER, in discussing the plan to open up the Alaskan oil reserve to private companies, said: "I have no doubt there will be a great many people in the country who will call it a giveaway. But that's not what it is at all. You're not giving up anything. It matters little whether oil companies pay royalties to the proposed State of Alaska or to the United States Government.

"My feeling is that private companies can develop the oilfields far better than any bureaucracy. The Navy has given up on it; they volunteered to give it up. Nobody is trying to take it away from them. They only got a small quantity of oil from it. I don't really think there's much up there, myself."

His proposal to cancel the Navy reserve, Butler said, started with people in Alaska some years ago. "They felt it held back development of the Territory for the Government to hold such areas in reserve," he said. "They felt that if the Government would step aside, some companies would become interested in developing the resources."

Navy Secretary Anderson also said some persons might regard the Alaskan proposal as a giveaway. "Certainly there would be some in Congress who would have that opinion," he asserted.

POLICY UNCHANGED—ANDERSON

As for the Navy's historic policy of keeping the oil in reserve in the ground, Anderson said: "So far as I'm concerned, the policy is the same as it has been for many years and that is that the best reservoir is the oil in the ground where God put it. That's the way I felt last spring and that's still the way I feel today."

Shown the memorandum on Navy policy written by Assistant Secretary Fogler, Anderson said: "Now as I read this, this doesn't represent a change of policy. What he is saying is that if Congress and the White House decide to make a change, the Navy would be responsive.

"I wouldn't make any recommendation on that until I had consulted the Armed Services Commitee to get their views. We work very closely with them."

Asked whether any oil companies had inquired about possibilities of developing the Navy's fields, Anderson said none had come to him.

"As an oilman myself," he added, "I haven't heard of any companies that want to go in there, other than those already working in southern Alaska."

Testifying last March 6 before the House Armed Services Committee, Secretary Anderson said: "The philosophy of the petroleum reserve is that of conserving as much of the oil as possible in the ground in the natural reesrvoir."

Chairman DEWEY SHORT, of Missouri, remarked: "Of course, that is clearly the intent of Congress." Anderson agreed.

Asked to express his philosophy on oil reserves and whether he agreed with President Taft who set up the first reserve, Anderson said: "Basically I would regard all the producible oil in the United States as a part of the national reserve for national use in times of an emergency.

"Now there is no argument whatsoever that the best reservoir for storage of oil is the natural reservoir which is in the ground. And, on these lands which are publicly owned, I have no quarrel with the idea that certain of them should be withdrawn; that they should be explored; that they should be put in a condition of producibility and that they be regarded as a margin, we shall say, of safety for national defense purposes."

CARL VINSON'S SUMMARY

Representative CARL VINSON, of Georgia, summed it up:

"Then you find yourself in general accord with the philosophy and policy that has been announced by Congress from 1912 down to

date in regard to conserving this oil in the ground?"

"Yes, sir," Anderson answered.

"And that you will oppose vigorously any effort to exploit the field, to take the oil out of the ground; you want to keep it in the ground," VINSON added.

Anderson agreed, saying, "That which we are maintaining as a producible reserve for times of emergency I think should not be exploited."

VINSON put this question, "We have a great reserve that we spent $50 million on. Now we are going to stop. Now what are you going to do, just let it stay there or are you going to make contracts with private enterprise to go in there and develop it and see what they think about it?"

"No, sir," Anderson replied. "We will not plan to make private contracts."

"What did you say?" asked VINSON, apparently startled.

"We will not plan at this time to make private contracts," the tall, bespectacled Navy Secretary replied.

Later, VINSON again asked, "Mr. Secretary, in view of your statement, which I think you are absolutely sound on, not to open it up, is there any intention of you to turn it back to the Interior Department or do you propose merely to just let it stand in status quo for the time being?"

"I would just propose to let it stand in status quo, sir," Anderson replied.

The issue has been joined. It will now be up to Congress and the President to determine what policy to follow.

Cutting the Butter Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, day by day there is growing evidence to indicate that Secretary of Agriculture Benson's action in lowering dairy-support prices on April 1 is causing considerable concern to people other than dairy farmers.

In my district I find that business people are becoming disturbed over what will happen to business as dairy farmers' income drops off in the months ahead.

William Ender, editor of the Durand (Wis.) Courier Wedge, points some of these things out in an editorial written on February 25. Under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to have Mr. Ender's editorial printed in the RECORD with the recommendation that my colleagues read it. The editorial is as follows:

CUTTING THE BUTTER SUPPORTS

In 1952, Wisconsin produced more milk than any other State in the Nation. As a result, Badger State processors led in the output of all but four major dairy items.

Wisconsin farmers turned out a whopping 15 billion pounds of milk in 1952, equal to 13.3 percent of the national total. Processors made three-fourths of the malted milk powder, munster, and brick cheese in the country that year. They manufactured at least half of the limburger cheese, whey, and American cheese; one-third of the Italian cheese, Swiss cheese, powdered whole milk and powdered skim milk. The 1952 figures are the latest available at the national level, but they point out a significant fact.

Wisconsin will feel most the slash in Government support prices for butter, cheese, and dried skim milk. The Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, has said he will let prices fall 8 cents on April 1. That would set dairy parity levels at 75 percent, instead of 90 percent. Benson admitted he had no idea about the overall effect of his decision on dairy income. He hoped there would be greater consumption by the public.

Wisconsin farm organizations were not caught unawares by the price slash. George Mooney of Plymouth, counsel for the Wisconsin Cheese Makers Association, felt it was a "whale of a cut," however. He expected something, but certainly not a drop to 75 percent of parity. The Wisconsin Farm Bureau says it believes farmers may be better off in the long run, profiting from bigger sales.

Most cautious observers, however, followed the expression of John M. Blaska, of Sun Prairie, who called the parity figure a death blow to the dairy industry of Wisconsin. Blaska is a former assemblyman and a director of the Dairyland Cooperative at Juneau.

The new parity level will take the hide right off the dairy farmer, Blaska declares. He fears that some large milk plants will be lost on a market with falling prices. Prof. Hugh Cook, University of Wisconsin economist, backs up this contention. He estimated the direct loss to milk producers at two or three million dollars a year.

At a time when the economy of the United States appears a bit shaky, it is too bad that dairy farmers have to take a financial wallop. They will do less buying. Their dairy herds, producing smaller incomes, will be worth less on the hoof. Already some farmers are reluctant to go ahead with Bangs disease control work because cows are worth so little in the open market.

Congressman LESTER JOHNSON, of Black River Falls, elected to his seat in a special ballot last fall, tried to stall the Benson move with his first bill. JOHNSON wanted 100 percent of parity for dairy products. The Congressman pointed out that in the last 12 months butterfat fell 13 percent in value, yet the open market price for dairy products was almost steady.

There are nearly 3 million dairy farmers in the United States. The purchasing power of this segment of agriculture cannot be permitted to drop indefinitely. Repercussions will spread to the farm-implement industry, the automobile industry, the steel industry, the appliance industries, and into rural communities. Any move for better parity levels involves more than just milkmen.

Congress would do well to listen to Congressman JOHNSON and his plea for 100 percent parity. Milk should be considered, and rated, as a basic commodity. Every child born needs it. Lawmakers should hesitate and reflect on this matter now—not when dairymen are destitute. If 75 percent parity stands, it is a dead ringer to be a political issue in next fall's election.

California Artichokes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, three adjoining counties in California produce 95 percent of all the artichokes grown in the United States. My colleague from California, Mr. GUBSER, represents two of those counties—Monterey and Santa Cruz—while I have the honor of representing the other—San Mateo. These counties bordering on the Pacific Ocean alone possess the correct soil and climatic condition to produce this fine vegetable.

Here on the east coast we find so many who have never tasted artichokes and those who have eaten them classify them as a luxury. Out our way they are a common, delectable vegetable with unusual iron content. They retail in our section for about 15 cents a piece for the large size while here in Washington its current price is 35 cents. The farmer receives about 12 cents apiece for his choice product.

To land this select vegetable on the east coast in the best edible condition we must use air freight and this ought to be possible so that the retail price here would be within the financial reach of most of our people.

We have received several crates of artichokes via United Airlines freight from Half Moon Bay and Santa Cruz, Calif., and they will be served free in the House restaurant today noon. You are all invited to enjoy this fine vegetable with the compliments of the Half Moon Bay Growers Association and the Santa Cruz Artichoke and Sprout Growers Association.

California Artichokes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleague from California [Mr. YOUNGER] in calling the attention of this House and, indeed, the Nation, to the California artichoke. While this noble vegetable is usually called the true or French artichoke, to distinguish it from lesser varieties, we can safely call it the California artichoke in view of the fact that 90 percent or more of the acreage producing it on the North American Continent is located in California. Of this, the counties of Santa Cruz and San Mateo, respectively, represented by myself and by my colleague, Mr. YOUNGER, provide the lion's share.

It is remarkable that this table delicacy is still virtually unknown on the dinner tables of the eastern seaboard and the vast Midwest of our country when references to artichokes are ample in English literature as far back as the early 16th century, and artichokes themselves were table fare in England ever since Henry the Eighth introduced them from the Continent.

Mr. Speaker, with the kind cooperation of our growers' associations, and the efficient service of United Airlines, all comers will be able to sample artichokes at the House restaurant tomorrow. California is proud to thus demonstrate one of its outstanding agricultural products.

Who Pays the Bills?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker I present to the House another splendid editorial from the pages of the West Bank Herald, New Orleans' area finest community weekly newspaper.

This editorial comes from the pen of the West Bank Herald's publisher, Robert M. Stewart, and rightfully takes its place among the most poignant editorials on the subject:

WHO PAYS THE BILLS?

There are many phony arguments in favor of the so-called benefits which our State and National Governments are still handing out with almost complete abandon. We are not just talking of the welfare program but other gratuities which are costing the taxpayers millions and millions of dollars a year needlessly.

All of us should analyze the facts more closely and sincerely ask ourselves: "Where does the money come from which these governments give away?" The true answer might amaze a few of us. When all of these subsidies are exposed we have but one answer: "The money comes out of the pockets of we, the taxpayers. The big, the little, and the medium sized business; not one is excused, not one is exempt.

The Governments of the State of Louisiana and the United States do not "earn" money, it is collected from workers, producers. Governments are nothing but spending agencies. Unfortunately, after our tax goes into the coffers of the treasury of government it loses a large percentage of its value. But people who work for money know how hard it is to acquire it, that is why we practice economy and frugality. Because we are not spending silver coins that tinkle, or green pieces of paper that crackle, we spend hours of labor, of denial and of work and productive effort. Every tax dollar that is spent by a Government agency represents little drops of sweat and toil on the part of the taxpayer.

When government subsidizes a project which competes with private business, government becomes a competitor of private enterprise. It not only competes with business and industry, which pays the taxes, but it excuses the government project from taxes.

Recently the Industrial Weekly printed an article by Mr. C. Lyn Fox who, in the words of this publication, "disposed of the argument that Government electric power is honestly cheap power."

All socialized projects are tax exempt and this exemption, as Mr. Fox observed, is the same as subsidizing them to the extent whatever the total tax bill would be if private enterprise provided the service. Mr. Fox used as an example the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. In 1952, this concern paid $79 million in taxes, of which about one-half went to the Federal Government, and the rest to counties and school districts. That's a lot of money in anybody's book—yet the utility rates are among the lowest in the country. It doesn't take much figuring on anybody's part to see that a subsidized government project should be able to sell for less than a business that is forced to contribute $79 million in taxes every year. And it is just as easy to figure out that if it were not for these taxed businesses contributing their money to the Government, subsidized, competitive projects could not be financed by Government.

The Tennessee Valley Authority has been cited by New and Fair Deal advocates as a wonderful example of what the Federal Government does for the people. But this tax-free project actually has cost the people millions and millions of dollars in unpaid taxes and other subsidies.

It is time the people themselves wake up to who is paying the bills for all these Government gratuities. We, the taxpayer, pay the bills and don't let anyone kid you into believing otherwise.

Memorandum in Support of the Passage of Trip-Leasing Bill, H. R. 3203

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the trip-leasing bill, H. R. 3203, passed the House by an overwhelming majority several months ago. Since that time it has been awaiting action in the Senate. It is a bill of tremendous importance to the farmers of this country and to others as well.

In addition to the technical merits of the trip-leasing bill, H. R. 3203, there are a number of basic reasons from the standpoints of sound administration and good business practices why this bill should be passed by the Senate at an early date.

First. It is the duty of the Congress to make a policy determination with respect to a matter of far-reaching importance to various segments of the economy such as this, when the responsible Government agency has demonstrated as in this case its inability or unwillingness to deal with the problem decisively and forthrightly.

Three times during 1953 while the bill was under consideration by the Congress, the ICC amended the controversial 30-day minimum limitation as applied to agricultural hauling. The latest agricultural exception in the November 30, 1953, order cannot be regarded as any more permanent or fixed than the membership of the Commission itself or the thinking of its members.

As far as agriculture is concerned, we feel there will be no permanent policy determination in the matter until Congress acts.

Second. The agricultural exception which it has been proposed to put into effect on a permanent basis is discriminatory to those carriers who do not qualify under the special exception.

To illustrate, the trucks of cooperative canneries and creameries could freely trip-lease under the ICC's latest orders, whereas the trucks of other canneries and creameries could not. This is restrictive to agriculture as a whole.

Third. While major emphasis is being given by many, some opposed to H. R. 3203, to freeing transportation agencies generally from unnecessary regulation as much as possible consistent with the interest of the shipping public, it is difficult, if not impossible, to justify moving in the completely opposite direction with respect to the policy of leasing motor vehicles and imposing additional Federal regulation on selected groups within the framework of the transportation industry.

Fourth. The passage of H. R. 3203 is essential to prevent the ICC from taking a first step in implementation of its demonstrated opposition to the agricultural commodities exemption in the Motor Carrier Act.

Agriculture feels that once an inroad on the policy has been permitted, the breaking down process has begun. H. R. 3203 is essential to prevent the "camel from getting his nose under the tent."

The acknowledged ultimate objective of some of the interests opposing H. R. 3203 is the repeal of the agricultural commodities exemption in section 203 (b) (6) of the Motor Carrier Act. Defeating the passage of H. R. 3203 would be a major step in that direction.

Fifth. The Interstate Commerce Commission has reported to Congress in its 67th annual report that:

Enactment of H. R. 3203 would undermine the motor rate structure and recreate the confusion which prevailed prior to the passage of the Motor Carrier Act of 1935.

The above statement is completely misleading and is calculated to confuse persons who are not familiar with the actual provisions in H. R. 3203.

Before 1935 there was no Federal regulation of the motor carrier industry at all. From the passage of the Motor Carrier Act in 1935 to September 1, 1953, there were in effect practically no regulations affecting the leasing of motor vehicles by authorized carriers. In fact, during the years when there was a shortage of trucks, the Government actually encouraged the leasing of trucks by authorized carriers. The passage of H. R. 3203 would enable the ICC to keep in effect all the regulations it placed in effect on September 1, 1953, to regulate leasing and to prescribe "such other regulations as may be reasonably necessary in order to assure that while motor vehicles are being so used the motor carriers will have full direction and control of such vehicles and will be fully responsible for the operation thereof, in accordance with applicable law and regulations, including the requirements prescribed by or under the provisions of this part with respect to safety of operation and equipment." The immediately preceding quoted words are taken from the bill H. R. 3203. In short, under H. R. 3203, the ICC can do any and everything it deems necessary to regulate leasing short of restricting the duration of the leases or the amount of compensation to be paid thereunder.

Under H. R. 3203, the ICC is affirmatively given far greater authority to regulate the leasing of trucks than it has ever exercised or attempted to exercise, through the years since the passage of the Motor Carrier Act, prior to the rules which went into effect on September 1, 1953.

In view of this record, it appears irresponsible for the ICC to report to the Congress that enactment of H. R. 3203

would "recreate the confusion which prevailed prior to the passage of the Motor Carrier Act of 1935."

This illustrates, from the point of view of agriculture, how imperative it is for the Congress to act in this important matter.

Sixth. Division 5 of the ICC, the Division which handles motor carrier matters, and which by reason of experience is most familiar with the problems of the motor carrier industry, did not favor the inclusion of a 30-day lease limitation. In fact, the rules recommended by Division 5 did not include the 30-day lease requirement, or the requirement that compensation must be on a basis other than a division of revenues. H. R. 3203 does not prohibit in any way any of the rules recommended by Division 5 when this matter was formally considered by that Division, prior to action by the full commission. Certainly the Commission's Division 5, whose membership then was made up of Commissioners with years of experience in these matters did not make a recommendation which would undermine the motor rate structure or recreate the confusion which prevailed prior to the passage of the Motor Carrier Act in 1935. It is important to note that John L. Rogers, the first Director of the Bureau of Motor Carriers, ICC, was a member of Division 5 when that Division recommended against the adoption of a 30-day limitation on truck leases.

There are other reasons which support the early passage of H. R. 3203. The above points, however, are believed sufficient to establish the weakness of the position of the ICC in this matter and to show the merits of the position of those who are advocating the passage of this bill by the Senate.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to include a copy of a resolution unanimously addopted by the Pittston chapter of the American Lithuanian Council and United Lituanian Relief Fund, at a meeting held on February 14, 1954, in Pittston, Pa. This resolution was sent to me by Mr. Joseph Maceina, the chairman of the Pittston chapter of the organization.

I am very much interested in this cause, particularly since I am a member of the House Baltic Committee.

The resolution follows:

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Pittston and the State of Pennsylvania, convened, under the auspices of the Pittston chapter of the American Lithuanian Council and the United Lithuanian Relief Fund, to celebrate Lithuania's 36th Independence Day:

"Whereas Soviet Russia, in utter violation of the international treaties and her solemn obligations, occupied the territory of the Republic of Lithuania and imposed upon the population the ruthless regime of a police state; and

"Whereas, despite the condemnation of these Soviet acts of aggression by the great powers of the free world, including the United States, Lithuania, as well as the other Baltic countries, is still subjected to the unscrupulous Kremlin rule of terror, murder, and deportations; and

"Whereas since the seizure of the Baltic States, the Soviet Union managed to take over many other independent countries and now represents the greatest menace to civilization, culture, and religion of mankind that history has ever known; and

"Whereas the precautionary steps which the free nations have so far undertaken to avert this menace did not prove effective, in many cases to impress the Kremlin masters: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of greater Pittston, pledging their wholehearted suport to the Government of the United States in its efforts to secure peace and stability in the world and to promote the cause of freedom and justice for all nations, express their sincerest thanks to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the distinguished leaders and members of the United States Congress and both Republican and Democratic Parties for their continued support of the national aspirations of the Lithuanian people and, especially for the creation of the House Baltic Committee to document and establish the pattern of aggression and enslavement followed by the Kremlin rulers against the free peoples of the world; be it further

"Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of greater Pittston appeal to the highest authorities of their beloved United States of America to exert, to the fullest, the American leadership in the fight for peace, justice, and freedom."

JOSEPH MACEINA,
Chairman.
WM. GRIESTAVAITIS,
Secretary.

Commemorating the Founding of the Republic of Lithuania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, again this year the Council of Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore joined with Lithuanians all over the world in commemorating the founding of the Republic of Lithuania.

The celebration extended over a 3-day period, beginning with a special radio program on February 14 and a high mass at St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church, of which the Right Reverend Monsignor Louis J. Mendelis is pastor. The evening program was presented by the Lithuanian Refugee Society of Baltimore.

On the 16th Monsignor Mendelis offered the opening prayer in the Senate, and a delegation from Baltimore accompanied him to Washington to attend the opening of the session. That evening the celebration was concluded with a Republic of Lithuania Day banquet, at which city, State, and Federal officials were present.

Our colleagues, the Honorable THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, of Michigan, was one of the guest speakers, and delivered an extremely interesting and informative address on the work of the Select Committee To Investigate the Incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia Into the U. S. S. R.

The Honorable J. Kajeckas, counselor of the Lithuanian Legation, was also present, and it is my privilege to insert his address in the RECORD, as follows:

Again I have the honor and the great pleasure to be with you on this solemn occasion.

First of all, I wish to convey to you the apology of the Lithuanian Minister, the Honorable Povilas Zadeikis, for not being able to be with you here tonight. I also wish to transmit to you his best wishes for the success of this commemoration of Lithuania's independence.

On this memorable day so dear to Lithuanian hearts and dedicated to joy, we are still afflicted by sorrow. We feel depressed because the land of our ancestors is still enslaved. The nation of crosses is being crushed by an unscrupulous enemy. It is being martyred, oppressed, and humiliated. Her sufferings are on the increase. Her wounds grow deeper, her mournings multiply, the number of deportations of her noble sons and daughters to Siberia magnifies. And who can guess how many more victims will suffer atrocities before the day of freedom dawns? Such in brief is the plight of the Lithuanian nation today. The words of the great Lithuanian poet, Maironis, seem to find confirmation in the face of present-day reality. He advised not to look for bright days in the fate of Lithuania's sons and said that suffering and tears is to be their lot.

With ruthless fanaticism the enemy of Lithuania seeks the downfall of the Lithuanian nation under the weight of Bolshevik tyranny. It seeks to accustom the Lithuanians to slavery, to terrorize them into submission, and to force them to abandon in desperation their hitherto most sacred aspirations.

Nevertheless, the situation is not beyond hope. There are signs of rejoicing on the horizon of Lithuania. I will mention a few examples.

We are happy to note the strongly and repeatedly emphasized policy of liberation of oppressed nations expressed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Lithuania has been enslaved for a long period of time in the past, but never has any foreign government shown so much understanding and expressed itself so strongly in favor of the liberation of enslaved nations as is being done by the American Government. It is nearly 14 years since night descended on Lithuania, but it is also nearly 14 years since Soviet violence in regard to Lithuania has been condemned by the American Government. The Honorable John Foster Dulles denounced that outrage in the Baltic Committee in the Capitol, on November 30 of last year. He reiterated those denouincements more recently twice in the presence of Molotov, the undertaker of Lithuania's independence, in Berlin. It has also been denounced on the occasion of February 16 by the Acting Secretary of State, the Honorable Walter B. Smith. We owe the American Nation and her Government our deepest gratitude for her just and courageous stand and her moral support of Lithuania.

I doubt if any nation enslaved in history has been the object of an investigation of a parliamentary committee as is the case today in this country in regard to the violence perpetrated against the Baltic countries. The Soviet lies, as well as their dark deeds, and their cruel treatment of the Lithuanian nation are being exposed. The efforts of

numerous persons, their precious time, and this country's funds are being sacrificed to immortalize and denounce throughout the world the wrong inflicted on the much crucified Baltic nations. If we rejoice at and appreciate individual public statements of American statesmen, and officials, and newspaper articles favorable to Lithuania, how much more grateful and proud we should feel at the unanimous adoption of a resolution by the United States Congress to create a Baltic committee to investigate the dark deeds of the Soviet regime in the Baltics. We are extremely grateful for the creation of that committee and for its undertakings. To its chairman, the Honorable CHARLES J. KERSTEN, the Lithuanian nation owes a special and eternal gratitude.

It is an honor and a great pleasure to have in our midst a member of the Baltic Committee, the Honorable THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ, of Michigan. He, as former member of the famous committee to investigate the Katyn massacre of Polish officers is fully familiar with communism in practice. To him such diabolical deeds as the Praveniskial, Rainial forest and Cervene tragedies and the greatest crime of all, the crushing of Lithuania's freedom, are well known from first hand information. We are deeply grateful to him for representing the Baltic Committee on this occasion.

We are also grateful to the leaders of the State of Maryland and of this city for their proclamations dedicated to suffering Lithuania and for the numerous public and weighty statements of the Honorable American Senators and Congressmen of this State, who, by their speeches and presence here tonight, honor the Lithuanian nation.

Finally, we are glad to note with satisfaction the honor extended to the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Louis J. Mendelis, the pastor of St. Alphonsus' Roman Catholic Church, a Lithuanian priest, who has so greatly served his fatherland and his adopted country, by the historical opportunity accorded him to deliver the invocation in the United States Senate on Lithuania Day. The honor accorded him is also a noble gesture by the whole Senate in regard to the Lithuanian nation. It is a great comfort to the enslaved Lithuanians.

We are also deeply grateful to your toastmaster and president of the Council of the Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore for his initiative and all he has done in connection with Monsignor Mendelis' invitation to the Senate.

Thus, with such authoritative support, with God and right on our side, with history testifying as to the fate of tyrants and tyranny, we can be sure of Lithuania's future freedom.

Until that day comes, let our motto be that so poetically expressed by Baltimore's Lithuanian poet, Bradunas:

"Patience, labor and struggle
To one aim—Lithuania."

Mr. Speaker, I am also inserting a statement by the Acting Secretary of State, Walter Bedell Smith, on the 36th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence, an editorial from the New York Times of February 16, and a resolution adopted by those present at the banquet in Baltimore. They follow:

STATEMENT BY ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE WALTER B. SMITH ON THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

We Americans hold this 36th anniversary of the Lithuanian declaration of independence in solemn memory. We feel a close tie with the people of Lithuania through a common devotion to freedom and national independence. We sympathize deeply with them in their present distress.

The United States continues to recognize the independence of Lithuania because we know that the present situation in the Baltic States was brought about by direct Soviet aggression and has never been confirmed by the free expression of the will of the peoples concerned. In refusing to recognize the forced incorporation of the Baltic States, the United States remains faithful to the principles to which our Nation has been dedicated since the promulgation of our own Declaration of Independence. If the Soviet Union were to abide by the principles which it professes, no doubt the Baltic peoples would be restored to freedom.

We in the United States know that every Lithuanian celebrates the 36th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence in his own innermost thoughts, and prays for the day when he can again demonstrate his love of country as a free citizen of an independent Lithuania. All the experience of history, and especially our own, tells us that this longing for freedom cannot be denied forever. We know that the cause of national independence and the right of all peoples to governments of their own choosing, supported by the free world, will prove stronger than a tyrannous dictatorship.

[From the New York Times of February 16, 1954]

IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

One of the most cynical crimes committed by Soviet Russia is the annexation of the three Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Other states have been subjugated under Communist puppet regimes, but these three have been wiped out even as nominally sovereign entities. Their people are being exterminated, deported, or Russified in a dark area in the heart of Europe, forbidden even to such foreign travel as the Soviets permit.

But the crime will not down and the cause of the Baltic States, part of the cause of freedom itself, continues to impose itself on the conscience of the world. It is being kept alive not only by the people of these countries in still active undergrounds, and by the exiles and former Baltic nationals or their descendants all over the world, among whom the Lithuanians today observe the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of Lithuania's independence in 1918. It is being kept alive also by the continued recognition of the independence of this state by the United States and by many other countries.

While working for the peaceful liberation of their countries, their leaders abroad are fully conscious that the day of the small states is over in Europe, and that their only chance for freedom after liberation rests in a larger union which ultimately must become the United States of Europe. They are, therefore, working toward that end as well, and in these efforts they deserve the support of freemen everywhere.

At the annual banquet, commemorating the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Lithuania, sponsored by the Council of Lithuanian Societies of Baltimore, Md., held on the 16th day of February 1954, at the Lithuanian Auditorium, 851 Hollins Street, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas Soviet Russia, in utter violation of the international treaties and her solemn obligations, occupied the territory of the Republic of Lithuania and imposed upon the population the ruthless regime of a police state; and

"Whereas despite the condemnation of these Soviet acts of aggression by the great powers of the free world, including the United States, Lithuania, as well as the other Baltic countries, is still subjected to the unscrupulous Kremlin rule of terror, murder, and deportations; and

"Whereas since the seizure of the Baltic States the Soviet Union managed to take over many other independent countries and now represents the greatest menace to the civilization, culture, and religion of mankind the history has ever known; and

"Whereas the precautionary steps which the free nations have so far undertaken to avert this menace did not prove effective, in many cases, to impress the Kremlin masters: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Lithuanian Americans of Maryland, pledging their wholehearted support to the Government of the United States in its efforts to secure peace and stability in the world and to promote the cause of freedom and justice for all nations, express their sincerest thanks to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the distinguished leaders and Members of the United States Congress, and both Republican and Democratic Parties for their continued support of the national aspirations of the Lithuanian people and, especially, for creation of the House Baltic Committee to document and establish the pattern of aggression and enslavement followed by the Kremlin rulers against the free peoples of the world; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Lithuanian Americans of Maryland, appeal to the highest authorities of their beloved United States of America to exert, to the fullest, the American leadership in the fight for peace, justice, and freedom by inaugurating a positive and dynamic program of foreign policy to thwart the evil Communist designs for world domination and to abolish the fruits of all past Soviet aggressions; and be it finally

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Maryland Members of both Houses of Congress, the United States representatives in the United Nations, the Governor of the State of Maryland, the Mayor of Baltimore City, the Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the United States, and the press."

ANTHONY J. MICEIKA,
President.
MATAS BRAZAUSKAS,
Secretary.

Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of the Indepence of Lithuania, which should be a day of rejoicing, can hardly be that when the people of Lithuania are continuing to suffer so deeply under the heel of the Communist aggressor.

The freedoms which we enjoy are unknown in Lithuania today, they are only memories. But these memories, and the indomitable spirit of the Lithuanian people, keep the fires of freedom burning in their hearts, and make it impossible for the enemy to crush them or to kill their spirit. Harsher restrictions and regulations only serve to strengthen this opposition and determination to regain their freedom when the opportune time comes.

This freedom, which is as precious and sacred to them as it is to us, must be restored, and we pray that God, in His wisdom, will soon show the way to deliverance and the restoration of Lithuania to its rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Reserve Program Discussed by President of National Guard Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call attention to an article in the March National Guardsman written by Maj. Gen. E. A. Walsh, president of the National Guard Association of the United States.

It is high time that this Nation adopted a sound, effective Reserve program. We cannot continue to drift along as if any future war would allow us the same length of time for mobilization as we have had in the past. Neither can we afford to scatter our trained personnel to the four winds, neglect comprehensive Reserves planning, and then find ourselves forced to unfairly call back the same personnel in every emergency.

We have had enough reports and studies. We need to proceed with a program. Politics should be submerged in favor of security. I cannot forget that shortly before the Second War, Selective Service was continued by a margin of one vote in this House.

It is axiomatic that young men who may be called upon to fight are entitled to be trained to protect their country and themselves. Never again will we be permitted the luxury of liesurely mobilization and training. Modern war can strike this Nation with the speed of sound and it is getting faster and more destructive with every passing day. Our Reserve program, such as it is, is neither adequate to our needs nor fair to the men trying to make it work. The article follows:

DARKENING SKIES
(By E. A. Walsh)

In our musings on a winter evening as the bells were ringing out the old year and ringing in the new, which appeared in the February issue of the National Guardsman, we bade farewell to the old year with a feeling of regret and hailed the new year with hope for the future. The events of the past month, seemingly, hold little in the way of hope, for now it appears that once again the Army and Air National Guard, particularly the Army National Guard, are to engage in a struggle to retain their position of preeminence in our system of national security. It will not be the first time they have engaged in such a struggle and, no doubt, neither will it be the last time, and all to no purpose, for those who seek or connive to bring about such drastic and fundamental changes in the established system should realize, in the light of history, that such efforts will prove abortive. Thus, matters are stirred up that should not be, lines are drawn to no purpose, and mutual trust and goodwill are replaced by mutual distrust when it is so essential that those who strive to establish and maintain a sound military system should present a united front instead of being a house divided.

During the past 5 or 6 weeks, event has followed event with such rapidity that it is indeed difficult to keep abreast of developments. On December 14, 1953, the National Security Training Commission submitted its report to the President of the United States recommending the establishment of a system of national security training operating concurrently with the Selective Service System, which would be effective January 1, 1955, with an initial increment of 100,000 trainees, increasing to an annual increment of 800,000 by fiscal year 1960. Under the system proposed, the Army and Air National Guard, together with the other civilian components of the Armed Forces would be filled up, on a voluntary basis, with trained men, and thus made more capable of accomplishing their assigned missions. As long as the present world situation continues, requiring the operation of Selective Service to maintain the strength of the active Army, a determination of those required for a 2-year tour of service and those required for 6-months training tour in the National Security Training Corps would be made by lot.

The report of the Commission was sound, constructive and statesmanlike, and in shattering the myth of a shortage of manpower, it rendered a yeoman service to the Nation. It is not intended to imply that all who read the report will concur, without reservation, in the reasoning or recommendations of the Commission, but the fact remains that the Commission has done an outstanding job, and is to be congratulated. The report, covering, as it does, 155 pages, cannot be read, and evaluated huriedly, but it will be well worth the time of every person to read the report in its entirety.

On January 6, 1954, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization submitted to the President of the United States a report pertaining to the manpower resources for national security and commonly known as the "Appley Committee Report." Since this report complements the report of the National Security Training Commission, it is essential that the two reports be considered simultaneously. A reading of the latter report leaves one with the distinct impression that, in certain respects, it is a masterpiece of evasiveness and double talk, with more than a hint of snobbery in certain of its observations. Certain recommendations were made by the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization to the President relative to the Appley Report, which the President has accepted and, as a result, directed on January 8, 1954, that the Director proceed with the preparation of a paper dealing with the issue and pressing need to strengthen our Reserve forces and with his recommendations as to the best way in which to approach the problem.

Accordingly, on January 22, 1954, the Secretary of Defense appointed a special task force consisting of five Regular officers, Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, to devise a new reserve program in the light of the Appley committee report, together with Mr. Fleming's letter and the President's action thereon. This report, it is understood, will be confidential until the President has acted thereon, and it is anticipated that the Reserve Forces Policy Board will be given an opportunity to comment upon the recommendations of the task force prior to the action thereon of the Secretary of Defense and forwarding of the report to the President. There is no definite assurance that this will be done.

There also has been brought into being a similar task force board or committee in each of the services, i. e., Army, Navy, and Air Force, each of which will determine unilaterally its respective reserve programs based on mobilization requirements. If the recommendations of the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Appley committee are followed, and it is assumed that they will be, the result or product will be transmitted to the National Security Council. There are two factors about the OSD task force that are rather disturbing, for it will be noted that it is Navy-dominated by ratio of 3 to 2; and, secondly, there is the apprehension that Navy thinking in the matter of the individual concept as opposed to the unit concept will prevail. Primarily, as we see it, the Army and Air Force are concerned with the maintenance of units in being while the Navy has no units in being, other than training units. It is disturbing also to note that the Appley committee, save for a single reference, ignores the unit concept. It is rather curious, too, that such a board or task force would be brought into being to consider recommendations for an overall reserve program, yet not a single Guard or Reserve officer is included on the Board. We cannot help but wonder what about the grandiloquent sentiments expressed by Congress in the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952, that in such cases there should be an equality of membership. We know nothing that has in any way amended the provisions of section 5 of the National Defense Act which requires that all policies and regulations affecting the organization and distribution of the NGUS, ANGUS, NG, and ANG shall be prepared by appropriate committees consisting of an equal number of Regular and Guard officers.

Most disturbing, at this time, are the public utterances of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel concerning the wartime missions of the Army National Guard, and implications that it would be relegated to an inferior position in our national defense system, namely a home guard, if not eliminated altogether. On February 3, 1954, in a conference with the Assistant Secretary, he stated such was not his intention and he did not mean to imply that such would be the case. Had that been made clear in his several addresses relative thereto there would have been no argument, for the National Guard has made it clear beyond a doubt that it always has expected and accepted initial or internal security missions and does so now, but when those missions have been discharged it then expects to take its place in the line of battle. Furthermore, it has been and will be for that purpose that the several States, Territories, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia organize purely State forces, with the consent of Congress, to replace the Army National Guard when it is in the active military service of the United States.

We may be unduly concerned and guilty of reading into the current situation things which may or may not be so, namely, an effort to federalize the Army and Air National Guard, as we understand it. Such an effort would be fraught with grave results, for it would bring about a division in the ranks of those comprising the military system of the Nation at a time when it is so essential that we present a united front. Secondly, such a procedure, granted that it is contemplated, would be doomed, for the action of Congress in the past in connection with such a proposal should leave no doubts in the minds of the most rabid advocates of such a step. We express the hope that such a thing will not materialize, but we serve notice that we shall be very alert in this matter.

It is regrettable indeed that from time to time we of the Guard are confronted with situations such as this and thus are compelled to devote our time, energies, and sustenance to combating them when it would be better for all concerned if our time and energies were devoted to building up the Army and Air National Guard. Summing it all up, it seems to us that we are confronted with 1 of 2 choices in the matter of building and maintaining a strong Reserve as desired by the President and envisaged by the National Security Training Commission and the Office of Defense Mobilization. Either we subscribe to the system imposed by the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 and the Armed Forces Reserve Act, which imposes the entire burden of national defense on the veteran, and which was condemned by the National Guard Associa-

tion in 1952 and by the President of the United States on July 23, 1953, or accept the only sound alternative of a system of national security training as recommended by the National Security Training Commission. It must be one or the other. The former, or present system has proven utterly unworkable because of its inequities, and has proven a broken reed. If a system of national security training is established on a relatively narrow basis initially and gradually broadening or increasing, it is quite immaterial at the moment whether it involves the voluntary concept or the compulsory concept where the civilian components of the Armed Forces are concerned. There are valid reasons either way. The important thing is that the system be established.

Needless to say, these are difficult and trying times, and we shall watch and await developments with what patience and optimism we may.

Sixty-third Anniversary of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this body occasionally indulge a colleague when he feels impelled to call their attention to some matter that is of importance to his own legislative district. I hope today the House will bear with me in such an instance. This is an anniversary, and I believe will be celebrated in a most appropriate way, in Bremerton and Kitsap County in the First District of the State of Washington.

Sixty-three years ago this very day Congress authorized the establishment of the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton. On this birthday, so to speak, I rise to pay tribute to this naval installation. In so doing I ask leave briefly to recite a few historical incidents in the life of this important defense establishment, which later events have proved to be such a wise creation of Congress.

The interest of the United States Government, and particularly of the United States Navy, in the Bremerton area was manifested early in the history of the Oregon Territory. In 1841 Lt. Charles Wilkes, United States Navy, entered Puget Sound in command of a squadron of American vessels to explore, chart, and gather scientific data for the United States Government. At that time the city of Seattle had not been founded, and the whole of what is now Kitsap County was a forest wilderness inhabited by often hostile Indians.

The next 50 years saw the foundations laid by hardy pioneers for the vibrant and expanding Puget Sound area. The next official Government mission to Puget Sound was the Mahan Commission, sent by the Navy Department in 1888 to locate a drydock somewhere on Puget Sound. The lighthouse tender *Manzanita* carried the Commission whose findings were, unfortunately, delayed in receiving attention. President Harrison, however, shortly after taking office sent the Platt Commission to Puget Sound for the same purpose. The findings of the Mahan Commission were confirmed and Sinclair Inlet, between the present cities of Port Orchard and Bremerton, was selected as the most practicable site for a Government drydock on the sound.

An act of March 2, 1891, authorized the Secretary of the Navy to build a drydock at Bremerton and Port Orchard, Wash., and appropriated the sum of $10,000 for that purpose. Thus the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard was born. In April 1891, Lt. A. B. Wyckoff, United States Navy, came to Puget Sound prepared to purchase land for a United States drydock and to carry out the instructions of Congress, and on September 16, 1891, he took official command of the newly purchased Puget Sound Navy Yard.

Today, therefore, is the 63d anniversary of this farseeing action of that Congress. Those who voted in favor of that humble appropriation would, I venture, today be amazed at the outstanding record of the drydock on Puget Sound since 1891.

The history of the navy yard is intimately connected with the history of Kitsap County. In 1893 Congress again appropriated money for the continuation of the construction of the original drydock, which was not completed until 1896. The country was then passing through the great panic of 1893–96, which struck hard at this new wilderness country. Because the construction of the drydock was considered the end of Government activity in Kitsap County, many of the new community's citizens joined the Alaska goldrush.

Then, in 1898, came the Spanish-American War. The famous old battleship *Oregon* was in the Puget Sound yard at the time, and Government attention focused on the need to protect the yard. The Government bought land in the surrounding area for an Army installation and the present Manchester Oil Depot. Orders came for the *Oregon* to report to the fleet in Cuba, and that historic run around Cape Horn to join the fleet helped call attention to the need of the Panama Canal. The Nation was thrilled by the exploits of the *Oregon* when she avoided the Spanish Fleet and arrived at her destination safely. The Bremerton drydock could well be proud of its part in this great chapter of United States naval history.

The next chapter in the unfolding story of the Puget Sound yard was the period of expansion between the Spanish-American War and World War I. During the first great war the navy yard did yeoman duty. Its payroll was 6,500 in 1918. During the war it had built 25 subchasers, 7 seagoing tugs, 2 minesweepers, 2 ammunition ships, and 1,700 small boats. The U. S. S. *Louisville* was built and commissioned in 1930 at the yard.

When World War II came the Department of the Navy realized Bremerton's potential fully. Activities were at fever pitch. Five of the 8 ships damaged on the "day of infamy"—December 7, 1941—were restored at the yard at a cost of $33 million. During the 44 months of the war the yard fitted, overhauled, or repaired the astounding total of 344 destroyers. Fifty other ships were built or fitted out during this period, which saw the navy yard payroll climb to 34,000 employees.

Since the war, the Puget Sound yard has continued to maintain its key position in the defense of this country. In 1949 the aircraft carrier *Essex* came to Bremerton for overhaul and modernization, and at at least six other carriers have since been modernized there, now officially called the United States naval shipyard.

I said at the beginning of my remarks, Mr. Speaker, that I believed this anniversary would be celebrated appropriately in Bremerton. By this I refer to the fact that this week, if not this very day, the yard that has established such a proud record, the lead yard in canted-deck design, the public yard which is tops in the Nation, accepts another work challenge in the arrival of the U. S. S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*. This is the first Midway class carrier to come under the program of modernization.

In a one-industry community this new assignment is an important event to every man, woman, and child. Conscious as we of Kitsap County are of our past history, even more we are concerned with our present responsibility as one of the great navy yards of the United States.

The Members of the House will appreciate what an honor and pleasure it is for me to represent in Congress the community of which the Bremerton Navy Yard is the principal industry.

This afternoon I congratulate and commend those persons, past and present, who have established in this navy yard a unique and splendid record for workmanship, meeting time schedules and last, but not least, efficiency and economy. No public yard surpasses the achievements of Bremerton's skilled workers and supervisors. No group is more determined to maintain their prestige and reputation.

We who legislate in Congress must gain satisfaction that here is an example of effective employment of defense appropriations. On this account I mention this anniversary which, of course, to me personally is an occasion of special pride and satisfaction.

Israel Returns Shipwrecked Lebanese Sailors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, a Lebanese vessel capsized on January 20, 1954, near the Israel coast at Caesarea. Three of its crew of four succeeded in reaching the shore. Israel immediately notified the Lebanese authorities and

returned the three sailors the following day.

This is in sharp contrast to the illegal detention of three Israel citizens imprisoned by the Iraq authorities after the plane in which they were traveling from Cyprus to Iran had made a forced landing in Baghdad last January. The British plane was released to its owner. The Israel citizens are still in prison, though charged with no crime.

The Story of Milk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ladysmith (Wis.) News:

THE STORY OF MILK

The Ladysmith News does not like to be a dispenser of gloom. There is enough trouble in the world without adding to it. But when real trouble does loom, there is no sense looking the other way, it's best to face it. And the Government's program of 75 percent parity on dairy products spells real trouble for the dairy farmer of Rusk County.

We talked to a well-informed local farm citizen the other day who said the April 1 decline in milk prices would take $5 a day out of his income. We talked to a Rusk County dairy plant manager who said the decline would cost his patrons $460,000 this year. We talked to others who estimated the loss of income to farmers in Rusk County alone at upward of a million dollars.

It isn't idle talk. Take 50 cents per hundred out of the milk to be produced this year and see what the figure adds up to. And a loss of 50 cents per hundred is just about what the Government's 75 percent parity program will mean.

Letters are crossing the editor's desk from farmers who are genuinely alarmed. Some of them attempt to be constructive and offer solutions of their own. One large county farm operator believes the middleman is to blame, and decries the fact that farmers get only 7 cents a quart for milk that the housewife pays 19 cents a quart for. He would eliminate the middleman by having a Government-financed program of milk dispensers.

Under this program farmers would bring their milk to a central cooperative, where it would be prepared for hauling in refrigerated trucks to milk dispensers set up in every school, courthouse, mill, factory, and ball park. People would put a nickel in the machine and get a glass of cold milk, or a dime and receive a quart. The farmer would collect all of the proceeds, as the Government would be subsidizing the distributing and dispensing.

What would happen to the millions invested in milk distributing plants, the hundreds of thousands of jobs involved was not made clear, although it is assumed that what's "one man's mean is another man's poison."

The milk dispensing plan, however, is the sincere effort of one man's thinking. It isn't to be laughed off.

Another Rusk County farmer writes the News to say that the answer is to increase the purchasing power of the masses. Actually, the 12 cents difference between what the farmer gets for his milk and what the housewife pays for it represents that purchasing power. The so-called middleman's cut represents the wages of truckers, plant men, and managers. Yes, and tires, gasoline, machinery, and taxes, everything that goes into the complicated warp and woof of our present-day economy.

We asked the operator of one of the county's largest milk-distributing plants about that 12 cents difference. "I'll show it to you on my books," he said, "and also what I have left at the end of the year. It isn't enough to purchase the new equipment I need for the plant."

Clearly, then, you can only increase the price of a commodity by increasing the purchasing power of the people who supply it.

Still, we're finding no fault with this man's idea, either. When everyone is concerned about something, and the combined effort of many minds are aimed at a solution, good is bound to come of it.

For their own interpretation, the News editors went to a man well qualified by training and experience to speak with an authoritative voice. This man, who manages a large dairy plant and who sells milk products by the carload every day, travels throughout the United States, confers with big creamery men and is in touch with the national situation.

And what does he say? Well, he says the same thing that he has been saying before civic groups and farm organizations for the last 5 years—that Federal marketing orders have gotten us into our present plight. It was something he predicted a long time ago.

"The emphasis has all been on butter," the manager says, "even though butter is not as serious a problem as the disposal of cheese and powder. But the real key to the situation is in the price of milk to the housewife, and we should strive to find a means of lowering it. Our graphs and charts show us that butter and cheese fluctuate very little with price breaks. But let milk drop a couple cents and the red line on the chart really leaps upward. This is because the forces responding to milk prices are 18 times more elastic than those of other dairy products.

"Now, how can we lower milk prices and increase the sale of fluid milk, which in turn will eliminate surpluses and put the dairy farmer back on his feet?

"No. 1. Lower the 'sky hook' prices under which the Federal Government has been issuing its marketing orders the last 5 years.

"No. 2. Fight against monopolistic labor rate controls in metropolitan marketing areas that are responsible for truckers getting more per quart in some instances just to haul milk than the farmer gets for producing it.

"No. 3. Remove trade barriers in the form of foolish public-health regulations that prevent good milk from entering some areas. Establish uniform health regulations effective in all markets."

The purpose of Federal marketing orders was to eliminate surpluses and level off "peaks and valleys" of production. The farmer was to be penalized with lower prices for too much production. But the very thing Federal orders was designed to do never happened. In fact, it operated in reverse and flooded the market with surplus dairy products.

The worst feature of the Government's tampering with the milk supply was the unrealistically high Federal prices set for farmers in the Eastern States. Thousands of truck farmers quit what they were doing to go into the milk business and take advantage of those prices. They bought good milk cows from the Midwest (some from here in Rusk County). A thriving dairy industry sprung up in the heavily settled East and robbed the midwestern farmer of a market he had held traditionally for 50 years.

Some dairymen see it as a "war" between the Midwest and the East, with midwestern farmers the scapegoats. The Republicans didn't cause the trouble, they only inherited it, but the bitter truth is that Secretary of Agriculture Benson's "corrective medicine" in the form of lower support prices won't hurt the eastern and southern farmer like it will those of the Midwest, and particularly those in this area of northern Wisconsin.

Said our Rusk County milk-plant manager:

"The midwestern farmer would be better off right now if the Federal Government wiped out marketing orders and all controls at a single stroke. Let the producers and marketers of milk go out and bid for their markets like they did for years before the Government intervened. We can stand on our own feet, but not if the Government encourages eastern or southern farmers to buy cows and produce milk at an artificial price that can put midwestern dairy farmers out of business.

And that is authoritative word from the heart of America's dairyland. Believe us.

Bracero Scandal Held Incredible Sellout

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following condensations from an article by Father Matthew H. Kelly, executive secretary, bishop's committee for the Spanish speaking in Houston, Tex., which appeared in the Los Angeles Tidings of February 12, 1954:

Present border recruiting of Mexican nationals is an incredible sellout of labor on both sides of the border, charges Father Matthew H. Kelly, executive secretary, bishop's committee for the Spanish speaking.

The new United States labor-recruiting program represents a surrender to the private agricultural interests that have conspired during the last decade to cheat the domestic worker and exploit the Mexican national. * * *

It all began when World War II caused a shortage of agricultural workers in this country. Faced with the loss of crops, the United States Government negotiated with Mexico in 1942 for the importation of Mexicans to augment our domestic-labor force.

ONE MILLION ENTER UNITED STATES

As a result of this arrangement, over 1 million Mexican nationals have come to this country during the last 11 years. In each instance, a contract was signed designed to protect the interests of the growers and guarantee to the Mexican laborer the prevailing wage of the area where he worked and other minimum safeguards against exploitation. * * *

Since the war years, however, the use of our domestic-labor force and that of the Mexican nationals has steadily become less effective. * * *

In this country, powerful lobbies worked for the continuance of an unrealistic status quo and legislators closed their eyes to the abuses that arose. * * *

EMERGENCY POOL

It must not be forgotten, however, that the foreigners formed only an emergency labor pool. They were not to be recruited

where there were American citizens able, willing, and qualified to do the work.

Furthermore, our laws stipulated that the employment of imported laborers must not adversely affect the wages of working conditions of domestic workers.

Despite these precautions, domestic workers were constantly eased out of agricultural work. Our Department of Labor usually failed to determine the actual need of foreign labor and by and large, the laws that should have protected our domestic workers were ignored. * * *

WETBACKS WORSE

Men, women, and children have been furtively crossing day and night. These are the "mojados" or wetbacks. * * *

The aliens pour across the border in tens of thousands, often aided by unscrupulous smugglers who bring them to even more unscrupulous employers. Their story of hiding, suffering, and dying along the 1,700-mile border can never be entirely told.

If "braceros" displace citizen workers, the wetback demoralizes them completely and the effect is a complete rout. A half-starved wetback regards 25 cents an hour a princely pay.

He and his family will live in a thicket, drink ditch water, endure foul weather, disease, hunger, and unbelievable working conditions.

United States growers and shippers of million-dollar crops in California and Texas regard the wetbacks as a cheap natural resource.

WETBACKS EXPLOITED

It is easier to exploit his misery than pay a fair wage to nationals. In some cases the unfortunate wetback is not paid at all. He does not argue, agitate, or complain, because he can always be turned over to the border patrol for deportation.

For several years, the wetback situation has been an American scandal. Every law proposed to remedy the situation has been canceled to zero by a counterproposal by those who profit in the exploiting of cheap labor. * * *

The dominant forces, however, are always those of the corporate, agricultural interests and this adds to the confusion.

Late last year the Mexican press elaborated on the ill treatment accorded Mexicans in this country. * * *

Representatives of American labor unions were also in Mexico to point out that our so-called labor shortage was highly artificial.

Mexican Government officials chimed in to say that the Republic needed the agricultural workers at home. * * *

It was in this atmosphere of general rancor and diplomatic coolness that the international agreement was permitted to expire on January 15 of this year. * * *

In place of the lapsed bilateral agreement of the two governments, our Labor Department decided last month on a new unilateral process of recruiting workers at the border.

While protests to the President called that a legalizing of wetback traffic, growers viewed the new arrangement with favor.

Without Mexico's terms to protect its workers, the growers could treat them as they treat wetbacks.

Accordingly, the prevailing wage gives way to whatever pay the growers themselves agree upon. Employee insurance is canceled, housing requirements give way to a "take it or leave it" offer and so on.

"This is what we have always wanted," one of their spokesmen said last week.

AMERICAN DUTY

No doubt it was about time that the bracero pact expired, since the wartime emergency is no longer with us. In its place, however, we need a program for our own American agricultural workers who are willing and able to do this work, if they receive a living wage.

Rather than patch together the old pact for importing workers, Congress should look to the rights of American citizens who have been treated with a good deal less consideration than their foreign cousins.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include therein an excellent article by Mr. J. Hugh Bolton, president of the Whitin Machine Works, Whitinsville, Mass., which recently appeared in the Whitin Review.

Mr. Bolton has admirably outlined the impact of the reciprocal trade agreements upon many of our industries. There can be no doubt that in operation these agreements are raising havoc with many American industries and this deplorable situation is greatly augmented by the recessionary trends that are presently appearing in many parts of our economy.

Beyond a doubt, a large number of our industries are finding it increasingly more difficult to operate at a profit because of cutthroat competition from the flood of cheaply produced foreign goods coming into the American market. This is the situation that I have found compelling reasons to protest on previous occasions. Frankly, if we cannot find some way to put an end to this cutthroat competition from abroad, many American industries and American men and women will be the victims of this most unsound and unwise policy.

Moreover, if certain of the affected industries are forced out of business there will, undoubtedly, be very grave effects upon our productive system in the event of war and that is also a very disturbing factor.

The slogan in some places has been "Trade not aid" but, actually, under the existing program, many foreign nations are getting both trade and aid. It is both our export and domestic markets that are feeling very serious consequences under the operation of these laws. I am very fearful that, unless both the Congress and executive branch of the Government can find some way to bring about an adjustment of the trade treaties and, thus, prevent the heavy influx of cheap foreign goods, there will inevitably be a more extensive business recession in many parts of the country and with consequent unemployment of our faithful workers.

I think we all want to be realistic and helpful in our international relations and desire to embrace a well-thought-out program of sincere international cooperation. But that should not entail, and must not result, in further damage to our own industrial structure and further reduction in the employment of our own American citizens. Our very generous aid, combined with the trade treaties, may be producing employment in foreign nations, but they are producing business stagnation and unemployment here, and that we should not tolerate.

For this economy to try to compete with foreign nations, which are dumping cheap goods into our own Nation, while they effect blocked exchange, export subsidies, and high-tariff barriers for their own industries, will ultimately mean that we will lose markets, not only at home, but abroad, and suffer severe economic repercussions destructive to our prosperity and full-time employment.

Mr. Bolton's article is a challenging, thoughtful warning to the administration and the Congress to take immediate stock of the unhappy results of the reciprocal trade agreements and act to revise and change them before they inflict greater and perhaps irreparable damage upon many basic American industries.

His article follows:

The attitude of our State Department in connection with reciprocal trade agreements has bothered me for a long time. Now, of course, the hue and cry is for "trade, not aid," in order to accomplish which, our tariff barriers should be removed so that those countries who have been receiving dollar aid would be able to ship their goods and services to this country with no tariff restrictions. This, believe it or not, is referred to in a great many quarters as free trade. Nothing at all is ever said about these same countries removing their tariff and licensing restrictions against Amercan products, nor is it even suggested that easy convertibility of their currency to dollars might be put into effect.

I am utterly opposed to the State Department's attitude because of the possible terrific impact on American industry and, hence, the possibility of very materially decreased employment and decreased living standards in our country.

Two years ago a great many major industries in America would have disagreed with me. Even now the automobile industry and certain others have formed the Coleman committee to fight for the elimination of tariffs. I am very pleased to have learned quite recently that large segments of other major industries in this country are now awakening to the fact that if this policy is pursued further, or even continued in the status quo, there is grave danger to American industry. I am happy to see this situation develop because, if there is enough pressure brought to bear by sufficient number of informed individuals, I am sure that something can and will be done about it.

Even the advocates of no tariff admit that certain industries would be very badly hurt. These industries, therefore, are considered expendable and all sorts of schemes are being cooked up whereby the Government will subsidize the workers who lose their jobs until such time as other work can be found for them. The way things are shaping up at the moment this could represent a pretty fair sized number of workers now gainfully employed.

Nothing is said about the inherent danger in the event of war that might result from industries so eliminated. If we depend too much upon outside sources for certain of our raw materials, heavy machinery and even textiles, it would easily be seen that we could find ourselves in dire straits if these sources were cut off.

The United States cannot afford to lose any of its industries. I admit that it is essential that we have a prosperous Europe, including Great Britain, but I am very strongly of the

opinion that it would be suicide, both for ourselves and Europe, to build them up at the expense of American industry and enterprise.

Some of the things that have been happening simply make your blood run cold. For example, this country gives outright grants in dollars to foreign governments in order to help them build up their industrial potential. These same foreign governments would like to buy American machinery with their dollar grants but the United States State Department representatives deny them that privilege and insist that they purchase their needed heavy equipment from other foreign countries. That, of course, directly affects our own export markets.

Another thing we have been faced with is the fact that almost without exception European governments subsidize exports in one way or another. That also makes for exceedingly difficult competition. In spite of that, we have been willing to take our chances as long as our domestic market was not attacked with low-priced subsidized machinery. Now that that is being done, and is likely to be done on an even vaster scale, the time really has come when we have to fight.

Human Relations: The Key to Abundant Happiness—An Address Delivered by Henry J. Kaiser on January 29, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1954, Henry J. Kaiser, industrialist, delivered a remarkable and thought-provoking address to the seminar on human relations, United Steelworkers of America and University of California, at Arrowhead Springs Hotel, San Bernardino, Calif.

In accordance with the unanimous consent given, I include it as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

Not so long ago, how well I recall a member of my family asking me, "What are you going to Chicago for?" I said I was going to speak to a group of people on a subject that I felt was very important to the country. She said, "Instead of doing so much talking, why don't you just do something?"

This thought is with me tonight. Here I am about to talk about human relations, yet knowing how easy it is to preach; how difficult to practice what we preach.

My message to you tonight is about the things I not only want to talk about, but also the things we want to practice.

The underlying quest that has brought you together in this seminar on human relations marks a most significant development.

You who are leaders of labor have called upon great scholarly minds for an exchange of thinking concerning the most precious things upon this earth, the individual and people.

I am deeply moved and grateful, as each of us here tonight must also be, to feel that discoveries which ultimately can be of tremendous value to our fellow men can crystallize and spread from such noteworthy studies as you are making here on human attitudes.

Certainly after consulting here with learned psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, sociologists, industrial relationists, business administrators, educators, and industrial realists, we ought to leave with some amazing, fresh insights into why we behave like human beings, and perhaps why we sometimes behave like in-human beings.

The great truths by which to live are simple. The Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule are simple. A child can understand the plain words. But for 2,000 years, there has been nothing that so moved the hearts of men, nothing more true and right as a guide to human relations.

However, to apply sound principles of labor relations, principles so simple yet basic, so simple as to seem trite and, since seeming trite, to be neglected, is not easy, believe me. The easy pathway is to give way to passions of conflict.

Sometimes the principles seem to take an awful, awful beating. You have to work far harder and struggle for compassion to win out when emotions are in turmoil, in order to achieve the simple, right human relations. But the simple principles we've felt in our hearts all our lives do work, they will work regardless of difficulties and conditions, if you have the courage and faith to stick to them through thick and thin.

Out of this seminar, we should rekindle dynamic faith and power. In looking forward to being with you, I kept turning over in my mind the question: How do the attitudes of industrial managements and employees and their collective-bargaining representatives toward each other affect the lives, liberties, and pursuit of happiness of people?

That is the test. Attitudes in industry and in labor relations can provide a key to the realization of the more abundant life and greater human happiness.

In every human being there is the spark of God. An attitude of realizing and practicing this belief is an essential foundation for the role that every one of us has in dealing with each other.

Let's consider some simple yet infinitely important attitudes in the human relations between industrial managers, employees, and union leaders.

I always try to stress the positive approach—down-to-earth attitudes that can suceed. Here are some of them.

First. Mutual acceptance, recognition, and confidence in each other: It made a lot of sense when, some years ago, Clinton S. Golden said, "The time has come (in industrial relations) when, instead of looking into the causes of conflict that we know and read so much about, we ought to try to discover how much peace there is and what makes peace." The outcome of this was that the National Planning Association established a committee on the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining, comprised of experts from labor, industry, universities, and professions, and studied 18 companies in which managements and unions have achieved working harmony. The United Steelworkers of America had contracts with four of these companies.

The first two distinguishing charcteristics reported in all 18 cases of industrial peace under collective bargaining were these:

"1. A wholehearted acceptance of collective bargianing by management, coupled with the conviction that a strong union is potentially an asset in running the business.

"2. A recognition by the union that its survival and the welfare of its members depend in large measure on the prosperity and well-being of the employer."

It has been my observation that a great deal of the troubles which in the past have been brought down upon enterprises and the people could have been averted simply by genuine recognition that the right of collective bargaining not only is the law of the land, but is sound, essential human relations.

I agreed long ago that unions are here to stay.

An employer's attitude of not treating union leaders as if they were his consecrated enemies goes a long step toward decent relations, because we are not talking about a one-way, dead-end street.

The attitude of the Kaiser companies toward collective bargaining is stated in a written policy as follows:

"We believe in the fundamental democratic right of our employees, subject only to applicable law, to decide for themselves whether they wish to be represented by a labor organization for the purpose of collective bargaining.

"We expect all employees in a supervisory capacity or otherwise representing the management to conduct themselves in their daily relations with their fellow employees in such manner as to secure the respect, loyalty and productivity of their fellow workers through consistent actions of fairness, honesty and human decency. Similarly, labor organizations and their representatives with whom we are working should be recognized and treated as the respected agents of our employees."

Yet it's only the beginning to reach mutual recognition between management, employees and union representatives. Among essential attitudes I would list as, second, honesty and integrity in our dealings together: The attitude of square shooting is indispensable to good human relations.

Just plain honesty—telling the truth and asking for the truth in return—must be absolutely grounded in our human relations.

Lest you think that I gullibly believe that every man practices the copybook maxim that "honesty is the best policy," I will say that I could tell some amazing proofs of how honesty does beget honesty * * *.

Fair-dealing can evoke fairness in return. Integrity brings out integrity in others. In recalling labor leaders with whom we have bargained, I think of a classic example indicating there is none so bad that a proper working basis of honesty, integrity and decent attitudes cannot be reached.

You'll probably recall the mess in the Brewster Aeronautical plant in the East during World War II. It was in utter chaos; the plant had only produced a handful of Navy Corsair planes and was squandering tens of millions. Seven managers had resigned. Workers booed the managers from the time they entered the plant till they left.

The blame for the atrocious situation was heaped by Government and press upon the union leader, Tom DeLorenzo, who was called a liar, a criminal, and worse.

The Navy asked me to take over the management because the planes were so critically needed for the war. In his great honesty, Phil Murray said, "Henry, you are heading for trouble if you take over Brewster. Our relations have been excellent with you and I dread seeing you get in trouble that might blow up your record of human relations." The Truman committee likewise warned me of the dangers. Finally, the Navy prevailed upon me to take over the management. However, I was so impressed with the explosive possibilities of the situation that I refused to take it on as a normal business matter and accepted it only on a nonprofit basis.

I shall never forget my first meeting with Tom DeLorenzo, the accused troublemaker. His attitude was that all managements were dishonest, unreliable, and untruthful, and only outright battle would handle management. I said to DeLorenzo, "Can't you and I work on the basis of being truthful with each other?"

"No," he answered, "it won't work. I've tried it too many times and always get doublecrossed."

Quietly I said, "Well, Tom, do you think this would work? Suppose when you come in to see me from day to day and you are

going to lie, you say, 'I'm going to lie to you today.' But on the other hand, when you are telling me the truth you say, 'Now, I'm telling you the truth today.' "

Much to my surprise, he said, "That might work. I'm willing to try it."

Many times when he came in amid the nightmare of problems, he would say, "I'm going to lie like hell to you today. But this is my position."

As time went on, more often he'd come into conferences and say, "I'm going to tell you the truth today."

Tom DeLorenzo had left in him some of the spark of decency that is in every human being and when appealed to, is released.

The thrilling sequel is that Tom DeLorenzo pitched in shoulder to shoulder with management to do the patriotic job of cleaning up the Brewster mess. Manhours per plane were slashed to one-third; the padded work force was cut in half; yet the production of planes was multiplied nearly 30 times.

You leaders of the steelworkers know how ardently Philip Murray believed in honesty and the sanctity of contracts. Your president, David J. McDonald, and members of the executive board, are vigorously pursuing this policy of man-to-man honesty and the sanctity of contracts between employer and union. Not only are you gaining outstanding recognition among the American people, but you have the facts to prove that it pays the million and quarter United Steelworkers enormously to live up to contracts.

In the statement of Kaiser companies' policies, the principle of honesty is put this way:

"We believe that agreements entered into which with any labor organization duly selected by our employees should be scrupulously observed on our part, both as a matter of common honesty and to enable us in good conscience to ask for the same degree of integrity from the union and employees involved.

"We believe that promises should not be made carelessly nor agreements lightly entered into, but once made should be fully and faithfully kept. Thus and only thus can we establish and maintain a reputation for honest dealing with our people."

There's no room for argument when all concerned can prove beyond doubt that the attitude of honesty contributes to the more abundant happiness and well-being of people.

Let's next apply the same test to our attitudes in negotiating contracts—what attitudes result in the greatest good to people?

Third. In bargaining, we must understand each other, not bog down in doubletalk, nor demand lopsided victories.

It ought to be self-evident that in bargaining for contracts, we must discover the real reasoning behind the other fellow's thinking, not merely try to outsmart each other and beat down the other fellow's views.

Put the cards on the table, face up.

The Nation has been crippled by paralyzing strikes again and again when it was to be suspected that neither side to the negotiations clearly understood what the other side was shooting for and shooting about.

To illustrate by an experience of a few years ago, when the Nation was tied up in a tremendous strike. Our own companies were not involved, but every segment of the American economy was being increasingly affected. I happened to meet the President of the industry involved at dinner, and I soon discovered that here was a case where the reasoning on each side was not recognized by the other. I asked him, "Do you really want to settle this strike?"

He said, "Of course I do."

I asked him if he had talked it over with Phil Murray, since it was a CIO union striking in a major industry. He said, "No."

I said to him, "If arrangements were made, would you be willing to meet him and really honestly discover the reasoning on both sides?"

That simple dinner conversation, followed by a telephone call to arrange an appointment, broke the no-talk marathon.

The next day all sides flew to a common meeting place and in a few hours and with the cards on the table, settled a very costly strike. It was as simple as that, getting two men to talk fairmindedly together.

It is so easy to get angry. "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." It takes more patience to find out what makes the other fellow tick and what he really is after.

Not long ago while in New York, a phone call advised me that one of our plants was shutdown by a secondary boycott and picket line called by an outside union with which the company had no dealings. Upon my return the next day I decided that before I even went to the office I should see the outside union leader who had forced our employees out of work. I climbed the flights of stairs to his office.

He failed to see me at first. He finally walked in and growled and said, "I suppose you came here to tell me I'm a lawless guy."

"No," I said, "I don't have to tell you that, because you already know it. And neither did I come here to tell you we're going to sue you and collect heavy damages. I came here simply to understand you and your reasoning, and to find out if I could be helpful."

The peaceful settlement that resulted took an undreamed-of turn, but that's a long story. My thrill came in once more discovering that the inherent good in man can be brought out even from one who is ruthless in a battle. Why do we so often let our attitudes bring out the worst in each other, instead of the best?

It's usually no solution to run to court or the Government, or haggle over legalistics, or draw lines of arbitrary stubbornness. Name-calling needs to be replaced in negotiating by hardheaded discussions of the facts and realistic trades.

The results of bargaining should be good for both sides, rather than a lopsided victory for one side. This thought runs contrary to popular opinion that unions only take, but never give in return. There are always a great many possible alternate solutions in negotiations.

Enlightened company and union representatives go into bargaining with a knowledge built up over a period of time as to each other's wants, needs, and probably position on issues that will arise. If there is a mutual desire to find out what are better bargains for each side, the chances are stronger for an equitable settlement.

It decidedly is possible to bargain for cooperation, instead of armed truce and warfare. However, I must admit that it takes a lot more work to overcome old ingrained attitudes and pressures and to bargain for working harmony and fairness. Those brought up in years of industrial civil war may find it hard to adjust to the attitudes and conditions for peace.

Leaders of a union that is weak, torn with factional politicking and internal conflict, may feel they have to put on a brawl to hold the support of the rank and file.

We do have problems on both sides in following the road of stability. Maybe the psychiatrists and psychologists at this Seminar can tell us how unionists can deal for the best interests of their members, yet not get themselves tagged by disgruntled self-seekers as selling out to management.

Managers of companies that have harmonious human relations likewise may be unfairly accused of union appeasement. It is no genuine service to employees for a company management in lush times to give away their shirts, tolerate loose production standards, spinelessly permit foremen to be overrun, and allow costs to get out of line, just to keep an unsound peace. Because, with the first blush of stiff competition, such abuses can put both union and company in hot water, if not even wreck the company and throw the workers out of jobs.

Decent dealings can go to pieces if either side takes the other for an easy mark.

Sincerity and decency are not weakness.

In all 18 case studies on causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining, this third distinguishing characteristic was reported:

"An awareness by both parties that, while their basic objectives may conflict in important areas, it is usually possible to work out compromises which allow each side to advance its interests in a reasonably satisfactory manner."

An atmosphere of haranguing can blot out how many basic objectives there are on which management and employees can agree.

We ought to be able to agree that a company with high productivity is best for the employees, as well as the stockowners and public. We ought to be able to agree that there's only one way to raise the standard of living and real wages, and that's to produce more things more efficiently for more people.

People lead happier lives, and that's what we are interested in, when they feel that they are producing and contributing to the achievements of the team. Consequently there is an inexcusable breakdown in human relations if any industry is riddled with so-called featherbedding, slowdowns and the take it easy spirit.

I have read that a district director of the United Steelworkers, known as a tough fighter and bargainer, but responsive to good faith and cooperation from management, went into a plant where 35 percent of the work force, 700 men, might lose their jobs unless a certain amount of loafing was eliminated and the cost of the product decreased. He was quoted as saying to the members:

"You can't just loaf yourself into prosperity. You must work yourself into prosperity. If you want higher wages, better vacations, more security, a health and welfare fund, you must, of necessity, recognize that your company cannot give it unless you first give it to the company. You've got to put money in the barrel if you want to take it out."

When workers hate and distrust management, naturally they feel it is dangerous and wrong and that there is no incentive even to cooperate with, let alone to try to help, management.

Yet wherever the right kind of human relations are established, I have found that employees and managers can pull together to raise productivity and that a strong responsible union contributes strength to the business, as well as to the employees.

I recall an example of a union contributing real know-how to a project that had been called impossible to build. We were battling the raging Columbia River in Oregon, trying to build Bonneville Dam. We couldn't seem to get the men to work efficiently and well enough to build up the wooden cribs as fast as required to keep them from being ripped out by the torrent of water that might rise 20 to 30 feet within a day.

We had half nonunion workers and half union men. My son Edgar and I went to the carpenters union business agent in Portland— old Slim, and Slim said, "The trouble is you don't have all trained union men and union foremen."

"All right," I said, "you feel you know what's wrong and how it can be done right. We'll make it an all-union job and put it right up to you. You hire whom you please;

you know skilled workers. You run the employment."

The union took up the challenge. We had been able to put up only 25,000 feet of timber a day, but after we unionized that soared by 4 times to 100,000 feet right away. The raging Columbia was harnessed.

In one area, our men encountered the fiercest testing out of their lives for our simple philosophy that if you treat people right, you'll be treated right too. More than once I found our labor relations and supervisory staffs apparently completely frustrated, baffled, and licked. Once I dropped in on a meeting with the union's grievance committee.

Now, my conception of the grievance machinery was—and still is—that it provides a method of assuring fair treatment for all. It's a way to get things off our chests and to remove the irritating pinpricks. Only in an atmosphere of interunion politicking, or ideological warfare, or years of bad blood, or power pressures against an employer, are unions apt to swamp the grievance machinery with an avalanche of real or imaginery grievances, or what's called bum beefs. When attitudes are right, legitimate grievances are screened out from the bad ones and corrections are speedily forthcoming. No time is wasted sparring for position. Everyone jumps in, and finds out, "What's the problem and what will it take to solve it?"

At this particular grievance meeting, though, I never in my life heard such moaning about problems: A mountain of problems, a deluge of problems, a cyclone of problems.

I spoke up from my heart to the beaten or bitter men around the table: "Problems are only opportunities in work clothes." I poured out what problems had meant in my own life: Apparent disasters can teach us lessons that will convert setbacks into success. Problems, faced up to, can make men out of us. Problems of human relations offer the most stimulating opportunities in life. I never pleaded so hard for fellows to seize upon their problems as the opportunity and the challenge to rise up like men.

Late that night, hours and hours after I left the grievance meeting, I met the grievance and labor relations men walking down the hall. They looked dogged tired, haggard and limp wet, but each one grinned from ear to ear. "Where've you been all this time. What's happened?" I asked.

"We've just finished solving our opportunities," they exclaimed. Looks of personal triumph and satisfaction glowed in their faces as they repeated, "Solving opportunities!"

That's become a slogan around our organizations. You might just get a lift out of the thought when you go back to solving opportunities, because the opportunities in the field of human relations have barely been touched.

The manager and union leader who helps build a better way of life within industry reaps the inner satisfaction of being of great service to modern man. We have advanced phenomenally in material progress, and we are always doing better in human relations. Where do we go from here? This seminar gives some hints of limitless potentialities in helping people lead fuller lives by taking account of the psychological, emotional and spiritual natures of the industrial-age men.

I envision the dawning of an era in which we will make discoveries as great about the pursuit of more abundant human happiness as we have in material civilization, indeed even more precious discoveries.

It is true that "there is more to living than making a living," for nothing is truer that "man does not live by bread alone."

The individual needs to feel that his job is important, that he himself is, in fact and in truth important. There are infinite ways in which to increase the meaningfulness of life for modern man, and the factory-place abounds with the opportunities.

Let's be sure to consider people as individuals, not merely as groups. How can we help the man on a simple, routine job have a feeling of dignity and usefulness? The opportunity for promotion is vital to job satisfaction. Seniority rules should not be made so inflexible as to stifle the individual's chance to advance. True and equitable incentive plans add zest and the quickened spirit of enterprise to one's work. Employee training courses for orientation, supervision, and promotion can enhance people's sense of participation.

Man craves a sense of participation and belonging—belonging to a good family, a good union, a good company, a good neighborhood, and a good community.

The employees' job in life is enriched when he can be loyal both to his union and to his company. The individual doesn't have to be torn between choosing one side or the other, when the relations and conduct of both company and union are right. He can be proud of both—proud of a free democratic organization that protects and advances his interests; proud of a company that is fair and square. In the midst of conflict, the individual's future is uncertain. In peace, the individual is relieved of tensions and achieves greater peace of mind. He goes to work happy and fresh, relishing the tonic spirit of his coworkers, exhiliarated by the boundless adventures and fun that life offers.

When less and less time is squandered in giving folks ulcers over labor relations, we can spend more and more time opening up brand new avenues of cooperation that are good for all. We must do a lot more about keeping employees informed—informed of the philosophy, economics, and worthwhile contributions to society behind their work and enterprise. People feel better when they believe in the things they are doing. People take satisfaction in helping their neighbors build a better community.

Our dissatisfied contentment with life is a spur to create a better physical and spiritual environment for ourselves and children. We are demanding still more of life. We are not satisfied to drift into needless man-created depressions. We know that our ability to produce and distribute constantly more of the good things of life need be limited only by our will to work and the courage to open vast new horizons.

In his last speech the evening before he died, Philip Murray declared that America "is going to march ahead," and he predicted that the people are going to get "more and better medicine." Good medical care and protection against the hazards of illness can be placed within the reach of all. Just this month Congressmen asked me to testify in Washington on how doctors of this country could provide the kind of prepaid medical care that is now being supplied 416,000 west coast people by the Kaiser Foundation health plan and hospitals and by partnerships of doctors. One after another labor leaders followed and testified that millions of Americans are seeking this type of comprehensive prepayment, group practice health coverage for their families.

Philip Murray, in that last speech, declared the function of a trade union—and I think it's the mission of our entire democratic society—is this: "to feel the pulse-beats of the people; to live close to the people; to understand the people's problems."

In our industrial relations, let us keep close to people—to individuals in a time when modern man, the jittery master of his own fate in this atomic age, must retain confidence and rekindle faith in himself. Let's feel the pulse-beats of the people and understand the needs of the human spirit.

The greatest progress ahead will be in the realm of the human spirit and human relations. We can each of us be a part of the onward march to a time of far greater human understanding, for the brotherhood of man must spring from the individual human heart.

As we go back to work among people, we can take inspiration from these words of a poet, Lewis I. Newman:

"I sought to hear the voice of God,
And climbed the topmost steeple.
But God declared: 'Go down again,
I dwell among the people'."

An Eight-Point Program Designed To Achieve a Peaceful Solution of Near East Problems

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a thoughtful address delivered by our distinguished colleague the gentleman from New York, Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, before the Jewish Community Council in Rochester, N. Y. This address, outlining an eight-point program designed to achieve a peaceful solution of Near East problems, deserves our careful attention.

The address follows:

Your active and able program chairman, Mrs. Berlove, has asked me to direct my remarks tonight to my impressions and opinions of Israel and the Arab States as a result of my trip to that part of the world last fall.

On that basis, let me say that I speak to you from wholly inadequate knowledge. My trip through the Middle East last fall was made under great pressure, encompassed in a week or 10 days all told. During that time I visited Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Egypt. I talked with United States and United Nations representatives and with some Arab officials. In the limited time I spent in Israel it was not possible for me to meet the Israeli officials with whom I had looked forward to discussing their problems and the situation as they saw it. It was one of the greatest disappointments of my trip, and I hope to return there at some future date to give more time and study to the land and the people.

The reasons for my somewhat incomplete visit were not of my making, nor, for that matter, were they the fault of those who arranged my schedule. In midsummer, when my trip was planned, it was arranged that I should reach the Near East in early October, after participating with our Mediterranean Fleet in the NATO maneuvers in that part of the world.

As events turned out, it proved to be an extremely inopportune time for a western observer to be there. Tension between Israel and the Arab world was rising like a fever chart. There were border incidents and gunfire along the Israeli-Jordan border almost every night. Some of the incidents were very serious. Shortly before I arrived, an Israeli mother and her two children had been killed by Arabs.

I talked briefly with General Bennike, the United Nations truce representative, and he expressed grave concern for the peace of the area. Within a few days after I left the dreadful massacre at Kibya occurred, and before I returned to this country General

Bennike had been summoned to the United Nations Security Council in New York to report on that incident. You may well realize my visit occurred under very trying circumstances.

In such an atmosphere it was impossible to get a balanced picture of either Israel or the Arab states. On the other hand, the tension differed only in degree from what has prevailed there since the armistice. The issues stood out in starkest outline, and it was possible for me to observe and apprehend in a brief time both the menacing threat that hangs over the area and also the glowing promise that pervades all Israel.

I entered the Near East at Beirut, having flown there from Istanbul. From Beirut I went by car to Damascus, Amman, and Jericho, meeting with our officials at each of these places.

Outside Jericho I visited one of the refugee camps, where the Arabs, who fled from Israel during the war, now live. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency people were making their monthly distribution of flour, soap, and margarine at the time of my visit, and while, to western eyes, the rations looked distressingly inadequate, I was assured that they are a lifeline to the people of the camps. It is difficult to imagne how the refugees live in between these distributions. A few have obtained jobs, but in some of the Arab countries they are prevented by law from working, and misery festers in these camps. The Arab official who accompanied me to the camp emphasized the degradation of the refugees—needlessly, I might say, for I could see it with my own eyes.

The children seemed pitiable and the adults were sullen and aloof. My guide said that Communist agents were active among them, and that they were increasingly turning to communism. When I asked what they could possibly find in communism, his reply was, "What have they to lose?"

I shall return to the problem of the refugees in a moment, but will take you with me first on the remainder of my trip through the Holy Land.

From Jericho I went to Jerusalem, where I visited many of the holy places in the old city. There I was met by our consul, whose offices are astride the Israeli-Jordan border in the city, and he conducted me through the new city. Later I had an opportunity to drive to Tel Aviv, and to observe the immense progress that is being made by the Israeli people in developing both their countryside and their great urban centers, including the Mediterranean ports.

I returned to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv and then flew on to Cairo. Thus, I covered a good deal of ground in the short time available.

Like every traveler to the Near East, I came away tremendously impressed with the immense vitality of Israel, and also with its immense problems.

I came away also deeply convinced that Israel will endure and prevail. A people of such vitality and industry, and with such wellsprings of faith, could not possibly be defeated, even by the staggering odds that Israel faces.

The kinship between Israel and the United States is, in my judgment, no accident. It derives chiefly from a mutual readiness to do the impossible, and from our common recognition that our strength lies, not in material things, but in a divine providence. If there were only a handful of Jews in America, I am certain there would still be in this country the utmost sympathy, interest, and support for the dedicated, diligent, and courageous people of Israel.

Fortunately, the number of Americans who share this concern is legion; and I say "fortunately" because it seems evident that in the years ahead Israel will need her every friend. Her problems are almost immeasurable.

If Israel had only her own internal problems to cope with, they would still be staggering. Obviously, only a people whose faith was rooted in the infinite power of the Almighty, would ever have undertaken to build a nation of diverse people, in a hostile land, on a soil that has been depleted for centuries. Yet, in defiance of all the odds and all the pessimists, Israel is today a living monument to the power of faith. On that unpromising land they are welding together the disparate national groups which have been scattered to the corners of the earth over these many centuries. They are making the Dead Sea yield up its mineral riches; they are reworking King Solomon's copper mines; they are replanting the barren hills to trees, making pastureland out of the desert, and making farmland out of pastures. These things I saw with my own eyes. And meanwhile they have created a representative form of government, under which they can live in dignity and mutual respect, and where, within their own borders, they live in peace.

It is a thrilling thing to be among such people, even for a short time.

Like the rest of the world, Israel's greatest single need, is for an assured peace. She lives totally surrounded by hostile neighbors. Both Arabs and Israelis maintain armies which they cannot afford and which they should not need. The threat of violence hangs over the area like a pall. No one could possibly profit from the outbreak of war in the Near East, except Soviet Russia, the inheritor of chaos. Yet, there are discouragingly few signs of a settlement that promises real peace. The recent action by the Secretary General of the United Nations, in inviting Jordan to review the armistice agreements with Israel, was certainly a welcome step, but we have yet to see whether it will bear fruit.

Our own Secretary of State last June, affirmed that the United States, Great Britain, and France, would immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations, to prevent violation of the armistice agreements, and a mission of the House of Representatives has recently called for a reaffirmation of that pledge, as a means, at least, of maintaining the status quo in the Near East.

A further step was recently taken by some 35 Members of the House and Senate, of whom I had the honor to be one, in an effort to prevent further hostilities. In a joint statement we urged our Government to withhold further military assistance from the Arab States. Certainly, in the present state of tension, more military aid to the Arabs might well spark the explosion which, with all our hearts, we want to avoid. We expect to meet tomorrow with Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith with respect to this matter.

I might say that, while I was in the Near East, one of our representatives urged upon me the importance of giving more arms to the Arabs. I asked whether such a step would lend itself to the protection or security of the free world, and his reply was that it probably would not, but that it would give the Arabs internal strength and perhaps make them feel more kindly toward us. In other words, it would be an outright effort to buy friends. I said I was against it.

Moreover, I shall continue to oppose the sending of more military aid out there, until and unless, there is much greater evidence of stability in the Arab governments, and much more evidence of a purpose in harmony with our own. The only justification that we, in the Congress, have, for sending aid to other countries, is to help build strength for America. If it does not contribute to that objective, we have no right or authority to levy taxes to be spent abroad. Dispensing foreign aid merely for the purpose of making another nation feel good or to make it feel more kindly toward us, is not sufficient justification for these programs.

There is no question in my mind that, before there can be peace in the Near East, there must be economically and politically stable governments. Nothing can be settled until these are achieved, and we must face the fact that, except in Israel, and, of course, Turkey, there is very little stability in sight. Certainly there is nothing approaching representative government, as we know it. In the Arab countries, they do not understand it; they do not yearn for it, and they do not practice it. Their rulers give occasional lipservice to it, but they are uncomfortable with it, and, for the most part, ignore the spirit, even when they observe the letter. We need not condemn them for it. The Arabs did not know representative government under the Turks; they did not know it under the French and British mandates that prevailed after World War I. They do not know it now. It is quite possible that they will work out some other form of government which is suitable to them—forms which enable them to live fruitfully within the family of nations.

But the process will be long and slow. We in the West, have come to look upon representative government as synonymous with progress and decency in human affairs, even though we know it has many faults. As Winston Churchill once said, representative government is the worst form of government in the world, except all those other forms of government which have been tried and found wanting. It has proved to be effective in the West. It has not yet been effectively developed in the East, except in Israel and Turkey. It took a dictator to implant it in Turkey, and he was utterly ruthless about it. In Israel, it sprang by common consent, from the hearts and consciences of the people, and their leaders. That, is why it will unquestionably endure.

There are, of course, all shades of political opinions, in Israel, and sharp differences, but they are harmonized within the framework of the law. Even a stranger feels at once the basic, dynamic unity of purpose, which motivates these people. One seeks in vain, however, for such evidence of unity and stability among the Arab countries. The only thing about which the Arabs are fiercely unified, is their opposition to Israel.

It is a grim outlook, but not necessarily discouraging. As they say in Israel, "He who does not believe in miracles is not a realist." Israel, and Israel's friends, must face up to these realities, with faith that the miracle of a stable peace can, and will eventually be achieved.

On the basis of my own studies and observations out there, together with those of my colleagues in the House, I would suggest to you an eight-point program as a possible basis for the attainment of peace in the Near East.

First, I believe we should press firmly for the development of the water resources of the area to benefit both Israel and the Arab countries. We have suffered a temporary rebuff from the Arab countries in this, but I am confident that their wise leaders will eventually prevail, and permit the power and reclamation developments that are so sorely needed.

Second, we should accept the fact that the Arab refugees are not and cannot be repatriated to Israel, but must be resettled within the Arab countries, on a planned basis, so that the refugee camps can be closed.

Third, there should be firm and just arrangements by Israel to compensate the Arab refugees for their lost properties.

Fourth, U. N. aid to the Arab refugee camps should be terminated on a definite time

schedule, and meanwhile funds should be made available for the development of specific resettlement projects in the Arab countries for these people.

Fifth, we should reaffirm the declaration made last year by Great Britain, France, and the United States that we will take immediate action, within and outside the United Nations, to prevent violation of the armistice lines.

Sixth, we should undertake to negotiate minor adjustments in the armistice boundary lines to elminate local inequities which serve as rallying points for hostile elements.

Seventh, we should insist, inside and outside the U. N., that the blockade and boycott of Israel, which is—and is intended to—strangle Israel's economy, must be lifted.

And eighth, we should make United States aid to the Near East contingent upon the observation and conformance of all the countries of the area to United Nations directives and decisions.

I might say that, while I was in Tel Aviv last fall, I went over the proposed plans for development of the Jordan River's power and reclamation potential, along TVA lines, and I am convinced, it is sound and in the interests of the entire area. In fact, it would help the Arab countries more than it would help Israel. I welcome the announcement, made this past week, that Dr. Ralph Bunche has been named by the Secretary General of the U. N. to head a study commmttee of the U. N. on this and related projects. Indeed, I think we can all take considerable satisfaction in the recent efforts of the U. N.'s Secretary General to press for negotiations and for cooperative study by the Arabs and Israelis of their common problems.

Insofar as the refugees are concerned, my own observations confirmed what my House colleagues have formally stated, namely, that there is no real effort being made by the Arabs to resettle these people, and conditions in the camps are, if anything, worse than they were when the camps were established. There are more refugees today than there were 5 years ago, because of the birthrate, and half of them are under the age of 15. Thus, if these people are not resettled soon, if their eyes are not fixed on a better future, the poisonous bitterness of the elders will be fastened upon an entire new generation and peace will be postponed for decades to come. Thus far, the United Nations has supported the camps at a cost of $190 million, of which, I need hardly say, most has come from the United States. We cannot continue to maintain this burden, for our own sake and for the sake of the refugees themselves. There must be a positive program of resettlement and such a program must be adhered to.

But these programs must go forward within the broad framework of an Arab-Israel peace settlement. The refugee problem is part and parcel of the broader problems of the Near East and cannot be settled in a vacuum.

May I say, that it seems to me, there is no place on earth where there is so much hope and so much despair, so much serene faith, so much gnawing corrosive uncertainty, so much love made manifest through great creative work, so much respect for the worth and dignity of the individual, and also so much exploitation of human misery as in the Near East.

The Promised Land is still the land of promise; but, even though I saw it all too briefly, I am completely confident that, despite its tremendous problems, the promise will be fulfilled.

With Dr. Carl Herrman Voss, I look forward to the time when a firm peace is established and Israel, with its venturesome spirit, its high courage, its political and cultural riches will become a laboratory for other peoples in nearby lands, a pilot plant for the free world.

How Selfish Can We Get?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Marshfield News-Herald of Marshfield, Wis., February 20, 1954:

HOW SELFISH CAN WE GET?

On February 19, 1954, the price of American Cheddar cheese dropped 1¼ cents a pound on the Plymouth Cheese Exchange. This in spite of the fact that the reduction in the Government-support price from 90 percent to 75 percent of parity, in itself a crushing blow to the dairy industry, will not become effective until April 1, 1954.

Our companies have been among those who vigorously advocated the retention of dairy price supports at 90 percent of parity. Other interests have been working as vigorously for the reduction to 75 percent, which the Secretary of Agriculture has now ordered. These are the same selfish interests which, within the past 3 weeks, fought proposals of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture to prohibit the sale of high moisture content cheese spreads in the State of Wisconsin.

While the American Dairy Association (ADA), financed by the dairy farmers of the United States, is spending millions of dollars to increase the consumption of wholesome milk products and thus move storage stocks of such products into retail channels, these interests defeat that purpose by the addition of ingredients which add as much as 50 percent to the volume of the natural cheese.

They cry out against the payment of 90 percent parity price supports to the dairy farmer as though such well-deserved assistance were bankrupting the Nation, while the fact is that subsidies to dairy farmers represent less than 8 percent of the cost of our agricultural price support program.

Do they not realize that, if the dairy farmer is overproducing, it is only because he was persuaded by his Government that it was his patriotic duty to produce to the utmost of his capacity during the years when his country and its allies depended upon his production for survival? They should give thanks that it is a so-called overproduction instead of a scarcity of food which we must cope with.

If the acceptance of subsidy from Government is a crime, what other industry is innocent of participation in the same offense? The air transport industry accept subsidies in the form of mail contracts, public utilities operate under the rules of public commissions which guarantee their costs plus a profit, the oil industry is benefited by lenient tax legislation in recognition of its risks. Labor, too, is guaranteed a minimum wage which, even if too low, still offers some protection to this great segment of our population. Surely the dairly farmer is also entitled to consideration.

Our Government is spending billions of dollars in the form of grants and aids to the people of foreign countries—grants and aids which might better be described as gifts. Shall we deny a fraction of those sums to our own dairy farmers, upon whom the continuance of our national prosperity largely depends?

We recognize that a lower price for dairy products was inevitable as a result of the reduction of price supports to 75 percent, effective April 1. But why in heaven's name was it necessary at this time to reach into the pocket of the dairy farmer and extract $400 per carload of cheese, 6 weeks before the reduction in the support price takes effect?

We realize that profits are essential to successful business operation, but this goes beyond the legitimate bounds of profit-taking.

"To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men." Let us not be silent.

STEVE J. MILLER,
President, Central Cheese Co.,
Mid-State Cheese Corp.
MARSHFIELD, WIS.

Hawaii and Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, which appeared in the February issue of Navy News. This publication, edited by D. T. Westmoreland, is published in my district, in San Diego, Calif. Navy News is the oldest all-Navy publication on the west coast, and since 1933 has been dedicated to the people of the Navy and Marine Corps.

The editorial follows:

HAWAII AND ALASKA

For what are political conventions?

Are they held for the purpose of a campaign only?

For what are the platforms passed by such conventions?

In 1948 a Republican and Democratic convention was held in which both conventions inserted in their platforms a promise to the voters that if their candidates were elected they would all vote for an act admitting Hawaii and Alaska Territories to statehood.

Four years passed and the promise was not fulfilled.

In 1952 like conventions were held and the same promises were made to the dear voters.

Another year has passed and still nothing done.

For what are Congressmen paid their salaries?

To be true to the promises they have made to the voters of the United States.

If they wanted to be true to their employers (the voters of this country) they could pass these bills in a week, yet they have stubbornly waited 5 long years.

One Territory is Democratic and one is Republican; the score is even there. But were it not, it is child's play to oppose it on political grounds.

People who go to Congress of the greatest nation on the face of the earth should be big enough to give the people of these two Territories, who have helped to fight our battles for years, the right of statehood.

The Navy News magazine advocates this on account of fairness to those people and, besides, both Territories are strategic positions for the Navy.

Senators and Representatives, show to the world you are true enough to make your promise good.

President Eisenhower will sign the documents as soon as you place them on his table.

He will live up to his promise; will you?

House Resolution 355

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am constrained by several considerations to vote against this measure.

First, it will without a doubt gravely disturb and imperil the present cordial and amicable relations with our neighbors to the South of the great Republic of Mexico. The passage of the measure at this time will be a direct, official affront to a friendly power of the Western Hemisphere which may well bring unfavorable consequences not only in Mexico but other Central and South American Governments.

The measure would thus inject a jarring and divisive element into our good-neighbor policy and lessen the good will and cooperative spirit so necessary to the development of a proper hemispheric unity to check the conspiracies, infiltrations, and possible aggressions of the Marxist plot against human freedom.

Secondly, there is something besides dollars and cents and material gain and profit involved in this question. Our great farming industry is entitled to every legal assistance in cultivating and harvesting its crops and products. And I would be among the first in wanting this Congress to create the proper climate and conditions which will best promote and encourage the prompt, efficient conduct of this important business.

But that is only one of the considerations facing us here. Before property rights, before business profits, before material gains, this Congress must be concerned with the human rights and needs of the many human beings whose lives, health, and well-being can well be involved in the question of migratory, so-called wetback farm labor. We have a duty, a sacred duty, to protect those of the laboring classes entering this country and unable adequately to protect themselves against the grave injustices of exploitation, underpayment, undernourishment, substandard health and living conditions, and other unwholesome, undesirable, antisocial effects that almost always accompany the padrone-peonage system of indenture which throughout history has been so demoralizing, degrading, and harmful to the human race in its struggle for decent standards of living.

We can recall that in history the same arguments that are advanced today in behalf of this resolution were similarly employed to justify the slave traffic with its debasement of human and spiritual values—a traffic which denied the essential dignity of man and condemned him to be sold and bartered in the market places of exploitation as a common chattel.

Thirdly, the measure will be disruptive of our own American labor supply and conditions, as well as our immigration, tax, and social-security laws. I would not oppose the adoption and implementation of any reasonable arrangement that can be arrived at by and between our Government and the great Government of Mexico. This arrangement should not be unilateral, but bilateral, and mutually and reciprocally expressed and agreed upon as establishing decent terms and conditions and insuring the maintenance of satisfactory and adequate standards.

This Congress should never repudiate the doctrine already written into our laws and already accepted in principle and morality by the American people that the labor of human beings is not a commodity. We must go further and reaffirm the fact that men and women under our Constitution are not mere chattels to be bought and sold but human beings possessed of immortal souls, endowed by the Creator as well as by the laws of this great Nation with inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—rights of the dignity and worth and freedom of the human personality, rights which guarantee his property and contractual privileges and which differentiate him from the slave.

I will oppose this measure.

Border Labor Recruiting Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of February 10, 1954:

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM—BORDER LABOR RECRUITING NEEDED

The Mexican immigrant labor problem cannot be solved by any one stroke of government on either side of the border. But there are actions which should be taken to bring it nearer to a satisfactory solution.

Demanding most immediate action is the proposal before Congress to permit border recruiting. From the standpoint of the United States, approval of this is necessary to save millions of dollars in crops which will be left unharvested unless Mexican labor can be employed.

The California State Department of Employment has certified there is a shortage of Americans to harvest these crops. Such certification is important in determining that immigrants are not being brought into the country to replace domestic labor.

Those who reside in border agricultural areas can confirm the State's declaration of a shortage of labor. Without the help of workers from Mexico, crops will go unharvested.

The problem in San Diego and Imperial Counties is greater than in those areas farther from the border. In the past, some contract workers, recruited from the interior of Mexico, have skipped their obligations and returned home without notice. Many others have ditched the farms and drifted to other parts of this country to take factory jobs.

Trained agricultural workers from the border areas of Baja California traditionally have been employed in the fields of this area. Under plans to recruit "braceros" from the interior, they are excluded.

Senator KUCHEL and Representatives WILSON, UTT, and PHILLIPS have done an outstanding job in making these facts known to Congress. Continued priority should be given necessary legislation to permit immediate border recruiting.

On a more permanent basis, the administration ought to continue negotiations with Mexico for a long-term treaty which takes due note of the United States need for such labor and of Mexico's problems with transient labor. A smooth working treaty would help solve the so-called wetback problem.

Approval of border recruiting plans will allow treaty negotiations to continue unhampered by the pressure of ripening crops.

With patience, we should be able to work out a treaty which will increase good will between these two friendly countries. Meanwhile, while negotiations continue, we must take care lest this treaty issue be magnified out of proportion.

Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray and Col. Irene Galloway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL M. HARDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, the new Director of Women in the Air Force is Col. Phyllis D. S. Gray. Colonel Gray served formerly as the WAF Staff Director in Europe.

Women in the armed services have performed a great service for their country. The many skills and occupations which they have filled have released many men for more urgent missions. Today, the women in the Army, Navy, and Air Force are recognized as an integral part of the Military Establishment. These women in effect represent the women of our Nation in the armed services; through them the American homes are receiving word of life in the armed services from other than the masculine viewpoint.

To direct these activities and to successfully administer a program with such responsibility is a grave undertaking. The WAF Director is charged on the one hand with efficient participation in the Air Force program and on the other with capable and understanding solicitude for the members of these military women groups.

During the 82d Congress various subcommittees traveled abroad and brought back the reports on the fine work performance of these women in our armed services. Colonel Gray in the Air Force and WAC Colonel Irene Galloway of the Army were highly commended in their duties at that time.

The true evaluation of a job well done is not generally by record review but by judging the effects in the field. It is not ascertained by questioning the top level in authority. It is more easily ascertained by evaluating the effect of the top level policy as applied in the field. The

leaders of these women groups have had the experience in the field in implementing policy and, based on their experience and training, will, without doubt, be capable of evolving a policy for their service which will maintain the high standards presently enjoyed by the women in the Army and Navy and Air Force.

Promotion from within the organization is the greatest builder of morale. The nominations of Colonels Gray and Galloway, I am sure, will be a source of inspiration to the women in the ranks. The women Directors will, I am certain, carry in mind always the lessons that they learned on their way to the top.

I know that the membership of the House wishes Colonels Gray and Galloway well in their new undertakings.

Postal Employees Are Entitled to Adequate Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement I have submitted to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, concerning salary increases for postal employees. I trust that we shall soon have the opportunity to vote on this necessary legislation. My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, I urge that you give favorable consideration to the legislation now before you which provides for a pay raise for postal employees.

You are apprised of their sad plight, I know. It is a fact that they cannot exist on their present salaries, that they cannot meet ordinary living expenses. Living costs have reached a new high. Since the postal workers were given their last pay raise, there have been increases in rents, food, and other necessary commodities, and in medical and dental care.

Many hundreds of letters have been sent me indicating the struggle our postal workers and their families are enduring in an effort to make ends meet. The postal workers are forced to seek extra work, outside of their postal jobs, to try to earn a few dollars in order to supplement their income. Wives who can manage to do so must also seek employment in order to help balance the family budget. They have been forced to borrow on their insurance, to go into debt in order to meet family emergencies. Their lives are filled with sacrifices, deprivations, stress, insecurity, and worries.

Postal workers should not have to seek such outside employment—when they have done their day's work for the post office, they should have the reward of a few hours' leisure. Their wives should not be overburdened and made to seek outside work when they have a full-time job in caring for the home and children.

We find that postal workers and their dependents have suffered a tremendous drop in their standard of living. At the same time, productivity of post-office employees has greatly increased. It is only fair that they should benefit as a result of their industry and their interest in giving their best efforts to the postal service.

Another important point to be considered is that years ago, the postal service was considered to be a desirable working career. Today, conditions have so changed that a man who wishes to provide his family and himself with a decent standard of living cannot afford to enter the postal service. Furthermore, many valued and trained postal employees are leaving the service for jobs in private industry because they are forced to seek more pay. The postal service, so necessary and important to every person in the United States, is losing large numbers of trained workers and is suffering as a result. Unless adequate pay is offered its employees it will be unable to attract desirable and faithful workers and hold them.

The postal worker needs help now. He is entitled to a living wage for the services he performs. To insure his efficiency and well-being he must be given the assistance he deserves.

It is our duty to provide adequate pay for our postal workers. The very least we should give him is an $800 per year wage increase—anything less would be woefully inadequate and unacceptable. I urge the committee to approve the $800 increase as provided in H. R. 2344.

I trust this committee will give Members of Congress the opportunity to vote for the long overdue pay raise without further delay.

President Shows Inner Self

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following item from the San Diego Union of Tuesday, February 23, 1954:

WARREN INCIDENT REVEALING—PRESIDENT SHOWS INNER SELF

The character of an individual is shown best by his reaction to problems. There have been several opportunities of late for the American public to get a closer look into the inner nature of President Eisenhower.

The President's prompt reaction to the smear of Chief Justice Warren was revealing. Stepping into the bright sunlight from his temporary office at Palm Springs, the President stood momentarily with his hands in his pockets taking a final inventory of his thoughts.

He then proceeded in precise manner to make it known that what he was about to say was an opinion, not a blind assertion of facts.

His opinion was that Earl Warren was one of the finest public servants the Nation has known. The opinion, he explained, was obvious because of the nomination to so high an office. It had been substantiated by personal conversations since Mr. Warren became Chief Justice.

The statement was ended by President Eisenhower humbly saying: "I cannot think of anything further to say."

The unwarranted attack on Mr. Warren could be taken to reflect on the President since he personally selected him for such high office. But Mr. Eisenhower did not react with a Truman-type counterattack on other individuals. He did not embark on an emotional tirade. He merely stated the facts as he saw them—and left the American public the opportunity to make its own evaluation.

We believe this respect for the intelligence of the American people is one of the President's finer attributes.

Too often, our Nation's leaders have become so enmeshed in bureaucracy that they have become scornful of the ability of the public to think for itself.

The incident regarding Earl Warren was only a small one in the life of a President. But it has been duplicated a hundredfold in Mr. Eisenhower's approach to the problems of the individual—social security, health, labor relations and the like.

It is obvious the President does not regard himself as a superbeing—but as another individual with a heavy load to carry.

National Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call my colleagues' attention to the very excellent editorial which appeared February 23 in the Greensburg Morning Review, of my home town, Greensburg, Pa., concerning Brotherhood Week. A moment's time spent in perusing this article will refreshen our minds just as a tonic rebuilds our bodies:

ALL IN THE SAME BOAT

Brotherhood Week, which is sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is now being observed throughout the Nation.

The idea, of course, is to promote better understanding, friendship, and cooperation among all our peoples. We are all freemen in this country and it is being emphasized that we should be thoughtful and considerate of the desires and needs of our fellow citizens.

There is nothing new about these brotherhood things, because they were handed down to us by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence and our United States Constitution with its famous Bill of Rights.

But the trouble is that so many of us talk brotherhood and do not practice it.

Maybe we could practice it better if we could all always keep in mind that we are on earth for a limited time. But so many of us just can't seem to do that. This is particularly true of most young people. Too many of them act as if they were going to be here forever. Most people, when they get up around 50-year mark, mellow somewhat, because they can look ahead and easily see that their years are numbered. But some of those who hold positions of power and influence, don't seem to realize, even after they are 50 or more, that the end is not too far distant.

Particularly at this time when the people of our Nation should stand united to help solve the international and domestic problems which confront the Nation, the sincere practice of brotherhood is needed. And it should be practiced not only 1 week in the year, but every week.

One does not need to go about patting his fellow citizens on the back to practice brotherhood. All he has to do is be appreciative of the fact that we are all in the same boat together, and be tolerant of the thinking and actions of others so long as they do not harm us all. We don't all think and act alike, but we can think and act alike on the important things.

Meals on Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Earl Selby:

IN OUR TOWN—MEALS ON WHEELS
(By Earl Selby)

Help at hand: Not too long ago social agencies considered the case of a man let's call August M.

In his seventies, August had been admitted to a hospital, suffering, among other things, from malnutrition.

The hospital fixed him up fine, discharged him 100 percent better.

But in a little while August was back; so was his malnutrition.

Agencies like the Visiting Nurse Society did a little checking. They found August living alone in a single room—with a little one-burner hotplate. His trouble was easy to diagnose: He just wasn't eating right.

But who was there to feed him the right thing at the right time? Answer: Nobody.

And yet you kind of had to respect August's personal integrity. He said he didn't want to live in an institution—that he was able to handle his life O. K. Except for the cooking.

The tragedy of this case is that August isn't alone. All over Philadelphia there are thousands of Augusts—men and women whom time has forgotten, living alone or maybe with one elderly friend in a little hall bedroom.

The Augusts of the world come to light when they apply—again and again—to hospitals for treatment. And that treatment could have been unnecessary, if their diet had been right.

The English have proved that. They use tax money to help pay the costs of bringing one hot meal a day to the aged who are living alone and need the assistance.

Result: The aged live longer, stay healthier and happy.

So why not do something like that in Philadelphia?

The Visiting Nurse Society and other agencies in the Columbia area of the Health and Welfare Council asked that question. And now, there's an answer.

The Lighthouse Settlement at 152 West Lehigh, a Red Feather agency, was asked by other welfare groups in the Kensington area to pioneer an American version of Meals on Wheels.

This was the goal: To bring two meals a day, one hot, one cold, to some of the aged in that area.

The food, nutritionally planned, was to be prepared in the Lighthouse, then taken to the elderly folks by volunteers.

The cost would be largely borne by the agencies, but the aged would be asked to pay from 40 to 80 cents a day, depending on how much they could afford.

It sounded like an ambitious project—and it was. It's also a working project. Already 10 orders are rolling each day.

One goes to a room where a father and son live. In his thirties, the son is a polio victim, confined to the room. His father, in his late seventies, recently fractured some ribs in a fall, is also room bound. They have a one-burner stove.

Their room is kept scrupulously tidy. When the first order arrived, they were at the neatly set table, napkins under their chin. "All ready," said the father. His smile showed his pleasure.

Another goes to a home where live two elderly women, one with a broken neck in a cast, the other diabetic and blind. They had no refrigeration, only a small hotplate. You can imagine what a hot meal means to them.

There are 15 different menus. Sample: For noon—Tomato soup, roast beef, creamed potatoes, peas and carrots, cup cake, coffee. For evening—Cold meat sandwich, a tomato, cookies.

All the meals are prepared by a regular cook, with volunteer help. The hot food is put on a disposable platter, then packed in an asbestos-insulated bag. Coffee and soup are thermos-carried.

Now, there's one delivery car, which takes about 45 minutes to make the circuit. One volunteer drives, another handles the plates, a third lugs the thermos. And, except for silverware, there's no washing—the paper cups and plates can be thrown away.

Paul Jans, headworker at the Lighthouse, says the plan will be expanded at the rate of 10 a week until about 70 orders are served each meal.

The plan, says Jans, is the community's way of telling the aged they're not forgotten—and he still remembers the one oldster whose eyes lit up as he asked, "You mean there'll be somebody coming to see me every day?"

Some Answers You Need

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article which Mr. Max M. Rosenau of Athens, Ala., was kind enough to send me recently. This article appeared in the Decatur Daily, October 19, 1953:

SOME ANSWERS YOU NEED

This country has been so deluged with camouflaged power company propoganda in the past 10 years that many of us in the TVA area have forgotten how to answer some of the absurd charges.

We had best be reading up on our lessons, for without question we are up against a Congress that is now hostile to public power and we will have to change a lot of votes in Washington if TVA is to continue as we have known it for the past 20 years.

Senator JOHN SPARKMAN spoke the other day at Huntsville and gave the answer to some of the erroneous beliefs. Here are some of the answers with which it is well for you to fortify yourself:

1. TVA is creeping socialism.

Answer. TVA doesn't do anything not already being done by some Government agency in some other part of the country. It merely coordinates under one administration, in an efficient operation, functions often carried on by separate Government agencies.

2. TVA is subsidized.

Answer. Money was advanced by the Government to establish the TVA, but every cent is being repaid. TVA is required by law to repay loans made to it, and is doing so ahead of schedule.

Based upon present earnings, TVA is expected to repay full costs including flood control and navigation. In no other case has this been required.

Too, TVA is not given tax savings certificates as are private power companies. Potential savings made possible to private power companies by such tax certificates exceed the total cost thus far of TVA.

TVA pays no taxes.

Answer. TVA pays 5 percent of its gross revenue from power to the State and county government of the region in which it operates.

For the year 1952, TVA paid to countries and States over $3,000,000. Distributors of TVA power made payments of $4,333,240. This total payment of $7,369,447 is more than twice the property taxes paid on private power property prior to acquisition by TVA or distributors, and on all reservoir land acquired by TVA.

Senator SPARKMAN also denied claims that TVA does not benefit the people of other regions. He pointed out that since 1947 valley people have spent about $1 billion for electrical appliances made almost entirely outside the valley area.

The Senator also pointed to the great contribution made by TVA toward winning the war. He said that the first atomic bomb was made possible by TVA; that 60 percent of the Nation's phosphorus requirements for ammunition during the war was supplied by TVA; and that by 1956 approximately ⅓ of TVA power will be used in the atomic energy program.

Salary Increases for Postal and Classified Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a recent comparison of living standards of various groups of American employees clearly show that classified civil service and postal workers were "low men on the totem pole" financially.

The comparative chart, appearing in a national magazine, showed that Federal workers in these categories had less purchasing power, when wage rates and taxes were adjusted, than in 1939. Surely it is not the intent of the Federal Government to keep its own employees in such an unfavorable comparative position.

Federal service suffers when wage rates are kept appreciably below those of outside employment. High turnover of workers, because of low pay, results in an increased cost of training new workers, morale problems, and inefficient service to the public. The Eisenhower administration is demanding more efficiency of its Federal workers in an admirable attempt to reduce the total cost of Government. It will get more efficiency with more realistic pay scales.

Federal employment is declining rather than increasing, as over the past two decades. With the decline in total numbers of Federal employees, we are going to need a better trained and better motivated hard corps of classified civil service and postal workers to carry out the demands of new management.

The best means of getting full efficiency from the vast corps of Federal workers is through a pay raise that will

bring them more in line with similar outside employment. While it is true that adjustments need to be made on some sort of a sliding scale to provide adequate compensation for increased responsibilities, within the service, it seems to me that we need a substantial minimum pay raise for all classified and postal employees to help compensate for the basic cost of living increases that have plagued them since the last pay adjustment was made several years ago.

I have found many postal and classified Federal workers in serious financial trouble. A great number of them have wives and children working to help make ends meet. They have no one to turn to but Congress, which holds the purse strings on their very existence. I urge you to give serious consideration to a substantial pay increase immediately.

Hoover Commission in Daylight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following newspaper article written by Mr. Lowell Mellett. Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD is certainly to be commended for his successful efforts in seeing that a variety of views is presented to the Hoover Commission in their study of water resources and power:

HOOVER COMMISSION IN DAYLIGHT—TASK FORCE ON WATER RESOURCES AND POWER TO HOLD OPEN HEARINGS, A PARTIAL VICTORY FOR PUBLIC POWER ADVOCATES

(By Lowell Mellett)

The Hoover Commission—Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—has just agreed to do an unprecedented thing. It has agreed that its task forces and the Commission itself shall, on occasion, hold public hearings. This decision has been made, at least, in the case of the task force on water resources and power. It is the result of a persistent effort by advocates of public power to obtain some adequate representation on the Commission. It has been their contention that the 26-member task force doesn't contain a single member sympathetic toward public power development. Representative CHET HOLIFIELD, Democrat, of California, a member of the Commission, had been endeavoring for months to have the task force increased by 5 members favorable to public power. The agreement to permit public hearings is in the nature of a compromise.

Since the present Hoover Commission, unlike its predecessor, is authorized to deal with Government policy as well as organization, the importance of letting a little more daylight into its proceedings is obvious. Since the present administration, as represented by the Interior Department, has indicated hostility toward public power development, the importance of open sessions is doubly obvious.

Such hearings, however, scarcely compensate for the one-sided character of the task force named by Chairman Herbert Hoover. Commenting on his partial victory, Representative HOLIFIELD remarked:

"Had additional members who believe in the principle of multipurpose dams and regional development such as TVA been appointed, these members would have had the privilege of participating in executive meetings of the task force, in the direction of research and in the evaluation of data which will be available to the task force members."

The battle over the Nation's power resources has become intense and public power advocates—particularly farmers' electric cooperatives—are fearful of what may come out of the Hoover Commission under the guise of improved governmental organization. The annual meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, held in Miami last month, drew 5,600 delegates representing 3½ million members. The delegates were astonished to hear their executive manager, Clyde Ellis, attacked by Fred Aandahl, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, as a "crusader for a Federal power monopoly." In vigorous denial, Ellis declared his opposition to monopoly either by the Government or by the private power interests. The delegates gave Ellis a remarkable ovation. Many departed for home declaring their purpose to make the administration's power policies an issue in this year's campaign.

In this they hope to enlist city voters as well as farmers. One city in which they may be able to attract some support is Detroit. The Detroit Edison Co. and the Hydroelectric Power Commission of Canada have begun an interchange of electric power. As "partners in progress," the American private company and the Canadian public system are now pooling their power generation. They do not pool their distribution, however, or their prices. In Windsor, just across the border, the average household uses 286 kilowatt-hours of electricity per month and pays $3.64 for it. In Detroit the householder pays $3.73 for only 100 kilowatts. The Detroit price is more than double the Canadian price.

Any socialism that may be creeping across the border at Detroit relates only to the electric juice, not to the price thereof. And that will continue to be the case. An act of Congress, authored by Michigan's Senator POTTER and Representative WOLCOTT, exempts the interchange from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Birth of Carl Schurz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the March 1954 issue of the Steuben News, official publication of the Steuben Society of America, headquarters, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This editorial commemorates the 125th anniversary of the birth of Carl Schurz. Born in the Prussian Rhineland, he came to America in 1852 and rose to great heights as an American patriot. President Lincoln sent him to Madrid as United States envoy; he fought on the battlefields during the Civil War to promote the cause of the United States; served as special commissioner of President Johnson in the South; became a United States Senator from Missouri; and was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes. It is fitting that we pay tribute to this immigrant who served this country nobly during a stormy period in our history and who was born just 125 years ago today on March 2, 1829.

The editorial follows:

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY OF CARL SCHURZ

On March 2, 1829, just 125 years ago, a man was born in the Prussian Rhineland whom destiny designated to become one of the outstanding leaders in the United States of America during the second half of the last century.

Carl Schurz, student at Bonn University; revolutionary and fighter for freedom; political refugee from prison or death, was in every way the giant among the many great '48ers who came to this young Nation and contributed so much to its greatness by helping to preserve the Union on the bloody battlefields of the Civil War and to lead a reunited people toward those material and spiritual heights which are unequaled in the history of humanity.

Carl Schurz came to America in 1852. After he had landed in New York, he did not waste precious time in futile moaning about a lost home and a defeated cause. No; he faced the facts of the new country squarely and plunged enthusiastically into the swift current of American politics.

His rise to influence was fantastic and even today sounds unbelievable to the casual reader of history books who does not know that Carl Schurz was a highly educated man; filled with perseverance and a special gift for judging and evaluating people and political events; a never-tiring traveler who ranged far and wide from the East to the ever-growing frontier; most of all, however, a hard worker who learned to master the English language in a few years and was to become one of the most gifted and effective orators, in both English and German, of his time.

Four years after his arrival and only 2 years after the Republican Party had been founded in Ripon, Wis., on February 28, 1854 (another notable anniversary), Carl Schurz played a very important part in the first presidential-election campaign of the new political party. Buchanan won out over Fremont, but the Republican Party was here to stay. In 1858, Schurz was nominated for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin, going down to defeat. But, undaunted, he was back in 1860 when the Republican Party nominated Lincoln in Chicago, as a national committeeman and as the leader of the Wisconsin delegation.

President Lincoln sent Schurz, 8 short years after his arrival as an unknown young man in America, to serve as United States Envoy in Madrid, with the mission to prevent active demonstrations on the part of the Spanish-speaking lands for the cause of our Southern States.

When the war broke out, he returned to fight on the battlefields of Virginia for those ideas and ideals in which he so devoutly believed, side by side with several hundred thousand other German-Americans, in whom the spirit of 1848 still burned with a hot flame and who helped to fulfill in their adopted country that eternal dream of freedom and unity which had been denied them in Europe.

Schurz was never a narrow partisan. He proved that after the war when, as a special commissioner of President Johnson in the South, he denounced graft, suppression, and carpetbagging. He became United States Senator from Missouri in 1868 and, 9 years later, after he had taken a leading part in the famous Hayes-Tilden campaign, President Hayes appointed him as Secretary of the Interior. In that position, he was finally enabled to make a long cherished dream become reality: Against bitter opposi-

tion, he made the civil service an efficient instrument of Government and did his utmost to reward knowledge and efficiency in public affairs and to eliminate waste and spoliation.

When Carl Schurz died in 1906, the entire Nation paid tribute to a man who had fulfilled to the highest degree all the dreams of all the millions of immigrants.

He was a fighter and stood up valiantly for his beliefs. In war and in peace, he worked for a better life, a more shining future for America and her people. When nativism threatened to usurp the leadership in the newly formed Republican Party, he marched straight into the stronghold of knownothingism and made his famous address on true Americanism which even today has lost nothing of its greatness and timeliness.

He was a great American—a splendid example of that superior type of immigrants from all nations of the world who have contributed so much to our country.

His life and his deeds were filled with untiring endeavor and with deep devotion to the cause of American life and of personal freedom. But his heart and his mind were always aware of the rich cultural heritage bestowed upon him by the land of his birth.

And this man of rare gifts as a politician, lawgiver, historian, organizer, journalist, and speaker whose 125th birthday we celebrate, coined a most felicitous phrase when he gave expression to a conviction which should be forever shared by all those citizens whose cradle once stood in Germany and, for their own birthplace, by all other naturalized Americans: "Germany—my mother; America—my bride."

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service urging postal pay increases:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am pleased to appear before the committee on behalf of our loyal postal employees who I believe to be most deserving of a substantial increase in compensation.

The postal employees in my district in Los Angeles County, Calif., have consistently felt the pressure of increased living costs and it is indeed difficult for them to provide their families with the bare necessities of living. As you all know, it is necessary for many of such employees to seek outside employment in order to properly care for their wives and children. From the letters I have received from my constituents, and to my own personal knowledge, there are numerous hardship cases among our Postal Employees due to the present inadequate wage scale. Of course this means that the lower bracket employees are feeling the pressure the hardest.

The testimony before the committee for several years past has established the fact that it would require between a 20 and 25 percent salary increase to bring the postal employees income up to a rate paralleling the increased cost of living.

There are many bills pending before the committee proposing various increases for postal employees. I have always supported reasonable and just benefits for the employees of our postal service, and I am again most anxious to see them treated justly, and I hope that the committee in its wisdom will decide on an edequate increase which will enable these employees to meet their necessary obligations and save something for the future.

We all know that the Post Office Department is continuously losing employees to private industry where they secure wages more in line with the increased cost of living. The turnover in this service has reached a startling proportion due entirely, in my opinion, to the inadequacy and unattractiveness of the compensation in the postal service, and the working conditions. The process of constantly training new employees certainly does not increase the efficiency of the postal service, in which we have all taken such just pride throughout the years.

In spite of the hardships experienced by these loyal postal employees, that have certainly not been eased by the recent orders of the Postal Department in curtailing deliveries to one a day and in making our letter carriers virtual door-to-door bill passers, they place their faith in the Congress which I trust will not let them down.

In my judgment, a pay raise is long overdue for our deserving postal employees and I trust the committee will promptly and favorably report a substantial increase in their compensation.

It is my understanding that this committee is also to consider other Federal employee pay-raise proposals at a later date. In my opinion, favorable consideration should most certainly also be given to their requests, for I feel our Government's service generally has suffered greatly due to the inadequacy and unattractiveness of Federal pay scales.

Are We To Lose Our Watch Industry?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, Raymond Moley has, in his syndicated column of February 15, and in his Newsweek column of February 22, discussed extensively the effect of lowered tariffs on the watch and clock industries.

A personal friend and able industrialist, Fred Lux, of the Lux Clock Co. of Waterbury, Conn., is quoted by Mr. Moley as to the necessity, in a defense sense, of maintaining a strong domestic watch and clock industry.

The articles are very pertinent in view of the Randall Commission report which recommends lowered tariffs.

SUPPRESSING AN INDUSTRY

(By Raymond Moley)

Last week the American Watch Manufacturers Association, consisting of Elgin National, Hamilton, and Waltham, presented their case for additional protection from the flood of Swiss competition.

The loss they have sustained in the American market has been very serious, indeed. In 1930 Swiss imports of watch movements had 65 percent of the American market. Now they have 86 percent. Meanwhile, employment has been falling rapidly in the American industry.

The greatest loss was during World War II, when the American Government required the American makers to turn to war work. Meanwhile, the thrifty Swiss moved ever more vigorously into the gap thus created. If this continues, the American industry, as far as movements are concerned, will be gone with the cigar-store Indian, the horsecar, and the hoop skirt.

But this is not all. The loss of the American market to the American industry has been a continuing one, keping pace with 2 major developments over the past 2 decades. The first of these has been steady tariff reductions under the guidance of an internationally minded State Department. The other has been the vast upsurge of the labor movement. With these handicaps at home, it is impossible for Americans to compete with the Government sponsorship and cheaper labor that characterizes Swiss competition.

Those who favor free trade have a habit of advising the American watchmakers to go into some other business. Characteristic of this is the minority statement of David J. McDonald of the United Steel Workers in the recently released Randall report. He suggests that industries injured by lowering of tariffs be brought under the downy wing of Government paternalism. He suggested an adjustment-assistance program. Workers thrown out of jobs in which they have devoted their lives to the acquisition of fine skills would receive a counseling and placement program. They would, while finding new employment, get special training allowances. Those too old to be retrained and rehabilitated would be retired with Government insurance.

The amazing thing about this paternalistic chatter is that it comes from a labor leader. There were American labor leaders in earlier days who would have disdained such welfare-state arrangements. But, seemingly, the CIO has gone the Socialist way of British labor.

Aside from the argument on the basis of the freedom of Americans to follow their own inclinations as to what they shall make and sell and what professions and trades they shall choose to enter, there is the security case.

During World War II, when the Swiss remained neutral, Hamilton could not sell a watch. While the Swiss made further inroads into the American watch market, Hamilton turned out timing devices for weapons, watches, chronometers, and navigational timepieces for the military.

In any future war, it would be essential to have such an industry within our borders. Testimony of the Military Establishment has made this all too clear.

The watch and clock industries of the British were destroyed before World War II, since the Germans deliberately put into effect procedures that ruined them. Fred Lux, of the Lux Clock Manufacturing Co., has pointed out: "If it were not for the tariff protection which permitted the American clock industry to remain strong, there would have been no source in the world for Great Britain initially and our own Armed Forces ultimately, from which to procure the vitally necessary timing devices required."

In 1952, although the Tariff Commission recommended greater protection for the American producers of watches, Harry Truman saw fit to ignore it. In the interest of national security the present Tariff Commission should arrive at much the same conclusions as its predecessor. This time, an administration may act with greater wisdom.

[From Newsweek of February 22, 1954]

THE AMERICAN WATCH INDUSTRY

(By Raymond Moley)

The more sensational recommendation of the Randall report on foreign trade, to the effect that we should cut our tariffs, made the headlines. The reasoned conclusions in the same report, that we might well avoid undiscriminating cuts and that foreign bar-

riers to trade should also be kept in mind when we indulge in international good will, received scant note. In short, since trade is a two-way street, the removal of restrictions should be a mutual matter. The case of one American industry which throws light upon this subject was presented to the Tariff Commission last week by the American Watch Manufacturers Association, which includes such familiar names as Elgin, National, Hamilton, and Waltham.

For two decades these companies have been losing a battle of competition to the Swiss. Three factors, not at all related to their own efficiency, have handicapped them. Their costs have been pushed upward by the growth of organized labor. Free trade has been the spirit of the administration ever since the State Department in 1933 became dominant in making tariff policies. And military requirements during the Second World War drastically limited American production of watches. Swiss watch movements had 65 percent of the American market in 1930. They now have 86 percent.

I have attempted to study this issue by firsthand observation of the Hamilton Watch Co., one of the few American companies still making jeweled movements of fine quality. Hamilton has a long and proud tradition. During the war the company was completely converted to military production. It turned out 10,000 Navy chronometers of an unexcelled quality—a larger number than had been produced by all the makers of the world in all history. Hamilton also produced many, many thousands of timing devices for shell fuses. Meanwhile, the Swiss made hay in the American market.

Walking through the factory recently, among the delicate machines and the veteran craftsmen, an executive remarked, "We will survive, even if we have to give up making movements and turn to making cases for imported Swiss products. But militarily that would be a national catastrophe."

It is nevertheless suggested by free traders that this industry should either be mothballed or channeled into other work through a paternalistic process of rehabilitation and retraining of its personnel. But workers with highly developed skill cannot be mothballed. Unless they continue their trade, their skill vanishes. A foreman at Hamilton says: "There are no other men in America who could come in here and do this work without years of training. It takes longer to train a real watchmaker than to educated a doctor or a lawyer."

A craftsman at Hamilton pays more of his wages in taxes than a Swiss craftsman earns. Moreover, Swiss workmen are in many cases working in their homes. Their product is channeled into trade through their Government.

At the outbreak of the war Britain and France found that they had allowed their watch business to perish in the face of the Government-subsidized Swiss and German industries. Britain managed to get timing fuses from us, but after the war both countries decided never to be caught in such a situation again. So they placed an embargo on watch imports and at great cost have rebuilt their own watch industries.

In 1951 our domestic watch industry appealed to the Tariff Commission for more protection, and they were granted an increase in tariffs. But President Truman, reflecting the preoccupation of the State Department with foreign trade, rejected the Commission's recommendation. Since then, domestic production of watch movements has decreased 27 percent.

The most immediate and perhaps most appealing reason for keeping this industry alive is military security. But the lasting one concerns a choice between a reconversion which violates our American sense of the right to work and to choose our occupation, and relief from devastating foreign competition. That choice faces the administration.

United States Pressure Frees Hvasta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I ask that the editorial commending my colleague and friend, Representative PETER RODINO, of New Jersey, for his strenuous and sustained efforts to obtain the release of John Hvasta from the hands of the Communists in Czechoslovakia be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

His efforts, in combination with those of the Newark Star Ledger, kept the attention of responsible administrative officials focused on the plight of Mr. Hvasta, and eventually led to his release.

Mr. Hvasta is a resident of Hillside, N. J., which is part of the district I represent. I am sure all the citizens of Union County, as well as other Americans, join with me in expressing our appreciation to PETER RODINO for his outstanding service and commend the Newark Star Ledger for its continued efforts on behalf of Mr. Hvasta.

To Mr. Hvasta, we all say welcome home, and the best possible luck to you in your future pursuits.

[From the Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger of February 5, 1954]

UNITED STATES PRESSURE FREED HVASTA

The return of John Hvasta to the free world is welcome news, indeed.

His fantastic adventure, like something out of a cloak-and-dagger novel, will probably be told and retold to his exuberant family at Hillside, N. J. More importantly, however, his experiences will serve to remind Americans that even the Communist masters behind the Iron Curtain are not immune to United States pressure when applied in the proper way and with enough determination.

Many months ago the Star-Ledger started the ball rolling, and it wasn't long before Congressman RODINO took a personal interest in the case which he brought to the attention of the State Department.

Things started to move at that point, but they had to move quietly. Just why now becomes clear. In due time the determination of the New Jersey legislator, and the attendant publicity, was reflected in the action taken by the Czechs in permitting Hvasta to leave.

Just why the Czechs permitted Hvasta to leave at this time is a matter of speculation. However, it is a fairly safe assumption that the Communists realized they could accomplish little in holding a relatively unimportant employee of the State Department, and that the American Government would not rest until Hvasta was safely returned.

To Congressman RODINO—whose contact with the Czech underground, and who refused to give up the fight when it wasn't even certain whether Hvasta was alive or dead—must go a good deal of credit for the fact that Hvasta is now on the way home to his loved ones.

[From the Newark (N. J.) Star-Ledger of February 9, 1954]

DREW PEARSON'S WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

On the surface there may not appear to be much affinity between a Czech-American and an Italian-American, but it was an American Congressman of Italian descent, PETER RODINO, of New Jersey, who had most to do with releasing John Hvasta, an American of Czech descent.

During most of the years Hvasta was in a Czech jail, the attention of the American public was focused upon William Oatis, the Associated Press correspondent jailed in Prague. Note after note was sent by the State Department to the Czech Government about Oatis. Editorial after editorial was written about Oatis' confinement.

But, with the public absorbed with Oatis, little was said and few representations were made about another American, John Hvasta, of Hillside, N. J., who was arrested behind the Iron Curtain in 1948.

There was, however, one exception. That exception was Congressman RODINO. He kept bombarding the State Department with letters and phone calls, kept on reassuring Hvasta's parents, even when they had given John up for dead.

With the help of the Newark Star-Ledger, Congressman RODINO also arranged telephone calls to Czechoslovak officials from Hvasta's father and mother. But the ironic fact is that the Communists refused to take the call. Word came back that they were unavailable. Yet when Hvasta was finally released, President Zapotocky announced that he was responding to the plea of his parents.

Actually, of course, the Communists did not have Hvasta at that time. He had escaped 21 months before, hid in Czechoslovakia, and finally made his way to the American Embassy. All the Communists did was to permit him to pass from the American Embassy to the Czech border.

Terms Poland Key to World Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in the RECORD the column entitled "Terms Poland Key to World Situation," by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, as it appeared in the Chicago Sun Ttimes of November 15, 1953. In this column, Bishop Sheen suggests to the free world a new approach in our never-ending battle to combat communism. In my opinion, his theme, in brief, is that we should take the positive approach of defending a right, rather than the negative approach of resisting an evil. The infamous sellout of Poland remains the blackest mark on the record of the free world. Had the western allies stood firm and defended the rights of Poland, which in my opinion would have been taking the positive approach, perhaps we would not now be in the negative and defensive position of resisting the evil spread of communism.

The column is as follows:

FAITH IN ACTION—TERMS POLAND KEY TO WORLD SITUATION

(By Bishop Fulton J. Sheen)

The principal reading of the vast majority of people is the daily newspaper. This means that their thinking is to a great degree standardized, that their knowledge of the world is derived principally from one source, and that what has happened is of little importance, for nothing is as old as yesterday's newspaper. But the past is not a dead past, but a living past.

As our memory influences our present actions and our future decisions, so what has transpired in our political world determines to a great extent what will happen in the future.

Among the past events, perhaps no one of recent years so much summarizes our problems as the forgotten tragedy of Poland.

We remember some years ago writing these lines for a radio broadcast: "Poland has been crucified between two thieves." By the two thieves were meant the Nazis and the Soviets.

The American people in those days believed that the Soviets were sincere, despite Lenin's dictum that "we must use every lie, deceit, and cunning in order to establish world revolution."

We received a telegram from one of our censors saying that we could not make that statement over the air because it would be offensive to the Soviets. We sent back a wire saying: "How would it be if we call Russia the good thief?" But the censor did not think it a bit funny.

The fact was and still is that Poland has been crucified between two thieves. Eighty-five percent of its homes were destroyed first by the Nazis, and 1 million were made homeless. Then came the Soviets to give permanence to ruin and add new links to the chains of slavery.

LAUNCHED WORLD WAR II

It was because of Poland that the Second World War began, and so it was understood as men spoke of "Danzig or the Second World War." Though journalists today speak of Russia and the third world war, a more just appraisal would be "Poland or the third world war." Poland is the cameo of the world situation; the knot of political Europe; the key to whether we will have justice or force in the world for the next hundred years.

The uniqueness of Poland is derived not from the fact that the Soviets have raped Poland and taken it into their imperialistic harem, but because at the end of World War II Europe concurred in the crime.

What disappeared was the Poland for which England and France took up arms, the Poland which was at the heart of the Atlantic Charter to which Stalin subscribed.

The Atlantic Charter promised that every people and every nation would be allowed to choose the government it saw fit; Poland was denied this, first by the invasion of the Soviets and then by the concurrence of Europe in the murder of Poland.

The United Nations never seems to see the inconsistency of the Soviets stirring up trouble through Africa and Asia and South America by inciting nationalism, while at the same time denying it to Poland and the other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Russia had no right over Poland—that is elementary international ethics. For Europe to give juridical sanction to what was taken by force, was to agree in the robbery.

Just suppose that the whole emphasis of the free world in the United Nations was changed. Suppose that instead of organizing political forces against the "enemy" Russia, it changed the emphasis and reopened the question of Poland?

DEFENDING A RIGHT

The stress would then be not on resisting an evil, but on defending a right. No nation is strong when it opposes another nation because it steals; but every nation is strong when it affirms that honesty shall be the policy in all international relations. There is more vigor in uniting for the rights of Poland than in uniting against the imperialism of Russia.

If free nations take not the position of loving the good, then the hope of Poland must be beyond all hopes of politics.

Then there must be combined in our hearts a faithfulness to the duty of restoring Poland, along with the enormous inequality of the task. Our hopes then must be likened to the flowers and trees that shed their verdure in the long winters, only to be reborn in another spring.

One hundred years ago one of the heroes of Poland, Mickiewicz, wrote: "Poland, you will be taken out of the tomb, because you are believing, loving and full of hope."

If the nations fail, then Poland must trust in the Christ who wept over the tomb of Lazarus, and who weeps now over Poland. Poland will then find its glory assured in Him who says: "I am the resurrection and the life."

California State Federation of Labor Fourth Annual Scholarship Program

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of the unanimous consent granted me heretofore to do so, I am pleased to present to your attention, and that of my other distinguished colleagues, a letter of March 1, 1954, to the California Senators and California Congressmen, from my native State of California, who are Members of this great Congress:

CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
San Francisco, March 1, 1954.

To California Senators and Congressmen.

DEAR SIRS: Enclosed find folder announcing the California State Federation of Labor's fourth annual scholarship program. As you will note, the federation is offering three $500 scholarships to senior high school students in California and Hawaii.

This contest is a permanent part of the State federation's educational program. Further, the contest is indicative of the historic interest shown by the American Federation of Labor in advancing the cause of education in this Nation.

Here in California we have long fought for the building of an ever greater school system and for proper recognition of the talents and services of the teaching personnel.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

C. J. HAGGERTY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Accompanying this letter was the announcement of the fourth annual California State Federation of Labor, AFL, scholarship award. Following is the text of such announcement:

FOURTH ANNUAL CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL, SCHOLARSHIP AWARD

THREE $500 SCHOLARSHIPS

Three college scholarship awards of $500 each are being offered to senior high-school students in California and Hawaii who will be attending college or university during the coming academic year. The awards are being made available by the California State Federation of Labor in an effort to assist outstanding students in obtaining a higher education and to promote a better understanding of the American labor movement.

BASIS OF THE AWARD

1. Senior high-school students from public, private, or parochial schools who are planning to attend a college or university anywhere in the United States or Hawaii are eligible to compete in the examination. No distinctions will be made as to sex, color, or creed. The award may be used to assist the student in any field of knowledge, and is not limited to those interested in labor alone.

2. An award will be made to each of three candidates on the basis of the candidate's score in the special examination and his 4-year high school academic record. A check for $500 will be deposited in the student's name at the college he has chosen.

3. A 2-hour examination will be held on Friday, May 21, 1954, in each high school where applicants have filed. The Federation must receive from the principal of the high school, not later than April 1, 1954, the applications of students who will be participating. The Federation will then mail out the specified number of examination questions. Following the examination, the papers will be returned to the Federation office for grading by competent personnel selected by the committee of judges.

The school records and examination papers of the 50 highest students will be examined personally by the committee of judges, which will make the final selection.

4. The aim of the examination is to evaluate the student's knowledge and understanding of labor and industrial problems and his ability to present his information. The student should show his factual knowledge and comprehension of past and present social and economic conditions affecting labor and management.

TEST TOPICS AND SAMPLE STUDY QUESTIONS

I. Why labor is important to everyone.

1. Why will unions and union-management relations be important to you no matter what walks of life you enter?

2. How many wage earners are there in this country? About how many of them are in unions? Which are the major industries of our economy? In how many of these industries are most of the wage earners members of unions?

II. The beginnings of unionism: 1860–86.

1. In the early 1800's, what changes in the methods of doing business led workingmen to act together for the purpose of attaining higher wages and shorter hours?

2. How was unionism affected by the industrial revolution that took place in the United States from about 1860–1900?

III. Unions take root, gain acceptance, and federate: 1886–1932.

1. In what significant way did the structure of the American Federation of Labor differ from the large national labor organization that preceded it?

2. In what industries and occupations were unions important during this period?

IV. The labor movement becomes a major national force: 1932–53.

1. What principal causes were responsible for the unprecedented growth of unions in this period? In what industries did much of this growth occur?

2. In general, what was the impact of World War II on American unions?

V. Unions: How they are organized and how they operate.

1. In general, how do unions govern themselves, how do they make decisions, how are they financed, and what are their internal activities?

2. What are the principal differences which distinguish the craft type of unions from the industrial type of unions? Are all AFL unions of the craft type?

VI. Scope of collective bargaining.

1. What are some of the subject matters of collective bargaining besides wages and hours? Why are such issues as medical care, pensions, guaranteed employment, etc., becoming more and more important in collective bargaining?

2. Explain how many of the issues of collective bargaining are affected by Government action and therefore necessitate political activity on the part of labor.

VII. What unions want from management: Security and satisfactory procedures for handling mutual problems.

1. What are the procedures by which collective bargaining is carried on? How is a union agreement negotiated? Once an agreement is negotiated, how is it administered day after day?

2. What is conciliation and what is arbitration? What is the relation and importance of these procedures to collective bargaining?

VIII. What workers want through unions and collective bargaining: Protective rules and good employment conditions.

1. Explain why it can be said that many union agreement provisions are designed to give workers job security. What kind of threats to their security do workers face in industry today?

2. Why is the grievance procedure in a plant important both to the union and to the worker? Is it important to the employer also?

IX. Unions and Government.

1. Which Government agencies have as their functions the handling of matters of public policy involving industrial relations? What are these functions and how are they important to unions? To employers? To unorganized employees?

2. Over the last 50 years has Government become less and less, or more and more involved in union-management relations? Why? Name and identify at least four Federal laws which demonstrate this trend.

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SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE OF JUDGES

Frederick A. Breier, assistant professor of economics, University of San Francisco, San Francisco.

Vaughn D. Seidel, Alameda County superintendent of schools, Oakland.

Edgar L. Warren, director, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Los Angeles.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE, CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

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Thomas A. Small, San Mateo.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to present this very interesting and important list of topics and sample study questions which are submitted for the consideration of the students who may enter this scholarship contest.

Walnut Valley Aerie, No. 2823, Fraternal Order of Eagles, El Dorado, Kans., Urges Proposed Amendments for Liberalization of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the membership of the House, I am including a resolution recently adopted by the Walnut Valley Aerie, No. 2823, Fraternal Order of Eagles, at El Dorado, Kans. It is with respect to proposed amendments to the Social Security Act pending before Congress.

It is well known the Fraternal Order of Eagles is one of the great patriotic, benevolent, fraternal organizations in America.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that (1) the minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50; (2) 10 million additional persons to be included in the security systems; (3) the first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act; (4) the earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200; (5) the 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressman from our district to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 15th day of February 1954.

MERTON KOOM,
Worthy President.

Attest:

ORVIS THUMA,
Secretary.

Outlook for Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks there have been many expressions both in and out of the Congress on the future outlook of business in the United States. One of these which has come to my attention—and I think should be brought to the attention of every Member of this body—is that of American Airlines. It is not only an expression of confidence in the future of our great country, but it is backed up by some hard facts. The men who guide American Airlines have expressed these sentiments before; they are worthy of our attention. Here is American's belief. It is brief and to the point:

Confidence in the outlook for business is best evidenced, not by predictions alone, but more by a willingness to authorize expenditures for facilities needed to serve ever expanding markets.

American Airlines believes that the national economy is sound, that the country will continue to grow and that despite any temporary dips, the long-range trend will be upward.

Based on that confidence, American Airlines will, during 1954, spend $40 million for airplanes, buildings, and other equipment.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Wayne E. Richards, Commander in Chief, VFW, at the Annual Congressional Dinner, February 16, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address by Hon. Wayne E. Richards, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, at the annual congressional dinner on February 16, 1954:

Distinguished guests, Members of the Congress, senior officers of the Armed Forces of the United States, national officers, department commanders, and comrades of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, welcome.

We warmly greet all of the Members of Congress in attendance. Those present of the Congress who once served in the Armed Forces are, and have been, our traditional guests of honor. We are sure you learned much in the services that helps you today to understand better the complex problems of national defense.

It is not only my privilege as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, but an exceptional honor to welcome at the congressional dinner such a large number of eminent leaders in Government, military, and civil life.

I say exceptional honor because I am keenly aware of the time needed for the duties that are yours in laboring to solve the many national and international problems of our country. That is why we are doubled honored.

As old soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen, the VFW welcomes the representatives of the Armed Forces here tonight. We once served with you. In spirit, we shall always be with you.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars want our guests from the Hill to know we are proud of the legislative system of the United States Government. We applaud the deliberative processes involved and we commend the great care and patience of congressional committees to hear all shades of opinion and all sides of national problems and issues. With Bancroft, we believe that: "The public happiness is the true object of legislation, and can be secured only by the masses of mankind, themselves awakened to a knowledge and care of their own interests." That, we firmly subscribe to.

One of the principal objects of our existence, as set forth in the VFW constitution is "to assist worthy comrades; to perpetuate the memory and history of our dead, and to assist their widows and orphans." We appreciate the generous support you give to these objects of ours.

We know the mills of Congress grind slowly, and in the opinion of some, mistakes are occasionally made. However, such instances are few and far between. Your work has, in general, been marked by distinguished success in making laws that have kept pace with the changing social and material conditions of a modern world. If Congress can gain all the facts, it has seldom failed to pass sound and just legislation.

We also believe in the facts and take exception to such loose statements as, "Pensions paid to veterans are jeopardizing the economy of the Nation." The following facts refute the loose statement sometimes made that we are jeopardizing our economy by the amount spent for military pensions.

For example, in the year 1890, the national income was $10,701,000,000; the amount spent for military pensions was $106 million—or ninety-nine one-hundredths of 1 percent of the national income.

In 1953 the national income was $306 billion; the amount spent for compensation and pensions was $2,376,000,000—or seventy-eight one hundredths of 1 percent of the national income.

That is a decrease, as related to the national income, of twenty-one one hundredths of 1 percent.

This supports the interesting fact that a smaller percentage of total national income in 1953 was used to pay compensation and pensions to a group representing 12 percent of the population than in 190, when the veteran population amounted to slightly more than 2 percent of the population.

We sincerely believe that better educational facilities, better jobs, private pensions, and retirement programs will reduce needed assistance to veterans in the years to come.

We have our problems, also, in the VFW. I again reiterate that people should get all the facts before passing judgment. I have in mind what might be called the Norwalk, Conn., VFW incident. It has caused a great debate in publicity media.

You all know that recently a tempest in a teapot developed as a result of information, which became public, to the effect that a VFW post in Norwalk, Conn., was reporting names of persons suspected as subversive to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This information, mentioned casually, but unwisely, to publicize outstanding post activities during National VFW Week, was garbled and distorted out of all proportion to the facts. Highly experienced reporters, sensing the possibility of a controversy of national scope, made haste to interview some men at Norwalk; good, ordinary citizens entirely without experience in press conferences and interviews, and secured statements which most unfortunately gave the general impression that the VFW was organizing vigilante committees, engaging in witch hunts, and setting neighbor against neighbor in smear attacks which denied those accused an opportunity to defend themselves.

Within a few hours after the storm broke, the press was naturally on my trail, in my capacity as commander in chief, wanting to know whether the national organization was in agreement with the actions of the Norwalk Post. On the basis of my information at that time, and on a long standing policy of the Veterans of Foreign Wars which is in harmony with appeals made by the President, and the two immediate former Presidents, of the United States, together with special requests from the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I stated to the press that what was being done by the Norwalk Post was in absolute accord with public and VFW policy to report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation the names of persons who, by their actions, became strongly suspect of subversive activities and who might constitute a threat to the security of our Nation. I pointed out that in this policy no "vigilante committees" were being formed to investigate, evaluate, or screen the names reported. It was further pointed out at the time that no names are made public or discussed among the membership of the Posts.

Unfortunately, in spite of this explanation and the incontrovertible fact that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has repeatedly requested the cooperation of all loyal and patriotic citizens and organizations in helping to protect our national security, some published reports continue to infer, or charge outright, that the Veterans of Foreign Wars is engaged in setting up "vigilante committees," investigating and evaluating evidence against suspected subversives, and engaging in smear tactics against persons without opportunity to defend themselves. As a result of this distorted and garbled picture, the national organization and its commander in chief have been denounced in some editorials and by letters from persons who failed to get the facts. Some of our own members have expressed concern and indignation over what was alleged to have happened in Norwalk and my alleged endorsement of such tactics. We have also received considerable mail and clippings favorable to the VFW for its action in carrying out these high Government directives.

What are the plain facts? One VFW post, out of 10,000 posts, and 1¼ million members, casually mentioned to its hometown newspaper, in publicizing all of its activities during National VFW Week, that names of suspected subversives were being reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Slight attention was paid to this roundup of activities. Then members of Americans for Democratic Action paid for an ad to denounce the VFW. It is very well said that "mighty oaks from little acorns grow."

From this little acorn of information, in a well-intentioned desire to publicize National VFW Week, grew a distorted picture of vigilante committees, witch hunts, and a smear of the people trying to carry out their instructions. In piercing the fog of distortions and allegations, we find that in Norwalk a member of the VFW went to his post commander with a report he had good reason to suspect a certain individual of Communist sympathies and tendencies. This member was advised that if he considered his evidence sufficiently important, he should report the name of the suspect to the nearest field office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The member, like many persons, was hesitant about trying to contact the FBI and after further conversation, the post commander, like all good post commanders, took the duty.

According to the Norwalk post commander, who has now had time to adjust himself and think clearly, there is not and never has been a post committee ferreting out the names of subversive suspects and screening said suspects in secret meetings. The so-called screening committee was a figment of imagination, based on a fast defense mechanism of a plain citizen when he found himself projected without warning or time to think in the center of a national controversy, and on the receiving end of involved questions of civic responsibility that would tax the ingenuity of a Philadelphia lawyer. There was

no witch hunt, no names were made public, and no one was smeared, unless the possession of a name by the Federal Bureau of Investigation could be considered a smear.

Undoubtedly this patriotic post commander understood correctly and believed rightly that it was his duty, in accordance with Government policy and VFW policy, to report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation the name of any person strongly suspected of being a threat to our national security.

In the light of these facts, I publicly stated that the action of the Norwalk post was in agreement with the long-established policy of the Veterans of Foreign Wars to assist our Government, in general, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in particular, to maintain our national security. If the post commander were wrong in his action, and if I were wrong in supporting him in his difficulty, then our whole concept of citizen responsibility and the appeals from our Government for assistance are wrong.

Since 1926, the Veterans of Foreign Wars in national encampments has denounced and opposed those who seek to overthrow this Government by force and violence. We have repeatedly adopted resolutions calling for Federal legislation to outlaw the Communist Party and make it a crime to be a member of that party. We have published special articles over the signature of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in which he requested the assistance of patriotic and loyal citizens and organizations in reporting to the FBI persons strongly suspected, by reason of their activities, to be subversive or working with the Communists. Our Americanism department has issued bulletins to our posts and departments emphasizing these requests for assistance from the heads of Government and the FBI outlining how such assistance can best be rendered by members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Attorney General Brownell, Jr., is reported in the press of February 5 to have said, in answer to a question concerning the Norwalk controversy, that the FBI welcomes any "hard facts" about subversive activities from individuals or organizations, but not "malicious gossip." Attorney General Brownell, in the same story, is said to have stated, "We do not want any vigilante action because this often leads to violation of civil rights and civil liberties. What we favor is reporting the information to responsible authorities who can combine it with other information and judge it in that light."

This is precisely the approved program and policy of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and is the policy which I endorsed in connection with the Norwalk controversy. There has never been any evidence of the formation of "vigilante committees" or investigations by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and anyone decrying such tactics in connection with the Norwalk incident is either deliberately trying to impugn the patriotism, decency, and commonsense of the Veterans of Foreign Wars or, to put it mildly, is extremely gullible.

Some responsible public officials, and spokesmen for other organizations, when queried concerning the Norwalk incident, hurriedly and almost apologetically approve the reporting and exposure of Communists and Communist-front organizations, and then deliver a long sermon against vigilante tactics. It is unfortunate that the Norwalk incident has been seized upon by some national spokesmen trying to talk out of both sides of their mouths at the same time. From one side of their mouths, they are conducting a holy war against the Commies, and from the other side of their mouths they are piously decrying vigilante tactics.

It is time to clear the air. Over 30,000 American boys died in Korea, and billions of our treasure have gone to fight communism abroad. National security and public policy in a democracy either require the assistance of patriotic and loyal citizens, or said citizens should be told officially that it is none of their business. Let us put an end to this pussyfooting in the fight against communism. Let us stand firm against the avowed enemy of freedom.

The President, in his first state of the Union message, said: "There is, in world affairs, a steady course to be followed between an assertion of strength that is truculent, and a confession of helplessness that is cowardly." We believe this also applicable on the homefront in our fight against communism.

I again thank you with all my heart for taking time to break bread with us. I extend to you the good wishes of our 10,000 posts with a membership that looks to you for guidance and leadership.

And I say with all sincerity: May the Good Lord give you strength and wisdom to fulfill your supreme mission—the defense and preservation of our homeland.

Results of Poll Taken in North Dakota Regarding Policies of the Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the results of a poll which I have taken in North Dakota.

The returns, 4,247, from my questionnaire are, in many respects, surprising and most interesting and helpful. They represent a pretty fair cross section of North Dakota thinking. Admittedly, it is not fully representative of labor thinking as no labor list was available. Every third name was selected from the Minot—railroad division point—telephone directory to help overcome this discrepancy. The most outstanding thing in the results is the sharp cleavage in the opinions between farmers and nonfarmers with respect to both President Eisenhower and Secretary of Agriculture Benson. This is almost entirely because of the farm price support issue. Secretary Benson is not without a great many ardent supporters in North Dakota. An overwhelming majority, however, are bitterly opposed to his policies. This sharp difference in opinion may well have ominous forebodings for candidates facing election this year. The adverse opinion expressed by farmers on President Eisenhower in this poll is borne out by a recent poll conducted by several South Dakota newspapers and the opinions expressed by Members of Congress from Minnesota.

There being no objection, the poll was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

1. Do you believe the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration is an improvement over the Truman administration? Yes, 2,581; no, 1,206.

2. Do you believe the social-security program should be broadened and liberalized? Yes, 3,123; no, 730.

3. Do you favor including farmers under social security? Yes, 2,908; no, 969.

4. Do you favor further tax reduction this year even if, after diligent efforts, the budget cannot be balanced until 1956 or later? Yes, 1,095; no, 2,910.

5. Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act which expires June 12, 1954, the President acting on the advice of the Tariff Commission, can raise or lower tariffs. Do you believe this authority should be extended as requested by the President? Yes, 2,152; no, 1,446.

6. Do you favor immediate statehood for Hawaii? Yes, 2,726; no, 809.

7. Do you favor immediate statehood for Alaska? Yes, 2,931; no, 807.

8. How would you appraise the Eisenhower administration's first year in office? (a) Good, 1,345; (b) fair, 1,756; (c) poor, 1,181.

9. Did you vote for President Eisenhower in 1952? Total: Yes, 2,630; no, 1,396. Farmers: Yes, 1,478; no, 1,035; nonfarmers: Yes, 1,152; no, 361.

10. Would you vote for his reelection today? Total: Yes, 1,825; no, 1,978. Farmers: Yes, 837; no, 1,436; nonfarmers: Yes, 988; no, 542.

11. What do you think of the McCarthy investigations (including methods and results)? (a) Good, 1,205; (b) fair, 1,139; (c) poor, 1,510.

12. If you were a resident of Wisconsin would you vote for his reelection? Farmers: Yes, 1,006; no, 1,173; nonfarmer: yes, 747; no, 647. Total: Yes, 1,753; no, 1,820.

13. What do you think of Secretary of Agriculture Benson's policies and actions during his first year in office? (a) Good, 845; (b) fair, 751; (c) poor, 2,434.

14. Do you favor his retention as Secretary of Agriculture: Total: Yes, 1,311; no, 2,786. Farmers: Yes, 474; no, 2,077. Nonfarmers: Yes, 837; no, 709.

15. Which type of price support program do you favor for basic farm commodities? (a) Flexible supports (75 to 90 percent) total: 830. (b) Retention of 90 percent, total: 3,151. Farmers, 270; nonfarmers, 560. Farmers, 2,198; nonfarmers, 953.

16. Do you believe the so-called two-price system of farm price supports has merit and should be given further study and consideration? Total: Yes, 1,751; no, 1,815. Farmers: Yes, 979; no, 1,351. Nonfarmers: Yes, 772; no, 464.

17. What, in your opinion, is the most important issue facing Congress and the Nation today? (1) Farm prices, 1,154; (2) world peace, 1,109; (3) national economy, 535; (4) communism, 345.

Maj. Charles E. Yeager: Fastest Man Alive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article concerning Maj. Charles E. Yeager, known affectionately to his host of friends as Chuck Yeager, of the United States Air Force, the man who has flown at twice the speed of sound and faster than any other person in the world. The article, featured with

a cover photograph of Major Yeager, appeared in the February 22, 1954, issue of Newsweek magazine. Major Yeager is a distinguished son of his native West Virginia, and he was recently chosen by the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette as 1953 West Virginian of the year.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FASTEST MAN ALIVE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The man who travels twice the speed of sound in a gadget that looks like the head of a Fourth of July rocket is the man of the supersonic age. He is today's pioneer and tomorrow's legend. But he is also a man with a personality, a family, and everyday affairs like yours and mine. Leonard Slater, chief of Newsweek's Los Angeles bureau, examines the test pilot in the following special report.)

A pale-blue model A Ford, rakishly wearing a blue crash helmet over one battered headlight, chugged along an asphalt road at Edwards Air Force Base on the Mojave Desert of California. Driving home after a hard day's work—up in the cold blue sky—was Maj. Charles E. Yeager, of the United States Air Force.

Edwards, site of the Air Force Flight Test Center, knows Yeager as assistant chief of its flight-test operations laboratory. A close-mouthed, brown-haired man, he was first to crack the sound barrier in 1947. Last December, he flew more than twice the speed of sound. As of this week, he is the world's fastest human being.

In the tradition of American heroes, Chuck Yeager is shy and drawls when he talks. He talks only when he has to. The corners of his blue eyes are crinkled from too much sun glare. His chin is strong; his grip firm. He fits the down-to-earth formula democracy requires of its heroes: steady of hand, even of temper, calm of nerve; he is also the father of four children and worries about commonplace matters like baby sitters and monthly bills. Next to flying, he loves to hunt and fish.

THE PIONEER TRADITION

He and his fellow test pilots come of a long line. He is a lineal descendant of the frontiersman and the Pony Express rider. He is the man who wonders always what lies on the other side of the mountain. He is in the tradition of Wright, Rickenbacker, and Lindbergh.

Like Orville Wright, history's first test pilot, he is laconic about his work. Chuck Yeager, after cracking the sound barrier, said: "It gave me a pretty good feeling." Orville Wright, asked if man's first powered flight in 1903 thrilled him, replied: "Not as much as lying in bed, thinking how much fun it would be to fly."

Like Rickenbacker, Joe Foss, and Jimmy Jabara, Yeager is a war ace—with 13 German planes to his credit.

He stems from a reckless breed of barnstormers and wing-walkers who took aviation to the country after the First World War, brought it down from the clouds into every county fair and suitable pasture, risking their necks daily, and twice on Sundays, in Jennies.

He is half scientist and half adventurer, a daredevil who must operate with mathematical precision. The days are long past when a test pilot flew by the seat of his pants trying his own maneuvers, casually jotting down his opinions on a board strapped to one kneel. The board is still there, but now the cockpit is crowded with instruments: a movie camera to photograph his instrument panel's every flicker, internal recorders, and telemetering devices to communicate every reaction of the plane to the ground.

POOR INSURANCE RISK

His Air Force specialty number—8744—is held by only 112 men. If he is a civilian, he can find jobs paying from $15,000 to $30,000 a year. Wherever he goes, other pilots crowd around to watch and listen; then his voice flies easily on a rich mixture of slang and technical terms, his hands banking and turning like drones to make a point. He meets movie starlets, gets interviewed on television, and is asked for his autograph. He is generally considered by outsiders to be a poor insurance risk.

That is Maj. Charles E. Yeager, United States Air Force. In the same pattern are:

Lt. Col. Frank K. (Pete) Everest, chief of the flight test operations laboratory at Edwards, and Yeager's boss. Also from West Virginia, personable, 33-year-old Everest was one of the first men to fly the Bell X–1 beyond the speed of sound. Last October, he flew North American's F–100 Super Sabre 767 miles per hour over a 15-kilometer course.

Alvin (Tex) Johnston, Boeing test pilot who test-flew the Air Force's 8-jet $20 million B–52 intercontinental bomber. Johnston, 39, once barnstormed with a flying circus; his specialty was a drunk farmer act, in which, dressed in straw hat and overalls and swigging water out of a whisky bottle, he climbed into a plane and took off, hands in the air.

George Welch, 35, senior engineering test pilot for North American, was one of the two Army Air Corps pilots to get off the ground during the Pearl Harbor sneak attack. He shot down 4 Zeroes that day, went on to destroy 14 more in the war. He test-flew the XF–86, prototype of the Sabre, and the F–100, the Super Sabre which flies operationally past the speed of sound.

Bill Bridgeman, Douglas test pilot, has flown the Navy's Douglas Skyrocket D–558–II 1,238 miles per hour and reached 79,494 feet altitude in the same plane. Last year, he test-flew the X–3. Bridgeman, 36 and a beachcoming bachelor, is a former commercial pilot who finds test flying more interesting than flying passengers back and forth between Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Lt. Col. Marion Carl, 37-year-old Marine Corps pilot, flew the Douglas Skyrocket to 83,235 feet altitude in August 1953, ostensibly for the purpose of testing a new high-altitude flying suit.

Anthony (Tony) Levier, 41, Lockheed's chief engineering test pilot, and his sidekick, Herman (Fish) Salmon, 40, are former racing pilots. Between them, they tested the P–38 fighter; the P–80, first United States Air Force jet fighter; the Constellations; and the F–94C interceptor.

Scott Crossfield, 32, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics test pilot and an aeronautical engineer, last November became the first man to reach Mach 2—twice the speed of sound—doing 1,327 miles per hour in the Douglas Skyrocket.

Anyone of the test pilots every aircraft manufacturer employs, usually divided between two categories: the engineering (or research) pilots and the production pilots who test-fly every airplane that comes off the assembly line, belong to the same breed. Northrop Aircraft, Inc., for example, employs 22 pilots, half in engineering, half in production.

In addition, there are hundreds of unsung Air Force, Marine, and Navy pilots who fly acceptance and performance tests on new planes and equipment.

These, and others, look to Edwards Air Force Base as the Mecca of the supersonic age. It is at Edwards that the Air Force runs its Test Pilots School, graduating about 20 picked men a year. It is at Edwards, with its 350 flying days a year, that the newest in research and operational airplanes are laboriously studied by Yeager and his 25 colleagues. Its 200,000 acres, including a dry lakebed 65 square miles in area, make it one of the world's best landing fields.

The aerodynamicists and engineers with their charts, wind tunnels, and slide rules do their theoretical best. The blueprints roll out like miles of runway. Mockups are built and smashed apart. At last, the prototype is taken out of a hangar and into the clear air that is its habitat. It is then that the man in the crash helmet, pressurized G-suit, and oxygen mask fulfills his role.

IT'S HOT IN THERE

So it was with Chuck Yeager last December 12, flying 30,000 feet above Edwards, 1 hour after he had arrived at the hanger carrying a duck he had shot out on Rogers Dry Lake earlier that morning. He had strapped himself into the tiny cockpit of the bullet-shaped Bell X–1A which nestled like an oversize torpedo in the bomb bay of a B–29. He had checked the controls and looked over the array of instruments.

In the cockpit of the B–29 there was a duplicate instrument panel, being watched over by Silvio De Yoreo, the crew chief of the X–1A, a skilled Bell technician who had lived with the plane. They talked sporadically by radio, running down a checklist. Finally:

DE YOREO. "One minute to release."

YEAGER. "O. K. It's hot in here."

The pilot of the B–29, Maj. Harold Russell, took over. Carefully steadying his plane, he began the count-down: 5, 4, 3. At zero he yanked a lever.

The X–1A dropped sickeningly away, then scooted out ahead of the bulky mother ship, as three of its rocket tubes consecutively spewed out flame and smoke. It began to climb. "I fired off 3 of the 4 rocket barrels, climbed to 45,000 feet, and turned on the fourth chamber," Yeager said afterward. "I climbed in sort of an arc, leveled off at about 70,000 feet, and shut it off. That was when I reached maximum speed. When I looked back I could see the wings buffeting and the shock waves on them. It was a rather rough flight." He was traveling at 1,650 miles per hour—Mach 2.5, 2½ times the speed of sound. "It went out of control at about 70,000 feet. I dropped some 50,000 feet before I regained control." That was a drop of nearly 10 miles.

Then he landed, 1 hour and 30 minutes after he had taken off. He chatted awhile, got into the flivver, and drove home to the modern stucco house just outside the field boundaries where Glennis, his dark-haired, 29-year-old wife, was waiting.

For his 4 flights in the Bell X–1A, as well as all his other duties, the Air Force pays Yeager $762.18 a month. Of this, the Yeagers save $150 a month—"that is, we try to," says Chuck. Their house, 1 of a colony, has 3 bedrooms and 2 baths. It is simply furnished, and the principal adornments in the living room are Chuck's guncase, which he built himself, containing his nine guns, the trophies he has won (the 1947 Mackay trophy; the 1948 Collier trophy), and a television set. The 4 Yeager kids—Donald, 7; Michael, 6; Sharon, 5; and Susan, 3—are great television fans. They especially like to see their dad on TV; he has appeared on, among other programs, Space Patrol and Commander Comet.

Besides the flivver, the Yeagers have a 1953 sedan, carrying West Virginia license plate 607. "I've been getting that number for years," Yeager says, and in the next breath denies he's superstitious.

Yeager was born 31 years ago—February 13, 1923—near Hamlin, W. Va., the son of a drilling contractor. At Hamlin High School, he played football, basketball, and the trombone. He was not especially interested in planes. "I never rode in an airplane before I joined the Air Force."

"After high school, I could've worked for my dad, but I was rather small for that. I didn't want to stay around a small town

and, anyway, the war was getting ready to start." He enlisted in the Air Corps, which sent him to California, trained him as a mechanic, and made him a corporal. (On sentry duty one night, he shot a mule.) Accepted for flight training, he won his wings in March 1943, at Luke Field, Phoenix, Ariz. He went overseas to England as a flight officer. On his ninth mission, his P–51 was shot down over occupied France.

SPANISH JAIL BREAK

One of the photo albums Glennis Yeager faithfully keeps contains a picture that represents the 3 months Yeager spent grounded on the hostile Continent. It shows him in a beret, tight-fitting civilian suit, and open collar. Disguised as a Frenchman, although he spoke no French, he was passed along to the Spanish border by the underground. Crossing over, he was imprisoned by the Spanish police, sawed his way out, and lived off the country until a British organization returned him to England.

According to regulations, he was supposed to be sent home (for fear that, if shot down again, the Nazis would torture him to learn underground methods). "I knew if I came back a flight officer, I'd be a flight officer the rest of my life." So he and some other "evadees" staked out at General Eisenhower's office. "We waited, and talked to Ike just a few minutes. He let us stick around. With the invasion on, the policy changed."

Back in the air, a group leader despite his lack of rank, Yeager flew like a fury. On an escort mission over Bremen—September 12, 1944—he shot down 5 ME-109's. Again, on November 27, escorting bombers over Magdeburg, his was one of 30 United States fighters that tangled with 150 Focke-Wulfs. He got four.

He came home "Lincoln County's own ace"—with 64 missions behind him and a chestful of medals—and married Glennis Faye Dickhouse, a California girl, at his folks' home. The Air Force assigned him to Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, as a test pilot.

That led to Edwards—and, eventually, to the X–1. He named it "Glamorous Glennis." On October 14, 1947, he piloted it through the sound barrier—at over 760 miles per hour. In January 1949, he flew the X–1 off the ground under its own rocket-power to an altitude of 23,000 feet, 1 minute and 40 seconds after his engine started. On the way up, he exceeded the speed of sound. The X–1 went into the Smithsonian Institution, and Yeager went on to other planes.

CRACK SHOT

All told, he has flown over 5,000 hours; March 10 will mark his 11th anniversary as a pilot. When he isn't flying, he's hunting and fishing. He often gets up before daylight to hunt ducks. He is a crack skeet shot. On his summer vacation, he takes his family camping. He drinks moderately, if expensively, preferring a 15-year-old Scotch. He uses little profanity. Mechanics like him: "He takes our word pretty much. He'll come into the hangar on the morning of a flight, look around a little, ask how the plane is, and that's all."

Pete Everest, his boss, says: "Charlie has a remarkable mind. He's picked up more than the equivalent of a college degree in aeronautics. He's got 'em all bent as far as being able to evaluate trouble in an airplane."

Like other Edwards pilots, Yeager has had civilian offers. "There's probably a financial sacrifice in staying here. But if you quit the Air Force to work for some company, you'd be stuck flying one plane in one place." For the Air Force, he's gone to France to fly the latest French jets. Last fall, he went to the Far East to fly the MIG–15 surrendered intact by a North Korean pilot. Last week, he was 1 of a group of Air Force pilots on a 6-week goodwill tour of 12 Latin American countries. "It's got a lot of compensations," says Yeager.

Nonetheless, he may soon be giving it up. Edwards hears that he will be sent overseas in 1955 to command a squadron. The prospect intrigues Yeager. "I hope to get a fighter squadron, preferably in Spain."

ONE MORE SPEED RECORD?

Before that, he may get to fly the Bell X–2, a stainless-steel plane designed for even greater speeds than its predecessors. Like the X–1A, it will fly faster than many guided missiles. Out of the Bell research program, Lawrence Bell, board chairman of Bell Aircraft, has said, "will come information about guided missiles."

Eventually—Chuck Yeager thinks it will be in more than 50 years although many authorities believe it will be sooner—the missiles will take over entirely. Then, the test pilot will become as obsolete as the Jenny. His place will be taken by a bright young scientist who need never leave the ground, but who will sit at a control panel studying dials and pushing buttons, communicating all the while to the electronic brain of a rocket maneuvering in space at heights and speeds now undreamed of. Until that day comes, however, the development of ever swifter aircraft must depend on Chuck Yeager and his colleagues.

Selection of Chairman of the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Memphis Press-Scimitar entitled "Not the Way To Pick TVA Chairman." This newspaper supported President Eisenhower in last year's election, and it was to the editor that the President made his campaign promise that TVA would be kept at maximum efficiency. TVA has always been operated on a nonpolitical basis. It will not be maintained at maximum efficiency if appointments are to be decided on a basis of political recommendation.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOT THE WAY TO PICK TVA CHAIRMAN

The beauty about the TVA has been its freedom from partisan politics.

Its world-famous success—in producing and distributing cheap power, in developing river navigation, in making superior fertilizers, in working with the people of the region instead of imposing things upon them from Washington—is due to this adherence to the spirit of the act creating it—

To the fact that the best men for the various jobs have been picked on merit, regardless of their politics, and have been allowed to pursue their careers of service to the people despite changes in administration.

Started by the famous Republican, Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, and pushed to reality by Franklin D. Roosevelt and a host of other friends of both parties, TVA has become a shining example of the ideal governmental agency. And primarily because partisan politics has been kept out of it.

Despite the great services rendered to TVA by Tennessee's distinguished former Senator, Kenneth D. McKellar, in getting appropriations through Congress, the Press-Scimitar found it necessary to oppose him when he sought to interfere politically with its operation in his fight against David E. Lilienthal, former TVA Chairman.

We saw then the great danger of political interference with TVA.

We still do.

The fight to protect TVA against politics was successful in the McKellar-Lilienthal days. Now the danger threatens again.

We are concerned over the boom for Harry C. Carbaugh, Chattanooga egg dealer, to be the new TVA Chairman. Mr. Carbaugh is a big-business man in his field. But he is not being boomed for Chairman by the east Tennessee Republican leaders because of special qualifications to manage the TVA. He is being boomed by Guy Smith and B. CARROLL REECE because he is a lifelong prominent Republican.

Mr. Carbaugh might do some good things for TVA; he might be a good Chairman. We don't know.

But this is not the way to pick a Chairman for the TVA.

If politics gets its foot in the door through political appointment of Mr. Carbaugh, it will set a precedent for political interference that may prove fatal to the standards the TVA has set to date.

If the Tennessee Old Guard Republicans who are booming Mr. Carbaugh succeed in getting him in on the basis of his prominence as a Republican, it will be just a short step further to getting key men in the TVA departments appointed on the basis of politics instead of on the basis of their efficiency in the work to be done. Then goodby to TVA as we know it and as it has been hailed over the world.

We urge that President Eisenhower—who promised the editor of this newspaper that TVA would be kept at maximum efficiency—fill the all-important chairmanship not just with a lifelong prominent Republican who might prove a good chairman—but with the best man he can find for the job, anywhere, regardless of that man's politics.

By doing so, he will serve notice that TVA will continue nonpolitical and thus at maximum efficiency.

How To Cut the Traffic Death Toll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "How To Cut the Traffic Death Toll," by Irvin S. Markel, a talented Virginian, and published in This Week magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW TO CUT THE TRAFFIC DEATH TOLL

(By Irvin S. Markel as told to Oscar (Schisgall))

There is a legislative program, I am convinced, by which we can save a great number, possibly half, of the 36,000 American lives lost annually in automobile crashes; and no time could be more appropriate than this to speak of it.

President Eisenhower has called a National Highway Safety Conference to begin in Washington this Wednesday, February 17. At this conference all 48 States will be represented; eminent men and women

will discuss the problem of educating America in concepts of safe driving.

Surely it is important to speak of good roads, adequate lighting, uniform traffic signals, safety glass, and all the rest. A discussion of this kind is invaluable.

But talk alone will not save lives. To be truly effective, the delegates will have to insist on an action program.

AFTER THE SPEED PROBLEM

The first part of that program is one that there can't be any argument about. As long as 3 out of 10 automobile deaths are caused by speeders, speeding must be the first concern of the conference. It has the right—indeed, the obligation—to demand that the speed laws already on the books be rigidly enforced.

"If the 48 States really enforced their existing speed laws," a distinguished traffic engineer has told me, "this Nation could save 10,000 lives a year." And I agree with him. Not to enforce speed laws is a matter of criminal neglect. It is, in fact, mass homicide.

But having recognized this, the conference can, and I hope it will, go further. It can point to the only two areas of danger not now covered by adequate legislation. After working with the causes of automobile deaths for 26 years, and helping to reduce them by more than 50 percent in one area of traffic, I am persuaded of this: Any traffic safety action program, to be really constructive, must include legislation in every State of the Union on at least two major points. The two laws we need are these:

1. The compulsory periodic inspection of all motor vehicles.

2. Limiting the issuance of drivers' licenses to those individuals who are completely qualified to drive and who have reached an age of moral responsibility.

Why do I believe that it is essential for every 1 of the 48 States to enact such laws?

The answer is that America's drivers do not recognize State boundaries. In their 45 million passenger cars and 9 million trucks they travel everywhere, going from State to State as casually as they go from street to street. In the tourist areas like Yellowstone National Park, or on any of the great cross-country highways, you are likely to see license plates from every corner of the land, and often from every single State.

When summer comes, 80 percent of all vacation travel in the United States, according to the American Automobile Association, is done by automobile.

Eleven percent of all traffic accidents, everywhere in the United States, involve drivers who have left their own States. In some regions the ratio is much higher. Last year in New Jersey 20.5 percent of all fatal automobile accidents involved out-of-State drivers. In Connecticut it was 18 percent.

Your State may have the best traffic laws in the world; yet this will mean little if your roads are cluttered with incompetent drivers from other States.

That is why I say safety legislation must be national in scope. The effectiveness of the two-point legislative program the conference would do well to demand—compulsory inspection of motor vehicles and the intelligent issuance of licenses—is assured by the teachings of experience.

Such a program has drastically reduced the death rate and the accident rate in at least one case where it has been put into effect.

INSIDE STORY

As a director of Markel Service, Inc., I know the inside story of this decrease in accidents.

For 26 years Markel Service has studied and enforced high safety standards on all the 65,000 trucks insured by the American Fidelity & Casualty Co. It has operated under the precise action program I commend to the attention of the National Highway Safety Conference. It has insisted that all its insured vehicles be periodically inspected for mechanical defects; it has also insisted on maintaining high standards for drivers—and this includes, as far as habitual speeders go, the revocation of the right to drive.

The result? Year after year, in the case of thousands of insured vehicles we watch, the accident-frequency rate has been cut to less than half of the national rate.

There is no reason why similar results cannot be achieved on a nationwide scale by rigidly applying the same safety standards to all American cars and drivers.

Considering the fact that every sane citizen wants to reduce the number of traffic deaths, it is incredible that only 14 States now insist on the inspection of motor vehicles for mechanical defects. What can possibly be wrong with requiring cars to have such things as good brakes, good lights, strong kingpins on steering wheels?

ONE-THIRD CUT

Mr. Elliott Daniels, chief of the inspecting bureau of the State of New Jersey, reports that in 1937, before his State began inspecting cars, its automobile death total was 1,278. The following year, with compulsory inspection in force for the first time, the number of such deaths was reduced to 865—a cut of approximately one-third—and ever since, Mr. Daniels adds, New Jersey's fatality trend has been downward. He calls compulsory car inspection "a primary safeguard against automobile accidents."

Massachusetts tried inspection on a voluntary basis in 1926 and found it so effective that, in 1929, laws were passed to make it mandatory. Since then the State has never relaxed the regulation. The only change it made—in 1935—was to insist on two inspections a year instead of one, and Massachusetts has one of the best safety records in the country.

INSPECTION DID IT

Pennsylvania has kept its statistics on a percentage basis. In 1932, when it first began compulsory inspection of cars, 12 percent of all fatal accidents could be traced to mechanical defects. But by 1952 this fatality figure had been cut to 1.8 percent. This was accomplished by rigid inspection.

Finally, my own State of Virginia had 698 automobile deaths in 1931. We had no car inspection up to that year. But in 1933, our first full year of such precautions, we reduced fatalities to 569—saving 129 lives.

Can we ignore the fact that of the 5 States with the highest motor-vehicle death rates—South Carolina, Nevada, Kentucky, New Mexico, and Arizona—4 do not periodically inspect their automobiles? The fifth State, New Mexico, does provide for such inspections; but it offsets this advantage by indulging in another kind of recklessness. It grants its children driving licenses at 14.

WHAT AGE?

Here we hit a contested point: At what age is it safe to have a driving license?

Automobile insurance companies, having made actuarial studies of the risk involved, find themselves compelled to charge higher premium rates to families with teen-age drivers. There is also to be remembered the fact that the States with the lowest rates of automobile fatalities—Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and, technically not a State, the District of Columbia—do not issue a driver's license to anybody under the age of 16.

The simple truth is that children of 14 and 15—eligible to drive in 9 States—have not yet had time to learn what they should know about driving and traffic regulations. Courses in the subject are given at the high-school level, and at 14 most youngsters have just entered high school. Besides, one finds it hard to believe that a child of 14 has learned all there is to know about his responsibility to society.

Though minors may comprise a small portion of our more than 60 million licensed drivers, in 1952 some 800,000 boys and girls under 18 were involved in traffic accidents. Almost 2,000 of them were killed.

ABOVE AVERAGE

Mr. William H. Brewster, manager of the automobile division of the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters, has issued a report that is well worth study. It shows why insurance companies raise their premium rates in families with very young drivers. In fact, the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters is much more conservative than I am; it lists all people under 25 in its lowest-age group. And it reports that their frequency of fatal accidents is 62.4 percent above the national average. In nonfatal accidents they are 37.1 percent above the national average.

In the State of New York the accident rate is even more astonishing.

This State made an independent study of young drivers in 1947, and results have not changed significantly since then.

In New York the youthful group had 97.9 percent more fatal accidents than the state's average; 65.3 percent more than average in nonfatal accidents.

And a few years ago, in 1948, the National Safety Council reported that though the youngest age group comprised only 20 percent of the Nation's drivers, they were involved in 11,400, or 31 percent, of the fatal auto accidents.

It's a sobering record. Many of the experts who have observed young drivers have formed the firm conviction that the minimum age limit should be raised. Commissioner MacDuff, of New York's Bureau of Motor Vehicles declares, "We feel that under the age of 16 no driver has attained the maturity and self-discipline he needs to be a safe risk on our roads."

Deputy Registrar Bonzagni, of Massachusetts' Motor Vehicle Bureau, not only supports this view; he adds that in his own State, which has never issued a license to anyone under 16, the public pressure today is to raise the age limit to 18. Over in Pennsylvania, the Deputy Commissioner for Insurance, Luther Williams, has approved a new high-rate insurance premium to be applied to the youngest age-group of drivers.

ANOTHER DANGER

But extreme youth is by no means the only danger to be considered in our licensing practices. Another is this:

We assume that a person who has once received a license to drive is thereafter qualified forever. All he need do is pay a small annual renewal fee to guarantee his right.

What of the drivers who develop physical defects as they grow older? Impaired eyesight, perhaps? Bad hearing? In defense of our own well-being all of us ought to be required to take periodic re-examinations—say every 5 years.

After all, licensing is a matter of life and death. We had better keep age limits and other considerations at the highest possible level.

There are some hazards to safe driving—weather, for instance, or the density of holiday traffic—about which the President's Conference can do little. But in recommending a legislative program such as I have outlined, it can do the Nation a great service.

INTERSTATE EFFORT

Admittedly such a program will require decisiveness throughout the country. Every State legislature will have to cooperate. But if we can eliminate a great portion of the 38,000 automobile deaths we suffer annually, if we can reduce the awesome number of 18 million drivers who had traffic accidents last

year—almost 1 driver out of every 3—then it is surely worth an interstate effort.

What happens in the future is up to the legislatures of the 48 States. As a first step, the President's National Highway Safety Conference must call on them for action.

The United States, Its Territories and Insular Possessions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Robert W. Burton to his son, Robert W. Burton, Jr.:

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL,
Washington, D. C., January 1, 1954.

Subject: The United States, Its Territories and Insular Possessions.

DEAR CHIP: Little did I think when you asked me today, "What is the difference between a State and a Territory, and do you think that Hawaii should be made a State?" that I would end by writing a book. Little of this will be of interest to you now, but possibly in time—if you will remember that time means change—and fill in the interim yourself—it could be helpful.

To answer your specific questions:

Each of the 48 States is sovereign unto itself, except for certain rights and powers granted by it to the Federal Government under the Constitution, reserving unto itself and its citizens all those not so specifically granted. Each State makes and enforces its own laws, subject to the limitations imposed upon it by the Constitution.

The citizens of each State vote for the President and Vice President, as well as their own governor and subordinate officials. They elect their own legislators; and they each elect two Senators and as many Members of the House of Representatives as their respective populations allow for, and send them to the Congress of the United States in Washington. These men—the Congress—and the President—guide the destiny of our Nation.

The 48 States, the District of Columbia, and the incorporated Territories of Alaska and Hawaii are all integral parts of the United States, and United States citizenship extends equally to all qualified residents of those areas, as well as the obligations thereof.

A word about the District of Columbia, in which you live. It is an area of approximately 70 square miles, ceded by the State of Maryland to the Federal Government and was made the seat of government by act of Congress July 16, 1790. It is governed by the Congress directly and its residents do not vote. Its population is approximately 850,000 (1950 census, 802,178).

An incorporated Territory, of which we now have only two—Alaska and Hawaii—is an area either purchased or otherwise acquired by the United States, and to whose residents have been given certain rights of self-government and United States citizenship. Such area is considered an integral of the United States, with an implied promise of statehood, when in the opinion of Congress it has reached political maturity. Its residents vote for their own legislators who make the laws for the Territory, but subject to approval of the Congress of the United States. The administration of territorial laws is generally local, but the overall administration is under the Department of the Interior, and the Governor is appointed by the President through the Secretary of the Interior. The residents of the Territories elect one delegate for each to the Congress, with floor privileges in the House, but without vote. Otherwise they have no voice in the Government of the United States.

As to your second question, I must hedge a bit. Despite the implied promise of ultimate statehood, I do not feel that either of our two incorporated Territories is sufficiently mature to be made a State at this time; again despite the fact that their residents have the obligations of citizenship (i. e.) taxes, service in the Armed Forces, etc. With their ultimate statehood I have no quarrel, when circumstances are propitious.

Alaska, as you know, is a vast Territory, almost one-fifth the size of continental United States. It has a population of approximately 130,000, smaller than that of our least populated State. Its potential is great, but at present its transportation and communication systems are in the development stage. It is politically a fledgling.

Hawaii, a group of islands in the Pacific Ocean—2,100 miles southwestward of San Francisco, has a population of about 500,000. Of these approximately 150,000 are occidentals or of white extraction, a like number are Japanese, and the remaining 200,000 a polygot group made up of Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, etc. The customs and political philosphy are predominantly oriental and not western. While the voice of the west is loud in the Halls of Congress—the voice of the Orient might well be strong when the ballot boxes were opened. We are currently engaged in a cold war, with hot spots, with a way of life and political philosopy of millions of people—from Berlin to the Sea of Japan, and beating southward to the South China Sea. To place upon our council seats the representatives of a sovereign political entity who might reflect or sympathize with that other world's ideas, does not seem advisable at this time. I am sure that I am being unfair to many thousands in the islands, and for that I am sorry; but with due apologies to our President and to Mr. FARRINGTON, the Delegate from Hawaii who has done so much for it, my answer remains "No."

Sincerely,

DAD.

P. S.—The worst is yet to come for we are going back to take a look at how the United States developed. Hold your hat.

Salute to Hero Fardella

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Paterson (N. J.) Evening News of March 2, 1954:

SALUTE TO HERO FARDELLA

We propose to day a salute to a Paterson man of great courage.

He is our own Matthew Fardella, a political protege of Congressman GORDON CANFIELD and a longtime respected and civic-minded citizen of our town.

While the Nation shudders at the almost incredible and murderous assault upon our Congress by a group of fanatical Puerto Ricans, there stands out the epic of Mr. Fardella's cool, calm heroism within split seconds of the shooting of five Members of Congress.

Mr. Fardella is a doorkeeper in the House, by appointment of Congressman CANFIELD. The wild shooting melee, described in graphic details in tonight's News, had broken out suddenly. The Chamber was in an uproar. There was no time for checking, no opportunity for contemplation. There had to be quick thinking.

Fardella, jolted as were the others by the staccato barking of the assassins' guns, saw the weapons, saw a woman flying a Puerto Rican flag. Without thought of personal safety, he rushed toward gallery II, locale of the firing, seized one of the gunmen, a swarthy little fellow, and quickly pinned him down. Then another attaché joined him and seized the gun from the squirming, pinioned prisoner.

The entire incident was over almost in a flash—the shooting, that is.

Whatever was to be done had to be in the flash of the moment. A natural inclination would have been to scurry to cover from a wild-shooting fray, and it wouldn't have been cowardice to inspire such an escape.

But Matt Fardella, himself a veteran of World War I, saw a man with a gun. Instinctively, he saw his duty. The gunman was captured and his desperate day's work done.

In the pinch, Fardella had his thinking cap on and his courageous heart beating in the right tempo.

He has earned a salute as a hero of the day.

Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, on January 6, 1954, and with the unanimous consent of the Members of the House, I inserted a questionnaire in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was my intention to give that questionnaire wide circulation in the Third District of Ohio, but because of the heavy legislative schedule and almost daily committee hearings, it was not possible to complete the necessary mechanical production details at that time. I have been amazed and highly pleased, however, that a considerable number of people from widely scattered areas of the United States read this questionnaire in the RECORD, clipped it out, answered it, and sent me some very complimentary and helpful letters of comments along with the completed questionnaires.

This has proven to me again beyond a doubt, Mr. Speaker, the very great help it is to me as a Representative in Congress to know the grass roots opinions of people.

You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that in my former remarks on this matter, I pointed out that, "it is my constant and

sincere effort, Mr. Speaker, to represent all the people in our very important Third District of Ohio to the very best of my ability" and called to the attention of the Members of the House that after the adjournment of Congress, during the past 2 years, I returned to the Third District of Ohio and initiated the holding of grass roots conferences throughout the Third Ohio District. More than three times as many people attended in 1953 than in 1952, and our personal discussions of the problems facing our Federal Government were extremely helpful to me in guiding my consideration of these questions as they are presented here in Congress. I have also maintained a District congressional office in the District and each time I can return to the District for even a day or two, during the session of Congress, when legislative sessions are not scheduled, I have a full schedule of appointments and discuss these many vital questions with people from all walks of life on a person-to-person basis. All of this, Mr. Speaker, has been very helpful to me as a Representative in Congress, because it has enabled me to keep a point of view related to the opinions and thinking of all the people of our Third District of Ohio.

In view of some recent actions here in the Congress of these United States, and various recommendations that have been included in the several messages of President Eisenhower to the Congress, it has seemed wise, Mr. Speaker, for me to make a few changes in my original questionnaire. Since it is my intention, Mr. Speaker, to now proceed with the least possible delay to give this questionnaire wide distribution in the Third District of Ohio, I am herewith submitting my revised questionnaire and respectfully request unanimous consent that I be permitted and authorized to take the necessary steps to implement the distribution of these questionnaires.

Following, Mr. Speaker, is the questionnaire I now propose to use. The results of the tabulation of these questionnaires will be of great value to me in my constant and sincere effort to represent all of the people in our very important Third District of Ohio to the best of my ability.

NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,
Washington, D. C., March 1954.

DEAR FRIEND: During the current session of Congress, every man, woman, and child will be affected by the legislation adopted. It is extremely helpful to me to know your thinking on the many important matters which will be considered. Therefore, I will greatly appreciate having your opinion on the following questions. Perhaps you may also want to make additional suggestions. It is my hope that you will mark and return this questionnaire to me in Washington at your earliest convenience.

This need not be signed, although we will be glad to have you do so if you feel it would be helpful. It will greatly assist us, however, in tabulating and interpreting your answers if you will state your occupation.

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

PAUL F. SCHENCK,
Representative to Congress, Third District, Ohio.

Occupation? _____

1. Do you believe that we should cut taxes first and balance the budget later? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you feel that the Taft-Hartley law—
A. Should be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐
B. Should be changed giving greater rights to employers? Yes ☐ No ☐
C. Should be changed giving greater rights to workers? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you favor far-price supports? Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Should social security be broadened to include groups not now covered (farmers, professional, etc)? Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Should contributions be high enough to make the social-security program self-supporting? Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Those receiving social security are now limited to earning $75 per month in employment covered by social security. Should this $75 limitation be increased? Yes ☐ No ☐
A. If so, to what amount? $_____

7. Do you favor Senator MCCARTHY's investigation of subversive influences both in and out of Government? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. Do you favor the Un-American Activities Committee investigation? Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Do you favor investigations by congressional committees? Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Do you favor the St. Lawrence seaway if financed by revenue bonds to be retired from toll charges paid by users? Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Do you believe the United States should remain in the United Nations? Yes ☐ No ☐

12. Do you favor continued foreign economic aid? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Do you favor continued foreign military aid? Yes ☐ No ☐

14. Do you feel that the reciprocal trade laws should be continued to assist in our foreign trade and commerce? Yes ☐ No ☐

15. Do you favor increased postal rates on:
A. First-class mail? Yes ☐ No ☐
B. Second- and third-class mail? Yes ☐ No ☐
C. Airmail? Yes ☐ No ☐

16. Do you feel it is necessary that the Post Office Department operate without a deficit? Yes ☐ No ☐

17. Do you favor increased pay rates for postal employees? Yes ☐ No ☐

18. Are you in favor of universal military training? Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Do you favor the requirement that drafted and enlisted military personnel serve in the Reserves for a specified period after discharge from active service? Yes ☐ No ☐

20. Would you favor UMT after the expiration of our present draft law? Yes ☐ No ☐

21. Do you believe that a civil-defense program is necessary? Yes ☐ No ☐

22. Do you believe that the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act should be amended to provide for more liberal admission of immigrants into the United States? Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Do you favor a constitutional amendment voiding treaties which deny or abridge any constitutional rights of American citizens? Yes ☐ No ☐

24. Do you feel that personal income taxes should be lowered by:
A. Lowering the income-tax rate? Yes ☐ No ☐
B. Increasing exemption for dependents? Yes ☐ No ☐
C. Raising exemptions for married couples? Yes ☐ No ☐

25. Would you favor exemption of the first $1,500 of retirement income from income taxes? Yes ☐ No ☐

26. Do you feel that the Eisenhower administration is doing a good job? Yes ☐ No ☐

Name _____
Address _____
Remarks _____

Savage and Unbelievable Lunacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Speaker, the infiltration of the United States by Communists for sinister purposes has been going on for many years. This movement was accelerated under a plan sponsored by Mayor LaGuardia and former Congressman Marcantonio when thousands of Puerto Ricans were shuttled from the islands to New York City and immediately placed on the voting lists and relief rolls.

As far back as 1943 it was obvious that a conspiracy existed between these lawless elements when the Communist Party in the United States affirmed that—

We pledge our full support to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and to the complete unification of all the people of Puerto Rico and their various parties around the supreme task of achieving full nationhood.

We will fulfill our pledge by rallying the people and, particularly, the labor movement of our country to Puerto Rican independence as a necessary precondition to correct relations with all Latin America and, as an acid test of the Atlantic Charter, Puerto Rico must and will be free.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation was shocked on Monday afternoon when, without warning of any sort, international gangsters fired from the gallery upon the House of Representatives of the United States while its membership was solemnly deliberating the Nation's business, resulting in the wounding of five distinguished and highly respected Members of Congress. Such an occurrence is unprecedented in our national history. I deprecate the circumstances which have made such an occurrence possible and look with disdain upon those responsible for the establishment of the policy to which I have referred.

Firm and resolute hands should sternly deal with these maniacs and felons, and the cesspools of crime and corruption from which they come should be drained and dried.

Mr. Speaker, on March 2, 1954, the Danville Register, of Danville, Va., published an editorial on this subject.

The Register was established in February 1847. It represents the finest and best in the tradition of our American press. It has weathered the adverse storms of more than 100 years. In April 1865 the last meeting that President Jefferson Davis, of the Confederate States of America, held with his full Cabinet was in the city of Danville. The Register covered and reported this event. This newspaper throughout its long existence has fearlessly and courageously printed the truth and the news as it was—be it good or bad. As a consequence of the pursuit of this and other sound policies, as well as by good management, it has thrived and enjoys in an unusually high degree the confidence, the esteem, and good will of the people in the section of

Virginia which I have the honor to represent. The late Hon. Rorer A. James, who was at the time of his death on August 6, 1921, chairman of the Democratic Committee for the Commonwealth of Virginia and a Representative in the Congress of the United States from the Fifth Congressional District, owned and controlled and published this newspaper. His granddaughter, Stuart James Grant, continues the publication. I am sure that the membership of this body would be interested in knowing that she is also a great granddaughter of that fearless and colorful Confederate cavalryman, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. The editor of the Danville Register, W. Marion Saunders, is a brilliant journalist and represents the high standards of excellence for which the Danville Register is noted.

In accordance with the unanimous consent given me, I include this editorial as a part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

SAVAGE AND UNBELIEVABLE LUNACY

The Nation and half the world, including Puerto Rico, was given a shocked sense of outrage yesterday by the fanatic revolutionaries who opened fire upon the House of Representatives as a means of focusing attention upon the affiliation of their island homeland with these United States.

No more savage or senseless move could have been conceived than that executed by the little group of followers of Don Pedro Campos, the bitter and crased leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party—a splinter group with no standing and only a very small following in the island. Campos is in jail for leading a riot in 1950 in which 30 Puerto Ricans were killed. His riot, intended as a spark to revolution, actually was as futile and senseless as the action of his followers in Washington yesterday afternoon. It did not spark anything except mass murder because the people of Puerto Rico, far from wanting separation from the United States, have looked to this country—and not in vain—for help; for citizenship under a free government of their own choosing.

Governor Luis Muñoz-Marín, Governor of Puerto Rico, is the first governor of the island to be chosen by free and popular election. Against Marín, the Nationalists under Campos have not been able to build up any sizable following. It is this failure, together with the changes occurring in the island—all bringing the people closer to the United States—since 1948, which caused Campos to give up hope of ever gaining control by peaceful means and set him preaching revolution.

The ridiculousness of the note found in the purse of Lolita Lebron, the woman leader of the shooting from the House gallery, is exploded by fact. She, like Campos, whom she referred to as the apostle of independence, charged that the United States is "betraying the sacred principles of mankind in their continuous subjugation of my country, violating their rights to a free nation and a free people in their barbarous torture of our apostle of independence, Don Pedro Albizu Campos."

What are the facts?

Columbus discovered Puerto Rico, which the natives called Boriquen, on November 19, 1493, and 16 years later, in 1509, Ponce de Leon conquered the island for Spain. The island remained under Spanish control, a rigid control it was, for 389 years. The Cuban War for Independence, which turned into the Spanish-American War, saw Puerto Rico ceded to the United States by terms of the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898.

What has been the course of United States administration of this ceded territory during the 55 years since the Treaty of Paris?

The island was governed by a governor-general and treated very much like the Philippines, Hawaii, and Alaska. In 1917 the Organic Act of Puerto Rico was enacted. This act, with amendments, granted Puerto Ricans American citizenship and unrestricted suffrage. President Truman (himself a target for Campos' fanatics) signed in 1947 an act giving Puerto Rico the right to choose its own chief executive by popular vote. In 1950 an act of Congress, affirmed by a special election in Puerto Rico on June 4, 1951, permitted Puerto Rico to draft and pass its own constitution. The island people modeled their own government after that of the United States and delegates elected by the people approved their new constitution, 88 to 3. When submitted to the people on March 3, 1952, Puerto Ricans voted approval 373,418 to 82,473. On the following July 3, President Truman signed a congressional resolution approving the new constitution and elevating Puerto Rico to the status of a free Commonwealth affiliated with the United States.

Puerto Ricans have all the benefits of United States citizenship and few of its responsibilities. They are as free as any people could be and still cling to an affiliation. And the great majority of Puerto Ricans do cling tenaciously to that affiliation. They do not want to follow the course of the Philippines and sever the link to go it alone.

Puerto Ricans, including those who did the shooting, came to the United States mainland and immediately went on the voting lists and the public assistance lists of New York City. They have done so by the hundred thousands since Fiorello LaGuardia and Vito Marcantonio inaugurated the plan to help relieve the densely overpopulated island by a shuttle-service of air transport to New York where they became political pawns of the LaGuardia-Marcantonio political machine and later of the Tammany-Junior Roosevelt-Lehman-Wagner forces.

It would be a critical mistake for us to hold that the revolutionary fanatics are typical of the Puerto Rican people. The shooting was put in proper perspective, we think, by the message issued immediately by Governor Marín yesterday. He said: "The whole people of Puerto Rico are deeply indignant because of this savage and unbelievable lunacy which does not express in the remotest way the peaceful and decent nature of the people of Puerto Rico."

So let's not hold Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans responsible. The people to be held responsible are those in custody and awaiting trial and the Nationalists, who are potential killers, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

Already the shooting has led to control of persons who shall enter the congressional galleries. In the future, Speaker MARTIN said, only persons with cards issued by a Member of the Congress will be given gallery privileges, and each Congressman will be responsible for the people he admits. This is a sane and proper procedure.

Roaches Run Bridge Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced H. R. 8096 to authorize and direct the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to construct a bridge over the Potomac River in the vicinity of Roaches Run. This is the location for a bridge to serve the central area recommended by the National Capital Planning Commission and strongly supported by the Department of the Interior, which has jurisdiction over most of the land required for both District and Virginia approaches.

My principal reason for proposing this legislation is to provide an opportunity for Congress to consider the merits of the Planning Commission's proposal. Otherwise, I am told, testimony would have been limited to another location, advocated by the District Commissioners but vigorously opposed by the Department of the Interior and the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, as well as by the Planning Commission and others. I do not believe we should prevent these representatives of important public interests from presenting constructive views on matters about which they feel so keenly and have inherent responsibilities.

I am informed that the E Street bridge location proposed by the District Commissioners does violence to all well accepted concepts for the protection and enhancement of the western terminus of our world-famed Mall. It would project a commercial type steel girder bridge across Roosevelt Island and in many other respects be out of harmony with the standards set for that area by the Lincoln Memorial, the Arlington Memorial Bridge, and the flanking parkways along the river.

The Roaches Run site, on the other hand, accords with well considered plans of the National Capital Planning Commission published in 1950. That agency was set up more than a quarter of a century ago to give us advice particularly on the long-range needs of the national capital. It is composed of key public officials and eminent citizens qualified in city planning matters. Its present chairman, Harland Bartholomew, was appointed by President Eisenhower last August. He is one of the Nation's leading city planners and has been a consultant on the Washington plan for more than 25 years. I believe we should give the Commission's plan full consideration and weigh carefully the broad issues involved in the decision on a new bridge location.

Bar Association of Hawaii by Unanimous Vote Asks for Immediate Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present the text of a resolution adopted by the Bar Association of Hawaii at a special meeting held on February 15, 1954, in Honolulu, to act on a resolution in support of immediate statehood for Hawaii. The resolution, adopted by unanimous vote, is as follows:

"RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO GRANT IMMEDIATE STATEHOOD TO HAWAII

"Whereas the Territory of Hawaii has been an incorporated Territory of the United States of America for more than half a century, and its people are entitled to a decision by the Congress of the United States upon their repeated requests for admission into the Union as a State; and

"Whereas the 83d Congress of the United States has under consideration certain legislation to enable Hawaii to establish a State government and to enter the Union as the 49th State; and

"Whereas Hawaii's long-standing readiness and qualifications for statehood have been demonstrated beyond question in terms of its economic stability, its political maturity, and development of its educational and social institutions, and the unequivocal loyalty of its citizens; and

"Whereas in no other part of the United States are the ideals of American democracy better exemplified than in the Territory of Hawaii where American citizens of divergent ethnic origins live and work together in a spirit of democracy under the aegis of the Stars and Stripes; and

"Whereas statehood for Hawaii is in the Nation's best interest, would enhance the prestige of the United States abroad and serve as democracy's bridge to Asia, and would, moreover, give eloquent expression to the principle of self-government upon which our country was founded: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Bar Association of Hawaii, at a special meeting assembled on the 15th day of February A. D. 1954, in the courtroom of the supreme court, Judiciary Building, Honolulu, T. H., That it endorse immediate statehood for the Territory of Hawaii; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby respectfully requested and urged to grant immediate statehood to Hawaii; and be it further

"Resolved, That the association create a special committee on statehood of such number and with such members as the executive board shall determine to do all such acts and things as may be proper to effect the purposes of this resolution; and be it still further

"Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 83d Congress of the United States, and to the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii."

Dated at Honolulu, T. H., this 15th day of February A. D. 1954.

I hereby certify that the above resolution was unanimously adopted by the Bar Association of Hawaii at a special meeting held on February 15, 1954.

J. DONOVAN FLINT,
Secretary, Bar Association of Hawaii.

Public Works That Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. MILLET HAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, I am including a portion of a recent article in the Vineland Times-Journal by Mr. Ben Leuchter, which points out briefly and plainly that a sensible public works program can be undertaken and still avoid the scandals of centralized control, which took place in the thirties. I think this approach is worthy of the attention of the House:

All the after-dinner speeches in the world can't hide the fact that when a nation's defense budget is slashed by billions of dollars the weapons and supplies made in large and small factories for that government are no longer needed, nor are the workmen who help produce those weapons and supplies.

Yet there are many reasons why those workers need not remain unemployed. Few are the towns and cities from coast to coast which do not need new schools, new hospitals, new roads, or bridges.

These needs can be met without the creation of gigantic Federal agencies such as the WPA or the CCC which inevitably are accompanied by political infestation, corruption, loafing, and the other ills which are associated with the pump-priming methods of the mid-1930's. They can be met by earmarked monetary grants from the Federal Government to the States, and such public works can be operated by the awarding of contracts to private companies after bids have been received.

That can be the big difference between the New Deal and a new kind of pump-priming—a policy that would meet the crying needs of people on a local basis, provide employment for the jobless and help businessmen the Nation over while at the same time avoiding the recurrence of a monster Federal bureaucracy.

BEN LEUCHTER.

Federal Aid to Highway Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I hope the membership will carefully analyze the charts that show the difference of money authorized for highways under the existing law and that which is recommended in the new highway bill H. R. 8127, which will soon be before Congress for our consideration:

Approximate apportionment of Federal-aid highway funds pursuant to H. R. 7340, the existing law

State	Federal-aid				Interstate system ($25,000,000)	Grand total ($575,000,000)
	Primary ($247,500,000)	Secondary ($165,000,000)	Urban ($137,500,000)	Subtotal ($550,000,000)		
Alabama	$5,135,000	$3,984,000	$1,745,000	$10,864,000	$524,000	$11,388,000
Arizona	3,624,000	2,468,000	518,000	6,610,000	370,000	6,980,000
Arkansas	4,026,000	3,224,000	745,000	7,995,000	411,000	8,406,000
California	11,177,000	5,757,000	11,837,000	28,771,000	1,141,000	29,912,000
Colorado	4,387,000	2,930,000	1,107,000	8,424,000	448,000	8,872,000
Connecticut	1,542,000	794,000	2,579,000	4,915,000	158,000	5,073,000
Delaware	1,191,000	794,000	273,000	2,258,000	120,000	2,378,000
Florida	3,865,000	2,825,000	2,388,000	8,778,000	395,000	9,173,000
Georgia	6,040,000	4,610,000	1,941,000	12,591,000	617,000	13,208,000
Idaho	3,011,000	2,117,000	256,000	5,384,000	307,000	5,691,000
Illinois	9,370,000	5,103,000	9,313,000	23,786,000	957,000	24,743,000
Indiana	5,773,000	3,979,000	3,186,000	12,938,000	589,000	13,527,000
Iowa	5,914,000	4,325,000	1,581,000	11,820,000	604,000	12,424,000
Kansas	5,945,000	4,160,000	1,252,000	11,357,000	607,000	11,964,000
Kentucky	4,409,000	3,711,000	1,383,000	9,503,000	456,000	10,019,000
Louisiana	3,755,000	2,720,000	1,952,000	8,427,000	383,000	8,810,000
Maine	2,051,000	1,467,000	557,000	4,075,000	209,000	4,284,000
Maryland	2,129,000	1,300,000	2,260,000	5,689,000	217,000	5,906,000
Massachusetts	3,062,000	1,129,000	5,543,000	9,734,000	313,000	10,047,000
Michigan	7,565,000	4,617,000	6,198,000	18,380,000	772,000	19,152,000
Minnesota	6,408,000	4,517,000	2,168,000	13,090,000	654,000	13,744,000
Mississippi	4,341,000	3,616,000	737,000	8,694,000	443,000	9,137,000
Missouri	7,006,000	4,740,000	3,279,000	15,025,000	715,000	15,740,000
Montana	4,923,000	3,385,000	314,000	8,622,000	503,000	9,125,000
Nebraska	4,724,000	3,350,000	781,000	8,855,000	482,000	9,337,000
Nevada	3,150,000	2,105,000	101,000	5,356,000	322,000	5,678,000
New Hampshire	1,191,000	794,000	386,000	2,371,000	120,000	2,491,000
New Jersey	3,152,000	1,064,000	5,829,000	10,045,000	322,000	10,367,000
New Mexico	3,981,000	2,734,000	437,000	7,152,000	406,000	7,558,000
New York	11,422,000	4,575,000	17,799,000	33,796,000	1,166,000	34,962,000
North Carolina	5,995,000	5,126,000	1,711,000	12,832,000	612,000	13,444,000
North Dakota	3,548,000	2,575,000	225,000	6,348,000	362,000	6,710,000
Ohio	8,466,000	5,149,000	7,706,000	21,321,000	864,000	22,185,000
Oklahoma	5,217,000	3,734,000	1,455,000	10,406,000	533,000	10,939,000
Oregon	4,178,000	2,919,000	1,068,000	8,165,000	427,000	8,592,000
Pennsylvania	9,548,000	5,682,000	10,081,000	25,311,000	975,000	26,286,000
Rhode Island	1,191,000	794,000	952,000	2,937,000	120,000	3,057,000
South Carolina	3,284,000	2,717,000	916,000	6,917,000	335,000	7,252,000
South Dakota	3,797,000	2,712,000	259,000	6,768,000	388,000	7,156,000
Tennessee	5,183,000	4,049,000	1,926,000	11,158,000	529,000	11,687,000
Texas	15,736,000	10,535,000	6,380,000	32,651,000	1,606,000	34,257,000
Utah	2,795,000	1,848,000	554,000	5,207,000	285,000	5,492,000
Vermont	1,191,000	794,000	207,000	2,192,000	120,000	2,312,000
Virginia	4,625,000	3,593,000	2,077,000	10,295,000	472,000	10,767,000
Washington	4,053,000	2,694,000	2,009,000	8,756,000	412,000	9,148,000
West Virginia	2,651,000	2,307,000	867,000	5,825,000	271,000	6,096,000
Wisconsin	5,780,000	4,031,000	2,608,000	12,419,000	590,000	13,009,000
Wyoming	3,033,000	2,055,000	145,000	5,233,000	310,000	5,543,000
Hawaii	1,191,000	794,000	448,000	2,433,000	----------	2,433,000
District of Columbia	1,191,000	794,000	1,150,000	3,135,000	120,000	3,255,000
Puerto Rico	1,200,000	1,317,000	1,145,000	3,722,000	----------	3,722,000

The bill is the result of extensive hearings last summer and again this year. H. R. 8127 is H. R. 7818, as amended, by the Committee on Public Works.

Approximate apportionment of Federal-aid highway funds pursuant to H. R. 8127, by McGregor, of Ohio

State	Federal aid				Interstate			Total ($800,000,000)
	Primary ($270,000,000)	Secondary ($180,000,000)	Urban ($150,000,000)	Subtotal ($600,000,000)	Population [1] ($100,000,000)	Sec. 21 [2] ($100,000,000)	Subtotal ($200,000,000)	
Alabama	$5,761,000	$4,465,000	$1,938,000	$12,164,000	$1,876,000	$2,155,000	$4,031,000	$16,195,000
Arizona	4,038,000	2,750,000	575,000	7,363,000	735,000	1,507,000	2,242,000	9,605,000
Arkansas	4,495,000	3,597,000	827,000	8,919,000	1,170,000	1,680,000	2,850,000	11,769,000
California	12,363,000	6,381,000	13,148,000	31,922,000	6,487,000	4,652,000	11,139,000	43,061,000
Colorado	4,558,000	3,245,000	1,229,000	9,332,000	812,000	1,814,000	2,626,000	11,958,000
Connecticut	1,751,000	882,000	2,864,000	5,497,000	1,230,000	658,000	1,888,000	7,385,000
Delaware	1,323,000	882,000	303,000	2,508,000	735,000	490,000	1,225,000	3,733,000
Florida	4,386,000	2,867,000	2,652,000	9,905,000	1,698,000	1,643,000	3,341,000	13,246,000
Georgia	6,662,000	5,103,000	2,156,000	13,941,000	2,111,000	2,499,000	4,610,000	18,551,000
Idaho	3,328,000	2,341,000	285,000	5,954,000	735,000	1,342,000	1,977,000	7,931,000
Illinois	10,401,000	5,664,000	10,344,000	26,409,000	5,339,000	3,901,000	9,240,000	35,649,000
Indiana	6,409,000	4,418,000	3,538,000	14,365,000	2,411,000	2,399,000	4,810,000	19,175,000
Iowa	6,520,000	4,772,000	1,756,000	13,048,000	1,608,000	2,436,000	4,042,000	17,090,000
Kansas	6,552,000	4,587,000	1,390,000	12,529,000	1,168,000	2,446,000	3,614,000	16,143,000
Kentucky	4,977,000	4,131,000	1,536,000	10,644,000	1,804,000	1,863,000	3,667,000	14,311,000
Louisiana	4,207,000	3,045,000	2,168,000	9,420,000	1,644,000	1,876,000	3,220,000	12,640,000
Maine	2,265,000	1,621,000	618,000	4,504,000	735,000	847,000	1,582,000	6,086,000
Maryland	2,374,000	1,451,000	2,510,000	6,335,000	1,436,000	892,000	2,328,000	8,663,000
Massachusetts	3,429,000	1,273,000	6,156,000	10,858,000	2,874,000	1,293,000	4,167,000	15,025,000
Michigan	8,379,000	5,113,000	6,884,000	20,376,000	3,904,000	3,141,000	7,045,000	27,421,000
Minnesota	7,002,000	4,943,000	2,408,000	14,353,000	1,828,000	2,617,000	4,445,000	18,798,000
Mississippi	4,826,000	4,021,000	819,000	9,666,000	1,335,000	1,804,000	3,139,000	12,805,000
Missouri	7,870,000	5,325,000	2,643,000	16,838,000	2,423,000	2,943,000	5,366,000	22,204,000
Montana	5,423,000	3,730,000	348,000	9,501,000	735,000	2,023,000	2,758,000	12,259,000
Nebraska	5,264,000	3,733,000	868,000	9,865,000	812,000	1,965,000	2,777,000	12,642,000
Nevada	2,386,000	2,330,000	113,000	5,929,000	735,000	1,300,000	2,035,000	7,964,000
New Hampshire	1,323,000	882,000	438,000	2,643,000	735,000	490,000	1,225,000	3,868,000
New Jersey	3,491,000	1,175,000	6,475,000	11,141,000	2,963,000	1,816,000	4,279,000	15,420,000
New Mexico	4,389,000	3,015,000	485,000	7,889,000	735,000	1,638,000	2,373,000	10,262,000
New York	12,691,000	5,085,000	19,770,000	37,546,000	9,087,000	4,775,000	13,862,000	51,408,000
North Carolina	6,690,000	5,715,000	1,901,000	14,306,000	2,489,000	2,504,000	4,993,000	19,299,000
North Dakota	3,917,000	2,844,000	250,000	7,011,000	735,000	1,461,000	2,196,000	9,207,000
Ohio	9,415,000	5,727,000	8,559,000	23,701,000	4,869,000	3,531,000	8,400,000	32,101,000
Oklahoma	5,778,000	4,137,000	1,616,000	11,531,000	1,369,000	2,189,000	3,528,000	15,059,000
Oregon	4,616,000	3,226,000	1,186,000	9,028,000	932,000	1,725,000	2,657,000	11,685,000
Pennsylvania	10,507,000	6,306,000	11,197,000	28,100,000	6,433,000	3,980,000	10,413,000	38,513,000
Rhode Island	1,323,000	882,000	1,057,000	3,262,000	735,000	490,000	1,225,000	4,487,000
South Carolina	3,635,000	3,010,000	1,017,000	7,662,000	1,297,000	1,361,000	2,658,000	10,320,000
South Dakota	4,217,000	3,012,000	287,000	7,516,000	735,000	1,573,000	2,308,000	9,824,000
Tennessee	5,851,000	4,560,000	2,139,000	12,550,000	2,017,000	2,189,000	4,206,000	16,756,000
Texas	17,513,000	11,727,000	7,086,000	36,326,000	4,725,000	6,548,000	11,273,000	47,599,000
Utah	3,104,000	2,053,000	627,000	5,784,000	735,000	1,159,000	1,894,000	7,678,000
Vermont	1,323,000	882,000	230,000	2,435,000	735,000	490,000	1,225,000	3,660,000
Virginia	5,128,000	3,986,000	2,306,000	11,420,000	3,034,000	1,920,000	3,954,000	15,374,000
Washington	4,463,000	2,982,000	2,232,000	9,677,000	1,458,000	1,670,000	3,128,000	12,805,000
West Virginia	2,944,000	2,563,000	963,000	6,470,000	1,229,000	1,103,000	2,332,000	8,802,000
Wisconsin	6,378,000	4,450,000	2,896,000	13,724,000	2,105,000	2,386,000	4,491,000	18,215,000
Wyoming	3,367,000	2,282,000	161,000	5,810,000	735,000	1,256,000	1,991,000	7,801,000
Hawaii	1,323,000	882,000	497,000	2,702,000				2,702,000
District of Columbia	1,323,000	882,000	1,278,000	3,483,000	735,000	490,000	1,225,000	4,708,000
Puerto Rico	1,402,000	1,465,000	1,271,000	4,138,000				4,138,000

[1] Apportioned according to total population with minimum of ¾ of 1 percent.
[2] Apportioned according to sec. 21 of Federal Highway Act—⅓ area, ⅓ total population, and ⅓ post-road mileage, with minimum of ½ of 1 percent.

A bill to amend and supplement the Federal-Aid Road Act approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), as amended and supplemented, to authorize appropriations for continuing the construction of highways, and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Federal-Aid Road Act approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), and all acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $600 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

The sum herein authorized for each fiscal year shall be available for expenditure as follows:

(a) $270 million for projects on the Federal-aid primary highway system.

(b) $180 million for projects on the Federal-aid secondary highway system.

(c) $150 million for projects on the Federal-aid primary highway system in urban areas, and for projects on approved extensions of the Federal-aid secondary system within urban areas.

The sums authorized by this section for each fiscal year, respectively, shall be apportioned among the several States in the manner now provided by law and in accordance with the formulas set forth in section 4 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944, approved December 20, 1944 (58 Stat. 838).

Any sums apportioned to any State under the provision of this section shall be available for expenditure in that State for 2 years after the close of the fiscal year for which such sums are authorized, and any amount so apportioned remaining unexpended at the end of such period shall lapse: *Provided*, That such funds for any fiscal year shall be deemed to have been expended if a sum equal to the total of the sums apportioned to the State for such fiscal year is covered by formal agreements with the Secretary of Commerce for the improvement of specific projects as provided by this act: *Provided further*, That in the case of those sums apportioned to any State for projects on the Federal-aid secondary highway system, the Secretary of Commerce may discharge his responsibility relative to the plans, design, inspection, and construction of such secondary road projects upon his receipt and approval of a certified statement by the State highway department setting forth that the plans, design, and construction for such projects are in accord with the standards and procedures of the respective States applicable to projects in this category approved by him: *Provided further*, That not more than 25 percent of the amount apportioned to each State under subparagraphs (a), (b), or (c) of this section may be transferred from the apportionment under one subparagraph to the apportionment under either of the other subparagraphs: *Provided further*, That such transfer is requested by the State highway department and is approved by the Secretary of Commerce as being in the public interest: *Provided further*, That the total of such transfers shall not increase the original apportionment under any subparagraph by more than 25 percent: *Provided further*, That the transfers hereinabove permitted for funds authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1956, and June 30, 1957, shall likewise be permitted on the same basis for funds heretofore or hereafter authorized to be appropriated for any prior or subsequent fiscal year: *And provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be deemed to alter or impair the authority contained in the last proviso to subparagraph (b) of section 3 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944.

SEC. 2. (a) For the purpose of expediting the construction, reconstruction, and improvement, inclusive of necessary bridges and tunnels, of the national system of interstate highways, including extensions thereof through urban areas, designated in accordance with the provisions of section 7 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 838), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the additional sum of $200 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like additional sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. The sum herein authorized for each fiscal year shall be apportioned among the several States in the following manner: one-half in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States, as shown by the latest available Federal census: *Provided*, That no State shall receive less than three-fourths of 1 percent of the money so apportioned; and one-half in the manner now provided by law for apportionment of funds for the Federal-Aid primary system: *Provided further*, That the Federal share payable on account of any project on the national system of interstate highways pro-

vided for by funds made available under the provisions of this section shall be increased to 60 percent of the total cost thereof, plus a percentage of the remaining 40 percent of such cost in any State containing unappropriated and unreserved public lands and nontaxable Indian lands, individual and tribal, exceeding 5 percent of the total area of all lands therein, equal to the percentage that the area of such lands in such State is of its total area: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Commerce shall not apportion to the States the sum authorized by this section for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, unless a Federal excise tax on gasoline in the amount of not less than 2 cents per gallon is in effect on September 30, 1954; and the Secretary of Commerce shall not apportion to the States the sum authorized by this section for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, unless a Federal excise tax on gasoline in the amount of not less than 2 cents per gallon is in effect on September 30, 1955.

(b) Any sums apportioned to any State under the provisions of this section shall be available for expenditure in that State for 2 years after the close of fiscal year for which such sums are authorized: *Provided*, That such funds shall be deemed to be expended upon execution of formal agreements with the Secretary of Commerce for the improvement of specific projects under this section.

(c) Any amount apportioned to the States under the provisions of this section unexpended at the end of the period during which it is available for expenditure under the terms of subsection (b) of this section shall lapse.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 23 of the Federal Highway Act (42 Stat. 218), as amended and supplemented, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated (1) for forest highways the sum of $22,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957: *Provided*, That the authorization in section 3 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952 for forest highways for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, is hereby canceled; and (2) for forest development roads and trails the sum of $22,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957: *Provided*, That with respect to any proposed construction or reconstruction of a timber access road, advisory public hearings shall be held at a place convenient or adjacent to the area of construction or reconstruction with notice and reasonable opportunity for interested persons to present their views as to the practicability and feasibility of such construction or reconstruction: *Provided further*, That hereafter funds available for forest development roads and trails shall also be available for vehicular parking areas: *Provided further*, That the appropriation herein authorized for forest highways shall be apportioned by the Secretary of Commerce for expenditure in the several States, Alaska, and Puerto Rico in accordance with the provision of section 3 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1950.

SEC. 4. (a) For the construction, reconstruction, and improvement of roads and trails, inclusive of necessary bridges, in national parks, monuments, and other areas administered by the National Park Service, including areas authorized to be established as national parks and monuments, and national park and monument approach roads authorized by the act of January 31, 1931 (46 Stat. 1053), as amended, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

(b) For the construction, reconstruction, and improvement of parkways, authorized by acts of Congress, on lands to which title is vested in the United States, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

(c) For the construction, improvement, and maintenance of Indian reservation roads and bridges and roads and bridges to provide access to Indian reservations and Indian lands under the provisions of the act approved May 26, 1928 (45 Stat. 750), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and a like sum for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957: *Provided*, That the location, type, and design of all roads and bridges constructed shall be approved by the Secretary of Commerce before any expenditures are made thereon, and all such construction shall be under the general supervision of the Secretary of Commerce.

SEC. 5. Any unappropriated balance of the sums heretofore authorized to be appropriated by sections 5 and 6 of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952 (66 Stat. 158), for the Rama Road in Nicaragua and the Inter-American Highway, respectively, for the fiscal years 1953 and 1954, shall continue to be authorized to be appropriated for such purposes for the fiscal years 1955 and 1956.

SEC. 6. All provisions of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944, approved December 20, 1944 (58 Stat. 838); the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1948, approved June 29, 1948 (62 Stat. 1105); and the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1950, approved September 7, 1950 (64 Stat. 785); and the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952, approved June 25, 1952 (66 Stat. 158), not inconsistent with this act, shall remain in full force and effect.

SEC. 7. If any section, subsection, or other provision of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this act and the application of such section, subsection, or other provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 8. All acts or parts of acts in any way inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect on its passage.

SEC. 9. The Secretary of Commerce is hereby directed to make a study in cooperation with the State highway departments and other parties in interest relative to the problems posed by necessary relocation and reconstruction of public utilities services resulting from highway improvements authorized under this act. Among other things, such a study shall include a review and financial analysis of existing relationships between the State highway departments and affected utilities of all types, and a review of the various State statutes regulating existing relationships, to the end that a full and informative report may be made to the President for transmittal to the Congress of the United States not later than February 1, 1955.

SEC. 10. The term "highway," as defined in section 2 of the Federal Highway Act of November 9, 1921 (42 Stat. 212), as amended and supplemented, shall be deemed to include "tunnels."

SEC. 11. The Secretary of Commerce may approve as a part of the Federal-aid secondary system, extensions through urban areas, connecting points on that system, provided that Federal participation in projects on such extensions shall be limited to urban funds.

SEC. 12. For the purpose of expediting the interstate planning and coordination of a continuous Great River Road and appurtenances thereto traversing the Mississippi Valley from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico in general conformity with the provisions of the Federal Aid Road Act of July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and with the recommended plan set forth in the joint report submitted to the Congress November 28, 1951, by the Secretaries of Commerce and Interior pursuant to the act of August 24, 1949 (Public Law 262, 81st Cong.), there is hereby authorized to be expended by the Secretary of Commerce from general administrative funds not to exceed $250,000; the amount expended under this section shall be apportioned among the 10 States bordering the Mississippi River in proportion to the amount allocated by these respective States for the improvement and extension of existing sections of this highway project as approved by the Secretary of Commerce in cooperation with other public agencies concerned therewith.

SEC. 13. This act may be cited as the "Federal Aid Highway Act of 1954."

Peacemaking on the Jordan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, long before the State of Israel was brought into being as a sovereign country, I, like many others, had been urging that all of that area in and around what was then known as Palestine required redevelopment in order to improve the standard of living of all of the peoples of that area of the world and in order to bring to them the opportunity to peacefully earn a livelihood. This encompassed not only agricultural and industrial opportunity, but also improvement in the educational and health standards of the entire community.

The most recent study has brought forth the following report by Ambassador Eric Johnston, the President's personal envoy in the Near East, who specializes in complex jobs. At present he has three—his Jordan mission, chairmanship of the Government's point 4 advisory board, and presidency of the Motion Picture Association of America. The Eisenhower administration is the third to employ Johnston's talents. His report appeared in the February 14, 1954, issue of This Week magazine as follows:

The River Jordan is a short, silt-laden stream rolling down through 200 miles of dreary geography and 2,000 years or more of some of the richest chapters in the history of modern man.

Rising in the lofty mountains of the Lebanon, it plunges swiftly south through Lake Tiberias, winds it way through earth's deepest depression, a thousand feet below sea level, and wastes its precious waters finally in the salt depths of the Dead Sea.

Among the world's great watercourses, it is undistinguished by size, by beauty, by majesty, or sweep. Yet of them all, none is more famous or more beloved, for the River Jordan is a symbol familiar to millions of Christians, millions of Jews, millions of Moslems throughout the world.

In its waters, Jesus Christ was baptized by his cousin and precursor, John. From the height of Mount Nebo, the ancient Israelites, weary from years of desert wandering, looked at long last upon the Promised Land across the valley of the Jordan. Up and down its ancient course, the Prophet Mohammed preached and wrote the word of Allah. Out of the land of Jordan sprang all of the three great monotheisms and through the story of them all the river flows.

But if it has enriched religious history and sacred song, the Jordan through the centuries has not enriched the lot of man. Flowing through an arid land, where water literally is life, its waters have done little

to give life to the lands and the people of its valley. Here and there, water has been taken for irrigation, but for the most part, the Jordan has sped unused from source to mouth through lands that could have used it well.

This past fall, President Eisenhower asked me to visit four countries which have a physical stake in the Jordan watershed. He asked me to lay before their governments an idea through which the wasted waters of the river can be harnessed. The idea was embodied in a report called "Unified Development of the Water Resources of the Jordan Valley Region," prepared by the Boston engineering firm of Charles T. Main, Inc., under the supervision of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It was compiled at the request of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which for the past 5 years has been supporting 800,000 Arab refugees from Palestine.

INTO THE MAELSTROM

This report, while outlining what seems to be an admirable conception of total valley development from the engineering point of view, was drawn up without regard to national boundaries or political issues. The engineers did a fine job of plotting the possible sites of storage dams, powerplants, and irrigation works that could bring to the brown valley of the Jordan the green of corps and the pulse of electric energy. Quite rightly, they looked at the Jordan Basin as engineers should—with an eye to the physical facts alone.

But the Jordan Valley today is literally in the center of the maelstrom of bitterness and controversy that has raged for 5 years. So what the President really asked me to do was to take a fine engineering conception to the Near East and try to enlist the interest of four states—Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan on one hand, Israel on the other—which are locked in one of the hottest, bitterest, and seemingly most irreconcilable political disputes going on in the world today.

It was, in fact, the danger inherent in this dispute that led the President to send me out there with a proposal for developing the Jordan Valley in my brief case and instructions from Secretary of State Dulles in my head. Behind the proposal was a conviction born of concern for world security; namely, that the tensions between the Arab nations and Israel must somehow be relieved.

The political impasse has not yielded to 5 years of persistent peacemaking efforts by the United Nations, and the prospect of success in the immediate future seems less than likely. But short of peace, perhaps the sharp edges of antagonism can be dulled by helping the states concerned to eliminate certain of the critical points of friction.

The idea I took to the Near East, therefore, was something more than an engineer's conception. It was a proposal which offered to the four states an opportunity to tackle in a practical way, outside the context of politics, some of the problems aggravating the trouble between them.

Perhaps the most critical of these is the problem of the Arab refugees—men, women, and children who fled their homes in Palestine during the troubled times of 1947 and 1948. Living in camps maintained by the United Nations, or in caves or rude shelters of their own devising, these unfortunate people constitute a humanitarian problem of the utmost urgency.

HOPE FOR A NEW LIFE

Years of effort to find a solution of their plight through political negotiations have brought no result and the problem is steadily growing worse. The normal birth rate swells the total number of persons dependent on international relief by some 25,000 a year. The necessity of relying on U. N. handouts year after year is undermining morale, personal pride, and self-respect. The sense of indignity, injustice, and frustration now rife among the refugees could kindle inflammable hatreds.

About a third of these people, perhaps more, could be established on irrigated lands in the Jordan Valley if the four nations concerned would accept the principle of unified development. Instead of relief, these refugees could be given a solid economic base, a new lease on life, with hard work and opportunity to replace idleness and frustration.

Another of the most vexing causes of friction between the Arab states and Israel is the Jordan River itself. Rising in and flowing through four nations, it is an international stream, subject to claims and counterclaims upon its waters. Even if Arabs and Jews were the best of friends, water rights might be expected to give rise to trouble—as in some of the interstate wrangles in our own West. But in an arid land, where water is more precious than petroleum, and where three of the states concerned are at war—or at best, armed peace—with the fourth, the Jordan could become the cause of outright conflict.

Twice already, disputes over the Jordan have led to the Security Council of the United Nations, and unless a fair and reasonable answer is found to the question of who is entitled to how much of its life-giving waters, new frictions and increasing bitterness must be expected.

The proposal I put forward envisaged some kind of common understanding as to how much of the water in the river system each of the valley states should take. If such an understanding could be achieved, another of the most serious trouble points would be eliminated.

Our proposal had the further objective, of course, of helping to raise general economic levels in the region. Israel, where progress has been swift, still has far to go in building its economy. The Arab states, which have lagged in the parade of modern progress, are just getting started, but with a new will and determination. To the extent that we are able to help them, as well as Israel, to establish higher standards of life, we will be removing one of the basic causes of regional unrest.

NO MIRACLE EXPECTED

Now it was perfectly apparent to the President, Mr. Dulles and to me that no one could put forward a complicated proposal on the Jordan Valley and expect it to be embraced immediately by the three Arab countries and Israel. Even if they had been friendly neighbors, that would have been unlikely. In the circumstances, it was out of the question.

I undertook, therefore, merely to lay the proposal before these four nations, explain it, express the interest of the United States, and ask them to consider it with an open mind and constructive attitude. This is a matter, after all, which involves sovereignty, invaluable water rights, and political issues of the utmost importance to the states concerned. Clearly it was useless to expect that they would—even if they could—give us a final answer after a few hours or days of discussion.

COMMONSENSE APPEAL

So in my conversations in Amman, Damascus, Beirut, and Tel Aviv I asked the leaders of the governments to take the idea under advisement, weigh its advantages and disadvantages, consider its benefits to them, and be prepared to talk about it further at a later time. This they were all willing to do.

One is not able to reveal everything known to one in the midst of a mission—and I am still in the midst of mine. But I can at least say that the note of hopefulness evident in certain of my public statements relative to this first stage of my task is not wholly due to my natural optimism. Since my return there have been indications that the concept I put forward on behalf of the President is receiving genuinely constructive study. This I attribute to the intrinsic merit of the idea, and to the fact that the President made personal representations in its behalf. Had he not done so, in my opinion, the proposal, merit or no merit, would have been rejected out of hand.

Whether it is going to stay alive in the acid political climate that now pervades the Jordan Valley countries is another question altogether. The odds may be against it, but, in my opinion, they are not insurmountable.

For one thing, the principle of developing the valley according to a master plan that will produce the most good for the most people is sound. It appeals not only to imagination but to common sense. For another, the material benefit to the valley states will be considerable, including international aid in financing key projects. Perhaps most important, it offers a means of responding to compelling pressures for resource development from inside the state concerned.

Israel, in the effort to establish itself on a sound economic footing, is determined to wrest the utmost from its meager resources. One of the most important of these is the water of the Jordan. But its share of that water is disputed. Twice Israel's efforts to tap the river have led to long disputes in the Security Council. Without a basic understanding as to the equitable division of the Jordan's flow, similar obstructions may confront Israel in future. If the question of entitlement could be resolved through the development plan, this hazard would be removed.

In the Arab States of Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, as everywhere in the Arab world, mass lethargy is fast disappearing before the surge of new aspirations. The Arabs are a people in transition, straining at the fetters of economic feudalism, seeking the opportunities of social progress. Arab leadership is increasingly conscious of this vast stirring of long-quiescent peoples. It knows that social revolution is under way and that it must either lead or be swept aside. In these circumstances the pressure for positive action to develop natural resources is a compelling argument for the Jordan Valley plan.

SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Nevertheless neither Israel nor the Arab States like the proposals sketched in the UNRWA report. This was to be expected. But I made it clear to all of them that the report is a desk study only, lacking the benefit of on-the-ground surveys.

Consequently, it is not a hard-and-fast, take-it-or-leave-it proposition. On the contrary, it is open to modification, so long as the proposed changes do not do violence to the fundamental conception. I invited the valley states to suggest such alterations as they felt to be advisable, and I fully expect that they will do so. Whether their suggestions will be acceptable will depend on the judgment of neutral engineers.

As it now stands, the development program outlined in the UNRWA report contemplates the storage of down-valley irrigation water in Lake Tiberias for controlled release through a system of irrigation canals along the east and west sides of the main stream. Two other reservoirs, partly for storage and partly for power, would be constructed—one in Lebanon, on the Hasbani, a principal headwater stream; the other in Jordan, on the Yarmuk, the main river's principal tributary.

The waters harnessed through these works would provide steady, year-round irrigation for a total of some 238,000 acres of land not now watered in Jordan, Israel, and Syria—104,000 acres in Israel, 125,000 acres in Jordan, and 30,000 in Syria. Of the total waters available from the Jordan and its tributaries, it would allocate about 426 mil-

lion cubic meters a year to Israel, about 829 million a year to Jordan, and about 50 million a year to Syria.

The apparent disparity between the water allocated to Israel and Jordan as compared with the total land to be irrigated in each country is attributable to the fact that land in the Jordanian sector of the valley will produce crops all year round whereas land in the Galilee hills inside Israel requires only seasonal irrigation. Evaporation loss in the Jordanian area is also higher than in Israel's part of the valley.

THE GREAT OBSTACLE

Power installations on the Yarmuk in Jordan would provide an installed capacity of 38,000 kilowatts, which could later be increased considerably. Another powerplant on the upper Jordan, near Tel Hai in Israel, would have a capacity of 27,000 kilowatts.

These are details of the proposal as it was put before the Jordan Valley countries. Engineering-wise, the difficulties ahead are considerable, but they probably can be negotiated. The political obstacles may prove to be more obstinate. One which was emphasized to me repeatedly in the Arab capitals was the outright refusal of any Arab government to enter into an agreement or cooperate with Israel. Their positions on this point were uniformly, absolutely firm.

The fact is, however, that acceptance of the Jordan Valley program could be signified by each of the valley states individually, through unilateral declarations of assent filed with the Secretary General or some appropriate body of the United Nations. Actual control of the water system, assuring equitable distribution of allotted quantities of water and power to the participating states, could be vested in an impartial water control commissioner or boar under the United Nations.

SECOND VISIT

The President has asked me to return to the region this month for further discussions with the governments of Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel.

By this time, I hope the constructive aspects of the idea will have persuaded these countries to accept it. If they do, they will have contributed much to their own national advancement. What is more important, they will have evidenced a willingness to ameliorate the dangerous situation which has existed between them for too long. For that evidence, the whole world is waiting.

Appeal to Weaklings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Detroit Times of March 1, 1954:

APPEAL TO WEAKLINGS

A warning in the Detroiter, publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce, demands sharp attention.

Opponents of the St. Lawrence seaway, the publication predicted, would attempt to amend the seaway bill in Congress to force financing without the backing the United States Government.

The amendment has now been offered: A patent attempt to destroy the St. Lawrence project by a knife in the back because it cannot be defeated in face-to-face encounter.

It has the added effect of making a mendicant of the Federal Government, sending Uncle Sam out to pass the hat to get money for national protection.

By selling seaway bonds denied backing of Government credit, we would be asking rich investors to buy us something we lack confidence in ourselves.

Every national authority has recognized the St. Lawrence seaway as vital of national defense and has urged passage of the bill.

From the money standpoint, the fact is this:

The diehard opposition is coming from those who are so sure the seaway will be commercially successful that they fear the competition to their own private interests.

With fear in their own hearts, they attempt to make cowards of those who demand the St. Lawrence seaway as a great national asset.

The National Senate has already passed the seaway bill. The House should give scant tolerance to this appeal to weaklings by the seaway opposition.

Encroachment on American Sovereignty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I shall insert an editorial published on Saturday, February 27, in the Washington Times-Herald.

This editorial, in my estimation, raises a question with regard to 10 American employees of the United Nations Organization who were discharged by the then Secretary General as unfit to hold their positions with the international body.

Those employees were discharged as a direct result of their actions in taking refuge behind the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution when questioned by a congressional committee concerning their affiliations with the Communist Party.

The so-called Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations Organization held that membership in the Communist Party is not per se evidence of criminality on the part of a United Nations employee, since Communist Russia is a member in good standing of the United Nations Organization.

Still further, the Administrative Tribunal held that insufficient evidence of unfitness on the part of the discharged employees had been presented. Therefore the Administrative Tribunal ordered reinstatement of the 10 individuals, with back pay for the time lost while their cases were being considered.

In view of the continued unwillingness of the United States to employ these people, a compromise was reached whereby they were to be paid indemnities in lieu of reinstatement. The indemnities were to range all the way from $7,500 to $40,300, based upon the salaries received and length of service.

Owing to the well-advised and patriotic action of our colleague from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS], who was then an American delegate to the United Nations, payment of these indemnities was held up, and in the end the matter was referred to the International Court of Justice, at The Hague, for adjudication.

Now the question raised, even though indirectly, by the Times-Herald editorial, Mr. Speaker, goes to the status of the so-called Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations Organization.

It would seem that this administrative body, consisting of four men, none of whom owes allegiance to the American flag, by its own declaration has constituted itself a sort of supreme court with respect to the United Nations. It has held itself to be responsible only to itself, and above all laws, either of any United Nations member nation or of the United Nations itself.

And there the matter rests, Mr. Speaker. The Administrative Tribunal, having rewarded these 10 individuals for what might well be considered rank disloyalty to the land of their supposed allegiance, now asserts that nobody in all the world, no individual, no nation, nor even the United Nations Organization itself, has the power to reverse the decision.

It is to be hoped that an adjudication, favorable to the United States, soon shall be forthcoming from the International Court of Justice, and that as a result, no indemnities at all shall be paid to the 10 discharged employees of the United Nations.

Failing this, Mr. Speaker, the only recourse rests in the hands of the Congress of the United States. Should the International Court of Justice rule adversely to the best interests of the American people in choosing whom they wish to serve on the American staff of the United Nations Organization, then I think the Congress should take another and a careful look at any appropriation of money constituting further contributions to the support of the United Nations Organization.

The editorial published in the Washington Times-Herald on February 27, 1954, follows:

SO TREATIES ARE HARMLESS

Senator JENNER'S Subcommittee on Internal Security had before it a series of witnesses who were American citizens and who had been discharged from the United Nations Secretariat on grounds of addiction to the Communist Party. Each of these dismissed employees had then gone before a body known as the United Nations Administrative Tribunal and, in lieu of getting his U. N. job back, had received awards of many thousands of dollars for injury from U. N.

Five of these detached international bureaucrats appeared before the Senate subcommittee over 3 days. In brief, their histories weer as follows:

Jack Sargent Harris, born in Chicago, was awarded $40,300 by the U. N. Tribunal. He served with the supersecret Office of Strategic Services during the war years and was attached as special assistant to consulates in Africa. After a postwar hitch as assistant professor of social sciences at the University of Chicago, he sought a job with Alger Hiss' Office of Special Political Affairs, but was disapproved for service even in this nest of Communists as a security risk. He then latched on, first, as social affairs officer, later as political affairs officer in the Division of Trusteeship of U. N., salary $11,650 a year. He declined to answer under the fifth amendment whether he was a Communist at various times from 1931 to date, pleaded the

same amendment when asked if he had used the alias "Russell Sumner," and again pleaded self-incrimination when asked if Dr. Ralph Bunche had made a special request that he join U. N. The U. N. Tribunal which awarded him $40,300 never asked him if he was a Communist and did not appear to consider it relevant.

Leon Elveson, awarded $7,000 by the U. N. Tribunal in lieu of reinstatement, declined to answer under the fifth amendment when asked by the Senate subcommittee about Communist Party membership. Asked if the Tribunal had inquired whether he had been a member of the Communist Party while working for U. N., Elveson said, "they never asked me any questions."

Alexander Svenchansky, a radio announcer with U. N., salary $10,540 a year, was awarded $20,000 by the U. N. tribunal. Born in Russia, he worked for Soviet agencies in the United States from 1928 to 1942, was drafted and assigned by the United States Army as a Russian interpreter on the supply route by air for American lend-lease bound for the Soviet Union and doubled as a noncommissioned educaton and information officer, lecturing United States soldiers on the war and economic and political questions. He denied that he was a Communist while in the army, but pleaded the fifth amendment with reference to party connections both before and afterward, or whether he had been a Communist one day before he entered the army.

Ruth Crawford, a former publications officer of the U. N. children's fund, awarded $7,500 by the U. N. tribunal, said she had been a Communist in 1935, but drifted away from the party. Asked if she were still sympathetic to communism, she said, "I cannot, I cannot no matter what happens, close my mind to the fact that the Communist Party, as I have known the Communist Party, has stood for good things."

Eda Glaser, awarded $7,500 by the U. N. tribunal, a former employee of the Soviet purchasing commission during the war, pleaded self-incrimination when asked if she had held Communist Party cards No. 2597 and S-7203 or whether she belonged to the waterfront section of the party. She served with the U. N. relief and rehabilitation administration just after the war, distributing American relief in Russia.

All of these people, or their counsel, denied that the Senate subcommittee had any right to try to impeach or to inquire into the findings and awards of the U. N. administrative tribunal, as that body, by its own declaration, has held that its judgments shall be final and without appeal. It is composed of four foreigners. Counsel also argued that under article 100 of the U. N. Charter, ratified by the United States Senate as a treaty, the United States must keep hands off U. N.

These contentions assert the claim that U. N. is independent of and superior to United States jurisdiction, and that one of its inferior organs—the administrative tribunal—is independent of and superior to not only all U. N. members, among them the United States, but U. N. itself. Still, it is said that there is no danger to the United States in treaties, and therefore no necessity for the Bricker amendment.

Mexican Agricultural Workers

SPEECH
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 355) amending the act approved July 12, 1951 (65 Stat. 119, 7 U. S. C. 1461–1468), as amended, relating to the supplying of agricultural workers from the Republic of Mexico.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, ever since I have been a Member of the Congress this farm labor bill has been presented to the Congress as the solution to the wetback problem. The statistics in regard to the number of wetbacks who have been caught and returned show clearly that every time we pass a new bill the wetback problem becomes worse instead of better. Before we had any legal program from ten to twelve thousand illegals were coming into the country each year. Since the passage of the first so-called legalizing act of 1943 the number of illegal entries has increased, until last year the number apprehended was approximately 875,000.

If we are going to pass this bill, let us not act upon it as a means of controlling the wetback problem, because it simply will not accomplish that purpose. What the Committee on Agriculture should do, instead of weakening the present act, is to give some study to the recommendations of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor as reported in 1951.

I should like to ask the members of the committee whether they have given any consideration to those recommendations; whether they have tried to do anything about the migratory farm labor problem in the United States; whether they have proposed anything that would improve the wages or the working conditions or the standard of living of these people.

As a matter of fact, the only improvement that has come has been the result of the insistence of the Mexican Government that we in the United States set up certain standards with regard to wages and working conditions for Mexican nationals who come into this country. The only standard we have is one that is related to what the Mexican Government has insisted that we set up for her nationals, and the committee now is asking us to weaken those standards. I think this legislation should be defeated.

How New Kaiser Hospital Works

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, there have been a series of three articles written by Hale Champion, appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle, under the general title of "Health Plan Controversy." In the issue of February 14, 1954, of the above-named newspaper appears the first of the articles, entitled "How New Kaiser Hospital Works."

I include this article as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

HEALTH PLAN CONTROVERSY—HOW NEW KAISER HOSPITAL WORKS

(By Hale Champion)

On Wednesday a $3,250,000 "dream hospital," designed to set new standards of patient comfort and medical effectiveness, begins functioning out at 2425 Geary Street in the Anza Vista district.

That hospital is at once an immediate goal reached, a solid steel and concrete medical center to serve tens of thousands, and a massive, gleaming symbol of one man's idea of the future of medicine for the millions.

The man is Henry J. Kaiser, the 72-year-old industrial technician who has built dams, ships and automobiles, forged steel, and turned out aluminum, the creator of a vast commercial complex of men, money, and equipment.

INGENIOUS PLAN

The idea—and the health plan it brought to fruition—are as complex and ingenious as their proprietor, and as controversial.

They already determine how about 250,000 people in the bay area—roughly 10 percent of the population—get their medical treatment, and how they pay for it.

The Chronicle believes that all the facts about a health plan of such scope ought to be available for full public examination and discussion.

Because of the restrictions of the no advertising rule in the code of ethics of the medical profession, no health plan sponsors are permitted to circulate promotional or educational literature describing their plan, except among those who ask for information.

So the Chronicle asked questions of people both in and outside the plan, and the questions were answered.

THE FACTS

Here then, without either endorsement or disapproval, is what the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan (once known as Permanente) is all about, how it operates, and what it means.

And here, too, are the physical facts of its revolutionary new medical center in San Francisco, the unique 216-bed hospital and out-patient clinic on Geary Boulevard.

To begin: How and where did the Kaiser plan have its origins?

There is no single answer to that question, declared Henry Kaiser, Jr., at 36 an increasingly mobile victim of multiple sclerosis, and a cheerful and potent force in the health plan's development.

Perhaps, he explained, it goes back to the turn of the century when his father, the young and struggling Senior Kaiser, a dry goods clerk in upstate New York, watched his mother die at 49 because the family couldn't afford proper medical care.

Or perhaps it goes back only to when Dr. Sidney Garfield, still medical director of the plan, first organized a group of doctors to look after construction workers building the All-American Canal across the desert from Los Angeles to the Colorado River, or to when the canal workers (Kaiser's among them) decided to give a nickel a day from their wages to prepay the costs of their treatment.

A REAL NEED

"You can name almost any early event as a beginning," said Kaiser, Jr. "But whatever you choose, you'll find the same factor involved—a real need that had to be met."

It was at Grand Coulee Dam in the period just before World War II that the Kaiser plan began to take its present shape. Kaiser, the leading or sponsoring contractor on that huge 4-year project, saw a temporary city spring up nearby to house its 5,000 workers.

More than 90 miles from Spokane, the nearest city with adequate medical resources, the temporary city needed doctors and facilities of its own, all the more because many of the workers had brought their families with them.

Dr. Garfield and his medical group provided the staff; Kaiser and his fellow contractors provided the facilities and the prepayment plan to pay for both the facilities and the services of the doctor's group. This time they cared for the worker's family, too. And that was another innovation.

When war came and Kaiser moved his managerial talents into other fields, particularly the construction of ships in the bay area, and the Portland, Oreg., area, he took Dr. Garfield and the system with him.

WARTIME FACILITIES

The health plan and its comprehensive coverage was one of the major features in Kaiser's successful manpower recruiting at a time when manpower, of whatever quality, was difficult to come by. And the plan's effectiveness helped him cut absenteeism and set new shipyard production records.

At the peak of wartime activity, the Kaiser health plans took care of 180,000 people, 90,000 of them in the East Bay. The facilities included a large central hospital in Oakland, rebuilt to meet Kaiser's special requirements, and a series of outpatient clinics as well.

Then came the end of the war and the big layoff. Within a few months, the Kaiser facilities and staff that had handled 180,000 people had only 40,000 left on their rolls.

But they had something else—the hope of those former Kaiser employees who had left for other jobs that they could somehow continue to get the same kind of health treatment at the same low cost.

From individuals, from unions, from management throughout the Bay area came the same not-unwelcome question. How about opening up the plan to include persons not employed in a Kaiser enterprise?

OUTSIDERS ADMITTED

Demand and supply were in unusual accord, and the plan and its facilities were opened to outsiders in 1946.

In the 8 years that have passed since that last, and most crucial, development in the plan's scheme of operation, it has grown as fast as the Kaiser Foundation could obtain or build new facilities.

The Kaiser Foundation Health Plan now covers 416,000 people here in southern California and in the Portland, Ore., Vancouver, Wash., area. It has 35 different treatment facilities, including 14 hospitals and 2 physical therapy rehabilitation centers for the disabled, one at Vallejo, the other at Santa Monica.

Three of the hospitals, in Los Angeles, Walnut Creek, and San Francisco, have come into being in the last year, each radically different from conventional hospitals, the result of 20 years of mass medical practice experience and the subject of international interest and praise.

The press was given a special preview of the San Francisco Hospital last week and this is what reporters saw:

The seven-story, ultra-modern, concrete and steel structure has a glass outside wall in every patient's room.

The two lower stories are a long sweep of clinics, one for just about every major specialty known to modern medicine. One drop-in clinic, open for treatment without appointment in emergencies, has its own ambulance entrance and there is a large paved parking area nearby.

A front ramp leads directly to the central clinic lobby on the first floor; a curved outside stair leads directly to the hospital lobby on the second floor and to the maternity section on the third floor.

Outside every room on the five-bed floors runs a corridor for visitors. The central corridor between the rows of rooms on each side of the building are reserved for nurses, doctors, and hospital employees, organized on a scientific save-steps principle that permits a minimum staff to provide a maximum of service and care.

The operating and delivery rooms are designed in the same radial fashion off a central staff work and preparation room.

MODERN EQUIPMENT

The equipment everywhere is ultra-modern, much of it on the work-saving, self-help principle. A patient can use push buttons to adjust the drapes, to run a curtain through the center of a room for two, adjust the bed's height and contour, to change the program on his under-the-pillow disc radio receiver.

He can ring for a nurse, or discuss matters with her over an inter-communications system. Hot, cold and ice water is a short reach away. There's a telephone jack in every room and telephones for use as the doctor dictates.

There are two special floors, each complete with specially designed equipment. The third or maternity floor is the most elaborately constructed of all. An individual controlled atmosphere nursery connects with each mother's bed. Twenty-four hours or so after birth, the baby is placed in a plastic bassinet drawer in that room, a drawer that is easily pulled into the mother's room.

Any time the mother wants the baby, except when he is being cared for by a nurse, she need only pull the drawer through the partition. As she does so, a light flashes at the nurse's station, keeping her informed of the baby's whereabouts.

The arrangement is ideal for "on the job" mother training as she watches doctors and nurses care for the child, then gradually takes over 90 percent of the task herself. When the first danger of infection is over and the father can visit the mother, the baby can be kept behind the protective wall of his nursery until he too is considered safe from stray germs.

CONVALESCENT FLOOR

The other special floor is the seventh. There convalescent patients, able to move about, almost completely care for themselves. They have a solarium snack bar, card tables and other recreational equipment, and again staff costs are at a minimum.

On all the other floors, each group of eight patients has its own nurse and complete service set-up. Since no visitors come through the central corridor, since all equipment is immediately at hand, it is estimated that each nurse averages only one-seventh as much movement as in a conventional hospital, but is able to furnish at least equal, and often superior, service.

A list of the new equipment in the operating and delivery rooms, and the rooms fitted for special functions (one can be instantly converted into a sealed oxygen chamber) is endless.

With this hospital the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan reaches a new and crucial point in its history. What is the future?

The Kaiser Health Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, this is the second article in a series on the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, which now covers 416,000 persons in the West, more than 250,000 in the bay area of San Francisco. The San Francisco Chronicle believes that in the light of the current national controversy over how best to protect the Nation's health a plan of such magnitude merits examination.

In the first of this series of articles there was a description of the $3,250,000 "dream hospital" of the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan about to open for service in the San Francisco area.

This article, the second in the series by Hale Champion, appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle, issue of February 15, 1954, describes the Kaiser health plan. It is as follows:

THE KAISER HEALTH PLAN—COSTS AND BENEFITS TO MEMBERS

(By Hale Champion)

The Kaiser Health Foundation plan—already serving almost 10 percent of the bay area's residents—has an increasingly important role in the great national health debate.

After a period of deceptive surface quiet, that debate was reopened with renewed passion in Washington last month when President Eisenhower sent a special health message to Congress and a congressional committee promptly began hearings on the subject.

Henry J. Kaiser was one of the prominent witnesses before that committee, and when he and other witnesses were through, this is what Representative CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, chairman of the committee, had to say:

"By combining group practice and prepayment into voluntary group practice prepayment health service plans, a new type of program begins to emerge.

"Mr. Henry J. Kaiser, industrialist, and Dr. Sidney R. Garfield, medical director of the Kaiser Foundation health plan on the west coast, described how these elements—group practice and prepayment—have been fused into a splendid plan which provides comprehensive medical care coverage at low cost to more than 400,000 persons."

NOW IN THE HOPPER

WOLVERTON listed other witnesses advocating somewhat different plans based on the same general principles—Dr. George H. Baehr, president and medical director of Greater New York's equally huge health plan; Dr. Russell V. Lee, of Palo Alto clinic; and Dr. H. Clifford Loos, of the Ross-Loos group in Los Angeles.

Then he dropped a measure into the congressional hopper to provide financial underwriting for groups of doctors who want to build medical centers to operate plans similar to those described but don't have the great financial resources that helped develop Kaiser's 14 west coast hospitals.

The bill does not advocate that all of the Kaiser health plan principles be adopted. Many detailed features of the Kaiser plan are vigorously opposed, not only by the American Medical Association but by fellow believers in prepayment for medical services and in the voluntary association of doctors in group practice.

There is no question, however, that the experience and success of the Kaiser plan is in large part responsible for the Wolverton bill's existence.

When told that other witnesses before the committee favored such legislation, but felt that they could make important improvements on the Kaiser operation, the Oakland magnate was not at all displeased.

"That's wonderful," Kaiser told reporters. "That's exactly what the people need and what we want."

HOW IT WORKS

Just what is this plan at the heart of the matter? Let's look at the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan (formerly Permanente) and see how it functions.

First, who can belong? The answer is anybody, although some applications must wait development of facilities to handle the steadily increasing patient load.

An individual may join, paying his monthly fee directly to the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan in his locality. A group of individuals in an office or plant may band together to join, collecting monthly fees there and for-

warding them in a group payment to the plan. Or, most cheaply, a union or company unit or combination or both, may work out a group coverage contract with payroll deductions.

In return for these payments the plan promises comprehensive medical and hospital care for the subscriber and his dependents.

The basic plan, which can be improved for slightly higher payments, calls for these services without additional costs, except where noted:

For the subscriber himself—111 days of hospital care a year for each illness or recurrence of it, including room, board, nursing and ambulance service within 30 miles; all operations, specialists' consultations, and other hospital treatment; doctor's care in office at any time of day or night, and eye examinations ($1 registration fee per visit); doctor's home calls with nurse if necessary on 24-hour basis ($2 first call, none thereafter), and all drugs and medicines while hospitalized for the 111 days. A "reasonable" charge is made for other drugs and medicines.

The subscriber is also entitled to all prescribed X-rays and laboratory tests; physical therapy (at $1 a treatment while not hospitalized); full maternity care for $60 if a member for more than 10 months at time of confinement, $140 otherwise; removal of tonsils and adenoids for $15, and an allowance of up to $250 for care outside the service area of Kaiser facilities.

FOR DEPENDENTS

For the subscriber's dependents under the basic plan rates.

The same benefits, except that free hospital care and allied treatment is limited to 60 days each year for each illness, and half the private rates are charged for the next 51 days; each home call costs $2; X-rays, laboratory tests, and physical therapy are at half private rates; maternity after 10 months is $95, before is $140, and removal of adenoids and tonsils costs $35.

For an additional small payment, subscribers may obtain for their dependents the same benefits they themselves receive for the basic rate.

THE EXCEPTIONS

As in every health plan, there are important exceptions to these benefits. They include congenital conditions and those present at the time of joining the plan (although many services for such illnesses or injuries are still available at half private rates); mental illness; tuberculosis; epidemic or disaster illnesses or injuries, and contagious diseases requiring isolation, such as poliomyelitis.

However, the Kaiser plan has just announced a coverage, effective April 1, that will furnish polio rehabilitation treatment for 1 year or until a cost of $2,500 has been reached.

These treatments, available to subscriber and dependents alike, will be performed at the Vallejo or Santa Monica institutes of the health plan that specialize in physical rehabilitation work.

Benefits and payments are constantly under review, the tendency of the plan being to reduce exclusions or special charges while increasing prepayment fees slightly.

NEW SCHEDULE OF FEES FOR HEALTH PLAN

Mr. Speaker, here are the new basic monthly membership fees for the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan: Subscriber only, $4.30; subscriber and one family dependent, $7.60; subscriber and 2 or more family dependents, $9.50.

These rates are based on a group of 25 persons or more where a payroll checkoff is in effect. Where collections are made otherwise, the monthly rate in each category is 40 cents higher.

The third article in this series, and which appears in the Appendix of this issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, describes "how is all this managed? And what are the arguments that rage around around the plan and its operation?"

Pros and Cons of the Kaiser Health Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the third article of a series of articles by Hale Champion, appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle, on the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, which now covers over 400,000 persons, tells how the plan is managed and some of the arguments that have been raised against it.

The first and second articles appear in the Appendix of this issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately preceding this third and concluding article. The article reads as follows:

KAISER PLAN HAS ITS CRITICS—HERE ARE THE PROS AND CONS

(By Hale Champion)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the third and last article in a series on the Kaiser Foundation health plan, which now covers 416,000 persons in the West, more than 250,000 in the Bay area. The Chronicle, without endorsement or disapproval, believes that, in light of the current national controversy over how best to protect the Nation's health, a plan of such magnitude merits examination. Today's article tells how the plan is managed and some of the arguments that have been raised against it.)

The Kaiser Foundation health plan is good for a hot round at almost any dinner table these days, particularly when doctors are present.

The only way a layman can protect himself is to know what the argument is all about, how the plan operates, what the criticisms are, and what the Kaiser defenders have to say in return.

Here is a summary of that information:

To begin, the Kaiser plan operates on what all its executives refer to as the "four basic principles." They are:

1. Prepayment, a principle that spreads the total cost of care among the healthy as well as the sick, that ends the need to meet sudden, overwhelming doctors' bills, in effect, paying them in advance.

2. Group practice, uniting general practitioners and specialists to bring all kinds of medical knowledge to bear on any given problem, as is done at the famed clinics such as Mayo and Lahey.

3. Medical centers in which the doctors' groups function, such as the new Kaiser Foundation Hospital, opening out on Geary Boulevard tomorrow, providing modern central hospital and outpatient facilities and great economies of operation.

4. Preventive medical care, encouraged by prepayment because patients don't have to worry about the costs of going to the doctor when they first feel ill, because doctors are thus given a chance to keep people well rather than treating them after they are seriously ill.

If you join the plan, you are encouraged, though not required, to select a doctor from the group as your personal physician. He is often not available when you call, but he will be your principal point of contact with the medical center and its staff, referring you to specialists according to your needs.

You are also encouraged, though not required, to have periodic all-inclusive multiphasic examinations at nominal cost, no matter how well you feel, in order to detect disease in its early phases.

SYSTEM ORGANIZATION

The Kaiser system has four major parts. Behind the whole structure is the Kaiser Foundation. Industrialist Henry J. Kaiser is its founder and president and it is from here that he plays his official role.

Next is the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan which collects the subscribers' payments and distributes them to the two other parts of the whole, the independent groups of doctors who provide the professional services on a contract basis and the Kaiser Foundation hospitals that lease facilities from the Kaiser Foundation.

All, except the doctors' groups, are nonprofit trusts or corporations, but occasionally build up surpluses for expansion purposes.

The participating doctors' groups pay salaries to its members through a basic three-step system with variations. There is a beginning or probationary term of 2 years on straight salary, followed by junior and then senior partnerships in the group. Though none of the doctors get into medicine's highest brackets, the incomes at the top approach the $40,000 a year mark, and others are comparable to private practice incomes.

THE PRINCIPAL COMPLAINTS

There are, of course, many and heated criticisms of the plan from doctors and other opponents. Kaiser defenders seek to answer each criticism.

Here briefly for the record are the principal complaints and the answers of Kaiser proponents.

Those who dislike the plan charge that it is assembly-line medicine, providing insufficient choice of physician, disdaining important and delicate patient-physician relationships and, in some cases, resulting in inferior medical care and treatment.

To these general complaints, which have many subcomplaints too detailed to be discussed here, Kaiser defenders reply thus:

The so-called assembly-line label is one that might be applied to any of the Nation's 600 group practices, including the famed Mayo Clinic, and to many of the Nation's finest hospitals including Johns Hopkins. All depend on medical teamwork.

No such group can provide free choice of physicians outside the group without greatly complicating its administrative problems and costs, and thus increasing the cost to the patient. Free choice of physician is, for most people, something of a myth anyway, since most people don't know enough about doctors and specialists to make a really free choice, merely accepting random recommendations.

The Kaiser groups do care about the physician-patient relationship and their increasing effort to have each patient establish such a relationship with one plan doctor is evidence that they believe in its usefulness and desirability.

LEVEL OF CARE

The level of medical care and treatment of Kaiser plan subscribers is not inferior, in fact ranks with the best obtainable anywhere. This is evidenced by the reputations and stature of its staff specialists, the quality of young doctors and nurses recruited into the group practices each year, and by the testimonials of distinguished medical men who have no relationship to the plan.

There are many other arguments, pro and con, most of them carried on by doctors on both sides. What the patients think, no one really knows.

Some observers contend many subscribers belong to the plan only because their unions have taken them there willy-nilly. Others claim that subscribers are more impressed with the prepayment and low-cost features than with the quality of the medical care provided. And others believe that most of the subscribers genuinely like both the price and the care.

Whoever is right, the plan continues to grow in size. Where there are 416,000 subscribers today, there were only 350,000 6 months ago. And in the next 6 months, Kaiser officials expect to reach a total of half a million members in their 3 concentration areas, here, around Los Angeles, and in the Portland, Oreg., area.

They don't know where it will stop.

CHALLENGE TO DOCTORS

"It just depends on the need," said Henry Kaiser, Jr., administrative assistant of the Kaiser Foundation, last week. "When the doctors of this country take care of the need for good comprehensive medical care at a reasonable cost, we won't grow any more."

California doctors are fully aware of the challenge implicit in those words.

A group of southern California doctors provided one answer recently when it won a union of 17,000 members away from the Kaiser plan by offering comparable benefits and a free choice of physicians, but at higher rates.

Another answer is being provided by the Palo Alto Clinic, and still other answers are in various stages of development in the Alameda-Contra Costa County area where the Kaiser plan has its greatest strength.

"Good," says Henry J. Kaiser. "That's what we want. That's what we're after. More power to them."

H. R. 8149, Introduced by Chairman of Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, as a Substitute for H. R. 7341—The New Bill Incorporates Amendments Made by Committee to H. R. 7341

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has authorized and directed me to report favorably without amendment, H. R. 8149, a bill to amend the hospital survey and construction provisions of the Public Health Service Act to provide assistance to the States for surveying the need for diagnostic or treatment centers, for hospitals for the chronically ill and impaired, for rehabilitation facilities, and for nursing homes, and to provide assistance in the construction of such facilities through grants to public and nonprofit agencies, and for other purposes.

This bill takes the place of H. R. 7341, which I had the privilege to introduce on January 18 following the delivery of President Eisenhower's special health message to the Congress.

The bill carries out one phase of President Eisenhower's health program. It provides for the expansion of the program which is provided for under the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. The expansion provided for in H. R. 8149 adopts the same principles which have proven so successful in the case of hospitals under the Hill-Burton Act. It would assist the States in constructing diagnostic or treatment centers, hospitals for chronic diseases, nursing homes, and rehabilitation facilities.

I want to stress that our committee was unanimous in reporting H. R. 8149. This unanimity is in line with the earlier history of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, which received bipartisan support when the program was first initiated in 1946 and again in 1949 and 1952, when the duration of the program was extended through fiscal year 1957.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has gone over carefully the original program, and it firmly believes that the expansion of the program called for in H. R. 8149 will greatly benefit the American people by providing the types of facilities which are clearly needed in providing health services to our people.

Reducing Accidents at Railroad Crossings and on Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert a copy of an outstanding speech recently delivered by the vice president of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co. at a safety meeting in conjunction with the Mullins and Marion high schools located in my district in South Carolina.

I considered it a privilege and a pleasure to have the opportunity to attend both the meetings at Marion and Mullins and also a luncheon at the Pee Dee Lodge in Marion, S. C., where several hundred people listened with intent interest in the discussion of the problem of reducing accidents at railroad cossings and on our highways. I feel that we should have meetings of this type scheduled for every section of the country as this seems to be the only means to make the general public safety conscious.

I hope that every Member of the House will take a few minutes of their valuable time to read the following speech delivered by the vice president of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad:

Mayor Turbeville, Mayor Atkinson, distinguished guests, and friends, my good friend, Lawrence Jeffords, our vice president in charge of operations, planned to be with you today and to make this talk. However, he is recuperating from an emergency operation for appendicitis and I am here to pinch hit for him as best I can. I am delighted to be with you and to be permitted to have a part in a movement that is so well worthwhile from every standpoint, and I bring you Mr. Jeffords' most sincere regrets that he cannot be with you.

The subject assigned to me is Safety at Railroad Crossings. There are only a few significant figures of the past I would like to mention, in the hope that they will linger in your minds. In 1953 in the United States, 1,506 persons met death at railroad crossings, and thousands more were injured, many of them seriously. Twenty of these fatalities and 57 injuries occurred at railroad crossings in the State of South Carolina. This is a ghastly and entirely unnecessary toll and I am sure it will provide for each of us some idea of the importance of the problem we are here to consider.

In my day-to-day work I have occasion to use statistics constantly and could give you a great many more of them to emphasize the importance of this question of safety at railroad crossings, if it were significant to measure importance in terms of deaths and injuries which have occurred in the past. I believe, however, that we will do better to think in terms of the future—to try to devise ways and means of preventing individuals, perhaps one of your fellow citizens in your own community, from becoming a part of such tragic statistics.

What are the causes of this needless slaughter?

Are we to assume that the motoring public regards life so lightly that it has become a group of gamblers playing for high stakes? And the stakes are high indeed, considering that they are human lives, not only the lives of the gamblers but also the lives of others, who might not want to play the game if they were left to choose.

I do not think this is the answer. There may be a minor element of the motoring public that is willing to take a chance, merely to beat a train to a crossing, perhaps to test the horsepower of their automobiles, but I am sure that this is a very small group. It is the "lunatic fringe" which we probably will have with us always, and on which efforts to improve the situation will be wasted. These people are one of the causes of crossing accidents, of course, but I do not think they represent an important cause.

Along with them I would put the drinking driver, the driver who is physically handicapped or too old to drive, and the drivers of automobiles which are mechanically unsafe. But even when these dangerous drivers are included, we are still far away, in my opinion, from an adequate explanation of these crossing tragedies. The people involved in too many of them simply do not fit in either category.

What, then, is the answer?

I am persuaded that we will find the cause of the majority of these terrible railroad-crossing accidents, when we fix the blame for them were it belongs, and at the only place it can be controlled—that is, behind the steering wheel of an automobile driven by an individual who ordinarily is a perfectly sane and well-balanced person; in other words, behind the wheel of your car or mine.

Well, you may ask, if that be so, what causes such a man to take foolish and unnecessary risks at a railroad crossing? I suggest there are two causes. The first of these is impatience—just plain impatience. Now, impatience is not altogether a bad thing. In many cases it is the father of progress. If our people had not been impatient with things as they were we would not have the America we know today. We all recognize that. But impatience is certainly not a good thing when it becomes so intolerant of delay that it impels an ordinarily sensible man to take a chance that may result in his death, and possibly the death of others. I do not believe any sane man, however impatient he might be, would take a chance such as that, unless his impatience is associated with something else, and that something else is thoughtlessness.

One might think that carelessness would be involved, and of course it is, but I submit to you that carelessness must be preceded

by thoughtlessness when an average driver attempts to beat a train to a crossing, or crosses without observing ordinary care. Only a man who for the moment is not thinking would do such a thing, because if he were thinking he simply wouldn't do it. But when you get the combination of impatience and even a momentary thoughtlessness, you have the stage set for a horrible tragedy at a railroad crossing.

To my mind the cause of most of these accidents is just as simple as that, and I am more concerned about the remedy for the situation than I am at a loss to find the cause.

What is the remedy—can the railroads correct the hazard by improving crossing warning devices that will jolt a driver out of his momentary mental blackout?

I would answer that by saying the railroads with the cooperation of State and Federal authorities have been and are continuing to improve the physical situation at crossings as rapidly as they can. These things help tremendously, but the sad fact is that no known safety device, including signals, lights or even flagmen at railroad crossings, will provide a complete cure. I doubt that there is a motorist today who does not know the meaning of the standard cross-buck sign, which is the minimum protection afforded at any railroad crossing, but there are still hundreds and thousands, yes, even millions, who pay that sign no attention. There are far too many cases in which a motorist has pulled around cars waiting at grade crossings on account of the gates being down, or other safety devices operations, and has run around the gates, or crashed the red light, and sometimes almost struck down a flagman, in an effort to get across the track before the train arrives.

The crossing safety device has not yet been invented that will reach out and grab the motorist by the nape of the neck when he is ignoring all warnings and insists upon trying to cross in front of an approaching train. Nor have the railroads yet succeeded in employing a locomotive engineer who can reach out of his engine cab and shove the motorist gently off the crossing before the locomotive strikes him, or he strikes the locomotive.

No, whatever the warning device, we still have to contend with the motorist who is impatient and for a moment is not thinking.

For these people, possibly you or me tomorrow, I suggest that the sensible approach to the problem is exactly what we are doing here today. I am firmly convinced that with the cooperation of the motoring public, State, and local governments, law enforcement officers, newspapers and radio, civic organizations, and school authorities, we can go a long way toward licking this problem; we can make the motoring public railroad crossing safety conscious," and we can overcome thoughtlessness. But safety is not a 1-day affair. It is a 24 hour, day-in and day-out, year-in and year-out program of education that must be perpetuated in such a manner that it will reach all segments of the motoring public. The railroad man has dinned into his ears constantly all sorts of safety slogans, among which is: Eternal vigilance is the price of safety. Let us make our automobile drivers understand that too.

Safety cannot be legislated, but it can be instilled into the minds of our drivers through a constant program of education. That is where we of the railroad who are so vitally concerned with this problem need your aid. We do not profess to have found a panacea or even a solution, but we do think we are moving in the right direction.

In mid-1950, we inaugurated on the Coast Line what we call our grade-crossing safety program. This program, which is under the direction of our property-protection department, was designed to reach the motoring public in an effort to secure its cooperation in reducing grade-crossing accidents on our railroad. Members of the property-protection department make observations at grade crossings on the system, usually at a time when one or more trains are due, and when a motorist is observed flagrantly violating the ordinary rules for a safe crossing, the license number of the automobile is taken and the registered owner is written a courteous letter on an especially designed letterhead, calling attention to the violation noted and asking the driver's assistance and cooperation, as well as that of his family and friends, in making our grade-crossing safety program a success.

Since inauguration of that program and through 1953, we made 12,463 checks at grade crossings, and wrote letters to 247 motorists who were observed disregarding signs and signals. We feel that this program has had and will continue to have a good effect, at least in our territory, and that we will secure the wholehearted support of many motorists and their families. We have given this program wide publicity through newspapers, radio, in our schools, in addresses before civic organizations, and in participation in safety-minded programs such as this splendid gathering today. Results of such a program are intangible but we feel that it is accomplishing something. If even one life is saved, then our efforts have been well spent.

In addition to our program of checking motorists at railroad crossings, our safety department has been conducting a school-safety program. During 1953 that program reached 100,000 students at 110 schools. Here again we have no method of definitely measuring the effectiveness of the program, but we believe our efforts have been helpful. In our railroad-crossing checks that I mentioned a moment ago, not a single teen-age driver has been observed violating the rules of safe crossing. Regardless of whether our school-safety program is responsible, or even partially responsible for that record, we are encouraged with the result.

While we on the Coast Line recognize this problem of railroad-crossing safety to be one of the most urgent safety problems facing the Nation today, we do not regard it as being too formidable to tackle. We will never stop making every possible effort to avoid future railroad-crossing accidents. The silver lining to the dark cloud of crossing accidents is found in our belief that the American motorists are awakening—perhaps slowly, but, nevertheless, awakening—to the realization that railroad crossings are not the place for impatience and thoughtlessness. We are encouraged to believe that we are now in an era of stop, look, listen, think, and live.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a letter I have received from Judge A. F. Wells, executive secretary of the Lithuanian Council of Chicago, and a resolution adopted at special commemorative ceremonies by the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Speaker, February 16, 1954, marked the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's independence, and after due deliberations unanimously adopted this resolution, in which over a million Americans of Lithuanian ancestry have concurred.

The above-mentioned letter and resolution follow:

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF CHICAGO,
Chicago, Ill., February 25, 1954.
Hon. THOMAS S. GORDON,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GORDON: I am forwarding herewith copy of a resolution adopted at special commemoration ceremonies marking the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's independence.

I am sure that this resolution will be of interest to you in view of your expressed attitude toward helping subjugated peoples and your interest in stopping the spread of communism throughout the world.

More than 1 million Americans of Lithuanian ancestry join in this resolution and hope that the forces of evil supported and inspired by Communist Russia can be removed forever as a threat to world peace.

Very truly yours,

A. F. WELLS,
Executive Secretary.

Unanimously adopted, after due deliberation by the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, at the commemoration of the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's independence, held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Council of Chicago at the Ashland Auditorium on the 14th day of February 1954.

"Whereas the American people continue to believe in certain inalienable principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Atlantic Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations; and

"Whereas the people of Lithuania, firmly espousing the selfsame principles in their declaration of independence promulgated in 1918, have won their liberty by valiant fight against the oppressors and, during the 22 peaceful years, against seemingly insurmountable odds, converted war-devastated Lithuania into a prosperous and progressive country; and

"Whereas, in 1940, Soviet Russia, in conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in consistent and unilateral violation of all the treaties and declarations solemnly underwritten by it, vis, peace and nonaggression pacts with the Baltic States, occupied Lithuania and annexed her to the Soviet Union, and, in 1944, following the defeat of the German armies on the eastern front, again took over that country, in complete disregard of the wartime policies and obligations under the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations to which Soviet Russia is a cosignatory with the United States and other allied countries; and

"Whereas a major half of Europe, the cradle of modern civilization, and Asia, the most populous continent, lies today under the sway of lawless rule by the militant communism which, eagerly looking for new victims, is already rearing its ugly head in other adjacent areas; and

"Whereas the Communist conspiracy, by unprecedented and unorthodox methods, has infiltrated deep into the still free world, using any deceit or stratagem to further its ideological, psychological, or subversive attack upon every strata of free world society including education, art, press, labor, industry, agriculture, and government; and

"Whereas military preparedness of the free nations alone or together with isolated attempts to counter Communist aggression are not adequate to cope with the global Krem-

lin strategy and its unorthodox methods: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*—

"That the patriotic American citizens of Lithuanian descent of Chicago, Ill., having carefully reviewed the events of the recent past and the deplorable state of international affairs at the beginning of the year 1954, respectfully submit to the President, Secretary of State, and Members of Congress of the United States;

"That the Government of the United States inaugurate, in the true American tradition, vigorous and consistent policy to effectively confront the global and centrally controlled Kremlin conspiracy for world subjugation;

"That the Government of the United States utilize the American supremacy in political, military, and economic world affairs to the benefit of mankind by providing a wise and coordinated leadership to the nations of the Western Hemisphere in their struggle to resist Communist imperialism;

"That the Government of the United States enlist the cooperation of the great potential anti-Communist force, among the several hundreds of millions of the enslaved, by employing all suitable means and measures, but avoiding premature and abortive uprisings, to assist the subjugated peoples to coordinate their fight for survival;

"That the Government of the United States insist upon the sanctity of treaties, much advertised by Soviet spokesmen since 1939, and invoke the authority of the United Nations to demand that the Soviet Government conform its policies to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and United Nations Charter solemnly underwritten by it, as well as honor its prewar international obligations under the peace treaties and nonaggression and friendship pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with the Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, by withdrawing military and police forces and Communist Party apparatus from the occupied territories so that the people may freely fashion governments of their own choosing;

"That the Senate of the United States, taking cognizance of the barbarous Soviet practices applied against the Baltic and other enslaved peoples, immediately ratify the Genocide Convention so that the aid of the United Nations may be invoked in saving the entire nations from destruction at the hands of the Kremlin criminals; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Lithuanian Americans of Chicago, Ill., reaffirming their pledge of cooperation with the Government of the United States in its efforts to bring about peace, stability, and prosperity in the world, express greatest appreciation and gratitude to the President of the United States and his administration for steadfast adherence to the principles of morality and democracy in international relations and for the support extended to the cause of independence of Lithuania; to Representative CHARLES J. KERSTEN from Wisconsin, Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of the House of Representatives, both the majority and minority leaders of the House, other Members of Congress of the United States, and the leadership of both the Republican and Democratic National Committees, for encouraging the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in their hopes of liberation by the creation of the House Baltic Committee which will document and establish the pattern of aggression and enslavement followed by the conspirators of the Kremlin against the free nations of the world; to all other distinguished Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who, on numerous occasions, have lent their moral encouragement to and sympathy with the Baltic and other persecuted peoples.

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF CHICAGO,
ANTHONY VALONIS, *President*.
Judge ALFONSE F. WELLS, *Secretary*.

Europe's Steel—The Planners Are Ignoring Some Hard Market Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Barron's for March 1 has an article by Mr. Egon Kaskeline on the subject of the European Steel and Coal Community. This article sets out in clear focus a question that Congress must determine in the next few weeks in view of the fact that the European steel and coal community is asking for a million dollar loan for this pool which it is presumed will help finance a major expansion of heavy industry in six European countries that are participating in the pool. The author of the article raises a serious question as to the use of a million dollars of taxpayer's money when it appears that there is hardly a need for this money if the facts, as set forth in this article, are true.

The article follows:

EUROPE'S STEEL—THE PLANNERS ARE IGNORING SOME HARD MARKET FACTS

(By Egon Kaskeline)

Officials of the United States will sit down in Washington this month with representatives of the European steel and coal community to iron out details of a proposed $100 million American loan to the pool. The loan, which will help finance a major expansion of heavy industry in the six participating countries, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, and Western Germany, already has the blessings of the White House. In the view of President Eisenhower, it will foster the Continent's integration "in a practical and useful way."

Anyone familiar with the current European industrial scene must finds this a strange choice of words. It's true that the proposed loan might conceivably have some political merit if it pushes France closer to ratifying the long-delayed European Army pact. But whether such a credit will prove either practical or useful seems open to serious question, on two counts at least. For one thing, as Barron's has pointed out before, the money will be turned over to a central planning board—the so-called high authority headed by M. Jean Monnet—whose investment decisions will be guided less by the market than by some master blueprint. But more to the point, Europe at the moment and for the foreseeable future appears to be confronted not by a shortage of either steel or coal, but by a surfeit of both commodities.

The fact is that the "Black Pool," as the steel and coal community is sometimes called, is already seriously overexpanded. Ironically, this state of affairs is due to the workings of another and better-known global scheme, the Marshall Plan. In the postwar years under ECA more than $2.5 billion was poured into coal and steel in the community countries, raising the total of such investments to over $6 billion. France received the lion's share of this aid, $1¼ billion in all, enough to transform its obsolete steel facilities into modern, efficient plants and give it two new continuous wide-strip mills in Lorraine.

Largely as a result of the Marshall plan, steel production in the 6 western European nations increased from 29 million tons in 1949 to 44 million in 1952. The ambitious high command of the coal and steel community is aiming at capacity of 50 million tons by 1956 and 56 million tons by 1960. Yet last year, owing to a slackening in demand in both the domestic and export markets, steel output dropped to less than 40 million tons, and some of the newly modernized mills operated at barely 80 percent of capacity.

Since the turn of the year, moreover, there has been no sign of any pickup in bookings. The steel-export market, if anything, has grown increasingly unprofitable. For example, official export prices of merchant bars, which reached a record of $150 a ton in 1951, dropped to $87 a ton by the end of last year and are now quoted at below $80.

As a result, Europe's steelmasters are far less eager than the high authority to build new capacity on the Continent. In the past year or two, in fact, they have shown a marked preference for investing in steel capacity abroad. Largely with their aid steel production is burgeoning in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. Brazil's output, for example, is scheduled to rise from 900,000 tons a year to 2.5 million; India's from 1.6 million to 2.5 million; and Australia's from 1.7 million to 2.5 million. Other big projects are under way in Egypt, Pakistan, Colombia, and Mexico.

Similarly, the steelmaking raw materials of the community seem, if anything, overabundant. Coal is a case in point. A falling off in sales last year led to some production cutbacks in the fuel. Nonetheless, at the year end heavy stocks had piled up at pitheads all over Western Europe. And imports of American coal, which once poured across the Atlantic in great quantities, have dwindled to a comparative trickle. Yet the high authority is mapping out a 40-million-ton increase in coal output between now and 1956, from 240 million to 280 million tons, in spite of a lukewarm response from the industry.

The go-slow attitude of the mine operators, incidentally, seems justified not only by the dip in steel production, but also by the long-range prospects for coal. All over Europe, energy sources other than coal are multiplying—waterpower, natural gas, and oil. Italy's consumption of natural gas, for example, is now equivalent to 5 million tons of coal yearly. Germany has raised its crude-oil output to more than 2 million tons and is shooting for 3 million this year. France is receiving more and more oil from its interest in Iraq Petroleum and associated Middle Eastern companies. In fact, the competition of fuel oil with nationalized French coal has grown so serious that the French authorities now levy special taxes on it to protect their investment.

Iron ore, the other major steelmaking raw material, also seems to be in ample supply. The output of rich Swedish ores, as well as that of inferior grades in Lorraine and North Africa, has expanded considerably in recent years. Yet production of this raw material will be increased by 25 percent if the program of the Coal and Steel Authority is carried out. Small wonder, then, that Sweden's producers are upset at the idea. They feel that any forced-draft expansion of iron ore capacity on the Continent itself would serve only to displace rich Scandinavian ore, creating serious economic problems for the nations of the North without appreciably benefiting Europe's steel industry.

To counter the critics of his program, M. Monnet tends to take a long view. He argues that steel consumption in Europe is bound to rise sharply in a few years' time. In 1953, after all, per capita use of steel in the "Black Pool" countries amounted to only 430 pounds, as against over 700 pounds in the United Kingdom and nearly 1,400 pounds in the United States. Moreover, the proposed new investment projects of the Coal and Steel Community are aimed at cutting costs and prices as well as expanding output. Once prices can be reduced, steel consumption will respond.

In rebuttal, it might be noted that more steel is used in the United States than anywhere else, not just because steel itself is cheap, but because the prices of products made of steel are relatively low. Mass production and efficient distribution have brought cars and an amazing variety of home appliances within the range of virtually the entire United States population. These products now are major and growing markets for the metal. In contrast, Western Europe has lagged badly in the development of both mass production and distribution methods. This gap isn't likely to be bridged overnight.

Whether the Continent's long-range appetite for steel will actually increase as rapidly as the high authority hopes is thus debatable. But in any case certain conclusions about its projected expansion program seem justified. It will sink large amounts of capital into a sector of Europe's economy that is surely over-expanded at the present time. It will run a serious risk of diverting scarce productive resources into arbitrary and possibly wasteful channels. Finally, it will turn the high authority not into an agency for expanding markets, but for dictating how investment is to go forward. For the United States to contribute $100 million for such a purpose is surely a curious use of the taxpayers' money.

Address by Hon. Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., to Texas-Ex Association Annual Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK IKARD
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. IKARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very excellent and timely address delivered by my distinguished colleague from Texas, the Honorable LLOYD M. BENTSEN, JR., at the annual banquet of the Ex-Students' Association of the University of Texas held here in Washington last night, March 2, Texas Independence Day:

One hundred and eighteen years ago a small band of brave men with ideals and purpose put aside all hope for themselves and gave Texas to the future. One hundred and eighty Americans, gentlemen and rogues, schoolteachers and adventurers, lawyers and outlaws, united behind one firm purpose—freedom—and resolved rather to die than to be slaves.

Against odds of nearly 30 to 1 they stood squarely in the path of duty and flaunted their defiance to the tyranny they were called upon to face. They fought. They died to a man. And when the dark wind of March 6, 1836, fluttered the tattered standard of freedom on the ramparts of the Alamo, there was born from their death a symbol of courage, a magnificent rebirth of sacrifice and patriotism, reborn in each generation of Americans who learn of their ordeal. They lost their present to give us the future.

The Texas declaration of independence affirms one of the reasons for our Revolution—it was Mexico's failure to establish a public educational system.

The idea of a University of Texas is as old as Texas itself. The liberators of Texas declared "It is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty or the capacity of self-government unless a people are educated and enlightened."

To carry out this axiom an act was passed in 1858 to establish the university. The preamble of this act reads: "Whereas from the earliest time, it has been the cherished design of the republic and the State of Texas that there shall be established within her limits an institution of learning to be so maintained as to place within the reach of our people whether rich or poor, the opportunity of a thorough education."

Today our great university stands as a monument to the vision and the courage of those early sponsors of public education.

To me, the inscription emblazoned across the entrance of the Administration Building, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," is a challenge to our State, the Nation, and the world.

It has become obvious that truth today is a rationed commodity. Too long we have been content in this country with the platitude "These truths we hold to be self evident." Obvious, yes, to a free people—but not to those who head a censored press or listen to a censored radio. Yet over 800 million people of the world base their beliefs and opinions on such prescribed opiates.

Today we are faced with a tyrant more vicious than Santa Ana, more ruthless than Hitler. The sands have run out for pleasantries and day dreams; only the past is secure. The future is purchased by the present. We cannot get beyond danger without facing danger, recognizing it for what it is and acting bravely upon that conclusion.

To meet that danger, for the past 37 years and, in particular, since World War II, this Nation has advanced billions of dollars to our allies as economic aid, to make them self-supporting—as military aid to build up their battle potential and as relief, simply to keep their populations from sheer starvation. The program has had its full share of extravagances and busts, but in the main it has paid off well in results. Strong nations have been able to retain their strength. Weak nations have been bolstered so that they might still remain in the community of the free world, where, otherwise, they might have slipped behind the Iron Curtain. The emergency situation of extreme hunger has, in a large measure, been met.

What now?

The battle to save men's physical bodies is largely going our way. It is, by no means, over. Yet, control of the situation is on our side. The Soviet Union has found out, once and for all, the importance of the mighty resources of the American people, to maintain the economic stability, the military striking power, of their allies. While not entirely conceding the field to us, the tacticians of the Kremlin have transferred the pressure of their attack to a more vulnerable sector of our battleline.

They have recognized, just as we, that this country cannot indefinitely continue its economic support of other countries without endangering our own economic structure.

They have joined conflict with us in a much more nebulous field.

The men who drafted the Texas Declaration of Independence foresaw such a field of conflict and highlighted it with this key sentence: "Nations, as well as individuals, are amenable for their acts to the public opinion of mankind."

This is the basis of the current conflict between the Soviet Union and us.

We are above all engaged in a war of ideas, a struggle for the minds of men. Allies, regardless of how fat and sleek they have become, are of no avail unless they as individuals and nations are convinced that the fate of freemen rides with the destiny of the United States. They must of their own free will have the desire to stand with us in any threat to democracy.

In this battle, all is not going our way.

Let us look at this intangible factor which our forefathers chose to call the public opinion of mankind.

Since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, since 1918, the Soviet Union has engaged in an all-out propaganda offensive. Thousands of Communist books, tens of thousands of Communist pamphlets, printed in every known language, have flooded the world. With the coming of radio, daily Communist indoctrination material has crossed international boundaries.

It is not astonishing that Hitler should adopt the same methods when he came into power. Radio France and BBC sought to contradict and oppose this force. We, ourselves, when plunged into World War II, contributed to the universal deluge of words.

What was the result?

The minds of men, especially those in Europe, became immunized to all kinds of propaganda, whatever its source.

It is as if we had found a new insecticide to kill off the common housefly. The insects which escaped might build up an immunity to the preparation used and continue to multiply. The converts to propaganda, like the victims of an insecticide, dwindle in ratio to the immunity gained.

The "show me" attitude toward the swaying of public opinion exists in propaganda-satiated Europe. It has been passed on to the Asiatics.

How has the Soviet Union attained its present ascendency in the strife for the minds of men?

Examine the list of Communist puppet quislings, from China to East Germany. What do you find? Each satellite leader has, at one time or another, spent student years in the Soviet Union, usually in Moscow itself. These student-visitors did more than attach themselves to surface thoughts in their home away from home. They not only read Communist, talked Communist, and lived Communist, their brain-washed minds thought Communist.

Thus, the Mao's of yesterday—students then—became the satellite masters of today.

Yet, compared to our own efforts in this field, the men of the Kremlin were late in recognizing the benefits of student exchange.

In 1900 the Boxer Rebellion in China was quelled by the joint efforts of several Western countries. All the other nations whose property or nationals were injured by this uprising against the foreign devils exacted full payment for damages incurred. The United States deviated from this procedure. We estimated our damages and insisted that a sufficient number of Chinese students be educated in this country to make up for the entire sum of what we would have, otherwise, received in the form of reparations.

The State Department estimates that upward of 2,000 Chinese students were educated in the United States before the Boxer Rebellion funds were exhausted.

At this very moment, these former students form a hard core of Chinese resistance to communism, both on Formosa and on the Chinese mainland.

Last year the International Information Administration sponsored the exchange of 8,000 persons between the United States and 72 other countries. These people will study, train, teach, lecture, do research, or observe and consult outside their own countries.

This program has made progress, but it is not of sufficient size to meet the ominous threat of a like program now being manipulated by the Marxist bosses of Red Russia.

What does this mere trickle of visitors amount to in comparison with the major effort now being made by the Soviet Union?

It has been authoritatively estimated that, in 1953, this country spent $100 million on psychological warfare in all fields while the Soviet Union, in the same year, spent $1.5 billion. It would be safe to say that our entire psychological warfare program costs less than Russia's outlay for student ex-

change alone. There will be no lack of teachers for the coming crops of Red undergraduates because we have official knowledge that between 6 and 7 million persons in Russia are trained as propagandists and agitators.

With these facts in mind, it is increasingly evident that Russia is making an all-out campaign to capture the minds of the leaders of tomorrow in strategic countries. Just to cite one country, it is known that thousands of young Indonesians are being offered educations with all expenses paid in Communist-controlled countries. This is being repeated throughout Asia and Europe.

With this in mind, it becomes clear that the Communists need not necessarily win French Indochina by military aggression this year or the next. By educating the future leaders of that country in Communist schools, indoctrinating them in Marxist thought, and by sending them home to assume positions of leadership they can wear down French and allied opposition by sheer attrition. Yet the number of Indonesians educated in this country last year wouldn't have filled a DC–6.

And Indochina is only one country. There are other countries equally vulnerable to this Soviet threat. We have but to look at the confused thinking of some of our own soldiers who were POW's to realize the lengths to which the Commies will go in their brain washing.

What can we do about it?

First, we must realize that winning the battle for the minds of men is just as important as a victory on the battlefield—and results in a lot fewer gold star mothers.

It is an axiom of present-day diplomacy that the only language the Kremlin understands is force. Let us match force with force in the battle for men's minds. We are the originators of student exchange. We can, since there will no doubt be a justifiable tapering off of the vast outlay for our foreign-aid program, meet the Soviet challenge without impairing our national economy.

We should bring a minimum of 100,000 foreign students a year into the United States and enroll them in our educational institutions. At approximately $1,500 a year for expenses, the total would be in the neighborhood of $150 million—small in ratio to what we are now paying in aid to buy friends.

The cost of the program can be further curtailed and the education lengthened by furnishing transportation to these students in American naval vessels. We can exert a very powerful influence at a proportionately low cost in selling our way of government to foreign countries.

Our own university has been a leader in meeting this educational challenge by furthering a foreign-exchange program. It has by location and history emphasized Latin American students. It has not overlooked the students of other countries, however. At present our faculty and students represent at least 1 citizen from 61 countries.

Obviously there will be those in this country who would oppose such a program of educating students from other countries on the scale I have suggested. But the progress of a nation is always beset with problems and challenges. If it is to progress then it must meet the challenges as they are presented.

Progress is just like riding a bicycle. You have to keep going forward or fall off.

A nation cannot accept as an example the old fellow who was celebrating his 100th birthday. A newspaper reporter went out to see him and said, "Pop, I guess you've seen a lot of changes in that hundred years." The old gentleman said, "Yup—and I've been agin' all of them."

An example of the influence felt by even the present limited program is a Greek doctor educated in this country. After studying at the Mayo Clinic, he went back to Greece and opened a 70-bed hospital. This one man's hospital now serves over 40,000 Greeks a year.

We must avail ourselves of this opportunity to fight the big lie with the big truth. Our purpose must be to create a spirit of unity and strength among the free people of the world. To create a better understanding of the United States and to expose the lies of communism.

These foreign students will help us do just that.

They will eventually become our best ambassadors overseas. Our own experts often fail where people of their own nationality would succeed in spreading democracy. We know that a real dirt farmer is the best person to sell soil-conservation practices to his fellow farmers—that he succeeds where the Washington expert's advice often goes unheeded.

The best salesman for American democracy to an Asiatic is another Asiatic—and so it is for Europeans, South Americans, or other countries and nationalities. An American, visiting those countries, who tries to sell American democracy is looked on as a suspect.

Foreign students in our midst must learn the real America. Let's not just concentrate on universities like Harvard where a foreigner is a common occurrence. Let's distribute these students through the South, the Southwest, and the Middle West as well. Let them be taken into the homes of American families, live with American students in order to truly understand us. America is more than just a text book. It is a way of life.

We must be selective in choosing our students. Accept those with qualities of leadership in the fields of medicine, law, science, farming, business, and labor. When they return home, the student of our methods of production could lead enlightened labor movements, the student of agricultural methods could lead farm progress—and the lawyer promote our concept of equity.

This struggle with the Communists is not one that will be resolved this year or next year. We have some long, tough years ahead. How we live tomorrow will be determined by what we do today.

Just as the Alamo was a battle in the war for Texas independence, so was Korea a battle within the war against communism. In Korea we did not lose a war or win a war—but we are strong. We have shown that we will not succumb to the treacherous capitulations of Munich.

At the Alamo all was lost. It was the most complete military defeat any nation ever suffered. But who dares say the Alamo was in vain? For nothing? For out of the ashes of defeat came a story of freemen's courage which still inspires us for victories. Out of the stand of that gallant little band at the Alamo came the precious time for Houston to prepare his forces and select his battleground at San Jacinto. And, above all, out of the Alamo came the victory cry of Texans and Americans from San Jacinto to Salerno—"Remember the Alamo."

Korea will have been in vain only if we lack the fortitude to continue the struggle for the minds of men. Out of Korea has come the ageless courage of freemen. Out of Korea has come the time for us to prepare. Out of Korea has come the warning to us to make the most of that time.

Men have died there to give us this last chance.

In the Alamo a few hours before the final assault, Col. William Barrett Travis took his sword from his sheath and drew a thin line down the floor. He told his men what they faced. Certain death. But death for a cause. Then he said, "Those who came to stay and die with me, step across this line." All but one man stepped across that line of destiny into the souls of freemen everywhere.

We are faced with a similar choice, only we do not face the certain death which they faced. Rather than death we face financial sacrifice, belt tightening, inconvenience and the winning of the public opinion of mankind against despot rulers who would brain wash freemen.

History has drawn for us a line of destiny. We must step across it if we are to survive. Those who have gone before did not hesitate when the choice was theirs. The choice now rests with us.

With a heritage of liberty behind us—with the help of God—we must cross that line—and we shall not fail.

People Are Important

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEO W. O'BRIEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York. Mr. Speaker, my home city of Albany, N. Y., is in the midst of celebrating the 200th anniversary of the birth of the Union, which took place in 1754, at which time the First American Congress met to adopt a resolution calling for a union of the several colonies.

We have chosen national unity for our theme. The celebration began at the annual dinner of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, where the principal speaker was Richard E. Roberts, manager of employee relations, Ford Motor Co.

He spoke wisely and well about the necessity for a spirit of unity and understanding between management and workers and I should like to read into the RECORD some of his pertinent remarks. He said:

Industry today is definitely concerned about human values. We know that people are important.

Henry Ford II established human engineering as a basic part of Ford Motor Co. policy when he assumed leadership of our company in 1946. At that time, he said: "If we can solve the problems of human relations in industrial production, we can make as much progress toward better living in this country during the next 10 years as we made during the past 25 years through the development of the machinery of mass production."

Industry has learned that machines alone do not give us mass production. Mass production is achieved by both machines and men. The human factor is the most valuable asset of any industrial enterprise.

Machines, buildings, and equipment—all these can be duplicated. But the one element which cannot be duplicated is the unique combination of talent, skill, and experience represented by the men and women of an organization working together as a team.

Our idea of human relations is not visionary do-goodism. It is not a plan to present employees, in paternalistic fashion, with a "heaven here on earth." It is a hard-headed, realistic, businesslike point of view.

Clearly, the company benefits when the employee benefits—and so will the public benefit through lower costs and better products.

Too many people have failed to realize that in order to have more we must produce more.

It is our firm conviction that the best interests of the American worker, as well as the consumer and the company, lie in the direction of maximum production and productivity.

That is the surest road to low costs and prices and a higher standard of living for the Nation as a whole. It is the road to a healthy economy, and it is only in a healthy, prosperous and well-run nation that we can afford the highest possible wage rates and the steadiest possible employment.

I think you will agree that this conviction is especially sound from the viewpoint of the workers of this country. Maximum take-home pay, maximum annual employment—all the things that spell security—can be achieved only when a company is operating under the best possible and most favorable conditions.

What is needed today is industrial statesmanship instead of industrial antagonism. The public interest requires that we find ways to eliminate industrial warfare without impairing or diminishing the rights which both management and labor must continue to enjoy. We will always have some honest differences of opinion, but we certainly can deal with these on a more human and professional plane.

In this we must have the wholehearted cooperation of responsible union leadership. Union leaders today have the power to affect industrial production on a vast scale and if they are going to be real leaders, they must accept the obligations that go with leadership.

Capitol Shooting Blamed on Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to bring to the attention of the House a column by David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on March 2, 1954. The article follows:

CAPITOL SHOOTING BLAMED ON REDS—COMMUNISTS, USING PUERTO RICANS AS FRONTS, REPORTED CHECKMATED IN PLOT TO KILL EISENHOWER AND HOOVER

(By David Lawrence)

The Communist infiltration forces in the United States, attempting to use Puerto Rican fanatics as a front, have been checkmated in their plot to assassinate President Eisenhower and J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

For several weeks the existence of this assignment, as given to Puerto Rican agents in New York, has been known here, but it was not expected that an effort would be made to shoot up Congress.

The connection between the Puerto Rican nationalists and the Communists has been well established for some time. As early as July 1943, the American Communist Party issued a statement which said in part:

"We pledge our full support to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and to the complete unification of all the people of Puerto Rico and their various parties around the supreme task of achieving full nationhood.

"We will fulfill our pledge by rallying the people and particularly the labor movement of our country to Puerto Rican independence as a necessary precondition to correct relations with all Latin America and as an acid test of the Atlantic Charter. Puerto Rico must and will be free."

Within 60 days after the attempt to assassinate President Truman the convention of the national committee of the American Communist Party on December 28, 1950, in New York—the last of the Communist Party conclaves to be held—had in it a Puerto Rican Communist delegation, and this declaration was made:

"We place the responsibility for the bloodshed on Harry S. Truman and on his watchdog, Muñoz Marín, present Governor."

The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Congress, A. FERNÓS-ISERN, who has a seat but no vote, declared after the attempt to shoot up the House of Representatives that the whole thing was a "Communist plot," because even the extreme Nationalists knew there was no real issue about Puerto Rican independence. For commonwealth status has been granted, and the decision as to severance of all ties with the United States is in the hands of the Puerto Rican voters themselves. So he concluded that something else entered into the situation—a Communist effort to produce disharmony.

Certainly as the Latin American Conference is about to convene in Venezuela it is natural for the Communists to make a demonstration in the hope of convincing the Latin countries generally that the United States is oppressing a Spanish-inhabited country—a kind of "colonialism."

The shooting in the House Chamber came as a shock in more ways than the dramatic occurrence itself would indicate on its face. For it suddenly awakened official Washington in all its branches to the fact that the Communist menace cannot be pooh-poohed. Those who have insisted that security measures hereabouts were superfluous now will feel differently about it, and the one place where there has been great laxity—in and around Congress—may at last get the protection it has always needed.

The Puerto Rican Nationalists, like their brethren in the fanatical fold in other countries, are dupes of the Communists. The Nationalists start out with an emotional crusade in the cause of freedom and independence and are egged on by Communist agents who furnish the money and the brains for intrigue.

At first it was discounted, for instance, that the Nationalists of Iran had any connection with the Communists. But later on the plot became clear. In Guatemala today, the Nationalists insist that they are on their own in their anti-imperialist campaigns which take the form of bitter anti-Americanism. But the Communists are in the background. The British Government saw through the pretense when the same cry was raised in British Guiana.

For the Communists are fishing in troubled waters everywhere—in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, French Morocco, India, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and, of course, in Indochina, where they have taken over the movement for independence from the French.

Nationalism is a spontaneous affair as a rule, but the Communists furnish the guiding brains and supply the terrorists to complicate the situation. The murderous attack on the American Congress may have an effect opposite to that which Communist forces inside the United States counted on—it may stiffen the resistance and bring about the passage of even more restrictive measures than are now on the statute books with reference to the freedom of movement in America of Communists and fellow travelers who play a part in the Communist infiltration techniques.

Campaign and Conscience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the statements that have been recently made that the Democratic Party is a party of treason, I would like to include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by the Tampa Morning Tribune, of Tampa, Fla., which appeared on February 11, 1954.

I am particularly glad that this editorial speaks highly of the character of my two freshmen colleagues from Florida, the Honorable COURTNEY CAMPBELL and the Honorable JAMES HALEY, who live in that part of our great State in the immediate area served by the Tampa Morning Tribune. Congressmen CAMPBELL and HALEY, although freshmen Congressmen, have been effective statesmen. They are patriots and, in their common devotion to the best interests of the people, reflect the highest and most noble traditions of the Democratic Party.

Here follows the editorial:

CAMPAIGN AND CONSCIENCE

Politics in this country is getting pretty confusing.

Democratic Party leaders complain to the Republican President that Republican officials are making unfair attacks on Democrats—and the President says he'll tell the boys to be more careful.

What has angered the Democrats is the attempt by some Republican Party spokesmen to daub all Democrats with the red smear of communism, for the purpose of influencing voters in the coming congressional elections.

Senator MCCARTHY, for example, is going about the country making speeches on what he pleases to call "Twenty Years of Treason," referring to the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. One quote from his talks goes like this:

"Those who wear the label Democrat wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal. * * * [It is] a political label stitched with the idiocy of a Truman; rotted by the deceit of an Acheson; corrupted by the red slime of a White."

Some of President Eisenhower's own staff have been pursuing the same theme in more subtle fashion.

Attorney General Brownell, Postmaster General Summerfield, and Presidential Counsel Shanley all have pointed scornful fingers at 2,200 Federal employees fired as "security risks" since Republicans took office. The implication, which Democrats indignantly deny, is that all or most of these employees were Communists or Communist-liners. Democrats contend many of the 2,200 were free of any suspicion of disloyalty but were dropped because of excessive drinking, loose talking, or other reasons; that some had resigned voluntarily and were classified as security risks without their knowledge for the political purpose of building up a phony total of subversives.

It is, of course, grossly unfair to say, as Senator MCCARTHY is saying, that every candidate who runs under the Democratic banner must be held accountable for the blunders of Harry Truman, the failures of Dean

Acheson, the treason of Harry White. Would he presume to tell the people of Florida, for example, that Congressmen COURTNEY CAMPBELL and JAMES HALEY "wear the stain of a historic betrayal," hence must be turned out in favor of Republicans? It would be as logical to argue that their Republican opponents bear the guilt for the grand corruption of the Harding administration. * * *

It is no less unjust to imply, as Eisenhower Cabinet members have implied, that 2,200 Democratic holdovers were dismissed as subversives if, in fact, the great majority of them were not.

President Eisenhower has shown himself to be a fairminded man. We're sure he spoke sincerely when he told his press conference yesterday that he personally opposes "extreme political partisanship" and will advise officials of the executive department to avoid engaging in it.

But we have little hope that the President's own principles will set the standard for the campaign. Control of Congress and perhaps even the 1956 Presidency hang temptingly in the balance; any trick which promises to catch votes is pretty certain to be used by Republicans and Democrats alike.

The man who, more than President Eisenhower or anyone else, will restrain the extremists is the independent voter. Any tactic which outrages his sense of fairness will react against the politician who uses it. Of this anonymous conscience, let both parties beware.

Young People and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, recently an editorial from the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper entitled "Politics: An Honorable Profession," inserted in this RECORD, brought favorable comments from many readers throughout the country. For that reason I wish to pursue the subject further with the following two editorials. The first, entitled "Young People and Politics," is from the same paper; and the second, entitled "Poor Showing," is from the Los Angeles Examiner. Both deal with the importance of inculcating in young Americans the principles and ideals of our political structure.

The editorials follow:

[From the Long Beach (Calif.) Press-Telegram of February 23, 1954]

YOUNG PEOPLE AND POLITICS

Mounting concern over the apathy of a substantial portion of the American people toward political affairs is leading to a search for ways and means of inducing young people to become more politically active. A conference for that purpose was held in Riverside last weekend, with political science teachers, politicians and newspapermen discussing methods for interesting college students and college graduates in political participation. Pomona College and the Citizenship Clearing House of New York considered the issue of such significance as to justify sponsorship of the meeting.

About half of the Americans who are eligible do not register to vote. About half of those who do register fail to vote. One of the many reasons for this deplorable condition is no doubt a rather widely held cynicism about politics. It is certainly time to examine the practice of politics, and its treatment in our communications facilities, to determine what it is that fails to inspire confidence among so many people in our democratic processes.

It is especially important to develop a belief in the efficacy of our political system among young people. If they believe it works, it will receive their active interest.

An important development of recent years has been the formation of clubs of young partisans—Young Republicans, Young Democrats, and so on. In recent campaigns, there have been partisan groups operating on many campuses, or where this was not allowed, the students have formed groups with technical off-campus status. It is certain that campus interest in politics will be greatly stimulated if 18-year-olds are permitted to vote, as has been proposed by President Eisenhower.

But in addition to actual partisan activity in general politics, we believe there is another factor which can exert great influence in conditioning students for later participation in political and civic affairs. That is the opportunity for participation in extracurricular activities in high school and college.

A youngster who takes an active interest in the affairs of the campus community—student body elections, social events, organizations, school civic projects, fraternity politics, and so on—is likely, once out of high school and college, to transfer that interest to the affairs of his community, State, and Nation.

If that is true, those who direct our schools should be constantly striving to broaden the opportunity for participation in extracurricular affairs to reach the largest number. We imagine, on some of the campuses with immense student bodies, there are large numbers of students who get little opportunity to take part in these things. No doubt from this group come many of those adult citizens who are saying things like: "Why should I vote? What I do makes no difference."

So far as the schools are concerned, the process of producing citizens who will be politically active begins on the day a child enters kindergarten. He may not decide whether he is a Republican, a Democrat, or what have you before he leaves school—perhaps it is just as well if he doesn't. But if he becomes consistently an active participant in the affairs of his own school circle, it follows that once out of school he will be a person of civic and political consciousness.

Wise parents will help direct their youngsters toward the activities that will bring about this desirable result.

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of February 28, 1954]

POOR SHOWING

In many places of the Nation where he was "first in the hearts of his countrymen" celebration of George Washington's Birthday declined in attendance and patriotic enthusiasm.

At Los Angeles, for example, the official ceremonies were conducted before a handful of spectators that barely outnumbered the participants.

This is by no means the first time nor the only locality in which this has happened.

Every year audiences at patriotic observances get smaller, the ceremonies more perfunctory, the air of indifference more evident.

It is hard to take this as a sign that Americans have become less patriotic than their fathers.

Much of this listlessness arises from faulty education in the grand text of basic Americanism.

A generation that has only a sketchy idea of the Revolution's causes and results, hardly a notion of the travail in which the Republic was born, and no acquaintance with the wisdom and valor of its founders is little apt to give patriotic events priority over a day at the beach.

Nor is it to be lured from a day's leisure to hear speeches by officials whose ignorance equals their own in these matters.

A general reform is needed so that the heirs of liberty will fittingly celebrate and acknowledge their legacy.

This reform should start, of course, in the patriotic education of our youth.

It should emphasize an intimate knowledge of American history. It should be enhanced by awards and distinctions to students who excel in their grasp of American principles and ideals.

And it should be marked by inculcating in the minds of youth a decorous respect for those observances which, like celebration of Washington's Birthday, affirm the substance of freedom with fitting and proper rites.

Basis of United States Foreign Policy—Only by Understanding It Better Can We Take Part in Its Implementation and Formulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address I made to the Council on World Affairs at Cleveland, Ohio, on February 20, 1954, and an editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on the following day:

Mr. Chairman, members of the World Affairs Council, and guests, it is a very real pleasure and privilege for me to come before you on this February day—but two removed from George Washington's Birthday—a day which always offers fresh inducement to look at the government he set in motion with such a firm belief in its principles.

So great was the pull of all the thoughts that came crowding in upon me as I considered this opportunity to talk with you that I found myself quite unable to speak only of the United Nations. The more I attempted to keep within such a limitation, the more I found that my 3 months at the Eighth General Assembly had dramatically emphasized the fact that it is upon the United States, upon our strength, our intelligence and understanding, and upon our ability to deal with other nations that the strength of the U. N. rests.

Therefore, friends, I come to you with a slightly different focus, to talk to you about the whole broad aspect of the foreign policy of these United States—not from a theoretical aspect, nor from any narrow or regional view. I shall not apologize for it even though some may differ with it. Nor shall I applaud all of it—for we are a young Nation and perforce must make our mistakes and so learn wisdom.

It seems to me of great importance that the people of this great country of ours should know far more than they do of how policy is made and how it grows with use. Only by understanding it better can we who are citizens of this wonderful free land play our individual and collective parts not only in policy implementation, but also in policy formulation.

Logically the first place for us to start is to ask, "Just what is the objective of our foreign policy?" The answer is simple and all-inclusive: To protect the interests of the United States. Put in slightly different language and with increasingly broader implications: It is to preserve our democratic way of life—the aims and the ideals which have developed since our beginnings.

For us to achieve that objective, there are certain fundamental considerations that must be kept in mind. One might almost call them maxims of international politics.

The very first of these is an appreciation of the ramifications of our own political system. We live in a constitutional republic where the power of the people is purposely kept very strong.

This is demonstrated so clearly by the fact that under the Constitution the President has the responsibility for our foreign policy—but such treaties as the Secretary of State may make have always had to be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and any financial involvements have had to originate in the House. Unfortunately recent administrations, apparently sensing the fact that such ratification and implementation would not be given, resorted to making executive agreements which did not require congressional action. So, little by little, the power of the people to check executive action through their elected Representatives in the Congress was undermined. Secretly made and held secret, these agreements have proven the wisdom of the constitutional stipulations of Senate ratification. In spite of the unfortunately bitter debates that have been occupying the Senate for some weeks, it seems to be pretty generally agreed that executive agreements should be subject to the same procedures of ratification to which treaties have always been submitted. Unless the people understand and support national policy, especially in the foreign field, that policy rests upon quicksand.

A second major consideration in the protection of the interests of the United States and our free way of life is that of resources—raw materials, industrial, manpower, and military. Resources—materials which we must have for great economic and military strength and to give much comfort to the majority of our people. We are only one country among many—all recognizing the need of these resources. We must assure ourselves access to them that our resources of manpower and of industry may spell prosperity and strength. Nor must we fail to recognize the potency and power of ideological resources—we who possess the greatest ideological appeal of them all: freedom. That all of these resources must be available to us, should need arise, has been the constant theme of United States foreign policy.

You have only to look at our import lists to realize how vital this problem of raw materials really is. We import 99 percent of our nickel, over half of our tungsten, 91 percent of our cobalt, 96 percent of our manganese, 71 percent of our mica, etc. So whether we like it or not we are greatly dependent on others for strategic and critical materials.

Who can make machine tools without alloys? And without machine tools there can be no guns, nor tanks, nor planes to protect ourselves and the free world—nor can there be progress in industries that build peace.

So there must be constant consideration given to the securing of these crucial materials. The Russians have their own methods of procurement that we could not follow if we would. For us, the far slower method of persuasion is the way. It is interesting that at the moment most of the resource strength of the world is in the hands of democratic countries. More about that in a moment—and you cannot coerce democratic countries and get cooperation—that is certain.

The fourth consideration that must be kept constantly in mind is the possibility of general war.

We still hold that a general war is not inevitable even though we know it to be the final step in the Kremlin's plan for world domination. We will go to great lengths to avoid it, but we know that were the United States to take the attitude that we would not fight under any circumstances, Russia would move. So the constant question is how far a particular policy can be pushed without increasing the possibility of general war.

Our final consideration is that American foreign policy must be global. Whatever our desires in this matter, the choice has been taken out of our hands.

International communism threatens every country, not just one area or one hemisphere. That is the force against which all free nations are pitted and they look to the United States for help, indeed for leadership. Much as we may long to avoid it, the responsibility of leadership is ours, for we have demonstrated capacities for strength toward which all the world turns.

It would be comparatively simple if we could deal with the problem of communism as it exists in a country like France, for instance, bordered by Spain and Germany. But the Union of France reaches into Tunisia where there are air bases vital not only to us, but to the whole of Europe, the Near East, and Africa. Out across the world France is fighting communism on the rampage in Indochina, losing almost as many officers each year as she can train at her great academy of St. Cyr. And Indochina is a vital factor in the defense of southeast Asia.

I do not need to remind such an audience as this that international communism uses two principal techniques toward its aim of world domination—direct aggression and internal subversion. The possibility of direct aggression is very high in Yugoslavia, in Iran, and other countries which border the Iron Curtain. We have seen its forces unleashed in Korea and in Indochina. As yet, it has not become the method in the Western Hemisphere though communism itself has penetrated by subversion far into, if not actually taken over, the Government of Guatemala from which—in true Communist fashion—two reporters and a Franciscan priest were so recently expelled.

The rise and fall of the cold war tides in France; in Italy, in Iran are of constant concern to our State Department where daily decisions have to be made in matters great and small.

No matter where one goes—all over the world—the evidence of the Communist presence is felt. If the United States is to take its burden of leadership seriously, it must be aware of Communist techniques and be ready to counter its strategies. So in the interest of this great country of ours, our foreign policy must be a global policy and we the people must understand it and back it up.

If we are not on our toes, we will lose a little here and a little there, and before we know it, they will have these all-important resources we are concerned with.

I have spoken of the differing techniques used by the Communists. Yet there is a basic similarity throughout. To undermine, to divide, to create dissension, and then sit back while the inevitable happens, be it Malay guerillas in the tin mines and on the rubber plantations, and so forth, of the Far East, or agitators on the docks, on transport lines, paralyzing countries in Western Europe. Such is one phase of the enemy that talks of peace while he spreads the fires of destruction everywhere in the world.

Within this global aspect, and keeping in mind our major object of preserving our way of life—what is American foreign policy in specific areas?

Probably the best place to begin is with Western Europe, for we are more familiar with the concentration of effort and assistance given there. Also, we have but to glance at the distribution of the world's industrial production to realize how vital Western Europe is to the cause of freedom. It is estimated that of this production, Western Europe has 25 percent, the Soviet bloc another 25 percent, the United States itself 35 percent, while the remaining 15 percent is scattered about the world. Obviously, Western Europe is of the greatest possible importance—its 25-percent productiveness is a mainstay of military strength and ever increasingly better standards of living.

It has been difficult, this battle against internal subversion of the people of these war-torn lands. Our weapons have been the Marshall plan, the European Recovery Program, the specialized agencies of the U. N., to offset famine, disease, and soul weariness. Our aim: to bring the people to a point of desire to help themselves.

To meet the possibility of direct aggression, there is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Defense Community (European Army)—shields against onslaught. It was France that conceived the European Army as well as the Economic Union of Europe—requiring great vision, courage, and foresight. The tragedy has been that the deep-seated, almost pathologic fear of Germany has held her back from ratifying the European Army pact. Can we really blame her? Yet it grows clearer daily that an adequate defense system in Europe—our first line of defense—cannot be built without German manpower, resources, and industry.

Even while we recognize all this, we cannot press too hard on European France lest we jeopardize our own safety in North Africa and make it impossible for her to continue her far-eastern war. It was General Eisenhower, when head of NATO, who made it very clear that you cannot expect manpower and production from people whom you attempt to force against their will. But it was also General Eisenhower who pressed toward the fulfillment of the European Army idea that France originally proposed. It would seem as if the establishment of a European general staff would eliminate the fears of the renascence of an all-powerful military Germany. Yet Western Germany's ratification of the European Army plan has acted as a deterrent to France. But our policy, built upon the basic interests of the United States, has held firm over there in Berlin where Russia is trying to capitalize on French fears by baiting her with promises of a demilitarized Germany.

There are times when calculated risks must be taken. Our policy toward Yugoslavia is filled full of these—and yet should we fail to take them? A completely Communist state—but a possible buffer between Russia and the West especially now that she has joined with Greece and Turkey in a protective pact.

Now let us look at the Middle East, the historic bridge between East and West, as well as between feudalism and freedom—between yesterday and today—looking westward, but with little understanding of what they see and so with constant suspicion. But because its position is one of great strategic value, especially to the free world, the interests of the United States are tied into every move in the area. So it plays a role in whatever actual defense may be necessary should Russia enter into the last phase of her program for world domination. Think of the use made of the Suez Canal in both World Wars. Another vital factor in the

defense of the economic progress of the western world is the oil of the Middle East. The newly established wheels of industry in Europe, the processes of raising the standards of living, depend largely upon this oil—for Europe imports 85 percent of its requirements from the Middle East. We here in the United States have our own apparently adequate supply, but in Europe, to our partners in NATO, the need is vital. Indeed, as Africa opens herself to modern ways, she too is using ever-increasing amounts of this same oil.

So, in this bridge between the worlds, stability must be found. Somehow the many conflicts must be resolved.

It is not hard to realize that the impact of the intrusion of our 20th century civilization upon the 17th century political, economic and social structure in the Middle East was enough to shake it to its deepest roots. The transition is certainly difficult and could be dangerous, not only to themselves but to the world at large. And that transition is taking place, for good or ill. Unfortunately the matter of our leadership in the area is made extremely difficult by the fact that the United States is held responsible by the Arabs for the establishment of the Republic of Israel, whose existence they resent even though their wise men have accepted it. We are the whipping boy—and because of our position of world responsibility—we carry the major burden of finding ways to bring a new and lasting stability to the area.

No one factor is more constantly harassing than the tragic situation of the nearly 850,000 refugees, whose ultimate fate still hangs in the balance. Here again, the United States must use persuasion, patience, and above all—understanding. Israel, realizing that there can be no peace while these thousands of human beings are homeless and unwanted has taken a few first steps in the problem of compensation. At the same time, there are signs in several of the Arab countries that with a little help they will begin to move in on the problem.

So it is to the interest of this country to help the people of the area in their efforts to solve the tragic problem of the refugees and at the same time institute such programs as will raise the standard of living for all. For only by solutions to these problems can there be stability and peace in the Middle East.

Let us go now to south Asia:

This very ancient area of the world is going through new and difficult rebirth pangs. Its basic problem is to raise its standard of living—the lowest in the world. The worldwide spirit of nationalism is stimulating one country after another, bringing with it strong anticolonial expressions. We have new governments to deal with, governments with little knowledge of what it means to govern, yet burning with the fires of freedom from outside domination. India with her many languages and traditions and religions. Pakistan, Indonesia, Indochina, in the throes of war, and others. France, Britain, and the Netherlands have relinquished rights over countries which had been their sources of supply for several centuries. The first results of the withdrawal of the traditional governments led to what came close to political chaos in some areas. Guerrilla warfare and endless little political groups destroyed the unity these people must have to correct their basic problem: a very low standard of living.

But it is with these governments that we must deal—it is these people that we must convince of our sincerity—of our desire to see a new world rise from the ashes of the old. It is these earnest people, eager for self-determination, who are peculiarly open to the wiles, the promises and the insinuations of Communists. Somehow we must find ways to strengthen them in their freedoms before it is too late.

To best understand our true position in the world today, we have to look more deeply at three factors which I mentioned earlier: our position in military pacts, our position in the world's material resources, and our attempt to gain ideological resources.

The military treaty structure of the world paints an interesting picture. We are in the Rio Treaty of 1947, the backbone of Western Hemisphere defense; we are in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for the defense of Europe; we are in ANZUS, for the defense of the Australia and New Zealand areas; and we have specific military treaties with South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines; along with many informal military assistance programs with many other countries.

Looking at them all at once points out the vital fact that we are the only nation included in every one. We are therefore the keystone of the free world military defense. It is easy to understand now why the Russians' chief strategy last week at the Berlin Conference was to try to eliminate the United States from European pacts.

From the standpoint of material resources, we are the one country with sufficient resources to export a portion of them, both economic and military, to the whole free world. Therefore, our internal economic stability is vital to the economy and material health of the world. Here we are the keystone of the resources defense.

Thirdly, on the question of ideological resources, one of our most potent weapons is our participation in the United Nations. There, before the bar of world opinion, we explain our case, much the way I am explaining it to you today. There, in the bright glare of world attention, we can and do refute the lies of international communism—but, more than that, we can enumerate our aims and ideals, our hopes and our fears before an attentive and intelligent, though often suspicious audience. The United Nations is a battleground where words, and not bullets, are fired. Whatever its failings—and there are many—it is our last hope for peace, and the United States demonstrates daily to the world that it has no intention of backing away from any reasonable and honorable attempt to keep peace. Here we are the keystone in the battle to win ideological resources.

Therefore, to remove our participation in military pacts would remove the keystone of armed defense against communism; withdrawal from the United Nations would remove the keystone in the battle of ideas; and if our domestic economy weakens, if we cannot produce what we need of vital material resources, again a keystone is gone—this time the important stone which holds up the economy of the free world.

Such, friends, is the magnitude of this Nation's position in the world today. Can we refuse to accept the leadership of free people all over the earth whether we would or not? In every corner of the world, people hang on our words and actions for a clue to the next move in the death struggle with the common enemy.

I have tried to give you a picture of what this Nation's worldwide problems are and what our policymakers are trying to do about it. I hope you will analyze it and then ask yourself the question, "What can I, as a citizen of these United States, do?" I cannot answer that for you because it is a question which must be resolved in the minds of each of the 160 million people in the United States. But let me suggest that in view of what you know of the situation in the world, and what I have told you your Government is attempting to do, that your answer be guided by one major factor: that on our success and on our determination to be strong economically, politically, militarily, and spiritually, rests the preservation of our way of life in every part of the world.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of February 21, 1954]

SPOTLIGHT ON FOREIGN POLICY

In her survey of American foreign policy before the Cleveland Council on World Affairs yesterday, Congresswoman FRANCES P. BOLTON reminded her audience that "we are a young Nation and perforce must make our mistakes and so learn wisdom."

We are impelled to wonder often if there are not too many mistakes and little wisdom in the manipulation of American power, since the aim, to use Mrs. BOLTON's phraseology, is "to protect the interests of the United States. • • • It is to preserve our democratic way of life—the aims and the ideals which have developed since our beginnings."

The stated goals are commendable, but too frequently we are deflected from them by the way we do things. Being a blunt and matter-of-fact people we go ahead with a policy without consulting the people involved in its application. This may seem unimportant to us, but to the English, the French, the Italian, and others it can kill their interest in and enthusiasm for a policy and very often does.

Examples of this sort of operation are the failure of the United States to consult France on the Japanese peace treaty and its implementation of a boycott on strategic goods to the Soviet zone without bothering to inform England until the policy was in operation.

An area in which we have not yet profited by mistakes, ours or anyone else's, is the Middle East. Mrs. BOLTON dwelt at some length on this part of the world because of its strategic importance and because Europe obtains 85 percent of its oil supply from this region.

The Cleveland representative called attention to the general nature of the problem, when she said:

"It is not hard to realize that the impact of the intrusion of our 20th century civilization upon the 17th century political, economic, and social structure of the Middle East was enough to shake it to its deepest roots."

First, we do not agree with Mrs. BOLTON that Near Eastern civilization is 17th century—it has not advanced much since the beginning of the Christian era. Second, the impact of the United States, like the impact of Britain which went into the region after World War I, has been to make common cause with those elements which are trying desperately to preserve the outmoded way of life with its poverty, its feudalism, and its disease.

Were we sharp in profiting from mistakes we would ask ourselves why today Britain, which in 1920 was undisputed master of the whole Near East, now has one base left there, the bought and paid for State of Jordan. The answer, we believe, is that London paid no attention to the plight of the people. When she calls for the institution of "such programs as will raise the standard of living for all" in that part of the world, Mrs. BOLTON has touched the heart of the problem.

What is now proposed by Washington is the arming of some of these people whose contempt of the United States and the West Mrs. BOLTON is aware of, in the vain hope that they would fight on our side.

Prerequisite is solution of the basic problems of the area: Peace between Israel and the Arab States, settlement of the refugee problem now scandalously used as a political weapon against Israel and the institution of honest and stable governments with which we can deal.

Mrs. BOLTON has done a service by bringing into sharp focus some of the more important aspects of America's policy. Only thus can we as citizens "play our individual and collective parts not only in policy implementation, but also in policy formulation."

Senator Carlson Gives Facts on Proposed Postal Rate Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the proposed plan to increase postal rates will place an extra, and in some cases an insurmountable, burden on American business. It seems to me we are planning to balance the post-office budget largely at the expense of that portion of our population who supply the Nation's goods and services.

I am, of course, opposed to placing this burden on American business. I think it is unfair and may even put out of business many small merchants and industries. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an interview with the Honorable Senator CARLSON which appeared in the Newsweek magazine on February 15, 1954. Senator CARLSON has given this subject long and careful study and certainly there are none who question his sincerity and impartiality in the statement of the facts he makes in this interview.

The interview follows:

BURDEN FOR BUSINESS?—INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR CARLSON, OF KANSAS

(Business will pay most of the bill if Congress approves higher postal rates proposed by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield. He wants to boost rates on second-class mail by 42 percent, on third by 25 percent, in addition to raising the intercity first-class rate from 3 cents to 4. Opponents insist that such increases would drive many businesses to the wall and cripple others. For the past year the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee has been studying this whole problem. Its chairman, Senator FRANK CARLSON, of Kansas, gives his views in the following interview with Ernest K. Lindley, chief of Newsweek's Washington bureau.)

Question. Do you believe that further postal-rate increases for second-, third-, and fourth-class mail might force many firms out of business?

Answer. I believe that is all a matter of degree. It is my opinion that any additional increases in mailing costs undoubtedly would injure many firms now operating with marginal profits. Some of them probably would be forced to close down their operations. But just about all firms, and particularly the smaller ones, would have no alternative to reducing their operations. And that's where the danger lies. The Nation faces a great need for maintaining and increasing the national income, and hence securing prosperity for all. These second-, third-, and fourth-class-mail users are, generally speaking, in the business of merchandising, selling, and advertising. Any drop in their operations conceivably could decrease gross national sales, in which event the loss in Federal income-tax receipts alone would be many times any increased postal revenues.

Question. Has the Government allowed the ratemaking structure in the Post Office to become obsolete?

Answer. First of all, I do not accept the premise that the Post Office Department has a ratemaking structure. The cost-ascertainment system which the Department uses in determining the profit and loss of the various classes of mail and as a basis for establishing its case for rate increases has been under attack for many years. I am convinced that a sound and acceptable ratemaking formula is something that is badly needed.

Question. Do you believe that the day will come when the Department can operate without a deficit?

Answer. Yes, I believe that that can be realized. However, I am realist enough to know that it cannot be achieved overnight, or even in a year or two.

Question. Should the Department be reorganized as an independent Government corporation, such as the Atomic Energy Commission?

Answer. I question that it would be desirable for any service which is as close to the people of this country as the Post Office Department—and where the need for sensitive understanding and day-to-day contact through the people's elected representatives is so necessary.

Question. Do you believe all first-class letter mail should be transported by air? What would be the advantages? How successful has this system been in the trial runs between New York and Chicago and between Washington and Chicago?

Answer. I believe that there are certain advantages in transporting mail by air, but whether it is something that should be adopted for all first-class mail I am not yet certain. The advantages of mail hauling by air should be speed of service, but a minute is a minute, and a minute saved in transportation can easily be lost in local handling. The experimental air service has not been in operation a sufficient time to arrive at any really definite opinions.

Question. What problem do you think should be given top priority in any reorganization of the Post Office Department?

Answer. I believe that there are two basic problems which must be faced in the successful reorganization of the Post Office Department.

They both are of imminent importance and should be approached on an equal basis.

First, a clearly defined statement of postal policy by the Congress. The Congress should determine, once and for all, whether the postal service is to be operated as a business and, as a business, pay its own way; or whether the Department is to be conducted as a service to all of the American people.

The need for such a policy declaration is strongly recommended in the (civilian) advisory council's report to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Also, the development, at the earliest possible moment, of better, more modern methods and electronic machinery for the handling and sorting of the mails. The adoption of such methods and equipment would be a long step toward eradicating the postal deficit and at the same time provide greatly improved service.

Question. Would standardization of envelope sizes be an important factor in stepping up efficiency in the Department?

Answer. I believe that adopting a standard-size envelope, particularly for business mail users, would help increase efficiency and might even help reduce the operating loss of the Department. But I do not think such a regulation would make too much of a contribution toward these ends. It probably would reduce the time of the sorting operations in the larger offices. Beyond that I do not think it would contribute much. There are many other opportunities for improvement in mail handling where the returns would be larger and more apparent.

I do want to say again, there is no magic formula to solve all the problems of the Nation's postal service and the Post Office Department.

Keeping Liquor Tax High Costly to United States—Puritanical Spirit Prevents Lowering It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 20, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to place in the RECORD observations made by my friend, Ray Tucker, whose articles are printed in 250 newspapers. Ray has been laboring for good causes for 30 years as a member of the fourth estate. I am very happy to call him my friend:

KEEPING LIQUOR TAX HIGH COSTLY TO UNITED STATES—PURITANICAL SPIRIT PREVENTS LOWERING IT

(By Ray Tucker)

WASHINGTON.—Although criminal bootlegging of liquor cheats the Federal Government, States, and cities out of at least $1 billion of revenue annually, neither the White House nor Congress dares to sponsor a reduction of the excessive tax responsible for the bootlegging boom.

Their caution is due to the fact that a punitive and puritanical spirit—a guilt complex mixed with political cowardice—underlies our taxation system, despite repeal of prohibition many years ago.

Federal alcohol authorities privately agree with industry experts that a reduction of the present Federal duty of $10.50 a gallon on hard liquor would cripple illegal operations, including gangster sidelines. The record shows that illicit manufacture on a large nationwide scale did not begin until the $10.50 levy was imposed in November 1951 to help finance the Korean police action.

But even Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., who does not drink or smoke, in demanding a 50-percent cut in excise taxes expiring on April 1, excluded liquor, cigarettes, and gasoline from his preferred list. Treasury experts likewise dare not express their economic and moral convictions on this problem before congressional committees.

EXCESSIVE TAXES

Cigarettes, too, are regarded as falling into a slightly sinful and unmoral category by the honorables who frame and enact tax laws. Their sales had fallen heavily even before certain medicos' suggestion that they contributed to cancer. Excessive Federal, State, and city taxes, with resultant high retail prices, are held chiefly responsible for customer resistance.

Secretary George M. Humphrey argues that lower individual and corporate taxes will increase profits, incentives, and production, thereby reducing costs and stimulating retail consumption. That is the Eisenhower-Humphrey formula for preserving prosperity.

Mr. Humphrey applies this sound economic theory to everything from automobiles to anchovies. But neither he nor Capitol Hill extend this theory to a highball or a smoke. They are for more revenue but "agin sin."

BOOTLEGGING BONANZA

These uneconomic moralists appear not to have read official and unofficial statistics on the moral and financial evils of today's bootlegging bonanza, although they have been placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative EMANUEL CELLER, ranking Democratic member of the House Judiciary Committee. The Brooklyn member is one of the few who favors publicly a cutback in

the liquor levy from $10.50 to $6 a gallon.

Bootlegging is no longer a hillbilly small-scale operation although it had been driven to that state several years ago. Vast, heavily financed, and well-organized criminal syndicates have taken over this profitable business, as they did during the dry era. The largest stills are now found in urban tenement districts, not in the foothills of the Alleghenies.

LIQUOR PRICE WENT UP

In 1951, after the tax increase had raised the price of a legal fifth to $4 and more, the Federal authorities seized 20,694 stills with a manufacturing capacity of 33 million gallons annually. And for every still seized, the Federals figure that two remain in operation.

Furthermore, when the raw product is cut with coloring matter and other dangerous ingredients, the volume of moonshine sold to the trade is increased by 25 to 50 percent. Incidentally, 33 million gallons is almost one-third of the national consumption of the hard stuff.

STAGGERING LOSS

An illegal sale of 33 million gallons at $10.50 tax on a gallon amounts to a revenue loss of $346.5 million. This figure is a minimum because (1) it represents only one-half of total sales, and (2) it makes no allowance for additions of water, coloring chemicals, and even formaldehyde to the original run. Nor does it allow for the tremendous losses in State, county, and city taxes.

Curiously, another reason for the bootlegging boom is the fact that judges and district attorneys disagree with Mr. Humphrey and Capitol Hill. They still regard the illegal trade as a mere peccadillo. For the trivial fines and sentences they hand out are partially responsible for today's peak activity. A $250 fine or a 6-month sentence does not deter a guy who can make several millions a year on booze, because he pays no taxes to Uncle Sam.

Senseless Violence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., of Wednesday, March 3, 1954:

OUTRAGE IN THE CONGRESS

The outrage in the House of Representatives by armed assassins plotting to take the lives of Members of Congress to enforce demands for Puerto Rican nationalism cannot be dismissed as an act of fiery extremists as was the attempt by the same group of terrorists to kill former President Truman on November 1, 1950.

Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín, elected to his office in a free, democratic election, said then that the Puerto Rican Nationalists were being used as tools by the Communists.

Pedro Albiza Compos, leader of the Nationalists, had ample funds from a mysterious source at his disposal before the attempt to kill President Truman. The leaders of the Communist Party in the United States deplored the attempted assassination, but likened it to the Reichstag fire, claiming it was an effort to discredit the Communists.

Yet, with all the evidence that the Puerto Rican Nationalists were deriving support from Communists, nothing was ever done to track down the conspiracy and expose the whole plot.

The result of that negligence spurted in grim earnest from the guns of more Puerto Rican Nationalist killers in the gallery of the House of Representatives wounding 5 Congressmen, 2 of them seriously.

Police in New York seized a basketful of Communist literature and clippings, describing how the lives of prominent United States officials are guarded, in the home of one of the plotters. There is ample evidence that the Puerto Rican Nationalists are merely fronting for the Communist conspiracy.

The plot to kill former President Truman was hatched in New York's teeming hotbed of communism—the Puerto Rican colony. One of the would-be assassins killed in the attempt carried a letter from Compos directing him to lead the movement in the United States.

Indications this early are that the outrage in the House is to be passed over as merely the rash act of fiery Nationalists, leaving the real instigators unscathed. Every resource of the Secret Service, the Department of Justice, and of the congressional investigative powers should be brought to bear on this conspiracy. It is a job that should have been started back in 1950.

Communist support for revolutionary movements throughout Latin America and in the islands is not vague suspicion, but a grim reality. The 243 Members of the House who saw the shooting of 5 of their fellow Members must now be aware that they are faced with something more than an ephemeral conflict of ideas. They were placed for the moment in the deadly line of fire.

Use of the front organization to create distrust, anarchy, and fear is not new. The shadow of the hired gunman has fallen athwart the House of Representatives. The terror now boldly walks into the Halls of Congress. What next?

Report of Hon. Lester Holtzman of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I desire to call attention to an article which appeared in the Queens (N. Y.) Home Town News.

The last two paragraphs of the article are especially complimentary to the Honorable LESTER HOLTZMAN, a first-term Democrat, and a member of the 83d Club of the House of Representatives. The article was also high in its praise of the excellent report Congressman LESTER HOLTZMAN made to his constituency. I am more than happy that the report of this able, astute, hard-working colleague was so well received in his district.

The article follows:

COLLEGE POINT TAXPAYERS REVIEW HOLTZMAN'S RECORD

Have you received a copy of your Congressman's report to you on his activities on your behalf for the year 1953?

Congressman LESTER HOLTZMAN did mail you one, you know, if your name is on the 1952 list of his voting constituents. Because some of us are new in College Point and are therefore not on this list, some excerpts from the Congressman's report to his constituents were read and discussed at the last meeting of the College Point Taxpayers' Association by Sylvester Salamone, Vice President of the civic group. The printing of the report was not at the Government's expense.

Mr. Salamone pointed out that Mr. HOLTZMAN has introduced a bill in Congress recommending an increase in the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $1,000 and another which would lower the social security benefit age from 65 to 60. Since a Queens grand jury found recently that a pilot could not be prosecuted for violating safety regulations, Congressman HOLTZMAN has introduced an amendment to the Civil Aeronautics Act which would eliminate this immunity of airlines and pilots from criminal prosecution for their willful and culpably negligent acts. Other bills have been introduced aiming at minimizing of juvenile delinquency, protection against inflation, equalization of citizenship, and prevention of antireligious persecutions. Among 91 rollcalls in the first half of 1953 in the House of Representatives he answered "present" to 90 of them.

Mr. Salamone reported that he has sought the aid of Congressman HOLTZMAN on a number of occasions on behalf of the College Point Taxpayers' Association and that he has been gratified not only by the Congressman's sympathetic attitude toward the solution of problems confronting College Point but also by his habitual readiness to take action in these matters.

"What impresses me most," said Mr. Salamone, "is Congressman HOLTZMAN'S sincerity. He has kept me informed of every development in his activities on behalf of the association. 'Prompt public service with a a smile' seems to be the motto he lives by. I strongly suspect he is in love with his work."

Resolutions of American Jewish Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the American Jewish Committee, at its 47th annual meeting held on January 29–31, 1954, adopted a series of resolutions on matters of national import. Appended hereto are those I believe to be of especial interest to this body:

STATEMENT ON INTERRELIGIOUS COOPERATION

More than ever, the American people are turning to their churches and synagogues for leadership in resolving the complex problems of our day. Among these problems is the menace of communism.

Religion and totalitarianism are irreconcilable. Each of the three great faiths of the Western World has been subjected in totalitarian countries to suppression of its institutions and persecution of their religious leaders and adherents. They are, accordingly, united in their resolution to defeat communism; and the American people confidently look to their religious leaders for guidance in carrying forward this

struggle to ultimate victory, while at the same time preserving our traditional freedoms.

It is our earnest hope that as multifaith effort fruitfully proceeds in this area, as it has in other important areas in the past, the increasing cooperation among the various faiths will extend to other fields of social endeavor. Such joint effort can make an incalculable contribution toward forwarding a just and lasting peace among nations and toward eliminating many of the social evils which beset us as a nation.

The membership of the American Jewish Committee stands ready to render every assistance in this high endeavor.

STATEMENT ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

We recognize that during this period of crisis in the world's history there are grave threats to our Nation's security and to our basic fredoms. These threats to our democracy arise from two principal sources: The totalitarian concept powered by the Soviet Union and carried by international communism throughout the world; and the efforts of those who, while fighting this evil, either intentionally or unwittingly, are weakening the fabric of freedom.

We therefore reaffirm our established policy of combatting communism and we pledge ourselves to continue our program of action, education, and cooperation with other organizations in exposing and fighting this and all forms of totalitarianism.

We again express our grave concern over the damage being done to our democratic society by those, in high places or elsewhere, who disregard the long-recognized safeguards of liberty. Their actions not only subvert the civil liberties of accused individuals, but directly disable those in public service from performing their proper functions because of fear of unjustifiable interrogation and attack. Examples of this demoralization exist in both our foreign and domestic services. This process, if unchecked, would lay the foundation for a society in which all men must think with one mind, speak with one voice, and act under the compulsion of fear. This demoralization of independent thought and action is now in danger of spreading to private and community institutions essential to democratic living.

We therefore propose that the American Jewish Committee continue and expand its program in defense of our basic liberties and we urge all Americans and our Government not only to act vigorously to root out the threats of communism, but also, with like vigilance to counteract all infringements of individual freedom and other practices which tend to convert our democracy into a regimented society.

STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Discrimination on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin, violates the ideals upon which our country is founded, weakens our unity at home, impairs American prestige abroad and lends itself to exploitation by our country's enemies.

As the result of both voluntary and governmental action, the extent of such discrimination has been significantly reduced in recent years. Nevertheless increased activity in this area is indispensable if the American ideal of equal rights for all is to be realized.

The American Jewish Committee will continue to cooperate with other like-minded organizations in an intensified program to promote full equality of opportunity in education, employment, housing, and public accommodation for all Americans, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION

We reaffirm our objection to the McCarran Act of 1952 on the grounds that it is a law of exclusion rather than of immigration; that it is based on un-American racial premises; that it establishes unnecessarily harsh rules for deportation without adequate procedural safeguards; and that, contrary to American principles, it creates invidious distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens.

We urge the Congress to adopt an enlightened and liberal immigration and nationality policy in order to bring this vital aspect of American life into consonance with traditional American ideals and principles, and thus advance our relations with the other nations of the free world. The American Jewish Committee reiterates its determination to promote this objective.

RESOLUTION ON THE 1949 STATEMENT OF VIEWS

An ad hoc committee on Israel having been established by the administrative committee for the purpose of reappraising the position of the American Jewish Committee with respect to Israel, in the light of the events which have occurred since the adoption of the 1949 statement of views, and the ad hoc committee having recommended that this statement continue at this time as a statement of our basic policy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this 47th annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee reaffirms its adherence to the statement of views adopted on January 23, 1949, at the 42d annual meeting.

STATEMENT ON ISRAEL AND THE NEAR EAST

More than 5 years ago armistice agreements were concluded between the Arab states and Israel; the United States recognized the State of Israel; and shortly thereafter Israel was admitted as a member of the United Nations. It was the universal hope and expectation that the passions aroused by the armed conflict in the Near East would subside and that the armistice agreements would lead to peace.

This has not happened. Instead the situation in the Near East has been steadily deteriorating. Violence has prevailed on both sides of the border. The boycott and blockade of Israel by its Arab neighbors have been tightened and extended until they now include not only the Suez Canal but the Red Sea as well, while the armistice agreements are being weakened under the impact of mutual accusation and recrimination.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union exploits the growing tensions as evidenced by its veto in the Security Council of the resolution on the Jordan River project submitted by the United States, Great Britain, and France.

By the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, the United States, Great Britain, and France guaranteed the inviolability of the present boundaries. In this growing crisis it becomes the duty of these powers to take measures which will reduce the friction between the Arab states and Israel and then bring about peace between them.

American interest requires peace and stability in the Near East. To grant arms to any nation which has not shown a genuine desire to live at peace with its neighbors defeats this interest. To give arms in the present situation will only bolster intransigence and extremism as exemplified by the recent inflammatory utterance by the King of Saudi Arabia that the Arab countries should be willing to sacrifice 10 million Arab lives in order to exterminate Israel. Only under conditions of amity and cooperation will it be possible to find a humanitarian and realistic solution to the Arab refugee problem which is an urgent concern to all civilized people.

The countries of the Near East need the friendly aid of the United States politically and economically in order to bring stability and a rising standard of living to the whole region. The regional approach taken by our Government, both in the past and at present, for the development of the water resources of the region for the mutual benefit of all its inhabitants, Arab and Israeli, represents constructive American statesmanship.

We are convinced that it is in the interest of the United States to continue economic aid to the nations of the Near East and to intensify its efforts for the establishment of a lasting peace in this vital area.

The Right Way To Fight Internal Subversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to include an editorial from the New York Times of February 25, 1954, entitled "A Contrast in Method," and to commend it to the attention of this body.

I am certain many of my colleagues, and many people throughout our country, were very pleased by the recognition granted the work of the Subversive Activities Control Board in this editorial. There may be many methods of fighting communism and internal subversion in our country—but there is no doubt that the method pursued by the SACB is the method consistent with our American tradition.

The editorial follows:

A CONTRAST IN METHOD

While congressional committees chase the headlines in the guise of chasing Communists, there is a duly constituted arm of the United States Government that, little known to the public, is quietly proceeding in its task of bringing under legal restraint what is left of the internal Communist conspiracy. This is the Subversive Activities Control Board, which has recently been holding hearings in this city that afford striking contrast to the irresponsible sideshows staged so frequently in Washington.

The SACB was established by the Internal Security Act of 1950 to determine whether organizations cited by the Attorney General as Communist or Communist-front are sufficiently under Communist domination to warrant their registration in accordance with the terms of the law. If the Board holds that they are, and its findings are sustained by the courts, the organizations become subject to heavy disabilities. These include submission of annual financial statements, a declaration on all their publications and broadcasts that they are Communist-action or Communist-front, a prohibition against Federal employment, and a ban on passports for any of their officers or members, and so forth. As its first case, the Board, after extensive hearings, placed the Communist Party itself in this category. This ruling has been carried to the United States Court of Appeals, but meanwhile hearings on several other organizations have gone forward.

There is much about the Internal Security Act with which this newspaper has found serious fault, including its very broad language that we have feared might enmesh political organizations espousing unpoular causes that have little or nothing to do with communism. In this respect the dangers inherent in the act constitute as much a potential threat to civil liberty today as they did when the measure was passed over President Truman's veto more than 3 years ago. However, the one definitive finding that the Board has thus far made—namely, that the Communist Party is a subsidiary and puppet of the Soviet Union and subject to the restriction of the law—is unexceptionable. The Board could have sensibly come to no other conclusion.

What is particularly important to note at this time is that the Board has conducted its proceedings—most recently those in New York last week on the Labor Youth League—with dignity, decency, and decorum. Here no television carnival, no playing for the grandstand, no cheap theatrics are involved. It is refreshing to turn from the antics of self-serving publicity-seekers to the work of an unspectacular Government agency seriously concerned with controlling the Communist conspiracy.

Charity Begins at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I see the United States Department of Agriculture has not given up on its idea of disposing surplus products to countries behind the Iron Curtain, at knock-down, give-away prices. I do not think the people of America, who, in reality, foot the bill in taxes for these subsidized products, are going to take too kindly to this proposition.

In the first place we have hundreds upon hundreds of families in America where the breadwinner is unemployed. Certainly they should have consideration in any program of disposal of surplusage by our Government. Again there are thousands upon thousands of marginally employed workers today in our country, people who are only gainfully employed several days a week. They should be given consideration also.

When the needs of our Nation have been well and amply provided for, that is time to look elsewhere for the distribution of those surplus products.

Of course, the proposal of the Agriculture disposal program to Russia's satellites only serves to focus attention on the whole proposition of trade with the Soviet-dominated world. Britain, as we know, is rushing into Russia's arms with indecent abandon in the effort to promote East-West trade. The British Government accompanies all such proposals with the ready explanation that it means to stop short of trading in strategic materials. I must confess, Mr. Speaker, that this stumps me. I don't know how you can draw the line and say what is strategic and what is not. It seems to me that anything that sustains the Soviet regime, that enables it to keep in power, to increase its hold on captive states, anything that does this, is essentially strategic.

Because others appear ready and eager to trade principles for profits is no reason why Uncle Sam should abandon the moral basis upon which this Nation opposes and contests the tenets of atheistic communism.

There is much being proposed, Mr. Speaker, in the name of international trade these days that needs to be scrutinized. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of this body to the following communication from Mr. Thomas Kennedy, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America, to Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of the Studebaker Corp., at South Bend, Ind., in which we gain some valuable insights into several aspects of modern international trade:

FEBRUARY 18, 1954.

Mr. PAUL G. HOFFMAN,
Chairman of the Board, Studebaker Corp., South Bend, Ind.

DEAR MR. HOFFMAN: I have just read your article entitled "Suicide by Tariff" in the February 23 issue of Look magazine.

The first paragraph of your article is as follows:

"As we sat in my hotel room in Berlin, a German economist said: 'You Americans baffle me. You praise free enterprise. You know how much the American consumer gains when manufacturers really compete at making better products for lower prices. Yet you put up tariff walls against import goods that Americans need and want. The result is that Americans are obliged to buy domestic goods when they could get the same things better and cheaper from overseas. Does your idea of competition stop at the border?'" And then you say, "I could not deny his logic."

If you had considered all the facts, I think you could have easily denied the above. I was in Western Germany recently and found that American coal can be placed in Hamburg in successful competition with the Ruhr Valley coal, but it is impossible to do because the Federal Government of Western Germany refuses to grant an import license for such imports.

A recent Associated Press story from Luxembourg stated that Belgium had initiated a trade agreement with Russia involving purchase of 60,000 tons of Russian anthracite. In this connection it may be pertinent to ask if Belgium is using American dollars to cover this trade agreement, and why Welsh anthracite could not be purchased from Great Britain or from the United States as cheap as it could be bought from Russia.

It may also be fair to ask if subsidies are part of the international trade-relations program, or apply to any European nation, such as Russia and other countries, where nationalization of industries is in effect. Moreover, the various countries participating in the Marshall plan have been and are still buying Polish coal—which is really Russian coal. Have they used American dollars to purchase this coal?

Based on the foregoing facts and with some little knowledge of international trade, particularly as it relates to coal, it is my judgment that free trade or lower tariffs is a one-way street and the only country moving along this street is the United States of America. For instance, England refused to join the Schuman plan because it might damage its export trade and adversely affect wage scales in England; various South American countries have instituted import licenses and quota systems against American goods and commodities, and waste residual oil from Venezuela is indiscriminately dumped on our eastern seaboard in violation of every concept of reasonable competition with both liquid and solid fuels produced in this country.

In commenting on the Randall Commission report, which you refer to and evidently approve, I would say that the dissenting opinions of various members of that Commission make out a better case than the majority report which favors the Randall policy and dovetails with your views. It is quite difficult to make adequate comment on your article in a brief letter, but I think it is reasonable to make the observation that you should refrain from writing additional stories on tariffs unless you give consideration to all available facts related to this involved subject.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS KENNEDY,
Vice President.

Every fairminded person will agree, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Kennedy presents a well-reasoned, soundly set-forth case. I am particularly struck by Mr. Kennedy's question as to whether our own American dollars are being used as economic tools against us in this game of international trade. In like manner, I am impressed by his stress on the dumping of residual fuel oil on our eastern seaboard and its detrimental effect upon the coal industry of this country.

It would be well for all of us to bear in mind, Mr. Speaker, that if this body approves the St. Lawrence seaway and it becomes a reality, then the flow of this residual fuel oil into the United States will be greatly increased and the harm it is doing to the coal and domestic oil industry will be gravely aggravated. We might also ponder well the probable additional effects of the seaway on other industries as the dumping of foreign goods is accelerated. Who knows how many products of Soviet slave labor will eventually find their way through the seaway doors to destroy the base of American industrial production and thus help promote the economic collapse which the top Soviet strategists await as the hour to launch their most aggressive assault. I commend these considerations to my colleagues as worthy of their best thought.

A Hero Dies in Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, a well-deserved tribute, printed originally in the Baltimore Sun, but reproduced in the New Orleans Item, New Orleans, La., is the editorial entitled "A Hero Dies in Louisiana." Lt. George G. Jeffries, of Frostburg, Md., was one of the Nation's immortals, giving his life in an action above and beyond the call of duty and saving the lives of innumerable people in Louisiana. In such an action of rare courage and sacrifice we from Louisiana properly add our word of deep appreciation.

The article follows:

A Hero Dies in Louisiana

Once in a while a man must make a great moral decision which is also a decision for life or death. For Lt. George G. Jeffries, of Frostburg, Md., the decision came in a Navy airplane over Lake Charles, La. The plane was falling and threatened to crash into a thickly populated residential section of the city. Lieutenant Jeffries could have bailed out and saved his own life. He didn't have much time to decide; but then, men who can make the right decision in crisis like this don't need much time to decide. Lieutenant Jeffries stayed with his plane, cleared the city with it, and died as it crashed in a ricefield. His family, in their loss, can know that he died for others, and can be very proud of him. The Navy and the Nation are proud of him, too.

A Postscript to the Hvasta Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of the membership of this body the comments which appeared in the Merry-Go-Round column in the Newark Star Ledger of February 28, 1954. The remarks which follow credit our distinguished colleague from New Jersey, Mr. RODINO, with doing much to keep the State Department from forgetting about the plight of John Hvasta while the latter was imprisoned by the Communists in Czechoslovakia.

There is little doubt but that the diligence on the part of our colleague from New Jersey aided to a large extent in furthering the solution of this problem, and in enabling Mr. Hvasta to become reunited with his family in our country. I believe that this service rendered by our colleague, Representative PETER RODINO, warrants due recognition.

The article follows:

Drew Pearson's Washington Merry-Go-Round

Hvasta, the New Jersey ex-GI who miraculously escaped from a Czechslovak jail was riding past the Capitol Building the other evening. It was the first time he had ever been in Washington, and the Capitol dome, under scrutiny of the searchlights, stood in magnificent silhouette against the horizon.

"It certainly gives me a thrill to see that," Hvasta remarked. "I've heard about the buildings here in Washington, but there were times when I never expected to see them.

"People in Czechoslovakia don't get much of a thrill out of their buildings, especially Government buildings," he added. "In fact, they don't get any thrill out of their Government. But here you do. At least I do, and I think most people do. We may cuss out our Government, but we appreciate it just the same. In Czechoslovakia you can't even cuss."

Hvasta was loath to talk in a TV interview about his experiences in the country where he spent 4 years in jail, plus 2 years in hiding. But the fact that he was able to hide out for almost 2 years among the Czech people he attributes to just one thing: their regard for America and their dislike of the Communist regime.

"The word 'American' is a passport in Czechoslovakia," he said, explaining to me how he was able to travel 200 miles from his prison in Leopoldov to the American Embassy in Prague. "I never would have been taken in by Czech families along the way had I not been an American."

Hvasta was greatly interested in the freedom balloons which this writer helped to launch from the German border into Czechoslovakia 3 years ago, carrying messages of hope and friendship.

"I heard about the balloons though I didn't see any," he said. "What the people there need is exactly this kind of encouragement. All the people behind the Iron Curtain are strong for America, but they have to be reminded that we have not forgotten them. We have far more friends than we realize, but we don't take advantage of that fact."

Hvasta was interested to hear that Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois, had introduced a bill providing $2 million to send food by balloons behind the Iron Curtain. Congressman RODINO, of Newark, N. J., the man who did so much to keep the State Department from forgetting Hvasta's plight, told him that he was introducing a companion bill in the House of Representatives.

Problems Affecting the Welfare of Metal-Trade Workers in the Various East Coast Naval Shipyards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, a matter of some importance has been called to my attention by a representative of the East Coast Metal Trades District Council. It is a situation that should be corrected, in justice to both enlisted men in the Navy and civilian workers in the naval shipyards.

The East Coast Metal Trades District Council is an organization of over 100 affiliated AFL local unions in the various east coast naval shipyards. The executive board of the council has been in session for the past several days considering problems affecting their members. It has been agreed that perhaps their most important single problem is concerned with the practice of assigning work normally done by civilians to Navy service personnel. That the problem is vital to the civilian workers in the naval shipyards is easily shown. For example, during the past month at the Norfolk shipyard job orders involving over 17,000 man-days of work were canceled and the work assigned to service personnel. The East Coast Metal Trades District Council has the names of the ships and the number of the job orders which were canceled and will make them available to any interested party. When it is considered that most of the work done by the crews of naval ships undergoing repair or overhaul at naval shipyards is assigned to them immediately upon arrival of the ships, and therefore never appear on job orders, it becomes evident that the total amount of work done by the ships' force during the past month at Norfolk which could have been done better and cheaper by civilian workers is at the very least 3 to 4 times the 17,000 man-days listed above which are a matter of record.

Of course, this condition is not confined to the Norfolk Shipyard. Representative from each of the East Coast Naval Shipyards attended the meeting of the Executive Board of the Council and it was agreed that this is a problem common to all naval shipyards. When you consider the amount of work done by Navy repair ships and tenders in addition to the work done by ship's personnel in shipyards it is clear that well over 50 percent of the repair and overhaul work on Navy vessels is done by service personnel.

The Metal Trades Council maintains that all this work could be done better and cheaper by civilian workers. The expense involved in training and maintaining a serviceman under present conditions makes him one of the most expensive workers in the country. This is not to be considered in any way as a criticism of Navy personnel. Their primary function is to operate the fleet and to train for maximum effectiveness in the event of war. The past record of the Navy proves that they do a magnificent job. However, to take these men who are trained to operate the Navy ships and attempt to make them fully qualified shipyard craftsmen is an inefficient utilization of manpower which causes extra expense, improper work, and unnecessary accidents.

If I were to attempt at this time to fully document the statement that the use of servicemen doing civilian work results in extra expense, improper work, and unnecessary accidents it would require hours of time. What I would like to do is to outline typical examples of the type of incidents which result from this practice.

For example, take the matter of additional expense. In addition to the items of maintenance, clothes, hospitalization, training, pensions, and so forth, which must be considered in computing the final cost of such work we would have to consider such typical jobs handled by servicemen as the following: On the U. S. S. *Coral Sea* at Norfolk—job order 16–127–4812—the crew fabricated 24 sections of 3½- and 4-inch bilge drainage pipe, approximately 170 feet. The job was not done properly and had to be renewed by the pipe shop. Since the shipyard had not done the work originally they were not aware that the job was faulty. An order to the shipyard to do the job was not issued until 7 days prior to the completion date. This late planning caused by the ship's force attempting the work resulted in overtime work to complete the work on time. Just the cost of the material ruined on this job was $253.20—170 feet of pipe at 84 cents per foot plus 48 flanges at $2.30 each.

At Charlestown, S. C., a job order—08–236–1601—was issued January 22, 1954, which instructed the ship's force to repair interior watertight doors. The

doors were disassembled by the ship's force and the parts were cleaned and thrown in a large box. The parts were not tagged or identified in any way and at the present time are lying jumbled in the box. It will require many extra days work to sort out these parts, identify and reorder damaged parts, and reassemble the doors. The shipyard's civilian workers will almost certainly be called on to do the job at the last minute.

On the *LST 664* at Norfolk the servicemen undertook a routine job of cleaning fresh-water tanks which had been coated with zinc dust. As a result of neglecting safety precautions 18 of the men were sent to the dispensary to be checked for lung trouble.

The unsafe practices resulting from assigning inexperienced servicemen to ship repair work is further proven by the following excerpts from the safety bulletins put out at the Boston naval shipyard recently. The first quotation is from the January 25, 1954, bulletin. It reads as follows:

Recently Joseph J. Maschella, plumber, was burned by hot steam when a wood plug driven into the end of a steam condensate line blew out, permitting steam to escape into the forward engineroom of the E-PCE(R)-850 on pier No. 7. The plug had been installed by the crew about a week before and blew out when steam was turned into the line.

The second item is taken from the issue of the same bulletin dated February 8, 1954, and reads as follows:

Last week several members of the crew aboard the U. S. S. *Roberts* started to remove a bleeder valve from a 3-inch steamline in the No. 1 engine in the No. 1 fireroom. When the valve flange was unbolted the residual pressure in the line forced the joint open and a blast of steam burned the machinist mates performing the work.

As far as the overall operations of the Navy are concerned the three jobs listed above are minor. However, these cases can be multiplied by hundreds in each of the naval shipyards. An impartial study conducted by a congressional committee would reveal that the general conditions outlined above exist.

Actually the problem has actually gone further. The Navy is now using enlisted men, it seems, whenever and wherever it is possible to replace civilian workers. On the U. S. S. *Wacamaw* in Boston a job estimated at 65 man-days issued to the laborers to clean a number of tanks was canceled when the ship decided to have prisoners on board do the work instead. Further, in the past week a busload of prisoners from the First Naval District have been brought into the Boston shipyard daily and put to work on various ships, including the U. S. S. *Manuel*, the U. S. S. *Mullany*, and the U. S. S. *Baltimore*, doing work which has been assigned to civilians in the past.

At Norfolk shipyard recently members of the Metal Trades Union noted job order No. 62-025-5002 issued to repair 6,000 type A drawer stowage which had been made three-eighths of an inch too short. Upon questioning they were told that the drawers had been made in a Federal penitentiary.

At Portsmouth, N. H., the prisoners run a print shop which prints 10,000 copies of the monthly shipyard paper in addition to many of the standard forms used in the shipyard.

We are familiar with the viewpoint that argues that since the funds available for shipyard work is limited the curtailment of servicemen doing civilian work would not result in any additional work for the shipyard. This view ignores the basic cause of the situation outlined. At the time budget allocations are made to cover the cost of operating the fleet and the shipyards to service the fleet, the Navy estimates its manpower requirements for both servicemen and civilian workers. It is at that time that manpower ceilings are fixed, after which the Department is bound by its own ruling. It is also at that time that the weight of the labor force represented by the enlisted personnel makes itself felt, and that these misassignments of work are conceived.

It is the position of the Metal Trades Union that the Department estimates should be based on the principle that civilian workers should be employed wherever possible to free military personnel for primarily military duties. If this principle is followed we will not run into the situation where funds available for the shipyards are exhausted while servicemen are available in large numbers to do work which can be done better, safer, and cheaper by civilians.

It is not intended that these remarks shall be considered as a reflection on the enlisted men, but to show that it is neither fair nor just to put enlisted men at tasks not part of military duty and for which civilian tasks they have not been trained. The duties of enlisted men and civilian workers are separate and distinct and should be so considered so that to each will be assigned duties within their respective positions. To do this will be beneficial to both enlisted men and civilian workers.

Codes of Ethics and Publicity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the 81st Congress and in the 83d Congress I have maintained that a legislative committee, with large authority in the field of investigation, should be bound by a judicial code of ethics. On February 25, 1953, in this Chamber I said:

To avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future the committee should voluntarily adopt a judicial code of ethics. A judge would disqualify himself if, prior to or during a trial, he should permit himself to become engaged in a public discussion of the issues. The same rule should apply in the case of members of a congressional committee delegated to act for and in the name of a legislative body in an investigative capacity.

Mr. Speaker, I further suggest that all members of a legislative investigating committee should refrain from appearances on radio and TV and from the issuance of press releases until a final finding by the full committee on any individual or on any issue.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues who are not of the legal profession will be interested in the lawyer's concept of ethics, as reflected in an article in the February 1954 issue of the Journal of the American Judicature Society, which I am extending my remarks to include, as follows:

CANONS AND COURT RULES ON COURTROOM PUBLICITY

Some weeks ago an Ohio lawyer wrote to the American Judicature Society for information as to the jurisdictions in which canons of ethics regarding publicity of courtroom proceedings have been adopted. The inquiry was referred to George E. Brand, former president of the society, whose forthcoming book, Bar Associations, Attorneys and Judges—Function, Ethics and Discipline, will contain full answers to that and many similar questions. Mr. Brand's letter in response to the request is published herewith in full, containing as it does valuable information on a subject of extraordinary current interest to the administration of justice:

DETROIT, MICH., *December 29, 1953.*

Mr. JEROME N. CURTIS,
Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR MR. CURTIS: Your letter of December 9 to the American Judicature Society, together with your letter of the 28th to me, requesting information as to the adoption of canons or rules of judicial ethics in respect of the publicity of courtroom proceedings, have been received. I am pleased to learn that a joint committee of the Cleveland Bar Association and the Cuyahoga County Bar Association is working on the problem involved.

For several years I have been endeavoring to complete, for the American Judicature Society, a source book containing, among other things, all canons of judicial ethics adopted in the various States, Territorial, and Federal jurisdictions, and in that connection during the past 2 years I have been in correspondence with Joseph B. Miller, secretary of the Ohio State Bar Association, furnishing him with data as to the adoption of comprehensive canons of judicial ethics by the courts and State bar associations. Your inquiry is focused on the publicizing of court proceedings.

I delayed reply to your letter of the 9th awaiting the return of printer's copy as to a number of the jurisdictions reflecting changes occurring during the year 1953, which I decided to include in the book. This copy came in today, and from a screening of it I give you the following information.

THE ABA CANON

ABA Judicial Canon, 35, as adopted September 30, 1937—Improper publicizing of court proceedings: Proceedings in court should be conducted with fitting dignity and decorum. The taking of photographs in the courtroom, during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions, and the broadcasting of court proceedings, are calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the proceedings, degrade the court, and create misconceptions with respect thereto in the mind of the public, and should not be permitted.

This canon was amended on September 15, 1952, as follows:

"35. Improper publicizing of court proceedings: Proceedings in court should be conducted with fitting dignity and decorum. The taking of photographs in the courtroom, during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions, and the broadcasting or televising of court proceedings, are calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the

proceedings, distract the witness in giving his testimony, degrade the court, and create misconceptions with respect thereto in the mind of the public, and should not be permitted: *Provided*, That this restriction shall not apply to the broadcasting or televising, under the supervision of the court, of such portions of naturalization proceedings (other than interrogation of applicants), as are designed and carried out exclusively as a ceremony for the purpose of publicly demonstrating in an impressive manner the essential dignity and the serious nature of naturalization."

ABA Canon 35, in its original form, has been adopted officially in the following jurisdictions:

California, by the Conference of California Judges; Connecticut, by the judges of the superior court; Delaware, by supreme court rule (governs as to appellate courts and recommends standard of conduct for judges of other courts); Florida, by supreme court rule; Idaho, by integrated State bar, approved by supreme court; Kentucky, by rule of court of appeals; Michigan, by rule of supreme court; Nebraska, by integrated State bar, approved by supreme court; New Mexico, by integrated State bar, but not yet approved by supreme court; Oregon, by integrated State bar, approved by supreme court; South Dakota, by integrated State bar, approved by supreme court; Utah, by integrated State bar, approved by supreme court; Virginia, supreme court bar integration rule; Washington, supreme court rule; West Virginia, supreme court of appeals rule

The canon in its original form also has been adopted by the following nonintegrated State bar associations: Bar Association of Arkansas, Indiana State Bar Association, Iowa State Bar Association, Bar Association of the State of Kansas, Ohio State Bar Association, Wisconsin Bar Association.

The canon as amended on September 15, 1952, has been officially adopted in Tennessee by supreme court rule.

It has also been adopted by the following unintegrated State bar associations: Georgia Bar Association, Bar Association of Hawaii, Minnesota State Bar Association, Pennsylvania Bar Association.

OTHER VERSIONS

Differently worded canons to the same general effect have been adopted in other jurisdictions as follows:

New Jersey, canon 35:

"Improper publicizing of court proceedings: Proceedings in court should be conducted with fitting dignity and decorum. The taking of photographs or the making of sketches of the courtroom or of any person in it, during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions, and the broadcasting of court proceedings, are calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the proceedings, degrade the court, and create misconceptions with respect thereto in the mind of the public, and should not be permitted."

Puerto Rico: Statute authorizes the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico to adopt and put into effect canons of judicial ethics which shall govern the conduct of all members of the judiciary in Puerto Rico. Up to April 1, 1953, the court had not adopted such canons.

THE FEDERAL COURTS

Alabama, northern district: Unwritten rule prohibits courtroom photographing and broadcasting.

Colorado, rule 11:

"Courtroom decorum: The taking of photographs or the broadcasting of judicial proceedings in any courtroom of this court or so close to any such courtroom as to disturb the order and decorum thereof, either while the court is in session or at recesses between sessions when court officials, parties, counselors, jurymen, witnesses, or other persons connected with the proceedings pending therein, are present, is prohibited."

District of Columbia, rule 95:

"Taking of photographs: (a) No photographs shall be taken in any of the courtrooms of this court, in any of the anterooms adjacent thereto, in any of the cell blocks, in the lobby, or in the corridors of the courthouse. (b) The taking of photographs in any office or other room of the courthouse shall be only with the knowledge and consent of the official or person in charge of such office or room and of the person or persons photographed."

Kansas, rule 16:

"Courtroom decorum: The taking of photographs or the broadcasting of judicial proceedings in any courtroom of this court or so close to any such courtroom as to disturb the order and decorum thereof, either while the court is in session or at recess and when court officials, parties, counselors, jurymen, witnesses, or other persons connected with the proceedings pending therein are present, is prohibited."

Minnesota, rule 4:

"No camera or other picture-taking device or voice-recording instrument shall be brought into any Federal court building in this district for use during the trial or hearing of any case, or proceeding incident to any case, or in connection with any session of the United States grand jury."

New Mexico: Rule 14 is the same as Colorado rule 11, supra.

North Dakota, rule 6: Same as Minnesota rule 4, supra.

Oklahoma, northern, eastern, and western districts:

"The taking of photographs or the broadcasting of judicial proceedings in any courtroom of this court or so close to any such courtroom as to disturb the order and decorum thereof, either while the court is in session or at recesses between sessions when court officials, parties, lawyers, jurors, witnesses, or other persons connected with the proceedings pending therein are present, is prohibited unless permitted by order of court."

These rules vary slightly.

Wisconsin, rule 41:

"Taking of photographs: No picture or photographs shall be taken in either of the courtrooms located on the third floor of the Federal Building at Milwaukee. Pictures or photographs may not be taken in the libraries adjoining said courtrooms, or in the corridors adjacent thereto, or in the jury rooms, or in the offices of the United States District Judge, marshal, clerk of court, court reporter, court commissioner and probation officer, or in any of the corridors adjacent to said designated jury rooms and offices without first obtaining permission from the person in charge of said rooms or offices."

Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, rule 53:

"Regulation of conduct in the courtroom: The taking of photographs in the courtroom during the progress of judicial proceedings or radio broadcasting of judicial proceedings from the courtroom shall not be permitted by the court."

I regret the delay in the printing of the source book, but our decision to include the 1953 changes and additions will make the material current and more helpful. It will include the dates on which the canons were adopted in the various jurisdictions and identify the particular rules, etc., involved.

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. BRAND.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Federal Employee Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Philip Young, Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, on the employee security program, delivered by him before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, at 10 a. m., on March 2, 1954.

I wish to state that Executive Order 10450, approved by President Eisenhower on April 27, 1953, was authorized by Public Law 733, 81st Congress, 2d session, approved on August 26, 1950. In other words, for almost 3 years prior to the effective date of the so-called security order, any civilian employee in the Departments of State, Commerce, Justice, Army, Navy, Air Force, the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the National Security Resources Board, or the Coast Guard could be separated in the absolute discretion of the head of such department or agency, when such action was deemed necessary in the interest of national security. At present the total civilian employees in the departments and agencies specifically covered by Public Law 733 total 1,291,661, constituting over one-half of the entire civilian Federal payroll.

Section 3 of Public Law 733 provides that the provisions affecting the foregoing departments and agencies shall apply to such other departments and agencies of the Government as the President deems necessary. The Executive order merely extended Public Law 733 to the rest of the Federal service. The simple effect of the Executive order was to consolidate the so-called Federal employees loyalty program, which existed under the previous administration, with the security risk removals process authorized under Public Law 733.

President Eisenhower's security program not only is more fair to Federal employees, but increases the security of our Nation.

While Public Law 733 covered more than one-half of the Federal employees, it did not specify the criteria upon which suspensions or terminations were to be based. In the security order, President Eisenhower has developed the criteria upon which a determination is to be made as to whether the employment or retention in the Federal service of any person is clearly consistent with the national security. Such criteria were nonexistent prior to April 27, 1953.

While there is no provision, under Public Law 733, for an impartial review of employee apeals to the heads of departments and agencies covered by that act, President Eisenhower's security order provides for such review, and thus clearly recognizes the importance to the career service of protecting the basic rights of Federal employees.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF PHILIP YOUNG, CHAIRMAN, UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, ON THE EMPLOYEE SECURITY PROGRAM BEFORE THE SENATE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, MARCH 2, 1954

Mr. Chairman, I know that the members of this committee have an intense concern for the maintenance of a public service which can command the unqualified respect of the people it serves. We in the Civil Service Commission share that concern. We cannot hope to attain our objective of attracting highly qualified people to the Federal service—and holding them in the service—unless we can offer them a due measure of prestige in the form of public appreciation of their work and talents. Those of us here know that Federal employees, by and large, are loyal, capable people with a degree of devotion and dedication to their work which, in my opinion, is not exceeded by any group of employees in private industry or elsewhere.

Nevertheless, there has been in recent years a mounting public distrust of Government employees based on disclosures that unfit persons at various times had held Government positions of a highly sensitive nature. The old loyalty program which had been in effect for almost 6 years by January 1953 had done little to allay this distrust. Clearly, increased public respect for the Government service depended on greater assurance that no person would be hired or retained in a Government job unless his employment was entirely consistent with national security. To attack this problem in a straightforward fashion was a first duty both to the citizens of our country and to that great bulk of loyal civil servants who were living and working under the shadow cast by those few who had proved unfit.

The problem of the protection of the Government from employees who are subversive or dangerous to the national security, or potentially so, has what may now be regarded as a fairly lengthy history of consideration by both the executive branch and the Congress. The first legislation dealing with this question was contained in section 9A of the Hatch Act, enacted in 1939. That legislation makes it unlawful for any person whose compensation is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by any act of Congress "to have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States." Section 18.2 (c) (7) of the Civil Service War Regulations, adpoted in 1942, makes the existence of a reasonable doubt as to an individual's loyalty to this Government cause for the denial of employment or removal.

During the war and thereafter certain sensitive agencies had authority conferred upon them by the Congress to deal with such cases and to act swiftly in their own discretion. By virtue of Public Law 808 of December 17, 1942, employees of the War and Navy Departments and of the Coast Guard could be summarily removed by the Secretary concerned if he considered such removal to be "warranted by the demands of national security." And appropriation bills conferred upon the heads of other departments authority to terminate the employment of any officer or employee of their departments whenever they considered "such termination necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States." However, Public Law 808 was temporary war legislation, and the appropriation act provisions conferred authority only on a year-to-year basis.

Under the previous administration, an attempt was made to grapple with this problem through the operations of the Federal employees loyalty program, which was established by Executive Order 9835 in 1947. However, the system of adjudication under this program was intricate, time-consuming and sometimes, in the final analysis, inconclusive. Furthermore, the loyalty program made no allowance for the fact that a person might be a weak link in our national security even though his loyalty was unassailable. There are obviously many other factors, dealing with integrity and moral character, which may have a bearing on an employee's fitness, for a job and its relationship to the national security. And finally, there was a prevalent feeling that, because the old loyalty program had the effect of branding as disloyal an employee who was removed, there was considerable hesitancy to take any action under the program unless an act of clearly demonstrated disloyalty could be established.

As time went on, it had become apparent that the original standard under the loyalty program was not adequate for dealing with cases of suspected disloyalty. The original standard used for refusal of employment or removal from employment on grounds relating to loyalty was "reasonable grounds for belief that the person involved is disloyal." On April 28, 1951, by Executive Order 10241, President Truman changed the standard to "a reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved."

The need developed for permanent legislation which would (1) confer on heads of departments authority which they could act on more rapidly than the cumbersome procedure provided for in President Truman's loyalty order, (2) cover the wide variety of cases which would not rationally come under the conception of loyalty and (3) at the same time supply minimum procedural protection to the employees involved. This need impelled the Department of Defense to suggest legislation in 1950, which was introduced as H. R. 7439 in the 2d session of the 81st Congress. Extensive hearings were held before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

It was pointed out again and again that alcoholics, people with unsatisfactory associations, persons subject to blackmail, and those who are simply overly loquacious could constitute a serious danger to the security of the United States but could not necessarily

be proved disloyal. On the other hand, it was pointed out that those who are disloyal are, of course, security risks.

The bill was favorably reported by both committees (H. Rept. 2330; S. Rept. 2158; 81st Cong. 2d sess.). It passed the House by a vote of 327 to 14 and was adopted by voice vote of the Senate, as Public Law 733. This is the law on which Executive Order 10450, establishing the present security program is based.

The bill, both as introduced and passed, applied only to certain named departments but conferred upon the President authority to extend it to others. The reasons for its limited immediate impact was apparently the then administration's feeling that it could do the job under the loyalty program. But it was made clear that if the program should for any reason be abandoned, a program under this legislation could take its place.

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message of February 2, 1953, to the 83d Congress, said:

"The safety of America and the trust of the people alike demand that the personnel of the Federal Government be loyal in their motives and reliable in the discharge of their duties. Only a combination of both loyalty and reliability promises genuine security."

He further stated: "The heads of all executive departments and agencies have been instructed to initiate at once effective programs of security with respect to their personnel," and added that the Attorney General would advise and guide departments and agencies in the shaping of these programs.

In applying these principles set forth by President Eisenhower, it was decided to broaden the application of the statutory authority which the 81st Congress had given the President in Public Law 733 of 1950. Therefore, the President, by Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953, established a Government-wide employee-security program, based on the authority and the approach set forth by the Congress in Public Law 733, and abolished the old loyalty program.

The basic objective of the employee-security program is to make sure that there is no employee on the Federal payroll nor any applicant appointed who can, because of his position, endanger the national security. The American people must be assured that Federal employees are persons of integrity, high moral character, and unswerving loyalty to the United States.

Today the head of each department and agency is responsible for the security of his organization. Under this program the responsibility for the security of a department or agency is placed where it belongs, squarely on the shoulders of a particular Government organization. To safeguard the rights and privileges of the employees provision has been made for hearings, at the option of the employee, before security hearing boards composed of Government employees from other agencies.

Now, before we discuss the statistics available on operations under the employee security program, it is essential that we understand fully the nature and scope of the program. I am, therefore, going to run over the provisions of Executive Order 10450 and the regulations which have been adopted, with some minor variations, by the various agencies.

Section 1 of Executive Order 10450 merely extends Public Law 733 to all those agencies of Government which are not mentioned in the law itself.

Section 2 places upon the head of each individual department and agency the responsibility for establishing and maintaining within his agency an effective security program. This, of course, is in line with the provisions of Public Law 733.

Section 3 sets forth the requirement that all appointments to Government positions shall be subject to investigation. The scope of the investigation will vary according to the degree of adverse effect upon the national security which could be brought about by the incumbent of a particular position. In no case will this be less than what is called a national agency check and inquiry. This involves a check of name fingerprint files of the FBI and the files of the Civil Service Commission, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the military intelligence agencies. It also involves written inquiries to appropriate local law-enforcement agencies, former employers, and supervisors, persons given as references, and schools attended. Should there develop at any stage of investigation any information indicating that the employment of an individual may not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security, a full field investigation is required, or such less investigation as may be determined by the head of the department or agency.

Subsection (b) of section 3 requires heads of agencies to define as sensitive positions those jobs within their agencies the incumbents of which could, by virtue of their position, bring about a material adverse effect on the national security.

Section 4 provides for review of all cases where full field investigation was made under the old loyalty program, and a readjudication of such cases where the individuals were not measured against the broader concept of security.

Section 5 provides for consideration by the agency head of new information which may be obtained regarding the case of an employee under his jurisdiction, together with investigation and readjudication of the employee's case where necessary.

Section 6 requires that an agency head immediately suspend, where he deems it necessary, an employee if at any stage of investigation there is information developed indicating that the employee's retention may not be clearly consistent with the national security. It is further provided that the head of the agency will, upon appropriate investigation and review, terminate the employment of the suspended employee where such action is necessary or advisable.

Section 7 sets up appropriate safeguards against the reemployment of a suspended or terminated employee in the same agency or in another agency, making specific provisions for a determination by the Civil Service Commission before any employee in this category may be employed by any other agency.

Section 8 (a) provides that the investigations conducted pursuant to this order shall be designed to develop information as to whether the employment or retention in employment in the Federal service of the person being investigated is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security. Such information shall relate, but shall not be limited, to the following:

(1) Depending on the relation of the Government employment to the national security:

(i) Any behavior, activities, or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy.

(ii) Any deliberate misrepresentations, falsifications, or omission of material facts.

(iii) Any criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, habitual use of intoxicants to excess, drug addiction, or sexual perversion.

(iv) An adjudication of insanity, or treatment for serious mental or neurological disorder without satisfactory evidence of cure.

(v) Any facts which furnish reason to believe that the individual may be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of the national security.

(2) Commission of any act of sabotage, espionage, treason, or sedition, or attempts thereat or preparation therefor, or conspiring with, or aiding or abetting another to commit or attempt to commit any act of sabotage, espionage, treason, or sedition.

(3) Establishing or continuing a sympathetic association with a saboteur, spy, traitor, seditionist, anarchist, or revolutionist, or with an espionage or other secret agent or representative of a foreign nation, or any representative of a foreign nation whose interests may be inimical to the interests of the United States, or with any person who advocates the use of force or violence to overthrow the Government of the United States or the alteration of the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

(4) Advocacy of use of force or violence to overthrow the Government of the United States or of the alteration of the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

(5) Membership in, or affiliation or sympathetic association with, any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons which is totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows, a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

(6) Intentional, unauthorized, disclosure to any person of security information, or of other information disclosure of which is prohibited by law, or willful violation or disregard of security regulations.

(7) Performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States.

(8) Refusal by the individual, upon the ground of constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, to testify before a congressional committee regarding charges of his alleged disloyalty or other misconduct.

Section 8 (b), (c), and (d) assign investigative responsibilities under the order to the Civil Service Commission, the employing agencies, and the FBI, with provision that where information is developed pertaining to matters covered by section 2 through 7 of 8 (a), the FBI shall make a full field investigation.

Section 9 (a) and (b) require the Civil Service Commission to establish and maintain a security-investigation index covering all persons who have been the subject of an investigation under Executive Order 10450. Department and agency heads must furnish the Commission with pertinent information to establish and maintain this register. The register is to contain the name of each person investigated together with adequate identifying information, a reference to each department and agency which has conducted an investigation concerning the person, or which has suspended or terminated the individual's employment under the authority granted them or in accordance with Public Law 733.

Section 9 (c) provides for the confidentiality of the reports and other investigative material and information developed pursuant to any statute, order, or program described in section 7 of Executive Order 10450. Such information will be the property of the investigative agencies conducting the investigations but may be retained by the department or agency concerned if it is desirable and consistent with the national security.

Section 10 provides that Executive Order 10450 shall not eliminate or modify any requirements for any investigation or any determination as to security which may be required by law.

Section 11 provides for the disposition of cases under the old loyalty program. It requires, generally, that appeals and agency

determinations pending before the Loyalty Review Board or the Civil Service Commission's regional loyalty boards, be processed to completion or, in some instances, such as where hearings were not yet initiated, that they be referred to the appropriate department or agency for processing in accordance with the standards and procedures of Executive Order 10450.

Section 12 revokes Executive Order 9835 but provides that the Loyalty Review Board and the Commission's regional loyalty boards would continue to function for 120 days after the effective date of Executive Order 10450.

Section 13 requests the Attorney General to give to departments and agency heads such advice as is necessary to enable them to set up and maintain appropriate employee-security programs.

Section 14 makes the Civil Service Commission responsible for a continuing study of the Employee Security Program to assure that adequate employee security programs are established and operating in each department and agency and that employees are receiving fair, impartial, and equitable treatment. It further requires the Commission to report the results of its study to the National Security Council at least semiannually.

Section 15 provides that this order shall become effective 30 days after the date of the order, which is April 27, 1953.

At the same time the President issued Executive Order 10450 he also, in a letter to all department and agency heads, made the Civil Service Commission responsible for providing competent and disinterestel Government employees to sit as members of security hearing boards and noted that the Attorney General would issue sample regulations designed to establish minimum standards for the operation of the security program.

In summary, responsibilities under the employee security program are divided as follows:

The head of each agency is responsible for establishing and maintaining within his agency a program to insure that the employment and retention in employment of every one of his civilian employees is clearly consistent with the interests of national security.

In carrying out these responsibilities, the agency head must designate which of the positions in his agency are sensitive, cause the proper investigations to be made, reopen any cases that were decided under a lower security standard after a full field investigation, readjudicate any cases on which new information is received, and suspend and terminate any employee whose employment is not clearly consistent with the interests of the national security.

The agency head is also responsible for keeping investigative reports confidential, for furnishing the Civil Service Commission with information for use in maintaining the Security Investigations Index, for cooperating with the Civil Service Commission in its work of studying the administration of the program, and for designating persons of integrity, ability, and good judgment for service as members of security hearing boards of other agencies.

The Attorney General's part of the program consists of making full field investigations through the Federal Bureau of Investigation, maintaining a list of totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive organizations, and giving agencies advice in establishing and maintaining their security programs. The Attorney General also supplies to agencies sample regulations for establishing minimum standards for implementing the security program.

The Civil Service Commission conducts the investigations required under the program, except for those conducted by the FBI and by agencies with investigative facilities. The Commission maintains a Security Investigations Index and maintains rosters of persons nominated to serve as members of security hearing boards.

The Commission also makes a continuing study of the administration of the program by the agencies for the purpose of determining whether there are any deficiencies that might weaken the national security or any tendencies to deny to individual employees fair treatment or rights under law or the Constitution. The results of the study are reported to the National Security Council.

The Commission is also responsible for determining eligibility for further Federal employment in another agency of persons who have been terminated on grounds of security.

You will note that there is nothing in Executive Order 10450 or the accompanying regulations and instructions which requires the Civil Service Commission to compile or maintain detailed information on individual cases, or to make a statistical analysis of operations under the program. We originally compiled some overall figures at the specific, written request of the National Security Council, and these were the figures contained in our preliminary progress report which was submitted to the council on October 22, 1953.

Now some figures regarding investigations required under the order. As of the 1st of January 1954, the Commission had initiated 167,617 investigations under Executive Order 10450. Of these, 159,856 have been completed. In addition, the Commission has completed 5,717 full field investigations for sensitive positions. As of February 1, 1954, other agencies had initiated 26,032 full field investigations for sensitive positions. The agencies' target is completion of all full field investigations for sensitive positions for employees now on the payroll by June 30, 1954, and evaluation of these cases by September 30, 1954.

Certain complicated cases which involve hearings and additional investigations may not be adjudicated by September 30. It is anticipated, however, that all these cases will be completed and adjudicated by the end of the calendar year.

Now for what has happened to date under the program. I have prepared for the committee a table showing actions taken from May 28 through December 31, 1953. Yesterday afternoon we made available to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee figures which did not include some late returns received after that data was prepared. These additional figures have been included in the currrent report in order that this committee may have the most up-to-the-minute data available. The figures I am about to give you do not, however, reflect the total terminations and resignations under this program by the Department of Defense and its constituent agencies. The returns from these agencies cover only information contained in their central files plus a scattering of information from the field. Many defense installations have not yet reported, and these returns, which may substantially increase the totals, will not be available for from 60 to 90 days. In this connection, I would like to state that there was a security program prior to May 27, 1953, and that many additional separations were accomplished through this earlier program.

With the exception noted in the case of the Defense Department and its constituent agencies, the table shows the number of terminations and resignations because of security questions falling within the purview of section 8 (a) of Executive Order 10450. Resignations which took place before determination was completed are shown in cases where the file was known to contain unfavorable information under section 8 (a) of the order. This table includes a breakdown according to broad categories of information in individuals' files. It should be noted that these figures likewise are incomplete for the Department of Defense and its constituent agencies.

The categories are the following:

(1) Number whose files contained information indicating, in varying degrees, subversive activities, subversive associations, or membership in subversive organizations.

(2) Number whose files contained information indicating sex perversion.

(3) Number whose files contained information indicating conviction of felonies or misdemeanors.

(4) Number whose files contained any other type or types of information falling within the purview of Executive Order 10450, as amended.

I should now like to go over with you the figures on the attached table:

Departments and agencies	(1) Termination for information under 8 (a)	(2) Resignations with security information under 8 (a)	(3) Number under 8 (a) 2 to 8	(4) Number of sex perversion	(5) Number of felonies and misdemeanors	(6) Number of all others under 8 (a)
Total	1,074	1,353	383	194	605	1,045
Agriculture	33	41	1	4	16	69
Air Force	75	114	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Army	91	128	28	4	101	86
American Battle Monuments Commission [2]						
Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System [2]						
Bureau of the Budget [2]						
Atomic Energy Commission	0	1	0	0	0	1
Canal Zone Government [2]						
Central Intelligence Agency	1	47	0	31	1	16
Civil Aeronautics Board [2]						
Civil Service Commission	0	2	0	1	0	1
Commerce	29	29	8	9	21	38
Commission on Foreign Economic Policy [2]						
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government [2]						
Commission on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel [2]						
Council of Economic Advisers [2]						
Defense Transport Administration [2]						
Export-Import Bank [2]						
Farm Credit Administration [2]						
Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review [2]						
Federal Civil Defense Administration	3	2	1	2	0	5
Federal Communications Commission	1	0	1	0	0	1
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation [2]						

See footnotes at end of table.

Departments and agencies	(1) Termination for information under 8 (a)	(2) Resignations with security information under 8 (a)	(3) Number under 8 (a) 2 to 8	(4) Number of sex perversion	(5) Number of felonies and misdemeanors	(6) Number of all others under 8 (a)
Federal Housing Administration and Home Finance (included in Housing)						
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	0	3	3	0	0	0
Federal Power Commission [2]						
Federal Trade Commission						
Foreign Operations Administration	104	19	16	15	4	161
General Accounting Office	5	1	1	1	2	4
General Services Administration	100	10	9	2	67	72
Government Contract Committee. (See Labor)						
Government Printing Office	6	4	3	1	6	2
Health, Education, and Welfare	11	67	27	12	34	32
Home Loan Bank Board (included in Housing and Home Finance)						
Housing and Home Finance Agency	4	19	7	5	4	8
Indian Claims Commission [2]						
U. S. Information Agency	0	38	24	7	0	17
Interior	29	88	73	4	28	46
Interstate Commerce Commission [2]						
Justice	69	103	41	3	29	119
Labor	2	15	11	3	1	3
Library of Congress	0	2	1	0	0	1
National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics	5	12	6	1	7	13
National Capital Housing Authority	1	2	1	1	0	1
National Capital Planning Commission [2]						
National Gallery of Art [2]						
National Labor Relations Board	6	4	9	0	0	2
National Mediation Board [2]						
National Science Foundation	0	1	0	0	0	1
National Security Council [2]						
National Security Training Commission. (See Selective Service)						
Navy	135	100	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Office of Defense Mobilization	0	2	0	0	0	2
Office of Secretary of Defense	1	1	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Public Housing Administration (included in Housing and Home Finance)						
Post Office	180	104	4	13	111	192
Railroad Retirement Board	1	2	1	0	1	1
Reconstruction Finance Corporation [2]						
Renegotiation Board	0	5	3	1	0	2
Rubber Production Facilities Disposal Committee [2]						
Securities and Exchange Commission	0	2	2	0	0	0
Selective Service System	1	3	4	0	0	0
Small Business Administration	0	2	0	1	2	0
Smithsonian Institution [2]						
Soldiers' Home						
State Department	5	112	43	49	0	31
Subversive Activities Control Board [2]						
Tariff Commission [2]						
Tax Court of the United States [2]						
Tennessee Valley Authority	0	5	1	1	1	3
Treasury	39	13	10	2	9	38
Veterans' Administration	92	210	45	21	160	76
War Claims Commission [2]						
White House Office	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	1,074	1,353	383	194	605	1,045

[1] Categories not given.
[2] No separations reported.

Anniversary of Hungarian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on the subject of the anniversary of Hungarian Independence Day, which will be observed on March 14.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. HOMER FERGUSON, OF MICHIGAN, ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

It is a real pleasure for me to join in saluting those brave Hungarians who stepped forward with great courage to free their homeland from the bondage of Hapsburg rule in the 1848 war for Hungarian independence.

Louis Kossuth won his place in history in the forefront of the great fighters for freedom and independence during that unfortunately brief period of Hungarian independence in 1848 and 1849. That great patriot ranks with George Washington as a fighter for liberty.

This anniversary of Hungarian independence recalls the continuing love of the Hungarian people for liberty and freedom and brings to mind great leaders like St. Stephen, who united Hungary; Col. Michael DeKowatz, Hungarian patriot who fought for America's freedom during our Revolutionary War; and contemporaries like Cardinal Mindszenty.

Unfortunately, the precious independence won by Louis Kossuth and his followers was short-lived as the forces of Austria and Russia combined to crush the Hungarian nation and reimpose the Hapsburg domination.

The basic foundation of the free Hungary of Louis Kossuth—the 10 points—are well worth keeping in mind during this period when the godless forces of communism impose their will on the people of Hungary. Those 10 points included religious liberty, responsible government, equality before law, right of public meeting, and other rights we believe to be essential to the dignity of of the individual.

It is fitting and necessary that we observe this anniversary here in America and elsewhere in the free world since I am certain that people in Hungary will not be able to observe it.

I join my fellow Americans of Hungarian descent in praying and working for the restoration of freedom in the Hungarian homeland.

The Eisenhower Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HENDRICKSON. Mr. President, Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, recently delivered a meaningful address dealing with the Eisenhower housing program.

I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY CHARLES E. SLUSSER, COMMISSIONER, PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, AT THE POTOMAC CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS, BARKER HALL, YWCA, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 24, 1954

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure to be with you. While our acquaintanceship is rather new, I feel we are meeting as old friends. When people are fighting for the same things, they get to know each other rapidly. So it is with us.

I take it as a fact that you are not seeking from me persuasion, but information. You are not asking for leadership, but guidance.

This is not public housing's maiden voyage we are embarking upon, but the waters we must traverse are difficult. We all must appreciate that.

Even so, it is with lighter hearts than were to be had among you 6 months ago that we meet today. How many of you 6 months ago would have staked your professional careers on the possibility of a Presidential recommendation of 35,000 public housing units a year for the next 4 years. Not many, I venture. Today, that doubtful possibility has become a firm recommendation to the Congress. I venture the opinion also that you will find the Congress more receptive to public housing than it was on June 30, last.

For our improved position, we have two men to thank. The first is President Eisenhower, whose housing message speaks for itself. The other is the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Albert M. Cole, who today, in St. Louis makes clear his unswerving support of the public housing program as outlined in the President's housing message.

Mr. COLE has had his critics, some of whom might be among you. He has made known his complaints against the public housing program in the past. When the Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs tendered its recommendations to the President, our program had no greater friend than Mr. COLE, its chairman. We needed him, ladies and gentlemen. He stood up for us.

Now there are those among us who will say that 35,000 units a year are inadequate. We know that such a figure does not meet the need. But it is a figure of practical possibility, such as Mr. COLE and I must deal with when seeking the means to continue this program.

In speaking to you, one does not address people who have only a sketchy knowledge of public housing. You know all its ramifications. More than that—you know its difficulties, the thousand and one things that have to be done—the painstaking efforts necessary to bring it into being.

Consequently, one does not speak to you about the necessity of eradicating slums. You know about slums, their evils, and the havoc that they wreak. Yours is not knowledge gained from passing travel, picture books, and gossip. You enlisted long ago in the Foreign Legion of America that aims to eradicate slums and slum conditions wherever found in our country. There is no need to describe something to you that you know intimately, however, distastefully.

By the same token, you know that we do not order public housing units the same way we buy potatoes. It just isn't that easy. For public housing, besides wishful thinking, you need vision, surveys, planning, development, sites, demolition, building, supervision, and management. You also need courage, brains, and honesty.

Today, I can tell you that we can make good on 35,000 units and know that the bargain will be kept. Take us above that figure, and with our present PHA administrative machinery, we are ill-equipped to handle it.

It is like going to a small manufacturer, turning out his capacity in a locked-in plant, and saying that immediately he will have to quintuple his capacity, not double it. He can do it, but not this year. He has to tool up, expand both capital and personnel. If he is at all smart, he knows he cannot gamble on shoddy workmanship, failure, and the loss of his contract.

Neither can we.

Regardless of the total amount of public housing authorized by Congress—local housing authorities, wherever they operate, should continue to concentrate on the quality of the housing they build. I realize that they must adhere to statutory cost limits, but let me stress that this adherence can be accomplished without sacrificing quality and livability.

Local housing authorities build housing that fits in with their particular community. We don't expect high-rise projects where 2- or 3-story walkups or single-family dwellings would be adequate. Likewise, we do not ask for single-family houses or small multiple-unit buildings in a large metropolitan locality, however desirable such houses might be. We do want local housing authorities to build good, livable homes, those that will merit acceptance, not only from the families who will live in them, but also from the community itself—homes which will be cause for community pride, not complaints—in short, quality, irrespective of quantity.

The proposed 1954 housing program expands to the limit housing possibilities outside the field of public housing. At the same time, it retains public housing as a base of operations. You know my own feelings that public housing represents the best tool we have found to date for the eradication of slums. I have no objections, however, to other tools, only the hope that they will prove as beneficial and as effective as public housing. I am all for combining forces in an integrated attack on slums if it can be done.

Now, one force that will be brought to bear on slums under the proposed housing program is that of urban renewal.

For a detailed and comprehensive view of just what urban renewal means, I refer you to Administrator Cole's speech today in St. Louis. I have time this noon to touch on only a few highlights.

The administration's thinking on this, as revealed by Mr. Cole, was that the community concerned would inventory its problem, produce an overall plan for its solution, seek or obtain authority for its purpose, put in order the machinery needed to accomplish its goal, enlist the resources it could bring to bear, arouse its citizens to popular approval of its project, and map out a basic plan of attack.

There are general terms from which specifics would come later. But no Federal straitjacket is implied nor contemplated. Neither is a grabbag to be supplied. It will be realized that all cities differ, particularly as to size. What fits New York City will not fit Akron, Ohio. Peoria, Ill., will not accept Akron's garb, nor expect Jackson, Miss., to wear Peoria's uniform. Yet all will have workable plans, the same general features of which will be found in all.

I foresee a closer integration of your organizations with those of the municipal bodies with which you now work so closely. I think more housing authorities will be combined with their local redevelopment agencies. But, again, I believe this to be a matter of practicalities. Much of the factual basis of your "workable plans" will come from the storehouse of facts and laws maintained by local municipalities. There will be planning commission's maps, statistics from the fire, health, police, and legal departments. There must be indication of citizen approval. There will have to be limitations. There are a few cities whose slums are so bad that their whole area could be designated as needing rehabilitation.

From all this will come an integrated attack on the slum blight that menaces us today. This attack will be directed by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, using all the weapons at its command. Many of these were available to us previously, but under the proposed plan, we will be able to use them more effectively.

It is my hope and belief that we will find public housing playing the major role in this attack on slum conditions. It has had the stellar part up to now, and has given the best performance.

Return to Patriotism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "What Our Flag Means To Me," delivered by Col. George A. O'Connell, United States Army, retired, at the Anniston, Ala., High School Armistice Day program presented by the American Legion Post, No. 26, of Anniston. Colonel O'Connell's plea for a return to patriotism is so exceptionally fine and challenging, I commend it to the attention of the Members of Congress and all those who may be so fortunate as to have an opportunity to read it.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLONEL O'CONNELL URGES RETURN TO PATRIOTISM

Our flag is, God bless it, the priceless symbol of freedom—my freedom, your freedom and the freedom of every man, woman and child in this country of ours. In its sacred folds are wrapped the faith and the fate of my children, your children and children of Americans yet to come. For me, and surely, likewise for you, our flag is the vital emblem of our liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Freedom, as we have known and enjoyed it, is the nearest approach to life, the ideal, that has ever been attained by man in his eternal quest for freedom. Many of us have feasted on the abundant harvest of freedom. What we have enjoyed, we have done so as custodians of the American heritage, and how dutiful we have been to this stewardship is left to the grand jury of posterity.

As the legitimate heirs of our forefathers, we inherited, temporarily, this priceless bequest of freedom, for which they labored, sacrificed, fought and died. And we are not the sole heirs to this heritage. It belongs to generations yet to come. But whether they, too, will be recipients of this endowment, that is rightfully theirs, depends upon me, you and every able-bodied man and woman in this beloved country of ours.

APPRECIATION LACKING

In our boastful possession of this hero and blood-won liberty, we fail to appreciate fully, the fact, that this priceless heritage is only ours for the duration of our lives. Nor does this right to custodial care include its use for profitable exploitation and subversive disloyalty. With the inheritance of freedom, there is an inescapable duty and sacred trust, and these responsibilities of citizenship, must in perilous times, as now, transcend to sacrificial heights, if necessary to preserve and perpetuate this sacred heritage for those who are to follow us.

The spirit of freedom lives in our flag. Divinely inspired and divinely guided, our forefathers, freedom-starving, carved from a hostile wilderness this beloved country of ours. And the act of carving required wisdom, sheer courage, willing sacrifice and a fortitude that comes only from faith in God. And the accumulation of their efforts created a haven for many peoples of the earth, who also, hungered for the freedoms that only the new world offered and sponsored. They served under a definite banner of spirituality, which tragically, it seems, we have repudiated with indifference and neglect.

PRICE WAS PAID

The qualities of our Nation's builders glorified themselves in adversity, misery, tragedy, sacrifice, and death. What price fate demanded for freedom, they paid in full. There was no profit taking, no exploitation, no subversives. Their slogan, "In God we trust." Spirituality of character never bargains with its virtues nor compromises its ideals.

Right now, as never before, we are in dire need of that spirituality that brought to our forefathers the realization of a dream that was crowned with faith, hope, and charity. Many seem to think that these virtues are outmoded by our modern civilization. They seem to think that those virtues are remnants, worn out remnants of the darkened and unenlightened past. But are there any darker or more unenlightened times than right now? Today, we are faced with man, the savage, the modern, the scientific and the so-called civilized—gone mad. And the

spirit of freedom, indelibly embodied in our flag stands between us, yes, and our homes and our loved ones, and this scientific savage, brutal and rabid ideology.

In becoming more or less materialistic, we find the virtues of character unprofitable. We are more interested in cash. While credit seems to interest us not in the least. Our business of profit is placed on a cash basis. But we are learning, with anxious bitterness, that it isn't with cash alone that one can purchase the security of our freedom and the successful defense of our country. We are in urgent need of that priceless element that cash cannot buy and only character can give.

HOME IS KEYSTONE

We love our homes. The home is the keystone of man's emotional and physical structures. It warms our hearts, spiritualizes our thoughts and comforts our souls. But we seem to forget that our homes are but units of our national home.

Our flag today is taking on a vastly different meaning. In our mirrored existence, we have lost sight of the true and vital meaning of our flag and what it stands for. In these perilous days, the real significance of our flag and what it means to our existence and the existence, with security of our loved ones seems lost in our complacency. We have become addicted to the habit to look upon the privileges of being an American as permanent fixtures of our existence. We close our eyes to realities and enter a trance of phantacism. It is similar to the Coué system of therapeutics, that was, "every day in every way I feel better and better" just a phase of self-hypnosis.

Under our flag of freedom, our country has grown great and prosperous; in and with that spirit, our forebears were guided by character and God-given requisites of spiritual courage that, so far, has led us to victory, despite the cost. Without apology, I feel before we can achieve peace we must retrieve the spiritual substance of character as exhibited, so sublimely and so sacrificially, by our national heroes, past and present.

PROFIT AND PATRIOTISM INCOMPATIBLE

Profit and patriotism are antagonistically incompatible. You can't serve one and support the other. You can't balance loyalty with selfishly induced profiting activities. Patriotism is balanced only by honesty and truth. Fractionated patriotism is, as a point of truth, disloyalty. Many have considered our freedom perpetual by divine right and fate-decreed; something we can use indiscriminately, but never lose. More than likely, a few of the satellite nations felt the same way, and where are they now?

Generally speaking, few indeed have considered our debt to this abused freedom. Our familiarity with freedom has not indoctrinated in our hearts and souls protective loyalty to a priceless element to be loved, treasured, and protected. Familiarity does not contribute respect, admiration, or loyalty. Human nature treasures most a priceless possession only when it has been lost.

Life is a shrewd bargainer. We get nothing from life without paying for it, either now or later. Freedom is not one of life's gratuities. It is one of man's choicest products of achievement, and, as such, it has its own price tag. And that price tag demands pure loyalty, genuine patriotism, sacrificial love, indomitable courage, sustaining fortitude, supporting patience, purity of service, and without reservation dedication of one's life in its defense.

What does our flag mean to you? Have you ever stopped to think and evaluate how much you owe to that flag?

DID THEIR PART

Well, those who have served in our Armed Forces and those who do their essential part during national emergencies are a definite challenge to those who escaped through collusional efforts. Our men who served through the Korean war and those who are still there are living rugged, heartbreaking and morale-destroying situations and environments. These men and women serving in our Armed Forces, today and yesterday, have stood and are still standing between you and a ruthless enemy who seeks to destroy not only your way of life but your very soul.

Our flag flings this challenging question at you and every thinking man and woman in this great country of ours. We have lived luxuriously in the sunshine of freedom and prosperity. It has been a benediction for our people. What a tragic contrast with liberty-loving people all over the world now absorbed and their freedom destroyed. And the dignity of their manhood absorbed.

Freedom is the hungering dream of man. Being clothed in the garments of freedom does give an assuring warmth of self-sufficiency and the compensating feeling of well being. The hounding terror of the oppressed, a common tragedy of today, should awaken in us the destructive price of complacency and indifference—dual paralyses of defensive security. If we fail in our supportive patriotism, God forbid such an ignominious death to our flag and enslavement of our loved ones be suffered.

A RELENTLESS CONFLICT

This is not a cold war of sentimentalities. It is a relentless conflict with a ruthless and brutal ideology and just as cold and heartless as the machines of destruction used during war—but far more insidious and subtle and crafty.

Lip loyalty is not enough. It lacks the productivity of deeds, and possesses neither substance nor life. What we need most vitally are more patriotic workers and less good wishers and good luckers.

We can win this cold war only by being true to our flag and our country and our God. We must match with equal zeal, will and loyalty, our men who are stationed in all corners of the globe. They are taking it firsthand, and only a few weeks ago, were dying in the Korean process—for security—for you, for me, for every American—that our flag might fly in honor and our Nation survive in greatness made possible, only by the blood, sacrifice, toil and tears of our heroes.

Results of McGregor Poll on National Issues

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the RECORD the results of a questionnaire I sent to the citizens in the 17th Ohio District. I am proud to represent this district in the Congress of the United States. The questions were concerned with major national and international problems facing Congress today.

I regret I could not send a questionnaire to each of my constituents in the district, but I believe the replies I have received are the opinions of a cross-section of those I represent.

Questions sheets were sent to almost every occupational group: Republican and Democratic committeemen and women, laborers, attorneys, housewives, public office holders and Government employees, salesmen, retired men and women, ministers, college and high-school students, and their instructors. Also included are those working in business and industry, newspaper, radio, and professional positions.

Blanks were mailed to individuals and reproductions of the questionnaire were published in nearly all of the 20 daily and weekly newspapers in my district.

A large percent of the completed forms contained comments on the questions which proves to me that the average citizen is interested in the vital issues now before this legislative body and is anxious to express his views on them. I am very pleased so many took the time to write and attach letters and notes to the questionnaire enlarging upon their answers.

The population in my district is composed of about half rural and half urban residents. Nearly all of the labor and farm organizations are represented as well as large and small business. There are also two colleges and two universities.

It is not often that a Congressman can obtain a true picture of such an evenly divided district, but through the questionnaire method, I feel I have gained the majority opinion of those I represent.

The questionnaire and the results are as follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE IN AN ENDEAVOR TO LEARN THE VIEWS OF THE FOLKS BACK HOME

	Yes	No
	Per-cent	*Per-cent*
1. Should the present farm program (90 percent parity and price supports) be continued?	46	54
2. Should we have controls on the production of farm products?	38	62
3. Do you favor continuation of—		
(a) technical assistance to Europe	76	24
(b) economic aid to Europe	35	65
4. Do you favor continuation of—		
(a) technical assistance to Asia	72	28
(b) economic aid to Asia	42	58
5. Do you advocate the admittance of Red China into the U. N., although the refusal of which might lead to the renewal of the Korean war?	19	81
6. Do you favor the extension of social security coverage to 10.5 million additional persons, including doctors, dentists, ministers, farmers, and others who are self-employed, although this might possibly mean an increase in the rate paid by both the employer and the employee?	51	49
7. Do you advocate the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway at this time, regardless of the lack of a written agreement with Canada relative to construction and operation?	68	32
8. Do you favor allowing the 18-year-olds to vote?	70	30
9. Do you favor the methods of Senator McCARTHY in his endeavors to disclose the actions of the Communists in this country?	59	41
10. Do you favor the continuation of the Un-American Activities Committee of the House?	90	10

Signature _____

Street _____

City and State _____

Occupation _____

Please fill out and return this questionnaire to J. HARRY McGREGOR, Member of Congress, 1434 New House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Percentage distribution of replies to questionnaire

Question 1. Should the present farm program (90 percent parity and price supports) be continued?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 46	*Percent* 54
Attorneys	33	67
Business, industry, and salesmen	21	79
Farmers	35	65
Farm groups	18	82
Housewives	17	83
Labor	32	68
Ministers	38	62
Newspaper and radio	50	50
Occupation not given and organizations	35	65
Professionals	21	79
Public office holders and Federal employees	20	80
Retired	29	71
Teachers	42½	57½
Students	62½	37½

Question 2. Should we have controls on the production of farm products?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 38	*Percent* 62
Attorneys	49	51
Business, industry, and salesmen	28	72
Farmers	26	74
Farm groups	9	91
Housewives	17	83
Labor	26	74
Ministers	50	50
Newspaper and radio	50	50
Occupation not given and organizations	35	65
Professionals	29	71
Public officeholders and Federal employees	33	67
Retired	34	66
Teachers	45	55
Students	46	54

Question 3. Do you favor continuation of—
(a) Technical assistance to Europe?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 76	*Percent* 24
Attorneys	76	24
Business, industry, and salesmen	78	22
Farmers	70	30
Farm groups	83	17
Housewives	66	34
Labor	63	37
Ministers	92	8
Newspaper and radio	100	0
Occupation not given and organizations	24	76
Professionals	83	17
Public officeholders and Federal employees	73	27
Retired	82	18
Teachers	95	5
Students	79	21

(b) Economic aid to Europe?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 35	*Percent* 65
Attorneys	33	67
Business, industry, and salesmen	26	74
Farmers	32	68
Farm groups	9	91
Housewives	29	71
Labor	23	77
Ministers	67	33
Newspaper and radio	29	71
Occupation not given and organizations	16	84
Professionals	24	76
Public officeholders and Federal employees	33	67
Retired	42	58
Teachers	59	41
Students	41	59

Question 4. Do you favor continuation of—
(a) Technical assistance to Asia?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 72	*Percent* 28
Attorneys	80	20
Business, industry, and salesmen	78	22
Farmers	76	24
Farm groups	81	19
Housewives	67	33
Labor	65	35
Ministers	93	7
Newspaper and radio	86	14
Occupation not given and organizations	21	79
Professionals	83	17
Public officeholders and Federal employees	71	29
Retired	78	22
Teachers	93	7
Students	71	29

(b) Economic aid to Asia?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 42	*Percent* 58
Attorneys	43	57
Business, industry, and salesmen	39	61
Farmers	38	62
Farm groups	11	89
Housewives	36	64
Labor	25	75
Ministers	73	27
Newspaper and radio	57	43
Occupation not given and organizations	43	57
Professionals	41	59
Public officeholders and Federal employees	49	51
Retired	56	44
Teachers	74	26
Students	43	57

Question 5. Do you advocate the admittance of Red China into the U. N., although the refusal of which might lead to the renewal of the Korean war?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 19	*Percent* 81
Attorneys	18	82
Business, industry, and salesmen	11	89
Farmers	11	89
Farm groups	0	100
Housewives	9	91
Labor	3	97
Ministers	22	78
Newspaper and radio	29	71
Occupation not given and organizations	11	89
Professionals	9	91
Public officeholders and Federal employees	14	86
Retired	4	96
Teachers	19	81
Students	27	73

Question 6. Do you favor the extension of social security coverage to 10.5 million additional persons, including doctors, dentists, ministers, farmers and others who are self-employed, although this might possibly mean an increase in the rate paid by both the employer and the employee?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 51	*Percent* 49
Attorneys	50	50
Business, industry, and salesmen	49	51
Farmers	34	66
Farm groups	18	82
Housewives	43	57
Labor	53	47
Ministers	68	32
Newspaper and radio	29	71
Occupation not given and organizations	25	75
Professionals	37	63
Public office holders and Federal employees	65	35
Retired	75	25
Teachers	59	41
Students	57	43

Question 7. Do you advocate the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway at this time, regardless of the lack of a written agreement with Canada relative to construction and operation?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 68	*Percent* 32
Attorneys	46	54
Business, industry, and salesmen	62	38
Farmers	46	54
Farm groups	28	72
Housewives	50	50
Labor	36	64
Ministers	62	38
Newspaper and radio	57	43
Occupation not given and organizations	70	30
Professionals	55	45
Public officeholders and Federal employees	67	33
Retired	62	38
Teachers	73	27
Students	79	21

Question 8. Do you favor allowing the 18-year-olds to vote?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 70	*Percent* 30
Attorneys	51	49
Business, industry, and salesmen	54	46
Farmers	49	51
Farm groups	73	27
Housewives	61	39
Labor	56	44
Ministers	56	44
Newspaper and radio	29	71
Occupation not given and organizations	70	30
Professionals	52	48
Public officeholders and Federal employees	43	57
Retired	57	43
Teachers	72½	27½
Students	81	19

Question 9. Do you favor the methods of Senator McCARTHY in his endeavors to disclose the actions of the Communists in this country?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 59	*Percent* 41
Attorneys	41	59
Business, industry, and salesmen	72	28
Farmers	75	25
Farm groups	90	10
Housewives	78	22
Labor	83	17
Ministers	37	63
Newspaper and radio	86	14
Occupation not given and organizations	76	24
Professionals	74	26
Public office holders and Federal employees	71	29
Retired	68	32
Teachers	56	44
Students	48	52

Question 10. Do you favor the continuation of the Un-American Activities Committee of the House?

	Yes	No
Total replies	*Percent* 90	*Percent* 10
Attorneys	88	12
Business, industry, and salesmen	92	8
Farmers	90	10
Farm groups	99	1
Housewives	95	5
Labor	92	8
Ministers	80	20
Newspaper and radio	100	0
Occupation not given and organizations	93	7
Professionals	96	4
Public officeholders and Federal employees	95	5
Retired	93	7
Teachers	82	18
Students	87	13

Alaskan and Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on Alaskan and Hawaiian statehood by W. L. Totten, Sr., of Durham, N. C., who is a prominent and patriotic citizen of my State.

Mr. Totten is interested in having his views presented to Members of the Senate, and I am asking for the incorporation of the article in the RECORD so they may have an opportunity to read what he has to say.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY W. L. TOTTEN, SR.

Let's discuss the true facts about the purported effort made by the present administration to give statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, both at the present time Territories of our country.

1. The Korean war was fought on account of our trying to halt the ever-pending tide of communism. Our beloved boys, the flower of our youth, gave freely of their blood and life in this cause.

2. Our country through the NATO and our allies in Europe have been fighting against the spread of communism in Western Europe.

3. Our own Government has for years been trying to rid our country of communism, through special committees of the Congress and Senate, as well as through the FBI and our Justice Department. Still we have communism, above and underground all over our country, and perhaps still in our own Government.

4. Our President has requested the Congress and Senate to pass a law taking away the citizenship of any communistic conspirator in our country.

5. Now, as above stated, the present administration wants to give statehood to Alaska and Hawaii.

6. Our own Justice Department through the FBI has reported that Hawaii is predominantly communistic, with a large following in the government circles as well as the populace. Just recently during a meeting of the Senate Insular and Interior Committee our Attorney General personally appeared and stated that communism had improved somewhat in Hawaii. However, this does not change the situation.

7. The Senate Insular and Interior Committee has approved the admission of Hawaii and Alaska to statehood, separately, knowing that communism is still predominantly in strength in Hawaii and perhaps also in Alaska as far as this writer knows.

8. Why statehood to either is beyond the comprehension of the far-thinking people of this country with the above conditions still existing.

The question now is, How can anyone think of or much less vote to admit to statehood any country that is communistic in view of our fight against communism on all fronts as we have been doing these years? I for one would say that any Senator or Congressman even thinking of, much less voting to allow these countries statehood would be casting a ballot for communism, and before I would do so I would resign from my position as a Senator or Congressman, at once, or else I would use all my power and influence to oppose the same. We need Alaska and Hawaii as States in our beloved Union as bad as we need the North and South Pole and we surely don't care for them, this matter of statehood for these two countries is only a political illusion. I am certain our Constitution gives the authority to our legislative branch to dispose of these countries; however, I do not believe that the framers of our Constitution, or the Constitution ever intended that we should reach beyond our continental boundaries for new States, and therefore I am to believe that if this was done it would be unconstitutional.

Inconsistency of our Government is only leading us down the road to communism and the same should be stopped at once. The people don't want any more communism in this country than we have and we want to get rid of these as fact as we can. Also remember the present attempt on the life of our Congressmen just recently, we would be inviting this same class of people, they are not of our kind and it never was intended they should mix with us, far easterners are a dangerous peoples.

They just don't think, eat, or sleep like we do, therefore they don't fit in our American way of life. From all past records they have no respect for good sound government which is the motto of communism.

I am also not in favor of making any of our Territories a commonwealth State either, this would let bown the bars and allow these people the run of our beloved country which our forefathers and ourselves have tried hard to build up and to preserve our culture and tradition which was handed down to us. I am also strongly in favor of the end of loose immigration laws, let's tighten up and rid this country of undesirable peoples and make a good strong unit of our own people and save this country from as great a fall as that of Babylon and Rome, which we certainly are headed unless we change our ways.

We certainly do not want a mixed or mongrel race of people in this land of ours, so take heed.

Respectfully,

W. L. TOTTEN, Sr.

DURHAM, N. C., *March 2, 1954.*

Proposed Revision of United Nations Charter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Akron Discusses U. N. Charter Revision," published in America, the well-known Catholic weekly, under date of February 27, 1954. The article relates to the hearings held in Akron, Ohio, on Lincoln's Birthday, by the Committee on the Revision of the United Nations Charter.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AKRON DISCUSSES U. N. CHARTER REVISION

Initiative, imagination, and civic zeal were combined on Lincoln's Birthday to produce a new development in methods of formulating national policy. Mayor Leo A. Berg, of Akron, Ohio, invited the Senate Subcommittee on U. N. Charter Revision to hold its first hearings in his city. Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, chairman of the subcommittee, and Senator MIKE MANSFIELD conducted the hearings, at which 19 Akron citizens testified. CBS filmed the proceedings for use on Ed Murrow's See It Now TV program. They were also covered by the local radio and television stations. Through the kindness of CBS we have read the testimony. Of the 19 witnesses all but 3 favored the United Nations, and wanted it strengthened by revision of the charter. Mrs. Max Johnstone, of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, read statements by 17 civic leaders, every one being in favor of calling a review conference in 1955. With a few exceptions, the witnesses displayed a high degree of political maturity. But Senator WILEY was justified in complaining that they were not specific enough. Most of them agreed on the desirability of modifying the veto power in the Security Council, of organizing an international police force, of controlling atomic energy, of improving the trusteeship system. They shied away from offering concrete proposals politically feasible in today's international climate. The necessity of detailed study of specific proposals is the lesson which Ed Murrow's wizardry will bring home to millions of televiewers. When, as now planned, hearings are held in other cities, we will learn how they have conned that lesson. We hope Catholics will join in this vitally important project of citizen participation in policymaking.

Food and Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Food and Hunger," which appeared in the January 18 edition of the New York Times, be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The editorial emphasizes what I have repeatedly called attention to on the Senate floor, namely, the need to make greater utilization of the facilities of CARE in distributing American food supplies abroad.

On February 25 I introduced a bill designated as the Farm Trading Post Act of 1954, making specific provision for carrying out the purposes set forth in this editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOOD AND HUNGER

Under its price-support program the Federal Government today owns outright more than $3 billions worth of basic crops—wheat, corn, butter, cotton, chese, dried milk, peanuts, pasture seeds. By next summer these surpluses are expected to exceed $5 billions—a fantastic accrual of surplus products which are feeding and clothing no one, and are destined for no one, even including products which may spoil.

President Eisenhower discussed this phase of the farm problem in his special message to Congress and recommended, among other things, the reduction of these huge surpluses through "aid to the people of other countries." Last year, when the President sought broad authority in this matter, Congress wrote a ceiling of $100 millions worth into

the act—a minute part of the surpluses—which for the most part have yet to be distributed.

For years private welfare organizations have demonstrated that international relief can be administered honestly and justly so that the needy of many countries benefit without harm to their economies. Perhaps the most outstanding agency is CARE, which since 1948 has distributed $160 million worth of food, textiles, and self-help equipment to 52 countries, and is probably this Government's best-known good will ambassador. It has long been known that CARE has offered its distribution machinery throughout the world to the Government for channeling surpluses to the world's needy.

The authority of the President to distribute these agricultural surpluses to friendly countries expires on March 15. It is demonstrably clear (1) that, given Government cooperation, CARE can do the job of distribution, (2) that this authority should not be allowed to expire. Those bulging storage bins point the moral.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Testifies Before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in Support of H. R. 7397

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the testimony of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, given today before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in support of H. R. 7397, is very important. Mrs. Hobby explained to the committee that the bill is designed to simplify and improve the several grant-in-aid programs which are now administered pursuant to the provisions of the Public Health Service Act. She pointed out that there are 14 major grant-in-aid programs administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Of these 14, 6 are for the support of State and local health services. The provisions of H. R. 7397 apply only to this latter group.

The bill would replace the present separate authorizations for categorical public health grants for veneral disease control, tuberculosis control, general health and heart disease control—including the separate programs for mental health and cancer control—with an authorization for the following three types of grants:

First. Grants to assist States generally in meeting the costs of their public health services.

Second. Grants to assist States in initiating extensions of, and improvements in, their public health services.

Third. Grants to assist in meeting the costs of projects directed toward the solu of public health problems of regional or national significance.

The amount of Federal funds to be available for each of the above three types of grants would be specified in annual appropriation acts.

GENERAL GRANTS

The formula for determining each State's allotment for the first type of grant would be the same as that used in the hospital survey and construction—Hill-Burton—provisions of the Public Health Service Act— which take into account both the relative populations of the States and their relative fiscal resources as measured by State per capita incomes. There would, however, be a minimum allotment of $55,000. From its allotment, each State would receive payments equal to a percentage of the cost of public health services under its approved State plan, the percentage varying inversely with the State's relative per capita income between a maximum of 66⅔ and a minimum of 33⅓ percent. This contrasts with present law under which the amount of the allotment and the Federal share of the cost are determined by regulations and differ from program to program.

EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT GRANTS

The formula for determining each State's allotment for extension and improvement purposes would be based on relative State populations with a minimum allotment of $25,000. From its allotment, a State could receive, over a 6-year period, varying proportions of the cost of approved projects—included in its approved State plan—for extension and improvement of its public health services—75 percent of the cost for the first 2 years, 50 percent for the next 2, and 25 percent for the last 2.

SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS

These grants would be made on a project basis to States and to public and nonprofit agencies or organizations. They would be available for paying part of the cost of combating unusually severe public health problems in specific geographical areas, and of carrying out special projects which hold unique promise of contributing to the solution of public health problems common to all or several States, and projects directed at meeting public health problems of special national significance or concern.

STATE PLANS

Payments from allotments for the first type of grant—for support of public health services—would be conditioned upon submission of a plan by the State health authority—and mental health authority in connection with mental health—which meets requirements prescribed in regulations of the Surgeon General.

As under existing law, regulations would be issued by the Surgeon General, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and only after consultation with and, insofar as practicable, the concurrence of the State health—or mental health—authorities.

ADMINISTRATION

The grants would continue, as under existing law, to be administered through the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

TRANSITION PROVISIONS

In order to provide States an opportunity to adjust their finances to the new allotment formulas, provision would be made to limit to 10 percent any decrease in allotments which any State would receive in any 1 year by virtue of the formula change.

Mrs. Hobby testified that when she first examined the present grant structure, it became apparent that the number, variation, and complexity of existing authorizations and regulations were obstacles to effective administration, particularly State and local administration. Further, it appeared that the pattern and structure of these grants did not provide the flexibility needed to meet the problems of the several States in the best possible way. She stated further that last year she reviewed the history and operation of all these programs and came to the conclusion that there is a real need for clarification, greater flexibility, and more local determination in connection with adminstering the program. Consequently, legislation was developed designed to accomplish these objectives.

These amendments to the Public Health Service Act would not become effective until July 1, 1955.

The Middle East in Facts and Figures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting article published by the American Zionist Council:

THE ARAB LEAGUE AND ISRAEL

The Middle East occupies a position of great economic and strategic importance in the modern world. It is a land bridge between continents, a hub of international communications, and reservoir of vast oil deposits. It is also an area of rivalry and conflict between great powers, of internal instability and external tensions. At the heart of the region are eight independent Arab nations and the State of Israel. Following are some basic facts and figures about these nine countries, essential to the understanding of the problems of the Middle East.

Area and population

	Square miles	Population	Population per square mile
Egypt	386,000	20,750,000	53
Iraq	116,000	5,100,000	44
Jordan	39,000	1,250,000	35.4
Lebanon	4,000	1,285,000	323
Libya	1,100,000	1,340,000	1.025
Saudi Arabia	870,000	6,500,000	7.7
Syria	72,000	3,300,000	45
Yemen	75,000	4,500,000	60
Arab league total	2,662,000	44,025,000	17
Israel	8,000	[1] 1,600,000	200

[1] 160,000 Arabs.

	Land cultivable (square miles)	Land cultivated	Land ownership
Egypt	18,000	13,500	0.5% of population owns 38% of land.
Iraq	47,000	17,000	1.5% owns 80%.
Jordan	Unknown	1,875	15% owns 65%.
Lebanon	1,800	800	Unknown.
Libya	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Saudi Arabia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Syria	20,500	9,000	Unknown.
Yemen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Israel	3,600	1,600	Jewish National Fund holds half cultivated area.

NOTE.—Statistical information is generally unavailable for Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations estimates approximately half of the total land area of the Middle East could be cultivated if irrigated.

Income

	Per capita income	Government expenditure per capita
Egypt	$100	$22
Iraq	85	18
Lebanon	125	20
Libya	32	Unknown
Saudi Arabia	40	Unknown
Syria	100	9
Jordan	90	16
Yemen	40	Unknown
Israel	390	218

FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND DATE OF INDEPENDENCE

Egypt: Republic under military dictatorship; 1922.

Iraq: Constitutional monarchy; women cannot vote; 1932.

Jordan: Constitutional monarchy; women cannot vote; 1946.

Lebanon: Republic; 1941.

Libya: Constitutional monarchy; 1952.

Saudi Arabia: Absolute monarchy; 1926.

Syria: Republic under military dictatorship; 1941.

Yemen: Absolute monarchy; 1934.

Israel: Republic; universal suffrage; 1948.

RIVERS

Egypt: Nile.

Iraq: Tigris, Euphrates.

Lebanon: Orontes, Litani.

Libya: None.

Saudia Arabia: None.

Syria: Tigris, Euphrates, Orontes.

Jordan: Jordan, Yarmuk.

Yemen: None.

Israel: Jordan.

USE OF WATERPOWER (DEVELOPED AND/OR PLANNED)

Egypt: Electricity from dam at Aswan.

Iraq: Euphrates Dam.

Lebanon: Litani Dam (incomplete).

Libya: None.

Saudi Arabia: None.

Syria: Orontes Dam.

Jordan: Yarmuk development (incomplete).

Yemen: None.

Israel: Projected Jordan powerplant.

Education

	Literacy	School-age children in primary schools	Number daily newspapers available (per 1,000 inhabitants)
	Percent	*Percent*	
Egypt	25	40.4	17
Iraq	5-10	20.0	10
Jordan	Unknown	28.0	Unknown
Lebanon	45	60.0	81
Libya	4	3.4	Unknown
Saudi Arabia	2	1.0	None
Syria	Unknown	35.0	19
Yemen	2	Unknown	None
Israel	96	99.0	235

NOTE.—With the exception of Israel, less than 5 percent of children receive a secondary education.

Health

	Number of inhabitants per doctor	Infant mortality (per 1,000)	Deaths (per 1,000)	Life expectancy
Egypt	5,000	200	28.7	30 years.
Iraq	7,000	350	Unknown	30 years.
Jordan	6,000	200	19	Unknown.
Lebanon	1,500	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Libya	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Saudi Arabia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Syria	4,500	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Yemen	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown.
Israel	380	38	6.8	67 years.

OIL ROYALTIES

Iraq: $110 million (1952).

Saudi Arabia: $170 million (1952).

NOTE.—Revenue from oil does not include income for 3 British protectorates in the Persian Gulf (Bahrein, Kuweit, and Qatar), estimated at over $154 million annual.

WORLD WAR II RECORD

Egypt: Neutral until 1945.

Iraq: Declared war on Allies, 1941; joined Allies, 1943.

Lebanon: Under Vichy French control until 1941.

Libya: Italian colony.

Jordan: Declared war on Germany, 1939.

Saudi Arabia: Neutral until 1945.

Syria: Under Vichy French control until 1941.

Yemen: Neutral until 1945.

Israel: 43,000 Palestinian Jews served with British forces.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the above data, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. There exist vast tracts of cultivable land in the Middle East, notably in Iraq and Syria, which can be used to settle a great increase in population.

2. Proper utilization of water could irrigate millions of additional acres, provide immense quantities of electricity, and raise the standard of living in most nations from its present low level.

3. Low standards of health and education in Arab countries stem in large measure from the disproportionate distribution of wealth and land now concentrated in the hands of a small percentage of the population. Reform of land tenure is an urgent priority for the Middle East.

State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8067) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the United States Information Agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOW] for 6 minutes to close debate.

(Mr. BOW asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOW. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of the gentleman from New York in yielding his time. I shall not take all the time I have. I simply want to try to make it crystal clear what this committee has done in the increase of $17 million. I heard the gentleman from New York speak many times of his great concern for small business and small groups. The purpose of this $17 million increase is to protect small business and small airlines and keep them from going into bankruptcy. I think that is very clear. Ninety-eight percent of the mail is being carried domestically now without any subsidy in this country. So we are getting away from subsidies with the domestic airlines. Ninety-eight percent is subsidy free. It is the small feeder lines that would be affected if we did not have sufficient money to take care of them. What is the formula? The formula is this: We are spending $6 million a month in subsidies every day to take care of all lines. That $6 million for 8 months is $48 million; with a carryover of $8 million, and the $40 million provided in this bill, that will take the airlines until March, and nobody is going to be hurt. The reason this happens is the fact that after we had considered the CAB request in the subcommittee the Supreme Court came out with a decision which reversed an order of the CAB and held that they had not been properly determining the payments to some of the international lines. That made our subcommittee feel that we should take an additional look to determine whether these subsidies are right or wrong. If we remain where we are with $23 million, I say to the committee you would have closed airlines in this country. Their financing would be cut off and you would have chaos.

Now what is the situation? We have a reserve fleet for the military of this country today, built up by reason of the airline subsidy, to the value of approximately $350 million, that is available to

us on almost instant notice if we need them. Three days after the invasion of South Korea, the certificated scheduled airlines provided forty 4-engine airplanes to meet the Communist threat.

During the first 4 months of the Korean airlift, the certificated scheduled airlines made 586 crossings, or 5 a day, between the United States and Tokyo with personnel, munitions, bazookas, serums, plasma, and other vital supplies and materiel.

During the Korean war, the certificated scheduled airlines flew across the Pacific to Korea at the rate of more than 22,189,000 ton-miles a month.

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HESELTON. Is it not true that if the $23 million is left in the bill as the committee first reported it, these lines would not be affected for a period of 3 months?

Mr. BOW. That is right.

Mr. HESELTON. It was my thought that in that 3 months we might have a clarification of this situation.

Mr. BOW. My worry about that is the fact that Congress may not be here and may not be in a position to bring the money to take care of these people. We can do it now and we will not have bankruptcy.

Mr. HESELTON. Does not the gentleman think we will be here until July anyway?

Mr. BOW. I am afraid we will be here longer than that, but we ought to be safe and protect these airlines.

I urge the Committee to adopt this committee amendment and keep our great air fleet going.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOW. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HARRIS. Is it not a fact that the committee action provides $40 million, plus any carryover, which is seven or eight million, and is it not a fact that that is in one lump sum to take care of any subsidy requirements for all airlines, whether domestic or overseas?

Mr. BOW. That is correct.

Mr. HARRIS. Then there is no division as to the use of this fund, as between domestic and international carriers?

Mr. BOW. There is no division in this bill, and in the bill that is now before us, with the $23 million there is no division. It is just the same. So we take care of them, $6 million every month, payment to both international carriers and domestic trunklines. I think, Mr. Chairman, the committee would be interested in the fact that airlines do pay their way. Here are facts.

In 1952, the certificated scheduled airlines paid their way. They paid more than twice as much into the Federal Treasury as they received.

The certificated scheduled airlines created postage revenues for the Post Office Department of $152,634,211.

The certificated scheduled airlines accounted for transportation-excise taxes of $97,425,891.

The certificated scheduled airlines paid Federal income taxes of $69,731,274.

The certificated scheduled airlines paid Federal gas and oil taxes of $12,699,219.

The certificated scheduled airlines paid miscellaneous excise taxes of $1,638,648.

The certificated scheduled airlines were responsible for a total Federal revenue of $334,129,249.

The airlines received from the Federal Government $115,215,000, mail payments, of which $44,656,000 was for services rendered and $70,559,000 was subsidy. Certificated airlines' share of maintaining and operating Federal Airways System in 1952, $11,500,000. Total, $126,715,000.

On balance, net to the Federal Government in 1952, $207,414,249.

Citizens Public Expenditure Survey Endorses Cut of $50 Million in CAB Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a statement issued by the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey endorsing the action of the Appropriations Committee of this House in cutting $50 million off the subsidy request of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The survey notes that this cut would mean a saving of nearly $7.5 million to my State of New York. I would like to include the news release of the citizens survey:

ALBANY, February 26.—The Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, Inc., today endorsed the action of the Appropriations Committee of the United States House of Representatives in cutting $50 million off the request for funds to be used for subsidies to airlines by the Civil Aeronautics Board. The State taxpayers group declared that the cut would result in a substantial reduction in unnecessary Federal expenditures.

A large share of the credit for the $50 million cut, the group said, is due to three Congressmen from New York State. They are Representatives JOHN TABER, JOHN J. ROONEY, and FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR. All are Members of the House Committee on Appropriations of which Representative TABER is chairman.

With New York State taxpayers providing nearly 15 percent of Federal revenues, the $50 million cut in the CAB's request will mean a saving of nearly $7.5 million to New York State.

If the subsidy cut of the Appropriations Committee is sustained by Congress, the taxpayers will receive the first benefits of the airmail subsidy separation reform, for which Members of Congress of both parties have worked since the separation reform was recommended by the Hoover Commission 5 years ago.

Since the post office budget contains $60 million for airmail pay, the cut in subsidies will not interfere with payment for mail service actually rendered by the airlines, the survey said.

Officials of American Legion, Department of New Jersey, Present to New Jersey Congressional Delegation the Views of the Department of New Jersey on Matters Affecting Welfare of Veterans and Security of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been the custom of the officers of the American Legion, Department of New Jersey, to meet annually with the United States Senators and Members of Congress from New Jersey to discuss matters concerning the welfare of our veterans and also matters that affect our national security.

These meetings, to which officers of the auxiliary, department of New Jersey, are also in attendance, have proved very worthwhile and are looked forward to each year by all concerned. Today, the annual breakfast and conference for the above purpose was held at the Congressional Hotel, Washington, D. C. It was a most notable occasion.

I include as part of my remarks the statement that was made on behalf of the department of New Jersey. It reads as follows:

Nineteen fifty-four is an anniversary, for it brings us together for the 10th of these annual breakfasts. As originated in 1945 we have continued to meet here each year not only for the pleasure of a social get-together but because it gives us opportunity to briefly set forth certain problems for mutual consultation.

Ten years ago we had a specific problem—a New Jersey problem. We needed a Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospital in our State to care for the hospital load of New Jersey veterans and of the greater metropolitan area.

Through your help in the Congress and on the Washington scene we now have that hospital in operation. It is a beautiful institution, well managed and a credit to the Veterans' Administration. It cost upward of $25 million of taxpayers money to build and is costing annually about $4,800,000 to operate currently 850 beds, serving about 7,500 patients per year. Looking at our original forecasts of 1945, we were uncannily accurate in our estimate of bed requirements and load in this year of 1954. We hit it right on the nose.

HOSPITALS AND NONSERVICE-CONNECTED CASES

In any discussion of this kind where time is the important element, it is very difficult to set down in brief words the important facts stripped of nonessential arguments and documentation and to give to you as legislators the basic information which you want to know.

Recently, Mr. Darrell Huff, a writer on economic subjects, published a book entitled "How To Lie With Statistics." In that book he coined a word: "statisticulate" and de-

fined a statistical liar as a "statisticulator." Well, we do not propose to statisticulate this morning.

As you know, the Veterans' Administration medical program has been under severe and sustained attack. The particular object of attack has been the care of so-called non-service-connected cases in Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospitals on the basis of a declaration of inability to pay by the veteran patient. If ever there was a prime example of "statisticulation" or lying with statistics it is in the arguments advanced for the discontinuance of the treatment of non-service-connected cases.

Actually, there has been no substantial or material proof submitted by any reputable witnesses that there is widespread and flagrant abuse of non-service-connected hospital care by wealthy and affluent veterans. Those who make such charges have been given more than mere opportunity to come forward and state their cases. They have been specifically requested to do so by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and have not only failed to prove their claims—they have refused to do so.

On the other hand, the American Legion has submitted to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee a detailed report on bedside interviews of non-service-connected cases in most of the larger Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospitals. The American Legion will shortly amplify their preliminary report with additional source interviews. The result of this basic research is revealing and conclusive in establishing complete rebuttal to most of the major allegations of abuse advanced by opponents of the program.

Foremost of these charges of abuse allege that the Veterans' Administration makes no investigation of the inability-to-pay statement made by the veteran applicant. This is only relatively true. But it is quite untruthful as generally stated.

For example: Over half of the non-service-connected cases in hospitals are veterans of the part III benefit classification. That is, they are pensioners under the provisions of Public Law 12, suffering from physical disabilities rendering them unemployable and without material income from other sources. When such a veteran applies for hospital care this fact is known to the Veterans' Administration. The Veterans' Administration knows that such pensioners are indigents and as such are unable to pay for private hospital care. This fact was established by investigations incident to the pension award and by physical examination. They are charity cases.

Of the remainder of non-service-connected cases in hospitals, a major portion of these are service-connected-compensation cases seeking hospital care for other than their rated disability, such as a service-connected amputee being hospitalized for pneumonia nonservice connected. When such a veteran applies for hospital care this fact is known to the Veterans' Administration. Disabled veterans living wholly or in part on disability compensation are certainly prima facie unable to pay for private hospital care for any severe illness of extended nature.

This leaves a small minority of veterans who apply for hospital care without any prior claim and solely on their statement of inability to pay.

Therefore to allege that the Veterans' Administration admits non-service-connected cases into their hospitals willy-nilly is not true. They have a pretty good idea of the ability to pay status of their patients based on their own resources.

If anyone desires to statisticulate on these statements, complete documentation will be found in the 1953 reports of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, particularly the Kearney subcommittee on hospitals.

One of the most malicious of current charges on non-service-connected cases is that Veterans' Administration hospitals are havens for common drunkards. An outstanding example of statistical lying is contained in the March issue of Readers Digest by an obscure writer obviously using handouts for his source. This statisticulator says that thousands of alcoholics are treated each year in Veterans' Administration hospitals. The statement clearly implies that some major portion of cases are common drunks.

The turnover of general medical and surgical cases runs somewhere near 400,000 cases per year throughout the country. Therefore, if 1 percent of these cases were alcoholics, these would summate to about 4,000 cases. The statement of thousands of cases would be relatively true, but the implication as printed in the story is false and intended to mislead the reader.

Alcoholism is regarded by the medical profession as a human ailment. It is like some forms of narcoticism; a habit-forming complex usually associated with other physical weaknesses or morbid condition. Undoubtedly alcoholism is a complex in some cases both service-connected and non-service-connected treated in Veterans' Administration hospitals just as it is a complex in general medical practice. We cannot find in our research of diagnosis of non-service-connected cases in hospitals any specific case of alcoholism standing alone.

The Veterans' Administration has complete and detailed records of diagnoses of all patients treated by them in all categories of their hospitals. These records are available to legitimate researchers and are now a substantial source for establishing morbidity and mortality data on life in this country.

To the Members of the Congress, therefore, we say that there is no substantial case for the contention that veterans are abusing their legal right to care in Veterans' Administration hospitals for any cause whatsoever. It is our studied opinion that there is no need for any material change in present laws.

We suggest to the Members of Congress who are importuned to change these laws and wreck the Veterans' Administration hospital program that you beware of statisticulators on this subject.

A further comment seems of interest to the Members of Congress.

Because of these charges of failure to investigate the truth or falsity of the inability-to-pay statement, the Veterans' Administration last November changed the form 10–P–10, application for hospitalization, to include and require a statement of economic status of the applicant. It may be yet too early to firmly determine the effect of this change. We can say, however, insofar as New Jersey is concerned, we do not note any marked reluctance on the part of veterans to provide the information or to decline hospitalization because this information is requested.

In closing this phase of the discussion, we should like to repeat what we said last year.

If the United States Veterans' Administration is to be expected to serve the purpose for which it was created, it must soon be freed from the constant and vicious harassment to which it has been subjected over these past 10 years.

No one agency of the Government has been so thoroughly investigated, reinvestigated, supervised, reorganized, threatened with disintegrations, and kept in a state of turmoil and confusion as to policy and future existence.

It is almost a miracle that this great and sprawling bureaucracy is able to function as well as it does under the burden of charges and countercharges continuously hurled at it. It is a wonder that any competent administrators are willing to take on responsibility for leadership at the price in recrimination and abuse they must accept for their service to this country.

We submit in all candor and reason that no great organization such as the Veterans' Administration can possibly plan and carry in effect any program while powder kegs are planted in every nook and cranny for the purpose of blowing it apart.

If the Congress wishes to do one simple thing above all others to raise the efficiency and lower the cost of this agency, to restore morale among its thousands of loyal employees, and to give to it the sense of confidence necessary to successful operation, then stop the incessant meddling in its affairs and give it a reasonable breathing spell to level off.

AMERICANISM

The Congress has been engaged in a number of activities dealing with internal affairs of our country particularly as affects loyalty to our American institutions and the maintenance of internal security for our constitutional form of government.

It is our opinion that efforts to repeal or materially alter the McCarran-Walter Act should be resisted and that act permitted a longer test of its provisions. It is conceded that some inequities are appearing in the quota system for admission of immigrants to this country which may require adjustment as experience shall indicate.

This act, however, took nearly 5 years to compose based upon extensive hearings at which more than a thousand witnesses representing all phases of civil life were heard. It represents also nearly 50 years of immigration experience.

We believe this act is basically sound and should be thoroughly tested before major alteration is attempted.

We believe that the various committees of the Congress engaged in investigation of subversive activities should receive continued support.

The discovery and prosecution of conspiracy and treason under our criminal law is most difficult. The only alternative is a relentless exposure of these activities to public view.

Granted that there is a minority right protected by our Constitution to espouse unpopular causes or to freely inquire into all matters of knowledge and intelligence, this right does not extend to the protection of conspiracy against the state nor protect treason under the cloak of various special types of freedoms designed as a shield for such activity.

No person need fear the truth. The only persons who need to fear these investigations are those having some evil to conceal.

If certain rough-and-tumble methods are employed by congressional committees on occasion, it is only because the subject matter can be handled in no other graceful way. While we may not always admire the methods, we applaud the result.

The Senate recently concluded a lengthy debate on the proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution designed to prevent treaties from becoming self-operating internal law in the United States.

Despite the failure to pass a suitable constitutional amendment to restrict "law by treaty" we remain firm in our conviction that such a constitutional provision should be adopted.

We urge that congressional study of this question be continued.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In the field of foreign affairs we remain in firm support of United Nations as an acceptable form of world order at this time. We believe, however, that some of the activities of subordinate agencies and commissions of United Nations need to be closely scrutinized and held within proper bounds in the dissemination of propaganda designed to subvert national institutions and favor absolute world government.

We are firmly opposed to the admission of so-called Red China into the United Nations

or recognized as a government worthy of association in the affairs of civilized nations.

NATIONAL SECURITY

We favor continued development of the efficiency of our Armed Forces with greater accentuation upon the improvement of reserve components. We should not be lulled again into a state of disarmament or permit our Armed Forces to become ineffective in an emergency through lack of continued training and perfection in the military arts.

We believe that universal military training of our youth should be made a basic policy of our defense structure as soon as practicable.

We favor the recommended creation of a specialized school for the training of career Air Corps officers. We believe that since airpower is now a highly specialized field and a major arm of the defense of our country, there is need for an advanced Academy—a West Point or an Annapolis of the air—to train the personnel that must command our Air Force.

Postal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herein a copy of the statement I made recently before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in behalf of the salary increase for postal employees.

I am most hopeful that the Members of this House will see fit to support the Withrow bill so that the salaries of our postal employees can be adjusted upward to meet increased living costs.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE RELATIVE TO THE POSTAL PAY INCREASE, MARCH, 1, 1954

Mr. Chairman, first of all I want to thank you and the members of the committee for giving me an opportunity to speak to you about a matter which is of grave concern to us all—the proposed increased in pay for postal employees.

Several times before on the House floor I have urged my colleagues to act, and to act quickly, on a raise in pay for this group of Federal employees which has served us so well and so faithfully over the years. Although the cost of living has continued its upward spiral our postal employees have had no increase in pay since 1951. They are hard pressed to provide even the barest essentials for their families. Many employees have been forced to take on additional work, and in many instances the wives of postal employees have had to go to work in an effort to relieve the financial hardships caused by inadequate salaries.

Our Post Office Department is one of the largest businesses in the world. It was inagurated as a service to the people of the country, and only through the diligent efforts and the unfailing teamwork within the postal organization has it been possible to overcome the many complex problems which arise, and to ensure the type of mail service we have come to expect.

Economy in Government operations seems to be the watchword here in Washington today. That is a good thing. However, economy means more than an actual saving of money per se. It means wise and careful management, and the utilization of funds to the best advantage. As I have said previously, the Post Office Department was set up with the intention of providing a necessary service to the people, and because it does not pay its own way, I cannot see why employees must wait for postal rate increases before they can expect increases in their own salaries. Other Government department and agancies are not self-sustaining, and if our Government can subsidize the farmers, airlines, steamship companies, and even foreign countries, then in my opinion we can and should extend a helping hand to the postal workers.

I most respectfully urge the members of this committee to report out a bill which will provide for an adequate increase in salaries for that group.

We Must Outlaw the Communist Conspiracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, during the existence of the Dies committee from 1938 to 1945, we investigated and exposed approximately 500 Fascist, Nazi, and Communist organizations, with a claimed total membership in the United States of 10 million persons, and as a result most of these organizations went out of existence before the termination of our committee on January 3, 1945. We exposed several hundred Fascist, Nazi, and Communist magazines, periodicals, and publications, with the result that they were unable to survive the disclosure of their treasonable purposes. We exposed a dozen international labor unions affiliated with the CIO which were controlled by Communists. Ten years later the CIO confirmed our findings and expelled these unions from their organization.

Our committee revealed the names and occupations of several thousand employees and officials with subversive records working for our Government, and gradually and belatedly they were weeded out of the Government service by discharge or forced resignations. Included in this list, which we submitted in 1941, were the names of Alger Hiss, Donald Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Harold Glasser, and George Shaw Wheeler. The work of our committee was an important factor in the conviction of Fritz Kuhn, styled feuhrer of the German-American Bund; Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, and William Weiner, party treasurer; Nicholas Dozenberg; William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts of America; officials of Bookniga, Soviet propaganda agency; the expulsion of Arno Rissi and Mrs. Leslie Fry, and the prosecution of many other disloyal persons. Many bills of a corrective nature passed the House as a result of the testimony produced by our committee. Before World War II our committee exposed the Japanese fifth column in the United States and furnished to our Government a map showing in great detail the fleet positions and battle formations of the United States Navy around Pearl Harbor. As a result of our hearings and findings, bills were passed under which many Communist leaders have been sent to the penitentiary.

One of our chief recommendations to outlaw the Communist conspiracy, which may be found in the committee's report filed with Congress on January 3, 1941, has not yet been enacted into law. In connection with this recommendation, our committee said in its report:

> As long as these organizations have a legal status in the United States, it will be difficult for any agency of the Government to deal with them.

Our committee also found that from 1919 to 1924 the Communist conspiracy was outlawed in this country by wartime legislation, and that during this period the Communist movement in the United States "remained comparatively stationary and innocuous."

Mr. Speaker, on February 16, 1954, I introduced H. R. 7894, which declares that the Communist Party of the United States and its various components of affiliated, subsidiary, and frontal organizations and all other organizations, no matter under what name, whose object or purpose is to overthrow the Government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District, or possession thereof, or of any political subdivision therein, by force and violence, are declared illegal and not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof; and that membership in any such organization is a Federal offense punishable by a fine not exceeding $10,000 or imprisonment not exceeding 10 years, or both, provided that the member had knowledge of the revolutionary object or purpose of such organization. If this legislation is enacted, it will deprive the Communists of their greatest asset, which is the legal apparatus and window dressing for the planning and perpetration of treason and the deception of gullible and unthinking people.

The evidence produced before our committee showed beyond any doubt that communism is a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party, and that Communists in the United States are the un-uniformed soldiers of the Kremlin stationed on American soil. The evidence was established that the Communist Party and its components of affiliated, subsidiary, and frontal organizations is an agency for the planning and perpetration of misdemeanors and high crimes. These crimes and misdemeanors belong in a special class. Behind the Communist violations of our statutes

there is a special motive which requires a special kind of understanding. The Communist criminal is not an ordinary criminal even when he is committing ordinary crimes. The extraordinary thing about a Communist crime is that it rests upon an elaborate philosophy which is summed up in the doctrine that the end justifies the means. The Communist end is a beautifully depicted utopia. Only after the new recruit has become wedded to the Communist utopia is he initiated into the criminal means by which the Communist Party proposes to attain its utopia. Even according to its professed tactics, the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations is an agency for the planning and perpetration of misdemeanors and high crimes. Lenin, himself, made this perfectly clear when he said:

> Revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very poor revolutionaries.

What I have said explains why Earl Browder was convicted for obtaining a United States passport through fraud. It explains why William Weiner was convicted for fraudulently representing himself as an American citizen. It explains why Nicholas Dozenberg was convicted for perjury in obtaining an American passport. It explains why Dr. Valentine Burtan, Communist agent for Stalin's counterfeiting ring, served a sentence in the Federal prison in Lewisburg, Pa. It explains why the Communist Party practiced fraud on a large scale in obtaining signatures for its election petitions. It explains why Communists defied our laws to recruit 4,000 American boys to send them to fight for Stalin in Spain. All of these men and thousands of others who have not yet been apprehended and convicted committed their crimes in the service of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has put itself on record again and again with respect to its intentions of disloyalty to the American Government, and with respect to its actual loyalty to the Soviet Union.

To Communists treason is a virtue. No Communist who ever appeared before our committee would ever say that in the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia he would support the United States. Furthermore, the Communist conspiracy preaches and practices the overthrow of non-Communist governments by force and violence. They do not believe in the democratic processes of free elections and parliamentary procedure to achieve their ends.

In view of these facts which have been proven before the Congress and the courts of the United States, is there any possible justification for the continued recognition of the Communist conspiracy as legal in the United States? Are we not placed in an impossibly inconsistent position when we seek to combat communistic activities in the United States and at the same time recognize Communist organizations as legal bodies? The Communist organizations remain just as legal in America today as they have been since the expiration of the wartime acts in 1924.

The time has come to end this farce by the passage of my bill.

Ten Guideposts for Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, realism, it has been said, is the trademark of statesmanship. In dealing with individuals, or with nations, one must look into the face of reality and then direct his actions in such a manner that they may take fully into account the existing conditions.

Our Nation—without wanting or willing it—has become the leader of the free world in our common struggle with the evil of totalitarian communism. We have been pushed by fate into the center of the world stage and, whether we like it or not, we ought to rise to the responsibilities of that position. The perilous age in which we live calls for greatness, and our Nation must respond to the challenge.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of this body an article written by one of our outstanding contemporary historians, Henry Steele Commager, suggesting the things we should remember as we play our role on the world stage. It is an article which merits careful thought.

TEN GUIDEPOSTS FOR OUR FOREIGN POLICY
(By Henry Steele Commager)

The long debate over the Bricker amendment has focused attention on the vast responsibilities we must meet in the conduct of our foreign policy. In a broad way it can be said that Senator BRICKER's side spoke for those Americans who do not want any foreign policy at all or want a very modest one, those who distrust international entanglements of any sort, those who believe it possible to go back to the relatively pastoral conditions of the 19th century and those who think that they can regularize the vicissitudes of foreign policy simply by writing down all the rules in advance. On the other side were those who recognize that the United States today is inextricably involved in the affairs of the rest of the world, that it is quite impossible to go back to the simplicities of an earlier generation, that a great power must be prepared to play an active and dominant role in world affairs, and that to play such a role it must have effective machinery and freedom of action.

These differences of opinion, or of philosophy, reflect the changed position of the United States in world affairs. For a century the United States was on the periphery of the world stage; only in the last generation has it moved to the center of the stage. That move is one of the dramatic and decisive changes of history.

The Brickerites, who resist the idea of that change, are wrong on the Constitution, wrong on law, wrong on logic. They are wrong about the present and the future but, in a curious way, right about the past.

From the beginning of our history, and for a long time, Americans could and did regard foreign affairs as an unwarranted intrusion into their proper affairs. Washington proclaimed neutrality; Jefferson congratulated the country that it was "kindly separated by nature from one-quarter of the globe" and "too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others," and warned against entangling alliances. Monroe laid down a policy of mutual exclusiveness for Europe and America, and subsequent Presidents elaborated on that policy. On the eve of the first great era of American intervention in world affairs, Woodrow Wilson could omit any reference to foreign policy from his inaugural address; 20 years later the President who was to lead the Nation to the very center of world power could do likewise.

It would be a mistake to say that during all these years we had no foreign policy, and just as great a mistake to say that our policy was one of isolationism. But it is fair to say that for a century or more most Americans felt that the less we had to do with other countries (except those to whom we were to bring freedom) the better, and that the conduct of foreign policy was rather like the conduct of a revival meeting—a continuous wrestling with sin.

They felt, too, that there was a pretty sharp distinction between foreign and domestic affairs, and that anything that blurred or erased that distinction was somehow unsound. But to protest the blurring of the distinction between foreign and domestic policy today is like protesting the blurring of the distinction between military and civilian policy. It is not cunning or ambitious men who smudge these distinctions but modern life. Just as there are few features of our economy and society that do not affect our military strength, and few military decisions that do not have economic and social repercussions, so there are few areas of domestic or of foreign affairs that are completely isolated and exclusive.

The transition to the present situation in which foreign and domestic policy are interdependent and in which American policy is decisive for the Western World, came only recently, and came swiftly. It came before the American people were prepared for it—technically, intellectually, or psychologically. After all, it took Britain a century to learn how to conduct herself as a world power—and no other nation ever learned. Furthermore, the United States is called on today not only to take the lead in world affairs but to organize and sustain a great coalition of nations. It is called upon not only to play the role that Britain played in the 19th century, but—as Walter Lippmann has so acutely remarked—to play that role without any other nation to play the role that the United States played.

How is the United States to fulfill the obligations which history has thrust upon her, obligations which involve her own security and the security of the democratic and free world? Only a committee of experts in the broad and complex field of foreign policy could work out a specific blueprint. But a layman may examine the conduct of foreign policy against the background of our historical experience and in the context of our national character. What is set down here is a series of reminders that foreign policy (like domestic) must, indeed, grow out of historical experience and reflect national character. It is also a plea for enlarging that experience and maturing that character.

1. We must have adequate machinery and organization for the conduct of our foreign relations.

This elementary consideration means above all that we must attract first-rate men and women to the Foreign Service, that we must protect them and secure them in their positions and their reputations, and that we must encourage them to make their skills and their talents available and effective.

It is no secret that we are not now doing this. The policies which we now pursue are designed rather to do just the opposite: To attract mediocrities into the Foreign Service; to guarantee a constant turnover in the Service; to discourage boldness and enterprise and originality. Documentation for these generalizations comes from many quarters. Joseph Grew, Norman Armour, and other high-ranking figures of the diplomatic

corps, for example, have warned us in somber tones that fear, expressing itself in an exaggerated emphasis on security may lead us to cripple the Foreign Service, first line of national defense.

It is the security program that is chiefly at fault here. But our civil-service policy is at fault, too. There is too much shifting about on a high level; there is too much pressure on the policy level. It is precisely on the policymaking level that we need continuity and security from political pressure. If we must use the Foreign Service for political spoils let us by all means pluck the spoils from the lower rungs, but let us preserve the brains and the experience at the top.

2. Our foreign policy should have firm control and steady direction.

This means almost inevitably, executive direction and control. It is well to remember that all of our most important foreign policies have been presidential, the policy of neutrality established by Washington; the Monroe Doctrine and its extensions and corollaries; the Open Door Policy; the Truman Doctrine. It is well to remember that the Constitution specifically lodges control of foreign relations in the hands of the President, with the cooperation of the Senate in particular and limited areas.

Efforts to weaken presidential authority, to diffuse and dissipate authority, to limit and circumscribe authority, are all designed to paralyze the United States in the conduct of foreign relations. This generalization applies alike to the proposed Bricker amendment, to the George substitute, to the Knowland substitute or to any other device which will make it more difficult for the President to conduct foreign affairs.

3. Our foreign policy must have continuity.

This means that as far as possible, and that is very far indeed, it should be above the currents and eddies of partisanship. If we adopt or reject major policies in response to the fluctuations of domestic politics, we cannot expect to form and maintain a system of alliances, nor can we expect to develop that trained and faithful Foreign Service without which no nation can operate.

On the whole our record here is a good one. The Republicans, to be sure, did reverse the Wilsonian policies in 1920, but the reversal was not quite as sweeping as it seemed. The Eisenhower administration has adopted, almost in toto, the foreign policies of the Truman and Roosevelt administrations. It had, indeed, little choice in the matter.

But it is necessary to achieve continuity and avoid partisanship not only in the framing of foreign policies but in weighing foreign policies. Here we are witnessing a deplorable and a dangerous departure from sound principle. Extreme partisan opposition to the Roosevelt-Truman policies has not been content to challenge their wisdom or their effective execution, but has branded them as betrayals and their supporters as traitors. No administration can conduct a sound foreign policy in such an atmosphere. It is worth remembering that notwithstanding the follies of the Chamberlain regime which all but lost World War II, Churchill never engaged in this kind of recrimination against his predecessor.

4. Foreign policy in a democracy must be sustained by enlightened public opinion.

That our public opinion is not everywhere enlightened will readily be conceded. There is deep and widespread sullenness about our international commitments and obligations; there is narrow suspicion of the United Nations or of UNESCO; there is failure to understand the extent of our own stake in a strong and healthy Europe; there is shabby readiness to smear our closest allies because they do not always see eye to eye with us.

Yet the wonder is that isolationism, provincialism, narrowness, and selfishness are not more widespread and more effective.

We have only to compare American opinion toward the League and the World Court with opinion today to see how far we have advanced in maturity. We have only to compare the lively, intelligent and general interest in foreign affairs displayed in hundreds of American communities, large and small, with the general apathy to be found in most other countries, to see how decisive has been the shift of opinion in a single generation.

After all, where the League was defeated, the United Nations was accepted by an overwhelming vote in Congress. Whenever the President has gone to the people for support of a program of international cooperation, he has won that support.

5. We must recognize, even more than we do, how large a share economics plays in foreign policy.

There has been, in the last decade or so, an energetic effort to integrate economic policy with foreign policy on the planning and the administrative level, but it would be an exaggeration to say that this integration has been wholly successful. The real problem is not, after all, administrative but political. And it is the Congress, rather than ECA, or the Export-Import Bank, that needs to be integrated.

Here again progress is not as slow as it seems—as it must seem, for example, to those who urge a program of "trade not aid." It takes time to change a debtor nation to a creditor nation, an exporting nation to an importing nation, a high-tariff nation to a low-tariff nation. Yet no other country can point to an act of such enlightened interest and self-interest as the Marshall plan.

What we must realize is that economic cooperation is not just an emergency measure, but a long-term, even a permanent program. We must be prepared to consider a degree of economic integration with the west as great as that which we so cheerfully recommended to the Benelux countries, to the members of the Schuman plan, to the European Defense Community.

6. Though it is well to have concrete foreign-policy objectives clearly in view, it is no less important for us to retain flexibility in our means and openmindedness toward our ends.

The danger of becoming the prisoner of our own plans is greater for Americans than for most peoples, because we are more prone to make large plans. We are more confident of our ability to implement them and more sure of our righteousness than most other peoples.

We like quick results. But in foreign policy we cannot get quick results. We like a simple, an understandable pattern. But in foreign policy nothing is simple and many things are not understandable. We believe in mechanical solutions to most problems and are prone to underestimate the importance of culture, tradition, or habit. There are many problems which only time and good will can resolve.

What is dangerous here is the psychology of the crusade—a psychology which injects moral considerations into every policy, and which rejects compromise as immoral or treasonable. We cannot deal with China by a crusade and we are already finding ourselves embarrassed by absolutistic attitudes toward the whole China problem. We cannot deal with Russia by a crusade, and when we try to do so we endanger our alliances abroad. We cannot blueprint the world and require it to fit our blueprint.

"It is a mistake," wrote Sir Winston Churchill in his last book, "to try to write out on little pieces of paper what the vast emotions of an outraged and quivering world will be either immediately after the struggle is over or when the inevitable cold fit follows the hot. These awe-inspiring tides of feeling dominate most people's minds, and independent figures tend to become not only lonely but futile. Guidance in these mundane matters is granted to us only step by step * * *. There is therefore wisdom in reserving one's decisions as long as possible, and until all the facts and forces that will be potent at the moment are revealed."

Those who think in terms of absolutes, in foreign as in domestic affairs, are an easy prey to the psychology of betrayal and conspiracy—a very dangerous phychology in any situation. Because these people see the world in their own image, they are unable to account for a failure to reflect that image except by treason or catastrophe.

Thus they concoct Wall Street bankers or munitions manufacturers to account for the First World War; thus they concoct a Roosevelt conspiracy to account for Pearl Harbor; thus they concoct a Yalta sellout to account for the cold war with Russia or the communization of Poland; thus they concoct an Acheson-Lattimore conspiracy to account for the triumph of communism in China.

7. We must recognize, even more than we do, that we cannot manage the world ourselves, and would not if we could.

We are a partner—the strongest and the richest but not the senior partner—in a grand alliance. We must take care, at every point, to nourish and sustain that alliance.

We must not adopt unilateral policies. We must not attempt intimidation or coercion. We must not try to dictate our partners' policies or their domestic affairs. We must deny ourselves the luxury of talking about them as if they were really our enemies every time we disagree with their point of view.

We must remember that, strong and rich as we are, we have a great deal to learn from our associates—even in the conduct of foreign relations. Above all, we have a great deal to learn from Britain, which has long maintained the most effective international organization in the world.

8. In building our system of alliances we must rely not on blueprints, on treaties and agreements, on formal concessions but, above all, on character.

Nothing is clearer to the student of modern history than that reliance on merely formal agreements is treacherous. We have only to recall Italy's shift in the First World War, the quick turnabout of relations between Germany and Russia in 1939 and 1940, the uncertainty of alliances and agreements with totalitarian countries like Russia and China.

In the last war the most effective system of alliances—the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States—was one bound together not by law or treaty but by the cement of common loyalties and a common body of values. In the conduct of international affairs, as of individual affairs, we must put our ultimate reliance on character.

It is character that we must cultivate if our associates are to rely on us. It will not be enough to have the largest industrial output, the strongest Navy and Air Force, the most advanced weapons of destruction, if we do not at the same time command confidence in our instincts and judgment.

9. We must cultivate the long view, remembering that we are building not for the day or the morrow but for generations and even centuries.

This means that we must try to understand those great historical changes that are underway throughout the globe, understand them and adjust to them. We must understand that the backward peoples of the 19th century no longer think of themselves as backward and that the day of colonialism is pretty well over. We must understand that the nations and peoples of Asia are coming into their own, and do not propose to be pawns in some Western game, or to be treated as subordinates and inferiors.

We must understand that the technological revolution has ushered in an economy of abundance, or of potential abundance, for

other peoples as well as for ourselves, and we must cooperate in this revolution. We must understand the significance of the growth througout the West of socialistic democracy, and avoid that error of logic—and of policy—which equates socialism with communism, an attitude which drives us back into isolation.

10. We must cultivate the habits of mind of a really great power—a power, aware not so much of its power as of its greatness.

We must keep ever in mind that admonition of Lord Acton's that all power corrupts—and try to disprove it. We must cultivate patience, prudence, generosity. We must act with intelligence and imagination. We must be magnanimous.

It is not enough that we pay lip service to these words or ideas; we must actively develop and apply them. We must create, at home, an atmosphere in which these ideas can flourish. We must encourage, at home, prudence and fairness and freedom and generosity, and we must encourage and reward men and women who display these qualities while we discourage and rebuke those men and women who do not.

The same attitude of mind that persuades us to regard our fellow citizens with fear or suspicion will persuade us to regard our associates in other countries with fear and suspicion. The policies that discourage or suppress freedom of inquiry and of association at home, will cripple us in the conduct of relations abroad, for they will prevent us from discovering truth or from applying it when we have discovered it.

If we do not have confidence in each other we can scarcely expect Britons, Canadians, Frenchmen, Danes, and Indians to have confidence in us. If we do not conduct our affairs with prudence and integrity we can scarcely expect that our associates will rely on these qualities in the conduct of world affairs.

No other people of modern times ever had so great a responsibility placed upon them. We must show that we are mature enough to accept and fulfill that responsibility. This is a time for greatness.

Statement by Hon. Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, on the Anniversary of Soviet Domination of Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on the subject of the anniversary of the Soviet domination of Rumania.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. HOMER FERGUSON, OF MICHIGAN, ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET DOMINATION OF RUMANIA

Saturday, March 6, 1954, marks the ninth anniversary of the Communist seizure of the Government of Rumania and I wish to call attention to this mournful anniversary because it contains a lesson which has not yet been learned by many people throughout the world.

The lesson to be learned from the Communist seizure of Rumania is that communism and Communist leaders cannot be trusted.

Rumania, of course, was occupied by Russian forces toward the end of 1944 and the Communists immediately began to exercise every conceivable pressure to secure their complete control, aided by the few Communist Rumanians and the firepower of the Red army.

The Rumanian Government was unable to resist the powerful Soviet demands indefinitely in the face of the military power of the Communists. On March 6, after Russian troops had occupied the principal Government office buildings, the Communist government was formed without the participation of the two strongest Rumanian parties.

As well as studying the lesson of these events, we must also use this occasion to pay tribute to the Rumanian people who have been ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of the Soviet Union and yet have not lost their love for freedom or their determination to regain it.

Need for Increased Fire Protection on the Watersheds of Los Angeles County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, late last December the newspapers across the country blazoned the story of a forest fire in the San Gabriel Mountains, of Los Angeles County, Calif. They told how it threatened the costly observatory on Mt. Wilson.

Drought conditions had prevailed for months throughout the entire region, the foresters of Los Angeles County had joined with those of the Federal Forest Service to warn everybody against carelessness with fire. Someone failed to heed the warnings, however, and on Sunday afternoon, December 27, a fire started at about the 4,500-foot level on the slope of Monrovia Peak. A wind of cyclonic violence drove it over the crest and down into the scattered timber below.

Before Forest Service fire fighters could arrive on the scene, the burning was so fierce that the fire department of the city of Monrovia, 5 miles to the south, was called. This force was soon joined by the Arcadia department and 150 men detailed by the Forest Service. In a little more than 6 hours it had traveled 3½ miles and was described as out of control. A week passed, with 1,100 men working with big water tanks and pumpers, bulldozers, and even a helicopter, before it was under control.

During those hectic days damage estimated at more than $7 million was done to the watershed. Thirty-three residences were destroyed, 2,000 people were forced to leave their homes and belongings, and forest and vegetative growth on 15,000 acres was blotted out.

This fire caught the public interest because it threatened the world-famous observatory on Mount Wilson, and the massive 200-inch telescope. But in area burned and in dollar losses it was exceeded by another of the 10 fires that scarred the mountains and watersheds of Los Angeles County during the same year. This clearly demonstrates the fact that fire is a constant hazard in southern California, against which we must all be alert.

To top it off, the embers of the most recent fire were scarcely cold when rain came. At first it was a welcome relief from the long dry months. Then the worst fears were fulfilled. It grew from a gentle rain to a torrent. With no trees or brush, no grass, no vegetation of any kind on thousands of acres of mountainside, the water moved with increasing velocity to fill the dry beds of the canyons. In short, it turned into a gully washer.

Mud, boulders, and debris were swept down to fill the streets and cover the lawns of such towns as Sierra Madre, Duarte, and Monrovia, to depths of 4 feet or more. Houses were undermined or actually crashed in, trees and powerlines were down, cars and furniture were washed along on the crest of the flood, to be left strewn along the stream margins.

The foothill communities of Los Angeles County started in immediately to dig themselves out, and were still doing so when on January 25 and 26 a second rain on the unprotected mountainsides launched another torrent of mud and boulders. That which happened during the first storm was repeated and made worse.

The people of Los Angeles County have done much to avert such calamities. It seems, however, that all this is short of what is necessary, when some person, careless or worse, starts a fire in the drought-dried brush and tree growth which clothes those mountainsides. Then, the stage is set for a catastrophe. Lives are menaced, properties are damaged, forests which protect the storage areas of life-giving waters are ruined.

The watershed values of the brush and tree growth on those hillsides has been placed at $700 to $1,000 an acre. But when water is at a premium dollars can scarcely measure its value.

Los Angeles County, the several communities in the county, the State of California, and the Federal Government have combined their forces to fight fire wherever it occurs. The county maintains facilities for fighting fires and restoring forests which excel those of many States. The primary object of managing the 650,000 acres of chaparral and tree growth in the Angeles National Forest is to protect vegetative growth that covers the watershed.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, forest-fire protection on the Angeles National Forest cost more than 52 cents an acre. This is more than 5 times the 9 cents an acre spent for protecting all national forests. In addition, a little more than 98 cents an acre, available under the Flood Control Act of 1944, was spent for fire control on the Los Angeles River watershed portion of Angeles National Forest. Thus, over most of this national forest, fire fighting cost an average of $1.50 an acre. Yet the fires persist.

Without criticizing the expenditures for forest-fire fighting, those who have lived with the problem and studied it from day to day, have concluded that something is lacking. They believe that too little attention and too little money are being directed to the prevention of forest fires. It is as if an expensive and well-equipped ambulance were maintained at the base of a dangerous cliff, while the top of the cliff, from which victims are repeatedly falling, is without a guard or guardrail.

Supervisor William V. Mendenhall thinks that fire prevention has been neglected. He lives with the fire problem day after day, and year after year, so he sees it as few others can. Moreover, he has observed the remarkable service provided by the County of Los Angeles. Their program of prevention, which supplements the one of protection, has proved successful on similarly forested watershed lands outside the national forest. Accordingly, he proposed a long-range plan of education and improvements to keep forest fires from being started.

The plan appeals so strongly to the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County that they have backed up their conviction with a resolution. A copy has been sent to me, and I, too, am so convinced of its worth that I respectfully call it to your attention. The resolution follows:

Whereas the recent disastrous fires in the San Gabriel Mountains caused untold damage to southern California watersheds; and

Whereas destruction of watersheds will have damaging effect on properties in southern California for many years to come; and

Whereas these fires were controlled by unstinting and cooperative effort of Federal, State, county, and local agencies, including the fire departments of many counties adjacent to Los Angeles County, but, at tremendous cost; and

Whereas actual expenditures for fire fighting in the watershed areas are many times those for fire prevention; and

Whereas additional expenditures for fire prevention might well eliminate the major portion of required expenditures for the suppression of fires, as well as prevent irreparable damage to watersheds of Los Angeles County; and

Whereas present appropriations for fire prevention in the national forests of southern California are not sufficient to provide a level of service comparable to that furnished by the county of Los Angeles, either in quality, quantity, or period of coverage; and

Whereas the supervisor of the Angeles National Forest has submitted a report outlining the fiscal requirements to provide the proper level of service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of supervisors endorses the program submitted by the supervisor of the Angeles National Forest, and urges the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Forester, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Congress, and all other responsible officials to support the program submitted, and make available the necessary appropriations to maintain an adequate level of Federal fire protection in the national forests of southern California; and be it further

Resolved, That the county of Los Angeles pledges its utmost cooperation in maintaining the highest level of fire protection so that the natural resources of this county and other southern California counties will not be jeopardized by such disastrous fires; and be it further

Resolved, That Supervisor Herbert C. Legg be authorized to take the report of the supervisor of the Angeles National Forest and copies of this resolution to Washington and discuss with the United States Forester, Members of Congress, and representatives of the State department of agriculture, and the Bureau of the Budget the problems of adequate fire protection in southern California; and be it further

Resolved, That the clerk of the board be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the United States Senators and United States Congressmen from the southern California counties, the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Forester, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Governor of the State of California, and the State board of forestry.

Brotherhood in the World of Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address by Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy, made before the National Conference of Christians and Jews at New York, N. Y., on February 4, 1954. The address followed the presentation of the Brotherhood Award to Mr. Murphy by the conference, and appears in the Department of State Bulletin for February 22, 1954:

Nobody, I am sure, could receive without emotion the honor conferred upon me this evening by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. However little I may merit this distinction, I am deeply grateful to your president and the members.

Through the years since the founding of the conference in 1928, there has been constant reminder of the good works of your members and friends in the promotion of higher standards in our social order. Perhaps in no period of world history has there been greater need for men and women of your stamp to do battle with the forces of prejudice and discrimination in the wilderness of totalitarianism. Your group has been a haven of refuge and an inspiration for the weary and oppressed.

Naturally, as a worker in the field of foreign affairs, my interest was attracted by the founding in Europe of World Brotherhood in 1950. I can testify to its effectiveness in the promotion of your high ideals.

In my case, my appreciation is no less deep because I know that, in naming me for this award, you were thinking not of me as a person but rather as a representative of the men and women in our American Foreign Service, who in their way are working to build a world of brotherhood.

I would like your permission to accept this award in their name. My long years in the Service give me the right, I think, to act for them and to speak for them whenever opportunity offers.

Throughout my career I have had many contacts with American groups, business people, professionals, those of the armed services. Nowhere have I seen greater dedication to duty and the best interests of our country and the American people than in the United States Foreign Service.

These people, let me add, need your confidence. They need the encouragement of knowing the American people, their people, are back of them. They need, as do we all, an occasional word of appreciation.

Let me assure you that your country's representatives abroad today yield to none in competence and in loyalty to American ideals. By encouraging them you make a practical contribution to the success of the work they are doing. And there has never been a time when it was more important that they be in a position to give their best.

The foreign policy of the United States is decided in Washington. The duty of applying that policy to local situations abroad devolves upon the Foreign Service. It is a tremendous responsibility at any time, but especially so today.

Recent years have witnessed important developments in the position of the United States in world affairs. Today our country is the acknowledged leader of the free world with all the responsibilities such a role implies.

The objectives of our policies, foreign and domestic, remain constant—the welfare and security of the people of the United States. But more and more, over the years, we have found our welfare and security related to factors outside our own borders. Necessity has broadened our interests as well as our field of activity.

I think it was Voltaire who once said that, as disconcerting as it might be on occasion, the brotherhood of man was an inescapable fact. The brotherhood of man has ceased to be regarded merely as an ideal. Today it is accepted by sensible men as an inescapable reality. The foreign policies of the United States are based upon that reality.

ADJUSTMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY

Naturally in this changing world, all nations periodically must reexamine their policies. The United States is no exception. Policies, and the programs designed to put them into effect, must be adjusted from time to time to meet new situations. Such a reexamination of the policies of the United States was recently announced by our able Secretary of State.

Reviewing the past decade or two, I think it is agreed that many of the policies followed had been sound. However, they were in the main emergency measures, taken to meet situations imposed by forcese outside our borders. The new look at our policies has resulted in policies and programs that are geared for the long pull.

In harmony with the times, we are planning for an entire historical era. The United States must be strong not only for today but for tomorrow, and for all tomorrows of the foreseeable future.

We mut be strong not alone for ourselves but for those who, today, look to us for leadership in building their own strength and maintaining their own security.

American policy recognizes our need for allies and friends. As in the past, it places its hope for ultimate peace in the world in the united strength and the determination of the free peoples. That strength is being increased and that unity is being reinforced. Our policies are shaped to that end.

Admittedly, freedom frequently involves differences of opinion. It does between people. And it does between nations. Sometimes these are rather violent differences. Complete uniformity is not to be expected from free peoples.

When these differences arise between our friends and allies the United States hopes, and is planning, to maintain a position of impartial friendship for both. By way of illustration, we are not taking sides in disputes between Israel and the Arab States, between India and Pakistan, or in any other situation where differences in the free world arise. We think—we feel we know—that we

can be of more service to our friends, and to the cause of peace, if we do remain impartial.

I have spoken of the free world, our friends and allies in that world.

CURRENT DIVISION OF WORLD

It is the unspeakable tragedy of our times that we must recognize a division of the world today. We refuse to recognize such a division as permanent. We believe that time and the fundamentals are working for us. Among the fundamentals on our side are the richness—spiritual, intellectual, and material—that freedom alone can produce.

It was in this spirit that our Secretary of State went to the meeting in Berlin of the Four Powers of the grand alliance of World War II. If you have been following the developments of that conference you cannot fail to have been impressed by the strength that spirit has given us and our allies.

The objective of the Soviets in Berlin is obvious. It is to weaken the unity of the free world, striking particularly at the free nations of Europe and the United States. Soviet efforts, to date, however, have met a stone wall. The United States, the United Kingdom, and France are demonstrating in Berlin their unity is unimpaired.

In Asia the Communist imperialism failed in its greatest gamble to date, the aggression against Korea. Our new policy contains powerful deterrents against other Koreas. No would-be aggressor hereafter can take such a gamble without the gravest risk.

The United States has twice of late mentioned Indochina as illustrating this transition in policy. Specifically we have said that if there is open Red Chinese aggression in that area there will be grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina. We feel this may provide the best form of insurance against aggression.

Today, living in a world where emergencies inevitably develop and must be met, we are determined to formulate our policy lines on a long-time basis which we hope in the future will avoid resort to the improvisation of billions for foreign economic aid and overnight commitments to fight land battles in Asia or elsewhere. We are aware of the implacable Soviet plans to weaken us by overextension in efforts which in the words of Lenin are beyond our strength so that we may come to practical bankruptcy. It has become obvious to all of us that the ultimate Soviet hope is that by their policy of attrition they will gain the final victory over us when the moment comes for Stalin's objective of the decisive blow. We know that it is not sound economics or effective foreign policy to support permanently other countries or to become committed to military expenditures so great that they will lead inevitably to national bankruptcy.

Our Government is seeking a national security system at a maximum deterrent and at a bearable cost, and our purpose is to make our relations with our allies more effective and less costly. We are placing today more reliance on deterrent power and less on local defensive power and are determined now to deter aggression by responding vigorously at places and with means of our own choosing. As long as American basic policy concepts were unclear and undecided, it was impossible for our Joint Chiefs of Staff to be selective in building our military power. That enabled an enemy thus to choose the time and place and method of warfare, while we met aggression by local opposition. In other words, putting out bonfires wherever they happen required us to fight anywhere whether in Asia, the Near East, or Europe, with old weapons or with new weapons.

Now the President and the National Security Council have taken the necessary basic policy decisions and these depend largely upon our great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our own choosing. Thus our Defense Establishment can shape our military apparatus to fit our policy instead of torturing itself in an effort to be ready to meet any choice of an enemy. That means that a selection of military methods is possible instead of a multiplication of means and this results in more basic security at lower cost.

The new look that our President and his administration have taken at our foreign policy recognizes what is fundamental to all our foreign policies—a desire to build free-world strength and unity as the basis of American welfare and security. In so doing I am sure that our Government can depend on the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the World Brotherhood in promoting policies which are so fundamental and so much in harmony with the purposes of your organization.

Brilliant Boss of Atom's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the March 1954 issue of Nation's Business:

BRILLIANT BOSS OF ATOM'S FUTURE

(By Louis Cassels)

The management of the world's biggest industrial empire is the worry of a man who has never met a payroll, mapped a sales campaign, or attended a directors' meeting. In fact, he could list his entire career in private business on a single line of his employment record:

"Delivery boy, Cleveland grocery store, 1923–24."

The men who hired him to run a multibillion dollar manufacturing enterprise knew that he lacked the kind of experience that normally would be considered indispensable for a top executive. But they also knew that he would not be handicapped by his unfamiliarity with sales charts, stock issues, and profit statements. For his extraordinary organization has neither salesmen nor stockholders, and it is not expected to show a profit.

All it is expected to do is to keep the United States out in front in the atomic arms race, and for that terrible responsibility Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols is well qualified.

The new Goliath of American industry, whose management Nichols assumed last November 1, is the United States Atomic Energy Commission. Because it is Government owned and because its operations are cloaked in secrecy, few Americans realize that the AEC has become the Nation's biggest manufacturing concern.

But, if gross book value of plant assets is taken as an index, the AEC outstripped General Motors more than 2 years ago. Within the past year, it moved ahead of U. S. Steel. When the current expansion program is completed, its total investment in plant and equipment will approximate $8 billion. With many of the Nation's best corporations serving as contract operators, it maintains more than 50 major production and processing installations in 20 States; it holds title to 3,000 square miles of land, an area larger than the States of Delaware and Rhode Island combined; and it is the Nation's biggest consumer of electric power, using about 5 percent of the total United States output. Through its contractors, it employs upwards of 150,000 persons and its annual operating costs now approach $1 billion.

If the size of the nationalized atomic industry is awesome, its complexity is even more so. The production of an A-bomb begins in the sweltering jungles of the Belgian Congo, the Arctic wastes of northern Canada or on our own Colorado Plateau, when radioactive rock is scratched from the ground and put through an initial processing to separate the small quantity of valuable uranium ore from the great mass of unwanted carnotite or pitchblende in which it is imbedded. The partially refined ore is then shipped to one of the AEC's numerous feed materials plants. There tons of ore are reduced, through intricate chemical and metallurgical processes, to pounds of pure uranium metal or liters of uranium hexafluoride gas.

The former is shipped to the AEC's production centers at Hanford, Wash. and Aiken, S. C., to be converted into plutonium. The latter goes to the gaseous diffusion plants at Oak Ridge, Tenn., Portsmouth, Ohio, and Paducah, Ky., to be refined into uranium 235. At still other, highly secret sites, the two kinds of fissionable material are machined into precise shapes and assembled into weapons. A few of the finished products are sent to the Eniwetok or Nevada proving grounds for testing; the rest go into deep underground storage vaults, to await a delivery date which, the producers hope, may never come.

The AEC's top policy-making body, corresponding to the board of directors of a private firm, is a five-member commission headed by Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, a former New York banker. Day-to-day control over the actual operation of the vast production complex is in the hands of the general manager, a $20,000-a-year executive whose title would be president (and whose salary would be larger) if the AEC were a private corporation.

From 1950 until last fall, the general manager's office was occupied by Marion W. Boyer, Esso Standard Oil Co.'s able and amiable vice president in charge of manufacturing. Mr. Boyer was drafted from industry with the understanding that he would run the atomic program for 3 years. When he returned to Esso Standard, it was generally assumed that the commissioners would ask some other big corporation to detail an experienced executive to replace him. Instead, the commissioners reached into the Pentagon and tapped General Nichols, the Army's bald, brilliant and sometimes belligerent chief of research and development.

The appointment of a West Point-trained career soldier shocked some of the scientists and civilian officials of the AEC. It also surprised Washington correspondents who remembered the epic battle that was fought in Congress 8 years ago to transfer the atomic project from military to civilian control. Suspicion that the military camel was again getting its nose into the atomic tent was heightened by knowledge that General Nichols was a protege of Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, who headed the atomic program during the war and who was the chief postwar advocate of Army management.

Even those who were distressed by his military background agreed, however, that Kenneth Nichols has unique qualifications for supervising the mass production of A-bombs and H-bombs. Indeed, studying his record, you get the uncanny feeling that he was somehow predestined for this job and that he spent all his life unconsciously preparing for it.

His preparation began almost as soon as he was born, 46 years ago, into a prosperous middle-class home in Cleveland, Ohio. His father was a building contractor, and young

Nichols began tagging after him to construction jobs as soon as he was old enough to get about without falling into freshly dug holes. By the time he entered school, Kenneth had made up his mind, and confided to his mother, that he wanted to build things when he grew up. When he graduated from high school he was enrolled in Cleveland's Case School of Applied Science to study engineering.

Here fate stepped into his life again. His mother happened to see a movie called Classmates that glorified cadet life at West Point, and incidentally stressed the excellence of the Military Academy's engineering courses. A few days later she read a newspaper notice that Congressman Theodore E. Burton was holding competitive examinations for appointments to West Point. No member of the Nichols family had ever been in the Army; in fact, Kenneth at that point in his life had never laid eyes on a commissioned officer and had not the vaguest desire to become one. But his mother hustled him off to take the examination, and a few weeks later Kenneth found himself on a train headed for West Point.

For a boy who had never played soldier, he displayed a surprising affinity for military life.

"Nick swallowed the system hook, line, and sinker," one of his classmates recalled recently. "He was one of the most devout West Pointers I've ever known.

Cadet Nichols graduated fifth in his class in 1929 and received the traditional reward for high academic achievement at West Point—assignment to the Army's elite Corps of Engineers. His first post was in Nicaragua, where the engineers were surveying a canal that never got built. There he met and made friends with First Lieutenant Groves.

Officers who knew Lieutenant Nichols during that period remember him as an indrawn, intellectual youth who spent a lot of time reading technical books. Flood control was the chief occupation of the Corps of Engineers between wars, and Lieutenant Nichols was quietly determined to become the best dam builder in the Army (a frustrated ambition he still cherishes). Because of his brilliant record at the Point, he was able to persuade his superiors to let him continue his studies in hydraulic engineering. He went home to the States, got a master's degree from Cornell, and then won an exchange student fellowship to Germany's famed Technische Hochschule. Some of his fellow officers thought he was foolish to waste so much time in academic labors that would bring him no promotions. Nichols himself realized that Academy classmates who went directly into field commands were pulling rapidly ahead of him. But he was, and is, afflicted with a restless intellectual curiosity, the kind of mind that cannot tolerate half mastery of any subject.

One result of his dogged pursuit of higher education was a doctorate which, among the famous scientists whose work he now supervises, commands more respect than any number of military decorations. Another result was assignment to the faculty at West Point, where he taught engineering until the United States was plunged into World War II.

A few months after Pearl Harbor a group of scientists headed by Vannevar Bush and James B. Conant persuaded President Roosevelt that the United States should embark on an all-out effort to produce an atomic bomb. They told him that the work would be fantastically difficult, time-consuming, and costly, but that success would revolutionize warfare. Mr. Roosevelt adopted the idea and orders were issued to the Corps of Engineers to set up a secret project under the code name, "Manhattan Engineer District." Col. James C. Marshall was placed in command as district engineer.

Nichols, then a lieutenant colonel, had been serving under Colonel Marshall since the outbreak of war, building airfields and ordnance depots in New York and Pennsylvania. He had just received orders to field duty which would have taken him overseas. On a hot July afternoon he was summoned to the office of Colonel Marshall who pointed to a large envelope of papers, stamped "secret," lying on his desk.

"I've got a big new construction job here," he said, "and I want you to help me." Colonel Nichols replied that he was looking forward to field duty and did not want another stateside assignment. But the sealed envelope aroused his curiosity.

"What is it?" he asked.

"It's terrific," said Colonel Marshall. "There's never been anything like it. But if I open this envelope, you're in. I can't show it to you under any other circumstances."

For several agonizing minutes soldier Nichols wrestled with engineer Nichols. The engineer won, Colonl Marshall opened the envelope, and Colonel Nichols was the second officer assigned to the Manhattan Project.

Later, after General Groves had been placed in over-all command of the atomic undertaking, Marshall was transferred to another assignment and Colonel Nichols was promoted to district engineer. His orders were simple but staggering: Produce an atomic bomb at the earliest possible date. Scientists had been working secretly on theoretical aspects for several years and were convinced it could be done; but know-how of the actual production process was simply nonexistent. Every step of the technology, from raw material to finished product, was radically different from anything American industry had done before. To take just one example: Uranium metal, previously produced only in gram lots as a laboratory curiosity, now had to be procured by hundreds of tons and it had to be refined to a degree of purity which industrial chemists at first considered incredible. One scientist who worked on the problem says that every time he saw an Ivory Soap ad, he winced at the admission of gross impurity.

The physicists reported that A-bombs could be made either with U–235, the fissionable isotope found in trace quantities in normal uranium, or with plutonium, the man-made element resulting from neutron bombardment of uranium in an atomic pile. No one knew which explosive would be most efficient, so the Manhattan District set about to produce both—U–235 at a gaseous diffusion plant at Oak Ridge, and plutonium in great concrete-shielded piles, cooled by the waters of the Columbia River, at Hanford.

In each case, Colonel Nichols started with a wilderness site and had to build the plants and their supporting facilities from scratch.

Sweating over the design of history's first atomic plants, he learned one of the basic lessons of top management. You cannot get rid of tough problems by turning them over to a committee of experts. Time and again the experts turned in divided reports. There were four possible ways of extracting the U–235 needle from the uranium haystack, and the choice among them was largely a matter of "guts and guesswork." Then there was the problem of scheduling output. If production was speeded up, the quality of the fissionable end product went down. A delicate balance had to be struck between the urgent need for haste and the equally urgent need to make sure the bomb would go off.

In a recent interview, General Groves said the rate-of-production problem was one of the hardest that came up on the wartime project, and it was finally solved only because of Colonel Nichols' intelligence, persistence and drive.

None of our scientific personnel, and that included some of the most distinguished, world-renowned physicists, were willing to undertake the problem, he said. A solution was reached by Colonel Nichols personally with, of course, the assistance of mathematicians and other scientists on the routine calculations. To my mind it was one of the outstanding achievements from a scientific standpoint of the entire project.

General Groves said such make-or-break decisions were part of every day's work for Colonel Nichols in those suspenseful months when the United States was pouring $2 billion and invaluable amounts of scientific manpower and scarce materials into the A-bomb gamble.

The Manhattan District was full of tough problems, he recalled. It was an exceptional day in which several of them did not have to be solved and problems which would normally be classified as super-tough were not unusual. Many such problems, and they ran the whole gamut—scientific, technical, engineering, military, labor, management, public relations, political, and even religious—were handled by Nichols without my even knowing about them.

I can think of no one who could have done what he did.

The loneliness of decision was intensified by the fact that Colonel Nichols could not talk about his problems, even at home. He imposed rigid secrecy on all employees of the Manhattan District and, unlike some commanders, was careful to obey his own rules. His wife, Jacqueline, a charming and vivacious woman, lived at Oak Ridge throughout the war, entertaining the constant stream of VIP's who came to inspect without having any inkling from her husband what was up. She guessed that a mysterious new weapon was involved and, as a faithful reader of the comic strips, concluded that it must be a death ray.

I was terribly let down, she once confided to a friend, when it all came out in the newspapers and I learned that it was just a big bomb Nick had been building.

After the war, when Congress turned the atomic program over to civilian control, Colonel Nichols remained in close touch with developments, first as a consultant to the congressional Atomic Energy Committee, then as senior Army member of the AEC's Military Liaison Committee, and head of the Armed Forces special weapons project (AFSWP).

The latter post, which brought him the two stars of major general at the comparatively youthful age of 41, put him in command of a joint Army-Navy-Air Force unit devoted to exploring battlefield uses of atomic weapons.

When General Nichols took over AFSWP, the A-bomb was strictly an offensive weapon, suitable only for strategic air bombardment. In common with many Army officers, General Nichols felt that the full value of America's atomic lead could not be realized until tactical atomic weapons were developed—weapons that could be used defensively to check the advance of an enemy ground army or to help guard American cities against air raids.

Accordingly he threw his full weight behind the Army's controversial project to develop an atomic cannon. A fierce battle was fought backstage in the Pentagon over this project, and General Nichols, in the thick of it, earned the undying enmity of some high Air Force officers who regard the 280 millimeter gun as a cumbersome and unnecessary substitute for an attack bomber. During one of the brisk "discussions" of the cannon an Air Force general remarked bitterly that he could not understand why the Army needed such a weapon.

"If the Air Force did understand why ground troops need artillery support," Gen-

eral Nichols retorted, "we wouldn't need this cannon."

The atomic cannon is now in production, and one battalion is already on duty in Western Europe.

Later General Nichols was involved in a similar intramural war over the Nike, the new antiaircraft guided missile with which the Army plans to guard Washington, New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and about 30 other major cities. He got into the guided-missile field in the fall of 1950. K. T. Keller, the hard-driving board chairman of Chrysler Corp., was called to the Pentagon as a Special Assistant to the Defense Secretary, with the assignment of getting guided missiles off the drawing boards and into production. He heard about General Nichols' capacity for getting things done, even if toes were tromped on in the process, and picked him for his deputy. Most of the work General Nichols did in this field is still secret, but it can be said that he gave impetus to efforts by all of the services to perfect long-range, atomic-warhead guided missiles that may be the most important weapons of any future war.

Although General Nichols was well known (if not always well liked) in military circles, his name was almost unknown to the general public when he was picked to manage the AEC.

This was as he wished. He has a sincere dislike of personal publicity and has tried, with considerable success, to keep his name out of the papers throughout his career.

His allergy to publicity apparently stems primarily from a conviction that it breeds friction and jealousies that play hob with teamwork on a job. No one, not even those who love him best, would attribute his attitude to natural humility. It is evident to anyone who meets him that he is imbued with a vast self-confidence. He regards Kenneth D. Nichols as a hell of an engineer, and sees no reason to be hypocritical about it.

Because he is self-confident, and because he learned from the Manhattan District ordeal that you can't get results by being wishy-washy, General Nichols runs his shop in a manner that his admirers call decisive or forceful. His detractors prefer the word "ruthless." The consensus seems to be that he is a good man to work for if you deliver the goods, but very tough on those he regards as bunglers. He has a habit, which he apparently picked up from Mr. Keller, of playing the devil's advocate in staff conference, baiting his associates by challenging everything they say, just to make sure they have thought the matter through. He has a withering scorn for anyone who suggests that something be done in a certain way simply because it says so in the book.

General Nichols is also a strong believer in the "see for yourself" school of management. His first action as AEC manager was to spend 6 weeks visiting all of the major installations and sizing up the men in charge. He returned to Washington satisfied that he heads "a damn good organization."

But he also decided that there is room for improvement, both in weapons production and in speeding the development of atomic power for industrial use.

He is now trying to put more steam behind both programs.

"We can't afford to be complacent about our production of atomic and hydrogen weapons," he said. "The stakes are too great. It is not enough to think we are ahead of the Russians. The question I keep asking everyone in the organization is: Can we get it done faster?"

Although he runs the biggest socialized industry the world has ever seen, General Nichols is an aggressive exponent of free enterprise. He wants to maintain, and if possible extend, the AEC's practice of farming out actual operation of plants to private contractors. He sees three advantages to this system.

"It enables us to tap the great reservoir of know-how in private industry. Also, a corporation, working under contract, can offer higher salaries than a Government agency and attract the kind of men we need to run these plants. Finally, it is much easier to terminate a contract, when a particular job is finished, than it is to cut down a Government payroll."

As the latter remark indicates, General Nichols is economy-minded, at least in the sense that he feels a personal obligation to make sure the taxpayers are getting their money's worth in the atomic program. "The funds available for defense are limited," he said in explaining his viewpoint on budget cutting. "It would be almost treasonable to waste any of them."

The testimony of his business and professional associates is almost unanimous in depicting General Nichols as a cold-blooded executive dedicated to results and scornful of human frailty.

But this is the 8-to-5, or office-hour Nichols. Like many other men who carry heavy responsibilities, he seems to undergo a complete change in personality while driving from the AEC's heavily guarded white marble headquarters on Constitution Avenue to his two-story, frame-and-stucco home near the Washington Cathedral in northwest Washington.

Mrs. Nichols is undoubtedly the best authority on what the new atomic boss is really like, since she has studied him at close range, with a loving but discerning eye, for 21 years. She was amazed to hear that the people who work with him downtown regard him as a pretty hard-boiled fellow.

"He certainly has them bluffed," she laughed. "Nick is actually very gentle by nature. He is always complaining because he didn't get into combat, but I don't think he could have stood the sight of people getting shot up. He will go to great trouble, working in the garden, to keep from killing a worm. And the day the children had to have shots it was Nick who almost fainted."

The children are David, 8, a smart, serious-minded boy who sings in the Cathedral choir, and Jacqueline Ann, 9, a blonde, exquisitely feminine creature who is currently undergoing a great deal of ribbing in the Nichols' household because she asked her father if the AEC also had colonel managers and major managers.

Although David has a somewhat better grasp of his dad's vocation, he still thinks of him, not as the man who made the first A-bomb, but as the genius who built a vast HO-gage model railroad layout in the basement.

General Nichols has also exhibited his engineering skill on the homefront by building a concrete patio, a stone wall, and a woven picket fence, all of which are properly admired by his neighbors.

But he is still chafing under the peculiar fate that has kept him from building the one thing he feels best prepared to build—a dam. Recently he bought a sizable farm in the Maryland foothills outside of Washington, ostensibly as a site for a summer home.

"But I know better," Mrs. Nichols said. "There is a creek running through the farm, and it was the first thing Nick spotted. He's not going to build a house. He's going to build a dam."

General Nichols is clearly devoted to his home and family, and he has built his private life almost exclusively around them. His social activities center around a few old Army friends, mostly West Point classmates, who exchange dinner invitations with the Nichols. He enjoys good food, particularly his wife's superb French cooking, but he drinks very little and does not smoke. He is not a joiner and the only membership to which he attaches any importance is in St. Albans Episcopal Church, a few blocks from his home, where he attends services. His principal hobby, besides puttering around the house, is reading military history.

Napoleon is his particular hero, and the shelves of his upstairs study are crammed with books about the Napoleonic Wars. He also admires Douglas MacArthur and Robert E. Lee.

Watching General Nichols at work in his flowerbeds, it is hard to believe that this is a man who has devoted most of his adult life to producing the most awful engines of mass destruction ever devised. But he is not troubled by such thoughts.

"No one hates war like a professional soldier," he said recently. "That's a genuine fact, not a shibboleth. I believe that our superiority in atomic weapons is a deterrent to war, a way of keeping the peace. That's why I have my heart in my work."

His eyes came to rest on a picture of David and Jacqueline.

"Nobody wants an atomic war less than I do."

Medical Center of the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following enlightening article from the New Englander, February 1954, published by the New England Council:

Last summer Anthony Eden was flown from London to Boston for an operation by Dr. Richard Cattell, of the Lahey Clinic.

About the same time, Arthur Godfrey flew himself to Boston to enter the Massachusetts General Hospital to have Dr. Marius N. Smith-Petersen refit his damaged hip joints with metal parts.

A few months ago Dr. Fritz A. Lipmann, of Harvard Medical School, was awarded a Nobel prize "for his discovery of co-enzyme A and its significance in the intermediary metabolism"—a fundamentally important step forward in man's knowledge of how his body grows and renews itself.

A giant ultraviolet microscope, called the monster by the workers at the Polaroid Corp. in Cambridge who developed it, was moved recently across the river to the Cancer Institute of Boston's New England Deaconess Hospital.

Dr. Shields Warren, director of the institute, said that in 4 hours it showed changes in the human blood from radiation that 1 of his assistants had been trying for 4 years to find.

Outstanding: These news items all point to the fact that Boston is one of the outstanding medical centers of the world.

What does Boston have?

More doctors (3,338), more specialists (1,087), more medical schools, more hospitals, and more hospital beds per person, and more money spent per capita on public and private health and welfare services, than any other American city.

The whole story of New England medicine, of course, cannot be told in Boston terms.

The region's much larger medical dimensions are measured by its 15,000 practicing physicians—highest per capita of any area in the Nation, by its 437 hospitals and clinics with 126,000 beds, serving more than 1.2 million patients annually.

With a plant investment of some $850 million, New England hospitals are staffed by 22,000 nurses, about 4,000 technicians, and 30,000 staff workers like orderlies and food handlers. Their annual payrolls run to some $216 million, with total expenses of more than $355 million.

Its 5 medical schools have about 1,800 new doctors in training each year, and graduate some 400 annually. About a quarter of these get their degrees, along with training of international repute, from Yale and the University of Vermont.

Boston trio: The balance comes from Boston's three: Harvard, Boston University, and Tufts medical schools.

And it is this concentration of educational facilities, combined with their near-unique relationship with local hospitals, that makes Boston the major focal point of the New England medical scene.

Unlike other graduate and medical schools, Boston University, Harvard and Tufts do not remain within their own yards. They spread themselves over the city through their various and numerous hospital connections where, in many cases, their professors are stationed.

Of the three medical schools, the oldest is Harvard, founded in 1782 and having its first connection with the Massachusetts General Hospital. It now has affiliations with a dozen hospitals and thereby access to more than 7,600 patients. Its students—around 540 in the medical and 435 in the graduate schools—come from virtually every State and Territory. There are many foreign students as well, particularly in the school of public health.

Labs: Many of Harvard's professors, particularly those working directly with patients, are stationed at different hospitals. Those working in the basic sciences have laboratories at the medical school. Some of these are large and thriving.

One of the best known, established in 1950, is the University Laboratory of Physical Chemistry Related to Medicine and Public Health of Harvard University, an outgrowth of a department of the medical school.

Because of the work of the late Dr. Edwin J. Cohn and others at this laboratory, many of the derivatives of the blood collected by the Red Cross became available for the first time during World War II, and were used to stop bleeding, as a substitute for body membranes, for blood typing, and to treat shock that follows severe wounds. Another fraction of blood is used for measles, and has lately been used with success for poliomyelitis. These substances, used promptly by Army doctors in the field, saved many lives and hastened recovery.

This laboratory has also trained many scientists; at least 10 former research fellows have become professors elsewhere, and many others have important positions. Since the war, 23 investigators have been sent from 13 foreign countries for training.

A recent tribute to the possibilities for research at the Harvard Medical School was the choice of two young Harvard men for career investigatorships by the American Heart Association, one for studies on the way in which blood supplies the tissues of the body, and another for work in disease immunity. A life-long award for research is all too rare in medicine.

Boston University Medical School, with its origins in the then-radical New England Female Medical College of 1848, does its teaching largely at the Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals and at the Boston City Hospital.

Rural hospital experience is also available to its students—they number about 285—through association with institutions at Peterborough and Wolfeboro, N. H.

Home care: In 1948 its department of preventive medicine started a home care program for senior students, one of the first of its kind in the country.

Each student has a family under his care for 1 month, visits his patients at home, sees how they live, what their problems are, and knows more about them than he would learn from a hospital consultation.

This method of teaching students is now being used on an even broader scale in Cleveland, and will soon be in operation at Harvard.

Tufts Medical School, founded in 1893, is affiliated with the Boston City Hospital, the Carney Hospital and the New England Medical Center. A large portion of the teaching of its 390 students is done in these institutions, with emphasis on diagnosis and care of patients.

Tufts, whose student body is predominantly from New England, is especially noted for its extensive program of continuing training for doctors already in practice.

Hospitals: While many of the Boston area's some 60 hospitals, in association with the medical schools, have become educational, training and research centers, they remain primarily places for the care of the sick.

Total annual operating costs for them are estimated at the $75 million level, a sharp increase from the $42 million figure of 1947. Improved services, new drugs and treatments, more research—these have contributed to rising costs. But primarily it is the same higher costs of labor, service and supplies which business has experienced in the same period.

These expenditures do not include money spent on new buildings, of which Boston has several in the past year or two. Among them are the Cancer Institute at the New England Deaconness Hospital, the Jimmy Fund Building at the Children's Medical Center, the Research Building and Bartlett Hall for nurses at the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Veterans' Administration Hospital on South Huntington Avenue, the Hospital for Chronic Diseases in Jamaica Plain, and the Lahey wing at the New England Baptist Hospital.

And recently the Carney Hospital moved from its South Boston quarters to a new $8 million building in Dorchester.

Oldest: The oldest of Boston's hospitals is the Massachusetts General, founded in 1811.

Sigerist, the eminent medical historian, commented that the entire course of hospital architecture could be traced on the grounds of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

And, one might add, the course of modern medicine.

For its record is highlighted with developments like ether anesthesia in 1846, the description of appendicitis in 1886—an illness formerly diagnosed as typhus fever—and in more recent years, the medical social service now recognized as a necessity in all large hospitals.

The Massachusetts General Hospital, with 820 beds, has on its grounds many other units, like the Huntington Memorial Hospital for cancer research, the Hall-Mercer Hospital for psychiatry—one of the first such units to be established in a general hospital—and the Vincent Memorial Hospital for women.

Adjacent is the 190-bed Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, famous itself.

Though the Massachusetts General Hospital is an ancient institution, its face and form are constantly changing.

Its new research building is solely for laboratory experimentation; no work directly with patients is done here. It houses equipment of the greatest intricacy, and silkworms as well.

In research on cancer, one of the many facets of the problem is the nature of growth, normal as well as abnormal. To help shed light on this, the doctors here now have silkworms at work for them, spinning silk—a simple form of protein.

One result so far is an indication that chemical changes precede by several days any changes in form in this process.

Teamwork: Today's teamwork approach to research calls for buildings, technicians, statisticians, scientists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and everything from giant microscopes to 1 milligram of radioactive iodine.

For such research work, the Massachusetts General received $600,000 in 1946, and $2.4 million in 1952, from grants and special contributions.

The city: For quantity of patients, one goes to the Boston City Hospital.

The city has everything—everything to interest and instruct medical students from all of Boston's medical schools: people with dietary deficiencies, with usual ailments and rare diseases, with chronic alcoholism.

Scientific research of high quality is done there. In 1934 Drs. George R. Minot and William P. Murphy, working at Boston City and Peter Bent Brigham Hospitals and at Harvard, with Dr. George H. Whipple, of the University of Rochester, were awarded the Nobel prize for their discoveries concerning liver therapy against anemias. Previously, pernicious anemia was counted a fatal disease.

Its Thorndike Laboratory for clinical research (as opposed to laboratory research), now directed by Dr. William B. Castle, was one the first of its kind. Many men trained in it have setup laboratories like it in other parts of the country.

The Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals nearby, with 465 beds, has recently developed a group practice unit of 65 doctors, the medical associates.

For the care of ambulatory and hospitalized patients, it is aimed to provide the best medical care at the lowest cost, and at a specialized cost per year. In addition to personal contracts, the group now has agreements with the Gillette Razor Co. and with Northeastern University.

At this hospital's Evans Memorial and its Smithwick Foundation, more than 100 doctors and assistants devote all or major time to research in a number of fields—cardiovascular disease and cancer among them.

Physician in chief of Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals and Evans Memorial is Dr. Chester S. Keefer. He is also professor of medicine at Boston University School of Medicine and deals with national health problems as special assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby.

World over: Every few months some child is flown from Texas or Iowa, from South America or even Africa, to the Children's Hospital for diagnosis of strange ailments and for surgery.

Children's with 345 beds, is engaged in teaching and research, as well as care of its patients. Much has been learned there about preventing disorders caused by the wrong combination of blood—RH negative and positive factors—in the parents.

Dr. Louis K. Diamond, in cooperation with the Boston Lying-in Hospital, is ready with transfusions for these infants at birth.

Children's is noteworthy too for research work on leukemia and polio.

In this same neighborhood are three other distinguished hospitals.

The Boston Lying-in, with 135 beds, for many years had one of the lowest mortality rates of any maternity hospital in the world, despite the fact that many patients with known complications are sent there.

The Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, a general hospital with 250 beds, had a world-famous son in Harvey Cushing, surgeon-in-chief there from 1910 to 1932, who developed the technique of brain surgery and studied the origin and development of brain tumors.

Brigham's Drs. Samuel A. Levine and Dwight E. Harken, along with the late Elliott Cutler, are among the pioneers in operating on the human heart. Among the hospital's

other research results is an artificial kidney which has restored many persons to normal life following temporary failure of the kidneys.

The Beth Israel Hospital, with 215 beds, is one of the newer general hospitals in the city, also with an active research unit.

Patients from all over are sent to the Pratt Diagnostic Clinic of the New England Medical Center for diagnosis, and then returned to their doctors at home for treatment.

Endless study: Along with this service to patients is a program, in conjunction with Tufts Medical School, designed to instruct local doctors in the newest and best that modern medicine has to offer. Lecturers are sent to Bangor, North Adams—anywhere in New England—to talk about the latest information on cortisone, electric shock, or surgery for high blood pressure.

An institution of international renown for diagnosis, treatment, and particularly surgery, is the Lahey Clinic. Founded by Dr. Frank Lahey in 1922 and directed by him until his death last July, it has no medical school or official hospital connections.

However, Dr. Lahey was surgeon-in-chief at the New England Baptist and New England Deaconess Hospitals, and they are filled with Clinic patients.

The Clinic, continuing now as a nonprofit organization, has attracted surgeons as well as patients from all over the world. The Lahey operations—an average of a thousand a year—were well attended, with the amphitheatre filled and a few distinguished colleagues at Dr. Lahey's side.

Surgery: If a visitor wanted to see all the best surgery in Boston—and he would in all probability travel to Boston if he were particularly interested in surgery—he would have to allow at least a month.

At the Massachusetts General he would want to see Dr. Robert R. Linton do a vein-splicing job in the digestive system, or watch him wind a swollen blood vessel near the heart with yards and yards of fine wire.

He would watch Dr. Leland S. McKittrick or Dr. Arthur W. Allen operate on the stomach, see a vitallium ball placed in the socket of the hip joint.

And if he missed the head men—here and elsewhere in New England, he would still see some very good surgery by the next to the next to the head man.

He would be interested to attend conferences that Dr. Edward D. Churchill has with his house staff, and perhaps be amazed by the heated arguments these young men have with their chief.

Burns and nerves: Our visitor would cross town to the City Hospital to see Dr. Donald Munro work on head injuries, or watch the handling of severe burns.

He would go to the Massachusetts Memorial to see Dr. Reginald H. Smithwick operate on nerves to lower blood pressure.

He would want to see Dr. Dwight E. Harken at the Brigham put a 2-inch bottle-shaped plastic part in the heart to keep the blood flowing in the right direction, and talk with Dr. Francis D. Moore about his work on the nourishment of surgical patients.

He would certainly want to visit the Children's Hospital to see Dr. Robert Gross work on malformations of the heart and digestive system, or watch Dr. Donald MacCollum close a cleft palate or remodel a harelip.

He would go to the Pratt, to the Lahey Clinic, and many another hospital's operating rooms.

This visitor would find many medical tours of interest in the fields of cancer research and psychiatry, particularly the units in general hospitals and child psychiatry. He could learn a lot about heart disease and medical diagnosis in general. He could look into the more basic sciences at medical schools or the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, or investigate such fields as veterans' care and public health.

Atomic medicine: If he were interested in the use of the atom in medicine, he would have to visit all of the larger hospitals, and again the medical schools and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as well as private research and industrial firms.

Some pioneering work in this field was done in Boston.

Years ago Dr. Joseph C. Aub of the Huntington Memorial Hospital and Dr. Robley D. Evans of MIT used radioactive lead to study lead poisoning. Later their work helped decide how much contact with plutonium the workers on the atom bomb could tolerate.

Before atomic piles were set up, isotopes were available in limited quantity from the cyclotrons at MIT and at Harvard. Carbon, with a half-life of only 20 minutes, had to be rushed from them to the Harvard Medical School before its activity ceased.

From this heroic effort came some important findings on the breakdown of glycogen and lactic acid in the body.

Today, with more stable radioactive isotopes available in great variety, many laboratory units in Boston are using them in long-term and fundamental research in medical problems, particularly as tracers.

Progress is being made, too, in finding out their uses in treatment of such diseases as cancer and tumors.

In this experimentation, Boston's medical institutions can be counted on for the same kind of discoveries and improvements they have made in so many fields.

Generations to come: For something like two centuries its medical men and schools, its hospitals and clinics, its researchers and technicians—all have been adding to man's knowledge of his body, how to care for it, how to repair it.

From them have come, and continue to come, immeasurable contributions to the health, comfort, and sanity of the world.

H. R. 3842

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 1, the world was shocked by the terrorist shooting of five Members of the House of Representatives.

The incident has naturally brought about a series of resolutions calling for tighter security regulations for visitors to the gallery. These resolutions include provisions for the installation of bullet-proof glass protection, photoelectric cells, and many other gimmicks.

Of course, no prudent person will summarily reject any of the measures offered, if they add to the safety of the Members. But the Lugers which shot at and wounded our Members on Monday might not have been available if my bill, H. R. 3842, became law. This bill would direct the Secretary of Defense to search the belongings of members of the Armed Forces and their families returning to the United States, and to seize any so-called souvenir weapons.

Since dropping the bill into the hopper on March 10, 1953, two tragic accidents occurred in my own little community, and thousands of crimes have been committed with these weapons.

Mr. Speaker, it seems logical to me that in order to prevent, or at least to minimize, the likelihood of these incidents, a good beginning is to prohibit the importation of these guns.

Postal Workers Deserve an Increase in Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, when the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee recently began its hearings on H. R. 2344, concerning the salaries of postal workers, I submitted a statement to the committee in support of that bill. The text of my statement is as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. LOUIS B. HELLER, OF NEW YORK, TO THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE ON H. R. 2344

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to present my views to your committee concerning H. R. 2344, the bill to provide for an increase in the salaries of postal workers.

As in previous years, I am again glad to state my views and to urge full support and favorable action before your committee on this measure.

I have always maintained that the salaries of these employed in our postal service have never been adequately adjusted to meet the high cost of living since the end of World War II. I am even more so convinced of this fact today. Postal employees are a hard-working, conscientious, and loyal group, and they deserve due consideration.

Last July, a few weeks before the 1953 session of Congress had ended, I made a last-minute frantic appeal in the House of Representatives to take immediate action to approve salary increases for postal workers. I called the attention of my colleagues in Congress to two very important facts:

1. That long before the Government inserted no-strike provisions in laws affecting Federal employees, the postal workers had voluntarily given up all rights to engage in strikes—which is labor's most effective weapon.

2. That postal workers and other Government employees are prohibited from engaging in political activity in order to improve their situation.

I also stressed the fact that on their present rate of salaries postal workers are having a difficult time to cope with the high cost of living, which had reached an alltime high in 1953 and was still moving upward. I cited statistics to illustrate the plight of postal employees, stating that 75 percent are forced to supplement their income by taking on a second job or through the employment of their wives, and that many postal workers have incurred increased debts and numerous others are forced to borrow on their insurance.

Let me cite to you my concluding remarks on that occasion:

"There is no logical reason for Congress to tolerate such a situation. These postal employees deserve a fair and adequate remuneration for the services they perform. They should not be placed in a position where they are forced to take on additional jobs to be able to meet the high cost of living, or

to have to borrow on their insurance or when their wives are compelled to seek employment.

"Action today is worth more than all the promises for tomorrow. It is still not too late, if there is a real and earnest will to remedy the situation."

The rest is history—and history records that nothng had been done in the matter during the remainder of that session. Now we are at the start of a new congressional session. I am hopeful that the long-awaited and overdue salary increase will be approved.

Mr. Chairman, I sincerely recommend to the committee that it give favorable consideration at an early date to this bill, H. R. 2344. Its adoption will be of tremendous importance to the entire postal system and will be an important factor in improving conditions in that system and establishing the highest possible morale. I want to thank you for allowing me this opportunity to present my views in the matter.

Address by Hon. Thomas E. Stakem, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, our merchant marine is a very vital part of our national-defense program. It was my pleasure a few days ago to hear an address by the Honorable Thomas E. Stakem, Jr., Acting Deputy Maritime Administrator. I commend this address to every Member of the House, as Mr. Stakem so ably pointed out the necessity of an adequate and modern merchant marine:

ADDRESS BY THOMAS E. STAKEM, JR., ACTING DEPUTY MARITIME ADMINISTRATOR, AT AMERICAN LEGION CLUB, SEAT PLEASANT, MD., FEBRUARY 20, 1954

Legionnaires and ladies of the auxiliary, I consider it an honor and a pleasure to be with you here tonight. When Mrs. Plumley extended me an invitation, I accepted it quickly. First, because I have a wholehearted respect and admiration for the great work being done by the American Legion and the auxiliary. Second, because I have a soft spot in my heart for anything concerning the great State of Maryland. My hometown is located in Allegany County in the western part of the State. My family still resides there. We Marylanders can be justly proud of our role in the national defense of our country. In war and in peace we have always been in the forefront of the battle to guard and defend the United States of America and all she stands for.

From the Revolutionary War to the Korean conflict sons of Maryland have fought and died for the principles exemplified by the American Legion: Freedom for ourselves and our neighbors; the promotion of justice, friendship, cooperation, and understanding with all nations on earth; respect for the rights of others; and a determination to defend our beloved country from all enemies both without and within our borders.

National defense means many things. We must not think only in terms of guarding our ramparts, keeping our guns oiled and our powder dry; we must think in terms of guarding our way of life, our economy, protection of and wise use of our resources, and the strengthening of the moral fiber of our community.

National defense may mean the march of our armies, but it also means our active participation in civic affairs at all levels of Government.

The ceremonies of the American Legion which inspire patriotism are a contribution to the national defense. Participation in civilian defense is a concrete activity which testifies to the willingness of Americans to be concerned about the welfare and security of their neighbors.

In America, the businessman, the banker, the housewife, the worker, and the student each contributes to the national defense of our country in conscientiously going about the everyday tasks that make up our living pattern. For, if we falter in these routine undertakings, if we permit ourselves to become slovenly in our thoughts, our work, or our actions, the enemy is conquering a piece of America without even striking a blow.

Business and industry and Government are conscious of their common stake in the national security and are harmoniously working together for stability in the fields of finance, employment, and production. Our concern with our national solvency and prosperity is yet another phase of our national defense, for should our country be allowed to drift toward the precipice of economic disaster, we would lie prone before the corrosive forces of communism whose goal is our downfall.

As a representative of the Maritime Administrator, I wish to take a few moments tonight to report to you on your American merchant marine and to point out its national security aspects.

The national security considerations of ocean shipping should not be viewed solely from a military standpoint. An equally important service is rendered in its never-ending, day-to-day, year-to-year, workhorse job of carrying our exports and imports needed for economic stability. Military strength and economic stability have the common aim of peace and security.

Our cargo vessels and tankers carry the raw materials that are essential to the production that we must have to defend ourselves against attack. They bring to our shores the materials which we must stockpile against any day of disaster which might occur and cut us off from sources of essential materials.

In considering the national defense value of our merchant marine we must not think only of the ships themselves. We must include also our maritime manpower, the seamen, and the vast categories of shoreside workers, maritime management, maritime construction and repairing. It is this combination of men and equipment from which stems the American merchant marine's value to our Nation.

The United States requires an adequate merchant marine and shipbuilding industry to carry out the peaceful pursuits of our economy and to serve the American industrial complex that has brought us the great benefits and material well-being that makes us the envy of the world.

We need the American Merchant Marine to export the 10 percent of our industrial output which careful studies indicate is the profit margin upon which our system of private enterprise is founded.

We need the American merchant marine to bring to our productive facilities, our factories, and our machines the raw materials from the four corners of the globe that they must have.

Our expanding industrial might requires new raw materials, many of them unobtainable or obtainable in insufficient amounts within our borders.

We need quartz, tin, chromite, tantalum, mica, asbestos, cobalt. These products must be imported. Our ships must bring in potash, zinc, copper, fluorspar, bismuth, lead, and tungsten, to mention but a few of the basic essentials we must have.

Our industrial production is the firm mobilization base upon which our peacetime prosperity is founded. It is from this arsenal of freedom that we must draw the means of defense. The American merchant marine is the handmaiden that serves our productive capacity.

In this age of great scientific attainment, when we are already giving thought to supersonic air travel, it is well that we pause to consider the fact that without the materials that come to our shores in cargo ships, none of this would be possible.

As Marylanders, you should be aware that in this great Free State you have one of the greatest steel producing and fabricating plants in our Nation. I refer to Sparrows Point and its steel mills, its shipyards, and fabricating shops. When these plants were established and began turning out the sinews of metal that have made our Nation strong industrially and militarily, all of the raw materials which flowed into those plants came overland.

The coal of the Alleghenies and the iron ores of our great Mesabi ranges were looked upon as inexhaustible. Dock facilities were built at the old Sparrows Point plants, but they were thought of only in terms of servicing the export of the steel rails, and pipe and wire products that Maryland's plants were turning out from raw materials which we possessed in seeming superabundance within the borders of our Nation.

Today new facilities have arisen on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay for the production of steel and its alloys and related products. In these new facilities the docks are the end of a beltline of ships that bring iron ore from South America and manganese from Turkey, Africa, Madagascar, the Congo, Liberia, Asia, Europe, Canada, and New Caledonia must be visited by ships of the American merchant marine so that the mills here in Maryland may continue to pour their lifeblood of metal into the veins of our Nation.

Marylanders are naturally maritime people. We are proud of having one of the greatest ports within our Nation. The ships of all the world ply their trade less than 40 miles from this spot in the great city and seaport of Baltimore. From this seaport the products, industrial and agricultural, of the county of Prince Georges, flow out to the outports of the world bringing prosperity, as well as new products to our shores.

Prior to the last two major world conflicts, the opponents of the American merchant marine stated unequivocally that foreign merchant fleets could service the free world without the existence of an American fleet. This was disproved in World War I, World War II, and again in the Korean war.

Prior to World War I the United States permitted the merchant fleet to wither away until our ships were carrying only 9 percent of our export and import trade. At the outbreak of World War I we found ourselves a neutral nation without ships, cut away from our foreign markets. After our entry into World War I we found ourselves to be an industrial production giant whose Achilles heel was his inability to carry men and implements of war to meet the enemy on foreign shores.

Our Nation at that time spent approximately $3 billion on merchant-ship construction. Most of the ships were delivered after the armistice. Military experts state that our lack of a merchant marine not only cost us billions of dollars in ship construction and the payment of exorbitant shipping rates to foreign shipowners, but undoubtedly prolonged the war with its consequent irreplaceable cost in materials and lives.

Prior to the outbreak of World War II we still heard the argument that our allies had

merchant fleets adequate to service the free world. Again this proved to be wrong.

Our Nation was required to construct over 5,000 merchant ships at a cost of $12.5 billion.

Our allies made only 1 ship available to us for every 8 ships we made available to them. Again, we had dared the peril of losing a major war because we did not maintain an adequate merchant marine.

When the Korean war broke out, our allies again were not able to provide the merchant ships for that limited operation. Our ships your vessels of the National Defense Reserve Fleet of the Maritime Administration, were withdrawn and put into service to augment the privately owned ships of the American shipping industry and America's merchant fleet carried 80 percent of the cargoes to Korea. Thus we were able to contain a flame of Communist aggression that threatened to kindle all of the far eastern world.

We Americans must learn to think of our merchant marine as a specialized tool serving our Nation all the time. We must have a merchant marine in being for the peaceful pursuits of a peaceful nation. In doing this, we assure ourselves that the other branches of our Armed Forces will have the supply arm without which they cannot survive.

We must not forget that the merchant ship is the only instrument in the world today that is able to transport supplies, foods, and munitions in large tonnage quantities at economically feasible cost. We hear of air transport and its speed and efficiency, but we must not overlook the fact that planes are still carrying pay loads that are measured in pounds. For our planes to be able to hold foreign bases on the defense perimeter of the free world, they must be constantly supplied with fuel, their crews must be kept clothed and fed.

The faster our planes, our tanks, and our Army vehicles roar through space, the greater their needs. The faster our guns shoot, the more complicated our missiles, the needs for supplies soar. Only the merchant vessel, the tanker, and the dry cargo ship can assure our Armed Forces that the things they need to eat and to drink, to wear and to shoot, will be supplied to them in the quantities necessary.

The American merchant marine, carrying on its everyday tasks of serving American industry and the welfare of every American citizen is a privately owned asset to our Nation. And yet, when the bugle blows, it stands ready to mount its guns and take its place in the firing line of freedom with its other American comrades in arms.

Our American merchant marine in exporting our manufactured products and our goods, gives the world abroad a look at the American way of life. The visits of our seamen, the contacts of our trade representatives, give us the opportunity of constantly selling our product to others. It may be that the Americanism we can in this manner peacefully introduce into a troubled world will be the final answer to the threat of communism.

We do not envy, nor do we advocate that there be any question of the right of other nations to have their ships under their flags on the ocean highways of the world.

In our great American ports, thousands of foreign-flag vessels call regularly. Their presence is most desirable for many reasons, certainly including the international understanding, good will, and trade that results. But we must be concerned with a balanced outlook in this matter. American vessels must be assured of a fair share of American business.

It is clear that trade and defense are the considerations to which we must pay strict attention. They are the determining factors in the formulation of government policy relating to the administration of our maritime laws. But first and foremost we must bear constantly in mind that government alone cannot create a strong and efficient American merchant marine. Private industry and private initiative must bear its share of the problem.

We in the Maritime Administration are readying a shipbuilding program along these cooperative lines which I feel sure will bear fruit this year and will tend to stabilize this industry which has suffered from numerous ups and downs in the past. We have launched a program to improve the quality of the many ships in our National Defense Reserve Fleet—and which at the same time will focus the attention of America's inventive genius upon new goals of propulsion machinery and cargo handling—a development which may be a turning point in the merchant-ship design.

Even as our reserve ships lie idle, we, in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, have put a large number of them to work for the storing of our surplus grain.

We know that the real strength of the American merchant marine and the maritime industry lies in the dynamics of private enterprise and private American initiative. In the final analysis, you and your unconquerable Americanism are the greatest asset a maritime nation can have or may need.

The spirit you have displayed here today is new assurance that the flag of our Nation will not be driven from the trade lanes of the world.

Increased Pay for Government Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, these days we are hearing a great deal about salary increases, and I should like at this time to present to our colleagues my views with respect to pending legislation providing additional compensation for postal and Federal workers.

We all know what has happened to our cost of living and that it has been steadily rising for the past year. Employees of the postal service, and for that matter, all Government employees, are finding it impossible to meet this rising cost of living with their inadequate salaries.

I will not quote figures, for I am sure that is not necessary. I am also sure you are all familiar with the changing condition of our economy since July 1, 1951, when Government employees received their last pay increase.

I should, however, like to call your attention to the fact that employees are going into debt to maintain their families. To buy the necessities, food, clothing, provide medical care, and shelter, many employees have found it necessary to take a second job to supplement their Government salaries. In some families, the wives have had to seek employment.

I urge that this Congress enact legislation now to grant its loyal and efficient civil servants a substantial pay increase. I feel that it is the minimum obligation of this Congress. We neglect that obligation if we do not give these workers sufficient compensation with which to maintain a decent standard of living.

Puerto Rico Enjoys Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, as an aftermath to the incident which occurred in the House of Representatives on last Monday, when a group of fanatics fired upon the membership, I know that there will be much editorial comment. I do not believe that there will be a more thorough picture given of the true situation now existing in Puerto Rico than is cantained in a very fine editorial written by the Honorable Robert L. Kern, editor and publisher of the Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat.

In the editorial presented in the News-Democrat on Tuesday, March 2, 1954, Mr. Kern traces the history of that island under American control. He points out in a clear manner how it has practically attained independent stature and certainly real freedom under the United States. He refers to the present Governor, the Honorable Luis Muñoz-Marín, as beloved by his people and as a true champion of the interests of Puerto Ricans. I think that every Member of this House shares the same high regard and admiration for Governor Muñoz-Marín, and this was evident upon his reception in the House on Tuesday.

Puerto Ricans are American citizens. Only a few, who deserve to be branded as they were by all other Puerto Ricans as lunatics and fanatics, do not cherish that designation. The United States has never held back a helping hand to Puerto Rico when it was petitioned by the majority of Puerto Ricans. The island has been elevated to the status of a free commonwealth, and while it remains associated with the United States, it exercises free legislative, executive, and judiciary powers stemming from free elections, participated in by all Puerto Ricans.

The editorial from the News-Democrat follows:

UP TO THE SAME OLD TRICKS

Citizens of the United States were shaken and stunned by the abortive demonstration staged within the National Capitol yesterday when mad-dog killers emptied their pistols at Members of Congress convened in the House of Representatives. The assailants rose in the public gallery overlooking the floor and with a cry of "Free Puerto Rico" began spraying lead. Five Members fell casualty to the fusillade, two Representatives critically wounded.

The three gunners turned out to be Puerto Ricans and were identified as roughnecks of the same political gang that plotted and tried to assassinate President Truman on November 1, 1950.

Yesterday's shooting affray was not the act of Puerto Rican patriots campaigning for a popular cause, however. Rather, this token insurrection is corrupted by disturbing international undertones that somehow have a familiar pitch.

It recalls to mind the recent scene in the United Nations General Assembly when Russia's Andrei Vishinsky diatribed the same demand. This evoked from Puerto Rico's

beloved Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín an instant and warm rejoinder that his countrymen were delighted to be associated with the United States and they would vigorously oppose any attempt by anybody to scuttle the highly desirable arrangement.

Governor Muñoz-Marín's unexpected vehemence turned Mr. Vishinsky's cunning propaganda play into an exploding cigar that blew up in his face.

Dismayed by the turn of events but not discouraged, the Kremlin plotters kept on boring. By hook or crook, one way or another, they are determined to upset the amicable relations applecart, and they will balk at nothing. Yesterday's overt attack is a manifestation of the new strategy which is intended to stir disaffection and animosity, to pit United States citizen against United States citizen and alienate the free Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the eyes of the Great White Father.

It is a diabolical scheme the Muscovites have cooked up this time, but overeagerness combined with stupid timing shows it up clearly for what it is. And we'll be dummies, indeed, if we let ourselves get sucked in on this one.

Continental Americans need most to understand that yesterday's assailants are neither "dumb furriners" nor aliens. They are full-fledged citizens of the United States of America, and privileged to full suffrage on par with us.

Recourse to the World Almanac discloses some other interesting facts we all ought to know about Puerto Rico. Geographically, it is the easternmost island of the West Indies group, lying 1,600 miles southeast of New York, 500 miles north of Venezuela. Roughly rectangular in shape, is about 100 miles long by 35 miles wide, and embraces an area half again as big as our State of Delaware. Its population numbers about 2¼ million persons.

The soil is extremely fertile and largely under cultivation. Sugar growing and processing constitute the main source of income and employment. Tobacco, coffee, coconuts, fruit and vegetables are other agricultural products. The needlework industry is important, and more recently the tourist industry has boomed. Rum, beer, and cement also are produced.

New industries are promoting industrialization. Electric power rose from 174.0 to 735.4 million kilowatt hours from 1940 to 1952. The island has more than 77,000 motor vehicles, 23 radio stations, airport facilities, 40,000 telephones and telegraph facilities.

Public school education is free and compulsory at the elementary level. In 1952, 65.5 percent of the population under 18 was in school. Literacy rose from 68.5 percent in 1940 to 75.7 percent in 1950. There are five institutions of higher learning with enrollment of 15,400. Although Spanish is the popular language, most of the people speak English. The Roman Catholic religion is predominant.

Now about this business of freedom for Puerto Rico:

Until 1898, the island was owned by Spain who ceded it to the United States of America at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. Formerly it was administered under the Organic Act of Puerto Rico (March 2, 1917) which with its amendments granted Puerto Ricans American citizenship and unrestricted suffrage.

President Truman on August 5, 1947, signed an act giving Puerto Rico the right to choose its chief executive by popular vote. An act of 1950, affirmed by special election the next year, permitted Puerto Rico to draft and pass its own constitution. A constitution closely following that of the United States was approved only three votes short of unanimity in a constitutional convention in 1952 and ratified by a popular vote of 373,418 to 82,473. President Truman signed, July 3, 1952, a congressional resolution approving the new constitution, elevating Puerto Rico to the status of a free commonwealth associated with the United States, effective July 25, 1952.

Legislative power is vested in a bicameral legislative assembly whose members are elected by direct vote. Executive power is vested in a governor elected by direct vote. The judiciary is vested in a supreme court and lower courts established by law.

Palpably the gun-slinging stooges who invaded and roughed up our House of Representatives are not really seeking freedom for their countrymen, for Puerto Ricans already enjoy that happy status. Puerto Ricans are not a downtrodden, oppressed, enslaved people. Not yet, at least. That comes later, if the Russians succeed in liberating this free commonwealth.

Gloom Spreaders Do Cause No Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, this editorial, entitled "Gloom Spreaders Do Cause No Good," appearing in the February 19, 1954, issue of the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune gives some very good advice about the realities of our present economy:

Some well-meaning Americans and some power politicians are contributing to whispering campaign which could prove as harmful to this country's well-being as any plot ever concocted by the Communist Party.

We refer to the steady line of chatter which repeats over and over: "We are having a depression, unemployment is up, the bottom will soon drop out."

Let's look at things as they really are, and then decide for ourselves how bad things are getting.

Under the Eisenhower administration, income taxes for the individual and corporation have been lowered, and still further cuts are forthcoming.

Under the Eisenhower administration, the fighting in Korea ended and the Nation gradually shifted from a wartime economy back to a peacetime economy.

Under the Eisenhower administration, the Nation experienced the greatest prosperity (1953) in history.

Under the Eisenhower administration, the cost of living gradually leveled off and started coming down.

Under the Eisenhower administration, money for lending purposes is being made available so that more persons can borrow to buy homes and establish businesses.

Under the Eisenhower administration, there has been established a bipartisan Government operation in which Democrats and Republicans have crossed lines on many occasions for the general welfare.

Eisenhower in 1 year has helped to bring the office of President back into the high public esteem which the executive department of Government should have, but lost during previous administrations.

If unemployment is higher now than during the peak boom of 1953, let's examine those factors, too.

Regardless of the increase in the number of jobless, the number of employed is also increasing. The State department of employment estimates 58,000 persons are employed in San Mateo County at this moment, not including government workers, whereas the total just 2 years ago was only 46,000.

Even though unemployment is generally higher here this time of the year because of weather conditions and buying slowdown, the employment office reports that the unemployment claims in San Mateo County are less than 2 percent of the total working force.

Despite the shouts of "depression" and "collapse," wages are at an alltime high in the United States, with no indication that they have begun to slide backwards.

We feel that anyone who takes the time to investigate today's conditions and can visualize the prospects for 1954 will be able to see through the smokescreen that the alarmists and Sad Sams are spreading.

We believe that those who are yelling the loudest, and we include such loyal Americans as CIO President Walter Reuther and United States Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, might take a second look and consider whether they are really performing a public service by becoming prophets of doom and inspiring the very fears which create psychological depressions.

Hawaii Mission Annual Conference of Methodist Church Asked Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present for publication in the RECORD a resolution adopted on February 25 by the Hawaii Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Church asking for admission of Hawaii to the Union as a State and presenting the reasons therefor:

RESOLUTION ON STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII

Whereas legislation admitting Hawaii to statehood is now before the United States Senate for early action; and

Whereas the Hawaii Mission Conference and the General Conference of the Methodist Church have endorsed statehood for Hawaii on the ground that statehood will contribute to the moral and spiritual progress of the present Territory; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Hawaii Mission Annual Conference strongly renews its support for statehood for Hawaii for the following reasons:

(a) We believe in the principle that local self-government by increasing the political responsibilities of the people increases also our civic responsibilities and inspires in us the ambition to develop our communities along progressive, sound, and helpful lines;

(b) Local self-government by thus emphasizing the civic responsibilities of the people is a direct factor in training our citizens, young and old, in combating civic and social evils;

(c) The Hawaii Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Church now in session is deeply and vitally interested in peace throughout this Pacific area. Elevation of Hawaii to statehood will be a constructive move for peace. It will effectively answer the arguments and propaganda in the Communist countries of Asia and Europe that the United States of America is an imperialistic nation which holds residents of Asian origin in a colonial status; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii, the Governor of Hawaii, the chairman of the Hawaii Statehood Commission, and the press and radio.

Bishop GERALD H. KENNEDY,
WARREN THOMAS,
Secretary, Hawaii Methodist Mission.

Federal Support for Agricultural Research and Extension Work in New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a memorandum prepared by Dr. William H. Martin, dean and director of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station of Rutgers University, supporting President Eisenhower's recommendation for increased grants for agricultural research and extension work. The article is as follows:

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND EXTENSION WORK IN NEW JERSEY

The New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service are supported cooperatively by the State and Federal Governments. In addition, the research program draws considerable support from nonpublic sources, and the extension program in the counties is financed in part by county appropriations. In recent years the non-Federal funds have been increased at a much faster rate than those appropriated by Congress. Federal-grant funds currently represent only about 10 percent of the total research budget and 18 percent of the extension budget. These grants are essential to the maintenance of a well-balanced program.

The President's budget message for 1954–55 includes recommended increases of $5,732,000 in payments to the States for research work and $7,064,000 for extension work. This would mean an increase of $45,000 in New Jersey's research grant and $55,000 for extension.

RESEARCH

Federal-grant funds are most valuable in the research program because they help to defray the cost of fundamental investigations which are not so likely to interest State legislators or donors of private funds. Yet, without these fundamental studies, the wellspring of more immediately practical studies will dry up. The discovery of streptomycin, for example, was a direct outcome of a program of basic investigations in microbiology extending back for more than 30 years. Similarly, fundamental studies of plant nutrition carried on over many years in the plant physiology department are now finding wide practical application as a result of work in soils and horticulture which could not have been carried on without such a firm foundation of basic facts.

Among the lines of work which might be undertaken if the President's proposed increase is approved by the Congress are the following: Fundamental studies of the biochemical processes which control plant growth—aimed at increasing yields and quality; basic studies of insect physiology aimed at improving methods of insect control; expanded investigations designed to increase the efficiency with which agricultural products are marketed; expanded studies of the influence of agricultural chemicals on the quality of both fresh and processed foods.

EXTENSION SERVICE

The most desperate need of the New Jersey Extension Service is for a sizable increase in our operating funds for travel, printing, teaching materials and secretarial assistance. During the last 10 years the State appropriations for extension work in New Jersey have increased more than fivefold, and the county appropriations have more than doubled to keep pace with the shrinking dollar value and to provide for needed expansion of the staff. During this same 10-year period, Federal extension funds in New Jersey have increased but little in total dollars. As a matter of fact, they are actually $7,000 lower in the current year than they were in 1950–51. To keep pace with the shrinking value of the dollar and the constantly increasing needs of the staff for teaching materials and other operating needs, the Federal extension funds would have had to be at least doubled in total dollars in this 10-year period, just to hold its own.

It is obvious that any increase in Federal extension funds in New Jersey must be used first to bolster our State level operating budget, as pointed up in the following brief chart:

	Total staff	Administrative staff	Special staff	Field agents: Agriculture	Field agents: Home economics	Field agents: 4–H	Total budget	Total Federal funds	Federal funds, salaries	Available for operating at State level	Percent total budget available for operating
1942–43	91	5	23	25	25	13	$475,306	$178,049	$145,966	$32,083	6.7
1947–48	107	6	26	30	27	18	720,851	209,163	171,925	37,238	5.1
1952–53	119	6	32	35	25	21	1,080,970	221,643	182,672	38,971	3.6

The New Jersey Extension Service expanded its field staff in 1953 by adding 10 new field positions—5 assistant agricultural agents, 2 assistant home agents, and 3 assistant 4–H agents. These were all new positions and not replacements. Also, 2 specialist positions were reactivated and 1 new specialist position was created in 1953. We, therefore, consider our present field staff of county agents adequate to handle the present, or even a somewhat expanded extension program.

The New Jersey Extension Service has urgent need for several new specialist positions to adequately support the expanded field staff and program. However, this need is definitely secondary to strengthening the operating budget. In fact, to add additional specialists without increasing the operating budget would only further aggravate an already very serious administrative problem.

There is some discussion concerning the possibility of earmarking new funds for such specific purposes as expansion of field staff. The great need in New Jersey is for the tools and facilities to make effective the expanded staff currently being made available through county and State appropriations.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY,
New Brunswick, N. J., March 3, 1954.
Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FRELINGHUYSEN: I enclose a memorandum in which I have tried to set forth as briefly as possible the real need of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service for the increased Federal grants recommended in President Eisenhower's budget. As I am sure you realize, these agencies in New Jersey are counterparts of similar organizations associated with the land-grant colleges of each of the 48 States, as well as Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Thus, the investment of a relatively minor sum, less than $13 million, by the Federal Government can have far-reaching beneficial results in each of our States and Territories.

Anything you can do to bring about favorable action on these two items will be a real service, not only to your own constituents but to the general welfare of the country. I am sure you will agree that agricultural research represents one of the most profitable investments that can be made of public funds.

If you have any questions about these matters, I shall be very happy to answer them.

Cordially yours,

W. H. MARTIN,
Dean and Director.

Prayers of Hawaii's People Ask Favorable Action on Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present for publication in the RECORD a statement recently issued by Chairman C. Nils Tavares of the Hawaii statehood commission solemnly asking the people of Hawaii to join in prayer for the adoption of legislation now pending in Congress to admit Hawaii to the Union as a State.

Mr. Tavares' appeal is an eloquent manifestation of how deeply the people of Hawaii feel on the question of statehood. It follows:

The people of Hawaii have now tried almost everything they legitimately can to further their crusade for political justice and full recognition of their political maturity. They want to receive the fullest rights and privileges of citizenship which they have so fully and arduously earned, and they want also to assume the full responsibilities and burdens of that citizenship. For them there is no desire for mere material advantage—no acceptance of a commonwealth status whereby, in return for shirking the full burden of national taxes, they would receive, forsooth, an ersatz substitute for the priceless rights and privileges they seek.

They are for statehood, not merely in order to better themselves economically or politically, but because they truly believe that it will also benefit the entire Nation, es-

pecially in its relations with foreign countries and in its world leadership.

But there is one all-powerful source whose help I believe they have not yet adequately sought. I believe that the overwhelming majority of Hawaii's people are deeply religious and that they deeply believe in the power of prayer, as I do. And so, not as a publicity stunt, not with pomp and ceremony or noisy fanfare, but humbly, in the quite of their homes and churches, I urge them to pray now and every day to the God we all believe in, that He may guide the Members of both Houses of the Congress of the United States and help them to decide this question in a manner which will be, not in our sole selfish interest, but in the best interests of all the people of the United States.

We are not so selfish that we would ask for statehood if we did not believe it would also be for the benefit of the entire Nation. And so, believing as we do in the righteousness and justice of our cause, and with a firm faith and resolution that we, the people of Hawaii, shall always prove ourselves worthy of the grave responsibilities and priceless rights and privileges of statehood if our plea be granted, let us humbly ask our God to guide our legislators to a truly just and righteous decision on this issue. And let us also ask all of our friends throughout the mainland to pray with us in this spirit.

C. NILS TAVARES.

Bender's Plan Sound to Cut These Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the following editorial from the Cleveland News of Monday, February 22, 1954:

BENDER'S PLAN SOUND TO CUT THESE TAXES

The special excise taxes on telephone calls and on railroad tickets are the two types of excise tax which the general public dislikes the most, judging from results of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

The 25 percent tax on long distance telephone calls and the 15 percent surcharge on local phone service, as well as the 15 percent transportation tax, are levies imposed during World War II to discourage civilian use of utility services whose capacities at that time were strained by defense requirements.

The rates imposed on communication and rail transportation were generally higher than excise tax rates placed on most other articles, including luxuries.

Continuation of these high rates has resulted in gross discrimination against users of telephones and railroad service.

Congressman GEORGE H. BENDER of Cleveland, has introduced what we consider a fair bill to reduce these excise tax levies generally to a level of 10 percent.

This is a reduction which has an excellent chance of approval of the Congress, which, at the Eisenbower administration's suggestion, is now making a complete overhaul of the excise tax structure.

Mr. BENDER's complaints against the present high telephone and railroad excises are well considered and it is to be hoped Congress will consider them likewise.

Is the Massive Retaliation Policy a Dangerous Gamble, Playing Into the Hands of the Kremlin Extremists?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, although it has received very little public discussion, a strong undercurrent of deep concern is now evident among Members of Congress of both parties over the policy of massive retaliation enunciated earlier this year by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

The so-called New Look in our military and defense strategy as outlined by the Secretary calls for primary dependence upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing in case of any renewed outbreak of aggression.

Considering the far-reaching shift in American policy which this pronouncement appeared to indicate, it is unfortunate that there has been so little discussion of it by responsible military as well as diplomatic officials of the administration or any clear-cut definition of just what the policy is supposed to mean.

I have withheld comment on this matter up to now in the hopes that some such clear-cut definition might be forthcoming. I think now that the time has come when the Eisenhower administration should either clarify or withdraw this policy pronouncement before it sets off the very disaster it is intended to prevent—that is, a global atomic war of total obliteration.

I believe this policy strengthens the power of both the Russian military extremists itching to expand the Soviet empire by force and the Communist political theorists in Russia who believe unquestioningly in the Marx-Lenin teachings based on European conditions of a half century or more ago when wars were considered fairly normal and not very destructive affairs.

As the Dulles policy—which presumably also is the Eisenhower policy—now stands, it is a threat to make a world-wide atomic war out of any new Korea, to drop atomic bombs on Peiping if the Chinese Communists invade Indochina, or to atomize Moscow if Russia were to march against Iran or any other neighbor.

This may or may not be what the Secretary meant to imply, but that's what everyone takes it to mean. Presumably the Russians take it to mean that, too. If so, it could be a dangerous gamble—perhaps an almost suicidal dare, playing right into the hands of the crazy men of the Kremlin.

The leaders of Russian communism have always pretended—and some of them like Malenkov may even believe—that the West wants to attack them and wipe them out. That line has been sold to the Russian people for 37 years.

It has been their excuse, if not their reason, for blocking every attempt to reach a real peace. Even during the height of World War II when we were pouring billions in lend-lease aid into Russia, they often treated us more like potential enemies than as allies. Though our allies, they never acted as our friends and never reciprocated our efforts to be friends, for they maintained an official suspicion that such a friendship was ideologically impossible. You must remember that they had been Hitler's allies, too, for a while.

Since World War II they have painted us in the same colors in which they painted the Nazis. And they have waged an intensive and unrelentingly savage hate campaign against us among their own people.

The question is how seriously do they take their own propaganda. Do they really believe it? If so, is it possible that they might seize on the Dulles pronouncement as their signal to rain atomic bombs on us at the first sign of any localized aggression anywhere in the world. Would they or would they not be likely to do that in the belief they were acting in self-defense?

Those are some of the question this "new look" raises—vital questions which deserve thoughtful and well-considered answers from the administration.

For myself, I believe the policy of this country should be one of continuing to organize the strength of the whole free world to stop aggression, but not to go out inviting global atomic war over minor-league skirmishes or border incidents, not to stand on a vague and unclear policy which seems to convey to the suspicious denizens of the Kremlin that we are as trigger happy as they are. And by all means we should certainly take no stand which might invite an atomic Pearl Harbor in our own cities the minute pro- and anti-Communist regimes in some far corner of the earth start a local war against each other.

President's Day, March 4, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I first wish to thank our distinguished Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., for offering the following prayer at the opening of the House this morning. You will note therein he specifically remembered the Office of the President of the United States:

O Thou who art the beneficent and supreme ruler of the universe and the guiding intelligence in the life of men and nations we rejoice that here in our beloved country Thou hast ordained and established sovereignty by the free will of the people.

Grant that our citizens may always have a lofty conception of the Presidency, rendering unto him, who occupies this exalted position, that respect, reverence, honor, and encouragement to which his sacred office entitles him.

May all the Members of the Congress, who are joined with the President in the exercise of Government rule in the fear of God and be given that favor and influence, with the people they represent, which come from doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with the Lord.

Wilt Thou hear and answer our petitions as we daily pray for our fellow Members who are absent from this Chamber by reason of illness and who need thy healing ministry.

In Christ's name we pray. Amen.

Mr. Speaker, in the city of Compton, in the great 23d District of California, which I represent this my 8th year in this great legislative body, is the Committee for Presidents' Day appropriately and devotedly chaired and directed by Mr. Hal Fischer, whose two letters to me dated February 22, 1954, I am pleased to herewith set forth:

COMMITTEE FOR PRESIDENTS' DAY,
Compton, Calif., February 22, 1954.

The Honorable CLYDE DOYLE,
1030 New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Regarding our conversation of Saturday, here are some of the germane facts regarding Presidents' Day.

To date, we know that Presidents' Day, March 4, will be recognized officially by 28 governors of the States, most by proclamation and a few by official statement. Our Governor Knight is supporting the day as well. Also the day will be recognized by the mayors of some of the larger cities, including Los Angeles, where Mayor Poulson has already issued his proclamation.

The proclamations and statements call for prayers in the churches and at official gatherings on this day for the President of the United States. In schools, which remain open, the children will be doing many forms of demonstration of the lives and deeds of all our Presidents.

Today on coast-to-coast television and radio, four of Compton's school children appeared on the Art Linkletter House Party dressed as George and Martha Washington and James and Dolly Madison. In thousands of schools all over the country students will participate on March 4 in these activities.

It is only fitting and proper that on President's Day that in both Houses of Congress a special prayer should be offered for our President, for ours is a Nation founded with a belief in the Almighty and continuing under Him. I am sure that your colleagues in Congress, and especially our fine Members of the Senate from California will concur and cooperate in the proper arrangements for this day.

Millions of school students are hoping for the President to deliver a TV-radio message on this day, not just this year, but every President, every year. It would be a fine gesture toward better Americanism.

Our deep thanks and very best wishes to you and your colleagues in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

HAL FISCHER,
Director, Committee for Presidents' Day.

COMMITTEE FOR PRESIDENTS' DAY,
Compton, Calif., February 22, 1954.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This other note is the formal one.

The Art Linkletter show went over great today. I hope you were able to see it. It went coast-to-coast on both radio and television.

We should have between 33 to 35 States by March 4.

If the President would accede to the TV-radio message to the children and other youth of the Nation, it would indeed be a fine thing.

Mrs. Tibby will be back from the education convention tomorrow and we hope for good news.

Anyone who has contact with Presidents' Day, the parents and our educators and our governors, seem to feel it is a good thing for America. We will never allow it to become a partisan tool; so far no attempt has been made to do this. We are supported as well by good Democrats as by good Republicans. We don't even mention the President by name; we don't suggest any Presidents to be studied. That is for each school to decide on this day. Certain sections of the country will favor some special President or Presidents—that is their business. It may be because that President or Presidents had some special meaning or close relationship with that section or State.

I will keep you further advised. I have a special prayer that the Chaplains of both Houses will have these prayers for the President on March 4. For myself, personally, it doesn't matter that Presidents' Day succeed or fail—but for my children and all the other children of America it is another important matter. I think I know what America means, I want them to love it and protect it for themselves and their children. That's why I feel that success for Presidents' Day is important. I firmly believe that a Presidential message on March 4 is as important, no, more important than any other matter at hand.

My deep thanks and prayers for your success in this matter,

Cordially,

HAL.

Also, his most recent letter to me on the subject, dated March 1, 1954:

COMMITTEE FOR PRESIDENT'S DAY,
Compton, Calif., March 1, 1954.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: With the addition of proclamations from the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio today, the present score is 33 States supporting President's Day, most of them by proclamation and a few by official statements (in States where proclamations are not issued).

I have not as yet heard from you as to what success you might have had in Washington for prayers for the President in both Houses, but, knowing you, I certainly haven't lost one iota of hope.

I have seen some of the work to be done in the schools in advance, and it really is wonderful. And there is no partisanship as far as politics is concerned, and never will be. Whereas news reports may be biased and confusing, here we have a method of teching in painless, wholesome form the kind of stuff of which good Americans are made.

I am hoping to hear from you with good news.

In the meantime, my very best of good wishes to the best Congressman this side of the Atlantic.

Cordially yours,

HAL FISCHER.

Following is the proclamation for Presidents' Day forwarded to me by Mr. Fisher:

PROCLAMATION FOR PRESIDENTS' DAY

Whereas the free peoples of this Nation and the world are faced with their greatest trials for the survival of their free way of life; and

Whereas it is necessary to place in the hands of the citizens of this Nation their due responsibilities for the upholding and maintaining of the American free way of life and the general welfare of this Nation; and

Whereas the Office of the President of the United States of America is the highest and most important station which a citizen may attain, and it is the living and working symbol of the American flag and the Constitution of the United States of America; and

Whereas religion is our most vital asset, and our Nation was founded on the authority of our Creator as the very foundation of our "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness * * *"; and

Whereas it is refreshing to remember and reaffirm our faith in God and our system of delegated authority under Him:

Now, therefore, be it hereby proclaimed that the 4th day of March be set aside and designated Presidents' Day in honor of the Office of the President of these United States of America, and that prayers be urged in all places of worship, in homes, and at all public gatherings on that day for Divine guidance of our Chief Executive and the continuance of the freedoms guaranteed under the American flag by the Constitution of the United States of America; that all schools be urged to engage in projects relative to Presidents of the United States; and that all interested organizations prepare suitable programs for the occasion.

Mr. Speaker, this is the text of the proclamation referred to in Mr. Fisher's letters to me. His letters to me will show the remarkable and, I think, very appropriate and prompt progress which the splendid objective of this Committee for Presidents' Day has made throughout our great Nation in the matter of attention by Governors of the States. You will note that his letter of February 22, 1954, says:

To date, we know that Presidents' Day, March 4, will be recognized officially by 28 Governors of the States, most by proclamation and a few by official statement.

In asking my friend and constituent, Mr. Fisher, for an outline of appropriate comment about each President of the United States, I received from him, and am pleased to present, the following text:

PRESIDENTS ON PARADE

1. George Washington, President, 1789: "I was a general, first President of the United States and Founding Father. I saw 13 Colonies become a free nation. I am remembered as 'First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of my countrymen.' I married Martha Custis, a widow with two children."

2. Thomas Jefferson, President, 1801: "I declared that all men are created equal. I believed in free schools, religious liberty, and everybody's right to speak his mind. I was champion of the rights of America and to vote their own taxes. I am responsible for our system of dollars and cents. I was the first President to wear long trousers instead of knee breeches. I believed America would always remain great if Americans were free to seek the truth."

3. James Madison, President, 1809: "I am called the Father of the Constitution. I was present during the War of 1812 when British soldiers came ashore and burned the White House. It was during this war that the Star-Spangled Banner was inspired with the defense of Fort McHenry. I married Dorothea Todd, known as Dolly Madison, a wonderful hostess and the life of any party."

4. James Monroe, President, 1817: "I became President during a period known as 'Era of good feeling.' America and England disarmed. Florida was bought from Spain. The Missouri Compromise brought Missouri in as a slave State and Maine as a free State. The Monroe Doctrine warned Europe to seek

no more colonies in the New World known to us as our beloved America."

5. John Adams, President, 1825: "During my term, roads and canals were spread into the West. As Congressman, I brought petitions to the Capital against slavery."

6. Andrew Jackson, President, 1829: "At 13 I was a Revolutionary soldier. I was for the great laboring and producing classes. I studied law. I helped to write the Tennessee State constitution. In the War of 1812—won battle at New Orleans as General of Army. I am known as 'Old Hickory.' I believed that the Federal Union had to be preserved."

7. John Tyler, President, 1841: "I was the first Vice President to become President. My occupation was lawyer and Governor of Virginia."

8. James Polk, President, 1845: "I was first 'dark horse' to run for President. My slogan was 'All of Texas and all of Oregon.' I settled the boundary line now in existence—United States-Canadian line. I fought Mexico over the Texas boundary line."

9. Zachary Taylor, President, 1849: "I was 40 years a soldier, fighting Indians and was a hero in the war with Mexico. I was called Old Rough and Ready. I died while dedicating the Washington Monument and Millard Fillmore, who was Vice President, stepped into my shoes at a time when slavery was coming to boil. Fillmore signed the "Fugutive Slave Act" to return runaway slaves to the South."

Student council chairman reads: "During Franklin Pierce as President 1853, and James Buchanan, President 1857, controversy reigned over the slave issue. It was a forewarning of the Civil War that was soon to come—the Union began to fall apart. This ushered in:"

10. Abraham Lincoln, President, 1861: "I was known at 'Honest Abe.' I was a lawyer. I went to Congress, debated against Stephen A. Douglas against slavery. I won the hand of Mary Todd, but lost the debate with Douglas. Four years of Civil War lay ahead. My cabinet was against me, but I struggled on—freed the slaves and declared at Gettysburg, that 'government of the people, by the people and for the people must not perish from the earth'."

11. Ulysses S. Grant, President, 1869: "I was a West Point graduate, a Cavalry officer. I was considered 'lazy,' and having little push when a child. I was a leader in the Northern Army and stuck out a battle until I won. Lee surrendered. The motto on my tomb at New York City reads 'Let there be peace'."

Student council chairman reads: "During Rutherford B. Hayes' Presidency in 1877, Civil Service was improved and telephone and phonograph were invented. Trade unions were growing.

"Chester A. Arthur became President in 1881. He started a Navy of steel ships."

12. Grover Cleveland, President, 1885: "I was the only President married in the White House. Bank failures worried me. I believed that a 'public office is a public trust'."

13. Benjamin Harrison, President, 1889: "I was the last President to wear a beard, and the first to sign papers under an electric light. I went to a log school house."

14. William McKinley, President, 1897: "The Spanish American war was fought and won—bringing the Philippines and Puerto Rico in as American Islands. My slogan was 'a full dinner pail.' I was the third President to die by an assassin's bullet.

15. Teddy Roosevelt, President, 1909: "I was a city boy with a rich father. I won fame as a cowpuncher, roughrider, and hero of the common people. I was Governor of New York. My motto was 'Speak softly and carry a big stick.' I battled for meat inspection and pure-food laws."

Student council chairman reads: "William Howard Taft became President in 1909, but was better known as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court."

16. Woodrow Wilson, President, 1913: "I was a teacher at Princeton University and Governor of New Jersey. I taught government and became Princeton's president. I was reelected in 1916 because I kept us out of war. World War I was fought and won. I hoped for a League of Nations to end future wars. It failed, but I died believing someday world peace would really come."

17. Calvin Coolidge, President, 1923: "I am known for my sour face and dry wit. I was a farmer boy and I went from Governor's chair to Vice Presidency under Warren G. Harding, who was President for 2 years (1921–23). I was thrifty and conservative—a man of few words. My slogan was 'Keep cool with Coolidge.'"

18. Herbert Hoover, President, 1929: "I was the son of an Iowa blacksmith. I was a mining engineer and was elected to the Presidency from California. I headed relief in Belgium during World War I. Food for the starving. I was wartime food boss in the United States in 1917. I served as Secretary of Commerce and finally President. Slogan was 'A chicken in every pot.'"

Business crashed—the big depression started.

19. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, 1933: "I am a New Dealer and a friend of the poor. I told the people the only thing to fear is fear itself. I ushered in old people's retirement money. I proclaimed four freedoms—freedom of speech, worship, want, and fear. I married Teddy Roosevelt's niece, Eleanor, who became famous going everywhere to see how people lived. I contracted polio, but I had the will not to be an invalid. I was elected President four times."

20. Harry S. Truman, President, 1945: "I am a Fair Dealer. I never knew when I was licked. I was Senator from Missouri, and when I was Vice President I fell heir to the Presidency after Franklin Roosevelt's death.

"The atom bomb fell on Japan and World War II ended. The United Nations began. During this period the White House was redone, after 31 families—since 1800.

21. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President, 1952: "I am of humble parentage. I graduated from West Point. Both parties wanted me as their candidate for the Presidency. I was elected in 1952—at a time when we were fighting a cold war, when men have fear in their hearts and we need much courage. The eyes of the whole world are upon America to lead the way to peace.

"I am a praying President and I believe in all the ideals that have been set by our past Presidents. I am a national hero—a general known the world over."

I am sure, gentleman, that you are not only pleased to read of this remarkable and appropriate development in recognition of, and in honor of, President's Day, but I feel assured from what some of you have already told me that you will consider it a privilege to encourage the recognition of this day in the communities which each of you so ably, and with such distinguished service, represent.

Hon. Wright Patman, of Texas

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAM RAYBURN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 25th anniversary of the services of WRIGHT PATMAN in this House.

During these years he has been a diligent, able, and wise statesman. No man has labored more hours in valuable service to his district nor his country than WRIGHT PATMAN.

He is a gentleman as well as a statesman. All of Texas joins his district in pride of having him as a citizen of our great State.

Statement by William G. McKinley, National Executive Committeeman, the American Legion, Jersey City, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I am including herewith a statement made at breakfast this morning to the New Jersey congressional delegation by William G. McKinley, national executive committeeman, the American Legion, Jersey City, N. J. This statement represents informally the present views of the New Jersey department of the American Legion, and for that reason it should be of considerable general interest. Mr. McKinley's remarks follow:

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four is an anniversary, for it brings us together for the tenth of these annual breakfasts. As originated in 1945 we have continued to meet here each year not only for the pleasure of a social get-together but because it gives us opportunity to briefly set forth certain problems for mutual consultation.

Ten years ago we had a specific problem—a New Jersey problem. We needed a Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospital in our State to care for the hospital load of New Jersey veterans and of the greater metropolitan area.

Through your help in the Congress and on the Washington scene we now have that hospital in operation. It is a beautiful institution, well managed, and a credit to the Veterans' Administration. It cost upward of $25 million of taxpayers money to build and is costing annually about $4,800,000 to operate currently 850 beds, serving about 7,500 patients per year. Looking at our original forecasts of 1945, we were uncannily accurate in our estimate of bed requirements and load in this year of 1954. We hit it right on the nose.

HOSPITALS AND NON-SERVICE-CONNECTED CASES

In any discussion of this kind where time is the important element, it is very difficult to set down in brief words the important facts stripped of nonessential arguments and documentation and to give to you as legislators the basic information which you want to know.

Recently, Mr. Darrell Huff, a writer on economic subjects, published a book entitled "How to Lie with Statistics." In that book he coined a word: "Statisticulate" and defined a statistical liar as a "Statisticulator." Well, we do not propose to statisticulate this morning.

As you know, the Veterans' Administration medical program has been under severe and sustained attack. The particular object of attack has been the care of so-called nonservice-connected cases in Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospitals on the basis of a declaration of inability

to pay by the veteran patient. If ever there was a prime example of statisticulation or lying with statistics it is in the arguments advanced for the discontinuance of the treatment of non-service-connected cases.

Actually, there has been no substantial or material proof submitted by any reputable witnesses that there is widespread and flagrant abuse of non-service-connected hospital care by wealthy and affluent veterans. Those who make such charges have been given more than mere opportunity to come forward and state their cases. They have been specifically requested to do so by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and have not only failed to prove their claims—they have refused to do so.

On the other hand, the American Legion has submitted to the House Veterans' Affairs Committee a detailed report of bedside interviews of non-service-connected cases in most of the larger Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospitals. The American Legion will shortly amplify their preliminary report with additional source interviews. The results of this basic research is revealing and conclusive in establishing complete rebuttal to most of the major allegations of abuse advanced by opponents of the program.

Foremost of these charges of abuse allege that the Veterans' Administration makes no investigation of the inability-to-pay statement made by the veteran applicant. This is only relatively true. But it is quite untruthful as generally stated.

For example: Over half of the non-service-connected cases in hospitals are veterans of the part 111 benefit classification. That is, they are pensioners under the provisions of Public Law 12, suffering from physical disabilities rendering them unemployable and without material income from other sources. When such a veteran applies for hospital care this fact is known to the Veterans' Administration. The Veterans' Administration knows that such pensionees are indigents and as such are unable to pay for private hospital care. This fact was established by investigations incident to the pension award and by physical examination. They are charity cases.

Of the remainder of non-service-connected cases in hospitals, a major portion of these are service-connected compensation cases seeking hospital care for other than their rated disability, such as a service-connected amputee being hospitalized for pneumonia non-service-connected. When such a veteran applies for hospital care, this fact is known to the Veterans' Administration. Disabled veterans living wholly or in part on disability compensation are certainly prima facie unable to pay for private hospital care for any severe illness of extended nature.

This leaves a small minority of veterans who apply for hospital care without any prior claim and solely on their statement of inability to pay.

Therefore, to allege that the Veterans' Administration admits non-service-connected cases into their hospitals willy-nilly is not true. They have a pretty good idea of the ability-to-pay status of their patients based on their own resources.

If anyone desires to statisticulate on these statements, complete documentation will be found in the 1953 reports of the House Veterans Affairs Committee, particularly the Kearney Subcommittee on Hospitals.

One of the most malicious of current charges on non-service-connected cases is that Veterans' Administration hospitals are havens for common drunkards. An outstanding example of statistical lying is contained in the March issue of Reader's Digest by an obscure writer obviously using handouts for his source. This statisticulator says that thousands of alcoholics are treated each year in Veterans' Administration hospitals. The statement clearly implies that some major portion of cases are common drunks.

The turnover of general medical and surgical cases runs somewhere near 400,000 cases per year throughout the country. Therefore, if 1 percent of these cases were alcoholics, these would summate to about 4,000 cases. The statement of thousands of cases would be relatively true but the implication as printed in the story is false and intended to mislead the reader.

Alcoholism is regarded by the medical profession as a human ailment. It is like some forms of narcoticism; a habit-forming complex usually associated with other physical weaknesses or morbid condition. Undoubtedly, alcoholism is a complex in some cases both service-connected and non-service-connected treated in Veterans' Administration hospitals just as it is a complex in general medical practice. We cannot find in our research of diagnosis of non-service-connected cases in hospitals any specific case of alcoholism standing alone.

The Veterans' Administration has complete and detailed records of diagnoses of all patients treated by them in all categories of their hospitals. These records are available to legitimate researchers and are now a substantial source for establishing morbidity and mortality data on life in this country.

To the Members of the Congress, therefore, we say that there is no substantial case for the contention that veterans are abusing their legal right to care in Veterans' Administration hospitals for any cause whatsoever. It is our studied opinion that there is no need for any material change in present laws.

We suggest to the Members of Congress who are importuned to change these laws and wreck the Veterans' Administration hospital program that you beware of statisiculators on this subject.

A further comment seems of interest to the Members of Congress.

Because of these charges of failure to investigate the truth or falsity of the inability to pay statement, the Veterans' Administration last November changed the form 10–P–10 application for hospitalization to include and require a statement of economic status of the applicant. It may be yet too early to firmly determine the effect of this change. We can say, however, insofar as New Jersey is concerned, we do not note any marked reluctance on the part of veterans to provide the information or to decline hospitalization because this information is requested.

In closing this phase of the discussion, we should like to repeat what we said last year.

If the United States Veterans' Administration is to be expected to serve the purpose for which it was created, it must soon be freed from the constant and vicious harassment to which it has been subjected over these past 10 years.

No one agency of the Government has been so thoroughly investigated, reinvestigated, supervised, reorganized, threatened with disintegrations, and kept in a state of turmoil and confusion as to policy and future existence.

It is almost a miracle that this great and sprawling bureaucracy is able to function as well as it does under the burden of charges and countercharges continuously hurled at it. It is a wonder that any competent administrators are willing to take on responsibility for leadership at the price in recrimination and abuse they must accept for their service to this country.

We submit in all candor and reason that no great organization such as the Veterans' Administration can possibly plan and carry into effect any program while powder kegs are planted in every nook and cranny for the purpose of blowing it apart.

If the Congress wishes to do one simple thing above all others to raise the efficiency and lower the cost of this agency, to restore morale among its thousands of loyal employees, and to give to it the sense of confidence necessary to successful operation, then stop the incessant meddling in its affairs and give it a reasonable breathing spell to level off.

AMERICANISM

The Congress has been engaged in a number of activities dealing with internal affairs of our country, particularly as affects loyalty to our American institutions and the maintenance of internal security for our constitutional form of government.

It is our opinion that efforts to repeal or materially alter the McCarran-Walter Act should be resisted and that act permitted a longer test of its provisions. It is conceded that some inequities are appearing in the quota system for admission of immigrants to this country which may require adjustment as experience shall indicate.

This act, however, took nearly 5 years to compose based upon extensive hearings at which more than a thousand witnesses representing all phases of civil life were heard. It represents also nearly 50 years of immigration experience.

We believe this act is basically sound and should be thoroughly tested before major alteration is attempted.

We believe that the various committees of the Congress engaged in investigation of subversive activities should receive continued support.

The discovery and prosecution of conspiracy and treason under our criminal law is most difficult. The only alternative is a relentless exposure of these activities to public view.

Granted that there is a minority right protected by our Constitution to espouse unpopular causes or to freely inquire into all matters of knowledge and intelligence, this right does not extend to the protection of conspiracy against the State nor protect treason under the cloak of various special types of freedoms designed as a shield for such activity.

No person need fear the truth. The only person who needs to fear these investigations are those having some evil to conceal.

If certain rough and tumble methods are employed by congressional committees on occasion, it is only because the subject matter can be handled in no other graceful way. While we may not always admire the methods, we applaud the result.

The Senate recently concluded a lengthy debate on the proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution designed to prevent treaties from becoming self-operating internal law in the United States.

Despite the failure to pass a suitable constitutional amendment to restrict law by treaty we remain firm in our conviction that such a constitutional provision should be adopted.

We urge that congressional study of this question be continued.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In the field of foreign affairs we remain in firm support of United Nations as an acceptable form of world order at this time. We believe, however, that some of the activities of subordinate agencies and commissions of United Nations need to be closely scrutinized and held within proper bounds in the dessimination of propaganda designed to subvert national institutions and favor absolute world government.

We are firmly opposed to the admission of so-called Red China into the United Nations or recognized as a government worthy of association in the affairs of civilized nations.

NATIONAL SECURITY

We favor continued development of the efficiency of our Armed Forces with greater accentuation upon the improvement of Reserve components. We should not be lulled again into a state of disarmament or permit our Armed Forces to become ineffective in

an emergency through lack of continued training and perfection in the military arts.

We believe that universal military training of our youth should be made a basic policy of our defense structure as soon as practicable.

We favor the recommended creation of a specialized school for the training of career Air Corps officers. We believe that since airpower is now a highly specialized field and a major arm of the defense of our country, there is need for an advanced academy—a West Point or an Annapolis of the Air—to train the personnel that must command our Air Force.

Address by Mr. Stanley Gewirtz Before the Washington, D. C., Region of the Aviation Writers Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address by Mr. Stanley Gewirtz, assistant to the president, Air Transport Association of America, which was delivered before the Washington, D. C., region of the Aviation Writers Association on February 10, 1954, at the Burlington Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

My title for this speech is: "Air Transport Regulation—What's in It for You, the American Public?" Let me say at the outset that we're concerned with a regulated industry. We're not talking about running a supermarket.

It has become fashionable these days to throw stones at the scheduled certificated airline industry. It is also becoming equally smart to shout "Kill the umpire"—in this case, the Civil Aeronautics Board—when it makes rulings consistent with the Civil Aeronautics Act, which constitutes the book of rules for this game of air transportation, but unfavorable to those who are violating the act and the board's regulations.

As a result, some basic issues have become confused and the confusion has, with some purpose, become confounded.

No one even bows in the direction of acknowledging a few obvious truths. One, that this is still a baby industry. Two, that the Civil Aeronautics Act has been in effect only some 15 years. And, three, if not the most important, that the board has overseen, in and through its administration of the act, a most remarkable progress in air transportation.

In fact, it's necessary to weave through the smokescreen of confusion which has been developed in order to reassess the reasons for the passage of the act. Before 1938, everyone was supposed to regulate air transportation but no one really did it. Regulation was divided among the Post Office Department, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Department of Commerce. They didn't do a good job. The safety record of the airlines was miserable. The financial chaos was singular. This was the picture that faced the Congress, along with the unbelievably wretched example of a third of all railroad trackage in bankruptcy, at the time that Congress felt it prudent to adopt the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938.

The act had some purposes which have proved themselves out. Broadly, it intended the development of commercial aviation. It brought about a distinct interrelationship between safety and economics. Its policy was definitively to prevent uneconomic competition. The act also specifically suggests that routes and segments of routes should not be duplicated just because lots of lines look good on a map of the United States.

We have now come some 15 years since the passage of the act. Or, I should say, chronologically, it is 15 years. In fact, though, the development of air transportation, airlinewise and aircraftwise, has been handicapped by World War II and, more recently, by the rather hot-cold war of 1951–53. So, it really isn't fair to say that this progress in commercial certificated air transportation should be measured against a yardstick of a full or continuous 15-year period.

In 1938, the Board was handed a route structure which it started to work on between 1938 and 1940. This was the initial testing period, the shakedown cruise for air-transport regulation. Before the ship got out of the harbor, the airlines went to war. Within 6 months after Pearl Harbor, 50 percent of the total fleet of commercial aircraft was camouflaged for use in, and as auxiliary to, the Air Transport Command and the Naval Air Transport Service. Within that same 6-months' period, a third of the total complement of certificated airline personnel went to work for some arm of the Defense Establishment. Certainly, there could be no civilian air transport development when there was a war to be won.

From 1946 to 1949 came the postwar adjustment, with an economic recession suffered by the airlines while the rest of the country was enjoying unparalleled postwar prosperity.

It was not until 1950 that new equipment replaced the workhorse DC-3. Then, the airlines could dig in and move toward the stability which they had been searching since regulation came into being in 1938.

So that, although it looks like 15 years, it was less than that and the progress achieved is, then, even the more remarkable. This story of progress could well bear chapter heads like "New Certifications"; "Additional Competitive Routings"; "Intelligent Disbursement of Subsidy"; "Separation of Subsidy and Mail Pay"; and "Beneficial Mergers and Consolidations." All of these were accomplished in a reasonable and orderly fashion under the aegis of the regulatory agency entrusted with this responsibility.

I don't think it can be told often enough, nor can it be overemphasized, that this progress of certificated transportation is truly remarkable.

In 1938, there were 22 certificated airlines, 2 operating foreign and overseas routes, and 20 in the domestic picture. In 1953, there were 55 air carriers certificated by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Against the two kinds of operators flying in 1938, there were 9 varieties in 1953—domestic trunklines; local service carriers; international operators; territorial carriers; all-cargo airlines operating domestically and in all-cargo international operations; along with helicopter airlines; a cruise carrier; and 39 freight forwarders.

The 146 cities served in 1938 burgeoned to 550 receiving certificated service this past year.

In 1938, there were 350 aircraft in service as contrasted with the 1,600 modern airplanes operated by the scheduled airlines in 1953.

The little business of air transportation employed 13,000 people in all in 1938. In 1953, the complement of personnel reached 115,000.

And, then, there is a rather imposing group of patient people with faith—the stockholders of the certificated carriers. I submit that some consideration should be given to the degree of that faith involved when, despite somewhat limited dividends, a handful of stockholders in 1938 has grown to close to 200,000 in 1953.

When you get something in this country, even though it is bestowed by a duly constituted Federal regulatory authority, an anathema seems to attach. Usually, the beneficiary of these good things is referred to as a vested interest and the vested interest becomes many things it really isn't. Most of all, it becomes a target. And there seems to be a manufacturing plant which produces brickbats, myths, misconceptions, and a variety of mischievous propaganda. Let's explore some of these as they reflect themselves in charges leveled against the certificated industry.

First, there is the naughty word "subsidy." The fact of the matter is that, in 1953, over 96 percent of the mail carried in domestic operations was free of any subsidy at all. Then the 13 domestic trunklines were paid a service rate, including no subsidy, for the carriage of United States airmail.

Certainly, the local service lines were subsidized, but we can anticipate a continuing dimunition of their subsidy requirements. Let's face it, this is a subsidy not to the airlines, as the Senate Commerce Committee so precisely stated some years ago, but a subsidy to that 20 percent of the population who would not enjoy expedited air service were it not for that Government assistance.

It is traditional to subsidize an international United States flag operator, in this case an air-merchant fleet. This is particularly true when American flag carriers are not only competing with one another but with the nationally owned airlines of other countries, subsidized by their money or ours.

And, when people talk about subsidy, they intentionally flavor it with a one-sided complexion which is decidedly inequitable. You know that the airlines develop revenues for the Government but nobody seems to talk about that. In fact, the Government got a better return on its investment in aviation in 1953 than any stockholder in any airline. The Government received $2.40 for every $1 it invested, directly or indirectly, in the air-transportation system. The airlines developed postal revenues. They accounted for the payment of transportation excise taxes. A good many of their profits were drained off by Federal income taxes. And, finally, they turned in quite a bit of money via gas and oil taxes and miscellaneous excise revenues. In all, they were responsible for over $340 million in revenues to the Federal Government.

Against this, the airlines received $54 million for carrying the mail and $75 million in subsidy. In addition, the airlines' fair share, accruing against them, for the maintenance and operation of the Federal airways system was about $12 million. This accounts for a total of about $140 million paid out. Or, as a matter of straight arithmetic, a net to the Government of $200 million.

And then, of course, theer is always the charge of monopoly. There just isn't any monopoly in air transportation, either domestically or internationally. In fact, the extent to which there is duplication and competition on existing routes has multiplied since 1940. Taking the 50 pairs of cities which generate the most traffic, we would find that 41 percent of that was competitively duplicated in 1941 against 95 percent in 1953. In addition, over 60 percent of all the traffic between these 50 top pairs of cities was subject to competitive duplication by 3 or 4 carriers.

In specific areas, there is much more competition in the air transport field than there is in any form of surface transportation. There are 3 airlines that fly from the East Coast to Los Angeles and San Francisco, and, in addition, 1 which offers a coast-to-coast service to the Pacific Northwest. There are 4 carriers between New York and Chicago,

and Washington and Chicago, and 2 carriers between Chicago and the Pacific Northwest, just to name a few.

A most serious accusation levelled at the certificated industry suggests a complete neglect of air coach services. We cannot ignore that accusation. We can only answer it with the fact of accomplishment. In 1953, the scheduled airlines provided coach service to over 60 cities and, in 30 of those instances, the service was competitive.

Our certificated international and territorial carriers provided low-cost tourist services to over 85 points, territorial and internationally.

The airlines carried close to 5 million passengers at coach rates and 700,000 at family fare rates in the past year. The coach passengers alone constituted 300 percent more carriage in 1953 than all the business done in 1938.

The opposition has arrogated to itself the title of pioneers. Let us ask ourselves, quite frankly, who are the real pioneers of this business? For, without them, including the $60 million flown down the drain before 1938, we would have no air transport business as we know it today.

These pioneers developed the navigational aids, the communications systems, and have moved constantly to modernize air traffic control. Certainly this was done with some Government assistance, as it properly should be, but it would not have been done without the insistence and persistence of the men who run our scheduled industry. These same fellows, by the way, plagued the Federal Government and State and municipal authorities to float bond issues, to match Federal funds, and to build and keep current their airport development.

Nor would the airplanes that are being flown today be in existence if it were not for the imaginative foresightedness of the men who run our certificated industry. The Constellation, DC–6, and the DC–7 were developed with the aid and assistance of the airlines, as were the Convairs, the Martin 404's, and the Stratocruisers. Every airline has had ideas about the planes it wanted to fly and has worked with the aviation manufacturing industry on these ideas.

Actually, it is easy to run an irregular airline, and this is about the time in my speech when I propose to call a spade, a spade.

Mr. Tipton, the ATA general counsel, recently received a letter from George Rayburn, executive vice president of Wien Alaska. The letter lends, I think, some further substance to my contention. Mr. Rayburn said: "It has been a very few years since we changed over from an airline that made trips when there were sufficient loads to fill the airplane into a scheduled air carrier operating approved aircraft, with the dispatch and communications program that are entailed, so that we are very well aware of the increased cost of the scheduled carriers over those costs for the nonscheduled carriers."

In fact, I am inclined to believe that the operators of irregular carriers doubtless have a large placard in each of their executive offices which starts out with a fully-capitalized "You don't have to" preceding a series of things imposed upon the regulated phase of the industry but not required of these other types of carriers.

Let's take safety regulation as an outstanding example. Now I don't propose to get into a discussion of comparative safety records. But I do propose to talk about comparative safety regulations. The Civil Air Regulations require certain things of the certificated industry which are not imposed upon the irregulars. Whether these are required for reasons of absolute safety is a problem for the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Civil Aeronautics Administration to answer. What we in the industry know is that these things cost money, and we're happy to spend it.

Parts 40 and 61 of the Civil Air Regulations require: route surveys; radio communications networks; weather reporting services; pilot training qualification and refresher; and airline-operated dispatch systems. In addition, the scheduled airlines have established the Aeronautical Radio Corp.

Now, maybe these things are not necessary. But, for the year ending September 30, 1953, these "unnecessary" requirements cost the industry over $21 million, in addition to the $2 million in payments made to Aeronautical Radio by the certificated carriers for its services. These costs were reflected in training costs, exclusive of salaries to flight personnel. They constitute salaries to communications experts, meteorologists, and dispatchers, and cover the depreciation of the equipment required by the regulations.

A further "you don't have to" applicable to the irregulars involves the equipment picture. In fact, they don't have to use anything except leased or outdated surplus equipment. The industry really doesn't have to, but it chooses to, pay $800,000 for its Convairs and its Martin 404's $1,200,000 for its DC–6's and its "Connies," and over $2 million for its DC–7's, Super "Connies," and Stratocruisers.

If you run an irregular airline, you don't have to serve 50 to 70 cities. Even the little certificated fellows like Colonial, Continental, and Northeast serve 25 or more points on their routes and, I can assure you, most of these are not thriving metropolises.

In a recent study the leading 107 domestic airports were listed, along with the traffic enplaned at each of these points. Mind you, now, this represents only the top 107 of some 560 cities provided certificated service. Within the 107 were included airports which, in 1953, enplaned as few as 26,000 people a year, or 70 passengers a day. Therefore 82 percent of the airports in the United States in 1953 developed fewer than 70 passengers a day.

Against that, in the first 9 months of 1953, one large irregular combine alone provided regularly scheduled irregular nonscheduled service to about 7 cities. At 5 of the 7 (Oakland, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Miami) they carried more traffic in and out than is generated at 82 percent of the airports served by certificated carriers.

If you run an irregular airline, you don't have to carry traffic short distances. In fact, one large irregular combine, in the first 9 months of 1953, had an average haul of 1,578 miles, which is nice air transport work if you can get it. Compare that to the average haul of the Big Four, which is 528 miles.

Five percent of all the air traffic in the United States, and only 5 percent, is over 1,500 miles. And despite what you may think, the Big Four—TWA, United, Eastern, and American—carry 45 percent of all the passengers who fly less than 100 miles.

If you don't have long hauls, your costs go up. That is axiomatic with indirect costs. It is equally true of direct costs. If you fly a modern 2-engine aircraft 100 miles, your plane-mile cost is 98 cents against 62 cents for a 700-mile haul. It costs $1.20 to fly a big 4-engine plane 100 miles and only 75 cents for the longer 700-mile haul.

These are the pleasant "you don't have to" features if you're not running a stringently regulated certificated carrier.

Regulation is necessary. It has been good for the country and it has been good for the industry. It must be uniform.

If you didn't have regulation, you just wouldn't have the quantity and extent of service that now exists. This is clearly exemplified when one analyzes the nature of airline service to the 48 States, where, in almost every single instance, regardless of the number of air passengers enplaned, better than 70 percent in most instances, and often over 90 percent, is generated out of 1 or 2 cities in every State, regardless of the number of cities served in that State. As an example, in 1952, 13 airlines served 18 cities in New York, and yet 80 percent of the traffic was developed out of the New York airports. As further examples, note the following: in California, although 36 cities were served, 85 percent of the traffic was out of Los Angeles and San Francisco; in Florida, although 21 cities were provided service by 5 airlines, 71 percent of the traffic developed in Miami and Jacksonville; in Michigan, with service being provided to 18 cities, 77 percent of the traffic originated in Detroit; and in Illinois, 76 percent of the passengers at 11 cities in the State were enplaned at Chicago.

I think that the most effective way to illustrate some of these problems to the Board and the Congress is to declare that March 1, 1954, will be "Nonregulation Day" in the air-transport industry. That's the day that everyone will tear up his timetables, disregard his certificates, forget that he has franchise responsibilities, and do what business he corporately pleases. Airlines who have filed applications for particular routes will just start flying those routes and not wait on Board action. Carriers who have sought for years to eliminate restrictions will just fly over the cities to which they have been restricted. The industry will then abandon service to roughly some 500 of the cities to which it is certificated, and operate only between the 50 most profitable pairs of points.

That sounds extreme and ridiculous but it would merely be action on the part of the responsible certificated industry comparable to the existing habits and behavior of the irregulars. It seems to me that we're getting perilously close to the point where that may be the only way to underscore the problem.

Air-transport regulation is a complicated business. It's a public service. Before it was regulated it was chaotic; and, since it has been regulated, there has been unbelievable advance.

People talk about the future, about the ultimate shift from reciprocating engines to jets and turbo-props. Right now, the industry has been able to afford to order equipment and to wait for the millions of dollars worth of aircraft still undelivered. To re-equip, with different powerplants and the airframes required to support them, has been conservatively estimated at a multibillion dollar investment. Where is that money to come from in terms of airline dollars if the security of route structure disappears, if there is no dependability of franchise?

The horizons of air transportation's future are, in fact, limitless, but the skies will not be black with planes, nor will commercial aviation fulfill its boundless promise, without continued regulation, without uniform regulation, and, most important, without a return to, and a maintenance of, respect for regulatory authority.

Address by Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson Before the New York State Bar Association Annual Dinner

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, last night, in the course of catching up on some of

my must back reading, I came across the address delivered by Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson at the New York State Bar Association annual dinner in New York City on Saturday, January 30, 1954.

I earnestly believe that what Justice Jackson had to say before the Bar Association of the State of New York on that occasion should be known to all of my colleagues of the Congress and to the people of the United States.

Justice Jackson is one of the outstanding thinkers of our time and, in addition, he is blessed with ability to put the product of his mind into words and phrases which often constitute literary accomplishment of the first order. He is a truly talented writer of English prose.

I was privileged to serve at the side of this great lawyer and judge during the proceedings before the international military tribunal at Nuremburg, Germany, and thus I had an opportunity to know him at first hand. His opening and closing statements at Nuremburg will one day take their places among the finest pronouncements of our time.

Whenever Justice Jackson speaks he deserves attention. When he speaks as he did before the Bar Association of the State of New York his words should be read and studied by the Members of this Congress and by the people of this country.

In this remarkable address, there are expressed his profound observations concerning the paramount issue of our time: How to preserve our freedom in this age of rebellion against liberty.

I earnestly ask my colleagues and the American people to read what Justice Jackson has to say about this problem.

His address follows:

Fellow members and guests of the New York State Bar Association, words will hardly express my appreciation of this award. Its presentation evidences your fine generosity, whatever may be thought of the discrimination shown in your choice. You, and even I, must have reservations as to whether I deserve a place on the roll with the two extraordinary advocates on whom you have previously bestowed it. But I let no scruples stand in the way of eager and grateful acceptance.

I never have ceased to be thankful for whatever chance or choice it was that led me to law as a vocation, not only because of interest in the law itself, but because of the fellowship one finds in this contentious but tolerant profession. I have never sought to avoid the controversial in any legal matter about which I had convictions, even during my dozen years on the bench. You, among whom I have fought, debated and disagreed, have had to overlook or forgive many differences of opinion to extend this commendation.

Because of that, however, I treasure it, even above many political honors and offices which came to me far beyond the most ambitious dreams of youth. I am already beholden to this association, because it received me as a beginning and unknown lawyer into companionship with brilliant leaders of our bar and high-minded judges on our bench. This occasion adds another reason for gratitude and affection for this Association and a new incentive to try to live up to your expectations.

This evening somehow recalls the question put and answered by Sir Patick Hastings as he retired after his great career at the British bar. He said:

"All that remains is the inevitable query, has it all been worth while? Is advocacy merely a glorious way of earning a living or does it serve some useful purpose?

* * * * *

"The lawyer has to face the question in a particularly concrete form. * * * Can advocacy ever win a case? Was it his unstinted efforts that brought about the much-deserved result or did the case simply win itself? * * * I have known so many advocates, good advocates and very good advocates, bad advocates and very bad advocates, and in the result I am satisfied that at least 90 percent of all cases win or lose themselves. * * * But of the remaining 10 percent it is not so easy to speak with any certainty. * * * Can a brilliant advocate ever win a case which without his brilliant advocacy would have been lost? I know that he can; very seldom is it true, but just on those rare occasions which prove the exception to a general rule."

Sir Patrick closed with an observation about his experience at the British bar which I adopt as my conclusion from experience at our bar:

"Each must decide his own method for himself and at the end he will remain uncertain as to whether his own method was good or bad. But at least he will be certain of one thing. If he has decided to practice at the English bar, he will have lived his life amidst glorious surroundings; he will have fought bitter fights with gallant and generous opponents, all of whom will remain his dearest friends. He will have received sympathy in his disasters and ungrudging generosity in his successes; he will have toiled for days and nights at work that has never palled, and at the end he will know beyond any possibility of doubt that his work has been well worth while."

I might well rest my case here, but I have been instructed to make a speech, and those on the bench who endure a good deal of lawyerly boredom are easily tempted to turn the tables and make lawyers listen to us.

Our countrymen in all walks of life today are troubled, disillusioned, and confused—even as you and I. We need not go far to seek for reasons. Americans have been reared in a period of national growth which instilled a firm confidence that our system of representative government and liberty under law was the best that men had devised. We saw that many of its basic principles had been adopted by other progressive peoples, and it seemed only a matter of time and education when they would be universally accepted. Now, turbulent events show that our ideals are not acceptable to a large part of the world, that our system of government no longer is spreading but in important regions is in retreat. It all leaves us with a feeling of frustration and insecurity.

The 20th century has been one of counter-revolution against our whole American revolutionary philosophy. Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and lesser imitators rejected the process of outarguing and outvoting adversaries and have forcibly seized power, suppressed liberties, and set up dictatorships supported by the dreadful apparatus of the police state. A distinguished French writer, Albert Camus, has reminded us that every revolution of our times has ended by putting more power in the state, removing restraint from officials, and leaving fewer rights and remedies to the individual. Paradoxical as it may seem, we are in an age of rebellion against liberty.

In our own country a few converts or hirelings of these alien movements have sought to press this country toward one or another totalitarianism, even by force or violence if it became expedient. Perhaps they are too few to cause serious concern, if they were not supported and encouraged by an aggressive and totalitarian movement abroad. The latter has drawn us into a policy of accumulating more military, air, and naval force than the Communists can muster. Of course, we all agree that if the future world is to be ruled by arms, by all means let it be by our arms.

But Americans are not happy to rely on militarization as a long-range policy, not merely because it is burdensome, but because the triumphs of force are short-lived and are not a permanent solution of world problems. The futility of war is that one can never kill so many people that there are not survivors with whom he must come to terms.

A few weeks ago, President Eisenhower warned against placing too much reliance upon mere physical force because, he said, our ultimate strength must be in moral and spiritual forces. I think we all agree; but how are these forces to be given concrete and effective expression?

The only answer, it seems to me, is to translate these moral and spiritual values into legal ones insofar as it is practicable to give them definition, application, and sanction. Of course, law is something less, as well as something more, than a code of ethics. But I agree with Lord Macmillan that "the ultimate justification of the law is to be found, and can only be found, in moral considerations" and not in expediency or utility.

We know that it is not possible to defend every specific legislative act, judicial decision, or custom as meeting these standards. But there can be little disagreement among law-trained men that no rational world can exist except under law that approximates justice as nearly as human skill can make it and binds both rulers and subjects, states, and individuals.

I am one who believes that our prestige abroad, and our success at home, has been largely due to rugged adherence to practices we describe in the oversimplified phrase "government by laws and not by men." It has been validated by our own history and we have shown some genius to make it work in practice.

In the beginning, our American Revolution was not to overthrow law but to vindicate it. Our Declaration of Independence invoked not only "the laws of nature and of nature's God" but English constitutional law, in violation of which it recited "a long train of abuses and usurpations" designed to reduce the Colonies under an "absolute despotism." We cannot claim that the Revolutionary era was free from lawlessness, of course. But we can say that it was not accomplished or followed by a reign of terror as were recent Nazi and Communist revolutions. There was neither blood bath nor purge. That distinguished it from nearly contemporary French Revolution, in which, after killing off the old regime, the revolutionists fell upon each other until it ended in a new dictatorship; and that, perhaps, is why the world has looked more to our Revolution as an inspiration to freedom than to the French, which stirred fears that any movement toward liberty meant a reign of terror.

After our Revolution, when a Constitution was framed, our forefathers adapted the phisolophy of 18th century liberalism. It taught the essential unity of liberty and law, and its ultimate concern was to insure the fullest measure of freedom consistent with the good order on which a safe and free life must rest. It distrusted loose power and would only admit government to the control of a smal larea of our total economic, social, and political lives. It believed that dissent, opposition, and grievances, real or fancied, were most dangerous to stability and good order when undeground, unvoiced,

and hence unanswerable; and that freedom of speech, press, and assembly would bring smoldering discontents and oppositions to the surface where they could be satisfied or reasoned with. They believed that the fittest ideas would survive in competition and that unfettered public discussion would provide an intellectual basis for resolving political contests.

However, we must never forget that it is implicit in this philosophy that the discontented have a duty as well as a right to votce openly their dissatisfactions and that the contented have the obligation to tolerate and answer overt opposition, however distasteful. We must also remember that this concept of liberty had no tolerance of any form of lawlessness; no belief that there could be freedom except under law.

These philosophical generalities were easy to proclaim, but it was the genius of our forefathers to devise institutions that would actually put these principles into practice—not ideally but well.

The great lapse, of course, came with our Civil War. During and after the war, a good deal occurred that cannot be reconciled with our teachings. Notwithstanding this as Stephen Vincent Benét has reminded us:

"Again, there was no blood purge. There were no mass executions. No heads rolled.

"The handful of fanatics who had plotted the assassination of Lincoln and other Government leaders were executed. His actual murderer was tracked down and shot. The half-crazy officer who commanded a notorious southern prison camp was hanged. The former President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, was kept for a while in prison with certain of his associates and then released."

Meanwhile, citizens of the expanding Nation were constantly taught what a rule of law requires, for each growing frontier community reached some point when it had to choose between rule by violence and rule by law. They learned that a society governed by law can never recognize the legitimacy of force or violence except in self-defense or in overcoming resistance to law and that an attack on any member is an attack on the peace of all.

These lessons were applied in our foreign relations. During the 19th and into the 20th century, this country consistently and successfully sought arbitration of its differences with other nations, some of which were of a nature the world had thought admitted of solution only by war.

Nineteen thirty-nine saw the most powerful alliance of counterrevolutionists, bent upon checking and destroying free institutions. Hitler, Mussolini, Togo, and Stalin all ganged up. In a few months continental Europe was at their feet. It had long been a logical and practical weakness of international law to try to stand for a legal order among nations and at the same time to teach that it was a sovereign right of each state to go to war with any other, for any cause or for none, at any time, and that neutral states were bound not to distinguish or discriminate between a just and an unjust war. But this stupid and immoral doctrine could not survive the almost universal agreement of the nations to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, thus outlawing wars of aggression. The United States provided resources for defense to the surviving victims of aggression.

The close of the war brought a demand for immediate and undiscriminating vengeance. Stalin proposed to line up and shoot 50,000 German leaders. Other of our allies did not go so far but proposed to punish top leaders by political decision which would give them no chance to defend. In the United States many agreed with Secretary Hull, whose memoirs recite: "If I had my way, I would take Hitler and Mussolini and Togo and their arch accomplices and bring them before a drum-head court-martial. And at sunrise on the following day there would occur an historic incident.". It was seriously proposed to turn over as many as a half million young Germans, regardless of personal guilt, to the Soviet Union for "labor reparations."

These undiscriminating retaliations were quite consistent with what was going on in Europe at the time. The French Minister of Justice has reported that 8,348 collaborators were summarily executed without trial by members of the French Resistance, and 1,325 were executed by decision of nonlegal committees.

This is not an occasion for argument of the merits of the Nürnberg trial. But at least in the trial of Goering, Ribbentrop, and others, for which I had responsibility, and insofar as the pattern we set was followed in other trials, the record of the United States is that no man was punished until he was furnished detailed accusations, provided counsel, given full opportunity to present his defense, and on a permanent record pronounced guilty of specific acts in a reasoned opinion. Three of those the prosecution thought prima facie guilty were wholly acquitted, and several others were found not guilty on some of the charges.

As we appraise the array of counterrevolutionary forces that are struggling against the American tradition today, we must not make the mistake of thinking their progress is from military force alone. The cold war is largely a war of ideas, a struggle for the minds of men. Popular representative government is held up to contempt by the totalitarians as a cult of incompetence and government by chatter which cannot deal effectively and in time with modern problems. We must not complacently assume that the currents of rebellion against our institutions and principles are wholly without cause of provocation. We cannot coast forever on the achievements of our ancestors. Conditions develop which, uncorrected, tend to confirm the critics of our institutions.

The expanding authority of government, its encroachment on the fields once left to individual choice, can be compatible with individual liberty only if our officials are as much bound by law as our private citizens. No individual should be subject to official condemnation, control, or intrusion except at times and for reasons declared by law and applied to him by procedures which comport with our concept of due process of law.

But the due-process clause and other provisions of our Constitution must not be discredited by an interpretation to mean liberty without law. Nothing can do the cause of liberal government more harm in the long run than to give the American people the impression that our Bill of Rights is useful only to our enemies or is a mere refuge for criminals. The impression that liberty had that result has helped totalitarianism to win support for the overthrow or suppression of liberty elsewhere.

Most importantly, perhaps, we must not fall into the error of accepting lawless action from the right as the solution of lawlessness from the left. That stalwart American judge, John Parker, has aptly called the Nürnberg trial a post mortem on a totalitarian state. The record teaches no lesson, to those who will read, more impressive than the manner in which fear of communism led many moderate Germans to cast their lot with the Hitler cause, while fear of Nazism led a constantly increasing number to embrace the Communist Party. It became something of a race between right- and left-wing radicals to see which could first seize power and overthrow the republic to keep the other from doing so. Nothing would be more ominous for free government than growth of a similar negative and fatalistic attitude which embraces one extreme to counterbalance another, or leads us to think we must choose between arbitrary authority on the one hand or lawlessness on the other.

If we lawyers exert our leadership and hold to our faith in law, we can do more than any other group to keep the United States from being forced to choose between the two deadly horns of this false dilemma. Communism, most powerful of the present reactionary groups, depends upon military force only as an auxiliary to its chief reliance, which is the deterioration of free institutions, the indifference of the masses and revolt by well-organized and disciplined minority. It can never succeed among our people so long as they understand and appreciate the meaning, vitality and enduring character of the American tradition and what is involved in preserving it in all its integrity. No one can do more than the organized bar to bring these truths home to our people by precept and example. We must firmly stand for liberty under law and join in the Kipling petition:

"From panic, pride and terror,
Revenge that knows no rein—
Light haste and lawless error,
Protect us yet again."

Rural Press: Bulwark of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, America's freedom depends upon a free press. No segment of the American newspaper industry has carried the torch of freedom higher than the weekly newspaper.

In thousands of communities across our Nation, the country weekly is safeguarding our American heritages and standing as a strong bulwark for liberty. Since the days of the revolution when America was experiencing the birth pangs of a new Nation, the country editor has played an important part in our history. Too often unsung, mostly unnoticed in the busy life of our great cities, the weekly paper in our rural areas continues to do its job, serving its community, building America.

A well-deserved tribute to the weekly press is contained in the following editorial from the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of February 24, 1954:

THE RURAL PRESS AS A BULWARK OF FREEDOM

A tribute to the independent weekly newspaper was given here Friday night by Alan C. McIntosh, publisher of the Rock County Star-Herald at Luverne and president of the National Editorial Association. It was a well-deserved tribute and an inspirational call to continued public service in the future.

Some of the things Mr. McIntosh said, while intended especially for members of the Minnesota Editorial Association, are of even greater importance to Minnesotans and Americans generally.

Because this country's early battles for personal liberty were fought long ago, their significance is not clear to some citizens today. There needs to be more universal recognition that freedom of information and freedom of speech and press are the foundation of freedom from political tyranny. Throughout the Iron Curtain regions of the world, whole populations have lost freedom because they first lost the right to know and publish and criticize political developments.

"The first essential for dictatorship is secrecy," said Mr. McIntosh. "To get secrecy you have to throttle the press. When you suppress the news then you can suppress a people. No dictatorship was ever safe for a minute as long as there was a press free to report the news."

The weekly and small daily newspapers of this country, along with their bigger associates in journalism, are dedicated before all else to the cause of freedom. And this does not mean freedom for themselves primarily. It means the freedom of all Americans. Every battle for the right of the public to know what goes on in a community, a State, or in the country as a whole, is part of humanity's never-ending fight against tyranny and oppression.

Public Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by H. R. Snyder, editor of the Gary Post-Tribune, reveals a few facts and thoughts which should be taken seriously by the people of our country. The deplorable shooting in the House Gallery by the Puerto Rican fanatics and terrorists last Monday should not kindle the fires of hatred against the law abiding and friendly citizens of our neighboring nation, Puerto Rico.

The editorial follows:

HOUSE-SHOOTING REGRETS

The shooting of five Congressmen on the floor of the House in Washington is a tragedy, but for the public it is an incident to be judged with extreme caution.

These things should be remembered:

After the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the American South was exposed to a ruthless occupation policy which still is aptly referred to, in the title of Claude Bowers' book, as The Tragic Era.

After the United States entered World War I, countless citizens of unquestioned loyalty were openly abused for no other reason than that their names had a Germanic ring.

After Pearl Harbor there was brutal treatment of American-born Japanese, whose names were proudly cleared in the exploits of the Nisei units on the bitter battlefields of Italy.

Those spontaneous outbursts of nation hatred or people hatred are blots on American history.

The three who poured pistol shots from the House Gallery into the terrified membership on the floor were shouting for Puerto Rican independence.

But these things, too, must be remembered:

The Puerto Rican Legislature has firmly taken a stand against independence now, preferring the island's status as a United States Territory.

Even among those on the island who do favor independence, only a bare handful could be counted as such berserk zealots as to condone the useless bloodshed in Washington.

There are in Gary many who came here from Puerto Rico. They are American citizens. They will regret probably more than the rest of us the gunshots fired in Washington in a way that can do nothing but hurt the cause of the island from which they came.

Let there be no reaction here that will make even verbal targets of our fellow citizens who happen to have come from an island now in the glare of a most unfortunate spotlight.

Well, We Asked for It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this foolish policy of pouring American money all over the world to develop competition with our own industry is the surest way I know to destroy our standard of living and possibly our way of life. America is losing its foreign trade. We brought this calamity upon ourselves.

The following editorial from the Anderson (S. C.) Daily Mail is the voice of one who has been fighting this stupid policy for many years:

WELL, WE ASKED FOR IT

Almost every branch of mail coming into this office contains a speech, an editorial from some trade paper, or a specially prepared article, on how foreign countries are making it tough for American-made goods.

Well, didn't we create the mess?

Since 1945, we've been spending billions of taxpayer money, taken out of payroll checks every week for well over 7 years, to build industries in foreign lands—Europe and the Far East. We have spent millions and millions to bring foreigners over here to learn our business methods—we gave them machinery and raw materials like cotton so they can in turn make goods to export and kill off our own trade.

Couple years ago a delegation of high brass in the American textile industry went to Japan to confer with the Japs about cutting prices and flooding the world markets and our own markets, with cheap made goods. The Japs said they would never do such a thing again.

The Daily Mail commented sourly on this assurance. We had a right snappy comeback from one of the American textile leaders, an executive in North Carolina, who said some mean things about us because we had stated that the Jap promise was hot air. His business is today severely affected by Jap price cutting.

We note that J. Craig Smith, president of Avondale Mills in Alabama is telling his employees that cotton cloth in foreign mills is sold because it is cheap, made by low-cost labor. He wants a tariff which will protect a wage scale which our Government, by law, helps support. We have the world's most efficient machinery operations and we are years ahead in new developments, but we can't overcome the tremendous differences in labor costs.

Last year the Japanese led the world in cotton piece goods exports, repeating the position they attained in the late thirties when the world markets were flooded by cheap Jap labor produced goods, turned out on a 72-hour week at $15 a month. The Japs are at it again, notwithstanding their double talk when they told American textile leaders 2 years ago that they wouldn't undercut.

We are not laughing at that North Carolina executive who took us apart, but we are sympathetic for those people working for him who might be out of jobs when the Jap goods are on the market in such quantities that his North Carolina plants have to cut back to 3 days a week.

Knight Has Crippling Power Within His Grasp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINGATE H. LUCAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Speaker, recently there was a meeting in Philadelphia of officials from a number of independent, AFL, and CIO unions representing workers in the petroleum and chemical industries.

A constitution was drafted there for a vast international oil-workers union. This represents a first step toward industrywide bargaining in the field of petroleum. If it develops successfully, it will be due largely to the efforts of O. A. "Jack" Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union, CIO.

I believe this country is being confronted with the danger of union control in the petroleum industry patterned after the dictator-type power exercised by the United Mine Workers' John L. Lewis. I believe the Nation should be made aware of this threat.

The national petroleum News has pointed up this danger, and I would like to include the following recent editorial from that publication under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD:

KNIGHT HAS CRIPPLING POWER WITHIN HIS GRASP

O. A. Jack Knight, a little man physically, is now in a fair way to becoming just about the most powerful figure in American labor history.

In Philadelphia last week, Mr. Knight capped years of scheming and effort by getting the provisional consent of the heads of 26 independent and 4 AFL unions to join with his own Oil Workers International Union to form a new union to be known as the Oil and Chemical Workers International Union. Now, all that remains to be done to bring the new union into actual being is the ratification of a proposed constitution by the rank and file.

Judging by the relative ease with which Mr. Knight carried off his Philadelphia grab, it seems safe to assume that this ratification will be forthcoming rather quickly, following which we may expect to see him installed as the head of the new international and potentially the leader of as many as a million workers.

This will be a development of fearsome portents, boding no good either for the petroleum industry or for the American public.

For years now, Jack Knight has been striving to maneuver the industry into the position of having to bargain with him on a nationwide basis. He has never been able to do this.

For one thing, he has not had the strength in numbers of members. His OWIU's total membership today probably does not exceed 130,000, and there is some suspicion of recent losses. Moreover, that membership is concentrated largely in refining and, to a lesser extent, in production. In any event,

when Mr. Knight last struck the industry he was successful in closing down only some 35 percent of the total refining capacity, got only slight help from independent unions and no support at all from allied branches (transportation and marketing, for example), and finally had to settle, on an individual plant basis, on something substantially less than his own terms. In the meantime, thanks to a large storage position and nonidled capacity, the flow of petroleum products to the public and to the military forces had been maintained virtually uninterrupted.

The situation now promises to become quite reversed, as our news story on the Philadelphia proceedings attempts to point out. For the first time ever, Mr. Knight at last could be in the strategic position being able to enforce nationwide bargaining upon the industry.

If all the unions represented at the merger meeting ratify the proposed constitution, that alone would immediately raise from 130,000 to around 212,000 the total of workers at his beck and call. Also in his favor would be the fact that, as the new union expands toward the potential of 1 million members, it will become more and more representative of the industry across-the-boards, with representation in all branches from production to marketing. Thus, Mr. Knight should be better able to enforce his demands, by not only threatening to strike a larger percentage of refining capacity, but also by his increased ability to cripple the supply of products to the ultimate consumer.

John L. Lewis has been successful, time and again, in bringing the coal industry around to meeting his demands through the paralysis he has managed to inflict upon the economy by calling his miners from the pits. The late Phil Murray did the same in steel. So, too, Walter Reuther with the automobile industry.

None of these, though, has possessed the power that lies now nearly within the grasp of O. A. Knight.

The situation thus is one requiring the most serious consideration by oil industry management. What will that management do if, as now appears likely, it is faced with the choice either of bargaining nationally with Mr. Knight or of hewing to its historic insistence upon plant-by-plant negotiation and thereby precipitating a disastrous walkout.

It seems to us, too, that there is also posed here another question or two that may require the ultimate intervention of the national Government and, more particularly of the Congress.

There has been a lot of talk in the past about doing something about the vast monopoly power enjoyed by the big unions. But it has been only so much talk. Now, maybe Jack Knight will impel Washington to see things differently and to take positive action, as it should have done long ago.

More About Kaiser Health Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Kaiser health plan has attracted much favorable attention. The publicity it has gained has greatly stimulated the interest of all who have learned of it. The result is that our people in every station of life are anxious to know more about it. As its advantages become more generally known there is a growing interest for the establishment of such health groups in every section of our country.

The President's program of health insurance will go far in bringing to our people the facilities and the means for improving their health and making it easier to meet the cost of medical and hospital care. The administration bills now in process of adoption will go far in assisting health groups to meet the needs of their local communities.

The following is an article appearing in Newsweek, issue of March 1, 1954, that describes in much detail the Kaiser plan:

CARE FOR 416,000

The new Kaiser Foundation Hospital, opened last week in San Francisco, is more than a $3,250,000 medical center, designed to set up new standards of patient care and medical effectiveness. The seven-story steel, glass, and concrete installation, overlooking the city from the heights of the Anza Vista district, is a gleaming symbol of one man's idea of medicine for the masses.

The man, of course, is Henry J. Kaiser, the 71-year-old steelmaker and aluminum producer, who has built dams, ships, and automobiles. But, however broad his industrial interests, his favorite project is the Kaiser health plan, which operates successfully in three areas: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Oreg.-Vancouver, Wash. In these locations the plan provides 416,000 people with low-cost, prepaid medical care in 35 different treatment institutions, including 14 hospitals and 2 physical therapy rehabilitation centers.

Prepaid: The Kaiser Foundation health plan had its beginning at the Grand Coulee Dam project, just before the Second World War. Kaiser, the leading contractor on that huge 4-year project, saw 5,000 workers, many with families, settle in an area without adequate medical facilities. The nearest hospitals and specialists were at Spokane, 75 miles away. So Henry Kaiser hired Dr. Sidney Garfield to set up the first prepayment medical plan and assemble the necessary doctors to treat the men and their families.

Today Dr. Garfield is still on the job for Kaiser. During the war he organized similar medical plans at the Kaiser shipyards, a feature which accounted to a large degree for Kaiser's successful manpower recruiting. At the peak of wartime activity, Kaiser health plans took care of 180,000 people. When the war ended, most of the health plan's participants dropped out. But to other individuals and to some unions and industrial managements, the prepayment arrangement seemed adaptable to peacetime needs. Since then, the Kaiser Foundation plan has grown steadily.

For doctors, nurses, patients, and visitors, the new San Francisco center represents "the dream hospital of the future." Each room has a maximum of 2 beds (there are 22 private rooms): All are air-conditioned, and all have sound-absorbent ceilings. On the maternity floor, individual nurseries are combined with the mothers' rooms, in a modified rooming-in plan. A soundproof wall separates the mother's and baby's rooms, and a steel drawer containing a plastic bassinet slides through this partition. When the mother wants her child near, she pulls the bassinet drawer to her bedside. After feeding the baby, she pushes the bassinet back into the nursery, and a signal light notifies the nurse that the baby is in her charge.

The hospital has a convenient 3-corridor floor plan—a central work corridor for doctors, nurses, and hospital personnel, and 2 corridors for visitors on the outer sides of the bedrooms. In the work corridors are individual nurse stations, 1 for each 8 beds. Visitors are directed down the glass-enclosed outer corridors and enter patients' rooms from sliding "front doors" made of aluminum and glass.

Henry J. Kaiser, Jr., who at 36 is recovering sufficiently from multiple sclerosis to administer the Kaiser Foundation, says that the plan operates on 4 basic principles: (1) Prepayment—spreading the total cost of care among the healthy, as well as the sick; (2) group practice—uniting general practitioners and specialists to bring all medical knowledge to bear on any given problem; (3) medical centers, in which the doctors' groups function with economy; and (4) preventive medical care.

Opposition: A Kaiser subscriber is encouraged, but not required, to select a doctor from the group as his personal physician. Many doctors oppose the Kaiser plan, charging that it is "assembly line" medicine, providing insufficient choice of doctors, breaking up doctor-patient relationships, and, in some cases, resulting in inferior medical care. Kaiser defenders reply that the "assembly line" label might equally apply to the Mayo Clinic and to Johns Hopkins Hospital, which depend on medical teamwork.

Despite some vigorous medical opposition, the Kaiser plan is growing rapidly. "When doctors of this country take care of the need for good, comprehensive medical care at a reasonable cost, we won't grow," declared Henry Kaiser, Jr. West coast medical men are fully aware of the challenge implicit in Kaiser's remark. Recently, a group of southern California doctors "won" a union of 17,000 members away from the Kaiser Foundation health plan by offering comparable benefits, with free choice of physicians, but at higher rates.

THE KAISER HEALTH PLAN

What you pay: The subscriber's basic monthly fees for the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, in groups of 25 persons or more, are: subscriber, $4.30; subscriber and one family dependent, $7.60; with two or more dependents, $9.50. For individual memberships, the rates are 40 cents higher in each category. Subscribers who have been members for more than 10 months may have full maternity care for $60; otherwise, $140. Dependents receive about half the benefits of the subscriber but may get full treatment at a slight additional charge.

What you get: For the subscriber himself, the Kaiser plan works this way: 111 days of hospital care are provided each year for each illness, or recurrence of it, including room, board, nursing, and ambulance service within 30 miles; all operations, specialists' consultations; doctor's care in office (except for $1 registration fee for each visit); doctor's call at home ($2 for first call; no charge for subsequent calls); nursing care at home, if needed; all drugs and medicines while hospitalized; and all the necessary laboratory and X-ray tests.

Dorchester Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, 11 years ago last month the Army transport *Dorchester* went down in icy waters off the coast of Newfoundland. In that dark

night of terror many men died bravely, and others, no less brave, survived. And if not all were brave in that sudden hell of fire and ice and darkness, when the torpedo struck the engineroom, and boilers burst and lights went out, and the ship listed with its mortal wound, what man can blame them? Honor is due to all who died for us that night, suddenly or through long agony, bravely, or in a scrambling terror. But honor is doubly due to those 4 men, the chaplains, Washington, Poling, Fox, and Goode—1 priest, 2 ministers, 1 rabbi—who stood firm in the midst of panic, aided the captain and other officers in restoring order, and went down together, praying as one to that one God whom we all own as Lord, Creator, and Father.

As long as America lives those four men will stand together, in the white light of history, at the ship's rail, forgetful of self, calling down the mercy of God upon the endangered, the dying, and the dead. They will so stand in our children's history books, teaching them in one vivid mental picture what is finest in the tradition of America—selfless courage in the face of danger, devotion to God, service to fellow man. Catholic priest, Protestant ministers, and Jewish rabbi, they represent that more than tolerance by which we, of all faiths and races, are one in the spirit of America.

If 1 of these 4 men was first in proposing that they remain with the ship—we do not know which man that was. One gave his lifebelt to a soldier—we do not know which man that was. That is as it should be. These four are equal in bravery, equal in honor, before the remembering world.

But I, for my own reasons, wish to say a few words of Father John P. Washington. He was, like me, born to a Catholic family. When John Washington was a year-old baby, or thereabouts, in Newark, I was born in the same city. Like many of my friends, he went to Seton Hall College—now Seton Hall University—in South Orange, and then to Immaculate Conception Seminary in Darlington, being ordained in 1935 as a priest of the diocese of Newark, and then serving parishes in Elizabeth, Orange, and Arlington. Many of my hearers, from Arlington and Kearny particularly, probably remember Father John Washington, who arrived at St. Stephen's Church in Arlington to be one of Father Murphy's assistants, just in time to take part in the ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the splendid new church, and stayed there until he entered the Army as a chaplain. Those of us who were fortunate enough to know him have a proud memory to cheirsh and hand down to our descendants.

I take pleasure in the thought that the name of Washington, already so glorious in the history of America, was held on high this time by one whose father and mother had come to America as immigrants from Ireland. I take a personal interest in the achievements of second-generation Americans, and I particularly like the kind of immigrant family in which the children are brought up, as the young Washingtons were, in thoroughly American style, yet with a care to preserve, along with the religion brought from the old country, legends, and traditions that help to make life beautiful and happy. Young John Washington was taught to love the land and history of Ireland, as well as the land and history of America, to remember the Battle of the Boyne as well as the Battle of Fort Ticonderoga. We here, his friends and neighbors, know that his name is now enshrined in a phrase, one of the watchwords of our liberty, as deathless as "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." That watchword is a simple list of four names: Washington, Poling, Fox, and Goode.

Reciprocal Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. SECREST
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article:

RECIPROCAL TRADE

Gould Lincoln wrote an interesting article February 28 on the so-called reciprocal-trade battle shaping up in Congress.

Mr. Lincoln's article was generally accurate but went out of bounds factually at one spot. He says that those who are anti-Trade Agreements Act want Congress to take back its responsibility for fixing tariffs. That is true; but he then says this would be turning back the clock with a vengeance. He infers that the Congress itself would be asked to write a tariff act, and points out that it is 20-odd years since Congress last wrote a general tariff act.

I know of no one among those who might qualify as "anti-Trade Agreements Act" who proposes to return the tariff to Congress with the idea that Congress would itself determine tariff rates. This would be left to an agency of Congress, such as the Tariff Commission, but would remove the function from the executive (i. e., State Department) where, under the Constitution, it never belonged. The responsibility for regulating foreign commerce and for levying duties was placed squarely on Congress by the Constitution.

Mr. Lincoln also says that if the Trade Agreements Act should expire, the Hawley-Smoot tariff would come into effect immediately. The fact is that it is in effect today, as amended by the Trade Agreements Act. However, the rates in the trade agreements now in effect would continue in effect indefinitely even if the Trade Agreements Act should expire in June. The only effect of such expiration would be to withhold from the President the authority to enter into further trade agreements. The old ones would continue in effect by their own terms.

Therefore, your columnist's apprehension, expressed in his last paragraph, that we are about to witness the return of the old log-rolling system of general tariffmaking by Congress is unfounded—unless, of course, the jamming of the escape clause mechanism as it is now effectively jammed continues to operate in nullification of the will of Congress, and if, as a consequence, domestic producers conclude that direct legislation is the only possible remedy left. In that sense, Mr. Lincoln may be prophetic; but we hope for a better solution.

O. R. STRACKBEIN,
Chairman, Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy.

Soil Conservation for Every Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an interesting article on soil conservation by my friend J. B. Gunlogson, of Racine, Wis., who is an expert on this subject. The author points out that the farmer himself is a most effective agent in any soil-conservation program.

Mr. Speaker, the author also refers to the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, which is a private organization apparently and which has used its political influence and propaganda to discredit other agencies that are engaged in soil-conservation work. Further, it is his belief that supervisors of local soil-conservation districts have been unwittingly drawn into the political maneuvering of the national association. The article in question follows, and I commend it to the attention of all members who are interested in a sound soil-conservation program:

SOIL CONSERVATION FOR EVERY FARM

The future effectiveness of soil and water conservation in farming will depend on the practices, processes, and philosophies that are brought to bear on it now. The most active agency in conservation has been the Soil Conservation Service. Its early demonstrations helped to popularize certain soil-erosion measures such as strip cropping, contour plowing, and terracing. These demonstrations were undertaken on many farms about 20 years ago by the Soil Erosion Service, a predecessor agency. Most of these projects were carried on with the help of CCC and WPA labor. Also supplied, in most instances, were materials and mechanical equipment.

While thousands of fields had been terraced, contour-farmed, reforested, etc., long before this, these practices had never before been applied so dramatically. With a nationwide promotion they attained new importance in agriculture and before the American people.

The pictures and publicity that followed these demonstrations, coupled with the drought and dust storms of the middle thirties, created new interest in conservation. They also provided a dramatic opportunity for political action, and in due time the standard soil conservation law was evolved. In those days most acts of Government were made under the aegis of "emergency." Conformity and compliance were expected as a matter of course. Another consideration which seemed important in this planning was the bypassing, so far as possible, of established State and local organizations.

In 1937 the President sent this proposed law to the governors of all the States, urging

quick action on the legislation. Most of the States promptly complied.

Accordingly, the soil-conservation districts were formed. This set the stage for a unique two-way alliance and working arrangement between the SCS in Washington with its several regional offices and these political subdivisions. The setup soon began its struggle to take over conservation as an exclusive prerogative, and all sorts of claims about its accomplishments and righteousness have been a part of the campaign. The conflict with other agencies serving agriculture has been waged at all political levels.

More unfortunately, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts has used its political influence and propaganda to discredit other agencies, some of which are equally important in conservation. In fact, without close cooperation with these services balanced conservation in agriculture is impossible.

I believe that the supervisors of local districts generally have been more or less unwittingly drawn into these political maneuvers. Certainly the men in administrative capacities in the SCS office in Washington realize that the infusion of shoddy politics into conservation at local, regional, and national levels has hampered the effectiveness of the Service.

While the Soil Conservation Service and the local soil conservation districts have contributed a great deal to the promotion and application of certain conservation practices, experience has clearly shown that the service is essentially supplementary in scope and character. It is most effective when confined to specific symptoms in the interlocking program of production and conservation in agriculture.

Future progress in conservation would be greatly aided by factual information about the performance—the accomplishments and limitations—of all public agencies concerned with conservation. It would help public understanding of the elements and problems involved in conservation. It would aid the farmer in planning conservation as a part of a practical farming operation.

As of August 31, 1953, there were 13,890 employees on the SCS rolls at the regional and lower levels of field service. About the same time it was reported that 3,000 local districts were in existence with some 14,000 local supervisors or officers.

After 15 years of operation it is reported that in some States 15 percent of farmers have signed up for service, or as "cooperators." Actually, a large number of these farmers who have signed up for one reason or another are no longer receiving service. In many cases the service was nominal. At any rate, even if the results were all that could be expected, they are still but a small part of the conservation work that has been and must be accomplished.

If it is assumed that 15 or even 20 percent of farmers are receiving service at this time, it means that 80 percent are getting no service from this source. It means that whatever service or advice on conservation this 80 percent of farmers are getting must come from the Extension Service or from other sources. It is also a fact that this 15 or 20 percent is needed to conform to basic agricultural practices in order to apply conservation most effectively. Yet during these 15 years, with the exception of 2 or 3 States, not a single man has been added to the Extension Service to work on conservation.

Conservation covers a wide field. It entails watershed planning, forestry, and even major flood-control measures, but the most important aspect of all is intelligent operation of the individual farm to the end that sound conservation practices may become a part of the farming pattern.

What the farmer needs most of all is teamwork from the various agencies that are concerned with conservation. Duplication and cross-firing between agricultural agencies should be discouraged. Obviously there is no way to achieve any balance in these services unless there is some balance or restraint on propaganda.

The following quotation from a letter is typical of the comments contained in hundreds of letters which have come to me during the last few years not only from county agents but from men connected with these various agencies, including the Soil Conservation Service, and at all levels:

"As a county agent of 28 years' service, I find that it is very difficult to have a farm program in a county where there is so much overlapping, duplication of farm program of which each organization is directed from different headquarters with none of the organizations knowing what the other organization is doing in the field on a particular farm. In my county there are six agricultural agencies in the field attempting to serve agriculture. This is true in every county in my State.

"The Soil Conservation Service and the Extension Service is a typical illustration of the most unnecessary overlapping organizations I have seen permitted in sound business of any administration. The Soil Conservation has always been one of the bases of extension work of our land-grant college under the Extension Service works. Soil Conservation would have made the same progress that it has led the public to believe if a portion of the number of men and money that is being used were given to the Extension Service.

"The offices of these various organizations are located in various parts of the city. Sometimes I wonder how a farmer gets his work done when so many agencies are calling on him. Sometimes two or more agency representatives meet at the same time on the same farm, neither knowing the other agency was going to the same farm. It is confusing to the farm and business people as to why so many agencies are in the field serving agriculture."

When it comes to real conservation on a farm, the most important factor of all is the farmer himself. Obviously, the service most experienced in advising farmers is the Extension Service. For 50 years the county agent has worked with farmers. Through personal calls, by demonstrations, meetings, organization, etc., he has assisted farmers to apply and to coordinate better farm practices. He has organized and worked with thousands of local farmer groups for soil improvement, introduction of legumes and new crops, farm diversification, better livestock, drainage, etc. In fact, the county agent is the fellow who more than anyone else helped to organize among farmers the local soil-conservation districts and all these other agencies.

If technical assistance relating to soil conservation is outside his province, the county agent has done a lot of trespassing. He has assisted with the installation of thousands of miles of field tile. Before commercial inoculants were on the market, he helped to scrape soil from alfalfa fields to start hundreds of thousands of acres of new alfalfa plantings. He has helped countless thousands of farmers with land use—to lay out fields and plan crop rotations according to land capabilities. He has assisted with millions of soil tests. He has introduced new grasses and legumes and has helped with pasture renovation programs on countless farms.

The records show that as early as 1915 county agents in 15 Southern States assisted farmers in terracing 75,000 hillsides, draining 65,000 acres, directed the building of 3,000 silos, etc.

Of course, techniques and approaches in conservation change. Agricultural science, farm mechanization, as well as the farmer's own skill advances from year to year. Widespread demonstrations and work of soil conservation districts, with the aid of SCS technicians on thousands of farms have been a constructive factor in this change. In the future we should look to these practices to become a part of the unified operation of every farm.

In recent years the twin spotlights of politics and publicity which have focused on sundry isolated symptoms or passing problems have blinded us to the view of basic agriculture. Piecemeal treatment of symptoms, each by its own special agency, has tended toward friction and fragmentation. At times it has looked as if these agencies would take over the whole household of agriculture.

Farming is more than conservation, crop controls, price supports and commodity credit. Important as they are, they still involve surface afflictions on the big, dynamic body of agriculture. We need to regain our perspective—to see once more all the aspects and elements of farming as a coherent whole.

The institution that is closest to the whole complex of agriculture is the land-grant-college system. Next to the farmer himself this institution has done more than any other to advance American agriculture from its primitive stage to the present. Its facilities and services are many. They may not be faultless but they are amenable to changes and growth to meet the needs of the industry which they have helped to develop.

Because of their intimate relationship with every aspect of farm life, even the farmer himself is apt to forget the importance of these services. Few are really informed about the full importance of the experiment stations, agricultural education, the training of soil-conservation and other technicians, farmer short courses, farm institutes, and field days, all the ramifications of the Extension Service, and how all these activities relate to better land use, soil and water conservation, crop and livestock production, marketing, home economics, and home life. What other institutions can contribute so much to the economic welfare of agriculture or the quality of rural life? What services have done so much to underwrite business for merchants and bankers, production and employment in industry, and the sum total of our national strength?

All of which comes down to this: The big job ahead is to coordinate the various agencies and services concerned with conservation. The objectives in that coordination should be:

(a) To broaden the base and make conservation advice available to the largest number of farmers.

(b) Better coordination of soil conservation with other good practices. Effective soil and water conservation on a farm can hardly succeed unless it is a part of the whole farm operation.

(c) To eliminate duplication and cross-firing between services.

(d) To prevent, so far as possible, the political exploitation of on-the-farm services.

Danbury, the Hat Center, Opposes Unfair Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the city of Danbury, Conn., has been singled out for lavish praise because interested groups there have sponsored a successful

diversification program. Once dependent on the manufacture of hats for subsistence almost entirely, Danbury now supports a multitude of industries which provide employment to Danbury's fine citizens.

This is a program highly suited to other communities and recommended by all groups seeking to reduce tariff protection to American industries.

That this program is not the answer to reduction of tariffs is evident from the letter I include, written by the Danbury Chamber of Commerce to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

There can be no compromise with unfair competition from abroad or there will be serious consequences to American working people. The case is well stated by the Danbury Chamber of Commerce.

I fully agree with the statements contained in the letter included with these remarks:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: This letter is being written to you on behalf of the Danbury Chamber of Commerce with the unanimous approval of the board of directors.

Danbury is a representative New England community of approximately 32,100 population, although it draws for its working population from a surrounding area consisting of 14 towns and comprising, with Danbury, a total of 65,000 people. Approximately 10,300 men and women are employed by its various manufacturing plants, with an additional 10,000 employed in other establishments. Whereas hatting is the largest single industry in Danbury, employing approximately 42 percent of the workers, approximately 147 manufacturing enterprises (nearly all small and independent) produce such varied products as bearings, metal foil, surgical instruments, machine and rubber tile.

The employment and prosperity of Danbury at present are being seriously affected by imports of foreign goods which, in many instances, are flooding the United States markets at prices so far below domestic production costs as to make competition impossible. In a recent instance hats made in Czechoslovakia were sold in this country at a price which would not cover the cost of the raw material alone.

Furthermore, if Congress reduces tariffs beyond their present levels on the basis of the Randall committee report, our community faces even more serious economic consequences.

We recognize the necessity of reviving the economy of the free world. Since World War II our country has poured billions of dollars into nations of Western Europe and other parts of the world for the purposes of rebuilding their defenses and bolstering their economies. Considerable sums of this money were in the form of machinery and equipment shipped from the United States to various industries.

Apparently little of this money is being used to raise wages or increase living standards which would in time create markets for the goods produced. Consequently, the defenses and economies of most of these nations remain woefully weak. The low standards of living discourage markets while inviting communism. Because home outlets are lacking, foreign manufacturers must unload their goods on their benefactors. In other words, the American taxpayer is, in many instances, being destroyed with his own tax dollar.

The Danbury Chamber of Commerce welcomes reciprocal trade and fair competition from foreign sources. However, we do not believe that subsidies, low foreign taxes, substandard wages, cartels, and questionable manufacturing methods constitute fair competition. Consequently, the Danbury Chamber of Commerce takes the following stand:

1. We oppose lowering United States tariffs at least until the above-mentioned conditions are rectified.

2. We ask the active cooperation of the proper Government agencies in the enforcement of the Battle Act which prohibits dumping of foreign goods in domestic markets.

3. We urge the banning by law of the importation of mercury-treated hats and other products made by processes prohibited in this country for health, safety, or other reasons.

We will appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience relative to this letter and we trust we can count on your support in our fight to correct a condition which we believe is contrary to the best interests of the country as a whole and which is rapidly taking on serious proportions in this community.

We are taking the privilege of sending copies of this letter to Senators Prescott Bush, William A. Purtell, and Eugene D. Millikin; Representatives Albert P. Morano, Antoni N. Sadlak, Charles A. Wolverton, Daniel A. Reed; Mr. Edward Jarrett, chief clerk of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; Gov. John Lodge, of Connecticut; and the Connecticut State Chamber of Commerce; along with a cover letter of explanation and request for assistance in this matter.

Very truly yours,
DANBURY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
J. HARRY WHITE, *President*.

Justice for the Dairy Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to amend section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, title 7, United States Code, section 1427. This proposed amendment provides that feed grains acquired through price-support operations shall be offered for sale to dairy farmers at prices equivalent to 75 percent of parity. Processors and other persons in the normal channel of trade would, under the proposed amendment, be allowed to purchase feed grains on this same basis for resale in processed form or otherwise to dairy farmers at prices which will properly reflect the price at which such grains were purchased from the corporation.

The reason for the introduction of this bill is very simple—justice. As we all know, under present law and regulation, dairy products will be supported at 75 percent of parity beginning April 1, 1954. Also under law, feed grains which are the raw product of these dairy products will be supported at 90 percent of parity at least until January 1, 1955. Certainly the injustice of this situation is obvious to anyone. In order to remain in business, the dairy farmer must purchase feed grains for his cows. Because of the price-support program, he is presently paying an artificially high price for these grains. Without the relief afforded by this amendment, beginning April 1, 1954, the dairy farmer will be squeezed between two irresistible forces—high price supports for feed grains on the one hand, low price supports for dairy products on the other.

A great many of the dairy farmers in my district would prefer no price supports at all on either dairy products or feed grains. They are independent people and want only an opportunity to run their own show with the least possible interference from the Federal Government. They have demonstrated their sincerity as to this by suggesting and proposing a "self-help plan," whereby Federal supports will be eliminated entirely and the dairy farmers themselves will handle their own surplus and production problems.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully urge and plead that the Congress take early and positive action on the bill which I have introduced today so that justice may be done and the dairy farmer who, in the aggregate is one of the most important segments of the economy of this country, will not, of necessity be faced with economic disaster beginning April 1, 1954.

Lessons Taught by Terrorists' Plot in the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the episode that took place in the House of Representatives on Monday, March 1, 1954, when a group of 4 terrorists in the gallery of the House deliberately shot at Members of the House, wounding 5 of them and narrowly missing others, has created considerable discussion as to security measures that should be taken to protect the Members of the House from a recurrence of such an affair.

The Courier-Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., has expressed its views with respect to the matter in an editorial appearing in the March 3 issue of that newspaper. It reads as follows:

CRAZY TERRORISTS' PLOT, LESSONS IT TEACHES

The mad shooting in the House of Representatives Monday, without precedent in our history, will and should make Congress security-minded in quite another way than the usual meaning of the expression.

Members of Congress cannot go around accompanied at all times by a corps of bodyguards.

Congress cannot conduct all its sessions behind closed doors. The people—meaning the infinitesimal fraction of them that can find space in the Senate and House Galleries—must have the privilege of watching Congress at work.

But the privilege must be granted only with proper safeguards. Obviously, it has been granted without them up to now.

Only one routine question has been asked of visitors: "Are you carrying a camera?"

Presumably the ban on cameras is due to the fact if they were permitted in the gal-

leries, flashbulbs would be popping so often as to disturb business on the floor.

But even for cameras there has been no searching of visitors. They were taken at their word.

And about such things as loaded pistols, there has been no searching or even questioning.

Monday's gunplay now is bringing a quick tightening of personal security measures in the Capitol. For the time being, at least, Congressmen as well as many other officials are being given new or increased police protection. Visitors will no longer be admitted to the House and Senate Galleries unless they carry cards from their Congressmen, which is a measure that should always have been in effect.

But it is strange that Congress, which has been so security-minded in other ways, sometimes to the point of downright silliness, ostensibly on behalf of the people, hasn't been more so on its own personal behalf.

We hope it will be more so in the future.

We may wish some of its members were elsewhere, but we don't wish any of them to be the targets of would-be assassins.

We hope it will be another 165 years, and longer, before such an affair as Monday's again takes place under the white dome on Capitol Hill.

It is clear that the terrorists who took part in Monday's shooting are members of the same criminal gang as the assassins who tried to break into Blair House in 1950 to kill President Truman, and did kill one of his guards.

It is clear that this gang of extremists, professing to demand complete independence of Puerto Rico from the United States, is dominated by Communist conspirators and that its members are tools of the Communists.

It is clear that far from being representative of the 2 million inhabitants of the island commonwealth, they are no more so than the Communist plotters now serving time in various prisons around the United States are representative of the mainland's 160 million citizens.

Governor Muñoz-Marín, of Puerto Rico, estimates that the so-called Nationalist Party from which the assassins come has no more than 500 members in Puerto Rico and 200 in the United States. He says that "just a couple of dozen" of them are fanatic terrorists.

Muñoz-Marín, who himself escaped their bullets in 1950, says however, that the Nationalists "live in a completely unreal world." Their party leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, imprisoned after the 1950 plot, was pardoned last October because he was insane. In the broad sense, so are his adherents, as their lunatic action in the House proves.

They are none the less dangerous for that, particularly so long as they are puppets in the hands of clever Communist leaders who know too well how to exploit their fanaticism and lack of mental balance.

But as Governor Muñoz-Marín says, such savage and unbelievable lunacy as that displayed at Washington does not express in the most remote way the peaceful and decent nature of the people of Puerto Rico. No thinking American will believe for an instant that it does.

The people of Puerto Rico are friends of the American people.

As the Nationalists and their Communist bosses know, the people of Puerto Rico do not want independence and separation from the United States.

They have made that unmistakably clear on numerous occasions, and they enjoy a status that in some ways has advantages over that of other American citizens, so there is no reason why they should want to dissociate themselves from us.

Puerto Rico, however, is one of the many points in the Caribbean area where the Communists are boring from within, determinedly striving to secure a firm foothold in the Western Hemisphere which has hitherto been denied them.

They have what looks dangerously like such a foothold in Guatemala. Only quick and decisive action by Great Britain stopped them from getting another in British Guiana recently.

If Monday's outburst of terriorism alerts Congress and the people to this threat, some good will have come of it.

Good also will have come of it if Congress and all official Washington now take the kind of security measures that should have been in force long ago, and make better and more direct use of their energies in warring on communism than they have done on occasion in the past.

Action on Airmail Subsidies

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. HESELTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8067) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the United States Information Agency, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HESELTON].

(Mr. HESELTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Chairman, I realize that in 2½ minutes it is utterly impossible to state a case in connection with this amendment. But I would like to present this thought. As I understand it, this amendment, if adopted, would carry at the same rate as the current fiscal year until March 1, 1955. I do not say this in criticism of the subcommittee, but I do feel very strongly that this matter ought to be clearly identified as a subsidy, which should be justified before the subcommittee, the full committee, and the Congress, and that the full facts should be brought out as soon as possible. It started with the President's reorganization plan in June, which became effective, as I understand it, in October. I do not know of any reason why, when we are now taking the first legislative step, when the bill has to pass the other body and go to conference, why our subcommittee cannot insist on the CAB coming here with a much better record than they did present. I compliment the members of the committee for the exhaustive hearings that they held on this whole puzzling and difficult problem of subsidies. But I do not believe we would be wise this afternoon in taking an additional figure of $17 million. That is still a great deal of money. I do not believe we would be wise in saying to the CAB or to the airlines you do not have to do anything to reduce the cost of the subsidies. There is evidence in the hearings that over half a million dollars was saved since the plan went into operation. It is worth while to try to save, it seems to me, a million or $2 million or whatever the amount may be. There is a great deal of talk about these subsidies, and until the CAB understands that the committee means business I do not believe that they are not going to bother to change the situation much or to exert themselves greatly. I am not referring to the members of the Board necessarily. But my experience with some of the staff during the consideration of basic legislation in this field does not give me much confidence that they entertain any enthusiasm for doing the work that must be done if a true and effective separation is to be brought about.

I want now to deal in the following extension with another phase of the problem of effective separation of service-mail pay and subsidies.

I know that there are some who do not approve of any interference with the subsidy program. But I believe that a great majority of the House does approve of the President's efforts through Reorganization Plan No. 10 of 1953 to this end.

When he submitted his message with the plan on June 1, 1953, he said, "At the same time, the immediate transfer of subsidy payment under this reorganization plan should not preclude the consideration by the Congress of legislation to effect refinements and modifications in the basic law in this field. One such change, for example, would be an amendment of the Civil Aeronautics Act to provide specifically that compensatory rates for mail transportation should be based upon the cost of rendering mail service, plus a fair return. I understand that the Civil Aeronautics Board has been following this general policy in those cases where it has established compensatory mail rates. The reorganization plan will not affect its right to continue applying such a policy in the future. However, I believe it would be appropriate to establish the cost principle as a matter of definite legislative policy."

I am concerned that support of this amendment may well be interpreted as opposition to effective separation and that those who are led to support of the committee amendment by the belief that it is a step in a direction of effective separation may be confronted with sharp criticism before we have another chance to reexamine the facts should the committee amendment prevail.

The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported favorably basic legislation in this field in the 81st Congress. A quotation from the committee report, which is pertinent to the problem before us, follows:

THE COST STANDARD

(Committee report of 81st Cong.)

This bill accomplishes the separation of subsidy from mail pay by amending subsections (a), (b), and (c) of section 406 of the Civil Aeronautics Act so that subsections (a) and (b) deal solely with the fixing of fair and reasonable rates for the transportation of mail, and subsection (c) deals solely with subsidy for essential aircraft operation. Paragraph (2) of the amended subsection (a) provides that the fair and reasonable rates "* * * shall not exceed the necessary cost to the air carrier, under honest, economical, and

efficient mangement, or the mail transportation services actually rendered or such services to be rendered * * * plus a fair and reasonable return."

The committee feels that this provision is called for by reason of the present ratemaking provision of the Civil Aeronautics Act under which compensation for the transportation of mail, and subsidy for the development of a sound air transportation system, have been lumped over a period of 12 years. The committee deems this provision necessary to insure as completely as the present state of the science of accounting will permit the clear separation of the subsidy element from mail pay. Unless this is done, and done well, there is serious danger that, no matter how clearly we state that we want the subsidy element separated, it will still remain in substantial part in the compensation for the transportation of mail. This provision is fair and just to the carriers and the Government alike. Section 405 (g) of the Civil Aeronautics Act imposes a duty upon carriers certificated for the carriage of mail to carry mail tendered them by the Postmaster General. It also requires the Postmaster General to tender mail "to the extent required by the postal service." Thus, there are obligations on both sides. Considering the fact that public utilities are entitled only to a fair and reasonable return on their investments devoted to the public service, there is no occasion for air carriers to object if they receive no more than their costs, plus a fair and reasonable return, for transporting mail, and, on the other hand, the Government cannot reasonably object to making payment in that amount for the service it receives.

A portion of the minority's report, submitted July 2, 1952, is also pertinent and follows:

This cost standard, which is totally absent from the bill reported by the majority, is essential to protect the Post Office and the taxpayers from continuing to be overcharged by the airlines for carriage of the mail.

Subsequent to the committee report of the 81st Congress, the former Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch, former President Hoover, wrote that "The most practical and accurate way to separate these two types of payments is to base the determination of the mail pay upon what it costs the carriers to furnish mail carriage services to the post office. * * * That type of standard will make it possible for the taxpayers and the Congress to have accurate information. In order for the reform to be effective, it is not equitable to exempt any mail carriers, foreign or domestic. The reform should apply equally to all."

Former President Hoover's subsequent letter reaffirms the sound principle of the committee report of 1950.

President Truman has twice more indicated his conviction that mail pay should mean compensation for the "cost" of carrying airmail and this same standard has been specifically endorsed at the committee hearings in the 82d Congress by the Budget Bureau, Post Office Department, and Civil Aeronautics Board.

We urge that without the cost standard there would be no definite dividing line between what constitutes mail pay, on the one hand, and what constitutes subsidy, on the other hand. Such a dividing line is essential to separation.

Related to this important legislative proposal and directly connected with the establishment of a sound cost standard is the problem of standards for allocating receipts and expenditures. In that connection, I want to cite other excerpts from the two reports to which I have referred:

STANDARDS FOR ALLOCATING RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

(Committee report of 81st Cong.)

Closely related to the problem of the cost standard discussed above is the amendment to existing law, made by section 3 of the bill, which directs the Civil Aeronautics Board, on or before July 1, 1951, to prescribe standards by which air carriers, in keeping their accounts, records, and memoranda, shall allocate receipts and expenditures among four classes of service (passenger, freight, express, and mail). In fact, the provisions which relate to the cost standard (par. (2) of the amended sec. 406 (a)) expressly provide that the cost of the mail transportation services rendered by an air carrier is to be computed in accordance with the standards so prescribed by the Board.

It is, of course, impossible to arrive at the cost of one service rendered by an air carrier, such as its mail service, without arriving at the cost of the other services it renders. Furthermore, while it is true that the final determination of the cost to any carrier of rendering mail services will have to be made in the proceeding for the fixing of the mail rate for such carrier, the making of such determination will be greatly facilitated if the carrier or carriers concerned in the proceeding have been keeping their accounts, records, and memoranda in accordance with the general principles of cost allocation which, as required by paragraph (2) of the amended section 406 (a), will be used in the proceeding. Nor is the value of requiring adherence to these general principles limited to the field of air-mail pay. It will be helpful, for example, in determining the economic soundness of a particular service, in determining the amount of subsidy needed to maintain a particular service, and for ascertaining the rates which should be charged to the public for any nonmail transportation service.

[From the minority report of July 2, 1952]

If the cost of mail services rendered is accepted as the proper standard for mail pay in the future, as it is by the great preponderance of opinion in the executive branch, among other congressional committees, and among the public, then it is essential to provide a means of getting at the cost figures.

The Hoover Commission Task Force Report on Regulatory Commission stated:

"The mail rates should no longer include any need for subsidy element, but should be based on the service rendered. They should reflect a fair allocation of costs between mail, passenger, and freight services."

H. R. 508 requires such allocation of costs to be made by the airlines under standards prescribed by the Civil Aeronautics Board, as the House committee bill of the 81st Congress did. The only subsequent change has been in deference to the request of the Civil Aeronautics Board not to be confined to the four specified categories of airline traffic, viz, passengers and baggage, freight, express, and mail, as previously specified in H. R. 9184.

Therefore, H. R. 508 simply requires that the airlines should allocate costs "among the air transportation services rendered by them." Thus it is left to the discretion of the Civil Aeronautics Board how many categories there should be.

This change, which was in the direction of compromise or concession, has been known as the Brown amendment, offered December 7, 1950. In telegrams of December 11, 1950, to the gentlemen from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY and Mr. HESELTON], Dr. Robert L. Johnson, the chairman of the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, stated:

"In the message to Congressman CLARENCE BROWN we have defined what we believe to be the three essentials which any effective measure must contain and have pointed out that the proposed changes so far as they safely may in the direction of compromise without weakening or negating the aims of the bill as a whole. Mr. BROWN's recommendation on cost allocation represents absolute bare minimum, and we recommend keeping this provision as strong as possible." (House committee hearings, 82d Cong., pp. 397–398.)

I believe it is clear now that both the CAB and the Appropriations Subcommittee have been handicapped seriously in arriving at any judgment as to the soundness of recommendations as to proper subsidies by the lack of any legislative sanction of a cost standard and of standards for allocating receipts and expenditures. Further, I believe there is every probability that this was true as to the efforts of the Post Office Department and the subcommittee dealing with the Post Office appropriations bill insofar as service pay was concerned. I am confident that if the members of those two committees believe their efforts in this field would be strengthened by such legislation it would be a matter of great interest to the members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which has jurisdiction in this field.

An Article of Interest to Washington, D. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article by Mr. Harry L. Merrick, president, Washington Board of Trade, which appeared in the recent issue of the Washington Board of Trade News:

AMBITIOUS PLANS FOR SOUTHWEST ARE REVIEWED

(By Harry L. Merrick)

Alexander Graham Bell, who was born 107 years ago this month, once gave a talk to some children in which he revealed the secret behind his invention of the telephone. The great inventor said:

"Don't keep forever on the public road, going only where others have gone. Leave the beaten paths occasionally and dive into the woods. You will be certain to find something you have never seen before. Of course, it will be a little thing, but do not ignore it. Follow it up, explore all around it; one discovery will lead to another and before you know it you will have something worth thinking about to occupy your mind. All really big discoveries are the results of thought."

This is by way of calling to your attention two proposals offered within the past several months directed at reclaiming this city's southwest area, long neglected and showing starkly the result of that neglect.

This is not to say that nothing has been done. Already work has been launched on project area B, and steps are being taken to effect as soon as possible plans for project area C. But proposals advanced first by a Washington man and second by a New York firm clearly spark the imagination and give some indication of what can be done by leaving the beaten path.

Pierre Ghent, well-known Washington land economist, envisions the Southwest of the future as being a Federal Center, with housing playing a comparatively minor role in the redevelopment. His plan, briefly, calls for an Olympic Stadium, with parking accommodations for 30,000 cars; a union bus terminal serving all parts of this region; a large convention hall, opera house and national theater; an auxiliary commercial center; sites for an international university to further the city's cultural development; a warehouse-industrial-commercial area adjacent to railroad tracks.

William Zeckendorf, president of the New York firm of Webb & Knapp, places greater emphasis on housing and includes these essential factors in his recently announced plan:

An area of high office buildings erected for associations, corporations, and diplomatic organizations; a L'Enfant Plaza, including on its perimeter an opera house, symphony, theaters, convention hall, hotels, restaurants, band shell; a Town Center with schools, libraries, community buildings; extensive development of waterfront shopping and boating facilities; revision of street patterns to create high-class row houses with garden patches and off-street parking.

Both plans have much to commend them, although I am not an architect or city planner, and am not fully qualified to pass on them either as to desirability or practicability. Nevertheless, one need only drive through the Southwest section of the city to realize what these pretentious plans could do for the welfare of our people and the economic health of the community.

Messrs. Ghent and Zeckendorf have displayed great imagination and vision in surveying the area and drawing up suggested plans. In each case they have, in effect, "left the beaten path" and sought new overall methods to save a section of the city.

It is this powerful initiative plus the ability and willingness to see it through that can help rebuild cities and gain from them maximum effectiveness.

Everyone interested in the welfare of this great Capital City should hope and anticipate that the leadership will not be lacking to put such daring plans across.

Who Covered Up for the Reds?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, since 1939, when the Government was first officially informed of the possibility that Alger Hiss was a Communist spy, there have been a great many revelations to the American people about the extent of Communist infiltration in the Government.

In my opinion, after having read of the many cases of people in the Federal service who were sacrificing the ideals of our Government for their Russian Communist masters, it is inconceivable that these people could get to such high and secret positions without being aided and abetted by higher-ups in our Government.

The important questions raised by the editorial in the Chicago Tribune of February 24, entitled "Who Covered Up for the Reds," raises a most important question to which the American people some day must be given the answer.

The editorial is as follows:

WHO COVERED UP FOR THE REDS?

Felix Inslerman, the Communist underground photographer who copied secret Government documents provided by Soviet agents within the New Deal, has broken his long silence by telling of his former activities publicly before Senator MCCARTHY'S investigating committee. His story verifies in all particulars the statements previously made by Whittaker Chambers, who broke with the Communists in 1938 and later proved the undoing of Alger Hiss.

Chambers gathered up the papers purloined by Soviet operatives in the New Deal, took them to Inslerman to be copied, handed back the originals to those who had removed them from Government offices, and sent the photographic copies to the Soviet spy ring in New York. By preserving some of the microfilm copies, he was able in 1948 to substantiate his charge that Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and other prominent New Dealers had been spying for Russia.

Inslerman contributed one new document of great significance. This was a copy he had made of a letter written by Chambers after his break with the Communist apparatus, addressed to the Soviet spymasters he had formerly served. Chambers was in fear of his life, and the letter was intended to warn his vengeful former superiors that they could not get away with murder indefinitely.

The letter suggested that the Soviet apparatus had insufficient reason for confidence that its operations would not be exposed even though exposure would embarrass the Roosevelt administration. There was a direct reference to the President and the Attorney General, then Frank Murphy, former Governor of Michigan and later a Justice of the Supreme Court.

Not every division of the Attorney General's Office, Chambers warned, was willing to go along with the policy of carefully looking the other way when Communist espionage was concerned. For various reasons, one or more of them could be expected to initiate investigations.

"Do not imagine," warned Chambers, "that F. Murphy is there wholly for the purpose of dampening all investigations or that the State Department can forever put the brakes on them. In fact, I should guess that the State Department is going to be sitting on some very hot coals in the near future."

Chambers placed this letter in Inslerman's hands to be forwarded to the Soviet underground. Inslerman made the copy before passing it along and kept it in a trunk all these years.

It can only be inferred from this extraordinary communication that high New Dealers, including Roosevelt, his attorney general, and chief officers of the State Department were aware of the Communist conspiracy in the New Deal. The letter suggests that the Soviet apparatus was itself aware of this knowledge, but counted it as providing an element of toleration and protection. The administration could not expose the plot without bringing discredit upon itself; so the Russians counted on the administration to do nothing, because to act would result in political damage to the New Deal.

Chambers' language strongly suggests that Attorney General Murphy was regarded by the Communists as their man, and there is nothing in Murphy's record to contradict that impression. As Governor of Michigan, he had condoned the Communist inspired sitdown strikes in the automobile industry in 1937 and had refused to take action against the violent invasion of property rights.

As attorney general, he did nothing about Communists, and as a member of the Supreme Court he distinguished himself with an opinion overthrowing the conviction of Harry Bridges, the Communist longshoremen's union leader, referring to the record establishing that Bridges was a Communist as something which would stand forever as a monument of man's inhumanity to man.

As one who had long been a Communist in New Deal Washington, Chambers knew the inner politics intimately, and his own contemporary judgment was that the Roosevelt administration not only know of the Communist treason but condoned it and protected it. No charge of such gravity has ever been made against an American President and his Cabinet.

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

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Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

Appendix

Address of National Commander Connell at Rehabilitation Conference Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, of the American Legion, at the annual Legion national rehabilitation conference dinner, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., on March 4, 1954:

At your opening session Tuesday morning I expressed the hope that you would develop at this conference an even greater understanding and enthusiasm for the work of veterans' rehabilitation. After 3 days of give and take with the officials of the Veterans' Administration, I am sure you are well along toward that goal.

My first inclination, so far as my part here tonight is concerned, was to avoid any shop talk that might disturb the spirit of a family get-together. That I would like to do, for in a very real sense we are a family—a family of Legionnaires, Auxiliary members and leaders in the Congress and Government joined together in common concern for the welfare of disabled veterans.

However, there are a few observations of vital interest to all of us which I think must be made at this time.

A few moments ago we gave special recognition to three members of our family whose service has been unusually distinguished. One is a Legionnaire—and Bob McCurdy, in my view, best personifies the Legion creed of unselfish dedication to veterans' rehabilitation. The other two are doctors, also Legionnaires, who have brought great, new honors to an honored profession. All three have done extraordinary work not only in building a program of veterans' medical and hospital care but, more important perhaps, in explaining the need and sound basis for that program.

I say more important because our big task, now and for years to come, is to make certain the people of this country continue to understand and support the program. That is the all-important job—and frankly, there's no use kidding ourselves, we are not doing it well enough.

We can't talk all we want about the great patriotic principles involved—about the moral obligation to our disabled and ill veterans. But it is no help to the man in the hospital to merely reaffirm these beliefs among ourselves while others are engaged in confusing and poisoning the public attitude toward them.

Let's face it. This question of veterans' hospitalization is confusing to many Americans. Unless we intensify our efforts to clarify the situation, the confusion is going to grow and the program we believe in is going to suffer.

We must spell out for the public in simple, straightforward language all of the facts about the hospitalization of veterans. We owe it to ourselves as Legion leaders and to our many friends in the Congress of the United States who must make their constituents realize that right and reason impel their favorable support of our program.

I think you will agree that we have two fundamental problems to contend with. First is the natural tendency of people to forget war and their duty to their defenders. This has been the case in all times and all nations. It's something that we've got to live with and overcome by appealing vigorously to the sense of fair play and decency that is also a part of the American nature.

The real danger of this indifference or feeling of detachment is that it magnifies the second big problem—and that is the deliberate effort of certain groups to wipe out the entire veterans' hospital program.

The American Medical Association in recent months has identified itself as the leader in this field. Now before considering why the AMA, of all groups, should attack good medicine—and even they admit that VA hospitals are providing good medicine—let's consider how they are doing it.

In the March issue of Readers' Digest there is an article entitled "Must We Follow the VA Route to Socialized Medicine?" The article consists of a series of assumptions, facts, and conclusions cleverly written to persuade the average person that VA hospitals pose a far greater threat to America than does the Red Air Force. The only trouble is that the assumptions are phony, the facts are incomplete, and the conclusions are false.

I cite this article because it wraps up in one package practically all of the charges being made against veterans' hospitalization by officials of the AMA.

They give the impression that 20 million veterans are receiving free hospital care. They ignore the fact that in a year's time less than 3 out of every 100 veterans enter VA hospitals.

They suggest that a majority of patients in the hospitals have no right to be there. They omit the fact that these men and women are sick or disabled and entitled to hospitalization by the law of the land.

They always imply that the care of non-service-connected patients is bankrupting the country. They never admit that the program's actual cost is less than one penny of the Federal tax dollar.

They sell magazine writers on the idea that the veterans' hospital system has grown all out of proportion to its original purpose and need. What they do not tell is that the past 20 years have seen an increase of 2½ times the number of beds for a veterans' population more than 5 times as large.

They picture the entire program as a giant hoax foisted upon the Nation by organized veterans. If I were a Member of Congress, I would bitterly resent such a charge. Is their opinion of congressional integrity so low? Are they implying that the Members of Congress and the five Presidents who have consistently supported the program did so out of fear?

The spokesmen of the AMA call this an educational campaign. I wonder how many of the doctors they claim to represent really know what type of education their assessments are buying.

We do not challenge the right of the AMA or any other group to criticize the veterans' hospital program. If they want sick and disabled veterans removed from hospitals, there's nothing in the world to keep them from saying so. But when they load their arguments with misinformation and half-truths, then somebody has got to stand up for the facts.

For example, it is said that we of the Legion favor free hospitalization not only for 20 million veterans but for all dependents of veterans. The American Legion, as you well know, has never proposed such a move. In 35 years the question has not even arisen at a national convention or at a meeting of our national rehabilitation commission.

The obvious object of all this is to present the issue to the public in a wholly false light.

As another example of their strategy of confusion it is contended that the cost of building veterans' hospitals is unreasonably high. The truth is that construction costs of veterans' hospitals on the basis of cubic footage of space have been running slightly lower than those of private hospitals. But the AMA speakers don't talk about this; they talk about cost per bed, and fail to mention that veterans' hospitals include chapels and therapeutic accommodations not found in the average nonveteran facility.

Now what is behind it all? Why has the AMA launched so bitter and vehement an attack upon the veterans' hospital system?

I think we have to realize that there has been a change or at least a division within the medical profession itself. Today, the profession can be fairly classified into two groups. The AMA leadership in this assault on the hospitalized veteran seems to be fronting for the more dollar-conscious doctors of America. It does not appear to speak for the more dedicated men of medicine to whom we owe so much. Many of them have told us that it does not.

They raise a great fuss about the program leading to socialized medicine. But what do they mean by socialized medicine? Apparently the only test in their mind is whether they collect.

Veterans' care is based on a recognition of services rendered the Government. That isn't socialism. No form of socialism is based on recognition of services rendered.

I submit that the time has come when we must remind our friends of the AMA that the people of this country are tired of having every approach to the Nation's health problems branded socialized medicine. There are considerations other than who gets paid. Sick people need medical and hospital care—and we insist that sick veterans who have the entitlement under law continue to get it.

You know, it's a strange thing but in all the years this veterans' hospital program has been developing the AMA to my knowledge never once has come forward with a constructive suggestion for improving it. Prior to World War II when the standards of VA medicine were unfortunately not so high, they stayed pretty much out of the picture. Now when veterans finally are receiving the quality care promised them by a grateful Government, the AMA is moving heaven and earth to eliminate the program.

Frankly, I question whether the AMA spokesmen believe their own scare-talk about socialized medicine.

Let's assume they have their way, and the non-service-connected patients are turned over to State and local hospitals. That's the AMA's plan, as nearly as we can make it out. Of course there's no room available in the State and local hospitals

so new facilities would have to be built or existing Government facilities taken over. In either event, who would do the financing? Where would the extra doctors and nurses and staff members come from and who would pay their salaries? As the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs pointed out to this conference the other day, there is only one answer—the Federal Government—and that would mean socialized medicine for sure.

So our dollar-conscious doctor friends are being just a little bit less than candid when they try to indict the present setup of veterans' hospitalization on that count.

And by the way, have you ever heard any of these same doctors object to the allocation of funds by the Federal Government for the building of local hospitals—to provide the facilities where they can practice their profession?

The charitable view, it seems to me, is that they honestly believe they are somehow losing fees to the VA. We tried to relieve them of that fear by suggesting that the AMA conduct its own survey of the non-service-connected patients in the hospitals, or join in one that we are making, to settle this matter of ability to pay. They chose to do neither. We went ahead with our study, and after personally interviewing more that 5,000 non-service-connected patients in 36 hospitals we find that in 98 percent of the cases there is not the slightest doubt of their inability to pay for private care. As a matter of fact, these 5,000 had spent a total of $2,500,000 before applying to the VA for treatment * * * and many of them were referred to the VA by private hospitals and doctors after their money ran out.

These people are sick, most of them permanently sick. They are broke, and they deserve sympathy—not scorn.

One veteran among this group who had spent his savings outside the VA and then had his health restored by VA care, recently expressed his feelings on the issue in a letter addressed to the secretary-manager of the American Medical Association. "Gentlemen," he said, "I have cheated the undertaker—definitely not you."

The AMA's position might be a little more understandable if there were any evidence that doctors are suffering or being discriminated against in the job of making a living. Anyone who has paid a medical bill in recent years knows that is not the case. The distinguished columnist, George Sokolsky, writing in yesterday's Washington Times-Herald, told the story of a young married couple of moderate means who were bankrupted by the unreasonable costs of having their first baby. So far as I can tell—and I have many good friends who are doctors—the medical profession is doing very well indeed.

Instead of going out of its way to stir up unwarranted criticism of the hospitalized veteran, the AMA might better concern itself with the mounting public resentment against the high cost of medicine. The Congress has been asked to approve a new medical insurance plan. It may be a fine thing, but I think those of us who never use the VA hospital—and that includes 9 out of 10 veterans—have a right to know what the bill is before we go along with new ideas for guaranteeing the doctors' income.

A congressional investigation of the present high medical costs, in our judgment, would be an important and welcome service to the entire country.

In referring previously to Dr. Rountree and Admiral Boone, I said that they have brought additional honors to the name of medicine. It is an honored profession, and thank heaven, there are many thousands of doctors like them who are sincerely and unselfishly dedicated to its highest principles of service to mankind. Certainly, I would include in that number the fine doctors of the Veterans' Administration who are themselves targets for much of the organized sharpshooting I have described here tonight.

I believe we will win this fight because I have found in my crosscountry travels that most American doctors, like the great majority of the American people, support the principle and the program of helping the disabled veteran who needs help—and who has earned it in the service of his country. And I am confident that you Members of the Congress are in agreement, and will continue to hear and to help the American Legion in protecting the interests of our less fortunate comrades to whom the Nation is eternally obligated.

Our job as legionnaires, I repeat, is to know the facts and to tell the facts to the folks back home. I want every delegate at this conference to leave Washington fired with the zeal and the knowledge and the dedication to do his full part in meeting the challenge that has been directed to us.

I don't have to tell you that the stakes are high. They involve nothing less than the lives and happiness of those who have first claim upon our hearts. This is a cause that should rally every war veteran in the land to our standards; let us so conduct it as to inspire not only veterans but all Americans to close ranks with us.

Let the disabled and the indigent veterans take heart. We shall not let them down, God willing, we shall win this, their battle.

North Atlantic Ports Conference Opposes St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter and statement which I have received from Mr. Samuel H. Williams, chairman of the North Atlantic Ports Conference, setting forth grounds in support of the opposition of the conference to the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project.

The letter and statement follows:

NORTH ATLANTIC PORTS CONFERENCE,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 3, 1954.

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The North Atlantic Ports Conference is firmly opposed to the development of the St. Lawrence seaway project, as provided for in S. 2150, recently passed by the Senate, and as approved by the House Public Works Committee. This project would seriously affect the welfare of the north Atlantic ports and other existing seaports of the Nation, while contributing neither economic nor defense value to the Nation as a whole.

The purpose of the North Atlantic Ports Conference, a nonprofit organization composed of port-agency traffic and transportation representatives, is to protect and promote the common interest of the United States North Atlantic ports (embracing the Virginia ports and ports north thereof) in transportation and related matters affecting waterborne commerce.

The grounds upon which this conference bases its opposition to the project are summarized in the enclosure. For said reasons, among others, we do not believe that its development would serve the best interests of the United States.

We respectfully urge, therefore, that you make all possible efforts to prevent the enactment of the proposed legislation.

Your kind consideration and cooperation in the matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
SAMUEL H. WILLIAMS,
Chairman.

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC PORTS CONFERENCE SETTING FORTH GROUNDS IN SUPPORT OF ITS OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSED ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PROJECT AS PROVIDED FOR IN S. 2150 APPROVED BY THE SENATE ON JANUARY 20, 1954, AND PENDING IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The purpose of the North Atlantic Ports Conference, a nonprofit organization composed of port agency traffic and transportation representatives, is to protect and promote the common interest of the United States North Atlantic ports (embracing the Virginia ports and ports north thereof) in transportation and related matters affecting waterborne commerce.

This conference submits the following grounds in support of its position that the development of the St. Lawrence seaway project as proposed in the pending legislation would be adverse to the interest of the United States:

1. Its development would adversely affect the welfare of each of the North Atlantic ports and other existing seaports of the Nation through the diversion of traffic from them, thus nullifying the usefulness of facilities and equipment in which billions of dollars have been invested to provide for the efficient and economical handling of waterborne commerce. Two wars have shown the vital need for strong seaports. To weaken these ports by the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway with all its inadequacies and limitations would not promote the national defense.

Many of the North Atlantic port facilities are maintained by municipal and State agencies at a cost of many millions annually. They are not large revenue producers. In these ports there are also huge private investments in piers, terminals and other harbor facilities, which likewise provide only a small return on the investment represented. Any diversion of traffic from these facilities is quickly reflected in operating results. Even the loss of a small percentage of the traffic now moving through these ports would spell the difference between profitable and nonprofitable operation.

These ports, which handled the tremendous volume of traffic in support of our Armed Forces and of our allies during the war should be kept in healthy and efficient operating condition. This can be done only by maintaining an adequate and steady movement of commerce.

2. The utilization of port facilities and the employment of labor would be subject to fluctuating seasonal demands, for the proposed seaway would be usable only 7 months of the year. For 5 months it would be choked by ice. Yet these seaport facilities must be maintained in maximum operating capacity to meet the peak requirements of the 5-month winter season, despite the inevitable losses incurred in the remaining 7 months. In this regard we would direct attention to the fact that in the New York area alone, an area of some 14 million people, it has been estimated that 1 out of every 10 people earn their livelihood from the movement of waterborne commerce. Similar conditions prevail at all North Atlantic ports and therefore any action which would affect this vast working

segment of our Nation can only result in severe economic impact upon the Nation as a whole.

3. The same problem faces the railroads. The amount of traffic claimed by proponents that would be diverted to the waterway would seriously affect the interests of existing railroad transportation without compensating benefits to shippers or other interests. These existing land transportation facilities would have to be maintained at a high operating level to meet peak requirements during the 5-month winter season when the waterway is closed to navigation, although they would be confronted with a new source of competition during the 7-month open season of navigation. It is evident that efficient ports can remain efficient only so long as a strong rail transportation machine backs them up.

4. Less than 4 percent of existing American-flag vessels, and none of the American ships now being built could, fully loaded, transit the proposed 27-foot seaway channel. Only foreign-flag shipping would benefit and do so at the expense of the American merchant marine. The experience of World War II emphasizes the importance of a strong American merchant marine and therefore any action which would jeopardize this position is neither in the best interests of the Nation nor those engaged in foreign commerce.

5. The project is labeled as being in the interest of national security. However, it probably could not be militarily defended if constructed. As is well known, canals, and locks are most vulnerable objects of air attack and the destruction of a single segment could put the entire seaway out of commission. Such an event could be disastrous to our national defense, particularly if a number of vessels, so vital in the event of war, were bottled up in the Great Lakes.

6. There can be no basis for the contention of the proponents that this project would be self-liquidating because they have no idea, in the first place, of just what part it is they plan to make self-liquidating. The amendment sponsored by Congressman MCGREGOR, of Ohio, and adopted by the House Public Works Committee certainly does not make it self-liquidating. It only provides that the revenues from the project would be earmarked for the retirement of the project's indebtedness. An amendment offered in the Public Works Committtee by Congressman BROWNSON, of Indiana, which was turned down by a voice vote, but which, we understand, is to be presented on the floor, would take care of the self-liquidating controversy in that the bonds would have to be sold on the market without Goverment guaranty. As the bill now stands the bonds would be sold to the Treasury, and therefore would be Government bonds.

7. The present bill, which contemplates an expenditure of over $100 million is but a limited part of the total project as envisioned by the proponents and is merely an effort on their part to get the foot inside the door. The inadequacies and limitations surrounding the proposed 27-foot seaway channel are shown in paragraph numbered 4 above and need not be repeated here. It suffices to observe that the seaway as proposed is virtually obsolete before construction and that it is reasonable to expect that authorization for a deeper channel will be sought should the 27-foot channel be authorized. In addition, many more Federal millions would be necessary in order to make the harbors of the Great Lakes ports and the connecting channels suitable for oceangoing ships. The Army engineers in 1950 estimated the cost of the complete waterway to this country as about $600 million. This first $100 million would be but the opening wedge for a subsidy which would grow and grow so that the initial sum would shrink into relative insignificance.

What Is the True Story About the McCarthy Hearings?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Montana Standard, Butte, Mont., of Tuesday, March 2, 1954.

WHAT IS THE TRUE STORY ABOUT THE MCCARTHY HEARINGS?

When you read the wire stories from Washington—especially when they concern Senator MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin—you get one impression.

When you read the texts of the hearings in these cases, you get another impression.

The trouble is that very few people get to read the texts.

So the impression created by the wire service stories is the one which prevails.

This is true—strange to say—even with the large eastern newspapers.

The stories written by their staff writers and appearing on their front pages do not jibe with the texts printed on the inside.

This has happened so often in respect to the handling of the news on MCCARTHY that we wonder about it.

Here is an illustration.

In the story on the so-called McCarthy-Stevens feud, it says this: "MCCARTHY who had told Zwicker he was unfit to wear the United States Army uniform, said he wants to question the general about an affidavit Zwicker sent to Stevens about the treatment he received at MCCARTHY'S hands at a closed-door hearing in New York." (Stevens is Secretary of the Army.)

The transcript of the testimony of Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker shows that this is a misquotation. The actual testimony of MCCARTHY reads as follows:

"Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to general and who says, 'I will protect another general who protected Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General."

There is quite a difference between being directly called unfit to wear the United States Army uniform and what the actual testimony shows was the case.

Moreover, the wire stories repeatedly referred to this phase of the testimony.

There was another story which read:

"The Senator had told one of the Army officers—Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, commanding officer of Camp Kilmer, N. J., and a be-medalled veteran of the D-day invasion of Normandy in World War II—that he was unfit to wear the uniform. The story went on to relate that Zwicker had refused to answer some questions about an honorable discharge given to an Army dentist whom MCCARTHY calls a fifth-amendment Communist.

One of the quotations in the text of the questioning of General Zwicker is, specifically, as follows:

"The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time ever object to this man being honorably discharged?

"General ZWICKER. I respectfully decline to answer that, sir."

Another discrepancy reveals itself in the question of whether or not the witness, Zwicker, was browbeaten, humiliated, abused, or mistreated during the hearing.

This, it seems, would be a question which could be answered only after intensive study of the transcript of the testimony and the close questioning of those present at the hearing.

Among these present, according to the transcript, were: Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel of the McCarthy subcommittee; Daniel G. Buckley, assistant counsel; Harold Rainville, administrative assistant to Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, of Illinois; Robert Jones, administrative assistant to Senator Charles E. Potter, Republican, of Michigan; James N. Julian, investigator, and Capt. W. J. Woodward, medical corps, United States Army.

The news stories have created the impression that Senator MCCARTHY abused or browbeat the witness, Zwicker. What is probably nearest the truth, as Senator MCCARTHY himself explained, was that the witness was vigorously examined.

All of this is quite beside the point, which is the answer to the question why an Army major was promoted and then discharged honorably and in great haste after he refused to answer Senator MCCARTHY'S questions about his Communist affiliations.

Senator MCCARTHY has been trying to find answers to these questions and it seems that road blocks have been thrown in front of him not only by the United States Army but by eastern newspapers and the wire news associations.

A lot of people would like to know the low-down on this.

Reduction in Force of Naval Supply Activities in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, the recent reductions in force of the naval supply activities in Brooklyn resulted in unemployment for many of my constituents. While I have been able to assist many of them in relocating, the United States naval supply activities under Rear Adm. R. F. Batchelder, commanding, through Mr. Victor K. Onorato, its industrial relations officer, have been doing splendid work in finding other employment for the separated employees, due to the reduction in force.

In commendation of their work, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following correspondence and tabulation:

UNITED STATES NAVAL SUPPLY ACTIVITIES,
Brooklyn, N. Y., March 2, 1954.

Hon. FRANCIS E. DORN,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: Mr. Victor K. Onorato, our industrial relations officer has told me of your request for information concerning the procedures followed here at the naval supply activities in connection with the recent substantial reductions in force which have been effected together with the efforts made to obtain employment for more than 1,400 affected employees.

I have asked Mr. Onorato to furnish you with complete and detailed information covering the matter in question.

While I personally have heartily endorsed and supported in every way the efforts of his organization to find adequate employment for each and every single employee released all credit for the exceptionally fine re-

sults attained must go to Mr. Onorato and his excellent staff.

I feel that their outstanding accomplishments in this difficult situation have reflected high credit on them and the naval service.

With kindest personal regards and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

R. F. BATCHELDER,
Rear Admiral, SC, USN, Commanding Officer.

UNITED STATES NAVAL SUPPLY ACTIVITIES,
Brooklyn, N. Y., March 2, 1954.

Hon. FRANCIS E. DORN,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DORN: In accordance with your request of February 11, 1954, the following information outlines the procedure this command has been following when employees are affected by reduction in force because of curtailment of work.

All employees affected are interviewed by placement interviewers who review their qualifications and retention rights to determine appropriate placement possibilities. Permanent civil-service employees are placed in positions in this commuting area held by nonpermanent individuals or in positions held by employees with lower retention rights. Nonpermanent employees are considered for jobs in other Federal agencies and in private industry. Personal contacts are made with other Federal agencies, private concerns and the New York State employment service to effect the maximum number of placements.

From March 1953, with the closing of the naval clothing factory, this command has had the problem of placing 1,439 employees. There is attached a statistical breakdown of the actions taken.

I trust that this information is satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

V. K. ONORATO,
Industrial Relations Officer.

Reduction-in-force employees

	Total affected	Placed		Not placed		
		In Government	In private industry	Retired	Declined	Reduction in force separation
March through June 1953	1,068	265	302	8	66	447
July through December 1953	209	156	2	2	22	27
January 1954 to date	142	123	3	1	11	4
Total	1,439	544	307	11	[1] 99	[2] 478

[1] 67 of these employees declined jobs in Federal agencies which were found for them. 32 of them submitted resignations and did not give the command an opportunity to offer them jobs. Many employees in this group found jobs in private industry.

[2] These employees either declined jobs offered them in private industry or did not report for the jobs offered by the New York State Employment Service and this activity.

UNITED STATES NAVAL SUPPLY ACTIVITIES,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

From: Industrial Relations Officer
To: United States Naval Clothing Factory Employees.

Subject: Employment opportunities in private industry:

1. The disestablishment of the United States Naval Clothing Factory has resulted in a reduction in force of approximately 800 employees. It will not be possible to retain many of these employees in other positions in the Federal service. Therefore, it will be necessary that practically all of these employees seek work in private industry.

2. We have arranged for the New York State Employment Service to assist you in obtaining a job. That office has assured us that there are job openings presently available for our employees. These openings include supervisory positions.

3. The New York State Employment Service will make every effort to refer you to private employment if you can arrange to report to their local office on ———— at ————. You should report at 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

4. If you cannot report at that time, you should report at your earliest possible convenience. When reporting to the New York State Employment Service, bring your identification badge, social-security number and this letter. This will insure that you will receive prompt attention.

5. You should also report to the New York State Employment Service even though you may have already been there. It may take several referrals before you succeed in securing a position acceptable to you. You are urged to continue making the maximum use of the services of the New York State Employment Service.

V. K. ONORATO.

United States Industry Is Vulnerable to Atomic Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I read with much interest an editorial, written by the Honorable Robert Kern, editor and publisher of the Belleville News-Democrat, Belleville, Ill., and presented in the issue of that paper March 3, 1954, supporting suggestions recently made by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, head of the Manhattan District during World War II, regarding dispersion of American industry as a defense measure.

In substance, the editorial expresses regret that American industry has not yet taken too seriously Government suggestions of a dispersion program as a safeguard against atomic and hydrogen bomb attack.

The American Government, through its defense leaders, have by inference favored an industrial dispersion plan. It is known that the Government has given encouragement to the idea of dispersion, but it is also a known fact that little dispersion of our potential wartime industry has taken place.

I most certainly agree with Lieutenant General Groves and with the News-Democrat editorial that this is a matter of great importance to the preservation of our country in the event of an enemy attack. I think in the location of any new industry or in the expansion program of existing industry the most serious consideration should be given to a dispersal of activity. It seems to me to be foolhardy to have a great aviation industry concentrated in a single coastal area, and for our great automobile industry, which is so vital in the production of military equipment in time of war, being concentrated in limited areas. There is ample space in the United States—the Mississippi Valley, for instance, with its great labor market in southern Illinois, and its unlimited access to rail and water transportation—to make possible a sound dispersion program that would not impair the efficiency of operation of industry while providing a great measure of protection in the event of atomic attack. I invite the attention of the membership to the following editorial from the News-Democrat:

UNITED STATES INDUSTRY IS VULNERABLE

No one likes to be told that he is at the mercy of some force beyond his control. Nevertheless, a great deal of Americas industry is in this category.

This is the essence of a warning issued by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, wartime chief of the Manhattan project and now himself an industrialist, who has a knack for reiterating bald facts which are so true as to be axiomatic.

He notes, for instance, that military defense and American industry are interdependent, neither being able to exist without the other, and that national defense is both a military and civilian problem.

The basis of the whole problem is the American philosophy of letting the enemy hit first. This philosophy has been expressed for world consumption on many occasions.

The knowledge that Russia has numbers of high speed, high altitude atomic bombers spotted strategically around the polar cap makes the air-defense problem urgent. Our Nation is spending $5 billion a year toward this end and devoting brains and manpower to the problem without stint.

But the New Look, as exemplified in a revolution in military defense planning has not been accompanied by a corresponding effort to ready industry for a blow. While civil-defense officials talk of dispersion, the facts are that the little dispersion that has taken place since World War II has been done primarily to take advantage of new labor markets, new power sources, and other factors.

Now a military defense plan is being evolved which takes into account the terrible one-for-one ratio of the H-bomb (one bomb, one city). Regrettably, it cannot be said that any such industrial problem is being tackled in earnest.

Would such a project be so huge as to successfully defy the resourcefulness of man?

H. R. 7339

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, this is a measure to increase the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

It would increase that power from $6¾ billion now in effect to $8½ billion.

At present the amount of uncommitted borrowing authority of the agency is, I understand, in the neighborhood of $500 million.

The rise in borrowing power has been justified before the committee apparently to its satisfaction on the ground that it is necessary to finance CCC investments in 1953 and prior year crops and to support the price of the 1954 crop.

I am not satisfied with the operations of the price-support program. It is true that we have in past years financed major crops like corn, cotton, rice, tobacco, and peanuts and designated nonbasic commodities like wool, mohair, tung nuts, honey, milk, butterfat, and the products of milk and butterfat, and other commodities.

To my mind there have been serious abuses attending these operations which have wasted foodstuffs and unreasonably held up the prices of basic commodities and consumer foodstuffs. The fact seems incontrovertible to me that existing surpluses accumulated under this general program present a very perplexing problem. How to handle these surpluses is indeed an enigma and I have not heard yet of a real sound practical solution. It strikes me that there should be at least one governing principle applied in dealing with this problem and that is that none of the stored food stuffs should be wasted.

It is bad enough to waste the taxpayers' money in buying food and letting it deteriorate and rot. But it is a willful waste and a great social crime not to find a way to use all this food to alleviate human need.

The policy of spending public money to force up commodities prices to high levels thus placing a great burden on the American consumers, and then letting the supported foodstuffs rot before selling them in the competitive market appears to me to have every earmark of economic dementia.

I would respectfully adjure the committee to find some practicable, sensible way at earliest possible date of dealing effectively with the problem of disposal of agricultural surpluses.

The House should act upon this question. It is urgent. Unless solved soon, it will further discredit and could possibly wreck the entire agricultural program.

There is a definite interdependency between the prosperity of our farmers and the prosperity of American business and the full-time employment of our industrial workers. During my service here, I have always recognized what seems to me to be a demonstrable economic fact. But I have never contemplated in my support of this view that the operations of CCC in the price-support field would ever lead us into a situation where valuable foodstuffs would be allowed to go to waste and to rot and where huge surpluses of food and fiber would be piled up in the storehouses of the Nation with the Government agencies concerned, and the Congress apparently unmoved to the urgent need for remedial and corrective action.

Another pertinent aspect of this bill relates to current interest rates. Of course, it is vital that the monetary and financial departments of the Government should, when necessary, exercise certain effective controls over inflation or deflation. Such controls wisely and skillfully administered by trained economists, monetary and banking specialists can unquestionably be helpful in preserving or reestablishing financial and economic equilibrium in the economy.

At a time, however, when money is more plentiful than it has been for several years, I am of the opinion that the raising of interest rates is a very questionable policy. This step was evidently taken to further the so-called hard dollar, but it has had just the opposite effect and worse. It not only did not bring lower general prices which are about at the highest level in history, but it has been followed by a wave of business contraction and serious unemployment in some areas.

I urge the immediate overhaul of the entire price-support program (a) in the interest of the farmer, (b) the consumer, and, (c) the Treasury. Congress should tackle this job at once. It is vitally necessary.

The Right Reverend Monsignor George A. Bendick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD J. BONIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, February 28, I had the honor and privilege to attend the testimonial banquet given to Rt. Rev. Msgr. George A. Bendick, of St. John's parish, Luzerne, Pa. This testimonial marked a threefold blessing in the life of Monsignor Bendick: his elevation to the rank of domestic prelate; his 35th year as pastor of St. John's parish; and his 40th year in the priesthood.

The tribute paid to him on this memorable occasion by more than 800 of his parishioners, friends, and neighbors speaks well for his continued success in his spiritual work in Wyoming Valley. His magnetic personality has endeared him to all who meet him, know him, and love him.

In substantiation of the deep and admirable feeling with which his friends regard him, I wish to offer the program of the testimonial banquet and the message of tribute to Monsignor Bendick:

TESTIMONIAL BANQUET, KING'S COLLEGE GYMNASIUM, FEBRUARY 28, 1954

PROGRAM

Invocation.....Rev. Andrew E. Klobusicky
Star-Spangled Banner.....Assembly
Introduction of the toastmaster.
Rev. John A. Balberchak
Toastmaster.....Attorney Paul R. Selecky

SPEAKERS

Greetings to our pastor.
St. John's School Children Stephen Phillips, Stephen Zluky.
Rev. Stephen J. Yanchuska.
Pastor, All Saints Church, Dunmore, Pa.
Mr. T. Stuart Williams.
Supervising principal of Luzerne schools
Mr. Stephen J. Tkach... President of P. S. J.
Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M.
Rector of Christ the King Seminary, St. Bonaventure, N. Y.
EDWARD BONIN.
Our Congressman from Luzerne County.
Attorney Joseph L. O'Donnell.
Advocate for the Knights of Columbus, Wilkes-Barre Council, 302.
Rev. Leo J. Flood, C. S. C.
President of King's College
Most Rev. William J. Hafey, D. D.
Bishop of the Scranton Diocese
Rt. Rev. Msgr. John S. Sobota.
Pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Presentation by Joseph Sobek, Sr.
Cofounder and oldest member of St. John Nepomucene Parish.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. George A. Bendick.
Honored jubilarian
Benediction.....Rev. George T. Forve
Hej Slováci.....Buynak's Slovak Orchestra
Choral singing.
Children of St. John's Nepomucene Parochial School.

"What shall I render to the Lord, for all the things that He has rendered to me." (Psalms 115: 3.)

Today this psalm must be in the heart of Monsignor Bendick when he looks back over the past 35 years of his spiritual and material progress at St. John's Parish.

Today we are celebrating the threefold blessings of Monsignor Bendick; his elevation to the rank of domestic prelate; his 40th year in the priesthood; and 35 years of uninterrupted spiritual guidance of our beloved pastor Monsignor Bendick, years of labor and sacrifices for the glory of God and the spiritual welfare of the good people of St. John Nepomucene Parish. Our thoughts run to those early times when our pioneers, Monsignor Bendick and our fathers and mothers, though simple and poor folks, but armed with the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, confronted and overcame all difficulties and left to us as a lasting heritage, a strong foundation for our present progressive and flourishing parish.

Thirty-five years of priestly labor in any parish is an achievement. It is a story of a priest placing his God and his church before all else, even the necessities of life. It is a story of untiring zeal in building spiritually and materially for the honor and glory of God.

Due to political oppression under Magyar tyranny, and to the poor economic condition of the country, thousands of Slovaks left the homes in their fatherland to come to the United States, a land of promise. Among the early arrivals were the parents of Monsignor Bendick, who willingly contributed to the spiritual, material, and cultural development of their newly adopted country. His father, George, came to this country in 1890 and settled in Junedale, Pa.; his mother, Anna Mihalovcik, arrived here a year later. God blessed their union with 5 children, 3 of whom are still living. The second of these, the Reverend Jubilarian, was born in Petrovec, Slovakia, on December 23, 1888. At the age of 2, the Reverend Jubilarian came, with his mother and sister, to America and the home of his father. During his childhood at Junedale, the parental exhortations and the virtuous lives of his God-fearing mother and father were making lively impressions on his soul as a

youth and attracted him to a life even more holy.

It was the public school where Monsignor Bendick received the first part of his education. But in order not to be deprived of every advantage of a Catholic education he continued his high school and college studies at St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill. He studied, worked, and prayed intensely these years being ever conscious of the desire to become a priest. Upon completing his college at St. Procopius he was enrolled among the students for the priesthood at St. Bonaventure Seminary, Olean, N. Y. He was ordained to the holy priesthood in Buffalo, N. Y., June 6, 1914, by the Most Reverend Charles H. Colton, D. D. Monsignor Bendick ascended the altar steps of St. Joseph's Church, Hazleton, Pa., with a jubilant heart to offer for the first time to his Creator the holy sacrifice of the mass. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum—thou art a priest forever—thus sang his exultant soul. Monsignor Bendick was the first boy of St. Joseph's Church to be ordained for the priesthood St. Joseph's Church of Hazleton is the first Slovak Church in America.

On November 2, 1918, Monsignor Bendick was appointed by Bishop Hoban as pastor of St. Anthony's Church, Larksville, and St. John's Church, Luzerne, which at that time was a mission. With the coming of Monsignor Bendick a new era in the life of the parish was beginning. Prior to his coming the parish consisted of only the church. The debt, however, was over $7,000, but the inspired leadership of the new pastor led the people to unprecedented accomplishments. During the next 6 months the debt was liquidated, and by 1921 the parish had over $12,000 in the bank. Immediately plans were being formulated for a parish rectory. In 1922, the new rectory was built at a cost of $13,000. Upon completion of the rectory, the parish ceased to be a mission, and Monsignor Bendick was made resident pastor.

Monsignor Bendick desired to gather a rich harvest of young souls for Christ by building a parochial school. At that time the building of a parish school and convent was viewed by many as an impossibility. Yet, Monsignor Bendick through his untiring efforts dispelled all doubt and converted his dreams into a reality.

On January 11, 1925, at an annual meeting of the parish a motion was adopted to erect a parochial school and convent at a cost of over $100,000. In the presence of many priests, sisters, schoolchildren, and laity, the school and convent were blessed by the late Bishop Hoban on September 26, 1926. Now, at last St. John's was a first-class parish having a church, rectory, school, and convent. The beginnings were small, and the pastor with his parishioners were subjected to many trials. It was in prayer and trust in God that they acquired the strength necessary for carrying on the gigantic parish project.

St. John's Men's Social Club was organized by Monsignor Bendick to foster sports and youth activities. At first only four bowling alleys were built in the basement of the school; however, in 1937 two more were added. Finally, in 1945, 10 new bowling alleys were built in the hall of the school building at a cost of $50,000. Today, St. John's bowling alleys are the center of social and bowling life in northeastern Pennsylvania.

In 1938 Monsignor Bendick was appointed by His Excellency Most Reverend Bishop Hafey as diocesan consultor, which high office he holds to the present day.

The Jubilarian, in realizing that the church societies are the pillars of the parish, organized the following societies: Rosary Society, Altar Society, Holy Name, Blessed Virgin Sodality, Ladies' Aid, Young Ladies' Social Club, Young Men's Social Club, and Mothers Club. Monsignor Bendick was active in other Catholic Slovak fraternal societies, especially the Pennsylvania Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic Union, of which he has been supreme chaplain for the last 23 years.

During the repairing, painting, interior and exterior, remodeling period of the last years, at a cost of over $75,000, the enthusiasm of the parishioners reached unprecedented heights. The beautifying of the parish property accomplished its purpose by making the people even more conscious of their God and their parish church.

Monsignor Bendick is noted for his annual picnic on the 15th of August, which attracts many from the entire valley.

Here at St. John's his untiring efforts, magnetic personality, democratic approach have gained for him the love and loyalty of those of his parish and the admiration and respect of people of all religious denominations and walks of life. When people come to Monsignor Bendick, in gladness or sadness, they find a willing ear and a helpful hand. His cheerful "How are you?" or "What's on your mind?" puts everyone at east, and he listens to his spiritual children. Under the spiritual guidance of Monsignor Bendick, many of the parish children have become priests, Sisters; many have established themselves in the political, civil, and social sphere, so that the rich culture and accomplishments of the parishioners of St. John's are not localized but have quickened the pulse of Catholic life in the whole of these United States.

On December 7, 1953, the apostolic delegate, the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, D. D., had advised His Excellency, Most Rev. William J. Hafey, D. D., bishop of Scranton, that His Holiness Pope Pius XII had elevated Father Bendick to the rank of domestic prelate with the title of "Right Reverend Monsignor." This honor has come to him directly from the vicar of Christ on earth, the visible head of the church, instituted by Christ, by papal brief, in response to a request made by Bishop Hafey.

His Excellency, Most Rev. Henry T. Klonowski, D. D., auxiliary bishop of Scranton, presided at the formal investiture of Monsignor Bendick on Sunday, February 14, 1954, in St. Peter's Cathedral, Scranton, Pa. The sermon was delivered by the Right Reverend Monsignor John J. Vaughn, V. F., pastor of St. Paul's parish, Scranton.

The view of God's graces and of the tremendous good accomplished throughout these 30 years as pastor of St. John Nepomucene parish in the midst of countless difficulties and trials is reason enough for great happiness on this memorable occasion. To fill the measure of his happiness we pray that God continue His shower of blessings upon our dear pastor, Monsignor Bendick, and have him reap a more plentiful harvest of souls here on earth and enjoy the fruits of his labors eternally in heaven.

Ad multos annos.

Reduce Excise Taxes on Trucks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a statement on the subject of excise taxes on trucks prepared by Mr. Arthur H. Nuesse, executive manager of the Truck Body & Equipment Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C. The statement follows:

VALID REASONS FOR REPEAL OF THE 8-PERCENT EXCISE TAX ON TRUCK BODIES AND TRUCK EQUIPMENT OUTLINED

(By Arthur H. Nuesse)

The Truck Body and Equipment Association is a nationwide trade association composed of truck body manufacturers, truck equipment manufacturers, distributors of these products, and others related to the industry. Its membership includes firms located in all sections of the United States. The industry is recognized as one vital to our national economy, and based on established standards those firms so related are considered "small business," the backbone of our American economic system.

Presently, the truck body and equipment industry is hampered and retarded in its growth and prosperity by an 8-percent Federal excise tax on automobile truck chassis, automobile truck bodies, automobile bus chassis, automobile bus bodies, truck and bus trailer and semitrailer chassis, truck and bus trailer and semitrailer bodies, truck equipment, and parts and accessories therefor.

The Truck Body & Equipment Association firmly believes that this tax should be canceled in its entitrety. The industry represented by the Truck Body and Equipment Association bases its contention for elimination of this excise tax, and the need for relief under this tax on the part of both manufacturer and consumer imposed under section 3403 of the Internal Revenue Code on the following basic facts:

1. The tax can be justified only on a temporary or emergency basis. The tax was first enacted in 1932 at 2 percent as a temporary measure to meet the depression; it was increased to 5 percent in 1941 to meet defense needs; after the Korean outbreak it was further revised upward to the present 8 percent in 1951.

2. Excise taxes levied on trucks, truck bodies, and truck equipment discriminate against the manufacturers and against the users because the tax is so highly selective, and represent a serious departure from the accepted tax policy of uniformity of treatment. Many other forms of transportation are not subject to the tax.

3. The tax is passed along to the consumer as a higher cost of doing business. It automatically penalizes the part of commerce borne by motor trucks which carry three times as much freight as the combined total hauled by all other forms of transportation. The class taxation of motor truck transportation is a burden from which competing forms of transport are free.

4. The tax constitutes over a prolonged period a threat to price, demand, and employment in the truck body and equipment manufacturing and related industries.

The Truck Body & Equipment Association agrees with the statement attributed to Representative DANIEL A. REED, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, that "taxes must tumble," in a statement referring to a general revision of the Internal Revenue Code.

"The end of the Korean war calls for reappraisal of our economic and fiscal policies. Industry [has been] saddled with additional taxes, some of which were uneconomic and tolerable only as wartime measures. The objective of our committee [is] a complete revision of the outmoded and impractical Internal Revenue Code to eliminate many inequities and confusions. Two dozen or more major changes and approximately 3,000 minor changes will be made in America's tax structure. This revision, when it becomes law during this session of Congress, will work to the advantage of 50 million taxpayers and to every business establishment—small and large."

Chairman REED, with a committee objective leading to a return to the pre-Korea rate of taxation, stated his conviction that our prosperity does not depend on war or

threats of war; rather on the resourcefulness and the ingenuity of industry, the labor and skill of our workers, and the willingness of investors to invest their savings. Fear will disappear if our tax laws provide the people with more buying power and give business the incentive to expand and produce for peacetime purposes, stated Mr. REED. With assurances of further tax reductions, corporations would discover that funds set aside for taxes might overnight become theirs—to pay dividends, to purchase new machinery, to construct new plants, to reduce bank loans.

"For the past 20 years," stated Chairman REED, "the judgment of government has been substituted for the judgment of businessmen in the conduct of their business. The code revision will correct this situation and restore to the businessman control of his affairs."

The Truck Body & Equipment Association heartily endorses and supports the efforts of Members of the Congress, especially the members of the House Ways and Means Committee, to bring about an adjustment and downward revision of all restrictive, inequitable, and discriminatory taxes which are impeding the well-being of our national economy.

City of Chicago Has a Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this week, March 4, the city of Chicago will be 117 years old. I am sure that our colleagues from other cities and other States will join with the Chicago delegation in sending happy birthday greetings.

In 117 years we have come a long way. On March 4, 1837, when the Illinois Legislature at Vandalia granted Chicago a charter as a city, the population was 4,170. There were 450 buildings, such as they were, including 12 hotels, 10 taverns, and 5 churches. When it rained the streets became mud puddles and wagons sunk deep in the goo.

In August of 1833 Chicago had been incorporated as a town under the government of a board of nine trustees. Under the charter of March 4, 1837, she became a real city, the village board of trustees giving place to a mayor and 10 aldermen.

William B. Ogden, a lawyer from New York, was elected the first mayor. Some of the aldermen thought it unfair the mayor should be paid an annual salary of $500 while there was no provision for aldermanic salaries. One of the duties of the mayor was to serve as fire warden with the responsibility of keeping idle and suspicious persons from the scene of fires. Aldermen also had their work cut out for them, one of their duties being the jailing of rogues, vagabonds, and stragglers. The city quickly adopted a motto, "Urbs in Horto," a city set in a garden.

The district which I represent in this body is all within the present city of Chicago. It includes the great University of Chicago, the Kenwood and Hyde Park sections, the South Shore Country Club, and the beautiful drive along the south shore of Lake Michigan. It includes the Woodlawn, Windsor Park, the Avalon Park, and the Chatham Fields districts. It is a district of beautiful homes, of fine hotels, imposing apartment buildings, and of churches and synagogues. In 1837 when Chicago received her charter as a city the southern limits were at 22d Street, which was more than 2 miles north of where the present Second District begins.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, Chicago has come far in 117 years. All America well may rejoice with us on this natal anniversary because the growth of Chicago in size, prestige, moral and cultural strength has made a contribution of incalculable magnitude to the march of destiny of the United States of America.

Unite Scientists in Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article which has been called to my attention on a subject matter that is of vital interest:

TAFT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION TO FIGHT KILLER DISEASES PROPOSED BY DYNAMIC VICTIM OF TB—BAY STATE MAN URGES BILLIONS TO UNITE SCIENTISTS IN RESEARCH

(By John P. Delaney)

NEEDHAM HEIGHTS, August 22.—Owen Webb, 62, is a TB. He's one of about 340,000 TB's in the United States. He's had it 5 years and thinks he's got it licked. But he wants to help lick it in others. More than that, he wants to lick the disease, itself. How?

By research, unlimited and gigantic, to find the cause and cure of this and other killer diseases, such as cancer, polio, heart, and cerebral palsy for a starter.

WOULD GIVE LIFE

He has a plan to which he is passionately devoted, a plan which he believes rivals the creation of the atom bomb and one infinitely more valuable and beneficial to uncounted millions in the world today and future tomorrows.

He proposes the marshaling of the world's best scientists in a concentrated and all-out attack on man's killer diseases, a vast research project underwritten with Government funds to find the cause and cure of diseases which today kill millions yearly in the United States alone.

Unlike the atom bomb, his project would give life, not death.

He would dedicate and name the project the "Taft Foundation," in honor and memory of a great American who might still be alive if such a lifegiving project has been launched before this.

A REALLY BIG WAY

"If Taft's colleagues want to memorialize him, they could do no better than to start the search for his killer in a really big way," says Mr. Webb.

Webb is a salesman by profession, and right now he's trying to sell "the biggest idea in my life."

Struck down, himself, by TB 5 years ago, he "was sick for about an hour after the doctors told me what I had. Then I went back to work, and worked also to fight and beat this thing."

A manufacturers' agent, he moved his offices from downtown Boston to his home here. Operations never ceased. Bedridden, he directs a sales force of 14 men operating from coast to coast and represents 6 concerns as agent or sales manager.

NEEDS TWO SECRETARIES

He usese 2 secretaries to handle his tremendous volume of mail, dictation, greet callers and perform the 101 other chores that go with a busy office. Each secretary has her own office apart from the room used by Mr. Webb.

His office, bedroom, and living quarters is a pleasant sunporch overlooking tree-shaded Needham streets, equipped, as is the entire house, with every mechanical and automatic device known.

His miniature telephone switchboard enables him to handle four calls simultaneously and this happens often when business is rushing and salesmen are calling in from scattered points to get quotation approvals, submit orders or ask advice and instructions from the boss.

He attends conventions throughout the country in his line by means of a tape-recorder, tapes speeches to be sent there and delivered and listens to playbacks of tape recordings of the convention which are sent to him by representatives as soon as possible after the meeting.

CAN'T AFFORD TO LOAF

Time never hangs heavy. "I can't afford to loaf, not with the force I maintain, the people I represent and the turnover of business we do," he says.

In addition to business, he maintains a keen interest in politics, was an early and ardent worker for Senator Taft, heading the Needham Taft Club last year, and arranged a campaign meeting which broke all political attendance records in Needham.

Local government and sports are on his active list. By means of the tape recorder he appeared at a town meeting and succeeded in pushing through a $25,000 playgrounds appropriation the while completing plans for support of a Little League team. Idle moments were filled in by directing the Red Cross campaign in Needham last year.

"How do I do it? Simple. With the help of God, that's how. And a good assist from my wife, who has shown not the slightest worry or care and has done everything on earth any person could do. And with a smile."

BASICALLY SIMPLE

"Life doesn't have to stop because a fellow gets laid up and can't get around. If my life story, such as it is now, inspires one other sick person who thinks his life is useless to forget his troubles and derive some real pleasure from life in spite of them, then it's worth telling," Mr. Webb says.

But the medical research plan is what he'd really rather talk about.

Like all great plans, it's basically simple. Operational details and difficulties have yet to be tackled and ironed out completely.

Webb proposes the creation of a Government-financed foundation with money appropriated by Congress to undertake research, utilizing the world's best scientists, the world's best facilities, to cure the world's worst physical evils at their source.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

One representative each from the combined agencies and organizations now engaged in research and rehabilitation work in the killer disease field would be appointed to a board of directors. The board, in addition to heart, cancer, TB, polio, and cerebral

palsy specialists, would also include a renowned lawyer and a top-flight businessman.

This board would control the money appropriated by Congress, say $200 million as a starter for the sake of discussion.

It would consider proposals for research by individuals, organizations, both public and private, hospitals, laboratories, and so on. The proposals would be requests for funds to conduct or to expand research in their particular fields, with an outline of procedure and a program of expected accomplishment.

If agreeable to the board money would be allocated for the projects and the researchers would be free to conduct their investigations as they saw fit with no interference from the board.

REPORT OF PROGRESS

At the end of 1 year, a report of progress would be required by the board and proposals entertained for further funds to continue along whatever lines promised success.

The board, in turn, could ask Congress for further appropriations when the original fund was exhausted by presenting a combined progress report on accomplishments in the research field in one, or all, of the diseases.

Money would be available in this fashion to hire the best possible scientists and physicists, support and encourage less known but possibly equally capable researchers, and by a concentrated attack discovery of the cause and cure of diseases would conceivably be speeded up immeasurably.

As the solution to one was found, funds for research there would be cut off as being no longer necessary and more funds shifted to the diseases yet unconquered.

FROM TAX SOURCES

Appropriated funds naturally would be reflected in taxes, the money to come from tax sources.

The countless appeals for contributions now being made by agencies concerned in the major diseases field would be ended and the public urged to contribute instead to local united fund appeals.

Antibiotics or serums discovered as cures or preventives for various diseases through this Government-financed research would be made available to all pharmaceutical firms for the benefit of all at the lowest cost.

"All present commercial laboratories, school laboratories, and so forth, could not would be expanded with the idea that any developments would become the property of the Government and thereby help in the costs for an all-out medical research project.

"I am firmly convinced that in the long run whatever we, meaning by 'we' our Government, expends, it would come back twofold and then some," Mr. Webb said.

IMMIGRATION EXCEPTIONS

In individual cases where present American immigration laws might bar entry into this country of a famous scientist because of political affiliations or background, exceptions would be made in view of the overall good to be accomplished.

Essentially, that's the plan of Mr. Webb.

It has support, he says, of virtually everyone with whom he's talked about it, which includes businessmen, editors, political figures, doctors, bankers, and plain people.

It's not a simple cure-all package, he says.

It's a "gigantic attack on a scale never before attempted" to kill the killer diseases, themselves.

NOT ENOUGH FOR RESEARCH

"If we have the brains and the money and the desire to create the biggest single destructive force the world has ever known—the atom and hydrogen bombs—then why can't we use those greatest brains and money in an infinitely more beneficial project for mankind?" Mr. Webb asks.

"Research is the place to do it. Most of the money collected today in fund drives goes for rehabilitation work—for hospitals and sanatoria and doctors and nurses and medicines to treat people who have been struck down by these killers.

"A pittance is spent on research to find the cause and the cure. It's being carried on all right but with lack of funds, lack of people, lack of real interest, lack of the very best that it should have," he said.

TB, for instance, depends for most of its income on the annual Christmas seal drive. Cancer, more and more brought into the open in recent years with its false stigma removed, has been most publicized by a newspaper columnist and, despite 5 years of almost daily plugging by him, only $5 million was raised. Cerebral palsy has only in recent years been brought to widespread attention in contribution campaigns, and heart disease, the Nation's greatest killer, also has been dramatized and publicized only fairly recently.

CUT AT HOBBY BEHEST

The Federal Government this year, after much haggling, backing and filling, voted about $59 million for medical research. Originally, the budget called for $70 million but this was cut to $44 million on recommendation of Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, new head of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Disagreeing, the Senate, increased this to $59 million.

Mrs. Hobby proposed the Federal budget for cancer research be reduced this year to $15,780,000, a cut of about $6,220,000 from the Truman budget.

But with Senator Taft dying, and three other Senators dead of cancer in the last 3 years—Wherry of Nebraska, Vandenberg of Michigan, and McMahon of Connecticut—Congress in the end voted $20,237,000 for cancer.

Which seems pathetic compared to the hundreds of millions of dollars voted and spent for research into new weapons such as the guided missile and the billions spent on atomic development, all but a fraction of which goes for weapons of unparalleled destruction.

HAUNT CAPITOL HILL

Battles like this have occurred before. It's nothing new. Dedicated believers in medical research have to haunt Capitol Hill to work for passage of research appropriations which are never really enough.

"God gave us dominion," Mr. Webb said. "Instead of turning this dominion to destructive ends, as we have so brilliantly and consistently done, why in God's name don't we take and exercise this dominoin for constructive purposes?"

On tuberculosis, Mr. Webb said that 90 percent of the money raised in fund drives goes for case findings, health education, and rehabilitation, leaving only 10 percent for actual research study.

"There are more than 87,000 TB patients in hospitals. There are 250,000 more known TB cases and 150,000 suspected cases.

"Since practically all people afflicted with TB cannot be gainfully employed, and figuring the cost of labor to care for them, you have a figure of wasted man-hours which is astronomical. Our Government cannot and should not allow this colossal waste to continue.

WOULD BE PAID

"Money that the Government would put into research under civilian control would not be an expense, but actually an investment which would pay off in real dollars before many years rolled by. It has been stated to me by people who should know that 25 years or more will be necessary in order to conquer TB with the present system of collecting money.

"It is reasonable to suppose that many years would be cut off this figure if more funds were available. Even 1 year cut off would pay the darnedest dividends ever dreamed for money invested," Mr. Webb said.

The same is true, he feels, of other killer diseases, and while he is not advocating a germ-free sterile nation or world, he does insist that unlimited research will solve more rapidly the terrible problems of cancer, polio, TB, and the others being unraveled so slowly today.

Referring again to Senator Taft, Mr. Webb is frank enough to say that it's uncertain whether if such a foundation had been created 6 months or even a year ago, the research in that time might have been enough to help Taft's condition. It's debatable—it could have helped, maybe cured, maybe spared him for America.

"A TERRIBLE THING"

At the very least, it couldn't have hurt.

"Senator Taft's passing was a terrible thing—terrible for this country.

"A Taft Foundation for the eradication of killer diseases on this earth would partially recompense all of us and then we could say that perhaps he didn't die in vain," Mr. Webb said.

Inquiry in Washington by the Standard-Times as to Federal appropriations for basic medical research brings out these facts:

The appropriations are allotted to the National Institutes of Health (NIH) under the Public Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, headed by Mrs. Hobby. NIH comprises a National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, National Cancer Institute, National Institute of Dental Research, National Heart Institute, National Institute of Mental Health, National Microbiological Institute, and National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

SOME POLIO WORK

The Government maintains no other separate medical-research foundations in these or other fields. NIH does some polio work in its Microbiological Institute, but less emphasis is placed on this field, spokesmen said, because of the vast private resources behind the nongovernmental Infantile Paralysis foundation.

NIH began to function, as such, in 1946. Basic research in the diseases with which it is concerned was carried on prior to that time, on a lesser scale, by the Public Health Service. Statistics for the period since 1946, which follow, show how the NIH field has grown from its initial concern with cancer.

Appropriated for the year ending June 30, 1954: NIH, $4,675,000; arthritis, $7 million; microbiology, $5,738,000; neurology, $4,500,000; cancer, $20,237,000; mental, $12,095,000; heart, $15,168,000; dental, $925,000; making a total of $70,338,000.

1953: NIH, $5,080,350; arthritis, $4,627,700; microbiology, $5,651,200; neurology, $1,973,300; cancer, $17,542,500; mental, $10,841,200; heart, $11,777,000; and dental, $724,000. Total, $58,217,250.

1952: NIH, $15,500,000; cancer, $19,500,000; mental, $10,518,987; heart, $10 million, and dental, $674,654. Total, $56,193,641.

1951: NIH, $14,313,900; cancer $20,086,000: mental, $9,505,000; heart, $14,200,000; and dental, $681,350. Total, $58,786,250.

1950: NIH, $12,075,000; cancer $18,900,000; mental, $11,612,000; heart, $10,725,000; dental, $582,229. Total, $53,894,229.

1949: NIH, $14,540,000; cancer, $14 million. No appropriations made specifically for heart, dental, and other categories. Total, $28,540,000.

1948: NIH, $10,126,000; cancer, $14,500,000. Total, $24,626,000.

1947: NIH, $5,966,948; cancer, $1,772,000. Total, $7,738,948.

1946: NIH, $2,866,000; cancer, $548,700. Total $3,414,700.

The military services—Army, Air Force, and Navy, as well as the Atomic Energy Commission, the Veterans' Administration, and the National Science Foundation, use some of their funds for medical research. Their research, however, is not of the basic nature of the work done by the National Institutes of Health.

Mexico Expects New Hiring Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of Friday, March 5, 1954:

MEXICO EXPECTS NEW HIRING PACT—UNITED STATES BILL ON BRACEROS STIRS CRITICISM—MUTUAL PLAN UNDER OFFICIAL STUDY

MEXICO CITY, March 4.—The Mexican Foreign Office announced today that no more than the drafting of details was required for a satisfactory completion of the new agreement to send migrant workers to the United States.

The announcement took note of passage yesterday of a bill authorizing the United States to hire Mexicans on the American side of the border irrespective of whether Mexico agrees. The Foreign Office implied, however, that it was Mexico's hope that the bill, which has been passed by the House of Representatives, after Senate amendment, and now requires only Presidential signature to become law, will not actually go on the books.

The measure has stirred intense anger among unofficial groups here. The only Mexico City newspaper—Novedades—that had time to comment on the word from Washington that the bill had passed, had this to say:

"The Republican Party has always used the policy of 'big stick.'"

Although it is considered here as virtually certain that President Eisenhower will sign the bill, the Mexican Government said in a statement that "Senate passage does not mean it is already a law." The Government attitude was thus felt to be fairly moderate since the agreement expected next week would make a dead letter of bills for a unilateral contracting provision.

AGREEMENT IS HOPED FOR

The official statement also said that "high Foreign Ministry officials are continuing talks with the United States Ambassador, Francis White, an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual respect, which has, at all times, taken account of our fundamental purpose of assuring satisfactory protection to Mexican workers who go to labor in the fields of the neighboring country."

The last agreement—providing for the contracting of 200,000 Mexicans a year to work on American farms—expired on January 15. Negotiations to renew this pact collapsed when Mexico refused to modify it to meet a demand by the United States for a free hand in setting wages and working conditions for the migrants—or braceros as they are known.

The United States then began to hire them on the American side of the border. This lasted only a short time because of the United States Comptroller General's ruling that funds could not be used in this way without specific congressional approval.

PROVISIONS IN THE NEW BILL

The new bill that has been spent to the White House provides both the funds and the authorization for the United States to hire braceros without Mexico's consent unless a new pact is signed.

The current negotiations for a hiring agreement started about 3 weeks ago.

Neither the Mexican Government nor the American Embassay would give any details as to the prospective new agreement. But indications are that it will be a compromise to satisfy basic Mexican demands, except for a provision that, in effect, would allow Mexican consuls to set minimum wages for the braceros.

The editorial in Novedades answered the thesis—supported spottily among American officials here—that a new agreement is now close to signature as a result of pressure exerted on Mexico by the introduction and passage of the unilateral contracting bill.

"It is foolish, sheer ignorance of what our country is, to imagine that a North American law, even though conceived, proposed, and approved to exercise undue pressure on decisions of our Government, can influence it to modify our position of legitimate defense of our citizens in favor of dealers in braceros—who seem to have forgotten they are compatriots of Lincoln," the Novedades editorial said. The newspaper continued that the law did not "favor the United States, but only these dealers in braceros."

Although much heated comment has been stirred here over the braceros' issue, the whole discussion is overshadowed by a sense of futility because of the wetbacks that are in the picture. Wetbacks are the illegal migrants who have no protection from anyone. They stream across the border at the rate of about five to each properly contracted bracero.

Two groups, however, are not different sets of people. They all are Mexican workers who, if they can't get across the border with certified documents and Government help, go through intense hardships to do so anyhow.

BILL SENT TO PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, March 4.—The House completed congressional action today on a bill to permit the United States to recruit Mexican farm workers at the border without Mexico's consent.

The measure now goes to the White House for President Eisenhower's signature. The House passed the measure earlier this week, but had to act again when the Senate made a minor change in the bill's wording.

The Views of an American Taxpayer in Opposition to the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note how the proposal that our Government muscles in on Canada's plans to build the St. Lawrence seaway is provoking serious thought in the ranks of American taxpayers, who, of course, will have to foot the bill.

To me as a Member of Congress, it is highly encouraging to have evidence that a large number of our citizens are not being hoodwinked by the propaganda of the steel lobby which is pressuring the seaway proposal.

I have here an analysis of this waterway proposition by a resident of Arkansas, which, to my mind, is one of the most objective and penetrating analyses that I have seen. I am especially interested in this communication because it refutes the claim that the opponents of the seaway take their stand on the narrow platform of sectional opposition, or are prompted by selfish aims.

This well-considered objection by Huey G. Huhn, of Rogers, Ark., is worthy of perusal by every Member of this body; it has great merit in its own right and is illustrative of opinion held by the man in the street.

Mr. Huhn's statement follows:

THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY

The question of whether or not our country should join in the improvement of the St. Lawrence is again before the Congress, so it is necessary to consider all phases of the project and to let the true facts determine our course of action.

There are many who do not know that the St. Lawrence is now navigable for vessels not over about 300 feet long. Ships flying the flags of Norway, Sweden, and Holland have for many years operated into the Great Lakes every season except during the war years. More recently a German flag line has begun operations. During the many years, however, no American flag line has even considered such an operation. They are simply unable to compete coastwise with the seaman's wages of our European competitors. This situation would hardly be changed by larger locks and deeper canals. Insofar as shipping is concerned, the benefits, if any, would accrue to foreign shipowners and not to American lines.

If the improved waterway brings lower shipping costs, and this is doubtful, we should carefully consider who will benefit from such reduced charges. Steamship lines can only be successful when they can attract low-grade, heavy volume cargo, such as steel billets, pipe, wood pulp, glass, etc. Wages in these and similar industries in Europe are very much lower than with producers of similar goods in the United States. This Europe is in position to ship such goods to our ports, meet and undercut the prices of American manufacturers, but we are unable to ship such goods to Europe. As to many of these goods we are not able to meet European competition in South America and other parts of the world. Our exports consist largely of high-grade goods where the freight is unimportant and where our skills in mass production pave the way.

Our inability to compete in the field of heavy goods is due to the lower European wage rates and not to any freight disadvantages. In the early twenties a company that is now one of the largest in its field in the United States of America, built a glass plant in Canada. It was modern in every respect, but after only a few years of operation it was closed and the machinery shipped back to this country. It simply found itself unable to live at the laid down (in Canada) prices on glass. No one has tried to manufacture window glass in Canada since.

European producers of heavy goods make prices that will give them what business they want, undercutting the American as much as is necessary to bring the desired tonnage. They can do this and still have a good margin of profit. This must make it very clear that savings if any, coming from an enlarged St. Lawrence Waterway will not accrue to the American buyer but will be taken into account by the European producer, who will continue to make his prices as he does at present. Should the volume of imports on any of these heavy commodities ever reach the point of dumping then American producers could meet the competition only with wage rates more nearly comparable with Europe, and by protective tariff and by having railroads reduce rates to inland cities like Chicago, Milwaukee, etc., even though such rates are now considered reasonable. In the past lines reaching the Atlantic seaboard and Gulf ports have been obliged to do this.

The foregoing it seems to me will make it clear that the benefits if any from an im-

proved waterway will accrue largely, if not entirely, to foreign producers and shipping interests and that American manufacturers and wage earners would suffer.

Those who favor the project have in recent years incorporated tolls in the proposal, claiming that the collection of tolls would pay interest and operating costs as well as amortization.

What the tolls will be no one ventures to say, nor is there any guaranty that politicians will not in future years ride into office on their promise to "free the country from St. Lawrence toll charges." Tolls, if made as high as the terrific costs of the project would dictate, would unquestionably shut out much traffic, and if based on what the traffic would bear, would not come anywhere near accomplishing the desired result. The talk of tolls is therefore a sop to Congressmen and others who are inclined to protect the taxpayers from this possible additional burden.

Estimates of the probable tonnage have been greatly overstated. This was brought out several years ago in a survey made in one of the Great Lake cities. Its chamber of commerce had for many years favored the project based on votes of the membership, including a large majority of professional men who presumed this would be a good thing for the city and voted accordingly. The survey in this, a heavy industry city, simply did not reveal any worthwhile potential tonnage.

In making estimates of so-called savings the proponents have not taken into consideration the fact that the competing eastern railroads may be obliged to completely change their present ratemaking methods. The country is by the law obligated to give the roads a reasonable return on their investment, so we simply could not take away any sizable tonnage and let it go at that. Any loss in revenue to St. Lawrence water carriers would mean an increase in the freight rates on livestock, perishables, and a long list of commodities which could not be shipped by water summer or winter. On commodities that the waterlines could handle we might well see a system of summer and winter rates, with the winter rates somewhat higher than the present standard all year round rates.

Only time would tell what this picture would look like, but this sort of readjustment must not be overlooked. It is a real problem that should be considered.

That the waterway is icebound for 5 months each year has already been brought out and it is not necessary to dwell on it here to any great extent. There would be no tolls in winter but operating costs would go on just the same.

The sad experience of the State of New York with its barge canal causes us to ask if the St. Lawrence Waterway would not be in the same category only worse, and involve every taxpayer in the United States of America instead of only those in the Empire State. If interest and other charges on the New York State barge canal were assessed against the freight instead of against the taxpayer the cost of shipping on this canal would be so high as to force its abandonment through lack of use.

When incurring any obligation the Federal Government must consider the weight of the national debt on all taxpayers and avoid all obligations that would tend to increase it. It must not be fooled by this talk of bonds and tolls, because the chances are so great that the bonds will go in default and the burden will finally fall on the people.

Should Canada care to go it alone, we should not be at all concerned, and we would save ourselves an awful lot of money. We might even approve the creation of a private corporation with authority to sell stocks and bonds to raise money to do the job. If we did that, however, we should make it clear that neither stocks or bonds are in any way guaranteed by our Government. We should in such event insist that the approval of the Security and Exchange Commission is first obtained.

If and after this approval is secured, the corporation could sell the paper to cities, States, corporations, and individuals who feel the waterway worthwhile. Handling in this manner would bring the waterway into being quicker, cheaper, and better than if it be handled as a Government undertaking. This it seems to me is the best answer to those who say that tolls will do the job. All buyers of these stocks should realize that in the event the investment fails to come up to expectations they and not the taxpayer will bear the loss.

Waste Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. J. CRUMPACKER, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial published on Monday, March 1, in the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune.

This editorial is entitled "Waste Abroad" and comments on the excellent work done by a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee headed by Mr. BOW, of Ohio, and including Mr. COON, of Oregon, and Mr. PRESTON, of Georgia, which investigated conditions in United States diplomatic establishments abroad.

The editorial follows:

Members of a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee who investigated conditions in some of our diplomatic establishments in foreign capitals must be credited with great restraint in their conclusion that "we have a right to look for a more efficient and economical operation." Far stronger language could have been used appropriately. In fact, some of the conditions found by the congressional investigators have Alice in Wonderland implications.

In our Embassy in Brussels, Belgium, the legislators found "new chairs so fancy that nobody would sit in them" and desks purportedly for stenographic use "so modernistic that there are no old-fashioned drawers." In the United States Embassy in London are "13 British tenants who get room service for meals." A residence bought for the United States Ambassador in Paris about 6 years ago, which cost American taxpayers $1,950,000, is described as worthless by the three Congressmen making up the subcommittee.

The sober conclusion of Representative FRANK T. BOW, Republican, of Ohio; Representative SAM COON, Republican, of Oregon; and Representative PRINCE H. PRESTON, Democrat, of Georgia, is that land and buildings bought by our State Department in various foreign countries exemplify "inexcusable inefficiency and gross extravagance." No wonder the new administration in Washington has made State Department economy one of its projects.

"Junketing" by Members of Congress at the taxpayers' expense has been increasingly criticized within the last year. The findings of the three members of this House Appropriations Subcommittee, however, suggest that their "junketing" was decidedly valuable for the taxpayers.

Attention, New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I recently wrote to all Members of the House from New England to suggest that they make known their views on tariff matters in advance of trade policy discussions by Congress. My inquiry was prompted by hearings of the Tariff Commission on duties to protect the American watch industry, but we who represent other sections of the country are equally concerned with tariffs applicable to leather goods, textiles, fish, lumber, bicycles, and other products of New England.

Last year when an attempt was made to enact legislation placing a quota limit on residual oil imports, New Englanders opposed such legislation on the ground that foreign residual oil can be purchased cheaper than coal on the east coast. The plight of the coal industry and miners adversely affected by excessive imports of residual oil was completely ignored.

I asked my colleagues from New England if representatives of coal-producing districts would be justified in opposing tariffs on watches, leather goods, fish, textiles, and other commodities produced in New England for the same selfish reason that a freer flow of these goods from other countries would result in lower prices to our people.

In reply, some of the Members of this legislative body have admitted that there is no reason for the disparity, and they have promised to give the matter their close consideration. I would be less than frank to neglect to mention that some Members have thus far failed to commit themselves on the question which I submitted for their views, but I trust that their silence is indication that they are cognizant of the inequity of our tariff laws and that they are giving thorough study to the problem.

Still other Members from New England, while expressing sympathy with our position, told me that they could not vote to restrict imports of residual oil because it would increase costs of heating fuel for their constituents. Mr. Speaker, nothing could be farther from the truth, and the gentlemen with whom I talked were astonished to learn that residual oil cannot—because of its specific gravity—be used in home heating. International oil companies have created the illusion through flagrant distortions of fact that this fuel could be used by householders and that any check on the quantity coming from foreign refineries would cause home-heating prices to rise. On the contrary, the tendency has been for the prices of home-heating oils, gasoline, and kerosene to rise with the decrease in residual oil prices—the reason being that importing companies can manipulate the prices of high-grade products upward in order to absorb any revenue drop that comes with price cutting on residual.

Residual oil is what remains after the better products have been taken from the crude. It may be likened to the fishmeal that remains after the New England fishing industry has removed the filets and oils from the day's catch. Fishmeal is not the principally desired product of that industry, and its price can be dropped to a point of for-free if there is sufficient gross from the other products.

Residual oil is used primarily by electric power utilities and industrial plants. Fuel makes up only about 20 percent of the total cost in the determination of electricity rates, the bulk of the costs being attributable to capital investment, operation, and distribution. In industrial plants, the ratio of fuel costs is appreciably smaller. Thus the consumer does not realize much of a savings, if any, through slightly reduced fuel costs for the utility or manufacturer. This factor should be entirely academic, however, since there is no more justification for buying foreign products at the expense of America's industries and workers than there is for our admitting foreign goods destructive to the Down East industries.

New Englanders cannot in conscience demand protection for their industries and refuse the same consideration to those of other sections of the country. They cannot look upon the existing double standard for United States trade policies as crafty Yankee trading. At least, they cannot do so and at the same time adhere to the philosophy of equality and justice for all, and I am confident that our colleagues who represent the good people of New England will concur when they broaden their perspective to include the imports problem in its entirety.

James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, November 21, 1953, written by Mr. John L. de Noyelles, concerning Mr. James A. Farley. The confusion which characterizes the days in which we live give rise to loose accusations which, upon careful examination and second thought, are neither true nor consistent with the need to maintain integrity in high public office, and as a case in point, I wish to bring this letter to the attention of my colleagues:

EDITOR, PLAIN DEALER.

SIR: I read with considerable interest a letter from Mr. Norton E. Long printed in your issue of November 15, in which Mr. Long deplored Attorney General Brownell's insinuations directed at ex-President Truman as politically inspired.

While Mr. Long apparently intended to decry the reckless defamation of the reputations of those who have served our country in high office, in his final paragraph he says: "There may be a place for a Farley as Postmaster General; there can be no place for a Farley at the head of the Department of Justice."

Long implies that former Postmaster General Farley was morally unqualified to be entrusted with the Justice Department. He thereby shows himself to be either appallingly ignorant of the man Farley or his public record or completely lacking in a sense of justice.

James A. Farley's conduct during his public career did more to raise the public esteem for the profession of politics than any event since Henry Clay's abnegation of the Presidency. He discharged the politically suicidal task of dispensing the greatest mass of patronage in our history with a scrupulous regard for the interest of the public and both political parties. His only enemies were the reckless and ruthless machine bosses bent on prostituting public offices for their selfish interests.

Farley's place in the public's esteem is best illustrated by the high regard in which he is held by the great men of his time. I know of no living public figure of historical stature who, having known James A. Farley, would be other than eager to testify to his greatness as a man and a public servant.

We hope that Norton Long will, upon further reflection, regret the use of the name of a great American as a synonym for those who pervert public office for political advantage.

JOHN L. DE NOYELLES.

LAKEWOOD.

In Self-Protection, the United States Must Reassess Its Policy Toward Those Who Claim Right of Unrestricted Ingress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, sufficient time has elapsed since last Monday's unspeakably fantastic attack upon the House for a calm evaluation of the circumstances which made such a situation possible. A solution to this problem must be reached before further damage is done to our internal security.

In this connection, the Nashville Tennessean has come forward with a possible recommended solution to the Nation's need for reassessing our immigration policy. I ask that an excellent and timely editorial entitled "Guard the Gates More Closely," which appeared in the Tennessean on March 3, last, be reproduced in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

GUARD THE GATES MORE CLOSELY

In sheer self-protection, the United States henceforth must reassess its policy toward those from outside its boundaries who claim the right of unrestricted ingress.

This is indeed the citadel of freedom, but when privileges are so brazenly abused, there must be a stopping place.

The second outbreak of Puerto Rican terrorism in Washington, the most startling outbreak of its kind in the Nation's history, certainly cannot be blamed on the San Juan government which is representative of a people who have repeatedly rejected full independence. But the commonwealth status it enjoys breeds much trouble at home, and that in turn has led to intolerable excesses by fanatical Puerto Rican nationalists in the United States.

Reviewing the past, we can understand the tragic mistake of permitting hordes of Puerto Ricans to invade the United States with no examination of their fitness for residence. Among their number are the wild men and women who seek to gain their revolutionary objectives by "liquidation" of American leaders to whom their little country actually owes a vast debt of gratitude.

For the better element in the island wrested from Spanish dictatorship and set on its feet as a going concern—with independence to be had whenever it is wanted—this is a tragic development. But since there seems to be no control over the revolutionaries at home, the problem is one that will have to be met and solved by the United States.

Having found that it is dangerous to open wide the ports of entry, far-reaching policy changes are in order. The problem presented by the commonwealth island also has a direct connection with the Territories, and especially Hawaii with its polyglot population, heavy Japanese infiltration, and a reportedly active pro-Communist element.

Just as statehood for Puerto Rico would be unthinkable under present conditions, the question arises as to what benefits the United States would derive from extending to Hawaii's population all the rights and privileges that would result from statehood.

When American attention is focused on the need of elimination of the difficulties and dangers that now exist, it should think a long time before compounding the threat.

As for Puerto Rico, the proposal has already been made that it be given early independence as a means of cutting off the blanket visiting privileges of its nationals. That would be one way of meeting the situation, though it would not apply to Territorial Hawaii or still undeveloped Alaska. America's people, bearing a heavy tax load to keep Puerto Rico's economic head above water, would not be averse to such a clear-cut solution.

Having been an American charge since the war with Spain, the island discovered by Columbus has been a continuous source of concern. Its extremists of Latin blood have now become a menace, and though the ones now under arrest surely will be punished, we do not know how far this conspiracy extends. Swift deportation of all suspected persons would help to relieve the situation, and if laws to that end do not now exist they should be speeded along.

More important still is the need of plugging loopholes which permit unchallenged entry of criminals and fanatics who nurse such a deep grievance against a benefactor nation.

The United States finds itself dutybound to be far more selective in its immigration policy, and the blame lies exclusively with those who have mistaken our tolerance for weakness or stupidity.

We have learned the hard way, but now we better know the answers.

Profit Then and Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert here a prophecy of 1930 and one of 1953 by the same individual, dealing with the prophecy of a recession, de-

pression, or economic adjustment, or whatever better title you may have:

The economic maladjustment of this period will without a doubt be ironed out before many months have elapsed. (W. Randolph Burgess, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, June 1930.)

Question. Do you think we are in a recession at the moment, Mr. Burgess, or an adjustment or what?

Answer. I think we are in a period of readjustment. I don't see any clear evidence that it's more than that. (W. Randolph Burgess, Deputy to the Secretary of the Treasury; interview in U. S. News & World Report, December 1953.)

A True Understanding of Brotherhood Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, today is the 165th anniversary of the convening of the first session of the First Congress of the United States. By the standard of the measure of lives of human beings that is a long time. It has been a record filled with much of which we are justifiably proud. It has in it a minimum of the sordid, selfish, and base.

We have witnessed this week a great example of maturity by the Members of Congress. Early on the first legislative day of the week, the House was subjected to a lethal attack of gunfire unknown heretofore in the history of the Congress. In other years of the Congress of our country this might have been a signal for revenge against the people of Puerto Rico and disciplinary action against their government.

It was not so here. On the next day when our colleague, the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, came to the well of the House to express regret and condolence for himself and the people of his homeland, the membership spontaneously arose as an expression of understanding and good will toward him and the good people of Puerto Rico. It was evidence that the membership of the House did not believe that these irrational and fanatical individuals who attempted to murder indiscriminately the Representatives and Delegates of the Congress were expressing the will of the government of the people of Puerto Rico.

A little later in the day the distinguished Governor of Puerto Rico, Hon. Muñoz-Marín, appeared at the Capitol and by invitation came to the floor of the House. Even before a reception line could be formed by the Speaker, the membership crowded forward to accept his words of regret and sympathy, and to assure him of their understanding that this outrage against the peace and dignity of Congress and the constituents whom they represent was not the will of the government or the vast majority of the people of the Commonwealth which he represents.

The most perfect expression, however, of understanding and maturity and genuine good will came when our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. BENTLEY] from his hospital bed asked the Chaplain of the House to pray for those persons who had so recently placed him on the very threshold of death. This spirit of understanding was further reflected when the wives of our five hospitalized colleagues had lunch with the gracious wife of the Governor of Puerto Rico on the day after their husbands had been so seriously wounded.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am proud indeed to be a citizen of such a country and a Member of a deliberative body which has Members with that kind of maturity, understanding, and genuine belief in the principles of true justice. These acts have shown to the world that our understanding of justice is the punishment of the guilty in fact, not a guilt arrived at by association, nationality, language, religion, race, color, or political subdivision. There could be no better example of a true understanding of Brotherhood Week than this.

On this the 165th anniversary of the first session of the First Congress of the United States this House of Representatives has been tested anew and I believe it has shown itself worthy of its responsibilities and great traditions.

Unity and Brotherhood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Kearny (N. J.) Observer under date of February 25, 1954:

UNITY AND BROTHERHOOD

A united country is a strong country. Cordial relations between the various segments of our population tend to promote and reinforce national unity.

No one would be happier than Soviet Russia if the Catholics, Protestants, and Jews of the United States could be brought to hate and distrust one another. It is a foremost objective of the Communists to stir up antagonisms and sow seeds of discord among the major religious groups.

Since Communists have no use for religion, they despise members of all religious faiths. Persons of a religious turn of mind are not likely to become robotlike and obedient comrades, for communism decries the dignity and worth of the individual, and the belief that every soul has a right to worship as he pleases.

Brotherhood Week, by contrast, is based on this concept. Members of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths who observe this week annually, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, are determined that good will among the various faiths shall be promoted, and that those who seek to stir up strife among these groups shall be fought with every legitimate means.

It is fortunate that our domestic agencies devoted to the promotion of strife and hatred seem to be either dead or on the way out. Such organizations as the Silver Shirts appear to have vanished entirely, and the Ku Klux Klan is almost on its last legs, with a number of its leaders and members in jail.

By contrast, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, with headquarters in New York and regional offices all over the United States, celebrated its 25th anniversary last year, and is becoming increasingly influential.

Brotherhood Week should remind us of the essential objectives for which the conference stands, and should cause us all to strive for a more complete realization of these objectives.

One Hundred and Fourth Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas G. Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to take this occasion to pay tribute to the memory of one whom I consider among the greatest statesmen of recent times.

Sunday, March 7, is the 104th anniversary of the birth of Thomas G. Masaryk.

As the founder of the Czechoslovak Republic Thomas Masaryk established into fixed reality the spirit of freedom so long a tradition among his people. He carved into the foundation of that nation the ideals of democracy and independence that guided it through its difficult early days of statehood.

As the father of the Czechoslovak Republic, his memory is venerated not only by the oppressed people of Europe, but by the entire free world. The idea to which he dedicated his life, and his endeavors in behalf of freedom serve as a beacon of hope for the millions behind the Iron Curtain who yearn for liberty and for deliverance from tyranny.

But the memory of Thomas Masaryk cannot be claimed for the people of Europe alone. For like his close friend and American colleague of that period, our own President Woodrow Wilson, Thomas Masaryk dreamed and worked for universal brotherhood and charity among men and advocated tirelessly the ideals of international cooperation. While both Thomas Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson were devoted patriots of their native countries, they shared a deep-rooted understanding that there was no contradiction between devotion to country and a dedication to the ideals of international cooperation and of mutual striving for solutions to world problems. They both knew and understood that no country could live in peace, freedom, and security while aggression, tyranny, and dictatorship existed any place in the world.

In paying tribute to Thomas Masaryk we pay homage to a man who guided

himself by those very principles of freedom and human dignity which have made our own country so great. So long as those principles of freedom and democracy thrive in any part of this universe, the oppressed peoples of the world can continue to hope that some day these ideas shall once again prevail in their country.

Congress Checks on "Giveaway"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an article by Lowell Mellett of the Washington Evening Star dated Tuesday, February 23, 1954, which sets forth the fine work of Congressman MELVIN PRICE, of Illinois, in helping to defeat the bill on the timber giveaway. I should also like to commend Congressman MAGNUSON of Washington, Congressman BROOKS of Texas, Congressman METCALF of Montana, and Congressman GAVIN of Pennsylvania, who also were very effective in protecting the interest of the people of the United States and their national forests.

The article follows:

CONGRESS CHECKS ON "GIVEAWAY"—BILL DESIRED BY LARGE TIMBER OPERATORS COMES A CROPPER IN HOUSE; NATIONAL FORESTS PROTECTED BY DECISIVE VOTE

(By Lowell Mellett)

Some reason to believe that Congress may be disposed to curb the giveaway tendencies of the present administration was offered in the House of Representatives last week. In any case, the House curbed itself in that respect in a matter vitally affecting the national forests.

Before the House was a bill which provided that when any Government agency buys land from a private lumber company the company must be given timberland of equal value in the same area. The theory behind the proposal is that Government purchase or condemnation of timberland—for flood control, reclamation, powerlines, military posts, and other purposes—sometimes interferes with a sustained-yield operation of the company. Sustained-yield operations are largely limited to companies with immense holdings.

The bill, a joint effort of Representative ELLSWORTH and Senator CORDON, of Oregon, had been favorably reported by the Interior Committee and granted a rule by the Rules Committee. It ran into opposition on the floor that gradually grew into a storm. The debate lasted for the greater part of 2 days. The final vote was 226 to 161 to recommit the bill, in effect killing it, at least for this session.

One of the principal objections to the bill was that it would seriously curtail the power of the United States Forest Service to protect the national forests.

"Who finally decides whether or not the transfer would be in the public interest?" Representative PRICE, Democrat, of Illinois, demanded. "Not the Forest Service. No; it can exercise absolutely no veto power under the provisions of this bill. The final decision would be made by the land-taking agency; usually this would be the Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. There is the loophole. It is wide enough to drive a sawmill through crossways."

Mr. PRICE said further: "There is growing evidence that this is an administration bent on distributing our national resources to private interests. Most of the blessings are based on actions which do not come directly to the attention of Congress. They come around through changes in policy here and there in the executive departments, in new interpretations of law, in new rulings of regulatory agencies such as the Federal Power Commission. But, perhaps unfortunately for their purposes, this little group of powerful timber operators had to come to Congress to get what they want. If we had been awaiting evidence that special interests regard the present climate in Washington as favorable to giveaways, this is it."

An interesting point was made by Representative MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington. "This bill," he said, "transfers to the large operator the valuable mineral rights below the ground as well as the timber above it." And, he said, there would be no guarantee that the land would continue as part of a sustained-yield operation. It could be denuded of its timber, he said, or sold to another operator for that purpose.

One of the most revealing exchanges occurred between Representative GAVIN, Pennsylvania, Republican, and Representative HOWARD SMITH, Virginia, Democrat, who was defending the bill. Mr. GAVIN argued that under present law the Forest Service could lease land to a private company desiring to continue a sustained-yield operation. "Now," he said, "you want an exchange. You want the land."

"The gentleman," said Mr. SMITH, "is going on the assumption that we can get along with the Forest Service. I have had a great deal of trouble in getting along with them."

Let Us Think, Decide, and Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson on February 24, 1954, addressed a meeting in New York City which was jointly sponsored by the Coordinating Committee of the Food Industries, Grange League Federation, Northeastern Poultry Producers Council, and the National Wholesale Frozen Food Distributors Association. His speech was entitled "Let Us Think, Decide, and Act" and very graphically portrays the many problems created by the huge surpluses of farm commodities presently held in Government warehouses. He breaks these surpluses down into terms of what it means to each family in America. He also states that it is our individual and collective responsibilities to help solve this economic crisis and insure that farmers and consumers alike receive 100 cents on the dollar for their investment in this Government program to support farm prices.

I commend this speech to all of my colleagues as "must" reading before we undertake any legislation dealing with agricultural problems for the coming fiscal year:

It is a privilege and a signal honor to join with you of the food industries of New York and the members of some of the Nation's largest farm organizations in this great tribute to agriculture. And it is fitting that we should unite in this tribute here in the biggest consumer market in the world.

My fellow Americans, I am happy to have this opportunity to talk with you about our business—yours and mine. Whether or not we all realize it, we are in business—together. Our stockholders are 40 million families. Our investment totals many billions of dollars. We have vast stocks of merchandise—and they are growing day by day. I'm talking about the huge surpluses your Government has had to acquire to support farm prices.

Most of you perhaps do not realize how much you personally have tied up in this business of ours. Let me illustrate:

If you are the breadwinner in a family of 4 persons, your family share of wheat either owned or under loan by our business is enough to make more than 1,000 loaves of bread.

Your family's share of the cotton owned or under loan is enough to make 88 shirts, or 72 housedresses.

Your share of corn, owned or under loan, is enough to provide your family with pork and pork products for over 4 months.

Your share of the butter we own would supply your family's normal requirements for 10½ weeks.

Your share of cheese is enough to supply your family for 11 weeks.

Your share of vegetable oils is enough to supply your family's requirements of margarine for 10 months.

And besides all this, we have stocks of tobacco, wool, soybeans, barley, oats, grain sorghums, and other commodities.

Yes; your family and my family and every family in this country is in the food and fiber business—and in a very substantial way.

As stockholders in this business you can, and you should, take a keen interest in the way your investment is managed. I am convinced that you do. That's why I am going to talk with you tonight just as frankly as I possibly can about the condition of this business of ours—about the problems it faces—about the solutions for those problems that have been proposed by our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Now what is the condition of our food and fiber business? What are its strengths? What are its weaknesses?

American farmers have done—and are doing—a magnificent job of production. The average American farmer turns out enough food and fiber for himself and 17 other persons. Except for that fact, we would not be the mighty Nation we are today.

Suppose the average American farmer today could produce only enough for himself and 3 or 4 others persons as was once the case? Where would we look for the manpower, the inventive genius, and the management to build our transportation industry, to mill our steel, to raise up our cities, to generate our electricity, to mine our coal, to float our ships, to fly our planes, indeed, to defend our very way of life?

Let us never forget that agriculture is our most basic industry—let us always remember that it contributes mightily to all the advantages we take for granted today.

But though farmers, year after year, work production miracles, they are not now receiving the fair share of the national income they deserve.

Surely we would all agree that farmers are entitled to a fair return on their labor and investments. Does any economic group contribute more to our national welfare?

Yet what do we find?

Farm people make up 15 percent of our total population—but farm income last year was only 5 percent of the total national income.

Such a situation is not good for America. The well-being and security of our people, as President Eisenhower has said, require a stable and prosperous agriculture.

Too much reliance has been placed on the present program of rigid price supports.

The American people have been told that rigid supports are needed to help agriculture do its job—that rigid supports will promote prosperity—that rigid supports will foster efficiency—that rigid supports will produce the kind of abundance the Nation needs.

My fellow Americans, we have been sold a defective bill of goods.

Rigid price supports do not promote prosperity. The Government has an investment of almost $7 billion in price support operations. Yet farm income last year in terms of purchasing power was lower than in any year since 1940. Is this the way to promote prosperity?

Rigid supports do not foster efficiency. Is it efficient to price commodities out of their markets? Is it efficient to maintain artificial demands for crops that drain the fertility from our soils? Is it efficient to destroy the natural relationship between feed and livestock prices? Is it efficient to force upon agriculture the diversion of 25 million acres of cotton, wheat, and corn in a single year?

Such a cutback in production affects the whole economy. It can be reflected in less business in farm machinery, oil, gas, fertilizer, seeds, and chemicals. It can mean less farm demand for trucks, for transportation, for processing plants, for storage, and for wholesale and retail facilities.

It affects you.

Rigid supports do not provide the kind of abundance America needs for a peacetime economy.

Does it contribute to the kind of abundance consumers need when we must gather together in warehouses mountains of corn—over 650 million bushels; mountains of wheat—more than 900 million bushels; mountains of cotton—nearly 8½ million bales; vast quantities of butter—more than a quarter billion pounds; and huge amounts of vegetable oils—over a billion pounds? We must have reserves—but these accumulations are far beyond reasonable reserves. They are a gigantic weight upon the backs of farmers and taxpayers.

Is this true abundance? No—abundance must be used. Otherwise, it is not abundance at all. It is waste—it is bad management—it is a misuse of land and labor that cries to heaven for correction.

We must have an improved program. We must have a program that will do a better job of protecting farm income. We must have a program that will truly promote efficiency in agriculture. We must have a program that will serve producers and consumers by using our abundance.

Abundance must be a reservoir serving the people's needs—not a stagnant pool, the breeding place of depressed markets.

The President has proposed a program that will work for the benefit of farmers, consumers, business, and all of America. Let me quickly summarize the main parts of the President's proposals.

He recommends that price supports be adjustable or variable, rather than rigid, beginning January 1, 1955.

He proposes that all price-supported commodities be placed on a fair and comparable basis by applying the new or modernized parity formula to all of them beginning January 1, 1956. To make sure that the changeover to modernized parity would be gradual the change in parity level would be limited to not more than five percentage points per year.

He urges that up to $2½ billion worth of the present excess reserves of wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly some dairy products, be frozen, or insulated, or set aside from the market in order to give the new program a chance to work. Meantime, through trade missions and other efforts to develop larger market outlets at home and abroad, we would seek continued economic growth for the entire food industry.

The President requests that the borrowing authority of the CCC be raised from the present level of $6¾ billion to $8½ billion.

He urges greater attention to the problems of smaller farm operators.

This is a program, my fellow Americans, for dealing realistically with our surpluses. It is a program to use abundance, not just store it away in warehouses where with every tick of the clock the danger of spoilage grows. The cost of storage mounts and the depressing effect on markets increases.

Abundance is here, and it is likely here to stay. Let's be realistic about dealing with it. Corn crops of 3 billion bushels, wheat crops of 1 billion bushels, high yields of cotton, soybeans, small grains, and other commodities cannot be relegated to the past, and nobody who believes in the future of America would ever hope they could be.

We can no more turn back the hands of the clock in agriculture than we can retreat to the era of the tandem bicycle.

We must plan for the age in which we live. We must learn to live with abundance. Abundance is an opportunity. It is a blessing. We need only to use it wisely. This is the real significance of the President's program.

You are particularly interested, no doubt, in that phase of the program which emphasizes markets. Let me assure you that the set-asides of wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly dairy products should not interfere with normal markets. We do not intend to dump our surpluses anywhere, either at home or abroad. But we do intend to work with utmost vigor to cut them down to manageable size.

We have two objectives in the field of foreign agricultural trade. First, we want to move into foreign use a substantial part of our present surpluses, but let me repeat, we will do this without interfering with normal channels of trade. Second, we want to build a permanently stronger world market for our farm products.

The President has asked the Congress for authority to move up to $1 billion worth of CCC holdings into foreign use over a 3-year period. This would help us to strengthen the economies of friendly countries. It would make more effective our general program of economic and technical assistance. To carry out this program we will need the help of many citizen groups and various relief organizations, both secular and religious.

We have seen again and again that food can be a tremendous force for good. We have seen it in Pakistan where we are sending a million tons of wheat to break a famine.

We have seen it in Bolivia, in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and in Libya where we have also provided thousands of tons of wheat.

We saw it in East Germany last summer. Nearly a million eastern zone Germans defied the police and the Russian Army. They crossed the line to pick up 5½ million food packages provided by the United States.

We saw it in some 20 countries last Christmas when 4 million food packages were distributed to the needy.

To get around the problems of foreign currencies, in recent months we have been selling surplus farm commodities to friendly countries in exchange for local currencies, rather than dollars. By next June 30 we estimate these sales may total more than $200 million.

We have contracted for donation to private welfare agencies for overseas use about 150 million pounds of butter, cheese, and nonfat dry milk.

In all these actions we seek the welfare of the American people as well as good will abroad.

Here is a further example. As you know, our Government is building a number of military bases overseas. We hope to be able to pay for some of this work with surplus agricultural commodities.

We are building airbases in Spain. We have had encouraging conferences about the possibility of paying for part of the work in this manner. The commodities would not necessarily be shipped to Spain. They could be shipped to other western European countries which, in turn, would agree to carry out part of the necessary construction work.

We are working even harder—because it is more important—on the job of building better, long-time world markets for normal trade in our farm commodities.

Trade missions will leave soon for Europe, Asia, and Latin America. They will explore the immediate possibilities of expanding world trade for our agriculture. They will include people from private trade. We want to strengthen the regular channels of trade. We are determined to lessen, not increase, Government participation. We hope that this exploratory work will be aggressively followed up by private trade groups. In the Department of Agriculture we want to help, not dictate. We want to assist private industry, not take over.

We are also sending commodity specialists into world marketing areas We want to know all that can be learned about the com- into world marketing areas. We want to plore all the marketing opportunities. We want to smooth the economic and diplomatic paths over which our exports move. But we want private industry to promote, expand, and build markets with your Department of Agriculture assisting as the servant and not the master of industry.

We must remember that every country has its own food preferences. For example, in south India a few years ago the local government found it could not get enough rice to meet the people's needs. Rice was very expensive. Wheat was cheaper and it was available. But the people were not in the habit of eating wheat. The women didn't know how to cook it. At the request of the local government, nutrition experts employed a group of girls and women to demonstrate how wheat could be cooked. The women of south India learned how to use wheat to fill out their diets. This illustrates the kind of problems our trade must face. We will do all we can to help by uncovering facts about the traditions, customs, and trade problems of foreign people.

We are working very closely with the network of 60 United States agricultural attachés and officers who are stationed abroad. The Department is going to be the eyes and ears of American agriculture throughout the world.

We are going to help private industry do business with the many countries where governments either transact business or completely control it.

This administration is pledged to use its influence in getting other nations to remove import controls and exchange restrictions.

We will help agriculture and industry produce food and fiber of the highest quality.

And the President has proposed a farm program that will go a long way toward enabling our wheat, cotton, and other export crops to meet the prices of their world competitors.

I make this promise to you: We in the Department of Agriculture are going to do a

more aggressive job to help the private commercial trade expand foreign markets for American farm products than has ever been done before.

I want to say in passing that the foreign outlook for our agricultural commodities is getting brighter. Exports for the 6 months July through December 1953 were slightly above the same period in 1952.

Now, we all realize that while the export market is important the big market for agriculture is right here at home. I'm sure I don't need to tell you that we are going to work to the limit of our capacity to build bigger and better American markets for food and fiber.

We have here a rapidly growing market—a population that has recently been increasing by more than 2½ million every year.

We have here a market that is only partly tapped. It is a responsive market. Our experience with beef last year proved that. Aggressive marketing and cooperation between agriculture, industry, and Government raised consumption to an all-time high of about 75 pounds per person.

In a recent year the average city family ate 2.4 pounds of meat per person per week. But 20 percent of city families that same year ate less than 1½ pounds of meat per person per week. That's what I mean when I say the market here at home is only partly tapped.

So far as averages are concerned, the diet of the American people looks pretty good. But we know that out people and our doctors are becoming increasingly concerned about obesity. In many cases this means that some people are eating too much of the wrong kinds of food. There's an educational job to be done—and who is in a better position to do it than the food marketer?

We know also that many families have diet deficiencies. In 1948, for example, 29 percent of all city families were using less than a pint of milk or its equivalent per person per day. Adults should have at least a pint a day; children and pregnant and nursing mothers should have a quart. Adolescents need plenty of milk; yet we know that teen-age girls often skimp on milk, falsely thinking this is necessary to be slender.

Two city families out of five in 1948 were not getting the recommended amounts of calcium. One out of five families in the Nation had less than adequate amounts of ascorbic acid, thiamine, riboflavin, and niacin. All these are essential to good nutrition.

Milk is a great source of calcium, and nearly one-third of the city families were not averaging a pint per person per day.

Citrus fruits and tomatoes are fine sources of ascorbic acid. Almost one-third of the city families in the spring of 1948 were using less than 2 pounds of citrus fruit and tomatoes per person per week. At least 2¼ pounds is recommended.

Thirty percent of the city families were using fewer than 5 eggs per person per week.

Some of these dietary deficiencies are due, of course, to low incomes. We know that those families whose incomes rose relatively between 1942 and 1948 bought more milk, meat, poultry, fish, and citrus fruit. Prosperity is the greatest market expander of all. And we must all work together to maintain prosperity.

But education about food is important, too, and it is up to the food industry to do more of it. We need more education about food, both for good health and for good business.

The trend toward the meat-type hog is very important. We need, as a Nation, to move toward consuming more lean meat, more milk, more poultry and eggs, more of certain fruits and vegetables.

The job of building markets, as you business people well know, is not simply to get everybody to use more. It's a task of pinpointing educational campaigns toward those who can really use more of a particular product. We must know where the markets are. We must concentrate on the best selling points.

For example, we know quite a lot about the market for milk—we know that low-income families use less than high-income families—that families with adults only use less per person than families with children—that women consume less than men—older women less than younger women. We know also that appeals to teen-agers can be made on the basis of good looks, to older women on the basis of fashion, to many on the basis of health.

We know that in institutions where food costs must be kept low, the diet often skimps milk. Nonfat dry milk offers great possibilities for improving these diets. Some of these institutions have learned that fact and are acting on it.

We know, too, that price is important. Last week we announced that the support price on dairy products will be lowered April 1 to 75 percent of parity. We hope this will lead to increased consumption. In the long run this action will prove a benefit to the dairy industry.

I believe it is obvious that the administration's program is directly related to our present food requirements. It will help put our abundance into use. It will promote needed production adjustments. It will serve consumers and producers alike.

Why there is such reluctance in some quarters to face this price support question realistically is a great mystery. It would be different if the administration were asking for some complete departure in farm legislation.

Actually what we recommend is largely what the 80th and 81st Congresses enacted into law in 1948 and 1949.

With what we recommend as regards variable price supports is what the Department of Agriculture itself proposed in 1947. It is what our former occupant of the White House strongly urged in the spring of 1948.

The day before yesterday the country celebrated George Washington's birthday. It is 165 years since Washington traveled from Mount Vernon to New York City where he took the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

He was 7 days on that journey—a trip that today takes less than 1 hour's flying time.

This progress is something to marvel at. It symbolizes the amazing advances the American people have made in the material aspects of living.

There is no other land on the face of the earth such as our land. We have so much for which to be eternally grateful. Our scholastic, social, religious, business, and agricultural opportunities are without parallel.

A Russian worker, for example, has to labor over 5½ hours to buy the same amount of bread, potatoes, beef, butter, sugar, milk, and eggs that we in this country can obtain for 1 hour's work.

In 1946 I visited 13 countries of Europe. I saw thousands of refugees who had been driven from their once happy homes to destinations unknown. I visited some of their new living quarters—their shacks—where as many as 22 persons were living in 1 room; 4 complete families. It is heartrending to see people who have lost their freedom. This must never happen here.

We must be strong enough to prevent it—strong in every segment of our economy.

My fellow Americans, you have a vital stake in this program to strengthen agriculture. You are in the food and fiber business—the Government food and fiber business. Its re-ing financed with American dollars. Its results—good or bad—are charged up against the American people.

There is not a business in this country—whether on Broadway or Fifth Avenue or Main Street—that will not be affected by the success or failure of our farm programs.

The American people are entitled to a hundred cents on the dollar for their investment—and it is our determination to see that they get it—and I mean farmers and consumers alike.

I challenge you to throw still more of your resources into this battle. I challenge you to do your utmost to help our people understand the importance of this farm problem.

Help our people to think—decide—and act. With the blessing of a kind providence, we will act—and act wisely.

The Numbers Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, we have all been interested in the numbers game which the administration has played in recent weeks. Various representatives of the administration have claimed that 1,456 subversives were rooted out of the Government. Then we heard it was 2,200 Communists. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission has now said that only about 400 people who have been separated from the Government payroll either by resignation or dismissal had something subversive in their files. But he is unable to tell us how many were actually separated for this reason. He does not even know how many of those who resigned had knowledge of the fact that there was adverse information in their files. He has further stated that he cannot assert that a single person was fired because he was considered disloyal.

Part of this confusion obviously results from a calculated attempt to confuse the American people for political purposes. However, it also results from the fact that the administration has no set standard, no clearly discernible criteria as to what constitutes a disloyal person and what makes a person otherwise unsuitable for Federal employment.

On February 8 this year a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations questioned Mr. Elbert P. Tuttle, General Counsel of the Treasury Department, as to the standards used by that Department of the Government in labeling a person a security risk. His incredible answer violates every concept of fairness, every tenet of law. He stated that a person may be dismissed as a security risk if the trier of the facts—whoever this may be—finds that the employee "has frailties of character"; or "has committed acts"—whatever that means—or "is related in some way to external things that can put him under pressure." He then expressed the unbelievable idea that a person can be dismissed as a security risk if he has relatives behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Speaker, there are very few Americans who have no relatives abroad or who are not related, at least remotely, to people who live in foreign countries. It was, therefore, quite understandable that the Honorable ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,

a repected Member of this House whose record of service to his country, not only as a Member of Congress but as an officer of the armed services, attests to his devotion to the United States, answered Mr. Tuttle as he did.

Mr. SIEMINSKI's eloquent remarks state clearly what these vague standards of condemnation can do. He challenged Mr. Tuttle, for instance, to state whether by this program he indicts the loyalty of the 6 million Americans of Polish descent. He asked whether innumerable Americans who have served and continue to serve our country are to be labeled as security risks because of their relationship to people who are forced to live behind the Iron Curtain oppressed by Communist tyranny.

Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following transcript of the exchange between Mr. Tuttle and Mr. SIEMINSKI at the hearing held by the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations on February 8:

Mr. TUTTLE. May I read that, showing the different standards:

"The investigations conducted pursuant to this order shall be designed to develop information as to whether the employment or retention in employment in the Federal service of the person being investigated is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security."

This is section 8 (a). And may I point out what I consider to be the difference. Under the old program unless the trier of the facts determined that the employee was disloyal, that he had immediate thoughts in his mind of being disloyal to the United States, he could not be dismissed. But now if the trier of the facts finds the employee has frailties of character or has committed acts or is related in some way to external things that can put him under pressure that may make him responsive to foreign influences or influences harmful to the United States, he may be dismissed. A man may be a rugged individual and never intend to give in, but he may have a mother behind the Iron Curtain, and it would be a terrible thing to say that person is a security risk because of a subversive contact. That is why we do not break these down as to subversives and others, although in such a case it is a subversive contact that may ultimately make him dangerous.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. When was that passed?

Mr. TUTTLE. This Executive order was dated April 27, 1953, effective May 27, 1953.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. If the whistle blew today, who do you think would be among the most loyal Americans to throw the Reds out of Poland?

Mr. TUTTLE. I am not an expert in that field, but the American Poles would be my guess.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. O. K. Who were the most loyal people from Hawaii while their relatives were in compounds behind wire in this country? The nisei.

Mr. TUTTLE. I was raised in Honolulu with nisei and I agree with you.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. For the last 7 years I had a stepdaughter behind the Iron Curtain. She broke out this Christmas. Am I to understand by this Executive order that I have been disloyal to the United States? I took my oath as a Member of Congress in 1951 without mental reservations. Do you recall the Warsaw uprising when fathers and mothers and relatives shot their own kind lashed to the front of attacking tanks? Do you not give the human heart any credit for being able to stand by itself? Do you think General Van Fleet, when his boy was lost behind the Iron Curtain in North Korea, would stop fighting for the Red, White, and Blue because of torture possibilities to his son? When he heard the news, he wiped his eyes and said, "That's the way the kid wanted it, let's go." This order as is should be wiped off the books of the United States. I think it is vicious, totalitarian, un-American. It shoots from the hip, puts a man out of Government service, classifies him disloyal for nothing over which he has control, puts others in judgment of his heart, conscience, and oath. That's un-American. I defy anyone to say I was disloyal because my stepdaughter was behind the Iron Curtain, or that any squeeze play worked or could have worked against me by the Reds.

Mr. TUTTLE. That is nothing in the order that says any such thing as that.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. The implications are there, and I am telling you if anybody says that because I had a stepdaughter behind the Iron Curtain I was a disloyal Congressman, that I was a traitor, I challenge him to make that charge and expect to get out of this room alive. Liberty is life, and no man is going to make that charge against me and leave here on his feet. If anybody makes that charge against me and expects to live after he makes it, he had better have the cops here. I say that for the record.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr GARY.

Mr. GARY. That is all.

Mr. TUTTLE. I would like the privilege to assure Mr. SIEMINSKI of something I am sure he already knows, that if I have implied anything along the lines he suggested I, of course, offer my deep apologies. It is far from my intent.

Mr. CANFIELD. I did not so understand it.

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Tuttle, it is nothing you have said.

The implication is that the Executive order was hatched under pressures, pressures exerted at the time of the infamous Lidice of American literature last spring when America succumbed to blacklists, book burnings, and soul searings, as we do here now. This thing here, I say, in itself denies the principles of Christianity; denies the fact that a man before his Maker can say, "I stand for that, so help me God"; denies the fact that 6 million Americans of Polish descent in this country can, before their God, be loyal to the Red, White, and Blue, many of whom have relatives behind the Iron Curtain. Few realize the implications of this order, and as soon as all do the order will be changed and you will give back to the 6 million Americans of Polish descent their birthright. During the last two wars Germans were shamed by the Kaiser and Hitler; just as Mussolini put the Americans of Italian descent to shame and Tojo put the nisei to shame. Put 6 million Poles in uniform against the Reds and they'll show you where their courage is. You can't tell me these people are going to sell out because they are under pressure, in or out of Government.

As soon as President Eisenhower realizes the full implications of this order, he will, I trust, move for its change. If suddenly a blood relative of the President were to be uncovered behind the Iron Curtain, in East Germany, are we to assume that the President, because of this order, will retire from the White House? Was Col. Al Schauffleur, vice president of Abercrombie & Fitch, in New York, denied the right to serve our colors in World War I and again in World War II because, for a time, a relative resided in Austria? Was Queen Wilhelmina, was General de Gaulle, General Anders to be denied the right to hurl back the Axis because their blood and country were under siege? If Hitler had captured England, would it have been proper for all Americans of Anglo-Saxon forebears to have stepped aside? Carried to its conclusions, this order will depopulate America—give it back to the Indians. Could be.

Mr. CANFIELD. Thank you, gentleman.

Amvets Support Postal Workers' Pay Plea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert an article by Mr. Henry Mahady, national commander of the American Veterans of World War II—AMVETS—a distinguished citizen of my congressional district and a longtime personal friend. This article appeared in the February issue of the Union Postal Clerk, the official publication of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, AFL. I should like to add one statement to those of Mr. Mahady, and that is that I heartily concur in his views concerning the necessity for pay raise legislation for postal employees. I have, accordingly, urged the chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to give early and favorable consideration to those measures now before his committee which will bring this about.

The article follows:

AMVETS SUPPORT POSTAL WORKERS' PAY PLEA

(By Henry Mahady)

When the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and other Federal employee organizations bring their case for a wage increase before Congress, the American Veterans of World War II will stand beside them as stanch allies.

AMVETS will not only give moral support, but will do its utmost to bring about favorable congressional action on the much-needed salary boost. As a first step, I shall testify before congressional committees in favor of the bill sponsored by Representative GARDNER R. WITHROW, of Wisconsin.

This support of the Federal employee wage increase has been ordered by AMVETS' 1953 national convention. At Indianapolis last September the AMVETS delegates resolved that "the Congress be petitioned to provide adequate pay for Federal workers, in consideration of the cost of living index."

But our desire to work with Federal employees in their campaign is due to more reasons than this mandate. It also comes from the personal knowledge of AMVETS members throughout the country that post office workers and other Federal employees greatly need and deserve the raise.

I have a great many friends among the post office employees in my native city, Latrobe, Pa. Many of them have informed me that they have been forced to take on extra jobs to make ends meet. The AMVETS postal workers and civil-service posts in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other cities write that this situation is by no means confined to Latrobe.

When I mentioned these facts to Legislative Representative E. C. Hallbeck, he told me that a survey he conducted among the nationwide membership of the NFPOC produced even more startling results. This poll showed that three-fourths of the post-office clerks either had extra jobs or had to have their wives work. Since this is true of the clerks, I am certain it is so among other post-office employees as well.

I can find no reason why the post-office clerks, letter carriers and other postal and Federal employees should have to take on work other than in their chosen professions. I see no reason why their own jobs should not pay them a sufficient income.

Is the United States so poor that it has to place its employees in the category of economically underprivileged? I should very much like to see the budget balanced, but I do not believe that this very laudable goal should be achieved by curtailing the standard of living of 2,400,000 Americans, who work for the Federal Government.

Post-office employees have a better case for the increase than simply citing their need for it. They can show that they have more than earned the $800 a year, proposed in the Withrow bill. The large rise in the productivity of the post-office employees thoroughly entitles them to the raise in pay.

When a man saves his employer money by his improved work, that man should, in all fairness, get a part of the benefit of his own increased efficiency. I cannot see why this standard rule should not apply to Federal employees and the United States Government.

The money that a person gets for his work is, of course, vitally important to him. But it certainly is not the only factor that determines whether he is happy in his work. He must also be able to take pride in his work; he must have the approval of his fellows for a job well done.

The post office and other Federal employees certainly have every right to be proud of their job efforts and expect public approval. The rise in productivity is statistical proof of their fine work. The efficiency of the American postal service—undoubtedly the best in the world—is a daily living demonstration of their accomplishments.

Yet, instead of receiving bouquets, Federal employees have, in recent years, been the target of brickbats. Orators have shown amazing readiness to launch into unjustifiable attacks on 2,400,000 Americans whose only real fault is that they are employed by the Federal Government.

Most Americans must realize that this abuse is singularly ridiculous. Federal employees live next door to them; participate in the same activities, send their children to the same schools, worship in the same churches and synagogues. The average Federal employee is an average American; he is no more of a villain than the engineer, carpenter, or mechanic employed in private industry—nor any more of a saint.

I don't believe I have taken part in many civic activities in either Pennsylvania or Washington that some post office or other Federal employees have not participated in. I have found them high-class citizens who earnestly pursue the civic projects with zeal, integrity, and earnestness of purpose. There is only one activity which I have found these men and women to studiously abstain from, and that is political work. They have honestly adhered to the law in avoiding partisan politics.

Because I know these facts, the chorus of attacks disturbs me. I find the wholesale accusations to be untrue and, therefore, wrong both in moral and practical terms. They violate sacred ethical and religious principles.

Further, I can see definite dangers to our Government if its employees are continuously the target of falsehoods. After all, how can the Federal employee do the best work—as all Americans rightly demand of him—if he has to worry about baseless charges that have been made against him.

That is why I think the crusade for truth, which your national executive committee recently announced, is an excellent idea. It is especially heartening to see that the National Federation of Post Office Clerks is not going to lose its temper—as it well might with some of the false charges—but will simply present facts and figures to the American public. I am confident that it will not take the American people long to recognize the falsehoods in the wholesale accusations if you present the facts to them.

In your crusade, as in your campaign for a much-needed wage increase, you can count upon AMVETS as a stanch and faithful friend. AMVETS will give the same loyal assistance in these fights that the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and the other employee organizations have given veterans when they sought their rights.

Puerto Rico's Terrorists Are Rebels Against Own Land

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial which appeared in the Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky., on March 3, 1954.

This editorial gives a clear and concise picture of the happenings in the House of Representatives Chamber on March 1, 1954, and follows this story with an excellent evaluation of the Puerto Rican participants. When these terrorists began firing into the House Chamber it was an unbelievable occurrence; so unbelievable that at first none of us made any move to protect ourselves; and, notwithstanding the fact that some 15 to 25 shots were fired, only 5 Members were struck and none were killed outright. These fanatics in their planning had forgotten one thing. The United States of America is a democracy under God, and some of us are in our places today due to His mercy. They forgot that God protects his own.

I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

PUERTO RICO'S TERRORISTS ARE REBELS AGAINST OWN LAND

The brief terror of showering bullets in the House of Representatives Monday was a creation of madness. It came at the hands of four fanatical Puerto Ricans who are condemned in their own land, rebels against the name, the well-being, and the democratic will of their own country.

They must be seen in the same light as an individual assassin who takes gun or bomb to strike down a public figure as a gesture of insane dedication to an idea.

As they fired wantonly into the busy well of the House Chamber, they screamed, "Free Puerto Rico." Yet, in most respects, Puerto Rico is as free as Kentucky, freer, in fact, as to local and internal government than the city of Washington itself.

More than this, Puerto Rico knows from our commitments before the world that the area of her freedom may be enlarged, that she may have absolute independence as a nation, any time she asks for it. By the overwhelming vote of her people, however, Puerto Rico has chosen her destiny as a self-governing commonwealth under protection and in the framework of the United States. Her people have chosen to remain citizens of the United States.

On the plain record, then, the incident of Monday was the act of persons bereft of reason. It was another phase of the blind unreason that sent two other Puerto Ricans with blazing guns against Blair House, the official home of President Truman, back in November 1950.

The three men and a woman who violated the sanctuary of the Capitol represent, like Collazo and Torresola of the plot against Truman, the Puerto Rican Nationalists. This is the designation of a group so small as to make up hardly more than a conspiratorial cell. Puerto Rico's Governor Luis Muñoz-Marín (who was elected by Puerto Ricans under a model constitution) has said that members of this so-called party number only 500. The madness of the attempts at Blair House and in the Capitol thus becomes incredible. The plotters were repudiated before they shaped their plan.

For generations before the United States acquired Puerto Rico from Spain in 1898, and for a long stretch of years afterward, the island in the West Indies was a place of deep human distress. Its wornout land, less than one-tenth the area of Kentucky, could not support its 2 million or so ragged people. Their plight cried out, and after a period of casual rule the United States set about a systematic plan of relief and restoration.

Millions were poured into this enterprise, which was stepped up under Franklin D. Roosevelt. The operation was handled by a succession of governors appointed by our Presidents. Along with economic salvation the plan for Puerto Rico looked also to political freedom. When Rexford Guy Tugwell resigned as governor in 1946, President Truman appointed Jesus Pinero as the first native-born administrator. The next year Congress passed Public Act 600, recognizing the right of the island to set up its own government under its own constitution. The next year Muñoz was elected by popular vote, the first in Puerto Rican history.

A later election in 1952 gave to the party of Muñoz, the Popular Democratic, which stood for the commonwealth idea, around 430,000 votes, or 65 percent of the total. The Independista Party, largely representing dissenters in local politics, got 19 percent; the Republican and Socialist Parties got 84,000 and 22,000 votes respectively. The latter two were for statehood in the United States. The Nationalists, for all their destructive fury, did not even figure.

Those who uphold the commonwealth idea with its links to the United States are filled with the thought of existence itself. Puerto Rico now may ship her goods to the mainland, and receive goods back, free of tariff duties. Her people may come and go freely, as citizens of the United States. Her greatest surplus crop, people themselves, pours into this country, and New York is often called the largest of Puerto Rican cities. Hundreds of thousands of former island dwellers are huddled in Harlem, and create one of the greatest social problems of New York City.

The island itself has prospered by the present arrangement. Muñoz reports that by every index of well-being—income per capita, death rate and education—Puerto Rico is ahead of any Latin-American country save Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Industry is coming in. Puerto Rico is reaching an economic balance. Last year her exports to the United States totaled $302 million to $462 million in imports. Muñoz looks to an average family income of $1,500 soon, $2,000 by 1960.

Only recently Henry Cabot Lodge, our representative in the United Nations, announced that we will stop our reports on Puerto Rico as the U. N. requires for a dependency. The country, he reported, is fully self-governing.

The more one looks at the record and at our policy, the more incredible becomes the act of Monday's terrorists. One can only deplore the lunatic impulse and be grateful that a greater tragedy did not occur. It is as if truth and justice were there to confound the assassins.

Niagara Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of principles which was adopted unanimously by the Northeast Electric Consumers Conference at Albany, N. Y., February 27, 1954. This conference was called by the representatives of farm organizations, businessmen, rural electrical cooperatives, municipal utilities, consumer groups, the CIO and AFL, and various community organizations representative of the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island for the purpose of achieving a united policy with respect to the development of hydroelectric energy at Niagara.

I was privileged to address this group and discuss with them the problems of reducing the high cost of electric energy in this vital area of our Nation.

The Northeast region of the United States presently pays more for electricity than any other part of the country. As a result, industry and farming are at a disadvantage in competing with other parts of our Nation.

I will not burden the record with statistics because I am certain that you are all familiar with the flight of industry from the New York-New England area to areas of low-cost electricity. The answer to the problem of the electric consumer in the Northeast is low-cost hydroelectric power achieved through the development of Niagara and St. Lawrence hydroelectric facilities on the same basis as other sections of the country have been able to develop their electric energy for themselves.

This group is determined that we shall stop the giveaway of natural resources. They are dedicated to the development of Niagara in the public interest by a public agency to achieve the distribution of this energy in accordance with the principles that Congress has consistently followed since 1906.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE NORTHEAST ELECTRIC CONSUMERS CONFERENCE AT ALBANY, N. Y., FEBRUARY 27, 1954

All Americans, as consumers and citizens—laborers, farmers, housewives, manufacturers, merchants—have a fundamental interest in the production, distribution, and utilization of the power resources of the Nation. Abundance of low-cost electrical energy or its scarcity and consequent high cost affect the standards of living of all, and the productivity and strength of our Nation itself. It is so vital to all citizens, to a full production economy and the national welfare that the assurance and provision of an abundant supply at lowest possible cost is a public responsibility.

The Northeastern Electric Consumers Conference wholeheartedly supports free, competitive enterprise. We, therefore, endorse public and cooperative power development where desired by the people as absolutely essential to inject the competitive aspect into a basically monopolistic industry so that all electric consumers can receive the benefits of lower rates not only from the public and cooperative systems but also from the private power utilities.

Assurance of an abundant supply requires the prompt and orderly development of our Nation's power resources. Assurance that the American public, and not exploitive private interests, will receive the undiminished benefit of such development requires a positive program of public generation, transmission, and distribution reaching all the way to the public, whenever and wherever necessary.

The American people's heritage of power resources is threatened today by unreformed private power monopolists, defending their high-cost, scarcity-supply policies by the immoral use of ratepayers' funds to corrupt our sources of information, our educational institutions, and the democratic processes themselves.

The participants in the Northeast Electric Consumers Conference, meeting in Albany, N. Y., February 26 and 27, 1954, therefore call upon their established membership organizations, to vigorously prosecute a program of action, separately and cooperatively, based upon the following principles:

1. There must be the best possible electric service to consumers everywhere—residential, agricultural, commercial or industrial—at the lowest possible cost consistent with sound business principles.

2. All feasible potential power resources of the Nation, hydro or other, must be developed as rapidly as they can be soundly undertaken. Public and cooperative agencies must be permitted to build and operate fuel-burning generating plants and to integrate them with hydropower.

3. River basins should be developed not only for power production but in accordance with comprehensive, basinwide plans which will assure optimum soil and forest conservation, flood control, reclamation and irrigation of land, improvement of navigation, abatement of pollution, municipal and industrial water supply, protection of fish and wildlife, expansion of recreational and cultural facilities, salinity control and other benefits.

Such development can and must be done only by public agencies with widest practical participation of local public agencies and cooperatives. The obstruction of such unified development by licensing of the economically advantageous projects to private exploitive interests must be stopped. Outstanding private licenses to exploit the public's hydroelectric-power resources must be canceled and recaptured as rapidly as possible.

4. Benefits of the development of the public's power resources must reach consumers undiminished by unnecessary added costs. Wheeling contracts, exchange or rate arrangements violative of this principle must go. Public transmission facilities and aid to local agencies or cooperatives in the establishment and acquisition of distribution facilities must be provided wherever need exists.

5. Electric power publicly produced belongs to the public. The public has first preference right to it as owners. It should not be supplied to industries or private profit distributors (1) if needed by public agencies or consumers' cooperatives or (2) without such control of resale rates and conditions of service by the producing agency as will assure that all publicly created benefits reach the public in the form of lowest possible rates.

6. The private power industry in America must be cleansed. Although its illegal, immoral, and degrading activities were exposed and condemned only two decades ago, the unreformed and unrepentant industry, given a privileged monopoly position to supply a necessary service, is today again charging and expending rate-payers' money as operating expenses—to corrupt public sources of information, educational institutions, public agencies, and the functioning of our democratic institutions. There must be immediately established at every level of private utility operation a thorough and continuing investigation of all the expenditures of money by power monopolists for propaganda, lobbying, political activity, or corruption of public servants or institutions. Regulatory bodies, law-enforcement agencies, legislatures, and the Congress itself must discharge their duty to the American people to expose, punish, and publicize unethical, immoral, or illegal practice on a vigorous and continuing basis. There must be immediate and continuous action to assure that benefits of tax concessions, accelerated amortization subsidies, and similar windfalls to private companies reach consumers and that inflated valuations, watering, and inefficiencies are not charged in expenses.

7. There must be continuous cooperation of consumer groups, including the sponsors of the Northeast Electric Consumers Conference and others not yet participating, to see that these basic principles and objectives are vigorously prosecuted.

To implement this program of cooperative action, we recommend that the sponsors of this conference maintain a continuing Northeast Electric Consumers' Information Committee to be operated by our elected officers and executive committee, composed of our representatives and others who will join with us; the information committee to undertake all proper activities such as calling further general conferences, organization of conference committees, exchange of legislative information, and cooperating generally on matters which the member organizations determine will advance consumer and national interests in the electric power field.

STATEMENT OF GOALS

This northeastern region is possessed of abundant hydroelectric resources which, if developed by public agencies, could provide us with tremendous quantities of low-cost electricity.

In spite of this abundance the farmers, workers, businessmen, and consumers generally in the Northeast suffer the highest electric rates in the Nation, resulting in restricted use of electricity for farm operations and the conveniences of the homes, as well as a competitive handicap in attracting and holding industry. This means a reduced market for goods, reduced employment opportunities, and a general restriction on economic growth.

To remove this regional handicap—

1. We urge immediate passage of Federal legislation providing for the public development of the power potential of Niagara with specific Federal provision for preference to cooperatives, municipalities, and other nonprofit electric distributors in accordance with the established Federal statutes providing for preference.

We endorse the principles of the Lehman-Roosevelt bill, which provides for development by the New York Power Authority with Federal preference stipulated, and we endorse any other bill which contains similar and adequate provisions for establishing the yardstick principle.

We are opposed to all bills to give away Niagara power to private corporations. We are also opposed to the halfway measures which would achieve a giveaway by more subtle means, including bills leaving distribution and sale to the New York Power Authority without Federal preference requirements. We insist that any bill shall provide for the equitable division of this power among the preference consumers of all States within economic transmission distance.

2. We favor the equitable distribution of St. Lawrence power among consumers within economic transmission distance. We oppose the interpretations of the New York preference clauses currently advanced by the New York Power Authority, and we censure the Federal Power Commission for refusing to include preference in the St. Lawrence license.

We favor the granting of preference rights to cooperatives, municipalities, and other nonprofit bodies. We urge all States to which St. Lawrence and Niagara power may be available to establish State power authorities to receive and distribute this power to preference to nonprofit distributors.

3. We point out that in order to monopolize the power resources of Niagara Falls for their own selfish purposes, the private power companies of this area have undertaken an unprecedented propaganda campaign designed to distort the facts and mislead the people.

We urge the Congress and all State legislatures to investigate and expose the unwarranted and malicious propaganda and legislative activities of the private power companies and we favor legislation restricting the use of rate payers' funds for advertising designed to influence elections or legislation.

We further condemn the action of the General Electric Co. in joining this propaganda campaign, against the best interests of their employees, stockholders, and the public welfare.

4. We urge the New England-New York interagency committee to make a full report on potential hydroelectric development in these States, including provision for redevelopment of existing projects where advantageous as a result of improved streamflow regulation. This investigation should be extended to include the resources of other States in the Northeast, and should result in the preparation of a regional program for public development and interconnection through a public transmission grid providing an abundance of low-cost power for municipal, rural, cooperative, and other electric systems as well as for regional industrial expansion.

In this connection we approve the Senate action appropriating funds for investigation of the Passamoquoddy tidal project and urge the House of Representatives to confirm this action so that preparation for undertaking this project may go forward promptly.

5. We urge public development of atomic electric power with preference to cooperatives, municipalities, and other nonprofit public bodies. We are opposed to the granting of patent rights on atomic processes to individuals or private corporations and we oppose the amendment of the existing Atomic Energy Act.

We urge the rapid development of atomic electric power with at least one large scale plant to be built in this region and integrated into a northeast power grid.

6. We urge our sponsoring organizations to place immediate emphasis on stopping the giveaway of Niagara and atomic energy.

7. We urge the officers and executive committee of this organization to affiliate with the Electric Consumers Information Committee in Washington, D. C., and to cooperate with similar organizations in other regions like Citizens for TVA, Inc., the National Hells Canyon Association, the Missouri Basin Electric Consumers Association, and other organizations which have common goals.

8. We urge the election of a continuing secretary and pledge ourselves to work for the collection of adequate funds to support an office, correspondence, and other information services.

9. We urge those present to work for the affiliation of all possible friendly organizations as sponsors and contributors.

10. We express our appreciation to our officers and the executive committee for their labors in calling this conference, and to the speakers for their contributions, particularly to Hon. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., and Mr. John E. Burton.

The United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I invite to the attention of the Congress a letter from the Honorable Cordell Hull, former Secretary of State, to Dr. Charles W. Mayo, president of the American Association for the United Nations, Inc. It was read at the second plenary meeting of the association in Washington last Monday evening, March 1.

The letter follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 25, 1954.*

DR. CHARLES W. MAYO,
President, American Association for the United Nations, Inc.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. MAYO: I am happy to learn that many old friends with whom I was privileged to be associated in the earliest days of the United Nations, as well as many other friends of that great cause, are to meet in Washington in a 3-day conference of some hundred national organizations brought together by the American Association for the United Nations. I welcome the opportunty thus offered to convey to them all my cordial greetings and my best wishes for the success of the meeting.

Since leaving public life, I have followed with the keenest interest the growth and development of the United Nations. It seems to me that it has done extraordinarily well, under the severest of difficulties; has kept a steady course through the storm; and has made great contributions to both international peace and human welfare. As the world continually shrinks, as nations come into ever closer proximity, as mankind's engines of destruction grow in frightfulness, the United Nations as a world organization for peace, security, and justice becomes ever more essential. Other agencies more limited in area or in scope can help, but it is the universal agency which must bind the whole together.

There is one point which I would like to mention with particular satisfaction, namely, that the nonpartisan approach toward this problem which our Government adopted at the outset for United States participation in the United Nations has proved its merit. The first committees which we set up as early as 1939 to work out our own national viewpoints in this new enterprise included representatives of all segments of American life, that is to say, of both political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, of both great policy branches of the Government, the executive and the legislative, and of the great national nongovernmental organizations which bring together the interests of various groups in our great Nation. It is gratifying to me that this broad representation has continued in our relations with the United Nations. To it is due, in large part, I believe, the widespread support which the United Nations has had not only in the executive branch of the Government, but also in the Congress and among the people.

It is very heartening to find such strong evidence of vigorous, constructive concern with United Nations affairs as your conference indicates. I should like to congratulate those, like yourself and fellow members, who are meeting the challenge of the day and the vision for the future that the United Nations represents.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL.

Average Unemployment Last Year Lowest Since End of World War II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, with so much loose talk going the rounds, it is refreshing to be presented with authoritative figures on the present employment situation. In an able and penetrating analysis and comparison, the chief of the Washington Gannett News Bureau, Mr. Paul Martin, gives us the figures which are the result of painstaking research. They reveal that the first year of the present administration witnessed the highest employment of any year since the end of World War II, and that the figure of 3.8 percent unemployment in January of this year compares with 7.3 percent in January of 1950, before the outbreak of the Korean war.

While it is helpful to get this picture in proper perspective, no one, least of all the President and his administration, can afford to be, nor is, complacent. Top priority is being accorded to study of the appropriate steps which should be taken through cooperative executive and legislative effort to meet the problems constantly posed by the shifting factors in our economy. Under the leadership of President Eisenhower, who has repeatedly demonstrated his tireless devotion to a search for only what is good for America, we may be assured that any steps taken by Government will be soundly conceived and firmly executed.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Martin's article.

[From the Rochester Times-Union of March 1, 1954]

NINETEEN FIFTY-THREE UNEMPLOYMENT LOWEST ON AVERAGE SINCE END OF WORLD WAR II

(By Paul Martin)

WASHINGTON.—Unemployment of an annual average was lower in the United States the first year of the Eisenhower administration than in any other year since World War II.

This is the record shown by statistics of the Census Bureau.

Last year, there were, on an average, 1,523,000 persons out of work. This was 2.4 percent of the total labor force, including the armed services.

The previous low point for average unemployment was during the all-out World War II production years of 1943, 1944, and 1945

when the percentage ran 1.9 percent, 1.2 percent, and 1.9 percent.

In 1946, during the wave of postwar industrywide labor strikes which led in part to the Taft-Hartley Act, unemployment jumped to 2,270,000 persons or 3.9 percent.

Throughout the 7 years that President Truman served in the White House, the nationwide unemployment figure—percentagewise or in total numbers out of work—never was as low as during the first year of President Eisenhower.

The peak in postwar unemployment was reached in 1949—right after Truman had been elected for his second term—when it averaged 3,395,000 persons out of work for the calendar year, or 5.5 percent of the labor force.

The high rate of unemployment continued into 1950, when it averaged 3,142,000 jobless of 5 percent. It started going down in 1951 and 1952, with a new defense production boom after the Korean war broke out in late June of 1950.

This record suggests that there is more than a little politics involved in the current controversy over whether the new Republican administration is plunging the Nation into another depression.

Democratic prophets, who have seized upon this as a good campaign issue for the 1954 congressional elections, were silent after Truman had been reelected in 1948, and unemployment jumped to a new high in the business recession of 1949, which Truman's economic council failed to forecast.

Some of these prophets were ardent believers in the forecast made toward the end of World War II by former Vice President Henry A. Wallace that there would be seven or eight million unemployed in America immediately after the war.

That forecast never came true. The total unemployment figure in 1946, 1947, and 1948 never ranged much above 2 million on an annual average. The Nation was confronted with a much different problem—inflation rather than recession.

Cost of living reached a new peak in 1948, went down slightly in 1949 and 1950, and then started climbing again with the outbreak of the Korean war. Last year, it reached an all-time peak, but has gone down fractionally since then.

The basis for the current political furor over unemployment is a figure released by the Commerce Department showing that in January, the number of jobless reached a total of 2,350,000 persons, or 3.8 percent of the total labor force.

This compares with 1,892,000, or 3 percent, when Eisenhower took office in January 1953. It amounts to a rise of a little less than 1 percent in the 12-month interval.

But the number of persons out of work, percentagewise, in previous Januarys under the Truman administration was 3.3 percent in 1952, 4.1 percent in 1951, 7.3 percent in 1950, 4.4 percent in 1949, 3.5 percent in 1948, 4.2 percent in 1947, and 4.3 percent in 1946.

January usually is the low point for the whole year. The month is a period when outside construction trades are dormant, retail stores are engaged in clearance sales and inventory taking, and industrial activity lags.

There is no disposition on the part of Eisenhower's economic advisers to minimize potential dangers of the current lull in activity.

In fact, the President has stated that unless business and employment pick up this month, the administration will take steps to pump new spending power into the national economy.

Measures under consideration include further tax reductions, an expanded public-works program, increased military expenditures, and relaxation of credit controls.

Unquestionably, there is some spot unemployment around the Nation, grievous indeed to the man out of work, and there has been some abatement of farm income from the peaks reached in World War II and the immediate postwar years.

There are 25 major areas of critical unemployment today compared with 18 a year ago. Of these, the most significant are the auto cities of Detroit, Toledo, and South Bend; farm-equipment manufacturing center at Davenport-Rock Island-Moline in Iowa and Illinois; textile centers in Massachusetts and North Carolina; and coal or railroad centers in Pennsylvania.

There are no cities in New York, Connecticut, or New Jersey that are listed by the Labor Department as "critical" areas.

Armenian Struggle Against Russian Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I wish to salute at this time the gallant people of Armenia, who on February 18, 1921, overthrew Communist rule forcibly imposed on them on December 2, 1920, and for 6 months rid their country of Soviet domination.

The Armenians lost their independence many centuries ago. Their historic homeland was overrun and conquered by Asiatic hordes long before Columbus discovered America. During all that time they have been subjected to one oppressor after another. Many of them have been forced to leave their homeland, and all have had to struggle hard to make their livelihood. Yet in the midst of endless vicissitudes and sufferings they had not forsaken the idea of their national independence. They have, throughout their long subjugation under foreign rule, worked most persistently to regain it. Their most recent history may be characterized as mass deportation and wholesale massacres. During World War I more than 600,000 Armenians met their death in cold-blooded massacres, while another 600,000 are said to have died of starvation.

At the end of that world conflict, the survivors of that holocaust staked out a part of their ancient land at the very foot of their Mount Ararat, and proclaimed their national independence. For a brief time it seemed that at last a great historic wrong had been redressed and the long-cherished dream of suffering Armenians had come true. But revolutionary events subsequent to World War I worked to the detriment of the newly born and weak Armenian Republic. Russian communism and aggressive Turkish nationalism would not tolerate small independent states in the Caucasus. And the hope-inspiring West, including the United States, did not show sufficient concern in Armenian affairs to intervene effectively. At the end of 2 years, when the Armenian Republic was attacked by both the Turks and the Russian Communists, it was overrun by the forces of both invaders. Then, late in December of 1920, Russians succeeded in bringing most of Caucasian Armenia into the Soviet Union. Soon Armenians were to learn the brute nature of Soviet rule: intolerable oppression and endless misery.

Then the people of Armenia, inspired and led by fearless leaders, staged an uprising against their Communist overlords. In this attempt they successfully overthrew the Communist regime forcibly imposed upon them, and on February 18, 1921—the anniversary we commemorate today—they once more asserted their national independence. This, however, proved to be a revival of short duration. In the course of the next 2 months the Russian Communists gathered strength, renewed their attack against Armenia, and in April Armenia was once more engulfed in the massive and bloody Communist tide.

Since then the Soviet Union rules over Armenia with an iron hand. Its oppressive and deadly yoke weighs heavily upon all Armenians there. During all that time ruthless Communists have done their utmost to eradicate the spirit of independence and freedom among the Armenians. But they have not succeeded in that task. The Armenians, though subjected to inhuman treatment by their ruthless overlords, have not relinquished their claim and their right to freedom and independence. On this day, in commemorating the anniversary of their successful revolt against Soviet rule, we pay our tribute to the memory of those who gave their lives for a noble cause and express our admiration of those who still steadfastly cling to the ideals held in common by all freemen.

Join the IGHUGS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include a petition signed by 17 residents of the city of Anderson, Ind.:

We, the undersigned taxpayers, property owners and residents in the city of Anderson, Ind., do hereby request that you, as our representative, take immediate action to defeat all appropriations authorizing any wasteful or unnecessary Government spending.

We are aware that the shocking size of today's taxes is 32 cents out of every dollar that we earn; so, therefore we desire to be a part of the IGHUGS (I'm gonna howl 'bout unnecessary Government spending) and thereby try to help to deflate the enormous tax load.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to tell that worthy group that I have voted against every unnecessary Government expenditure that has come or that has been brought to my attention. For example, my votes on appropriation bills presented to the House of Representatives in 1953 during the first session

of the 83d Congress would have provided cuts of approximately $7 billion more than actually were made. Even so, the cut that was made amounted to more than $13 billion reduction from the recommendations of President Truman.

It is only by a reduction of Government spending that an eventual cut in taxes can be made.

Garrison Project Level Affects State Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter:

GARRISON PROJECT LEVEL AFFECTS STATE FUTURE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Declaring that benefits to the State as a whole are of greater importance than the possible effect on Williston, Congressman OTTO KRUEGER reaffirmed his stand on the 1850-foot operating level for the Garrison Dam Reservoir.

A little over a year ago the appropriation bill for the various public projects was presented to the House. Many amendments were offered increasing the total for certain projects. When another amendment was offered decreasing the Garrison Dam funds some $4 million, it was carried along in the general sentiment for economy.

"I was the only one from North Dakota who opposed this reduction. It was designed to delay the orderly progress of the dam. It was very fortunate that the funds were restored in the Senate," says Mr. KRUEGER. "While I know that there were many who agreed with my stand for a higher level, the loudest comment came from Williston and it was not favorable.

"To me the full power potential of the dam and the benefits that water could bring to a million acres in the State were above the interests of one small area."

"One cannot blame the people of Williston entirely. They will see the river come close to their city on comparatively rare occasions. It will not be an annual threat such as floods of the past, but will be a controlled rise. The Army Engineers, with a record of many years experience in similar works, have planned a system of dikes to protect people and property. Pumps will be provided to take care of possible seepage. The Williston people have organized well. A prominent banker and a former president of the National Reclamation Association have headed the activity. They have engaged a former United States Senator to represent them. They are spending considerable money to present their case. They have made many trips to Washington."

"There are a million acres in North Dakota that are suitable for irrigation. There are another million acres that offer possibilities. The area extends well over the central part of the State, reaches northward, follows the James River. The possibilities for the future are enormous. If the dam level is reduced to 1,840 feet it will mean the loss of 3,600,000 acre-feet of water reserve storage. That is a lot of moisture—enough to irrigate 2 million acres for 2 years. If we are to have irrigated lands for our children to farm, we should be preparing now."

"The 10-foot difference between the 1850 and 1840 foot operating level will mean a loss of 111 million kilowatt-hours of power per year. That would grind a heap of feed and run a lot of electric stoves. The demand for power in North Dakota has been increasing steadily. At present supply and demand are close together according to the Federal Power Commission figures. REA cooperatives indicate they will contract for all of the power that can be produced at the high level. They need it.

"There is much at stake in the high level of the dam. To me it is a question of the people of North Dakota sacrificing a good portion of their resources because of a possible effect on a comparatively small area. The welfare of the greater part of the State is most important to me. No matter what the pressure might be, I am going to do my best to serve them.

"In North Dakota, most persons feel that the merits of the 1850 foot level over 1840 foot level are too obvious to need a defense. For some time I was the only one publicly supporting it. I am certainly grateful for the support of the REA cooperatives and several of the leading newspapers. The editorial and the telegrams have been filed with the Civil Functions Subcommittee on Appropriations Committee as expressions of the views of our people. This is all very necessary. If the congressional committees hear only one side of the argument they will naturally be inclined that way in their position.

"I have been pressured to go along with the low operating level of the dam. I have been coaxed to come in with that plan. I have been threatened with political annihilation, but I am still for the majority of the people of the State, and will be as long as I am in Congress. If the folks in one small area are correct, that will not be long."

Freedom of Worship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters from Marcus A. Gallaher, of Lawrenceburg, Tenn.:

LAWRENCEBURG, TENN., *February 18, 1954.*

The Honorable ADAM C. POWELL, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN POWELL: The enclosed copy of my letter dated February 16, to the Secretary of State is self-explanatory.

The Nashville Banner on the same date editorially commented: "Force in the guise of the state intruded upon church premises at Rome Saturday—to chisel the name of Christ from its portal; and the incident shocks a multitude of hearts."

Freedom not only to worship but also publicly to promote one's religious beliefs is fully upheld in the United States, but the incidents related in my enclosure are actions fraught with hostility toward religious freedom and impairs that respect which the American people prefer to feel for the Italian people.

When one considers the aid which the United States Government has given the Italian Government without in any way attempting to influence its policies, it does shock as the editorial continues, "to see the name of Christ chiseled off a house of worship, or a preacher arrested, or services forbidden, whatever the ecclesiastical identity or nationality of the parties immediately concerned."

In a spirit of tolerance and good will toward all men may I commend this matter to your sympathetic and continuing interest and your insistence that the State Department's obligation to protect the lawful interest of Americans on legitimate evangelistic missions abroad be maintained in conformity with our heritage as freemen.

With high regard, I am,

Sincerely yours,

MARCUS A. GALLAHER.

FEBRUARY 16, 1954.

The Honorable JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Under a Rome dateline of February 13, the Associated Press stated: "Italian police descend upon Rome's Church of Christ, chiseled its name off a wall, and took a news cameraman of the Associated Press into custody for photographing them, and vainly ordered an Associated Press correspondent away from the scene. The Rome police struck quickly after worshipers were forced to leave a Church of Christ in Leghorn late last night."

The prize understatement of the days seems to have been made by a spokesman for the United States Embassy there to the effect that some misunderstandings had arisen between the church and Italian authorities. The Embassy said: "It appears to be a question of an interpretation of internal Italian law."

While perhaps the strongest Communist Party outside the Iron Curtain countries exists in Italy, I am wondering if some members have infiltrated the Government and are carrying on from within an attempt to belittle the United States and humiliate some of its citizens.

Mr. Secretary, the unfolding picture of the continuing harassment of American missionaries since 1950 in their twofold purpose of carrying on benevolence which includes maintaining an orphanage and preaching the Gospel stands out in arrogant contrast to the continuing Cabinet crises. The Italian Constitution of 1947 says "all religious confessions are equal before the law."

As the American Embassy pointed out on a previous occasion, the United States-Italian Treaty of Friendship specifically guarantees the right of American citizens to hold religious services in Italy unless public morals and safety are endangered.

As the Communists are not ready for a solution of European problems, it would appear that Italian authorities are adamant on this problem. It seems obvious to me that their failure to reach a satisfactory settlement would arouse irate public and congressional reaction in this country, not only among the two or three million members of the churches of Christ but among lovers of freedom generally.

Observing the fact that missionaries of the churches of Christ and the Baptist denominations had been denied privileges freely granted all faiths in the United States, the Honorable BROOKS HAYS, of the Fifth District of Arkansas, had an exchange of letters with Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, Ambassador to Italy, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last year, in which Mrs. Luce promised to do everything possible to aid American Protestant missionaries engaged in "lawful religious activities" in Italy. There is something abhorrent to the free spiritual atmosphere of America in the descent of "the chisel and hammer squad"; yet, in 1950, the Communists were crying "United States spies" at these same missionaries. In 1954, its "Protestant propaganda." Then, it was tweedledee; now, its tweedledum.

This communication is not from some crackpot but from a citizen seriously pon-

dering the depths to which our influence can decline in a nation which has received Marshall plan billions, a country whose beaches were so recently bathed in the blood of our sons, a country with whom we have a treaty of friendship, a country whose nationals we welcome to this land, in an unending stream in the spirit of "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

This year is the 70th anniversary of the engraving of the above words upon the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York, words that not even a prankster has dared deface. This symbol of hope and freedom would become shallow mockery indeed if we did not also evaluate the basic freedoms enjoyed by our citizens in the free world.

An implication of the Christian faith and of the worldwide nature of Christianity is the freedom of religion. In the best American tradition may I commend your continuing efforts and solicit a final determination of the restoration of some semblance of reciprocity in the treatment accorded our citizens abroad.

With assurance of my high regard, I am,
Respectfully yours,
MARCUS A. GALLAHER.

Unscreened Influx Presents a Major United States Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, following the unbelievable and insane attack upon the House of Representatives by four assassins in the Public Gallery, I was, like other Members, pressed for comment by the press.

I commented to our reporter friends that it seemed to me—after the smoke of the stupefying attack had cleared and it was revealed that the perpetrators of the outrage were Puerto Rican nationals of a killer-revolutionary clique already familiar to the United States—that the first lesson to be learned was the need for stricter vigilance and a tightening up of our internal security.

Along this same vein, Mr. Speaker, I was very much interested to read in the March 2, last, issue of the Nashville Banner a thought-provoking editorial by Mr. James G. Stahlman, publisher of the Banner. To Mr. Stahlman, also, the lesson of the would-be mass assassination in the House Chamber lies in the need for tightening rather than relaxing our immigration laws.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, I insert this timely and excellent editorial in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

UNSCREENED INFLUX PRESENTS A MAJOR UNITED STATES DANGER

(By James G. Stahlman)

An assassin's bullets constitute a poor argument for any cause such a conspiracy could espouse; yet twice in 4 years has a Puerto Rican cry for "independence" taken that murderous bent.

In November 1950 it was President Truman who was obviously the target, when revolutionaries sought to storm Blair House—at that time the Executive residence.

Yesterday it was the body of the House of Representatives collectively, with four anarchists pouring pistol fire from a congressional gallery. The pandemonium that ensued attested to the shock of such criminal intrusion; an incredible occurrence of hatred gone completely berserk and caring only to kill.

If America—up to the moment of this monstrous demonstration—was not awake to the hazards of permissive infiltration, it surely is at this moment. The gate opened to that, as in the case of Puerto Rico, has brought an influx that has been uncontrolled, and in the absence of legal restraints uncontrollable.

It is mighty late just now to be realizing the dangers at home of which yesterday's intended massacre was symptomatic.

Obviously, the San Juan Government cannot control its nationals who depart to this country for whatever purpose. They stream into the United States in an unchecked and unscreened flow, claiming "rights" under a bizarre immunity, but in the main contemptuous of any responsibility—and it is not odd that in this pool of privileged exploitation subversive conspiracy is spawned.

It is a completely phony cry of "democracy" that is raised to justify such shoddy treatment of a primary responsibility on America's own part—in the interest of its own security. Neither in reason, moral obligation, nor law is there ground for contention that the unfit should ever be admitted to this country. The same considerations that dictate screening of immigrants from other countries dictate identical policies toward the Puerto Ricans; and whatever else Congress faces in the wake of yesterday's outbreak of conspiratorial insanity, it faces the realization of this glaring loophole in the law.

Instead of relaxing immigration laws—whether they apply to other countries or to members of a commonwealth—they must be tightened.

The danger is here, in New York, in Washington; wherever such a cesspool of intrigue is getting in its murderous and seditious handiwork.

Yesterday's crime was so infamous and startling that it reads more like a political revolution in one of the lands of perpetual anarchy than a happening on the floor of Congress in the United States of America.

Notwithstanding that the commonwealth government was no party to the conspiracy, it inevitably will suffer a setback of stature in this Nation's eyes.

With such a crime there can be no compromise.

Five Members of Congress felled at their desks by political felons who invaded those premises to kill. That was their motive—as diabolical as the force of insurrection from which it stemmed.

Let the law deal with them as assassins—not attempted assassins.

If such a quartet can get off lightly for a crime of this heinous character, not a life in American can count itself safe. Not a member of the Government—executive, legislative, or judicial—could walk in reasonable security from the next assassin's bullets.

The danger is not a theory, but a reality with which America must deal—the realization that in such an uncontrolled element is fertile soil for seed of hostile plants, growing at the Nation's very heart.

The Governor of Puerto Rico, expressing his own shock at such an occurrence on the part of his countrymen, called it insanity. And it was that. But it would be insanity on America's part to suffer longer the conditions on which such ideological criminality thrives.

A Second Look at Big Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD S. MILLER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial and letter from the Topeka State Journal:

[From the Topeka State Journal of February 9, 1954]

A SECOND LOOK AT BIG DAMS

Of utmost significance to Kansas in Senator ANDREW SCHOEPPEL'S call upon survey of the State's water problems, with particular reference to the Kaw River and its tributaries.

Within 3 years of the worst floods since permanent settlement, many areas of Kansas are experiencing an alarming water shortage due to prolongation of last summer's drought through the winter.

Many Kansas communities are hard pressed for assured supplies of water necessary to keep agriculture going to permit industries to function and to serve normal home and community life. Senator SCHOEPPEL rightly believes that national as well as local interest is involved due to the State's breadbasket role. This is why he asks the Federal engineers to review with particular reference to drought the water control program they have been formulating and trying to execute for several years.

In Missouri, only the communities situated near the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers report adequate water supplies, according to the Kansas City Star. Others are experiencing water shortage as in Kansas. The Kansas Senator says it is his understanding that gradual release of water stored by the Fort Peck Reservoir and the incomplete Fort Randall Reservoir has kept the Missouri River flow practically normal, to the great benefit of that valley.

It might be noted, similarly, that water from the Kanapolis Dam and Reservoir has helped keep the Kaw flowing so far, with the result that river cities, including Topeka, have not yet felt the pinch as have communities depending on wells and other underground sources. But the pinch may be coming and the Kaw Valley deserves treatment comparable with the Missouri's.

The Army engineers have maintained for some time that Tuttle Creek and other large dam projects would not only help hold back the top killer feet of flood waters but, designed and managed properly, would store enough water to comprise a reserve for times of drought.

It is this program that is to be re-review with particular attention to the need to conserve Kaw Valley water in times of overplenty for use in times of scarcity.

The current water shortage unfortunate and dangerous as it is, should serve to cause Kaw Valley opponents of large dams to take a second look at their opposition.

The facts of water use are different than every before in Kansas History, due not only to population growth but to increased population growth but to increased demand by agriculture, industry, and community use.

Those facts cannot be ignored. In many editorials this newspaper was sought to relate them to the total water-control problem, which rather obviously has become a two-sided one.

That's why we feel the Senator's request is in the public interest. The Kansas need as he says is to arrive finally at a program

which will combine the best features of protection from both droughts and flood.

To the EDITOR OF THE TOPEKA STATE JOURNAL:

I have read with much interest the editorial published in the Journal of February 9, entitled "A Second Look at Big Dams." Reference is made to the plans of the Army engineers for the Tuttle Creek and other proposed big dams to be used both for flood control in time of excessive rainfall and as reserves in time of drought—also that "National, as well as State interest, is involved due to the State's breadbasket role."

Let us take a look at this proposed many-purpose dam program. First, in the role of breadbasket it is proposed to assure a bountiful supply of food products—corn, wheat, hogs, and cattle—by inundating a few hundred thousand acres of the most productive land in the Nation—the Blue Valley, the Republic Valley, the Valleys of the Smoky Hills and Saline, together with 30 or 40 smaller valleys on the tributaries. To make the proposition the more absurd, the Army Engineers might further suggest to put a dam somewhere on the Kaw or even two of them. They have been known to make such suggestions. Remember Kiro? Presumably these are to be closed dams, for open dams don't hold water. Or do they? So in due time we may have the dams full, as all would have been the first week of July 1951. Then suppose there should come a day or two or three of heavy rainfall, and who is to foretell or prevent it? Just what would happen under such circumstances? Suppose one of these 4 or 5 earthen dams—and that is what they would be—should go out. Such things have been known to occur. What would happen to Manhattan, Topeka, Lawrence, or Kansas City, to say nothing of the many smaller towns on the Kaw River? There would be such a disaster as this Nation has never seen. But put that aside. Maybe the people could learn to live at ease beneath a few million acre feet of water as the people of Pompeii and Herculaneum lived at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Just forget about these conjectures and keep to undisputed facts: No big dam can be economically justified in the Kaw Valley from a standpoint of flood control; first, because there is a better way which is now being worked out in the watershed program and second, because the cost exceeds all possible benefits in that regard. It cannot be justified from the standpoint of the breadbasket, because it will destroy many times what it might cause to be produced; it cannot be justified on both premises combined because no dam can safely serve for both storage of water and flood prevention. Besides, every county in the State is now a soil conservation district, and at the rate at which the farmers are proceeding with the soil-conservation and flood-prevention program, the danger of floods will be materially lessened before a big-dam program could be well begun. If anyone questions the correctness of this statement let him take a trip into Brown, Jackson, Atchison, or Riley Counties and let the chairmen of the soil conservation associations show him around. As to the plans to construct big dams to correct a threatened water shortage; a few spring rains will solve that difficulty if we get them. If we don't get the rain, there wouldn't be any water behind the dam anyway.

Stop big-dam foolishness is becoming a slogan here on Capitol Hill. Mr. Elmer Peterson, of Oklahoma, may have coined the expression, but it was the people of the Blue Valley who spread the gospel of flood prevention and exposed the big-dam foolishness.

No, it is not a second look at big dams that is needed. The Army engineers and other interested parties have looked at that situation too many times now, and all the while have overlooked the real situation. What we need is action out where the potential flood begins, and that is what the soil-conservation associations in the 13 counties of the First District intend to give. More than a hundred engineers are laying out the work at this time. An equal number of contractors are on the various jobs. Their numbers are rapidly increasing, and will multiply. It is the beginning of the greatest civil undertaking in the history of mankind, and the most beneficial. This generation can be proud of the part it is taking.

This is not to say that there is no place for big dams for power, irrigation, or flood-prevention purposes. There are such places, many of them, but not in the rich valleys of the Kaw Basin, which is not to be compared the arid upper regions of the Missouri or the canyons and mountain gorges such as those of the Colorado, Columbia, or the Snake Rivers. People of the First District of Kansas don't want these proposed dams advocated under false pretenses.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I have no ax to grind in this matter. It is not an issue between city and country, between farmer and city dweller. It is a problem common to all of us. In the solution of this problem there is room for the expert service of the Army engineers and the trained technicians of the Agriculture Department. We are all in the same boat, and we shall all suffer or profit together. So let us reason the problem out and dispassionately arrive at the best possible solution.

Let me quote page 5 of House of Representatives Report No. 1140. These words summarize my views in a most convincing manner:

"Water that pours down a river in flood is precisely the same as that which flows from a city faucet or bubbles from a country spring. The only essential difference is in what happened to the water after it fell.

"That water which makes up the destructive torrent of the flood did not remain where it fell but rushed down hillsides, gulleys, creeks, and rivers until it formed a destructive flood. The water which is available for the benefit of man, for homes, for industries, and for agriculture, did not rush into the rivers but remained for an appreciable time at or near the spot where it fell.

"The soil is the most marvelous reservoir ever devised. The earth itself will hold more water than all the structures that man can ever build upon it. The basic purpose of the bill reported herewith is to hold a larger part of the water where it falls either in the earth or in the small structures which will help to prevent accumulated runoff.

"Water thus retained will either soak into the earth or be fed down gradually out of retarding structures. In either case it will not only help to decrease the damage from floods in the lower valleys but also to provide additional supplies of water for useful and beneficial purposes.

"To the extent that communities, agriculture, and industry can be assisted in solving their water-supply problems by the kind of water stabilization that this type of program will provide, the bill also will be of direct benefit in this regard. Particularly where city water supplies are dependent upon the accumulation of runoff water, treatment of upstream watershed areas should be of material assistance in providing a more adequate year-round supply.

"In the matter of flood prevention, the committee does not maintain that even the full accomplishment of the program authorized by this legislation would render unnecessary or undesirable the construction of some downstream reservoirs and other works for flood control. It does contend, however, that every gallon of water which can be persuaded to soak into the ground in the field or forest where it falls, or which is impounded in some small upstream structure to be fed gradually into the streams below, is 1 gallon of water which will be available for beneficial and constructive purposes and one which will not contribute to the formation of a disastrous flood."

H. R. 438

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I was happy to cast my vote for House bill 438, extending the life and scope of the committee to investigate the seizure by the Soviet Union of the Baltic nations: Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

This committee extends the work of the Katyn committee. Hearings held by the latter committee in London and in Frankfurt, Germany, have demonstrated the capabilities of such investigation, first, by the attacks upon it staged by Pravda and the Warsaw newspapers, as well as the radio behind the Iron Curtain; and second, testimony of spectators, many of whom were journalists who had escaped from Iron Curtain countries, and who stated that for the first time since the war the Katyn committee had brought out facts and information revealing the barbarous minds of the rulers of the Kremlin. These revelations placed the Communist propaganda machine on the defensive for the first time.

The Baltic committee held hearings during December in Washington, New York, Detroit, and Chicago, and received testimony of witnesses, collected many exhibits which were admitted into the testimony. The facts brought out were published in newspapers throughout the country and carried behind the Iron Curtain by broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

The work of the Baltic committee will reassure the freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain that we of the free world have not forgotten them. Testimony revealed by the witnesses who testified in December, some of whom were leaders in the Communist captive nation before World War II, indicated that the continued activity of this committee will give millions renewed courage to continue their struggle against communism. There are great numbers of individuals who can tell us what happened in Poland, in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, and in the Balkans. Only from their lips can the history of this dark time be documented.

This resolution, as amended, recognizes that savage crimes against humanity have been committed in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic States. It is clear that the seizure and inhuman domination of these countries is part of a well-defined pattern of Soviet imperialism which has brought nearly a billion people under the domination of the Kremlin.

So long as the Soviets realize that America has not abandoned her traditional position of freedom and justice for all mankind, and hope is kept alive in the hearts of freedom-loving people now under Soviet domination, the seeds of Soviet disintegration shall continue to germinate and the threat of a third world war will be averted.

In voting for the resolution continuing and expanding the work of the committee, I was not unmindful of the herculean service in this field rendered by my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN], who sparkplugged the investigation as chairman in the 82d Congress and is the ranking minority member of the present committee.

A Man To Run a River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared on the editorial pages of today's New York Times. I am glad to see the fine endorsement which the editorial writers of this newspaper have given Mr. Gordon R. Clapp, and I know that it is enthusiastically shared by the residents of the Tennessee Valley:

A MAN TO RUN A RIVER

Gordon R. Clapp has been Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the past 8 years. He came to TVA to assume a minor position in the personnel department in 1933. His swift rise was due to a combination of technical and administrative proficiency, great energy and, as this newspaper once said editorially, "zeal for the public service and a grasp of the social and economic ideals for which TVA stands." Now there is some uncertainty as to whether he will be renominated and confirmed for a full 9-year term when his present period of service ends next May.

Mr. Clapp himself is in no position to campaign for reappointment. The arguments for him can be found in the continued growth and success of the authority during his years of occupancy, in its steadily favorable financial position, in its warm and friendly cooperation with business interests, in its encouragement of better farm practices and in its swift and efficient aid to the Federal atomic plants. Democracy has flourished as the valley itself has flourished during Mr. Clapp's time on TVA.

This is not to say that Mr. Clapp is a superman without whom the whole project would collapse. He does, however, have experience and he does honestly believe, in the words of the oath required of TVA directors, "in the wisdom and feasibility" of the TVA Act.

An amiable citizen of Chattanooga now seriously mentioned to succeed Mr. Clapp has successfully managed a business of his own, but has not been required to show that he knows how to run a river. Mr. Clapp does know. We hope President Eisenhower and the Senate majority will forget politics and leave TVA in its present good directive hands. Mr. Clapp could probably earn more money elsewhere. The country will be lucky if it can hire him for another term.

Good Times A-Coming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Antonio (Tex.) Register:

GOOD TIMES A-COMING

(By U. J. Andrews)

The latest in the series of legal battles for the full enjoyment, by Texas Negroes, of their constitutional rights and of first-class citizenship, was launched last week in 126th district court in Austin.

Boiled down, it was as simple as this: Is a man to be denied the opportunity of making a living, the opportunity of advancing in his profession, of the opportunity of attaining recognition, simply because he happens to be a Negro?

The case in question had to do with fighting as a profession—prize fighting. It had to do with a man's being denied an equal opportunity to make a living as a professional fighter in the State of Texas, merely because that man is a Negro. State law prohibits professional interracial matches.

The evidence and testimony heard in the case have already been set forth in detail in the columns of this paper. Pending a formal decision by the court, expected in the next 10 days, we withhold comment. The reader has been presented the factual account—he can draw a layman's conclusion as to the outcome.

There were other aspects of the case that were, to us, unusually significant. It is to be remembered that—as is the case in most civil-rights suits—there was no money available to fight for the cause of justice. Maury Maverick, Jr., State representative, district 68, and Carlos Cadena, St. Mary's University law professor, who argued the suit in court, worked without fee.

One would have had to hear the case to really appreciate the time and effort that they had obviously devoted to it. Other attorneys who signed the original petition, although they were not in court, last week, were Charles Lieck, Jr., who, like Maverick, is a member of the State house of representatives; Harry M. Bellinger, and Albert Pena, Jr.

To us, it was unusually significant that so many white persons of responsible positions traveled to Austin to testify for, and appear in behalf of, a minority cause—a race issue.

Those witnesses included Edgar Lee Berlin, Port Neches lawyer, and a member of the State legislature, who described himself as a politician of sorts. Certainly he "politicks" in a section of Texas that is not especially noted for its liberality and tolerance. Among other things, it will be recalled, he opined that he did not think that Texas fans would object to the dropping of the color bar in professional fighting.

Jimmy Scaramoni, San Antonio fight promoter, was one of the key witnesses.

Dick Peebles, sports editor of San Antonio Express and president of the Texas Sports Writers Association, left a busy sports desk to bring photographs and to take the stand.

A deposition by George Harold Scherwitz, sports editor of San Antonio Light, was introduced, and became part of the record.

No other civil rights case—and that is certainly what this is—in the history of such cases in Texas courts, has brought forth such interracial cooperation. In the past, those in position to help have usually shied away from such cases, fearful of their being tagged a you-know-what lover, by their fair neighbors.

Just as the time has come when men are no longer afraid to truthfully speak out in the interest of justice, certainly, we feel, the time is here when cases, such as this, will be decided on points of law, and not on a matter of custom and public opinion, as was the position set forth by one State official, last week.

Good times are a-coming, or maybe it's the bad times going.

Selling as a Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, not so long ago, at the State distributive education convention in Galveston, Tex., a young constituent of mine, Miss Kathleen Silva, was awarded first place in a statewide competitive essay contest. Miss Silva, who is a junior in the Taylor (Tex.) High School, has written such a fine essay on the career of selling that I felt my colleagues would enjoy reading her essay as much as I did. I therefore insert Miss Silva's winning essay in today's RECORD, as follows:

SELLING AS A CAREER

Today, more than ever before, the career of selling is being recognized as an important part of the American economic system. Therefore, it is also being recognized as an important influence on world affairs. With the United States holding its present position in the world, the economic conditions existing here are naturally of vital interest to countries everywhere.

It is a well-known fact that the United States enjoys the highest standard of living in the world. No other so-called luxuries. Only in the United States can be found so many improved farms and great factories. Miles of railway, paved roads, and telephones. In the United States can be found more well-fed and well-dressed people living in nice, comfortable homes than anywhere else in the world. The living standard of the poorest people in the United States would seem very high indeed if compared with the living standard of the poorest people of another country.

This high living standard was possible by the American economic system of freedom of enterprise whereby an individual is free to go into the business of his choice with only the minimum of Government restrictions and can either suffer losses or enjoy profits. This living standard could never have been reached under any other economic system.

Our industrial economic system is composed of (1) the inventing or designing of a product, (2) the mass production of it, (3) the transportation of the product, and (4) the distributing or selling of the article. This system has been successful in the United States because of its great ability to mass produce, because of its excellent transportation and communication facilities, and because of the great selling ability of the American salesman.

This industrial economic system is one of interdependency. All phases are essential for providing the consumer with the items he needs or desires. Therefore, ignored as it may sometimes be, it is a fact that the

career of selling plays an important role in our economic system.

It has often been said that the consumer is king. The failure or success of the businesses all over the country depends on what the consumer wants or thinks he wants. In selling, the salesman is helping not only his business firm, but the consumer as well. The business of selling involves the voluntary activity of helping people help themselves. It uses the freedom to offer and lets the consumer exercise his freedom to choose that which will give him the most satisfaction. Therefore, the salesman of America is very influential in helping the consumer make up his mind and also in determining, to some degree, which businesses will prosper and which will fail.

The salesman is most helpful in giving the consumer more for his money. He often helps the consumer to decide about an article by giving him the complete facts. Too many times it has been taken for granted that the consumer knows what he wants and will make his wants known to the producer. Although manufacturers will not produce that which will not sell they often will try to create a demand for their product through advertising and by selling the consumers the idea that they want or need it. The manufacturers can produce only what the consumer wants. He cannot afford to produce an article that is rejected by the consumer.

It has never been easy to sell to the consumer the idea that he needs or wants a certain thing. Creative force and inertia are constantly struggling against each other in our economic world. People refuse to change; they are afraid of trying out new ideas or ways of doing things or even to enjoy a better way of life.

Then it became the responsibility of the American salesman to persuade the consumer that he needed a faster means of transportation and communication, a faster way of making things, and that he desired more and better means by which he could be comforted and entertained. The salesman still has to persuade the consumer to spend some of his money instead of saving it all—to buy articles which will make his life more comfortable. In view of this, it cannot be said that the standard of living was raised because it wasn't, actually. The American salesman literally talked and persuaded it up and is still doing so. Therefore, selling should stand at the top of our list when deciding on a career because the job has not been finished yet. There are only a very few Americans with a standard of living which could not be raised tremendously if they were to be given the sound advice and solid persuasion that the American salesman has proved himself so capable of giving.

By helping the consumer the salesman makes mass production possible by persuading enough people to buy a product. By making mass production possible the salesman creates more jobs, and lowers the price of the article.

And so it goes—everyone benefiting from the work of an often-ignored but very essential part of the American way of life—the American salesman.

Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include the following copy of a letter written to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States by Mr. Edward H. Smoot, who is president of the chamber of commerce in Florence, Ala. I am sure a careful reading of this letter will shed light on some of the facts that have not been revealed in the national chamber's contentions about TVA. I wish every member of the United States Chamber of Commerce could read Mr. Smoot's letter, and I urge all House Members to give it close attention:

FEBRUARY 23, 1954.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: We have received a copy of the Continuing Cost of TVA, a publication of your natural resources department. As a member of the national chamber, we want to protest as strongly as we know how this indefensible excursion into the fields of partisan propaganda. Having lived and worked with TVA in this area for 2 decades, we are familiar with it and with its work. This purported analysis of TVA is patently misleading, biased, and unfair. It is unfair both to the TVA and to this region in which the TVA has helped private enterprise to prosper and grow.

Furthermore, we do not believe this report is fair to the members of chambers of commerce in other parts of the country who depend on the national chamber for reliable and accurate reporting of facts which may affect their business enterprises or may help in the development of their own regions. They have a right, it seems to us, to objective study and analysis of facts—all the facts—of interest to all business. They are not helped in reaching sound conclusions by reports such as this, carrying water for a particular segment of commerce and industry—the electric power companies. The private power lobby is perfectly capable of carrying on its own propaganda as is evidenced by the vast sums it has spent in attempting to discredit TVA.

We do not intend here to review extensively the shortcomings of this report, nor do we intend to try to untangle the maze of labored arithmetic; but we do want to point out the basic false assumptions and a few of the statements and omissions of fact which show its bias.

The whole basis of the report is wrong when it sets up a hypothetical private company carrying on the same operations as TVA. Both experience and logic testify that no private company could or would undertake the integrated development of the river which has been achieved by TVA. As to experience, prior to TVA the United States Army Engineers sought more than once to enlist power companies in developing the Tennessee River with a system of high dams with the Government bearing part of the expense. Their efforts were wasted. As to logic, it is clear that no private company would plan, build, and operate a system of dams primarily for the purposes of promoting navigation and controling floods and to produce power only so far as may be consistent with such purposes. These phrases, significantly enough, are missing from the Chamber's report. No private company would place its dams at points along the Tennessee to assure a continuous navigation channel; no private power company would, nor could it be compelled to, discharge from its reservoirs water which might later be used for power generation in order to maintain storage space for flood control. TVA has done both.

In view of these facts, the report's attempt to inflate TVA's power investment by complaining that too much is charged to navigation and flood control is ridiculous. It seems significant to us that your report fails to mention the Report of the Federal Power Commission in 1949 which confirmed the reasonableness of TVA's allocation.

The benefits of flood control and navigation more than justify the costs. TVA flood control is worth an average of more than $11 million annually to the Tennessee and lower Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Last year the channel carried a billion ton-miles of traffic—oil and gasoline, automobiles, coal, wheat and corn, iron and steel products, and chemicals—at savings of $12 million. The channel is of benefit not only to the Tennessee Valley but to people all up and down the whole inland waterway of the United States.

Your preoccupation with unrealistic mathematics leads you to ignore entirely the real demonstrations of the yardstick. Down here we can remember the pre-TVA days when the Government sold power from Wilson Dam at 2 mills a kilowatt-hour while we paid high rates in homes and businesses. At the same time, utilities and others haggled in attempts to buy or lease the dam at bargain-basement prices—prices far below the value which TVA put on it when it took it over. Today, rates are low, not only in the TVA area but in surrounding areas served by private power companies which are prospering. In establishing rates in this area, TVA introduced a policy of selling electricity at low cost with the belief that the result would be a marked increase in the use of electricity and that greater sales would produce the necessary revenues to cover all the costs. This policy has worked. Today the Tennessee Valley region, the average home uses 4,400 kilowatt-hours a year, nearly twice the average for the Nation. In Florence, the average in the last fiscal year was 5,300 kilowatt-hours. In the same way, TVA aggressively encouraged rural electrification, a field in which private utilities had barely nibbled. Only 3 percent of farms were electrified—and that meant only electric lights—in 1933, compared to 90 percent of farms with service today, using power for household conveniences which used to be reserved for city homes and for farm operations. These are facts, ignored in your report, which we suspect would be of great interest to businessmen, particularly those engaged in the manufacture of electrical appliances. But there is no mention in your report that, because of policies encouraging the abundant use of power, this area is one of the best appliance markets in the country—$200 million a year.

This policy has paid financially. TVA earns an average of more than 4 percent annually on its power investment and is paying back the power investment ahead of schedule. Municipal and cooperative systems are prospering even more. Mass consumption of electricity has helped reduce power costs per unit. Production transmission and distribution, sales promotion, administration, and depreciation expenses—all of these entirely divorced from questions of interest and taxes—are about half as much in the Tennessee Valley as in the Nation generally. To claim to discuss the yardstick without mention of facts like these is an inexcusable distortion.

The bias of the report is revealed further by numerous niggling and misleading statements concerning various phases of the TVA program. One of these is the statement that TVA "shifted from nitrogen to superphosphates, which required less power." The fact is that the production of phosphates by electric-furnace methods, which were developed by TVA with great benefits to private industry, takes large quantities of power—much more than TVA uses now in the production of ammonium nitrate alternatively for fertilizer or munitions. The real reason TVA turned to superphosphates, upon the advice of the land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture, was the need for the key mineral phosphate in the soil—a fact which, if you could bring yourselves to report it, should be of great interest to businessmen whose prosperity

depends upon a sound, continuing agriculture.

The same niggling approach appears in your discussion of TVA and national defense, in which no mention is made of the tremendous contributions of TVA power to expansion of the aluminum industry at the beginning of the last war when the Nation embarked on building 50,000 planes a year. Nor is it mentioned that TVA had power available, and the ability to produce more on short order, that made possible the construction of the Oak Ridge plant and the production of the atomic bomb.

Some significant current facts are also missing, namely, that the existence and the example of TVA has enabled the Government to make tremendous savings in power costs in dealing with private utilities to obtain power for the atomic energy program. You may be sure that it was no accident that the two companies which have contracted to supply power to AEC at Paducah, Ky., and Portsmouth, Ohio, quoted rates within close shooting distance of those of TVA—and well below the ordinary rates of private utilities for industrial power. TVA supplies the Oak Ridge plant; TVA and a private company are jointly supplying the Paducah plant; the Portsmouth plant obtains power from a private company. Together the three plants will use about 50 billion killowatt-hours a year; this means that every mill per kilowatt-hour of difference between the actual costs of power and what AEC would have had to pay in the absence of TVA at the ordinary rates of private utilities, saves the taxpayers of the Nation $50 million a year. This may not be a "yardstick," but it will do until one comes along.

We have mentioned but a few of the distortions and omissions in this report. But they are sufficient to demonstrate that the report is not only a libel on the TVA and the Tennessee Valley but also a disservice to your members in all parts of the country.

Yours very truly,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
EDWARD H. SMOOT, *President.*

Explosion in the Capitol

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of Tuesday, March 2, 1954:

EXPLOSION IN THE CAPITOL

Yesterday's terrible and tragic outburst of gunfire in the Chamber of the House of Representatives seems, in a way, symbolic of the violence of our times. This was senseless violence—the irrational violence of madmen, devoid of point or purpose. Like the attempt to assassinate President Truman in 1950, this appears to have been motivated by no animus against the individual targets but by a mere demoniac desire to dramatize a political attitude incapable of attracting support by pacific methods.

The Puerto Rican nationalism which yesterday's would-be assassins pretend to champion is virtually devoid of support in their homeland. They represent a tiny group of no standing or influence in the island; indeed such support as they may possess seems to stem much more from Puerto Rican exiles living in New York. The overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans, who voted for Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín and supported the commonwealth relation to the United States which he sponsored, have no desire for independence. They are thoroughly loyal, patriotic, and law-abiding Americans. Only the blindest sort of folly could suggest striking back at them in reprisal for an outrage committed by a few of their unbalanced compatriots.

All Americans, in Puerto Rico as well as on the mainland, will join in prayer for the recovery of those who were wounded yesterday. Security measures ought to be considered to prevent any recurrence of this sort of misfortune; it might be well at least to try to prevent the carrying of pistols into the congressional galleries. The arrest of another Puerto Rican nationalist in Hartford, Conn., suggests the need for a closer watch on the movement. It would be a pity, however, to diminish the freedom with which Americans have always gained access to the Halls of Congress. Indignation over the occurrence should not breed intemperance or vindictiveness. This is a time for Congress to keep its head.

International Travel Development Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which I am chairman, is currently holding hearings on House Joint Resolution 350, to promote the foreign policy of the United States by fostering international travel and the exchange of persons, the International Travel Development Act of 1954. Already a number of witnesses representing national organizations in the field of travel and transportation have testified favorably on this measure. Appended is an article from the Washington Post of Sunday, February 28, 1954, which discusses this proposed legislation:

NEW BILL WOULD ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO TRAVEL ABROAD

(By Arthur Edson)

What this country needs, a couple of Congressmen say, is to get more people out of this country.

As tourists, that is, not for keeps.

So Senator FLANDERS (Republican of Vermont) and Representative JAVITS (Republican-Liberal of New York) have introduced a bill to set up a 10-man United States Travel Commission. This Commission not only would have the not too difficult job of tempting us to bask on the Mediterranean beaches, but also of getting foreigners now basking on the Mediterranean beaches to come visit here.

At the same time the Commission would study domestic and regional travel problems.

This Nation already is the most footloose in the history of the world. But FLANDERS and JAVITS think we ought to travel farther—and not just to get a good tan, either.

Their interest is the dollar.

Many a foreign country has had trouble getting dollars, so instead of aid, why not have more United States visitors spend the dollar in person?

Already, they say, 800,000 persons are going abroad each year who spend $1,200,000,000. With a little prodding, particularly in the direction of Europe, they believe this figure could be increased to 1,300,000 travelers who would spend $2,500,000,000.

"One of the best immediate steps to replace aid with trade," FLANDERS and JAVITS say in a joint statement, "is through travel."

Well, a check with the National Association of Travel Organizations showed how important a business travel has become.

In the most recent year for which figures are available, in this country alone we were gadding about at the annual rate of $16,645,796,700 worth. And that doesn't include business travel.

James L. Bossemeyer, executive vice president of the travel organization, is all for a travel commission. But he would emphasize getting more foreign tourists to come here.

His interest is in the dollar.

Bossemeyer says it's odd that every other major country in the world has an official travel agency singing its wonders.

Furthermore, he says, we complicate the problem with a tough inspection when the visitor finally arrives.

Even so, more people come a visiting or on business than you might suppose. Around 375,000 a year.

They come from everywhere: 121,902 from Europe, 100,301 from the West Indies (especially Cuba), 51,553 from South America, and on down to other countries, mostly islands, with 1,031.

The Canadian picture is especially bright and fiscally interesting.

Creating Better Appreciation and Understanding of American Government and Its Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HAGEN. of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, one of our best means of improving Government administration is by creating better public understanding of the work of Government and its employees.

As chairman of the special Subcommittee on Civil Service of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee I was pleased to learn that recognition is to be given to newspaper, radio, and television correspondents, Federal employee leaders, and public officials for improving public knowledge of Government.

This recognition is being given through awards of the American Association for Public Information, Education, and Research, 1010 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D. C., and I request permission for publication in the Appendix of the RECORD of its announcement of the awards:

It follows:

Nominations for special awards for creating a better appreciation and understanding of the American Government and its employees were announced by Merle T. Welshans, professor of business administration, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., chairman of the awards committee of the American Association for Public Infor-

mation, Education, and Research, 1010 Vermont Avenue NW.

The awards will be presented at the annual Business-Government Institute to be conducted by AAPIER in Washington from April 21 to 23, 1954. The organization is composed of educators, Government officials, and business representatives, and its annual institute is held to acquaint members with the personnel, organization, and service of the Federal agencies.

Serving with Professor Welshans on the AAPIER Awards Committee are: Sherman S. Cohen, general counsel of the organization, Representative HAROLD C. HAGEN, Republican, of Minnesota, and Representative JAMES MORRISON, Republican, of Louisiana, and an advisory group of Federal officials and employees.

Professor Welshans explained that one of the major objectives of AAPIER is to contribute to better public administration, and the special awards for creation of a better understanding of American Government and its employees were adopted because it is believed that only through better public understanding will effective public participation be encouraged and progress in public administration assured.

Citations to Federal officials and employees, civil-service writers, Government reporters, and representatives of the press, radio, and TV will be made for making public the daily operations of Government and the achievements of civil-service personnel.

Nominated for the special awards were 7 press and magazine representatives, 1 radio correspondent (local), 1 radio-TV correspondent (national), 1 TV correspondent (local), 1 White House official, 3 Government officials, and 2 Federal employee organization officials. Nominees and the reasons for their selection are as follows:

PRESS

Paul Wooten, chairman, Society of Business Magazine Editors, for improving business understanding of government.

Francis P. Cawley, vice president, Magazine Publishers Association, for improving business understanding of government.

Peter Edson, Newspaper Enterprise Association, Scripps-Howard, for exemplary coverage of news throughout the Federal Government.

Joseph Young, Federal Spotlight columnist, Washington Evening Star, for comprehensive and objective coverage of civil-service news.

John Cramer, 9 to 4:30 columnist, Washington Daily News, for comprehensive and objective coverage of civil-service news.

Jerry Kluttz, Federal Diary columnist, Washington Post, for comprehensive and objective coverage of civil-service news.

Howard Lewis, U. S. and Us columnist, Washington Times-Herald, for comprehensive and objective coverage of civil-service news.

TELEVISION (NATIONAL)

David Brinkley, National Broadcasting Corp., Washington, D. C., for objective coverage of government news in network broadcasts.

TELEVISION (LOCAL)

Matthew Warren, Dumont-WTTG-TV, Washington, D. C., for objective coverage of Government and employee news on local TV broadcasts.

RADIO (LOCAL)

Carl Berger, radio station WWDC, for conscientious service to Government and its employees through the medium of radio.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEE ORGANIZATIONS

Tom Walters, operations division, AFL Government Employees Council, for effective reporting to Federal employee organizations of legislative news affecting Government and its employees.

Luther Steward, president, National Federation of Federal Employees, Washington, D. C., for the NFFE truth campaign to acquaint the public with the truth about Government and its employees.

WHITE HOUSE

James Hagerty, Press Secretary, the White House, for conspicuously effective press relations, concerning news of Government and Federal officials and employees.

FEDERAL AGENCIES

Edward S. Howrey, Chairman, Federal Trade Commission, for encouraging effective communication of news.

Hal J. Miller, United States Civil Service Commission, for improving civil-service morale and public understanding of Government through development of the Federal employee interest program.

Theodore C. Streibert, United States Information Agency, for creating better understanding of the American Government in foreign countries.

Congressman Rooney Wants Audits of Airline Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I request permission to insert in the RECORD part of a column by Robert S. Allen appearing in the New York Post on March 1, 1954, entitled "Airline Subsidies Soar Sky High," and quoting the efforts of my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. ROONEY] to require proper audits of the subsidies for the benefit of the American taxpayers. The article is as follows:

AIRLINE SUBSIDIES SOAR SKY HIGH
(By Robert S. Allen)

WASHINGTON, March 1.—The Government's subsidy to the airlines has reached a new record high of $138,712,000.

That's the amount the Civil Aeronautics Board is asking for mail pay in the fiscal year starting July 1. The figure is $2 million more than this year, and 4 times greater than the whole budget for this purpose in 1946.

Since the end of World War II the Government has spent more than $920 million in airline subsidies. The CAB estimates that actual cost of transporting the airmail constitutes only 28 percent of these payments. The other 72 percent, approximately $650 million, is straight subsidy.

Largest beneficiary of this direct financial aid is Pan American Airways. In the last 3 years it has received a total of $108,574,000.

This significant information came to light at a private meeting of the House Appropriations Committee during questioning of Irving Roth, head of the CAB's Rates Section.

"How long has it been," asked Representative ROONEY, Democrat, of New York, "since the CAB has examined the books of Pan-Am's various subsidiaries? This airline has extensive investments in numerous other corporations which operate foreign airlines, hotels, radio stations, and other kinds of business. When did you last go over their books?"

"No complete audit of Pan-American has been performed covering the period subsequent to December 31, 1950," replied Roth. "The reason is that it has not been customary to perform audits of Pan-American's affiliated companies or of concerns in which Pan-American has an investment."

"I don't see why it shouldn't be customary to make such audits," snapped ROONEY. "American taxpayers are pouring many millions of dollars into this corporation every year in outright subsidies, so the CAB, a Government agency, should certainly examine the books of the company to check on how the taxpayers money is being used."

At ROONEY's demand the following major allocations in the new record-high subsidy budget were disclosed to the committee:

Pan-American	$39,662,000
TWA	14,013,000
United	10,954,000
American	9,014,000
Northwest	6,972,000
Braniff	5,550,000
Eastern	3,199,000
Frontier	3,015,000
Trans-Texas	2,700,000
North-Central	2,700,000
Alaska	2,620,000
Panagra (owned jointly by Pan-Am and Grace Shipping Co.)	2,402,000

Resolution Submitted by Hon. Felipe N. Torres and Unanimously Adopted by the New York State Assembly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolution submitted by Hon. Felipe N. Torres, who represents the Fifth Assembly District, Bronx County, which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly of the State of New York on March 3, 1954.

Mr. Torres represents one of the assembly districts in my congressional district. I know him to be a fine person and an outstanding legislator.

The resolution condemns the acts of terrorism by certain Puerto Rican nationalists and also expresses sympathy for our colleagues who were injured and wishes them a prompt recovery.

It likewise reasserts the fact, which we well know, that the people of Puerto Rico are peace-loving American citizens who believe in law and order and who are justly proud of their association with the United States.

The resolution follows:

Whereas, from the report of the press, certain acts of terrorism took place on March 1, 1954, in the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.; and

Whereas such acts of terrorism were carried out by alleged Puerto Rican Nationalists who from the gallery of the House of Representatives shot down on Members of Congress while the House was in session; and

Whereas as a result of the aforesaid criminal acts five Congressmeir were injured, to wit: Hon. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, Hon. BEN F. JENSEN, Hon. CLIFFORD DAVIS, Hon. GEORGE H. FALLON, and Hon. KENNETH A. ROBERTS; and

Whereas such tragedy has shocked our Nation and tends to reflect on the good name of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this assembly does hereby condemn such acts of terrorism as being contrary to the democratic process, and does hereby express its sympathy for those Members of Congress who were injured and wish them a prompt recovery; be it further

Resolved, That this assembly is of the opinion that the perpetrators of such criminal acts do not represent the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, but act only for themselves in carrying out their acts of terrorism; be it further

Resolved, That this assembly is of the opinion that the people of Puerto Rico are peace-loving American citizens who believe in law and order and who are justly proud of their association with the United States, the greatest democracy of all, and this assembly does hereby take this opportunity to express its confidence in the loyalty of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the President of the Senate, and to each of the Congressmen who were injured, and also to the Governor, to the president of the Senate and to the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Communists and Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I offer an editorial column by David Lawrence which appeared in the Shreveport (La.) Times, issue of March 3, 1954:

PUERTO RICANS PLANNED TO MURDER EISENHOWER AND J. EDGAR HOOVER

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, March 2.—The Communist infiltration forces in the United States, attempting to use Puerto Rican fanatics as a front, have been checkmated in their plot to assassinate President Eisenhower and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

For several weeks the existence of this assignment, as given to Puerto Rican agents in New York, has been known here but it was not expected that an effort would be made to shoot up Congress.

The connection between the Puerto Rican Nationalists and the Communists has been well established for some time. As early as July 1943, the American Communist Party issued a statement which said in part:

"We pledge our full support to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and to the complete unification of all the people of Puerto Rico and their various parties around the supreme task of achieving full nationhood.

"We will fulfill our pledge by rallying the people and particularly the labor movement of our country to Puerto Rican independence as a necessary precondition to correct relations with all Latin America and as an acid test of the Atlantic Charter. Puerto Rico must and will be free."

Within 60 days after the attempt to assassinate President Truman, the convention of the National Committee of the American Communist Party on December 28, 1950, in New York City—the last of the Communist Party conclaves to be held—had in it a Puerto Rican Communist delegation and this declaration was made:

"We place the responsibility for the bloodshed on Harry S. Truman and on his watchdog—Muñoz-Marin (present Governor)."

The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Congress, FERNÓS-ISERN, who has a seat but no vote, declared after the attempt to shoot up the United States House of Representatives that the whole thing was a "Communist plot" because even the extreme Nationalists knew there was no real issue about Puerto Rico independence.

For commonwealth status has been granted, and the decision as to severance of all ties with the United States is in the hands of the Puerto Rican voters themselves.

So he concluded that something else entered into the situation—a Communist effort to produce disharmony.

Certainly as the Latin-American Conference is about to convene in Venezuela, it is natural for the Communists to make a demonstration in the hope of convincing the Latin countries generally that the United States is oppressing a Spanish-inhabited country—a kind of "colonialism."

The shooting in the House Chamber came as a shock in more ways than the dramatic occurrence itself would indicate on its face. For it suddenly awakened official Washington in all its branches to the fact that the Communist menace cannot be pooh-poohed.

Those who have insisted that security measures hereabouts were superfluous now will feel differently about it, and the one place where there has been great laxity—in and around Congress—may at last get the protection it has always needed.

The Puerto Rican Nationalists, like their brethren in the fanatical fold in other countries, are dupes of the Communists. The Nationalists start out with an emotional crusade in the cause of freedom and independence and are egged on by Communists agents who furnish the money and the brains for intrigue.

At first it was discounted, for instance, that the Nationalists in Iran had any connection with the Communists. But later on the plot became clear.

In Guatemala today, the Nationalists insist that they are on their own in their anti-imperialist campaigns which take the form of bitter anti-Americanism.

But the Communists are in the background.

The British Government saw through the pretense when the same cry was raised in British Guiana.

For the Communists are fishing in troubled waters everywhere—in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, French Morocco, India, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia and, of course, in Indochina, where they have taken over the movement for independence from the French.

Australia Remembers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial entitled "Australia Remembers," from the Houston (Tex.) Post:

MIRROR OF WORLD OPINION

It should not pass without notice that Australia has not forgotten American help in World War II. Queen Elizabeth has unveiled at Canberra a 258-foot high monument commemorating that help. Money for its construction was contributed by the Australian people and the government.

The memorial is an eight-sided shaft, topped by a sphere and an eagle with wings spread in the victory "V."

We Americans have become so accustomed to being criticized by people of other nations we have helped that it is quite touching to learn of some people who do not think harshly of us. The friendship expressed by this monument is a fine thing. Let the people of both the United States and Australia hope that it is as enduring as the monument is designed to be.

Blessing in Grim Disguise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, as one who saw friends and colleagues shot down on the floor of Congress by the gunfire of the Puerto Rican fanatics, besides being one of many who narrowly escaped the barrage of bullets, I naturally was deeply shocked by this appalling occurrence.

Yet terrible as the happening was as an act of violence against the hundreds of persons assembled in the hall and galleries of the House of Representatives, this was actually the lesser part of the crime.

Far more heinous was the fact that this was an invasion and desecration of the very temple of free and representative government by the agents of organized violence, hate, and terrorism. Moreover, the murderous gunfire came at the moment the House was conducting a vote on a pending measure—as if the intent was deliberately to profane the most central and sacred rite of self-government.

There is abundant and increasing evidence of direct ties between the small band of Puerto Rican revolutionaries and the worldwide Communist conspiracy. Even more obvious is the deadly parallel between this murderous assault on the Congress and the known methods and goals of the Communists in America and elsewhere.

Certainly Members of Congress—and, it is hoped, the American people as well—now have a clearer understanding of all that is involved in the phrase "advocacy of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence."

Perhaps there will also be a clearer understanding that the essence of the Communist movement is not the meetings of Marxist discussion groups; the winning of converts to an abstract theoretical ideology; the infiltration of American institutions by adherents to Communist doctrines or an exaggerated spy scare. The essence of the Communist conspiracy and the full flowering of its teaching of hatred is the terrorist tactics which invaded the Halls of Congress last week, and the ultimate goal is seizure of the complete power of government by whatever means are necessary.

It may be too much to hope that the American people will also have a new understanding and appreciation of what Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY and the other militant foes of communism in Congress and the Government are fighting. But this should be one byproduct of that murderous assault on Congress.

There should be a realization that the relentless effort to destroy MCCARTHY, the constant leftwing attempt to drive a wedge between MCCARTHY and President Eisenhower, and the ceaseless pressure to goad MCCARTHY into intemperate actions which can be made the basis of discrediting him, plays directly into the hands and serves the cause of those who seek the overthrow of this Government by force and violence.

The fact that honest and sincere citizens are taken in by this long-standing campaign to destroy anyone who dares to fight communism makes the situation all the more tragic and pitiful. The time is short in which all loyal Americans may close ranks in support of all who are working, at the price of arduous toil and personal peril, to safeguard the Nation from enemies foreign and domestic.

The guns which blazed in the Halls of Congress the other day spoke a graphic warning of what evil conspirators have in mind for America. If that warning is recognized and heeded it can prove a blessing in grim and terrible disguise.

Political Asylum Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Oregon Journal for Friday, February 26, 1954, which supports my legislation, H. R. 8000, to provide political asylum for deserting Communists. The editorial follows:

SANCTUARY FOR DESERTING COMMUNISTS

Igor Gouzenko, the Soviet code clerk at Ottawa, who deserted to the West with full information on the Rosenberg atomic spy ring conspirators, has been urging that the United States and her allies openly advertise that they will offer asylum to wavering Russians who may quit the Kremlin cause.

Now Representative PATRICK J. HILLINGS, Republican, of California, proposes to introduce a bill to admit 1,000 such former Communists yearly. Such a program could "create chaos and confusion behind the Iron Curtain * * * and weaken the control of Moscow over the Communist world," HILLINGS said in a statement.

Obviously the weak link in the Soviet chain is the fellow who has had enough and is ready to fly to western sanctuary. Many have fled and been cordially received. Certainly advertisement of the fact that these deserters will be welcomed and protected should tend to create distrust among Soviet officials who appear ready to denounce each other to stay on the top of the heap. The famed Beria case shows that the life of no one, not even the head of the feared secret police, is safe if he develops powerful enough enemies to topple him.

The only criticism we have of the proposed Hillings bill is that it limits the number to 1,000 a year. If enough of them came over with valuable secrets such as Gouzenko carried, no limits should be put on the number.

Eighteen- to Twenty-Year-Olds Surpass Adults in Political Quiz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, has sent me some very interesting figures giving results of a test of political information possessed by five age groups in our population. Dr. Gallup reports that the combined results of 7 questions asked proves the 18- to 20-year-old group to be better informed on the political question asked than any of the other age groups.

In view of the current interest in the question of permitting 18- to 20-year-olds to vote, I feel the Gallup-poll findings are of considerable value in indicating the qualifications to vote of the younger age group in one important respect. This release is the first of four studies the Gallup poll is making on the subject, "Should 18-Year-Olds Be Allowed To Vote?"

The release follows:

EIGHTEEN- TO TWENTY-YEAR-OLDS SURPASS ADULTS IN POLITICAL QUIZ—ONLY 1 ADULT IN 9 KNOWS ALL 48 STATES WILL ELECT MEMBERS OF HOUSE THIS FALL, QUIZ FINDS

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

PRINCETON, N. J., March 2.—Are the Nation's 18-year-olds smart enough to vote?

Former President Truman believes they do not have the knowledge at 18 to qualify to vote. "Twenty-one is a better age; twenty-four would be better still," Truman has said.

On the other hand, President Eisenhower believes they should.

Who's right—Eisenhower or Truman?

To determine which age group in the population is best informed on basic political facts, the institute undertook what is believed to be the first nationwide political quiz in history among a representative sample of the Nation's present voters.

The same quiz, designed by the editors of the Gallup poll in cooperation with Princeton University professors, also was given to a typical sample of 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds across the country.

Results show that, on the whole, the 18 to 20 age group does for better than their elders. On 6 of the 7 questions, their scores surpass those of present voters.

Other highlights:

Only 1 adult in 9 knows that all 48 States will elect United States Representatives this fall.

Only half of the adults know there are two United States Senators from each State and far fewer could correctly name the two Senators from their State.

Only 1 adult in 17 could state the purpose of the proposed Bricker amendment.

Two out of every three 18-to-20 year-olds know that the first 10 amendments to the Constitution are familiarly called the "Bill of Rights." Only 1 out of every 3 adults could answer this one.

Here are the "average scores" for the seven questions by the various age groups:

Scores by age groups

18–20 years	41
21–29 years	27
30–39 years	29
40–49 years	27
50 years and over	24

Here are the seven questions asked by the Gallup poll in today's political quiz:

1. How many States will elect Members of the United States House of Representative this fall?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	22
21–29 years	10
30–39 years	9
40–49 years	13
50 years and over	13
Total adults	11

2. How many United States Senators are there from your State?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	66
21–29 years	42
30–39 years	54
40–49 years	50
50 years and over	47
Total adults	49

3. Can you recall the names of your Senators?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	29
21–29 years	24
30–39 years	30
40–49 years	31
50 years and over	34
Total adults	31

4. What are the first 10 amendments to the Constitution called?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	67
21–29 years	49
30–39 years	40
40–49 years	29
50 years and over	22
Total adults	33

5. What is meant by the electoral college?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	38
21–29 years	40
30–39 years	39
40–49 years	35
50 years and over	32
Total adults	36

6. What are the three branches of the Federal Government called?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	50
21–29 years	20
30–39 years	22
40–49 years	23
50 years and over	15
Total adults	19

7. What is the purpose of the proposed Bricker amendment?

	Percent correct
18–20 years	15
21–29 years	5
30–39 years	6
40–49 years	5
50 years and over	8
Total adults	6

The Panama Canal: Our Most Insecure Outpost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a condensed article that appeared in the Denver Post, Denver, Colo., January 10, 1954. This article deals with the Panama Canal, and I am sure that the factual information set forth in this article will be of great interest to the Members of Congress.

The condensed article is as follows:

THE PANAMA CANAL: OUR MOST INSECURE OUTPOST

(By J. P. McEvoy)

The Panama Canal is about 50 miles long, and the 6 double locks which raise and lower ships 85 feet are each 1,000 feet long and 110 feet wide. One of our biggest battleships, the *New Jersey*, with a 108-foot beam, can just scrape through, taking all day and knocking off concrete in its progress. Our largest airplane carriers can't get through at all, to say nothing of the supercarriers now building.

Obviously the canal is too small, and the locks are vulnerable to air attack. Even more vulnerable is the Gatun Dam, which holds back the water necessary to float the ships through the locks. Enough water to supply Boston for a day, some 26 million gallons, is poured out to sea to let 1 ship through. If this dam were breached Gatun Lake would drain dry and the canal would be useless for the 2 years required for it to refill.

Yet propaganda to the effect that the canal is less important in this new age of airlifts is dangerous drivel. Modern wars are fought by mountains of materiel which must be moved in ships. Even the Korean incident increased the Panama Canal traffic by a third.

Which brings up the question now under discussion in Washington: What are we going to do about the canal?

This is not a new question. The canal was born out of the urgency created by the Spanish-American War. Our fleet was scattered from the Philippines to Cuba. The canal would cut the New York-San Francisco voyage 7,800 miles, a great saving in time and money and an immeasurable benefit to our national security.

So President Theodore Roosevelt pushed the canal idea through Congress, after considerable debate about where it should be. Through the years, 30 possible routes had been surveyed, all the way from Mexico down to Colombia. Congress finally agreed to buy out, for $40 million, the bankrupt French companies, which had failed in two attempts to dig a canal. Then it authorized a deal with the new Republic of Panama, which had just become independent of Colombia by a combination of political shenanigans which still remain somewhat obscure.

We gave Panama $10 million outright for a 10-mile-wide strip of worthless jungle, inhabited by death-dealing mosquitoes and other beasties. We further agreed to pay Panama a yearly rental of $250,000 in gold, forever.

After Roosevelt II took us off the gold standard we upped the yearly payment to $430,000 of our depreciated dollars. Now representatives of Panama and the United States are huddling over a new treaty revision. This follows the state visit of Panama's President José Antonio (Chichi) Remon, burly, affable, simpático—and tough. As chief of Panama's 3,000-man police force—really a vest-pocket army—he was a president-maker until he decided to make himself one. He explained his visit to Washington rather charmingly: "I didn't come here to seek for money, but for justice. And by justice I mean a larger share in the Panama Canal receipts." In other words, more money. (The tolls average $5,000 per ship and totaled $37 million last year.)

The United States taxpayer is only faintly amused by this diplomatic double talk. It was the United States taxpayer who dug and paid for the Panama Canal—not Panama. The United States taxpayer wiped out malaria and yellow fever—not only in the Canal Zone but in Panama, making it the most healthful tropical country anywhere in the world. True, the United States had to do this for Panama because the female mosquitoes who carry yellow fever and malaria will fly 5 miles for a blood meal and pay no mind to nonsense like international boundaries.

The United States taxpayer keeps the canal in operation, a tremendously expensive deal—overhauling and repairing the locks, constantly dredging and clearing away landslides. The canal must be manned and maintained by highly competent personnel, and protected by the armed might of the United States.

Further, if the canal is to remain commercially and strategically useful, tremendously expensive improvements must be made. Just what these improvements should consist of is something about which the experts disagree. One group argues for improving the present locks and building an alternate set of larger locks to supplement them. Another group advocates the building of a brand-new sea-level canal as soon as possible. Detailed surveys have already been made for this sea-level canal and a mile-long miniature facsimile has been completed where all the problems have been simulated and solved, including the most controversial—the great difference between the high tides of 2 feet on the Atlantic side and 20 feet on the Pacific.

At present the repair of one lock cuts the capacity of the canal by half, and waiting ships have to queue up in both oceans for miles. The passage of one major battleship ties up most of the canal traffic for a day. It has been estimated that it would cost around a billion and a half dollars to increase the canal capacity by improving its system of locks. But the acute problem of vulnerability to air attack or sabotage would still remain. A sea-level canal, though costing a billion more, would be relatively safer. A simple earth-moving operation would clear a sea-level channel in case of air attack, whereas immediate replacement of the intricate and gigantic lock installations would be obviously impossible.

But before we start to build a new canal we should take a new look at the canal we have, and the little country of Panama, with which we are inextricably involved. Under the treaty of 1936 Panama accepted joint responsibility with the United States for the defense of the canal. But in 1947, when the United States had reason to fear that the canal might be attacked suddenly by Russia if the cold war turned hot, Panama declined to renew rights granted during World War II to 13 military bases vital to the defense of this strategic waterway. This was done by the unanimous vote of Panama's National Assembly. Some of the members of this assembly—now members of the government of President Remon—accompanied him to Washington, where they were lavish with their professions of unswerving friendship to the United States.

What does Panama want now? Principally, Panama wants an ever-increasing cut of the canal tolls without any additional liability to help maintain or defend the canal—and without making available to us the bases necessary to do this ourselves.

Panama also wants her merchants to have more of the United States dollar trade now going to Canal Zone concessionaires who can undersell them. Fair enough.

Panama complains of discrimination in the Canal Zone when it comes to the employment of Panamanians. The truth is, there is a certain amount of discrimination, growing out of color and language differences, but the leading American union in the zone—the AFL's Canal Zone Metal Trades Council—has gone on record in favor of equal pay and employment opportunities provided the Panamanians have the same skills as Americans and agree to produce an equal amount of work. Even the most patriotic Panamanians will tell you privately that these are not popular provisions.

But our differences with the Government of Panama are not our only headache in the Canal Zone. There is a little matter of how we treat our own citizens who man this vital waterway.

When the first Americans went down to the jungle in 1904 to dig the canal they faced incredible dangers and hardships. Special inducements such as free hospitalization, 25 percent more pay than similar Government employees in the United States get, and the advantages of living in a tax-free area were held out to lure these men from the safety of their homes and jobs up North. They were given to believe they were establishing new homes where the opportunities they created would pass on to their children.

What has happened? At first they were charged reasonable rents for the shacks they inhabited—but rentals have been raised to exorbitant levels. Today these termite-ridden barracks, neither modernized nor maintained in decent repair, shocks the visitor from the North. Free medical attention has been taken away, and not long ago the United States Government announced that the 25-percent pay differential would also be abolished or reduced. This has been temporarily averted by the zone unions, but it is coming. The health reason for the differential, however, will remain: Medical authorities agree that all employees should go back to the States every 2 years or so for a visit in the interest of their health.

The Canal Zone is like nothing else over which the American flag flies. It is not a State, a Territory, a possession, a mandate, or even a district, like the District of Columbia. You might say it is a kind of Indian reservation where the inhabitants pay American taxes but have no vote; where the landlord owns all the tepees and the trading posts—but the inhabitants can live there only so long as they have jobs. If you are retired or fired, you and your family are shipped out immediately, like refugees. You are not permitted to buy or own a place to live, and it doesn't matter how long or faithfully you have worked there, when your useful days are over—out you go.

Where? Who cares? With what? What you have been able to save on a Government salary, often low compared to similar jobs in other parts of the world. A Suez Canal pilot, who has a relatively easy job, is paid substantially more than the Panama Canal pilot, who must be skillful enough to bring an ocean liner or a battleship through 6 narrow locks and a twisting channel only 300 feet wide in places. And he is one of the best-paid employees in the zone.

One oldtimer, recently retired after 45 years of faithful service, told me: "The Canal Zone was the only home I knew. But as soon as my retirement papers came through I was practically deported." He added: "We oldtimers remember the ringing speeches of Teddy Roosevelt, General Goethals, and other great American leaders who assured us that

we were building a new homeland for our children and our children's children. Now there is sadness—even bitterness—in our hearts. We oldtimers have a name for this: betrayal at the ninth parallel."

Diplomats, hassling in Washington over mutual concessions, are reminding each other that Panama has a case, and the United States has a case. But the Canal Zone employee, too, has a case. And unless we can find ways of solving all these problems with fairness—and, where needed, firmness—the Panama Canal is going to remain our most insecure outpost.

The South Faces a Fact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Ralph McGill from the Atlanta Constitution of December 1, 1953:

THE SOUTH FACES A FACT

(By Ralph McGill)

What the various southern State legislatures are doing, as they busy themselves with plans to carry on school segregation without legal compulsion, is admitting segregation by law is finished, either this year, next, or within the next few to come.

It is. There is no need beating about the bush. It, therefore, seems important that we discuss the problem as rationally as possible.

There are those who insist that segregation protects the integrity of both races. There are others who believe, with deep sincerity, Negroes are better off under it. Conceivably this might be argued with some logic. It does not matter. The world, in the throes of a social revolution which began with the coming of the industrial revolution, and which was tremendously accelerated by two great world wars, has moved on. Segregation by law no longer fits today's world.

Southern legislatures busy with plans to maintain some form of segregation without legal compulsion are wise to face that fact—though there are questions as to the wisdom of some of the proposals they make.

POLICY

As a matter of fact, segregation has been on its way out for a good long time and has been breaking down at the edges for more than a generation. Surprisingly few Southerners, or Americans of other areas, know that for some years Negroes have been attending, and graduating from, medical, law, and other professional schools in State universities in the South.

In the field of employment, segregation has for some years been changing, and in many other fields it also shows the signs, and influences, of our time.

Two great forces have been at work on segregation and the problem of race. One is secular, the other religious. The Christian of today cannot help but wince at the full implications, and the jarring clash of his creed, with discrimination against any person because of color. To send missionaries to colored peoples and then to argue that because of the color of skin the two may not, if they choose so to do, worship the same God together is an impossible contradiction.

Indeed, it is this very fact which causes our Communist enemies to be able to present us in a bad light before the Oriental and Asiatic peoples. They can say, with some truth, that our claims to Christian brotherhood and democracy are hypocritically untrue.

Christianity cannot well afford to be on the wrong side of a moral force, as it was in some areas when it defended slavery.

The other influence is secular. Segregation implies inferiority. There are those who argue that it does not. But, those segregated believe it does. There are those who say the fish never feels the hook. But, unfortunately, it is not possible to ask the fish. Across two great wars now we, along with other free peoples, have preached the rights of men everywhere to be free and equal—we have encouraged long-oppressed peoples to rise. They have done so, and to date the Communists, with great shrewdness, have exploited successfully many of these nationalistic revolutions.

CHANGE

An end to segregation—when it comes—will not, of course, force people to associate socially. That will remain, as now, personal choice. But, it will bring on change—and this is what State legislatures in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama are, or will be, considering. They consider not how to retain legal segregation—which they see soon ending—but how to effect it without legal compulsion.

Their great opportunity is to do so without violence or rash deeds which later will have to be undone at great cost.

So, while it is true that much of the push behind ending segregation is political, and that many of those in both parties urge it hypocritically, it does not change the basic fact—segregation is on its way out and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change.

Malenkov Will Not Tell "Nothing to Nobody"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Macy's does not tell Gimbel's but Malenkov goes Macy's one better. He will not tell anybody. The U. N. has just published its fifth annual yearbook which amounts to a statistician's nightmare. It tells everything about everybody starting with the amount of money spent for agates and going down somewhere to zygotes. That is, it tells about every country except Russia.

Mr. Malenkov refuses to furnish any figures on the day-to-day living costs of his people and the expenses of the Soviet Union for such items as military defense are clouded by all kinds of guesswork. Not only does Mr. M refuse to tell, he also stops Albania, Bulgaria, mainland China, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Poland, and Rumania from telling.

A good clue to why Malenkov will not talk comes from some of the living standard items. Out of 230 million radios in the entire world, approximately one-half are in the United States. Twenty-five million of these radios are in American automobiles. We have 1 physician for every 800 inhabitants. Only New Zealand reaches this mark with us. We use up 60 percent of the world's newsprint. Our farmers have one-third of the world's fertilizer available.

No wonder Mr. Malenkov will not talk. He does not have much to talk about.

Central Valley Project Returning Huge Sums to Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an article from the Sacramento Bee showing that the Central Valley project netted the Federal Treasury $5½ million. These are the actual net revenues from the project and, of course, do not include the large amount of taxes which the area supplied by the Central Valley project was able to pay because the project is in operation. Every year the Central Valley project is proving its value, not only to our State, but to the Nation.

The article follows:

CVP PAYS UNITED STATES 5.5 MILLION AS 1953 NET

The Central Valley project from its 1953 operations returned to the United States Treasury $5,500,000 in revenues from the sale of 1 million acre-feet of water and some 2,245,000,000-kilowatt hours of electric energy.

These facts were disclosed today by Clyde H. Spencer, Sacramento regional director of the Federal Reclamation Bureau, which is constructing and operating the project.

The revenue for 1953 brought the total net return to date from the CVP to $50,931,707.

HIGHER IN 1953

Last year's return was $1,900,000 less than the revenue from the project in 1952.

The reason for this, Spencer explained, is that in 1953 the CVP used more of its own power with the result it had less to sell. Power produced at the Shasta and Keswick plants accounts for 87.4 percent of gross revenues to date and materially eases the cost of irrigation water to the farmers of the Central Valley.

DELIVERIES UP

Water deliveries during the year were up 40 percent over those of 1952, Spencer added, and it took a greater power load to operate the project pumps, particularly at Tracy, where the water is lifted from the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta 198 feet to the headworks of the Delta-Mendota Canal.

The reclamation director emphasized the CVP is a good paying proposition and its repayment plan is far ahead of schedule.

Power sales last year totaled $8,930,441; irrigation water $2,598,956, and municipal water $271,366. Deducted from the $11,800,000 gross revenues are $2,989,000 for depreciation to assure the sound financial base of the project at all times; $1,866,000 irrigation operating expense; $1,057,000 power operating expense; $179,000 municipal water operating expense, and $198,000 nonoperating expense.

During 1952 the gross operating revenue was $11,609,675. The operating expenses amounted to $2,194,120 and the reserve for depreciation totaled $1,966,497.

TWELVE NEW CONTRACTS

Spencer reported 12 new revenue producing contracts were signed during the year between users and the United States including 9 for water and 3 for power.

The year marked the first full year of complete operation of the initial features of the project. Besides the Shasta and Keswick Dams and power plants, other units in operation are the Delta Cross Channel, Tracy Pumping Plant; Delta-Mendota Canal; Friant Dam, and the Madera and Friant-Kern Canals.

The natural channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers are utilized in effecting the 500-mile-long water-transit system bringing surplus waters from the Sacramento River Basin into the water deficient regions of the San Joaquin Valley.

Spencer reported the Trinity River development, now authorized as a part of the CVP but still lacking congressional construction appropriations, would increase the useful supply of irrigation water in the Central Valleys by more than 1 million acre-feet annually when operated together with Shasta and Folsom reservoirs. Four power plants, with a combined capacity of more than 200,000 kilowatts, would utilize the fall of water from the Trinity River elevation to that of the Sacramento River at Keswick, where the Trinity waters would be channeled.

FOLSOM CANALS

The reclamation official said plans are being advanced on a canal system to distribute water stored behind Folsom Dam when that structure is completed, expected next year. Ultimately these canals, he pointed out, may serve about 450,000 acres of land in Sacramento and San Joaquin Counties.

Studies on alternate means of providing additional water for about 1 million acres of irrigable land on the west side of the southern San Joaquin Valley, Spencer disclosed, are in preparation for consideration by local people and State officials.

"Continuing studies by the Bureau of Reclamation and other Federal and State agencies," Spencer asserted, "have amply demonstrated there is plenty of water—if construction continues on dams and canals—to meet all present and foreseeable future needs.

"If the people living in the heart land of California are to realize the greatest benefits from the resources available, the job of their development will require the utmost in cooperation between all concerned—Federal, State, and local, both public and private."

President Eisenhower's Program: Eye Opener

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Eisenhower has given Congress a program which calls for action as well as study and debate. In an analysis prepared by an independent research organization, 196 separate proposals outlined by the President are listed. This is a bigger load than anything dished out for congressional consideration in the last 20 years. The only series to match this list came in the famous 100 days of 1933 when an avalanche hit the Nation.

The President's program is part of his effort to tighten the spending policies of the country, to balance the budget, to institute conservative financing, and, at the same time, to put our social-security program and our social outlook as well on a sound basis. Included in Mr. Eisenhower's requests are propositions for improved public-health facilities, more social-security benefits, a wider spread of homeownership, changes in the unemployment insurance setup, and modified agricultural benefits.

What is remarkable about the President's program is the universal agreement that it can be achieved without bankrupting the Nation. No greater testimonial could be offered to the skill and intelligence with which the Republican national administration has been handling its problems. Under the Democrats, a program comparable to President Eisenhower's would have called for spending more money than China has rice.

The Attack in Congress and the Reign of Unreason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the following is an article by Anne O'Hare McCormick and appeared in the New York Times of March 3, 1954.

Miss McCormick points out truly enough that—

The striking thing about the eruption in the House of Representatives was that it was irrational. The assassins belong to an insignificant group of nationalists who are against their own legislature more than ours, since the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is better satisfied with its status than many Congressmen are and voted in overwhelming majority not to be completely independent of the United States.

The article follows:

THE ATTACK IN CONGRESS AND THE REIGN OF UNREASON

(By Anne O'Hare McCormick)

The world is accustomed to unreasoning violence in the dim bazaars of the Middle East, on the soft margins of Asia, in the festering undergrowth of Africa. But when it breaks out in the ordinarily sedate Congress of the United States, the almost unguarded citadel of government by law, Americans are stunned and incredulous. It is as if the solid ground opened and for a shocked instant we caught a whiff of the bitter political passions boiling up in other sections of the world.

The drone of the American Legislature is seldom interrupted by emotional outbursts. Partisan debate gets hot sometimes, and once in a great while a highly charged issue galvanizes the body until it seems to give off angry sparks. But in Washington it is impossible to imagine the ink-throwing, thunderous sessions of Paris or Rome. Our Congress is calm, calmer than London with its roaring "boos" and "hear, hears." The pace of the proceedings is slow and tedious and the quiet, rather shut-in atmosphere of an old club still prevails.

Only once in a century, and then by a lunatic, was this atmosphere ever shattered by gunfire. Congress has declared wars, made wars, lived through tremendous changes, but until the day before yesterday it was never in direct contact with the undercurrents of wild violence that come to the surface elsewhere.

AN IRRATIONAL ACT

The striking thing about the eruption in the House of Representatives was that it was irrational. The assassins belong to an insignificant group of nationalists who are against their own legislature more than ours, since the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is better satisfied with its status than many Congressmen are and voted in overwhelming majority not to be completely independent of the United States. They had nothing against any individual Congressman and shot haphazardly; it is said that they did not know whether they were attacking Senators or Representatives. As in the attempt to kill President Truman last year, they had no purpose except a fanatical self-assertion.

This purposelessness makes the terroristic acts harder to cope with. The insane are beyond the rule of reason. But the fact that the shooting took place in Congress itself, in the very center of government, should bring home to our legislators that the need for real security takes precedence over the phantom-chasing of the McCarthy committee. Here is a plot hatched under his eyes in 1954 while the Senator from Wisconsin is digging into the repudiated heresies of the thirties.

Also it makes clearer to the American public the fanatical aspects of the political turmoil shaking the Middle East. Current developments in countries like Egypt and Syria make no sense unless we understand that the people have nothing to do with the rise and fall of governments. This is the work of little cliques fighting for power. But the fanaticism of the few often infects the many and sets in motion veritable avalanches of unreasoning emotion that finally overwhelm the leaders.

NAGUIB AND SHISHEKLY

The volte-face in Cairo which deposed General Naguib and reinstated him again in 2 days' time suggests that his personal popularity is not only greater than that of Colonel Nasser but that it overcomes for the moment the rising demand for a return to parliamentary government. It does not, apparently, represent any change in the Egyptian attitude toward the dispute with the British on the Suez base. The story that Naguib's return was engineered by eight Communist officers is spread by the military junta that tried to oust him, and may or may not be true. But the double coup demonstrates how little the people have to say in the situation, and likewise that the position of the government under a strong man is as precarious as it was when the King was dethroned and Naguib rode into power on a great wave of enthusiasm and hope.

Whatever it portends, the switch back and forth is a symptom of an instability that only slow time, tranquillity, and drastic reform can remedy. The same is true of Syria. There the military dictator, General Shishekly, has been banished, probably not for the last time, and a former President, Hashem al-Atassi, now 80 years old, is put in his place, also without intervention of the people. Yet in recent days we have read of meetings against Shishekly in the restless towns of west Syria, Aleppo and Homs, and armed demonstrations in his favor in Damascus, that ancient capital which prides itself on being the oldest city in the world and has burst out in recent years in a rash of buildings as modern as the rebuilt towns of Germany. Clearly, the people are beginning to stir.

It is hard to comprehend what is going on in the Middle East except in terms of an

upheaval as uncontrollable as an earthquake. The pointless violence of the Puerto Rican terrorists here is a symptom of frustration, and so are the surges of rebellion, the rage to overthrow, that swept the other side of the world. The outrage in Congress brings the distant picture closer, but it shows, too, how difficult the bigger problem is, how bewildering it is to try to deal with atavistic passions that defy the logic of reasonable men in a different stage of political development.

Next Item on Atom Parade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, out in Oak Ridge, Tenn., the atom scientists are hard at work on the next big step in the use of atomic energy for peacetime purposes. They are finishing work on a project which may lead to nuclear-powered aircraft.

The big difficulty is the perfection of some method which will protect the pilots of such planes from being exposed to the radiation of the atom. Thick walls or lots of water are the present methods of shielding the folks who have to work with atomic energy today.

But the people who are launching this project think that the techniques will be found. Some substance will come along with the magic properties required.

The People Won't Cry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, there has been some talk that a salary increase for Members of Congress would not be well received by our constituents.

With this in mind, I should like to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Daily Mirror of Wednesday, March 3, 1954:

THE PEOPLE WON'T CRY

Timid Congressmen might take a tip from New York State in the matter of pay raises. Both our governor and our lieutenant governor are about to get a raise—by will of the people.

The legislature at Albany has approved increases for the Governor from the present $25,000 up to $50,000, and for the Lieutenant Governor from $10,000 up to $20,000. But before the legislature could act, the voters overwhelmingly gave their approval to the boost at the last election.

Congressmen need a raise. Our Federal judges need a raise. The two proposed hikes are tied together. But Congress is afraid to act because this is an election year.

Most voters realize that a Congressman has to maintain two homes and is subject to all sorts of other expenses for which he is not compensated.

Seats on the Federal bench should not be attractive largely to persons of private means or hacks who can't make a living under their own shingles and want to get in out of the rain.

Fairness to the eminent judges who now serve at a sacrifice, consideration for the future caliber of the bench, and relief for their own plight should move the Congressmen, who work at an arduous—and hazardous—task, to swallow their fright and get about the business of adequate compensation.

Private Enterprise Plan for Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a plan for the divestment and rehabilitation of Korean industry under capitalism and private enterprise. The author of this plan is the Honorable James H. R. Cromwell, American adviser to President Syngman Rhee for more than 10 years, who only recently returned from conferences in Korea where the plan received the endorsement of President Rhee and the Korean Government.

THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE PLAN FOR THE DIVESTMENT AND REHABILITATION OF ROK ENTERPRISE AND INDUSTRY UNDER CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY

PREAMBLE

Unbeknown to the American people, an incredible paradox might be consummated in South Korea.

Inspired by idealistic motives, we are commencing to pour hundreds of millions of dollars into the rehabilitation of that battle-scarred area. But, unless we radically alter our present plans and policies, we will end up by socializing South Korean industry, thereby guaranteeing the perpetuity of an inevitable dictatorship.

Prior to World War II virtually all industry in Korea was owned by Japan and after her surrender title was transferred to and became the property of the ROK government. Ever since Syngman Rhee assumed the Presidency, this great leader, one of the world's most outstanding and outspoken enemies of communism and exponents of capitalism, has been struggling to unloose from the backs of his people, the hated burden of government ownership. Unfortunately, his efforts have been largely in vain due to the lack of capital in South Korea; a lack which the appalling destruction of war has aggravated into a vacuum.

With plans afoot to invest $180 million in manufacturing, 170 millions in power, 150 millions in transportation and 50 millions each in mines and fisheries, President Rhee recognizes that the onerous taxes wrung from the earnings of private initiative in America, should not be used to consolidate in South Korea that very totalitarian system which the United States has expended 130,000 casualties in battle, and incalculable blions in treasure, to prevent and prohibit.

Russia has thrown down the gauntlet to America by the announcement that she proposes to industrialize North Korea and make it a show window to display to mankind the superiority of communism over capitalism. This direct challenge is freighted with fateful portents and consequences which, at this moment, are incapable of measurement.

The ideas herein set forth and named the private enterprise plan are, as will be seen, only a skeleton, only the presentation of a few vital principles. But those principles, if adhered to, offer to the industrial leaders of America, without risk of financial loss, the patriotic privilege of entering the economic arena of the cold war in Korea, upon which the eyes of the world will be focused, and proving once and for all, that Communist regimentation cannot even begin to approach the standards of living and production obtainable by the unfettered functioning of private enterprise.

It is common knowledge that a prosperous, independent South Korean ally (which already possesses the largest battle-proven anti-Communist army in existence) inextricably linked with America economically, politically, and ideologically, is strategically indispensable to the future security of the United States. If the private enterprise plan to rehabilitate South Korean industry under private initiative is not adopted to achieve these purposes and objectives, then what alternative is there?

JAMES H. R. CROMWELL.

MARCH 1, 1954.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE PLAN

Preamble describing the purpose of a Korean Reconstruction Finance Corporation

1. In anticipation of further appropriations for the ROK recovery and rehabilitation by the 1954 session of Congress, it is proposed that a bill be introduced to create a Korean Reconstruction Finance Corporation (KRFC). The objectives to be attained by such a bill would be described in the preamble as follows:

Preamble to the bill

2. A bill to create a KRFC, under the laws of the ROK, with $250 million of capital to be used for granting long term and intermediate low-interest-bearing loans for the purpose of (a) divesting the ROK Government (the Government) of ownership of such enterprises and industries as may seem desirable to that Government, or creating entirely new enterprises and industries; (b) creating or rehabilitating such enterprises and industries by organizing new Korean corporations with American corporate sponsorship (the sponsor) and managerial direction through free partial equity stock ownership, that is, 25 percent of the equity or common stock; (c) providing that a substantial portion of the remaining equity stock of such new Korean corporations eventually be issued to the Korean men and management, and that the final balance be retained by the Government for ultimate disposal; (d) offering privately owned enterprises and industries similar financial and managerial aid and advantages on a 50–50 equity stock ownership basis.

Immediate implementation of the KRFC

3. To avoid the consolidation of industrial ownership by the Government through direct grants of presently available funds to industries now owned and operated by the Government (which it is the desire of President Rhee and the purpose of the aforesaid bill to reverse) it is proposed that the Combined Economic Board seek authority from the United States Congress to reallocate a portion of presently available funds (i. e., within the current expenditure budget of $628 million) which are earmarked for industrial rehabilitation, and use such funds to establish forthwith a KRFC. Thereby the Combined Economics Board would implement immediately the ideas and desires of President Rhee and commence to achieve the purposes described in the preamble.

Structure of the KRFC

4. The KRFC should be solely a fiduciary institution to grant long-term and intermediate loans of risk capital for the rehabilitation of ROK enterprise and industry. Therefore, funds allocated to it, either by the Combined Economic Board or later by an act of Congress, as proposed, should be employed, insofar as possible, exclusively for the purpose designated and its overhead or other extraneous activities and expenses, should be held to a minimum.

5. Although the total loans granted by the KRFC within any specified period of time would, under the existing economic setup, finally have to be approved by the Combined Economics Board, nevertheless it is essential to realize that the Combined Economics Board is a temporary agency, whereas the KRFC would, within the foreseeable future, tend to become a permanent or semipermanent organization. In view of this fact, and since the operations of the KRFC would so vitally and directly affect the ROK economy, it is felt that its officials and Board of Directors should all be Koreans, appointed by President Rhee. Experience with the American Reconstruction Finance Corporation would indicate that authority should be concentrated in the office of the President, and that there should probably not be more than two other directors.

The Board of Selection and Arbitration

6. Pursuant to the intent of restricting the activities and expenditures of the KRFC to the granting of loans, it is proposed that a separate and independent Board of Selection and Arbitration be incorporated under the laws of the ROK to fulfill the vital task of selecting the American companies in the same fields of endeavor, which could and would act as sponsors of and copartners in the new Korean corporations, and, as described in the preamble, would provide the executive or managerial direction and training of the Korean personnel. Since the Chairman of this Board (the Chairman) would have to be an American citizen in whose ability and integrity the Korean people must have complete confidence, he should be acceptable to President Rhee, and the latter should fix the terms of his compensation to the end that the Chairman and his associates on the Board of Selection and Arbitration should be fully and directly responsible to the President.

7. In turn, therefore, full responsibility and authority for performing the duties designated should be vested in the Chairman, not only in selecting the sponsors of the new Korean corporations, but in seeking their efficient and profitable operation and, as the name of the Board implies, in arbitrating and settling the differences and disputes that would be certain to arise.

Relationship of the Chairman of the Board of Selection and Arbitration and the Combined Economic Board

8. Since it is the duty of the Combined Economic Board to approve the total overall integrated program for the recovery and rehabilitation of the ROK, the fact that it must have the final decision in deciding the total amounts to be loaned by the KRFC within a specified period, and to which types of industry, is fully recognized. In seeking to aid and assist the Combined Economics Board in its task of achieving and maintaining a balanced economy throughout the ROK, it is suggested that President Rhee should forthwith select what he considers to be the best report of the several that have been prepared on Korean recovery; That it should be printed at once in sufficient quantity, and that the advice and services of the firm which wrote the report which is selected, should be employed to the fullest extent, especially by the Chairman.

9. To avoid delays in carrying out the program and wasting the time of the Combined Economics Board, it should notify the Chairman of the types of industry to be initially rehabilitated, and the total amounts to be loaned, as aforesaid. The Chairman, in cooperation with the President of the KRFC, with the firm which prepared the report selected by President Rhee, and with the designated sponsors, should then fit into the master plan of integrated rehabilitation, each proposed new Korean corporation with the amount of the loan recommended and should submit groups of several such new Korean corporations for the approval of the KRFC and the Combined Economics Board. Such final approval by the KRFC and the Combined Economics Board should authorize the President of the KRFC to issue the funds to the new Korean corporations pursuant to the terms of the contract entered into with them by the Chairman.

The repayment of KRFC loans

10. The exchange difficulties involved with the repayment of loans under the KRFC proposal are clearly foreseen, and while under present circumstances no definite solution can be offered, it is suggested that since it was not originally intended that the funds for Korean relief, recovery, and rehabilitation could or would ever be repaid—all loans granted should be calculated in hwan at the prevailing rate of exchange and then later, in payment of interest and amortization, any differential in the rate would be compromised by a special Board of Exchange Arbitration. Because it is unlikely that hwan funds received in interest and repayment of the KRFC could be wholly transposed into dollars, it is suggested that these hwan funds be held in Korea for the credit and ultimate disposal of the United States.

Types of securities issued by new Korean corporations

11. The new Korean corporations would issue three types of corporate securities, i. e., (1) common or equity stock, (2) first-mortgage bonds to the Government in exchange for clear title to the property, and, (3) chattel mortgage bonds to the KRFC as collateral for its loans. It is suggested that the interest and amortization on these bond issues be low initially and be made payable on a sliding scale basis with both increasing gradually over a period of years. Attractive premiums should also be provided by the Government as well as by the KRFC to induce prepayment. Amortization of the first-mortgage bonds should take precedence over the chattel-mortgage bonds because it is felt that the Government would need such payments more than the KRFC.

Appraisal of Government-owned property

12. Appraisal of the current value of a Government-owned property should be made both by the sponsor and the Government, and where the difference proved irreconcilable, the Chairman would request the KRFC Board to authorize funds from the KRFC to obtain impartial expert appraisals from two or more recognized appraisal firms. Both parties thereafter, should agreed to abide by the final value as determined by the Chairman and the appraisers acting as a Board of Arbitration.

PART II. EXPLANATION OF THE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE PLAN

The dire need for a KRFC

(A) With reference to the preamble, the idea of a KRFC as proposed by the private enterprise plan, derives from the same causes that occasioned the inception of its American predecessor, i. e., a dire need for risk capital. Due to the Red menace it is most unlikely that private risk capital could be induced to invest in Korea at the present time, and the amount of Korean capital available is wholly inadequate. Thus the freedom loving and anticollectivist Korean people, ever since gaining their independence, have found themselves saddled with a system of State capitalism or socialism, which is as unwelcome and obnoxious to them as to their President.

(B) Furthermore, unless measures are promptly implemented that will rehabilitate ROK enterprise and industry and lead the nation toward economic independence, the current heavy expenditures for relief imports must be continued indefinitely. The allocation of American funds for the proposed KRFC, therefore, appears as a propitious solution to a complex and difficult problem.

The advantages derived from American corporate sponsorship

(C) With reference to paragraph 2, provision B, it is hoped that the incentive represented by the free equity ownership offered should be sufficient to induce top American industrial firms to become sponsors of their Korean counterparts. This, in turn, would guarantee experienced, efficient, and honest planning and management and would obviate the expense of engineering and financial supervision which otherwise would be essential. It would be to the advantage of the sponsors to teach the Korean copartners their know-how to the end that the Korean management could, as soon as possible, assume complete authority, thus releasing the American executives and increasing the earnings of the new Korean corporations.

(D) It is also felt that this profit incentive would achieve the objectives described in the preamble more expeditiously and efficaciously than were they spelled out in any managerial contract. While no estimate of the international plans and programs of the sponsors can presently be arrived at, it is not unlikely that in some instances considerable production for export by their Korean affiliates might be considered desirable. From every viewpoint, therefore, the principle of American corporate sponsors, as contemplated by the private enterprise plan, appears to offer potentialities for Korea that far outweigh the value of the 25-percent equity ownership.

Problems of men and management ownership

(E) With reference to paragraph 2, provision C, it is recognized that enterprises and industries vary widely in composition and that as a consequence each must be separately evaluated and appraised, particularly concerning the proportion of equity stock to be retained by the Government as compared to the Korean men and management. The Government would, of course, retain a greater share of the equity stock in corporations that had a heavy capital investment with fewer employees, as with power companies, than vice versa, as with manufacturing companies.

(F) Obviously, however, the division of equity stock between the Government and the new Korean corporations, men and management would be a matter wholly within the jurisdiction of the Government and the Chairman could offer his advice and opinion only when it was requested or where the sponsor might feel its vital interests were involved. In view of the almost fanatical hatred of the Korean people for all manifestations of communism and collectivism, it would seem safe to assume that the Government would ultimately provide as large a proportion of the equity stock for men and management as would be consistent with the public welfare. It is also safe to assume that the immense propaganda value of eventual majority ownership of the new Korean corporations by men and management would not be lost sight of by a government whose very life depends upon its successful resistance of communism.

(G) In considering the public welfare in relation to men and management ownership, the Government would have to analyze the need for a free security exchange market and its own pressing requirements for revenue and for collateral with which to support national bond issues. There are, in the United States and throughout Western civilization, numerous and various plans and mechanisms for providing man and management ownership and these would have to be analyzed by the Government before the system, or systems best applicable to conditions within the ROK could be selected. In conclusion, the opportunity offered by an ownership plan to reward veterans, especially the disabled ones, should be emphasized and sponsors should agree to priorities of employment for veterans whenever such priorities would not be detrimental to the efficient operation of the new Korean corporations.

Proposal for loans to private owners

(H) With reference to paragraph 2, provision B, it is recognized that the need for risk capital among the more than 1,700 enterprises and industries purchased from the Government since their recovery from the Japanese, is generally just as urgent as is the situation confronted by the Government itself. It is believed that if these private owners were currently approached by a top American company engaged in the same type of business—which offered to supply expert executive direction and supervision along with adequate capital, not only to completely rehabilitate the enterprise with the most modern equipment obtainable, but also to assure it of abundant liquid or operating funds—it is felt that such private owners would be glad to offer their proposed new partners a 50-percent share of the enterprise.

(I) In such instances the usual 25 percent stock equity would be given to the sponsor and the 25-percent balance would be set aside under an escrow agreement providing for eventual Korean men and management ownership similar to the plans adopted by the Government. In this manner the serious disadvantage faced by privately owned enterprises—in competing for men and management with new Korean corporations offering equity ownership plans—would be offset and at the same time, the purpose of ultimately achieving an industrial system largely owned by its employees, would be advanced.

Small enterprises and cottage industries

(J) While the need of small enterprises and industries and even of cottage industries in Korea for long term and intermediate loans of risk capital, such as it is proposed to provide through the KRFC is recognized, it is felt that further information would have to be obtained and analyzed to determine to what extent, if any, American aid and know-how might be marshaled by the Chairman and made available. In general, however, it is felt that small-business loans should probably be handled separately or by a subdivision of the KRFC and would be beyond the province of the Chairman.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, where will you get your tax money next week?

A True Puerto Rican Speaks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, Rafael Cordero, controller of Puerto Rico, has sent me a cable expressing the revulsion which exists among the people of Puerto Rico toward the violence that took place in this Chamber on Monday. I am glad to bring Mr. Cordero's cable to the attention of my colleagues as an excellent testimonial of the deep friendship which exists in Puerto Rico for the United States:

Hon. CHARLES R. HOWELL,
House of Representatives:

Everyone here except handful of fanatical nationalists condemn criminal act against Congressmen and despicable attempt at severing existing democratic relations between United States and Puerto Rico. Please convey our deepest regret to wounded Congressmen.

Best personal regards,
RAFAEL CORDERO,
Controller of Puerto Rico.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

What the American Flag Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, recently the Disabled American Veterans, a national organization, sponsored an essay contest on the subject What the American Flag Means to Me, of which an 18-year-old high-school girl, Frances Myrtle Atkinson, of Dayton, Franklin County, Idaho, was the winner of the $2,000 first-place award.

I ask unanimous consent to have her winning essay printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT THE AMERICAN FLAG MEANS TO ME

(By Frances Atkinson, West Side High School, Dayton, Franklin County, Idaho)

I bowed my head reverently with the rest of my classmates during the "moment of silence" in tribute to our soldier-dead this last Armistice Day, then seeing Old Glory waving from the flagpole on the lawn of our alma mater, I stood tiptoe upon a dream and thought, "What a lucky girl you are to be borne under that flag, for you can be what you will to be. You are an American."

Then a strange thing happened. The flag seemed to be a living thing with a soul. I heard the silent singing of its stars on its blue of truth, and listening, my soul caught this refrain:

"I am the symbol of America, and America is more than its hills and prairies with their herds and fields of grain; more than its pulsing cities, its mines and its mills * * * America is you and you and you * * * and God.

"I am the symbol of the homes, the churches, schools, enterprises, and the kingly commoners of America.

"I represent your heritage from the past. Look at me and hear the trampling of soldier-feet in the immortal march for freedom; feel within your hearts the 'Spirit of 76'; see the footprints in the snow at Valley Forge; the great, gaunt commoner on his knees in prayer, and the crimson stain, spreading, that meant life was ebbing from his great heart; see the crosses above our youth, martyrs to freedom in recent wars. Look again and behold lilies blooming where men gave life for man; listen and hear the joyous, dancing footsteps of those yet unborn.

"Behold the open gate, before which stand weary pilgrims: Children with eyes empty of laughter; youth burdened with the weight of dead dreams; the elder ones their eyes but burned-out embers, their bone-lean hands caressing gaunt throats that too long have felt the choking leash of fear. See their eyes relight with hope as they view the green acres of democracy and reverently enter the gate of America."

Suddenly I knew: The flag is an emblem of freedom, protection, justice, honor, sacrifice, opportunity to all and love for country, fellowman, and God. It is the symbol, not only of our heritage from the past but of the future. I knew that it is up to me to help America continue to mean to coming generations what it means to me today; that every right has its concomitant duty, that I must train myself to be able to choose leaders wisely and judge their performance with honest and understanding. I must fight oppression, intolerance, injustice, and keep the land free of the footprints of communism. I must guard the rights of others as jealously as I do my own, and recognize in every man a brother.

Again I looked at the flag waving serenely beneath our peaceful country sky and reverently I breathed, "How much you stand for." Was I dreaming or did I hear, "The earth a great democracy of love."

Brucellosis Eradication and Control Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter which I have received from W. S. Moscrip, president of the Minnesota Dairy Industry Committee, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. The letter is very informative with reference to Federal cooperation in connection with the brucellosis eradication and control program.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MINNESOTA DAIRY INDUSTRY COMMITTEE,
St. Paul, Minn., March 4, 1954.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
Senator From Minnesota,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THYE: It is, I believe, unnecessary to point out to you how vital it is to the dairy industry of Minnesota to have the brucellosis eradication and control program completed at the earliest possible moment.

The Minnesota Legislature at its last session appropriated funds for this work, depending upon the historic policy of Federal cooperation in payment of indemnities for cattle condemned in this control program. It is inconceivable that the Congress will permit the withdrawal of indemnity funds, which as I have pointed out above, have prevailed over the years in the cooperative effort to control brucellosis. Certainly it cannot be permitted this year, with Minnesota not being given the slightest warning of any such intent.

As you propably know, some markets have already served notice that dairy products sold in those cities must, in 1955, come from brucellois-free herds. Hundreds of cities are today operating under the United States Public Health Service Code. Almost without question in the immediate future that code will provide that milk particularly will be bought on those markets under plan "A" of the code, which provides that milk must come from brucellosis-free herds. As the importance of undulant fever in the human becomes more generally recognized, as it is becoming, the demand for clean herds will be compelling.

Indemnity, up to the decline in beef prices, was not the important factor that it is today, because the carcasses in many cases brought the appraised or even higher value. Today that situation is reversed, and without question for the program to go forward as it should in Minnesota this year Federal cooperation and indemnity payments are essential. As appropriations go today, the amount involved is not large. My understanding is that probably $1 million total would be sufficient, however, whatever the amount may be it certainly should be appropriated this year; particularly considering the case of Minnesota having no warning whatever of any thought or intention of Federal withdrawal of cooperation in indemnity payments. When one considers the amount of money taken out of Minnesota in Federal taxes, and the insignificant amount compared to what is taken out returned, Minnesota certainly is entitled to the above-requested consideration.

Figures given me for the past year show that roughly $1,200,000,000 in Federal taxes were paid by Minnesota, and that we received $59 million in Federal aid. Startling figures, if accurate. The Minnesota Taxpayers' Association have just estimated that for the coming year Minnesota will pay in Federal taxes $1,115,200,000. No comment is needed, I believe, when the above figures are considered, of the reasonableness of the request for continuance of Federal cooperation in indemnity payments in the brucellosis eradication and control program.

May we urge in behalf of the dairy industry in Minnesota that your every effort be made to secure the necessary funds for the above purpose.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am
Sincerely,

W. S. MOSCRIP,
President.

Increase in Personal Income-Tax Exemptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the full text of a letter dated February 19, 1954, addressed by me to the President of the United States, urging a $200 increase in personal income-tax exemptions, in order to increase the buying power and the consumption of goods, as a deterrent to a further decline in business.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 10, 1954.

The Honorable DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The purpose of this letter is to urge you to reconsider your tax proposals in the light of later clarifications in the economic picture. I believe, after careful reflection, that you will agree with me that increasing personal exemptions for income-tax purposes to $800, and drastic reductions in taxes on consumer goods (excise tax) would be far more just and stabiling that the current administration proposals which are primarily aimed to stimulate savings through tax reductions to corporations and to the upper income groups.

I hope that, my now, you realize that my attempts during the past 3 months to alert the country on the need to be on guard against depression neither mark me as a prophet of doom and gloom, nor represent any desire to talk the country into a depression. Perhaps it is true that my party would get more votes this fall if the country were to go into a depression. But, it seems obvious that if our motives were selfish and political, the course I would have followed would have been to remain silent and let it happen. I would rather the Democratic Party remain out of power perpetually rather than return to power in the wake of the mass misery of a great depression.

So far as my being a prophet is concerned, I have not predicted a depression. But I have, as emphaticaly as I could, tried to keep our Nation on its toes and ready to act to stop a worsening of the economic picture.

A look at the present economic situation indicates, in my judgment, that the time for action is here. At least we should take some initial effective steps to counteract the downward trend.

The Census Bureau now estimates that there were 3.1 million unemployed in January, or 750,000 more than they had estimated a few weeks before. There is no doubt, therefore, that unemployment has increased markedly in the last few months. In addition the Census figures for January estimated that there were 275,000 "temporarily laid off" who were counted as having a job although they drew no pay and would not have been permitted by their employer to work had they showed up at their former jobs. Employers have also put large numbers on part time in order to spread the work and reduce the payments which they would otherwise have to make to the State unemployment compensation funds. During the month of January the Census estimates that there were 1.9 millions of workers outside of agriculture who actually worked less than 15 hours a week, 1.7 millions from 15 to 21 hours and 1.6 millions from 22 to 29 hours. In all, therefore, 5.2 million workers, or 10 percent of those employed in nonagricultural occupations, worked less than 30 hours a week. Some of this lost time was caused by absenteeism, sickness and voluntary absention from work, but a large proportion was undoubtedly involuntary and caused by the employer putting the workers on part time.

The ratio of farm prices received to prices paid by farmers is hovering at its lowest point in 12 years. Steel production has dropped to only 75 percent of capacity compared with 99 percent a year ago, and is 21 percent below last year in physical volume. Freight car loadings are down 10 percent. Mail order sales are over 13 percent below last year and retail sales have fallen off somewhat. Business failures have risen by almost 50 percent.

While I believe we are in a very definite recession, I still do not predict a depression. We have erected many safety nets during the past 20 years to prevent the bottom from dropping out of the national economy. We have farm price supports, minimum wages, unemployment compensation, collective bargaining, social security, assistance to the needy aged, blind, and dependent children, insured savings deposits, and housing programs, to mention a few of these safeguards. But while they may very well cushion the heaviest impact of a depression such as the one which began 25 years ago, that is about as far as they can go. They, by themselves, will not stop the economy from getting into a tight situation.

Thus, I am urging you, as an immediate step, to alter your tax proposals. I know that you are subjected to tremendous pressures to grant the vast majority of tax relief to business, investors, and those in the upper income brackets generally. But what is needed as a stabilizing force in the economy is a tax policy to stimulate purchasing power. Increased purchasing power will mean more consumption, sales, services, production, and employment. In short, it will mean more business activity which will do much to reverse the downward trend.

I know it has been argued that stimulants to business and investors are what is needed to keep the economy up. It is argued that by giving such incentives, business will expand production and hence increase employment. But, under such a premise, who will buy the goods? Only adequate monetary purchasing power broadly distributed can do this.

A reduction in taxes to the upper income groups and to corporations would probably stimulate savings. In normal times, savings are converted into investments and give each worker more capital with which to work. This in turn leads to increased productivity and to higher real wages.

But in times such as these while savings may flow into banks, they do not flow out to the same degree in the form of actual investments since businesses are afraid to borrow and banks are afraid to lend. With the large supply of idle industrial equipment on hand, business in general does not want to borrow to add to it. The savings therefore tend to be in large part sterilized and do not expand production and employment as they would in normal times.

To prevent the recession from deepening into a depression, it is, therefore, far better to stimulate consumption than it is savings.

The idea of giving tax relief only to business and investors as a stabilizing force is simply the old "trickle down" theory, or "what's good for business is good for the country." Such policies, followed in the twenties, ended up with the greatest depression this Nation ever had. What is necessary is a "trickle up" theory, or "what's good for the country is good for business." If people have money to buy, business will have markets and persons will have jobs.

The present administration tax proposals, when in full effect, give investors and business 12 times as much relief as individuals. Individuals would get only $250 million in the form of such items as babysitter allowances and an increase in allowable medical deductions. Recipients of dividends would get $1.2 billion and businesses would get $1.8 billion, for a total of nearly $3 billion.

Yet saying that individuals would get only one-twelfth of the relief given to investors and business is vastly to understate the disparity. Let us analyze this further.

The average individual would get $6 in tax relief ($250 million divided by 39 million tax returns showing taxable income), while the average dividend recipient would ultimately get $200 ($1.2 billion divided by 6 million stockholders), or 33 times as much. The discrimination is still understated, since less than 4 percent of the taxpayers receiving dividends (those with income over $10,000) get more than three-fourths of all taxable dividends (see table I of Treasury Release No. H-266, October 8, 1953). If we consider families rather than tax returns, we find that less than 1 percent of the American families own 80 percent of all publicly held stocks.

This seems unfair, and I believe it is. Yet the cause I am pleading is based not only on justice but on the economic needs of the Nation. For tax relief to individuals means increased purchases and business activity.

Let us consider a family of 4—husband, wife, and 2 children. Increasing personal income tax exemptions by $200 would give total extra personal exemptions of $800. At the lowest tax rate of 20 percent, this would mean tax savings of $160 a year, enough to buy a major appliance, or any one of several dozen of goods and services on the market. It would mean an increase of about 8 cents an hour in take-home pay.

Lower taxes on consumer goods, meanwhile, would leave more money for the purchase of other items and hence greater purchasing power.

Therefore, I sincerely hope that you will see fit to advocate immediate increases of $200 in personal exemptions on individual income taxes and selective decreases in the excise taxes.

When I advocated such measures while representatives of your administration were before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, they seemed to have little sympathy for them. I have hitherto advocated such policies in radio and television discussions, and in talks before and with businessmen of my own State of Illinois. I found in most cases that there was a wide public appreciation of their merit.

I should like also to call your attention to a reasoned, powerful statement made in the Senate today by Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia, ranking minority member of the Committee on Finance and its former chairman. Senator GEORGE recognizes, and ably stated the case, that the situation calls for tax relief for the millions of individual taxpayers, and an expansion of purchasing power. He advocated, as have I, an immediate increase of at least $200 in the personal income exemption. His competence as a tax authority commands the most serious consideration of his views.

If you adopt these suggestions, I believe Congress will enact them. There may be some opposition in the ranks of your own party, but we Democrats, I believe, will provide the force you need to enact such tax revisions, just as we have helped to provide the necessary support for the main lines of your foreign policies.

Faithfully,

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Let's Use Our Abundance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, my colleague and neighbor, the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], has written an informative article on the farm question for the March edition of Geater Minneapolis, published by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce. I aks unanimous consent that the article, which deals with a problem of deep con-

cern to every farmer in the Nation, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S USE OUR ABUNDANCE

(By Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, of Minnesota)

New outlets and new uses must be found for America's agricultural abundance to protect economic stability of the country. Our challenge is to make wiser use of the abundance we are now capable of producing rather than take the negative approach of curbs on our ability to produce.

We should regard our abundance as a blessing, not condemn it as a curse. Instead of being penalized for creating a land of plenty, farmers should be rewarded with at least an opportunity equal to other segments of the population for earning a fair return for their investment and their work.

That's what we really are talking about in discussing the Nation's farm policies. Protecting agriculture is protecting America's lifeline of food and fiber and protecting strength of our entire economy. Price supports don't serve the farmer alone; they guarantee the Nation an adequate food supply at all times, good season or bad. With our rapidly soaring population, we are going to need all we can produce to feed our people in the years to come.

Our storage program should be regarded as food banks essential to the Nation's security, just as we maintain blood banks for other emergencies. Nature's hazards emphasize the necessity for maintaining adequate reserves of food and fiber in the Nation's stockpile. America must never forget how slim the margin can be between too much and too little.

It isn't just the farmers' problems. Every city in Minnesota has a vital stake in a sound and prospering agriculture. Unless farmers have some cash in their pockets the cash registers can't jingle on Main Street. And unless the merchants have customers in our agricultural trading centers they can't buy the manufactured products of our industrial centers.

It's time we recognized America's ability to produce food and fiber in abundance is our real secret weapon in the fight against communism in the world. Russia's main internal troubles right now stem from lack of farm production.

Food, not bullets, struck freedom's most potent blow against communism in Europe through America's gesture of shipping food to hungry Germans.

We need greater emphasis on use of our abundant food supplies to eliminate hunger and misery elsewhere in the world. It can be an effective arm of our foreign policy. We also need further emphasis on utilizing private, nonprofit distribution facilities or organizations like CARE and CROP for such programs, to further their missions of good will in the name of the American people.

But opportunities also exist for greater use of our food at home. What must much of the rest of the world think about a country that complains about having too much food, then lets millions of its own people suffer hunger and want?

We must broaden our outlook on new ways to use our abundance, but we must see that agriculture gets economic protection while we are seeking these new outlets—the same kind of protection afforded business and industry and labor through other safeguards built into our economy by law.

My own price-support bill before the Congress carries out the unanimous recommendations of the Minnesota State Legislature. In introducing it I made clear my intent that the Secretary of Agriculture should make use of a variety of means found most workable and effective for each different commodity, rather than depend upon Government purchase and storage alone.

Other legislation I am sponsoring provides for rotating storage stocks to prevent deterioration, yet avoid price-depressing dumping of old stocks; establishing contingency reserves beyond normal supply, withheld from regular markets except in case of crop failure or emergency need in support of foreign policy, as a safety stockpile specifically prevented from becoming a price-depressing overhang on normal markets; and use of dairy products to supplement the diets of persons already on public assistance rolls, handled by a stamp plan through normal channels of retail trade.

Considerable unjust propaganda has been unleashed against our farm programs, aimed at creating public demand for eliminating legislation seeking some semblance of equality for agriculture.

From official figures that are a matter of public record, let me set some of these distorted attacks straight:

Actually, our farm price support programs have cost the American people an average of only 35 cents per person each year since 1933. During that same period, these programs have helped agriculture add $184 billion in new wealth to our economy.

In other words, total losses on Government price-support operations over the past 20 years amount to only one-half of 1 percent of the increased net agricultural income to which they greatly contributed over that same period. I consider that a mighty good investment, one that has paid off solid dividends to our entire economy—including increased tax revenues to the Government more than offsetting the original cost.

Before businessmen accept too quickly propaganda attacks on farm subsidies, I urge them to consider in all fairness these comparisons:

1. Government subsidies to business this year alone will equal to entire realized loss on price supports for the past 20 years.

2. Government subsidies to newspapers and magazines alone, through loss in handling second-class mail for the past 20 years, have been nearly 2½ times the entire loss of farm price supports.

3. Agriculture, made up of around 15 percent of the country's population, gets less than 3½ percent of the Government's total outlay for subsidies in the form of expenses for aids and special services.

Safety Devices on Refrigerators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, recently I introduced a bill (S. 2891), and the distinguished Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] introduced a similar bill (S. 2876), to provide for safety locks on iceboxes which are shipped in interstate commerce. My attention has been called to a news article entitled "New Icebox Safety Lock Shown Here," published in the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch of February 28, 1954. The article deals with the invention of a safety lock for iceboxes, and I think it is of interest in connection with the purpose that is sought to be achieved by the bills which have been introduced; namely, to provide safety devices for iceboxes of the type which have claimed so many lives during the past few years.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW ICEBOX SAFETY LOCK SHOWN HERE

Silas A. Morehouse, of Chantilly, Va., has come up with what he hopes will be the answer to the problem of preventing any more occurrences of children suffocating in discarded iceboxes or refrigerators.

Morehouse has his invention, which he calls the Silok, on display at Hotel John Marshall at the second annual convention of the Refrigeration Trade Association.

His development is quite simple, merely employing a set of magnets.

One magnet is attached to the center shelf of the refrigerator and another is attached to the door in place of a latch. When the door is closed the magnets, which have made contact, hold the door in place. This device, Morehouse says, would make it impossible for a child to be trapped inside, since the shelf to which the magnet is attached would have to be removed for a child to fit in the box.

When the shelf is removed, half of the magnet is also taken out, and the door will not stay closed.

SECOND SAFEGUARD

"A second safeguard," Morehouse says, "is that, even if the center shelf were not removed, the refrigerator door could still be pushed open from within by the exertion of a little pressure."

Morehouse, who has applied for a patent of his product, says he sees no reason why Silok could not be installed in many of the refrigerators already in use. "It would merely require the installation of the magnets," he says.

Inventions are nothing new to Morehouse. He already has a series to his credit, ranging from razor blades to jet aircraft.

Learning to fly in the Lindbergh age, he helped establish airmail and air-passenger routes in the West.

Proposed Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliffs Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received from the Landkamer Bros. Co., signed by Donald Landkamer. Mr. Landkamer requests that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LANDKAMER BROS. CO.,
Mankato, Minn., March 3, 1954.

Senator EDWARD THYE,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: It has come to the attention of the writer the proposed dams designated as Bruces Eddy and Penny Cliffs which are typical of so many efforts being made these days to destroy that part of nature which we are realizing more and more is so

important. It is, therefore, my ardent plea that any progress in the direction of starting these dams be stopped and that in the future any infringement on the natural state of these lands be carefully considered in a true light of honest conservation.

My same plea would go forth concerning the dam which is being proposed in the Dinosaur National Monument.

Thanking you for your consideration in this matter, we remain.

Yours very truly,

LANDKAMER BROS. CO.
DONALD LANDKAMER.

The Ethics of Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, an excellent group of highly distinguished Americans, has recently issued a statement on the ethics of controversy. Unless men can honestly and amicably dispute opposing views, education and free government must ultimately languish and die. The free exchange of opposing viewpoints is the very breath of representative government. The committee has been concerned lest controversy lose sight of all ethics and degenerate into accusation and name calling.

I believe the committee's statement deserves the most sober consideration of all of us. I recommend that it be read and considered by all Members of Congress and by citizens everywhere. I ask unanimous consent to have the statement printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In recent public controversy, Americans habe made grave accusations against other Americans, including the charge of willfull treason. These accusations climax a long series of irresponsible public statement by men of all parties. Political opponents have been pictured as enemies of the democratic system. Harmful consequences of an action or policy have been considered sufficient evidence of evil intention. Attacks on motives and personal character have too often replaced criticism of opinion and policies. Relevant evidence has been ignored and suppressed. It is shocking to see how persons in positions of trust have thus abandoned logical persuasion as a form of discourse and have instead resorted to demagogic talents for the spreading of calumny and confusion.

It is our duty as citizens and scholars, and as observers and opponents of communism to call the attention of the public to the fact that the techniques of controversy presently employed by some speakers, writers, and public officials are dangerously similar to the techniques long used by the Communists to confuse and control their subject peoples. Those who now consciously and maliciously turn Americans against Americans are causing what may be irreparable damage to the strength we have derived from our unity. We do not know of anyone who can benefit from this state of affairs but the Communists.

This destructive demagogy can be resisted only if all of us insist that those who speak for us and to us respect the following standards of ethical controversy:

1. Nothing and no one is immune from criticism.

2. Everyone involved in a controversy has an intellectual responsibility to inform himself of the available facts.

3. Criticism should be directed first to policies, and against persons only when they are responsible for policies, and against their motives or purposes only when there is some independent evidence of their character.

4. Because certain words are legally permissible, they are not therefore morally permissible.

5. Before impugning an opponent's motives, even when they legitimately may be impugned, answer his arguments.

6. Do not treat an opponent of a policy as if he were therefore a personal enemy, or an enemy of the country, or a concealed enemy of democracy.

7. Since a good cause may be defended by bad arguments, after answering the bad arguments for another's position, present positive evidence for your own.

8. Do not hesitate to admit lack of knowledge or to suspend judgment if evidence is not decisive either way.

9. Because something is logically possible, it is not therefore probable. It is not impossible is a preface to an irrelevent statement about human affairs. The question is always one of the balance of probabilities.

10. The cardinal sin, when we are looking for truth of fact or wisdom of policy, is refusal to discuss, or action which blocks discussion.

Acts of Congress Benefiting Korean War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, recently I asked the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to prepare a study for me on the acts of Congress which provide benefits to veterans of the Korean conflict. I ask unanimous consent that this study be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACTS OF CONGRESS PROVIDING BENEFITS TO VETERANS WITH SERVICE DURING THE KOREAN CONFLICT OR SUBSEQUENT TO JUNE 27, 1950

Miscellaneous benefits: Persons who served in active service in the Armed Forces of the United States on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date as the President or Congress shall determine, shall be entitled to compensation, pension, medical, hospital, and domiciliary care, and burial benefits as are provided by law for World War II veterans and their dependents. (Joint resolution of May 11, 1951, Public Law 28, 82d Cong., 65 Stat. 40.)

Automobiles: The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is directed to pay $1,600 on the purchase price of an automobile or other conveyance for veterans who served on or after June 27, 1950, and who suffered service-connected disability through loss of feet or hands or impairment of eyesight. Application for such vehicle must be made by October 20, 1954, or within 3 years after discharge or release if discharge or release occurs after October 20, 1954. (Act of October 20, 1951, Public Law 167, 82d Con., 65 Stat. 574.)

Education and training: The Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act extends educational and training benefits to veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States who served during any period from June 27, 1950, and the end of the emergency declared by the President or the Congress. Programs are required to be initiated within 2 years of release from active service or by August 20, 1954, whichever is later, and entitlements hereunder shall terminate 7 years from discharge or release. The veteran shall be entitled to benefits for a period equal to 1½ times the duration of his active service, but not in excess of 36 months for service since June 27, 1950, nor 48 months if he is entitled to benefits for previous service.

An allowance to meet, in part, the expense of his subsistence, tuition, supplies, etc., is to be paid to each veteran pursuing a program of education hereunder, which allowance shall vary in relation to the time spent on education, the type he is pursuing, and the number of dependents he has.

Payments to educational institutions shall be at the rate of the established charges of the institutions for tuition and fees required of nonveterans.

All courses taken by veterans must be approved by the State approving agencies in accordance with the provisions of this act. Part VI of the act sets up certain standards for courses offered by training establishments and institutional on-farm training. The State approving agency shall approve courses accredited by responsible accrediting agencies; and shall also approve nonaccredited courses for veterans training under this act if they comply with certain stated requirements. (Act of July 16, 1952, Public Law 550, 82d Cong., 66 Stat. 663–82.)

Employment: Benefits of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 relating to Federal employment are extended to persons who have served on active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States during the period between April 28, 1952 and July 2, 1955. (Act of July 14, 1952, Public Law 536, 82d Cong., 66 Stat. 626–27.)

Employment: Veterans who served in the Armed Forces of the United States after June 30, 1950 shall be entitled to the same civil-service benefits as are accorded to World War II veterans who lost opportunity for probational appointment because of induction into the Armed Forces. Persons who voluntarily continue in military service beyond the 4 years required shall not be entitled to the benefits of this act. (Act of July 16, 1953, Public Law 121, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 173–74.)

Housing: Persons who served in the Armed Forces at any time on or after June 27, 1950 and before a date to be determined by the President, shall be accorded the same preferences in the purchase and occupancy of publicly owned war and low-rent housing, and of FHA-aided cooperative housing as are accorded veterans of World War II. (Act of October 26, 1951, Public Law 214, 82d Cong., 65 Stat. 647–48.)

Housing: The provision granting preferences to veterans under title V of the Lanham Act (housing for distressed families of servicemen and veterans with families) is amended so as to include persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States during the Korean conflict. (Act of June 30, 1953, Public Law 98, sec. 1, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 132, sec. 1.)

Insurance: The Servicemen's Indemnity and Insurance Act of April 25, 1951, provides automatic insurance coverage for persons in active service on and after June 27, 1950. (Act of April 25, 1951, Public Law 23, 82d Cong., 65 Stat. 33–38.)

Loans: Title III of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 extends, to veterans with service in the Armed Forces of the United States at any time on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date as the President or Congress shall determine, the benefits provided under title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 relating to loans for the purchase or construction of homes, farms, and business property. Application for such loans shall be made within 10 years after the termination date of the Korean conflict as fixed by the President or Congress. (Act of July 16, 1952, Public Law 550, 82d Cong., 66 Stat. 682–684.)

Loans: Preferences in applications for benefits under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act and the Housing Act of 1949 are extended to veterans who served in the Armed Forces of the United States between June 27, 1950, and such date as is determined by the President or Congress. (Act of June 30, 1953, Public Law 98, secs. 2, 3, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 132–133, secs. 2, 3.)

Mailing privileges: The transmission of first-class mail free of postage is permitted until June 30, 1955, for members of the Armed Forces who "as a result of service in Korea," are hospitalized outside the continental limits of the United States. (Act of March 23, 1953, Public Law 9, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 7, ch. 9.)

Missing Persons Act: Provision is made for extension, until July 1, 1955, of provisions of the Missing Persons Act and incorporation of certain changes made by Public Law 450, 82d Congress, so as to cover the Korean situation. (Act of April 4, 1953, Public Law 16, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 20–21, as amended January 30, 1954, by Public Law 291, 83d Cong., 68 Stat. 7.)

Mustering-out pay: With certain enumerated exceptions, members of the Armed Forces who were engaged in active service on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date determined by the President or Congress shall be eligible to receive mustering-out pay. (Act of July 16, 1952, Public Law 550, title V, 82d Cong., 66 Stat. 688, title V.)

Naturalization privileges: Any person not a citizen of the United States who has been lawfully admitted for permanent residence or been in the United States at least 1 year before entering the Armed Forces, and who actively served with the Armed Forces for not less than 90 days on or after June 24, 1950, and not later than July 1, 1955, may, regardless of age, be naturalized without full compliance with the naturalization laws, such as period of residence, payment of fees, etc. Such naturalization proceedings may take place before any representative of the service designated by the Attorney General, provided the petitioner while serving is not within the jurisdiction of a court. (Act of June 30, 1953, Public Law 86, 83d Cong., 67 State. 108–110.)

Service flag and lapel button: The act of October 17, 1942, authorizing approval of a standard design for a service flag and service lapel button for World War II veterans is amended to include veterans with service during any period of "hostilities in which the Armed Forces of the United States may be engaged." (Act of May 27, 1953, Public Law 36, 83d Cong., 67 Stat. 35.)

Unemployment compensation: Title IV of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 provides for compensation at the rate of $26 per week for any weeks of unemployment (not in excess of twenty-six) which may occur 90 days after July 16, 1952, for any veteran with service on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date as shall be determined by the President or Congress.

No compensation shall be paid hereunder for any week commencing more than 5 years after such date as determined by the President or Congress.

Veterans eligible to receive mustering-out payments are no eligible for unemployment compensation for prescribed periods of 30, 60, or 90 days after discharge depending on amount of mustering-out pay. (Act of July 16, 1952, Public Law 550, 82d Cong., 66 Stat. 684–688.)

Vocational rehabilitation: Benefits provided under Public Law 16, 78th Congress are extended to veterans with service on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date thereafter as is determined by the President or Congress, who are in need of vocational rehabilitation to overcome the handicap of a disability incurred in combat, extra-hazardous service, or when the United States was at war. (Act of December 28, 1950, Public Lak 894, 81st Cong., 64 Stat. 1121.)

Vocational rehabilitation: The benefits under the act of December 28, 1950, above, which were limited to injuries incurred in combat, etc., are extended hereunder to veterans of the Korean campaign on the same basis as veterans of World War II. (Act of October 11, 1951, Public Law 170, 82d Cong., 65 Stat. 404.)

Ninth Anniversary of Communist Seizure of Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared deploring the Communist seizure of Rumania, and urging that the United States refuse to recognize the satellite government of Rumania.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DOUGLAS

Last Saturday, March 6, marked the ninth anniversary of the Communist aggressive seizure of the Government of Rumania. Since then, nearly 20 million human beings have toiled and starved under Communist slavery.

Persecution, economic pillage, confiscation of property, suppression of civil and religious liberties, the destruction of the independent worker and agriculturalist have been rampant ever since.

This was not accomplished without the most strenuous measures. The acts of terrorism and brigandage were in themselves insufficient to quell the revolts of the Rumanian people. The Soviets then moved in their armed forces, and forcibly disarmed the patriot garrison in Bucharest, holding the city hostage.

While the effective seizure was not consummated until March 6, it was on February 27, 1945, that the Communists sent their star persecutor, Andrei Vishinsky, who now is their representative on the United Nations Security Council, to deliver their ultimatum. Vishinsky informed the King that he had only a few hours to decide, or the Russians would resort to armed suppression. The legal government was ousted, under threats of force, and Moscow's agents took over.

From then on the pattern is familiar: rigged elections on November 19, 1946, and the consequent welding of the once free nation into the Communist orbit. Since then our Department of State has repeatedly protested the tyranny and suppression of the Communist puppet government of Rumania, but this has not sufficed.

I am convinced that time will erase this perfidy, and that Rumania will again stand as a free nation. I have hitherto offered a resolution for the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition from the satellite Communist puppet governments, and for condemnation of Soviet Russia's enslavement of free peoples. It is my hope that we can get action on this resolution, and demonstrate to the word again our conviction that these governments are a forcible travesty upon the sentiments and faith of the peoples of these countries.

Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED MARSHALL
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of the Mississippi River Parkway legislation, I am happy to know that the Committee on Public Works has included an authorization of $250,000 in the bill before us today to assist the States in expediting the planning of the Great River Road.

This great riverside highway following the Mississippi River from its source to the sea will not only welcome travelers seeking history and scenery but it will link Minnesota and the Gulf of Mexico with a defenseway through the heart of our continent. With agriculture and industry thriving along the river, there is a steadily growing need for such a midcontinent thoroughfare.

The splendid record of Federal-State cooperation which has marked all of the planning by the 10 great States bordering the Mississippi River is one unequaled in my experience in the Congress. By following present State highways, we will have an economical thoroughfare that will benefit both the States and the Federal Government. It will raise these highways to modern standards for interstate travel that will serve both national commerce and national defense. It will be at once a farm-to-market road, a scenic and historic parkway, and a modern trunk thoroughfare linking the 35 million people of the river States. As the Mississippi River has always served the heartland of the North American Continent, so too, will the great river road serve our agriculture and our commerce.

The Mississippi River Parkway Planning Commission deserves to be commended for its constant spirit of cooperation and the single-mindedness with which it has worked to make this remarkable project possible. It includes 10 members appointed by each of the 10 governors of the States bordering the Mississippi and it has given us a plan worthy of our support.

The people of the river States have long wanted a scenic interstate highway that will open the Mississippi Valley to the thousands of tourists each year who want to see America first.

In Minnesota, as in other States, the tourist trade is a rapidly expanding industry and an interesting and safe highway along the river will surely be one of America's great attractions. The

river and the valley are rich in history and in a variety of scenery unequaled in our country.

At the same time it will help our State to modernize the highway system that is the midcontinent artery of our transportation system. It will connect the rich and varied agricultural areas and rural towns with the centers of industry into which their raw materials flow.

The recreation potential of the Mississippi Valley is almost unlimited and a safe modern highway will open new possibilities in every State.

In my own congressional district, the highway will offer travelers easy access to the historical and scenic cities and towns and farmlands along the river. Following is a brief summary of some of the sights to be seen in our district:

Aitkin: In this vicinity the Mississippi River runs through land which was once the floor of Lake Aitkin, a large and ancient body of water formed behind the terminal moraine of the Keewatin ice sheet. The sandy plain of the old lake is now a prosperous farming area devoted largely to dairy products, turkeys, and small fruits.

West of Aitkin the present roads run through a pleasant country of mixed farm and forest. In the spring this region is noted for the vivid coloring of the wildflowers which grow in roadside meadows and swamps.

Crosby, Ironton: In the vicinity of these towns is the Cuyuna Iron Range. Parkway travelers would be able to visit some of the mines, including the immense open-pit manganiferous ore mine which lies near the Mississippi River north of Crosby. The river here runs broad and deep between sandy banks. Dense second-growth forests, edged with brilliant wildflowers, grow to the very brink of the low banks.

Brainerd: This town is the gateway to an extensive recreation area. When the glaciers retreated from this region, great outwash streams deposited sand and gravel around and on top of huge blocks of ice. When the ice melted, pits were left in the terrain which filled with water and became lakes. North of Brainerd a series of these pit lakes—Gull Lakes, Long Lake, Whitefish Lakes, and others—forms the setting for some of Minnesota's best-known resorts. East and south of Brainerd is Mille Lacs Lake, another resort center. When the French first entered the Upper Mississippi area toward the end of the 17th century they found many important Sioux towns on the shores of this lake. Both De Luth and Hennepin visited the principal Sioux village of Izatys. The lodges of present-day Indians are seen in numbers along the highways around the lake.

In the Brainerd vicinity and for many miles to the south modern highways paralleling the Mississippi to the east traverse a broad, sandy plain, marked by occasional groups of dunes. This Anoka sand plain, as it is known to geologists, was formed by wash from the Mississippi River as it pushed westward against the retreating Grantsburg sublobe of glacial ice.

Crow Wing River: A short distance below Brainerd the Mississippi is joined by its first large tributary, the clear and beautiful Crow Wing, which drains a large area of forest, farm, and lake. Near its mouth one branch of the Red River trail, over which the squeaking oxcarts made their annual journeys between Canada and the Twin Cities, crossed the Mississippi. Fur-trading posts and the vanished frontier town of Old Crow Wing were situated near the confluence of the two streams.

Fort Gaines site: On the west bank of the Mississippi, about midway between the Crow Wing and Little Falls, stands the weathered ruin of an old brick powder magazine, all that remains to mark the site of Fort Gaines—later called Fort Ripley—a military post occupied between 1849 and 1878.

Camp Ripley: An active military reservation where Minnesota's National Guard receives its field training.

Little Falls: A modern dam largely obscures the rapids in the Mississippi, once well-known landmarks to explorers and French voyageurs. A short distance northeast of the city is Hole-in-the-Day's Bluff, named for an Ojibway chief said to have been slain by his own people and buried on the summit.

Charles A. Lindbergh State Memorial Park: This tract of 110 acres on the west bank of the Mississippi was dedicated by the State of Minnesota to the memory of Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, who was associated with pioneer liberal movements in the State, and who was prominent in the Non-Partisan League and the Farm-Labor Party. The clapboard-covered cottage in which he lived for many years and which was the boyhood home of his famous son, the "Flying Colonel," is preserved as a museum. The park contains one of the finest remaining stands of virgin white pine and affords facilities for picnicking and hiking.

Pike's Fort site: Here on the sandy bluff overlooking the river, Lt. Zebulon M. Pike built a stockade for his exploring party during the winter of 1805–06.

South of Little Falls existing roads, sometimes unpaved, enable the traveler to follow quite closely along the west bank of the Mississippi as far as Minneapolis. Occasionally the tops of the sandy bluffs afford striking views of the blue river and the terraces—frequently wooded—which characterize the opposite bank. Although largely farmland, the country presents a diversified scene. In the spring the wildflower displays are outstanding. Occasional factories, dams, and crossings of tributary streams serve to give a pleasant variety to the landscape. Sites of early trading posts and missions are reminders of the days when the upper Mississippi was a wild frontier.

Sartell: A large pulp and paper mill is located directly on the riverbank here and probably would be open for inspection by parkway travelers.

St. Cloud: This prosperous city is the center of a famous quarrying region. The fine-grained granite found here has been used in the construction of some of the most impressive public and private buildings throughout the Nation. A pioneer log cabin built by Balthasarr Rosenberger about 1855 is preserved in Riverside Park.

Oliver H. Kelley house: On the east bank of the Mississippi about 3 miles south of Elk River is the former farm and home of Oliver Hudson Kelley, founder of the National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry. Now owned and maintained by the Grange, this property would enable parkway travelers to visualize the development of a typical Minnesota homestead into a prosperous present-day farm. Here is the outstanding site in the Nation for telling the story of the movement for farmer organization.

Basic Problem: Business or Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I take pleasure in including the following article entitled "Basic Problem: Business or Public Service," which appeared in the January 1954 issue of Nation's Business. This article was written by Charles B. Coates and Robert L. L. McCormick, who are specialists in Government research:

The last remnant of the Post Office Department's fleet of horse-drawn mail wagons operates today in Philadelphia. One morning a year or so ago, a clocker for the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report counted some 30 wagons setting forth.

Some of these horses have been eliminated since President Eisenhower was inaugurated. More are expected to go before long. But, as it is now, horse-drawn postal wagons still set out regularly on their appointed rounds—presumably without undue consideration for snow, heat, or gloom of night.

Throughout the Post Office Department much larger changes are getting under way—gradually. One cannot, however, be too harsh on any new administration for not turning the Post Office Department upside down. After all, the Department is not just big. It is gigantic.

It has annual sales of $2,500 million, more than 500,000 employees, and 41,000 offices. It handles some 50 billion pieces of mail a year, a volume probably exceeding that of all other postal services of the world combined. Going into the red at a rate of almost $2 million each working day, it also dwarfs competition in that field.

The new administration is certainly trying to clear away the administrative rubble left over from years of neglect. Certainly a new esprit, a desire for self-betterment, has been breathed into the organization. Nevertheless, the administration has not yet capitalized fully on its opportunities.

That the post office presents no easy problem either in policy or in management is clear when one looks to the size of the accumulated postal deficit of the past 8 years—$3,800 million.

Through efforts of the Appropriations Committees and of the new Postmaster Gen-

eral (plus the transfer of some $80 million of airline subsidy appropriations to the Civil Aeronautics Board), the 1954 deficit should be reduced to somewhere around $400 million.

To cut the deficit this far has been no simple task. To do away with it entirely will require two things: First, revision of basic policies, and second, better management. Neither of these alone can eliminate it entirely, but at this juncture the end of the deficit no longer appears an unobtainable goal.

Except for this deficit, postal policy problems would not arouse undue public controversy.

But as it is, important segments of the public have developed a series of vested interests in the deficit. They include, among others, residents of rural and outlying areas, some publishers, mail-order houses, weekly newspapers, veterans' organizations, mail advertisers, church groups, and transportation companies.

The new administration has made real efforts to reduce the deficit by bringing some elements of it into balance. Although it has attained a good deal of success, the record is still "spotty." The principal reason is that this administration and the Congress, like their predecessors, have not yet faced up to the most important question of all:

Should the Post Office Department be required to break even?

Until this question is answered, it will be difficult for the administration to take a firm position on many policy questions.

Subsidies give us a clear example. The Post Office is required to subsidize some types of mail by rates which cause these items to be carried at a loss. How much of a loss applies to any one class offers continuous subject matter for congressional argument, for the recipients too often yield to the natural urge to claim that "everybody gets it but me." It may never be possible to obtain agreement on the facts regarding these subsidies. But, if the administration is to reach some acceptable solution, it must first make a unified onslaught upon the whole policy problem.

Subsidies occur both in the costs and in the revenues which cause the deficit in the first place. Yet solutions in these two pregnant policy fields mainly lie beyond the power of the Department. The Congress or agencies reporting to the Congress usually have the final say-so. Hence, the less firm the policy stand by the administration, the more it tends to lie at the mercy of its adversaries.

The new Postmaster General has vigorously attacked these two matters, but he has been forced to do so on a piecemeal basis. He has sought decreases in transportation costs both by appealing to regulatory bodies and by such devices as transferring certain categories of mail from the railroads to the airlines. He has also sought to reduce the costs in major post offices and to cut down the number of uneconomic units. In this his success has been considerable.

With respect to revenues he has done what he could on his own, and has presented his case to Congress and before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Rates he can control himself are being increased by $40 million. Government agencies (even Congress) are being required to pay for their own mail. The Interstate Commerce Commission has granted substantial increases in parcel post rates. In Congress, a frontal attack on rate increases was made—to no avail.

But until the Eisenhower administration and the Congress grab the principal policy nettle—whether the post office is a business or a subsidized public service—we will be most fortunate if anyone comes up with a real answer to the postal deficit.

The Department has had a much freer hand in the management field. It has brought in the task force of the first Hoover Commission, and has vigorously gone about installing that body's recommendations.

Here its record is much better. While the savings have been modest, running perhaps to $20 million a year, economies of this type will tend to bear fruit in geometric progression—as extended to additional post offices and field activities.

Improvements, large and small, have been effected. Among them are these items:

1. Fast division into regions under which 41,000 postmasters will eventually cease to report directly to the Postmaster General.

2. Monthly, instead of daily, audits of reports from 130,000 postal meters by departmental clerks, along with test audits. Savings: $1 million a year.

3. Termination of buying concrete mailbox posts from one supplier and shipping them all over the United States. Some transportation bills were six times the cost of the posts.

4. Removal of hundreds of postal clerks from plants of the large publishers, and substitution of accounting sampling techniques for their work. Savings: $1,500,000 a year.

5. Elimination of heat-treating requirements for body frames from truck specifications. Saving $30,000 on 1 order for 100 trucks.

6. Replacement of uneconomical rural post offices by mobile units.

This last promises some important gains. Political pressure in the past has multiplied the number of small post offices beyond all reason. Kentucky, for example, is the 36th State in area and 19th in population; yet it has more post offices than any other State except Pennsylvania.

On the negative side, many things which the Hoover Commission and other experts have recommended remain undone.

A few examples (aside from the Philadelphia horses) are:

1. The Department has scarcely moved forward at all on a program for making outlying or suburban post offices in some 200 areas become branches of central post offices—with large potential savings in administrative costs.

2. Mounted carriers in suburban or outlying areas have routes which almost universally duplicate those of parcel-post-delivery carriers.

3. In many cities, railway mail terminal operations and those of the city post offices go on side by side in the same building—each reporting to separate officials in Washington. The personnel are not interchangeable, wages and working conditions differ, and duplication exists. The Hoover Commission's recommendation for the consolidation or curtailment of terminal operations remains untouched.

4. In this Department, with more than 500,000 employees, only 9 career men are paid more than $11,800 a year. In some departments hundreds of nonpolitical employees receive salaries in the $12,000–$14,800 range.

5. Some 41,000 postmasters, 32,000 rural mail carriers, and thousands of other positions continue to be filled on a political basis.

This last will call for the most courage of all. As far as the Post Office is concerned, the Federal Government has yet to recognize that the key to better management is better men. Every effort to get Congress to eliminate Senate confirmation of postmaster appointments has been beaten. The Postmaster General has taken some steps in the direction of a real merit system. But until the whole merit concept is fully accepted and fully applied, the postal service will never be first rate.

The results so far make it clear that a new blood infusion has done the Department much good in managerial lines, but that it still has far to go in this direction.

With respect to policy, a national decision must be reached on the fundamental question of the real role of the post office in our economy. Until the administration throws its whole weight behind the solution of that one, the Post Office Department will never be as efficient and economical as our citizens want it to be.

The United States Has Lost a Great American With the Death of Will H. Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know that the House will regret today's news of the death of Will H. Hays.

The story of Will Hays is the story of America. Here is an example of the Middle West small-town boy who on his ability only rose from precinct committeeman to be the chairman of the Republican National Committee and later Postmaster General. I grew up in Sullivan, Ind., where Will Hays was born, came to stature, and died. My father and Will Hays started out as precinct committeemen together. When he was chairman of the Sullivan County Central Committee my father was secretary.

I have known him from a small boy. Will Hays was the kindly and gracious gentleman for whom no favor was too much to do for any friend.

He was not only the statesman, but one continually interested in the welfare of his community, his State, and his country. He was a God-fearing man—a deacon and moderator of the Presbyterian Church. During all of his time in Washington he always managed to come back to Sullivan and to his church to take holy communion.

Even when he was in Washington and later in the movie industry he always retained his friendly interest in Indiana and the early loves of his boyhood.

The high morality which he had learned as a boy he carried with him into the movie industry where he was principally responsible for the cleaning up of the movie industry and bringing it greater respectability in the eyes of the public. In this job his ability and his integrity stood him well for he was never known to weaken on the matter of principle even when he was opposed by large segments of the industry. After his retirement he came back to Sullivan and retained his interest in his friends and the practice of law, which was his first love.

I am sure that Will Hays will be missed, not only by his friends in this body and in Washington, but the many people whom he befriended throughout the United States. The loss of this kind of a man is always felt because he was thoroughly an American.

Mr. Speaker, I am attaching herewith for the RECORD, the editorial from today's Washington Daily News on the

death of the Will H. Hays, which tells a great deal about the high respect in which this man was held:

WILL H. HAYS

High-powered persuasiveness sums up best the qualities which carried Will Hays from a small-town Indiana boyhood to the czardom of a $2 billion industry—American movies.

Mr. Hays died yesterday at his Sullivan, Ind., home at the age of 74, ending a prodigious career that included politics, publicity, the profession of law, and policeman of Hollywood's screen morals.

It is a tribute to this grassroots American with a Presbyterian-elder outlook that no Federal regulation or supervision of the motion-picture industry has ever been found necessary. The system of voluntary censorship that the famed "Hays Office" introduced has been sufficiently effective.

Mr. Hays was once described, literally, as "the cat's whiskers of the movie industry" in that the film producers relied on him to guide them through tight places and around dangerous corners the way a cat relies on its whiskers for approximately the same purposes.

He held the job for 21 years. Against moralists who thought he was sometimes too liberal and against liberals who thought he was too moral, Will Hays needed only to turn on his persuasive personality to calm them. He won the respect of industry heads, the critics, and the mass of movie fans who to this day want a movie kiss no longer than the limit once decreed by the Hays office. America owes him an unpayable debt to the influence of decency and good taste he bequeathed to an industry which has such incalculable effect on our manners and morals.

On Course Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the following editorials in the RECORD, one from the Christian Science Monitor of March 4, 1954, and the other from the Washington Post of March 5, 1954:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of March 4, 1954]

ON COURSE AGAIN

Helmsman Eisenhower has once more got the ship of state back on its charted course. He has taken positive steps to maintain the rights of the executive branch, to reassert his party leadership, and to improve congressional investigations.

Through his press conference statements he reminded the press and public of grave national problems, of his program for action to meet them, and of dangers in being diverted by useless and unfortunate incidents. He did not mention Senator MCCARTHY by name, but there could be no mistaking his target.

Those who want the President to wage personal war on the junior Senator from Wisconsin will not be satisfied. But those who perceive that the issue of fair investigations is larger than any man and who appreciate the problem of team leadership facing the President will applaud the forthright steps he has taken.

These are not confined to the mild, impersonal press conference words. They include pressures he has brought on Republican leaders in Congress for more active measures to take responsibility for decent committee procedures. This newspaper has been driving at Congress for such reforms since before the war, and we welcome signs of action.

These reforms should not be limited to better treatment of army officers. Nor to the ending of "one-man shows." They should produce a code which embodies the President's warning: "In opposing communism we are defeating ourselves if, either by design or through carelessness, we use methods that do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play."

The President's measures went significantly further. They were reflected in the statement of Republican National Chairman Hall after an interview at the White House. Mr. Hall declared flatly that he "cannot go along with Senator MCCARTHY when he attacks others who are fighting communism just as conscientiously as he is." And he added that no one would believe American generals are soft on communism.

The full meaning of this is only grasped if one remembers that the President weeks ago said Reds in Government should not be an election issue. Mr. Hall at that time took a different line, and shortly put the national committee behind the McCarthy "20 years of treason" speaking tour. He has now apparently decided it would be wiser to follow the President.

Although possibly only a collateral operation, the curbing of Scott McLeod's powers over personnel in the State Department constitutes a sharp counterattack against McCarthy influence. It is bound to look like another answer to the Senator's drive at the Army.

Indeed, that drive has boomeranged seriously. The engagement is not finished, but as of today the seeming great victory engineered so slickly at the famous "chicken lunch" now looks distinctly like a setback. Secretary Stevens, however politically inexperienced, has come out of it looking like an honorable man and a fair fighter.

Moreover, the President, while conceding Army mistakes and frankly recognizing congressional investigative rights, has unequivocally affirmed his determination to support all officials who insist—as Secretary Stevens did—upon fair treatment of witnesses by investigators. He has refocused attention on moral issues and a positive program. This course is the only one on which the bulk of Americans can unite, and it deserves active support.

[From the Washington Post of March 5, 1954]

RETREAT ON RULES

Hope that the Republican policy committee of the Senate might bridle the men who are running amuck with the congressional investigative power appears to have been extinguished by a single wave of Senator FERGUSON'S hand. Last week the committee ordered a study of proposed rules of fair procedure. As this coincided with Senator MCCARTHY'S latest indulgence in inquisition methods, it was naturally interpreted as a move toward the restoration of decency in all investigative procedure. But Mr. FERGUSON now says that the policy committee will do no more than to suggest a pattern of conduct that the investigating committees can accept or reject.

This is equivalent to the policy committee throwing up its hands in despair. As we noted the other day, the MCCARTHY committee already has an elaborate set of self-imposed rules. When the chairman's ire is aroused, these rules mean precisely nothing. The one hope of bringing irresponsible investigators under control is for the Senate and House to enact a code of fair procedure and then enforce it against all Members to whom the investigative power is entrusted.

The central vice of the existing practice is that a mighty congressional power is being used for personal and partisan ends. Congress has an obligation to reestablish control over this legislative device and to insist that it be used only in the national interest. It can do this by forbidding 1-man inquisitions—by requiring a majority or at least a minimum of 3 members of the subcommittee to be present when any witness is examined. It can do it also by requiring majority committee action for the issuance of subpenas. If, in addition, a code of fair procedure were enforced by census or replacement of any chairman who repeatedly violated its provisions, Congress would once more be master of its own house.

But there is no hope in asking the inquisitors to discipline themselves. One might as reasonably ask a hurricane to change its course. What is needed here is an exercise of congressional power to curb the misuse of that power. If the majority policy committee runs away from that responsibility, the hope of bringing order out of the present chaos will be very meager indeed.

Repeal Poll Tax in Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 21, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following letter received from one of my constituents, Mr. Charles W. Cobb, in which he expresses his approval of the repeal of the poll tax in the State of Virginia:

ALEXANDRIA, VA., *February 18, 1954.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROYHILL: I understand that the Virginia Legislature is considering a proposal to amend the State constitution by eliminating the poll tax. In view of this, it should be noted that Virginia is the only State on the Atlantic seaboard that still has a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. And since Tennessee finished repealing its poll tax last November, Virginia is completely surrounded by States without a poll tax. It is interesting to notice that all the neighboring States bordering on Virginia cast a larger total vote for President in 1952 even though all but one of them (North Carolina) has a smaller population than Virginia. Below is a tabulation of figures taken from the World Almanac showing the total vote for presidential candidates and the 1950 census population:

State	1952 presidential vote	1950 population
Virginia	619,689	3,318,680
Kentucky	993,148	2,944,806
Maryland	902,074	2,343,001
Tennessee	892,553	3,291,718
West Virginia	873,548	2,005,552

The blame for this disgraceful showing of Virginia lies squarely with the poll tax, and I hope you will urge your friends in the Virginia Legislature to vote for repeal of the poll tax.

Yours,

CHARLES W. COBB, Jr.

An Appeal for Confidence in the Cause of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Appendix an editorial taken from the March 4 issue of the Indianapolis News, one of the distinguished newspapers of my State. Its wisdom is well worth consideration:

AN APPEAL FOR CONFIDENCE IN THE CAUSE OF AMERICA

It has become the fashion in certain circles here and abroad to scold the citizens of the United States for political immaturity.

This charge and similar ones usually are applied in connection with international relations. This is particularly true during those periods when the Kremlin is staging one of its "peace" offensives. Watch for the practice to be intensified as the Geneva conference nears.

We are told by American news commentators and former British Prime Ministers that world leadership was thrust upon us before we were ready for it.

We are warned that we are an inherently impetuous people. We must guard against this weakness, we are cautioned, lest we "upset the applecart" or "burn down the barn to kill a few rats."

The implication in all this is that we should rely upon the superior political wisdom of European nations which have bled themselves a fish-belly gray in centuries of senseless, fruitless warfare, or that we should look to the vaunted sagacity of Asiatic nations which have never yet been able to solve their own internal problems.

Incredible as it may seem, this phony pitch is having the desired effect on many Americans. There is a noticeable tendency in our country today toward an international inferiority complex.

That is not as it should be.

As Al Smith, a wise American, used to say—let's look at the record.

Let's see how politically immature, how irresponsibly impetuous history has proved us to be in comparison with some of our sister nations.

Let's ask a few questions.

Were the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution the products of politically immature minds? Or of penetrating minds which saw far into the future and somehow grasped the elusive secret of successful self-government?

Was the Monroe Doctrine a product of impetuosity? Or of a shrewd appraisal which through most of two centuries has had the result of maintaining the territorial integrity of the Americas?

Was the Civil War, or War Between the States, an irresponsible conflict to be classed with sanguinary European wars over which half-witted royal family would rule the roost? Or was it an honest and manly, though terrible, conflict aimed at settling basic issues of the greatest moment?

Was the handling of the Philippine and Cuban questions after the somewhat irresponsible Spanish-American War evidence of immaturity or social unenlightenment? Or was it a high example that broke the back of evil colonialism in our own century?

Was the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese War the product of American greenhorns? Or was it the product of the good offices of a Nation which held world respect as a clean-handed force for peace with freedom and justice?

Was the war-breeding Treaty of Versailles the creature of irresponsible United States influence? Or was a great American President who sought a century of Christian peace overruled by shortsighted, greedy, vengeful allies?

Was the United States playing the part of an international ignoramus when it warned the world against Japanese aggression in 1931? Or were the real ignoramuses those nations which closed their eyes to the meaning of Mukden?

Was it the United States that kidded itself into thinking "peace in our time" had been purchased by the sellout at Munich? Or did that delusion belong to a couple of other nations which now lecture us on our international course and demand that we deal with the Devil?

Unfortunately, our record of political maturity has been terribly spotty in the years since Munich, although there have been notable successes.

There was, for example, the occupation of Japan and the peace treaty with that humbled nation.

There was the Truman doctrine which saved Greece and Turkey when all was confusion and defeatism among our West European and British allies.

There was the European recovery plan, an historic instance of international generosity and farsightedness, however faulty its administration.

There were the Berlin airlift, the North Atlantic Pact, and the European defense community concept.

And there was our forthright, courageous rush to aid little Korea, a move undertaken before we could be sure our friends in the United Nations would go along. That the Korean crusade later degenerated into an unholy mess due to the wavering of our allies does not take away from the wisdom and genuine world-mindedness of the original intervention.

It is true that we have made disastrous international errors in recent years, headed by the betrayal of China. But in almost every case of error we have been the victims of misguidance by our allies or the United Nations.

As a whole, the record of American sagacity in international affairs through nearly 2 centuries is one of the finest in history. Why, then, should we lack confidence in ourselves in this time of decision?

The Geneva Conference will provide a mighty test of American self-confidence. British and French leaders already are doing everything in their power to soften our leaders in order to gain recognition and a United Nations seat for the barbarous Red China regime. The Kremlin seeks the same end.

It is unthinkable that the United States should even consider recognition of the mass murderers of America's sons, let alone dignify the question in formal councils. Indeed, the time has come for this Nation to give serious consideration to the withdrawal of recognition of all Communist conspiracies.

Our allies and their mouthpieces in this country tell us we cannot do this or that because it would amount to going it alone. In the first place, doing what is right in the cause of liberty is not going it alone. It has the support of freemen throughout the world. And, in the second place, why should a confident America be afraid of being charged with going it alone?

Millions of human beings, including more than 1 million Americans, have died for the cause of liberty which the United States espouses. They will have died in vain if we run from the prospect of danger and make suicidal deals with the bloody-handed enemies of mankind. Unless our heritage of political wisdom and righteouness prevails in this hour of trial the councils of the heroic dead will pronounce our epitaph: "They weren't worth saving."

Fair Play in Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including herewith two editorials, one from the New York Times of March 5, entitled "Fair Play in Committee," and the other from the Newark Evening News of March 4, entitled "Justice and Fair Play." Both of these editorials point out the advisability of having Congress consider promptly the adequacy of the rules of our investigating committees. This problem is one which I brought to the attention of the House last week, and these editorials support the position which I took at that time:

[From the New York Times of March 5, 1954]

FAIR PLAY IN COMMITTEE

On Wednesday the President of the United States said he was glad to state that "Senator KNOWLAND has reported to me that effective steps are being taken by the Republican leadership to set up codes of fair procedures" for congressional investigating committees.

On that same day the chairman of the Senate Republican policy committee, Mr. FERGUSON, said that if any reforms were going to be made in procedure it was up to each individual committee to make them. More than that, it was up to each individual chairman to decide if he would even bring back to his own committee for discussion such reforms as the policy group may see fit to recommend. (Incidentally, it hasn't recommended any yet.) And on top of all this the alleged majority leader, Mr. KNOWLAND, concurred in what Senator FERGUSON has said, pointing out that there could be no question of forcing a set of rules on a committee chairman. Either the President was misled by Mr. KNOWLAND or Mr. KNOWLAND hasn't a very clear conception of effective steps * * * to set up codes of fair procedures.

Under present circumstances both Houses of Congress owe it to themselves and to the country to take concrete steps to restore public confidence in the investigative process, which actually is one of the most important of congressional functions. Many individual Senators and Congressmen understand this need for reform, and some committees acting under their own steam have done something about it. But since the committees and committee chairmen that most need restraint are the ones least likely to impose it on themselves, it is the clear duty of each House to set up standard rules of conduct. Neither partisan, political, nor personal considerations should be permitted to get in the way. If the Republicans miss this opportunity we believe they will regret it next November.

[From the Newark Evening News of March 4, 1954]

JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY

President Eisenhower, as was inevitable, has been forced to clarify his own position and the fundamental issues involved in the McCarthy-Army conflict. In so doing, Mr. Eisenhower manifests an infinite capacity for patience. He resorts to no personalities, nowhere does he mention Senator McCARTHY by name. But in his praise of General Zwicker specifically, and the military generally, the President left no doubt as to whose methods do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play. Mr. McCARTHY knows, and responds in typical McCarthy style.

In rejecting personalities for issues, the President addressed himself to the heart of the latest McCARTHY incident. The President finds it impossible to support Secretary Stevens's initial order that Army officers refuse to respond for questioning by congressional committees. At the same time the President gives Mr. Stevens his unqualified support in his insistence upon fair treatment for any witness who may be called from the executive branch to testify.

Throughout his statement, Mr. Eisenhower tried patiently to introduce dignity and restraint to this controversy. But obviously you can't send perfumed notes to the Senator from Wisconsin. How does he respond to dignity and restraint? By announcing that he intends to proceed as usual. All of which confirms the conclusion that you can't do business with Mr. McCARTHY on any decent terms.

What is the alternative? Where is relief to be found from Mr. McCARTHY and his methods? Who will check his divisive course, stop these useless and unfortunate incidents Mr. Eisenhower deplores? The President, who has a scrupulous regard for governmental divisions of authority, yesterday pointed to the obvious remedy: the Congress. He expects Republican Members, since they are the majority party and control the committee, to assume primary responsibility. The President's optimism is based on conversations he has had with Senator KNOWLAND, majority leader, on pending proposals for codes of fair procedures to govern congressional investigations.

Maybe the Congress—the Senate specifically—will vindicate the President's judgment and faith. There is, however, little enough to justify Mr. Eisenhower's expectations in the Senate's dismal record of submission to the demands and excesses of Mr. McCARTHY. No more, we should say, than the Republican record, in and out of Congress, supports the conclusion that party leaders will ultimately recognize their own responsibility and disavow the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Under God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon preached by Dr. George M. Docherty, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, on Sunday, February 7, 1954:

The famous city of Sparta was once visited by an ambassador from another kingdom. He expected to find this great city surrounded by thick protecting walls; he was surprised when he saw no battlements at all.

"Where are the walls to defend the city?" he asked of the King of Sparta.

"Here are the walls of Sparta," replied the king, showing him his army of first line crack troops.

Had this ambassador visited our United States today, he would also be surprised to find no wall around our cities. (I should think, as a matter of fact, it would be extremely difficult even for American know-how to build a wall around Los Angeles.) And if our visitor were to ask the question, "Where is the defense of the Nation?", he could be shown something of the awesome power of the mighty American Army, Navy, and Air Force; not to mention the enormous economic potential of the country. But the true strength of the United States of America lies deeper, as it lay in Sparta. It is the spirit of both military and people—a flaming devotion to the cause of freedom within these borders.

At this season of anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, it will not be inappropriate to speak about this freedom, and what is called the American way of life.

Freedom is a subject everyone seems to be talking about without seemingly stopping to ask the rather basic question, "What do we mean by freedom?" In this matter, apparently, we all are experts.

The world of Mr. Lincoln's day is unbelievably different from this modern age. Yet there is a sense in which history is always repeating itself. The issues we face today are precisely the issues he spent his life seeking to resolve. In his day, the issue was sparked by Negro slavery; today, it is sparked by a militantly atheistic communism that has already enslaved 800 million of the peoples of the earth, and now menaces the rest of the free world.

Lincoln, in his day, saw this country as a nation that "was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." And the question he asks is the timeless, and timely, one—"whether that Nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

I recall once discussing the "American way of life" with a newspaper editor. He had been using the phrase rather freely. When asked to define the phrase "the American way of life," he became very wordy and verbose. "It is live and let live; it is freedom to act," and other such platitudes.

Let me tell what "the American way of life" is. It is going to the ball game and eating popcorn, and drinking Coca Cola, and rooting for the Senators. It is shopping in Sears, Roebuck. It is losing heart and hat on a roller coaster. It is driving on the right side of the road and putting up at motels on a long journey. It is being bored with television commercials. It is setting off firecrackers with your children on the Fourth of July. It is sitting for 7 hours to see the pageantry of the presidential inauguration.

But, it is deeper than that.

It is gardens with no fences to bar you from the neighborliness of your neighbor. It is the perfume of honeysuckle, and the sound of katydids in the warm night air of summer, when you go out into the garden, the children long ago asleep, and you feel the pulse and throb of nature around you. It is Negro spirituals and colonial architecture. It is Thanksgiving turkey and pumpkin pie. It is the sweep of broad rivers and the sea of wheat and grass. It is a view from the air of the conflux of muddy rivers and neat little excavations and columns of smoke that is the mighty Pittsburgh. It is canyons of skyscrapers in New York, and the sweep of Lakeshore Drive that is Chicago. It is the lonely, proud status of Lee on Gettysburg field. It is schoolgirls wearing jeans and schoolboys riding enormous push bikes. It is color comics. It is the Sunday New York Times. It is sitting on the porch of a Sunday afternoon, after morning church, rocking in a creeking wicker chair. It is a lad and a lass looking at you intently in the marriage service. It is sickness and a home empty, quieted, and stilled by grief. It is the sound of the bell at the railroad crossing, and children's laughter. It is a solitary bugler playing taps, clear and long-noted, at Arlington.

And where did all this come from?

It has been with us so long, we have to recall it was brought here by people who laid stress on fundamentals. They called themselves Puritans because they wished to live the pure and noble life purged of all idolatry and enslavement of the mind, even by the church. They did not realize that in fleeing from tyrany and setting up a new life in a new world they were to be the fathers of a mighty nation.

These fundamental concepts of life had been given to the world from Sinai, where the moral law was graven upon tables of stone, symbolizing the universal application to all men; and they came from the New Testament, where they heard in the words of Jesus of Nazareth the living word of God for the world.

This is the American way of life. Lincoln saw this clearly. History for him was the Divine Comedy, though he would not use that phrase. The providence of God was being fulfilled.

Wherefore, he claims that it is under God that this Nation shall know a new birth of freedom. And by implication, it is under God that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." For Lincoln, since God was in His Heaven, all must ultimately be right for his country.

Now, all this may seem obvious, until one sits down and takes these implications of freedom really seriously. For me, it came in a flash one day sometime ago when our children came home from school. Almost casually, I asked what happened at school when they arrived there in the morning. They described to me, in great detail and with strange solemnity, the ritual of the salute to the flag. The children turn to the flag, and with their hand acreos their heart, they repeat the words:

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and the Republic for which it stands; one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

They were very proud of the pledge; and rightly so.

I don't suppose you fathers would have paid much attention to that as I did. I had the advantage over you. I could listen to those noble words as if for the first time. You have learned them so long ago, like the arithmetic table or the shorter catechism, something you can repeat without realizing what it all really means. But I could sit down and brood upon it, going over each word slowly in my mind.

And I came to a strange conclusion. There was something missing in this pledge, and that which was missing was the characteristic and definitive factor in the American way of life. Indeed, apart from the mention of the phrase, the United States of America, this could be a pledge of any republic. In fact, I could hear little Muscovites repeat a similar pledge to their hammer-and-sickle flag in Moscow with equal solemnity, for Russia is also a republic that claims to have overthrown the tyranny of kingship.

Russia also claims to be indivisible. Mr. Stalin admitted to Sir Winston Churchill that the uniting of the peasants was the most difficult of all tasks. (He did not mention the massacre of the 3 million Kulak farmers in this blood-and-iron unification.)

Russia claims to have liberty. You will never understand the Communist mind until

you realize this aberration of their judgment. Marx, in his dialectic, makes it clear that the Communist state is only an imperfect stage toward world socialism. When that day comes the state will wither away and true socialism will reign forever. Utopia will have dawned. Until that day there must be personal limitations. As the capitalist state limits freedom in the day of war, so must the workers of the world accept this form of restricted freedom. Besides, claims Marx, trouble arises when you give men their unrestricted freedom. Human freedom always degenerates into license and gives rise to greed and war. They might claim that their "servitude is perfect freedom."

Again the Communists claim there is justice in Russia. They have their law courts. They have their elections with universal suffrage. When pressed to the point, they will admit there is really only one candidate because the people are so unanimous about that way of life.

They call their way of life "democratic." One of the problems statesmen find in dealing with Russia is one of semantics, of definition. Russia says she is democratic and we are Facsist; we claim to be democratic and call Russia Communists.

What, therefore, is missing in the pledge of allegiance that Americans have been saying on and off since 1892, and officially since 1942? The one fundamental concept that completely and ultimately separates Communist Russia from the democratic institutions of this country. This was seen clearly by Lincoln. Under God this people shall know a new birth of freedom, and "under God" are the definitive words.

Now, Lincoln was not being original in that phrase. He was simply reminding the people of the basis upon which the Nation won its freedom in its Declaration of Independence. He went back to Jefferson as he did in so much of his thinking. Indeed, he acknowledges his debt to Jefferson in a famous speech delivered at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on February 22, 1861, 2 years before the Gettysburg Address. "All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Listen again to the fundamentals of this Declaration:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

At Gettysburg Lincoln poses the question: "Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

That is the text of our day and generation also.

The tragedy of the 19th century democratic liberalism, when nation after nation set up parliamentary forms of government, was that two world convulsions shattered the illusion that you can build a nation on human ideas without a fundamental belief in God's providence. Crowns in Europe toppled, not because of autocracy but because the peoples had lost the vision of God.

We face, today, a theological war. It is not basically a conflict between two political philosophies—Thomas Jefferson's political democracy over against Lenin's communistic state.

Nor is it a conflict fundamentally between two economic systems between, shall we say, Adams Smith's Wealth of Nations and Karl Marx's Das Capital.

It is a fight for the freedom of the human personality. It is not simply man's inhumanity to man. It is Armageddon, a battle of the gods. It is the view of man as it comes down to us from Judaio-Christian civilization in mortal combat against modern, secularized, godless humanity.

The pledge of allegiance seems to me to omit this theological implication that is fundamental to the American way of life. It should be "One nation, indivisible, under God." Once "under God," then we can define what we mean by "liberty and justice for all." To omit the words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance is to omit the definitive character of the American way of life.

Some might assert this to be a violation of the first amendment to the Constitution. It is quite the opposite. The first amendment states concerning the question of religion: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion."

Now, "establishment of religion" is a technical term. It means Congress will permit no state church in this land such as exists in England. In England the bishops are appointed by Her Majesty. The church, by law, is supported by teinds or rent. The church, therefore, can call upon the support of the law of the land to carry out its own ecclesiastical laws. What the declaration says, in effect, is that no state church shall exist in this land. This is separation of church and state; it is not, and never was meant to be, a separation of religion and life. Such objection is a confusion of the first amendment with the First Commandment.

If we were to add the phrase "under the church" that would be different. In fact, it would be dangereous. The question arises, which church? Now, I could give good Methodists an excellent dissertation upon the virtues of the Presbyterian Church, and show how much superior John Knox was to John Wesley. But the whole sad story of church history shows how, of all tyrants, often the church could be the worst for the best of reasons. The Jewish Church persecuted unto death the Christian Church in the first decade of Christianity; and for 1,200 years the Christian Church persecuted the Jewish Church. The Roman Church persecuted the Protestants; and the Protestants, in turn, persecuted the Roman Church; the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians brought low the very name of Christian charity, both in Scotland and America. It is not for nothing that Thomas Jefferson, on his tombstone at Monticello, claimed that one of the three achievements of his life was his fight for religious freedom in Virginia—that even above the exalted office as President of these United States. No church is infallibie; and no churchman is infallible.

Of course, as Christians, we might include the words "under Jesus Christ" or "under the King of Kings." But one of the glories of this land is that it has opened its gates to all men of every religious faith.

The word of welcome to these shores is epitomized on the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

There is no religious examination on entering the United States of America—no persecution because a man's faith differs even from the Christian religion. So, it must be "under God" to include the great Jewish community, and the people of the Moslem faith, and the myriad of denominations of Christians in the land.

What then of the honest atheist?

Philosophically speaking, an atheistic American is a contradiction in terms. Now don't misunderstand me. This age has thrown up a new type of man—we call him a secular; he does not believe in God; not because he is a wicked man, but because he is dialetically honest, and would rather walk with the unbelievers than sit hypocritically with people of the faith. These men, and many have I known, are fine in character; and in their obligations as citizens and good neighbors, quite excellent.

But they really are spiritual parasites. And I mean no term of abuse in this. I'm simply classifying them. A parasite is an organism that lives upon the life force of another organism without contributing to the life of the other. These excellent ethical seculars are living upon the accumulated spiritual capital of Judaio-Christian civilization, and at the same time, deny the God who revealed the divine principles upon which the ethics of this country grow. The dilemma of the secular is quite simple.

He cannot deny the Christian revelation and logically live by the Christian ethic.

And if he denies the Christian ethic, he falls short of the American ideal of life.

In Jefferson's phrase, if we deny the existence of the God who gave us life. How can we live by the liberty He gave us at the same time? This is a God-fearing nation. On our coins, bearing the imprint of Lincoln and Jefferson, are the words "In God we trust." Congress is opened with prayer. It is upon the Holy Bible the President takes his oath of office. Naturalized citizens, when they take their oath of allegiance, conclude, solemnly, with the words "so help me God."

This is the issue we face today: A freedom that respects the rights of the minorities, but is defined by a fundamental belief in God. A way of life that sees man, not as the ultimate outcome of a mysterious concantenation of evolutionary process, but a sentient being created by God and seeking to know His will, and "Whose soul is restless till he rest in God."

In this land, there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, for we are one nation indivisible under God, and humbly as God has given us the light we seek liberty and justice for all. This quest is not only within these United States, but to the four corners of the globe wherever man will lift up his head toward the vision of his true and divine manhood.

Highway Program Inadequate

SPEECH
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the authorization for highway purposes proposed in this bill (H. R. 8127) is not adequate. Years of neglect, much of it caused by war and defense expenditures, have left our roads dilapidated, dangerous, and inadequate from many standpoints. Further delay in attacking the problem in a bold, effective way cannot be justified. For a nation on wheels, a highly industrialized nation, to longer tolerate our highway deficiencies is inexcusable.

This Nation should be criss-crossed with broad, safe, smooth, modern highways. Even now, to bring our highways up to reasonable standards will require years of vigorous effort. Obviously further delay means drifting toward avoidable highway dangers and possible defense calamity.

Our civil defense authorities are now beginning to feel that their previous program of "duck and cover" is being made untenable by the increasing destructive power of nuclear weapons. Can anyone here imagine what would happen if our large city populations had to be quickly moved to the country? The chaos, congestion, and confusion would be a sorry and sad testimonial to our failure to build adequate highways. We would pay in lives then for our failure to spend dollars now.

We are presently reducing the size of our Army and planning to keep it, insofar as possible, here in the States, as a strategic reserve. We hope to somewhat offset the size of our Army by emphasis on mobility. This necessary mobility would be closer to actuality if we had modern highways. For instance, out in California, one inadequate trans-Sierra highway would prove a most hazardous bottleneck to movements in or out of central California, including the crowded and highly strategic bay region. Added to this overall lack of good highways must be added the inadequacy of military access roads. This was called to my attention last year by the Department of Defense.

We are in a period of increasing unemployment. There is talk of trying to reverse the trend by construction of public works. No public works could be more sensible or useful than highways to get America out of the traffic jam.

The great Hearst newspapers, in an article of March 6, written by Mr. John A. O'Brien, have estimated that this proposed program is $1,900,000,000 short of our minimum requirement to merely start on a 10-year highway plan. Mr. O'Brien quoted President Eisenhower, where on several occasions he indicated cognizance of the need for a greately expanded highway program. I should like to include Mr. O'Brien's ably written article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of March 7, 1954]

ROAD BILLS FAIL TO MEET CRISIS OUTLINED BY IKE—MEASURES FALL $1,900,000,000 SHORT OF NATION'S NEEDS

(By John H. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—A review of the statements of President Eisenhower on highways not only demonstrates his understanding of the Nation's congestion crisis, it also demonstrates the inadequacy of the Federal-aid highway bill supported by his administration.

The President's first statement concerning highways was printed in the Hearst newspapers of October 26, 1952, when he was a candidate for the office to which the American public elected him by a landslide vote.

The statement was a lengthy one, and in it the President showed a keen awareness of the obsolescence of our streets and roads; the congestion around cities, and, in his words, the "appalling problem of waste, death, and danger."

MILITARY VIEWS

He looked at the problem, too, with the eyes of a military man.

"More than at any time in history, modern roads are necessary to defense and traffic is an interstate problem of concern to the Federal Government."

In stating his own solution to the problem, the President spoke in general terms. He said:

"By intelligent leadership and wise planning, an integrated program can be devised within the ability of the people to pay the cost."

TAX REQUEST

A year after he took office, the President on January 7, 1954, referred to highways in his state of the Union message.

He asked that the Federal gasoline tax be kept at 2 cents "so that maximum progress can be made to overcome present inadequacies in the interstate highway system."

The tax was to be reduced automatically to 1½ cents next April 1. Congress has demonstrated its undoubted intent to retain the full tax.

Shortly thereafter, a bill written by Representative MCGREGOR, Republican, of Ohio, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Roads, was introduced calling for the annual authorization of $875 million in Federal aid to highways.

The author of the bill said it had administration support, and this has never been questioned.

At a White House press conference a few days later, the President was asked what he thought should be the amount of Federal aid.

An aide handed him a slip of paper, and the President replied that it ought to be $800 million. It developed in subsequent discussion that the aide had written $825 million on the slip of paper, but that the President had cut it down by $25 million to be on the conservative side.

It thus became apparent that the administration favored a bill authorizing somewhere between $800 million and $875 million, with the larger figure actually incorporated in an administration bill.

On January 28, the President submitted to Congress the Economic Report of the President, a 225-page book.

On page 104, under a subhead reading "Need for Public Works," the President wrote:

"The largest current requirement for predominantly State and local facilities is streets and roads."

CITES NEEDS

"It has been estimated that an annual expenditure of $3½ billion would be required for 10 years to eliminate the existing backlog for federally aided systems and another one to two billion dollars for other roads and streets.

"In the meantime, many roads now adequate would need to be improved as traffic increases, or rebuilt because of normal wear, adding over $1,500,000,000 of construction annually, while maintenance costs would average another $1,700,000,000.

"Thus, the total annual expenditure required to provide an adequate road system within a decade is apparently over $8 billion, which compares with a current outlay of about $5 billion."

To meet the needs of the Federal-aid road system alone, as the President wrote, requires the annual expenditure for 10 years of $3,500,000,000.

BILLS LAG

The administration bill calls for the spending of $875 million, and with matching funds required from each State would bring the total to something like $1,600,000,000.

The need: $3,500,000,000.

The solution: $1,600,000,000.

The gap between need and solution: $1,900,000,000.

Thus the gap is larger than the solution.

Since all of the foregoing information comes from administration sources, it bears out the conclusion reached in the first paragraph:

That the statements demonstrate the President's awareness of the scope of the problem and the inadequacy of the administration's solution.

Shall We Sell Congress to the Highest Bidder?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include the editorial appearing in the Capital Times, of Madison, Wis., of February 15, 1954, entitled "Is Next Congress To Be Knocked Down to Highest Bidder?" The editor of this paper is to be congratulated for recognizing the importance of the action recently taken by the Republican National Committee to raise the sum of $3,800,000 for campaign purposes during the next election of Republican candidates for the Congress of the United States. Of course it is needless for me to say there will be many millions of dollars more spent directly or indirectly by those interested in the Republican candidates for the House next fall. We are well aware, as a result of past experiences, that many corporations engaging in political action in support of the Republican candidates are avoiding the Corrupt Practice Act. But under guise of advertising which is nothing but political advertising they can at the same time make deductions from the corporation returns on the ground that these are advertising expenses. This type of partisan regulations "kills two birds with one stone," engaging in active partisan politics with the corporation and stockholders funds and charging the expenditures to business expenses, thereby reducing the amount of corporation income taxes.

I thoroughly agree with the editorial, "It appears that the Government once more is to be placed on the auction block and knocked down to the highest bidder." Of course the highest bidder is the contributor to the amazingly high fund that is being raised, and the far greater amount they will indirectly spend in the attempt to buy the coming election.

As far as the National House of Representatives is concerned, for all practical purposes, the question as to whether the National House of Representatives goes Democratic or Republican next fall will be determined by the election results in from 100 to 120 close districts throughout the country. The Democratic National Committee, with what little money it had, for example, could not help one Democratic candidate for the House or Senate in the campaign in 1952. It may have very little money to allocate to the Democratic candidates in these 100 to 120 close districts in 1954. Naturally what money the Democratic Party has will be concentrated in these districts because the control of the House will depend on the outcome. It is only natural that the Republicans will do the same. Neither party will just be making contributions to their nominee in a safe or certain district. It therefore follows in a political sense that each Republican

candidate for the National House of Representatives in these closely contested districts to wit: From 100 to 120 in the country would receive at least $30,000. In the editorial there is a question, Do they not become the chattel of the interests that paid $10,000 per head to get them elected? It is only natural that they are going to be grateful to those interests. But in the coming election it will not be $10,000 per head but $30,000 per head.

Shortly after the announcement appeared of the attempt to raise this huge amount, which can only be for the purpose of buying elections, I stated in a national radio broadcast that "this was a dangerous situation to have in a democracy—the raising of large amounts for the purpose of buying elections." I also want those who will contribute to this vast fund, and who does so in violation of the law, to know that with the election of a Democratic House next fall, of which I am confident, that an investigation will be made to ascertain the facts. Above all, we must keep the National, State, and local elections free from purchase.

Following is the editorial from the Capital Times, which I commend to my colleagues:

IS NEXT CONGRESS TO BE KNOCKED DOWN TO HIGHEST BIDDER?

Despite the moral crusade that was promised in the last presidential campaign, it appears that Government is once more to be placed on the auction block and knocked down to the highest bidder. Announcement has been made in Washington that the finance committee of the Republican National Committee has made plans to spend $3,800,000 to elect a Republican Congress next fall. This sum is twice the amount that was spent for Republican candidates for Congress in the 1950 election.

What does this figure out per head? There are 435 Members of the House, all up for reelection. There are 96 Members of the Senate. One-third of these Senators will be up for reelection. But the Republican National Committee will not spend much money in the southern States that have been solidly Democratic since the Civil War. There are about 92 congressional seats in these States which the Republicans will not challenge. There will be approximately 368 seats in the Senate and the House which the Republicans will fight for.

Dividing $3,800,000 by 368 gives you the figure $10,326 which will be the average spent on each candidate. The committee admits that television will play an important part in future elections and that the cost of television programs comes high. When it costs more than $10,000 to win a seat in Congress, how much representation are the little people going to get in Congress? The ordinary man who wants to be independent and preserve his integrity by honestly representing the public interests against private interest can't spend $10,000 to be elected. Are we not, therefore, establishing a practice under which candidates for public office will mortgage themselves to the crowd that will spend $10,000 per head to bring about their election? Are men, so elected, free men? Do they not become the chattel of the interests that paid $10,000 per head to get them elected?

You may think that $3,800,000 is a lot of money to spend to bring about the election of a Republican Congress. It is chicken feed, however, as compared with the huge dividends that will be received on this investment by the powerful financial and economic interests that contribute to the Republican campaign kitty.

Businessmen Back Farmers in Dairy Fight With Secretary Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a widespread impression that agitation for continuance of the present parity system on dairy products is just a lot of noise made by a few highly vocal farmers. Such is not the case. In my State, for instance, the businessmen woke up a long time ago to the fact that when the farmer is prosperous, and receiving a fair price for his goods, the whole country is better off. As just one example of the feeling of the overwhelming majority of businessmen in North Dakota, I submit this letter from the chamber of commerce at Gackle, N. Dak. I urge my colleagues to note especially the reference to the drop in sales-tax receipts, an indication of problems already besetting the farmers:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Gackle, N. Dak.

Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURDICK: At the last regular meeting of our chamber of commerce considerable discussion was held on the proposed drop in parity of dairy products which is to go into effect on April 1.

Our chamber of commerce is made up of men who are in business in this community or are employed in some business here. We are all very interested in agriculture and agricultural prices, as anything that is good for the farmer is good for us, and anything that will give the farmer less money to spend will affect us adversely. We are as interested in seeing that the farmer gets a fair price for his produce as the farmer is. In the past 2 years we have seen the farmer suffer two near crop failures and a terrific reduction in the price of cattle. Now, with the proposed 15-percent cut in parity on dairy products we feel that this is more than the average farmer can bear. Most of the farmers in this community are dependent on their cream checks to meet their everyday living expenses, and a cut in this price on their cream will mean that these farmers in this small community will have from $15,000 to $20,000 less to spend each year.

Just yesterday the Fargo Forum published a list of the towns and cities in the State and the sales-tax receipts from each town and city reporting. In our town alone there was a drop of $5,000 in sales-tax collections, which is a drop of $250,000 in sales. This drop in sales was due mainly to the crop failures and a drop in cattle prices which I mentioned previously.

We feel that if a reduction is necessary in the parity on dairy products this cut should be a gradual one. If the expenses of the farmer would go down in proportion to the 15-percent cut in parity we would not feel that this cut was unjustified, but expenses remain at the same high level that they have held the past few years. Feed still remains up in price, labor has not gone down, and living costs for the farmer remain as high as they have been in the past 2 or 3 years.

We of the Gackle Commercial Club request that you do everything in your power to see that this proposed decrease in parity on dairy products not be placed in effect or that the decrease in parity prices be a gradual one rather than a 15-percent lump cut.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN MARTIN,
Secretary.

Where Fault Lies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD an editorial appearing in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of February 28, 1954, commenting upon an excellent speech delivered in St. Louis by our former colleague Albert Cole, now Housing Administrator, on the subject of public housing.

It is important, if we are to solve the troublesome social problems of our day, that we analyze with more accuracy the parts that private enterprise, local, State, and Federal Government must play in these solutions.

The editorial follows:

WHERE FAULT LIES

When Albert Cole spoke here on public housing the other day the moral of his speech could be summed up in a few wise words. Namely, that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Washington realizes, he said, that it must step into the battle to save our cities from slums. And the administration knows, he added, that it must help pay for low-cost public housing to shelter families who are made homeless when city slums are torn down.

At the same time, he stated bluntly that American cities are breeding new slum areas as fast as the old are cleared out. And he put the blame where it belongs—on the cities themselves.

St. Louis offers an excellent case history.

In 1946 veterans of World War II erected a pup tent on the lawn of the city hall. Johnny is marching home, they said, but he has no home to march to. The pup tent, they added, is a symbol of the kind of sleazy quarters that veterans might then expect to get in St. Louis.

Under pressure, the board of aldermen enacted an emergency housing act that opened the city's residential areas to roomers. But the ordinance was passed only after many St. Louisans warned that it held great danger to the city.

Thus, Harland Bartholomew, the dean of city planners, cautioned the aldermen that the enforcement problem would be beyond anything you realize. And Attorney Thomas W. White predicted that the bill would create new blighted areas worse than the disease it hopes to cure. Furthermore, he added, it will undermine property values, and it will be virtually impossible to stamp out roominghouse operations, once the city lets the bars down.

Men like Bartholomew and White were right. Today there are whole areas of St. Louis in which the FHA won't insure a home mortgage, and the banks won't write one. The reason is that the neighborhoods have been invaded by lodging houses. Prudent investors know that this is one of the unmistakable signs that a residential district is on the skids.

When the emergency housing act was passed, it was supposed to expire in June 1947. But board of aldermen has extended it every year. It is still on the books.

The aldermen and the voters who elect them, have also played fast and loose with St. Louis' model zoning law.

Just last week these guardians of the city's welfare overrode the mayor's veto of two spot zoning bills. The present board is setting a new high for this kind of legislation that caters to special interests.

Yet the chairman of the city plan commission, who is a veteran St. Louis real estate man warned them of this folly.

"As a realtor," Chairman Saul Dubinsky said, "I can tell you that spot zoning does depreciate adjoining property values, does demoralize the surrounding neighborhood, and will have an adverse effect on the economic stability of our community." His warning fell on deaf ears.

When cities, including St. Louis, run to Washington for a Federal handout, they should remember the Biblical admonition. Physician, heal thyself.

Grassroots Letter on Congressional Pay Raise and Farm Parity Deserves Attention of the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have literally hundreds of letters in my office on the issues of a pay raise for Congressmen and parity for farmers. I desire to submit today, however, just one letter which clearly expresses the thoughts of the many persons who have written me from all over the country on these vital questions. I especially commend the letter to those who have been so enthusiastic in their support of a congressional pay raise, and have boosted the farm program as proposed by Secretary Benson. The letter follows:

FLAXTON, N. DAK., *March 1, 1954.*

DEAR MR. BURDICK: I received your letter and Congressman Comments from CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20, 1954—I was glad to receive it and your sane and sensible thoughts and ideas of Congressmen getting such an outrageous increase in salary. What would happen if the farmer or any other class of labor would get an increase of 120 percent in salary? What would happen, can you tell me? Why is a Congressman any better than a farmer or any other class of labor? What has a Congressman invested in his job? A farmer has to invest thousands of dollars to be able to carry on his job at all. I am farming 800 acres, or own 800 and I presume actually farm a little more than 600 of it. I think I have between $20,000 and $25,000 in machinery and invest more each year besides the upkeep and gasoline and all other expenses and repairs. And what expenses and what machinery outside of a car does a Congressman have to buy? Our prices are going down each day and year. Why should a Congressman and members of the Federal courts have any more right to raise their wages so abnormally and set their own wages than we farmers have to raise the price for everything we raise and sell. If they have lived substantially on $12,500, why should they be given $15,000 more to lay away or spend on something they don't need • • • while millions cannot get a job at all. And the overburdened taxpayer must pay more taxes to pay these oversalaried Congressmen and the jobless and the aged and disabled, while these few hogs are getting more than double pay. Thinking us dumb farmers don't know any better than to pay it. We know better, all right, but we are helpless and stuck with it. We don't ask for more than double pay. We only ask for a parity price so we can exist and stay on our farms instead of letting those people in Washington get everything and us nothing.

My health is poor. Can't do any work myself and farm wages are too high to hire and come out on top. Of course, it is only about one-eighteenth of what Congressmen want, but at that, if crops are poor and prices way down as old Benson and Ike wants, we will go broke. I have not made as much net profit in 50 years as them boys in Washington want (salary) for 2 years.

Yours truly,

HENRY BENGE and DON.

Dulles' Job at Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of Friday, March 5, 1954:

DULLES' JOB AT GENEVA—HE WILL HAVE TO WALK ON A TIGHTROPE IN RECONCILING UNITED STATES-FRENCH VIEWS

(By Constantine Brown)

Secretary Dulles will have to walk a very tight rope at the forthcoming Geneva Conference. He will have to reconcile the French desire to pay any price short of actual surrender to terminate the war in Indochina and the determined opposition in this country to recognition of Communist China.

On the eve of his departure for the Inter-American Conference at Caracas the Secretary of State had several private talks with leading Senators and Representatives of both parties. He was informed by these men, friendly to him personally, that his own position and that of his party will be seriously threatened if he budges at Geneva from the position of no recognition of the Reds or yields on their admission to the United Nations.

Mr. Dulles was also reminded that the Senate agreed only after the personal intervention of President Eisenhower last summer to drop a resolution placing that body on record as demanding withdrawal of the United States from the U. N. if Red China were admitted.

The Chief Executive urged the Senate leaders not to adopt that resolution prematurely lest it might handicap our international relations. But the President is said to have added that if the U. N. yields to the urgings of the U. S. S. R. and some major powers to admit the Peiping regime he would himself give the green light to the Senate. The Senate could then cut off all appropriations for our participation in the U. N.

The withdrawn resolution was replaced by one expressing the sense of Congress in opposition to admission of Red China into the U. N. It was approved unanimously by both Houses.

Mr. Dulles received no congratulations for accepting the Soviet demand to meet with the Chinese Communists on April 26 at Geneva. His arguments that we ourselves had suggested at one time that Geneva be the site for a political conference with the aggressors in Korea was not well received. There was nothing wrong with that, he was told. But why agree to discuss the Indochina question at a gathering intended to settle only a limited objective—peace and unification of Korea through free elections?

It was pointed out that in all likelihood the Asiatic states bordering the territory will ask to be present. Besides Indochina's immediate neighbors—Burma and Siam—there is no doubt in anybody's mind that India and Indonesia will demand to be represented. What will our position then be in the midst of these Asiatic nations?

At present we are helping France with money and equipment, and not the states of Indochina union, in the struggle against the Viet Minh Communists. Officially, we are helping one of our western allies to combat Red encroachments. A conference at Geneva as suggested by us last fall was to be the sequel to the agreements reached at Panmunjom. But the Panmunjom negotiations broke off without result.

At Geneva the Korean problems may be shoved aside, as the questions of Germany and Austria were at Berlin. And the cards may be stacked against us by the anxiety of our western allies to solve their own problems by the admission of China into the U. N. It will be hard to reconcile such a development, insofar as the American people are concerned, with past flamboyant declarations that we would never permit an aggressor to shoot his way into the U. N.

Mr. Dulles' argument that another cabinet crisis would have occurred in France if he had ignored the French Government's plea to accept Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's demand for an Asiatic conference at Geneva, was not favorably received. Neither was the explanation that French Foreign Minister Bidault had to be rewarded for his stand to preserve the unity of the West against the Soviet attempts to divide the allies.

Reports from Paris indicate that little progress has been made toward ratification of the European Defense Community. The opposition to German rearmament in the National Assembly remains as strong as before the Berlin conference. The Laniel-Bidault administration has made only a few converts among the French legislators. And these few demand that a solution to permit the orderly withdrawal of French forces from Indochina must be found before they decide to vote for ratification of the EDC.

The Moscow-Peiping axis is willing to order the Vietminh forces to cease fighting only if Red China is accepted into the U. N. This was the principal reason for Peiping's intervention in the Korean war and for the strong support given by the Kremlin to the Asiatic aggressors. It is said by those who attended the informal conversations with Mr. Dulles that he has been warned that any yielding on this matter would be regarded by Congress as the most spectacular diplomatic defeat this country has ever suffered.

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a timely editorial

from the Milwaukee Sentinel on the subject of foreign policy:

FOREIGN POLICY

It has become increasingly customary for the Secretary of State to hie himself to the radio to explain the shifts and changes or even the permanencies of our foreign policy directly to the people. This is open diplomacy after the event. Nevertheless, it is a net gain over the secret diplomacy of Teheran and Yalta which has done so much damage to this country.

That the Berlin Conference was at best a negative victory is apparent from Secretary Dulles' address. This is the highlight on that subject:

"It is a tragedy for the peoples of Germany that Germany and Berlin must remain divided; and for the people of Austria that they remain occupied and economically exploited. It can be said, however, to the eternal honor of these peoples, that they would not have had us do other than we did."

What is bothering the American people most is not the Berlin Conference, which they discounted long ago, but the forthcoming Geneva Conference which augurs, for the United States, definite perils. Mr. Dulles assauges the fears of the American people in these words:

"I had told Mr. Molotov, flatly, that I would not agree to meet with the Chinese Communists unless it was expressly agreed and put in writing that no United States recognition would be involved."

This would not be good enough, because the danger lies not in American recognition but in the possibility of the Communist Chinese shooting their way into the United Nations. In that body, they could do great mischief. Their very presence would mean a worldwide acknowledgment of the defeat of the United States and the diplomatic isolation of this country. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that Dulles made this statement with sharp finality:

"That explains our nonrecognition of the Communist regime and also our opposition to its admission to the United Nations.

"I adhered to that position without compromise. It is that position that is reflected in the final Berlin Conference resolution. Under that resolution the Communist regime will not come to Geneva to be honored by us, but rather to account before the bar of world opinion."

This is the record and the policy, so clearly and plainly stated that any misunderstanding is impossible—and any deviation will be immediately and glaringly apparent.

Setting the Record Straight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, a situation exists which I believe is in need of clarification for the benefit of the Members of this body.

On March 2, 1954, at pages 2377, et seq., of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, my colleague, Mr. HAGEN, who represents the 14th District of California, which adjoins the 12th District, represented by me, cited certain statements by the Fresno County Board of Supervisors in support of his opposition to House Joint Resolution 355, relating to the supplying of agricultural workers from Mexico. Later, on March 4, at pages 2556, et seq., of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mr. HAGEN, in commenting on that part of the State, Justice, and Commerce appropriation bill which provides funds for the administration of the Mexican agricultural worker program, again relied upon certain statements of the Fresno County Board of Supervisors in support of his opposition to the program.

In view of the fact that Fresno County is within my district and not Mr. HAGEN'S, I believe it would be well to call to the attention of the Members the position of the Fresno County Board of Supervisors with respect to House Joint Resolution 355 as they conveyed it to me.

In a telegram dated March 2, 1954, the board of supervisors of Fresno County advised me as follows:

Understand some Members of Congress are under misapprehension that we feel no supplemental supply of Mexican labor is necessary in this area to properly care for and harvest crops from time to time. This is not trut but we are unalterably opposed to influx of illegal Mexican nationals or so-called wetbacks. We definitely feel that a simplified and workable plan, with proper controls, is absolutely necessary and will go a long way in solving wetback problem.

I voted for House Joint Resolution 355 because, as I stated in my remarks on page 2378 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 2, I believe it will serve two major purposes. First, it helps to provide for the orderly recruitment of supplemental agricultural labor from Mexico. Second, it makes possible more effective administration of the immigration laws. In other words, it will help solve the wetback problem.

Imports of Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is the only State in the Union which can produce in substantial quantity that practical mineral known as anthracite coal. This product has been the stabilizing factor in the economy of our anthracite coal fields. For the past several years, the production of hard coal has declined from a yearly 60 million tons to approximately 30 million tons. The decrease in production of anthracite coal caused the trustees of the United Mine Workers of America Welfare Fund to reduce the monthly benefits from $100 to $50. This is a severe blow to the men who risked their lives at this hazardous occupation during the war years. The steady decline in production of hard coal has caused a severe unemployment situation in my congressional district. Why?

One of the basic reasons for the loss of production has been the importation of residual fuel oil into the eastern part of our Nation. In 1953, 134 million barrels of residual fuel oil came into this country. This was more than we imported in 1952. I have been told that 130 million barrels were imported in 1952 and the same number of barrels in 1951. This cheap product from foreign shores has caused the drop in tonnage at our mines and fewer work days for the miners.

Recently, the Randall Commission made its report to the President about our foreign trade. The Commission, in my opinion, has ignored the problem of the anthracite coal industry. I studied that report and nowhere do I find a suggestion or recommendation to protect our local industries against the dumping of foreign products on our markets.

I was happy to read the minority report which condemned the majority report for failing to give some protection to the smaller industries of our Nation. I realize that we must export products to other countries to maintain favorable trade balance with other countries. However, I am opposed to the dumping of foreign products on our shores to the detriment of our American industries. There is no duty or obligation on the part of the people of the United States to accept the surplus products of the world to the detriment of our own economic welfare. That is the theory and philosophy of the majority members of the Randall Commission. I want no part of that doctrine.

The Randall Commission would import 168 million barrels of residual fuel oil and cause a loss of an additional 30 millions of tons of hard coal. They suggest a loss of $300 million to the mining companies: a loss of $160 million in wages; $180 million loss to railroad; $88 million loss to railroad employees, plus the indirect losses to Federal, State and local governments in taxes. The Commission would bankrupt the coal companies, the railroad companies and put the employees of each of these on the relief rolls.

Mr. Speaker, the Members of Congress who supported the Simpson bill last year are determined to protect our local industries. We shall cut off the free flow of residual fuel oil into this Nation just as effectively as the German submarines did in World War II. When that happens, and that day is not to far distant, the mines will produce again and the miners will work as they did before.

Federal-Aid Highway Bill Analysis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, I sincerely trust that my colleagues in the House will, before they vote on the bill, give it the most careful consideration possible, particularly section 2, which apportions the $200 million per year authorized for expediting construction and

improvement of the Nation's system of interstate highways. I suggest that you make a searching examination of the provisions in that section which, in my opinion, are so discriminatory against 29 of the 48 States of the Union that the Members from those 29 States will be fully justified in refusing to accept them.

The majority members of the Subcommittee on Road, of which I am the only member from a Rocky Mountain State, originally proposed to depart from the long-established and approved Federal-aid formula in apportionment of the entire $200 million and apportion this money solely on the basis of population. Never before has such a radical departure from the established formula been proposed, not even for the apportionment of the $25 million in interstate-highway funds authorized for each year in the 1952 legislation, the first money ever authorized for this Federal-aid category.

When the annual authorization was increased to $200 million in the bill soon to come before this honorable body for consideration, the amount had grown to such alluring proportions as to appeal to the cupidity of the more populous States. The result was that allocation of these Federal funds solely on population basis was written into the original bill. That proposal, of course, was entirely unacceptable to me, because it disregarded the area and the interstate highway mileage of two-thirds of our States. It was, in fact, so apparent an attempt to grab more than an equitable and fair share of these Federal funds for the populous States, regardless of their area or highway mileage, that I was forced to oppose it strenuously. As a result, the bill now provides that one-half of the $200 million annual authorization for interstate highways shall be apportioned on the regular Federal-aid formula and the other half on the basis of population. It is my contention that the entire $200 million should be allocated in accordance with the regular formula.

The 29 States which are the victims of discrimination under the present provisions of the bill have 23,542 miles of interstate highways as compared to 13,616 miles in the 19 more populous States. The 29 States, having 63.4 percent of the total interstate system mileage, are allocated $40,687,000 of interstate-highway funds, while the 19 States are to receive $57,313,000. In other words, the States with about two-thirds of the highways being improved under this program would receive two-fifths less than half of the Federal-aid funds. So that my colleagues from those 29 States may know just what this discrimination is costing them in Federal-aid matching funds annually I am giving them the list herewith:

Alabama, $279,000; Arizona, $772,000; Arkansas, $510,000; Colorado, $1,002,000; Georgia, $388,000; Idaho, $507,000; Iowa, $830,000; Kansas, $1,278,000; Kentucky, $59,000; Maine, $112,000; Minnesota, $789,000; Mississippi, $469,000; Missouri, $520,000; Montana, $1,288,000; Nebraska, $1,153,000; Nevada, $565,000; New Mexico, $903,000; North Carolina, $15,000; North Dakota, $726,000; Oklahoma, $790,000; Oregon, $793,000; South Carolina, $64,000; South Dakota, $838,000; Tennessee, $172,000; Texas, $1,823,000; Utah, $424,000; Washington, $212,000; Wisconsin, $281,000; and Wyoming, $521,000.

If the original plan to apportion the entire $200 million on population basis had remained in the bill, the annual loss to those States would be double the amount indicated. That, I repeat, makes this proposal wrong. There is no justification for supporting a proposal which is wrong in any degree when we are fully aware that it is wrong. I would point out that we are not building new roads with this interstate highway money. We are improving our principal highways, all of which have been built under the established Federal-aid formula. The Congress authorized them to be financed that way. That was, in substance, our agreement with the States. We should not violate it.

The subcommittee majority offered as justification for their action the fact that only two States voted against the endorsement of population-basis allocation by the American Association of State Highway Officials at that organization's convention in Pittsburgh a few months ago. Those two States, for your information, were Arizona and New Mexico. Why the highway officials representing the other States, which would suffer considerable loss of funds under this proposal, did not voice opposition to it at this convention is difficult to understand. The best information available to me indicates that many of them believed the allocation for which they voted approval was based upon population and area. At least, that is their claim now. The highway mileage in the various States was not included as a factor in reaching this decision, yet that has been an accepted part of the Federal-aid apportionment formula for many years. Up to now I have been given no reasonable justification for the abandonment of a formula that has been long recognized as fair and equitable and productive of the best results in the Nation's development of its highways.

This interstate highway system, comprising about 38,000 miles, was set up by the Congress in 1944 because the roads included in it were the most heavily traveled of all of our traffic arteries. This determination was reached also for the reason that the Department of Defense had designated those roads as requiring immediate improvement and proper maintenance as a defense network. They are deemed the most necessary to an adequate defense production program. They are virtually essential to proper evacuation of our civilian population in event of an extreme emergency. They were during World War II and are today 15 to 20 years behind the rest of the Nation's economic progress. In brief, they constitute the most dangerous and critical bottleneck to our economy and our defense. The interstate system, which is only 1 percent of our Nation's highway mileage, carries 20 percent of our entire highway travel.

In 1953, according to the National Safety Council, 38,300 American lives were lost on our highways. Far more than the proportionate percentage of those people were killed on the interstate highways and by far the greater proportionate ratio were killed in less populous States. As an example, I cite the fact that in New Mexico the 1953 highway-traffic death toll was 56 per 100,000 population. In populous congested New York State it was 13. More than 50 percent of those killed on New Mexico highways were from other States and the big percentage of those nonresidents lost their lives on the 1,012 miles of interstate highways in New Mexico. That, to my mind, should be convincing proof that the improvement of the interstate system is not of purely local benefit. We must regard it, on the other hand, as a program designed for the protection and the benefit of our entire population.

For the Congress to apportion any part of these interstate funds on a population basis is not in accord with the best interests of all of our people. Such an apportionment would be shortsighted. I believe the Members from the more populous States will recognize that when they consider how dependent their States are upon income derived from the thousands of visitors who come to them over the Nation's highways each year. If those heavily traveled highways are inadequate, if they are filled with such death-dealing hazards as narrow bridges, sharp curves, and substandard traffic lanes they deter thousands of tourists from making trips. This reduction in travel, the records will show, costs such States as Florida, California, and others millions of dollars in income. Their economies are injured to a considerable degree.

On the other hand the allocation of these interstate highway funds on a purely population basis does not benefit them materially. Under the apportionment set up by the bill California would receive $1,835,000 more per year than if the regular Federal formula were applied. Florida would receive a trifling $55,000 more. Michigan, the Nation's top motor-vehicle producer, would receive only $763,000 additional per year. I wonder if the Michigan delegation has considered how hard a cutback in motorcar travel, due to inadequate and dangerous highways in the other States, would hit Michigan's pocketbook. That State in 1951—the last year for which accurate data are available—had 7 million out-of-State visitors who spent $560 million. Its annual motorcar production is high in the billions every year. To pass a bill which will reduce that income even 5 percent would hit Michigan's economy hard.

Sound business judgment will tell the representatives of those States that the proposal for apportionment of interstate highway funds as contained in this bill is not actually in their best interest. If the highways in such large less-populated States as New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Arizona, and many others are underdeveloped and dangerous, the tourist traffic to the other States will be greatly reduced. They will sacrifice a huge potential income for the

comparatively few dollars of additional Federal-aid money they would derive under the terms of this bill. Those funds fairly apportioned on the basis of the regular Federal-aid formula will do them a much greater service by encouraging highway travel from which those populous States derive by far the greatest benefit. Every transcontinental tourist has to cross the Mountain States. Is it good judgment to take $11 million from a highway-improvement program in those States?

I trust that you will go beyond the printed language of this bill and consider its implications. Should we pass this measure as written it will establish a precedent of legislative discriminaton, somethng that we must always seek to guard against most carefully. The only proper place in this Federal-aid highway legislation for apportionment of Federal funds upon a population basis is in the urban category. There population should be the determining factor just as it has been in the past. If more money for urban highways is justified—and I am inclined to believe that it may be—then it should be included in the urban category. To rob vast segments of the interstate highway system of necessary funds will defeat the original intent of the Congress and hamper the defense program of our Nation.

Need for Passport Office for Los Angeles, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that again Los Angeles is being treated as a frontier town.

Los Angeles needs and has needed for some time a passport office to meet the demands of this city with its phenomenal growth.

Los Angeles is the third largest metropolitan area in North America. We have the finest international airport in the country and the greatest man-made harbor with the finest terminals in the world. And yet—Los Angeles must conduct its passport business via an outmoded system through a Federal court clerk who must send the applications to Washington, D. C., or to San Francisco in emergency cases.

Los Angeles, a city of over 2 million population is the third largest city in the United States handling foreign passports, with applications filed last year totaling 17,913 and involved the collection of $179,000 in fees. And yet, San Francisco with half the population and handling far less traffic than this city, boasts an official passport office.

In 1929 Los Angeles County boasted a record passport traffic of 5,404, for a $54,000 return to the Federal Government. Today, with passport traffic more than tripled, and tourist and commercial trade growing by leaps and bounds, Los Angeles is still without an official passport office.

Los Angeles should have an issuing office on the strength of current statistics showing it to be the third largest producer in passport applications. Last month, the Los Angeles Federal court clerk received 1,701 applications for passports, as compared to a record total of 883 in 1930.

A typical day in local passport activities was reported on February 3 of this year, when 89 applications were received of which 74 of them were sent to Washington, D. C., and 15 to San Francisco for emergency treatment. This is an entirely unnecessary restraint on world travel emanating from Los Angeles and the surrounding area. The establishment of a passport office in Los Angeles is a necessity to all types of travel, and would be in keeping with the growth of this area and its international airport and excellent harbor.

The Late Oscar F. Bledsoe III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, death recently came to Oscar F. Bledsoe III, president of the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association, the largest cotton cooperative in the world. Mr. Bledsoe was not only an outstanding businessman, but one of the Nation's great agricultural leaders. Under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Staple Cotton Review:

OSCAR FITZALAN BLEDSOE III

Oscar F. Bledsoe III, organizer and president of the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association, of Greenwood, one of the Mississippi Delta's most prominent planters and businessmen, and a former legislator, died at 6 o'clock Friday night, February 5, 1954, at Greenwood LeFlore Hospital. He was 75 years of age.

Mr. Bledsoe entered the hospital several weeks ago, after sufferng a heart attack. He had been in failing health for a year. Mr. Bledsoe organized the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association in 1921. It was the first cooperative cotton association in the South. Under his direction the association helped to stabilize the cotton market and brought increased profits and orderly marketing to delta growers.

Located here, the association was responsible for making Greenwood one of the Nation's largest markets. The Staple Cotton Cooperative Association, now occupying three stories of a Greenwood office building, made this city second only to Memphis among the world's largest inland cotton markets. The association handles the marketing of about 45 percent of the Mississippi Delta's cotton crop and much of that grown in east Arkansas.

His family has been prominently connected with Mississippi planting and business activities since 1849, when his grandfather, Oscar F. Bledsoe I, established a plantation with slave labor in Leflore County.

Born in Grenada, Miss., the son of the late Oscar F. Bledsoe II and Sallie Vinson Cannon Bledsoe, he was educated at Mississippi A. and M. College, now Mississippi State, and at Vanderbilt University, where he studied engineering. When he was 20 he moved to Shellmound, north of Greenwood, on land his grandfather has settled. From his father, then owner of the land, Mr. Bledsoe received 2,300 acres, only half of which was under cultivation. He adopted modern scientific agricultural methods in his operations and at the time of his death had doubled his agricultural holdings and had brought three-fourths of it under cultivation. During World War I, Mr. Bledsoe led liberty-loan and victory-loan campaigns in Leflore County and Red Cross and war-savings stamps drives. Mr. Bledsoe was known for his charities, being a leader in welfare drives. He was president of the Staple Cotton Discount Corp. and a director of the Delta council. In 1920, he was elected to the State house of representatives for a 4-year term. He leaves two daughters, Mrs. W. E. Thimmes and Mrs. Lula Aldrige Bledsoe, both of Greenwood, and three grandchildren.

With no thought of doing so, Oscar Bledsoe has in a very real sense written his own obituary. With a few preliminary observations of our own, we reproduce it here. He speaks for himself and reveals his own philosophy of life much more clearly than we could do this in his behalf. The right of privacy is one of the cherished freedoms of which we hear very little in public discussions. It is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution, but the principle involved is covered in article 4 of the Bill of Rights, in part as follows:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated."

To come from generalities to personalities, we know of no one who defended for himself and for others the right of privacy more consistently than did Oscar Bledsoe. Knowing his attitude in this regard, it was with considerable hesitancy that we asked him for the privilege of referring briefly to one phase of his business life in the pages of this review. In the immediate instance we ventured to urge upon Mr. Bledsoe the very real importance of making available to our readers and to the world at large the remarkable record of the plantation property which he owned and operated, and which for more than 100 years has been continuously in the hands of his grandfather, his father, and himself. August 1949 marked the hundredth anniversary of the acquisition of the land which was the foundation of the Bledsoe property.

In commemorating this 100th anniversary of the beginning of his plantation, Mr. Bledsoe prepared a statement which is so fundamentally sound in its plantation philisophy that it should be taught in every primary school in the country. This was to be a family document, for use at a plantation gathering, and not intended for publication. But we regarded it so highly that we persuaded Mr. Bledsoe to allow us to reproduce it in our August 1949 issue. We submit his statement here as a fitting obituary to a long and useful life. We shall only add that always and under all circumstances Oscar Bledsoe was a gentleman, without fear and without reproach:

"As we meet here today to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Bledsoe family plantation, I take this occasion to call your attention to some of the fundamentals of agriculture.

"The responsibility that goes with land ownershp has never been properly evaluated by the general public and the lawmaking bodies of the Nation. Proper maintenance of the soil and its fertility is fundamental for the future welfare of our country.

"As this Nation has always had an abundance of good lands to produce more than enough of the first two necessities of life—food and clothing—our lawmaking bodies have always penalized agriculture by setting up an artificial price structure to prevent the removal of our surplus agricultural products, which were necessary to insure our population against a famine in the necessities of life. This price rigging gave the urban dweller 50 percent per capita more income than the farmer.

"Before I pass out of this world scene, I want to say here and now that this is one of the greatest economic crimes ever committed by any nation that has existed on this earth. On account of this price rigging, there is now a plan in Congress to make the farmer a regimented creature of the Federal Government, by paying him out of the Federal Treasury a bonus to supply the urban group with the necessities of life. Another nation has taken over the ownership of all land, so as to directly force the labor on the land to be creatures of the government. At this point, I will forecast the failure of both of these Nations to maintain a high standard of living if this line of action is maintained.

"The next responsibility of land ownership is to maintain a fair standard of living for the working forces that produce this agricultural wealth under adverse price conditions. As proof that the Bledsoe plantation maintains a fair standard of living, I checked a 10-year period, and found that the cash the tenants received, after paying all living expenses, amounted to enough to pay for the land at the then prevailing rates of value.

"These national laws that maintain inequalities between agricultural and industrial prices, naturally entice the farm labor to the industrial centers. This drift of population has the Federal Government now going into housing these people who left the farms, and thus we are drifting further into a welfare socialistic state.

"As to the history of this acreage of land, my grandfather bought some of this land from the State of Mississippi for 25 cents per acre in the year 1849. Out of this wilderness, he started to carve out some of the present Bledsoe family plantation. When my father finished 4 years of service in the Civil War, he came back and started to increase the acreage and clear up more of this wilderness.

"After my course at college, I came home and kept up the process of increasing the acreage and clearing it up for cultivation. Of the last 100 years, I have made 51 crops, with 3 losses recorded. As this plantation has proven to be a valuable asset, it is my intention to endow this acreage and see if I can set it up to run at least another 100 years.

"Notwithstanding the fact that this acreage of land has always been known as the Bledsoe Plantation, and in order to keep the record straight, no part of my estate was inherited.

"O. F. BLEDSOE, III."

How a Town Opens Its Heart to Old Folks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, one of the great humanitarian problems facing our Nation is adequate care for the elderly people of America. The Commission on Chronic Illness, of Baltimore, Md., after an exhaustive, nationwide study of this problem, reports that State agencies are handcuffed by lack of funds in their effort to safeguard the quality of care; that there is a shortage of facilities serving older people; that most old people are dependent on small incomes from relatives, families, pension plans, old-age insurance and old-age assistance; and that there is a startling discrepancy between public agency payments and estimated cost for adequate care. Many conscientious nursing home operators cannot give quality care because of high operating costs. Individuals must find ways and means to meet realistic payment rates if good care is to be provided. The problems confronting this field can be solved, the commission concluded in its findings, only by a radical reinterpretation of the function of care in institutions. Alternatives to care in nursing and convalescent homes are being developed.

A most interesting discussion of this important problem appeared in the March 7 of the magazine Parade of the Washington Post, which I include as a part of these remarks:

HOW A TOWN OPENS ITS HEART TO OLD FOLKS

(By Robert P. Goldman and Sid Ross)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Across the United States people ask: What can we do to improve the miserable—and dangerous—conditions in which many of our old folks live? What's the solution? There is no simple answer. In some communities, authorities are working at the problem. Parade went to a New England town that's trying to help its old folks. Here, in the last of a series, is that town's encouraging story—along with some proposals for the future.)

QUINCY, MASS.—It really got started 2 years ago. People in this quiet, friendly town just outside Boston knew they weren't different from people any other place. They knew they had an "old folks problem."

They didn't have to look hard for it. Down at the bus station you could see lonely old folks sitting, just sitting. They liked to go to the station because there were lights, and people, and, in a way, they could become a part of the busy, moving scene.

That was just one sign of the problem. The nursing homes in town were full so some ailing old folks had to be uprooted. They had to leave town to find a nursing home with an empty bed.

WENT TO WORK

A meeting was held. Everyone realized the problem was big, so lots of people came—doctors, lawyers, bankers, clergymen, housewives—just about every social group was represented.

The committee on aging of the Quincy Community Chest and Council, Inc., was set up with more than 50 members. They rolled up their sleeves and went to work.

Now, they didn't do things that made screaming headlines and they haven't solved all their problems. But they did adopt a point of view—that old folks are human beings and should be happy. And out of this point of view is emerging a warm, grassroots plan in Quincy to face the facts of an aging population.

Dr. Joseph Leone, chairman of the committee on aging and superintendent of the city hospital, puts it this way: "We are aware of this problem and we are laying plans quietly but progressively to do something about it. The nursing and boarding homes are doing the best they can. But many of the old people are not getting the care they should."

What is Quincy doing to improve the situation?

1. A survey was held in each of Quincy's 14 nursing and boarding homes in which about 250 old folks like.

A NEW PROGRAM

Each old person and each home operator was interviewed. The study was directed by Dr. Brooks Ryder, Quincy Health Commissioner. Students from Harvard University Medical School, the School of Public Health, Tufts College, Boston University, and the University of Vermont actually asked the questions.

They found among other things: Most of the people in nursing and boarding homes are women, 75 years and older. They suffer mainly from senility; paralysis, largely as a result of strokes; heart diseases; circulatory illness and arthritis and rheumatism.

Most are widowed, live in a home 1 to 10 years and need outside financial help to remain in the home.

They also learned: Many of the nursing homes didn't have dining or recreation rooms. Although about 25 percent of the old people were partly paralyzed, there was no one to try to rehabilitate them.

So the health department is planning to hire a part-time physical therapist to try to get some of those paralyzed old folks back on their feet. In addition, the physical therapist will teach nursing-home operators and personnel simple rehabilitation techniques. That certainly will be one of the few physical-therapy programs of its kind in the United States.

The health department is trying to encourage each home operator to provide dining and recreation rooms. (Interestingly, the health department couldn't get guidance from previous medical reports on how to conduct its study. Virtually no one had ever conducted such a study before.)

2. Groups of old people were brought to the health department so they themselves could discuss recreation activities.

PUT ON PLAYS

Out of these meetings came a boat ride for a few old people, the possibility of attending little-league baseball games and a plan to set up benches around town so old folks could have a place to sit. Already, old folks were meeting once a week in a firehouse to talk and sew and build things.

In addition, there was a large group who went to the Congregational Church in North Quincy to put on plays.

Even the library had pitched in to the recreational program. A librarian visits the homes and asks old folks what books they want to read, then delivers them. Soon, there'll be a recreation room in the library for old people. If they want to listen to records, or watch movies, those services will be provided.

3. The city health department sent its nutritionist to homes for the aged to discuss diets for old folks with the home operators. And the city sanitarian went out to check nursing and boarding home kitchens just as he checks restaurant kitchens.

4. The committee on aging set up a counseling program so old folks can work with different community agencies to solve their problems. The old people talk about everything from money problems to trouble with their relatives.

5. A special job placement program has been established. It is one of the tasks of the committee on aging to find jobs within their capabilities for old folks able to work.

6. Finally, there is a program to get new facilities for the growing number of old folks. Some people in town want to convert an old city infirmary into a nursing home. The committee on aging, opposing this, would rather set up a new home on the grounds of the city hospital, so hospital services would be close at hand.

Those are the highlights of how one New England community is working to help its old people live richer, better-rounded lives. All the problems haven't been solved. You won't see this program splashed across headlines. It's not a sensational story. It's the story of a town trying—with limited resources—to deal with a human problem.

"We know we haven't all the answers," says Ed Corrigan, executive director of the Community Chest and Council. "But we're just starting. This project to help older folks will be going on for years."

THE STORY OF QUINCY, MASS., IS ONE ATTACK ON THE PROBLEM OF OUR AGING POPULATION—HERE EXPERTS LIST OTHER URGENT NEEDS TO END A NATIONAL DISGRACE

Not long ago, Dr. Dean W. Roberts, director of the Commission on Chronic Illness, Baltimore, said: "I hope that as rapidly as possible * * * homes for the aged will be coordinated with general hospitals and that the chronic disease unit, now so frequently lacking, will be added." That is one approach to the problem of providing good care for our sick old people.

In New York's Beth Israel Hospital, a special clinic for old folks, said to be the first of its kind in the United States, is just getting started. Other programs are underway in Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities.

But doctors and social workers connected with those projects say they are not a "total solution." After an exhaustive nationwide study of the problem, the committee on the aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly cites these points:

1. State agencies are handcuffed (by lack of funds) in their effort to safeguard the quality of care.

2. There is a shortage of facilities serving older people.

3. Most old people are dependent on small incomes from relatives, families, pension plans, old-age insurance, and old-age assistance.

4. There is a startling discrepancy between "public agency payments and estimated cost for adequate care." Many conscientious nursing-home operators cannot give quality care because of high operating costs.

Individuals and communities must find ways to meet "realistic payment rates" if good care is to be provided.

5. The problems confronting this field can be solved only by "a radical reinterpretation" of the function of care in institutions. Alternatives to care in nursing and convalescent homes are being developed.

THE ALTERNATIVES

These are aimed at keeping the old person in his own home, so he can continue normal family living.

Of course, that is not always possible. But the "new direction" in caring for old folks is to find some alternative to the institution.

Apartment projects exclusively for old people, group homes, and residential clubs are "beginning to make a contribution to this field." Foster home care for old folks is another alternative. Hospital-sponsored medical care programs, in which the old person is treated in his own home, are gradually spreading.

The Committee on the Aging study adds: "The increased number of chronic illness hospitals and the transition of county infirmaries into modern rehabilitation centers is beginning to widen the range for institutional care."

However, the ideas of social planners for new types of care are often still in the dream stage.

The report concludes: "Broad expansion" of service to the aged remains an urgent need.

Unless this need is filled, the shocking, frightening conditions under which many of our folks live will continue to be a national disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, these studies and the conclusions of these important agencies seeking to find a solution to the old-age problem, more and more point to the necessity of enacting a nationwide, pay-as-you-go, old-age security program such as is embodied in my bill, H. R. 2446, and its companion bill, H. R. 2447, which would give a solution to the problem on a nationwide basis. All Members of the House who are interested in old-age security should sign discharge petition 2 to bring this bill on the floor for consideration.

Income-Tax Exemptions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, as the deadline approaches for filing 1953 income-tax returns the taxpayers of my district and the Nation are increasingly conscious of the tax burden they have borne year after year. I welcome the current numerous proposals to increase income-tax exemptions for the taxpaper and his family. I have long advocated this method as the proper and realistic approach to reducing taxes.

I am convinced that H. R. 7204, which I introduced on January 14, is the most practical solution in respect to individual relief, as well as the effect on the general economy. I remind you that the provisions of my bill include a $1,500 exemption for each taxpayer, plus a $1,000 exemption for each dependent.

While it is true that H. R. 7204 provides higher exemptions than the amounts generally being recommended by other Members of the House and Senate, I believe that such relief is long overdue the American taxpayer. President Eisenhower stated last month that he would consider a cut in taxes as a medium of stimulating increased buying if business conditions seen to warrant such a step in the coming month. Inasmuch as the Chief Executive recognizes the tax reduction would energize the national economy, it is my conviction that Congress should act immediately to utilize this bona fide business tonic that is a traditional part of the diet of a healthy nation.

For all too long the American wage-earner and his family have been burdened with unjustifiably high taxes that were used to nurture a Federal bureaucracy that exceeded all proportions of necessity and sanity. These tax dollars were also used to finance economic programs in all parts of the world. Now that the bureaucracy is being trimmed to proper size and lands far away are gradually being weaned from the pumps that have siphoned dollars from the United States Treasury for many years, the time has come for the taxpayers in my district and the Nation to be shown some consideration.

I do not arbitrarily say that my bill is the positive answer to the acknowledged need for tax reductions, but I submit that it is incumbent upon this Congress to study closely the provisions of H. R. 7204 and their ramifications before assuming that such a rise would be too acute at the present time.

I call to your attention the fact that while the revenue loss resulting from enactment of this measure is purported to be between 2 and 3 billion dollars, the consequent increase in the take-home pay of millions of Americans would so invigorate the Nation's economy that the projected loss would be quickly neutralized. Moreover, the American wage earner would once again feel that "of the people, by the people, and for the people" is taking precedence over the phrase "from the people" which has become a truism in years past.

The Strangers—A Distinguished Legislator Tells the True Story of a Lonely Boy and Two Sick Little Girls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, this week is Red Cross Week, and the entire Nation is being called upon to give adequate recognition and financial support to the Red Cross in its humanitarian program which has done so much for the care of the distressed and needy throughout the Nation. My colleagues, our beloved Speaker has written a most appealing article in support of this program which appeared in the March 7 issue of the American Weekly which I include as a part of these remarks:

THE STRANGERS—A DISTINGUISHED LEGISLATOR TELLS THE TRUE STORY OF A LONELY BOY AND TWO SICK LITTLE GIRLS

(By JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., Speaker of the House of Representatives)

I am going to tell you about three children who in a roundabout way, always will be beholden to you, although I'm sure you haven't realized it.

I know the children. They were born in my home State, Massachusetts, and they live there.

One of them—I'll call him Tommy Jones—used to be the loneliest little boy in the world. That's what he says. On the playing field outside of school he'd stand apart from the others. He'd make believe he didn't care to play. When games were going best and voices were highest, he'd admit to himself: "I'm lonely. Nobody's as lonely as me."

The other boys didn't care. They usually ignored him. The girls used to run away from him. Once in a while one of the children, in thoughtless derision, would call out to him:

"Harelip! Tommy Jones has got a harelip!"

It looked to Tommy Jones, that little outcast, as if he'd always walk the world alone.

Then, one day, some strangers talked to Tommy's parents.

"Surgery can help him," one of them said. "Will you allow it to be done?"

Tommy's parents agreed, and the strangers arranged for the operations at a clinic. They took Tommy there, again and again, and a skilled plastic surgeon reconstructed his mouth and jaw.

Now he plays with the other boys. Girls don't run away from him any more. He can even smile.

I'll explain more about the strangers in a moment. Now, here is little Annie Brown—a name I'll give her. She couldn't play at all. She was born without hip sockets.

Some strangers came to her parents, too. They interested surgeons in her case and arranged for the many operations needed without cost to her needy parents. They helped in other ways, too.

Annie Brown goes to public school now for the first time. She skips rope. She plays tag. Tears of happiness come into her mother's eyes when Annie calls out: "Look, mother! See me run!"

Now the third child whom I keep in mind. Her name, I'll say, is Janie Smith. On June 9, 1953, a tornado whipped through Massachusetts and when it had passed, the humble apartment where Janie lived with her two sisters and her invalid father in Worcester was a shambles.

All suffered, Janie the worst. Her body was cut and her legs were crushed. Her family went to live in a trailer, while she was admitted to a hospital.

She was a brave child. She didn't worry so much about herself as she did about her father. At a time when she might have been raging with self-pity, she said:

"My father's wheelchair was smashed. His glasses were broken. What will my father do now?"

Strangers stepped in, as they did for Tommy and Annie. They had the wheelchair repaired and they bought new glasses.

They looked after Janie, too. At first they paid the transportation cost, so that her mother could go back and forth every day between the trailer and the hospital. Then they paid for surgery, and then for a brace on one of Janie's legs.

"Will I ever be able to walk without the brace?", Janie asked the other day.

The strangers were prepared for this question.

"Yes," one of them said. "One more operation, and you will."

"I'll put on my best dress," Janie said, in wonder. "I'll go walking."

Perhaps you have guessed who the strangers are. It is no secret.

They are you—you who read these lines. For you, with your gifts, in a way are the Red Cross, and these strangers were your Red Cross representatives. You, through them, gave the wide world to three children.

Congress Under Glass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD an appropirate editorial which appeared in the Detroit Times of March 7, entitled "Congress Under Glass." The article follows:

CONGRESS UNDER GLASS

Now that something has happened in Congress that had not happened before in more than a century and a half, there are all sorts of ideas for locking the barn door.

Among the least appealing, we think, is the proposal to put Congress under glass. The floors of the Senate and the House would be sealed off from the galleries by bullet-proof glass as a discouragement for future terrorists who might try to repeat the insensate savagery of last Monday in which five House Members were wounded.

The Hitlers, Mussolinis, and Stalins and Malenkovs of this world, of course, have to barricade themselves from their subjects and also provide extremes of protection for the stooge members of their governments.

But the idea of such bulwarks is foreign to America.

For generations, tourists, travelers from abroad, and, most important, our school children, have visited Congress and observed the workings of the world's freest legislature with a sense of intimacy and participation.

Here was freedom's biggest and longest-running show, playing to audiences which usually felt inspiration and awe.

Let us not seal it off by symbols of fear such as dictatorships necessarily must employ.

Disposal of Government Lands to Private Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the Lions Club of Hemphill, Tex., and commend it to the attention of my colleagues in considering proposed legislation on the subject discussed:

Whereas the public press of this State has carried news of the formation of a committee by the East Texas Chamber of Commerce to work for the enactment by the United States Congress of legislation which would force the United States Government to dispose of its lands and properties in various States by sale to private interests; and

Whereas such legislation results in the sale, primarily to private lumber interests, of the Sabine National Forest lands in Sabine county by the Federal Government; and

Whereas the Federal Government, through the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture, is preserving and developing this great natural resource in our country for posterity by scientific cutting methods and reforestation policies, as well as fire protection; and

Whereas the Federal Government, at no expense to Sabine County, has built and maintains a 96-mile system of roads and is continuing to build roads needed for access to the timber in our national forest area and which are beneficial to the citizens of Sabine County; and

Whereas this great recreational area of 111,997 acres, in Sabine County, abounds in game, with free campsites along the creeks and river banks, and with a 17-acre lake and recreation area maintained by the Forest Service, and further, through cooperation with the Texas Game and Fish Commission maintains the Moore Plantation Wildlife Restoration Area for the betterment of hunting in this area; and

Whereas the Federal Government paid, in lieu of taxes to Sabine County and to school districts in the National Forest Area in this county, four times as much money last year out of sales of timber as the county and school districts would have received in taxes if the forest were owned by private lumber companies; and

Whereas the timber being scientifically harvested from the Sabine National Forest, now amounting to 16 million board-feet annually in the county, is sold by bid thus allowing both profitable enterprise plus full employment to large lumber companies on one hand and providing an independent means of livelihood to many small sawmill owners, loggers, and logging contractors on the other; and which latter individuals would lose a large part of their opportunity to make an independent living should the land be purchased by private lumber companies; and

Whereas the best interest of Sabine County and its citizens and particularly the school children of the counties involved would be served by the preservation of the National Forest Resource by the Federal Government, with its many great benefits assured to continue in the future: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Hemphill Lions Club of Sabine County, Tex., (1) That we condemn the efforts of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce to deprive the 11 east Texas counties and the schools therein involved of the benefits and revenues from these national forest lands; (2) that we urge our Congressman, Hon. JACK BROOKS and our United States Senators, Hon. LYNDON B. JOHNSON and Hon. PRICE DANIEL, to oppose to their utmost any legislative proposal which would seek to dispose of our national forests to private interests; (3) that we urge the directors of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce representing the counties involved to oppose this proposal to their utmost in any and all meetings which they may attend so long as they are directors.

A true copy, I certify.

CLARENCE HOWELL,
Secretary, Hemphill Lions Club.

Thomas Masaryk and Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, two sister Slavic peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks, have lived in Central Europe for at least 1,500 years. The geographic position of the country, at the historic crossroads between East and West, is the key to the long and often tragic history of the Czechoslovaks. We know that early in their history the country flourished, and the zenith of its greatness and glory was reached in the 14th century. From then on, however, the history of Czechoslovaks has been very uneven. During most of that time their country has been dominated by foreign powers, governed by alien rulers and they have suffered endless injustices and iniquities. Alien overlords have done everything in their power to extinguish all traces of Czechoslovak national life, but these agents of tyranny could not eradicate the Czechoslovak national spirit of independence and freedom.

Toward the end of World War I when the days of oppressive monarchies were numbered in that part of the world, the Czechoslovaks were fortunate in having

as their spokesman and leader the great philosopher-statesman, Thomas Masaryk. It was through his relentless efforts that the Czechoslovak National Council secured recognition from the Allies, later proclaimed Czechoslovak independence, and then laid the foundations of the new state. For more than two decades Masaryk and his devoted disciple, Eduard Benes, guided the destiny of Czechoslovakia. During its early years the young Republic came through its teething troubles more quickly and successfully than any other state in central and southeastern Europe, and * * * a few years later earned for itself the title of model democracy. Trade flourished and the country's economy was stabilized; the economic well being of the people was promoted; social and educational reforms were undertaken on a large scale; and there was a remarkable revival of the national culture. All these things were accomplished according to the wishes and humanitarian beliefs of its founding father, who by this time had become an elder statesman of Europe. And in 1935, when he laid aside the burden of the presidency and passed the duties of his office on to his able disciple, Eduard Benes, Czechoslovakia was well along the road of progress and prosperity.

Late in the thirties, however, the aggressive designs of Nazi Germany singled out Czechoslovakia as one of its first victims, and some 6 months before the start of World War II, the Czechoslovak state was destroyed, the country was once more dismembered, and Nazi overlords in Prague ruled the country. For more than 5 years, from March 1939 to early May of 1945, Czechoslovaks suffered under Nazi tyrrany; and for their courageous resistance against their ruthless oppressors they paid abundantly with their lives.

On May 9, 1945, when their country was liberated, Czechoslovaks once more started their task of nation building. But this time, faced with difficult political and diplomatic problems, that task seemed almost forbidding. The Nazi danger was gone, but that of communism came closer. As a matter of fact, the Communist danger literally stalked poor Czechoslovaks soon after their liberation from the Nazi tyranny. Whenever they manifested their natural desire to establish close ties with the democratic West, they received indications of Moscow's displeasure. Whenever they made known their preference for the democratic way of life they were accused of bourgeois mentality. And in mid-1947 when they were disposed to accept Marshall plan aid, they were restrained and reprimanded by Moscow. That was the first open and unmistakable warning to them that they were not masters of their own destiny. Finally, in February of 1948, with the encouragement and underhanded support of Moscow, Czechoslovak Communists took over the government of the country.

Since then the history of the country may be described as the rapid replacement of a successful democracy by a Communist satellite in the Soviet pattern. All industries are nationalized and farms are collectivized. The country's economy is geared to that of the Soviet Union. The Communist regime maintains itself by its dreaded but efficient secret police. All traces of freedom are eliminated, and all contact with the free world is forbidden. The secret police control the public and private affairs of every citizen. Today the country is virtually a slave of the Soviet Union. It is, however, heartening that despite all these almost unbelievable restrictions and rigidity in Czechoslovak life, in spite of this reign of terror, thousands of anti-Communists succeed in finding their way to freedom by escaping to the West. And within Czechoslovakia there is unending resistance to the Communist regime. By means of such organized underground movements, brave and patriotic Czechoslovaks are not only risking their lives to regain their own freedoms, but are also carrying on the fight of democracy against tyranny in that European outpost. Let us all hope that soon their country will be liberated from Communist tyranny and all Czechoslovaks once more enjoy the blessings of freedom and national independence.

The New Strategic Air Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I offer for inclusion an article by John G. Norris in the Washington Post, issue of March 7, 1954:

NEW BASES, PLANES, AND TACTICS INVIGORATE SAC

Air-minded America paid little attention late last month to the nonstop movement of an Air Force bomber wing from Louisiana to North Africa. Long accustomed to the rapid strides of modern flight, the Nation missed the full significance of this Strategic Air Command training mission.

It is certain, however, that the men in the Kremlin did not.

For this was a dress rehearsal for the new SAC. It was a vital test and demonstration of the battle efficiency of America's strategic bomber force—combat backbone of our revamped military strategy.

ALMOST A REVOLUTION

It is new, for SAC has been undergoing a modernization that is almost a revolution. Until now, the United States had relied upon some World War II types of atomic bomber as the main deterrent to aggression and chief vehicle of massive retaliation in the event world war III comes.

We've had the giant, global B–36, which SAC briefers said will continue in service for another 2 years. Whether these relatively slow, high-flying planes could successfully penetrate enemy air defenses long has been disputed. Hundreds of aging B–29's and B–50's—shorter-range and even slower over a target—made up the rest of our strategic force.

Today, SAC is rapidly converting to new airplanes, new techniques, and new tactics. Three elements, long in forging, make up the new SAC.

1. High-speed, high-altitude B–47 jet bombers, generally conceded to be the best operational bombers in the world today, are replacing the B–29's and B–50's in SAC medium bomber wings and the B–36's as our chief A-bomb striking force. In time, long-range jet B–52's will replace the B–36's in operating wings, but they are still far from ready.

2. Overseas bases, planned, built, and especially equipped for strategic A-bombers, and the Air Force's perimeter concept. We have had some overseas bases and rights to use Allied fields which could handle initial SAC operations in an emergency. But the north Africa strategic bomber bases and others around the perimeter of Soviet power are just being completed.

3. Aerial refueling, together with perimeter bases, enables the B–47 to reach into Russia. Recently perfected, it is now considered routine.

None of the three sounds new, and actually they're not. Boeing's swept-wing, 6-jet, B–47 was first flown more than 6 years ago. But like other hot and revolutionary planes, it developed "bugs" that now have been overcome. Aerial refueling dates back to aviation's barnstorming 1920's, but it hasn't been practical until now. The north African bases were started in 1951 but encountered delays. Two of them now are fully operational for atomic bombers, and others are nearing completion in England and elsewhere.

In fact, everything that was done on the movement of SAC's 301st Medium Bomber Wing from Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, to Sidi Slimane Air Force Base, French Morocco, had been done before. But not until George Washington's Birthday weekend had the Air Force put them all together in one combat-type operation.

The wing's piston-engined KC–97 tanker planes took off on February 17 for a refueling rendezvous over the Atlantic. Hours later, the first flight of B–47's was aloft, cruising at nearly twice the tankers' speed. The refueling over Bermuda was on schedule, and the jets sped on to Africa, averaging 10½ hours for the 4,800-mile flight. After a day's rest, the bombers were off on a mock bombing mission over Europe, again being refueled in the air, in and out from the target in some cases.

ALL PUT TOGETHER

Col. Horace M. Wade, commander of the wing's 45 B–47 bombers and 20 tankers, was able to report the whole movement overseas complete in 5 days, including a 24-hour delay for some craft because of weather. And all of the 600-mile-per-hour bombers had made a 10-hour, 4,000-mile bombing mission over Europe within a week after leaving Louisiana.

Then they settled down in Africa to await the arrival of the 301st ground crews, with complete supplies, spare parts, and equipment to last the combat force for a month, just in case the African bases' well-stocked larders had not been full.

Transported by the Military Air Transport Service, this movement of the wing's 1,700 men and 1 million pounds of supplies graphically illustrated SAC's new mobility, a vital part of the new American strategy. The wing will spend 2 months in rotational training in Africa and then fly home.

Maj. Gen. Frank A. Armstrong, Jr., commander of SAC's Second Air Force, described the operation as "100 percent successful." Famous World War II bomber pilot, and the model for Frank Savage, the Gregory Peck role in the movie Ten O'clock High, General Armstrong commented:

"The 301st is graduated and combat ready. They have run a perfect mission."

At least two other B–47 wings of the Second Air Force also are ready, and others at home bases are in advanced stages of training.

The "new" SAC, like the "old," will have its limitations. There is some question whether the B–47, even with the perimeter bases and aerial refueling, had the range to reach many possible enemy key targets. Many doubt that the new and costly Moroccan bases are safe. An SAC movement like the one just completed allows for a considerable margin of error, boosting its cost.

These and other limiting factors will be discussed in later articles of this series. But withal, it appears that Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, SAC commander, and his men have built a powerful and effective striking force, justifying the tremendous reliance placed upon it.

Greatest Unemployment Since World War II Was in February 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, much talk has been indulged in concerning unemployment and whether we are in a recession, depression, or a period of economic adjustment. Sometimes I wonder if some of the statements we read are intended to create panic in our people. Bank runs have been created by idle talk which convinced depositors that its bank was about to fail and consequently withdrawal of funds must be made at once.

The Washington Times-Herald printed a constructive and interesting editorial recently which gave some interesting figures as to unemployment since the ending of the great war. For the information of my colleagues I am having this editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Permission to do so was obtained on Friday March 5, 1954.

The editorial follows:

SLUMPS COMPARED

How bad is unemployment? Quite bad in Lawrence, Mass., Detroit, Winston-Salem, N. C., and 15 other cities. But the situation wasn't any different in 15 cities a year ago, when labor shortages were general across the country.

An excess of labor is chronic in most of the presently depressed areas. Industries are gone, but persons formerly employed in them cling to their homes. Detroit has many jobless temporarily because the boom in its one great industry once more has subsided.

People directly affected by local unemployment are convinced that the whole country has gone to the dogs. Some Democratic politicians and labor-union officers speak of disaster unless the drastic steps they propose are carried into effect.

Last week the Commerce Department reported that a checkup in 230 communities indicated that 3,087,000, or 4.9 percent of all workers, were jobless in the United States early last month. As aggregate employment always drops in the cold weather of February, probably 3,200,000 are out of work now. Let's see how that compares with the amount of joblessness reported by the Government during President Truman's administration.

The annual report of the Truman Labor Secretary, the late Lewis B. Schwellenbach, for fiscal year 1947 contains the following statement: "Whatever may be said as to the health of the economy in the past year, the fact remains that in the 12 months from mid-1946 to mid-1947 employment rose to levels approximating full employment. There was some slack, as might be expected in a period of readjustment, even under conditions of general overdemands upon the economy. Unemployment fluctuated within a narrow range between 2 and 2½ million."

Thus, according to Mr. Truman's Labor Department head, in a period of full employment the number out of work in the winter months can get as high as 2½ million, or about 4 percent.

In President Truman's annual economic report sent to Congress on January 7, 1949, he said the "people of the United States have just enjoyed another year of bountiful prosperity." He cited the fact that "unemployment remained at the low level of around two million." It was around two million all right, but quite a way around, ranging from a high of 2,628,000 in February to a low of 1,642,000 in October. Thus unemployment in February of a bountiful year of full employment was around what it now is.

In February 1950 unemployment soared to 4.7 million, which was 7.6 percent of the working force. President Truman pointed this out in his midyear report submitted in July of that year, when improvement had already set in. The Korean war began on June 25, but the improvement had started 3 months before. By July the number of jobless was down to 3,200,00. By January 1951 a condition of full employment was again reached with unemployment down to 2.5 million.

"The first half of 1950 brought recovery from the mild recession of 1949 and a rapid approach to new peaks of postwar prosperity," said President Truman in his July 1950 report. Note that he used the term "mild recession," although the number out of work was 50 percent greater than the present number.

It is significant that the little recession was not halted by the use of any of the devices now proposed. Business recovered without increasing the exemptions from the income tax just proposed by Senator GEORGE. There was no outpouring of funds for public works or other purposes, as Senator DOUGLAS and others have been proposing. Government expenditures in calendar year 1950, in spite of the war, were actually $3.5 billion less than in calendar year 1949.

President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers attributed the short period of the 1949–50 recession to the fact that pessimism about the business outlook had not engulfed the country. PAUL DOUGLAS and his associates who have been ballyhooing a recession at every opportunity might well consider this before sounding off again on the same theme.

Light and Not Heat—Literally

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when much of the furore in Washington seems to be shedding plenty of heat with little light, the electric light and power industry comes along with a reverse pattern; 1954 is the 75th anniversary of the invention of the first practical lamp. It is difficult to imagine what the world was like before the incandescent light bulb became part of the pushbutton world. Back in 1879, Thomas Edison illuminated a section of Menlo Park. A short time thereafter, he sold the first electric light system to the *Columbia*, a steamship. Appleton, Wis., installed the first community lighting program early in 1882.

We are often forgetful of the extent to which we have come to take electricity for granted. Most of the world is still in darkness, despite the presence of the necessary, fuel, engineering know-how, and technical capacity everywhere on the earth to install electricity. Whole areas of the Soviet Union, despite its boasted incease in scientific development, are unilluminated. India, China, and many of the remote regions of Europe are still in the Dark Ages, so far as light is concerned.

Progress has a way of becoming accepted rapidly. It is easier to look back on the amazing achievements of these past 65 years than to look ahead, but the next generation may well make us look as if we had been sitting still.

The Smear That Backfired

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial, an article by Anthony Lewis, and an article by John Cramer from the Washington Daily News of today, March 5, 1954.

The editorial follows:

CLEANING THE RECORD

The murky tabulations of security risks issued by the administration were not fully explained by the several statements of Civil Service Chairman Philip Young to congressional committees this week. But Mr. Young did clear up two important misconceptions about the risks:

The false idea that most or all of the security risks listed by the administration so far were traitors, subversives, Communists, or something of the kind.

Mr. Young's figures show that only about 17 percent of those rated as security risks by the administration had any substantial information relating to subversion in their personnel files when they left the Government.

Even that does not mean all 17 percent were subversives, Mr. Young emphasized. Many resigned without knowing of the charges and having a chance to explain; others were fired for entirely different reasons. Few, it is clear, went through all appeal procedures and were finally dismissed as subversives.

The false idea that the new administration security program was responsible for removing all the listed risks, whether they were subversive or merely alcoholics or blabbermouths.

Mr. Young's figures show that more than half of some 2,429 persons listed as risks resigned, many voluntarily and without having been informed of the charges. And of those fired, Mr. Young said, "The great bulk were separated under regular civil-service procedures"—not the new security program.

These two misconceptions developed essentially from some—not all—Republicans' at-

tempt to make political capital out of the situation.

President Eisenhower himself left an erroneous impression in a prepared statement (doubtless prepared for him by somebody else) at his December 2 press conference:

"Fear of Communists actively undermining our Government will not be an issue in the 1954 elections. Long before then, this administration will have made such progress rooting them out under the [new] security program * * * that this no longer can be considered a serious menace. As you already know, about 1,500 persons who were security risks already have been removed."

Others went much further. Some of their statements are detailed in Anthony Lewis' article on this page. There can be no doubt that the idea was to use the security program for political purposes.

That was a bad idea for the country, and in the end for the politicians themselves.

With one exception none of the Republicans who made the false political claims has been man enough to admit that he was, to put it charitably, mistaken.

But by now everyone from the White House down must realize that the full truth would have been best from the start, which is what this newspaper has been hammering at since our story on December 7, 1953, the first in any newspaper to call attention to the discrepancies in party leaders' statements.

Of course, even one subversive in Government is one too many, but it isn't necessary to smear the entire Federal service with deliberately distorted versions of its condition in order to clean up the dirty spots, and keep the service clean.

Mr. Speaker, the article by Mr. Lewis in the Washington Daily News of March 5, 1954, follows:

THE LITTLE NASTY ERROR: IT GREW AND GREW

(By Anthony Lewis)

The confusion and political squabbling over "security risk" figures had their origin in an apparently simple press release issued last October 23 by James C. Hagerty, presidential press secretary. The announcement said:

"During the first 4 months' operation of the employee security program * * * 1,456 Government employees have been separated from Federal service. * * *"

SECURITY ONLY WRONG

"These separations were for security reasons only; they have nothing to do with continuing reductions in force from the Federal payroll."

Testimony this week by Civil Service Chairman Philip Young confirms that Mr. Hagerty was incorrect in one statement: All persons listed as "security risks" were not "separated for security reasons"; most resigned or were fired for other reasons, and were then listed as "risks" because of information in their files.

But the White House announcement did not make the basic error of calling the "1,456 risks" "Communists" or "traitors." Political speeches beginning about 2 weeks later took up that theme—sometimes making the claim directly, sometimes by implication.

These were some of the false statements, or incorrect implications, that flowed from Republican orators:

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey: "The Democrats are afraid that the American people will discover what a nice feeling it is to have a Government which is not infested with spies and traitors. In less than 11 months the Department of Justice has discovered and dismissed 1,456 security risks."

Attorney General Herbert Brownell: "1,456 persons have been ejected from Government service because they were found to be security risks. * * * We are going to have no more Communist infiltration in the Government and we are steadily getting rid of those who are security risks."

Bernard M. Shanley, White House counsel: "1,456 subversives have been kicked out of Government jobs since the President assumed office."

(Now Civil Service Chairman Young says only 422 risks had any relation to subversion.)

(Mr. Shanley acknowledged recently that he had been mistaken and should have said security risks instead of subversives. Even at that he would have been wrong, because most of them were not kicked out but resigned, many without knowing of any security charges.)

Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY: "The new administration has now gotten rid of 1,456, all of whom were security risks and practically all of whom were removed because of Communist connections and activities or perversion."

(According to Civil Service Chairman Young's testimony, this simply is not so.)

Senator MCCARTHY again later, after being challenged on his statement: "I know for a fact that the number separated because of Communist acts, Communist connections, is much more than 50 percent. If you lump together the firings for Communist activities and for sexual perversion, it will run in the neighborhood of 90 percent."

(Civil Service Chairman Young emphasized that even the 17 percent whose files had material relating to subversion, were not all separated for that reason and should not all be considered subversives.)

In his state of the Union message, President Eisenhower boosted the figure. He said:

"Under the standards established by the new employee security program more than 2,200 employees have been separated from the Federal Government."

Then the orators picked that up and distorted it.

Representative GEORGE BENDER: "We have eliminated more than 2,000 Communists and fellow-travelers from important positions in the Government of the United States."

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield: "Almost 2,200 people who were security risks are no longer using up your tax money. I am here to tell you that we are not hiring any new ones. Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation."

By the time Mr. Summerfield spoke—January 21—the White House was aware of the political dangers in the confusion over the security risk issue. A Presidential aide telephoned Mr. Summerfield, the word was passed around, and no prominent Republican has repeated the incorrect claims since.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the illuminating article by Mr. Cramer in the Washington Daily News of March 5, 1954:

REPORT SOME RISKS APPOINTED BY IKE

(By John Cramer)

Persistent but still unconfirmed reports among Democrats on Capitol Hill say a fair proportion of the 2,429 former Federal employees the Eisenhower administration has listed as security risks were Eisenhower administration appointees.

This is one of the questions Democrats on the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee plan to explore in their current investigation of the security program.

And should the reports stand up, a near-ludicrous touch would be added to the administration's fast-crumbling claims for the program.

It already has been disclosed:

That only 422 of the 2,429 had any taint of subversion or Communist connections—this despite the repeated attempts of administration spokesmen to convince the public that all of the removed employees were "Communist * * * traitors * * * disloyal."

That no one in the administration knows for sure how many of the 422 actually were disloyal or subversive.

That the administration's original reports that 1,456 security risks, and later "more than 2,200" security risks, had been removed from the payroll were misleading reports—because some of the removed employees merely transferred to other agencies. (This first was disclosed in an exclusive Washington Daily News story several weeks ago. Administration spokesmen say flatly, however, that the new and reconstructed list of 2,429 removals includes no transfers.)

That the "great bulk" of the 1,074 employees fired as security risks (1,355 others resigned) were removed under "ordinary civil-service procedures." This means they never knew they were considered security risks; had no chance to defend themselves in the "fair hearings" promised in the security program; and weren't labeled security risks until after they had been fired.

Republican spokesmen consistently have sought to give the public the impression that all of the 2,429 security risks were holdovers from the Truman administration.

And should Senate Democrats now be able to prove that many were Eisenhower appointees, Republican claims would be left a shambles.

Those familiar with United States hiring and firing methods say it's completely certain that "at least some" of the dismissed employees were appointed by this administration.

They say the only real question is: How many?

And they explain this way:

Government consistently fires a great many employees "for cause"—about 23,000 for example, in the last year of the Truman administration.

A fairly high proportion of these firings come among new employees, who were appointed "subject to investigation."

During preceding administrations, it was customary to list the vast majority of these dismissals under the broad category of "firings for cause." The only exception to this rule came when new employees were dismissed for suspected disloyalty.

Under the Eisenhower administration, however, such dismissals are listed as "security risk" firings. The Truman administration, for example, would list a new employee who turned out to be a drunk as one fired for cause. The Eisenhower administration leaves it to agency heads to decide whether he should be fired for cause—or as a security risk.

It also pointed out:

That the Eisenhower administration hired 208,609 new employees during the last 7 months of 1953, which is the period during which it claims to have removed the 2429 security risks.

That it presumably hired about 150,000 during the first 5 months of 1953—for an estimated grand total of 358,000.

That many of these employees were appointed subject to investigation.

That many of the investigations were completed during the final 7 months—when the security program was operating.

That inevitably these investigations must have turned up a certain number of Eisenhower appointees whom the administration considered security risks.

The only real questions:

1. How many were Eisenhower appointees?
2. If there were not many, why not?

California AFL Statement of Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, while the administration follows a drift and wait policy, many individual citizens and various organizations are concerned over the downward trend of our economy. It seems to me that the time to take action is when the first signs of a serious downward trend become evident. The trend has been evident for several months and longer in certain areas. The administration should act now. The following AFL program is timely and I request including it in our RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT ON UNEMPLOYMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL, QUARTERLY MEETING, FEBRUARY 27, 1954, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

The growing crisis in unemployment cannot be ignored, nor can it be considered a matter for mere governmental study.

Within the past 3 months unemployment in California has more than doubled. The number of jobless in the Nation almost tripled within the same period.

The effects have already been felt in thousands of California families. Applications for county relief in California jumped 71 percent between January 1953 and January 1954.

The soaring number of both unemployed and relief applicants points to an inevitable drop in consumer buying power. Any serious fall in purchasing power will bring us to the brink of a tragic depression.

It is, therefore, the obligation of Federal and State Governments to undertake immediate remedial action.

Gov. Goodwin Knight has properly called for an increase in unemployment insurance benefits. Such an increase will not only tend to meet critical family needs but will bolster the purchasing strength of the consumer public at a time when business is feeling the press of overstocked shelves.

However, unemployment insurance represents but one avenue of required action. We offer the following nine-point program for prompt consideration by Federal and State Government:

1. The State legislature should make use of current reserve funds to launch a useful public works program for the prevention of unemployment, as provided for by the Postwar Unemployment and Construction Act of 1945.

2. The Federal and State governments should act to begin construction of necessary reservoirs, canals, and waterpower distribution systems, both within and without the framework of the Central Valley project. In the face of growing unemployment, construction should begin on such projects as the the Trinity River, the San Luis project, and the Santa Maria project, and other enterprises sufficiently large to absorb unemployment and meet California's increasing need for cheap power and equitable water distribution as envisioned in the Federal Reclamation Act.

3. Federal financial assistance should be granted for private and community hospital construction on the local level, and Congress should furnish Federal aid to education for needed school construction, to wipe out the terrible deficiencies in health and schooling which threaten the American future.

4. Federal public housing should provide 135,000 units a year, as called for in the Housing Act of 1949. The proposed Eisenhower program of 35,000 units cannot hope to meet the grave housing requirements of millions in the low-income brackets.

5. West coast shipyards should be given a fair share of naval contract work to sustain the yards which proved their efficiency during the Second World War. Further, the American merchant marine should continue to be awarded 50 percent of all cargoes shipped overseas in Government-aid programs.

6. Full effect should be given to the Federal Employment Act of 1946, requiring the Federal Government to mobilize its resources to promote conditions which afford "useful employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

7. The State legislature should recognize the current relief crisis by making available provisions of the State Relief Law of 1945. Such action is essential since county relief applications have increased 71 percent within the past year. Eligibility standards of the State emergency program should be based on American requirements of decency. County indigent aid is now administered on a pauper basis, and denies relief to all save those in total destitution.

8. State unemployment insurance benefits should be raised from the pitifully low figure of $25 per week and coverage extended to all workers. The failure of the law to protect thousands in the low-paid categories is a serious blow at the purchasing power of the wage earner public at a time when both workers' families and the economy are in desperate need of more buying power.

9. Both Federal and State minimum wage levels should be raised from 75 cents to $1.25 per hour. Both laws should be extended to cover all workers. The California law now applies only to women and minors, and fails to cover workers in such low-paid categories as agricultural labor.

Protecting Congress Does Not Mean Ejecting Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, one of the saddest consequences of the shocking episode in the House of Representatives appears to be a determination to clamp down on all visitors to the House galleries. Certainly, no one can look complacently upon the relative ease with which a group of fanatics managed to walk into the House armed with formidable-looking weapons. Nevertheless, it has always been one of the America's proudest boasts that admission to the sessions of Congress, for young and old, at virtually all times, has been about as simple to achieve as walking into the county courthouse.

Passes required for entrance are given freely to all who ask and seem interested, and all Senators and Representatives have made it a practice to encourage their constituents to attend sessions whenever they visit Washington. We must keep this tradition alive, despite our concern for the protection of Congress. Whatever new regulations and protective measures may be set up, they must be planned with this fundamental attitude in mind. Americans must still be encouraged to visit their national legislative Chamber, and if a new occupational hazard has been added to the already lengthy congressional list, all of us in Washington must undertake it with the confidence that the protection of Congressmen can be achieved without the ejecting of Americans from the galleries of the Capitol.

Address by Former President Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by former President Hoover upon receipt of the Gold Medal of the International Benjamin Franklin Society, Inc.:

ADDRESS BY HERBERT HOOVER ON BENJAMIN FRANKLIN UPON RECEIPT OF THE GOLD MEDAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SOCIETY, INC., COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 23, 1954

I deeply appreciate the honor of receiving the gold medal from the International Benjamin Franklin Society.

I am presumed to say something about Franklin, but how can I add anything new to what has been said about him? The members of your Society ought to know all about him by this time.

The rest of the country has also heard of him. With appropriate remarks his name has been fixed to thousands of counties, towns, cities, and streets. Millions of parents have striven to implant his qualities of character in their offspring by endowing them with the surname of Franklin. That includes two Presidents. One result is that his name appears in 5,000 telephone directories. To carry a conviction of integrity a thousand firms have labeled their goods after him. There is one library alone of 10,000 items about him. There must have been 20 million orations delivered about him.

Some members of your committee suggested that I should say something about Franklin's influence on American life at the present time. I investigated this subject a little but I came up (on all but one great issue) with many frustrations, as I will proceed to show you.

My first acquaintance with Franklin began early when, like most schoolboys of my day, I received much drilling in Franklin's precepts. They at times seriously limited my freedom of action and my projected enterprises. Especially objectionable was his remark about early to bed and its consequences in health, wealth, and wisdom provided we got up early in the morning.

Aside from human liberty, Ben's great design of American life or his ideology, as we would call it nowadays, had its central idea in frugality, thrift, and hard work. He conducted a propaganda campaign on that subject for over 60 years. His slogans

sunk so deep into the American mind that that we practiced at it for quite a while. However, that was before we discovered the theory of spending ourselves into prosperity.

Franklin had definite ideas on the conduct of governments. His opinion of governmental borrowing and debts appear in his abundant command of the language. To him they were the road of sorrow and in general the destroyers of liberty. He knew none of the joys provided by Lord Maynard Keynes. However, this is not an economic debate and I believe it better not to pursue that subject further at this time.

Franklin also made some observations on money. He asserted that "the standard once fixed should ever be unvariable since any alteration would be followed by great confusion and detriment to the state." He was naturally unfamiliar with the theory and practice in the commodity dollar. But again that subject leads into a field of controversy not appropriate here.

Ben also observed that "It is impossible for government to * * * fix the extent of paper credit," and also that "no state or potentate can settle the prices of all sorts of merchandise [because] * * * plenty and scarcity must govern that." But this again raises questions which might be construed as controversial and must, therefore, not be pursued further at this time.

As to the industrial front, he stated firmly that "God gives all things to industry," meaning hard work, and he intimated that you could save what you earned. But some people these days think the Government takes it away from you and then gives it away. However, this would also be a sour theme to pursue on this occasion.

Franklin made one remark that is of powerful weight today. He said that "God helps those who help themselves." That has become the motto of every pressure group in the country. But I will not pursue this pessimistic subject at this time.

Franklin had many notions of government. Using the architectural metaphor, he once said, "If the superstructure is too heavy for the foundations the building totters though assisted by outward props of art." I suppose the props of art he referred to was propaganda. He would have been even more forcible on this subject if he were in my place as Chairman of the Commission on Reorganization of the Government.

Franklin announced a formula for public office. He said, "Never ask, never refuse, never resign." The present administration in Washington has found the "never resign" part is still in use.

But again I must not pursue such subjects here. I did think something might be done by way of comment on Franklin's fine stimulation to investigation and research. This seemed promising as the magnificent educational and research institutions which he founded have been fruitful of blessings down to this very day. But among institutions that he had a lot to do with creating was the United States Senate. Their spirit of education and investigation would seem rewarding to him, but perhaps also that theme is not profitable on this occasion.

Ben always referred to himself as a Republican but certainly in this non-Partisan meeting I cannot pursue this idea further.

On all controversial matters Franklin was a tolerant soul. He cautioned us that "By the collison of different sentiments, sparks of truth are struck out and political light is obtained." I hope so. But I will not illustrate it further.

He said, "It is true that in some of the States there are parties and discords; but let us look back and ask if we were ever without them. Such will exist wherever there is liberty; and perhaps they will help preserve it." I call your attention to the safety catch in that sentence—that is the use the word "perhaps."

Ben made the emphatic remark that "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." Some way I feel Ben might be disappointed with the world on this subject. Indeed I have the feeling that stanch old emblem in his plain clothes with his radiating thrift would receive many shocks if he walked around on this earth for a few days. However, with his magnificent sense of humor, he might just laugh.

But to be more serious, we know the greatest inheritance that Franklin left the American people was his contribution to our liberties.

Franklin had sought and associated with men keen in devotion to freedom long before we gained our independence from England. Among his friends were Burke and Tom Paine. It is sometimes overlooked that it was Franklin who paid Tom Paine's ship fare across the Atlantic and set that firebrand of liberty on these shores. It was Tom Paine, then a soldier in the Continental Army, who as a ghost writer for Washington composed that blazing document which Washington proclaimed to his dejected troops, revitalizing them to the victorious crossing of the Delaware. And Tom Paine with his crusading spirit and his Rights of Man, greatly stirred the emotions for personal liberty on this continent.

I scarcely need mention, however, that Franklin was one of the leaders among the Founding Fathers who riveted freedom into American life. We must never forget that Franklin helped frame and signed the Declaration of Independence. He negotiated the Peace Treaty of Paris, acknowledging our freedom from Britain. He contributed greatly to the framing of the Constitution of the United States. And in those great deeds he was inspired by both genius and determination to guaranty national independence and to secure the very foundations of personal liberty.

Franklin was an individualist. He held no belief in people's leaning on government. He contended they must have a sterner fare if the Nation was to go forward. He insisted they must posses qualities and strength of character which would give them calmness and poise in prosperity and courage and vision in adversity. They must be guided not only by patriotism of the tribe, but by morality and religious faith which belong alone to the individual spirit.

It was Joseph Choate who said, "When the spirit of Franklin decays the sun of America will have begun to set."

That Day Is Here Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, March 15 has had a long and inglorious history from Roman times to our own. If President Eisenhower's suggested change of the tax deadline is pushed back to April 15, a whole new crop of radio and TV jokes will have to be hatched, and banks whose loans go up sharply in March will be revising their own estimates for some years to come.

Whatever may be the obstacles in the way of adopting the President's plan, there would certainly be a few psychological advantages of some importance. The head of the household would have 30 days more to recover from the deluge of Christmas bills which overtook him along about February 1, and the shock of out-go as opposed to the pleasure of intake would be lessened. Moreover, the spring of the year with other pleasant diversions looming on the horizon in the form of the opening game might alleviate the natural distress provoked by the drain and strain of tax day.

No matter how you look at it, March 15 or April 15, the responsibilities of our times may permit us to postpone, but not to eliminate our annual day of reckoning. The only thing that bothers so many of us is the thought that other folks in other lands whose arms we are strengthening do not always seem to be doing their fair share of our common tax task.

We Should Speed Up Work on the Central Valley Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, California is one of our key agricultural and industrial States. More people have moved to California since 1940 than now live in many of our Midwestern States. The heartland of California is the Central Valley, which includes a third of the total land area of the State.

The growth of industry and population in the State has greatly advanced the demands for food and electric power. To keep pace with these demands it is only natural that the people turn toward the Central Valley. Here lies one part of the State where appreciable amounts of agricultural land can be improved. Here are the principal sources of developed and undeveloped power.

Water falls in California in the wrong places at the wrong times. In the Central Valley two-thirds of the water supply originates in the Sacramento Valley, while two-thirds of the agricultural lands are located far to the south in the San Joaquin Valley. The rains fall in the winter and spring, but the land needs water in the summer long after the spring runoff from the western slopes of the Sierras has ceased. Therefore, the great Central Valley exists almost entirely by irrigation.

The irrigation water is provided by the Central Valley project, which was authorized in 1935 as a Federal undertaking in the interest of power, reclamation, flood control, navigation, and related uses.

The basic plan of the project was proposed decades before the project actually took definite form. It was originally authorized by the legislature to be constructed through the sale of $170,000,000, worth of State bonds. The authorization act was taken to a referendum by certain private utilities who spent large sums of money in almost invalidating the authorization.

I remember the campaign very well. In southern California the voters were urged by the project's opponents not to saddle themselves with a debt of $170-million to finance a northern California project. I am proud to say that I was one of a small group of southern Californian volunteers who worked hard to save the project. Incidentally, the now famous public relations team of Whitaker and Baxter managed the campaign in favor of the project and won out in spite of the much better financed campaign of the opposition. Having seen them in action, the private utilities promptly engaged their services. They went on to become the highest paid public relations firm in the Nation, when they represented the American Medical Association.

Actually, the State bonds were not used to start the project. Considerable time has elapsed, but if I remember correctly, the project encountered opposition from Secretary Ickes as head of the Public Works Administration. It was initially gotten under way by President Roosevelt through a grant for relief of unemployment. The project provided a sound and proper means for stimulating employment then. It still does today. This is one of the reasons why the proposed purchase of the project by the State has proved infeasible and should be abandoned. To continue the negotiations for the purchase may result in needless confusion and delay, while we should be speeding the project toward completion.

The Federal Bureau of Reclamation has spent over $400 million on the Central Valley project, which is now about 50 percent completed. Although all the initial features of the project have been placed in operation, a significant construction program is now under way and proposed for continuance in fiscal year 1955.

To be more specific, the minimum program which I consider justified to continue work on the Central Valley project in fiscal year 1955 will require an appropriation of $26,600,000, about $3,-100,000 more than the estimate of the Bureau of the Budget. This is the amount recommended by the water project authority of my State which has worked closely with the Bureau of Reclamation and other Federal agencies in behalf of the people of the valley and the State.

The largest single item in this sum is $10,000,000 which is primarily for continuing construction of the Friant-Kern and completion of the Madera distribution systems.

Other large items are $7 million for Folsom power facilities to complete the powerplant to a point that all units will begin generating in 1955, and $3 million for completion of Sly Park Dam and conduit.

A significant item is $4 million for the Sacramento Valley Canals. This is a large development item, and time is, of course, required to solve some of the complex problems arising in connection with the water contracts. I am glad to state, however, that it is expected that negotiations will advance to the point that work on these canals can be initiated in the current fiscal year and can be greatly accelerated in 1955. I fully concur in the recommendation of the Water Project Authority that expenditure of funds for the Sacramento Valley canals be contingent upon organization of public districts with adequate power to enter into contracts with the United States for the delivery of water and for repayment of the construction costs of the works. This is only sound procedure.

And last, a number of less costly but equally important items primarily concerned with finishing work on power and irrigation systems, provision of Delta fish-protective facilities, and clearing up water rights are estimated to cost $2,600,000.

The Federal cost of the Central Valley project is estimated at approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars—a tremendous sum even in these days. But I am happy to state that close to 90 percent of this amount will be returned to the United States Treasury. In fact it is estimated that by the end of fiscal year 1955 about $100 million will have been repaid from power revenues, irrigation, and municipal water payments.

Today our people are greatly concerned about growing unemployment. There are several million persons without jobs. Many of them are getting by for a short time on meager unemployment benefits or through use of accumulated savings.

The Government of the United States has an important responsibility to prevent economic depression. That responsibility was written into law under the Truman administration through passage of the Employment Act of 1946.

It is now the responsibility of the Federal Government to use all means at its disposal to maintain our economic well-being. One of the most important means for use in the growing State of California is to speed up necessary work on the Central Valley project through the provision of adequate funds in 1955.

This is a fitting time to vigorously push the Trinity River, San Luis, and Santa Maria projects. Only a dynamic, expanding economy can provide increasing opportunities for our expanding population. Speeding up work on the Central Valley project offers one ideal method for combating unemployment through sound economic expansion.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Moscow has just kicked out its Health Minister. When do they reach the "M's"?

Congressional Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present for your attention and that of my other distinguished colleagues the following article which appeared in the American Bar Journal for March 1954, volume 40, beginning at page 191 thereof.

Being a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, as well as also a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I naturally try to observe all available treatises on the subject of congressional investigations.

Here is an important one, which includes reference to pertinent decisions of courts of last resort, as well as other available material. It is, of course, understood by my submitting this to your attention, I do not necessarily either approve or disapprove any comment by the distinguished professor of law at Indiana University School of Law, or of any of his conclusions. However, it does appear to me as very timely and important that we Members of Congress—in both bodies thereof—habitually and systematically and with utmost diligence and perseverance give all necessary attention and action in the field of improving our established procedures for congressional investigations.

May I say, Mr. Speaker, that while it is true that I was chairman of the Special Rules Committee of the House Un-American Activities Committee to submit to said full committee rules for the Un-American Activities Committee, at the time of my report I stated, and wish it to continue to be understood by you and all my other colleagues, that I still feel that there are some very material and important rules of procedure and conduct which should also be adopted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Referring to the published set of rules which said committee adopted July 1, 1953, wherein there was no printed rule at that time adopted whereby all subcommittees must be bipartisan, I am pleased to say that, by recent unanimous resolution of the full committee in executive meeting, we adopted a rule that all subcommittees must be constituted of not less than three members, with a majority thereof qualified to act and proceed with a subcommittee hearing. This, of course, in effect means that not fewer than two members shall be required, bipartisanly, to hold subcommittee hearings. Our full committee membership is nine members.

The article follows:

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS: A PLAN FOR LEGISLATIVE REVIEW

(By Frank E. Horack, Jr., professor of law at Indiana University School of Law)

Although the great majority of congressional hearings and investigations are con-

ducted with fairness and decorum, a few committees have placed in jeopardy the reputations, dignity, and constitutional rights of many persons who have been summoned as witnesses. As a consequence, there has been an insistent demand for limiting the jurisdiction of committee investigations and reviewing the fairness of committee procedure. Some critics have looked to the courts for a revitalization of *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* [1] and others have proposed enactment of uniform rules for congressional committee procedure.[2] Neither approach offers a complete solution.

Two propositions are self-evident: Witnesses should be protected from fishing expeditions, inquiry into purely private affairs, and from enforced testimony which might incriminate; the Government should have the full knowledge, testimony, and opinion of all its citizens concerning matters of great national import.[3] Only with the aid of the citizens may Congress discharge what Woodrow Wilson described as the duty "to look diligently into every affair of Government and to talk much about what it sees." [4] And if Congress is intended to be the watchdog for the people and the informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function,[5] then Congress, not the courts, should determine the limits of its jurisdiction when constitutional guaranties are not involved.

Until recently, the judiciary has respected and reflected Wilson's view and has been reluctant to interfere with the investigating process, for, as Judge Holtzoff observed, "While the power of Congress to carry on investigations is not without limit, nevertheless the Congress has broad discretion in determining the subject matter of the study and the scope and extent of the inquiry. If the subject under scrutiny may have any possible relevance and materiality, no matter how remote, to some possible legislation, it is within the power of the Congress to investigate the matter. Moreover, the relevance and materiality of the subject matter must be presumed. * * * It would be intolerable if the judiciary were to intrude into the legislative branch of the Government and virtually stop the process of investigation." [6]

The Supreme Court, however, undertook judicial review of congressional committee procedure in *Christoffel* v. *United States* [7] even though it soon chose to abandon the experiment in *United States* v. *Bryan*.[8] But late in the last term, in *United States* v. *Rumely*,[9] the Court more boldly restrained committee inquiry even though the decision rested upon the shifting sands of inconclusive statutory construction.[10] Nevertheless, the recent decisions stand as an unmasked warning to congressional committees and will invite further challenges to committee power. Whether the challenges are meritorious or not, the congressional ability to discharge its informing function has been seriously encumbered.

The protection of civil rights, of admitted concern throughout these litigations, and certainly of the highest value in our constitutional system, does not require judicial review of internal congressional procedure nor jurisdictional limitation on committee inquiry. Judicial review will not only result in a reduction in the power of Congress, but also in a decline in congressional responsibility. And the courts' inquiry cannot be easily confined to the cases of legislative investigations; no logical boundary separates investigation of the administration of the Government, investigation under the treaty power, impeachments, confirmations of appointments, and even member discipline, and the review of elections. Judicial review of all of these diverse subjects would present many embarrassing political questions and a gradual withdrawal of judicial review similar to that which followed *Kilbourne* v. *Thompson* [11] might be predicted.

Footnotes at end of speech.

UNIFORM RULES HAVE THREE WEAKNESSES

Thus, the great majority of writers have opposed an expansion of judicial review and argue that Congress should assume full responsibility for supervising committee action by enacting uniform rules of procedure binding upon all standing and select committees. The adoption of uniform rules may contribute to an improvement in committee procedure, but basically they suffer from three weaknesses: (1) Different committees have widely differing responsibilities and thus a sensible rule for one may be utter folly for another. (2) The enactment of uniform rules is no guaranty that the committees will comply. Good committees can make good rules, but good rules cannot make good committees. And (3) they provide no sanctions for their enforcement.

The real need is for a system of legislative review to enforce uniform rules and insure fairness and responsibility of investigations. Theoretically, this is possible now by any member of the House moving to rescind the committee's authority or to confine it by restrictive amendment, but politically it is impossible. The only way the issue reaches the floor of the House is for a witness to refuse to testify and for the committee to seek a resolution from the House for his prosecution either before the bar of the House or in the Federal courts.

When the issue is raised in this manner it does not present the question of whether the committee has exceeded its authority or whether the questions have been relevant and material, but whether the chairman of the committee is entitled to a vote of confidence from his party and from the House. The witness is unrepresented and his cause is soon forgotten. Congressmen who privately condemn the actions of the committee feel compelled to vote in support of the committee because the party leadership insists that a vote of confidence is essential to maintain the party position, and individual members, regardless of the merits of the particular controversy, feel that a negative vote would jeopardize their own positions as committee chairmen. Uniform rules will not repeal congressional courtesy.

The philosophy of *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* [12] can be maintained and judicial review avoided if the Houses establish a system of legislative review. The proposal would permit a witness to challenge the authority of an investigating committee by an appeal to a review committee appointed by the House. The committee should be bipartisan in character, composed of three members from each major political party. The members should be selected from the lawyer members and should have extensive legislative experience and be held in high personal and professional respect by both sides of the House. In addition to the six members there should be a panel of alternates from which members can be selected in case an appeal is taken from a committee which includes a review committee member.[13]

A committee witness should not be permitted to challenge the sufficiency of the subpena before the review committee prior to his appearance before the investigating committee, for the presumption should be in favor of the propriety of the inquiry and the witness' obligation to provide information to the Government. After appearance, however, the witness should be able to challenge the propriety of specific questions on the ground that (1) the inquiry is beyond the jurisdiction conferred by the House resolution or the terms of the subpena, (2) the question is not material or relevant to the inquiry,[14] or (3) the question invades the witness' constitutional rights. Challenge of committee authority would be raised as it is now by the witness' refusing to answer. In addition, the witness would be required to indicate his intent to appeal to the review committee. Thereafter, the investigating committee could not seek a resolution authorizing prosecution for contempt until after the review committee handed down its decision.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The witness would be obligated to notify the review committee of an appeal by the second day following the day on which the question was asked.[15] The appeal would be on the record, that is, a verified copy of the resolution authorizing the inquiry, the subpena, if one had been used, and the verbatim transcript of the pertinent questions asked by the committee. In order to prevent delay and discursive dilatory tactics, the committee should have the right to ask all questions which it considered pertinent to its inquiry and the witness should be obligated to raise all his objections at one time so that the entire matter might be disposed of on one appeal.[16]

In support of the appeal, the witness and the committee should be permitted to file written briefs. Inasmuch as the matter in controversy usually will be known to the witness and the committee in advance of the hearing, a 10-day briefing period should be sufficient. In cases of unusual difficulty the review committee, in the same manner as a court, should have the power to extend the time for filing. Reply briefs and oral argument should be discouraged but not prohibited. The psychological advantage of assuring the witness that his case has actually been heard by the review committee should outweigh the burdens which oral arguments impose on the review committee and the delays to the conduct of the investigation.

Within a short a period as possible after the conclusion of arguments, the review committee should be obligated to render its decision, in order that the investigation may proceed if the decision is favorable to the committee, and that the witness' position may be speedily confirmed if the decision is against the committee. The decision of the review committee should be accompanied by a written opinion. Copies of the opinion should be available immediately to the witness and to the committee, and in order that a body of precedents may be developed the opinions should ultimately be printed and published.

Footnotes at end of speech.

IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT FEW WITNESSES WOULD REMAIN RECUSANT

If the decision of the review committee sustains the investigating committee, the witness could be recalled under the original subpena merely by informing the witness of a new date set for the hearing. If the witness continued recusant, the committee could then move for a House resolution authorizing prosecution for contempt. Although the vote on this motion would in effect amount to a reconsideration by the whole House of the review committee's decision, unless there had been a vigorous dissent by a review committee member the adoption of the resolution would be in most instances automatic. It is to be hoped, of course, that in these circumstances few witnesses would remain recusant. If the review committee proceeds in an impartial and judicial manner, courts should give great weight to its determinations particularly where they relate to matters of jurisdiction or internal committee procedure. Witnesses should, therefore, be less successful in their judicial appeals and should conclude that the expenditure of time and money will gain them little.[17]

Conversely, if the decision is against the investigating committee, the witness should not only feel vindicated but should also be

Footnotes at end of speech.

protected against further harassment. Congress in the enabling legislation could grant complete finality to the decision, i. e., make a subsequent resolution based on the matter at issue out of order, place the members of the committee in contempt if they proceeded with the questions, or make a continuation of the inquiry grounds for the withdrawal of the committee's authority. The severity of these sanctions and the fact that enforcement would raise a political question for the entire membership to decide argues against complete finality to the review committee's decision. Furthermore, formal abdication of the authority of the House is not in keeping with legislative practice.

A second possibility would be to give finality to the decision unless it was appealed by the investigating committee for reconsideration by the whole house. This appears to be a needless step and tends to reintroduce political considerations which the review procedure seeks to eliminate. A better procedure would permit the decision to be attacked collaterally.

Under this third proposal, if, after an adverse decision, the investigating committee recalls the witness and the witness again refuses to answer, the committee may seek a resolution authorizing a prosecution for contempt. In effect this action challenges the decision on the review committee not in an abstract way, as in the second situation, but within the framework of an actual litigation. Presumptively, the decision of the review committee, because it is rendered by an impartial tribunal not concerned with the inquiry, should prevail. The House will be aware that a court would more likely, in deciding a contempt prosecution, follow the decision of the independent committee than of the prosecuting committee; therefore, the House, when it must choose between the decisions of the two committees, is likely to accept the review committee's verdict.

Perhaps the greatest merit to the procedure is that it keeps the issues narrow and balances political pressures. The issue will not be: Should we support our appointed committee against the attack of a nonmember? or, Will an adverse vote injure the political position of the majority party? The issue framed under this proposal will be: Which of two committees has more accurately determined the propriety of a particular question asked of a particular witness under a specific resolution authorizing an inquiry? On such a question, reasonable men admittedly may differ, but the decision of the House is now more easily confined to the merits of the question and the political pressures are now balanced, for the decision of one committee must be sustained and the decision of the other must be reversed.

There are other advantages of legislative review. When the question is decided judicially, concepts of separation of powers and intergovernmental relations must be considered by the court. Is it wise and proper, therefore, for the court to review the internal workings of a legislative committee unless compelled by constitutional direction? If the court interferes will it encourage witnesses, without cause, to delay investigations necessary to the national security and welfare? If the court refuses to interfere, will this be interpreted by congressional committees as carte blanche authority to proceed without restraint? These questions need not perturb the legislative review committee. They are a part of the legislative process and may police the committees with a view to maintaining the reliability and insuring the public respect and confidence in the fairness and impartiality of legislative investigations.

When a court decides issues of "relevancy and materiality" it must limit its decisions to jurisdictional constitutional questions. The legislative review committee, however, can consider not only the jurisdictional and constitutional questions but also the import of specific questions on the total conduct of the hearing. If, for example, the House adopts rules for the governance of committee hearings and investigations similar to those which have been proposed,[18] the review committee could restrain the investigating committee from asking questions concerning personal and private belief, from inquiring into matters adversely affecting reputation without insuring the witness the opportunity of filing a sworn statement in refutation, or from requiring testimony without the presence of counsel. These are but a few of the safeguards suggested in the uniform rules, but practically all of them are susceptible to better enforcement by the legislative review committee than by the courts.

COURTS CANNOT EASILY PROTECT CONGRESSIONAL WITNESSES

The courts have no convenient way by which to restrain a committee from establishing "guilt by association," from disparaging and "convicting" unfriendly witnesses or from releasing partial and misleading transcripts of evidence. Legislative review, however, could properly provide this type of supervision. The House, through the review committee, could protect its own record and maintain proper responsibility to its constituents.

Decisions of this charter are admittedly difficult to make and for obvious reasons no legislator would make them voluntarily. Thus, a legislative procedure which requires the witness to raise the issue and imposes by statute the duty of deciding on the review committee, not only appeals to the lawyers' respect for review procedure, but also is politically attractive because the review committee is not required to take the initiative and the membership of the House need not vote on broad and inarticulate political issues. Each decision, as at common law, will be made on the narrow facts of the particular case.

This procedure offers advantages both to the witness and to the Government. The witness can get an early determination of his case with a lesser expenditure of time and money. This is not an inconsequential advantage, for the risk of criminal prosecution with all its implications and insinuations has no doubt forced more than one witness to testify when he was in fact privileged.

The advantages to Congress will also be great. The 4 or 5 years' delay required by the current method of prosecution for contempt will be eliminated in the majority of cases. The Government, if it is entitled to it, will have the advantage of important testimony when it needs it most. The spectacle of a willful witness stopping the machinery of government should become rare, for if legislative review is impartial and competent, such a witness can foresee slight chance of acquittal if the review committee decides adversely in his case. Conversely, legislative review should insure fairer treatment of all witnesses and to that extent most witnesses should be willing to testify more freely. Finally, the investigating function should be made a responsible process and thereby be relieved of the charges of bias and prejudice.

Admittedly, legislative review will cause an initial increase in the number of cases, but if the procedure is well administered the increase will be temporary. Soon the investigating committees will recognize the limits of their own power, and witnesses will learn that spurious objections will not be sustained. Ultimately only the meritorious borderline cases where reasonable men differ will be litigated.

Legislative review will fill the hiatus between unenforceable rules of committee procedure and undesirable judicial intervention in the legislative process.

Footnotes at end of speech.

[1] 168 U. S. 168 (1880).

[2] Most of the proposals have been collected in Glassie and Cooley, Congressional Investigations—Salvation in Self-Regulation (38 Geo. L. J. 343 (1950)); see also Symposium—Congressional Investigations (18 U. of Chi. L. Rev. 421–686 (1951)); Wyzanski, Standards of Congressional Investigations (3 Record 93 (1947)).

[3] Landis, Constitutional Limitations on the Congressional Power of Investigation (40 Harv. L. Rev. 153 (1926)).

[4] Wilson, Congressional Government 303.

[5] Ibid.

[6] *United States* v. *Bryan* (72 F. Supp. 58 1947)).

[7] 338 U. S. 84 (1949).

[8] 339 U. S. 323 (1950).

[9] 73 S. Ct. 543 (1953).

[10] The resolution authorized the committee to investigate lobbying activities. A subpena issued to procure information concerning indirect lobbying was held beyond the jurisdiction of the committee because dictionary definitions of lobbying were restricted to direct lobbying.

[11] 103 U. S. 168 (1880).

[12] 273 U. S. 135 (1926).

[13] Admittedly, personnel of this caliber will be already overburdened with responsibility, but with staff aides of Supreme Court clerk ability, they should be able to discharge these additional obligations.

[14] On legislative review, the issue of materiality and relevance should be much broader than in judicial review. See infra, page 194.

[15] When the investigating committee is holding hearings outside of Washington, the time for notifying would, of course, have to be lengthened.

[16] This does not imply, however, that after a notice to the review committee has been issued, the hearing committee cannot withdraw the question or the witness indicate his willingness to answer thereby making the appeal moot.

[17] It is conceivable, if the legislative review proved to be a highly reliable process, that witnesses after an adverse decision by the review committee might more frequently receive maximum fines and imprisonment upon their conviction in court.

[18] See supra, note 2.

Increase Consumption of United States Agricultural Commodities in Foreign Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to increase the consumption of United States agricultural commodities in foreign countries, a measure that I believe will be most helpful in distributing for consumption a large part of the food and fiber that is now in storage in this country.

The fact that we have not been able to find means of consuming or distribut-

ing for consumption the plentiful harvests of our farms and ranches is a perplexing problem. I sometimes think that we let our concern about this problem obscure the fact that we should be truly grateful for the abundance we have enjoyed in recent years. The real problem is to find better means of getting our farm produce to the people, both at home and abroad, who need and can use it. This bill endeavors to help with the distribution of our produce in other nations around the globe.

The purpose of the act, stated in section 2, is to promote "the stability of American agriculture and the national welfare by stimplating and facilitating the expansion of foreign trade in agricultural commodities produced in the United States."

This objective would be accomplished by both private and Government sales of agricultural commodities over and above what is considered to be the normal quantities exported, and by measures to expand a continuous market demand abroad for our agricutural commodities.

It is proposed to accomplish these ends by loans through the Export-Import Bank, and to permit payment in the currency of the borrower nation.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to designate the quantities and kinds of surplus agricultural commodities which may be offered, to reimburse the Export-Import Bank, and to direct the CCC to sell to domestic exporters for export such surplus commodities as may be shipped abroad.

The President is authorized to use foreign currencies acquired under this act to develop new markets and to purchase materials needed for our own strategic materials stockpiles. The facilities of the Foreign Operations Administration would be available to carry out this work.

It is my belief that this legislation can be of material help in creating international trade and good will, in distributing the great abundance of agricultural products now available in America, and thus serving the interests not only of the farmers and ranchers of this country but of the Nation generally. I trust that it will be considered in this light.

Communism in Trade Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 8, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present for your attention and that of my other distinguished colleagues the following article which appeared in the Monthly Labor Review, United States Department of Labor, February 1954, beginning at page 139.

The article is written by Philip Taft, of Brown University, apparently contains research material giving dates, facts, and information which will be welcome to the attention of all who are concerned with the extent of communism in any group in America and with its status both past and present.

The article follows:

COMMUNISM IN TRADE UNIONS

As early as 1920, the American Federation of Labor had taken the position that it would not recommend the recognition of the Soviet Government as long as that Government is based upon authority which has not been vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people; or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in the well-established, civilized nations of the world; or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and prevents the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage."[1]

The open and close affiliation of the Trade Union Educational League with the Communist Party gradually destroyed the former's influence within the labor movement. Willingness of members of the Trade Union Educational League to accept direction from outside groups on union policy made them subject to expulsion, and the influence of this arm of the Communist Party was virtually ended by 1926.

It must be recognized that the control and influence of trade-union organization is one of the more, if not the most, important of Communist activity. It is directed by the national trade-union secretary. Fractions are organized in the unions of the important industries, and these are subordinate to the trade-union secretary. Despite the elaborate apparatus and the effort of the Communists to seize the organizations of labor, their campaigns in the 1920's were a complete failure. As the purposes of the Communists were revealed, the trade unions not only took active steps to frustrate their design but made membership in such fractions illegal and penalized by expulsion. In their anti-Communist campaign the unions were actively supported by the American Federation of Labor, which took the rare step of expelling a delegate to its convention from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, who was a Communist editor and who had charged the leaders of the United Mine Workers Union with corruption. The motion to expel was made by Philip Murray, later the leader of the CIO.[2] In no union, except the rather small furriers' union, were the Communists able to win control. They were swept out of influence, and by 1928 the Communists had been virtually squeezed out of every organization of labor. This was done by the trade unions themselves.

The complete failure was tacitly admitted by the Communist trade-union strategists. The Trade Union Educational League, which was an instrument for boring-from-within, was liquidated, and was replaced by the Trade Union Unity League, whose task was to establish dual and revolutionary unions in industry. This order was carried out and unions under Communist control were established in the coal mines, the steel and metal trades, textile, clothing, and a number of others.

The Trade Union Unity League was not very successful in organizing locals nor did it enroll many thousands of members. It conducted a few strikes but even more important it served as a training ground for many Communists who were able to gain some experience in organizing workers and running local unions. Soon this experience was to be of some importance.

With the change in national administration in 1933, the labor movement, which had lain dormant through the first years of the 1930's, experienced a great revival. In the space of a few years, millions of workers formerly indifferent or even hostile to unionism enrolled as members of organized labor. The cause for this revolution in feeling need not detain us, but the size of the present-day labor movement is testimony to the power and strength of the change. Immediately the Communist Party dissolved the Trade Union Unity League and ordered its followers to invade the old-line unions. Despite these efforts, Communists were not very successful in establishing themselves in many AFL unions. Aside from some influence in several district of the painters' union, the hotel and restaurant employees' union, they gained only scattered and very limited support. Communist infiltration and influence were limited because the older unions had a group of experienced officers, schooled in union management and leadership, with pronounced anti-Communist views.

A different situation obtained in the unorganized industries. No unions existed; the workers were unacquainted with the philosophy of unionism, nor did any trade-union bureaucracy exist to guide the workers who had recently joined. Consequently, Communist functionaries who had acquired some skill and knowledge in the organizing schools or in the insignificant Communist unions of the 1920's now came to the fore. There were not in the unorganized industries any group of leaders who could take hold and keep the newly organized out of the reach of Communist influence. Industry had prevented such a possibility by not allowing free unions to exist in their plants. The knowledge of organization procedures and the willingness, yes eagerness, of Communist functionaries to organize enabled them to gain important positions in many newly formed unions. With the split in the labor movement, Communist infiltration became easier, for the organizing drives of the 1930's were thereby, at least in part, deprived of the fund of organizers available in the unions of the American Federation of Labor. The Communists found it easy to penetrate the newly organized unions and secure important places for themselves. Whenever an industry was organized by a staff made up mainly of trade unionists, as was the steel industry organized largely by members of the United Mine Workers Union, there the Communist influence was quite insignificant. A similar situation developed in the Textile Workers Union where some anti-Communist leadership existed and the direction of the organization campaign was largely supervised by the old leaders with some assistance from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. In other newly organized unions, there were no trade-union oppositions, and Communists were able to find an important place. Opposition to their control, when it appeared, came from non-Communist trade unionists, and not from industry. At one time, about 15 unions in the CIO were under Communist domination and not a single one of these organizations operated in an industrial division in which an important union had existed prior to 1930.

By and large, the Communist influence in the labor movement will continue to decline. The unions that have been tarred with the Communist brush can make few gains, for American workers will not join an organization they believe under Communist influence. Although their influence is declining, Communists still retain a hold upon certain workers and unions whose membership is predominantly out of sympathy with Communist philosophy. There are many reasons for the failure to oust this influence

[1] Report of proceedings of the 40th Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, 1920 (pp. 368–372).

[2] Report of the proceedings of the 43d Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, 1923 (pp. 256–258).

completely. With the exception of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, all Communist unions have lost membership. Yet, considering the climate of opinion and the attitude of the overwhelming mass of workers to that ideology, the losses have not been as great as one might have expected. In part, it seems to be to an unwillingness to turn out leaders who helped organize the union; in part, it is the control exercised over collective bargaining and grievance adjustment. All of these factors seem to play some role in the difficulty of displacing a Communist leadership from the outside. Whenever an alternative leadership such as Reuther in the Auto Workers Union, Curran in the NMU, and Quill in the Transport Workers arises, there the problem of replacing the Communists is much simpler.

Management in this connection has also a responsibility, even though it has no choice in determining its employees' selection for collective bargaining. There is some belief that some firms have gone beyond neutrality and shown favoritism to Communist unions. This is undoubtedly based upon a belief that such a policy offers some short-run advantages in that it keeps the workers split among several unions and thereby prevents unified action, and that it might be easier eventually to oust a Communist-dominated union.

Support of Communist unions on the theory that they as well as other unions, may be ultimately ousted, shows a complete misunderstanding of the industrial situation. Workers who have experienced organization are not likely to leave their unions in large numbers. It is the labor movement which has reduced the influence of the Communists among the organizations of labor, and a strong labor movement will continue to keep this influence at a low point. This follows from the ability of unions to adjust grievances and protect the interest of the worker, and because trade unions as independent democratic organizations are the sworn and uncompromising enemies of communism.

Slump

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement over the air recently made by Henry J. Taylor:

ANNOUNCER. Mr. Taylor, perhaps the biggest news last week was that General Motors sees no real slump ahead and will invest $1 billion for expansion.

Mr. TAYLOR. Big news and good news. I'm mighty glad it made the headlines clear across our country because of the confidence that this decision implies. As one New York newspaper's headline, the World-Telegram, said: "General Motors bets a billion on no slump."

You see the pessimists are with us, in there pitching, shouting loud, and working overtime.

PROPHETS OF DOOM

The prophets of doom actually sometimes seem to me to be organized. In fact, you sense that a systematic campaign is underway to shout "Slump, slump, slump is coming."

It's an awful thing, but they seem to have a vested interest in talking about and persistently forecasting unemployment and depression.

The purpose seems to be to convince us that free enterprise must fail and socialism take over.

But free enterprise isn't failing. Heaven knows, the General Motors announcement shows that.

FAITH VERSUS FEAR

This country was built on faith, not fear. It was not built on pleas for more and more Government spending, more and more doubts about people's ability to advance on their own, more and more shouts of hard times over the hill.

It was built on more and better things for more people. And that's what's coming.

The automotive industry is the bellwether of American industry. As it goes, in jobs, in production, so—in large measure—goes the Nation's job-giving economy as a whole.

Prophets of doom know this. So, to convince us that the country is headed for a slump, they must somehow convince us the automotive industry is headed downhill—headed for a slump. For if they can't prove that, they can't prove anything.

FIGHTING SLUMP FEAR WITH ACTION

Well, the General Motors billion-dollar announcement pulls this fear out into the open. Most fears, you know, are like worms under a rock. They thrive only in the dark. But when the leading producer in the automotive field is willing to lay down a cool billion dollars—not just conversation, or progaganda, but actually lay it on the line—a cool billion dollars for expansion—this dangerous talk of doom is hauled out into the open, and debunked.

I say dangerous because it is so dangerous.

GM'S PRESIDENT SPEAKS OUT

When Mr. Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors, made the announcement he emphasized that important point.

Mr. Curtice said that "if those who persist in taking a pessimistic view succeed in planting fear in the minds of the public, those seeds of fear could take root and the result might be the very condition we seek to avoid."

You see, our livelihoods as working folks come largely from supplying each other with the high standard of living we are geared to produce.

THE WAY WE LIVE AND WORK

Look around you. Is there a candy plant—last year we ate 18 pounds of candy per person—a television-radio factory, a brewery, a copper mine in your locality? I was in Rochester, N. Y., recently. Take Rochester, for example, where one-third of a million people live.

Well, as in so many other cases that you might mention, the four largest job-supplying industries in Rochester are the making of Eastman Kodaks, Bausch & Lomb optical goods, automobile equipment, and men's garments.

DEPRESSION TALK AFFECTS US ALL

Now, every one of these products need not be bought so often if people across America are afraid. The purchases are postponable. The buying is discretionary. The effect of fear backs up awful fast on payrolls and jobs in Rochester, and in every city across your land and mine.

About 40 percent of everything the Nation buys is in the same class as those Rochester products. Only about 60 percent is absolutely essential, is not postponable, as food is not postponable.

Therefore, by being half scared out of our wits, down can go employment everywhere, down can go payrolls, down can go all of us. And why? Merely because we are systematically told—"slump is coming, slump is coming, slump is coming." Well, that's the way to create the slump. I can think of no more evil mission, by politicians, or people on the radio, or anyplace else—whether through ignorance or design or what not.

WE MUST KEEP UP OUR MENTAL GUARD

This psychological situation that we must guard against is unique in the world, because the way we live is unique in the world.

In Russia, for example, the people don't have to worry about slumps. They are permanently slumped. Practically nothing a Russian buys is postponable. He's living at the bottom of a depression all the time, and it takes him about a year to earn enough even to buy an extra pair of shoes; and Communist industry today, in turn, produces less than one pair of shoes a year per person for the population.

Even in France, only about 5 percent of French buying is postponable. Ninety-five percent is not. The psychology of the people has small effect.

In England about 15 percent of British buying can be deferred. Eighy-five percent cannot. Psychological attitude has little to do with British buying.

But to be fearful here is fatal.

Well, General Motors certainly is not fearful a slump is coming to shut off demand for cars.

THE FACT: ECONOMY ON AN UPTURN

Instead, all General Motors studies show an expanding market, an expanding country, and better times ahead.

Why, 1 out of every 3 American families still is without an automobile. Eighty-eight out of every one hundred homes still lack a home refrigerator unit. Ninety-eight out of one-hundred still have no air conditioning.

Building of new homes should exceed a million again this year and commercial construction will continue high. And, besides, for the expanded purchases of everything we do have, this country is growing at the amazing rate of 250,000 people a month—a month.

No army ever won a war that allowed itself to be panicked. Neither can a nation.

To fill this country with fear instead of faith, when facts do not show that there should be fear, to toss away the opportunities that exist by falling for propaganda not based on facts, is to deliberately cut our own throats.

MORE THAN MONEY BACKS AMERICA

For the sake of everyone of us everywhere, I am just enormously glad that General Motors and others are deciding to do what they are doing in accepting the challenge being passed around by the prophets of doom.

No decision to invest a billion dollars like this is made lightly. It's a mighty convincing answer to those who are telling the American people to be afraid. And it does seem to me the whole country felt better after reading it, and rightly.

Good night. And God bless our country.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Secretary Dulles' Speech at Caracas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, yesterday at Caracas, Venezuela, our Secretary of State laid bare the world Communist conspiracy in a council of the Republics of the American hemisphere.

Mr. Dulles' performance in Caracas was as hard hitting as his performance in Berlin where, in the presence of the Soviet diplomats and for the benefit of Europe, he also laid bare the realities of international communism.

One of the most significant things that the Secretary pointed out at Caracas, was the fact that the leaders of this international conspiracy, which is so dynamic in destroying freedom and bringing on slavery, is that these conspiratorial leaders, who are responsible for so much sorrow and blood are the same, the identical leaders who appear before the eyes of the world as responsible officials of the Soviet Government. I congratulate the Secretary for pointing out this fact. For it is only when we come to the realization that the Communist delegates, as they sit around the conference tables of the world, do not truly represent any of the peoples of the countries that they purport to represent but, in fact, these Communist delegates are the enemies of such peoples. It is not until we fully realize this fact that we will begin to deal with these conspiratorial leaders as they deserve.

Mr. Dulles is calling a spade a spade and is also calling slavery and murder by their right names. It is refreshing to have the language of diplomacy coincide with the language of truth.

SPEECH BY SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES AT THE CARACAS PARLEY ATTACKING COMMUNISM

The United States has introduced a resolution under the agenda item, Intervention of International Communism in the American Republics. Our proposal is before you.

Its preambles first recall the prior resolutions finding international communism to be a threat, and then record our judgment that this threat still persists. The first operative portion declares that if the international Communist movement should come to dominate the political institutions of any American state, that would be a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of us all, endangering the peace of America, and calling for appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties.

The second operative portion calls for disclosures and exchanges of information, which would expose and weaken the Communist conspiracy.

What is international communism?

In the course of the general debate, one of the foreign ministers asked, "What is international communism?" I thought that by now every foreign minister of the world knew what international communism is. It is disturbing if the foreign affairs of one of our American republics are conducted by one so innocent that he has to ask that question. But since the question has been asked, it shall be answered.

FAR-FLUNG ORGANIZATION

International communism is that far-flung clandestine political organization which is operated by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since 1939, it has brought 15 once independent nations into a state of abject servitude. It has a hard core of agents in practically every country of the world. The total constitutes not a theory, not a doctrine, but an aggressive, tough political force, backed by great resources and serving the most ruthless empire of modern times.

Most of the leaders of the Soviet party appear before the eyes of the world as responsible officials of the Soviet Government. In this capacity they conduct relations with the other governments through the traditional institutions of diplomacy. But at the same time they operate and control this worldwide clandestine political organization to which I have referred.

Until the Second World War, Moscow's control over this organization was exercised openly through the central headquarters of the Communist International, the so-called Comintern. That was a political association to which all of the Communist parties belonged, and it had its seat in Moscow.

During the war the Comintern was officially abolished. Since that time the control over the foreign Communist parties has been exercised by the Moscow leaders secretly and informally, but for the most part no less effectively than before.

As proof of this fact one does not need to search for the precise channels through which this control proceeds, although some of them in fact are known. If one compares Soviet propaganda with the political positions taken by individual Communist officials and agents around the world, both from the standpoint of substance and timing, it becomes clear, beyond possibility of doubt, that there is this highly disciplined hierarchical organization which commands the unquestioned obedience of its individual members.

The disciplinary requirements include a firm insistence that loyalty to the movement, which means in effect loyalty to the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, shall take precedence over every other obligation, including love of country, obligation to family, and the honor of one's own personal conduct.

These conclusions are not speculation; they are established facts, well known to all who have seriously studied the Communist apparatus. The fact that this organization exists does not mean that all members of all Communist parties everywhere are conscious of its existence and of their relationship to it. Only a small proportion of Communist Party members are initiated into complete awareness of the nature of the movement to which they belong and the real sources of its authority. Most national Communist parties masquerade as normal patriotic, political impulses, led by indigenous elements.

CONSPIRACY HELD SHAPED

Actually every one of these parties represents a conspiracy within a conspiracy. The rank-and-file members, while serving the purpose of duping others, are, to a considerable extent, duped by their own leaders. The leaders do not reveal fully to the rank and file either the nature of their own allegiance or the sources of their own authority and funds.

The overall purpose for which this organization is maintained and operated is to act as an instrument for the advancement of the worldwide political aims of the dominant group of Moscow leaders.

This, then, is the answer to "What Is International Communism?" in the Americas. It may next be asked whether this international Communist apparatus actually seeks to bring this hemisphere, or parts of it, into the Soviet orbit. The answer must be in the affirmative.

I shall not here accuse any government or any individuals of being either plotters, or the dupes of plotters. We are not sitting here as a court to try governments or individuals. We sit, rather, as legislators. As such we need to know what will enable us to take appropriate action of a general character in the common interest. Therefore I shall confine myself to presenting well-established facts of that character.

When the Comintern was operating openly it trained at Moscow, largely in the Lenin School, numerous persons for the Americas. Some of them are still active. There was a special Comintern headquarters, and there were secret fields offices which controlled and supported Communist activities in Latin America.

The Comintern also developed a series of international front organizations designed to enable its agents to get popular backing from special groups, such as labor, youth, women students, farmers, etc. These front organizations also served as cover for the Soviet intelligence services.

When the Soviet Communist Party went through the form of abolishing the Comintern, these same front organizations were carried on in a different form, with headquarters shifted from Moscow usually to satellite capitals. The Communist International of Youth emerged as the World Federation of Democratic Youth Union, with headquarters in Prague.

There is the Women's International Democratic Federation, with headquarters in East Berlin. There is the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, taking the place of its Comintern predecessor, the International Juridical Association. There is the World Peace Council, located in Prague. There is the World Committee Against War and Fascism. Most powerful of all is the World Federation of Trade Unions, seated under Soviet auspices in Vienna. There is the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad, which channels propaganda through its local outlets, the various Soviet "friendship" societies.

These front organizations carry on important activities in many of the American States. Their members in this hemisphere go back and forth to the Soviet-bloc countries, using funds which are supplied by the Soviet Communist Party.

The basic facts I outline are well known. They could be supplemented by masses of detail, but that is unnecessary for our present purposes. It is enough to know that international communism operates strongly in this hemisphere to accomplish the political purposes of its leaders, who are at the same time the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Soviet Union.

LIBERATION AIM DENIED

International communism is not liberating, but enslaving. It has been suggested that even though the international Communist movement operates in this hemisphere, it may serve a liberating purpose, compatible with the principles of our American States. Few, I believe, would argue for that openly. The thesis is advanced, rather, by innuendo and insinuation.

Such suggestions lose all plausibility when we recall what this Communist movement has done to the nations and the peoples it has come to dominate. Let us think first in terms of nations.

Many of us knew at the United Nations Jan Masaryk, son of the great author of Czechoslovak freedom. He was a foreign minister who believed almost until the end that the Communist movement in his country was something different, that it could be reconciled with the national freedom to which his father and he were so passionately dedicated.

But in the end, his broken corpse was offered to the world as mute evidence of the fact that international communism is never different, and that there can be no genuine reconciliation between it and national freedom.

Czechoslovakia was stripped of every vestige of sovereignty as we of the Americas understand that term. It was added to the list of victims which already, in Europe, included Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Albertania, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. These 10 European nations, once proud and honorable examples of national freedom, have become Soviet serfdoms or worse.

DIFFERENCE IS PICTURED

Within all the vast area now embracing one-third of the world's people, where the military power of the Soviet Union is dominant, no official can be found who would dare stand up and openly attack the Government of the Soviet Union. But in this hemisphere it takes no courage for a representative of one of the smallest American countries openly to attack the Government of the most powerful.

I rejoice that that kind of freedom exists in the Americas even if it may be at times abused. But the essential is that there be a relationship of sovereign equality. We of the United States want to keep it that way. We seek no satellites, but only friendly equals. We never want to see at the Pan-American table those who speak as tools of non-American powers. We want to preserve and defend an American society in which even the weak may speak boldly because they represent national personalities which, as long as they are free, are equal.

It is the purpose of our resolution to assure that there will always be in this hemisphere such national personalities and dignity. If now we turn to the question of what international communism has done to individual human beings, we find it has stripped them, too, of their sense of dignity and worth. Professional propagandists for communism talk glibly of lofty aims and high ideals. That is part of the routine and fraudulent appeal of the international Communist movement. It is one of the principal means by which the dissatisfied are led to follow false leaders.

But once international communism has gained its end and subjected people to the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, then the welfare of the people ceases to be a practical concern.

Communism, in its initial stage, was supposed primarily to serve the workers and provide them not with spiritual values—for communism is atheistic—but at least with material well-being. It is worthwhile to observe what actually happened to this favored group in the countries subjugated by Communist power.

In these countries workers have become virtual slaves and millions of them literally are slaves. Instructive facts are to be found in the United Nations report on forced labor which was presented to the United Nations Assembly at its last session. The authors of this report were three eminent, independent personalities from India, Norway, and Peru. The report finds that the Soviet Union and its satellites used forced labor on a vast scale. Prior evidence presented to the United Nations indicated approximately 15 million persons habitually fill Soviet labor camps.

The forced-labor report calls the Soviet method of training and allocating manpower "a system of forced or compulsory labor." Soviet workers are the most underpaid, overworked persons in any modern industrial state. They are the most managed, checked on, spied on, and unrepresented workers in the world today. There is no freedom of movement, for the Russian worker is not allowed to leave his job and shift to another job. He is bound by his labor book.

Except for a relative few who have class privileges, wages provide only a pitiful existence. Now, 37 years after the October revolution, unrest and discontent have so mounted in Soviet Russia itself that its rulers were forced publicly to notice them and to promise relief.

Conditions in the Soviet satellite countries are even worse than in Russia. The captive peoples have been subjected to sharply decreased living standards since they lost their freedom, and to greater exploitation than prevails even in Russia. The workers' outbreak in East Germany last June showed in one revealing flash how desperate the people have become. Young boys armed only with stones dared to face up to Soviet tanks.

SOLDIERS HEAVILY ARMED

When I was in the east sector of Berlin last month, the Soviet Foreign Minister referred to that outbreak and said steps have been taken to be sure it would not happen again. I saw those steps. They consisted of thousands upon thousands of heavily armed soldiers, with machineguns and tanks.

Traditions of liberty have been established in this hemisphere under the leadership of many great patriots. They fought for individual human rights and dignity. They lighted guiding beacons along freedom's road which burned brightly in the healthy air of patriotic fervor. These beacons must not be stifled by the poisonous air of despotism now being fanned toward our shores from Moscow, Prague, and Budapest.

These places may seem far away. But let us not forget that in the early part of the preceding century, the first danger to the liberties and independence which Bolivar, San Martin, and other of their heroic associates had won for the new republics stemmed precisely from a despotic alliance formed by Russia.

Sometimes it seems we recall that threat only in terms of colonialism. Actually, that threat was deemed most grave in terms of the desire of Czarist Russia and its allies to extend their despotic political system to this hemisphere.

During the 19th century more than one American nation, including my own, risked the hazard of war against great military powers rather than permit the intrusion into this hemisphere of the aggressive forces of European imperialism. During the 20th century, when the evil forces of militarism and fascism twice sought world domination, the United States paid a great price in blood and treasure for what served us all.

EACH HAS CONTRIBUTED

Each of our American republics has made its own great and indispensable contribution to what now has become a glorious tradition. Today we face a new peril that is, in many respects, greater than any of the perils of the past, and it takes an unaccustomed form.

It is backed up by resources greater than have ever before been accumulated under a single despotic will. However, we need not fear, because we, too, have greater assets. We have greater solidarity and we have greater trust born out of past fraternal association. But just as the danger assumes unconventional form, so our response may also need to be new in its form.

We need not, however, solve all these matters here. What we do need to do here is to identify the peril, to develop a will to meet it unitedly if ever united action should be required and, meanwhile, to give strong moral support to those governments which have the responsibility of exposing and eradicating within their borders the danger represented by alien intrigue and treachery.

Of course, words alone will not suffice. But words can be meaningful. They can say that each of our nations, in whatever way is truly its own, will be master of its destiny. Thus we will have served our common cause against its enemies.

It is in that spirit and in that hope that the United States presents its resolution.

I recall that President Monroe, in a message to Congress on December 2, 1823, addressed himself primarily to that phase of the problem. He spoke of ending the future colonization by any European power, but he spoke with greater emphasis and at greater length on the danger which would come if "the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent of this hemisphere.

What he then said was being said in similar terms by other great American patriots and defenders of human liberty. And those sentiments long since have ceased to be merely unilateral. They have become an accepted principle of this hemisphere. That is why it seems to us we would be false to our past unless we again proclaimed that extension to this hemisphere of alien despotism would be a danger to us all which we unitedly oppose.

The United States Government is well aware of the fact there are few problems more difficult, few tasks more odious than that of effectively exposing and thwarting the danger of international communism. As we have pointed out, that danger cloaks itself behind the fine-sounding words; it uses the cover of many well-intentioned persons, and it so weaves itself into the fabric of community life that great courage and skill are required to sever the evil from the good.

The slogan of nonintervention can plausibly be invoked and twisted to give immunity to what is in reality flagrant intervention. The fact, however, that the defense of freedom is difficult and that it calls for courage is no adequate excuse for shutting one's eyes to the fact that freedom is endangered. Freedom never is preserved for long except by vigilance and with dedicated effort. Those who do not have the will to defend liberty soon lose it.

Danger to liberty constantly recurs in ever-changing form. To meet that danger requires flexibility and imagination. Each of our nations in the past has had to take difficult and dangerous decisions of one kind or another on behalf of the independence and integrity of this hemisphere.

Address by Adlai E. Stevenson Before Southeastern Democratic Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the very able and forthright address delivered by former Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson at the southeastern Democratic conference held last weekend at Miami Beach. The address contains a message which should be read and studied by people all across the Nation. I think most Americans will agree with the conclusions reached in this outstanding address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This has been a fateful week in the history of American Government. We are witnessing the bitter harvest of the seeds of slander, defamation, and disunion planted in the soil of democracy.

I do not propose to respond in kind tonight to the calculated campaign of deceit to which we have been exposed of late, nor to the insensate attacks on all Democrats as traitors, Communists, and murderers of our sons.

Those of us—and they are most of us—who are more Americans than we are Democrats or Republicans, count some things more important than the winning or losing of elections.

There is a peace still to be won, an economy which needs some attention, some freedoms to be secured, an atom to be controlled—all through the delicate, sensitive, and indispensable processes of democracy—processes which demand, at the least, that people's vision be clear, that they be told the truth, and that they respect one another.

HOPE HELD DASHED

A year ago at this time there was every reason to hope that we were on the threshold of an era of great good feeling among Americans. Yet today, where we hoped for harmony, we have discord.

Where we yearned for healing, we have hostility. Where we looked forward to a nation united, we have a people divided. Where we expected firm leadership, we have timidity.

It is wicked and subversive for public officials to try deliberately to replace reason with passion; to substitute hatred for honest differente; to fulfill campaign promises by practicing deception; and to hide discord among Republicans by sowing the dragon's teeth of dissension among Americans. The loyalty and patriotism of a whole political party, of one-half of the Nation, has been indicted.

Twenty years of bipartisan effort, highly intelligent and highly successful, has been called "20 years of treason," under the auspices of the Republican National Committee.

When one party says that the other is the party of traitors who have deliberately conspired to betray America, to fill our Government services with Communists and spies, to send our young men to unnecessary death in Korea, they violate not only the limits of partisanship, they offend not only the credulity of the people, but they stain the vision of America and of democracy for us and for the world we seek to lead.

LINCOLN DESECRATION SEEN

That such things are said under the official sponsorship of the Republican Party in celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln adds desecration to defamation. This is the first time that politicians, Republican politicians at that, have sought to split the Union, in Lincoln's honor.

This system of ours is wholly dependent upon a mutual confidence in the loyalty, the patriotism, the integrity of purpose of both parties. Extension produces extremism, lies beget lies.

The infection of bitterness and hatred spreads all too quickly in these anxious days from one area of our life to another. And those who live by the sword of slander also may perish by it, for now it is also being used against distinguished Republicans.

We have just seen a sorry example of this in the baseless charges hurled against our honored Chief Justice. And now, too, the highest officials of the Pentagon are charged with coddling Communists and shielding treason.

General Zwicker, one of our great Army's finest officers, is denounced by Senator McCARTHY as stupid, arrogant, witless, as unfit to be an officer, and a disgrace to the uniform. For what? For obeying orders.

This to a man who has been decorated 13 times for gallantry and brilliance; a hero of the Battle of the Bulge. And this from a man whom the Republican National Committee sends around the country to sow slander and disunion—in memory of Abraham Lincoln.

When demagoguery and deceit become a national political movement, we Americans are in trouble; not just Democrats, but all of us.

Our State Department has been assailed and demoralized.

The American voice abroad has been enfeebled. Our educational system has been attacked; our press threatened; our servants of God impugned; a former President maligned; the executive departments invaded; our foreign policy confused; the President himself patronized; and now the integrity, loyalty, and morale of the United States Army have been assailed.

RESISTANCE FOUND FUTILE

For a moment it looked as if this most recent outrage would at last meet effective resistance.

But, instead—well, what I might say as a Democratic partisan would have little value. But the pattern of this long series of aggressions against the Republic is clear and the consequences terrible.

The logic of all this is—not only the intimidation and silencing of all independent institutions and opinions in our society, but the capture of one of our great instruments of political action—the Republican Party. The end result, in short, is a malign and fatal totalitarianism.

And why, you ask, have the demagogs triumphed so often?

The answer is inescapable: Because a group of political plungers has persuaded the President that McCarthyism is the best Republican formula for political success.

Had the Eisenhower administration chosen to act in defense of itself and of the Nation which it must govern, it would have had the grateful and dedicated support of all but a tiny and deluded minority of our people.

Yet, clear as the issue is, and unmistakable as the support is, the administration appears to be impotent. Why? Because the party which created the administration is hopelessly, dismally, fatally torn and rent within itself.

The Stevens incident illustrates what preceding events have made memorably plain: a political party divided against itself, half McCarthy and half Eisenhower, cannot produce national unity or govern with confidence and purpose. And it demonstrates that, so long as it attempts to share power with its enemies, it will inexorably lose power to them.

Perhaps you will say that I am making not a Democratic but a Republican speech; that I am counseling unity in the Republican Party and administration. You bet I am.

For as Democrats we don't believe in political extermination of Republicans, nor do we believe in political fratricide, in the extermination of one another. We believe in the Republic we exist to serve; and we believe in the two-party system that serves it—that can only serve it, at home and abroad, by the best and the noblest of democracy's processes.

NUMBERS GAME ASSAILED

And there is nothing, by the way, except abuse of democracy's processes in this deception about the 1,456—or the 2,200, or the 1,427—employees allegedly removed from Government jobs as security risks.

We were told last October by the White House that 1,456 Government employees had been removed as security risks. The President later raised the figure to 2,200.

And we were told—by the Governor of New York, the Postmaster General, the counsel to the President, and countless other Republican leaders—that most of these were "subversives," "spies, and traitors" who had been "kicked out of Government."

Some of these orators even suggested they had been planted in the Government.

You remember all the campaign talks about communism and corruption and what the Republicans were going to do to clean up "the mess in Washington," as they called it, if they won.

Well, as you may have heard, they won, and when they didn't find the Government "crawling with spies and traitors" they started this numbers game to show how well they were doing.

Now after 4 months (I hope not too late for the truth to catch up with the fraud) the administration is doing a little confused explaining.

The figure has now been raised to 2,427; but the only thing we know for sure is the Government's reluctant admission that out of more than 2 million Federal employees only one alleged active Communist has been found.

It looks as though the great crusade had practiced a great deception. They may consider this good politics. But it is vicious government.

HE AWAITS APOLOGIES

We will await the final results with interest, and also the administration's apologies to the many innocent, loyal people who have been injured by this unscrupulous un-American numbers racket.

Everyone hopes the administration will find and remove all the real subversives and keep them out of our Government. A single disloyal or dangerous employee is one too many.

I do not hold that the past should be closed. On the contrary, experience will remain a powerful, ever present reminder of the price of anything less than eternal vigilance. But I do hold that past errors do not excuse new ones; that democracy's ideals and vitality must not be despoiled by those who purport to defend them.

The President says he disapproves all these goings-on—this slander and deceit, this bitterness and ugliness, these attempts to subordinate a nation's common purposes to a divided party's political ambitions. He has said so repeatedly in statements to the press—but the Nation's ideals continue to be soiled by the mud of political expediency.

This internal crisis makes it all the more urgent that the Democratic Party remain strong, responsible and attentive to the Nation's business. I note that no Democrat

has charged that the whole Republican Party is corrupt merely because three Republican Congressmen in a row have been convicted of defrauding the Government.

We know that Republicans and Democrats alike want better government—government that measures up to the ideals of proud people, to the dignity which befits the leader among nations, to the standard we think of as the reward citizens receive from a democracy for which they pay and work and pray and fight, and see their sons die to preserve.

Now more than ever, America must be a citadel of sanity and reason. We live in a troubled, dangerous world where the great issues are peace or war and the stakes are life and death.

Perhaps these diversions explain, for example, why there has been so little public curiosity about such a genuine concern as the "new look" in national defense and foreign policy. I had hoped that there might be a resumption of the bipartisanship of President Truman's administration when Secretary Dulles and many prominent Republicans, including the President himself, served in important roles.

At all events, without the benefit of bipartisanship, the administration has recently unveiled this "new look." It has been presented to us as a program of more for our money, a bigger bang for a buck, national security in the large economy size.

While I don't presume to understand its full implications, they are sobering enough to require searching, responsible discussion. The background of any evaluation of this new program must be stern realization that the peril of the free world is not diminishing.

It is in that spirit—and in no spirit of partisan relish—that I offer comment tonight.

We are told, and I am quoting the words of Secretary Dulles, that we have rejected the "traditional" policy of "meeting aggression by direct and local opposition." We have taken the decision "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and places of our choosing."

But some "setbacks to the cause of freedom," some "Communist successes," Mr. Dulles says, should be regarded as "normal."

All this means, if it means anything, that if the Communists try another Korea we will retaliate by dropping atom bombs on Moscow or Peiping or wherever we choose—or else we will concede the loss of another Korea—and presumably other countries after that—as normal in the course of events.

Is this a new look or is it a return to the pre-1950 atomic deterrent strategy which made some sense as long as we had a monopoly of atomic weapons together with a strategic Air Force. Yet even then it didn't deter attack, and brought us to the brink of disaster in Korea, where atom bombs were useless and we were only saved by heroic exertion to recreate conventional ground forces.

SERVICE CUTS DECRIED

But, you say, we did not use the bomb against Russian and Chinese targets for fear of enlarging the war. Exactly, and if we should now use them in retaliation that way it would certainly mean world war III and atomic counter-retaliation. For the Russians have massive powers of retaliation with atomic weapons just as we do, and our cities are also susceptible to destruction.

And if air atomic power is our policy, what are we doing to build up the Air Force, let alone continental defense? Last year they cut the Air Force $5 billion below President Truman's request and said it would actually strengthen the Armed Forces. Which reminds me of Senator RUSSELL's remark, "Why not cut out $10 billion and double our strength?"

This year they partially restored the Air Force cut, but reduced the amount for aircraft procurement, and cut the Army over $4 billion. It seems to me ironic that the same men who a few months ago were impulsively slashing the planned Air Force buildup are now, with equal impulsiveness, acting as if air atomic power were a completely satisfactory substitute for reduced military and naval power.

Another question: What if we are confronted with something less than a clear case of overt aggression?

What if we had relied exclusively on a policy of massive retaliation since the close of World War II? Would we have resorted to global atomic war in order to meet the Communist threat in Greece and Turkey? To counter the Berlin blockade? To resist aggression in Korea?

If the answer is "No," then the so-called "new look" in foreign policy is no new look at all, but merely a continuation of the policy of adapting our methods of resistance to the method of attack—a policy that has brought the free world through many crises without precipitating a Martian catastrophe.

Instead of greater freedom of choice, does this decision to rely primarily on atomic weapons really narrow our choice as to the means and the places of retaliation? Are we leaving ourselves the grim choice of inaction or a thermonuclear holocaust? Are we, indeed, inviting Moscow and Peiping to nibbel us to death?

ALLIED ACCORD QUESTIONED

This is the real danger. This is the real problem. Will we turn brush fires and local hostilities into major conflicts?

Will our allies go along?

Using weapons short of war, and relying upon our reluctance to embark on global war, the Communist imperialism will attempt to absorb country after country, to close the ring around us, and to decide the issue between tyranny and freedom long before a final outburst of atomic fury.

It seems to me that the new weapons—even if we had a complete monopoly—are no answer to all the complicated aspects of this worldwide struggle, for armed aggression is only one of the many shapes of the Communist menace. And the only thing new about the new look appears to be the weakening of our Navy and ground forces and reducing the nonatomic programs and policies that we need to win the cold war.

Was the administration caught between two conflicting sets of promises—to reduce the budget and strengthen our defenses? Did it choose the former because the one thing that could not be cut, the sine qua non of our security, was the new weapons and air power?

I don't know, but if true bipartisonship in the formulation of policy in matters of such grave import as this is impossible, at least we are entitled to the facts and the truth unadorned.

If our military policy is beyond the further financial endurance of the country, if this reliance on retaliation is the only reasonable policy for the long haul, then frankly tell us so and why.

But don't confuse us and frighten our allies by misbranding disengagement as advance and retrenchment as initiative. Don't tell us we have something new and better for less, when we haven't.

It may be that they don't mean what they say or that I have misinterpreted what they say. But issues of life and death should be clarified and not clouded, for security in our age cannot be bought by slogans and gimmicks.

END OF SLANDER ASKED

It is only in the strength of freedom, in the fortitude and sacrifice of free peoples; it is only in the humility of all men under God that we can create a future not scratched from the wreck and rubble of atomic war or from the chaos of domestic disorder but rising from the love and faith and devotion of unconquerable humanity.

I hope, my friends, that we can soon begin to talk with one another about our affairs more seriously, moderately, and honestly, whether it be our foreign policies or the patriotism of our people and public servants.

There has been enough—too much—of slander, dissention and deception. We cannot afford such wastage of our resources of mind and spirit for there is important work to do which will be done together or not at all. It is for us, all of us, to recapture the great unifying spirit which still surges so strongly through the hearts and minds of America.

Let us, as Democrats, resist the ugly provocations of this hour and try to cut the pattern of America's future, not from the scraps of dissension and bitterness but rather from the full, rich fabric of America's ideals and aspirations.

"Let us," in Thomas Jefferson's words, "restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are dreary things, and without which, I could add, tomorrow's misfortunes will mock today's expectations.

Highway Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials. One editorial is entiled "Highway Deficit," and was published in the Detroit News of March 5, 1954; the other, entitled "Best Highway Bill," was published in the Detroit Sunday Times of March 7, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit News of March 5, 1954]

OUR HIGHWAY DEFICIT

Others, including President Eisenhower himself in his Economic Report, have noted that years of war and depression have left the Nation with a highway deficit that will take $35 billion to liquidate. Senator FERGUSON now proposes an answer to the problem on a scale that befits its proportions.

His bill to establish a $2,208,000,000 annual program of Federal aid would enable the States to catch up with their highway needs in a period of 15 years. The proposed expenditure is double the figure contemplated by the House bill recently reported. It would be financed by allocation to the program of all receipts from the Federal taxes on gasoline, diesel fuel, motor vehicles, and accessories.

This provision would open a gap of $1.5 billion in the Federal budget, which now relies for that sum on revenue from the sources named. But while the budget problem certainly is formidable, neither can it be denied that the taxes listed ought in logic and fairness to be devoted to highway improvement and maintenance. They amount to tolls charged for use of the highways, which in exchange should be kept adequate to the demands made on them.

The Ferguson program is the first to make adequate provision for the Nation's highway needs. It should be adopted, and, as our report indicates, his position as chairman of

the Senate Republican policy committee will hardly rate as a handicap to that end.

[From the Detroit Times of March 7, 1954]

BEST HIGHWAY BILL

The Hearst newspapers, including this one, have been so dissatisfied with the highway bills before Congress that it gives us great pleasure to praise one, at last.

We would recommend to the Congress, and to the supporters of the better roads movement everywhere, the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan.

We like the bill because it is the only legislation on this subject that comes anywhere near providing sufficient funds for a solution of the highway problem.

Its financial provisions are relatively generous, its method of funds allotment is enlightened, and its understanding of the needs of the national system of interstate highways is obvious.

We must, however, point out to readers, who have been following our campaign for better roads, that while the Ferguson bill calls for expenditure of more than $2 billion annually in Federal aid, it also assumes it will take 15 years to improve America's roads to tolerable standards.

In other words, despite the virtue of this bill, you are not going to get the roads until about 1970, if then.

Since we try to understand public opinion we believe you expect your Government to act more promptly than that.

It is because this newspaper feels as you do, that we have expressed dissatisfaction of previous bills.

We are particularly irked with the House bill, supported by the administration, because there seems to be a generally accepted assumption that it is a good bill and is the bill that the Congress should accept.

Judge its merits by asking yourself this question: If the Ferguson bill ($2,125,000,000 annually) will take 15 years to do the job, how long will it take the McGregor-administration bill ($875 million)?

Thirty-five years?

Forty years?

The fact is that most of the people for whom the Congress would vote the McGregor bill, will not even be alive when the road system is improved.

The least that Congress can do is to adopt and pass the bill that most adequately gives the public what it wants and is willing to pay for.

As of today, that is the Ferguson bill.

Mission to the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Mission to the Middle East," delivered by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association, and special ambassador of President Eisenhower to the Middle East, delivered at the second annual conference of American Friends of the Middle East in New York City on January 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am most appreciative of the opportunity of talking to you tonight about an undertaking of the utmost importance to the people and the nations of the Middle East.

Since last October, I have been engaged in this undertaking as the representative of the President of the United States. In a very literal sense, I am a man with a mission; and it is that mission which I would like to explain and discuss with you fellow friends of the Middle East.

In this forum, I know there is no need to dwell on the background of affairs against which the aims of my mission must be viewed and evaluated. All of you know the recent history of the region; all of you are cognizant of the tensions and conflicts which have produced instability and uncertainty in the area; and all of you believe, I am sure, that economic and social progress for the peoples of the region will be neither swift nor sure so long as tensions and uncertainty exist.

The task given to me by the President and the Secretary of State is intended to strike at the root of some of the main causes of this tension and uncertainty. My mission has a limited, specific, and clear-cut purpose: to further a constructive proposal for developing the physical and economic resources of the Jordan Valley for the benefit of the people of four countries which have an interest in the waters of that ancient stream and in the lands through which it flows. These countries are Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel.

As you know, I have already made one visit to these countries, and it is my intention to make another in the near future. On the first visit, I am happy to say, I was able to enlist their interest in the suggestions I advanced on behalf of the President and the Secretary of State, and I am deeply gratified by the serious consideration that has been given them since then. While I recognize that many difficulties lie ahead, I am looking forward to my second visit with real hope that the governments of the countries concerned will perceive the advantages and benefits inherent in our proposal and find it possible to cooperate.

The Jordan Valley project—and I do not want to call it a plan—is embodied in a report prepared for the U. N. by an eminent firm of American engineers, which envisions the construction of irrigation and power works throughout the valley of the Jordan from the headwaters of the river in Lebanon, Syria, and Israel to the Dead Sea. If the conception of comprehensive valley development embodied in this report were to become reality, it would bring the valley of the Jordan literally into bloom, provide an economic base on the land for hundreds of thousands of people, start a flow of electric energy into areas where it is now totally unknown, and contribute in many other ways to the economic and social advancement of the peoples of the countries concerned.

On the face of it, the support of these proposals which the United States is giving represents a considered step by the Government of the United States—a step calculated to offer a constructive and forward-looking solution of some of the problems with which the people of the region are confirmed. I am perfectly confident that the basic conception is a sound one, a fair one, and a reasonable one. I believe that it offers a solid basis for real progress in an atmosphere relieved of some of the tensions and conflicts which impede progress in the area at the present time.

Now there are some in this country—and some in the Middle East—who profess to see in our proposals regarding the Jordan Valley certain Machiavellian motivations. Perhaps this was only to be expected in view of the tense political situation which exists today between the Arab States and the State of Israel. I am certain, however, that any fair and considered analysis of the proposal itself would quickly dispel all such fears.

There is no need to emphasize to a group as well informed as this the vital interest of the United States in the Middle East. We are engaged, as we all know, in a historic struggle with forces dedicated to an ideology wholly at variance with our own. In this historic contest, which goes on every minute of every day in this year of 1954, we are employing the strategy of trying to create stability, order, and peaceful progress as the bulwarks of freedom. Our opponents employ the strategy of creating chaos, conflict, and political confusion. In the Middle East, as everywhere, our objective is to do all that we can to establish conditions which will permit the nations of that region to forge ahead toward new horizons of social and economic well-being. And it is in the context of this global policy that we are supporting this proposal to harness and use the waters of the Jordan for the benefit of man.

Developing the resources of the Jordan Valley as a comprehensive unified project seems to me the only logical approach to a serious practical problem. The Jordan River system, including the main trunk and its tributaries, is an international stream. Four sovereign states have legitimate interests in some of the water and some of the lands of the river basin. Even in the most favorable circumstances—even if these four states were on the best of terms with one another—it seems obvious that the use of these waters would have to be worked out with due regard to their respective rights and interests. And in the political climate which pervades the Middle East today, it would seem to be more than ever imperative to approach the problem of the river's development internationally. Unilateral efforts to harness the stream can only be expected to create further tension. They could easily lead to open conflict. Unless some mutually acceptable development plan can be elaborated, the situation could readily become one in which whoever can take the water will get it, and I need not amplify the consequences which might ensue in that event.

Very briefly, I would like to explain the principal elements of this proposal, as I laid it before the Jordan Valley States in October and November. First, however, I should like to make it clear to you, as I have made it clear to them, that no one is being offered a hard and fast proposition on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. During my conversations with the leaders of the states concerned, I made it abundantly clear that their suggestions for modification of our basic conception would be most welcome. Indeed, I urged them to put forward any suggestions they might feel to be necessary in their own national interests. I assured them that the United States will give all such suggestions the most careful consideration so long as they did not do violence to the fundamental idea of a comprehensive, unified approach to the valley's development.

There is an important difference, of course, between proposals for modification of a basic program and proposals involving a totally new engineering conception of political approach. I hope most sincerely that this distinction will be clear to the governments of the states concerned. The development program embodied in the United Nations report was conceived by engineers and not by politicians; it offers a practical basis on which the life-giving waters of the Jordan can be used for the greatest benefit of the most people, and that is the goal we are seeking to accomplish. If any or all of the interested states can recommend a change here or a change there to better accomplish this objective, such changes can, of course, be incorporated in an ultimate plan. At the same time, there is a "hard core" to the plan, which is its purpose of equitable use of the available resources for the general welfare of the people of the area. It will be understood that counterplans based on totally new concepts and calcula-

tions to accomplish political ends which could not be compatible with this principle.

I say this quite candidly, because I believe that the proposal for unified development of the Jordan Valley should be considered outside the context of political issues and without prejudice to their ultimate solution. These issues must be resolved and as speedily as possible, of course, if there is to be real peace in the area. But the United States Government, which has made a straightforward and constructive offer of assistance with respect to the Jordan Valley cannot be expected to abandon the basic premise on which the original proposal was made, the most efficient and economical use of the waters of the Jordan. I feel confident that the statesmen of the Middle East, both in Israel and the Arab States, will clearly recognize the need of elaborating an acceptable program on a technical and practical level and will put forward constructive suggestions within the framework of the basic principles laid before them several months ago.

For our own part, we have gone to considerable lengths, I feel, to relieve this Jordan Valley project of any implications of a political character. We have, for example, suggested a formula for acceptance of a unified plan which would obviate the necessity of agreement between any of the states concerned. This formula envisages acceptance unilaterally by each of the four countries through separate declarations of acceptance filed with the United Nations or other neutral and impartial body.

Similarly, we have offered in advance a suggestion for eventual control of the water system of the valley by an international authority—a board or commissioner or some similar instrumentality—which would remove exclusive control of the waters of the system from any of the four states and would assure the equitable division of the water in accordance with accepted engineering principles. My discussions in the region have not yet reached the point of specifics with respect to this international water master, so to speak; but there would seem to be no reason why such a mechanism could not in due course be created, assuming acceptance of a unified plan by the four valley states.

The development program projected in the report which I discussed on my first visit to the region 3 months ago is based on a very considerable body of eningeering data contained in authoritative reports compiled by a number of different experts over a period of years. In substance, it contemplates the storage of down-valley irrigation water in Lake Tiberias and its controlled release through a system of irrigation canals along both sides of the main stream. Two headwater reservoirs, partly for storage and partly for power, would be constructed—one on the Hasbani within the borders of Lebanon; the other on the Yarmouk, in Jordan.

Thus harnessed and controlled, the waters of the Jordan system would provide steady year-round irrigation for a total of some 234,000 acres of land not now irrigated in Jordan, Israel, and Syria—104,000 acres in Israel, 122,500 acres in Jordan, and approximately 7,500 acres in Syria. Of the total waters available, it would allocate about 426 million cubic meters a year to Israel, about 829 million cubic meters a year to Jordan, and about 50 million a year to Syria. Some 38,000 kilowatts of electric energy would be produced through a power installation on the Yarmouk, and some 27,000 kilowatts at another plant near Tel Hai in Israel.

These figures are, of course, preliminary estimates and subject to revision as more precise data become available as the result of on-the-ground studies. They do, however, serve to indicate an approximate proportionate allocation of the available waters of the Jordan Basin among the states involved. The apparent disparity between the amounts of water proposed for Israel and Jordan and the area of land to be irrigated in each of these countries is explained by the fact that the Jordanian lands are lower in the valley, requiring a much higher per-acre application of the area to be irrigated in Israel. Much of the land in Jordan can produce crops all the year round.

Quite aside from the obvious physical and economic benefits to be derived from a comprehensive valley development program, the United States is interested in easing the tensions which contribute to regional uncertainty and impede economic progress in the area. The project we have put forward would, in my opinion, have a very considerable effect in this respect.

For one thing, it would provide a basis for deciding who is entitled to how much of the water of the Jordan, and unless this is decided with some degree of mutual agreement it is all too easy to foresee the possibility of protracted bickering and litigation, and even the danger of open hostility. The waters of the Jordan can be a constructive blessing to the peoples of the valley; they can also be the cause of destructive strife. We are proposing no more than a reasonable effort to divide these waters equitably among the countries which have a claim on them, in order that the lands of the valley may be developed in an orderly and peaceful way. We would anticipate, of course, that a substantial area of the land to be irrigated in Jordan would be allotted to Arab refugees from Palestine. About a third of these unfortunate and unhappy people could be given a solid economic base, a new lease on life, on lands watered through the project we have outlined. Certainly this opens a possibility it would be unfair to these homeless people to ignore. It offers them the dignity of a livelihood on the land for the continuing indignity of international relief and represents a beginning toward a permanent solution of one of the most vexing of the region's problems.

In conclusion, let me say that I do not underestimate the possibility that this program will be rejected by some or all of the Jordan Valley states. I hope sincerely that they will accept it, for it represents, in my opinion, a clear manifestation of our sincere desire to be of help. I hope that the states concerned will let us help in this way to ease the dangerous situtions which exists in the area and to promote the peaceful and orderly development which their people so earnestly desire. It is in that hope that I will pursue my mission.

Mass Merchandising in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on March 4, Mr. Eric Sevareid, the noted CBS news analyst, gave a sober and arresting commentary on government by mass merchandising. Because this analysis is such an accurate portrayal of the philosophy of government under which the present administration has been working, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the news broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

One of the troubles with the former Democratic administration of this Federal Government in its later years was that it became far too rigid in defending its mistakes as well as its successes, after its policies had been put to the test. And one of the chief troubles with the present administration is that it has been far too sweeping in its claims for its policies, before they were put to the test. The latest example is the painful embarrassment of administration officials now forced to tone down their extravagant claims about the discovery and discharge of the so-called security risks in Government.

This general tendency set in even before the Eisenhower nomination, when a new type of strategist entered big time politics in force; many of them were men from the national advertising agencies; they clearly saw that the old political days of the back room boys were ended, that the new arts of mass suggestion, endlessly repeated slogans and claims could be used in behalf of a candidate or a policy as well as a commercial product. They applied to politics what they call mass merchandising and what their enemies call a snow job on the American people. Not even yet has the full story been told of the small skillful group of psychological strategists in Chicago who saw that the delegates were inundated each day with wires and calls from their own districts in behalf of the so-called fair play amendment, which was anti-Taft. The general technique was applied throughout the fall campaign.

What works in the heat of an election campaign does not always, however, work so well in the practice of government; the scrutinizing responsibility of the free press and the free parliament come into play and sooner or later all claims are put to the test. Because the preinauguration tendency toward the wholesale, oversimplified claim was carried over into some areas of actual administration this Government has compounded its troubles; had the claims been less sweeping, the criticism would have been less severe when the inevitable mistakes showed up. The first mistake of this nature came in the President's first state of the Union message with the announcement that the Chinese Nationalists were now "released," and mass hopes encouraged of action from Formosa. Then the facts of life set in.

The next example of overselling was the announcement that hereafter we would pursue a "more dynamically anti-Communist" foreign policy. The facts of life again set in. The Korean armistice and the agreement to sit down with the Chinese Reds next month scarcely represent a more dynamically anti-Red policy; and Mr. Dulles is now suffering a degree of retaliation he would not be suffering if the product had not been oversold in the beginning. Another example, last year was the happy talk about "psychological warfare" as a miraculous and bloodless trick for making the Russian specter in the world lie down and behave; it has its place, but a very limited place and all such talk has long since died away.

Brownell badly oversold his case about Harry Truman knowingly abetting treason; the so-called "new look" in our world military strategy has been so wildly oversold that no administration official has even tried to make a public defense of the more extravagant claims originally made for this idea. The claim and slogan of administration "teamwork" was so oversold and oversimplified that the events of these last 2 weeks simply hand the Democrats a wicked weapon of satire. And the wholesale claims about Communists or subversives ferreted out of Government—especially as blown up by McCarthy, Governor Dewey, and Postmaster General Summerfield—have now collapsed on the basis of the administration's own figures.

Mass suggestion is successful in the art of selling in a free market; it remains distinctly limited in the art of governing in a free democratic society.

The Caracas Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Caracas: Verbal Diplomacy," written by Walter Lippmann and published in the Washington Post of March 9, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
CARACAS: VERBAL DIPLOMACY

The reports from Caracas agree that Secretary Dulles is having great difficulty with our resolution about communism. It seems plain enough that the resolution cannot command anything like a unanimous vote, and that if it is adopted at all, it will be adopted reluctantly and under pressure.

This raises several questions. Were the Latin American Governments consulted through diplomatic channels about what they thought and what they would do about this resolution? Was Mr. Dulles well informed about what they thought and how they felt before he went to Caracas? Obviously, he had no firsthand knowledge, having been much too busy wrestling with Mr. Molotov in Berlin and then with Senator KNOWLAND in Washington. The uninterrupted time left to Mr. Dulles to study the situation, to consult those who knew about it, and to think, cannot have been much in the hectic interval between Berlin and Caracas.

If the answer is that nevertheless he did know how the resolution was going to be received, then the question is: What is there in the resolution which makes it important enough to warrant its becoming an open issue with our allies and partners in this hemisphere?

As I read the resolution, it can be effective against international communism only in the degree that each government is able and determined to make the recommendations effective. In itself it is mere words, unenforcible and not self-executing, without practical efficacy except when and where each separate government acts.

Now what are the actions the resolution commits the 20 governments to take? They are to take measures to require the disclosure of the identity, activities, and sources of funds of those who are spreading propaganda of the international Communist movement, or who travel in the interests of that movement, and of those who act as its agents or in its behalf.

The key word in this paragraph is "disclosure." To whom is this information to be disclosed? We in the United States are taking the measures the resolution recommends, and undoubtedly the Federal Bureau of Investigation is doing its best to identify the activities and the sources of the funds, movements of agents, and the rest. But the FBI is not disclosing this information, except as now and then it seems expedient, in the sense of publishing it. Obviously, if there were continual disclosure by publication, it would be very much more difficult than it is to detect these subversive activities. What, presumably, is being done, and is intended by this recommendation, is to disclose this secret information to the authorized secret services of other governments which are as intent as we are on counterespionage and countersubversion.

This kind of international cooperation cannot be carried on by public disclosure. In the very nature of the operation, the international cooperation will be as good as and no better than the two governments mean to make it. For that reason there is almost no practical value in making this sort of thing the subject of a multilateral public resolution. The way to proceed is by direct understandings among the governments and through confidential disclosure of the secret information.

That this is the only way this kind of thing can be done effectively is demonstrable by asking ourselves a question. After this resolution was adopted, would we be willing to disclose to the secret service of every government in the hemisphere all the information we have? What would we do about a government we might think was honeycombed with Communist agents and fellow travelers? Obviously we would not disclose to them our secret information, for the "disclosure" would be passed right on to the Communist agents who would be told what to do to prevent us from getting more information.

The resolution seems to me ill-considered and the result of a confusion of mind about what can be done by public declarations and what must be done, if it is done at all by unpublicized, direct, confidential, understandings with friendly neighbors.

For that reason, such verbal diplomacy is usually good only if nobody objects to it. With governments that mean to cooperate seriously in counterespionage and countersubversion, a public resolution is unnecessary; with those governments that are for one reason or another opposed to cooperation, the resolution must be ineffective. Who then stands to gain anything substantial and real by forcing the issues of a public declaration if those governments which really could and really would cooperate do not feel it wise and expedient to put into words what they mean to do?

Beside the recommendations, the resolution contains a statement of great importance. It says:

"The domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement, extending to this hemisphere the political system of an extracontinental power, would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, endangering the peace of America, and would call for appropriate action in accordance with existing treaties."

There is no doubt that the establishment in this hemisphere of a Communist satellite would endanger the peace of America and call for appropriate action. The appearance of such a satellite would be incompatible with the vital interests of the community of American States. For more than a century, originally as a United States policy and then as an inter-American policy, the Republics of this hemisphere have been protected against foreign intervention.

The only question here is whether this declaration of intent has been put forward after adequate consultation with the leading governments of Latin America. They know, of course, that in so sensitive a region as the Caribbean, the United States would be bound to take measures if a satellite state were established. The problem of the resolution is—since they know that is bound to happen—how precisely and how publicly they should now be asked to say in advance exactly what they will do in a hypothetical case at some unknown future time.

We may be certain that it is useful to have them say publicly and in advance only as much as they really want to say. For what counts are not the words to which they might be compelled to subscribe but their real intent. Now there are many governments in this world, as anti-Communist as we are, who do not share our passion for, our addiction to, the promulgation of large, generalized, theoretical and doctrinaire pronunciamentos. Often they would prefer an understanding to a declaration, a real and continuing consultation to spasmodic and resounding verbal broadsides.

They could be right in this, and it might be well to ask ourselves whether we are so sure they are wrong that it is worth making a to-do about it.

Moore's Creek Defeat Wrecked Tory Strategy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALTON A. LENNON
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LENNON. Mr. President, the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, in North Carolina, has never received, from historians, the recognition it deserves. It was indeed a most significant battle. A careful analysis of it will show beyond a doubt that the battle which took place at Moore's Creek, in Pender County, N. C., on February 27, 1776, had far-reaching effects upon the course of the War for Independence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a recent newspaper article on that subject, written by Christopher Crittenden, director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOORE'S CREEK DEFEAT WRECKED TORY STRATEGY

(By Christopher Crittenden, director, North Carolina Department of Archives and History)

One hundred and seventy-eight years ago yesterday, on February 27, 1776, the North Carolina Whigs defeated the Scottish highland Tories at the bridge over the Widow Moore's Creek, some 15 miles northwest of Wilmington, in what is now Pender County. It was a crushing blow from which the Tories never recovered.

It has been officially proposed that the National Park Service give up the maintenance of Moore's Creek on the grounds that the site lacks national historical significance. Senator LENNON, Congressman BARDEN, and many North Carolinians are opposing such a move. Within a few weeks a hearing on the subject is to be held in Washington.

DECISIVE BATTLE

Emphatically, Moore's Creek was not merely a third-rate skirmish between local Whigs and Tories. It was the decisive battle that broke the back of a broad and comprehensive plan, conceived by Royal Gov. Josiah Martin and approved by the British Ministry, to subjugate not only North Carolina but the entire South.

The battle has never received from our national historians the recognition that it deserves. Look at the general histories of the United States and you will find that Moore's Creek either is not mentioned at all or else is glossed over with a few words.

Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill in Massachusetts, Long Island in New York,

Princeton in New Jersey, Brandywine in Pennsylvania, and other battles fought in the North have received due attention. And even such southern military events as the battle of King's Mountain and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown are usually treated in some detail. But this battle at the creek on the Widow Moore's estate—either the historians know nothing about it whatsoever or else they have not understood and appreciated the far-reaching results.

Let's look at that battle and see whether it may have some claim to national importance.

During the winter of 1775–76 Washington and his army were besieging the British in the city of Boston. Later in the year the British were to evacuate Boston and were to drive Washington out of New York, which they were to hold until the end of the war.

MORE TORIES

North Carolina was to play a vital part in the War for American Independence. While the English settlers in the eastern part of the colony and the Scotch-Irish in the back country were, for the most part, on the Whig side, there was one group that strangely supported the British cause. This comprised the Scottish highlanders who, following their defeat at Culloden in Scotland in 1746, had come in large numbers to the upper Cape Fear Valley. They had taken an oath of loyalty, written in their own blood, to the British crown, and this oath they now considered binding. All in all, North Carolina had the largest body of Tories of any of the colonies.

It was a critical time.

On the east, Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, was trying to organize a slave revolt in the area around Norfolk, and North Carolina sent forces to help control the situation.

In up-country South Carolina, the Tories were organizing and North Carolina sent troops which helped to defeat them. In the mountains, the Cherokee Indians were being stirred by the British into open warfare, and only later were they to be conquered.

The greatest threat, however, was that of the Scottish highlanders of the upper Cape Fear Valley. Confident that with their help he could regain control of the colony, Governor Martin laid far-reaching plans.

In March 1775, he applied to General Gage in Boston for arms and ammunition with which to equip the Tories. Later, he submitted to the British Government a broad plan of attack which was approved by the Ministry.

Lord Cornwallis, who was to figure so largely in the later history of the revolution, was to sail with a force of seven regiments of British Regulars from Cork, in Ireland, in a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker.

Sir Henry Clinton, with 2,000 Regulars, was to sail from Boston and to take command of the combined expedition.

BROAD PLAN

The Scottish highlanders under the command of Gen. Donald McDonald were to march from Cross Creek down Cape Fear and capture the port of Wilmington, where all the forces were to converge. It was a broad plan of strategy that, had it succeeded, might have had disastrous results for the colonists.

We all remembered what happened. We recall that the Tories, heading down the river, almost reached their destination, that the Whigs, opposing them at this spot, pretended to have abandoned their camp, but instead ambushed them and inflicted on them a stunning defeat. The Tories in North Carolina were completely crushed.

But suppose the battle had gone the other way. Suppose the Torries had won. What would have been the consequences? What would have been the effect on North Carolina and on the eventual outcome of the war?

Of some things we can be reasonably certain—

(1) Instead of being destroyed, a strong Tory force would have been left intact with their arms and ammunition. Victorious and confident, they would have been eager to press on to new victories.

(2) The Whig army would have been disorganized and perhaps annihilated. Since this represented the concentration of Whig strength in the colony, it would have been difficult to assemble another Whig army in North Carolina.

(3) Almost certainly, the Tories would have captured Wilmington. They had already covered most of the distance to that town and could easily have gone the remaining few miles in a day or two more. Thus they would have been in possession of the colony's chief seaport.

CONTROL OF VALLEY

(4) Not only would the Tories have had Wilmington, but they would have been in control of the entire Cape Fear Valley, from the seacoast all the way to the back country in Guilford, Rowan, and Anson Counties, a vast region comprising perhaps one-third of the settled area of North Carolina and populated by some 100,000 persons—one-third of the total population of the colony.

Centrally located between Maryland and Georgia, with a good outlet to the sea, this would have been an excellent base for British operations in the South.

(5) The Whig cause in North Carolina and in the entire South would have received a severe setback. The Whig leaders and their followers would have found it difficult to recover their spirits and to continue the war with any enthusiasm.

(6) On the other hand, the Tories would have been greatly encouraged to march on to new victories and conquests. It would have been much more difficult to stop them after a victory on the battlefield at Moore's Creek.

If we can be reasonably certain of these things, there are also other developments that might have followed a Tory victory:

(1) There probably would have been no Halifax resolves. It will be recalled that the Provincial Congress, meeting at the town of Halifax on April 12, 1776, passed the famous resolves by which North Carolina became the first colony to instruct its delegates to the Continental Congress to vote for independence. This action followed by only 6 weeks the Whig victory at Moore's Creek and no doubt was largely inspired by that success. But had the Whigs not won, it is extremely doubtful whether their delegates at Halifax would have had the courage to take this bold step.

(2) In all probability Governor Martin would have reestablished the royal government in North Carolina, with its center at least temporarily at Wilmington. From there he would have had direct connection with Great Britain and would have been able to govern the entire Cape Fear Valley. Local officials loyal to the British Government would have begun to function again, the Whigs in that area would have been suppressed, and something resembling the old British royal colony of North Carolina would again have come into existence.

(3) Large numbers of volunteers would have flocked to the British standard. Probably the number of Tories enrolled would not have been 1,000, but instead several times as many.

(4) In addition, the British forces under Clinton and Cornwallis would have been able to land without difficulty. Clinton did actually reach the Cape Fear in March and Cornwallis in May, but, finding the Whigs in control, they sailed away. Had the Tories been in possession of Wilmington, the British troops would have come ashore and, added to the Tories already there, the total force would have amounted to perhaps 10,000 men. This would have been a very formidable army, more than twice the size of that of General Washington himself and far superior to any other army in the South.

(5) Using the Cape Fear Valley as a base, the British would have made an effort to subdue the remainder of North Carolina. With that number of men at their disposal and with nothing like that force to oppose them, it is not unlikely that they would have succeeded. Thus all of North Carolina again would have become a royal colony.

(6) With the British in control of all North Carolina, the Whig government would probably have collapsed. As a result, no State constitution would have been adopted later in the year and no independent State of North Carolina would have been established.

(7) Having reconquered North Carolina, the British would have been in a strong position to send expeditions by both land and sea into the neighboring colonies. It would have been difficult for the Whigs to assemble adequate forces to oppose them, and they might have conquered Virginia, South Carolina, and perhaps even the entire South.

(8) The Whig governments of these other southern colonies would likewise have collapsed and British royal control would have been reestablished.

(9) In other words, it could well have happened that the British would have won the war in the South. There would have been no Virginia, no North Carolina, no South Carolina, and no Georgia to support the cause of American independence. With strong British forces already occupying parts of the North, the remaining American armies would have been in grave danger and their hopes of winning the war would have been doubtful.

IFS AND BUTS

Now I am not saying that without any shadow of doubt all these things would have happened. In history there are too many ifs and buts, too many unforeseen contingencies and chance occurrences that always may change the course of events. One can never be certain what would have happened. But I am saying that all these events and developments were definitely possible.

The battle of Moore's Creek, therefore, was no mere local conflict. Viewed in its broad significance it represented an effort of the British Government to conquer first North Carolina, afterward the other southern colonies, and finally all of British America that was in revolt. Had that effort succeeded, the American cause would have collapsed. Washington and Jefferson and Adams and Franklin might have been hanged as rebels and traitors. There would have been no American independence.

So if anyone may possibly think that the battle of Moore's Creek was no more than a mere local skirmish, not worthy of inclusion in the National Park system, he had better do a lot more good, hard thinking. He had better learn the facts about the entire campaign, so that he can appreciate its broad significance.

Resignation of Roger M. Kyes as Deputy Secretary of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "He Just Got Started," pub-

lished in the Washington Daily News of March 8, 1954, commending the public service of Roger M. Kyes.

I am certain that Senators on both sides of the aisle appreciate the fine public service of Mr. Kyes. He is a man who made a sacrifice to serve his country, and we all regret that he cannot continue to give the Government the active benefit of his field of knowledge.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HE JUST GOT STARTED

Roger M. Kyes is quitting the Defense Department just about the time when his effectiveness should be reaching full bloom.

He has been on the job as Deputy Secretary a little more than a year. It must take about that long to get a real grasp of this massive and complex Department and to translate the experience into genuinely effective administration.

As the No. 2 man in the Department, Mr. Kyes was the No. 1 man in day-to-day administration. He had to be. Secretary Wilson has too much else to do.

In that sense, then, his departure is a serious loss at a time when the Eisenhower program, which Mr. Kyes was brought in to help mold and carry out, is just getting under way. Assuming, as we do, Mr. Kyes is the top-grade executive he is cracked up to be, his resignation becomes even more significant.

We can't dispute the announcement that Mr. Kyes is leaving because he only promised to stay a year. But when he came to Washington he gave up an $82,500 salary and substantial other income, and sold more than $200,000 of General Motors stock. Quite a wrench for a man who merely intended to get his new chair warm.

Doubtless the Defense Department will manage to get along without Mr. Kyes' services, and his eagerness to get back into the higher income brackets of private industry is understandable.

We cannot have too many able men in the Government, and perhaps it is better to have them briefly than not at all. But inasmuch as experience is a foremost ingredient of useful ability, we cannot escape the idea that good administration—and hence the taxpayer—suffers when so many top men rush back home after such brief flings in Washington.

Best Highway Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States have reason to be keenly disappointed over the action of this House in approving a highway bill as inadequate as the highways it is supposed to improve. The increase for the interstate highway system is not made effective until July of 1955 and even at that time the increase provided will not begin to start us on the way to really modern highways.

There are other better bills which the Congress should enact. One of them was the subject of an editorial in the Detroit Times of Sunday, March 7. This great Hearst newspaper is a leader in the fight to get America out of the traffic jam. I include the editorial in our RECORD as follows:

BEST HIGHWAY BILL

The Hearst newspapers including this one, have been so dissatisfied with the highway bills before Congress that it gives us great pleasure to praise one, at last.

We would recommend to the Congress, and to the supporters of the better roads movement everywhere, the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator HOMER FERGUSON of of Michigan.

We like the bill because it is the only legislation on this subject that comes anywhere near providing sufficient funds for a solution of the highway problem.

Its financial provisions are relatively generous, its method of funds allotment is enlightened, and its understanding of the needs of the national system of interstate highways is obvious.

We must, however, point out to readers, who have been following our campaign for better roads, that while the Ferguson bill calls for expenditure of more than $2 billion annually in Federal aid, it also assumes it will take 15 years to improve America's roads to tolerable standards.

In other words, despite the virtue of this bill, you are not going to get the roads until about 1970, if then.

Since we try to understand public opinion we believe you expect your Government to act more promptly than that.

It is because this newspaper feels as you do, that we have expressed dissatisfaction of previous bills.

We are particularly irked with the House bill, supported by the administration, because there seems to be a generally accepted assumption that it is a good bill and is the bill that the Congress should accept.

Judge its merits by asking yourself this question—.

If the Ferguson bill ($2,125,000,000 annually) will take 15 years to do the job, how long will it take the McGregor administration bill ($875 million)?

Thirty-five years?

Forty years?

The fact is that most of the people for whom the Congress would vote the McGregor bill, will not even be alive when the road system is improved.

The least that Congress can do is to adopt and pass the bill that most adequately gives the public what it wants and is willing to pay for.

As of today, that is the Ferguson bill.

The Late Hugh Steel Hersman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my respects and pay tribute to the memory of a distinguished former Member of this House, the Honorable Hugh Steel Hersman, who passed to his eternal award in my home town of Gilroy, Calif., on Sunday, March 7, at the age of 81.

No better can the inexorable progression of time be demonstrated than by the fact that of the 435 Members who assumed their seats in this House upon convention of the 66th Congress on March 4, 1919, only 3 are here today who heard Hugh Hersman take is oath of office. But we, of a younger generation, who knew him later as a distinguished citizen of our community, and as a genial golfing partner, know that he carried out his sworn duties well, and that he gave his all in serving the Nation he so dearly loved.

Hugh Steel Hersman was born in Port Deposit, Cecil County, Md., on July 8, 1872. When still a boy, he accompanied his parents to California where he attended public schools. He graduated from the Southwestern Presbyterian University of Tennessee in 1893, and later took graduate work at my own alma mater, the University of California at Berkeley in 1897 and 1898. At the beginning of the First World War, Mr. Hersman came to my home town of Gilroy, and served as president of the First National Bank there from 1914 to 1918. He also was an officer and director of several corporations.

In the waning days of the great war, Hugh Hersman stood for election to Congress, and was elected as a Democrat to the 66th Congress. While a Member, he served on the House Coinage, Weights, and Measures Committee, and the House Public Lands Committee.

In 1920, Hugh Hersman returned to Gilroy, where he continued his activities as a business and civic leader. His greatest achievement was the respect with which he was he'd by all who knew him. He served his fellow man sincerely and well. I am proud of being one of his successors in the Congress of the United States.

Jacksonville Beach Expresses Shock and Sympathy on Fanatical Attack on House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to report to the House that I have received a letter from the splendid young mayor of Jacksonville Beach, J. T. McCormick, in which he included a resolution which he says was "a spontaneous and unanimous action, expressing shock and sympathy over the incident occurring in the House of Representatives."

The letter continues:

As Representative of this district, this is to request that you express our sympathy to those injured and assure them that we are praying for their speedy recovery.

Further he said:

We are also grateful that you personally escaped injury, and trust that you will do all in your power to achieve the adoption of security measures that will prevent a recurrence of such incidents.

The thoughtful and kindly resolution passed by the City Council of Jacksonville Beach is as follows:

RESOLUTION COMMENDING THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States of America on March 1, 1954, were conducting the business of the people of these United States in regular session; and

Whereas while in lawful session, they were savagely, wantonly, and violently attacked by persons firing automatic pistols; and

Whereas some Representatives were grievously and painfully wounded thereby: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of the City of Jacksonville Beach, Fla.:

SECTION 1. That the mayor and council, collectively and separately, for and on behalf of the citizens of Jacksonville Beach, Fla., do hereby express sympathy for those injured and extend commendation to all those distinguishing themselves by conspicuous courage and gallantry during the assault.

SEC. 2. That the prayers of our citizens be implored on behalf of the injured.

SEC. 3. That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Members of the Florida delegation and the press.

Authenticated this 2d day of March A. D. 1954.

J. T. MCCORMICK,
Mayor.

JACK A. CALLAHAN,
City Clerk.

The Lower Mississippi and Its Tributaries Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO E. PASSMAN
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I made before the Army Civil Functions Appropriations Subcommittee:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am grateful for the opportunity to appear before your committee to testify in behalf of the Lower Mississippi and its tributaries project.

I represent the Fifth Congressional District of Louisiana in the Congress and also I am president of the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association. For the record, may I state that the only compensation I receive for serving the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association as its president is the great satisfaction of seeing this important project advance toward completion.

This is the 8th year that I have appeared before the Army Civil Functions Appropriations Subcommittee in behalf of the Mississippi River and its tributaries project, so obviously what I say this morning will be somewhat repetitious, but the importance of this great project is such that repetition is in order.

Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I would not be honest with the committee if I did not express keen disappointment over the very low amount recommended by the budget for this important project. Those of us present to testify for the Lower Mississippi will testify and, we believe, justify an appropriation of $56,885,000 for the fiscal year 1955. If the committee will consider the facts with respect to this mammoth project and approach the matter on the basis of need and economy, they will approve the amount requested by the witnesses representing the Lower Mississippi and its tributaries.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I work very closely with this subcommittee and have been willing to go along with the committee's recommendation, but the many complex problems confronting the people in the Lower Mississippi Valley has convinced me that I would be less than honest not to request an increase over that recommended by the Director of the Budget.

I am fully aware, and our witnesses are equally aware, of the importance of balancing the Federal budget and reducing Federal expenditures whenever and wherever possible, if such reductions can be made without jeopardizing lives and incurring loss of property. However, I am firm in my opinion that any figure less than the amount heretofore referred to would retard the work on the Lower Mississippi and its tributaries to such an extent that in the long run it would take more of the taxpayers' money to complete the project than under a program of adequate annual appropriations.

I should like to direct again to the attention of the committee that when we speak of the Lower Mississippi and its tributaries project, we are speaking of a project covering approximately 1,600 miles of main stem levees and approximately 2,000 miles of levees on off river or tributary projects as well as many other off river projects which are a part of the overall program.

I think it would be proper to state again that the Mississippi River provides drainage for all or part of 30 States, which represents 42 percent of the drainage of the United States.

It was indeed gratifying to have another delegation of this great appropriations subcommittee make an extensive inspection tour of the lower Mississippi and its tributaries during November 1953. These tours give the members firsthand information on the need for adequate funds to complete this all-important project at the quickest possible date so that the benefits expected of the completed project can be realized without any undue delay. With the inspection tour made by Congressman HAND and Congressman CEDERBERG, I believe that all members of this committee have now inspected the valley with the exception of our colleague, Congressman RILEY. I hope that during the present year Congressman RILEY may make the inspection tour.

Mr. Chairman, the Congress in its wisdom passed legislation authorizing an expenditure on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries in the amount of $1,292,748,500. Through fiscal year 1954 the Congress has appropriated $848,770,400 against the authorization, leaving a balance of $443,978,100 to complete the authorization. Obviously, the project is reaching the stage in construction where it would be in the interest of economy to have sufficient funds to complete the project at the quickest possible date.

Parts of the projects are as much as 92-percent complete and on these parts that are so near completion, it is in the interest of economy that sufficient funds be allowed to complete them at the quickest possible date.

I am sure we all agree that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. This criteria would certainly apply to our levee system on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Therefore, until such time as we have completed the entire project, we cannot derive the benefits that the project was designed to bring to the citizens in the great Mississippi Valley.

It is my understanding that the funds recommended are to continue work already under way and that there are no new starts in the request before you.

Mr. Chairman, so far as I know, there has never been any severe criticism of the Mississippi River Commission or its president and past presidents. I believe that the present committee and the committees of other Congresses are convinced that the great sums expended on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries have been spent wisely and in the interest of all the citizens of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the long period of freedom from floods in the Mississippi Valley brought about by work accomplished with funds appropriated by the Congress has prevented flood damage in excess of $5 billion. This figure is authoritative and a matter of record. It has been established that the project has returned in excess of $5 in benefits for every $1 in expenditures. This is a most impressive benefit cost ratio and there is evidence that this ratio will increase when the total project has ben completed. This evaluation is very much on the conservative side in that in establishing this favorable ratio secondary benefits resulting from prevention of loss of life, improved health conditions, welfare, and general security for tens of millions of our fellow Americans were not taken into consideration.

I am sure the committee has in its possession facts with respect to the great record of accomplishment on the lower Mississippi and its tributaries. This impressive record speaks for itself and has fully justified the funds appropriated for the work. I believe the past record will justify the amount requested, plus the unobligated carryover.

Mr. Chairman, I want to again thank you and members of your committee for your patience in hearing my testimony as well as that of other witnesses present who will also testify in behalf of the lower Mississippi and its tributaries project.

Each witness will testify for a different phase of the overall project so as to omit repetition and, in the limited time allotted, place before you certain valuable facts.

Pay Increase for Members of the Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the Navy League of the United States has joined the campaign for a pay increase for members of the armed services. At this time of reduction in forces, we need more than ever the continuing services of a trained hard core of military personnel. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD this resolution:

Whereas there has been a critical reduction in enlistment and reenlistment in the armed services of the United States; and

Whereas this reduction in enlistment and reenlistment and, consequently, reduction in career service, is directly attributable to elimination or reduction of such benefits as (1) commissary privileges, (2) medical attention for dependents, (3) shipment of household effects, (4) voluntary retirement between 20 and 30 years of service, (5) post exchange sales; and

Whereas rental costs have been increased and ration allowances been reduced; and

Whereas the career service has been further demoralized by wholesale forced separation of reservists with more than 10 years of active service; and

Whereas there has been no increased pay rate for the armed services personnel to compare with civilian advances in salary: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That San Diego Council, Navy League of the United States, urge the Department of National Defense to expedite to the Congress legislation for an equitable and justified increase in pay rates for the members of the armed services of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That San Diego Council of the Navy League of the United States then support the Secretary of National Defense with every means possible to obtain congressional approval of the desired pay rate increase; and be it further

Resolved, That San Diego Council recommend that the parent Navy League of the United States, in resolution and with every means at its national command, support the Secretary of National Defense in obtaining urgently essential pay increases for the armed services of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to all Members of the Congress from California, to the Secretaries of the respective armed services, and to all public information media.

Attest:

HARLEY E. KNOX,
President, San Diego Council, Navy League of the United States.
FEBRUARY 10, 1954.

Fantastic Isn't It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following fantastic newspaper article contained in today's New York Times:

PRESIDENT GIVES UP ON HOUSE TAX CUTS

WASHINGTON, MARCH 8.—The administration abandoned hope today of keeping the House of Representatives from cutting excise taxes almost a billion dollars.

The strategy now is to count on the Senate to prevent a reduction, which House Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., Republican, of Massachusetts, said President Eisenhower felt "goes a little too far."

The excise tax bill comes up for House debate Wednesday. It came up for discussion today at the regular Monday conference at the White House between the President and Republican leaders in Congress.

Speaker MARTIN said afterward that administration forces would make no attempt to stop House passage of the measure. But after the legislation gets to the Senate, Mr. MARTIN said, the administration hopes to block some of the proposed cuts or at least keep them from going so deep.

Apparently to try to get their party to hold the line against greater cuts, House Republican leaders have called a conference for tomorrow.

The President repeatedly has spoken against any excise-tax reduction at this time unless Congress made up the lost revenue. The present bill would keep sales taxes on such items as liquor, tobacco, gasoline, and cars, but would cut in half the present 20-percent rate on many things such as cosmetics, admissions, and luggage. The latter cuts would cost the Treasury nearly $1 billion annually.

What Lowry Means To Denver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BYRON G. ROGERS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article that appeared on March 4, published by the Denver Chamber of Commerce, celebrating the 16th anniversary of the establishment of Lowry Air Corps Technical School in the Mile High City.

We in Denver are proud of this institution. For more than 16 years it has trained thousands of men and is one of the major bases of the Air Forces' transcontinental airbase net.

The article is as follows:

Twenty years ago, the Denver Chamber of Commerce initiated action for the establishment of an Air Corps Technical Training School in the Mile High City. In April 1934, the chamber offered the Government the facilities of the Agnes Phipps Memorial Sanitarium as a site for the proposed installation.

During the ensuing 4 years, the sanitorium was purchased and presented to the Army as a result of a bond issue by the city of Denver, and on February 26, 1938, the Denver Branch of the Air Corps Technical School was officially activated. One month later, Secretary of War, Harry H. Woodring, selected the name of Lowry Field for the fledgling training center. The name was well chosen, as it perpetuates the memory of Lt. Francis B. Lowry, first Denver flier killed in combat in World War I.

Over the past two decades, Lowry has grown in size in a ratio comparable to the phenomenal growth of Denver itself. Once located far beyond the suburbs, Lowry today is surrounded by fine residential areas.

Technically, Lowry is one of the major bases of the Air Forces' transcontinental airbase net. Two 8,000 foot runways afford capacity for all but the very largest of aircraft, while operational facilities are equal to the needs of nearly every type of flying activity. Permanent weather facilities, air communications, air rescue, and other services make it truly one of the finest flying bases in the United States.

But what does Lowry mean to Denver and its suburbs?

From a monetary point of view, Lowry officers, airmen, and civilian employees have a potential expenditure from their payrolls of over $3 million a month. Denver business firms and services, as well as those in the surrounding area, feel the effect of these Air Force dollars as they flow into Denver business channels.

Property owners benefit from these Air Force dollars by renting homes, apartments, rooms, and trailer accommodations to the officers, airmen, and civilians stationed at Lowry.

Transportation facilities are utilized extensively by Lowry personnel. Hundreds of officers and airmen spend thousands of dollars a year in plane, train, and bus fares as they travel to and from their homes on leave or upon transfer from Lowry to other Air Force installations. The use of Denver Tramway System's buses and taxicabs by Lowry personnel increases the revenue of these enterprises.

Lowry spends over $330,000 a year for utilities to provide gas, water, electricity, sewage disposal, and heating fuels for the base. Approximately one-third of a million dollars are spent for coal to heat the numerous buildings on the base. The local purchase of supplies and services pumps another $1 million annually into the financial arteries of Denver. New construction and building modification at the installation not only provides jobs for Denver residents, but also puts additional thousands of dollars into circulation in this area. In addition, some $1 million in nonappropriated funds are expended annually in the local area.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to mention all of the things that Lowry means to Denver, financially, socially, and culturally.

To Denver, Lowry means a stable source of income, additional support for civic functions, sports, and community drives, employment opportunity.

In addition, having such a large Air Force base located right next door keeps John Doe, civilian, aware of the Air Force effort to assure maximum return on his tax dollar.

Congress Hit for Wasting Vital Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I am including excerpts of an editorial by Peter Edson. Recently I made the statement that nearly three quarters of this 2-year session of Congress—that is, if we are to adjourn on schedule July 31—has now gone by and we still do not seem to have passed any legislation of any real significance, other than the giveaway tidelands act which made a handout to a few favored States of natural resources worth perhaps hundreds of billions of dollars belinging to all of the people of the United States.

I was therefore interested to read in Peter Edson's column in last Friday's Pittsburgh Press, his view that the Congress has frittered away the past 2 months on political sideshows which have furnished a lot of oratory, name-calling, and frivolous newspaper copy but that is about all.

He asks much the same question I have asked: namely, When is the Congress going down to some hard-rock legislating? When are we going to get down to business on the so-called dynamic, progressive program the Republican administration has been talking about so much? When are we going to do something affirmative about housing, social security, unemployment compensation, Taft-Hartley, and all of the other big issues? Time is fleeting and soon it will be too late. Is this the record the Republican leadership wants to take to the people this fall—to show how little the first Republican administration in 20 years

has done and how many of its promises it has not kept?

Mr. Edson's column in the Pittsburgh Press is here included:

BRICKER MESS

The amount of wordage wasted in efforts to pass Ohio Senator JOHN W. BRICKER's constitutional amendment in 5 weeks of debate will make it all the more difficult for the Republicans to write a commendable legislative record in 1954.

This Bricker badinage was exceeded by the violence of the Lincoln's birthday week oratory. Republican charges of treason by the Democrats were matched by denials and demands for a breakdown on the number of Communists thrown out of the Government by the GOP.

Instead of 1,456 or 2,200 or 2,427 subversives found in Government, as was at first claimed, the number turned out to be 383. But nobody will say for sure if any of them were really Communists.

So, in solid accomplishment, what do the 2 months add up to?

Absolutely nothing has been completed on President Eisenhower's bold new middle-of-the-road program which is supposed to save the country, restore and enlarge Republican control of the 84th Congress.

Only 12 bills have been signed into law by the President in these first 2 months of 1954. Only two of these bills, in the nature of emergency farm legislation, can be considered important. The other 10 measures are completely routine trick-track.

Elections simply aren't won on performances like that.

BIG BILLS STALLED

Major legislative proposals are strewn all over the place. Raising the national debt limit from $275 billion to $290 billion, statehood for Alaska, and authorization for the Air Force Academy have passed the House and are pending business before the Senate.

Stuck in committees of one Chamber or the other are such important measures as Taft-Hartley law revision, social-security expansion, granting the vote to 18-year-olds, and an increase in postal rates.

What all this haphazard lawmaking seems to prove, if anything, is that the Congress needs a general manager or an efficiency expert of some kind to streamline its S. O. P.—its standard operating procedure—as the armed services call it.

The age of legislating by instinct, usually felt in the form of a kick in the pants from a campaign contributor or other interested constituent, should be over.

Subsidies, Production Payments, Etc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, newspapers in my district are expressing more and more concern over the effects of Secretary of Agriculture Benson's order to cut dairy price supports to 75 percent on April 1. Some of the papers, of course, are more critical than others.

Mr. Paul Hassett, editor of the Dunn County News in my district, is an advocate of flexible price supports. It happens that I do not believe in the flexible price support program for farm commodities. Mr. Hassett, however, has never attacked subsidies as socialistic, as is the case of some newspapers.

In an editorial of March 4, Mr. Hassett recognizes the fact that the dairy farmer has a right to some guaranties as long as other segments in the economy are the beneficiaries of subsidies. While Mr. Hassett and I are in honest disagreement on flexible and rigid price supports, I wish to commend his editorial to some of my colleagues who believe that farmers are the only ones to receive subsidies.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include Mr. Hassett's editorial in the RECORD, as follows:

SUBSIDIES, PRODUCTION PAYMENTS, ETC.

In all the fuss on subsidies for dairy products, those who desire higher fixed support prices point the finger at other governmental subsidies, noting that they cost more. This may be true, and those subsidies ought to be examined from time to time to determine if they are accomplishing the job for which they were ordered. Some subsidies no doubt should be eliminated or cut down.

Regarding dairy supports, the point which has been ignored by many critics and which has been stressed by the administrators and farm economists who look at the whole picture is the loss of dairy product markets and what to do with the mounting perishable surplus.

We doubt if the Government is worried much about the money spent in subsidies. Who would count the cost in money in times of war, or to save agriculture? The difference between flexible and high supports is an honest difference of opinion on how the farmer can best be served in the long run.

Maybe some form of production payments along with acreage control is necessary to narrow the supply down with demand, and allow the price to reach its level on the free market. In that way a farmer would be guaranteed by the Government a fair price, and the consumer would benefit with less expensive dairy products. It is being tried in other agricultural fields, and there are little or no complaints.

As far as the Government guaranty for the dairy producer is concerned, it is no more socialistic than any other labor or professional group contract for 1, 2, or 3 years which guarantees the wage earner a certain salary for the period of time covered. In the final analysis the people pay for all contracts, public or private, through taxes or the general cost of living.

The dairy farmer has a right to some guaranties, but he may have to accept some strings, such as acreage allotments. From all accounts, he is willing to accept those strings along with his guaranty for a fair price.

Prophets Then and Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to point out the similarity between the statements of those who said that there was nothing wrong with the economy in 1930 and the statements saying that everything is rosy in 1954.

Ohio State Employment Service, March 1, 1954:

Most [experts] believe the setback will prove fairly moderate in any case, and that 1954 will be the second-best year in history.

Secretary of Commerce, March 3, 1930:

As weather conditions moderate, we are likely to find the country as a whole enjoying its wonted state of prosperity. Business will be normal in 2 months.

Congress Must Restore Servicemen's Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the San Diego Union of Sunday, March 7, 1954:

CONGRESS MUST RESTORE SERVICEMEN'S BENEFITS—REPORT SHOWS MILITARY SHOULD COMPETE MORE EQUALLY WITH CIVILIAN OPPORTUNITIES

"Attractiveness of a service career must outweigh inducements to leave the service." This statement contained in the Womble report sums up well the problem Congress must face in analyzing the decline in military morale.

The Department of Defense now is studying the Womble report in preparation for recommendations which will be the basis of hearings planned soon by Armed Services Committees of both the House and Senate. It is hoped that these hearings will result in legislation which restores the attractiveness of a service career.

The Womble report traces the disappearance of fringe benefits outlines the failure to allow military pay to keep pace with civilian wages and goes into some detail on the loss of discipline due to restrictions placed on the service during the postwar era. The report urges pay hikes, greater consideration for military effectiveness in budget studies, and restoration of certain fringe benefits.

Reports from Washington indicate that service morale this year is being given more serious congressional consideration than at any time since the war.

If the study into the loss of service benefits is to be comprehensive during congressional hearings, it must go back at least as far as 1944 when Federal taxes were added to the price of gasoline sold on military posts.

Fringe benefits have been curtailed during the last year, but some of the most serious blows against military men were struck during the years 1944 to 1952.

In 1949, for example, servicemen lost income tax exemptions. In the same year, the Career Compensation Act eliminated officer pay differential for those serving overseas. Travel compensation for officers that year was reduced from 8 cents to 6 cents a mile. The blow was completed in the latter category when in 1952 a Democratic Congress reduced the allowable weights for the transportation of household effects. The weight now is below that allowed State Department personnel of equivalent rank.

Post exchanges were limited and commissaries closed in 1949. The list of lost benefits is long. But it is important to note that the privileges which help make the service attractive were not lost in any one year or under any one Congress.

It is our belief that a congressional study which will analyze these losses, starting in 1944, will show the logic of an increase in military pay and of the restoration and protection of many fringe benefits.

The Administration's Economy Defense Budget Is Inadequate To Meet the Nation's Defense Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the administration has made a serious mistake in developing a defense budget for fiscal year 1955. The funds provided for the Department of the Army are inadequate to meet the Nation's defense needs. Most of the disastrous cuts made in the Air Force budget last year have been restored, and at the same time our ability to fight on the ground is being seriously impaired.

I am inserting a column entitled "New Military Policy," by Marquis Childs, which appeared in the Washington Post. Mr. Childs points out that the administration is bent on squelching any opposition to the new-look defense policy which may develop in the Pentagon. Mr. Childs points out that the new-look defense policy does not have the answer for situations such as we have experienced in Greece and Korea and are now confronted with in Indochina:

NEW MILITARY POLICY—GROUND SWELL OF CRITICISM TO MAKE NEWS

(By Marquis Childs)

While the headlines have not yet begun to reflect it, the administration's new look in military policy has produced a ground swell of doubt and criticism that will make news before too long. The doubters are to be found both in the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill.

In a speech shortly before he left for the Berlin conference, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles defined the way in which American diplomacy would conform to the new military policy. Aggression anywhere will be met by instant retaliation directed not at the periphery but at the centers of Communist power. Dulles thereby seemed to rule out limited wars and to say that the next conflict would inevitably be an all-out atomic war.

Certain Senators are planning a full-dress debate at the earliest opportunity in which they will try to determine whether this was in fact the meaning of the Dulles speech. They will ask some searching questions about the new policy which places ever greater reliance on the fantastic weapons of the atomic age. As now contemplated, this will not be a partisan attack on the administration's foreign military policy but rather an attempt to get what is felt to be much needed clarification.

The suspicion persists that the policy was tailored to meet the economy demands laid down by civilian rather than military leaders. In recent speeches, both Gen. Matthew Ridgway, Chief of Staff of the Army, and Gen. Charles Bolte, next in command, have indicated their grave doubts about the deep cuts in manpower now being made and in prospect. Bolte, in talking to the United States Armor Association at Fort Knox, Ky., was especially frank in questioning whether atomic firepower could replace manpower on the ground.

Part of this may be discounted as a proprietary interest in maintaining the established order. But it also represents a real concern lest the public be encouraged in the popular postwar illusion that push-button warfare with magic missiles has all but eliminated the blood, sweat, and tears of the old order of warfare. Many Americans persist in believing that a few massive raids by American bombers on enemy centers would eliminate all threat of danger and allow America to live again in isolated peace. They conveniently ignore the peril of atomic retaliation by fleets of bombers, at least two-thirds of which would today be able to get through the continental defense system constructed thus far.

The Eisenhower team in the Pentagon is bent on keeping any opposition to the new policy strictly in the family. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and his deputy, Roger Kyes, have shown that they have a rough way with those on the team who sound off on a contrary note.

Yet when military men talk privately, their doubts and uncertainties are greater even than those they express publicly. They raise two big question marks. The first is with respect to the quantity of the new weapons now available or likely to be available. Military critics suggest that the public has been led to believe that the new weapons are already in full production whereas the number is extremely limited. In the words of one doubter of high rank, they are still in the made-in-the-kitchen-by-hand stage.

The second question mark concerns cost. The new weapons are fantastic in effect and fantastic in cost. As an example, a single shell fired from one of the new type weapons costs $10,000. If it misses, the $10,000 is just an empty bang. So the economy held out as bait to Congress may be a false hope.

In connection with these question marks, a so-called small war has been going on in Indochina for more than 7 years. The French who have taken heavy casualties through the years are fed up with that seemingly endless conflict. A new government in France might suddenly dump the problem of Indochina on Washington, as the British abruptly put the responsibility for Greece up to the Truman administration.

For this reason some sources are beginning to suggest that American ground troops will soon have to go into Indochina to save the situation. This suggestion does not, of course, come from any responsible source. In fact, ground commanders react violently against even the remote possibility of such a step. They point out that the handicaps would be infinitely greater than in Korea where the United Nations forces had the ocean and the Navy on three sides and a complete air umbrella.

What is more, Red China would almost certainly retaliate by sending in Chinese Communist forces. And that might well be the signal for world war III. Before the reduced budget is approved the lawmakers want to know more about all these matters.

Call for More Highway Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Kansas City Star of March 1, entitled "Call for More Highway Money":

CALL FOR MORE HIGHWAY MONEY

The opportunity for faster highway building is in that Federal 2-cent gasoline tax—provided Congress keeps it and puts the revenue on the roads.

Hopes were dampened last week when the House Appropriations Committee stuck by the old standards of spending. It approved $500 million a year for the Federal-aid highway program which is approximately the same level of recent years. This program represents the big end, although not all, of the Federal Government's road contributions.

The 2-cent Federal gas tax is now producing above $900 million a year. If Congress put anything like such an amount of money into roads it would spur all the States to faster building. A bill for that purpose has been introduced by Representative McGREGOR, of Ohio. It would increase the matching funds for the States by almost 50 percent and add another $64½ million that the Government could spend directly without matching. And the bill is reported to have administration backing.

In its economy drive the House Appropriations Committee is using the paring knife generally and that is the only way to approach a balanced budget. But the highway program is a separate proposition. In the public mind it is bound to be linked with the Federal gas tax. There is a widespread conviction that gasoline revenue should be spent on the highways. That is the only way to make progress on one of the greatest internal needs of this country.

Unless Congress takes prompt action the tax will drop from 2 cents to 1½ cents. Some of the State governors—and the oil companies— are trying to get the whole tax repealed. The governors are assuming that the States could then pick up the 2 cents for themselves. But no one can predict what the legislatures would do. In Federal hands it could produce a faster rate of building. It could if Congress would put the revenue on the highways.

Publisher, Boston Post, John Fox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following fine editorial from the Lawrence Bee, Lawrence, Mass., Friday, March 5, 1954:

GOD BLESS JOHN FOX

The new owner and publisher of the Boston Post, John Fox, is the modern counterpart of Paul Revere, who made his famous ride to warn the colonists of the arrival of the British soldiers at Boston.

Coincidentally Mr. Fox is doing his warning in Boston through his daily and Sunday issues and it is against a new and more dangerous foe, Soviet Russia.

Someone should prevail upon Mr. Fox to allow his excellent editorials and the news articles carrying his by-line to be syndicated articles carrying his byline to be syndicated try of ours. Their excellence and timeliness merit far wider circulation than even New England's greatest morning and Sunday newspaper, the Boston Post, can give them with its ever-increasing patrons, now reaching over 300,000 homes daily and Sunday.

The broadness of his vision, the sharpness of his intellect, his ability to recognize the problems of the common man, his very evident tolerance of all religious and their objectives, recommend his writings to everyone who can purchase copies of the Boston Post each weekday and Sunday.

Seldom has a comparatively unknown writer so quickly captured the admiration and support of the public as the young talented Boston publisher. His scrupulous honesty, his quite evident attempt to be fair to both sides in every controversy about which he writes, and none appears too hot for him to comment upon, his use of modern language understood by the man-in-the-street and the woman-in-the-home, all augur well for the future of New England.

God bless John FOX.

The Archives of the Ages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, partisan political pronouncements during this campaign year undoubtedly will become more numerous and more embittered. However, as we approach the campaign the stated reasons for a partisan approach will, in my opinion, be much more honest and fair than those given for many pronouncements which were made during this last month of February. It always has been exceedingly difficult for me to understand why the Republican Party of today has developed the habit of using the birthdates of two great Americans, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln, to excoriate their political opponents, the Democrats. I have always felt that on such memorable dates the good things about our American way of life, regardless of partisan ties, should be brought to the attention of our people. As a Democrat, I am only too glad to disassociate myself with like overly partisan statements made on the occasions when we commemorate the birthdates of two other great Americans, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson.

At times it takes very discerning patriots to assemble the deeds of real patriotism of our patriots of yesterday and today. A recent poem by George Sanford Holmes, a long-time newspaperman of the National Capital, undoubtedly speaks my thoughts better than my own words. I heartily commend it to all Members and if the shaft of reason should touch a sensitive spot, please keep in mind that perhaps it was intended to do that very thing:

THE ARCHIVES OF THE AGES
(By George Sanford Holmes)

"I miss the politics of yore
And the pen of Mr. Dooley,
Whose ridicule taught men to roar
When tongues became unruly;
When demogogues would fill the land
With blatherskite and laughter,
And a candidate would shake the hand
Of the man who called him 'grafter.'

But now the world is full of plots
And GOP narrators,
Who tell us they are patriots
And Democrats are traitors,
Who sold the Nation down the drain
Till now the rule of reason;
Has been restored to halt the reign
Of 'twenty years of treason.'

O Mr. Dooley, in your day,
Big mouths were merely foolish,
But now the GOP holds sway
They've gone berserk and ghoulish;
No grave remains inviolate
Amid this battle royal,
When reckless partisans berate
Their brothers as 'disloyal.'

These things they utter in the name
Of one who bore no malice;
While millions toast his deathless fame
These men defile the chalice;
Their hymns of hate will die of scorn
As history turns its pages,
While Lincoln's gentle words adorn
The archives of the ages."

Shooting in the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit for inclusion an editorial from the Shreveport (La.) Journal, issue of March 6, 1954:

ASSASSINS IN HOUSE CHAMBER

Murderous fanatics, clothing their assault in patriotic-sounding slogans, let loose their malevolence in the pit of the House of Representatives and struck down those Members of Congress who haplessly were within range of their spiteful bullets. That a massacre did not occur was perhaps due to the venom which shook the aim of the assassins, who fired enough bullets into the Chamber to strike down many times the five they felled.

It was the second attempt on officials of this government by rabid malcontents masking their foulness in a demand to free Puerto Rico. The first was the storming of Blair House, then the temporary presidential residence, November 1, 1951, when a White House guard was killed and one attacker slain. President Harry S. Truman, the object of the attack, commuted the death sentence of another assailant to life imprisonment.

By a vote of 373,418 to 82,473 Puerto Rico ratified a constitution which had been drafted by its own delegates and approved by them by a vote of 33 to 3, giving the island the status of a free commonwealth associated with the United States. It has been self-governing since July 25, 1952. However, the minority that opposed any association with the United States has been easy prey for radicals bent on causing the United States trouble. If not Communists themselves, they are surely Communist-inspired and their nihilist methods are the classical Marxist tactics of gaining political objectives by force when they fail at the ballot.

The attack will intensify congressional support of all-out war on communism everywhere. Unconsciously it will even moderate the repugnance at some of the excesses of congressional committees hunting Communists. But we must keep our heads and remember that Puerto Ricans have overwhelmingly endorsed their union with the United States. Nationalism is not enough to account for the warped and dangerous mentalities that would attempt such suicidal actions.

The State of Being Sixty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent article, entitled "The State of Being Sixty," which was written by Felix Morley.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Nation's Business of March 1954]

THE STATE OF BEING SIXTY

My friend's enthusiasm is infectious and the lunch at which he played host was good. Moreover, the environment helped. In that ornate old dining room, back in 1917, I had met my wife, on a blind date arranged while I was in uniform. On that very site, during an earlier war, Julia Ward Howe had written the Battle Hymn of the Republic. It was a working day, like any other, and fundamentally a business lunch. But it was also my 60th birthday, as I confessed.

"Look here," said my friend, who is a good deal younger, "why not take this afternoon off and put on paper just how it feels to be 60? You seem in the mood. It might be interesting."

That aroused controversy. Birthdays are arbitrary milestones, I said. Once I knew a man whose birthday was February 29. At 60 he called himself 15, and mentally speaking, was accurate. In spite of our reliance on statistics, the flow of time cannot be arithmetically spaced. It is like the course of a river, now rapid and turbulent, now slow and tranquil. To look from the bank at any given point gives no idea of the course of the river as a whole, or so I maintained.

"I'm not talking about what you see from your present stance," replied my friend. "I'm talking about how it feels to be 60. Think it over."

And I did, even as the conversation shifted to other topics. My friend, I thought to myself, is on the ball. A 60th birthday does give pause, perhaps more so than any other. Therefore it is an opportune moment for reflections. But will they jell? As I wondered, my mind went back to Julia Ward Howe, rising one early morning in that very hotel and writing, to the tune of John Brown's Body, the stern, uncompromising hymn beginning: "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord • • •."

Is that what makes 60 so significant, I asked myself?

One who was born in 1894 has necessarily seen a great deal, even if he has never moved from the community of his birth. He has, for instance, observed the coming of automobiles and airplanes, and has adapted his personal life to the vast changes these instruments have brought. I recall, from my boyhood, the day when our school was let out to watch the first mechanical flight ever made over the city of Baltimore. Our teachers, it was said, were taking no chance of being held culpable if the frail apparatus should crash on the school roof. Now, like

millions of others, I find air travel rather boring. There would be more of a thrill in driving a horse and buggy along a country road.

Every generation is to some extent transitional. But those of us who are now 60 and more are especially two-faced. Much more than friends who are only 10 years junior, I can remember a mode of life fundamentally different from that of today. Then the telephone was a rarity. Then many business letters were still written and copied in longhand. Then drinking water was boiled, from fear of typhoid. And then the lamplighter's evening round was the signal to come in from play and do the lessons toward which both parents and teachers seemed equally relentless. Because one learned the hard way one did not necessarily learn well. My school chemistry told me that the atom was final and indestructible. One spoke of smashing things to atoms, where the real smashing now begins.

The changes that have taken place since 1900 have forced all who have experienced them to keep moving. For that reason, contrary to the general belief of youngsters, no man or woman of 60 is really conservative. Looking backwards, as one does at that age, a certain nostalgia for the relative simplicity of the good old days is natural. But very few sexagenarians would turn the clock back if they had power to do so. They have learned to live with modern comforts, and they like them.

What is often called conservatism in the elderly is actually their realization that change is not necessarily progress. Idealistic youth looks at what is and rightly says it should be better. Experience brings a certain cynicism. At 60 one well remembers the wave of enthusiasm when a handful of Bolsheviks overthrew the incompetent czarist tyranny in Russia. In 1917, that change seemed progress. Was it?

The old equation of elders and betters is absurd. If any man is wise at 60 he probably had the makings at 16. But what he certainly should have gained, in the decades granted him, is a basis for comparison. From this he sees that any utopian solution is likely to be specious and that many proposed reforms, giving more power to assumedly benevolent government, can only lead toward tyranny. If a man at 60 is merely a skeptic his life is meaningless. Usually, however, faith, rather than skepticism, is then growing stronger.

And that would seem to be because, at 60, all men have suffered. Death has claimed many who were near and dear. And among these losses there has very likely been at least one so premature and tragic as to be literally shattering. The silver lining is that such suffering makes its victims more sympathetic, and more reconciled to their own eventual end. If one does not exactly welcome that idea, at least it no longer terrifies. And indeed there is solace in the thought of joining those who have gone before. Belief in immortality, so closely associated with belief in God, takes many forms, some crudely selfish and some so impersonal as to be only faintly consoling. But every man, at 60, must notice that he is less beset by friends who sell life insurance.

In this enforced acceptanee of mortality there is no morbidity. Indeed, at 60 a man worries far less about the future than he did at half that age. His major concern now is not with making a living. It is rather with rounding off a life. If ambition has been cut down to size, interest in that which can still be accomplished is enlarged. Churchills and Adenauers are few and far between, but every man can at least improve what he has in hand. So, at 60 people come to think less of achievement and more of accomplishment. What is apparent in men, in this respect, is even more obvious in women. With them there seems to be a compensatory law decreeing that mellowness shall increase as allure diminishes. An apple orchard in April is lovely. It is no less attractive when the fruit appears.

Among the other matters on which attitudes change, around 60, is economic security. Of course many at that age have little prospect of financial independence. But it is apparent that those who worry most about this are younger people. At 60 both men and women are well aware that life is essentially insecure; that self-fortification is the only reliable defense against its slings and arrows. Governments can, and often do, increase the insecurity that is the natural lot of man. As they distribute old-age pensions they also seize one's personal savings. And no government can ever decree that the dissolute shall be frugal, the querulous, contented, or the cowardly, strong.

At 60, whatever one may have thought earlier, one will have learned that the possessions of greatest value are not for sale. The laughter of children, the feel or verdant earth, the song of the birds in early morning, the sunset and hearth at nightfall—such are the goods from which the deepest satisfactions come. As capitalism cannot create them, so communism cannot take them away. To recognize this is not to underrate the importance of the free market, nor to stand aloof from the current battle for men's minds. On the contrary, our victory in that battle depends on realization that what we call immaterial is often of the greatest importance, and vice versa.

It was the custom, before we began to confuse schooling and education, to start an apprenticeship at 16. Then, in due course and not too fast, one came to craftsmanship and thereby made a living. At 60, or thereabouts, the tools of a craft, like the armor of knighthood in its day, were turned over to representatives of the rising generation. Having made a living it was time to round out a life.

The regulations change, the span of life is lengthened, but the same three stages remain. They may be called the periods of passion, without which there can be no urge to create; of dispassion, without which no effort can be constructively directed; and of compassion, with which the work of all men should be judged. At 60 the chances are that men and women, whatever their individual shortcomings, are becoming compassionate. And if that is true this birthday is indeed significant.

Excise-Tax Reductions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, the Treasury Department estimates that we are paying taxes totaling $304 million annually just to buy tickets for entertainment, such as movies, fairs, theaters, cabarets, sports, and other events.

By passing the excise-tax bill recommended by the Ways and Means Committee we will reduce this tax burden by $152 million annually, a sum which will benefit the millions who attend one or another form of entertainment weekly. It will, in addition, help several thousand small theaters which are struggling to stay open with reduced attendance. In many of our small towns the movie is the only form of public entertainment available. These theaters serve as a social center and are used for many other activities. It is worth while that we take action to keep these useful landmarks alive and solvent in the country. Entertainment in the form of music and floor shows will be added in many restaurants, thus adding employment possibilities.

The $152 million is a very helpful sum that will be turned loose in our economic life stream and will save 40 cents per week for the family which spends an average of $4 per week for entertainment.

Third Annual Spiritual Services, Postal Clerks of Greater Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a portion of my address at the third annual spiritual service of the postal clerks of Greater Lawrence, Mass., observed by a breakfast at St. Michael's Church in North Andover, Mass., on Sunday, March 7, 1954. Mr. Ambrose R. Kelley, acting as chairman of the committee, and Mr. John Walsh, president of the postal clerks organization, of Lawrence, Mass., officiated as the toastmaster at this well-attended function:

Portion of the address follows:

They say that communism has gone underground in the United States, but you'd never know it judging from the armed attempt to liquidate the United States House of Representatives—and from the balcony, at that—last Monday.

No one has tabulated the millions of words that have been fired at communism from the floor of the House, but it is now safe to say that the issue was brought forcibly home to us in a way that we shall never forget.

The papers report that the three assassins were fanatical Puerto Rican Nationalists, trying to dramatize the movement of a minority in that island who are seeking complete independence from the United States.

But anyone who tries to become a martyr by shooting his friends is not proceeding along spiritual lines.

Congress has made it possible for them to become independent if a majority of Puerto Ricans so desire. Instead of campaigning at home to win votes for their cause, they decided to murder their benefactors instead.

To us the contradiction is plain.

Puerto Rican independence is not the issue: international communism was and is.

It has been a long-standing tradition that your National Legislators were protected by what is called congressional immunity in what they said and did while in session. Communism was the first to break that tradition by force because it is no respecter of any civilized code or law or human right.

I do not know at the moment whether the three terrorists are Communist Party members or whether they are but ignorant puppets whose thoughts and actions were controlled without their knowledge by conspirators whose chain of command reaches to Moscow.

If they are party members you may be sure that the FBI has a complete and active file on each one of them.

If they are but dupes of communism, that points to a more serious problem, highlighting the difficulties we must contend with in protecting our free way of life from subversion.

As the pattern of Communist intrigue is exposed, we have been shocked by the number of upright and intelligent people who have been taken in by communism.

Their number is not large, but the fact that their ethical and intellectual equipment was not strong enough to enable them to see through communism—to understand its fraud and its cruelty—indicates that something was lacking in their preparation for life.

That missing quality—that unconquerable faith which alone gives man the insight and the fortitude to resist evil, and overcome it—is to be found in religion and nowhere else.

The Communists know this. That is why they attempt to divide and confuse us.

We must strengthen ourselves by spiritual rearmament. We must join ranks as Americans who have freedom to worship, but who worship in different ways the one God who teaches us to respect the dignity of each man under His divine fatherhood and thus mobilize a power that is eternal.

Against it, communism can never prevail.

I saw it at work last Monday when Americans of different faiths—forgetting their own danger—helped the wounded.

I see it here in this heartening tribute to basic spiritual unity.

In dedicating ourselves to maintaining freedom under God.

The Growing Appreciation of Hi-Fi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very fine address by Commissioner George E. Sterling, Federal Communications Commission, before the Washington high-fidelity fair, March 6, 1954:

THE GROWING APPRECIATION OF HI-FI

I am happy to be with you today and participate in Washington's first High Fidelity Fair.

I have long been a hi-fi fan and have pleasant memories of the time when, while stationed in Baltimore, I tried to out-perform my friends in government and industry in reproducing radio programs more realistically. Those were the days of puny audio transformers and tinny-sounding speakers. There was sad infidelity in radio reception. We had our own high-fidelity fairs then, but they were generally held in the home of one of the fans where each would bring his equipment for comparison with the others.

I have, through the years, watched with considerable interest the growing number of people who appreciate fidelity of sound reproduction and the development and production of equipment to meet and keep pace with their interest.

In preparation for this talk I looked in a 1932 unabridged dictionary for a definition of the word "fidelity" in its relation to sound, and found—nothing. An ordinary dictionary—1952 vintage—defines one use of the word as "the degree to which an electrical device accurately reproduces its effect." Having found the definition of "fidelity" as it relates to an electrical reproduction, I then endeavored to arrive at my own meaning of high fidelity. While struggling with the problem I read Paul Hume's article in last Sunday's Washington Post and found comfort in his words as follows:

"The meaning of high fidelity may be argued around the block and back again, and a thousand different definitions may be given for it by engineers, listeners, and musicians.

"But it has become a fixed term, if one of mixed meanings and it is a term that seems likely to last."

I then abandoned my struggle for a meaning of my own.

I think you will agree with me high fidelity no longer is associated with "long hair" musicians or music lovers. You can have high fidelity of reproductions in your home according to your musical tastes whether it be the classics, chamber music, Hawaiian music, folksongs, or the torch singer.

The last 20 years have indeed brought many changes in sound reproduction. In the early days of disk recording, I recall that some recording engineers constructed their own recording heads. A recording head which was particularly good was guarded under lock and key. When the recording engineer changed jobs, he took his wax cutter with him.

Efforts, too, were made in those days to "sharpen up" the records—to make the high notes more brilliant. Each recording engineer had his own method of doing this—but generally the method used was to "tilt" the frequency response of the entire recording system, thus increasing the recorded level of the highs. Each recording company used a different recording curve and, no doubt, made changes as soon as it could find out, through the grapevine route, what competitors were doing.

Through the efforts of industry, this situation has been eliminated, and the recording curves of the major record producers are now well established and well known.

The art has also progressed. Today the broadcaster and the general public can obtain not only better records, but also playback pickups, loud speakers, amplifiers, radio tuners, recorders, and a host of associated equipment which will give high fidelity performance.

It is gratifying to note that the radio and TV manufacturing industry has sensed the increasing public interest in high fidelity reproduction and are building into their more expensive receivers the circuits and parts and speakers that will satisfy this demand. In further recognition of the growth of "hi-fi," the Radio-Electronic-Television Manufacturer's Association has formed a high fidelity equipment section and its task forces are drafting proposed standards of performance for trade use.

One of the present difficulties is that some equipment is being advertised and sold as "hi-fi" which does not conform to what the industry considers as being in this category. So the engineering task forces of RETMA are tackling this problem for the mutual benefit of the producer, the distributor, the retailer, and the user. However, it will take time to develop minimum standards which will be acceptable to all concerned.

It is not unreasonable to expect that some precautions will be taken by the industry to safeguard the public in the buying of "hi-fi" equipment. Perhaps this will take the form of a distinctive seal of approval or some other mark of certification on the equipment to guarantee that it will meet RETMA standards.

Further, RETMA is preparing a booklet which will give the consumer information that will enable him to select good quality "hi-fi" equipment either in ready made cabinets or in selected components. The ready made and the custom equipment are not necessarily competitive since they will appeal to different tastes and different pocketbooks, and the industry believes that the sale of one will stimulate public interest in the other.

High fidelity has moved within the past year from a hobby for "long hair" musical enthusiasts to a ready-made product of volume production for the masses. Dollarwise, it has multiplied several times and is expected to continue to grow. Industry estimates on high fidelity equipment sales in 1954 may top $250 million and more.

The popularity of high fidelity reproduction not only has spurred record sales especially of classical recordings, but also has broadened the FM audiences because almost all "hi-fi" radio-phonographs have FM reception facilities.

I feel that the frequency limitations and noise level on "platters" tended to retard earlier public acceptance of high fidelity. Many of my friends and acquaintances waxed enthusiastic about high fidelity demonstrations but their interest waned after investing in equipment that from a broadcast receiving standpoint yielded nothing more in quality of reception than they previously experienced.

Today the situation is different. Programs recorded on disks which were previously limited to 4,500 cycles now extended to 12,000 to 15,000 cycles with a low order of distortion and noise level. Tape recorders to the inclusion of home recorders make possible the best in reproduction. The use of high-fidelity records and tape recordings are not confined to broadcast use and the exacting listener can, and often does, build up his own entertainment library. It is possible to buy home recorders which have better fidelity than was obtainable from the best commercial recording equipment of 15 years ago. Tape recording has truly revolutionized the art of recording both for commercial and home use.

This is a challenge to the broadcaster, who is well aware of the increasing public interest in high fidelity. Under Commission rules, every standard broadcast station must have a response of 50 to 5,000 cycles from microphone terminals to antenna terminals. However, in specific locations, such as individual cities, broadcast stations are allocated with a minimum separation of 40 kilocycles. Therefore, there is no objection to stations modulating to 15,000 cycles or more, if no interference is caused to other stations. Under this mode of operation high fidelity service is possible, particularly during the daytime hours. At first blush this would seem out of order because standard broadcast stations are allocated only a 10-kilocycle channel, however the extra wide band radiations cause no interference in most localities during the day. The audio distortion, audio frequency response, carrier hum, noise level, and other phases of the broadcast operation must conform to the requirements of good engineering practice, which in turn are based on the state of the development of the art. Thus, many standard broadcast stations—if they so desire—can broadcast high fidelity programs. It is gratifying to report that a number of them do. Commission records indicate that these stations have a consistent and intensely loyal group of listeners.

But it is one thing to broadcast a high-fidelity program and another thing to receive it. The standard broadcast receiver is susceptible to man made and atmospheric electrical disturbances, and the propagation of radio waves in this band varies from day to night and, to a lesser extent, from season to season. The atmospheric noise level on the AM band is objectionable during the summer months, particularly in areas of low-signal intensity. A standard wide-band broadcast receiver designed to receive high-

fidelity broadcasts may also receive additional undesired disturbances.

On the other hand, the FM broadcast method is not plagued by these difficulties. For one thing, an FM station is assigned a channel 20 times wider than that used by an AM station. This is so it can do justice to FM's superior qualities. Consequently, a properly designed FM set can give interference-free, high-fidelity reception, day and night, year after year, even during the presence of a local thunderstorm which often causes serious interference to AM signals.

For an adventure in good listening, I suggest that you try FM. Those living in the suburban and rural areas where standard broadcast reception is marred by interference from other radio stations or by static, or by both, can choose an FM tuner to work in conjunction with their "hi-fi" equipment. Such a combination can be designed and installed with the idea of utilizing the full capabilities of high-fidelity record-reproducing equipment. I believe that you will be agreeably surprised with the results since Washington is fortunate in having an unusual number of FM high-fidelity broadcasts by military bands, and concerts by various Government and other institutions.

I am of the opinion that more attention should have been paid to noise level years ago, because high fidelity with noise is certainly more objectionable than low-fidelity without noise. It is encouraging to note that appropriate attention is being paid to the noise level in modern designs of "hi-fi" equipment.

Probably one of the major obstacles to more widespread high-fidelity networking from the broadcasters' viewpoint is the cost of intercity lines capable of transmitting such programs. Line charges on a 15,000-cycle circuit are nearly twice that of a 5,000-cycle circuit. For that reason a large portion of AM, FM, and TV sound is handled on 5,000-cycle intercity circuits. The class C lines employed for some network programs operate between 200 and 3,500 cycles. The type of intercity circuit used by the broadcasters has not been a matter upon which the Commission had made any rules. I personally feel that such circuits should be a matter of choice to the broadcaster to suit the type of program material he is handling and consistent with what he can afford to utilize. We can hope, however, that the high-fidelity trend will create sufficient listener pressure on the broadcasters and the networks to increase the use of wider frequency range intercity circuits for those types of programs that would warrant the extra cost of the lines and terminal equipment.

Those of you who want a complete list of the equipment performance requirements to be met by broadcast stations should refer to the Commission's rules and standards. However, in brief, these rules require that the FM system shall be capable of transmitting a band of frequencies from 50 cycles to 15,000 cycles, and the combined audio harmonics included to 30 kilocycles shall not exceed a root-mean-square value of 2.5 to 3.5 percent depending on the modulating frequency. These values are for the overall system as measured from the microphone input to the transmitter output. The transmitting system FM output noise level shall be at least 60 decibels below 100 percent modulation (frequency swing of plus or minus 75 kilocycles), and the AM output noise level shall be at least 50 decibels below the level representing 100 percent AM modulation. Television sound channels provide similar standards. However, in the case of the TV aural channel the frequency swing is 25 kilocycles.

Three-D movies are with us these days, and so is two-D, or binaural, sound. A number of binaural broadcasts have been made, and the method generally used involves the use of an AM transmitter for the other channel. Many of you may have witnessed demonstrations of binaural sound when two local FM stations (WGMS–FM and WASH–FM) each transmitted on their separate carriers a concert given by the National Symphony Orchestra, picked up by separate directional microphones and recombined aurally at the receiving point. I understand that the Hollywood Bowl concerts and concerts in some other parts of the country have been broadcast in this manner and that the results have been excellent.

The next step in the development of binaural sound is obvious. Why not transmit both audio channels from one FM station? This has been done under experimental authorization. The Commission has outstanding a notice of proposed rule making to amend the FM rules and standards to permit additional program transmission on a multiplex basis. Such an amendment would permit binaural broadcasting from one FM transmitter. At the present time there are three FM broadcast stations multiplexing programs on an experimental basis.

The Institute of Radio Engineers has as its objective the advancement of the theory and practice of radio and electronics, including allied branches of engineering and all related arts and sciences.

It bestows awards in recognition of outstanding technical and administrative achievements. One of these awards is the medal of honor given annually in recognition of outstanding scientific or engineering achievements in the fields of activity of the institute.

Since 1917 none of the 34 recipients of this award, as far as I can ascertain, have been recognized for their achievements within the field of high fidelity reproduction. I submit that high fidelity reproduction whether it be in the field of broadcasting or home recordings falls well within the scope of an engineering achievement that would merit consideration for this award. Consequently, in the light of the increasing public interest and acceptance of high fidelity and its contribution to a better appreciation of musical artists and their compositions and renditions as heard in the home with all the faithfulness of their voices and musical instruments, I suggest that the Institute of Radio Engineers consider bestowing the next medal of honor, or establishing a new award, to the engineer who has by design or development of equipment, or both, made an outstanding contribution to the advancement of high fidelity.

Adequate Medical Treatment for Personnel of United States Coast Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution adopted at the council of administration of the Department of Massachusetts Veterans of Foreign Wars on Saturday, February 27, 1954:

Whereas the personnel of the United States Coast Guard are now inequitably treated insofar as medical care is concerned due to the placement of the United States Coast Guard under the Treasury Department, which leaves the personnel under a medical system and with rights different from the members of the other armed services; and

Whereas the provisions of the bill formerly known as H. R. 2756 of the 83d Congress, 1st session, hereinafter fully stated, makes adequate provision for the United States Coast Guard personnel; and

Whereas legislative action is contemplated by means of an omnibus bill to cover all branches of the armed services as recommended by the Moulton commission: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the following be adopted:

1. The Congress of the United States is requested to adopt the following: that when the Coast Guard is operating in the Treasury Department, dependents of military personnel of the Coast Guard shall be eligible, subject to the same conditions and limitations as apply to dependents of military personnel of the Navy, for hospitalization, medical, surgical, and dental care, in hospitals and in dispensaries operated by the Armed Forces at places outside the continental United States, and at other places where hospitals operated pursuant to the act of Jully 1, 1944 (60 Stat. 421; 42 U. S. C. ch. 6–A), are not available.

2. That the action of the Congress be taken either through separate legislation or through the omnibus bill hereinbefore described.

Pan American Airways, RCA Put on Guided-Missiles Job

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully call the attention of the House of Representatives to an article on the front page of the New York Herald Tribune of March 3, announcing that Pan American World Airways and the Radio Corporation of America are taking part in a top-level defense project to develop long-range pilotless bombers and intercontinental guided missiles.

For a couple of reasons I consider both these great corporations to be constituents of mine. Both have their headquarters in the Manhattan section of New York. Both come under the close scrutiny of the committee of which I am privileged to be a member, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The history of the Radio Corporation of America's contributions to national defense is well known. Electronics developments of this great organization, under the direction of Gen. David Sarnoff, contributed immeasurably to the swift completion of World War II and the cessation of hostilities in Korea.

However, what Pan American World Airways has contributed to similar achievements may not be as well known to Members of this body. I think it high time that the national-defense activities of this airline and its far-seeing president, Mr. Juan T. Trippe, be recorded for all to see.

Pan American has undertaken to maintain and service the equipment for launching, testing, and tracking pilotless bombers and other guided missiles

from the launching base at Cape Canaveral, Fla., through a string of auxiliary bases that will stretch more than a thousand miles through the Bahamas past the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico.

The mission involves maintaining complete radio and wire communications, weather stations, range safety centers, telemetry receiving stations, radar and optical tracking stations, and local airstrips.

In subcontracting certain important electronic assignments to the Radio Corporation of America, headed by General Sarnoff, Pan American and RCA join their wealth of experience together.

Here are a few of Pan American's major defense assignments:

First. Trained Air Force flight crews and ground staff in the company's pioneering experience in overseas flying, 1941.

Second. Trained British Royal Air Force and the Royal Canadian Air Force navigators in the science of overseas air navigation.

Third. Ferried military planes to the war fronts.

Fourth. Built and operated airbases and a transport service through Pan American Airways, Africa, from Gambia and the Gold Coast in west Africa to Egypt to supply the British in Egypt with ammunition and other critical items.

Fifth. Airport-development program, a wartime organization to build and operate airbases in many parts of the world, including Latin America, Africa, and the Azores.

Sixth. Formed Africa-Orient Division for the Air Transport Command in in World War II to keep supplies flowing to the major battlefronts.

Seventh. Performed transport assignments in the Atlantic and Pacific for the naval air transport services in World War II.

Eighth. Participated in Berlin airlift in 1948. Pan American continues to serve as a connecting link between Berlin and Western Germany.

Ninth. PAA was the largest civil operation in the Pacific airlift which helped supply the Korean front with critical cargo and key military specialists.

Tenth. In a current contract for the United States Navy, Pan American is conducting a long-range study of upper air currents in the western Pacific. These air currents, known as jet streams, are now used by Pan American on regularly scheduled Pacific flights.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to include an article by Ansel E. Talbert from the New York Herald Tribune of March 3, 1954, entitled "Top Level Defense Project," and to commend it to the attention of this body:

TOP-LEVEL DEFENSE PROJECT: PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS, RCA PUT ON GUIDED-MISSILES JOB

(By Ansel E. Talbert)

Pan American World Airways and the Radio Corporation of America are taking part in a top-level defense project to develop long-range pilotless bombers and intercontinental guided missiles, it was learned yesterday.

Both companies previously have been involved in a variety of military and naval projects, but neither is known to have had any part in the Nation's expanding guided-missile program. Pan American, which pioneered commercial air service across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has contracted to operate, service, and maintain certain important guided-missile range facilities stretching southeastward from Florida into the Caribbean and south Atlantic.

These facilities include equipment for launching, testing, and tracking pilotless bombers and other guided missiles from the launching base at Cape Canaveral through a string of auxiliary bases that will stretch more than 1,000 miles. Cape Canaveral is the seaward extremity of a barrier island sheltering Florida's Banana River lagoon on the east coast.

The airline's new mission will involve maintaining complete radio and air communications, weather stations, range safety centers, telemetry receiving stations, radar and optical tracking stations, and local airstrips. Important electronic assignments already have been subcontracted to the Radio Corporation of America, whose head, David Sarnoff, served as special consultant on communications at Supreme Allied Headquarters during World War II with the rank of brigadier general.

The Air Force would not comment on its reasons for assigning to two civilian organizations such an important role in the guided-missile program. Previously its chiefs have stated that it is "established Air Force policy to operate test facilities by contract with such organizations when it will result in greater economy and efficiency."

There have been indications recently that many strategists feel much greater emphasis should be put upon guided-missile development and every effort made to speed up all phases of the program. Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle, United States Army (retired), one of the Air Force's top scientific advisers, said that although the United States had superiority in aircraft, it was extremely likely that the Soviet Union "is ahead of the country in developing an intercontinental guided missile—the ultimate weapon."

Air Force personnel for more than 3 years have been setting up many of the facilities which Pan American and RCA will operate. They have experienced some difficulties partly because not enough available airmen are familiar with the Caribbean area. Pan American for about a quarter of a century has been operating air service in the Caribbean and has close contacts in the islands involved in the guided-missile range.

The down-range stations to be used for tracking missiles fired from Patrick Air Force Base on Cape Canaveral are at Grand Bahama, Eleuthera, San Salvador, Grand Turk, Mayaguana, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. It has been stated by Air Force chiefs that this range could be extended almost indefinitely, as the size and range of missiles under development increases.

Although there are no immediate commercial applications for guided missiles, it is no secret that many scientists foresee that intercontinental mail between Europe and the United States, for example, is likely to be carried in the not-distant future by rockets aid fast pilotless planes that can be landed safely by remote control.

Pan American is understood to be establishing an entirely new division of the airline called the Guided Missiles Range Division in preparation for eventual full-scale operation of the range facilities. It was stressed that activities now carried on by Air Force personnel at Patrick Air Force Base, aside from rangework being taken over by the two civilian oragnizations, would continue as before.

Increasing the Borrowing Authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation

SPEECH
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7339) to increase the borrowing power of Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, a good many of the Members who are here now were not here when I discussed this question in general debate. It is my intention, if a motion to recommit is not offered on the other side, to offer a motion to recommit this bill for further consideration. My reason is this. I would like to restate it briefly by way of summation of what I said before in general debate.

This bill is designed essentially to sustain the present 90-percent fixed price-support farm program. It gives no consideration to the new program recommended by the administration. It does not even give consideration to the revision in the program already ordered by the Secretary of Agriculture in respect of butter. Hence it seems to me to be directly tied to the existing farm-price policy and it is my conviction that this is the basis for this vote.

It is impossible, however, to oppose the bill in toto because there is some money that will be needed under any farm-price-support program and therefore the logical thing is to have the vote upon a motion to recommit.

The statement was made a moment ago that this farm-price policy has cost the country only $1 billion. I am sorry, but I cannot agree with that statement, and I say that for this reason: The Commodity Credit Corporation credits at the full amount of what it paid for commodities all repayments to it by other Government agencies. I think everybody here knows that very large transactions have taken place under the European recovery and other programs, with the Commodity Credit Corporation in that way without regard to market or actual prices.

A Department of Agriculture estimate I have seen quoted puts the cost of agricultural and related programs 1932–53 at over $16 billion to which can be added over $4 billion for wartime consumer subsidies or a total of over $20 billion.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I am quoting from figures given by the Department of Agriculture itself on page 123 of the hearings.

Mr. JAVITS. The figures I have seen are quoted from figures given by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. But Mr. King's figures, as the gentleman knows,

include the cost of all agricultural programs over the last 20 years.

Mr. JAVITS. I was coming to the fundamental point which is this: We have about $6,150,000,000 of these commodities in store. As I read the debate in the other body by people who are in the farm group, they themselves estimated that if we realized 50 percent on what we have in store of butter, cheese, and dried milk solids something like a quarter of a billion dollars worth, we would be doing well.

This issue cannot be argued upon the basis of how much it did or did not cost. If it is just, then whatever it has cost, is worth it. The only thing I say, and I am not arguing about the city against the country, is that this whole situation is going against the farmer, with an investment estimated now to go up $8.5 billion for price-supported agricultural commodities which is 25 percent of the value of all the farm commodities marketed in this country in 1952. Just think of it, 25 percent the Government is expected to acquire and hold.

This whole program is economically unsound. It is a snare and a delusion both for the consumer and the farmer. It has to be revised. To revise it, you have to start somewhere, and this bill is the place to start it, because if you do not start it here you will be told in a month or so from now when it comes to voting on the farm price-support program itself, "Don't worry about it now, you have already decided it. You have provided the money, so why not continue the same high-fixed farm price-support program again?"

The issue is not alone the $8.5 billion for price supports. With all due respect to these gentlemen and the internal mechanics of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the issue is, Do you or do you not want the commitment for fixed 90 percent of parity farm price supports?

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to say it is anticipated there will be at least a 50-percent loss in this program now?

Mr. JAVITS. I did not say quite that. What I said was that in reading the debates in the other body, the estimates made by Members from farm areas on the milk products stocks held by CCC, there were estimates there that the loss in such commodities held would be 50 percent or more.

Mr. ARENDS. I wondered where the estimate came from. I did not know about it.

Mr. JAVITS. It may very well be that some of the Members of the other body were thinking of specific commodities. For example, I have heard specifically the 50-percent figure in respect to butter. Hence I was not stating it authoritatively; I was only pointing out that there would be a substantial loss on the commodities held by CCC; nothing else.

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. I believe the gentleman stated that if this is justice then this bill should pass as a matter of justice.

Mr. JAVITS. I made that amply clear. That is exactly what I said.

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. Does the gentleman think that 90 percent of parity or equality is less than justice?

Mr. JAVITS. I have made my point clear. I do not think it is just either to the farmer or the consumer because it is not working for the farmer as witness the figures, and the consumer is paying twice—in higher food prices and in Federal taxes.

Address of Mr. Charles H. Silver, President of Beth Israel Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include an address delivered by the Honorable Charles H. Silver at the golden jubilee graduation exercises of the School of Nursing at Beth Israel Hospital in New York City.

Mr. Silver is a member of the New York City Board of Education and is president of the Beth Israel Hospital. He is well known throughout the city of New York for his humanitarianism and constant efforts to lighten the burden of his less fortunate fellow citizens.

On the occasion of the graduation the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, presented to Mr. Silver a bronze plaque in behalf of the city of New York, expressing the appreciation of the citizens of our great metropolis to Beth Israel Hospital and the school of nursing for their services to the community.

The address follows:

On the occasion of the golden jubilee of the School of Nursing of Beth Israel Hospital, I have chosen as the subject of my remarks to you my conception of and reaction to the meaning of the passage of 50 years as it relates to the school of nursing. Fifty years have gone by quickly; indeed they have flown by; yet they are less than an instant as we measure time through the ages.

Still 50 years is half a century and it is heartwarming to be here at the golden jubilee of our school of nursing and to realize that so much has been done, that such vast strides have been made and that nearly 2,000 graduates of our school of nursing have been at the side of sick and ailing human beings throughout this country and on the battlefield, and have projected a compassion far beyond our capacity to fully comprehend.

Tonight another group of young women join the long procession that began to emerge from the school of nursing 50 years ago; a procession whose ranks were made up of self-effacing young women who chose a nursing career not so much for the material rewards or glory, but because to them it represented a fascinating and stimulating field of activity. And they have never failed or even wavered in the face of the most trying circumstances whether it be in the sickroom or on the field of battle.

I shall never cease to wonder when I visit the hospital, which I do almost daily, at the silent and efficient way in which they go about their duties. They seem to work without excitement or effort, yet every move they make is touched with efficiency and complete understanding of what they are supposed to do. They are the female soldiers in white who give battle to disease and who form one of the most important links in the medical chain that functions in the hospital.

For me the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the school of nursing has a special meaning. I played as a boy in the streets which took in the area in which the first school was opened. In those days that part of the East Side was referred to as the Ghetto—which it really was not—and Israel Zangwill, the great English novelist, called it the melting pot. By that he meant that many races and creeds, and mostly of the Jewish faith, had come here from Europe to the land of milk and honey to make a home for themselves, raise their families, and also to escape the cruel persecution in Europe.

The school was opened in this crowded section of the city, this East Side. The surroundings were humble, but the members of its first class came here with a firm will to get their training as nurses. They worked in small quarters, very often 12 and 14 hours a day, they scrubbed tables, but they didn't complain for they were doing a work which they loved; and my friends, I am extremely happy to tell you, that some of them are still engaged in the profession of nursing right here in Beth Israel Hospital.

It is also good to know that the conditions under which nurses are trained today in our school of nursing are tremendously different from those which existed 50 years ago. We have a faculty of which we are very proud and the fact is that the great majority of our graduates remain with us permanently. This, I feel, is a tribute to the wise and efficient guidance of the director of nursing, Miss Clare M. Casey, who is head of the school and who, incidentally, celebrates her 10th year as a member of the staff of Beth Israel Hospital and as the head of the school nursing staff. She is very ably assisted by Miss Rose Muscatine and a very competent and cooperative staff. All this work is being carried on under the direction of our executive director, Dr. Maxwell S. Frank and his associate, Mr. Meyer J. Gill.

For me this graduation brings a large measure of personal satisfaction, for I am proud of the privilege of serving Beth Israel whose doors never close to those who come for help, and whose school of nursing marks tonight a half-century of faithful service to the vast community of all races and creeds. It is Beth Israel Hospital that is a tangible and shining example of the meaning of democracy which those immigrants on the East Side absorbed so quickly and with great love in their hearts. And the children of these people have since become a vital part of our country, imbued with its finest ideals. They have gone into the fields of medicine, law, science, and are prominent in every walk of life.

As president of Beth Israel, I want to express my appreciation to Mayor Wagner for joining us tonight in marking the golden jubilee of the school of nursing. The distinguished son of a distinguished father, he is now the executive head of the greatest city in the world and all New Yorkers, regardless of their political beliefs, join in wishing for him success in the great adventure on which he has embarked, the administration of one of the most difficult jobs in the world and to which the citizens of New York have elected him. We have nothing but the best wishes for his success.

It is appropriate for me to mention at this time that the golden jubilee graduation ex-

ercises are being held in the auditorium in which many occasions have been celebrated. I say this now because we shall soon dedicate this auditorium to the memory of Mr. David L. Podell who was my predecessor as president of Beth Israel Hospital, and whose splendid work in its behalf is known to all. When David L. Podell passed on, this community lost one of its finest citizens and all of us at Beth Israel feel privileged to recall his achievements in private and public life and to point out that this auditorium will soon be dedicated in his name.

And so, as I close, I want to congratulate the graduates and tell them that all of us at Beth Israel hold them in high esteem. The 50 years have flown by, much has been accomplished, and there is still so very much to do. May God give all of us at Beth Israel the wisdom and understanding to meet our many responsibilities in the future.

A GOP Congressman's Views on Security Investigations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, methods of investigation by congressional committees of internal security have become a major issue in the country. Appended is an article from the March 16, 1954, issue of Reporter magazine by our colleague Representative PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey, presenting his views on this subject and making concrete proposals. He introduced legislation to implement these views at the opening of the 83d Congress. The article is a sober and reasonal analysis of this issue.

A GOP CONGRESSMAN'S VIEWS ON SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS

(By Hon. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR., of New Jersey)

As a freshman Representative, I have been impressed by the important role played by congressional committees. When they function well, as most of them do, they contribute greatly to the passage of important legislation. I have also been surprised at the relatively small degree of partisanship displayed in most of these bodies. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I have seen little evidence that either Republicans or Democrats are thinking of veterans' problems in an exclusively political way.

Even more surprising to me is the small degree of political fireworks on the House Education and Labor Committee. Although individual members have sharply differing opinions, all witnesses are given a full and fair hearing. Each of us has realized that the basic question—the adequacy of present labor-management relations legislation—needs to be considered objectively. So far, at least, partisanship has been minimized. Unfortunately, the general objectivity and balance that characterize most of our committees do not carry over to the competing committees in the field of subversive activities.

Competition for publicity among investigating committees is a serious fault, as witness the extraordinary spectacle of the subpenaing contest between Senator WILLIAM JENNER's Internal Security Subcommittee and Representative HAROLD H. VELDE's Un-American Activities Committee following the now-famous Chicago Executives Club speech of Attorney General Herbert Brownell last November 6. Another fault is the failure on the part of some committees to afford adequate protection to witnesses. As a result, some persons oppose all congressional investigating committees. They feel these committees do more harm than good, and that Congress should restrict its investigations to the gathering of information needed in the preparation of legislation. I do not hold this view. When properly employed, the investigatory function is an extremely valuable one.

The La Follette Senate Civil Liberties Committee of 1936 did not confine itself to preparing legislation. By its investigations and exposure of substandard working and living conditions it laid the groundwork for the social reforms which followed during the next decade or so. The Truman investigating committee during the Second World War earned general commendation for exposure of inefficiencies in our military procurement program. The Johnson Preparedness Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, which carried on this type of investigation during the Korean war, did another fine job. So did the King subcommittee, which investigated tax frauds, and the Fulbright subcommittee, which looked into the operations of the RFC.

Such investigating committees can serve two valuable functions:

They can help Congress to carry out its role of overseeing the work of the executive departments. This function is an essential part of our system of checks and balances. It has become increasingly important with the growth of bureaucracy, and the insulation of many governmental decisions from public opinion.

They can help Congress to perform what Woodrow Wilson called the informing function; that is, they can help educate the people and aid them in securing the facts they need to perform as intelligent and responsible citizens.

Investigating committees in the field of subversive activities need not be excepted from the above generalizations. In the field of internal security, as in others, Congress can do a useful and constructive job in overseeing the work of the executive branch. The primary responsibility for investigating subversion and for reassuring the public rests with the Justice Department and the FBI. The role of the legislative branch should be of a general supervisory character, with congressional investigating committees serving as watchdogs to check on the performance of the executive branch. Certainly their primary function should not be to develop ammunition to be used for political purposes.

PROPOSED JOINT COMMITTEE

How then should Congress deal with the problems presented by the various competing committees investigating subversive activities?

The problem can best be handled, it seems to me, by the establishment of a single Joint Committee on Internal Security, which would have exclusive jurisdiction in this field. On the opening day of this session of Congress I introduced Joint Resolution 328, providing for such a joint committee.

A number of considerations led me to make this proposal. As I have stated, congressional investigating committees have a highly important role to play. They must be employed, however, in an intelligent, fair, and impartial manner. What is needed is a means of curtailing such publicity competitions among the committees as the Jenner-Velde affair. It is also important that investigation of subversives be put on an objective nonpartisan level so as to ensure full public support. A joint committee seems uniquely appropriate.

Another advantage of a joint committee is that it provides for a chairmanship alternating between House and Senate Members. This provision—which could well apply to all joint committees—is especially important in the field of subversive activities. It would tend to reduce the possibility of any one person developing a vested interest in investigating subversives. It might encourage the committee to work as a unit rather than as a mere tool of a particular chairman.

The question of efficiency is also involved. Under the present system, with at least three committees going off in different directions, it is obvious that the energy and resources of Congress are dissipated. From the standpoint of efficient legislative-executive relations, furthermore, the joint committee would facilitate closer cooperation. The Justice Department and the FBI would have to deal with only one committee.

The resolution I have introduced contains also a number of fair-play provisions. These would afford witnesses protections similar to those they would receive in a court of law. The problem of developing such a code of procedures, I realize, is not necessarily tied up with the proposal for a joint committee. Other resolutions dealing exclusively with the question of investigating-committee procedures have been introduced. This problem of the rights of witnesses, nonetheless, is one that arises most frequently in connection with investigations of alleged subversion. While considering the question of establishing a single committee in this field, therefore, Congress should have the opportunity to pass upon the question of the rights of witnesses. In that way Congress can establish basic committee procedures. The question of adequate protection for witnesses is so fundamental that it should not simply be left to the committee itself.

EVEN THE DEMOCRATS

Another important motivation behind my proposal is a desire to take the question of communism out of the political arena. This is a field where, in the national interest, there is great need for reducing partisanship. If there is a continuing threat that Communists will penetrate into policymaking positions, both parties are equally interested. If adequate security precautions are being taken, both parties want the public to know it. A single committee can handle these problems more thoroughly and effectively than the three-ring bedlam now in effect.

By its very nature the topic of internal subversion arouses fundamental fears and emotions. Nothing would divide a nation or stir its most violent emotions more than a continuing political war based upon charges that a political party has betrayed the national security. Moreover, these same emotions, if not properly tempered and channeled, could even serve as a real threat to stable representative government.

In the final analysis, representative government is based upon the citizen's trust in the essential good will and integrity of his fellow citizens. Party government works because we have faith that members of both both parties will generally strive for what they conceive to be the best interests of the nation. We abide by the rules of the game. These prescribe that we provide basic support to the party that wins the election and permit that party to govern.

Underlying the disagreements over specific issues and the natural competition between parties has ever been a fundamental respect for the patriotism of the opposition.

If Communists in Government is permitted to continue as a major issue between our political parties, I believe that this fundamental of our political system can become seriously corroded. National unity cannot be maintained when the loyalty of a great political party is constantly being impugned. If you increase people's fears, you eventually sap their strength.

The problem of how best to handle the questions of internal security, like those of foreign policy and military security, should be dealt with on a nonpartisan basis. This is so not only because of the character of

the general subject matter but also because charges against individuals are involved, charges similar to those coming before the courts. Naturally, I recognize that party responsibility makes complete agreement between the parties unlikely. The problem of subversion, however, could be handled more effectively if conducted on less of a partisan basis. A single joint committee, with competent personnel and sufficient prestige, would help bring this about.

FOREIGN-AFFAIRS ASPECTS

The divisive effects of communism as a political issue are not only domestic in character. They carry over into our international relations, particularly into our relations with our allies. The nations of Europe, many of which have long histories as great powers, have a natural reluctance to accept the United States as undisputed leader of the western coalition. We should understand this, and win their confidence by demonstrating our capacity for leadership. Maintaining an effective coalition against Soviet aggression would be ticklish enough even if the United States were able to present a perfect picture of maturity and unity in its domestic affairs. When we appear to be seriously dividing our Nation with intemperate charges, it becomes even more difficult to maintain the respect and faith of our allies. Sharp disunity at home could discourage the unity we need abroad.

I realize that many veteran legislators will view my proposal for a Joint Committee on Internal Security as impractical. Because it would require an alteration of our present committee structure, it inevitably runs into certain powerful vested interests. Certainly the present odds are against the resolution's getting out of the Rules Committee this session.

On the other hand, the problem my proposal seeks to remedy is one of more than ordinary importance. It is a problem that has far-reaching domestic and international implications. Perhaps public opinion will before long force leaders of both parties to take positive steps toward reforming present procedures.

This question of handling adequately the problem of internal security is only one of a number of related problems which require a degree of maturity and stability not demanded even a few decades ago.

Certainly such problems cannot be solved by any gimmick—not a joint committee, a code of fair play, or anything else that simple. The final solution will depend upon what kind of public attitude American citizens finally develop on these questions. In the interim, however, I do believe that the types of machinery and procedures we employ are important. They can serve as a brake upon violent emotions. They can help us direct those emotions into more constructive channels. Such proposals can serve also as a rallying point for those seeking to educate the public concerning the necessity of maintaining its equilibrium and sense of proportion. In that way we can help protect our most important possessions—representative government and our rights and freedoms as American citizens.

Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, March 5, I had the privilege to address the House on the subject of the ninth anniversary of the illegal seizure of the Rumanian nation by the Russian Communist conspiracy. Today I received a telegram from Mr. Peter Lucaci, editor in chief of the American Rumanian News, 5703 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, which is significant because it indicates clearly the importance of continuously reminding the people enslaved by communism that the American people have not forgotten them and that their present martyrdom will not be in vain.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert Mr. Lucaci's telegram as follows:

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *March 9, 1954.*

Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,
United States Congressman,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. FEIGHAN: We wish to express our warmest thanks and our deepest gratitude for your splendid position taken on behalf of the forgotten Rumania. Your speech of March 5, delivered in the House of Representatives, has renewed the hopes of 20 million Rumanians suffering under the terrible yoke of the Communist imperialism. Our sincere thanks on behalf of our newspaper and the Americans of Rumanian descent.

AMERICAN RUMANIAN NEWS,
PETER LUCACI, *Editor in Chief.*

Phony Postal Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, for 2 weeks I have been listening, with other members of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, to testimony on a pay raise for employees of the Post Office Department. Early in the hearings a study by George Fry Associates, Inc., a management consultant firm hired by the Post Office Department, was presented to justify the Department's proposal for salary adjustment. This study is at best a basis for reclassification of Post Office Department jobs; it does nothing to solve the basic problem of inadequate pay for postal workers.

I hope the Members of the House of Representatives will take a long, careful look at the question of a postal pay increase sufficient to compensate the employees for the services they perform. They are not now adequately compensated nor would they be under the reclassification proposal contained in the Fry report.

The appended editorial, published in the Sacramento Bee, is, typical of the expressions of opinion on the subject in my congressional district. The thoughts in the editorial have been repeated time after time in individual letters written to Members of Congress, not only by postal workers, but by doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and by representatives of all groups of citizens.

A job reclassification program for the Post Office Department is not the answer to the Department's personnel problems at this time. The postal workers deserve and need an adequate pay increase. After approving such an increase the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee should then make an exhaustive study of the Post Office Department and take action on a comprehensive reclassification.

The editorial follows:

PHONY POSTAL RAISE

Pending before Congress is a measure which would give employees of the Post Office Department an across-the-board raise in salaries.

Insofar as this would benefit the mail carriers and the postal clerks, who are among the most underpaid employees of the Federal Government, this bill is meritorious and the only suggested amendment would be one to give an even greater break to those in the lower salary brackets.

But Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield has come up with a counterproposal which he describes as a system of pay adjustments based upon relative responsibility of positions in the Post Office Department.

The Summerfield plan is strictly phony when it comes to aiding those who are in the greatest need of pay boosts.

Postmasters in the major cities such as Chicago and New York, for instance, would stand to have their salaries ultimately raised by more than $5,000 a year. But grade 3 clerks would get a mere pittance of $10 more a year. Some postal workers, because of a system of grades within grades, actually would take a pay cut.

It is not known how Summerfield rates responsibility. But assuredly a great deal of it rests with the faithful clerks and carriers. They are the ones who, figuratively and literally, carry the mail and are entitled to a better deal.

The Ethics of Controversy Are Explored and Defined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the way to better legislation can be found in the very fine statement issued by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Among those issuing the statement are Arthur Koestler, John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck, Thornton Wilder, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sidney Hook, and George N. Shuster.

If the Congress ever gets around to adopting a code of conduct for its Members, the following 10 canons of ethics should form a part thereof.

The statement follows:

In recent public controversy, Americans have made grave accusations against other Americans, including the charge of willful treason. These accusations climax a long series of irresponsible public statements by men of all parties. Political opponents have been pictured as enemies of the democratic system. Harmful consequences of an action or policy have been considered sufficient evidence of evil intention. Attacks on motives and personal character have too often replaced criticism of opinion and policies. Relevant evidence has been ignored and suppressed. It is shocking to see how

persons in positions of trust have thus abandoned logical persuasion as a form of discourse and have instead resorted to demagogic talents for the spreading of calumny and confusion.

It is our duty as citizens and scholars and as observers and opponents of communism to call the attention of the public to the fact that the techniques of controversy presently employed by some speakers, writers, and public officials are dangerously similar to the techniques long used by the Communists to confuse and control their subject peoples. Those who now consciously and maliciously turn Americans against Americans are causing what may be irreparable damage to the strength we have derived from our unity. We do not know of anyone who can benefit from this state of affairs but the Communists.

This destructive demagogy can be resisted only if all of us insist that those who speak for us and to us respect the following standards of ethical controversy:

1. Nothing and no one is immune from criticism.

2. Everyone involved in a controversy has an intellectual responsibility to inform himself of the available facts.

3. Criticism should be directed first to policies, and against persons only when they are responsible for policies, and against their motives or purposes only when there is some independent evidence of their character.

4. Because certain words are legally permissible, they are not therefore morally permissible.

5. Before impugning an opponent's motives, even when they legitimately may be impugned, answer his arguments.

6. Do not treat an opponent of a policy as if he were therefore a personal enemy, or an enemy of the country, or a concealed enemy of democracy.

7. Since a good cause may be defended by bad arguments, after answering the bad arguments for another's position, present positive evidence for your own.

8. Do not hesitate to admit lack of knowledge or to suspend judgment if evidence is not decisive either way.

9. Because something is logically possible, it is not therefore probable. It is not impossible is a preface to an irrelevant statement about human affairs. The question is always one of the balance of probabilities.

10. The cardinal sin, when we are looking for truth of fact or wisdom of policy, is refusal to discuss, or action which blocks discussion.

Resolutions by the Board of Commissioners and the Administrative Board of Government of the Capital of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolutions just sent me which were passed by the Board of Commissioners and the Administrative Board of Government of the Capital of Puerto Rico immediately after the savage attack of a few terrorists on the Members of the United States House of Representatives:

"Resolution 10

"To condemn the act of terrorism committed this afternoon by a group of fanatical nationalists in the Chamber of the House of Representatives of the United States; to convey to the Congressmen, victims of this aggression, and all the other Members of the National Congress the fellow-feeling and deep sympathy of the people of Puerto Rico, and for other purposes

"Whereas a group of fanatical Puerto Ricans, of the so-called Nationalist Party, consisting of an insignificant number of persons in comparison to the total population of our island, seek the independence of Puerto Rico by force of arms;

"Whereas the savage act of aggression committed this afternoon in the Chamber of Representatives of the United States by 3 or 4 individuals of said group, has stirred the people of Puerto Rico and specially the people of the Capital of Puerto Rico, with indignation and deep sympathy: Therefore it is

"*Resolved by the Board of Commissioners of San Juan*—

"First, to set on record the deep feeling of indignation and protest which this act has caused the people of Puerto Rico and particularly the people of the capital and that such protest be sent without delay to the Honorable President of the United States, to the Congressmen, victims of this aggression, and to all the Members of Congress."

I, Josefina Rincon Marrero, Secretary of the Capital of Puerto Rico, certify the preceding is an exact copy of the Resolution No. 10, approved by the Board of Commissioners of San Juan at a special session held March 1, 1954, with the approving votes of the Commissioners Francisco A. Arrillaga, Jenaro Caparrós, Pedro Juan Dumont, Américo Miranda, Vicente A. Pérez, Ramón Esteban Quiñones, and the acting President, Mrs. Josefina O. Batlle, Commissioners Miguel A. Colón, José N. Gándara and Rafael Urrutia were not present at the meeting.

I further testify, that in accordance with records under my custody, all the Commissioners were duly summoned to said session as prescribed by law. And so, that it may go on record, I hereby issue this resolution, placing the official seal of the Government of the Capital, as of today, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the second of March 1954.

JOSEFINA RINCON MARRERO,
Secretary of the Capital.

"Resolution of the Administrative Board of the Government of the Capital of Puerto Rico condemning the Nationalist attack against several Members of the honorable House of Representatives of the United States

"Whereas in the afternoon of Monday, the 1st of March of 1954, and when the honorable House of Representatives of the United States of America was in session, a group of nationalist terrorists opened fire against the Members of that high legislative body, wounding five of them;

"Whereas such an unwarranted and criminal deed has provoked general consternation in Puerto Rico as well as in the United States;

"Whereas this wicked act is due to the creed of political violence that has been adopted by the very small group of the Nationalist fanatics who aspire to secure by force what they have not been able to secure by the free and democratic means of the electoral ballot;

"Whereas the Puerto Rican people who are loyal and conscientious and faithful in the pursuit of democratic procedures has taken for itself the commonwealth form of government in voluntary and fraternal association with the people and the Government of the United States of America;

"Whereas faithful to their democratic education and to their character as a Christian people, respectful of the law, and friend of peace and order, the people of Puerto Rico have always rejected violence as a political instrument;

"Whereas the Puerto Rican people can in no way whatever be held responsible for the criminal act perpetrated by that group of terrorists which neither now nor ever in the past has represented the free and sovereign will of our people;

"Therefore, the Administrative Board of the Government of the Capital of Puerto Rico speaking for the true feeling of the people of the capital and of the Puerto Rican people in general condemn most energtically the wicked Nationalist attack; reaffirms the absolute loyalty of our citizenry to its association with the people and the Government of the United States of America and expresses its deepest sympathy for the families and relatives of the victims of that act of violence."

I, Josefina Rincon Marrero, Secretary of the Capital, do hereby certify that the preceding is a faithful and exact copy of the resolution passed by the Administrative Board of the Capital in its regular session held today, 2d of March 1954, with the unanimous vote of its members José A. Berrocal, treasurer of the capital; Juan R. Joy Sandín, director of public works; José A. García, director of health and charities; José S. García, school director, and Felisa R. de Gautier, city manager.

In witness whereof, I sign these presents and affix the seal of the government of the capital; at San Juan de Puerto Rico, the 3d day of March 1954.

JOSEFINA RINCON MARRERO,
Secretary of the Capital.

Less "Patriotism"—More Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the February 8, 1954, issue of Congress Weekly, official publication of the American Jewish Congress, is most apropos:

LESS "PATRIOTISM"—MORE AMERICANISM

The lofty pretense to a neutral and unbiased attitude professed by the American Friends of the Middle East in regard to the conflict between the Arab States and Israel, was publicly exploded by an incident that nearly broke up the proceedings of that organization's meeting the other day. One of the scheduled speakers, John Cogley, editor of the Commonweal, who last year visited Israel as a member of a delegation of journalists that toured the Middle East under the auspices of the American Friends of the Middle East, unwittingly precipitated the incident.

In the course of a speech in which he urged Jews and Arabs alike to bury the past and "begin with the present situation as it actually exists," Mr. Cogley gave utterance to the seemingly revolutionary sentiment that Americans should aim "to get the Arabs to accept the fact of Israel." Now to an unbiased listener this would sound like a reasonable statement. But to the participants in the conference of the American Friends of the Middle East it was sheer heresy. According to the report in the New York Times, "a dozen Arab officials approached the dais

and denounced the speech." Assurances from the platform that Mr. Cogley was only expressing his own opinion and not the views of the organization did not mollify the various Arab dignitaries attending the meeting, who discerned a possible deviation from the organization's established pro-Arab, anti-Israel line.

It is not our intention to quarrel with the American Friends of the Middle East on account of its role as the center of pro-Arab propaganda and activities in this country. We recognize its right to champion the Arab side as against Israel. But it would be deserving of greater respect if it did so frankly and forthrightly without the hypocritical pretentions to objectivity and impartiality. What is particularly reprehensible is the sanctimonious avowal of its spokesmen that they are motivated entirely by a concern for the interests of the United States. They thus equate their pro-Arab activities with American patriotism, leading one to infer that friends of Israel are somewhat less than truly patriotic.

We wonder how the constituency of the American Friends of the Middle East will react to the statement made by Henry A. Byroade, Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East, at the recent meeting of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Byroade declared that "Israel as a state is here to stay and the United States is here to help insure that existence. There is as well no change in the feeling of fundamental friendship which we feel for the new state." Surely, Mr. Byroade is at least as much concerned for the interests of the United States as are the superpatriots of the American Friends of the Middle East, and his statement is not dissimilar to the one with which Mr. Cogley so offended them.

Another group which continually and offensively flaunts its patriotism is the American Council for Judaism. In its anti-Israel pronouncements the council, too, always poses as the defender of the interests of the United States—though invariably it finds that what is helpful to Israel is bad for America. Thus the council, through a letter from Lessing J. Rosenwald to the State Department, found it necessary to disassociate itself from the virtually unanimous protest of the major Jewish bodies in the United States against the proposal to arm the Arab States. Basing its dissent on the self-evident proposition that American foreign policy should be formulated in the interests of the American people, the Council questions the right of Jewish organizations to pass judgment on the issue since they lack "the competence to formulate a decision in terms of the full complexity of American responsibility in that area."

The Council for Judaism thus advances a highly un-American concept of government. Either it seems to be saying that the formulation of foreign policy should be left to the alleged experts and that it is improper to criticize the views or policies of public officials. That, of course, smacks of the totalitarianism which we abhor. Or else the council is asserting that public comment on or criticism of foreign policy is legitimate only when it does not come from Jews or Jewish organizations. That thesis is no less reprehensible and un-American.

All of which leads to the simple conclusion that what we need today is less exhibitionistic patriotism and more basic Americanism. For ourselves, we shall continue to judge issues on their merits. We do not believe, with the American friends of the Middle East, that everything that helps the Arabs is conducive to American interests. Nor do we share Mr. Rosenwald's conviction that anything which helps Israel is harmful to the welfare of this country. And it so happens that on the particular issue of arms shipments to the Arab States, large and increasing sections of American opinion are firmly of the view that such a policy would be seriously detrimental to the cause of peace in the Middle East and would weaken rather than strengthen democracy's defenses.

Lynn, Mass., Man Once Guarded Apache Chief Geronimo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in a recent edition of the Daily Evening Item, of Lynn, Mass., by Mr. Edmund Nicholson concerning John C. Currie of that city, who once guarded Geronimo, the Apache chief:

LYNN MAN ONCE GUARDED APACHE CHIEF GERONIMO—JOHN D. CURRIE RECALLS INDIAN DIED QUIETLY IN ARMY HOSPITAL

(By Edmund Nicholson)

Geronimo. Geronimo.

That blood-curdling Indian war cry of warning echoed and reechoed through countless homes in greater Lynn the other night during a televised film, I Killed Geronimo.

From the opening scene that showed Geronimo leading hundreds of Apache Indians into the frontier town and the first white character shouting the cry as his chest was pierced with an Indian arrow to the final scene of Geronimo being popped on the chin by an Army intelligence officer, only to fall backward onto an upturned knife and head for the happy hunting ground, the story was a thriller-diller of a western yarn.

But to one Lynn man the story was just a figment of someone's imagination.

The true story of Geronimo's death is far different according to John D. Currie, of 39 Flint Street, who once served as an Army guard over the chief.

"There have been many versions of how the great Apache chief, Geronimo, died," said Mr. Currie, "but as I recall it, Geronimo died very quietly at Fort Sill, Okla., on February 17, 1909, in a hospital set aside by the Government at the fort.

"Often when assigned to guard duty, Geronimo was my special charge when the most celebrated ward of the United States Government took his daily walk about the reservation," the Lynn man recalls.

"Taking a position about 15 paces behind the chief as prescribed by Army regulation, I walked many miles with Geronimo while stationed at Fort Sill," he added.

"There is no doubt in my mind that Geronimo hated the white man. I remember one time how he turned on his guard and spit in the dirt, as a gesture of contempt. A look of defiance at the man in the blue uniform, which I think he hated the most, was vengeful," Mr. Currie recalled.

Gokliya (pronounced Gok-lee-jah) "He Who Yawns" was the name Geronimo's parents gave him at birth, about 1834. They were members of the Chiricahua band of Apache Indians.

The name Geronimo was given to the Apache chief by the Mexicans, whose territory he often raided. Pronounced Hier-own-nee-mo, it is Spanish for Jerome.

Weary of the warpath and with but a few followers left, Geronimo finally saw the futility of trying to keep the white man from his land and surrendered to Gen. Nelson A. Miles at Skeleton Canyon, about 10 miles south of Douglas, Ariz., in 1886.

General Miles not only banished the Apache chief to Florida but prior to his capture had sent some 2,000 of the Apache Tribe to that State. A few years later they were returned to Fort Sill, Okla., to live on the Government reservation.

Geronimo's last big day was on March 5, 1905, when he rode the streets of Washington, D. C., on his calico pony in President Theodore Roosevelt's inauguration parade.

Mr. Currie joined the 3d Cavalry Division in 1901, at Dover, N. H., and served with this outfit until 1904. He reenlisted and joined the 11th Field Artillery at Fort Hamilton, N. Y.

Upon being discharged in 1907 he again reenlisted and signed up with the 5th Field Artillery, at Fort Sill, Okla. While there, Mr. Currie became a student in the Army artillery school at the fort. It was while a student that he came in contact with the famous Apache chief.

In 1910 Mr. Currie decided that he had enough of Army life and returned to Beverly where he lived for sometime with his mother. He found employment with the United Shoe Machinery Corp., of that city.

It was not long, however, before the Army bug bit Currie again, and he enlisted in the 2d Corps of Cadets, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, at Salem in 1911.

Currie saw service with this outfit during Pancho Villa's uprising in 1916 and was with the 101st Field Artillery stationed at Fort Bliss, Tex. He also saw service in the Philippines.

During the First World War, Currie went overseas with the Yankee Division, with the 102d Field Artillery of Lowell. It was while he was with this contingent that he was commissioned a second lieutenant, under the command of Gen. Clarence R. Edwards of Yankee Division fame.

He is now employed at the east Boston pumping station of the metropolitan district commission.

Some People Never Learn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, last year many of my colleagues joined me in urging enactment of standby legislation that would give the President the power he would need in order to act during an economic emergency to prevent disaster. The President, despite our urging, refused to ask for such power. A majority of the Congress refused to enact such legislation.

We were told that such legislation would be a determent to prosperity and an incentive to a recession which might turn into a depression.

Since we have no such legislation on which to blame our present day economic ills, I am waiting patiently for someone to come forward with an explanation for our troubles.

Do not take my word for the fact that we are in trouble.

The following is an article by Bernard T. Prevert, of Standard & Poor's, as it appeared in the New York World Telegram of March 6, 1954:

BUSINESS DIP NOW AT LEVEL OF 1948 DECLINE—ALL MAJOR FIELDS HIT BY RECESSION

(By Bernard T. Prevert)

Rolling readjustment seems a mild term for describing what has been taking place in the economy since last summer. The Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production for January was down to 125 (1947–48=100) from the top of 137 reached in May and July 1953. The February figure will indicate a cumulative decline of more than 10 percent, approximating the extent of the 1948–49 downtrend.

In a rolling readjustment one expects to see some industries holding their own or even expanding while others undergo corrections. Actually, however, all the major components of the Federal Reserve index have been declining.

METALS, APPAREL HIT

The sharpest drops since May or July have been in primary metals, 22 percent; textiles and apparel, 20 percent; rubber and leather products, 15 percent; machinery, 13 percent; and tobacco manufactures, 11 percent. More moderate reductions have been foods, 6 percent; chemicals, petroleum products, 4 percent; and paper and printing, 2 percent. Only transportation equipment and rubber and leather products have shown signs of rebounding from their recent lows.

An encouraging fact is the relative stability of commodity prices. In previous recessions, the liquidation of speculative stocks of commodities acquired at high prices frequently intensified the downturn.

SOME SHRINKAGE SEEN

For 1949 the production index was down 6.7 percent, due principally to inventory adjustment and lower plant-equipment outlays. On the supporting side, Federal spending was $3.46 billion more than in 1948; demand for housing and total expenditure for new construction were strongly maintained, and it was a plus year, by a wide margin, for the automobile industry.

Against that, some 1954 shrinkage in all of these supports is indicated. It is clear, therefore, that much depends on capital outlays, the scope of inventory adjustment, tax revision, and possible upward change in Federal spending.

Mr. Speaker, I call it to the attention of our colleagues with no intent to scare anyone.

It is done in an effort to get an answer to the question I have been asking our colleagues since this session of Congress opened. When will you stop talking and start doing?

Thirteenth Report on Legislation of the 83d Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include my 13th report on the legislation of the 83d Congress to my constituents in the Second District of Illinois, as follows:

DEAR FRIEND: Here are (1) the laws that have been enacted since my last report to you and (2) an accounting to you of the manner of my thinking and voting as your Representative:

PUBLIC LAW 296 (H. R. 2642). A LAW TO ACCOMMODATE A LAW OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

This concerns a narrow strip of land (9,087 square feet) in the Fort De Russy Military Reservation, located along the Honolulu-Pearl Harbor road, which the United States acquired by condemnation in 1909 for $186.96. In 1950 Hawaii was given an easement in perpetuity for the building of a highway over this $186.96 worth of real estate. The Territorial government was willing to foot the bill for an abutting wall to help hold back the sea from interfering both with travel on the highway and with the military installations. But a provision in the laws of Hawaii passed in 1946 stood in the way. This required all Territorial public highways and property thereon to be held by the government of Hawaii in fee simple. An easement in perpetuity (in practical effect the same) did not meet the Hawaiian requirement. So Congress accommodated with Public Law 296, turning the land over to Hawaii in fee simple. Your vote was cast for holding back the sea at any cost, be it via easement in perpetuity or via title in fee simple.

PUBLIC LAW 297 (H. R. 2839). EXCHANGE OF LANDS BY HAWAIIAN HOMES COMMISSION

The Hawaiian Homes Commission is an agency created by the Federal Government, acting as a trustee, to provide homesites for native Hawaiians. The Commission owns a large number of noncontiguous tracts of land. Public Law 297 permits it to consolidate its holdings in Waimanalo on the island of Oahu by making exchanges of sites under its jurisdiction for similarly located publicly owned lands of equal value. The Department of the Interior approved the measure, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs unanimously recommended its passage, and the favorable action of the House was without any dissent.

PUBLIC LAW 298 (H. R. 5370). PUBLICATIONS OF FRATERNAL AND OTHER SOCIETIES

Publishers of periodicals of benevolent and fraternal societies, lodges, and institutions of learning established by State or trade unions or by incorporation, and professional, literary, historical, and scientific societies will be interested in this measure. Existing law requires that these publications to enjoy second-class mail privileges must be printed and mailed at the place of publication. Public Law 298 removes this restriction. Hereafter societies of the nature indicated may have their periodicals printed and mailed at any place they find most convenient and advantageous. The measure was passed without objection. Publications in this class often are small; some (as those of fish and game societies) being no more than bulletins. Nevertheless, they make on the whole a large and helpful contribution to public interest and knowledge.

PUBLIC LAW 299 (H. R. 5861). INCREASES PENSIONS TO NATIVE PANAMA CANAL WORKERS

Employed by the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government at the present time is a total of 12,762 persons, paid at local native prevailing wage rates. Most are Panamanian citizens. Others are from the West Indies but will remain in Panama after the termination of their employment. Problem is to protect Panama from the burden of carrying them on relief. Inadequate provision on our part has a deteriorating influence on relations between the United States and Panama.

In 1937 our Government undertook to care for employees who were not United States citizens (already covered) and who might become unfit for further useful service because of age or disease. The 1937 act required a minimum of 10 years of service, allowed $1 a year for each year of service, and placed a $25 a month ceiling. Increased living costs since 1937, making the payments inadequate to meet the needs, have shifted increasingly the burden upon the neighboring Republic of Panama to care for the aged and disabled former canal employees. Naturally, this has not contributed to Panamanian cordiality.

Public Law 299 belatedly increases the allotment to $1.50 a year for each year of service and boosts the maximum from $25 to $45 a month.

I am sure that you will approve of my giving your support to this measure as being right and just. It is one piece of legislation where we are accomplishing a good mission without any expenditure of the American taxpayer's money. The expense of the cash relief (totaling about $1,400,000 this year) will come largely from the operating expense of the Panama Canal—which is quite as it should be.

PUBLIC LAW 300 (H. R. 5959). REMOVES DISCRIMINATION IN DUAL COMPENSATION ACT

The Economy Act of 1932 prohibited both military retired pay and pay as a civilian employee of the Government if the combined amount exceeded $3,000 per annum, except in the case of officers with disabilities incurred as a result of (1) combat with an enemy or (2) explosion of an instrumentality of war.

Public Law 300 extends the exception (2) to include all officers with disabilities caused by an instrumentality of war and incurred in line of duty whether or not there was an explosion. Reason: to eliminate the discrimination in the old law.

Example: An Air Force officer retired for disability incurred when his aircraft crashed and exploded could draw both his disability retired pay and salary as a Federal employee regardless of the combined amount. On the other hand, a brother Air Force officer who is retired for an identical disability incurred when his aircraft crashed but did not explode, could not be paid as a civilian employee of the Federal Government so long as he was receiving retired pay if the combined amount exceeded $3,000 a year.

Public Law 300, which had the support of the vote that I cast for you, puts them both on the same footing.

APPRECIATION

Many thanks to you who telephoned, telegraphed, and wrote me after the shooting from the House gallery on March 1, 1954.

I was seated on the aisle in the second row behind the small table on the Democratic side. Two bullets lodged in the seat directly behind the one I occupied, one bullet almost in the exact center.

Under Secretary of State Bedell Smith had arranged to meet a group of 30 Congressmen protesting King Saud's threats to Israel. The meeting was scheduled in the Capitol at 4 o'clock.

By that time guards were stationed everywhere with instructions to shoot to kill and ask questions afterward. When I attempted to drive into the Capitol Grounds to attend the conference, a guard pulled pistol on me. He was halted in firing by a scream from his back. The scream was directed at me, a notification that the conference had been called off.

ACTIVITIES

For the last 2 weeks my committee, Banking and Currency, has been holding public hearings on the administration's housing bill. I have attended and participated in all sessions.

I appeared before the Committee on Armed Services in support of my bill to restore the *Olympia*, Dewey's flagship at Manila Bay, and berth her permanently in Chicago waters.

I appeared before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in support of wage

increases for Federal workers in the humbler places.

It is a busy routine. You give lightness to the day with your letters, and it is a real occasion to all of us in 1420 when you visit Washington and drop in on us.

Cordially and sincerely,

BARRATT O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

Stop the Misery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the magazine, America on March 13, 1954, entitled "Stop the Misery," by Alfred J. Barrett:

STOP THE MISERY

(By Alfred J. Barrett)

Recent tendencies in television seem to imply that Our Lord should really have uttered a ninth beatitude: "Blessed are ye who suffer—coast-to-coast." At any rate, those poor are most blessed today who suffer in public before a camera for a price or for a prize. If many of us Americans lead lives of quiet desperation, Christianity has long taught us how to be quiet about it. The overturn of this basic concept of civilized people is to be ascribed not only to the advertisers and broadcasters of misery shows on radio and television, but to the perverted tastes of the American listening and viewing public.

Though they have many imitators, the two most popular—and menacing—misery shows are Strike It Rich, paid for by the Colgate-Palmolive Co. and sent out over both NBC and CBS, and Welcome Travelers, sponsored by another soap outfit, Procter & Gamble, and broadcast over CBS from Chicago. Soap and misery go together in commerce, if not in real life, for misery shows started as fiction with the soap operas or washboard weepers. The soap salesmen then had a stroke of genius. Why not dredge up real people with real troubles and pay them off for their public confession and pitiful exhibitionism with cash, an electric icebox or a new house in the country?

Now the soap salesmen are in trouble. But not the right kind of trouble, yet, for the trouble is merely legal. It seems that Walt Framer, producer of Strike It Rich, forgot the technicality of obtaining a begging license to cover the program's Heart Line, a gimmick by which softhearted people telephone in contributions. In cracking down with the threat of a court order, Henry L. McCarthy, New York City's Commissioner of Welfare, revealed that this program was responsible for stranding 55 families from out of town, who were rebuffed by the program and went on relief in New York.

Jack Gould, sapient television critic of the New York Times, was one of the first to point out that the issue was not a legal one only, but that such shows are in contravention of the television industry's self-imposed code of good practice. This will remain a meaningless document if grown men continue to try to make a buck from a fellow citizen's suffering.

Misery shows are bad, not because they have broken a licensing law or because they have added to the relief rolls of the welfare department, but because they cut completely across the set of values so carefully built up by western civilization and religious tradition. The commercialization of human misery is immoral, in the fullest sense of the word.

Morality in the communication arts is not concerned only with crime or sex. The immorality of a misery show may not be immediately obvious, especially when a windfall comes to the seemingly deserving—the orphanage wins the food freezer, full. But these shows are a total violation of the letter and spirit of Christian charity.

Having had some responsibility in the teaching of the moral aspects of communication arts, for more than a year I have spot-checked these misery shows; to sit through an entire one would be beyond the call of duty. And I have wondered at the perverse concept of charity that would make people who have suffered so much already suffer once more the agony of having to answer quiz questions to obtain money for a necessary amputation or a trip to a dying relative. The world fell in for a woman the other day as I watched her face cloud and twitch because she did not know that a "word beginning with 'I' and ending with 'c,' which is a synonym for 'tired,' was 'lethargic'."

On the other hand, a reformed drug addict hit the jackpot. Fate had been against her. (A curiosity of these shows is that fate is the villain; nobody hints that he or she might have brought their troubles on themselves. Usually the misdeeds of somebody else are brought in, a deserting husband, an ungrateful child). This woman was plainly sorry that she had long been a drunk and a dope addict, but now she would try to be as good to God as He had been to her. Specifically, it appeared, He had endowed her, through the benevolence of various advertisers, with a new kitchen sink, a spring wardrobe, 1 dozen nylons, 2 pairs of "kickerino" shoes, 2 dresses, a rotisserie, and dinner at a fine Chicago restaurant. And—I almost forgot—three cakes of soap and a home permanent-wave set.

It is time we thought hard about an even more serious consequence of misery shows. What about the minds poisoned by this coast-to-coast indoctrination in how dismal life can be in these United States? What about the implication that all our city, State, and Federal agencies, including Mrs. Hobby's new Department, seem to be quite lax in the performance of their duties and their use of the taxpayers' money? If Asia and Europe could see movies of Strike It Rich, Welcome Travelers, Wheel of Fortune, Glamour Girl, The Ern Westmore Show, Turn to a Friend, The Big Payoff, and This Is Your Life, with the prancing Ralph Edwards milking tears, they would get a picture of the new American materialism. (Or is it new?) Is the picture true? I think not. But in any case it is a shocking picture and some of the best communistic propaganda I know of.

The immediate harm to our own people is apparent. What is the point of trying to educate children if we ignore the vulgarity of this television inundation? An example. On ABC's Turn to a Friend, a woman was trying to win a wheelchair for her father. (The sob program is the biggest boon the wheelchair industry ever had.)

Dennis James asked her who wrote the Good Earth. No answer. James frantically pulled out a dollar and waved it. "Dollar," shouted the lady happily. "Right," screamed Mr. James, "Pearl Buck." Ern Westmore, looking like a football player gone somewhat to fat, tells ladies on another show how to look like a movie star in 24 hours. A sample of his dialog as he handed one a piece of costume jewelry: "I want you to wear this every time you put it on."

If ever there was a demonstration of belief in the fallacy that the end justifies the means, it is in the excuses offered by misery-show producers. "Take, for instance," says Warren Hull, who presides over Strike It Rich: "The case of Hubert Miller, the 94-year-old mining prospector, who hitchhiked more than 3,000 miles, because he wanted an operation to remove a cataract which prevented him from looking for gold. We put him on, and he got his operation, because a nurse in the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary saw him."

Good digging, Hubert. "Then there was the case of 6-year-old Evah Conley, of Hyattsville, Md.," continues Mr. Hull, earnestly running the age gamut. "She'd been given only a few weeks to live; she was dying of cancer. There wasn't anything a charitable agency could do for her. But her mother came on Strike It Rich, and told her story. She won $500 to pay the doctors' bills, and a lot of toys to make Evah happy in her last moments were sent by people who saw that show. Is that commercializing misery?"

Commissioner McCarthy thinks it is. It is heartening to have a person in his responsible position not confining his criticism to legalities. Anybody who calls himself a follower of Christ must think it is. Our Lord's opinion is recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel, chapter 6:

"Therefore, when thou givest alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do. * * * But when thou givest alms, do not let thy left hand know what thy right hand is doing, so that thy alms may be given in secret; and thy Father, who sees in secret, will reward thee."

A wonderful ideal, no doubt. But that's not the way to sell soap.

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Appendix

The New Look in Our Defense Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address about the new look in our defense policy, which was delivered by the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Robert B. Anderson, before the annual Philadelphia Bulletin Forum, on March 9, 1954. On that occasion the distinguished Vice President of the United States made the keynote remarks, and I had the privilege of serving on the panel.

This address is worthy of reading by all Members of the Senate, and also by all others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF THE NAVY ROBERT B. ANDERSON, BEFORE A PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN FORUM, PHILADELPHIA, PA., MARCH 9, 1954

Of all the statements of the American proposition, I know of none better than this one which was subscribed to here in Philadelphia on the 17th of September 1787:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

There in 52 words, is the statement of a concept that represents the best hope of mankind since the beginning of human history:

A community of free individuals, banded together in a politically sovereign union for the purpose of keeping order at home and defending themselves from enemies abroad, and to secure for themselves the blessings of liberty, justice, and the material and spiritual attributes of plain good living.

This is what we mean, I believe, when we utter such imprecise phrases as "democracy" or "our way of life" or "the American dream." Note that "the common defense" is only a part of the proposition. In the phrase "a more perfect union" there is the implication, at least, of the practical necessity for a sovereign body politic. There is a positive statement of the terms "liberty," "justice," and "general welfare" as the objectives of the political process. There is a further expressed need for stability and order on the home front so that the positive influences for good in the community can flourish without the rending distractions that might destroy their effectiveness.

There is thus a whole great gamut of political, economic, military, and spiritual conditions which must be met before the free society is a practical possibility. The satisfactory fulfillment of these conditions is the real meaning and intent of national security for a free people.

National security for us, is something infinitely more than a mere matter of ships and tanks and planes and men. It is more than a military posture, more than a state of economic health, more than an acceptable political arrangement. It is a composite of all these things and of all the other things that are necessary to the chosen way of life of our people.

For us, as Americans, national security means a responsible Government freely elected by its constituents; it means solidarity, but it also means the right of our citizens to speak, to think, to write, and to worship according to their conscience and their earnest desires. It means a tolerable degree of safety from an attack by an external enemy. It means a robust, healthy economy of private competitive enterprise as free as practicable from governmental restraint. When we have these things reasonably well assured, and in proper balance with one another, we may say we have a satisfactory condition of national security. They are so inextricably tied up with each other that they cannot be separated. Nor can they be evaluated on a comparative basis, because the loss of any one of them signals the possibility of the ultimate loss of them all. Our central problem, as a nation, is to so conduct our affairs that our national security and all its constituent elements are maintained intact for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.

Now there are three fundamentals which characterize our national security of which we must be ever mindful. There is, first of all, the fact that the maintenance of national security is a competitive, selective process within itself. Guns compete with butter; authority is balanced against freedom; economy is poised against military necessity. At every turn, within the finite limits of our total capacity to get things done, we have to weigh and judge and select, in order that we may be strong and yet be free, and that national bankruptcy and the garrison state do not become the price of our military preparedness.

Second, there is the fact that the maintenance of national security is a continuous process. It is not something to be achieved, but something to be maintained over the years. The problem is a permanent one and the process goes on, in peace and in war, in times of stress and in times of tranquility. It may be easy or difficult, may meet with great or little success, but it goes on—must go on—as long as we continue to exist as a people. It is a sad thing to think about, but it is true, that in the 6,000 years of recorded human history war has been at least as common as peace, and even in peacetime life remains grimly competitive and selective, both for individuals and for nations.

A third feature of our national security problem is the constancy of change. The old gives way to the new—sometimes gradually, sometimes abruptly. The policies and attitudes of nations change, as well as their relative strengths, and the new dispensation of power that is produced thereby affects deeply the affairs of every other nation in the world community. Alliances and concerts are made, changed, and abandoned in accordance with the shifting emphasis of vital strategic and commercial interests of the nations concerned.

Just as the supercession of the old orders makes necessary new political arrangements, so does the advancement in weapons technology require the adoption of new concepts of warfare. Old weapons are first supplemented, then eventually supplanted by new ones of greater capabilities, and as the weapons change the tactics and techniques of their employment frequently change with them. Our war readiness becomes a matter of being able not only to fight today's war with today's weapons, but of being ready to fight tomorrow's war with tomorrow's weapons.

And there is the rub—this division of our time, our talents, and our substance that we must make between the needs of today and the needs of tomorrow. It is a fateful choice, because in making it we have to walk the razor's edge of danger between too-little-and-too-late, and too-much-and-too-soon. Within this fluid, swiftly moving situation of endless technological advancement we have to buy our security in installments with the most promising weapons of the day.

These are the considerations that lie at the base of all our thinking about national security. They run like a red skein through all our deliberations and calculations, and they are inevitably reflected in our national policy, in the strategy which supports that policy, and in the budget which supports the strategic concept.

In the past few months you have heard much about our present military policy which you have come to know by the term "new look." The most significant fact about the new look is that we are no longer basing our military plans and programs on the assumption of a particular year of crisis or period of maximum danger. The former notion that we had about getting our forces built up to a peak by a certain date no longer applies. Rather, we seek to provide a steady, long-term gain in combat strength which takes full advantage of our expanding economy and our increasingly effective technology.

There will be simply a gradual and orderly shift in emphasis in certain planning objectives and in the procurement programs which support those plans. There will be a somewhat greater role for air power, both Air Force and naval, but by no means are we dispensing with our other essential arms and forces. The new look is in part a concept, an attitude of mind, a way of viewing the whole great panorama of considerations which bear upon our national-security problem. It has no identity with any single weapon or any single strategy, in recognition of the fact that we must have forces and weapons—always better than those of any aggressor—appropriate to a variety of situations that may confront us today, tomorrow, and in the years to follow. Under our present military policy, we are seeking, in practical terms, to keep increasing our combatant power year after year, avoiding obsolescence and adopting new weapons and new strategic and tactical concepts as they are proved effective. This we propose to do indefinitely, if necessary. We shall do it under what eventually must be a balanced budget and without disrupting our economy or resorting to police-state methods. Moreover, our forces, our plans, and our policies will reflect the fact that we are an integral part of a great free-world collective-security system, in which each partner contributes to the common effort what it is best able to provide.

In terms of forces over the near term, this means that the number of Army divisions will be measured by the demands of the times but our total strength will be determined as well by increased mobility and the availability of more modern weapons. The combatant vessel strength of our Navy will remain close to its current level, although there may be some reduction in the number of auxiliary types. No reduction is planned either in the number of aircraft or in the number of organized air units in the Navy; meanwhile the degree of modernization (as measured by the percentage of modern aircraft in frontline units) will continue to increase substantially about the present 41 percent. Present plans call for the strength of the Air Force to continue to increase for several years both through the modernization and the actual increase in the number of wings and combat planes. The number of effective wings next une 30 should be at least 115, over 90 of which will be combatant wings.

We are building a realistic continental defense system that will have the means of early warning, well coordinated communications, and efficient control of fighter-interceptor aircraft and antiaircraft weapons. This is a joint undertaking with our Canadian friends to the north, and one which will require the closest coordination among the three military services.

In order for these forces to have meaning and purpose, there are of course a great many things that we must do. The size and state of readiness of our National Guard and our Reserve forces are vitally important, and the whole problem of our Reserve forces is being closely studied by the Department of Defense. We must have an industrial mobilization base which can be converted swiftly from partial to all-out mobilization if that unhappy course is forced upon us. There is the ever-present need to introduce savings—and we are doing so—in manpower, in money, in vital resources, and in time. There is a great requirement for the effective organization, training, and placement of personnel, both civilian and military, throughout the Department of Defense. And there is the solemn duty that all of us have as Americans to view the matter of service to our country as the proper and honorable thing it is, and to see those who are in the service as the proper and honorable persons they are. Every great achievement of our Armed Forces—and there have been many indeed in recent years—is a credit to the men and women who comprise them. Our Army, Navy, and Air Force are, in the final analysis, no better and no worse than the individuals who comprise them, animate them, and bring them up to fighting pitch; for despite the numbers and excellence of our weapons, it is the human element that is the decisive factor in war. All honor to these splendid men and women who serve our colors. They have every right to be among the proudest ones who walk our soil.

And this brings me to a point about which I feel deeply: namely, that the security of our country is the duty and responsibility of every living soul in it who is capable of effective action. We hear a great deal of talk these days about our rights, our privileges, and our immunities as individuals in a free society. We do not hear nearly enough about our responsibilities, our duties, and our obligations. Yet with every right there goes a responsibility; with every privilege, an obligation; with every immunity, a duty. In a free society, it is the individual who is finally and fully the custodian of his country's affairs and of its destiny. We maintain that the group can hold no power, save what individuals vest in it; therefore it can assume no responsibility, save what individuals are willing to undertake. Our national security is ultimately your responsibility, and mine, as individuals, each doing his share according to his ability and our country's needs.

The measure in which we meet these responsibilities will in the end determine the measure in which we shall continue to enjoy the blessed privilege of living in this glorious land of ours. May God grant us the strength, the wisdom, and the courage to meet them with the very best that is in us.

State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 4, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8067) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the United States Information Agency, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I should like to address several questions to the chairman or other members of the subcommittee regarding certain things in the committee report. On page 19 of the report, in the long paragraph on the lower half of the page, there are 6 or 7 committee recommendations which appear to be intended as limitations, as I read them.

For example, down in the middle of the paragraph it is stated:

For the Office of Private Cooperation the committee recommends the same amount as was actually expended in fiscal year 1953, which was $99,727.

Actually, the Office of Private Cooperation will have used by the end of the current 1954 fiscal year approximately $182,000, and requested $250,000 for 1955.

This office of the United States Information Agency carries on, I think, one of its most useful functions. It has been able, as Mr. Streibert explained on page 571 of the hearings, to get over 800 foundations, organizations, groups, and businesses to cooperate in telling our story abroad.

It seems to me that if the subcommittee wants to cut it down, it ought to write the limitation into the bill itself, and say that not more than $99,000 shall be used for this particular office. Then we who believe the amount should be increased could offer an amendment to change that limitation. I do not know why the committee report carries a recommendation that only the amount used in 1953 be allowed, and not the amount used in 1954, which was almost doubled because the office had improved and properly expanded its activities and gotten a remarkable response from private agencies to do the job of telling America's story abroad. They can do it without the stigma and handicap of being Government propaganda.

What I would like to find out is, What is the force, legal and otherwise, of this irregular way of legislating? Are these recommendations binding upon the Administrator of this agency? Would there be reprisals against him by the subcommittee if he did not follow them because he felt that in order to carry out the main purposes of the agency, he had to deviate from the recommendations? Does the Administrator have his hands tied within his own agency by recommendations in a committee report?

Mr. CLEVENGER. It is a committee recommendation and the committee would expect weight to be given to its recommendations.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield.

Mr. ROONEY. I cannot understand the distinguished chairman of the committee making a remark like that here on the floor of the House after the committee was in full agreement on this. The language of the report is directive, not a recommendation. There was no objection to the action of the committee by anyone with regard to this. If I recall correctly, this is the matter in which they sought a very substantial increase in funds in order to have people traveling all over the country.

Mr. JUDD. I still would like to know: Is it your judgment then that this recommendation of the subcommittee is binding on the Administrator of the agency, and that he cannot exceed this figure?

Mr. ROONEY. It most certainly is.

Mr. JUDD. Then suppose the will of the House is not in accord with the will of the subcommittee and the House would like to change that recommendation? How can one offer an amendment to a committee report? You see the House is prevented by this subcommittee procedure from working its own will. If the limitations were in the bill itself, one could offer an amendment to change the figures on this item and others like "a total of $40,000 is recommended for the Office of the General Council." Actually, we would save money by having all contracts reviewed by legal counsel. Many had mistakes that could have been prevented thereby. Why not let the Administrator correct this weakness by enlarging his legal staff budget to about $70,000, as requested?

But the recommendation is in a committee report and I am helpless to do anything about it. If it is binding, it ought to be in the law and if it is not in the law, then it ought not to be considered binding, and that ought to be understood here and now.

Mr. CLEVENGER. May I point out to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] that in a representative government it is inherent that some of these powers would be delegated, and we do the best we can when we go into the committee room to find out what they are doing with the money and how judiciously they are spending it. That is one of the prices we have to pay for a representative government.

Mr. JUDD. I do not think that quite answers my question. I cannot see why,

if the committee was in complete agreement on this and felt that there ought to be this limitation, you did not write it in the text of the bill. There are other such limitations in the bill.

Mr. CLEVENGER. We try to leave a little "give and take" in a bill, and not make it too restrictive.

Mr. JUDD. This ought to be spelled out definitely one way or the other because it does not seem to me that these committee reports ought to be considered binding, and yet we are unable to amend them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Thomas Masaryk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. BURKE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, Sunday, March 7, marked the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Masaryk, which thousands of Americans commemorated in honor of this great man who was the father of Czechoslovakian independence. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of a message I have prepared, marking the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Masaryk.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BURKE

Thomas Masaryk, father of Czechoslovakian independence, was a man whose vision was equal to his courage, and whose beliefs were never compromised for the sake of expendiency. He was born in a little Slovak town of Hodonin, the son of a coachman and a cook on a Hapsburg domain. Although he was apprenticed to a blacksmith, his extraordinary capabilities led to his becoming a university professor, first at Vienna and later at Prague, and eventually to his position among the great statesmen of Europe.

If we were to single out the strongest drive forces in Thomas Masaryk's life, they would probably be truth and democracy. His devotion to truth often led him along the more difficult, the more arduous path. He gained distinction as a scholar, but also made many enemies among fanatic nationalists when he exposed some Czech folk songs as skilled, 19th century forgery.

Time and again as he saw his students promoted above him at Prague University, he never questioned the price of truth or of his belief. His ethical disposition of mind enabled him to remain above the level of politics, and, for this reason, the source of his support was widespread. Neither were his national sympathies so fanatic that he could not fit the aspiration of the Czechoslovakian people into the needs of Europe in general. He was a great patriot but, above all, he was a great humanitarian.

Thomas Masaryk's career is singuar because he lived to see the happy conclusion of his life-long struggle for an independent Czechoslovakia. On October 28, 1918, Czechoslovakia was born, with Thomas Masaryk as President. It was the culmination of his work, not only as a patriot but as a democrat. By birth, by teaching and by conviction he was a democrat, and it was as an expression of his democratic ideals that he conceived of the first Czechoslovak Republic. His struggle was not only against an alien oppressor, but against a despotic monarchy. Czechoslovakia was therefore founded as a democratic republic, and its whole development was in the western tradition of the rights and dignities of man.

Today, Masaryk's beloved Czechoslovakia is under the hands of dictatorial absolutism. That degrading misery, which Masaryk felt only democracy could abolish, lies heavy on the land. Although the Soviet tyranny has wiped out Thomas Masaryk's beloved democratic republic, and has tried to oppress the last vestiges of the timeless Czechoslovakian tradition of democracy, the spirit and the memory of the past remains. In this memory, the people of Czechoslovakia have found hope that their beloved republic will once again take its place among the countries of the free world. In paying tribute to Thomas Masaryk today, we keep alive that hope for the people of Czechoslovakia and honor one of the great men of western democracy.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, Upon Receiving the John Dewey Award From the New York Teachers Guild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered at a luncheon of the New York Teachers Guild, in New York City, on March 6, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TEACHERS' STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE FREEDOM FRONT

I am honored, indeed, to accept this award of the New York Teachers Guild, at the hands of my old friend, Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, who brings back to me happy memories of my days in Albany, when he was, as he is still, your legislative representative.

I am pleased, too, that our mayor, Bob Wagner, who, to my great satisfaction, as I know it is to the citizens of New York, is doing such a fine job as chief executive of this great city, is able to be with us on this occasion.

And I would have been gratified to be in the company here, and to share the speaking platform with that eminent statesman of the American labor movement, Mr. Albert Hayes. I am distressed to hear of his mishap and trust he will have a speedy recovery. Mr. Flynn, will you please convey to him my sympathy and my kindest personal regards.

Mr. Hayes and his machinists' union, and your own teachers' guild, both in their separate ways and orbits, represent the best in the tradition of American trade unionism. This kind of trade unionism recognizes a social as well as an economic purpose. It is aware of its responsibility to State and Nation, and to the cause of democracy, as well as to its own members.

The fact that the award given me today bears the name of that great social philosopher, John Dewey, is a source of added satisfaction.

I am deeply aware of the tremendous impact which John Dewey had in the field of ideas. He revolutionized the art and methods of teaching. He helped to establish new goals for education. He brought philosophy down out of its ivory tower into the streets of everyday living, into vital contact with the social and political problems of our age.

John Dewey was an apostle of freedom. He understood the real meaning of freedom. Freedom was not, in John Dewey's view, merely the absence of governmental tyranny; it was not just the absence of legal restraints upon the rights of individuals; it was not just the right to vote on election day.

Dewey—and I am talking about John Dewey, not any other Dewey—understood that economic freedom was inseparable from political freedom, and that social freedom, and intellectual freedom were vital and essential elements.

He understood that there had to be a reconciliation, based on experience, of all the components of freedom, and that the special economic privileges of some people had to be controlled and curtailed in order to insure real and practical freedom for all.

Above all, John Dewey said, real freedom involved the right of real choice, of real selection between valid alternatives. True freedom required freedom of mind and freedom of spirit. He defined a slave as a man who acts constantly under compulsion, "who is doomed to act along lines predetermined to regularity." In other words, if there are forces, whether they are political, social, or economic, which rigidly control the thoughts, beliefs, actions, and associations of the people, or which prevent them from exercising a real choice between alternatives, they do not have real freedom.

And, finally, he said that freedom is based on education; people, to be free, must have the wisdom with which to apply the test of reasonableness, and the facts of history and experience, with which to guide their selection of alternatives.

It is well to recall this philosophy, this heritage of John Dewey, in surveying our problems of today. There is no more appropriate group to give shelter to this heritage, and to hold it on high, than your teachers' guild. John Dewey was, above all, a teacher.

Teachers and educators are, in fact, among the chief trustees of freedom in any society. They are its most important guardians, the high priests in the temple of freedom. Of course, they must not become isolated from the strife, turmoil, and problems of everyday living. They must teach for the world of today as well as for the world of tomorrow.

It is a sign of the maturity of the teaching profession in America that the teachers have, in fact, entered wholly into the everyday world and form an intrinsic part of the forces of struggle for the solution of our present problems. Your Teachers Guild is a significant part of those forces.

It is no coincidence, then, that the forces of reaction and regression in America—all the antifreedom forces—have directed a major share of their attention to the teaching profession.

I include in this grouping of reactionary forces first of all the Communists who would destroy freedom of thought and inquiry, and freedom of teaching. They would enslave and pervert truth to serve the evil ends of the Soviet state. They would make the teaching profession a branch of the propaganda profession—not priests in the temple of freedom but lackeys in the service of the state.

But the Communists have isolated themselves in America. Their gross violations of morality have been held up to view and have made them the social pariahs that they deserve to be.

And I want to pay my tribute to the valiant efforts of this Union, and its leadership, in exposing the Communists and their evil influence in the teaching profession. You had a responsibility, and you discharged it. You did not rip and tear apart the institutions of learning in the course of your efforts. Your purpose was to protect those institutions against subversive influences, not to destroy those institutions on the pretext of those influences.

Not so, the second wing of the reactionary forces to which I referred a moment ago. That is the wing which is now on the march, and with which we must contend if we would preserve our freedom. I refer, of course, to the congressional inquisitors, the anti-intellectuals, the fear and hate mongers who today threaten the very fabric of our free society.

Today they are the sources of our greatest danger. And they are not much different, essentially, from the Communists. They have the same goal—the achievement of power and the destruction of freedom. They use the same methods—terror, falsehood, and propaganda.

They have the same contempt for morality—for integrity, honor, justice, and truth.

They have the same arrogance, assuming to themselves the right to determine what is right for others.

They have the same disrespect for dignity and tradition, the same urge to denounce, to smear, to attack, to accuse, to insult, to browbeat.

The language of both is the language of billingsgate—extreme, intemperate, violent, and cruel.

The habit of disguise is strong in both—whether it be a pretension of concern for the workers' right or a simulation of patriotism.

The reactionaries of the right wing have found the more effective disguise—the cloak of superpatriotism and supernationalism. These cynical reactionaries have seized upon anticommunism, which they have only lately discovered, as their vehicle to power. But they seem to care very little for the real course of the struggle against communism. They seem totally unabashed by the fact that their activities have done more to discredit our country, and the cause of freedom and democracy abroad than any other single influence.

They seem completely unaware that communism is an international conspiracy, and an international threat, and must be met on an international basis. It is a disturbing fact of history that Fascist movements—in Italy and Germany, for example—have always been characterized by the conviction that international problems can be solved on a nationalistic basis.

I am convinced that strong elements in the present right-wing forces of so-called anticommunism do not care whether the forces of communism are victorious abroad or not. By their votes you shall know them, and at least one of the chief congressional inquisitors—Senator JENNER—has voted consistently and invariably against each and every program of our Government designed to shore up the free world against the rampant forces of communism abroad, whether it was the Marshall plan, the mutual-security program, or the North Atlantic Military Alliance. And the rest of the inquisitors, these false anti-Communists, either followed the Jenner line, or voted grudgingly for the authorizations, while working actively against most of the appropriations needed to carry these programs to fruition.

No, my friends; I am convinced that what these forces seek is power. And they seem to be well on the way to acquiring it.

What disturbs me especially is that the present awkward maneuvering by the administration, the current show of limited opposition to Senator MCCARTHY, is much more a guarded contest for power within the Republican Party than an all-out struggle for principle. Appeasement and compromise are inevitable ingredients of this contest because the chief concern of both factions is not a test of principle but a test of power.

I wish with all my heart—and I have wished and hoped for many months now—that President Eisenhower would set principle above party and would take strong leadership of all the forces seeking to resist the fearful assault upon our liberties and our standards of political decency. If he will assume strong leadership, he will surely have the wholehearted support of many Democrats just as he had their support in the fight against the Bricker amendment.

But conciliation, concession, and surrender have marked the course of events of the past year. Although a mild, implied, rebuke to Senator MCCARTHY was delivered by President Eisenhower last Wednesday, the President raised no banners under which freedom-loving men and women could rally. One man—a brigadier general—was defended. But there was no tocsin of alarm, no call to arms, no invocation of the principles of freedom and decency.

Instead there was a slap on the wrist and vague reference to vague principles of fair play, without specific reference to either the man or the methods threatening the very institutions of our society.

In return, the man, Senator MCCARTHY, chose to test his strength by a direct attack on the President, by a declaration of defiance to even the general expressions of beneficence contained in the President's remarks. Here is a man and a force to be reckoned with, and yet there seems to be none courageous enough in the administration to reckon with him.

On the contrary, the President, while taking mild and veiled cognizance of MCCARTHY, undertook to defend the administration's own tawdry trick of alleging that it had dismissed 2,200 subversives from the Government service—an undertaking which has now been all but stripped down to its threadbare elements. The number of actual Communists or real subversives who have been found and dismissed, on the initiative of the present administration, is so small that thus far the administration has not dared to disclose it.

The object of the game which the administration is playing seems to be not the defeat of the ministry of fear now presiding over our country nor of the forces of McCarthyism, but the maintenance of unity of the Republican Party rather than of the Nation. All moves—including compromises—seem directed toward this end.

Meanwhile the forces of darkness—the irrationals and anti-intellectuals—will continue to press on, without halt or hindrance. They will persist in their onslaught against all the centers of resistance to their advance—against all the strongholds of free thought, including, of course, the teaching profession—your profession.

That has been and is the plain pattern of action of MCCARTHY, JENNER, VELDE, and their host of allies throughout our land.

They know that to achieve their ends the schools must be brought under control and the educators intimidated.

How much success has been achieved in these endeavors during the past 2 years, I cannot precisely measure. You can bear better witness than I.

But I do know that the effect has been great. I do know that it will take time—a long time—to repair the ravages which have already been wrought even after we halt the further inroads of these freedom-fearing men—as I am sure we eventually shall.

The teachers and educators of America bear in this matter a great responsibility. They must give battle. Each must be made aware that when the bell tolls it tolls, indeed, for everyone. The teachers, the educators, and the schools are the guardians of the future. But they are also on the firing line of the present.

There is no storm cellar—no ivory tower—in which safe refuge can be found from the present holocaust. It will not blow over unless we all venture out, together, and oppose it.

None of us has the right to shirk his responsibility in this struggle. We dare not expect a Secretary Stevens or a President Eisenhower—even if they were willing to join the battle, which is doubtful—we dare not expect any one individual to decide the struggle in favor of freedom.

This is an obligation of all citizens—of all who love freedom. It is your obligation as it is mine. It is the sacred charge of all.

This threat will not pass unless we meet it head-on and overcome it. I have the utmost faith that we will. But we must grasp the nettle firmly. We must not shrink from the thorns.

The times are far out of joint. The crisis deepens with each passing week and month. Yet I am sure that with all the devotion of which we are capable, and with the irresistible strength which love of freedom gives, we can prevail.

We will not be alone. The heroes of all of freedom's battles will be with us on our side. Let our arms be strong, our faith unshakable, and we cannot fail. In the sacred name of freedom, we will surely win.

America's Human Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "America's Human Resources," delivered by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Honorable Oveta Culp Hobby, before the annual Philadelphia Bulletin Forum on March 9, 1954. On that occasion, the distinguished Vice President of the United States made the keynote remarks, and I had the privilege of serving on the panel.

Mr. President, I commend this address to all Members of the Senate and to all others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S HUMAN RESOURCES [1]

(By Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare)

Mr. Vice President, Mr. and Mrs. McLean, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, our subject this evening is our national power—our strength as a nation.

Strength in itself is not a virtue. Power in itself is neither a true test of a civilization nor a measurement of its worth. On this all of us, I am sure, can agree.

Two important concepts come first: One, the purposes and the use to which that strength and that power are put; the second,

[1] Philadelphia Bulletin Forum, Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Pa., Mar. 9, 1954.

the sources from which national strength stems.

For, unless national power is directed toward the ideals of freedom and justice, it is without virtue. And unless it is grounded in a society where freedom and justice are the truths by which its members live, it has no worth.

The United States is a broad and abundant land. Throughout our history—and particularly during the years in which we have come of age in the world—we have built up an industrial machine unmatched in the history of human society.

Our production of goods and services, our agricultural output, our system of communications and transportation, and our facilities for education, medical care, and the cultural advancement of the Nation are truly awesome in their scope.

Yet in spite of these manifest achievements of our society, there are strengths which we lack and weaknesses which are readily discernible. They are strengths and weaknesses which affect our primary source of national power—our human resources.

President Eisenhower in a recent speech set forth his own concern and the concern of his administration with our human resources:

"We believe," he said, "that the slum, the outdated highway, the poor school system—deficiencies in health protection, the loss of a job, and the fear of poverty in old age—in fact, any real injustice in the business of living—penalizes us all. And this administration is committed to help you prevent them."

Tonight I should like briefly to speak of certain of these faults in our country today. I mention them not in a spirit of alarmist criticism but with full faith that they can be corrected, and in the belief, which I'm sure you share, that in working toward their elimination we shall be working toward a still stronger America.

On an average day in this country there are about 2 million potential workers who have been disabled for 7 months or more.

This need not be. We possess the skills and the medical knowledge to restore a very great many handicapped persons to independence and self-reliance.

Chronic or long-run illness also causes many, many days of disability and joblessness. Reliable estimates place at more than 5 million the number of persons who suffer from chronic diseases or long-term disablement because of accidents.

As a first step toward meeting this problem the Nation needs at least a quarter million new hospital beds for patients with chronic illnesses.

Through their voluntary purchase of insurance, over 90 million Americans now have some protection against the financial risks of hospitalization. Yet less than one-fifth of the Nation's total expenditures—some 9 billions annually—for private medical care is now being paid by health insurance.

Obviously it is high time that even further expansion of voluntary, nongovernmental health insurance be stimulated.

By now, everyone is aware of the national shortage of teachers and of classrooms. Our schools are literally bursting at the seams. We are depriving our children of at least 340,000 classrooms they need if they are to receive a truly first-class education.

Our school systems also have other problems that have not received the public notice they deserve. Listen to these two statistics.

At present, only about half of the students in the fifth grade go on to be graduated from high school. And only about half of those who enter college go on to graduate from college.

What is this enormous loss of potential educated citizens, of potential skilled workers, of potential technical specialists—of potential military manpower, if you will—costing the Nation?

Can we truly afford to pay the high price of incompleted public education?

There is also room for much improvement in the social-security system. Millions of Americans are excluded from its coverage. The benefits paid are low in terms of today's dollars. The dollars-per-month test that determines when a person is retired from regular employment is at present unduly restrictive.

President Eisenhower is well aware of these serious national problems of health, education, and welfare. In the past few months he has submitted to Congress an impressive list of thoughtful legislative proposals designed to help meet these problems—and to build a stronger America.

To help improve the Nation's health, the President has made four major recommendations:

He urges that more disabled persons be restored to productive, useful lives—as many as shortages of professional manpower and treatment facilities will permit.

He proposes to encourage—by amending the existing Hospital Survey and Construction Act—the building of more chronic-disease hospitals, more nursing and convalescent homes, more rehabilitation facilities, and more diagnostic and treatment centers. These specialized facilities are badly needed for those patients who do not require the entire array of medical services available within the walls of the modern general hospital.

He has suggested, furthermore, that one unified and simplified formula be adopted for the various Federal grants to the States for health and welfare purposes. The President intends to get greater value for every tax dollar invested in these essential Government services, and he also wants the States to be given more scope for their own initiative and judgment in operating these programs.

He has recommended Federal reinsurance to enable nongovernmental insurance organizations to serve a larger proportion of our population and to expand the protection against medical expense which they offer their policyholders.

To help strengthen the Nation's schools, President Eisenhower has put forward three principal legislative proposals:

He has asked Congress to authorize a continuing committee of advisers on educational matters to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

He has proposed that the Office of Education be authorized to cooperate with the work of research specialists in the State departments of education, in local school systems, and in our universities and voluntary organizations—in much the same productive fashion, in fact, as the Public Health Service now assists in medical research.

He has requested that Congress assist the States in calling conferences of their citizens to discuss and decide what improvements they want made in their schools, as a preliminary to a White House conference on education.

To improve further our already sound social security system, President Eisenhower has made several specific recommendations:

He would extend the protection of old-age and survivors insurance until it covers at least 9 out of 10 civilian jobs.

He also favors permitting retired workers to earn more and still receive their retirement payments, and he would raise the monthly benefit payments for all present and future recipients.

Such are, in very brief form, the major legislative recommendations of the Eisenhower administration with respect to health, education, and welfare.

These proposals were developed during the past year with the advice and counsel of many interested citizens from all parts of the country and from many walks of life.

It is our hope that in the weeks and months ahead these carefully worked out proposals for social progress—designed to build a stronger and better America—will be widely discussed and appraised.

These proposals constitute a program that, in my judgment, fits the times and meets the needs of our people.

They will help pave the way toward a better life for the individual American. And let us not forget that the essential aim of a democratic society is to accomplish that purpose.

This is our American objective. This is our practical ideal.

It is from the practice of this ideal that we draw our strength, and it is toward the realization of this objective on behalf of freemen that we must dedicate the strength that is ours.

Employment Security Administrative Financial Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senators from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN and Mr. PASTORE], who are out of the country on official business, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most able and comprehensive statement on the Employment Security Administrative Financial Act, submitted by Hon. Dennis J. Roberts, Governor of the State of Rhode Island, on March 10, 1954. The statement deals with House bill 5173 and Senate bill 710.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY ADMINISTRATIVE FINANCIAL ACT, H. R. 5173

(By Hon. Dennis J. Roberts, Governor of the State of Rhode Island)

The critical condition of the employment security program in Rhode Island has prompted me to appear before you to present objections to the loan provision of bill H. R. 5173, commonly known as the Reed bill, and to support instead the principle of reinsurance contained in the bill S. 710 introduced by Senators GREEN and PASTORE.

The solvency is basic to the Employment Security program both the President and Secretary of Labor Mitchell have recognized in their recently prepared statements. They have both stressed the need for protecting the solvency of State funds. The reasoning of the Federal administration leads them inevitably to a position supporting Rhode Island in the reinsurance issue which stated simply is that a State unemployment insurance system can be assured of solvency only when provision is made for outright Federal grants in emergency situations.

The threatened insolvency of the Rhode Island unemployment insurance reserve fund led us to be the first State to conduct in 1950 a comprehensive study, Benefit Financing and Solvency of the Employment Security Fund. This study was conducted to determine why the benefit expenditures were excessively high in Rhode Island and what specific factors were responsible for this situation. We attempted to work out an estimate of what our benefit obligations would be in the future and the fund re-

serves we would require over an entire business cycle. In other words, what tax rates would be required to finance our program over such a period.

The results of that study clearly indicate that the provisions of the Reed bill, with respect to repayable loans, would offer no solution to Rhode Island's problem of potential insolvency, but rather would aggravate the conditions causing the insolvency.

A basic provision contained in the Reed bill causes particular concern in Rhode Island, namely the provision for recovery of the loans made to States by raising the employer tax above the 2.7 percent level.

Under the Reed bill the total real tax on employers over a period of years could conceivably rise to 4½ percent of payrolls. The result of this excessively high tax rate would literally force our industry to relocate in other States offering more favorable rates and new industry would be discouraged from locating in Rhode Island. This condition would eventually increase unemployment and benefit expenditures and decrease taxable payrolls and the dollar yield of employer contributions.

Rhode Island's attorney general has already ruled that the acceptance of aid of this character, whether it be termed a repayable loan or an advance, would be in violation of the State's constitution. Even if such a ruling had not been made, Rhode Island could not in good conscience accept such aid in the full knowledge that it would foster industrial attrition, discourage industrial replenishment, and ultimately result in the economic deterioration of the State.

However, an outright grant would not entail any such disadvantages, but rather would permit the continued operation of internal forces that stimulate economic growth.

That the Federal Government should assume some measure of responsibility for the solvency of State funds is entirely consistent with the recent proposals of President Eisenhower who has implied such a responsibility in recommending to the States an extension of benefits to protect the country against an economic recession. If the administration deems it necessary to make such a recommendation to the States, the Federal Government must assume the responsibility for underwriting State funds to assure their solvency.

Rhode Island is frequently cited as an example of the need for immediate legislation by the Congress to forestall insolvency of the unemployment program in any individual State. It has been implied upon occasion that Rhode Island's financial plight may be attributed to liberality, or improvident administration. These implications are unwarranted and have been made by people unfamiliar with the State, its benefit provisions and its economy.

Neither in its benefit rate nor in its duration of benefits is the Rhode Island law unusually liberal. There are 29 States whose maximum benefit rates constitute a higher percentage of the average weekly wage than is the case in Rhode Island. Seventeen States have maximum weekly benefit rates of $30 or more, while 14 States have maximums of from $26 to $28 per week. Thirty-one States, therefore, have current maximums above the Rhode Island maximum of $25. This, incidentally, is exclusive of dependent's allowances which are paid by nine States, each of which has a higher basic maximum rate than Rhode Island.

If we use duration rather than benefit rate as a measure of the adequacy of an unemployment-insurance system, the provisions of the Rhode Island law are even more inadequate in this respect. The percentage of claimants eligible for the maximum duration in Rhode Island is less than the percentage eligible in 48 other jurisdictions.

Rhode Island has recognized that it could not afford undue liberality and has made positive efforts to strengthen its program where needed, such as in requiring higher earnings and greater attachment to the labor market as conditions for drawing benefits.

At the last session of the general assembly a new minimum-earnings requirement was enacted which placed Rhode Island among the States with the most restrictive qualifying provisions. In addition, the disqualifying provisions of the act, with reference to reasons for separation from work and availability for work, were strengthened. Therefore, it is not liberality which causes our problem.

There is a natural limit to how much more the program can be tightened either in its provisions or administration before it becomes unduly cramped and restricted in providing wage-loss offsets, thus defeating the very purpose for which it was established. Moreover, even if Rhode Island were to curtail beyond any other State, it would not solve its financial problem.

The maintenance of a sound unemployment-compensation program requires constant vigilance. The enactment of a resolution establishing a study commission is but another indication of the awareness of the Rhode Island General Assembly of this basic premise.

All studies conducted have revealed beyond all doubt that the cause of Rhode Island's high benefit costs lies wholly in the nature of its economy—an economy which is marked by a high degree of industrialization with such a concentration in unstable and seasonal industries that a high percentage of insured unemployment is inevitable. Average insured unemployment as a percentage of insured labor force has been almost 8 percent (7.88) in Rhode Island in the period 1947–53, as compared with a United States average of less than 4 percent (3.94) during the same period.

Rhode Island is one of the most highly industrialized States in the Nation. Its lack of natural resources and its limited agriculture inevitably force it to rely primarily on manufacturing. This is further aggravated by the fact that 70 percent of its manufacturing employment is in the less stable light consumer goods industries. Its major industries are textiles, jewelry manufacture, and machinery manufacture.

The worldwide decline in textile employment is further aggravated in Rhode Island by the migration of many plants to the southern States under the inducement of cheaper electric power, lower wage rates, abatement of property taxes. In addition, employer tax rates for unemployment compensation are less in those States than the maximum of 2.7 percent which has been the established rate in Rhode Island since 1949. Textiles manufacture comprised 45 percent of all manufacturing employment in Rhode Island in 1950. It currently comprises only 29 percent, representing a permanent loss of 31,000 jobs.

The production of costume jewelry, which represents over 16 percent of manufacturing employment, is inherently seasonal in nature, since it depends so largely on the prevailing dress fashions of the moment.

The cost of paying benefits to workers in the textile and jewelry industries in the fiscal year of 1952 represented 5.31 percent of the taxable payrolls of these industries, while their contributions amounted to only 2.7 percent.

Recognizing that the real solution of our dilemma lay in the need for a more balanced and more diversified economy, the Rhode Island Legislature, at my suggestion, established a State development council charged with the responsibility of aiding the expansion of old industry and the attracting of new industry into the State.

We must, however, recognize that while this program is the real answer to our problem and will eventually achieve our objectives, it is necessarily a long-range plan. In the meantime, misfortune could strike us and thus, in the absence of proper safeguards, do irreparable damage to Rhode Island and the whole unemployment compensation system nationwide.

Though it is our position that our need for Federal reinsurance is of temporary duration, the nature of this need is of such extreme acuteness that immediate action is required.

Even if Rhode Island's need to rely on Federal reinsurance is of short duration, we are fearful that another State, dominated by a single industry which abruptly declines, might find itself faced with a similar need in the future. Already there are five other States whose economic conditions are bringing them close to a vulnerable point.

For these reasons it is apparent that the assumption by the Federal Government of some measure of responsibility for the solvency of State funds is entirely consistent with the nature of the country's economy wherein State boundaries are no barrier to the free flow of goods and where characteristically a product consumed throughout the Nation is produced only in a few States, the State thus having no means of controlling the demand for goods which support its industries.

A principle analogous to Federal reinsurance is already applied in the disbursing of Federal funds for administration of the State employment security programs. These funds are provided by a tax of 0.3 percent on covered payrolls, but the amount allocated to the various States is determined by their needs rather than by the amount contributed by their industry to this fund.

There are now approximately 18 to 20 States who face insolvency each year in administrative funds, since the tax paid by their employers to the Federal Government is insufficient to cover the costs of administering their State program. These States receive an outright grant from the Federal Government each year which in effect covers the difference between the taxes collected and the funds needed for administration. Therefore, it is not inconsistent to extend this principle of outright grants to provide the means to insure the adequacy of reserves for the payment of benefits to the unemployed.

It is worth noting that the Federal administration regards as important to the national welfare the establishment on a nationwide basis of a benefit rate equaling 60 to 67 percent of average wages. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that in past hearings on the Federal reinsurance issue, opponents of this device have argued that the solution to Rhode Island's solvency problem lay either in raising the tax, which as we have shown elsewhere would be disastrous to our industry, or in reducing benefit amounts and duration.

Rhode Island has argued that such reduction would nullify the beneficial effect that our unemployment insurance system has upon our economy. Rhode Island has also argued that the economic disaster which such action might provoke in Rhode Island would weaken the national economy. Now the Federal administration comes forward with a virtual endorsement of the position consistently held by Rhode Island.

The national administration has suggested raising the Rhode Island maximum benefit rate to either $38 or $42 per week. It also suggested that uniform duration of 26 weeks be extended to all claimants. Either of these combination of provisions would increase benefit outlays by more than 1 percent of taxable payrolls, or an average of $6 million per year. The amount of the excess over this figure that such provisions

would cost cannot be readily determined, but it would be substantial particularly if the $42 benefit rate were to be used.

In any event the burden of a 1 percent increase in benefit expenditures would be palpably unbearable in view of the already high rate of expenditures imposed by our economy.

The position of the Federal administration that purchasing power must be maintained at a high level is also consistent with Rhode Island's position that the imposition of an employer tax in excess of 2.7 percent is unrealistic in the extreme. It must be recognized that an emergency condition exists when an adequate unemployment insurance system cannot be maintained by a 2.7 percent tax. When such a situation develops, in a given State, Federal action is clearly called for.

It seems certain that anyone who accepts the basic tenets of the Federal administration in this matter must find himself in complete agreement with the proponents of Federal reinsurance.

We strongly urge, therefore, that in considering the Reed bill you delete the provision calling for repayable loans and substitute therefor a provision making available Federal grants to distressed States.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Statehood Debate," published in the Knoxville News-Sentinel of March 5, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEHOOD DEBATE

It was appropriate that a westerner, Senator GUY CORDON, Republican, Oregon, should open the debate for Hawaii statehood in the Senate, for westerners know best the handicaps of living in a territory under the thumbs of Washington. Many of them remember it personally, for the last State came into the Union only 42 years ago.

Senator CORDON pointed out that Hawaii meets every test for statehood, which indeed it does.

It has a sound and prosperous economy which pays more Federal taxes than a number of existing States. Its people, of all races, are thoroughly American in outlook and in spirit, and have a high level of education as well as income. They have demonstrated their patriotism in peace and in war.

Hawaii's able delegate to Congress and its other elected officials demonstrate that the people it would send to a Congress would be a credit to that assemblage and to the Nation.

Unfortunately, the bitter opposition to Hawaii statehood on the part of a few Senators indicates the debate will be long and may at times descend to an absurd level, where Senator JAMES EASTLAND, Democrat, Mississippi, has attempted to put it already.

Friends of Hawaii have ample evidence to deny Mr. EASTLAND'S Red bogey charges. The facts about Hawaii have been investigated so thoroughly, by committees of Congress itself, that there can be no misunderstanding and no confusion on the part of anyone who is willing to consider them.

Hawaii's case, like Alaska's is the same as that of all the other States who served their apprenticeship as territories. It deserves the same consideration, and statehood is the only decision justice will permit.

A Program for Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "A Program for Prosperity," which was delivered by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, before the annual Philadelphia Bulletin Forum, on March 9, 1954. On that occasion the distinguished Vice President made the keynote remarks, and I had the privilege of serving on the panel. I think Dr. Burns' address is worthy of reading by all Members of the Senate, as well as by all other persons who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROGRAM FOR PROSPERITY

(Address by Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, delivered at the Philadelphia Bulletin Forum, Tuesday evening, March 9, 1954)

A period of economic readjustment such as our country has been experiencing in recent months inevitably raises questions in the minds of thoughtful people. Many are asking: How sound is our economy? Are economic conditions likely to improve in the months and years ahead? What is the Government doing to bolster prosperity? And what actions does it propose to take in the future? These questions call for full and forthright examination. In the time at my disposal I cannot do justice to them, but I shall at least try to shed a little light on the issues that are repeatedly being raised in our homes, farms, and shops.

Let me say, first of all, that economic activity, taken in the aggregate, has declined since last July and that unemployment has developed in different localities. The Nation, taken as a whole, nevertheless, continues to enjoy a high degree of prosperity. The dollar value of the output of all goods and services is only 3 percent less than in the all-time record quarter of 1953. The decline of personal incomes has been even smaller. The volume of purchasing by consumers and by Government is close to recent peak levels. So, too, are the expenditures of business firms for new plant, machinery, and equipment. Businessmen, however, are no longer spending substantial sums on additions to their inventories as they did 6 or 9 months earlier. Indeed, business sales are now outrunning production. In the process inventories are being brought into better alinement with current sales and a foundation is being laid for a new economic advance.

Some students believe that what is now happening in our economy is much more serious than an inventory readjustment. These men point particularly to the high rate of capital outlays in recent years and to the projected decline of defense spending by the Federal Government. The art of business forecasting is highly imperfect and I cannot assert that these analysts are wrong. However, I know of little definite evidence to support their pessimistic forebodings. Current surveys indicate that businessmen, who are closely watching the outlook for their individual firms, generally expect to sell as much or more in the next few months than a year ago. Stock prices, which reflect the prevailing state of business sentiment, are appreciably higher today than last July, when business was at its peak. Commodity prices, on the average, have remained virtually unchanged since then. The privately held money supply is larger. Business failures have declined in the last 2 or 3 months; while contracts for construction, which have been consistently high, have recently risen further. In view of these and related developments, it seems reasonable to expect that our economy will weather its present difficulties successfully and that the economic advance of our Nation will soon be resumed.

The Government is sometimes pictured as the arbiter of the economic fate of its citizens. This view greatly exaggerates the power of Government over our lives. The Government can, however, create an environment that is favorable to enterprise and innovation, and it is upon these activities that the living standards of a people ultimately rest. The Government can also protect the economy from the shock of readjustments that, from time to time, are unavoidable in a free society.

Thus, beginning last May, the Government took steps to make credit more readily available to businessmen, to prospective home owners, to farmers, and to consumers. Beginning this January, the Government reduced the income tax payable by most families by approximately 10 percent, and thus significantly increased the spending power of consumers. Beginning this January the Government also dropped the excess-profits tax, and thus strengthened both the will and the power of business firms to create new jobs.

In addition to these measures the President has submitted a far-reaching program to promote prosperity and to strengthen the resistance of our economy to deflationary tendencies. This program calls for the following major actions:

First, extension of unemployment insurance to millions who at present lack this protection, as well as any increase in the amount and duration of unemployment benefits; so that wage earners may face the future with a greater sense of security.

Second, broadening the coverage of old-age and survivors insurance, as well as increase in the benefits paid; so that the economic handicaps of old age may be reduced.

Third, improvement in the credit facilities available to homeowners; so that individuals in low- and middle-income brackets might find it easier to purchase a new home or remodel or repair the old one.

Fourth, rehabilitation of declining neighborhoods in our cities; so that urban blight may be arrested and slum areas restored to a state of civic decency.

Fifth, the strengthening and improvement of our highway system; so that traffic congestion may be reduced and new opportunities opened up for both living and working.

Sixth, improvement in the planning of public works; so that a shelf of useful projects would be available for prompt expansion of public construction, if private economic activity fell off seriously.

Seventh, relief to millions of families that suffer hardship under present income-tax laws; so that the burden of taxation may be distributed more equitably among the people.

Eighth, permission to business firms to depreciate newly acquired investment goods at a faster rate in early rather than in later years; so that industry may take fuller ad-

vantage of the advances of modern technology and the growth of mass markets.

Ninth, partial elimination of the present double tax on corporate dividends; so that business firms may rely less on debt and more on equity capital while the ownership of corporations becomes diffused more widely.

Tenth, a gradual transition from the present rigid price supports for agricultural products to flexible supports, so that both the domestic and foreign markets for our agriculture may be expanded.

Eleventh, a gradual reduction of existing obstacles to international commerce; so that the flow of commodities and capital, between friendly nations may be increased, to everyone's advantage.

Twelfth, an extension of the President's authority to control the terms of governmentally insured loans and mortgages; so that the ability of our economy to resist either depressive or inflationary influences may be increased.

These, in broad outline, are the principal parts of the President's economic program. The program is built on the principle that economic welfare requires an expanding national income, distributed widely among the people, and realized in a dollar of stable purchasing power. In recent weeks a debate has been raging whether governmental policy should be directed to increasing production or increasing consumption.

This is a debate over a false issue. To attain widespread prosperity, it is not enough, as some honest men believe, to increase the rewards of factory workers or farmers. Nor is it enough, as others believe, to increase the rewards of investors. The problem facing our country is not whether to increase production or consumption, but how to increase both production and consumption at a rapid rate.

It is the considered view of this administration that progress can be best promoted by fostering competitive enterprise, by strengthening economic incentives, by helping to provide a floor of security for the individual, by protecting the stability of the dollar, and by helping to maintain employment at a high level. That is what the President's economic program, including the widely discussed tax proposals is designed to do.

We live in an uncertain world and memories of the catatrophic thirties are still with us. Happily these memories are receding as we become increasingly aware of the powerful forces of growth that have been gathering strength in our midst—such as the upsurge of population, the onrush of technology, the rapid obsolescence of industrial plant and equipment, the widening of the middle class, the expansion of home ownership, the development of mass markets for numerous consumer goods, and the resurgence of the world economy outside the Iron Curtain. The threat of depression has not been eliminated, but it has been significantly reduced by the many safeguards that Government has built in recent years against depression, others have been built by business enterprise; and the Congress is now considering legislation that will further strengthen the forces of economic stability.

It is well to recognize that there are bound to be pauses in the growth of our economy as businessmen find it necessary, from time to time, to bring their tools or inventories into adjustment with their sales. It is well to recognize also that an inventory adjustment is capable of spreading to other categories of expenditure. For this reason the course of economic activity and the status of business planning are being watched very closely by the Government. The President has repeatedly stated that the Federal Government will use every weapon at its disposal to protect the American people from a serious decline in economic activity. This promise will be fulfilled.

Address by Sam Ahkeah, Chairman, Navaho Indian Tribal Council, Before Albuquerque, N. Mex., Rotary Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on March 4, 1954, I was fortunate enough to be in Albuquerque, N. Mex., and to hear Mr. Sam Ahkeah, chairman of the Navaho Indian Tribal Council, speak to the Rotary Club in Albuquerque about some of the problems of the Navaho people. I was very much impressed by Mr. Ahkeah's speech and recommend that it be read by all Members of Congress and by citizens everywhere. I ask unanimous consent to have the speech, together with a short biographical sketch of Mr. Ahkeah, printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and biographical sketch were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SAM AHKEAH TO ALBUQUERQUE ROTARY CLUB

Gentlemen, your kindness in inviting me here to speak to you today is a great honor, and one which I shall long remember. Most of you, if not all of you, are residents of the State of New Mexico, and I might say that a good part of the citizens of your State are themselves Navahos, so I do not feel that I am among strangers today.

I have been quoted and misquoted in your newspapers so much lately that I am sure some of you do not know what to expect of me. I am sorry that I do not know the English language well enough to make myself perfectly clear, and thus avoid the embarrassment of being quoted as saying things that I would never be quoted as saying if I were speaking in my own language. Unfortunately I must think very hard to make myself clear in English, despite the fact that it has been spoken for a century in New Mexico, and as you well know, your ancestors share the responsibility for the fact that I do not know it better. If I had had adequate opportunities for education when I was a small boy, as your sons and daughters have today, I would not have to read my speech to you. I read it because, in this way, I feel that I can make myself clear and avoid misunderstanding.

I believe that the majority of you gentlemen have some understanding of the problems of my people. You have no doubt read or heard that some 14,000, or roughly one-half, of our school-age children have no chance to attend school even if they want to do so. There are no schoolhouses for them. You know that the incidence of tuberculosis among the Navaho is greater today than it was among your people a half century ago, and it is just in recent years that any great strides are being made toward providing medical treatment for these unfortunate people of mine. If you have ever seen babies whose eyes burn with fever, skinny to the point where their skins seem to be stretched tight over their bones, or young people who should be starting out on a happy productive life coughing and sick, or old people whose lives are ending in misery, then you will understand tuberculosis and the tragedy and suffering it brings. If you can remember these things as they occurred among your people 50 years ago, then you can understand our concern about conquering this disease among my people. If you see our babies, wasted by diarrhea that could have been prevented by education or cured if we had adequate roads over which to take them to medical aid, you would understand our vital concern in reaching the objectives of universal education, adequate health care and roads and our treatment of these matters as emergencies. They go hand in hand, and if one is weak, then the others must suffer, too.

When Secretary of the Interior Krug published his report on my people and their problems he was fully aware of the needs of the Navaho. It was on the basis of those needs that a program, the so-called Navaho-Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Act, was developed and enacted into law by the Congress in 1950, authorizing the expenditure of $88,570,000 over a 10-year period to provide certain basic needs for the Navaho-Hopi Tribes. We have appreciated the sympathetic intent of Congress in adopting this legislation, and we appreciate their generosity in providing a total of $34,310,230 to date with which to carry out the program, especially the $16,613,800 so far appropriated for education, the $4,578,000 for roads, and the $2,712,300 for health.

In addition to the appropriation for schools, roads, and medical, we have received over $2 million for irrigation, another $2 million for soil conservation, and nearly $2 million as a revolving loan fund. We deeply appreciate this recognition of our problems.

However, we feel that the urgency of our needs in all of these cardinal respects is not adequately reflected in the rapidity with which necessary funds are appropriated. Despite advances over the past 10 years, the fact remains that 14,000—or roughly one-half of our school-age children—still remain out of school, and that is no joke. It means that, if future generations of this Nation's citizens, a large percentage of one particular minority group will grow up without the tools and skills they require to rise above reservation living or menial labor in some carrot field. Some of these people who will be picking carrots in the daytime and carousing in the alleys at night will be people who, with education, might have been capable of better contributions to the State and the Nation as technicians, doctors, or lawyers. Some of them will swell your relief rolls in the future, and some will keep tuberculosis alive in your communities when it should be as dead as witches and dragons among you. We bear some of the blame for not progressing faster, and fitting more smoothly into your society, but the State, the Nation, and the communities in which we live and trade also bear their full measure of responsibility. We are human beings and we are citizens of the United States, at least officially and legally. We need your help in conveying to Congress an accurate understanding of our total problem, and we need your continuing support and sympathy in getting the necessary appropriations for social and economic development, as well as your understanding for the guidance and protection of my people in your communities. True, we do not always behave ourselves properly, but if you will work toward making us one of you in every sense of the word and adopt a policy of treating us as such, we will soon act and live as you do.

I once spoke to the Indian Council Fire in Chicago, and later to a group of Gallup citizens, to the effect that I have seen several far-reaching revolutions in my time. I have seen my people move from a Navaho way of life, based on livestock and barter, through a transition period in which they were introduced to a wage economy, to the threshold of the new way of life they are entering upon today, and I repeat, I am not an old man. In many senses, we have moved in the short span of 15 or 20 years through as many stages of development as your people passed through in centuries. No such rapid transition can possibly be smooth, but I have every confidence that my people can and will successfully make the transition, to be-

come respected American citizens like yourselves and your children some day soon. And to no small degree the smoothness and rapidity of the transition will depend upon your interest, your help, and your understanding support as our fellow citizens.

As you know, we officially supported the appointment of Glenn Emmons, of Gallup, N. Mex., as the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. We did so because if any candidate for that office knows our problems, it is this man, who has spent 30 years or more among us. He has our every confidence, and we yesterday adopted a resolution in the tribal council assuring him of our support for any measures he may take in our behalf toward solution of our educational problems. We have every confidence in the quality and ability of the men he has chosen as our new Navaho superintendent and as the director of the new Gallup area office, just as we had every confidence in Mr. Harper and his staff, and will continue to have every confidence in his continuing support in his new job in the Indian Office. And we will support and work closely and harmoniously with our new leaders, Warren Spaulding and Wade Head.

But we still lean heavily on you for your continuing understanding and support, gentlemen. Can we count on you? My people would be very happy if they could be assured of your support.

Thank you again for your invitation and for this opportunity to speak to you.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. SAM AHKEAH, CHAIRMAN, NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL

Sam Ahkeah is a man of uncertain age who may have been born in the year 1896. He contracted tuberculosis at a young age and hardly expected to grow to maturity, but he lived to do the hardest physical labor on ranches, in mines, and on road and construction jobs. Although he had little formal education to fit him for large responsibility in public affairs, he had other preparation equally valuable—an acquired practical wisdom and straightness in managing his own and family affairs, and a tenacity which leads him to work at any subject until he comes to conclusions about it. When time grew bad for his people his voice was the voice of protest they heeded.

At the age of 8 years, Ahkeah entered school at Fort Lewis, Colo., and remained there for 4 years, until the school was closed to the Indians; then he went to a new school at Shiprock, Ariz., remaining 4 years more. It was when he entered school that he acquired the name Ahkeah, from "Ashkii la," meaning "Why, it's a boy." Sam was added. He was sent home from school because he had contracted tuberculosis. These 8 years concluded his formal education.

While recovering his health, Ahkeah worked as an interpreter and at odd jobs, including work as a day laborer, a cowboy, and a miner. He carefully saved and invested in a farm near his birthplace. Under his management, the farm prospered.

For a period of 18 years Ahkeah worked as general foreman over Navaho workers at the Mesa Verde National Park, and also as a handy man, plumber, painter, mason, blasting expert, and interpreter, where he made good wages and managed his money well. Here he met the Navaho girl he married.

In 1941, Sam Ahkeah was in his middle 40's, fairly well to do by his standards, though little more than a day laborer. That might have been his status to the end if the livestock-reduction program had not opened new doors of opportunity. When the program was initiated on the Navaho Reservation, Ahkeah campaigned against it, and he was chosen by the tribe to carry its protests to Washington. This was the first of many trips and marked his transition from day laborer and jack-of-all-trades to leader.

In a report to the Navaho people, Ahkeah urged them to elect council members who would go along with their wishes. He made a try for tribal office in 1942 and was elected as vice chairman, and in the next election, in 1946, he ran against the long-time chairman, Chee Dodge, and won the chairmanship. He was reelected in 1950. It was under his leadership that Navahos began to take the management of their affairs into their own hands, and progress got underway. Ahkeah initiated 22 successfully operating tribal enterprises, and others are in the process of organization. Tribal government has been streamlined to make handling of affairs more efficient, and a revolving loan fund has been established.

Mr. Ahkeah has grown in his ability to cope with large problems. Although he often considers transactions which total into the millions, Ahkeah never forgets that $1 million is but an accumulation of pennies. His first consideration is always what is best for the Navaho people. His two permanent plans for Navaho progress—Navaho enterprises and Navaho education—are based on the principles of protection of Navaho interests and improvement of Navaho welfare.

Mr. Ahkeah's strength as a leader traces back to his own training as a boy. He was chosen by his greatuncle, a tribal historian, to receive instruction in the history of the people, to carry on to later generations. He learned reverence for his beliefs and legends of his people and tolerance and kindliness, and he forgot none of it.

Under Ahkeah, the Navahos have set their faces toward fine goals. The boy from the hogan is showing them that the way to progress is to do things for themselves.

Sam Ahkeah, the recipient of the 1953 Indian Achievement Award, was the second Navaho to be so honored. Heading the largest tribe in the country, his accomplishments, by comparison with present-day standards, are said to rank with those of the greatest of Indian chiefs.

The Treaty With the Six Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the February 4, 1954, edition of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Evening News, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. At a time when committees of the Senate, as well as the entire Senate itself, have been engrosed in problems of Indian rights and the impact of treaty law in the United States, the problems involving the treaty with the Six Nations take on increasing interest and importance.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNBREAKABLE TREATY

Like the old saw about leading a horse to water, the attempt to unseil the Indians of New York State on their treaty right to receive an annual allotment of cotton cloth is meeting with the familiar obstacles. The descendants of the six nations say they were sold a bill of goods by George Washington and have kept their part of the bargain.

In return for the annual donation of gingham and sheeting the redmen have accepted a restricted life on the reservations and have kept the peace since 1794, when the treaty was signed. They regard the treaty cloth as a symbol of good faith on both sides and see no reason for the United States to break the oldest and best kept treaty in its history.

That is the Indians' position and there they stand. They probably won't take to the warpath if Uncle Sam reneges on his part of the bargain, but they can think of some awfully pasty things to say about treaty breakers.

Some people in Congress think the whole treaty is sort of silly. One of them is Senator HUGH BUTLER, chairman of the Senate Lands Committee. He has introduced a bill to end Federal supervision in 10 areas of the country as part of a program to grant full citizenship to the Indians. He wants to get rid of the New York treaty with a lump-sum settlement in cash.

But the Indians will have none of it. As a part of the earliest confederacy on American soil they insist that the treaty was made in good faith on both sides and was to run forever. So why in a mere 170 years should there be talk of ending it for convenience in bookkeeping?

The Senate bill compromises by setting up the cash offer subject to any later acceptance. But, Uncle Sam, you'd better load up the old covered wagon and get around to the reservation with those bolts of cotton this spring. It isn't the money, it's the principle. If there are those left in this uneasy world who want to live up to a treaty, let's not discourage them.

A Man To Run a River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Man To Run a River," published in the New York Times of March 5, 1954. It deals with the work of Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MAN TO RUN A RIVER

Gordon R. Clapp has been Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the past 8 years. He came to TVA to assume a minor position in the personnel department in 1933. His swift rise was due to a combination of technical and administrative proficiency, great energy and, as this newspaper once said editorially, "zeal for the public service and a grasp of the social and economic ideals for which TVA stands." Now there is some uncertainty as to whether he will be renominated and confirmed for a full 9-year term when his present period of service ends next May.

Mr. Clapp himself is in no position to campaign for reappointment. The arguments for him can be found in the continued growth and success of the authority during his years of occupancy, in its steadily favorable financial position, in its warm and friendly cooperation with business interests, in its encouragement of better farm practices and in its swift and efficient aid to the Federal atomic plants. Democracy has flourished as the valley itself has flourished during Mr. Clapp's time on TVA.

This is not to say that Mr. Clapp is a superman without whom the whole project

would collapse. He does, however, have experience and he does honestly believe, in the words of the oath required of TVA directors, "in the wisdom and feasibility" of the TVA Act.

An amiable citizen of Chattanooga now seriously mentioned to succeed Mr. Clapp has successfully managed a business of his own, but has not been required to show that he knows how to run a river. Mr. Clapp does know. We hope President Eisenhower and the Senate majority will forget politics and leave TVA in its present good directive hands. Mr. Clapp could probably earn more money elsewhere. The country will be lucky if it can hire him for another term.

Effect of the Bricker Amendment Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HAYDEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Arizona Daily Star, of Tucson, Ariz., under date of March 4, 1954, regarding the lasting effect of the debate on the Bricker amendment when it was under consideration in the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Although the Bricker amendment has been defeated, the controversy it aroused has been most beneficial. It has brought to light how the full power of the Constitution gives the country enormous protection from arbitrary acts by the President, and also how public opinion can affect both presidential and congressional conduct.

If the Bricker amendment had been a part of the Constitution 10 years ago, it would not have prevented President Roosevelt from doing what he did at Yalta. At that time Congress had just as much authority to reject Yalta as it would have had, if the Bricker amendment had been a part of the Constitution.

The President came back and appeared before Congress and won its applause for what he did. The President revealed everything that today is considered obnoxious. Everybody expected him to make a deal with the Soviet Union on Manchuria. Properly, the President did not reveal military plans. Congress had the power to reject or repudiate what he did.

Section 8 of article I of the Constitution sets forth the powers that Congress can use in asserting its authority over executive agreements or orders affecting the conduct of foreign affairs. It has exclusive authority to—

(1) Regulate commerce with foreign nations. This gives it authority over any kind of an executive agreement made in connection with any foreign nation. These are constantly being made as a routine matter of government. Rarely do they come before Congress, but Congress does have the authority to exercise power over them.

(2) Define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations. Under this provision Congress can go far in curbing the action of a President who might go much farther than Congress deems wise. All it has to do is to exercise its authority.

(3) Make rules for the government and regulations of the land and naval forces. Congress could thus set up regulations to govern the military conduct of the Commander in Chief, and go as far as to make rules governing the making of an armistice. The Bricker amendment could have done no more. The only recourse Congress would have with a President who would defy such rules and regulations by Congress, would be to impeach him.

Thus Congress already has the power to harass the President in his conduct of foreign affairs. It can, whenever a majority of Members of both Houses agree, call for an accounting and go as far as to repudiate what the President might do.

The Senate can harass a President considerably in treatymaking by refusing to ratify a treaty, and it will take only one-third of the Members present to do this.

Largely as a result of the discussion of the Bricker amendment the chances are that all treaties in the future will receive much more detailed scrutiny, and that no treaty will be ratified if it carries clauses that would violate the Constitution, or propose to accomplish acts that are construed to be in the field of local legislation. Likewise, it is probable that Presidents and Secretaries of State for some time to come will watch for such objectionable provisions, because they will realize that the Senate will not ratify treaties containing them.

Although the Bricker amendment is dead, the effects of the discussion and debate it aroused will last for many years to come, and will probably be as effective as if it had been made a part of the Constitution.

Where Are the Spies?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Where Are the Spies?" published in the Anderson (S. C.) Daily Mail of March 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE ARE THE SPIES?

In spite of widespread demand for President Eisenhower and members of his administration to get down to cases and inform the Nation as to the exact number of traitors found and discharged from Government service, the reports are still of vague nature, with a recent total of 2,429 security risks.

The nearest that anyone has thus far come to listing actual subversives was the report of Philip Young, of the Civil Service Commission, who said that of the 2,429 a total of 429 had something in their files of a subversive nature.

That subversive information may have been entirely incidental, for there was no charge that the individuals were either traitors or that they had engaged in one single suspicious transaction. The real cause of the firing may have been drunkenness or some other risky habit.

The list of 429 also includes those who left their jobs voluntarily, and whose names might have been thrown into the subversive list for little or no reason.

Sometimes the "flag" was on a worker's file because he had relatives behind the Iron Curtain, which would presumably make him a potential subject for blackmail. Insofar as his actual record, however, it might have been as clear as a bright noonday sun.

Actually, then, there is so far no public knowledge of the number of disloyal persons found among 2 million Federal employees.

And after all these months of dilly-dallying, it is also pretty obvious that the administration does not intend to give the American people the literal truth, until and unless pressure from the public becomes so strong that it cannot be ignored.

Any reasonable person can see through these tactics.

Back in 1952, when the then General Eisenhower was campaigning for election, either he or those who spoke for him led the American people to believe that the Democratic administration was literally honeycombed with Russian agents who were preparing to sell out the Nation to the Reds, and that there was dire need for the Republicans to take over and clean out the spies and traitors before it was too late.

Well, the Republicans won a landslide vote. Came January, and they took over not only the executive, but the legislative branch of Government as well.

The American people waited for the first of the traitors to be unmasked and tossed into prison or put before a firing squad. Months passed, and nothing happened.

A few persons here and there began to get an idea that the oft-referred-to "mess in Washington," might not have been so messy after all.

Certainly if disloyalty was rampant, if there were traitors on every block, and if the Nation was actually in danger from within, some of the spies would have been unmasked, placed on trial, and punished as required by law.

The reason it wasn't done is simply because such a condition didn't exist in the first place.

And those who made the charges so vociferously back during the campaign now hate to face the truth.

The Port of Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, courage in the face of adversity has always been an outstanding American trait. The head that stands "bloody but unbowed" will ever be an inspiration to others to carry on to greater achievements, no matter how the odds may be stacked against them.

For this reason, I believe Members of Congress and our people generally will be interested in an editorial which appeared in the Baltimore Sun of March 9, 1954. Captioned "Only a Weak Port Is Threatened by Assaults," it climaxes a recital of adversities which in recent times have been visited cumulatively upon the port of Baltimore, with a heartening recapitulation of the port's undoubted advantages as reasons for hope and confidence, rather than for despair.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONLY A WEAK PORT IS THREATENED BY ASSAULTS

The widely diversified port of Baltimore, the city's No. 1 economic asset, has often been threatened from one direction or another during its long history. Now it is being threatened from several directions at once.

A few days ago it was announced that the Bethlehem Sparrows Point shipyard faces a complete shutdown in October, if new business does not develop in the meantime. Shortly afterward it was reported that a decline in ship-repair work has caused layoffs of more than three-quarters of the force at the Maryland Drydock Co.

Last month Baltimore lost a battle in the fight against its favorable rail rate for ore shipped to points west of Pittsburgh. A division of the Interstate Commerce Commission put shipments from Philadelphia on a par with those from Baltimore.

This battle had followed one several months earlier in which this city and Philadelphia suffered a setback in a fight against the favorable Baltimore-Philadelphia rail rates for grain shipped to the coast from Great Lakes ports.

There are indications of downward trends in grain exports and ore imports through the local port. On top of all these adverse developments, there is the renewed and now far more important threat that the St. Lawrence seaway will be started in the near future, this whether or not the United States participates in the project.

Taken together the attacks on the port represent a general assault which is without parallel in the past. They could have a far-reaching effect on the city's whole economy. But no one in his right mind would charge off the port as a losing proposition.

Baltimore's highly favorable geographical position has not been altered. The city is still closer to the inland heart of the country than is any other port on the Atlantic Coast. This gives the city a natural rail advantage which nothing can change.

Shipbuilding and ship repairing in this country have long had their ups and downs. Today such activities are linked more closely than ever with the country's foreign and defense policies. A dropoff in shipwork today does not mean there will not be a return to increasing activities tomorrow.

The battle over the ore-rail rate was not a complete disaster. New York and Boston were denied the rate advantage enjoyed by Baltimore. Furthermore, the battle over the equalization of the rate for Philadelphia is not over. Neither is the battle over in regard to the Great Lakes rate for grain.

It should also be noted, with emphasis, that the fights over the ore and grain rates are not to be construed as threats to Baltimore's generally favorable rail rates to the heart of the country. The Interstate Commerce Commission seems to have taken the view that the two scales are isolated from the general rate structure.

The indicated downward trends for grain and ore movements are in line with national trends. As for the St. Lawrence seaway, if this project is carried out it will be up to the city to meet the competition presented.

Here we have to our advantage a year-around open port and a port close to the industrial centers of the country without the hazards and costs of canal transit. In addition we have excellent port facilities, especially for handling bulk cargoes, and we have good labor-management relations. This latter factor has brought an increase in general cargo movements during the turmoil along the New York waterfront.

It would be bad business to sell our port short. It will be good business for local port interests to work harder than ever to obtain deeper access channels, better truck facilities, better general service terminals and wider use of the port.

James Buchanan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an address delivered by Frederick Taylor Wilson, author-lecturer, on James Buchanan.

Dr. Frederick Taylor Wilson was recently the guest speaker at two historic occasions held in honor of former President Buchanan. The first was at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa., the alma mater of Buchanan, at the unveiling of a new portrait of Buchanan. The other occasion was at Mercersburg (Pa.) Academy, located near the birthplace of Buchanan, in connection with the removal to the campus of Mercersburg Academy of the cabin in which Buchanan was born. Dr. Wilson is a nationally recognized authority on our American Presidents.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JAMES BUCHANAN

James Buchanan, our 15th President, had three unique distinctions.

First, he was the only native son of Pennsylvania who thus far has been President of the United States.

Second, at 66 years of age, he was the oldest President with one exception at the time of his inauguration. The only older one was William Henry Harrison, who died 30 days after taking the oath of office.

Third, Buchanan was our only bachelor President. Writers of romance have thus far failed to tell the story of his broken engagement to a lovely Lancaster, Pa., lassie named Ann Coleman, and of her death soon thereafter. Memories of her haunting loveliness never left him and when an old man in the White House, Buchanan found surcease from sorrow in reading her faded love letters of the long ago.

Buchanan was born in a one-room log-cabin home located near Mercersburg, Franklin County, Pa., on April 23, 1791, and was the oldest of 11 children. A home then so isolated that his anxious mother often put a tiny bell about his neck as a child that he might be more easily located should he become lost. That cabin is now on the campus of the Mercersburg Academy, in Mercersburg, Pa.

The family background was Scotch-Irish. His merchant father, only 8 years out of Ireland when James, his son and namesake, was born, soon moved into the town of Mercersburg, where he prospered and became a man of affairs. The mother, a woman of great industry and piety, saw to it that her promising son should early in life study the classics and prepare himself for college. At 18 years of age he graduated with high distinction from Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa. From there he went to Lancaster, Pa., a fine farming region where, for 3 years, he studied law and at 21 years of age was admitted to the bar. Studious, able, eloquent, thrifty, reliable, he quickly won success as a lawyer and acquired a comfortable fortune. In his early twenties he served twice in the Pennsylvania State House of Representatives.

The long national career of James Buchanan began on March 4, 1821, in an era known then as the era of good feeling, when he entered upon his career as a Congressman from three fine Pennsylvania counties. That career ended 40 years later, on March 4, 1861, when he retired from the Presidency in an era which may well be called an era of bad feeling.

Originally a Federalist, James Buchanan, as a young Congressman, was attracted to the political banner of Andrew Jackson, who, after Buchanan, had been in the House for 10 years, invited Buchanan to go as his Minister to faraway Russia. The coldness of the climate there was only exceeded by the coldness of the circles of diplomacy. News of the death of his beloved mother and a favorite brother, the namesake of George Washington, received while there added to his unhappiness. He did find satisfaction later in using the French tongue, which he acquired while moving in diplomatic circles.

Buchanan next went to the Senate from Pennsylvania, which he left after more than 10 years of great service to become Secretary of State in the Cabinet of James K. Polk on March 4, 1845.

As a Senator, Buchanan often met in verbal conflict Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, the senatorial giants of that day, all of whom wanted to be President, and failed, and all of whom had ended their earthly careers when Buchanan, years later, reached that high post.

At one time, while a Senator, Buchanan met often about the Capitol five other men who were, like himself, destined to die as ex-Presidents. They were Van Buren, the Vice President; Senator Tyler, of Virginia; Polk, of Tennessee, Speaker of the House; and Fillmore, of New York; and Pierce, of New Hampshire, Members of the House. All of these, with the exception of Polk, were living when Buchanan himself became an ex-President.

The greatest public service rendered by James Buchanan was as Secretary of State. In that high position he brought to successful completion such great problems as the annexation of Texas, the issues which grew out of the Mexican War, the direct result of the annexation of Texas, and the final adjustment of the long, unsettled Oregon boundary question. George M. Dallas, then Vice President and the only one thus far from Pennsylvania, presided over the Senate. Buchanan was the sixth and last Secretary of State to become President.

He was second in votes in the Democratic Convention in 1848 which nominated Cass for President. When the Whig Party took over after the end of Polk's administration, Buchanan retired to his recently acquired suburban home, called Wheatland, located near Lancaster.

In 1852 Buchanan for the third time was a candidate for the Democratic nomination. Just as Polk won the nomination as a dark-horse nominee in 1844, so did Pierce of New Hampshire in 1852.

Pierce, however, was quick as President to invite this tall, handsome, dignified, scholarly statesman from Pennsylvania to become his Minister to England. There Buchanan spent 3 happy years. His hostess there was his attractive and able niece, ward and heiress, Harriett Lane. The great event while there was when he received from Oxford University the honored degree of doctor of civil law.

The political tides moved fast and strong while Buchanan was in England and his great chance to be President, despite his years, came in 1856 when he was chosen as the Democratic candidate, with John C. Brecken-

ridge, of Kentucky, then 36 years of age, as his running mate. He defeated for President John C. Fremont, the pathfinder and war hero, the first candidate of the 2-year-old Republican Party. Millard Fillmore, ex-President as the candidate of the third party, won only the electoral votes of Maryland.

Buchanan was elected but his great troubles were now to begin as he took office as President on March 4, 1857. Three days later Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States, read the historic Dred Scott decision, which made it clear that the various compromise measures of the past concerning human slavery were now dead and that the hour of final decision was near. Thirty-seven years before, through the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, Congress had fixed a dividing line between slavery and antislavery sections of the Nation. Seven years before, in 1850, other compromise measures were enacted which many hopeful leaders of both political parties thought would bring an end to this disturbing issue. That heavenly hope, however, all but faded away when the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, a virtual repeal of the original Missouri Compromise Act, became a law.

In addition to this, soon after Buchanan became President, a tragic depression similar to the one which wrecked the career of President Buchanan 20 years before and which was to wreck the career of President Hoover 72 years later, fell like a great plague upon the Nation.

The Kansas wars had disturbed the Nation and then came the futile and fantastic raid of John Brown and his foolish followers at Harpers Ferry in October 1859, all of which added new fuel to the rising flame; James Buchanan as President was truly the captain of the ship of state in a time of storm, and more storms were yet to come.

When a successor to Buchanan was chosen in November 1860 a divided Democratic Party with one wing led by Douglas, of Illinois, and another by Breckinridge, of Kentucky, plus a third party ticket made it easy for Lincoln, the lanky and then little-known candidate of the Republican Party to win the Presidency, though he received only the electoral votes of States in the North and was a minority President.

Lincoln's election, however, though pledged to fight only against the further extension of slavery and not its destruction, was the silent signal in the South for secession. And led by South Carolina, State after State prepared to secede from the Union.

Buchanan, though opposed to slavery, recognized its legality in the South. Though opposed to secession he saw no legal means as President to prevent the secession of a whole section of the Nation. His Attorney General and legal adviser during his closing days as President was none other than Edwin M. Stanton who was later, as Secretary of War, to become a strong right arm of Lincoln, the new President. Buchanan, as a lawyer and student of the Constitution, wanted to be fair to all sections. Four members of his Cabinet from the South resigned their high positions. So did Cass, 78 years of age, his Secretary of State.

Buchanan had tried to tame a tornado, but tornadoes cannot be tamed; he had hoped to harness a hurricane, but hurricanes cannot be harnessed, and he no doubt, spoke the exact truth when he said to Lincoln, his junior by 18 years, as he left the White House, "If you are as happy to come into the White House as I am to get out, you must be a very happy man."

A sad and lonely man, Buchanan, quietly returned to his beloved Wheatland Home, in Pennsylvania. Six weeks later, shots fired upon the American flag at Fort Sumter in South Carolina, aroused the Nation to war. Passions of patriotism long sleeping were awakened as legions of loyal men leaped to the defense of the Union when Lincoln called for volunteers—a thing Buchanan would, no doubt, have done under the same circumstances.

In God's own time, Buchanan who loyally supported Lincoln saw the unfortunate war come to an end and its cruel weapons win for the Nation that which the gentle pens of peace had been unable to achieve.

His long and honorable life came to its close on June 1, 1868, at Wheatland, with adoring loved ones around him. He was at peace with God and man and died in the firm faith of his Presbyterian childhood. The manner of his going was in striking contrast to the sudden and tragic end of Lincoln, more than 3 years before.

Buchanan was buried in beautiful Woodward Hill Cemetery at Lancaster. As he walked the ways of life in loneliness so there he sleeps his eternal sleep with no relatives resting near him.

Students of American history may well study the public career of James Buchanan, our 15th President who at all times was true to himself and therefore as the night follows the day could not have been false to any man.

I Am An American Night

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a speech which I recently made at the I Am An American Night program at Springfield, Mass.

I may state with reference to this occasion that it was a unique and very inspiring experience for me. The dinner for new citizens and the subsequent program in their honor were admirably arranged, superbly conducted, and very largely attended by prominent members of the clergy, eminent public officials, distinguished patriotic veteran and civic groups, and a great outpouring of citizens who filled to overflowing the spacious Technical High School Auditorium.

When I looked from the platform out into the sea of earnest faces before me and perceived the eager enthusiasm and fervent spirit of patriotism that pervaded the entire gathering, I felt a thrill of inspiration that I have seldom known.

This was America at its best. The old and the new; the old and the young—people of every color, race, and creed; people of every station in life—united in one harmonious, patriotic accord; proud of their citizenship; loyal to their country; determined to protect and preserve the Nation, and to ask God's blessing upon it.

I am greatly indebted to my friends of the committee who made my presence upon this most rewarding occasion possible as well as to all those who extended to me during my visit such unexcelled hospitality, and such a warmhearted reception. I am thankful to all for a very inspiring and very impressive evening.

I shall always remember I Am An American Night at Springfield:

REMARKS OF HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE I AM AN AMERICAN NIGHT, TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., MARCH 9, 1954

I am greatly honored and highly privileged to participate in this most impressive program I Am an American Night. I extend my heartiest congratulations to the committee for conceiving and carrying out these admirable patriotic exercises in which I am happy to note the presence of beloved spiritual leaders, veteran, patriotic, and civic groups of this beautiful community.

It is also a real pleasure, as well as an honor, for me and for all of us, to be joined here this evening by the outstanding chief magistrate of your beautiful city whose Americanism, courage, and ability are contributing so greatly to your great city.

The city of Springfield may well be proud of its leaders in every field and its loyal, devoted citizens and their magnificent contribution to our Commonwealth and to our country, and I laud my friend, your Congressman, EDWARD P. BOLAND, for his outstanding service in the House.

American citizenship is the most priceless political possession in the world and that is why our new citizens, so many gathered here tonight, have been gratified and thrilled to join the ranks of the millions of loyal people throughout the length and breadth of our great land who are entitled to exercise the rights, privileges, immunities, and benefits which attach to this most coveted honor.

American citizenship has deepest spiritual meaning. It is a symbol of our freedom. It is the recognition of the dignity of the individual. It separates men and women from the status of the serf and the slave, lifts them from the ranks of the oppressed and the tyrannized, vests them with equal standing before the law, with equality of opportunity, with all the rights of individual liberty, of person and of property, which are guaranteed by the truly matchless Constitution of our country.

In the best sense, this noble heritage of freedom which distinguishes and exalts the citizen, new and old, exemplifies in fullest measure the profound and meaningful spiritual truth that in this Nation, above all else the individual is free, that his freedom is derived from the Almighty God Himself, and that his dignity and worth are protected by the law against those baneful and destructive discriminations of race, religion, and station and person which almost invariably characterize totalitarian government.

In no other land is the individual possessed of such a broad measure of freedom and such a high measure of protection for his rights and that is not only his legal possession, but the most significant attribute of American citizenship.

In other nations men and women may be subjects, or even mere slaves or vassals. In America, thank God, they are citizens, equal before the law, just as they are equal before their Creator.

But there is another, perhaps even a more important aspect to American citizenship. It is not comprised merely of rights, privileges, and benefits. It entails obligations, responsibilities, and loyalties. A good American citizen may cherish and appreciate his rights as he certainly should. But he must also constantly strive to protect and safeguard these rights and the great sources of spiritual and legal authority from which they flow, and the great charter of liberty which has been set up by the wisest political genius of all time to maintain and preserve free institutions.

A wise American once said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and it seems to me that never before in our history has that expression been so true as it is today.

The Communist conspiracy is worldwide. It operates with ruthless disregard for human life. It seeks the suppression of all freedom. It penetrates into every nation, spreading propaganda, poison, weakening morale, seeking to undermine the will of the people to govern themselves. It has started unwarranted aggression and stirred the fires of rebellion, insurrection, and revolution in many nations. It has known no honor, truth, or justice. It moves to undermine the living God Himself. It has not hesitated to base its campaign upon deceit and treachery. It has shamelessly resorted to brutal force to achieve its aims. Since the end of World War II this gigantic conspiracy against freedom has extended its orbit of control and influence over upward of 800 millions of people. Behind the Iron Curtain there is a shadow of oppression and cruelty which falls over the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

This hideous conspiracy continues its malignant operations in our own country. It has been responsible for the stealing of our vital military secrets. It carries on ceaseless propaganda among our people. It is waging an unending war against free institutions.

It would be an understatement to refer to this grave menace as a challenge, because in this atomic age of terrible weapons, it has become an ever-present danger to the cause of freedom, not only in America, but throughout the world.

The American people must resolve to fortify the Nation, spiritually, militarily, and economically against this great evil. It is vital to provide strong overpowering national defense. It is essential, not only to watch, but to uproot, communism and subversion at home wherever and whenever it appears. It is imperative to strengthen the spiritual well springs of American liberty.

This must be the task of all American citizens, old and new. It is a task for all Americans to put an end to apathy and indifference toward the affairs of Government, especially toward the great dangers which surround and threaten us. The citizens of the Nation must become aroused as never before, to be on guard not only against the external enemies but against the internal enemies who by stealth, subterfuge, and deceit, and carefully prepared propaganda are endeavoring to becloud the issues that bear upon this great threat to our freedom and pave the way for destroying American freedom.

In order to work successfully and effectively, democracy requires the participation of all our citizens regardless of race, color or creed, or station in life. Mindful of our heritage of liberty, grateful for the unparalleled benefits and blessings which our free institutions have bestowed upon us throughout the years, American citizens must reaffirm our faith in the great spiritual truths, unequaled civil liberties, and incomparable free way of life which have so gloriously served us in the past.

These precious attributes of American citizenship are God-given. They did not develop overnight. They came only after years of bitter struggle, sacrifice, and bloodshed. They can be maintained for ourselves and our posterity only by unswerving loyalty, constant devotion, and unflinching determination to preserve them whatever the threat and whatever the cost.

Let us strive and fight against the evil forces which at this moment are seeking to work our destruction. With unity born of patriotism and faith, in the American way, the free way, we can and will move toward the solution of the momentous problems of the hour. But this task will require our undying allegiance to the great fundamental constitutional principles which have been established in this Nation to protect and safeguard the rights of our individual citizens, because these will be not only our beacon light but our guaranty against oppression and tyranny, our assurance of national sovereignty, political independence, and social justice. The protection of our people against discrimination, intolerance, persecution, and those other hateful characteristics of dictatorship which are now plaguing the world is not only mandatory upon us. It will be a bulwark and defense against totalitarianism.

New citizens of Springfield, we proudly welcome you to the brave company of freemen and women of this great Nation, confident that you will always be worthy of your American citizenship, sure in the knowledge that you will tenaciously cling to its principles and join wholeheartedly and loyally with all true Americans in preserving this glorious free Government which is not only the guardian of our own liberties but the hope of all those throughout the world who aspire to liberation and freedom.

God willing, with unselfish national unity, firm determination, and high purpose, we will move invincibly toward security and peace and we will build here a still greater, stronger, and better Nation for all.

Rogue River, Oreg., Sets the Pace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS ELLSWORTH
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, a small city in the congressional district which I have the honor to represent recently set a record for contributions to the nationwide March of Dimes drive which I think should be called to the attention of the House. I refer to the city of Rogue River, Oreg. This community which, according to the 1950 census, had a population of only 590 raised a total of $1,408.60 for the March of Dimes.

The excellent weekly newspaper, the Rogue River Times, published in Rogue River by Mr. Maxwell L. Thayer, not only was a sparkplug in the campaign but as the result of the sale of advertising space donated by the Times $163.55 was raised for the drive. The advertising was sold by students.

The Rogue River Times tells the story of the drive in its own front-page story in its issue of February 5, 1954. The complete story follows:

The March of Dimes collections for the Rogue River area set a new all-time record.

Preliminary count, with still some money to come, was $1,408.60.

This tops last year's collections by better than $500 and is about as much as was collected in the last two previous drives combined, according to Mrs. Mary Wohgen, March of Dimes chairman.

The dinner last Saturday night was the largest fund-raising event of the month.

A few cents less than $400 was raised by the dinner.

The Times was next, with a contribution of $163.55, raised through sale of a full-page advertisement (space sold by students), across-the-counter sale of newspapers during the entire month, and through the sign-for-a-dime campaign in which 2½ pages were donated by the paper.

The next largest fund, $156.74, came through the basketball game held in the Rogue River High School.

North American Airlines Launches Pressure Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINGATE H. LUCAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the Members a pressure campaign being conducted by North American Airlines, a nonscheduled air carrier, against the Civil Aeronautics Board. This campaign, a new low in tactics of this type, has been revealed in all its crudity by a news story appearing in American Aviation Daily of March 1. It is a bald and bold-faced attempt by this company to bring pressure to bear on the CAB in an effort to prevent that regulatory agency from carrying out the provisions of the Civil Aeronautics Act and the regulations of the Board.

Under the headline "North American Airlines Launches Pressure Campaign," the news article follows:

North American Airlines has launched an intensive campaign in recent weeks under which private nonaviation firms would write or wire President Eisenhower (with copies to Congress) supporting the nonscheduled carrier's bid for permanent airline operating rights. Program is also aimed at CAB enforcement proceedings now in progress against the line. Sample letters and wires have been furnished the firms for use in preparing communications to the President.

The covering request letters, dated February 17, 1954, are on stationery of North American Airlines, Inc., signed by "H. Peterson, secretary," and read as follows:

"We shall greatly appreciate your reading the enclosed sample telegram and/or letter and sending one in a similar vein to the President of the United States. We have been engaged for some time in promoting legislation that will guarantee free enterprise under our Constitution. Monopolistic interests are attempting to dominate our industry. We wish to enlist your aid in this fight, the outcome of which very obviously will have a direct bearing upon the future of free enterprise in our country."

SAMPLES ARE ENCLOSED

Four sample letters and one sample telegram have been prepared, each bearing this caption at the top: "Outline: Letter From Businessman to President—To Be Sent on Lettrhead of Most Important Firm Available. Copies to Congressman, to Senators KNOWLAND and KUCHEL, and Vice President NIXON."

At the end of each sample letter is this statement:

"P. S.—My company has no direct interest in the aviation industry."

The sample letters range from 1½ to 2 pages of double-spaced typing. Following are excerpts from those letters:

"When the Republicans were elected with your leadership, many of us felt there would be considerable improvement with respect to continued Government interference with certain segments of our economy. One of these in which I have always had a considerable interest was air transportation. The Civil Aeronautics Board, in my opinion, ever since it was organized under the New Deal administration, has had a fairly shabby record.

"The Board has a great file of charges against North American. These charges take the same form as the New Deal checkreins which were used to restrict supply and to hobble independent enterprise.

"I am behind your administration 100 percent and want to continue to be so, but I think it is time that something should be done about the Civil Aeronautics Board and its obvious favoritism against free enterprise. * * *

"Under the New Deal administration we feel that air transportation has been handled badly, especially referring to such independent airlines as North American Airlines."

PREFERABLY FROM REPUBLICANS

The sample telegram furnished to nonaviation firms bears this caption at the top: "The More Telegrams of This Kind the Better, Preferably From Republicans."

Here is the telegram:

"Deeply distressed to learn your Civil Aeronautics Board is preparing to kill off last important independent company in civil aviation by its proceedings against North American Airlines. Evidently success of this company in low-cost field without subsidy has proven embarrassing to big carriers who want an exclusive in violation of law and American tradition. Respectfully call your attention that Board has never granted any new enterprise the right of entry into common-carrier trunk service. Bureaucratic excuses and double-talk don't alter this damaging fact. If North American Airlines is killed, there remains no company fit and able to enter the field. Hope you will lend personal leadership to this vital matter. Am principal owner of ——— and have no financial interest in aviation but vital interest in preservation of free competitive enterprise system."

A caption at the end states:

"The above should be put in your own words, either written or typed, not on North American stationery, signed with your home address."

Meanwhile there were no indications today whether any of the firms had responded to the North American request. One Senator's office said that, aside from several letters from North American itself in the past month, the only other thing received concerning them is a model airplane. A daily check revealed that model DC–6B airplanes bearing the name "North American" have been distributed to Senators' offices.

Excise Tax on Long-Distance Calls and Local Telephone Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

CONCORDIA, MO., *February 25, 1954.*

Hon. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON,
Missouri Congressman,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We, citizens and taxpayers of this part of your congressional district, wish to call your attention to a matter concerning the excise tax on long-distance calls and telephone service.

As you are aware, the Federal Government places an excise tax on long-distance calls of 25 percent, which is in the highest excise-tax bracket, and 15 percent on local telephone service. As we understand it, this tax was first voted as a luxury tax during the emergency when the Government was looking everywhere for money to carry on, in and during the emergency. We are at a loss to understand why the telephone is termed a luxury when it is such an essential part of any business, whether it is the farm, factory, office, or business place. It is surely a service that is indispensable to the business and social economy of the Government, and we think cannot be termed a luxury. A luxury is something that we can get along without, but this is not true of the telephone service.

Water, gas, and electricity, which are the other essential utility services, do not carry this type of tax. Even the former tax on electricity, which was 3 percent, was repealed in 1951. We were given to understand that the tax on telephone service would be only during the emergency, and now that the war has been over nearly eight years we think this is the proper time to repeal this excise tax on telephone service.

We understand that very soon the House Ways and Means Committee will begin writing a bill making it possible to reduce the excise tax or repeal it outright, which we feel should be done in regard to telephone service.

We expect to take notice of the action taken by our Congressmen and Senators on our behalf in regard to this matter.

Your active interest in getting the proper kind of legislation introduced and to get the law repealing this tax passed in this session of the Congress will truly be appreciated.

If time could be had and contacts made, we feel that almost 100 percent of the voters of our great State of Missouri would favor the repeal of this tax as concerns telephone service.

With best wishes and hoping for good results, we are

E. M. Runge, City Mayor, Concordia, Mo.; H. O. Walkenhorst; Al H. Schegzel; Julius H. Rolfe; H. H. Scholle, D. D. S.; Edna Friese; Mrs. Omar J. Brandt; K. M. Kroeneke; Herman J. Alewel; Harvey Wodrich; Chris Wilkens; Raymond Stumbl; E. S. James; Alewel Bros. Locker; Lloyd Beissenherz; Mrs. Roy Brockman; Mrs. John Hartwig; Norbert Flandermeyer; Wm. C. Cordes; Hugo H. Sodemann; Elaine Vogt; E. J. Reith; Otto W. Oetting; D. E. Black; Tri-Foods Co., by D. E. Black Arthur; Oetting; Gilbert Borgstadt; H. S. Brady, M. D.; Brice Bailey; Wm Bailey; Kizim Mweteza; Allie W. Grace; Frank Welborn; Forrest Rutherford; Bwiney C. White; H. E. Mortens; Henry F. Rohman; Roy O. Schnakenberg; Hy. W. Foelker; Ed Bayless; W. H. Kraemo; H. J. Kammeyer; Charles J. Kammeyer; Mrs. Fred Gordon; Mr. Rodney Lee Bodenstab; Walter Boescher; Glover Glahn, City Marshal; J. B. Steiner, Beautician; Ralph Schloman, Burlington Manufacturing Co.; Lawrence H. Stewart; Mrs. Fred Ehlers; Louis Dierker; Verlon Lange; R. R. Robinson, D. Q.; Chets Concordia Hatch; Arthur Lohman; N. H. Schnakenberg; Concordia Lumber Co.; Emil Borgstadt; Peoples Laboratory; Geo. Hewitt; John Rosebrock, Jr.; Fred J. Cassing; A. F. Brockman; Frerking & Voigt Bros.; Martin Brockman; Norbert Borgstadt; John E. Cassing; Wm. H. Klingenberg; Arthur L. Walkenhorst; Clarence H. Meyer; E. D. Brockman; Harry C. Dierker, Twin City Dairy; H. E. Dankenbring; Harry Oetting; F. H. Pohlesselman; Gustav Oetting; Robert L. Schumacher; Ed. A. Rohman, Favorite Cafe; Bodenstab Oil Co.; Theo. H. Henning, Concordia Farmers Co-op Co.; Paul G. Oetting; Elmer Cassing; Marian Cassing; Floyd J. McVey; Elmer Holsten; Ralph Erdwin; Edgar Meyer; Earl Puhrmann; M. F. Uphaus; Al Kammeyer; Karl Pemberton; Mrs. G. E. Winter; Omar H. Kammeyer; Alvina Uphaus.

Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act of 1954

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I believe the rule should be adopted and H. R. 8149 should be heard.

All of the Members of this House have been cognizant of progress that has been made under the hospital survey and construction program since the inauguration of the Hill-Burton Act. This bill will amend and expand that entire program.

Whereas funds under the Hill-Burton Act have largely been devoted to the construction of general hospitals, this bill will provide a major emphasis upon a program to meet special needs. These needs will cover four major categories: First, diagnostic or treatment centers; second, hospitals for the chronically ill; third, rehabilitation centers, and, fourth, nursing homes.

It will be recalled that title VI does not authorize the construction of diagnostic or treatment centers, or rehabilitation facilities separate and apart from hospitals. In addition, nursing homes are not covered by the present program at all. This program will go a long way toward providing the health services for ambulatory patients and for those who are chronically ill. Many of the beds now being used in general hospitals for these patients would be relieved for the use of general hospital patients.

The real surprise to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee was testimony by the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education that only 12 percent of the national need is met for beds in chronic disease hospitals. This means that 88 percent of the patients in these categories do not have proper facilities for their treatment and care. Chronic disease hospitals are more economical to build and maintain than are general operating hospitals. This lower cost of construction and maintenance would reduce the financial burden of the chronically ill patients who are usually confined for considerable periods of time. There is hardly a community in the United States that has not undergone a tremendous increase in its population above 65 years of age. Although the national population has only doubled in the last 50 years, the number reaching 65 years of age has almost quadrupled. In addition, those above 65 years of age require almost twice as much hospital care each year as do persons under 65 years of age.

I would like to emphasize that the present authorization for an appropriation on this bill will help the States to survey the facilities they have on hand and assist the States in getting State plans under way. All of us, I am sure, recognize the importance of making a preliminary survey and planning, as was done under the title VI of the Public

Health Service Act. This assures that the expenditures authorized will be made in an economical and orderly manner in order that we may have the best use of the funds.

This bill is one which is necessary to progressively meet the problem of particular groups of people in this country who need special care and treatment. It is both complementary and supplementary to legislation previously enacted by this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I trust the rule will be adopted and H. R. 8149 will be approved by this body.

Persian Gulf Oil Shipped to Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of Sunday, February 28, 1954, regarding a shipment of crude oil from the Middle East to Houston, Tex.

The article follows:

PERSIAN GULF OIL SHIPPED TO TEXAS—NORWEGIAN TANKER UNLOADS CARGO AT HOUSTON AFTER TRIP HALFWAY AROUND WORLD—FACTORS FAVOR IMPORT—LOW COSTS, FREIGHTS, DUTY, HIGH PRODUCTION ABROAD BEHIND EXPERIMENT

(By J. H. Carmical)

Importing crude oil from the Middle East to Texas is like carrying coals to Newcastle. Yet that occurred last week when a Norwegian tanker unloaded at Houston a cargo of crude oil it had taken on halfway around the world at the head of the Persian Gulf.

Although Middle East crude oil has been coming to the United States, principally to the east coast, in increasing quantities over the last few years, this is the first time a cargo shipment has been made to the gulf coast. What is more important, however, particularly to the Texas and Southwest oil producer, is that it may be the forerunner of more such shipments.

The cargo consisted of about 100,000 barrels of crude oil produced by the American Independent Oil Co. in the so-called neutral zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. It was delivered to the refinery of the Eastern States Petroleum Corp. on the Houston ship channel. R. B. Kahle, president of Eastern States, has described the shipment as an experiment that might result in a long-term contract.

TEXAS OUTPUT CURBED

To keep production in line with market demand as provided in the conservation laws of Texas, the producers in Texas have been ordered to reduce their permissible production almost monthly since last September. The shut-in production of the State is now estimated around 750,000 barrels daily. Last week the State's railroad commission ordered an increase of 159,266 barrels a day in allowable production for March, despite the objections of most of the purchasers.

Several factors figure in the importation of oil from a field 12,000 miles away into Texas, the State which accounts for more than 40 percent of the Nation's output and has better than 50 percent of the Nation's known oil reserves. These include the low-cost production in the Middle East, the lowering of the tanker rates, the excess production abroad, and the very low import duty.

The Middle East oil wells are the most productive yet drilled. Their output ranges from 5,000 to 10,000 barrels daily. Those in the Persian Gulf area are near tidewater, and thus pipeline charges are low. With local consumption at a very low level, an estimated 95 percent of Middle East oil must find an outlet abroad, either as the raw material or the finished product. With the political situation none too stable, producers are anxious to market the oil as fast as possible.

INDEPENDENT'S MARKET HERE

Until the American Independent Oil Co., owned by a number of independent American producers, and the Pacific Western Oil Corp. obtained the concession in the neutral zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the oil concessions in the Middle East were held almost entirely by the large international oil companies. Having markets in virtually every country, these companies were able to fit the oil fairly well into their established outlets without causing price weakness. However, the American Independent-Pacific Western group must rely largely on the United States market for the disposal of their production.

With production abroad exceeding the demand, the international companies have been increasing their sales here steadily. Oil imports are now at a record level, averaging close to 1,200,000 barrels daily. This compares with a domestic production of around 6,325,000 barrels daily.

The relatively low import duty on crude oil and products also is encouraging foreign shipments here. The duty was first levied in the early 1930's, when Venezuelan production was being developed rapidly. The levy was 21 cents a barrel each on crude oil and residual fuel oil. At that time, with oil here selling around $1 a barrel, the levy tended to keep imports down.

With the enactment of he reciprocal trade agreement laws, including amendments from time to time, the duty has been steadily reduced. Under the trade agreement with Venezuela, which was signed in 1952, the duty on heavy fuel oil and low gravity crude oil was lowered by 75 percent, to 5¼ cents a barrel. As provided in the act, other friendly nations may not be discriminated against. Thus actually the duty on crude oil and residual fuel oil, which constitute 95 percent of petroleum imports, must pay a tariff of only 5¼ cents a barrel, excepting some high gravity crude oil which must pay 10½ cents.

The average price of crude oil here is around $2.65 a barrel. The import levy thus accounts for only about 2 percent of its selling price, compared with about 20 percent when it was first levied.

While there is not much sentiment in the oil industry for increasing tariff rates to stem the flow of petroleum importations, the domestic coal industry is in favor of increasing the rates, particularly on residual fuel oil. With about 4.15 barrels of fuel oil equivalent to 1 ton of bituminous coal in heat units, the present tariff rates amount in effect to 22 cents a ton bituminous coal equivalent, compared with 68 cents at the initial levy.

Reflecting the increased cost of production and higher freight rates, the price of coal now is more than double that prevailing in the 1930's. Although the initial import levy may have aided the coal industry in meeting competition from fuel oil, coal executives maintain the reduced rate is of no material benefit to them.

Although the coal operators are striving to get a higher tariff on oil imports as well as limiting shipments of heavy fuel oil to 5 percent of domestic demand, the independent oil producers are seeking a voluntary solution of the imports problem. With foreign oil now entering the heart of the country's producing region, oil producers may join the coal group in their effort to limit petroleum imports by legislation.

Recently the Independent Refiners Association of America, which heretofore has not been particularly active in the movement to limit imports, asked for a congressional policy declaration that foreign oil should supplement, not supplant, domestic production and that the President be authorized to implement this policy by all appropriate means, including agreements among the importers.

Pakistan—A Friendly Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, recently the Embassy of Pakistan here in Washington sponsored a Pakistan essay contest to improve relations and understanding between the United States and Pakistan.

A young constituent of mine, Mike Woods, who is a senior at Taylor High School in Taylor, Tex., has won first place in this contest and will leave by plane on April 1 for a free 30-day all-expense-paid trip to Pakistan. The other winner in the contest was Miss Sigrid Jan Larson, of Topeka, Kans.

Mike has written such an excellent essay on Pakistan—A Friendly Nation, that I would like for my colleagues to have the opportunity to read it. I am therefore respectfully including Mike Wood's winning essay in today's RECORD. It follows:

[From the Taylor (Tex.) Daily Press of March 5, 1954]

PAKISTAN—A FRIENDLY NATION

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the essay which won Mike Woods, of Taylor, a free 1-month trip to Pakistan.)

(By Mike Woods)

The south Asian link in the chain of democracy around the Soviet Empire so salient to the free world today at last seems about to be forged.

Pakistan, lusty Islamic infant of the Orient, has in little over 6 years beaten down the threats of religious and economic chaos of its 76 million people and has emerged as a power much to be reckoned with not only in its own explosive subcontinent but in the international cold war situation, in toto. Nevertheless, the nation has a long road to travel before industrial, financial, and political stability can be attained. The country's major problems—religious fanaticism, the Kashmir and Indus Basin water disputes with India, and a glaring lack of mineral resources of modern industry—are complicated by the appalling illiteracy rate (86.2 percent) and the semifeudal system existing in many of the provinces.

But in most cases Pakistan has ignored the experts' pessimism and has made astounding progress in dehorning a great many of her dilemmas. The West has every reason to see in this eastern titan a powerful ally in her struggle forexistence with the corrupted communism of the Soviet world. To the United States the young republic is perhaps more than that. The mystic, incomprehensible mirror of the teeming East has at last yielded an image in which the American can for the first time see something of himself, a reflection of his own basic ideas and conflicts.

The conditions for a friendly relationship between two nations do not differ from those concerning people. There must at first be common interests in basic ideas and principles of existence. The two parties must be generally concurrent on their aims and ambitions and the methods of obtaining their goals. Interest in one another's welfare and understanding of the mores which between the two inevitably differ are essential. Demonstrations of the friendship, such as lending of food or arms, will come later, after the fundamental kinship has been established. The ties between the United States and Pakistan are perhaps the strongest that have ever existed between two nations so far removed geographically.

The religious protestantism which played so signal a role in the founding of the United States was an even stronger motivating factor in the establishment of a separate Muslim nation on the Indian subcontinent. The two great faiths of the world, Christianity and Islam, which sprang centuries ago from the hill country of Judea, are the foundations on which rest the present United States Constitution and the Pakistan document that is in the making. A strict moral code and a sense of duty to God and to country composes the underlying philosophy of both countries' governments.

The Muslim people of all nations, comprising the largest religious sect ever known, have always felt themselves destined to a prominent position among the powers of the world, but through the ages the people have not shown a willingness to work for this position, nor have their leaders evinced a desire to make the necessary sacrifices. However, the philosophy of working for what you want, which helped carve from the vast wilderness of the western world the greatest people's republic in the history of mankind, is also a dominant characteristic of the average Pakistani. Thus does another communion of ideas form a bond between these two peoples of East and West.

The industrious Pakistani takes great pride in his home, his village, his province, and now at last—his nation. The fire of nationalism has been spreading rapidly in the newly born republic, but the government is confronted with many states' right problems which Americans ought well to be able to understand and recognize as powerful factors in their own turbulent history. It must be remembered that it has taken 250 years, some of them bloody ones, for the United States to achieve its present state of patriotism to a strong central government.

And who can tell? Perhaps this camaraderie will be one of the first to rise above the age-old quid pro quo alliance and the governments will act toward one another as their religions demand the individual act. Thornton Wilder's planetary mind could also be developing on the opposite side of the world.

So it may be that Pakistan, child among nations, will find a godfather in the United States of America, which is always looking for another land where the principles of democracy, fraternity, and tolerance flourish. Praise God. Praise Allah. For who is to say that they are not one and the same?

Protest Made of Failure To Cut Liquor Tax and Warning Given Against Increasing Moonshine Menace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the following is the text of a letter I have addressed to the Honorable DANIEL A. REED, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee:

MARCH 4, 1954.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,
Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. REED: The action of the Ways and Means Committee in refusing to reduce the distilled spirits excise tax from the present excessive rate of $10.50 a gallon to $9 compels me to write to you to point out certain basic facts in our Government's handling of the distilled spirits industry. The increase of $1.50 was to have been temporary and only for the recent emergency.

This industry is a legal industry; in fact, the only industry whose legality is specifically mentioned in the Constitution. For the most part it is an industry financed by the savings of many thousands of private bond and stockholders. The Government has an obligation for the stability of this industry and should express the same concern as it does for any other segment of our Nation's economy.

We must take cognizance of the growing bootleg problem fostered by these high taxes which give rise to corruptive conditions in our society and gnaw away at the sales of the legal distilled spirits industry.

Except in the most narrow sense—that is, medicinal use—whiskey is a luxury and it should be taxed as a luxury and the industry which produces it should be treated with the same consideration as that accorded other luxury industries.

Yet the Ways and Means Committee now has voted drastic reductions to 10 percent in other luxury taxes but simultaneously has voted to continue the excessive rate of 43 percent on legal spirits. It has done this in the face of a fiscal 1955 budget showing that legal sales would greatly increase and produce additional revenue under a $9 tax.

Furthermore, you have been quoted in the press the last few days as saying that "there is no rhyme or reason" to a discriminatory system of taxes and that no article or service should be subjected to an ad valorem excise tax in excess of 10 percent except as a penalty. It is obvious that the distilled spirits industry is being discriminated against, when its rate is left at 43 percent.

The liquor excise tax since the beginning of World War II has gone from $4 to $10.50 a gallon, an advance of $6.50. These high taxes make legal liquor a rich man's luxury. The average consumer should not be compelled to turn to a cheaper, untaxed illicit product.

The Congress in the past, recognizing that it was fixing too high a taxload on this industry, always set a cutoff date when the excise tax would revert to the lower rate. When the larger revenue was required for defense, the excise tax was raised to $10.50. Again, a cutoff date, that of April 1, 1954, just a few weeks away, was enacted. Congress would be guilty of bad faith to disregard this date.

Your committee has voted to continue the $10.50 rate permanently. Certainly, your committee cannot disregard the encouragement this high rate gives to bootleggers and moonshiners and racketeers.

Moreover, the administration, in the face of the growing bootleg menace and attendant lawlessness, has not asked the Congress for adequate funds for proper enforcement of our laws. At the present level of expenditures for the enforcement—which rate the fiscal 1955 budget does not propose to increase—the Government offers little protection to the public and to the legal industry. Millions of dollars of public revenues are lost through inadequate enforcement.

Presently we are having a revival of the evils of prohibition. Assuredly, the Ways and Means Committee does not wish to encourage these evils.

Unless your committee reconsiders and reduces the rate at least to $9 we will continue to play into the hands of moonshiners and hoodlums.

With cordial greetings, I am,
Sincerely yours,

EMANUEL CELLER.

Military Fringe Benefits and Veterans' Programs a Sound Investment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, short-sighted fiscal programs, confused policies, selfishly inspired propaganda, and apathy toward the problems of service personnel have created a serious manpower problem for all the services. There is a direct relationship between the morale of service personnel and their desire to remain in service after the expiration of their enlistment, or termination of an officer's tour of duty. Readily available statistics are far from encouraging because they clearly indicate a critical trend away from career service.

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel in a radio address several days ago stated that we are having a 60 percent turnover in service personnel. Hanson W. Baldwin in a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post observed that only about 6 percent of the United States Navy's new ensigns are graduates of the Naval Academy, while the percentage of the Military Academy graduates is even less. Both officer and enlisted ranks are being depleted at a dangerous rate. Our national security is being jeopardized by the failure of the services to retain qualified and competent personnel in the various ranks, branches, and specialties. Our military budget is greatly increased by the recurrent expense of training so many men, especially technicians, who thereafter decide not to stay in the service. The Government's investment in a jet pilot averages $50,000. With the regularly increasing complexity of all phases of modern warfare, and its consequent specializations, there is urgent

need to make military careers sufficiently attractive to cause our trained personnel to stay in the service.

The Armed Forces are frequently in direct competition with industry and private employment. In many instances the attractions of higher pay and freedom from constant change of duty station are compelling factors in favor of private industry. An Air Force captain receives about half the salary of a commercial airline pilot who flies no combat missions, and who is not separated from his family for many months at a time.

One way in which we can partially compensate for the disadvantageous position of the services is to steadfastly maintain and even extend the so-called fringe benefits of military personnel. In this respect, Hanson W. Baldwin stated in the same article previously mentioned that "the old line officer and noncom had—as they understood it—hard and fast contracts with the Government which they could depend upon; their quarters were often pleasant, and commissary and post-exchange privileges and other fringe benefits compensated, in part at least, for low pay. But the growth of the Armed Forces, plus public and congressional desire for economy, have forced reductions in standards. Congress was not willing to provide for the many what it had once provided for the few. The trend of service living standards has been down."

Improved and extended fringe benefits will contribute to the solution of our current problem in two distinct ways, as an inducement for men to remain in service, and as an added attraction for others who are in a position to exercise personal option regarding military duty. The quality of Armed Forces personnel is raised when the services can exercise selectivity when considering recruits rather than having to lower standards in order to meet minimum quotas. Shortsighted selfish attacks on military fringe benefits and pennywise budgets for military housing and recreational facilities are actually greatly increasing defense costs.

Another effective way in which we can contribute materially to improved morale of service personnel is to maintain the various services and facilities provided veterans by the Veterans' Administration. There exists a little-understood relation between the treatment of veterans and the morale of those still in service. By our support of the Veterans' Administration program not only do we partially liquidate our heavy obligations to the veterans who were called upon to carry a disproportionate share of the burden of war, but we demonstrate our sincere and earnest efforts to show our appreciation of the sacrifices of military personnel.

We should also bear in mind that by the provision of adequate medical and hospital care through the facilities of the Veterans' Administration, many veterans will be available as members of a potential Armed Forces Reserve, professionally qualified and physically fit, in the event of a national emergency. It is obvious that many veterans who require help in meeting medical problems would not be in such a position, except for long years spent in military service. It is a demonstrable fact that Veterans' Administration is critically short of many needed hospital facilities, particularly facilities for the treatment of mental illness, and yet high-priced propaganda, selfishly inspired, is constantly distorting the facts and trying to picture large numbers of veterans as sponging off of the Veterans' Administration at great cost to the taxpayers. This is simply not the case. In fact, if we should yield to selfish motives and reduce the present services that the veterans receive from the Veterans' Administration, it is certain that the various States and local jurisdictions would have to attempt to close the gap. Yet all informed persons will readily recognize the infeasibility of this because even today State and local authorities are seldom able to cope with their current responsibilities in an adequate fashion.

To sum up, it is my view that the chipping away of military fringe benefits is a program we cannot afford. More such benefits would actually save us money in the long run and give us a sounder, more experienced Defense Establishment. The programs of the Veterans' Administration should be kept intact and permitted to function at a high level of efficiency.

Postal Pay Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following statement I gave to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in behalf of an increase in pay for the postal workers:

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANCIS E. DORN, OF NEW YORK, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, MARCH 9, 1954

Mr. Chairman, the postal employees of Brooklyn and elsewhere, especially in the metropolitan communities, are urgently in need of a pay raise, and as one of their Representatives in the Congress, I urge you to give favorable consideration to the legislation giving them $800 pay raise as provided in H. R. 2344.

Since the last postal pay raise the cost of rent, food, and other necessities has risen to the point where postal employees must seek outside employment in order to support their families. But what is worse, their wives—mothers of small children—must also seek employment. This is detrimental to the postal service, as well as to the family life of the postal workers.

Employment in the post office has always been considered a career—a desirable career—which would provide sufficient return to enable the employees to raise their families properly and in decent surroundings, and to give their children a good education. It is important that it continue to be a desirable career in order that it attract the same high quality of personnel that is now in the postal service.

There has been a high turnover in postal employees due in considerable part to inadequate pay. This decreases the efficiency of the Department, and increases the cost of postal service. New men must be trained in order that they may take their places next to the seasoned workers, and this is costly.

I cannot urge you gentlemen too strongly to support a sizeable pay increase and I can tell you that in my section of the country they need at least an $800 increase.

Constitutional Amendment Introduced Providing That No Citizen Under 21 May Have the Right To Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, recommended that the voting age be lowered to 18. The President has never given us his reasons for this proposal except to state that "if one is old enough to fight, one is old enough to vote." But voting is as different from fighting as chalk is from cheese, and it is, therefore, most important to examine the meaning of this glib slogan.

If a person is too old to fight, is he too old to vote? Does the President mean that if a person votes, he must also fight? And does the President mean that girls must also fight? Many young men are unable to fight because they are physically unqualified to do so. Could it be that these men who cannot fight cannot vote?

When the draft age was lowered from 21 to 18 years of age, the generals told us that this was a necessary move because young men under 21 were more easily molded into good soldiers than were their elders who had grown to maturity. Young men under 21 are more pliable and more amenable to indoctrination. They are not likely to exercise critical judgment in matters demanding instant obedience. Instant and unquestioning obedience may be most desirable from soldiers in the battlefield, but in a voter such obedience would be most undesirable. Self-interested groups and corrupt politicians would find such obedience a fertile playground.

The President must undoubtedly have been ill-advised. His proposal requires a constitutional amendment, and I believe he is unaware of the action taken by the individual States on this issue. In the past 3 legislatures, 35 States have rejected the proposal that the voting age be reduced, and 2 States rejected the same proposal in a referendum. Therefore, 37 States have already expressed their opposition to the measure. The President's suggestion would not have much of a chance. Only one State has adopted the 18-year-old voting age limit, namely, Georgia, and there it has proved to be a poor example. Teen-

agers usually vote along family lines. They vote like ma and pa. They register and cast a "novelty" vote when they reach the age of 18, and then lose interest in subsequent elections. During the primaries, the teen-agers' excitement in the election rises to a fever pitch, to the detriment and disregard of their studies. Though the 18-year-old can vote in Georgia, he is not permitted to make a contract, buy a car, cow or mule, inherit property, or transact business without a guardian. He cannot serve on a jury, hold office, buy liquor, or marry without the consent of his parents. These activities are for the age of maturity.

Fixing the age of 21 as the age of maturity, is the result of the accumulated wisdom of the centuries. It has been tested through the ages. The teen-ager is not sufficiently mature because he has not as yet had to face life's major problems and complexities. The teen-ager is likely to take the extreme point of view. He does not know how to compromise, and the essence of politics is compromise. In the United States, we have so many groups with conflicting interests, both of a national and sectional nature, that compromise is an essential to our unity. It is the dictators with their absolute doctrines who have abused the extremism of youth, and put it to their own advantage. Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin all gave the teen-agers the right to vote and herded them all into line.

Since the President has put a searchlight on the subject of lowering the voting age, I feel that a positive stand must be taken against it, by imbedding in the Constitution, the provision that no one who has not reached the age of 21—that is the age of maturity—can be given the right to vote. I am, therefore, this day introducing a bill to provide that no citizen of the United States shall have the right to vote in any political election or primary unless such citizen shall have reached the age of 21.

Traffic Jams Are Here To Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Traffic Jams Are Here To Stay," from the March 5, 1954, issue of U. S. News & World Report. I believe this article merits the consideration of every Senator as we proceed to the consideration of Federal-aid highway legislation. In my opinion, the article lends additional weight to the proposals I introduced as Senate bill 3069.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRAFFIC JAMS ARE HERE TO STAY

In spite of bigger road-building programs, driving is not to get any easier for American motorists in the foreseeable future.

This country is spending four times as much money this year as it spent in 1946 on its roads and streets. Yet the flow of new cars and trucks keeps rising faster than roads are enlarged or repaired.

Highway construction is to be expanded again in the coming year. President Eisenhower is proposing that Congress increase the Federal Government's subsidy to the States for road building from $575 million to $800 million a year. With this, a record outlay of $4 billion for roads and streets is in prospect for 1955.

Road experts look on this as encouraging, but still only a drop in the bucket, compared to needs. It will not solve the highway problem or break up the nationwide traffic jam.

The picture of the United States road situation, which has moved steadily toward the crisis stage for many years, is this:

Spending for roads is up, but it is still a third below what the experts say is needed. From a rate of $800 million in 1946, the annual highway outlay grew to $2.3 billion by 1950, will reach an estimated $3.4 billion this year.

If the States go along with the President's proposed increases, the United States Bureau of Public Roads estimates that next year will see a $600 million jump in road spending—up to the level of $4 billion a year.

TOLL ROADS DON'T SOLVE PROBLEMS IN CITIES

This will be an all-time high. Yet highway officials say that the Nation actually needs to spend at least $6 billion a year on roads for the next 10 years, if it is to catch up with existing needs, and then keep up with new demands as they develop in the decade ahead.

To put it another way, the United States has already spent more than $17 billion for new roads since the end of World War II. And, according to official surveys, there is still $42 billion worth of construction required just to bring the highway system up to the level really needed for present-day traffic.

Toll roads are playing an increasing role in highway-improvement plans. They meet special needs in special places. Superhighways like the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Turnpikes, and the Merritt Parkway in Connecticut speed drivers through heavily congested areas between big cities where public roads are crowded and slow.

In the last 20 years 17 toll roads totaling 747 miles in 10 States have been completed. They cost $654 million. Eight new ones, 1,000 miles long, in 7 States, are under construction, costing $1.3 billion. Seventeen more, totaling 2,800 miles, in 17 States, have been authorized, to cost $3.6 billion.

These toll roads are not built with tax money. They are financed by big bond issues, paid for out of tolls collected from each user. Toll-road revenue reached $200 million in 1953—is growing fast.

But toll roads fill only comparatively short gaps between a few big cities. They don't reach the vast rural areas or solve the problem inside cities where congestion is greatest. They are not the final answer, as the experts see it.

Substandard highways, despite all the toll roads and the record spending, are still the general rule from one end of the United States to the other. Of the 3.3 million miles of roads and streets throughout the Nation, one-third are unimproved dirt roads. Although 2 million miles are surfaced, only 400,000 miles are paved with the high-type hard surface that modern traffic requires.

The last complete study showed many serious deficiencies on the 37,000-mile interstate highway system, the Nation's strategic network. The average mile of rural highway, for example, was found to consist of a surface that was last improved in 1937, and a roadway that had its last improvement of alignment and grade in 1932.

Of 27,000 miles of pavement on the rural sections of the system, more than 3,700 miles, or 14 percent, turned out to be more than 20 years old. Only 5,200 miles of the entire system were as much as 24 feet wide. About 21,000 different sections, of varying length, were found to have unsafe visibility conditions because of hills, curves, or roadside obstructions. More than 7,300 miles, or one-fourth, were unsafe for passing.

OF 10,000 BRIDGES, ONLY 2,000 ARE WIDE ENOUGH

Out of 10,000 bridges, only about 2,000 were found to be wide enough for modern trucks and cars to use with safety. Many bridges were too weak, by modern standards, for the traffic loads passing over them.

Over the entire Federal-aid system of 672,000 miles, State highway officials report that two-thirds of the roads are "below tolerable standards." This means that 424,000 miles of busy highways are out of date; 84,000 bridges are unfit for high-speed traffic. Just to bring this Federal-aid system alone up to current needs, officials estimate that $35 billion would be needed.

Bad as the road situation is now, indications are that it may get worse before it gets better. The Nation fell far behind in its road program during World War II, when it was building planes and tanks instead of highways. Building since then, though big, has been picemeal, emergency patching of the worst weaknesses.

What's needed, highway experts say, is an overall, integrated program on a scale big enough to overcome today's shortcomings, while at the same time meeting tomorrow's new needs.

Rising traffic caused the problem of today and threatens to bring more problems in the future. In 1946 there were only 34.4 million motor vehicles ranging the roads. Today there are more than 55 million—a gain of 60 percent. The number is growing nearly 2 million every year. By 1975, it is estimated, there will be 80 million vehicles on the roads.

The Nation's vast fleet of cars, trucks, and busses traveled a total of 500 billion miles last year, nearly twice the mileage of 1941. This mileage is growing at the rate of 5 percent a year, may reach 750 billion by 1964.

And today's cars are bigger and faster. Trucks are larger, carry heavier loads. Roads built to carry 1940 traffic are crumbling under today's heavier burden. Roads adequate then are death traps now.

Rising cost of road building complicates the highway problem. Costs have gone up a third since 1946. And the same road that cost $100,000 before World War II costs $222,000 today. Four-lane divided superhighways of the type now required between many big cities sometimes cost as much as $2 million a mile.

Thus, although more money is being spent, it doesn't go as far as it once did. Much of the money also has to go for replacement of old roads that are wearing out. Result is that the United States actually has built fewer miles of new road in the last decade than during the 1930's.

City bottlenecks offer a special problem. Experts studying the cities' problems often find ordinary improvements fail, say entire street systems must be reorganized. Cities have to do this largely on their own.

BIG QUESTION: HOW TO FIND MONEY FOR MORE ROADBUILDING

The big question, for roads, boils down to this: How to finance the needed nationwide job. Total tax revenue for highway and street purposes in 1953 was only $5 billion from all sources, Federal, State, and local. About $1.7 billion of that sum goes for maintenance to keep roads patched and usable. That leaves only $3.3 billion a year in sight for new construction, where $6 billion, by the experts' estimate, is needed. To meet the $6 billion goal, heavy borrowing and higher taxes would be required.

It has been suggested that road building could be the basis for a huge public-works program in a business recession. President Eisenhower's recent economic report mentions roads as the field where the biggest public works are needed. A congressional committee has calculated that a $42 billion road program, such as road officials seek, would provide 20 billion man-hours of work—jobs for 2 million men for 5 years.

The Federal Government has been putting up an increasing share of the Nation's road outlay. United States expenditures went up steadily from $170 million in 1946 to $610 million this year. Now President Eisenhower is supporting another boost. He has endorsed a bill by Representative J. HARRY MCGREGOR, Republican, of Ohio, that would increase Federal aid to States by $225 million. States would be required to match this Federal increase to get the money.

Highway officials, cautiously appraising the effect of this increase, say: "It will help. At least it will enable us to hold our own with the traffic growth. Probably we'll make some net progress toward catching up."

But they agree that this proposed increase in Federal funds will not solve the highway problem. The harassed American driver is going to have to keep on fighting his way through traffic jams for years to come.

Plots Against United States by Terrorists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, as the facts behind the attack against the Congress of the United States by terrorists which took place last week come to light it appears that this dastardly attack was part of an overall plan of assassination in which the Communists took an active part. I include as part of these remarks an interesting discussion which appeared in the U. S. News & World Report in its issue of March 12, 1954:

PLOTS AGAINST UNITED STATES BY TERRORISTS—FANATICS OUT TO KILL TOP OFFICIALS—THE INSIDE STORY

A small, ruthless band of terrorists, operating within the United States and plotting against the United States Government, now is causing major concern among officials in Washington.

These terrorists, not Communist Party members themselves but working closely with Communists and under strong Communist influence, last week shot down five Congressmen in the United States Capitol. They have made one attempt on the life of a United States President. But their known plans go even beyond this, call for murder and violence on an ascending scale.

There are plans readied, and killers chosen, for the assassination of President Eisenhower, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, and A. Fernós-Isern, the Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner in Washington. Gunmen were known to be dispatched to Caracas, Venezuela, for an attempt on Mr. Dulles' life at the Inter-American Conference there. An attack on Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Representative to the United Nations, has been planned for months.

ARSENAL OF TERROR

Bombings, as well as murders, are included in their plans. Members of the terrorist band have brought in an expert in this revolutionary technique from Cuba to instruct them in the use of explosives and have accumulated a stock of incendiary and fragmentation bombs.

Weapons—including pistols, knives, hand grenades, and small bombs—and ammunition in sizable quantities are being stockpiled at this time in a number of cities scattered around the United States.

Communist connections with this terrorist group are clear. Meetings between officials of the two organizations have been held recently, the names, dates, and places well documented. There has been open Communist support of the band for at least 12 years, with statements of joint action on the record. Yet the terrorists, like most revolutionary groups, are being used by Communists without direct participation by Soviet agents in acts of violence.

Local headquarters for this band of dedicated terrorists are known to exist in seven cities on the United States mainland, including New York, Chicago, and Newark, N. J. Orders for the whole organization flow from the third floor of a dingy tenement at 156 Sol Street in San Juan, Puerto Rico—the central headquarters of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

In New York, where assassins for future mainland plots are being readied, resident headquarters are located at 1861 Lexington Avenue, Manhattan, and 311 47th Street, Brooklyn. In Chicago, headquarters are maintained at the residence of a terrorist official at 717 South Ashland Avenue.

Hard-core strength of this organization—the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico—is less than 1,000 men and women. About 500 are actual party members in Puerto Rico. Approximately 100 to 150 are party members in New York—a tiny fraction of the Puerto Ricans there. Fewer than 100 are members in Chicago. A few dozen are recognized members in other mainland cities. About 3,000 to 5,000 other persons are considered to be under the direct influence of these party members.

But the potential for violence is far greater than strength figures indicate. Members are required to be fanatics, to sacrifice their lives in the most spectacular manner possible when orders come. Discipline within the group is extreme. Throat cuttings and beatings are common punishment for wayward members. Death is the agreed penalty for failure to carry out orders. Violence is the party's only method—members shun the ballot, no longer vote in political elections or run candidates for any political office.

What's behind this fanaticism? The stated aim of the party is Puerto Rico's complete independence from the United States. Yet independence has been offered time after time, and turned down each time by popular vote within Puerto Rico itself. The answer stems from one man, the guiding spirit who started the Nationalists off in their growing reign of terror—Pedro Albizu Campos.

In the shooting attack on Congress by four of the terrorists last week, a note carried by their ringleader blamed the United States Government for the "barabrous torture of our apostle of independence, Don Pedro Albizu Campos."

A letter from Albizu was found on the assassin who attempted to murder President Truman in November 1950.

It is Albizu who has inspired and directed the party's acts of violence for 22 years, with a record of dead and wounded running into the hundreds. He now has chosen a successor to take over his role if necessary, but his twisted personality still rules.

Pedro Albizu Campos, as developer of the terrorist plot, is a man of great brilliance and great bitterness. He is 62. Born in a small town in Puerto Rico, he was the illegitimate child of a local merchant and a Negro serving woman. But his intelligence was so outstanding that a group of Americans financed his way to the United States mainland where he entered the University of Vermont.

He then won a scholarship to Harvard, where he received B. A., C. E., and LL. B. degrees. He also learned to speak fluent English, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Greek, as well as Spanish.

The turning point in his career came in May 1917, when he was commissioned a wartime lieutenant in the United States Army and, because of his dark coloration, assigned to a Negro regiment in Puerto Rico. He considered himself a "white Puerto Rican" and became embittered over this "insult." After being honorably discharged at war's end, he began a vindictive campaign against the United States that still goes on.

Albizu joined the Nationalist Party shortly after it was formed in 1922. In 1930, he took over and reorganized it. Two years later, he ran as the party's candidate for senator at large in the island government. But he polled only 5,257 votes and swore that the party would never participate in another election.

Terrorism became the party's stock in trade from then on. In April 1932, the first act of violence occurred when Albizu held a meeting and incited his followers to march on the government headquarters in San Juan. That time, one person was killed and 12 were injured.

Albizu then decided that violence required a military organization. So he formed a Liberating Army of the Republic, with small units of militia armed and trained in towns around Puerto Rico, and with himself as commander in chief. This military organization still functions and has provided the basis for many terrorist acts. Even today, in Chicago, members of the party march and conduct target practice during outings.

There soon followed a series of armed attacks on island officials, some of them mainland Americans, and on insular police.

In October 1925, Nationalist Party members shot a policeman, threw two bombs into a police car. Four of the Nationalists were killed and one wounded on that occasion.

In the few months that followed, there were a series of bombing incidents attributed to the Nationalists, each coming directly after a major speech by Albizu.

ASSASSINATIONS

In February 1936, the Nationalists assassinated Col. E. Francis Riggs, chief of the insular police and a retired American Army officer. On the same day, they killed Francisco Hortez, police chief of the Puerto Rican town of Utuado. After an investigaiton, Albizu and a number of followers were convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to prison.

Then in March 1937, more than a half dozen people were killed and 50 were wounded in rioting in the town of Ponce, touched off by a parade of Albizu's liberating army.

The day after Albizu was taken off to the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, the American judge who sentenced him was fired on by 10 members of the party. All 10 were indicted and found guilty of attempted murder—including Julio Pinto Gandia, now an official in the party's New York headquarters.

While Albizu was in prison, but in touch with his followers, another assassination

occurred in Ponce in July 1938. A colonel in the Puerto Rican National Guard was killed in a blast of terrorist gunfire. Albizu then ordered all party members to refuse to register for the draft. This action resulted in a series of incidents from 1940 on. One of the terrorist assailants of Congress last week, Rafael C. Miranda, was among those who defied the draft and spent a year in jail as a result.

But the most spectacular acts of violence occurred after Albizu was released from prison and achieved close ties with American Communists. In October 1950, the Nationalists engineered a series of shooting, bombing, and firing incidents, both in Puerto Rico and on the mainland.

Violence broke out in eight Puerto Rican communities—San Juan, Ponce, Peñuelas, Arecibo Jayuya, Utuado, Naranjito, Mayagüez. An attack was made on the Governor's palace, in which 1 policeman and 4 terrorists were killed. A United States post office was set afire. Police stations were attacked. One town, Jayuya, with a population of 15,000, was seized and held for 24 hours. Dozens of people were killed or wounded.

During this period, on November 1, the attack was made on Blair House in Washington, in an attempt to murder President Truman. One policeman was killed in this affair. The same day, two gasoline bombs were hurled into the Puerto Rican Government labor office in New York City, but failed to explode.

Albizu was seized, after hurling a bomb at police, and in February 1951, was sentenced to a maximum of 54 years' imprisonment. He was subsequently given a conditional pardon by Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín, on the ground of apparent insanity, and freed with the proviso that he would incite no more violence.

Communist ties, apparent in the buildup for more violence that followed, show up everywhere in the terrorist party's background.

Back in 1937, when Albizu first went to jail, the Puerto Rican Communist Party issued this statement: "Bonds of close friendship have always linked our party with the Nationalist Party and its illustrious leaders * * *"

In 1942, when Albizu was in the Atlanta penitentiary, the United States Communist Party went all out in an effort to gain his release. They drew up petitions signed by outstanding Americans and exerted legal pressure through "front" organizations. Political pressure was poured on through Representative Vito Marcantonio. With their help, Albizu was released on probation in 1943.

From 1943 to 1947, Albizu lived in New York and was in frequent personal contact with Earl Browder, then secretary-general of the United States Communist Party. In June 1943, a statement was signed by Browder and William Z. Foster, chairman of the American Communist Party, reading in part: "Through brother Pedro Albizu Campos * * * we pledge our full support to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico."

Back in Puerto Rico, Albizu was visited by Representative Marcantonio several times. Meanwhile, the left-wing Congressman had been instrumental in keeping the terrorist leader from returning to prison. When complaint was made during the war that Albizu had violated his parole, he was investigated by the FBI. Mr. Marcantonio protested about this publicity to the White House. The Attorney General, presumably on orders, allowed Albizu to remain free.

In September 1952, a Nationalist street meeting was held in New York and addressed both by the local head of the party and by Earl Browder, representing the Communist Party.

Nationalists have long publicly supported a long list of Communist "front" organizations in Latin America. In 1944, they were active in supporting Communist Party candidates in Puerto Rican elections. During the war in Korea, Nationalists violently attacked United States war aims there.

Next likely president of the Nationalist Party, Juan Hernandez Valle, also has had close dealings with the Communists, although there is no evidence that he belongs to the American Communist Party. He was invited by American Communists to attend the World Peace Council in Vienna last November and he accepted.

Hernandez, in his thirties, is a former Methodist clergyman, suspended by his church. He has a B. A. degree from the University of Puerto Rico and is a member of the bar there. He was selected to present a petition to the United Nations last summer, castigating the United States for its "military occupation" of Puerto Rico.

Communists and Nationalist officials got together last summer in Puerto Rico, too, and were known to have worked out an agreement to work closely together for Puerto Rican independence. On October 6, 1953, the Communist newsletter there stated: "The struggle of our people, and in particular of our party, cannot cease until such time as the last of the NPPR [Nationalist Party] prisoners has been freed."

About 50 Nationalists are imprisoned in San Juan at this time, all serving sentences growing out of the October 1950 uprising.

One Nationalist prisoner was to have been released a few days ago. The party had plans for him to "take care" of several FBI agents in Puerto Rico. But the plans "leaked" and he remains in jail.

Within the last few days, Albizu is reported to have sent word to party members in Puerto Rico and in New York and Chicago to resist any attempts by the police to arrest them. These instructions are almost identical with those issued just before his big revolt in 1950.

Surveillance of the mainland Nationalists, as a result, has been stepped up. Officials from the New York chairman, Jose Francisco Ortiz-Medina, on down are being watched.

Raids on residences of party members are being carried out quietly, too, with some surprising results. Several hundred rounds of ammunition were found in one apartment. Incendiary bombs have been found in other raids. Information about planned assassinations turns up.

Members of the Liberating Army, with their uniform of black shirt and white trousers, are under particular suspicion. One of the stated aims of that organization is "to overthrow the Government of the United States."

Whatever the technical connection between the two organizations, there is no question about the terrorists being used by the Communist Party. After the latest shooting incident in the United States Capitol, Communist papers all over the world used it as the basis for a flood of anti-American propaganda.

Communists, each time the terrorists have struck, have broadcast stories of downtrodden Puerto Ricans desperately fighting against United States colonialism, a charge that is particularly effective in Asia, where millions have experienced real colonialism.

What can be done about this band of terrorists? In the past, despite countless murders, few have been jailed and none executed. Those who have been imprisoned usually have received pardons long before sentences were completed. FBI files on the individuals concerned are voluminous, and FBI warnings have been issued repeatedly, but little action has been taken. Most of the party members can be proved guilty of violating the Smith Act for "conspiring to overthrow the Government by force." Many others have violated paroles. Nearly all carry concealed weapons. Most, by party directive, are draft dodgers. A clampdown would not be suppressing political activity—there is no political activity carried on by the party.

A fanatic band of terrorists, meanwhile, remains at large in the United States and, unless stopped, threatens to carry out its plot against the United States Government by more and more deadly acts of violence.

The World Assembly of Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the following article, which appeared in the last issue of the World Assembly of Youth Forum, announces plans for the forthcoming meeting of the general assembly of the World Assembly of Youth which will be held in Singapore. Miss Ruth Schachter, the author, is vice president of this organization and a Fulbright scholar at Nuffield College at Oxford University. She was formerly chairman of the Collegiate Council of American Associations for the United Nations.

The World Assembly of Youth is the anti-Communist international youth organization having 45 member states. WAY has consultative status with the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The American committee is the young adult council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York City.

The article follows:

FOR WAY'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE THEME WILL BE YOUTH IN ACTION

(By Ruth Schachter, vice president, World Assembly of Youth)

Youth in action, the theme of the assembly, is meant to call attention to the practical, urgent, topical stress of the assembly. From Singapore, it is hoped delegates will return to their homes with revitalized hope, and above all, with energetic plans for work in rural and urban areas.

The theme says that we act now, for we are ourselves shaping the world in which we live.

Two subthemes chosen for plenary session discussion are of such importance that they are expected to affect all the deliberations of the assembly. They are food and people, and man and the machine.

Thus the assembly is to come to grips with some of the cardinal questions of the 20th century: How break the vicious cycle of misery and hunger? How harness the machine toward constructive human ends?

The plenary assembly divides into 2 series of workshops, meeting at different times, so that delegates can attend 1 workshop in each series; 1 series deals with special problems; the other series is to exchange, discuss, and develop technique and methods of practical action in youth movements.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Fundamental education: What can we do to raise the level of literacy, and at the same time to improve health, sanitation, methods of agriculture, to enrich the cultural life among our people?

Expert advice is being solicited to help delegates understand what has been done, what can be done, and what youth move-

ments can do in the field of fundamental education.

Multiracial communities: Discussions, of course, begin with one of the major aims of WAY, that of breaking down barriers of racial and religious hatred and prejudice. In many parts of the world races coexist with varying degrees of antagonism, whether this be in the Union of South Africa, in East and Central Africa, in North Africa, in the United States, or elsewhere. From an understanding of the facts of racial discord, WAY must continue in its striving toward respect and equality among peoples of all races: This not in an abstract verbose reiteration of ideals that all participants in WAY share, but rather in answering the What can I do? question of every delegate in Singapore.

Workshops on increasing industrialization, change in rural societies, and population and migration strike at three of the most pressing, closely linked problems of our day. Here overpopulation is to be considered in relation to agricultural and industrial production; the needs of the young farmer, migrant laborer, employed or unemployed industrial worker are all to be scrutinized. Here, also, delegates explore the social and cultural repercussions of disintegrating, traditional society, and of newly introduced mechanization. In addition, housing needs of an ever-growing world population, of families, schools, and communities, are to be reviewed. Always, of course, the practical question is uppermost: What can we do? How can we contribute to the changes and the adjustments that are necessary?

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS OF ACTION

Naturally, none of the special subjects can be considered in isolation from the means of action which are or should be at the disposal of organized young adults. Conclusions and points of view must be successfully implemented. How? With what means? These are the questions that the second series of workshops is designed to tackle.

Since it is realized that the means of action of young adults are not divorced from the rest of the community, relations between youth movements and governments, assumption of civic responsibilities and the use of public relations are included in the program.

Relations between youth movements and governments vary greatly from country to country. Naturally, the youth from countries which have recently achieved independence will in many cases harbor sentiments very different from those of their comrades in non-self-governing countries or in long independeht countries towards public authorities. A thorough discussion should fruitfully clarify this touchy question.

In deliberating on assumption of civic responsibilities the assembly is to treat the practical side of such matters as: Do our universities meet the needs of our countries? How can we tackle the problem of vocational training, so vital to the development of our countries? What is our role in providing ideas and leadership in trade unions, cooperative movements, political parties, and other similar institutions? Knotty as all these problems are, fraught with complications and pitfalls, we must deal with them if we are truly to live up to our ideals.

Detailed consideration of the how of communication among young adults, organizations, and the web of institutions that compose modern interdependent societies is planned in the use of public relations.

Some particular problems of collaboration among youth movements and of WAY internationally are to be analyzed in the four remaining workshops, so that blueprints for action will result.

Thus the role of young women refers to the great difficulty found by many national committees in encouraging participation by young women, either in mixed youth movements or in women's movements. In calling for a technical "brass tacks" discussion of this issue, some of the African WAY committees are fond of quoting Dr. Aggrey: "Educate a man and you educate an individual, educate a woman and you educate a family."

Services to national committees refer to the channels of cooperation and aid that can exist between WAY and its national committees, and also among two or more national committees.

Cooperation for common aims and development of international programs refers respectively to the national and international projects and programs that can and should be carried out by committees composed of different movements with diverse aims. Naturally conditions differ from area to area. Thus this part of the assembly's work looks toward the elaboration of various techniques and methods that on the local, national, and international level are best suited to bring closer the ultimate aim of WAY: The implementation of the universal declaration of human rights.

FORUMS

Two special forums are planned: The role of youth movements in countries which have achieved independence, and the role of youth movements in non-self-governing countries. These subjects are chosen because it is felt they need airing and call for expression of opinions. No doubt other forums will also be held, for the forums are part of the assembly mechanism that is designed to assure full consideration of any questions not falling directly within the subject matter of the workshops.

Months of study and elaboration are to precede the deliberations of the assembly. The cultural program and the planned excursions are still in embryo stage.

But as the plans for the assembly progress, its promise increases.

Crowded, exciting, exacting, and rewarding weeks of work are before us in Asia.

Group of Congressmen Oppose Arms to Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, last week following up a letter which we addressed to the Secretary of State on February 8 expressing our grave concern over current and incipient developments in our Government's program for the Near East, we met with Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Henry A. Byroade at the Capitol for a full dress exchange of views about the situation in that area.

All of us strongly favor a continuation of economic-aid programs to all the countries of the Near East, including the Arab States who so greatly need economic aid. We surely believe that the best way to strengthen this entire region against Communist subversion is to continue our efforts to raise the depressed living standards of the Arab people. Most of all they need more bread and more land, not more guns. They are in no position otherwise to fortify the free world's security in the Near East.

We expressed our concern over published reports that our Government is proposing to use the military aid appropriated for the Near East under the Mutual Security Act in part to give arms and other military aid to individual Arab States. We expressed the fear that such proposals may undermine rather than strengthen our defenses in this area. Furthermore, we pointed out the Arab States show no desire to make peace with Israel, and there is every reason to fear, in view of mounting tension in the Middle East recently that our arms may be used, not to defend the Middle East against communism, but for a renewal of warfare against Israel and even against some of our NATO allies who have interests in this region. The guns we give to the Arabs may be used not to advance the security of the area, not to promote peace and security, but to attack our own essential interests. At this time there is no dependable assurance to the contrary.

We also sought from the Secretary reassurance that the administration would maintain a firm position in the current discussions in the Security Council designed to bring an end to the illegal Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal and that the United States would take the position that whatever resolution is adopted on this subject by the Security Council should be implemented and enforced.

We expressed the above views and continue to maintain them.

Those in attendance at the meeting referred to above—and joining together in the above statement—were Senators PAUL H. DOUGLAS, of Illinois; IRVING M. IVES, of New York; HERBERT H. LEHMAN, of New York; and Representatives EMANUEL CELLER, of New York; ALBERT W. CRETELLA, of Connecticut; ISIDORE DOLLINGER, of New York; SIDNEY A. FINE, of New York; SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, of Maryland; LOUIS B. HELLER, of New York; LESTER HOLTZMAN, of New York; CHARLES R. HOWELL, of New Jersey; JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York; ROBERT W. KEAN, of New Jersey; KENNETH B. KEATING, of New York; EDNA F. KELLY, of New York; EUGENE J. KEOGH, of New York; ARTHUR G. KLEIN, of New York; ALBERT P. MORANO, of Connecticut; ABRAHAM J. MULTER, of New York; HAROLD C. OSTERTAG, of New York; HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania; and HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., of Connecticut.

People and Government of Brazil Express Good-Neighbor Policy of Understanding and Trust of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the keystone of effective international relationships is a spirit of mutual understanding and trust. For the

United States and Brazil, this spirit is embodied in the good-neighbor policy.

Even the best policy, however, is meaningless unless it is made effective, and the effectiveness of the good-neighbor policy must rest upon more than mere platitudes, more than the geographical accident of being in the same hemisphere. I think that between governments, as between friends, the essential basis for mutual understanding and trust is to give encouragement and support to each other in meeting the problems that each country faces.

Our good neighbor, Brazil, is doing just that now at the 10th Inter-American Conference which is taking place in Caracas, Venezuela. I am happy, therefore, to submit for the RECORD, the speech of Brazil's distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. Vicente Rao, to the 10th Inter-American Conference on March 4. It follows:

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Brazilian delegation wishes to convey to all the peoples of North, Central, and South America a message of confidence and faith from the people and the Government of Brazil. Confidence in the friendship which sprang from the common struggle for the political emancipation of the peoples who have with their sweat, blood, and gallantry built this New World; friendship which has been strengthened by the sentimental, political, cultural, and economic relations which have amounted to a splendid demonstration of the sole and indivisible spirit of Americanism that inspires us all and impels us forward in the path of progress. This same Americanism helps all the nations of this hemisphere to achieve the mission assigned them by God of setting up in the world the greatest bulwark of defense of our civilization.

This message we bring to you all is also a message of faith in the efficiency of the Organization of American States the roots of which are to be found in the history of our own countries and which is the political entity entrusted with the task of bringing into harmony the feelings and the interests of all the nations of this continent. The OAS represents a unity within which each nation may better cooperate with all the other nations, gathering benefits from this cooperation, and complementing their means of development, safeguarding at the same time their peculiar way of living, their independence, their sovereignty, excluding undue interventions, threats, pressures or aggressions, whether internal or external, political or economic, wherefrom they may come.

The Organization of American States deserves our faith for the remarkable progress which has been accomplished in our continent, through its action toward joint efforts by the member States, an action which has always been guided by our common ideals of security, peace, cultural, social, and economic advancement.

Two basic trends in our organization may be pointed out. The first one is the socialization of the inter-American order, the second is the acceptance of the democratic principle of the majority rule in decisions concerning mutual assistance, as defined in the treaty signed at Rio de Janeiro, September 2, 1947.

For a long time the protection of fundamental human rights was considered as a matter within domestic jurisdiction, this being an expression of an individualistic epoch in the political and economic life of nations. Gradually, as new economic cycles resulted from technical progress and originated, in their turn, social changes, two facts came to alter substantially the approach to this problem. In the first place, in the domestic order, the declaration and protection of human rights was no longer considered from an individualistic standing, but from a social viewpoint. In the second place, this social approach came to be recognized even in the basic instruments of the international organization and therefore it became a part of the very structure of the fundamental norms ruling the common life of nations.

From the British charters, from the North American Constitution, from the postulates of the French Revolution, from the first political statute of the French Republic, and from all the political documents that followed thereafter, we have evolved toward the new constitutions which followed the 1914 War and toward the inclusion of the social rights of the human being amongst those rights protected by the constitutional acts. Later on the embodiment of the same rights in the international order was carried out either through the early efforts of some organs of the League of Nations, such as the International Labor Office, or through the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Men, or finally, through the Charter of the Organization of American States, which is, undoubtedly, in this regard, the most comprehensive document of our times.

Such was the course through which man, considered either as a part of social groups, of society itself, or as a unit, became a concern of the International Order and thereby was given its protection, not simply as an individuality, but as a human being endowed with personal, social, spiritual, intellectual, political, and economical rights.

Undoubtedly the implementation and sanction of such rights did not yet attain, on the international field, the degree of perfection that would be desirable. Nevertheless, their acceptance by the generality of nations is bound to foster a universal conscience of rights and duties of the human being. Such a conscience, some day, will bring into reality the enforcement of the human and Christian principles from which it has arisen.

The second trend to which I referred is the democratization of the system by which decisions are taken in the organ of consultation of the American States.

The failure of the League of Nations was mainly due to the rule of unanimity, which was required for any decisions, including those regarding threats to international security and peace. The United Nations has not yet been able to overcome the unsurmountable difficulties arising from the abusive use of veto faculty, exerted so oftenly by the very nation responsible for the most violent and unjustified acts against peace and mankind.

But we may thank God that in the Organization of American States, according to articles 8, 17, and 20 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, the preventive and repressive measures aimed at assuring the defense of peace in our continent are legally adopted by the vote of two-thirds of the states signataries of the Charter, becoming thereafter binding on all of them, with the sole exception that no state shall be required to use armed forces without its consent.

This is, without any doubt, the greatest and most valuable contribution which has ever been rendered to the supreme cause of peace, and rendered it was by the Organization of American States when it lay this decisive landmark which points out the transition of international law from the field of doctrine to the field of reality. Such an example given by us Americans had a universal impact and exerted a deep influence upon the structure of the North Atlantic Pact.

Thus, we do not have any reason to be skeptical about the effectiveness of our Organization. On the contrary, we ought to trust it, endeavoring to strengthen its foundations so that its strength may be helpful to us, either individually or collectively, in order to preserve peace and, within a peaceful order, to build our prosperity and our future. All the American nations, without any exception whatsoever, are nations on the march toward their magnificent destiny, a march that no power in the world will be able to detain.

However, in order that the spiritual, political, juridical, and economic power embodied in the Organization of American States may be fully effective, a perfect understanding is necessary among the member states, and such a perfect understanding requires that we talk frankly.

Speaking frankly, I must say that if in the juridical and political fields we have already remarkable achievements to be proud of, which have contributed to fortify the Americanism which binds us together in a great community of nations, however, in the field of economic achievements, what we have done is too little, or almost nothing, compared to what can and ought to be done.

There is no doubt that, in accordance with article 26 of the charter of the OAS, the member states "agree to cooperate with one another, as far as their resources may permit and their laws may provide, in the broadest spirit of good neighborliness, in order to strengthen their economic structure, develop their agriculture and mining, promote their industry, and increase their trade."

Article 27 states that "if the economy of an American state is affected by serious conditions that cannot be satisfactorily remedied by its own unaided effort, such state may place its economic problems before the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to seek through consultation the most appropriate solution for such problems."

Those are indeed truthful statements and it is equally true that the strengthening of the economic structure referred to in the Charter is the necessary foundation for the just and decent living conditions for the populations, having as a goal to guarantee to all human beings, without discrimination of any kind, material wellbeing, and spiritual growth. The establishment of such conditions is a duty assumed by the American states in accordance with the spirit of social cooperation that characterizes the inter-American order.

Nobody can deny the truth of these statements inasmuch as they are related to principles embodied in relevant acts adopted by the Organization of American States at such important international gatherings as the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Mexico, 1945; the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, Rio de Janeiro, 1947; the Ninth International Conference of American States, Bogotá, 1948; the first, second, and third extraordinary sessions of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (Washington, 1950; Panama, 1951; Caracas, 1953); the fourth meeting of consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, Washington, 1951.

Needless for me to emphasize the deep spirit of Americanism that has inspired the drafting of such a highly important document as the Economic Charter of the Americas. But, as I speak frankly, I could not fail to recognize that most of those provisions were never implemented. Neither could I minimize my justified fears as far as it concerns the consequences of the weakening of economic cooperation between the American nations.

If we do not enforce the economic and social provisions of our Charter, and if we fail to build our economic structure upon a solid foundation, and consequently, our social structure, and if we fail to raising the standard of living of our populations to a level compatible with human dignity, we shall be weak nations and weak nations constitute the most favorable environment for proliferation of the infectious germs of subversive idealogies and of disintegrating forces which might destroy our Christian way of life, our free institutions, our independence, and our sovereignty.

There is in our minds, Mr. President and fellow delegates, a belief that those germs and those evil forces can only be effectively counteracted when, besides measures of another nature, they are attacked at their own roots. This attack consists in an effective raise of the standards of living, made possible by a soundly built economic organization.

I well know that private enterprise and private capital, both national and alien, have been and still are great pioneers of progress well deserving of protection and respect, when they adapt themselves to the legal and economic order of the countries and, within this order, they cooperate in their development.

But all of us also know that neither private enterprise nor private capital only by themselves are able to give a solution to all economic problems; besides, none of us ignores that there are economic activities which are necessarily subject to state performance or control, chiefly in countries still in process of developing; such activities are those that have to do with the very foundations of economic organization of nations.

Commercial and industrial activities for purposes of profit is one thing and the basic organization of the economy is another and quite different thing. This basic organization must be pursued in accordance with the higher criteria of economic policy which demands investments to be supplied with a spirit of cooperation, on a long-term basis and in favorable conditions, in accordance with the possibilities of each country and aiming at the future, and not at an immediate present.

This distinction was wisely recognized by the charter of our organization when in article 26, it refers to cooperation among the States for the strengthening of their economic structures and when, in the following article, it permits also to the States, the submission of their problems to the Economic and Social Council.

Are there any difficulties for carrying out that economic policy? No doubt there are difficulties and nobody ignores them.

I, myself, ought to recognize them and proclaim them because I have promised to speak frankly.

How could we forget indeed that the last war and the cold war, which is still on, have disturbed the economy of all nations, from the most powerful to the weakest ones?

All peoples, then, including our North American friends, have their problems and suffer from limitations in their wish for economic cooperation with the other nations.

Nevertheless, I ask, Even considering those problems those limitations, could we not achieve, within reciprocal possibilities, something of more real, more positive, more effective, than those beautiful high sounding but unimplemented economic resolutions which have been approved up to this date?

I think so. I believe that the will, the good will, is the most effective power given to men by God, so effective that it would have been impossible to man, without it, to discover and to master atomic energy.

If we work in this 10th conference with determination and above all with good will, we may be quite certain, Mr. President and fellow delegates, that we will be on our way to changing our dreams into reality.

And if we do so, if thereby we become strong, we may then proclaim, urbi et orbe, that our continent is strong enough to resist to all strikes from the evil forces, to defeat them and maintain through peace the civilization under which auspices we were born, a civilization which was built up by our forefathers with enormous sacrifices.

If we do so, we may be quite sure that our political independence and our free institutions will prevail, for the sake of mankind.

However, if we should not do this, it would be useless to entertain any illusions because the risks we would have to face, in a condition of weakness, will be serious and frightful. Powerful and weak nations, the so-called great and so-called small nations, will be then mercilessly hurt by the consequences.

Let us then translate our purposes of economic cooperation and complementation into something really useful and effective. Let us behave in such a way as to adjusting and fulfilling our mutual needs, inspired by the spirit of Americanism based upon the knowledge and understanding of our problems, our virtues and our shortcomings, and guided by friendship and, above all, by good will.

I firmly believe in the good will of the peoples of the Americas. And I can give a reason for this belief of mine bringing forth some recent facts.

I wish to refer to the greatly debated question of the prices of coffee which has affected the interests and also the just feelings of the Latin-American producing countries.

The shortage of this product has determined the rising of the prices, and it resulted from natural causes, beyond the reach of human control.

A severe frost burnt and destroyed in Brazil large coffee plantations, resulting in a disheartening devastation which caused unimaginable losses and the bankruptcy of a great number of planters who saw their toil and sacrifices of many years be destroyed overnight.

The moment the raise in prices took place, it would only be natural to expect that our greatest consumer would at least try to ascertain, in government-to-government consultation, the causes of the raise.

This, however, was not done. A terrible outcry was heard against the current prices, coming at the start from the housewives. Following this, official investigations and discriminatory legal measures were announced which were taken in the producing countries as unfriendly and undeserved acts which a mere reading of statistical data would have avoided.

Even the word "boycott" was uttered, this frightful word which formerly was only used in regard to enemy countries and never against friendly and neighborly nations.

Then housewives, newspapermen, cameramen, and technicians went to Brazil. They visited the plantations devastated and ruined by frost and, back in their country, they reported loyally and truthfully on what they saw with the good-will characteristic of inter-American relations. Would it be possible, after those statements, to think of discriminatory measures? Would it be possible to think of establishing artificial ceiling prices, harmful to the producing nations and seriously detrimental to their economics?

I am confident that such a mistake will not be made and I do not hesitate to open a large credit of confidence to the North American authorities, trusting that their statements shall dispel any misinformation regarding the actual terms of the question.

From this free forum of the American nations, I open this credit of confidence to the good will of the authorities of our friends of the north, the same good will demonstrated by the housewives and newspapermen who visited my country.

In this spirit must we live together and help one another, because in any case, the advantages of this cooperation will be reciprocal.

Mr. President, fellow delegates, Brazil comes to this meeting inspired by a true sentiment of brotherhood toward all the peoples of America. The traditions of our policy in this continent are the firm pledge of this sentiment. They have their foundations in the same principles that inspired the Charter of the Organization of American States and succeeding inter-American acts.

We have always scrupulously adhered to the following principles:

We believe the supreme cause for which we must fight to be the unity of our continent, without any particularism, any bloc, any divisive trends. Even economic policy, through bilateral or multilateral acts, if it must have a sense, that can only be to reinforce the unity of the continent. From the strength of this unity comes our own strength.

For reasons of tradition and for the natural disposition of our people we are against any kind of intervention in the domestic affairs of no matter which country. Our own independence and sovereignty have for us the same value as the independence and sovereignty of all the other American peoples.

Without sparing any effort, we strive for the pacific settlement of the conflicts which may arise or which exist among our American brethren, in obedience to a Brazilian historical tradition and, also, to the precepts embodied in our Constitution.

We wish to maintain with all American nations the closest ties of friendship and increasingly develop our cultural and economic relations, giving to the latter a deep sense of complementation of our national structures.

We contend that problems related to the security of our free institutions are intimately connected with the problems of economic security and improvement of the living conditions of our populations.

We contend that America belongs to the American peoples and that we cannot admit the existence within our hemisphere of territories subjected to the political power of extra-continental nations. Such an anomaly, in our view, should come to an end on the American soil, on that foundation of our free countries, on that very cradle of the pioneers who won our independence in the glorious battles, never to be sufficiently extolled.

Those are the great principles which guided us. Such are our sentiments of peace and affection, and our wishes of prosperity addressed to all countries of America. Those are the principles, sentiments and wishes that were once so well expressed in a few words by Rio Branco, the supreme inspirer of our foreign policy:

"Brazil wants to be great and strong amongst great and strong neighbors, for our common honor and for the security of our continent."

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I come here also to tender you the fraternal heartfelt greetings of the Brazilian people.

Inter-American Trade Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include an address by Brazilian Ambassador João Carlos Muniz before the World Trade Conference in Chicago, February 23, 1954:

It is entirely fitting, in a conference devoted to the subject of world trade, that the speakers who address you should confine themselves to this subject. On the other hand, it might logically be expected that, as the official representative in your country of the Government of Brazil, I would speak to you about coffee, our most important commodity.

I shall not disappoint you on either count, for I propose to discuss coffee, not merely from the standpoint of prices—which has recently occupied so much space in the press—but rather on the basis of its importance as an international trade commodity.

Inter-American trade relationships, incidentally, have been a vital economic factor ever since 1889, when the first Pan American Conference was held. Coffee has always played a key role in these relationships, but its role has never been more important than it is today. I should like to recount some of the reasons why, briefly.

First, Brazil is the world's largest coffee supplier, and, as such, is peculiarly dependent upon coffee for her social and economic well-being. This dependence, by the way, also applies to a great degree to other Latin American nations. In terms of the dollar, for example, coffee represents some 90 percent of the exports of El Salvador, approximately 77 percent of those of Guatemala, over 65 percent of Colombia's, about 54 percent of Haiti's, and about 50 percent of Costa Rica's.

It is apparent that these countries depend principally upon their coffee crop to maintain their standard of living. But that is not all that is involved. The coffee trade is a two-way trade and most of the dollars spent by Americans on coffee are eventually returned here as payment for American-made products, for Latin America is second only to Europe as purchaser of goods manufactured in the United States, Brazil itself being surpassed by Canada alone in that respect.

These goods run from electrical equipment, machinery, vehicles, automotive parts, and chemicals to foods, textiles, turbines, locomotives, radio equipment, and home appliances.

Latin America commonly purchases about half of American-made automobiles, parts, and accessories; about two-fifths of American chemical products; more than a third of American machinery exports and iron and steel exports.

And we must not overlook another important consideration—that is, coffee is also a vital trade factor for thousands of American workers and enterprises; that it is the basis for a $2½ billion industry in this country—an industry which provides employment in the shipping business, in the roasting and distribution of coffee, in the manufacture of coffee-brewing equipment, and in the making and serving of coffee—employment which provides purchasing-power dollars for American working men and women.

The United States buys the great bulk of the Latin-American coffee crop—some 70 percent of it. Coffee is the principal source of income for millions of Latin-American workers. So long as the coffee trade remains stable, just so long will inter-American trade remain at peak levels.

It is understandable, I think, why a subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry once cited coffee as a "perfect example of international trade on a sound basis * * * a product customarily desired and purchased in a country that raises none of it but, in turn, has a variety of manufactured products to exchange."

Coffee, gentlemen, is the strongest economic link that exists between North and South America. The fact that the United States has for years been a broad and unrestricted market for coffee has meant a steadily growing exchange of products and services in the Western Hemisphere. It is vital to the good-neighbor policy that this interchange be preserved. Anything that damages it will have wide and disastrous repercussions, both in this country and Latin America.

I should like to point out to you that 72 cents of every dollar credit established in this country came as a result of sales of coffee here. In 1953 these sales amounted to $800 million.

I spoke a moment ago of coffee as a two-way trade factor. I am afraid most Americans are unaware of the degree of this two-way commerce. Do they know, for instance, that while the United States purchases $750 million worth of Brazilian products every year, at the same time it sells to Brazil $1 billion worth of products.

As I have said, coffee is Brazil's principal export. It provides 70 percent of Brazil's dollar foreign exchange. These are the dollars which purchase American goods in Brazil, and which American industries in Brazil must have if they are not to lack essential imported raw-material components, and which Brazil must have to purchase the things needed to balance her economy.

Obviously, then, coffee boycotts in this country would seriously endanger the economy of Brazil. They would also threaten the economy of the United States by endangering a major market place for American products.

Boycotts are an antagonistic weapon, and are ordinarily applied only against enemy nations—in actual war or in cold war. I submit that to apply them to coffee, which for years has been a symbol of inter-American friendship, and a bulwark of inter-American commerce, is no way to improve inter-American relations.

I think it is significant that Brazil has never contemplated invoking such a weapon. You may say she has no reason to. But gentlemen, coffee is not the only commodity that has experienced sharp price increases. The prices of many American products sold in Brazil have also risen substantially during the last few years.

There has been no talk in Brazil of boycotting these products. Why then should there be agitation in this country for a boycott of coffee?

But coffee price increases are unwarranted, it is said. Are they? Suppose we consider for a moment the forces behind these increases. First, we must recognize the fact that the recent rise in coffee prices was no overnight occurrence, but was instead a direct result of a chain of supply-and-demand forces going back to the 1930's.

During this period large surpluses of coffee were an annual event. From 1930 through 1939, for example, world exportable production of coffee averaged 37,671,000 bags annually. Meanwhile, annual world consumption averaged only 26,493,000 bags. The result was an average annual surplus of 11,178,000 bags.

Obviously, such a surplus year after year inevitably kept coffee supplies well above the demand, and, as a natural consequence, prices were extremely low. They were so low, in fact, that the cultivation of coffee ceased to be a profitable venture for thousands of growers.

Add to this the fact that these growers were constantly being harassed by droughts, insects, and frosts, and it is easy to see why thousands of them abandoned their coffee trees and converted their lands to other and more profitable crops.

The inevitable result was a steady decline in the production of coffee. However, for several years supply still exceeded demand because of the large stockpile of coffee that had accumulated from years of overproduction. In 1949, as you undoubtedly know, these surplus stocks were finally exhausted, and for the first time in years the demand for coffee exceeded the supply.

Again the inevitable happened, and in 1950 coffee prices rose suddenly. I should like to point out, however, that, despite the suddenness of the rise, the new coffee prices were not out of line with the prices of various other commodities. But there was a fundamental difference. Unlike these other commodities, coffee price increases occurred at this time almost overnight, and so caught the attention of the public. This, of course, was unfortunate for coffee.

With the supply trailing demand, coffee growers immediately set about planting new trees. Since 1949, in Brazil alone, over 500 million new trees have been planted.

But it must be remembered that coffee is not like most other crops. A coffee tree does not bear the year it is planted, nor the following year. It takes 5 years before a new tree bears in any commercial quantity. That is why the trees planted in 1949 are only now producing.

By 1953, however, as a result of these new plantings, the supply of coffee was again coming into balance with the demand. World consumption was approximately 33,253,000 bags. World exportable production (for the crop year ending June 30, 1953) was 32,353,000 bags, a deficit of only 900,000 bags.

Then last July the Brazilian coffee crop was decimated by frost, as you know. The result was 916 million coffee trees killed or crippled. This is 27 percent of all the coffee trees in Brazil.

That, gentlemen, is the story behind today's coffee prices. It is a story of supply and demand, a story of coffee shortages, not coffee market manipulations. This is simply illustrated, I think, by the fact that the price of coffee in Brazil has also spurted upward and is at present even higher than the price in this country. Within the last few months the price of a pound of coffee in my country has increased from 87 cents to $1.07.

I recite these matters merely as background information. I am not here today to defend current coffee prices. Those prices, I feel, should not be a matter for logical debate. Rather, they are, and should be, a result of the natural forces of supply and demand. I have gone into the subject, not to justify coffee prices but simply to analyze and explain the forces behind them.

Primarily, I am concerned with coffee prices only as they affect international trade, and I believe it is vital for this country and the countries of Latin America to do everything possible to prevent inter-American animosity as a result of settling their differences on an emotional rather than a rational basis. Such an attitude impedes objective judgment and endangers the advances that have been made in many decades of inter-American collaboration.

Communist agitators in Latin America, always alert to the possibilities of sowing the seeds of inter-American discord, have already seized upon the current anticoffee feeling that exists in this country to create dissension in Brazil and other Latin American nations.

It is vital to both Latin America and the United States that this dissension be curbed before irreparable damage is done to inter-American trade relations.

It is imperative, I believe, that we apply to this situation the principles formulated many years ago by the Pan American system, and that a solution to the present problem be found, as in the past, on the basis of sane, calmly reasoned, friendly cooperation.

It is a situation calling for the dispassionate consideration of both producers and consumers. Pan Americanism is too impor-

tant and too fine an institution in the field of international relations to permit itself to be jeopardized by the passions of the moment.

I have confined my remarks until now to the subject of coffee. Coffee not only is one of the most important items of international trade; it is also a connecting link between North and South on our continent. It is now undergoing a crisis of scarcity. The appeal which I make to you is that we endeavor to overcome this crisis as good neighbors and not through forcible processes that are alien to Pan American practice.

I do not want to conclude my remarks without a quick reference to the Brazilian scene of the moment. Since 1940, following a long period marked by a slow rhythm of development, a process of acceleration in economic life has been taking place in Brazil. The entire economic and social structure has been opening up, liberating powerful forces which are promoting in a rather unruly manner the industrialization of the country. A number of factors are responsible: New techniques, the emergence of groups impelled by strong economic desires, in a geographic setting featured by the immensity of its areas overflowing with natural resources of all kinds, and a rapidly growing population numbering over 50 million today. Although the collaboration of foreign capital, especially that of American origin, both public and private, has not been lacking, the economic development of Brazil is being carried out principally by means of domestic resources. This has been the reason for the inflation which troubles Brazil at this time. We have demanded too much from domestic capital in order to maintain a high investment level. At the beginning of 1953, Brazil had accumulated in the United States alone a backlog of commercial arrears of more than $400 million. The pressure of heavy imports required for industrial development continued until the situation became untenable. It was then that Oswaldo Aranha was called again to lead the Ministry of Finance. Within a short time, thanks to his energetic action and great vision Brazil paid back, out of its own dollar availabilities, more than $100 million and obtained from the Export-Import Bank a loan of $300 million with which to liquidate the backlog. A system was then applied which became known as the Aranha plan. Its basic principle is that imports will have to be paid for out of the proceeds of current exports, a sizable portion of the latter having been put aside for the purpose of satisfying fixed obligations. Imports are divided into two classes: Production goods and consumption goods, the former being subject to special treatment in which the utility of the specific industry is checked against the basic economic needs of the country. The import of consumers' goods is regulated by a system of auctions of available exchange. Five categories of goods were established ranging from essential to luxury goods. To each category a quota of dollars is assigned, the importers bidding up for the available exchange. Although the official rate of exchange continued to be around 19 cruzeiros to the dollar, the auction rates have reached up to 150 cruzeiros in the fifth category, that is the luxury goods. The system was considered to work out as a tax on the less necessary imports. On the export side, the exporter must sell his dollar proceeds to the Banco do Brasil at either of 2 rates: 23.5 cruzeiros to the dollar in the case of coffee and 28.5 for other commodities. The Government derives thereby a sizable cruzeiro benefit which will be accumulated and applied to basic investment in agriculture.

These are the main features of the system. You can see that it is a system of austerity, aiming at the reestablishment of a sound exchange and financial situation, reducing imports and encouraging exportation.

The Aranha plan has met with considerable success. The backlog was paid off and the exchange situation brought under control. Minister Aranha now is making every effort in order to improve th flow of imports, principally those from the United States, in measure as the situation makes this possible, so as to maintain the rhythm of economic development.

This is, in a few words, the picture of effort that Brazil is making by itself to keep up with needs arising out of its economic growth. I think this effort deserves the support of the business community of the United States, and this is why I am bringing it to your attention today. You are a people of hard workers who appreciate individual as well as collective energy, initiative and sense of responsibility. I think the Brazilians are demonstrating these qualities to a very large degree. Brazil today is at a turning point. The Brazilian people are releasing great energy and showing at the same time a capacity to carry on the development of their country. There is no better opportunity for the practice of cooperation than that which Brazil affords today in its relations with the United States. If we succeed in placing Brazilian-American cooperation on the level it should occupy, and explore every possibility of working together for our mutual benefit, Brazil will be in a position to complete its economic development in less than 20 years and will emerge as a great power on the American Continent. In the presence of the great political forces which are struggling for mastery throughout the world today, we should not minimize the importance of presenting the example of a Latin American country like Brazil as a proof of the capacity of the system of free enterprise in the field of economic development.

We Are Being Misled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include excerpts of an address by President Al Hayes, of the International Association of Machinists, made at Fond du Lac, Wis. It was published in a recent issue of the Machinst:

We in the labor movement are concerned about growing unemployment. Certainly every sane person can understand why the unemployed are concerned.

Many of us in the American Federation of Labor and the CIO, too, feel that an ounce of prevention today may save us billions of dollars that we will have to spend for pump priming if we allow our purchasing power to shrink and unemployment to spread.

Those of us who have been concerned about growing unemployment and loss of purchasing power and want to do something about it now have been caustically criticized. Much of the criticism in the form of politically coined phrases, used in the absence of logic, emanates from people who themselves are well established financially and need not worry about a job.

DISAGREEMENT IS DISLOYALTY

It seems to amount to this: Anyone who has the temerity to disagree publicly with the leaders of the Republican Party must now expect to be branded as disloyal to the United States. In other words, security and loyalty have become political footballs.

Americans are being deliberately misled and confused to take their minds off what is really happening to them. To ascertain what is happening, just find the truthful answers to these questions:

Have living costs gone up in the past year? How is it in your family?

Has unemployment increased? What has happened in your town?

Have interest rates on money you borrow gone up? Ask your own bank.

Have rents gone up? If you rent, you know. If you own your own home, ask someone.

Are you taking home more money or less than you were a year ago?

Does your money buy more or less than it did?

These are good, solid, bread and butter questions. The kind we used to worry about; the kind plain people must worry about.

Today our attention is being diverted from the bread and butter questions by the spotlight which has been focused upon the battle of the politicians. Honor and integrity in politics appears to be a thing of the past. Exaggerations, distortions, misleading innuendoes, and false accusations seem to be the order of the day.

TACTICS NOT NEW

The tactics against which we protest are not new to the people of Wisconsin. They have developed to a fine art.

We in the I. A. of M. and almost the entire labor movement are opposed, without reservation, to communism out of sincere conviction. We are opposed to communism as a philosophy and as a form of government. One of the many reasons for our opposition is that communism is a dictatorship.

There is only one sure way to halt the forces of totalitarianism, and that is to continue to prove to the rest of the world that real freedom and democracy are better than any type of totalitarianism.

If we will preserve equal freedom for all of our people we will prove to the other peoples of the world that a free people can live and prosper together, with high standards of life and in peace with one another.

Do the People Voluntarily Approve of the Soviet Regime?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, do the people of a Communist country support the government voluntarily? I have repeatedly said that they do not. Here is more proof of it. Of the Chinese prisoners of war we had in Korea and were willing to turn over to the Chinese Communist Government if they, themselves, so determined, 74.5 percent of them said "No" time and time again. The dilatory tactics of the United Nations kept this decision kicking around for weeks and weeks. The Communists were permitted to go before these prisoners and do all the coaxing they wanted, but in the end they still said "No," that they preferred Formosa, and that is where they are now. We have never advertised this victory in propaganda—or at least not enough.

The Chinese papers made much of the fact that 21 American soldiers refused to return to the United States. The reason for their action was not that they believed in communism, but were afraid to come back, as they felt they had betrayed their buddies while all were prisoners. They were afraid of their buddies. In order to avoid the violent and inhuman punishment meted out to our prisoners who refused to say what the Communists wanted them to say, they signed statements against the interests of the United States. We have one such case under inquiry now, but when it is known what punishment awaited them, it is no wonder that some of the weaker ones played with the Communists. This meant that they made the condition of their buddies more terrible, but some men cannot stand torture for long. Instead of coming home and confessing the reason they gave false information, relying on the fairness of the American people to understand their action, they took an opposite course, and elected to stay with the Communists. Even though these 21 have stayed, it is no comparison to the 14,000 Communist soldiers who refused to go back to China and North Korea. This is a complete demonstration that those behind the Iron Curtain want liberty and not slavery. Millions of Russians and Chinese would do as these soldiers have done if they had a chance.

No iron-heeled dictatorship in all the world's history has lasted for long, and we should screw up our courage here in this country and not permit the Russian scare to unbalance our judgment. How well we can withstand anything they have to offer depends upon how united we are here at home. Strip the Soviets of the aid of their friends right here among us, and there need be no fear of a country that keeps her own people under a despotic and autocratic rule. When intrigue, secret police, and the firing squad are the only means of perpetuating such a regime the people thus ruled by force and fear will break away at the first opportunity.

This is the only country on earth that unqualifiedly holds that government exists for the people. Many countries hold to the opposite doctrine that the individual exists for the government, and that doctrine is nothing more nor less than the doctrine of slavery.

The Government of China is the same ruthless dictatorship, more to be feared than Russia, yet there are many Americans who believe we should sit down at the council table with Red China and come to a peaceful solution for permanent peace, knowing that Red China holds that all people exist for their government, and that no government should exist for the people. Those doctrines will not mix. It will always remain oil and water, no matter how many attempts are made to make one common ingredient of the mixture.

I think the one-worlders realize that the theory of government adopted by us—that a government exists for the people—cannot be a social partner with a government that holds that the people exist for the government; and realizing this, they are determined to change our Government to fit the pattern of a world government which they are contriving to build. How else can it be explained why such assaults have been and are now being made on the Constitution of the United States? Why is it necessary to rewrite the provisions in the Constitution pertaining to free speech, a free press, and free religion? Why is it necessary to establish a world court of law and justice, and make citizens of the United States amenable to the courts of the world government? Why do the advocates of world government want to take citizens of this country out of the United States for trial? Why do they seek to have them tried by United Nations laws, and deny them the protection of the Constitution and laws of the United States?

It all appears plainly enough that our theory of government—where government exists for the people—must be changed to accord with their theory that the people exist for the government.

"Evils of Unionism"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an article by Barry Mather which was published recently in the Sun, a Canadian newspaper of large circulation, at Vancouver, Canada:

"EVILS OF UNIONISM"

How much better would we all be without unions? Yes, how much? A gentleman, and no doubt a scholar, had a letter in one of the other papers advising workers against getting organized. He said that employes joining unions lose their liberties as individuals and become dominated, also regimented. How true this is.

Before the unions came a man was free to do an honest day-and-a-half's work for an honest day's pay. He was at liberty to stand on his own heels and bargain with the boss. He could be pushed around at any time. Nobody regimented him against it.

The unions have changed this. Today not even the nonunion employee is free from the evils of unionism. As a result of union people being dragooned into accepting raises, many nonunion people have been intimidated into accepting raises, too.

I speak with sad personal experience. I once, misguidedly, helped organize a union. My hopes for greater individuality were high. Imagine my remorse when I saw what unions really do to you.

The good old 6-day week, that we employees knew so well and were so attached to, was scrapped.

In its place the 5-day week was foisted on us.

Instead of being free to work 70 hours in 6 days, we were quickly dominated into working 40 hours in 5.

And from the very moment the union got us we had to take more pay.

To show you how unions treat you—for every $20 a month raise the union forced on us we had to pay, I believe it was, as much as $1 a month in dues.

The fate of union members' wives must be particularly trying.

In place of the happy times of long hours, low pay and personal insecurity, unions have dominated entire families, indeed, entire communities, into a better standard of life.

The Federal Government Must Share Responsibility for Welfare of Migratory Farm Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, when we were considering the bill to recruit Mexican farm labor, I emphasized that we should accept the accompanying responsibility of assisting in the welfare services for these farm workers who are so badly needed for seasonal employment. I hope that the Congress will give this painful problem earnest attention. It cries out for solution. The basic facts may be found in the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor entitled "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture, 1951."

I recently asked the Legislative Reference Service to prepare a listing of recent literature on the subject for those of us who desire a further study of the questions involved in the legislation. The most current references are placed separately in the first section of this useful bibliography:

SELECTED LIST OF CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS AND MAGAZINE ARTICLE DEALING WITH MEXICAN FARM WORKERS

DOUGLAS, PAUL: Educational Needs of Migratory Children. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, daily edition (Washington), June 25, 1952, volume 98, pages 8134–8137.

Fisher, Lloyd H.: The Harvest Labor Market in California. Berkeley, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1952, pages 468–401 (Reprint No. 34).

Galarza, Ernesto: They Work for Pennies. American Federationist (Washington), volume 59, April 1952, pages 10–13, 29. Calls for more effective measures to stop the increasing number of wetbacks who migrate to the Southwestern United States each year.

Hasiwar, Hank: The Corporate Farmer: Agriculture's Newest Blight. New Leader (New York), volume 35, January 21, 1952, pages 15–18. Urges strong Federal action to eliminate the illegal importation of wetbacks.

Issler, Anne Roller: Something for the Joads. Survey (New York), volume 88, May 1952, pages 199–203. Describes the rural child care centers California is setting up for the families of migrant workers.

Marcus, Paul: The Ladies Had an Answer. Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia), volume 22, October 4, 1952, pages 32–33, 160. Describes the work of the home missions division of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America with farm laborers.

Nelson, Lowry: Migratory Workers—The Mobile Tenth of American Agriculture. Washington, National Planning Association, 1953, 33 pages. (Planning pamphlets, No. 82.

February 1953.) Contents: The problem. The situation of migratory workers. What can be done?

Rutledge, Ivan C.: Regulation of the Movement of Workers—Forced Labor in the United States. Washington University Law Quarterly (St. Louis), volume 1953, April 1953, pages 150–181. The purpose of this essay is to describe the basic constitutional norms to which controls upon internal movement of workers must conform and to provide a measuring rod for calculation of policy concerning supplementation of the labor force from abroad.

Rutledge, Ivan C.: Regulation of the Movement of Workers—Freedom of Passage Within the United States. Washington University Law Quarterly (St. Louis), volume 1953, June 1953, pages 270–296. Contents: The basic ambiguities. Article 4, section II. Privileges and immunities of national citizenship. The national commerce power. Limitations on congressional power.

The education of children of migratory agricultural workers; digest of four regional conferences, May–June 1952. Washington, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952.

United States Congress, House Committee on Agriculture: Extension of Mexican farm labor program. Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, 1st session, on H. R. 3480. March 24, 25, and 26, 1953. Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1953, 114 pages.

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The Turtle Mountain Indians of North Dakota

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, if there ever was an Indian tribe in the United States which Government management has brought to the verge of starvation and complete ruin, it is the Turtle Mountain Indians of North Dakota. This tribe is a mixture of Chippewa Indians, Cree Indians, and French.

When the Government took charge, these Indians from time immemorial had owned all the land from the Red River of the North westward for 200 miles, and extending from Canada 80 miles south. They cultivated the soil where it was fit for gardens and corn patches. Game was abundant, and there was no want among them.

The first thing the Government did was to propose a treaty under which these Indians were to give up this huge and valuable tract of agricultural land, which the United States was to purchase for 10 cents an acre, and most of which is now worth $50 per acre. The regular chiefs of the tribe refused to sign such a treaty, and the Government sent men to the reservation who appointed chiefs who would do their bidding, obtained the signatures of these spurious chiefs, and so the fertile land was taken. The principal chief, Little Shell, was bypassed in the Government sleight-of-hand performance, never approved the treaty, but by its dextrous maneuvers the Government took the land in spite of this chief.

Today those Indians number about 9,000 and, if they were all there, would be cooped up on two of the poorest townships of land in North Dakota, which is all that is left of their reservation. The Turtle Mountains are rocky, covered with scrub timber, and the grass, what there is of it, is slough grass which has very little feed value. The result is that now these Indians, especially the older ones, are hungry and ill-clothed. There is nothing they can do with this rocky land, and the Government now seeks to turn them loose and make them full citizens, when even the most stupid must know that they cannot survive by their own efforts.

The North Dakota Indian Commission, under the direction of John Hart, has been doing good work in getting employment for these Indians; but it is a huge undertaking and it will take at least 20 years more to bring the younger Indians up, through education and training, to where they can make a living for themselves. The old Indians are helpless, but in spite of this situation, which every agent of the Indian Bureau must know, and which Congress must know, it is difficult to obtain public funds enough to permit these Indians to exist on even a substandard plane of living.

Right now it is up to Congress to undo what the Government has done for the past 70 years. The older Indians must be fed and clothed, and the younger ones trained and fitted to earn their livings. That is the obligation of this Government; for the Government, itself, insisted on making these Indians its wards. The Government insisted on being their guardian, and I now insist that this guardian perform its duty under the law. In the case of white children, a guardian who acted toward them as the Government has toward the Indians, would have been locked up long ago for failure, almost criminal failure, to care for its helpless wards.

Who Is Selfish Concerning the St. Lawrence Seaway?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a lot about selfish eastern interests opposing the St. Lawrence seaway. To keep the record straight, I am inserting the following editorial taken from the February 22, 1954, issue of the Ottumwa (Iowa) Courier which speaks for itself:

WHO IS SELFISH?

The charge that it is opposed by selfish eastern interests has always been one of the principal justifications for the so-called St. Lawrence seaway used by its proponents.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, the proseaway lobby, has filed its activity report for the fourth quarter of 1953, with the Clerk of the National House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate. It shows receipts of $45,822.25 during the 3-month period. Five steel companies, interested in the Labrador-Quebec ore development, contributed $22,222.25; a Detroit auto manufacturing company, $15,000; another, $5,000; the remainder in small amounts from various sources.

The steel companies want the waterway, or the bobtailed version of it which stops at Lake Erie, to bring down their iron ore on a better competitive basis. The Detroit board of trade says the car makers could get their autos to Europe a little cheaper by the waterway—about $20 a car.

The practical desires of those financing the prowaterway fight in Congress are not mentioned in the propaganda circulated by the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association. It says only that the waterway is needed for national defense.

Correction Please: Foreign Trade Facts Not Always Factual

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, there recently appeared in Harper's magazine an article entitled "What Foreign Trade Means to Indiana." The author quoted extensively from a treatise prepared by Dr. Piquet, of the Library of Congress.

With alacrity, O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nation-Wide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, corresponded with the editor in chief of Harper's to point out several fallacies in the context of the article. Mr. Strackbein's letter, which I include, very clearly indicates the indiscretion which is apparent when one attempts to use statistics in an all-encompassing manner. It will be evident from a reading of Mr. Strackbein's reply to the Harper's article that all is not what it seems in lumping export figures with no effort made to be selective.

When one removes from consideration also the supplementary information on protective tariffs or import quotas which affect the area involved, the end result can be and usually is extremely misleading.

In the interest of presenting to the public factual information on foreign trade, I include Mr. Strackbein's letter:

THE NATION-WIDE COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, AND LABOR ON IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1954.

Mr. JOHN FISCHER,
Editor in Chief, Harper's Magazine,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. FISCHER: I have read Harper's article by Carroll Kilpatrick, What Foreign Trade Means to Indiana. While I have not read the case study to which Mr. Kilpatrick refers, I doubt that it shows "exactly what foreign trade means in one fairly typical Midwestern constituency."

Dr. Piquet's conclusions on which the article was based are not acceptable as a definitive finding. He himself recognizes the extreme limitations of such studies.

In his book, Aid, Trade and the Tariffs, Dr. Piquet says (pp. 19 and 20) that his estimates on import trends if the tariff were removed are based on eight assumptions. One is that price supports and other domestic control programs would also be suspended and that the then current inflated economic conditions would continue. This demonstrates the highly unrealistic and speculative character of his estimates.

Unfortunately, Mr. Kilpatrick apparently takes the study of the Indiana congressional district as gospel. Yet there are glaring oversights and failure to mention qualifying conditions, if the article correctly interprets the study. For example, it cites wheat production in the eighth district and says that 33.5 percent of all wheat produced in the United States in 1949 was exported. The inference is clear, but the statement ignores more than it reveals. It overlooks the extraordinary and abnormal postwar demand for wheat as well as the wheat export subsidy. Most damaging is the fact that it ignores the highly restrictive import quota on wheat. This all but excludes Canadian wheat.

The article also says that eighth district farmers produced $954,000 worth of tobacco in 1949 and says that 25.1 percent of the United States tobacco production was exported. This overlooks the fact that the tobacco produced in the eighth district is dark tobacco, which is in surplus, and that most of the tobacco exported is flue cured.

The article infers that the dairy industry in the eighth district has a direct interest in an expansion of imports on the grounds that 13.5 percent of the condensed milk was exported and 6.3 percent of the cheese. It is difficult to understand why the dairymen have insisted upon and obtained import quotas for their protection. Dairy products were exported during the past few years with the help of our own dollar grants.

It is naive to draw the conclusion that further reduction of tariffs is beneficial to an industry simply because a certain portion of the production of the industry has been sent abroad in past years. It is still more so to base conclusions with respect to the future upon the artificial export levels of the postwar years.

In my opinion, the entire article by Mr. Kilpatrick is shallow and shows a lack of knowledge of the field in which he has written. Otherwise he would have recognized the pitfalls of the so-called survey. Obviously, the Indiana district about which he wrote is a heavy beneficiary of protection and would probably not enjoy the possibilities of export that it does if it were not thus protected.

Sincerely yours,
O. R. STRACKBEIN, *Chairman.*

Stevens Strikes Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a poem which was published recently in the Denver Post:

There was ease in Stevens' manner as he stepped into his place,
There was pride in Stevens' bearing and a smile lit Stevens' face,
And when, responding to the cheers, he lightly doffed his hat,
No stranger in the crowd could doubt 'twas Uncle Sam at bat.

Oh, somewhere in this favored land, the sun is shining bright,
The band is playing somewhere and somewhere hearts are light,
And somewhere men are laughing and little children shout,
But there is no joy in Washington, for Stevens has struck out.

A Wave of Anger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following column entitled "A Wave of Anger," by Ernest K. Lindley, which appeared in the March 8, 1954, issue of Newsweek magazine:

A WAVE OF ANGER
(By Ernest K. Lindley)

The tidal wave of angry disgust that swept over Washington last week was one of the highest in the experience of living observers. That it was extraordinary is attested by two of its immediate results: The sudden decision of the Republican policy committee to study the rules of investigating committees and Senator KNOWLAND'S suggestion that perhaps committee chairmanships should not automatically be assigned according to seniority.

Nearly 4 years ago Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, of Maine, took the floor to lament that the Senate "has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity." Six other Republican Senators joined her in a declaration of conscience concluding with the words: "It is high time that we all stopped being tools and victims of totalitarian techniques—techniques that, if continued here unchecked, will surely end what we have come to cherish as the American way of life."

Mrs. SMITH won many favorable editorial comments and the hostility of Senator MCCARTHY. But her brave speech produced no concrete results. Most of her Republican colleagues covered their ears and turned their heads the other way.

Senator KNOWLAND was incensed by the attempt to smear his friend and original political sponsor, the Chief Justice of the United States. That it was outrageous, few would deny. But when he called it "the most shocking event * * * in my 8 years in the Senate" he forgot many other cases in which honest public officials and honorable private citizens were libeled on the floor of the Senate and through their committees. Indeed, as a practical matter, the Chief Justice suffered less harm from such treatment than have others who were less well known.

The Constitution confers on each House the power to "determine the rules of its proceedings" and to punish its Members for disorderly conduct. Each House can lay down mandatory rules for the conduct of its committees. It can enforce them—if necessary by removing committee chairmen and members. It can enforce rules of gentlemanly conduct. In fact, each House does enforce such rules governing what one Member may say about another. A Member who imputes even an unworthy motive to another Member usually is silenced.

In her speech in 1950, Senator SMITH put her finger on this perennial outrage: "It is ironical that we Senators can, in debate in the Senate, directly or indirectly impute to any American who is not a Senator any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming an American—and without that American having any legal redress against us—yet if we say the same thing in the Senate about our colleagues we can be stopped on the ground of being out of order."

The power of Congress to investigate is necessary and useful. The immunity with which the Constitution cloaks utterances in both Houses also is necessary. Both can be preserved under rules eliminating flagrant abuses. All that has been lacking is the will to apply such rules.

Another abuse, which has grown during the past year, is congressional encroachment on the Executive. The cure for this abuse lies primarily with the Executive. The essential of the cure is simple: backbone.

The events of the past 2 weeks have revived discussion in the President's official family and among his friends about taking a new look at the administration's policy regarding Senator McCarthy. It is widely agreed among the President's friends that the net effect of the mixed policy pursued so far has been to make McCarthy stronger. Many think also that the good name of the administration is being corroded. A growing number are openly critical of the Presidential advisers who have treated McCarthy as an indispensable Republican asset.

The eventual results, if any, of the wave of angry disgust which swept over the Capital last week cannot be foretold. But it has started a new round of soul searching and shaken the aplomb and the calculations of a good many politicians.

Advice to a Diplomat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial, entitled "Advice to a Diplomat," from the Toledo Times of Tuesday, March 9, 1954:

ADVICE TO A DIPLOMAT

Sometimes the source of a statement is as informative as the statement itself. Wide comment was stirred up by the address of Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello at the Inter-American Conference in Caracas in which he accused the United States of seeking to intervene in Guatemala's internal affairs. Perhaps the most revealing of this comment was from the press of Señor Toriello's own country.

Although the Guatemalan foreign minister denied that he had used the conference to defame the United States, insisting that United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had twisted his statements and put Guatemala in an unfair position, Mr. Dulles' complaint was echoed right in Señor Toriello's own bailiwick. The latter denied that he had done anything except protest that neither he nor his nation wanted any intervention under a curb-communism guise that really veiled a wish to violate the fundamental principles of democracy.

That he found it advisable to reply at all to Mr. Dulles' charge might be worthy of further study, for the speech in question had received twice as much applause as the one by Mr. Dulles proposing an anti-Communist resolution. That, at least, is the way one newspaper in Guatemala, the independent Prensa Libre, appeared to regard the matter. Presna Libre questioned whether Señor Toriello had gone to Venezuela to fight the United States or to clarify Guatemala's position on communism. Another independent paper, El Espectador, went even further in criticizing Señor Toriello's attitude, denying that Mr. Dulles' resolution contained any dark plan against Guatemala.

The independents did not have it all their own way. Neustro Diario, a semi-official organ, termed the foreign minister's address patriotic and brave. Tribuna Popular, the Communist paper, said Señor Toriello had unmasked United States policy.

It was Prensa Libre, however, which offered Señor Toriello a bit of advice which people everywhere who believe in the use of logic in discussion and argument will find intriguing. Pointing out that diplomacy demands certain procedures requiring ability and sagacity, and paper said diplomatic subtlety conquers and convinces, while "yells" work oppositely. While there may be some doubt that subtlety will always win, there is none whatever that empty noise will always lose.

Export-Import Bank Operations and Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about the picture of inter-American affairs, and what we should and should not do to bring about closer ties with our Latin American neighbors. There are definite indications that we blow hot and cold on this important subject, thus leaving our friends in doubt as to our real purposes. An indication of this is reflected in an able editorial from the Americas Daily edited by Dr. Francisco Aguirre and published at Miami, Fla., in both Spanish and English.

Dr. Aguirre's editorial deals specifically with Export-Import Bank operations, and it pinpoints precise weaknesses in the operation of that important agency. The Export-Import Bank should be a strong factor for encouraging the growing development of the Western Hemisphere and a material agency for cementing cordial inter-American relations.

The editorial follows:

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OPERATIONS AND LATIN AMERICA

The recent resignation of Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, John Moors Cabot has given rise to numerous commentaries on his reason for doing so, these commentaries serving, if that were possible, to muddy the picture of inter-American matters even more than it already was.

Mr. Cabot's resignation has provoked varied reactions among people—sadness in some and satisfaction in others—but it has astonished everyone.

We want to refer in today's editorial to one of the rumors surrounding Cabot's resignation, that which maintains that the favored greater liberality in the granting of Export-Import Bank loans, while being opposed in this by the United States Secretary of the Treasury, Cabot finally losing in the deal.

This rumor which has not been denied, is enough to cause irritation among those who place stress on economic cooperation in the Americas. The Export-Import Bank was created for the specific purpose of effecting closer, positive relations between the United States and nations friendly to it. Certain dilatory tactics characteristic of its operations have caused the bank to suffer in prestige from time to time, but none has provoked such consternation as the rumor that the bank will soon be asked to curtail its lending operations in the Latin American area just when the shadows of an economic recession are beginning to make their appearance on hemispheric horizons.

As a lending agency the Export-Import Bank has always proceeded under the theory that international cooperation can best be served by the granting of loans without expecting that they will bring back big dollar profits. For example, it has been deemed that if a loan will help a friendly country to raise its people's living standards, then such a loan can and should be given favorable consideration.

When one goes back over past activities of the bank it is obvious that its loans have more than once served to help in the struggle against the adversary represented by communism, which precisely finds pleasure in taking advantage of conditions which the bank seeks to eliminate, communism utilizing these conditions to win over the minds of the masses.

Far from being a burden on the American taxpayer, the Export-Import Bank represents a doubly valuable undertaking: it not only serves United States policies through its lending, what is a really humane favor, but it also serves the economy of the United States through its regulations which require that any material needed for implementing projects undertaken with bank loans must be purchased in the United States, thus protecting American manufactures from foreign competition. At the same time, technicians and construction personnel employed in such projects have to be Americans.

Since bank operations then do not constitute a burden on United States taxpayers, and since the activities of the loan institution are a godsend to Latin American nations, which find that it is impossible for them to obtain loans from other international loan agencies because of the nature of the undertakings those nations wish to execute, just why should certain officials of the United States Government be so interested in curtailing bank activities in the Latin American area?

To constrict at this particular time the channels through which flows a source of generous aid urgently needed by Latin America, and one likewise of such immense benefit to the lending country, is nothing more than cooperating with our civilization's common enemy.

How To Hurt Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial entitled "How To Hurt Farmers," which appeared in the February 20, 1954, issue of Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead, a leading farm publication of the Middlewest:

HOW TO HURT FARMERS—FAKE SCARE STORY TELLS ABOUT BILLIONS LOST IN PRICE-SUPPORT DEALS

"Did our farm programs actually cost the Nation over $16 billion?" writes a farm subscriber. "I see by the newspapers that Secretary Benson said this the other day. Was it really that much?"

Eastern newspapers picked up the Secretary's statement and made a good deal of it. The Wall Street Journal remarked: "Both the President and his Secretary of Agriculture know that the farm program is economically foolish and morally indefensible."

Farm State Senators, led by Senator THYE, of Minnesota, asked the Department of Agriculture for more definite figures on the cost of farm programs.

When these figures were submitted, it turned out that Secretary Benson had been talking about the cost of all the work of USDA, including research, education, REA, credit, and everything else.

Expenditures for support of farm products were a different matter. At Senator THYE's request a detailed breakdown was furnished Congress.

Here are some of the items, covering the period from 1933 through 1953:

Corn loss	$70,910,347
Wheat loss	95,127,450
Cotton profit	268,219,477
Butter loss	48,743,225

The impression given by the eastern press is that losses on corn and wheat have run into billions. Actually losses, for both crops add up to 166 millions for 20 years. Is this too much to pay for securing the Nation against grain shortages and helping to stabilize farm income?

If gains are balanced against losses for price supports on all the basic commodities, the loss for 20 years comes out at 20.7 millions. Not 16 billions.

Big losses in farm supports came, not on basic commodities like corn and wheat, but on perishables. Potatoes were the big headache with a loss of 478 millions.

For all price support activities, the total loss comes to 1,100,000,000 in 20 years. That is almost exactly the size of the subsidies given to business in 1 year, 1952.

Farmers should note that most of the criticism directed at farm programs has hit at corn, wheat, cotton and other basics. Yet on these, the net loss for 20 years has been 20 million, or about 1 million per year. That's less than one modern bomber costs.

It is hard for the truth to catch up with the original scare story. Secretary Benson probably didn't mean to misrepresent the facts. But his use of the figure of 16 billion makes a good many city people feel that supporting corn and wheat is like financing a world war.

Farmers will have to work hard to offset this bad publicity. Remember this: The net loss on all basic commodities for 20 years was $20 million, or $1 million a year. These are the official USDA figures.

Room of Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the House has already passed House Concurrent Resolution No. 60 to provide for a room in the Capitol available to Members of the House and Senate for prayer and meditation. A suitable room has been selected. It would be a pity if this session of Congress adjourns without finally passing the proposal which was introduced by our beloved and able colleague, BROOKS HAYS, of Arkansas. Under leave previously granted, I include an excellent editorial on this subject from the Florida Times Union, of Jacksonville, Fla.:

MORE THAN EVER—OUR NEED FOR DIVINE GUIDANCE

A legislative proposal to make a room in the Capitol available for Members of the House and Senate to use for prayer and meditation deserves more than casual attention. Wide support for the measure is assured. The need for more spiritual guidance in these troubled times is great and it is reassuring to find that so many leaders of our Nation recognize this need today.

Our Congressmen daily face problems which confound human fallible appraisals. No men who sit in the seats of judgment can consistently respond to the many challenges with spacious thinking without divine guidance.

God has never been banned from our legislative halls. Each session of the House and Senate is opened with a prayer. Many clergymen who have served as chaplains of Congress have had—like the late Peter Marshall—a profound influence on Capitol life. Now this life can be made even richer. As Alfred, Lord Tennyson, said, "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of."

Is There Enough Security in Social Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to leave, I include as a part of these remarks a timely article on social security written by the famous tax authority, J. K. Lasser, which appeared in the February 21, 1954, issue of the American Weekly.

The article follows:

IS THERE ENOUGH SECURITY IN SOCIAL SECURITY?

(By J. K. Lasser)

If you are like 66 million other Americans you are paying for social security. You expect to retire someday and apply for your monthly check from the Government.

Perhaps you know exactly what will happen when you make this application, or it may be that you are like a man I know whom I'll call Jack Smith. He applied for his first check a little while ago when he reached the age of 65. His wife, Martha, is 62.

"We have our credentials," Jack told a man in a field office of the Social Security Administration. "I've brought along my social-security card and Martha and I both have our birth certificates. The records ought to show that I've been working steadily since 1937 and I've always been in employment covered by the social-security law. Lately I've been getting $300 a month."

"That's fine," the field representative said. "You'll receive the maximum benefit allowed a worker whose wife is under 65—$85 a month."

"We can't live on that," Jack said. "I thought the benefits had been increased."

"They have, and they may go higher," the fieldworker said. "But $85 is the top now. When your wife is 65, you'll receive, together, $127.50."

"That won't be for 3 years," Jack said. "I guess I'll have to stay on my old job if they'll let me."

The fieldworker then pointed out something that affects a great number of people.

"If you make more than $75 in any month," he said, "you must report it so we can cancel your benefit for that month. That's the work clause in the law. You'll also have to pay your regular social-security tax on what you earn."

Jack and Martha were silent a moment, and then Jack said, "Well, I guess I won't ask for social security, after all. I'll just keep on working."

Jack is like 1,400,000 other elderly citizens and their dependents who today aren't receiving the social-security checks they thought they'd get. They can't afford to take them. So they are being deprived of $700 million a year.

The benefits are too small for them and so is the sum they are allowed to earn in addition to the benefits. After paying social-security taxes for years, they've decided to pass up the benefits.

Meanwhile, at the other extreme of social security, many are receiving quite amazing benefits. Perhaps you are one of these. Perhaps you are like Minnie White, as I'll call her, a young widow with two small children. Her husband died after only 18 months of employment covered by the social-security law.

Her husband contributed only $81 to the social-security fund, and yet there is a possibility that Minnie, by collecting the death benefit of $255, a pension of $168.75 a month until her twins reach the age of 18, and then her old-age benefits of $63.75 for every month she lives beyond the age of 65, may collect, in all, more than $46,000.

In another astonishing situation is a man I'll call Jim Brown. He wasn't in a social-security job until just before he reached 65. In the last 18 months before reaching that age he earned only $300, thus contributing only $4.50 to the fund.

Yet today he and his wife are receiving $37.50 a month—because he happened to get into a covered job just in time.

"How," you may ask, "can such inequities exist?"

The answer is: The social-security law is a good law, but it isn't as good as it should be.

After a careful study of the law and its amendments, plus an extensive personal investigation of how it is being administered at the local, regional, and national levels, I am impressed not only with the original intention of the statute but by its dignified, friendly, and efficient administration.

Staffmen in social security obtained their jobs through competitive civil service and have climbed a "training ladder" to their present positions.

Everything possible is being done for the convenience and comfort of the applicants and beneficiaries, and this, the world's largest insurance company, is working on the world's lowest overhead—just 2.4 cents of each dollar collected—about one-seventh of the average operating expenses of nongovernmental insurance companies.

The company, or bureau, has been in the black since the day it opened. It has a trust fund now of $18 billion, most of it tucked away in United States Government bonds. And with only 13,000 employees it manages to service 5 million beneficiary accounts every month besides issuing new cards and conferring with participants.

However, the fact that the Bureau is well run doesn't mean that the law is perfect. Far from it.

Do you know, for example, that unless the law is changed, more than 20 million younger workers now making their required contributions out of each paycheck won't even get their money back? Do you know that many may not get anything?

That's true because of various situations. It's particularly true of the men who will die long before they are 65, leaving no children

under 18, and having wives who must wait years to reach 65 for their own benefits.

Many besides me, of course, see the law's defects. President Eisenhower has asked Congress to increase benefits, raise taxes by making a deduction from the first $4,200 of one's annual wage (instead of from the first $3,600 as at present), permit a retired person to earn more than he now can without losing his social-security benefit, bring 10 million more persons under social-security coverage, and in other ways liberalize the statute. Bills have been prepared by Representative CARL T. CURTIS, Republican, of Nebraska, chairman of a House Ways and Means subcommittee, Representative DANIEL A. REED, Republican, of New York, chairman of the House tax-writing committee, and others.

It looks now as if Congress would act promptly after discussion of these bills is finished, for both Republicans and Democrats favor some changes.

I, too, would like to see a good law made better, and these are changes I think should be made:

1. Increase the benefits.
2. Raise, moderately, the social-security tax to pay for the benefits.
3. Let retired workers earn as much as they can or wish while still receiving benefits.
4. Provide for some medical benefits.
5. Have a man's monthly check more clearly reflect the amount he has paid in social-security taxes.
6. Gear the pensions to a cost-of-living "commodity dollar."
7. Revise the payments once every 2 years to take inflation or deflation into account.
8. Make the time of retirement flexible, since many cannot work to the age of 65.
9. Eliminate the social-security tax on a worker's earnings after the age of 65.
10. Put social security more nearly on a pay-as-you-go basis, leaving the present fund for emergencies.

These changes can be made without seriously hurting the national economy. They are practical. Enacted as law, they would benefit millions.

They might well benefit you.

Incredible Act of Fanaticism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting editorial from the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., Wednesday, March 3, 1954:

COWARDLY AMBUSH

The shooting in the House of Representatives was an incredible act of fanaticism. As mad as it was, it was not the work of madness; there was plot to it, a plot carried out with cunning. It was all the more murderous because it involved premeditation. One man alone might be excused as demented. But there is no way to extenuate a mass attack.

For all that the conspirators are no doubt feverish with zeal for the cause which obsesses them, their crime must, nevertheless, be regarded as coldblooded and unconscionably wanton. It was not merely that they wished to call public attention to themselves and to their cause, as they might have done just as effectively by firing into the air. They wished to kill, and it is only by the grace of their bad marksmanship that there were not more victims.

Conceivably, if they had been able to recruit a sufficient force of assassins, every Member of the House would now be dead. Conceivably, if they had been able to assemble a full regiment of assassins, they would have sacked Washington—all in the name of the "liberty" they love so much.

The four zealots have qualified for the martyrdom they aspired to. It cannot be regarded as first-degree martyrdom, though. The only blood they shed was somebody else's, and in the most cowardly way imaginable—from ambush.

Public Health Setback?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, if the proposed reductions in the various programs for assistance to the States in their public-health activities are approved by the Congress, we can expect a sharp setback in the fight against disease in America. Federal grants have provided the incentive, and a major part of the cost, for splendid public-health programs throughout the country. I hope the Congress will provide substantial increases in the recommended budget figures and avert curtailment of this program.

The tuberculosis-prevention program in Mississippi is one of those gravely threatened by the current budget. For a statement of the danger involved here, I include the following letter from the Mississippi Tuberculosis Association:

MISSISSIPPI TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION,
Jackson, Miss., March 2, 1954.

The Honorable FRANK E. SMITH,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: At the last board of directors meeting of the Mississippi Tuberculosis Association the major item for discussion was the serious threat to the tuberculosis-control program in Mississippi which is impending if the recommended reductions in the United States Public Health Service, Division of Tuberculosis Control appropriations become effective on July 1, 1954, as scheduled.

Your attention is respectfully called to the enclosed resolution adopted by our board of directors. Supportive information, facts, and figures are contained in the remainder of this letter.

As you probably know, the Mississippi State Board of Health has received a grant-in-aid from the USPHS TB Control Division each year since the fiscal year 1945–46 for the purpose of executing a more intensive program of tuberculosis control. A majority of the money received has been used in operating the vital service of mass X-raying by means of the mobile X-ray buses, case supervision by trained nurses, in the field, operation of a central and county-by-county case register of tuberculosis cases, examination of sputum and other laboratory procedures, and inauguration of home treatment for those who cannot be admitted to the sanatorium.

In recent years, this Federal grant has been continually and drastically reduced and at present the entire control program in Mississippi is in serious jeopardy. The following figures show the dollars-and-cents side of this picture:

1945–46	$113,024
1946–47	206,465
1947–48	191,138
1948–49	187,172
1949–50	191,155
1950–51	164,100
1951–52	139,187
1952–53	120,059
1953–54	88,500
Proposed for 1954–55	[1] 35,300

[1] A 62-percent reduction after having already been reduced over 36 percent in the previous 3 years.

The reduction in the past has meant putting 2 of the 4 mobile X-ray units "on blocks"—one was taken from service on June 1, 1949, and the other was discontinued as of May 1, 1953.

At present there are two mobile units operating in the State. One is being paid for from Federal funds, the other from a surplus fund which was consigned to the operation of this second unit until July 1, 1954. This surplus fund was definitely for an emergency and will not be available in the future.

Now that we have a brief glimpse at the past history, let's look to the future. What will these proposed reductions mean?

First, both of the two remaining mobile X-ray units will have to be discontinued. Second, case supervision will almost be eliminated. Third, case registers can no longer be maintained. Fourth, laboratory services will be discontinued. Fifth, home treatment cannot be continued without the support of the above four activities.

You can certainly understand and appreciate the serious situation which prevails at present and which will come about if these further reductions take place.

Our organization, the Mississippi Tuberculosis Association, as well as our 86 affiliated organizations in every county of the State, have worked long and hard in an attempt to demonstrate and supplement needed programs of tuberculosis control with money donated to us during our annual Christmas seal sale.

We feel that much of our efforts will have been to no avail if tuberculosis control is seriously curtailed in Mississippi. Also, with the limited funds that are contributed each year, it is absolutely impossible for voluntary organizations in this State to make up even the first drop of this financial loss.

Every effort is being made at the present time to restore some of these reductions by means of a special appropriation from the State legislature; however, with the enormous problem of financing the school program, informed sources have told us that such an appropriation during this session doesn't have a ghost of a chance.

Therefore, this urgent appeal is being made to you to do everything possible to prevent a reduction in the tuberculosis-control appropriations for the coming year.

If this is accomplished, our State will then have an opportunity to allocate supplementary funds at some future date in order to maintain the progress we have made in this field.

This problem affects every citizen in the State of Mississippi, and we feel that it is our duty to urgently request your assistance and influence in alleviating this serious threat.

Respectfully yours,
JUDSON M. ALLRED, Jr.,
Executive Secretary.

Leif Erickson and the Scandinavians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I introduced House Joint Resolution 372 on February 9, 1954, requesting the President to proclaim October 9 as Leif Erickson Day. This resolution was introduced at the request of the Leif Erickson Memorial Association of America, Inc. October 9 has been similarly designated by statute in a number of States including Illinois, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. At this time I would like to discuss Leif Erickson and the contributions of the Scandinavians.

Many years ago, when as a young lad I visited Lincoln Park in Chicago, I remember standing in awe before an inspiring exhibit. Perhaps many of you have gazed with equal pride and admiration at the faithful replica of Leif Erickson's ship. For many years it has occupied a commanding site where thousands of visitors have been afforded an opportunity to see a Viking ship at close hand. Standing there on a specially constructed platform, admist the security of the neighboring buildings and trees, it causes one to marvel at its ability to challenge, without quarter, the furious onslaught of the North Atlantic, particularly during a dark and fearsome passage. Beginning over a thousand years ago, the Norsemen proved to the world that they were capable and accomplished sailors. Yet these hardy and able mariners, who discovered so much and sailed so far, were without many of the modern navigational aids such as maps, charts, compasses, and other basic equipment.

Modern historians and researchers continue their diligent search through old documents seeking new data, and sometimes give voice to controversial statements. But the fine details of agreement or disagreement are of little importance to us, to the admirers, and to the descendants of those brave and wondrous people. We have ample evidence that they did actually reach our shores in about the year 1000. Authorities are generally agreed that Leif Erickson preceded other Europeans to the North American Continent. A number of subsequent voyages resulted in the establishment of a settlement, even though it survived but a few years. Inscriptions, remains, and manuscripts have been discovered proving these basic facts and conclusions to be true.

Matthias Thordarson in the Vinland Voyages, 1930, stated that—

> The story of his (Leif Erickson's) discovery and that of his countrymen in America is especially known from a collection of various sagas made some six centuries ago by Hauk Eriendsson, an Icelandic lawman. This work is known as Hauksbok (Hauk's Book); one of the important portions of it is the Saga of Eric the Red. It derives its name from Eric, Leif's father, and there one finds the clearest and most reliable accounts of Vinland. The original manuscript of Hauk's Book is in the Arna-Magnaean collection in Copenhagen; and there is another vellum manuscript of the Eric saga in the same collection.

When making the voyage upon which he discovered America, it appears that Leif was seeking a new route between Norway and a previously established settlement in Greenland. The accounts indicate that his ship was overtaken by a violent storm and tossed about on the ocean for a long time and came upon lands that he had no knowledge of before. Although estimates of the location of the precise landing vary from New Brunswick to Maryland, it seems probable that New England was the locality described in the ancient writings.

The expeditions and achievements of the early Norsemen in their voyages to Iceland, Greenland, and America form perhaps the most dramatic and interesting account of travel and discovery in the entire history of man.

The Vikings also traveled in other directions. Beginning in the ninth century, they had reached and become masters of Ireland, England, Scotland, and Normandy in France. The Encyclopedia Britannica reports that while some Vikings were conquering in the west, others were founding Garoariki in Russia, and another group continued pressing farther south until they reached Constantinople. This encyclopedia also explains that a chieftain named Ulfljot had returned from Iceland to Norway in the 10th century to study political forms and procedures because Iceland needed a central government. As a result, the first Parliament of Iceland met in session at what was later called Thingvellir in 930 A. D.

It may be of interest to note that Ferdinand, a son and biographer of Christopher Columbus, describes a voyage that Columbus made to Iceland in 1476–77. Although research is still continuing to determine how much Columbus may have learned about Vinland—America—while in Iceland, there is little doubt that he profited from the sailing experience and adventure.

What Leif Erickson had so nobly and heroically begun, Scandinavians of later generations have continued. American life has been enriched in many ways. Eminent contributions in both Europe and America have been made in such fields, for example, as commerce and industry, science, medicine, literature, and statesmanship. While it would not be possible to cover even the highlights of these many and varied activities, perhaps it may be of interest to describe a few typical instances that demonstrate how American culture or development have been advanced.

In one of the Chronicles of America series—volume 35—Samuel P. Orth stated that—

> They made of the Northwest a new Scandinavia, larger and far more prosperous than that which Gustavus Adolphus had planned in colonial days for his colony in Delaware. One can travel today 300 miles at a stretch across the prairies of the Dakotas or the fields of Minnesota without leaving land that is owned by Scandanavians. They abound also in Wisconsin, northern Illinois, eastern Nebraska, Kansas, and nothern Michigan. Latterly the lands of Oregon and Washington are luring them by the thousands, while throughout the remaining West there are scattered many prosperous farms cultivated by representatives of this hardy race.

Noteworthy achievements of Scandinavian peoples are well known, and many have been described by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin in Americans From Sweden—1950. Leola Nelson Bergmann reports similar achievements in her volume entitled "Americans From Norway"—1950. Several publications also describe accomplishments of the Danes, as for example Johannes Knudsen and Enok Mortensen have done in the Danish-American Immigrant—1950.

In America's political scene, one of the early men was John Hanson—1721-83—a revolutionary leader, related to the Swedish royal family. After the Articles of Confederation were ratified in 1781, he was elected President of the United States in Congress assembled. Although this position was not comparable to that of President of the United States as subsequently established under the Constitution, it was nevertheless an office of high honor.

The first and one of the most distinguished Norwegian-Americans to serve in Congress was Knute Nelson, an emigrant from Voss, near Bergen in Norway. He had filled in the meantime the role of Governor of Minnesota. Since 1883, when Knute Nelson first entered Congress, about three dozen Americans of Norwegian descent have served in the House of Representatives, about a dozen in the Senate. Nearly two dozen men of Norwegian descent have occupied governorships. Among them have been Floyd Olson, Elmer Benson, Edward J. Thye, and John Erickson. Leola Bergmann, in Americans From Norway, continues to discuss many more famous leaders who held office as governor, Member of Congress, justice, or mayor.

One of the early Swedes elected to the Congress was John Lind, of Minnesota. He was born in Sweden in 1854. Lind served 3 terms in the House as a Republican, 1 as a Democrat, and still managed to serve as Governor of Minnesota.

In the fields of education and sociology, we may again note the significant contributions of our Scandinavian forebears and colleagues. I am able to mention but a few of those who actually merit inclusion in our present listing.

The Norwegians had established two colleges to enrich the stream of American life. Luther College started in Decorah, Iowa, in 1862, and St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minn. Many department heads and other officials of Norwegian ancestry have served in the State universities and other schools of the Middle West.

Probably the most distinguished president of a major American university of Swedish derivation was the late George Norlin, of the University of Colorado. The first Norwegian to achieve a similar position was Edward Olsen, who advanced from a professorship of Greek to be president of the University of South Dakota. Other Norwegians also successful as university administrators were

Aven Nelson, of the University of Wyoming, and John A. Widtsoe, of the University of Utah. Another descendant of the 19th century Swedish immigrants was Elam Jonathan Anderson, former head of Linfield College, in Oregon, who, at his death in 1944, was president of the University of Redlands, Calif. Ernest O. Melby was president of the University of Montana, Bryn Hovde was head of the New School for Social Research, while Frederick Hovde became president of Purdue University in 1946. The famous Sprinfield plan, which originated as a special program in the teaching of mutual racial and religious tolerance among varied ethnic groups, was devised in the Springfield, Mass., school system under Dr. John E. Granrud, the superintendent.

Literature and journalism have also been generously enriched by the participation of Scandinavian contributors. My entire time could be devoted to a discussion of Carl Sandburg alone. His fame rests most solidly, perhaps, upon his monumental achievement—the Pulitzer prize-winning biography of Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years and the War Years. Of equal fame and interest are his Chicago Poems, Cornhuskers, Smoke and Steel, Rootabaga Stories, and the American Song Bag.

Ole Edvart Rölvaag achieved national as well as international fame with his Giants in the Earth. Desiring to preserve his cultural heritage, he had written this masterpiece in Norwegian. It was first published in Norway then translated into English and brought out by Harper & Bros. In the same year, 1927, it became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

Denmark has made noteworthy contributions in the field of literature through her native sons. A few of them should be mentioned. Kristian Ostergaard published From Forest and Prairie, Pioneers, and Valley Dwellers. Carl Hansen wrote Children of the Prairie and Nicqually. Frederik L. Grundtvig achieved popularity through the Songbook for the Danish People.

Among many more names that deserve attention I must include a small selection: Martha Ostenso's Wild Geese, Gudrun Thorne-Thomsen's East o' the Sun and West o' the Moon, Neil Harmon Swanson's The Judas Tree, The Phantom Emperor and The First Rebel, and Gosta Larsson's Our Daily Bread and Ships in the River.

In journalism we note there has been a Norwegian press in the United States since 1847. Among the outstanding men have been the late Governor of Minnesota, John A. Johnson, who had also been editor of the St. Peter Herald; Everett Norlander, managing editor of the Chicago Daily News, whom the New York Times called the dean of American newspaper publisher; and Neil Harmon Swanson, the previously mentioned author, who has been, since 1941, executive editor of the Baltimore Sun papers. William T. Evjue is doing an excellent job as editor of the Madison Capital-Times. Eric Sevareid is well-known with the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Among the other professions in which we take just pride for consistently high achievements is that of engineering and its related industrial phases. William S. Knudsen, who had been an apprentice mechanic in his brother's bicycle shop in Copenhagen, became the president of General Motors Corp. in 1937. During World War II he was appointed War Department Production Director with the rank of lieutenant general. This was unprecedented in the history of the United States; no other civilian has ever entered the Army with a rank as high as lieutenant general. Our famous engineer and inventor, the Swedish-born John Ericsson, played a highly significant role for the Union forces in the War Between the States. It was his design that resulted in the *Monitor*, the iron-clad vessel which saved the day for the North as far as sea power was concerned.

While dealing with important participants whose work profoundly influenced the Civil War, we call attention to Adm. John Adolph Dahlgren, an accomplished designer of ordnance, after whom the well-known Fort Dahlgren was named. Americans from Norway have built tunnels and bridges, skyscrapers and factories, and transportation systems from coast to coast. Gunvald Aus and Kort Berle built the Woolworth Building in New York, the Supreme Court Building in Washington, among many others. Ole Singstad constructed the Holland, Lincoln, and Queens midtown tunnels in New York. Olaf Hoff was responsible for the Detroit and Harlem River tunnels. A General Electric Co. engineer, C. W. Larson, submitted the successful designs for the electric locomotives used to tow ships through the Panama Canal. Associated with the same company was Oscar Junggren, a native of Sweden, and the firm's chief designer of electric power plants.

The most prominent of all Swedish engineers in America is unquestionably Ernst Fredrick Werner Alexanderson, former chief engineer of the General Electric Co. and a pioneer in wireless telephoning, broadcasting, and television. He holds over 300 United States patents. American industrial progress owes a large debt to the precision gages of the Johansson type manufactured by Erik Aldeborgh who had been a colleague of Johansson in Sweden.

Scandinavians have practiced medicine, contributed to professional journals, published noteworthy titles, or have made valuable contributions to research techniques for over 300 years. One of the early barber-surgeons who sailed from Gothenburg in 1649 for America was Timon Stidden. The father of surgery in America was Dr. William W. Keen, born in Philadelphia in 1837. He was subsequently president of the American Surgical Association and the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons. Dr. Adolph Gundersen was one of a well-known Norwegian-American family of surgeons. Together with Dr. Christian Christensen he established a clinic which later became a medical center and still continues to expand. Dr. Gundersen's later appointment to the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin provided him with an active role in planning the university medical school and hospital. One of the most distinguished cancer research specialists has been Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, a Norwegian, of Chicago. At various times he has been director of the John McCormick Institute of Infectious Diseases, head of the department of pathology at the University of Chicago, president of the Chicago Tumor Institute, and chairman of the medical section of the National Research Council. In the field of dentistry Dr. Alfred Owre's name will be long remembered.

Due to the limitation of time at my disposal and not the lack of accomplishments, I can only confirm our corresponding achievements in other fields of human endeavor. Illustrious names and events could easily be recalled in the fields of religion, astronomy, business, and finance.

In the course of my discussion I have dwelt at length on the exploits of the illustrious, but the equally important influence of the common man deserves acknowledgement. Samuel P. Orth, who was mentioned previously, states that it is the consensus of opinion among competent observers that these northern peoples have been the most useful of the recent great additions to the American race.

And so we may well be proud of Leif Erickson and of the varied achievements and contributions of the Americans from Scandinavia.

Bisecting the NLRB

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following editorial from the Washington Post, Saturday, March 6, 1954, concerning the recent move of the House Labor Committee to shift unfair labor practice cases from the National Labor Relations Board to the courts:

BISECTING THE NLRB

The 14 to 13 vote of the House Labor Committee to shift unfair labor practice cases from the National Labor Relations Board to the courts is a revolt against the administrative method. Probably it was not so intended. The majority who made this rash decision, which was sustained again Thursday by a tie vote, seem to have been actuated by dislike for some past NLRB decisions. But the remedy they offer would impose an intolerable burden on the courts and go a long way toward destroying the Taft-Hartley Act.

The committee would not abolish the NLRB. That body would continue to hold elections for the selection of collective bargaining representatives. But under the committee bill, unions or employers pressing charges of unfair labor practices would have

to go to the Federal district courts, either directly or through a United States attorney. The advantages of having such cases handled by a body of experts in labor relations would be entirely lost. The development of an orderly and consistent policy would be completely disrupted. Dozens of different courts all over the country would be handing down conflicting decisions, and there would be no means of reconciling the differences, except through the Supreme Court.

Equally serious would be the effect on the courts. Many of the Federal courts are now so overburdened with work that the resulting delay comes close to being a denial of justice. The NLRB too has a large caseload, but its docket is much more nearly current than those of most of the courts. To impose on the courts 5,800 new cases a year (the number handled last year by the NLRB) would be an indiscretion of the first order.

Beyond these objections to the committee's action is the fact that this sort of administrative work has no place in the judicial branch of the Government. The principle that administrative tasks should be kept out of the courts was established nearly 50 years ago by Charles Evans Huges, then Governor of New York. In fighting for his public service commissions, he successfully resisted efforts to have ratemaking cases transferred to the courts. It was in defending the courts against this attempt to swamp them with administrative tasks that he uttered his often-quoted and much distorted dictum that "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." His basic point was that administrative work should no more be imposed on the courts than judicial work should be farmed out to commissions. The point is as valid today as it was then, and we do not believe that Congress will permit the House Labor Committee to discard this principle in the case of the NLRB.

A Statement by the Pan American Civic Association of Suffolk County, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, amongst the valued citizens of Suffolk County, N. Y., is a group of Americans of Puerto Rican descent or origin. They feel deeply moved by the recent tragedy in the House, and have asked me to present their views to my colleagues.

Fanaticism and violence are contrary to our way of life. We are a Nation of moderates, believing in an orderly and decent method of public expression. This recent assault in the House portrays more than ever the need for vigilance in guarding these principles.

This statement is presented by the Pan American Civic Association of Suffolk County, Inc.:

The incident at the House Chamber on March 1, in which Representative BENTLEY was seriously wounded and 4 other Congressmen were injured has once more brought to light the old Communistic method of prevailing upon humane turpitude to achieve dissension.

Since their inception into world politics, this has been their subversive and immoral practice.

It has been their goal to sow the seeds of hatred to create dissension in a commonwealth so well on its way to better understanding of our inherent principles of equality and the pursuit of happiness.

They know well enough that "United We Stand and Divided We Fall" as was so well demonstrated by the united efforts in the battlefields of Korea as well as in those of World Wars I and II in which Puerto Rican troops gave their all to help preserve our way of life.

True enough, the tragic episode was committed by four Puerto Rican members of the terrorist faction which do not exceed 500 out of the entire approximate population of 2½ million inhabitants on the island. All, except that terrorist group, are very much in love with and will without hesitation shed their blood for "Old Glory."

The manner in which the press and radio have presented the incident to the public, indicates that there is being promoted a great amount of dissension toward all Puerto Ricans and we hope and pray that there will be no more reference to nationalities in behalf of the so many thousands of loyal law abiding Americans of Puerto Rican extraction.

If through lack of wisdom, we fall victims of designs or carelessness by using methods that do not conform to the American way of fair play, intelligence, justice, and tradition, the American blood that has been shed in the battlefields has been in vain.

Kremlin Recasts Party Line Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I am including in my remarks the Communist Party line of today so as to warn those well meaning dogooders what it is, so that they will not unknowingly lend aid to those who would destroy our form of government. This splendid article from the New York Times, of March 8, 1954, contains the party line in full detail:

KREMLIN RECASTS PARTY LINE HERE—POPULAR COALITION WOULD USE THE OLD PARTIES TO ELECT RED CHOICES AND MOLD POLICIES

(By Will Lissner)

Communism's New Look, decreed by the fashion experts in Moscow, is changing the political hemline of the Communist Party.

A new draft program for the party was issued from its mimeograph machines yesterday. It is the counterpart of similar documents being released by the Communist information bureau for fraternal parties in other parts of the world.

It calls for the formation of a broad united front under the name of a popular coalition movement aimed to bring together such diverse groups as workers, farmers, heads of small- and middle-size businesses and even some groups of capital or big capitalists. This united front would have both domestic and foreign-policy goals.

Among the policy goals of the new party line are the following:

DOMESTIC

Identifying of anticommunism with profascism.

Stigmatizing all efforts to check and root out Communist subversion and Soviet espionage as McCarthyism and McCarthyism as American fascism.

Bringing about scrapping of the Truman-Eisenhower economic stabilization policy in favor of full employment through continuing inflation.

Achieving full support for the fight for the liberation of the Negro nation.

Infiltrating the Republican and Democratic Parties to elect popular coalition Members of Congress in 1954 and a New Deal administration in 1956.

Using the Progressive and American Labor Parties to run independent candidates where necessary to support the united front.

Building a farmer-labor party after 1956 aimed at electing a new type of government—a people's government.

Achieving amnesty for imprisoned Communist leaders, abolition of congressional investigations of Communist conspiracy, and subversion and repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts.

FOREIGN

Ending the defense program and using defense plants for Government-supported welfare programs.

Ending the integration of Germany into the European Defense Community and averting the rearming of Japan.

Ending the arms race on the basis of Soviet disarmament proposals.

Ending assistance to other Western countries to fight Communist aggression in Asia and Africa.

Spreading the thesis that the idea that the Soviet Union menaces this country is a big lie.

Achieving the recognition of Communist China.

Ending anti-Soviet and anti-Communist foreign policy and settling the cold war by agreeing to economic collaboration with the Soviet sphere, including the extension of credit to bolster world trade.

RESTORING OF DEVIATIONS

The new line represents a revision of the new tactical line issued by the party in May 1949, in the name of William Z. Foster, its national chairman. The key principle of that line was Soviet expansion and it envisioned American capitalism isolated in a Communist world, concepts since made obsolete by western military and diplomatic policy.

In the revision, many policies formerly condemned as left deviations and some that had been attacked as right deviations were incorporated.

One of the former type is the concept that Negroes living in the area of the South where Negroes outnumber white persons are members of "a Negro nation." This harks back to the unsuccessful Communist effort in the early thirties to promote the idea of a Negro republic there.

That the ideology of the Chinese associated with the name of Mao Tse-tung is ascendant over that of the Russians who wrote under the name of Joseph Stalin is evident in statements that "the Communist Party has no blueprint for the path to socialism in the United States," and that "no social system can be imported from abroad."

To forestall prosecution, all references to violent struggles are omitted. Whereas the Foster document held that Communist movements everywhere were bound to culminate in violent struggles, the current one envisages the peoples' government as being elected, and the further advance to socialism as being peaceful.

The party's link to international communism is hinted at in a sentence marked by obscurity: "We proclaim our fraternity with all peoples who have pioneered the new frontiers of human history toward socialism, with all peoples struggling to achieve their independence and national development."

The party's announcement said it would be issued in a million-copy edition.

What Is a Communist?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting editorial from the Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass., Monday, March 8, 1954:

WHAT IS A COMMUNIST?

A letter from a puzzled reader asks us: "What is a Communist? What does he stand for? What does he have that appears to attract so many people? Is there literature on the subject, and where can it be secured, without McCARTHY branding the inquirer as a Red?"

To answer the last question first, there are thousands of books and articles on the subject available in the United States, and they may be read in any good public library by anyone who believes that ignorance is not the best defense against subversion.

But from this mass of reading matter can be drawn no single, simple answer to the question: What is a Communist? The term is used variously to describe a theoretical believer in the economic dogmas of Karl Marx: a conscious member of a hard-bitten international conspiracy directed from Moscow; a fanatical devotee for whom "dialectical materialism" is an absolute, religious faith; a deluded idealist who joins a legally constituted political party which he believes to be dedicated to peace, brotherhood, and social justice.

Some people, echoing Gertrude Stein on the rose, hold sagely that a Communist is a Communist is a Communist. But does a Chinese Communist, for instance, necessarily share all the basic aims, presuppositions, and fixations of a Russian Communist? We cannot be sure, though we know that a Yugoslav Communist does not. And in general we would do well to recognize a considerable distinction between the European and American Communist.

For to be a Communist in the United States requires a considerably greater intellectual, emotional, and moral wrench than in most of Europe or Asia. It is not easy for the gullible or "idealistic" simply to drift into communism today in America—though it was easier during the dark depression thirties, when to many the structure of American capitalism seemed to be tottering and the nature of Soviet tyranny was much less widely understood.

Today only the cynically power-hungry or the extraordinarily maladjusted or "pathological" individual is likely to be drawn to the American Communist Party. But that is not true in Europe or Asia, where war, violence, and large-scale poverty have so shaken the fabric of society that many sincere but mistaken people have come to feel they must look in another direction for a totally new order of things.

In his vividly illuminating book on postwar Europe, Fire in the Ashes, Theodore H. White quotes Pierre Bertaux, the brilliant police chief who broke the back of the Communist bid for control of France after the war:

"You Americans are wrong in trying to force your methods on our country. You believe in theology, in sorcery, in witchcraft. For you, communism is a sin, and the Communists are witches to be burned. The fact is they are very simple, ordinary people. For 15 years the Communists have pulled to their ranks the finest young people of France. France is such an old country, so much is rotten in it, and the Communist argument is so simple—to make an omelet, they say, you must smash eggs.

"So year after year the generous, the noble, the bold, the brilliant youth of a full generation has been drawn to it and been led by it to the final abomination which is communism. For the error of original decision in joining the Communists is so slight and the final consequences are so terrible. They, the young men of communism, are the truest victims, and the job is not to persecute them but to liberate them."

Here is a maturity of judgment one could pray to see reflected in more statements by responsible public figures. Even in the United States, where there is so much less excuse than in France for delusions about communism (and so much less internal danger from it), there is a crucial need to balance the hunting of Communists with the healing of Communists.

Secondary Boycotts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles Finger, of Medford, Long Island, has written me in the strongest terms regarding the secondary boycott. I have had so many letters in this regard that it becomes obvious the topic is of general public interest. Mr. Finger enclosed the following excellent letter discussing the problem which I here present:

We are particularly interested that the present law should not be weakened insofar as secondary boycotts are concerned. Such boycotts are vicious things, are almost always unfair, and are the easy weapon of irresponsible labor leadership.

When our employees want to join a union of their own choosing, it will be all right with us. In the meantime, they are receiving from us a fair break in wages, hours, disability benefits, pensions, and conditions of work—and they seem to appreciate this is so. Hence, we are not worried about the union winning them away from us by any fair approach or any voluntary action on their part. However, there is always the possibility of being pressured into involuntary membership through the secondary boycott, whether legal or illegal, and I think our people deserve the protection of law against this sort of thing.

Only a couple of years ago, several building supply wholesalers and jobbers in our county (whose chauffeurs were organized by a local union) phoned us with the apologetic explanation that their shop stewards had refused (under instructions from union headquarters) to load any materials destined for our yard. At the same time, agents of the union began stopping our trucks on the road and pressing union propaganda on our employees—which propaganda was brought each time to me with the further assurance by the employee that he wanted nothing to do with the union. I then went out to the yard, called our employees together, and told them that I would back them up in their free choice either way if they wanted to join or stay out of the union. They talked it over among themselves and informed me the next day that based upon their experience and that of their friends they would rather put their confidence in the management of our company.

After I had looked up the law and explained it to these men, they went to the State labor relations board and petitioned for protection against the threats of the union. In due course, they were heard under oath, and at their request a secret-ballot election was held. The result of the secret ballot was a unanimous vote against the union. In due course, after the union had been informed of the result by registered mail, the suppliers and jobbers hereinbefore mentioned phoned us to say that the prohibition against us had been withdrawn.

Now, the gossip is that the teamsters' union is endeavoring to induce the union carpenters to refuse to handle materials supplied by us.

In all of this, it should be noted that we have a total of only 13 employees, including the office and the management, and that only 6 of these employees are truckmen or yard laborers, yet the union presses us. It is big union versus small management. It strikes me that in the construction industry, in more cases than otherwise, the union is far bigger, far better off for finances, and far more powerful than the management units opposing the union pressures. Union politics is fast approaching the status of big business and the small lumberyards need very much the protection of law in this matter of the secondary boycott. It is a matter of protecting our local public that this small local business should have that protection.

Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN E. LYLE, JR.
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LYLE. Mr. Speaker, the bill which this resolution makes in order, H. R. 8149, has great personal and political appeal for it deals with the care of the sick and the aged, a problem close to the hearts of all of us. Notwithstanding this appeal, however, we must be conscious that consideration of this measure at this time raises fundamental questions. I believe it my duty to the House to discuss some of the principles involved and to suggest that the best procedure would dictate a consideration of this bill at a later date.

The chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, a fine and able gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WOLVERTON], and the able members of his committee may well be proud of the high praise that is due them for their laborious work, for the sincere and honest investigation they have made into the health needs of the Nation. Unquestionably, their enthusiastic endeavor will stimulate great interest in the problems of health of our people throughout the Nation as it rightfully should. They have performed a good work.

Nevertheless, Congress itself cannot or should not overlook the principles involved in this measure. What is the Federal Government's rightful place in providing facilities within the various States and local subdivisions not have to do with strictly governmental opera-

tions? It is not an easy question to answer. Perhaps it is not possible to define the scope of our proper place. The answer must come after extensive and exhaustive research, discussion, and consideration. I believe that the history of our Government will show that heretofore many of us have expressed personal ideas and that political parties have expressed general ideas, but that we have tried to formulate no policy by which we could judge our actions and our proposed actions. Last year at the suggestion of the President of the United States, and with the leadership of the distinguished majority leader, Mr. HALLECK, of Indiana, the Congress authorized a commission called the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, to make extensive studies and to report to the President and the Congress its findings. If we have forgotten why the Commission was established in the first place, may I recall the purpose to your minds by reading from the report submitted by the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations last spring:

SECTION 1. Because any existing confusion and wasteful duplication of functions and administration pose a threat to the objectives of programs of the Federal Government shared in by the States, including their political subdivisions, because the activity of the Federal Government has been extended into many fields which, under our constitutional system, may be the primary interest and obligation of the several States and the subdivisions thereof, and because of the resulting complexity to intergovernmental relations, it is necessary to study the proper role of the Federal Government in relation to the States and their political subdivisions, with respect to such fields, to the end that these relations may be clearly defined and the functions concerned may be allocated to their proper jurisdiction. It is further necessary that intergovernmental fiscal relations be so adjusted that each level of government discharges the functions which belong within its jurisdiction in a sound and effective manner.

You will recall also that when the President appointed this distinguished Commission, including several of the able Members of this body, he stated:

Completion today of membership of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations marks the commencement of an historic undertaking: the elimination of frictions, duplications, and waste from Federal-State relations; the clear definition of lines of governmental authority in our Nation; the increase in efficiency in a multitude of governmental programs vital to the welfare of all Americans.

I greeted the suggestion of the President and the distinguished majority leader with enthusiasm. I was convinced that it was a sensible proposal and I was impressed by the need of a studied criteria by which the Congress could determine services the Federal Government might properly be able to render to the States and local subdivisions. The Congress appropriated $500,000 for the Commission's use and last week we reaffirmed our faith in the Commission and extended its life until March 1955. To date, no report has been filed by the Commission. It is assumed that they have not had sufficient time to make such reports. That is, I assume so. Consideration of this measure at this time, I fear, assumes that the reports will be of no consequence and will be given no consideration.

Mr. Speaker, do we not appear hasty if not ridiculous at this time to pass a measure or even to consider a measure which places the Federal Government in an entirely new field of endeavor—a field heretofore thought to be the sole province of the States and local subdivisions without benefit of advice and help that we said last year and again this year we needed? Do we not admit that we are not serious about the Commission and that it was purely a gesture and that we didn't intend to pay any attention to it in the first place? If so, it was an expensive gesture and will probably cost the people more than a million dollars—a gesture that will consume the minds and time of distinguished Americans in and out of Government. There is no logical explanation for the situation in which we find ourselves today. There is no need for hurry; there is no reason why we cannot properly wait for a report of our Commission, the one we brought into life, the one we are supporting, the one we acclaim. If we consider this measure today we are in effect saying to the distinguished people serving on this Commission: "Proceed; spend the hundreds of thousands of dollars that we have appropriated for your use; investigate all you please; file all the reports you wish; we didn't want your advice in the first place. We were only bluffing."

I do not want to be found in this position. I want information and advice. I am conscious of the tremendous growth and expansion of Federal participation in State problems and I am willing to wait a few weeks or months until we may have the benefit of our Commission's advice.

Another fundamental problem arises if we consider this measure at this time. Tomorrow and next week we have scheduled for consideration, and we are told certain passage, two revenue measures from the Committee on Ways and Means. These measures propose to take away several billion dollars from the present income of the Federal Government. I believe it proper to reduce taxes at this time, for the American people have carried a tremendous burden for the past few years—a burden of taxation which must be charged to the war. We cannot, however, sensibly extend the functions of the Federal Government and its expenditures into new and unexplored fields and at the same time take away revenues from the Government—that is, we cannot do so with good sense and good judgment. The Government is operating today, that is the Federal Government, in the red. We are already spending more than we are taking in and at best, guesses are that the budget will not be balanced for several years. Our Federal debt has reached its legal limit, or practically so. Simple arithmetic should compel all of us to forego either additional expenditures or reduction of taxes. There is only one place that the Government may get money to spend and that is by taxing the people. If the proposed program is carried out effectively, its cost may well run into billions. Unquestionably, it will open up new fields of Federal activity and new obligations for Federal spending.

Mr. Speaker, so that the House may have a summary of Federal aid programs, for 1953, as well as a short history of Federal aid, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed at the conclusion of my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there any objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LYLE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. DOLLIVER. The gentleman has referred, I believe, to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Mr. LYLE. Yes.

Mr. DOLLIVER. The subject to which the gentleman alluded a moment ago has been the subject of discussion in the Commission, and that Commission has recognized, I believe not formally but informally, that this function is not a legislative function but is an investigatory and reporting function.

Mr. LYLE. I look forward to a report from the Commission. I am pleased that my distinguished friend from Iowa is a member of the Commission. We came to the Congress together and I have developed a great admiration and respect for him. I know that his contribution to the Commission will be considerable. It is because of the stature of the Commission that I look forward to its report.

Mr. Speaker, if this bill is but a gesture, then it is a cruel gesture, for it might very well stimulate hopes that are unfounded. The amount of money authorized although considerable, is by no means adequate to provide facilities throughout the Nation. If it is intended to be a WPA-type project, then it should be designated as such, for I am sure that the Congress would want to have more information concerning the present economic situation before it would authorize Federal spending to stimulate the economy. I am surprised at the haste with which the Republicans are pushing through measures heretofore thought to be purely democratic policies. It was suggested to me, in jest I am sure, recently, that the Republican Party was in the position of being "secondhand dealers" this year, that is, that they were selling used legislation heretofore handled by the so-called Fair and New Deal. Unquestionably, legislation previously handled by a Democratic Congress and recommended by a Democratic President in large measure met with great public approval, but I am not able to understand the basic arithmetic of the present administration which seems to by trying to outdo the Democratic Party in the enactment and reenactment of legislation which will cost billions and at the same time advocate drastic reductions in the Government's revenues. News reports indicate that the President is not in favor of the tax bill which we will pass tomorrow, but he has decided to permit it to pass the House and to try

to change it in the other body. Other press reports of even date quote the distinguished majority leader, Mr. HALLECK, as saying that it is part of the President's program. Of course, you and I realize how hard it is to have a program that shows any resemblance to promises made in the heat of a political campaign, particularly when those promises lead people to believe that the Republican Party they elected would institute an entirely new program. So we will not attempt to hold the Republican administration to political promises. We do have a duty, however, to insist that new programs costing hundreds of millions of dollars be held in abeyance until proper financing is in sight.

There are thousands of projects and hundreds of ways in which we may spend the funds of the Federal Government that would bring benefit and joy to the American people. Most of them, though, are not rightful and proper functions of our Federal Government, nor do we have the billions of dollars available for expenditure, and the only way we can get them is to tax the people. We cannot cut taxes and increase Federal spending at one and the same time; that is, we cannot do so with good conscience, good sense, and good judgment. This bill comes before us at an inopportune time. If this program had been proposed during the administration of either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Truman there would have been loud and anguished cries from all sides of "socialized medicine" and "creeping socialism." Actually, I think the cries would have been "galloping socialism." We cannot inaugurate this program without subjecting the Federal Government to the pleas for aid in many other fields in which the State and local governments are deficient. Shall we help build institutions for the insane? Have we fully discharged our responsibilities to the veterans? Rarely a day passes but that someone calls me about a veteran who has lost his sense of reason and is necessarily incarcerated in a jail because the veterans hospitals have no bed available. Mr. Speaker, if we seek ways to spend money, there are thousands of appealing projects. This bill makes good political sense, but it does not make for good government. Its present consideration violates fundamental principles.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

A SUMMARY HISTORY OF FEDERAL AID

(Prepared by the staff of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations)

SUMMARY

1. Federal spending for the purpose of aiding States and localities is divided into three categories: Grant-in-aid, shared revenues, and loans and repayable advances. Spending for the latter two is minor in comparison with grant-in-aid spending. Eighty-two percent of the total grant-in-aid expenditure is devoted to six programs.

2. The history of Federal aid falls into three periods on the basis of the dominant object of Federal expenditure. During the first period—from 1785 to World War I—education and agriculture were dominant; from World War I to the depression—highway construction; from the depression to the present day—welfare.

3. The modern grant-in-aid system developed in the late 19th and the early 20th century. Grants-in-aid evolved from land grants to cash grants, from "single shot" to annual payments. Federal control was increased, and financial participation by the States through matching formulae emerged.

4. Federal-aid spending increased substantially during three periods in the present century: The period of the First World War, the depression, and the postwar years since 1946. Only during World War II was there any substantial reversal of the general trend toward rising expenditures for Federal aid.

In the pages which follow, the concept of Federal aid to States and localities employed by the Bureau of the Budget has been adopted. The Bureau regards as Federal aid any outlays by the National Government made to the States or localities on programs which are administered by these units, as well as outlays made on programs in which the cost is shared by Federal and State or local governments. Outlays include either a donation or a loan of money, or a donation of goods, but exclude the rendering of services. Some programs in which the National Government makes payments to State agencies and to private organizations on the same terms are included, such as the hospital survey and construction program and the school-lunch program, in both of which administration of Federal aid rests generally with State authorities. Other programs involving payments to State agencies are excluded on the ground that the Federal payment constitutes compensation for services rendered to the National Government.

Among payments excluded for this reason are grants for research to State agencies, payments for housing Federal prisoners, and payments for the schooling of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict.

The Bureau of the Budget divides Federal aid into three categories: Grants-in-aid, shared revenues, and loans and repayable advances. Of the three, grants-in-aid in 1952 absorbed $2,392,957,000; shared revenue, $38,104,000, and net loans and repayable advances, $172,659,000. (The Bureau of the Budget regards as aid only the excess of loans over repayments in any given year. Gross loans for 1952 totaled $664,563,000.)

Major grant-in-aid items: The following six programs represented 82 percent of the total national expenditure classified as grant-in-aid spending in 1952:

	Percent
Public assistance	45
Highways	17
Unemployment compensation	8
Hospital construction	5
School construction and operation in defense, affected areas	4
School lunch program	3

Major shared revenues: Under only three of the programs classified as shared revenues did the National Government make payments in excess of $1 million to States and localities in 1952: The Mineral Leasing Act, the national forests fund, the land-grant fund payments to the counties of California and Oregon.

Loans and repayable advances: $622 million of the $664 million of gross loans and advances in 1952 were made under the United States Housing Act. The second largest item in the classification of loans was $25 million expended by the civil defense agency procurement fund.

FEDERAL AID TO STATES DOWN TO THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR I

Although the modern system of Federal aid to the States did not evolve fully until the period of the First World War, national assistance to the States goes back to the years when our Federal system rested upon the shaky foundation of the Articles of Confederation. In 1785 the Congress laid down the policy of granting federally owned land to each State admitted to the Union for the purpose of establishing and maintaining an educational system. Throughout the 19th century this policy constituted the most enduring feature of the spasmodic program of Federal aid. From the time of the admission of Ohio in 1802, each new State received its grant of the public domain for the support of its school system.

Education was not the only State activity which benefited from Federal assistance in our early history. As the 19th century wore on, grants were made for internal improvements—for the construction of means of communication, such as canals, wagon roads, and, later, railroads, and for flood control and reclamation.

On occasion the Federal Government made cash grants to the States. The largest such grant was carried out under the Surplus Distribution Act of 1836 in a transaction which transferred $28 million from National to State treasuries. Ostensibly, these transfers were loans, but, even at the time of the distribution, there was no expectation that the loans would ever be repaid. Beginning in 1808 the Congress made a small appropriation for the purpose of arming and equipping the militia of the several States.

An indirect but highly important form of Federal aid at the very beginning of our national history, was the assumption by the Federal Government of the debts contracted by the States as a consequence of the prosecution of the Revolutionary War. The National Government took upon itself liability for more than $18 million of existing State debt, thereby swelling its total indebtedness to $75 million. The burden that this debt assumption entailed can be gaged by the fact that annual Federal revenues at the time were approximately $4½ million. The State debt which was transferred, then, was four times the annual income of the National Government.

Beginnings of the modern grant-in-aid

The Morrill Act of 1862 foreshadowed the modern grant-in-aid system. By its terms, each State received 30,000 acres of the public domain for each Senator and Representative which it sent to Congress—an endowment to be used for the support of the State's college of agricultural and mechanical arts. Unlike earlier examples of national financial aid to States, this legislation laid down several controls relating to the use to be made of the gift. The law provided that only the interest derived from funds realized through the sale of the land might be spent. It required the submission of annual reports by the States to appropriate Federal officers regarding the use of the funds and the progress of the educational institutions supported by these funds. The law further stipulated that money realized through these grants could not be spent for buildings, thereby assuring complementary expenditure by the States in order to provide the needed structures.

Down to the close of the 19th-century grants of the public domain to the States constituted the usual form of Federal aid. In all, the National Government conferred upon the States approximately 15 percent of its total land holdings. Any precise calculation of the financial value of these grants is impossible. Although the data are somewhat incomplete, it is clear that the lion's share of Federal aid through the 19th century was devoted to the field of education. Of 230 million acres of public land granted to the States by the National Government, over 130 million were earmarked for the support of common schools in the States which received the donations.

The policy of making annual cash payments to States, rather than lump-sum grants of land, begun with the Hatch Act of 1887 extending aid for agricultural experi-

ment stations, was firmly established in 1890 with the passage of the second Morrill Act. By this law, Congress began to make available an annual payment to the States for instructional purposes in the land-grant colleges. This act tightened Federal control over State activity to some degree by specifically authorizing Federal officials to withhold the payments it authorized when State authorities failed to make proper use of the Federal funds.

The Morrill Act may be regarded as aid for agriculture as well as for education. To qualify for the Federal donation offered by this law, a State was required to maintain a college pursuing as its "leading objects * * * such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." In a sense the act inaugurated a period of Federal aid in which agriculture became the dominant object. It was followed by the Hatch Act of 1887 providing Federal funds for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with State agricultural colleges. A further major step in the history of Federal aid came with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 under which the National Government began to share the cost of the far-flung program of agricultural extension work.

Further development of the grant-in-aid

On the eve of World War I the characteristics of the modern grant-in-aid system emerged clearly in two pieces of legislation: one, the Weeks Act of 1911, offering Federal assistance to States for the purpose of fire protection of certain forested areas, was relatively unimportant because of the restricted scope and small expenditure involved. It contained, however, requirements that later became standard features of grant-in-aid legislation, providing for a matching of Federal dollars with dollars from State treasuries and requiring Federal approval of State projects to which Federal funds would be devoted. The Smith-Lever Act contains provisions analogous to those of the Weeks Act and established, in addition, a formula based on rural population by which Federal funds were to be allotted to the individual States. Although later years were to bring some refinement of techniques in the grant-in-aid programs, the essential elements of the present-day system are found in these two laws.

In summary, down to the time of the First World War, the program of Federal aid developed in many respects. Land grants were replaced by cash grants. Continuing programs of Federal assistance tended to replace the "single shot" type of Federal aid that prevailed before the enactment of the Hatch Act in 1887. Federal control over the use of Federal funds was tightened, first by more definite specification of the object for which the funds were to be spent and later by a measure of Federal surveillance of State projects supported by the grants. The financing of federally aided projects became a cooperative enterprise after the National Government began to require that the States match its contributions with appropriations from their own revenues. Finally, formulae were developed, generally related to population, by which a State's relative part of the Federal funds was determined.

The whole period from 1785 to World War I can be lumped together as a single era in the history of Federal aid to States because the dominant objects of Federal assistance remained the same: education and agriculture.

FEDERAL AID BETWEEN WORLD WAR I AND THE DEPRESSION

The enactment of the Federal Aid Road Act in 1916 signaled the beginning of a new era in the history of Federal assistance to States. From this time on, the volume of assistance granted for highway construction far exceeded that extended for other purposes. Further, with this legislation (particularly with the amendments made to it in 1921), the Federal Government began to apply more careful and thorough-going scrutiny to the projects on which grant-in-aid funds were applied. One author has written, "The highway grants were, indeed, the first sort of Federal aid to be thoroughly supervised and administered. Advance examination of projects, detailed progress reports, audit of expenditures, careful examination of the finished work to ensure that plans had been followed and that there was proper maintenance—all the techniques of good administration were utilized." (James A. Maxwell, The Fiscal Impact of Federalism in the United States, p. 187.)

Every year between 1916 and 1921 except one brought the adoption of legislation extending Federal aid to new fields of activity. In 1917, the Smith-Hughes Act provided assistance to States in paying the salaries of teachers of vocational education; 1918 brought aid for programs to combat venereal disease; 1920, for the rehabilitation of persons injured in industrial accidents; and 1921, for maternal and child health.

In general, the decade of the 1920's saw a stabilization of the grant-in-aid system. After 1921 no new programs of importance were introduced. The established aid programs, other than highways, showed only minor variations in the amount of assistance appropriated. During the latter half of the decade, expenditures on grants-in-aid diminished moderately, from $113 million in 1925 to $109 million in 1929. This decrease resulted from a curtailment of aid for highways and public health. Although grants to alleviate the chronic troubles of the farmer were augmented during these years, this increase was more than offset by the reduction in expenditure for highways, venereal disease control, and maternal and child health.

Depression first made its imprint on the grant-in-aid program in the fiscal year of 1931 when the total volume of Federal aid increased greatly in relation to any previous level. The fiscal year of 1931 registered a 50-percent increase in Federal-aid spending over the level of 1930, attributable almost exclusively to more generous grants for highways. In order that the highway construction program made possible by higher Federal appropriations might not be jeopardized by the matching requirement, the National Government authorized loans of approximately $200 million (chiefly from the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) to the States for the purpose of matching the Federal grants. These loans, never repaid, were the harbinger of the relaxation of the matching requirement and the assumption by the Federal Government of a greater share of financial responsibility in its aid program than had been its habit in more prosperous times.

FEDERAL AID FROM THE DEPRESSION TO DATE

The past 20 years constitute one epoch in the history of Federal aid inasmuch as during these years welfare expenditures have consistently comprised the major object of the Federal aid programs.

Grants for welfare, health, and security—almost nonexistent until the period of World War I—remained below $2 million annually throughout the 1920's. In fiscal 1931 an abrupt increase in welfare grants appeared. Those for 1931 were treble those of 1930; those of 1932 in turn trebled those of 1931. Such advances are minor, however, in comparison with the increases that were to follow. Fiscal 1934 brought Federal grants for welfare, health, and security 30 times greater than those of the preceding year. At the threshold of this 20-year era from 1933, the National Government expended $63 million in grants of this type; by 1952 such grants aggregated $1½ billion after receding from their high point of $2⅛ billion in 1939.

Although constituting one period from the point of view of the dominant object of Federal aid, the past 20 years can be subdivided if the grant program is considered from other points of view. In order to put in relief some of the important changes witnessed during this span of years, we can divide the period into three parts: (1) The depression years, 1933 to 1941; (2) the war years, 1941 to 1946; (3) the postwar years, 1946 to the present.

The depression years, 1933 to 1941

The principal concern of the Federal Government in the formulation of its aid program during this time was providing relief for the distress resulting from economic depression. The National Government provided funds on a scale heretofore unparalleled to furnish both work relief and direct relief to the unemployed. Throughout this period the proportion of Federal expenditure devoted to grants to State and local governments exceeded by far the proportion attained in any earlier period of our history. Each year between 1933 and 1939, over 10 percent of the funds spent by the National Government were employed on grants-in-aid programs. In 1935 better than one-third of the total Federal expenditure was allotted to such programs.

A new type of grant-in-aid system sprang into existence during the depression. Temporary laws were enacted authorizing the expenditure of vast sums to provide relief through, or in conjunction with, State and local governments on terms that permitted great administrative flexibility. Matching requirements became vaguer and more often left for determination to the discretion of the Federal administrative agency concerned. Under these laws the National Government often made grants directly to cities and other subdivisions of the States without any participation by State agencies in the bargain.

During the early part of this period the grant-in-aid programs established prior to the depression almost disappeared in the flurry of the temporary and emergency programs that were hastily improvised. Between 1933 and 1937 Federal expenditure for emergency grant programs was well in excess of that for the permanent programs. In 1933, 72 percent of Federal grant-in-aid spending was accomplished under the laws providing for emergency grants; in 1935 this percentage rose to 98 percent.

In 1935, however, the most significant piece of legislation in the whole field of Federal aid was passed—the Social Security Act. It defined the field of responsibility which the National Government henceforth was to assume in the work of alleviating distress by means of financial assistance to State governments. In all of its coverages, except the old age and survivors' insurance program, the Social Security Act relies on the grant-in-aid device, matching Federal money with State appropriations and prescribing Federal control and supervision of State-administered programs.

In terms of volume of expenditure, the public assistance feature of the Social Security Act far outweights its other programs. In the category of public assistance the law provided originally for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children; by amendments tacked on to the law in 1950 a fourth type of public assistance was added—aid to the permanently and totally disabled. The Social Security Act further established programs for assistance for crippled children, for child welfare, and laid the basis for the cooperative Federal-State undertaking in the field of unemployment compensation.

Down to the outbreak of World War II, no important additions to the program of Federal aid were made. By piecemeal legislation, however, the Federal Government began to provide more substantial assistance for a number of the preexisting programs,

notably vocational rehabilitation, forest-fire protection and reforestation, and vocational education.

The war years, 1941 to 1946

The most significant development during this time was the tapering off of Federal expenditure under grant-in-aid programs. The total expenditure, which reached its high-water mark of $2,900,000,000 in 1939, ebbed away to $2,400,000,000 in 1940, $2,100,000,000 in 1941, and finally down to $900 million in 1946—its lowest point since 1933.

In major part, this reduction must be attributed to the frantic level of economic activity engendered by the war. To some small degree the reduction was the result of the assumption by the Federal Government of sole responsibility for functions discharged in cooperation with the States under peacetime conditions.

The exigencies of war called for the establishment of certain new temporary-grant programs, chiefly for the purpose of assuring an adequate supply of labor ready to take up a job when it was needed and where it was needed. With this objective, the Federal Government offered aid for the construction of war housing and for the training of industrial workers, and for the transportation of agricultural labor to areas in which it was needed. The highway program took on a new aspect as Federal spending for this purpose was governed almost exclusively by requirements of national defense.

The postwar years, 1946 to the present

A steep climb has taken place in the volume of Federal grants since the end of World War II. From $900 million in 1946, Federal spending under the grant-in-aid program had increased to $2,400,000,000 by 1952.

The closing stages of the war and the postwar period witnessed the establishment of several additional grant-in-aid programs. Of 51 grant-in-aid programs listed in a compilation prepared by the Library of Congress in 1952, 29 had been set in motion since 1944. Most of these new programs involve relatively minor expenditure. A few, however, notably the school-lunch program, contributions for school construction in federally affected areas, the grants for hospital survey and construction, involve rather substantial spending. In addition to these programs the Federal Government, in the postwar period, has launched upon an expanded program of grants for public health, for the abatement of water pollution, protection against shore erosion, for civil defense, among others.

The increase in Federal-aid spending is due chiefly to increased appropriations for public assistance and for highway construction. Expenditures in 1952 for grants-in-aid were $1½ billion greater than those of 1946; two-thirds of this increase, $1 billion, lies in the larger appropriation for public assistance. The Federal Government has assumed a proportionately greater financial burden in providing public assistance by virtue of changes in the formulas by which public assistance grants to the States are governed, and in lesser degree, by virtue of the incorporation of a fourth type of program in the public-assistance category in 1950.

THE SHIFT OF EMPHASIS IN FEDERAL AID

Down to the time of World War I, the dominant objects of Federal aid were education and agriculture. After the passage of the second Morrill Act in 1890, the largest single Federal expenditure for aid programs (omitting the annual contribution for the District of Columbia) was devoted to land-grant colleges. In 1902 land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations together received two-thirds of the Federal money expended on programs of this character (again disregarding the contributions for the District of Columbia) and by 1912 their share had risen almost to four-fifths of the total of such expenditures.

Between 1920 and 1933 aid to highways absorbed at least 50 percent of Federal grant-in-aid money for each year for which data are available. During most of this period the share allotted to highways ranged from 60 percent to 75 percent of the total. In 1933 the regular Federal grants for highways amounted to 50 percent. If we add to these regular grants, highway expenditures of an emergency nature—chiefly loans to States which were never repaid—the total becomes 75 percent.

From 1934 on, grant-in-aid expenditure becomes predominantly expenditure for health and welfare. Between 1935 and 1939, the percentages of total grant-in-aid spending devoted to these objects hovered around 90 percent. It declined thereafter, ranging from 80 to 90 percent from 1939 to 1941, receded to approximately 60 percent in 1945 and to 50 percent in 1947. Thereafter it rose to approximately 60 percent—the level at which it has remained in the years down to the present.

THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL-AID SPENDING

The last 50 years have witnessed an increase of 360 times in the dollar volume of Federal grants-in-aid to States and localities. In 1902 the National Treasury paid out some $7 million in aid; by 1952 expenditures in this category had reached $2,600,000,000. Total Federal expenditure for all purposes has increased approximately 116 times during this period, or at one-third the rate of growth registered by grant-in-aid spending.

The growth has not been steady. There have been three periods of substantial increase in Federal-air spending. The aftermath of World War I saw a level of spending 10 times greater than that of the pre-war period. The depression was the second period of substantial increase, reaching its apogee in 1939. After the reduction in Federal-air spending in World War II came the third notable increase, a trebling of expenditures in the period between 1946–52.

At the present time, Federal-aid spending has again reached the high point of the depression era attained in 1939. The relative share of Federal money devoted to the respective objects of Federal aid is, however, significantly different from the pattern of 1939. Of the five major categories into which Federal-aid spending falls, only welfare expenditures are today substantially below the 1939 level. Grants-in-aid for agriculture are at about the same amount as in the prewar era. Grants for highways and for labor have increased 3 times; grants for education, 5 times. Welfare expenditures which amounted to $2½ billion in 1939 stood at $1½ billion in 1952. In 1939 they constituted approximately 80 percent of the total volume of Federal-aid spending; in 1952, they made up 50 percent.

If we leave out of consideration the temporary and emergency grants established to cope with the problems of depression and war and look only at the permanent grants-in-aid program, we find a pattern of growth somewhat different from that discerned in the grants-in-aid program as a whole. The permanent grants have been subject to less frequent and less violent fluctuation. Greater stability is found among them. The regular grants-in-aid program evidences the post-World War I increase already noted. (Until the 1930's the total grants-in-aid program and the permanent grants-in-aid program were the same. Emergency grants first appeared on a substantial scale in the depression years.) Throughout the 1920's and the first half of the thirties, it shows great stability except for 2 years in which appropriations under the permanent grants-in-aid program were replaced almost completely by emergency grants. An increase in expenditure under the regular program began in 1937, when the Social Security Act first showed its effects and continued steadily until America became involved in World War II. The war years brought only a mild dip in spending under the permanent programs in contrast to the sharp decline in emergency grants. Their upward climb was resumed in 1946 and has continued steadily since that time.

REVISED LIST OF ALL FEDERAL-AID PROGRAMS, FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1953, PREPARED BY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

GRANTS-IN-AID

A. Veterans' services and benefits

1. VA: Aid to State homes.
2. VA: State supervision of schools and training establishments.
3. VA: Administration of unemployment and self-employment benefits.

Total expenditures, $6,326,000.

B. Social security, welfare, and health

4. HEW: Public assistance.
5. HEW: Vocational rehabilitation.
6. HEW: Hospital construction (portion to private nonprofit institutions).
7. HEW: Surveys and programs for hospital construction.
8. HEW: Assistance to States, general public health.
9. HEW: Control of venereal diseases.
10. HEW: Control of tuberculosis.
11. HEW: Mental-health activities.
12. HEW: National Heart Institute.
13. HEW: National Cancer Institute.
14. HEW: Maternal and child welfare.
15. HEW: Disease and sanitation control, Alaska.
16. HEW: Water-pollution control.
17. HEW: Defense community facilities and services.
18. HEW–Agriculture: National school-lunch program.

Total expenditures, $1,608,966,539.

C. Housing and community development

19. President: Disaster relief.
20. H and HFA: Low-rent housing program annual contributions.
21. H and HFA: Veterans reuse housing.
22. H and HFA: Slum clearance and urban redevelopment-capital grant.
23. H and HFA: Defense community facilities and services.
24. H and HFA–GSA: Defense public works, community facilities.
25. H and HFA–Interior: Virgin Islands public works.
26. H and HFA–Interior: Alaska public works.
27. H and HFA–FCDA: Federal contributions.

Total expenditures, $66,481,081.

D. Education and general research

28. HEW: Assistance for school construction and operation in federally affected areas—maintenance and operation of schools.
29. HEW: School construction.
30. HEW: Vocational education.
31. HEW: Colleges for agriculture and the mechanic arts.
32. HEW: Education of the blind.

Total expenditures, $230,958,725.

E. Agriculture and agricultural resources

33. Agr.: Removal of surplus agricultural commodities.
34. Agr.: Cooperative agricultural extension work.
35. Agr.: Agricultural experiment stations.
36. Agricultural Marketing Act: cooperative projects in marketing.

Total expenditures, $97,336,506.

F. Natural resources

37. Agr.: State and private forestry cooperation.
38. Int.: Wildlife restoration.
39. Int.: Fish restoration and management.

Total expenditures, $22,771,000.

G. Transportation and communication

40. Comm.: State Marine schools.
41. Comm.: Postwar Federal-aid highways.
42. Comm.: Prior Federal-aid highways laws.
43. Comm.: War and emergency damage, roads, Hawaii.
44. Comm.: Federal-aid airport program.

Total expenditures, $527,903,428.

H. Labor

45. Labor: Unemployment compensation and employment-service administration.

Total expenditures, $202,170,388.

I. General Government (not assigned)

46. Int.: Grants to American Samoa, Guam, and Trust Territories.
47. Int.: District of Columbia Federal contributions.

Total expenditures, $18,161,000.

Total grants-in-aid, $2,781,074,667.

SHARED REVENUES

A. Agriculture and agricultural resources

48. Agr.: Submarginal land program.

Total expenditures, $448,452.

B. Natural resources

49. FPC: Federal Power Act.
50. Int.: Grazing receipts to the States.
51. Int.: Proceeds, to States, sales of public lands and materials.
52. Int.: Alaska school lands, income and proceeds.
53. Int.: Boulder Canyon Project, payments to Arizona and Nevada.
54. Int.: Oregon and California land-grant fund, to counties.
55. Int.: Deficiency payments to counties, Oregon and California.
56. Int.: Payments to Coos and Douglas Counties, Oregon, on Coos Bay Wagon Road grant lands.
57. Int.: Payments to Oklahoma from oil and gas royalties.
58. Int.: Mineral Leasing Act, to States.
59. Int.: Payment to Wyoming in lieu of taxes, public parks.
60. Int.: Migratory Bird Conservation Act, to counties.
61. Agr.: National forests fund, to States for counties.
62. Agr.: National forest receipts to Arizona and New Mexico for schools.
63. Defense: Flood control act of 1938, to States for counties.
64. TVA: Payments in lieu of Taxes.

Total expenditures, $50,369,854.

Total shared revenues, $50,817,906.

LOANS AND REPAYABLE ADVANCES

Gross loans and repayable advances:

A. Housing and community development

65. H and HFA: United States Housing Act.
66. H and HFA: Advance planning of non-Federal public works.
67. H and HFA: Defense community facilities and services.
68. H and HFA: Slum clearance and urban redevelopment.
69. Treas. (RFC): Provision of community facilities.
70. FCDA: Procurement fund.
71. Int.: Alaska public works.

B. General Government

72. H and HFA: D. C. water system loans.

Collections credited against expenditures:

73. H and HFA: United States Housing Act.
74. H and HFA: Advance planning of non-Federal public works.
75. H and HFA: Defense community facilities and services.
76. H and HFA: Slum clearance and urban redevelopment.
77. Treas. (RFC): Provision of community facilities.
78. FCDA: Procurement fund.

Net budget expenditures for loans and repayable advances, $25,402,519.

Grand total, grants-in-aid, shared revenues, loans and repayable advances, $2,657,295,092.

Source: United States Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President. All figures shown are actual for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953. Administrative expenses in the handling of grants, etc., are excluded.

CODE

Agr.: Department of Agriculture.
Comm.: Department of Commerce.
Def.: Department of Defense.
FPC: Federal Power Commission.
GSA: General Services Administration.
HEW: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
HEW-Agr.: Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Department of Agriculture.
HEW-GSA: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and General Services Administration.
H and HFA: Housing and Home Finance Agency.
H and HFA-FCDA: Housing and Home Finance Agency and Federal Civil Defense Administration.
H and HFA-GSA: Housing and Home Finance Agency and General Services Administration.
H and HFA-Int.: Housing and Home Finance Agency and Department of Interior.
Labor: Department of Labor.
Pres.: Executive Office of the President.
Treas. (RFC): Treasury (Reconstruction Finance Corporation).
TVA: Tennessee Valley Authority.
VA: Veterans' Administration.
VA-GSA: Veterans' Administration and General Services Administration.

Can We Save the Army Base?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the preservation of the Army base at Boston, Mass., a Government facility, is of vital importance to the people and to the port of Boston.

I include in my remarks a splendid editorial, Can We Save the Army Base? appearing in the Hyde Park Tribune of March 4, 1954, effectively stating the case for the appropriation of funds by the Federal Government to make the necessary repairs.

The editorial follows:

CAN WE SAVE THE ARMY BASE?

In its proposed abandonment of the pier facilities at the Army base in Boston Harbor, the Department of the Army indicates that it no longer considers the port of Boston essential as a port of embarkation in times of war, or necessary to its peacetime operations in the movement of military supplies.

The abandonment would cause loss of commercial wharving facilities which now handles between 250 to 300 ships annually, with a cargo volume of from 250,000 to 900,000 tons annually. It would result in a serious economic loss to the port, in its effect on those directly or indirectly benefiting through its operations. It would prove a severe setback for our able port authorities, who have been striving to return the port of Boston to a deserved place of eminence as a shipping center. Its abandonment would not only prove a deterrent to shipping interests, it would have its adverse effects on all industrial concerns throughout New England whose products or manufacturing materials are (or could be induced to be) exported or imported through the port of Boston. It would seriously affect all concerns whose operations are connected directly or indirectly with the shipping interests of the port.

In spite of its excellent harbor, its strategic location (in round-trip terms it is two days nearer European ports than any other Atlantic port), the port of Boston has not prospered of late years as a shipping center. Discriminatory freight differentials, an unfavorable labor situation with regard to the discharge of cargoes, and perhaps other causes, have caused the port to suffer in loss of shipping. Under present port administration, many of the unfavorable aspects have been or are in prospect of being eliminated. Only this past month, labor differences were satisfactorily resolved in the establishment of a five-man commission, acceptable to both management and labor, which is operating successfully.

Thus, at a time when matters were "looking up" for the port of Boston, a prospect which brightened the economic outlook for the entire New England area, there comes this disappointing blow from the Department of the Army.

This brings us to the point of asking why? Is it merely the matter of a ten to twelve million dollar budget request on the part of the Army to cover the cost of the rehabilitation of the present facilities, or is it that the Army is intent on forsaking the port of Boston as no longer essential to their war or peacetime operations. If this is indeed the Army's stand, then something new in the way of wartime shipment or transportation of troops and materials must be in the making, for otherwise the obvious advantages of Boston as a port of embarkation cannot well be disputed.

In a recent study by port authorities on the need of the Boston army base pier in national emergencies, some of the findings were as follows:

1. It is conceded that outports are needed as ports of embarkation.

2. It is conceded that Boston is an excellent location for a port of embarkation, as demonstrated during World War II.

3. The Boston army base pier is the only pier in Boston suitable for use as a port of embarkation, for the following reasons:

(a) Its approach is not through congested districts.

(b) It has substantial railroad advantages—direct tracks from main lines; ample room for cars in supporting yards—five yard-State yards with a capacity for 2,000 cars, the Readville yard, 5,000 cars; and the terminal yard, 100 cars.

It has the following advantages for trucks: Direct approach from main highways; room on Summer Street for waiting periods; room in terminal yards for 100 trucks; quay type of pier allowing delivery from street to pier shed by not entering shed; ample office and warehouse space.

It has definite advantages in working vessels: Shipside tracks, both single and double, allow direct loading; quay type pier allows flexibility in handling vessels, working fore and aft in berths; gantry cranes always have auxiliary loading power available.

Citing the need for the army base piers for commercial operations, the study reported:

1. Shortage of pier space in Boston Harbor—new construction has only replaced active berths—not added new ones.

2. The army base pier supplies a real need as it has 8 full-sized berths, shed berths of 90,000 square feet and open berth of 55,000 square feet.

3. The Army base pier has a special advantage over other piers, as large shed berths and open delivery space allows handling of large wool cargoes and continental Europe cargoes. Shipside tracks allow working vessel to or from cars. It is the only pier in harbor with double shipside tracks allowing full setup of cars for work without shifting. Gantry cranes allow shipside handling of bulk cargoes of iron, scrap steel, etc. It is the only pier in Boston Harbor with shipside warehouse space.

The above considerations are particularly stressed in indicating the immense importance of the army base pier to commercial shipping interests of the port of Boston. The loss of the present army base piers cannot be reasonably replaced by commercial interests or financing. Authoritative advices indicate that the only way the army base piers can be rehabilitated for operational use commercially, and for defense use in times of national emergency, is for the Army Department to include the cost of rehabilitation of the pier structure in its forthcoming budget requests. Indications are that this is going to take powerful argument by those who are in a position to make the argument—namely, our elected officials in Washington. However, these officials, including Congressman JOHN W. MCCORMACK who is one of those foremost in fighting for the retention of the army base pier facilities, need support—our support. All persons interested in the economic well-being of the city of Boston and the Commonwealth, and that should include every taxpayer, is urged to wire or write our Representatives in Washington, indicating an insistance that the pier facilities at the army base in Boston Harbor be retained and maintained—not merely in the interests of our local economy, but in the national interests, as a port of embarkation which it surely would be in time of war.

Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN E. LYLE, JR.
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. LYLE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, the only reason that taxation properly comes up in this discussion is to point out the ridiculous position that many of us are in. As I recall, in the 80th Congress, we made taxes permanent with the promise that we would look into them, with the hope of revising them. I believe the Republicans were then in control of the Congress. As far as I know, no further effort was made to look into the matter.

We are going to have another look, I do not know when, but I hope it will be before this session is over.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot escape the soundness of this proposition: We cannot give to the American people everything we would like for them to have, everything they would like to have and at the same time on the next day, the next week, or the next month, cut taxes. It is not realistic. It does not make sense. We cannot appoint commissions and brag about the great work they are going to do, and then make their decisions and recommendations moot because we move out long before we have any recommendations to work on. We must be realistic. We cannot be forever political and forever seeking to perpetuate ourselves in office. Of course, it is desirable to build the hospitals and the homes that this bill provides; of course, it is desirable. However, the Government can get money from only one place, the people of America through a tax system. Promising year after year to look into the revision of taxes to make them fair, then to come here year after year with a purely arbitrary decision as to the amount of money we need, without regard to whether the taxes are fairly distributed or not, just does not make for fairness.

You cannot, Mr. Speaker, I emphasize again, promise and deliver to the American people everything they want and cut their taxes. It just will not work, sir. It violates, and not without impunity, basic arithmetic.

St. Lawrence: Key to City's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks, I am enclosing an editorial entitled "St. Lawrence: Key to City's Future," from the Monday, March 8 issue of the Cleveland Press.

This paper has been edited for 28 years by Mr. Louis B. Seltzer. Here is the editorial:

This is the year of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The big, bold project that will put Cleveland on the mainstream of ocean commerce is about to become a reality.

Within 5 years, great ships from the 4 corners of the earth should come steaming to our port.

If the lessons of history are any guide, the potential impact on the midcontinent staggers the imagination.

Cleveland and her sister cities, Ohio, and its neighbors, stand on the doorstep of a new era of opportunity, prosperity, and development.

Aside from the energy and enterprise of its citizens, there is no greater single factor in the future of Cleveland than the seaway.

What should Cleveland do to meet this challenge of destiny?

How can every Clevelander win maximum benefit from one of mankind's mightiest engineering achievements?

These questions illuminate the most vital and significant news story of this community today.

As a major public service, the editors of the Press plan to present all aspects and ramifications of this historic development.

For weeks, teams of reporters and photographers have been traveling thousands of miles, gathering information and pictures which will make the scope and magnitude of the seaway vividly alive for all Clevelanders.

It is a story of adventure—Cleveland men, money, and machines carving a new iron ore empire out of the Labrador wilderness—ore that will soon feed the hungry blast furnaces of our basic steel industry.

It is a story of jobs and better living—the benefits that ocean commerce showers on its favored cities.

It is a global story—since the seaway will open vast new markets for the products of Cleveland's industrial genius.

Let's go and see the story unfold.

Starting today, the Press will provide its readers with a grandstand seat to one of the most vital dramas of modern history.

Read Julian Griffin's authoritative report from Ottawa that first work on the seaway's completion will start in 2 months.

And come back tomorrow for the story of Reporter Richard McLaughlin and Photographer James Thomas—first newsmen to travel the new railroad built through virgin wilderness to tap the multibillion dollar Labrador ore lode.

Mr. Speaker, I am also including an article in the same issue of the Cleveland Press by Julian Griffin, who for the past 25 years was employed by the Cleveland Press, and for many years has served as marine editor there.

The article is as follows:

CANADA BEGINS SEAWAY IN MAY—PROJECT TO BRING WORLD SHIPPING TO CLEVELAND'S DOOR

(By Julian Griffin)

OTTAWA, March 8.—Construction of the St. Lawrence seaway, which will make Cleveland a world shipping port, will begin in May.

Within 5 years, the way will be clear for more than 80 percent of the world's ocean-going cargo ships and passenger liners to enter Lake Erie.

These facts were spelled out by high Canadian officials in a series of exclusive interviews with the Press in this historic capital of the Maple Leaf Dominion.

The Canadian top brass are straining at the leash, awaiting congressional action in Washington. The Senate has approved United States participation in the channel and power project and the House may vote on it this month.

But Canada is prepared to move ahead now—with or without our cooperation—to complete the engineering task which rivals the Panama and Suez Canal construction jobs.

The Canadians expect the seaway to spark development of their vast interior to the same extent that the growth of the United States was spurred by the Erie Canal and the transcontinental railroads.

WILL AID OHIO, MIDWEST

They anticipate a similar dramatic impact on the economy of the United States—particularly Ohio and the other Great Lakes States.

Actually, the seaway already is nine-tenths completed.

Final work required to open the lake to all but the largest ocean liners is removal of the 115-mile bottleneck between Ogdensburg, N. Y., and Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. This would provide a 27-foot channel from Duluth, Minn., to the Atlantic Ocean, a distance of 2,347 miles.

The United States Senate has approved spending some $100 million on this country's portion of the job.

An allied phase is a $600 million power project to develop 2,200,000 kilowatt from the International Rapids. The State of New York and the Province of Ontario have agreed to finance this project equally. Opponents have 90 days in which to take it to the United States Supreme Court.

"If Congress passes the legislation this month, we could start the seaway almost imediately," Transport Minister Lionel Chevrier told me. "We do not want to wait. It would prejudice the power project and Canada needs power."

PLANS COOPERATION

Chevrier said Canada is committed to talk with "your people" when the legislation goes through the House. This contradicts the opinion in some quarters that official Canada prefers a go-it-alone policy.

"But if the House does not pass the legislation this session and the Supreme Court dismisses the power appeal, we are ready to go ahead with the seaway alone," the minister added. "The power project, being in the International Rapids, must be a cooperative effort.'

Up to now, Canada has made all the seaway improvements from Lake Erie to Montreal, where the St. Lawrence River begins to widen to meet the Atlantic Ocean. These include the toll-free Welland Canal, which permits large ships to pass between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. It is planned to charge tolls inthe new section.

In the upper lakes portion of the waterway, the United States has done virtually all the work with the exception of one Canadian lock at Sault Ste. Marie, where the United States has built three locks.

"What makes this proposition so attractive," said Chevrier, "is the fact it is a joint power and navigation project. It is attractive as a source of power alone. It is attractive as a navigation aid alone. But it is doubly attractive as a joint power and navigation project.

"We need the power: We need the navigation. We can do either separately. But it is so much better from economic and other standpoints to do them jointly."

The minister declared the seaway is "on the rails," and "nothing can stop us now."

Chevrier's opinions coincide with statements by other Canadian officials, including Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, Lester B. Pearson, secretary of state for internal affairs, and Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, Canadian chairman of the international Joint Commission which will build and administer the seaway.

Mr. Speaker, also, every newspaper in Ohio is for the St. Lawrence seaway. The Cleveland Plain Dealer has taken a position editorially for this project for more than 20 years. The late E. B. Baker, publisher, and the late E. C. Hopwood more than 25 years ago conducted a vigorous campaign for this project. Since that time, the now Editor Emeritus Paul Bellamy and Editor Wright Byran have had strong editorials urging Congress to pass the St. Lawrence seaway legislation. The Cleveland News under the leadership of Nat Howard is also advocating this meritorious project.

Tax Exemption Should Be Raised to $800

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, the House Ways and Means Committee has completed a revision of our tax laws, which will shortly be brought before Congress for consideration. We have been told that certain inequities have been removed and that substantial rate reductions have been made in the tax laws.

It was to be hoped that the individual taxpayers, particularly the low-income taxpayers, would be granted a fair share of these reductions. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The reductions proposed in the revised tax laws will benefit primarily big business, but not the wage earner, nor the individual taxpayer of low income. A few minor relief provisions for individuals are contained in the new tax proposals, such as allowances for baby-sitting and a larger allowance for medical deductions, which will benefit the average taxpayer about $6 per year.

The administration's tax proposals, however, would grant considerable tax relief to business in the sum of $1.8 billion, and a tax saving of $1.2 billion to stockholders on their dividend receipts. Thus a very small percentage of our population, perhaps no more than 1 or 2 percent, would benefit to the tune of $3 billion annually.

Aside from the fact that this is gross discrimination and unjust to millions of low-income families, it is also dangerous at a time when unemployment has become a serious factor and the threat of a depression is staring us in the face. In a recent letter addressed to President Eisenhower, the distinguished Senator from Illinois, the Honorable PAUL H. DOUGLAS, stated that a reduction in taxes granted to the upper-income groups and business corporations would probably stimulate savings on their part, but it would not expand production or help increase employment. Senator DOUGLAS said:

> To prevent the recession from deepening into a depression, it is, therefore, far better to stimulate consumption than it is savings. The idea of giving tax relief only to business and investors as a stabilizing force is simply the old trickle down theory, or what is good for business is good for the country. Such policies, followed in the twenties, ended up with the greatest depression this Nation ever had.

Mr. Speaker, it is a simple fact that if people will have the money to buy the goods and services they need, business will have the markets, production will increase and people will have jobs. Evidently, the administration's tax planners in Congress fail to understand this simple fact, for if they did they would not show favoritism toward the upper income strata and ignore the low-income taxpayers.

It is for these reasons that the Democrats in Congress are sponsoring a bill to raise income tax exemptions from $600 to $700. This is the very least that should be done for the lower income taxpayers, but actually it is not enough. I should like to see that exemption increased to $800 for each taxpayer and each dependent this year, and to $1,000 next year. For the average worker it would mean about $3 more each week in his pay envelope this year, and about twice that amount next year. This is the kind of tax revision our country needs today.

Mr. Speaker, ever since I came to Congress I have been a strong advocate of tax reduction. Last July, shortly before the 1953 session of Congress was adjourned, I stated on the floor of the House:

> There has been much talk of reducing taxes and balancing the national budget. Despite their promises to do both, the Republicans have not been able to keep their promises. • • • It has always been my view that we should grant tax exemptions to the low-income groups and place the greater burden of taxation on the higher-income groups and big business.

Mr. Speaker, in line with these views I was always opposed to a general sales tax because I felt that the low-income people would be hit the hardest. I supported repeal of the 20-percent excise tax on theater admissions, furs, cosmetics, liquor, leather goods and other articles. I favored continuation of the excess profits tax on the big corporations. I also introduced several tax-relief bills, including a bill to provide for a deduction up to $1,000 for the education of a dependent child, and a bill granting a special deduction in income taxes to working mothers who must provide care for their children.

The House Ways and Means Committee in its revision of our tax laws chose to ignore the low-income groups and refused to grant tax relief where the need is the greatest. It is up to us to act immediately in behalf of these people.

The Importance of Our Small Post Offices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have just received a fine letter explaining the situation in and around Naborton, La., from the Honorable W. C. Nabors, president of the Nabors Trailers Co., one of the great manufacturing companies of the South. His judgment in business matters is worthy of great consideration and I trust that the Postmaster General will give his letter most careful consideration in studying the matter for the continuation for the time being of this post office at Naborton, La. The letter is as follows:

W. C. NABORS CO.,
Mansfield, La., March 8, 1954.

Hon. OVERTON BROOKS,
Member of Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR OVERTON: I understaand the question of closing the post office at Naborton, La. is under discussion. Of course, if this is proven to be desirable in the interest of economy after due consideration for the service rendered, I have no objections but rather would say that it should be done.

Some matters in this connection are entitled to full consideration before such a decision. I would suggest that the office be continued at least for another year during which this matter will prove itself. Just now there is renewed activity in and around Naborton. Oil activity in the immediate area accounts for a payroll of a few hundred thousand dollars per year and bids fair to continue and increase. Many of these work-

men today are driving from other areas to their work centered at Naborton because this activity has only developed within the last 12 months. Should it continue, undoubtedly many of these employees will find it expedient to live nearer to their work. There are a dozen or more producing oil or gas wells within less than one mile from Naborton as well as other drilling activities—all new within the past 18 months.

Another activity should be noticed. I understand that an arm of the Government has recently authorized a loan for a modern telephone exchange for the community. Should the other arm close the post office during the same period this modern telephone exchange is being installed?

Thanking you in advance for your usual consideration of matters which come under the activity of your office, I am

Cordially yours,

W. C. NABORS.

Mr. Speaker, considering the fact that oil activity is developing in this area, I think the Postmaster General would be amply justified in retaining this office. The amount of loss due to the retention of this office for another year is infinitesimal in comparison with the overall post office picture. In addition to this, as oil and gas are developed in this area, it is easily conceivable that the office may actually pay huge returns to the Post Office Department. At least in my judgment the Postmaster General is thoroughly justified in retaining this office for another 12 months, during which time he can make further decision as to whether or not new developments in this area justify more lenient action on the part of the Post Office Department with a view toward serving the people of this community.

Labor Approves Congressional Pay Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of our colleagues to the following resolution adopted by the Columbia Typographical Union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, on March 3, 1954:

RESOLUTION ON CONGRESSIONAL PAY RAISE

COLUMBIA TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION NO. 101,
March 3, 1954.

Whereas after careful study by the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries, legislation has been introduced in the 83d Congress to raise salaries of Members of Congress; and

Whereas private industry having found out over a period of many years that an adequate salary attracts the most able men, the constituents of Congressmen should apply the same principle and offer their representatives a salary commensurate with the importance of their responsibilities; and

Whereas a substantial increase is indicated by the following factors:

1. Increased cost of living since 1946.

2. Increased responsibility and application to duty required of Congressmen.

3. Historic salary relationship in and out of Government.

4. The necessity for Congressmen to maintain two residences.

5. The peculiar conditions making Washington, D. C., the most expensive city of the country to reside in.

It therefore appearing that congressional salaries have not kept pace with increased living costs and, by any careful comparison with salary trends, are in fact low and inadequate: Therefore, be it

Resolved by Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101 (AFL), That we register our approval of a substantial pay increase for Members of Congress in the present session; and further be it

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the press, to Members of Congress, and to the International Typographical Union secretary-treasurer for publication in the journal.

Respectfully submitted.

JOSEPH Z. LINS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Farley Knows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph of November 15, 1953:

FARLEY KNOWS

As one of the Hearst newspapers, and thus one of the leading exponents of everyday Americanism, the Sun-Telegraph took special delight in James A. Farley's talk on that subject last week before the diamond jubilee convocation of Duquesne University.

One of the great contemporary Americans, Mr. Farley spoke with the authority of a statesman who realizes the responsibilities of his country, and with the sincerity of a citizen who is unafraid to express his love for his country.

Mr. Farley reminded his listeners that the "ism" forming the bulwark for world peace is Americanism. He said since our totalitarian enemies respect only strength, then America must build and maintain its strength—without losing the fundamental principles from which it draws its strength.

THE AMERICAN WAY

These are the principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all. They make up the American way of life, he said, adding:

"But the American way is not a theory; it is not a system of philosophy; it is not a bare chart of thinking, reasoning, or living.

"It is the amalgamated habits and characteristics of our people, acquired through years of uninhibited relationship with their fellows, through free enterprise, free thought, free expressions, and self-government. The American way is the way of freemen—it is democracy, the foundation of America's strength, the rock upon which is erected the well-being of our people."

Pointing to the stresses now wracking the world, Mr. Farley expressed the view so often repeated in these columns. That is:

"There cannot be too much restatement of values or reiteration of the principles that all Americans hold dear. This is our America and the people of no other country in this war-ravaged world enjoy the privileges and blessings that are ours."

Woolen Textile Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GARDNER R. WITHROW
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I include, therein, a letter I have received from Reedsburg, Wis.

The letter itself dramatically explains how a small community, banded together, are contributing their efforts and are cooperating in preventing a shutdown or possible liquidation of a plant in dire difficulty:

WISCONSIN-UPPER MICHIGAN
DISTRICT OF KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL,
Reedsburg, Wis., March 6, 1954.

Hon. GARDNER WITHROW,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WITHROW: A number of weeks ago I wrote you a letter telling you of the plight of the woolen textile industry, telling you how imports of foreign fabrics are a contributing factor to the slump in our industry and the many shutdowns and liquidations which we are now experiencing in the textile field. You very graciously acknowledged my letter, and I know that you will, if it is in your power, vote against further tariff reductions.

Since writing the last letter to you the Appleton Woolen Mills have decided to close or liquidate their plant in the city of Reedsburg. The economic impact of this fateful decision on the community is terrific. One-hundred eighty employees stand to lose their jobs, and a payroll of in excess of $400,000 is going to vanish into thin air. But there is one hopeful sign which is so distinctly American and carries such a hopeful message to those who despair that I must tell you about it, that I must ask you to help us to give this plan what publicity you can.

At first the employees were stunned, of course, and the sense of defeatism really paralyzed them, but it took only a few hours before plans for reorganization were formed by employees, supervisory help, the townspeople and by members of the former management. The employees are pledging themselves to purchase stock in the new-formed company, either through outright cash purchases, or via the payroll deduction plan. They wish to become part of a new organization and participate to the fullest. They are willing to give not only of their savings and of their income, but they are also willing to put forth renewed effort and much more work than before in overcoming all the difficulties that beset this industry.

In other words, instead of running to the nearest unemployment office, or relief agency, they are going to do something much more in keeping with the spirit which made our country great. They realize that only hard and harmonious work between management and employees will give them a guaranty that what they are now undertaking will be of lasting benefit. The townspeople up and down Main Street have indicated that they too will raise enough money to purchase and operate the plant.

This is a story that has so much of the old pioneer spirit in it that I feel compelled to write you this. You, as our Representative in Congress, ought to feel reassured and proud to represent such people as we have here in Reedsburg, people who will without fear look into the future and who have faith and confidence in the economic soundness

of our country. Too much talk about a depression is beginning to undermine the thinking of so many in our Nation, and the Reedsburg story should be told far and wide to show people that there are some who do not believe in a depression, but that they believe that through hard work and cooperation we can mold a sound future for us and our children.

What we are trying to do here in Reedsburg needs publicity, and I enlist your help in getting this story before the people. Would it be possible for you to acquaint your colleagues in the House of Representatives with what we are trying to do, and would it be possible for you to give this story to 1 or 2 newspapers that would give it sympathetic treatment?

We thank you very much for what you have done for us in the past, and if you can help us we would be forever indebted to you.

Respectfully,

RALPH WIRTH.

Hon. Alvin M. Bentley, of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Shreveport (La.) Journal, issue of March 8, 1954:

TOUCHED BY THE HOLY SPIRIT

The doctors had given Congressman ALVIN M. BENTLEY a 50–50 chance of recovering from the bullet wounds that had smashed his liver and pierced his lung, kidney, and diaphragm. A specialist had been called in consultation.

The Chaplain of the House of Representatives had visited at his bedside and to comfort him told him he would pray for him.

"You ought to pray for those men and that woman who did not know what they were doing," BENTLEY replied.

So the day after the House of Representatives was swept with bullets and five of its Members had fallen, the Chaplain opened the session of its remaining Members with a prayer of forgiveness for the would-be assassins.

An emergency operation was performed at the hospital on the 35-year-old BENTLEY, the most critically wounded of the five victims, and the attending surgeon said his fate was in the hands of the Lord.

Somehow, we cannot help feeling that whatever fate awaits him, this freshman Congressman already is in the hands of the Lord. His instructions to the Chaplain were those of a man touched by the holy spirit.

In his own hour of need, BENTLEY remembered the injunction from the Sermon on the Mount, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you."

BENTLEY prepared for foreign service and served in the diplomatic corps until 1950, when he resigned to write and speak to alert the United States to the menace of communism. Nevertheless, even as Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., denounced the assassins as undoubtedly Communist and the Federal Bureau of Investigation was inquiring into Communist links in New York and in Puerto Rico, BENTLEY forgave them and through the Chaplain asked all his colleagues in the House of Representatives to forgive them. Though the assassins must be brought to trial and terrorism stamped out, we can and do respect the prayer that they will receive God's mercy.

Do Law-Abiding Citizens Arm Kidnapers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, permit me to call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the March 1, 1954, issue of the Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress. I hope our State Department will take particular note:

A CASE OF KIDNAPING

Nearly 2 months ago a British passenger plane traveling from Cyprus to Iran was forced to make an emergency landing at Baghdad in Iraq. Three Israelis, two of them women, who were among the passengers on the plane, were seized by the Baghdad police and imprisoned. Notwithstanding all appeals, the Iraqi government has refused till now to release the three Israelis, whose arrest was completely without warrant or justification.

At first the Iraqis claimed that Iraq was still in a state of war with Israel and the detained Israelis were therefore nationals of an enemy state. Curiously enough, one of the women passengers also held a Netherlands passport but that did not exempt her from arrest. Later, however, the Iraqis dropped this flimsy pretext and took refuge in the claim that the arrest was a reprisal against Israel for holding seven Iraqi officers since the 1948 Arab-Israel war. This claim is palpably false since all prisoners of war were exchanged following the conclusion of the armistice agreement. Jordan, which was a party to the agreement, certified to the International Red Cross the receipt of all war prisoners, including the Iraqi personnel. Moreover, Israel promptly agreed to have the United Nations true supervisor investigate the facts pertaining to the Iraqi claims.

It should be noted that in contrast to Iraq's high-handed action, the Government of Israel has invariably permitted nationals of Arab countries, who found themselves on Israel soil in similar emergency circumstances, to proceed on their journeys unmolested. Thus, last September an Indian plane carrying 27 Arabs made a forced landing at Elat, but the Arabs were cared for by the Israel authorities and transported to Jerusalem where they passed into Jordan. In December, a party of Egyptian students on a bicycle trip crossed the border into Israel, but they were promptly returned to the Egyptian authorities.

It is abundantly clear from the facts in the case that the Iraqi Government has no justification whatever for holding the three Israelis who accidentally found themselves on Iraqi soil. Their imprisonment and continued detention constitute a flagrant violation of accepted international practice. Iraq's act is a plain case of kidnaping that should not be tolerated in a civilized society. The Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as the Governments of the United States, Britain, France, and the Netherlands has been asked by the Israel Government to intervene with Iraq in order to effect the release of the Israel citizens. It is to be hoped that the collective effort of the international community will succeed in persuading Iraq to behave with the decency expected of a member of the United Nations.

Can the Administration Justify New Look Defense Policy and Heavy Cuts in Army Budget?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, the Republican National Committee appears anxious to make a reply to the speech made by Adlai E. Stevenson at Miami Beach on March 6, 1954. I am inserting a letter which I have written to the Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON, Vice President of the United States, who is to act as spokesman for the Republican National Committee. I have urged the Vice President to deal specifically with the serious questions which Mr. Stevenson has raised concerning the inadequacies of the administration's defense policy:

AN OPEN LETTER

MARCH 9, 1954.

To: Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
Vice President of the United States.
From: OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Member of Congress.

The Republican National Committee has obtained radio and television time to reply to the speech made by Adlai E. Stevenson at Miami Beach on March 6, 1954. The press reports that you have been designated to make the reply.

A substantial portion of Mr. Stevenson's speech was devoted to the administration's defense policy and in the course of his discussion he raised certain pertinent and specific questions which involve the very safety and security of our Nation. Since the time obtained by the Republican National Committee was for the purpose of making rebuttal or a reply to Mr. Stevenson, I wish to emphasize certain questions raised by Mr. Stevenson relative to the administration's defense policy and urge that these questions be answered, since they are of such vital concern to the Nation.

I am sure that you have the complete text of Mr. Stevenson's speech, but for emphasis, I have extracted some of the more important questions advanced by him concerning the administration's defense policy. I join Mr. Stevenson in his expression that these questions are raised "in no spirit of partisan relish," but rather with a genuine bipartisan concern for the Nation's security.

"Is this a 'new look' or is it a return to the pre-1950 atomic deterrent strategy which made some sense as long as we had a monopoly of atomic weapons together with a strategic Air Force. * * *"

(Mr. Stevenson then pointed out that our atomic monopoly did not deter attack in Korea, where we were saved only by heroic exertion and application of conventional ground forces.)

"And if air atomic power is our policy, what are we doing to build up the Air Force, let alone continental defense?"

(Mr. Stevenson stated that last year the administration cut the Air Force $5 billion below the budget request and said it would actually strengthen the Armed Forces.)

"What if we are confronted with something less than a clear case of overt aggression? What if we had relied exclusively on a policy of 'massive retaliation' since the close of World War II? Would we have resorted to global atomic war in order to meet the Communist threat in Greece and Turkey? To counter the Berlin blockade? To resist aggression in Korea?"

* * * * *

"Instead of greater freedom of choice, does this decision to rely primarily on atomic weapons really narrow our choice as to the means and the places of retaliation? Are we leaving ourselves the grim choice of inaction or a thermonuclear holocaust? Are we, indeed, inviting Moscow and Peiping to nibble us to death? This is the real danger. This is the real problem. Will we turn brush fires and local hostilities into major conflicts? Will our allies go along?"

* * * * *

"Was the administration caught between two conflicting sets of promises—to reduce the budget and strengthen our defenses? Did it choose the former because the only thing that could not be cut, the sine qua non of our security, was the new weapons and airpower?"

In addition to these questions, the American public is entitled to an answer as to why the ground forces have been singled out for such a severe cut. The American public is entitled to know just what reductions in our ground forces will result from the severe budgetary cuts proposed by the administration.

I urge that you utilize the time provided by the national networks to deal specifically with these vital issues involving the security of our Nation. The American people deserve an answer and not an evasive political reply.

Very truly yours,

OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Congressman.

North American Versus CAB

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the attention of many Members of this body recently has been brought to the North American Airlines-Civil Aeronautics Board controversy. The following article written by Reporter Wesley Peyton for the Long Beach Independent newspaper sheds considerable light on the matter and is inserted in this RECORD for the information of many colleagues who have made inquiries to me because NAA originated its operations in my home congressional district:

LONG BEACH-OWNED AIRLINE IN LIFE BATTLE

(By Wesley Peyton)

WASHINGTON.—The Civil Aeronautics Board Thursday opened what promises to be a drawn-out fight to force North American Airlines, a onetime Long Beach operation, out of the transcontinental air-carrier field.

Stanley Weiss, 4226 Chestnut Avenue, Long Beach, North American's president, says the CAB is trying to "strangle" his line. The CAB says North American, a nonscheduled carrier, is operating regularly scheduled coast-to-coast flights in violation of Government regulations.

The "enforcement" proceedings are scheduled to shift to Los Angeles in a few days. If the CAB rules North American out of business, Weiss says the issue will wind up in the courts.

Basically, Weiss said, the CAB action against North American is a test of strength between the come-lately nonscheduled lines and the big transcontinental carriers "which have been living off Government subsidies for years."

"The CAB regulations which would put us out of business," Weiss declared, "were adopted long after North American began operations. They amount to an illegal ex post facto law, and they are designed to see that the big lines keep competition out of the air transport field."

North American, which grossed $10 million last year, operates nightly flights from San Francisco and Los Angeles (Burbank) to New York, via Chicago. It also operates New York-Miami runs as well as return flights from New York to the west coast.

The nonscheduled line began operations as Standard Airlines in 1945 with home base at Long Beach Municipal Airport. The line still has maintenance hangars there. In 1950 the management of Standard formed the present North American Airlines and moved headquarters to Burbank.

Weiss says North American hopes to beat the CAB proceedings through its operating tieup with three other nonscheduled airlines, Hemisphere Transport, Trans-National Airlines, and Trans-American Airways.

One of the four operates flights nightly, which means North American planes and pilots handle the runs every fourth day. North American equipment includes 6 DC-4's and 2 DC-3's. Two new DC-6B's are on order and should be delivered late this year or early in 1955.

"Air safety is not an issue in this case," Weiss declared. "We have not had a single accident of any kind since we have been operating, and we have never had a safety-violation charge brought against us."

North American carries no mail or cargo and does not collect any so-called mail pay or direct subsidy from the Government.

The line now has before the CAB applications for three certificates which would make it a transcontinental airline operating regular schedules for coach flights.

"I Don't Think We Should Be Too Hard on the Commies," Said Adlai Stevenson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson lives in a glass house, and he should not be throwing stones. His remarks last week at Miami would indicate that he still does not understand that the American people are determined to drive Communists out of government where they have been entrenched since 1933.

Mr. Speaker, it would appear to me that, when Adlai Stevenson says, "I do not think we should be too hard on the Communists," as it was reported by a Senate committee last week, that he has barred himself forever as a possible candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a recent editorial that appeared in the Washington Times-Herald:

ADLAI PLEADS SUPERIOR ORDERS

Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, member of a special Navy board during World War II to screen radio operators in the merchant marine, has repeated before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee a recital of official tenderness toward Communists which he first told in an interview 4 years ago.

Staton testified that he and Rear Adm. C. S. Hooper were forced out of the Navy because they set out to get Communist radiomen off American ships. President Roosevelt, upon hearing of the board's activities, drafted a memorandum stating that because of its wartime alliance with Russia the United States was bound to not oppose the activities of the Communist Party here.

This Roosevelt statement, relayed to the two admirals by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, is significant of Roosevelt's and the New Deal administration's outlook. It could account for the condonation of Communist infiltration of the administration, Roosevelt's dealings with Stalin at Teheran and Yalta, his pardon of Earl Browder, the imprisoned Communist Party boss, and for Alger Hiss, and a lot of other things.

Adlai Stevenson, the New Deal 1952 presidential nominee, who was a special assistant to Knox during the war, horned into the affair by informing Staton, "Admiral, I don't think we should be too hard on the Communists."

Stevenson now says he was "executing the orders of my superiors." The New Deal prosecution at the Nuremberg war crimes trial ruled out superior orders as a valid defense for German defendants. In the light of the legal philosophy of his own party, Stevenson's defense is of no merit. He is personally responsible for assertion of the doctrine that we should not be too hard on the Communists.

So-Called Wetback Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an article by Lowell Mellett in the Washington Star of today, March 9, 1954, as follows:

FREE ENTRY FOR MEXICAN REDS—THAT IS, IF THERE ARE ANY; NEW LAW PERMITS BIG FARMERS TO HIRE THEM AT BORDER WITHOUT APPROVAL OF MEXICO

(By Lowell Mellett)

Much of the Republican campaign that produced the present administration was predicated on the proposition that the Communists will get us if we don't watch out. The Republicans were elected to do the watching out. So they have just enacted legislation that could result in an untold number of Communists settling down among us or floating freely back and forth across our border. This is true if there is anything in the theory underlying our present immigration laws, namely, that all foreigners are subject to the utmost suspicion. The new legislation seems to absolve Mexicans of this suspicion. They are needed to perform the labor on the big western and southwestern farms that American labor is unwilling to perform at

the low wages paid. Therefore, it is deemed safe to take a chance with them.

Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans have been crossing the border in recent years to engage in this work and many other kinds of work, much of it far from the border, as far as the State of Michigan. Many of these enter illegally. They are the so-called wetbacks. Our border patrol is expected to catch them and send them back, and this was done to the number of 839,149 last year. But an equal number escaped the patrol, it is said. The patrol, incidentally, has had its operations curtailed by reduced appropriations.

Those that enter legally have heretofore done so under an agreement between the Mexican Government and our own, designed, so far as the Mexican Government is concerned, to protect its citizens against exploitation by American employers. The agreement having expired this year, the Mexican Government has sought stronger safeguards for its nationals. It has wanted better housing, sanitation, health and safety provisions for the Mexicans and their families, including children. The new agreement not being achieved and the working season having arrived, the farmers—some of them large corporate concerns—have sought and obtained permission to hire Mexicans at the border without the approval of the Mexican Government. That is the legislation just passed by the United States Congress.

The bill authorizes Federal aid to the farmers in recruiting and transporting the Mexican laborers. In the past this has averaged about $140 per worker. President Eisenhower has recommended an additional subsidy of $100,000 to be used to improve the living conditions on the industrialized farms.

The influx of Mexican workers, legal and illegal, has been a steadily increasing problem in recent years, resulting in much talk and virtually no action. It is a bigger problem today than ever before. Family-size farmers are forced to compete with what in this country is called pauper labor, despite a national tariff policy designed in part to protect American workers against such labor. America's own migrant labor cannot or will not accept the wages and the working and living conditions endured by the imported Mexicans, with the result that thousands are now reported unemployed.

AFL President George Meany declared at a White House conference that there is now a surplus of American farm workers available for the jobs being given the Mexicans in California and Texas—although not at the same wages. He asked that the Labor Department be required to make an independent investigation to determine whether the labor shortage claimed by the big ranchers actually exists. He obtained instead the present legislation, not yet signed by the President, who a few years ago was severely critical of the manner in which the wetback problem was being handled.

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following column by Ruth Montgomery appeared in the March 10 issue of the New York Daily News. I believe it fairly sets forth part of the success story of the Small Business Administration created during the first session of this Congress:

D. C. WASH
(By Ruth Montgomery)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 8.—White mice, ladies' bras, and lonely-hearts clubs are giving one of Uncle Sam's newest agencies a headache.

The Small Business Administration was created last fall by the Eisenhower administration to rescue small enterprises and help them find defense contracts.

No one had quite bargained, however, for the onslaught of eager requests. A disabled veteran from the Veterans' Administration had set up in the white mice business decided that the new agency was just what the doctor ordered.

From his wheelchair at Pied Piper Farm, Birdsboro, Pa., veteran Edward F. Grant sent Small Business a frantic SOS. His happy little charges had obliged by producing a lot more white mice than he knew what to do with.

VETERAN GETS HELP, UNLOADS HIS MICE

The Republican agency—determined not to adopt Henry Wallace's philosophy of plowing under little pigs—set its staff to work calling nearby hospitals and experimental laboratories. Almost overnight, Grant unloaded his surplus.

The SBA staff heaved a relieved sigh and settled back to the mundane business of making loans. Soon, however, the veteran turned up again. This time he had 2,000 surplus mice and more were on the way.

The obliging Government workers plunged into the emergency and helped Grant write to distant medical centers. At last report, the veteran had turned his surplus into a shortage and was thinking of adding a second shift.

The agency issues pamphlets, both in the technical and managerial field, giving pointers on 75 topics to small business concerns. The other day it received a laconic request from a well-known manufacturer of parlor unmentionables.

"We need information," he wrote, "on how to pack or package brassieres. Would you please send us 5 or 6 copies of your booklet on packaging pointers." No pun, apparently, was intended.

More typical is the case of a large concern which had a monopoly on a cable assembly and was charging Uncle Sam $2 per unit. When its patent ran out, SBA tipped off small businesses and seven of them submitted Government bids on the same assembly.

LOANS TO FISHERMAN AND FROZEN FOOD FIRM

When the big manufacturer heard of this, he hastily dropped his own bid to $1.39, but two small firms underbid him and the resultant contract has saved the Government many thousands of dollars.

Since the lending program got under way October 1, the agency has approved nearly $5,000,000 worth of loans. All are repayable with interest within 10 years. They range in scope from a $200 disaster loan to a Maine lobster fisherman whose pots floated away in a storm, to a $150,000 loan for a frozen food packager in Arkansas.

The agency, wherever possible, gives the applicants financial counseling to obviate the necessity for a loan. However, the staff raised eyebrows over the request of one would-be borrower who wanted to set himself up in competition with the agency.

A letter from a gentleman in New York demanded that SBA lend him enough capital to start his own loan business.

The budding agency has 13 regional offices, but although Congress talks a good game of economy, Administrator Wendell Barnes seldom meets a Senator or Representative who does not insist that a new office be opened immediately in his own district.

It's an election year, they remind him.

LONESOME HEART CLUB: "TELL ME ALL ABOUT IT"

Meanwhile Barnes, a Republican from Oklahoma, is busily trying to increase small business' percentage of government contracts from its present 16 to 35 percent.

In one Government procurement center alone, 93 small concerns are now making items they had never produced until SBA gave them advice on the Government's needs and told them how to obtain contracts.

Probably the strangest request has just come from an Iowa voter. The applicant wants the agency to rush him all of its printed literature and bulletins pertaining to the setting up of a lonesome heart club.

The Iowan must have been reading some city-slicker publications. Says he's heard that a neat piece of change can be picked up by sponsoring romance. For once, the agency is stumped.

Humphrey, Catch Up With Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Tramman News of March 1, 1954:

HUMPHREY, CATCH UP WITH HOOVER

A significant change has come over some conservative leaders. They are saying that, if conditions get worse, taxes on consumers should be reduced so as to create purchasing power. As former President Herbert Hoover expressed it:

"My remedy follows the proposal of President Eisenhower—that if necessary we should reduce taxes in such fashion as to increase the buying power of all the people, so that they can absorb the surplus and thus lift the whole level of the standard of living another stage."

Economic necessity, rather than the equity and justice of the taxation principle of ability to pay, seems to motivate these new recruits to the proposals of labor and others advocating increased exemptions under the Federal income-tax law, and opposing sales and excise taxes.

What becomes of Treasury Secretary Humphrey's proposals to change the tax laws to help the wealthier taxpayers, to reduce taxes on corporation dividends, and make up the revenue loss with sales and excise taxes, which latter proposals Humphrey has said his Department has long considered? Humphrey's excuse for tax "relief" for the wealthy (the tax credit for stock dividends proposes to give to one-half of 1 percent of American families, 80 percent of the $850 million in this tax relief) is that to give more to those who have most, will best help those who have least, by providing investment capital. The falsity of the Humphrey philosophy was revealed in a recent Associated Pfess dispatch regarding the Nation's financial policies. It said:

"Most banks report an abundance of loanable funds at the present time. What's needed, they say, are borrowers."

One need not be an expert financier to know that the way to have plentiful borrowers and "to induce venture capital out of hiding," is to create potentially profitable markets. Profitable markets come only from plentiful mass purchasing power.

It appeared for a time that these basic truths were gaining popularity with GOP

leaders. But last week, Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee unanimously voted against raising the income tax exemption from $600 to $700. Senator WALTER GEORGE (Democrat, Georgia) wants to increase that exemption to $800 this year and to $1,000 later, thereby adding billions of dollars to the mass purchasing power now seriously needed to move the bloated inventories of merchants.

If Secretary Humphrey can just catch up with Herbert Hoover, we can look for some progressive tax legislation, maybe.

Naborton Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I tender for printing a petition signed by prominent people of the Naborton community of De Soto Parish, La., asking the Post Office Department to continue for the time being the Naborton, La., post office. I do not believe these people would sign such a petition if they did not feel that the Naborton office was needed in De Soto Parish and that the Post Office Department is making a serious mistake in closing this office at the present time:

To Hon. OVERTON BROOKS:

We, the undersigned qualified voters, and residents of De Soto Parish, La., hereby earnestly, and respectfully request the United States Post Office Department, to not discontinue, or close the post office at Naborton, De Soto Parish, La., for the following reasons to wit:

1. Mrs. Myrth Babin Baker, the postmaster, is a widow with a son in college, and needs the income of the office.

2. The continuous oil activity in and around Naborton, which may mushroom over night, requires the services of this office. Should it be closed, there might be an urgent necessity for its reopening at once.

3. Mrs. Baker has three other children in high school, two will be in college next fall.

J. A. H. Slawson, Registrar of Voters; W. G. Ricks, Tax Assessor; Coral F. Talbert, Deputy Tax Assessor; Lora W. Hargett, Deputy Tax Assessor; W. W. Fincher, Clerk of Court; A. G. Thorp, Deputy Clerk of Court; Helen G. Storey, Deputy Clerk of Court; Mary E. Lemmond, Deputy Clerk of Court; Harmon T. Burgess, Sheriff; R. H. Corley, Deputy Sheriff; E. C. Ingram, Parish Service Officer; W. F. Rhodes, Deputy Sheriff; Susie Chaffin, School Board Office; Mildred K. Coleman, School Board Office; T. W. Thomas, Superintendent of Education; La Juana W. Lee, School Board Office; John Burgess, Assistant District Attorney; Alla B. Bickham, Secretary-Treasurer, Police Jury; Jack R. Gamble, Assistant Superintendent of Education; Dan Burgess, Janitor, Courthouse; J. H. Heering, Mayor of Mansfield; V. J. Bordeaux, Sr., Painter; A. P. Williams, Constable, Ward No. 4; R. P. Madden, Justice of Peace, Ward No. 4; Mrs. Olney LaFitte, Assistant Librarian; Mrs. A. B. Box; Assistant Librarian; Emma L. Guy, Assistant Librarian; J. P. Culpepper, Merchant; Riemer Calhoun, ex-State Senator; T. W. Elam, Game Ranger; J. Luther Jordan, Banker; Goodwyn Harris, Jr., Attorney; Newton H. Harris, Attorney; M. Van Pickens, Jr., Skelly Oil Distributor; Evans Calvert, President, First National Bank; H. H. Gamuth, Distributor, Texas Oil Co.; J. W. Caraway, President, Mansfield Bank & Trust Co., Lucile E. Young, Parish Librarian; E. A. Lafitte, Police Juror, Ward No. 5, where post office is located; Wilfred A. Nabors, Albert J. Bonds, Henry Smith, Mrs. Lila Reynolds, Mrs. Tom Rambin, Douglas Lilley, Mrs. N. B. Copeland, Jack Lafitte, J. C. McLaurin, J. J. Hatcher, E. M. Prudhome, J. W. Cooper, E. T. Hasty, Bertha Mae Curtis, T. C. Gatheright, Dan Clanton, T. J. Williams, W. L. Curtis, Jack C. Williams, Mrs. W. C. Heard, Mrs. R. G. Smith, Mrs. T. J. Williams, C. L. Scott, Mrs. Lucy Scott, Henry L. Allbitten, Mrs. Henry E. Smith, Mrs. T. L. Rains, T. L. Rains, L. P. Smith, R. L. Flores, Jr., Mrs. J. S. Reynolds, L. E. Rambin, Myrthe B. Baker.

National Society of Public Accountants Endorses Recommendations of Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY W. REED
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and resolution of the National Society of Public Accountants endorsing the recommendations of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries:

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS,
Washington, D. C.,

Hon. CHAUNCEY W. REED,
Chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The board of governors of the National Society of Public Accountants, a professional society representing accountants in public practice in every State and the Territories, has adopted the enclosed resolution, endorsing the recommendations of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries.

It is the desire of the board that its position with respect to the proposed salary increases be recorded with the Congress. I, therefore, request that you insert the enclosed resolution in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Yours very truly,
JAMES A. GORMAN,
President.

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS, NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

Whereas the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries recommended in its report of January 15, 1954, certain salary increases for Members of Congress, the Vice President, Federal judges, and other Government officials; and

Whereas it is generally recognized that present salaries for Congressmen, judges, and others mentioned in the report are grossly inadequate for the qualifications required for these positions and the services rendered by the individuals holding these important offices; and

Whereas most Congressmen are confronted with the necessity of maintaining two homes and are burdened with numerous other expenses in connection with their official duties; and

Whereas citizens of this country cannot continue indefinitely to impose on the patriotic spirit of their public servants while salaries in private industry outstrip those paid legislators and judges; and

Whereas a great number of citizens of outstanding ability are now unavailable for service in these vitally important offices because they are unable to make the necessary financial sacrifices imposed by the existing salary scale: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of governors of the National Society of Public Accountants, That, as professional men in public practice, this body well realizes the unselfish service rendered by Members of Congress and the judiciary. It is, then, the sense of this board that the present salary scale for these vital posts is grossly inadequate and represents a threat to the quality of our future lawmakers and judges. This board further believes that this pennywise and pound foolish policy of underpaying men we have selected to carry such a burden of public trust and responsibility cannot be justified on any basis; be it further

Resolved, That this body be recorded as favoring the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries; be it further

Resolved, That the board of governors of the National Society of Public Accountants urges all Members of Congress to support legislation introduced to accomplish this end.

Approved this 3d day of March 1954.

JAMES A. GORMAN,
President.

Attest:

CHARLES J. PETRICS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

The Whitten Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, there is no question but what the Whitten amendment, which I opposed, has brought about results the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] probably never intended. I have received many letters and telegrams showing inequities resulting to Federal employees. One of the most expressive telegrams I have received showing discriminatory results to certain employees of the Veterans' Administration in Boston is included by me as a part of my remarks.

While I have received permission of the sender of the telegram to make use of her name, in view of the fact she is still an employee of a Federal agency, and because of the feeling of fear existing generally in the minds of our people,

and particularly of Federal employees, I shall refrain from using her name.

The Whitten amendment should be repealed. In any event, it should be quickly amended to prevent such injustices from occurring again.

The telegrams follow:

JAMAICA PLAIN, MASS.,
March 2, 1954.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

You very urgent attention is directed to a most inequitable situation which exists at the present time not only in the Boston office of the Veterans' Administration but in all offices throughout the country. From 1944 to 1952 registration officers were employed in the VA at grade 7. In November 1952, because of reorganization within the VA, these employees were redesignated to educational benefit representatives and were promoted from registration officers to grade 8 education benefit representatives. Because of this demotion those promoted were placed in an indefinite status. These employees have been employed in Federal employment varying from 14 to 35 years. Since November 1952 to date this position has been designated as indefinite. Since there is now a reduction of force in effect in the VA, other employees with considerable less seniority in Government employment who are being reduced in their present jobs may now take our jobs. We have no rights and no recourse but to give up our positions to personnel who are considerably junior to us. Please record yourself as being in favor of repealing this unjust and discriminating legislation providing relief to this group of employees education benefits representatives who are being deprived of their legal rights to seniority. The Whitten amendment should be immediately repealed.

BOSTON, MASS.,
March 6, 1954.

Hon. JOHN W. MCCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

'Insert telegram in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, using my name and address. Sincere appreciation for your genuine expression of interest and action in the repeal of the Whitten amendment. Confident of your continued efforts until this unjust and discriminating legislation is repealed.

Steamboat Rock Disappears

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, during this past week I received a letter from C. R. Henderson, of Vernal, Utah, in regard to Echo Park Dam. This statement submitted by Mr. Henderson very ably demonstrates the vicious and untrue attacks made on Echo Park Dam by nature-lover groups throughout the country. Various people have taken it upon themselves to change geological facts in order to subvert the interests of all of our people to their own selfish causes. I commend the reading of this article to all of my colleagues who sincerely and earnestly seek enlightenment in regard to Echo Park Dam:

STEAMBOAT ROCK DISAPPEARS

(By C. R. Henderson, Vernal, Utah)

What are the nature lovers doing to our Steamboat Rock at Dinosaur National Monument?

In 1941 the Geological Survey in cooperation with the National Park Service surveyed and mapped the Dinosaur area, map release as of 1945, showing the top of Steamboat Rock at 6,066 feet above sea level, stream bed elevation at bottom of Steamboat Rock at 5,060, or at that time this massive rock was 1,006 feet high.

Devereux Butcher, field representative of the National Parks Association, in the National Parks Magazine of December 1950 somehow disposed of 206 feet of this giant and moved it to only 800 feet high—that made the 500 foot dam more impressive.

Then somehow Martin Litton, an official of the Sierra Club, got into Pat's Hole and he photographed the great rock down to 700 feet. (See p. 378 of the March 1954 National Geographic.) No one saw him carry off the top 100 feet which Mr. Butcher left there.

Now comes Philip Hyde in cooperation with the Sierra Club and he takes aff another 50 feet by his photograph in the Sunset magazine, March 1954. He is very kind. He did not take such a big chunk, and he still left us 650 feet of rock and it still looks the same.

Now, I don't know exactly what they did with this billion tons of sandstone, but I think they have been feeding it to some of their associates all over the good United States and calling it "save our scenery."

Now, gentlemen, or nature lovers, will you please bring back that 356 feet of our rock for we have plans to keep 500 feet of our magnificent Steamboat Rock out of water when the Echo Park Dam is built.

Being Good to General Motors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in its report today to its 495,000 stockholders, the General Motors Corp. states that in 1953 its defense sales to the United States Government were the largest for any year since World War II. Defense sales alone totaled close to $2 billion.

This, Mr. Speaker, is especially interesting in view of the statements in the early weeks of the present administration that what is good for General Motors is good for the United States. It will be recalled, of course, that such statements were made about the time the top echelons of General Motors were moving in to take over the Government of the United States.

General Motors seems to have fared pretty well in the first year of a General Motors administration, even though unemployment during that period has grown to the peak of recent years, and the administration is now considering emergency measures to ward off a depression. Here is the story of General Motors' prosperity under a General Motors administration as told in its own report, issued today:

Sales in 1953 soared to a new record high of $10,026,000,000, its unit sales of cars and trucks were the second largest on record, and profits the third largest.

The year was one of "intense activity and substantial progress," said the corporation's annual report, signed by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman, and Harlow H. Curtice, president.

Net income last year was $598 million, or 6 percent of sales, and was equivalent to $6.71 a common share. In 1952, on sales of $7,549,000,000, net income totaled $559 million, a return of 7.4 percent on sales, and equal to $6.25 a share.

Civilian sales of more than $8 billion in 1953 were larger than combined civilian and defense sales in any other year, said the report. Defense sales of nearly $2 billion were the largest for any year since World War II.

"For General Motors, 1953 was a year of intense activity and substantial progress," the report said in a review of the year. "The lifting of Government restrictions on production in the early part of the year accelerated the trend toward normal peacetime competitive conditions.

"The efforts of the organization in all areas of the business were directed toward two objectives: (1) to meet the current needs of an active and value-conscious market, and (2) to build a broader foundation for the expanding needs of future markets."

SELLS 3.7 MILLION UNITS

General Motors sold 3,760,000 cars and trucks in 1953, a gain of 43 percent from 1952. Of these, 3,276,000 were made in United States plants, and 484,000 in Canada and overseas. The corporation obtained 44.8 percent of the American and Canadian car and truck market.

Sales of household appliances and air-conditioning and commercial refrigeration products by the Frigidaire division in 1953 were substantially above 1952 and exceeded only in 1950, stockholders were told.

Attacks Made Upon Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment at this time upon the recent critical attacks upon Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson for calling to the attention of Mr. Charles Loring, Chairman of the Emergency Board, Railway Labor Act, the fact that the American farmer and general public would be seriously injured by a prolonged strike of railroad workers or by an increase in railroad operating costs large enough to justify another general increase in freight rates.

During both 1952 and 1953 farmers have been caught in a price-cost squeeze—that is, high cost and low price. One of the historical high costs farmers have always been confronted with is that of high freight rates. Are freight rates high today? What are they compared to Canada's for instance? Senator YOUNG gave us the answer on the Senate floor on February 23, 1954:

Freight rates on grain in western Canada are set by statute at 3 percent less than they were in 1897. These extremely low transportation rates are provided by Parliament as one part of their farm program. As a result it costs the Canadian farmer at Coutts, Alberta, only 8½ cents per bushel to move his oats to Port Arthur. His neighbor across the border at Sweetgrass, Mont., has to pay freight of 24½ cents a bushel to move his oats to Duluth.

Now would not Secretary Benson be a poor Secretary of Agriculture if he was not concerned about any governmental action, which, at a time like this, would increase the costs of marketing farm products? The Department of Agriculture was created to administer to the needs of American farmers and to represent their just interests. If this is not the case, why did the Congress in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to—

(a) Make complaint to the Interstate Commerce Commission with respect to rates, charges, tariffs, and practices relating to the transportation of farm products, and to prosecute the same before the Commission.

(b) Cooperate with and assist cooperative associations of farmers making complaint to the Interstate Commerce Commission with respect to rates, charges, tariffs, and practices relating to the transportation of farm products.

Not only that, but the same act provided, that if any rate, charge, tariff, or practice complained of is one affecting the public interest, the Commission, upon application by the Secretary, shall make him a party to the proceeding.

You will recall that it was this one single factor—high freight rates—more than any other which gave rise to the Grange movement of the late 19th century and the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission itself. Acting under the authority of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, the Solicitor's office of the Department of Agriculture is continually engaged in freight rate hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission and maintains a staff of 3 or 4 attorneys who devote the major portion of their time to such matters.

Clearly, the charge that the Secretary's action "involved an intervention in a field in which Mr. Benson is anything but an expert" cannot be substantiated. The Secretary's legal staff has been engaged in just such activity for many years. This letter of the Secretary's to Mr. Loring, therefore, merely represents a normal extension of the Secretary's concern for the American farmers' welfare, of which high freight rates are not a part.

By no stretch of the imagination does the Secretary's action represent, as his critics have charged, "an attempt to interfere with the judicial processes."

The Research and Marketing Act of 1946 directed and authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to assist in obtaining equitable and reasonable transportation rates and services and adequate transportation facilities for agricultural products and farm supplies by making complaint or petition to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Maritime Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, or other Federal or State transportation regulatory body with respect to rates, charges, tariffs, practices, and services.

Now we all know that wage increases are passed along to the consumer in the form of higher prices for the product sold or service rendered. In this case, higher wages mean that the freight carrier will be petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission for higher freight rates before long as they have done and been granted 11 increases since 1945.

Why is the Secretary concerned? Why the letter to Mr. Loring? Because, in the interests of the American farmer, whose general welfare is his legal concern and responsibility, he felt it his duty to urge the emergency board to find a solution which will not give any justification for another increase in agriculture freight rates. The Secretary's reasons:

First. Since February 1951 farm prices have dropped 19.5 percent.

Second. Net farm income fell from $14.6 billion in 1951 to $13.5 billion in 1953. This decline from 1951 to 1953 equals 14.4 percent.

Third. The worsening of the farm situation cannot be laid to a drop in consumer demand. Retail food prices, for example, are 14.4 percent higher than they were 3 years ago.

Fourth. One of the main causes of the drop in farm prices and farm income is the continued increase in marketing costs, of which railroad freight rates are an important part. They are now 10 percent higher than in 1951.

Quite to the contrary, I would be shocked if the Secretary of Agriculture did not use every means at his disposal to protect the interests of American farmers. This Secretary Benson has done repeatedly the last year, with speed and effectiveness. He is to be commended, not censored, for supplying this information to the emergency board.

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following statement which I submitted to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service regarding H. R. 2344:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to place before you my support of H. R. 2344. The length of time since the last pay increase, the rise in the cost of living, and other related factors emphasize the need for an increase in the pay of postal workers and the importance of making that increase now.

Decision as to just what increase should be granted requires both expert knowledge and painstaking study of the mass of evidence which the committee has heard and will hear. Since I am not an expert in the field and have not had a chance to study the evidence, I can not give advice in detail. I am sure the members of this committee and its staff are experts, that they will give fair and conscientious consideration to the facts and that they will reach a just decision.

Postal employees generally, and I can speak particularly of those employees who live in the 15th District of New York which I have the honor to represent, are a hard-working, loyal group. They deserve pay treatment which is fair to all ranks and which reflects the generous appreciation of the public and the Government for the good work they do and the loyalty they show. The talks I have had with the men and women in the postal service and the evidence they have shown me in support of their requests make me feel they have a strong case. I hope it will impress the committee in that same way.

The Art of Political Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD an article by Raymond Moley entitled "The Art of Political Warfare," which appeared in Newsweek magazine of March 8.

In this article he expresses his high regard for the ability and skill of Robert Humphreys, whom the chairman of the Republican National Committee recently promoted to the position of campaign director. Because I share his views with respect to Bob Humphreys, I should like to call this article to the attention of my colleagues. It follows:

THE ART OF POLITICAL WARFARE
(By Raymond Moley)

There is special significance in the promotion by GOP Chairman Leonard Hall of Robert Humphreys from the position of public-relations director to that of campaign director. It is intended to free the time and energies of a highly gifted and experienced political strategist for the thinking and planning essential to a momentous political campaign. Those of us who knew Bob Humphreys during the years when he was editor of this magazine well know that he has a brain fit for fine thinking in the complex art of politics. He is, in the most complimentary sense, a pro.

He has, above all, a deep sense of the realities and of the fundamental principles of politics. Years in the newspaper business have left him with not merely the usual assortment of more or less interesting anecdotes of the great and near-great, but with a firm philosophy of politics and life built of solid pieces chipped from the rocks of human experience. This is unattainable for most of those who venture into politics from more specialized callings. For politics is the art of all things human. Woodrow Wilson, cribbing from Walter Bagehot, a journalist, said that "nothing that is human is alien to the science of politics."

A commander in political warfare must contend with two things: the slow comprehension of people in the mass and the political opposition.

The people, God bless them, are always right, but it takes them plenty of time.

This is a vast country with millions of people who learn slowly, reason with difficulty, and forget with no effort at all. While these qualities are quite common, there are infinite variations of interest and prejudice. There cannot, for that reason, be one issue, but many. Appeals must be suited to scores of campaigns for the House and Senate.

In confronting the opposition, the hard core of which is the left wing of the Democratic Party with its various auxiliaries, the Republican high command through campaign director Humphreys must reckon with smart, experienced, and politically ruthless people. Those people, it is true, are not intent upon taking the lives of Republicans; they only want to take their livelihoods. There has been too much silly talk about cooperation; about how partisanship should be forgotten in a noble gesture of disarmament. You cannot be too kind to people who are intent upon taking your jobs, violating your principles, and proving that you are stupid, incompetent, and corrupt.

There is a parallel here with military warfare. There can be lulls in the firing, but never safely a real truce. In a very shrewd book on political strategy, the Game of Politics, by Philip Cambray, who had long experience in the British Conservative Party, there is this comment:

"In political warfare the defeat of the opposition is essential to complete victory. If the politician believes what he declares will be the consequences of his opponent's success, he can have no alternative but to use every effort which the law allows to prevent that catastrophe. Sentiment should have no more place in the political conflict than in military warfare. To regard the opposition as merely mistaken in its ideas and not as deliberately dangerous is wholly subversive of the will to win. * * * The mental attitude which conceives political opponents as persons to be pacified and even to be met halfway must be repressed.

"Such advances encourage the enemy, damp the enthusiasm of supporters, and suggest to neutrals that there is no real difference between, say Tweedledum and Tweedledee."

When in 1952 the Republican campaign had sagged down to the dry-creek stage, it was Humphreys as much as anyone who impressed upon the high command the need for a vigorous attack. What was true of strategy then is true again this year—not merely the defense of a rather innocuous, uninspiring-legislative program, but a portrayal of what would happen again if the Fair Deal returns. No one can supply that portrayal better than Robert Humphreys. That is why Chairman Hall was so wise in selecting him for this new assignment.

UNESCO Dangers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the American people have rightly made many reservations respecting the operations and objections of UNESCO. One phase of the concern of the American people is summed up in the following editorial which appeared in the March 6, 1954, issue of the Los Angeles Times, entitled "How the World Gets Its News":

HOW THE WORLD GETS ITS NEWS

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, UNESCO for short, has just published a 208-page study News Agencies, Their Structure and Operation throughout the world.

About 205 pages of the report are made up of an interesting historical review of the origins and development of national and international news gathering and distributing agencies, a product of the public's insatiable thirst for information in the last century.

TASS DIDN'T ANSWER

Much of the material was furnished the UNESCO researchers by the agencies themselves, though a request to TASS, the official Soviet agency, went unanswered and the data on its operations are a compendium of published details unverified by the authors.

The UNESCO study concludes that no newspaper or radio station in the world can keep itself informed of the main events taking place all over the world except through the services of one or more of the six world telegraphic news agencies: Associated Press (U. S.), United Press (U. S.), International News Service (U. S.), Reuters (Great Britain), Agence France-Presse (France) and Telegrafnoie Agenstvo Sovietskavo Soiuza (U. S. S. R.). (The latter, better known as TASS, is classified as a legitimate news agency rather than an overt intelligence and propaganda arm of the Soviet Union.)

In addition, there are some 76 national news agencies gathering, pooling, and distributing primarily domestic news within 54 countries, some state-controlled and some cooperative or commercial enterprises. In many cases these national agencies have mutual agreements with one or more of the 6 world agencies.

WORLD NEWS DIVIDED

The report notes that at the outset of international news gathering, the dominant agencies, Havas, Wolff, Reuters, and the New York Associated Press, more or less divided the world up into exclusive beats. This division broke down in the period between world wars, largely due to the aggressive demands of United States agencies for free access to news wherever it occurred, but has been superseded today by another division of the world according, as the UNESCO report puts it, to "political and ideological spheres of influence."

Thus, it notes, 30.9 percent of the world's people, 745,396,000 persons, gain their knowledge of world events primarily from TASS; only 8 percent, 192,542,000 people, primarily from the three American agencies, Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service; 2.7 percent primarily from Reuters; 1.6 percent primarily from Agence France-Presse, and 1.3 percent receive no news from any world agency.

Of the balance (to somewhat condense the UNESCO categories), 46.9 percent or nearly half the world's people get their news from a combination of American, British, and French agencies and some 8.4 percent from the western agencies plus TASS. This, through UNESCO's European-tinted glasses, seems to be the most desirable condition.

It is only in the final three pages setting forth conclusions that the authors of the UNESCO study get beyond their depth. It appears to them a deplorable thing that "the world agencies are not truly international." They keep their national characteristics, because although they gather news around the world and sell it in other countries than their own they are staffed and their news is edited mainly by nationals of the parent country and is intended, for the most part, for readers of that country.

NATIONAL VIEWPOINT

"However impartial they may be, however strictly they may comply with the professional code of ethics," the UNESCO report objects, "they will inevitably judge and present news from the viewpoint of the country of which they are citizens."

To which we ask: Is this bad? If so, it is the way the world is, and is likely to remain, despite UNESCO and other groups lost in the clouds of international one-worldism. The report continues: "One feels bound to ask whether the news agencies may not one day find it necessary to follow the policy of international cooperation which is gaining ground in so many other domains" and proceeds to suggest either a United Nations telegraphic news agency, staffed from all member countries, or a "world cooperative agency"—whatever that means.

It would take another 208-page book to answer these proposals in detail, but it seems sufficient to say that when all the nations of the world are ready to cooperate in other ways it may be possible to get together on the exchange of honest news. Until then, no. The report itself belies the supposed trend toward "internationalism" in its factual portions, showing that there were 15 national agencies in 1900 and 67 today, but no new international agencies have been created since 1918.

Agriculture Is in Relatively Good Shape

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, to hear some of the politicians speak it sounds as if agriculture and the farmers were on the brink of disaster. Nothing could be further from the truth. Farmers frequently get 100 percent of parity, thousands are getting such prices now and will continue to get their fair share of the national income. For example, hog prices are about 120 percent of parity and have averaged 100 percent of parity or more for 10 out of the past 12 months. Corn sold through hogs, as three-fourths is, is bringing about $2.50 per bushel or 139 percent of parity. Wheat if sold through hogs will bring near 100 percent of parity. Soybeans are now selling at 100 percent of parity; a year ago when Secretary Benson took office they were selling at 96 percent of parity; eggs selling at 101 percent of parity a year ago are now selling at 104 percent of parity.

The price decline, almost 2 years in progress when Secretary Benson took office, has now been checked. The parity ratio had gone down from 113 to 94 percent in January 1953 with 10 percent of this drop coming in 1952 with Secretary Brannan at the helm, or more appropriately apparently without either a helm or a charted course. During 1953 the ratio went down only 4 percent and now is back within 2 percent of where it stood a year ago. Not a bad record at all for a new Secretary confronted with the problems Secretary Benson was upon taking office.

The average prices for all farm products is now 92 percent of parity. It is not too difficult for capable farmers to pick up the other 8 percent, by producing what the market wants, producing high-quality products, and timing sales to get better prices. It is time some of the politicians seeking votes realized that Government can no more guarantee inefficient farmers a living than it can assume the debts of the 4 out of 5 new businesses that fail every year.

It is time we realized that the agricultural problems of this country will not be solved primarily by the Government, but by teamwork on the part of farmers, businessmen, and Government. All of the 161 million citizens of the United States must be constructively served if farmers are to be most prosperous. No narrow, selfish, or shortsighted farm program will meet the test.

A Deserving Tribute to William H. Eaton

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, one of Brooklyn's most beloved citizens who is admired by young and old alike is William H. Eaton, popularly known in our community as Billy Eaton. A young man of 73 years of age, he has been active in civic affairs in Brooklyn for more than a half-century and has held the post of chairman of Local School Board 32 for the past 34 years. In January of this year he was reelected to another term as head of the school board.

Billy Eaton is an old friend of mine, and I am very proud to count him among my friends. Our friendship goes back more than three decades to the time when I was in my late teens. Already then he was a popular figure in our neighborhood, known by all and loved by all. He was a great friend of my father's and it was through my father that I came to know him more intimately. Actually, I had known Billy Eaton from my grammar-school days, and my school diploma bears his signature in his capacity as member of the local school board.

Our friendship grew with the passing of the years. When I became interested in politics in the 1920's, it was Billy Eaton who guided and assisted me and acted as my mentor. He has continued in that capacity over the years. Always ready and willing to help others, he has never sought any honors for himself although on numerous occasions he was requested to seek public office. He has been content to stay in the background, be a "friend to man" and to contribute for the good and welfare of the community as a whole. His goal has always been to attain a happy community, homogeneous in scope, all working together for the good of the people, all cooperating in the attainment of a better life. In this way he has endeared himself to everyone.

Billy Eaton is truly a lovable character, selfless, and like a father to everyone who has had the pleasure of knowing him. He is married for the past 43 years to Mary Montague Eaton and they have a fine family consisting of 4 daughters and 4 sons. I know all of them. His daughters are Isabelle McGuinness, Gertrude Irving, Mary Bennett, and Alice Wahl. His sons are George, William, Jr., Thomas, and Eugene. He is also the proud grandfather of 21 grandchildren. Two of his sons served in our Armed Forces during World War II, and a grandson served in the Korean conflict.

Billy Eaton comes from an old family of American pioneers. His great-great-grandfather was one of the first settlers of Long Island at a place still known as Eaton's Neck, located in Suffolk County on Long Island Sound.

I extend to him my sincerest wishes for continued good health. I hope and trust he will be blessed with many more years of fruitful life and that he will be able to continue his great service for the people.

Mr. Speaker, I want to insert into the RECORD two brief articles about Billy Eaton. One appeared in the issue of January 15, 1954, of the Williamsburg News, a very fine community newspaper published in my district. The other is from the January issue of Roosevelt Thrift Talks, a monthly publication of the Roosevelt Savings Bank in Brooklyn. These articles are as follows:

[From the Williamsburg News of January 15, 1954]

EATON AGAIN HEADS LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD

William H. Eaton was reelected chairman of local school board 32 yesterday afternoon at the office of District Superintendent Samuel J. Levenson at Public School 26, 856 Quincy Street. Mr. Eaton has served in that capacity for 34 years having first been appointed by the late Edward S. Riegelman who served as borough president during 1920. He was reappointed by Borough Presidents James J. Byrne, Henry Hesterberg, Raymond Ingersoll, and has served under Borough President John Cashmore for the past 9 years.

Mr. Eaton is a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites, chairman of the board of directors of the Bushwick Civic Association, member of the Life Members Club of the Long Island Empire Chapter, Telephone Pioneers of America, Holy Name Society of St. John the Baptist. For a number of years he served as a trustee of the Brooklyn Public Library and as a secretary of the board of trade.

Other members of the school board are Mr. Ellis Weatherless, who was reelected as secretary, a position in which he has served for a number of years, being a member for 20 years. He is also a secretary of the Mount Vernon YMCA. The board members serving with him are Dr. Jack Ain, Mrs. Ester Grainsky, and Mrs. Lawrence Acquavella.

[From Roosevelt Thrift Talks of January 1954]

PORTRAIT OF A DEPOSITOR: WILLIAM H. EATON, CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD 32

Billy Eaton, chairman of local school board 32 since 1920, and a resident of this section for 50 years, is such a busy fellow that your thrift talks reporter wrote this article by interviewing him not once, but in snatches, at least a half dozen of them, over a period of several months.

Being busy is nothing new for Bill. All his life he has been full of bounce and pep. Keenly interested in everything under the sun, Billy long ago earned the nickname "Hustling Billy." When you finally catch up to him and hold him still long enough to talk to him he maintains that this lifelong practice is what keeps him young, and I believe he's right.

Always a sports fan and a great believer in athletics for youth, Billy Eaton was active in the organizing of some of Brooklyn's earliest amateur and semiprofessional groups. Some of these are the American Athletic Association whose clubhouse old timers will remember as having stood at Eastern Parkway and Bushwick Avenue, the Eaton Field Club and the Bushwick Amateur League consisting of 48 clubs with Billy Eaton as president. He was athletic coach for Our Lady of Good Counsel Parish Club for many years during the period when its track team was one of the best. Those were the days when every Sunday cross-country runs would be held in different parts of Brooklyn. As Billy says, "* * * when the boys were finished running they would shower and dress and go home, there was no opportunity for them to get into mischief." Around 1914 or thereabouts, Billy Eaton was trainer for the Putnam A. C. boxing team which fought regularly at the Crescent A. C. In his spare time he served as a sports writer for the Brooklyn Citizen and the Standard-Union. During the winter months when you'd think he'd be glad to rest, Billy was busy acting in amateur dramatics or in organizing billiard tournaments. Lawler Bros. Billiard Academy in the Shubert Theater Building was the scene of many of these events which were very popular and well attended.

Billy Eaton has always had a great sense of responsibility as a citizen. This has led him into various types of civic work. For example, he has been president of the Lafayette Community Center of P. S. 25, secretary of the old Broadway Board of Trade, chairman of Local School Board No. 32 since 1920, and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Brooklyn Public Library. In 1916 and again in 1917 he was a candidate for the State Assembly. Always ready to help when his aid was solicited, Billy Eaton earned a reputation as a fighter for community projects many, many years ago. He is presently active in the Bushwick Schools Community Council of Districts 32, 33, and 34 organized for promoting better understanding among the people of this community. During World War I, Billy took part in Liberty Loan work by making speeches on street corners and wherever else people would gather and listen. His talent for speechmaking has served Billy Eaton well in his capacity as school board chairman, for his is a familiar face at school assemblies and graduation exercises where children never tire of hearing his message.

The most important part of Billy Eaton's life, his family and his job, we have reserved for last. Twenty-one times a grandfather, Billy loves children. Some of his boys saw active service abroad in World War II. All 8 of his children graduated from P. S. 26 as well as 4 grandchildren. Although Billy is now retired after 32 years service, the New York Telephone Co. is still his big interest. He is a member of the Life Members Club of the Long Island Empire Chapter, Telephone Pioneers.

A long time ago, Thomas Riley Marshall, Vice President of the United States during Woodrow Wilson's term as President said that what this country needs is a good 5 cent cigar. That may be—but we'd like to add that it could use more good citizens of Billy Eaton's type. To him, citizenship in our great country is a responsibility and an obligation. His life has been devoted to

community service to help all the people regardless of race or creed. In these activities he has given his time willingly, not for personal gain, but because he believes it is his duty. No greater tribute than this could be paid to any man. Billy Eaton, Thrift Talks salutes you.

The United Nations and Private Property Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, last week the United Nations Human Rights Commission made a very important decision, the gravity of which the American people are not cognizant.

Since the Eisenhower Republican administration took over, our Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., has insisted that in the consideration of the human-rights covenants, the United Nations should include an article recognizing the right to own private property. During the latter part of February, the Commission held a week's debate on this subject which is of such great interest to the United States. However, on March 3, by a vote of 12 to 2, the Commission decided to adjourn, thus postponing indefinitely the inclusion of an article recognizing the right to own private property.

This means that our request that the rights of private property be recognized is denied and that the right to own property is to be looked upon not as a private right but as a political right. Insofar as we are by treaty a member nation of the United Nations, this failure to recognize the right to own private property as a human right contains far-reaching and dangerous implications. It will remain, of course, for the experts on constitutional law and the courts to eventually determine the extent to which we will be bound by such a covenant which does not include this most important right which is one of the fundamental guaranties in our Constitution.

In going back to the Declaration of Independence, we find these most significant words:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.

On the basis of these words of the Declaration of Independence, we set up our own Government under the written Constitution and all of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution recognized property rights the same as they recognized human rights. The history of the times of our Founding Fathers shows unequivocally that before they would sign the Constitution they insisted that the first 10 amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, be added to the Constitution. Based on the principle that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men," the Founding Fathers laid out in the fifth amendment to the Constitution definite words as to the protection of private property. In article V of the Constitution, they said, "nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

The Constitution plainly states that private property was to be regarded as a right the same as life or liberty and laid out the necessary protection of such property. Some time ago, the National Association of Real Estate Boards wrote to Mr. Warren Austin, who was then our United States representative to the United Nations, about the proposed United Nations covenant on human rights, which did not recognize the right to own private property as a human right, but which stated that it was the obligation of the governments becoming parties to the covenant to guarantee adequate housing to their citizens as a matter of political right. I have been informed that no reply was ever received from Mr. Warren Austin on this matter. Subsequently, on February 1, 1954, I wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., calling his attention to this matter in the letter set forth below:

> DEAR AMBASSADOR: It is my understanding that there is pending in the United Nations a Covenant of Human Rights, which covenant is intended to be presented to the United Nations for ratification. It has been brought to my attention that under this proposed covenant, the right to own property is not being considered a human right, and the language of the covenant would obligate the government that became a party to the covenant to guarantee adequate housing to its citizens as a matter of political right.
>
> Would you be good enough to inform me of the proposed language of this Covenant of Human Rights covering the problem of housing, and your opinion as to how this proposed covenant will affect the United States if adopted.
>
> Very truly yours.

Ambassador Lodge immediately replied, and his letter of February 8 is as follows:

> MY DEAR MR. SHEEHAN: In reply to your recent letter let me say that the present drafts of the Covenants on Human Rights, as you suggest in your letter of February 1, 1954, do not contain any mention of the right to own property. These drafts were written in previous years long before I became the United States representative and, of course, I have no responsibility for them whatsoever and, in fact, I strongly condemn the omission to which you refer.
>
> As a matter of fact, in order to correct this, on January 6, 1954, I officially informed the United Nations of the United States position that "the right to own property is important and that an article recognizing this right should accordingly be included in this covenant" (on economic, social, and cultural rights). It will undoubtedly be considered at the next session of the Commission opening February 23. The proposal reads as follows:
>
> "The states parties to this covenant undertake to respect the right of everyone to own property alone as well as in association with others.
>
> "This right shall be subject to the laws of the country in which the property owned is situated.
>
> "Expropriation may not take place except in cases of public necessity or utility in circumstances defined by law and subject to fair compensation."
>
> An article including housing appears in the draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. It reads:
>
> "The states parties to the covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate food, clothing and housing" (art. II).
>
> The President announced in 1953 that the United States would not sign or ratify either of the covenants. In reiterating this position to the Commission on Human Rights last year, the United States representative presented a new program which would encourage progress in the promotion of human rights among the various nations of the world without imposing treaty obligations upon them. We anticipate that this new program will receive consideration at the forthcoming session.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr.

Mr. Speaker, to the credit of the Republican Party, Mr. Lodge set out unequivocally the announced position of President Eisenhower and the Republican administration when he stated the President would not sign or ratify either of the covenants. The United States presented a new program which would encourage progress in the promotion of human rights among the various nations of the world without imposing treaty obligations upon them.

It is to be noted that the draft of the United Nations Covenants on Human Rights is still in the tentative stage and has not been voted upon in its entirety by the General Assembly or by any of the United Nations Commissions concerned with it. At present the various articles of the covenant are still the subject of individual discussions, preparatory to being agreed upon and presented to the United Nations General Assembly.

According to the Department of State bulletin of June 25, 1951, it was stated that the Commission on Human Rights had adopted article 23, providing that "states parties to the covenant recognize the right of everyone to adequate housing." The United Nations Human Rights Commission, by their action in turning down the United States proposal that an article be included in the covenant recognizing the right of everyone to own private property, indicates that there is little chance that the United Nations will recognize private property rights as we know them under our United States Constitution.

It is needless to comment on the socialistic implications of this covenant, because property would then be a political right and not a private right, and the taking over by the state of property of any kind would then become the right of the state, and the protection implicit in our Constitution of due process of law might be done away with. I feel that as far as the United States is concerned it will be up to the Supreme Court to decide whether or not the United Nations Covenant, if adopted, will affect the internal laws of the United States. From recent and past decisions and from the Court's interpretations of treaties being the supreme law of the land, I per-

sonally feel that we are in danger if this Covenant on Human Rights be adopted, until such time as the Supreme Court makes its final decision on the rights to own private property under the United Nations treaty agreement.

In the United States, there are an estimated 40 million owners of private homes, not counting the owners of land tracts, both agricultural and commercial, which ownership could be seriously jeopardized by this Covenant on Human Rights if officially adopted by the United Nations.

It is imperative that the American people be alerted to the inherent dangers of the socialistic proposals which are contained in the draft of the international Covenant on Human Rights. By being denied the right to own private property, men's rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness would be endangered in that without private property the people would be dependent upon the state because of their lack of a reserve of private property.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

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[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]

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Barrett, Frank A., *Wyo*.....The Woodner
Beall, J. Glenn, *Md*.....
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Bricker, John W., *Ohio*.....The Mayflower.
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Butler, John Marshall, *Md*.....
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Capehart, Homer E., *Ind*.....The Westchester.
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Case, Francis, *S. Dak*.....4545 Conn. Ave.
Chavez, Dennis, *N. Mex*.....3327 Cleveland Ave.
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Cooper, John S., *Ky*.....
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Douglas, Paul H., *Ill*.....
Duff, James H., *Pa*.....
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Eastland, James O., *Miss*.....5101 Macomb St.
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Flanders, Ralph E., *Vt*.....
Frear, J. Allen, Jr., *Del*.....
Fulbright, J. William, *Ark*.....2527 Belmont Rd.
George, Walter F., *Ga*.....The Mayflower.
Gillette, Guy M., *Iowa*.....
Goldwater, Barry M., *Ariz*.....
Gore, Albert, *Tenn*.....
Green, Theodore Francis, *R. I.*.....University Club.
Griswold, Dwight, *Nebr*.....Sheraton Park
Hayden, Carl, *Ariz*.....
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Hennings, Thomas C., Jr., *Mo.*.....
Hickenlooper, Bourke B., *Iowa*.....5511 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.
Hill, Lister, *Ala*.....
Hoey, Clyde R., *N. C*.....The Raleigh
Holland, Spessard L., *Fla*.....Sheraton Park
Humphrey, Hubert H., *Minn.*.....
Hunt, Lester C., *Wyo*.....
Ives, Irving M., *N. Y*.....
Jackson, Henry M., *Wash*.....
Jenner, William E., *Ind*.....
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Kuchel, Thomas H., *Calif*.....
Langer, William, *N. Dak*.....The Roosevelt.
Lehman, Herbert H., *N. Y*.....Sheraton Park
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Young, Milton R., *N. Dak*.....Quebec House So.

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Sergeant at Arms—Forest A. Harness.
Secretary for the Majority—William T. Reed.
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Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, 619 S. Lee St., Alexandria, Va.
Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower.
Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.
Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Jackson, of New York, McLean, Va.
Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.
Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.
Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

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Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 4916 Flint Dr., Westgate, Md.
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UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

(United States Court House, 3d and Constitution Ave.)

Office telephone	*Chief Judge*	*Residence telephone*
	Harold M. Stephens, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Adams 4-6420
	Circuit Judges	
	Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Emerson 3-6017
	Bennett Champ Clark, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Decatur 2-8570
	Wilbur K. Miller, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		North 7-8109
	E. Barrett Prettyman, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Oliver 2-3263
	David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Emerson 2-0544
	Charles Fahy, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Emerson 3-6267
	George T. Washington, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		Adams 2-6327
	John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D. C.	
Sterling 3-5700		District 7-4704

COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone, National 8-4696)

Chief Judge—Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee, 3550 Springland Lane.
Judge—Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va.
Judge—Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana, 4318 Warren St.
Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St. North, Arlington, Va.
Judge—William P. Cole, Jr., of Maryland, 100 West University Parkway, Baltimore, Md.
Judge—Joseph R. Jackson (retired), of New York, Westchester Apts.

THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS

(Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone, District 7-0642)

Chief Judge—Marvin Jones, of Texas, 1500 Massachusetts Ave.
Judge—Benjamin H. Littleton, of Tennessee, 4607 Connecticut Ave.
Judge—Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee, 4921 Quebec St.
Judge—J. Warren Madden, of Pennsylvania, 300 East Broad St., Falls Church, Va.
Judge—Vacancy.

EMERGENCY COURT OF APPEALS

Washington 1, D. C.

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Judge—Calvert Magruder, Boston 9, Mass. (Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.)
Judge—Thomas F. McAllister, Grand Rapids, Mich. (United States Circuit Judge for the Sixth Circuit.)
Judge—Walter C. Lindley, Danville, Ill. (United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit.)
Judge—Bolitha J. Laws, Washington, D. C. (Chief Judge, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES

District of Columbia

(Washington 1, D. C.)

Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws

Judges

F. Dickinson Letts	Edward M. Curran
James W. Morris	Edward A. Tamm
David A. Pine	Charles F. McLaughlin
Matthew F. McGuire	Burnita S. Matthews
Henry A. Schweinhaut	James R. Kirkland
Alexander Holtzoff	Walter M. Bastian
Richmond B. Keech	Luther W. Youngdahl

UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.)

Phone, Liberty 5-6700

Chief Judge	Robert E. Quinn
Judge	George W. Latimer
Judge	Paul W. Brosman
Commissioner	Richard L. Tedrow
Clerk	Alfred C. Proulx

Appendix

TV Report on Retail Sales

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, in the course of a recent TV panel debate, some statements were made by my colleague, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] with respect to sales tax collections in Illinois as an indicator of a sharp decline in business.

The matter quickly came to the attention of the very distinguished Governor of Illinois, the Honorable William G. Stratton, who immediately issued a statement with reference to it. The Governor's statement speaks for itself, and I ask that the article referring to it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ASSAILS TV REPORT ON RETAIL SALES

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., March 9.—Governor Stratton today denounced Senator DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, as "poorly informed and irresponsible."

At a press conference Stratton criticized a recent television appearance by DOUGLAS in which the Senator said retail sales in Illinois were down 33 percent in January under the comparable month of a year ago.

DOUGLAS quoted figures from the State treasurer's report saying sales tax totaled $17,200,000 in January 1953 and $11,500,000 in January 1954. This, he said, showed a "fall of one-third in retail sales."

CITES LAW CHANGES

The Governor told reporters DOUGLAS' figures were deposits in the general revenue fund before all collections for the 2 months had cleared for deposit.

Actually, he said, collections for January this year were $20,314,793 and for January 1953 they were $20,948,505. The drop, he said, was due partly to changes in the law. The State no longer collects taxes from municipal government purchases or charitable institutions, which means a loss of about $250,000 a month, he said. Further, he said, the 1953 collections were taken from certain service industries in addition to retailers. Those occupations are no longer taxed under supreme court rulings.

Stratton said he was amazed that DOUGLAS, knowing he was on a national hookup, would be as careless as to use the figures he quoted as a major argument. The first glance should have told him that they were wrong, Stratton said.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING

The statement by DOUGLAS was irresponsible, he said, and shows a "regrettable lack of understanding of the State and national economy."

"The startling part," he told reporters, "is that the speaker could be so poorly informed and fail so miserably to give proper consideration to the actual facts.

"I can't imagine a man with that background having so little regard for the facts."

In Washington, DOUGLAS said:

"I quoted the figures on the retailers' occupation tax receipts from the report of Elmer J. Hoffman, Treasurer of Illinois, a Republican.

CITES STATE REPORT

"This report, on page 8, stated that receipts from the retailers' occupation tax for January 1953, amounted to $17,180,913.05, and for January 1954, were $11,490,549.60. This was a decline of 33 percent.

"This figure for January 1954 was also shown on page 4 of the report. If there are errors in this report, they are the errors of the Republican State treasurer in figures which I had assumed were correct.

"The Governor should reconsider who was irresponsible."

DOUGLAS spoke in a television debate with Representative BENDER, Republican, of Ohio, citing Illinois' tax collections as a startling indication of the current business slump.

REJECTS TAX BOOST

On the subject of sales tax, Stratton spiked a proposal made by Representative Paul Powell, Democrat, of Vienna, minority leader in the Illinois House, to raise sales taxes 1 cent on a dollar to establish a $100 million mental hospital building program.

There is no need for a sales tax increase, Stratton said. He added that he does not believe in earmarking tax funds which normally go into general revenue, no matter how worthy the purpose. Further, he said, it might be difficult to have the tax taken off, if it once were assessed. It is easier to raise taxes than to lower them, he noted.

The Governor said the letting of highway building contracts, March 23, will total $17,900,000, which he said he believes is the largest letting in recent years. It will bring to $30 million the amount of highway contracts let this year. The year's program is for $84 million in construction, he said, and added that he is eager to get to work on it.

Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the remarks of former President Herbert Hoover before the National Press Club in Washington, on March 10, 1954, relative to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

I had the pleasure of being present for this occasion, and believe the remarks of former President Hoover, who is Chairman of the Commission, will be of value to the Members of the Senate and to others who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

(Remarks of Herbert Hoover before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., March 10, 1954)

This is not a speech—it is just a few remarks.

Your chairman thought you would be interested in knowing how far we have gotten along with this second Reorganization Commission. I may warn you in advance that if you can find high humor in reorganization of the Government, you have that sense more highly developed than I have.

The major purpose of this Commission is to find ways of saving money for the taxpayers.

The first Commission of 5 years ago secured legislation or administrative action on about 70 percent of our recommendations. At that time the national budget was about $42 billions and our economies were badly obscured when the budget rose to $72 billions.

The first Commission removed most of the roadblocks against self-reorganization within the departments. Therefore, this time we are mainly concerned with problems that involve several agencies, no one of which alone can solve the issue. Last time we had a limited authority. It did not cover policy questions. This time our authority to inquire and to recommend is almost unlimited. The law provides, however, that we leave the Congress alone. This time we are required to present the actual legislation which will express our recommendations in legal terms. This time we have some teeth. We can subpena documents and persons.

However, ours is not a so-called witch hunt. This is a job of cooperating with the able men in leadership of the executive agencies and the Congress. Nor is this a star chamber performance. Any responsible person, who has a deep emotion over how to save money, is welcome to give us his views.

The first Commission developed the idea of dividing its work among task forces. The job of the task force is to determine exhaustively the facts, and to make recommendations based upon the facts. This task-force method differs from most other governmental committees of inquiry. It provides for a more exhaustive determination of fact. Beyond this, it secures judgment and recommendations from men of ability and responsibility, all of whom have had experience in that particular executive field of the Government. None of them represent any special interest.

No one would minimize the immense importance of inquiries by congressional committees. The difference is that they are seldom specialists in these matters. And among their multitude of responsibilities they have little time or staff for such highly technical inquiries. Moreover, few Members of the Congress have served in the executive branch of the Government.

Up to date we have set up 10 task forces, varying from 8 to 26 members on each. The 140 members of our staff so far chosen are solely from among professional men, business executives, or former Government employees. They are all men in responsible posi-

tions outside the Government. Government spending and taxes are no academic abstraction to them. They cause them acute grief. The response I have had to requests for such service is magnificent proof of Americans' public devotion. Practically all of them are giving their time, other than out-of-pocket expenses, without remuneration.

These task forces already set up cover the Federal fields of water resources and power, business organization of the Department of Defense, medical services, subsistence services, procurement, lending agencies, budget and accounting, civil service, legal services and procedure, and use and disposal of surplus property.

The theory and practice of the disposal of surplus property came down from the general who commanded the first army when gunpowder was invented. I have no doubt he kept his crossbows in storage for 30 years thereafter.

All of the task forces are now in the midst of their inquiries and no horrid examples are ready for publication and no final recommendations have as yet been put on paper. However, we are learning a lot.

From discussions with officials and task-force leaders, I am convinced that if we could secure all our desires from the Congress, we could save $5 to $7 billion per year without injury to the necessary functions of the Government. Those sums are equal to 15 or 20 percent of the personal income tax.

However, I never expect perfections on this earth.

Over the past 30 years I have taken part in four official efforts to reorganize the Federal executive branch. Two or three years after the first commission on which I served I made a public address over its funeral. I said:

"Practically every single item has met with opposition from some vested official, or it has disturbed some vested habit, and offended some organized monopoly. All of them are in favor of every item of reorganization except that which affects the activity in which they are specially interested. In the aggregate, these directors of vested habits and propaganda surround the Congress with a confusing fog of opposition. Meantime, the inchoate voice of the public gets nowhere but to swear."

Here ended that funeral sermon of 28 years ago.

But we did better 5 years ago, and I am confident that we will do even better this time. My confidence is based upon the fact that the tax burden is becoming highly annoying to the citizen—and he may neutralize some of the pressure groups.

I might dwell for a moment on this pressure group problem.

There are probably 200,000 voluntary associations of some kind or another in the United States, most of which give voice for or against something relating to government. Except for the collectivists, they are one of the essential foundation piers under the American system of life. They perform millions of services in developing public understanding and public action. My rough guess is that about 200 of these groups occupy themselves pressuring the Government for more spending or in opposing any reductions. In this opposition, they are not always polite.

Nor do all these pressures come from the voluntary associations. The municipalities press the State governments, and the State governments press the Federal Government.

All pressure groups got their spiritual motto from Ben Franklin's remarks that "God helps those who help themselves." If Ben were alive today, he would say: "Freemen were not created by drives of pressure groups against the public treasury."

There is today a saving antidote which comes from that host of associations which do battle with the pressure groups. After the last Commission, the press not only opposed them, but the citizens organized to oppose them, and other associations went into battle with them. Thereby we had more success. However, several pressure groups came out victorious in spite of these efforts.

If by some unexpected dispensation, these 200 groups, who seek more spending or who resist economies, would take a holiday for 2 years, we could possibly get the $5 to $7 billions about which I spoke. And each member of these pressure groups would have a possible reward in Heaven and a positive reward in this life of reduced taxes.

One of the national problems is the growth of bureaucracy. Some of the gigantic expansion from 600,000 to 2,400,000 civilians in Government during the past 20 years, is due to the necessities of defense, some to the necessity of collecting immense taxes, and so on. But some of it is due to just the sheer exfoliation of empire which is a step to personal greatness. The Commission will be pointing a finger when we get further along with our work.

No doubt life was simple about 160 years ago when our Government was getting under way. At that time there was less than 1 Federal civil employee to 1,400 people. Today there is 1 Federal civil employee to about every 70 persons in the population. If this trend keeps up, there will be more chiefs than Indians.

The people in this city are greatly interested in the civil service. It is the greatest industry in the town. I may say at once that all my public life I have supported the idea of a professional, nonpolitical, protected and pensioned body of skilled civil servants. I can claim some merit for legislation to that end. But any civil service to be efficient and to command public respect must be builded upon competitive examination through the bipartisan Civil Service Commission, and promotion must be based on merit. But those principles have been badly messed up.

In the 20 years from 1932 to 1952, the Congress has enacted 72 laws exempting segments of the service from passing the civil service merit gate. Other entrances around the gate also have been discovered. How many got in without a pass, I do not know accurately, but the latest estimate I have heard is that the percentage who had passed through the merit gate had decreased from over 80 percent to about 50 percent. Some day I wil give you a more accurate figure. You have heard that term "blanketing in." That term also connotes "to cover up."

There is a bothersome problem that involves about 3,000 to 4,000 Federal employees out of this 2,400,000. They are those occupying policymaking or confidential positions. Our system of Government revolves around the two major party system. When a party is newly elected to Government, it comes in with a mandate from the people to carry out certain policies. It is of vital national importance that the policymaking employees shall believe in and give zeal to the consummation of those policies. That is important to both political parties. There are roadblocks in the way.

I have received a deluge of communications on how to make the Government more efficient. Many of them are wise and helpful. Some of them come from those who believe they are efficiency experts. They sometimes remind me of an efficiency expert who was sent from New York to improve the methods of a western industrial operation in the middle of a snowy winter. An old Irish driver and his sleigh were sent to fetch the newcomer at the depot. The Irishman started to tuck the buffalo robe about the efficiency expert when his passenger reprimanded him for putting the hair side of the robe on the outside. The expert insisted that the leather side should be on the outside as that would be more efficient in keeping out the cold. As they rode along, the driver kept chuckling. Finally the efficiency expert could stand it no longer and asked the Irishman what he was amused at. The Irishman replied: "Oh nothing, Mister, I was just wondering why somebody did not tell that to them buffaloes."

Tariff On Wool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER C. HUNT
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. HUNT. Mr. President, pursuant to the permission granted me early in the session today, I present for publication in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Next Move on Wool," published in the Journal of Commerce of March 9, 1954.

The editorial is as follows:

THE NEXT MOVE ON WOOL

The President's rejection of Tariff Commission proposals to impose an additional 10-cent levy on every pound of imported raw wool was not announced by the White House, but by Secretary Dulles, who merely touched upon it in the course of a long speech in Caracas. Consequently, no complete explanation of this decision has yet been made through official channels.

Nevertheless, the President had good reason for what he did.

This is not to say domestic wool producers have found the sledding easy. Nor should anyone blame them too much for grasping at any straw that seems to hold some promise of alleviating their difficulties, even if only for a short time.

The tariff is one of these. It is high now (25½ cents per pound), but if it should be raised another 10 cents, imports would be further discouraged and the domestic product might be more widely marketed for a limited period.

But it is just as clear that the primary problem of domestic wool producers lies not in the tariff, but in the stiff competition their products have been getting from synthetic fibers.

If domestic production declined last year, so did imports, especially during the second half. Both declined because the market itself declined.

So, while it may be true that higher import duties would keep more foreign wool fibers out of the United States market, it is not necessarily true that they would sustain domestic sales of apparel wool over any considerable period. On the contrary, by driving wool prices higher, they would only aid and abet the onward march of synthetics a the expense of wool.

The alternative proposed by the administration is a Government subsidy to wool growers covering the difference between parity and the going price. It would be financed by 70 percent of the revenues collected in the form of duties on imported wool.

This plan (like the Brannan plan, to which it has been compared) is limited to wool, and appears to have one advantage, at least. It would extend aid in a form which would not simultaneously drive up prices. Thus it would give producers some scope for maneuver against competing synthetics.

By normal standards the subsidy should be considered a last resort as an instrument of Government economic policy. Yet there are cases, of course, in which it is necessary.

Shipping is one, for ships and shipyards are required in the interests of national defense. A fairly compelling case can also be made out for wool. It is a special case in the agricultural field, and perhaps special treatment can be justified.

However, far too little is yet known about how this program would work, even though it has already been approved by the Senate Agriculture Committee.

It involves, for example, an open-end subsidy, since no one seems to know what it would cost—and if domestic production goes up while consumption drops, it might cost a very great deal indeed. Moreover, the proposed financing methods offer a doubtful precedent. If revenues from wool duties are used for subsidies, why should not duties on repairs to United States vessels abroad be earmarked for shipyard subsidies? And so on.

For these reasons we are disturbed by reports that the House Agriculture Committee does not intend to report this proposal as a separate measure, but will incorporate it in the general farm bill—that is, as part of a package.

Legislative processes being what they are, this could mean that Congress may never get a chance to judge this measure on its merits. It will be most difficult in any case to subject the broader problems raised by the wool plan to the thoroughgoing study they merit—not so long as they are compressed into the larger bill by election-year pressures.

We hope the committee will not follow this course. If the legislative maneuver it has indicated is familiar, it is none the more palatable for it.

We Have Means To Stop a Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "We Have Means To Stop a Depression," from the Saturday Evening Post of March 13, 1954. The editorial was written by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS].

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WE HAVE MEANS TO STOP A DEPRESSION

(By PAUL H. DOUGLAS, United States Senator from Illinois)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Senator DOUGLAS, author of the book Controlling Depressions (Norton) and past president of the American Economic Association, is a key Democrat on congressional committees dealing with the national economy.)

Are we headed for another depression? Must we worry about the possibility of another period of economic stagnation with all its unemployment, loss of markets, and human suffering? The answer is a flat "No." We are a different nation and a different people from what we were back in 1929 when the great depression began.

But the biggest mistake we could possibly make is to sit back with the comfortable feeling that everything is nice and rosy. The very fact that we won't is what gives me the confidence to predict that we will not have any such depression as we had in the early thirties. That plus a lot of antidepression safeguards now in operation and a hardheaded American citizenry.

We have no reason to fear a cold, calculating look at the present situation. We must be willing to do this, just as a patient must have an occasional medical checkup, and take care of minor ailments before they become a major illness. If we subject the United States to an economic diagnosis we shall find a few aches and pains. This does not mean that we must be worrisome hypochondriacs—only that we take what economic pains we have into account and treat them wisely instead of pretending they don't exist.

So let's take a look. Unemployment and business failures are rising. Farm income and manufacturing are declining. Steel production and freight-car loadings, both barometers of business conditions, have fallen markedly. Mail-order sales have declined and prices in many lines have come down as competition intensifies.

Reciting these facts will not cause people to run to cover, hoard their money, and cause a depression. What will give them confidence is an American alert to the shifting winds and ready to act if conditions continue to worsen.

We are in a period of "readjustment," "recession," or whatever you want to call it. But total production, employment, and income are still high. More than that, we have a lot of safety nets scattered about. No one can underestimate the damage to a man's morale which is caused by losing his job, but nowadays he has unemployment compensation to help him until he can find another job. The aged person out of work can usually fall back on social security or some other kind of pension. Other workers are protected by minimum-wage laws. The amount of the farmer's income in relation to the prices he pays is at the lowest point in 12 years, but farm price supports will not let the bottom drop out of his market. And the businessman knows that these safeguards help to maintain purchasing power to buy his goods or services.

Government guaranties let us put money in the banks or savings and loans without fear of a run. We have laws curbing speculation in the stock market and outlawing fraudulent stocks. Home mortgages no longer come due all at once, being paid off monthly. Borrowing money can be made easier by use of credit policies regulated by the Federal Reserve Board. Reciprocal-trade agreements keep our foreign markets open.

We had practically none of these safeguards in 1929. Still, prosperity, like peace, cannot be taken for granted. We need to watch our various aches and pains as they develop and deal with them as necessary. We may be protected against another depressing debacle like the one that afflicted us in the early thirties, but if we let these maladjustments multiply, we could get ourselves into a really serious situation.

What should we do now—and what should we do if our economy worsens? We have already permitted the excess-profits tax and some of the income-tax increases to lapse. We should also refuse to extend many of the increases in excise taxes on consumer goods. These reductions, combined with loosening up on income-tax deductions, should help to keep up purchasing power and hence consumption, employment, and income.

We should permit at least a limited expansion of needed public works and encourage construction. Here we could do more to clear the slums and rehouse low-income groups. Our home-loan programs should encourage the building of well-planned dwellings for persons with moderate incomes. We need new hospitals and school buildings and better highways.

This does not mean we should build every local "pork barrel" project suggested. Public works should be designed to contribute a maximum of wealth and well-being. Nor does it mean that we should jump immediately into a massive, multi-billion-dollar construction program. That should come only if the situation becomes very grave indeed. But we ought to have a shelf of public works ready to move if such a condition should arise.

What happens to the budget if we get into such a program? I have always fought for strict economy in Government. Am I now departing from this principle? I don't think so. I still refuse to concede that waste in Government helps anybody, that "pork barrel" projects help the Nation, or that huge subsidies to a favored few are necessary to the national economy. We should make drastic cuts in these areas, so that wise tax reductions and some worthwhile public works can get under way.

In a period of full employment the Government budget should be balanced and, indeed, preferably show a surplus. But when unemployment is high and business is contracting, it is proper for the Government to act to help make good the shrinkage in private purchasing power. I am therefore willing to run a large budgetary deficit if our economy gets into really bad shape. But if we keep our eyes and ears open and act as conditions warrant, there should be no need for such drastic policies.

Immigration of Refugees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, last Sunday Hon. Philip B. Perlman, former Solicitor General of the United States, and Chairman of the President's Commission on Immigration, delivered an address at the 50th anniversary meeting of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of Baltimore. The address dealt with the subject of immigration, with special reference to the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

The occasion was an important one for this fine organization, marking 50 years of humanitarian service by HIAS in the city of Baltimore. This particular chapter of HIAS is one of the outstanding branches of this great organization.

I ask unanimous consent that the remarks by this distinguished and outstanding citizen be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME

(Address by Philip B. Perlman, former Solicitor General of the United States, and Chairman of President Truman's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, before HIAS—Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society—on the occasion of the celebration of its golden jubilee, at the Alcazar, Cathedral and Madison Streets, Baltimore, Md., March 7, 1954)

You have conferred an unusually high honor and a great privilege upon me by inviting me to be with you tonight in celebration of your golden jubilee—the 50th anniversary of the founding of what is now

known as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Baltimore, Md., a constituent of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Baltimore, and a member of the family of immigrant aid organizations, with national and international headquarters in New York, branches in six major cities in this country, and offices in important key places throughout the world. You followed the parent society in New York by 20 years, so that your immediate ancestor has reached the ripe age of three score and ten, once considered as venerable for human beings but now, thanks to the advances made by science, but the beginning of a period of usefulness, enriched by experience and knowledge. As for the Baltimore society, at the age of a mere 50 years—a half century—it is still in the full flush of strength and youth. Its enthusiasm for achievement is guided and tempered by what it has been able to do and by what it has learned during the most tempestuous period in the history of mankind—a period of stress and strife, a period of global wars, of the wholesale destruction of people and property, the ruination of nations and empires. It is a period during which there have been resettlements of vast populations, some to displace those expelled from their ancestral homes, others fleeing from threatened imprisonment, starvation, and death at the hands of ruthless dictators, and still others who are the survivors of those who risked their lives to escape from the horrors, the miseries, and terrors of life behind the Iron Curtain.

Ancient prejudices between the races, the predeliction of the strong to oppress the weak, the evils that flow from ignorance and from groundless fears, have all contributed through the ages to produce refugees seeking safety, peace and freedom, and the opportunity to pursue happiness. Until recent times the spectacle of the expulsion of large groups from lands in which they had lived for many generations was fairly rare in the world's history. We Jews have been the victims of mass persecution from time to time beginning, at the early dawn of civilization, with the escape of Moses and his people from Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs. A few short years ago, however, the Nazis expelled others from large territories, and then were expelled themselves, and Poles and Italians and others have been pushed one way and then another as the tides of wars rose and fell, and the commands of conquerors were enforced. We have had refugees and we have had expellees, but today, as for years past, the highways and byways of Europe and parts of the Middle East and Asia and Africa witness the sufferings of tens, even hundreds, of thousands of refugees, expellees, and escapees—three groups of human beings starved and robbed and set adrift to mark ruthless lust for power, living proof of man's cruelty to man.

Your organization—HIAS—is one of those great organizations which has never faltered nor lost hope in the presence of the man-made disasters which have been sweeping the world. As millions have suffered and died in and out of concentration camps, unable to continue the struggle for existence in strange lands and among strange people, you found, in the midst of overwhelming calamity, more and more opportunity to rescue your fellow man from utter destruction, to rehabilitate him, in Biblical language to "restoreth his soul," to make friends for and with him, to give him back his dignity and enable him to enjoy the blessings of freedom.

As the great Senator from New York, the Honorable HERBERT H. LEHMAN, said a few weeks ago at the annual meeting of HIAS in New York, "any tribute pales besides the record of achievement—the actual deeds of HIAS—through the years. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens, and their children, and their children's children, owe their presence in America and their very lives to HIAS and its great works."

HIAS has concerned itself with the needs of the immigrant—to help him to come here and to assist him to be a credit to himself and to the land which gives him shelter. HIAS works to preserve the American tradition of hospitality and welcome to the immigrant—the tradition so beautifully expressed by George Washington in 1783 when he said: "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions, whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment."

No words of mine can express adequately the sense of satisfaction, of pride, which every good American, irrespective of race or creed, must feel when he studies the record of achievement made by the national organization of HIAS during the past 70 years, together and in cooperation with other organizations engaged in the same endeavor on behalf of the immigrant, the alien, and the friendless of the Jewish faith and of all other faiths; for, as Senator LEHMAN has said, "You and the other organizations—sectarian and nonsectarian—which are occupied with this mission truly represent the flowering of the best and finest spirit of America."

It is, therefore, with a deep sense of personal pride that I can say truthfully that HIAS of Baltimore City has kept pace with its affiliated organizations in other parts of America and, above all, with its parent organization wherever it functions all over the globe. You have met every emergency and every test put to you, and you have done your work with the enthusiasm, the warm-hearted energy, and the unfailing integrity that have made the record of HIAS of Baltimore City unsurpassed anywhere. I did not come here to pay you tribute, or to try to heap praise on your officers and members for the splendid contribution you have made to the welfare of our community and our Nation; I came here to thank you, to express my gratitude to you for the brilliant page you have written in the history of my native city.

The immediate future holds still greater opportunities for you, and I know you will take full advantage of them. The impending consolidation of HIAS—the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society—with USNA—the United Service for New Americans—under the name of the United HIAS Service, with plans to assume the responsibilities of the joint distribution committee in the field of migration, will open new avenues for service in behalf of immigrants, of aliens, and of friendliness, here and abroad. This coordination of effort, and combination of resources, is certain to produce plans and programs of still greater permanent value than anything achieved in the past. The merger comes at a critical point, and should add needed strength to the struggle for reform in our country's immigration policies—a struggle which is just beginning to materialize.

During the past 20 or 30 years, the pendulum has been swinging backward. The American tradition of hospitality and welcome has been violated, and in its place there has been substituted an attitude of hostility, of unjustified fear and prejudice, and the imposition of discriminations and prejudices that make a hollow mockery of the policy laid down by George Washington and followed so fruitfully for many generations. The McCarran-Walter Act, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, passed by Congress over President Truman's veto, embodies a complete reversal of the policies that contributed so greatly to the growth of this Nation from a few communities on the Atlantic seaboard to the great Nation that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, together with Alaska and Hawaii, and other possessions and interests overseas; that has a population of more than 160 millions; that has grown in strength and wealth until its people have the highest standard of living ever enjoyed by any nation in all history, and that is recognized as the leader of all free peoples to meet the challenge and menace of the Communist powers behind the Iron Curtain. The McCarran-Walter Act must go. It never should have been passed, and never would have been passed if there had been the time and the means to educate the people to many iniquities and hardships and miseries it was certain to impose upon helpless people.

But of still greater interest at the present time is the so-called Refugee Relief Act of 1953. This measure, draped in the false garments of humanity, generosity, kindness, and brotherly love, is in reality the perpetration of an outrageous fraud on the American people. It was enacted into law on August 7, 1953, and during the following month I made an address on the subject here in Baltimore City, in the course of which I said (and I am quoting from that address):

"The Refugee Relief Act of 1953, despite the benefits it will confer on some people in need of assistance, is in many respects the most discriminatory, the most restrictive, and generally the worst piece of legislation on the subject ever enacted in the history of this Nation. Under the guise of extending a helping hand to the victims of war and the aftermath of wars, the Emergency Relief Act of 1953 gives full play to outrageous and indefensible prejudices, detrimental to our way of life at home, and destructive of our efforts abroad to provide leadership for the free peoples of the world in the quest for peace and security. So far from attempting to eliminate or minimize any of the unworthy features of the McCarran-Walter Act, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 expressly adopts the discriminations and the other abuses of the McCarran-Walter Act, and then adds new ones, so drastic in scope as to destroy the hopes of many who have been dreaming of a safe haven in the United States.

"President Eisenhower must know that the emergency immigration legislation proposed by him, although inadequate and weak in many respects, was so mangled in the House and in the Senate, and finally in the conference committee of both Houses of Congress, as to bear little resemblance to what he thought was advisable. The President asked for emergency legislation to rescue within a period of 2 years a total of 240,000 refugees, expellees, and escapees, and to afford essential relief from surplus population problems in Europe (Italy, Holland, and Greece). This meant additional immigration at the rate of 120,000 annually for the 2-year period. The program was to be carried out by an administrator appointed by the President. As finally passed, the act reduced the number from 240,000 to 209,000 (not including 5,000 aliens already in the United States as nonimmigrants, and whose status is to be adjusted). At the same time, the 2-year period for admissions was extended to about 3½ years. This means that, during the life of the program, the number authorized is at the rate of about 58,000 annually, or less than one-half the annual rate proposed by the President.

"It should be noted that under the McCarran-Walter Act, provision is made for the issuance of about 154,000 visas annually, but due to the national origins system of selection not more than approximately 72,000 or 73,000 are normally issued. This means that the additional number provided for by the Refugee Act of 1953, described by Senator WATKINS and others as a fine and generous

measure by the United States, does not, by a wide margin, even absorb the unused immigration quota visas authorized by existing law."

That is what I said about the so-called Refugee Act of 1953 in September of that year. On the day before I said that the Sun, right here in Baltimore, printed a long article by one of its Washington correspondents, Robert W. Ruth, under an eight-column caption entitled "First Aliens To Be Admitted Under New Law in October or November." The article contained an interview with R. W. Scott McLeod, Administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, named by Congress to be in charge of the refugee relief program. Mr. McLeod is the same official recently criticized for making a tour to deliver political speeches for the Republican National Committee. He is also the official recently relieved of responsibility for personnel matters in the State Department, but he still retains his authority over security matters and over consular affairs, including the administration of the refugee relief program.

Mr. McLeod was reported in the Sun as saying, "We are certain that by next spring we will be rolling ahead full steam." In the fall (1953) issue of Rescue, the publication of Hias, there is a group picture including Mr. McLeod, and a statement by Mr. McLeod in which he said: "The first few months will be required for administrative preparations. With these now about complete, I am confident that we will start the issuance of visas in December, and by early spring we should be rolling ahead at a very fast pace." The issuance of visas did not, as originally predicted, start in October or November, or even, so far as I know, in December. Today, March 7, marks exactly 7 months since the act went into effect on August 7, 1953.

Now I am going to tell you what has been accomplished under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, and under the administration of Mr. R. W. Scott McLeod. As of last week 6 visas for the admission of 6 persons had been issued. Exactly six, a mere half dozen. I have been told that one more had been issued, making a total of seven, but I haven't had the time to verify the additional one, and I give you the details I learned about the six. Two of the six were orphans, for whom special provisions were made in section 5 of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. That section contemplated the admission of 4,000 orphans who qualify under the special conditions laid down in the act, and it has taken 7 months to admit exactly two such orphans.

That leaves four adults (possibly five) who have been admitted under the provisions of our great refugee relief act. Three of these are Italians, and one is a Greek, and all four, I am told, were admitted under special priorities provided for in section 12 of the act. So the sum total to date of the results (maybe one more) is the admission of two orphans and four applicants with special priorities. Outside of these nobody has been admitted under the provisions of this act. The refugees, the expellees and the escapees who managed to survive—as others died or were recaptured to be tortured or perhaps put to death—the dash from behind the Iron Curtain, are largely where they were when the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 went into effect last August, except such of them as may have died or have been removed elsewhere in the meantime.

That the provisions of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 were unworkable was apparent to anyone who took the trouble to read it, and that is the reason I said last September, and I repeat here tonight, that that act is the worst piece of legislation ever enacted in the history of this Nation. It is more than a fraud on the American people. It is an insult to the intelligence of the American people, a lasting blot on the record of the Congress responsible for its passage. I am told that steps are underway to change the regulations or the forms required to be submitted, and also that bills are pending to amend the law itself. The situation requires leadership, and leadership from the White House, from which the legislation came in the first place, but so far there have been no evidence of leadership, and but little evidence of even mild interest in the delays and failures of the entire program.

Spring, when the program was to be rolling ahead full steam, or rolling ahead at a very fast pace—take your choice of the Administrator's statements—is just around the corner. The Administrator, who can take time off to make political speeches, lacks the time or perhaps the ability—again take your choice—to get the program underway at all. It is high time, I submit, that all interested organizations, including HIAS, take off their gloves and fight for the rescue, the salvation, of the unfortunate human beings the program was designed to help. If we remain silent, if we remain inactive any longer we shall begin to share the guilt with those who are failing to execute the law. We can no longer do anything much about the discriminatory provisions of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, unless Congress acts to eliminate or modify the racist features of the law, but we can, we must, insist that anyone who can qualify should be admitted, and admitted without further delays.

And now I return to a consideration of the status of the McCarran-Walter Act. You are familiar with the fact that President Truman, soon after the passage of the act over his veto, appointed a Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, of which I had the honor to be Chairman, to study the subject and make a report. We completed our task on January 1, 1953, and our report, which was entitled "Whom We Shall Welcome," has been the basis for drafts of an entirely new code of immigration and citizenship laws. The work on the new code was done by a voluntary group of lawyers, college professors, and experts on immigration and naturalization laws. It took about 8 months of intensive effort, under the general supervision of Senator LEHMAN, and under immediate guidance of Julius C. C. Edelstein, Senator LEHMAN'S administrative assistant. The completed bill was introduced at the end of the 1st session of the 83d Congress. It was referred to committee, and there it stays, held prisoner by a hostile Congress, and unmentioned, if not entirely forgotten, by the President of the United States.

When he was a candidate for office, President Eisenhower pledged himself to bring about a revision of the McCarran-Walter Act. He has done practically nothing to fulfill his pledge. He asked the 1st session of the 83d Congress to consider specific complaints he had received. Congress, of course, did nothing. President Eisenhower's second state of the Union message failed even to mention the subject. So far this session the President has neither submitted any legislation or indicated any interest in the subject. Meanwhile our immigration laws are based on the national-origin systems of admission, discrimination on account of race and creed and color. No other free nation on earth writes such discriminations into its laws, and no other free nation has such a long list of statutory restrictions, the rotten fruit of unworthy suspicions, fears, and prejudices. The naturalized citizen is now a second-class citizen, for he is subject to restrictions from which the native citizens is exempt. Restrictions against visitors and temporary residents have created friction with the citizens and governments of other lands, and we have succeeded in irritating and offending our friends, and creating hostility. Meanwhile, we have destroyed homes, broken up families, and administered exclusion and deportation provisions without regard to mitigating factors, and with little regard for the human beings who may be unjustly treated. But this is hardly the place to detail the reasons why the McCarran-Walter Act does not belong on the statute books of the United States. What is needed now is a campaign of education, to alert the people to the vital necessity of a complete revision of the code of immigration and nationality laws—the kind of a code that is already drafted and awaits action by Congress. What is needed is a demand throughout the country that the President keep his pledge to work for a revision of the McCarran-Walter Act. We must not let him forget his promises. We must insist that he keep his promises to the people.

We have strayed from the straight path of kindness, of generosity, of hospitality for the innocent victims in the human struggle for existence.

The way back to the real American tradition is long and difficult. But the people, when they understand, are quick to act. The cause is just and right, and it shall prevail. HIAS will play its full part in helping to speed the dawning of a happier day.

Goofy Gossip

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, every so often I get tired of the portentous proscriptions of our top journalistic pundits, and when this happens I often seek peace and solace in the writings of my good friend B. M. (Andy) Anderson whose column Goofy Gossip appears in the Layton Journal.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert into the RECORD Andy's recent column on gloom spreaders:

GOOFY GOSSIP

As we think so do we do. As we do and think so does the Nation. Right now America is a confused mixture of prosperity and pessimism. Why the pessimism? Ever since World War II we have had blues singers telling us the ship of state is headed for disaster. The gloom glowers have continually been predicting hard times ahead.

Let's look at some facts and figures. At the end of World War II the pessimists predicted a wave of unemployment. Employment mounted to the unbelievable high of 63 millions and prosperity increased.

Then came Korea and again the calamity howlers predicted disaster. Again our free enterprise system met the occasion with the production of all the articles of war and still Mr. and Mrs. John Public had not alone the necessities of life but also the luxuries and no one suffered.

Then came the end of the Korea fighting and again calamity was predicted. So what happened? The Federal Reserve Board says production in 1953 was 8 percent above 1952 with 60 million people employed against a figure of only 54 million employed in 1945, when we had an all-out production for war.

So what are Gloomy Gus and Calamity Jane going to clamor about now? We are going to have adjustments to make. We can't expect anything else. We have been living in a fool's paradise for a good number of years and it may be a good thing to get back to earth and recognize that we can't spend ourselves into prosperity. Remember that safeguards and protection has been set up against an economic tailspin like we had in the 1930's. Again I say, as we think so do we do. Let's think right and put Old Man Gloom in the bag where he belongs.

So long till next time.

Words of Wisdom From Some of America's Greatest Clergymen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr., a distinguished member of the department of education of the Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, at College Heights, Ark.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WORDS OF WISDOM FROM SOME OF AMERICA'S GREATEST CLERGYMEN

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

Dr. Billy Graham is rendering a great service to mankind in his present campaign in England. Senator SYMINGTON and Senator BRIDGES have attended the services, and others will probably follow from official Washington.

The writer, an ordained Southern Baptist deacon since April 22, 1951, believes an ideal way to rejoice is to feast on words of wisdom from some of America's greatest clergymen.

The crimes of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Carl Austin Hall and Mrs. Bonine Brown Heady shocked the world. How could these people who had been law-abiding citizens for so long so err? They were executed for their crimes. The penalty was more severe than usual in American jurisprudence. Dr. Graham has said a Christian could not be a Communist, and Dr. J. Harold Smith has indicated it would appear extremely unlikely that Christians would commit adultery.

Rather than dwell on such topics it is in keeping with our heritage to consider the good things of life. It might be Dr. Earl Harding at the First Baptist Church, of Joplin, Mo., preaching to his vast audience or over WMBH on such subjects as Trying to Limit God and Weapons for Spiritual Conquest.

It might be Dr. R. Paul Caudill in his church, the First Baptist Church of Memphis, Tenn., preaching on the Birth of Jesus, or writing the Broadman Comments. Within the same city, it might be Dr. Robert G. Lee at the Bellevue Baptist Church giving out the word concerning Christmas convictions, or Christmas comments. The word is going out over KWEM and WHBQ also, and the training union play They That Sit in Darkness reached others.

It might be Dr. Worley Oscar Vaught, Jr., preaching at Little Rock, Ark., from his pulpit at the Immanuel Baptist Church on I Am Ready. Rev. Sam Choy has also feasted on the word there.

It might be Dr. J. Harold Smith in his pulpit of the First Baptist Church, of Fort Smith, Ark., concerned about Some New Year Resolutions, with Dr. L. A. Watson, noted Baptist minister from Denver, Colo., in the audience, or Dr. Smith's television program over KFSA–TV.

It might be Dr. J. D. Grey, as pastor of the First Baptist Church, of New Orleans, preaching on The Ideal Man, What God Requires, or The Sin Problem. Here we find WSMB and WJMR cooperating.

It might be at Senator Huey P. Long's old church in the same city, the St. Charles Avenue Baptist Church, with Dr. J. Lyn Elder concerned with Entering 1954 With Christ. The beauty of the new campus of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary may win the hearts of many.

So often we do not see great issues and great leaders along our path. It is possible that the Southern Baptist Convention might be permanently injured as a result of a superior court decision affecting the North Rocky Mount Baptist Church, of Rocky Mount, N. C., but will that danger be seen in time?

A true stone among the people in this area is Dr. John Leon Stone, chairman of the division of social science at Arkansas A. & M. College. Although the writer is in a different area, the worth of Dr. Stone was noted on February 4, 1954, by a visiting educational consultant. Not only did this educational statesman hold the attention of the faculty, the student body, and the visitors, but the guest took time from his prepared address to make references to Dr. Stone's devotional.

Dr. Stone, who was born at Greensburg, La., is married to the former Miss Martha Vera Jones, of Arcadia, La., and they have one son, John Leon Jr. Dr. Stone's dissertation, Jesus Christ in Relation to the Mosaic Law, has received favorable notice. He is also author of Plato and His Educational Ideas.

Mrs. Clyde E. Beach passed away on January 8, 1954, and Dr. J. O. Williams also went to his reward, yet a weary world can have a degree of peace by recognizing a true stone.

High Wages or High Tariffs?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 9, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Trainman News, official publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen:

HIGH WAGES OR HIGH TARIFFS?

Two things impress us about those who appeal for high tariffs and want to repeal the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. One, they make their appeal in the name of protecting American wage standards. Two, they are noted for doing everything possible to keep wages low while keeping tariffs high.

Are high-wage industries those enjoying high tariffs? Decidedly not. The low-tariff industries, such as steel and automobiles, have highest wages.

Those interests demanding high tariffs are the same interests who move from high-wage to low-wage areas in America—textile industries, hatters, and the like. We recently received a communication from one of these come-and-go-letterhead groups styling itself the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Export-Import Policy. For obvious reasons it does not reveal the true nature or extent of either its agriculture or labor support, if any. It complains that competition by low-wage nations has the effect of destroying some of our old and substantial industries, disrupting our economy, and beating down the hard-won American standard of living.

The same groups in the United States who complain of competition from low-wage nations also do their best to destroy every effort to raise wage standards in other nations. The International Labor Office, a U. N. technical agency, is striving to raise living standards in all nations, but the high-tariff boys in the United States are among those who consider ILO socialistic and a threat to our free economy.

These selfish groups are easily understandable. They have such a long record of fighting unions and every effort to improve living standards, of fighting efforts to eliminate from both domestic and international trade the monopoly, cartel, tariff, and other nationalistic restrictions, that they instinctively oppose all realistic efforts to improve living standards. And let it not be forgotten that nothing depresses living standards like impediments to the free flow of commerce—nothing generates jobs and raises living standards like free and abundant exchanges of goods.

This should be the goal of all nations, with such protections as may be necessary for their own national security and for the welfare of their own citizens who may be temporarily dislocated as a result of allowing the most productive and efficient to prevail on world markets. Farmers and industrial workers of every nation will find their overall, long-time economic interests are best served by the maximum possible of free trade within and among nations.

The welfare of those who are directly injured by imports is important, but so is the welfare of many times their number who directly and indirectly depend on imports and exports for their living.

Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a very interesting letter I received from Mr. Arthur W. Brown, director of the Greater Lawrence area, Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO, of Lawrence, Mass.

I know of no one in the Greater Lawrence area who is more familiar with and possessed of the facts concerning the depression in the textile industry in Greater Lawrence.

Mr. Brown for the past few years has worked honestly and zealously not only in his home city of Lawrence but in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and here in Washington, D. C., to seek assistance and support to relieve the textile depression. He has given not only hours but days and months of his time and his effort in searching for and working for employment for those persons in that distressed area. I compliment him and congratulate him on his outstanding leadership in that direction, and I assure him that I support his views in his letter to me, and that I too will continue my efforts in the future as I have in the past hopeful to find some avenue of relief for those unfortunate persons.

The letter follows:

GREATER LAWRENCE JOINT BOARD,
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA,
Lawrence, Mass., March 8, 1954.

Congressman THOMAS J. LANE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LANE: For approximately 3 years the Lawrence area has been designated by the Federal Government as a distress area. This designation, as you know,

is determined by the number of workers unemployed in relation to the number of workers in the available working force. The Federal Government has felt that where more than 6 percent of the available work force is unemployed in a given area, that area is in distress and needs help. Statistics show that well over 20 percent of the available work force in this area is unemployed.

No community likes to have the tag of distress area placed on it, but I think we would be less than realistic if we did not face up to it and attempt every possible means to correct the situation. It is common knowledge that in 1949 there were 28,000 textile jobs in Lawrence and today there are less than 5,000. The loss of these jobs is not due to removal to other areas, but is due in the main to mill closings and outright liquidations with utter disregard of the consequences to the thousands of employees who have given the best years of their lives to these companies. It is impossible to expect that enough small employers employing an average of 100 persons apiece are going to fill the void which is left by the liquidation of these textile grants.

Western Electric started a pilot plant in Lawrence over a year ago and as a result of their experience are now in the process of building a multimillion dollar plant in North Andover, which will employ approximately 3,000 workers. I believe that with proper help from the administration in Washington other nationally known companies such as General Motors, General Electric or U. S. Steel might be persuaded to locate in Greater Lawrence.

I suggest that a dual purpose could be accomplished if the Federal Government would immediately institute a Federal works program in this area to train people in new skills and to extend to these people unemployment benefits and to continue such a program until such time as these people have become trained and relocated in new jobs. I urge that you bring this matter to the attention of the Congress and press for action.

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR W. BROWN,
Director, Greater Lawrence Area.

The Burgess Boner

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, immediately after the present administration took office, they quickly put into operation the hard money, high interest policy. Interest rates were raised three-fourths of 1 percent by the issuance and sale of long-term Government bonds at 3¼ percent instead of the previous long-term rate of 2½ percent. This was setting the policy for an increase in interest rates on Government securities which when put into effect on the entire debt, would mean a $2 billion a year increase to the taxpayers. This issue is now selling at a premium of more than $9 on $100, or a capital gain of $100 million for those fortunate enough to have obtained the bonds. It is referred to as the Burgess boner.

Dr. Burgess is now pushing a policy of deflation by extending the maturity of the national debt at the very worst time possible to do so. There is only one good reason to lengthen the maturity of national debt at a time like this and that is to increase interest payments to banks and other lenders, and to give a few people in the Treasury Department, handling the national debt, more leisure time and fewer problems. It will result in higher cost to the taxpayers for decades to come.

LESSONS OF HARD MONEY

First. It was not difficult to restrict business by tight-money measures, but once business had been restricted it is proving difficult to expand it by easy money. It is easy to pull on a string, but difficult to push a string.

Second. In curbing the boom the administration substituted neither price stability nor economic stability but produced a recession instead.

Third. Hard money was intended only to clip the wings of the "goose that lays the golden eggs" but if the Democrats had not been effective in opposing this policy they would have killed the bird instead.

PROSPERITY FROM THE TOP DOWN—TRICKLE DOWN ECONOMICS

The present administration policy of trying to spread prosperity by helping a few wealthy individuals who would not use their increased wealth to buy goods or services, is like the cattleman trying to fatten his herd by feeding the bull.

Our productive capacity is sufficient now. Our present problem is consumption of the production. Automobile plants are capable of turning out 8 million cars this year, but only 5 million cars are likely to be produced. Steel companies capable of operating at 109 per cent of theoretical capacity are producing at the rate of 72 percent. There are two essentials for an economy operated in the interest of the general welfare of the people. They are: first, maximum production; and second maximum purchasing power.

But production and purchasing power cannot be maintained unless production is consumed. This makes it necessary that our purchasing power be spread were it will do the most good.

There is no urgent need at this time for additional savings to be used to finance investment for more production expansion, for two reasons: First, we have an excess of inventory at this time and second, manufacturing companies are obtaining such a large part—almost 100 percent of their financial requirements for expansion and modernization, by retained earnings, depletion, and depreciation allowances.

If additional tax savings are to be put into the hands of a wealthy few who do not need the money to buy consumer goods, it may result in bidding up the price of existing securities and start us down the road that we followed in the late twenties and preceding the bust of 1929.

Under the administration's tax program of being kind to coupon clippers a taxpayer with three dependents who receives $12,000 a year in dividends may pay no Federal income tax at all after 1956 whereas the taxpayer with three dependents who works and earns $4,000 per year or one-third the amount, will pay several hundred dollars in taxes.

It is important that we not encourage speculation and again make the mistake of the late twenties, by diverting more and more money from the hands of those who need it for consumer goods, and, who will spend it for consumer goods, into the hands of those who will use it for speculation in securities.

The rapid growth of money savings as compared with consumer expenditures in the twenties retarded rather than accelerated the growth of productive capital. The excess savings which entered the investment market served to inflate prices of existing capital goods and to produce financial instability. A larger relative flow of funds through consumptive channels would have led to a larger utilization of existing productive capacity and also to a more rapid growth of plant and equipment.

The above excerpt is from Controlling Factors in Economic Development, by Harold Glenn Moulton of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1949.

FLEXIBLE ECONOMICS FOR FARMERS, FOR LENDERS

The flexible farm program has its greatest support from the farmers who "farm" the farmers.

The flexible farm program means less money to the farmer. It will cause the farmer to work harder because he must produce more in order to make up for his lower price under the flexible program.

The flexible monetary program works the other way. It allows those who manufacture the money of the country, banks create money, to get more interest for this money, and means higher incomes and more leisure for lenders generally.

The largest cotton crop in the United States in any one year was in 1937. It was 19 million bales. The price at the time of making the crop was 53 percent of parity, which is an outstanding example of farmers working twice as hard to double their lower income so they would have the same amount for their standard of living.

HEAD-IN-THE-SAND ECONOMICS

Testimony before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report was that you cannot talk a country, with a sound economy, into a depression.

The National Association of Manufacturers' chief economist, Martin R. Gainsbrugh of the national industrial conference board, said before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report on February 17, 1954:

What has happened to production in virtually every major manufacturing industry since last summer warrants the technical label of "recession."

The staff of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report has warned that—

The possibility of inadequate total demand to sustain maximum employment and production amounts to $2 billion in fiscal 1954 and $13 billion in fiscal 1955. If this estimate of public and private programs is correct, for the first time in several years these programs add up to less demand than the economy can satisfy at maximum levels of employment and production.

The day after this staff report was published Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey announced he would urge the President to veto legislation providing for tax relief for lower and middle income groups by raising personal exemptions.

Mr. Humphrey stressed that he was optimistic that things are picking up already. (New York Journal of Commerce, March 1, 1954.)

This attitude brings to mind wishful thinking of an earlier day:

Prosperity is just around the corner. (President Hoover, January 21, 1930.)

Need for a Strong Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, for nearly 20 years it has been our declared national policy, as stated in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, to develop and maintain an adequate and well-balanced American merchant marine. A strong merchant marine is there recognized as essential to aid in the defense of our country as well as to promote the interests of our foreign and domestic commerce.

When World War II came upon us there had been little time to carry out the provisions and objectives of the 1936 act. Consequently, we were forced to initiate a large-scale building program under conditions of great urgency, as had previously been done also in World War I. Economy, good design, and high standards were for the most part necessarily sacrificed to immediate need.

It might be expected that this recent experience would have made us thoroughly alert to the indispensability of maintaining at all times a strong merchant marine as an essential nucleus of our security requirements. Yet the unforunate truth is that the position of our merchant marine is even now seriously threatened and is deteriorating in several important respects. American ship operators and shipbuilders are finding it increasingly difficult to meet foreign competition with its much lower wage and other costs. Our governmental program of extending differential subsidies to equalize costs is inadequate and spasmodic. United States shipyards operate at a low ebb, with few orders on the books and none coming in.

The most competent authorities regard our present merchant fleet as poorly balanced in its composition. Since most of the ships were built during World War II their age distribution is bad; many are already obsolete and others will soon become overage in a concentrated group. There is a serious deficiency of fast passenger ships which could serve as troop carriers, as we have no tankers in emergency reserve, and the inactive reserve of cargo vessels consists almost wholly of the slow and inefficient war-built Liberty ships.

It is abundantly evident, then, that we have no reason to be complacent about the condition and prospects of our highly essential American merchant marine. To the contrary, we must commit ourselves anew to a continuous and stable program and resolutely carry it through.

Postal Suggestions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I have received a very thoughtful appraisal of postal problems from one of my valued constituents who is in the postal service, Mr. T. D. Rice, Jr., of Belgoni, Miss. In the belief that this statement will be of value to all Members of Congress and to the officials of the Post Office Department, I include it as an appendix to my remarks:

POSTAL SUGGESTIONS

The problem confronting the Post Office Department at the present time is not specifically one of low pay, but one of low morale on the part of a large number of the employees. Adequate compensation is only one phase of the morale problem. And any plan to cut the so-called postal deficit by increased efficiency within the Department must take into account first that greater efficiency is the natural result of higher morale. Some steps leading along this road which I believe are indicated include:

1. A system of awards: The postal employee rating system in effect until 2 or 3 years ago was based on the premise that perfection is normal and that any failure to maintain perfection was to be punished by "demerits." And the imposition of demerits for specific offenses varied widely from office to office and supervisor to supervisor. The net result of such a system was to leave the average employee facing much the same system that the worker faces today in Communist countries. The system now in effect rates all employees according to three broad classifications. More than 90 percent are rated "satisfactory," a few are rated "unsatisfactory," and actually I don't know that any are rated higher. There is no premium for exceptional performance.

I believe the Department should adopt a system of awards that would serve to give some special recognition to every deserving employee. The Army Good Conduct Medal, which is awarded to a soldier for 3 years of performing his duty in an honorable manner, is akin to what I am talking about. Public service companies recognize their safe drivers with a pin or bar representing so many years of accident-free performance. I believe that periodic recognition of faithful clerks and carriers with a pin or uniform decoration signifying good service would have a good effect upon postal morale. This might well be combined with some other form of recognition for performance consistently satisfactory or better.

2. A system of promotion: Clearly defined rules for promotion within the postal service, with promotion based upon a reasonable balance between merit and seniority, will go a long way to increase the faith of the average employee in the department. The present system of examinations is certainly a step in the right direction, although it has not had long enough trial to determnie how it will be administered. Most postal employees feel that seniority should be a leading factor in promotion, and that exceptional merit should be recognized by a rule of appointment of one-in-three or similar device.

3. Repeal of antiquated personnel regulations: A case in point is the postal regulation which prohibits carriers from smoking while they are serving their routes. Perhaps this was a matter of good taste fifty years ago, but I don't think patrons of the postal service care whether or not the carrier smokes. There are many petty regulations of this type which serve more to irritate employees than to insure service.

4. Equalise opportunities for clerks and carriers: This is the only recommendation I have regarding the carrier service. As you know, clerks and carriers take the same civil service examination, and in many offices appointments are made from a single register to either position, depending only on the existence of a vacancy. I believe that carriers and clerks are equally competent and capable, and that appropriate regulations should insure that they be given equal consideration for preferential appointments. So long as such appointments are withheld from competent employees because their duties have not given them familiarity with certain tasks, the department will continue to get less than the best which it might well receive.

5. Separate revenue and expense: Postal revenues and postal operating expenses have a very intangible connection, and it is not reasonable to charge a "deficit" against the operations of the Department. As some wit has truly said, the best way to get rid of the deficit is to abolish postal charges. The post office is a service. No on accuses the Department of Agriculture of running a deficit, simply because it does not have a large income. And any executive could balance the postal budget if he had the power to fix postal rates.

6. Establish adequate and realistic pay schedules: Like 70 percent of the postal employees, I have of necessity spent more than my salary for 5 years or more, until a comfortable $2,000 savings account has dwindled to nothing. But I realise that some people have to make more than others, and the relative position of the postal clerk and carrier in the total economic picture is something you are much better qualified to settle than am I. However I do not believe that the recent pay proposals which originate in the Fry survey are fair and reasonable, and to the vast body of postal workers they present such inequities as to make them totally unacceptable.

A percentage raise, with consequent higher benefits to those already in the higher pay brackets, strikes all of us as uncalled for. The pay schedule now in effect was designed for the specific purpose of making adequate provision for postal employees in the grades above regular clerk and carrier. Postal supervisors generally are chosen from the ranks of men with the same background and similar qualifications as themselves, and supervisory duties are neither difficult nor distinctive. The present difference in salary is sufficient to attract large numbers of applicants for supervisory vacancies, as is indicated in the response to examinations given recently in some of the larger offices. The current pay schedule grants postal employees a graduated scale with credit for years of service which is generally acceptable. I firmly believe that a flat across the board raise will serve the Department, the employees, and the public to the best advantage.

7. Summary: The vast proportion of the work of the Post Office Department is done by faithful and capable career employees, and improvement in morale will pay off in more work for less money, an increase in efficiency which should serve to benefit all parties concerned.

T. D. RICE, Jr.

Taxes and a Free Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of March 11, 1954:

TAXES AND A FREE ECONOMY

Two tax bills have emerged from the House Ways and Means Committee this week. Since they differ enormously in character and scope, it is important, for purposes of avoiding possible confusion, that they be clearly identified at the outset.

One of these bills, which is sponsored by Representative REED and which was passed by the House of Representatives yesterday, is concerned entirely with excise taxes. It is concerned, to be more specific, with the question of what should be done about the top layer of emergency excise taxes passed under the previous administration in 1951 as part of the jerry-built program of financing the rearmament effort.

The second of the two tax measures is much more comprehensive and fundamentally more important. Like its companion bill (which it preceded by a day) it touches the issue of tax relief, but it goes far beyond such immediate considerations. As the accompanying report said of this 875-page document:

"This bill is a long-overdue reform measure which is vitally necessary regardless of momentary conditions and should not be confused with other measures which may be, or might become, appropriate in the light of a particular short-run situation."

Since this measure includes all but 1 or 2 of the proposals contained in the tax message of the President in January, it has already, in effect, been under fire from the political opposition for some time past. The burden of the criticism has been that it stresses relief to business at the expense of relief to the individual. It would be unfortunate if this fantastically oversimplified and distorted picture of the Eisenhower tax program should prevail. Criticism of this kind stems essentially from the philosophy, only too widely encouraged in recent years, which was aptly described by Benjamin Fairless in a recent address. This is the philosophy that "anything which is bad for business is automatically good for the country."

The individual taxpayer has, of course, already benefited under the administration's budgetary and economic program from a stable level of living costs and from a 10-percent reduction in his income tax. As a matter of fact, in the omnibus bill just reported out, while the reforms proposed will cost an estimated $1.4 billion in revenues in fiscal returns in 1955, it is corporate enterprise that is being asked to underwrite this. That is so because while the measure provides relief both for the individual, the entrepreneur, and the corporation, it proposes to continue for another year the 52 percent corporate tax rate, scheduled to expire at this time and which is counted upon to bring in $2 billion between now and April 1, 1954.

But in financing this legislation the administration has not done so with the idea that the relief granted business was in conflict with that granted the individual, or vice versa. It has asked, first, what are the demonstrable inequities that should be corrected? At what points can fiscal practice be reformed in such a way as to encourage investment—not for its own sake, but in the interest of creating jobs, which are the key to prosperity?

Perhaps the best illustration of this approach is the proposal to give the businessman and the farmer more leeway in writing off the cost of his plant and machinery. At present, companies are required to deduct their depreciation allowances in equal annual installments over the expected life of the facility. What the administration measure would do would be to permit the businessman or the farmer to deduct a greater part of the total in the years when his machinery was new. The theory is that under this arrangement he would be encouraged to spend more for new and better equipment and to purchase new and better products at lower cost.

Provisions such as this don't have the simple handout appeal of proposals for increasing individual tax exemptions. But they reflect the economic philosophy that alone can assure continued growth of our private enterprise economy. That philosophy is that the problems of our economy are not going to be solved by attacking them from the side of the consumer alone—but they must be attacked from the consumer side and the investor side at one and the same time.

Retirement of a Great Soldier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am voicing, I am sure, the sentiment of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States in joining in the honors and well wishes that were showered on Maj. Gen. George F. Ferry at a dinner last night in the Northwest Armory in the city of Chicago. The guests at that memorable dinner, attended by 400 officers and friends, included Lt. Gens. William B. Kean, Samuel T. Lawton, and Richard Smykal; Maj. Gens. Harry L. Bolen, Robert E. Moffat, and Roy D. Keehn, Jr., and Brig. Gens. Ernest N. Bauman, Richard L. Jones, Julius Klein, William Newhall, Otto McBride, and Otto Kerner, Jr.

Tomorrow, Maj. Gen. Ferry is retiring, with the rank of lieutenant general, as commander of the National Guard of Illinois. Under his leadership the Illinois guard has attained the highest rating in its illustrious history. It has meant much to the members of the guard and the people of Illinois that the great soldier, retiring tomorrow with the highest of honors and the warm affection of his fellow-soldiers and fellow-citizens, joined the guard 35 years ago as a private. By industry, devotion to duty, and the genius of military leadership he attained position of supreme command. In World War II the zone of his service was the Pacific. In 1946 he became chief of staff of the 33d Division.

Illinois forever will remember on the roll of great generals she has given the Nation the name of George F. Ferry. It is fitting that this distinguished body should note his great service to our country. For my colleagues and myself I extend best wishes always to General Ferry and his charming wife.

Excise-Tax Reduction Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6224) to reduce excise taxes, and for other purposes.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, the action we are taking here today in reducing excise taxes—which might be called nuisance or sales taxes—by a total of a little under $1 billion will be welcome news to millions of people throughout the Nation. It will give millions of people who daily shop in our stores throughout the Nation an opportunity to buy countless millions of articles at 10 percent less after April 1, when this bill goes into effect.

The people with large families in the lower tax brackets will be exempted by paying about one-half less in this sales tax, or excise tax, that has been on the books for a number of years.

I am glad that this is the second time in this session the Republican administration is bringing tax relief to its millions of overburdened taxpayers. We reduced income tax to those in the lower brackets about 10½ percent, with a lesser income-tax reduction to those in the higher brackets. Again, those in the lower brackets, earning up to $5,000, get the greater bulk of the income-tax reduction. Those in the higher brackets get a lesser tax reduction. Yet, those in the highest brackets get only about a 2-percent reduction.

Nevertheless, for political purposes, some of the Democratic leaders have the audacity to say that both of these tax bills favor the well to do, or rich. Of course, they know, and those in the lower income-tax brackets know there is not a single ounce of reasoning that can be given which would tend to prove their claim.

In addition to that, we removed the excess-profits tax, which will help business to expand and make more jobs for millions of people throughout the Nation. And the reduction of the excise tax will cause less of that tax to be passed on in the cost of merchandise the little people buy, which gives them additional tax relief, as they do their daily buying.

In other words, this administration, to date, with the passage of this bill today, will give the taxpayers of the Nation a little over $6 billion that they can keep and spend as they like, rather than to give it to the Government, to be given away to foreign nations and to be wasted as it has been done so many years in the

past. And may I point out that next week we will have another tax-reduction bill before this House that will lower their taxes about $1,200,000,000. When this bill is passed next week, it will assure a total of over $7 billion this Republican administration will give to the people in this calendar year, that they can keep and spend as they like rather than for it to be swallowed up by big Government.

At this time I would like to point out that this is the second time in 22 years that we have had a Republican Congress, and the first time that we have had a Republican Congress and a Republican President.

EIGHTIETH REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

When we had a Republican Congress during 1947 and 1948, we reduced taxes by over $5 billion, and we raised the exemptions from $500 to $600, and, in addition, we provided that those over 65 years of age should have double exemption. By raising these exemptions and reducing taxes in the 80th Republican Congress, we made it unnecessary for over 6,500,000 people in the lowest tax bracket to pay any taxes. And in the debates on that bill, they called it then, as they are calling this tax-reduction bill now, "A rich man's tax bill." Of course, they are not serious in these charges, and it would appear that the only reason for making them is not an attempt to deceive the people.

Now, what made it possible for the Republican Congress and this administration to reduce taxes when the Democrats had been busy for over 20 years raising taxes, and never once reduced them? It is very simple. We could not be justified in reducing taxes unless we first reduced governmental costs. Last year we cut the $78,600,000,000 budget that President Truman said would all have to be spent, and which would have been spent had Stevenson been elected President. We cut out waste and extravagance and unnecessary spending, and reduced the Truman budget he left for President Eisenhower by $14 billion. That made it possible for this Republican administration to give the millions of people about a $7 billion tax reduction in the first session of this Congress. These tax reductions will allow the people to keep $7 billion, most of which will be spent in their own way. Such spending will increase the buying power; will greatly stimulate business; will help to prevent a serious depression, and will furnish millions of jobs for the working people of America as business expands.

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following constructive editorial from the Fall River (Mass.) Herald News of February 25, 1954:

A GOOD TEST

Congressional enthusiasts for the St. Lawrence seaway program who say it will be a self-liquidating project have the chance to show they really mean what they say.

An amendment to the seaway legislation provides that the United States could invest $2 million to start the seaway planning.

The much greater sums required then would be secured by the seaway corporation through sale of bonds to private purchasers. There can be no objection to this arrangement.

If the tolls will bring in sufficient income, as the sponsors claim, then it will not be necessary to have the United States Treasury made liable to immense sums, possibly in the billions, to complete the construction.

Votes on the amendment will show good faith, or lack of it, in the seaway supporters.

A Real Loss

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, it is very regrettable that the Nation will lose the extremely valuable services of Roger Kyes as Deputy Secretary of Defense on May 1. He has made a tremendous contribution to the national-defense program at a considerable personal sacrifice. I am pleased to enclose in the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the March 10 edition of the Washington Evening Star:

A REAL LOSS

On occasion, in his capacity as Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roger M. Kyes may have ruffled the feelings of a number of persons in the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill. But that does not alter the fact that he has done a fine job for the country and that his decision to resign and return to private life—effective May 1—is genuinely regrettable.

Despite some speculation to the contrary, there is no reason to link Mr. Kyes' resignation with the Stevens-McCarthy controversy. Actually, as he has ben at pains to emphasize, he stipulated when he accepted the President's appointment that he would hold the office for only 1 year. The year ended on February 1, but he agreed at that time to stay on for an additional 90 days at the request of Defense Secretary Wilson under whom he has served as good friend and chief aide not merely in the Pentagon, but before that in General Motors.

It is not often that a man can take over a high Government post and succeed, within a year's time, in carrying out a program of marked administrative and other improvements. But Mr. Kyes, whose Pentagon assignment has entailed a considerable financial sacrifice, has done just that—with the same energy and executive vision as have won him great distinction in the field of private industry. Mr. Wilson has not exaggerated in saying of him that "he has made an outstanding contribution in the reorganization of the Defense Department that will result in lasting good and has been a tremendous assistance in our day-to-day problems."

Nor has Mr. Wilson exaggerated in declaring that the impending departure of his second in command must be regarded as "a real loss." For men of Mr. Kyes' ability are not easily replaced. Navy Secretary Anderson will be undertaking a big task and assuming a large responsibility when he moves into the vacated post. He should have the support and best wishes of all.

The House Should Save the American People From Defeat on the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 1, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the February 22, 1954, issue of the Mobile (Ala.) Register discusses the fallacy of the St. Lawrence seaway scheme which has haunted the Halls of Congress for many decades.

The editorial follows:

HOUSE SHOULD SAVE PEOPLE FROM DEFEAT ON SEAWAY

For quite a while Representative JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, of Pennsylvania, has been doing a good congressional job of helping to expose the fallacy of the St. Lawrence seaway scheme.

As he recalled the past week, that project has been "a perennial subject before Congress for many, many months."

In reviewing the record on the project, he pointed out:

"Each time during the many presentations of the issue advocates have always delighted in dressing it up in new regalia.

"Each time Congress had no difficulty in unmasking it, and after viewing it in its true light consigned it to the limbo of impractical legislation.

"Running true to form this year the St. Lawrence seaway proposal played a return engagement, and garbed in the raiment of national defense it was speeded through the United States Senate at a breath-taking clip."

Having shoved the project down the throat of a Senate majority, the seaway ballyhoo brigade is bent on also sweeping the House off its feet by railroading tactics.

Clamor for quick House action on the bill already is beginning to rise from the camp of the forces trying to saddle the project on the American people.

The House should refuse to be stampeded by the seaway ballyhoo brigade.

There is utterly no occasion for haste in acting on the measure. The plain irrefutable truth is that no occasion exists or ever will exist for acting on it at all. The question is so completely unworthy of consideration that it does not belong before Congress in the first place.

Instead of having the qualities its proponents claim for it, the project is pockmarked with the earmarks of a combination boondoggle, economic white elephant and millstone.

It is incredible that a majority of the Senate would permit itself to become so hypnotized as to swallow a monstrosity of that kind at the expense of the people of the United States. Yet, astounding as it was, this happened almost before Congress settled down for its 1954 session.

As Representative VAN ZANDT says, the bill was driven through the Senate at breath-taking clip.

The railroading done on the measure in the Senate should be recorded in the con-

gressional archives as a greased lighting act never before witnessed on a measure so devoid of merit.

Congressman VAN ZANDT reminds that in the past Congress has had no trouble unmasking the seaway scheme, irrespective of how it was disguised.

The only chance its supporters ever had of keeping it from being unmasked as a palpable fallacy has rested in railroading tactics. This has been the case at session after session over a long period.

Finally, the Senate got caught napping early in the 1954 session and the railroading tactics worked. Now the seaway ballyhoo brigade has dreams of working the same tactics on the House.

Because the Senate went to sleep on the job and was hypnotized into approving the seaway monstrosity is no reason for the House to follow in its footsteps. On the contrary, it is all the more reason for the House to keep wide awake and not get caught napping.

In spite of the misfortune the people of the United States have suffered in the form of Senate approval of the St. Lawrence nightmare, the House still stands between them and defeat on the issue. The House has the power to save the people from defeat. It has not only the power but the duty—and it should not let the people down.

Adlai at Miami

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 8, 1954:

ADLAI AT MIAMI

The pattern of this year's congressional campaign as the Democrats will conduct it, was clearly set in Miami over the weekend where the party stalwarts held a 2-day conference on strategy. They will hammer on "McCarthyism," will charge President Eisenhower with timid leadership, and will be appalled at the wreckage of democracy on both the domestic and foreign fronts.

This was the theme of several speakers, including the party's 1952 candidate for President, Governor Stevenson. He gave every indication on Saturday night that he is available again and willing. He was bitter and vindictive and made a personal attack on Mr. Eisenhower, something he did not do in the last campaign.

It was somewhat amusing to hear Mr. Stevenson appeal to all hands for unity within the Republican party. He expressed deep concern that it might be exterminated as a result of Ike-McCarthy differences. This is not likely and the GOP is not as worried over end results as are the Democrats.

Mr. Stevenson called out for the President to disavow MCCARTHY, to cut him down to size, to commit various other forms of mayhem against the Wisconsin Senator. Mr. Stevenson should be well acquainted personally with the difficulties that attend such a separation.

In 1952 his incubus was Harry S. Truman, who without doubt was a campaign liability. He blustered and fumed, called names and insulted all who disagreed with him, forced himself on the national committee and never took the hint that he was not wanted. Did Governor Stevenson disavow him? Did he ever renounce Trumanism, much as he may have disliked all that it connoted in corruption and incompetence? He did not. Yet he had the temerity to chastise Mr. Eisenhower because he does not use a sledge hammer on party recalcitrants.

The Democrats rightfully resent being called the "party of treason." This was an unfortunate MCCARTHY remark which the President has not approved. But by the same token it is unfair for Governor Stevenson to charge that the President has not cracked down hard on MCCARTHY because he has accepted McCarthyism as the best Republican formula for political success. This is untrue, a charge as baseless as the one MCCARTHY made about the Army coddling Communists.

Mr. Stevenson has set the campaign pattern. The theme will be McCarthyism and how it has not been scotched by the administration. Perhaps it is well for the Democrats that November is almost 10 months removed. Ike's position will be clear by that time to everybody who makes a claim to fairness. We do not contemplate that it involves a surrender to any form of McCarthyism. In fact, he has already made it abundantly plain that he holds no sympathy for "smear" or "bulldozing" investigations.

It appears that Mr. Stevenson, who is so worried over the confusion of the American people because of the "deceit" and "irresponsibility" of the Republican administration, has made his own contribution to that confusion. On Saturday night he talked very much like a man who is honing for the Presidency, and will not spurn the technique of the demagog to get it. We trust his vitriol is not a continuing product.

Admiral Dyer Expresses Alarm for Navy's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Long Beach Naval Shipyard magazine of March 1954:

ADMIRAL DYER EXPRESSES ALARM FOR NAVY'S FUTURE

Recently at the installation of officers of the Independent Business Men's Association, guest speaker Rear Adm. George C. Dyer, USN, commandant 11th Naval District, expressed concern for the diminishing reenlistment rate among Navy's "sailormen." His address was entitled "The Status of the Present Day Navy."

The "fighting strength of the Navy is being jeopardized seriously" stated Admiral Dyer. The reenlistment rate among men concluding their first enlistment has declined from 60 to 70 percent to 12 percent, the admiral declared.

"We can't maintain a high technical proficiency at the rate," Admiral Dyer said. "We are losing those men just as they have learned enough to be valuable to us."

The difference in pay scale between the "sailorman" and the civilian is largely responsible. The solution is in "a major increase in pay of enlisted personnel," he said.

Tragedy Has Its Funny Side

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, while the revolutionists of Puerto Rico were trying to shoot down Congressmen promiscuously there were some comic incidents connected with the tragic affair.

MARTIN DIES, of Texas, and FRANK BOYKIN, of Alabama, were pretty much in line with bullets landing in their vicinity in the Chamber. They tried to flee to the Democratic cloakroom, and both attempted to pass through the door at the same time. They jammed in the doorway, and could not go either way. At this juncture, MARTIN DIES said to BOYKIN: "Who was it that just darted between us?" Finally BOYKIN got through and into the cloakroom. He announced he was going for his gun. Someone asked him where it was, and he said it was in Alabama.

Dr. MILLER, whose both legs are artificial and who walks pretty well with a cane, was in the center of the Chamber on the Republican side. Instead of ducking, he stood up, waved his cane at the gunman and shouted, "You can't do this—it's against the law."

Mr. HALE, of Maine, was more interested in the way the seats are constructed than he was in the shooting. He had tried to get his head under one of them, but a cage that holds the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD was built too close to the floor and he could not get his head under it. Before the shooting stopped he was complaining about the poor plan of construction of the seats.

T. MILLET HAND, of New Jersey, tried to get down in the space below the seats, but the one he selected was already occupied by Representative CANFIELD. He was still ducking down in that vicinity when someone asked him what he did when he found the space occupied by CANFIELD. "Well," he said, "I crawled under CANFIELD."

Judge GRAHAM, of Pennsylvania, who is about 5 feet 2 inches tall, but still large in girth, could not find a place to get into to avoid the bullets, so remained standing up. Of course, I do not think the judge would have been much protected by getting down because he would have been about as high lying down as he is standing. For some unaccountable reason he was not shot.

JOHN MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, was at the door of the Chamber when the firing began, and TIP O'NEILL, of Massachusetts, was behind him. He is a powerful man and he wanted to see what was going on inside. He rushed at the door and shoved MCCORMACK right into the Chamber and close to the line of fire.

I did not think the firing was real until a bullet hit a seat to the right of me. The dust and splinters flew and for the first time I realized that this was

the "real McCoy." I moved out of there with all possible speed and thought of getting down on the carpet, but it was so completely occupied I was prevented from doing so. The firing seemed to have ceased, and I walked down a few seats when the last of the bullets were fired. I did not see any place to go for cover, and someone asked me what I was standing for. I replied that I was looking for a gopher hole. The man said, "You could not crawl into that kind of a hole." "Oh, yes, I could," I replied. "Any common gopher hole would be big enough the way I feel now."

That was the last burst of bullets, and then we began to attend the wounded, and the attempt at assassination passed into history.

To show just what vim a few pistol shots will instill in a body like the Congress, I cite the case of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOWLER]. Unfortunately, he is very badly crippled through a severe attack of arthritis. When the shooting began and a few bullets struck near him he rushed for the door leading out of the Chamber. Seven or eight other Members had the same notion of getting out of the Chamber at the same time. The others were not crippled, but the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BOWLER] led the "flying squadron" into the lobby, and was ahead of the whole pack. He seemed to have the stamina of a Man of War or a Whirlaway in the last stretch run.

It ran through my mind, "Just what do those rebels want to shoot us for?" My first reaction was that we were being shot at because we had given $270 billion to foreign countries, but when I heard the rebel woman shout "Viva Puerto Rico," I became convinced that these would-be executioners believed we had been more partial to England, France, and all the other 62 countries we have helped than we had been to Puerto Rico. You know, when we start giving everything away, jealousy creeps in among the donees. This should be a lesson to us.

The bravest men in the House were the women. They did not want to plunge headlong on the floor behind a seat and muss up their clothing and hair, so they sat in their seats and let the bullets come. There must have been a spark of chivalry among the assassins, for none of the women were injured.

I think it is a shame to be assassinated in the House, although in elections in North Dakota I am rather used to that procedure. I have been opposed to an increase in pay for Congressmen. I think we should refuse to wade in and boost our own salaries while thousands of citizens do not get enough to eat. But this shooting changed my views. I would be in favor of receiving combat pay—say 5 percent—and extra pay for flight duty—say a 20-percent increase on the latter. If a Congressman has to be prepared to run every time someone tries to kill him this is flight duty and we should receive some extra pay.

All the wounded Members are recovering rapidly, and no new elections will be necessary because of this shooting melee.

Federal Bank Deposit Guaranty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a memorandum prepared for me by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress in relation to the historical aspects leading up to and which prompted the Congress in passing legislation to guarantee bank deposits up to a certain amount and in the establishment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

I am sure that the Members of the House and Senate will read this memorandum with great interest and that the information contained therein will be useful to them for future use:

EXCERPTS ON THE BACKGROUND OF FEDERAL BANK DEPOSIT GUARANTY

In view of the fact that during the 12 years, 1921–32, 10,816 banks—more than one-third the total number of banks in the country—with deposits of $4,885,126,000, had suspended with an estimated minimum loss to depositors of more than $4,600,000,000, it is not surprising that a strong sentiment prevailed in Congress for the guaranty of bank deposits by national legislation, even though State experiments along that line had uniformly failed, sometimes with disastrous results. Against considerable opposition the advocates of a guaranty system succeeded in writing into the Banking Act of 1933 certain clauses providing for "insurance" of bank deposits. The insurance was to be provided under two plans, a temporary plan to go into effect on January 1, 1934, and a permanent plan to supplant the temporary plan and go into effect on July 1, 1934.[1] (Money and Banking in the United States, Louis A. Rufener, 1934, p. 715.)

Several considerations inclined the advocates of deposit guaranty to seek a nationwide Federal system, such as the competition of the State and National banks, the competition of the banks of one State with those of another, especially near the boundary lines, and the heavy concentration of risk when a system was confined to the banks of one State. When the Federal Reserve Act was being framed (in 1913) the bill passed by the Senate had included, through the influence of Senators Owen, Hitchcock, and Bristow a provision for the guaranty of deposits, but this was eliminated by the House conferees. In his annual report for 1917 Comptroller of the Currency Williams recommended the passage of a bill for the guaranty of all deposits of $5,000 and under to the credit of any one depositor in national banks, provided that not more than 3 percent interest was paid on such deposits; and the Senate committee reported favorably on the bill. Almost every year thereafter one or more bills were introduced into Congress for the guaranty of deposits in banks members of the Federal Reserve. In 1932 (72d Cong.) there were introduced into the House of Representatives 13 deposit guaranty bills[2] and into the Senate 3 bills.

The cumulated universal distress caused by 12 years of prolific bank failures and the final nationwide bank holiday in 1933 created a profound demand for protection to depositors, and as a result a large majority of both branches of Congress supported the Steagall amendment to the Glass bill of 1933 providing for the insurance of deposits. (Money, Credit, and Banking, by R. B. Westerfield, 1938, p. 970.)

The Banking Act of 1933 was a combination of the bill drafted in 1932 by a subcommittee headed by Senator Glass, of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and a bill drafted at about the same time by Representative Steagall, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The Glass bill was the result of an investigation, commencing in 1931, of the stock-market crash of 1929 and imposed restrictions upon banking practices. The Steagall bill provided for Government insurance of bank deposits. The Senate passed the Glass bill on January 25, 1933, but the House failed to act at the session which ended on March 4 owing to the unwillingness of Senator Glass to accept the Steagall bill as the price for action on his own measure. Early in the new Congress (73d), following the inauguration of President Roosevelt, Senator Glass and Representative Steagall joined forces, with the result that legislation was enacted in June. The Roosevelt administration had little to do with its enactment, and, in fact there was some question as to whether the President would sign it, due chiefly to the early date on which it was proposed to make the Government responsible for the safety of bank deposits. (Monetary Management Under the New Deal, by A. W. Crawford, 1940, p. 116.)

One phenomenon produced by the early part of the session (73d Cong., 1st sess.) had been the appearance of a large brood of bills providing for the guaranty of deposits, a proposal which had already taken very deep root in the House of Representatives. It became evident to Chairman Glass that some one of these bills would doubtless go through Congress and that the Glass bill would probably succeed in passing only in the event that it were willing to compromise with this guaranty-of-deposits project. Mr. Glass accordingly determined to introduce into the measure a modification of the guaranty-of-deposits plan and, at the same time, to restore to it a number of the desirable features which had been eliminated during the preceding session under pressure of the Hoover administration. The plan embodied in the original bill, therefore, for a liquidating corporation was taken up and broadened. It now appeared as a project for the establish-

[1] Act of June 16, 1933 (48 Stat. 162). The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was created by sec. 8, technically, by adding a new section, 12B, to the Federal Reserve Act. Deposit insurance was provided in two different subsections: Subsec. (1) set up a permanent system effective from July 1, 1934, with coverage ranging from 100 percent of deposits not over $10,000 to 50 percent of deposits over $50,000; subsec. (y) established a temporary system to operate from January 1 to July 1, 1934, and covering 100 percent of deposits up to $2,500.

[2] The bill introduced by Chairman Steagall of the House Banking and Currency Committee, H. R. 11362, passed the House, but died in the Senate. In the Senate, Mr. Vandenberg, of Michigan, introduced S. 5291 "to create a Federal time-deposit insurance fund." No action was taken on this bill. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, was not a member of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency in either the 72d Cong. (1931–33) or the 73d Cong. (1933–35). Chairman of the Senate Committee in the 72d was Senator Wagner; in the 73d, Senator Fletcher, with Senator Glass the ranking majority member.

ment of a bank-deposit insurance corporation. The proposed guaranty of bank deposits eventually embodied in the bill represented a conservative modification of the more extreme of the guaranty plans that were before Congress, although Chairman Glass undoubtedly regretted the necessity of incorporating any such measure into the bill. (The Banking Situation, by Willis and Chapman, 1934, pp. 99–100.)

The Banking Act of 1933 is listed as Public No. 66 of the 73d Congress; it grew out of H. R. 5661, introduced by Representative Steagall. Both H. R. 5661 and Mr. Steagall's earlier bill, H. R. 5598, provided for deposit insurance. Senator Glass proposed two bills, S. 245 and S. 1631. S. 245 which was introduced March 11, 1933 made no provision for insuring depositors; but S. 1631 introduced May 10, 1933 contained "very major modifications" of the earlier bill, and included provisions with respect to Federal deposit insurance.

"On May 18, 1933, Senator Vandenberg submitted a proposed amendment to S. 1631 providing for the creation of a temporary insurance fund to begin on July 1, 1933, and to insure deposits, not in excess of $2,500 for each depositor, until July 1, 1934, when the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was to begin operation. The purpose of the amendment, which became part of S. 1631 when accepted by the Glass committee, was to provde a temporary mutual fund for the insurance of deposits to the extent mentioned until the insuring corporation could be organized and function on a permanent basis. Senator Vandenberg's first proposed amendment further provided that a State nonmember bank could apply and become a member of the fund provided it was "certified by the State's chief banking authority as solvent in respect to its free deposits on the date of application for membership in the fund." When S. 1631 was substituted in the Senate for H. R. 5661, the Vandenberg amendment provided that "any State bank or trust company and/or mutual saving bank which is not a member of the Federal Reserve System may, upon application therefor, become a member of the fund on or before January 1, 1934, if such application is accompanied by a certificate of the State banking authority that such State bank or trust company or mutual savings bank is, on the date of such application, solvent with respect to its unrestricted deposits."

Because of the fact that the bill as passed by the Senate differed from the House version, conferees were appointed by both Houses who reconciled the differences and reported out the bill which later became law. When H. R. 5661 came out of conference, the Vandenberg amendment had been amended so that a nonmember bank was entitled to become a member of the fund provided it had "the approval of the State authority having supervision of such State bank" and a "certification to the corporation by such authority that such State bank is in a solvent condition," and after "examination by, and with the approval of, the corporation." In addition, the conferees postponed the date for the inauguration of the temporary insurance fund from July 1, 1933 to January 1, 1934 and authorized the permanent insurance plan to become effective July 1, 1934. In this form the bill was finally passed.

On the recommendation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Congress by act of June 16, 1934 (48 Stat. 969), extended operation of the temporary insurance set up by the act of June 16, 1933, to July 1, 1935, and postponed the permanent system accordingly, at the same time increasing the coverage to $5,000 per depositor. After some further delay, the permanent system of insurance was put into effect August 23, 1935, by the Banking Act of 1935 (49 Stat. 684), retaining the $5,000 limit of the temporary system and making other changes. The act of 1935 was sponsored by Mr. Steagall (H. R. 7617). (Summarized from unpublished report of Legal Division, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.)

Military Benefit Curtailments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this administration, which has been unjustly criticized for cutting out the so-called fringe benefits of service personnel, is currently studying the problem with the idea of correcting the injustices which have occurred over the past 10-year period. The Armed Services Committee is in fact preparing to go into the problem thoroughly. The Department of Defense is preparing legislation aimed to correct many of these injustices. I am hopeful that we take action in this session to rebuild the morale of our service people and thus create a more efficient defense force for the protection of our country.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the following excellent summary of the history of military benefit curtailments, written by veteran Washington newsman, Frank Macomber for the San Diego Union of March 7.

DROP STARTED IN 1944—REPORT DISCLOSES STEADY DECLINE IN MILITARY BENEFITS

(By Frank Macomber)

WASHINGTON, March 6.— American military personnel have been losing so-called fringe benefits steadily since the days of World War II, a Defense Department study revealed today.

The analysis of what has happened to benefits which once made a United States military career attractive was prepared by Defense officials for Representative WILSON, Republican, of San Diego, Calif., a member of the House Armed Services Committee.

WILSON said the study shows diminishing fringe benefits have cut into the take-home pay of Armed Forces personnel since 1944.

He said most of the benefits were curtailed during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

Secretaries of the three services, meantime, are reported to have endorsed the Womble Commission report outlining diminishing benefits and suggesting a program to restore them. Recommendations of the Commission, named by President Eisenhower, are being used as the basis for Defense Department legislation aimed at reinforcing the military-benefit system.

The report prepared for WILSON made these points in relating the history of disappearing benefits:

POST EXCHANGES

Limitations were placed on operations of post exchanges and Navy ships service stores in June 1949 on the basis of recommendations by a special House Armed Services Subcommittee.

The restrictions cut the list of items to be carried in PX's and excluded any not on an official list. They set the maximum price which could be charged for items, but required that excise, cosmetic, and occupational Federal taxes be charged on PX items, along with certain State taxes.

COMMISSARIES

The Philbin subcommittee in 1949 also ordered the closing of many military commissaries. (The San Diego naval commissary was shut down under this order but was later reopened.)

The 82d and 83d Congresses approved appropriations riders providing that no Federal funds could be used for maintenance and operation of commissaries. This required commissaries to add a 5-percent surcharge on commissary sales in the United States and a 4-percent surcharge outside the country.

Earlier this year the Defense Department ordered the closing of 5 Army commissaries and 1 naval commissary as the result of a fiscal 1954 appropriations rider requiring the padlocking of military grocery stores where private stores are available.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES

"Increases in military take-home pay lag behind the rise in cost of living and the pay raises achieved in civilian industry and by civilian Government employees," the report stated. "This is considered to be an important factor in competition with industry for career military personnel, particularly technically trained personnel."

The report cited these examples of diminishing pay or allowances:

Effective July 1, 1953, the value of the commuted ration (rate at which enlisted men are reimbursed when rations in kind are not furnished) was reduced from $1.20 to $1.10 per day.

In April 1952 the Government withdrew the privileges of transporting private autos at Government expense from the port of debarkation in Japan to permanent duty stations in Japan and of traveling at Government expense to accompany dependents arriving in Japan.

The Military Appropriations Act for fiscal 1954 cut off funds for operating messes at which meals are sold to officers or civilians, except where rates are set to reimburse appropriations for food cost and operating expenses.

The Career Compensation Act of 1949 eliminated premium pay for officers on overseas duty.

TAX PRIVILEGES

On January 1, 1949, the $1,500 Federal income-tax exemption for officers and complete exemption of enlisted pay was halted. Only personnel in Korea has a limited exemption from Federal income tax.

On June 1, 1944, the Federal tax on gasoline and on lubricants was imposed on fuel sold at post exchange outlets. On July 30, 1947, post exchanges were required to collect Federal entertainment taxes.

On May 12, 1950, the Federal beer tax was placed on beer sold at post exchanges.

MEDICAL CARE

"Medical care is a field in which there is a general misunderstanding as to the care actually afforded dependents of military personnel," the report said. "It generally is believed that dependents receive full medical care. In reality," it said, "care for dependents is limited to three major phases."

1. Dependents can receive medical care only when they live reasonably near to military medical facilities.

2. The amount of care for dependents is limited by the personnel and facilities available without reducing the care of officers and enlisted men.

3. Actual scope of hospitalization for dependents is restricted to acute medical and surgical conditions. Dental care for dependents is limited.

HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS TRANSPORTATION

The fiscal 1953 Appropriations Act (82d Cong.) reduced the allowable weights of household effects movable at Government expenses on permanent changes of station.

DISABILITY RETIREMENT BENEFITS

The Career Compensation Act of 1949 revised these benefits. Previously officers of the Regular service were assured by law that if they incurred a physical disability in line of duty during their military career they would be retired with 75 percent of active-duty pay.

The 1949 act limited this benefit by: 1, restricting such retirements if less than 8 years active duty had been served; 2, requiring either 20 years of service or more than 30 percent of disability; and 3, basing retirement pay either on the percentage of disability according to Veterans' Administration criteria or the number of years of active service.

VOLUNTARY RETIREMENT RESTRICTIONS

The Van Zandt amendment, which first appeared in the fiscal 1952 Military Appropriations Act, limited retired pay to voluntary retirements considered in the best interest of the service or necessary to avoid undue personal hardship.

It hampers the officer promotion systems of the services by creating congestion in some officer ranks.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Until the Armed Forces Leave Act of 1946, officers could accumulate up to 120 days of leave. The 1946 act, however, cut this figure in half and has caused many officers to lose their leave during periods when they were overseas and were not in a position to use the leave as it accrued.

The report emphasized that military personnel also has been hard hit by other legislation, such as the law restricting the number of officers; reduction of incentive hazardous-duty pay; education of dependents; military housing; survivor benefits; decrease in the value of military retirement provisions compared with retirement benefits in civilian life, and so forth.

The Study of Treaty Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, a most interesting editorial was published in the Fort Worth (Tex.) Star-Telegram of March 1, 1954. The editorial, entitled "Now Time for Study of Treaty Power," clearly points out the overriding need for calm and thorough study of any proposal for revising the treaty powers under the Constitution, or restricting the powers of the President to make executive agreements.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOW TIME FOR STUDY OF TREATY POWER

In his opposition to the Bricker amendment in the Senate, President Eisenhower's aim has not been to prevent the Senate from doing anything to limit or restrict the treatymaking power of Presidents, but to prevent it from doing the wrong thing. Not for any personal reasons but in the interest of the country, he has opposed writing language into the Constitution which was uncertain as to its meaning and which might bar prompt and decisive action by the President at times when the national safety demanded. He also has been "unalterably opposed" to any constitutional change which would alter the balance of power between the President and Congress which was so carefully worked out by the framers of the Constitution.

In this objective he has been successful. The great 5-week debate in the Senate over amending the Constitution has ended with no change being approved. Apparently the Senate Calendar now has been cleared of the issue for the remainder of the session. As far as the President's objective of preventing approval of the wrong kind of amendment is concerned, the result of the Senate's final close vote can be counted a major administration victory.

But the issue is one of such nature that it is certain to arise again. The outcome in the Senate will do nothing to allay the fear that gave rise to the restrictive Bricker amendment—the widely held fear that a treaty negotiated with a foreign country might override provisions of the Constitution and take away rights it guarantees to American citizens. The President recognized this fear and the possibility that it someday might be realized. He accordingly favored, and had his leaders in the Senate seek, provisions spelling out the requirement that a treaty or executive agreement must be in pursuance of the Constitution in order to be valid, and that a formal rollcall vote in the Senate hereafter would be necessary to ratify a treaty.

Such definite language would have removed the present ambiguity in the Constitution which has provided much of the basis for argument and has aroused the fears that American rights are not well enough protected against being undermined by treaties. The protective clauses favored by the President, although provisionally adopted by the Senate at one point, were lost in the final parliamentary shuffle. Had these been adopted, much of the uneasiness over the possible dangers of treaty law would have been removed and a great deal of the reason for reopening the issue at a later date would have been taken away. It is to be regretted that the President's desires in this regard did not prevail.

The Senate vote on the crucial question was extremely close—so close that the change of a single vote would have meant a different outcome. This vote was on adoption of the so-called George amendment, a milder substitute for the Bricker amendment, but a proposal still opposed by the White House as unduly restricting the President's freedom to deal with foreign nations. Friends of President Eisenhower in Texas will be disappointed that this State's two Senators did not join with 16 other Democrats in a vote which would have given administration forces a little wider margin of victory. It is to be noted that Senator MORSE, of Oregon, of whom the Republicans can expect little, stood with the administration, while Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican leader in the Senate, did a last-minute switch.

The public generally will recognize, we think, that in this matter the President has not been fighting for power or benefit for himself, but to avoid handcuffing future Presidents in such a way as to endanger the interests of the country. He has not been blind to the fact that many in the Senate, and many members of the public, feel the need for some kind of protective language written into the Constitution. But as he suggested some time ago, it would be a grievous mistake to amend the Constitution with provisions uncertain in meaning and uncertain in effect. Even though the issue is bound to come up again, time now will be offered for unhurried study and the working out of precise language that will avoid the danger of costly error when and if the treaty-making provision of the Constitution is modified.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, of West Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "German Miracle Man Nearing 80," written by Kees van Hoek and published in the Washington Post of February 28, 1954. The article deals with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, of West Germany.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMAN MIRACLE MAN NEARING 80

(By Kees van Hoek)

The world calls it the German miracle, this astonishingly speedy recovery of an utterly beaten people. Within 8 years after unconditional surrender, Germany proper has been restored to the world's councils.

Many influences contributed to this startling metamorphosis from prostration to partnership: American aid and Soviet obstruction, the tireless energy of a race that loves work for its own sake, but most of all, the leadership of one man, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, whom Sir Winston Churchill has described as "the greatest German statesman since Bismarck."

The third of four children of a cultured Rhenish middle-class family, Konrad Adenauer was born in 1876 in Cologne, where his father was Registrar of the Court of Appeal. Konrad studied law and economics. He graduated but did not write a thesis for a degree. His seven doctor's hats are all honorary.

A rather handsome young man of 31, sporting a Kaiser mustache and a high stiff collar, he entered the civil service in 1901. He was deputy mayor and food administrator of Cologne by 1917, when an automobile accident changed his jovial Rhenish face into the almost Mongolian mask, which age has since accentuated.

Konrad Adenauer went on to become Cologne's greatest mayor. His fame spread. He was elected president of the Prussian Council of State and was twice offered the Chancellorship of the Reich, which he refused.

OUSTED BY NAZIS

Then came Hitler. A leader of the Catholic Center Party, Adenauer had always treated the Nazis with flinty scorn. When in March 1933, they wanted the swastika displayed from his venerable Gothic Town Hall, he absolutely refused.

Promptly fired from all his high posts, the mob set against him, and Cologne's leading citizen had to flee his city. After a year in the famous Benedictine Monastary of Maria Laach, he was arrested in connection with the Roehm plot. Fortunately, nothing much happened to Adenauer, except expulsion from Cologne.

Adenauer seemed forgotten during the ensuing 10 years. In complete retirement, he occupied himself with his family and his garden. Rose growing became his hobby. He read a great deal, mostly history and art.

After the plot on Hitler's life—of which he knew nothing—Adenauer was arrested again by the Gestapo. Warned by his jailer they intended to shoot him, he managed to escape.

The end of the war came to Adenauer when he had to fling himself to the ground in his garden as the first American tanks came firing down the road beside his Rhoendorf home. A few weeks later, the Americans ferreted him out appointed him mayor of Cologne.

The proud city of 600,000 prosperous citizens from which he had been expelled 15 years before, now looked like a modern Pompeii. Hardly 40,000 people had survived in holes and cellars beneath the smoldering ruins.

His tenure as mayor, however, did not last long. A British officer fired him for incompetence. The real reason was an interview Mayor Adenauer had given to an American newspaper, in which he said: The total surrender demanded from the vanquished, implied total responsibility of the conquerors.

BLESSING IN DISGUISE

Adenauer is too big a man ever to have nursed anti-British feeling over this slight, which turned out to be a blessing in disguise. Except for this dismissal, he never would have found the time to occupy himself—as he now did—with the nationwide organization of a new party, the Christian Democratic Union, appealing to Catholics and Protestants alike, to build a new state on Christian foundations.

He traveled all over Germany, carrying a blanket and a few slices of bread in his brief case. Conditions were fierce in these first postwar years, and the new party leader, then 70 years old, had to start from scratch.

When the Allies summoned a parliamentary council in September 1948, Adenauer was elected chairman. In the first general election of 1949, he scraped through as Chancellor, with 202 out of 402 votes. Notwithstanding that one-vote majority, Adenauer's strong personality made his government one of the stablest in Europe.

When another general election was due, in September 1953, Adenauer stumped the country from the Baltic to the Alps. Cool, didactic, frequently repeating his old-fashioned form of address: My very honored ladies and gentlemen, occasionally using a happy quip or broad humor, he expounded a policy not of Germany first but of a Germany secure only as a member of a European federation.

The outcome was very much in doubt, awaited anxiously by the world. It took the world's breath away: Adenauer, by popular plebescite, won even Socialist strongholds. The Communists, and neo-Nazi and their fellow travelers were swept away completely, losing even the few seats they had.

In 1949, the Communists had still polled 5.7 percent of the popular vote. Now they tumbled to 2.2 percent and the neo-Nazis from 1.8 to 1.4 percent. Adenauer did not sit up that exciting September night to listen to the radio spouting figures. He said: "I am not the type to waste time to speculate tonight on what I will know for sure tomorrow morning." But that next morning he ordered the green-and-white flag of Europe hoisted on his office, together with the German tricolor. His was a victory for all of the West, a defeat for Moscow.

DOESN'T SHOW AGE

Adenauer recently entered upon his 79th year. But for his face, he doesn't look anything like an old man. Tall, erect, brisk of movement, elastic in stride, square shoulders back, he has never looked better nor felt better. When I asked him where he gets the stamina for his grueling daily work, he replied slowly and with shyness. "I believe God has entrusted me with a task, and where He sets the tasks, He gives the strength."

Behind the faintly Mongolian twist with which the operation left him, lies the essentially friendly typical Rhinelander. He has never lost their untranslatable "Gemuetlichkeit," nor the deep affection of a true Christian for his fellow beings. Though he does not suffer fools gladly, he does suffer them. His soft Cologne accent quickly offsets the somewhat distant stiffness natural in an old gentleman.

I have had the privilege—from as long ago as the twenties in Cologne to as recently as his latest election campaign—of talking to Dr. Adenauer a number of times. Without doubt, he has the ideal poker face for long and difficult negotiations, a face he can hold in deep-freeze when he wants to.

But in conversation, after the first, testing sidelong glances, his face becomes all thought. When he starts explaining, with the index finger of his right hand raised and bending over slightly as he ticks off his points, his measured gestures are all clarity and simplicity. He talks without passion or pathos. He has never been known to get nervous or excited.

Adenauer is a man of the old school, whom age and experience have made wise rather than mellow, and now somewhat lonely under so great a burden.

HOME AND OFFICE

His days are spent between his home and his office. Home is Zenningsweg 7A in Rhoendorf, on the Rhine at its most picturesque, a steep-roofed one-family house on a vineyard slope reached through the garden by 53 steps. These he mounts every day without ever pausing for breath. He has some fine old paintings on his walls, and he likes Persian rugs.

Dr. Adenauer rises at 6 every morning, unaided by an alarm clock. He gets his best ideas, he says, while shaving. He dresses (always in black or dark gray), reads the newspapers, breakfasts, and has already done an hour's dictation of the most important letters and memos for the day, by the time his car calls at 8:30.

His black Mercedes 300, bearing the Chancellor's personal pennant, has an adjustable table on which he can work and a built-in radio, on which he occasionally listens to a football match on long journeys. His driver can never go too fast for him, and a police car always precedes and follows him.

A quarter of an hour, crossing the Rhine by the new Bonn bridge, brings him to this office, the Schaumburg Palace—the former residence of the only sister of the last Kaiser. Much renovated and extended, spacious, classic and elegant, the palace is only 2 minutes' walk from Parliament, and the view over the lovely gardens sloping down to the Rhine encompasses the hills beyond.

Dr. Adenauer's day is rigidly scheduled, constantly checked by his leather-strapped wristwatch, and spent mostly in his handsome, cheerful office. No other Prime Minister's room I know of is more beautiful, or has less pomp and heavy official furniture. A few fine paintings adorn the wide and high walls. A standing clock softly ticks the time. On a small sidetable are autographed portraints of President Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill, and former Premier De Gasperi. Behind his desk a Madonna watches (at home its a Crucifix), and the small door leads to his restroom where he lies down on the couch for an hour after lunch.

HOME FOR SUPPER

The chancellor tries to be home again for supper, eager to know how the hens have been laying, what the children have been doing, how the garden is. Since he no longer has time to go to concerts, he has acquired a magnificent collection of recorded Bach, Beethoven, Tschaikowsky and of his beloved Schubert.

He does not smoke, but doesn't mind others smoking during long meetings. He munches chocolate, on doctor's advice, to keep the digestion in order. He goes to bed fairly early, relaxes with a thriller, sleeps soundly.

Dr. Adenauer married twice, and has been twice widowed. His first wife, the daughter of the Cologne city architect, died in 1916, leaving him two sons and a daughter. Konrad, Jr., is an industrialist. Max Adenauer is the present Cologne city manager.

Dr. Adenauer has four children by his second marriage with Augusta Zinsser, who died in 1948. She was a cousin of John McCloy, who later became American High Commissioner in Germany, and of Lewis Douglas, former American Ambassador in London.

Of Adenauer's second family, son Paul is now a curate, Lisbet married a businessman, Georg, the youngest, studies law at Bonn University, and Dr. Lotte Adenauer acts as official hostess for her father and accompanies him on journeys abroad. She has just become engaged to a young architect.

That the Adenauers are a distinguished family is easily seen by his handsome sons and daughters, not to speak of his 13 grandchildren. Nothing is more typical and natural of the Chancellor than his role of the fond (but by no means doting) head of the family.

And when Adenauer goes to Mass on Sundays at the small Rhoendorf Parish Church, he disdains a seat in the pews, "they are for old people." He stands among his fellow parishioners and joins in the hymns which he has known by heart since his youth.

When in the fullness of time his epitaph is written, it could be summed up as "Konrad Adenauer, Christian." For the mainspring of all his life and work has been his deep, simple, great faith.

The Right To Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE R. HOEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Right To Work," published in the New Orleans States. The editorial indicates that an increasing number of States are enacting laws prohibiting the closed shop and guaranteeing to all workers the right to work regardless of union membership. There are now 17 States with such laws.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT TO WORK

Union labor leaders would be well advised, we think, to examine critically some recent development for any significance that they may embrace.

Seventeen States have now enacted statutes or constitutional amendments forbidding the closed shop and the union shop. No. 17 was Mississippi, where house and senate by decisive majorities adopted a law declaring as a public policy that "the right of a person or persons to work shall not be

denied or abridged on account of membership or nonmembership in any labor union or labor organization." This is called the right to work law.

Alabama and Virginia enacted similar laws in the last year or two. Texas' statute was given a court test last week in the suit of some employees of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad for an injunction prohibiting the company from discharging them for nonmembership in the unions.

These State enactments, all occurring within a few years, seem to reflect public sentiment. Instead of railing against these measures as union busters and slave labor acts, the union leaders would do well to inquire why public opinion—and legislative attitudes that usually conform to public sentiment—support right-to-work laws in 17 States.

Still other States may join these. President Eisenhower wants Congress to give the States more power to write and enforce their own laws on striking, picketing, the open or closed shop, and other labor-management issues. In his message of January 11 the President asked Congress to give the States specific authority to curb strikes that create local emergencies.

These developments appear to us to reflect public reaction to abuses and excesses which some labor leaders have committed in the name of organized labor.

Do We Treat the Sniffles or Wait for Pneumonia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article from the April issue of the Democratic Digest entitled "Do We Treat the Sniffles or Wait for Pneumonia?":

DO WE TREAT THE SNIFFLES OR WAIT FOR PNEUMONIA?

All during Lincoln Week, Republican orators assailed the Democrats as "prophets of doom and gloom, trying to promote us into hard times for political reasons."

Shortly after Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams climaxed Lincoln Week with his charge that the Democrats were "political sadists," seeking to promote a "Fear Deal," financial columnist J. A. Livingston offered an interesting explanation for the Republican barrage:

"How can the Republican Party profit from these tactics?" asked Livingston. "Are Eisenhower, Adams, et al. planning an alibi? Are they preparing to blame the Democrats for talking us into a depression if the decline gains momentum?"

Whatever the reason for the Republican onslaught, and whatever the political gain to the Democratic Party from a Republican depression, Democrats have held fast to the belief that it is their duty to continue to raise economic storm signals where the facts warrant their doing so, and to prod the Eisenhower administration into taking whatever action is necessary to halt the economic slowdown.

First, they believe that it is better to treat a patient when he has a mild case of sniffles, rather than waiting until double pneumonia sets in. This is particularly true, they say, when dealing with the economic health of a nation, for as an economic slide gains momentum, it becomes harder and harder to stop.

Second, they agree with veteran columnist Thomas L. Stokes, who "has learned from first-hand observation of Washington in recession and depression that you can't either talk the country into one or out of one."

History supports Mr. Stokes' "firsthand observation." All during the early days of the depression President Hoover spoke reassuringly:

January 21, 1930: "Definite signs that business and industry have turned the corner * * * were seen today by President Hoover."

March 8, 1930: "President Hoover predicted today that the worst effect of the crash on unemployment will have been passed in the next 60 days."

May 1, 1930: "While the crash took place 6 months ago, I [President Hoover] am convinced we have now passed the worst, and with continued unity of effort we shall rapidly recover."

If it is humanly possible for a country to talk itself into a depression, the economic predictions of the last days of World War II surely would have done the trick, for even the most optimistic forecasters were predicting unemployment in the millions during the "postwar transition." Yet, despite widespread pessimism, the country sailed smoothly through the transition and into unprecedented prosperity.

During the recession of 1949 many of the same Republicans who now assail the Democrats were themselves "prophets of gloom and doom":

February 21, 1949: "Few soup lines have yet shown up, but it is now apparent that there will be plenty of them in the next 6 months." (GOP Congressman BURDICK, of North Dakota.)

May 24, 1949: "The Truman depression is with us. * * * The Truman depression is growing in depth and scope." (GOP Congressman MASON, of Illinois.)

Yet, in spite of these alarming predictions, the economy righted itself, and during the first 6 months of 1950 (before the Korean war began) employment climbed by over 4½ million.

Despite these historical facts, both administration officials and businessmen persist in the belief that talk alone can both cause and prevent a recession. Recently the Advertising Council considered the idea of a mass advertising campaign to "sell" prosperity to the country, which moved the Louisville Times to comment:

"Prosperity is one commodity for which even an ad man cannot dream up an acceptable substitute. Either you have prosperity or you don't. If you have it, it isn't necessary to sell it to you. If you don't have it, the most brilliant advertising genius cannot convince you that your hunger and your worry are only hallucinations."

Most Democrats agree with the conservative Fortune magazine, that worrying in public has its perils, to be sure * * * but refusing to face economic facts or to contemplate unpleasant eventualities can have even graver consequences for the individual corporation and for the economy as a whole.

A third reason why many Democrats persist in prodding the administration into taking note of economic danger signals and into taking the necessary action is that they believe that recession and depressions are caused—and can be prevented—not by words but by the actions of men, or by their failure to act. As Adlai Stevenson said recently, "If we have a depression in this country, it will be manmade."

It was for this very reason that Democrats in both the House and the Senate fought against the administration's tight-money policy early last year. On April 18, 8 Democratic Senators, joined by Independent Senator MORSE, warned that the new policy contains the germs of depression and on May 22, Democratic Congressmen introduced in the House a resolution calling upon the administration to reverse its tight-money policies.

But the Democrats did not control the Government, and they could do no more than to warn and protest. Unfortunately, it was not until late June that the administration began to ease up on its credit restrictions, and by that time a severe drag had been put on the economy. The machine had slowed down.

Finally, many Democrats still feel an uneasiness that despite the President's repeated statements that the Government will take whatever action is necessary to halt the economic slowdown, the administration does not have a firm grasp of the economic situation. This uneasiness springs from a number of factors.

First, and perhaps most disturbing, is the belief held by many of the most important administration officials, as well as many prominent business leaders, that a certain amount of economic downturn (the official term is "adjustment") is not only normal but inevitable, and, therefore, not a cause for concern.

These views are based on the old Republican economic law of gravity, that what goes up must come down. They are not yet convinced that this is still a swiftly growing country, with no genuine limit on its expansion in sight.

This belief in an economic "law of gravity" extends to the President himself. A Wall Street Journal headline following a Presidential press conference read, "President Calls Current Economic Readjustment Necessary, Healthy."

What worries many Democrats about this philosophy is that every year there are about 700,000 more job seekers and over 2 million more mouths to feed in America than there were the year before. If the economy is even allowed to stand still for a year, much less slip backward, as has been predicted, unemployment is bound to result.

A second disquieting factor is the inaccuracy of last year's predictions by administration leaders that a recession was definitely not in the offing.

Last August 10, Treasury Secretary Humphrey was asked by Newsweek magazine, "Do you think a business recession is likely to follow the Korean truce?"

"Not in the slightest," Mr. Humphrey replied.

And as late as last October 20, Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks said he "saw no sign of a business recession."

This kind of crystal gazing continues.

A Budget Bureau official told Congress that the administration's budget was based on the assumption that unemployment would "level off" at between two and two and a half million during 1954. Shortly afterward, the Census Bureau reported that unemployment had crossed the 3 million mark.

The unemployment figures themselves are a cause of concern. The conflicting statements of various Government agencies as to what the real unemployment statistics are have caused many Democrats to believe that the administration is playing a sort of "numbers game" to conceal the true unemployment picture. Their fears were not put to rest when, in mid-February, a new Census Bureau report, based on a larger survey, came up with 728,000 more unemployed than had previously been reported.

The continuing slippage of farm income, coupled with the administration's determination to lower farm price supports in the face of the decline, was another source of major concern not only to farm State Congressmen and Senators, but also to many a city Congressman who recalled that the depression of the 1930's began on the farms during the mid-1920's, while the rest of the country prospered.

One of the strangest factors contributing to the general uneasiness was business' own lack of confidence not only in the future of the economy, but in the willingness and ability of the Republican administration to take effective antidepression action. Although it drew no attack of "gloom and doom," the National City Bank of New York said in a newsletter:

"Since last summer * * * there has been a measurable recession in production and in employment opportunities. Expectations of further contractions are widespread. What does the Government do if these expectations are correct?"

A final disturbing factor is the administration's obvious reliance on stimulatipg business investment, rather than consumption as a means of halting the economic decline. Financial Columnist Sylvia Porter, comparing President Eisenhower's philosophy with that of his predecessor, said, "Truman would be declaring that the growth of consumption is a first essential to sales and profits for business. Eisenhower is declaring that the growth of business is a first essential to jobs and paychecks for consumers. * * * To Truman, the consumer would be the key to boom. To Eisenhower, the businessman is the key to boom. The distinction is huge."

Typical of the Eisenhower emphasis on business investment is his tax program, which directs over nine-tenths of the total tax relief toward corporations, and their shareholders. Many economists (including the conservative Edwin Nourse) observing the steel industry operating at 74 percent of capacity, factories working on a part-time basis, and unemployment growing, feel there is ample evidence already that the real need now is to make the consumer's buying power catch up with our immense productive power. As William Trufant Foster asked in 1927, "What good is business without a buyer?"

Although Democrats will continue to bring the economic facts to the administration's and to the public's attention, they have not treated the threat of a depression as a partisan issue. They realize, as Economist Colin Clark recently pointed out, that "the harm which * * * a United States depression would do to the rest of the world is almost limitless, not only through its direct effect upon other countries' economies, but still more through its effects on men's minds * * *." They realize that the entire structure of our foreign policy, and of the free-world alliance, rests on United States prosperity. They agree with Michael Michich, the Republican mayor of Charles City, Iowa, that "farm income and unemployment should be approached on a nonpartisan or bipartisan basis."

But while the Democrats can warn, oppose, and sometimes propose, the responsibility and initiative necessarily lie in the hands of the Republican leaders in the administration and in Congress to chart the Nation's economic course.

As Sylvia Porter points out, "The America businessman has been handed the job of making and maintaining prosperity. He's on the hottest spot of his life—and his friend, President Eisenhower, has put him there."

Marxism and Morality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILBUR D. MILLS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the interesting speech entitled "Marxism and Morality," prepared by Dr. J. B. Bales, who is in charge of the Bible department at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. Dr. Bales delivered the speech on October 22, 1953, to Freedom Forum XIV, sponsored by Harding College, and which convenes on the campus.

The speech follows:

MARXISM AND MORALITY

(By Dr. J. D. Bales, Harding College, Searcy, Ark.)

The purpose of this study is to explain the moral outlook of the followers of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Although it is the author's opinion that to expound the Marxist moral code is to expose it, this study does not give a critical analysis and detailed refutation of the system. Thus there will be no elaboration of whatever truths Marx warped and used nor of any injustices in society against which he may have reacted. Often we shall simply let the Communists speak for themselves.

THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MORAL OUTLOOK

Concerning any man or society it is important that we rightly answer two fundamental questions. First, what is their goal? Second, what means are they willing to use to reach it? When we know these things we know the direction that they will take and the way or ways in which they will be willing to act. How they will treat others will be determined by their actual goal and means.

One's philosophy of life, and the moral outlook which is embraced therein, determines the end for which one lives and the means by which he operates:

It is of tremendous importance for the well-being of freemen that they understand the philosophy of life of the Communists. An understanding of the Communist's present conduct, and a prediction of his future possible action, cannot be very reliable unless we understand the moral code which his philosophy authorizes. As Martin Dies observed: "It is impossible to understand the tactics and statements of Communists and their fellow travelers unless their very special code of ethics be kept constantly in mind." (The Trojan Horse in America, p. 240.)

Because certain actions of the Communists do not seem reasonable to some, they refuse to believe some things that the Communists have done, or are capable of doing. However, when viewed in the light of their philosophical outlook and moral code we can see that although their conducts does not seem rational to us, that it is the theological conclusion from their fundamental assumptions about history and life.

The Communist's special moral code, if moral code it may be called, is essential to the making of the real Communist. This fact is given special emphasis by Benjamin Gitlow. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party in America. He left the Party many years ago and has since worked against their philosophy and party. He observed that when the Russian Communists, or those who had been trained by them, wanted to be sure and fashion the American Party into the likeness of the Russian Party, that the basic thing they endeavored to do was to destroy the ethical system in which the people of this country have been nurtured. The destruction of the ethics of our civilization in the minds of their members was fundamental. "Getting the American Communists to reject the ethical concepts of civilization constituted the central point in the campaign for the Bolshevization of the American Communists." (Benjamin Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives, p. 81.)

COMMUNISM IS ATHEISTIC

The first basic element which determines the Marxist's moral outlook is atheism. There is no God: this is the chorus which one hears them singing when he tunes in on Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. "Atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism, of the theory and practice of scientific socialism. In accordance with their fundamental philosophical outlook, Marx and Engles always called themselves materialists * * *. Marx coined the phrase: 'The criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism.'" (Introduction by ———, in V. I. Lenin, Religion. New York: International Publishers, 1933, p. 3.) "The necessity for unceasing struggle on behalf of atheism within and outside the party was emphasized by Lenin in the article which he wrote as an introduction to the first number of the scientific Bolshevik journal" (ibid., p. 5).

"We said at the beginning of this introduction that Marxism cannot be conceived without atheism. We would add here that atheism without Marxism is incomplete and inconsistent" (ibid., p. 6).

As William Z. Foster, in an appearance before the Fish committee, testified: "Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people, as Karl Marx has stated, and we carry on propaganda for the liquidation of these prejudices amongst the workers." This did not mean that atheism was a formal requirement for membership in the Communist Party. "Many workers join the Communist Party who still have some religious scruples, or religious ideas; but a worker who will join the Communist Party, who understands the elementary principles of the Communist Party, must necessarily be in the process of liquidating his religious beliefs and, if he still has any lingerings when he joins the party, he will soon get rid of them." (Investigation of Un-American Activities and Propaganda. H. Res. 282, Union Calendar No. 2, House Rept. No. 2, 1939, p. 18.)

This does not mean that every atheist is a Communist; although atheism does pave the way for communism, as Prof. Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker, observed in a conversation in 1951. In July 1953, Mrs. Budenz told the author that the naturalism which she was taught in a Pennsylvania university prepared her for communism. Before a Senate committee, Elizabeth Bentley, also an ex-Communist, testified that her studies at Vassar had helped undermine her religious faith and her faith in democracy. This made her a pushover for communism. Thus, whether they realize it or not, those who sow scepticism help prepare the way for communism.

Since communism is atheistic, it rejects any moral code which teaches that God is, that man is responsible to God, and that man is a creature of God. It knows of no will higher than the will of man; of no bar before which man must stand except that of human might.

When faith in God, as Whittaker Chambers has shown in his book on his own experiences, comes into one's life, communism must go. Thus the "crisis of the Western World exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God * * * the only possible answer to the Communist challenge: Faith in God or Faith in Man? is the challenge: Faith in God." (Witness Whittaker Chambers, pp. 16–17.)

The rejection of God means that the Communist takes a materialistic view of life, i. e., there is no spiritual realm, matter only exists. The materialism of the communism is called dialectical materialism. What is this variety of materialism?

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

"Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic."

(History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), p. 105.)

The term "dialectic" was used by the Greeks to cover the discussions wherein contradictory viewpoints were presented, and out of which truth emerged. The Communist maintains that a dialectical process works in human experience and thus in human history. One movement in history calls for a contradictory movement. Out of the clash of contradictions a higher stage in society is reached. To put it in the language of Hegel, and Marx borrowed from Hegel, the thesis calls forth the antithesis, and out of the clash arises something new, i. e., the synthesis. Each movement thus creates the conditions of its own annihilation.

Dialectical materialism teaches that "The entire history of man is nothing but the historical-natural process of the rise and passage of one to another of the various social-economic forms. In the concrete, Marxism knows five forms: (1) the primitive communism of prehistory; (2) the slavery of antiquity; (3) the feudalism of the Middle Ages; (4) the capitalism of modern times, with which the prehistory of mankind would come to an end, and from which man's true history would begin; (5) the communism of the future." (Gustav A. Wetter, "Science in Soviet Culture," The Philosophy of Communism. New York: Fordham University Press, p. 265).

The common ownership of land in so-called primitive communism, to illustrate the working of the dialectical process, after a certain time became a fetter on production. This brought about private ownership of land. As workers were needed to farm the land slavery, and finally feudalism, developed.

Freemen afterward arose and began to establish small businesses. These, too, finally fettered production and so gigantic business monopolies were built up, according to communism. This system, capitalism, created the working class, i. e., those who do not own the means of production but have only their labor to sell. They are the wage slaves." As time goes on, according to Communist theory, the capitalists grow richer and richer, and the "wage-slaves" poorer and poorer. At the same time the number of the capitalists decreases and that of the "wage slaves" increases. Finally, they overthrow the capitalists by violent revolution.

"Thus the weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern workingclass—the proletarians." (Communist Manifesto).

In other words, the thesis (capitalism) calls forth the antithesis (the proletariat or working class), and out of the clash of the two arises the synthesis (the destruction of the capitalistic system and the creation of a classless society, communism. See the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), pp. 123–131.)

With the advent of communism the dialectic ceases to work. The perfect social organization has been reached, and no higher stage is possible. Why this is so, the Communist cannot satisfactorily explain, for why should the dialectic ever stop? It is not enough to say that dialectic ceases because there are no more classes. For, after all, what is to keep contending groups from arising; such as producers and distributors? Why cannot a classless society call forth its opposite? It once did, according to their theory.

There are certain other matters, however, which must be considered to give a clear picture of the Communist view of reality. Their idea of economic determinism is one of these things.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

Everything in human society is determined by the economic situation. The state, morality, and everything else are the creation of the economic system. These have been evolved to perpetuate the economic interests of the ruling class. Marx and Engels did not deny that ideas, religions, etc., have some influence on society (see Engels' letters in Sidney Hook, Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx, pp. 335–342); yet the economic factor is the decisive factor and, for that matter, is the source of these ideas and religions. "In conformity with Marxist materialism, he (Pickhanov) showed that in the long run the development of society is determined not by the wishes and ideas of outstanding individuals, but by the development of the material conditions of existence of society by the changes in the mode of production of the material wealth required for the existence of society, by the changes in the mutual relations of classes in the production of material wealth, by the struggle of classes for place and position in the production and distribution of material wealth. It was not ideas that determined the social and economic status of men, but the social and economic status of men that determined their ideas. Outstanding individuals may become nonentities if their ideas and wishes run counter to the economic development of society, to the needs of the foremost class; and vice versa, outstanding people may really become outstanding individuals if their ideas and wishes correctly express the needs of the economic development of society, the needs of the foremost class." (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), p. 14.)

The relations of production (i. e., who controls the means of production and distribution) shape everything else. 'Everything is determined, in other words, by the economic system.

Thus the Communist maintains that the state is simply the instrument of the ruling class whereby it endeavors to maintain its position and power by suppressing with force those who would challenge it. Morality is but another instrument for maintaining the position of the ruling class. "Thou shalt not steal" is not a moral law laid down by God, for there is no God. Instead, it is an invention of property owners who thereby hope to keep others from taking their property. In a communistic society where the people own the property such a law would be foolish, since the people would not steal from themselves. (See Burns, Handbook of Marxism, pp. 247–249.) Or so goes the Communist line. "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is a bourgeois prejudice based on the desire of some man to have exclusive rights to a woman. In other words, morality is relative to the interest of a particular class.

CLASS MORALITY

When we speak of class morality we speak of the very heart of the Communist view of ethics. There are no fixed moral principles. All morality is relative to the interest of a particular class. In capitalistic America the moral system in which we have been reared is the product of capitalism. Thus it is designed to perpetuate capitalism. It is but an instrument of the ruling class. But the proletariat, the working group, constitute a different class. Therefore, their morale code will be different, i. e., it will be constructed so as to further the interests of the working class. Thus it will simply be an instrument of the class to assist it in its struggle for the elimination of capitalism and for the possession of the means of production and distribution.

In a speech to the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union (October 2, 1920), Lenin said: "But is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality. Of course there is. It is frequently asserted that we have no ethics, and very frequently the bourgeoisie makes the charge that we Communists deny all morality. That is one of their methods of confusing the issue, of throwing dust into the eyes of the workers and peasants.

"In what sense do we deny ethics, morals? "In the sense in which they are preached by the bourgeoisie, which deduces these morals from God's commandments. Of course, we say that we do not believe in God. We know perfectly well that the clergy, the landlords, and the bourgeoisie all claimed to speak in the name of God, in order to protect their own interests as exploiters. Or, instead of deducing their ethics from the commandments of morality, from the commandments of God, they deduced them from idealistic or semi-idealistic phrases which in substance, were always very similar to divine commandments.

"We deny all morality taken from superhuman or nonclass conceptions. We say that this is deception, a swindle, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists.

"We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class struggle of the proletariat.

"That is why we say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud. For us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle." (Lenin, Religion, pp. 47–48.)

"At any given time that is moral for any class which strengthens the position of that class of society." (A. L. Morton, Communism and Morality, in John Lewis, Christianity and the Social Revolution, p. 330.)

Since the Communist regards himself as a member of a class which is diametrically opposed to our present civilization, his moral code will be diametrically opposed to ours. "Thou shalt not steal." Is this the ethic of the bourgeoisie? Then stealing is right for the Communist if it furthers the interest of his class. "Thou shalt not bear false witness." This is a bourgeoisie prejudice. If false witness will advance the proletariat, bear false witness. Any means are sanctioned if they help achieve what the Communist conceives to be the interests of his class.

All morality is therefore simply an instrument used to gain or to maintain power; or, in some cases, to rationalize what a class has done or proposes to do. All know how easy it is to rationalize. The Communist has taken the weaknesses of human nature, and deviations from morality, and fashioned them into the moral standard. He has done as some did in Isaiah's time. They called good evil and evil good; they put light for darkness and darkness for light (Isaiah 5:20–21).

That this is not a new thing with communism is evident from the Communist Manifesto, which is still a basic document in communism. Of the Communists, Marx wrote: "But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class." (Communist Manifesto.)

"Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests." (Communist Manifesto.)

A Communist is thus willing to do anything, even to being a clergyman, as a few of them have been, if it furthers the interest of his class. The Marxist will support

the nationalist movements of a colonial people when he can use such to destroy his class enemies and advance his party's cause. (Joseph Stalin, Foundation of Leninism, pp. 79–80.)

After taking the position of class morality the Communist somewhat reverses himself and claims that his morality is a higher type of morality than that of the Capitalist, for his morality is that of the historically progressive class, the proletariat. Since this class is higher in the dialectical scale it is better than all that has gone before. (A. L. Morton, op. cit., pp. 330–335; L. Trotsky, The Defense of Terrorism, p. 56.) Furthermore, it is higher because it is supposed to represent a class which is not struggling to exploit others, but to end all exploitation. (Maurice Cornforth, Dialectical Materialism, p. 19.) It is but a small thing that they are endeavoring to kill the bourgeois. Of course, it is pure assumption which enables them to insert any genuine moral content into the materialistic and dialectical process.

RELIGION

According to the doctrine of economic determinism religion itself is but a tool of the ruling class. It cannot be denied that some cases can be cited where religion functioned as an instrument of oppression in the hands of a ruling class. However, the Communist not merely affirms that such has happened in some cases, but that such is the nature of religion itself. Religion, Marx maintained, is an opiate. It performs two functions. First, the ruling class uses it to keep the people contented with their lot. Second, the people themselves use it to deaden the pain of existence under exploitation.

As is so often the case, communism is guilty of that of which it accuses others. Communism is likely the greatest opiate which the world has ever seen. First, it kills the conscience and compassion of man. It so deadens his conscience that when he has become an ideal Communist he can do anything, that the party demands, without qualm of conscience.

Gen. Wilhelm Saisser, Minister of State Security for East Germany, emphasized that he would not have a man in an important position who is not capable of whipping a prisoner to death if need be—himself, and without a qualm. (Richard Hanser and Frederic Sondern, Jr., "Wilhelm Saisser—the Red Himmler." Reader's Digest, Jan. 1953, p. 74.) Second, it deadens man's moral, religious, and spiritual sensitivities and aspirations. Third, in the name of future Communist paradise on earth they ask Communists today to suffer, sacrifice, and die. Thus in the name of such a hereafter, which this generation cannot hope to see even if communism be true, they endeavor to dope their slaves so that they will be satisfied with their lot.

TRUTH

There is nothing ultimate about truth, according to the Communist, in a capitalistic society at least. Truth is simply that which serves the interest of a class. So what is truth for one class is not truth for another class, since they have different and conflicting interests.

With such a view of truth a Communist uses Aesopian language whenever it serves his purpose. That is, language which will confuse, mislead, and misinform the class enemies. (Lenin, Imperialism, New York: Vanguard Press, 1926, p. 1.) Deceiving, whenever necessary, the class enemies is a virtue, not a vice.

Strange as it may seem, the Communist does try to convince himself that there is truth and that he is nearer to it than is the capitalist. Thus Maurice Cornforth wrote that "It is only when we adopt the partisan standpoint of historically the most progressive class that we are able to get nearer to truth. The definition of dialectical materialism, therefore, as the philosophy of the revolutionary working-class party, is in no way incompatible with the claim of dialectical materialism to express truth, and to be a means of arriving at truth. On the contrary, we have every right to make this claim, in view of the actual historical position and role of the working class." Of all classes, the working class is the only one which is not an exploiting class, he maintains (Dialectical Materialism, p. 17). No, of course, they do not exploit only. They exploit, then exterminate. Who said that theirs is historically the most progressive class, and thus nearer to the truth? They and their philosophy say so, and that is sufficient for any loyal Communist.

It is well to remember that the Communist has no sense of honor which operates toward his class enemies. Thus, he deals in deceit and not in truth.

Their concept of class and class morality implies class struggle, which to them is the sum total of history. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." (Communist manifesto.)

CLASS STRUGGLE

The classes, which have been created by the economic system, have different interests, aims, and ethical systems. These are not only different but also diametrically opposed to one another. Thus, there can be no lasting cooperation between the classes, no final compromise, no continued peaceful coexistence. In fact, the effort to bring about understanding and cooperation between the classes is in itself an evil. Why? For the simple reason that progress can come only through class struggle. Only as the proletariat eliminates the capitalist class can the way be paved for the advent of the classless society—communism, in which peace and benevolence shall reign. Thus, anything that tends to minimize or eliminate the tension between classes is evil, for it postpones the coming of the Communist paradise. Anything which intensifies class conflict is good, for it hastens the final triumph of communism. Compassion, kindness, and manifestations of good will between classes are thus evil. Suspicion, hatred, brutality, and all other things which intensify class struggle are good, for they hasten the revolution and the final overthrow of the curse of capitalism. Thus, communism endeavors to crush within the hearts of the Communists any sympathy or understanding for persons of the other class.

Since class struggle is both inevitable and the means of progress, the Communist believes that at all times he is at war with those whom he labels capitalists or with others who differ with the party purpose and the party line. This war, whether hot or cold, is one in which there can be no peace unless and until the opposing class is destroyed. Thus, although after World War II the Communists conferred with the Allies, they still regarded them as enemies "with whom we conferred only for tactical reason." (Gregory Klimov, The Terror Machine; Reader's Digest, September 1953.)

The concept of class warfare means that the Communist, in both peace and war, lives by the "ethics of war." What civilized men view as regrettable in warfare, the Communist considers as normal and commendable even in peace.

The concept of class warfare also means that any apparent effort toward peaceful coexistence is simply a blind which in some way aims to aid the Communist. "The revolutionary parties," says Lenin, "must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must understand that it is necessary to supplement this knowledge with a knowledge of how to retreat. They must understand—and the revolutionary class by its own bitter experience learns to understand—that victory is impossible without having learned both how to attack and how to retreat correctly." (Leftwing Communism.)

The object of this startegy is to gain time, to disintegrate the enemy, and to accumulate forces in order to assume the offensive later.

The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace may be taken as an illustration of this strategy, for it enabled the party to gain time, to make use of the clashes in the camps of the imperialists, to distintegrate the forces of the enemy, to retain the support of the peasantry and accumulate forces in preparation for the attack upon Kolchak and Denikin.

"In concluding a separate peace," said Lenin, "we free ourselves as far as is possible at the present moment from both groups of imperialist belligerents, we make use of their enmity and warfare which hamper concerted action by them against us and for a certain period have our hands free to advance and to consolidate the Socialist revolution." (Theses on Peace, Collected Works, First Russian Edition, vol. XV, p. 63.) (Joseph Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Revised Translation, p. 95.)

Revolution is their aim. As the closing words of the Communist Manifesto stated long ago:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Working men of all countries, unite."

THE PARTY

What is the party and what is its function? "The Marxist Party is a part, a detachment, of the the working class. * * * The party differs from other detachments of the working class primarily by the fact that it is not an ordinary detachment, but the vanguard detachment, a class-conscious detachment, a Marxist detachment of the working class, armed with a knowledge of the life of society, of the laws of its development and of the laws of the class struggle, and for this reason able to lead the working class and to direct its struggle." (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), p. 46.) As Stalin wrote: "The party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. * * * The party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see farther than the working class; it must lead the proletariat, and not follow in the tail of the spontaneous movement." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 190.)

"The working class without a revolutionary party is an army without a general staff. The party is the general staff of the proletariat" (ibid., p. 110). It must be "bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power," and "without such a party it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat" (ibid., p. 108).

The party does not seek a large membership. For example, in Russia in 1917 the party "had a membership of about 240,000." (History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), p. 196.) Instead of a large membership it seeks a hardened, well-trained, devoted group of Communists who will do the will of their leaders without hesitation. This party, however, teaches the masses to regard the party as their party, as a party near and dear to them, in whose expansion and consolidation they are vitally interested and to whose leadership they voluntarily entrust their destiny." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 111.)

The will of the party, which really means the will of the dictator, is supreme. All things which advance the party are good, and anything which hinders it is bad.

The party endeavors to make the masses conscious of their historical destiny; which is to overthrow capitalism and to establish communism. The party endeavors to prepare the masses for the revolution, while preparing itself to lead the revolution. The revolution is inevitable, but it can be hastened by effective work on the part of the party. Revolution, not reform, is the party's objective.

The revolution establishes the party in power. This then constitutes the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Some scholars maintain that Karl Marx thought that the dictatorship of the proletariat, a term which he rarely used, would be replaced shortly with the classless paradise. Be that as it may Lenin emphasized the dictatorship—which is simply a dictatorship, and not a dictatorship of the working-class. Thus Lenin wote: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and the most ruthless war waged by the new class against the more powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie * * * the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn, and desperate war of life and death, a war which requires perseverance, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and unity of will * * * absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are one of the basic conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie." (L. I. Lenin, Left Wing, Communism an Infantile Disorder, pp. 9–10.)

This dictatorship is necessary in order to continue the elimination of the capitalist class and to remove the last vestiges of bourgeoisie prejudices from the minds of the proletariat. Its rule is "unrestricted by law and based on force." (Foundations of Leninism, p. 53.)

When this has been accomplished the dictatorship and the state as a coercive body will fade away. At least this is the theory of communism, since communism maintains that the state is an instrument whereby one class holds down another class. Thus when the dictatorship has eliminated the capitalist class and all of its vestiges, the state and dictatorship will automatically disappear, since a classless society has been achieved and class conflict is thus impossible. This, of course, is an idle dream for such a dictatorship will never relinquish its power voluntarily. In trying to make private property the devil of society, and class the source of conflict, Communists overlook the lust of man for power, which lust finds ample opportunity for functioning in the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, the Communist overlooks the entire fact of sin, and regards all conflict as having its source in the organization of society. To change the organization of society changes men, so they reason. Certainly historical facts do not justify one in concluding that a change of social organization in Russia changed the hearts of men, especially those who became the rulers, for the better.

To sum up, we observe that in the realm of morality Marxism is relativism, experiency, brute force, and rationalization to the highest degree. As Engels wrote:

"As the mode of production changes, people look at things from a different angle, apply a different set of standards, and accordingly render different judgments as to right and wrong conduct. New classes have new interests, and new interests require new sanctions, new ways of envisaging good and evil. When a subject class overpowers its rival, what was good before is good no longer, and what was regarded as wrong in the past may become right." (Anti-Duhring, p. 129.)

These considerations make it clear that Marxism and morality cannot consistently go together.

Address of Senator Wiley at Memorial Services Honoring Jewish Victims of Nazism in Austria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended is the address of Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, senior Senator from Wisconsin and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at the memorial services for the Jewish victims of naziism in Austria held in the Austrian Synagogue, 252 West 92d Street, New York City, on Monday evening, March 8, 1954:

HONORING THE JEWISH VICTIMS OF NAZIISM IN AUSTRIA

It is a privilege for me to appear in this temple to submit to you my sentiments on this significant occasion for which you have assembled tonight.

In anticipating this event, I have reviewed with our State Department officials and with other intersted sources some of the many ramifications of this important event.

It is altogether fitting that in this House of the Lord, before the Ark of the Covenant, we pause in tribute to 60,000 departed children of God.

They perished because men violated the word of God—the word which was first conveyed by Moses to the children of Israel and of the world from Mount Sinai.

Had the Ten Commandments—the bedrock of Judao-Christian civilization been honored, it would not have been necessary for you and for me to assemble tonight for this sad, but inspired purpose, of honoring the victims of naziism in Austria.

Down through history, all the prophets—the seers, the sages of the human race—have taught us to love our brothers as ourselves, but man so often has not heeded that admonition.

All the religions have taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, but the teachings have not been sufficiently applied.

It is for us tonight, however, to vow as we pray—that you and I shall do our part to fulfill the word of the Lord.

LEARNING FROM THE PAST

Our purpose tonight is a worthy one.

It is altogether fitting that men should remember and pay homage to those of their coreligionists who have suffered from man's inhumanity to man.

It is altogether fitting and proper that when deeds of darkness are written anywhere on earth, men should not forget them; men should not try to cover them up.

Men should not overly dwell on them, because there are too many challenges in the present and the future to confine ourselves only to the past.

But neither should men forget their links with yesterday; neither should they forget the sorrows of the past, the agonies of others.

Men should turn back the pages of history for a constructive purpose—so that they might learn from the past, so they might be worthy of the sacrifices made by others in the past.

In reopening those pages, one unavoidably reopens old wounds.

It is not, however, my purpose, nor is it, I am sure, yours, merely to reopen this chapter in order to feel again the pain and the suffering which were experienced in Austria. Rather, it is difficult to find from the past its full significance so that these objectives may be achieved:

1. So that we may act to try to deter a revival of the barbarism, the hatred, the prejudice which characterized Nazi-dominated and occupied central Europe between 1933, 1938, and 1945.

2. So that the claims of the victims of the great tragedy of the 1930's and 1940's be appropriately and promptly adjudicated and honored.

THE NEW BARBARISM—COMMUNISM

I need not tell you in detail, my friends, that already there has been a revival of barbarism. A new terror, even more hideous, more universal in its activities, has exploded throughout the world in recent years. It is the barbarism of international communism.

Once more man witnesses:

Slave-labor camps.

Genocide—the mass extermination of peoples.

So-called blood guilt—slaughters of entire families and of innocent relatives.

It makes little difference that now men are exterminated because they are allegedly in a certain economic class, or political class, while Nazism exterminated them because they were of a certain religion or nationality. Either way, the end result is the same—the death of innocents.

Against this new barbarism, the fullest moral influence of mankind must be exerted.

Against it, every voice must speak out. Against it, the free world must mobilize its fullest spiritual resources.

ANSWERING THE COMMUNISTS BY DEEDS

I cannot think of a better way for us to demonstrate our way of life as distinguished from the Communist way than by faithfully applying the very principles which the Communists have violated.

As they have demonstrated injustice, it is for us, Americans or Austrians, to demonstrate justice.

As they have demonstrated the rule of force and violence, it is for us to demonstrate the rule of just law.

As they have demonstrated the unscrupulous breaking of every pledge, it is for us—Americans or Austrians—to demonstrate man's honoring of his obligations.

It is within the framework of these principles that I am glad to add my voice tonight to the voice of our Government—yours and mine—in the firm and fervent hope that the Austrian Government will, around the conference table, promptly and satisfactorily honor the claims which are so long pending before it on behalf of the victims—Jewish and others—of Nazism.

By so honoring those claims, our friend, Austria can play an expanded role in the family of nations. Austria can demonstrate by her actions her heightened appreciation of the moral values which our common Western civilization hold so dear.

PROGRESS MADE ON THIS ISSUE

While Nazism's legacy is far from completely gone, much progress has been made to eradicate it.

Worthy leaders have arisen from within Germany and within Austria. They are leaders who fully recognize and deeply regret and deplore the horror of the deeds which were committed. They are leaders who are determined that the like of those deeds shall never recur. They are leaders who are determined that justice shall be done to the victims of the past.

They are leaders who are determined that Germany and Austria shall stand—by their actions—not just their words—with the free world, the world of justice and tolerance and respect for human dignity.

I SHALL REFER TO BASIC PRINCIPLES

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it is my duty, as I see it, to speak on behalf of certain principles in the conduct between governments, the United States Government and the Austrian Government. I cannot, of course, presume to act as a judge or arbiter on the specific details of this case. So, I shall confine my remarks to the level of principles. But I want to say that it is the application of these principles which will constitute the acid test of good faith on the part of all of the interested sources.

THE TRAGEDY OF AUSTRIA'S JEWISH COMMUNITY

The tragedy which befell Austrian Jewry is one which should be remembered not only by your coreligionists, but by all men of good will everywhere.

The harm done to any member or group of the human race is not an isolated act. "When the bell tolls" for one group of mankind, it tolls for us, too.

The Austrian Jewish community of some 200,000 was one with deep and honored roots in Austrian and European history. It was a community which helped bring to full flower the peaceful Austria and Europe of pre- and post-World War I times.

It was a community characterized by great artistic and scientific skill, by progress in commerce, finance, by great scholarship, by initiative and imagination. It was a community which helped attract as a magnet great leaders from the four corners of the earth. The names of the countless Austrians of Jewish descent, who enhanced the prestige of their native or adopted land were so many that I could not possibly do justice to them all now.

Then came the black day of March 11, 1938, when the Nazi troops marched into Vienna, and with that day came tragedy.

The terrible fate which befell that community is known to you all. The terrible story of the racist laws, the concentration camps, the execution chambers.

Some fortunate ones—around 110,000—were able to escape the terror. Tens of thousands became residents of the United States. Here they have acquired citizenship, and here they have resumed on American soil, within the American way of life, their expanded contributions to mankind.

We are proud of them in our midst, proud of the scientists, the musicians, the economists, the doctors, the businessmen, proud of the people—known and unknown—who have demonstrated their Americanism.

But what of those who perished in their homeland? What of the heirless who died before the terror? Who can reckon the terrible toll inflicted on these and other innocents? Who can reckon the cost of careers rent assunder, or the cost of wounds on minds and bodies, in hearts and souls?

The financial costs, as you know, are vast. The costs—alone—of tangible losses, of savings, of insurance policies, of holdings, whether it be household property or businesses; the cost of pensions that were lost, libraries that were auctioned off for a pittance.

But these claims obviously involve more than financial dollars and cents. They involve a moral issue.

UNITED STATES STAND FOR PAYMENT OF CLAIMS

Fortunately, the United States Government, which has ever stood for moral principles, has maintained from the very start—in 1945—that this moral cause must be acknowledged. Material losses must be restored to the victims of Nazism by those who would otherwise profit unjustly at the expense of such victims.

At stake is not just the right of the victims. At stake is Austria's own prestige in the family of nations.

As a sovereign nation, Austria's responsibilities as well as obligations must be fulfilled.

Time is an important factor. The days pass into months, and the months into years. Already, there has been delay unfortunately.

The United States Government, through the Department of State in Washington, as well as through our Ambassadors in Austria, has again and again firmly indicated that surely the victims of Nazism could and should receive consideration prior to consideration shown to those who engaged in Nazi activities.

The United States was gratified by the successful negotiation in Germany of the Jewish reparations claims by the government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. It is our hope that negotiation by Austria as well will culminate in a mutually satisfactory arrangement.

As recently as December 31, 1953, Mr. Robert D. Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, met with a delegation of the Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria.

The committee called his attention to the regrettable suspension of the negotiation talks. Mr. Murphy assured the delegation that the United States Government would continue its efforts to bring about resolution of the stalemate. This view was reiterated in a State Department communication to your Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria dated January 15, 1954, which read:

"As you know from close consultation between representatives of your Committee and the Department and the American Embassy in Vienna, and especially from the recent meeting of the Executive Committee with the Deputy Undersecretary, Mr. Murphy, the Department continues to share your view that a just solution to these problems should be achieved. While it is not certain that this will be possible in the course of current negotiations at Berlin, you may be assured that continued efforts will be made to bring about the resolution of these questions. With this in mind, copies of your letter are being sent to Berlin and to the Embassy at Vienna."

I want to reemphasize now that, while this occasion tonight honors the memory of Austrians of Jewish descent, at stake in this issue is more than the problem of justice for those of Hebraic faith.

At stake is the question of justice for all individuals who suffered from Nazi persecution, whatever their descent. It is a fact, however, that no group suffered as severely, as devastatingly, as did the members of the Jewish faith.

AUSTRIA MUST FULFILL SOVEREIGN OBLIGATIONS

I need not tell you that the cause of Austria itself, unfortunately, failed to progress at the recent Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers.

The fact that it did not, the fact that provision was not made for the withdrawal of occupation forces from Austria and for the final signing of a State peace treaty, may be laid exclusively to the obstinate, destructive attitude of the Soviet Government.

Our delegation, headed by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, did everything it could in furtherance of Austria's full sovereignty.

Now, it is only fair to point out, in turn, that Austria, in the exercise of its sovereignty, should honor just claims upon it.

It is my hope, that around the conference table there will always be displayed a spirit of good-will and good faith, a genuine determination to come to agreement promptly and adequately. It is our hope that from such a conference table will come news to the world which may serve to balance, if only in small measure, the evil news which issued from Austria after March, 1953.

What was done cannot be undone. The tears that were shed cannot be erased from mind and heart. But at least men can seek too bring about a new era of justice and mercy, of compassion and love.

This is the creed of my religion, and the creed of your religion and of all mankind's religions.

A great American named Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "Go put your creed into your deed." May this be true in the settlement of these claims. May Austria put its creed into its deed, and may all men of goodwill everywhere have cause to rejoice in that act.

There is a moral law which governs in this universe. The bread which we cast upon the waters flows back to us. The good that we do or the harm that we do is done in turn to us. The Golden Rule is more than just sound advice. It is an application of this moral law.

The truth of this law is as demonstrable as the truth of the law of gravity. No law of physics, of chemistry, of biology, has greater meaning or vitality than the law of men's spirit.

SOVIET BREAKING OF MORAL LAW

The Soviet Union, for example, has broken the moral law of the universe and it will pay the price for its sins.

It has transgressed the law of God and man, and already some of its high transgressors have perished by the very sword by which they lived. The transgressors have murdered one another.

The tragedy, however, is that so many innocent people, so many innocent Russians, Chinese, Koreans, Americans, and Austrians have already suffered, as well, from the Soviets' breaking of the moral law.

But certain we must be that this moral law will prevail, and it is up to us to make sure that we become the instruments of that moral law; that we in our acts and in our thinking, be worthy of the responsibility which is ours.

Without vision a people perish. Without justice and humanity and decency, a people disintegrate from within.

AUSTRIA, WHICH ITSELF SUFFERED, SHOULD HONOR OTHER VICTIMS

So, it is particularly important that those who have suffered at the hands of the persecutor and the oppressor should themselves manifest the humanitarian attitudes when they have the power and ability to take action along these lines.

Austria, which itself has known the suffering of oppression, should demonstrate her desire to be just to those who were even more oppressed.

Austria, which has been bled by the Soviet occupying forces, should appreciate the tragedy of those who were literally, as well as figuratively, bled at the hands of the Nazi persecutor.

Of course, it is a fact that the existing serious economic realities in Austria must be borne in mind in attempting to arrive at a fair decision on this subject.

It is my earnest hope and faith that Austria will, in line with the principles of existing legislation, do justice, and will not seek to enrich itself at the expense of the victims of nazism.

What is necessary on both sides of the table is a sense of moderation. What is needed is patience without, however, permitting stalling or delay.

On February 12, the official Wiener Zeitung quoted the Austrian Chancellor as saying: "Austria is willing to pay an adequate amount for unclaimed Jewish assets. * * * The Austrian Government is willing to resume talks on this matter."

It is my earnest hope that this indication will be promptly implemented.

CONCLUSION

And what we ask of the Austrian Government we should fulfill ourselves.

As we ask justice, so let us live justice.

As we ask honor, so let us live with honor.

May we in this great country ever maintain a model of human relations. May we ever fight bigotry and prejudice.

And in our dealings with foreign peoples, may we ever speak up for fair dealing and fair play.

May we do so with a sense of humility, recognizing the problems of foreign lands. And yet may we do so with a sense of deep conviction in the righteous cause for which we strive—peace and plenty and security and humanity.

We should not meddle, but neither should we shrink from responsibilities.

We should not be arrogant, but neither should we fail to speak our conscience before the eyes and in the ears of the world.

It has been a great privilege to be with you tonight, and I wish success in the effort toward justice for these victims.

Road Plans Fall Short

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include an article which appeared in the Chicago American on March 7, written by John H. O'Brien, a Washington correspondent for the Chicago American. The article, entitled "Road Plans Fall Short," follows:

ROAD PLANS FALL SHORT
(By John H. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON, March 6.—A review of President Eisenhower's statements on highways demonstrates his understanding of the Nation's congestion crisis.

It also demonstrates the inadequacy of the Federal-aid highway bill supported by his administration.

The President's first statement on highways was printed in the Hearst newspapers of October 26, 1952, when he was a presidential candidate.

In this lengthy statement he showed keen awareness of the obsolescence of our streets and roads; the congestion around cities; and, in his words, the "appalling problem of waste, death, and danger."

TRAFFIC INTERSTATE PROBLEM

He looked at the problem, too, with the eyes of a military man, and said:

"More than at any time in history modern roads are necessary to defense, and traffic is an interstate problem of concern to the Federal Government."

The President stated his own solution in general terms. He said:

"By intelligent leadership and wise planning, an integrated program can be devised within the ability of the people to pay the cost."

A year after he took office, the President on January 7, 1954, referred to highways in his state of the Union message.

He asked that the Federal gasoline tax be kept at 2 cents "so that maximum progress can be made to overcome present inadequacies in the interstate highway system."

EIGHT-HUNDRED-AND-SEVENTY-MILLION-DOLLAR-YEAR PROPOSAL

The tax was to be reduced automatically to 1½ cents next April 1. Congress has demonstrated its undoubted intent to retain the full tax.

Shortly thereafter a bill written by Representative MCGREGOR, Republican, of Ohio, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Roads, was introduced calling for the annual authorization of $875 million in Federal aid to highways.

The author of the bill said it had administration support and this has never been questioned.

At a White House press conference a few days later the President was asked what he thought should be the amount of Federal aid.

An aid handed him a slip of paper and the President replied that it ought to be $800 million.

NEED FOR WORK

It developed in subsequent discussion that the aid had written $825 million on the slip of paper, but that Eisenhower had cut it down by $25 million to be on the conservative side.

It thus became apparent that the administration favored a bill authorizing somewhere between $800 million and $875 million, with the larger figure actually incorporated in an administration bill.

On January 28 the President submitted to Congress the Economic Report of the President, a 225-page book.

On page 104 under a subhead reading "Need for Public Works," the President wrote:

"The largest current requirement for predominantly State and local facilities is streets and roads.

"It has been estimated that an annual expenditure of $3,500,000,000 would be required for 10 years to eliminate the existing backlog for federally aided systems, and another of one to two billion dollars for other roads and streets.

"In the meantime, many roads now adequate would need to be improved as traffic increased, or rebuilt because of normal wear, adding over $1,500,000,000 of construction annually, while maintenance costs would average another $1,700,000,000.

"Thus, the total annual expenditure required to provide an adequate road system within a decade is apparently over $8 billion, which compares with a current outlay of about $5 billion."

ONE-BILLION-NINE-HUNDRED-MILLION GAP

To meet the needs of the Federal-aid road system alone, as the President wrote, requires the annual expenditure for 10 years of $3,500,000,000.

The administration bill calls for the spending of $875 million, and with matching funds required from each State would bring the total to something like $1,600,000,000.

The need: $3,500,000,000.

The solution: $1,600,000,000.

The gap between need and solution: $1,900,000,000.

The gap is larger than the solution.

Talbott Sees Savings in Long-Range Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Hon. Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the Air Force, which appeared in the February 1954 issue of Planes, a publication of the Aircraft Industries Association of America, Inc. Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbott is a longtime aviation executive, appointed to his present post by President Eisenhower on January 20, 1953. He was an officer of the Chrysler Corp., prior to his present appointment, and since before World War I has been associated with aviation enterprises in the United States.

The article follows:

TALBOTT SEES SAVINGS IN LONG-RANGE PLAN—AIR FORCE TO PUT STRESS ON QUALITY, SECRETARY REPORTS

(By Hon. Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the Air Force)

There will be a new look in Air Force aircraft procurement programs over these next years, corresponding to the new look in the entire concept of national defense requirements.

The new emphasis in procurement will be based on the maintenance of modernized, qualitatively-superior air strength, once the presently-planned force levels are equipped with modern airplanes—this means jet aircraft.

DEFENSE POLICY

The basic philosophy of this new concept has been outlined by President Eisenhower: "This policy of ours will not be tied to any magic critical year which then has to be stretched out because of economic or production problems, but will be based on the sounder theory that a very real danger not only exists this year, but may continue to exist for years to come; that our strength, which is already very real, must now be made stronger, not by inefficient and expensive starts and stops, but by steady continuous improvements."

Under present defense plans, which call for an increasingly important role for the Air Force and for full exploitation of air power, the aircraft industry will be required to maintain a high degree of mobilization readiness—with particular enphasis over the long haul on designing and developing superior aircraft, both manned and unmanned.

FUTURE STRENGTH LEVELS

By next June, the Air Force will have some 21,000 active aircraft organized in 115 wings—almost a 140-percent increase in wing strength since the Korean war started—and by June 1955, we will have 22,900 active aircraft organized in 121 wings.

We do not propose to retrace the perilous and expensive pattern followed after World War II, when the Nation dismantled its defense industries, demobilized its Armed Forces, and allowed both to deteriorate almost to the point of impotence.

VITAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

It is no less important that these vital defense industries be maintained in a healthy state, capable of emergency expansion of production, than that the Armed Forces themselves be constantly ready for defense and retaliatory action.

In the case of the aircraft industry, this means that we must sustain a level and variety of procurement which insures that producers are always (1) capable of rapid expansion in event of emergency, and (2) competent to design, develop, and produce new and better weapons.

NEW LOOK

Fundamentally the new look in procurement over the years of international tension which lie ahead will enable the military services—as the numbers of aircraft procured are reduced—to favor to an increasing degree those manufacturing organizations which offer improvements in quality, and which are capable of creating the advanced weapons necessary to air leadership.

The key to aircraft procurement will shift to an even greater degree from production to quality and further development.

COSTLY PEAKS AND VALLEYS

In projecting this new procurement philosophy over the years, the Air Force intends to

the greatest degree possible to eliminate the costly production peaks and valleys of the past. The President's Air Policy Commission in 1947 reported that savings up to 20 to 25 percent could be obtained through substituting a succession of long-range procurement programs for year-by-year programing. Experience during the Korean buildup has indicated that an estimate of 25-percent savings through a long-range procurement program may well be conservative.

SOUND BUSINESS

Consider, for example, what these potential economies would have meant in the light of the Air Force's expenditure of some $27 billion for aircraft in World War II—or estimated Air Force expenditures of $26 billion for aircraft during the current buildup.

It is sound business practice as well as sound defense planning, I am convinced, to take advantage of such potential savings while maintaining an adequate level of air power during what President Eisenhower has called an age of peril.

Our Merchant Marine Fleet Is Deteriorating

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, all those interested in our merchant marine, our so-called fourth arm of defense, are very much concerned about the deterioration of our fleet. Foreign nations are building up their fleets, and in many cases have surpassed their prewar strength. Several countries which had no merchant marines of their own have acquired them and are increasing their strength.

Apparently the lessons we should have learned from World Wars I and II and the Korean action are not being heeded. We learned very quickly that we could not depend on the fleets of other nations for our vital imports and for the transportation of troops and supplies.

Previously we were fortunate enough to have a nucleus of skilled workmen and well-established shipbuilding and repair yards, which could be expanded to meet the demand for shipbuilding and conversion, albeit at a tremendous cost. However, our present lack of shipbuilding in American yards will cause the closing of many of our old-established yards, unless Congress acts quickly to relieve the situation.

In this connection I wish to insert in the RECORD an article from the Baltimore Sun of March 5 and one from the same paper on March 8, describing the plight of two Baltimore shipyards.

[From the Baltimore Sun of March 5, 1954]

BETHLEHEM YARD FACES SHUTDOWN—WORK TO END UNLESS IT GETS NEW BUSINESS, EXECUTIVE SAYS

(By Helen Delich)

The Bethlehem Sparrows Point Shipyard, which led the world in ship production last year, faces a complete shutdown in October unless new business develops immediately, D. D. Strohmeier, vice president in charge of shipbuilding, announced yesterday.

A shutdown would mean a loss in jobs for 3,500 persons plus an economic loss to the area of at least $70 million annually—the amount spent in wages and the purchase of materials for construction of vessels in the yard.

Besides leading the world last year for the second time, the 61-year-old Sparrows Point shipyard has been the Nation's leader in merchant ship construction for several years.

The enthusiasm over the Sparrows Point production record for 1953 and other years is tempered by the bleak outlook for the final quarter of this year, Mr. Strohmeier said.

TO DELIVER 10 SHIPS

The yard is scheduled to deliver 10 ships this year with a combined deadweight tonnage of around 210,000, but, on the basis of the current backlog operations at the yard, they will be finished by October.

Sparrows Point received its last new order in 1952.

Because of the time element involved in making plans for a new ship before actual work can be begun, any new orders must be received immediately or nothing can be done to save the shipyard from dwindling to a maintenance force of about 200 persons by October.

"New business must develop immediately to assure continuity of this yard as an important national defense asset," the Bethlehem executive asserted.

During World War II, the Sparrows Point yard built 101 ships of 16 different classes, which included Navy fleet oilers equipped for refueling at sea, deep-sea, and shallow-draft tankers, attack transports, attack cargo ships and oceangoing ore carriers.

"It was the existence of old-line yards, like Sparrows Point, with their reserves of experienced engineers and craftsmen which made it possible for Bethlehem-Fairfield, a war emergency yard, to build 508 Libertys, Victorys and LST's in record time," the shipyard executive said.

The shipbuilding situation could be eased, in Mr. Strohmeier's opinion, by early congressional enactment of identical bills introduced by Senator SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts, S. 2788; and by Representative SHORT, Republican, of Missouri, H. R. 7330; which would authorize the Navy Department to enter into long-term charter contracts for 20 high-speed tankers not now in existence.

PROPOSED BY COCHRANE

These tankers, which were first proposed by Vice Adm. Edward L. Cochrane when he was head of the Maritime Administration, would have a speed of not less than 18 knots and a deadweight tonnage of about 25,000. They would have to be built in United States shipyards for operation under United States registry under terms of the bill.

"New high-speed tankers of the type proposed by the Saltonstall-Short legislation are needed by this country from a defense standpoint," Mr. Strohmeier said. "Their construction for the Navy itself, with the total burden falling upon the American taxpayer, could be as strongly justified as the building of a warship.

"This legislation, however, points the way toward construction of these vessels for private account, at minimum cost, to the American taxpayer.

"Prompt enactment of this legislation will bolster our national security by providing our country with these urgently needed craft and by permitting the continued operation of such important national defense assets as the Sparrows Point shipyard."

Any cutbacks in ship construction will have an adverse effect also on the shipyard's next-door neighbor, the steel-producing plant of Bethlehem, inasmuch as all of the steel used in the building of ships is produced at Sparrows Point.

IN 1953 DELIVERIES

The world record came to Sparrows Point last year for delivering 10 ships with a combined deadweight of 218,860 long tons. The second-ranking yard was the Deutsche Werft, Hamburg, which delivered 16 ships with a combined deadweight of 216,138 tons.

Among the ships in the 1953 deliveries were 3 of the 29,000-ton class, 2 tankers of the 25,000-ton group, 3 in the 18,000-ton class, and 2 Mariner-class cargo ships of about 13,000 tons each.

Several of the larger tankers were of greater deadweight than their class ratings.

[From the Baltimore Sun of March 8, 1954]

DRYDOCK FIRM IS HARD HIT AS REPAIRS LAG—THREE-QUARTERS OF FORCE LAID OFF SINCE 1952, PRESIDENT REPORTS

Decline in ship repair work has caused layoffs of more than three-quarters of the working force at the Maryland Drydock Co. since November 1952, George H. French, president, announced yesterday.

The shipyard which employed approximately 4,400 people in 1952, was down to 2,500 in December of 1953 and now has less than 1,100 employees.

Mr. French said this represented a drop in weekly payroll of more than $250,000 at one of the biggest repair yards in the Nation and one of the two largest in Baltimore.

"The company has no backlog of business, but is dependent upon securing work on a day-to-day basis," he stated. "Ninety percent of the work we now have in hand or in sight will be completed within 30 days."

NO ENCOURAGING FACTORS

"There are no encouraging factors in the picture at present. It is no exaggeration to say that the company's predicament is a critical one."

Mr. French's statement regarding his yard follows a recent announcement that the Sparrows Point shipbuilding yard of Bethlehem Steel faces a complete shutdown in October unless some relief is given immediately.

Mr. French blamed the critical situation in his yard on the dwindling size of the American merchant marine as "foreign merchant fleets carry an increasingly larger part of overseas trade."

"This has caused a sharp decrease in ship repair work since foreign ships minimize their repairs on this side and have the biggest ones done in their own countries," he said.

REPAIR YARDS HARDER HIT

"Ship repair yards generally have been harder hit than the yards devoted principally to shipbuilding when the decline is measured in terms of employment trends.

"Navy policy of doing more repair and overhaul work in private shipyards has provided ship repairers with a considerable amount of work during the past 2 years. Unfortunately, this source of work too seems practically to have dried up at the same time that work for the American merchant marine is on the down trend."

He pointed out that everyone in the industry expected a readjustment following the end of the war in Korea.

"But the fall-off in employment is so severe as to represent a real threat to the survival of many of the productive units in the industry," he added.

NOT ADAPTED TO OTHER WORK

"Ship repair and shipbuilding facilities are not particularly adapted to other kinds of work. Drydocks, piers, shipways, large tower cranes, and many other kinds of shipyard facilities are unusable only for ship repairing and shipbuilding. They are among the costliest of industrial facilities and are expensive to maintain whether they are being used or not.

"They are absolutely essential to ship repairing and shipbuilding. There is no substitute for them and there is no way to keep a merchant fleet in being without them. Much the same thing is true of the skilled craftsmen who do the work. Many of the crafts in shipyards are unique to the ship repairing and shipbuilding industry—they simply don't exist elsewhere, and it takes years to train them.

"Supervisory employees and engineers are even more difficult to replace when they are lost to industry."

Mr. French described the problem as a national one and not a local one. He noted that the continued existence of the ship repairing industry depends upon the existence and prosperity of the American merchant marine and the policy of the Navy concerning repair of naval ships in private yards.

"The simple and basic fact is that the Nation can have an adequate merchant marine only by subsidizing it," the Maryland Drydock head said. Low-cost foreign production, coupled with inaction in Washington, has reduced the American merchant fleet to a size far below the needs of both our national defense and our foreign commerce."

Mr. French said that the big question now is whether action in Washington can be taken in time to avert disaster in the industry "even if there is a full awakening to the seriousness of the maritime problem."

"A program cannot be made overnight—legislative action is needed, plans must be prepared, and shipyards must do much preliminary work before any appreciable number of men can be reemployed. In the meantime more and more experienced shipyard men are moving into other industries that offer more stable employment and greater opportunity for the future."

Mr. Speaker, H. R. 7330 and S. 2788, companion bills which authorize the long-term charter of tankers by the Secretary of the Navy, are still pending in the House and Senate Armed Services Committees. Both of them, if approved, would provide work for the shipyards and at the same time increase our national defense facilities.

Another bill which would help to relieve the critical situation in the shipyards is H. R. 6353, which has been returned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which I am a member, for further hearings. I hope that this bill will be scheduled for early action and appeal for its support when it reaches the House.

We cannot stockpile experience, skills, and industrial organization; and, therefore, experience dictates the essentiality of maintaining a nucleus of shipyards and skilled workmen in time of peace. The only means by which this can be done at this time is by the early passage of the bills referred to above, and we cannot afford to delay action on them.

The United States Information Agency's Purpose Well Stated in Directive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, the ninth semiannual report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, which was filed with the Speaker on February 2 and published as House Document No. 311, deserves the thoughtful consideration of the Congress. This study, participated in by four distinguished Americans—Mr. Erwin D. Canham, Mr. Philip D. Reed, Mr. Ben Hibbs, and Mr. Justin Miller—reviews a 5-month period ending December 31, 1953, and offers some important recommendations, including one to the effect that Congress approve the President's directive defining the purpose of the United States Information Agency. This directive uses language which I believe adequately states the purpose of this important Agency in the struggle to defeat Communist aggression, and states in positive terms the objectives of the United States. The mission of our Information Agency is defined by the President in the above directive as follows:

The purpose of the United States Information Agency shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communications techniques that the obectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the Members will concur in the recommendation of the Advisory Commission since the language seems to be an admirable short statement of our objective.

An Unexpected Opportunity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, the February 18 issue of the Progresso Italo-Americano of New York carried an editorial written in Italian regarding the Trieste question.

Mr. Leonard H. Pasqualicchio, national deputy of the Supreme Lodge of the Order Sons of Italy in America has graciously translated this editorial into English. The article, as translated, reads as follows:

AN UNEXPECTED OPPORTUNITY

In injecting the Trieste question into the negotiations for the peace treaty with Austria, Molotov has opened to the western democracies the way toward amendment. In our previous article we have stressed the point that had the Trieste problem been solved some time ago, the Soviet arch-conspirators wouldn't have the possibility of asking the British and the Americans—as a counterpart for the Austrian treaty—to abandon their "bases of operations" in the free territory. This would have been in the respective interest of all, including Tito and mainly of the Atlantic defensive organization which would have firmly established today in the Istrian Peninsula a power of the first order, like Italy, on whose loyalty one can fully count.

Unfortunately, not even God can prevent a fact from being a fact and we must therefore bear the consequences of the mistakes that have been made, reciting a "mea culpa," not only with compunction, but also with the resolve not to take any more false steps.

After the last attempts to induce the Yugoslav chief to reason and moderation, the vexed question of Trieste has remained unchanged. Italy has done her utmost to arrive at an equitable and honest conciliation. She declared herself ready to make further sacrifices within the limits of her dignity and of her sacred rights and vital interests; but her compliance has not succeeded in breaking through the petrified heart of the usurpers and blackmailers who brutally threw on the scales of justice Brenno's sword crying: "Woe to the vanquished."

TITO'S OBSTINACY

A report comes from Belgrade that Tito has again appealed to the United States for further offshore contracts in order to nourish the meager war industries of his country. However, he persists in his determination not to change his attitude toward the western alliance, as he believes that, remaining with a foot in the East and with another in the West, he will have the best opportunity for asking a higher price for the doubtful wares of his cooperation in the contest between the two bidders.

Since he insists on bargaining, the United States should not be reluctant to meet him on the same ground.

The Trieste question does not interest only Italy, for which it is a question of life or death; it interests also all the free nations who sincerely believe in the inalienable human rights. Should the United States take a resolute initiative to restore the Free Territory to its natural and legitimate montherland, it would not assume a partisan stand, rather it would follow its tradition, which is "to give to God what is God's and to Caesar what belongs to Caesar," and it would show its indissoluble attachment to the Atlantic Charter, which to many now appears to be only a dead letter.

THE ONLY ANCHOR OF SALVATION

The Conference of Berlin has clearly demonstrated that there are no further human possibilities to fill the abyss which divides the two conflicting worlds. The safety of the free peoples cannot be obtained through agreements with the aggressors, in their bestial determination to sovietize the whole world. The anchor of salvation is represented by a formidable and efficient defensive organization which must demand respect and inspire fear. But the danger to have it cracked must be avoided and the possibility that it receive blows destroying its compact unity must be guarded against. This cannot be done by means of expediencies or panaceas which only render wounds more painful and virulent. All hesitations and evasions would make the situation graver, especially as it has now reached the explosive phase.

The sooner the Trieste question is honorably and justly solved, the sooner will the Western alinement become an unassailable wall, against which the brutal attacks of the aggressors will be hurled in vain.

Postal Service Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the request of workers in the postal service for a salary increase, I submit the following information as it has been provided by Mr. Norman C. Klagge, president, Local No. 186, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Sioux City, Iowa:

Cost of living survey for period of 1940 and 1954—Survey of financial condition of 100 post office clerks at Sioux City, Iowa

[Average salary of 100 post office clerks at Sioux City, Iowa. February 1954]

Item	Amount	November 1940 price	February 1954 price	Percent increase
MEATS				
Chicken fryers	Pound	$0.17½	$0.49	
Fat hens	do	.17½	.36	
Oysters	Pint	.19	.89	
Weiners	Pound	.17	.39	
Bologna	do	.12½	.39	
Swifts premium bacon	do	.22	.79	
Pork liver	do	.05	.19	
Swifts tenderized hams	do	.15	.56	
Pork sausage	do	.12	.39	
Pork chops:				
Loin	do	.15	.67	
End cut	do	.11	.57	
Center cut	do	.17	.69	
Veal loin chops	do	.25	.49	
Veal steak	do	.15	.69	
Lamb shoulder	do	.13	.35	
Select T-bone, round steak	do	.29	.79	
Shoulder steak	do	.19	.52	
Chuck roast	do	.19	.43	
Fresh ground pure beef	do	.12	.30	
Beef roasts	do	.16	.39	
Sirloin steak	do	.17	.65	
Beef tongue	do	.10	.18	217
Total		3.56	11.26	217
VEGETABLES				
Dry beans	3 pounds	.18	.50	
Celery, large pascal	Stalk	.07	.19	
Potatoes, red	10 pounds	.13	.37	
Parsnips	2 pounds	.05	.17	
Peas, No. 2, Del Monte	No. 2 can	.10	.22	
Van Camp's pork and beans	16-ounce can	.05	.15	
Tomatoes	No. 2½ can	.10	.31	
Corn	4 No. 2 cans	.25	.50	
Lima beans (Superb)	No. 2 can	.13	.14	
Spinach	do	.10	.15	
Green beans	4 No. 2 cans	.23	.66	
Campbell's soups, assorted	3 cans	.25	.39	
Macaroni	2-pound package	.13	.43	
Total		1.77	4.18	136
FRUIT				
Oranges	2 dozen	.25	.78	
Apples, Winesaps	Bushel	.99	3.98	
Grapefruit	6	.10	.29	
Prunes	3 pounds	.19	.89	
Pumpkin	3 No. 2½ cans	.25	.51	
Fruit cocktail (Superb)	2 8-ounce cans	.15	.30	
Pears	No. 2½ can	.19	.37	
Sliced pineapple	do	.21	.39	
Total		2.33	7.51	223
MILK PRODUCTS				
Fresh milk	Quart	.10	.21	
Canned milk	4 tall cans	.23	.49	
American cheese	2 pounds	.47	1.10	
Butter	Pound	.29	.69	
Eggs	Dozen	.27	.55	
Crisco	3 pounds	.43	.79	
Lard	Pound	.06	.20	
Salad dressing:				
Miracle Whip	Quart	.32	.59	
Salad Bowl	do	.23	.49	
Total		2.40	5.11	113

Item	Amount	November 1940 price	February 1954 price	Percent increase
FLOUR AND STAPLES				
Cream of Wheat	28-ounce package	$0.23	$0.31	
Flour, Gold Medal, Pillsbury	49-pound bag	1.39	3.99	
	5-pound bag	.25	.55	
Sugar	10 pounds	.52	.98	
Rice Krispies	2 boxes	.23	.34	
Crackers (Manchester)	2-pound box	.12½	.53	
Pancake flour (Robb Ross)		.19	.39	
Bread	1½ pound	.10	.26	
Coffee—all popular brands	Pound	.20	.99	
Karo sirup	5 pounds	.29	.59	
Total		3.53	8.93	153
SOAPS				
Super Suds	2 boxes	.25	.60	
Giant Dreft	Box	.49	.72	
Lifebuoy	3 cakes	.14	.25	
Hi-lex	½ gallon	.19	.33	
Brooms—corn	Each	.19	1.49	
Total		1.26	3.39	170
CLOTHES				
Boys' 4-buckle overshoes, size 6	Pair	1.89	4.39	
Oshkosh—men's overalls	do	1.39	3.69	
1-piece infants' snowsuits	Each	1.77	5.98	
Sheep-lined boys' coats, size 8-18	do	2.00	9.98	
Total		7.05	24.04	241
MERCHANDISE				
Remington portable typewriters	do	54.50	125.91	
Speed-queen washer	do	44.95	118.00	
Magic Chef stove	do	99.50	229.95	
6½ cubic foot Wards refrigerator	do	119.95	234.95	
Wards 51-plate battery	do	7.95	13.50	
Zerex antifreeze	Gallon	2.65	3.75	
Trek antifreeze	do	1.00	1.50	
House paint, white SWP	do	2.65	6.29	
Red Crown gasoline	do	.16	.28	
Total		333.31	734.13	121
CARS				
Plymouth 4-door sedan, heater		780.00	1,745.00	
Nash		780.00	1,641.00	
Chevrolet, deluxe business coupe		760.00	1,946.00	
Total		2,320.00	5,332.00	130
HOUSES				
5-room house, new		3,950.00	12,500.00	
4-room house, new		3,500.00	9,500.00	
Total		7,450.00	22,000.00	196

The above figures are not comprehensive but are typical.

By living standards of 1940 a prudent budget would show expenditures amounting to 50 percent or more of the yearly salary of a postal employee for the foregoing basic necessities. Other items not considered in this comparison are: heat, light, telephone, medical and dental care. It is believed that further study would show a comparable increase for these equally important items.

Using the above figures, an increase of 170 percent is indicated for all items used for comparison.

Using 1940 prices as 100 percent and the present cost of living as 270 percent the following facts are shown:

	1940	1954
Basic salary	$2,100.00	$4,070.00
Retirement deductions	63.50	244.20
Withholding tax	None	281.00
Net take-home pay	2,036.50	3,544.80

Net take-home pay in 1940	$2,036.50
Average increase in cost of living 1953–54, percent	270
Amount needed today to equal the standard of living of 1940 in 1954	$5,498.55
The 1954 standard needed	5,498.55
Present take-home pay for family of 4	3,544.80
Increase in salary needed now	1,953.75

To offset the deficiency we are asking for a salary increase of $800 yearly. We feel that this not only is justified but also indicates a willingness on the part of the post-office employees to participate to a great extent in the efforts of the present administration to bring economy in Government operations.

All prices in this study were taken from the files of the Sioux City Journal.

Post office clerks, Sioux City, Iowa, economic survey, Mar. 1, 1954

Number surveyed	100
Number returning survey	100
Number working on part-time jobs outside their regular post-office employment	52
Number whose wives were working	46
Average number in family	3.8
Average amount of debt for each family	$923.27
Number whose debts have increased since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	84
Number whose debts have decreased since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	10
Number whose debts have remained the same since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	6
Number who have borrowed on insurance since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	24
Number who have borrowed from credit union or banks since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	64
Number who have borrowed on insurance or from credit union and banks since last salary raise of July 1, 1951, and who now have those loans in force	69
New automobiles bought since last salary raise of July 1, 1951	5

Number of new automobiles bought who have either wives working or they themselves work outside regular post-office work---------- 5

Average weekly take-home pay of post-office clerks in Sioux City, Iowa, as of March 1, 1954, $66.94.

NORMAN C. KLAGGE,
President of Local No. 186.

Freedom Is Yours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN E. LYLE, JR.

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LYLE. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to make available to my colleagues a challenging and inspiring sermon delivered by the Reverend Wendell S. Tredick, pastor of the Warner Memorial Presbyterian Church, Kensington, Md., July 5, 1953. This fine address is so outstanding, so forceful, that it was chosen by Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge as the top sermon award of 1953. "Freedom is yours," said Dr. Tredick, and, indeed, his words encourage its continuance. All will profit who read this sermon:

FREEDOM IS YOURS

(By Rev. Wendell S. Tredick)

Text, John 8:32: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Yesterday reminded us, perhaps vaguely, that something happened on July 4, 1776. That something changed the history and hope of the world, its thinking and even its direction. But yesterday was not much different from an average Sunday. We saw a few American flags displayed outside. We heard a few firecrackers, a far cry from "the rocket's red glare." There were some parades, some speeches, good or indifferent, and, of course, there were picnics. But they all told you in no uncertain terms that freedom is yours, for yesterday was the celebration of Independence Day.

Independence, or freedom, as we refer to it today, must be a continuing experience in the life of every generation. Too long, much too long, the public has taken freedom in this land for granted; we have just assumed that it is ours, when in truth freedom must be defended by all generations on different levels or on different ramparts.

Basically, our freedom is derived from the Creator. We will all admit that, but what we do not always understand is that a people without God and His knowledge in their midst is not free, whatever their physical or national condition might seem to indicate. Jesus stated with all assurance: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Most philosophers and religious thinkers, as well as many political minds, equate truth with God, because He is the sum and summation of it. Jesus expected His followers to be the freest men on earth, because they would know God. Certainly He was the freest man that ever lived. His freedom came not from any freedoms granted or withheld by government, but from the perfection of His knowledge of the truth, even of God, His Father. This freedom, it is true, we have in earthen vessels. But these bodies of ours should be dedicated to God. Our Lord says to every single disciple, be he American or not, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Time may alter and destroy everything else, but it is powerless against eternal truth. When a man or a nation, however strong and virile, forgets that, this freedom soon will become a blessing of the past which is yearned for in the present.

Freedom is your possession. So long have we Americans taken our freedom for granted that we have reached the conclusion that it is a perpetual possession. This freedom was bequeathed to us by our forefathers as their most priceless heirloom. It is not something that we deserve, but it is something we must earn and protect.

Almost a century ago Macaulay, the great English historian, writing to an American friend, said: "Your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by the barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th, with this difference—that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, while your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

The current fantastic idea that we can get something for nothing, at least out of government if from no one else, may well be the Huns and Vandals from within.

Our forefathers did not come to these shores to get something for nothing. They came here where they might have, under His sovereign will, freedom to worship God and, upon their faith in God, to build their lives and a nation. They were resolute men who worked hard with ax and saw and plow, being generous to those in want but, believing that, under God, we all have to work for what we need. They knew that when men do not stand upon their own two feet by their own efforts, individual freedom becomes a lost cause. Yet we, their descendants, are trying to eat our cake and have it, too.

If you take from American history the fundamental belief that man has a personal responsibility to God and, by his own labors, discharges that obligation, you would have no American history. Unless we recover and cling to this thought, I am convinced that the height of American history is past. This heritage of freedom will not be preserved by something for nothing. Today the frontline of freedom has been breached on the homefront by citizens from all walks of life who prefer government subsidy to the glory of liberty. But I am sure that they do not know that by their actions they have made that choice.

For diplomats and politicians, as well as for John Q. Public, the rightness of a concept depends not on what they want or think the citizens want, but rather on what is right—the truth that alone can make us free. Instead of following expediency we should delve deep into the principle. For freedom is a continuing possession only so long as we build upon its principles.

Freedom is your privilege. But you cannot have security from the cradle to the grave and maintain your freedom. Many people would have us think that we can. And in order to make it more tempting they wrap it up in the American flag and would give it to us as a birthday or Christmas present, but, at the same time, taking from us the glory of freemen—our individual freedom. Man has from the very beginning found his true security in God and not in man or government, no matter how benign or concerned. Too many people today are getting mixed up in the practice of their metaphors. Jesus told us to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." We are to render to each his due because each has his place and responsibility in the affairs of men. We trust God for our security and our freedom—not Caesar, for he has enough to do to govern the wilful tempests in the hearts of his citizens. It is everlastingly true that when a man or a nation tries to play God, they act like the very devil.

Our world has seen enough attempts of men to cast themselves in a divine role in history and we also have seen the results—the destruction of freedom together with everything that is decent, and honest, and worthwhile—things which have cost the human race centuries of struggle. All this should be a warning to us. Freedom is a privilege not lightly or easily worn, and one which must be reexamined in the light of each bill passed by the Houses of Congress. Maxwell Anderson, in his play Valley Forge, paints a vivid and heart-touching picture of General Washington, who after promising his men cold, disease, hunger, and more winters such as they had just seen, said: "This liberty will look easy by and by when nobody dies to get it."

Freedom is not only your privilege but your responsibility. Justice Murphy, in commenting upon a case concerning a conscientious objector, significantly said: "Our danger is not from those who follow their consciences, but from those who don't."

No matter how hard we try and, believe me, we often try very hard, to escape our responsibilities both as citizens and as Christians, we cannot do it. The glory of America stems from the one doctrine central in Christian truth, namely, that under God man and nations are individually responsible to the Creator who has endowed them with unbelievable abilities and resources if we would but use them. Sixty years ago Walter Rauschenbusch commented upon the washbowl that Pontius Pilate used to wash away his responsibility in the death of Jesus Christ.

"On the eve of the crucifixion the washbowl disappeared from the palace. Nobody knows who took it. Some accused Judas Iscariot of selling it, but that plainly is a libel because Judas was honest enough to go and hang himself. At any rate ever since that time the washbowl is abroad in the land, carried by infernal hands wherever it is needed, and men constantly are joining the invisible choir which performs its imperceptible ablutions therein."

The statesman who suppresses principles because they might endanger the success of the party; the good citizen who will have nothing to do with politics; the editor who sees a righteous cause misrepresented and says nothing because it might injure circulation; the deacon who sees a clique undermining a pastor's position and dares not create a disturbance; the preacher who sees Dives exploiting Lazarus and dares not tell him to quit because Dives contributes to his salary—all these are using Pilate's washbowl. Listen. Do you hear the splash of water near you? The Devil is pouring it.

You and I have just as much at stake in this glorious fulfillment of the dream of freedom in the United States as any Congressman, or governor, or President. If we get our allegiances mixed up we have but ourselves to blame. The purpose of government is to govern—nothing else. That is the error in all Fabian and Socialist schemes. Our Founding Fathers knew all this and tried their best to limit the authority of the central government, lest all freedom be lost. The clause to provide for the general welfare in the Constitution has been so widely expanded that the framers thereof must be turning in their graves.

I do not fear the loss of our freedom and liberty from without. When we are threatened from without the hearts of free men band together to overcome all differences and to endure all privations to destroy the threat. But the danger today is from a constant daily surrender of little bits of the freedoms we enjoy under God.

It is from that "under God" that we derive our responsibility and it is written deep upon American history. At a dinner party

Daniel Webster was asked by a very talkative lady what he considered his greatest thought. She expected a dissertation upon some theory of government. But the reply was very simple: "The greatest thought I have ever had is of my individual responsibility to God."

We must again realize and live as responsible citizens under God and not as a group of barnacles, conveyed from cradle to grave by the ship of state without ever realizing that we have lost the greatest possession—our freedom and glory that is America.

Story of St. Patrick, by William J. Conlon, of Lynn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Lynn Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., of Sunday, March 7, 1954, concerning the life story of St. Patrick, by William J. Conlon, of 23 Breed Street, Lynn, Mass., a leading authority on Irish history in this section of the country:

LYNN MAN COMPILES COMPLETE STORY ON LIFE OF ST. PATRICK

In my perusal of Irish history, I came across the following history of St. Patrick which I consider makes very appropriate reading for St. Patrick's Day, March 17.

BORN IN 373

St. Patrick was born in the year 373 of good Christian parents. His father, Calpharnius, a man of noble birth, was an official of the Roman Government. His mother Conchessa, was a sister of St. Martin, the great archbishop of Tours.

In the year 389, when he was not yet 16 years old, he was captured by a band of pirates who, at that time, were ravaging the French seaboard. These skillful marauders would assault the coastal towns with lightning speed and carry away their booty before an alarm could be sounded.

Often great numbers of people were taken captive as well and it was in such a raid that Patrick was carried to Ireland and there sold as a slave.

Most of the time of his captivity was spent in the humble capacity of swineherd to a pagan chieftain called Milcho. Yet, as he himself wrote toward the end of his life in a book which he entitled his "Confessions," this was a blessing. In the days before his enslavement he had lived a rather carefree life, having been negligent in his duty toward God, but in the forced solitude of the Irish mountainside where he tended his flocks, Patrick began the life of prayer and contemplation that was to bear abundant fruit.

Often he besought our Lord to deliver him from the hands of the pagans and in answer to his prayers an angel appeared to him in the seventh year of his captivity. His name was Victoricus and by God's command he was to be the boy's special protector.

The angel told him that God had heard his plea and he directed Patrick to go to sea and there he would find a ship which would take him to France. Patrick hastened to the coast without delay and boarded the ship which lay in the harbor as the angel had promised.

RETURNS TO FRANCE

Shortly after Patrick had returned to France, Victoricus appeared to him once more, this time bearing letters which he gave to Patrick. The holy man read, "This is the voice of the Irish people," but before he could read further he heard a chorus of voices crying out to him from the land of his recent captivity, "We pray thee, holy youth Patrick, that thou come walk amongst us and set us free." He was able to read no further but from the earnestness of those pagan cries for the faith of Christ, he knew that God had called him to the conversion of the Irish people.

From this moment on, Patrick's zeal for the conversion of the Irish was unquenchable and he prayed fervently that God would make known to him the means by which it should be accomplished.

Once again Victoricus appeared to him to tell him that he must prepare himself by a course of study for his glorious mission. Without delay, Patrick journeyed to the monastery, Marmoutier, which had been founded by his uncle, St. Martin. Under his wise spiritual direction Patrick began a study of sacred scriptures while at the same time subjecting himself to the severest disciplines. Throughout the 4 years of his stay at Marmoutier he was favored with many visions which he himself records. Having finished his work at Marmoutier and hearing that the island of Serins in the Mediterranean offered solitude and a contemplative life to a colony of monks, he sought them out and there began the task of more perfectly subjecting his body to his soul.

ORDAINED A PRIEST

The last 14 years of his preparation were spent under the guidance of St. Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre and were a period of great activity and travel. It was during this time that Patrick was ordained a priest.

In the company of St. Germanus he traveled to Mavenna, the seat of the Roman Empire in the west; to England, where he preached against the Pelagian heresy and finally to Rome where in 431 he made known to Pope Celestine his zeal for the conversion of the Irish people and offered himself as missionary.

Refused at first, a few months later his cause was approved by the Pope who consecrated him a bishop. After receiving the blessing of the pontiff, Patrick set out with a small band of men for Ireland, bearing with him the relics of the saints, the gift of the now enthusiastic St. Celestine.

His great relic he had yet to receive. Some time before he reached the coast of Ireland, Patrick stopped at an island where our Lord appeared to him and gave him the staff with which He had walked over the rough and hilly Palestinian countryside. This staff was called by the Irish "Bachal Isa," staff of Jesus, and it became the most revered relic in Ireland.

The apostate Archbishop Browne of Dublin, in the year 1537, had the staff brought before him and publicly burned, thus "ridding the county of a Papist superstition" and thus endearing himself to Henry VIII of England, who was then styling himself head of the church in England.

This staff was St. Patrick's crozier and it has been compared to the rod of Moses, so great were the miracles worked through it.

The mission of St. Patrick in Ireland was such a portent that God prepared the Irish for his coming long before he reached their shores. The druids and soothsayers predicted him and one of the great Irish princes had a vision of his arrival.

Shortly before his arrival in Ireland it was foretold that there was about to come a kingdom of faith that would have no end. So well known and respected was this prophecy that the High King Soagaire ordered his subjects to keep watch at all ports in order to keep Patrick from landing.

Thus, when he beached his boat near Wicklow on the southeast coast in the summer of 432, a certain tenseness and apprehension greeted him and the first people whom he approached drove him away. Embarking, he sailed farther north, touching at several places as he went but meeting with little success.

At last he put in near the present city of Saul in Ulster where he was confronted by the Chieftain Dichu, a huge, fierce man who immediately set his dog on Patrick. But no sooner had the dog seen the saint than he became stiff and mute.

At that Dichu thought to use his sword, but as he drew it from his sheath he lost all his strength and a paralysis seized him. Dichu was moved now to listen as the missionary told him what he must believe and do in order to save his soul. Together with his whole household, Dichu was converted to the Catholic faith and in gratitude to Patrick gave him the site on which his famous miracles occurred and where he built the first Catholic church in Ireland.

Thus began the 60 years of labor of which St. Patrick says in his Confessions, "I came to the Irish nation to preach the Gospel and to endure reproach from unbelievers. I heard them upbraid me as a stranger and I suffered many persecutions, even unto chains. Yet I gave myself up without reserve for their advantage and were I held worthy, I am ready immediately and cheerfully to lay down my life for His name's sake."

He understood his first works to consist in "traveling amid many dangers into distant regions where nobody before had ever come to baptize them or to ordain them or to confirm their people in the faith. Now, all these things I did by the grace of God, diligently and cheerfully, for your salvation."

He understood the necessity of the sacraments for salvation—indeed, their absolute necessity. His biographers record: "There are not wanting many and weighty testimonies which record not alone men dying in their sins to have been resuscitated and brought to life, but even to have been saved afterward through baptism and penance. St. Patrick also already understood the spirit which was a century and a half after him to move Pope St. Gregory the Great to utter the solemn warning that 'We can no more pray for deceased infidels than we can pray for the devil since they are condemned to the same eternal and irrevocable damnation.'"

HEART FULL OF LOVE

St. Patrick's heart was full of love for these people whom he had been sent to convert and in a special way he was full of concern for those of them whom he had known in the days of his captivity. Thus, it was that Patrick, early in his mission, sought Milcho, his former master, in the hope that their previous acquaintance would make his conversion that much easier. But that pagan, when he learned that his slave of former days came to him as a missionary of God, became diabolical in his fury and gathering together all of his possessions he made of them a huge bonfire and cast himself into the flames.

By the time Patrick had been in the country a few months news of the converts he had made reached the ears of King Saogaire, a confirmed pagan, who became intensely angry. Patrick knew that the royal policy would greatly affect the success of his mission, so he resolved to meet the king face to face.

Consequently, just before Easter, he set out for Tara, the city of the kings. On holy

Saturday he encamped at Slane, a hill across the water from Tara.

It so happened that it was on the eve of a great pagan feast and, according to the custom, all fires must need be extinguished until the liturgical kindling at Tara on the morrow by the chief druid, the head of the pagan religion.

Patrick, however, despising this pagan ritual, lit the paschal fire in his camp that evening. When those on Tara saw the light on Slane there was much tribulation and the druids warned that the light must be extinguished that night or it not be extinguished in Ireland forever.

Saogaire ordered horses and a guard and started for Slane. When Patrick saw these soldiers he went out to meet them, unarmed and unafraid.

The Chief Druid, Suchru, who had accompanied Saogaire, challenged Patrick to a match of preturnatural power. He attempted a flight into the air, but at Patrick's prayer, he was dashed to the ground and killed.

The furious King ordered his soldiers to kill Patrick, but at that very moment a fierce storm arose, lightning, thunder, and earthquakes. The soldiers were thrown into confusion and began to fight among themselves.

At the sight of these portents, the queen fell at the feet of the apostle and begged for mercy. The King quickly followed her example and together they knelt to adore God. The King, in addition, promised fealty to Patrick and invited him to Tara on the following day.

The storm and the lightning then ceased at Patrick's prayer and the King retired with what was left of his retinue. But far from being truly converted, this malicious King planned to kill Patrick on his visit to Tara on the next day.

Ambushes were placed strategically along the road he was to travel in order to waylay him. In spite of these precautions, Patrick arrived safely at Tara at the appointed time.

The soldiers who had been appointed at the ambushes, however, reported that not a single man had passed along that road the whole time they were on watch. Nothing had passed but a herd of deer. In truth that was all they had seen, for God, at St. Patrick's intercession, had blinded the soldiers to his identity. The prayer that St. Patrick said at that time has on that account been called by the Irish The Deer's Cry.

It begins: "There has come to me today powerful strength through the invocation of the Blessed Trinity. I invoke the mighty power of the Blessed Trinity. I believe in the Blessed Trinity, in the unity of the God of the elements. At Tara today I place between me and harm the virtues of the birth of Christ with His baptism, the virtue of His resurrection with His ascension and the virtue of the coming of eternal judgment."

ENTERS TARA

When Patrick entered Tara, no one, for fear the King, dared to pay homage, with the sole exception of Dubtach, the chief poet of the kingdom, and thus a man greatly respected and admired. Dubtach alone greeted him in the custom of the Irish and with great deference inquired about the faith. And at last he asked if he might become a Christian. The illustrious poet was later baptized and from that time on, in all his poetry, he sang the praises of God and His church.

During every moment of that day at Tara St. Patrick's life was in danger. The King, in his jealousy, tried to have him poisoned. The envious Druids tried by diabolical power to kill him, but to their consternation, he was always beyond their power to harm.

Finally, as on a previous occasion, the King tried to have Patrick murdered by a mob but God, mindful of the Deer's Cry, came to the aid of his servant and, as the fierce crowd approached him, the earth, gaping horribly, swallowed them up.

This ended all formidable resistance to St. Patrick and most of the people who witnessed the events at Tara became Christians. Saogaire remained an obstinate pagan to the end but the decisive defeat he suffered at St. Patrick's hands prevented him from ever again initiating serious opposition to the conversion of Ireland.

Some idea of the virtue of St. Patrick, his holiness, his courage, his tenderness, his love of God, may be had by considering some of his habits and a few of the incidents in his life. He had great devotion to the Holy Cross and as more people embraced the Catholic faith they began to erect roadside crosses so that everywhere they might be reminded of the price of their redemption. St. Patrick, in his missionary journeys never passed one of these loving reminders of our salvation without stopping to say a prayer before it. Walking or riding, he never failed in this devotion, even though a visit to the cross took him a half mile out of his way.

Each day St. Patrick recited each of the 100 Psalms of David and the Apocalypse as well as other hymns. He genuflected 300 times each day and it was his custom to make the Sign of the Cross 100 times each day and 100 times each night as well. He had frequent visions of Our Lord, surrounded by hosts of angels while he was saying mass or while reciting the Apocalypse.

In a country where the gratitude and love of the people could easily and quickly have made him wealthy, he embraced holy poverty with great zeal. He would accept no personal gifts or presents and when circumstances forced him to take something, he quickly gave it to the poor as if easing himself from a heavy burden.

Under no circumstances would be receive a gift from a heretic. His dress was the simplest and for an outer garment he always wore a plain white robe and hood.

The angel Victorious so often mentioned in the accounts of his life, was in the habit of appearing to St. Patrick three times a week to refresh his mind with holy conversation. Though like St. Paul, St. Patrick did manual labor such as tilling the ground and building churches, he always considered his chief work to be the instruction of his disciples and his people and the administration of the sacraments.

No saint ever worked so many and so great miracles. Besides curing the lame, the blind, and the leprous he raised to life 33 persons, among whom was a man dead 27 years. Many of those whom he returned to life had died pagans but somewhere in the depths of God's mercy lay the remembrance of some small work or some little intention that gained for them the unusual grace of being returned to life that they might hear the faith preached.

In each case these men accepted the true faith and were baptized, thus securing for themselves everlasting life which they never would have received had it not been for the great virtue of St. Patrick whom God thus glorified.

Yet St. Patrick's crowning virtue, his humility, was never blighted by the extraordinary powers he displayed. In a letter to a friend he writes: "Our Lord imparted to me, his unworthy little one, the virtue of working such signs among this pagan people so that never had the like been wrought even by the Apostles themselves.

"In the name of Our Lord Jesus I have raised from the dead, bodies turned to dust many years before. Notwithstanding, I pray that none esteem me for these or other like miracles as worthy to stand in comparison with the Apostles or with any perfect man, considering I am a wretched sinner and contemptible."

Because St. Patrick had true humility, and not its counterfeit, false modesty, his professed wretchedness never obscured the clarity of his message. Let us listen to him in conversation with two Irish princesses on the necessity of the sacraments of baptism and Holy Eucharist for salvation. The incident is quoted here from an old manuscript.

"I desire to unite you to the Son of the Heavenly King, for you are the daughters of an earthly king."

And the daughters said, as if with one mouth and one heart, "How shall we come to believe in that King? Teach us duly that we may see the Lord face to face. Teach us and we shall do as you say to us."

"Then," replied St. Patrick, "do you believe that through baptism the sin of your mother and father shall be put away from you?"

They answered, "We believe."

"Do you believe in repentance after sin?"

"Yes."

After such a confession of the faith they were both baptized. Afterward St. Patrick blessed a white veil which he placed upon their heads. They desired to see Christ face to face.

Then St. Patrick said to them, "You cannot see Christ except you first taste death and unless you receive the body of Christ and His blood."

The daughters replied saying, "Give us the Holy Communion that we may be able to see the prophesied One." After this they received holy communion and they fell asleep in death.

St. Patrick's love for Our Blessed Lady is related in this curt but pointed fashion in an old book.

St. Patrick went to Iver Boinde. He found a wizard in that place who mocked Mary's virginity. St. Patrick blessed the earth and it swallowed up the wizard.

Forty is one of God's favorite mystical numbers. It is the number signifying penance. It rained for 40 days and 40 nights, the time of the Flood.

Forty is the number of years that the Israelites were condemned by God to wander in the desert when they doubted that he could deliver to them the Land of Promise. Moses had earlier spent 40 days on Mount Sinai fasting while he received the Ten Commandments from God. Elias fasted while he walked for 40 days and 40 nights to Mount Horeb to talk with God.

Our Blessed Lord prepared Himself for this active life by a 40-day fast in the desert. Almost 600 years after St. Patrick, St. Francis of Assisi would fast for 40 days and at the end of that time receive the stigmata.

Our glorious apostle, St. Patrick, one year retired to the top of a mountain at the beginning of Lent and remained there in prayer, contemplation, and watching, and in all manner of austerities, tasting neither food or drink until Easter Sunday. As the end of his fast approached, the air was filled with blackbirds so numerous that St. Patrick could see neither heaven nor earth. Their screams were terrifying and the odor which they gave off was fetid and revolting.

St. Patrick continued to sing the psalms and divine hymns but the demons would not go away from him. He became troubled and indignant and renewing his fervent prayers to God, he made the sign of the cross against them.

Then he rang his bell and finally flung it at them, chasing them into the Atlantic Ocean. Heartened by this victory, he presented to God several petitions.

Chief among which were:

1. That every native of Ireland, even at the point of death, should obtain God's clemency after confession and repentance.

2. That barbarian invaders should not prevail against the Irish people.

3. That no Irish persons should be found living on the day of judgment.

4. That he, St. Patrick, should judge the Irish people on the last day.

Consent to these favors St. Patrick obtained only by the greatest resoluteness and importunity with Almighty God. It was from the mountain, too, that he banished all the snakes from Ireland and from that time on its name has been Groagh Patrick, the Mountain of Patrick.

There had been erected in that part of Ulster, which is now known as County Cavan, a large pagan statue surrounded by 12 smaller ones. These idols were adored in bloody rites by the pagan Irish as gods.

The name of the central figure was Crom Cruach and it was the oracle of a devil. The people under the tutelage of the Druidic priests and led by their king, offered to this idol the first fruits of their flocks and their crops.

St. Patrick, on his way from Tara to the west coast of Ireland to preach in Connaught, chanced upon these ceremonies. King Saogoirs, who had obstinately snubbed the faith in this first encounter with St. Patrick, was present. Neither sermons nor miracles had been able to move these people from their idolatry. But now like the prophet Daniel before Baal, St. Patrick was face to face with the enemy. Boldly and without ceremony, St. Patrick approached Crom Cruach and raised the staff of Jesus against it.

Instantly the idol fell to the ground. The gold and silver ornaments with which it was adorned were dissolved to dust. At the same time the 12 smaller idols sank into the ground up to their necks, the heads remaining visible for many centuries as witness of St. Patrick's holy power.

So many were the conversions of the people who beheld this miracle, that St. Patrick was obliged to pray for water with which to baptize them. At his prayer a stream issued from the earth at the spot where the idols had stood.

This great victory over the devil and the extraordinary events surrounding it began to multiply conversions and St. Patrick found himself faced with organizing the country into parishes and dioceses. There were also many to be cared for who wished to enter the religious life. Thus, in order to fill the needs of the faithful in this land so rapidly Christianized, St. Patrick had at his death consecrated 350 bishops, ordained 5,000 priests, and witnessed an incalculable number of men and women become monks and nuns. St. Patrick himself wrote that he was not able to count "the sons of the Irish and the daughters of chieftains who became monks and virgins of Christ."

Before establishing the proper ecclesiastical administration for the country, he saw that the secular arm was Christianized also. St. Patrick appointed a delegation of 3 bishops, 3 kings, and 3 poets to study all the laws of ancient Ireland in order to eliminate from them whatever was harsh and vengeful and unsuited to a Christian civilization.

Every year our saint held a synod. The canons passed by two of these councils are still extant. At the first synod St. Patrick secured the obedience of all the other bishops, even though at first some thought a native Irishman should be primate. This selfish expression, however, received no wide support and it was soon abandoned. After this St. Patrick established the See of Armagh where, even to the present, the primate of all Ireland resides.

After a life full of trials and crosses, blessings and achievements, having accomplished the conversion of a nation which in centuries immediately following well earned the name, the Island of Saints and Scholars, St. Patrick received the holy viaticum from Bishop Tassach and died a most holy death at Downpatrick, County Down, Ireland, where his dead remains still rest.

In dying, as in living, his humility gainsaid his making of any remembered last word. He left his glorification to God who well rewarded him. For 12 days and 12 nights, while the nation mourned and kept his wake, there was no darkness in all the surrounding region, until they laid him to rest in what he loved to call the place of my ressurection, God's own country, holy Ireland.

A Declaration of Indian Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. Y. BERRY
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a declaration of rights as prepared by the National Congress of American Indians at their meeting last week in Washington. This declaration of rights is being made a part of the RECORD at the request of Joseph R. Garry, president, and Helen L. Peterson, secretary, of the National Congress of American Indians:

A DECLARATION OF INDIAN RIGHTS

Representatives of 183,000 American Indians gathered to consider the emergency created by numerous bills now pending in the Congress make to their fellow American citizens the following declaration:

American Indians seek for themselves only those things that are promised to every American citizen by our national charters, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and enjoyment of the rights of citizenship which it is the duty of Government to secure to all.

The Government of the United States first dealt with our tribal governments as sovereign equals. In exchange for Federal protection and the promise of certain benefits our ancestors gave forever to the people of the United States title to the very soil of our beloved country. We have never asked anything except that this protection be continued and these benefits be provided in good faith.

Today the Federal Government is threatening to withdraw this protection and these benefits. We believe that the American people will not permit our Government to act in this way if they know that these proposals do not have Indian consent; that these proposals, if adopted, will tend to destroy our tribal governments; that they may well leave our older people destitute; and that the effect of many of these proposals will be to force our people into a way of life that some of them are not willing or are not ready to adopt.

We feel that many of our fellow Americans do not know that we are citizens, free to move about the country like everyone else. We fight for our country, and we pay taxes like everyone else, except on the land and property our ancestors retained by agreement with the United States Government.

Some of our fellow Americans think that our reservations are places of confinement. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Reservations do not imprison us. They are ancestral homelands, retained by us for our perpetual use and enjoyment. We feel we must assert our right to maintain ownership in our own way, and to terminate it only by our consent.

If the Federal Government will continue to deal with our tribal officials as it did with our ancestors on a basis of full equality; if it will deal with us as individuals as it does with other Americans, governing only by consent, we will be enabled to take our rightful place in our communities, to discharge our full responsibilities as citizens, and yet remain faithful to the Indian way of life.

Certification: Adopted at the final session by the delegates to the emergency conference of American Indians on legislation called by the National Congress of American Indians in Washington, D. C., February 28, 1954.

JOSEPH R. GARRY,
President.
MARTIN T. CROSS,
Vice President.

Minneapolis Has One of Finest Symphony Orchestras

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, Minneapolis, in which my district is located, boasts many fine institutions, and one of the best among them is the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. We in Minneapolis have long appreciated this great organization, and we knew it was one of the outstanding symphony orchestras in the Nation. Now our judgment has been upheld by Harold Rogers, of the Christian Science Monitor who wrote, after hearing the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra in Boston, that it is one of the top five such orchestras in the United States. Under permission to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Rogers' tribute to the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and its conductor, Antal Dorati:

SYMPHONY RATED AMONG TOP FIVE—DORATI PRAISED

(By Harold Rogers)

When the Minneapolis Symphony orchestra and its conductor, Antal Dorati, made their first appearance jointly in Boston, February 14, it was obvious almost from the outset that this orchestra is to be included among the top five in the United States.

The others (though opinions may differ) are the Boston Symphony, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic Symphony, and the San Francisco Symphony. Now that Fritz Reiner is heading the Chicago Symphony, perhaps it may soon resume the position it once had as a leading American orchestra.

The young-looking, personable Mr. Dorati conducted before an audience that filled Symphony Hall. His baton style—as first seen during the opening overture, Beethoven's Leonore No. 3—is restrained. His forces are so well trained that he achieves a maximum of effect with a minimum of motion on his own behalf.

But one cannot consider Dorati a passive conductor. There is always undercurrent of emotional urgency in his work, though this undercurrent seldom builds to the point of detonation, as is often the case in Charles Munch's conducting.

While Dorati never loses control of his orchestra, neither does he leave the listener completely excited. Munch, on the other hand, often loses control; but he seldom fails to excite. Apparently it is a difficult achievement to keep the intellect and the emotions in delicate balance.

Address of Hon. Oveta Culp Hobby at Howard University Charter Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended hereto is the address of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby, delivered at Howard University Charter Day, Washington, D. C., March 2, 1954, marking the 87th anniversary of that great national institution of learning located here in our Nation's Capital:

President Johnson, members of Howard University faculty, members of the board of trustees, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen; thank you for letting me join you in the observance of Charter Day.

For me, this occasion is a double privilege. It gives me an opportunity to express my deep admiration and respect for this great university and all that it represents. And it gives me an opportunity to emphasize that the accomplishments of the university are a continuing source of pride and gratification to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

It is appropriate on a Charter Day to review at least some of the accomplishments of the past.

Eighty-seven years is not a very long time in the history of a nation. It is a short time, too, in the history of an institution. In these years—since Howard University was chartered—much has happened. As a nation we have experienced many deep and irrevocable changes. We have achieved material benefits undreamed of in President Lincoln's day. More important, however, the passing years have brought us much closer toward the attainment of those ideals of human brotherhood which remain an ultimate aim of our civilization. For this, all men and women of good will can be thankful.

To gain some measure of our progress we need only reflect on the conditions of our national life at the time in which this university was founded.

A nation, shaken by internal war, was looking toward recovery from that long and terrible conflict. The process was to be slow and painful, but, for the first time in our history, the principle of equality of all men under the law had been embodied in our Constitution. There were difficult days ahead.

A great part of the South lay desolate. And for many, many years the memory of the war—the bitterness of battle, the loss of loved ones—was to press heavily on hearts in both the North and the South.

In this atmosphere, it is understandable that mistakes of judgment would have been made. It would, in fact, have required almost a miracle to bring about the swift reconciliation so ardently desired by the Great Emancipator and by like-minded men and women on both sides.

The spiritual scars between the North and South have been slow in healing. But they have, for the most part, been healed. We are a united people, capable of giving firm leadership to the entire free world. It is perhaps paradoxical that the sacrifices of two later wars should have contributed to this healing process. Yet who can deny that the unity of effort, in which Americans of all races and creeds fought together in a common cause, did not serve to bring us all closer together.

Several weeks ago a ceremony took place here in Washington which, to me, symbolizes how far, indeed, we have come along the road toward healing. Many of you will remember that on Lincoln's birthday, for the first time in our history, descendants of Confederate veterans joined with descendants of Union veterans in a ceremony honoring the memory of that great and martyred man. For many of us, I am sure, the ceremony took on added significance because of the presence of a man to whom the life of Lincoln has been one of great and particular inspiration—our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Throughout the 87 years of its history, the contribution of Howard University toward this process of national healing and toward the welfare of the Nation has continued. Because of the unique character of Howard University, its contributions to the Nation have been on a scope far beyond the normal expectations of its facilities or the numerical strength of its faculty and alumni.

There are many who may know, as you do, that the intent in chartering Howard University was not the establishment of a school for Negroes. The act to incorporate the university made no mention of the race or color of the students who were to attend. Howard was established so that there might be a university in the Nation's Capital in which learning would be accessible to all—regardless of race, color, sex, or economic circumstances.

I like to remember, as many of you may, the fact that this great university had its start in a prayer meeting—a prayer meeting in the old Congregational Church at 10th and G Streets. Surely the members of this congregation had in their hearts a deep and reverent appreciation of the precepts of Christ to whom all men were, indeed, born to equality in the compassionate sight of God.

Though the pressure of events has led thousands of ambitious young Negro men and women to Howard's doors, it is to the high credit of the university that its doors have remained open to persons of all races, colors, and nationalities—faculty members and students alike.

It is a special tribute to the wisdom and courage of Howard's founders that since the beginning women have been offered equal educational opportunities with men. The records of Howard show that the first woman to be admitted to the bar of the District of Columbia was a graduate of your school of law. And Dr. Amelia Foye, who died in Washington in 1952 after 50 years of active medical practice, was a graduate of the Howard University Medical School.

The example set by Howard undoubtedly helped to open the doors of many other American universities to women. It is altogether possible that without Howard's pioneering example, the progress of women toward full participation in American life might not have been as rapid.

The contributions of Howard University to international amity and good will have also been many. Howard ranks third among all American universities in the percentage of its students who come from foreign lands.

The interchange of ideas, the opportunity to learn from others of diverse cultural patterns, the friendly association in a common purpose—all these contribute immeasurably toward international understanding.

The progress of the university during the past 87 years, of course, may be measured in many other ways.

From a single frame house, the campus has expended to 35 buildings, worth many millions. From a curriculum in the liberal arts, Howard has grown into a university numbering 10 schools, a faculty of over 400, and a student body of over 3,000. These, of course, are quantitative measurements.

The progress of a university is better measured by the accomplishments of its faculty members and its graduates. Such distinguished scholars as Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Charles Drew, Judge William Hastie, and Dr. Alain L. Locke, to mention only a few, are Howard men.

What is most unique about Howard—and perhaps its most distinguished accomplishment—is the part which the university has played in the progress of the Negroes. This record has no parallel anywhere.

Almost one-half of the Negro physcians and dentists in America today and 25 percent of the Nation's Negro lawyers received their education and training at Howard. Over 700 of the school's graduates have become religious leaders. Approximately 700 Howard alumni are pharmacists and another 400 have become engineers and architects. Their contribution to the intellectual, spiritual, and economic strengths of the Nation are incalculable.

The road upward has not been easy or smooth. While it is not unusual for universities to experience financial and other difficulties in their early years, Howard was also confronted with trying problems arising out of its unique origin and character.

Prof. Walter Dyson in his history of the university describes these problems graphically:

"It was impossible for some to believe that Negroes were being permitted to enter college. Many applied, asking if it were true that Negroes could enter. Married men applied to enter, and if possible, to bring their wives. Many without money made application. Many without preparation, except the ability to read and write, wished to enter. They wrote to learn if preachers only were admitted. Poor white boys applied for admission. White students at Oberlin wished to come; they thought it would be cheaper here. It was a new thing in the country—a university where black and white, old and young, married and single, ignorant and informed, male and female—all could enter, with or without money."

For many years, Howard suffered from acute financial distress and was able to exist only because of truly great financial sacrifices made by members of the faculty, who taught for little or nothing out of deep devotion to the university and its ideals.

It was not until 1879 that the Federal Government, during the Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes, came to the rescue of the university with annual appropriations.

A real step forward toward insuring permanent solvency for the university was taken during the administration of President Coolidge in 1928. With the personal support of the President and the untiring efforts of such friends of the university as Congressman Louis Crampton and Oscar De Priest, Federal appropriations for Howard became possible through enabling legislation permitting funds to be used for operating expenses as well as for the construction of buildings.

As many of you know, I am sure, I very recently had the pleasure of approving plans for construction of new buildings on Howard's campus—evidence—although none is really needed—of the very great interest of President Eisenhower and this administration in the further progress of Howard University.

One of the most important needs of the university today is the acceleration of your medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and engineering programs. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is making a most vigorous effort to aid the university in the expansion of these programs. It is our hope that Howard will be able to do its

full part in alleviating existing shortages of manpower in these important professions.

In selecting these departments for special mention, I am not minimizing the importance of other professional schools, including social work, law, religion, and education departments. All are making significant contributions to the Nation's welfare. Nor would I omit deserved tribute to the fine work of the university's outstanding undergraduate departments.

Today, as we mark the 87th anniversary of your charter, Howard University, has become, in the words of Professor Dyson, the "capstone of Negro education." Much credit for this remarkable achievement should go—and I am happy to make note of it—to your distinguished president, Dr. Mordecai Johnson. For more than a quarter of a century, he has guided the destinies of the university.

Under his direction the university has experienced the greatest growth, both physical and scholastic, in its history. I know I speak for all assembled here, and for his friends everywhere, when I wish Dr. Johnson many more years of successful leadership.

I spoke a moment ago of the great forward march of Negroes in American life, and of Howard's part in that remarkable chapter in our history. The contributions of American Negroes to the economic, cultural, scientific, and spiritual development of America are, of course, legion.

Our cultural life has been enriched by the music of such great artists as Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes, by the poetry of Sterling Brown, the stories of Frank Yerby, and by the talented Ethel Waters of the theater.

Their stories and the story of George Washington Carver, whose agricultural research uncovered hundreds of products for industry and better living are well known to all of you. There are many, many others.

The accomplishments of these great Americans have come about, for the most part, despite great handicaps and difficulties.

For the future there is hope and, I believe, promise of a brighter day.

For though we have not yet achieved in full the liberation of the human spirit, today's horizons are no longer circumscribed by many of the artificial barriers of past ages. Increasingly, today and tomorrow an individual will be judged on the basis of his intrinsic worth; and not by such tests as race or color, creed or sex.

President Eisenhower has expressed his determination to speed the work toward this ideal by positive action in the area of civil rights. You will recall that in one of his speeches he has said: "One thing we need to do in this administration is to remove the remaining stains of discrimination from our national life."

The President's position is clear and forthright. And I want to say to you that I am giving and will give him my most vigorous support in all his efforts to remove the stains of discrimination based on race, color, or creed.

Discrimination is morally wrong. It is also economically wrong.

In financial terms alone, the cost of discrimination is staggering. Some economists have placed its costs in our country at from $15 to $30 million a year. Individuals who suffer discrimination cannot be full partners in an economy of plenty. They cannot afford to purchase their share of the goods we produce or pay their potential share of taxes for the common good.

The spiritual losses resulting from prejudice and discrimination are, of course, even more devastating than the economic losses. No one can measure in dollars the cost to human beings who suffer the stigma of ostracism, the fear of persecution, or the anguish of seeing little children hurt and rejected.

But we are moving—and rapidly—to a new era in race relations. In the expansion of economic opportunities; in the ever-widening opportunities for education; in the exercise of the right to vote; and in other ways—the gaps are closing.

And Howard University has been a strong and potent force in this drive out of darkness toward light.

From its earliest beginnings, as a lantern of hope to the oppressed and the poor, the university has increasingly illuminated that darkest of all recesses—human prejudice.

The university has shown that ability and talent are no respector of race, color, or creed. It has given academic opportunity to thousands who have taken the gift of knowledge and demonstrated by their lives their intellectual and spiritual equality with all other people.

This great light, the soul of the university, is a precious thing. It has been cherished and nurtured, and it has grown more radiant with the years. To each faculty member, to each student, to each alumnus, I say: "Guard it well, this light, for one lamp lights another, nor grows the less."

This Was Only the Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call attention to an editorial in the Steuben News, published by the Steuben Society of America, which has vigorously supported the Bricker amendment to prevent any President from bypassing the Constitution and entering into secret deals with foreign governments through the medium of executive agreements.

The editorial follows:

THIS WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING

(By J. H. Meyer)

The President of the United States declared recently that he had lost many skirmishes, but never a battle.

The proponents of the Bricker amendment declare today that they share his philosophy.

The first round has been lost by the margin of one vote. As far as the current session of Congress is concerned, the issue should lie dormant, but it will come back stronger than ever before when the time is ripe. And, logically, it will play a most important role during this year's election campaign and later on.

There are maneuvers underway to achieve through a change of Senate rules (rule XXXVII) what the proponents of the Bricker amendment sought to do through a constitutional amendment.

We would go along with such a proposal as far as the matter of the required rollcall is concerned, but we feel as heretofore that article II, section 2, of the Constitution is in real need of amending if only for the stipulation that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present (sic) concur."

In view of numerous experiences and particularly in view of certain dangerous trends of the recent past, we feel that this could lead to more abuses and political mischief in the future. If the Constitution is to be amended, the lawmakers might just as well do a most thorough job and write the instruction into our basic law that "no less than three-fourths (72) of the Senate must answer the rollcall and two-thirds of them (or at least 48) must concur."

Much more important and danger fraught, however, are the executive agreements which enable a President of the United States to circumvent the treaty clause of the Constitution and avoid ratification by the Senate whenever he should feel that strong opposition might be forthcoming. We are not concerned with the everyday business in our relations with foreign powers; but we are very much concerned with executive agreements such as those made at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

Here, only a constitutional amendment, carefully circumscribing the authority of the President and forestalling any long-range "secret" deals of vital importance to the welfare of the United States, can establish a norm, legally binding upon the Chief Executive. The Senate should appoint a special committee during this session for a thorough study of all the aspects of the matter—protecting the prerogatives of the President, but putting a definite stop to the abuses and evasions of the recent past which may well occur again. First of all, it must be set down in simple, precise language for the guidance of the President when an alleged executive agreement is in fact a treaty and should be submitted to the scrutiny of the Senate.

Senate rules can all too easily be altered, sometimes even at the whim of a strong and willful Chief Executive. An amendment is something quite different; it would stop forever any endeavors at usurpation on the part of any future President.

We believe more than ever before in the rockribbed truism that government by law must prevail over government by men and, in this age of great danger, we repeat emphatically the words of Thomas Jefferson: "Let us hear no more of trust in men, but let us tie them down from michief by the chains of the Constitution."

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE E. KILBURN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. KILBURN. Mr. Speaker, as you know, during my 14 years in Congress I have strongly supported the St. Lawrence seaway and power project development and have introduced many bills to that effect.

I am glad to include in these remarks a letter from the National Milk Producers' Federation supporting the St. Lawrence seaway with no crippling amendments. I am, of course, much pleased that they take this position.

NATIONAL MILK PRODUCERS FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., March 10, 1954.

Hon. CLARENCE E. KILBURN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KILBURN: This is to request your favorable consideration of S. 2150, relating to participation by the United States in the development of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The National Milk Producers Federation represents approximately half a million dairy farmers, a substantial portion of them being

located in the north central and northeast part of the United States.

The St. Lawrence seaway was considered by the federation in 1947 and a policy was adopted favoring its development. That position has been maintained, and it was reconsidered and readopted last November at our annual meeting in Houston, Tex. We see in the St. Lawrence development an opportunity to improve the market for American dairy products, and to move them economically to potential customers. We are cognizant also of the recommendations of the President, the Cabinet, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff that the project be developed in the interest of national security.

Dairy farmers believe that the United States should participate with Canada in the seaway construction and operation. The National Milk Producers Federation urges your support of S. 2150 as reported by the House Committee on Public Works. We oppose any crippling amendments.

Sincerely yours,

E. M. NORTON,
Executive Director,
National Milk Producers Federation.

Statement of Hon. Melvin Price, of Illinois, Before House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in Support of Wage Increase of $800 per Year for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a statement I submitted to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of a wage increase of $800 per year for postal employees:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is with enthusiasm I join many colleagues here this morning in supporting a pay raise of $800 a year for postal employees throughout the Nation. I do not subscribe to the pay reclassification program suggested by Postmaster General Summerfield, which in my opinion would be wholly inadequate to meet the recognized need of these worthy employees.

A pay raise for our postal employees is justified at this time and is long overdue. We are all cognizant of the inflationary spiral in living costs which makes a wage increase for these public servants absolutely necessary. It is a problem the Congress should solve without further delay.

On the basis of comparable employment in private industry nothing less than an $800 increase would be fair to our postal employees. For years they have been at a definite disadvantage in our economic system because they have chosen to remain loyal to the post office service and have foregone the high wages offered in other employment—although I am certain the temptation must have been strong to leave their low-paying Government job for much higher paying employment.

Some, I know, yielded to such temptation and trained employees were lost to the Department. But a still greater loss to the Department has come in the lack of interest shown by able young people who no longer look to the post offices throughout the Nation as a good place in which to start a career. No incentive can be found in a job which puts such limitations on earning power.

Let the Congress hold out hope to the present employees in the post offices and increase the appeal of the service to the beginner by approving a substantial wage increase now. If we fail to act the Nation will suffer in the loss of thousands of efficient postal workers whose economic situation will force them to leave their work in search of better paying jobs.

Our letter carriers, clerks, and other employees of the Post Office Department are entitled to a decent American wage. When they get it the Department will have less difficulty convincing men to accept employment. It would be interesting statistics to list the number of postal employees who are compelled to take outside jobs along with their postal work to make ends meet. Many tell me that their wives have had to seek work in order to supplement the family income.

The situation demands a substantial pay increase immediately—not months in the future.

As I said in the beginning of my statement, I oppose the unsatisfactory recommendations of Postmaster General Summerfield because I do not believe they deal fairly with the issue. As a matter of fact they give the barest minimum of pay relief to the absolute minimum of employees. I hope the committee will disregard the Postmaster General's recommendation and that it will approve a wage increase for every employee of $800 a year.

Let me repeat that I feel this is an emergency situation which calls for action immediately.

Confidence in the President's Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when President Eisenhower's farm program is being debated generally over the country, it is very heartening to receive such a letter as the following which not only expresses confidence in the farm program but in Secretary Benson:

Hon. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN YOUNGER: We are apprehensive that the efforts being made by the dairy industry to have the support level of dairy products maintained at 90 percent of parity may have the effect of jeopardizing the objective of the farm program of President Eisenhower.

Our association is composed of nearly 12,000 producer members, many of whom are dairymen. For many years our board of directors has expressed a policy which is negative to price supports. At a hearing before the House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture in Santa Rosa, Calif., on November 7, 1953, our president made a statement reflecting the views of our directors. This statement was published and circulated among our membership, and we have not received a single objection to it. We therefore urge you to support the farm program of President Eisenhower.

In closing, I might add that we have great confidence in Secretary of Agriculture Benson. We believe he is approaching the farm problem in a sound and sincere manner.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN LAWLER,
General Manager,
Poultry Producers of Central California,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

College Expenses Should Be Tax Deductible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the February 17, 1954, issue of the Minnesota Daily newspaper of the University of Minnesota in support of my bill H. R. 1274:

EXPENSES OF COLLEGE EDUCATION SHOULD BE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

College students and their parents traditionally take a licking on Federal income taxes. It's not right, and a Congressman from New York has introduced a bill which would make expenses for college education tax deductible.

Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER proposes tax relief only for parents, however, and in that respect his bill does not go far enough. It should also provide help for students who are paying their own way. But because the bill is a step in the right direction, it should have widespread support.

It is clear that no parents sending a child through school are supporting him on the $600 deduction he is now allowed. More likely dad is spending from $1,000 to $2,400 a year, depending on where junior is going to school.

Back in 1944, when the present deduction for dependents was granted, $600 went further toward paying the cost of a year of school. Recent studies indicate that costs of college are currently 60 percent above what they were in 1940.

The House Ways and Means Committee has held hearings on the Multer bill, and has decided to recommend that a $600 dependency allowance for children should be continued beyond the age of 18 years if the child is attending school.

This endorses the principle of tax relief to encourage parents to send their children to college. It does not, however, allow for the full reasonable expenses of a college education.

Aside from the advantages to parents, there are some secondary benefits to be gained from tax relief for educational purposes. Many small colleges and universities in this country need financial help. With increased enrollments which would result from tax aid, some of their problems would be solved.

The National Student Association is supporting the Multer bill and so are college organizations and publications throughout the country. Parents, of course, support the bill as they find the mounting cost of living and staggering tax bills making it extremely difficult to send their children on through college.

An opportunity for a college education is the birthright of every American young per-

son. Realistically, it is out of the question for many now. MULTER's bill is a justified move to bring more young people into higher education.

Tariff Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, not content with the severe damage suffered by manifold economic groups in this country as a result of insidious trade policies that scorn America's welfare and security, the theorists are now proposing measures that would further extend harm and distress throughout many of the districts which you and I represent.

My congressional district is one of the principal victims of inequitable competition from the deluge of foreign residual oil that has invaded domestic coal's legitimate markets. Now this same congressional district is involved in another unfair struggle for economic subsistence that requires the immediate attention of Congress. Our plate- and window-glass manufacturers and their employees who last year lost approximately 2,150,000 man-hours of work as a result of markets lost to imports are the new victims of this treacherous trade policy. That figure, which represents hardship for many American workers and their families, should in itself be sufficient to stimulate corrective action on the part of responsible officials in our Government. Unfortunately, however, nothing whatsoever has thus far been done to alleviate the situation; on the contrary, the Randall Commission would widen the devastation by a further reduction of tariffs.

I ask you, the Members of this Congress, how long must our people endure this sort of treatment? No one will deny that the American glass industry has been one of the most important contributors to industrial progress and to better living for all of us. It has made our lives healthier, safer, and brighter. It is my privilege to be personally acquainted with many hundreds of persons connected with the glass industry in my district. They are loyal Americans who, like their fellow citizens, have been called upon year after year for sacrifices that other nationals would, by tradition, consider far beyond the call of duty. They traveled to the hot deserts of Africa, to the mountains of Asia and the broad beaches of the Pacific, across the explosive terrain from Omaha Beach to Berlin and through all of Italy, and in airplanes and fighting ships traversing the universe in the campaign that our fellow men might be free.

For the past decade our people have shared ponderous burdens in order that those human beings for whom we fought—and many whom we fought against—might enjoy economic standards never before attained. Our people have made these sacrifices without complaint, but our voices rise in justifiable wrath when we are unnecessarily deprived of our right to provide the necessities of life for ourselves and our families. We reject any philosophy that would subject our people to the ranks of the unemployed in order that selfish internationalists might prosper. We refuse to be made starving guinea pigs for the experimentations of sanctimonious doctrinaires.

Mr. Speaker, until our Government moves toward a sensible trade policy, the crescendo of demands from neglected American citizens will increase in intensity. If this Nation is to reject any depreciation of our living standards, our industries must be protected from cheap foreign competition. Glass manufacturing abroad is so similar to that of this country that the wage differential is almost entirely responsible for the discrepancy in production costs, so obviously European manufacturers can undersell American companies.

Belgian glassworkers earn from 38 to 51 cents per hour, as compared with an average of $2.43 paid by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. plants in my district. The pattern is the same when comparisons are made with other countries, and it is also applicable in the case of transportation workers who are responsible for getting the glass to market. The product is shipped across the Atlantic in vessels whose crews earn only a fraction of the wages paid to American railroad employees; consequently glass can be shipped from Europe to our east coast cities at rates that are actually lower than rail freight charges from our Ford City plant to the same United States destinations.

Under these circumstances, are American management and labor asking too much in requesting an increase in the inadequate tariff rates now in effect? Are they unpatriotic in rising in protest against the philosophy of the Randall report and any other recommendation that would move this country still closer to the shoals of economic disaster and place it at the mercy of foreign trade winds? The people back home are awaiting a reply from Washington.

Fight for Farmer Is a Fight for All of Us; His Welfare Is Our Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to include an advertisement from the Oklee Herald, of Oklee, Minn., of March 4, 1954.

This advertisement was bought and paid for by the Oklee Commercial Club, an organization of businessmen of that community. These men know that in fighting for the prosperity of the farmer, they are fighting for the prosperity of all of us. That is why they are willing to spend their own money to help the farmer get his full share of parity for his products and to present this correct viewpoint to the public.

We had better remember the bitter lessons of the past before we allow the farmer to go into bankruptcy. He cannot face ruin without all of us facing ruin and I am proud to say that the businessmen throughout my district of Minnesota are forwardlooking enough and have the courage to stand with the farmer in his fight for parity and a fair income for his products and his labor.

The newspaper advertisement from the Oklee (Minn.) Herald follows:

Oklee businessmen say, "Full parity for farmers."

The Oklee Commercial Club, at its regular meeting held Monday, March 1, 1954, declared their absolute support of, and passed, the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we go on record as favoring no less than 100-percent parity for the basic farm commodities. This is essential because there must be provided adequate price and income protection to the producer if we are to reach the goal of agricultural equality with the rest of the economy. We do not favor the present proposed flexible price-support system. We urge continuation of production control and continuation of the soil-conservation program."

Copies of this resolution have been sent to our United States Senators and Representatives in Washington, D. C.

OKLEE COMMERCIAL CLUB.

Let's Stick to the Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Beaumont Journal of February 22, 1954, which emphasises certain truths all of us will want to remember in the coming months:

LET'S STICK TO TRUTH

The season for exaggeration is almost upon us. Although a few have jumped the gun, the 1954 political campaigns are not scheduled to begin for another month or two. Then the air will be filled with charges and countercharges.

Anyone who has watched American campaigns over a few decades, and dipped into the country's history, knows that this sort of thing is pretty standard. It is unlikely to be done away with simply because pious hopes are uttered for cleaner campaigning, regardless of who makes the appeals.

Nevertheless, in the name of a certain fundamental decency and sanity we can perhaps expect to confine the exaggerations and distortions and mudslinging within rather wide limits. There are some things that ought not to go, even in free-swinging American politics.

Possibly the worst of these is to suggest that either major party, as a party, would deliberately do anything to hurt the safety and welfare of the United States. Unhappily, politicians in the past have not stopped short of that suggestion. And the tenor of

the political comment so far in 1954 indicates that neither party has determined altogether to bar extreme accusations during the campaigning season.

Wild statements, which if true would mean that neither party is fit to govern the country, have no place even in a nation given to great flights of political fancy. The Democrats are not traitors or warmongers and the Republicans are not depression makers. We ought to have no more of such talk.

To Be or Not To Be: The 18-Year-Old Vote

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the many controversial subjects receiving publicity these days is the question of changing our citizens' voting age to 18.

The following editorial which appeared in the February 5, 1954, issue of the Brooklyn Eagle sets forth some very good reasons against this change:

MANY COGENT REASONS AGAINST CHANGING UNITED STATES VOTING AGE TO 18

The idea of changing the voting age from 21 to 18, as advocated by President Eisenhower, has started a nationwide discussion. We have serious doubts about the wisdom of the proposal.

The one compelling argument in favor of the change is that a young man who is old enough to fight in his Nation's Armed Forces should be old enough to vote. But the case for it should be examined more carefully. To begin with, the lowered age would naturally apply to girls as well as to boys and, of course, the former do not actually fight, although many of them have seen service in the various women's branches of the Armed Forces.

Under the laws of this State—and quite generally, we understand—all those who register to vote are thereupon placed on the jury lists. This would mean that the new young voters would begin to get calls for jury duty. We doubt if many would seriously contend that 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old youngsters are competent to decide many of the cases which are put in the hands of juries—particularly complicated business cases, which are not unusual.

Further recognition of the lack of business competence of that age group is found in the law here—which also prevails widely—that courts must name guardians to control estates left to those under 21. Indeed, many people, leaving large sums, specify in their wills that these funds should not be made available to their heirs until the latter have reached certain specified ages, indicating maturity.

We feel sure that these laws would not be changed. Yet would it make sense to have young men and women of 18 voting when the law considered it necessary to have guardians appointed to control their property because of their supposed lack of competence for such responsibilities?

The lowered voting age would create havoc in the upper grades of our high schools where many would have the vote, would become greatly excited about the election and might be subject to undue influence by some of their teachers.

As a matter of fact, this age group, because of their inexperience in politics and government and their inability to reason logically against arguments that might be presented to them most dramatically, might become easy prey for demagogs.

But if bearing arms is to be the chief test for voting, it would be difficult to stop at 18. For now young Americans are being taken into the Armed Forces at the age of 17 if they have the written consent of their parents. Do those favoring this new amendment want to push the age back still another year to 17?

Also it should not be forgotten that during the Civil War there were many thousands of boys under 16 serving in the Army and even many 11-year-old drummer boys.

If those pushing this constitutional amendment feel that all the youngsters of 18 want the vote, they are much mistaken. We hear that many, notably from among those who have served in the Armed Forces in Korea, are much opposed to changing the voting age from 21 to 18.

Let's not get swept into this hastily without the most careful consideration.

Another Reason Why We Should Not Participate in the St. Lawrence Seaway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Annapolis Capital, Annapolis, Md., on February 23, 1954, in reference to the St. Lawrence seaway project. This is just another reason why we should not participate in this project. The editorial follows:

CANADA APPEARS COOL TO UNITED STATES ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

While the administration is pressing Congress to pass the St. Lawrence seaway measure, which some opponents have called a boondoggle, it is interesting to read Canadian newspapers, which indicate that Canada is cool to the project.

The seaway proposal was defeated in the United States Senate in 1934, 1944, 1948, and 1952. Ten committees of Congress have filled some 8,977 printed pages with testimony taken on the project.

Now the Senate has passed a bill that would establish a St. Lawrence Development Corporation, with authority to issue $105 million in bonds, which tolls on shipping are looked upon to retire in 50 years or less. The bill has been approved by the Public Works Committee of the House.

The Government corporation that would do the navigation work in the 46-mile International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence, would be empowered to borrow the $105 million from the United States Treasury. If it makes enough enough money, after splitting the toll revenues with Canada, it is to pay the money back in the 50-year period. If it doesn't the Treasury, the taxpayers, are stuck with the bonds.

Several Senators and others have asked why this Nation should take the risk of losing this large financial investment, when Canada is willing to build the seaway itself. Why not let the Canadians do the work and hold onto the money of the United States taxpayers?

A front-page article in the Ottawa Citizen gives a view of the Canadian reaction to the action of the United States Senate in passing the St. Lawrence project bill. It points out that "Despite passage in the United States Senate, all-Canadian seaway still Ottawa's policy." The opening paragraph of the story states:

"Canada is going to push for an all-Canadian seaway on the St. Lawrence River, Government informants say, regardless of what the United States Congress does about the deep waterway."

The Toronto Daily Star carried a front-page story, headed: "Hope United States Won't Get in Seaway Now—Ottawa." The story datelined Ottawa, states:

"After 30 years of praying for favorable congressional action on the St. Lawrence seaway, the Canadian Government is now praying just the opposite.

"The hope and belief here is that the House of Representatives at Washington will not follow the lead of the Senate and approve legislation authorizing the United States to construct a deep-water channel past the international rapids in the St. Lawrence.

"The issue will become so complicated if the House does approve such legislation that Canadian officials are not even trying to predict what Canada would do then. At the moment, Canadian Government policy is to construct an all-Canadian canal at an estimated cost of about $280 million."

The Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times, in a story from Ottawa, states: "Now that the Senate has passed Senator WILEY's bill for American participation in the St. Lawrence seaway, Canada is pinning its hopes on the House of Representatives throwing it out."

So the question arises, if the Canadians don't want the United States moving in on the St. Lawrence project, why is the Eisenhower administration so anxious to spend the money of the American taxpayers?

Under the circumstances the House of Representatives would do well to take a serious look at this so-called boondoggle and vote it down. Canada wants to spend her own money on it—why not let the Canadians go ahead, and keep our money in the United States Treasury.

The argument that it is necessary for the United States to take part in order to get some sort of control over the waterway seems absurd. To the east of the 46-mile section involved in the United States proposal, is 1,200 miles of the St. Lawrence River wholly in Canada, and to the west is the Canadian-owned Welland Canal. There is no way, short of physical force that this country can improve its present position in the river, which is the right in perpetuity, by treaty, to use the river on equal terms with Canada.

Canada has always owned and operated the present waterway. Furthermore, the Canadians, if permitted to build the new waterway as they desire, must build part of it on the American side. The State of New York is readying to join with Ontario in building a powerplant without which there can't be the new waterway. New York's share of this cost is to be $316 million.

Lionel Chevrier, Canadian Minister of Transport has declared that "Canada is not seeking financial aid on the St. Lawrence seaway. On the contrary," he added, "Canada is ready, willing, and anxious to proceed with the seaway at her own expense and without cost to the American taxpayer."

C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, stated that the proposals now being advanced "that the United States should build the new canal in the International Rapids section" would only complicate the present situation. He said that ownership by the United States of a short section of a very long seaway would "not only add to the overall construction cost, but would complicate problems of maintenance and operation of the canal system."

But, apparently the St. Lawrence project is not the only boondoggle the Eisenhower administration is pushing. It has been stated that the Passamaquoddy project, known as Quoddy which about 20 years ago was a big issue in Congress, has been revised

in order to get votes for the passage of the St. Lawrence bill.

Tides in Passamaquoddy Bay, between Maine and New Brunswick, average 18 feet. But the project of harnessing their ebb and flow to produce electricity was dropped years ago after $8 million had been spent on a couple of dams and some model homes for workers. No more money for that boondoggle, was the edict of Congress.

But that was years ago, and this is 1954, the Senate has just approved a bill authorizing a new survey of the whole scheme, at an estimated cost of $3 million. House concurrence will, of course, be necessary. So one boondoggle leads to another.

Southwestern Power Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. A. THOMPSON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have attended many meetings with Government officials and others interested in the Southwestern Power Administration and was extremely disappointed when the 12-company power contract, which would have meant so much to the users of power in the Southwest, was denied. In keeping the faith with my people, I have left no stone unturned in trying to develop a more favorable power situation for my constituency, as well as for others who would be affected by favorable treatment to the Southwestern Power Administration.

Mr. U. J. Gajan, of Lafayette, La., who is connected with the Southwest Louisiana Electric Membership Corp. and has recently been appointed chairman of the Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest, was in Washington recently to conduct meetings with officials of the United States Department of the Interior for purposes of strengthening the SPA. Mr. Gajan and the group he represents were led to believe by Mr. Fred Aandahl, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, that the Southwestern Power Administration would be given fair treatment, only to learn upon their return to Louisiana that Mr. Aandahl had broken faith with them.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Aandahl by Mr. Gajan expressing his disillusionment at this treatment. I am in thorough agreement with Mr. Gajan and certainly hope that the treatment given his group in this instance does not reflect policy of the Department of the Interior in its relations with the people of my area.

The letter follows:

SOUTHWEST LOUISIANA ELECTRIC MEMBERSHIP CORP.,
Lafayette, La., February 21, 1954.

Hon. FRED G. AANDAHL,
Assistant Secretary, United States Department of Interior,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Subsequent to our meeting with you, and our advisory committee on power for the Southwest, on Wednesday morning, February 17, 1954, we felt reasonably sure that you would not implement the survey team report. Our position was based upon the discussion, statements and commitments made at this meeting. To our grave concern and disillusionment, this was not so.

On my return to Lafayette, on February 19, 1954, the papers broke the story. This was the following day after our conference, under date of February 18, 1954, the crippling and eventual abolishing order was signed by you, Mr. Tudor, and Mr. McKay. Your order has reduced SPA to the status of a division, with a power manager, which eventually calls for a reduction in personnel of 86 people. This is not consistent with the President's budget which calls for 182 employees and the status to remain as an administrative agency. I am sure, that Interior Department can feel a great deal of satisfaction on the destruction of the Southwestern Power Administration. Interior must now realize that they have broken faith with the millions of American farm people and the millions of other Americans living within the boundaries of the municipal utilities, in the Southwest area.

The survey team report calls for the creation of another big job in Washington, that of a power administrator. There are no remarks directed to the amount of staff or personnel required in creating this power administrator. Could it be possible that an eventual large organization is planned for centralized government, which would greatly add to the cost of power? Isn't this action contrary to the principles of the Eisenhower administration to decentralize government?

This same survey team took an entirely different attitude on the Bureau of Reclamation. In their report they recommended a decentralization of the Bureau office in Washington to Denver. Why was this so? There are grave doubts and concern in our mind as to their reasons for doing this.

I had faith in you, Mr. Aandahl, even to the point where some of our group were becoming critical of my position. Even to the last moment I had faith and hope. I realize I was wrong and now—disillusioned. I have always dealt with honesty and integrity, relying upon the integrity of others. I have always kept my word and corrected myself openly when I was wrong. I expect my fellowmen to do likewise.

Under the pretense of economy a great organization has been completely destroyed. An organization that had its inception in 1943. An organization that has been instrumental in bringing to the people of the Southwest millions and millions of dollars in savings because of low-cost power. Our people in the Southwest give full credit to the fine work that our able Administrator, Mr. Douglas G. Wright, and the Southwestern Power Administration accomplished. SPA has been our bargaining agency. The rural-electric systems, the municipal utilities and the commercial power companies have all benefited from SPA's fine work. The Interior Department must now recognize and assume the responsibility of higher power cost, therefore unjustifiably penalizing millions of people in Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana.

The Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest is a voluntary organization of duly appointed representatives from the rural-electric systems and municipalities in the 6-State area. We now find ourselves in a desperate and helpless position. Our committee was organized approximately 9 years ago and we have consistently worked hard, in cooperation with the Southwestern Power Administration, to obtain for our people low wholesale rates to promote and benefit the economy and the living standards of this area. Our work has been completely nullified by Interior Department. The ultimate beneficiaries are the commercial utility companies. With the help of God and through the unity and strength of our people we will persevere in our efforts. We will tell our story—the real story—with every means at our disposal. Our crusade is for the rights of a free people to the benefits they are entitled to under our Government.

Sincerely yours,

U. J. GAJAN,
Chairman, Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Eradication of Bovine Tuberculosis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Mr. H. E. Kingman, Jr., assistant executive secretary of the American Veterinary Medical Association. I should like to have his letter and the attached editorial, which is a reprint, published in the Appendix of the RECORD, inasmuch as they give useful information regarding one of the questions which will face us when we come to pass on the appropriation bills.

There being no objection, the letter and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN VETERINARY
MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., March 9, 1954.

The Honorable EDWARD J. THYE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THYE: We have read, with a great deal of interest, that part of the February 23 issue of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which expressed your views relative to the lack of indemnity provisions for cattle condemned for tuberculosis or brucellosis in the United States Department of Agriculture budget for the coming year.

The attached preprint of an editorial which will appear in the April issue of the AVMA Journal, expresses our associatiton's viewpoint as it pertains to withdrawal of full participation at a most critical stage in a disease eradication program.

Sincerely yours,

H. E. KINGMAN, Jr.,
Assistant Executive Secretary.

[From the Journal of the American Veterinary Medical Association]

THAT LONG LAST MILE IN BOVINE TUBERCULOSIS ERADICATION

The bovine tuberculosis eradication program, once a robust and popular campaign against the insidious equivalent of man's great white plague, now shows signs of suffering from senility and anemia. Meanwhile, its quarry, like a vicious beast, battered and driven to its lair by a once-concerned and resentful public is, instead of being destroyed while cornered, apt to become the benefactor of the complacent "let George do it" attitude of that same, but now-less-concerned, public.

It is disturbing to learn that in spite of its existing anemia the program is due for some additional blood-letting. In the name of a worthy cause, national economy, the Federal indemnity for tuberculosis reactors has been eliminated from the budget of the Department of Agriculture on which hearings were being held at the time this was written.

Also of concern is an overconfidence and indifference in many who seem to consider bovine tuberculosis as an already eradicated disease. Significantly, the report of the chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, 1953, states that "Although the overall rate of tuberculosis in cattle is very low, in some States the incidence of infection is increasing."

Examples of the resurgence of bovine tuberculosis are numerous but may we briefly cite one which was found in a small, beef-type herd in March 1938. From the inception of the voluntary program this closed herd had been tested regularly with never a sign of a reaction, nor had reactors been found in neighboring herds. Yet, when the intradermal test was applied to the 7 older cattle and 3 calves, 8 of the 10 (all but a recently purchased milk cow and a young calf) reacted, some with swellings larger than hen eggs; the reactors subsequently showing lesions. On the second retest, the cow and calf also reacted.

The spreader must have been an aged cow, negative on two previous tests, which had recently been sent to market because of progressive emaciation. Had this infection occurred after the area retest interval was lengthened, had it been in a large herd, and had the herd been dispersed without test, as is legal and usual at farm sales in many States, how far might the disease have traveled and what might have been the cost of subduing it?

The bovine tuberculin test was originally introduced into the United States from Koch's laboratory in Germany, by Dr. Leonard Pearson, in 1891. After extensive successful field trials, the Tuberculosis Eradication Division was established in the Bureau of Animal Industry on May 1, 1917. Then on December 23, 1917, the accredited herd plan was launched, soon to be supplemented with the accredited area plan. In the words of the late Dr. J. A. Kiernan, first administrator, it was "the most gigantic work ever assumed by the veterinary profession." With tuberculosis rare, except locally in cattle of the Southern and Western States, Dr. Kiernan predicted that, by 1930, two-thirds of the area of the United States would be free of the disease. However, he cautioned that success would depend not only on the veterinarians, the legislators, and the sanitary officials, but largely on the attitude of the livestock owners.

Economic factors were favorable for the launching of such a program. The sharp drop from war-inflated levels, in the price of cattle and other farm produce, about 1920, facilitated the selling to the owners, of a plan which paid an indemnity for a damaged, surplus product. Furthermore, this economic trend made it both possible and desirable for the veterinary practitioners to cooperate. Testing reached its peak, with 25 million cattle tested, in 1935, and then fell rapidly to 11 million in 1939. It has remained near that level since, with 9,675,245 tested in 1953.

Meanwhile, the national incidence of bovine tuberculosis had dropped gradually from 4.9 percent in 1918 to 1.5 percent in 1935 and 0.11 percent in 1953. However, the records of many isolated, heavily infected areas is more dramatic. In the District of Columbia, used as a trial test area, tuberculin reactors were reduced from 18.87 percent in 1910 to 0.84 percent in 1917; and Virginia, with 18.27 percent reactors in 1910 and 6.39 percent in 1917, was down to 0.3 percent in 1953.

The prediction of great areas soon being free of the disease has, for some reason, not yet been realized. Instead, in 1953, the reactors were surprisingly uniformly distributed. In only one State, Nevada, were no reactors found, yet only five States had more than 0.2 percent reactors, with Louisiana's 0.49 percent being high. This uniformily low incidence raises a question about the irreducible minimum. Could it be that the slower, more patchwork type of testing is less thorough than when larger areas are more simultaneously tested? Or is it because cattle are being reinfected by man or other animals? Or is it possible that many of these reactions are of the nonspecific type and that bovine tuberculosis actually is more nearly eliminated than indicated?

The human species also has profited much from the reduction of tuberculosis in cattle. The death rate in man from the bovine type of infection which, in 1900, was 19.9 per 100,000 population dropped to 1.7 in 1950, a 91.5 percent reduction. During the same period, deaths from the human type of tuberculosis dropped 86 percent.

Truly, the reduction both in the bovine type of human infection and in bovine tuberculosis is a remarkable achievement but apparently, as in climbing a mountain peak, the nearer the goal the harder the going. No one doubts that the job ultimately will be done but complacency and apathy will increase the difficulty and may indefinitely postpone total eradication.

We urge the House Agricultural Appropriations Committee and every Congressman to take a second look at the score sheet on bovine tuberculosis eradication before eliminating Federal indemnities for reactors for economy reasons. To withdraw support now is, in our judgment, a shortsighted and dangerous move. The record does not justify such action.

Opposition to Authority for Interstate Commerce Commission To Increase Parcel-Post Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Wallowa County Pomona Grange, No. 22.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas parcel-post rates have been arbitrarily increased 36 percent by the ICC. The ICC was authorized by Congress to make increases and the people have had very little to say in opposition to such increases; and

Whereas Senator CARLSON, of Kansas, and Senator JOHNSTON, of South Carolina, have introduced Senate bill 588, which would remove the jurisdiction of the ICC in relation

to parcel-post rates and return this authority to the Congress: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That Multnomah County Pomona Grange, in session this 19th day of November 1953, hereby go on record as strongly opposed to ICC being authorized to increase parcel-post rates and we favor the passage of Senate bill 588; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the executive committee of the State grange and to all Pomona granges in the State of Oregon urging such granges to pass this resolution and forward it to our delegation in Congress.

MULTNOMAH COUNTY POMONA GRANGE.

Approved by Wallowa County Pomona Grange, No. 22.

DONALD E. KOOCH,
Master, Wallowa Pomona Grange.
MAXINE KOOCH,
Secretary, Wallowa Pomona Grange.

Hungarian Freedom Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. BURKE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, throughout our Nation during the coming weekend, Americans of Hungarian descent will commemorate the declaration of Hungarian independence, and will pause in solemn tribute to the man who constructed it—the legendary Louis Kossuth, who gave his lifetime in a fight against tyranny.

It is fitting that we join with our fellow citizens of Hungarian origin in memorializing Hungarian Freedom Day. On Sunday, in Lorain, Ohio, I expect to participate in special observances marking this great Hungarian anniversary; and I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement I have prepared for the occasion.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. THOMAS A. BURKE, OF OHIO

Little more than 100 years have passed since Louis Kossuth unfolded his plans for a perpetual rupture with the Austrian dynasty and brought for his famous declaration that "the House of Hapsburg, perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited the Hungarian throne."

That was the birth of Hungarian independence, proclaimed by the great statesman and patriot whose flaming spirit has burned through the decades, blazing a message of liberty.

Louis Kossuth is gone some 60 years now, and once again his beloved Hungary lies piteously beneath the oppressor's heel, as tyranny stalks the land.

The Russian invader holds forth today in Louis Kossuth's Hungary, and freedom-loving people everywhere are saddened at the bitter spectacle.

But the descendants of Louis Kossuth, in Hungary and across the seas, well remember the traditions of liberty and justice which he established in his lifetime fight against the tyrants.

The memory of Louis Kossuth is the spur, and the people of Hungry the driving force which one day soon, God willing, will put the invader to rout, and reestablish freedom in the Carpathians.

The time is coming—and coming swiftly—when godlessness, hate, and prejudice will be swept aside. Then Hungary once again will resume its rightful place in the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

The spirit of Louis Kossuth—courageous, fighting, never-say-die—is the inspiration that will liberate Hungary and restore to that nation the honor and glory of which it was robbed.

Junior College Fast-Growing Unit of American Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one important task that is with us always is the education of our young people. This continuing challenge is one the American people have met magnificently. We have the best educational system in the world.

An important unit in that system is the junior college. Junior colleges in the United States have an enrollment of more than half a million students. They are doing wonderful work with those students.

Recently the Jacksonville (Tex.) Daily Progress published a guest editorial written by the dean of one of our Texas junior colleges, H. V. Robinson, Lon Morris College, located in Jacksonville. In this editorial, Dean Robinson gave some facts and figures on the amazing growth of junior colleges in Texas and in the Nation.

Because I believe this material to be of interest to all those concerned with educational problems, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jacksonville (Tex.) Daily Progress of February 24, 1954]

JUNIOR COLLEGE FAST-GROWING UNIT OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

(By H. V. Robinson, dean, Lon Morris College)

The fastest growing unit in American education today is the junior college. From less than 5 junior colleges in 1900 the number of junior colleges has grown to approximately 593 today. Enrollment has increased from less than 100 in 1900 to the phenomenal figure of over 325,000 students in junior colleges in the United States in 1944 and to 572,139 in 1952.

Just as the automobile rapidly developed in this country because it met a definite need of the people, similarly the junior college has grown to such proportions because it meets a distinct need in the training of youth of junior college age. That the junior college is meeting a felt need is attested to by the fact that the number of junior colleges and their student enrollments have so rapidly increased during the past 45 years, and more especially during the past 25 years.

Texas has always been a leader in the development of the junior-college movement. There were 2 or 3 private junior colleges in Texas before 1900 with something over a total enrollment of 50 students. By 1917 there were 15 junior colleges in Texas with a total enrollment of 571 students. By 1932 there were 45 junior colleges serving Texas with a total enrollment of 8,971. In 1952 the number of junior colleges in Texas was 54, and the enrollment was 48,485.

The junior college in Texas proposes to serve all the youth of an area around it. The junior college is, therefore, a community college, or the people's college. Texas junior colleges, by virtue of their organization are very responsive to the people and the needs of their youth. That is the reason 20,418 students were enrolled in Texas junior colleges in 1943–44, and 48,485 in 1952. This is a larger number than was enrolled in all the junior colleges in the United States in 1922.

The junior college, in most instances, serves the people in the area around it and is aided in its support by the people in that area. This very fact makes the junior college sensitive to the needs of the youth and adults whom is serves.

A community with a junior college (whether the community be a city, a county, or several counties) has a distinct advantage over the other communities which do not have these educational opportunities.

The junior college popularizes higher education and brings such facilities nearer to the youth. Three to five times as many youth will take advantage of a college education when the junior college is located near them than if they have to go away from home and pay board and room.

Every survey that has been made reveals that the junior-college student does as well as a junior or a senior when he transfers to a senior college as the student who depends his first 2 years in the senior college.

The junior colleges of Texas are worthy of your support and merit your patronage both in your interest and in permitting them to train the sons and daughters of your community. You can receive the preprofessional training or the terminal training.

The junior college does ample opportunity for close student-faculty relationship which means so much in the development of youth and provides a wonderful avenue for the students' personality development at a very moderate cost.

Resolution of Fraternal Order of Eagles, Portland, Oreg., Favoring Liberalized Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Portland Aerie No. 4, favoring liberalized social security.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES, PORTLAND AERIE NO. 4, RESOLUTION FAVORING LIBERALIZED SOCIAL SECURITY

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national con-

vention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wageearners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that—

1. The minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50.

2. Ten million additional persons be included in the security system.

3. The first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act.

4. The earnings base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200.

5. The 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits.

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans, have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That our aerie endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge the Congressman from our district and the United States Senators from our State to enact such recommendations into law.

Adopted this 17th day of February 1954.

WALTER L. NUTTING,
Worthy President.

Attest:

CHESTER E. CAPON,
Secretary, Portland Aerie, No. 4.

Roger M. Kyes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, Roger M. Kyes is leaving the service of the United States Government as Deputy Secretary of Defense. He resides in Pontiac, Mich. The Pontiac Press, published by Harold A. Fitzgerald and edited by Conrad N. Church, who are friends of mine, and who know Mr. Kyes personally and well, has published an excellent editorial in reference to Mr. Kyes. I believe it will be of interest to all persons, including the Members of the Senate, to know what the home folks think of the splendid service which has been rendered by Roger M. Kyes. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pontiac (Mich.) Press of March 8, 1954]

ROGER M. KYES

Roger M. Kyes is coming home soon.

The Deputy Secretary of Defense has completed a solid year in Washington which fulfills his agreement with Defense Secretary Wilson, and, in addition, he has just agreed to stay until May 1 at the request of his Oakland County compatriot.

Mr. Kyes has done a tremendous job.

One of the Capitol authorities declares that next to the President's Cabinet he is the most influential man in Washington.

We believe this.

The Pontiac man has tremendous capacities and possesses one of the most penetrating and analytical minds in the country. He is shrewd, farsighted, and has the ability to toss aside extraneous matters and hew strictly to the line. Furthermore, he insists that those around him do likewise. Many admirals and generals in the Pentagon Building have probably learned more about the shortest distance between two points than in all their previous experience.

With it all, Mr. Kyes is completely fair and ready to recognize all sides in any controversy and gather all the facts.

He went to Washington to expedite the manufacturing of billions of dollars' worth of goods. C. E. Wilson could have made no better selection. Both men knew the process was then bound up in redtape, backtracking, ducking, dodging, and buckpassing of the highest order.

They face done of the most gigantic assignments imaginable, and the truck-plant man took along unbounded energy and know-how in the service of his country.

Quite obviously, the announcement of his resignation caused discussion as to whether the imbroglio involving Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY played any part in the action.

It did not.

Roger M. Kyes wouldn't retreat the slightest fraction of an inch before a bellowing, arm-waving MCCARTHY. Rather, the Wisconsin Senator's tactics would serve as an open invitation to the joust. No, Mr. Kyes is following the original script, modified by an additional 3 months' service.

Few Americans who were still on the way up ever stepped aside from big industrial opportunities for 15 months and passed up 6-figure incomes to serve their country for less than board and keep. Mr. Kyes is that kind of a patriot.

Speculation is rife as to what his future plans embrace. Mr. Kyes is discreetly silent. However, if the Pontiac Press were pressed to hazard an opinion (and we have been on every hand) we would come up with these guesses and they are without the slightest confirmation from Mr. Kyes, Mr. Curtice, Mr. Wilson, or anyone else in General Motors.

A. We believe Mr. Kyes will return to General Motors.

B. We believe Philip J. Monaghan will continue to run the truck plant.

C. We believe Mr. Kyes' business address will be General Motors Building, Detroit, Mich.

And we may be wrong on all three counts.

The only thing we're absolutely dead sure of, beyond all peradventure of a doubt is this:

Mr. Kyes is one of the great industrialists of America and he has just rendered his Nation patriotic, faithful, and capable service of the most unselfish character. Pontiac can be tremendously proud of him.

And we are.

Rumania Under Soviets

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on Saturday, March 6, the Letters to the Times column of the New York Times carried a very interesting letter by Mr. Mihail Farcasanu, president of the League of Free Rumanians. This letter tells in detail how 9 years ago on that date, the Soviet Communists forcibly seized control of the free Rumanian Government, using the threat of armed suppression to overcome resistance. I ask unanimous consent to insert the letter in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUMANIA UNDER SOVIETS—SEIZURE OF COUNTRY 9 YEARS AGO RECALLED, NONRECOGNITION ASKED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The 9 years which have elapsed since the brutal Soviet seizure of Rumania on March 6, 1945, have meant an atrocious ordeal for the Rumanian people. This is a sad anniversary for nearly 20 million human beings who have suffered from that moment to the present-day Soviet Communist terror, mass deportations, slave labor, ruthless economic looting, religious persecutions, confiscation of property, destruction of the independent worker whether in industry or agriculture and the whole series of Communist oppressive measures. These years mark also the long duration of Soviet occupation and tyranny in Eastern Europe. The events which characterized Rumania's subjugation constitute, moreover, an eloquent example of ruthless Soviet interference in the internal affairs of another country.

In these last years we have become familiar with the repetitious Soviet protests against alleged tendencies of the United States to mix in the affairs of the nations behind the Iron Curtain. Official denials were given even as late as the Berlin Conference assuring the Soviets that there would be no assistance for the enslaved nations. Indeed, any such help for those fallen within the orbit of Soviet imperialism is branded as interference by the Kremlin and apparently accepted as such by the West. But what is being said about the 9 years of continuous overall Soviet interference through totalitarian politico-military regimentation and implacable economic colonialism?

ULTIMATUM TO GOVERNMENT

Two weeks after the famous Yalta Declaration on February 27, 1945, Andrei Vishinsky delivered to King Michael of Rumania an ultimatum of 2 hours to oust the legal government of General Radescu. The Rumanian garrison and police in Bucharest had been disarmed and Red army tanks patrolled the streets. The bulk of the Rumanian forces were at that time fighting on the Allied front. For some time the Soviets had been trying through every kind of pressure, from censorship to murder, to insure for the Communists complete control of the country. Under the guise of an Allied control commission they exercised every pressure to establish their Communist domination. They imposed a drastic reduction of the military and police effectives below the minimum requirements; armed and gave every support to the Communist militia; backed armed attacks against public authorities and all other Communist actions aimed at provoking the anarchy necessary to the overthrow of the legal government.

It was when these efforts had abjectly failed, with the collapse of the Communist putsch of February 24, that the Kremlin gave a perfect display of the noninterference doctrine. Backed by Soviet tanks and guns, Vishinsky forced on his disarmed Rumanian victims a government composed of Soviet agents. It was this Vishinsky-imposed gang that rigged and falsified the November 1946, Rumanian elections. The United States and Great Britain rightly protested against this

fraud. Unfortunately, a peace treaty was later signed with the same government, leaving the impression that the Western Powers were condoning the subjugation of a free nation.

SYMBOLIC REPARATION

It is true that American public opinion has never accepted this enslavement. Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, has recently recommended a doctrine of nonrecognition, suggesting that the United States modify its stand with regard to the captive countries. Withdrawing recognition of the Moscow puppet governments would be consistent with the fundamental American political principles and would bolster the morale of the invaded nations of eastern Europe.

We believe such a symbolic reparation is due to those who for 9 years now have suffered at the hands of Soviet communism.

MIHAIL FARCASANU.

NEW YORK, *March 4, 1954.*

Resolutions of Americans of Lithuanian Descent of Portland, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD resolutions adopted by the Americans of Lithuanian Descent of the city of Portland, Oreg.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Americans of Lithuanian descent of the city of Portland, Oreg., gathered under the auspices of the Knights of Lithuania, Council 137, for a mass meeting on February 21, 1954, in order to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of Lithuania's independence, having considered the present international situation and the conditions created by the policy of the Soviet Union, taking cognizance of the steadfast adherence by the United States of America to the policy of nonrecognition of the fruits of aggression committed by Soviet Russia against the governments and peoples of Lithuania and other Baltic Republics, appreciating very much the cooperation which the President of the United States, his present administration and the congressional leadership of both major parties extended in passage of the House Resolution 346, creating a select committee to investigate the seizure and forced incorporation of the Baltic nations into the Soviet Union, do hereby resolve to pledge full cooperation with the present Government of the United States in its efforts to resist the forces of Communist imperialism and achieve international peace and order based on the principles of justice and freedom for all the nations of the world, including Lithuania, to express sincerest thanks to the President, Secretary of State, and both Republican and Democratic parties for the continued recognition of Lithuania as a sovereign and independent nation, and for their constant support extended to the cause of independence of Lithuania and other Baltic nations which at the present time are subjected to the premeditated and cruel Kremlin policy of physical, national, cultural, religious and economic destruction, to implore the President and the present administration of the United States to continue the policy of liberation of the subjugated nations by demanding the Soviet Union to withdraw its armies, secret police and Communist Party from the occupied countries, by invoking principles of membership in the United Nations and by using all other available means, be it on the field of battle or on the conference table, to abolish the fruits of Soviet aggressions, to request the President and the Government of the United States to speed ratification of the Genocide Convention by the Senate and to implement it by decisive and energetic efforts within the United Nations, to stop inhuman practices perpetrated by the Soviet criminals in Lithuania and other Communist-dominated countries in order to save the enslaved nations from their total destruction.

WILLIAM PECUKONIS,
Chairman.
IRENE STEPANAVICIUS,
Secretary.

PORTLAND, OREG.

The Scrap Metal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the scrap metal industry—a vital segment of our national defense in an emergency—is approaching a crisis. All of us know that we are depleting our own reserves of iron ore at a tremendous rate, and have begun to look to Labrador and other areas for replacement of ore supplies. At the same time, are we taking proper steps to insure that the millions of tons of scrap now lying on farms, in junkyards and used car and machinery lots are being gathered and used? I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD a thoughtful editorial on this subject, published in the March 1954 edition of Scrap Age, of Springfield, Ill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YES, IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE

Millions of words have been spoken and millions more written about the existing situation in the scrap industry and the steel mills of today, a condition which needs immediate correction not only for the benefit of the scrap industry and the mills, but the Nation itself.

Not too many years ago, with America in the throes of a war of survival, Government economists, fearful of the eventual exhaustion of our natural ore resources, spurred the expenditure of millions of dollars in the hunt for new native ore. These searches began in earnest, not only in the United States but in every possible area of the world which might be of service to the United States and its need for tremendous quantities of ore.

The Government, at the same time, convinced the scrapmen that they must expand—install new equipment, scour the ends of the Nation in their unrelenting hunt for more and more scrap. The scrapmen responded, as the steel mills responded, by installing machinery to speed scrap handling, expanding their collection resources.

Both the scrap industry and the mills left no stone unturned to develop a ready source of raw supply. Result: this Nation provided the materiel for the free nations of the world to win World War II.

Today—with the steel mills' search for new ore going on without slackening, and with the mills' increasing use of native ores from American sources, the scrap industry has been neglected. The scrap man's capital investment in the millions of dollars today are idle, scrap has reached one of the lowest points in our national economy, and purchasing agents of the mills themselves are restrained from exercising the rights they possess—the purchase of more and more scrap at the present depressed prices.

Surely, a government which in a period of dire necessity could direct the steel industry to hunt for more ore—and the scrap industry to expand beyond normal needs—surely such a government could find some one in its official ranks who would move to preserve our dwindling supply of ore when so much scrap is available as a means of conserving that ore.

Surely there must be some economic sense in Washington to bring about a better adjustment of these two major economic forces in our everyday life. It must be recognized that the mills would be happy to consume more scrap at prices which they need pay today for scrap. But these mills must have some sort of relief from the tremendously heavy load they are carrying in the investment made in the search for more and more ore.

The scrap men have no quarrel with the steel-mill operators. They, the operators, have demonstrated that they have valid reasons for their refusal to purchase scrap at prices which resemble absolute rock-bottom bargains to the mills.

They have an obligation to the Nation—exactly as the scrap men have—to operate with as much economy as possible and to produce the best possible product at the lowest price compatible with a fair profit.

But the scrap industry, built up to its present proportions through its own efforts, without Government money and without a word of complaint, must be preserved. The collection system developed by the scrap industry, in itself is one of the finest facilities for national defense ever conceived and put into action.

But the scrap industry cannot survive if the mills are to be hamstrung or if the mills continue their refusal, to buy scrap to feed to their furnaces.

Scrap is not an inexhaustible commodity, nor is it a commodity which can be permitted to be wasted. Scrap rusts and is dissipated, forever lost to the Nation and to the mills. This condition must be remedied.

The scrap industry today does not question the right of the mills to continue to exhaust America's natural iron ore reserves by their excessive use of iron ore to the exclusion of scrap. But a nation which has spent many years of ache and pain in learning the lesson of conservation certainly should not have unlearned that lesson so soon after the scrap men demonstrated how vital they are to the Nation's offense and defense.

It appears unconscionable and unpatriotic that the mills plunder native ore with mad abandon while scrap is rusting away to be forever lost for reclamation.

It appears equally unconscionable and even more unpatriotic for the mills to scour the world in search of iron ore, as they were urged to do by our Government, knowing that deposits available in the United States must be near exhaustion, when scrap is available at their doorsteps as a suitable substitute.

The scrap industry abhors the idea of Government aid, or even of Government intervention, but the scrapmen of this Nation are confronted with a major crisis. Congress cries for more and more conservation of natural resources—even the steel industry

itself has uttered the same cry in recent weeks—still millions of tons of ore essential to the future well-being of this Nation are used out of all balance to our reserves and out of balance to the amount of scrap available to them.

The search for iron ores in foreign countries goes on apace, but what, then, in event of war when imports are certain to be shut off? Will the mills then be compelled to turn to the scrap industry which it now inadvertantly is helping to destroy? Will they again plead, with the Government's added plea, for the scrap industry's help—help which then cannot be forthcoming because the scrap industry is being crushed by circumstances beyond their control and not of their own making?

It is time that the Government take cognizance of this situation and that Government economists step into the picture to rectify the conditions which exist, to the mutual benefit of the steel mills, the scrap industry and the Nation itself.

There appears to be not one whit of sense in permitting or compelling one facet of our national economy to ruin or irreparably damage another equally major facet of that same economy.

The wheels of our well-being move more smoothly when all mesh and all the gears are in operation—so then must the steel industry and the scrap industry move together in high gear for the improvement of our defenses and for the assurance of the future well-being of this Nation—a year hence, a decade hence, yes, generations hence.

Appropriation for Planning of Green Peter Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the International Woodworkers of America, CIO Local 5–251.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the Willamette Basin project, authorized by Congress in 1938 as a multiple-purpose project, contemplates storage on all of the main tributaries of the Willamette River as one project; and

Whereas the South Santiam River is one of the two main tributaries where there is no control, and this stream causes thousands of dollars damage every flood; and

Whereas several hundred acres of fertile river bottom land are being washed away each year, and as a result, are taken out of production and off the tax roll; and

Whereas the main stem of the North Santiam River has partial control which lowers its flood level and causes heavy damage by current from the South Santiam River flowing across the delta between the two streams; and

Whereas Green Peter Dam on the South Santiam River will generate power which is badly needed for both defense and domestic purposes, and will store irrigation water which is also badly needed by farmers: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, International Woodworkers of America, CIO Local 5–251, at our meeting on February 4, 1954, urge that this session of Congress appropriate funds for the purpose of planning Green Peter Dam on the South Santiam River so that construction can be ready by the end of the fiscal year 1955.

IWA LOCAL 5–251, CIO,
JOHN BALL, *Business Agent.*
FRANCIS FOX, *President.*

The Case Against the George Substitute for the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was extremely interested to read in the New York Herald Tribune of Tuesday, March 9, an important editorial on the case against what is known as the George substitute for the Bricker amendment. The editorial comments upon an important address delivered before the American Bar Association in Atlanta by the Honorable Arthur H. Dean.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Tribune editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. DEAN MAKES A CASE

Senator LENNON, of North Carolina, absent at the time the vote was taken on Senator GEORGE's version of the Bricker amendment, moved last week for Senate reconsideration. Even if this is not acted on, the Bricker amendment will remain a continuing subject of political discussion. In the elections of this year it will inevitably play a part. With Senator GEORGE's proposal lost by only one vote, there will be strong efforts made both in the primaries and in November to secure a Senate with a changed balance. For these reasons it is important that the legal arguments adverse to the George version be set forth explicitly and authoritatively. In a speech last week before the American Bar Association in Atlanta Mr. Arthur H. Dean undertook this precise task.

The first part of this proposal declares the nullity of any treaty or agreement which conflicts with the Constitution. Mr. Dean analyzes the case of *Missouri* v. *Holland*, so often cited by Bricker supporters as a proof that the Constitution can be overridden by treaties. His conclusion is that this case was actually in line with a century of precedent and that it cannot justifiably be held to give a treaty supremacy over the Constitution. This part of the George proposal would thus add words merely declaratory of existing law. More important, in Mr. Dean's opinion, it would open the risks of having future courts attribute other meaning and effect to it, particularly in view of recent legislative debates. It might even, he says, be used to reintroduce the effect of the dangerous and discredited "which" clause.

The second part of the George proposal would allow executive agreements to become effective as internal law only by an act of Congress. In countering this Mr. Dean argues with learning and insight that ample checks on executive agreements already exist. The court will weigh constitutional limitations (as the Pink case demonstrates); and the Congress can repeal an executive agreement by subsequent statute. On the positive side there are powerful reasons for giving the President the freedom to act promptly which future conditions may necessitate.

The case against the George amendment, as expounded by Mr. Dean, needs to be fully considered. Popular pressures will again be trying to inflate imaginary dangers and render palatable dubious curbs. The facts must be known, and the public is fortunate that so trusted a counselor as Mr. Dean has set them forth, calmly and in good season.

Proposed New 11th Circuit Court of Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the Honorable William Denman, chief judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit, United States Court of Appeals, in respect to my bill, Senate bill 2579, to create a new 11th Circuit Court of Appeals.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS,
NINTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT,
San Francisco, Calif., March 6, 1954.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
United States Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are very anxious to learn what progress has been made with your bill for the relief of litigants in this circuit by the creation of your new 11th circuit.

With the enormous increase in population in the present ninth circuit at the rate now over 550,000 a year, the rate from 1940 to 1950 being 514,000 a year, the need for the division of the circuit is becoming imperative. The tabulated figures of the increase in population are:

	Ninth circuit		United States less ninth circuit	
	Population	Percent gain	Percent gain	Population
1950	16,575,853	-------	-------	134,121,503
1940	11,427,099	-------	-------	120,242,176
10-year gain	5,148,759	45.0	11.5	13,879,327
1940	11,427,099	-------	-------	120,242,176
1930	9,703,702	-------	-------	113,071,344
10-year gain	1,723,397	[1] 17.8	6.3	7,170,833
1930	9,703,702	-------	-------	113,071,344
1920	6,959,195	-------	-------	98,751,425
10-year gain	2,744,507	39.4	14.5	14,319,919
1920	6,959,195	-------	-------	98,751,425
1910	5,180,180	-------	-------	86,792,086
10-year gain	1,779,015	34.3	13.8	11,959,339

[1] Depression decade, with fewer babies and less migration yet with a ninth circuit percentage higher than for any decade of the other circuits.

It is difficult for eastern people to realize, as we know, that in the ninth circuit in each week of the year homes for 10,000 people are completed.

As to be expected, this enormous population increase has been followed by a huge

increase in appellate docketings. The docketings for the calendar year 1953 amounted to 510 which, on the criterion of 45 cases per judge adopted by the Judicial Conference of the United States, require 11.3 circuit judges to serve the litigants involved. So far, Congress has given us but nine.

Please advise us what is being done to make certain this legislation is passed at this session of Congress. At the present time this court's civil litigants are compelled to have their justice delayed and often denied by a wait of 2 years between docketing of their appeals and their decision.

Very cordially yours,

WILLIAM DENMAN,
Chief Judge.

Minnesota Businessmen Show True American Spirit in Their Fight for the Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the businessmen of many communities in my district of Minnesota are showing the real strength of American spirit in their fight to help the farmer get his fair share of the national income.

Every mail brings to my office letters, petitions, and signed advertisements in the newspapers where businessmen are demanding that the farmer be given 90 percent parity support prices. We need have no fear of any ism taking over our country when we see this kind of cooperative spirit exemplified. These businessmen in these countless communities know that their welfare and prosperity depends upon the welfare and prosperity of the farmer, and they are joining with him in his fight for what is right and fair and necessary if we are to prevent a total economic collapse.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the following petition which was signed by most of the business and professional people of Baudette, Minn.:

PARITY FOR THE FARMERS

Whereas Lake of the Woods County is primarily an agricultural area, the following businessmen of Baudette, Lake of the Woods County, Minn., do hereby go on record as favoring appropriate action to be taken by the Congress of the United States to insure that at least 90 percent of parity prices be maintained for agricultural products and commodities.

We urge this action be taken because we realize that unless farmers have adequate buying power they cannot buy the products and services of local businessmen.

The type of farming in this area is primarily dairying. We, therefore, feel the recent announcement by the Secretary of Agriculture reducing the support price for butter from 90 percent to 75 percent is far too drastic and will have serious economic effects in our area and the State of Minnesota.

We urge more widespread use of butter and other dairy products by Federal and State institutions and by the Armed Forces of the United States.

Higher Compensation Necessary for Panama Canal Zone Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in order to attract competent people to work at the Panama Canal Zone, it will be necessary to increase the compensation of the employees at the Panama Canal. This is indicated by the number of voluntary resignations of employees in the Canal Zone. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, 488 persons resigned of the total of 4,233 employees. This constitutes 11½ percent of the average total working force in the zone, and does not include retirements or involuntary terminations of employment. During fiscal 1952, the figure was 429 resignations of an average aggregate force of 4,261. During fiscal 1951, the total resignations was 766 of an average aggregate force of 4,287, a turnover of 17.8 percent of the total personnel.

During the 10 years preceding World War II the turnover of personnel averaged about 4 to 5 percent, ranging from a low of 3.2 percent turnover in 1933 to a high of 7.1 percent turnover in 1934. In 1933 only 101 persons resigned voluntarily from the Panama Canal Zone employment. In 1940, the highest prewar year in number of resignations, 280 voluntarily resigned.

It should be obvious from these figures of turnover of personnel at the Panama Canal that the Federal Government should pay these employees higher compensation in order to induce them to remain on the job there. It is well known that a high rate of turnover of personnel is very costly for any enterprise. But it is particularly costly for the Panama Canal, since the Government is obliged to pay the transportation of these employees down to the zone and back if they resign after 2 years of employment. It could well be that it would actually cost the Government less in the long run to pay a higher rate of compensation to these employees.

Higher compensation for Panama Canal Zone employees has also been recommended by the management consultant firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, which was hired by the Panama Canal Company to make a survey of employment conditions in the zone. The Panama Canal Company was directed to have an outside firm make such a survey by the Senate Appropriations Committee last year when it restored the 25-percent pay differential which had been cut to 10 percent by the House. The Booz, Allen & Hamilton survey stated:

We conclude that the Panama Canal Company is not compensating its employees adequately for conditions of work in the zone and that it is not meeting the price which an American worker can demand and get in accepting those conditions.

The firm stated that the difference in compensation for zone employees over stateside employees doing similar work should be 42.3 percent rather than the present 25 percent. The firm stated in its report that this 42.3-percent differential could be made up in the following way:

First. Pay employees 25 percent more than they would obtain for similar work here in the United States—same as under present law.

Second. Make this differential tax-free—this is presently taxable.

Third. Reduce rents 50 percent in Company-owned housing. All employees in the Panama Canal Zone are obliged to rent their property from the Panama Canal Zone Company. They cannot own property. Rents in the Panama Canal Zone have increased 82.6 percent since 1946.

Fourth. Provide free transportation to their stateside homes once every 2 years for employees and dependents on leave, and once each year for employees' children in the last 2 years of college in the States—increase from present provision in this regard.

Fifth. Restore medical benefits which were cut out under last year's appropriation bill.

I urge the House of Representatives to consider the recommendations of the Booz, Allen & Hamilton firm with respect to compensation for Panama Canal Companies when the appropriation for civil functions and military construction comes before the House.

I include herewith a letter which I recently received from Mr. Howard E. Munro, of the Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of the Panama Canal Zone:

THE CENTRAL LABOR UNION AND
THE METAL TRADES COUNCIL OF
THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE,
February 23, 1954.

Hon. CHARLES J. KERSTEN,
House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KERSTEN: On March 9, 1953, I called to your attention certain conditions on the Panama Canal which the American citizen employees believed to be unfair treatment accorded Federal employees.

This unfair treatment appeared to be the result of an effort to maintain the toll rate at the 1937 level by shifting certain parts of the expenses to the employees.

In an effort to determine the propriety of this shifting of costs, along with other contemplated changes, the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate directed that an independent and comprehensive study be made of the compensation paid workers in the Canal Zone including all so-called fringe benefits.

This study has been made by the management consultant firm of Booz, Allen, and Hamilton. The report of this study has been sent the legislative committees of the Congress as directed.

I would like to direct your attention to the following extracts from their report.

In discussing overseas employment it states:

"But the facts are that, unless he is satisfied he is substantially bettering himself financially, the United States citizen generally won't leave the States to work overseas, won't be happy if he does, and won't work abroad any longer than necessary."

Chapter II shows that the conditions surrounding work in the zone involve discomfort, isolation, confinement, and regimentation, and limitations in community resources which exceed normal stateside conditions, and that hazards to health and well-being are greater in the zone because of high incidence of disease and general ill effects of tropical living.

Under the heading of "Isolation" will be found:

"When he moves to the zone, an employee cuts off himself, his wife, and his children from day-to-day contact with close relatives, from friends, from community life as he knew it in the States, and from job opportunities." This section closes with "The zone employee is, in fact, an exile, and the typical zone employee definitely feels like one."

There also appears this statement that surely contradicts the American tradition of free enterprise:

"Also by regulation—largely to avoid competition with Panamanian businessmen—zone employees are forbidden to augment their incomes by doing odd jobs or carrying on side lines in their spare time."

"Community Resources" heading points out "when critical analyses based on independent observations are brought to bear on the opinions, it appears that current employees are justified in claiming disadvantages in four principal aspects of community resources: Medical care, housekeeping convenience, recreational facilities, and provision of perishable foods. Moreover, zone conditions in education impose a fifth important disadvantage which the large majority of them apparently do not recognize as such."

Under the heading "Hazards to Health and Well-Being" is found this statement:

"Some 14 ailments are reported to be more prevalent in the zone than in the United States and about 8 others are aggravated by residence there. • • • In addition there are, according to zone medical authorities, many cases of illness characterized by fever, malaise, and other symptoms for which no definite cause can be discerned."

Chapters III and IV set out to price the market for employment of United States citizens in tropical climate. It is interesting to note that—

"Since 1946, the cost of living has risen so much faster in the zone than in the States that the average zone worker has seen his advantage over his stateside counterpart decrease from 39.1 percent to 22.7 percent on a net earning basis and to 16.2 percent on the basis of decreased purchasing power. On the latter basis, he is now actually $200 a year worse off than he was in 1946 despite his having had 3 increases in pay.

"From these findings, we conclude that the Panama Canal Company is not compensating its employees adequately for conditions of work in the zone and that it is not meeting the price which an American worker can demand and get for accepting those conditions."

This section includes several charts and comparative figures which are summed up as: Based on a GS-9 position, wages on the Canal Zone have increased 20.1 percent since 1946. In the same period of time rents have increased 82.6 percent; food prices about 56 percent; slight increase for transportation charges to United States, income tax 100 percent; and hospital ward service for employee dependents has increased approximately 100 percent and 30 percent for surgery. The addition of income tax in 1951 to the Canal Zone costs the average employee approximately $966 annually.

In "Conclusion on Competitive Compensation," the report states:

"It is clear from the foregoing that Panama Canal Company occupies a poor competitive position in its labor market. In 6 of 8 basic features of compensation, Panama Canal Company is at the bottom of the heap or close to it in comparison to 16 other organizations with overseas employees in the tropics."

In chapter V it states:

"We have recommended that the zone employee's extra compensation be increased to the point where his net earnings will exceed those of his stateside counterpart by 42.3 percent. While this will still leave him considerably lower than privately employed persons in the zone area and a shade lower than his neighbor in the Department of State in Panama, the zone employee will, we believe, find the arrangement acceptable.

"To provide this 42.3-percent advantage, we recommend extra compensation consisting of the following 5 features:

"1. Retain the 25-percent differential.

"2. Make the differential tax free.

"3. Effect a rent reduction of 50 percent in Company-owned housing.

"4. Provide free transportation to their stateside Homes once every 2 years for employees and dependents on leave, and once each year for employees' children in their last 2 years of college in the States.

"5. Retain the present status of other fringe benefits."

We appreciate the assistance you have given the United States citizens on the Canal Zone and we are hopeful that the legislative committees will be able to complete their actions on this report this session of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD E. MUNRO,
Legislative Representative, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Resolution of Malheur County (Oreg.) Farm Bureau, Endorsing House Bill 6435, To Place Future Trading of Onions Under the Commodity Exchange Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted on March 3, 1954, by the Malheur County Farm Bureau, urging the passage of House bill 6435, to place the future trading of onions under the Commodity Exchange Act.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Because the uncontrolled future trading in onions on the commodity exchange creates a false picture of the onion supplies available for sale, and causes unwarranted fluctuations on the market that are costly to growers and consumers; and because it is our belief that no one should be allowed to offer for sale a commodity that he does not own or has not contracted for, or to buy and sell produce without a license issued by the United States Department of Agriculture: Therefore be it

Resolved by the members of the Malheur County Farm Bureau, That we support and urge the passage of the King bill, H. R. 6435, which will place the future trading of onions under the Commodity Exchange Act.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Parkway Along the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an open letter to Justice William O. Douglas written by J. William Hunt, Sunday editor of the Cumberland Times.

Mr. Hunt is very familiar with the history of western Maryland, and endeavors to acquaint Justice Douglas with some of the history of the C. & O. Canal and to explain why a parkway would be an asset.

As Mr. Hunt states:

The question seems to boil down to this: Shall it be reserved only for a few hardy individuals overflowing with health and spirits, or shall it be opened up (with proper restrictions) to the families of Americans who may seek surcease from overcrowded cities, the great plains, and the drabness of ordinary country life; and even for those who merely seek a change of scene?

Next Saturday Justice Douglas and editors of the Washington Post will begin an 8-day hike from Cumberland to Washington along the towpath of the C. & O. Canal. Mr. Hunt, the Cumberland Times, and everyone in western Maryland, welcome these hardy individuals. The hike will demonstrate that a beautiful and lovely area is relatively inaccessible, and a parkway would bring it within reach of hundreds of thousands.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACROSS THE DESK

(J. William Hunt)

OPEN LETTER TO SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, WHO BEGINS HIKING EXPEDITION NEXT SATURDAY ALONG C. & O. CANAL TOWPATH FROM CUMBERLAND TO WASHINGTON—HERE'S HEARTY WELCOME, A LITTLE SENTIMENT, SOME HISTORY, AND A PRAYERFUL HOPE

Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS,
United States Supreme Court,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JUSTICE: Cumberland welcomes you to the upper Potomac Valley and applauds your interest in the shortest water-level stretch between the Nation's Capitol and the Allegheny Mountains, a valley rich in history, geological formations, scenic beauty, recreational advantages, and defense possibilities in relation to metropolitan Washington.

We are not unmindful, too, of the sentimental significance in the fact that your hike along the old C. & O. Canal is scheduled to begin at Cumberland on the 15th anniversary of your appointment (March 20, 1939) to the august tribunal of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We urge you to approach the subject of the proposed C. & O. Canal Parkway with the objectivity and open-mindedness of a judge.

There are reports that your walking expedition is undertaken to emphasize arguments against the construction of parkway; to rationalize in some manner a position already taken against opening up the beauties and attractions of the Potomac Valley to the millions who might readily avail themselves of the easy access a parkway would provide.

We ask you to begin this hike without prejudice, but rather as one who approaches a pilgrimage upon which much depends. Your integrity as a man, your high standing as a Supreme Court Justice, your prominence as a historian and as a devotee of the magnificence of nature combine to make your position in this matter one of tremendous importance.

Beginning with George Washington 2 centuries ago, the Potomac has intrigued the interest of succeeding generations to such an extent that the river, the canal, and the valley present an alluring appeal to millions of Americans.

"All's quiet along the Potomac" is an expression ingrained in every school child.

The Potomac is George Washington's river in more ways than one.

On its banks he lived in his beloved Mount Vernon, and it is the river of the Capital of the United States, named in his honor. Before he was elected first President of the new Nation, Washington served as first president of the Potomac Co., predecessor of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Co.

As early as 1754, when only 22, Washington made a report to the Colonial legislature of Virginia urging improvements that would make the Potomac navigable between Cumberland and Georgetown, and described some of the work that would be necessary.

Like yourself, Washington was an indefatigable explorer and traveler by horseback and on foot. In 1784 he came to Cumberland and stayed several days preparatory to a journey from here to the Younghiogheny, the Cheat, the Monongahela, and the Ohio country.

But the father of his country did not want the Potomac reserved for a few and to be kept as a secluded wilderness.

In 1784 he went to Annapolis to urge Maryland support for improvement of the Potomac. The act of incorporation for the Potomac Co. (which Washington headed from 1784 to 1788) says in part:

"The said river and the works to be erected thereon in virtue of this act, when completed, shall forever thereafter be esteemed and taken to be a pubic highway." Please note that designation, "public highway."

The right was provided in this act to condemn land up to 140 feet on either side of the river.

Washington, James Rumsey (who was first general manager of the Potomac Co.) and other distinguished directors of the company, preceded your group by 170 years in penetrating the gorges and passes of the wilderness through which the Upper Potomac flows between Cumberland and Harpers Ferry.

The limited space available for this communication to your honor permits but one quotation of many from Washington's writings showing that he visioned the Potomac as wide open to the public, not a semiprivate wilderness for the enjoyment of a few. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson from Mount Vernon, August 31, 1788, he wrote:

"There remains no doubt of the practicability of the plan (to open up the Potomac Valley as an artery of trade and travel) or that it will become the great avenue into the western country."

All parties, both advocates and opponents of the parkway, admit the natural beauty, the historical appeal, and the serene atmosphere of the canalway between here an Washington. The question seems to boil down to this: Shall it be reserved only for a few hardy individuals overflowing with health and spirits, or shall it be opened up (with proper restrictions) to the families of America who may seek surcease from overcrowded cities, the great plains and the drabness of ordinary country life; and even for those who merely seek a change of scene?

A few miles below Cumberland you will see the remains of an old canalboat, a mute reminder of an era that is becoming more and more embedded in a growing folklore and legend, eventually to rival even the storied past of the Rhine. And who would recommend now the closing of the Rhine to the tourists of the world?

In pursuance of an act of Congress (June 10, 1948) a joint reconnaissance survey was made by the United States Bureau of Public Roads and the National Park Service (Department of the Interior) as to the advisability and practicability of constructing a parkway along the route of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Here is Washington's original idea reappearing in modern times.

In June 1950 the findings of that joint survey group were reported to Congress. It was recommended that a parkway with fully controlled access be built between Cumberland and Great Falls.

"The project," it said, "would embody exceptional scenery" and the cost of construction "would be much less than would normally be possible through this type of terrain because of the structures already built * * * and the existing canal grading which can be used."

The parkway would afford a magnificent approach from the west to the National Capital and would connect with the George Washington Memorial Parkway. It would also provide a controlled-access road facility from Washington to the Allegheny Mountains with the assurance of rapid uninterrupted traffic in time of need, an advantage not to be ignored in these perilous times.

This parkway would also serve the utilitarian purpose of permitting motor travel at such times in winter as driving is hazardous over the mountains.

The Evening and Sunday Times again expresses appreciation for your interest in the link that binds Cumberland to the National Capital, and extends you a hearty welcome to the city that was George Washington's West Point, and which will observe its bicentennial next year.

We indulge the hope, too, that your hiking expedition will convince you that the Potomac-Chesapeake & Ohio Canal country should be made available to all along a parkway where historic shrines and scenic beauty will be preserved.

As an ordinary tourist we would want any such beauty spots redolent of history to your native State of Minnesota to be made accessible to all of us who are willing to travel long distances for such enjoyment. In the same way we feel western Marylanders should make available by parkway the lure of the Potomac Valley to the rest of America.

May you be another Paul (no pun intended on the Senator) whose journey as an antagonist will be suddenly turned into the fervor of a great protagonist.

Agricultural Research at the State Level

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, I have before me a letter from the distinguished dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of New Hampshire, and director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, in which Dean Grinnell in his dual capacity emphasizes the importance of agricultural research and the need for adequate appropriations to carry on the work.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
Durham, N. H., March 1, 1954.

The Honorable ROBERT W. UPTON,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR UPTON: You are cognizant of the fact that the President's budget as presented to Congress provided for an increase of $5,500,000 as payments to the States in furtherance of Federal support for agricultural research at the State level. The New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station's share, as computed by formula, amounts to $30,454, plus a portion of the regional research funds, accordingly as the New Hampshire station participates in regional projects.

It should be understood that the Research and Marketing Act of 1946 provided that $20 million was to be granted the State experiment stations by 1951. Of this amount, however, only $6 million has been appropriated to date. In the event the President's current recommendation receives favorable treatment, Congress will still be $8,500,000 in arrears according to the provisions of the act.

At a recent meeting in Washington, it was commented that the President's budget recommendation might not be realized without considerable help from the States. Directors of experiment stations throughout the country are assuming the lead in bringing to fruition this pending legislation.

Naturally, as a director of an experiment station, I believe in agricultural research. It is society's greatest assurance of an adequate supply of good quality food at a reasonable cost. Research has contributed much, but new problems of production, utilization, and distribution constantly confront us. Costs of research have advanced greatly, but the financial support has lagged. The following are a few investigations I propose for the New Hampshire stations if and when additional funds become available: Maximum use of roughage by dairy animals, minor element deficiencies in forage crops, breeding improved strains of forage crops, expansion of human nutrition research, basic research in clothing and textile materials, improved marketing efficiency, virus disease work in fruits and vegetables, insect control and testing of insecticides, expansion of fruit and vegetable breeding, expansion of poultry disease and breeding research, improved poultry management practices, tax laws, and economic forestry production.

The New Hampshire station gets the smallest amount of State support among the 48 States. It is not because of this situation alone, however, that I urge your support for an increase in Federal-grant funds, but because I believe it to be in the interest of public welfare.

The public believes it to be a sound investment in the future.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD C. GRINNELL,
Dean and Director.

Our Missing GI's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I have been receiving many lettters from parents whose sons are still reported as missing in action in Korea. The Department of the Army has assured me that our military authorities and the United Nations Command are making every effort to secure the elease of our soldiers who may still be held in Communist custody.

Recently an article by the distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER]—himself a veteran who has experienced the extreme hardships of war—appeared in the magazine section of the Washington Post. I am in full sympathy and agreement with the Senator from Michigan in his statements relating to our missing servicemen. I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I'M ANGRY ABOUT OUR MISSING GI'S

(By Senator CHARLES E. POTTER, of Michigan)

WASHINGTON.—Approximately 3,000 American servicemen are still missing and unaccounted for in Korea. I want to know how many of these boys are still alive—I want to know where they are—and I want to do all within my power as a United States Senator to bring them home.

We sent American boys under a United Nations flag to fight Communist aggression in Korea. We suffered 140,000 casualties and spent $15 billion to block the further expansion of international communism. We gave dearly of our blood and treasure in pursuance of a conflict we did not win or lose.

Over 11,000 American war prisoners were victims of inhuman Communist war atrocities. Only 3,508 were returned in the "big and little switch" prisoner exchanges, leaving approximately 8,000 or two-thirds of all American war prisoners still missing or unaccounted for.

We have good reason to believe that more than 5,000 of this number died as a result of Communist war crimes. Therefore, over 3,000 prisoners either died of Communist perpetrated war crimes or are confined in Communist prison camps behind the Iron Curtain.

INTELLIGENCE REPORTS

Intelligence information given to our Subcommittee Investigating Communist War Atrocities in Korea adds further strength to the belief that many Americans were sent to prison camps in Manchuria and Russia for long-term brainwashing treatments. Other GI's with special technical training were also singled out for further attention by the Communists.

Take, for example, the case of Corporal X, a rifleman in the 22d Infantry Division, who was captured at Taejon, South Korea, about September 7, 1950.

Corporal X was marched to Seoul, shipped by train to Pyongyang, then marched to Camp No. 5 on the Yalu River. There, he was subjected to preliminary Communist indoctrination courses.

Finding him susceptible to propaganda, the Communists sent him to a prison camp deep in Siberia for purposes of long-term brainwashing to see how an American would react. One of these camps, incidentally, is located at Vladimir, about 100 kilometers from Moscow.

I am convinced that many of the 3,000 American GI's still carried on official Army rosters as "missing or unaccounted for" went the way of Corporal X. These men must be located and returned.

NO RED PRISONERS

We do not hold any Communist war prisoners in this country. We are willing to open our doors to an impartial investigating commission to prove this point. Will the Soviet Union accord us the same privilege?

Knowing these facts, the United Nations should create a special commission to investigate and report on the status of our missing boys. If we draft American boys to fight for this Nation and the United Nations, then we and the United Nations must back these boys to the limit.

Any other course of action contradicts every principle of loyalty and justice upon which this Nation was founded.

I don't want to raise false hopes in the families of boys who have been listed as "missing in action." But I do know many of them are alive.

If we ignore this fact, we are giving the Communists "permission" to continue these vicious crimes. We have always backed our boys to the limit and I see no reason why we should abandon this principle today for fear of what the Communists or some of our allies like or don't like.

Talking a lot and doing nothing makes me mad—if we talked less and did more we would be better off.

Senator Williams Sets a Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator WILLIAMS Sets a Standard," published in the National Tennessean of recent date. The editorial deals with the Lincoln Day speech which the Senator from Delaware delivered in Nashville, in which he deplored the tactics of slander and demagogery often used by politicians.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR WILLIAMS SETS A STANDARD

Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in his Lincoln Day speech here, gave an effective demonstration of how a partisan speech can be made without stooping to demagoguery or slander. This famous one-man investigator of the Republican Party, we are sure, had no reason to retailor his address because of public revulsion against Brownell-McCarthy tactics.

No Member of Congress has done a more effective work to hunt out wrongdoers in government, but he never sought to establish guilt by accusation or denunciation. He was less interested in headlines than in facts, and he is generous enough to say that in probing the Treasury Department and Bureau of Internal Revenue he had plenty of help from those who held positions under the Democratic administration.

Speaking as one who thinks his own party can serve the Nation better than any other, even though he is obviously not prepared to say that everything which bears a GOP label is right, he sought to make out a case on the basis of reason.

Since he is not a cheap politician he could afford to remind that, "There has been corruption in both parties—the Teapot Dome scandal, the internal revenue scandal, and even down to last year when a little 4-percenter crept under the Eisenhower tent."

In his ethical approach, Senator WILLIAMS could well serve as a model for all Members of Congress. We have no doubt that, if given the opportunity, he would be quick to expose any corruption which might turn up under Republican control, and there are strong indications that the Eisenhower administration has the same feeling. There is no other way to explain why Senator WILLIAMS has been put under wraps since the Democrats went out of power. No longer does he have a free hand, but rather has been explicitly warned against revealing anything unless it has been cleared by administration censors.

When reckless men are encouraged in smear tactics, it is a strange political development when a dependable one is given the word to lay off and watch his step as far as his own party is concerned. For our part, we are convinced that a watchdog role for Senator WILLIAMS would have a healthy effect on any administration.

The Eastern-Braniff-TWA Interchange Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. FRANK WILSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WILSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Lynn Landrum:

THINKING OUT LOUD
(By Lynn Landrum)

"'American again has won!'
So runs a chant that's all but tribal,
And CAB, for what it's done,
Has chapter, verse, and words that's Bible.

"In fact, to serve monopoly
CAB by Holy Writ is driven;
Go search and read, and you will see:
'Unto him that hath it shall be given'."

FOR THE RECORD

For the record, Dallas is asking the Civil Aeronautics Board to reconsider and reverse its action of December 28, 1953, at which time the Board disapproved the Eastern-Braniff-TWA interchange agreement. By this agreement, had it been approved, a plane would start out over Eastern, be taken over by Braniff, would fly the Braniff route until TWA took over, whereupon the same plane would fly on to the west coast. Coming back, the order would be reversed, of course. The three lines would share in the revenue.

The exchange was originally proposed by CAB itself. Upon the invitation of the Board, so to speak, the three lines worked out the plan, submitted it to the Board, and the Board turned it down.

The majority of the Board said that Eastern Airlines would lose $304,000 a year, that Braniff would lose over $56,000, and TWA would earn only $25,000 a year. On the other hand, other carriers would suffer a diversion of $4 million in gross business. The decision said that the proposed interchange "could not obtain for itself sufficient traffic to meet the expenses of even one daily round trip from west coast to Miami."

NO COMPETITION

This looks like a monumental admission by CAB that its own idea was a dud. It also looks as if CAB were convinced that Eastern, Braniff, and TWA didn't know good business when they saw it. On the other hand, American Airlines was fighting, of course, to hold this business which CAB says couldn't pay its own costs.

It is one of the most mysterious cases ever to come out of the CAB hopper. Two years ago CABmen Chan Gurney, Josh Lee, and Joseph Adams all thought the interchange was a good idea. After 2 years of growth in air patronage, Lee and Adams still think it is good business. But Gurney has changed his mind. This time he votes that he was wrong 2 years ago.

And American wins again. No competition.

DALLAS SPEAKS UP

Following the new Dallas policy of using every means to present its case in every forum, the city of Dallas, cooperating with the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, presents its petition for reconsideration. It says flatly:

"By leaving this important and vital area at the mercy of an air transportation monopoly, the board inevitably weakens the Nation's air transportation system."

CAB itself took a traffic survey September 16–30, 1952, to show the interchange of passengers between the area involved and the west coast. This is was it found:

	Passengers interchanged with— Los Angeles	San Francisco
Dallas	1,294	624
Houston	444	307
Miami	249	189
Tampa	83	93
Fort Worth	52	14

A glance at the figures, in connection with thethe decision handed down for American Airlines by CAB, shows how American was taken care of at the expense of Dallas.

Although American gets a fat business from Dallas, American can't see its way clear to give to Dallas convenient schedules to the west coast. Each day there is a period of 23 hours and 55 minutes in which no American plane goes to San Francisco.

From Dallas to Los Angeles, there is a period of 12 hours during which no first-class service can be obtained. So long as there is no competition, American does not have to give better service. So it doesn't.

Senator Wiley's Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, it is one of the real pleasures of my service in the Senate to know intimately the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY]. Therefore, I was extremely delighted to read in the Kenosha (Wis.) News of March 10 an editorial commending his splendid record.

I believe the editorial will be of interest to my colleagues, and I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY'S COURAGEOUS RECORD

Some Wisconsin Republicans have occupied their spare moments in recent months by throwing stones at Senator ALEXANDER WILEY and his record. Thus it comes as refreshing to find the Wisconsin Senator pictured as a courageous champion in the columns of the New York Herald Tribune.

Despite the barrage delivered by the Wisconsin GOP, needless to say Senator WILEY retains many prominent friends among the members of his party in and out of the State. Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, of New Jersey, thought enough of Roscoe Drummond's article in the New York paper to have it inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The article in its entirety is favorable to Senator WILEY, so there should be no argument against selecting a few quotes from the text:

"While the facts are still fresh in the records, it deserves to be put down that the most consistent, politically courageous, forthright don't-wait-until-the-battle-is-nearly-lost defender of administration foreign policy is the senior Senator from Wisconsin."

He is pictured as a "virtual Horatius at the Bridge while the President and Secretary of State were deciding how and when to speak out."

Drummond continues: "When the late Senator Robert A. Taft delivered his famous 'go it alone' speech in Cincinnati last May, belittling the United Nations, suggesting we ignore our allies in Asia, and deriding NATO and the North Atlantic Treaty, Senator WILEY was the only prominent Republican foreign policy spokesman to voice prompt and public dissent. Later, the President gently disagreed with Senator Taft.

"When Acting Senate Majority Leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND approved Syngman Rhee's release of prisoners held by South Korea for the U. N., blamed President Eisenhower for the breach with Rhee, and encouraged Rhee to resume the war if he wanted to, Senator WILEY took the floor of the Senate the next day to counter the damage which Senator KNOWLAND had done to the truce negotiations.

"After Senator BRICKER offered his amendment last year to reduce the treatymaking power of the Federal Government, there were weeks on end when Senator WILEY was virtually the only Senator, Republican or Democrat, who lifted his voice in the Senate to stem the onrushing tide of pressure and propaganda for it."

So while Senator WILEY was standing up for the Republican national administration, taking on three bigwigs in the process, he got rapped on the knuckles like a naughty

schoolboy by his party in his own bailiwick. Did they knock him down to their size. Not by any stretch of the imagination.

As the New York article puts it: "They (Wisconsin Republicans) didn't know their man. Senator WILEY may be taking political risks, but he is standing by his convictions. He is doing battle boldly on the great issues, as he sees them."

Make no mistake about it, Senator WILEY is quite a politician—his victories in the seaway fight prove it. He has done a lot for the Republican Party in this State, though some GOPites have lost sight of that fact. He is a tireless worker, his integrity is above reproach—and the rock throwers are going to have a battle on their hands.

O'Konski Urges Plan To Bring Farmers Under Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I urge that this Congress act soon on the pending social security bills before this body. In this respect, I strongly urge that farmers be included in this program. I also urge that we provide increased benefits for all those under the present law and that these increased benefits be also extended to farmers.

Here are answers to questions which farmers have asked about the benefits they will get if Congress passes the bill.

How long must I work after the bill is passed before I can get a benefit?

Under this plan, you would have to work at least half the time between December 31, 1950, and the time you are 65. You would only have to work 2 years if you will be 65 by the end of 1954.

But to get the larger benefits under the new plan, you will have to work at least 2 years after December 31, 1954. This assumes that the bill is passed and goes into effect on that date.

Say you are now 35. You would need to have at least 17 years—half the time from December 31, 1950, and the time you will be 65—before you could be eligible for a benefit at 65.

If you are now 65 and continue to farm, you would be eligible for a social security benefit after 6 calendar quarters under the new social security program.

How much will the proposed social-security program cost?

You will pay 3 percent of your net income into the social security fund. The payment will be made at the time you submit your Federal income tax return. Every person who benefits from the program helps pay the costs.

Is any Government tax money used to pay part of the cost of the social security program?

No. The social security administration has a reserve fund of $18.7 billion. This is being increased by about $1.3 billion annually.

How will the social security benefit my family in case something happens to me?

Your wife will get a lump-sum death payment of three times what your monthly benefit would be. She would also get a monthly check amounting to three-fourths of what your benefit would be. Plus another three-fourths for the first child.

If your widow had two or more children she could get up to $190 per month. Your widow and children would start getting the checks soon after your death if you had been under the program long enough to qualify.

The widow's benefits would continue until the youngest child is 18, then start again after she is 65.

How much will my monthly benefit be if farmers are brought under the social security program?

Your monthly benefit would be based on your average net income. The table below shows the proposed schedule of benefits:

Proposed new retirement benefits (for persons retiring in future years)

Average pay per month	Monthly benefits of—	
	Retired worker 65 or over	Retired worker and wife, both 65 or over
Under $35	$30.00	$45.00
$70	43.50	61.00
$100	60.00	85.00
$140	66.50	99.80
$180	74.50	111.80
$220	82.50	123.80
$260	90.50	135.80
$300	98.50	147.80
$350 or more	108.50	162.80

Boy Scout Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, the Boy Scout movement has been one of the finest activities for the training of the youth of our land that I know. It was started in Great Britain about 40 years ago by an English Army officer named Robert Baden-Powell, and the training was designed to encourage the development of those heroic qualities possessed by every nation which has had to conquer a frontier. There are now 21 million men and boys enrolled in the movement among the 54 nations recognized by the International Boy Scout Bureau. Last year the international enrollment was 5,500,000, of which 3,395,884 men and boys were enrolled in our country.

Recently National Scout Executive Schuck wrote me:

How well the young men of tomorrow will meet the challenge of the times will depend upon the training that they receive today in character development, participating citizenship, and personal fitness.

The Boy Scout oath originally formed by Robert Baden-Powell is the same all over the world. It reads as follows:

On my honor, I will do my best—
To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law:
To help other people at all times;
To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight.

While I was aware, of course, of the diabolical ingenuity of the Communists to infiltrate every organization, including our churches, that taught a love of God and duty to the state, I was shocked to learn from a recent article published in the Christian Science Monitor that the Communists had not only infiltrated the Boy Scout movement of Great Britain, but that a prominent labor leader, Lord Stansgate, offered a resolution in the House of Lords to block the efforts of Chief Scout Lord Rowallan to protect his Boy Scouts from that corroding influence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimus consent to have printed in the RECORD an article on Boy Scouts written by Peter Lyne, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of a recent date.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRITISH SEE RED SCOUT AIMS UNMASKED

(By Peter Lyne)

LONDON.—New light has been thrown on Communist infiltration methods by a House of Lords' debate which has followed the dismissal of an English Boy Scout because he was a Communist.

This case of 19-year-old Paul Garland has caused unusual international interest because just now Communist infiltration is a red-hot topic in many parts of the world.

The outcome of the Lords' debate was that Chief Scout Lord Rowallan reaffirmed his resolute and unrepentant stand against allowing a militant Communist to remain a member of the Scout movement.

A resolution had been moved by a Labor peer, Viscount Stansgate, claiming that "the imposition of political and religious tests by the Boy Scout movement is foreign to its charter and purpose and repugnant to our national tradition of liberty of conscience."

At the end of the debate the motion criticizing the Boy Scout movement was withdrawn and most of the listeners and those who have since read the debate seemed clearer in their thought and more resolute in their line of resolve.

The stroy Lord Rowallan told was that there was nothing new about this attempted Soviet infiltration of the Scout movement. It started in 1922 when the Soviet Government gave instructions for the destruction of youth movements from within.

WARNING FROM HUNGARY

In 1922 three Communist Rover Scouts were dismissed for failing to keep the Scout promises of loyalty to God, King, and country. There were further such cases, but they did not arouse the intense interest of the present case. Mostly the Communist Scouts resigned of their own accord.

But during recent years, said Lord Rowallan, the threat had become far more serious. There had been disastrous effects on the Scout movement of continental Europe from attempts at tolerance and compromise with the fundamentals of Scouting.

Lord Rowallan told the Lords of numerous letters he had had from European scoutmasters, pleading with him to stand firm.

One of them from Hungary had just written to warn how closely the story of Paul

Garland corresponded with what took place in the Hungarian Scout movement before the Communist coup.

The story of Paul Garland as related by the chief Scout was that he was an outstanding scout who had won the queen's badge, and was picked on by the Communist Party as likely to be influential. He was taken to the World Federation of Democratic Youth Peace Rally in Berlin in 1952 and visited several Iron Curtain countries.

Subsequently he was appointed a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League and ultimately secretary of the southwest of England branch. He had absented himself for more than a year from all scout activities. Suddenly he reappeared at a group vaudeville show called Little Red Riding Hood. With him was a retinue of newspapermen and photographers.

PLANT CHARGED

Lord Rowallan said he could not think otherwise than that there had been a deliberate plant, a deliberate challenge to the fundamental principles for which we stand.

The chief scout told the Lords that Scout Paul Garland had sent a letter to his fellow apprentices in the Bristol Aircraft factory on October 22, 1952. It protested against the American "master race" which, it said, had secured a military occupation of our country and seeks to dictate our national economy.

This letter spoke of the necessity to set up a resistance movement to combat the evils of toryism and its stooges in the right wing of the Labor Party, to counter Wall Street warmongers and their counterpart in this country.

CHALLENGE TO DUTY

Another aspect on which the scout movement has challenged communism and itself has been challenged in this new case is its insistence on duty to God.

But there did come to light in the course of the debate difficult border cases. For instance, the scout with a militant Communist father and a strongly anti-Communist church-going mother. This scout goes to Communist League meetings with the father on weekdays and to church with his mother on Sundays.

This is a boy who is seeking his way and needs help, Lord Rowallan said. He is allowed to be in the scout movement.

The debate was a most enlightening affair. It provided an opportunity for public expression of many doubts and uncertainties which have been roused by the dismissal of Paul Garland. It gave some of the top thinkers in Britain the chance to voice their views on what constitutes a Communist. It gave the Boy Scout movement a chance to give a lead to others on the question how to handle the Communist menace.

Soil Conservation and Watershed Programs

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 6788) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with States and local agencies in the planning and carrying out of works of improvement for soil conservation, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, this bill comes to the House in its present form by the unanimous vote of the members of the Committee on Agriculture. It comes here also as the result of a message from the President of the United States dated July 31 last year in which he asked the Congress to enact this legislation.

However, the bill has a longer history than that bebecause it covers a subject upon which the Committee on Agriculture has been working for several years.

Federal assistance in carrying out watershed programs is not new. It has been going on for several years as I shall point out shortly. What has been needed, however, is legislation to provide the policies, the framework, and the standards under which action in the field of upstream soil and water conservation and flood prevention can be undertaken jointly by the Federal Government, the States, counties, soil conservation or watershed districts and local citizens groups.

Let me take a moment to point out what authority there has been in the past for Federal aid in watershed programs. The 1936 Flood Control Act as amended and supplemented authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to plan and carry out watershed projects, and under the provisions of that act there were 11 such watershed programs set up. But, that is all that has ever really been accomplished under that act as far as actual projects and construction are concerned. There has been a great deal more done in the way of surveys and reports under that provision, but nothing more has been accomplished in the way of projects. These 11 projects are important, but in the case of most of them, at the rate they have been going, it will be 40 or 50 years before they will be completed. It is the feeling of our committee that this program has failed to accomplish what was expected of it and consequently this bill repeals the authority contained in the 1936 act, with the provision, however, that the 11 projects now underway shall not be affected in any way by the repeal.

The other legislation I had in mind when I mentioned that there had been previous authority for watershed programs, is contained in the amendment which the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN] placed in the Department of Agriculture bill last year providing for the pilot-plant program and appropriating $5 million to begin construction of these projects. Under this provision a splendid program embracing 62 projects is now underway.

But what has been needed is legislative authority to provide for a permanent program whereby the Federal Government can cooperate with State and local agencies in watershed treatement.

Near the begining of my remarks I stated that this question had been considered by the House Committee on Agriculture for some time past. One of its subcommittees headed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] more than 3 years ago began holding hearings and drafting legislation to cover this situation. Hearings were held in Washington, at various points throughout the country, and the committee made a most thorough study of this entire matter.

As a result of the hearings the subcommittee drafted a bill introduced by the chairman [Mr. POAGE]. Hearings were held on that bill in Washington and the bill was reported by the full committee. That was in the 82d Congress. However, the committee was not able to secure a rule for the bill, and it did not come up for consideration in the House during the 82d Congress.

In the present Congress a similar bill was introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and by myself, and by several other Members. It was sent to the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of the Budget for a report. As a result of the consideration of that bill by the Department of Agriculture and by the Bureau of the Budget, in consultation with the Army Engineers and the Department of the Interior, the bill now before us was worked out. With some changes of language it is the same bill previously worked out by the committee and introduced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and myself. The President's message of July 31, 1953, to which I have previously referred, recommended the enactment of the legislation in exactly the form in which it is before us today.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. FISHER. The gentleman a moment ago referred to a number of projects that have been surveyed which are now past the survey and planning stage and are actually in the process of being built and concluded.

Mr. HOPE. Yes.

Mr. FISHER. He also referred to the pilot plants which were authorized in the last appropriation bill, last year I believe; and I believe the distinguished gentleman also referred to the appropriation that was made. As I recall, the appropriation last year was around $7 million for this project. Does the gentleman recall the figure?

Mr. HOPE. I think that is approximately correct for the projects authorized under the 1936 act as amended. The amount for the pilot plant projects was $5 million.

Mr. FISHER. I am informed that this year there is a reduction of about $1 or $2 million from what it was last year.

Mr. HOPE. I am not sure as to the amount that was carried in the budget this year. Seven million dollars, as I recall, is about the amount that has been carried in every recent year.

Mr. FISHER. I just want to point out in connection with what the gentleman has said that down in my own district we have some of these projects in the middle Colorado watershed area, which is one of the 11 authorized in the 1944 Flood Control Act, which are being held up, to some extent, at least, because of a shortage of funds. They have been fully approved by the Soil Conservation Service, but they have run into great difficulty and we are afraid that it will result in some loss, which loss could be averted if they could proceed expeditiously. I am wondering if the gentleman does not

agree with me that it would be very wise for the Appropriations Committee—as I know they are doing—to go very carefully into the matter of considering some increases in the appropriation that would enable these projects that are actually set up and have already been approved to proceed, which would be more economical than if they were forced to stop in the middle of their program.

Mr. HOPE. If I understand the gentleman correctly, he is referring to projects that were set up under the 1936 Flood Control Act?

Mr. FISHER. I have in mind one in particular that pertains to an authorization contained in that act. Of course, in addition to that there were the pilot plants or projects that were authorized, all of which are paid out of the same fund.

Mr. HOPE. I can say to the gentleman that I agree with him wholeheartedly and I have appeared in previous years before the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Agriculture Department and urged that larger amounts be appropriated for these projects that have been authorized under the 1936 act and upon which construction has been started. I appeared also before the committee on behalf of the pilot plant projects that were carried in the bill last year. My position all the time has been that we will not be able to spend any fund for conservation or for flood prevention where we will get more for our money than we will in projects of this kind.

Mr. FISHER. Of course, everyone here knows the record of the gentleman and that he has always been devoted to the cause of soil conservation in all its forms, but I do think we have a problem now of financing even to the minimum some of the projects already set up and which are in operation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I direct the gentleman's attention to page 3, section 4, paragraph (1), where it is stated:

> The Secretary shall require as a condition to providing Federal assistance that local organizations shall—
>
> (1) Furnish without cost to the Federal Government all easements and rights-of-way needed in connection with works of improvement installed with Federal assistance.

Is that common to all public works project bills?

Mr. HOPE. No; it is not. It is in some of them, in one way or another particularly in those relating to floodways and dikes along the main channels of the streams. In the construction of the larger reservoirs I do not think there are such requirements as that. Our committee put that provision in this bill because we want the local communities to bear their part of the cost and their responsibility for these projects.

Mr. GROSS. Does not the gentleman think that would work an undue hardship, or preclude some projects in some cases?

Mr. HOPE. I do not believe so. I know there are a large number of local projects eligible to come in under this program where the sponsors are very anxious and very willing to furnish these easements and rights-of-way. I think that is one of the finest and most commendable things about this program, that is, the interest of the local people in getting together and doing their part in sponsoring and carrying out these programs.

Mr. GROSS. I certainly agree with the gentleman on that point. I just hope it does not work a hardship on any area or community in the country.

Mr. HOPE. I do not believe it will. I think there is enough interest and enough at stake on the part of the local communities that they will find a way to meet their share of the responsibility. I may say to the gentleman that there is no fixed amount that the local communities have to furnish as far as the total cost of these projects is concerned. In a great many cases I think rights-of-way and easements will be donated.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Does this program conflict with the program of the Army engineers as to flood control?

Mr. HOPE. No; because this program deals with soil treatment and the very small dams on the small watersheds at the head of the tributaries. There is no conflict at all between the work that the Army engineers are doing farther downstream and what will be done under this program up here at the head of the watersheds. This program carries out a type of activity that has long been neglected. For many years we have had the soil-conservation program which treated the land itself and we have had the flood-control measures down on the larger streams, but in between there has been a tremendous loss on these small watersheds because we have not applied any plan or program to them whatsoever. This will fill in that missing link.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Does this program emphasize the small dams at the headwaters of the tributaries?

Mr. HOPE. It consists entirely of a program for small dams and soil treatment. They are all one project.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. During the consideration of this bill in committee the question of the effect of section 7 on projects heretofore authorized and under construction was brought up and it was said definitely that this would not in any way take away any authorization heretofore given to such projects as the Washita Valley and others. Is that correct?

Mr. HOPE. That is absolutely correct. Section 7 takes care of that matter and states specifically that the authority of the Department to prosecute these projects that have already been started shall not be impaired in any way by this act.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS. May I say that I have for years been very much in favor of these projects. Although I am not as close to them as is the distinguished gentleman from Kansas, I have supported him many times in his efforts to build up this big, useful program that is known as the soil-conservation program.

I have been very much interested, and I think the gentleman knows of my interest in a project in Ohio, most of which is in my congressional district. This project is in a very important part of Ohio. It is just south of Columbus, and is known as the Upper Hocking project. This project will serve people who live in a fine agricultural section, and these proposed improvements will tremendously increase the value of many hundreds of acres of fine land. As I remember it, this project has already been approved by the authorities and was included in the bill that was approved last year. I was glad that the gentleman from Kansas brought that out. As I understand it, the bill that we are going to pass today does not in any way infringe on what we did last year; does it?

Mr. HOPE. No; those projects were all begun under the authority contained in the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture last year. This bill would provide for subsequent projects, but it does not in any way conflict with the provisions of the appropriation bill.

Mr. JENKINS. I know that the gentleman knows about this Upper Hocking project.

Mr. HOPE. I am familiar with it, and I know of the great interest that the gentleman has in it, and the splendid work that he has done in securing the approval of that project. I know there is no Member of the House who has shown more interest or given more thought to this type of activity than the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JENKINS. I thank the gentleman, but I am still very much interested in that big project, and I am glad to learn from the distinguished gentleman that so far there is no chance of any infringement on that, and that that will in due course come along. As I understand it, construction has already been arranged for and plans are being made to get it under way.

Mr. HOPE. It is being started. The passage of this bill will strengthen all of these other projects which have been started because it will set up a permanent program.

Mr. JENKINS. I am sure that if this project in which I am especially interested in our section is carried out, as it is planned, it will be a great impetus and a great inspiration to this conservation program everywhere because it is bound to be successful and is bound to be an advantage for the people. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] is, without any flattery from me, known as the greatest authority in the Congress on many agricultural subjects and especially on soil conservation. Mr. HOPE, I thank you for your assurance.

Mr. HOPE. Yes, that is one of the principal objectives of the pilot plant program.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield.

Mr. GAVIN. As I understand it, this bill will authorize the Department of Agriculture to enter into cooperative working relationships with the States, counties and local groups to do a complete job on upstream watershed treatment and flood prevention, and at the present time this type of authority for cooperative action does not exist. Is that right?

Mr. HOPE. The gentlemen's understanding of the matter is exactly right. This bill sets up a new program, which calls for the cooperation of local communities and the States and the Department of Agriculture. It begins where projects of this kind ought to begin, right at home in the local communities. No one can envisage how large a program this might become because it depends in the end on how much interest there is in the local communities.

Mr. GAVIN. Then the local citizen will take the initiative and provide the leadership? It is intended to strengthen local participation in flood prevention work and resources improvement in their respective communities, is that not correct?

Mr. HOPE. That is exactly right.

Mr. GAVIN. With reference to the sharing of the costs, as I understand it, that will be on a fair and equitable basis between the municipalities and the States and the Federal Government; is that correct?

Mr. HOPE. The bill itself does not set up any formula for the matching of funds. It will depend upon, as the gentleman says, an equitable procedure and the part that will be borne by the Federal Government and the States and the local communities will be based upon the conditions that exist as far as any particular project is concerned. But the committee has had in mind that, overall, it will be about a 50–50 proposition, the Federal Government standing 50 percent of the cost and the States and local communities 50 percent.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN], the author of the provision in the appropriation bill last year which made possible the pilot-plant program.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. I thank the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] for that acknowledgment. I want to call to the attention of the House the fact that it was due largely to the appearance of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] before our Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations last spring that this great program came into being. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] took the time to come over and explain to the Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations what he had in mind, and I was personally glad to do what I could to help secure the $5 million with which the program has commenced. Thousands of farmers and other people in my district in Minnesota and all through the Nation are grateful to Mr. HOPE for his help in bringing a real plan of watershed protection and flood control into actual operation. Mr. WHITTEN and the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HORAN], and the other gentlemen on our subcommittee joined wholeheartedly with me in bringing out of our committee the first $5 million for this particular work.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. The House passed that particular appropriation. It was turned down by the other body. It was then due to the efforts of those on our Subcommittee on Appropriations for Agriculture in conference that it was written into the appropriation bill for Agriculture in fiscal 1954. Scarcely any interest was manifested in the other body but they have now come to the realization of how important this program is.

I want to reiterate that it was largely due to the appearance of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HOPE] before our subcommittee on that particular day in the spring of 1953 that brought into actuality this hoped for program which Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. POAGE, and I, and others had had for several years, of trying to do something more than the Army engineers have been able to do. Their projects have been so necessarily slow because of their size that we felt it was absolutely necessary for the Congress to put into being a program to initiate small watershed protection projects throughout America to do this great job if we were going to preserve our soil. Mr. Chairman, it is a matter of pride to me personally that the Soil Conservation Service has seen fit unofficially to call this program in several States by the designation of the Andersen-Hope watershed protection program. It is my sincere belief that this program will, in the words of the New York Times, "go down into history as one of the lasting and most beneficial legislative actions of the past decade." To me it is the culmination of much hard work and it has been made possible only through the splendid cooperation of Mr. HOPE and his committee.

Mr. HOPE. I wish to add just this word. I happen to know how diligently Mr. ANDERSEN and the Subcommittee on Appriations for Agriculture worked on this matter last year. They had a lot of opposition, much more than is generally known. They did a grand job, not only in accepting this proposal in the first place and incorporating it into the bill, but in seeing that it was reinstated in the bill in conference after it had been striken out by another legislative body. The people of this country who are interested in soil conservation, appreciate the splendid work that the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN] did on that matter.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. On line 3, on the first page of the bill, it says, "That erosion, floodwater, and sediment damages in the watersheds of the rivers and streams of the United States."

In the eastern part of the United States, of course pollution is one of the main causes of trouble, as well as floods. Could there be read into the word "sediment" the pollution problems that affect us on the upper reaches of many of our streams in Pennsylvania, so that we can cooperate on erosion problems and flood control and sediment problems within the stream, including pollution?

Mr. HOPE. I realize the problem the gentleman is discussing. It is a great problem, but this bill does not attempt to go into that problem. It is one that deals primarily with soil, and small watersheds near the headwaters of the streams, and does not cover as wide a scope as the gentleman is suggesting. But, of course, to the extent that this does prevent floods further down on the streams, to the extent that it holds water back near the place where it falls, it might in some cases contribute to the prevention of pollution as well as floods.

Mr. FULTON. So that pollution is not automatically left out, and can be one of the things which the local people have as a factor in their program.

Mr. HOPE. I see no reason why that could not be considered.

Mr. FULTON. Thank you for enlarging it to that extent.

The other thing is this: In areas that may be termed suburban areas—the town of Carnegie, for instance, is a suburb of Pittsburgh, and Chartiers Creek runs through it. In that particular stream there is quite a lot of sediment that accumulates and holds up the water as well as clogs the stream. Above, there are agricultural lands which are affected.

Would this particular kind of program be broad enough to take in suburban areas, where they are along streams, and where there are agricultural lands behind that would be helped?

Mr. HOPE. I would think that would be a situation where the local people could get together and agree on a program that would fit in perfectly with this legislation at least to the extent that the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to go under the general legislation on soil and water conservation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has again expired.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. I would merely like to state that in discussing this with various groups interested in conservation they are not only enthusiastic about it but they have one question, namely: Whether there is the technical assistance and skilled people, actual people within the Department now to carry out this program, or whether this will call for additional personnel within the Department.

Mr. HOPE. As of the present time and within the scope of any program that we can foresee for the immediate future, the Department has ample skilled personnel to take care of the program.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. The gentleman feels that the personnel at the

local level is of sufficient technical skill likewise to take care of the program?

Mr. HOPE. Yes, I do and I might point out that in connection with the reorganization of the Soil Conservation Service special attention is being given to the watershed program.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. I thank the gentleman and certainly want to congratulate him.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield.

Mr. GAVIN. In answer to the inquiry of the gentleman from Ohio I may say that I was advised that plans and investigations on each project to determine the scope—preparation of plans for works of improvement and to determine the economic feasibility are to be made in advance of the Department of Agriculture entering into a cooperative agreement with the sponsoring local group; so they would have to develop it, prepare it, and then be in a position to present it and to make justification of it before Agriculture comes into the picture.

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JONES].

Mr. JONES of Alabama. I would like to direct an inquiry regarding section 7 of the bill. I presume that provision amends section 1 of the Flood Control Act of 1936 which was later amended by the act of 1944 to include drainage. I would like to have an expression from the chairman as to whether he is of the opinion that flood prevention in this bill will give authority to the Department of Agriculture to carry out the drainage problem under the designation of flood prevention work.

Mr. HOPE. I can say to the gentleman that I am sure it does not give the Department any authority which it does not already have to deal with drainage matters. I am not sure what power it has under its general authority to deal with soil and water conservation.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. I was hoping that it would give that authority, and I hope that the committee if the Department of Agriculture does not seek the authority to carry out drainage projects that it be included in the bill because that is an integral and essential part of flood prevention work.

Mr. HOPE. I would not want to say that where drainage was an incidental part of the project that it might not be included. I think it would have to be an incidental feature to a situation which involved flood control unless the Department of Agriculture already has some authority to deal with the subject.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. The report of the Corps of Engineers presently being transmitted to the Committee on Public Works states under the act of 1944 that the flood-control work will be carried out by the Corps of Engineers. The subsequent or drainage work is being deferred to the Department of Agriculture. It would seem to me that to carry out these work projects in an orderly fashion, the authority for a given watershed should be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture; otherwise we disturb the functions of the departments and we find difficulty. I would like to see that authority conferred on the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOPE. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. I would like to ask the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture if I did not understand him to say that the bill did not contemplate dealing with purely drainage projects but that if in dealing with flood-prevention projects drainage became a vital part of that plan, this authority would be given under the bill to the Secretary to make an agreement which would involve some degree of drainage if that drainage was essential to the development of the flood-prevention project.

Mr. HOPE. I think if drainage was perhaps an incidental matter that was tied in closely with flood prevention and the land treatment phase of the activity that the measure probably would include that authority. However, I do not want to give the impression that was contemplated by the committee as a part of the program because I do not think we considered that phase of the matter in connection with this legislation except as incidental. Certainly there is nothing in this bill which would take away any authority which the Department of Agriculture may now have to deal with drainage problems.

Mr. COOLEY. I agree with the gentleman in what he said, but I do not want the impression left in the RECORD here or with the Members of the House that if in the development of a proper flood-prevention project it is necessary to do certain things that the Secretary would be prohibited from doing them because merely there was some drainage involved.

Mr. HOPE. I intended in my statement to the gentleman from Alabama to make that clear.

Mr. JONES of Alabama. I believe that is the interpretation that should be placed on the bill and I was hopeful of getting an expression from the chairman where any future doubts would be resolved in favor of a drainage program in connection with a flood-control program, because it places too great a burden, otherwise, on the local people to get the Federal funds necessary to go ahead.

Mr. HOPE. I thank the gentleman very much for his comments and suggestions.

Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to take the further time of the Committee at this time, but I am submitting as a part of my remarks the following information on this bill in question-and-answer form, as follows:

Question. Is soil conservation the real objective of H. R. 6788 and S. 2549?

Answer. The modern concept of soil conservation includes many things other than soil-erosion control. It includes all measures needed to provide effective use, without deterioration, of soil and water resources for efficient productive agriculture. It involves maintenance of soil fertility, disposal of excess water by drainage, making water available, when needed, by irrigation, and protection of land and crops against damage from flooding and siltation. Prevention of the frequent flooding of small tributary valleys, which often contain the most fertile agricultural land available to farmers and ranchers, is a most important soil-conservation objective. By protecting these bottomlands from frequent flooding and increasing their potential for production, many thousands of acres of wornout or severely eroding upland can be retired from intensive use without disrupting the economic balance of farm and ranch units. Only through such positive flood prevention can the real objective of soil conservation be achieved in many small watersheds. National legislation is not now adequate to provide the kind of assistance needed by local organizations to accomplish their full soil-conservation objective in an integrated manner on the Nation's small watersheds.

Question. Would the proposed legislation establish a big new engineering organization?

Answer. There already exists in the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture a highly competent staff of several hundred engineers who are assisting farmers and ranchers with engineering problems. They work in collaboration with agronomists, foresters, soil scientists, hydrologists, geologists, biologists, range specialists, and many other kinds of technicians to accomplish the presently authorized soil-conservation job. The Forest Service has an engineering organization for similar work on national forests. The proposed legislation merely extends the area over which this Department would be authorized to assist in the solution of agricultural problems, including agricultural flood prevention. The engineering knowledge needed to carry out the purposes of the proposed legislation is of the type required for programs now being carried out cooperatively with local people by the Department of Agriculture. In fact, the Department of Agriculture is the only Federal agency now equipped to successfully carry out, in close cooperation with local people, flood-prevention improvements concurrently with other soil-conservation measures in agricultural watersheds.

Question. Would the proposed legislation duplicate existing authority for watershed protection?

Answer. The proposed legislation would provide for a wholly new type of program, intimately related to the traditional assistance rendered to local people and their organizations by the Department of Agriculture. It is completely different in principle from the Federal public works type of project which is carried out by other Federal agencies, largely at Federal expense, after authorization by the Congress. Under this proposed legislation, local organizations must apply for assistance before the program is initiated in any watershed, must bear an equitable share of the cost of any works of improvement involving Federal assistance, must contribute all necessary easements and rights-of-way, and must assume responsibility for all operation and maintenance.

Question. Could upstream waterflow-retarding structures and downstream reservoirs become competitive?

Answer. This is a situation that could arise but, in fact, seldom will because of the physical limitations in most watersheds. Upstream waterflow-retarding structures are justified by benefits above the sites where most major downstream reservoirs have been planned. Should a situation of this type arise, the proposed legislation provides in section 6 for the necessary investigations and surveys to achieve coordination.

Question. Would the proposed legislation lead to unbalanced storage systems for large watersheds?

Answer. The proposed legislation is designed primarily to meet small watershed problems when assistance is requested by local organizations. Generally, the small watershed program will not materially affect the design or location of downstream reservoirs. The principal benefits of the small watershed program will be within the confines of the watershed itself with diminishing effects downstream. On the other hand, downstream reservoirs controlling larger areas of more than 250,000 acres will not affect the economic feasibility of the small watershed program. Through this new watershed legislation, upstream agricultural interests for the first time can look forward to assistance in achieving sufficient protection to permit economic utilization of their land resources, without waste and without depriving downstream interests of the protection deemed desirable from the standpoint of the national interest.

Question. Would the proposed legislation split the national flood-control program?

Answer. Since 1936 Congress has recognized in the flood control acts a twofold responsibility: (1) Measures on watersheds for runoff and waterflow retardation and soil-erosion prevention; and (2) improvements of rivers and other waterways for flood control and allied purposes. The flood control acts do not distinguish between agricultural and engineering works, but only between measures on watersheds and improvements of rivers and other waterways. Certainly it is recognized by all that measures on watersheds include engineering as well as vegetative measures. Unfortunately, specific responsibilities are not adqeuately delineated in the flood control acts. As a result, the watershed program vital to agricultural interests has been delayed. New legislation is essential to define the responsibilities of the Department of Agriculture in the watershed field and thereby permit coordination of programs on the basis of understandable terms spelled out by the Congress. Agricultural interests on upstream watersheds are entitled to be served by an agricultural agency equipped and staffed to meet their particular needs in a cooperative program.

The record shows that up to the present time the Corps of Engineers has built or has under construction a total of 165 flood-control and multiple-purpose reservoirs which will have a total storage capacity of approximately 158 million acre-feet. The average size of these reservoirs is therefore approximately 958,000 acre-feet. The Corps of Engineers has built a total of 10 dams that impound less than 7,000 acre-feet of storage, and these 10 special-purpose dams contain just three ten-thousandths of 1 percent of the total storage provided by the Corps of Engineers in all its reservoirs for flood control and other purposes.

On the other hand, the Department of Agriculture has completed or has under construction in the 11 watersheds authorized for flood-prevention programs in 1944, a total of 204 waterflow-retarding structures containing a total storage of approximately 112,000 acre-feet, or an average storage per structure of 556 acre-feet. Only two of these structures exceed 5,000 acre-feet in size. In other words, the average capacity of reservoirs built by the Corps of Engineers to date has been 1,724 times that of the average waterflow-retardation dams built by the Department of Agriculture.

Question. Would the proposed legislation invade the private engineering field?

Answer. There would be no difference in competition with private engineering organizations than now exists in connection with works of improvement installed under authority of the flood-control acts. The Department of Agriculture in its cooperative programs with local people has consistently encouraged the use of local private engineering services when such services are obtainable. There would be no change in this policy.

This is a new program. Local groups will require their own engineers in addition to the Federal technicians. It will clearly mean more, not less, work for private engineers.

Question. Would the proposed legislation short circuit Congress?

Answer. The proposed legislation provides that plans, accompanied by the views and recommendations of the interested Federal agencies, will be transmitted to the Congress through the President before installation of the program is commenced. The Congress would exert the same control over the program as it does over other national programs of the Department of Agriculture. Very important safeguards are the requirements that local organizations apply for assistance before the program is initiated in any watershed, share the cost of any works of improvement involving Federal assistance, contribute all easements and rights-of-way, and assume responsibility for operation and maintenance. In addition, the Congress is kept fully informed during the appropriation process of the progress being made in the installation of works of improvement. These requirements appear to be at least equal to any that are in effect for other programs administered by the Department of Agriculture or of public-works programs administered by other departments.

Question. Would the proposed legislation preclude the Public Works Committees from assuming jurisdiction over an engineering program?

Answer. The program contemplated by the proposed legislation is logically one of primary interest to the Agriculture Committees since it is designed to aid the agricultural interests of the Nation in conserving their basic agricultural land and water resources, and protecting the crops and improvements made possible by their use. It is an agricultural program and not a public-works program. At every step the watershed program will be dependent upon the wishes and desires of local interests who will plan with the cooperation of Federal technical specialists the program they desire, and will decide upon the type of assistance that would benefit them most and at the same time justify Federal expenditures.

Question. Would the proposed legislation promote a piecemal approach?

Answer. The Nation is already many years behind in the field of resource development, utilization, and conservation in the upstream tributaries as a result of the concentration of effort on the solution of downstream problems. The preponderance of Federal expenditures on downstream works of improvement provides concrete evidence of the lack of balance between upstream and downstream work. The proposed legislation would provide a means for achieving better balance and would provide for coordination of basic programs where there is positive evidence that such coordination is required. In most instances the downstream works would not be affected or need to be altered because of the protection afforded the upstream agricultural interests.

The facts are that there has been an extremely piecemeal approach to the development of our river-basin resources for flood prevention, flood control, and related purposes. By way of comparison, in round figures, the flood-control improvements completed and placed in operation by the Corps of Engineers to date have cost $1 billion. The projects which were in the construction stage in 1953 were estimated to cost $3.4 billion; additional projects in the planning stage were estimated to cost $3.2 billion; and other flood-control projects authorized, but on which no work had been accomplished, were estimated to cost $2.5 billion. In other words, the total flood-control program on the major rivers of the Nation to date, including projects completed, under construction, being planned, or authorized represents a total cost of $9.2 billion. The Chief of Engineers, United States Army, has testified that the total non-Federal contribution to the national flood-control program has been less than 8 percent.

By way of contrast, the total funds made available for upstream flood-prevention improvements in 11 watersheds through this fiscal year have been approximately $41 million. To this should be added the $5 million appropriated by the last Congress to start work on a program involving $29 million of Federal funds in 65 pilot watersheds of the type that would be eligible for assistance under H. R. 6788. Therefore, we believe there is every reason for contention that passage of H. R. 6788 is needed to correct the piecemeal approach that has heretofore existed and thereby to provide a better balance between the control of runoff, waterflow, and sediment from the upper watershed areas and major flood-control improvements on the lower rivers.

Question. Would the proposed legislation open the way for "basin accounts"?

Answer. The Department of Agriculture does not utilize on-site benefits expected to accrue from the application of soil-conservation practices to cover the cost of waterflow-retarding structures that cannot be justified by the benefits they alone produce. Separable elements of watershed programs are justified separately on the basis of benefits attributable to them.

Question. What would be the magnitude of the program under the proposed legislation?

Answer. The magnitude of the program that might be carried out under the proposed legislation is dependent upon annual appropriations, and the ability and desire of local interests to contribute materially to it. The ultimate magnitude of any program for the entire Nation is impossible of prediction at any point in time. The proposed watershed program is readily susceptible to expansion and contraction in line with national economic needs.

Question. Under the proposed legislation, would competent local organizations be required to assume responsibility for operation and maintenance?

Answer. Before any Federal assistance could be provided for installation of works of improvement under the proposed legislation, the Secretary of Agriculture would be required to obtain assurances from interested local organizations that satisfactory arrangements had been made to defray all costs of operating and maintaining such works of improvement. Thus, no Federal expenditures would be made for the installation of works of improvement until interested local organizations had furnished evidence that they were competent to meet their responsibilities for operation and maintenance.

Question. Would there be a policy on cost sharing under the proposed legislation?

Answer. The proposed legislation would require a greater degree of cost sharing by local organizations than is generally required under the Flood Control Acts. The proposed legislation requires, as a minimum, that local organizations provide all necessary easements and rights-of-way, and assume responsibility for defraying all costs of operation and maintenance. It also requires that local organizations bear an equitable share of the cost of installing works of improvement. In the pilot plant program, contributions from local interests will exceed 50 percent of the overall cost.

Question. Should enactment of the proposed legislation await results of demonstration?

A. The benefits from the type of work contemplated under the proposed legislation have been demonstrated piecemeal for 20 years, both by elaborate research and by practical application on the land. The results have convinced the farmers of the Nation and many others that this is the best

possible approach to soil and water conservation and watershed protection, including flood prevention. The pilot plant or demonstration program was not designed to delay the enactment of the needed permanent legislation for watershed protection. The agricultural interests of the Nation should not be further delayed in solving their watershed problems which have thus far been given so little consideration by the Federal Government in river basin development.

Democracy and the American Way of Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from the city of Boulder, Colo., signed by about 300 of its citizens.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOULDER, COLO., *March 10, 1954.*
President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We, the undersigned citizens of Boulder, Colo., being deeply concerned with the preservation of the principles of democracy and the American way of life, wish to commend highly your recent statements to the press which, by implication, censure the methods employed by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

We, Republicans, Democrats, and Independents, are alarmed by the methods of Senator MCCARTHY, which, in our opinion, constitute an attack on the Presidency, the military, and the essential freedoms of the people.

We are as much opposed to communism as is Senator MCCARTHY. And we believe that the following acts of the Senator are undermining the ideals and traditions of American constitutional government:

1. Challenging the leadership of the President of the United States, both as head of the executive branch of our Government and as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces;

2. Undermining the morale of our Armed Forces by attacking the Secretary of the Army and his military staff, and by so doing arousing the indignation of every person who wears or has worn the uniform of our country;

3. Embarrassing and hampering the State Department in its efforts to carry out our foreign policy;

4. Damaging public confidence in our Government, weakening faith in our democratic process, and creating everywhere an unwholesome atmosphere of fear and suspicion.

We, as Americans, irrespective of party, believe that a positive stand will continue to be desperately needed. We believe that there can be no compromise with the fundamental ideals of American democracy. We believe that this is the time, Mr. President, to eliminate the tactics of Senator MCCARTHY, and we pledge our full support to your efforts to do so.

Respectfully,

Becky Alexander, Gordon Alexander, Marion Alexander, Aldith S. Allen, Basil F. Allen, Jeremiah M. Allen, William G. Arnold, Leo V. Aspinwall, Robert G. Athearn, Claire Athearn, William S. Avery, Berta A. Bailey, William N. Bailey, Warren S. Bainbridge, B. L. Ball, Catharine Barrett, Michael T. Barrett, Albert A. Bartlett, J. Perry Bartlett, Vincent W. Beach, W. M. Bean, Donald R. Beeson, Doris Ruth Benson, K. G. Berggren, Ben Bernzen, Hulah S. Bernzen, John J. Bernzen, Laura J. Biggs, W. Allen Biggs, Katharine P. Bogert, Albert Bowen, Mrs. Albert Bowen, M. D. Bradfield, H. R. Brannon, Sarah G. Brannon, Mrs. R. R. Brewster, C. A. Briggs, Olivia Cole Briggs, Sidney H. Buckham, Alice M. Buckingham, Charles E. Buckingham, Natt B. Burbank, I. A. Butler, W. M. Campbell, Myrtle M. Campbell, Dorothy K. Chambers, R. Fred Chambers, George M. Clark, Homer H. Clark, Jr., Berton Coffin, Chana M. Cole, Fannie B. Cole, Gordon Cole, Dorothy S. Cooper, William S. Cooper, George F. Cornish, James D. Corriell, Francis S. Coyle, Della C. Crockett, Earl C. Crockett, Bly E. Curtis, L. D. Daily, Lois W. Daily, Mary H. DeLapp, Ruth Densmore, Richard S. Derryberry, Aimee J. DeSouchet, William O. DeSouchet, Carol J. Dickson, C. V. Dorrell, Frances E. Dorrell, Esther Douglass, James E. Dugan, Katherine E. Dugan, Franklin P. Durham, Elizabeth P. Duncan, W. F. Dyde, Helen K. Eagle, William S. Eagle, O. R. Easley, John W. Egan, John M. Evans, Marilyn C. Evans, Ralph D. Evans, George R. Fairlamb, Marie Fairlamb, Livingston P. Ferris, Helen W. Fischer, Jessie K. Fitzpatrick, Glen E. Fleming, William D. Fleming, John W. Fogg, Dick Frager, E. R. Frager, Walter B. Franklin, Mary Ellen Franklin, Paul Friggens, Ben S. Galland, William G. Gambill, Bess L. Gambill, Colleen K. Garnsey, Morris E. Garnsey, Chester A. Garrison, Louise Garrison.

Eleanor McCormick Gauger, J. R. Gilbert, Colin B. Goodykoontz, Susan B. Goodykoontz, David Gottlieb, Pearl R. Gottlieb, William A. Grelle, C. L. Hahn, Helen M. Harper, Alton Hatch, W. L. Hauptli, Doris Webster Havice, Frank Havice, Gilbert Hayden, Frank S. Henderson, Floyd S. Hershberger, H. C. Hickman, S. M. Hill, Margaret S. Hill, Rose Vann Hilty, Robert I. Hislop, D. R. Hobbs, David H. Holmes, LaVergne E. Holmes, John N. Hough, Eleanor Sloan Hough, Clifford Houston, Wayne L. Hubbell, G. W. Hueftle, Mrs. G. W. Hueftle, James M. Hunter, David G. Hutchison, Mary H. Hylan, John C. Irvin, Sylvia Irvin, Mrs. Oscar B. Jacobson, W. Burl James, Vern D. Jenks, Harold Jensen, Fred L. Jessop, Rudolph Johnson, Alfred H. Jones, J. R. Jones, A. Kahn, Marcella Kahn, Leslie B. Kelso, Mrs. Leslie B. Kelso, Mrs. Anna Kennedy, Harold V. Kettering, Edward C. King, W. C. Kinsley, Carl H. Knoettge, Rebecca V. Knoettge, Glenn S. Kropf, Steward Kropf, Vera S. Kropf, B. E. Lauer, Opal L. Lauer, A. E. Lawrence, Marjorie S. Lawrence, Dorothy Lewis, Leslie Lewis, Mrs. Walter B. Lovelace, Wally Lovelace, Charles E. Lyman, Ruth H. Mangan, Johanna Marr, John W. Marr, C. W. Martin, Gretchen Martin, Mary H. Maslin, T. Paul Maslin, Jr., Robert J. Mathes, Esther G. McGuire, Dayton D. McKean, Margaret E. McKean, Roma K. McNickle, Albert R. Menard, Jr., Donald F. Menk, Bernard R. Miles, Dorothy E. Miller, Lu P. Monroe, Gladys N. Moore, V. J. Moore, David Morgan, W. P. Morris, Janet W. Morris, Donald J. Myers, Fred Neher, Frances R. Neher, Arlene M. Neill, O. D. Neill, Walter K. Nelson, Les Newkirk, Charles H. Norris, Reuben L. Olson, Thos. C. Owens, A. A. Paddock, W. L. Paddock, Douglas H. Parker, Angela Collins Parks, Mildred R. Parr, Mrs. M. K. Payne, Elizabeth R. Peirce.

Ken Penfold, Henry Pettit, Madelyn M. Pettit, Joe H. Piper, C. L. Pitney, Christy T. Plank, Harlow C. Platts, Harvey Platts, H. Reginald Platts, Lois Platts, Helen S. Pryor, John W. Pryor, S. C. Pullen, John E. Pulver, Frank W. Reed, P. O. Reppller, Margaret L. Reppller, John M. Richardson, Leo C. Riethmayer, Millard L. Riley, Frank H. Roberts, Grace Robbins, Leslie P. Robbins, Richardson Rome, Mrs. Richardson Rome, Vearl L. Root, Willard N. Rosine, Margaret Sandritter, Don Saunders, Elizabeth W. Saunders, C. L. Sayre, Eleanor Scherts, Helen Schlytern, C. E. Scoggins, Lois D. Scoggins, Austin W. Scott, Jr., Rex H. Scott, Don W. Sears, Russel Shaffer, Anna O. Shepard, Mary Jo Shepard, Bill Simon, Ludwig Siqueland, C. Flint Smith, Gladys Smith, Kenneth Flint Smith, Helen S. Sowers, Sherman M. Stanage, Tom Stanford, T. E. Stepp, Marjorie M. Stone, Donald C. Stromberg, Edith T. Stromberg, John H. Swenson, Peggy Tague, Addison Talbott, Marie H. Talbott, Margaret V. Taylor, Dorothy Jay Thompson, Harold A. Thompson, Mrs. Charles A. True, Leonard G. Tulin, John B. Valentine, J. W. Valentine, Mabel Van Duzee, Horace B. Van Valkenburgh, Viola G. Van Valkenburgh, Katherine Wagoner, Ernest E. Wahlstrom, A. Gayle Waldrop, Gwendolen D. Waldrop, Goodrich Walton, Leslie T. Ware, Helen Ware, Elizabeth R. Warner, Lawrence A. Warner, Richard C. Waugh, Thomas D. Waugh, Selma R. Weber, William A. Weber, E. E. Weibel, Gladys Weibel, Lillian A. White, Marvin L. White, Robert N. Wilkinson, Charles E. Williams, Everett Williams, George C. Williams, Mary C. Williams, Mary G. Williams, Olwen Williams, Raymond Williams, Sigridur Williams, Eugene H. Wilson, Helen Wingfield, Lindsey R. Wingfield, Vera M. Winston, John F. Wood, Josephine N. Wood, P. G. Worcester, James J. Yeager, Margaret M. Yeager, G. W. Zinke, Mrs. G. W. Zinke.

Congress Shirking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE P. MILLER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am including with my remarks a series of editorials that appeared in the San Francisco Examiner urging an annual appropriation of a sum of money sufficient to go forward with a progressive highway construction program.

The San Francisco Examiner and the other Hearst newspapers have long been in the forefront of the fight to obtain a system of highways in this country commensurate with their importance to our social and economic needs.

May I urge you to read the editorials made part of this RECORD:

CONGRESS SHIRKING

In previous editorials the Examiner and the other Hearst newspapers have given our objections to the Federal highway bill now being studied by the House Subcommittee on Roads.

The bill has administration support.

We would like to convey the following information to those who still regard the bill as adequate or generous:

All Federal, State, and local expenditures for roads during 1953 do not even equal the total spent in 1938.

Using the 1941 dollar as a base, and adjusting 1938 and 1953 dollars to it, here are the figures:

Total expenditure in 1938, $2,633,000,000.

Total expenditure in 1953, $2,570,000,000.

Actually, in 1953 the sum of $5,277,000,000 was spent by all units of Government, but we got only $2,570,000,000 worth of roads in terms of a 1941 dollar.

What has happened to our highways?

In 1938 there were about 30 million motor vehicles on our streets and roads.

In 1953 there were about 55 million.

How can Congress expect to solve a 55 million vehicle congestion problem by spending money at the rate we did in 1938?

Obviously, the problem is never going to be solved with the sort of thinking that regards the present Federal bill adequate.

It is tragically inadequate, and looks worse the longer we look at it.

NOT YET ENOUGH

The financial inadequacy of the Federal highway bills receiving serious attention from congressional road committees is of great concern to everyone interested in the cause of better roads for America.

It is of similar concern to the Hearst newspapers, which have fought for 16 months for adequate highway funds at both Federal and State levels.

When President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message recommended to the Congress that the full 2-cent Federal gasoline tax be retained, we were quick to applaud.

We did so because we inferred that all of the gas tax receipts would be used for, in the President's own words, "an expanded highway program." Indeed, there was no other inference possible.

At a recent press conference, the President said that he thought Federal aid ought to be increased by $225 million annually.

This amounts to saying that he considers $800 million the right sum for Federal authorization for the fiscal years of 1955 and 1956 for highway aid—and not to be spent until after July 1, 1955, almost a year and a half from now.

Our study of the pertinent figures involved demonstrated to us immediately that there is discrepancy here that we cannot reconcile.

We do not know what the gasoline tax receipts will be for 1955 and 1956, but we can estimate that they will be more than $1 billion during each of those years.

Our reasoning thus leads us to these conclusions:

The bills now before Congress are inadequate.

If the Congress is not going to spend all of the gas tax receipts on highway construction, then the gas tax should be allowed to decrease one-half cent per gallon. It will so decrease automatically on April 1 unless Congress votes to retain the full 2-cent tax now collected.

We think that Congress cannot have it both ways.

If the full tax is collected, let the full tax be spent on highways.

If the full tax is not to be spent on highways, let it not be collected.

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, and pursuant to the policy I have always followed of attempting to hear both sides of an issue, I wish to include the following communication addressed to me by Mr. Ben H. Guill, Executive Assistant to the Postmaster General. This letter is in response to an editorial published in the Sacramento Bee which appeared in the March 9 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., March 15, 1954.

Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CHARLIE: Thank you for calling my attention to the editorial in the Sacramento Bee, entitled "Phony Postal Raise," which appeared in the March 9 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It's a curious thing, isn't it, that editorials which decry the low rate of pay for letter carriers invariably fail to mention that these "starvation wages" average $4,076 a year. (I find it equally interesting that editorials attacking postal-rate increases invariably fail to mention that the taxpayer is losing $240 million a year on low-postage rates for magazines and newspapers. These are coincidences that make juornalism such a fascinating business.)

I know, by personal experience, that the average citizen does not know that his letter-carrier gets $4,076 a year. I think you will find, if you ask the man on the street, that the average guess at the postman's annual salary would be about $1,000 less than the actuality.

The Sacramento Bee in calling Postmaster General Summerfield's pay-increase plan "phony" is endorsing across-the-board increases which would only give added impetus to a chaotic trend in the postal establishment which has seen incentive almost demolished among postal employees through a flattening out of the pay structure. For instance, under the present schedule, such widely disparate jobs, insofar as responsibility is concerned, as purchasing clerk, stenographer, and file clerk are all paid the same wage scale. During the last 12 years the ratio between the highest paid postmaster in the country and the lowest paid custodial worker has been squeezed from 10 to 1 down to lower than 5 to 1, and an across-the-board increase would reduce that ratio even further.

I don't think the publisher of the Sacramento Bee would support a wage scale under which his lowest paid janitor would receive more than 20 percent of the salary paid to his managing editor.

As you know, the present wage scale in the postal establishment gives so little recognition to the considerable responsibility attached to the top supervisory jobs that we have a great many cases of employees refusing promotions because the pay increase does not come close to reflecting the increase in responsibilities.

Our present postal wage proposal would give increases in pay to 400,000 of our 500,000 employees and (despite the inaccurate claim of the Sacramento Bee) it would effect no decreases in the pay of employees now on the job. This is being done despite the fact that postal salaries already are higher than those paid for comparable jobs in industry. (Clerks and carriers now average $1.96 an hour. Our proposals would increase that to $2 an hour. Production workers in industry average $1.79 an hour; passenger conductors on the C. & O. Railroad average $1.93 an hour; firemen and policemen average $1.74 an hour.)

On the other hand, the really significant increases in pay are being asked in those categories which lag far behind the going rate for comparable jobs in industry; i. e, the supervisory jobs and those jobs requiring special and highly developed skills.

Just for the record, the Sacramento Bee is inaccurate in stating that we are seeking $5,000 raises for postmasters in major cities. While it is true that the present $13,770 salary for the postmaster of New York City, for instance, is insufficient compensation for a man directly responsible for the operation of an office representing 10 percent of the total revenues of the entire Post Office Department, the Department will not seek increases in the pay schedules until and unless Congress sees its way clear to increasing its own pay. Although a postmastership of a large city is an important position, it would, in our opinion, be quite unjustified to seek a rate of pay for that position which would exceed the rate of pay for Members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

In short, Charlie, the editorial writer for the Bee has been guilty of using the derogatory term "phony" while he himself knew very little of the subject on which he was pontificating. As a result, some of the things he said were true, and some were new, but, unfortunately those things that were true were not new, and those things that were new were not true.

Ever cordially,

BEN H. GUILL,
Executive Assistant to the
Postmaster General.

H. R. 6923

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I made before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce today:

STATEMENT OF HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS OF MASSACHUSETTS BEFORE HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE, MARCH 15, 1954

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your committee to speak in behalf of my bill, H. R. 6923. The purpose of this proposal is to extend to the members of the Armed Forces of the United States captured or held as prisoners in the course of the Korean campaign benefits equivalent to those provided prisoners of war and certain civilian internees of World War II.

Last fall, at a hearing conducted before one of the Senate committees, I sat next to one of the boys who had been a prisoner of war and who came from my home community of Lowell, Mass. I was shocked that up to that time no provision had been made for the payment of comparable benefits for the prisoners of war of the Korean conflict. In order to correct that situation, I introduced H. R. 6923, which is very similar to other bills pending before this committee, as well as legislation pending in the other body.

The World War II act provided compensation at the rate of $1 a day for each day the prisoner did not receive the quality of food required to be furnished him under the Geneva Convention. In addition, $1.50 a day was provided where inhuman treatment was meted out by the enemy government or its agents. When the legislative counsel looked into this matter, at my reqeust, it seemed appropriate that the two sums should be lumped together and make the flat figure of $2.50 since it has been pretty well established that there was inhuman treatment meted out to nearly all if not all of our prisoners, and certainly the quality of food did not reach the required standard for any day. Therefore, my bill provides for the flat sum of $2.50 for each day. Surely this is a small amount and one which the Government can well afford to pay to these

men who have suffered so much for America.

As in the case of the World War II act, in the event of the death of an eligible claimant claims under the bill would be payable first to his widow, if there is no child or children surviving, then to his widow and child or children, one-half to the widow, one-half to the child or children. In the absence of a surviving widow, payments would be made to the child or children of the deceased in equal shares, and if no widow or children survive then to the deceased parents in equal shares.

Of course, I realize that under the World War II act payments were made out of the proceeds of any enemy property which had been seized. The money for the Korean act would have to be appropriated from the Treasury. In any event, the sum would be small in comparison with the suffering which these men have sustained.

I hope, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that the committee will speedily act favorably upon this measure and that we may see it enacted into law before much more time has elapsed.

Again I wish to express my appreciation for your courtesy in hearing me, and if agreeable to the members of the committee, I would like to insert as a part of my remarks at this point a brief summary of the legislative history of this legislation and the effect of my proposed bill, H. R. 6923.

National Legislative Issues of Current Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following address which I delivered last week before an outstanding group of our citizens in Philadelphia, the 40th and Market Streets Businessmen's Association of Philadelphia, on national legislative issues of current interest:

It's a pleasure to meet with you tonight and discuss some of the national legislative issues which affect you and all businessmen in so very many different ways.

It's hard to think of anything we do—or consider doing—in the Congress (other than dodging bullets) which does not affect you businessmen right here at 40th and Market Streets. Some of the issues may seem rather far fetched—far removed—from your point of view or from the standpoint of your business interests, but the thing we learn in the Congress (and the longer we serve the better we learn it), is that our economy is a lot like the weather.

The weather may seem like a local matter. It may put rain in the streets of Philadelphia while Camden is dry and sunny, but we all know that weather conditions in one part of the country do have an effect on the weather elsewhere. A cold wave doesn't just suddenly spring up in Philadelphia: It marches down our way from the Northwest, or the Northeast, and it stays cold here until some good strong warm breezes get up our way from the Southwest.

It's the same with our economic conditions. A big layoff at the Philadelphia Navy Yard is more than a localized Philadelphia problem. It spreads out to nearby New Jersey and to upstate areas where a lot of the laidoff workers live, and the first thing you know the effects of that layoff are being felt for many miles around Philadelphia.

As people here begin to cut back on their purchases, then the Detroit auto plants feel it in reduced orders for new cars, and then the Pittsburgh steel mills feel it in the banking of blast furnaces and the furloughing of workers as steel sheet orders from Detroit are cut way down, and then the Pennsylvania Railroad notices it in reduced ore or coal shipments or boxcar loadings, and it goes through the whole economy that way like a virus disease.

You businessmen don't have to be told about this cause-and-effect relationship and the close intertwining of our whole economy because in the past you've seen at first hand how economic developments supposedly far removed from Philadelphia have their after-effects here at 40th and Market. And from what I hear, you're feeling some uncomfortable drafts of this present economic cold front which has been moving across the country.

Is this a depression? Certainly not. With nearly 60 million Americans at work, there is no depression. With average wages of those in manufacturing industries—and they make up a good part of the 60 million—at somewhere in the neighborhood of $70 a week, there is no depression. With the Ford Motor Co. breaking records in January in the sale of cars and trucks, there is no depression.

Is there a recession? I think the answer to that is pretty clearly yes. I don't want to be a partisan speaker here tonight, and while you all know I am a Democrat, I am not speaking here tonight as a Democratic spokesman but as your Congressman, regardless of your political party. I make that point because up to just a few days ago no one in the present national administration would acknowledge that what we had on our hands was an actual recession but insisted on calling it a "rolling readjustment" or an "inventory contraction" or some other economist's phrase. But then the joint committee on the economic report (which includes such Republican Senators as FLANDERS, of Vermont, a manufacturer; GOLDWATER, of Arizona, a merchant; CARLSON, of Kansas; and WATKINS, of Utah; and 4 very conservative Republican Members of the House, along with 3 Democratic Senators and 3 Democratic Congressmen) came right out the other week and said, "Yes," what we had on our hands was a recession. So at least we can use that word now without apologizing for being politically partisan.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that Republicans are just as anxious as Democrats to avoid either recession or depression: We're all in this thing together and we know that economic troubles do not respect party labels. Between the political parties themselves there are—and I hope always will be—differences of opinion on how these economic problems should be handled, but I don't think we gain anything by calling each other names or implying that one party wants depression and the other wants national bankruptcy in deficit financing. We all want the same thing: A prosperous, expanding American economy in which people can get the good things of life and enjoy them and be happy; a country safe from aggression and secure against Communist infiltration: A country where the youngsters growing up have all the opportunity in the world to be whatever they want to be.

Well, how do we go about that big task? How do we accomplish these objectives? What can we do to achieve these goals?

Let's put politics completely aside and look at it in familiar businesslike terms. What makes business good? Isn't it people having money in their pockets and being able to spend it? How does the money get into their pockets? I'd say in two major ways. One is if the Government itself, in a war situation, for instance, places orders for vast numbers of guns and ships and tanks and planes and other military equipment, and then the factories have to hire more people to turn out all of this material along with essential civilian needs, and those workers are paid and paid well, and start saving money for the big purchases they will make when automobiles and washing machines and houses and other things not produced in wartime are once again available to buy. After World War II that pent-up purchasing power, all those savings which had been socked away, were put to buying and we have a tremendous wave of prosperity.

The same thing happened in 1950 and thereafter, when military orders and defense construction made for a shortage of workers, high wages, lots of overtime, and people again saved a lot of their incomes for delayed purchases.

But what do we do when the Government is not placing war and defense orders in such record-breaking volume? How do we assure prosperity then? The answer, it seems to me, is to have an atmosphere in which the public will continue to spend its income for the things it wants—the desirable things of life—and the only way to have that is in a situation of full employment in which there is confidence on the part of the people that jobs are secure and paychecks are not suddenly going to be cut off.

It is the national policy of our country, as declared by Congress in law and as signed by the President in 1946, that the Government itself should promote and encourage this situation of full employment, this atmosphere in which people who have incomes feel secure in their work and are not frightened into saving a disproportionate part of their incomes and thus delaying or canceling orders for the things they want. Our tax policy should be geared to that, also our housing policies, our agricultural policies, our resources policies.

When the present administration began cutting back drastically on military and defense work more than a year ago, however, it initiated none of the steps which would have helped to fill the vacuum in the economy caused by taking away these billions of dollars' worth of work—of payrolls and plant equipment, and so on.

The defense workers who lost their jobs discovered that new jobs—civilian jobs—weren't opening up for them very quickly. When they went from $70 or $80 or $100 a week to $27 on unemployment compensation (if they were eligible for it at all, and Government workers are not) they naturally reduced their standards of living accordingly and stopped buying as much in your stores or otherwise patronizing your businesses. They ran up debts in order to buy necessities, and those debts will keep them busy and broke for quite a while after they do get back on the job.

But that's only part of the effect. Everyone else in the same plant also began to cut his spending in anticipation of the next layoff, or the one after that, and this thing has spread out.

Meanwhile, the huge surpluses of food had caught the farmer in a squeeze between high production costs and lowered prices for the things he raised and sold, and so farmers cancelled orders for new equipment and this caused wholesale unemployment in places like Moline, Ill., and other farm equipment centers: the people there bought fewer washing machines or irons or dishwashers or other products made around here, and so we have had a whole cycle and a circle of reduced orders, reduced business, reduced payrolls, reduced purchasing power.

These are the things which have been happening. There is not much to be gained in arguing over whose fault it was, although in a political campaign it's an inevitable question and will be a big issue. But more im-

portant questions are what can the Government and what should the Government do about it.

I think anything which helps to get purchasing power into the hands of more people would be a step in the right direction. If this purchasing power is used, demand will increase, men will be rehired on their old production jobs, business will pick up and prosper, and an atmosphere of confidence will be restored so that those who have extra cash to spend for the better things of life will not have this hesitant feeling about buying. They will again buy homes or furniture or cars or other "postponable" things rather than put every possible extra cent away in bank accounts against a rainy—let's say, a rainier—day. We don't want to discourage people from thrift, but we have to get them out of the idea that depression is around the corner; this idea that they better not buy anything now because the money they'd spend for a car or living room furniture or new clothes or some other desirable purchase might represent eating money in the near future.

Here's where we have the big disagreement in Washington. The big question there is whether the cause of prosperity is best served by providing new incentives to business through changes in the tax laws, or whether we would do better by easing the tax burden to the tune of the same number of billions of dollars a year but easing the taxes in favor of the little fellow, the wage earner, the small-business man, the medium income groups.

I don't think you'll find the washing machine manufacturers building new plants to produce more washing machines when they can't sell their output from existing plants. So a tax concession to big business to provide it with incentives to expansion may often go only into higher dividends to the stockholders rather than into expansion in plant or equipment. Only a small percentage of the population owns stocks: So the benefits of that kind of a tax concession would go to a very few; and they, in many if not most cases, would be people in a position to save the whole amount of this added income and not spend it at all.

So I don't think you get prosperity or keep it going that way.

On the other hand, if the tax burden on the lower income groups were eased through higher exemptions, that would be $100 or more spending money for almost every family you know, and for most of your customers. So while the Treasury might be losing the same number of billions in revenues by giving tax relief either of to business corporations or to individuals, the actual effect upon the economy of the two types of tax relief would be entirely different. The one would generate purchases which in turn would generate more sales, more business, more production, and thus a healthy economy. The other, intended to encourage expansion of industry, might just go into the pockets of the few and have no broad effect upon the whole economy.

Meanwhile, we have these billions of dollars piling up in the unemployment compensation funds of the various States, yet the present unemployment compensation payments are much too small to enable a wage earner who has lost his job to do any normal buying at all.

We have these other even greater billions piling up in the social security account, but people on social security are in many cases practically destitute—what can they buy with the few dollars they receive?

We have a crying need for new schools, for new highways, for new recreation centers, for modernized shipping facilities, for flood control, river dredging, and a thousand other types of public works which should be going forward right now, both because they are so needed and also because of the surging impact this would have on employment and on the business situation.

Earlier I mentioned the report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. As far as it went, it was a good report. It recognized that business was off and production was down and payrolls had decreased and things were uncertain. But it was overly cautious in recommending remedial action, and therefore very disappointing to me. The Democrats on the committee filed a supplemental report calling for not only better unemployment compensation and social-security benefits, public works planning, continued aid to agriculture, and so on, but also significant tax reductions for individuals, and a sharp reduction in excise taxes. Since then, the top Republican on tax matters, Chairman REED of the Ways and Means Committee, has recommended such an excise-tax cut, and Speaker MARTIN is for it too, but the Treasury has taken a different view, saying we can't afford the reduced revenues of an excise-tax cut.

Well, unless we do something about purchasing power in the hands of the great mass of the people, the Treasury will lose billions and billions of revenues from a further lowering of business levels. And if that happened, the Government would be so far in the red we would have to take the kind of steps none of us presently would want to contemplate. We don't want any more WPA's—but we would have one if unemployment ever again got to the point it did a generation ago.

In the Congress these days, we are considering and discussing these matters every day—in the committees, in the cloakrooms, and on the floor of the House or Senate chambers, but as of now we have not had before us any significant legislation intended to remedy these ills. We have talked about housing, but we so far have no housing bill to consider and vote on. We have talked about better social security, but no bill is before us. We have talked about better unemployment compensation benefits, but we have no bill to work on. All these things are bottled up in committee. We'll have a tax bill before us soon, but the way that usually works, the Members will have no choice but to take it or leave it in the form it comes from committee; individual amendments from the floor will not be permitted. However, we will have one single opportunity in connection with that bill, by use of the legislative technique of recommitting the bill to committee with instructions to amend it in one particular way and then send it back out again, to get into it this idea of raising exemptions by $100 or $200 per person from the present $600 exemption. And that is probably where the biggest fight of all will come. I intend to join with those supporting the higher exemptions. I think it would do more than any other single thing to get more purchasing power into the hands of people to spend in your businesses. And if they have that extra cash and spend it, the Government will certainly benefit in higher tax collections all around.

The point I want to leave with you tonight is that as of right now our economy is still comparatively healthy, but in danger. The recession virus must not be permitted to spread. Strong leadership by the executive department and vigor by the leadership of the Congress to get action on corrective legislation are absolutely necessary. We have not had much of that kind of leadership or vigor; the committees are often dawdling and pigeonholing important bills—even those recommended by the President—and so, as we get closer and closer to the July 31 adjournment, we so far have very little to show for the work of this Congress. You people must join in the demand for action—now.

Benefits for Prisoners of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the portion of a statement I made this morning before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in behalf of my bill H. R. 6923, a bill to extend to our veterans of Korea the same benefits granted prisoners of war in World War II. I am happy to know that the members of this committee, and I believe the entire Congress, are most sympathetic toward proposals of this type.

The excerpts follows:

EFFECT OF ENACTMENT OF H. R. 6923

The purpose of this proposed legislation is to extend to members of the Armed Forces of the United States captured and interned or held as prisoners of war in the course of the Korean campaign, benefits equivalent to those provided to prisoners of war and certain civilian internees of World War II, under the provisions of sections 5 and 6 of the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended. In this respect the bill, H. R. 6923, is identical with H. R. 8076 except for the per diem payments provided for, and is similar to S. 2605, and to portions of S. 2224, all in the 83d Congress. Compensation is authorized to any prisoner of war as defined in the bill, at the rate of $2.50 per day for each day he was held as a prisoner of war on which he alleges and proves, in a manner acceptable to the War Claims Commission, that he suffered any inhumane treatment, as defined in the bill, or was not furnished with the quality or quantity of food to which he was entitled as a war prisoner under the terms of the Geneva Convention of July 27, 1929.

In the event of the death of an eligible claimant, claims under the proposed legislation would be payable first to his widow, if there is no child or children surviving, then to his widow and child or children, one-half to the widow and one-half to the child or children. In the absence of a surviving widow, payments would be made to the child or children of the deceased in equal shares, and if no widow or children survive, then to the deceased's parents in equal shares. Persons thus eligible for survivors benefits who may be under any legal disability, would receive such benefits through their legal representatives as provided for in section 5 (e) of the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended. In addition, benefits at the rate of $2.50 would also be paid for inhumane treatment in the form of compulsory, forced labor during captivity.

It is provided in the bill that the term "inhumane treatment" as used in the bill, shall be any act, by the de facto government of the hostile force or foreign country by which the claimant was held as a prisoner of war, or its agents, of such government of the hostile force or foreign country by which the claimant was held as a prisoner of war, or its agents, of such government's obligations under title III, section III, of the Geneva Convention, relating to labor, or in violation of the provisions of articles 2, 3, 7, 10, 12, 13, 21, 22, 54, 56, or 57 of that convention.

Finally, the bill authorizes appropriations to the War Claims Fund established by section 13 of the War Claims Act of 1948, as

amended, such sums as may be necessary to carry out its provisions.

Under the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended, by Public Law 303, 82d Congress, the same types of benefits have been payable to all prisioners of war in World War II. The daily rate of benefit payments, however, were lower. Claims filed with the War Claims Commission for so-called food benefits were paid at the rate of $1. Claims based upon other types of inhumane treatment were paid at the rate of $1.50 per diem for each day the claimant alleged and proved such treatment. Similar benefits at these rates were paid under claims filed by civilian internees in the Philippines, Guam, Midway, and Wake Island.

THE WAR CLAIMS ACT OF 1948

Legislative history

During the 80th Congress various measures pertaining to the recognition and settlement of claims arising out of World War II were introduced. Four of these bills (H. R. 873, H. R. 1000, H. R. 1823, and H. R. 2823) which were introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce formed the basis for the bill which was finally enacted into law as Public Law 896, 80th Congress.

The bills referred to provided for the recognition and satisfaction of numerous types of war claims and proposed a variety of administrative methods for processing them. After extensive hearings on such bills, a new bill, H. R. 4044, was reported to the Whole House on July 17, 1947, by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (H. Rept. No. 976, 80th Cong.). This bill embodies certain of the basic principles expressed in the earlier bills but was more detailed and specific as to types of recognized claims. It was drafted in the form of an amendment to the Trading With the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917 (40 Stat. 411), and provided that seized property of Germany, Japan, and their nationals should be retained by the United States. In its original form title II of H. R. 4044 provided for the establishment of a three-member Commission appointed by the President to inquire into the report to the President, for submission of such report to the Congress, with respect to war claims arising out of World War I and World War II. Only the claims of a small group of American citizens interned by the Japanese during World War II would have been adjudicated and paid under the bill. The bill passed the House of Representatives on January 26, 1948.

A special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee held extensive hearings on H. R. 4044 both in Washington, D. C., and in New Mexico. As a result of these hearings, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate offered an entirely new bill, in the nature of a substitute. The bill was passed by the Senate and referred to the Committee on Conference, which reported the bill out on June 19, 1948 (House conference Rept. No. 2439, 80th Cong.). The bill was approved by both the Senate and the House of Representatives on the day it was reported out by the Committee of Conference, and on July 3, 1948, with approval by the President, became Public Law 896, 80th Congress.

Funds were not appropriated for the activities of the War Claims Commission during either the second session or the special session of the 80th Congress. The amount of $75,000 was appropriated for the administrative expenses of the Commission for the balance of the fiscal year 1949 by Public Law 71, 81st Congress, approved May 24, 1949. This appropriation lapsed, however, because of the delay in appointing the War Claims Commissioners. Although the War Claims Act of 1948 became law on July 3, 1948, the War Claims Commission was not activated until September 14, 1949.

The War Claims Act of 1948 (Public Law 896, 80th Cong. approved July 3, 1948; 62 Stat. 1240; 50 U. S. C. 2001–2013), as amended by Public Law 75, 81st Congress, approved May 25, 1949, consists of 14 sections. Sections 4, 5, 6, and 7 provide for the receipt, adjudication, and payment of various types of claims. Of these benefit sections, however, only section 5 (a) to (e), section 6 and section 7 are administered by the War Claims Commission.

The benefit sections of the act administered by the War Claims Commission provide for the payment of claims submitted by (1) prisoners of war, or specified survivors of deceased prisoners of war, for allowances based on violations of the Geneva Convention of July 27, 1929, relating to the obligation of the detaining enemy power to furnish certain rations to prisoners of war; (2) certain civilian American citizens, or specified survivors of such deceased civilian American citizens, who were captured and interned by the Imperial Japanese Government in certain designated places in the Pacific, or while in transit to or from such places, or who went into hiding to avoid capture and internment, for detention benefits; and (3) religious organizations functioning in the Philippine Islands and affiliated with a religious organization in the United States, or the personnel of such Philippine organization, for reimbursement for expenditures incurred or for payment of the fair value of certain supplies and services provided for members of the Armed Forces of the United States or civilian American citizens (as defined in sec. 5 of the act) in the Philippine Islands during the dates specified.

AMENDMENTS TO THE WAR CLAIMS ACT

With the appointment of the Commissioners, approved September 13, 1949, Congress completed its responsibilities with the original act. There have, however, been amendments to the act. Those affecting benefit payments are discussed below.

PUBLIC LAW 359, 81ST CONGRESS

The next amendment was Public Law 359 of the 81st Congress which did not affect the functioning of the War Claims Commission. This was an act to increase rates of compensation of the heads and assistant heads of executive departments and modified thereby the provisions in section 2 (a) which set the compensation of the members of the Commission.

PUBLIC LAW 696, 81ST CONGRESS

Public Law 696, of the 81st Congress, approved August 16, 1950, was the first amendment to the War Claims Act after the organization of the Commission and was at the request of the Commission. It provided the Commission authority to subpena witnesses and otherwise to conduct the investigations, etc., necessary to the conduct of the business entrusted to it.

PUBLIC LAW 866, 81ST CONGRESS

One further amendment to the War Claims Act was made by the 81st Congress. This was an amendment affecting payments to the final class of survivors under section 6. Mr. Anderson who introduced the bill, S. 3000, to strike the word "dependent" from the last category of supervisors listed, stated before the House Committee that he was in receipt of communications from surviving parents who had not been dependent at the time the deceased prisoner of war had entered the Armed Forces or had gone overseas, but would now be grateful for his assistance if he had lived to return to them, or from those who were too proud to claim dependency, or unable to do so. A special subcommittee to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in its report (No. 3093) accepted the argument of Mr. Anderson that the payments should be considered equivalent to an estate left by the deceased prisoner of war, it also mentioned the Commission's contention that the saving in administrative costs would offset the additional expense in paid claims. The bill passed the House September 18, 1950, and became Public Law 866, 81st Congress, on September 30, 1950.

PUBLIC LAW 303, 82D CONGRESS

The only amendment yet made to the War Claims Act of 1948 which is directly concerned with recognition of various types of war claims is Public Law 303 of the 82d Congress, approved April 9, 1952. This provided for the recognition of new categories of claims under paragraphs 6 and 7, dealing with claims of former prisoners of war and certain religious organizations operating in the Philippines. During the 82d Congress there were introduced a considerable number of bills to amend the War Claims Act which received sufficient attention to warrant hearings before the committees concerned. There were included 5 bills (1 in the Senate) which would have amended section 6 to provide for compensation for unpaid, compulsory labor of prisoners of war and for violations of the Geneva Convention, other than section 11, of which they had been the victims. These were S. 1416, introduced by Mr. ANDERSON, and referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, April 30, 1951 (action was postponed indefinitely June 9, 1952, in view of action on S. 1416, which will be discussed later), H. R. 3719, introduced by Mr. DEMPSEY and referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, April 13, 1951, H. R. 4345, introduced by Mr. CROSSER and referred to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce, June 6, 1951, H. R. 4522, introduced by Mr. HELLER and referred to House Interstate and Foreign Commerce June 20, 1951, and H. R. 6556, introduced by Mr. ELLIOTT and referred to House Interstate and Foreign Commerce February 16, 1952. Hearings were held on October 18, 19, and 20, 1951, and March 19, May 1, 2, and June 16, 1952, on H. R. 3719, H. R. 4345, and H. R. 4522 and other bills including S. 1415 and H. R. 5385 which would have provided for amendment of section 7 to provide for compensation at the postwar cost of replacement for damage to or loss of certain buildings and installations belonging to those religious organizations already described in the provisions of section 7. S. 1415, which had been introduced by Mr. O'Conor and referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, April 30, 1951, was reported out September 6, 1951, and passed the Senate on October 1, 1951, as amended. It was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House October 3, 1951, in time to join H. R. 5385, with which it was identical, at the above-mentioned hearings. H. R. 5385 had been introduced by Mr. MCCORMACK and referred to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce September 18, 1951.

Many of the arguments presented at these hearings had of course been discussed before, especially at the hearings preceeding enactment of the War Claims Act of 1948.

The committee reported H. R. 3719 (Rept. No. 1632), and H. R. 4345 (Rept. No. 1633), on March 24, 1952, and also reported H. R. 5385, the section 7 bill (Rept. No. 1631). The provisions of these two kinds of bills were combined and passed as S. 1415, amended, on March 31, 1952. Discussion in the House was very brief and confined to an explanation of the effect of that part of the combination that would provide for further benefits to former military prisoners of war. S. 1415, as amended by substitution of provisions of H. R. 3719 and H. R. 5385, passed the Senate April 1, 1952, and was signed by the President on April 9, 1952, to become Public Law 303, 82d Congress.

PUBLIC LAW 304, 82D CONGRESS

Two bills were introduced in the 82d Congress which developed into a public law

providing for modifications of the provisions for making payments to persons under legal disability in both sections 5 and 6. These were H. R. 4477, introduced by Mr. CROSSER and referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, on June 15, 1951, and S. 1669, introduced by Mr. MCCARRAN and referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary June 13, 1951. S. 1669 was reported out on July 30 (Rept. No. 1630) and passed with committee amendment August 9, 1951. It was referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce August 10, and hearings were held March 19, 1952. It was reported out March 24, and passed March 31 without discussion. This was signed by the President on April 9, 1952, also, and became Public Law 304, 82d Congress. The changes made by this law were such as would enable the Commission to make certain payments that had been held in abeyance for lack of authority to pay money to guardians, curators, etc., or to competent minors, and little discussion was necessary in the course of its passage through the Congress. Public Law 303 added the second subsection (d) to section 6 of the War Claims Act (the first had been added the same day by the enactment of Public Law 303). This situation has not as yet been corrected.

Facts Forum Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news release by Facts Forum:

The results of the January Facts Forum Public Opinion Poll were announced by its president, Robert H. Dedman, who explained that the percentage shown is the vote "yes" and the difference between 100 percent and the percentage shown represents the percentage voting "no." The votes are primarily from Facts Forum participants, and this is not a cross-section pool. The ballots for the January poll were not sent out to be signed as heretofore.

	Yes (percent)
Will communism in Government be an issue in the 1954 elections?	85
Should a convicted sex offender ever be paroled?	22
Should United States aid be continued to allies trading with Red China?	14
Is there a safe middle-of-road between the foes and friends of communism?	13
Should all present committees investigating subversion be continued?	76
Should we pool atomic resources and share atomic secrets with Russia?	5
Is brain-washing now being carried on in the United States on a large scale?	35
If 67 percent of the people favor it will the Bricker amendment be enacted?	57
Would UMT provide a standing army for the United Nations?	56
Should United States ground forces be withdrawn from Korea?	40
Are Communists in the United States conniving to promote juvenile delinquency?	82
Is a low ebb of patriotism endangering the Nation?	61
Are pro-Communists at present gaining new positions in the State Department?	35
Should Uncle Sam reward key Communists to expose conspiracy in the United States?	51
Should Chiang be permitted to interfere with the move against Indochina?	73
Do you favor Stevenson for the nomination in 1956 over all other Democrats?	26
Do you favor Ike for nomination in 1956 over all other Republicans?	68

Pay Increases for Personnel of the Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, legislation to increase the pay of personnel of the armed services on a cost-of-living basis has been introduced by our distinguished colleague the Honorable JAMES E. VAN ZANDT and myself in the form of H. R. 1437 and H. R. 7489.

The serious morale problem of the armed services today stems from pay inadequacies and a progressive cutback of fringe benefits over the past 10 years. First-term reinlistments of Navy and Air Force personnel, all of whom volunteered the first time, are now less than 8 percent. Most of the men who fail to ship over are technicians, trained at a cost of several thousand dollars apiece. Loss of their talents is all the more serious at this time, when we are attempting to build a hard core of trained Military Forces for defense of our country.

Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD, this interesting and factual article on pending action on pay raises and other legislation. It is from the March 13 issue of the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal, and I commend it to my colleagues:

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILSON SENDS PRESIDENT REPORT—INDICATES PAY HIKE UNDER NEW STUDY

The weight of the White House has been thrown into the campaign to raise attractiveness of military service.

President Eisenhower now has been officially apprised of the facts of the case and has been advised as to steps which are being taken and which should be taken—including possibility of a pay raise—to solve the problem of attracting and retaining outstanding career personnel in the Armed Forces.

The Chief Executive has just received a detailed report on this problem from Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson.

At the same time, Secretary Wilson, following his careful examination of Defense Department data on the loss of career personnel, ordered his legislative chief, Assistant Defense Secretary Fred A. Seaton to take such action as may be necessary in order that legislative proposals designed to raise career attractiveness may be expeditiously processed and submitted to the Congress for their consideration.

These developments came as Chairman DEWEY SHORT, Republican, of Missouri, of the House Armed Services Committee warned on Capitol Hill that we are playing with dynamite by handicapping the Services in efforts to attract and retain outstanding career personnel.

Mr. Wilson's report to President Eisenhower culminates months of intensive study on the career attractiveness problem under overall supervision of Assistant Defense Secretary John A. Hannah.

The Defense Secretary's action reflects his apparent approval of Dr. Hannah's efforts and the work of the Womble Committee, whose report and recommendations also were sent to the White House.

Mr. Wilson told the President in a communication dated March 8 that the "attractiveness" studies have received full approval of the service secretaries and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Defense Secretary reported that a number of actions to attract and retain competent career personnel can and are being taken by the individual services.

But, said Mr. Wilson, other objectives can be obtained only with support from outside the Pentagon.

The President was informed that the Defense Secretary has called upon the Hook Commission to review its 1949 military pay proposals in the light of current conditions.

There is little doubt that the Commission will recommend a cost-of-living pay adjustment, since it is recalled the Career Compensation Act of 1949, while based on the Hook Report, set pay scales considerably below those finally voted by Congress.

Subsequent to enactment of the Career Compensation Act, the Cost-of-Living Index has marched upward at a steadily faster clip than has military pay.

Mr. Wilson, who has not yet come out publicly for a military pay raise, obviously is waiting for the report of the Hook Commission members before taking a firm position. Here again, he wants the facts before taking action.

This follows the pattern he set with regard to the recommendations made by Dr. Hannah and the Womble Committee.

Meantime, however, Mr. Wilson has let it be know in administration councils that if pay adjustments are granted for civilian employees of the Government, he will press vigorously for equitable treatment to those in service.

Although the issue of a general cost-of-living pay increase for military personnel has not yet been formalized into a Defense Department legislative request, there is already pending on Capitol Hill legislation which would grant military pay increases by readjusting pay scales to the cost-of-living index.

This legislation, observers point out, probably would prevent repetition of the situation in 1951 where a military cost-of-living pay adjustment followed by many months the one voted for civilians employed by the Government—and then were considerably smaller.

The Womble Committee, it is recalled, said in its report that other action besides a pay raise is necessary to raise the attractiveness of military service.

Mr. Wilson has relayed these recommendations to the White House.

The Defense Secretary informed the President that action should be taken to insure medical and dental care for dependents—a matter that the President himself brought up in his state of the Union and budget messages.

The Defense Secretary also is said to have advised the Chief Executive of the importance of improvements in the housing situation, again an issue discussed during January by the President.

The inequity in current legislation which denies to servicemen numerous benefits, such as education and home loan grants, unless they leave active duty, is also discussed in Mr. Wilson's communication to the White House.

It has been stated that it can sometimes cost a serviceman as much as $5,000 in lost benefits to remain in uniform.

Dr. Hannah has mentioned this problem numerous times during recent public addresses in which he has cited the high cost to the Government in replacing skilled military personnel. Dr. Hannah agrees that whatever the cost of new attractiveness legislation," they will be offset by retention of hard core experts in noncom and officer ranks.

Mr. Wilson also has indicated to the President that steps should be taken to improve survivor benefits legislation, and has said that there should be equalization between Regular and Reserve personnel.

The President, as a result of his military service, is familiar, of course, with the fact that present legislation makes it possible for one widow to receive as much as $525 per month, while another service widow, whose husband had equal rank and service, may receive only $75.

The President last year expressed concern over pay scales at the Service Academies. Mr. Wilson has recently endorsed a proposal to raise these pay rates in order to prevent hardships to young men attending the Academies.

It is possible also that legislation will be sponsored to give longevity credit for pay purposes to cadets and midshipmen.

Another major item which the Defense Department will advocate is the establishment of a dislocation allowance, which would help defray extra expenses incurred as a result of frequent transfers.

Defense officials have indicated also that the reenlistment bonus is not adequate attraction at the present time and proposals are under study to revise the re-up bonus upward, with relatively greater incentives given for earlier career reenlistments.

The foregoing are understood to be only some of the matter which the Defense Secretary has brought to official attention of the President.

Mr. Wilson's action in forwarding his report to the President means that the "career attractiveness" problem, particularly insofar as it requires action outside the Pentagon, has now been crystallized.

Dr. Hannah is known to be pleased with the progress that the individual services are making. But he is also anxious that action outside the Pentagon be accelerated.

That is why Mr. Wilson's endorsement of Dr. Hannah's carefully formulated program and the decision to send this material to the White House is of such importance.

In view of Chairman SHORT's remarks this week and previous statements by his Senate counterpart, Chairman LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, Massachusetts, it can be expected that legislative proposals arriving on Capitol Hill from the Defense Department designed to raise service attractiveness will receive speedy and sympathetic consideration.

The TVA Experiment After Two Decades

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The TVA Experiment After Two Decades," written by Myron Kolatch, and published in the New Leader, New York, January 11, 1954. This is an extremely informative and well-written article, and it reveals the thrilling story of TVA's accomplishments.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TVA EXPERIMENT AFTER TWO DECADES
(By Myron Kolatch)

In the 21st year of its existence the Tennessee Valley Authority has become more controversial than ever. The signal for the new TVA debate came from the White House. In a speech out West, President Eisenhower said he intended to turn back the "creeping socialism" of the past 20 years. When asked at a press conference to explain, he said (as paraphrased):

"He would give specific examples. Not long ago this appeal was made to him in behalf of the expansion of Federal expenditures in the TVA region. And it was this, that since the Federal Government had seized and was purchasing a monopoly in power down there, that is was impossible for that locality now to expand unless the Federal Government spends more money down there. * * * So we get to this curious thing in the socialistic theory that we, all of us, provide cheap power, such cheap power for one region that * * * it can appeal and take away the industries from the other sections of the country. It seems that we have to have some kind of reevaluation of all these things."

The President later tried to soften the blow by pointing out that not all the features of TVA were alarming from his viewpoint, but the battle was on. Spokesmen for the utilities began their refrain of "TVA is creeping socialism," while TVA supporters cited the Authority as an outstanding example of capitalism's vitality, as tangible proof that capitalism can cope intelligently with its own problems.

What are the facts? Contrary to popular belief, TVA was not suddenly conceived during an unholy marriage between New Deal Democrats and socialist theorists. As a matter of fact, it springs from the Monroe administration, when Secretary of War John C. Calhoun prevailed on Congress to pay for a navigational canal at Muscle Shoals, Ala.

During the first two decades of this century, Congress passed several bills calling for development or operation of a valley hydroelectric system by private power companies, but no company would meet the terms offered. (It is interesting to recall, however, that in 1903 Theodore Roosevelt vetoed a bill or private development of the shoals because he felt it abused the public interest.)

During World War I, Congress authorized Federal development of the shoals, but the work was incomplete when the war ended. In the decade that followed, top private companies made offers to finish the job, but none were acceptable to Congress. As Republican Congresses vainly sought a plan of private-power operation that would protect the public interest, they gradually came to favor public operation. GOP Congresses passed public-power bills for the valley in 1926 and 1931, but these were vetoed by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not use the veto; he signed the Tennessee Valley Act in May 1933 and TVA became a reality. The act summed up TVA's purposes as follows:

"In the Tennessee drainage basin and adjoining territory * * * (1) the maximum amount of flood control; (2) the maximum development of the Tennessee River for navigation purposes; (3) the maximum generation of electric power consistent with flood control and navigation; (4) the proper use of marginal lands; (5) the proper method of reforestation; and (6) the economic and social well-being of the people living in the river basin."

The Muscle Shoals plant, which had stood idle from 1918 to 1933, was turned over to TVA for the production of fertilizers. (In wartime, its facilities were used to produce munitions.) Research done at this plant has provided fertilizer not only for the Tennessee Valley, but for many other regions. More than 65,000 farmers in 28 States have participated in TVA farm test-demonstrations under the guidance of county agents and State extension services. Proper use of fertilizers, particularly phosphates and lime, has helped restore topsoil. More recently, the farm test-demonstration program has been supplemented by the sale of TVA fertilizers by cooperatives and private companies. TVA also keeps independent fertilizer manufacturers informed free of charge, of the advances achieved through its research.

TVA's chemical engineering and chemical processing studies have also been a boon to industry. For example, large plants are being built to use the West's phosphate rock resources, which were ignored until now. One of TVA's early objectives was to develop methods for utilizing western phosphates, since they are strategicliy located in the country's midwestern "breadbasket" and can help reduce the drain on limited middle-Tennessee reserves. During World War II, TVA supplied about 60 percent of the elemental phosphorus used for munitions, and its advances in electric-furnace smelting of phosphate rock were largely responsible for private industry's ability to contribute the other 40 percent.

In the realm of forest development, TVA instituted modern forest practices in a region having half its land area in woodlands. Through the Authority's efforts, control of forest fires by States, counties, and private agencies has been extended to protect about 90 percent of the forested area. More than 211,000 acres have been reforested, mostly by private landowners, with 250 million TVA seedlings. Forest-management demonstrations throughout the area have brought better use of the Territory's timber, which could yield three times the $300 million income it now provides.

Far from promoting centralization, TVA has stimulated State, local, and private agencies to new interest in resource development. Federal activity has raised, not cut, the expenditures of State resource agencies (agriculture, forestry, wildlife, parks, etc.). In the 7 Tennessee Valley States, these agencies have increased their budgets from about $8.5 million in 1934 to almost $57 million in 1952. Recreation resources created by TVA lakes and initiated with a few park and other demonstrations (long since discontinued) have been fully developed. States, counties, cities, private enterprises, and individuals have invested $31 million in facilities for a new national playground. From all over the Nation, 5 million tourists come to the valley each year. As a result, commercial concessions along the lakes (all locally operated) realized $4.35 million in 1951.

Flood control, navigation and power production depend on harnessing the Tennessee River and its five major tributaries. The 19 dams built during the last 2 decades, and a 20th now nearing completion, are built to serve all 3 purposes.

Ten dams and their reservoirs located on the tributary rivers provide adequate storage for 6 million acre-feet of water during the flood season, reducing floods at Chattanooga and other points along the upper section of the Tennessee River itself. In the dry season, stored waters are used to supplement the river's low-water flow. During the first 15-year period of flood-control operations, 22 floods occurred at Chattanooga that would have caused serious damage if they had not

been thus controlled. The estimated saving for Chattanooga alone exceeds $45 million, almost a third of the flood-control investment for the entire river system.

Eight of the nine dams on the Tennessee also regulate flood peaks. Kentucky Reservoir, near the river's mouth, protects 4 million acre-feet, while reservoirs upstream from Kentucky provide storage space for another 2 million acre-feet. What is more, the system can, if necessary, be used to reduce flood crests on the lower Ohio and lower Mississippi basins, so as to protect an estimated 6 million acres of rich Mississippi Valley bottomland from any danger and to relieve the flood burden on an additional 4 million acres. Overall, the value of TVA flood regulation is estimated at $11 million a year, more than half of it outside the Tennessee Valley proper.

The nine dams on the Tennessee itself also form an unbroken chain of slack-water pools which provide a continuous navigable channel, with a minimum depth of 9 feet, from Paducah to Knoxville—a distance of 630 miles. This inland waterway, connecting with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, has opened up new markets for products from distant States. In 1933, the same stretch of water, a shallow mudhole then, carried only 33 million ton-miles of traffic, consisting of sand, gravel, and wood products. In 1952, more than 830 million ton-miles of valuable freight passed over it, including automobiles, gasoline and oil, coal, fertilizer, iron and steel products, grain from the Midwest, and sulfur from the gulf coast. Savings in freight charges totaled $10 million, and the first half of 1953 showed a 25-percent increase in freight traffic.

None of this work, as far as can be determined, has ever met substantial opposition either within or outside the valley. It is TVA's generation of electric power that has stirred controversy through the years. What is the record after 20 years of TVA power?

Four times as many people in the valley now use electricity as did before TVA. The Authority has provided electric service to countless new consumers in rural areas whom the private utility companies had once considered unprofitable. TVA does not distribute the power itself; that is done by 148 municipal and cooperative systems, which buy power wholesale from the Authority and distribute it retail. TVA's only control over these distributors is its so-called resale clause, which prevents high rates and operates on the theory that people will make more and better use of power if they get it at a reasonable price.

The validity of this theory is borne out by the fact that average home use of electricity in the Tennessee Valley is nearly twice the national average, while power costs less than half as much. When TVA was established, only about 3 percent of the farms in the area had electric service, whereas today over 90 percent use power from the network lines built by locally owned and managed cooperative and municipal systems. This has, of course, made the whole region a booming market for electrical appliances; since V–J Day, the people of the valley have bought more than a billion dollars worth of appliances.

Similarly, the new cheap electricity has brought new regional industries. In 1939, the area now served by TVA used 1.5 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity; last year, the same region used 24 billion kilowatt-hours. Within 3 years, some 60 billion kilowatt-hours will be required.

Has cheap TVA power pulled industries away from other parts of the country? Of the "hundreds of industries" alleged by TVA's foes to have come from other areas, the single example cited—the Massachusetts Knitting Co., of Columbia, Tenn.—migrated in 1931, 2 years before TVA was created and 8 years before the town in which it located obtained TVA power. The record shows that less than a dozen small firms, employing about 600 people, have moved into the region and none came from distressed New England.

The everincreasing demand for power has outrun the region's hydropower resources, and, although there are still some dams to be developed, TVA has had to erect large steam-generating plants to keep up with needs. At the moment, six large steam-electric plants are under construction. One of them, Kingston, will have 1.4 kilowatts of capacity, the largest in the world; another, the Shawnee plant, is only slightly smaller.

TVA power has been invaluable to the defense effort, and especially to the Atomic Energy Commission. By 1956, the AEC wants TVA to supply its two huge plants in Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Paducah, Ky., with 25 billion kilowatt-hours of power—or twice the amount of electricity used in New York City.

TVA is also enabling the AEC to contract with private utilities for power at rates considerably below their usual industrial rates. Electric Energy, Inc., a new company formed for the purpose, will provide about 40 percent of the power for the AEC's Paducah plant, while another new private company, the Ohio Valley Electric Co., will furnish all the power for the AEC plant being built at Portsmouth, Ohio. Both new companies were formed by combinations of existing companies (5 in the case of EE., Inc., and 15 in the case of OVEC), and together they will provide almost as much electricity for the AEC as does TVA. The low rate they will charge is important to the taxpayer, because they will be supplying the AEC with 45 to 50 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. This tremendous quantity means that each mill per kilowatt-hour the AEC saves represents a cash saving of $45 to $50 million a year.

TVA's power system pays for itself. During its entire period of operation to June 30, 1952, return on the power investment has averaged more than 4 percent annually. Under the law, too, TVA is repaying the Treasury (over a 40-year period) for funds invested in the power system. At the same time, the municipal and cooperative electric systems earn substantial surpluses that are devoted to retiring debt, paying for expansion and improvements, and, finally, reducing rates. In the 1952 fiscal year, the combined net income of their systems was over $17.4 million.

Private utilities frequently charge that TVA is able to maintain low rates because it does not pay taxes or interest on its investment. Actually, TVA does pay tax equivalents to the State and local governments of the Tennessee area, as do the municipal electric systems and most of the rural electric cooperatives. In addition to the more than $3 million paid by TVA in 1952, distributors paid $4.7 million, so that the taxes paid by the public-owned utilities of the area totaled $7.8 million. In other words, about 6.5 cents out of each dollar paid by the average electric consumer went to State and local taxes. This compares favorably with private utility payments in the same region.

The Federal tax situation is slightly different. Municipal systems in the district are exempt from income taxes as a matter of national policy, as are the municipal systems in California and Massachusetts. However, municipal systems distributing TVA power earn nearly a 10-percent return on investment, which equals the return earned by private utilities before taxes. TVA itself does not pay Federal income tax, since all its income belongs to the Government. But even if TVA's power earnings were taxed at the same rate as private utilities, there would still be enough left to cover the Government's investment in the power system.

One question remains: Is TVA consistent with a private-enterprise system? The facts provide an ironical answer. Before TVA came into existence, there was no such thing as free competition among the utilities. The Government, realizing the importance of wide power distribution, has always treated private utilities as "public utilities" and granted them special privileges. These include the use of public streets for poles, lines, and underground circuits; permission to exercise the right of eminent domain to secure land and right-of-way for plants and facilities; exclusive marketing rights over defined areas, or at defined levels; and legislative insurance of a reasonable level of earning.

TVA checked this situation and brought true competition into the utility field. This insures wide distribution of electricity at fair rates and provides the Government with a true-measure "yardstick" that can be used for effective regulation of private monopolies. The average national electric rate has been reduced 60 percent since TVA began selling power.

Furthermore, the region TVA serves has been shifting from a predominantly agricultural region to a rapidly expanding industrial area. Manufacturing jobs have increased 72 percent since 1929, compared with 41 percent in the Nation as a whole. At the same time, trade, service, finance, transportation, and construction, which provided 342,000 jobs in 1929, provided 507,000 in 1950. The overwhelming majority of these new jobs are in private enterprise.

Far from creeping up to destroy capitalism, the Tennessee Valley Authority has given it new life. The farmers, workers, businessmen, and housewives of seven States know this very well.

The National Science Foundation Takes Stock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The National Science Foundation Takes Stock," published in the Scientific American for March 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION TAKES STOCK

(By Lawrence P. Lessing)

The National Science Foundation is rarely noticed by Washington correspondents. This newest and smallest arm of the United States Government has a staff of 113, a current budget of $8 million, and makeshift offices in the old Cosmos Club—a once fashionable but now decadent structure at 1520 H Street NW. On Washington's scale of values the NSF is about as piddling as a Government agency can be—for all its great importance to the future of the Nation.

Considering the central role of science in modern life, the grudging and spartan support given to this agency, belatedly set up to see that basic science is adequately promoted in the United States is not easy to understand. Despite the tremendous contributions of scientists to the winning of World War II, it took 5 years after the war to get through Congress an act establishing the Foundation. The act, as passed in 1950,

put an unheard-of limit of $15 million a year on the new agency's activities. Before the NSF could be born, the outbreak of the Korean war, focusing Washington's attention on appropriations for military hardware, almost killed it in the womb. The NSF got a scant $225,000 for its first year. Its budgets of $3.5 million, $4.7 million, and $8 million for the succeeding fiscal years have been less than half the amounts asked for and a smaller fraction of the actual needs for basic research.

In the closing days of the 1953 session Congress erased the $15 million limitation, and the NSF enters its fourth year in a better position. The executive budget calls for $14 million for the fiscal year 1954–55; how much Congress will actually allow remains to be seen. Whether the infant will be given the nourishment necessary to enable it to grow in a healthy manner is up to the National Legislature.

Though Congress passed a reasonably lucid law giving birth to the NSF, and some members have given it intelligent support, most Congressmen have had to be constantly reminded or reconvinced of its purposes. It is not an agency for the development or engineering of new weapons; the military has budgets for this running to some $1.5 billion this year. It is specifically enjoined from supporting nuclear research; the Atomic Energy Commission is spending more than $265 million on that. It cannot build laboratories or carry on any research of its own, as is done in the National Bureau of Standards and in the Department of Agriculture to the tune of some $50 million a year. Nor is the NSF aimed at finding a cancer cure or a better way to make fuels or a preventive for the common cold. If it were designed for any or all of these things, it would have less difficulty getting funds. Ironically the huge sums given for military and other applied research have been the chief obstacle to obtaining adequate support for basic research.

The NSF Act declares the foundation's prime purpose to be to develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences. In other words, the NSF is created to promote the increase of that pool of basic knowledge from which the whole United States technology must eventually draw sustenance. Any great new advances in industry, agriculture, medicine, or even weaponry in the coming decades can come only from this source. That is a paradox of the impractical activity known as basic research.

A paradox which people not engaged in basic science find even harder to grasp is that in this age of the apparent supremacy of science, fundamental scientific work in the United States is actually in a state of declining support. College incomes and endowments, once the major support of basic science, are down 40 percent from prewar days. Private foundation subsidies are drying up; for example, the Rockefeller Foundation, which almost alone financed the generation of scientists who performed so brilliantly in the last decade, has diverted most of its curtailed funds to emergency measures to raise agricultural and living standards abroad. Meanwhile the costs of basic research have risen sharply, not only in terms of equipment and manpower but also because of the new necessity for team research.

These were among the reasons that impelled Vannevar Bush and the scientists associated in the wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development to urge after the war a great, unprecedented national effort to extend and deepen United States basic research. After 3 years of trying to find itself and to examine the problem, the NSF now at least has some information and some modest progress to report.

The foundation's active life dates from the 1951 appointment of Alan T. Waterman, former physics teacher at Yale University, as its Director. Waterman, a thoughtful, able administrator, had been head of the Navy's well-run Office of Naval Research and before that a top staff member of the OSRD. The problems confronting him in the NSF were quite different from those of the military agencies. On one hand he had to parry political back-stabbings by established departments which inevitably took a fearful view of a new agency. On the other he had to quiet the fears of some scientists and universities that the NSF would grow into a bureaucratic colossus over science.

These fears have been largely dispelled by Waterman's tactful administration and by the operations of the NSF's main ruling body, the National Science Board. This unpaid panel of 24 eminent scientists, educators, and businessmen, appointed by the President, is now headed by the noted telephone executive and former president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Chester I. Barnard. It represents a sufficiently broad, devoted cross section of regions and interests to hold a balance. It has been meeting about every 6 weeks, passing on all NSF business, with an attendance record of over 80 percent.

The NSF has had to formulate its policies from scratch, for earlier agencies, devoted to supervising military or other applied research, offered few useful precedents. The NSF has four main functional areas; fact-finding, granting of funds for basic research and fellowships, dissemination of information, and most important, advising the President and Congress on matters of scientific import.

The largest accomplishment to date is in the first area. By fact-finding surveys the NSF has been plotting the dimensions of its problem, developing heretofore unavailable data on United States research. Some of the findings are presented in the charts with this article. Since 1940 Federal expenditures for research of all types have increased twenty-fold—from $97 million in 1940 to some $2.2 billion last year. Nearly all the increase went to applied research and engineering, prompted mainly by wartime needs. This imbalance continues. Of last year's $2.2 billion, less than $125 million was spent for anything resembling fundamental research. When the $2.2 billion is broken down in other ways, even more remarkable imbalances appear. The physical sciences got nearly 95 percent of the total; the biological sciences got less than 5 percent; and the social sciences received the remaining tiny fraction, most of that merely for statistical research.

The NSF began a series of detailed studies on the status of knowledge in the various sciences. It has completed the first, on certain fields in biology. It found the life sciences, though meagerly supported, in a state of ferment and nascent growth. Because the approaches of biologists are shifting, it has been necessary to classify the various life sciences in a new, more logical way. The sections into which they are now divided are developmental, environmental, genetic, micro, molecular, psycho, regulatory, and systematic biology.

The most active biological areas needing support were found to be molecular, regulatory, and systematic biology. The first has to do with important molecules such as proteins and related substances in living tissue, particularly those involved in central life processes. The second has to do with the mechanisms by which life processes are controlled or regulated. Studies of these have resulted in such applications as the use of insulin in diabetes and vitamin B_{12} in pernicious anemia. The third area—the description and classification of living species—is now being affected by so many accumulating discoveries and new techniques as to need thorough updating.

To make a start toward remedying the neglect of the biological sciences, as soon as research money became available to it (in 1952) the NSF gave most of the funds to that field. It distributed $763,000 for biological work in a number of institutions. One of the grants, for example, was $50,000 for 5 years to University of California geneticists for studying polygenetic variability in poultry; another was $41,000 to the Johns Hopkins University for a 3-year study of antibody reactions. In 1953 a big part of the NSF's funds again went to biology, but its budget was large enough to make substantial grants in the physical and mathematical sciences also.

Surveys like those in the biological sciences already mentioned are now being made in the fields of physiology, psychology, and applied mathematics. The NSF makes a grant to a scientific society in each specific field to carry out the survey. It plans to go through all the neglected sciences in the same way. By periodically repeating the survey of each field, it will keep a running inventory of the progress and lags in the various disciplines. Psychology, now in a period of chaotic growth and widespread application, will almost certainly show a lack of research on fundamentals, particularly in the psychiatric division. The mathematical survey already shows that applied mathematicians must have a deeper grounding in pure mathematics for future growth. Given this commanding view of the sciences, never before obtainable, the NSF will then do something about their needs.

The Foundation now has four major divisions: the biological sciences, including medical research; the mathematical, physical, and engineering sciences; scientific personnel and education; and program analysis, or factfinding.

Ultimately what the Foundation can do to promote basic research will be limited not by money but by men. The total number of persons in the United States capable of doing important original research in science, men and women with doctorates in science, today does not exceed some 35,000. Even if it had unlimited funds, the NSF could not use fruitfully more than about twice its present allowance of research funds in the next few years, according to its estimates. But in part this is due to the fact that people who might be doing basic research have been drawn into applied research. NSF surveys show that of the $338 million in Federal research funds going to universities and nonprofit institutions in fiscal 1953, 4 out of every 5 dollars is for applied research and development, including the building of laboratories. Many scientists have been pulled by this big magnet into short-range, shortsighted work on practical problems.

This subversion of the universities, which by tradition are the fountain heads of long-range, fundamental science, has so frightened many scientists and educators that the NSF is launching an exhaustive study of its effects on the standards, aims, and operations of United States higher education. For this study it has assembled a committee headed by Chester Barnard and including Vannevar Bush, President Harold Dodds, of Princeton University, J. A. Stratton, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other leading figures. When its report is in later this year, the NSF will have a key diagnosis of science's present deficiencies.

In its grants to workers in universities the NSF has been troubled by a wartime hangover. In order to get military research done swiftly the OSRD used a "no-gain-no-loss" contract which compensated universities for all costs, including overhead. The NSF, in contrast, has adopted the policy of giving funds as direct grants to reputable investigators, with a minimum of strings attached and no allowance for overhead. Its Board feels that, as a matter of principle, basic re-

search, which should be a central function of universities, should not be made to pay for their general maintenance and housekeeping. Many college business offices do not like this arrangement, and some have resisted it. It is a policy that probably will be argued further.

In the training of new scientists the NSF has had to limit itself to graduate fellowships. It gave some 550 last year, ranging in size from $1,400 to $3,400 a year. The Foundation believes that to carry out its mission fully it will need to finance undergraduate scholarships also and even promote science in the secondary schools, where the heart of the problem lies [see A Crisis in Science Teaching, by Fletcher G. Watson; Scientific American, February]. The NSF-supported Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training forecasts that in the 5-year period ending in 1957 the number of bachelor of science graduates will decline 30 percent from the previous 5 years, falling to a rate of 66,800 per year. This decline will be followed by a fall in science doctorates, from a peak of 5,400 per year.

The NSF has other activities. It maintains a national register of scientific and technical personnel, underwrote some 10 scientific symposia, and a number of smaller conferences in the past year, helped pay the traveling expenses of some 50 United States scientists to attend important foreign scientific meetings. It advised Congress on bills having to do with the complex subject of weather control, i. e., rainmaking. It set up for President Eisenhower a Committee on Minerals Research which is now investigating all known means of mineral exploration in order to advise on future research in this critical field. It also, when consulted about the matter, vigorously advised the President to liberalize travel restrictions on foreign scientists seeking visas to attend United States scientific conferences. At least 50 percent of all foreign scientists trying to enter the United States meet serious difficulties or delays, and some international societies have refused to schedule meetings in the United States. The Foundation pointed out that the situation is inimical not only to the international traditions of science but also to scientific progress in the United States.

At the request of the National Academy of Sciences, the Foundation is preparing for participation by the United States in the third geophysical year in 1957–58. In 1882 and again 1932 many nations banded together to make a large series of important measurements simultaneously in many parts of the world to check such scientific constants as the speed of light, the positions of stars, and so on. This time the measurements will be much more elaborate, with batteries of new instruments. So far 28 countries are behind the effort. If the United States is to participate, the NSF will have to obtain from Congress this year about a $10 million supplementary appropriation.

So far the NSF has spent a total of some $5 million on nearly 500 grants for research and a slightly larger amount on research fellowships. The research supported ranges from important work on steroids, enzymes, radio astronomy, evolution, coals, probability, antibiotics, atomic masses, and the metabolism of leaves down to projects on coal-ball flora and the biochemistry and nutrition of the bat—samples distributed over the whole fructifying range of knowledge that is basic science. But the NSF has been able to support only about half of the worthy projects proposed to it, and last year for lack of funds it had to turn away two-thirds of the 2,000 qualified young applicants for its graduate fellowships. The names of those turned away were put on an honorable-mention list and circulated to institutions which might consider them for fellowship grants. But undoubtedly many of these promising persons were lost to science.

At the moment the Foundation is in danger of being overloaded with political freight as a result of the new administration's pressure for economy. Some people in the Budget Bureau and in Congress believe it would save money to concentrate all Federal activities in basic science under the NSF. The new budget transfers some $3 million for basic research from the Department of Defense to the NSF, and there is pressure to do likewise with basic research financed by the Atomic Energy Commission. The danger is that there may be a net constriction of the total available for basic science and injury to some programs. Some basic research is so closely associated with other work of a department that it should remain under that department's supervision. In basic science, unlike applied research, some duplication of effort is necessary. That is how science has grown in the past and continues to grow.

In a Reith lecture for the British Broadcasting Corporation last fall J. Robert Oppenheimer observed, "We regard it as proper and just that the patronage of science by society is in large measure based on the increased power which knowledge gives. If we are anxious that the power so given and so obtained be used with wisdom and with love of humanity, that is an anxiety we share with almost everyone. But we also know how little of the deep new knowledge which has altered the face of the world, which has changed—and increasingly and evermore profoundly must change—man's views of the world, resulted from a quest for practical ends or an interest in exercising the power that knowledge gives. For most of us, in most of those moments when we were most free of corruption, it has been the beauty of the world of nature and the strange and compelling harmony of its order that has sustained, enspirited, and led us. That also a as it should be. And if the forms in which society provides and exercises its patronage of science leave these incentives strong and secure, new knowledge will never stop as long as there are men."

Soil Conservation and Watershed Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to support this legislation which is a great step forward in soil conservation. The pattern it follows is sound. The fact that local communities must initiate such programs and pay part of the costs makes it sound and economical.

I would like to point out that sometime over a year ago, about 50 or 60 outstanding soil conservation leaders met at the White House with President Eisenhower and pointed out the great value and need for such legislation. The President was so convinced that he endorsed their proposal.

We Members of the Appropriations Committee, many of whom had seen the need for such a program for sometime, and in the belief that this session of the Congress would authorize legislation approving this great step forward in soil conservation, took the initiative by writing into last year's appropriation bill $5 million to be used in setting up what was termed "pilot plants," to encourage farmers to make an early start in beginning plans and operations designated by our committee to prevent soil erosion and to help prevent damage by floods through proper soil use, the building of small lakes and ponds, greater use of cover crops, in an effort to prevent water run-off at the sources of streams, and hold back water on the farms, and to prevent undue flood damages.

The pilot plant tests we provided, which have met with such unanimous approval by soil-conservation leaders, has resulted in this legislation being passed, today, which spells out the policy to follow in this great forward step in soil conservation.

When the farmers initiate a cooperative effort, complying with this legislation along small or large streams, the Federal Government will encourage them by contributing about 50 percent of the cost of such projects. The purpose of this legislation is to keep as much of the water as we can close to where it falls. When water falls from the sky and sinks into the ground, it is beneficial in raising the water table. We in southern Illinois went through the worst drought, last year in our history, with the water level sinking lower than ever before, which compelled thousands of farmers to haul water, when they could find it, and resulted in a tremendous crop loss.

From that experience, one can realize the great value to our section of the State had we been able to keep throughout the months proceeding the drought, more of the rainfall in the ground, rather than to let it flood into the streams.

This new program, to keep more of the water where it falls, I am sure will spread rapidly in our section of the State when it is better understood, and which will spread over the Nation, will help to raise the water tables; will help to store the rain and moisture in the ground; will help to prevent too rapid runoff—washing the topsoil away into the rivers and creeks; will encourage the farmers to use more cover crops, build more terraces, more grass watercourses, and prevent, to a great degree, the washing away of our precious topsoil, and will contribute to greater soil conservation and better farm yields.

If we can keep the water near where it falls, so that it may be absorbed by the ground, it will supply our crops with the necessary moisture and feed our underground sources of water. We have failed to do enough of this type of work in the past.

The water that runs on the surface of the earth often does great damage. It causes the washing away of your soil, fills up reservoirs with silt, fills up creeks and riverbeds; it increases floods, destroys farmlands and crops.

The Government, through the years past, has spent billions of dollars to contain or control floodwaters. Nearly all of such spending has been necessary, and has afforded great protection to farmlands, and has prevented the de-

struction of cities and villages along the navigable streams.

FLOOD PREVENTION

We shall have to continue our flood-control policies of the past, but, may I point out this legislation offers the opportunity not only to protect the soil at the source, where the water falls and along the channels, but to protect it from erosion and washing away.

It is also designed to hold back a part of the water by the use of small lakes and ponds which will help to prevent, in the future, floodwaters from becoming so high, and will reduce in the longer future spending of so many millions of dollars for levees to contain the great floods like we have had in the past. This new program of soil conservation will store more of the water in the good earth where it falls.

No flood ever originated in the channels of the Mississippi or in any other large river or stream. Floods originate in pastures and in fields. Floods originate where the water falls, not in the streams where the water in running.

I know that it will take time, but I make the prediction here and now that this new concept of holding water closer to where it falls, holding as much as we can in the earth where it will help to grow greater crops and prevent soil erosion, will become so popular that, with the Government cooperating financially with the soil-conservation districts set up under this new legislation, within a reasonable time it will have a great effect on preventing floods downstream, and, at the same time, continue its great benefits through soil conservation by preventing too rapid runoff of water along our streams.

Our committee, in cooperating with President Eisenhower, is proud to have taken the first step in launching this very practical program, which will grow in benefits and greatness to our Nation in preserving the fertility of our soil for future generations.

The Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding on Wednesday of this week the new tax bill is scheduled for consideration here in the House. This legislation is of primary interest to every individual in the United States. It has a direct bearing upon the economic and social processes of the country. Whether or not an individual pays taxes, the tax law which is finally enacted by the Congress will touch the life of every one in the Nation.

As have many of my colleagues I have devoted a long time to the study of our tax problems. It is my view that tax legislation must be considered from the point of view of all of the interrelated economic processes in volved throughout the whole country. All of the trees in the forest must be considered. Likewise it must be kept in mind that when the fruits of man's labor are largely consumed by his government, his freedom shrinks away until it disappears.

The American taxpayer has earned some relief from the heavy taxes paid over these strenuous years of crisis during which time the American people have shouldered the heavy burden of financing the total bill for the protection of freedom everywhere in the world. It is now proclaimed we are changing as a country from a war economy into a peacetime economy. If this is true then is it not also fair and just to give to the people a relief from the heavy taxation of the war years?

In order to provide a sensible method of giving this tax relief to the people as well as a sensible method of strengthening the country for the future I have recommended that the exemption allowance for dependents in the income-tax law should be increased from $600, the present level, to $1,000. This increase not only would permit families to properly and more adequately care for their children but it would also encourage children. It would strengthen the America of tomorrow.

In support of my bill H. R. 6925 recommending this increase in the exemptions I have analyzed the problem and have given considerable study to all of the difficulties and essentials that must be considered. In the form of a letter to the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee our very able colleague the Honorable DANIEL REED of New York, I presented an analysis in the hope that the chairman and the distinguished members of his committee would find it possible to include the relief I recommend in the tax bill which they are asking the Congress to enact this week. The committee failed to include any relief in the form of increased exemptions for the millions od taxpayers having the responsibility of dependents. I believe this is a tragic mistake.

In further support for my recommended tax relief I have addressed a letter to the President of the United States appealing to him to give his support to the millions of Americans who need this tax relief so desperately. Among these millions of Americans are young veterans, old in spirit, young in years, who have carried the flag of freedom across Normandy and up and down Heartbreak Ridge. They want a family. They want strong, healthy children. They want to educate their children and make them the kind of Americans of which they can be proud. It is my view they have earned this right. It is my view they should have this tax relief. And it is my view that all other fine, loyal American citizens who have so willingly sacrificed for so long are entitled to tax relief permitting them a chance to care a little bit better for all of those dependent upon them. In many cases these include the parents, relatives, friends, or other human responsibilities which they have so finely and admirably assumed.

In order that all of the distinguished Members of the House who might be interested in the analysis and views I have presented to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and to the President of the United States, I include as a part of my remarks at this time, the letters I have sent to these distinguished leaders of our country. I shall greatly appreciate it if many of my colleagues here in the House as well as the Members of the Senate could find the time to read these letters. I believe you will agree with me, I believe you will accept the conclusions of my analysis and I believe you would support my views and the tax relief recommended if you could study the thoughts and conclusions with which I have tried so honestly and so earnestly to bring about this greatly needed tax relief.

The letters follow:

LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

FEBRUARY 15, 1954.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,
Member of Congress, Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Several weeks ago I wrote to you proposing that your committee increase the exemption for dependents in the income-tax law from its present level of $600 to a proposed level of $1,000. In my letter I mentioned several general reasons why I believed this increase was necessary. Your reply to my letter illustrated your broad knowledge and comprehension of the complex problems associated with income-tax inequities. In this letter I have the honor to present to you my views regarding the basic factors involved in relation to the entire economic process together with some general reasons in support of my proposal which require consideration it seems to me, by the Ways and Means Committee and the Congress.

In reply to my letter you stated the following:

"It is not possible to dissent from the persuasive logic that you have presented in support of your proposal. As you know, I have contended for many years that the tax burden imposed on the American citizen is too onerous. * * * It is my hope that we will succeed in reducing expenditures in the very near future so that a tax relief of the type you suggest will become feasible."

In spite of the revenue loss to the Government which you allege would occur if my proposed increase in exemption allowance were to be enacted, the first two sentences of the paragraph quote above were extremely encouraging. Here you agreed with me and stated it has been your view for several years, the tax load imposed on the American people, particularly the wage earners, has been too oppressive. In the last sentence of the above-quoted paragraph from your letter there is the inference the Committee on Ways and Means possibly would take action to relieve this onerous load as soon as there was a reduction in the expenditures of the Government.

In view of the fact this reduction in the expenditures of the Government has occurred and is continuing to take place, and because I believe this reduction should be reflected in the income-tax law by giving to the people the benefits of certain tax relief and lifting the heavy tax burden of this generation as soon as possible, I introduced a bill at the beginning of this session of Congress to amend the income-tax law by increasing the exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent from $600, the present level, to $1,000. This bill is designated H. R. 6925 and has been assigned for consideration to the

Ways and Means Committee of which you are the distinguished chairman.

According to my information, the Ways and Means Committee has decided against any increase whatsoever in the exemption allowance for dependents in the committee bill of amendments to the income tax law now being considered and formulated by the Ways and Means Committee. It is my conclusion that this action by the Ways and Means Committee not only is wrong and depressing for the American people but it is also extremely dangerous. It is wrong because this generation of Americans has earned tax relief and because the decision cannot be accurately supported by sound economic analysis taking in consideration all of the factors involved in the whole economic and social processes of the entire country. This decision is dangerous because it strikes a blow at the very heart of America and threatens the health and quality of the future life of the Nation.

An examination of the indexes compiled for the basic factors involved in the cost of living, such as food, clothing, rents, education, transportation, medical and hospital expenses, discloses an astonishing increase in basic living costs during the 8-year period from 1946 to 1954. Wage and pay increases during this period have not equalled the ascending cost of living but rather have failed by a wide margin of bringing income and cost of living into balance. In addition all wage and pay increases subject the taxpayer to a higher tax bracket resulting in more tax income for the Government, leaving a net increase of income to the taxpayer of negligible benefit.

Considering the basic economic factors involved, if $600 represented a fair and feasible exemption allowance for a dependent in 1946 by the Ways and Means Committee, in view of the cost of living indexes at that time, upon what economic factors does the committee conclude this same $600 dependent exemption is fair and just in 1954? Certainly the American people in every city, village and hamlet, regardless of politics would appreciate having this information and explanation.

Some officials of the Government have expressed the view that even an increase of $100 in the amount of exemption permitted for a dependent would cause catastrophic upheaval within our economic system. Those of the timid, no change opinion maintain this economic machine of ours is a delicate instrument and that the slightest zepher of reform or change might harm the balance wheel and cause disequilibrium. Strangely, however, the balance wheel of this delicate economic instrument receives no consideration when the wage income of American workers is threatened by unemployment brought about by favoritism and the subjecting of well established American enterprise to competition with cheap, underpaid foreign labor through the avenue of unreciprocal trade agreements.

Those that oppose even this small increase in exemption allowance maintain the primary reason for their opposition is that such an increase would result in the elimination of a large number of taxpayers from paying any taxes and greatly reduce the tax income of the Federal Government. Their expressed position is that every American should help pay for his Government and his security. In reply to this argument I should like to emphasize I believe loyal Americans throughout the country are pleased to do their part and pay their just and fair share of the cost of government. Surely, however, the amount paid in income tax is not the only consideration or the only measure of contribution of an American or an American family to the progress and welfare of his country. Great contributions have been made. The record of performance of the American people is unmatched in kindness, unselfishness and generosity in the world's history. In recent years some of us have observed heroic sacrifices. I believe the building of an American family, the birth of healthy children, their shelter, education and support constitutes a notable contribution to the strength and character that is America. It is my view that the Nation's tax income is dependent upon a number of fundamental factors other than the immediate dollar collections.

For the tax year of 1954 there will be approximately 60 million tax returns filed. By 1960 there will be almost 70 million. According to the Bureau of the Census, there are over 50 million dependent children in the United States as of this year. Of this number approximately 36 million are of school age. According to the United States Office of Education approximately this number of children are enrolled in public and private schools and colleges. These millions of children not only are dependent for their complete support but they represent the America of tomorrow and upon their parents is the heavy responsibility of the Nation's future. The cost to these parents represents not only a large investment in, but also a large contribution to, this country of ours. Those who are responsible for the building and moulding of the Nation's future, certainly are worthy of consideration today. The present $600 level for dependency exemption does not constitute a third of the annual cost per child or dependent. This unfair and unjust exemption allowance, if continued, will leave its mark on the quality of tomorrow's citizens.

Now may I direct your attention to another common situation in our country concerning this present $600 level of exemption for a dependent. Suppose a young lady, earning $3,000 annually, has the responsibility of caring for her dependent invalid mother and father. After deducting Federal income taxes, she has $233 a month to spread over rent, food, clothing, transportation, medical and doctor bills. In addition, there are State, county, municipal, and incidental taxes. Do you believe this young lady can balance her budget and at the same time properly and adequately discharge her responsibilities?

In further reply to the argument this increase in the exemption level for a dependent would result in the barring of a large number of taxpayers from paying any taxes, it is my view the contrary would take place, causing an eventual increase in the number of taxpayers and in the total amount of tax income. The proposed increase in the exemption for dependents would encourage young men and women to be married and have children. This increase in the population eventually not only would provide a stronger America but it would result in more and more income taxes as well as business and luxury taxes. It is my view that this generation of Americans have met and discharged their obligations and responsibilities in an extremely commendable way. Every generation should carry its own load. It is a mistake to charge the American people of today with more than their share of past obligations and add to it some of the responsibility of the future. Weathering through two great world wars, a catastrophic depression and the tragic Korean conflict in addition to the constant struggle against communism is quite enough for this generation of our people. Never in the course of history has there been such an example of stamina and unselfishness.

The decision of the Ways and Means Committee in opposition to any increase in the exemption level for dependents at this time is not only wrong but it is also dangerous. I make this statement after considerable study and thinking in regard to the whole problem. Our free form of government is largely dependent upon balance. In view of the fact that no single operation of government stands alone and independent of the economic processes of the Nation, it is necessary at all times and in every case to weigh the benefits against the detriments in regard to every action taken by the Government. It must never be forgotten that our Government is a government of, by and for the people. In good government, in every decision the benefits must far out-weigh the detriments for an overwhelming majority of the people. In proportion to the degree this balance is ignored the freedom of the people is lost. The survival of freedom is just as much dependent upon the economic processes as it is on military power. Economic bombs can smash the free way of life just as quickly as atomic bombs. In both forces the result is violence and human suffering.

Without question, there are limited benefits for the Federal Government to obtain by maintaining the present exemption level for a dependent. The principal benefit, of course, is the fact the Government during the immediate period will receive a larger sum of gross receipts from individual income taxes. The important question is, however, what is the overall cost to the Nation; what are the detriments involved, in order to receive this extra amount of income. It is the actual net amount of income that is the controlling consideration. If this cost is greater than the specific amount of additional income involved relative to future income receipts, then it would seem to be not only poor business but national foolishness to insist upon continuing a policy which would result in less income to the Government at a greater detriment to the people. To so insist is to burden the great majority of the people with needless detriments affecting the entire economic process. Our country cannot afford the luxuary of such foolishness or the danger it threatens to our national well-being. For without question such a policy is dangerous for the whole Nation.

If there were ever a time in our history when it is necessary for our country to be strong, surely that time is now and in the years ahead. To be always strong, the Nation must possess a healthy, constantly increasing family life. Young men and women must be encouraged to make homes and develop a family, rather than discouraged. Any factor of government which operates to discourage the development of our family life operates against the welfare of our country. Strong, healthy children help to make our Nation strong. They not only contribute to the national defense but they contribute to the business and scientific progress of the Nation. There is no better way or more dependable source for enlarging the base for the increase of Federal tax income.

Now the amount of $600 which the Ways and Means Committee has concluded is a fair and just exemption for a dependent child is so completely inadequate it threatens the very future of our country. Completely supported public welfare cases in any State within the Union cost at least $1,200 per case. If the Federal Government had the responsibility of total maintenance of welfare cases, it would discover it to be impossible to feed, clothe, house, and care for a single individual for as little as $1,200 per year. If this condition is true in regard to the Federal Government which has the advantage of surpluses, wholesale purchases and contractual negotiations, how then can the Federal Government expect a taxpayer to do the same job for $600 without any commercial advantages? To expect a taxpayer to completely maintain a dependent for $600 is to force that taxpayer to provide marginal support resulting in malnutrition, improper food, improper living conditions, and improper care in general. By refusing to increase this amount the Government can be accused of forcing the taxpayer to deny food from the mouths of his own children. This is indeed a dangerous policy for America. It not only weakens our future but it causes

unrest and discontent. Is this shortsighted policy worth the extremely questionable and doubtful amount of additional net tax income claimed because of the lower exemption level?

It doesn't make sense for the Government to spend billions of dollars of the tax income to purchase and accumulate huge surpluses of butter and eggs in order to support a certain price level for these necessary commodities when there are fifty to sixty million Americans who would purchase these necessary health-giving foods for themselves and their families if they possessed a portion of the billions of tax income the Government uses to accumulate these surpluses in the form of an increase in the exemption for dependents. It is enormously wrong for the Government to withhold purchasing power from the people by failing to increase the exemption level and at the same time use this purchasing power to maintain prices for these commodities beyond the market reach of the same people. If these millions of Americans possessed the purchasing power this surplus of butter and eggs would not exist. These Americans and their children like butter and eggs too.

For several years now, our country has been engaged in a tremendous struggle for survival. We have been fighting for our free way of life against the slave life and confusion of communism. In this struggle, we have learned that communism thrives and nourishes in areas of economically dissatisfied and discouraged people. Within our own country, communism has had its greatest growth and spread among our people who are constantly subjected to economic distress and marginal living. It is very difficult for an individual to approve and endorse a system of life and government which demands so large a portion of his labor that he no longer has enough money to properly take care of his family responsibilities. It is difficult for an individual to approve and endorse a system of government which denies encouragement to the creation of basic family life. It is difficult for an individual to approve and endorse a system of government which prevents the planning of future security. Now there is nothing wrong with the American system of government. This has been well proven over the years. Through excessive taxation, however, our free way of life can be threatened. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights, however, are not protected against unwise policies of taxation. When the fruits of man's labor are mostly absorbed in the requirements of his government, freedom shrinks away to a form of political control or dictatorship.

At this time, there is no one in government possessing the wisdom to know how long this struggle with communism will continue or when it will end. In this struggle, our country has spent many billions. Tremendous sums have been spent within our own country to prevent the spread and growth of communism. Many billions of our tax income have been spent in many foreign countries to prevent the spread of communism. Is the immediate tax income resulting from the low level exemption for a dependent worth the cost of creating, as it does, the large area of dissatisfied taxpayer citizens? This is an area in which the Federal Government can stamp out the nourishment of communism. Isn't it time we gave attention to our own country? Isn't it time the people of America had the benefit of some of the billions so loosely tossed away to those foreign countries where its effectiveness and value is questioned and doubted? It is said that America is losing the fight against communism. Let us make sure America does not lose this fight within our own national borders. It is my view that the Congress should do everything possible to strengthen national security from within the borders of the country by decreasing the large number of dissatisfied and distressed persons who are the constant targets for subversive propaganda.

It is dangerous to the country as a whole to fail to increase the exemption level for dependents because of the effect such a failure could have on the national economy. One of the most effective methods of interrupting a movement of the economic processes toward a general depression is the increasing of the supply of money in the hands of the people. In this regard, the contrary also is true for the scarcity of purchasing power brings on a period of declining spending causing a recession throughout the whole economic process. Without purchasing power in the hands of a large majority of the people, generally spread over the Nation, business recedes, unemployment increases, the national income greatly declines, throwing the entire Nation into serious trouble. A scarcity of money is a strong factor in the cause of a depression. The proposed increase in the exemption level would result in more purchasing power spread over the national area and 50 million Americans.

In our economy today the Federal policy appears to be concentrated on a withdrawal of money from circulation. This is illustrated by the constant pressure brought to bear upon the citizens of the Nation to purchase Government bonds and securities. Large sums are expended for radio and television advertising programs urging the people to make these purchases. The public is appealed to on the basis of patriotism and loyalty to the country. Not only is this an absurd policy at this time but it is also economically unsound. This policy of withdrawing money from circulation at this time is also illustrated by the huge refinancing of Federal securities reaching maturity by the Department of the Treasury. In other words, instead of paying off these obligations as they become due in cash and thereby adding to the supply of money in circulation, the Treasury is meeting its debt obligations through the process of refinancing with paper having future maturity. By this method the Treasury prevents any additional flow of money supply into the channels of circulation and spending. In fact, this policy actually results in reduced purchasing power, a slowing up of velocity and a decline in total national income. Having a direct bearing on this situation is the fact that in its first year of operation the administration succeeded in reducing Government spending to the extent of approximately $12 billion. This is illustrated by the drastically reduced Federal expenditures for national defense. It is generally alleged also that additional saving in expenditures will amount to approximately $3 billion to $5 billion. In fiscal 1955 the amount of reduced expenditures in billions is already in the process of consideration.

Although I shall not comment upon this policy of the Government, I will emphasize the fact that a reduction of the supply of money to the extent of $15 billion to $18 billion, together with the resulting decrease in velocity, has a tremendous impact upon the entire economic processes of the whole country. Unless this tremendous impact is balanced off by other ways of maintaining the necessary level of money supply in circulation, thereby keeping purchasing power at a normal level and velocity, there can be only one result, and that result is a slowing up of the economic processes to the extent that the whole Nation is engulfed in a period of depression. Now this fact is extremely important. Stated more precisely, it is just this: Unless the large amount of circulating money withdrawn from the economy during a normal period of full employment is balanced by other means of supplying purchasing power to the economic processes, there can be only one result, and that result will be a depression.

At this time it is not my purpose to discuss different methods or procedures through which this balancing process might be accomplished. It is my purpose, however, to point out one way in which it can be largely accomplished. In your letter of December 7, 1953, you stated:

"Unfortunately, for each $100 that personal exemptions are increased there is a resulting revenue loss of approximately $2.5 billion. Thus, the revenue implication of your very meritorious suggestion would involve a loss of approximately $10 billion to the Federal Government."

In accord with this statement it can be assumed that if the exemption for dependents were increased from the present level of $600 to the suggested level of $1,000, there would be a sum of approximately $10 billion available for increased purchasing power in the national economy. This sum would be spread over the whole Nation and concentrated in the hands of taxpayers having the necessity of spending. This sum multiplied by the velocity of turnover would equal the amount of increase in the national income. This increase in the national income would provide a larger base for income-tax purposes, the effect of which would be an increase in total tax income to the Federal Government.

In this analysis I have accepted your figures as accurate. This alleged loss to the Government, however, relates to an immediate gross paper loss of tax income and not to a net result. It is quite obvious there could be a gain in net tax income depending on the velocity of total money transactions and its effect on the sum involved from the viewpoint of increased national income for tax-income purposes.

It is my contention that my proposed increase in the exemption level for a dependent would help tremendously to stabilize normal purchasing power by helping to balance the necessary supply level of money required to maintain a prosperous economy. The immediate effect of this result would be to greatly retard the present movement of recession and possibly prevent the Nation from being overtaken by an ever-deepening depression. In relation to this situation it must be observed that the population of the United States of America, according to the Bureau of the Census, has increased over 20 million since the $600 level for exemptions was established in the income-tax law. Bank clearings have doubled in some of the principal financial centers, and in some cases, they have tripled. Not only have business enterprises tremendously increased, but also the type and kinds of business in operation. During this period, the national income has increased approximately 70 percent, providing a much larger base for income-tax purposes. Taking the figure for the 1954 budget presented to the Congress recently by the President, the Federal expenditures are approximately only 8 percent higher than they were in 1946. These are some of the facts, it seems to me, which must be taken into consideration in regard to the establishment of a just and fair exemption allowance for a dependent.

As I recommended to you in my letter of December 7, 1953, my bill, H. R. 6925, provides that the exemption allowance for a dependent in the income-tax law should be raised from the present level of $600 to the level of $1,000. May I say in support of my proposed bill of amendment that the increase of $400 in the exemption allowance for a dependent to the level of $1,000 was reached after careful study and consideration of the many economic factors involved. Since the year when the $600 present level exemption allowance was established total per capita tax payments have increased approximately 70 percent. Included in this amount is the increase in excise taxes which cover many items that

are considered essential today. From 1946 to 1954 there has been an increase in these items of approximately 90 percent. The proposed $400 increase in dependency exemptions represents a 66-percent increase, which is somewhat less by nearly 5 percent than the increase in per capita tax payments for this period. If the $600 exemption level was considered fair and just in 1946, certainly a level of $1,000 must be fair and just for 1954.

Although they are not directly the concern of the Federal Government, it must be remembered also the taxpayer has had to bear considerable increases in State and local taxes. Considering the whole Nation, the percentage of increase in wages and individual income is seriously less than the percentage of increase in the total per capita tax load. From a viewpoint including all the factors involved in the Nation's total economic processes, this factor must be considered. In other words, the proposed level of $1,000 as a fair and just exemption allowance for a dependent was reached after a careful examination of the economic factors and a balancing of the economic interests involved from the viewpoint of the benefits and detriments to the whole country. A larger amount than this would appear to constitute an imbalance of the basic factors, while an amount smaller than the proposed $1,000 is confronted with the same economic arguments subject to degree, as is the amount of the present level of exemption allowance for a dependent.

Having been associated with the affairs of government for a long time as we have, Mr. Chairman, we have enjoyed the unusual opportunity to observe the loyalty, respect, and esteem the American people have for their Government, their country, and the free way of life. Through these eventful years of crises, we have been close to the conscience, the thoughts, the needs, and the hopes of our fellow Americans throughout the Nation. Out of this long experience, I think you will agree with me that we know when government functions largely for the benefit of government rather than for the people it is honorbound to serve, the free way of life suffers and slowly disintegrates until finally it is lost. This we must not permit to happen in our country.

Just as I know you strongly possess, I also have a deep confidence and respect for the loyalty and fairness of the overwhelming majority of the American people for their Government and for all that it stands and represents. They do not want it injured, they do not want it weakened, they do not want it to become something different. They desire to be fair at all times in their appraisal of the issues in which both the Government and the people are directly concerned. At the same time, however, I know you will agree with me that the American people believe their Government should be honest, fair, and just in all of its operations and functions with the people for whom it is designed to serve.

Since I introduced my bill, H. R. 6925, proposing an increase from $600 to $1,000, the income-tax exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent, on the 1st day of this 2d session of the 83d Congress, I want you to know, as well as the distinguished Members of Congress on the Ways and Means Committee, that I have received thousands of communications from all sections of the Nation. They have come from lawyers, doctors, teachers, clergymen, businessmen, educators, social-service workers, government employees, and from thousands of mothers and fathers everywhere. In all of these communications, not one has been opposed to this proposed legislation. In many of the letters, the detailed description of personal hardship, personal suffering, and personal sacrifices cut deeply into the heart and spirit and conscience of my daily consideration of duty and responsibility. It is my belief that without question you are touched with the same feelings.

The millions of people this proposed legislation of mine reaches, Mr. Chairman, are loyal Americans who are proud and who hold their heads high because of the fact they are a part of this great free Republic. Never would they permit for one moment any act on their part that could be or might be interpreted as unfair to their Government and their country. Throughout all of these strenuous years they have shown their courage, their stamina of character, and their willingness to cooperate. Never have they turned away from giving a helping hand to the people of friendly nations suffering from distress, the tragedy of war, and other catastrophies. Human endurance often is surprisingly strong, but there comes a time after many years of shouldering many burdens that it needs rest, nourishment, and encouragement. The time has come, Mr. Chairman, when 50 million Americans possessing 1 or more dependents are calling out for a little relief and rest. Long have they carried the financial load required to hold together freedom and the free way of life everywhere. They have earned this tax relief. In all recorded history, there cannot be found a nation's people so noble, so generous, so unselfish, so great.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I give to you my thanks and appreciation for your cooperation, patience, loyalty, and outstanding Americanism. Because well over one-third of the people of our country are involved and the bearing it has on the economic processes of the country, I respectfully urge your distinguished committee to reconsider its conclusions in regard to this proposal of mine to provide relief to so many of our fine citizens by way of this increase in the income-tax exemption allowed for a dependent. In this respect, I request the Ways and Means Committee to consider my bill, H. R. 6925, to which it is referred. Although I do not wish to add to the heavy work of your fine committee, I am confident millions of the American people expect this tax relief action as proposed in my bill during this session of Congress. The appeal of the American people to their Government is not unreasonable. Can their Government afford to be unreasonable with them?

With cordial regards and all best wishes to you, Mr. Chairman, and the distinguished members of your excellent committee, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Member of Congress.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 13, 1954.

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thousands of Americans have urged me to write you this letter. Since the first day of this session of Congress, when I introduced by bill, H. R. 6925, to provide an increase in the exemption allowed a taxpayer for a dependent in the income-tax law, this request for your support has grown into a compelling force. I must therefore present it to you for your serious consideration. Never before in my whole career of public service have I known an appeal so honest, so genuine, so completely unorganized coming from so many everywhere.

In every community all over America millions are calling for tax relief of this nature. This increase in the exemption allowance for dependents would permit millions of Americans to better clothe, feed, house, educate their children, and provide a higher standard of family life. It would increase purchasing power in the hands of so many who need it almost desperately. It would stimulate new business and increase employment now when it is needed. It would provide the basis for the building of a stronger, greater, finer America of tomorrow. Knowing its economic soundness, I have vigorously urged the incorporation of my proposal in the tax bill now before the Congress.

Throughout these strenuous years of crisis, the taxpayers of America have carried the financial load necessary to hold together the ramparts of freedoms. Billions from our labor have constituted the bulwark preventing the Communist enslavement of the whole world. In all recorded history there cannot be found a nation's people so generous, so unselfish, so great. It is well to remember, however, that when the fruits of man's labor are largely consumed by government, freedom shrinks away to death. Economic bombs can smash the free way of life just as quickly as atomic bombs. In both forces the result is violence and suffering.

Arguments have been made and recently given wide publication that tax relief for millions of Americans, provided by an increase in the exemption allowance for dependent children, dependent parents, dependent relatives, and other dependent persons, seriously affecting the standard of American family life, cannot be afforded by the Government of the United States. It is argued this relief is more than the budget can stand; that it is not a good way to put purchasing power into the hands of consumers; and that such an increase in the exemption allowance would exempt a large number of Americans from paying any income tax at all which, it is proclaimed, would be a mistake. Based upon sound economic and social thinking, these arguments are wrong, misleading to the public in general, and unjust to the American people as a whole. They cannot be supported by economic fact.

If the budget cannot be balanced, attention should be focused on the core of the problem, namely, the billions of tax income wasted and squandered loosely in areas all over the world. The attack should not be and must not be concentrated on American family life, causing substandard living to the extent of malnutrition for millions of American children and their fathers and mothers, threatening the quality and strength of our Nation's future. There is more, Mr. President, much more, involved in personal contribution to this great Nation of ours than just merely the contribution in tax income. All of the trees in the forest and the soil from which they are nourished must be considered in a relational way, rather than just single trees here and there in the forest, in an economic argument involving the welfare of the whole Nation. If industry can spread financial burden to avoid too heavy concentration at a particular time, it seems to me government has the same privilege and there need be no smokescreen of buget complexities.

Founded in a feeling of respect and admiration for you as a great American and confident of your loyalty and interest in them, these thousands who have expressed their approval for this tax relief trust and believe you will endorse this proposal to do something for them. This faith, this confidence, is so honorable, so fine, so worthy of respect. Surely you agree the American people have earned this tax relief. Their appeal to their Government is not unreasonable. Can their Government afford to be unreasonable with them?

I believe in the right and justice of my proposal to provide tax relief for millions of Americans, to improve their standard of living, to increase the quality and strength of our great country. Toward this objective I shall continue to work with all my strength and energy. With faith in their hearts, these millions, I believe, are confident you will help them secure this tax relief.

With cordial regards and all good wishes, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Member of Congress.

National Sovereignty Versus World Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following address I delivered commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Slovak Declaration of Independence at a meeting sponsored by the Slovak League of America and the Catholic Federation, at Benedictine Auditorium, Cleveland, March 13, 1954, on National Sovereignty Against World Socialism:

It is an honor for me to be here with you this evening and to join with you in commemorating the love of Slovak people everywhere in the world for God, freedom, and individual liberty. Anyone who has taken the time to study the history of the Slovak people, or to acquaint themselves with the traditions of Slovaks in America, will immediately recognize my point of associating God with human freedom. Like the Irish, their slogan is and has always been for God and country.

Some years ago, when the storm clouds of World War II were gathering over the skies of Europe, I became intensely interested in the cause of nations which were then hanging in the balance. On the one hand, we, the people of the free world, were confronted with the menace of national socialism as represented by Hitler, and on the other hand, the menace of international socialism as represented by Stalin, the czar of Russian communism. It was then clear to me that the tyrants, Stalin and Hitler, had a common purpose—to dominate the world. It was therefore no shock to me when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was announced to the world in 1939. It was, however, a tremendous shock to the unprepared homegrown Communists and fellow travelers in the United States and their fellow conspirators in other parts of the world.

The first act of the two international gangsters in their drive for world domain, was to divide up the Eurasian continent into spheres of influence. The future of the many small nations which then made up all of Central and Eastern Europe, were determined by the expediency of dictatorial decision.

It was in these circumstances that I first began my interesting study of the Slovak Nation. I was struck by the fact that the Slovak people had made a continuous and unremitting struggle for national independence for over 1,000 years. I was impressed by the fact that alien occupation and oppression had not dimmed the aspirations and the hopes of the Slovaks, but had increased their determination for national independence. The more I read about the Slovak cause, the more amazed I became with the fact that so little was known about it in the United States. This compelled me to delve deeper into the glorious history of the Slovak people. The things I learned are undoubtedly common knowledge to you, but I should like to use this occasion to say a few words about the struggle for freedom of the Slovak people down through the ages, in the hope that other Americans may become better acquainted with these facts.

Slovak history really begins with the arrival of the brother Saints Cyril and Methodius in Slovakia. These scholarly saints brought to Slovakia, which later spread to other Slavic land, the first written language of the Slavs, which we know as Church Slovanic. They also brought to Slovakia a vast knowledge of government administration and law. They were quick to see the need for training Slovak scholars and training them in the masterful art of law and administration. They established the first school system in Slovakia. The contributions of the brother Saints Cyril and Methodius are everywhere apparent in the long and heroic history of the Slovak people.

Slovakia, like its sister nations of Central and Eastern Europe, has stood throughout history as the rampart of Christian civilization.

The loyal sons of Saints Cyril and Methodius have stood firm in their faith for God and country. Beginning with Janosik, to Anton Bernolak, to Tomasik, to Kollar, to Joseph Hurban, the Daniel O'Connell of Slovak history, to General Stefanik, symbol of Slovak nationhood, to the beloved leader, Msgr. Andrej Hlinka, who symbolized the fight for independence of the Slovak people. Each and everyone of these great patriots is synonymous with the fight for human freedom and the preservation of the Slovak nation.

The Slovaks, like many other of the oppressed people of Central and Eastern Europe, began to emigrate to the new world in the middle part of the 19th century. It has been said, and with good reason, that almost half of the population of Slovakia emigrated to the United States to build a new life in dignity and human freedom. It is no accident that today we find that the population of present day enslaved Slovakia is only slightly double that of the number of Americans of Slovak descent here in the United States.

The Slovaks who have emigrated to the United States, their children, and their children's children have always demonstrated their adherence to the banner of God and country. They have never failed in their allegiance to God nor have they ever failed in their allegiance to their adopted land, the United States of America. With their adjustment to the American scene, they have never failed in their advocacy of freedom and independence for the Slovak nation. I would like to say here now that it is right and proper for them to maintain that position. We admire the Irish for their demands for Irish union and independence; we admire the Poles for their demand for Polish independence; we support them and all other groups in the United States who support the political principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence and our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

We, as good Americans, must always stand firmly behind the right of every nation, large or small, to attain and hold its national sovereignty. For well over 100 years, adherence to this principle was the keystone of our foreign policy. This caused national patriots and fighters for human freedom the world over to look to the United States of America for moral and material support. Many nations of the world won their freedom and have maintained their independence because of our courageous adherence to this basic principle of a successful foreign policy. It is no overstatement to say that our current place in world affairs in no small measure results from our devotion to this basic human principle.

Slovakia has never ceased in its struggles to attain national sovereignty and self government for its people. During and following World War I this effort was led by Monsignor Hlinka, who is revered by all the people of Slovakia as well as those in adopted homelands in many parts of the world. As founder of the Slovak People's Party, Monsignor Hlinka crystallized the hopes of the Slovak people for over 1,000 years to attain national sovereignty. Monsignor Hlinka died in 1938, at a time when the gathering storm of World War II threatened all of Europe, but the spirit of Monsignor Hlinka did not die, because the Slovak People's Party remained ever dedicated to this historic cause.

When the evil despots, Hitler and Stalin, began dividing up the geography of Europe, it was only natural that the Slovak people would make their bid for national sovereignty. Caught as they were between the powerful forces of Hitler and Stalin, it is all the more remarkable that they were able to attain national statehood when all the other smaller nations of Europe were being destroyed. Every conceivable charge has been laid against the Slovak people, and the period of national sovereignty they enjoyed from 1939 to 1945. Most of these charges have now been washed away. In the aftermath of World War II and as the dust has begun to settle on the events of that period in history, we are able to appreciate more adequately the facts in this matter. I am convinced that only after the world-wide struggle between human freedom and despotic slavery is settled, will we be able to fully understand and appreciate that period of Slovak national independence from 1939 to 1945. If we, the God fearing people of the free world, fail to win the crucial stuggle in which we are now engaged, these questions will be buried deep in the thousand years of darkness which will surely follow. But we shall not lose this struggle, and in our hour of inevitable triumph, all civilized men shall have the full and truthful answers to all the questions that have been raised about the period of Slovak independence that we commemorate here this evening. I am prepared, as I am sure you are, to let history answer for the heroic efforts of the Slovak people to attain their national independence.

We are saddened by the events which are taking place in Slovakia today. There the evil hand of the Russian Communist is attempting to destroy the very spirit of Saints Cyril and Methodius and to reduce the Slovak people to a state of servility worse than that of the dark ages. But in their evil cause the Russian Communists shall fail, because the spirit of Saints Cyril and Methodius shall prevail so long as there is a Slovak alive anywhere in the world.

I join with you this evening in commemorating this, the 15th anniversary of Slovak independence and share with you the unwavering conviction that just as surely as day follows night, the Slovak Nation will once again be free and independent.

The Vice President's Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Wall Street Journal for Monday, March 15, 1954, which discusses the inspiring speech delivered by Vice President NIXON last Saturday night. The editorial follows:

MR. NIXON'S SPEECH

Because Mr. NIXON was chosen by the Republican leadership to reply to Mr. Stevenson's attack on administration policy, what he had to say was necessarily fitted into the framework of a political speech. All the same Mr. NIXON's talk was a useful one, for it placed the issues raised by Mr. Stevenson in perspective.

Before Mr. NIXON made his speech, it was said that it would be an attack on Senator MCCARTHY, or an attack on Mr. Stevenson, or that it would be a speech that skirted these questions and thus an inconclusive one. Mr. NIXON did none of these things.

He talked about the real issue, communism at home and abroad, and of Mr. Eisenhower's leadership at home and abroad in combating communism. The Vice President made use of the opportunity Mr. Stevenson gave him to compare the windmilling of former administrations in foreign affairs with the results of the present foreign policy. We imagine most listeners were more impressed with the fact that there is no fighting in Korea, that Government spending has been reduced and thus taxes also, than they were with Mr. Stevenson's questioning of that concept which has allowed these things to come about.

When Mr. NIXON spoke of communism at home, and particularly in Government, he outlined the Eisenhower administration's views and formula; the view that Government employment is a privilege and not a right; and the formula to deny Government employment to those who are disloyal or who may become disloyal. It is a view and a formula that few, we think, are apt to quarrel with.

But many will quarrel with his comments on how to go about doing these things, comments that were directed at Senator MCCARTHY thought Mr. NIXON did not mention his name directly. Those who support the Senator in all things will grumble about what Mr. NIXON had to say. Those who oppose the Senator in everything he does will be critical of Mr. NIXON for what he did not say. But Mr. NIXON neither disavowed what Senator MCCARTHY is attempting to do nor did he read the Senator out of the party as some had hoped he would. What Mr. NIXON did do was to point out that congressional investigations must be fair and responsible, and that when mistakes are made through reckless talk or questionable methods a man becomes the issue and the cause is obscured in the dust that is raised.

The value of Mr. NIXON's speech is found, we think, not so much in what he had to say about these issues as in his manner of placing them in perspective. And in doing that he settled some of the dust raised by Mr. Stevenson.

Are We Rearming for Defeat?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appears in Pageant magazine for April by a noted authority on airpower, Maj. Alexander P. de Seversky. This is a most timely article in view of the so-called new look in our military policy:

ARE WE REARMING FOR DEFEAT?

(By Maj. Alexander P. de Seversky)

When Mr. Malenkov ominously brandished the news that Russia has the hydrogen bomb, his intention was to intimidate the United States and its allies. But inadvertently, and paradoxically, he performed a useful service for the free peoples of the world. What we needed more than anything else was to be jolted out of our habitual rut of precedent-conscious military thinking. Mr. Malenkov did just that.

He glaringly exposed the unreality of our profligate strategy of balanced forces which chains our military strength to overseas bases, and our weapons production to overseas sources of strategic material—right in the enemy's backyard. With atomic and hydrogen bombs now in Russia's possession, and a massive air force within easy reach of those targets, she can bring to a standstill the industries that feed our war machine and defeat us through economic strangulation without dropping a single bomb on American soil.

In the last war our enemies, particularly Japan, had only limited natural resources. They depended on strategic materials that had to be brought across the water. Our overwhelming naval power and undisputed command of the seas was one of the decisive factors in victory, stripping the enemy's industries of its vital ingredients through application of an effective blockade.

Today we are dealing with the Eurasian continent and its vast resources. It is totally self-contained and needs nothing from across the seas to support its war machine. It cannot be blockaded or starved into submission. It needs no navy, virtually has no navy, and fears no navy. Whatever surface navy it does have or may be building is bottled in the Baltic and Black Seas from which it will never emerge unless our Air Force is first destroyed.

But if the enemy has no navy, why then do we continue to enlarge our own, even though it is already bigger than all the other navies of the world combined? We are told that we must have such a huge navy in order to keep the sea lanes open to guarantee us access to strategic materials. We are told that since the United States is a have-not nation and only 15 percent self-sustained, 85 percent of the strategic materials that go into our war machine must be imported from across the sea. We are told that, therefore, only the Navy can assure to our industries an uninterrupted flow of these essential substances. This, in our air age, is a dangerous self-delusion. Our Navy, I fear, is still living in the past, its thinking unaltered since the days of Nelson.

In the last war, because of the short range of aircraft, our shipping was practically unmolested once the submarine menace was eliminated. Today, in addition to the submarines, our Navy and its convoys can be attacked by long-range enemy aircraft and its atomic bombs anywhere on the seven seas. In the last war the enemy had no alternative but to attempt to cut our supply lines. Today he need not bother with our supply lines; he can strike directly at the sources of our strategic materials with his long-range air power and neutralize them with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Ever since I saw this danger as an inevitable consequence of the expanded range of air power I pleaded that we should not chain our war machine exclusively to the sources of strategic materials located in the Eastern Hemisphere—in Europe, Africa and Asia; that at least stand-by sources should be developed in South America—in the Western Hemisphere, our own backyard, which is not only beyond the reach of the enemy's air power but can be effectively shielded by our continental air strength.

But this warning was not heeded. As a result, our military strength today is dependent upon a great many nations. If—either due to enemy pressure or internal political vicissitudes—any nation deserts us, our survival will be at stake.

For example, how many of us realize that the very sinews of our tool industry are industrial diamonds, of which we import nearly 90 percent from the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa? Should our industry be denied this vital ingredient, we would be chained to the obsolete weapons produced by old tools.

Or, how many know that modern jet engines cannot be built without cobalt and columbite? We import 100 percent of these materials—and again from Africa: Nigeria, Belgian Congo, and the rest of Equatorial Africa—from sources halfway across the globe.

There are those who maintain that Russia can never win a war against us as long as the United States out-produces her in the manufacture of steel. At present we produce 110 million tons a year, to her 37 million tons, a 3 to 1 ratio in our favor. But we can produce that tonnage only if India and Africa continue to supply us with manganese, without which steel cannot be made. Of our supply of this essential we import 91 percent—80 percent from the distant mines of India and Africa. If those sources fail, the steel production of the United States will drop to 22 million tons a year, or little more than half of Russia's present production.

We are desperately prospecting today for new sources of uranium on our continent; but so far the results have been negligible. In the production of our atomic bombs, therefore, we are wholly dependent on the Belgian Congo. Should we be deprived of that source, it is obvious that in no time Russia would outrace us in atomic warfare. All the miracles of American mass production and superior technological know-how cannot alter this melancholy fact.

Again, think of our vast system of transportation. Our cars, trucks, aircraft, all require rubber. We import 100 percent of our natural rubber—with 90 percent of our supply coming from Malaya, Thailand, and Indonesia. True, we can fall back on synthetic rubber. But it will require time to revive our synthetic rubber production. And, even then, for many purposes the product in its present form is no substitute for natural rubber.

From those same Far Eastern countries, and Africa, comes tin—so necessary for canned goods and for other needs of our Armed Forces. Without tin, too, there can be no solder, no tin plate, no bronze, or babbitt for our bearings. The United States imports for its needs 80 percent of this important metal, without which every wheel, gear and crankshaft would eventually cease to turn.

This is by no means the end of the list. There are many other strategic materials in the same part of the world which can be denied us at any time, with the resultant crippling and paralyzing of our industrial output once our present stockpiles are exhausted.

To present our plight in its starkest terms: Our jet engines come from Nigeria and not from Hartford; our atom bombs come from the Belgian Congo and not from Oak Ridge; our tools come from Africa, not from Cincinnati; our steel comes from India and Africa, not Pittsburgh; the bearings for our wheels and motors from Malaya, not Detroit; and our rubber-shod transport from the Far East, not Akron.

Today those areas are seething with political unrest. The Communists are trying to undermine them by infiltration and propaganda. But in time of war the enemy will resort to the direct methods of threat and intimidation. He will put those areas on notice to cease supplying America or face immediate destruction. Russia today can carry out that threat since, without exception, all of those points are within easy reach of Red planes.

It is estimated that at the present time Russia has as many as 3,000 long-range bombers of the improved B–29 type, similar to our B–50. Some of them may even be equipped with rockets and jets to permit

takeoff with heavy loads and flash performance over the target. Though these planes are not so fast as jets, they are well-armed for self-protection and have more than the necessary range to reach their targets and return nonstop. Moreover, those aircraft are being rapidly replaced by new jet bombers of medium range, similar to the B–47, that can be refueled in the air or sent on one-way missions. And finally, Russia is already flying a new turbo-prop heavy bomber, similar to our B–36 in size but superior in performance. Such a bomber, or its turbo-jet version, can hit any of the above-mentioned sources of strategic materials at near-sonic speed and return to home base.

With these bombers, and using her present bases, Russia can neutralize the sources of our jet engines in Nigeria in 4 hours; the uranium for our A-bombs in the Belgian Congo in 5 hours; the manganese for our steel in less than 3 hours; and our rubber and oil supply literally in minutes.

Can we provide a local defense for all those distant points against such devastating attack? The answer is "No." On the map the Russian strategic air command (which means long-range atom-bearing air force) is represented by a red arrow. That threat can be pointed in any direction of the compass.

In spite of the 160 million people in the United States, in spite of our terrific industrial power and highly trained technological skills, we are told today that we cannot afford to provide ourselves with an effective air defense. To do so would cost us scores of billions of dollars, and even then enemy bombers would get through. In short, we are told that there is no complete defense against air attack.

If our industrial colossus and the manpower strength here at home cannot fully protect the United States against the Red striking air force, by what miracle can we hope to defend little Nigeria or the Belgian Congo, or India, or Malaya against the identical threat by the identical force? To give each spot even a semblance of defense would require the same gigantic effort that must be exerted for our own continental defense—scores of billions of dollars multiplied by scores of places, a project too gargantuan even to contemplate.

Furthermore, this indefensibility of our strategic sources applies equally to our distant air bases, whether fixed on land or floating aircraft carriers.

By now, it must be apparent to the reader that the ability of our Navy to keep the sea lanes open "has nothing to do with the case." We can possess the most powerful Navy in the world, the greatest merchant marine, we can keep all the sea lanes open, and we will still face economic strangulation. With not an ounce of strategic material available to us, our ships will ply the seas with empty holds.

And yet, what are we doing? In spite of the fact that our power at sea is irrelevant to this vital problem we blithely continue to build more aircraft carriers, more battle cruisers, more guided missile battleships, more cargo vessels, more destroyers, more assault barges—at a cost of billions of dollars—absorbing one-third of our limited industrial manpower and capacity, as though their mere existence could protect us from industrial strangulation.

The answer, therefore, is not in the Navy but in the United States Air Force. Only a long-range Strategic Air Command of proper size and striking power can, by destroying the enemy's air might, keep the sources of our strategic materials unmolested and guarantee an uninterrupted flow of these vital ingredients to our industries.

In the face of these realities our foreign policy and the military strategy by which it is buttressed must be revised. We must assume a more realistic and practical attitude toward South America. Hemispheric solidarity, the backbone of our common defense, must become more than a slogan. Because of our foreign policy and preoccupation with our allies across the ocean and the seeming neglect of the needs of our own hemisphere, the United States has been largely regarded with suspicion and animosity by our neighbors to the south.

Dr. Milton Eisenhower's recent good-will trip, and the manner of his approach, accomplished a great deal toward allaying those anxieties and creating a better understanding between the Americas.

Let us hope that the policy of sterile political amenities will give way to a dynamic policy of economic and industrial development of the natural resources of this hemisphere. Wt must create with all possible speed a second set of sources for all the strategic materials we now derive from the other side of the globe. Arrangements should be made now, in peacetime, while we hold the bargaining power—and not under the duress of war.

In the meantime, we must step up the stockpiling of strategic goods to bridge us over until this hemisphere is truly self-sufficient. The congressional hearings on the subject, headed by Senator GEORGE W. MALONE, are proving of great importance. They have already uncovered some critical military shortages, thus giving us a chance to correct them in time.

We must intensify our research for substitute materials and give preference to those weapons forged from the substances of our own hemisphere.

Above all, we must rouse ourselves from the illusion that we have abandoned the unrealistic strategy of balanced forces.

It may well startle the reader to learn that today, in spite of all the lip service to airpower, deliberately or unconsciously we are being groomed primarily for ground warfare, for fighting a war on Russia's terms, where she has all the advantages of manpower and geography. This shocking fact was betrayed by the manner in which our defense money is to be spent in the fiscal year 1954. On June 11, 1953, in answering Senator MARGARET CHASE'S criticism of the military appropriations, Secretary of Defense Wilson disclosed that, including the unspent balances from previous appropriations, the respective services will have the following sums available to them: Army, $30.7 billion; Navy, $26.5 billion; and Air Force, $40.2 billion.

At first glance it looks as though the Air Force is getting the lion's share. But this is an optical illusion—the same old numbers racket. On $40 billion the Department of Air not only has to build an Air Force to fulfill its primary mission to destroy the enemy and to protect the continental United States but it also has to build an enormous tactical Air Force, and transport and cargo planes in support of and for use by our Army. My estimates show that about $15 billion of the Air Force's money is being spent on aviation that is utterly irrelevant to war in the air. It is part and parcel of ground forces and represents a frozen asset unless we fight a ground war. Just aviation—an amorphous mass of aircraft, no matter how large, no matter how useful it may be to the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps—if it is not designed to win and maintain command of the air, does not constitute airpower.

Logically those 15 billions should be reflected in the appropriations to the Army. Considered in this light, our Nation is actually going to spend on the Army $46 billion, on the Navy $26 billion, and on the Air Force $25 billion, or, roughly, half the total appropriation for the Army, one-quarter for the Navy and one-quarter for the Air Force.

But if our Army cannot win a ground war against insurmountable odds, and if our naval power, including its air component, as I have already pointed out, is irrelevant against a self-contained continent, then it must be grimly apparent to everyone that we are rearming for defeat unless the process is arrested and reversed without delay.

We were told that in the new budget "the air power of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis." From this, and from the analysis I have presented above as to how money is being spent on military aviation, it is clear that such emphasis, no matter how heavy, will again buy us more airplanes but not necessarily more airpower. This conclusion is further justified by the official statement that "no material changes in force were recommended for fiscal year 1955," and thereafter, at best, would come about gradually through a process of evolution.

All of this parallels too closely for comfort the historic reluctance of the entrenched military hierarchy to accept fundamental change in war-making until it is forced upon them by the enemy. The trouble with a gradual process of evolution in strategy, as history indicates, is that in the meantime we may be attacked and destroyed.

The inescapable fact is that a fundamental change in our military strategy is long overdue, and that only a complete and immediate repudiation of our current concepts can stave off disaster.

With both sides now in possession of atomic and hydrogen weapons and therefore the potential capability of destroying each other's industrial power to make war, the superior means of delivery is the crux of defense. We may have atomic bombs that today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, and we may have hydrogen weapons that are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent; but unless we have the power to deliver them when we want to, where we want to—in total disregard of the enemy's defensive capabilities, the stockpile by itself is meaningless and no threat to the enemy.

Therefore, I must repeat that it is not the stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs that will decide the issue of peace or war, but, as always, the superior means of delivery—and that means airpower.

Yet today our Air Force is so small that it is doubtful whether it can deliver on a decisive scale the nuclear weapons we already have. The Strategic Air Command is superbly led and manned. General LeMay and his staff have done miracles, considering the inadequate resources at their disposal. But because the offensive is always costly and requires superior numbers, I am afraid that in light of the rapid growth of electronic defenses, if called upon to perform its mission today, our strategic Air Force would be overwhelmed.

Under the circumstances, we have no alternative but to divert at least two-thirds of our national effort into a supreme air force. To preserve our economy, the other forces must be pared down proportionately. Army and Navy men themselves concede that their services, with our limited manpower, cannot fight under hostile skies. Yet to achieve global command of the air will without question take the major portion of our national effort.[1]

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[1] Today, in the new budget obligational authority for the fiscal year 1955, the Army gets $8.2 billion; the Navy, $9.8; and the Air Force, $11.2. But, again, at least $3 billion of the Air Force appropriation will be spent on aviation in support of the Army. Thus, during the 2 fiscal years ending June 30, 1956, we will have spent for the Army approximately $57 billion; for the Navy, $36 billion; and for the Air Force, $33 billion. Therefore, with the bulk of the money still going into surface forces, it is clear that no fundamental change has been made in our strategic concept. We are still being groomed primarily for ground warfare.

We must adopt a strategy that will make America strong in her own right. Such an America can raise morale and provide a core of strength for all freedom-loving people. If we are strong, our diplomacy will not have to beg, cajole, or buy with dollars the loyalty of other nations, large or small. Strength attracts allies. They will join the legion of freedom not only because our side is right but because our side has might.

America can be that strong. It can win a war against any nation or combination of nations, except no longer can it win a war in any old way. No longer can we promiscuously squander our resources and manpower in all directions as we did in the past.

Our immediate task is to create an invincible long-range Air Force that can rise directly from our own shores, from bases inaccessible to the Communists' insuperable army and their massive tactical air force, and destroy the enemy's ability to wage war. Only such an Air Force can save American civilization from atomic destruction. Only such an Air Force can ignore the overwhelming manpower superiority of the enemy.

Only the deterrent of such an Air Force—a sword of Damocles—can provide the shield behind which the European nations can arm and revitalize themselves.

Only such an Air Force can guarantee us friendly skies under which our Navy can carry out its mission. Only an Air Force that can dominate the air clear around the globe can prevent the destruction of our sources of strategic materials and guarantee our access to them.

Our aim is to prevent war. In these days when force is still the final arbiter among nations and when, as Korea and Indochina have demonstrated, raw force is on the loose, peace can be kept only through strength. The deterrent of instantaneous and overwhelming retaliation is the answer.

Deliberately to place our head in an economic noose by making ourselves dependent on strategic sources in the Communists' backyard is not the way to deter the enemy.

The aggressor must clearly understand that not only do we have the strength, here in the New World, to strike back with finality in defense of freedom and our friends in the Old World, but that this strength cannot be impaired no matter what may happen anywhere on the surface of the globe.

Military Financial Studies a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of March 14, 1954:

MILITARY FINANCIAL STUDIES A MUST

Must legislation tags should be placed on proposals to gain pay raises and additional fringe benefits for members of the armed services.

The gradual demise of fringe benefits, which started even before World War II ended, must be brought to an abrupt halt. It is time the Nation took new stock of its responsibilities regarding the serviceman and his family.

The study of fringe benefits will require long hearings, but the time necessary could be shortened by joint hearings of the Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate. Regardless of procedure, the hearings should not be allowed to drag to the point where it will be impossible to gain approval of legislation restoring some of the important fringe benefits to the service.

Proposals for military pay raises merit even more immediate consideration. Past congressional ineptness already has caused severe hardship for the military family.

We can't undo the past. But we can build for the future. This should be a year of action in rebuilding service morale.

Military Pay Doesn't Meet 1954 Costs, Survey Shows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Air Force Times of March 13, 1954:

MILITARY PAY DOESN'T MEET 1954 COSTS, SURVEY SHOWS

WASHINGTON.—Without fringe benefits, the majority of Air Force personnel could not maintain an adequate standard of living even with income beyond their military pay, a recent survey indicated. Increased benefits would make outside work unnecessary, however, most agreed.

The answers came from an Air Training Command survey of 18,985 officers and airmen (about 12.6 percent of ATRC permanent party strength) who reported having incomes in addition to their military pay. More than half said they themselves worked during off-duty time. About 6,000 said their dependents worked, and 3,700 listed income from other sources.

The majority of those who worked said they had jobs in three main categories, labor and custodial services, personal services (housemaid, waitress, cook, cab driver, bartender, etc.), or clerical services. About 1,300 had professional jobs, 800 factory work, and 1,700 jobs in trades and crafts. Though the great majority (17,828) of those surveyed were airmen or noncomissioned officers, more than 1,000 officers in grades through colonel also worked.

Asked if they could maintain an adequate standard of living with military pay and outside income if existing fringe benefits were eliminated, more than two-thirds of those questioned said "No."

Biggest response came on question of medical benefits to dependents. Less than 3,000 said they could maintain an adequate standard without it.

Questioned whether they could maintain an adequate standard without outside income but with certain extensions of benefits, the majority said they could do so if base exchanges were unlimited as to type and cost of merchandise.

More than half said "Yes" if commissaries were comparable to supermarkets. More than 11,000 said "Yes" if they had complete dependent medicare. A smaller percentage (9,700) said "Yes" if they had adequate on-base housing.

About three-quarters of those questioned said their outside income was below $175 per month. More than 8,500 said that even their military pay plus the outside income was not sufficient to provide an adequate standard of living. Of these, all but about 350 were noncommissioned officers or airmen.

One of Millions May Be Wrong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 4, it was my privilege to call attention to the fact that in September of 1943 the Army was purchasing with the taxpayers' dollars, and sending to libraries maintained by the Armed Forces, copies of Under Cover written by John Roy Carlson—that was his alias—which charged 41 Members of the House, 20 Members of the Senate, with subversive activities.

Those who seem to think that it is a treasonable offense to suggest that some 1 or even 2 or 3 in an armed service numbering around 3 million might go astray and who are doing their utmost to destroy an individual from Wisconsin whose methods they say do not meet with their approval—it is just possible the results he gets they do not approve—might well consider what Westbrook Pegler had to say about Carlson in the morning press. Pegler's article follows:

JOURNALISTIC JANUSES

(By Westbrook Pegler)

I want to poke a few teeth down the gullet of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune which have been wowsing about the awful, un-American injustice of anti-Communist snoopery such as that attributed to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Norwalk, Conn.

The Times and the HT got hysterical over this. But I remember when they were hollering up the dirty work of a sniveling sneak, a faker and a liar calling himself John Roy Carlson who was declared by one United States judge to be unworthy of belief on oath and adjudged guilty of libelous falsehoods against innocent American citizens in two other court trials. The Times and Herald Tribune were hard put for words to praise him when he was doing his dirty work for secret antinationalist societies during the war.

Don't ever let President Eisenhower's newfound friend, as of 1952, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, a Roosevelt New Dealer, the publisher of the New York Times, forget that. Don't ever let Mrs. Helen Reid, the owner of the Herald Tribune, forget it. And never let her forget that she was the personal and professional friend of Joe Barnes, for years her foreign editor, who was named under oath as a Communist by five witnesses. Noting his informal denials of these accusations, ask yourself if anyone ever has had reason to suspect you of being a Communist.

THEY'VE CHANGED SIDES

Barnes somehow attached himself to Wendell Willkie as guide and interpreter on his tour of Russia. And by some mysterious hocus pocus the same Barnes became the editor of our generalissimo's war book, Crusade in Europe. This is a side-long thought that qualifies my opinion when Ike takes out

after JOE MCCARTHY for wooling and bulling some brigadier who could have stopped the promotion and honorable discharge of an Army officer, then under Communist accusations, but let the outrage go by default.

The Times and HT certainly have changed since they were applauding Carlson's vicious, wanton defamations and praising him as a great crusader.

This cheap, quaking impostor was so timid that he quailed before Blubber Bob Reynolds, the gasbag Senator from North Carolina, who couldn't scare a cottontail with a pumpgun.

Born Derounian, a Levantine stray of no apparent principles, he published anti-Jewish tracts as foul as anything ever done by Julius Streicher, and gumshoed on law-abiding citizen-taxpayers, and worked in and out of the secretive headquarters of the Friends of Democracy, and other such things. This was a low-voltage political spying bureau on the order of Isidore Lipschutz' Anti-Nazi League, whose agents boasted their treachery and thievery at the expense of Americans who wouldn't conform.

IT WASN'T LONE

The Times and Herald Tribune are hell against compulsory conformity now that loyal Americans will no longer abide treason or the protection of traitors by public officials. But conformity by compulsion of this louse was O. K. then.

Irita Van Doren, the editor of the weekly book review of the Herald Tribune, wrote a letter in 1946 in which she said: "We have taken some trouble to investigate Mr. Carlson's career and have found his claims substantiated at every point by the State Department and the FBI, with whom he worked at considerable danger to himself in the interest of his country's welfare."

I did not consult the State Department which was infested with sexual queers and/or traitors. But John Edgar Hoover answered, in effect, that this was a lie. Carlson had been an unimportant informant for the FBI for a brief time. His results were trifling and he was not heroic at all.

Carlson's grand success was a dirty smear called "Under Cover." This was the one which prompted Federal Judge John B. Barnes in Chicago to say from the Bench:

"I wouldn't believe this author if he was under oath. He would write anything for a dollar."

HE USED THE FILES

It might be a slightly different case if the Times and HT had boosted this liar without warning of his character. But they continued to praise him after it had been shown in court that he wrote and published savagely anti-Semitic tracts to be planted on German-Americans of professed American loyalty, to put them on the spot.

After this exposé the HT, nevertheless, printed a review by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who works at odd jobs for both sheets.

In a review of a thing called "The Plotters," published in the Herald Tribune, Schlesinger wrote furiously against nationalist activity in a shadowy underworld.

In "The Plotters," Carlson boasted that he was employed by and used the files of the Friends of Democracy, which now has vanished from the New York telephone book. But in 1946, it boasted of exposing the nationalist line of the New York Daily News, published by the patriot and soldier, Joseph Medill Patterson.

I challenge the owners of the Times and Herald Tribune to show that they ever attacked Carlson, the Friends of Democracy, the Anti-Nazi League, or any other spying and smearing bureau of that school. I defy them to explain why they admired that kind of snooping and smearing by such people but attack the Veterans of Foreign Wars and JOE MCCARTHY for rooting out traitors.

Pay Increase for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a letter written to me by Mr. Joseph Vigliotti, legislative representative of Local 237, of New Haven, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Mr. Vigliotti's activities as a legislative representative and national president of the Postal Press Association are widely known and appreciated by the hundreds of postal workers in my district and the State of Connecticut. He has worked ceaselessly, tirelessly, and diligently for them.

I think the contents of his letter give us a clear picture of what the postal worker is up against and how difficult, if not impossible, it is for these people in the service of their Government to plan for their futures and the future of their families. The letter follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST
OFFICE CLERKS, LOCAL 237,
New Haven, Conn., February 5, 1954.

Hon. ALBERT W. CRETELLA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On February 8 the House will hold hearings on our all-important salary-increase bills. There is very little in facts and figures that I can add to what you have already heard from me, other postal employees, newspapers, and your own colleagues.

However, let me speak from a personal point of view. May be I am still living in the old-fashioned days when a woman's place as a housewife was at home, because there is where my wife has been since I married her. Before I go further, having known of cases where dire necessity has taken wives from their homes to factories, may I interrupt for a moment to thank God for being so good to me in sparing me so. It is with humble gratefulness I say this, and not to be a judge of my less fortunate fellow man. Sure, I can use the salary my wife could earn for me, but not at the possible sacrifice of the very foundation of family life. What is home when husband and children have to wait for wife and mother to come from work to make supper for them? I have been married 18 years, and I do need some new furniture, but not in exchange for sending my wife to work. I'd like to own a second-hand car, just to get around but, again, not at the price of sending my wife to work. Did I hear you say that maybe I think my wife is better than other wives? No, all I am saying is that as important and necessary as a car is in the American way of living, I would rather be without a car than deprive my daughter of that wonderful feeling children get when they come home from school and find mother waiting for them. I am not arguing the point on who send their wives to work to make ends meet. What I am asking is, Why—yes; why—postal employees, holding such an important civil-service job, earn a pay so comparatively small that they have to augment it by sending their wives to work, hold a part-time job, and maybe even send the kid to sell newspapers. Is this digression a new kind of American progress? Is real home life to be sacrificed to keep up our American standard of living? How long can we sacrifice the home without hurting the foundation of our American heritage? You're probably thinking that as long as my wife stays home, then my home is safe. Safe for the time being, but not for long.

If I have to cut any more corners on homelife necessities, I'll qualify for the roundhouse. Why is it so necessary to cheat on necessities, when we are supposed to be preparing for tomorrow? How can we prepare a better tomorrow for our children if we can hardly take care of today? I graduated from high school in 1928, which was par for the course at that time. Then a high-school education might have even been considered some extra to have in the battle of life, but today, a high-school education is the minimum schooling you are expected to have. So that means that your children, mine, and everybody's children need a college education to meet the highly competitive competition of today. How can we send the children to college tomorrow, if we are having such a tough time today to only feed and clothe them? Yet, if we do not make the American way of living better for our children than we had for ourselves, then we certainly have failed in our true mission in life, and though it won't be our fault, we have even failed America. Now don't you think that Uncle Sam, who is our employer, should consider with grave responsibility and consideration, our justified plea for a much needed pay increase, so that we can at least take care of today, and maybe be in a better position to cope with tomorrow when it comes? Outside industry has increased employees' pay to meet increasing cost of living. We, too, have had to meet these costs, but at a pay that hasn't bettered since 1951. Is it wrong to ask an adequate living wage to enjoy the American way of life? Or at least, to enjoy America today, without mortgaging all of our tomorrow?

A great decision lies in your hands and those of your colleagues, both in the House and Senate. It is not a decision as to how many tanks are to be purchased, how many ships can be launched, how many planes can be flown—no, it is not a decision on wood, iron, or steel. It is a far-reaching decision about the future of human beings—people who belive in America, people who fought for America, people who processed the greatest morale builder during the wars, a letter with a 3-cent stamp on it—yes, people who serve America every day. Yes, these are the people who are asking you, and your congressional teammates to vote favorably on our humble request for a fair pay increase. You are the judge and jury. What is your verdict?

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH J. VIGLIOTTI,
Legislative Chairman, Local 237;
National President, Postal Press Association.

The Anniversary of Hungarian Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate the anniversary of Hungarian freedom, brave men and women in Hungary are again being made to suffer for their devotion to the cause of independence and liberty for which their forefathers fought in 1848. Communist

tyrants are imposing their rule by methods which violate every precept of morality. Such acts as the trial and imprisonment of Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty clearly show that the Soviets will not stop at anything in order to secure their hold on Hungary.

Our solemn task is to do everything in our power to protect Hungarians from the terror that is being used against them. We may best do this by giving our full support to the Genocide Convention, a law which states that the Soviet policy of murder, deportation, and persecution of religious and intellecual leaders is an international crime. With the aid of this law, we must work toward organizing world public opinion to such a degree that its pressure will force the Communists to modify their methods.

The independence won by Hungarians under the leadership of Louis Kossuth 106 years ago was short lived. But while the Hapsburgs returned to rule, the Hungarian people remained true to the heritage of freedom. Louis Kossuth went into exile and from there continued fighting for total independence. Today, Hungarian exiles are once again marshaling world support to throw the invaders out of their native land. In paying tribute to the heroes of 1848, we pledge our support in the present battle for Hungary's freedom.

Hungarian Freedom Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on the occasion of Hungarian Freedom Day:

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR., OF NEW YORK, TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE OCCASION OF HUNGARIAN FREEDOM DAY, MARCH 15, 1954

We celebrate today the anniversary of Hungarian independence and of a great democratic victory over the forces of despotism. When Louis Kossuth persuaded the National Assembly in 1849 to declare Hungary independent of Hapsburg rule, a new democratic state came into being. The free Hungary led by Louis Kossuth dedicated itself to the establishment of the rights of the individual by enforcement of such points as equality before the law, freedom of worship, and freedom of assembly. These principles had long been cherished by the Hungarian people. It was this abuse that Col. Michael De Kovats left Hungary to fight in the American Revolutionary War. But it was not until 1848 that Hungarians were able to shake off the rule of foreign oppressors and put democracy into effect in their native land.

The despotic rulers of the countries surrounding Hungary, however, could not permit a democracy to flourish in their midst. In the very same year in which Hungary achieved full independence Russian troops invaded the country. The new democracy was crushed almost the moment it had bloomed. Kossuth was forced to flee from Hungary. But he did not abandon the fight for Hungarian freedom. Wherever he went, to England, the United States, Italy, he organized support for his cause.

Today, Hungarians are once again fighting to be free. Hungary's Soviet rulers are far more ruthless than their 19th century predecessors. And yet the spirit of Hungary remains unbroken in the face of physical terror. The arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty did not diminish the Hungarian people's determination to maintain their heritage nor their adherence to the principles of liberty and justice.

In marking this anniversary, we in the United States of America must pledge to the people of Hungary that we shall not abandon them. We must encourage them to carry on the struggle of Louis Kossuth until independence and democracy are permanently restored to Hungary.

Bankrupting More Farmers Is Not a Solution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I want to discuss some aspects of what is customarily called our farm problem. Actually it is not just a farm problem. It is a problem of how to apply commonsense to the marketing and utilization of our farm products, the abundance of which is a blessing for which we should be thankful. The so-called farm problem is too often considered to be one caused by too much production, when in reality it is one of too little consumption.

No solution that is worth while can be brought about without some imagination, ingenuity, and effort. Furthermore, there is no one easy solution like, for instance, the present administration's proposal to bankrupt more farmers to reduce production. We should carefully consider every reasonable proposed plan to maintain farm income at a fair level and increase consumption before simply throwing up our hands and resorting to lower support prices. The impressive sounding "flexible" support program simply means lower prices to farmers and a real threat to our entire economy. Certainly this is no time to try that.

First of all, I believe in the principle of price supports for farm production based upon parity—not just for the so-called basic crops but supports for much of the total farm production. Frankly, it is the results obtained by supoprt rather than the method of support which particularly interests me. I was interested in the Brannan plan because it appeared to be adapted to some of our highly specialized farming and to perishable products, and also because it took into consideration the consumer as well as the farmer. Many thought it was not the answer. But there certainly is an answer, and we must be willing to keep trying until we find it. Supporting only basic crops is good as far as it goes, but it is not a complete answer. I am in favor of extending supports to cover other important agricultural commodities. An example is S. 1159, introduced by Senator HUMPHREY, and myself—H. R. 8318. It would provide mandatory price supports through 1957 for dairy products, hogs, cattle, poultry, and eggs, oats, soybeans, rye, flaxseed, barley, grain sorghums, and so forth, at 90 to 100 percent of parity price.

I have introduced this bill and others along this line because I believe that supports are a necessary part of a square deal for the farmer. His contribution to our well-being is vital. He must provide food and fiber for all of society. It is not so much the fact that the farmer, and sometimes his wife and children as well, works long hours in the outdoors which entitles him to our sympathy, support, and best efforts. Those of us who are more or less cooped up might well envy him the opportunity he has of frequent and intimate association with nature in our wondrous California outdoors. Rather, it is the peculiar economic and technological position of the farmer which should cause us all to be concerned about him and help him if necessary. He has to contend with just about all the uncertainties there are, whether natural—as weather, insects—or economic, expressed mostly in high, inflexible costs and low, variable prices for his products. He cannot get in and out of particular types of agricultural production quickly or without heavy costs. He is at the mercy of the changing tastes and variable purchasing power of consumers. He cannot turn agricultural production on and off like a spigot. The number of acres planted is only one of the variables. A planted acre may produce 50 percent, even 100 percent more in one year than in another. Time of ripening is important to favorable marketing, but largely uncontrollable. And so it goes. His capital investment is high in relation to any possible rate of turnover. Certainly he deserves any stability which can be brought into such an unstable but vitally necessary sector of our economy.

Second, I am in favor of fixed price supports rather than flexible ones. In the past I have supported the extension of fixed price supports, and my bill, H. R. 8318, would amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 to continue the price support at 90 percent of parity for each basic agricultural crop through 1957. The same provision is made for other items, some of which are considered to be nonstorable—whole milk, butterfat, and the products of such commodities; also poultry, eggs, hogs, beef cattle, and lambs. It is, of course, perfectly obvious that some of these commodities must be marketed and production payments made to producers selling below the support price. The administration is advocating such a program for wool. It need not be limited to one commodity. Other methods of stimulating consumption must be tried, such as the Aiken bill—S. 2550—which I have introduced in the House—H. R. 8319—providing for a comprehensive food-allotment program to improve nutrition through utilization of our productive capacity. Failure to plan for consumption of a perishable commodity like butter will make fair price supports

of the commodity impossible. But we can and should plan for consumption rather than to penalize dairy farmers by suddenly dropping supports to 75 percent of parity just because the Secretary of Agriculture seems unwilling or unable to take the lead in getting any production-for-consumption program underway, except, of course, one that is based solely on lower support prices.

Support of prices at 90 percent of parity are justified because—

First. Fixed supports for the past 10 years or more have been a part of our very productive and responsive agricultural system and have been an important factor in assuring ample supplies at fair prices to consumers here and to our friends abroad. They have been a real contribution to progress and stability at a high-economic level.

Second. Fixed price supports should be maintained to stabilize the income to producers of basic commodities and thus assist in stabilizing the entire economy.

Third. Fixed price supports together with marketing quotas are economically sound. CCC losses on the six basic agricultural commodities have been very low over a 20-year period.

Fourth. Substituting flexible for rigid supports at 90 percent of parity would cure few if any of the present admittedly serious problems of agriculture.

(a) Basic commodities are highly inelastic with respect to both supply and demand. Flexible supports would merely result in lower prices to producers, reductions in supply or increases in consumption would be neglible.

(b) Flexible price supports at this time would not avoid marketing quotas and acreage allotments.

(c) Flexible price supports at this time would not expand the export market for United States products significantly in the face of the present world supply situation and large accumulated reserves, as of wheat in Canada.

We might even go so far as to conclude that the supplies of the two basic crops in which California is especially interested, cotton and rice, are not now so abundant that we have no use for stockpiles in the tough international game we play. Consider what our cotton supply has meant to Japanese recuperation and that an abundant supply of rice can be an important factor in assisting our friends in the Orient. This is presently an area of great uncertainty.

In the case of rice the United States production in each recent year has been at new record levels. We now produce well over twice as much as in the prewar period. Domestic consumption in all forms takes only about one-half of our production. The other half in recent years has been very, very useful to us overseas. Obviously we need stockpile reserves of this valuable food grain—but we also need continued large exports to avoid excess accumulations. Meanwhile, the world supply situation appears to be currently easing. Prices here have declined from a strong position this time last year to a relatively weak one now. Our prices are still somewhat above the Government loan of $4.84 per hundredweight on the 1953 crop. It is 1954 and thereafter which worries our California producers. The shift from other products to rice production is an expensive one. If rice prices after 1954 are to be supported at 90 percent of parity, it may be worth the capital expense of the shift. If rice supports after the 1954 crop are to be flexible, such an adjustment becomes much more risky.

Meanwhile and third, there are some other matters which must have more adequate attention than they are now receiving. Of course there is the problem of butter. We are going to hear a lot more about it before this summer is over if those who asked for and received responsibility for directing our Department of Agriculture do not end their stagnation and develop a sound program. The drop of supports on butter, cheese, and dry skim milk from 90 percent to 75 percent will reduce the net income of dairy farmers by an estimated 25 percent under 1953, and 1953 was down about 25 percent from 1952. And we can wonder if it solves the problem at all—will butter really become competitive with oleo when supports are reduced to 75 percent of parity? I doubt it. Failure of the Secretary to support a sound plan for use of the butter in conjunction with adequate price supports is a boon to oleo producers but detrimental to everyone else, and a tragedy to many dairy farmers.

I repeat what I have said before—that it is utterly stupid to pile up the best of perishable products and then simply let them spoil. The consumers of the country are paying for that butter—they have some rights, ethical and moral, to have a chance to use that so-called surplus. Why should we not try the approach of S. 2550—AIKEN and HUMPHREY—also H. R. 8319, YORTY, for improved nutrition through a more effective distribution of food supplies by means of a food-allotment program. Briefly, this is a major attempt to make an adequate and well balanced "basic food allotment" available to a part of our population which under existing circumstances does not have an adequate diet, particularly those dependent on public assistance, or in low income and broken family homes. Increased food consumption would be focused, insofar as practicable, upon those foods which are in surplus or upon those foods which are most needed in diets. It should also be noted that on March 1, 1954, Senator HILL and several others introduced S. 3044, to provide adequate diets for the unemployed and their families in distress areas of unemployment. Preparation for delivery, and delivery, to State and local welfare agencies would be provided by the Secretary of Agriculture, thus removing one of the major bottlenecks of the past in getting surplus foods to those injured by industrial shifts, dislocations, and so forth. I believe this is another way to put our so-called surplus food to good use. I have accordingly introduced this bill in the House—H. R. 8321. These bills are in line with the suggestion I made to the House last year on August 4—page A5305, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—when I contended these so-called surpluses could be used to feed needy Americans without disrupting normal markets. No matter what approach we decide to try, it is clear that we must not waste these precious surpluses.

In addition to domestic programs, an extra effort, something above and beyond any effort now visible, can be made to use part of our surplus abroad. All avenues must be tried, perhaps even at the risk of putting some slight pressure on the so-called free market. Some surplus might well go as a gift of the American people, processed into a form adapted for wide distribution to the poorest. Though there is something to be said for the United States receiving official credit abroad for its bounty, some of us can see advantages in turning part of the distribution job over to international agencies—to the International Red Cross, to CARE, to the Children's Fund. Some favor setting up an International Food Reserve under the auspices of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, as presently called for in Senate Joint Resolution 56. And I do favor the rather extensive use which has been made of marketing agreements with respect to several of our California specialty crops and the movement of surpluses with school-lunch funds and section 32 funds.

I want now to touch on another aspect of our farm program. Where acreage allotments are required, the base period should be fair to all producers. We just went through quite a battle to try to get California cotton growers a just and equitable adjustment on cotton acreage in keeping with our efficient production. We got only part of what we felt was fair. I feel that a base period of 3 years would be more reasonable. I have joined with Congressman HAGEN of California in introducing legislation to so change the base period—H. R. 5669, HAGEN of California, and H. R. 8322, YORTY.

Now at this point, I want to say that I see no basic conflict of interest between urban consumers and farmers. Each group wants the other treated fairly and each has an equal stake in a stable, prosperous economy. Underpaid farmers provide a poor market for industrial products and idle or underpaid industrial workers provide a poor market for food. Most city workers agree that farm people are not overpaid. In the most recent year, 1953, the per capita income of persons on farms declined to $882 from $905 in 1952. Nonfarm population was somewhat more fortunate—the per capita income rose from $1,842 in 1952 to $1,898 in 1953.—Statistics from the United States Department of Agriculture.

The fact that unprocessed food prices are now low relative to wages illustrates not only that the farmer has been doing a good job and is entitled to better economic treatment, but also that there is no significant basis of conflict between farmers and consumers.

Largely as a result of the high level of production of United States farmers, workers can now buy substantially more food with an hour's labor than in any earlier period in history. This is a point often overlooked by some people.

An hour of factory labor would buy the following quantities of specific foods in 1929 and December 1953:

		1929	1953	Percent more
Bread	pound	6.4	10.6	66
Steak	do	1.2	2.0	67
Pork chops	do	1.5	2.2	47
Bacon	do	1.3	2.3	77
Milk, delivered	quarts	3.9	7.6	95
Butter	pound	1.0	2.2	120
Cheese	do	1.4	3.0	114
Eggs	dozen	1.1	2.6	136
Potatoes	pound	17.7	39.8	125
Oranges	dozen	1.3	3.6	177
Tomatoes	No. 2 cans	4.4	10.4	136

True, when we, all of us, go to market it seems to cost an awful lot and official figures do show that food expenditures overall are now 26 percent of disposable income, whereas prewar they accounted for only 23 percent. But we are eating better, higher on the hog; the same amounts and types of foods which prewar cost us 23 percent of our disposable income can now be purchased for 18 percent of our disposable income.

In this connection, consider the farmer's share of the food dollar, the part he gets of the retail price.

Farmer's share of consumers' dollar

Food products	April-June 1946	October-December 1953
	Percent	*Percent*
Market basket	52	45
Meat products	78	62
Dairy products	55	49
Poultry and eggs	72	68
Bakery and other cereal products	30	22
All fruits and vegetables	39	28
Fresh fruits and vegetables	49	35
Fresh vegetables	45	33
Processed fruits and vegetables	25	20
Fats and oils	40	34
Miscellaneous	20	18

The decline in farm income and the decline in the farmers' share of the ultimate price of his products is not a healthy sign. We cannot have stability and prosperity unless farm income, production, and purchasing power is maintained. We cannot have prosperity by bankrupting farmers and allowing their products to spoil or be wasted while there exists great need for such products. We need a program that leads to production for consumption, that will take advantage of our ability to produce, and turn it into the asset that it can be. Simply flexing farm prices further downward is certainly no answer at all. What is good for the goose is good for the gander, and what's good for the sheep ought to be good for some other animals too.

The McCarthy Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. UTT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, it is easy to criticize when all about you are engaged in this national pastime, especially when Senator McCarthy is the target. In all this clamor, let us not be deceived by those who wish to destroy, not only the men, but also any further attempt to stop the Communist thrust. The hard core of Communist leaders, left wing commentators and fellow travelers, have gathered in to their ranks, thousands of vocal sympathizers who have now joined the wrecking brigade to make the investigation of any un-American activities so unpopular that men will refuse to take the public abuse that will surely be heaped upon the head of anyone so audacious as to tread upon the sacred precincts of Communists.

Surely in this crusade to defend the liberties of Americans, there will be some casualties inflicted upon innocent people. But tell me, Mr. Speaker, has it ever been argued that because an innocent bystander was shot by the FBI in capturing the most wanted criminal, we should disband the FBI or the police force of every large metropolitan area where similar injuries to innocents have occurred.

I do not say that Senator McCarthy has never made a mistake. The only one who never made a mistake was crucified 2,000 years ago, but I do say, "Let him who is without sin, cast the first stone."

I know not how the rest of this body feels, but I shall and now do speak in defense of the junior Senator from Wisconsin, in his fight against communism, who is being challenged, mocked, taunted, and misquoted by those who should be his friends, as well as by the enemy within our gates.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the San Diego Union, of March 11, 1954, upon the same subject:

THE McCARTHY ISSUE: A FIGHT FOR POLITICAL LIFE

Like witnesses to a modern drama of the breakup of a man's character or personality, the American people are seeing before their eyes the effort to destroy a man who has enjoyed high public office.

The campaign against Senator McCarthy has reached staggering proportions.

Misquoted, misinterpreted, hit at every turn, challenged on every statement, taunted and mocked by left-wingers, Senator McCarthy, in his dedication to his cause, has been driven into excesses that only intensify the attack on his motives and character.

At every press conference, President Eisenhower has been badgered about Senator McCarthy, apparently in the hope of a personal attack, but each time the President has replied with mild and reasoned criticism.

For this, the President too has experienced the bitter rebukes of those who have magnified the McCarthy issue into a cause that has overwhelmed all other factors of American political, military, and economic life.

What has Senator McCarthy done? He has exposed Communists and their fellow travelers.

What has Dean Acheson, Democratic former Secretary of State, suffered for his loyal support of Alger Hiss? What has Harry Truman suffered for his administration's promotions of Harry Dexter White?

Where are the stinging criticisms? The bitter denunciations?

The President and other Republican leaders realize that the magnification of the McCarthy issue is enabling political opponents to divide the party, and to divide means to conquer. The breach must be repaired.

Senator McCarthy now is fighting for his political life, and, fighting alone; he is showing a sense of desperation. The more desperate he becomes, the more sweeping his charges and the more intemperate his answers.

That is where his enemies wanted him: cornered and angry. That is how a man is led into destroying himself.

A less-dedicated man would have avoided some of his excesses and chosen a more diplomatic path. The good he has done is being obscured. And it may be a long time before anyone again tries to pick a hard-fisted political battle against communism at home.

National Defense Picture Still Confused

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, Adlai Stevenson raised some searching and responsible questions about the so-called New Look defense policy in his Miami Beach speech on March 6.

In an apparent attempt to clarify the administration's new policy, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford, seemed to be answering Mr. Stevenson when he stated, a few days later:

Our planning does not subscribe to the thinking that the ability to deliver massive atomic retaliation is, by itself, adequate to meet all our security needs. It is not correct to say we are relying exclusively on one weapon, or one service, or that we are anticipating one kind of war. I believe that this Nation could be a prisoner of its own military posture if it had no capability, other than one to deliver a massive atomic attack.

It was widely believed that Secretary Dulles had overstated his case when he first announced the New Look policy in his January 12 foreign-policy speech. It seemed as if some of the responsible military leaders were attempting to modify some of the implications of the New Look military strategy.

But Vice President Nixon's reply to Adlai Stevenson on March 13 has further confused the issue of national defense policy.

Mr. Nixon said:

We would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression at times and places that we chose.

To aid in further discussion of this vital question, I, under unanimous consent, include the script of an NBC radio program on this subject in the Appendix. This objective documentary, written and narrated by Miss Pauline Frederick, was carried on the NBC network on March 4, 1954:

WHAT RISK RETALIATION?

ANNOUNCER. "What risk retaliation?" A ponderous question, but a highly personal one. It's a question which may decide the amount of your take-home pay, and how long you keep working. It may also help decide how long you keep living.

"What risk retaliation?" is the question (the basic question) raised about this country's new military plans for security. "What Risk Retaliation?" is also the title of this program—a transcribed exploration of the character and genesis of America's New Look.

Tonight NBC News has chosen the distinguished commentator and reporter, Miss Pauline Frederick, to document the birth of the New Look and to examine the possibilities of its application. Miss Frederick:

Miss FREDERICK. "A great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing."

In these words Secretary of State Dulles describes the essence of the administration's plan to defend America—instant, massive, atomic retaliation against aggression.

President Eisenhower has asked Congress for funds to carry out the plan. When debate opens on Capitol Hill all Americans will want answers to questions like these:

Will the threat of instant atomic retaliation deter the spread of communism or encourage it?

Will the new defense plan attract allies or repel them?

Will atomic retaliation protect the United States from atomic attack or invite it?

In short, does the new defense plan lessen the risk of world war III or increase that risk?

To appreciate the importance of these questions it is well to examine what is called the New Look defense program—what it is, where it came from, where it may be going.

The sound of power in the New Look is the sound of a nuclear explosion.

(Sound of Bikini blast.)

What the sound means in terms of destruction is graphically described by Congressman STERLING COLE, chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee. Chairman COLE says this is what happened at 7:14 on the morning of November 1, 1952, in the South Pacific:

"That thermonuclear test of 1952 completely obliterated the test island in the Eniwetok atoll. If it occurred in a modern city, I'm told that the heat and blast generated in the 1952 hydrogen test would cause absolute destruction over an area extending 3 miles in all directions from the point where the hydrogen device exploded. This is an area of complete devastation, using the word "complete" in its most precise sense, 6 miles in diameter; the area of severe to moderate damage would stretch in all directions to 7 miles from ground zero. Finally, the area of light damage would reach to 10 miles from the point of detonation. In other words, an area covering 300 square miles would be blanketed by this one hydrogen explosion. This is the appalling meaning of the hydrogen bomb."

That was the hydrogen bomb of 1952—probably out-distanced already in destructive range by new atomic devices being tested this week at Bikini. Scientists predict that in a decade the destructive power of the atom may be expanded a thousand times.

President Eisenhower disclosed in his state of the Union message on January 8 that the development of atomic weapons had made possible a new military program. The President said:

"The usefulness of these new weapons creates new relationships between men and materials. These new relationships permit economies in the use of men as we build forces suitable to our situation in the world today. As will be seen from the budget message, the air power of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis. This new program will make and keep America strong in an age of peril. Nothing should bar its attainment."

The president was talking not only of military strength, but also of economical strength. He underlined the basic importance of our economy in these words:

"The American economy is one of the wonders of the world. It undergirds our international position, our military security, and the standards of living of every citizen."

The new military program thus was born of a marriage between security and economy. The new military program, which the President said had been unanimously recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by him following consideration by the National Security Council, was officially presented to the American public and the world by Secretary of State Dulles. Mr. Dulles unveiled it in a speech before the Council on Foreign Relations here in New York on January 12. Secretary Dulles said that emergency measures, like aid to Greece and Turkey, the European recovery program, the Berlin airlift, and the action in Korea, were good for emergencies. But the Russians are now planning for "an entire historical era," and emergency measures are not good enough. Besides, emergency measures are too costly.

Secretary Dulles explained:

"We need allies and we need collective security, and our purpose is to have them, but to have them on a basis which is more effective and on a basis which is less costly * * * The way to do this is to place more reliance upon community deterrent power, and less dependence on local defensive power * * * We want for ourselves and others the maximum deterrent at bearable cost * * * Local defense must be reenforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power. Fully to deter aggression is for the free community to be willing and able to respond vigorously at places and with means of its own choosing * * * And the basic decision was as I indicated, to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing. And now the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff can shape our Military Establishment to fit our policy, instead of having to try to be ready to meet the enemy's many choices. And that permits a vast selection of military means instead of a multiplication of means. And as a result it is now possible to get and to share more security at less cost."

Secretary Dulles affirmed that with the end of the Korean war, our Armed Forces are no longer committed to the Asian mainland. But he warned that any new Communist aggression in Korea or Indochina would be met with even greater effect than heretofore under the new program. Mr. Dulles said:

"This change gives added authority to the warning of the members of the United Nations which fought in Korea that if the Communists renew their aggression, the United Nations response would not necessarily be confined to Korea. I have said in relation to Indochina, that if there is open Red Chinese aggression there, that would have, I said, grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina. All this is summed up in President Eisenhower's important statement of December 26. He announced the progressive reduction of the United States ground forces in Korea. In doing so, he pointed out that United States military forces in the Far East will now feature highly mobile naval, air, and amphibious units; and he said that in this way, despite some withdrawal of land forces, the United States will have a capacity to oppose aggression with even greater effect than heretofore."

In Europe the collective security effort of NATO has been swinging away from the emergency buildup of military strength which Mr. Dulles said could not be maintained indefinitely without exhausting the economic strength of our allies and ourselves.

Thus the Secretary of State unveiled the New Look military program. The President confirmed it in his budget message to Congress. Massive retaliation was to be mounted primarily on airpower and atomic firepower.

The President recommended reduction of the Army by nearly 250,000 men, including 3 combat divisions; a reduction of Navy and Marine manpower by 150,000 men. Air Force manpower would be increased by 50,000 men. Total naval craft would be reduced, with emphasis switched to atomic submarines and carriers. Airplanes would be increased from the present 33,000 to 44,000. Now one-third are jets, under the New Look, half would be jet powered. More money than ever would go to the Atomic Energy Commission to improve the whole nuclear family from atomic cannon to the H-bomb. Construction of airbases would receive greater impetus then at any time since the end of World War II.

Thus the New Look replaced the concept of balanced forces. The President was able to show a spending cut in the entire budget of $5,300,000,000, principally through reduction in funds for the Army.

Abandonment of the balanced forces concept had been advocated for some time by important Republican leaders. The New Look is not as new as it seems. Former President Herbert Hoover made a speech on December 20, 1950, which foreshadowed the New Look. Mr. Hoover said:

"We must face the fact that to commit the sparse ground forces of the non-Communist nations into a land war against this Communist land mass would be a war without victory, a war without a successful military terminal. And equally, however, we Americans along with our sea and airpower can so control the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans that there can be no possible invasion of the Western Hemisphere by the Communist armies. They can no more reach Washington in force than we can reach Moscow. The foundation of our Nation's policy must be to preserve for the world this Western Hemisphere Gibraltar of western civilization. * * * We must arm our air and naval forces to the teeth. * * * We could, after the initial outlays for more airpower and naval equipment, greatly reduce our expenditures, balance our budget, and free ourselves from the dangers of inflation and economic degeneration."

The late Senator Taft, of Ohio, also said land armies were not the answer to Communist aggression. In February 1951 Senator Taft said:

"It seems obvious to me that control of the sea and air throughout the world is an absolute necessity, and something well within our capacity."

When Senator Taft visited presidential candidate Eisenhower at Morningside Heights in September 1952, cutting military spending in the interest of a sound economy must have been his chief concern. This is what Senator Taft said at the news conference following the Morningside Heights meeting:

"From my standpoint the essential thing is to keep our expenditures on armament and foreign aid as long as there is no general war at a percentage of our total income which will not destroy our free economy here at home and further inflate our debt. Our success in any war depends on a strong fiscal and economic system able to maintain the production which has been and is the basis of our strength. General Eisenhower agrees emphatically with me in the proposal to reduce drastically overall Government expenses. * * * In our opinion a free economy cannot continue successfully if the total tax burden for the powers of all government continually exceed 25 percent of the national income."

Question: "Does the General find any objection to reduction in military expenditures and foreign aid?"

Mr. Taft: "No; the statement implies a reduction in all expenditures, and he has stated

that publicly. He thinks the military program can be reduced substantially in expense."

Cutting the budget was undertaken almost immediately by the new Eisenhower administration. Budget Director Dodge, with approval of the President and the Cabinet, asked all agencies to submit recommendations for reductions.

A military spending budget, revised downward from the Truman estimates, was submitted to Congress last May. Its most controversial feature was a cut of around $5 billion in new spending authority for the Air Force. Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH of Maine submitted 32 questions to Secretary of Defense Wilson, starting with this one: "Is the new budget based on economy or security?"

At a press conference on May 28, President Eisenhower said that United States could maintain a reasonable posture of defense with the cut in the Air Force budget.

But that budget had scarcely been put in operation when there was a development which was to affect the next one as well as the whole conception of defense. President Eisenhower announced:

"In August of this year, we learned through intelligence channels of a Soviet test of an atomic device in which some part of the explosive force was derived from a thermonuclear reaction. That is to say, what is popularly known as the H-bomb."

Earlier the President had directed his new Joint Chiefs—Chairman Radford, Air Chief Twining, Army Chief Ridgway, Navay Chief Carney—to examine our defense and make recommendations. Now they were faced with knowledge of increasing Russian atomic power.

When the defense chiefs offered a program calling for $43 billion, the fiscal chiefs said that was too much. President Eisenhower had put Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey and Budget Director Dodge on the National Security Council, the supercabinet which determines high military and foreign policy. Secretary Humphrey explained his defense ideas on September 9:

"What we have to have is a brand new model, one that will do twice as much in performance and cost half the price."

When the New Look was unveiled it disclosed a 10 percent saving under the previous military budget. As Secretary Dulles said, the Eisenhower administration had decided it was not sound economics to become permanently committed to military expenditures so vast that they may lead to what Lenin called practical bankruptcy.

The administration had been faced with the problem of balancing the economic risk involved in military spending needed to meet aggression anywhere, as against the security risk involved in our selection of the place and means of retaliation. The New Look administration officials assured us, would not only reduce the economic risk, it would reduce the security risk as well.

This is where the New Look came from. Where will it take us?

Some of the very men responsible for carrying it out have questioned whether the New Look can keep world peace. Admiral Radford challenged the atomic blitz theory of warfare in the controversy over the B–36 in 1949:

"The B–36, under any theory of warfare, is a bad gamble with national security. • • • The United States is not sound in relying on the so-called strategic bombing concept to its present extent. This concept is symbolized by the B–36 delivering the atom blitz. In the minds of our citizens this fallacious concept promises a shortcut to victory. Our citizens must realize that its military leaders cannot make such a promise. • • • There is no shortcut, no cheap, no easy way to win a war."

Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, has said since the New Look was unveiled: "The only true sound conclusion to which we may come is that not being an aggressor nation we dare not entrust our safety to any single rigid and unalterable course of action; rather we must—costly as it may be—be prepared for numerous contingencies."

Army Chief of Staff General Ridgway has said since the New Look was unveiled: "If war comes, victory will not be achieved without well-trained, well-equipped, and well-led armies ready for action where needed. • • • The outbreak of war would bring an immediate need for ground combat forces far in excess of those already available in the active Army."

Last fall when the New Look was being created, General Ridgway warned publicly:

"We may be gambling today with all that is precious, with human lives and spiritual principles as well as with earthly treasures. If we relax and slow down and are not assailed, we shall have saved some money; we shall have attained an easier living. If we slow down and are assailed—and lose—we shall have seen our liberties perish, our institutions destroyed, ourselves enslaved and our God derided. For the people of America these facts present a choice of fateful significance. It's a choice between reliance on collective security or on our own resources alone. Between the firm exercise in our own interest as well as in that of humanity of the role of world leadership which is plainly ours, or refusal to champion the cause of freedom—a choice between cooperation or isolation—a choice between making common cause with our allies or repudiation of our allies and withdrawal to fortress America."

The proof of the New Look is in its power to "deter such aggression as would mean general war"—to quote Secretary Dulles.

Apparently such aggression does not exist in Indochina, for the New Look has not been applied. The United States is supporting the French forces with 30,000 tons of war material a month and technicians.

Secretary Dulles said "if there were open Red Chinese aggresession in Indochina, there would be 'grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina'."

What constitutes open Red Chinese aggression? Red China is sending 3,000 tons of war material and food to the rebels each month. Which ton of rice is the last straw? Which round of Red ammunition triggers atomic retaliation?

Who makes this decision? If we consult the French or the U. N., or anyone else, we abandon the decisive power of instant retaliation. If we don't consult them—we may lose allies. If the President tells Congress—he tells the world. If he doesn't—he may be accused of bypassing Congress.

Granted the decision is made to invoke the New Look against aggression in Indochina. Can strategic bombing, or atomic shelling be effective?

NBC correspondent Joe Michaels has covered the Indo-Chinese war and tells us how its being fought:

"Our convoy wound its way along the sole supply route out of the Plaine des Jarres, principal French base in Laos, toward Xieng-Quang, target of the French attack launched just the previous day. Theoretically, the area had been cleared but just as we left the plains behind and entered the mountains which typify Laos, the convoy was flagged down. An attack—an ambush—ahead in a steep-sided defile. For the next hour long periods of silence alternated with brief small-arms exchanges. During the entire period absolutely nothing was visible—the only evidence of the enemy being an occasional shot.

"A fighter (French) zoomed down, dropping a few small bombs. Then more silence, a few more rifle shots, and silence again. This time unbroken.

"A Foreign Legionnaire came down the line passing along the word that all was clear. Our convoy slowly got underway once more, and a soldier told me that this is the way it always is. One moment the Communists are everywhere. Five minutes later a battalion has evaporated into the friendly forest. That is war in Indochina today."

Military experts concede that a bomb which devastates 300 square miles is wasted if there is little to devastate in 300 square miles—that atomic shells needed to break a line are wasted if there is no fixed line, but sprawling bands of guerrillas in deep valleys and dense jungles.

Secretary Dulles warned that open Red Chinese aggression in Indochina would have "grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina." Was the Secretary referring to Peiping as the target? Would the New Look be applied to Red China?

Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov is said to have told Secretary Dulles at Berlin that Russia has given atomic bombs to China.

If atomic retaliation is visited on Red China, will Red China respond in kind?

Is the United States prepared to defend itself against atomic counterattacks?

Is the United States prepared to risk the start of world war III by invoking the New Look?

If not, is the United States prepared to permit Communist aggression to continue?

These are major questions which have not yet been answered by the creators of the New Look. They invoke still others:

Can we keep allies with a policy that offers little choice between devastation and capitulation?

Can we share atomic power for peace that may be needed for atomic retaliation?

Can the atomic warhead replace the conference table?

What risk retaliation?

This is Pauline Frederick.

ANNOUNCER. NBC News has presented Commentator-Reporter Pauline Frederick and the transcribed voices of those who have planned, for better or worse, your defense. This exposition of the background and meaning of the new defense planning has raised a number of questions. The answers—the conclusions—are yours.

What Risk Retaliation?—written by Miss Frederick, edited by Bill Ryan—was produced for radio by NBC News.

Veterans and the Interest Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, under present law, veterans of World War II and of the Korean conflict are entitled to the benefits of the Government loan-guaranty program. This program provides that the Government shall guarantee loans made by private lenders to veterans for the purchase of a home. The guaranty may be for 60 percent of the loan, up to a maximum of $7,500. On loans other than home loans the Veterans' Administration guarantees the lender against loss up to 50 percent of the loan, with a maximum guaranty of $4,000 on real estate and $2,000 on nonreal estate. Lenders are now permitted to charge a maximum interest rate of 4½ percent on guaranteed loans.

In addition to these guaranteed loans, direct Federal loans are available to veterans who live in the smaller towns and

rural areas where loans from private investors are not available. These loans are also subject to a maximum of 4½ percent interest.

The original acts providing for veterans' loans—namely, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952—permitted a maximum interest rate of 4 percent to be charged on guaranteed and direct loans. It is my view that the 4½-percent rate allowable now should be reduced by legislation to a maximum of 4 percent.

By reducing the interest rate to 4 percent we would return to veterans the opportunity to obtain mortgage financing on liberal terms and at low interest costs. Low-cost financing was the original purpose of the acts providing for these loans to veterans; however, since May 1953 the veteran has been required to pay a 4½-percent interest rate.

The Veterans' Administrator was granted discretion by Public Law 901, 80th Congress, to increase the interest rate on guaranteed loans to a maximum of 4½ percent, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, if the loan market demanded it. By Public Law 101, 83d Congress, approved on July 1, 1953, the Administrator was granted authority to raise the interest rate on direct loans to a maximum of 4½ percent.

This additional one-half percent means approximately $640 additional cost on a $10,000 loan for 20 years and about $1,070 additional on a 30-year loan. Similarly, on a $20,000 loan the veteran must pay approximately $1,320 additional on a 20-year loan and about $2,140 additional on a 30-year loan. This means that tens of thousands of veterans' families, who can ill afford to do so, must find ways and means to bear the additional cost of home ownership over a period of 2 or 3 decades. The hardship on these veterans and their families is quite clear. The extra one-half percent may mean in many instances the difference between buying a decent home or remaining in a filthy dilapidated hovel to raise one's family.

There will be some, however, who will say that at 4 percent adequate funds would not be forthcoming from lenders. They will claim that this situation was the principal factor responsible for the increase of the rate to 4½ percent in May 1953. However, these dissenters perhaps fail to realize that the conditions of the money market have changed since that time. Prior to May 1953 mortgage financing was not forthcoming from lenders because competing investments were yielding more attractive interest rates. Since that time there has been a close coordination between the Treasury debt management policy and an easier credit policy of the Federal Reserve System.

As a result interest rates have declined and mortgage credit has become more available. The February issue of Economic Indicators, prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers, shows a decline in interest rates from June 1953 to February 9, 1954, in corporate high-grade bonds from 3.40 to 2.94, and in United States long-term bonds from 3.09 for old series and 3.29 for new series to 2.59 for the old series and 2.86 for the new series. There has been a decline also in short-term prime commercial paper and a drastic decline in 3-month Treasury bills—the latter reaching a rate of less than 1 percent which is the lowest level in 4½ years.

Another reason for advocating a reduction in the interest rate is that a return of 4 percent to lenders of veterans' loans should be sufficient in view of the reduced risk to the lender. On this point the American Veterans' Committee in its recommendations before a congressional committee for the improvement of the veterans' home loan guaranty program had this to say:

> Coming to the question of the interest rate, we think that 4 percent is a very high rate inasmuch as the element of risk is removed by the Government guaranty of the mortgage. • • • This is, of course, where the real cost of the house appears. We think all efforts to increase the interest rate above 4 percent must be resisted and that no statutory authority must be granted further. (U. S. Congress; House Select Committee To Investigate Education, Training, and Loan Guaranty Programs Under GI Bill, Veterans' Loan Guaranty Program, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 149. (82d Cong. 2d sess., H. Rept. No. 2501).)

Statistics show that since 1944, when the loan guaranty program was begun, the Veterans' Administration had guaranteed by the end of 1953 nearly 3,200,000 loans for homes having a value in excess of $21,500,000,000, of which the Veterans' Administration guaranteed more than $11,500,000,000—New York Times, January 3, 1954, page 58. Of these loans less than 0.6 of 1 percent have resulted in payment of the guaranty through default. In view of this record of safety, surely the veterans are justified in claiming that 4 percent interest is a sufficiently liberal price to pay for a loan where the risk of default is so small and where the Federal Government guarantees the mortgage.

Finally, a very important and very timely reason for reducing the interest rate to 4 percent is that of offsetting the present economic recession. Many economists and others point out that we are in a recessionary period and they are suggesting methods of preventing a full depression. One of the most effective ways suggested thus far to prevent a depression is to encourage or to create the incentive to invest and consume. Lowering the interest rate on loans could prove to be a potent force in encouraging many veterans to invest in housing, whereas at the higher interest rates such investments may be discouraged.

Any increase in the borrowing by veterans could make idle funds held by lending institutions available to builders so that they in turn could buy more materials and, thereby, create more consumer income and employment. Furthermore, reduction of the interest rate to 4 percent would leave in the hands of the veterans more money for consumption. Additional purchasing power in a period of recession, especially among the low and middle income groups, would certainly prove to be a stimulant to the Nation's economy.

In summary then, the reduction to 4 percent of the present 4½ percent interest rate that may be charged on Government guaranteed and direct Federal loans to veterans is strongly urged for the following three major reasons: First, it would return to the veteran the opportunity for low-cost mortgage financing in accordance with the purpose of the loan guaranty program; second, the rate of return to the lenders should be sufficient in view of the fact that the risk to the lender is virtually eliminated; and, third, it could be an important instrument in offsetting the economic recession at this time.

Mr. Speaker, for these reasons I am today introducing a bill to amend the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 so as to reduce from 4½ percent to 4 persent the maximum interest rate on home loans made, guaranteed, or insured under that act. My bill relates to home loans only, that is, loans for repairing, altering, improving, constructing, or purchasing homes. It provides that the VA Administrator must set the interest rate on home loans guaranteed or insured under the act at no higher than 4 percent. Section 2 of my bill makes a corresponding chang in the interest rate for direct home loans made by the Veterans' Administration.

The text of my bill is as follows:

A bill to amend the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 so as to reduce from 4½ percent to 4 percent, the maximum interest rate on home loans made, guaranteed, or insured under that act

Be it enacted, etc., That the last proviso of section 500 (b) of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 is amended by striking out "not in excess of 4½ percent per annum" and inserting in lieu thereof "not in excess of 4 percent per annum in the case of any loan guaranteed under section 501, or any loan guaranteed under section 502 the proceeds of which are to be used for repairing, altering, constructing, or improving any farmhouse, and not in excess of 4½ percent per annum in the case of other loans."

SEC. 2. Section 512 (b) of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 is amended by striking out "4½ percent" and inserting in lieu thereof "4 percent."

Dr. Ehrlich: A Magic Name

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, 100 years ago a child was born, destined to become one of the greats in science.

Sheldon Binn told the story in the New York World-Telegram of March 6, 1954, as follows:

> Dr. Paul Ehrlich had all the traits of the proverbial absent-minded professor. He wrote postcards to himself to remind him about important things he had to do.
>
> He was reported to have taken a cab on a number of occasions between his home and laboratory—a matter of only a few hundred yards—because otherwise he was apt to lose his way. But this wiry little man with steel-

gray eyes and a small beard was a giant among men.

True, he was apt to forget things, but what he forgot was trivial. What he remembered and stored in his fertile brain eventually added up to a giant step in the battle against infectious disease—an effective treatment for the dread scourge, syphilis.

Dr. Ehrlich was born March 14, 1854, of Jewish parents, in a little German town near Breslau. The centennial of his birth will be marked with special ceremonies in Frankfurt, Germany (where he did his most significant work) in England and in the United States.

KIN TO BE HONORED HERE

The American celebration will be highlighted by a banquet next Wednesday at the New York Academy of Medicine, to be attended by today's top researchers in medicine. Dr. Ehrlich's granddaughter, now living in Baltimore, will be guest of honor.

The banqueters will hear of Dr. Ehrlich's dogged battle to find a "magic bullet"—a chemical which would seek out and selectively destroy disease germs—and how he discovered salvarsan, the first modern chemotherapeutic agent.

A Dr. Iago Galston, of the New York Academy of Medicine, wrote: "His crowning achievement was not a gift from the gods, a lightning stroke of genius, a fortunate inspiration. It was rather a precious nugget reduced in the crucible of long and hard toil, from the crude ores mined with heart-breaking effort."

In a way, Dr. Ehrlich rode to immortality on a rainbow of aniline dyes. He became interested in the dyes as the result of the work of his cousin, Dr. Carl Weigert, who originated the technique of staining tissue so it could be better studied under the microscope.

Dr. Ehrlich struck out into virgin territory. He undertook to study living cells and soon discovered that a certain blue dye, when injected into a frog, stained only the animal's nerve cells. This gave anatomists a shortcut to studying animals' nervous systems.

His work with dyes also led him to reveal the cellular and structural constitution of blood. He thus gave researchers the key to diagnose different kinds of blood disease, the anemias and disorders of the white cells.

All this was important, but essentially a prelude. Very early in his life he had been impressed by a study which showed that the lead in persons suffering from lead poisoning didn't spread evenly throughout the body, but appeared to have an affinity for certain organs and tissues.

His work with dyes bolstered his theory that certain living cells had an affinity for certain chemicals. The idea continued to intrigue him.

SEARCH FOR RIGHT CHEMICAL

"Perhaps," he reasoned, "this may be the answer to the battle against infectious disease. What we have to find is a chemical which will have an affinity for a disease germ within the human body, but not for any part of the body itself."

In his jumbled laboratory, befogged by smoke of the cigars he incessantly puffed, Dr. Ehrlich labored. He developed a dye compound called Trypan red and turned it loose on African sleeping sickness germs in mice.

The mice's ears turned red, but the germs in the blood were slain in one fell swoop by the dye. The bespectacled biologist had created the first chemical agent designed to seek out and destroy disease germs.

Many failures and complications followed Dr. Ehrlich's initial success. His interest turned to an arsenic compound called atoxyl, which reportedly was useful in treating sleeping sickness.

FAILURE AFTER FAILURE

With his infinite patience, the little doctor began altering the compound this way and that. Test followed test. Failure followed failure. On the 606th try, Dr. Ehrlich struck paydirt. Technically, his new compound was known as dioxydiamidoarsenobenzol, and its impact on the world was as far-reaching as the word itself.

In 1906 the pale, spiral-shaped microbe that caused syphilis was discovered. This was 1909, but Dr. Ehrlich's memory didn't fail him. The syphilis spirochete was similar to the sleeping sickness germ. So he began testing his 606 (known popularly as salvarsan) on chickens infected with spirochetal disease. One jolt of 606 and the chicken's blood was no longer swarming with the deadly organisms.

The next act in drama was obvious. On August 31, 1909, a buck rabbit infected with the specific spirochete which causes syphilis was made ready for the crucial test.

S. Hata, Dr. Ehrlich's Japanese assistant, injected into the ear vein of the rabbit the clear yellow fluid of 606. The next day the rabbit's ulcer had begun to heal. The spiral devils in its blood were beaten.

HE DIED 5 YEARS LATER

Subsequent tests on humans proved the effectiveness of salvarsan. It was indeed magic. It sought out and destroyed the spirochetes of syphilis. Although arsenic is a poison, carefully administered 606 arrested and eventually cured the disease.

Dr. Ehrlich died 5 years later. He had brought the chemist into the frontlines in the battle against disease.

Dr. John Mahoney, director of the bureau of laboratories of the New York City Department of Health, citing the fact that syphilis cases in this city have dropped from 6,000 in 1946 to 500 last year, predicted that before long it will be a rare disease.

The sulfa drugs now so effectively used in control of a host of other diseases are, in a sense, a monument to the little man with a fascination for dyes and a brain that could turn ideas into weapons against suffering.

Tenth Anniversary Celebration of Boys' Towns of Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I crave the indulgence of the House to extend some remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD upon a subject which is very near my heart. It must necessarily appeal to any American of Italian descent—which I am proud to claim—and I flatter myself as a patriot that it will appeal to every American, whatever his racial origin. I refer to the project known as Boys' Towns of Italy, Inc. Five years ago I had occasion to make some observations on this very noble project; this year, 1954, marks the 10th anniversary of a movement which can surely claim to be one of the most enlightened of this generation.

Conceived by Father Don Rivolta, a Milanese priest, the first of these communities was founded in 1944 at Santa Marinella, north of Rome. Within 5 years it had expanded into 5 towns, combined into a "republic." This experiment has been the model for others, the ultimate goal being, under the patronage of American Relief for Italy, similar communities in each of the 96 provinces of Italy. The ARI not only sets up the communities but supplies them with food, clothing, medicine, and maintenance funds. These Boys' Towns, Americans will be interested to know, are modeled very largely after the famous Nebraska community founded by the late Monsignor Edward Flanagan. The aim of the movement can be stated very simply: to take the boys off the streets, to teach them to run their communities in democratic fashion, and to provide trade training which will enable these boys to make an honest way in life and help in the reconstruction of their country.

It is gratifying indeed to learn that the movement has been a success from the beginning and that it is constantly growing, with ever expanding influence upon the life of the younger generation of Italy.

A stream, Mr. Speaker, cannot rise higher than its source; if the source be polluted, the entire river is noxious. If we in secure, properous America have juvenile delinquency problems, think what the situation must be in poverty-stricken Italy. And by so much, think of the importance of rearing the rising Italian generation in wholesome, moral surroundings. The aid we give to the American Relief of Italy becomes a sound investment indeed. Assistance of this kind constitutes the most deadly foe communism has—and well do the Communists know it.

Some time ago I was happy to receive a letter from my friend, Monsignor John Patrick Carrol-Abbing, who from the first has been a leading light in this movement to rescue the helpless children of Italy from poverty, and worse than poverty. Monsignor Carroll-Abbing described in moving terms the work the ARI, originally set up by President Roosevelt, is trying to do: to give these boys, as he expressed it, "the home and affection for which they have always longed."

The rising generation in Italy may prove a deciding factor in the affairs of a troubled world. America cannot afford to forget the land of Christopher Columbus, and it is with this thought and this hope for continued kindly aid that I venture once most respectfully to remind my colleagues of the Boys' Towns of Italy.

A Limited Federal Reinsurance Bill, H. R. 8356

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today H. R. 8356, a bill

which carries out President Eisenhower's limited Federal reinsurance program referred to by the President in his health message presented to the Congress on January 18.

The purpose of this bill is to improve the public health by encouraging the more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of health services.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the course of its hearings on health problems has received extensive testimony on the great need which exists for more adequate health insurance protection. According to this testimony, when illness strikes, many present health insurance policies may be canceled by insurance companies, leaving the policyholder without any protection for the future. Other testimony shows that many classes of persons, as for example the aged, will not be accepted by insurance companies.

It is my hope that the measure which I am introducing today will make possible health insurance protection which is more adequate than the very limited and sometimes illusory protection now given under many insurance policies.

This bill is in addition to two other administration bills which I have previously introduced for amending the Public Health Service Act with respect to grants for public health services and to amend the Hospital Survey and Construction Act provisions of the Public Health Service Act. The latter bill already was passed by the House on March 9, 1954.

The major proposal in the bill which I am introducing today is to establish a limited Federal reinsurance service with a self-sustaining fund derived from reinsurance premiums paid by the sponsors of health service prepayment plans participating in the program.

To provide working capital for the reinsurance fund, an appropriation of $25 million would be authorized from which advances, repayable with interest, could be made to the fund, when and as needed. Another feature of the program would be to make studies and collect information needed as a basis for providing better health service prepayment plans, to publish results of such studies, and on request to give technical advice and information to sponsors of such plans.

This bill will, I believe, be of vital interest to every American. It provides a sensible governmental approach based on private initiative to a serious national-health problem. Heretofore, all attempts by the Federal Government in this field have been predicated on the idea of Federal control and operation. This bill rejects the concept of socialized medicine and permits help within the framework of private enterprises.

The bill was developed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. It carries out an important part of President Eisenhower's health program. I am very glad, indeed, that President Eisenhower has charted a clear course of action by which we can begin to cope with the problems of high-medical costs through private operation and Federal leadership.

In the near future, hearings will be scheduled on this bill.

Where Can We Get the Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, where can we get the money to meet the requests—yes, the demands—which come almost every day, at least once a week, from the individuals upon whom we are dependent for reelection? Some, without any hesitancy, tell us that if we do not comply with their requests we will not be back next year.

Earlier this week, some 2,000 representatives of Federal postal employees came to Washington, and at least three delegations visited my office with a request that I vote for a postal raise of not less than $800 per year. It was my misfortune to be forced to tell them that I could not comply; that I would vote for some increase, but that an $800 raise for more than 500,000 postal employees would add $400 million to the budget.

I called attention to a recent letter, one of many, which came from a member of a group which is almost totally dependent upon Government assistance in order to keep body and soul together.

This widow is past 76, a good, hard-working citizen; is now alone, lives in a house which, because of age and lack of repair, does not give too much protection against the weather. She uses approximately $100 worth of fuel during the winter. She pays insurance on the house and its contents. Her taxes have steadily increased. She writes:

I don't buy butter, I use oleo. I have stopped buying coffee. I never get the more expensive cuts of meat. I buy hamburger or frankfurters, and sometimes a soup bone. I have a Hudson Seal coat that I got in 1923. I have two house dresses that were given me. I did some canning and put up some pears that were given me. I picked some blackberries and made some jelly. I have tried in every possible way to be sensible in living and buying. I was satisfied with the $55.50 they were giving me, but now they want me to take less, and have put my total requirements at $53.75. I am obliged to wear surgical hose. They did cost $6 a pair, now I pay $12.50.

"Please write me, Mr. HOFFMAN, how I can get along on $35.50 for food, clothing and incidentals; shelter, $4.26; electricity, $5.36; heating fuel, $8.63; total, $53.75.

That is the sum the much badgered and distressed county supervisor tells her that, according to Bureau standards, she is entitled to receive.

The postal employees' representatives acknowledged that others were in need, that they had job security, were not as desperately situated as some others. They suggested that, if we would cut out the billions which we have been sending abroad, the waste in defense production, and perhaps practice a little economy in our own legislative establishments and procedures, it might be possible to give everybody here at home a little better break.

I will go a little bit further than their suggestions and use my best efforts to get a little economy, not only in executive departments but in congressional activities, in our own housekeeping. For one thing is certain, until we do practice rigid economy and prices go down, with many out of employment, with the necessity of trying to provide jobs for the unemployed, apparently we will all have to do a little economizing ourselves.

So, while you are feeling sorry for yourself and I am feeling sorry for myself, it might be well that we should give thanks for the blessings we enjoy and remember there are others who are in greater need than are you or I.

Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a speech which I delivered at the fourth annual Southwest Agricultural Congress at Garden City, Kans., on February 24, 1954:

LOOKING AHEAD

(By CLIFFORD R. HOPE, of Kansas)

I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to discuss here in my home town and with my neighbors and friends in southwest Kansas, some of the important agricultural problems which confront this country and the world today.

In doing this, I want to make it clear in the very beginning that I think farm problems are everybody's problems. This is not only because agriculture is our greatest single industry and therefore of great economic importance, but because agriculture is basic in the sense that it produces the vital necessities of our daily life; our food, our clothing, and much of our shelter. Furthermore, we have always looked to the people living on our farms and in our rural communities to furnish that social and political stability which makes a successful system of self-government possible. Agricuture goes back to the verg beginning of human life in this world, far beyond the times of recorded history. But never in any age or in any country has it attained the efficiency and productivity in terms of manpower employed that it has in the United States today. Nor has any nation ever possessed greater resources in the way of soil and climate than our own. This combination of efficiency and resources has made it possible for 15 percent of our people to produce enough food and fiber for themselves and all the rest of us and enough more in the way of exports to furnish food and clothing for needy people in many parts of the world.

Thus, the supplies of food and other farm products which we have been able to send to other nations since the end of World War II have turned out to be our greatest weapons against world communism.

And I am sure that all of us who stop to think about it realize that our high standard of living in this country is due to the fact that 15 percent of our people can supply our basic needs for food and fiber, leaving the other 85 percent to carry on our industrial processes, build our automobiles and our highways, supply the comforts and conveniences we have in our homes like the radio, television, electric stoves and deep freezes, and to create and maintain our schools, churches and cultural agencies. In

many countries, it takes 85 percent of the people to produce the nation's food leaving only the other 15 percent to produce all other goods and services. Obviously, such countries have a very low standard of living.

Our population is increasing rapidly but up to the present at least this has created no problem because our farms have increased their production even more rapidly. As a result, our per capita consumption of foods is now 12 percent more than it was during the 5-year period preceding the outbreak of World War II, and the food we are consuming is also of considerable better quality from the standpoint of protein and vitamins. And yet the percentage of both our total income and our disposable income which we spend for food in this country has been going down since 1947. It would have gone down even faster if food prices had declined anything like farm prices.

Another way of measuring food prices is to compare the amount of food which an hour's factory wage will buy now as compared with previous periods. These figures show that there has never been a time when an hour's factory wages would buy as much food as it did in 1953. For instance, take one item we are hearing a lot about now. In 1929, an hour's factory labor would have bought 1 pound of butter. In 1939, it would have bought 1.9 pounds, while in 1953 it bought 2.2 pounds. Let us look at some other comparisons. In 1929, an hour's factory labor would have bought 1.2 pounds of round steak. In 1939, the figure would have been 1.8 pounds and in 1953, it was 1.9 pounds. For eggs per dozen, the figures for these respective years are 1.1, 2, and 2.5. For milk per quart delivered, the figures are 3.9 quarts in 1929, 5.2 in 1939, and 7.5 in 1953, and so on through the list of important food items.

What I have been talking about is food prices but there is something else that ought to be brought out, it seems to me, and that is the fact that in the case of many farm commodities the price which the farmer receives is only a small percentage of what the consumer pays. For instance, the wheat contained in a 20-cent loaf of bread brings the farmer about 3 cents so that if wheat prices were cut in two and all the savings were passed on to the consumer, the cost of a 20-cent loaf of bread would go down only 1½ cents, although every wheat farmer in the country would be ruined. If farmers gave their wheat away it could reduce the cost of local bread only 3 cents at the most. Take a cotton shirt. It has about 45 cents worth of cotton in it at present prices. It sells for $3 up, mostly up. If the farmer didn't receive a penny for his cotton after spending several months out in the hot sun preparing the ground, planting the crop, hoeing it, cultivating it, spraying it, and finally picking it and hauling it to market, the shirt might sell for 45 cents less, although even this is doubtful.

And so we might go through a long list of commodities. The point is that although a reduction such as 15 or 20 percent in the price the farmer receives may bankrupt him, in many cases it means nothing to the consumer in lower prices.

And yet, in spite of this, I hear suggestions that consumers think farmer prices are too high and that they are about to revolt. If that is true, it is because consumers have been grossly misinformed. I know that consumers are fairminded. All they need is the facts. The Department of Agriculture has them, the farm organizations have them. What I have to suggest is that the Department of Agriculture and the major farm organizations join in using their great facilities for disseminating public information to tell the consuming public the truth about farm prices and food prices. I suggest they point out particularly that food prices in many cases bear only a slight relationship to farm prices and that all food prices when compared to wages and incomes are retreating rather than advancing. Furthermore, it could well be pointed out that whereas parity has been established by law to indicate a fair relationship between farm prices and prices which farmers pay, that farm prices at preseint are only 92 percent of parity.

Let me repeat that I think farm problems are everybody's problems and that the consumer has just as great an interest as the farmer in bringing about adequate production and stable prices at a fair level. The two go hand in hand because the only real assurance of adequate production is stable prices at a level which will enable farmers to maintain and increase the fertility of their soil and support the increasing capital investment which is necessary to carry on efficient agricultural production at this time.

Now let me turn to some of the more specific problems which are confronting us and particularly to some of the legislative proposals which will soon be under consideration in Washington. The House Committee on Agriculture will begin its hearings on the general farm program on March 10. Our first witness will be Secretary Benson. After that, we will hear from other departmental officials, representatives of the national farm organizations, commodity organizations and other groups and individuals who request to be heard. The hearings will last 4 or 5 weeks, possibly longer. The Senate Committee on Agriculture will hold similar hearings beginning a little earlier. Our hearings in Washington will complete and supplement the hearings which we have already held out over the country. Those hearings were attended by thousands of farmers right from the grassroots. More than 1,500 farmers made formal statements at them and the committee talked with many more at informal discussions and group meetings. These hearings have been printed and are available to all Members of Congress for their study and consideration. A limited number are also available to the public while they last.

It is expected that these hearings in Washington will cover a wide field. While it might seem that the issue has been narrowed down so that it is between flexible price supports at from 75 to 90 percent of parity and fixed supports at 90 percent, that is not really the case. The committee expects to consider every worthwhile plan which has been or may be presented, including two-price proposals for wheat and cotton and the self-help plan which will be presented by the dairy industry. Our consideration of the matter will be based on the idea of finding the best solution for our problems both from the immediate as well as from the long-range standpoint. We recognize that agriculture is going through a period of adjustment following years of war and inflation. By reason of existing price-support programs and because the general level of industrial production has been high with little unemployment, this adjustment has been milder than is usually the case.

It seems to me to be unfortunate that so much attention is now being given to the controversy between a program of flexible supports versus one of 90 percent supports on the basic commodities. It is unfortunate because such a controversy involves farm-organization politics with some organizations ranged on one side and some on the other. It is unfortunate also because apparently flexible supports and 90 percent supports have become symbols. It is leading to name calling. Already we hear it said that those who oppose flexible price supports are doing so for political expediency, that they are dishonest, and that farmers who oppose flexible supports are either foolish or selfish. On the other hand, some of the ardent supporters of the 90 percent supports are denouncing all who favor flexible supports as enemies of the farmer.

I believe there is plenty of room for honest differences of opinions on the question of the level of price supports. The economists differ, farmers differ, and Members of Congress differ, and I believe that all of them, no matter which side they take, are sincere and honest in their opinions.

Primarily, it is simply a question of the best way to do a job. There is no matter of principle involved. If it is wrong to support prices at 90 percent of parity, it is wrong to support them at 80 percent or 70 percent. So there is no point in anyone getting emotional about the matter on either side, although some people are doing so on both sides. It is quite possible that both sides are partly right and that 90 percent price supports might work best on some commodities and flexible supports at 75 to 90 percent might work best on others. It is also quite possible that some entirely different plan might work best on still other commodities. In fact, it seems to me that one of the important lessons we have learned in connection with our price support programs is that a blanket program for all commodities does not do the job. The nearer we can tailor a program to meet the needs of a particular commodity, the better it will work.

All of us out here are interested in wheat and wheat is one of the commodities which is in serious trouble today. The estimated carryover on July 1, 1954, is 800 million bushels, the largest ever known. In fact, it may be more than 800 million bushels if exports keep dropping off like they are at the present time. Furthermore, if we have a normal crop on the reduced acreage of 62 million acres, and if world supply conditions continue as they are now, the carryover for July 1, 1955, will be more than 800 million bushels. That may not be too much wheat considering the times. Certainly it is an advantage and a benefit to the world with a rapidly growing population to have ample reserve stocks. However, our present supplies do impose a problem of management, particularly if continued good crops should increase the supply. Not only does this supply strain our storage capacity but carrying charges involve large amounts of money.

I know there are many people who wonder how we acquired such a large wheat surplus so quickly. That is a good question because it was only a comparatively short time ago when farmers were being urged to produce more wheat. Our carryover of wheat on July 1, 1952, a little over a year and a half ago, was only 256 million bushels. Of course, we all remember the big 1952 crop when we had over one billion bushels of winter wheat alone, and a total yield of approximately 1,300 million bushels. Added to this has been the 1953 crop of 1,168 million bushels. In the meantime, Canada has had its third big crop in a row, something which had never happened before, and world wheat production in both 1952 and 1953 was about 18 percent above normal. A large part of this was due to the big crops in the United States and Canada, but the fact is, there were good crops almost everywhere outside the Iron Curtain. That is what happened to bring about our present wheat situation. It occurred in a hurry and a couple of years of poor crops in one or more important wheat producing countries could change the situation just as rapidly in the other direction. Certainly, the drought situation which we have in this country holds grave potentialities unless relieved soon.

Secretary Benson contends that our present situation in wheat is a result of 90 percent price supports, but on that point I cannot agree with him. It is due to two things,

One, the extraordinarily large crops in 1952 and 1953 in this country and in the entire world and, second, to the decline in our exports. Certainly, wheat producers of this country are not to blame. They were given a goal of approximately 77 million acres for the 1952 crop by the Secretary of Agriculture—they made that goal. Acreage allotments and marketing quotas should have been put into effect on the 1953 crop but this was not done by the Secretary of Agriculture and farmers were requested to plant 72 million acres. This was exceeded by about 6 million acres, but I am sure that wheat farmers would have gone along gladly with acreage allotments and marketing quotas if they had been invoked as they should have been for the 1953 crop. That leaves just one question—whether there would have been more or less wheat planted for harvest in 1953 if we had had flexible price supports somewhere from 75 to 90 percent of parity rather than supports at 90 percent. I personally do not feel the acreage sown would have been any less. In fact, it might have been more, because all our experience is to the effect that when farmers know they are going to get less per unit for a commodity, they make an effort to produce more units in order to maintain income. That is especially true in these times when farmers' costs have been increasing and when a tremendous amount of capital is needed to carry out even moderate farming operations. It is true that increased prices bring about an expansion of production but for the reason given above, declining prices do not bring about declining production, at least not immediately. But I am talking now to the best authorities in the world on that question, farmers themselves. I will leave it to you to answer the question as to whether you would have planted more or less wheat for harvest in 1953 if flexible price supports rather than 90 percent price supports had been in effect without acreage allotments and marketing quotas. If you had reduced your acreage, it presumably would have gone into some other crop, so I ask you this question. What crop could farmers have shifted to in the last 2 years without causing or adding to the surplus of that crop? Soy beans, potatoes, corn, flax, oats, barley, milo? You name it. Your conclusions may be different from mine, but I do not believe that flexible price supports even at 75 percent of parity would have diminished our present supply of wheat one bushel.

This does not mean that I believe that 90 percent price supports constitute the best long-range program for wheat. I believe that 90 percent price supports can be maintained only where there is a large export demand and where the peope of this country are willing to subsidize wheat exports by paying the difference between 90 percent price supports and world prices. It cost the Federal Treasury approximately $600 million to pay subsidies on wheat exports under the first international Wheat Agreement which ran from 1949 to 1952, inclusive. It is not at present costing us as much under the new agreement for the simple reason that we are not exporting as much. But with world wheat supplies as they are today, it seems unlikely that the importing countries will continue to pay the maximum price allowed under the agreement and we can only compel them to take it at the minimum price. What will probably happen is an agreement at some in-between price which will cost us more in subsidies than we are paying now.

Furthermore, approximately half of our wheat exports since the end of World War II have been paid for out of foreign relief expenditures. In other words, they have been paid for by American taxpayers. The days of foreign economic relief are practically past. We do expect to make wheat and other surplus commodities available to hungry people, but the big world wheat crops of the last 2 years have changed that situation considerably as far as need is concerned. I am in favor of using our wheat stocks in every way possible to relieve hunger and to bring about a better understanding with our friends and neighbors throughout the world. I would welcome opportunities to sell for local currencies or to donate the wheat where needed, but I am not jesting when I say that it is becoming increasingly hard to even give wheat away.

I want to commend Secretary Benson for reorganizing the Department of Agriculture in such a way as to put more emphasis upon exports, and for establishing the recently announced policy of sending trade missions to all parts of the world in an effort to dispose of wheat and other agricultural commodities. But even with all these efforts, I think it is going to be difficult to expand our exports at this time, although certainly every effort should be made to do so. One reason we will run into trouble with giveaway programs or sales for local currencies is that unless handled in a very careful way, these programs seriously interfere with transactions in normal channels of trade and reduce or destroy established markets.

With these thoughts in mind I have been more and more inclined to favor a two-price system as the best and soundest long-range program for wheat, and I believe that the more such a program is studied, the better it looks in the light of the future. I am aware that it would be impossible to establish a two-price system as long as we have on hand the tremendous supplies of wheat that now exist. I think we will have to have an interim program to reduce those supplies both by cutting down production through acreage allotments and marketing quotas and by disposing of our accumulated supply as far as possible. Some interim program will be necessary if we shift to any new plan for the future, whether it is a two-price system or something else.

There are different kinds of two-price systems, but the one I have in mind is that which is described as the certificate or domestic parity plan. Under this plan that part of our wheat production which is consumed domestically for human food would be allotted to all wheat producers based upon their production in the past. For this allotted amount, producers would be given a certificate having a value per bushel of the estimated difference between the going market price of wheat and the price support level at parity. Millers would have to have certificates covering the number of bushels of wheat which they milled for domestic consumption and the only way they could get certificates would be to buy them from producers. Thus, there would always be a market for these certificates at approximately face value. There would be no segregation of the allotted wheat. Instead, all wheat grown would move through the normal channels of trade just as it would in the absence of any program. This is, of course, a very brief and simple explanation of this plan, but it contains its essential features.

Now I want to enumerate three advantages which I feel a two-price program based on certificates and allotments will have over either a 90 percent of parity program or flexible supports from 75 to 90 percent of parity.

The first advantage lies in the return which farmers might receive under each of these plans under any given set of circumstances. On this point, unpublished cost and benefit studies which have been made by the technical staff of the Department of Agriculture indicates that if the domestic use share of the crop is supported at full parity, a two-price plan for wheat will return producers somewhat more income in the next few years than price supports continued at 90 percent of parity which would utilize marketing quotas as might be required.

If the domestic use share is supported at 90 percent of parity, the two-price plan will still give as large a gross income from wheat as 90 percent of parity and 5 to 10 percent more than if they were supported at the minimum mandatory flexible levels of 75 percent of parity as provided by the 1949 act.

These conclusions take into account the value of crops grown on the diverted acres when marketing quotas are in effect and the normal acreage of the crop which would be grown under a two-price plan.

Second, a two-price system such as we are now discussing should operate without the necessity for production controls which we are bound to have at least a part of the time with either flexible or 90 percent supports. High cost producers would be inclined to limit production to the amount allotted for domestic consumption. Export or other secondary markets would be enlarged because of the lower prices at which the non-allotment part of the crop would move. Low prices would expand supports in some degree and would result in increased use of wheat as livestock feed.

Third, this plan, by permitting exports to be made at world prices, would eliminate the payment of subsidies which would be required at all times with either 90 percent or flexible 75 to 90 percent price supports.

Because of the obvious advantages of this plan, there is a growing interest in it. The National Grange at its last annual meeting expressed its position as follows: "We favor the use of self-financing two-price or multiple-price measures for such commodities as can use them. Such two-price or multiple-price measures should be supplemented by special measures to stimulate support of surpluses and compensatory imports to balance our surplus exports."

The National Association of Wheat Growers at its recent annual meeting at Wichita endorsed a two-price plan for wheat. State wheat growers' organizations have also endorsed it. The Advisory Committee on Wheat set up by Secretary Benson endorsed it with only one dissenting vote, and that on a minor point. The plan had support among members of the President's Advisory Committee on Agriculture as well as a good many others who were consulted on agricultural legislation.

At the hearings held by the House Committee on Agriculture throughout the country last fall, there were frequent expressions of interest and support for a two-price program on wheat. Where the idea had been explained and studied as in the Pacific Northwest, there was strong support for it. My experience has been that the more wheat farmers study this proposal, the more merit they see in it.

I have been dealing with farm legislation and farm programs for a great many years. I never expect to see a perfect program for any commodity. None of them work nearly as well as they sound. I think, however, we have learned a lot through the experience of the last 20 years. One thing we have learned, and I have mentioned it earlier, is that the more we can tailor a program to meet the particular problems inherent in the production and marketing of any commodity, the more likely the program will be a success. I believe that for a crop like wheat the plan which I have been discussing will more nearly fill the bill than anything that has been suggested up to date. The plan is not new. It has been considered and discussed for years, but under the abnormal conditions which have existed for the past 20 years we have been forced to deal in the main with expediencies and with programs designed to meet some particular situation. Now that we dare hope for a period in which world conditions may be more normal and when the effects of war and inflation will have been dissipated, this plan seems to be a logical development.

It is a program which makes sense and one which will save dollars. It will give our wheat producers an American price for that part of their production which is consumed domestically for human food. It will supplement our livestock feed supply where needed, and it will enable this Nation to carry out without cost to the Public Treasury an export program which will furnish food to the world's hungry people wherever they may be.

Ike Versus Jim Crow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the March 15, 1954, issue of the magazine the New Leader contained a very interesting editorial entitled "Ike Versus Jim Crow," which editorial I am inserting in the RECORD as an extension of my own remarks:

IKE VERSUS JIM CROW

For 20 years, the Democrats gave this country social security, collective bargaining, securities-exchange control, public power, and other radical reforms. But the government of the "forgotten man" was strangely forgetful of one great block of underprivileged citizens: the Negroes. Despite the fact that both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman were sincere and ardent champions of Negro rights, their administrations delivered comparatively little. The great progress that the Negro undeniably made under the New and Fair Deals was attributable more to the general climate those programs created (as well as to World War II and other nonpolitical factors) than to the fulfillment of specific party pledges.

It has remained for the conservative successor of these administrations to begin to fulfill some of the Democratic pledges to Negroes. Nothing dramatizes that fact more than the appointment, last week, of J. Ernest Wilkins of Chicago as Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs. This is the first time in the history of the United States that a Negro has been elevated to subcabinet rank; the highest post reached by a colored man under the Democrats was a Federal judgeship. What adds importance to Mr. Wilkins' appointment is that his new job will bring him into contact with the leaders of many foreign nations and their trade-union movements—the first time that Americans have been represented in international labor circles by a Negro official. One can imagine the impact that will have upon the colored nations in particular.

But Mr. Wilkins' appointment is not the only significant act of this administration in the field of Negro affairs. Integration in the Armed Services, begun by President Truman, has virtually been completed. Segregation and discrimination in Washington seem to be nearing their end. Industries with Federal contracts are being made to comply with the anti-discrimination clause those contracts contain. And, especially pertinent in view of Mr. Eisenhower's campaign in the South, the GOP administration does not seem to care whether it gets Southern approval for its attitude toward the Negro or not. This contrasts rather sharply with the efforts of Adlai Stevenson and other Democratic leaders to make peace with the Southern wing of their party.

The Democrats, it may be argued, paved the way for many of the steps the Republicans are now taking—and that is true. Still, whatever the antecedents, the GOP is living up to its campaign promises where the Negro is concerned. And the Negro knows it. Anyone who has talked to Negroes who live in or commute to and from Washington will hear them speak in superlatives of a national capital that was once anathema to them.

Comes the fall campaign and Democrats may no longer find a solid Negro voting bloc behind them.

Increase Travel Abroad by Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, March 11, I introduced H. R. 8352, making a technical correction in H. R. 7773, which I had introduced on February 8. This bill aims to carry out one of several recommendations of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, popularly known as the Randall Commission. As the official report of that Commission pointed out, the problem of stimulating foreign trade should be attacked on many fronts, one being the encouragement of foreign travel by residents of this country. "Increased travel abroad by Americans," the Commission declared, "can make a substantial contribution over a period of time to increasing the dollar earnings of foreign countries."

As one means of encouraging this travel, I have proposed in H. R. 8352 that the duty-free allowance of United States tourists returning from foreign countries be increased from $500 to $1,000. At present, United States residents who stay abroad more than 12 days may bring in $500 worth of gods, duty free, once every 6 months. Under my proposal, this allowance would be doubled. As an item of information, an exemption of $100 on foreign purchases was granted in 1897; in 1948 this was increased to $400, with a further increase to $500 in 1949.

In 1952 the dollars spent by American travelers abroad contributed over $1 billion to the purchasing power of foreign countries. This amount represents more dollar earnings than foreign countries received from the sale to the United States of any commodity except coffee. As another point of comparision, the sale of all dutiable finished manufactured goods earned for foreign countries in 1952 about the same amount of dollars as American travelers contributed. It is apparent, therefore, that American travel today contributes substantially to the economy of foreign countries, without affecting adversely our own economy.

Not only are these dollar earnings of great importance now, but they can be increased considerably. If the same proportion of our national income had been spent on travel in 1952 as was spent in 1929, the dollar earnings from travel would have amounted to almost $2,500,000. It seems obvious, therefore, that reasonable encouragement should be given to Americans who would like to travel abroad. Unquestionably such encouragement would be effective. The money American tourists spend abroad gives them pleasure and instruction. It helps our friends abroad and wins us many new friends for America. It brings substantial help to our friends abroad with a minimum of hardship and competition for the American people.

Foreign travel can be considered a commodity which Americans purchase freely, and which foreign countries are glad to sell. If we encourage this traffic we can benefit all concerned. If we can increase it, we will provide international trade with a decided "shot in the arm" in the form of new dollars. By the simple expedient of increasing foreign travel, we could narrow the existing dollar gap, which the Randall Commission estimates at two to three billion dollars annually.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that the Randall Commission unanimously recommended that travel abroad should be stimulated. They unanimously recommended also that the duty-free allowance be increased to $1,000, as proposed by H. R. 8352. In view of the fact that many other recommendations aroused vigorous dissents, such unanimity is significant. With this endorsement and with the obvious advantages of this proposal, I am confident that the Ways and Means Committee will give H. R. 8352 early and favorable consideration, and that it will then be approved by this body.

Hungarian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. PILLION
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, today being Hungarian Independence Day, it is fitting to remember a people whose ideals are so akin to our own American conceptions and whose great patriot, Louis Kossuth made such a lasting impression while touring the United States a little over a hundred years ago.

President Eisenhower in his message to Americans of Hungarian origin on March 10, 1954, expressed an opinion which I think we all share. That there is today an even greater interest and compassion in the United States toward oppressed peoples than was at the time of Louis Kossuth's visit. Hungary's dynamic orator of 1852 apparently has not warned us in vain that Russian imperialism constitutes one of the gravest dangers threatening Western civilization and the American way of life.

President Eisenhower's message was read yesterday in Hungarian churches and patriotic exercises throughout this land. It was broadcast to the enslaved

people of Hungary, rekindling the hopes of millions in a better day to come.

This reminds us that it was an officer of the Hungarian hussars who volunteered to our brilliant envoy in Paris, Benjamin Franklin, 177 years ago, to train General Washington's cavalry. The Hungarian offering his services to us in the darkest hours of this Republic, was one Col. Michael Kováts de Fabricy. He was appointed second in command of the Pulaski Legion and took part in many a battle between New England and the Carolinas. Sent to bolster the defense of Charleston, he fell mortally wounded leading his men against the attacking enemy.

Americans from Hungary recalled the patriotic deeds of both Kossuth and Colonel Commander Kovats during their numerous events yesterday, their Independence Day, in many cities all over the United States. Right here in Washington, an eminent scholar, Rev. Edmund Vasváry is putting the finishing touches to a volume which deals with the life story of this brave Hungarian hussar whose motto, "Faithful unto death" became the slogan of the American Hungarian Federation.

Colonel Kováts thus offered not only his talents as a professional soldier, but he came here to make the supreme sacrifice to his new homeland. No immigrant to these shores has given more, not many have manifested such a self-denying purpose. Our independence must therefore be like a dream to the people who gave us a Colonel Kováts, a Louis Kossuth, yet who today are under worse oppression than ever during their thousand-year-old history.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, the 14th day of March is annually celebrated by the Slovak people everywhere in the world as Slovak Independence Day.

This year, as for a number of years past, the residents of Slovakia are unable to participate in this celebration as they are still suffering under the yoke of Communist tyranny.

The strongest characteristic of the peace-loving Slovak people has always been and still is their ardent devotion to the cause of liberty and freedom, and their strong adherence to the same truly democratic principles for which our country stands. Their sons and daughters have given their lives for these principles and many still linger in prisons and concentration camps because of their refusal to submit to Communist domination.

On this, their independence day, I join with millions of Americans in expressing my hopes that the day may soon come when they will again be free and have the God-given right of self-determination of their own national future.

After 35 Years: The American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, 35 years ago today a group of American soldiers, fresh from the battlefields of France, met in Paris to found the American Legion. Since that time, another great war has been fought, and another generation of Americans has taken part in battle. That the American Legion stands today at the peak of its strength and effectiveness is a tribute to the farsightedness of the men who laid down the basic principles of the Legion in Paris. I am happy to bring to the attention of the House the editorial from the Trenton Times paying a well-merited tribute to the American Legion. The editorial was written by Mr. Raymond Schroth, a winner of the Distinguished Service Cross, for whom one of the most active Legion posts in the country was named.

The editorial follows:

AFTER 35 YEARS

The thousand men who gathered in Paris 35 years ago tomorrow to perpetuate the memories and the friendships of the great war builded better than they knew. Without the gift of prophetic vision they could not have seen in their mind's eye the ultimate success of those early efforts, the vastness of the structure they were beginning to erect, the part it would play in influencing the destiny of the Nation.

The members of the Paris caucus were only a few months removed from the agonies of the Argonne, of St. Mihiel, Soissons, and Belleau Wood. Memories of the misery and the suffering of war, of the valor of comrades, and deep convictions of the futility of the sacrifices were indelibly impressed on their minds. The American Legion was formed to preserve precious memories and to strive for the translation of the ideals of peace into reality.

Unhappily, other wars have destroyed, or at least deferred, the hope of the fulfillment of this latter purpose and have swelled the ranks of the Legion. The passing of 35 years finds the American Legion at the peak of its numerical strength and usefulness and with a history of endeavor and achievement that promises well for a future of even greater value to veterans and the Nation.

The Legion's first duty has been to those who have worn the uniform of their country and who, by reason of injuries, sickness, or other misfortunes, have been in need of help. It is a duty that has been fulfilled faithfully. The Legion's practical interests have extended also to many other fields—the security of the Nation's defenses, the protection of its ideals of government against contamination by alien ideologies, the welfare of children and the building of good citizens. It has been a potent force for all that is in the best interest of the Nation and its people.

The years since Paris 1919 provide a record of which the American Legion may well be proud. It is also a record for which the American people as a whole should be deeply grateful.

Labor and Traffic Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call attention to a very fine article published in the March 15, 1954, issue of the West Virginia Federationist, official bulletin of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, and written by its distinguished president, E. A. Carter, of Charleston, W. Va., on the subject of traffic safety, as follows:

LABOR AND TRAFFIC SAFETY

(By E. A. Carter)

Recently I had the privilege of attending the President's White House Conference on Traffic Safety. Out of that conference has come a much clearer picture in my mind of the responsibility of organized labor for traffic safety and of the stake of working people in traffic safety. The Labor Advisory Committee of the conference adopted a report which should be very significant to all members of labor unions.

This report points out the great responsibility of labor, along with other groups, for doing something to reduce the appalling accident toll on our streets and highways. It reminds us that the great majority of the victims of this slaughter are wage earners or members of their families, and therefore that labor has a very great responsibility in helping to work our community and legislative programs designed to correct this evil.

The report is good in that it does not just deal with generalities. It gets right down to the basic facts and then makes specific recommendations. For instance, concerning labor activity, it says that we must ally ourselves with traffic commissions or boards; that we should affiliate with various clubs and organizations seeking to promote safety; that our representatives be instructed to take an active part in any meetings of such clubs, boards, or commissions when discussions of traffic safety are on the agenda; and that we maintain as close a working cooperation as possible with official organizations such as police departments, sheriffs, traffic divisions, and other State or local setups.

Going further, the report says that just getting on boards and commissions or affiliating with clubs is not enough. There must be some plans for action. Traffic congestion points must be eliminated where possible and reduced in seriousness everywhere. Adequate and safe highways must be provided, proper parking facilities and street lighting must become realities, and the public must be educated along the lines of traffic safety.

The conference was a busy place and, of course, was not limited to the problems of labor participation. There were committees representing agriculture, business, communications media, organizations, public officials, and women's groups in addition to labor. These were all represented on the combined advisory committee which directed and pooled the thinking of the entire conference. The conference procedure was interesting. The combined advisory committee would meet for a general discussion, and then the various group meetings would be held. Following these there would be a meeting of the advisory or steering group or perhaps a general session for the purpose of bringing together the thinking of all the various sections.

H. R. 8300

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker I wish to take this opportunity to make a few observations about the bill for the revision of the internal revenue code, H. R. 8300.

This bill is a tax revision bill and not a tax reduction bill. It is true that there are many provisions that will bring tax relief to the American taxpayers. But this is an incident to the revision of the Internal Revenue Code which this bill represents.

The necessity for a revision of the tax laws of our country is self-evident. It has been many decades since there was a complete revision both as to substance and as to some of the revenue provisions of our code. Fifteen years ago there were only about 4 million individual income taxpayers in the United States. Today there are 54 million. Tax collections have increased 12 or 13 times during that same period. Taxes ware added on to taxes and then more taxes have been added again. This mushrooming process in the imposition of taxes upon our people in time of war and other emergencies resulted in a tax code that was illogical, unsound, inaccurate from an accounting and bookkeeping standpoint, and in many instances harsh and unfair. To rewrite this entire law is the task that the Committee on Ways and Means undertook. A good job could not be done without the loss of some revenue because the only way you can relieve an injustice is to relieve it.

Much has been said about the work that has gone into this huge bill of almost a thousand pages. The committee heard 600 witnesses in public session. The Treasury staffs and the congressional staffs have put in a total of 200,000 man-hours of work. More than 200 organizations have been heard in conference and the answers to 17,000 questionnaires have been gone into. This bill without a doubt represents the greatest legislative task ever undertaken in the history of the Congress of the United States.

The real credit for this outstanding service to our Republic belongs to 1 man and 1 man only. I refer to the Honorable DANIEL A. REED, our beloved and distinguished chairman. His keen insight, his determination, his sense of judgment, his vast knowledge and his tireless efforts are unmatched in all the annals of the Government. Without him this bill would have never reached the floor of the House of Representatives. DANIEL REED is more than the man of the year. He stands as one of the pillars of our Republic of all time.

It is not my purpose at this time to discuss some of the more complicated and technical provisions of this bill and they are many. I will mention some of the provisions that mean so much to the rank and file of the people of America.

There is much talk about the cost of medical expenses. Prolonged illness, hospital bills, surgery, and drugs like everything else in this modern day are expensive. Too often we are inclined just to blame some other group for it. This bill does something about it. It liberalizes the medical deduction. At the present time if a man's salary is $3,000 a year and his family has medical expenses say of $500, he can only deduct that portion of the $500 which exceeds 5 percent of his income. That 5 percent has been changed to 3 percent with a minor limitation on the cost of drugs. The maximum amount of medical deduction allowed at this time is $1,250 and that has been doubled.

At the present time if a widowed mother must hire someone to care for her young children while she goes out and earns a living for her household, the amount she pays out for child care is not considered a business expense in connection with her earnings and, therefore, is not deductible from her income for tax purposes. That has been changed. A deduction up to $600 is available for expenses for the care of 1 or more children under age 10. If the child is between the ages of 10 and 16 this deduction is to be available if the child is physically handicapped to such an extent that he is unable to attend school.

The definition of dependents has been liberalized. Millions of people over the country are interested in this. A foster child can be taken as a dependent. At the present time a child taken for adoption is not considered a dependent during the period they are waiting on adoption in the home. That has been changed. The individual who stands in the place of parents and acts as parents are treated like all other taxpayers who support children.

In past years the mad scramble for revenue has been so great that there seemed to be a policy in both the Congress and the Treasury Department to get all the taxes you could regardless of the consequences. If a clergyman is furnished a parsonage he does not have to pay additional taxes by reason of being allowed the use of that parsonage. But if the church had no parsonage and made an allowance to him so that he could rent or provide a place for himself, that allowance was considered income and thus increased his taxes. That, too, has been taken care of.

One of the fine things that was done by the 80th Congress was the provision for income splitting between husbands and wives. This equalized the burden between States. Soon after that law was in effect we found that something more needed to be done. If a man lost his wife by death, he often found that not only his expenses for carrying on a household were increased but also his taxes were increased because he no longer had someone with whom he could split his income. A few years later that was partially corrected by giving such a taxpayer one-half the benefit of income splitting. This complicated the tables and the computation of the tax. In this bill we have gone all the way. We have given the head of the family the full benefits of income-tax splitting. We have also liberalized the definition of head of a family. This is one of the many provisions in this measure along with the others that I have just mentioned and many that I will not mention that bring a real benefit to the American home.

Retired people are the beneficiaries of tax relief by reason of the revisions we have made in this bill. At the present time retirement benefits from the railroad retirement program are by an act of Congress tax exempt. The benefits paid under our social-security law are by Treasury ruling also tax exempt. Yet the retired individual who lived off of his own savings, rentals, or an annuity purchased from the fruits of his own toil received no tax benefits. This has been corrected. This provision is based upon the Mason bill. It gives an income tax free status of all retirement income up to $1,200 a year on the basis of the rate of tax for the first bracket. By that I mean that the retired individual who is in the 20 percent bracket will get just as much benefit from this provision as the retired individual in the 50-percent bracket or in the 90-percent bracket.

At the present time anyone having a gross income of over $600 is required to fine an income-tax return. Yet a person who is over 65 does not have to pay any taxes on his first $1,200 of income whether it is from earnings or from whatever source. This means that a lot of fine old people who owe no tax have to file a return and the Government must go to the expense of processing these returns. This has been changed so that an individual over 65 with less than $1,200 taxable income will not have to file a return.

At the present time if a salesman is an employee but incurs certain business expenses incidental to his selling, he cannot deduct these from his income unless he is considered self-employed or unless he is away from home over night. This rule is not just and so in this bill that has been changed so that these expenses can be deducted. In other words this is another situation where tax relief has come about by reason of revising the law so that it accurately measures an individual's taxable income. This is not a windfall for salesmen. This revision is made to the end that he will pay on his actual net income. Other benefits obtained by reason of this legislation are in the same category.

One very important change brought about by this measure has to do with the earnings of a dependent child. Under existing law, if a child earns more than $600 in vacation pay or has a gross income of more than $600 in 4–H Club work, he not only becomes a taxpayer but his parents lose him as a personal exemption. This was most unfair. One case was called to my attention where a boy's earnings were actually $600.89, yet this extra 89 cents cost his parents about $135 in added taxes. But I know of one case where the injustice was even greater. This was the case of a 4–H Club boy whose livestock and products brought him a gross of $800, but his expenses in producing them were $400. He only had a net income of $400, yet his parents had to pay $133 additional tax

because of his activity in 4–H Club work. This bill provides that if a dependent child makes more than $600, he shall pay taxes on the excess over $600 but that his parents will not lose him as an exemption.

This bill carries an item in it in which I have been interested for many, many years. A long time ago I introduced a bill on it and I have reintroduced that bill in all the succeeding Congresses. This provision makes expenses paid by a farmer for soil and water conservation a business deduction for the amounts paid but not exceeding 25 percent of his income from farming. This, I believe, will be a great boon to conservation practices. We owe it to oncoming generations to leave this good earth just a little more productive than it was when we found it. The farmer who takes his own money to preserve, and improve, and enrich his soil is serving the general public and he is building a great national asset. These expenses are proper expenses in the business of farming and this bill makes them so.

Earlier in this Congress we extended the principle of accelerated amortization to farmers along the lines that have been enjoyed by industry. I refer to a bill passed earlier that permitted the charging off as expense the cost of grain storage over a period of 5 years. The need for privately owned, adequate and modern grain storage facilities is a national problem. Government-owned storage is not the right answer. This 83d Congress gave the same inducements for a taxpayer to build needed grain storage facilities as has in the past been given to industrialists to build needed war factories. This item, while it was enacted prior to this bill, is somewhat akin to the soil-conservation expense provision and for that reason I mention it here. It has been my constant endeavor to obtain for the farm families of America that same tax treatment that is accorded our industrial economy. This 83d Congress in approving these measures are making those efforts a reality.

Existing law permits an individual who must sell his house and buy another to do so without a present liability for a capital-gains tax. This bill improves that provision in one particular that I will mention. Suppose you have to sell your house under such circumstances but in order to sell you have to clean the place up by painting or papering it. This bill provides that those expenses in connection with getting it ready for sale shall be considered in determining the basis of the value of the property and will mean a tax benefit to individuals in those situations.

With our very high tax rates many Americans say: "What is the use? Why should I think and plan and dream and invent something over a period of many years only to have the sale of that invention devoured in taxes in the year that I realize on it?" This bill permits an inventor to split his income which is actually earned over a long period of time over a period of 5 years.

In spite of the many perplexing problems that face our Republic, I am convinced that there are great days ahead. I am convinced that the possibilities for better living and the possibilities for solution of many of our problems lie in the research laboratory. This bill spells out and liberalizes the tax treatment for research expenditures and permits the taxpayer to either expense those items or capitalize them. This is not only right and just, it is an investment in the future of our American way of life.

So many Americans hope that the day will soon be at hand when our tax dollars will not have to be spent all over the world to prime other nations' economies. This bill extends the Western Hemisphere treatment for corporations doing business abroad to other parts of the world. In other words we are attempting to induce private American capital to create jobs and industries in foreign countries and thus make their economy self-sustaining. To whatever degree this is successful it will relieve the tax burden of the farmers and workers and other producers in America who pay the taxes in the long run. This provision has a safeguard written in it that provides that the corporations benefiting by this section in going abroad cannot benefit under it if their products are sent back into America in competition with ours.

Many loopholes are closed in this bill. Another item that I might mention is that under existing law a refund for taxes amounting to $200,000 or more has to be referred to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. This means that the department can make a sizable tax return without having the matter referred to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. This $200,000 feature is reduced to $100,000 thus placing more of these tax refunds under the scrutiny of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and their staff.

After much work on the part of the staff, a system has been devised for combining the normal and surtax tables. This has been done in a way that does not prejudice those taxpayers who happen to have certain tax-free bonds.

One of the very important features of this tax revision bill is the new treatment of depreciation. At the present time if a farmer, a company operating a factory or any other taxpayer buys a machine which for instance has a normal period of usefulness of 10 years they can just charge off one-tenth of that cost for each of the 10 years involved. That procedure is not sound. It is not in conformity with business practices or with the facts in most situations. For instance, anyone knows that the actual depreciation between a new car and one that is a year old amounts to a great deal while the depreciation actually that takes place between a car that is 9 years old and 10 years old is very little. In other words in reality most property actually depreciates most in the early life of that property. We are going to so treat it for the purpose of taxation.

This new rule on depreciation is sometimes referred to as the declining balance system. It will permit the charging off as depreciation two-thirds the value of a property in the first half of its life.

In the long run the same amount is charged off in depreciation for a property as is under present law. So in the long run there is no loss of revenue although there appears to be a loss in revenue in the first years that the taxpayer owns property.

It seems clear that in reality this new rule on depreciation will mean much more revenue for the Treasury. This new rule will add great impetus to the American enterprise system. The fact that taxpayers can fairly and accurately charge to depreciation the cost of new machines, new buildings, and the like will greatly stimulate the American economy. It will mean more payroll taxes, more income taxes, and more excise taxes from the producers of this property that will be brought by reason of this new rule. This will be one of the most important steps in sound taxation that has been made in a long time.

Another important provision in this bill is the step provided for partially removing the double taxation of corporate dividends. If the earnings of a company are taxed at the very high rates which run to 52 percent and then the profits when distributed to the owners are again taxed at very high rates to the individuals, why should people go into business? What is there to encourage a growing, expanding economy to provide more jobs for the young men and women coming out of our schools?

Is it a good thing for the ownership of America's great industries to be spread among as many individuals as possible? If so, we should take cognizance of it. This bill does that.

This bill provides that for the first year a taxpayer may have $50 in dividend income tax free because the taxes on that earning have already been paid once. The second year he can have $100 dividend income tax free for the same reason. This means that the employee in one of our great companies who is buying stock by having a small amount taken out of his wages each payday will not have to pay taxes on the interest on that stock up to these limits because the company has already paid the tax on those same earnings.

This will be a great incentive for employees and other citizens in all income brackets to invest their money in productive private enterprises. In addition to the $50 and $100 dividend income provision taxpayers are permitted the first year to take a credit against their tax of 5 percent of their dividend income. After the first year it goes to 10 percent.

There are propagandists and leftists who bitterly assail this sound tax reform. They are wrong. We must face up to the real issue here. Do we want the private enterprise system? It cannot be maintained if we go on forever penalizing the person who saves and invests his money. If we are going to create a situation where the only source of capital for new ventures is the Government of the United States then there is no escape from nationalization of our industries and from complete socialism. We in this country turn to the Federal Government to finance things when private capital is not available. The way to make private capital available is to have

a tax climate that provides an encouragement for all citizens regardless of from what income bracket they come, to save and to invest their money in productive private enterprises. This provision is a great step in that direction. It will benefit countless millions of people who now are, and millions more who will hereafter become, owners of America's productive industries but more than that it will mean new ventures, new programs, new factories, new products and more jobs for men and women seeking jobs. It will mean more income and in the long run more revenue to the Treasury of the United States.

This bill also cancels out the April 1 scheduled reduction in corporate tax rates in accordance with the request of President Eisenhower. The added revenue to be received by continuing the 52-percent rate on corporate earnings more than offsets the loss of revenue by reason of these revisions. It is my belief that the good things accomplished by these revisions will, however, give us a growing and expanding economy and more revenue for the Treasury of the United States. To go on without these revisions means to invite great unemployment. We cannot forget that during the Democrat years beginning in 1933 and running until World War II, unemployment is excess of 10 million existed in this country each and every year. Let us enact this bill and not permit that to happen again.

Let me again repeat that this is a revision bill. When the subject of a further reduction of personal taxes comes up, I am sure that it will be the Republicans who will raise the personal exemption just as they did in the 80th Congress. The proposed motion to recommit, to make this a personal income tax reduction bill at this time, would mean a loss in revenue of an additional amount of more than $2 billion. I hope that it can be done soon, but to attach it to this bill means that there will be no bill at all. In other words, a vote for the motion to recommit is a vote against this bill and all the fine provisions that it carries. It will mean there will be no tax bill at all this year. A vote to recommit this bill is in reality a move to destroy and prevent the enactment of all the benefits contained in this legislation which will mean so much to our economy. It will help no one.

Thirty-nine Priests, Nuns Die in Slovak Slave Labor Camps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article which appeared in the Catholic News on February 27, 1954. This was sent to me by Dr. Gustave Kosik, chairman, and John D. Sciranka, editor, of the American Friends of Slovak Freedom organization.

I am particularly interested in this situation because I am a member of the House Baltic Committee.

The article follows:

THIRTY-NINE PRIESTS, NUNS DIE IN SLOVAK SLAVE LABOR CAMPS

VIENNA.—Thirty-nine Catholic priests and nuns died of exposure in slave labor camps in Slovakia during a severe frost last month, according to reports reaching here.

It was stated that more than 150 ill-fed and ill-clothed inmates of these concentration camps perished. Fourteen of the victims were priests, 25 were nuns.

The full details of this tragedy have not yet been learned. The camps in which Communist-imprisoned people died are reported to be in the vicinity of Kosice, Nitra, and Banska-Bystrica.

Stories of frozen corpses of priests and nuns are reported to have fanned indignation against Red terror in strongly Catholic Slovakia.

One report says that seven priests, now used for Red slave labor, were sent from their camp to cut wood in the Tatra mountains and never returned. They were reportedly swept to death by an avalanche.

Other reports reaching here stated that nearly a third of the inmates in a forced labor camp in eastern Poland died this winter as a result of undernourishment and lack of warm clothing. Many of the victims are said to have been priests.

St. Lawrence Seaway Will Open the Great Lakes to Foreign Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the people in the Middle West should thoroughly understand the competition that the St. Lawrence seaway will bring into their midst from the standpoint of cheaply manufactured foreign products from the hands of foreign labor whose daily wages are but a token amount of those paid American wage earners.

Already this competition from foreign nations is being felt by the pilot associations of the United States and Canada who are demanding a prohibition on foreign freighters trading between foreign and Great Lakes ports.

The following article, taken from the March 7, 1954, issue of the New York Times, tells the story of what foreign vessels are doing to American shipping on the Great Lakes even though the St. Lawrence seaway is not a reality:

LAKES CURBS URGED ON OVERSEAS SHIPS

CLEVELAND, March 6.—With the number of oceangoing foreign freighters visiting the Great Lakes increasing sharply, American and Canadian shipping operators are urging steps to control the activities of the vessels from across the seas.

Pilot associations of the United States and Canada are sponsoring legislation that would make it compulsory for foreign ships to have a certified pilot aboard at all times while in Great Lakes waters. A prohibition on foreign freighters trading between lake ports also has been proposed.

A total of 114 vessels flying foreign flags visited the Great Lakes last season. Indicative of the growth of this trade since World War II is the fact that 68 of the freighters made their first trip to the lakes last year. It is estimated that 30 additional foreign freighters will enter the Great Lakes this season.

The 440-foot freighter *Odanah* of the Interlake Steamship Co., operated by Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland, has been sold to the Wyandotte Transportation Co., Wyandotte, Mich., in the latest in a series of winter deals.

The vessel, which has a rated capacity of 7,300 tons and was built in 1907, will be taken over by the new owner at Ashtabula, Ohio, where she is in winter quarters.

Let's Think

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, an audience of more than 100 in Trenton last week applauded speakers who made reckless and utterly unfounded attacks on the loyalty of President Eisenhower and Senators H. Alexander Smith and Robert C. Hendrickson. In the editorial reprinted below, the Trenton Times properly takes to task the audience for applauding these contemptible attacks on Americans of unquestioned loyalty. As the Times says, let's think before applauding such carelessly delivered charges.

The editorial follows:

LET'S THINK

It is shocking to know that a Trenton audience of more than 100 applauded speeches in which President Eisenhower and Senators Smith and Hendrickson were charged with being allied with Communists.

Our President and New Jersey's Senators hardly need to have their patriotism defended. What is disturbing is that a Trenton audience would sit still, let alone applaud, as speakers offer such contemptible attacks on leading Americans.

This seems to be a time of confusion. Many are disturbed at the worldwide threat of Soviet Russia. The knowledge that there have been Communist spies among us has set up fears that thrive on ignorance. The popularity of congressional investigators who abuse witnesses, spread half-truths, and distort our civil liberties breeds on these fears.

It is neither wrong nor shameful to be worried by an enemy as powerful as Soviet Russia. It is both wrong and damaging to America to allow that fear to override good judgment. It is shameful to tear down the good names and the characters of our fellow citizens simply because we may not always agree with them.

More than this, it is downright un-American to undercut the freedom to think and believe of any American. It is plain disloyal to the principles of freedom to attack the patriotism of those with whose views we disagree.

Such character assassination as Trenton witnessed Tuesday night is not the American way to discuss political issues, or any other public differences. That was an un-American example of the Fascist way. Let's think before we applaud.

National Negro Newspaper Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, this week is National Negro Newspaper Week. The dissemination of information, patriotism, and culture through the newspaper was early recognized by the leaders and laws of our country. The development of the Negro press in the United States in the past decade has been amazing. It is something which the country has profited by as a whole.

In recognition of this I am making a part of these remarks two editorials from the Bronze Raven, a very fine newspaper from my home city of Toledo. This paper has in a little more than 3 years, under the able leadership of Mrs. Frances A. Belcher, become a real force in our community.

The editorials follow:

NATIONAL NEGRO NEWSPAPER WEEK

(By Edwin Brooks)

National Negro Newspaper Week, sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, was formerly held during the last week in February. But now it is held during the middle of March so that it can fall during the week of the anniversary of the birth of the first Negro newspaper, Freedom's Journal. Freedom's Journal, then edited by Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, was founded in 1827.

Incidentally, John Russwurm was the first Negro college graduate in the United States of America.

Here are some interesting facts about the Negro press:

The Negro press in 1951 had 2,444,593 readers, and the 43 Negro magazines had 1,299,637 readers.

The Ohio Express, a daily newspaper published in Dayton, had 7,500 readers in 1951.

Our press, combined newspapers, had 109,842 readers in 1951.

Tan Confessions magazine had a circulation of 200,000 in 1951, while the Journal of Negro History (quarterly) had only 1,450 readers.

The powerful Negro market has been sought by national advertisers, whose ads appear in our magazines, mainly Ebony. Such advertisers as Lever Bros. Co., Pillsbury, Mills, Armour & Co., Beech Nut Gum, Hadacol, and others. These advertisers have appeared in our newspapers, too.

According to the 1952 Negro Year Book, the Toledo Blade had the following members of our community working for them: Bernice Vance, secretarial aid to Market Research Division; Evelyn Gordon, business office clerk; Thomas and Bedford Traynum, proof boys in the dispatch department; Theodore Spurlock, in the circulation department. Of course, we all know Mr. Brower, a very capable reporter. There are also the youngsters who are house-to-house carriers of the Blade.

The Bronze Raven has done a very fine job of being a community newspaper. It has presented social news, has fought for the improvement of our people. It is a very good newspaper. If this were not so, it would not keep growing or have so many readers.

I hope that in 1955 our community will observe National Negro Newspaper Week. I also hope that interested people—writers and reporters—will get together and form a press club such as the Capital Press Club in Washington, D. C., or the Los Angeles Press Club. It is time for us to respond to worthwhile causes and purposes. There is no doubt that we are capable of doing many great and good things. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel.

NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK IS GIVEN ATTENTION

Once each year the Negro press pauses to take stock of its achievement. Next week the annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week will be held.

It is well that such an occasion has become a traditional observance each year. Negro newspapers, of course, have functions over and above those of our daily newspapers.

Naturally, they strive to present the news of primary interest to and about Negroes as objectively as possible. They also print news about and of interest to Negroes that you won't be able to find in other newspapers.

Still another function assigned by Negro newspapers is to print the other story; the story you do not read in the daily press. This is a more valuable role than many readers realize.

To cite one example. Community residents would have not known the full story concerning the fight over Washington School's principalship last summer had there been no Bronze Raven to report it. Full details of such a story was not found in the daily press.

Thus, Negro newspapers must function beyond the normal role set aside for newspapers.

It is fitting, then, that once each year the public must be made aware anew of this service. For it is not just a service to a particular racial group, but to the community, even the Nation, as well.

The Seafood Industry in Louisiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. A. THOMPSON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, the commercial fisheries industry in Louisiana does an annual business in excess of $33 million and employs in excess of 31,000 persons. This industry is being developed at a very rapid pace and no one knows what its value to us in the future will be. The Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries Commission, commercial industrial services section, commercial seafoods division, has recently published a directory of commercial fish dealers in Louisiana. This pamphlet was published because of the interest of Mr. L. D. Young, Jr., director of the commission; Mr. Robert L. Eddy, chief of the commercial seafoods division; and Mr. Charles A. Murphy, of the industrial services section, in the development of the commercial seafood industry in Louisiana. It is my understanding that this is the first such undertaking by any State and indicates another step forward in proper development of an industry of boundless potential.

A communication I have received from the United States Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, indicates that this agency has had considerable demands for references of this type and indicated to me that a standard directory for each State would be desirable and that such publications would be of value to the staff of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

I am authorized by the above-named officials of the Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries Commission to offer their assistance to other States who care to develop such publications in their own behalf.

Move Surplus Dairy Products and Restore 90 Percent Parity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Secretary of Agriculture order reducing parity on dairy products to 75 percent of parity is the most disastrous order issued in our generation. If we go into a depression, this order will be responsible.

There has been too little effort by the Department of Agriculture in moving dairy surplus products into consumption channels. With many of our own people forced to exist on near starvation levels—this is a pitiful sight.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must act or there will be no action in this respect. I urge the passage of H. R. 8329 introduced by myself and 30 other Senators and Congressmen.

The bill provides as follows:

First. Every recipient of old-age assistance, social security, widows' and orphans' benefits, crippled and handicapped aid, or any recipient of public welfare aid shall be given besides the monthly check, a ration card worth $10 each month for butter, milk, or cheese.

Second. The recipients of this $10 ration card each month buy these dairy products from their regular store and merely give a coupon from the ration card in payment.

Third. The regular store each month will mail these coupons in to a bank designated for the purpose in each State and will receive payment at the regular prevailing market price.

Fourth. The designated bank will, in turn, send the coupons to the Federal agency and get payment from the money appropriated for support prices.

If this bill is enacted into law, we will no longer be bothered with surpluses of dairy products—that prove ruinous to the farm prices.

I and 30 other Federal legislators are now working on a bill to provide a quart of milk a day for every student, from kindergarten through the high-school level. These 31 legislators believe that if these two laws are enacted, the dairy farm surplus problem will be solved once and for all so that the dairy farmers can have security in planning. We believe that in cutting red tape and storage costs,

the cost of these two programs will be less than the money now being spent for support prices. These two plans place emphasis on consumption, rather than red tape and storage.

Let us pass this bill now and restore 90-percent parity. If we do not, the 1954 depression is on the way.

Trinity Project Questioned

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Humboldt Standard of Thursday, March 4, 1954:

TRINITY PROJECT QUESTIONED

During the prolonged controversy over the Trinity River project, involving the projected diversion of water from that stream for use in the Central Valley of California, it will be recalled that one of the chief points of protest on the part of north coast people rested on criticism of the highhanded and arbitrary methods employed by the Bureau of Reclamation in forcing the issue down the throats of all concerned.

In that connection, to refresh our memories, it will be recalled that the final decision by the administration at that time, approving the proposed diversion, was made at the instance of the then Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, who apparently closed his ears to critics of the move both here in the north coast area and from other parts of the State as well. Not only was the demand for a full hearing denied, but Chapman also ignored the State of California, bypassing it entirely in his recommendations to the administration and to Congress. This highhanded procedure symbolized the arbitrary attitude exemplified in Federal policy prior to the change of administration in Washington, as related to much of the reclamation program in its entirety.

Now, it appears that the very highhandedness of the preceding administration and its minions may have led them into a pitfall of their own digging, into which they blindly led themselves. For Congress has been asked to reexamine and reappraise the entire Trinity question on the basis of its validity as regarding presentation to Congress for funding appropriations.

The question of validity has been raised by our own Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER, who appeared a few days ago before the House Appropriations Committee, just now studying the general issue of appropriations for this type of public works. Mr. SCUDDER points out to his House colleagues that the Trinity diversion project was authorized on January 2, 1953, by Chapman, before receiving the comments of the State of California, and he contends that the validity of the authorization also is questionable because, under ordinary procedure, comments from the Bureau of the Budget also are received on such projects before they are presented to Congress, which was not done in this instance.

However, Mr. SCUDDER also criticizes the hasty action of the preceding administration from another angle—that involving a change of policy that has been instituted by Congress itself relative to administrative action. In that connection, the Congressman points out that the House last year passed a measure (H. Res. No. 4551), which is designed to prohibit future authorizations by the Secretary of the Interior on projects in excess of $5 million and requiring that such projects must have the approval of Congress before appropriations are considered. This bill is now pending before the Senate. At any rate, the inference is clear—the Trinity diversion plan would run to an estimated $218 million—and who knows how much more, once it should be started?

But Mr. SCUDDER has injected still another question into the question of the relative desirability of the Trinity project, based on the need for the same and, as well, on the inherent rights of the north-coast region which has an acute interest in the proposition. In that connection, the Congressman says:

"Quite aside from this—the technical questions of validity—is the fact that the project proposes to divert water from the north-coast watershed, which is in my congressional district, to the Sacramento Valley and eventually, possibly, to the San Joaquin Valley * * *. There may very well be some excess water in this watershed which might be diverted to other areas which are in need of additional supplemental water. However, this north-coast area is growing rapidly. There is increased activity in lumbering and other forest products. Before this Congress commits itself to allowing waters to be exported from this area I would like to be certain that we can be assured that all possible future needs of this area are first taken care of. Some of my people would probably like to appear before the appropriate congressional committee in hearings on this subject and testify as to the anticipated needs of that area. This opportunity should be afforded them before any commitments are made directly or indirectly for allowing the Trinity project to be regarded as authorized."

In his criticism of the Trinity project, Mr. SCUDDER certainly has delineated the vital questions concerning the issue: The validity of enabling administrative decision; the questionable need for the water elsewhere; and, most important, the interest of the north-coast region. And even though it may be late in the day, there still appears the possibility of a complete reappraisal of the project, as has been urged by local interests since the outset. At any rate, it is clearly apparent that such a reappraisal is entirely in order on all points cited.

Fifteenth Anniversary of the Independence of Slovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, March 14 was the 15th anniversary of the independence of Slovakia, which occasion found the people of Slovakia engaged in a continuing battle of resistance against Communist tyranny to retrieve their freedom and national independence.

I know I speak for the American people in proclaiming our belief that the principles set forth in our Declaration of Independence of the rights of all peoples to self-determination and the opportunity to pursue their own national destiny under the government of their choice are the rights of all civilized peoples everywhere. By its brutal aggression against the Slovak nation, the Soviet Union placed itself squarely in opposition to the ideals held by the whole of the free world. In their resistance to the bolshevization of their country and in their suffering under a foreign tyranny which has attempted to undermine the most enduring basis of human society, the dignity and rights of the individual together with these national rights, the people of Slovakia have the moral backing and the sincere sympathy of the free world.

Hawaii—A Leader in Saving Infant Lives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is proud and justly so of the record it has made in public-health services throughout the Territory. Announcement has recently been made that we are second only to Sweden in the world in low infant mortality rate.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial that appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin pointing up Hawaii's record in this field of service.

The editorial follows:

HAWAII—A LEADER IN SAVING INFANT LIVES

Hawaii is second only to Sweden in the world in its low infant mortality rate.

This is reported by the United Nations in its statistical yearbook.

Infant mortality figures are based on the number of children who die before they are a year old per 1,000 live births.

In Sweden, the rate was 20.1 in 1952. In Hawaii, it was 21.1. Next in line were New Zealand with 21.8, the Netherlands 22.5, Australia 23.8, Norway 25.7, Iceland 26, and continental United States 28.5.

Hawaii takes justified pride in this achievement. It reflects the high quality of public health services maintained in the Territory, the excellence of its hospitals and their staffs, and the skill of its physicians.

It reflects also the alert cooperation of mothers and fathers.

Perhaps Hawaii's climate also has something to do with it—but we like to think that this is largely an achievement of people working toward the goal of better health for everyone.

Infant mortality is only one phase of community health in which Hawaii excels, but it is an important index of the whole health program.

It is an index also of the manner in which the people of Hawaii are meeting their community responsibilities, proof of the high level of civilization we have achieved.

This is particularly noteworthy when it is considered that many of the peoples who make up our diverse population have had in recent years, tragically high infant mortality rates.

It is a reflection also of economic well-being. Most of Hawaii's babies are delivered in hospitals where they can have the best care. Hawaii's people can afford such treatment.

This is something we can capitalize on, something we can point to in encouraging people to come to Hawaii to live.

It's another aspect among the many that make Hawaii a true Pacific paradise.

Social-Security Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACKSON E. BETTS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which would require the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue participation certificates to certain designated classes of persons. In correspondence and by personal contact with my constituents, I find a widespread lack of understanding about the rights of present and future beneficiaries. The purpose of this measure is to put into their hands a formal document setting forth clearly, and by example where possible, the pertinent provisions of the Social Security Act.

Because the Congress has power to alter such provisions, this document should not be called an insurance policy and the term "contract" or similar misleading language should not be used. Instead, the certificate should clearly state in what respects it differs from the usual life insurance contract.

The present Social Security Act uses such terms as "primary insurance benefit," "full insured," "currently insured," etc. While perhaps technically correct, such use of the word "insurance" is misleading to many laymen who mistakenly consider it as synonymous in all respects with commercial insurance. I am informed that the courts have yet to say whether social-security payments are or are not "insurance," but they have held that such payments may become due as a matter of right and as such are not gratuities. The fact remains, though, that there are basic differences in the two concepts of insurance.

I realize that the Social Security Administration has had an educational program in operation for a long time, and various information bulletins have been issued to explain the law. The fact remains, however, that millions still think of it as an inviolate "insurance contract," do not understand that there are conditions of eligibility even though payments have been made for long periods, and few comprehend the method of computing benefits.

To tailor the participation certificate to the present or potential benefits of each individual wage earner, while perhaps desirable, would be a stupendous task. I am, therefore, suggesting only that the name, address, and social-security account number appear on the face of the certificate, followed by a simple explanation of eligibility requirements and benefits computations. A pocket supplement should be provided so that applicable changes in the law could be inserted annually.

A transmittal letter should accompany the document encouraging the retention of the participation certificate with other valuable papers of the recipient.

The Two-Price Plan: Will It Work?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a speech which I delivered at the National Farm Institute in Des Moines, Iowa, on February 20, 1954:

It is always a pleasure to come to Des Moines, a city which I have frequently called the agricultural capital of America. It is indeed an honor to have a part on the program of the National Farm Institute for 1954. At this time, with surpluses accumulating and foreign trade declining, the subject of price supports, tariffs, and foreign trade is particularly timely. Our surplus problems just now are largely the result of declines in exports. Here at home the consumption of agricultural commodities has held up well. It is the sharp decline in exports which is causing the trouble.

I know you are familiar with the figures, but may I again remind you that while our agricultural exports for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1952, amounted to more than $4 billion, for the fiscal year ending the following July 1 they had shrunk to about $2,900,000,000, and they are not increasing during the present fiscal year.

These big figures mean a little more, perhaps, when I tell you that the $4 billion worth of products which we exported in the year ending July 1952 was equivalent to about 29 percent of the net agricultural income for that year. There are about 360 million acres under cultivation in the United States, and our agricultural exports in the postwar years have disposed annually of the production of about 50 million of those acres.

However, we would be less than realistic if we did not take into consideration the fact that a large part of our exports of agricultural commodities in the last 10 years have been on an artificial basis. Following the war there was desperate need among our allies and other friendly nations as well as our defeated foes for many of our agricultural products. They bought from us what they could and we gave them the rest as a direct gift. Between 1941 and 1951 more than half of our agricultural exports were financed through foreign-aid programs. Now that other nations are getting on their feet agriculturally and industrially our economic aid programs are being discontinued and our exports have declined.

There are some, of course, who say in one way or another, "Let's forget about foreign trade." They would have us retire from production the 50 million acres that are now producing agricultural crops for export. By production controls of one kind or another they would limit our agricultural production to what we need in this country and give up the effort to sell our products abroad. Such a course is economic regression. No nation over any considerable period of time has ever increased its standard of living or raised the level of its prosperity by producing less.

In addition, there is a very practical argument against such a program of curtailment of production and economic isolation. The volume of our agricultural production depends to a great extent upon weather conditions. The acres we normally use to produce our exports provide a cushion against shortages for domestic consumption in unfavorable years. It would be the worst kind of folly to gear our acreage to a level of production which would produce just enough for domestic consumption in normal years.

I think you will agree with me that there is only one sound and sensible approach to this matter of export markets. That is to find an adequate and profitable outlet for those things we produce over and above our domestic requirements. Throughout the world there is an ever-increasing need for the things we can produce. I for one refuse to believe that ways cannot be found for us to sell our products to the people of other nations and at a price and in a manner which will be mutually beneficial. All this, of course, assumes that our general economic and trade policies will be such as to enable nations desiring to buy our goods to find an outlet for their products in this country.

But in considering what can be done we must take into account that in the case of our principal agricultural export commodities we have price-support programs at levels above world prices. These programs will continue and if they are to be of any value to American agricultural producers supports will in normal times be above world price levels. If we are to be realistic we will try to work out a system whereby while maintaining domestic prices at the desired level we can at the same time sell our exportable surpluses in the world market at competitive prices.

The subject assigned to me, The Two-Price Plan: Will It Work? is an implication that the idea is something new. This of course is not the case. When I first came to Congress 27 years ago, two-price plans were being discussed to a greater extent than they are today. In fact one form of a two-price plan, the McNary-Haugen bill was the very center of all discussion of farm-relief legislation. Another two-price plan, the export debenture sponsored by the National Grange was also a subject of consideration.

I think it should be pointed out however that the concept of the problem in the twenties was somewhat different to that of today. Then we assumed at least that there was an export market for all we produced, beyond domestic requirements. The problem as it was conceived then was to prevent the farmer from having to take the world price for all of his production. It was contended that he was entitled to a price commensurate with the price of the things he bought for that part of his production consumed in this country. It was the further contention that if the exportable surpluses could be segregated that part of the production consumed domestically would bring the world price plus the tariff.

The McNary-Haugen bill passed Congress twice and was vetoed twice, so it will never be known how well it might have worked had it been put in operation during the 1920's. It should be kept in mind however, that it was primarily intended as a price-supporting device for that part of the commodity consumed domestically.

Now the situation is reversed, we use other ways of supporting domestic prices and talk about a method by which that part going into world markets can do so at a competitive price.

The farm legislation of the early thirties made use of the two-price idea in that it provided for the levy of a processing tax upon the domestically consumed part of designated basic commodities. The proceeds of this tax were used in making payments to producers on that part of their production which went into domestic consumption. Payments were made on allotments based on past production, and producers were entitled to payments only when they adjusted acreage in an amount determined by the Secretary of Agriculture. The fact that processors were required to pay a tax on that part of the production which went into domestic use had the effect of creating 2 prices, 1 for domestic consumption and 1 for exports or inferior domestic uses, al-

though the commodity itself moved at the market price which generally, in the case of export commodities, was based on the world price. The decision of the Supreme Court declaring the Agricultural Adjustments Act of 1933 unconstitutional ended this program.

However, since that time we have had numerous two-price and in some cases multiple-price plans in operation. Some of these have been carried on under provisions of law authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to dispose of its stocks at less than cost in export markets although prohibited from doing this in domestic markets except where there was actual or threatened deterioration.

During and following World War II sales of wheat from the stocks of the Commodity Credit Corporation for feed and alcohol at less than sales for human food were authorized. Laws relating to the disposal of all surplus commodities following the war were applied so as to permit exports of agricultural products at prices considerably lower than domestic levels.

The instances which I have mentioned are only a few of the cases where two-price systems have operated in connection with our price-support program. All of them involve Government buying and selling of agricultural commodities. As far as exports are concerned similar plans have been used and can now be used for the disposal of any surplus commodity. Under certain conditions they can be applied to disposition in this country, particularly with respect to perishable commodities. Right now proposals are being considered for the sale of the butter stocks in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation in this country at prices substantially lower than the support price.

There are also other two-price systems in operation which do not involve Government buying and selling at all. These are programs set up under section 32 funds whereby those engaged in the distribution of agricultural commodities through the normal channels of trade are paid subsidies to make up the difference between domestic and export prices. The most important program of this kind is the subsidies which are paid in connection with exports under the International Wheat Agreement program. Just recently these subsidies have been extended to cover export sales made outside of the agreement. There have been programs also which used section 32 funds to encourage new uses for agricultural commodities in this country with the idea of developing secondary markets for surplus commodities such as cotton for insulation material.

All of these and many other instances which I might bring to your attention, with the possible exception of the International Wheat Agreement subsidies, involve the use of two-price or multiple-price programs to dispose of surpluses after they have accumulated. Of greater significance and interest are multiple-price plans which are being used not to dispose of existing surpluses but to prevent the accumulation of surpluses. The best known instances of this kind are the numerous commodity marketing agreements and orders now operating successfully throughout the country under both Federal and State legislation. The bulk of these agreements apply to milk, but in many instances they are in effect as to other commodities, particularly fresh fruits and vegetables. The operation of these agreements affords a graphic illustration of how a multiple-price system enables farmers to meet their most serious problem which is how to prevent a surplus, and in many cases a small surplus, from depressing the price of the entire product.

Multiple-price systems are not new. They are tried and proven methods of dealing with surplus situations, with respect to commodities which have primary and secondary uses or where there are export outlets at prices lower than domestic level.

I think we have long failed to give consideration to the opportunities which exist to put the kind of a multiple-price system into effect with respect to wheat, cotton, and other export commodities which will prevent the accumulation of surpluses.

I am glad to say that at present there is a growing interest in such proposals. The National Grange at its last annual meeting expressed its position as follows: "We favor the use of self-financing two-price or multiple price measures for such commodities as can use them. Such two-price or multiple-price measures should be supplemented by special measures to stimulate export of surpluses and compensatory imports to balance our surplus exports."

The National Association of Wheat Growers at its recent annual meeting at Wichita, Kans., endorsed a two-price plan for wheat. State wheat growers organizations have also endorsed it. The Advisory Committee on Wheat, set up by Secretary Benson, endorsed it with only one dissenting vote, and that on a minor point. The plan had support among members of the President' Advisory Commission on Agriculture, as well as a good many others who were consulted on agricultural legislation. It will be considered by the House Committee on Agriculture in connection with its hearings on general farm legislation.

At the hearings held by the House Committee on Agriculture throughout the country last fall there were frequent expressions of interest and support for a two-price program on wheat. Wherever the idea had been explained and studied, as in the Pacific Northwest, there was strong support for it. As far as I have been able to learn there has been little discussion of a two-price program for cotton among producers of that commodity, but increasing interest is being developed in such proposals in many quarters.

I do not feel that I should take your time today to discuss details of the various multiple-price programs which have been proposed for wheat, cotton, and other export crops. I will, however, briefly outline one plan and refer to some others. Five such proposals identified by the name of their authors as the Stockman, Sanders, Brooks, Brinkley, and Henry plans have been studied by the Department of Agriculture. The result of some of these studies will soon be published by the House Committee on Agriculture under the title: "Technical Studies of the United States Department of Agriculture Regarding Effects of Alternative Proposals to Existing Legislation." This document may be procured by writing to the House Committee on Agriculture in Washington.

The Stockman, Brooks, Brinkley, and Henry plans call for the use of certificates with allotments based on past production. My discussion will deal with those plans as I do not believe the Sanders proposal, without allotments and with a blended price, would achieve the desired results either in adjusting production or expanding markets. Neither would it do away with the necessity for export subsidies.

Also my discussion of these plans will be limited to wheat. However, what I say can just as well be applied to cotton.

The Stockman plan has been reduced to legislative form and was introduced in the 82d Congress as H. R. 2149. It is further identified as the certificate or domestic parity plan.

Under this proposal each producer would be given an allotment covering his share of the domestic consumption of wheat for food which for many years past has been about 500 million bushels. These allotments would be based upon the normal production of each farm and would be evidenced by marketing certificates. The certificates would be for a certain number of bushels of wheat and would have a value equal to the difference between the estimated average price received by farmers in the market place and an estimated parity price for the marketing year.

Processors would be required to purchase certificates equal to the wheat equivalent of the first sales of flour. Presumably the processors would pay the full value for these certificates and to assure producers of this the Department of Agriculture would stand ready to buy them at face value.

The value of certificates would be determined in advance, based upon (a) total United States wheat production, (b) prospective demand in the domestic market for food, (c) prospective demand and supply conditions in the secondary markets, that is, the domestic market for feed and the export markets, and (d) prospective average free-market wheat price. These estimates would be made 45 days before the beginning of the marketing year.

There would be no restrictions on marketing. The entire quota would go to market at whatever the going market price might be, which presumably would be the world price or under some circumstances the feed price. One version of the plan provides for a loan rate of 60 percent of parity or the loan rate for corn, whichever is higher. Thus there would be a relatively low floor placed under all sales.

As already indicated the Brinkley, Brooks, and Henry plans like the Stockman plan are based upon the issuance of domestic marketing certificates on an allotment basis. The certificates would be freely transferable in the hands of the first buyer from the producer or the Commodity Credit Corporation. No tax would be levied and no payments would be made to the producer by the Government. However, producers would be assured of a price in the primary market of 90 percent of parity under the Brinkley plan and full parity under the Brooks and Henry by means of special CCC loans. For these loans an equivalent amount of certificates would have to be pledged together with the commodity. It is assumed that a market would develop for these certificates in which they would sell at approximately the difference between the fair price as determined by the loan and the free market price of the commodity. Allotments would be made on the same basis as under the Stockman bill. That is a producer would be given an allotment covering his share of the domestic market based upon past production. The Brinkley plan would provide a floor under sales for exports or other secondary use and would limit such sales quantitatively.

In discussing the advisability of adopting a multiple price plan for wheat and cotton we must necessarily start in by making a comparison with alternatives. At present the only alternatives in sight are a continuation of 90 percent price supports or a flexible program with a range from 75 to 90 percent of parity.

I want to enumerate three advantages which I feel the two-price program based upon certificates and allotments will have over either of the two alternatives.

The first is the return which farmers might receive under each of these plans. Unpublished cost and benefit studies which have been made by the technical staff of the Department of Agriculture indicate that if the "domestic use" share of the crop is supported at full parity multiple price plans for wheat, cotton, and rice will return producers somewhat more income in the next few years than price supports continued at 90 percent of parity which would utilize marketing quotas as might be required.

If the "domestic use" share is supported at 90 percent of parity the multiple price plan will still give as large a gross income from these crops as 90 percent of parity and 5 to 10 percent more than if they are supported at the minimum mandatory flexible levels of the 1949 act.

These conclusions take into account the value of crops grown on the diverted acres when marketing quotas are in effect and the normal acreage of the crops which would be grown under a two-price plan. The gross income advantages of a two-price plan for wheat over flexible price supports (with domestic use supported at 90 percent of parity) is around 15 percent.

Second, multiple price systems such as we are now discussing should operate without the necessity for production controls. High cost producers would be inclined to limit production to the amount which could be sold profitably for domestic consumption. Export or other secondary markets would be enlarged because of the lower prices at which the nonallotment part of the crop would move. In the case of wheat lower prices should expand exports in some degree as well as result in increased use in livestock feed. In the case of cotton lower prices could be expected to move increased quantities into export.

Third, such plans by permitting exports to be made at world prices would eliminate the payment of subsidies which would be required at all times with either 90 percent or flexible 75 to 90 percent price supports.

Now, of course, objections have been raised to such a program. It is said that it would be considered as dumping by foreign countries and that retaliatory measures would be imposed. I do not think so. We have been paying export subsidies out of the Treasury for years and are doing it now. This is a much more objectionable practice from the standpoint of dumping and yet there has been no retaliation and as far as I know no serious objections on the part of other countries. Canada has been successfully operating multiple price programs on wheat for years, as has Brazil on cotton. It would be hard to make out a case that a certificate plan used in conjunction with allotments based on past production would stimulate production and exports as compared with free market prices.

Objection is made that such a plan for wheat will increase the use of wheat for livestock feed. I think it will to some extent and in fact that is probably the principal way in which consumption can be increased. In saying that, I am conscious of being in the great corn and livestock State of Iowa, where some concern might be felt over any increase in the use of wheat for livestock feed.

But let's look at the matter realistically. I would hope that under a multiple-price system it might be possible to use 100 million or perhaps 125 million bushels of additional wheat for livestock feed. That is about 2 percent of the more than 5 billion bushels of feed grain consumed annually. Much of it will be consumed in areas like the Pacific Northwest where it will not seriously affect the market for other feed. Some of it would be consumed in the Southwest in place of milo. But the principal reason in my opinion why this increase will not have any material effect on feed-grain consumption or prices is that most wheat acreage forced out of production through control programs will go into feed grains like milo, barley, and corn (in the noncommercial corn areas) and that acreage will produce more feed in the form of those commodities than it ever has in wheat. This can easily be proven by checking on average yields. In my opinion the use of this plan will not result in a bushel of net gain as far as feed production is concerned.

Then there are those who say we shouldn't export to other countries at a lower price than our own people have to pay. Well we are doing that now. We have been doing it for years and if we export we are going to keep on doing it.

There is one other thing which I think should be mentioned. That is that it would be impossible to go immediately to a multiple-price system in view of the heavy supplies of wheat and cotton now existing. But that would be true in changing to any plan as the President made clear in his agricultural message to Congress. Some kind of an interim program would necessarily have to be worked out.

Now in conclusion let me say that the experience of a good many years in dealing with farm legislation and farm programs has convinced me that there will never be a perfect program. None of them work nearly as well as they sound. I think however that we have learned a lot through the experience of the last 20 years. One thing is that the more we can tailor a program to meet the particular problems inherent in the production and marketing of a commodity the more likely the program will be a success. I believe that for crops such as wheat and cotton a two-price program such as I have been discussing will more nearly fill the bill than anything else which has been suggested up to date.

If you will pardon a bad pun, it is a program which makes sense—and one that will save dollars. Those are two important points in any program we may undertake.

Dangerous Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Wynne Progress, of Wynne, Ark.

DANGEROUS ECONOMY

One of the most ill-advised economies now being discussed by Congress is reduction of Federal funds for vocational education in the Nation's high schools. No congressional action has yet been taken, but a cut in funds seems certain unless there is determined opposition.

A large percentage of working farmers never attend college. What education they receive they get in high school and from practical experience.

Practical experience has already cost this Nation one-third of its topsoil. We must use a less expensive way of learning to farm for the future, and the logical place for future farmers to learn is in the schools they all attend, the high schools.

If Federal funds are taken away our high school vocational agriculture and home economics courses will be discontinued. We cannot allow misguided economy to scrap these programs because the Nation's future is at stake.

The vocational agriculture program is flananced by State and local as well as Federal funds, but is too expensive for the State and local school budgets alone. If Federal funds are taken away the entire program will undoubtegly be cut or discontinued entirely.

In Wynne there are now 72 students in vocational agriculture classes. All are farm boys and girls who will certainly make their careers in agriculture. There is no waste in teaching these young people something they will not use. What they learn in school they put into immediate practice, or will use in the immediate future.

They will be farmers and farmers' wives anyhow. If they learn to be good farmers, the Nation's precious topsoil will be in good hands. They will prosper and the Nation will continue to be abundantly fed.

Now is the time to expand vocational agriculture. The profession of farming is too complex to learn altogether by trial and error, and the errors are too costly and irreparable.

If the present administration scraps our vocational agriculture program it will be playing false with the most elemental duty of any government, which is preservation of the internal welfare of the Nation.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, grain shortage announced in Russia. Whose heads roll next?

The Kelley PWA Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the newsletter released a few days ago by my good friend and colleague, the Honorable AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, of Westmoreland County, Pa., with reference to the aims and purpose of his bill, H. R. 8250:

Since introducing my bill last week to create a new Public Works Administration to launch a $6½ billion Federal-local works program, of which $3 billion would come from Washington, I have had many interesting and enthusiastic comments on the proposal, along with one very vigorous dissent.

That came from a newspaper editor in the District who insisted this whole idea was nothing more than boondoggling, wild-eyed spending and so on. It was his position that the PWA program of the late 1930's, as administered by former Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, didn't cure the last depression.

This is a rather typical shoot-first-and-look-afterward reaction. Whether or not PWA by itself cured the last depression—and, of course, it didn't and wasn't intended to—the fact remains that PWA was one of the most successful combinations of useful work opportunities and useful construction ever undertaken in this country in a period of economic dislocation.

Many school buildings stand today as a monument to PWA, along with a lot of other necessary and useful facilities erected under the Federal-local cooperative program, under which the Federal Government contributed 45 percent of the cost and the States and local governments the other 55 percent.

While my bill is modeled along the lines of PWA, particularly insofar as this ratio of cost allocation is concerned, it has the added feature of calling for close cooperation between the proposed PWA Administrator and the President's Council of Economic Advisers to make sure the program helps to carry out the objectives of the Full Employment Act of 1946.

Thus it should, as that act provides, "materially assist in carrying out the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government" under the Employment Act of 1946 "including the promotion of useful employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and in promoting maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

My bill in intended to supplement rather than incorporate any present programs of Federal assistance to States or localities for construction. In other words we now have a variety of Federal aid programs not in existence at the time of PWA—the Federal aid highway program has been vastly expanded since then, and also the flood-control program, and we now have Federal aid to airports, hospitals, housing projects, and so on. If those programs are to be expanded, and I think they should be, it can be done under present authorizations merely by increasing appropriations for these purposes. My purpose is to open the way for States and localities to improve facilities not presently eligible for Federal assistance, particularly schools, but also including such things as sewage systems, filtration plants, city halls, courthouses, recreation centers, firehouses, police stations, local flood-control projects not eligible for Federal flood-control funds, and similar construction activities.

It is silly to have construction workers walking the streets looking for jobs while our schools burst at the seams and the physical plants of our municipalities rapidly deteriorate into firetraps or junk or public slums. The work is needed and the jobs are needed, and I hope the Congress will get behind this effort and thus force the administration not only to recognize but to do something about the current depressed state of our economy.

With unemployment over the 3-million mark, the time to argue over whether it's a recession or adjustment is past. There's no sense in waiting until the April reports on February unemployment. The time to act is now.

Another Important Election Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Warrensburg (Mo.) Daily Star-Journal:

ANOTHER IMPORTANT ELECTION YEAR

In 1952, under the impetus of the presidential election campaign, a great deal of political interest was generated. People discussed candidates and issues, they followed the progress of the campaign in the newspapers and from radio and television accounts of what was going on. All this enthusiasm was noteworthy, for a national election in which a new president is elected is very important.

It should not be forgotten that the elections this year are also very important.

The duties of people who live in a democracy are continuous. Every election, whether held to select a mayor, a councilman, a governor, a Senator or a President is an important election. People must get out and vote if the word democracy is to mean anything.

The months ahead will provide a great deal of political news. The promises of candidates, the records of incumbents, the actions of both parties will be presented. It is the duty of all voters to get that information, assimilate it and make a decision as to what they want in Government. Voting is a privilege. It carries with it the responsibility of knowing why you vote. We must not let political apathy prevent us from fulfilling our obligation.

Increased Appropriation for Agriculture Research and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the President's budget proposal for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1955 contains an increased appropriation for agricultural research and education—namely, the total proposed sum of $112,376,000 as against the amount of $94,194,000 appropriated for fiscal 1953–54—I should like to extend my remarks in the RECORD to emphasize as strongly as possible the desirability of making this increased appropriation. The sum of $112,376,000 is presented in two parts in the budget, of which $68,776,000 is for research and $43,600,000 is for agricultural extension work.

I am sure that all the Members of this House are aware of the splendid work which is going on in our agricultural extension services and our agricultural experiment stations in land-grant colleges throughout the Nation. I have recently received detailed information from Dr. D. W. Colvard, dean of the School of Agriculture of the North Carolina State College in Raleigh, N. C., which shows conclusively the inestimable benefits which accrue from Federal appropriations for agricultural research and education.

Dean Colvard points out that each million-dollar increase in Federal funds for extension will provide approximately $50,000 for use in the great State of North Carolina and that each million-dollar increase in Federal funds for research to be allocated to the States will provide an increase of approximately $38,000 for North Carolina. The fact that the State of North Carolina has increased its support for these programs in higher ratio than has the Federal Government indicates that our people greatly appreciate and value the work being done in agricultural research and education. Our North Carolina local county governments have actually increased their appropriations for extension purposes more than three times as fast as has the Federal Government since 1940.

It is Dean Colvard's opinion, in which I concur, that the underlying purpose and result of the additional appropriation would be to strengthen the economic programs in the various States through research and educational processes. For example, in my own State of North Carolina cash farm income, according to Dean Colvard, has increased by $740 million, since 1940 and through 1952, while total appropriations from all sources for research and extension have increased by a little more than $6 million. When you translate these increases into purchasing power of the farmer, which is the primary factor that sparks the rise in level of national income, Dean Colvard estimates that the purchasing power of Federal appropriations for agricultural extension is actually less than in 1940 whereas the purchasing power of cash receipts from sale of farm products is approximately 250 percent greater than that of 1940.

From the painstaking and revealing studies supplied me by Dean Colvard I am convinced that the increased Federal appropriation for agricultural research and education will have far-reaching effects not only on our farm economy but on the whole general economic structure of our country, and I, therefore, wish to express the earnest hope that when the appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture is brought to the House this proposed increase by the President will have the full endorsement of my colleagues on both sides of this Chamber.

Trade, Not Aid, Is Challenge to American Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Uncle Sam produces and consumes some 50 percent of the world's goods. Nevertheless, in the field of foreign trade, we have been content to leave the laurels to others. Perhaps this has been a wise policy in times gone by, but today, trade has implications beyond the market place. In fact, we are constantly concerned by the increased exchange of goods between Western nations and countries in the Communist zone.

Russia has recently swapped substantial amounts of gold for money provided by Britain, France, and our other Western European allies. Trade agreements with Italy and Argentina have been executed by Malenkov in addition to his contacts with England and France. The Russians have come up with an offer to buy more than a billion dollars worth of ships, electrical machines, and machine-making tools from the British. All of which is mighty tempting to our friends and equally disturbing to us.

It is a matter of statistics that Uncle Sam's private companies did an overseas business of only $17 billion in 1953

against $19 billion in 1951. We have plenty of industries that could use some new markets right now, and this is the time to move ahead if Uncle Sam is to remember that a good washing machine may be just as important as a stirring address by a Member of Congress in molding foreign public opinion—and maybe more.

Slovak Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday next we observe the Slovak Independence Day, and from Americans everywhere will come a prayer that soon again liberty and the dignity of man will be restored to the brave men and women of the land of the Slovak. I am glad to have the opportunity of joining with other Members of the Congress of the United States in sincere assurance that we are standing by in their time of trial and tribulation and will not desist in our efforts until the people of the once proud Slovak Republic again are free.

It was on March 14, 1939, in the spirit of our own July 4, 1776, the independence of Slovakia was proclaimed. The Slovak Republic came into being before World War II and was recognized by 27 countries.

The Red army occupied the Slovak Republic at the end of World War II, and put an end to the freedom and independence of the Slovak people. Disregarding the right of self-determination and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, a foreign reign was forced upon this young Republic which in February 1948 was taken over completely by the Communist regime.

From the very beginning the Slovaks took a negative attitude toward communism.

Gen. Milan Rastislov Stefanik, the scientist-astronomer, after completing a trip through Russia in 1919, telegraphed his government:

Say it loudly to everybody: Bolshevism is not only a philosophical ideology but a morbid phenomenon, an apocalyptic chaos, in which the lowest instincts manifest themselves and the Bolshevist leaders are dictators in the most terrible sense of the word. Clad in rags, they seize wealth and in reality claim privileges. * * * To flirt with bolshevism means to leave the path of honor and of human commonsense. And I tell you out of the depth of my soul: The fight against all phenomena of bolshevism must dominate our policy. Let us act energetically as long as there is time. If we will not decide ourselves to act, bolshevism will weaken small nations and, at the end, will cause their full dissolution.

A prophetic warning.

Today the Slovak people are leading a double fight: the fight against Communist tyranny and against foreign rule. They are fighting heroically for their freedom and independence within a free and united Europe. That fight is marked by martyrs at home and refugees abroad.

On Sunday, March 14, throughout the free world national independence day will be celebrated by the Slovak people, as a signal to Moscow that they have in their minds and hearts two purposes to free their country from foreign domination and an ideology to which by nature and tradition they are unalterably opposed.

School Board Members Are Modern Noahs Who Must Have Insight To Prepare for the Flood of Children Soon to Descend on the Schools of the Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Ralph W. McDonald, president of Bowling Green State University and formerly executive secretary of the department of higher education of the National Education Association, recently made an address in which he emphasized the stupendous problems faced by the school boards of our country. This was recognized in an editorial by the Toledo Blade of March 7, 1954, which I make a part of my statement.

The value to the Nation of the unheralded and unsung members of school boards over the country is beyond estimate. I hope that more people like Dr. McDonald will call attention and give due credit to these modern Noahs of our educational system.

The editorial follows:

MODERN NOAHS

It was a happy choice which Dr. Ralph W. McDonald, president of Bowling Green State University, made in settling on a phrase to describe school-board members when he spoke to a group of them at Walbridge recently. They are, he said modern Noahs, who must have insight to prepare for the flood of children soon to descend on the schools of the country.

The responsibilities of school boards never have been pleasant. They must deal with problems ranging from million-dollar construction projects to the complaint by Johnny Jones' parents that their son is unfairly discriminated against by his fourth-grade teacher. As the scope of public education has become so nearly universal, school boards have had to assume greater and greater burdens.

But, as Dr. McDonald emphasized, the future poses really stupendous problems. Nothing ever has confronted the men and women directly responsible for America's schools to compare with enrollments that soon will overwhelm the present buildings and teaching personnel. It will require wise and imaginative planning to meet this crisis.

Ultimately, it is up to parents—as taxpayers—to decide if they are willing to erect the buildings and hire the teachers needed to provide adequate educations for their children. But it is now that plans must be made for construction programs and teacher recruitment. And this is a responsibility only school boards can fulfill.

They are, indeed, the modern Noahs of our entire public education system.

It's a Big City Now: Livonia, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Business Week of March 6, 1954:

IT'S A BIG CITY NOW

LIVONIA, MICH.—Michigan's second largest city is finally going to get its own postoffice. That would be Livonia, whose 36 square miles are second in area only to Detroit's 139 square miles.

Livonia, site of the recent General Motors fire (Business Week, August 22, 1953, p. 28), is a suburb of Detroit, about 18 miles west of the center of town but only a couple of miles west of city limits. In recent years, it has grown fast: In 1940 its population was 8,728; in 1950, 17,534; today it's estimated at more than 30,000. For years it was an unincorporated township (the lowest form of municipal life in Michigan). Its mail service was split among six separate post offices, two Detroit stations for its eastern section, Farmington on the north, Northville and Plymouth on the west, and Garden City on the south.

As the town grew, that became awkward; letters addressed to Livonia would often be returned to the senders with the notation "no such place." So in 1949, Livonia applied to the Post Office Department for its own station. But local postmasters' salaries are based on the amount of business their offices handle; the neighboring postmasters successfully blocked the application. In 1950 Livonia was chartered as a city, but still couldn't get Washington to grant it its own post office.

In the 1952 election, a new representative, Charles G. Oakman, was elected from the district that includes Livonia on a platform that included a pledge to get Livonia its own post office. He produced; the official notification from the Post Office Department has just come through.

Greetings to the AHEPA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following greeting sent by me under date of March 11, 1954, to Mr. James George Dikeou, chairman, national banquet committee of the Supreme Lodge, Order of AHEPA:

GREETINGS TO THE AHEPA

I consider it a distinct honor to greet you in our Nation's Capital on the occasion of the 11th biennial banquet of your order. I have always been, and still am, very much

interested in the fine, constructive, and patriotic work done by organizations sponsored and maintained by the various racial and national groups of this country. I think they perform a really useful task in many of our communities and thereby contribute their share to our national life. That is why I have always thought there is a definite place and need for such educational, social, scientific, and benevolent organizations in our rich and diversified national life.

For more than 30 years since its incorporation in 1922 your organization, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, has worked diligently and tirelessly in its chosen field, in the performance of a praiseworthy and noble task—that of inspiring all Greek-Americans of this country with true Americanism and making all of them worthy citizens of this great Republic. The leaders of this society are also the real leaders of more than 1 million loyal, enterprising, and patriotic Americans of Greek ancestry, and I am glad to say that through the fine work of your organization you have proved yourselves worthy of such leadership. Given the character and noble purposes of AHEPA, it is to be fully expected that for many years to come your order will continue its noteworthy activities and to make its valuable contributions to American life.

American Samoa's Isolation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing the Honolulu Star-Bulletin pointing out the serious effect on American Samoa resulting from the lack of adequate communications. The editorial follows:

AMERICAN SAMOA'S ISOLATION

American Samoa's lack of quick and certain communications has been pointed out again and again since civil government succeeded naval government for that group of islands. Now comes a case in point:

A letter, news story, and photograph mailed to the Star-Bulletin December 4, 1953, reached this newspaper February 26, 1954.

Nearly 3 months had elapsed since the news story and photograph were started on their way.

American Samoa has no direct airplane or steamer connection from Honolulu. To get from Honolulu to American Samoa now, one must fly first to Fiji; thence fly to the capital of British Samoa, Apia; thence go by a small interisland steamer, the *Manuatela*, from Apia to the capital of American Samoa, Pago Pago, a distance of about 75 miles.

To get from American Samoa back to Honolulu, that circuitous route must be retraced, except that occasionally it is possible to journey by the same little steamer from Pago Pago North to Canton Island and there get a plane into Honolulu.

This lack of direct, regular, and reasonably fast transportation is a serious detriment to the development of business and industry in American Samoa. It also isolates the people of American Samoa from their normal contacts with other areas under the American flag.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Address by Phillip R. Rogers, Member of the National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Phillip R. Rogers, a member of the National Labor Relations Board, delivered before the American Bar Association's southern regional meeting at Atlanta, Ga., on March 5, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen of the bar, I deem it an honor of considerable proportion to be invited to appear before you today. Yet, candor compels me to confess to a certain humility—for no message of mine could possibly mean much to the outstanding legal talent which is here assembled. Nonetheless, I appreciate the opportunity to lay certain arguments and pleadings before you, in the hope that if, indeed, they do not carry wisdom, they will not carry woe.

PURPOSE AND PLACE OF THE NLRB

Before attempting to review with you some of the events of current interest which have recently transpired at the NLRB, I should like to make some general observations about that agency, its powers and its purposes. I do this for the purpose of attempting to overcome some generally accepted misconceptions, which seem to surround this agency, and for the purpose of indicating to you certain steps which should be taken to enable this agency more effectively to carry out its important, but limited, role in the broad and complex field of labor-management relations.

To say that there is a general public misconception of what the NLRB is and what it does is to minimize the fact. And to point out that that misconception is as persistent in Washington, D. C., as it is in our most humble hamlets is not to overstate the case.

The National Labor Relations Board is not, as many seem to believe, an agency created for the purpose of settling labor disputes. It is an agency of judicial—if not always judicious—administration. The NLRB is not a branch, bureau, or board of the Department of Labor, created to serve primarily the interests of labor. It is a duly constituted, legally established independent agency, created to apply the law—without regard to constituency or clientele. The NLRB was not created for the purpose of carrying out a program of economic, social, or political design. It was created for the purpose of resolving issues of facts and questions of law, in accordance with basic concepts of American legal procedure. As such, the National Labor Relations Board is a "quasi-judicial" agency.

Unfortunately, the quasi-judicial nature of the NLRB has not been effectively instilled into the public mind, with the result that this agency has, in the opinion of many, failed to achieve that stature and that strength which the Congress intended it should achieve.

Whether or not this public attitude is justified is of no present moment. Indeed, whether or not it can be overcome is a matter fraught with speculation. Already there are those in Congress—and no useful purpose can be served in assessing their motive or minimizing their number—who firmly believe that only through the creation of a system of Federal labor courts will the application of the Taft-Hartley Act be accepted as an impartial and well-reasoned policy of law. It is not for me to say whether these gentlemen are right or wrong in that belief. But it is for me to say that as long as I am identified with this agency, I shall do my utmost to make clear its character and its purpose, and demonstrate beyond question that this agency is accountable to all of the people of America, and not to any faction thereof.

Now, in my opinion, there are several actions which can be taken to improve this agency's functioning and to permit it to attain general recognition as a genuine quasi-judicial agency.

The first of these is to limit the jurisdiction of the Board—to free it from the consideration of hundreds, if not thousands, of cases which are markedly local in nature and in impact. Such cases should, in keeping with our American system of constitutional government, be dealt with by the localities and the States. This agency of Federal power should concentrate on resolving those issues which are clearly a proper matter of national concern.

Indeed, these issues of clear national concern might well receive more extensive consideration than the Board is now able to accord them. For while I hesitate to cast the members of this Board in the all-too-familiar role of the unappreciated and overburdened public servant, I do not hesitate to state that the judicial and administrative burdens of this office should not be lightly assumed, for verily they cannot be lightly carried. My present colleagues on the Board are to be commended for the sincere, persevering, and uncomplaining manner in which, day in and day out, they labor in the public interest to keep abreast of the unrelenting avalanche of cases that descends upon them. They are all earnest men, and I can assure you that each gives much more than a full measure of devotion to his public calling.

But it is not in the interest of my harried and overworked colleagues that I support a curtailment of the Board's jurisdiction. It is rather in the interest of a factual as distinguished from a theoretical recognition of the basic nature of our Federal system, and in the interest of a more mature resolution of those cases which have a clear national significance.

A second step which I, as an individual member of the Board, believe should be taken to strengthen the quasi-judicial stature of this agency is the enactment of legislation to provide that trial examiners be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

I am convinced that this action, in and of itself, would do more to enhance the public acceptance and support of quasi-judicial agencies than any other step that could possibly be taken.

In many respects, trial examiners are the most important single component in our administrative jurisprudence. They constitute the court of primary jurisdiction, and as such perform functions similar to, and fully as important as, those performed by judges of the United States district courts. Public confidence in the administrative process depends in great part on the competence, impartiality, judgment, and manner of the trial examiners. The position which they occupy should therefore be accorded the public statute which attaches to Presidential appointments, generally.

This proposed system of Presidential appointment of trial examiners would be attended by political influences of no greater magnitude than those already involved in the present system of appointing Federal judges. And the Federal judiciary, whatever its shortcomings, enjoys the full support of our people, and the confidence of those who appear before it. That situation, unfortunately, does not obtain in the case of many Government trial examiners.

Moreover, in my opinion, it is better that whatever political considerations are present in this area be subjected to the open examination of the press, public, and other interested parties—as in the case with Presidential appointments, generally—rather than that they be left to lurk in the unexplored recesses of bureaucratic obscurity. The politics of bureaucracy are more sinister, more irresponsible, and more difficult to detect than the politics of a duly elected Chief Executive, whose every act is subject to full public comment and complete public analysis. It is more in keeping with the public weal that a trial examiner survive the open, thorough, public analysis and investigation accorded most Presidential appointments, than that he survive the unexplained and ofttimes unexplainable maze of weighted factors, personality ratings, and staggered eligibility lists, which are the private hallmarks of bureaucracy.

Moreover, I am convinced that once our trial examiners achieve the stature of Presidential appointment, their rulings will be more readily accepted by the parties, without routine recourse to the Board and the courts. This is a result with which no one can quarrel, for it means the more rapid resolution of cases, and the more immediate resumption of true collective bargaining. Indeed, such a result would tend to dispel one of the most prevalent, if not the most accurate, complaints levied against this agency—that it does not issue live decisions, it publishes epitaphs.

A third step which should be taken to strengthen further the Board as a quasi-judicial agency is one which lies largely within the power of the Board itself. And that is to protect its own processes from abuse by any and all parties, litigant or professional, who would treat this agency as a sham and its processes as a game of legal charades.

For example, the Board has recently taken action to put a stop to the promiscuous filing, withdrawing, and refiling of election petitions, by the imposition of a 6-month disability in those cases where petitions are filed and withdrawn without good cause being shown. It is my belief that the Board should adopt other such reasonable standards to protect itself from having to hear and pass

upon cases filed by one party or another for so-called strategy reasons. No party should be permitted to use the processes of this agency, except where a bona fide case or controversy exists. The Board should refuse to pass on cases, the issues of which have been mooted by the subsequent action of the parties. It is my opinion that the Board consumes altogether too much time resolving cases which are of historical significance only, thus delaying decisions of vital concern in current cases.

I fully realize that the foregoing adjustments in this agency's operations cannot be achieved without careful deliberation and continued study. Nor can I predict that they will be achieved. But it is my sincere belief that if the Board moves in these directions, it will earn and merit the respect not only of the public, but of labor and management as well. If we can accomplish that, then the position of this agency as a public body will be truly unassailable. Indeed, that is the position which we must attain if this Board, its actions, and its members are ever to escape the fires of political controversy, which fires have singed the heels—and even higher portions of the anatomy—of this agency almost from its very inception.

The mere fact that I have spoken at such length about those steps which I believe should be taken to enhance the stature and prestige of this agency have by this time indicated to you, I am sure, that the concrete accomplishments of the NLRB during the past 9 months are either too numerous to mention, or too meager to discuss. Certainly, the former is not the case. Indeed, contrary to anything you may have read or heard, nothing the Board has done in recent months has either topped the titans or transformed the timid.

The Board during that time has, however, taken certain significant actions which are worthy of comment.

In the first place, the Board has taken several actions designed to protect this Nation, its people, and its industries from the menace of certain Communist conspirators who would conceal their evil purposes by masquerading as labor leaders. That masquerade, in addition to being a blatant insult to every real American labor leader and to the millions of members of bona fide American labor unions, constitutes a continuing menace to the security of this country. It is time to stop talking in polite language about these so-called unions—Communist-controlled and Communist-infested—and to expose them for what they are—agents of a foreign power, bent on riot, revolution, and ruin.

The Board is now pressing this issue before the courts of the land. If we prevail, we shall not hesitate to lend our lawful efforts to ringing down the curtain on the sordid show which the Moscow minstrels would continue to play on the American labor scene. If we do not prevail, I have every confidence that the Congress will not fail to provide the means necessary to accomplish this esential and highly commendable result.

Another significant action taken by the Board in recent months was embodied in the decision handed down in the Livingston Shirt case. That decision sets forth a new rule governing the employers' right of free speech under the act. That rule, in my opinion, properly effectuates the legislative purpose which impelled the Congress to enact the free-speech provision of the Taft-Hartley law.

More recently, the Board has undertaken to lay down reasonable and definite rules governing the issue of craft severance. These rules, embodied in the American Potash decision, are clearly consistent with the intent of the Congress, and will, in my opinion, do much to regularize the process of craft severance and to abate the continuing controversy and criticism which have attended this problem.

As most of you are well aware, the Livingston Shirt decision has been the subject of harsh and continuing criticism in certain quarters. Needless to say, it is not unlikely that the American Potash decision will receive an equally warm reception. Perhaps that is only to be expected. But the continued public denunciation of this agency by responsible leaders of labor unions and business organizations, inevitably echoed, as they are, in political discussions and debates, serve only to detract from the standing of this agency in the public eye.

It is inevitable that from time to time both labor and management will strongly disagree with various Board decisions. But any resultant criticisms should reflect a fair and reasonable analysis of the law. They should not reflect an ill-founded, emotional attack upon the [illegible]

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The comments which I have made today, candid though they may be, should not be construed as being uttered in derogation of the agency which I represent. Rather, they should be construed as sincere, if controversial, recommendations for the improvement of that agency, and for the enhancement of its position in the public mind.

This is an endeavor which merits the support, not only of the members of the legal profession, but of the forces of labor and management which they represent. If that support is sincerely forthcoming, then this agency cannot fail to achieve its full potential as an instrument of public service. Indeed, that is the only attainment with which we as agents of the Congress and servants of the public can be content. That is the only attainment by which this agency can make its maximum contribution to the strength and welfare of America and to the preservation of a society founded on law and based on the dignity of freemen.

Pampering of Children Rapped by Warden of Idaho State Prison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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"In every family the growing children should be given a certain amount of work to do around the home and the work should come before pastime. The children should not be allowed to run out and play until they have done the job to which they were assigned. This way they learn discipline and this way they can learn early in life that they have certain responsibilities as individuals."

WORK PROGRAMS NEEDED

From the standpoint of society, the warden described the amount of time numerous groups devote to working out recreation programs for children.

"They don't need recreational programs," the warden said. "If the people would spend more time in finding useful occupations for children it would do wonders in cutting down the crime problem of today. I don't

think we have to return to the days when child labor was abused but there is no reason why children have to be pampered and cannot be given a gainful way to occupy their time."

The uncertainty of present day life, in which youths are faced with definite military service, also has had its effect on the rising ratio of crime, according to the warden.

Here you see the picture of people running away from problems refusing to face them, the warden stated.

"Too many boys get a go-to-hell attitude about the problem of being required to serve in the Armed Forces," he said. "They bemoan the fact that it will interrupt their education and ruin their future and as a result they go to pieces, and abandon all sense of responsibility and allow themselves to be carried with a listless tide."

[From the Boston Post of March 10, 1954]

THE ARMY BASE

Another shocking instance of incredible mismanagement by the armed services is revealed in the case of the Army base here in Boston, which, although only 36 years old, is reported officially to be in such wretched physical condition that plans to abandon it had been considered. It is said the cost of repairing the rotted piling will amount to $10 million.

Who was responsible for allowing this important base thus to go to rot and ruin? Did the Army officials ever think of taking care of the usual depreciation and obsolescence to which every industrial plant is subject? In every private business this depreciation charge is a basic item in the cost of doing business. At the end of every year a good industrial [illegible] at sufficient this natural airs carried

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Army Base at South Boston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Boston Post on March 10, 1954, also an editorial which appeared in the Boston Traveler on March 9, 1954, in connection with the Army base at South Boston.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Item Veto

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the time has again rolled around for my annual speech in support of the proposal to give to the President the power to veto individual items in appropriation bills. Mr. Richard L. Strout, distinguished correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, has referred to this issue in a reecnt article entitled "Item Veto: A Needed Tool." Under leave granted in the House, I append his article at the end of my remarks. His habit, apparently like mine, is to attack this subject with the first crocus.

I hope many others—journalists, public-spirited citizens and, above all, Members of Congress of both political parties—will join this crusade. This is an improvement which I feel positive will come in time. Every year that we delay, however, means the postponement of one of our most effective opportunities to cut the cost of government.

Let my remarks in no way be considered in disparagement of the splendid work done by the Subcommittee on Civil Functions, House Committee on Appropriations. Quite the contrary, I have never witnessed a more conscientious job than has been done this year under the able chairmanship of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS]. But this is the bill which either in this or the other body illustrates the need for the President's power of item veto.

The governors of 39 of our 48 States now have this power. In many States they have the added authority to reduce any item in an appropriation bill. They are not confronted by the unwelcome dilemma—which so often confronts the Chief Executive—of being required to swallow many items of which they do not approve or else reject the entire measure. The President's choice is almost always to follow the former course. Veto of an appropriation measure is almost unheard of. The result is that items of doubtful merit frequently slip through—items that would be stricken out, to the benefit of the general public, if the President had power to eliminate them.

We need not resort to speculation about the actuality of savings arising from the operation of this device in the States. During the past 5 years, these have ranged from $50,000 in South Dakota to $56 million in California. The potentialities for economy in the Federal exchequer are almost unlimited.

This is not a partisan matter. Every President in the last 50 years has made the same complaint that he is often forced to sign into law bills calling for the expenditure of funds which he does not approve. The present Director of the Budget is on record as enthusiastically favoring the item veto.

It is true that the power of the purse lies in the Congress and should be jealously guarded. It is equally true that at times appropriations are voted for expenditures that are not warranted, many of them for worthy purposes, but which could be eliminated or deferred.

Right now we are confronted with a budget of astronomical proportions for this next fiscal year. Drastic steps must be taken to eliminate or defer many projects and spending proposals if the budget is to be brought into balance—if taxes are to be reduced.

To accomplish real economy in government operation requires the full cooperation of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government. The President has voiced a sincere plea for strict economy. Congress should not

upon cases filed by one party or another for so-called strategy reasons. No party should be permitted to use the processes of this agency, except where a bona fide case or controversy exists. The Board should refuse to pass on cases, the issues of which have been mooted by the subsequent action of the parties. It is my opinion that the Board consumes altogether too much time resolving cases which are of historical significance only, thus delaying decisions of vital concern in current cases.

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It is inevitable that from time to time both labor and management will strongly disagree with various Board decisions. But any resultant criticisms should reflect a fair and reasonable analysis of the law. They should not reflect an ill-founded, emotional attack upon the motives of the deciders. Indeed, it is paradoxical to me that the Livingston Shirt decision and the less than 20 unresolved cases now pending before the Board have been seized upon in certain quarters as proof that the so-called new Board is not impartial. It is even more paradoxical to me that in the alleged establishment of such proof no mention is ever made of the following important facts: (1) That only 2 of the 4 Board members are new, in the sense that they were appointed by this administration; (2) that no decision of any kind could possibly have been issued without a majority vote of that Board; (3) that 2 members, however, persuasive, do not constitute a majority of a Board of 4 members; (4) that during the time in question that 4-member Board has decided almost 700 cases by a unanimous vote, and (5) that a unanimous vote is one in which no member, old or new, bald or shaggy, is found to be dissenting.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few personal comments upon the law which I have sworn to uphold and the agency whose responsibilities I have sworn to carry out. As an individual, I am a firm believer in the Taft-Hartley Act. I believe it is a sound and workable law which, with proper administration, will receive the overwhelming and continuing support of the American people. Indeed, if I did not believe that, I would never have assumed the duties of this office.

I am also convinced that the National Labor Relations Board, as an agency of Government, performs a useful and necessary function—a function which, in my opinion, cannot be lightly done away with or cast aside. If I did not believe in the underlying importance of the NLRB, I would never have accepted this appointment, for, as a taxpayer, I am a relentless opponent of nonessential Government expenditures.

The comments which I have made today, candid though they may be, should not be construed as being uttered in derogation of the agency which I represent. Rather, they should be construed as sincere, if controversial, recommendations for the improvement of that agency, and for the enhancement of its position in the public mind.

This is an endeavor which merits the support, not only of the members of the legal profession, but of the forces of labor and management which they represent. If that support is sincerely forthcoming, then this agency cannot fail to achieve its full potential as an instrument of public service. Indeed, that is the only attainment with which we as agents of the Congress and servants of the public can be content. That is the only attainment by which this agency can make its maximum contribution to the strength and welfare of America and to the preservation of a society founded on law and based on the dignity of freemen.

Pampering of Children Rapped by Warden of Idaho State Prison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article dealing with the views of Warden L. E. Clapp, of the Idaho State Penitentiary, on the subject of juvenile delinquency. The article was published in the Idaho Daily Statesman, of Boise, Idaho, on March 3, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAMPERING OF CHILDREN RAPPED BY WARDEN OF IDAHO STATE PRISON

Parents of today are not teaching their children to accept responsibilities in life and social groups are spending too much time concentrating on recreation programs for youths, Warden L. E. Clapp, of Idaho State Penitentiary, charged Wednesday.

The warden made this charge in explaining his beliefs why the average age of new inmates going into the penitentiary in the past year has shown a steady decrease.

So great has been the influx of new convicts in the late teens and early twenties age group that the more seasoned inmates of the institution are commenting that the prison is being turned into a juvenile reformatory, the warden said.

To the warden this drop in the average age presents a serious problem.

"It is serious because in these youths I am faced with a group that has never known discipline and refuses to accept it," the warden declared. "They have an antisocial attitude and are completely lacking in any sense of responsibility. They are selfish, self-centered individuals who feel the world owes them something and who show little inclination to cooperate with a program of rehabilitation."

BLAMES PARENTS

As to what makes such individuals, the warden first places the blame with the parents.

"Too many parents have gone for new ideas of psychology and in doing so have completely abandoned down-to-earth discipline," Warden Clapp asserted. "The parents try to humor their children too much instead of forcing them to accept certain responsibilities and teaching them one of the basic tenets of a good citizen—to respect the rights of others.

"In every family the growing children should be given a certain amount of work to do around the home and the work should come before pastime. The children should not be allowed to run out and play until they have done the job to which they were assigned. This way they learn discipline and this way they can learn early in life that they have certain responsibilities as individuals."

WORK PROGRAMS NEEDED

From the standpoint of society, the warden described the amount of time numerous groups devote to working out recreation programs for children.

"They don't need recreational programs," the warden said. "If the people would spend more time in finding useful occupations for children it would do wonders in cutting down the crime problem of today. I don't

think we have to return to the days when child labor was abused but there is no reason why children have to be pampered and cannot be given a gainful way to occupy their time."

The uncertainty of present day life, in which youths are faced with definite military service, also has had its effect on the rising ratio of crime, according to the warden.

Here you see the picture of people running away from problems refusing to face them, the warden stated.

"Too many boys get a go-to-hell attitude about the problem of being required to serve in the Armed Forces," he said. "They bemoan the fact that it will interrupt their education and ruin their future and as a result they go to pieces, and abandon all sense of responsibility and allow themselves to be carried with a listless tide."

NEED REASSURANCE

"Here the Nation could stand a thorough educational program in which it is pointed out to the youth of today that from three to five million men served with the Armed Forces in World War II and came back and made themselves useful members of society. They had their lives interrupted but they returned and by sincere endeavor made up for lost time.

"The youths of today must be reassured that they can do the same and that the prospect of 3 or 4 years service in the Armed Forces is not any type of disaster but something from which they can gain useful knowledge to help them in their future life."

The warden pointed out that people constantly worry about the first offender in prison and fret because he is being thrown in with men who are second and third offenders.

TWO TYPES OF PERSONS

"This is not a problem, this business of first offender with second and third offenders," the warden explained. "Our problem is this. We have two types of individuals with which to deal, the normal and abnormal. The normal ones we can handle and straighten out. The abnormal cause us our trouble. In the youths coming into the penitentiary today we have too many in the abnormal class and these are the men who will not accept discipline."

The warden pointed out that he is not condemning the entire body of society.

"I have to restrict my remarks to the type of individual I have to deal with in this institution. But from the increase in youthful offenders it shows there is a deficiency in modern-day society which must be corrected before it gets too far out of hand."

Army Base at South Boston

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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Another shocking instance of incredible mismanagement by the armed services is revealed in the case of the Army base here in Boston, which, although only 36 years old, is reported officially to be in such wretched physical condition that plans to abandon it had been considered. It is said the cost of repairing the rotted piling will amount to $10 million.

Who was responsible for allowing this important base thus to go to rot and ruin? Did the Army officials ever think of taking care of the usual depreciation and obsolescence to which every industrial plant is subject? In every private business this depreciation charge is a basic item in the cost of doing business. At the end of every year a good industrial operator will see that sufficient funds have been provided for this natural depreciation and necessary repairs carried out.

Now, at least, this 36-year-old plant must still have a big salvage value. Its abandonment, in the opinion of Army, port, labor, and shipping interests, would be disastrous. But wrack and ruin in 36 years is evidence of sheer waste of the taxpayers' resources.

[From the Boston Traveler of March 9, 1954]

RESTORING THE BASE

Two questions should be considered before the Army base at South Boston is abandoned and turned over to the water rats.

First question: Is there any apparent need for the installation, either now or in the prospects of the future? There most certainly is.

Second question: Since we need such a facility, would it be more economical to restore the present structure than to tear it down and build a new one? It most certainly would.

Senator KENNEDY has proposed that the cost of tearing down the Army base be applied toward reconstruction. That makes good sense to us.

The base has proved its military value through two world wars. In case of a third war, the Nation would need Boston as a major port of embarkation. Lack of base facilities would mean an expensive delay before substitute construction could be provided.

As a commercial facility in times of peace, the Army base has been extremely valuable to the port of Boston. Without it, we'd have even less shipping than we now retain.

It's poor economy to let the base rot away to a worthless heap. Considering its potential advantages, it's worth saving even at a cost of several millions.

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I hope many others—journalists, public-spirited citizens and, above all, Members of Congress of both political parties—will join this crusade. This is an improvement which I feel positive will come in time. Every year that we delay, however, means the postponement of one of our most effective opportunities to cut the cost of government.

Let my remarks in no way be considered in disparagement of the splendid work done by the Subcommittee on Civil Functions, House Committee on Appropriations. Quite the contrary, I have never witnessed a more conscientious job than has been done this year under the able chairmanship of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DAVIS]. But this is the bill which either in this or the other body illustrates the need for the President's power of item veto.

The governors of 39 of our 48 States now have this power. In many States they have the added authority to reduce any item in an appropriation bill. They are not confronted by the unwelcome dilemma—which so often confronts the Chief Executive—of being required to swallow many items of which they do not approve or else reject the entire measure. The President's choice is almost always to follow the former course. Veto of an appropriation measure is almost unheard of. The result is that items of doubtful merit frequently slip through—items that would be stricken out, to the benefit of the general public, if the President had power to eliminate them.

We need not resort to speculation about the actuality of savings arising from the operation of this device in the States. During the past 5 years, these have ranged from $50,000 in South Dakota to $56 million in California. The potentialities for economy in the Federal exchequer are almost unlimited.

This is not a partisan matter. Every President in the last 50 years has made the same complaint that he is often forced to sign into law bills calling for the expenditure of funds which he does not approve. The present Director of the Budget is on record as enthusiastically favoring the item veto.

It is true that the power of the purse lies in the Congress and should be jealously guarded. It is equally true that at times appropriations are voted for expenditures that are not warranted, many of them for worthy purposes, but which could be eliminated or deferred.

Right now we are confronted with a budget of astronomical proportions for this next fiscal year. Drastic steps must be taken to eliminate or defer many projects and spending proposals if the budget is to be brought into balance—if taxes are to be reduced.

To accomplish real economy in government operation requires the full cooperation of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government. The President has voiced a sincere plea for strict economy. Congress should not

deny him any weapon he can employ to bring about drastic reductions in nondefense, nonessential spending. We should open up our anti-inflation, pro-tax-cut arsenal by prompt enactment of legislation to enable the President to disapprove individual expenditures in appropriations bills.

Opposition to this legislation may be voiced in that it centers too great power in the President. Any step to enlarge Executive authority is certain to be viewed and very properly, with some skepticism. Generally speaking, it is the position of many Members, including my own position, that curtailment rather than enlargement of Executive powers is desirable. Particularly in the field of appropriations, the Congress has historically been reluctant to yield any part of its control of governmental operations.

Although as a general principle, I am opposed to the grant of more power to the Executive branch of our Government, I think we have reached the point where, on balance, the stern necessities of fiscal solvency should outweigh our concern, proper as it is, for legislative sovereignty.

It is true, of course, that the President might strike out some pet project of an individual Member and that action would stand, unless revised by a two-thirds vote. But that is a chance I am prepared to take. I believe that, by and large, the people of this country would prefer to run the hazard that some particular Federal project might be curtailed if they were reassured by the prospect of achieving a substantial overall reduction in spending.

I can think of no single action which the Congress could take which would be more likely to bring about long-range and substantial savings of the taxpayers' dollars than to provide for the Executive item veto.

This is our opportunity to prove that we mean what we say about economy and are not rendering lip service only. Admittedly, from time to time, the item veto will step on congressional toes. Do we have the courage to endure that pain in order to serve the larger good of the entire Nation? I believe we do and that we would be applauded for evidencing that fact.

The article follows:

ITEM VETO: A NEEDED TOOL

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—The conscientious congressional reporter is impelled once a year to write about the item veto, and this appears to be the right season, with the first crocus.

If President Eisenhower had the right to pick out and reject certain projects in the great new appropriation bills now before Congress he could save the Nation hundreds of millions of dollars. But he doesn't have that power. He must take whatever Congress offers to him as a whole, even if some quite extraneous and ill-advised matter has been inserted in a crucial appropriation bill.

Practically all political scientists deplore this situation, and there is every reason to believe that they will keep on deploring it for years to come. Congress seems in no mood to give the President the tool he badly needs. But at least the well-informed citizen can be familiar with the matter and—who knows—someday somehow it may come to a vote.

Every President in the past 50 years or so has observed sadly that he often must sign bills calling for expenditures which he does not approve because to veto the parent bill would deprive some essential Government department of the funds to operate.

Of the 48 States, some 39 give their governors the item veto power, but the Chief Executive of the biggest Government of all lacks the authority. It is like a soldier who can drop an atom bomb if he wants to, but must never use a rifle. For the President, it is all or nothing. Yet so many things in life are not all good or all bad but a mixture which can be improved by a little judicious pruning. That power to prune is not offered to Mr. Eisenhower.

It is hard to think of any single device that would do more to promote Federal economy than giving an item veto to President Eisenhower. Then he could weed out pork barrel projects from essential appropriation bills. Among those opposing change are, of course, those very Congressmen who stand to win by voting for each other's selfish local developments.

Many Congressmen genuinely feel, however, that Presidential power should be diminished, not increased. Many feel that the item veto would give the Executive too much power because it lies in the basic field of appropriations which are at the root of legislative control. The President might strike out pet projects of opponents and thus use the item veto to partisan advantage.

Representative KENNETH B. KEATING, Republican, of New York, has once more introduced bills to permit the item veto. One would follow the path of a constitutional amendment; another would seek the same result by amending a basic act passed in 1842 to provide that, for purposes of executive veto, each separate item appropriating money shall be considered a bill within the meaning of the Constitution. Mr. KEATING says he doesn't know which is the right way to proceed, so he is employing both methods.

As to opposing arguments, Mr. KEATING says he too dislikes increasing Presidential power. But when the Nation faces an operating deficit year after year greater than the entire cost of running the Government 20 years ago, the time has come, he thinks, to reappraise our attitude and give the White House every tool for economy available.

Shooting at Rats Is Clearer Than Explaining the New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., of March 15, 1954:

SHOOTING AT RATS IS CLEARER THAN EXPLAINING THE NEW LOOK

Vice President NIXON may be credited with an understatement when he said Saturday night: "This hasn't been an easy talk to prepare." He was undertaking to answer Adlai Stevenson, to explain and justify the Eisenhower administration, and to disavow McCarthyism—all without irritating anybody outside what he called the Truman wing of the Democratic Party.

Mr. NIXON has grown in the Vice Presidency. He did his task well. As he explained, he did not intend to make "a rip-roaring tirade," and it is doubtful that his talk changed anybody's convictions. It semed intended more to record the course and the good intentions of the Eisenhower administration.

His parable about the need for shooting straight when hunting rats was a clear enough statement on the issue of McCarthyism. In the nature of things, that part of his speech is what won the headlines, and what probably left the sharpest impact on his listeners.

There was another part of his speech, however, which may be more significant. Instead of shedding light on the often-expounded New Look of United States military and foreign policy posture, it plunged that look into event deeper obscurity.

The decision, he said, was this:

"Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression in times and places that we chose."

Substantially this is the way Secretary of State Dulles has defined the same decision, omitting the Secretary's emphasis on instant and massive retaliation. It comes no closer than Mr. Dulles did to squaring with the President's press conference statement that "there is going to be no involvement of America unless it is the result of the constitutional process that is placed on Congress to declare it."

Taking credit for the Eisenhower administration for ending the Korean war (on terms which would have inspired Republican hoots of horror had the Truman administration done the same) Mr. NIXON said "we have decided we will not fight the Communists on their terms if they engage in aggression again in Korea." Unless we assume that means the United States would let the Communists have that woeful place if fighting begins again, this can mean only that we will bomb China or the Soviet Union, whichever is the major source of aggression, massively and instantly just as soon as it results from the constitutional process that is placed on Congress to declare it.

Applying the New Look retroactively to the Korean war it seems to mean that the United States would have done better to fight a Chinese war or a Soviet war in the first place, instead of a Korean war.

Mr. NIXON told his hearers that the new policy must be good because President Eisenhower made the final decision on it, and he is one of the world's greatest military leaders. For that we are thankful, but what the new policy is still is a profound mystery. We will fight no little wars, and we will not be nibbled to death. We will knock the stuffings instantly out of any aggressor when Congress decides we should, if the aggressor stands still that long. This policy is deserving of further explanation and assurance by Mr. NIXON, without the additional encumbrances of chiding Mr. Stevenson and Senator MCCARTHY.

Should Kill Market Orders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, the time has come to declare war on the Federal milk market orders as handled in the East and South. Dairymen there have actually been heavily subsidized

and have used that subsidy to steal markets from Wisconsin milk.

Look at these figures. Class I-A price for February in the New York milkshed is about $5.28. Yet the eastern dairyman will actually get only $4.14 for the uniform price.

Class I-A average price for the first 6 months of 1954 is estimated at $4.93. Uniform average price will be only about $3.80. That is what the farmer actually gets. The extra milk is going into lower-priced manufactured products.

This means that milk production in the East has skyrocketed. Same in the South. There is often as much surplus milk as is bottled for fluid use.

When class I milk is way above uniform price you know production is high.

That surplus goes into ice cream, cheese, butter, and dried milk. And it competes with Midwest milk. And the surplus has been built up because the ridiculously high class I price has made dairying profitable in those areas.

Secretary Benson has talked about correcting the unfairness of the present milk-marketing system. He could do a lot to redeem himself in the eyes of Wisconsin dairymen if he would clean it up.

Spalling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has great respect and admiration for our colleague, the Honorable GEORGE SHUFORD, of North Carolina. In fact through the able pen of Don Shoemaker, of the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen, we learn that he possesses hidden talents in addition to the sound ones already credited to him. I am confident the membership will enjoy reading Mr. Shoemaker's editorial:

PARKWAY FUNDS

EDITOR OF THE CITIZEN:

I have read with keen interest your editorial contained in the 6th of March 1954 issue of the Asheville Citizen, entitled "Just To Keep the House Up." I have included a copy of this editorial with my testimony before the Appropriations Subcommittee for the Department of the Interior, in connection with the request for additional funds to repair the Wagon Road Gap-Beech Gap stretch of the Blue Ridge Parkway.

Further spalling in the tunnel on that stretch of road must be prevented now to save a much larger expenditure of money some future date. I sincerely trust that the request for these funds will make them available this year.

GEORGE A. SHUFORD,
Member of Congress.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SPALLING

"Further spalling in the tunnel on that stretch of road must be prevented," writes Representative GEORGE A. SHUFORD in a letter elsewhere on this page today.

"Spalling?" We did a quick double-take. Then we took the matter to our department of speleology and other troglodytic affairs, Blue Ridge Parkway division (tunnel section). "Fellow must have got it mixed up with 'spelling,' but we have not heard of any such activity on the parkway, which is closed to school busses," came back a memo. "However, will investigate."

The department investigated. Mr. Webster had it, all right: "Spall. Intransitive: to fall to pieces by the chipping off of small fragments under the action of weather or abrasion."

Hon. SHUFORD is correct. We bow in embarrassment and admiration (and add a word to our vocabulary.) Washington is broadening. It also must do a thing or two for a fellow's scrabble game.

DON SHOEMAKER,
Editor, Asheville Citizen.

Study of Panama Canal Tolls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the results of a recent study on tolls for the Panama Canal. This study was conducted under the supervision of the Panama Canal Company and submitted to the Congress by the Governor of the Canal Zone:

MARCH 5, 1954.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr.,
Speaker of the House.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The conference report on the civil functions appropriation bill, 1954 (H. Rept. No. 889, 83d Cong.) contained the following directive to the Panama Canal Company:

"The conferees also desire to point out the urgency of the completion of the current tolls study regarding the adequacy of tolls presently charged vessels using the canal. The conferees will expect this study to be completed and submitted to the Congress so as to be fully considered in the 2d session of the 83d Congress."

The establishment of tolls for the use of the Panama Canal is governed principally by sections 411 to 413 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as amended by the act of September 26, 1950 (61 Stat. 1041).

Section 411 of title 2 vests in the Company authority to prescribe and from time to time change the tolls for the use of the canal, subject to the provisions of section 412 of title 2 (which prescribes bases of tolls), and subject to provisos that the Company shall give 6 months' notice, by publication in the Federal Register, of proposed changes in rates of tolls, during which a public hearing shall be conducted, and that changes in rates of tolls shall be subject to, and shall take effect upon, the approval of the President of the United States, whose action in such matter is made final and conclusive.

Under the statutes in question, the Company is obligated to maintain a continuous observation and evaluation of tolls rates, in relation to estimates of cost, traffic and revenues, from the standpoint of determining whether, in terms of long-range trends, the rates existing at a given time are proper and should be maintained or whether some adjustment is required. Proceedings to change the tolls are thus to be instituted by the Company, whenever the Company concludes that changes in the rates are indicated and necessary, and arrives at proposed specific new rates of tolls.

An initial study of the adequacy of tools rates under the new legislation has now been completed by the Company. This study reveals that, largely as a result of the very high level of traffic using the canal in recent years without a corresponding increase in costs, the tolls rates that have been in effect since 1938 are still sufficient to cover all operating costs, including interest and depreciation, as required by the tolls statutes. This conclusion is based on the assumption that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, who under the law must approve the valuation of the assets transferred to the Company from the agency formerly known as the Panama Canal, will concur generally in the valuations tentatively established by the Company upon which the interest and depreciation requirements for the most part have been based.

In recent months, chiefly as the result of the cessation of hostilities in Korea, there has been some drop in traffic transiting the canal. The Company's study indicates that a further and more substantial decline in the volume of canal traffic during the next few years is to be expected primarily as the result of changing economic factors affecting world movements of petroleum and its products, iron ore, and coal. It is possible that by sometime during the fiscal year 1955 canal traffic will have declined to a point where revenues at existing rates will no longer be adequate to cover all charges. Should this condition materialize and should it appear reasonably certain that it will continue for an appreciable length of time, the Company will promptly take the steps available to it to increase the rates of tolls.

In computing the tolls requirements for purposes of this study the Company has made what it believes to be an adequate allowance for depreciation giving due consideration to the factors of obsolescence and potential inadequacy of the capital assets includable in the tolls base. Estimates of the service lives used for the principal classes of plant and equipment have been approved by independent engineering consultants. A depreciation rate of 1 percent per annum from date of service has been used for the investment in the channel, harbors, lock structures, dams, breakwaters and similar long-lived facilities. Including this accrual the annual depreciation requirements of the Company are presently approximately $9 million.

The tentative valuations used in the study result in a net interest-bearing investment of the Government in the Canal enterprise, as defined by law, of $274 million. At the rate of 2.342 percent currently established for repayment of interest costs as required by the Company's charter annual interest payments to the Treasury will amount to $6.4 million. It is expected that this amount will increase somewhat in the future years as the result of the generally rising trend of long term interest rates.

No depreciation or return on the capital value of interest during the 1904–14 construction period has been included in the study because the legislative history of the present tolls statutes clearly indicates the intent of the Congress to exclude this item entirely from the tolls base. Likewise no provision has been made for amortization of lands and treaty rights because of lack of statutory authority, although these assets have been included in the investment for interest purposes.

Using the tentative plant valuations developed by the Company and recomputing the operating costs and expenses accordingly, the aggregate net income of the Company from all sources for the 4-year period from the reorganization to June 30, 1955, under present tolls rates is estimated to be approximately $9 million after providing for all charges currently authorized and re-

quired by law. As previously indicated however, it appears that a possible decline in volume of Canal traffic coupled with rising interest and wage rates may necessitate an increase in the tolls rates in the near future. Current indications are that such an increase may be necessary by July 1, 1955, in which case public announcement of the new rates would be made 6 months earlier or January 1, 1955, as required by law.

There is attached as background material a short historical summary of Panama Canal tolls rates and a copy of the present tolls statutes.

Sincerely yours,

J. S. SEYBOLD,
President.

SHORT HISTORY OF PANAMA CANAL TOLLS RATES

The Panama Canal was opened to commerce on August 15, 1914.

Proclamation No. 1225, issued by the President of the United States on November 13, 1912, prescribing the following rates of toll to be paid by vessels using the Panama Canal:

"(a) On merchant vessels carrying passengers or cargo $1.20 per net vessel ton—each 100 cubic feet—of actual earning capacity.

"(b) On vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo, 40 percent less than the rate of tolls for vessels with passengers or cargo.

"(c) Upon naval vessels, other than transports, colliers, hospital ships, and supply ships, 50 cents per displacement ton.

"(d) Upon Army and Navy transports, colliers, hospital ships, and supply ships $1.20 per net ton, the vessels to be measured by the same rules as are employed in determining the net tonnage of merchant vessels."

The toll rates prescribed by Proclamation No. 1225, were established pursuant to section 5 of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, which authorized tolls to be based upon gross or net registered tonnage, displacement tonnage, or otherwise, but provided that if the tolls were not based upon net registered tonnage they should not exceed the equivalent of $1.25 per net registered ton nor be less than the equivalent of $0.75 per net registered ton. This section was subsequently carried into the Canal Zone Code as section 412 of title 2.

In order to determine the amuont of tolls payable under this legislation it was necessary to consider the net tonnage of the vessel under the United States rules as well as under the Panama Canal rules of measurement, creating what came to be known as the dual system of measurement. This permitted vessels by taking full advantage of the rules governing the computation of registered tonnage to reduce the basis for their tolls assessment with the result that the Government was deprived of revenue which it would have otherwise received under the Panama Canal rules.

To meet this situation the President, acting under authority of the Congress, appointed a Special Committee on Panama Canal Tolls and Vessel Measurement Rules to make an independent study of the whole problem and recommend modifications of the rules of measurement and rates to be charged in order to provide a practical, just, and equitable system of measuring vessels and levying tolls.

The special committee, after an exhaustive study, submitted its report to the President, who transmitted it to Congress February 26, 1937, with a message approving the recommendations of the committee for the enactment of necessary remedial legislation, which would abolish the unsatisfactory dual system of measurement and establish a single system based on Panama Canal rules of measurement to which the limits fixed by Congress would be applied.

The recommendations of the special committee were adopted by the Congress in the act of August 24, 1937 (50 Stat. 750), providing that tolls should be based on the tonnage determined in accordance with rules of measurement prescribed by the President within maximum and minimum limitations, $1 and $0.75 per net vessel ton, respectively.

Pursuant to authority contained in the law, the President issued proclamation No. 2247 of August 25, 1937, establishing the following rates of toll for vessels using the Panama Canal:

"(a) On merchant vessels, yachts, Army and Navy transports, colliers, hospital ships, and supply ships, when carrying passengers or cargo, 90 cents per net vessel ton of 100 cubic feet each of actual earning capacity.

"(b) On vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo, 72 cents per net-vessel-ton.

"(c) On other floating craft, including warships, other than transports, colliers, hospital ships, and supply ships, 50 cents per ton of displacement."

New rules for measurement of vessels using the canal were prescribed by proclamation No. 2248, also issued on August 25, 1937, and effective March 1, 1938.

In 1948, on the recommendation of the Governor of the Panama Canal, the President issued proclamation No. 2775 of March 26, 1948, increasing tolls to the maximum statutory limit of $1 per ton, effective October 1, 1948. At congressional request the effective date of this proclamation was successively postponed by proclamations Nos. 2808, 2831, 2852, and 2875, to April 1, 1949, September 1, 1949; April 1, 1950; and April 1, 1951, respectively. In response to a request contained in House Report No. 1304, 81st Congress, the President on January 31, 1950, transmitted to the Congress a report and recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget with respect to the organization and operations of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company (H. Doc. 460, 81st Cong.). That report recommended, among other things, adoption of a new basis for levying tolls.

The act of September 26, 1950 (61 Stat. 1041), reorganized the canal enterprise along the lines recommended by the Bureau of the Budget, and amended section 412 of title 2 of the Canal Zone Code prescribing the bases of tolls. The section, as amended, is set out in full in attachment B. Concurrently, with his approval of the act of September 26, 1950, the President issued proclamation 2903 of September 26, 1950, revoking proclamation No. 2775 of March 26, 1948. The new tolls legislation became effective July 1, 1951.

THE STATUTES GOVERNING TOLLS FOR USE OF CANAL

The tolls statutes, the text of which is here set forth with amendments and citations inserted, comprise chapter 23 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, and consist of sections 411 to 413 of title 2, Canal Zone Code, as amended. Sections 411 and 412 appear as amended by sections 11 and 12, respectively, of the act of September 26, 1950 (ch. 1049, 64 Stat. 1042).

CHAPTER 23. TOLLS FOR USE OF CANAL

411. Authority to prescribe measurement rules and tolls: The Panama Canal Company is authorized to prescribe and from time to time change (1) the rules for the measurement of vessels for the Panama Canal, and (2) subject to the provisions of the section next following, the tolls that shall be levied for the use of the Panama Canal: *Provided, however*, That the rules of measurement, and the rates of tolls, prevailing on the effective date of this amended section shall continue in effect until changed as provided in this section: *Provided further*, That the said corporation shall give 6 months' notice, by publication in the Federal Register, of any and all proposed changes in basic rules of measurement and of any and all proposed changes in rates of tolls, during which period a public hearing shall be conducted: *And provided further*, That changes in basic rules of measurement and changes in rates of tolls shall be subject to, and shall take effect upon, the approval of the President of the United States, whose action in such matter shall be final and conclusive.

(Aug. 24, 1912, ch. 390, sec. 5, 37 Stat. 562; June 15, 1914, ch. 106, secs. 1, 2, 38 Stat. 385; June 19, 1934, ch. 667, 48 Stat. 1122; Sept. 26, 1950, ch. 1049, sec. 11, 64 Stat. 1042.)

412. Bases of tolls: (a) Tolls on merchant vessels, Army and Navy transports, colliers, tankers, hospital ships, supply ships, and yachts shall be based on net vessel-tons of 100 cubic feet each of actual earning capacity determined in accordance with the rules for the measurement of vessels for the Panama Canal, and tolls on other floating craft shall be based on displacement tonnage. The rate of tolls on vessels in ballast without passengers or cargo may be less than the rate of tolls for vessels with passengers or cargo.

(b) Tolls shall be prescribed at a rate or rates calculated to cover, as nearly as practicable, all costs of maintaining and operating the Panama Canal, together with the facilities and appurtenances related thereto, including interest and depreciation, and an appropriate share of the net costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government. In the determination of such appropriate share, substantial weight shall be given to the ratio of the estimated gross revenues from tolls to the estimated total gross revenues of the said corporation exclusive of the cost of commodities resold, and exclusive of revenues arising from transactions within the said corporation or from transactions with the Canal Zone Government.

(c) Vessels operated by the United States, including warships, naval tenders, colliers, tankers, transports, hospital ships, and other vessels owned or chartered by the United States for transporting troops or supplies, may in the discretion of the President of the United States be required to pay tolls. In the event, however, that such vessels are not required to pay tolls, the tolls thereon shall nevertheless be computed and the amounts thereof shall be treated as revenues of the Panama Canal Company for the purpose of prescribing the rates of tolls, and shall be offset against the obligations of the said corporation under paragraphs (c) and (e) of section 246 of this title, as amended.

(d) The levy of tolls is subject to the provisions of section 1 of article III of the treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain concluded on November 18, 1901, of articles XVIII and XIX of the convention between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama concluded on November 18, 1903, and of article I of the treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Colombia proclaimed on March 30, 1922.

(e) Capital investment for interest purposes shall not include any interest during construction.

(Aug. 24, 1912, ch. 390, sec. 5, 37 Stat. 562; June 15, 1914, ch. 106, secs. 1, 2, 38 Stat. 385; June 19, 1934, ch. 667, 48 Stat. 1122; Aug. 24, 1937, ch. 752, 50 Stat. 750; Sept. 26, 1950, ch. 1049, sec. 12, 64 Stat. 1042.)

413. Restrictions on construction of 1914 act amending the two next preceding sections: The passage of the act of June 15, 1914, amending the two next preceding sections, shall not be construed or held:

a. As a waiver or relinquishment of any right the United States may have under the treaty with Great Britain, ratified February 21, 1902, or the treaty with the Republic of Panama ratified February 26, 1904, or otherwise, to discriminate in favor of its vessels by exempting the vessels of the United States

or its citizens from the payment of tolls for passage through the canal; or

b. As in anyway waiving, impairing or affecting any right of the United States under those treaties, or otherwise, with respect to the sovereignty over or the ownership, control and management of the canal and the regulation of the conditions or charges of traffic through the same.

(June 15, 1914, ch. 106, sec. 2, 38 Stat. 386; June 19, 1934, ch. 667, 48 Stat. 1122.)

Now Is the Time To Admit Both Hawaii and Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include he following editorial from the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., of March 14, 1954:

NOW IS THE TIME TO ADMIT BOTH HAWAII AND ALASKA

Senate Democrats scored a neat parliamentary victory when they combined statehood for Hawaii and Alaska into a single bill. Three Republicans and Independent WAYNE MORSE helped them defeat the rankly political effort of the GOP leadership—including the White House—to assure immediate statehood for Republican-dominated Hawaii alone.

This was a proper pay-off for a misguided Republican maneuver announced even before the Eisenhower administration took office. Both parties in 1952 and for years before had pledged statehood to the two Territories. But after the election GOP leaders happily promised early statehood only for Hawaii. Asked about the prospect for Democratic-dominated Alaska, Majority Leader KNOWLAND snapped back "not even discussed." Small wonder that on Thursday, when he made a last-minute promise of early favorable action on Alaska in return for support of the Hawaii-only bill, KNOWLAND changed not a single Democratic vote. Nor did President Eisenhower's supporting comments at the White House press conference; the President, after all, had been completely silent on statehood for Alaska in his 1954 State of the Union message, eloquent only about Hawaii.

So much for the partisan political maneuvers. The big question now is whether Congress will pass the package bill conferring statehood on both territories simultaneously, as it ought to do. In the past a mixed majority of Southern Democrats and Republicans has killed every separate statehood bill, and this could happen again. Alaska lost out by only one vote in early 1952, after all, when the Democrats controlled Congress. And the one-package bill now being debated will make it easier, as Senator KNOWLAND argued, for foes of statehood for one territory to gang up with those primarily eager to deny it to the other.

Fortunately for the best interests of the Nation and for the cause of justice to both Alaska and Hawaii, there is at least a chance that the package bill will be passed. Defeated in their transparent attempt to add two Hawaiian Republican senators to their present one-man majority, the G. O. P. leadership should be philosophically resigned to the balancing probability of two Alaskan Democratic senators, and ready at last to implement party pledges to both territories.

This could deprive the more obdurate Southern Democratic oppositionists, like Senator SMATHERS of Florida, who opposes the admission of either Hawaii or Alaska, of any chance to rebuild their oldtime coalition majority. And more of the Southern Democrats are now ready to live up to their party's pledges, too. Some minds have been changed for the better since 1952. Florida's other Senator, SPESSARD HOLLAND, has come out for the admission of both territories. And Kentucky's Senator CLEMENTS, who joined Senator Underwood in 1952 in voting against Alaskan statehood, announced after a visit to the Territory last fall that he had reserved his position.

Both Hawaii and Alaska are qualified for statehood and deserve it as a matter of democratic right. Their admission to the Union in 1954 would be added and timely proof of American faith in democracy and in the principles of self-government. It is high time that the members of both our great political parties united to furnish that proof.

John Fox's South Boston Address on Communism's Threat to World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address of John Fox, publisher of the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., warning of Red menace at South Boston Evacuation Day historical exercises at South Boston High School:

TEXT OF JOHN FOX'S SOUTH BOSTON ADDRESS ON COMMUNISM'S THREAT TO WORLD

I'm going to talk about the thing called communism, and in particular, one aspect of communism. The particular aspect is the method by which Communists get into wars.

It seems to me that the methods by which Communists, or the Kremlin—I use the words interchangeably since they mean the same thing—get into wars are of particular importance right now, because of the possibility that the kind of war that everyone recognizes as a hot war may break out. It is not a matter of opinion, but of fact, that people not only here in Boston but in all New England, are aware of the possibility that war may break out between us and Soviet Russia in the very near future.

A recent informal poll shows that. For the 7 days that ended on Thursday of last week, the Boston Post, of which I am publisher, printed each day in a little box only 1½ inches high, 2 questions:

The first was:

"Do you believe that the Kremlin intends to conquer of the United States by military attack?"

The second was:

"If your answer is 'Yes,' when?" That is, when did people think the attack would come?

About 1,000 people from all parts of New England and from 18 other States as well, took the trouble to send in answers to these questions. Many wrote letters, some of them lengthy.

It is astonishing and completely gratifying, that so many of our people recognize the reality of the danger of attack by Russia. It is the surprising fact that about 875 people out of 1,000 said that they believed Russia would attack us. Most believed that the attack would come as soon as the Russians were ready, and sure that they could win.

Many people wrote letters to say that it would not be necessary for Russia to attack us because, in their opinion, our homegrown traitors, would deliver this country to the Kremlin without the necessity of an attack.

All in all, the fact is that almost 9 out of 10 people from every section of New England, and for 18 other States, making 24 out of the 48 States, believe that the Kremlin intends to attack us. Because people so obviously not only recognize this possibility, but believe that it will happen, the method whereby the war might start becomes of extraordinary interest.

What is this thing called communism? Is it simply a form of government which is different from the one which we have here in the United States, or the ones which exist in Italy, France, Canada, and England which go by name "democracy"? It is different all right, but not in the way you might think.

Does the difference lie in the way public officials are elected, or in the way wealth, or property, or money are distributed? Is it different because the Communist state selects the industries or professions in which people in Russia may work?

THE ESSENCE OF COMMUNISM

All those differences do exist all right, but they are not basic.

Then what is the real, the basic difference? It is this. The essence of communism—and mark this well—is a denial of the existence of God. It is a denial of the immortality of man. It is denial that man has a soul, or is anything but a body. When the body dies, there is nothing more.

That's the basic theory of communism.

People are not much interested in theories. They are, however, very much interested in realities—things that directly affect their everyday living. So how does the theory of communism affect us?

A cynical philosopher once said that if there were no God, it would be necessary to invent Him. He was simply recognizing that meh, from the beginning of history, have realized that they were not sufficient unto themselves, and that they have needed someone or some power outside themselves, and bigger than themselves, upon whom to rely. This need is basic in, and has been common to all men.

CREATED A SUBSTITUTE

The formulators of Communist theory and doctrine recognized this. Since it is the essence of communism, however, that there is no God, they had to create a substitute in order to satisfy the need of men for a supreme being, so they made the state—the Communist state—the supreme being.

Once you have made the state the supreme authority, the substitute for God, then it necessarily follows that any offense committed directly against the state is the supreme offense, the unpardonable sin. And it is the fact that the challenge or denial of the authority of the state in Communist-controlled countries is the greatest sin that a man can commit, greater even than kidnaping, or murder. There are certain other results that necessarily follow.

The state, having been made the supreme authority, in place of God, within Soviet countries trials are not necessary, since the accusation by the state is the same thing as a finding of guilt. It could not be otherwise, since the state, being infallible, could not make a mistake in the accusation. So, to be accused is to be guilty.

To be sure, they sometimes go through the mockery of trials, but the purpose of these trials is primarily to impress other people who are victims of the Communist system, with the utter hopelessness of opposing or criticizing the state. That is, of course, a part of the conditioning of minds. Mind conditioning is necessary to the main-

tenance of the power of the rules of the Communist state.

Where there is no belief in life after death, or of punishment or retribution except that which may be imposed by the state, the supreme authority, in whose very interest they are acting, the officials of the state have no respect for men, women, or children, either. Where there is no respect, there is no restraint. The result of lack of restraint and lack of respect for mankind, or for any supreme authority but the state, has had horrible results.

Not only men and women, but even children have lived like animals, filthy, degraded, forever starving and forever afflicted with the most loathsome diseases. Many, especially the children, have been innocent of any wrongdoing, even by Communist standards, but they have no right to appeal, no understanding of the reason for their condition, and no hope.

For the people in the countries behind the Iron Curtain there is no possibility of change from within. There is no hope of rescue except by forces outside the Iron Curtain countries. Living under slave state conditions is bad enough for those who have always known them, or the very bad conditions which existed in Russia even before the days of communism. But to people like the Czechs, the Poles, Lithuanians, and all the rest who have known freedom, life is today for them a living horror.

HATED MASTERS

One inevitable result of the Communist system is that people living under it hate their Communist masters with a great hatred. This is true, even of the Russian people themselves. The people of every nation would turn on those masters if they could, but they can't.

Under the conditions which exist in the world today, a handful of men who alone possess control of a country's communications systems, transportation systems, and who alone have all the weapons, can keep under permanent enslavement all the rest of the people in the country. The record proves that. To us Americans, stories such as that of the policeman's bullet, which was told to me by Vladimir Petrov, are almost beyond belief.

Mr. Petrov, who is now teaching at Yale, was born in Moscow, and spent many years in a Russian slave camp, but he escaped to the West.

One day a policeman in Moscow had occasion to come home during the day, and while there had his noon meal with his family. His 7-year-old son found his father's revolver which he had placed on a table and removed the bullets from it, subsequently replacing them, all except one.

IMPRISONMENT FEARED

That night, the father came home full of worry and fear. The reason was the missing bullet, for which he had been unable to account that afternoon, when according to regulations, he had turned in his equipment. He told his wife that he would certainly lose his job, and would probably be arrested and imprisoned as well.

He was overjoyed when his son produced the bullet, rushed to the police station and, his luck holding, was able to return it before the loss had been reported.

When the misplacement of a single bullet can result in such a serious penalty, is it any wonder that the people in a Communist state are utterly helpless to resist? They cannot communicate except over a police-controlled system, they have no airplanes or automobiles, which only Communist officials and those favored of the party have, and the railroads and ships are all police controlled. And there are few roads.

If we went to war with Russia, and had any chance at all to win, the people in every country behind the Iron Curtain, including the Russians, would rise up against their Communist masters and would literally tear them limb from limb. The Communist leaders know that. They know that the Russian people in 1941 greeted the advancing Germans as deliverers and met them with gifts of food and flowers. They needed no more evidence than that.

As a matter, therefore, of self-preservation, the Communist system must destroy the system of freedom. That means us, the only nation on earth still able to resist the power of the thing that is communism. Since the people in the Iron Curtain countries would rise up and overthrow the Communist government, if they went to war with us under circumstances that gave us a chance of winning, the only course left for the Communist leaders is that of initial overwhelming attack. If that attack should be successful, and should break our power to resist, we would go down, and the Communists would have the world.

Until now the Kremlin has not had to fight for much of what they have gained. They have started only one war—that against the Finns, and were badly beaten until the overwhelming strength of Russia finally won out over their little victim.

They did not start the war with Germany. Hitler started that, and once again the Russians looked poor in comparison with the Germans. They did not begin to win until the mighty and overwhelming force of American food, equipment, arms, and ammunition turned the tide, for all of which we received, instead of thanks, abuse.

In Korea, they did start the fighting but only after they had been told by our Government that we would keep out and not fight. It is probable that had they known that they would have to fight they never would have gotten into the war.

They got Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, parts of Austria and Germany, and China without fighting.

They now have Guatemala, which controls the Panama Canal. They got this without fighting, too. One third of the voters of France and Italy vote Communist. Why should they start wars while they can continue to get what they want without fighting?

PLAN MASSIVE ATTACK

As one nation after another falls to the Kremlin, its enslaved people are forced to contribute to the Communist war machine. Its strength, brains, food, machinery, and its industrial output all go to enlarge and strengthen the forces of communism, which are building up for the big, final attack—on us.

When it is clear that they have gotten everything that can be gained without fighting, then will come the great attack. Their aim will be to destroy our power to fight in one massive attack that may not require more than 2 or 3 days, an attack which will destroy our cities, seaports, and airports.

This seems to me the logical and, therefore, the probable chain of events. What can we do? Only one thing. Face the situation squarely, and do the only thing possible to do in a democracy. We are having national elections this year in which the control both of the United States Senate and House of Representatives will be decided. Our people can and should ask each and every candidate for either the National House of Representatives or the United States Senate, this question, and demand a specific, clear, and definite answer:

"What is your position and how will you vote on the matter of a showdown with Soviet Russia?"

Not only your lives and theirs, but the very souls of your children, and your children's children may depend on the result.

Profit Is Not a Naughty Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Profit Is Not a Naughty Word," which was delivered to the Sales Executives Club of Washington, D. C., on March 15, 1954, by Harold B. Wess, professor of business administration and retailing, of the American University, Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROFIT IS NOT A NAUGHTY WORD

(By Harold B. Wess)

Profit is not a "naughty" word; capitalism is not "filthy"; Wall Street is not "predatory"; bigness in business is not "evil"; the New Deal was not really "new"; the Fair Deal was certainly not "fair"; and, finally, a mistake is not "treason."

These ideas have crept into our thinking over a period of time and have been accepted by a large cross-section of our people. It is my purpose today to try to debunk the cliches and half truths which have become part of the general fabric of our thinking, and which, many more people than we suspect, have accepted without any critical examination.

Ideas are powerful weapons which dictators have learned to use with stunning effect. While we have been carrying on a battle of dollars at home and abroad, we have been losing the battle of ideas. A lot of people like you and me, busy making our economy work, have left the job of ideas to the theoreticians, misguided idealists, and subversionists both of the left and the right. We are certainly losing the battle for man's mind.

In many otherwise intelligent circles of good Americans, the above misconceptions are tacitly accepted. How often have we heard and seen in writing, criticism about large profits as if profit in itself were something to be ashamed of. It may be expedient for the politician to take a crack at Wall Street and the big corporations, but if a large segment of our people, especially the young, continue to hold these ideas, we shall weaken their faith in the free-enterprise system of our economy. It is not enough to shout "freedom and liberty" over the Voice of America, if we do not explain to our people that freedom and liberty are impossible without the freedom of the market place, freedom of labor to move from job to job, freedom of people to own property and to pass it on to their children, freedom of capital to invest and produce, and educate them in understanding how our economy works.

What, for instance, are the young people taught in colleges about the meaning of profits? I am not questioning the academic freedom, in which I firmly believe, nor am I judging the economic soundness of the textbook; rather, my concern is with the impact made on young, undiscriminating, impressionable minds of students. Allow me to quote from a college textbook on economics, which is currently being used in 21 colleges:

"We see also that profits, as surplus income, are not earned by anyone. It is impossible to earn profits. Profits are a chance return and result from factors which are be-

yond the control of the individual business enterpriser or firm.

"Some economists, after describing profits much as we have, conclude that one of the leading causes of profits is the individual ability or efficiency of the enterpriser. Such a conclusion is not only false but also does not follow from the description of profits.

"Profits are unnecessary, unearned, and unimputable, and tend to be received by the last agent of production to be paid, which is ordinarily the business enterpriser."

Typical questions at the end of a chapter read like this: "Discuss predatory activities in relation to profits." "It would be much better to keep profits from occurring than to tax them when they appear. Discuss." "Governmental enterprises can sell goods at lower prices than competitive enterprises, because it is not necessary that the former enterprises make profits. Show whether you agree."

That this particular textbook is not unique in the handling of profits, let me quote from another: "There are more confusion and differences of usage in connection with the word 'profits' than with any other word in the economist's vocabulary. Some economists think of it as a payment for the taking of risks, some think of it as a payment for the work of superintendence, some think of it as an unclassified residue which remains after all the other agents of production have been paid what is due them, some confine it to returns based on monopoly power and some would argue that it either does not exist at all, or at most, is purely temporary in character.

Is it any wonder then that our young people are confused about the workings of our free enterprise system? Recent studies have demonstrated beyond a doubt that the prevailing conditioned attitudes of our younger generation are, imbued with doubts, fears and mistrust about the whole structure of our type of economy.

As one who has spent most of his adult life in business and who only in the last few years has had an opportunity to study a great number of textbooks, the shock of what I find is great indeed. As an eye-opener and antidote to the complacency of most business people, I would urgently recommend that they expose themselves to textbooks dealing with economics, sociology and business studies. Perhaps then will business men recognize a rich field for selling our free enterprise system as it is conducted outside the textbook.

This is a good place to call attention to the book Management and Morale by Professor Roethlisberger, of the Graduate School of Business, Harvard University (a very good book, by the way), which has a direct bearing on what we are discussing. Says the professor:

"It is a curious fact that there are certain areas of endeavor where those who teach do not practice and those who practice do not teach. In general, skillful practitioners of business do not teach economics or business in our universities. Likewise, in general, those who teach economics in our universities do not practice business. Teachers of government do not often practice the skills of the politician or statesman; politicians or statesmen seldom teach government. This is not true in the fields of medicine or engineering. Here, more often than not, the men who teach are also practicing the skills they are teaching."

What then is the truth about profit? The truth is that if the word "profit" and the concept of profit did not exist, we would have to invent it in order to make the competitive free-enterprise system work. It is the spark in the sparkplug of our economy. The incentive of profit makes it certain that business will produce only the things the public wants because if they produce the things the public does not want, they will not sell. When a thing does not sell there can be no profit. Not only does the profit incentive result in the production of the kind of things the public wants, but it also forces production at the price the public is willing to pay, because if the price is too high there will not be enough sales and without enough sales there are not enough profits. By the same token, industry in its urge to maximize its profits must constantly find ways and means of reducing costs. This pressure acts as an incentive for the development of new processes and new machines in order to eliminate waste motion. This kind of incentive does not exist in a dictatorial, nonprofit system.

Another characteristic of our profit system is that expansion is a continuing political and social necessity in a free and capitalist economy. Such expansion depends on technological improvement and adequate incentives to investment and enterprise. These incentives stem from the profit system. A profitable business can get additional capital for its expansion while a nonprofitable business cannot. That is why the open market place for capital securities in Wall Street is not predatory but an absolute essential part of our total structure. Finally, profit is a useful tool to measure able and efficient management. It is not true, as textbook economics teaches us, that a profit is an accidental residuum. All we need to do is to study the earning statements of firms in the same industry in periods of prosperity and in periods of recession and we shall find that the firms with able, farseeing, well-trained management, make a much better showing under the same conditions than their less able competitors.

Not unlike the golf score, profit is a measure which acts as a means of sorting out the men from the boys in the management of our enterprises. That is one of the great tragedies in government. There it is so difficult to develop a yardstick like profit, to measure the performance of able administrators and to give them the recognition they deserve.

What about the other false ideas that have taken root in recent years? A good many people have developed almost a worshipful attitude for the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Somehow the words "new" and "fair" have an appealing ring to them. The need for resolving our social and economic problems during a depression would have, in the course of events, produced the kind of a program that would resolve whatever dislocations had developed. In evaluating the New Deal and the Fair Deal we must take a position which is vital to the ethical and spiritual atmosphere of our society. That position is summed up by the belief that no matter how noble the ends they never justify ignoble means to achieve them. Such an evaluation is remarkably well stated by Robert E. Fitch, dean and professor of Christian ethics, Pacific School of Religion:

"In the case of labor, the New Deal was a heroic champion of the forgotten man; the Fair Deal was a program to establish labor in privileges and powers it already had. In the case of the farmer, the New Deal was an effort to abolish debt and tenantry, and to restore the dignity of private ownership; the Fair Deal was an effort to eliminate the hazards of the market and to guarantee prosperity to those who were already the most pampered sector of our economic order. The New Deal was humanitarian, idealistic, and reforming. The Fair Deal soon became predatory, materialistic, and conservative. In brief, the difference is not merely sociological; it is profoundly ethical."

The lesson to be learned is that the hope for the continued expansion of the well being of our way of life does not lie in Federal fixation, but that our strength lies in the fact that we have millions of planners, millions of creators of new ideas, and millions of initiators. They do not center in any one area but they stem from the home, professional associations, business corporations, labor unions, churches and all the multitudinous forms of human organizations. When any one of these seeks to dominate, we shall lose the character and vigor of our society and become slaves of a dictatorship and its henchmen.

As to the current climate that it is treason to make a mistake, this is a challenging threat to our way of life. The only one who does not make mistakes is a person who does nothing. In a dictatorship, the individual is afraid to make mistakes so he tries nothing new and all of his errors are errors of omission and not errors of commission. In a dictatorship people are afraid to tell the dictator that he makes mistakes and since he is human, he does make them, and ultimately ruins himself and his people. We must be vigilant that this does not happen here. You remember in the Bible, God was willing to save an entire city if He could find one righteous man. There are some of us who would destroy a whole city if they found one unrighteous man in it.

What does all this add up to? It adds up to the fact that we have the job of explaining to our people, especially the young, our profit system, our capitalist society, our concept of property and freedom, our concepts of the dignity of man and how precisely our way of life differs from totalitarianism whether of the left or the right. This job cannot be left to those who have axes to grind. This job must be taken over by the doers and thinkers. Above all, we must remember that education is everybody's business, and that business leaders cannot afford to stand aloof from their responsibility in an area in which they are so vitally concerned.

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower said recently, "America's position in the world has placed on us some new educational responsibilities. Trying to help each student develop an abiding and deep commitment in a free way of life—a commitment that is not based on indoctrination and mere emotional preachment * * * a conviction based on true understanding."

One of the most crying needs at the moment is to attract superior teachers to our high schools and colleges. How can we accomplish this when we offer bargain basement salaries? Bargain basement salaries will give us bargain basement education and leadership. Here is a typical example I have selected from a bulletin announcing professional vacancies:

"A college in the southeastern part of the United States is seking a professor of business subjects. A male doctor of philosophy of approximately 35 years of age is preferred. Salary $3,600 a year with rank of assistant professor. Immediate opening.

However dedicated teachers may be, their responsibility to their families forces them into other fields where they can earn better incomes. There are some very good teachers who remain in the profession but in order to do so, supplement their income by having their wives work and by holding part-time jobs outside the school.

People in this country have been very generous in contributing to all worthy causes. We must now get them to realize that the cause of education is a must on their giving list. The top colleges and incidentally the best endowed, cannot possibly accommodate all the students who want to go to college. We must therefore be sure that all the colleges in the country have sufficient income to maintain the highest standard of education. It becomes then, everybody's duty to make a contribution toward that vital goal.

My plea is that business people in addition to giving money to education, should become active participants in the process of educating our youth. That this is vitally important is recognized by the Harvard University Graduate School of Business which

has a visiting committee of business leaders; and that is why we, here, at the American University have just formed a merchants' advisory committee whose function is to guide us to keep the healthy flow of ideas between the academic world and the business world.

I can think of no better conclusions to this talk than to quote Thomas Jefferson: "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves, and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

Liberation of the Baltic States From Soviet Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I submit the following resolution for inclusion in the Appendix of the RECORD.

This resolution, as adopted by a group of citizens of New Jersey, under the auspices of the Lithuanian American Council of New Jersey, represents their sincere and heartfelt sentiments for the eventual freeing of the fine people of the Baltic States from the yoke of Soviet tyranny. All true freedom-loving Americans, I am sure, hope for and will continue to work for the eventual freedom for the great nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

I include this resolution in the RECORD in order to keep our attention on this goal of freedom for the Baltic States and to call these specific recommendations to the attention of the Congress:

Citizens of the State of New Jersey, gathered under the auspices of the Lithuanian American Council of New Jersey, at the Hotel Essex House in Newark, on the 21st day of February 1954 for the observance of the 36th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence, overwhelmingly support the following resolutions:

"*Be it resolved*, to thank the Government of the United States for continuing to recognize the sovereignty of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the accredited, legitimate diplomatic representatives of these Soviet-oppressed countries; be it

"*Resolved*, to endorse the present American foreign policy, recently reiterated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, which seeks eventual liberation of the captive countries of East-Central Europe now enslaved by the Communists; be it further

"*Resolved*, to commend the Congress of the United States for the creation of the select Baltic Committee, to investigate the forcible seizure of Lithuania and her sister republics by the Soviet Union in 1940; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the results of the congressional investigation under the chairmanship of Hon. CHARLES B. KERSTEN, be placed before world opinion through the medium of the United Nations; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully submit to Members of the United States Senate that ratification of the Genocide Convention is of vital importance in preserving the hope of the ultimate triumph of justice to the victims of the Kremlin; be it finally

"*Resolved*, to demand that in due course of time and at an opportune moment the United States require the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet occupation armies, Communist Party apparatus and terrorist police forces from Lithuania and the other occupied nations, and should the peoples concerned so desire, extend supervisory control to insure freedom of elections."

LITHUANIAN AMERICAN COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY.
JACK J. STUKAS, *President*.
ALBIN S. TRECIOKAS, *Secretary*.
JOHN J. LIUDVINAITIS, *Committeeman*.

President's office: 1264 White Street, Hillside, N. J.

A Good Week for Sanity and Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal of March 14, 1954:

A GOOD WEEK FOR SANITY AND COURAGE

The Army's complaint that it has been hounded to grant preferred treatment to Private Schine can hardly come as a surprise. Rumors of preference and demands for preference have been in the air ever since Senator MCCARTHY's brash young investigator was drafted in November. The Army has courageously, if belatedly, made public its side of the story and members of Senator MCCARTHY's investigations subcommittee are quite right in suggesting that this matter too is a suitable one for their inquiries.

There are indications, indeed, that the activities of MCCARTHY's other well-publicized assistant, Roy Cohn, have so irritated committee members that they will welcome this chance to rebuke him. And some Washington cynics think that the Senator, himself, always alert to the advantages of strategic retreat, may ditch both his young aids with an intimation that they led him astray.

But with the cheerful news that MCCARTHY and his ism are now on the defensive there comes also the realization that this result might have been accomplished months ago. The excesses and the power of McCarthyism would never have reached their recent climax had the Democratic members of his subcommittee done their duty in the past as they did it on Thursday. Properly they curbed the blanket accusations, the introduction of hearsay and anonymous testimony in the case of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss. But these practices are now commonplace with the committee. They were begun long before the Democrats walked out as a protest against the methods of their chairman, and they had become standard by the time the minority members returned.

Thursday's hearing shows how simple it actually is for 1 or 2 men of courage and decency to reverse the atmosphere of terror and bullying that a McCarthy hearing engenders. The Democrats, of course, had a good example, set first by the head of their own party, Adlai Stevenson, and later by the old-fashioned Republican from Vermont, Senator FLANDERS, who said on the floor of Congress what has long needed to be said. There is hope now that even the victims of the Fort Monmouth outrage will find a committee champion to reconsider their plight and salvage their reputations.

In all, this has been an encouraging week for those of us who believe that the cure for McCarthyism is to fight back at it. This, however, goes for Democrats as well as Republicans. There is a moral evasiveness in the tactics ascribed to some Democrats in Congress, who believe that by keeping quiet and looking the other way, their passive disdain will somehow impress the voters but relieve them of the need to speak out against evil. It takes more than passive disdain to curb the malice and power of a MCCARTHY, and the moral evil he represents is a bipartisan one.

Civil Functions Appropriation Act, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8367) making appropriations for civil functions administered by the Department of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON].

(Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, a comment by the gentleman from West Virginia prompted me to take this time to discuss a project we have in Stockton, the Stockton Deep Water Channel. The harbor was finished in 1933 so it is 20 years old now. Many millions of tons of military and civilian freight have passed up and down that river between our city and San Francisco Bay.

When the turning basin was made in 1932 it provided for the type of vessel of that day. Since that time the vessels plying up and down that river have increased almost 200 feet in length, and they have a lot deeper draft than they had before. I have taken up with the Budget Bureau the enlargement of that turning basin to fit the present-day vessels.

Mr. Hughes has listened to me very courteously. I have furnished him the data which shows the necessity for the enlargement of the turning basin. We are putting up $600,000 of our own money to help pay for this cost. We have the necessary land, or options on it, required for the enlargement of the turning basin and for spoils areas. I am hoping that Mr. Hughes or the Budget Bureau will authorize the project as one of the new starts we have heard so much about.

I know this committee could not consider this project because it was not in the budget recommendations, but perhaps over in the other body they will give serious consideration to the enlargement of the turning basin of the

Stockton Deep Water Channel. It is my opinion that the data I furnished shows conclusively, and they were furnished me by the port director of that port, that we must have a larger turning basin, which will take good care of the new type of vessels, some of which are 500 feet long and over, that are plying up and down that river. This is a service that the shippers and ship operators are entitled to.

The Voice of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I ask that the following three statements be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The statements are those of the winners of the New Jersey Voice of Democracy contest sponsored by the junior chamber of commerce, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, and the Radio-Television Manufacturers Association. This contest has been sponsored annually for 7 consecutive years, and is open to all students in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades of any public, private, or parochial school. As can be seen from the texts of these clear statements on democracy on the part of these young students of New Jersey, this contest represents a healthy influence on our younger generation—an influence which is vitally important in these days of totalitarian threats at home and abroad.

It was a heartwarming experience for me to hear one of the winning essays delivered by Miss Candida Pilla, at the junior chamber of commerce dinner in Plainfield, N. J., on January 15, 1954:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(Original oration by Candida Pilla, Villa Victoria Academy, Trenton, N. J.)

I speak for democracy because democracy speaks for me. It has spoken for me down through the history of America from 1620 until 1953.

The first time its infant voice cried out was in the hearts and minds of the English people who were searching for something which the monarchy of England failed to provide. And the voice was so convincing, so imperative, that a small band of Pilgrims followed it to the shores of a new land where a fond dream became a reality, and where stubborn courage resulted in a new freedom. Democracy continued to speak all through the development of the Thirteen Original Colonies and the acquisition of additional territory until finally the new country expanded to the Pacific Coast.

The golden voice of democracy has proclaimed America "the land of the free, the home of the brave." It is forever ready to speak for us and we expect it to be there. We depend on it when there is need of our political protection but when this need vanishes, so too does our interest in the factor which satisfied that need.

The powerful voice of democracy is responsible for making America the greatest of nations in a relatively short span of 175 years. No other country has advanced more rapidly because no other country has had democracy speaking for it as constantly and as convincingly as America. This voice has been the inspiration and solace of the millions who gave their lives on every blood-soaked battlefield since the American Revolution. In forceful words it tells us of our freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, the right of men not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property except by the law of the land, the general law which hears before it condemns, and renders judgment only after trial. These are the rights which the voice of democracy inspired our forefathers to include in our precious Constitution. We must not let the voice fade away merely because the people who first listened to it have faded away. No. It must be passed on to each generation losing none of its power and being received with as much fervor as it was so long ago. We must make it heard in every small community throughout the United States, for only then will it be heard nationally and internationally. And we must answer that voice for "to whom much is given of him much also is expected."

I speak for democracy because it is democracy which gives me the right to speak, openly and unafraid to voice my opinion wherever and whenever I deem it necessary. I am in the school of my choice because I was free to say at what particular place I wished to pursue my studies. I shall be able to enter the college of my choice because democracy allows me to speak my mind. I will be able to take my place in the world in whatever field of work which gives me the greatest satisfaction and happiness for the simple reason that democracy grants to me that right to speak. The fact is I may praise or criticize democracy for democracy itself grants to me that right of expressing what I sincerely feel. I live my life fearing nothing because I have democracy which safeguards the dignity that my God bestowed on me at birth. Yes, I possess democracy which raises the people of our country far above all the nations of the world. The nations look to us for strength, for aid, and most important, for example. And it is our sacred duty to give them good example, to show them the right way. This we cannot fail to do if we heed the persistent voice of democracy which constantly hammered away within a few idealistic persons in old England. The same voice that encouraged the early colonists to sever the ties that bound them to their mother country is speaking to us now—the voice of God speaking to us through the voice of democracy.

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Josephine Richardson, Paulsboro High School, Paulsboro, N. J.)

There they are, both of them, tussling about on our front lawn, my two little brothers. I love them with the kind of love that all older sisters feel. I resent them, too; their dirty hands, and their careless way. The years that separate us place me nearer to the point of view of my parents. I see these little boys as a part of my responsibility, my duty to myself, my family, my country.

They love me—they prove it in hundreds of crude unconscious ways. "Here, Joy," they'll say and hand me the piece of gum brought from the school party.

To these boys, mine may be the most impressive voice of democracy that they will ever hear.

How shall I speak for democracy?

Little brothers, this land is yours. Yours is the splendid American home, yours, this free system of schools, yours, the church with the open door. Yours in manhood will be the right to make your living in whatever path of service you choose. Yours will be the right to earn money, save it and invest it, yours will be the privilege of continuing to live in a free land. You have the right to freedom from fear. I must help you to feel sure that the cop on the corner is your friend and never a person to intimidate or force you. You know well that your physical needs will be met.

What does democracy really mean to you? Democracy means your right to expect your mother and your teacher to listen to your side of the story when you come in with a black eye.

It's your right to go to Sunday school and join the Boy Scouts and your right to have punishment and rewards given fairly to you for your acts.

Sometimes, when the older brothers of my friends go into the service of the country, I think of you. I think of the day when you too will march away, tall, clad in uniform, strangely serious. I do not want you to go with the sense of uncertainty or futility. I want you to know what democracy is, why you should be willing to give your youth to preserve it. Think of the humiliation and despair of the family of any boy who would denounce the great American ideal.

We hope that we can maintain the peace of the world but if we cannot and you must go into the battle purposely killing and destroying other human beings, you will ask yourself, What is this for? I want you to realize the answer to be that intangible yet all important factor, democracy. It must be so important that our families must not shirk the duty of sending their young sons off to fight for it, perhaps to be killed.

But you have studied your elementary history well; you know them all, those great heroes; Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln. It's true you have more pictures of Hopalong Cassidy and Space Cadet than you have of these statesmen, but it is really for their very qualities; wisdom, bravery, honesty, and Americanism that you admire your television heroes. Your ambition to be just like Hopalong proves that you consider the qualities for which he stands, ideal.

Now is the time for you to begin forming good habits and setting your ideals. Don't be satisfied with just good enough. Speak for yourself and let no one make your decisions. May I as your sister, may none of us in our family deny you the development that comes from making your own decisions. So that in some faraway land at another time, it may not be possible for false persuaders to indoctrinate you.

Democracy, like character is caught and not taught. I know that your conception of democracy will be determined by the extent of democratic practices in your own home, in your own school, in your own community. You may be told that all men are created equal. You cannot conceive of this but you know what it means for every boy or girl in your class to have his turn when you play a game. That is the idea. Then you will realize that no man should be denied his opportunity because of his race, color, or creed.

I speak for democracy but I know that the things I do are so much more convincing than the things I say that I am humbled in the presence of my very words. By my example, I can teach you more of democracy than any words that I might say.

All boys and girls my age do not have younger brothers like you but there is always one who looks up to them.

I speak for democracy because I want these boys to hear my voice. I want to hold their hands and walk forward into the new day of world democracy.

Yes; we must have a world in which all boys everywhere have the joys and privi-

leges that belong to the romping lads on our front lawn.

DEMOCRACY

(By Gisela E. Voehringer, Ramsey High School, Ramsey, N. J.)

One dark night in November of this year, a man was walking along the barbed wire that separates East from West Berlin. Suddenly, two determined looking men, apparently from the Russian sector, jumped at him with guns in their hands. They did not rob him, as you might expect, instead, they demanded to be taken to the American military police. The poor man was only too glad to comply. At the police station the strangers told an amazing story. They had fled from Czechoslovakia. Hiding during the day, walking at night, they had endured unbelievable hardships. The Communist police, constantly at their heels, had offered a reward for their arrest. Capture, of course, would have meant certain death.

Why did these men, at the risk of their lives, leave their native country? Why did they leave all their possessions, all their friends behind, facing an uncertain future in a strange land? They did it for the thing we take for granted—freedom. They did it for all that we include in the word democracy. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, universal suffrage, equal rights by law.

For in their country, one man, supported by a ruthless party had come to power. He silenced the voice of the people, and now controls them with an iron hand, determining their public as well as their private lives. Radio and newspapers are censored. Spies are lurking everywhere. But as Lincoln has said "No man is good enough to govern any other man without the other's consent."

There are people working to bring this same tyranny about in our country. In order to combat them we must enducate the youth of today, so they may more fully understand the principles which govern democracy, and what a precious thing it really is. The youth of today will be the leaders of tomorrow, and when that time comes they must be ready to assume responsibility.

Our Constitution is based upon the belief "all men are created equal." There is no master and no slave. There are not those who are born to rule and those who are born to serve. Last June I had the privilege of attending Girl's State of New Jersey. Girl's State is a conference to which girls all over the State are invited for a week to learn about our Government. I was deeply impressed how girls of different races and creeds worked together, all contributing their ideas to make the conference a success. In our group were Negroes, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, and even a Japanese girl. There was no prejudice and one could almost say we were a big, happy family. That is true democracy.

Another thing we learned during that week was that we all have a voice in our Government; and if our representatives in the Government act against public opinion or sentiment, we have the power, yes, we have the duty, to vote them out of office.

Another pillar of democracy is the freedom to learn the truth. Here, also, the word of the Bible is true, that "the truth shall make you free." This is why in some countries the rulers put up iron curtains and cut off every connection with the outside world so people may not know the truth. This is why the Communists spend millions of dollars to put up radio stations just to jam broadcasts from the outside world. Broadcasts which are trying to bring messages to the enslaved masses.

So many men have given their lives for democracy—in Korea and on the battlefields of the Second World War. Something that has been preserved at such a great price is worthy of our love. We must cherish it so their sacrifices may not have been in vain.

The Networks Should Stand Firmly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal of March 10, 1954:

THE NETWORKS SHOULD STAND FIRMLY

There is no reason in law or justice why the radio and television networks should accede to Senator MCCARTHY's threatening demand for free time. The networks properly have made available to the Republican Party a Saturday night half-hour in which an official spokesman may reply to last week's speech by Adlai E. Stevenson.

The administration has learned one lesson since last November. It is that MCCARTHY will seize the ball and run if given half a chance. When President Truman defended his record against Attorney General Brownell's charge that he knowingly promoted a Communist spy, he used the adjective, McCarthyism, in a passing reference to its evils. The Senator demanded, and got, equal time and equal prominence, not because he had been unjustly charged, as Mr. Truman had, but because the networks were afraid to refuse him. And they were afraid because the administration made it possible for 2 personal friends of Senator MCCARTHY to obtain seats on the Federal Communications Commission. One of these friends, Robert E. Lee, was recently confirmed by a docile Senate although Senator FULBRIGHT established by questioning that Mr. Lee knows nothing about the communications industry and that he played a most questionable part in the guttersnipe campaign that defeated Senator Tydings, of Maryland.

Now Senator MCCARTHY makes the same demand of the networks for a second time and in effect threatens them with the power of the FCC. This time, however, the networks are on sound ground. They have offered time to the party, not to an individual, and the party has been alert enough to place its defense in hands less dubious than those of its renegade Senator. Even Senator MCCARTHY's man on the FCC seems to find little in this to criticize.

There are, indeed, small but hopeful signs that MCCARTHY'S one-man campaign of terror is nearing its end. A respected member of the party to which he still owes nominal allegiance dared to laugh at him on the Senate floor this week. The very Republicans who have most yearned to use his mudslinging as a campaign asset seem suddenly to have realized that he is not discriminating as to targets. By firmly refusing to let him speak for the party, and by nominating the Vice President to dissociate the administration from McCarthyism, his own party is in effect repudiating his recklessness and venom. It will be difficult, after the events of this week and last, for party spokesmen to go back to pretending that the wild malevolence of McCarthyism is an asset.

But this tardy firmness, this late repudiation, will have little effect if timid advisers to the radio and television networks decide to accept the Senator's claim that he is a separate branch of the Republican Party. His challenge to them is one that may properly be ignored now that the party to which he owes loyalty has decided that he is not the person to speak for it. The networks should go along with this decision and at last Senator MCCARTHY may be the recipient of a firm and long-needed rebuke.

Tribute to a Gracious, Efficient Congressional Employee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Evening Star on Wednesday night carried a feature story about Mrs. Helen Coar which I am sure pleased and delighted every Member of Congress who chance to read it.

Much of the article is devoted to Mrs. Coar's career of some years back when she was the first child motion-picture star—a rather fabulous chapter in her busy life. All of us, however, know her as a very gracious, very efficient, pleasant, and charming congressional staff employee—assisting her husband in the direction and operation of the Joint Senate and House Recording Facility, where Members transcribe their radio talks or film their television programs.

The article by Betty Miles entitled "Child Star of Early Movies Now Helps Congressmen Record Radio, TV Talks" is an excellent one. Under unanimous consent, I include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as part of my remarks.

The article follows:

IN CAPITOL HILL OPERATION—CHILD STAR OF EARLY MOVIES NOW HELPS CONGRESSMEN RECORD RALTO, TV TALKS

(By Betty Miles)

The first child movie star in the days when screens were silent helps legislators report to their constituents by radio and television today.

Helen Coar and her husband, Robert, run the Joint Senate and House Recording Facility, where Congressmen make tape recordings for radio, and moving pictures for television. From a small beginning, it has grown in popularity until it now occupies several rooms on the House and Senate sides of the Capitol, including quarters for film developing.

First established by the Coars on a private basis, it was taken over by Congress in 1947 at their request. The operation pays for itself. Money is appropriated for staff salaries—as a matter of fact, a joint resolution of the House and Senate is required for every new person added to the staff—but the legislators buy the tapes and films. Often, more than one copy is purchased for the various stations in their home area.

The daughter of Gerald J. Badgley, a pioneer in photographic engineering, Mrs. Coar, then Helen Badgley, began her screen career at the age of 9 months, when a baby scheduled to appear did not, and young Miss Badgley was pressed into service. She became the first recognized child star in movies, the Shirley Temple of her day.

She stayed in pictures, working steadily, until she was 9 years old.

"In the days I was in motion pictures there was no such thing as a child-labor law," Mrs. Coar pointed out. "The only time children had to study was while adults were rehearsing scenes. This wasn't enough. When my contract expired, my father initiated the idea that I would only do two pictures a year. This was unheard of, and the company wouldn't do it. So that was the end of my career."

Mrs. Coar worked for the Thanhauser Co. in New Rochelle, N. Y. (she was known as

the Thanhauser Kidlet), not far from D. W. Griffith's operation at Mamaroneck.

"Silent films weren't as easy as they look today," she said. "You had to learn the lines, at least, you did in the good companies, because the audience could read your lips."

Altogether, she appeared in over 300 pictures, including the first serial, Million Dollar Mystery.

OLD FILMS ON TV

All her activity isn't behind the scenes on TV these days, incidentally. They're showing her old pictures on television.

She found this out when Representative HOWARD M. BAKER, of Tennessee, called on her the other day with a newspaperman from Knoxville. When the Congressman mentioned that Mrs. Coar had been in pictures, his friend exclaimed, "Why, we saw an old movie of yours, the Million Dollar Baby, on our local station the other night."

His children, he reported, had been entranced, particularly his 2-year-old, and he requested and got Mrs. Coar's signature to take back to them.

So far her own children have not seen any of her old films. The Coars live at Coardial Acres, at Fairfax Court House. Their 8 acres allow plenty of room to play for their four children—Bobby, 10; Helen, 9; Gail, 8; and Jacqueline, 5.

As to the lawmakers' movie-making, which is fairly new, they're taking it in stride, Mrs. Coar reports. As a matter of fact, they are more at home before a camera than a mike after two or three times.

"I was amazed at that myself," she said. "But it's a funny thing about TV. People are surprised when they hear their voices for the first time in a recording, but as a rule they're not startled by their appearance, which they have seen in a mirror many times."

A room is set up where the films are run off on a small screen for the legislators, to approximate the way they will appear on television screens.

Then, too, "all of them have a natural ability to begin with at this kind of thing," she added, "as well as experience on the platform. Some use notes or teleprompters, but many prefer to speak extemporaneously."

TRUMANS WERE REGULARS

Many legislators have weekly shows which they prepare here. During his days in the Senate, former President Truman often had his daughter Margaret as a partner on his show.

Forty-five to 50 TV shows are being filmed now, which are used by approximately 90 local stations.

But this doesn't mean radio tape recording has dropped. Simulcasts are often prepared. And about 1,200 to 1,400 radio shows are broadcast each week from tapes made here. The Coars average 225 appointments a week for radio recording.

"Many people still listen to radio in their cars and kitchens," Mrs. Coar pointed out. The lawmakers are not dropping one for the other.

"We try to be at the office from a quarter of 9 to 6 o'clock, but it doesn't always work out that way," she remarked. "We always have at least one emergency a week. One of the most common is the loss of a film print in transit. Then another has to be rushed to the station on time."

In the television room on the House side, the speaker is seated at this desk against a picture of the Capitol dome. Later, this will be alternated with a moving background appropriate to the Congressman's topic.

The Senate TV room has just been completed, and will go into use next week. The room simulates a Senator's office, even duplicating in wood the marble mantels they have.

"The Senators will bring personal props with them, such as favorite pictures, to go over the mantel," Mrs. Coar explained.

She also found a huge 5-foot-high globe for this room, formerly cast off in a Capital attic.

A dressing room has been installed, too. Here pancake makeup will be applied, if necessary, to counter the glare of the lights.

"We feel it's a great honor to work with these men," Mrs. Coar declared. "I've never seen men who worked so hard. They do much more than they would in their businesses at home.

"I remember the daughter of one Congressman, who had been trying to discuss something with her father for a week, finally waiting outside the studio until he finished recording to talk to him."

The lawmakers are encouraged to give objective, rather than partisan, reports to their constituents by the stations that carry their programs. They attract good audiences, too, who register protests if the programs are discontinued. The stations give the time free to the legislators during the year as a public service, requiring them to pay for it only if they have filed for reelection.

Some legislators, who at first shrank from using the recording facilities, employ them enthusiastically today.

But there are still some who were never wooed by a mike. One of these was former Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, who summed up his philosophy for Mrs. Coar like this: "Let a photographer take all the pictures he wants, but don't open your mouth."

Labor Secretary Request for an Increase for Federal Aid to the States in Grants for Employment Service and Unemployment Compensation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass.:

AID FOR JOBLESS

Secretary of Labor Mitchell's request for an increase of $40 million for Federal aid to the States in grants for employment service and unemployment compensation was taken in some quarters as an admission on the part of the administration that they expected the unemployment situation was likely to become worse. But the Labor Secretary told a Senate committee that although they believed the economy would stay on a fairly high level, they wished to be prepared in the event of a further rise in unemployment. Now that situation is worse than supposed with 3,600,000 jobless.

At any rate the $40 million proposed increase to help the unemployed would appear to be a very modest figure when contrasted to the huge amounts we are pouring out in aid of peoples in almost every other country in the world. In recent months we have sent economic aid to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars to such countries as Pakistan, Spain, Germany, and Italy. In the last 4 years we sent $7,700,000,000 in military equipment to our associates in the free world. In recent months we have allotted $785 million to the Indochina project, alone.

Import Fees on Wool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. HARRISON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. HARRISON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, late Friday, February 19, the Tariff Commission notified Members of Congress that the Commission's decision in regard to a request by the Department of Agriculture for increased import fees on wool, had been sent to the White House for final decision by the President. We have no knowledge as to whether the decision recommended the establishment of additional import fees or not. If it did, we have no knowledge, of course, of the amount of such increase recommended.

The decision is a result of hearings held last August and September by order of the President upon application of the Department of Agriculture. They were held under section 22 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, which prescribes that when imports are damaging a support program of the Government, that relief can be had by either the establishment of quotas or by the establishment of additional import fees. The Department of Agriculture testified that imports were damaging the wool loan support program. The wool growers backed the position of the Department of Agriculture.

Because there is legislation pending which would change the support program, there might be some confusion as to the need to secure this increased import fee. The need, however, is even greater now than it was at the time of the hearings last year and both the Department of Agriculture and the wool industry have been seeking this relief with two hearings in the last 20 months.

The support program under the Agricultural Act of 1949 is still in effect and is not working because of these imports from low cost countries which are selling wool in the United States market at below our cost of production.

Even if a new program is adopted by the Congress at this session, it will be some time before it can be put into effect and alleviate the need for increased import fees. The Department of Agriculture has nearly 100 million pounds of wool in a Government-owned stockpile, from the 1951 and 1952 clips, which it has been unable to market in competition with these low price imports. There are approximately 35 million pounds of 1953 clip wool under appraisal by the Government for loan and possible foreclosure on April 30 of this year. That figure may be much higher on the 1953 clip wools which will go into the Government stockpile prior to the closing date, if these additional import fees are not imposed. Orderly disposition of the Government stockpile is an essential part of transition into any new wool program the Congress may adopt and it would require additional import fees to accomplish this without loss to the Gov-

ernment and a further breaking of the market price for the domestic grower.

It seems to me most urgent that the President take rapid action to impose sufficient additional import fees on wool to protect the support program. There is absolutely no need for the Government to maintain a costly stockpile of domestic wool at taxpayers' expense when it can be sold into the market by the imposition of 12 cents per clean pound import fee, at least until and if the Congress adopts the new administration proposed wool program.

It is important to both the industry and the Government to dispose of this unnecessary inventory, which can be done through additional import fees. Then in the general public's mind, wool would not be classed in the same category with butter, which is stockpiled even with import quotas in effect. Wool is produced in such deficiency supply in this country that imposition of these fees would enable it to move into domestic consumption.

Short Explanation of the Purpose of H. R. 8193

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS E. GRAHAM
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following short explanation of the purpose of H. R. 8193, to amend the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which passed the House on Monday, March 15, 1954, being No. 296 on its Consent Calendar.

The Refugee Relief Act of 1953, enacted on August 7, 1953, allocated, among other things, 60,000 immigrant visas to Italian nationals and 17,000 immigrant visas for Greek and Dutch nationals, respectively. All 3 allocations are divided into 2 categories: First, for refugees, which is a term defined in the law; and, second, for close relatives of American citizens and aliens admitted for permanent residence.

The first 7 months of operation have shown that there is a greater demand for visas which will permit to unite families of United States citizens than there is for refugees who have no relatives in the United States.

H. R. 8193 permits the Administrator of the law to use the allocations in either the refugee or the family-preference group, according to current demand.

No numerical allocations are being increased under H. R. 8193.

In addition to this feature, H. R. 8193 would facilitate the entry of orphans under 10 years of age by exempting them from the so-called certificates of readmission to the country from which they emigrate to the United States.

Another feature will permit the adjustment of status to refugees who succeeded in escaping from countries practicing political persecution and are in the United States, having entered this country lawfully but in a temporary, rather than a permanent, status.

In this case again, the allocation of 5,000 refugees who may qualify for the adjustment of status is not being increased.

Skilled Watch Workmen on Guard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, in the thrilling story of the industrial contribution to our Nation's defense, there is no more glorious page than that which continues to be written by the Hamilton Watch Co., of Lancaster, Pa. The quantity production of precision instruments so sorely needed by our Navy in World War II was made possible only through the skills of individual craftsmen, and at Hamilton there is assembled a group of dedicated people who continue to stand as a technological bulwark, between our Nation and those who would destroy us.

Arguments having to do with reciprocal trade have no appeal when we take into account the vital necessity of keeping intact this pool of skilled experts in the face of the ever-encroaching threat of overseas, cheap-labor competition. I hope our President will be so reminded when he considers the Tariff Commission's recommendations for the relief of the American jeweled watch industry and that he will find as persuasive as I have the following news article taken from the March 5 issue of the Lancaster Intelligencer Journal:

HAMILTON'S WARTIME ACHIEVEMENT IS RELATED IN CURRENT MAGAZINE

The Hamilton Watch Co.'s World War II achievement of mass producing 10,000 marine chronometers is spotlighted in an article by B. B. Mizell, Horological Instruments Branch, Bureau of Ships, in the February 1954 issue of the Bureau of Ships journal.

Mizell's article Timekeeping at Sea, traces the history of sea navigation to the invention of the marine chronometer.

Writing about Hamilton in his article, Mizell says: "After the reliability and importance of the chronometer had been firmly established, the supply of these instruments depended on the skills of individual craftsmen. Making chronometers remained a specialized art, and its guarded secrets were handed down from one generation to the next. Industrial mass production of these instruments in the United States did not come until World War II. At that time, along with an appeal to the public for the loan of chronometers, the Hamilton Watch Co. agreed to produce instruments in quantity for the United States Navy."

FOUNDED NEW INDUSTRY

"Within 3 years, Hamilton manufactured approximately 10,000 chronometers, thus founding a new industry in the United States.

"Maximum interchangeability of parts was the first problem in applying mass production techniquess to the manufacture of chronometers. In turn, the quantity demand called for a minimum of adjustments during final assembly to compensate for variations in the manufactured parts. The urgent need precluded extensive development or radical redesign. Thus the Hamilton instruments followed in general the proved design of past years. The availability of new materials such as invar and stainless steel, however, permitted notable refinements in the balance and hairspring.

"Most chronometers issued to United States Navy ships today are Hamilton instruments manufactured during World War II."

Mizell's article concludes: "The high state of perfection of the present marine chronometer is considered to be unsurpassed by any other mechanical instrument."

A photograph of the electronic comparator developed by Hamilton to test the accuracy of the marine chronometer accompanies the article. The comparator was built by Hamilton for use as a factory production tool. A companion model is now a standard testing device at the Naval Observatory.

"Ye Have Not Chosen Me, But I Have Chosen You, and Ordained You, That Ye Should Go and Bring Forth Fruit" (John 15: 16)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it is a rare opportunity given me this day to spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a sermon by Rev. Robert C. Dodds, Second Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.

It is a rare opportunity in that the message by the Reverend Dodds is a powerful, inspiring document even in cold print. Never before have I seen outlined, with such vigor and clarity, the relationship between God and man with the interposition of the clergy.

No more appropriate time than the Lenten season of sacrifice could be found for the call to duty of the ordained and the laity as expressed by Rev. Robert C. Dodds:

PASTOR EXPLAINS VIEWS ON MINISTERIAL SERVICE

"Our first responsibility, our greatest opportunity is to glorify our God," Rev. Robert C. Dodds, new pastor of the Second Congregational Church, told his congregation in his first sermon Sunday morning.

Calling for a crystal-clear understanding about the relationship of the minister to the church and the congregation to the minister, Mr. Dodds chose as his text: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit" (John 15: 16).

The sermon text follows:

"This week you and I have embarked on a new relationship. What it may come to mean to either of us in the years ahead no one can predict with certainty. All that we can say, as of this moment, is that our relationship is beginning on a note of high hope. To hope as we do is very proper, and to pray that our expectations may be matched by future experience is essential. And still you and I cannot peer through the curtain of future time.

"Therefore, I propose this morning that we undertake a venture far more important than gazing into the crystal ball. We shall try to understand the nature of our new relationship. Within what framework should it begin? Why am I standing here before you, and what is expected of me? Why are you here yourself, and what is expected of you?

"Our text ascribes a surprising statement to Jesus Christ. Speaking to his disciples and to all who would follow him throughout the centuries, Jesus is reported to have said, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.'

"GOD CHOOSES MEN

"His words echo one of the most familiar themes in the entire Bible. Over and over again in the biblical record we can see how God chooses men. They may be trying to find God, or they may be running away from him. But the climax always comes when he selects them. The pages of the Scriptures are peppered with the startling affirmation, 'I have chosen you.'

"Now what do these words mean when a new minister is called?

"I am sure that, if the pulpit committee of our church had been less discreet, you would have been regaled for hours before now with stories of their long quest, stories of mingled hope and frustration. They could have told you of tedious trips, of personal encounters with young ministers and middle-aged ones. They could have told you of the time they traveled 100 miles to hear a preacher and collided with a Children's Day Sunday instead. They could have pictured endless conferences and strong differences of opinion and careful planning. They could have given graphic account of their occasion disillusionment, of the tense moment before their final vote when everyone prayed it would be unanimous.

"On some of these matters you have already been informed. On others the pulpit committee will continue to keep its own counsel. All of us can be grateful to them for the conscientiousness with which they have tackled their assignment.

"But here is the real point. In the last analysis your ministers are not called by a pulpit committee nor by a vote of the church members acting upon the recommendation of the pulpit committee. No, your ministers must be called by Him who is Lord of the Church. The last and most important word must always come from One whose authority has stirred the hearts of men through the centuries, One whose urgent command has always echoed in the simplest words, 'Follow me.'

"DIVINE COMMAND

"The late William Temple, distinguished Archbishop of Canterbury, in moving words, once recalled a tough decision which he had faced. 'I had once a choice which I found very difficult * * * I was asked to take up another post which certainly was more conspicuous in the eyes of the world. I tried to avoid it * * * Having weighed the question as carefully as I could—and we must all do that—and having come to no conclusion at all, I began at 8 o'clock in the evening to say my prayers. And for 3 hours, without a pause, I tried to concentrate all my desires on knowing clearly what was God's will for me. I do not know how those 3 hours went; they did not seem very long; but when 11 o'clock struck I knew perfectly well what I had to do, and that was to accept; and I have never had a shadow of a doubt since that it was right.

" 'Each man had to find his own vocation,' concluded Dr. Temple. 'Every man is able to find that out if, quite sincerely, he will seek to do, not his own will, but God's.'

"And so it must be with every minister. He acts in response to a divine command or else he is lost. The finest conceivable beginning is foredoomed to failure unless the living God has initiated the call. You and I need to have a crystal-clear understanding about these things from the very start of our relationship.

"And now we can begin to see what is properly expected of me and of the entire ministry of our church.

"We are not here simply to keep you happy, nor to provide lubrication for the wheels of a great institution. We are not here simply to serve you, nor even to serve the interests of this church. No, we are here with you to serve the God by whose grace the church has come into being. We, with you, are called to serve God, and in Christ to serve each other. Our first responsibility, our greatest opportunity, is to glorify our God.

"TRUE FUNCTION

"And in His light, you and I can begin to see the true function of our ministers. We can see the purpose of our preaching, for example. It is our high privilege to preach the Word of God as winningly, as convincingly, as urgently as it lies within our ability to do.

"We dare not preach our own pet ideas and enthusiasms. We cannot succumb to pressures from other people to present their pet notions nor to avoice their favorite prejudices. And I rejoice with you in the fine tradition which this church has upheld of a free pulpit. May it long continue.

"May it remain true to its dedication, a pulpit bound only by the authority of our God, a pulpit proclaiming His word fearlessly and lovingly. May it be a pulpit which sounds with equal balance His note of judgment and His word of mercy.

"God says, 'I have chosen you.' Because of His choice, we can see, with greater clarity than ever before, the purpose of our pastoral ministry, too. Our work is not to run around this huge parish stroking people's hands and patting them on the head and encouraging mutual admiration societies. No, the work of our ministry is to remember that God has chosen you as His people. Because He loves you, we are willing—no, eager—to know you intimately in Christian fellowship. In ministries of comfort and healing, in ministries of rebuke and encouragement, in ministries of consolation and hope, we would witness to the love of God among you. Far from being a flabby or sentimental force, the love of God is chastening and cleansing as well. So it gives structure and depth to the minister's privilege and his heavy responsibility in the care of souls.

"MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

"And a similar viewpoint underlies our ministry of education, too. Our work is to do more than provide baby-sitting services, or to train children and adults how to be good. Our efforts must be bent toward educating all ages of people that they may learn to hear God's words, 'I have chosen you,' and that they may learn to obey His imperative command 'Follow Me.'

"And the same thing could be said of all our other work, in parish administration and with all of our organizations. The ministry of our church has been set in motion by the finger of the living God. In every area of the church's work, its duty is to remind us of our divine calling. Over our efforts a large banner has been floated. Its inscription bears the words, 'I have chosen you.' What you and I do in response to God's call cannot fail. What we attempt forgetting His will deserves to perish.

"But I have spoken too long of this church's ministers. For a certainty its members must have been called into God's service by God Himself. But you, sitting there in the pews, you have been called by God, too. Jesus' words are addressed to every one of His disciples. They are addressed directly to you. Have you ever heard His word coming straight to your heart? You, too, are involved in this great work, because you, too, have been called. Other reasons pale before this one. You are here because you have been called here by Christ Himself.

"A large business firm which uses a superhuman mailing machine was once embarrassed by its wonderful gadget. One night some insignificant wheel or gear got a little out of kilter, and 3 days later a man in Butte, Mont., received a million pieces of mail.

"Well, something strangely similar can happen in the life of a church. You may have many reasons for supporting this church and attending its services. But if the people allow their primary reason to get a little out of kilter, then the life of the church is bound to suffer. And the great reason for your being here is that God has chosen you and called you to glorify Him.

"AFFECT ON PREACHING

"So far as you are responding to a divine initiative, you will be taking part in the real life of the church. You will be nourishing each other and you will be nourishing the ministers, too. You will be serving God in the organizations, and in your private examples. You will be living for Christ, winning people to Him. In our services, for example, you will be affecting the preaching fare more profoundly than you may suspect. As one writer has put it, 'An intrinsically poor sermon can become a strong word of God when it is part of, and expresses, a strong and deep fellowship of God's people, who come wakeful, expectant, teachable, prayerful, humble, into God's presence.'

"You of the congregation, you are called, too, into the ministry of our church. Thank God, again and again, for the long history you have had in shouldering your share of the burden and the challenge of this church's ministry. May the record continue bright.

"We want this to remain a truly Congregational Church, not famed for its preachers, but deservedly respected because its congregation is living as a people chosen of God.

"You, too, have been called and in the way you answer, lies the destiny of our church. I've been somewhat amused already in this first week to meet a few people who have tried to prepare me for their absence from the church's worship. Not that they couldn't come, not that they aren't members. No, just that other things are more important to them. They've tried to soften the shock for me and at the same time to elicit my approval for their choice.

"RESPONSE TO GOD'S WILL

"Well, it is kind of them to try to be so gentle with me, but still I'm sorry. I just find it hard to get sympathetic. Anyone who has heard God's call 'I have chosen you and ordained you' and then dismisses lightly the opportunity to praise and glorify Him in His Church—well, what would you say? All I know is that our response to God's will stands among the important choices in life. To make it trivial or to shrug it off with easy excuses is to play fast with holy things. And I hope there are not many who will do this.

"You and I, then, are called, both of us. An appropriate answer is expected of us each. There are some people who will give an honest 'no.' Some will say 'maybe.' Some will tell a joke and try to forget the matter. Some, sensing that the decision is a key to life itself, will say with the prophet of old, 'Here am I. Send me.'

"And this indeed is the direction of our text. Jesus Christ does not call us aimlessly and then leave us dangling. He says 'go and bring forth fruit.'

"A family of strangers moved recently into the city of Waterbury. Unfamiliar with Connecticut, new to the complexities of an industrial society, innocent about the traditions and folklore and personalities of

this place, they came to take part in the ministry of this church. They were sure only of their desire to serve their God here.

"But in the open-hearted welcome they have received here, they have found rapid kinship with many people who know they belong to the same God. Full of thanks they are praying that, over years of association, this kinship may be deepened by bonds of common growth and experience, and the faith that springs from love.

"But most of all they are praying that God may bless this new relationship to His glory, so that this church may truly continue as a people chosen by Him and bearing abundant fruit for His kingdom."

You've Got To Take It if You're Going To Hand It Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it occurs to me that our New Deal friends have short memories when they accuse the Republicans of "indulging in a kind of class warfare" simply because we might be so bold as to suggest that the coddling of Communists by Roosevelt and Truman remains a charge that cannot be answered. Indeed, no memories are so short as those which refuse to recall the studied and vicious campaign waged by the New Dealers when Charlie Michaelson was retained for the sole purpose of villifying Herbert Hoover to the great glee of the liberal press.

I am certainly not among those who would suggest that "the Democrats are tinged with treason," since commonsense and my own personal knowledge tells me that there are just as many high-minded patriots on their side of the aisle as there are on ours. I do think, however, that the following editorial from the March 13 issue of the Saturday Evening Post carries with it a gentle reminder that it all depends on whose ox is being gored:

WHEN POLITICAL WARFARE IS TOO ROUGH FOR FAIR DEAL DEMOCRATS, THAT'S NEWS

The Fair Deal campaign to turn popular attention away from Harry Dexter White et al. and direct it to the alleged oratorical brutality of the GOP came into full flower at a recent Presidential press conference. A small group of reporters, seemingly determined to include in the function of news gathering a campaign to split the President's political party in two, directed their questions, not to what information the President might be expected to have on important issues confronting the country, but rather to what they felt the President ought to think about what some other Republicans said about the Democrats.

A great deal was going on in the world and in the country at the time. The Indochina war was a hot corner; Molotov had joined in the "Yankee Go Home" chorus in Europe; and there was always the price of coffee. Somebody did ask Mr. Eisenhower what was going on in Indochina. But the major portion of the time was spent by the correspondents in catechising Mr. Eisenhower as to whether he thought Republican leaders were "indulging in a kind of class warfare" when they suggested that "all Democrats" were "tinged with treason." The President indicated that this was news to him. He naturally agreed that it would be wrong to call all Democrats traitors, which was like saying he disapproved of sin. In spite of this disclaimer, the next day's headlines indicated that Eisenhower had harpooned another Republican.

There is probably no way to penalize a correspondent for vexing the Chief Executive of the United States with questions designed not to obtain information but to create a political effect hostile to the President's party. Nevertheless, the President, although a mildmannered man, must be tempted to wish the soft answer did not enjoy Biblical support, and to envy those in lower positions who are free to respond to this kind of needling with some such expression as "nuts."

Why President Eisenhower should be expected to make headlines for Fair Deal newspapers by rebuking Republicans for using hard words about Democrats is beyond us. We do not recall that the White House corps of correspondents ever criticized Mr. Truman's "political sadism" during the whistlestop 1948 campaign or the constant 20-year smear against Mr. Hoover. But let a Republican haul off and leave a verbal half brick, and in come the heavies of the Nation's press, solemnly wagging their heads and indignantly demanding an explanation of why a Republican could so far have forgotten himself as to infringe on the Truman monopoly in billingsgate.

As Senator HENNINGS, Democrat, of Missouri, emphatically declared, the way to treat charges by political rivals is to answer them. The Fair Dealers' trouble is that many of these charges can't be answered. That is a Fair Deal headache, and the public won't be impressed by efforts to cure it by claiming a foul.

Dairymen Deserted Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, dairymen may feel that they were dealt a blow when the Government whacked such a big chunk of butter and cheese supports. But they should not have been greatly surprised.

Washington never has worried much about milk producers. Look what has happened during the last 25 years.

Corn-hog, wheat, and cotton growers were bailed out by New Deal farm programs in the black depression years during the 1930's. Dairying had to muddle through the best it could.

Not only that, but Government programs put many outsiders into the milk business. Acres diverted from corn, cotton, and wheat went into grass and grass went into cattle.

Milk suddenly became important during the war. Incentive payments were used to coax more milk out of the butter and cheese areas. Everybody needed Midwest milk then. Wisconsin and nearby States went all out.

The flood of milk eventually started backing up. The word "surplus" reared its ugly head. So down comes Benson's hatchet and Midwest dairying is cut back to size. And once again the Midwest dairyman goes through the wringer.

Getting sick of it?

Echo Park Dam Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include two editorials which recently appeared in the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. The first, entitled "Echo Park Dam Project Is Necessary to Upper Colorado Basin Development," sketches in the broad outline of the basin program of which the Echo Park Dam is but one part. The second, entitled "Who Says Echo Park Unprecedented?" deals more specifically with certain objections which have been raised about this structure proposed for the Dinosaur National Monument area.

I believe these editorials are complete and cover very well the equities of the development program. For those who have unanswered questions on this particular subject, I recommend these two editorials as a clear presentation of those favoring the development as proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation:

ECHO PARK DAM PROJECT IS NECESSARY TO UPPER COLORADO BASIN DEVELOPMENT

The Echo Park Dam and storage reservoir, proposed for construction on the Green River below the confluence of the Yampa River and the Green, is in the Dinosaur National Monument. Its gross water-storage capacity of about 6.5 million acre-feet would partially fill spectacular canyons in the monument. And that fact has raised a storm of opposition from organizations that are fearful of the invasion or dismemberment of monuments and national parks.

The Echo Park project is 1 of 10 recommended by the Bureau of Reclamation to regulate and use the Colorado River system in the upper-basin States. Such control of the Colorado and its tributaries is essential if the upper-basin States are to be able to deliver to the lower-basin States the quantity of water the latter have coming, measured at Lees Ferry, under the Colorado River compact.

The divison of water is not an acute problem right now, but as diversions from this vital river multiply in number and volume, the storage of water during heavy runoffs and its release during seasonal and cyclical low-water conditions will become necessary if States bound by the compact play square with each other.

Now, the people who are opposing the Echo Park Dam insist that it is not relatively necessary. By "relatively" they mean that the preservation of the monument is not only possible, but far more important, relatively. This is true, they say, because the water storage and power production proposed at Echo Park can be arranged at other projects outside the monument.

On an undertaking of the size and complexity of the upper-basin storage project the importance of any single unit thereof must be considered with reference to all the others, singly or in combination. The Bureau of Reclamation, for example, describes Echo

Park and the Split Mountain Dam just below it as key units. What does that mean?

Well, above Echo Park the plan calls for the construction of the Flaming Gorge Dam and Reservoir on the Green and the Cross Mountain Dam and Reservoir on the Yampa. Both dams have limited power-output capabilities, that of Flaming Gorge being about 72,000 kilowatts, and of Cross Mountain, 60,000 kilowatts. Flaming Gorge will store about 4 million acre-feet of water and Cross Mountain, 5.2 million.

But both Flaming Gorge and Cross Mountain are considered second phase to Echo Park; because the feasibility of the former two depends upon the power output of the latter, which will exceed 200,000 kilowatts. And that great hydro power production is directly related, in turn, to the release of controlled water upriver on the Yampa and the Green.

That isn't all.

That complex of dams, protecting the flow of the Yampa particularly, and with Echo Park as the key unit, was absolutely essential to obtain the assent and cooperation of Utah in the upper basin States' compact for distribution of water from the Green and the Yampa. Because Wyoming stands to benefit most from depletion of the Green, the irrigation of northeast and north central Utah requires reservoir capacity and river control in the vicinity of Echo Park.

The opponents of Echo Park Dam refer hopefully to feasible alternatives. One of those most often referred to is a high dam at Glen Canyon, which is at the southern extremity of the project near the Arizona border. The Bureau of Reclamation has included a dam and reservoir at Glen Canyon, one which will have enormous power potential and storage capacity. But those resisting the Echo Park development suggest that the Glen Canyon Dam be made higher than now planned, thus expanding both power output and storage there to offset that at Echo Park, and at much less cost.

That alternative ignores completely, however, the importance of the Echo Park Dam (and subsequently Split Mountain) to the feasibility of Flaming Gorge and Cross Mountain, and the prior commitments under the compact to the State of Utah. Moreover, it has been factually established that a high dam at Glen Canyon would back water in a nearby tributary into the Rainbow Bridge national monument. For even the current plans of the Bureau for Glen Canyon contemplate a protective barrier to restrain the backwater that would reach toward Rainbow Bridge.

It seems to us that the alternatives to Echo Park Dam are inacceptable for a number of other reasons, too. One of those is comparative losses from evaporation.

Some opponents of Echo Park discount figures on evaporation with comments such as these: Nobody knows for sure about evaporation, therefore it is not important. Or some charge that the Bureau's evaporation estimates are erroneous, being based on unrealistic reservoir levels, etc.

As a matter of fact Bureau hydrologists give assurance that evaporation formulas are not based on guesswork at all. The Bureau has undertaken evaporation studies at varying altitudes and latitudes and under all climatic conditions (of which temperature is most important) for a long time.

When the Bureau, therefore, estimates that the evaporation loss from the Echo Park Reservoir's 6.5 million acre-feet would be about 87,000 acre-feet a year, and that of the alternative New Moab site's 6 million acre-feet would be at least 100,000 acre-feet greater, the Bureau is applying criteria that it has used for many years, dependably, in deciding the feasibility of this country's greatest irrigation and water-storage works.

Finally, it seems to us that a gigantic lake back of Echo Park Dam would, in fact, enhance rather than ruin the mass recreational potential of that little-visited area. Precisely as in the case of Lake Mead behind the Hoover Dam in Arizona-Nevada, the Echo Park Reservoir would have slight annual, normal depletion. The normal yearly fluctuation at Mead is 50 feet. It would be about 30 feet at Echo Park. And while the Echo Park Lake would draw down as much as 200 feet over a 10-year critical water cycle, it would refill. And Lake Mead has already become one of the great recreation areas of the Southwest.

Moreover the fishing and boating possibilities on such a body of water, as already demonstrated on Lake Mead, would be enormous. For our wildlife authorities tell us that not only is Lake Mead today the Nation's best bass fishing site; the Colorado River below Hoover Dam, because of silt control at the barrier and the release of cold water at its base, has been recognized as a fine trout stream. Today, in the Green and Yampa, because of silt and high temperatures the fish population is almost exclusively bony tail, bullheads, squaw fish and some channel cats.

Now, a final point is whether the construction of Echo Park Dam within the national monument would break down prohibitions against such invasions, and thereby expose the whole national-park system to destruction. The Bureau of Reclamation proceeded in its planning upon the assumption that existing law or practice did not exclude a dam in this particular monument because of policies and assurances prevailing at the time the monument was expanded. Whether or not the Bureau of Reclamation was mistaken demands a review of the Federal Waterpower Act, the proclamation enlarging the monument and the stated attitudes of the National Park Service during hearings preceding the act of expansion. That is a subject for later discussion.

Meanwhile we restate our opinion that the Echo Park development is critical to conservation of Colorado River water, and to the implementation of both the upper basin and the upper- and lower-basin compacts. And it would appear that if the feasibility of any key units can be and is ignored, the feasibility of the whole project is beclouded. That would be disastrous to the economic welfare and growth of the Rocky Mountain West.

WHO SAYS ECHO PARK UNPRECEDENTED?

Was there ever any understanding about preserving grazing and power rights within the Dinosaur National Monument in 1938 when it was expanded from 80 to 209,000 acres?

That question is at issue now in the controversy over building Echo Park Dam on the Green River. Opponents of the project insist that if approved it will break down the national-park system by shattering a precedent against undertaking power developments within monuments and national parks.

John Geoffrey Will, secretary and general counsel for the upper Colorado River Commission, has assembled impressive evidence against arguments as to the so-called inviolability of the Dinosaur Monument. Mr. Will points out that the Presidential proclamation of 1938, enlarging the monument, includes specific language declaring that "establishment of the monument shall not affect operation of the Federal Power Act of June 10, 1920, as amended."

Now, if it were intended that potential power development within the monument was never to be given consideration, why was that reservation included? Mr. Will insists the National Park Service approved inclusion of the statement.

"Because the Federal Power Commission stated to the United States Department of Interior in 1935 and in 1936 that the 'Commission will not object to the creation of the monument' if the proclamation contains a specific provision that power development under provisions of the Federal Water Power Act will be permitted. * * *"

Mr. Will also has pointed out that continuing studies, made jointly by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation, produced from the former the following policy statement on June 27, 1944:

"If and when it is shown that it would certainly be in the greater national interest to develop the water resources of the Canyon unit (which would include Echo Park) than to retain the unit for national monument purposes; and it then becomes evident that authority for such development will be given, the status of the unit should be changed to that of a multiple-purpose area in which water control for the generation of power would be the principal use; and recreation the secondary but important use. * * *"

There is in existence a sworn affidavit of one David H. Madsen, former manager of the monument for the Park Service, as to assurances that he was authorized to give and did give the citizens at public hearings in Vernal, Utah, and Craig, Colo., during 1936. Mr. Madsen said he told the people of that area that grazing would not be discontinued in the event the monument was enlarged; and that "if it became necessary to construct a project or projects for power or irrigation in order to develop that part of the States of Colorado and Utah, that the establishment of the monument would not interfere with such development."

Because of the record of reservations and assurances in the case of the monument's expansion, it is difficult to understand why or how the development of power within it could be considered a precedent-shattering event. In other words, the construction of Echo Park should not be held up for fear of opening other parks or monuments to exploitation for power-producing purposes.

By ignoring the peculiar circumstances prevailing in that remote canyon of the Green, and by misinterpreting both the need for the project and its historical justification, opponents of the project are alarming uninformed lovers of nature throughout the country. And whether intentionally or not, they are further retarding the Rocky Mountain States preparation of needed water storage and power production, to the benefit of California.

Benson Wields the Meatax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin farmers have a right to be highly disgusted with Secretary Benson's meat-ax approach to dairy surplus problems. It could have been done more intelligently.

Why chop supports the full legal limit at one crack? We have felt that the present 90-percent supports would have to be gradually lowered. Maybe 5 percent at a time. That would give dairymen a chance to make adjustments.

We do not believe that the Government should guarantee 100-percent parity to dairymen or any other group. This would mean marketing quotas on every farm. The Government would have a

hand in every move you made. None of that.

Lower supports slowly if necessary, we say. Use compensatory payments to make up the difference between market and support prices. Use food stamp plans to move the surplus to needy folks. This is a more sensible approach.

The Epic Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan to the Philippines, March 16, 1521

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, today, March 16, 1954, is the 433d anniversary of the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan to the Philippines.

Because the Philippines are growing in importance in world affairs, and because the United States has a solid and continuing interest in the welfare of this great commonwealth, I believe that the Members of the House will be interested in an article by Maximiano M. Villareal.

Mr. Villareal is a member of several international organizations, including the International Crossroads Sunday Breakfast, Washington, D. C.; Club de las Americas; and life member of Universal Esperanto Association of Europe, and former publicity director of the Esperanto Association of North America in the United States and Canada.

The article which he has prepared follows:

March 16, 1954, is the 433d anniversary of the epic voyage of Ferdinand Magellan to the Phillippines under the sponsorship of the King of Spain. This unique voyage leaves deep and lasting impression into the mind of civilized man.

The greatest and everlasting contribution of this voyage to world history is the introduction of Christianity and the opening of that part of the world to the Western man. It also brought the authentic confirmation and the final solution as to the question regarding the form or shape of the earth. Even Christopher Columbus, until his death, still believed that he had found the coast of Asia. Magellan found the actual fact as the result of his own finding witnessed by himself and his men.

The voyage took Magellan 18 months from the time the fleet sailed from Seville, Spain. While in the Philippines, Magellan told the King of Cebu about his purpose and mission in behalf of the King of Spain and the Christian faith. The native king willingly accepted the Christianity with his own free will. Magellan baptized the king and his people. A formal agreement or treaty between the native king and Magellan was made. This is the first treaty of alliance ever made by civilized men of the Eastern and Western world.

Unfortunately, Magellan himself was unable to make the return voyage to Spain with his fleet as Captain General because he was killed in a battle between his forces against Silapulapu, the Chief of Mactan Island, near Cebu. His remains were not returned to Magellan forces by the natives even for ransom of money. A monument stands today in Mactan in honor of Ferdinand Magellan. Travelers to the Philippines would never like to miss seeing this monument.

The Philippines, after several centuries of friendly association with Magellan's Spain and Columbus' Latin Americas, and those countries of southeast Asia, by its own right stands as a bridge by which means other countries of the world today conduct their foreign affairs which affect countries of the Eastern or Western World.

The United States at this very moment is planning to utilize, or is utilizing, this Philippine experience in the conduct of its foreign policy of cooperation toward certain countries, especially countries that are today members of the world organization—the United Nations.

Today the Philippines, like the United States, has adopted the democratic form of government as it is the desire of the people.

The present government is headed by the brilliant Hon. Ramon Magsaysay as president and the other brilliant Hon. Carlos P. Garcia as vice president and secretary of foreign affairs.

As a member of the United Nations, the Philippines is expected to send delegates to Montevideo, Uruguay, during November and December of 1954 to participate in the importance of adopting the international language Esperanto as second language for learning in every and all schools of all countries of the world. It might be a happy occasion to recollect that members of the first Philippine Assembly were pioneers of the Esperanto movement in the Philippines.

It is greatly hoped that the present educational leaders in the Philippines shall voluntarily initiate the revival of the splendid work of the pioneers, one being the national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, who knows more than 20 languages.

Proving Our Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Toledo Blade entitled "Proving Our Point," March 12, 1954:

PROVING OUR POINT

On the question of reducing the voting age to 18, as proposed by President Eisenhower, Representative FRAZIER REAMS has taken the position that he would support the change if he thought that the young men and women who would be thus enfranchised really wanted the ballot. But he doubts it.

And recently he had inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix an editorial from the Waite High School Sizzle which, on the face of it, supports his position. In it a high-school student had written:

"Like any argument, there are two sides to the question. The strong point of those in favor of 18-year-olds being allowed to vote is that if a boy is old enough to be drafted he's old enough to vote. But what about the girls? Just because a guy can fire a rifle or drive a jeep doesn't mean that he can sensibly wield such a powerful weapon as the freedom to vote.

"Our personal stand is against this privilege. Of course, 18-year-olds are just as well educated as 21-year-olds, but the 3 years between 18 and 21 are 3 important years, experiencewise.

"A man is a lot more worthy of this privilege after he gets out of the Army than before he spends a few years of travel and close companionship with a large variety of boys of his own age and older."

All of which is so thoughtfully said that the Blade, which believes that the voting age should be lowered, is more strongly inclined than ever to reject its conclusion.

Of course, that glib "old enough to fight" slogan is not really the strong point of the argument. No one has yet proposed that the ballot be taken away from men when they get too old to fight or from women who never do. And it is also true that education in the school sense does not by itself make for maturity of judgment.

In our opinion, though, young men and women are best fitted to assume the obligations of citizenship at the time they are leaving high school and are imbued with a sense of civic responsibility which they have obtained from their studies. And we think that this young editorial writer at Waite High School who presents the opposing view so well has, inadvertently, perhaps, but nonetheless effectively, proved our point.

The Liberation of Estonia From Soviet Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the resolution sent to me by Mr. Juhan Vasar, the president of the Estonian National Committee in the United States. Mr. Vasar brought this to my attention in behalf of Estonians in this country. He expressed the hope that I would continue to support their cause, which is aimed at the liberation of Estonia from Soviet tyranny.

Being a member of the Baltic Committee, I am particularly interested in this cause.

The resolution is as follows:

Estonians and friends of Estonia assembled today at a concert meeting in New York, commemorating the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Estonia, have resolved—

To express their gratitude to the Government of the United States for its firm policy of nonrecognition of the absorption of Estonia and the other Baltic Nations into the Soviet Union and for its support in their fight for freedom and restoration of their independence;

To extend this expression of gratitude also to the Members of the Congress of the United States, supporting the cause of Estonia and the other Baltic nations, and in particular to the members of the Baltic Committee of the House of Representatives;

To call attention to the plight of Estonians in their home country and to the urgency of their earliest liberation.

Daily, people in Estonia and other Baltic countries continue to be arrested and deported, subjected to mental and physical torture; religious, spiritual and material value are continuously being tramped on; youth is being corrupted and indoctrinated. If Kremlin's genocidal designs are not to succeed, immediate help is needed.

It is the plea and conviction of those assembled at this commemorative meeting that the great United States, great in power and great in principles will do its best to accelerate the liberation of the unlucky Estonians and other East European peoples from the unbearable Soviet yoke.

Farmers and the State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include an editorial from the April 1954 Farm Journal. I am particularly pleased that Mr. Wheeler McMillen has seen fit to recognize our able colleague from Mississippi, the Honorable JAMIE L. WHITTEN.

The editorial follows:

FARMERS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Farmers are entitled to know how they stand with their country's Department of State. We believe farmers have a right to know more than they have been told and to form their own judgments accordingly.

The Secretary of State and his Department are expected to keep the people of the free world on our side, and, wherever possible, to enlarge the area of freedom. They are asked to do this without getting us into war, and to make sure that we shall have friends.

These are serious responsibilities. Do they justify the State Department's actions affecting agriculture?

American agriculture is not only hurt by lack of foreign sales but is blamed for piling up commodities in storage. Support prices have not been the sole cause of the giant accumulations; State Department policy against vigorous efforts to sell surpluses abroad can be blamed for some of them.

To be more specific, West Germany had dollars with which she desired to buy $3 million worth of American cotton. Under State Department pressure, Germany bought the cotton elsewhere. Likewise Italy had 15 million in dollars to spend for American cotton; the deal went through only after months of State Department resistance.

When a deal had been set up for a large scale of apples to Britain, the State Department blocked it completely. The dollars which the British had intended to pay to American farmers for apples finally came here; but it came for celluloid toys and bubble gum. Industry was favored over agriculture.

If the State Department feels that it must help other countries sell their agricultural products first, in order to keep their friendship, then it, not the United States Department of Agriculture, should shoulder the burden of storing surpluses.

The State Department not only must approve every one of the few agricultural attachés the United States keeps abroad but insists that their reports come to the State Department offices before anyone in Agriculture sees them.

Advocates to trying the two-price system may be sure that State Department objections kept mention of it out of the President's agricultural message.

The State Department contradicts principles of freedom when it stands in the way of free-enterprise efforts to sell American farm products abroad. Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi's statesmanlike Member of Congress, has said, too, that "Farmers join other taxpayers to foot the big bill to rehabilitate other countries. Is it fair that they must contribute additionally by being compelled to hold quantities of farm commodities off the world markets, in order to let other countries sell theirs first?"

The State Department wields more economic power than belongs to it, more perhaps than belongs anywhere in Government. If high supports continue to create still more mountainous surpluses because foreign outlets are denied, then blame for any agricultural depression will have to be shared by those whose policies have prevented sales abroad.

Henry W. Hendley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD at this point a clipping from the Washington Star of February 27, 1954, headed "Henry W. Hendley, Noted Illustrator and Sculptor."

Despite the honors and recognition they receive in their lifetimes, some men succeed in maintaining those qualities of personal retirement and humility which endear them to their fellows. Henry Hendley was such a man. Notwithstanding the successes which came to him as a result of his artistic achievements, Mr. Hendley will be remembered by his fine family and those who knew him well as a truly humble man. It is a pleasure for me to place in the RECORD what has been said of him by a great newspaper. The article follows:

HENRY W. HENDLEY, NOTED ILLUSTRATOR AND SCULPTOR

Henry W. Hendley, 75, retired scientific illustrator for the Bureau of Public Roads, died yesterday at his home, 4310 North Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Va.

A sculptor, Mr. Hendley worked at the Smithsonian Institution from 1901 to 1913, and made the models for the Presidents' wives exhibit there. He also set up the Indian-habitat groups. As an illustrator, modeler, and exhibit designer he won many awards.

WITH BUREAU 35 YEARS

He was with the Roads Bureau for 35 years, and received the silver medal at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915 for his exhibit of Yosemite Valley. He also won honors at the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the Chicago Century of Progress, and the World's Fair in New York.

Mr. Hendley did the models of construction of the Via Appia, still on exhibit at the Smithsonian and the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, and formerly displayed in the Capitol Rotunda.

His exhibit on the construction and benefits of rural highways toured the country before World War I. He illustrated highways of history in 35 dioramas for the Golden Gate Exposition in San Francisco.

Since he retired in 1948, he had sculptured, painted, and made wood carvings.

WAS NATIVE OF WASHINGTON

Mr. Hendley was born in Washington, and studied art under his father, J. W. Hendley, who was also a Smithsonian artist, and Sculptor T. A. Mills, and at the Corcoran School of Art.

Empty Pockets, Theme Song for Federal Judges and Members of Congress?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, first there was Ole Man River, then came Boots and Saddles, then Wagon Wheels. Should the next one be Get Along, Little Judge, Get Along? Or will Empty Pockets get top billing by Federal judges and Members of Congress?

Under leave to extend my remarks, cited below is an article by Hon. Mendon Morrill, member, New Jersey section, American Bar Association, committee on judicial selection, tenure, and compensation, which appears in the February 18, 1954 issue of the New Jersey Law Journal. It is entitled "Federal Judicial Salaries":

FEDERAL JUDICIAL SALARIES

(By Mendon Morrill)

I

Retiring after 35 years on the Federal bench of the southern district of New York, Judge John C. Knox revealed that his total savings amounted to $6,200.

When Chief Justice Vinson died in 1953, after 34 years in public life, his net estate amounted to $1,100.

Judge Simon Rifkind recently left the Federal bench because he couldn't support his family on his salary.

Judge Bolitha Laws testified that his take-home pay today as a Federal judge based on a $15,000 salary is $1,000 less than it was 33 years ago when he was practicing law.

As Governor of California, Earl Warren received the following emoluments: $25,000 salary; a $12,000 expense account; a 20-room house; 2 limousines; a cook, housekeeper, and gardener; about 45 persons on his personal staff; and the use of an airplane. His promotion to Chief Justice increased his salary by $500, gave him 2 secretaries and 3 law clerks and that is all.

II

Salaries of Federal judges from 1900 to the present are shown in the following chart:

	Supreme	Circuit	District
1900	$12,500	$6,000	$5,000
1903		7,000	6,000
1911	14,500		
1919		8,500	7,500
1926	20,000	12,500	10,000
1946	25,000	17,500	15,000

Prior to 1932, these salaries were not taxable. Under the 1932 Revenue Act, these salaries were includible in gross income for Federal income tax purposes for judges taking office after the passage of the act. By an act passed in 1939 the salaries of judges who took office prior to the 1932 act also became includible in gross income for tax purposes.

In 1926 a Supreme Court Justice received a salary of $20,000 and took home $20,000. In 1952 the Justice received $25,000, but his take home pay was under $18,000. The increase of $5,000 to the circuit judges netted them under $1,800, while the same increase to District judges netted them under $2,300. (State income taxes not considered. Federal taxes computed on basis of salary being the only income, wife without income, etc., etc.)

The shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar is a matter of judicial notice. In terms of the 1939 dollar, Congressmen and District Court judges now receive, after taxes, about $6,500.

III

Congress established a Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries under Public Law 220, 83d Congress, C. 353, August 7, 1953. Appointments were made, in equal numbers, from representatives of labor, business, and professions, and agriculture. Eighteen voting members were appointed, 6 by the President, 6 by the Chief Justice, and 3 each by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. Nine nonvoting advisory members were appointed. Bernard L. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association was appointed chairman of the Commission.

The report of the Commission had to be in by January 15, 1954. The Congress must act on the recommendations by March 15, 1954, but with no authority to fix salaries in excess of those recommended by the Commission.

More than 60 witnesses appeared in Washington, representing most of the large and important groupings in the country. For example, the presidents of the AFL and CIO, representatives of the National Grange, the American Bar Association, and of large businesses and business associations.

The report was filed on January 15, 1954.

IV

Principal factors influencing the Commission's recommendations were:

1. Adjustments in salaries of judges and Members of Congress have been made on the average of once in 20 years. There have not been periodic reviews of salaries to provide for continual adjustment for increased living costs and improved standards, as followed in private industry and as insisted on by labor leaders.

2. Compensation for other Federal employees has been adjusted upwards no less than five times since the last increase for Federal judges and Congressmen. These uppings were in line with the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. That Commission also recommended uppings for Federal judges and Congressmen—without avail.

3. The extent and complexity of the burdens of judges and Congressmen have expanded greatly. Top-flight men are needed.

4. The danger that the offices in question will be open only to citizens of independent wealth. (The other alternative that comes to mind is too horrible to contemplate.)

V

Some of the Commission's findings as to the salaries in question are:

1. They have not kept pace with the growth of the duties and responsibilities of the offices.

2. They are low compared to salaries paid for similar ability and less responsibility in private enterprise.

3. They have lagged behind while other Federal salaries were being adjusted upward.

4. They are grossly inadequate.

5. They tend to confine these important positions to persons of independent means or outside income.

6. The net cost to the Government of the recommended increases is small in relation to the immense benefit to the public welfare—in round figures, 4½ million for Congress and 3 million for Federal Judges, for a total of one one-hundredth of 1 percent of the Federal budget.

VI

Principal salary recommendations follow. Patent Court, etc. are omitted, as are travel and expense funds, and the like.

Chief Justice	$40,000
Associate Justices	39,500
Vice President	40,000
Speaker of the House	$40,000
Court of appeals	30,500
District court	27,500
Congressmen	27,500

VII

Here are some miscellaneous items included in the Report.

The judges of the Supreme Court of New York, a trial court, receive a salary of $30,000.

Thirteen of the highest paid executives of labor organizations receive from $20,000 to $50,000 per year in salary.

Top officials of our largest corporations average about $120,000 per year, not to mention bonuses, retirement rights, stock purchase rights, etc.

In the past 12 years the number of civil cases in the Federal courts have increased 66 percent. In 1953, there were actually filed 101,292 cases in district courts before 224 judges.

A Federal judge handles such varied matters as patents, copyrights, bankruptcy, admiralty, securities, corporate reorganization, crimes, anti-trust and other types of suits generally tried in the State courts which may be removed to the Federal courts.

The average length of Congressional session is now 279 days. Then there is committee work and work at the demand of constituents, the latter greatly increased since the expansion of administrative agencies.

In 1946 the President received a salary 3 times greater than Supreme Court Justices. Today it is six times as much.

VIII

Any reader who has had the fortitude to venture this far in the article may have noticed the absence of argument, attempt at persuasion or emotional appeal up to this point. Notice is now given that this objective approach is abandoned, albeit not completely.

Another point to be made now is that the foregoing data mainly concerned or referred to the Federal Judiciary as compared with the Members of Congress. This is because the writer, by profession, has more contact with judges than with Congressmen, and because he believes that the bar, as a whole, understands the salary question of judges better than it does that of Congressmen. Let no inference be drawn that the author opines that the lot of the Congressman is happier than that of the judge. Both are equally worthy of sympathetic consideration.

Recently, the New Jersey Legislature passed law under which district court judges, working full time, would get $14,000. Our county judges get $16,000. Federal district court judges get $15,000.

Our superior court judges get $20,000. Judges of the court of appeals are paid $17,500.

Our supreme court justices receive $24,000. Justices of the United States Supreme Court have salaries of $25,000 per year.

There is a vacancy in the district court, in a State like New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, etc. How many leaders of the bar are interested? Some, with independent means, of course; a very few with no separate income, of course. But, who wants the responsibility and terror of a Judge Medina (Smith Act)? Or of a Judge Kaufman (the Rosenbergs)? Or of Judge A, handling a railroad reorganization? Or of Judge B presiding over patent litigation with 300 exhibits and 20 expert engineers as witnesses? And for $15,000 a year—when their rewards in private practice are 3 and 4 times as great with much more leisure?

An aroused bar can be of service. Let your Congressman and our Senators know how you feel about the matter. Write to them. They need and welcome support. The deadline for legislative action is March 15. Act now. The opportunity may not be here again for a long time to come.

Increasing the Borrowing Authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT CROSSER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7339) to increase the borrowing power of Commodity Credit Corporation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized.

DEFEAT MONOPOLY'S OPPOSITION TO COMPULSORY COMPETITION BY LENDERS ON PUBLIC UTILITY SECURITIES

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Chairman, recently the special interests have been striving desperately to do away with the regulation adopted by the Securities and Exchange Commission to compel competitive bidding among those desiring to purchase securities of registered public utility holding companies and their subsidiaries. It is reported also that the present Securities and Exchange Commission is planning to limit the competitive bidding Rule, which was adopted pursuant to requirements of the Public Utility Holding Company Act, and to narrow the scope of Rule U-50 to such extent as will make it almost useless, and therefore would release public utility companies almost entirely from the requirements of Rule U-50. This apparently harmless proposal strikes at the very foundation of the Commission's regulation requiring competitive bidding. It would greatly harm the many millions of consumers in this Nation. It would also do gross injustice to the many owners of public utility securities by forcing such security owners to pay unreasonably high charges for the services of especially favored banks or other lenders of money on the stocks and bonds of public utility companies.

Mr. Chairman, if there be any present who would minimize the danger just mentioned, let me quote in part Burns' advice to a young friend, when he said:

> But Och! mankind are unco weak
> An' little to be trusted;
> If Self the wavering balance shake
> It's rarely right adjusted!

I remember well when, early in 1941, the Securities and Exchange Commission was considering the adoption of a regulation to enforce competitive bidding among lenders of money on public-utility securities. By invitation of the Commission I spoke in favor of the adoption of a regulation compelling competitive bidding among those seeking to loan money on securities of public-utility companies. I was pleased to learn later that the Commission had adopted rule U-50 providing for compulsory competitive bidding.

The rule adopted by the Commission requiring competitive bidding has been in force for 13 years. It has helped to

lessen the cost of securing capital by public-utility companies, and assisted in establishing and continuing conditions favorable to competitive bidding in financing operations in general. Why, then, should the Commission even seriously consider, much less strive to disturb this very desirable situation?

Mr. Chairman, competition is clearly necessary in the democratic system of free enterprise. Because competition is essential for the development of individual initiative and the system of free enterprise, and in order to make as sure as possible, the development and continuation of such competitive conditions in industry and commerce, Congress passed the Sherman antitrust law, the Clayton antitrust law, and the Federal Trade Commission law. These measures were passed in order to prohibit the making of harmful and unjust arrangements for the purpose of preventing free and open buying and the selling of commodities or property of any kind. The laws just mentioned aimed also, of course, to provide for the continuance and improvement of conditions necessary for free and fair competition.

In view of the facts just mentioned, it is then proper to ask those who claim to favor the free-enterprise system, those alleged champions of fair dealing, why any one should be allowed to interfere with competitive bidding in the sale of public utility securities?

The especially favored bankers and other lenders who are eager to abolish the competitive bidding rule, continually prattle about free enterprise and chirp about individual initiative. If, however, they can succeed in having wiped off the books, the regulation which provides for compulsory bidding, it would not be at all possible for individual initiative or free enterprise to continue. If we allow utility officials to go back to the evil system of the good old days when they made deals, in private, and confidentially, with especially privileged lenders, it is clear that other lenders of capital, not in the charmed circle of favored banks, would have no opportunity to lend money to public utilities, at a lower charge and on terms which, also in other respects, would be fairer, from the standpoint of the consumers, who must buy electricity, gas, or other commodities furnished by public utility companies. Without competition, public utility companies are forced to pay for loans, unreasonably high charges to especially favored lenders. In addition however to the advantage of competition to the consumers, it would be much fairer to the owners of public utility securities to compel competitive bidding by lenders in connection with their offers to furnish capital. Without such proper supervision and regulation, however, and according to the old, discredited, indefensible custom, such utility companies are compelled to pay for such loans, the excessive charges made by favored bankers.

Uncontrolled by any proper official regulation as to charges for furnishing such capital, great money lenders in the charmed circle are then allowed to maneuver for the privilege of financing public utilities. Free from governmental control, it is easy to see that such especially favored financiers are then able to demand and collect from public-utility companies, charges altogether out of reason for their alleged service. Moreover, even a worse evil is the fact that in order to secure the money necessary to pay to especially privileged lenders, their unjust, unreasonable, and unwarranted charges for furnishing capital to the utility companies, the public-utility companies are forced to mulct the public, consisting of you and me and every other consumer in this Nation.

Public-utility companies require large amounts of capital to provide their necessary plant and equipment. The cost, to utility companies, of securing such capital is, therefore, a substantial and very important part of their expense, an expense which must finally be paid with money, collected from the consuming public, by utility companies, who naturally charge unreasonably high prices for their gas, electric current, or for other utility product, derived from the natural resources provided for by the Creator. The only way, to be sure that needed capital will be secured by utility companies at the lowest possible cost, is to provide, by law, that competition, by banks and other lenders, for the right to furnish such capital, to public-utility companies, must be altogether free from coercion by lending institutions.

The public welfare, the protection of consumers and also the rights of owners of public-utility securities, all demand that requirement that competitive bidding, in the sale of utility securities, should continue in full force and effect. Moreover, the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 clearly stated that the agency of the Government which was authorized and directed to administer said act was the Securities and Exchange Commission. That was an order by the highest lawmaking authority of the United States.

In that act just mentioned, Congress condemned the shocking evils, connected with financing arrangements by utility companies, due to the lack of free, uncontrolled, and uncoerced dealing.

In the light of what has been said, the Commission, according to every standard of duty, should wholeheartedly uphold the act. The lack of opportunity for the utility companies to secure capital at reasonable cost, results in great injury to consumers, to owners of public utility securities, and to the general public. Congress, therefore, as already stated, ordered that these evils be thoroughly uprooted and ended forever.

Nevertheless one of the largest institutions, engaged in the business of financing public-utility companies, bluntly states in public print:

> We do not believe in compulsory competitive bidding for corporate securities.

Mr. Chairman, we know that for many years the evil of monopoly has been condemned almost unanimously by public opinion. We have noted also the efforts of Congress for generations to plan antitrust and antimonopoly laws to protect the general public and to assure the people as fully as possible, of freedom from unfair and evil practices in the buying and selling of commodities. It is, therefore, unbelievable, yes, astounding, that in one of the most important markets of all, namely, the money market, there should be a sinister power which can flout public opinion, and sneer at efforts to assure true freedom in bargaining for the purchase of credit.

The situation is explained, to some extent, by the old saying that "power grows on what it feeds on." Those, therefore, who succeed in being especially favored in matters of business, yes, such presumptuous persons, always become more arrogant as their power, resulting from their special privileges, increases. It is regrettable, however, that, with the continued growth of such power, there is also, on the part of the power's victims, the people, a tendency to regard as futile any effort to outlaw or resist such unwarranted use of power. Referring to such feeling of futility on the part of many and, to their timidity about supporting a just cause, James Russell Lowell expressed the true idea forcibly and effectively in the lines, which I quote as follows:

> They are slaves who fear to speak
> For the fallen and the weak,
> They are slaves who will not choose
> Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
> Rather than in silence shrink
> From the Truth they need but think.
> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three.

Personal Income-Tax Exemption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, since the question of increasing the personal income-tax exemption will be before the House this week, it seems appropriate to review an editorial which appeared in the San Mateo Times in California on March 8, which was as follows:

> The personal $600 income-tax exemption granted each taxpayer is coming under heavy attack by Members of the House. At least half a dozen Congressmen have advanced plans to raise the exemption. Figures mentioned as the new exemption range all the way from $700 to $1,500.
>
> An exemption of $700 instead of $600 a year wouldn't mean much to the average taxpayer, although it would cut into the Government's revenue to a noticeable extent. A $1,500 exemption hasn't a chance, even in an election year.
>
> Those who propose raising the exemption lean most heavily on the old argument of "taxation according to ability to pay," which, translated, means "Government take all but subsistence money." That is, raising the exemption which would benefit the small taxpayer most. Obviously, such a step would not have much impact on the amount of taxes paid by a taxpayer with an income of $100,000 a year or more.
>
> The Treasury's argument against increasing the exemption is that the Government cannot afford the loss of revenue. This loss,

according to the Treasury's figures, would amount to $2,500,000,000 in the case of an exemption increase to $700, and $10 billion if the exemption were raised to $1,000.

To date the House Ways and Means Committee has agreed that the $600 limit which a child may earn and still be classed as a dependent is too low and could be adjusted without a great loss of Government revenue.

Washington Ordered, "Keep the Day," in Celebration of St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to cite below a thoroughly refreshing article which appears in the March 13, 1954, issue of the Advocate, official publication of the archdiocese of Newark and of the diocese of Paterson, N. J. It is entitled, in effect, "Roll Out the Barrel, Boys, in Celebration of St. Patrick, General Washington, and the Continental Army."

Here we go:

WASHINGTON ORDERED, "KEEP THE DAY," IN CELEBRATION OF ST. PATRICK'S DAY

(By William F. Judkins, Jr.)

MORRISTOWN.—The men of the Continental Army in the War for Independence undoubtedly had their gloomy days, but certainly St. Patrick's Day wasn't one of them.

It should be of real interest to every transplanted son of Erin, particularly at this time of the year, to know that George Washington was a sincere friend of the Irish and never permitted the feast day of the great saint to pass without official notice.

Practically every serviceman and veteran has at some time or other come across the phrase, "the wish of the commanding officer is tantamount to a general order." Things in this respect were no different in the Army of the 1770's and 1780's.

Thus it is that among the original documents in the possession of the museum at the Morristown National Historical Park is the following entry in the order book of the Pennsylvania Brigade:

"Division orders, March 17, 1780.

"'The commanding officer, desirous that the celebration of this day should not pass by without having a little rum issued to the troops, has thought proper to direct commissary night to find for a hogshead which the colonel has purchased for this express purpose in the vicinity of camp.

"While the troops are celebrating the anniversary of St. Patrick in innocent mirth and pastime, he hopes they will not forget our worthy friends in the kingdom of Ireland who with the greatest unanimity have stepped forth in opposition to the tyranny of Great Britain and who like us are determined to be free.

"The colonel expects the troops will conduct themselves with the greatest sobriety and in good order.

"FRANCIS JOHNSTON,
"Colonel Commander, 5th Pennsylvania Brigade."

In this particular instance the action of the above officer stemmed from something more substantial than a subordinate's acknowledgment of the commander's wish. The general was quite explicit in his own order issued the previous day from his Morristown headquarters.

It seems, according to Fitzpatrick's The Writings of Washington, that the Irish Parliament had petitioned Great Britain for the removal of trade restrictions, and Lord North had announced in the British Parliament that the petition would most likely receive favorable consideration.

Washington's comments on these proceedings were contained in his order issued at Morristown and dated March 16, 1780. It reads as follows:

"The general congratulates the army on the very interesting proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland and of the inhabitants of that country which have been lately communicated; not only as they appear calculated to remove those heavy and tyrannical oppressions on their trade, but to restore to a brave and generous people their ancient rights and freedom and by their operation to promote the cause of America. Desirous of impressing on the minds of the army, transactions so important in their nature, the general directs that all fatigue and working parties cease for tomorrow the 17th, a day held in particular regard by the people of that nation. At the same time that he orders this he persuades himself that the celebration of the day will not be attended with the least rioting or disorder. The officers to be at their quarters in camp and the troops of each State line are to keep within their own encampment."

Fitzpatrick's volumes, which were sifted for the writer by Dr. Francis Ronald, coordinating superintendent of the National Park Service at Morristown, show several other instances of Washington's regard for the Irish in his command, and his realization of the veneration in which they held St. Patrick.

The first mention of St. Patrick in official Army documents is in an order issued at headquarters, Cambridge, Mass., on March 17, 1776. The "Parole" was given as "Boston" and the countersign of the day "St. Patrick." That, by the way, was the day Howe and his troops evacuated Boston.

Again, in his diary's entry for March 17, 1778, Allen McLane, colonel of partisan troops during the Revolution, wrote the following:

"General Washington at Valley Forge had the army 'keep the day.' He, therefore, ordered extra drink to every man in his command and thus all made merry and were good friends."

The friendly relationship between the first President and the Irish was by no means onesided. The latter were fully appreciative of the general's regard and one organization in particular took special steps to reciprocate. This was the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of Philadelphia, which presented George Washington with the gold medal or badge of the society.

Again, according to Fitzpatrick, the badge "was of the value of three guineas. On the obverse was the figure of Hibernia, at the right; on the left, America; in the center, Liberty joining the hands of Hibernia and America. Hibernia was supported by a harp and America was depicted as an Indian. Underneath was the word 'unite.' On the reverse was St. Patrick, cross in hand, trampling on a snake. The motto was 'Hiar.'"

Responding to the presentation, Washington, on December 24, 1781, wrote the following letter to George Campbell, president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick:

"SIR: I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in this city. A society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked.

"Give me leave to assure you, sir, that I shall never cast my eyes upon the badge with which I am honored but with a grateful remembrance of the polite and affectionate manner in which it was presented."

Civil Functions, Department of the Army Appropriation Act, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, this bill, the civil functions of the Department of the Army Appropriation Act for 1955, H. R. 8367, provides for $2,124,000 for procurement of headstones for the graves of veterans during fiscal 1955. The anticipated number of applications to be received in fiscal year 1955 is 87,340. This is apparently based on an estimate of 101,510 markers to be purchased during the coming fiscal year. These markers come in seven types, the average price of which is $20.10. There must be added, however, to this price the cost of procurement and shipping. No figures are available but certainly when the total cost of the administration in this branch of the Army amounts to approximately one-half million dollars it is reasonable to assume that an additional cost of $5 for each marker is normal.

I do not wish to suggest that $25 for a headstone or grave marker for the veterans of our wars is too large a price to pay if value is received. The fact is, however, the issuance of seven types of grave markers for veterans' graves is not at all satisfactory to all families of veterans. Therefore, I introduced at the beginning of the last session of this Congress, H. R. 1302 to authorize the Secretary of Defense to make a montetary allowance in lieu of headstones or markers for certain graves.

This bill would permit the Army to furnish to the next of kin of a veteran $25 in lieu of the headstone which is now offered. I introduced this bill at the request of many veterans in the interest of correcting a wasteful and unsatisfactory situation which exists under the present practice.

The standard practice now is for the family of a deceased veteran to order a headstone or gravemarker through the Veterans' Administration. Very few fail to order and eventually to secure this standard type of marker. In many cases they are ordered because they are free and never are placed on the graves. They frequently do not match up with the other stones on the family burial plot. The family then purchases a suitable and satisfactory stone and this one which the Army has bought is discarded.

Under this bill which I have introduced the Secretary of Defense upon receipt of the administrator or executor of the estate, or next of kin, of proper proof that there has been purchased and received a marker or headstone chosen by the next of kin with the consent of the administrator or executor which will conform with monumental work upon the family plot or with those in the vicinity, is authorized to make an allowance not to extend $25 in lieu of furnishing a headstone. This is not only in

keeping with our principles of free enterprise but it offers the opportunity to the family of the veteran to have a marker which will better express the feeling of love and respect which they desire to show for the veteran. It will surely carry out our Government's desire to properly mark the graves of its veterans. It will permit the family to choose a suitable marker in keeping with their ability to pay. If the family cannot afford to pay more than $25 they still have the choice of getting the marker from the Government or to use the money to purchase one from their local monument builder. They can at least have the choice of the color of stone and type of inscription.

This will insure that the Government will not be spending $25 or more in furnishing a marker which will never be used. It will give to those desiring to spend more money a contribution toward a more costly and elaborate monument. It will also, Mr. Speaker, assure the Government that the wasteful practice of having these monuments ordered and then not used will be ended.

I recognize that under this appropriation bill which we are now considering that no amendment is available to change the method of making provision for grave markers for our veterans. I am calling this to the attention of the Members of the House at this time because I feel that when we are appropriating for the year of 1955, $2,124,000 that we should consider the adoption of H. R. 1302 which will save the taxpayers money and give to the families of our deceased veterans the kind of marker which they desire for the graves of their loved ones.

Evan Sholl's Faith in God and America Is an Inspiration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I would like to pay tribute to one of Washington's leading businessmen, Evan Sholl, of Sholl's Cafeterias.

This week I received a letter from Mr. Sholl in which he made some inspiring remarks on the necessity of taking God into partnership with us in our home, our business, and our country. In these troubled days, Mr. Sholl's message holds out great hope to us in America.

We need the kind of men Mr. Sholl represents in American business, in Government, and in every walk of life. Our greatest weapon against communism, which seeks to destroy us, is our faith in God.

Mr. Sholl's message in part follows:

We are nearer a world peace; America has grown strong in the past because it has had the love of God in home, work, and country. Today, America can remain on top in directing and guiding world peace, if we keep the love of God in home, work, and country. Whenever that thought can be conveyed to the people of these great United States, it should be expressed; and, you, as our representative, so often have the opportunity to do so.

The grace of God is ever important in making any decision, no matter how big or small. "Religion and patriotism are necessary in the home, in business, and in our country," can well be a guide and slogan to a greater America and a peace-loving world.

Cal-Sag: The Channel That Just Grew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am inserting an article entitled "Cal-Sag: The Channel That Just Grew," by Mr. Anthony A. Olis, president of the Sanitary District of Chicago.

This article will appear in the March issue of Marine News, which will be released this week.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend the trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago for the splendid administrative job they have done on the Cal-Sag Channel under the leadership and direction of Mr. Olis, the president. Mr. Olis has given the Sanitary District of Chicago a very fine, efficient, and economical administration:

CAL-SAG: THE CHANNEL THAT JUST GREW

(By Anthony A. Olis, president, the Sanitary District of Chicago)

As the present inadequate Calumet-Sag Channel became more a heated national issue during the past year a great number of people were amazed to discover that an independent government body in Cook County was also up to its neck in the business of navigation. Sometimes we who are responsible for the operation of the Chicago Sanitary District have found ourselves sharing that amazement.

Up until the present, however, there has not been much that any of us could do about our strange position and stranger—and sometimes bewildering—responsibility that stems from our being in the navigation business. For we own the Calumet-Sag Channel, the banks on either side for approximately 200 feet, the Blue Island locks, and all the rest that goes to make up Cal-Sag. And, frankly, most of the time we wish that we were well out of this business of navigation that properly belongs to the Federal Government, for our business is that of treating and disposing of the sewage and industrial wastes of the second largest city in the United States. That is a big enough job without the added headaches of a canal system with two locks that must be maintained and operated without the collection of tolls to help defray those maintenance costs.

I know only too well what the first natural reaction of a lot of people will be to that statement. A lot of them will ask, "Then why are you in the navigation business?" Or, "Why don't you get out of it?" To these questions there is only a rather complicated answer. In fact, to understand the strange position in which we have been placed it is necessary to understand Chicago, its unique geographical position and the challenging problems that have arisen as the city grew so robustly and gigantically through the years.

The one factor that forced the growth of Chicago since it was a sprawling village at the foot of Lake Michigan was its geographical position. For, there, where Lake Michigan thrust itself down into the heart of the continent, squarely across the natural east-west flow of trade and traffic, lay the focal center of continental trade and transportation. But, the sad truth of the matter is that, while the gegoraphical position of Chicago was magnificent, the building site for the city was incredibly bad.

As the village grew into a town with the waters of Lake Michigan at its front door, it stood with a barrier at its back, a ridge of land that separated the town from the magnificent system of inland waterways that bore the commerce of the continent south to the Gulf of Mexico and the seas beyond. The land upon which the town stood was little better than a huge mudhole, and in the spring when the frost left the ground the streets of the town became bottomless sloughs. From that mudhole the sewage of the rising town flowed naturally into the lake from which it drew its drinking water.

From the time of the early explorers, the dream of Chicago was the possession of a canal that would link the Great Lakes to the vast Mississippi Waterway system. But that was an ambitious dream and one that was not absolutely imperative of realization, for Chicago could and did grow in spite of the fact that no such major canal materialized. But the other disadvantageous factors represented problems that demanded solution if Chicago were to arise as the giant of the mid-continent area.

It had to drain its low lying and marshy area and it had to dispose of its sewage inland if it were not to poison the water by which it lived. Because of this latter major challenge the Chicago Sanitary District came into being in 1889 to become the agency that has worked a major miracle and played a huge part in making possible the tremendous growth of the city.

During the early years of Chicago's history, sewage was dumped into the Chicago River and carried into the lake. In an attempt to get a supply of pure water for the city, cribs were built 3 miles offshore and water pumped in from there to the city. For a while this strategy worked, but it was at best a stopgap that the continued growth of the city constantly threatened.

In 1886 a flash flood brought the crisis that was inevitable. That flash flood, swelling the volume of the river, pushed the sewage out to the cribs to pollute the source of the water supply. With this occurrence a typhoid epidemic swept the city, and an aroused public opinion demanded that drastic measures of reform be taken. After the engineers had surveyed the situation and made their reports the act that brought the sanitary district into being was passed in 1889.

In 1890 work was begun on the project that was to make Chicago's position as a city as safe as it was strong. For in that year the task of reversing the flow of the Chicago River and constructing the sanitary and ship canal was attacked in earnest.

Of course, the problem was not solved by this move, for raw sewage that hitherto had gone into the lake now went through the canals and streams to pollute down-State rivers and arouse the ire of the communities along their banks.

But it was here, in the sanitary and ship canal, that we see the first wedding of the essential demand created by the city's sewage problem and the age-old dream of the channel connecting the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Waterway system—and it was the

natural fusing of these two factors that put the sanitary district into the navigation business from which it has yet to extricate itself.

The way it came about was most natural. The sanitary canal that had become so essential had to be a sizable one, one that naturally could well float the barges that carried the freight on the inland waterways; and, strangely enough, the needs contingent upon sewage disposal and navigation roughly coincided. The volume of water necessary for proper dilution of sewage was about what was necessary for any kind of navigation. So freight volume on the canal grew as the sanitation needs of the city grew.

Later, when it became necessary to cope with the population and industrial growth that was surging southward, the Calumet-Sag Channel was constructed. Here again the two factors coincided and, like the main canal constructed through Chicago, the Calumet Sag became a sanitary and ship canal that, inadequate as it was, contributed largely to the industrial expansion in the Calumet area.

In the 1920's, with Chicago's population passing the 3 million mark, the old method of disposing of sewage became manifestly impossible on every count. Pollution of the streams down-State had reached critical proportions, while more and more water was being diverted from Lake Michigan. But, in spite of this, the condition of the water in the channels became almost as impossible from a navigational standpoint as it was from that of sanitation.

Something had to be done and was done. The sanitary district began the construction of plants for the treatment of sewage. From the 1920's forward the progress in this direction was steady and nothing short of amazing. Today, five sewage treatment plants function in the largest operation of its kind in the world—and we who share the responsibility for this great operation like to believe that it is also the most efficient and satisfactory one of its kind in the world.

Gradually, as sewage treatment, which includes the treatment of industrial wastes, became more and more efficient the problem of the pollution of downstate streams vanished. Some idea of the efficiency of this operation can be gained from the realization that in our present operations 94 percent of solids are removed from a staggering total of 1,100,000,000 gallons of sewage every day. This means that there remains in the effluent, or treated liquids, only miscroscopic traces of waste matter. Actually, this effluent, as it goes into the channels, could not be distinguished by the naked eye as any less clear than water taken directly from the lake.

In our system of sewage treatment we completely get rid of all waste matter, for the solids removed are dehydrated to become fertilizer that is shipped south and west to agricultural users. Thus, practically the whole of Chicago's sewage and industrial waste is handled in such a manner that pollution in all its forms has all but vanished.

This account of the tremendous strides taken in the handling of Chicago's sewage and industrial wastes has a great bearing on the development of the sanitary and ship canal and the Cal-Sag Channel as carriers of freight. For, had not these advances been made, use of these channels as barge canals would have been almost impossible. And it was because this progress was registered that navigational use of these channels grew steadily year after year.

For example, in 1935 the Cal-Sag Channel carried only about 43,000 tons of freight. From that date forward, however, traffic on the canal grew steadily, with World War II forcing greater and greater activity on the channel. By 1944 tonnage carried on the Cal-Sag had passed the million-tons-a-year mark and in 1948 it had doubled to reach the 2 million ton mark. In 1953 some 3 million tons of freight was carried.

Here we have an amazing set of figures, especially in view of the fact that Cal-Sag was originally conceived and constructed as a sanitary canal with its navigational features being purely coincidental. But as we noted earlier, the dream based on potential transportation needs had always been that of a canal connecting the huge volume of Great Lakes shipping with the mighty system of waterways formed by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

At this present time as Congress contemplates the absolutely necessary improvements and expansions called for on the Cal-Sag, it is highly interesting to note the money that has already been expended on this vital waterway link. And this definitely should be noted, since it was because of these expenditures that we now have a channel suitable for widening, deepening, and modernization called for if it is to play the major role that is now demanded.

The Cal-Sag project, we are told, calls for the expenditure of well over $100 million. Certainly this is, as all concerned agree, a lot of money. But it ceases to look so huge when we pause to consider what has already been spent by the sanitary district, by the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois on what might be called our local segment of inland waterways.

This program of construction began, as we have seen, before the turn of the century. Between 1890 and 1900 the sanitary district spent $36 million to build the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, and one should pause to remember that a dollar was indeed a dollar in those days. Indeed, if we compare construction costs at that time to those prevailing today we find that it now would cost about $198 million to do the same job. Between 1911 and 1922 the sanitary district spent $14,600,000 on the construction of the Cal-Sag. By present day cost indices this job would have cost us nearly $40 million.

If we add up the total of money expended on our waterways in this general area, we find that the sanitary district, the State of Illinois and the city of Chicago, between 1890 and 1936, spent over $83 million on the various projects. And this total, if we take today's construction cost indices, would amount to over $350 million.

Of course the bulk of this was spent under the pressure of sanitation needs and demands. But one must never forget that the navigational features went along naturally. Today, it would be impossible to say just how much of the large sums expended on this channel went for sanitation purposes and how much for navigation, but we do know that navigation receives the benefits of all the money actually spent on sanitation.

As a result of all this, Chicago has come a lot closer to the realization of its dream of its waterway link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi system. For the Cal-Sag Channel, even though archaic and inadequate in its present condition, is most definitely there, waiting to be modernized at a mere fraction of its total potential worth, and the pressure to carry forward that modernization grows more pressing with each passing year. For, there at the end of the Cal-Sag Channel, there has arisen one of the most substantial and productive industrial expansions to be found in the Midwest. This industrial expansion, a key factor in industrial prosperity and national defense, now demands that Cal-Sag be transformed into the key waterway link that its position demands.

As we watch the wide public interest, industrial demand and legislative concern pushing the Cal-Sag project toward realization we cannot be blamed for indulging in a little quiet self-satisfaction. For we brought Cal-Sag into being and carried it forward to its present status. In so doing we made the first constructive move toward bringing about the realization of Chicago's dream and toward a realization of the patent destiny of Chicago as a great inland port.

Our own position on Cal-Sag is quite clear. We still believe that our being in the navigation business does not make good sense. We frankly want out of it. We stand ready to cooperate in the fullest possible manner with the Federal Government as it begins to exhibit an interest in remaking Cal-Sag along the lines that present-day economic and industrial conditions demand.

We want to see Cal-Sag widened and deepened—and we unequivocally support the Chicago Cal-Sag Committee in its vigorous program of education and action aimed at bringing this about. We are in full cooperation with Anthony G. Allison, who has spearheaded the tremendous drive to get the Cal-Sag project under way, and with John L. Killian, who is so ably handling the necessary legislative work for that committee.

We repeat—we want to get out of the navigation business, of the necessity of maintaining and operating locks for navigational purposes. They should properly be under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and yet the Federal Government has consistently refused to assume its responsibility in this respect.

We might add that while we have been operating locks for purely navigational purposes we have yet to collect a single toll. For those who framed the statutes governing the operations of the sanitary district fully realized the implications involved and decreed that no tolls should ever be collected at these locks. Obviously, we thus have been shouldering a burden of cost that certainly has nothing to do with the business of sanitation and sewage disposal. And, naturally, we would like to see that cost borne by those segments of Government that are in the business of navigation.

We believe that Cal-Sag is a navigational "must." No contrary position could be taken by anyone with even a smattering of knowledge of the factors involved. And we have believed this for a longer time than have most people, for we knew it years ago when the pioneering barges pushed along the channel in spite of all handicaps and limitations.

Now we would like to see those handicaps and limitations finally wiped out, and anyone who tackles the job will find full cooperation waiting in the Chicago Sanitary District.

Civil Functions Appropriation Act, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SID SIMPSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, having introduced the original authorization for additional flood protection for Beardstown, Ill., I wish to publicly thank the Civil Functions Subcommittee members and Chairman DAVIS for its inclusion in the appropriation bill before the House of Representatives today. I want the full House Appropriations Committee and Chairman TABER to know of my personal appreciation.

The protection is needed and justified or I would not have introduced the authorization resolution.

The subcommittee, the full committee, and the House of Representatives will never regret the included amount of

$400,000 for the prosecution of work on the flood project at Beardstown, which is so badly in need of repairs and strengthening.

This Illinois city of 6,000 people, with its complement of churches, schools, factories, stores, and railroad shops, I am sure, join with me today in even more appreciation than I can transmit.

Development of Mobile Harbor, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK W. BOYKIN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BOYKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following statements of witnesses who appeared before the Public Works Committee, March 9, 1954, in connection with the improvement of Mobile Harbor, which would include the deepening of the Mobile channel from the Gulf of Mexico to the city of Mobile.

In my judgment, the deepening of the Mobile Channel will mean more to more people, not only in Alabama, but many other States, than any other project. New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and other States have tremendous plants located in Alabama from the gulf to the Tennessee line.

I take pleasure and pride in introducing these statements so that not only the members of the committee, but all the Members of Congress, and all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may have this interesting information:

STATEMENT OF H. A. GUTHANS, CHAIRMAN, PORT DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

On the subject of the proposed improvement of the Mobile ship channel, it is a privilege for me to appear before this committee on behalf of the Mobile Chamber of Commerce, as its chairman of the Port Development Committee, an assignment that I have enjoyed since 1947. My appearance here today is principally in the interest of bringing to the attention of this committee information supplemental to that which was gathered by the United States engineers November 1, 1949, when hearing was held at Mobile, Ala. The engineers' hearing generated an astounding amount of interest and testimony clearly indicating that the need of channel improvements was not only a matter of immediate concern, but one that was probably too long deferred.

In support of this contention, we refer to the findings of the United States engineers which establishes very high economic justification for the improvements. In preparation of the report figures are set down for the accomplishment in three stages and are based on cost of the project and the return annually for each dollar expended, including dredging, maintenance, interest, and amortization. The figures are as follows:

Depth of channel (feet)	Return annually for each dollar expended	Cost
36	$3.30	$3,588,000
38	3.11	4,857,000
40	2.77	6,971,000

We understand by comparison that this project carries one of the highest benefit ratings of all projects presently under consideration.

These figures are by no means current and even though we understand that they were projected for a 2-year period after hearing date, during the additional 2-years that have elapsed there has been an increase in tonnage that is much in excess of the average on which the original figures are based.

Before setting down some of the factors which have intensified the need of this channel improvement, I would like to call attention to the time lag which in this instance has become a matter of serious consequence. Four years and four months have elapsed since the engineer's hearing was held. We believe that the testimony gathered by the engineers clearly indicated the need of the improved channel as of the date of the hearing. The extent of further delay, of course, is in the hands of the Congress.

In the meantime, the need of channel improvements steadily becomes more imperative. Some of the factors which have contributed to the changing conditions are as follows:

A. In 1948 there were 240 vessels using the channel which carried a draft of between 27 and 32 feet. In 1953, 637 vessels in the same category were handled over the channel.

B. The Alabama State Docks completed last year a shipside grain elevator having a storage capacity of 1,600,000 bushels.

C. The Alabama State Docks has within the past year or two expanded its bulk-handling plant to provide 40 percent of additional capacity with one additional ship berth and one additional bulk-handling tower, expending $1,400,000 for these improvements.

D. The Aluminum Ore Co. has recently expanded its bauxite reduction plant and on March 1 this year, made an announcement in the public press that the Mobile plant was now the largest of its kind in the United States, with a capacity of producing sufficient alumina from bauxite ore to smelt 400,000 tons of aluminum annually.

E. The Tennessee Co. of Birmingham, Ala., who at the time of the engineer's hearing, were undertaking a study to determine selection of a suitable gulf port for the importation of foreign iron ore have in the past 2 years constructed in Mobile an enormous bulk handling plant which will within a month or two commence operations on a schedule of handling approximately 3 million tons of this raw material annually.

The bauxite company and the steel company, as referred to in D and E, anticipate the importation of their respective raw materials in very large vessels, and until such time as an adequate channel has been provided, these vessels could be used only under light loaded conditions. Not only does such an arrangement bring about high transportation costs but in event of emergency, light loading of vessels of this kind would indeed be deplorable.

F. The Brookley Air Force Base has within recent months inaugurated a practice of bringing Navy carrier vessels loaded with planes for repairs or modifications for discharge at Brookley Air Force wharf. When these carriers come into our channel all other traffic must be halted by the Coast Guard because of an inadequate channel width.

G. The Navy, on one occasion of a carrier's visit to Brookley Air Force, put the carrier into the Alabama Dry Dock & Shipbuilding Co. plant for docking and repairs. The port of Mobile has beyond question the best equipped ship repair plant and drydock facilities in the gulf.

H. Tonnage handled by the port has substantially increased in volume as will later be covered in detail by the general manager of the Alabama State docks.

The port of Mobile is outstanding in its possession of three separate and distinct bulk cargo handling plants. Such commodities as bauxite, iron ore, manganese, coal, nitrate, phosphate rock, and sulfur are customarily handled. It is indeed a modest statement to say that Mobile has in these three bulk plants more capacity than all other gulf ports combined. Consideration of the capacity of the plants and the commodities handled by them, coupled with the aluminum plant and the shipyard and the use of the ship channel by the Brookley Air Force Base in delivery of planes by carrier, prompts us to suggest to this committee a relationship in the matter of national security.

SUMMARY

Recognition of the importance of Mobile Harbor dates back to the River and Harbor Act of May 20, 1826, when the Congress approved the first project for improving the ship channel in Mobile Bay. This occurred 2 years following the inauguration of the civil works program under the Corps of Engineers when the first River and Harbor Act was passed in 1824. This port is the oldest federally improved harbor on the Gulf of Mexico and antedates by many years the principal ports of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. It is Alabama's only seaport and its location at the head of Mobile Bay approximately 30 miles from the gulf provides a protected and safe harbor with limited fluctuation in tide levels for year-round operation. Since the first improvement program in 1826 Congress has continued to recognize the port's potentialities by allotting additional funds for further deepening and enlarging of the channel until 1934, when the present project was completed which provides a channel 32 feet by 300 feet wide.

To most of us who have been closely associated with this matter, the information engendered by the study disclosing that no improvement has been made in the ship channel in the past 20 years was indeed a shocking surprise. It is evident that when you live with a problem for a long period of time you fail to recognize it as such, and in cases of this kind habit becomes an obstruction to progress. During this 20-year period the port of Mobile has made enormous progress in spite of the handicap. The volume of tonnage moving through the port of Mobile now places it in ninth place in the Nation. It is obvious that channel improvement in Mobile has failed to keep abreast of the tremendous increase in tonnage handled through the port. To further clarify the relationship of improvements of the channel to expansion and growth of the port the attached chart showing stages of improvements versus tonnage is submitted herewith.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL J. HOULIHAN, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE INSTITUTE, INC.

The American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc. is a trade association composed of 63 United States steamship companies operating approximately 7,500,000 gross tons of American-flag dry cargo, tank, and collier vessels in the domestic and foreign trades of the United States.

Since many of our member companies operate in this waterway, they are naturally very much interested in its improvement to insure efficient navigation of their vessels. We very much appreciate this opportunity to be heard by your Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors as to those river and harbor improvement projects which should be incorporated in the 1955 river and harbor authorization bill.

The existing project for Mobile Harbor, Ala., provides for a 36- by 450-foot channel about 1.5 miles long across Mobile Bar; a 32- by 300-foot channel 28.6 miles long in Mobile Bay to the mouth of Mobile River; a 32-foot channel 4.6 miles long in Mobile

River to the highway bridges, the widths varying from 500 to 775 feet; an anchorage area 32 feet deep, 200 feet wide, and 2,000 feet long at the United States Quarantine Station on Sand Island; a turning basin 32 feet deep, 2,500 feet long and 800 to 1,000 feet wide opposite the Alabama State Docks; and other channels in Chickawaw Creek and in Garrows Bend.

A public hearing was held November 1, 1949, at which time the American Merchant Marine Institute presented a brief in support of a proposal to improve Mobile Harbor. On November 19, 1951, the AMMI submitted a supplemental statement appending its original statement submitted at the public hearing. In general the improvement requested in order to maintain navigation of modern ships to the Port of Mobile that provision be made for a 40-foot depth in the bay and river channels with widening to 500 feet.

In justification for this improvement the AMMI stated that the trend in shipping in bulk commodities is to larger and deeper-draft vessels which are more economical to operate and that savings would be derived from loading these newer vessels to full capacity, elimination of waiting for favorable tides and reduction in groundings and scraping of bottom. Deeper ship channels at Mobile are necessary in order that Mobile might maintain a favorable position in competition with other major gulf ports.

In the December 1953 issue of the Log, page 74, it is stated that United States Steel has started importing a high-grade iron ore through Mobile, Ala., from a new source of supply in Peru. Peruvian iron-ore shipments through Alabama have been increasing since the early summer and United States Steel expects to handle over 50,000 tons of this ore monthly. Imports of iron ore from Venezuela is expected to start about next July and to be handled through new facilities being constructed at Mobile by the Tennessee coal and iron division of the United States Steel.

The district engineer studies indicate that the estimated annual benefit expected to result from the proposed improvement exceeds its estimated annual cost on the ratio of 2.77 to 1.

The American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc., fully endorses the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers that the existing project for Mobile Harbor be modified to provide for enlarging the Mobile Bar Channel to a depth of 42 feet and width of 600 feet, enlarging the Mobile Bay main channel to a depth of 40 feet and width of 400 feet, deepening the Mobile Harbor Channel from the mouth to the highway bridge and the turning basin opposite the Alabama State docks to depths of 40 feet for widths essentially as provided for under the existing project, and widening the river channel to 800 feet opposite Magazine Point to provide a turning basin 40 feet deep and 1,400 feet long with additional tapered sections at each end.

STATEMENT OF R. J. MITTELBROWN, ATTORNEY, REPRESENTING WATERMAN STEAMSHIP CORP.

At the outset, in behalf of the Waterman Steamship Corp., I wish to thank this committee for this opportunity for Waterman to submit its views with respect to the proposal now under consideration for deepening and widening the Mobile Channel.

It is not Waterman's intent to submit now, nor do we believe it is the committee's desire at this date to receive, comprehensive statistical or detailed data which adequately justifies execution of the present proposal for additional work on the Mobile Channel. All such data was appropriately submitted to the United States Army engineers when they first held their hearings upon this proposal back in November 1949. At that time, Waterman, through its representatives, took advantage of the opportunity to submit its reasons, justifying the widening and deepening of this channel. Suffice it to say at this time that Waterman wholeheartedly supports the proposal as endorsed by the United States engineers to deepen the Mobile Channel from 32 to 40 feet and widen it from 300 to 400 feet; to deepen the channel over the bar from 35 to 42 feet and to widen it from 500 to 600 feet.

Waterman Steamship Corp., with its headquarters and home base of operations located at Mobile, Ala., owns and operates today 40 deep-sea vessels of the C–2 type in and out of the Port of Mobile in the various domestic and offshore trades. We have been operating under the existing conditions in the Mobile Channel for approximately 20 years, and the change in the type of vessels employed today, as well as the increase in traffic through the Port of Mobile has not only brought about the requirement for greater depth, but also of greater width in this channel. To reflect the past and existing conditions of the Mobile Channel, during the years 1946, 1947, 1948, and through September 1949, Waterman vessels have been involved in 22 casualties in the Mobile ship channel involving a cost of some $208,000 which figure does not include the time these vessels lost while they were aground or were undergoing the necessary repairs.

Waterman strongly recommends to this committee that the deepening and widening of the Mobile Channel as proposed by the United States Army engineers be approved.

STATEMENT OF COL. J. U. ALLEN, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF CIVIL WORKS FOR RIVERS AND HARBORS, CORPS OF ENGINEERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Mr. Chairman, the report on Mobile Harbor, Ala., is contained in House Document No. 74 of the 83d Congress, 1st session.

This report was requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, and adopted on September 27, 1951.

Mobile Harbor, Ala., serves the city of Mobile, which is located on the southwest corner of Alabama on the Mobile River. The port of Mobile serves in addition to itself as an industrial shipping center, the industrial area of Birmingham, Ala., which has developed into an extensive iron center.

The project at Mobile Bay at the present time consists of a 36-foot by 450-foot wide channel across the outer bar. It consists of a 32-foot by 300-foot channel approximately 30 miles long from the entrance of Mobile Bay up the Mobile River.

The depth is continued at 32 feet in the Mobile River, with varying widths up to the highway bridge.

The difficulties which are found with respect to navigation at the present time are due to the inadequate depths and the inadequate widths in the present channel.

In the period of 1946 to 1951 there were more than 60 ships involved in accidents in the Mobile Bay Channel. The steamship companies attribute these accidents to the inadequate depths and the inadequate widths for the transit of modern steamships. They state that the narrowness of the channel, which is only 300 feet wide, makes it very difficult for the present-day steamships to transit and pass safely.

The depths under the keel are inadequate for proper response to the helm, again adding to the danger in transit of ships. Some operators have complained that while transiting Mobile Bay the ships have drawn mud into the condensers, with the resultant and consequent damage to the machinery of the ship.

In 1952 the port of Mobile accommodated in excess of 11 million tons of waterborne commerce. Of that 11 million tons 34 percent consisted of petroleum products, 18 percent consisted of aluminum ore or bauxite, 9 percent was iron ore and manganese.—The other major cargoes consisted of seashells, coal, wood, and paper products, making up the balance of the 11 million tons.

STATEMENT OF J. P. TURNER, GENERAL MANAGER, ALABAMA STATE DOCKS BOARD

It is a privilege to appear before this committee to supplement the report made by the Alabama State Docks to the United States Corps of Engineers at their public hearing in Mobile, November 1, 1949. This statement should not only supplement the report made at that time but should also confirm assertions made then regarding the necessity for modification of the Mobile Ship Channel and the steady growth and expansion of the Alabama State Docks in particular, and the port of Mobile in general.

At the time of the hearing, the statement was made that the State docks had just completed a $4 million expansion project which added 3 new berths, modern in every respect, to the then available 21 ship berths. This, of course, was a statement of fact as in 1949 these berths were completed and in operation. The statement then carried the information on the plans for the expansion of the Bulk Material Handling Plant. Since that time this expansion has been completed at a cost of $1,400,000 and has added the third berth to the Bulk Material Plant, the necessary belt conveying system, a new unloading tower and car loading station which has increased the overall capacity of the Gulf's finest Bulk Material Handling Plant by 40 percent, making it possible for this particular plant to have an annual capacity of over 4½ million tons and an actual record in its first year of operation of 3,400,000 tons. You have heard or will hear through other statements made here today that this particular bulk plant is one of three now in operation at the port of Mobile, or in the case of the Tennessee company's facility, will be in operation within the next 30 days.

Another facility, which has been built by private capital together with the State Docks, which was not mentioned in the 1949 statement, is the Alabama Grain Elevator Co.'s facility which is a grain elevator with a capacity of 1,600,000 bushels, construction having been started on this facility early in 1951 and made ready for operation by the spring of 1952. Due to the fact that all the machinery was not available for the full completion of this facility, they were forced to operate during the first year well below their capacity but they have handled since the beginning of operation some 29 million bushels, 15 million of which were exported during the last 6 months of the past calendar year.

These improvements show briefly the trend of the Port of Mobile in its plans for expansion and improvement. As far as the docks themselves are concerned, we expect to continue this improvement and expansion for many years to come. Immediate plans call for construction of additional storage warehouses for waterborne commerce, and the engineering plans and property have been purchased for the further expansion of five more complete river-side berths with entirely modern apron wharves, transit sheds and the necessary rail and truck facilities to go with them.

Since the statement made in 1949, there has been a continued rise in the tonnage moving through the State's facilities and a phenomenal rise in figures for the Port of Mobile as a whole. The docks graph shows since 1949 a gradual rise from approximately 3½ million tons to slightly over 5 million tons in 1953, and the port's figures show an estimated 12 million tons for 1953.

The people of the State of Alabama made known their faith in the potential growth

and expansion of Alabama's only seaport when they approved the original investment of $10 million almost 30 years ago. This original investment has grown through the reinvestment of earned revenue and in increased value, to an estimated $35 million at this time. Soon after the people of Alabama made their faith known through the construction of the original docks, the Government improved the Mobile ship channel to its present depth of 32 feet. This was in 1934, but though the people of Alabama still maintained their faith in the port, it is astounding that during the last 20 years there has been no further improvement in the Mobile ship channel although records indicate every other port in the Gulf of Mexico has had some improvement and all the major ports are from 36 to 40 feet in their channel depth, and this in spite of the fact that the port of Mobile has shown a larger gain in tonnage percentagewise and has continually led the field in adding facilities available to the shipping public.

If the many facts brought forth in the statements and exhibits presented at the original hearing 4 years ago tended to prove the need for the immediate modification of the Mobile ship channel for the handling of bulk materials in deeper draft ships, certainly the experience at the port of Mobile during the past 4 years with its rapid rise in tonnage and facilities, brought to your attention here today, will make this improvement a necessity.

May I call your attention to the fact that at the hearing 4 years ago there was no mention made of the Tennessee Co.'s new bulk plant, which you have learned of today and which will handle an estimated 3-million tons per year of iron ore, nor was there any mention made of the new grain elevator which will likely handle a minimum of 50-million bushels per year in the coming years, and only slight mention was made of the expansion at the State-owned bulk material handling plant which has increased the annual capacity from 2½ to 4½ million tons per year. These three added facilities alone should convince this committee of the immediate necessity for the modification of the Mobile ship channel.

Perhaps we at Mobile have been too engrossed in expanding our facilities and in securing the vast new industries recently located in the area to give proper attention in pressing for the improvement of the channel, and therefore, have been to some extent dilatory in properly looking after the interest of the port, but we sincerely hope that this committee will now see and assist us in obtaining approval in the work of modification at the earliest possible time.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. HARRY L. HARGROVE, PRESIDENT, MOBILE BAR PILOTS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege to appear before your committee in interest of deeper water for the Mobile ship channel, Alabama's only seaport. I have been a pilot on Mobile Bay and Bar since June 20, 1906, and have been president of the Mobile Bar Pilots' Association for 25 years. These pilots are thoroughly trained, holding State and Federal licenses, rendering 24-hour service and capable of handling any type of vessel. They have indeed done a fine job piloting ships in this narrow ship channel. I am still an active pilot. We board these vessels at sea, pilot and dock them in Mobile, and vice versa.

Mobile Bar, 7 miles off shore with its shoals, strong cross currents, is nasty when heavy weather offshore, causes the seas to break. Mobile Bay, 30 miles long, 10 miles wide, 10 feet deep, has a channel 32 feet deep and 300 feet wide that we were proud of many years ago, which then answered the purpose. Mobile has grown into a great port with its fine modern concrete docks, fruit wharfs, largest drydock and repair plant in the gulf, largest bauxite plant in the Nation, a pipeline connected with many oil wells, and the steel company dock, just completed and ready for business. These along with Brookley Field and Theodore Channel make Mobile one of the most important American seaports. If we had deeper water the port could take care of an increased volume of shipping with larger and deeper draft ships. The oil companies desire supertankers to enter this port. The steel company wants ships capable of carrying 45,000 tons of iron ore from Venezuela with ore to their newly built docks. Likewise, the aluminum company wants to bring its bauxite into the port with very large carriers. We are now piloting vessels into Mobile which draw 31 and sometimes 32 feet. Gentlemen, imagine leaving Mobile with a draft of 32 feet in a 32-foot channel, passing another vessel of the same draft. In such a situation anything less than perfect judgment and the highest degree of skill in ship handling, plus a high tide, would result disastrously.

It is common knowledge that this channel requires a higher degree of pilot skill and experience than in many larger American seaports, due to the fact that the geographical location of our channel does not permit the establishment of range lights, such as many larger ports enjoy. Further, you are in the middle of a very large body of water with no defining banks to contain you in the channel. A vessel, in my opinion, should have at least 3 feet clearance between the bottom of the channel and the keel to be handled with any degree of safety. Strong north winds blow the water out of Mobile Bay, fresh east or west winds cause strong crosscurrents, making it necessary to hold a ship up 20 degrees off her course in order to remain in the middle of this ditch. Imagine what her course would be when you slow down. In my opinion, ships with any greater draft than 28 feet should not be handled in this existing channel. We are piloting ships drawing up to 32 feet and when you get a ship to sea with that draft, you have really done a good job. Should such a vessel ground, she is grounding on a high tide and will probably have to remain fast until the next high water stage. During this interval the port of Mobile could be completely closed to shipping. A deep draft vessel, regardless of speed, cannot make over 10 knots in this channel. When a gale blows from southeast to southwest causing the bar to break, the ship must stay either outside or inside of the bay, until it moderates due to the rise and fall of the ship, causing expensive delay to the vessel.

We have many tows in the channel, plenty of fog, smoke, and crosscurrents, which often make it necessary to follow a tow or a ship going in the same direction, as the risk of passing is too great, causing additional delay to the vessel.

Gentlemen, as you know, a vessel is called a she, but she can't be handled as readily as the fairer sex. What this unmanageable she requires is a highly skilled pilot with plenty of guts, nerve and deep water under her keel, and then she can be handled.

I believe I am qualified to make these remarks, as I have handled over 10,000 vessels in the Mobile Channel.

There is attached hereto data which sets forth the increase in the number of deep draft vessels calling at the port of Mobile between the years 1945 and 1954.

Gentlemen, please give this request, for the proper deep water channel from Mobile to sea, your serious consideration. We need deep water, larger ships, want more business and your help. Thank you for your consideration and time.

Totals by year, Apr. 1 through Mar. 31

Year	Total vessels	Draft over 27 feet
1945	2,031	21
1946	2,840	100
1947	2,969	155
1948	2,957	240
1949	2,742	208
1950	2,478	258
1951	2,630	330
1952	2,586	406
1953	2,991	637
1954 [1]	[1] 3,155	[1] 608

[1] Through Feb. 28 (11 months).

STATEMENT OF CAPT. JOHN K. GALLAHER, OPERATING MANAGER, NATIONAL BULK CARRIERS, INC., OF NEW YORK

We operate 40 bulk carriers, tankers, and ore boats. Of the 40 bulk carriers, 28 of them are of the so-called superclass. In fact, we can say many of them are "super-super," perhaps.

We would like to speak very definitely in favor of this 40-foot program. We would like to add we think that channel should have an anchorage basin at least 3,000 by 3,000 feet long.

I would like to call the attention of the committee very briefly to some ships in being that cannot use Mobile today. We are not talking about new construction and vessels projected, but vessels in being.

First, we have 5 ships built in 1944 that in order to get into Mobile would have to lose 2,900 cargo tons every time.

We have four ships built in 1952 that would have to lose 5,392 tons in order to get into Mobile.

We have a new vessel which is on her maiden voyage of 45,000 tons deadweight. That would have to lose 7,865 tons to enter the port of Mobile.

This is all lost business. It is lost business, and business that can be carried there economically at low rates to the benefit of the community.

I would like to speak briefly on the ore-ship program. We have three ore carriers and we are under contract to bring ore from Venezuela to Mobile among other ports. The vessels are quite large—800 feet long and 116-foot beam. They draw 38 feet 6 inches with a full load. They carry deadweight cargo of ore, 60,000 tons. They displace 83,000 tons.

The first of these vessels was launched on February 15. She will have her trials May 31. She leaves for the Orinoco River June 5 and will be arriving in Mobile about the last week in August. With the present draft available in Mobile this vessel will have to drop 15,300 tons in order to get into the port of Mobile.

It might be interesting to compare the trend in ore-boat construction with some of our famous ships just for a moment.

The *Queen Mary*, for example, displaces 81,237 tons. Our ore ships displace 83,000 tons.

The *United States*, the largest ship under the American flag, displaces 53,000 tons against our 83,000 tons.

Gentlemen, that is all I am going to say except that I know you all know that our history has demonstrated very fully every dime that has been spent on waterway improvement in this country has paid a handsome dividend.

I hope you gentlemen will, and I am sure you will, approve this Mobile project.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF BRAXTON B. CARR, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, WARRIOR-TOMBIGBEE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, BIRMINGHAM

The Warrior-Tombigbee Development Association is a nonprofit organization repre-

senting a large segment of the industrial, business, professional, and civic leadership of the whole Warrior-Tombigbee River Valley and Mobile Bay area. The association fully supports the proposal to deepen and widen the Mobile ship channel and to dredge a larger, deeper turning basin.

Our study of the plan and our study of the need for the deeper channel has convinced our association that the proposed project represents an economically sound investment of public works funds, an investment which will ultimately pay high dividends in the economic growth and progress of not only the immediate region served by the port, but in the economic growth of the Nation as a whole.

Mobile has been recognized for well over a century as a port of strategic importance. The growth of industry and commerce which has taken place and which is continuing in the southeastern region of the United States has enhanced the value of the port of Mobile to the economy of the whole Nation.

The port of Mobile serves an expanding empire of great industrial plants as a point of entry for bulk raw materials which they, like all other plants in the country, must import in ever-increasing quantities. Full productivity of these plants in the Southeast is needed to meet constantly growing demands. The port of Mobile serves a region rich in raw materials, many of which are moved to other parts of the Nation and exported into world trade. Mobile has incomparable gulf coast ship-repair facilities which in peacetime and wartime have served the Nation well. Mobile has the only Air Force installation located on deepwater on the gulf coast.

With the whole tendency of oceangoing shipping moving swiftly to greater cargo carriers, ships which can carry from 30,000 to 40,000 tons, Mobile's ship channel is no longer adequate to serve the interests of the Nation which are dependent upon it. It has not kept pace with other gulf ports in channel improvement.

The port of Mobile has demonstrated a tremendous attraction for commerce, both entering and leaving. Great capital investments have been made at Mobile in bulk material handling facilities which in a very short time will suffer handicaps in added costs unless they have access to a deeper, wider channel in the bay. The handicap will not only operate to the detriment of the plants themselves, but ultimately to the detriment of consumers of the products of these plants.

In the last 6 years, 5 great chemical plants have been established on the banks of the Warrior-Tombigbee-Mobile Waterway just above Mobile. This growth of industry will attract additional growth along with the truly phenomenal industrial growth which has taken place already in Mobile proper. To accommodate the necessity for supplementing raw material needs and for putting into trade the products of these plants, the Mobile ship channel will have to keep pace with the demands for handling deeper draft shipping.

The need is represented not only in plants and in capital investments, but the need for an improved ship channel is represented in jobs for workers, jobs which will be protected and created. The need is also represented in consumer values.

The southeastern region served by the port of Mobile has great natural resource reserves second to none in the Nation; it has a people who have demonstrated their willingness and ability to produce, and it has room to grow.

The Warrior-Tombigbee Development Association respectfully urges this committee to approve the plan submitted by the United State Corps of Engineers to improve the Mobile ship channel.

Mr. Speaker, Chairman ANGELL and the members of the committee were most considerate in granting sufficient time to properly present these facts, and I do not believe there will be a dissenting vote for this project. I consider this one of the greatest undeveloped projects in the United States.

Civil Functions Appropriation Act, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, unlike my friends, the distinguished gentlemen from California, Mr. GUBSER and Mr. JACKSON, who are protesting a committee finding that there is no local support for their port project, I am most happy to state that there is unanimous agreement by the people in my district on the urgent need for the Sacramento-Yolo Port project. There is, in fact, a unanimous demand that the Federal Government recognize its moral obligation and resume construction of the project as soon as possible.

The people in the tributary area of the Sacramento-Yolo Port have done much more than give vocal support to the project. There has been more than $3 million put up to fulfill our side of the bargain. The Port District formed to operate the project has sold more than $1,700,000 worth of bonds; collected more than $800,000 in taxes; built a grain elevator, a belt railroad, a highway extension, and various other facilities for the port project. A farmers' cooperative has built a $1 million rice drier and elevator as part of the port facilities. The State of California has put up $750,000 for rights-of-way to complete the deep-water channel, and the people of the area have purchased with their tax dollars more than their share of land to complete the project.

I recognize, from the remarks made on the floor by members of the committee handling the bill, that policies which are being followed by the committee would not permit favorable consideration of my request for an immediate appropriation to resume construction of the Sacramento-Yolo Port project. Nevertheless, I am deeply disturbed over the committee's failure to establish a firm policy on future appropriations for projects such as the one I am discussing.

It is unfair to subject local taxpayers to a continued heavy financial burden because of past acts of Congress. A clear policy should be established no later than the next session of Congress to deal, not only with the Sacramento-Yolo Port project, but also with all projects of a similar nature. I intend also to request information from the Bureau of the Budget and other administration agencies on the policy they intend to adopt in deciding which projects will be recommended to Congress for appropriations. It is an interesting fact that one California port project was included in the budget for a $1 million appropriation even though it has been contended local interests do not support that project strongly enough to vote bonds for it; at the same time, the Sacramento-Yolo Port project was not included in the budget even though everyone in the area concerned has given the strongest possible backing to the project. This certainly justifies an attempt to get the Budget Bureau and the administration on record as to future policy.

I intend to urge the other body, as strongly as possible, to depart from the policy adopted by the House Appropriations Committee and recognize the equity in the Sacramento-Yolo Port project's request for funds to permit immediate resumption of construction. Any further delay imposes a heavy tax burden on the people in the area to be served by the Sacramento-Yolo Port. I am certain no Member of Congress consciously wants such an intolerable situation continued.

Another field where further delays are costly is in the refusal to expedite appropriations for the Sacramento River flood-control project. This decision is an apparent reversal of the policy adopted a year ago to speed appropriations and complete the project in about 5 years. Then, and only then, will real savings from this project accrue to the Federal Treasury. Until completion, the Federal Government must continue to pay maintenance costs of some $500,000 a year. It seems to me prudent management to expedite completion of this project and realize a most important saving. It is well to remember that the expenditure of a lesser sum is not always the soundest public policy nor the one which produces the greatest net saving.

I also wish to express my regret that the committee refused to consider the need for adequate planning funds. A prime example is the Black Butte project in California where the expenditure of $100,000 would have completed plans for this worthwhile project. I hope the committee will, in the future, give consideration to the need for an adequate budget of planning funds.

An Indignant Protest From Mr. Thomas J. Murphy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, herewith is a telegram of protest from Mr. Thomas J. Murphy, secretary-treasurer and business agent, Railway Express Employees Local Union 459, I. B. of T. It concerns the grievous displacement of Regional

Director Joseph L. Burk from the Railroad Retirement Board:

JERSEY CITY, N. J., *March 11, 1954.*

Hon. A. D. SIEMINSKI,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: It has been brought to my attention that Regional Director Joseph L. Burk, of the Railroad Retirement Board, at New York, is being displaced by arbitrary action brought by Chairman Kelly, of the Railroad Retirement Board, in Chicago, Ill. Local 459, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and its 1,300 members, employed by the Railway Express Agency, are indignant and protest this action, as Mr. Burk has long been a friend of labor and an able administrator of Board affairs.

We solicit your assistance in bringing to bear any action that you wish to undertake in order that the Board may rescind Mr. Burk's displacement notice.

Thanking you sincerely.

THOMAS J. MURPHY,
Secretary-treasurer and business agent, Railway Express Employees Local Union 459, I. B. of T.

Ireland's Right to Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement issued by the American League for an Undivided Ireland, Los Angeles County, Calif.:

IRELAND'S RIGHT TO UNITY

Partition of Ireland was accomplished by an act of the British Parliament in 1920. No Irishman voted for it.

Partition cut Ireland into two parts and keeps six counties under English rule.

All Ireland has a population of about 4,248,165. Eighty percent of that population want Ireland to be one national unit.

The essence of democracy lies in the right of a people freely to determine how they are to be governed.

The unit for this self-determination is the nation.

Ireland through a nationhood never questioned in almost 2,000 years has that right.

Partition is the denial of the right to self-determination.

It is a refusal to accept the majority will of a people in choosing the government they themselves desire.

No group, party, or political organization in Ireland sought for or desired partition.

It was imposed by the British Government against the passionate protest of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.

First established by force, it is now maintained by British support and by flagrant manipulation with British consent of electoral boundaries within the area.

The perpetual interference in Ireland's internal affairs by an outside power sets an example destructive of the rule of law among the nations.

Partition gravely injures both parts of Ireland; it injures Britain too, for as long as it lasts Britain cannot sustain her claim to stand for democracy in Western Europe.

We are spending billions of dollars to end the partition of Germany and Korea. Ireland's strategic situation—on the flank of Western Europe—possessing as she does the finest natural harbors on that continent, together with numerous deepwater inlets capable of secretly sheltering submarines seeking enemy shipping, could completely close the gap still existing in the Atlantic defense line, thus adding materially to the safety and security of the United States.

March 16, 1802, the Establishment of West Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me, under unanimous consent, to list below a brief story on the establishment of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y.

In its stirring history of over 150 years, West Point has turned out great fighters, magnificent strategists, terrific tacticians.

There is a tough fiber in the West Pointer. He knows his job, to defeat the enemy in the service of God and country. He calls his shots, can spot a faker a mile away. Goldbricks are not bred at the Point. Life is a bit too rugged for that breed to thrive on the Academy's grounds. I have a warm feeling for the place, its officers, and graduates, Mr. Speaker. I know its spirit.

As a kid, from the ages of 10 to 15, I attended the New York Military Academy, 5 miles up the river at Cornwall on the Hudson. I was slated for the Academy. Storm King Highway was being chiseled out of the cliffs then. That was about 1922 to 1925. Some of my colleagues at Cornwall went to the Point and are now wearing eagles and stars. Big men. Brave men. Good men. They would die for this country and would just as soon run a man through who breached his oath, trampled the flag, or outran the Constitution. They turn out Americans at West Point, Mr. Speaker, real Americans. More on this later. For the present, here is the story. I just hope some historian in doing another writeup of the Point will oblige with the name of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, who, I understand, mapped out some of the Academy's original defense features.

HISTORY OF WEST POINT, 1802–1952

The United States Military Academy was established officially on March 16, 1802, at West Point, a key Hudson River military fortress during the Revolution, and was opened on July 4, 1802.

Two compelling reasons made the formation of an American military academy at that time both logical and necessary—the experience of the Revolutionary War and the ominous international political situation in 1801, the year Thomas Jefferson became President.

The experience of the Revolutionary War, during which America had to rely in large part on foreign drillmasters, artillerists, and trained engineers, made the military and political leaders of the day energetic backers of a military academy. The earliest proposal was in 1776 by Col. Henry Knox, who recommended "An academy established on a liberal plan, * * * where the whole theory and practice of fortification and gunnery should be taught." The papers of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Gen. Jedediah Huntington, Secretary of War Timothy Pickering, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and George Washington mention time and again the need for an academy. In his annual messages to Congress, Washington always included a plea that the Congress provide facilities for the study of military art. In 1797, in his eighth annual message, for example, he said:

"The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without a stock of military knowledge for emergencies. * * * [The art of war] demands much previous study, and * * * [knowledge of that art] * * * in its most improved and perfect state is always a great moment to the security of a nation. * * * For this purpose an academy where a regular course of instruction is given is an * * * expedient which different nations have successfully employed."

The military academies that different nations had successfully employed and that Washington likely had in mind were England's Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, founded in 1741, and France's Ecole Polytechnique, founded in 1794. The Royal Military College at Sandhurst in England was founded the same year as our own academy, 1802. And Washington quite obviously realized that complete independence for America called not only for the severance of political ties from England and the formation of an independent political state, but also for independence in every facet of national life and culture: In law, religion, agriculture, shipbuilding, trading, manufacturing, and military science. How deeply he continued to feel about the need for an academy appears in a letter written 2 days before his death and addressed to Alexander Hamilton:

"The establishment of an institution of this kind, upon a respectable and extensive basis, has ever been considered by me as an object of primary importance to this country; and while I was in the chair of Government, I omitted no opportunity of recommending it, in my public speeches and other ways, to the attention of the Legislature."

The second compelling reason for the immediate establishment of an American Military Academy was the ominous international political situation of 1801–2. The previous two decades had been troublesome ones. The weak and ineffectual Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, troubled with the Barbary pirates, Shay's rebellion, boundary disputes, frontier battles, currency quarrels; these had plagued the young Nation, and now it was threatened by the danger of involvement in the complexities that were coming as an aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789. Public opinion moved toward more energetic national government and better-trained Armed Forces. So it was that Congress, by its act of March 16, 1802, authorized a Corps of Engineers, set its strength at 5 officers and 10 cadets, and provided that it be stationed at West Point in the State of New York, and should constitute a Military Academy.

The garrison site of West Point, consisting of 1,795 acres purchased from Stephen Moore in 1790, had been occupied by the Army since 1778. Hence barracks and other buildings, while inadequate, were available for housing and instruction, and Maj. Johathan Williams, grandnephew of Benjamin Franklin and Chief of the Corps of Engineers, who had been appointed as the first Superintendent, was able to open the Academy on July 4, 1802, with 10 cadets present.

The initial purpose of the Academy was to train military technicians for all branches of the military service, to encourage the study of military art nationally and thus

raise the level of training of the militia, and to encourage the practical study of every science. This last, it should be noted, at a time when many other American academic institutions looked at the sciences with suspicion and hostility. How well the Academy succeeded in its purpose for the first 10 years of its existence was summarized by the most authoritative historian of that period of American life, Henry Adams. In his History of the United States (9 vols. 1889–91), covering the Jefferson and Madison administrations, Adams offers the tribute that American scientific engineering "* * * owed its efficiency and almost its existence to the military school at West Point, established in 1802."

Early in the year 1812 the growing threat of war with England impelled Congress to pass the act of April 29, 1812, by which the strength of the corps of cadets was increased to 250, the academic staff enlarged, and the cadets placed under the discipline of published regulations. A chaplain was authorized who in addition to his religious duties was to officiate as professor of geography, ethics, and history. The act required also that the cadets be taught all the duties of a private, a noncommissioned officer, and an officer. This requirement, says Emory Upton in the Military Policy of the United States (1904), was the key to the character for efficiency and discipline which the graduates have since maintained.

The record of the War of 1812 shows that the Academy graduates served their country well. A quarter of the more than 100—all under 30 years of age—who saw action were killed or wounded; and not one of the fortifications constructed under their direction was captured. Henry Adams was appreciative of their technical skill. "During the critical campaign of 1812," he wrote, "the West Point engineers doubled the capacity of the little American Army for resistance."

The experience of the War of 1812, that gave the Nation new self-assurance, affected the Academy's educational aims in the period of peace which followed. No longer was the enemy an immediate threat on our borders; American nationality had been firmly established. National interest called now for canals, roads, railroads, and the exploitation of the soil and its mineral wealth. The accurate mapping of rivers, the deepening of their channels, the constructing of lighthouses and beacon lights: these were needed to make communication easier. And the preliminary work of prospecting and surveying had to be done.

That the Academy graduates of this era were men who through force of character and training could assume leadership in the performance of these tasks was due largely to the genius of Col. Sylvanus Thayer, superintendent from 1817 to 1833. The father of the Military Academy had one ideal before him: To produce men who would be trained and worthy leaders. He demanded of the cadets excellence of character and excellence of knowledge, the two integrating qualities of such leadership. But he knew that to achieve his ideal he must master and guide the day-to-day routine of the Academy, and so it was that he let no detail of character training or discipline, of curriculum content, of textbooks, of teaching methods, of extracurricular activities, of physical plant escape his attention.

Thayer grasped at once the need of the country for engineers, and therefore made courses in civil engineering the core of the curriculum. Under his direction, instruction in that subject eventually included the properties, preparations, and use of materials for construction; the art of construction generally, including decorative architecture; the manner of laying and constructing roads; the construction of bridges; the principles regulating the removal of obstructions impeding river navigation; the survey, location, and construction of canals and railroads; and the formation of artificial and improvement of natural harbors.

A list of the Academy's achievements in the field of civil engineering that can be attributed to the farseeing genius of Thayer would include trigonometrical and topographical surveying; methods of triangulation; magnetic declination; and the systems used in locating surveying, and dividing the public lands of the United States. Francis Wayland Brown, the scholarly president of Brown University from 1827 to 1855, said in 1950 in a report to the corporation of Brown University that West Point graduates did "more to build up the system of internal improvement in the United States than [the graduates of] all other colleges combined."

To help him by outside criticism of his work, Thayer had the aid of a Board of Visitors. A regulation for the government of the Military Academy, approved by Secretary of War William H. Crawford on July 1, 1815, provided for the appointment of such a Board to consist of five competent gentlemen, with the Superintendent as president, who should attend at each of the annual and semiannual examinations and report thereon to the Secretary. This excellent custom of having a Board of Visitors has lasted to the present day. From the beginning their criticism was pertinent and helpful; nor is this surprising when the long list of those who have been members is scanned, for thereon the names of men like Edward Everett, George Bancroft, George Ticknor, Horace Mann, and Daniel Coit Gilman appear. Thayer knew the value of the intelligent lay point of view and welcomed the Board's comments on his curricular shift to civil engineering, his innovations in educational methods, and his system in general.

His innovations in educational methods insured that the cadets not only learned but retained their subjects. Basically, he demanded that the cadets develop habits of mental discipline and maintain standards of scholarship that have grown in importance the more they have been tested through the years. He emphasized habits of regular study, he laid down the rule that every cadet had to pass every course—any deficiency had to be made up within a specified time or the cadet would be dropped. To carry out these rigorous standards he limited the classroom sections to from 10 to 14 members; he rated these sections in order of merit and directed that cadets be transferred from one to the other as their averages rose or fell.

These methods and standards of Thayer's system are still used at the Academy, and Thayer's insistence on leadership integrated by excellence of character and excellence of knowledge has been the cornerstone of the Academy's training since his day. Emerson, visiting West Point in 1863, spoke of the "air of probity, of veracity, and of loyalty" the cadets had; and when in 1898 the present coat of arms was adopted, the motto thereon of "Duty, Honor, Country" was but a later generation's attempt to put Thayer's ideal into words.

To the casual student it might seem that until about 1860 West Point was filling the almost dual roles of National Military Academy and of national school of civil engineering. But despite the curricular emphasis on civil engineering and the renown of her graduates in that field the Academy never forgot her deepest and most abiding obligation to the Nation: To send forth graduates trained in the art and science of war. That the obligation was fulfilled is attested for these early years by the records of the Mexican and Civil Wars. The record of the Mexican War is told best in the words of Gen. Winfield Scott.

"I give it as my fixed opinion, that but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some 4 or 5 years, with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns we conquered a great country and a peace, without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

The record of the Civil War shows that the Confederacy used graduates whenever and wherever possible; the Union, in the beginning, used "political" generals. Defeat after defeat proved the need for professionally trained officers and, in the last year of the war, all senior commanders of the Union armies were Academy graduates. Grant, Lee, Sheridan, Jackson, to name but a few on both sides, were all from West Point.

After the Civil War, changing conditions necessitated a shift in the Academy's curriculum away from the emphasis on civil engineering. The first Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862, granting Federal land to each State "for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least 1 college where * * * military tactics * * * [and] * * * such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts [shall be taught]," enabled American education to be enormously expanded. New technical and engineering schools, supplementing those that had been founded in the second quarter of the 19th century, made it possible for West Point to drop its strong emphasis on engineering subjects. But even had these new schools not come into being, the Academy would have found it impossible to keep on producing both adequately trained Army officers and adequately trained engineers. The tremendous expansion of the body of scientific knowledge during these years, the last half of the 19th century, was enforcing specialization in all technical fields. And since the science of war likewise expanded greatly it became obvious that the Army officer would need specialization in his particular branch of service.

The Academy met these changed conditions by severing its direct relationship with the Corps of Engineers; from 1866 on it was no longer mandatory that the Superintendent be a member of that Corps. To take care of officer-specialization demand, several Army postgraduate schools were set up, and West Point gradually came to be looked on as only the initial step in the Army officer's education. As the Academy approached its centennial, the military objective of the curriculum came to be the giving of general instruction in the elements of each military branch.

After its centennial, in 1902, the Academy underwent a thoroughgoing structural renovation and became known as the new West Point. Coincident with this reconstruction, Gen. Albert L. Mills, the Superintendent, had the entire curriculum, military and academic, reassessed. As a result, military instruction was transformed from a series of mechanical drills to practical training in minor tactics and fieldwork. Complete correlation was developed between instruction and actual field conditions. One of Mills' special hobbies was English; he believed that the Army officer should be able to express himself clearly in speech and writing. To that end, he strengthened greatly the course in English. A gradual liberalization of the curriculum went on until the outbreak of World War I.

World War I tested and proved, as never before, the soundness of the Academy's curriculum and training. Although in order to meet the sudden and great demand for trained officers the course was shortened and a number of classes graduated early, the qualities and abilities of the graduates remained high.

After the close of the war the Academy's further development was placed in the hands of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who became

Superintendent on June 12, 1919. General MacArthur's primary concern was an adaptation of the curriculum in terms of the recent war. It was known, for instance, that the concept of total war, new in military history, required cadets to have a knowledge of national production, transportation, and social problems; that something of the new developments in weapons and tactics had to be incorporated into cadet instruction; and that shortcomings in the officers' physical development, seen clearly in the stress of battle, made a longer and more vigorous physical training program necessary. But at the same time it was realized that the tremendous advances in the art and science of war, made under the pressure of actual conflict, presaged further development of Army postgraduate schools, and hence a growing emphasis upon a more broadly conceived basic curriculum at West Point. The belief was reached that the Academy would serve best by giving the cadets a combination of general and technical education, in this way providing a solid foundation for a professional military career.

The part of the curriculum General MacArthur changed with the greatest vigor was that relating to physical education. He believed firmly that physical fitness was a basic requirement of an officer; and he planned a strenuous program of compulsory gymnastic instruction complemented by an intramural program of 14 sports in which every cadet had to take part. The wisdom of his foresight has been reflected ever since in the excellent physical condition of all cadets at all times.

Soon after General MacArthur's incumbency the policy of a liberal as well as a technical education got renewed emphasis by the introduction of a course in economics and government under the professor of English and history. In 1926 the department of English and history was reorganized into the department of economics, government, and history; and a separate department of English established. In succeeding years curricular reforms took place in modern languages, natural philosophy, and mathematics.

All phases of training were greatly intensified during the rearmament years, 1939–41; and the part played by its graduates in World War II seemed to justify the teaching and the courses at the Academy. Eisenhower, MacArthur, Bradley, Patton, Spaatz, Arnold, Collins, Clark, McNair, Devers, Wainwright, McNarney, Stilwell, Eichelberger, Vandenberg, Simpson: the list of West Point graduates who led our armies is a long and honored one. But much was learned from World War II; there were revised concepts of what professional military education should mean. In 1945 a special Board of Consultants, civilian and military, made a study of the curriculum and as a result of their recommendations a number of changes were made. Among these were expansion of the work in English and in international relations; and the introduction of courses in electronics, economic and industrial geography, and military psychology and leadership. At the present time the humanities comprise about 40 percent of the curriculum; the sciences about 60 percent.

The latest, curricular addition is a program of studies in national security, set up in 1949. Actually it is a shift in emphasis and not a curricular change. The general object of the program is the orientation of all courses, both military and academic, to the problem of national security today; the more pertinent courses have been coordinated and their direction and emphasis brought into common focus.

And yet while modifying its academic or military training whenever the need arises, the Academy builds always on the cornerstone of the Thayer system: leadership integrated by excellence of character and excellence of knowledge.

Thirty-sixth Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, under the auspices of the Lithuanian Council of Chicago, at Ashland Auditorium in Chicargo on February 14, 1954, American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois held special commemoration ceremonies marking the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's Independence.

It was my honor and privilege to speak to the delegates assembled for this memorable occasion; and as I gazed into the faces of the vast assemblage, I could see reflected in their eyes the same indomitable spirit of courageous independence that has enabled the people of Lithuania to carry on their valiant fight for freedom. I rejoiced again that it has been my great good fortune to be a member of the Baltic Committee which is investigating the Soviet seizure of the Baltic Republics, of which Lithuania is the largest.

My good friend, Judge Alfonse F. Wells, executive secretary of the Lithuanian Council of Chicago, has mailed me a copy of a resolution which was unanimously adopted at these commemoration ceremonies on February 14, 1954, and I should like to quote this sentence from his letter:

More than 1 million Americans of Lithuanian ancestry join in this resolution and hope that the forces of evil supported and inspired by Communist Russia can be removed forever as a threat to world peace.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to insert this resolution in the RECORD. I am sure it will inspire everyone who reads it, as it did me, and strengthen our determination to aid the people of Lithuania to regain freedom and independence for their own and other nations:

Resolution unanimously adopted, after due deliberation, by the American citizens of Lithuanian descent of the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, at the commemoration of the 36th anniversary of Lithuania's Independence, held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Council of Chicago at the Ashland Auditorium on the 14th day of February 1954:

"Whereas the American people continue to believe in certain inalienable principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Atlantic Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Charter of the United Nations; and

"Whereas the people of Lithuania, firmly espousing the selfsame principles in their Declaration of Independence promulgated in 1918, have won their liberty by valient fight against the oppressors and, during the 22 peaceful years, against seemingly insurmountable odds, converted war-devastated Lithuania into a prosperous and progressive country; and

"Whereas in 1940, Soviet Russia, in conspiracy with Hitlerite Germany and in consistent and unilateral violation of all the treaties and declarations solemnly underwritten by it, viz, peace and nonaggression pacts with the Baltic States, occupied Lithuania and annexed her to the Soviet Union, and, in 1944, following the defeat of the German armies on the Eastern front, again took over that country, in complete disregard of the wartime policies and obligations under the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations to which Soviet Russia is a cosignatory with the United States and other allied countries; and

"Whereas a major half of Europe, the cradle of modern civilization, and Asia, the most populous continent, lies today under the sway of lawless rule by the militant communism which, eagerly looking for new victims, is already rearing its ugly head in other adjacent areas; and

"Whereas the Communist conspiracy, by unprecedented and unorthodox methods, has infiltrated deep into the still free world, using any deceit or stratagem to further its ideological, psychological, or subversive attack upon every strata of free world society including education, art, press, labor, industry, agriculture, and government; and

"Whereas military preparedness of the free nations alone or together with isolated attempts to counter Communist aggression are not adequate to cope with the global Kremlin strategy and its unorthodox methods: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the patriotic American citizens of Lithuanian descent of Chicago, Ill., having carefully reviewed the events of the recent past and the deplorable state of international affairs at the beginning of the year 1954, respectfully submit to the President, Secretary of State, and Members of Congress of the United States—

"That the Government of the United States inaugurate, in the true American tradition, vigorous and consistent policy to effectively confront the global and centrally controlled Kremlin conspiracy for world subjugation;

"That the Government of the United States utilize the American supremacy in political, military, and economic world affairs to the benefit of mankind by providing a wise and coordinated leadership to the nations of the Western Hemisphere in their struggle to resist Communist imperialism;

"That the Government of the United States enlist the cooperation of the great potential anti-Communist force among the several hundreds of millions of the enslaved by employing all suitable means and measures, but avoiding premature and abortive uprisings, to assist the subjugated peoples to coordinate their fight for survival;

"That the Government of the United States insist upon the sanctity of treaties, much advertised by Soviet spokesmen since 1939, and invoke the authority of the United Nations to demand that the Soviet Government conform its policies to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and United Nations Charter solemnly underwritten by it, as well as honor its prewar international obligations under the peace treaties and nonaggression and friendship pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with the Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by withdrawing military and police forces and Communist Party apparatus from the occupied territories so that the people may freely fashion governments of their own choosing;

"That the Senate of the United States, taking cognizance of the barbarous Soviet practices applied against the Baltic and other enslaved peoples, immediately ratify the Genocide Convention so that the aid of the United Nations may be invoked in saving the entire nations from destruction at the hands of the Kremlin criminals; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Lithuanian Americans of Chicago, Ill., reaffirming their pledge of

cooperation with the Government of the United States in its efforts to bring about peace, stability, and prosperity in the world, express greatest appreciation and gratitude to the President of the United States and his administration for steadfast adherence to the principles of morality and democracy in international relations and for the support extended to the cause of independence of Lithuania; to Representative CHARLES J. KERSTEN, from Wisconsin; Speaker JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of the House of Representatives; both the majority and minority leaders of the House, other Members of Congress of the United States, and the leadership of both the Republican and Democratic National Committees, for encouraging the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in their hopes of liberation by the creation of the House Baltic Committee which will document and establish the pattern of aggression and enslavement followed by the conspirators of the Kremlin against the free nations of the world; to all other distinguished Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who, on numerous occasions, have lent their moral encouragement to and sympathy with the Baltic and other persecuted people."

LITHUANIAN COUNCIL OF CHICAGO.
ANTHONY VALONIS, *President*.
Judge ALFONSE F. WELLS, *Secretary*.

Chinks in the Iron Curtain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Winston Churchill's invention of the Iron Curtain as a description of life behind the Soviet borders and the satellite Communist states is dramatic but sometimes unfortunate. Most of us get the idea that we know absolutely nothing of what goes on in this hidden realm. The truth is that we know a little, anyhow, and we are learning more by the day.

In Bulgaria, for example, we have learned that there has actually been armed resistance to Communist rule and that a secret radio has been set up by vigorous and unconquered Bulgarian anti-Communists. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has announced a study of Tensions Within the Satellite Countries of the Soviet orbit, and the Bulgarian report is the first to be issued.

Taken in conjunction with reports of resistance in Czechoslovakia revealed in letters mailed outside of the country by friends of Czech citizens and the constant repression of outbreaks in East Germany by the Communist armed forces, the whole picture of successful iron domination of the people of Eastern Europe must be altered.

The history of Europe shows that once freedom has been tasted, it is impossible to suppress it indefinitely. Czechs who remember the days of Masaryk and Benes, Poles who recall their days under Paderewski and his successors are not permanently to be denied their freedom by the Red rulers or any others.

They Went Thataway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article published in the April 1954 issue of the Democratic Digest:

IKE'S MIDDLE-ROAD STUDY GROUPS LEAN TO THE RIGHT

For the new Republican administration, coming to power for the first time in 20 years, 1953 was clearly a year of study, rather than of action. During their first 9 month in office, President Eisenhower and his cabinet officers appointed 36 study commissions to deliberate on the various issues facing the United States Government. One problem after another was referred to a study group, for the development of the much-heralded Eisenhower program that is now beginning to unfold as these various groups make their reports.

Some veteran observers were reminded of a similar practice adopted by President Hoover during the closing days of his administration. Government by commission it was called then; the 1953 version was labeled by some as Government by postponement.

Few objected to the principle of submitting complex governmental problems to expert study groups, particularly by an administration newly in office. Since the war, numerous presidential commissions have made exhaustive studies of problems ranging from natural resources (the Paley Commission) to foreign trade (the Bell Commission). The weight and prestige of their reports sprang from the stature and objectivity of the commission members, and from the expertness of the staff help that was assembled to attack technical subjects.

But early in 1953, a pattern began to emerge that cast a cloud of doubt over the objectivity of Eisenhower "study groups." In one case after another, it seemed that the administration had made an almost conscious effort to appoint to the commission persons who either had a vested interest in the outcome of the study, or whose views on the problem to be studied were both widely known and extreme. Many found this "stacking" of study commissions with "extremists" surprising, coming from an administration which professes to follow a "middle of the road" philosophy.

The President's Advisory Commission on Housing furnishes a good example. One of the most controversial questions with which this Commission had to deal was what to do about low-rent public housing. This program has had to be curtailed ever since the start of the Korean war, and last year the Republican Congress killed it outright.

To head the Housing Advisory Commission, President Eisenhower appointed Housing and Home Finance Administrator Albert M. Cole, a former Congressman from Kansas who had become widely known as the leader of the anti-public housing forces in Congress. Those who expressed surprise at Cole's appointment to the Government's top housing job were even more surprised that such an outspoken public housing opponent should be chosen to head a commission whose job was to give supposedly objective study to the problem of providing adequate shelter for low-income families at rents they can afford.

In the past, real estate companies, mortgage bankers and lending agencies have been at the forefront of the fight against public housing. Despite this, the membership of the Advisory Commission, according to Alabama's Senator SPARKMAN, breaks down as follows: 10 officers of banks and other lending institutions; 5 operators of real estate and building businesses; 2 architects; 1 representative of veterans' organizations; 1 representative of the labor unions, and only 1 person to represent all civic, professional, church, research and planning agencies.

The Commission's report, released in January, reflects this lopsided composition. Although the report recommends continuation of public housing, it skirts the crucial questions of how many units are to be built, and how long the program is to be continued.

A commission so heavily weighted with bankers and mortgage lenders, who derive their income from interest payments and service charges, could not be expected to be entirely objective on the vital question of interest rates. In fact, it recommended an even higher interest-rate structure than had been proposed to the Senate Banking Committee by a group of mortgage lenders a few months ago. What this adds up to is higher costs to would-be home buyers, and to home builders as well.

Another example of the stacked commission was the group first named by Welfare Secretary Hobby to study the social-security program. Four of the first six consultants appointed were members of the social legislation committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, which has spearheaded a drive that many fear will wreck social security. Key feature of the chamber's plan is to use the social-security trust fund to pay benefits to large numbers of people who have never contributed to the fund.

One of the chamber of commerce representatives appointed by Mrs. Hobby had previously called social security the product of a Fabian Socialist and a hydroheaded monster.

Two additional consultants are life-insurance executives, regardless of the historic opposition of life-insurance companies to the introduction of social security under government sponsorship. Two others are bankers. Finally, after protest and after the first 2 meetings of the consultants had been held, 2 representatives of labor were added to the group.

The chamber of commerce plan finds even more favor in the congressional committee studying social security, headed by Republican Congressman CURTIS of Nebraska. Not only has Mr. CURTIS voted against extending the program but in 1949 he submitted a one-man minority report calling the present social-security system totally unmoral.

Other committee members include fellow Republican Congressmen THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, who recently suggested that social security be turned over to private enterprise, and ANGIER GOODWIN, of Massachusetts, who voted against social-security improvements in 1948 and 1949.

CURTIS chose as his technical staff director, Karl Schlotterbeck, who has recommended an end to the insurance principle of social security, with benefit payments to be paid out of general tax funds.

Perhaps the best known authority on social security, Arthur J. Altmeyer, chief of the agency since the program started in 1935, and summarily fired by the Republican administration early last year, refused to testify before the Curtis committee because he felt it was out to "wreck" the program.

Another study commission, to recommend which Government programs should be carried on by the Federal Government and which by the States, was headed by a man who drew sharp critical fire and who resigned by request. Shortly after President Eisenhower named Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame University's law school, to head the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Manion told

a nationwide television audience: "I think in • • • these categories running from education to social security and unemployment compensation and school lunches, aid to the blind and the maimed and to education and to roads and all that, I think there is a great deal that could be • • • returned to the (State) governments that are closer to the people."

Educators, gravely concerned over the mounting crisis in our educational system resulting from the shortage of school buildings and low pay for teachers, are fearful that Manion's recommendations will highten pressure for reduced grants-in-aid for education.

Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the National Council of Chief State School Officers, expressed the fear that Manion's Commission would "probably be the principal springboard for efforts to reduce the scope and expense of Federal programs affecting education."

Early this year, the sole labor representative on a committee set up by Manion to study unemployment benefits quit in protest that the committee was "stacked" with big businessmen. AFL President George Meany pointed out in a letter to Manion that the committee chairman, Clarence A. Jackson, president of the American United Life Insurance Co. of Indianapolis, "has long been associated with efforts to destroy the Federal-State character of the unemployment insurance program." Meany said that 5 other members of the 10-man committee represent General Motors, United States Steel, General Electric, Standard Oil and the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., all of which, he said, stand to benefit directly if their points of view can be incorporated in the unemployment insurance program.

There was fear, too, for the future of the public power projects which the Government has built, and which the American people have paid for. Manion told his television audience that it was his belief that the Tennessee Valley Authority was a mistake and its holdings should be sold to private industry. Rural electrification was another project that was improper for the Government to undertake, in his opinion, despite Eisenhower's campaign pledge "to foster rural electrification."

Public power development is also being studied by a special Hoover Commission task force under the chairmanship of A. B. Roberts, of Cleveland, who recommended in 1949 that the Government build large multipurpose dams and then permit power companies to install and operate generating facilities at the dams. Alexander Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association, representing more than 700 publicly owned local electric systems, warned that if this policy had been adopted in 1949, "the large private companies would hold a virtual monopoly over power production at Government-built dams." He pointed out that along with Roberts the group "contains a large number of persons who have clear records of active opposition to public power."

Small business has cause to worry about the forthcoming recommendations of the commission studying the antitrust laws. Attorney General Brownell handpicked the man to head this group. He is Prof. S. Chesterfield Oppenheim of the University of Michigan Law School, known by Democratic Congressman PATMAN, of Texas, as "one who has long preached" that the antitrust laws should be "emasculated." The 61-member commission contains legal representatives of businesses which in the past have opposed existing antitrust laws. They include Edward F. Howrey, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, who has defended many clients before that Commission against antitrust charges; William Simon, lobbyist for the Council for Clarification of Pricing Practices, and others.

Reciprocal trade agreements, which have been traditionally supported by the Democratic Party and consistently opposed by the Republican Party, were earmarked for study last year to forestall a split within the GOP ranks. This group, headed by Clarence Randall, president of Inland Steel Corp., made its report on January 23. Although its major recommendations call for a liberal approach to trade policies, they make important concessions to the protectionist point of view, but these concessions have had no softening effect on the Republican high protectionist bloc in Congress.

Most of the commissions appointed a year ago to make studies of how to solve problems now have reported, and the reports fell on Congress with a dull thud, the U. S. News & World Report commented in its February 12 issue.

The new thought is that a President has to make up his mind what he wants and then go about trying to get it, the U. S. News added.

In brief, what the studies seem to have accomplished chiefly is to put off decisions for a year while the ultra-conservative old guard position has been strengthened through the "stacked commission" process, thus making it more difficult for President Eisenhower to carry out his avowed middle road aims.

Lithuanian Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of Lithuanians of Worcester, Mass., held under the auspices of the Lithuanian Aid Society, Inc., on February 14, 1954.

The resolution follows:

Whereas Soviet Russian has ruthlessly, shamelessly, by force of arms, deprived the Republic of Lithuania of her freedom and independence, and is carrying out an attempt to completely annihilate her people through merciless persecution and deportation into Siberia and other remote parts of Russia, through relentless destruction of Lithuania's democratic form of government, industry, culture, and educational system, and through the cruel plunder of her population by wholesale murder and imprisonment; and

Whereas no peace and stability in the world is possible as long as a large part of Europe comprising over 100 million people is held in slavery and captivity: Be it

Resolved, That the citizens of Worcester of Lithuanian descent appeal to the Government of the United States of America to use to the utmost its influence within the United Nations to stop the crime of genocide being perpetrated by the Government of the Soviet Union and its agents in the Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and other Communist-enslaved countries; to demand the evacuation of all Soviet forces and those of their agents from territories of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and other nations by such forces and agents occupied by invoking the principles and obligations as per Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations; and be it further

Resolved, That this meeting voice its gratitude to the President, Secretary of State, and Congress of the United States of America for the support constantly extended to the cause of independence of Lithuania and, especially, for the recent creation of the congressional committee to investigate the circumstances under which the seizure and incorporation of the Baltic nations by Soviet Union was accomplished.

MICHAEL ZEMAITIS,
Chairman.
J. PALUBECKAS,
Secretary.

John J. Klein, Chairman, NYHSA, Wants J. L. Burke Put Back on the Railroad Retirement Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, cited below, is a wire with a grievance. I trust proper action in the matter is promptly forthcoming.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., *March 1, 1954.*
Congressman ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Representatives of over 10,000 members in the New York and New Jersey territory, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, went on record at their regular meeting in New York City March 1, 1954, opposing 100 percent against the removal of J. L. Burke, regional director, region 2, from Railroad Retirement Board. Our objection is based on Board Member H. W. Harper's opinion in Board meeting minutes of February 3, 1954.

Respectfully and sincerely,
JOHN J. KLEIN,
Chairman, NYHSA.

Hungarian Freedom Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, 106 years ago Hungarian patriots, led by Louis Kossuth, dedicated themselves to the task of gaining the independence and freedom of Hungary from Hapsburg rule. That day, March 15, 1848, has since become for the Hungarian people their Freedom Day. It also marks a day of rededication to the cause of Hungary's freedom from the forces of tyranny and despotism which are in control of that country today.

Just as in the days of Kossuth, more than a century ago, Hungarians everywhere are once again waging a struggle for the freedom of their country. The arrest and torture of Cardinal Mindszenty by the Communists has not broken the spirit and the yearning of the Hungarian people to regain their freedom. The American people have followed with great sympathy the plight which has befallen the Hungarian people and we have on numerous occasions pro-

tested the atrocities perpetrated against them by the ruthless Communist rulers.

On the occasion of the anniversary of Hungary's traditional Freedom Day, we share in the aspirations of Hungarians everywhere for the liberation of their people. We extend our greetings and express our hopes that Hungary will soon regain its independence from the yoke of communism. Their cause is a righteous one, they deserve our encouragement in their struggle for a free and independent Hungary.

After 262 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OMAR BURLESON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Abilene Reporter-News, Abilene, Tex., written by Mr. Frank Grimes.

The editorial is particularly fitting to the times and should be a forceful reminder to all of us not to shut out the scenery because of the mountains and the trees.

AFTER 262 YEARS

After 262 years, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is moving to clear the names of persons tried, found guilty, and executed for witchcraft in the great outbreak of mass hysteria which swept the colony in 1692 and recorded minor outbreaks in Connecticut and Virginia.

The Committee on Constitutional Law of the Massachusetts Legislature this week approved a bill clearing the names of those hanged as witches, and no trouble enacting it into law is expected. Salem, second only to Plymouth among New England settlements, gets most of the blame for witchcraft trials and executions, but other Massachusetts communities were also involved. Altogether 19 persons were put to death at a time the ancient superstition was dying out in Europe. The Salem insanity lasted only a few months, and there was a revulsion which ended the persecutions and freed some 150 other suspects from prison. Its basis was religious fanaticism.

While no more Salems have disgraced the pages of American history, instances of mass hysteria are by no means unknown to the modern world. The Salem witch burners operated under color of the law; today mass hysteria takes many forms of violence, and its practitioners are not always careful to operate within the law.

A very thin veneer of laws, customs, self-restraint, and conscience separates savagery and civilization. Let these laws, customs, and restraints break down in the smallest particular and civilization recedes as savagery takes over. Man's inhumanity to man still makes countless thousands mourn.

We seem to have come a long way since Salem, since the mass executions for witchcraft in Europe in the Middle Ages. But mass hysteria still afflicts mankind on occasion. What was Hitlerite Germany but a mass hysteria produced by the hysteric self-anointed ex-corporal.

Fanaticism in all its forms is a threat to civilized institutions. Cool heads and hearts devoted to human welfare, based on the great precepts and examples that have come down to us in the Scriptures, are the only safeguards against the Salems of this world. Not only witches were executed at Salem. The Christian religion was crucified there.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

The Struggle for a Free Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Struggle for a Free Asia," which was delivered by me last evening before the Foreign Policy Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STRUGGLE FOR A FREE ASIA

(Speech of United States Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California)

Communism is a new brand of colonialism. There can be no free Asia within the Communist orbit nor can the free people of Asia gain the economic, political, and spiritual advantages to which they are entitled while living under a constant menace of potential Communist aggression.

In the long history of Russia under the Czars and under the Commissars there is nothing equal to the establishment of a free and independent Philippine Republic by the United States; a free India, Pakistan, and Burma by Great Britain; or a free Indonesia Republic by the Netherlands.

During this same period the Soviet Union has destroyed the freedom of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and fastened satellite totalitarian governments on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. They have given military and technical aid for the purpose of destroying free government in China and North Korea.

Communism is a global menace. Our error and that of our Allies was in thinking it could be halted by closing the door to communism in Europe while leaving it wide-open in Asia.

In the period between the year 1945, which saw the end of World War II, and 1950, which marked the opening of the Korean Communist aggression, international communism expanded the Iron Curtain from the control of 200 million people to 600 million.

In the light of these tremendous gains the groundwork was laid to the Communist aggression in Korea. The men in the Kremlin determined that the hour had arrived for testing out the will of the free world to resist overt aggression. Their victories theretofore had been so cheap that they had come to believe their own propaganda relative to the "decadent democracies." If resistance had not been shown in Korea all of Asia would today be in Communist hands.

Earlier testing out had taken place at the time of the Berlin airlift. The men in the Kremlin had become convinced that the free world of the West was prepared to resist by force of arms any further Communist aggression in Europe. By the lack of a firm policy on our part in Asia they had come to believe that there would be no will to resist in that vast area of the world.

While the Korean war was a warning signal to the free world and brought about increased defenses on the part of ourselves and our allies, it also demonstrated that there was still much to be done if there was to be an adequate system of collective security.

In the struggle against communism in Korea, the victim of the aggression, the Republic of Korea, furnished about 600,000 of the Allied armed forces. The United States of America furnished about 450,000. All the members of the United Nations outside of the United States furnished approximately 45,000. I submit that this is not a satisfactory system of collective security when only 17 out of the 60 members of the United Nations furnish forces for the resistance of the first overt active aggression and all of them put together furnished only 10 percent of the number contributed by the United States of America alone.

We also had a clear demonstration that an aggressor cannot be defeated if our Armed Forces are to be handicapped by restrictions which had never been applied in conflicts where we had won. In the Korean war the main supply bases, troop concentration points, arsenals, and airfields were left in a privileged sanctuary. This was a new experience for our fighting men. The Communist world should take notice that no such restrictions will be recognized if they commit further aggression or break the truce in Korea.

Had such a warning been given in January 1950, the Korean aggression would probably not have taken place on June 25, 1950.

Because the national defense needs are so great in view of the Communist menace throughout the world, the impact of our foreign and defense policy on our domestic economy cannot be ignored. In order to get a fresh look at the entire picture, and to determine what changes can be made to maintain our defense and at the same time give some relief to our overburdened budget, the President selected an entirely new team to constitute the joint chiefs of staff. This group is now reviewing our defense needs and commitments in the light of existing conditions insofar as they pertain to NATO and the European Defense Command, Asia and the Far East, the Middle East and the Americas.

While we will, of course, live up to our treaty commitments our aid should go to those who are doing their utmost to help themselves.

We do not have the resources to give assistance to those who want to sit on the sidelines to see how the struggle is coming out between the free world and Communist totalitarianism.

Those who advocate a so-called great debate relative to the January 12 New York speech by the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, constantly read into the Secretary's statement material which was not there. Among those who have taken that liberty with Secretary Dulles' speech is Mr. Chester Bowles whose article appeared in the New York Times on February 28.

In his article Bowles says that the Dulles policy implies we would use the atomic weapon for massive retaliation. At no place in Secretary Dulles' speech did he indicate that our retaliation was in all cases to be atomic in nature nor that it was limited to any one type of retaliation. In fact, we rely on a variety of retaliatory measures adapted to specific situations and areas.

The essence of our policy is that our retaliation methods are not disclosed to the Kremlin in advance and may be applied to whatever strategic situation develops. This may be a naval blockade, conventional air harassment of Communist communications lines or greater supplies of arms and ammunition to non-Communist governments or people behind the Iron Curtain engaged in the struggle against communism.

In his New York speech Secretary Dulles recognized both the importance of collective security and of local defense. He said:

"We need allies and collective security. Our purpose is to make these relations more effective, less costly. This can be done by placing more reliance on deterrent power, and less dependence on local defensive power.

"This is accepted practice so far as local communities are concerned. We keep locks on our doors: but we do not have an armed guard in every home. We rely principally on a community security system so well equipped to punish any who break in and steal that, in fact, would-be aggressors are generally deterred. That is the modern way of getting maximum protection at a bearable cost.

"What the Eisenhower administration seeks is a similar international security system. We want, for ourselves and the other free nations, a maximum deterrent at a bearable cost.

"Local defense will always be important. But there is no local defense which alone will contain the mighty land power of the Communist world. Local defenses must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power. A potential aggressor must know that he cannot always prescribe battle conditions that suit him. Otherwise, for example, a potential aggressor, who is glutted with manpower, might be tempted to attack in confidence that resistance would be confined to manpower. He might be tempted to attack in places where his superiority was decisive."

Nothing could please the men in the Kremlin more than to have a great debate on the floor of the Congress or throughout the country which would define and limit the steps we might take in the event of further Communist aggression. All that the men in the Kremlin should know is that in the event of further aggression the United States of America will take whatever steps our national interests require. We certainly shouldn't telegraph our strategic plans in advance.

With reference to the new policy, neither the Secretary of State nor any other responsible person in the Government has advocated conventional or atomic bombing of cities having no strategic importance.

If and when the United States national interests require active resistance to further Communist aggression, reprisal would be appropriate to the area and objective. We certainly wouldn't use an elephant gun to hunt rabbits. The essence of such a policy as I visualize it would be strike home at the source of aggression and cripple the aggressor's strength in whatever way seemed most feasible at the time. Among other steps that might well be taken would be means of arming the enslaved people behind the iron curtain to join in the struggle against the Communist menace.

For many years I have had the strong belief that if the Soviet Union starts aggression in the world we may find among our

stoutest allies the oppressed people of Russia and literally millions of them may be enlisted on the side of freedom particularly now that they know that this government will never again, as was the case in World War II, forcibly repatriate those who do not desire to return. This is why the Communists so desperately sought to gain control over the Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war who chose freedom rather than slavery behind the Iron Curtain. Our supplemental reserves may be found behind the Communist lines in Europe and in Asia.

The American possession of the atomic weapon and its continued superiority in this regard has certainly had a deterrent effect upon Soviet plans for aggression. Otherwise all of Germany and perhaps all of Europe might well be behind the Iron Curtain.

All the efforts indicate that Europe now feels that the United States deterrent (including atomic power) saved them from attack. They are convinced that the Soviet Union does not want war at the present time and would not be likely to participate so long as we evidence a determination to retaliate in an all-out fashion in event of aggression against this country or against our forces stationed abroad in conformity with our treaty obligations.

Should there be a Pearl Harbor-type of attack while Congress was not in session any President of the United States would have an obligation to immediately take all steps necessary to strike at the source of the aggression and to eliminate as far as possible the source from which the attacking plane or units came.

If we were immobilized for the several days that would be necessary for Congress to assemble, the war could be lost as far as our forces stationed abroad and Western Europe are concerned. We must not overlook the fact that without the use of atomic weapons the Netherlands surrendered to Nazi Germany in 4 days and Belgium surrendered in 18 days. If the great debate was going on during such a period the world could be lost while legislators and journalists were inadvertently supplying the men in the Kremlin and their invading forces with information that would be invaluable to them.

Local conventional defenses even if strengthened, are known to Europe to be inadequate to repel Soviet ground attack, but they feel them to be a valuable supplement to the deterrent power of United States air power, our atomic capabilities and our determination to use whatever force is necessary.

United States policy is being developed and executed in agreement with our allies and on the basis of collective security. We count upon convincing our allies that the adjusted concept of defense yields not only greater economy of effort, but also a multiplicity of alternatives that will keep the men in the Kremlin and in their satellite captials on the defensive. In his article Mr. Bowles argues that our announced reliance on atomic retalitation (in those cases wherein it would be in our national interest to take such steps) would be incompatible with international control or prohibitive of atomic weapons.

My understanding is that we still stand as President Eisenhower has reiterated so often for effective atomic controls thus far rejected by the Soviet Union. Until then we cannot and should not renounce use of the most effective deterrent to war now available to us and which helps the free world to overcome the predominance that the Soviet world now has in armed manpower.

If and when an effective system of atomic control could be established the situation would be different and our strategy would doubtless be modified accordingly. In any event, however, we should always seek mobility rather than planning on meeting Communist human-sea attacks by their ground forces with our limited manpower.

In no case does the policy enunciated by Secretary Dulles mean the bypassing of congressional power to declare war. The Secretary of State advocated "A great capacity to retalitate, constantly, by means and places of our choosing." The emphasis was on capacity to act quickly—a state of readiness is necessary under the conditions existing in the world today. The use of that capacity depends upon our constitutional requirements, our existing treaty commitments, and the involvement of our own forces stationed abroad under those treaties, the character and locations of the attack in relation to the United States and such other factors as will clearly indicate to the American Government and the American people that our vital interests are at stake as well as our survival as part of a free world of freemen.

Certainly it should be clear to all of those who have been critical of the new policy that we do not and would not expect to rely solely on the atomic weapon. No nation in all of history has ever done so much to give economic and technical aid to combat intersources of weaknesses among our friends and Allies. The essence of the new policy is to develop a wider range of effective measures—economic, political, and psychological as well as military and thus be enabled to combat communism more effectively. We are to economic, political, and psychological as well as military and thus be enabled to combat communism more effectively. We are to encourage true liberation and freedom of colonial people or independent nations who have lost their freedom against a new and more terrible type of subjection which is Communist totalitarianism.

Our policy is to insure the sort of defense which our economy can sustain over the long haul without disaster. The men in the Kremlin recognize that if they could bring about a financial collapse of our Government and our economy by prolonged defense spending of a size not even this great Nation could support they would have achieved their objective without moving a division across a single international frontier. They know that if America should go down we would take the entire free world down with us.

We need not assume recent or present level of expenditures would be the maximum under any or all circumstances. Objective estimates of Soviet capabilities and intentions, as well as the effects of new types of weapons, lead to the conclusion that—as things now are—we can afford to reduce costs compatibly with the national security. We are merely seeking a more rational way of securing the necessary defense with reduced costs wherever that is possible. We constantly want to reduce the fat and strengthen the muscle in our defense organization.

The policy set forth in the January 12th speech of Secretary of State Dulles was directed specifically at the problem of countering, or better deterring Communist aggression wherever it might threaten.

This is not our complete policy which embraces a great many other actions and tactics, economic, political and military, designed to strengthen the free world. We must keep in mind that our major efforts and hopes would prove futile if Communist aggression is allowed to strike and strike again until the presently free nations are absorbed one by one into the Soviet orbit.

Only behind the protetive shield of a policy which will prevent such disaster can we and other free nations hope to survive and develop our type of society and political institutions with any hopeful prospect for the future.

Representative Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Meet Your Congressman," in the Springfield Sun, of Springfield, N. J., which gives an excellent descriptive picture of a new, intelligent, and progressive young Representative in Congress, Mr. HARRISON WILLIAMS. It is a refreshing editorial about a fine young man.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEET YOUR CONGRESSMAN

A modern version of the old front porch political technique was introduced by Congressman HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., in Springfield Saturday night—and if he were able to duplicate that same charming and scintillating performance many times in each community and throughout the entire sixth district, there isn't a single candidate on the political horizon at the moment able to defeat him this fall.

In place of the front porch, the scene was shifted to the living room of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent J. Bonadies' residence where 40 or 50 Springfield citizens were invited to "meet your Congressman." It was an informal, social gathering—with promise of very little or nothing in the way of politics—but when you have a group of people representing both major parties as well as a sprinkling of the more articulate members of what is referred to as the local independent group—some politics will just have to spill over.

Congressman WILLIAMS isn't the bombastic Senator Claghorn type of a Representative. He doesn't overwhelm his constituents—he didn't hem and haw—he didn't flex his oratorical muscles and he didn't huff and puff. He answered everything and they threw curves and loaded questions at him but the young Congressman never once ran to cover.

He didn't act like the noble knight in shining armor on a white horse but he wasn't namby-pamby about any of the questions and when the sandwich trays and empty coffee cups were cleared away, there wasn't a single person in that room who wouldn't admit that "here's a guy who really is for the little people and means to represent his own district."

He was forthright, quick on the trigger, and, if he didn't know the answer, he didn't double talk his way out. His knowledge of what's doing on the gloom-and-doom front in Washington, his intelligent handling of the serious problems confronting Congress and his little facetious but not too frivolous explanations of the many questions flung at him, gave everyone present the feeling that "this young fellow is more serious about his job than about himself."

We have always contended that political rallies merely attracted those who happened to belong to the same party, represented by the candidate, and the spellbinder invariably got a lot of mileage out of the breast beating and pointing with pride to the many accomplishments of his particular political party. But he is usually talking to his own and there's little chance of making a convert or even a lukewarm doubter.

Saturday night the "meet your Congressman" gathering gave Mr. WILLIAMS an opportunity to carry the ball throughout the entire evening, and when he was on the 5-yard line and they tossed him 1 of those Roman candle questions where he had to decide between the greatest overall good for the Nation as against some not too important Sixth District problem, he proved that the day of the Congressman who did nothing except send seeds to his constituents, went out with bustles and 5-cent subway rides.

We liked him—the way he smiled his way into those barbed questions—the way he talked with and not down to those who were really interested in what kind of a day has it been for our Congressman. He wasn't glib but he has a fine command of the language and he never had to grope for words—nor answers. He may be a freshman in Congress and he will probably discover a lot of rooms marked "private" where they cook up such little things as deals; but they're not going to push this chap around.

His youth, his sparkling, smiling eyes, and his personable and intelligent handling of the entire evening pleased everybody. He's going to be a hard man to beat this fall; and, if he can put on some more livingroom chats and touch all the bases throughout the Sixth District, he's not going to be beaten. This approach might snowball into something big.

Jackson Day Dinner Address by Hon. Stuart Symington, of Missouri

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting address delivered by the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] at Des Moines, Iowa, on March 13.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a very real privilege to visit with you in Iowa tonight, especially as it also affords me the opportunity to be with one of our greatest Senators, your own GUY GILLETTE.

GUY may have forgotten, but I succeeded him in my first Government job, as Chairman of the Surplus Property Board and—I could never forget all the courtesies and consideration he showed me upon taking over that work. His shoes were hard to fill.

We are here tonight to pay our respects to that magnificent American and outstanding Democrat—Andrew Jackson.

No one fought for freedom more courageously—and he was a champion of what our party stands for.

Courage, and conviction.

Tonight we meet in the 2d year of what has been called the great crusade. We meet with unity, a unity that our leader, Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, described recently as not the kind "bottled in bond" by an advertising firm, and peddled under the skilled guidance of a television commentator—rather the unity of men who have found a common platform upon which we can all stand.

We have just witnessed the Republican version of brotherhood week, the brotherhood of Cain and Abel.

But I, for one, believe there are far more important things in this country than watching this Republican scrap, even if it is pleasant for a change for us Democrats to be holding the coats.

The Democratic Party will never turn from the position it has always held before the American people. We are not going to be either slugged or tricked into making the lesser the greater. We are going to continue in the future, as we have in the past, to be the party of responsibility.

We Americans are weary of programs based on fear, sickened by the bitterness now being engineered even within the Republican Party itself. We believe the American people seek a party with a program based on confidence and courage for all the people.

Speaking of this argument between Republicans about Army and other subversion in Government, I know that every Democrat at this great dinner believes that even if there is only one Communist in Government, that is one too many, and he should be rooted out.

True to our country and our party, however, we want to handle this important matter in the American tradition.

Now let's turn to other important matters that are of great interest to every American.

Let's start with agriculture.

In these grave days why should the Secretary of Agriculture sow disunity by giving out any such statement as the one he made last January before the Senate Agriculture Committee:

"At what point will the 140 million Americans who do not live on farms rise up and demand, not revision but outright elimination of all direct aid to agriculture?"

What American wants today, in every field, is constructive action, not destructive comment.

In one way this is a simple problem. The farmer's income has fallen, both gross and net. And as a result his demand is down for farm machinery, clothing, radios, automobiles, and even certain types of food, and will stay down until he has more money to spend.

How can this administration continue to ignore the vital import of the farm purchasing power to the rest of the economy? Because the farmers of the United States normally consume more than 16 percent of this country's petroleum production, 9 percent of its steel, 10 percent of its chemicals and 12 percent of its rubber.

The administration's antifarmer approach apparently develops from the philosophy of top officials in the Department of Agriculture. Couple that philosophy with a poor memory as to campaign promises, and there you have it—the explanation of this dismal failure to meet the farm issue.

Do you remember those campaign promises?

In the campaign of 1952 the Republican candidate for President said at Kasson, Minn.:

"And here, and now, without any ifs or buts, I say to you that I can stand behind—and the Republican Party stands behind—the price-support laws now on the books."

Then, at Brookings, S. Dak., he said:

"The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support, and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90."

And then, at Fargo, N. Dak., he said:

"Then we are accused of wanting to abolish the farm program and the price support. Well, some things are so false you don't know the right words to use, at least in polite society, for condemning them. I went to Kasson and on behalf of Republican leaders, and with the concurrence of the great men of the party, at least all that could be reached in time, I stated exactly what we meant to do, and the present 90 percent parity price in the farm program was sustained and supported completely."

As against that, last April the Department of Agriculture stated, "It would be better if the marginal farmer got out of farming and into industry, and his land were turned over to grass, or trees, or other soil-conservation practices."

But tens of thousands of experienced workers are now being laid off from industry; and no one has yet taught the farmer and his family how to digest the grass.

How can one reconcile this position with a recent statement from the Assistant Secretary of Labor that the flow of farm workers into cities must be slowed down.

While administrative spokesmen just worry, your Senator—GUY GILLETTE—has been doing something. He has worked with diligence for a program to distribute food surpluses to the needy.

This hard work by GUY GILLETTE, Senator KERR, and others has resulted in the Kerr bill, and I was glad to join with them in this worthy cause.

In his agricultural message to the Congress, the President stated, "* * * an unending effort has proceeded in the past 12 months to provide the American farmer his full share of the income produced by a stable prosperous country."

Well, let's look for a moment at the results of this "unending effort." During the period to which reference was made the official figures show: Parity averaged 8 points lower during 1953 than 1952; prices received by farmers averaged 11 percent less in 1953 than 1952; farm proprietors' personal income decreased more than 16 percent from the 1952 figure.

No one believes in private industry more than the man who owns a piece of land; and he would probably be the first to take a chance on a totally free economy.

But is anyone no naive as to believe that Congress will ever remove legislative protection from other segments of our economy?

Every other segment of the economy is protected, one way or another, by law.

Industry has tariffs, acelerated tax write-offs, and many other benefits.

Labor has the minimum wage law, a 40-hour-week law, and many other benefits.

In an economy where all other major segments have some protection, how can farmers survive with no protection?

Without attempting to compare the merits of the various aids to different segments of our economy, it is interesting to note that, during the fiscal 1954, the present administration estimates its payments to business, such as maritime subsidies, subsidies to the airplane industry, etc., at over $1,205,000,000.

For that same period, their estimate for foreign aid is more than $5½ billion.

If in the national interest we can afford to give many billions of dollars of the American taxpayers' money to foreign countries—including hundreds of millions of dollars of our agricultural products, is it too much to allow our own drought stricken farmers, including many veterans, the right to purchase feed from their Government at prices they can afford to pay? Or, to receive reasonable stability in price and income, as they in turn feed this great Nation.

Senator ELLENDER, a great Democrat, pointed out that when the Department of Agriculture was recently asked by his committee to show the cost of the price-support program, they presented a figure of $16,214,000,000 for the fiscal years 1932 to 1953. But examination showed this figure included all cost of soil conservation programs, flood control, and many other items not part of the support program.

Recently the Department of Agriculture submitted a statement showing that over a period of 20 years, the losses on the 6 basic commodities totaled $20,720,931—or slightly more than $1 million a year. The price support program, for the same period—for all farm commodities including the loss

of nearly one-half billion dollars on potatoes—cost approximately $1.1 billion.

That is 35 cents annually per person per year to have a sound farm economy.

Since the administration appears to have taken the position that adequate price supports are too expensive, don't you think it interesting that 20 years of farm-price support cost the American taxpayer less than the United States spent last year in Indochina alone?

Between June 1952 and June 1953, the total cost of our price-support programs was about $61,000,000. This amounted to two-twenty-fifths of 1 percent of the total Government expenditures for that fiscal year.

By comparison, foreign aid exceeded 7 percent of Federal Government expenditures.

In other words, foreign-aid expenditures were 87 times as much as the cost of the entire price-support program for agriculture.

I am not questioning the philosophy of some foreign aid to our allies in the free world. But I do question those who, generous with these allies, nevertheless are so shortsighted, and miserly, when it comes to aiding their own neighbors at home.

This policy, my friends, is doubly shortsighted—because anyone who has the courage to face the issues of this air-atomic age, knows that the last great strength left in the free world today against the growing menace of Soviet communism is the strength of the American free economy.

And farm prosperity is the very core of that economy.

This administration has assumed what appears to be an ostrichlike attitude toward other major issues which now confront us Americans.

Unemployment has been increasing for months: 584,000 last month, which brings the total to 3,671,000. Industrial production is in a continuing downturn—and other indexes of our economic health reveal serious trends.

But we continue to be told that we should be satisfied, even happy about this, because it is a healthy readjustment.

First these Republicans tell us there is no recession.

Then they tell us how to get out of the one we are in.

Our agricultural economy has experienced some of its worst floods, droughts, and dust storms.

Yet the administration's almanac promises that things will be better next year; and to that end, the 1955 Republican budget asks for a 37-percent reduction in expenditures for flood control and related projects compared with the last Democratic budget.

An effort is also being made to reduce by 30 percent expenditures for irrigation projects as compared with the last Democratic budget.

Nobody realizes more than I how difficult is the right solution to the farm problem.

Some crops are relatively easy to store; such as wheat, tobacco, cotton, and corn. And, as one prepares for defense against atomic war, the stockpiling of food is important along with the stockpiling of metals.

Other crops are hard to store—some impossible—and cattle is very hard to grade.

But farm income last year was off a billion dollars.

And so, as we Democrats work for the best solution, there is one point on which I am absolutely certain—namely, the purchasing power of the farmer, that bulwark to a sound economy, must be maintained.

There are many other questionable methods by which this administration apparently intends to carry out its campaign pledges to help the people.

A tax law has been submitted which even its most ardent backers admit is a law written primarily for the wealthy as against the less fortunate.

No tax relief is given the man or woman who toils.

As illustration, if this tax law passes, anyone with an income of $12,000 which came only from dividends, would have his tax reduced, after 3 years, from over $2,000 a year to less than $300 a year.

The Secretary of the Treasury now believes that the best way to promote prosperity is to increase the income from corporate dividends.

But that magnificient Democrat of the Senate Finance Committee, the great senior Senator from Georgia, WALTER F. GEORGE, proposes that the best way to promote prosperity is to increase the purchasing power of all the American people.

I predict that the Republican administration's tax plan will be rejected, and the Democratic plan will be approved.

Last spring many of us were bewildered at the effort to cut down our national defense, primarily our airpower.

We were even more bewildered when the Department of Defense announced that it was taking $5 million out of the Air Force in order to obtain a better Air Force.

As Senator DICK RUSSELL, ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, commented, "Why not take out $10 million and have a much better Air Force."

This year, despite present grave conditions in many parts of the world—East Germany, Egypt, Indochina, Korea, and others—there is to be further heavy reduction in our armed strength.

I am studying this proposed budget and do not yet say it is either right or wrong. But I do say that the American people should never again be fooled by any statement that further reductions in military strength will result in a further increase in military strength.

I believe the people are weary of programs based upon fear, sickened with politics that test a man's loyalty by his hatred of fellow Americans.

They are eagerly seeking a party whose first concern is the future of our country.

They are looking for leaders who want to serve because they love America—not because they hate its citizens. They long for a program, not of distrust and hysteria, but of confidence and courage.

We Democrats, we Americans are not only characters in the living book of democracy. We are also its authors. And so it falls upon us to decide whether chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat, or of continued advance.

We Democrats believe in an America where factory workers are not discarded after they reach their prime—where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation—where impoverished farmers, and farm workers, do not become homeless wanderers—where monopoly does not make youth a begger for a job.

We Democrats believe in an America whose rivers and valleys and lakes and hills—the wealth of our soil and our waters—are protected and developed as the rightful heritage of all the people, resulting in a sound and prosperous economy.

We Democrats believe in an America that provides educational opportunity for all its people.

We Democrats believe in an America where trade and industry bring the necessities, and conveniences, of living within the means of an ever-growing number; where enterprise, and work, bring proper rewards; where no businessman can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly; where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair rewards of every businessman.

We Democrats believe in an America with peace in the ranks of labor—where working people can take their proper place at the council table; an America where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are fortified by the safeguards of a fair law.

We Democrats believe in an America where those who have reached the evening of life can live out their years in peace; where pensions and insurance for the aged shall be forthcoming as a matter of right to those who, through a long life of labor, have served their families and their nation well.

We Democrats believe in an America devoted to freedom, and unified by tolerance, and religious faith—a people consecrated to peace, but confident in their strength, because body and spirit are secure and unafraid.

We Democrats believe in an America which has the courage to lead in a troubled world. We believe that in world affairs we must have strong policies, policies which shape events, rather than having events shape our policies.

We cannot, we will not accept any doctrine that we are in the grip of forces we cannot control.

With God's help, a dynamic America which follows this creed will never succumb to the evil night of Communist aggression.

Faith of the people in their Government is but faith in themselves—and that faith is the best guarantee of security, as well as the best guarantee of national and individual freedom.

The Democratic Party is the party of all America. It is not the tool of any one section; any one class; any one group. Its doors are open to all who believe in a country whose future is unlimited.

We Democrats seek to spread—not quarantine—prosperity.

Our goal is peace in the world—not strife at home.

Our aim is the preservation of our liberties.

The American people will judge our success by our performance. And when they examine the record—a record which we proudly offer for their inspection—they can come to only one conclusion.

They will march with the Democratic Party to victory—victory in November, and victory for the years to come.

Point 4 Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. SIDNEY CAMP
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include excerpts from an article entitled "Point 4 Today" by Mr. Frank S. Ketcham, which appeared in the publication Christianity and Crisis on March 8, 1954. Mr. Ketcham, a Washington attorney, is general counsel of the Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches, and for the broadcasting and film commission of the National Council of Churches.

The excerpts follow:

POINT 4 TODAY

(By Frank S. Ketcham)

Recent reports about point 4, the bold new program to technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world upon which our Government embarked 2 years ago, have been disquieting to many Americans. Reorganization, reduction in force, new policy enunciations, and rumors of more drastic changes yet to come have created a climate of uneasiness. What does

the present administration intend to do with point 4? Will the Government abandon the program to private voluntary agencies? Are point 4 projects tied in with military commitments? Are heavy budget cuts in prospect? Such questions are being asked with increasing urgency by supporters of point 4. The attitude of the administration toward technical assistance can be discovered only by examining the statements of policy, as well as the actions of its leaders.

STATEMENTS OF POLICY

On April 16, 1953, in a speech before the American Association of Newspaper Publishers, President Eisenhower voiced his basic philosophy with respect to foreign aid:

"We are prepared to reaffirm, with the most concrete evidence our readiness to help build a world in which all peoples can be productive and prosperous. This Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. The purposes of this great work would be to help other peoples to develop the underdeveloped areas of the world. * * * The monuments to this new kind of war would be these: Roads and schools, hospitals and homes, food and health."

More recently, when Harold Stassen, Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, addressed the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities in an effort to enlist their support of the point four program, he referred to the President's statement as "the basic philosophy in which we are engaged and which we hope and pray may be extended even beyond the present free areas, even beyond the Iron Curtain."

These pronouncements hardly sound like the words of men who are not committed to the technical assistance program and who would like to see it shelved. What about actions, then? What has been done and is being done to advance these high objectives?

REORGANIZATION

On August 1, 1953, the technical assistance program was merged with the economic assistance and other nonmilitary foreign aid programs in the newly created Foreign Operations Administration. Thus, technical assistance lost its identity as a separate program.

The reorganization achieved economies which were urgently necessary because of reduced appropriations. At the same time it represents Mr. Stassen's approach to the problem of technical assistance, as expressed to the writer of this article in an interview. His concept of point four includes technical assistance and training with capital not merely to procure equipment for demonstration purposes but sufficient to get new projects started, to aid in the developmental stage. Under the former organizational plan, the attempt was made to draw a sharp line between technical assistance and economic considerations. Proponents of the new plan, including Mr. Stassen, maintain that the problems are not compartmental and that a certain amount of economic assistance is essential to the success of the technical assistance program. Mr. Stassen stated, in effect that: "You can have the best of intentions with the technical assistance only approach, but if you don't tie it in with economics, the result is likely to be chaos, no matter how humanitarian your views are."

REDUCTION IN FORCE

The reorganization was accompanied by a reduction staff. Over the objections of the administration, Congress appropriated $14 million less for administrative purposes in the FOA than its constituent agencies received in the preceding year.

There is no gainsaying the fact that through this retrenchment a great many able employees were lost to point four. To say that such a loss will not be felt is to fly in the face of logic. Yet the charge that those now directing the point four program are comparatively inexperienced is likewise unfair. The fact is that very little new blood has been brought into FOA, certainly no more than one would expect in connection with a change in administration.

ROLE OF VOLUNTEER AGENCIES

The present program contemplates expanded use of nongovernment agencies in the conduct of technical assistance. This proposal has been widely interpreted as indicative of a lack of interest in point four on the part of the administration and an intention to abandon it as a responsibility of government. The charge is serious, but is it supported by the record?

In his speech of November 12, 1953, before the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, Mr. Stassen explained the decision to enlist a larger measure of their support:

"We are prepared to enter into new, broad, long-term contracts with the land-grant colleges in the United States in relationship to specific underdeveloped countries and the educational institutions within those countries. We are prepared on the basis of 3-year contracts to set agreed objectives of accomplishments, to set broad outlines of the method of program."

In discussing this phase of his program with the writer, Mr. Stassen expresses substantially the same views. He feels that non-Government agencies can do a better job in many areas of technical assistance because they are in a position to develop a people-to-people relationship, rather than a government-to-government relationship, and also, because there will be less suspicion of a military or foreign policy angle. At no time did Mr. Stassen indicate a disposition to turn the whole program over to nongovernment auspices. He seemed rather to be expressing his own philosophy as to the manner in which the Government should exercise leadership in mobilizing the resources of American institutions to get the job done.

In my opinion, the activities of FOA thus far do not support the theory that it is abandoning point 4. While plans for the negotiation of additional contracts with private agencies are being pressed, there has been a 25-percent increase in the number of Government technicians assigned to field work.

CONSIDERATIONS OF SECURITY

A conviction which the churches have repeatedly expressed and which has been voiced most recently by the I. D. A. B. is that technical assistance should never be conditioned upon the recipient countries' participation in military or defense support operations. While the possibility of a change in policy is one to be guarded against, there is no such requirement at present. All of the agreements include stipulations that the recipient nations will endeavor to promote international understanding and good will, maintain world peace, and mutually work to eliminate causes of international tension. Many agreements do contain promises as to mutual security where aid specifically related to mutual security is being furnished. But a nation does not have to agree to participate in programs which promote collective security in order to receive technical assistance from the United States.

The technical assistance program is basically one of mutual advantage to the United States and to the participating nations. It is to our advantage to aid the peoples of the underdeveloped areas which are still a part of the free world, to furnish leadership in connection with their social and technical advancement, in order that they may not become victims of Communist propaganda and in that way contribute to a movement which is abhorrent to our democratic institutions. Only in this broad sense are technical assistance projects inevitably related to questions of security.

BUDGET PROBLEMS

Continuance of point 4 is dependent upon the appropriation of funds by Congress. For the fiscal year 1955 the administration has requested a total of $10,010,000,000 for economic and technical aid to foreign countries. The amount earmarked for technical assistance in the underdeveloped countries is about the same as the 1954 allotment.

It is obvious that the administration wants to preserve the technical assistance program. Last year when a major reduction in appropriations was threatened by Congress, the President himself fought vigorously to save point 4 and the indications are that he will do the same again.

Apparently there are still strong forces in Congress which favor the abolishment of FOA as a separate organization and the transfer of its functions to the State, Defense, and Commerce Departments. A saving in overhead expense would be accomplished, but whether the distribution of responsibility for economic and technical assistance throughout these departments, the heads of which already have major duties in other broad fields, would be advantageous to the foreign aid program is highly questionable. The whole issue of organization seems likely to be aired again in the present session of Congress.

It is my feeling that the Eisenhower administration, i. e., the executive branch of the Government, is sincere in its efforts to continue the technical assistance program, even to the point of requesting the maximum funds which can be used effectively. Well informed sources indicate strongly, however, that the legislative branch does not share in this enthusiasm for point 4. Strenuous efforts to trim the budget estimate which the President sent to Congress on January 21, 1954, are definitely in prospect. Under the circumstances, the American churches can be of great assistance to the administration in its efforts to carry out one of the great practical and humanitarian movements of our time by laying before the Congress their concern about point 4 and supporting the President, and others who are responsible therefor, in obtaining sufficient appropriations to do the job.

Military Aircraft Emergencies at Long Beach Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many times I have advised the House of the dangers arising from the use of the Long Beach (Calif.) Municipal Airport by the air department for training and ferrying activities. Not too long ago I listed the actual crashes occurring in the metropolitan area surrounding this airport. The same situation persists in other metropolitan areas of the country where the air department persists in maintaining such activities.

I am listing below a tabulation of emergency landings and takeoffs at this airport for which fire department equipment was called out during the year 1953.

The list shows that there were 75 such emergencies involving military aircraft.

In contrast, there were only 41 such instances involving civilian and commercial planes.

These figures are very revealing when compared to the total number of takeoffs and landings by military and civilian planes. In the year 1953 there were 31,762 military takeoffs and landings, and 76,888 civilian. Well over twice as many civilian as military.

So, it is highly significant that although the military uses the airport only half as much as civilian and commercial planes, military aircraft were involved in twice as many emergency landings and takeoffs.

The tabulation is as follows:

DATE, AIRCRAFT, AND CAUSE

January 3: Military F–47; emergency landing: leaking hydraulic fluid.

January 4: Military C–47; emergency landing; one engine intermittent.

January 9: Military AT–6; emergency landing; overheated oil.

January 10: Civilian Howard DGA–15; takeoff; ground loop on takeoff, left wheel locked.

January 14: Civilian Piper Cub; takeoff; wind turned plane over on takeoff.

January 21: Civilian Cessna; emergency landing; ground loop after landing. Left brake locked.

January 27: Military F–47; emergency landing; rough engine.

January 31: Military F–86; emergency landing; out of fuel.

February 5: Douglas C–124; emergency landing; left inboard engine feathered.

February 11: Army DC–3; emergency landing; one engine dead.

February 13: Military C–124; emergency landing; right outboard engine feathered.

February 17: Civilian Cessna; emergency landing; landed at night without lights.

February 19: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine feathered.

February 22: Military F–51; emergency landing; no hydraulic pressure.

February 22: Military F–51; emergency landing; pilot lost canopy.

February 24: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine dead. Full load landing.

February 24: Military C–47; emergency landing; one engine out. Oil pressure low.

March 3: Military F–86; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

March 7: Douglas C–124; emergency landing; feathered No. 3 propeller.

March 13: Military B–26; emergency landing; possible landing gear failure.

March 13: Military C–47; emergency landing; one engine dead.

March 17: Military T–11; emergency landing; intermittent engine trouble.

March 20: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine feathered.

March 25: Military F–86; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

March 25: Military C–124; emergency landing; fire-warning signal on all four engines.

March 30: Military T–33; emergency landing; gear trouble.

March 31: Civilian small plane; emergency landing; engine trouble.

April 2: Military; emergency landing; left outboard engine feathered.

April 6: Military; emergency landing; engine oil leak.

April 9: Civilian DC–3; emergency landing; one engine out.

April 11: Military T–33; emergency landing; fuel low, possible gear trouble.

April 15: Civilian PBY; emergency landing; hydraulic failure.

April 19: Military F–51; emergency landing; hydraulic trouble.

April 22: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine oil leak; propeller feathered.

April 29: United Airlines DC–3; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

April 30: Military P–51; emergency landing; possible engine trouble.

May 1: Civilian 2-engine Beach; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

May 2: Military C–84; hospital patients aboard.

May 4: Military C–47; emergency landing; low hydraulic pressure.

May 8: Civilian; emergency landing; one propeller feathered.

May 10: Military TB–25; emergency landing; oil leak, right engine.

May 16: Civilian; takeoff, aileron blocks not removed.

May 16: Military F–51D; emergency landing; gear failure and low fuel.

May 21: Military C–47; emergency landing; hydraulic failure.

May 22: Military F–80; emergency landing; engine failure.

May 22: Military F–80; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

May 24: Civilian DC–3; emergency landing; wheel blew out en route.

May 28: Civilian BC–13; emergency landing; gear collapsed on landing.

June 1: Civilian C–124 Douglas; emergency landing; gas fumes in fuselage.

June 4: Military F–86; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

June 6: Civilian Lockheed passenger; emergency landing; rough engine.

June 7: Military F–51; emergency landing; crash landing; brakes locked by pilot; nose over.

June 8: Civilian Culver 720; emergency landing; wheels would not lock down.

June 12: Military F–51; emergency landing; suspected gear trouble.

June 14: Military B–25; emergency landing; one engine feathered, other backfiring.

June 17: Military C–124; emergency landing; hydraulic trouble.

June 17: Civilian Navion; emergency landing; engine missing.

June 18: Military F–51; emergency landing.

June 21: Military T–11; emergency landing; one propeller feathered.

June 23: Military; hospital plane.

June 27: Military C–47; emergency landing; suspected engine trouble.

July 6: Civilian Stinson; emergency landing; engine trouble.

July 9: Military B–25; emergency landing; hydraulic failure.

July 10: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine feathered.

July 16: Military F–51; emergency landing; gear trouble.

July 17: Military F–80; emergency landing; fuel low.

July 18: Civilian C–47; emergency landing; fuel low.

July 21: Military C–124; emergency landing; one engine feathered.

July 30: Military F–86; emergency landing; possible gear damage.

August 2: Civilian Swift; takeoff; plane ran away.

August 8: Military F–51; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

August 11: Navy AD4B; emergency landing; loss of power.

August 13: Civilian DC–3; emergency landing; 1 dead engine.

August 14: Military C–47; hospital ship.

August 17: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 dead engine.

August 18: Military F–51; emergency landing; ground loop on landing.

August 20: Civilian AR–20; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

August 27: Civilian DC–3; emergency landing; 1 dead engine.

August 29: Military F–51; emergency landing; suspected tire blown, asked standby.

September 3: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 motor feathered.

September 7: Civilian Fairchild; emergency landing; rough motor.

September 8: Douglas C–124; emergency landing; 2 motors feathered.

September 9: Civilian Cessna; emergency landing; tail wheel gone.

September 11: Military T–11; emergency landing; 1 propeller feathered.

September 12: Military F–51; emergency landing; hydraulic failure.

September 13: Military F–80; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

September 17: Military B–26; emergency landing; gear trouble.

September 17: Civilian Bonanza; emergency landing; possible brake failure.

September 22: Civilian Navion; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

September 22: Civilian Stinson; emergency landing; engine trouble.

September 23: Civilian Cub; emergency landing; ground loop—gear collapse.

September 25: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 motor feathered.

September 25: Civilian Cessna; emergency landing; dead motor.

October 3: Civilian Swift; emergency landing; engine cutting out.

October 9: Military Beech; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

October 10: Military F–51; emergency landing; engine trouble.

October 10: Military B–26; emergency landing; runaway propeller.

October 14: Military F–51; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

October 14: Military B–26; emergency landing; 1 engine out.

October 17: Military C–47; emergency landing; 1 engine out.

October 18: Military F–51; emergency landing; possible gear failure.

November 7: Military F–51; emergency landing; loose cowling.

November 7: Military F–51; emergency landing; possible gear trouble.

November 12: Military Jet; emergency landing; trim tab trouble.

November 18: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 engine feathered.

November 19: Civilian Mooney; emergency landing; gear retracted.

November 21: Military jet; emergency landing; landed too fast, overshot runway.

November 21: Civilian Navion; emergency landing; both motors stalled.

December 1: Military T–33; emergency landing; hydraulic trouble.

December 2: Douglas C–124; emergency landing; 1 motor dead.

December 3: Military F–86; emergency landing; hydraulic trouble.

December 5: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 engine feathered.

December 13: Civilian Fairchild; emergency landing; rough engine.

December 15: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 engine feathered.

December 16: Military C–124; emergency landing; 1 engine feathered.

December 16: Military C–124; emergency landing; gas leak in engine.

December 20: Civilian Grumman Goose; emergency landing; pilot forgot to lower gear.

December 24: Civilian Mooney; emergency landing; gear trouble.

December 28: Civilian Cessna; takeoff; trim-tab trouble.

The European Coal and Steel Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the Members of

the House of Representatives to a recent report issued by the high authority of the European Coal and Steel Community. I believe this report has very serious and definite indications for the future concerning our foreign markets.

As you may know, the European Coal and Steel Community is the first European federal institution and is sovereign, at present for coal and steel only, over six nations—Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. These countries cover an area of 440,000 square miles, one-seventh the size of the United States, and contain a population of 160 million consumers, just 1 million less than our own population.

A careful review of this report, which discusses the situation of the community at the beginning of 1954, reveals some interesting facts in relation to the American coal-export picture.

It should be noted at this point that the free nations of Europe are now producing more coal than their prewar production. The European demand for coal now also is greater. In fact, the demand is in excess of present production. These countries must, therefore, import coal to meet their current needs.

Consequently, of particular concern to me as I examined the report was a discussion of the general objectives for coal. While the report fails to mention the recent arbitrary and unilateral action of the Bonn government of Germany restricting stringently the import of American coals, it does achieve a high degree of inconsistency in the following statement:

> It is obvious that this increase in requirements cannot be entirely covered by additional imports because the countries nearest to the community would hardly have sufficient coal available for export and a very substantial increase of imports from the United States would again raise the prices on delivery to the high level of the last years.

Mr. Speaker, I specifically refer to the part of this quoted statement referring to the fact that coal imports from the United States would cause prices on delivery to reach "the high level of the last years." The author of the report must have conveniently forgotten that today, and for months past, English coals are and were being imported into Germany at a cost to the German importers of from 4 to 5 United States dollars a ton more than American coals. As a direct result the German consumer is now forced to pay more for his coal. The simple fact of the matter is that fine quality and needed American coals are being denied a legitimate export market.

At the same time Germany reduced her imports of American coals—by direct Government action—from 8,130,556 net tons in 1952 to 3,763,330 net tons last year, she upped the export of her own coals in 1953 to France. While she reduced her imports of American coal, Germany increased her imports of English coal in 1953 threefold over the 1952 imports from that country. And bear in mind that England is not a member country of the coal and steel community.

The effect of this reduction in American coal exports to Germany, a dominant member of the European Coal and Steel Community, is of immediate and serious concern to my own State of West Virginia, whose coal mines supply a major part of overseas exports. The loss of these export markets, coupled with the great injury being done to our native coal industry through the heavy and uncontrolled flood of imported foreign residual oil into our rightful markets here at home is a matter of utmost concern.

It is noteworthy that while Europe is doing everything possible to protect its own markets, and in this case, especially against American coals, there are strong advocates in the United States who would have us practically eliminate our own safeguards.

In closing, I am compelled to call to your attention that notwithstanding the fact that this community has effectively and seriously curtailed the imports of American coal, the Chairman of this Authority is reported to be planning to come to the United States at the end of this month for discussion with responsible United States officials concerning a loan.

If such develops—and the loan is granted—who can say which American industry will be next, or how many additional United States industries will be as seriously affected?

Hawaii's Record Good in Fair Labor Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of March 6, 1954, as follows:

HAWAII'S RECORD IN FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

The Fair Labor Standards Act was 15 years old during the 1953 fiscal year, it is noted in the annual report of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Labor Department.

This is the division of Government which enforces the minimum wage, overtime pay, and child-labor provisions of the Wage and hour law. It also polices work done under Government contracts. This covers, in addition to the general provisions listed above, minimum safety and health requirements and prohibition of convict labor.

Hawaii's record of compliance, as set forth in the statistical tables, ranks with the best in the country.

There were no child-labor violations in agriculture here. Violations in other categories were, in general, well below other areas where the number of establishments and the number of employees covered were about equal.

South Dakota and New Mexico, both with fewer employees covered, each has reported violations of basic provisions of the law in excess of 140—Hawaii's total was 87.

Similar comparisons could be made in other categories of coverage.

Ralph S. Myers is the investigation supervisor for Hawaii of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, with offices in the Federal Building.

He has found that the fundamental concept of minimum standards for employees has gained universal acceptance and proved of value to employers and employees alike.

Employees are protected from exploitation, employers are protected from unfair competition by other employers using substandard labor practices.

National Sojourners Oppose World Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a statement by Capt. Franz O. Willenbucher, United States Navy, retired, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 17, 1954. This is a most interesting statement by a representative of an organization which believes world government is a threat to the Government of the United States.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL SOJOURNERS, INC., REGARDING AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 17, 1954

I. INTRODUCTION

My name is Franz O. Willenbucher, captain, United States Navy, retired. I am a member of the National Americanism Committee of National Sojourners, Inc. I appear in the company of Brig. Gen. John W. N. Schulz, United States Army, retired, chairman of the National Americanism Committee, to present this statement on behalf of National Sojourners. This is the statement which would have been made by the national president of National Sojourners, Col. Andrew J. Copp, Jr., United States Army Reserve, of Los Angeles, Calif., had it been possible for him to be present today.

National Sojourners, Inc., was founded in 1919. It is a nationwide nonprofit patriotic organization, composed of Free Masons who are, or have been, officers or warrant officers in our Armed Forces. It is a large and growing association with chapters in almost every State of the Union and with numerous chapters beyond our national borders. Most of its members have performed active military service during wartime and a large number saw service in both World War I and World War II.

National Sojourners appreciates this opportunity of appearing before this committee to express its views concerning the grave matters now under consideration; namely how best to achieve peace, international understanding, and world cooperation in the best interests of our country as a sovereign nation.

II. PURPOSES OF NATIONAL SOJOURNERS

Organized with the primary purpose of developing true patriotism, and composed of members who have had international experience through travel and duty on behalf of their country, National Sojourners favors these essential objectives. It supports all

efforts within our constitutional processes to achieve them.

Another basic purpose of National Sojourners is to oppose any influence whatever which would tend to weaken our national security.

III. FORMER ACTIONS OF NATIONAL SOJOURNERS

Under these standards, in recent national conventions, National Sojourners has adopted resolutions (1) opposing and reaffirming its opposition to the establishment of a world government or other type of super government, (2) opposing the proposed Genocide Treaty, (3) supporting a constitutional amendment to regulate the making of treaties and executive agreements, (4) supporting the McCarran-Walter Act, and (5) opposing the distribution of UNESCO pamphlets to our schools and libraries to be used by our school children in the molding of their education.

IV. NATIONAL SECURITY MUST NOT BE WEAKENED

Mindful as it is of the necessity for international understanding and cooperation, the pacific settlements of disputes, and the establishment through peaceful agreements of proper standards of world conduct; National Sojourners opposes attempts to extend additional power to the United Nations organization, however sincere the purpose might be, at the expense of weakening the security of the United States.

National Sojourners opposes any plan or proposal which would restrict or reduce in any way the sovereignty and independence of the United States. It is deeply convinced that many of the current plans and proposals would, if adopted, have that result and that they would retard rather than advance the very objectives sought to be accomplished by their proponents.

V. WORLD GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS

Among such plans which would, in the opinion of National Sojourners, have that effect, are proposals for the establishment of a world government or other type of super government. Proponents of such plans recommend, among other things, that such a super government be based upon the following principles: (1) that membership be open to all nations without the right of secession; (2) that world law should be enforceable directly upon individuals; and, (3) that such a government should have direct taxing power independent of national taxation. They advocate that one of its powers should be a provision prohibiting the possession by any nation of armaments and forces beyond an approved level required for national policing.

These same advocates of world government attempted first to achieve national approval of their plan at the "grass roots" in the State legislatures. That was their right under the Constitution, as one of the methods openly to accomplish the constitutional amendment necessary for their purpose. Their efforts quickly resulted in the adoption by 23 States of resolutions supporting this proposal, some of them requesting Congress to call a national convention to consider constitutional revision to permit world government. Twenty-one of these 23 States have since rescinded their resolutions, while other States have rejected proposals to adopt world government resolutions.

This reversal has resulted from the opposition of the people when they became conscious of what was being developed, contrary to their will and detrimental to their best interests. Now the attention of world government proponents has focused itself upon the Congress and among these proponents are those who believe that their purpose can gradually, if not precipitously, be accomplished through revision of the United Nations Charter, even without the necessity for constitutional amendment.

VI. PROPOSALS TO REVISE THE U. N. CHARTER

Review of the United Nations Charter is contemplated in article 109 (3) which provides that a call for a conference shall be on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly, that is in 1955. Our Government has indicated it will favor such a conference.

Under the circumstances, our political leaders will be importuned to stand for: (1) an elimination of or restriction upon the "veto power"; (2) the admission to membership in the United Nations of all nations, regardless of the principles under which they are governed; (3) the establishment of so-called "world law," enforceable directly upon individuals; (4) to vest in a world organization the power to tax; (5) the power to establish, maintain, and use military forces to enforce "world law" with a prohibition against the maintenance of such forces by sovereign nations, except for police purposes; and (6) the adoption of a Convention on Human Rights.

1. The veto power: At the keystone of the arch of sovereign independence lies the veto power. If exercised wisely and with justice, it is an aid, rather than a detriment, to international progress. Elimination of, or restriction upon, its proper use in the national interest would be entirely or pro tanto to relinquish the rights of our citizens guaranteed by the Constitution. It would vest authority in the United Nations organization, under certain circumstances to subjugate our country to determinations in governmental matters by foreign nations many of which are now unable to govern themselves under comparable democratic principles to our own.

That this is now actively under consideration and that, if established, it would have that effect, is outlined in the committee print of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (83d Cong., 2d sess.) on The Problem of the Veto in the United Nations Security Council.

In the preface, pages III and IV, is found the following:

"Before Americans take a position with respect to abolishing or limiting the veto they must answer some hard questions, including the following:

"1. Should the United States be willing to give up the veto over United Nations use of American Armed Forces without our consent?

"2. If the veto were abolished in this respect, would a constitutional amendment be necessary to enable us to give effect to a revised charter?

"3. Should the United States be willing to relinquish the veto with respect to the admission of new members to the United Nations?

"4. If the veto were relinquished with respect to membership, should we still seek its retention with respect to the matter of who should represent China in the United Nations?

"5. Should the United States be willing to give up the veto with respect to the international control of atomic energy in the event a feasible control plan is devised?

"Each of these questions, and many others which will occur to the reader of this study, must be considered by members of this subcommittee if they are to submit constructive suggestions to the Senate. The questions must be answered in terms of what is best for the United States. What course of action with respect to the veto provisions of the United Nations Charter will best assure the security and national interests of the United States?

"This study provides a broad framework for a consideration of the veto power and the various proposals which have been made to alter it. Its publication does not indicate either the subcommittee's acceptance or rejection of any of the views which are expressed. Before reaching any conclusions, the subcommittee will want to obtain the thinking of the American people on all the aspects and ramifications of the problem."

In the text, at page 13, is the following:

"Whenever the United States finds itself at variance with the views of the Council's majority, the veto, whether utilized or not, offers a safeguard to the American position. Abolition of the veto would mean giving up that safeguard in matters which heretofore have generally been considered the exclusive concern of the Nation. The Security Council, for example, could order the armed forces of member nations into action provided the military agreements envisioned in article 43 were concluded. If the veto were abolished, United States troops might conceivably be called upon to support a United Nations decision which the United States opposed."

Concern regarding the "veto power" cannot reasonably result from dissatisfaction as to its existence, but can and should stem only from its improper use.

Consequently, we are surprised and deeply concerned that it is referred to in the preface of the document from which we have just quoted as a "kind of monkey wrench in the machinery of the (United Nations) organization" and characterized in the document as an "evil."

We maintain that it is not an evil, but that it is our most valuable sovereign right and the basis upon which our independence and security rest. Efforts to limit its abuse should, of course, be made through persuasion; but it should not be eliminated or restricted.

National Sojourners opposes any such action.

Elimination in, or restriction upon, the veto power would inevitably affect the following matters. Some, if not all of them, might well be advocated in connection with United Nations Charter revision itself.

2. Membership in the U. N.: Nations of the world should not, merely because they have reasonably stable governments and regardless of the political principles under which they govern, be admitted into the United Nations organization. We should maintain our right of veto in such matters.

While the Soviet nations have vetoed the admission of some 14 nations, which might otherwise have been admitted, the United States and other nations have opposed the admission of the mainland government of China.

It is interesting to note that in our domestic consideration as to the admission of States to the Union, our Constitution requires that they have a republican form of government.

3. World law, enforceable upon individuals: Any such proposal presupposes (a) the establishment of international courts with criminal jurisdiction; (b) the enactment of a body of international law, defining new offenses; and (c) the trial of alleged offenders under an international system which would differ from and deprive our citizens of the due processes guaranteed under our Bill of Rights.

We oppose any such suggestion.

4. The power to tax: One need hardly comment upon this suggestion. The people of the United States, and of some other countries, are adequately taxed now. It is one thing, within our willingness and by our own choice, to bear the major portion of the costs of joint international enterprises, but the thought of vesting the power to tax in a world federal government is quite another. This would convert voluntary contribution, over which we have control, into a compul-

sion which could hardly be expected to be found acceptable to our citizens.

We should always be conscious of the truism, pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall in *McCollough* v. *Maryland*, that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." In fact, taxation was one of the main causes of the Revolutionary War. We should not easily surrender that which our forefathers fought to gain.

5. World military force: At present there is provision for the contribution of military forces to the United Nations for police purposes.

The proposal that the United Nations should be empowered to raise, maintain, and use a world military force which might well be used against us is obviously dangerous in the extreme. Coupled with that is the suggestion that sovereign nations be prohibited from maintaining independent national forces of their own, except for police purposes. That would convert the danger into a reality of complete subjugation.

We oppose this.

6. Convention on Human Rights: The proposed Convention on Human Rights purports to establish something comparable to our Bill of Rights, but to which it is repugnant and which, if adopted, it would supersede. It is repugnant because it does not contain a protection against the taking of private property without due process of law, which our 5th and 14th amendments guarantee. It is repugnant in that it would create rights without recognition of obligations and it is repugnant because, insofar as it appears to guarantee rights comparable to some of our own, it is hedged with vague language suggesting that these rights might be suspended by governmental fiat. Indeed, it has been said that substantial portions have been taken verbatim from the Soviet constitution.

VI. SUMMARY

It appears clear that there are those, many of whom have the best of intentions, who would involve the United States in a world government or other type of supergovernment.

In the main they are the same groups and individuals who oppose an amendment to our Constitution to protect our internal law against encroachment by treaty or executive agreement. We support such an amendment.

Those who oppose it, since its purpose is solely to protect our own domestic affairs, should be asked what it is they seek to regulate through international agreement which might even be beyond the powers of our own Federal Government as granted it by the Constitution.

VII. CONCLUSION

National Sojourners, consistent with its recognized patriotic purposes and its opposition to any form of world or other supergovernment, urges the rejection by our Government of the various proposals outlined in this statement, and any others, which would alter the United Nations Charter so as to abolish or restrict the sovereignty and independence of the United States, as being detrimental to the security of our country.

Such plans are, likewise, opposed by many organizations in this country, including the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Military Order of the World Wars, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Sons of the American Revolution, to mention a few, and we are convinced that they are opposed by the vast majority of our citizens.

Our leaders, and we as individuals, should be constantly aware of the dangers which beset us. We should be vigilant to guard against the entrapment of our country in the pursuit of elusive panaceas of false prophets, lest constitutional government become a mere memory in America.

The American Legion Answers the Denver Post Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter written by National Commander Arthur J. Connell, of the American Legion, to the publisher of the Denver Post:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1954.

PALMER HOYT,
Publisher, the Denver Post,
Denver, Colo.

DEAR SIR: Your attention is called to the flagrant misuse of language in the title of your editorial of March 1, dealing with veterans' hospitalization. You have used the word "racketeering" to describe the operation of the Veterans' Administration Department of Medicine and Surgery. One definition of the word "racketeer" is: "One who singly or in combination with others extorts money, or advantages by threats of violence or of unlawful interference with business." Is that what you meant to say about Admiral Boone and VA Administrator Higley and their associates?

The editorial writers of your paper appear to be trapped by the broken-record habit of thought. They are repetitiously given to discussing items which long since have lost their value; and their error is compounded in the fact that erroneous conclusions were arrived at by your writers when first they discussed the matters that you now mistakenly label as "racketeering."

Your March 1 editorial indicates that you are judging the operation of the Veterans' Administration on the basis of General Accounting Office investigation report. Your editorial is in error in stating that this investigation was conducted last year. Actually, the investigation was conducted in the summer of 1951 and the early part of 1952. The report was submitted to the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, March 11, 1953.

Your paper says it is not interested in the attitude of the American Medical Association toward the Veterans' Administration hospital program. Yet your writers have followed closely the poison-pen type of technique adopted by that organization. You disregard the fact that you are discussing the plight of those who are sick, those who are broke, and those who have no place other than the Veterans' Administration to go for care of their disabilities. Your writers, following closely the AMA line of reasoning, condemn the VA care of veterans, but you offer no alternative. Are the city of Denver and the State of Colorado prepared to take on the added burden of care and treatment for the Colorado veterans? What type of care, at whose expense, does your paper advocate for such veterans in the event they are denied, as the AMA and your paper advocate, treatment through the Federal agency created to deal with veterans' benefits?

The General Accounting Office report on which your editors state the case for your paper covers only the general medical and surgical hospitals in the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery. But your paper talks of the more than half a billion dollars annually that the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery expends. Why not be honest with your readers and tell them that the more than half a billion dollars covers the cost of care of the service-connected, of the tuberculosis, of the mentally disabled, in addition to the general medical and surgical.

Why not be honest with your readers and tell them that the GAO report says it is in the short-term general medical and surgical cases that any reports of possible abuses have been charged and subject to review.

Why not tell your readers honestly that the GAO report says, in effect, that if all of the veterans who received short-term general medical and surgical cases had abused the eligibility requirements that the total cost would be $72.5 million, not more than half a billion. Actually, only a small percentage of those in this group are charged with violating ability to pay.

Why not be honest with your readers and tell them that it is only a small group in this short-term general medical and surgical category about which the General Accounting Office has filed a report of possible abuse of the privilege of hospitalization on the question of ability to pay?

Your editorial quotes the General Accounting Office as saying it checked "a few cases." Why not give your readers all the facts? The GAO says it checked representative cases at 41 of the 46 hospitals surveyed. The carefully selected and checked group, not a random selection, of cases showed 336 veterans (out of approximately 40,000) having incomes in excess of $4,000 a year. The Denver Post apparently is willing to deny medical care and treatment to the tuberculous, to the mentally disabled, to the cancerous, to the arthritics, to the chronic disab'ed, and to all the other veterans of Federal service not able to prove their disabilities are due to service, because the GAO reported 336 cases of alleged violation out of a huge number of general medical and surgical cases checked.

But your editorial writers withheld information from your readers in the editorial here discussed. The editorial does not say, as does the GAO report, that "during the survey copies of reports on the various hospitals were furnished the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery, and, as a result of the information contained in the reports, representatives of the program analysis staff, Department of Medicine and Surgery, have taken steps to correct deficiencies found in the administration of the hospitals surveyed."

You indicate that you are basing your attacks on the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery on the GAO report of investigation of conditions existing in 1951 and 1952, but you do not tell your readers what the GAO recommended. The GAO main recommendation was a change in the language "in cases not established as service-connected, to make disclosures, under oath, on the application, of facts bearing on his ability to pay (such as earnings, property holdings, or other assets)."

Your editorial does not tell your readers that the American Legion recommended changes in the application for hospitalization to emphasize the penalties in cases where the applicant for hospitalization failed to abide by the rules for eligibility for hospitalization. Your editorial does not say that the VA accepted this recommendation.

Your editorial does not tell your readers that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs distributed an addendum to the application for hospitalization last November 4. This addendum requires that an applicant for VA hospitalization give information under oath as to the total value of his property, the amount of his ready assets, information as to the value of his equity in real estate, the amount of his monthly expenditures, and the amount of his average net monthly income.

Your editorial does not tell your readers that I, as national commander of the Amer-

ican Legion, issued a statement November 12, 1953, saying that "I believe the new procedure should be given a reasonable trial. The American Legion is committed to the preservation of the basic law establishing veterans' hospitalization. Moreover, its policy is to support any procedure that will insure the utilization of the limited number of beds available in the Veterans' Administration system for the service-connected disabled and for those who are sick, in distress, and unable to pay for hospital care."

Your editorial would leave with your readers the implication that employees in the VA has conspired to extort money or advantages by threats of violence. In fairness to your own readers, you should correct that thought in the minds of your readers.

Your editorial implies that the American Legion condones violation of the law. If you are honest, you will correct that implication. Your paper knows the makeup of the American Legion. Your editors know the membership in the city of Denver. You must be aware of the falsity of such an attack on the integrity of the general membership of the American Legion.

Your writers are guilty of using the half-truth technique, of smearing the names of those who disagree with your policies, of denying the full truth of discussions regarding veterans' affairs to your readers.

In Denver there resides a World War II veteran who is one of the 336 accused by the General Accounting Office of being able to pay for the care and treatment he received from the Veterans' Administration. This veteran has written the American Medical Association explaining his experience as an investigatee. The letter is too long to incorporate in my letter to you. However, a copy is enclosed. Your editors who charge the VA employees and the American Legion with racketeering might be interested in this veteran, who says, "It never occurred to anyone to investigate my financial status, to see if I could afford to serve in the Armed Forces. No one asked if I had a home, how much I owed on it, what my payments were, did I have a checking account, its balance, a savings account, its balance, or a deep freeze, or what I owed and how I planned to pay my obligations. * * * Are you interested in the fact that I went to the veterans' hospital in desperation, that arrangements to enter were made by our then family physician, and that I went there as a last act because I learned they rated as good or better than Mayo's or Johns Hopkins, and that I would have gone to either of these only by again selling or mortgaging everything I owned?"

Your editors say they are impressed by the General Accounting Office survey report, though your editors use only that part of the report which supports their previously arrived-at convictions. But do your editors want to publish the reports of another GAO investigation?

The reference [mine] is to accusations of violation of ability to pay made by Dr. William B. Walsh, on behalf of the National Medical Veterans Society. Dr. Walsh was testifying before the House Veterans Affairs Committee last July 13. He said: "I have heard Mr. SECREST [Congressman ROBERT SECREST, of Ohio] asking for names this morning. We have names and you are very free to have them * * *. This is just a fraction, mind you, and there are about 40 names on here, 30 of which are in the last 6 months."

This list was given to the General Accounting Office to investigate. And immediately following Dr. Walsh's statement, as a result of the GAO investigation, the following paragraph was included in the report of the hearings:

"(A total of 27 names were submitted by Dr. Walsh—2 are reported to be deceased, 2 others had no record of ever having been registered at the hospital given, and 1 could not be located. The results of the General Accounting Office investigation will be found at appendix A of hearings. Only 2 of the cases appear to be able to pay for hospitalization, and further investigation has been ordered in these 2 instances.)"

We recognize these things:

The Denver Post is unwilling to consider what becomes of the sick, broke veteran who has no place other than the VA to turn for care and treatment.

The paper is rooted to the fixed position that the VA Department of Medicine and Surgery and the American Legion are operated by racketeers.

Because a small percentage of the short-term general medical and surgical cases handled by the VA in 1951 and 1952 may have involved veterans who violated the ability to pay provision of eligibility for admittance, the Denver Post, paying no attention to actions taken to correct that situation, continues to condemn all aspects of Federal veterans' medicine. (This is somewhat analogous to criticizing the income-tax law, because some editors and some doctors violate the income-tax laws).

Actually, Mr. Publisher, you have your own correspondents here in the Nation's Capital. Why not have them bring you down to date on the facts as they are, not on the conditions that existed in 1951 and 1952. There's been another war fought since those GAO investigations that your paper still discusses, were begun. And when you have your Washington correspondents work on the story, why not let them report all the facts, not just the half-truths that you want to support a previously arrived-at conviction?

Yours very truly,

ARTHUR J. CONNELL,
National Commander.

Table Rock Dam and Reservoir, Ark. and Mo.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Under permission to revise and extend my remarks on the civil functions appropriation bill, 1955, in the RECORD, I include herewith a report of the Committee on Appropriations on the Table Rock Dam and Reservoir, Ark. and Mo.:

TABLE ROCK DAM, MO. AND ARK.

The civil functions appropriations bill, 1954, provided $1 million for construction of Table Rock Dam, Mo. and Ark., subject to the following language in the conference report:

"The conferees are in complete accord that no further construction is to be commenced at Table Rock Dam, Ark. and Mo., until approval has been obtained from the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and of the Senate. It is the desire of the conferees that a study be made of the project by the Corps of Engineers as to the need for power in the area, the ability of present governmental facilities and private power utilities to meet any future need that might exist and the adequacy of the present estimated cost of the project. Such study should be presented to the above-mentioned committees not later than January 1, 1954. There exists at the present time authorization for appropriations of $109 million in the White River Basin, of which $118,143,000 has been appropriated through fiscal year 1953. The conferees are in accord that should the revised estimated cost of Table Rock Dam, when added to the balance of authorizations remaining, exceed that amount, proper legislative authority should be obtained from the Congress for the authority to appropriate funds in excess of the present authorization."

The amount of $2,349,546 is estimated in the President's budget, 1955, to be available for further construction of this project. The committee approves the resumption of construction and the use of these funds in the manner contemplated by the Corps of Engineers in testimony before the committee on January 26, 1954, subject to the following limitations:

1. Approval of the revised project by the Public Works Committee of the House of Representatives prior to the obligation of construction funds. This is essential since there have been major modifications in the project since authorization to the extent that the present estimated total cost of the Table Rock project when coupled with funds appropriated for other projects in the comprehensive White River Basin program exceed the funds authorized for appropriation in this basin.

2. Specific allocations of costs and annual charges were presented to the committee as part of the above-mentioned study. Use of the above-mentioned funds are approved with the specific understanding that these allocations are to be used to set power rates for marketing the energy to be generated by his project. So that there will be no misunderstanding on this matter, the following excerpt from the report of the Corps of Engineers on power aspects of the Table Rock Dam and Reservoir is quoted:

"Of the total estimated cost of the project ($78,610,000), $17,160,000 would be allocated to flood control and $61,450,000 to power. Of the total annual charges ($3,241,000), $2,540,000 would be allocated to power. An equivalent expression of annual charges for power is 4.7 mills per kilowatt-hour of the average annual energy produced."

Should actual cost experiences or other factors call for deviations from this allocation it will be expected that they will be submitted to this committee for approval.

Loss of American Boys From Hawaii in Korean Conflict Four Times as Great in Ratio to Population as Mainland Soldiers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a news story from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of March 10, 1954, pointing out that the rate of casualties in the Korean war among soldiers drawn from Hawaii was four times those drawn from the country as a whole:

ISLE CASUALTIES FOUR TIMES THOSE OF MAINLAND GI'S

The number of Hawaii men killed in Korea is four times as great in ratio to population, as mainland soldiers, according to Defense Department casualty figures as of December 31, 1953.

On that date, Hawaii had a total of 1,383 casualties as a result of the Korean war. Of these, 365 were killed in action or dead, and 947 were wounded. The Nation as a whole numbered a total of 136,980 casualties, with 30,606 dead and 103,327 wounded.

In ratio to population, Hawaii's men were wounded 3 times more and suffered 3½ times the total number of casualties.

Since December 31, 1953, the number of men listed as having died in Korea has gone up, due to the Defense Department's announcement of the presumption of the death of men listed as missing for more than 1 year.

The number of Hawaii men who lost their lives in Korea now totals 430.

Do Lawyers Want Social Security?—Resolution of Middletown Bar Association on Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Ways and Means will shortly, I understand, turn its attention from the current tax bill to another important and far-reaching measure, the social-security issue. It will have before it the social-security proposals made by President Eisenhower and also the broader and more extensive proposals supported by scores of us on the Democratic side in a bill drafted by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee. I was happy to join in introducing this bill, because I think it takes necessary steps beyond those recommended by the President for improvement of the present social-security program and for a more realistic schedule of benefits and coverage.

It is reasuring to me that social security in the years since its adoption in 1936 has emerged largely as a noncontroversial issue insofar as basic principles are concerned, even though it was a major issue in the 1936 presidential campaign when the Republican Party pledged itself, if elected, to repeal the whole program.

It speaks well both for the essential soundness of the program and for the enlightenment of Republican leaders since that time that there is today no sentiment for repeal of the program, and that the big issue before us will be, rather, to what extent and in what particulars it should be widened and broadened and made more adequate to present-day living costs.

But we do have an unresolved issue in this connection affecting large and influential groups of our citizens, in particular doctors and lawyers and some other professional groups. The organized legal and medical professions, particularly, have voiced opposition over the years to having their members included in the social-security program, and in deference to those expressions of group view, they have not been included.

Now, however, there has developed something of a split within these organizations over the pros and cons of social security for doctors and lawyers. For instance, I am in possession of a resolution from the Middletown Bar Association, Middletown, Conn., expressing the unanimous approval of the members present at a recent meeting of a blanket inclusion of all attorneys in the social-security system.

This resolution reflects, of course, only the members of that particular association. Doubtless this question will come before other bar-association groups, and I, for one, sincerely hope that the attorneys in all of the bar associations throughout the country will discuss and debate the issue and decide for themselves whether they believe Congress should or should not cover lawyers into the program. And I hope the medical profession will also undertake the same kind of review of this issue on the local and county level.

Speaking for myself, as a lawyer, I would be in favor of being included under the program. That would be my personal vote. I can see no threat to my personal integrity or to my free practice of law by being under such a program, just as I can see none in the fact that while in the Department of Justice I was under the civil-service retirement system, which requires a 6 percent contribution from the employee's pay check every pay day. Members of Congress have the option of participating in a somewhat similar program, and most of them do.

But as a Member of Congress I would never vote to force lawyers under the social security system against their combined judgment. That's why I think it so important for the legal profession to take up this issue in their respective local organizations, make their voices heard, and give us their combined best judgment on this issue which is so important to them individually.

Under unanimous consent, I include as part of my remarks the communication I received from Irwin D. Mittelman, secretary of the Middletown Bar Association:

MARCH 9, 1954.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DODD: Enclosed herewith you will please find a copy of a resolution that was unanimously adopted by the Middletown Bar Association at its last meeting:

CERTIFICATE OF PASSAGE OF RESOLUTION

I, Irwin D. Mittelman, secretary of the Middletown Bar Association, do hereby certify that at a meeting of said association duly called, at which a quorum was present, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Middletown Bar Association is in favor of the compulsory inclusion of all attorneys in the social-security system."

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the resolution duly adopted at the aforesaid meeting and that said resolution is still in effect.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my signature on this 9th day of March 1954.

IRWIN D. MITTELMAN,
Secretary.

Speech by Hon. Phelps Phelps at Testimonial Dinner to Judge Lewis S. Flagg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Hon. Phelps Phelps, who is a former member of the New York State Legislature and former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, delivered at a testimonial dinner tendered to Judge Lewis S. Flagg at the Hotel St. George, February 18, 1954:

It is indeed a pleasure to join all of you in congratulating Justice Flagg. The honor bestowed upon you by your fellow citizens is the measure of you—the man—your hopes, your ideals, your work, and your relations with your fellow man. These are the measures of the good neighbor; these are the requisites of the good American. Justice Flagg, you are being honored here today for measuring up to the standards of a democracy in action, not because of your race, color, or creed. Here we find an example of the democracy that we hold up as an example to the entire world.

As an Ambassador, veteran, and legislator, I have been fortunate in having the opportunity to travel extensively in Europe, South America, and Asia. I have had the opportunity to meet people from all walks of life and to talk to them about our country and its institutions. I found people eager to listen and to ask questions. The hardest task that I had to face was to explain the gulf between the democracy we hold up to the world as a symbol of freedom and hope and the democracy we appear to practice. People in Europe, Asia, and South America find it hard to reconcile the gulf between what we say and what we are apparently doing.

We are engaged in a desperate cold war against an unscrupulous enemy who will stop at nothing. This enemy is expert in the art of propaganda and does not hesitate to distort, to lie. While this cold war continues, we must live in a glass house with the people of the world watching our every move. It is at this point that the gulf between the democracy we preach and the democracy we practice becomes so important. Every act of discrimination—every act of apparent injustice—is exploited, enlarged by Communist propagandists to destroy world confidence in our policies and actions and give aid and comfort to our enemies. Within the last 2 years, some of our actions have been such as to belie our words and have resulted in a loss of confidence in our policies and leaders and have tended to promote disunity at home and abroad.

Throughout the period of World War II, we have denounced the Nazi theory of Aryan supremacy. We showed clearly that there is no scientific basis for picking one racial group as superior to others. We denounced Nazi atrocities against minority races and at the close of the war, we supported world moves to punish those who were guilty of these crimes against humanity. We believed that the loss of the war by the Nazis and their totalitarian cohorts ended the doctrine of racial superiority. Yet, less than a decade later, we pass an immigration law which is based upon a theory of Nordic supremacy. We proclaim, by law, that the

relatives of such great Americans as Fiorello LaGuardia, Vincent Impellitteri, Bernard Baruch, Phil Rizzuto, Carl Furillo, Spyros Skouras, and many Americans who gave their lives in the struggle to preserve our democratic way of life are inferior and undesirable by discriminating against southern Europeans and Asiatics through a racist national origins quota system. How can we hope to counteract Communist influence and propoganda in Italy and Greece by such actions? What can the people of Japan and the Philippines believe—what we say about out friendship for them or our discriminatory actions in our immigration laws.

What can the people of Germany think of our actions in attacking their racist doctrine while adopting one of our own? We boast of our democracy—that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet, in the McCarran-Walters immigration bill we set up a group of inferior second-class citizens—our naturalized citizens. These Americans who came to our country when we needed them to man our machines and build our factories and railroads and honored us by their acceptance of the American way of life to themselves and their posterity by accepting American citizenship are being treated as inferior people with retarded rights and privileges. Where is the traditional policy of the haven of the oppressed and the poor which helped to make our country great? Such actions, no matter what ostensible reasons may be given in their support provide Communist propagandists with ammunition to undermine our foreign policies and to create fear, suspicion, and disunity among our friends. Such actions give aid and comfort to our enemy in the cold war and are more valuable to them than all the enslaved armies that Communists might has been able to muster.

May I pause for a moment to offer my congratulations to the newly formed National Committee for the Amendment of the McCarran Act and especially to its founder, Judge Anfuso. May I add, too, that I am proud to be a member of it.

Likewise, we have denounced the Nazi-Communist technique of the big lie. We have fought these tactics with truth—with actions open to world scrutiny. The truth is our most effective weapon in the cold war. Yet, even our closest friends and allies must be filled with apprehension at the actions of a small, vociferous, and selfish group of partisans who have adopted the technique of the big lie to curry political favor.

I am referring to such reckless charges as "20 years of treason" and "our brave fighting men (in Korea) didn't know they were supposed to be defeated" and General Marshall (the author of the Marshall plan, a keystone of our policy to halt Communist aggression) was "eager to play the role of a front man for traitors" and that "the word 'Democrat' is synonymous with treason." The authors of these reckless charges know that they are untrue. The people of America know that they are untrue. The thinking people of the free world know that these charges of this small group of extreme partisans are untrue. Even the President of the United States, the head of the political party to which these partisans profess to belong, has stated that these charges are untrue. Such charges against a political party and against leaders who have been elected and reelected by millions of Americans with huge majorities are not only despicable but worse, are undermining world confidence in American foreign policies and American leaders and promote disunity and give aid and comfort to the very enemy they profess to hate so much. There is a saying that the sincerest form of flattery is imitation. By copying the technique of the big lie these partisans are imitating the weapons of the enemy. They are destroying the policies of our President and endangering all that has been accomplished in curbing Communist enslavement. At home these charges are promoting disunity and partisanship to the point where President Eisenhower's domestic program may fail of passage at a time when unemployment is increasing and there is fear of an economic recession or readjustment. Such actions help the Communists far more than the acts of any saboteur or spy. What better proof do Communists need to undermine confidence in the United States than to spread these malicious charges in France, Greece, Austria, West Germany, China, Japan, the Philippines, and South America?

What effect can these charges have on the Government of France at this time when their Parliament is discussing the implementation of NATO? What are the people of Austria to think at this time when a peace treaty is being discussed by the Big Four at Berlin? To whom should this hapless country look for help? Fortunately, the thinking people of the world know that such reckless charges can never displace the fact that Communist aggression was stopped by the Truman doctrine, the Marshall plan, the Truman point 4 program, the North Atlantic Pact, the Korea Pact, and the pact with Japan. Yet some doubts as to our actions, past, present, and future, must creep into the minds of all when they hear such reckless charges. They cannot understand that under our Constitution the authors of these untruthful charges are protected from prosecution by congressional immunity. Such charges can only help our enemies. No selfish partisan interest can ever justify such material aid and comfort to the enemy. As a great President, Woodrow Wilson, said, "I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of passions of his fellowman. He has lost the touch and ideal of America. For America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift, and not by passions which separate and debase."

At a time when the world is in crisis, at a time when the world leader, the President of the United States, is attempting to win the cold war with every power in his possession, a group of persons are attempting to hamstring him by advocating a constitutional change which would destroy his powers of leadership in foreign affairs and which would destroy the separation of powers incorporated into our Constitution by our wise Founding Fathers. Such action can only cast doubt upon the promises and actions and powers of the President and his Secretary of State in the delicate negotiations now going on in Berlin.

Our democracy is the greatest in the world—spiritually and materially. We have much to offer the world and much that they can copy to their mutual benefit. We are living in a world of glass—with the entire free world watching us. We must close the gap between the democracy we preach and the democracy we practice. We must stress concrete examples of democracy in action—such as the career of our honored guest—Justice Lewis S. Flagg. We must prove that this is still the land of liberty, equality, and justice for all—regardless of race, color, or creed. We must unite behind an American foreign policy which will solidify our friendship with the free world. In our democracy there is room for differences of opinion, for honest criticism. There is no room for extreme partisanship which inflames passions and destroys. Let us practice what we preach—democracy, truth, justice, equality, economic opportunity for all based upon ability and effort. Such a democracy will unite the world to greater efforts against Communist enslavement and it will create a better, stronger America and world. We must not descend to the level of our enemy by adopting his discredited methods—the racist doctrines of the Nazis and the big lie tecnique of the Communists. This week, the period between Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, has been designated as Americanization week. Let us rededicate ourselves to the principles of these great Americans who fought to preserve and to improve our democratic union by joining together in practicing democracy in our daily lives and by our example give hope and confidence to a fearful world.

Temporary Ratifying Committee of OCWIU

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM STEED
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, as a Representative of one of the Nation's largest oil-producing districts, and because of the great interest I have in the oil industry in all its phases, I am including herewith for the RECORD some remarks by members of the temporary ratifying committee of the Oil and Chemical Workers International Union regarding the movement to bring all these organizations into a central group for the common interest of the workers in this industry.

These statements present the workers' side of the issue and will serve to complete the case for those interested, since views of management previously have been presented in this manner. This is a matter in which it is only fair to know and consider the viewpoint of both parties to the issue before considered judgment can equitably be taken.

The problem is of particular interest to my own oil district, since it is largely composed of the small and independent type operating companies, where a closer relationship exists between employer and employee. The statement follows:

TEMPORARY RATIFYING COMMITTEE,
OIL AND CHEMICAL WORKERS
INTERNATIONAL UNION,
Kansas City, Mo., March 9, 1954.

To the EDITOR,
National Petroleum News,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: It appears to us that the editorial writer of National Petroleum News must have done some fancy crystal-ball gazing before writing the editorial entitled "Knight Has Crippling Power Within His Grasp." Certainly he did not descend from his ivory tower in the McGraw-Hill building and ascertain any facts concerning present and future operations of unions in the oil industry.

Rather than depending on facts—facts which the capable reportorial staff of National Petroleum News might well have given him—it seems that the editorial writer just sort of conjured up a terrible vision while gazing into that crystal ball, or into the murky depths of his ink bottle.

This terrible vision seems to be compounded from these ingredients: an abysmal lack of faith in human beings created in the image of God, unadulterated ignorance as to the nature and motivations of the average working man, and perhaps a few shadows of guilty conscience which may be

flitting across the minds of men high in the oil industry because of the shortcomings of their collective-bargaining practices.

The editorial has a nightmarish quality. It pictures the development of a terrible situation in the oil industry. It suggests that the oil companies are not strong enough and smart enough to deal with O. A. "Jack" Knight and that these oil companies should run under the skirts of Congress and ask for help.

The editorial is laced with such nasty scare phrases as these: "Knight has crippling power within his grasp," "Mr. Knight capped years of scheming," "Mr. Knight carried off his Philadelphia grab," "a development of fearsome portents, boding no good either for the petroleum industry or the American public," "at his beck and call," and the like.

The editorial draws a picture of Jack Knight with such further scare phrases as these: "when Mr. Knight last struck the industry," "Mr. Knight at last could be in the strategic position being able to enforce nationwide bargaining upon the industry," "Mr. Knight should be better able to enforce his demands," "his increased ability to cripple," "bargaining nationally with Mr. Knight."

Those phrases are dishonest. No company ever bargains with Jack Knight. The companies bargain with their employees—employees who have been so bold as to elect him president of a union without leave of the companies. Knight has never struck the industry. He hasn't struck anybody since the midthirties when he once walked off his job as a stillman in the Shell refinery in East Chicago. He doesn't have a strike vote in his present union and he won't have a strike vote in Oil and Chemical Workers International Union. He doesn't make any demands on industry. Members of the union make demands and he voices these demands.

We don't think the managers of the oil industry are as frightened as your hysterial editorial writer. However, that is not our concern. Our concern is that your editorial was unfair to the men and women who work for wages in the oil and related industries, unfair to Jack Knight and the other union leaders who are attempting to bring about a merger of various unions, and unfair perhaps to the oil industry itself.

The editorial pictures Jack Knight as a man of uncanny power, a man who so skillfully captures the minds of men that they will follow him anywhere he may lead—even over the brink and into chaos—if he so much as lifts a finger and beckons them. What is worse and more unfair, the editorial pictures Knight as a sinister man who just for the pure hell of it would plunge the oil industry into ruin and cause unbearable hardship on the public.

Well, the editorial writer obviously does not know Jack Knight. Nor does he know the intelligent men and women the oil companies have ever so carefully hired to operate their expensive installations.

We are more fortunate. We know Jack Knight and we know oil workers because we are in constant contact with them and we are oil workers ourselves.

The editorial in one sense of the word complimented Knight because it pictured him as a man of almost magical power. However, in grossly overestimating his power, the editorial gave him a sinister appearance. We know Knight to be a capable union leader. We know that because he is a man of ability, integrity, patriotism and humanitarianism, oil workers respect him and give great weight to his opinions and suggestions. But he is no magician. He cannot lead men where they do not want to go, as was implied in the editorial. He is no Pied Piper of Hamlin.

More important, we believe the editorial grossly insulted the intelligent, honest, and public spirited people who are going to comprise the membership of Oil and Chemical Workers International Union. To imply that these people will be led about like puppets by Jack Knight or any other human being is to slap them in their faces. Any leader in this union will do what the rank-and-file members tell him to do—no more and no less. We framed a constitution in Philadelphia to guarantee that this will be true. Furthermore, Knight's record as president of Oil Workers International Union for the past 14 years proves that he has always acted in accordance with the dictates of the members of that union, rather than the members acting in accordance with his dictates. We challenge the National Petroleum News to cite a single case wherein Knight has dictated to any group of workers or has caused them to take any action except by their own majority vote.

We believe the National Petroleum News owes an apology to the oil workers of the Nation for suggesting that they are incapable of managing their own affairs and controlling their own union. We believe an apology is owed to Jack Knight for suggesting that he would ever use his considerable persuasive power in any way contrary to the public welfare.

We do not believe that the editorial reflects the views of our employers, the companies in oil and related industry. We believe oil company officials know better because they know Knight, they know the rest of us concerned in this merger, and most important of all, they know the kind of people working in their plants. The various oil companies who are employers of the men represented in the Philadelphia convention can build much good will among their employees by plainly and unequivocally renouncing any connection with or approval of the editorial in National Petroleum News.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not asking for special or particularly generous consideration from our employers or from your publication. We intend to build a strong union. We intend to bargain militantly with the companies for the benefit of the people who work for wages in our industry. We intend to exercise with all our might those economic freedoms guaranteed under the American free enterprise system.

But we do not intend to do a wrecking job on the industry or to act contrary to the welfare of the general public and we deeply resent your implication that either our organization or our friend Jack Knight has or ever will be sinister or dictatorial. We believe the rank and file of oil workers are insulted by your suggestion that they might be herded like sheep.

Why don't you drop your scare phrases, examine the facts as revealed in our constitution and in the living records of all of us as individuals, examine the record of the oil industry in collective bargaining, and print a true and factual analysis of present and future collective bargaining in the oil industry?

If you will lift your eyes out of that ink bottle, travel about over broad and beautiful America and talk with the solid citizens who are going to comprise this union, you will learn what is going on in this industry you profess to portray.

TEMPORARY RATIFYING COMMITTEE,
OIL AND CHEMICAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION.
DANIEL C. CAREY, *Vice Chairman.*
DOYESS D. BOYETT, *Secretary.*
MAYNARD M. SANDS.
ADAM SADOWSKI.
R. M. GORDON.
B. J. SCHAFER.
T. M. MCCORMICK.
J. T. LAMBERT.

Chairman O. A. Knight, of the committee, abstained from signing this letter because of his personal involvement in both the editorial and this reply.

Jets at Long Beach, Calif., Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the past several weeks I have risen frequently to point out the dangers of the use of the Long Beach Municipal Airport by the Air Force as a reserve jet training center and ferrying depot.

It is interesting to note that the Doolittle Commission in 1952 had serious questions about this use.

Notwithstanding, and in the face of continued tragedies arising from this use, the Air Force continues its operations at the Long Beach airfield and in other metropolitan areas.

The following editorial from a recent issue of the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper expands on the subject of the neglected Doolittle report. Evidently the Air Force intends to take the Doolittle Commission's report and merely "decapitalize" it:

WHAT HAPPENED TO IT?

They ought to set up a commission in Washington to report on what happens to reports by commissions.

For instance, whatever happened to the President's Airport Commission report, prepared at the request of Harry Truman in 1952 by a distinguished committee headed by Jimmy Doolittle?

Certainly the recommended policies have not been carried out as far as Long Beach Municipal Airport is concerned.

Truman appointed the Commission in February of 1952 with the statement that he was "seriously concerned about airplane accidents, both commercial and military, that have occurred in the takeff and landing of aircraft, especially in heavily populated areas." The Commission labored for 3 months, assisted by advisers from the military services, from the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. It developed a consultant, technical, administrative, editorial, and secretarial staff. It forwarded questionnaires to 104 cities, conducted a series of hearings, inspected 30 airports (including Long Beach's) throughout the United States, consulted with 264 individuals, and received written or oral statements from 42 organizations. It ended up with an intelligent and comprehensive report, The Airport and Its Neighbors, 116 pages in length, published by the United States Government Printing Office.

We do not know what action, if any, was taken by former President Truman or has been taken by President Eisenhower. But the report describes problems which are particularly acute here, as tragically dramatized by the recent Signal Hill jet crash, and it offers recommendations which have not been applied here.

Long Beach has been trying for many months to get the Air Force base, with its military jet operations, moved from Municipal Airport to a less thickly populated area.

Said the Doolittle report: "Joint military and civil use of major airports is undesirable. Separation should be effected whenever it is economically feasible. Military training operations over thickly settled regions should be prohibited."

The commission pointed out that military air bases near cities create "not only ad-

vantages to the city but also problems of noise and hazard as well as social and economic dislocations of concern to the citizen taxpayers." It recommended: "Where military airports have become objectionable to their neighbors consideration should be given, within the limits of sound military practice and operational requirements to the reassignment of some military units so that the least objectionable will be based there."

Again: "If it is necessary to base a military training unit on a civil airport, training should be conducted away from the built-up areas and an auxiliary field, located a safe distance away, should be used for arming."

We don't know how much of the taxpayers' money went into preparation of the Doolittle report. We can only guess. It was obviously a-plenty. And it ought not go to waste.

The Tax Revision Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon we take up the tax-revision bill. This measure is not an ordinary tax bill. After months and months of exhaustive hearings and study, the Committee on Ways and Means has presented to us a measure that completely overhauls our whole Federal tax system. This is the first time such a monumental task has been undertaken in over 75 years.

The primary purpose of this legislation, as I see it, is to correct the inequities, the injustices, the inconsistencies, and restraining effect of existing taxes. It is designed to adjust our Federal tax system that it will be more in keeping with the accepted principle that taxes should be paid in accordance with ability to pay. The measure of ability to pay is not simply the gross number of dollars received by an individual, or a family, or a business, but it is also dependent upon the purposes for which the dollars must be used to maintain one's family or business.

Some families have greater medical expenses than others. Some families are solely dependent upon what a widow or a widower may be able to earn and at the same time care for small children. Some elderly people are solely dependent upon a small annuity or pension.

It is such factors as these that this bill takes into account. It is to make our Federal taxes fair and just.

And not the least of the factors to be considered in any tax bill is the country's budgetary situation. On this depends our fiscal stability. On it depends our country's security. On it depends the value of the dollar, how much each of us must pay for the things we need. On it depends our standard of living.

I am frank to say that it is a sad commentary on party responsibility when we witness, as we are seeing here today, the Democrat Party attempt to play politics with this courageous effort by President Eisenhower to improve our tax structure, give the people equitable relief, and insure the country's stability.

As stated in the editorial which appeared in the New York Times of yesterday, the Democrat attempt to attach an amendment to the pending omnibus revision bill to provide an increase in personal exemptions "is a bald bid for political popularity in an election year." This means, if it means anything, that the Democrat Party leadership is more interested in winning an election than they are in maintaining the country's fiscal stability. They are willing to risk the country's economic power that they may have political power.

I am inserting the New York Times editorial as part of my remarks. The editorial follows:

THE PRESIDENT ON TAXES

President Eisenhower's decision to go on the air last night and to throw the weight of his office and his personal prestige behind Secretary Humphrey's tax program is an example of courageous and, we hope, effective leadership.

The Democrats in the Senate, under the leadership of Senator GEORGE, are threatening to attach to the administration's omnibus tax bill an amendment providing for an increase in personal exemptions in the individual tax. This is a bald bid for political popularity in an election year. It would have the effect of reducing the tax liability of millions of taxpayers in a manner so direct and transparent as to make it little more than a thinly disguised bonus. That it has a high content of popular appeal, after so many years of wartime taxes, hardly need be pointed out.

This means that in opposing aggressively the George proposal, as he did last night, the President is jeopardizing his personal popularity. Since he had already indicated his support of Secretary Humphrey's fiscal objectives and program, he could, if he were inclined to place political considerations above principle, have remained on the sidelines and left the fighting to the administration leadership on the floor of Congress. If the George plan failed of passage the situation would remain right where it is now; if this "taxpayer's bonus" should pass he would not be held personally accountable for that fact by conservative opinion, while experience suggests that those profiting from the windfall would not actively concern themselves with the question of which side of Congress initiated the legislation or where the President had stood on it. In short, by remaining in the background in this fight—which promises to be both bitter and close—the President might have avoided the risk of losing popularity among either friends or foes of the George plan.

Why, then, did the President assume personal leadership in this fight, as he did last night? Plainly because he regards the issue as one that transcended political considerations and affected the welfare of the Nation as a whole. The reasons for this he set forth to his listening audience clearly and forcefully. The tax program, he pointed out, is the cornerstone on which rest the Nation's hopes for a stronger, better, and safer national economy. The administration, he showed, has reduced the spending program it inherited from its predecessor by $7 billions in the present year. Nearly the same amount has been passed on to the country in the form of reduced taxes, or will have been with the enactment of the pending omnibus tax bill. Any further substantial tax reduction at this point could be achieved only by making cuts in expenditures that could jeopardize the Nation's domestic and defense programs, or by returning to the huge deficits of recent years and the multitude of problems they produce.

Speaking specifically of proposals to raise personal exemptions from $600 to $800 and even $1,000, the President showed that this would involve a loss to the Treasury ranging from $2.5 billions to $8 billions. That would be on top of a prospective deficit of $1,397 millions, or, if the excise-tax cuts passed in the House are enacted, $3,800 millions. The second major objection, he reminded his listeners, was that "the $1,000 exemption would excuse 1 taxpayer in every 3 from all Federal income taxes." And, on this, he observed: "I think this is wrong. I am for everybody paying his fair share. When the time comes to cut income taxes still more, let's cut them. But I do not believe that the way to do it is to excuse millions of Americans from paying income tax at all. The good American doesn't ask for favored position or treatment. Naturally he wants all fellow citizens to pay their fair share of the taxes, and he wants every cent collected to be spent wisely and economically. But every real American is proud to carry his share of the burden."

Delaware County Regains Lead in Milk Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, far too many people in our country think, when they do think of the great State of New York, of New York City. This, of course, is a grievous error and it saddens many good New Yorkers to see New York City becoming the tail that wags the dog.

As a matter of fact, New York State is a great agricultural State and the 28th Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent, contains Delaware County which ranks first among the milk-producing counties of the State and Orange County which ranks sixth.

Delaware County is not only the greatest milk-producing county in our State, but also one of the first in the Nation, so that the problems of agriculture and price support are very real to us.

Mr. Speaker, the following article well substantiates the claim that New York is one of the great agricultural States of our country:

DELAWARE COUNTY REGAINS LEAD IN MILK PRODUCTION

Delaware County has regained its position as the State's heaviest milk-producing county, replacing St. Lawrence County, which has held that post for 8 successive months. Otsego County continued to rank 10th, and Cortland County 9th.

The New York Milk Market Administrator's bulletin declared:

"Delaware County, the traditional production leader during the short season, has moved into first place among the counties supplying milk to the New York market. With a December production in excess of 28 million pounds, it held an edge of 2.3 million pounds over second place Chenango County.

"After 8 months in 1st place on the top 10 list, St. Lawrence County was in 5th position in December. The north country coun-

ty hit the top of the list in April with a record production of 45.7 million pounds, and held the dominant spot until December. The April volume was the heaviest for 1 month by a single county in the history of the marketing orders.

"Although there were no additions to the December ratings, only 9th and 10th positions were unchanged. Second place Chenango County, 3d place Oneida County, 4th place Madison County, 6th place Orange County, and 7th place Bradford County, Pa., all advanced one position from November to 8th place in December.

"Deliveries to plants in the 10 leading counties totaled 219.5 million pounds in December, and had a value of $10,011,206.01 at the uniform price of $4.56 per hundredweight. The volume represented 38.9 percent of the total output of the milkshed."

H. R. 8195

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the testimony which I gave today before the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee on H. R. 8195:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, H. R. 8195, subject of your hearing this morning, was prepared and introduced at the instance of several associations of fishing boat captains. For our purposes, fishing boats may be defined as motorboats less than 65 feet in length which carry passengers for hire. Ownership and operation of such boats is a large and growing business activity all along the seacoasts and in the inland waters.

During the past few years, there have been serious accidents in which many passengers lost their lives. The fishing boat captains asked me to prepare and introduce legislation which would provide additional safety protection for passengers on boats of that kind and the legislation now before you is the second bill on the subject which I introduced this year.

On January 7 I introduced H. R. 7066, which embodied the ideas of the captains. A few weeks later, it came to their attention that on June 8, 1953, Senator PURTELL had introduced S. 2072 at the instance of the Connecticut Legislature and, I believe, legislatures of some other States. The form of that bill was quite different from H. R. 7066 but the objectives were the same. Accordingly, the various groups interested in the two bills sat down to talk out the problem in the effort to find common ground. H. R. 8195 was drafted as an expression of that common ground. I understood that its provisions were satisfactory to all who had participated in the discussions.

Fishing boat associations and sportsmen's associations from California to Florida, from the Atlantic coast and from the Great Lakes have written to commend the purposes of the legislation. I have sent copies of the bill to each of those groups with the request that they furnish the committee with their comments on the particular bill.

All who have had a part in the discussions which led to the drafting and modification of the bill feel that the bill is important in the public interest. When the provisions become effective, it is believed that many lives will be saved and the increasing number of those who like to fish but who do not own their own boats can do that safely.

Postal Department Further Injures Local Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Humboldt Republican of Humboldt, Iowa, March 12, 1954:

POSTAL DEPARTMENT FURTHER INJURES LOCAL BUSINESSES

A recent ruling by the postal department has opened the door still wider to outside concerns to take trade away from local businesses.

It has long been the practice of the postal department to permit the mailing of advertising pieces to rural routes by simply addressing each piece to "Boxholder, Rural Route." The firm doing the mailing only had to ask the postmaster how many boxholders there are on each route and then put that number of pieces in the bundle for that route. Every route can be mailed in the same way. This has for years enabled outside concerns to make blanket mailings to the rural routes. The mail carrier for each route has to do the sorting and has to put one of the pieces in every box on his rural route.

We have long been against this sort of mailing because it lets every sort of concern put propaganda and advertising before the customers of local businesses. Ask the postmaster how much of this sort of stuff is handled in your local office every day.

Now the postal department has further injured the local businesses by a new ruling which permits the same sort of bulk mailings to be made over the city delivery routes. Any concern can now ask the postmaster how many possible stops there are on a city delivery route and then make up a bundle containing that number of pieces. The city delivery carrier has to put one of them in every mailbox on his route. This latest ruling means that no pieces have to be personally addressed in order to be delivered to your city customers.

The ruling, of some years standing, which permits bulk mailings to rural routes, is bad enough. Bad enough, in fact, that it should not be permitted; but this new ruling is still worse.

Rural route carriers have told us that if it were not for the bulk mailings on their routes they could give better and faster service to the patrons receiving personally addressed mail. The bulk mailings slow up the delivery of first- and second-class mail, and are made up mostly of advertising and other matter from outside concerns.

It has been a well-known fact in the city delivery system that every possible stop on a city delivery route was not made on each delivery trip. Every stop did not receive mail on every delivery. The city delivery system was built around the average number of stops to be made on each trip, and the number of city delivery routes was controlled by the deliveries that had to be made. Now, under this new ruling, each city carrier must stop at every mailbox on his route and deliver one of the bulk mailing pieces. This had added so much to the amount of work to be done by each carrier that postmasters state that more city carriers will have to be added to take care of the increased mailings. Ask your local postmaster about this.

While there has been some gain in postal receipts by permitting bulk mailings the added expense of delivering such mail will cost more than the postage paid for such mailings.

The ruling which permits this bulk mailing to every stop on a city route is just another step in the efforts of mail-order houses and outside businesses to take trade away from local concerns. There is no need for the service, it cannot possibly be profitable for the postal department, and it is injuring the local businesses in every town that has city delivery.

The rural free delivery of first- and second-class mail, and even third-class mail that was personally addressed, is one of the good things about the postal service. We doubt that this rural free delivery has ever paid its way but it is a service that should be given rural people.

But the bulk mailings are a different matter and one which should not be permitted. Each town should have the right to attract the trade in its trade territory, and even to seek trade further away, but a department of the Government should not help outside concerns take business away from local people. If outside concerns want to make mailings of solicitations, advertising, or other matter, they should be made to address it to the person they want to receive it.

We hope that the Congress will make the postal department stop this latest ruling which is injuring local business, and which cannot possibly make a profit for the postal system.

Right now the postal department is seeking ways to increase revenue and make each service it renders pay.

H. R. 7775

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, at the annual meeting of the Iowa Sheep and Wool Growers Cooperative, held in Des Moines on Wednesday, March 10, 1954, the Iowa wool producers unanimously adopted a resolution expressing their sentiment toward H. R. 7775.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include this resolution so that all Members may acquaint themselves with the views of the Iowa Sheep and Wool Growers Cooperative on this legislation:

IOWA SHEEP AND WOOL
GROWERS COOPERATIVE, INC.,
Des Moines, Iowa, March 13, 1954.

Since wool is a strategic commodity, and since we produce only about one-third of the wool consumed domestically, and since there is a tariff collected on the other two-thirds of wool consumed in the United States, and since it would appear advisable that the production of domestic wool be increased, we would favor a broad wool program which would use part of the tariff collected from wool imports for the purpose of

incentive payments for the production of wool in this country.

This is essentially the program recommended by the President of the United States to Congress, and we hereby go on record as recommending it. We further feel that a strategic commodity such as wool, of which we produce about one-third of our needs, is entitled to and should receive different consideration than agricultural commodities produced in this country which are in a surplus position.

Very truly yours,

IOWA SHEEP AND WOOL GROWERS COOPERATIVE,
M. GLEN BIRLINGMAIR,
General Manager.

Veterans of Military Intelligence Service Ask Immediate Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein a resolution adopted by the veterans of Military Intelligence Service endorsing and urging immediate admission of the Territory of Hawaii to the Union as a State. The resolution follows:

"Whereas the Territory of Hawaii has been an incorporated Territory of the United States of America for more than half a century and bills are now pending before Congress for the admission of Hawaii as a State into the Union; and

"Whereas the people of the Territory of Hawaii have proved their readiness and ability to assume the duties and responsibilities of statehood in all respects and have also proved their loyalty to their Nation in time of war and have proved their capacity for self-government in time of peace; and

"Whereas the members of the Military Intelligence Service Veterans take pride in having served as our Nation's bridge to the Orient in the Second World War and the Korean war as linguists and military-intelligence specialists; and

"Whereas the members of the Military Intelligence Service Veterans believe that the admission of the Territory of Hawaii as a State into the Union would enhance the prestige of the United States in the Pacific and the Orient and would serve as our Nation's permanent bridge to the Orient: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Military Intelligence Service Veterans, an organization of American war veterans who served in every branch of the Armed Forces of the United States as linguists and military intelligence specialists against the armed forces of the Japanese Empire, North Korea, and Red China,* That this organization endorses and urges the immediate admission of the Territory of Hawaii to the Union of American States as the 49th State; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That every Member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States assembled in Congress is hereby respectfully requested and urged to take affirmative and appropriate action to grant immediate statehood to Hawaii; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States are hereby respectfully requested to read this resolution before their respective Houses; and be it finally

"*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Interior, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the majority and minority party leaders in both the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States and the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii."

Adopted at Honolulu, T. H., by the Military Intelligence Service Veterans on this 23d day of February 1954.

Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered on March 14, 1954, at Miami Beach, Fla., at the midway dinner of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. ESTES KEFAUVER, OF TENNESSEE, AT THE MIDWAY DINNER OF THE HADASSAH-HEBREW UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER, MIAMI BEACH, FLA., MARCH 14, 1954

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to meet with you again and to greet so many old and true friends.

I was anxious to accept this invitation to counsel with you because I always have found among your members so much evidence of your constructive approach to the problems of the Nation.

It is inspiring to visit this great medical center. You are doing a splendid job here and I know you will be successful in building a medical center similar to this in Israel. It is a cause to benefit all humanity.

Today, I want to talk with you about the position in which we of the United States find ourselves in the world today, and about the forces swirling around us which I think seek to divert us from the only true course that is open to us.

We in the United States today are faced with a grave responsibility in the international field. We are the leaders of the free world, not through choice but through the events of history, which have placed us in this position. It is a responsibility which we cannot dodge, even if that was our desire. We will not return to isolationism. We cannot.

Now the question before us is how we are going to exercise this role of leadership in the interests of world peace. We can turn to history, and look at other nations which were in similar positions to ours in the past, and see how they did it, but I do not believe that we will find this survey of history to be of much concrete help. In the 19th century Britain occupied such a place in history and brought peace to the world, largely through her mastery of the seas. In the late pagan and early Christian worlds, Rome occupied such a place and imposed the Pax Romana on the world, largely through her power at arms.

We cannot achieve peace in the same way. We simply do not and cannot possess the strength of arms or at sea to enforce peace on the rest of the world. No one nation, standing alone, can do so in our modern world, with the modern scientific developments of destruction which are so horrible and so effective as to stagger the imagination.

No; we cannot go it alone, and therefore our exercise of our role of leadership must be in the finest tradition of that term. While Britain and Rome achieved peace through force, we must actually achieve it through leadership—a leadership composed, of course, of moral, economic, and military factors. In other words, we must actually lead. In order to accomplish such leadership, we must start by closing our ranks at home. We must call a halt to political squabbles on important matters that weaken our resolve to find a bipartisan approach to a more adequate and positive policy than we now have. Responsible and thoughtful men, leaders among Republicans and Democrats, can agree on fundamentals. It is essential that we secure such agreement.

I have proposed that both parties in Congress get together with the administration to establish permanent machinery for mutual consultation on foreign-policy matters. To date, such consultations have been carried out only at the whim of the Executive. It worked fairly well while the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg was in charge of the Republican side of the bipartisan foreign policy. But recently such consultation has been at a minimum, and foreign policy has become the most acid issue in partisan politics, which is regrettable.

The kind of machinery I have in mind would be a standing congressional group, representing both parties, that would meet at frequent regular intervals with administration leaders to seek agreement on all major matters involving foreign policy.

Now if we succeed in developing, through some such means as this, a bipartisan approach to foreign policy at home, then I believe that we will be in a better position, despite the complexities of the problem, to work out a more affirmative policy toward our ultimate goal of peace.

Broadly speaking, there are four essential areas in which we must work in developing a more affirmative policy. We must:

(1) Create a better atmosphere that will win friends for us not only among self-governing peoples but among peoples in the Communist bloc.

(2) Take the leadership in eliminating trouble spots that disturb the peace, generate tensions, and aggravate the fundamental task of reaching a working arrangement between the East and West.

(3) Help peoples of the world still submerged in the basic struggle against hunger, poverty, and disease. To them communism is attractive because it offers hope of improving their economic lot. To them freedom means relief from an antiquated system of landholding or taxation, freedom from the crushing effects of poverty, the possession of bare necessities of food, clothing, and shelter.

(4) Establish a greater degree of unity among Democracies to match the unity of Russia and her satellites. The Soviet's main hope is to break up western unity, create domestic pressures in the countries of the West and slow up our arms program.

Now let us examine these four areas in a little more detail. First, how do we create a better atmosphere internationally in which to work?

If we mean to negotiate with Russia on an overall settlement or on some of the separate problems that have widened the gulf between us, we cannot do it in the present atmosphere of mutual recriminations between nations, an almost daily exchange of

insults and of witch hunts at home that do not inspire confidence in our world leadership.

To be sure, we cannot control the attitude of the Russians, whose propaganda attacks on us cause our own public men to respond in kind.

There are certain things we can do that will not only improve our moral position before world public opinion, but may lessen existing tensions and help eliminate the psychological obstacle to calmer consideration of the problems by the Western leaders:

First. I have been very doubtful of the new policy of so-called instant retaliation. Under this policy, our Secretary of State announced to the world that the United States "might not" retaliate to aggression at the point of aggression, but on the country committing the aggression. This, I believe, is in the same category as the "bombs on Moscow" talk of a while back. It's the opposite of Teddy Roosevelt's policy of "speaking softly but carrying a big stick." I'm afraid, with the cuts in defense appropriations, that it is a case of "talking loud but carrying a little stick."

Second. Let us cease the witch hunt of loyal and patriotic American citizens whose only crime is a difference of opinion. Such inquisitions will do little to foster world-wide respect for the democratic rights of free speech.

Third. Instead of such inquisitions, let us do more to protect our own citizens against encroachment on their human rights and expand their degree of economic opportunity.

And how do we seek to eliminate trouble spots?

It has almost become axiomatic that communism thrives in troubled waters. We have only to look at the record to see that agitation, subversion, and all the outcroppings of Communist activity follow when a country or an area is deadlocked by a crisis or paralyzed by a political impasse. In the non-Communist world we must acknowledge the existence of such festering sores, trouble spots which can and must be eliminated.

Many of the troubled situations have been solved through existing machinery. The Dutch-Indonesian crisis was settled by the United Nations and today there is a new and proud nation of 70 million people in the Orient.

The Palestine problem was finally settled through U. N. auspices. But there still is tension in this part of the Middle East. The new Israeli borders are disputed by Syria and Egypt, with frequent incidents. Hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees are still eking out a bare existence with little hope of finding a home. On the one hand, the Moslem world feels aggrieved at its treatment from the Western Powers. On the other, the new Republic of Israel is deeply concerned about its own security.

It is much easier to recount the list of trouble spots than it is to eradicate them. They are not confined to any single area of the world. In Latin America there are repeated upheavals, usually the result of long-seething and unsolved questions. Fortunately, the American Republics have developed machinery that has solved most of the purely American problems.

If we are to create an atmosphere for peace and thus strengthen our position in the world, we must put our house in order. The western leaders should direct their efforts—whether it be through U. N., regional machinery or simply through negotiations—toward settlement of the disputes that threaten the non-Communist world.

Kashmir, Israel, Syria, the Arab refugees should be given considerable priority by our leaders, so that the free world can prove to the doubters and to the millions behind the Iron Curtain that free peoples can solve even the most perplexing questions without resort to force.

Now, how do we help the peoples of the world to help themselves?

For many, human freedom means relief from want and poverty.

For Europeans, the problem is one of restoring a peace economy, better utilization of human skills, and improving production methods.

In parts of Asia, the struggle centers on health and better methods of food production. In other regions, the immediate task is to provide some security against recurring catastrophes of famine and pestilence.

All parts of the world face the necessity of large-scale and radical changes in their use of human and material resources, if they are to maintain or improve their plane of living.

I have in mind a program of aid on the part of all western countries—not just the United States. There are practicable limits to how much we can do. This should be more than help by the well off to needy countries. It should be a well-thought-out program aimed at releasing resources of self-help within the countries receiving aid. It would involve thorough and sympathetic understanding of existing ways of doing things, tactful suggestions of changes, information about techniques of sanitation, drainage, crop rotation, and fertilization. To a considerable extent, I am thinking of an expanded point 4 program and supplements to some of the U. N. programs. It should be sufficiently broad to include private investments as well as publicly financed projects. The goal should be to achieve the maximum in self-help.

In addition, we should expand the reciprocal trade-agreements program, initiated by Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Here is an instrument that has proven very effective in increasing the flow of international trade, both our imports and exports. This country could take a much larger volume of imports without hurting domestic industry. There need not be any fear on the part of the domestic producers; there are devices in the existing machinery in the negotiation of trade treaties to protect the living standards of American workers. We are still the greatest trading nation on earth and possess the most efficient manufacturing plant.

I said in the beginning of my talk that I came here to counsel with you. I have brought up these subjects, which to me are very important. I hope that after you have considered them you will give me the benefit of your advice on them.

Again, thank you for this opportunity of talking with you tonight.

St. Patrick's Day in Shamrock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, March 17 is a great day for the Irish and all of their friends at Shamrock, Tex. Today marks the eighth annual St. Patrick's Day celebration for this city of God-fearing, fun-loving, honest-to-goodness Americans. There will be Donegal-wearing men and gaily costumed colleens, and there will be a twinkle in the eye of them all. There will be a parade and a beauty contest and never a dull moment for the whole of the day. Even the Lord Mayor of Dublin was invited. He had to refuse because a small town in the northeastern part of the United States had him already committed. He is to review a parade in a place called New York City. We all deeply regret that he will not be able to attend the larger and more elaborate celebration at Shamrock.

We hope you will all follow the suggestion in the following poem and pay us a visit:

If you've never been to Ireland
And you fear you'll never go,
Then take a trip to Shamrock;
It's not too far, you know.

Some of the folks are not Irish,
But they're pretty closely kin,
In the emerald of the plains country,
Where laughter is no sin.

Shamrock has no River Shannon,
Nor can you view the Irish Sea,
But, come St. Patrick's Day,
There's not a better place to be.

Address Delivered by Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, Before the Economic Club of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, recently I was invited to address the Economic Club of New York of the issues before the country in 1954. It was a real privilege to speak before this distinguished group of some 1,500 outstanding American business and professional leaders, which includes among its officers and board of directors the following men: Austin S. Igleheart, president, General Foods Corp.; Lucius D. Clay, chairman, Continental Can Co.; H. E. Humphreys, Jr., president and chairman, United States Rubber Co.; H. P. Davison, senior vice president, J. P. Morgan & Co.; Inc.; Dwight Eckerman, executive director, the Economic Club of New York; H. S. M. Burns, president, Shell Oil Co.; Charles R. Cox, president, Kennecott Copper Corp.; Stuart M. Crocker, Columbia Gas System, Inc.; F. J. Emmerich, president, Allied Chemical & Dye Corp.; B. F. Few, president, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.; Bernard F. Gimbel, chairman, Gimbel Bros., Inc.; William S. Gray, chairman, the Hanover Bank; Eugene Holman, president, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; Henry R. Luce, editor in chief, Time, Life, Fortune; William S. Paley, chairman, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.; Morehead Patterson, chairman and president, American Machine & Foundry Co.; William A. Patterson, president, United Air Lines; Joseph P. Ripley, chairman, Harriman Ripley & Co., Inc.; P. C. Spencer, president, Sinclair Oil Corp.; John P. Stevens, Jr., chairman, J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.

Since the Economic Club wanted to have the subject presented from both the Democratic and the Republican point of view, they had also invited Gov. Theo-

dore McKeldin, of Maryland, to share the program. Following our talks, a number of questions were directed to us by the Honorable James A. Farley, chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., and Mr. W. D. Fuller, chairman of the board of the Curtis Publishing Co.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the full text of my speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., OF MISSOURI, BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1954.

The atmosphere in Washington for the past 2 weeks has been a curious mixture of calm and tension, of action and delay, of optimism and fear, of lofty idealism and partisan recrimination. This is a situation peculiar to the Capital city when Congress is back in session. But in the rest of the country, I strongly suspect, life goes on, much as before, people generally unaware of, or at least, unconcerned by, the sudden change of pace along the Potomac.

I might elaborate on the paradox of your inviting a Democratic Senator to step out of this welter and turmoil—to speak out of context, as it were—before a group of distinguished and successful business and professional men. As a matter of fact, however, there is no real paradox. I speak to you this evening as just another American because I am convinced that you and I—Democrats and Republicans alike—visualize and hope for fundamentally the same kind of America. We all want a Nation that is prosperous, secure and free. No matter how we may disagree on the means—and I am sure we all agree, at least, that on many of the specific issues we find wide differences of respectable opinion—our goal is the same and we have a common heritage and a common destiny.

Let me preface my remarks, therefore, by saying that the issues which will come before the Congress and before the country in 1954 are, in my opinion, facets, or, if you please, transition stages toward the achievement of our common goal. Let me say, too, what is obvious but sometimes overlooked—that Congress by itself, however well-informed and well-intentioned, cannot insure that goal merely by enacting laws. Congress assuredly is responsive to public opinion, and properly so. So is the executive branch—or let me say that it should be. The laws we enact in the Congress and the manner in which those laws are administered by the executive branch determine to a large extent whether we progress steadily toward that goal or whether we flounder along in confusion and uncertainty, with the goal ever more remote and the long, weary steps to be retraced once again.

But despite the enormous power over our national destiny wielded by these two arms of the Government, the fact remains that they are, nevertheless, only part of a gigantic whole. Industry is part of that whole, and so is agriculture, and so is labor. So, indeed, are all of our people in every business, every profession, and every walk of life. Only through all of these separate parts of our free enterprise system working in concert with the Government can we hope to achieve our objective.

As I see it, then, many of the particular issues that will be the subject of strenuous debate in the coming months—issues such as taxes, labor-management relations, farm price supports, reciprocal trade, housing, public power and other conservation measures, and social security and housing—these are all problems in maintaining a prosperous and vigorous economy. The business and economic decisions that you make, and the laws that we pass in the Congress may well determine for some time to come whether we shall continue to have a high level of production and employment or whether we will find ourselves confronted with another economic crisis.

In order to understand the issues before the country, it is, of course, essential to know the administration's estimate and opinion of the situation. In his state of the Union message, President Eisenhower gave us his judgment of our present relation to the "cold war." The President said, "There has been in fact a great strategic change in the world during the past year. That precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours. Our policy, not limited to mere reaction aganist crises provoked by others, is free to develop along lines of our choice not only abroad, but also at home."

The President then said that we shall use the initiative, which he believes we have at last taken away from the Russians, to (1) protect the freedom of our people; (2) maintain a strong, growing economy; (3) concern ourselves with the human problems of the individual citizen.

The President, in reaching his conclusion that we have seized the initiative, had much information both public and secret available to him.

On the basis of what is known publicly, I am inclined to agree with many informed observers who find substantial evidence that this estimate is based more on wishful thinking than on fact. No one will challenge the fact that leadership of the free world demands that we act in a manner deliberately calculated to give constructive and positive assistance to our allies and to underdeveloped nations rather than in a way which is nothing more or less than a conditioned reflex to Russia's prodding. But the positive programs where we were grasping the initiative, the Marshall plan, for example, and point 4, and technical assistance, are to be sharply reduced and the dependent peoples of the world look to us less and less either for moral leadership or for help in building their own economies.

The President's dramatic speech before the U. N. offering to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes was positive, but much of its impact was dissipated by the announcement made just a short time later when both the President and Secretary Dulles served notice on Russia and on Red China that we shall risk another world war by reacting against any further aggressive moves on their part with our total military strength, including atomic bombs. Whether such a policy would be wise or practicable or in the interest of the free world is questionable, for the Russians, too, we will recall, now have a hydrogen bomb. Many military strategists point out that at the same time we are talking tough we are retrenching our military strength, and they question whether a one-weapon offense is a sound defense policy or a convenient rationalization for budget cuts. In any event, it is somewhat difficult to reconcile these various conflicting policies.

Moreover, we go to the scheduled Berlin meeting under heavy handicaps. The European Defense Community is all but dead, not only because of French opposition but also because of the political crisis in Italy. Joseph Alsop, the columnist, last week asked the question: "Are our leaders getting ready, consciously or unconsciously, to abandon the grand alliance that is the main protection of the free world?"

Secretary Dulles has made it plain that if France does not join the EDC, American divisions would be withdrawn from Europe. This seems to mean that we intend to abandon NATO if the French continue their stubborn resistance to EDC. This may have been only a threat, but, in any case, the French so far have given no signs that they intend to be threatened or shocked into joining.

NATO is our only real defense against the possible loss of Western Europe to the Russians. Without NATO Western European countries separately, one by one, cannot hope to stand against Soviet imperialism.

Many informed observers have warned that Italy, aside from the difficulties involved in EDC and NATO, may be drawn into the Communist orbit in spite of our aid. With the collapse of EDC and NATO we will be forced to adopt a strategy dependent upon military bases around the periphery of West Europe such as in Spain and in the British Isles.

We are in trouble in French Indochina where the French, grown war-weary, may negotiate a peace with the Communists. We are also endangering our relations with India and if we lose our prestige there we will lose our influence with the uncommitted peoples in Asia.

Beyond these strictly military aspects of our world strategy, I point to the growing alarm among our allies both in Europe and in Asia lest the signs of economic recession here at home mean a worldwide depression. The President's statement that we are in process of change to a peacetime economy surely did nothing to alleviate the feeling of anxious concern in other countries. A substantial drop in our national production could result in a severe economic set back in other countries.

The general consensus seems to be that there will be some decline from our peak of prosperity. It is variously referred to as a "recession," a "deflation," a "depression," a "planned retreat," a "rolling adjustment," and a "leveling off." In whatever terms it may be described, let me state quite bluntly that in my judgment there is absolutely no excuse for a major economic disaster in this country. We have the weapons—the strength, the knowhow, the productive capacity, and above all, the will to prevent such a calamity. We know too, that such a crisis is what the Soviet hopes for and expects here.

The thinking of the present administration on the subject of a depression seems uncertain and confusing. In a recent radio debate, the President's economic adviser, Dr. Gabriel Hauge, refused to admit that there was any cause for concern over the trouble spots that have appeared in our economy. He said: "While it may be true that business failures are up 50 percent from a year ago they are still abysmally low. While it may be true that carloadings and steel are in particularly low spots at the moment, I think that the people in those industries are looking forward to a good year in 1954." Yet, just a few days later, in his state of the Union message, the President stated that we are in a transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. He suggested programs for economic preparedness and assured the Nation that the administration stands ready to take any necessary action "if new conditions arise." It would seem from this statement that the President is more willing to come to grips with economic realities than his adviser, and I submit that the time for the action promised by the President is now—not when the disaster, in the words of Secretary Benson, becomes "undue disaster."

Many of the most-controversial issues that will come before the country in 1954 can be grouped under the second objective listed by President Eisenhower: "To protect the freedom of our people."

The President speaks of a Nation "where freedom expands." When these words come from the President of the United States, and when they are spoken not only to all Americans but to the world, I think we have a right to assume that he means freedom as set forth and guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, that he is reaffirming the constitutional protection of individual civil liberties within the framework of our democracy. In many parts

of the world, freedom and democracy are empty words; their appeal is meaningless to illiterate people existing at a subsistence level. But even the best-organized society from the standpoint of economic well-being remains a precarious society unless each of its members can feel free from violations of his personal liberties.

Unfortunately, America is now being engulfed by a tidal wave of reaction against individual liberty—a willingness to interfere with the traditional freedoms on which our democracy is based. This sentiment which has, I think, reached dangerous proportions, dates from the beginning of the cold war.

As much as it is contrary to our character and traditions as a people, this emotional state has dominated our ideas and our actions to our great injury as a free people and has become a fact of political life which no public official can ignore. In recent years it has been difficult for us publicly to explore the edges of an idea. Indeed, for a person in public life to profess liberal ideas, to support our constitutional liberties, to defend unpopular or not generally understood causes (and I don't mean communism) has been touchy business, because it might be seized upon by unscrupulous demagogues and other irresponsibles and twisted and distorted into some evidence of softness to communism.

Beginning in 1947 our anxiety and fear of Russia's Communist aggression has led us to consent, sometimes it is true with vigorous dissent, but none the less consent to acquiesce in actions alien to our best concepts of freedom of the individual, tolerance, and fair play.

I have in mind such things as the unfair and inquisitorial methods of procedure employed by some congressional committees not necessarily with regard to subversive activities but concerning all sorts of activities engaged in by American citizens.

I have in mind such things as the book burning and book censorship that have gone on in connection with our overseas library program and that have cropped up in various parts of our country.

I have in mind such things as Attorney General Brownell's two proposals to the Congress concerning the use of evidence obtained by wiretapping and the granting of immunity to witnesses who invoke their rights under the fifth amendment against self-incrimination if they agree to testify.

I have in mind such things as Senator BRICKER's resolution which would provide the legal basis for radically altering the present division of powers between the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government in respect to the formulation and conduct of this country's foreign policy, and for necessary participation by State governments in the execution of such policy in certain areas. The fact that this far-reaching and radical resolution designed to change basically our constitutional system and to strike down the great historic Presidential powers in foreign affairs obtained the cosponsorship and support of 62 Senators in the face of opposition by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, as well as President Truman and Secretary Acheson, is, taken by itself, evidence of the extent to which we have been seized by suspicion, mistrust, and fear of ourselves as well as of foreign commitments. I am happy to say here tonight that owing partly, I think, to the strong position taken by the distinguished bar of your city and by the bar of my own home, St. Louis, and other cities, and the well-reasoned opposition of such distinguished Americans as Justice Owen Roberts, of Philadelphia; John W. Davis; Gen. Lucius Clay, of New York; and Mr. Jacob Lashly, a past president of the American Bar Association, of St. Louis, and many others, I feel fairly sure that we can muster more than enough votes to defeat the Bricker amendment on the floor of the Senate.

I cannot leave this subject without paying special tribute to the courage and statesmanship of Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, who in the face of bitter opposition in his home State, has staked his entire political future on his refusal to compromise his beliefs in the fundamental soundness of our Constitution.

And finally I have in mind such things as the ugly allegations made more or less with impunity in the present atmosphere of suspicion and hate against such distinguished and loyal Americans as Gen. George Marshall, and more recently, Arthur Dean. In a more normal period when we had faith in ourselves and in our leaders, no person in public life would have risked his political future in an attack on such distinguished citizens.

We can and must seize the initiative from the Russians but to do so we must first regain faith in ourselves. Let us relentlessly continue to hunt down spies, traitors, and subversives, not by sensational news release and interviews and television appearances, but in the determined and efficient manner of the FBI at its best. Let's stop impugning the integrity and loyalty of such devoted public servants as Arthur Dean. Let us again be tolerant of new ideas and free public discussions. Thomas Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers of the Republic, clearly recognized the folly of trying to shackle freedom of thought and expression. Jefferson in a declaration to the faculty members of the University of Virginia said, "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it."

Let us firmly defend the right to dissent and to hold unpopular beliefs. The great Justice, soldier, and patriot, Oliver Wendell Holmes, only restated what great men throughout the centuries have said in other words when he declared, "If there is any principle of our Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought we hate."

If we broaden our democracy so that all may fairly share in human dignity and the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of our American ingenuity and progress, we have no need to fear communism. If we lose faith in ourselves and in our future, no amount of restrictive and repressive measures will save us. Henry L. Stimson had the vision to see this when he said: "The essential question is one which we should have to answer if there were not a Communist alive. Can we make freedom and prosperity real in the present world? If we can, communism is no threat. If not, with or without communism our own civilization would ultimately fail."

The key to our survival as a free Nation and the extent to which we may influence or provide positive leadership to other free nations is in our spiritual strength, our steadfast devotion to the ideals of democracy, our unswerving allegiance to the principles of civil liberties, and our tolerance of the whole market place of ideas. We are bound together as Americans by our common desire to make our democracy secure against intimidation from within and aggression from without. While reserving our rights as free citizens to disagree, while respecting each other's differences of political opinion, let us join together as Americans in a united effort to strengthen this great land of freedom. Let us join as Americans in a common resolve to keep faith with our traditions and our heritage. If we exercise mature judgment, if we practice forebearance, if we refrain from accusation and recrimination—in a word, if we put aside petty considerations and dedicate our best efforts to constructive thought and action, we will be worthy of the great trust which has been placed upon us.

Battle of Ramsour's Mill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. Clyde Osborne, staff writer of the Charlotte Observer, in which he described in detail the Battle of Ramsour's Mill in Lincoln County, N. C. Mr. Osborne refers to the Battle of Ramsour's Mill as "the strangest battle of the Revolutionary War." The article appeared in the Charlotte Observer of March 14, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IT WAS WHIGS AGAINST TORIES—BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL WAS STRANGE BUT POTENT

LINCOLNTON, March 13.—Today, only a monument under a clump of oak trees, in an otherwise barren meadow reminds travelers that on the northwestern edge of this city the strangest battle of the Revolutionary War was fought.

And travelers are usually speeding too fast along Highway 321 to even notice the marker, much less see the land on which the bloody battle of Ramsour's Mill was fought.

The battle was a strange one, pitting brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, and friend against friend. There were no British troops involved. The fight was waged strictly on a Whig versus Tory basis. Let it here be said that the Tories, or Loyalists, were not traitors. They were acting according to the best dictates of their consciences in joining the Tory forces under Col. John Moore.

Fortunately for historians and for every citizen of the Nation, an eyewitness account of the battle was prepared in manuscript form by Wallace M. Reinhardt, father of Mrs. Warren A. Fair, of Lincolnton. Mr. Reinhardt, eminent Lincoln historian, born in 1812, went over the battleground with a number of survivors jotting down notes on what he was told, and later writing his manuscript.

The eyewitness account was condensed by Reinhardt's son-in-law, Warren Fair, and copyrighted in 1937. It is through the kindness of Mr. Fair's heirs that excerpts of the pamphlet are quoted verbatim in parts of this story.

TURNING POINT?

Many historians contend that the battle of Ramsour's Mill, fought June 10, 1780, made possible the victory at Kings Mountain about 3 months later.

On June 14, 1780, Gen. Griffith Rutherford, "the Old Hunter," learned that the Tories were gathering at Ramsour's Mill. He issued orders to Col. Francis Locke, of Rowan, Maj. David Wilson, of Mecklenburg, and Capt. Williams Falls, of Rowan, and to others to make every effort to disperse the Loyalists.

At 10 p. m. Monday night, June 19, Col. James Johnson reached General Rutherford with a message from Locke, telling of Locke's intention to attack at sunrise and requesting cooperation. Rutherford's forces at that time were camped several miles from Tuckaseege Ford. And it might be said that although Colonel Locke, dubbed the "Old Gentleman" and commander of the Whig forces in the battle, is generally considered the hero of the engagement, much credit is due the famous Adam Rieb (later changed to Reep). His work contributed much to the

downfall of the British in the South. Hovering on the edge of enemy camps, he would signal Confederate spies for stealthy conferences, and returning from a period of scouting, he would sound the hoot of an owl to notify his wife of his approach. If the coast was clear, she would bring his boat across the South Fork River to him from its hidden mooring place on the western bank.

Reep's cabin of hewn logs stood near the South Fork River on what is now a fertile farm owned by a prominent Lincoln County farmer.

But Reep's exploits, and there are plenty of them, belong in another story. This is the story of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill.

RECRUITS SUPPORT

Long before daylight on Tuesday, June 20, Adam Reep with 30 picked men, joined Locke's forces at a point 2 miles from Ramsour's Mill. Reep is given credit for having aroused 60 or more Whigs who, just before the battle began, joined Locke at Dellinger's Ordinary, situated on what is now courthouse Square in Lincolnton.

It was at Adam Reep's suggestion that Colonel Locke divided the Whig troops into two sections. The Tories, occupying a strong position on top of the ridge had thrown down an abatis by felling trees, trimming the limbs and leaving the sharpened points projecting outwards. This was to protect the approach to the hill from cavalry attack—in much the same way barbed wire is used today. In their advance, however, the two Whig sections went around the two ends of this obstruction and flanked the enemy.

Tory Col. John Moore had about 1,100 men, but those who had been sent out to help the harvesters gather their crops did not all return when called in by Colonel Moore to take part in the fight which was anticipated. Only about 50 came in. This gave Moore a force of some 900 men to meet the Whig assault.

Colonel Locke was rather disposed to linger a short time to await the arrival of General Rutherford's forces, but all at once firing was heard from the west side of the enemy's position, a picket thrown out by the enemy had fired upon Capt. William Fall's advance and fled back to their main line. This fire was returned by Captain Falls who, dashing up near the felled trees, was shot. The captain turned his horse and rode back to a persimmon glade where he dropped from his horse dead.

TORIES OPEN FIRE

Colonel Locke hurried from the ordinary or tavern. Captain Dobson marched his hundred men over toward the creek, got into Green's Road and as he neared the hill on which the enemy was stationed, the Tories opened fire. Dobson rejoined Locke and a line of two ranks was formed, just at the foot of the hill. The advance to the hill was considerable, so Locke advanced slowly so as not to tire his men. This was about 7 o'clock in the morning. A very heavy mist had spread over the hill from the mill pond. The fog was so thick and heavy that it was impossible for the combatants to see each other until almost meeting.

Quoting Mr. Fair: "The enemy being in the road cut, were kneeling down; they discovered the Whigs first and fired, the volley killing outright 10 good men and wounding several others. Had it not been for a few trees many more would have been killed. This was a damper for the Whigs and in spite of the efforts of their officers all fell back to the foot of the hill. This chafed Colonel Locke, who formed again and with his officers led a second advance steadily up the hill. As the Whigs approached the crest of the hill they could see the Tories and a sharp volley rang out from both sides. The officers were in front and Captain Dobson was shot, also Captain Bowman; both died in a few moments.

"Colonel Locke then fell back a few paces while the enemy kept up firing but overshot the Whigs. After carefully reloading their rifles, Locke's men were ordered to charge up to the road and then deliberately fire upon the Tories. The charge was made in good order and the fog had begun to rise. To their utter astonishment, upon reaching the road, the Whigs found that the Tories had made a sudden flank movement, filed to their right, marched along the road to the apex of the hill toward the bridge, all done in good order and in quick time. This was cheering to the Whigs. Several Tories had been killed inthe enemy's first position. But the Whig loss was greatest, three brave officers already killed and a number of good men."

HOLD GROUND

"The Tories stood their ground well in their second line. Colonel Moore and Major Welch took positions on the edge of the slope on the south side, just west of Christian Reinhard's store among a grove of plum bushes. There was a large wild locust tree in the midst of this thicket and this tree was always afterward called Moore's Locust, for his own soldiers in after years said he hugged close to it.

"Colonel Locke moved up and formed his line across the hill in front of the enemy; a portion of Captain Fall's men were added to this line and Adam Reep, with his 29 men, having lost one, crept into the woods near the left end of the enemy's lines and began sharpshooting. Reep told his men to keep a sharp lookout for officers.

"The western slope of the hill, next to the mill dam and pond, was cleared and in cultivation. On the north side of the hill a narrow field extended nearly to the water; the main road passed the east end of this narrow cleared field and Tory Capt. Nicholas Warlkick had placed some of his finest marksmen opposite this point. But they were exposed in an opened field and one, then another, and another fell, for a few of Captain Fall's men who were fine marksmen had crept up in the woods on the north side of the main road and were picking them off.

"There were a few large trees near the top of the hill, nearer to the Whigs than to the Tories; these scattered oaks were of some benefit as a protection against sharpshooters. As the battle progressed, the fog lifted and revealed, like the rising curtain in a play a terrible scene. There stood neighbor against neighbor and in some instances brother against brother, shooting each other down in mortal combat." * * *"

"Adam Reep ran up to Colonel Locke at a time when the fighting was at its worst and begged him to get back out of danger. 'What shall I do with them, Reep?' said Locke. Adam replied, 'Club them colonel, club them'."

AT CLOSE HAND

Colonel Locke moved his men back a few paces, directed them to load their rifles carefully and he would order a charge. The men were instructed not to fire until near the enemy, then fire and club them with the butts of their guns. This cessation of fire and falling back of the Whigs cheered the enemy who began to shout. Colonel Locke ordered a brisk fire to be kept up on each flank of the enemy's lines and a few sharpshooters were to creep up near the plum bushes and fire into them. Locke ordered a charge throwing his main force on the enemy's center. The Tories gave way for the Whigs came upon them with terrible yells and shouts. But Warlick, Tory second in command, rallied his men and the fight was renewed, officers and private soldiers all mingled together—a terrible scene.

"Warlick was charging back and forth along his lines and his men were fighting bravely, but he passed too near the edge of the woods where Captain Falls men and some of Reep's squad were posted. A man fired. The fine roan charger, much fretted and covered with foam and sweat, reared up and Captain Warlick tumbled off, dead.

"The Tories fled pell mell down the hill over the bridge and some threw away their guns and sprang into the millpond, several being drowned. All wanted to rush across the bridge at once. * * * About 50 were fired on by the Whigs, ordered to surrender, and did. The rest of the Tories formed a line cross the hill opposite the mill and bridge but remained there but a short time. On hearing the shouts from General Rutherford's advance about past 11 o'clock, they fell back to Ramsour's house on top of this hill where they hung out a white sheet and sent an officer and three men to parley and ask conditions of surrender. This was only a ruse, however, as Colonel Moore immediately and hurriedly moved off with about 400 men."

A HORRIBLE SCENE

"The scene upon the battlefield was indescribable—dead men here and there; broken skulls; a few were seen with gun locks sunk into their heads, disabled men moving about seeking help, men with shattered shoulders, broken arms and legs, while others were breathing their last breath. Shortly after the battle many women, children, and old men came hunting for their loved ones.

"The bodies of 30 or more soldiers who were killed in this action were taken to their homes and buried by friends, while 70 dead bodies remained on the battlefield and were buried the next day in a long trench which was dug across the hill near where the Tories made their last stand."

What did the battle accomplish? The immediate result was that the band of Tories were scattered and the purpose of their gathering defeated. Cornwallis had sent Moore and Welch to this section with the command to recruit Loyalists in Burke and Rutherford Counties.

The Tories were disbanded, paving the way for the turn-of-the-tide battle at Kings Mountain later.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of Wednesday, March 17, 1954:

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

An admittedly interested party once remarked that there were only two types of people in the world: the Irish and those who wished they were. While this generality may be a bit too sweeping, today would appear the least propitious time to challenge it. For, among those who will march down Fifth Avenue today, or don a shamrock and green tie in memory of Ireland's patron saint, there will be more than a few whose grandparents came from places as far away from Dublin as Cracow or Canton. While traditionally a time for those of Irish lineage to assert a pride in their history and culture and to hark back to fading folk memories, St. Patrick's Day is now observed across the world in nations that were, at one time, fortunate in welcoming Irish immigrants to

their shores. For, along with a burning love of freedom, the Irish brought to their adopted homelands a color and mercurial lightheartedness that enlivened all that they touched.

Americans of Irish descent have dropped their hyphen long ago and they now rank among our foremost and most loyal citizens. However, like the Irish smile, the warm memories of the hills of Kerry and the Sligo Lake country have never faded. And today the shamrocks and touches of green that brighten our city are proof that these memories, and the sensitivity that provoked them, have endeared themselves to all Americans.

Former House Member Now Favors Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the first formal congressional investigation into the question of statehood for Hawaii was conducted by a subcommittee of the then Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives in 1935. The chairman of the subcommittee was Representative Eugene Crowe, of Indiana, who has since retired and only recently returned to Hawaii for a visit as a private citizen.

Mr. Crowe's subcommittee recommended that a joint committee of Congress undertake a further investigation of this question and thus began the long succession of inquiries that have taken place in the intervening years. It is interesting, therefore, to point out that although Mr. Crowe in 1935 entertained reservations about the advisability of statehood for Hawaii, he is now strongly in favor of it.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a news story from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin reporting Mr. Crowe's present sentiments on that issue:

EX-CONGRESSMAN, AGAINST STATEHOOD IN 1935, FOR IT NOW

The man who was a member of two congressional committees that decided against statehood for Hawaii in the 1930's said today he would "most certainly vote yes" if he were sitting in Congress now.

Former Democratic Representative Eugene Crowe, of Indiana, arrived with his wife and son on the *Lurline* yesterday for a 12-day visit. They are at the Moana Hotel.

Mr. Crowe, who is now 76, was chairman of the first congressional committee ever to make a formal investigation of the statehood question. That was in 1935, and the recommendation was for considerable further study.

He returned in 1937 as secretary of a larger committee of both Senators and Representatives, which urged a plebiscite before final action.

He said that both of the committees decided against statehood at that time because of doubts of the loyalty of Hawaii's Japanese population.

"World War II erased all those doubts," Mr. Crowe said.

"The war record of Hawaii's Japanese was as fine as any nationality in our country."

Although out of Congress since 1941, Mr. Crowe said he still keeps in touch and predicted that the vote on statehood in the Senate will be very, very close.

He also predicted that the Democrats will carry both the House and Senate in this year's congressional elections.

While here, he plans to do nothing much except rest and visit with old friends, including Mayor Wilson and Governor King. Governor King is now in Washington.

Code of Fair Committee Procedure for the Congress of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I have received a statement adopted by the Montgomery County Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action endorsing the Morse-Lehman proposal for a code of fair committee procedures, Senate Concurrent Resolution 64. The need for such amendments to the rules of the Senate becomes clearer every passing day. In my opinion, mere recommendations to committee chairmen will have no effect in stopping abuse of witnesses, and in providing an enforceable code of fair play. We must face up to the issue and adopt basic changes in the Senate rules. Anything less than this will be a hoax when it comes to protecting the basic civil liberties of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Montgomery County ADA statement be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Montgomery County Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action endorses and urges the enactment of the Code of Fair Committee Procedure for the Congress of the United States, introduced recently by Senators MORSE and LEHMAN. It calls upon the Maryland congressional delegation in the Senate and in the House to work for the enactment of this proposal. Aimed at providing realistic protection of the constitutional liberties of American citizens who appear before congressional committees, and at the same time rescuing the Congress from the severe censure which has been heaped upon that body because of recent abuses committed by its own committees, it deserves the support of all fair-minded Americans.

The congressional power to inquire and investigate in fulfillment of legislative duties is an important and necessary one. Unlike the expressly delegated legislative powers of Congress, the incidental power of investigation is subject to neither constitutional safeguards nor judicial review.

As a result, the only effective restraint upon its powers of investigation is Congress' own sense of self-restraint. Too frequently recently we have witnessed shocking examples of how some congressional committees have cast aside this duty of self-discipline. In the public mind the question is raised of whether indeed they are competent to be entrusted with the grave responsibility which the powers and duties of a congressional investigation entail.

There is an immediate and urgent need that Congress itself take the steps necessary to restore public confidence in its ability to act with fairness and respectability. Certainly, our supreme legislative body cannot much longer tolerate the abuses that have been committed if it is to maintain the respect which Americans in the past have paid it as its traditional and merited due.

The resolution proposed by Senators MORSE and LEHMAN would go a long way to establish the minimum procedural standards required to turn the tide back in favor of constitutional fair play so far as congressional committees are concerned. Just as Congress wisely saw fit to protect American citizens from the excesses of the executive branch of the Government by passing the Administrative Procedure Act, so too should it provide similar protection from the far more terrible injustices that can be inflicted in the name of the legislative arm of the Government.

The Pampa Harvesters Have Done It Again: Champions 2 Years in a Row

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER ROGERS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure and honor in the year 1954 to stand before the House of Representatives of the United States Congress and again praise the members of the Pampa, Tex., basketball squad, their outstanding coaches, and their fine business manager. I say "again," because just 1 year ago it was my honor to call to the attention of this House and the Nation at large the fact that the Pampa Harvesters had won the State basketball championship in Texas. They have done it again. The unprecedented record that has been written by these fine young men will serve as a guiding light and an outstanding example for many years after these boys have left high school and moved on in life to accept the responsibilities for which they are being so well trained. This record was accomplished under the splendid guidance and tutelage of two of the outstanding men of this Nation, Coach Clifton McNeely, and his able assistant, Terry Culley. They have not only exhibited their prowess in producing championship basketball teams, but they have proven themselves as the builders of men. No place could you find a finer group of young thoroughbred Americans than these boys who carried the Pampa High School colors to the State championship.

Pampa is justly proud of these fine boys and their coaches and student manager. I present them to you as champions all: Jimmy Bond, E. Jay McIlvain, Gary Griffin, Ken Hinkle, George Depee, Harold Lewis, Buddy Sharp, Benny Cartwright, Bill Culpepper, Buster Carter, Jimmy Enloe, Gene Brown, Melvin Romine, Student Manager Joe McNamara, Head Coach Clifton McNeely, and Assistant Coach Terry Culley.

Patriotism and Partisanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. Carmine G. DeSapio, Democratic national committeeman from the State of New York and chairman of the New York County Democratic Committee, at a dinner sponsored by the Rockland County Democratic Committee, Nyack, N. Y., February 27, 1954:

Mr. Toastmaster, honored guests, ladies, and gentlemen, it is a very great pleasure to join with you in saluting your victorious standard bearers: Supervisors Irvin F. Dillon, of Clarkstown; Victor J. Shankey, of Haverstraw; John A. McKenna, of Orangetown; and Edwin E. Wallace of, Ramapo. I congratulate you. And to the loser—John Goetschius, I say, better luck next time in Stony Point. I am happy too to have this opportunity to greet old and new Rockland County associates, Toastmaster Pat Fisher and my good friend, your able county leader, Michael H. Prendergast.

I understand you put on quite a campaign here in Rockland County last fall. We had quite a campaign too in my hometown, and we are equally pleased with the results.

A short time ago the Democratic Party did me the great honor of electing me to the national committee, as a representative of New York State. I am very deeply aware of the responsibility which this designation carries. The future of our country hinges on what happens to the Democratic Party in the months ahead; and to a very large extent, that future will be decided in our important Empire State.

It has been inspiring to me to leave the teeming city behind, to drive up the magnificent Hudson Valley and to join with this enthusiastic group of Democrats, which, in so many ways, typifies the strength and vitality of our party. As I look around the rooms, I recognize among you many who have worked in the Democratic Party for many, many years, whose efforts have created the justly famed Democratic strongholds of Haverstraw and Piermont. And I recognize others who have, as comparative newcomers to politics, fought and won a valiant uphill fight against immense odds. Here, in this lovely rural and suburban community are all the elements upon which our Democratic victory in 1954 must be built. It is in counties like this that the decision will be made. What you have learned in your past campaigns, as you apply it to the future, is an indispensable part of our party's strength in this State. We will need every ounce of wisdom and fortitude we can muster in the months ahead.

For, my friends, we are living through one of the most sordid chapters in American political history. The first page was written shortly after the smashing Democratic victories this fall in Congressional races in Wisconsin and New Jersey and the triumph of Governor Meyner in the latter State. These defeats set off a panic-stricken reaction. Since that time, the Republicans have served as triggermen while the junior Senator from Wisconsin passed the ammunition in what our opponents are seeking to make a war of extinction. They are engaged in a calculated attempt to assassinate the character of an entire political party—by branding its leaders as traitors.

During the past week their guns were turned on a great and brave general. What transpired has been widely described as a "surrender by the Army." This, in my view, is not an accurate interpretation. What happened, in fact, was that the Republican Party surrendered. Notice has been served on the American people that, from here on in, this administration is dedicated to only one objective—defeating Democrats next fall. It is further committed to the belief that this can be accomplished only by generating such a fog of hysteria, suspicion and hatred that the real issues will vanish from sight. The resulting forest fire of blind passion and idiotic fury could destroy the very foundation of our American society. But our opponents are prepared to gamble with our very birthright so long as they win an election.

Now, you may think it strange that I, as a political leader, challenge this philosophy. It is the business of political parties to win elections and I think I can claim, in all modesty, that this is a business I know something about. But I also know—and I wish to say this in the plainest possible words—there is level below which partisanship cannot descend and that is the level of plain human decency.

How do we find the line of demarcation? If I am running for office and you call me a thief and a liar you may or may not damage my chances of election. But whether I win or lose, our country and community have not been permanently hurt. I have ample opportunity to answer back; and there will be others. I can always try again.

But, if you attack me, by accusing me and some 27 million other American of being traitors and spies you are doing something far more serious. You are willfully inciting your fellow-citizens to unreasoning hatred and fear. And my friends, we have learned that bitter hatred, once unleashed, knows no bounds. Once you have taught people to hate a group because they are labeled Democrats, it is an easy step to teach them to hate others because they are labeled Jews or Catholics or Seventh Day Adventists. The terrible lessons of mass prejudice and fear are written deep in the history of our time.

So when we cry "foul" at the current tactics of our adversaries, let it be clear, we are not protesting because our party has been hurt. We are angered because our country is imperiled.

Do not doubt that our national security is being weakened by the ill winds blowing over our land. Only this past week one of our greatest diplomats, George F. Kennan, told an audience of young college men that he could not, in good conscience, advise them to enter the Foreign Service of their Government as a career. Think, for a moment, what that means, when a man who has devoted his own entire life to his country's service abroad urges the new generation to shun it because of the too great risk of unwarranted attack, of character assassination and ultimate frustration and dishonor. And now the same prospect faces young men entering the military service of their country. They have been put on notice that, from this point in, their careers too will be placed in jeopardy by every political expedient.

This kind of partisanship is at odds with patriotism. It strikes at the safety of our country.

Let no one deceive himself that the current strategy is motivated by real concern for the danger of subversion. The decision to throw Secretary Stevens to the wolves was a private, Republican Party matter. Democratic members of the Committee on Internal Security were not invited to the discussions. There was not even a pretense that the issue was whether the security of this Nation is threatened by a dentist or a teletype operator, or whether improvements in the Army's security system are needed. The Republican leadership was scared silly because, for a day or two, it seemed that a member of their own party was going to deprive them of their phony rocket gun. And there is no doubt that the bombardment will continue.

This is what we face. What do we do about it?

A natural reaction is to say: "O. K., so you're going to play dirty. We can beat you at your own game."

I am strongly opposed to such an answer. The stakes are too serious. We cannot, we must not, put partisanship above patriotism. What then shall we do? I have a few suggestions.

First. Fight falsehood with facts. We must carry on an unceasing effort to keep the real issues before the people—the issues which our opponents are doing their best to hide. This means not merely the great national and international problems, but such human everyday matters as jobs and homes, security for workers and farmers, opportunity for the independent businessman. You can talk proudly of the Democratic record in every vital sphere of human well-being.

And we must dramatize, too, the issues closest to home. Here in Rockland County you have had first hand experience of what a ruthless State machine can do to the average citizen. You have seen the throughway crashing through your villages, endangering the water supply on your western borders, in Ramapo, callously destroying historic shrines, such as the Salisbury House in South Nyack. You have watched the trained puppets of our "imperial Governor" turn a deaf ear to the pleas of your local chamber of commerce for access roads to the superhighway which threatens to drain the economic blood away from your enterprising local merchants. This experience is an illustration of what happens when government stops listening to people. Herein is the mission of the Democratic Party. Its greatness is rooted in the people whose voice it is—workers, merchants, farmers, housewives, teachers. It is to them our party belongs, and you will find, as I have, that there is stirring in the American people a deep resentment against the party that is, little by little, betraying them by whittling away the rights, opportunities, and resources that belong to all Americans. So, I say to you, first, know the facts and make them known.

Second. We must fight hysteria with reason. Do not become engaged in fruitless name-calling contests. Answer your neighbor's fears with calm good sense. Let us, by all means, know the nature of the enemy. But let us not be defeated by our own terrors.

How do we do these things? The answer can be summed up in one word—organization. And organization, as you know, means work and workers. We, in the Democratic Party, are never going to be able to compete with our opponents in spending millions of dollars on fancy packaged advertising campaigns. Frankly, I am not too concerned about this. One Democratic committeeman who really knows his district; one Democratic woman who really rings every doorbell on the block is worth a hundred slick empty slogans.

I know that many of you here tonight are party workers, and I want to say to you—particularly to you who are committeemen—we need you desperately this year. The job ahead is important not merely to your party but to your country. And though I know it has been said often before, I want to repeat—that a single vote—just one vote that you influence may be the decisive one. Let me remind you that in 1916 Woodrow Wilson carried the State of California by less than one vote per precinct. Thirty-two

years later—in 1948—Harry S. Truman won by just about the same margin. Congressional races have been won or lost by even narrower margins. In a county like Rockland where you are rapidly closing the gap, between defeat and victory, every ounce of organized efforts means something. Few medals are pinned on the men and women who ring the doorbells, who stuff the envelopes, who do the thousand and one small jobs that make an organization function. I do not wish in any way to detract from the honor we are doing tonight to your victorious standard bearers last fall. But I wish also to pay tribute to the loyal party workers. Without your efforts the greatest candidates and the finest program cannot win. With your united help any obstacles can be overcome.

Let us not underestimate the difficulties. Entrenched power and enormous wealth are arrayed against us. These are familiar problems to you in Rockland County, who have lived long in the shadow of an arrogant, one-party machine. But you know, as I do, that they can be beaten. The one thought I wish, above all, to leave with you is some sense of the great mission of the Democratic Party this year. It is our task to foster the rebirth of the sanity, the tolerance, and the true faith on which our Nation was founded. Only when we have so rebuilt our courage will we find the strength to triumph over every threat to our freedom. Only then, will we move forward to the everexpanding horizon of peace and security which are the common goals of all Americans who place patriotism above partisanship.

Reciprocal Trade Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Dallas Morning News published in its issue of March 9 an editorial entitled "Reciprocal Trade Bill."

This editorial speaks clearly and effectively for itself. I shall offer no comment on it except to express my wholehearted agreement with the view it expresses. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RECIPROCAL TRADE BILL

Extension of the law for making reciprocal trade agreements should be the aim of a bipartisan policy. Although this program was started 20 years ago, under Roosevelt and Hull, it has proved its worth and has been supported by many Republicans. President Eisenhower has made it a part of his program and repeatedly has endorsed it as a means to increased world trade.

Last year Congress extended the enabling act for making reciprocal trade treaties, but only for 1 year. Now it is up again. It should pass, easily, and should be for more than 1 year. But it is being sniped at from several quarters, by persons who want higher tariff walls for products of their home districts or States. Some Congressmen want to kill any extension. Others want to hamstring the new bill to keep it from being effective.

The Senate minority leader, Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, of Texas, has issued a timely word of advice to President Eisenhower on this issue. He said that, if the trade act is to be extended, the President must get busy soon and put some administration steam behind the bill. Most of the Democrats will support it. The danger comes from recalcitrant factions of the President's own party.

The Hull plan has great value, because it helps world trade and stability and because it enables us to obtain tariff concessions abroad for every one that we make here. It not only increases the foreign market for our surplus farm and factory products but serves the interest of world peace.

Standardization of Highway Signs and Traffic Signals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL M. HARDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following correspondence which I have had with Mr. Clem D. Johnston, chairman of the Intergovernmental Relations Commission's project for adequate roads, in connection with its study on Federal aid to highways, concerning H. R. 8161, which proposes standardization of highway signs and traffic signals:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, D. C., March 10, 1954.

Mr. CLEM D. JOHNSTON,
Roanoke, Va.

DEAR MR. JOHNSTON: I appreciate your letter of March 5, 1954, and your generous comments with respect to the work of the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee.

With respect to the standardization of traffic signals, warning signs, and other highway markings, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 8161. A copy of the bill is enclosed for your information. You will note that the first section of the bill contemplates that the Commerce Department, in cooperation of course with interested agencies, will develop a standard system of signs, signals, etc. The second section of the bill then will make it incumbent upon the States receiving Federal-aid road money to comply with the established system as a preliminary step to the receipt of additional road funds. I have attempted to set up adequate time periods in order to give everyone an opportunity to adjust to the new program.

I sincerely hope that your task force will have an opportunity to consider this very important subject. It is my feeling that the appalling loss of life and the almost innumerable injuries which happen from motor accidents can be reduced in some degree by the adoption of a program along the lines I am suggesting.

Sincerely yours,
CECIL M. HARDEN, *Chairman.*

MARCH 5, 1954.

MRS. CECIL M. HARDEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. HARDEN: Thanks very much for your good letter of February 16 relative to the need of standardization of traffic signs and signals.

There was apparently some delay in connection with forwarding your letter from the office of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and this is my first opportunity to reply.

As you indicate there is a real need for the standarization of both signs and signals and, as freeways and throughways are stepping up the speed of traffic in some areas, there is also a need for increasing the size of some signs of more or less standard design which may have been adequate for traffic moving at 15 miles per hour but which are distinctly inadequate for 45-mile-per-hour traffic movement.

I am sure that the vast majority of people everywhere would welcome any move that would produce standardization.

My own pet peeve is with those towns which have traffic signals with the green light on top at one intersection and the red light on top at the next and when facing the sun it is almost impossible to tell whether to stop or go.

You did a wonderful service to the country in bringing out the vast extent of Government competition with private business.

If you can bring about an effective standardization of adequate traffic signs and signals it would save many lives and a lot of needless accidents and loss of time by bewildered motorists.

Cordially yours,
CLEM D. JOHNSTON.

Thirty-five Years of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to draw attention to another well-deserved tribute to the American Legion on the 35th anniversary of its founding in Paris following the Armistice. As the Trentonian points out, the American Legion has become one of the great bulwarks of the American way of life. I am happy to wish this great organization many more years of useful service to veterans and to the Nation.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF SERVICE

Every American has something to say about how his country is governed, but it's only when Americans band together into organizations that they are able to exert strong influence.

A good example is the American Legion which, dedicated to service "for God and country," has become one of the great bulwarks of the American way of life through its leadership in all movements designed to preserve our free institutions and liberties.

Today, tomorrow, and Wednesday the American Legion will celebrate the 35th anniversary of its birth.

Looking back over those 35 years, it hardly seems possible that the Legion is that young. Truly, in a short space of time, it has grown old in service and devotion to America.

Today it is a far cry from the small group of AEF veterans who met in Paris back in 1919 to organize the American Legion. Today the organization holds a preeminent position in our Nation's life and includes on its rolls millions of veterans of three great wars in which our way of life has been at stake.

We all know why the Legion stands out so prominently in America. Its programs in national security, Americanism, child welfare, rehabilitation, and community services

have made the Legion an integral part of the community, the State, and the Nation.

To the many posts in the Trenton area and to their members who serve their communities so well, we are pleased to extend best wishes for a happy birthday. May there be many more.

Wisconsin's Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in today's RECORD two editorials from the Portage (Wis.) Daily Register which give clear and concise pictures of Wisconsin's dairy industry and the problems brought about by the coming change in parity support on products of that industry:

TO CUSHION SHOCK TO DAIRY INDUSTRY

Exactly 3 weeks from today the support price of dairy products is scheduled to drop from 90 to 75 percent of parity. Unless some emergency action is taken in Washington this will bring a sharp decline in milk prices in our State.

According to the reports received from Washington, members of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress are making an active effort to cushion this shock to our great dairy industry.

The proposal which seems to meet with some favor will require legislation to protect dairymen and farmers from a precipitous decline in support prices. A measure may be enacted which would prohibit the Secretary of Agriculture from reducing support prices more than 5 percent in any 1 year.

Other plans, of course, are under consideration. Congressman LAIRD has a plan to market the surplus butter now in storage with the Government taking a substantial loss and the consumer getting the benefit. The purpose is to remove this great surplus now in storage and then hope that the law of supply and demand will work to the advantage of the dairyman.

Representative O'KONSKI has been reported in favor of some form of Brannan plan, and there are other proposals to provide a direct subsidy to cushion the shock for the dairymen.

Many of us who are sincerely interested in the welfare of the dairy industry question these plans. There is always the danger that they will make the dairyman totally dependent upon the Government.

When the Government pays subsidies, the Government will impose controls, and many dairymen yet have vivid recollections of the manner in which the Government treated the dairy industry during World War II.

At that time rationing and controls forced millions of consumers to turn from butter to dairy substitutes. The results of that are still being noted. Without doubt this action was a great long-term boon to the industries now in competition to dairying.

Dairymen should not be too ready, therefore, to grab a Government subsidy in lieu of price supports. The immediate benefits might appear attractive but the long-term results might be unsatisfactory.

The dairy industry is here in Wisconsin to stay for a long time regardless of suggestions that dairymen turn to other branches of agriculture. Wisconsin is ideally suited to dairying and the investment in the dairy plant is too large to ignore in any quick shift to other crops.

Dairymen now faced with a crisis must therefore give serious consideration to the long-range effects of any Government program. The best bet for the present, in our opinion, is legislation which will make the readjustment more gradual—legislation which will limit price support reductions to 5 percent per year.

DAIRYMEN CANNOT ABANDON INVESTMENT

It is easy to advise the dairy farmer to reduce production and turn to some other branch of agriculture.

But it is something else to put this into practice. For the dairy farmer cannot ignore his huge investment in equipment, livestock, and in technical know-how of this particular business.

Wisconsin's vast investment in dairy farms and dairy plants cannot be easily abandoned. Conditions combine to make this a logical dairy State. Many of our farms are not adapted to anything else.

You cannot turn hilly or rolling farmland into corn or other cultivated crops without an early loss of soil fertility. You cannot make money by reducing operations and leaving a vast investment in equipment lie idle.

Our State's economy is geared to dairying, and merely reducing the volume of the State's most important industry will not solve our economic problem.

This brings us back to the matter of Government price supports and some better merchandising program to acquaint the American consumer with the fundamental value of dairy products.

It has been proposed by some dairy leaders that more effort be exerted to improve the unit production of Wisconsin dairy cows and eliminate those boarder cows—the poor producers which do not pay their own way but still contribute to the surplus which weighs so heavily on dairy markets.

There is nothing new in this, however. Dairy leaders at the College of Agriculture and elsewhere have been advocating that for years, and the progressive dairymen of Wisconsin have made great progress in improving the unit production of their herds.

Such practice may help the individual dairyman. It may improve the efficiency of his operation, but it will not solve the dairy problem.

About all that can be done for the dairy industry as a whole at present is to cushion the shock by a gradual reduction in price supports, as recommended by the Wisconsin delegation in Congress, and take some steps to reduce supports on those basic commodities which determine the price of dairy feeds. Then the dairy interests of the Nation should soon devise a self-help program embodying the features of many good plans which have been proposed.

To expect the dairymen of Wisconsin to abandon even a substantial part of the huge investment they now have in the dairy business is to ignore the realities of one of our major economic problems.

Employee Morale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith a poem from Jerry Klutz's column in the Washington Post.

The author is a Federal employee whose name was not revealed—for a very good reason.

I am sure that the following verse well illustrates the "improved" morale which the administration boasts of in the Federal service:

With this firing and hiring
This dumping and bumping
I'm in a state of alarm.
With the shifting and rifting
The approving and moving
I need a shot in the arm.
This state of inertia
Just couldn't be worser (poetic license)
My future is really at stake.
I flutter, I stutter, I can't make decisions
I hesitate, mediate, just make revisions.
Oh what shall I do, has this happened to you?
Is there something I should take?
It's simply not fitten, the way I keep flittin.
I only hope it don't show.
This is all confidential,
I'm relying on you
I wouldn't want people to know.

Jackson and Red Guatemala

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, all of us are concerned with the problem of Guatemala, where communism has gained a foothold in the Government. For that reason, and because we all recognize our colleague, Representative DONALD L. JACKSON, of California, as an expert on Latin American affairs, I wish to insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Santa Monica (Calif.) Evening Outlook:

JACKSON AND RED GUATEMALA

The 10th Conference of Pan American States has convened at Caracas, Venezuela. As with its predecessors, the purpose of the meet is to promote inter-American accord and discuss problems of mutual concern. This time the delegates will face a problem of such overriding concern that if nothing is done about it the conference, for all practical purposes, will have failed. It is Guatemala.

Representative DONALD L. JACKSON stated in a House speech last week that "Guatemala is, in fact and truth, a Communist-dominated state."

The Government of Guatemala bolted a meeting of the Organization of Central American States when other members proposed a common front against communism. Recently, anti-Communist political figures have been fleeing the country and seeking political asylum in other Latin American Republics or in Europe. Finally, the President of Guatemala, according to Congressman JACKSON, "is so much under the influence and control of Moscow agents as to make any discussion of his personal philosophy a matter of academic interest only."

A leading authority on Central and South America, Mr. JACKSON sadly noted that our Government is powerless to take individual action to apply economic or political sanctions against Guatemala due to existing treaty agreements. Even so, he said, there are two avenues of action open to us: (1)

American business firms and individuals can boycott Guatemala products—principally oil and coffee, on which the economy of the country rests; (2) we can persuade the member nations at Caracas to act in concert in a manner impossible to them individually—treaties can be nullified and inter-American sanctions can be applied.

Unless steps such as these are taken, Mr. JACKSON warned, the first open challenge to the Americas from world communism will have succeeded. We agree that something must be done about this matter before Guatemala becomes the first nation in our hemisphere to go behind the Iron Curtain.

Garrison Dam Land-Acquisition Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, the full effect of the House action last year in limiting funds for land acquisition for the Garrison Dam is apparent in the committee report on H. R. 8367. The reduction of $3.5 million from the budget estimates by the committee and the House denies the funds for the purchase of lands for the construction of dikes or protective works in the vicinity of Williston, N. Dak. This denial prevents the fulfillment of the planned operating level of the Garrison Reservoir at 1,850 feet.

The Garrison Dam project is well on the way to completion. The initial power will be delivered in 1955. The dam, itself, will be done in 1957.

The people of Williston have made a fine presentation of their case. There is still much question as to the possible damage at the 1,850-foot operating level, but there is no question as to the loss of power and storage capacity if the Garrison Dam is to be operated at the lower level of 1,840 feet.

These figures have been determined by the Corps of Engineers.

The annual power loss would be almost $1 million at Garrison; the losses of power downstream, for diversion and irrigation purposes, would be over $1.5 million.

The reduction in the operating level gives away the cheapest storage available. The cost of storage in this reservoir up to the 1,840-foot level is $14.60 per acre-foot. The cost of storage from the 1,840-foot level is only $2.09 per acre-foot.

The loss in storage capacity or 3.6 million acre-feet means that enough water will go down the spillway to irrigate a million acres of land for 2 years. In times of drought, this reserve would be invaluable.

Sentiment over the greater part of North Dakota is for the high level for Garrison Dam. The REA is interested in the power and wants all that will be available. A million acres in the State have been found suitable for irrigation and farmers are looking forward to the establishment of a stable agriculture with water available from this dam. There is a feeling that the merits of the high level so far outweigh the possible damage to a small area that there should be no question as to the final decision.

Gov. Norman Brunsdale, chairman of the State water-conservation commission, had the following inserted in the hearings before the Civil Functions Committee in connection with H. R. 8367:

On June 23, 1953, the North Dakota Water Conservation Commission passed a resolution affirming its position on the maximum pool level of 1,850 feet for the Garrison Reservoir, provided adequate facilities protecting the irrigation projects and the city of Williston are constructed.

The time is fast approaching when a definite decision must be reached on the operating level of the dam. Either we let $2½ million run down the spillway each year, or we plan to use it.

I would repeat here the words of Congressman CEDERBERG, of Michigan, spoken at the committee hearing:

Then the people of Williston ought to be aware of the fact that they are a part of this great country and cannot be isolated unto themselves. If there is going to be some benefit to the entire basin, there are going to be some dislocations, and some effects that in a small way might be detrimental to these people. It is just a question of whether they are big enough to realize that.

Dewey's Harness Track Bonanza

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the current issue of the Democratic Digest. It contains a very clear exposition of the get-rich-quick activities of Governor Dewey's principal supporters and associates. The only shortcoming of the article is that it is about 2 weeks behind the current revelations. In that period it has already been divulged that some additional Republican bigwigs from the State of New York are involved, including the Governor's own secretary of state, Tom Curran, and the county chairmen in Brooklyn and Queens.

The article follows:

HOW UNDERWORLD FIGURES AND GOP LEADERS GOT RICH ON NEW YORK HARNESS TRACKS

A former GOP majority leader in the New York State Senate owns $150,000 worth of race-track stock. A former GOP assemblyman who cosponsored the bill to legalize parimutuel betting in New York now owns $750,000 worth of race-track stock, and in one New York county where a race track operates, a man who has earned no more than $6,000 a year in 17 years as assistant district attorney, owns (with his wife) some $250,000 worth of race-track stock.

Oddly enough, this ownership of stock by Republican leaders has come about in a State run by a Republican Governor has first made his fame as a racket buster.

The press has yet to make much of the spread between the Governor's reputation as a supercrime scourge and his inability to detect corruption among his Republican colleagues. The Governor, of course, is Thomas E. Dewey, two-time Republican Presidential candidate.

The Chicago Tribune sees the situation as the "exposure of a hypocrite." It notes that Dewey "squirms and twists in his vain effort to save his reputation." But this analysis is at variance with most press comment, which has applauded the Governor for his "quick action" in ordering investigations into the fast-breaking harness racing scandal.

The disclosures to date have featured extortions and labor kickbacks at the race tracks amounting to almost half a million dollars yearly; employment of excriminals, including one fugitive from a murder charge; payments of $165,000 to underworld characters who were called "labor trouble shooters"; payoffs on food, drink, and program concessions to people who have no visible legal claim on the profits, and calls paid by leading politicians on an imprisoned extortionist, Joey Fay.

The racing story itself goes back to 1940 before Dewey became Governor. In that year, the legislature legalized parimutuel betting at New York's race tracks, and harness racing, which had always been a sport at county fairs, moved into the big time at Roosevelt Raceway on Long Island. Some seven harness tracks have since opened in the State. Their combined take last year, after taxes and paying off wagers, amounted to $21 million. One million dollar betting nights are now common at the large commercial tracks. Today harness racing is the fastest growing spectator sport in the country.

This is all the public knew about harness racing until the murder last August of Thomas F. (Tiny) Lewis, who was in effect the hiring boss at Yonkers Raceway, just north of New York City. Subsequent investigation revealed that he was collecting over $100,000 a year in kickbacks from employees and got another $100,000 annually from commissions on compulsory health and welfare insurance funds for his own and a dozen other unions.

From there the investigation led to equally raw shakedowns at the other race track in the metropolitan New York area, Roosevelt Raceway, where employee kickbacks for "entertainment" amounted to over $345,000 a year.

Long Island lawyer George Morton Levy was revealed as the brains of the Roosevelt Raceway. Levy, who was cocounsel to the notorious criminal, Lucky Luciano, when Dewey prosecuted him in 1936, used to play golf with the underworld characters Frank Erickson and Frank Costello before they were sent to jail.

He has publicly taken credit for promoting the 1940 law which legalized parimutuel gambling and for commercializing harness racing at Roosevelt, the first track for that type of racing in the country.

"I considered it my baby," he told the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee in 1951. "I promoted the whole thing."

How Levy promoted harness racing is not yet public knowledge, but the public has now learned about ownership of stock in raceways by an astonishing number of political figures, for example:

George R. Fearon, former majority leader of the State senate and a one-time Republican candidate for governor, owns stock worth $150,000 in the companies which operate Vernon Downs near Syracuse and Roosevelt Raceway near New York City.

Norman F. Penny, former assemblyman and cosponsor of the bill to legalize parimutuel betting, now chairman of the County Republican Association in Nassau County where Roosevelt Raceway is located, owns $750,000 worth of stock in three New York racing associations. His wife owns some stock in Chicago's Maywood Park.

Irving T. Bergman, son-in-law of Benjamin Feinberg, former GOP majority leader in the State senate, who was a Republican leader in the legislature which legalized gambling, bought stock now worth $152,000 with a $4,000 loan arranged by another Republican, Harrison Haverbeck, banker and treasurer of a county GOP association in Putnam County.

Albert M. De Meo, assistant district attorney of Republican Nassau County for 17 years, a job which never paid him over $6,000, owns with his wife racing stock worth $250,000 and reportedly receives $20,000 a year as his share of profits from the food and drink concession at Roosevelt Raceway. The inquiry revealed that he was vice president and general manager of Chicago's Maywood Park.

William F. Bleakley, de facto Republican leader of Westchester County and a former gubernatorial candidate, who headed the New York delegation to the 1948 Republican convention, has stock worth $200,000 in the association which owns Yonkers Raceway. He is one of the politicians who visited Joey Fay in prison.

These are only some of the politicians who have made money off raceways in which they shared ownership with such men as William De Koning, Sr., the so-called czar of organized labor and boss of raceway employment on Long Island. De Koning, who owns (with his wife) over $300,000 worth of stock in metropolitan racing associations, has now been indicted by a Nassau County grand jury on charges of extorting $345,000 in kickbacks from Roosevelt Raceway employees. He also received a cut on the catering concession at this track.

Bookmaker Frank Erickson's son-in-law, James Watson, owns some $40,000 worth of stock in Roosevelt Raceway.

Frank Costello, kingpin in the underworld, received $60,000 for ridding Roosevelt Raceway of bookies. James J. Hines, a former Tammany leader in West Harlem, who served a prison term for his political protection of the Dutch Schultz gang and for conspiracy in the numbers racket, was apparently able to get jobs at Yonkers Raceway for his former associates. One Hines protege was James (La-la) Lynch, an ex-convict who collected $2,000 monthly as a labor troubleshooter.

A convicted robber named Samuel Stirrat is on the list of Yonkers racetrack owners, along with a discouraging array of politicians and shady characters.

Governor Dewey's role in this situation is not clearly defined. His friends have praised him for setting up a new regulatory agent, a "one-man racing czar," to replace the old Harness Racing Commission under which substantial political ownership and kickbacks flourished. (Democrats voted against the one-man bill.) Dewey has also been praised for seeking higher taxes on harness racing.

He first seemed to consider the scandal as merely a matter of labor racketeering, which was of so little public interest that the now defunct Harness Racing Commission began its hearings in secret. When Rudolph Halley, Liberal candidate for mayor of New York, criticized the closed-door policy, the governor explained that preliminary hearings are customarily secret, but then ordered a public hearing for the following Friday.

A relentless questionnaire (the New York Times called it seemingly foolproof) which was prepared for the Harness Racing Commission by specially appointed counsel never saw the light of day, for the commission finally threw up its hands and called it quits.

When this commission went out of business, its investigative authority was transferred to the Moreland Act Commission. Dewey appointed Bruce Bromley, a prominent Republican lawyer, to head the bipartisan commission. Bromley resigned as campaign manager for New York City's Republican mayoralty candidate in order to take his new post.

The new commission in turn got up a questionnaire that came in for some press criticism. The New York Post pointed out that it did not ask for relevant personal financial information covering the entire period under investigation. Yet many payoffs, for example, $60,000 given to underworld character Frank Costello, were made by personal check.

Irate citizens of Yonkers have demanded that the Moreland Act Commission investigate the route chosen in their city for the Buffalo-New York express highway. Community leaders have been trying for some time to persuade the State to run the throughway in an economically straight line. Instead, the proposed route takes what the World-Telegram has called a $12 million loop to the east, slicing through business and residential areas in a detour that leads only to the raceway.

Democrats have called for an audit of the $26 million in contracts let for work on the throughway without calling for competitive bids.

Most facets of the unfolding scandal were hard for non-New Yorkers to assess. Names were unfamiliar and information came out piecemeal. But one politician was named who had a national reputation. He is J. Russell Sprague. He was the Republican national committeeman from New York until the bad publicity from his ownership of a half-million dollars worth of stock in Yonkers Trotting Association led to his resignation. Sprague's ties to Dewey are close. He managed Dewey's campaign for the presidential nomination in 1940, and worked as a triumvirate with Dewey and Herbert Brownell, Jr., at the 1944 and 1948 conventions which did nominate Dewey.

Sprague has been accused of using his party power to keep Yonkers track from opening in 1949. Democratic State Senator Zaretzki charged that Mr. Sprague promoted a rush bill which prevented Yonkers from getting a license for the 1949 season.

Joseph Henschel, spokesman for the owners, and a former treasurer of Tammany Hall in 1949 when O'Dwyer was elected mayor of New York City, told the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee in 1951 that his company finally got its license only as the results of a deal. The public has yet to learn whether there is any connection between this deal and J. Russell Sprague's stock holdings in the Yonkers Trotting Association.

Now that the scandal has started coming to light, many New Yorkers are frankly baffled as to how gangbuster Tom Dewey could have been oblivious to such a widespread mess. Neither can they understand some old puzzles which have been revived by this inquiry. Such as:

Why was the known underworld figure Frank Costello never convicted until the Kefauver committee investigated him in 1951?

Why did Governor Dewey let convicted white slaver Lucky Luciano out of prison when he had served only 9 years of a 30-to-50-year sentence?

Why did the Governor respond to press suggestions that he talk to the Kefauver committee about Luciano by going on a protracted vacation, taking three high New York State officials with him?

Why did a Tammany treasurer have a former Dewey campaign manager for his lawyer before the Kefauver committee in 1951?

If the Moreland Act Commission does not come up with satisfactory explanations of today's scandal, it is a sure bet that Democratic Representative LOUIS B. HELLER, of Brooklyn, will renew his demand for a congressional investigation.

Return to Sanity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial, entitled "Return to Sanity," from the Patriot newspaper published in Harrisburg, Pa. To me it presents an objective report of a very fine speech by our Vice President:

[From the Patriot of March 15, 1954]

RETURN TO SANITY

RICHARD NIXON, Vice President of the United States, made a restrained and temperate talk Saturday night that should do much to clarify the muddy waters which have swirled around Washington during the last week.

Those who expected more of the sensational vituperation which has rocked the country in the last few days probably were disappointed, for the Vice President did not engage in wild name calling. And by refraining from all abusive references, he has helped to restore some sanity to the Washington scene, and some dignity to the high offices which have been under personal attack.

Mr. NIXON went before the microphones and television camera to make an official Republican Party reply to charges made against the party a week ago by Adlai Stevenson, titular leader of the Truman wing of the Democratic Party. Mr. NIXON was not swayed from his primary purpose by the intraparty row, even though that row has assumed gargantuan proportions. He made the answer calmly, but with conviction and assurance, and without heat or rancor.

He answered Mr. Stevenson expertly and persuasively.

He reminded Mr. Stevenson and the American people, millions of whom were hanging on his words, that the country's military policy is being guided by a man whose entire career was in the military, and who was hailed as a great and victorious general before he became President.

He pointed out that President Eisenhower has brought back to the office of President the great dignity which once characterized that office but which has been missing from Washington in recent years.

Like a master surgeon, Mr. NIXON cut away the tissue of clever sayings and frothy parlor car quips from the Stevenson speech and got down to the heart of the charges. Then he answered them with devastating facts, figures, and cold logic.

The Eisenhower military and foreign policy, which Stevenson attacked, was devised to get us off the defensive; to bring the slaughter of Americans in Korea to an end, and to give us mobile striking power that would check the Reds' program of "nibbling us to death with satellite wars of their own choosing." It has been explained to the Reds and they seem to understand.

"Isn't is wonderful," he asked his audience, "to have a Secretary of State (Dulles) who isn't taken in by the Communist?"

He pointed out that communism at home as well as abroad is being dealt with effectively under the Republican administration through both the executive and legislative branches of the Government. And he added this for the Democrats and the American people to think about: "The great difference between this administration and the previous Democratic administration is that it recog-

nizes the danger of Communist infiltration and have a positive program to deal with the problem."

Mr. NIXON wisely stayed away from the McCarthy controversy, but if he did not mention the Wisconsin Senator by name, he was pointing his words toward him when he suggested that men in the past who have done effective work exposing Reds have now by reckless talk and questionable methods made themselves the issue rather than the fight against Communists. He enunciated the importance of the President's insistence on fair play in investigations. What he might have said, but left unsaid, is that McCARTHY by his tactics and by drawing attention to himself and his methods of operation is diverting attention from the Eisenhower program. And that program the Vice President described as the "greatest positive program presented to Americans in generations."

Mr. NIXON successfully nailed the Stevenson charges, and provided a few questions that Mr. Stevenson may find difficult to answer.

The Vice President set a pattern of calm and reasonable approach to an unwarranted attack. It was a refreshing change from the shrillness and hysteria which recently has swept our country and beyond to paint a damaging and confusing picture of irresponsibility in American life.

The whole country would benefit greatly if Mr. McCARTHY and other Republicans would adopt that pattern for their own public utterances in the future.

Poll Conducted by the American Press Magazine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the American Press, an independent magazine for hometown newspapers, has recently conducted a survey of weekly newspapers of America, including all sections of the country, in an effort to obtain the opinions of the editors on controversial national issues. The results of the poll are most enlightening and I am including the tabulation in the Appendix under leave to revise and extend my remarks:

SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO THE AMERICAN PRESS QUESTIONS

Excess-profits tax

The question on this subject was: "As of January 1, the excess-profits tax expired as did the 10-percent emergency tax on personal incomes. Do you think either of these taxes should be restored?" Seventy-five percent said "No"; 12 percent thought both should be restored; 7 percent of the others favored restoring excess-profit taxes only; 1 percent favored restoring income tax only; and 5 percent didn't answer the question.

Corporation tax reduction

The question: "In April, corporation taxes are scheduled to be reduced from 52 to 47 percent. Which of the following actions do you thing should be taken?" The actions suggested, with the answers, were:

	Percent
Let the scheduled reduction go through	58
Keep the tax at 52 percent	23
Increase the tax	1
Reduce the tax to less than 47 percent	4
Eliminate corporation taxes	2
No answer	2

Personal income taxes

As shown in the question on excess-profits tax, the majority of editors approved the elimination of the 10-percent emergency tax. Another question on this subject was: "Which of the following is nearest to your views on what should be done about personal income taxes?" The choice, with the answers, were:

	Percent
Reduce taxes by more than the 10 percent scheduled for this year	26
Reduce taxes only if the budget can be balanced	65
Increase taxes in order to help decrease the national debt	1
Eliminate income taxes and replace with some other kind of tax	4
No answer	4

Tax on cooperatives

The question on this subject was worded: "Do you think cooperative corporations should be required to pay Federal income taxes on their corporate earnings on the same basis as private corporations?" To this question, 92 percent replied, "Yes"; 7 percent said "No"; 1 percent did not answer.

Excise taxes

This question just covered the four taxes scheduled to be reduced on April 1. It was worded: "On April 1, the excise taxes on liquor, tobacco, gasoline, and automobiles are scheduled to be reduced. Please check below what action you think should be taken in regard to these taxes." The choice of actions and the answers are given below for each tax.

Liquor Tax

Sixty-one percent said, "Keep as is"; 16 percent said to increase it; 20 percent said to reduce it; 1 percent said to eliminate it; and 2 percent did not answer the question.

Tobacco Tax

Seventy-two percent said, "Keep as is"; 12 percent said to increase it; 14 percent said to reduce it; 1 percent said to eliminate it; 1 percent did not answer the question.

Gasoline Tax

Fifty-three percent said, "Keep as is"; 2 percent said to increase it; 33 percent said to reduce it; 11 percent said to eliminate it; 1 percent did not answer question.

Automobile Tax

Forty-one percent said, "Keep as is"; 1 percent said to increase it; 44 percent said to reduce it; 13 percent said to eliminate it; 1 percent did not answer the question.

Medical expenses

The editors favor a more liberal exemption for medical expenses. Asked for their opinion on this, 77 percent were for it, 20 percent against it, and 3 percent didn't answer the question.

Manufacturer's sales tax

The question was: "The National Association of Manufacturers has proposed the elimination of all present excise taxes (except on liquor and tobacco) and substitution of a 5 percent flat-rate manufacturer's tax on everything except food. Would you vote for this?" Sixty percent said they wouldnt; 32 percent said they would; 8 percent didn't answer the question.

Debt limit

Although most people seem to expect that the statutory debt limit will be increased, when asked if they favored this move, 71 percent of the editors said, "No"; 26 percent said "Yes"; and 3 percent didn't answer.

DEFENSE

Nuclear secrets

The question was: "Do you believe we should share our secret knowledge on nuclear weapons with our allies?" Sixty-nine percent voted against it; 29 percent would approve; 2 percent didn't answer.

Conspirators

This question was asked: "Do you favor the legislation proposed by the President to take United States citizenship away from any citizen convicted of conspiring to advocate overthrow of our Government by force or violence?" The vote was almost unanimously with the President. Ninety percent voted "Yes"; 9 percent voted "No"; 1 percent didn't answer.

St. Lawrence seaway

The question: "Do you favor participation of the United States in construction of the St. Lawrence seaway?" Seventy-three percent voted "Yes"; 22 percent opposed it; 5 percent didn't answer.

Continental defenses

The question: "Do you approve the President's proposal to increase expenditures by around $1 billion to strengthen our continental defenses?" Eighty-one percent answered "Yes" to that one; 15 percent said "No"; 4 percent didn't answer.

WELFARE

Unemployment insurance

The question was just about Federal workers. It read: "Do you favor extension of unemployment insurance to Federal workers?" Forty-five percent said they did; 51 percent were opposed to the idea; 4 percent didn't answer.

Social-security extension

The question: "Do you favor extension of social security to include 10 million employed not now covered by it, such as doctors, farmers, lawyers?" The answers: Yes, 59 percent; No, 39 percent; no answer, 2 percent.

Reinsurance service

The question: "Do you favor a Government reinsurance service to make it possible for private and mutual insurance companies to offer broader protection on health and medicine policies?" The answers: Yes, 53 percent; No, 41 percent; no answer, 6 percent.

Mortgage loans

The editors were asked this question: "Do you favor Government insurance on long-term mortgage loans, with small downpayments, for low income families?" Sixty-nine percent favored such loans, 28 percent didn't, and 3 percent didn't answer the question.

Increased social security

Asked, "Do you favor increasing the tax and the benefits of social security?" The editors showed little interest. Only 28 percent voted "Yes"; 69 percent voted "No"; and 3 percent didn't answer.

FARM

Flexible parity plan

The question was: "Do you favor the President's flexible parity plan which would give the Secretary of Agriculture authority to lower parity to discourage plantings of surplus commodities and offer higher parity prices to encourage production of scarce items?" The answers: Yes, 78 percent; no, 19 percent; no answer, 3 percent.

Farm-price protection

The editors were asked: "Do you think some system of price protection for farmers is a necessity—and to the best interests of our Nation?" To this question 71 percent responded "Yes"; 26 percent said "No," and 3 percent didn't answer.

Acreage control

The question on this subject was: "Do you favor Government controls over the amount of acreage used for farm products which are in surplus supply?" The answers: Yes, 53 percent; no, 43 percent; no answer, 4 percent.

Surplus purchases

The question: "Do you believe the Federal Government should continue to buy surplus production of farm products?" Answers: Yes, 37 percent; no, 56 percent; no answer, 7 percent.

Sales to Russia

On this highly debatable subject the question was: "Do you favor having the Government sell surplus farm produce to Russia?" The editors voted: "Yes, 33 percent; no, 63 percent; no answer, 4 percent.

LABOR

Union poll

To check upon sentiment toward President Eisenhower's suggestion, the following question was asked: "Do you approve the President's suggestion that union members be polled by the Government, after a strike begins, to determine if the majority of the membership is for or against the strike?" The answers showed 86 percent in favor of the plan, 12 percent opposed, 2 percent didn't answer.

Union control

To measure the general attitude of editors toward control of unions, this question was asked: "Do you think Government should exercise more or less control over unions than at present?" The answers: More, 80 percent; less, 10 percent; same as now, 3 percent; no answer, 7 percent.

Communication strikes

Following the New York newspaper strike the magazine, Editor and Publisher, suggested that legislation be enacted to forbid strikes in the communication industries. To check sentiment on this, the editors were asked: "Do you favor a law forbidding strikes in communication industries, including the newspaper and radio industry?" Answers: Yes, 54 percent; no, 41 percent; no answer, 5 percent.

MISCELLANEOUS

18-year-old vote

"If they're old enough to fight they're old enough to vote," is the feeling of a lot of people. We asked the editors what they thought with the question: "Do you favor a constitutional amendment permitting citizens to vote when they reach the age of 18?" Forty-eight percent of the editors approved the idea; 51 percent didn't; and 1 percent didn't answer.

Statehood for Hawaii

Some of the editors thought we should have asked about Alaska, too. We did ask about both in a poll in January 1953. At that time we found that 75 percent favored statehood for both. This time the question was: "Do you favor statehood for Hawaii?" The answers: Yes, 75 percent (same as a year ago); no, 19 percent; no answer, 6 percent.

District of Columbia voting

The question was: "Do you favor legislation to permit residents of the District of Columbia to vote and to permit the District to have self-government?" The answers: Yes, 75 percent; no, 19 percent; no answer, 6 percent.

Postal rates

On the controversial question of postal rates, the American Press asked: "Do you favor increase in postal rates now pending in the House?" The answers: Yes, 31 percent; no, 65 percent; no answer, 4 percent.

Postal commission

The question in this was worded: "Do you favor the creation of a permanent commission to establish fair and reasonable postal rates?" The editors answered: Yes, 82 percent; no, 15 percent; no answer, 3 percent.

Excise Tax on Distilled Spirits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL A. FINO
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I have this day introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to reduce the excise tax on distilled spirits from the present $10.50 per proof gallon to $6 per gallon.

We have found that this present tax, which is inequitable and discriminatory, has reached its present peak after 7 increases since 1933. No other commodity or service has been subjected to so heavy and so extreme an increase as has distilled spirits. Of the commodities taxed in 1933, most have suffered increases of as much as 100 percent, whereas the Federal excise tax on this commodity has increased from $1.10 to $10.50 per gallon, or by 854 percent since 1933. Since 1943, distilled spirits has become the largest single source of Federal commodity and service revenue—surpassing excise tax revenues obtained from cigarettes, automotive, and transportation and communications.

Is this present tax fair to the consumer? The answer is "No." This tax takes a far higher proportion of the consumer's dollar than does any other Federal excise tax. On the price of a bottle of blended whisky costing $4.27, $1.823 represents the Federal tax, or 43 percent of the purchase price.

Of course, added to that burden is another 13 percent for State and local taxes—with the total tax burden to the consumer being $2.38 out of the $4.27 retail price.

Statisticians will tell us that the $10.50 Federal liquor excise tax represents 500 percent of the distillers' cost of producing, warehousing, and bottling this commodity. If that kind of an excise tax to cost of production was exacted by the Government from other commodities and services, a car now selling for $2,000 would cost $7,750; a 25-cent package of cigarettes would cost the consumer 49 cents; and a $200 television set would cost him $750. This would certainly be prohibitive to the consumer.

A study has shown that between 60 and 70 million adult persons are consumers of distilled spirits. These are typical Americans whose moderate use of spirits is just as common as their use of autos, gasoline, telephone service, radio, television, toilet articles, and the like. Yet, their consumption of spirits is taxed at rates far in excess of those applied to other items of equal importance.

Reducing the tax to the rate of $6 per gallon would be restoring the tax to its 1943 level, which at that time had already been increased for the fifth time from its original $1.10 level.

The Congress last week reduced to 10 percent the excise taxes on such things as movie admissions, long-distance telephone calls, leather goods, jewelry, cosmetics, furs, and travel tickets, but yet continued the present high rates on tobacco, gasoline, liquor, wines, beer, and automobiles.

Under my bill the tax rate will be reduced to $6 per gallon, which will bring down the price of the $4.27 packaged bottle to the more equitable price of $3.38.

A reduction of the excise tax rate in this case will give relief not only to the industries but to the consumers. This equitable reduction will stimulate business and employment, not only in the distillery industry directly affected, but also in other industries, since consumers will pay less for these commodities and have more money available for other purchases.

This proposal provides a more equitable tax, which is now excessively high and greatly discriminatory.

Communication Expressing Puerto Rico's Sorrow Over the Incident in the House Chamber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, we all rejoiced to see our colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee the Honorable CLIFFORD DAVIS, again in our midst. None of us is happier than the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico to see him in the Congress again and to see him looking so well. I thank him for bearing no malice against my people for the most unfortunate occurrence here on March 1 perpetrated by four misguided persons who have nothing in common with the good people of Puerto Rico except the accident of birthplace. I thank him for his kind words for the governor, for myself, and for us all.

As may be imagined, regret and grief are deep in Puerto Rico, and resentment runs high that this action took place. I have received hundreds of cablegrams and letters from individuals, groups, organizations, and institutions, as well as from government officials expressing Puerto Rico's sorrow over this episode. I am including with my remarks a few of these communications. Some of these are translations from Spanish, but the originals of all this correspondence are in my office.

Later, it is my purpose to request consent to include additional communications in the RECORD from time to time.

The communications follow:

SAN JUAN, *March 2, 1954.*

The leadership of the Popular Democratic Party in the capital of Puerto Rico met in extraordinary session this morning, unanimously approved to repudiate in the most energetic way the vile assault of a group of Nationalist terrorists of which were the victims several honorable congressmen of the

United States. It was also approved to express that this attempt does not represent, in any way, the sentiments of the Puerto Rican people, voluntarily and freely associated to the great American Nation, and that therefore, Puerto Ricans cannot be made responsible for criminal actions of a small group with no representation whatsoever which pretends to impose by violence what the democratic will of our people has refused on several occasions. We request that you convey our condolence to the families of the victims and express our affirmation of loyalty to the great people of the United States.

FELISA RINCON DEGAUTIER,
President, Municipal Committee, Popular Democratic Party.

NEW YORK, *March 2, 1954.*

Deeply impressed by the irresponsible act of terrorism perpetrated by Nationalists. We join the vast majority of Puerto Ricans in repudiating such acts of fanaticism and want to affirm our adherence and loyalty to this great Nation.

GARCO EXPORT, INC.,
New York, N. Y.
GARCIA COMMERCIAL, INC.,
San Juan, Puerto Rico.

HABANA, *March 2, 1954.*

As Puerto Ricans residing in Cuba we express our deepest sentiment for the unspeakable attack which we condemn most vigorously. We believe our sentiments are shared by the majority of our fellow citizens and express our wishes for speedy recovery of the wounded Congressmen.

Francisco Acaba, Antonio Casellas, Felipe Casalduc, Orlando Castagnet, Manuel J. Diaz, Luis P. Doria, F. Franceschi, Alberto V. Malaret, Carlos Maldonado, Enrique Miranda, Arturo Tordl Angel Navajas, Felix J. Riera, Ramon C. Riera, Agustin Rios, Luis R. Rios, Enrique Roque, Osmin Roque, Miguel R. Rosich, F. Guillermo Tous, Jose C. Veve, J. Volloldas Bird.

CARACAS, *March 2, 1954.*

The House of Puerto Rico, Vicic Cultural Institution representatives of the Puerto Rican group resident in Venezuela expresses to you and through you to the honorable House of Representatives our deepest sorrow for the incidents and criminal attempts of terrorists. The repetition of these acts, foreign to the democratic culture of the people of Puerto Rico, is regrettable and we repudiate them most vigorously.

GUILLERMO NIGARLIONI,
President.

SAN JUAN, *March 3, 1954.*

The Association of Mayors of Puerto Rico meeting in extraordinary session today, on behalf of the 76 municipalities of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, expresses its support to your statement in the House of Representatives of the United States, vigorously repudiating the unspeakable and brutal act of Monday to the United States Congress in the persons of five of its distinguished Members. We request you to convey this expression on our behalf to the honorable House of Representatives and our most sincere wishes for the speedy recovery of the Congressmen physically affected by such deplorable act.

EDELMIRO RODRIGUEZ,
Secretary.
FEDERICO CORDERO,
President.

SAN JUAN, *March 2, 1954.*

Most emphatically repudiate vandalic act two or three crasy irresponible Nationalist against honorable Members, House of Representatives, United States. The people of Puerto Rico in general repudiate this act.

MARIO R. SULLIVAN,
Captain, Civil Defense of the Capital, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

PONCE, *March 2, 1954.*

We condemn brutal attack without precedent against honorable Members, House of Representatives of our Nation, and share your sentiments of sorrow and shame for such vandalic act.

BANK OF PONCE.

SAN JUAN, *March 3, 1954.*

Please convey to the American people through Speaker of House our protest for criminal attack on Congress. We pray for the prompt recovery of Representatives wounded.

ANTONIO and LEAH ACOSTA VELARDE.

SAN JUAN, *March 3, 1954.*

The Antituberculosis General Association of Puerto Rico deeply deplores and protests the criminal attack on United States Congress by fanatic Puerto Ricans. It expresses its sympathy and wishes recovery of wounded Congressmen.

Dr. ANTONIO ACOSTA VELARDE,
President.

MAUNABO, *March 3, 1954.*

Glad you escaped unhurt terrorists' attack of our fellow citizens. Realize damage done to our people by this brutal act we all repudiate. Am writing relatives in mainland who have lived here requesting to express in press how different reality is as observed by them here.

DELFIN COLON.

SAN LORENZO, PUERTO RICO.

I repudiate the attack upon your fellow Congressmen. I am ashamed of the lack of understanding of some Puerto Ricans. I suffered in my heart that honorable Members of the United States Congress were victims of those fanatics.

I pray to God that all may soon recover completely.

Respectfully yours,
LAURA E. NAZARIO,
Ninth-Grade Student, Luis Munoz Rivera, Jr., High School, San Lorenzo, Puerto Rico.

RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO, *March 5, 1954.*

The school children of Puerto Rico deeply regret the unjustifiable attack perpetrated on the Members of the Congress on the afternoon of March 1.

Sincerely yours,
JORGE LUIS ROBLES
(and 18 other signatures).

The undersigned sixth-grade schoolchildren of the elementary rural school of Barrio Palmos, Catano, Puerto Rico, hereby express their indigation at the attack on Congressmen and at the same time declare this attack to be in complete contradiction to the sentiments of the vast majority of the people of Puerto Rico.

CARMEN LYDIA RAMOS
(and 29 other signatures).

RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO.

The children of Puerto Rico wish to express their deep regret for this most unfortunate incident. We assure you that it in no way expresses our feelings for the people of the United States and are proud of our American citizenship. As Americans and as Puerto Ricans we condemn this act of violence. We pray for your recovery and trust that you will continue to regard us and our island as sincere friends.

Sincerely yours,
JOSE M. ROMERO
(and 31 other signatures).

SAN JUAN, *March 2, 1954.*

We trust you will make your voice heard in the House condemning vandalic act. We pray for the recovery of wounded Congressmen.

MONSERRATE STELLA.
CESTERO JUNCOS.
RIVERA ESCALONA.

CAGUAS, P. R., *March 3, 1954.*

I want to congratulate you on your sincere and eloquent statement before the House of Representatives on account of the humiliating terrorist act committed by a small group who has defamed us so much.

You can be sure that your statement has lightened the sorrow and embarrassment of all Puerto Ricans and I am sure that you will make the good American people understand that Puerto Rico has felt very embarrassed.

FRANCISCO ESCODA.

AGUADILLA, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

This is to let you know that our town is horrified by the vandalic act committed by 4 Nationalists against 5 of the honorable Congresamen of the Congress of the United States.

We condemn and repudiate the crime committed by them. We want to express our adherence and solidarity to the American people for whom we feel a close and good association.

I wish you would extend this manifestation of solidarity from the city of Aguadilla to the Congress of the United States.

RAFAEL A. GUNTIN LÓPEZ,
Mayor.

Policy for Security and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Secretary of State, the Honorable John Foster Dulles, has prepared for publication in the April issue of Foreign Affairs an article entitled "Policy for Security and Peace." The article is so much in line with our present discussion of the foreign policy and the so-called New Look, tht I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICY FOR SECURITY AND PEACE

(By Secretary of State John Foster Dulles)

Since World War II, the United States has faced the difficult task of finding policies which would be adequate for security and peace and at the same time compatible with its traditions. Never before has a great nation been called upon to adjust its thinking and its action so radically in so short a period.

During the 19th century the maintenance of peace and order depended largely on Great Britain, with its Navy and the system of naval bases which enabled it to operate with

mobility and flexibility throughout the world. By suitable commercial, investment and monetary policies, Great Britain and other nations with surplus capital stimulated economic growth in underdeveloped areas. The French Revolution had aroused men to respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. The United States also made its contribution. Our people devoted their energies largely to domestic matters, not because they lacked concern for others but believing that what our founders called the conduct and example of freedom would exert a liberating influence everywhere. In fact, it did so. The great American experiment was a source of hope and inspiration to men everywhere, and especially to those living under despotism. Our dynamic example of freedom drew many to our shores and inspired others in the Old World and the new, to emulate our course.

All of these influences contributed to giving the world relative peace and security for the 100 years between the ending of the Napoleonic wars and the beginning of the First World War. During this period there were many advances in the practice of political liberty, and generally throughout the world there was a great advance in material and social well-being.

The events of the 20th century, and especially the two world wars and their aftermaths, have created an entirely new situation. In large measure the United States has inherited a responsibility for leadership which, in the past, has been shared by several nations. Today there rests upon us, to a unique degree, the threefold task of providing insurance against another world war; of demonstrating the good fruits of freedom which undermine the rule of despots by contrast; and of providing a major part of the effort required for the healthy growth of underdeveloped areas.

The Eisenhower administration inherited securitity policies that had much worth. Many of these policies were bipartisan in character. They reflected a national recognition of the peril facing the civilized world, a united determination to meet it, and an acceptance of the role of leadership thrust on us by events. We had helped to reestablish the economies of other countries shattered by the war. We had taken a major part in resisting the aggression in Korea. In the face of the Soviet threat we were engaged in rebuilding our military strength and that of other free countries.

These and like measures were costly. But they were necessary to our security. However, they partook much of an emergency character. By 1953 there was need to review our security planning and to adjust our continuing military effort to the other requirements of a well-rounded, permanent policy.

Under the conditions in which we live, it is not easy to strike a perfect balance between military and nonmilitary efforts and to choose the type of military effort which serves us best. The essential is to recognize that there is an imperative need for a balance which holds military expenditures to a minimum consistent with safety, so that a maximum of liberty may operate as a dynamic force against despotism. That is the goal of our policy.

THE NATURE OF THE THREAT

The threat we face is not one that can be adequately dealt with on an emergency basis. It is a threat that may long persist. Our policies must be adapted to this basic fact.

The Soviet menace does not reflect the ambitions of a single ruler, and cannot be measured by his life expectancy. There is no evidence that basic Soviet policies have been changed with the passing of Stalin. Indeed, the Berlin Conference of last February gave positive evidence to the contrary. The Soviet Communists have always professed that they are planning for what they call "an entire historical era."

The assets behind this threat are vast. The Soviet bloc of Communist-controlled countries—a new form of imperialist colonialism—represents a vast central land mass with a population of 800 million. About 10 million men are regularly under arms, with many more trained millions in reserve. This land force occupies a central position which permits of striking at any one of about 20 countries along a perimeter of some 20,000 miles. It is supplemented by increasing air power, equipped with atomic weapons, able to strike through northern Arctic routes, which bring our industrial areas in range of quick attack.

The threat is not merely military. The Soviet rulers dispose throughout the world of the apparatus of international communism. It operates with trained agitators and a powerful propaganda organization. It exploits every area of discontent, whether it be political discontent against "colonialism," or or social discontent against economic conditions. It seeks to harass the existing order and pave the way for political coups which will install Communist-controlled regimes.

By the use of many types of maneuvers and threats, military and political ,the Soviet rulers seek gradually to divide and weaken the free nations and to make their policies appear as bankrupt by overextending them in efforts which, as Lenin put it, are "beyond their strength." Then, said Lenin, "our victory is assured." Then, said Stalin, will be the "moment for the decisive blow."

It is not easy to devise policies which will counter a danger so centralized and so vast, so varied and so sustained. It is no answer to substitute the glitter of steel for the torch of freedom.

An answer can be found by drawing on those basic concepts which have come to be regularly practiced within our civic communities. There we have almost wholly given up the idea of relying primarily on house-by-house defense.

Instead, primary reliance is placed upon the combining of two concepts; namely, the creation of power on a community basis and the use of that power so as to deter aggression by making it costly to an aggressor. The free nations must apply these same principles in the international sphere.

COMMUNITY DEFENSE

The cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defense. They clearly cannot achieve security separately. No single nation can develop for itself defensive power of adequate scope and flexibility. In seeking to do so, each would become a garrison state and none would achieve security.

This is true of the United States. Without the cooperation of allies, we would not even be in a position to retaliate massively against the war industries of an attacking nation. That requires international facilities. Without them, our air striking power loses much of its deterrent power. With them, strategic airpower becomes what Sir Winston Churchill called the supreme deterrent. He credited to it the safety of Europe during recent years. But such power, while now a dominant factor, may not have the same significance forever. Furthermore, massive atomic and thermonuclear retaliation is not the kind of power which could most usefully be evoked under all circumstances.

Security for the free world depends, therefore, upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials. Each nation which shares the security should contribute in accordance with its capabilities and facilities. The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Pact) of 1947 set a postwar example in establishing the principle that an armed attack against one would be considered as an attack against all. The North Atlantic Treaty is based on the same principle. Its members have gone much further in organizing joint forces and facilities as a part of the integrated security system. NATO provides essential air and naval bases, to which its various members can contribute—each according to its means and capabilities. It provides the planes and ships and weapons which can use these bases. It provides so many points from which an aggressor could be harassed, in so many different ways, that he cannot prudently concentrate his forces for offense against a single victim.

While NATO best exemplifies this collective-security concept, there are other areas where the same concept is evolving, although as yet in a more rudimentary form. An example is the western Pacific, where the United States has a series of collective-security treaties which now embrace Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Japan, and Korea. Collective arrangements are now in the making in the Middle East, with Turkey-Pakistan as the nucleus. These developments show the growing acceptance of the collective-security concept we describe.

The United Nations is striving to make collective security effective on a basis broader than regionalism. The central principle of the charter is that any armed attack is of universal concern and calls for collective measures of resistance. The Soviet Union, by its veto power, has made it impractical, as yet, to make available to the Security Council the armed forces, assistance, and facilities contemplated by article 43 of the charter. When aggression occurred in Korea, however, the principle of collective action was invoked by the United Nations and acted on by more than a majority of the members, including 16 which sent armed forces to Korea to repel the aggression. The uniting-for-peace resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950, grew out of that experience. That resolution will enable members of the United Nations to join in carrying out similar collective measures against any future aggression without being blocked by a Soviet veto.

The free-world system of bases is an integral part of its collective security. At the recent Four Power conference in Berlin, Mr. Molotov repeatedly attacked these bases as evidence of aggressive purpose. Actually these bases on the territory of other sovereign countries are merely a physical expression of the collective-security system. They were constructed only at the request of the host nation, and their availability depends upon its consent, usually as a legal condition, and always as a practical one. The requisite consent to the use of these bases would never be accorded unless it was clear that their use was in response to open aggression, and reasonably related to its scope and nature. This gives assurance of their community function.

Thus the free world has practical means for achieving collective security both through the United Nations and the various regional arrangements already referred to.

THE STRATEGY TO DETER AGGRESSION

The question remains: How should collective defense be organized by the free world for maximum protection at minimum cost? The heart of the problem is how to deter attack. This, we believe, requires that a potential aggressor be left in no doubt that he would be certain to suffer damage outweighing any possible gains from aggression.

This result would not be assured, even by collective measures, if the free world sought to match the potential Communist forces, man for man and tank for tank, at every point where they might attack. The Soviet-Chinese bloc does not lack manpower and spends it as something that is cheap. If an aggressor knew he could always prescribe the

battle conditions that suited him and engage us in struggles mainly involving manpower, aggression might be encouraged. He would be tempted to attack in places and by means where his manpower superiority was decisive and where at little cost he could impose upon us great burdens. If the free world adopted that strategy, it could bankrupt itself and not achieve security over a sustained period.

The free world must devise a better strategy for its defense, based on its own special assets. Its assets include, especially, air and naval power and atomic weapons which are now available in a wide range, suitable not only for strategic bombing but also for extensive tactical use. The free world must make imaginative use of the deterrent capabilities of these new weapons and mobilities and exploit the full potential of collective security. Properly used, they can produce defensive power able to retaliate at once and effectively against any aggression.

To deter aggression, it is important to have the flexibility and the facilities which make various responses available. In many cases, any open assault by Communist forces could only result in starting a general war. But the free world must have the means for responding effectively on a selective basis when it chooses. It must not put itself in the position where the only response open to it is general war. The essential thing is that a potential aggressor should know in advance that he can and will be made to suffer for his aggression more than he can possibly gain by it. This calls for a system in which local defensive strength is reinforced by more mobile deterrent power. The method of doing so will vary according to the character of the various areas.

Some areas are so vital that a special guard should and can be put around them. Western Europe is such an area. Its industrial plant represents so nearly the balance of industrial power in the world that an aggressor might feel that it was a good gamble to seize it—even at the risk of considerable hurt to himself. In this respect, Western Europe is exceptional. Fortunately, the West European countries have both a military tradition and a large military potential, so that through a European Defense Community, and with support by the United States and Britain, they can create an adequate defense of the continent.

Most areas within the reach of an aggressor offer less value to him than the loss he would suffer from well-conceived retaliatory measures. Even in such areas, however, local defense will always be important. In every endangered area there should be a sufficient military establishment to maintain order against subversion and to resist other forms of indirect aggression and minor satellite aggressions. This serves the indispensable need to demonstrate a purpose to resist, and to compel any aggressor to expose his real intent by such serious fighting as will brand him before all the world and promptly bring collective measures into operation. Potential aggressors have little respect for peoples who have no will to fight for their own protection or to make the sacrifices needed to make that fighting significant. Also, they know that such peoples do not attract allies to fight for their cause. For all of these reasons, local defense is important. But in such areas the main reliance must be on the power of the free community to retaliate with great force by mobile means at places of its own choice.

A would-be aggressor will hesitate to commit aggression if he knows in advance that he thereby not only exposes those particular forces which he chooses to use for his aggression, but also deprives his other assets of sanctuary status. That does not mean turning every local war into a world war. It does not mean that if there is a Communist attack somewhere in Asia, atom or hydrogen bombs will necessarily be dropped on the great industrial centers of China or Russia. It does mean that the free world must maintain the collective means and be willing to use them in the way which most effectively makes aggression too risky and expensive to be tempting.

It is sometimes said that this system is inadequate because it assures an invaded country only that it will eventually be liberated and the invader punished. That observation misses the point. The point is that a prospective attacker is not likely to invade if he believes the probable hurt will outbalance the probable gain. A system which compels potential aggressors to face up to that fact indispensably supplements a local defensive system.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

We can already begin to see applications of these policies.

In Korea the forces fighting aggression had been so closely limited that they were forbidden even to apply the doctrine of hot pursuit in relation to enemy planes that were based across the Yalu. The airfields from which attacks were mounted were immune, as were the lines and sources of their supply. The fighting there was finally stopped last July on terms which had been proposed many months before. That result was achieved, at least in part, because the aggressor, already denied territorial gains, was faced with the possibility that the fighting might, to his own great peril, soon spread beyond the limits and methods which he had selected, to areas and methods that we would select. In other words the principle of using methods of our choice was ready to be invoked, and it helped to stop the war which the enemy had begun and had pursued on the theory that it would be a limited war, at places and by means of its choosing.

The 16 members of the United Nations who fought in Korea have invoked the same principle. They have given public notice that if the Communists were to violate the armistice and renew the aggression, the response of the United Nations Command would not necessarily be confined to Korea. Today, if aggression were resumed, the United Nations Command would certainly feel free to inflict heavy damage upon the aggressor beyond the immediate area which he chose for his aggression. That need not mean indulging in atomic warfare throughout Asia. It should not be stated in advance precisely what would be the scope of military action if new aggression occurred. That is a matter as to which the aggressor had best remain ignorant. But he can know and does know, in the light of present policies, that the choice in this respect is ours and not his.

In relation to Indochina, the United States has publicly stated that if there were open Red Chinese Army aggression there, that would have grave consequences which might not be confined to Indochina.

On December 26, 1953, President Eisenhower made an important statement which clearly reflected our present policy as applied to Asia. He announced a progressive reduction of United States ground forces in Korea. However, he went on to point out that United States military forces in the Far East will now feature "highly mobile naval, air, and amphibious units;" and he added that in this way, despite some withdrawal of land forces, the United States will have a capacity to oppose aggression "with even greater effect than heretofore." In the same month the United States reaffirmed its intent to maintain in Okinawa the rights made available to us by the Japanese Peace Treaty. This location is needed to ensure striking power to implement the collective security concept.

In Europe, our intentions are primarily expressed by the North Atlantic Treaty. Following the aggression in Korea of June 1950, the Treaty members proceeded to an emergency buildup of military strength in Western Europe. The strength built between 1950 and 1953 has served well the cause of peace. But by 1953, it did not seem necessary to go on at the original pace.

At the April 1953 meeting of the NATO Council, the United States put forward a new concept, now known as that of the "long haul." It meant a steady development of defensive strength at a rate which would preserve and not exhaust the economic strength of our allies and ourselves. This would be reinforced by the availability of new weapons of vastly increased destructive power and by the striking power of an air force based on internationally agreed positions. President Eisenhower is now seeking an amendment of the present law to permit a freer exchange of atomic information with our NATO allies.

When we went back to the NATO Council meeting of last December, we found that there was general acceptance of the "long haul" concept. The result is that most of our NATO allies are now able to achieve budgetary and economic stability, without large dependence on our economic aid.

The growing free-world defensive system, supported by community facilities and coupled with adequate policies for their use, reflects the nearest approach that the world has yet made to a means to achieve effective defense, at minimum cost.

THE CURRENT MILITARY PROGRAM

One of the basic tasks of the new administration has been to review our military program in the light of the foregoing policies.

In the years 1945–53, our military programs went through wide fluctuations which hindered orderly and efficient administration. During the first part of this period, the policy was to reduce the Military Establishment drastically. During the latter part of the period, the policy was to increase the Military Establishment rapidly. During both the decrease and the increase the military budget reflected the so-called balance-of-forces concept. In practical terms, this meant splitting the available funds into three roughly equal slices for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

When the Eisenhower administration took office, our national security programs, at home and abroad, were costing over $50 billion a year, and were planned at about $55 billion for the next year. Budgetary deficits were of the order of $10 billion, despite taxes comparable to wartime taxes. Inflation was depreciating the purchasing power of the dollar. Our allies were similarly burdened.

The American people have repeatedly shown that they are prepared to make whatever sacrifices are really necessary to insure our national safety. They would no doubt support military expenses at the levels which their Government told them were required for security, even at the cost of budget deficits, resultant inflationary pressures, and tax-levels which would impair incentives. But the patriotic will to sacrifice is not something to be drawn upon needlessly. Government has the high duty to seek resourcefully and inventively the ways which will provide security without sacrificing economic and social welfare. The security policies we here describe make possible more selective and more efficient programs in terms of the composition of forces and of procurement.

The new administration has sought to readjust, in an orderly way, the program for the military forces. Before this could be done, it was necessary to clarify the extent of our reliance on collective security; to define more clearly our basic strategy both in Europe and the Far East; to reassert our freedom of action in repelling future aggression; to assess the impact of newer types of weapons; and to relate the composition and size

of our ready and potential forces to all these factors.

Inevitably this has taken time. It has required a series of difficult basic decisions by the President with the advice of the National Security Council and with supporting decisions by the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Treasury Department. It has been necessary to exchange views with congressional leaders and our principal allies and to inform world opinion so that neither our friends nor our enemies abroad would misinterpret what we were doing. By now, however, the new course is charted and is guiding our military planning. As a result, it is now possible to get, and share, more basic security at less cost. That is reflected in the budget which the President has submitted for the 1955 fiscal year. In this budget, national security expenditures for fiscal year 1955 will amount to $45 billion as compared with $50 billion for 1953 and $49 billion for 1954.

Initially this reshaping of the military program was misconstrued in various respects. Some suggested that the United States intended to rely wholly on large-scale strategic bombing as the sole means to deter and counter aggression. What has already been said should dispose of this erroneous idea. The potential of massive attack will always be kept in a state of instant readiness, and our program will retain a wide variety in the means and scope for responding to aggression. Others interpreted the program as a move away from collective security. The exact opposite is the case, as has been shown. Our policies are based squarely on a collective security system and depend for their success on its continuing vitality. Still others feared that we intended to withdraw our forces from abroad in the interest of mobility. Now that the fighting is ended in Korea, our forces in the Far East will be reduced in numbers, as has previously been announced, but the kind of force that remains will have great striking power. Moreover, the program does not mean that we intend to pull our forces out of Europe. It is, of course, essential that the continental nations themselves provide a harmonious nucleus of integrated defense. If they do so, the United States would expect to maintain substantial forces of its own in Europe, both in support of the forward strategy of defense and for political reasons.

Another consequence of our new policies is that it has become practicable to reduce our economic aid to our allies. The technical assistance program will go on and economic aid is not wholly excluded. There are still some places near the Soviet orbit where the national governments cannot maintain adequate armed forces without help from us. That is notably so in the Middle and Far East. We have contributed largely, ungrudgingly, and I hope constructively, to end aggression and advance freedom in Indo-China. The stakes there are so high that it would be culpable not to contribute to the forces struggling to resist Communist oppression.

But broadly speaking, economic aid in the form of grants is on its way out as a major element of our foreign policy. This is highly desirable from many standpoints. It helps to make our own budget more manageable and it promotes more self-respecting international relationships. That is what our allies want. Trade, broader markets and a flow of investment are far more healthy than intergovernmental grants-in-aid. It is, of course, important that we do actually develop these mutually advantageous substitutes for "aid." To do so is one of the major objectives of the Eisenhower administration. It is an essential component of the overall policies already described.

In the ways outlined, the United States and its allies gather strength for the long-term defense of freedom.

OUR NATIONAL PURPOSE

We do not, of course, claim to have found some magic formula that insures against all forms of Communist successes. Despotism is entrenched as never before. It remains aggressive, particularly in Asia. In Europe, its purposes remain expansive, as shown by Mr. Molotov's plans at the Berlin Conference for Germany, Austria, and all Europe. However, time and fundamentals will work for us, if only we will let them.

The dictators face an impossible task when they set themselves to suppress, over a vast area and for a long time, the opportunities which flow from freedom. We can be sure that there is going on, even within the Soviet empire, a silent test of strength between the powerful rulers and the multitudes of human beings. Each individual seems by himself to be helpless in this struggle. But their aspirations in the aggregate make up a mighty force. There are some signs that the Soviet rulers are, in terms of domestic policy, bending to some of the human desires of their people. There are promises of more food, more household goods, more economic freedom. This does not prove that the dictators have themselves been converted. It is rather that they may be dimly perceiving that there are limits to their power indefinitely to suppress the human spirit.

That is a truth which should not be lost sight of as we determine our own policies. Our national purpose is not merely to survive in a world fraught with appalling danger. We want to end this era of danger. We shall not achieve that result merely by developing a vast military establishment. That serves indispensably to defend us and to deter attack. But the sword of Damocles remains suspended. The way to end the peril peacefully is to demostrate that freedom produces not merely guns, but the spiritual, intellectual, and material richness that all men want.

Such are the guiding principles we invoke. We have confidence that if our Nation perseveres in applying them, freedom will again win the upper hand in its agelong struggle with despotism, and that the danger of war will steadily recede.

Liberalization of the Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include the resolution I have received from the Freeland, Pa., Aerie, No. 717, and the Glen Lyon, Pa., Aerie, No. 2160, of the Fraternal Order of Eagles. The resolution was also signed by Mr. John Nowak and Mr. Frank Stavetski, the respective presidents of the above-mentioned aeries.

I am deeply interested in the measures set forth by the Fraternal Order of Eagles.

The resolution is as follows:

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles was a leader in the campaign for enactment of the Social Security Act and the earlier campaigns for the passage of State old-age pension laws; and

Whereas the Fraternal Order of Eagles, by unanimous vote of delegates in national convention assembled, has urged the liberalization of the Social Security Act so as to extend coverage to all workers and to expand the program to protect wage earners against all major hazards of life and to adjust payments to meet increased living costs; and

Whereas, the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress, has urged that the Social Security Act be liberalized to provide that—

1. The minimum benefit for retired persons be increased from $25 to $30 per month, the maximum from $85 to $108.50;

2. Ten million additional persons be included in the security systems.

3. The first $1,000 of annual earnings by retired persons be exempted from the regulations of the Social Security Act.

4. The earning base for participants in the plan be raised from $3,600 to $4,200.

5. The 4 years of lowest income for such beneficiary be discarded in computing benefits.

6. The institution of a proposal for a public works program for the stricken anthracite-coal region, due to shut downs, lack of markets, etc.; and

Whereas friends of social security, Democrats and Republicans have endorsed the President's suggestions as a long step forward in providing adequate old-age security for all Americans: Now be it

Resolved, That our district endorse the President's proposals for improving the Social Security Act, and respectfully urge you to enact such recommendation into law.

Adopted this 14th day of February 1954.

WALTER ZEMSKI,
Chairman, Glen Lyon, Pa.
JOHN E. STEFANIK,
District Secretary, Freeland, Pa.

We Must Build Air Power and Not Just Military Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, one of the great anti-Communists and great air power experts of our time is Maj. Alexander P. de Seversky. Major de Seversky has performed a patriotic service in pointing out, in the current issue of Pageant magazine, that instead of rearming for the kind of victory through air power that we won in World War II, we are rearming for defeat.

Because of her strategic position, her great resources of industry and manpower, and the Air Force she is rapidly building, the Soviet Union is a threat to our very existence. The threat is increased, not diminished, by the fact we must import many of the raw materials essential to our own air strength, and also by what Major de Seversky calls our precedent-conscious military thinking.

The New Look calls for emphasis on aviation, but aviation is not necessarily airpower. Much of the strength of our Air Force is planned to support ground forces: It is tactical air power, not strategic airpower. About one-third of the

money allotted to the Air Force goes to create military aviation that is utterly irrelevant to war in the air.

In the new budget obligational authority for the fiscal year 1955, $8.2 billion is requested for the Army, $9.8 billion for the Navy, and $11.2 billion for the Air Force. This looks like an emphasis on airpower, all right, but at least $3 billion of the Air Force appropriation would have to be spent on aviation in support of the Army. Thus, during the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1956, according to Major de Seversky's estimates, we will have spent for the Army approximately $57 billion, for the Navy $36 billion, and for the Air Force only $33 billion.

Major de Seversky's thesis is effectively expressed in one sentence:

It is not the stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs that will decide the issue of war or peace but, as always, the superior means of delivery—and that means airpower.

From bases in China, the Balkans, Russia and Siberia, Soviet bombers could destroy the sources of many materials vital to the United States, and essential in our present methods of manufacturing the guts of airpower. But from bases the United States already possesses in Alaska, Greenland and Newfoundland, our superior bombers could reach any point in the Soviet Union and could also reach—and bomb—any point in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, if the need ever came—and if we have the bombers, when it does.

True emphasis on airpower will make sure that we have the bombers, and have them soon.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith Major de Seversky's thought-provoking article from the April 1954 issue of Pageant, as follows:

ARE WE REARMING FOR DEFEAT?

(By Maj. Alexander P. De Seversky)

When Mr. Malenkov ominously brandished the news that Russia has the hydrogen bomb, his intention was to intimidate the United States and its allies. But inadvertently, and paradoxically, he performed a useful service for the free peoples of the world. What we needed more than anything else was to be jolted out of our habitual rut of precedent-conscious military thinking. Mr. Malenkov did just that.

He glaringly exposed the unreality of our profligate strategy of balanced forces which chains our military strength to overseas bases, and our weapons production to overseas sources of strategic material—right in the enemy's backyard. With atomic and hydrogen bombs now in Russia's possession, and a massive air force within easy reach of those targets, she can bring to a standstill the industries that feed our war machine and defeat us through economic strangulation without dropping a single bomb on American soil.

In the last war our enemies, particularly Japan, had only limited natural resources. They depended on strategic materials that had to be brought across the water. Our overwhelming naval power and undisputed command of the seas was one of the decisive factors in victory, stripping the enemy's industries of its vital ingredients through application of an effective blockade.

Today we are dealing with the Eurasian continent and its vast resources. It is totally self-contained and needs nothing from across the seas to support its war machine. It cannot be blockaded or starved into submission. It needs no navy, virtually has no navy, and fears no navy. Whatever surface navy it does have or may be building is bottled in the Baltic and Black Seas from which it will never emerge unless our Air Force is first destroyed.

But if the enemy has no navy, why then do we continue to enlarge our own, even though it is already bigger than all the other navies of the world combined? We are told that we must have such a huge Navy in order to keep the sealanes open to guarantee us access to strategic materials. We are told that since the United States is a have-not Nation and only 15 percent self-sustained, 85 percent of the strategic materials that go into our war machine must be imported from across the sea. We are told that, therefore, only the Navy can assure to our industries an uninterrupted flow of these essential substances. This, in our air age, is a dangerous self-delusion. Our Navy, I fear, is still living in the past, its thinking unaltered since the days of Nelson.

In the last war, because of the short range of aircraft, our shipping was practically unmolested once the submarine menace was eliminated. Today, in addition to the submarines, our Navy and its convoys can be attacked by long-range enemy aircraft and its atomic bombs anywhere on the seven seas. In the last war the enemy had no alternative but to attempt to cut our supply lines. Today he need not bother with our supply lines; he can strike directly at the sources of our strategic materials with his long-range airpower and neutralize them with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Ever since I saw this danger as an inevitable consequence of the expanded range of airpower I pleaded that we should not chain our war machine exclusively to the sources of strategic materials located in the Eastern Hemisphere—in Europe, Africa, and Asia; that at least standby sources should be developed in South America—in the Western Hemisphere, our own backyard, which is not only beyond the reach of the enemy's airpower but can be effectively shielded by our continental air strength.

But this warning was not heeded. As a result, our military strength today is dependent upon a great many nations. If—either due to enemy pressure or internal political vicissitudes—any nation deserts us, our survival will be at stake.

For example, how many of us realize that the very sinews of our tool industry are industrial diamonds, of which we import nearly 90 percent from the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa? Should our industry be denied this vital ingredient, we would be chained to the obsolete weapons produced by old tools.

Or, how many know that modern jet engines cannot be built without cobalt and columbite? We import 100 percent of these materials—and again from Africa: Nigeria, Belgian Congo, and the rest of Equatorial Africa—from sources halfway across the globe.

There are those who maintain that Russia can never win a war against us as long as the United States outproduces her in the manufacture of steel. At present we produce 110 million tons a year, to her 37 million tons, a 3-to-1 ratio in our favor. But we can produce that tonnage only if India and Africa continue to supply us with manganese, without which steel cannot be made. Of our supply of this essential we import 91 percent—80 percent from the distance mines of India and Africa. If those sources fail, the steel production of the United States will drop to 22 million tons a year, or little more than half of Russia's present production.

We are desperately prospecting today for new sources of uranium on our continent; but so far the results have been negligible. In the production of our atomic bombs, therefore, we are wholly dependent on the Belgian Congo. Should we be deprived of that source, it is obvious that in no time Russia would outrace us in atomic warfare. All the miracles of American mass production and superior technological know-how cannot alter this melancholy fact.

Again, think of our vast system of transportation. Our cars, trucks, aircraft, all require rubber. We import 100 percent of our natural rubber—with 90 percent of our supply coming from Malaya, Thailand, and Indonesia. True, we can fall back on synthetic rubber. But it will require time to revive our synthetic rubber production. And, even then, for many purposes the product in its present form is no substitute for natural rubber.

From those same far eastern countries, and Africa, comes tin—as necessary for canned goods and for other needs of our Armed Forces. Without tin, too, there can be no solder, no tin plate, no bronze or babbitt for our bearings. The United States imports for its needs 80 percent of this important metal, without which every wheel, gear, and crankshaft would eventually cease to turn.

This is by no means the end of the list. There are many other strategic materials in the same part of the world which can be denied us at any time, with the resultant crippling and paralyzing of our industrial output once our present stockpiles are exhausted.

To present our plight in its starkest terms: Our jet engines come from Nigeria and not from Hartford; our atom bombs come from the Belgian Congo and not from Oak Ridge; our tools come from Africa, not from Cincinnati; our steel comes from India and Africa, not Pittsburgh; the bearings for our wheels and motors from Malaya, not Detroit; and our rubber-shod transport from the Far East, not Akron.

Today those areas are seething with political unrest. The Communists are trying to undermine them by infiltration and propaganda. But in time of war the enemy will resort to the direct methods of threat and intimidation. He wil put those areas on notice to cease supplying America or face immediate destruction. Russia today can carry out that threat since, without exception, all of those points are within easy reach of Red planes.

It is estimated that at the present time Russia has as many as 3,000 long-range bombers of the improved B–29 type, similar to our B–50. Some of them may even be equipped with rockets and jets to permit takeoff with heavy loads and flash performance over the target. Though these planes are not so fast as jets, they are well-armed for self-protection and have more than the necessary range to reach their targets and return nonstop. Moreover, those aircraft are being rapidly replaced by new jet bombers of medium range, similar to the B–47, that can be refueled in the air or sent on 1-way missions. And finally, Russia is already flying a new turbo-prop heavy bomber, similar to our B–36 in size but superior in performance. Such a bomber, or its turbo-jet version, can hit any of the above-mentioned sources of our strategic materials at near-sonic speed and return to home base.

With these bombers, and using her present bases, Russia can neutralize the sources of our jet engines, in Nigeria, in 4 hours; the uranium for our A-bombs, in the Belgian Congo, in 5 hours; the manganese for our steel in less than 3 hours; and our rubber and oil supply literally in minutes.

Can we provide a local defense for all those distant points against such devastating attack? The answer is no. On the map on p. 9, the Russian strategic air command (which means long-range atom-bearing air force) is represented by a red arrow. That

threat can be pointed in any direction of the compass.

In spite of the 160 million people in the United States, in spite of our terrific industrial power and highly trained technological skills, we are told today that we cannot afford to provide ourselves with an effective air defense. To do so would cost us scores of billions of dollars, and even then enemy bombers would get through. In short, we are told that there is no complete defense against air attack.

If our industrial colossus and the manpower strength here at home cannot fully protect the United States against the Red striking air force, by what miracle can we hope to defend little Nigeria or the Belgian Congo, or India, or Malaya against the identical threat by the identical force? To give each spot even a semblance of defense would require the same gigantic effort that must be exerted for our own continental defense—scores of billions of dollars multiplied by scores of places, a project too gargantuan even to contemplate.

Furthermore, this indefensibility of our strategic sources applies equally to our distant air bases, whether fixed on land or floating aircraft carriers.

By now, it must be apparent to the reader that the ability of our Navy to keep the sea lanes open has nothing to do with the case. We can possess the most powerful Navy in the world, the greatest merchant marine, we can keep all the sea lanes open, and we will still face economic strangulation. With not an ounce of strategic material available to us, our ships will ply the seas with empty holds.

And yet what are we doing? In spite of the fact that our power at sea is irrelevant to this vital problem, we blithely continue to build more aircraft carriers, more battle cruisers, more guided-missile battleships, more cargo vessels, more destroyers, more assault barges—at a cost of billions of dollars—absorbing one-third of our limited industrial manpower and capacity, as though their mere existence could protect us from industrial strangulation.

The answer, therefore, is not in the Navy but in the United States Air Force. Only a long-range strategic air command of proper size and striking power can, by destroying the enemy's air might, keep the sources of our strategic materials unmolested and guarantee an uninterrupted flow of these vital ingredients to our industries.

In the face of these realities, our foreign policy and the military strategy by which it is buttressed must be revised. We must assume a more realistic and practical attitude toward South America. Hemispheric solidarity, the backbone of common defense, must become more than a slogan. Because of our foreign policy and preoccupation with our allies across the ocean and the seeming neglect of the needs of our own hemisphere, the United States has been largely regarded with suspicion and animosity by our neighbors to the south.

Dr. Milton Eisenhower's recent good will trip, and the manner of his approach accomplished a great deal toward allaying those anxieties and creating a better understanding between the Americas.

Let us hope that the policy of sterile political amenities will give way to a dynamic policy of economic and industrial development of the natural resources of this hemisphere. We must create with all possible speed a second set of sources for all the strategic materials we now derive from the other side of the globe. Arrangements should be made now, in peacetime, while we hold the bargaining power, and not under the duress of war.

In the meantime, we must step up the stockpiling of strategic goods to bridge us over until this hemisphere is truly self-sufficient. The congressional hearings on the subject, headed by Senator GEORGE W. MALONE, are proving of great importance. They have already uncovered some critical military shortages, thus giving us a chance to correct them in time.

We must intensify our research for substitute materials and give preference to those weapons forged from the substances of our own hemisphere.

Above all, we must rouse ourselves from the illusion that we have abandoned the unrealistic strategy of balanced forces.

It may well startle the reader to learn that today, in spite of all the lip service to air power, deliberately or unconsciously we are being groomed primarily for ground warfare, for fighting a war on Russia's terms, where she has all the advantages of manpower and geography. This shocking fact was bertayed by the manner in which our defense money is to be spent in the fiscal year 1954. On June 11, 1953, in answering Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH'S criticism of the military appropriations, Secretary of Defense Wilson disclosed that, including the unspent balances from previous appropriations, the respective services will have the following sums available to them: Army, $30.7 billion; Navy, $26½ billion; and Air Force, $40.2 billion.

At first glance, it looks as though the Air Force is getting the lion's share. But this is an optical illusion—the same old numbers racket. On $40 billion, the Department of Air not only has to build an Air Force to fulfill its primary mission to destroy the enemy and to protect the continental United States, but it also has to build an enormous tactical air force, and transport and cargo planes in support of and for use by our Army. My estimates show that about $15 billion of the Air Force's money is being spent on aviation that is utterly irrelevant to war in the air. It is part and parcel of ground forces and represents a frozen asset unless we fight a ground war. Just aviation—an amorphous mass of aircraft, no matter how large, no matter how useful it may be to the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps—if it is not designed to win and maintain command of the air, does not constitute air power.

Logically, those $15 billions should be reflected in the appropriations to the Army. Considered in this light, our Nation is actually going to spend on the Army, $46 billion; on the Navy, $26 billion; and on the Air Force, $25 billion—or, roughly, half the total appropriation for the Army, one-quarter for the Navy, and one-quarter for the Air Force.

But if our Army cannot win a ground war against insurmountable odds and if our naval power, including its air component, as I have already pointed out, is irrelevant against a self-contained continent, then it must be grimly apparent to everyone that we are rearming for defeat unless the process is arrested and reversed without delay.

We were told that in the new budget "the airpower of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis." From this, and from the analysis I have presented above as to how money is being spent on military aviation, it is clear that such "emphasis," no matter how "heavy," will again buy us more airplanes but not necessarily more airpower. This conclusion is further justified by the official statement that "no material changes in force were recommended for fiscal year 1955," and thereafter, at best, would come about gradually through "a process of evolution."

All of this parallels too closely for comfort the historic reluctance of the entrenched military hierarchy to accept fundamental change in warmaking until it is forced upon them by the enemy. The trouble with a gradual "process of evolution" in strategy, as history indicates, is that in the meantime we may be attacked and destroyed.

The inescapable fact is that a fundamental change in our military strategy is long overdue, and that only a complete and immediate repudiation of our current concepts can stave off disaster.

With both sides now in possession of atomic and hydrogen weapons and therefore the potential capability of destroying each other's industrial power to make war, the superior means of delivery is the crux of defense. We may have atomic bombs that "today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned," and we may have hydrogen weapons that "are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent"; but unless we have the power to deliver them when we want to, where we want to—in total disregard of the enemy's defensive capabilities, the stockpile by itself is meaningless and no threat to the enemy.

Therefore, I must repeat that it is not the stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs that will decide the issue of peace or war, but, as always, the superior means of delivery—and that means airpower.

Yet today our Air Force is so small that it is doubtful whether it can deliver on a decisive scale the nuclear weapons we already have. The Strategic Air Command is superbly led and manned. General LeMay and his staff have done miracles, considering the inadequate resources at their disposal. But because the offensive is always costly and requires superior numbers, I am afraid that in light of the rapid growth of electronic defenses, if called upon to perform its mission today, our Strategic Air Force would be overwhelmed.

Under the circumstances, we have no alternative but to divert at least two-thirds of our national effort into a supreme Air Force. To preserve our economy, the other forces must be pared down proportionately. Army and Navy men themselves concede that their services, with our limited manpower, cannot fight under hostile skies. Yet to achieve global command of the air will without question take the major portion of our national effort.

We must adopt a strategy that will make America strong in her own right. Such an America can raise morale and provide a core of strength for all freedom-loving people. If we are strong, our diplomacy will not have to beg, cajole, or buy with dollars the loyalty of other nations, large or small. Strength attracts allies. They will join the legion of freedom not only because our side is right but because our side has might.

America can be that strong. It can win a war against any nation or combination of nations, except no longer can it win a war in any old way. No longer can we promiscuously squander our resources and manpower in all directions as we did in the past.

Our immediate task is to create an invincible long-range Air Force that can rise directly from our own shores, from bases inaccessible to the Communists' insuperable army and their massive tactical air force, and destroy the enemy's ability to wage war. Only such an Air Force can save American civilization from atomic destruction. Only such an Air Force can ignore the overwhelming manpower superiority of the enemy.

Only the deterrent of such an Air Force—a sword of Damocles—can provide the shield behind which the European nations can arm and revitalize themselves.

Only such an Air Force can guarantee us friendly skies under which our Navy can carry out its mission. Only an Air Force that can dominate the air clear around the globe can prevent the destruction of our sources of strategic materials and guarantee our access to them.

Our aim is to prevent war. In these days when force is still the final arbiter among nations and when, as Korea and Indochina have demonstrated, raw force is on the loose, peace can be kept only through strength.

The deterrent of instantaneous and overwhelming retaliation is the answer.

Deliberately to place our head in an economic noose by making ourselves dependent on strategic sources in the Communists' backyard is not the way to deter the enemy.

The aggressor must clearly understand that not only do we have the strength, here in the New World, to strike back with finality in defense of freedom and our friends in the Old World, but that this strength cannot be impaired no matter what may happen anywhere on the surface of the globe.

Is Alaska Really Ready for Statehood?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter that I believe is very informative and enlightening on the question of statehood for Alaska. This letter is from a constituent of mine, Mr. C. L. Maguire, from Wickenburg, Ariz.

I would particularly like to call to your attention that this gentleman has no personal or political ax to grind, that he is merely stating facts as he saw them, the same as you or I would have if we might have had the opportunity to visit Alaska.

The letter follows:

Congressman JOHN RHODES,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. RHODES: I do not know how much politics is involved in this talk of admitting Alaska to statehood. So much has been said about it that I found myself very much in the mind that Alaska should have statehood.

Last summer I took a boat trip to Alaska and was utterly appalled at the conditions I found there from the proposed statehood angle.

Statehood for Alaska would be a tragic joke.

The first town in southern Alaska is Ketchikan. It has an industry—fish. It has no roads in or out of it. The only way to get in and out is by boat or airplane. My guess is that the town may have about 1,500 people.

Now we go up 100 miles or so to Wrangell. No roads and little fishing.

Then we go up about 300 miles to Juneau, passing the town of Petersburg on an island. These are small towns and not a sign of a road in or out—all boats and airplanes.

Our next stop was at the little town of Seward where the Department of Interior railroad starts up to Anchorage and Fairbanks. Seward is a little unpaved town. The Government has built a truck highway up to Anchorage and on to Fairbanks with a branch on up to join the Alaskan Highway, but I was told this road was impassable a great part of the year and they were having trouble getting over it even in August when I was there.

Anchorage is a boomtown of possibly 40,000 people. It has no sign of an industry nor anything to make an industry except Government payrolls at the nearby Army stations. The Government has built three FHA housing projects up there. Prices are viciously high and not a sign of an industry other than the building of the houses for the benefit of people who are on Federal payrolls or make their money off Federal payrolls.

We did not go to Fairbanks, but I understand it is just a small town not as large as Anchorage.

Next stop was Valdez, which is on a branch of the Alaskan Highway and is somewhat of a port of entry. Small town. No local industry in sight.

I asked a man in Anchorage who was showing us around—how many Americans were in Alaska. His estimate was 150,000, and further remarked that 50,000 of them were tourists.

I am not exaggerating when I say that the present taxable property in Alaska, and by that I mean—reasonable taxation—would not support Maricopa County, let alone a State.

Now understand, before I went up there I thought they were entitled to statehood, but now I think they will not be ready for statehood for many years to come.

I wonder what the total income tax is that the Government gets out of Alaska and how it compares with receipts our present 48 States—or how it compares with Hawaii, for instance.

As far as Hawaii is concerned—I have spent a couple of winters there—they have industry and lots of it; they have wealth and lots of it, and they have a population that has done the best job in the melting pot that I know anything about. Whether or not they really want statehood or are entitled to it, is up to the Congress to decide—but there is no comparison between Hawaii and Alaska in the matter of their respective abilities to support statehood.

Pardon my long-windedness, but if you have been there you know what I am talking about. If you have not been there, I think you can easily verify my statements from unbiased others.

Very truly yours,

C. L. MAGUIRE.

New England Needs a United States Veterans' Domiciliary Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution recently adopted by the Fred S. Murphy Chapter No. 8, Disabled American Veterans in Framingham, Mass., relative to the continuation of the former Cushing Veterans' Administration Hospital as a Government-operated soldiers' home for area and New England veterans. The resolution follows:

Whereas on February 26, 1954, Selectman Norman B. Hartnett of Framingham, Mass., voiced his opposition to the plan of Governor Christian A. Herter to establish an institution for elderly mental patients not requiring close confinement at the location of the Cushing Hospital in said Framingham; and

Whereas the town of Framingham originally agreed with the Federal Government to the establishment of a hospital for Army personnel during World War II and later with the Veterans' Administration for veterans; and

Whereas the General Court of Massachusetts on January 18, 1954, urged the Congress of the United States "to take the necessary steps, together with the appropriate Federal department to establish a soldiers' home, under Federal jurisdiction, at the present location of the Cushing Hospital, at Framingham, Mass."; and

Whereas there are thousands of disabled and indigent veterans awaiting admission to existing soldiers' homes, none of which are located in New England: Now, therefore

Resolved, That the Fred S. Murphy chapter No. 8, Disabled American Veterans of Framingham, Mass., in regular meeting assembled on March 2, 1954, places itself on record as favoring the creation of a federally operated soldiers' home at the site of the Cushing Hospital, and opposing the plan of Gov. Christian A. Herter to establish a hospital for the insane at the aforementioned location; and be it further

Resolved, That Copies of these resolutions be sent to the members of the United States Senate from Massachusetts, Congressman Harold D. Donohue, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Governor Christian A. Herter, State Representatives J. Alan Hodder and William I. Randall, D. A. V. National Headquarters and Department of Massachusetts, Disabled American Veterans.

Respectfully submitted.

STANLEY WACHOWSKI,
Commander.
ROBERT F. IRINO,
Senior Vice-Commander.

Adopted March 2, 1954:

FRANCIS ADAMS,
Adjutant-Treasurer.

Veterans' Hospital at Wood, Wis.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, being keenly aware of the serious need for additional hospital and domiciliary facilities of the Veterans' Administration at Wood, Wis., which serves veterans of Milwaukee County and surrounding area, I have sometime ago introduced the following bill intended to remedy that situation:

A bill to authorize the construction of a new general medical-surgical hospital at the Veterans' Administration Center, Wood, Wis., and for other purposes

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized and directed to construct a new modern fireproof Veterans' Administration general medical and surgical hospital of 1,500 beds, with necessary auxiliary structures, on a suitable site at the Veterans' Administration Center, Wood, Wis.

SEC. 2. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is further authorized and directed to convert the existing hospital buildings and facilities at the Veterans' Administration Center, Wood, Wis., for use as a domiciliary, to which, upon completion and opening of the new Veterans' Administration hospital, herein authorized, or as soon thereafter as possible, shall be transferred all eligible veterans receiving domiciliary care at such center.

SEC. 3. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is further authorized and directed to survey the existing domiciliary buildings

and facilities at the Veterans' Administration Center, Wood, Wis., and, upon completion of the new hospital construction and conversion of the existing hospital to a domiciliary, herein authorized, to abandon and raze any or all of such existing domiciliary buildings and facilities as he finds to be obsolescent or inadaptable for further use.

SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

Mr. Speaker, I also wish to commend to the attention of the Members of this body the following resolution adopted by the Milwaukee County Council of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; the council is composed of 37 posts and equal number of auxiliaries, and it has been actively supporting the proposed new Veterans' Administration hospital at Wood, Wis.:

RESOLUTION OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY COUNCIL, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the Milwaukee County Council, composed of all Veterans of Foreign Wars posts and auxiliaries in the 4th and 5th districts of Wisconsin, recognize the very definite need for a new hospital at Wood, Wis.; and

Whereas the old hospital could be utilized to house domiciliary activities and thus eliminate the present unsafe, untenable, and unsightly domiciliary building; and

Whereas the present hospital has inadequate and outmoded facilities and is highly crowded and inconvenient, awkward to work in, rearranging and remodeling could not correct the errors; and

Whereas Wood, Wis., because of the proximity of nationally known medical schools and the large number of experts in the medical field located in Milwaukee, would be ideally located for the building of such a hospital; and

Whereas the present hospital bed capacity at Wood, Wis., is inadequate to care for American Veterans of All Wars: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a new hospital be requested at Wood, Wis., in an area adjacent to the existing hospital building; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to each of our United States Senators and each of the Congressmen from the State of Wisconsin, and to H. V. Higley, Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

HANS M. CHWOROWSKY,
Commander.

Great Day for the Irish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, for 364 days of the year I am AL MORANO. On this day I am known as O'Moran, for this is the day dedicated heart and soul to the Irish, and if by a mere scramble of a letter I can share in their glorious day, I am very happy to do so. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an essay written for the occasion by Carey Cronan, an outstanding newspaperman whose scintillating Irish wit is a source of great delight to those privileged to know him. I can think of no greater champion for the Irish, no one who more perfectly exemplifies the wonderful traits attributed to the Irish in the following article, than Mr. Cronan himself:

A SALUTE TO THE IRISH
(By Carey Cronan)

Today marks the feast of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, and all over the world Irishmen will gather to mark this day dedicated to the faith, which has characterized the history of this island for many centuries. Ireland has given much to the world. In letters and the arts, in healing and the magic of her songs Ireland has helped to keep the heart of the world strong in faith in God and in the dignity and independence of man.

The contributions which men and women of Irish blood have made to the building and the greatness of the United States are among the most glowing pages of our history.

The sanctity of the family, the pride of home, the deep devotion to the intangible values of this life, all this Ireland has taught us to preserve and respect and defend. There are few today who do not thrill to the fighting spirit that came out of Donegal and Kerry, and from the shores of Bantry Bay to light the fires of freedom in many lands and spur the cause of justice in countries far from the Irish Sea.

We can only hope that the green of the Irish, characterizing as it does the spirit of spring and the blossoming of new life, will exemplify the belief that we all should have in the constant and continuing growth of the good and the true and the beautiful in this world.

Today we salute not only the millions of Americans who lay claim to Irish blood and ancestry, but to all those who down through the centuries have paid tribute to the cause of what is right and holy and everlasting.

Persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a resolution approved by the Catholic Polish Youth Federation of Connecticut having reference to the persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland. By this insertion my Connecticut colleagues and I apprise our colleagues in the Congress of this action and emphasizes sympathy and help that is earnestly invited and sought in a difficult but heart-moving problem deserving of every possible relief that can be obtained.

The resolution follows:

The Polish Catholic Youth Federation of Connecticut in convention assembled at Torrington, Conn., on February 10, 1954, voted by acclamation to memorialize the President of the United States, His Excellency Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the Connecticut delegation to the Congress of the United States, the Honorable PRESCOTT BUSH, Senator; the Honorable WILLIAM A. PURTELL, Senator; the Honorable THOMAS J. DODD, Congressman; the Honorable HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., Congressman; the Honorable ALBERT W. CRETELLA, Congressman; the Honorable ALBERT P. MORANO, Congressman; the Honorable JAMES T. PATTERSON, Congressman; and the Honorable ANTONI N. SADLAK, Congresaman at Large, in regard to the persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland.

"Whereas this organization consists of young Americans, resident in Connecticut and descendant from a liberty-loving people, the Poles, whose annals are replete with glorious names of fighters and martyrs for freedom and whose sons Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko have made common the history of Poland and the United States; and

"Whereas this organization worships God without fear of intimidation or interference from the established Government; and

"Whereas this organization desires the same right for the people of Poland; and

"Whereas the insidious and satanic regime, which ursurps the name, the Polish Government, is deliberately and contemptuously suppressing the Catholic Church, to which an overwhelming majority of the Poles adhere, by imprisoning the primate of Poland, His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wysinski; by arresting and jailing other church leaders; by interfering with the internal mangement of the church; by liquidating the Polish Catholic press; by foisting unauthorized puppets as legitimate leaders of the church: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States, His Excellency Dwight D. Eisenhower, continue to voice his objection to the cruel treatment inflicted on the Catholic people of Poland by unwanted rulers; that he instruct the State Department to lodge a protest with the Polish representatives to the United States over the actions of the present Polish Government; that he instruct the Chief Delegate of the United States to the United Nations, the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, to solicit the support of the free nations of the world in protesting against the high-handed actions of the present Polish Government;

"*Resolved further*, That the Connecticut delegation to the Congress of the United States present to that honorable body its protests in line with this memorial;

"*Resolved further*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States; to the Governor of the State of Connecticut, the Honorable John Lodge; to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Connecticut; and that copies of this resolution be sent to all the various newspapers in the State of Connecticut."

CATHOLIC POLISH YOUTH FEDERATION
OF CONNECTICUT,
By SOPHIE M. SETABA, *Secretary.*

Tell Them in Passau

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Bergen Evening Record concerning a good-will visist by 7 civic leaders from Passau, Germany, who spent 17 days in Hackensack, N. J. Mr. Speaker, this group of German leaders won the hearts of the entire community. They lived and worked with the people of Hackensack long enough so that both the townspeople and our visitors grew to understand each other and build up a spirit of mutual friendship. This is only one small example of our international-

exchange program administered by the Department of State, and I know that as this experience is continued elsewhere it will go a long way toward achieving international understanding.

The editorial follows:

[From the Bergen Evening Record of March 11, 1954]

TELL THEM IN PASSAU

Perhaps sentimentally, though we hope not only to that extent, we thought the biggest story in yesterday's paper was the one about Hackensack's farewell to the visitors from Passau.

They had come to us, these seven, in a mission almost disturbing in its simplicity and humbleness. Disturbingly, at least within the context of our time as it is ordinarily conceived, we gave them our hand simply and humbly. For some weeks they have lived with us, seen us work, listened to our talk, tried to understand how we think. Now they are gone.

This was the German cooperative action team (as it's called) engaged in the experiment Friendship, Hackensack-Passau (as it's called). There is a critical difference between this visit and the kind that keeps the airliners busy. Our visitors were not on business, as are the British businessmen jamming the Helsinki-Moscow plane these days, or engaged in political manipulation, bolstering alliances, shepherding supplies.

They were people.

Seeing them as we did, we know now that one of the dominating notions of our time is an illusion or a cruel hoax; we know it is wrong to think in terms of the group mind, the nationalistic society, the psychosis or badness (or goodness) of people in the mass. People are not masses; they are people. Again and again, as the Passauers went about Hackensack, we were a little frightened, considering what the nations have done in slavery to great meaningless abstractions, to find that there is no difference between them and us.

But this is not worth saying unless we see that it is mutually applicable. We Americans in what we deem to be our anxiety like to seek relief by telling horror stories about each other and about our culture and country. Some of them (our rapacity) are mainly funny in the light of the facts. Some (the age of McCarthyism) are determined to ignore the fact that we are neither wicked nor resigned. We are people, too, with malice toward none, trying to be decent, even approaching decency more often than we admit to ourselves.

What do they think of us really? They do not say much yet. The town seems cluttered and dirty; the river is plainly polluted; we bustle much, and our women are kindly and efficient; the cost of electric power is appallingly low—things like that. What they really think of us will not develop except in time and withdrawal and reflection.

We hope they will be able to report there is no difference between us. That's all we need to know, anywhere, any time. It may have been the biggest news at least in that day's paper.

Rotary Commemorative Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, 1955 will mark the 50th anniversary of Rotary International. We all know that this great organization has been a constant force for good throughout the country since its inception.

I am proud to be a member of the Rotary Club of Englewood, N. J., which is sponsoring the proposal to have the Postmaster General issue an appropriate commemorative stamp early next year on the occasion of this significant anniversary.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the RECORD an outline of Rotary which has been prepared by Walter G. Hildebrant, leading citizen and outstanding Rotarian of Englewood, N. J., together with a resolution on the same subject adopted by the Rotary Club of Englewood, N. J., under the leadership of its fine president, F. A. Garrity:

OUTLINE OF ROTARY—ITS PURPOSES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Rotary was founded in 1905. Next year will round out half a century of service, accomplishment, and growth of Rotary International, the outstanding pioneer service club organization of the world.

The object of Rotary is to encourage and foster the ideal of service as a basis of worthy enterprise and, in particular, to encourage and foster (1) the development of acquaintance as an opportunity for service; (2) high ethical standards in business and professions; the recognition of the worthiness of all useful occupations; and the dignifying by each Rotarian of his occupation as an opportunity to serve society; (3) the application of the ideal of service by every Rotarian to his personal, business and community life; (4) the advancement of international understanding, good will, and peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service.

Since its inception in 1905 Rotary has expanded so that today there are 7,966 clubs located in 88 countries and regions throughout the world with a total membership in excess of 377,000. Applications are constantly being received for the establishment of new clubs and where it is found that a sufficient number of the right kind of men are willing to support a club in a new locality, that new club is organized.

As far back as 1923 the President of the United States of America, addressing the Rotary convention in St. Louis, Mo., said: "If I could plant Rotary in every community throughout the world, I would do it, and then I would guarantee the tranquillity and the forward march of the world."

During its existence and growth Rotary has rendered exceptional and outstanding service in helping to expand education, hospitalization, civic, State, National, and international interest, and the continual development of loyalty to its greatest objective, i. e., world brotherhood and peace.

Each Rotary Club is composed of outstanding or leading industrialists, business and professional men in the community. Rotary exacts no oath of allegiance but it does insist upon the obligation of each member to the four objects of Rotary, stressing the fact that "he profits most who serves best." In Rotary there are no religious prejudices or barriers, and partisan politics and their discussion are not permitted.

Through the years Rotary has collected and distributed millions of dollars to local, State, National, and international causes. At war and in peace, Rotary has always been in the forefront in serving the needy, in fostering better education facilities, youth service programs, hospitalization, civic, national and international service, and good will. The outstanding factor of Rotary International today is the Rotary Foundation Fellowship plan, dedicated to the memory of the founder, Paul Harris. This fund, started in 1947, has already reached over $3,400,000. It enables qualified, outstanding students, selected with great care, to study in other countries, thus expanding reciprocal growing appreciation, which we firmly believe is a great factor in the development of better understanding—the only logical foundation to lasting world peace. Including the scholastic year 1953–54, a total of approximately 500 fellowships have been awarded to students from 57 countries.

The Rotarian, the monthly organ of Rotary International, is so ably edited and the contributors are so well known that last year an outside, independent, reliable organization estimated that quotations, reprints and excerpts from the Rotarian were presented to the American public—reading and TV audiences—in excess of over 10 million.

The constant exchange of correspondence between Rotary clubs throughout the world, and the growing attendance of visiting Rotarians and their friends to Rotary Club meetings is proof positive that Rotary and its ideals appeal to men around the world.

RESOLUTION OF THE ROTARY CLUB OF ENGLEWOOD, N. J.

Whereas on the 23d day of February 1955 Rotary International will have been in existence for 50 years; and

Whereas the original group of 4 men has grown to be the oldest service organization in continuous operation, with 375,000 members in 7,900 clubs throughout the world; and

Whereas the motivating force responsible for the important contributions of this organization has been the promotion of fellowship through service on local, national, and international levels; and

Whereas the United States Post Office Department, from time to time, issues a stamp commemorating an outstanding event; and

Whereas we, the Rotary Club of Englewood, N. J., feel the 50th anniversary of Rotary International is an event of such significance: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the district governor of the 270th district take appropriate action to bring to the attention of the officers of Rotary International this resolution and the request of the Rotary Club of Englewood, N. J., to permit the Honorable FRANK C. OSMERS, JR., Member of the Congress of the United States and a member of our club, to take the necessary steps to have the Postmaster General issue such a commemorative stamp.

St. Patrick's Birthday Address by Thomas Dixon, National Commander, United American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here the address of Comdr. Thomas Dixon, of the United American Veterans, in which he discusses various problems which I believe will be of much interest. I, therefore, under unanimous consent, insert the address in the RECORD:

Patriotic Americans, today we celebrate the birthday of St. Patrick. Let's not forget that it was St. Patrick who chased the snakes out of Ireland. From the looks of things here in America, we need a modern St. Pat-

rick to chase the two-legged snakes out of this country.

According to records available, the life history of St. Patrick was amazing. First, as a boy, he was kidnapped by a band of Irish raiders, and for 6 years he was a slave in Ireland. He finally managed to escape and entered a monastery. Later, he had a vision which seemed to tell him that his life-work was to be a missionary to the Irish.

His converts to Christianity were many, and he established churches all over Ireland. One of his first converts was Oengus, the son of King Natfraith. By some unlucky accident while he was being baptized, the spike of St. Patrick's crozier passed through Oengus' foot and remained there through the long ceremony. At last the rite was completed. Only then did the saint discover that his royal convert was in great pain. "Why didst thou not tell me?" he asked Oengus. "Ah, Father," he replied, "I thought it was part of the holy ritual." "Then," said the good saint, "thou shalt have thy reward. Not one of thy successors to the throne of Gashel shall die of a wound, from today forever." And it is said that this promise was fulfilled so truly that 27 kings ruled over Cashel before anyone was slain.

St. Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland, and a great statue of him stands on the hill of Tara, near a village of the same name, in Maeth County, Ireland.

According to the legend, it was St. Patrick who chased the snakes out of Ireland.

That is just what we need here today. A modern day St. Patrick to chase the two-legged snakes out of this country.

I am happy to know that we have a person who has taken up part of the work started in Ireland by St. Patrick, this person is Mr. Collis Ornsby Redd. Mr. Redd has dedicated his life to the task of bringing all political leaders back to God. He distributes pamphlets daily to all political leaders, warning them that they must get back to God and the Golden Rules. Mr. Redd pays for these pamphlets with his own funds, and he does not ask 1 cent from anyone. Mr. Redd also warns our leaders about our economic conditions.

Just look at our economic conditions. What do we find? Organized greed. Look at the conditions in Euorpe. Today all of Europe is just about bankrupt, and what is the cause? This cause is brought about through the greed of international financiers, who have sold their souls for gold. They have completely abandoned the teachings of the Master above, and they have no respect for the Golden Rule.

As things stand today, the last opportunity to bring man back to God, and give freedom to the people of the whole world, lies right here in Washington, in the hands of our political leaders. However, it is the responsibility of the American people to see to it that our political leaders get to work. The first, and most important thing is to bring this country back to God. And right now is the time to bring to our young generation the words which were heard, all over America, many years ago. These were the words: "This is God's country." Well, let's bring this country back to God, and back to our constitutional form of government.

I am going to ask a question, and I would like to have the answer. Why should the President of the United States try to bypass our Constitution in his dealings with foreign countries? Is it possible that the President has forgotten his oath of office? Which reads: "I promise to uphold, protect, and defend the Constitution of these United States against all aggression." Let's never forget that Congress is the ruling body of this country. Then why should the President usurp the power of Congress?

Before closing, I would like to remind this audience of these glorious words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." May we always cherish the wisdom of our forefathers in founding this Nation on such precepts. It behooves us all to guard against those forces which would deprive man of these inalienable rights.

This is one of the reasons why House Resolution 105, which was introduced by Congressman USHER L. BURDICK, of North Dakota, should be enacted. This bill calls for the withdrawal of our membership from the United Nations. I think that all patriotic Americans should get behind this bill and write to their Representatives in Congress, requesting them to give full support to this bill.

I want to express my best wishes to you, and to the management and staff of radio KSD.

I thank you.

The Indians of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following is a copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of County Supervisors, of San Diego County, Calif., concerning S. 2749 and H. R. 7322, now before Congress:

On motion of Supervisor Bird, seconded by Supervisor Rossi, the following resolution is adopted:

"Whereas the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has proposed and introduced in the Senate of the United States a bill commonly known as the Emmons bill (S. 2749), which bill provides for the termination of Federal supervision over trust and restricted property of individual and tribal Indians residing within the boundaries of the State of California; and

"Whereas this said bill will control and direct the disposition of trust and restricted Indian property within the boundaries of the county of San Diego; and

"Whereas the county of San Diego has a direct interest in the welfare and protection of the Indian inhabitants within the county who reside upon such trust or restricted lands and in the termination of Federal supervision over the 19 Indian reservations located within the boundaries of the county of San Diego; and

"Whereas the majority of the Indians residing within the county of San Diego are opposed to the Emmons bill in its present form; and

"Whereas the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego has familiarized itself with the contents of this bill; Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the county of San Diego opposes the adoption of the Emmons bill in its present form for the following reasons:

"(a) The cost of administering the program set forth in the bill is made chargeable against those sums held by the United States Government in the Treasury of the United States on behalf of the Mission Indians and thus in conjunction with previous offsets made against these sums the Indians are unjustly being denied moneys that were awarded them by judgment against the United States of America for failure on behalf of the Government to perform the terms set forth in the treaties made between the various Indian tribes of the Mission group of the United States of America.

"(b) Section 6, subsection (d) of this act authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior to sell such lands as are determined to be held in trust for the California Indians. As the majority of Indian lands located within the county of San Diego are held in trust, this would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell the property without the consent of the Indians.

"(c) The bill fails to recognize or properly define the distinction between tribes and bands that live on individual reservations and in the absence of such clarification the provisions for methods of property distribution as set forth in the bill are unworkable."

Federal Trade Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I received the following release from the National Federation of Independent Business, which I think is of general interest to the House:

Mr. Edward F. Howrey, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, is reported in today's press, speaking in San Francisco, Calif., as stating that the Federal Trade Commission's target will be the hard-core cases.

"This should be and will be welcome news to independent business of this Nation if there is sincerity in the leadership of the FTC to follow through for this target," said George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, today.

Mr. Howrey advised the group: "Businessmen, even the tough ones, will admit that the antitrust laws are necessary and their effect beneficial to business itself as well as to the public in general." Burger's comment on this statement is: "The present Chairman of the FTC well knows during his activity in private law practice representing clients in opposition to some of these antitrust laws, how this association, carrying out the direct mandate of its members used every power within our means to bring about respect to and enforcement of these antitrust laws."

Mr. Howrey further advised the group: "What we want to do is dispel any stigma that the FTC is a body of inexperts who delve in ivory-tower philosophies far removed from the hardheaded realism of the business world."

"In a recent major case before the FTC at which time Mr. Howrey rightfully defended his clients, would that in the defense he had used that same philosophy and thinking in arriving at that conclusion as stated above."

Burger concluded: "It is to be noted that in a recent nationwide poll of the federation members, made up exclusively of independent business and professional men, that independent business is well aware of the apparent, deliberate inefficiency of the FTC in the failure to enforce the laws that would be beneficial to the public and to small business and to large business at the same time." The poll disclosed that 72 percent of the federation's members recommended the elimination of the agency by Congress unless immediate action was taken by the Commission to solve these hard-core cases which have

been pending before the Commission for years and which still remain unsolved.

Burger added: "Finally, unless actions speak louder than words on the part of the FTC leadership, we will demand of the Congress legislation to carry out the will of our members."

Equitable Salary Revisions for Postal and Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 18, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include at this time the statement I presented on February 9, 1954, to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in support of equitable salary increases for our postal and Federal employees.

The statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, thank you for this opportunity to speak in support of these measures to equitably increase our postal and Federal employees' compensation. I know these proposals are being given the committee's most earnest and serious consideration.

It has been my privilege to repeatedly appear before your committee during these past few years to testify on the various bills to eliminate the salary injustices prevailing among the Postal Department's employees, as well as all Federal employees, whose wage scales have so seriously lagged behind the advances granted in the comparable fields of industry.

The request of the postal employees for an equitable salary readjustment should, in my opinion, have the particular sympathy of the committee and all of us. These people work hard, indeed, for the pay they get. They form a large group of our most reliable public servants. The service they render is fundamental and essential to the Nation. The security they enjoy is paid for by themselves. There are no more loyal people in our Government than those working in the Postal Department.

Now, whenever the cost of living rises, as it has been doing for the past several years, we all know that persons with fixed incomes suffer the most. Some workers can obtain raises to offset at least a portion of the increased cost of living, but those whose incomes are stationary or whose salaries are set by law have serious trouble trying to keep up with rising prices and maintain their family on a decent living scale.

Such is the current predicament of our postal employees. Their salaries are set by law, and it takes action by the Congress to raise their compensation. An important consideration in this connection is that while postal employees are organized, they are not allowed to strike; and, to have the record present the truth on this subject, let us remind ourselves that they have never shown any disposition to strike. They have been content to rely upon a sense of fair play on the part of Congress and the general public. Unfortunately, there were many trying years during which this reliance must have seemed misplaced, but nevertheless the postal employees never wavered in their loyalty, devotion, or efficiency in duty.

I am not going to unduly impose upon the committee by a lengthy recital of the changing economic conditions which have so materially reduced the buying power of the purchasing dollar in the hands of the American wage earners today. I realize statistical surveys and compilations have already been presented to the committee on that score.

May I just say I deeply believe, however, that it is pertinent to remind you that, if this Government is to uphold the tradition of honest service administered by loyal personnel, it must offer our employees wages comparable to other occupations of the same nature in private industry. By that I do not mean only a living wage, but a wage that will enable a postal and Federal employee to put something aside for the education of his children and the acceptance of such household emergencies as sudden sickness in the family without falling into staggering, discouraging debt.

May I also remind you that the best insurance against any misguided reception of false Communist propaganda by our Government employees is to wisely and practically extend them adequate salary compensation. It is only ordinary commonsense and recognition of the facts of life that if our Government employees are sufficiently compensated to enable them to meet their personal and family obligations with confidence and a high morale, then there will be no doubt of their loyalty as good Americans and their repudiation of Communist ideas.

I urge you, therefore, in simple justice, to promptly and favorably report a measure providing the substantial salary increase our postal and Federal workers so eminently deserve.

I thank the committee.

Coffee and Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a recent editorial from the March 6 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. This editorial deals with the subject of Coffee and Controls, both of which are of great interest to our citizens at this time:

CONTROLS WON'T CUT THE PRICE OF COFFEE

Ask any American dairy farmer how he feels about releasing the millions of pounds of butter now held in storage by the Government, and letting a free market take its course. He will be against it, just as the Brazilian coffeegrower is against abandoning export and price controls on his product. The Latin American version is something like: "Remember when we used to burn coffee in railway locomotives? We don't want to go back to those conditions. We are for controls, which we borrowed from you gringos." That argument ought to be understood in Iowa as easily as it it is in São Paulo.

Unfortunately, American public opinion, which is of course reflected in political circles, reacts illogically to the rise in the price of coffee. The politicians assume that because controls in South America have had a part in pushing up the price of coffee, controls by us are needed to bring the price down. And the public, which accepts willingly enough an American policy which keeps food off the market for the benefit of the farmers, is mad at Brazil for doing the same thing. The Senate Agriculture Committee and the Federal Trade Commission have gone solemnly to work investigating the subject. Speculation, that old alibi for economic stupidity, is mentioned again, and unfavorably, and the Senate committee plumped for controls before it had more than sat down. The whole episode ought to give Americans a rough idea of how other people feel about our policy of keeping food off the market, but it probably won't. A man asked to pay 15 cents for a cup of coffee is in no mood for logic.

We don't say that a free market in coffee would bring down the price of the great American beverage in 5 minutes. After all, the world consumption of coffee is supposed to be around 33 million bags, as against recent annual production of 31 million bags. The use of coffee at odd hours, at home, in offices, and all kinds of restaurants has increased enormously in this country over the past few years. Europe is back in the market again. Supply and demand are supposed to have been abolished in favor of controls, but they still have a lot to do with prices, in spite of all the planners can do to prevent it. And what the planners usually come up with—as in the case of United States butter and Brazilian coffee—is to cut down the supply. Then, when demand catches up with supply and maybe passes it, everybody "hollers" for an investigation.

The various investigations will probably go on for a long time and generate a lot of heat and perhaps some interesting statistics. But we doubt if they will come up with any conclusions more fundamentally sound than those we have suggested supra. Also, it is extremely doubtful that all the talk will produce more coffee or make it cost less. But there's always tea—that is, until the orientals get wise to controls.

REA Loan Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, a recent news story quoted a Rural Electrification Administration official—believe it was Deputy Administrator Fred Strong—as saying REA will wind up this fiscal year June 30 with $45 million it cannot lend anyone.

This, the United Press dispatch continued, may lead REA to ask Congress for the second straight year to curb its generosity in voting loan funds for rural electric cooperatives.

I am at a loss to understand how REA can say it has more money than it can use—while at the same time the agency is stalling applications for loans.

This year, REA's new authorization was $135 million. There was a carryover of $30 million. REA rescinded $15 million of old loans, and there was a $45 million contingency authorization.

With a total available of $225 million, the agency laid down a planned loan program of $135 million, or $90 million less than was available. There was a planned carryover of $45 million. And it was planned to let the $45 million contingency revert to the Treasury.

The law provides that 50 percent of new money must be allocated among the States on the basis of the number of unelectrified farms in that State as a

percentage of the total unelectrified farms in the Nation. The other 50 percent is allocated among the States at the REA Administrator's discretion—provided that no State gets more than 10 percent. Carryover funds are subject solely to that second requirement.

One Montana cooperative, seeking a loan, was told recently that more loan applications had been received from cooperatives in Montana than there were loan funds allocated to our State for loan purposes during fiscal 1954, and that therefore REA could not promise to consider the application this fiscal year.

I called the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and asked if there were other such cases. I was told that 48 systems have had loan applications for $36 million pending with the REA for what the applicants consider an unreasonable length of time.

It may be that applications from Montana cooperatives have exceeded the allocation. It would be an amazing coincidence if this were true in every other State represented by the cooperatives whose applications have been pending for some time.

Had this year's planned loan program been based upon the total available instead of $90 million less than that, perhaps these 48 systems would not now be standing in line, hats in hand—and the REA might not be able to say truthfully that it has $45 million it cannot lend to anyone.

The news article follows:

[From the Washington Post of February 17, 1954]

FORTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS IN REA FUND GOES BEGGING

The Rural Electrification Administration will wind up the current fiscal year June 30 with $45 million it can't lend anyone, an official said.

This may lead REA to ask Congress for the second straight year to curb its generosity in voting loan funds for rural electric cooperatives.

REA last spring asked Congress to authorize $90 million for new electrification loans. With available holdover funds, the agency planned to lend $135 million this fiscal year.

Congress decided that wasn't enough and voted $135 million in new funds, making $180 million Congress pressed into the Agency's hand.

REA just didn't use the extra money. The surplus on hand June 30 will equal the $45 million Congress pressed into the agency's reluctant hand last year.

St. Patrick's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, on this St. Patrick's Day I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address made on St. Patrick's Day 1953 before the South Boston Citizens Association by the Honorable John P. Collins, senator from the fifth Suffolk district of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Mr. Toastmaster, reverend fathers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the South Boston Citizens Association has honored me in asking that I be the principal speaker at this your 50th annual banquet. While I happily accepted the honor, I feel somewhat abashed as I look about and recognize men present whose oratorical abilities are nationally known, and far transcend my own. But on this eve of St. Patrick's Day—it would be a poor son of St. Patrick who would be at a loss for words.

Tomorrow is a day of double significance. To some, it is a holiday, designated by the legislature to commemorate the evacuation from Boston, during the Revolutionary War of the British troops and Hessian mercenaries of King George III.

To others, however, it is a holy day dedicated to the honor of St. Patrick, patron saint of Ireland and of the archdiocese of Boston. And so tonight, while we honor the gallant colonial troops to whom the imperial forces of the greatest empire of that time were forced to yield, we also on this evening honor the patron saint of Ireland.

In so doing we are not alone. For tonight, wherever the sons of St. Patrick have adopted a home, they meet to pay him tribute and to recall the glories of the people and of the land which he converted.

It is an interesting thought to look at the nations of the earth and the men they have chosen as their national heroes. France has its Napoleon, Russia its Lenin and its Stalin, and the United States names Washington as the Father of his Country. While other countries almost invariably name a soldier or a statesman, Ireland, among the few nations of the world, chooses as its national hero, a saint of God. And the choice of a national hero often reflects the character of a people. For the outstanding characteristic of a saint is love of God and necessarily flowing therefrom—a love of country. And these two attributes—love of God and love of country—the Irish people have carried to every corner of the globe, enriching the life blood of every country to which they have emigrated.

As children, we were taught the story of St. Patrick; how he served as a shepherd in Ireland; how he escaped and studied for the priesthood in what is now France; how, commanded by God, he returned to Ireland and how he converted its people.

Because of the great work he did, St. Patrick is one of the most prominent figures of history. And yet, the people whom he converted, were, due to their national culture, singularly ready to embrace the Christian faith. They were among the handful of nations, at that time, which could claim a national culture.

For hundreds of years before the coming of Patrick, Roman generals had exhorted the legions of Rome, to "war down and take possession of Ireland, so that freedom might be put out of sight." And in this early Roman reference to Ireland is the keynote to all later Irish history—a warring down on the one hand, so that freedom might be put out of sight, and eternal resistance on the other, so that it might be upheld. And all Irish valor and chivalry, whether of soul or of body, has been directed for 2,000 years to this same end.

While they could conquer France, Scotland, and Britain, the legions of Rome could not conquer Ireland. And so, unlike the natives of Britain and Scotland, the Irish in pre-Christian times and in the first Christian centuries were not brought into contact with Roman institutions or Roman culture. Despite this, they created and developed a civilization of their own that was in some respects without equal. They were far advanced in the knowledge of metalwork and shipbuilding, they engaged in commerce, they loved music, and had a great familiarity with letters. When disputes arose among them, these were settled in duly constituted courts of justice, presided over by a trained lawyer, instead of being settled by the stern arbitrament of force. Druidism was their pagan creed. They believed in the immortality and transmigration of souls; they worshipped the sun and the moon and they venerated mountains and rivers.

And so it was that when Patrick came he found a people with a national language and culture and a fertile field for his labor. Love of country they already had and to it, Patrick added love of God. Throughout the land he went, establishing churches, founding monasteries, and establishing schools. Some 1,200 years before that illustrious but highly controversial institution, Harvard, the college founded by St. Patrick at Armagh was attracting scholars from Britain and the nations of the Continent.

And these spiritual children of Patrick carried on in the tradition he had established. Each generation saw its holy men and its holy women; each generation saw its missionaries, fired with zeal, leaving Ireland to plant the faith in distant lands. And so it seems typical that 18 centuries after Patrick, we find that your own director, Father Martin Norton of the Oblate Fathers, his life dedicated to the spread of the faith Patrick brought to Ireland.

The seeds planted by Patrick flourished and "once pagan" Ireland became a citadel of Christianity and was rightfully called the school of the west, the island of saints and scholars.

And throughout every form of attack, down through the Danish, Norman, Tudor, and Stuart assaults, throughout the invasion of Cromwell, and the British imperialism of the 19th century, this love of learning and zeal for religion lived on.

The attempted Reformation by Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth served only to produce martyrs as did the brief but bloody rule of Cromwell.

Those were the days of the penal laws, when they who clung to the old religion suffered much. But nothing could shake their faith; neither the proclamations of Elizabeth and James, the massacres of Cromwell, nor the ferocious proscriptions of the 18th century. The priest said mass, though his crime was punishable by death, and the people heard mass, though theirs was a criminal offense. The clerical student, denied education at home, crossed the sea, to be educated at Louvain or Seville and then returned home to face poverty, persecution, and even death, but still determined, even at such risk to fulfill his duty. The Catholic masses of people, socially ostracized, degraded, and impoverished, shut out from every avenue to ambition and enterprise, deprived of every civil right, knowing little of law except when it oppressed them and nothing of government except when it struck them down, yet clung to the religion in which they were born.

On a soil so constantly wet with the blood and tears of its children, it would seem vain to expect that scholarship could flourish.

Nonetheless the schoolmaster, driven from school, taught under a sheltering hedge. This phenomenon of the hedge school and its barefood master is almost unique in history. Visitors riding through Roscommon in 1812 reported contemptuously that they saw a ditchful of scholars. If they had asked the oldtime master whether he got eight or nine hundred pounds a year from the Government, he'd have laughed at them.

"From the government, faith, I'd have a halter from them if they found me. It is the people who pay me—a few potatoes now and then and a shilling when they have it."

If they had asked him where he had been trained at some well known normal school or teachers college—he'd have answered, "No." No, he had come back in his rags

to Ireland, from the University of Paris or the University of Salamanca—had come back at the risk of deportation to keep the fire of culture alive in those poor little huts—had come back to find himself the object of hate and contempt to the ruling classes who gave him his name.

For just as the pagans coined the name Christian and John Calvin first used the term Jesuit, so the landlords invented with a sneer, the term hedgemaster. With the passage of time, however, all these epithets have taken on a spiritual dignity, like the Roman crucifix that has become the cross on our churches and now hedgemaster suggests to us only a lovely picture of his little school. For it was by the flowering thorn bush on the hillside that the master would wait for his boys. Preferably he would pick the corner of a field where two hedges met and the ground gave a far view of government spies. There, with stones for desks and shamrocks for carpet, he would teach them from his own prodigious memory and maybe a tattered book or two. A few little sticks and a piece of turf were kept burning close by, so that given the signal of danger, they could destroy their poor scraps of paper and take to their heels.

And what was the result? When they got through they could read, write, and figure and many, in addition to Gaelic, were fluent in English, French, and Spanish. More than that travelers in the 18th century were constantly amazed that stable boys knew Cicero and that Greek students wandered all over the wild mountains of Kerry.

This was the popular source of education in such days. It rested upon three foundation stones which I wish we could reproduce today. First, students made to learn; second, parents who would go hungry to bed to scrape together 3 shillings, a quarter, that their children might enter the beautiful world of the mind and thus escape the degradation that had been forged upon them and thirdly, hedgemasters who lived for their boys, were ready to die for them and sometimes did.

Was there ever such pure love of learning? Was it any wonder that when 70 percent of the English people were illiterate, could not, that is, read their own language, Ireland was almost universally educated.

Can't you see the hedgeschool and its master, sitting on a stone when the sums were done and the algebra put aside. Can't you see the ring of eager little faces, none too clean perhaps, but with eyes that looked up at him with all the clear bright courage of a great race. Can't you hear him as he starts one of the old songs of Kathleen or the dark Rosaleen calling for her Sarsfield to come back from over the seas and ransom her. That's what the landlords thought was a waste of time, because they could not see that such songs were the heart of the hedgeschool, that it was the dark Rosaleen who brought the boys scampering back the next day, mad to learn, who made the parents glad to scrape a few pennies together, who made the master ready to die for his boys.

Historians speak with admiration about the French aristocracy who never lost their politeness in the filth and squalor of the Paris dungeons. Yet here was a whole people, ground down and destitute for centuries, who never lost their native urbanity, their spirit of gaiety, their consciousness of obvious superiority to their invaders, who were able in the darkest days of penal times to sing and dance and dream and pray and live their own interior life in perfect independence. Besides, what can great souls do when they are crushed to earth by force—what can they do but sing and pray.

And so our forefathers were royal in their suffering, greater than we are in our prosperity, and because they were noble they clung to two things—they clung to the mass, which gave meaning to their lives, and with hardly less determination they clung to the culture of the ages—humane and liberal studies. If it was the martyred and fugitive priests who kept the soul of Ireland alive, it was the hedgemaster who kept its eyes open.

And when in the latter half of the 18th century, the tide turned and the first dawn of toleration appeared on the horizon, it was found that the vast majority of the people were unchanged and that after 2 centuries of the most relentless persecution since the days of the Roman emperors, Ireland was still Catholic and still cultured.

And this passion for learning, this love of their religion, this spirit of patriotism, they carried with them when they emigrated and enriched the lifeblood of every country they adopted. In military deeds and statesmanlike conduct they stand forth—marshals of France like Lord Clare, prime ministers of Spain like Don Ricardo Wall, creators of victorious armies like Count Peter Lacy in Russia, mighty war lords like Field Marshal Brown in Austria, founders of empire like Count Lally in India, and equally preeminent are her sons in the church—our own country is typical—we have but to recite the names and their ancestry is obvious—cardinals such as O'Connell, Farley, Gibbons, Mooney, Spellman, and MacIntyre, and archbishops like south Boston's beloved Archbishop Richard J. Cushing.

The history of Ireland remains to be written, for the purpose of Irishmen remains yet to be achieved. The struggle for national realization begun so many centuries ago is not ended.

Only yesterday, the Boston Sunday Advertiser printed a letter from Eamon de Valera, Premier of Ireland. In this letter after extending greetings to the descendants of Irishmen who have adopted this country as their own—he points out the many evils inherein in the continued division of the northern and southern provinces. In conclusion he asks that men and women of Irish blood help to make known to their fellow citizens the facts of this partition so that just-minded people everywhere may join in an effort to bring this unnatural and unrealistic situation to an end. He need not fear that we will fail him. For 40 years ago in the Halls of Congress, the maiden speeches of our own head table guest, His Excellency, Governor Curley, were devoted to exposing the evils of partition and the crusade he then started has never lacked volunteers.

That struggle, God willing, shall end in the ultimate independence of all of Ireland.

With yourselves such splendid present day assistants to our missionaries, the modern patricks, the faith of our forefathers will again spread across every land, convert unbeliever and atheistic Communist alike, halt those who menace our civilization and restore the love of God to the heart of men and women everywhere.

Chemical Additives in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two recent articles from the National Police Gazette dealing with the subject of chemical additives used in food. These articles, based on testimony before a House committee, point out the possible danger to the Nation's health resulting from the widespread use of chemicals in the growing and in the commercial processing of foods that are consumed daily by millions of Americans.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Police Gazette of January 1954]

DANGER, THEY ARE PUTTING CANCER IN YOUR FOOD—THE SHOCKING FACTS BEHIND THE PERIL TO OUR NATION'S HEALTH AND WHAT CONGRESS HASN'T DONE TO REMEDY IT

(By Sanford Merkin)

Few people realize that, because of congressional laxity, many of the commercially processed foods they eat daily contain chemicals that may cause cancer.

These same chemicals, which are used to make artificial coloring and sweeting agents, have produced every known form of cancer in laboratory tests on experimental animals. There is a great similarity between the animals' susceptibilities and those of the human system, and experts in cancer research fear the possibility that these chemicals can cause cancer in humans.

The dangerous chemicals used in synthetic agents are derived largely from petroleum, coal tars, and various gases. The synthetic agents can be produced more cheaply than natural coloring and sweetening agents. Consequently, many commercial food processing firms have ceased to use the natural agents and rely solely on these suspect chemicals. Government laboratories have found 322 cancer-producing chemicals.

Another frightening aspect of the toxic-chemical content of foodstuffs is the fact that even fresh fruits and vegetables are not immune. Many of the pesticides and insecticides which are sprayed on crops contain cancer-producing chemicals.

These startling revelations came out in the testimony of the country's leading authorities on cancer, before the House of Representatives committee investigating the effects of food chemicals on the human system.

Dr. Charles S. Cameron, medical and scientific director of the American Cancer Society, named the arsenicals as one of the common families of cancer-producing chemicals. Every year American farmers spray their crops with more than 80 million pounds of pesticides containing arsenicals. Agricultural experts told the committee that fruits and vegetables absorb a certain percentage of the poisons used to protect them from insects.

Dr. Harold P. Morris, biochemistry research specialist of the National Cancer Institute operated by the United States Government, supplemented Dr. Cameron's observations on insecticides. He testified that he had experimented with a compound, a synthesized form of which is widely used by farmers as an insecticide. He discovered that this compound, 2-acetyl-amino-fluorene, produced more than 20 different kinds of cancer in experimental animals.

Dr. Cameron jolted the committee members by testifying that synthetic aniline dyes—which are frequently used to color such foodstuffs as candy, pastry, fruit juices, margarine, and preserves—are notorious cancer producers.

No less an authority than Dr. Arnold J. Lehman, Director of the Division of Pharmacology of the United States Food and Drug Administration, bluntly warned the Congressmen that dulcin—a synthetic sweetening agent often added to soda-fountain sirups, pastries, candies, and processed foods—is "unsuitable for use in foods."

Dr. Lehman's statement was backed up by laboratory findings. "Our study," he explained, "of the chronic toxicity of dulcin was begun in the fall of 1947 and extended

over a 2-year period. It consisted of incorporating dulcin, or 1 of 8 other synthetic sweetening agents, into the diet of rats and observing the effects on growth and survival throughout their lifetime. After death the various organs were examined microscopically to see what pathological changes had taken place. As the experiment progressed it became increasingly evident that the toxic properties of dulcin made it unsuitable for use in food."

Dr. Morris, the Government's leading cancer researcher, showed his conviction that these chemicals probably have the same effects on human beings as on animals, when he said: "I believe any estimate of the possible injurious properties of chemicals added to nutrients consumed by man should include careful testing for their carcinogenic (cancer-producing) properties in several species of animals prior to approving their use in food."

The general opinion seemed to be that these chemicals can cause cancer in humans if consumed over a period of years. Under present conditions, Dr. Cameron warned, we may be encouraging cancer to take on epidemic proportions 20 years from now.

On the basis of these laboratory findings, the cancer experts unanimously urged that the committee immediately draft and pass legislation to prevent the use of suspect chemicals in foodstuffs.

Dr. Cameron, after making his own plea for legislative action, called the committee's attention to the plea of one of the world's most respected cancer specialists—Dr. Maisin of the Universite Catholique de Lauvain in Belgium.

INTERNATIONAL PLEA

Dr. Maisin has repeatedly urged that all the nations of the world outlaw the use of synthetic dyes and sweetening agents in foodstuffs, excepting any which can be proven innocent of causing cancer in the human body.

All of these revelations came out 2 years ago. The committee members appeared to be shocked. It seemed a certainty that the aroused Congressmen would lose no time in drafting appropriate legislation and recommending its immediate passage. But it now seems that the scientists' discoveries and pleas fell on deaf ears. As of today, Congress has taken no action to protect the public from this evil.

Now it's up to you to write to your Congressman, urging action to outlaw the use of suspect chemicals in your food.

And until Congress can be made to take such action, you can safeguard your health from unnecessary risks by carefully reading the label information on processed foods. Make sure that the food products you buy contain only natural coloring and sweetening agents. While not all of the artificial agents are suspect, many of them have given scientists food for worry.

[From the National Police Gazette of February 1954]

SCIENTIFIC REPORTS TELL HOW YOU MAY GET CANCER FROM EATING CHICKEN—CONGRESS CLOSES EYES TO OUR NATION'S SHOCKING NEW PERIL, AFTER MEDICAL EXPERTS WARN OF ITS DANGER TO AMERICAN HEALTH

(By Sanford Merkin)

When you sit down to eat your chicken dinner you may be eating poultry that has been treated with a dangerous chemical which, leading scientists claim, can give you cancer.

This chemical is contained in synthetic estrogen (hormone) pellets implanted into the systems of chickens and other poultry to fatten and tenderize them artificially for the market.

Unsuspecting housewives and mothers, and the millions who eat in restaurants, can do nothing at the present time to protect themselves from this menace to their health, because they have no way of knowing whether or not the fowl they had for dinner was implanted with these cancer-producing hormones. According to a United States Department of Agriculture spokesman, more than 100 million chickens were so treated in 1951—and the total is increasing rapidly each year.

So alarmed was the Canadian Government over widespread use of these dangerous estrogens that the Dominion prohibited the sale for human consumption of all poultry to which there had been administered any preparation having estrogenic activity. Then, after further extensive laboratory tests, it banned completely the sale of any substance having estrogenic activity that was used in the fattening of poultry.

Why hasn't the United States followed Canada's example? Why was no action taken when these frightening facts were brought out before a United States congressional committee investigating the use of chemical additives in foods?

These experts, testifying before the committee, flatly declared that estrogens not only produce cancer but also can retard the growth of children, cause sterility in men, suppress ovulation, and cause cysts of the ovaries, breasts, and kidneys. Experiments on laboratory animals confirmed these findings.

Since 1947, thousands of poultry raisers, for the sake of extra profits, may have imperiled the health of our Nation with these injections, the very ones condemned so bluntly when Canada stated its reason for outlawing them: "It has been found that the administration of estrogenic preparations to poultry for the purpose of fattening and tenderizing the flesh may produce results injurious to persons consuming (it)."

At present, there are eight firms manufacturing estrogens for fowl-fattening—and these concerns find a large, ready market for their products because chicken raisers are busy keeping up with America's growing demand for chicken, the average consumption of which now comes to 29.6 pounds per person each year.

In the face of the terrifying evidence brought out in the testimony, nothing has been done to remedy this dreadful situation.

HOW SERIOUS IS IT?

How serious is it? Listen to the comment of Representative A. L. MILLER, of Nebraska (a medical doctor himself), made to his colleagues after a thorough study of all medical documents submitted:

"I had to take an aspirin after dinner last night. I could not sleep. It disturbed me for a while. It was disturbing to think what it may do to the human race."

Yet, despite Congressman MILLER's disturbance over the human race, no legislative action was taken. Why?

What was the testimony that so alarmed the Congressman? Here is a sample from Prof. Robert K. Enders, chairman of the division of natural sciences at Swarthmore College: "Extremely minute doses (of estrogens) can effectively sterilize and injure laboratory animals. * * * In women there is evidence that estrogens are concerned in the etiology (demonstration of causes) of mammary cancer. Not only does the clinical evidence point to such a conclusion, but now, with the lapse of time, cases are being reported in which cancer of the breast has followed * * *."

Professor Enders further told Congressmen:

"In private conversation most physicians are alarmed when they learn of the use of the drug in poultry or other food animals."

The Department of Agriculture has warned mink farmers not to feed waste scraps of chickens that have been implanted with estrogen to their mink stock, since it effects the reproduction of mink by rendering them sterile. But the human consumer has not yet been officially warned of the risk involved. The Department of Agriculture perhaps cares more about the farmer's or mink raiser's good will than the good health of the American public.

One of America's greatest physiology and pharmacology research scientists, Dr. Carl G. Hartman, testifying against the use of estrogens in fattening chickens sold to consumers, related:

"In the minds of medical men—and I have talked to hundreds—estrogen is a means of stimulating cancer. * * *

"It was found in some experiments of Dr. Geschichter, if you give estrogen to a rat which is genetically noncancerous—that is to say, in a thousand you might find one case of cancer—in 3 months' time you can produce cancer. In 75 percent of the cases, they get cancer."

And it is this same cancer-producing drug that may be consumed by the human when ingesting an estrogen-treated chicken.

EFFECT ON HUMAN SYSTEM

Exactly what effect does it have on the human system? Professor Enders told congressional probers: "I am convinced enough of the possible harmfulness to refuse to buy such poultry for family use."

Since the estrogen pellet has a harmful effect on the human system, perhaps there is some economical basis for its use. Is there? No. Here is what the drug does:

It increases the weight of poultry by causing retention of water in the chicken's system and increasing the fat content—deceiving the consumer. It makes for a better appearance of the carcass in general, giving it better bloom and more fat immediately beneath the skin, which makes it yellower.

Even if these injections were not endangering the public health, they should be outlawed on the basis of their economic fraudulence. Here's what Professor Enders told congressional probers about that phase of the matter:

"On the economic side, I agree with those endocrinologists who say that the use of the drug * * * is an economic fraud. Chicken feed is not saved; it is merely turned into fat instead of protein. Fat is abundant in the American diet, so more is undesirable. Protein is what one wants from poultry. By their own admission, it is the improvement in appearance and increase in fat that makes it more profitable to the poultrymen to use the drug. This fat is of very doubtful value and is in no way the dietary equal of the protein that the consumer thinks he is paying for."

As far as the consuming public is concerned, Dr. Theodore Byerly, who is in charge of the Animal Husbandry Division of the United States Department of Agriculture, has stated that the use of estrogens to fatten chickens is definitely not a necessity.

It just increases the profits of the poultryman.

So far, strange, mysterious powers have caused Congress to close its eyes to the findings and warnings of recognized medical authorities. Instead, the situation seems to grow increasingly worse. How bad it may become was hinted in a revelation by Dr. Byerly when he told Washington investigators that many breeders are now experimenting with the use of estrogen products to fatten swine, cattle, sheep, and lamb.

How can the American public possibly escape the scourge of cancer when the use of these devastating hormones threatens to become so widespread?

Professor Enders is strong in his recommendation that prompt legislation put a stop to the practice of injecting estrogen pellets into chicken:

"Because of the proof that enough of the drug to cause changes in the reproductive tract of the human can be ingested by eating treated chicken. * * *

"Because of the danger of having so powerful a drug so easily available. * * *

"Because of the economic loss to the consumer, who pays protein prices for contaminated fat. I believe that it is against the public interest to permit the use of any hormone or hormone-like drug in the fattening of animals. If this practice becomes widespread, we may be able to paraphrase and say, 'The vegetarians will inherit the earth'."

It is up to you to see that the vegetarians alone do not inherit the earth.

It is up to you to break the mysterious powers that have kept Government officials from heeding the advice of our country's top medical authorities. Write to your Congressman and demand immediate action to keep your food free from chemical poisons. Urge your friends to write their Congressmen, too. Join the Police Gazette in its crusade for health.

Dinner of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, tonight there will be held the 183d annual meeting of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia. On January 1, 1782, this organization, which has held its dinners annually for 183 years, adopted President Washington as a member of the society. The President, in accepting, said:

I acknowledge the adoption because of the distinguished work and the firm adherence of the society's members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked.

The glorious cause, of course, was the War for Independence.

Mr. President, Capt. John M. Cummings, one of the commentators for the Philadelphia Inquirer, this morning has an article in that newspaper regarding the dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

'TWILL BE A FINE NIGHT FOR ST. PATRICK'S SONS

(By John M. Cummings)

The top 'o the mornin' to you on this St. Patrick's Day.

At the Bellevue-Stratford tonight the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick will assemble for the 183d annual meeting and dinner of this nonsectarian organization. There'll be fine food and fine oratory and fine singing by the Kelly Street Chorus.

Down there in the Nation's Capital President Eisenhower will be a guest at the dinner of the Friendly Sons. And the man whose family roots are deep in the Pennsylvania Dutch soil of Pennsylvania will be made an honorary member of the society.

This is a reminder that the first President of the Republic, George Washington, became a member of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia on January 1, 1782. It is worth while recording that he was neither elected nor given honorary membership. He was "adopted," this being a manner of letting the world know the great leader of the revolution had been taken into the family.

They had a dinner in honor of Washington on that January day in 1782. As the feast progressed the president of the society arose and, turning to the general, said:

"The Society of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, ambitious to testify with all possible respect to the high sense they entertain of Your Excellency's public and private virtues, have taken the liberty to adopt Your Excellency as a member. They have directed me to present Your Excellency with a gold medal, the ensign of this fraternal society, which, that you may be pleased to accept and long live to wear is the earnest wish of the society."

In accepting the medal and acknowledging the adoption Washington referred to the society as one distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked.

The glorious cause, of course, was the War for Independence.

The Friendly Sons of Philadelphia will get a new pilot tonight. Ben Tousley, managing director of the Bellevue, will succeed Gerald G. Gleason to the presidency.

There will be meetings of Friendly Sons tonight other than those in Philadelphia and Washington. In Scranton the lads will dine on corned beef and cabbage, a dish dictated by the dinner committee over the protests of the local epicures headed by Federal Judge John Murphy. On this issue we stand firmly with the jurist. Corned beef and cabbage was never the national dish of Ireland and a pot of mush in the puss for anyone who defends it as such.

When we go down to the Bellevue tonight to hear Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois, and Maurice Leahy, who will tell the story of Ireland, we shall carry as usual the blackthorn walking stick which came from the ould sod. Bad cess to him that gets in the way when we have the blackthorn along. A man of peace, even on St. Patrick's Day, we shall leave the shillalah at home with the old woman who uses it for protection against all enemies, foreign or domestic. It is a shillalah, by the way, that was brought back from the old country by that well-known Irishman, Arthur O'Kauffmann, the top banana at Gimbel's.

Altogether it will be a great night, so it will. We have for the occasion a fistful of shamrock fresh from Ireland and every member of the Kelly Street Chorus will have a sprig of it on his lapel. This should inspire the Irish lads to sing their Irish songs with a vigor and gusto calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of Dr. James Ervine, director of the chorus, who is Irish all over having been born there.

Go over there now and get yourself a bowl of Stirabout. You'll find the pot on the back of the stove.

The Pied Piper and His Fee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Pied Piper and His Fee," which appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle on March 7, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PIED PIPER AND HIS FEE

Judging by the run of our mail, the trend of dinner-table talk, and the noise on Capitol Hill, Senator MCCARTHY has had some success in implanting his favorite doctrine, that every American must either be for MCCARTHY all the way, or accept the brand of pro-Communist.

The latest instance of his effort to put this idea across occurred when the responsible press of the Nation took him on for his abuse of General Zwicker. MCCARTHY summed up their protests as "this unprecedented mudslinging against the committee by extreme left-wing elements of the press and radio * * * caused because another fifth amendment Communist in Government was finally dug out. * * *"

That was simply not true; in this instance the very considerable proportion of the Nation's press which has consistently opposed MCCARTHY'S methods was joined even by such rock-ribbed right-wing institutions as Col. Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune and Washington Times-Herald. It didn't matter to MCCARTHY; they were against him, and so they were, per se, "extreme left-wing elements of the press."

MCCARTHY purports to be a crusader against communism.

We think he's the best friend the Kremlin has in America, pushing the United States toward exactly the same objectives that Georgi Malenkov would be pushing toward if Malenkov had the power. Let's examine what kind of America we would have if MCCARTHY succeeded in convincing America that there was room in this country for no other point of view than MCCARTHY'S.

Let's concede, as a hypothesis, that it would be an America without communism and without controversy.

It would also be an America without free speech or free thought, for by MCCARTHY'S definition any dissenter of any degree is a traitor.

It would, necessarily, be an America in which a very large and very secret police force was required to make certain that wrong words were not spoken, and wrong thoughts were not held. Official censors would watch newspaper offices, radio, and television stations, every church congregation and every public forum.

And because conspiracies arise under these circumstances this would necessitate occasional, comprehensive, methodical purges, to clean out the heretics.

Worse than any of this, it would doom the American people to an eternity of darkness—that soul-killing darkness that results from the eclipse of truth.

You hear people say, "Well, anyway, MCCARTHY is against Communists." That may well be so, but it's not the answer here. For the security that MCCARTHY offers is a prison as snug and escape proof as any fashioned by the Communists.

What kind of Americans—what kind of sons of our forefathers are we, if the only way we can find to fight communism is to follow a pied piper whose fee is the forfeit of the freedoms we have lived by for nearly two centuries? Is this democracy of ours so pitifully fragile that we must foresake it, in terror of communism, and seek shelter in the protective coloration of communism itself?

That is the challenge MCCARTHY has put to the Nation and its leadership. How is it being answered?

In the past few days we have seen MCCARTHY defy the constitutional authority vested in the President of the United States. Temporarily frustrated in this, he tongue-lashed the general who dared to respect the authority of his own superiors.

You know what happened next. The Secretary of the Army, obeying a natural instinct, started to the general's defense. Somehow he got sidetracked; persuaded, even, to acquiesce in the Senator's mal-

treatment of the general. It was only later, when the wrath of men of principle throughout the country had found common voice, that the President moved in to defend his Constitution and the Army in whose service he had spent most of his life. And even as the President rose to meet the issue, the responsible Senators upon whom he should have been able to depend for unfailing support were whispering, "Go easy on McCarthy. Remember November. Don't break with McCarthy—he's a vote getter."

We happen to think McCarthy is slipping, and that the politicians who fear his prowess at the polls are outsmarting themselves.

But we also remind the President, and his advisers, that the issue here is not votes, but what kind of America we're to have; not November, but all the years to come.

We have watched many men of the McCarthy character move across the pages of history and they have this common trait: They don't back up; they keep pushing in, grasping more power and more power. Their appetites are insatiable.

That is why we ask the President to take his stand now and irrevocably. By his solemn oath he is pledged to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." He must defend it as readily against assault by a McCarthy as against attack by the Communists.

The President's Tax-Reduction Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Look Who's Talking," which appeared in today's Washington Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

LOOK WHO'S TALKING

Three great champions (1954) of the "little fellow" went on radio and television last night to belittle President Eisenhower's tax-reduction program and to holler for deep income-tax cuts which would wreck all hope of an honest Federal budget.

This bleeding heart trio—Senator George, of Georgia, and Representatives Rayburn, of Texas, and Cooper, of Tennessee— were Members of Congress throughout the 20 years when the Democrats were running things. Most of the time they were in positions of leadership and influence.

In the 20 years the Democrats were in power, there were many, many new taxes imposed, and many, many tax rates boosted. But there were only two tax reductions:

When the excess-profits tax was permitted to lapse temporarily after World War II.

When a Republican Congress cut income-tax rates in 1948 over the veto of President Truman.

In these 20 years of Messrs. George, Rayburn, Cooper, and company:

The national debt skyrocketed from less than $20 billion to nearly $260 billion.

Direct tax collections from individual citizens went up from $427 million to more than $30 billion—70 times as much.

Tax collections from corporations went up from $630 million to more than $21 billion—35 times as much.

Sales tax collections—taxes on the things everybody buys—went up from $454 million to nearly $9 billion—20 times as much.

While all this was going on, what was happening to the little fellow on whom George Rayburn and company now are showering so much election-year pity?

Well, if he was a married man with two children when the Democrats took over in 1933 and had a net income of $5,000, he was paying $68 in Federal income tax. But in 1952, when Democratic rule ended, the same man paid $461, nearly 7 times as much.

In addition, he was paying the Federal Government about 10 times as much tax on his liquor, 50 percent more on his beer, 25 percent more on cigarettes, more than 8 times as much on his auto, twice as much on gasoline, twice as much on radios.

And he was paying more Federal sales taxes on a host of things which were untaxed in 1933.

In these same 20 years, the value of the little fellow's dollar was cut in half. Food went up nearly four times. Clothing more than doubled. House furnishings went up 2½ times.

World War II, Korea, and the efforts of the New Deal to spend its way out of a depression were important factors in the rise of debt and taxes. But the fact remains that in only 3 of the 20 years did the Democrats spend less than they took in.

The fact remains that now, with a Republican administration in office, the Democrats for the first time are advocating reductions in the income tax. Now, in an election year as they scramble to get back in power, they suddenly are full of compassion for the little fellow. But not, apparently, for the little fellow's children and grandchildren.

So long as the Government continues to run on a deficit basis, nothing is surer than death and taxes except more taxes. And, just as sure as Sam Rayburn is a Texas politician, the little fellow's children and grandchildren will pay them.

Address Delivered by Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, at Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.
OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, some weeks ago it was my privilege to speak before a fine meeting of my fellow Democrats at an enthusiastic and inspiring Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Midland, Tex.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record, the full text of my speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ADDRESS BY UNITED STATES SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., OF MISSOURI, AT JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER, MIDLAND, TEX., FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1953

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Democrats, I am delighted to be here in Midland to take part with you in this inspiring meeting of Democrats in the Lone Star State. You Texans are known throughout the country—indeed, throughout the world—for your great pride in your State. No State in the Union has better representation than your own great State of Texas and no State has greater influence, not only in party legislative councils but also in shaping the course of our country's destiny. You have every right to be proud of the outstanding men you have sent to represent you and the American people in the Congress of the United States. I speak, of course, of my good friend and colleague, the distinguished Democratic leader of the Senate, your own Lyndon Johnson. I speak, too, of the statesman and distinguished leader of our party in the House, whom the people of Texas have been sending back to Washington every election since the 63d Congress and who has served over the years with such distinction as Speaker of the House of Representatives, our beloved friend, Sam Rayburn. And you can certainly be proud of your junior Senator, who has already made his mark as one of the ablest lawyers to come to the Senate, your former attorney general, Price Daniel. And last, but not least, you can surely take pride in the able and distinguished Representative from this fine district, my good friend, and yours, Ken Regan.

You Texans have other reasons to be proud, too, for you have grown, in a relatively short space of time, into one of the greatest and most productive States in agriculture and industry. In fact, I may say without any risk of disloyalty to my own State, that we in Missouri are almost as proud of Texas as you are. In a sense we take a filial, if not a paternal, pride in your achievements, because we had something to do with your birth and growth into one of the brightest stars in our firmament of States.

I don't have to tell you Texans that nobody ever leaves Texas—but ofttimes people leave other parts of the country to come here—and to stay. Now I am not planning to desert Missouri by coming down here tonight, but some other Missourians have done just that. Over a hundred years ago, Moses Austin, a Missouri businessman from my own city of St. Louis, first dreamed of the colonization of Texas and, together with his son Stephen, was responsible for the first movement of Missourians into this vast territory.

Moses Austin, who had done much to develop the mining resources of Missouri and who had been an important figure in the political and economic life of St. Louis for more than 20 years, set out in 1820 to seek a land grant from the Mexican Government in what was then the Mexican Province of Texas. With him was his son Stephen, who had already distinguished himself as a member of the Territorial Legislature of Missouri and as a judge of the First Judicial District of Arkansas. He obtained the grant in 1821, but Moses Austin died in that same year, and it was his son who actually carried out the colonization plan and became the founder of Texas.

A noted historian of your own State, Prof. Eugene C. Barker, claims that without young Austin, there is no reason to believe that Texas would differ today from the Mexican States south of the Rio Grande. Undoubtedly Mexico would have adopted an immigration policy sooner or later, he asserts, "but it seems pretty evident that nothing but Austin's unremitting pressure caused the passage of the imperial colonization law. Without that law * * * there would have been no settlement of Texas, no revolution, no annexation, no Mexican War; and the Louisiana Purchase, in all probability, would still define the western boundary of the United States."

Stephen F. Austin served 4 or 5 years as governor of the colony he founded. He worked hard to cooperate with Mexico until he felt the colony was ready for independence. Later he worked just as hard for annexation. He was president of the convention of 1832, as well as a leader in preparing for the constitutional convention of 1835.

He also served as commander in chief of the army of Texas, headed a commission to Washington, and became the first Secretary of State of the Republic of Texas. Certainly his achievements cemented the bonds of friendship between your State and mine.

The friends and neighbors of the Austins who followed them from Missouri helped to people Texas and many of their descendants have remained in Texas. John Rice Jones II, the first Postmaster General of the Republic of Texas, and his brothers all achieved distinction in Texas. John Rufus Alexander and John Price Alexander were also among the Austin group. Martin Parmer, a rugged frontiersman, a signer of the declaration of independence and of the constitution of the Republic of Texas, had served in both houses of the Missouri General Assembly.

Col. Alexander W. Doniphan and his Missouri volunteers crossed the Rio Grande and defeated the Mexican troops in the battle of Brazito on Christmas Day 1846. They made common cause with the brave Texans in the campaigns of that struggle.

It would take me all night to call the roll of the many former Missourians who became Texans—the soldiers, statesmen, frontiersmen, pioneers, and patriots who made their significant contribution to the development of your great State.

As one who shares with you the great pride in our common heritage, I am delighted and highly honored to be with you at this great and inspiring Democratic meeting. Our traditional Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners are, of course, more than a fine assemblage of dedicated, fighting, jubilant Democrats for just a social occasion. These dinners give us an opportunity to renew our faith and our devotion to our party and to take reckoning of our party's course. It is for us, too, to determine the direction of this course as the party of enlightened progress and to look ahead toward the fulfillment of our responsibility as the great party of the people—the oldest political party in continuous existence in the world—and to rise to the challenge of our day and time, as our party has always risen to accept the fullest measure of the burdens of leadership.

The great strength of our party, it seems to me, lies in the philosophy of government laid down by the immortal Thomas Jefferson and the fearless Andrew Jackson and carried forward boldly and well by our great modern leaders, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Harry S. Truman—a philosophy and a conviction that has faith in the people and believes that in their collective wisdom lies the greatest hope for the preservation of freedom and the welfare of our Nation. Ours is not a blind loyalty to a political organization—it is, rather, a devotion to principles and ideals. These principles and ideals, translated into action, have made our country great and our party enduring.

We Democrats believe in an economy of abundance—a healthy economy for all the people. This means an expanding and growing economy. We Democrats believe that all the people may properly exercise their right through the instrument of their government to keep our economy healthy and vigorous. We believe that government in its true function has the fullest responsibility to maintain a dynamic and a growing economy.

The Republican Party, on the other hand, the party of Grant, McKinley, and Hoover, does not share our faith in the American people. It looks with distrust and fear upon the philosophy of government which holds that the people may use their government to maintain a stable economy. They fear the combined judgment of all the people and they cry "Government interference" when the people, through antitrust laws strike at monopoly and take other positive action to insure really free enterprise.

This is the fundamental and historic difference between the Democratic Party, which works for the good of all the people, and the Republican Party, representing as it does—and always has—the interests of special groups and classes—of only big business and high finance.

It is true, of course, that we are at present, by a narrow margin, the minority party in Congress. That we are temporarily out of power does not mean that we can abdicate our responsibilities. As an "out" party, we are obliged to provide responsible, creative and dynamic opposition to the "ins." We must continue to demonstrate, in all our actions, the maturity and good judgment to which the American people, already disillusioned by bungling and lack of leadership in the present administration, will return with hope and confidence.

During the past year we Democrats have, I think, shown remarkable patience and forebearance. During last year's Presidential campaign the air waves were saturated with Republican promises made in speeches, spot announcements, and other high-powered advertising enticements. In the campaign, Republicans gave the impression that they were ready to carry out bold, imaginative, and constructive policies to save the Nation and were impatient to put them to effect. Now, after 10 months of Republican ascendency, we may fairly ask: What has become of these promises? What has become of the great crusade?

Insofar as the great crusade has taken any shape at all, it appears more and more to resemble an invasion of Washington by public-relations men and advertising executives. Now, let me make it perfectly clear that I have high admiration for men in both of these professions. They both perform very useful work. I do not think, however, that public-relations men should shape policy. We may properly question the political wisdom of an administration that thinks the fundamental role of government is to "sell its products." In Washington we hear a lot about the present administration's "selling" complex which is now seeking to sell the people "soft soap." It has been reliably reported that a top White House aide recently prepared a memorandum for high Government officials outlining a scheme to promote a major address of President Eisenhower. This high-pressure technique he described, believe it or not, as "merchandising-in-depth." Whatever that means. This, my friends, is not the language to describe a crusade; this is the trade language of an advertising campaign. In the end, I think the people will ask whether this administration is selling a program or selling America short.

No one doubts that President Eisenhower sincerely believed in the promises he made. But like Grant and many another novice in politics, he failed to reckon with members of his own party in Congress who have long and loudly opposed most of the forward-looking programs he espoused. Members of his party, indeed, spent the last session puncturing these programs with devices ranging all the way from pins to meat axes. I suppose it might be charitable to say that having been out of office for so long, they had forgotten the responsibilities that go with power, but the fact remains that they have gone right on being the party of opposition. They just can't seem to help it after 20 years of stubborn, blind opposition to anything and everything that we Democrats proposed for the good of this country.

And the fact remains, too, that while the Republicans were busy fighting among themselves all during the last session, Democrats in Congress repeatedly had to step in to rescue the Eisenhower administration on issue after issue which called for support in the national interest. On 58 key votes, it was the Democrats in the Congress who stepped into the breach and supplied the votes necessary to support the President. This tabulation, I might add, is not mine but was made by a reputable, indepeadent research agency in Washington.

And what, you may ask, has become of the campaign pledges? No, they haven't been placed in cold storage until the next campaign as we might expect, they have been salted away in study groups—in commissions where they will age, no doubt, in dignified and undisturbed silence. The Republican public relations experts, you see, are busy thinking up new methods of "selling." No time can be given to carrying out policy.

Instead of the promised tax reduction, we have had an extension of the excess-profits tax. We hear that we are about to be offered a new national sales tax. The public relations men have disguised it as a manufacturers' excise tax, but it's still the same old wolf in sheep's clothing.

Instead of the balanced budget promised in the campaign, we received in the closing hours of the last session a frantic appeal from hard-money Humphrey to increase the national debt limit. We were promised, in the campaign, that our country's defenses would be bolstered and strengthened. But in the fact of this pledge, $5 billion was lopped off the Air Force budget in the name of economy, and we were told that the cut would guarantee us a stronger national defense. We're all for economy. You and I want economy and efficiency in government just as much as the Republicans, and there's no question that we can probably achieve some reductions in the military budget, but they should be done with the greatest of care and with orderly, intelligent, and systematic planning. But there is grave concern, not only among the Members of the Congress, but among responsible top officers of the Armed Forces that this drastic cut may jeopardize our fighting power if we are confronted with a sudden national emergency. We Democrats just haven't been sold on the idea that our strongest national defense is a propaganda barrage.

We Democrats are not going to play politics with the national defense. We Democrats put our country's safety and security above any partisan consideration or political manipulation.

Now take the farmer, he is making life miserable for the public relations men. We know that the farmer keeps his sights fixed on parity as though it were the needle of a compass. No amount of sales talk will make you farmers and stockmen believe that the present administration is pursuing a policy of benefit to you. You look at the facts. You have real and practical problems that can't be solved by high-sounding phrases and glittering promises and by being told that help will come if, in the superior judgment of some of the bureaucrats, you have suffered undue disaster.

What help has the farmer gotten from this administration in his efforts to produce abundantly and to provide food and fiber for all our own people and much of the free world? Well, first of all, he got a huge slash in the budget for the REA, which is so important to his labors. Then the rural telephone program was cut, and then soil conservation. And along with this, interest rates were increased on price-support loans. Just as in the Grant administration, it has become increasingly hard for the farmer to borrow money—or for any of the rest of us.

Then came the drought. Now I have just spent some 2 months travelling throughout drought areas in my own State of Missouri and I know that you here in Texas are faced with many of the same problems that we have at home. I can state to you, unequivocally and, I believe, without danger of contradication that the farmers are not blaming the Republicans for the drought. They are blaming the Republicans, and especially the Republican Secretary of Agriculture, Mr.

Benson, for his failure to act. They are blaming him for failing to take the prompt and effective action specifically authorized by the Congress to meet this terrible disaster. This is the same Mr. Benson who says that farmers don't really want price supports on beef cattle and that price supports should be considered only when disaster becomes "undue." Mr. Benson apparently doesn't consider just common, ordinary, everyday disaster as anything very serious. At what point short of complete destruction and death we experience the agony of "undue" disaster, this learned man sayeth not. This same Secretary of Agriculture has been saying every 2 weeks since last February, that livestock prices have been stabilized. He is still saying it, even though beef prices have dropped almost continually from 92 percent of parity in January to 71 percent in October.

It is the same sad story all along the line. Promise after promise has been broken by default—by the abdication of responsibility by those in power, if you please—on social security, on small business, on slum clearance and on many other programs. Only a legislative miracle will enable our Republican friends to make good on all their pledges during the next session. Meanwhile, administration leaders go on contradicting and reversing themselves and each other on the most vital questions of domestic and foreign policy—a performance so astounding that it is small wonder so many Americans are alarmed and bewildered.

The fact that this great crusade has become a dismal and confusing performance to the amazement and despair of the American people, really should not be too surprising. An administration that substitutes "merchandizing-in-depth" with its Ringling Bros. and Hollywood slogans of "colossal" and "stupendous" for down-to-earth legislative action would not be expected to present an edifying spectable to people who have paid and are paying their good money for a first-rate performance. The American people are entitled to something better than this, and it's up to us Democrats to see that they get it.

Now what should we Democrats do? What is our job today and tomorrow? And from now on? How can we set things aright in the Government and how can we best help to do the job that must be done? There are, it seems to me, certain obvious courses that we must pursue if we are to maintain the security and welfare of our Nation and our integrity and strength as a party.

First, we must continue to support any policy or program advanced by the present administration that we believe will promote the security of our Nation or that is in the best interest of the people. We must do everything we can to strengthen any such program. Let us support those programs, but let us not rigidly reject reasonable compromise, when necessary, to insure positive legislative action.

Second, we must be vigilant to protect the great economic and social gains made in the last 20 years. We must fight every attempt to destroy the great programs that brought advancement and prosperity to the American people. Already in the past session we have seen insidious and cynical designs to cripple these programs by cutting off funds, the bolder efforts to destroy them by placing them in the hands of administrators who are openly opposed to them, and the crafty schemes to alter them by entrusting them to the mercies of special interests which would subvert them to their own ends. These methods and attacks are at times hard to combat because of their clever camouflage. As Democrats, we must stand firm against these inroads. We must dedicate ourselves to use every means in our power to bring the facts to the attention of the American people. Those of us in the Congress cannot do this job alone. We need your help. You loyal Democrats and millions of others throughout our country have a responsibility—and an important one—to be alert to the issues, to understand them, and to see to it that the issues are clearly presented—a responsibility to see that your friends and your neighbors are alerted and informed. We must constantly hold the Republicans to account for their actions. This is, in essence, our opposition role, but it is more than that. We are, if you please, the sentinels of the public welfare. In this manner we can proudly fulfill our obligations to be a responsible, creative, and dynamic opposition.

Our role as Democrats in this crucial period includes a third function that is, in fact, our historic function as the party of progress, the party of practical idealism. Our Nation was not raised to greatness by faint-hearted or timid men. Our country came to greatness through the vigorous leadership of men and women of courage and vision. We know that the American people not only want to hold fast to all the gains of our past, but in today's anxieties and uncertainties, our people are searching for a rebirth of the hopes and dreams that have been our tradition, our greatness and our glory. America looks to us for fresh thinking, creative planning and bold action. We must dispel the doubts and destroy the disappointment that are the burdens and penalties of a confused leadership that has no vision, no program, no faith!

It isn't enough just to support President Eisenhower when it is in the general interest to do so, and to oppose when necessary for the public good. We must devote all of our God-given strength and prayerful thought to solving the terrible world problems that weigh so oppressively on all of us. We must provide the inspired leadership that will capture the imagination of all of our people and imbue them with the hope and determination to strive anew for a peaceful world—one in which freedom can survive.

We must in the spirit of the great and noble pioneers and patriots of the past seize the opportunity which time and events have laid upon us, so that, when the history of this day and this age is written, we will, as our forebears before us, be remembered as Americans and as Democrats who, with deep faith and high courage, rose to the great challenges of our generation and to our responsibility of leadership in the free world.

Codes of Fair Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article by the distinguished author, Walter Lippmann, entitled "What Now?" which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on March 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
WHAT NOW?

On Wednesday of last week the President said he was glad "to state that Senator KNOWLAND has reported to me that effective steps are being taken by the Republican leadership to set up codes of fair procedures." That same day Senator KNOWLAND and Senator FERGUSON, who speak for the Republican leadership, said that each chairman of a committee, and Senator MCCARTHY is one of these chairmen, would be allowed to decide whether he would accept, indeed whether he would even consider, recommendations that the "leadership" might make.

What now? The President is on notice from Senator MCCARTHY that he will not mend his ways and he is on notice from the Republican leadership in the Senate that they will not regulate the activities of MCCARTHY. The President cannot, therefore, continue to "assume," as he said in his statement, that "every governmental employee in the executive branch, whether civilian or in the Armed Forces," * * * "will be accorded the same respect and courtesy that I require that they show to the members of the legislative bodies."

There is a solution for this problem of the President's deep down in the fundamental conception of the American Constitution. The Founding Fathers understood perfectly the problem which for the time being we call McCarthyism. The problem arises from the facts of human nature, namely, that self-restraint cannot be counted upon to keep the lust of power within bounds. When all the exhortation and the preachings have been applied, there will still be a tendency in almost all men, a strong tendency in some men, a vicious tendency in a few men, to expand their power until they encounter an obstacle which checks them.

The mechanism of the American Constitution is designed to bring into being checks and balances which will keep all parts of the Government within reasonable bounds.

This system of checks and balances is there as the final resort when pleading and persuasion fail, as so often in human affairs they do fail. The showdown last week was conclusive on this point, not primarily because of the brutal insolence of MCCARTHY's reply to the President but because of the open refusal of the Republican leadership in the Senate to impose any restraints upon MCCARTHY. That marked the failure of pleading and persuasion in this case.

It is the President's right and it is his duty to check the invasion of the executive branch of the Government by the McCarthy committee. When the next overt act occurs he should do what he should have done when General Zwicker had been maltreated. He should say that it is against the public interest to subject the employees of the executive branch of the Government to MCCARTHY's treatment, that his terrorism and intimidation are destructive of the morale of the Government. He should declare that the executive branch of the Government, while it recognizes the value and importance of congressional investigations, will not deal with this particular committee because it is abusing the power of investigation. Until its powers have been curbed and its procedure reformed, he will not as Chief Executive permit any one in the executive branch of the Government to deal with this committee.

The application of this check will reverse the field. The President will no longer be pleading, quite in vain, for fair treatment. He will have acted to protect the executive branch of the Government against abuse. It will then be for MCCARTHY to find out whether the Senate can and will enable him to compel the President to withdraw his order. There is no power in the Senate which could be exercised in support of MCCARTHY to coerce the President in a matter of this kind. The leadership would not dare to challenge the President on the ground that MCCARTHY must not be restrained.

The President's obligation to cooperate with Congress and with its committees is not a one-way affair. There is a corresponding obligation on Congress to cooperate with the President. It is pernicious nonsense, and a complete denial of the principle of the Constitution, to assert the supremacy of Congress and to claim for it powers that can be abused and for which there is no remedy.

In the American system no man, no institution, no branch of the Government is a power to itself, and all are kept within the bounds of the Constitution. This is done not only by their own self-restraint—though that is so necessary—but by the checks and balances which restrain all powers. In the present case the leadership in the persons of Members KNOWLAND and FERGUSON, being unable to restrain MCCARTHY, the restraint must be imposed by a check from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

This is the way the Constitution is meant to work. It contains no precise and comprehensive definition of the prerogatives of the three branches of the Government. The Founding Fathers were too wise to attempt the impossible, which is to define in advance how men in the future were to deal with all the conflicts and abuses of power that were likely to arise. Nor have the courts ever laid down clear and precise boundary lines.

The ultimate principle is simply that arbitrary power is abhorrent to the Constitution, and under it men are expected, they are given the facilities, and they are required, to resist arbitrary power whenever it becomes manifest.

How is it to be determined whether power is arbitrary and is being abused? It is determined in the American system through the debate which is carried to the people when the exercise of power is checked, and the issue has been drawn.

Brains and Loyalty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the House a splendid editorial from the Sacramento Union of March 8, 1954.

It touches upon a most important development in the attitudes toward our public schools and the teachers in those schools.

I commend it to each Member as an informative and stimulating article:

BRAINS AND LOYALTY

Dr. Roy Simpson, California's able superintendent of public instruction took occasion last week to sound warnings against attacks on the public schools. He said that many young people are turning away from teaching as a profession because of the low estate it has fallen into in the public mind on account of repeated attacks by persons prominent in public life. That's a serious indictment.

CRITICISM HAS REACHED SCHOOLS

It is not only serious, but there is a growing tenedncy on a nationwide basis to believe that any one who has brains is worth watching. It is not a question of oversensitivity. Neither should there be a wholesale resistance to proper questions on the ground they threaten academic freedom.

The people should be tolerant of everything but intolerance. We've got to stop being scared. Particularly should we not be scared of blanket condemnations that do not exist.

Brains are not limited to campuses. The people do not regard anyone possessing them as being subversive.

Let's take a long look at another phase of public education which ought to be revived. Too many teachers are worried about being labeled "old-fashioned." What we need is more old-fashioned teachers who believe that the first business in the classroom should be to teach the three R's—reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic.

Development of the ethical and cultural aspects of a child's life are important, but these were for many, many years entrusted to the church and home. And they could still be, without being altogether neglected.

Teaching the three R's is an exclusive responsibility of the schools. We look neither to churches nor homes for these. Yet it is essential that a child should learn to read and write. With those skills, he can acquire all knowledge, and a lot of wisdom, too.

Address by Hon. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an address by the Honorable Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, on the occasion of the transfer of two United States destroyers to the Republic of China, at Charleston, S. C., at 2:30 p. m., Friday, February 26, 1954.

Mr. Robertson is a great American, one in whom the State Department can be proud. His friendly speech on the above occasion was one of great moment. I am happy to include this fine address for the permanent archives of the Congress:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE WALTER S. ROBERTSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE TRANSFER OF TWO UNITED STATES DESTROYERS TO THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AT CHARLESTON, S. C., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1954

We have come here today to take part in a notable occasion. Two destroyers of the United States Reserve Fleet are to be turned over on loan to the Republic of China under an authorization by the United States Congress. Such an event is not of everyday occurrence among the powers of this world. In participating in the ceremonies formalizing the transfer, I am representing the Secretary of State of the United States. There stands before me, to receive the vessels on behalf of his government, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China. There is every reason for solemnity.

However, in looking forward to these observances, I have had in the forefront of my mind the image of the chief of state of the Republic of China, a picture of him not only as the austere, uniformed leader depicted in the lithographs that have had a place of honor on the walls of so many Chinese homes and shops, but as the warm and very real human figure with whom I have spent so many memorable hours in the past. Then, too, the Chinese Ambassador who is here with me, Wellington Koo, is an old friend. It is impossible for me to act as if I were addressing strangers. What is taking place here is, as it were, within the family. You will look to me in vain, therefore, for those highpitched, majestic cries that might be expected to resound when an eagle and a dragon hold converse. What I have to say is nothing more than you would expect to hear between old friends, friends who, as a matter of fact, need to say very little to each other because so much is understood between them.

The spirit of this occasion is a familiar one to us. The Chinese and Americans are used to giving each other things. It began many years ago. One of our writers in New England, speaking of those days, has told us of the satisfaction with which he reflected that ice had been taken from his little pond, by clipper ship, to cool the drink of a Chinese philosopher. Philosophy and the artistic masterpieces of a great culture have been among the many treasures brought back from China by traders to enrich our lives, in exchange for American machinery and manufactured goods and Western ideas. Our two peoples have also become accustomed to the sort of exchange that is taking place today. It has become habitual for us each to lend the other those facilities which each can spare and which the other needs for the common defense. You have given us landing fields, buildings, roads, and hospitality. We have given you guns, planes, and vessels of war.

The historic association between China and the United States reflects an appreciation by both countries of their community of interests. I should not be a proper official of the Department of State if I did not direct attention to that fact. And the community of interests beween us is impelling. Danger has generally come to China from the landward side, from the north and west. Danger has generally come to the United States from the Atlantic side, from the east. China and the United States have thus both had the keenest interest in preserving the security and peace of the Pacific so that each could concentrate on defending itself where it was most exposed. Each country has had an instinctive realization of the importance to it of the other, and of their common need to be able to stand back-to-back, as it were, for each to have the comfort of knowing that it was secure on one side at least.

Both countries have been alert to the threat that would be posed by the intrusion between them of any kind of aggressive imperialism. Even if the Chinese and American peoples had no regard for each other, as peoples, they would still inevitably be drawn together by their common vital interest in the security of the Pacific. Whenever there are signs in either country of lack of appreciation of this interdependence, the danger signals are up. Neither country can afford to relax if the independence and integrity of the other is not secured. Today mainland China is oriented toward China's greatest enemy and away from its traditional source of support. Those who are responsible for this unnatural and tragic situation have demonstrated in this, as in so many other ways, their disregard of China's interests. It is not remarkable that having determined upon the subordination of China's welfare and independence to a foreign ideology, they should at the same time have chosen in their propaganda to portray the United States as the most implacable enemy of their designs.

I wish I could say that our support of China's independence had always been as concrete and as forward as circumstances required. For long years China sustained alone the trials of the Japanese invasion.

Our refusal to accept Japanese control of China was a major motivating factor in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but it required the shock of that attack to arouse the American people to determined and effective counteraction. Before then the free world, while sympathizing with China, had been restrained from effective intervention in the war by lack of unity and purpose.

The costs of the war with Japan not only caused grievous setbacks to the hopes and accomplishments to which the revolutionary movement under Chiang Kai-shek in the 1920's had given rise. The war also left China shaken and weakened and ill prepared to cope with the blow in the back that followed hard upon the end of that war. Once more catastrophe engulfed China while, despite the deep concern of the American people, the United States failed to appreciate the full significance of events until it was itself involved militarily in the consequences—this time by an attack on the Republic of Korea ordered by the mentor of the regime that had gained control of mainland China.

The events of the 1930's and 1940's are past. What is important now is that we apply in the present and future the lessons the past has taught us.

I have been speaking so far of the strategical considerations that draw our two countries together. But the truth is that when we think of the Chinese we think only secondarily of strategy. We think first of friendship. It has been our good fortune that the people with whom we have always recognized we must cooperate from necessity should have been a people with whom we would have wished to cooperate from choice.

It is striking that the oldest and the youngest of the great powers should have found so much in common. It would be easy for me to explain our admiration for the Chinese in terms of the staggering achievements of 4,000 years of Chinese culture. This would, however, claim a rather more intensive knowledge of Chinese history than most of us Americans possess. The fact of the matter is that we like the Chinese because of what they are as human beings. We like their quick friendliness of response, their warm hospitality, their meticulous courtesy, their conviviality and sense of humor. We like them because they are loyal to their friends and devoted to their families, because they are pragmatic and realistic, because they live in the present and believe in improving it by dint of hard work—qualities that perhaps we share. And we admire them without reservation for those qualities that we have not—I am glad to say—so far been called upon to demonstrate under odds as heavy as those the Chinese themselves have had to face: courage, hardihood, endurance.

Our two peoples, I believe, want the same kind of world—a world in which there will be a minimum of strutting authority, a world in which ordinary human beings will be left alone to earn their livelihood, to cultivate their gardens, to enjoy their homes and their children, and not be bullied or robbed in the name of any high-sounding rhetoric.

It is for all these reasons that no wish is closer to the heart of the American people than that China shall be herself again. It is in witness of that hope that two American destroyers today are being transferred to the Chinese flag. These vessels are symbols of our abiding faith in China and of our conviction that China will again, as always in the past, prove stronger than the alien intruder. We believe these ships will contribute to bringing nearer the day when China will again belong unreservedly to the Chinese. In passing to the command of the Republic of China they go to strengthen a government that is at once a symbol and a fruit of the inextinguishable Chinese spirit.

Recently 14,000 Chinese prisoners of war in Korea, by choosing to forsake the ties of family and community in order to live under a truly Chinese flag, exposed the fraudulence of the claims of the authorities in Peiping to speak with the voice of China. The passionate determination of so many soldiers from their command not to return to Communist rule clearly came as a great shock to those authorities. It did not surprise us in the least. There has never been any question in our minds as to how the Chinese people would choose, if given the choice, between a government rooted in Chinese traditions and one that has made of China a handmaiden of an alien imperialism. It is because of what we know of the Chinese people's ability to endure the most malignant fortune without being crushed by it or surrendering to it that we have no doubt of the outcome of China's present travail.

Mr. Ambassador, the missions that lie ahead for the *Hanyang* and the *Loyang*, as these ships are to be called, and their officers and men, are important ones: to strengthen the defense of the Pacific, upon which our nations jointly front, cooperating with our own 7th Fleet, and to represent and defend the cause of China's freedom. These are tasks worthy of the names of the ancient and historic cities these ships will bear. They are tasks worthy of the great naval tradition in which these ships were first manned.

We are confident that China has chosen well in selecting you, the officers and men of the *Hanyang* and *Loyang*, to take these ships to their duty stations and to man them in the carrying out of their responsibilities. We feel sure that you take with you more than the technical skills you have acquired in your brief months of training at Norfolk. We believe you will take with you firsthand knowledge of the esteem, good will, and lasting friendship that our people feel for yours.

We wish you Godspeed and success in all your undertakings.

Security Program Is Largely Ignored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that certain persons continue to use the so-called security breakdown figures as a basis for claiming the dismissal from the Federal service of large numbers of security risks since the inauguration of the new administration's program late last fall.

I have carefully checked all available information. The conclusions I have reached are set forth most expertly in the following column from the Washington Daily News of March 15, 1954, by Mr. John Cramer:

SECURITY PROGRAM IS LARGELY IGNORED

(By John Cramer)

On the record as of now, the Eisenhower administration's Federal employee security program stands as one which just hasn't worked.

This is an inevitable conclusion to be drawn from Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young's recent testimony before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

It doesn't take away the fact that the administration, just as others before it, has removed a certain number of security risks.

But on the basis of Mr. Young's testimony, it's reasonable to say—

That Federal agencies have made little use of the administration's security program.

That it has accounted for only a small fraction of the 2,486 alleged security risks who have been fired or resigned.

That most agencies have ignored and even violated President Eisenhower's April 27 Executive Order No. 10450, setting up the program.

That only some extremely agile record keeping by Civil Service Commission has enabled the administration to keep on presenting the program to the public as a successful one.

These statements may surprise you.

But the evidence to support each of them will be offered before you finish reading.

The fact is that no one, including Mr. Young, knows whether the 2,486 actually were security risks—even by the administration's own standards.

LABELS

The 2,486 have been labeled.

But the great majority stand still unconvicted under the administration's standards as laid down in President Eisenhower's security order and in Attorney General Herbert Brownell's security regulations.

Here is why:

Federal agencies have made little use of the security program. The program sets up definite, specific and detailed procedures for ridding the Government of security risks. Nowhere does it provide that other procedures may be used.

Security risk firings, for example, are taken completely out of the ordinary routine of ordinary-civil service firings.

An accused employee is guaranteed a statement of charges, an opportunity to answer, a hearing before an impartial board, and a review by his agency head. And here it should be noted that neither the hearing nor review is available in many ordinary Civil Service firings.

Mr. Young, however, told the Senate committee that these definite, detailed procedures for getting rid of security risks were not used in the vast majority of the 1,086 security risk firings.

Instead, he said, the great bulk were fired under ordinary civil-service procedures.

The program has accounted for only a small fraction of the alleged security risks who have been fired or resigned: Clearly it didn't account for the great bulk of the 1,086 who were not fired under its procedures. And it reasonably follows that the same must hold true for those who resigned—and later were labeled security risks.

RULES VIOLATED

Most agencies have ignored and even violated the President's order setting up the security program. They ignored its firing procedures and used regular civil-service procedures instead. And more important perhaps, they violated the official regulations which were intended to implement the order.

The regulations are worth a good, hard look.

They were issued by Attorney General Herbert Brownell as proposed or sample regulations—and immediately were adopted by almost all agencies.

And they spell out precisely how an agency must proceed when investigation discloses derogatory information indicating that the employee may be a security risk.

In such cases, it's ordered:

The personnel security officer of the agency shall decide whether he considers the employee an actual security risk.

He shall recommend to his superiors whether or not the employee should be suspended or dismissed.

His superiors shall decide whether to suspend or dismiss him.

And if they do decide for suspension or dismissal, they shall give him a statement of charges, chance to answer, hearing, and review by his agency head.

BOOK JOB

Nowhere in the regulations is there any provision for the use of regular civil-service procedures in dismissing security risks. Throughout, here it is ordered that the agencies shall use security-program procedures.

Only extremely agile record keeping by Civil Service Commission has enabled the administration to keep on presenting its program to the public as a successful one.

In compiling its statistics on security risk removals, Civil Service Commission did not ask Federal agencies, "How many security risks have you removed under the administration's security program as laid down in Executive Order 10,450?"

Had it done so, the total would have been embarrassingly minute.

Instead, it devised an ingenious question which produced a far higher total of firings.

It asked:

How many employees were terminated because of security questions falling within the purview of section 8A of Executive Order 10,450? (the security-program order).

On the basis of answers to this question, the commission has been able to report 1,086 firings which it now says were security-risk firings.

But its report can be likened to that of the prosecutor who boasts he obtained 1,086 convictions, when actually he means he might have obtained 1,086 if he hadn't decided not to prosecute the great bulk of the 1,086.

SECTION 8A

Let's talk about section 8A of the security-program order.

This is the section which spells out the various offenses which make Federal employees potential security risks—subversion Communist connections or associations, spying, sex perversion, drunkenness, loose talk, general unreliability, and the like.

The commission, you remember, didn't ask how many had been fired under the program.

It asked how many had been fired for "questions falling within the purview of section 8A."

Thus it forced Federal agencies to comb their files for all the dismissed drunks and loose talkers and sex deviates, whose firings didn't come under the security program—and to report them as if they had been fired under the program.

EXAMPLE

Let's suppose—

That you promised John Jones that before you fired him as a security risk you would give him charges, a chance to answer, a hearing, and a review by his boss.

That you promised him most specifically and explicitly that if fired as a security risk he would be fired under security program procedures, thereby putting him on notice that he was considered a security risk.

That you actually fired him because he talked too much, but not under security-program procedures, regular civil-service procedures, and with no mention of security risk.

That Civil Service Commission then asked you how many employees you had fired within the purview of section 8A.

That you listed John Jones as one so fired, because you knew that too much talk clearly falls within the purview.

That the commission then sought to give the public the impression that John Jones had been fired under the security program.

I'd say it's a little dishonest.

Russian Troops in Rumania and the Rumanian Peace Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Kremlin's rejection of any formula for an Austrian peace treaty was one of the features of the Berlin Conference. It brought again into the limelight the shaky political position of the Soviets in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets do not want to withdraw their troops from Austria. This would mean the departure of the Red Army from Hungary and Rumania. Without military occupation of those nations and its ensuing ruthless political pressure, Russian Communist totalitarian control, would be blown to the four winds. It was a great political error to condone the Soviet enforced slavery of the Eastern European nations by means of so-called peace treaties. These treaties, conceived by the Kremlin, signed by their militarily enforced stooges and providing for a permanent occupation by the Red army—under the pretext of defending lines of communication—comprised our moral and political positions in that strategic part of Europe.

A pernicious phenomenon of these past errors is the distorted view which is prevalent here with regard to the political developments in Eastern Europe at the end of the war. While this fictional treatment of the reality covers a wide field—a clear exposure of which could greatly facilitate a just appraisal of those facts—I refer, by way of example, to one of the numerous false clichés which occur in our press.

The League of Free Rumanians, through its president, Mihail Farcasanu, has called my attention to just such a case. Following is a letter which I received from Mr. Farcasanu a short time ago:

THE LEAGUE OF FREE ROMANIANS,
February 15, 1954.

The Honorable CHARLES KERSTEN.

DEAR MR. KERSTEN: I would like to draw your attention to certain harmful cliches which, through their frequent repetition in the press, tend to obscure in the minds of the American people the truth about some recent historical developments.

For instance, in a report published in the New York Times of February 8, under the headline of "Soviet Shakes Up Party Leadership in Two Republics," dealing with the Communist political reshuffle in Moldavia and Kazakhstan, there occurs the statement: "Moldavia is part of former Bessarabia, which the Soviet Union took from Rumania in World War II. The Rumanian Peace Treaty of 1947 confirmed the Soviet title."

For the sake of historical accuracy one should take note of the following:

1. It is inexact that Bessarabia was taken from Rumania in World War II. In actual fact the rape of Bessarabia was decided upon between the Nazis and the Soviets previous to the outbreak of World War II. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of August 23, 1939, had already established the division of Eastern Europe (including Bessarabia) to the benefit of Moscow and Berlin.

The implementation of the above Nazi-Communist agreement took place on June 26, 1940, when Molotov delivered to Rumania a 24-hour ultimatum for the cession of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Nazi Germany strongly urged the Rumanian Government to submit. Although unable to militarily oppose the combined pressure of the Bolsheviks and Hitlerites, Rumania did not legally accede to this diktat. On August 2 of the same year, the Moldavian S. S. R. was formed on the basis of these forcibly seized Rumanian provinces.

2. It is true that the peace treaty concluded in 1947 with the Groza government reconfirmed the Soviet title to Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, a title conferred during the Nazi-Soviet alliance. But it is equally true that the Groza government was neither representing Rumania nor the Rumanian people, being a Soviet imposed puppet government. It is a matter of record that this Moscow installed stooge government which signed the above-mentioned peace treaty, had already violated all international agreements, human rights, and democratic procedures.

With regard to the elections of November 19, 1946, staged by that same Government for western consumption, both the Governments of the United States and United Kingdom denounced the imposture of the electoral proceedings through their official declarations of, respectively, November 26 and December 2, 1946.

The declaration by the Department of State of November 26, 1946, reads as follows:

"At the Crimea Conference in 1945 the Governments of the United States, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom agreed jointly to assist the people of liberated Europe with a view to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of those people. Subsequently, pursuant to agreement reached at Moscow in December 1945 between the same powers, representatives of the three Governments met in Rumania and obtained assurances from the Rumanian Government that the latter would hold free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal and secret ballot.

"The Rumanian Government held elections on November 19, 1946. The Department of State has now received extensive reports concerning the conduct of those elections, and the information contained therein makes it abundantly clear that, as a result of manipulations of the electoral registers, the procedures followed in conducting the balloting and the counting of votes, as well as by intimidation through terrorism of large democratic elements of the electorate, the franchise was on that occasion effectively denied to important sections of the population. Consequently, the United States Government cannot regard those elections as a compliance by the Rumanian Government with the assurances it gave the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in implementation of the Moscow decision."

The British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made, in regard to the same question, the following remarks in the House of Commons on December 2, 1946:

"The information at the disposal of His Majesty's Government leaves me no alternative but to agree with my honorable friend that the elections were neither free nor fair. During the election campaign, parties other than those comprising the Govern-

ment bloc did not enjoy full freedom of speech or association. The arrangements on polling day itself were, moreover, such as to permit wholesale falsification of the results, and full advantage was taken of this by the Government authorities. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government considers that the results of the Rumanian elections do not truly represent the opinion of the Rumanian people."

Consequently, inasmuch as the Groza Government was not representative—a fact so categorically recognized in the above British and American declarations—it was not qualified in any way to validly commit the Rumanian nation to any agreement or treaty. It is therefore clear that the peace treaty of 1947 was not actually concluded with Rumania, but with Communist agents of Moscow, placed and kept in their ruling functions by the Red army.

This is the historical truth.

Yours sincerely,

MIHAIL FARCASANU,
President.

The Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include at this point in the RECORD an editorial appearing in todays New York Times entitled "Impregnable Position":

IMPREGNABLE POSITION

Last night Democratic leaders took to the air waves in an effort to reply to the previous night's broadcast by President Eisenhower and to justify their proposals for increasing personal exemptions under the individual income tax by anywhere from $100 to $400.

Nothing in these arguments alters our conviction that basically the conflict here is between election-year political expediency, on the one hand, and sound public policy on the other. The pillars on which President Eisenhower's position is based remain intact and unshaken. These pillars are:

1. The President's tax program is a logical and integrated part of the administration's stated overall economic and fiscal policies—policies which alone have made any tax reduction possible. The proposed "tax bonus" offered by the President's opponents is strangely at variance with the attitude of fiscal self-righteousness displayed by some of its advocates only a few months ago when the President asked authority from Congress to raise the debt limit.

2. The new omnibus tax bill, which would be made the vehicle for the proposed George amendment, is not simply another revenue measure. It is a comprehensive revision of the Nation's tax laws, and the first undertaken in half a century. That the changes it calls for would result in relief for the individual, the investor, and industry is a natural, if indirect, consequence of its reform character and the purposes actuating its reforms. These purposes are two: (1) The removal of inequities, and (2) the removal of unnecessary obstacles to business expansion—which is to say jobmaking.

3. To introduce into this measure a haphazard across-the-board tax bonus such as the George plan would (1) plunge the country back overnight into the mire of budgetary deficits from which the administration has been valiantly trying to extricate it, and (2) violate one of the fundamental tenets of sound tax policy by wiping out at a stroke the tax liability—and accompanying sense of public responsibility—of 1 out of every 3 persons now paying an income tax.

Public Needs a Closer Look at the Military New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the membership of this body the following editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of March 13, entitled "Public Needs a Closer Look at the Military New Look."

I believe that this issue is of vital importance to our entire Nation. The security and welfare of our country are at stake in the new defense program suggested by the administration. For that reason, I believe that Congress and the people of the United States should be given a more adequate explanation—within the limits of military security—of exactly what is involved in this New Look:

PUBLIC NEEDS A CLOSER LOOK AT THE MILITARY NEW LOOK

For 2 months the Nation has waited for the administration to explain the New Look of its world military policy. Logically, the explanation should come from President Eisenhower. Recent statements by several members of his top team—and one, indeed, from the President himself—have tended to confuse, rather than clarify, the issue.

What is the New Look?

Secretary of State Dulles outlined it in a New York address January 12. The policy, which he said had been worked out by the national security council, is based on the concept of a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing. He spoke specifically of massive retaliatory power, and added that the policy meant more security at less cost.

Shortly after the Dulles speech, the President submitted his first "all-Eisenhower" budget. It added the dollar sign to the New Look. The $37.5 billion request for the military was $4 billion less than estimated expenditures for the current year. The President proposed more funds for the Air Force and the atomic program, slightly less for the Navy, much less for the Army. The shift in emphasis was definitely from infantry to what the president termed "full exploitation of air power and modern weapons."

Together, the Dulles speech and the Eisenhower budget gave this look to the New Look: More atomic bombs and weapons, more planes for instant, massive retaliation.

In his recent Miami speech, Adlai Stevenson raised some legitimate questions about the new policy. Others have expressed doubt, too. The principal concern is that we may be preparing for all-out war but laying ourselves open to more Koreas, more Indochinas.

"Instead of greater freedom of choice, does this decision to rely primarily on atomic weapons really narrow our choice as to the means and the places of retaliation?" asked Stevenson. "Are we leaving ourselves the grim choice of inaction or a thermonuclear holocaust? Are we, indeed, inviting Moscow and Peiping to nibble us to death?"

And Admiral Carney, who as Chief of Naval Operations is the Navy representative on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declared that "we dare not entrust our safety to any single rigid and unalterable course of action."

Administration answers have not been adequate nor have they squared with Dulles' outline of the policy. Admiral Radford, in a New York speech, said that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, of which he is Chairman, did not "subscribe to the thinking that the ability to deliver massive atomic retaliation is, by itself, adequate to meet all our security needs."

Secretary of Defense Wilson declared that "from the military point of view we are not relying on any one thing."

Vice President NIXON, speaking in Philadelphia, repeated the claim that the United States has adjusted its thinking to the point "where we will now fight on our own terms."

And President Eisenhower himself, in telling reporters that he would not involve the United States in war without a declaration of war by Congress, raised the question of how instantaneous our "instant retaliation" could be.

Obviously, the need is for a forthright, complete explanation from the President. Are we putting too many eggs in one basket? Is the New Look actually a return to the time when we had an atomic monopoly and neglected our other means of defense? May we be faced with another hurried build-up such as was forced on us after the Korean aggression? Is the hope for a balanced budget overriding the necessity for adequate security?

The President owes it to the Nation to give us, within the limits of military security, a more nearly complete look at the New Look.

Acceptance Speech of Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on the historic occasion of the turning over to the Chinese Government of the destroyers U. S. S. *Benson* and U. S. S. *Hilary P. Jones* at the Charleston, S. C., Naval Shipyard, the Ambassador of the Nationalist Chinese Government, His Excellency, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, delivered a memorable address.

It is my distinct pleasure to enclose for the RECORD the speech of this distinguished Chinese. Ambassador Koo has always been a friend of this Nation and I consider our own Government fortunate in being able to assist our friends who have stuck with us over the years in our common effort to win the fight against international communism.

Mr. Speaker, when the happy day comes for the return of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to his native homeland, the work of Ambassador Koo will have been one of the major factors in this triumphant entry.

The above-mentioned address follows:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, CHINESE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, ACCEPTING THE TRANSFER OF TWO DESTROYERS FROM THE UNITED STATES NAVAL BASE, CHARLESTON, S. C., ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1954

Admiral McLean, Mr. Robertson, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen; on this spendid occasion I wish, first of all, to thank Admiral McLean and the United States Navy for their hospitality and for the arrangements made by them to recondition the two destroyers for transfer on loan to my Government today and to hold this impressive ceremony. Next I wish to thank the Honorable Walter Robertson, the Assistant Secretary of State, who has come here to represent the Secretary of State, and to ask him to convey my thanks to the Secretary and through him to the Government of the United States. I wish also to thank Chairman DEWEY SHORT, who is present with us, and his colleagues on the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington and through him to the Congress of the United States which through its legislative action laid the foundation for the transfer of these vessels to the Republic of China.

I am deeply touched by the eloquent and warm-hearted words of the Assistant Secretary of State, the Honorable Walter Robertson. I wish to thank him for his kind sentiments toward my country and my people and toward our great patriotic leader, President Chiang Kai-shek.

As Mr. Robertson has so aptly remarked, we of the Republic of China have much in common with the people of the United States. Both of us cherish the same ideals of peace and security, of justice and right, of human freedom and dignity, and are able to appreciate the humorous as well as the serious side of life. Above all, we both value loyal friendship and generous cooperation. What is now happening on the Chinese mainland and attributed to the Chinese people by the ruthless Communist regime of Peiping, especially in regard to the so-called hate the United States campaign, is alien to their traditional sentiments toward the American people and is imposed upon them by sheer coercion. And I prize Mr. Robertson's personal friendship toward me, which I reciprocate to the fullest measure.

I am also glad to say that this is not the first time that the Chinese Navy has received aid and assistance from the United States Navy. Our comradeship in World War II led to the transfer of a great number and variety of American naval vessels to the Chinese Government for use in our common struggle. The training of Chinese cadets by United States naval officers at Tsingtao, China, as well as in the United States and later the dispatch of technical advisers to Shanghai, Nanking, and Tsingtao to help in the reorganization of the Chinese naval headquarters and the development and expansion of the Kiangnan dockyard were some of the other phases of American naval assistance to my country. The part played by the United States Navy in helping to transport Chinese troops for taking over from the Japanese at the end of the last war is remembered to this day with deep appreciation. In the last 3 years the naval section in the military advisory group under the overall direction of Maj. Gen. William C. Chase has been rendering effective and valuable assistance to the Chinese Navy, and much of the credit for the latter's growth and development is due not only to the friendly aid of the United States Government but also to the conscientious efforts of the American naval officers of the section. Indeed, not only in the naval domain, not only in the military sphere, but practically in every phase of the economic field, there has been full and satisfactory cooperation in making the use of American aid as effective as possible.

In the present state of world tension and conflict arising from Communist imperialism, and in the light of the experience of the past few years, it is the obligation of every freedom-loving country to mend its fences and build up its military strength, so that it will not be caught unprepared by the Communist aggressors in their unceasing attempt to conquer and dominate.

The Republic of China has suffered much from Communist aggression and is therefore firmly resolved to strengthen its defense potential in order not only to ensure its own safety and fulfill its supreme mission toward the Chinese people on the mainland but also, as a loyal member of the United Nations, to contribute its part to the system of collective security and the general cause of the free world.

The farsighted policy of the United States Government to help other freedom-loving nations to help themselves has been more than welcome to my Government. It is deeply appreciated, and it inspires us to continue to do our utmost in our own policy of preparedness and self-help. Allied in two world wars of the past, united by a bond of unbroken friendship and cooperation, and dedicated to the identical purpose of promoting peace and security of the free world, the Republic of China and the United States of America can, I venture to believe, look to the future with confidence in their mutual understanding and concerted effort to serve the cause of freedom wherever Communist imperialism may threaten. And I look upon today's ceremony as a significant reaffirmation of our common faith.

AMBASSADOR KOO'S REMARKS IN COMMISSIONING THE SHIPS

Admiral McLean, Mr. Robertson, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, having just signed the certificate of transfer of the two specified destroyers on loan to the Government of the Republic of China from the United States Navy, I have now the honor and the pleasant duty of announcing the formal acceptance of these two vessels on behalf of my Government. These splendid vessels, thoroughly reconditioned as they are, will make a valuable addition to the Chinese Navy when they are brought to Taiwan by the Chinese officers and crew who have received specialized training at Norfolk with this purpose in view. For all this generous gesture of friendship and assistance, my Government is sincerely grateful.

(Turning around to face the two destroyers at the dock and after observing the hoisting of the national flag of the Chinese Republic and hearing the Chinese national anthem played by the band of the United States naval base at Charleston, the Ambassador said in Chinese:)

Captain Yu, Captain Chang, officers, and crew of the Chinese Navy, I have just accepted, on behalf of our Government, the transfer on loan from the United States Navy of the two destroyers which you have been ordered to take charge. Pursuant to special authorization, I have now the honor to commission these two ships respectively as *Lo-Yang* and *Han-Yang* to become active units of the Chinese Navy. The President of the Chinese Republic, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has sent me a special message for you. So have the Chief of General Staff, Gen. Chou Chi-jou, and the commander of the Chinese Navy, Adm. Ma Chi-chuang. The texts of all these messages will be distributed to you in due course, but I wish to read to you the Chinese text of our President's message now:

* * * * *

To our President's message I like to add my own congratulations to you, captains, officers, and crew of the *Lo-Yang* and *Han-Yang*, and extend to you all my best wishes, feeling confident, as I do, that in the discharge of your duties at all times you will uphold the best traditions of our Navy, fulfill the expectations of our Government and our people, and prove yourselves worthy of the spirit of helpfulness of our American friends.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Appendix

Anacostia River Flood-Control Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I made on February 16, 1954, before the Army Civil Functions Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, in support of Federal appropriations to enable the start of the Anacostia River flood-control project.

My purpose in inserting this statement is twofold: First, again last week the Peace Cross—Bladensburg, Md., area—was inundated by floodwaters; second, very shortly the Senate will be called upon to approve appropriations for Army civil functions, included in which are funds for this essential project.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANACOSTIA RIVER FLOOD-CONTROL PROJECT

(Statement by Hon. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, of Maryland)

I deeply appreciate this opportunity to give you my views with regard to appropriations for the Anacostia River flood-control project. To me, it has been especially encouraging to note that this appropriation, among others, was recommended by President Eisenhower in his recent budget message.

In recent weeks I have sent to each member of the Senate Appropriations Committee an analysis of the intolerable conditions which occur much too frequently in the vicinity of the Peace Cross near Bladensburg, Md. The focal point of the Anacostia River flood-control project surrounds this area. Your very kind responses to my correspondence have given me renewed hope and optimism that finally, after too many years, this essential flood-control project will be commenced.

Very briefly may I outline those significant factors which have moved me to advocate so strenuously the approval of this particular appropriation? In my judgment, these points are well reasoned and are as follows:

1. The periodic floods in the vicinity have resulted in many, many years of deplorable hazard, serious inconvenience, and unnecessary damage to property, to say nothing of the fact that highway transportation is obstructed for lengthy intervals. The seriousness of this situation, as it relates to the defense of the Nation's capital cannot be minimized, and in my opinion, these untenable and recurrent conditions cannot be permitted to continue.

2. From a civil defense standpoint, highways—alternate Route 1 and Route 50—passing through Peace Cross have been designated by the Department of Defense as first priority military highways for the movement of military vehicles and equipment. In the event of a military emergency, the inundation of Peace Cross by flood waters would present very serious problems which would confound our military and civil defense forces and greatly contribute to mass hysteria.

3. In 1953 there were 20 floods at the Peace Cross, and it is estimated that 35,000 automobiles per day use this arterial highway intersection. In the opinion of experts, this is one of the most heavily congested surface intersections in the country. At flood stage it requires little imagination to visualize the tremendous congestion and confusion.

4. Quite naturally, a tremendous number of Government employees use these vital traffic arteries in traveling from their homes in Maryland to their offices and return, and this number increases each year with the growing population density and residential development in nearby Maryland. With this point in mind, and realizing that for 29 days in 1952 (often for 111 consecutive hours) and 32 days in 1953 (often for as long as 144 consecutive hours) the Peace Cross was under water, a great many man-hours resulting from lateness or absence can be accumulated, which, when computed in terms of nonproductive wages and salaries, could result in a sizable sum of wasted Federal funds. Such a situation is certainly and completely inconsistent with the objectives of efficiency and economy as expressed by President Eisenhower and the new administration.

5. A project to protect the area is part of a more comprehensive flood-control and navigation project for the Anacostia River and tributaries, authorized by Congress in the Flood Control Act approved May 14, 1950, in accordance with the recommendations of the Chief of Engineers as contained in House Document 202, 81st Congress. The plan of improvement provides in general for channel improvement along the river and its northeast and northwest branches, together with the construction of levees, pumping plants, and appurtenant facilities.

6. The General Assembly of the State of Maryland, in 1953 likewise gave special attention to this problem by authorizing the expenditure of $4,250,000 to carry out the State's obligation of the flood-control plan as prepared by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army. However, there is a qualification on this money which requires that the Congress must make available a minimum appropriation as evidence that the Federal Government is prepared to meet its obligation.

7. In the absence of Federal funds, the State of Maryland has proposed measures which might alleviate, in part, these serious circumstances. The Maryland State Roads Commission would expend $600,000 to raise the level of certain main and arterial roads. Frankly, I believe that such steps are impractical and inconsistent with the planning of the project. Conceivably, and there is much authoritative opinion to substantiate this point, these roads would require further alteration when construction of the entire project is started. This would certainly constitute a needless waste of Federal and State funds, and would raise the flood level only about 1 foot, and I am happy to report that the Governor of Maryland has agreed to defer this plan until action can be taken on this request for Federal appropriations during the current session of the Congress.

I respectfully urge that the proposed initial appropriation of $1 million for the Anacostia River flood-control project be approved. Further procrastination could be ominously fatal for, in my considered opinion, the grave and threatening portents of a military or civil defense catastrophe, in combination with the other hazards and factors which I have recited, must now be positively recognized and properly evaluated.

Italy's Reds Held Unlikely To Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Italian Reds Strive To Rule But Victory Seems Unlikely," dealing with the political situation in Italy. The article was written by the chief foreign correspondent of the New York Times, and was published in the March 15, 1954, issue of that newspaper. It is an extremely informative and well-written article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ITALIAN REDS STRIVE TO RULE BUT VICTORY SEEMS UNLIKELY—POWERFUL AND BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN EXPLOITS EXTENSIVE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEFECTS—DE GASPERI VOICES FEAR OF RIGHT

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

ROME, March 14.—Communism's most direct assault on the free world west of the Iron Curtain is being made in Italy.

Italian experience with democracy, economic imbalance and individual regional traditions are being exploited by a brilliantly organized Communist Party to threaten the existence of parliamentary institutions.

Nevertheless, it appears highly unlikely that communism, despite many favorable circumstances, including a disrupted opposition, will be able to gain control of Italy—at least as long as the United States adheres to its policy of shoring up the free lands of Europe.

It is believed improbable that the Communist Party will consider departing from legal means and attempt the use of force to seek power unless Moscow alters its basic foreign policy and decides to court the risk of global war.

Nor does it seem likely, despite the disorganization of the anti-Communist parties, that the Communists and their fellow-traveling allies are going to be able to gain sufficient support to vote themselves into authority in the foreseeable future.

These are the essential observations of this correspondent upon concluding a month's survey in Italy.

The study, which ranged from the Aosta Valley in the north to Calabria in the south,

included visits to dozens of communities in industrial, agricultural, and political centers.

Discussions on various aspects of communism were held with the principal leaders of the country—political, economic, and clerical—as well as with hundreds of less well-known representatives of the complex Italian social structure.

One conclusion reached is that, although the Communists are uncomfortably near power, the danger of their attaining it has been exaggerated.

If one studies election statistics not only from the post-Fascist but also from the pre-Fascist era, he finds that the left-wing faction of Italy's voting population has remained astonishingly constant.

On June 7, 1953, 34.8 percent of the voters cast their ballots for the extreme left—either for the Communists or for Pietro Nenni's left-wing Socialists. This represents a gain of almost 4 percent compared with the previous national election of 1948, but it also represents a drop from the peak of Communist power in 1946.

EARLY LEFTIST VOTES RECALLED

More striking is the fact that the pro-Communist vote last year was nearly the same as the 34.8 percent of the ballots cast for the leftist parties in 1919—2 years before the Italian Communist Party was formed. And as long ago as 1913, before World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, 32 percent of Italy's voters were balloting for the left.

In other words, the leftist tradition in Italy has been powerful for more than 40 years, despite her temporary imprisonment by fascism. Many of the districts most faithful to communism nowadays—above all in Red Emilia and Tuscany—were consistently pro-Socialist as long ago as 1900.

It would be foolhardy indeed to minimize the strength of Italian communism, supported morally and financially from its Soviet base, or the efficiency of its organization and propaganda. But it might lead to serious miscalculations were it to be exaggerated. The party is not yet strong enough to gain power without direct intervention from abroad.

An analysis of voting statistics shows that democracy in Italy may eventually be more endangered by the rise of right-wing sentiment in the Monarchist Party and the MSI (Italian Social Movement) than by striking increases in Communist support.

The right has been gaining strength at the expense of the moderate center, and above all at the expense of what still is Italy's largest party, that of the Christian Democrats. The Communists and their allies have been registering definite if possibly temporary gains among the uneducated masses of the poverty stricken south, but they are no more than holding their own in the critically important industrial north.

If the right continues to grow, it might develop someday into an authoritarian threat itself. At present it is dangerous only to the extent that it increasingly weakens the center.

DE GASPERI FEARS RIGHTISTS

As Dr. Alcide De Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats, former Premier and Italy's best known statesman, told this correspondent:

"The problem now is not so much the revival of communism as it is the strengthening of the extreme right. The two together represent a return to the shadows of the past. In a sense what has hurt democracy has been anticommuism (the right) rather than communism."

Ignazio Silone, Social Democrat, author and one of the principal leaders of the Communist Party during the 1920's, expressed the belief that behind the propaganda emphasizing the strength of communism might be the desire of the extreme right to prepare a coup similar to the one that led to fascism three decades ago.

"I fear the trend among the right, where the cult of force is influential," he declared. "It says, 'If all they respect is force, let's give them force.' I fear that the atmosphere of menace now prevailing has only been created by the right because it wants a coup."

But the present center coalition of Premier Mario Scelba is determined not to yield to right-wing hysteria or to left-wing threats. Signor Scelba expresses confidence that the existing government is strong enough to handle the situation.

"There is no danger of Communist conquest of power in Italy, either by legal democratic means or by violence," he said. "Communism remains a distinct factor in the national life that makes government actions and the social situation difficult, but it has no chance of taking power.

"The press of the world, as well as the governments of some nations, should remember this in formulating attitudes toward Italy. The forces of the disposal of the state are such as to prevent any attempt at conquest by violence."

There is little doubt that some anti-Communist groups are seeking to use the strength of communism as a lever to extract help from the United States and other friendly nations. One hears the recurrent phrase, "If you do not help us, Italy is going Communist."

TRIESTE ISSUE EMPHASIZED

Time and again, too, one hears the word Trieste. There is a constant refrain to the effect that Italy needs a political victory to avoid the magnetic attraction of communism and that only the grant of Trieste can accomplish this.

There is no doubt that some of Italy's allies are being pressured by the warning that if various concessions are not made, the country will not be able to resist communism.

Despite economic progress, including a 7-percent increase in national income last year and notable production gains, Italy's economic and social system is far from modern.

The trade unions still tend to be ground between the millstones of communism and antediluvian capitalism. There is a tradition of dependence, of leaning on the paternalistic care of private industry and agriculture, or on state care as represented by fascism.

The south is medieval in its way of living. Thousands of Italians still are forced by poverty to dwell in caves. Millions are jobless or insufficiently employed.

Adriano Olivetti, of Ivrea, Europe's largest manufacturer of business machines, and a crusading liberal, observes: "Our party system is controlled or corrupted by the industrialists and agricultural landowners who have been unable to handle the situation. They are the product of a lack of progressive tradition. Italian industrialists insist on taking too large a share of the profits."

Count Paolo Marzotto, a textile maker of Valdagno, says Italy's industrialists on the whole do not yet understand their duties, nor do the workers appreciate their rights.

RED SAYS CAPITALISLS HELP

Mario Montagnana, Communist chief in Milan, said frankly that blind capitalists were helping his party.

"If the industrialists here were intelligent, they would pay higher wages to the workers," he remarked. "The proportion of profits given to the workers is much smaller than in the United States, and, of course, the profits themselves are infinitely less. The Italian industrialists are stingy and brutal."

Egidio Sulotto, head of the Communist apparatus in Turin, contended that the total value of sales of the enormous Fiat automotive complex multiplied more than 20 times from 1948 to 1952 but that no more workers were hired.

Social and political criticisms are commonplace. A friar from Fraternitas, the flying squadrons of monks organized in Emilia, complains that the Government is too weak to guarantee anti-Communists freedom to work in the face of Communist threats.

A leading Florentine intellectual observed: "The Italian expects law and order from the state, possibly to counteract his own tradition of individualism and lawlessness. Yet time and again the Communist Party gives the impression of being stronger than the state."

Despite these complaints, and despite the fact that the Italian governmental and social systems need revision, many shrewd observers refuse to be thrown into a panic by the present wave of alarmist talk.

AN OPTIMISTIC VOICE

Thus for example, Vittorio Valletta, head of the Fiat empire, said that communism "as such" was not really strong in Italy. He added: "It has unfortunately been aided by Nenni, who betrayed the true cause of socialism. We must separate those at Nenni's side and bring them back to democratic socialism. The Italian situation is not horrible. Actually, in many ways, it is quite good."

It is recalled that until 1947 the Communists had the strongest party in Italy. They controlled key positions in many ministries and held Cabinet posts. They furnished ambassadors and important state functionaries. Communist mayors ruled several large cities. All except that in Bologna have been purged. Efforts, by no means entirely successful, are being made to keep Communists out of sensitive positions.

The party is strong and well disciplined, and benefits not only from able organization and skillful propaganda but from the persistent lag in necessary social reforms. Many persons express their despair and resentment against the Government, by voting Communist.

However, there is a rocky road between the position of an efficient minority party that is a voice of popular discontent and the seat of power in Rome. It appears safe to say that if courage and the wisdom of democracy can be made to prevail, it is unlikely that communism will gain control of Italy for years to come, if ever.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, recognition of world trade as a two-way street is widespread in my own State of Texas.

Texans generally understand the great value—in economic terms and as a factor making for world peace—of trade agreements negotiated under the program originally sponsored by that great American patriot, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

An expression of that understanding appeared recently in an editorial in one of our leading Texas newspapers, the Fort Worth Press. Because this editorial appearing in the March 13 issue of the Fort Worth Press, throws light on factors

holding up congressional enactment of a program designed to promote world trade, I commend it to the attention of the Senators, and ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON practically dared the President to stick his neck out the other day. In a radio program recorded at Washington for home consumption, the Senate minority leader expressed doubt that the reciprocal trade agreement would go through Congress "unless the President takes a strong stand and takes it early."

Senator JOHNSON was, of course, referring to the fact that the Republicans have been dragging their feet on this proposal. As a matter of fact, the large majority of the GOP Congressmen are at odds with the White House on this issue of lowering tariff barriers, where that can be done without endangering domestic industry.

The Senator observed that Mr. Eisenhower "will have the help of the Democrats, but we cannot do it alone." It so happens that the press agrees with Senator JOHNSON on that issue. We feel that the extension of the reciprocal trade agreements originally negotiated by Cordell Hull would be a boon to the country. President Eisenhower feels that way about it, too.

Ninety-Percent Support for Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. George Burch, secretary of the Goodhue County (Minn.) Farm Bureau, whom I have known very well for a long time, dealing with the dairy question.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOODHUE COUNTY
FARM BUREAU ASSOCIATION,
Red Wing, Minn., March 16, 1954.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Last Friday, March 12, our county farm bureau held an open meeting for the Farm Bureau township directors and dairy farmers from the various townships to obtain an expression regarding the present developments in the national dairy picture.

In spite of the heavy snowstorm (only one in this territory this winter) there was a good representation of dairy leadership at the meeting and we felt you would be interested in knowing the sentiment shown by this group of about 40 dairymen.

The group participated in lively discussion of current dairy issues and farm program principles. And while they did not back away from our previously announced stand favoring a degree of flexibility in our price-support program, the group did feel that the announced April 1 cut in dairy price supports from 90 to 75 percent of parity is rather severe. They also recognized that the accumulating dairy surpluses and the present provisions of the law gave the Secretary little choice except to lower supports. However, Congress could greatly relieve the present distressed situation by enacting "stop gap" measures while the new farm bill, with long-term objectives, is being developed. With this in mind, the group unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"We endorse the Thye-Humphrey-Andresen proposed legislation to continue the 90 percent support for dairy products as long as the six basic commodities received 90 percent support, and that future cuts in support level be not more than 5 percent in any 1 year, and we further endorse the proposal of the Minnesota Creamery Association to dispose of surplus dairy stock through the so-called roll back or wash sale plan whereby CCC-held dairy products would be offered to consumers through regular trade channels at open market prices and the difference made up in payments to the dairy plants, who in turn would pass these on to producers as additions to their original price."

We submit this as an expression of a limited group of our county dairy farmers for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,
GEORGE BURCH, *Secretary,*
Goodhue County Farm Bureau.

Ridgway Speaks Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a recent very pertinent editorial from the Boston Herald entitled "Ridgway Speaks Out."

This editorial points up a situation that has been developing abnormally since World War II. I had had frequent occasion to allude to it and it has given me and, I am sure others in the Congress, greatest concern. It poses the question whether the Congress, in striving to perfect the national defense and otherwise carry out its constitutional mandate, is entitled to frank, clear, honest professional opinions of our trained military experts. The evidence is that, in all too many instances, we are not getting them, although it must be stated that we have urgently required them, and will continue to need them, in order to intelligently and soundly set up our military security.

The case of our beloved and admired Admiral Denfeld was without doubt the most powerful illustration of retaliatory action by the executive department against professional military witnesses, who presented honest opinions and advice to the Congress. This instance, undoubtedly, served to intimidate high ranking officers coming before congressional committees and sealed their lips respecting vital information and views the Congress should have before it acts upon defense measures.

Most of you recall this very unhappy episode. Admiral Denfeld and several of his distinguished colleagues were called before our own House Armed Services Committee to present their views on certain controversial, but exceedingly vital, aspects of our defense. Before testifying they were assured, not only by the distinguished chairman of the committee, but by various Secretaries of the Defense Department and their representatives that there would be no reprisals or retaliatory action as a consequence of their statements. That assurance was spread clearly and emphatically upon the record of the hearings. These able, trained experts then gave their opinions freely to the committee. They pointed to certain shortcomings of our overall defense. They roundly criticized current policies and plans then in effect. They even advised against certain equipment, armament, and aircraft, upon which we were relying. Their views were cogent, frank, and very helpful; their advice wise and sound in most respects, if it had been followed.

Then what happened? Within 2 weeks or so, in obvious reprisal and retaliation, in clear violation of the assurances definitely expressed in the presence of the committee, press, and public, the heads began to roll. Admiral Denfeld was formed out of his command, after an illustrious career in the Navy of about 40 years. Other witnesses, who had testified honestly, were likewise visited with reprisal.

This was, indeed, one of the black spots in our military history and, indeed, in the history of Congress because it laid down the precedent that Congress or no Congress, defense or no defense, the military man who appeared before a congressional committee and gave honest views against prevailing administration military policy would be speedily liquidated.

I vehemently protested this action at the time, as did other Members of Congress, but there was no retreat, no redress for the injured, no remedy for honest, patriotic men with records of brilliant, extensive, devoted service to the country in our armed services—nothing but repudiation and cruel punishment for honestly stating their professional views to a pertinent committee of the Congress.

I think there would be general agreement that this is a most unwholesome situation. After all, the Nation spends very large sums of money to educate officers for our armed services. The Congress has been most generous in providing funds to develop our distinguished Academies and other training centers to furnish exceptional training to young men seeking military careers. Their formal education completed, these officers are assigned to various components of our land, sea, and air forces. After many years of experience, they usually acquire great efficiency and highly specialized knowledge in their respective fields. Of course, exceptional leaders always emerge to become the heads and high-ranking directors of our armed services. Many of these men possess outstanding ability and, of course, courage, resourcefulness, great skill and special aptitudes and fitness to a very high degree in commanding and directing the vital work of national defense.

It is to these specialists and to those of even lower echelons, to which congressional Armed Services and Appro-

priation Committees must look for information and advice and opinions upon a multitude of matters, affecting the conduct of the entire military system. Congress has the right to expect to receive from these great military leaders and other especially qualified armed services personnel, not only full, but frank, candid, and honest viewpoints. We require, not only accurate, truthful information, and this is truly invaluable, but their best opinion as experts and specialists upon the subject matters in their charge. Frequently, these matters have some bearing on diplomacy and foreign policy and our committees have had the greatest of difficulty in getting expressions from military experts in this field.

Korea is a good example. It will be recalled that in the case of this police action, which turned into a bloody war, we had the greatest of difficulty until after the war was over, save in 1 or 2 outstanding instances where disagreement with basic administration policy led to demotion, recall, or retirement, to fix the responsibility for military policy. It can be seen clearly, therefore, that Congress is not only on the horns of a dilemma, but beset by a shocking and vexing enigma.

Though the need is great, we frequently cannot adduce accurate, factual information, let alone honest opinions, from our military specialists, who fear, and with good reason, that anything they say will be held against them.

Surely this is a most serious problem and I believe that the Congress and the administration, acting in unison and together, should make every effort to resolve it so that we may have clear, explicit understanding that military experts, testifying before our committees, shall not only be encouraged to present full and honest views but will be protected against reprisal and retaliation, even when those views and opinions are in conflict with current policy.

It is urged that such a practice would hamper and impair military discipline. To an extent, this may be true. But on the other hand, this possibly must be balanced off against the compelling, imperative requirements of national defense and the duty imposed upon the Congress to provide for that defense in the interest of the security and safety of the country so that we may have what most people seek, a military system that will adequately protect the Nation and at the same time furnish us with smashing retaliatory power in the event of an attack.

The editorial has, therefore, touched upon a crucial and most vital consideration, effecting the obligation of our high-ranking military officers to speak out boldly, frankly, and completely without fear of personal retribution.

We should not gag our military men nor should we put them in the position of being punished for what they say before our congressional committees.

The editorial follows:

RIDGWAY SPEAKS OUT

If Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Matt Ridgway, a World War II paratrooper, had landed in the Senate Appropriations' Committee hearing room by parachute Monday, he couldn't have caused much more disturbance.

He did it by answering a direct, personal question in a direct personal way. He was asked if he was perfectly satisfied with the Eisenhower military budget, and he said, "I am not perfectly satisfied," and explained why.

As much as we disagree with General Ridgway (we feel that airpower must be given priority and that economic and technological reasons dictate a peacetime reduction in Army units), we hail his rugged honesty, and we hope that he will not suffer the fate of Air Force Chief of Staff General Vandenberg who was, in effect, drummed out of the service for disagreeing with his immediate civilian superiors, and for so testifying before Congress.

This is a critical distinction. We must have civilian control of the services. But this does not mean that our admirals and generals should have to provide a military rationalization for civilian decisions based on such nonmilitary considerations as economic stability.

General Bradley went to ridiculous extremes to defend Defense Secretary Louis Johnson's dangerous defense cuts in 1949. He even declared we had reasonable security. But last year, after he retired, he gave his real opinion—just the opposite—in a series of Saturday Evening Post articles. Thus when the Congress and the people went to the senior military officer in the country and asked him his professional opinion, they got double talk instead of honesty.

It was done in a sincere sense of duty, but the effect was the same: the Nation did not have the honest, complete, professional opinion of a military leader on which to base a wise decision.

We do not have to accept the military's conclusions. The Army may think it needs 40 divisions and our civilian leaders may consider this and decide we shall have to get along with 20. That's fine, and General Ridgway will go along with it. He will do his best with whatever he gets. But he should not be made to perjure himself by saying that he thinks 20 is plenty.

It is difficult, of course, for the civilian leader of a service to have his policy questioned by the expert testimony of the professional military head of that service. But we are not talking about authority. No general or admiral would dispute the right of the civilian to make the final decision as long as that decision takes account of the full, honest opinion of the men whose whole career has been in the military.

If we gag them, then we are making the decisions which mean the security of the free world without the benefit of the Nation's best military judgment. That is most dangerous—and perhaps even worse is the long term deterioration of our officer corps if the heads of the services are chosen for their compliance instead of their brilliance.

We salute General Ridgway who has the courage to state his opinion, bluntly, frankly, publicly, when asked it by Congress. No officer should do less. Unfortunately many have.

The Nixon Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting editorial entitled "The Nixon Answer," which was published in the New York Times.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NIXON ANSWER

In his reply on behalf of the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party to the recent address of Adlai Stevenson, Vice President NIXON said some things that were well worth saying. Though he followed the now official practice of not mentioning Senator MCCARTHY by name, he certainly intended his radio audience to know that it was of Senator MCCARTHY that he was speaking when he condemned unfair and reckless methods of investigation on the part of congressional agencies. He urged his listeners to agree with him that "the President is right in insisting on fair procedures in those investigations. * * * We have got to be fair. For two very good reasons, first, because it's right; and, second, because it's the most effective way of doing the job." It is useful to have these familiar truths restated, on behalf of the administration and the party, at this particular juncture in the MCCARTHY affair.

Mr. NIXON, however, makes a mistake in assuming, as he does, either that Senator MCCARTHY can be persuaded to mend his ways, as Mr. NIXON advises him to do, or that the storm which has been aroused by Senator MCCARTHY'S methods and objectives can readily be quieted. It is Mr. NIXON'S concluding advice, presumably addressed equally to Senator MCCARTHY and his critics, that they stop quarreling and get on with the President's legislative program. "Let's stop fighting among ourselves about an issue that all Americans should be united on," says Mr. NIXON. "Let's join together and get behind our President in making the American dream come true."

The "issue that all Americans should be united on," as Mr. NIXON uses the phrase here, is opposition to communism and all its works, Communist aggression abroad, Communist infiltration at home. But that is not the issue really involved in this McCarthy business. It is not the issue, because the overwhelming mass of the American people were solidly united on this issue long before Senator MCCARTHY appeared upon the scene. The overwhelming mass of the American people decided long ago that they wanted no Communists teaching in the public schools, no Communists functioning in public office, no Communists spying on the secrets of our Government. Senator MCCARTHY did not alert the American people against the dangers of communism. Stalin did. Senator MCCARTHY did something else. Senator MCCARTHY has exploited fear for purposes of achieving personal power, made the star chamber an American institution, challenged the basic tenets of the Bill of Rights and outraged the feelings of decent people with his vicious attacks upon the honor of men like General Zwicker.

This, and not the spurious issue of "uniting against communism," when we are already so united, and have been for years, is the real issue posed by Senator MCCARTHY. If Mr. NIXON thinks that this issue can readily be smoothed over, merely by advising Senator MCCARTHY to look before he leaps, and the rest of the country to turn its attention to the President's legislative program, he is very much mistaken. The issue of McCarthyism will remain alive so long as Senator MCCARTHY is left by his Republican colleagues in the Senate, Mr. NIXON included, in a position of untrammeled power. The issue will remain alive, and it will continue to overshadow public interest in the President's legislative program, as it does at this very moment, because there are millions of Americans—Republicans no less than Democrats and independents

among them—who are convinced that the Senate's toleration of Mr. McCARTHY's outrageous abuse of power is a threat to the security and the domestic peace and the good name of the American people.

Even on the narrow and less important ground of party unity, Mr. NIXON mistakes the issue and underestimates the stakes. It is as clear as daylight now that it is Senator McCARTHY's deliberate purpose to undermine public confidence in the Eisenhower administration and to discredit any of its high executives who dares to challenge his own authority and his ultimate claim to party leadership. Mr. NIXON calls for peace within the ranks of the Republican party. He will make peace with Senator McCARTHY only on Senator McCARTHY's terms.

The Suppression of Religion and Freedom in Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of the House the following resolution adopted by the Catholic Polish Youth Federation of Connecticut on the subject of suppression of religion and freedom in Poland, as sent to me by Miss Sophie M. Sztaba, secretary, of New Britain, Conn.

The resolution is as follows:

The Polish Catholic Youth Federation of Connecticut in convention assembled at Torrington, Conn., on February 10, 1954, voted by acclamation to memorialize the President of the United State, His Excellency Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the Connecticut delegation to the Congress of the United States, the Honorable PRESCOTT BUSH, Senator; the Honorable WILLIAM A. PURTELL, Senator; the Honorable THOMAS J. DODD, Congressman; the Honorable HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR., Congressman; the Honorable JAMES T. PATTERSON, Congressman; and the Honorable ANTONI N. SADLAK, Congressman, in regard to persecution of the Catholic Church in Poland.

"Whereas this organization consists of young Americans, resident in Connecticut and descendant from a liberty-loving people, the Poles, whose annals are replete with glorious names of fighters and martyrs for freedom and whose sons Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko have made common the history of Poland and the United States; and

"Whereas this organization worships God without fear of intimidation or interference from the established government; and

"Whereas this organization desires the same right for the people of Poland; and

"Whereas the insidious and satanic regime, which usurps the name, the Polish Government, is deliberately and contemptuously suppressing the Catholic Church, to which an overwhelming majority of the Poles adhere, by imprisoning the Primate of Poland, His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszinski; by arresting and jailing other church leaders; by interfering with the internal management of the church; by liquidating the Polish Catholic press; by foisting unauthorized puppets as legitimate leaders of the church: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States, His Excellency Dwight D. Eisenhower, continue to voice his objection to the cruel treatment inflicted on the Catholic people of Poland by unwanted rulers; that he instruct the State Department to lodge a protest with the Polish representatives to the United States over the actions of the present Polish Government; that he instruct the chief delegate of the United States to the United Nations, the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, to solicit the support of the free nations of the world in protesting against the high-handed actions of the present Polish Government; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Connecticut delegation to the Congress of the United States present to that honorable body its protests in line with this memorial; be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States; to the Governor of the State of Connecticut, the Honorable John Lodge; to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Connecticut; and that copies of this resolution be sent to all the various newspapers in the State of Connecticut."

CATHOLIC POLISH YOUTH FEDERATION OF CONNECTICUT.
SOPHIE M. SZTABA, *Secretary*.

Crippling Amendments to the St. Lawrence Seaway Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial which appeared in the Tuesday, March 16, issue of the Milwaukee Journal. The editorial points out three crippling amendments with which opponents of the St. Lawrence seaway hope to destroy the Wiley-Dondero bill.

On several occasions I have emphasized the need for blocking all of these and other crippling amendments. I am convinced that the opponents of the seaway recognize that they cannot attempt by frontal assault to defeat the seaway legislation. So they will use the back door, so to speak, for the purpose of trying to cripple the seaway. But they are not going to succeed.

I want to say very frankly that it is a disappointment to me that through a "combination of circumstances," the House Rules Committee has thus far failed to meet on the seaway bill. The circumstances have, no doubt, had some justification, but they have reached the point of a "few too many coincidences" to be entirely plausible. Other bills have proceeded swiftly through the Rules Committee, while the seaway bill, by an unfortunate set of "coincidences," has not. I am hoping that the Rules Committee will fulfill the mandate of the American people for early action.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the Milwaukee Journal editorial, to which I earlier referred, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE BILLS THREATEN SEAWAY

The St. Lawrence seaway has successfully avoided more congressional shoals than ever before. But the fight isn't over and bitter opponents have some "destroyer" proposals still lying in wait.

So far the Wiley-Dondero seaway bill has escaped crippling amendments. It got through the Senate. It won approval of the House Public Works Committee. It is momentarily waiting clearance in the House Rules Committee, where leadership has promised action.

But once it gets to the House floor the seaway bill's supporters will have to beat off at least three proposals by the seaway's old opponents—the coastal ports and the railroads. Each of these proposals was beaten down in the Senate or the Public Works Committee. They are due to be brought up again in a last-ditch fight to prevent American participation in the seaway.

First is the Brownson amendment, proposed by Representative BROWNSON, Republican, of Indiana, which would scrap the financing features of the seaway bill. It would restrict the seaway corporation to the private market for the sale of its bonds by ordering the Treasury not to buy them. This limitation would, as the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association has pointed out, give "private bankers and investors the power to veto the carrying out of established Government policies."

Next is a plan first proposed by Senator LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana, which would scrap the bond issue feature of the bill entirely and require the corporation to go to Congress each year for appropriations. This would mean annual fights with seaway opponents and would certainly not give Canada any confidence that joint construction could go ahead without danger of annual pitfalls.

Finally, there is the proposal that before the seaway construction is started the United States would have to negotiate agreements with Canada on tolls and other related matters. The project will not be completed for half a dozen years. The proposal to set firm agreements on tolls is like forcing a man to set a price on a product before he has built the factory to produce it and has had experience with production and sales costs.

What these seaway opponents overlook is the fact that the seaway is going to be built—Canada has started. Congressional action is aimed only at insuring United States participation in, and control over, a portion of the coming seaway. Anything that would prevent or restrict that participation would be harmful to American interests.

Surely the House should reject the proposed crippling amendments and get on with the basic business of giving us a voice in development of an important section of our international boundary.

Murphy Army Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the way the Army has handled the Murphy closing is certainly bewildering to say the least. Maj. Gen. George E. Armstrong, the Surgeon General, learned about it in midafternoon. Colonel Redland, the commanding officer at Murphy, had his first inkling about it from news reporters. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for health and medical matters, Melvin A. Casberg, learned about it when my office phoned him for details about the reported closing. The Assistant Secretary,

Mr. Casberg, is charged with making policy in such matters.

Col. C. F. St. John, Chief of the medical plans and operation branch of the Surgeon General's Office, could throw no light on Murphy. He indicated there had been some discussion in the past about closing Murphy, but today's development came as a complete surprise to him.

Thus far, our taxpayers have had to pay for the Army's mistakes in its handling of Murphy. First, over the strenuous objection of our House Armed Services Committee a few years ago, it closed the hospital. Subsequently, it was compelled to reopen it just as many of us in the Massachusetts delegation had predicted. Now it proposes to close it again.

I am particularly concerned about many seriously ill patients at Murphy, many of them Korean war veterans. The closing of Murphy will mean that these patients who are in need of continued medical care will have to be transferred to Valley Forge Army Hospital in Phoenixville, Pa., the nearest general Army hospital. Families will find it extremely difficult to visit these boys because of the distance and transportation costs involved. Their recovery might well be retarded because of the lack of visits from their families.

I am urging Army Secretary Stevens to reconsider the closing of Murphy. I believe it most ill-advised at this time.

This is a shocking development and I cannot understand why the Army should take such action without consulting and advising with its own policymakers and also informing the House Armed Services Committee and other interested Members of Congress.

Surely, the distingiushed and able Surgeon General should be informed in advance concerning such drastic changes in his hospital program.

Another very distressing feature is the fact that Murphy is the only Army hospital being closed at this time.

The Tidelands Decree

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States last Monday in the so-called Tidelands case, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain representative editorials taken from newspapers in various parts of the country.

The first is from the Washington Star of March 18, 1954, entitled "End of the Tidelands Issue." The second is from the Nashville Banner of March 16, and is entitled "Tideland Ownership Confirmed." The third is from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 16, and is entitled "Offshore Lands Ruling." The fourth is from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 16, and is entitled "Tidelands Decree."

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of March 18, 1954]

END OF THE TIDELANDS ISSUE

The Supreme Court, in its 6 to 2 decision against the Alabama and Rhode Island tidelands suits, has put to rest one of the most misrepresented issues in recent American history. The decision upholds the constitutionality of the bill quitclaiming to the coastal States the submerged lands and resources lying within their traditional seaward boundaries. Signed last May by President Eisenhower, this is the very same bill that used to be described by certain people as a giveaway, robbery in broad daylight, and a big steal perpetuated against the whole country by Congress.

But Congress, despite its misguided critics, had every right to enact the quitclaim legislation. The court majority, reaffirming earlier rulings to the same effect, has been particularly emphatic on that point. Actually, far from being an evil thing, the bill represents an honest and thoroughly constitutional decision to restore to the coastal States what had always been regarded as theirs before the tidelands rebate began after the Second World War. But now, at long last, the controversy— with all its gross distortions—has come to an end. Good riddance to it.

[From the Nashville Banner of March 16, 1954]

TIDELAND OWNERSHIP CONFIRMED

The Supreme Court's action Monday in rejecting suits challenging tidelands legislation passed at the last session of Congress reiterated a point which was obvious from the start to all but a few followers of the "Fur Deal" grab philosophy. To wit, that the power to assign title to property belonging to the United States is vested in Congress without limitation.

For more than 100 years the Federal Government never questioned the States' ownership. The Supreme Court indicated in 53 separate decisions that it favored State control of offshore lands. When Texas came into the Union, it did so with the specific written agreement that it would retain title to such territory.

But all that was before the Federal Government under Mr. Truman, acting on his own or through the Supreme Court, began its program of confiscation by fiat. And although precedent was on the side of the States, any title, no matter how good, can become clouded by persistent lawsuits, no matter how weak. So in 1947, under constant pressure from the Truman administration, the Supreme Court adopted an entirely new philosophy and dispossessed the States of these properties and turned them over to the Federal Government.

Twice since that time Congress passed legislation restoring to the States that which historically had been theirs, but on both occasions the bills were vetoed by Mr. Truman. Then last year the Eisenhower administration, in fulfillment of its promise made during the campaign, made into law the measure just upheld by the Nation's highest tribunal.

The attempted tidelands grab was a characteristic gesture by those who favor big government and more power in Washington. It was backed by propagandists who chose to glibly ignore the facts of legal precedent which they could in no wise answer.

At stake were the rights and property of every State—not just those bordered by seawater—for had the grabbers succeeded, they certainly would not have stopped there. The Nation can rejoice that the controversy finally has been resolved in favor of the rightful owners.

[From the New Orleans Times-Picayune of March 16, 1954]

OFFSHORE LANDS RULING

A properly sweeping decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Alabama-Rhode Island Tidelands Title Act test upholds the plain language of the Constitution, as previously underwritten in at least six prior rulings which are quoted in the per curiam opinion.

This victory for the coastal States, including the four that have or expect to find oil resources in the submerged lands within their historic boundaries, was not unexpected.

The gist of the decision is that Congress exercised its constitutional right in quitclaiming these sea-bottom lands to the various States. In holding this to be a power without limitation, the Court set aside arguments that it is not boundless, but is subject to some need of review and revision. To Congress and the coastal States, the disposition of the lands was just; to Alabama, Rhode Island, and Arkansas (the first two being, paradoxically, coastal States themselves), it was something else. All this was threshed out in extensive congressional debate.

Arkansas' suit, which is district court action filed at Washington last July 8, still is pending. Though the language used and the points raised may be superficially different from those in the case just decided, the guiding principle involved appears to be the same; and a motion for dismissal of the Arkansas suit seems now in order.

Though this would take the drag of litigation off the delayed development of the submerged lands, an agreement still has to be worked out, by law or otherwise, regarding Louisiana's historic marine boundary line and its method of determination.

In a sense Alabama and Rhode Island, in applying directly to the Supreme Court, may have done the defendants a favor in timesaving. Alabama asked September 26 for permission to file suit there, and was joined by Rhode Island. The decision (which denies the permission but settles the issue) was rendered in fairly quick time for a case of this character. As for other issues raised by Alabama—such as discrimination in fishing rights—Louisiana counsel properly pointed out that this is an anticipation of fact, and can be handled in due course, if it has to be handled at all, by means or remedies available in law.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of March 16, 1954]

TIDELANDS DECREE

The Supreme Court seems to have settled diehard attempts to challenge the 1953 tidelands act of Congress, which awarded coastal oil lands to various States. The decision refused Alabama and Rhode Island permission to bring suit against validity of the law. Arkansas has another suit pending in a lower court, but the Supreme Court's ruling probably writes finis to the issue.

The majority opinion of the Supreme Court held Congress has unlimited power to do what it wants with public lands. What it did was to return tidelands to the States where title belonged. The rights vested in States, extending to historic off-shore boundaries, had been invalidated by a previous decree of the high court, contrary to prior decisions and precedent. Congress acted simply to return to sovereign States what was theirs.

Obviously Congress has power "without limitation" to assign public lands as it wills. This should be especially proper when it is

acting to rectify an injustice to individual States and their traditional rights. It is difficult to understand what legal justification Justices Black and Douglas found on which to base their dissenting opinions.

Resolution by the Progressive Mine Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a resolution adopted by the Progressive Mine Workers calling upon Congress to enact legislation to improve the present social security act. The resolution follows:

Whereas the social-security law of the United States represents one of the greatest economic steps forward in the history of our country; and

Whereas the system so far has demonstrated that economic security can be made possible for millions of Americans through their own and their employers' contributions to a Federal fund; and

Whereas this fund today is strong and self-supporting and should be strengthened so that additional and larger benefits may be paid to those eligible to social security payments; and

Whereas this strengthening is already provided by law through increases in social-security deductions from the incomes of all who are covered by social security and from their employers; and

Whereas a small group interested in destroying the major benefits of our social-security program wish to see the already enacted laws for increasing social-security deductions repealed so that added benefits will not be available in the future to all who are eligible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Progressive Mine Workers of America, That Congress of the United States be called upon to make these suggested changes or additions to the present social-security laws:

1. Increase the social-security deductions as already provided to 2 percent of income for each person so covered, as well as increasing the contributions of employers to 2 percent, effective June 1, 1954.

2. Increase social-security pensions paid to those eligible to pensions to a minimum of $100 per month, with proportionate increases for those entitled to higher benefits.

3. Decrease the voluntary retirement age to 60 years of age.

4. Increase widows' pensions by at least 50 percent with equal increases for each dependent.

5. Continue widows' benefits in full even after dependent children have reached the age of 18 so that these widows may be in part self-supporting.

6. Increase the maximum amounts which those now receiving social-security benefits may earn per month from the present $75 per month to at least $150 per month, regardless of age.

7. Provide prepaid hospitalization for all persons covered by social security for at least 20 days of such hospitalization.

8. Increase the maximum salary limits so that all persons earning in excess of the present $3,600 per year may pay increased deductions on incomes up to a maximum of $6,000 per year per person, providing additional revenues for the social-security fund to pay the proposed increases recommended in this resolution.

9. Simplify the system of quarters so that all persons paying into the social-security fund may draw benefits regardless of how many months or quarters they may have worked, the amount of eventual benefits to be determined by the number of months of coverage; and, be it further

Resolved, That a standing Social Security Study Committee be authorized by Congress, representing industry, capital, labor, and the public, to make a continual study of our social-security program and that any and all recommendations of such committee be submitted annually to Congress for purposes of improving the social-security laws of the United States.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Montana are deeply concerned, along with other citizens, about the growing number of reports of juvenile delinquency. The ladies of the WCTU, in a number of messages sent to me, believe that there is an increase in the consumption of alcoholic beverages among teen-agers, and that this is responsible for the growing evidences of delinquency.

In this connection, I believe it should be stated that Montana law on the subject of the sale of liquor to minors or the purchase of liquor by minors is very explicit. The licensed liquor dealers of Montana display in their establishments a statement of the law on this subject. There is no way that a minor can acquire liquor legally. If minors are drinking, they are getting it through some bootlegging arrangement in violation of law. The parents can hardly be unaware if their teen-age children are drinking, and certainly this is a sphere where parental control should be exercised vigorously.

The president of the Montana WCTU has asked that I include in my remarks in the RECORD the text of her letter to me of March 14, 1954. It is as follows:

DEAR SIR: I feel strongly that the Bryson bill should be brought out of committee and onto the floor, and that you should vote for its passage.

Each day the papers contain news items that make us realize that if the youth of this country are to grow up and become leaders in our Government, they must be protected from those forces that seek to lower their moral standards.

I think liquor advertising over the radio and TV is not character building, but definitely gives youth and the entire audience false values of life, and in the end is the cause of much of our present crime wave.

I represent 600 members of the Montana State WCTU. This is the expression of their sentiments.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. E. B. NOBLE,
President, Montana WCTU.

Cushing VA Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, I include therein an excellent resolution which I recently received from members of Lt. Robert C. Frascotti Post, No. 1544, Inc., Veterans of Foreign Wars, Milford, Mass., in behalf of my bill, H. R. 548, which provides for the utilization of Cushing Hospital at Framingham as a domiciliary center for aged and infirm veterans.

There is a great need for this type of hospitalization in my district and section. Cushing VA Hospital has been inactivated by the Veterans' Administration after many years of helpful service to veterans. The facility is in reasonably good condition and could very easily and without much expense, if any, be converted into a domiciliary home.

I think that Members of Congress well realize the need for this type of hospitalization for veterans. It would be a boon to a great many veterans who have served the country and defended our security with all their hearts and at great sacrifice and in so many cases with the loss of their health, to have this type of service and care when they need it most.

I hope that the Veterans' Affairs Committee will take favorable action on this measure, or, in the alternative, that the Veterans' Administration on its own motion will move to convert the facilities of Cushing Hospital for domiciliary purposes. The proposal has strongest public support from veterans organizations and the people of Massachusetts and I think it should be adopted as soon as possible.

Naturally, I am very grateful to the members of the Lt. Robert C. Frascotti Post for their interest, energetic efforts, and help. The post is named after a fine young man who was one of the great heroes of World War II, and its members are admirably carrying out the ideals and principles for which he gave his all, and are serving our veterans, their splendid community, and the Nation with commendable devotion.

I am awaiting a report on my bill, H. R. 548, introduced on the opening day of the 83d Congress, January 3 of last year. This bill seeks to establish a domiciliary home at Cushing, a proposal I first made in September 1951. The full text of H. R. 548 follows:

H. R. 548

A bill to provide for the establishment of a Veterans' Administration domiciliary center at Cushing Veterans' Administration Hospital at Framingham, Mass.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized and directed to establish, operate, and maintain at Cushing Veterans' Administration Hospital, at Framingham, Mass., a facility for the domiciliary care of veterans eligible for such care under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration.

SEC. 2. Such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this act are authorized to be appropriated.

During all of 1952, I carried on extensive correspondence and had many discussions with officials of the Veterans' Administration in an effort to secure adoption of my proposal. In fact, on March 12, 1952, Vice Adm. J. T. Boone, Chief VA Medical Director, wrote me in part:

With reference to your recommendation that the Veterans' Administration establish a domiciliary program at the Framingham (Cushing) Hospital: We had hoped to do this, but now that the hospital has been turned over to the Department of Defense, some other means of meeting domiciliary needs in the New England area will have to be developed.

I might mention here that Dr. Boone's letter refers to the grandiose plans of the Army for the utilization of Cushing. At the time, the Army intended to curtail its hospital functions at Fort Devens and Camp Edwards and ultimately close Murphy Army Hospital, which latter proposal I energetically protested. Again yesterday the Army announced it was closing down Murphy Army Hospital on June 30, and I have urged Army Secretary Stevens to reconsider this decision. I shall have more to say about Murphy later on because this proposal is most ill-advised, bewildering, and shocking, to say the least.

In any event, the Army view prevailed in 1952 despite the efforts of many of us in the congressional delegation from Massachusetts to prevent the Veterans' Administration from leaving Cushing. Some considerable expenditure of governmental funds was made to rehabilitate the Veterans' Administration hospital at West Roxbury to provide the specialized care required for the paraplegic patients at Cushing and the next thing we knew the Veterans' Administration was out of Cushing, lock, stock, and barrel.

I feel sure that it was a source of considerable embarrassment to the Army late last year to have to announce it had no plans for the utilization of Cushing, especially after having forced the Veterans' Administration to relinquish this great hospital plant. But this decision is typical of the indecision and vacillation which have marked the operation of the Army's hospital program in Massachusetts. The situation has grown steadily worse and we now have the Army's proposal to close down Murphy Army Hospital at Waltham on June 30.

I hope that it is not too late to correct the mistakes that have been made in the handling of Cushing. The Veterans' Administration admits the need for domiciliary facilities for our aged veterans in the New England area; in fact, were it not for our State-owned and operated soldiers' homes at Chelsea and Holyoke, Mass., the Veterans' Administration's problem would be much more serious. We have the facilities at Cushing for the establishment of such a home. Time is running out on the Veterans' Administration, and I again urge that necessary action be taken to establish a domiciliary home at Cushing.

The material referred to follows:

PETITION

The undersigned hereby strongly urge the Members of the Congress of the United States to give full support to H. R. 548, a bill filed by Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, which would provide for the establishment of a Veterans' Administration facility as a domiciliary center for aged and infirm veterans at Cushing Hospital in Framingham, Mass.

We urge the members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to which this bill has been referred, to provide their strongest possible recommendation for passage of this bill.

RESOLUTION

Whereas Cushing Hospital in Framingham, Mass., served an excellent purpose for many years as a general medical hospital and paraplegic center under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration; and

Whereas it is a matter of fact and record that thousands of disabled veterans, including tubercular and mentally disabled veterans were restored to health in the tranquil and restful atmosphere of a unique medical institution characterized by one-story construction, easy access to sunshine and fresh air, excellent recreational and vocational facilities; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration was forced to abandon this facility by an established target date by order of the Defense Department on the ground that they (U. S. Department of Defense) had an immediate and critical need for the institution; and

Whereas this order was carried out by the Veterans' Administration to the extent that paraplegic and other veterans were literally pushed out of the institution they had known as home for many years and transported to other hospitals. In many cases much more remote from the homes of their families and friends, especially in the cases of those veterans whose families reside in the extensive area of central Massachusetts; and

Whereas the abandonment of Cushing Hospital as a Veterans' Administration facility had an adverse effect on the economy of many communities in central Massachusetts through the abolishment of all positions connected with the administration of the hospital; and

Whereas the veterans and other patriotic organizations manifested a true spirit of understanding and cooperation by yielding to this move without violent protests in view of and in deference to the announced desperate need for this institution by the United States Defense Department; and

Whereas all inquiries to the Veterans' Administration regarding the necessity for the move by those interested in the plight of the veterans involved received the same reply to the effect that the facility was needed by the United States Defense Department; and

Whereas within a few short months after all patients had been moved and Cushing Hospital had been relegated to the status of an abandoned group of buildings the United States Defense Department blandly announced that it decided that they had, after all, no future plans or no use for the institution and had therefore petitioned the President to turn this extremely valuable property of the taxpayers of the United States over to the General Services Administration for disposition; and

Whereas there is at the present time no facility in all of New England for the care of old, infirm, chronic and indigent veterans, such as the VA domiciliary home in Bath, N. Y. The existing facilities at Cushing Hospital are ideal for just such an institution for New England veterans: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That this organization go on record in full support of whatever steps are necessary to establish and maintain a Veterans' Administration domiciliary home at the site of the Cushing Hospital; and be it further

Resolved, That consideration of this proposal be fully explored and investigated and a full presentation of all the facts involved be presented to the taxpayer before this valuable Federal property is abandoned or disposed of to any community, group, person, corporation or organization; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to every New England Representative and Senator in Congress, to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the Secretary of Defense, and to the President of the United States.

Ring of Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent approved by the House, I am enclosing an editorial from the Wichita Eagle under date of February 24, 1954, concerning a forceful, interesting, and illuminating address that was delivered at a brotherhood dinner meeting in Wichita, Kans., by our colleague the Honorable WALTER H. JUDD. I am sure the membership of the House will be interested in reading this tribute to which our colleague is so much entitled:

RING OF TRUTH

Congressman WALTER H. JUDD, of Minnesota, electrified a brotherhood dinner meeting here this week with an extraordinarily compassionate and comprehending analysis of America's world dilemma. Dr. Judd's thesis has the simplicity of the eternal verities: You can't compromise with communism because the godless Reds neither think nor believe as do we who have been conditioned by the Judeo-Christian ethic. Thus untouched by spiritual grace the Communists are little more than predatory animals, bent only on conquest. Their objective never varies, only the tactics: Subvert the weak, divide the strong.

To meet these grim facts, Dr. Judd calls on Americans firstly to understand the nature of the enemy, but more importantly to understand themselves—knowing the Reds will alert us to any of their global funny business. But, he asserts, it is in becoming reacquainted with our great political and spiritual heritage that we stand a chance of reversing the worldwide atheistic tide.

Dr. Judd meets the crucial question head-on with characteristic courage. If there's to be no compromise with communism, then what? They've got to be overthrown, he answers. Not by war because that would sink us both. But by so reaffirming our heritage of individual freedom and respect as to win the allegiance of the uncommitted peoples of the world. In the face of such towering opposition, satellites would desert and the Soviet hegemony in the end would wither and die.

This may be the long view, but it is also one with immediate relevancy. Mr. JUDD successfully synthesizes America's paramount spiritual and temporal values arriving at a message that has an authentic ring of truth.

Increased Protection for Widows Under Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, one of the basic principles of our old-age and survivors insurance system is that adopted in 1939 which protects the survivors of a worker who dies. All of us have known bereaved families who received the protection furnished by survivors benefits on the death of the father, and we will agree, I am sure, that this is one of the most important parts of our social security law. We have known mothers left with young children who learned—often to their surprise—that they were entitled to a regular social security benefit during the children's minority, because of the social security contribution made by the husband and father during his working life. We have known elderly widows who, on their husbands' death, became entitled to their own "widows' benefit" under social security for the same reason. We are all proud of the fact that our social security system has for some time been more protective in this respect than are many other public or private retirement plans.

I am convinced, however, that there is a weakness in this survivors' program which should be promptly remedied. Under our existing system, the widow of a retired worker is not eligible for a widow's benefit until she has reached her 65th birthday, unless she is caring for his minor children. And this is true in spite of the fact that there is a difference of about 2½ years between the ages of husband and wife, on the average.

It follows that, even though her husband may, at the time of his death, have been over age 65 and receiving a retirement benefit of his own, that benefit is stopped at the time of the widow's bereavement unless she has also reached the age of 65. In too many cases, therefore, the widow is denied a benefit at the time she most needs one—at the death of her husband. In too many cases, she has to be told that she must wait until she herself reaches age 65 before she can receive the social-security benefit which was designed to protect her against this very exigency.

The genuine inequity of this provision is emphasized further by the fact that it is practically impossible for a widowed woman to obtain employment after age 50, even if she is able to work. Many widows, of course, have spent their lives making a home and raising a family and so have not had the opportunity to acquire technical or other skills which are required to hold a job today. Even those women who had worked before marriage, and who have wanted to return to a job after the death of their husbands, are finding that production processes or sales methods have changed so much that it is very difficult to find employment.

The fact that women are less likely to have an adequate retirement income, from any source, than are men is another consideration which must be kept in mind. For example, a recent survey of widows receiving old-age and survivors insurance benefits showed that only 10 percent had independent money retirement income of $1,200 or more per year. In all age groups, the median income for persons with income is substantially lower for women than for men.

Here, in my opinion, is an opportunity for this Congress to act constructively toward the improvement of our social-security system. I believe that we should lower the eligiblity age for widows to age 55. The least we can do is to lower their eligibility age to 60 years. As for myself, most of you know that I am in favor of making everybody under social security eligible at age 60—an improvement which would automatically protect widows beginning at 60 years of age. But, this kind of automatic protection is not, to my mind, sufficient in the case of widows. I am concerned that their special needs receive more attention in the various proposals before us for the revision of the social-security program—and I have seen little evidence of such attention. For, as I have tried to suggest, the widows of this country are now the victims of a real inequity which should be corrected.

Tax Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am in full support of the President's recommendations in the tax program regarding extending exemption provisions for foster children, tax relief for retired persons, tax relief on annuities, relief to widowed mothers who must support children, deductions of interest charges on installment buying, and the other provisions relating to split income, students, medical expenses, and the proposed new depreciation method.

In addition, the overall technical revision of tax laws—deleting much obsolete language—is, I believe, a constructive step.

On the substantive question of major tax relief, I am of the opinion that a decision for such tax relief, aside from correcting the inequities mentioned above, rests on the assumption that the economy needs an injection to help offset the present downturn in economic activity. If this reason does not prevail, then no major tax relief is justified since a balanced budget demands retaining all taxes at present levels.

However, I am in accord with the President's view that some tax relief is justified in order to stimulate economic activity. I am not convinced, however, that the administration's recommendation to give the bulk of the relief to corporations and stockholders is the proper method required at this point. Let me specifically indicate what is involved in the President's recommendations.

The 80 percent of taxpayers in the under $5,000 group get little tax relief from this bill.

Total annual tax relief

[In millions]

	Fiscal year 1955		Full effect	
	Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total
Taxpayers under $5,000 (chart I)	$205	15	$205	6
Taxpayers over $5,000 (chart II)	573	41	1,147	30
Corporations (chart III)	[1] 619	44	2,444	64
Total	1,397	100	3,796	100

[1] This does not include the temporary continuation of present corporation tax rates.

CHART I.—*Provision which will primarily benefit the 80 percent of taxpayers with incomes of less than $5,000*

[In millions]

Provision	Total annual tax relief	
	Fiscal year 1955	Full effect
Exemption for foster children	$10	$10
Taxation of annuities	10	10
Tax credit on $1,200 of retirement income	125	125
Child-care deduction	40	40
Deduction of interest charges on installment buying	10	10
Soil and water conservation expenditures	10	10
Total relief for primary benefit of under $5,000 group	205	205
Percent of total gross tax relief in this bill [1]	15	6

[1] This is a percentage of all the tax reductions made in this bill, all of which are permanent. This does not include the extension of the present corporation tax rate, which is simply a 1-year proposition, and which will net $1,200 million in fiscal year 1955.

CHART II.—*Provisions which will primarily benefit the 20 percent of taxpayers with incomes over $5,000*

[In millions]

Provision	Total annual tax relief	
	Fiscal year 1955	Full effect
Dividend tax credit	$240	$814
Full split-income benefits for head of household	50	50
Exemption for dependents under 19 or students, regardless of their earnings	75	75
Medical expense deductions	80	80
Personal exemptions for trusts raised from $100 to $300	3	3
Premium test on life insurance in estate taxation	25	25
Increase in charitable contribution limit from 20 to 30 percent	25	25
Depreciation under the new declining-balance method	75	(1)
Total relief for the primary benefit of the over $5,000 group	573	1,147
Percent of total gross tax relief in this bill	41	30

[1] The maximum revenue loss from the new depreciation provision for both corporations and individuals ($2.2 billion in 1960) is shown under corporations. No estimate as to how much of this $2.2 billion benefit goes to individuals.

CHART III.—*Provisions which will benefit corporations*

[In millions]

Provision	Total annual tax relief	
	Fiscal year 1955	Full effect
Depreciation (under the new declining-balance method)	$300	[1]$2,200
Natural resources (percentage depletion)	27	-------
Corporation income from foreign branches and subsidiaries	147	-------
Net operating loss carryback	100	100
Accounting provisions	45	45
Total relief for corporations	619	2,444
Percent of total gross tax relief in this bill	44	64

[1] Estimated by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to be the maximum revenue loss, reached in 1960 (assuming that present rates of taxation and of capital investment (replacement) remain the same).

As the figures indicate, it is estimated that the total tax loss in fiscal year 1955, under the President's recommendations, would total approximately $1.4 billion. Of this total, the changes recommended correcting the inequities to widowed mothers, retired people, and so forth, would total only $205 million in tax relief—or about 15 percent of the total tax relief. On the other hand, corporations would save $619 million in fiscal year 1955—or a total of 44 percent of the tax relief.

Now let us turn to the full effects of the bill in future years. The full saving to widows, retired persons, and so forth, would still be about $205 million annually. However, the total loss to the Treasury, as a result of the overall proposals, would be $3.8 billion per year in future years—with corporations saving about $2.4 billion of this—or 64 percent of the total tax relief. The $205 million savings to needy people would be only 6 percent of the total tax relief in future years.

From the point of view of the proper means to utilize as a stimulus to economic activity, I am of the opinion that it is far more urgent to increase consumer demand than to directly increase incentives to business activity at this time. The basic economic problem today is not a need for direct aids to expand productive capacity, but rather aids to increase consumer ability to buy automobiles, tractors, sewing machines, and so forth. This might be labeled the "trickle-up" theory—expanded consumer demand creating expanded need for productive facilities, and so forth.

The proposal to increase the individual tax exemption from $600 to $700 would do precisely this. It would put in the hands of the great bulk of Americans a total of about $2.4 billion during fiscal year 1955. This money would, for the most part, be used for increased consumption of the necessities of life. This, in turn, would stimulate business activity.

What does the business and economic downturn mean in terms of tax receipts? Let me quote the Wall Street Journal of March 16, 1954, in an article by George E. Cruikshank:

The Government's budgeteers have taken a second look at their estimates of Federal spending and income this year and next. Result: They're now privately predicting more red ink than the administration estimated last January—even in the unlikely event that Congress doesn't go beyond the Eisenhower administration's tax-cut program.

The President's budget experts figure the current business downturn, already sharper than they anticipated, will by itself be enough to hoist the deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 closer to $4 billion than to the $3.3 billion the President estimated in January.

But officials agree the business decline alone will boost next year's deficit well above—no one will say how much—the January prediction of $2.9 billion. "The business pace has slackened more than we figured it would 3 months ago," admits one budget expert. He adds: "We counted on unemployment not rising over 2.5 million in all of 1954 in estimating our tax revenues, but it was close to 3.4 million in February." The 2.5 million forecast and 3.4 million mid-February figure were based on the Census Bureau's old-type sampling of the Nation's joblessness; a new and different system, launched only in January, put unemployment in mid-February at over 3.6 million.

It is clear that the slowdown of economic activity seriously threatens to produce a grossly unbalanced budget. We must take steps to offset the current downturn, not only for the sake of preventing further unemployment but for the sake of maintaining a tax income sufficient to support the needed programs of national defense and other essential joint services.

In 1949 we had a downturn in the economy and something over 4 million unemployed. The total gross national product in 1949 was $258.2 billion. That compared with a gross national product of $259 billion in 1948. In other words, with a static gross national product we had an economic recession. Now—and I am quoting figures from the Economic Report of the President—page 167—in the fourth quarter of 1952, our gross national product was at an annual average of $361.1 billion. In the fourth quarter of 1953, the average was $365 billion. Again, a static economy—again, unemployment. Now, why do I cite these figures in connection with taxes? Simply because I believe we should work for a balanced budget with lower taxes. I do not propose we should do this by cutting essential Government activities—although all possible economies should be effected—but I propose that we should do it through an expanding gross national product. We must recreate the expanding economy concept through positive actions if we are to ward off a continued economic downturn. In addition, if we again begin to expand the gross national product, the total income to the Federal Government will increase proportionately—even though tax rates remain stable.

Now, I believe that we can begin to blunt the economic downturn by putting into the hands of consumers the $2.4 billion which would result from increasing the personal exemption from $600 to $700. In other words, help revive consumer demand.

Let me hasten to add that this action alone may not be all that is required to blunt the downturn. In other words, I see this as an aid, not a panacea, to meeting the recessionary trend.

Turning to the question of directly aiding business expansion through tax relief to stockholders and corporations, as recommended by the administration, I am not out of sympathy with this proposal, either. However, I believe that if we are to extend this relief as recommended by the administration, then in equity, as well as for the economic reason outlined, we should pass the tax relief directed more significantly at the lower income groups. I believe this because—

First. It aids those most in need of aid—the lower and middle income groups.

Second. It will stimulate consumer buying, thereby helping to blunt the economic downturn and help stimulate a revival of an expanding economy.

Third. By increasing consumer demand it can be assumed that such an injection into consumer buying will aid in putting the economy back on an expanding basis, thereby expanding the tax base and offsetting the immediate loss to the Treasury in the long run.

Let me conclude with one thought: I believe there is a very strong argument for holding the line on all tax cuts for the present, with the exception of correcting certain inequities. However, the administration recommended substantial tax cuts for corporations and stockholders which, when in full effect, means a loss to the Treasury of close to $3 billion annually. The argument put forward for this action is that it is needed as a stimulus to business activity. Given this argument and given the fact that significant tax cuts are to be made to aid corporations, then I believe we must be equitable and provide some relief for the middle and lower income groups, not only for fairness but as a more direct and effective stimulus to economic activity. It creates problems with respect to balancing the budget in the next fiscal year; however, permitting the economic downturn to continue creates even more serious threats to the national budget, as I have pointed out.

Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include two resolutions sent to me by Mr. George P. Baluh, Rural Route No. 1, Farmington, Pa., member of the board of directors and supreme auditor of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United

States, against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Whereas the admission of Communist China to the United Nations would destroy the purposes, betray the letter, and violate the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, which dedicates the organization to insure peace by promoting freedom and respect of human rights and subordinates the admission of new states to their ability and willingness, in the judgment of the member nations, to carry out the obligations expressed therein; and

Whereas the so-called Chinese People's Republic is constitutionally unable to do this, since it officially declares itself to be a dictatorship based on democratic centralism, which is the basic principle of Communist totalitarianism, and excludes freedom and true democracy altogether, disregarding every human right; and

Whereas the so-called Chinese People's Republic participated in Communist aggression in Korea, made war on the United Nations, and violated the most elementary laws of war in mistreating, torturing, and murdering thousands of prisoners of war; and

Whereas the admission of Communist China to the United Nations would encourage subversive totalitarian movements in the free nations of the world in the expectation that the success of the movements would be sanctioned by the free nations which still survive: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the supreme officers of the First Catholic Slovak Union, in annual session at Chicago, Ill., respectfully request of the President of the United States that he defend the freedom and decency of the free world by continuing firmly to oppose the admission of the present so-called Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations, and that they express the wish that their petition be communicated to the United Nations and the hope that their appeal for peace and freedom will be heard and supported by all freedom-loving peoples and governments throughout the world; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the First Catholic Slovak Union inscribe this resolution in the minutes of this annual session of the supreme officers of the union and send a properly authenticated copy of it to the President of the United States, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Adopted unanimously this 2d day of March 1953 in the city of Chicago, Ill.

MICHAEL J. VARGOVICH,
President.
JOHN SABOL, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States of America, in true American and Slovak tradition, has always been opposed to all forms of tyranny, to all forms of dictatorships, and has always recognized materialistic communism as the system of violence and terror that it is; and

Whereas Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the United States of America, and his administration have firmly upheld that tradition, dealing firmly with Communist governments and sternly with Communists and pro-Communist and all other subversive elements at home who threaten the welfare and security of our country, in fact, the peace, welfare, and security of the whole world; and

Whereas President Eisenhower and his administration have definitely given proof of their willingness to understand the Slovak problem and the righteous demands of the Slovak nation, from which we are descended, for freedom and independence from all foreign political domination: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the supreme officers of the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States, now in regular annual session in the city of Chicago, Ill., reaffirm their faith and loyalty in the American way of life and pledge their fullest cooperation to the President of the United States to uphold it at all times and in all places; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be inscribed in the minutes of this session and a copy thereof, properly authenticated, be sent by the secretary of the First Catholic Slovak Union to the President of the United States.

Adopted unanimously this 2d day of March 1954 in the city of Chicago, Ill.

M. J. VARGOVICH,
President.
JOH SABOL,
Secretary.

Let Us Read the Handwriting on the Wall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I have been intrigued no little by the phased-out operation being conducted by those favoring the ultimate admittance of Red China into the United Nations.

Not a day goes by but some new favorable note is dropped into the discussion of this question. Advocates of Red China recognition keep chipping away at the proposition, trying to weaken the opposition by "brain washing" the public mind, hoping to wear down the opponents until further resistance may appear futile.

The Western World may well ponder why Red China so eagerly pursues the issue of recognition and admission to the United Nations. If, as the proponents of admission claim, the Chinese Reds are so completely in control of China, why do they botner about recognition by the West and admission to the United Nations? It is well for us to understand that legitimacy in governmental succession is an integral part of the Chinese morality, and, while advocates for recognition contend that it is a mere formality, the fact of the matter is that recognition constitutes a main factor in the possible future hold on China by the Reds. In other words, in the absence of such recognition, the stamp of legitimacy is withheld from the present crowd of international gangsters that hold sway in China, and this very absence of legitimacy may well be the Achilles heel of the Mao regime.

Let us have all this in mind as those who plead for Red China's recognition try to pawn off the proposition as a mere insignificant detail which would be nothing more than a formality. This is nothing but a sheer dialectic trick, Mr. Speaker, and another of the frauds and fictions that warn us to beware of the whole menace of Red aggression, penetration, and infiltration.

If we will look for a moment at what has been happening in recent days on the subject of Red China's admission to the United Nations, we will find that there have been some interesting developments. I refer specifically to the statements attributed to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent of Canada, during a press conference in Manila, which reported the Prime Minister as favoring recognition of the Red Chinese Government.

No sooner had those sentiments of Prime Minister St. Laurent been reported than George Drew, leader of the opposition party of the Progressive Conservatives in Canada, publicly asked whether the Canadian Government's policy toward China had undergone a change. I want to make clear for the record, Mr. Speaker, that, unlike the Government of the United Kingdom, Canada has not accorded recognition to Red China. And may I say by way of observation, that, to this day, Red China has never taken official notice of Great Britain's action of recognition; on the other hand, the Chinese Reds persist in the diplomatic rebuff of ignoring the hasty and ill-conceived action of the British Government. I refer to this matter only as an illustration of Communist psychology; it respects nothing but strength, and despises weakness. As a reward for her rushing forward to give Red China recognition months and months ago, Britain's Government has been accorded nothing but a posture of diplomatic insult. I hope this lesson will not be lost on the other Western powers.

Proceeding with our study of developments on the Red China recognition front, we find that the furore created by Prime Minister Laurent's statement on Red China made it advisable for Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Government of Canada, to step into the breach with a statement from Ottawa on March 10. He told the House of Commons that Canada has no immediate intention of recognizing the Communist Government of China. The New York Times of March 11 gives the following details:

His (Pearson's) statement was made after a telephone call to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, who is in Tokyo near the end of a journey around the world.

The Prime Minister had been quoted as having said in Manila that Canada would have to be "realistic" about recognising the government that the Chinese people wanted.

Mr. Pearson said that the Prime Minister had been speaking extemporaneously at a press conference at the airport and possibly had been misunderstood.

What Mr. St. Laurent intended, according to Mr. Pearson, was that it was necessary to be "realistic" and "in due course Canada would have to recognize the Government of China which the Chinese people recognize, whether Canada liked that Government or not."

In the natural order of things, Mr. Pearson said, Canada would have to deal with China and that could be done only through the Chinese Government that actually was in power. He added that neither he nor the Prime Minister envisioned immediate recognition.

The Times story then went on to conclude that Mr. Drew, leader of the opposition, demanded a statement of policy by the St. Laurent government.

This whole business has some interesting angles, Mr. Speaker. In the first place you will note that Mr. Pearson, several places in his statement, stresses that the Canadian Government has no immediate plans for recognition. The very obvious inference is that there is no determination in the minds of the top Canadian officials not to withhold ultimate recognition. Plainly it is inferred that it is the intention to give this recognition later, at a time when the situation is more propitious. It then follows that the whole question of recognition is not one of moral issues but, rather, one of timing, one of convenience.

All of this, in my humble opinion, is a softening-up operation. If the advocates for the recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations keep stressing the inevitability of recognition, they will sow in the public mind an attitude of "Oh, what's the use of talking about this—it's a more or less academic question." And when they have created this public frame of mind, Mr. Speaker, they will have won another victory through propaganda.

I should like to call the attention of the House to the fact that on the same day, March 11, the New York Times carried another article dealing with recognition of the Red Chinese regime. It was in the form of a news story telling of the views of Foster Hailey, Detroit regional correspondent for the New York Times, and a former Times correspondent in the Pacific.

Mr. Hailey, so the Times reported, offered a seven-point program for our Government in relation to Asia. The second point in his program was, and I quote the Times story exactly:

> Recognize Communist China and seat her in the United Nations.

Certainly this is plain and subject to no possible misunderstanding. I think it is also worth while at this juncture to include point 3 in Mr. Hailey's program, which was set forth as follows:

> Recognize Japan as a doubtful ally and permit her to rearm only to the extent necessary for defense of her islands and for internal security.

Mr. Hailey went on to say, according to the report, that "he believed the Peiping regime should be recognized as a matter of expedience." Is this not an amazingly shocking suggestion, and one that is ridiculous in the extreme? Are we, as the people of the greatest Christian nation on earth, going to sacrifice morality for expediency in world affairs? This, it would seem, is exactly what we are being asked to do, but, I maintain that we must do just the opposite. Nothing is right politically if it is wrong morally.

To avoid being charged with quoting something out of context, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have the New York Times article dealing with Mr. Hailey's talk reprinted in full at the conclusion of my remarks.

I have one more article from the New York Times which is germane to this whole discussion, Mr. Speaker, an article dated February 24 entitled "Soviet in U. N. Move To Lift Trade Bars." This article states that the Soviet Union has asked the United Nations Economic and Social Council to take up the subject "Removal of obstacles to international trade and means of developing international economic relations." The request came from Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Soviet delegate, who asked for inclusion of the item at the Council's 17th session, which opens in New York on March 30.

The article further states that the move came as no surprise to the West:

> More recently, coinciding with the Big Four conference in Berlin, there were offers from Moscow of other overtures to Canadian business interests and those of other allies.

Thus the picture assumes shape and becomes clearer. The article under discussion concludes as follows:

> The Allies maintain controls against the export of strategic materials to the Soviet bloc but there has been increasing pressure in some states to modify the ban.

Mr. Speaker, addressing myself to this question in the House recently, I mentioned this alleged fine distinction as to what is "strategic" and what is "nonstrategic" with reference to materials. I made the point then, and I now reiterate, that this alleged difference perplexes me. I said then, and now contend anew, that anything which helps the Soviet Union strengthen its hold on captive states is strategic. Anything which increases Red power, anything which has a stabilizing effect on the economies of the captive states behind the Iron Curtain is certainly strategic to Russia and is detrimental to the Western World.

In connection with this question of what materials are strategic and nonstrategic, I believe it is well worth noting that when Bernard Baruch appeared before a congressional committee some months ago, the distinguished elder statesman plainly told the committee members that he could see no substantial difference. When he in turn asked the committee chairman to tell him a product that could be classified as nonstrategic, the chairman, after due deliberation, could only come forward with a single item: bubble gum.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these matters I have been discussing are vital and important in themselves, and they have considerable bearing on corollary subjects which are also important. I refer to the proposed St. Lawrence seaway, and I am going to ask my colleagues to consider the waterway proposal in the light of our consideration here of Red China recognition, Red China admission to the U. N., Red China trade, and all the concomitant economic ramifications.

Certainly, if the unhappy day ever arrives when, in the name of expediency, our Government should desert all moral standards and recognize Red China, and trade with Red China and Russia should be encouraged, then I want to prevision in your mind's eye what will happen to American industry, the American economy, and to the American standard of living. This country will be literally deluged with the products of slave labor transported on foreign ships, because only 2 percent of the oceangoing American vessels carrying full draft loads will be able to use the proposed 27-foot channel of the seaway. The strong economic base needed for our military production system will be destroyed and we shall be inviting our own ruin.

This, I contend, Mr. Speaker, is not viewing with alarm; the picture I describe is not visionary. It is based on day-to-day developments in the area of foreign policy; it is a sound estimate of moving events as the pro-Soviet-trade forces carefully husband and marshal their strength and subtly sow their propaganda.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of coming from the largest coal-producing district in the country. Day by day we are witnessing, in the form of lost jobs, closed mines, and swollen lists of unemployment compensation claims, what happens to vital American industries when cheap foreign competition strikes at us. I refer specifically to the case of rising imports of residual fuel oil that are being dumped along the Atlantic seaboard. The unchecked flow of this product is playing havoc with our mining industry. The situation in my district in West Virginia is so serious that our community leaders, civic groups, and public officials are confronted with the necessity of going all out in a campaign to attract new industries. The gravity of this emergency is clearly stated in an editorial which appeared in one of West Virginia's leading newspapers, the Beckley Raleigh Register, on March 10. The editorial had reference to price-cutting bids for markets by large coal producers, and two excerpts from the article are sufficient to make us pause and think. They are as follows:

> The decision by large coal producers to cut the price on slack coal in a bid for markets all but lost to foreign residual oil appears to be a last-ditch effort to keep the industry healthy before taking more drastic measures.
>
> We don't know that coal-industry leaders will try anything more bold than a price slash, but its very boldness makes us wonder what the future holds. Desperate men do desperate things.

Yet, in the face of all this, we are being urged by some to travel further along the road of economic disaster. The seaway would inflict additional harm on the coal industry, and we know what it would do to the United States merchant marine. It would be deleterious to the railroad industry, an industry which, in time of war, must carry the large bulk of military manpower and war materiel. Small business throughout many areas of the Nation would be seriously injured; the American wage earner would be put in a position of impossible competition with the substandard wage scales of Europe on the one hand and the competition of slave labor from the Soviet orbit on the other.

What can we be thinking about, Mr. Speaker? It is high time that we take stock of our situation and see where we are heading. We must be vigilant, and we must be morally honest with ourselves and with future generations on the Red China problem; we must be keenly alert and on guard against any proposals which would give an advantageous trade position to the Soviet and its captive states; we need to inform America of the dangers which are inherent to our economy and national strength in the pro-

posed St. Lawrence seaway. All these matters are of eminent importance, Mr. Speaker, and we intend to keep our eyes on them.

[From the New York Times of March 11, 1954]

RED CHINA REGIME HELD FORMIDABLE—IN PROGRAM FOR ASIA HAILEY SUGGESTS THE RECOGNITION OF PEIPING AS EXPEDIENT

The Chinese Communist Government in Peiping has tight control of the country, Foster Hailey, Detroit regional correspondent of the New York Times and former Times correspondent in the Pacific, declared yesterday.

Mr. Hailey discussed America's Stake in Asia at the 10th annual course for teachers held under the auspices of the Times in cooperation with the board of education at the Times Building, 229 West 43d Street.

He was convinced, he said, that "whether we like it or not the Chinese Communist Government in Peiping is there to stay" and that "there is little chance that it can be overthrown, barring a third world war.

Mr. Hailey presented summaries of situations in the leading countries of Asia, saying: "This is not a happy picture of Asia, but I believe it is a realistic one."

FOR A POLICY TOWARD ASIA

As a solution to the problem of United States policy toward Asia, he offered a seven-point program, explaining that the ideas were his alone and not those of the New York Times or of many Americans. The program follows:

"Abandon the idea that Chiang Kai-shek may some day lead a victorious army back to the mainland and overthrow the Communists. Guarantee the integrity of Formosa, but stop backing his warlike preparations.

"Recognize Communist China and seat her in the United Nations.

"Recognize Japan as a doubtful ally and permit her to rearm only to the extent necessary for defense of her islands and for internal security.

"Separate economic aid from military aid and stop making acceptance of one dependent on acceptance of the other. Sell countries like Indonesia arms for internal security, if they want to buy from us, but do not force them to accept them and come out flatly on our side in the cold war.

"Let the French sign a truce in Indochina, as they apparently want to do, and openly pledge or help to restore prosperity to that country. * * *

"Consult the Asian leaders as equals on what they think should be done in Asia. And then follow their suggestions for a change.

"And lastly, and above all, show patience and understanding in our dealings with them individually. Hundreds of years of white dominance have left a residue of mistrust and bitterness—and quite justified it is, too, I think—that will not be washed away in a day. But it can be eliminated."

REASON FOR POSITION TAKEN

In the discussion that followed, led by Orvil E. Dryfoos, assistant to the publisher of the Times, Mr. Hailey said he believed the Peiping regime should be recognized as a matter of expedience, because of the fact that it governs, the same reason that the United States recognizes other dictatorships of which it does not approve.

He advocated that the United States or the United Nations guarantee the integrity of Formosa, he explained in answer to a question, because he believed that it occupied a decisive strategic position in the event of total war. He expressed the belief that Communist China would not attempt to conquer the island if it faced the certainty of a hydrogren bomb attack.

The improbability of Titoism in China, the rise of communism as a political force in India, and growing nationalism and anti-foreignism in Japan were discussed in situation reports by Henry R. Leiberman, Robert Trumbull, and Lindesay Parrott, Times correspondents in those countries, read by Mr. Hailey.

Next Wednesday, Frank S. Adams, city editor of the Times, will discuss "The Many Problems of New York."

On Taxing the Poor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, in the current debate on the tax bill we note the Democrat leadership is making a great show about their interest in the low-income people in their efforts to raise the personal exemption. The record of the Democrat Party over the last 20 years in neglecting the interests of the low-income groups is brought out very forcefully and vividly in the editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of March 18.

The editorial shows the unfavorable treatment the Democrat Party gave the low-income taxpayers over the past two decades, and is as follows:

ON TAXING THE POOR

We are hearing more and more about those Texas millionaires. Three of them are trying to take control of the New York Central away from the Vanderbilts, the Mellons, and the Morgans. Another one commonly credited with being worth half a million dollars recently made a $5 million gift to the University of Houston. When as Barron's magazine relates, the Houston Chronicle reported the gift as 15 million, the donor called Jesse Jones, the publisher of the Chronicle, and said, "O. K. Jess, I'll make it 15 since you said so, but don't let it happen again."

Nearly all of these Texas millions are the result of the 27.5 percent oil depletion allowance for income-tax purposes. This generous tax credit has often been attacked in Congress in recent years, but without result. One of the bulwarks against changing the provision has been SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House in recent Democratic Congresses and now the minority leader.

We were reminded of the part Mr. RAYBURN, of Bonham, TEX., played in making men rich by a tax device, when on Tuesday evening he made a talk over the radio. Mr. RAYBURN said the Democrats seek tax relief for the poor, while the Republicans want tax benefits for the rich. Mr. RAYBURN should have let somebody else tell that one. In truth, the Democrats have a long record of soaking the poor, while telling how they soaked the rich.

The existing tax exemptions are $1,200 and $600, and the credit for dependents is also $600. The exemptions are this high only because Mr. RAYBURN and his Democrats failed in their efforts to defeat the tax bill of 1948. From 1944 to 1947, the exemptions were $1,000 and $500 and the credit for dependents was $500. It was the 80th Congress, with Republicans in control, that raised the exemptions and credits and cut taxes in other ways. President Truman twice vetoed the tax cutting measure and there were enough Democrats in Congress to make the vetoes stick.

Then, early in 1948, the Taft led Congress again voted to raise the exemptions and credits and reduce income taxes by 20 to 30 percent with the larger percentages going to those of low income. Mr. Truman vetoed that bill, too, but this time he was defeated and the bill became law. This bill which had been so vigorously fought for by the Republicans and opposed by the Democrats removed 7,400,000 low income taxpayers from the tax rolls.

Other illustrations of the favorable treatment of low income taxpayers by Republican Congresses may not be so well remembered. When the Republicans took over the government after World War I, the income-tax exemptions were $2,000 and $1,000 and the dependent credit was only $200. The Republicans promptly changed this in 1921 to $2,500, $1,000, and $400. Exemptions were increased thereafter so that for the years 1925–1931, they were $3,500 and $1,500. That is, a net income of $3,500 was tax free and those 3,500 old-fashioned dollars were equivalent to 7,000 present day dollars.

When Franklin D. Roosevent took office, the exemptions stood at $2,500 and $1,000. These were steadily reduced until the level of $1,000 and $500 was reached. It is a matter of record that the Democrats were in office for 28 years since the income tax went into effect and never once did they raise the income-tax exemption. They changed it repeatedly, but only to make it lower so as to collect from people of smaller and smaller incomes.

Shifting of Federal Operations Away From Brooklyn Should Stop

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Brooklyn Eagle of March 17, 1954:

SHIFTING OF FEDERAL OPERATIONS AWAY FROM BROOKLYN SHOULD STOP

It is shocking to note the continuing series of moves by the Federal Government which are shifting important operations away from Brooklyn to other parts of the country with consequent loss of jobs to large numbers of our local citizens and adversely affecting the business of many shopkeepers and tradesmen here.

The naval clothing factory on Second Avenue has been closed, throwing 1,439 Brooklynites out of work in which they had been engaged for years.

Representative JOHN J. ROONEY, one of the most useful members of our local delegation, protested this move vigorously but without effect.

The transfer of Army operations from the Brooklyn Army base piers to Staten Island was also attacked by Mr. ROONEY. The Brooklyn piers have long been regarded as unexcelled in the country and Mr. ROONEY rightly pointed out that they are far superior to those on Staten Island and that the shift across the harbor involves a great cost for wharfage fees in spite of the Army claim that the change was made solely on the basis of economy.

Another case is the shifting over to six private concerns in California, Illinois, Oregon, and Pennsylvania of the manufacture of the $1,500,000 worth of wire rope blocks,

formerly and for years manufactured at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

But these are not all. It is understood now that it is proposed to remove the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency from Sands Street to Battle Creek, Mich. This means the giving up of a fine modern headquarters admirably suited for the purpose, adjacent to the Brooklyn Civic Center.

Because of other changes Mr. ROONEY pointed out that the future for employment in local shipyards, the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the Brooklyn Army base is steadily becoming dimmed.

If it were a matter of discontinuing governmental operations no longer considered essential so as to effect great economies it would be understandable. But the mere shifting of operations to another community is a different story.

The Federal Government might as well face the fact that these moves do not set well with the people of Brooklyn. It is our belief that Representative ROONEY's continuing protests represent a real community reaction. There is growing resentment against throwing competent Brooklyn workmen out of jobs they have long filled most competently and then turning this work over to other workmen in Republican-controlled communities.

We urge Representative ROONEY to continue his protests and hope that he will have the support not only of his Democratic associates here but of the two Brooklyn Republican Congressmen. This is a community rather than a political issue.

The President and the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD O. LOVRE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LOVRE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most monumental problems facing this body during this 2d session of the 83d Congress deals with the well-being of our farm population. Currently in the House Agriculture Committee we are discussing what type of farm program is best for the farmers and the Nation. Personally, I feel that the farmers are entitled to 100 percent of parity and certainly no less than 90 percent of parity. It is only fair. It is only equitable.

It is natural that a farm State like South Dakota should have more than just a passing interest in what finally becomes our farm law. Mr. Fred C. Christopherson, editor of South Dakota's largest daily newspaper, the Daily Argus Leader of Sioux Falls, has a few most pertinent comments about such a farm program and I am glad to call them to the attention of the Members of this House. I commend them to your reading:

PRESIDENT UNLIKELY TO VETO FARM BILL

If Congress presents to President Eisenhower a farm bill embodying fixed price supports, will the President veto it?

Secretary Benson has said that he will recommend a veto but Senator ELLENDER, of Louisiana, doesn't believe that he will. He contends that the President doesn't have the political courage to turn thumbs down on such a bill.

It is our inclination to agree with Senator ELLENDER that the President won't veto such a bill but not for the reason he suggests. The President, we believe, has the political courage to do whatever he believes to be right.

WHAT HE PROMISED

The reason we are of the opinion that the President won't veto the bill is that during the campaign of 1952, he promised farmers fixed price supports.

And when the record is clearly before him, the likelihood is that he will respect his promise.

It is true, to be sure, that the President made no such recommendation in regard to fixed price supports in his message in respect to agricultural legislation. But when the President prepared that message—or had somebody prepare it for him—we doubt that he realized the full import of what he had said during the campaign.

Since the announcement of his message, though, he has had ample opportunity to review what he said. And in the record he has found on black and white a flat endorsement of fixed price supports.

Now President Eisenhower isn't a two-timer. He isn't the type who knowingly says one thing out of one side of his mouth and something else out of the other. He wouldn't promise the farmers fixed price supports just to get their votes and then proceed intentionally to ignore and repudiate that promise.

HIS PLEDGES RESTUDIED

Since his message on farm legislation, many Members of Congress have discussed with him the unhappy situation into which he has plunged the party and himself. In consequence, he has restudied his farm comments, particularly the statements he made at Brookings. He has not said specifically that he would adjust his current viewpoints to what he said during the campaign. He still feels that serious problems remain to be solved in respect to farm legislation.

But he is conscious of the record. That we know. And he is a man who isn't accustomed to regard his promises lightly.

There seems to be little question that Congress will approve legislation containing fixed price supports. Endorsement of this program comes from both Republicans and Democrats in the farm areas and from many other sections. Their combined influence is sufficient to produce majority votes in both Houses. The majorities are not likely to be large enough to override a White House veto but we doubt that that will be necessary.

Gary, Ind., No. 1 in Steel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune reveals Gary's position as a steel producer. The Carnegie-Illinois steel plants at Gary and the Inland & Youngstown mills at adjoining East Chicago, Ind., place the Calumet region of Indiana as the greatest steel industrial area in the world.

The editorial follows:

KING OF STEEL

It is now apparent that Gary has no need to fear that it will lose its crown as king of steel.

During the past year our district passed the Pittsburgh district in capacity as well as production. This marked a new first for the district.

While this district added nearly 1.79 million tons of capacity last year, Pittsburgh's capacity declined by more than half a million tons.

The Gary-Chicago district now has 19.78 percent of the Nation's capacity.

It is noted that the decline in Pittsburgh resulted from the scrapping of the least efficient of the country's oldest mills.

Meanwhile, steel companies have been pouring millions of dollars into expansion programs.

It is easy to understand why this district got more than its share of the building program.

The money was spent here because there are more steel customers in this area than the existing facilities could supply. Steel is building near its market: The Calumet area is also better adapted to the production of steel.

During the 2 years the new Fairless works near Philadelphia was being built the Gary-Chicago district plants increased their capacity by 4.3 million tons. Last year Fairless was brought to its designated capacity of 2.2 million tons of ingots.

By comparison, Gary's United States Steel plant is capable of producing 7.1 million tons of steel a year.

There seems to be little challenge for the Gary plant's bigness. It is apparent that our plant will continue to grow at a faster pace than its closest challengers.

Gary's crown as king of steel is more secure than ever.

The Customs Service, Port of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following customs statistics on volume of business and number of employees, port of New York, compiled by the New York branch of the National Customs Service Association:

The statistics compiled by the New York branch, National Customs Service Association, indicate a steady and sharp increase in the volume of customs business at the port of New York ever since 1946. The figures also indicate a steady decrease in the number of employees used in collecting the revenues and performing various other duties involved in preventing smuggling and illegal importations of narcotics and other contraband, including harmful and dangerous drugs.

Between the fiscal years of 1946 and 1953 the customs receipts have increased approximately 64 percent, the number of formal entries approximately 172 percent, the number of mail entries 174 percent, the number of baggage entries approximately 252 percent, and the number of warehouse withdrawals 266 percent. The steady increase in the number of foreign aircraft arriving at the International Airport has made it necessary to detail a special group of employees to handle the increased amount of customs business at the airport occasioned by an increase of approximately 97 percent in the number of arrivals between the fiscal years of 1946 and 1953. In spite of the extremely high increase in the volume of customs business at the port of New York, the total number of employees was reduced by approximately 16½ percent during the 7-year period.

A comparison of the statistics for the 1953 fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, and the same fiscal period ending June 30, 1952, indicates a steady increase in every phase of customs activities, with customs receipts showing an increase of 14 percent, the number of formal entries showing an increase of 19 percent, the number of mail entries an increase of 12 percent, and every phase of customs activities showing a constant upward surge. At the same time there has been a decrease of approximately 4.65 percent in the number of employees during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953.

It should be pointed out that the amount of revenue collected is not in itself a true reflection of the greatly increased volume of imports because of the fact that during the past 7 years various trade agreements have greatly reduced rates of customs duties.

Although the work of the employees in the Customs Service has been increased from time to time by laws and regulations requiring the customs personnel to perform new duties in connection with imported merchandise, such as import fees, quotas, import licenses, foreign assets control licenses, general trade agreements, and the imposition of 1930 tariff rates on merchandise from Communist-dominated areas, in addition, customs employees are required to perform special functions for other departments and agencies of the Government. At the present time customs employees at this port are required to do work for various divisions and bureaus of the State Department, Treasury Department, Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Defense, Post Office Department, Department of the Interior, Federal Security Agency, Federal Communications Commission, Maritime Commission, Atomic Energy Commission, and others.

In spite of the new work imposed by new laws, Presidential proclamation, regulations, etc., additional funds, except for export control work, have not been provided.

The staffing of the New York International Airport with a two-platoon force has been an additional drain on the manpower available at the port of New York.

Number of employees and annual workload, 1946–53

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Number of employees	Customs receipts	Formal entries	Mail entries	Baggage entries	Other entries	Warehouse withdrawals	Vessels	Aircraft	Passengers
1946	3,166	201,906,152	142,003	79,508	159,859	198,198	49,188	5,587	8,460	891,796
1947	2,744	241,208,660	193,410	127,110	277,973	239,704	71,131	4,216	9,891	464,691
1948	2,908	232,795,090	196,868	142,348	379,742	297,435	98,866	4,666	12,269	588,779
1949	2,799	217,668,118	232,410	141,212	392,402	274,144	120,033	4,445	13,204	615,084
1950	2,755	224,686,250	270,654	148,492	445,604	307,931	149,435	4,462	13,311	734,807
1951	2,815	343,659,360	370,784	169,600	508,973	256,142	174,081	4,666	14,460	837,927
1952	2,772	290,209,060	323,063	193,644	522,362	253,745	179,163	5,211	15,853	916,881
1953	2,643	331,760,000	385,740	217,618	563,483	267,603	180,005	5,414	16,688	942,913
Percentage increase (+) or decrease (−), 1953 as compared with 1946	−16½	+64	+172	+174	+252	+35	+266	−3	+97	+6

COMPARISON, FISCAL YEARS 1952 AND 1953

Percentage increase (+) or decrease (−), 1953 as compared with 1952	−4.65	+14.32	+19.40	+12.38	+7.87	+5.46	+0.47	+3.90	+5.27	+2.84

Salute to the Negro Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest newspapers of Chicago of which we are proud is the Defender. It is widely read throughout the Nation, and its influence for good government and good citizenship is of the highest level. Miss Ethel L. Payne, a product of the Second District of Illinois, is the brilliant Washington correspondent of the Defender publications. I am extending my remarks to include an article by Miss Payne appropriate to our present observation of National Negro Newspaper Week. The article follows:

FULL CITIZENSHIP: UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY

(By Ethel L. Payne, Washington correspondent, Defender Publications)

One hundred and twenty-seven years ago, in New York City, John Russwurm founded Freedom's Journal, the first Negro newspaper to be published in America. As we observe National Negro Newspaper Week, the conclusion can be drawn that the advancement of the Negro in the United States is unquestionably tied up with the march of progress of America to the leadership of the free world.

Negro journalism was born out of the great need for an articulate voice to speak for a mass of people silent under the yoke of slavery. With the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, that need for a voice became even more important to the unshackled bondsman going through the painful experience of adjusting himself to that mythical magical word, "freedom."

In the struggle to achieve a place in the ranks of responsible citizens, ready to shoulder a rightful share of the burden of attaining the most precious commodity, democracy, the Negro press has blazed the way. Indeed, it has been the conscience of America echoing the eternal cry, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

The path has not been easy. Some of the early papers were laboriously printed on handpresses by candlelight and often surreptitiously under cover with fear of reprisal for daring to print the truth hanging ominously present. But the messenger who went out with the finished product tucked under his arm was delivering hope and comfort and encouragement through the power of the printed word.

The Negro press has survived a heavy barrage of accusations of scandal mongering, inciting racial hatred, and fomenting trouble, but the presses have roared on and America has grown stronger and better because pioneers like the late Robert S. Abbott, founder of the Chicago Defender, have hammered away with the masthead, "American Race Prejudice Must Be Destroyed."

In all things for the total good of the country, the Negro press has valiantly done its share of the job, giving praise generously where this was due and giving sharp criticism more that there might be helpful correction than mere vindictiveness.

Despite the fact that Negro sons went out to fight and die on foreign battlefields as second-class citizens, the Negro press did not put country second to the price of liberty. While it cried out for the end of discrimination, it carried the banner of patriotism high, so that 15 million Americans who wept for their dead and wounded continued to dig deep and remained loyal to the flag.

More than anything else, the Negro press has led the way in educating Americans to live together in good will, to value freedoom above all, to prepare our youth for their responsibilities as citizens of tomorrow, and to protect our country from infiltration of subversive ideas.

It has watched with pride the growth and development of Negro Americans and duly recorded that progress. It is no small measure of achievement that today, the purchasing power of the Negro is $16 billion, 1 billion more than the annual national income of the Dominion of Canada.

The Negro press believes that the job is far from finished, though great strides have been made. As long as there is one shred of discrimination because of the color of a man's skin or because of his origin, there is work to be done, and the Negro press is proud of the fact that it not only champions the cause of the black man it takes up the cudgels for all minorities, including religious groups.

We believe that as long as one person among us is in chains, none of us is free. These lines from the play, State of the Union, best fit the occasion. "Ignorant people, lazy people, and prejudiced people are never free."

This is our country, the land of our birth and as long as we shall have the strength and will which God gives us all, we shall pledge our eternal allegiance.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, it affords me great pleasure to take advantage of this opportunity to pay tribute to an outstanding Brooklynite and a great humanitarian, Max Abelman. Mr. Abelman retired the first of this year as director of public relations of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital after having served the hospital faithfully and well since 1909. He is truly a noble man who has devoted his life to serving the people of the community without regard to race, creed, or color. The testimonials which Max Abelman received at the time of his retirement eloquently portray the life

and character of this man who enriched the lives of all who were privileged to know him. He had friends in all walks of life and of every faith. I am honored to include in the RECORD seven letters which he has received from distinguished Americans together with an editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of Monday, January 4, 1954, an article from the Brooklyn Eagle of Sunday, January 3, 1954, and the remarks made by Hon. Edward Silver, district attorney of Brooklyn, at a testimonial dinner in his honor.

We all wish you well, Max, and hope that you will enjoy many more years of happiness and contentment which you so richly deserve.

The matters referred to follows:

HON. EDWARD SILVER. Max, I deem it a real privilege to say just a word on this auspicious occasion. I want you to know before I came I scoured the records of my office for some mention of you. I want to say there is one place that you have made no name for yourself at all.

I want to talk to you, Max, as a pupil does to a teacher. You know that throughout the years I had occasion to call you many times for advice on many branches of philanthropic, charitable, and civic endeavors. I think you know that a teacher is regarded as the highest form of respect that you can pay to a man. Much has been said, but I am sure that all of us incorporate by reference the things that have been said, and we could say a lot more. But it is always dangerous to talk to hungry people.

I want to say to you, Max, that I am personally indebted to you for the advice you have given to me. We all say that man is created in the image of God. I am sorry to say I see some men in whom it is hard to recognize any semblance of the Almighty. But I can say about you, that you are a true example of that wonderful belief that all of us hold. Your goodness, your kindness, your concern with your fellowman, regardless of race or creed, your willingness at all times to help the humble as well as the great, I think we can all say of you that you have truthfully been created in the image of God.

I only pray that the Almighty gives you many, many more years to come, so you can continue your service and continue to give me advice.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of January 3, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN'S YEARS OF SERVICE HAILED AS HE LEAVES HOSPITAL POST

Trustees of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital last week attended a dinner in honor of Max Abelman, the hospital's long-time public relations director, on his retirement from active service as of the first of the new year.

The dinner was held in the Unity Club of Brooklyn, 101 Eighth Avenue. Former Supreme Court Justice Emil N. Baar, president of the hospital, announced Mr. Abelman's retirement, with a life pension, "after many years of faithful and devoted service" not only to Brooklyn Jewish Hospital but to the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the community in general as well.

Mr. Abelman, Justice Baar pointed out, could look back to almost half a century of active community service, his connection with the hospital dating back to 1909. He was hailed by the diners, as he has been from time to time publicly referred to in the past, as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will.

RAISED MILLIONS FOR NEEDY

Mr. Abelman, it was mentioned, counts among his friends some of America's outstanding personalities in all walks of life. Born in Rumania 67 years ago, he came to New York at the age of 5, arrived in Brooklyn in 1909, and soon became active in community betterment projects. He spearheaded many drives to help meet Brooklyn's quotas for the war chest, war-relief work, charity, and philanthropic enterprises, resulting in the raising of many millions of dollars to help the less fortunate.

Mr. Abelman did a major portion of the work organizing the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities and was its executive director for 14 years. He organized the Big Brother and Big Sister movements. In 1915, when $100,000 was sought for Jewish war sufferers, Mr. Abelman raised the funds one night at two mass meetings. In 1918 he brought $1,250,000 for the Liberty Loan at a dinner at the Unity Club. The following year, under the auspices of 44 banks, he raised $43,960,000 toward Brooklyn's fifth Liberty Loan quota.

In 1923 Mr. Abelman became assistant secretary of public relations and new business in the trust department of the Manufacturers Trust Co. He continued to organize drives for many worthy causes. In recognition of his many communal endeavors, he was the recipient of numerous honors. Recently he was elected president of the Brooklyn Library Association.

Justice Baar, Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss, Louis M. Rabinowitz, director, and Mrs. Grace Bachrach, former president of the women's auxiliary of the hospital, in a joint statement, paid warm tribute to the guest of honor as an outstanding public leader, who has devoted his life for the welfare of the less fortunate.

Mr. Abelman has brought to the Jewish hospital the greatest personalities of the world, thereby making the institution internationally renowned. The directors in accepting Mr. Abelman's resignation expressed their deep regrets and hoped that his health would permit him to continue to serve his fellow man with the same selflessness and distinction as he has done for almost half a century.

The arrangement committee consisted of Edward Lazansky, former presiding justice of the appellate division of the supreme court, as chairman; Dr. Moses Spatt; and Justice Moss.

Mr. Abelman, after a short rest, will devote his time to writing a book on his 50 years' experience in communal work. He will also act as consultant to educational and philanthropic activities. He will continue his efforts to bring about more medical schools to meet the current need of doctors to tend the sick.

Mr. Abelman lives with his wife, Bessie, at 35 Tennis Court. His summer home is in Neponsit.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of January 4, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN RETIRES

The announced retirement of Max Abelman as public-relations director of the Jewish hospital is a mere figure of speech in more ways than one. True, this champion of Brooklyn causes is approaching the half-century mark in philanthropic and hospital activities and feels the need of a well-earned rest, but it can be taken for granted his kindly and unselfish influence here in humanitarian efforts will continue in the role of elder statesman.

Abelman, who has been called Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, has served the hospital since 1909. Speakers at the Unity Club dinner in his honor recalled his devotion to his job, his participation in Federation of Jewish Philanthropies affairs and other charitable causes, war chest drives, and the strong friendships he has made through the years.

The tone of the tributes to him reflects a deep regret that he must curtail his activities. We share in that and express the hope he may find a little leisure time, a luxury he never enjoyed before, a most pleasant experience. But he will be heard from again, and people will listen to his sage counsel.

BROOKLYN DIVISION OF THE
PROTESTANT COUNCIL OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK,
Brooklyn, N. Y., January 4, 1954.

DEAR MAX: To read the stories and the editorials in the papers one can tell a bit about the exceptional leadership you have given and the contribution you have made to your own group and to the community and Nation.

But to one who knows, who has had the high privilege of working with you, who has felt the warmth of your friendship and the strength of your character—surely that one can say, thank God for Max Abelman, his life, and his statesmanship.

Blessings to you, Max, now and ever,

Most cordially,

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

P. S.—Lend me a copy of that book when it is written. It cannot contain all, but fond memories will well up as I may have the privilege of reading it.

J. H. C.

NEW YORK, *January 26, 1954.*

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: On my return from Korea I read the article in the Brooklyn Eagle complimentary to you on your years of service to the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital. I know even though you will retire as a trustee that you will continue your interest in charitable and philanthropic works.

With best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

F. CARDINAL SPELLMAN,
Archbishop of New York.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *February 24, 1954.*

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Unfortunately, owing to my absence from the diocese during the month of January and part of February, while I was engaged in submitting a quinquennial report of the diocese to the Holy See, I was not able to take prompt notice of the announcement of your retirement as director of the public relations of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

Now that I have returned to the diocese, belatedly but most sincerely do I extend to you sincerest felicitations in recognition of your many years of capable, conscientious, and blessedly fruitful service rendered to the sick and afflicted who are fortunately favored with medical and nursing treatment and care at Brooklyn Jewish Hospital.

Then again, I recall your unstinting and unselfish services in promotion of the beneficent program of the Brooklyn Jewish Federation of Philanthropies as well as your constant and constructive interest and activities for the general welfare of our community.

A retrospective consideration and appraisal of your long and exacting altruistic endeavors generates actual amazement as to how one individual could possibly exert so much benevolent interest and accomplish so many benevolent deeds in addition to satisfying his own family's serious and sacred responsibilities.

Surely you merit a word of most cordial appreciation and approval and, at the same time, deserve our fervent prayer that God will continue to grant to you grace and health during future years of enjoyment of a more extensive share of personal happiness with your good and esteemed wife and beloved son.

I recall, of course, with special satisfaction and delightful recollection the opportunities

which I have had to associate with you in the fulfillment of works of social interest and importance and in the promoting of the welfare of our fellow human beings.

With renewed expression of sincerest felicitations in recognition of your many years of blessedly fruitful service and of prayerful good wishes for a future replete with health, happiness, and success, I am

Faithfully yours,

THOMAS E. MOLLOY,
Bishop of Brooklyn.

THE COCA-COLA EXPORT CORP.,
New York, N. Y., January 5, 1953.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: Just these few lines to offer my good wishes in your retirement from active participation in the affairs of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital. I can well appreciate your desire to lead a less strenuous existence, for you have certainly given your all for the progress and perfection of the hospital and every other activity with which you have been associated. Yours is a record of self-giving, Max, and you have rendered magnificent service to your fellow man. May God bless and keep you.

With my warm personal regards to you and Mrs. Abelman.

Sincerely yours,

JIM
James A. Farley.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL,
Washington, February 17, 1954.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: On the occasion of your retirement from active service as public relations director for the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, I should like to add my best wishes to those of your many friends.

Your selfless service to your community and to your fellow man over a period of nearly 50 years cannot fail to bring you a great deal of personal satisfaction, as well as the esteem of those with whom you worked and the lasting gratitude of the less fortunate who have benefited through your tireless endeavors.

It is my sincere hope that you may now find it possible to pursue some of the more personal interests which I know you have had to put aside in favor of more pressing duties.

May you have a long and happy retirement.

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. ARMSTRONG,
Major General, the Surgeon General.

UNITED NATIONS,
New York, February 5, 1954.

Dr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR DR. ABELMAN: I wish to acknowledge receipt and to thank you for sending to me the clipping from the Brooklyn Eagle. I am happy to read of this fine and well-deserved tribute to you. I endorse it heartily. However, the hospital, I know, will sorely miss you.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH J. BUNCHE,
Director, Department of Trusteeship.

JANUARY 15, 1954.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MAX: You know better than anybody else how deeply affected I am by word that you are laying aside your duties at the hospital. Because of your unique character and my admiration of you, I have shared, as have many others, in what you have been doing. We have been units in the Abelman mobilization of all good men to come to the aid of all good causes. You can have the satisfaction of knowing that everyone of us is happy about all you have persuaded us to do.

On the personal side, I can only repeat my great affection for you, and express my profound hope that for you and yours the best is yet to be.

Affectionately,

FRANK KINGDON.

Internal Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the American Jewish World, dated March 12, 1954, which editorial is entitled "Internal Security?"

The editorial is as follows:

INTERNAL SECURITY?

In view of the report of the UN Chief of th Trustee Commission of mounting Arab-Israel tensions, one is puzzled more and more by the continued effort of some of the top-ranking officials of our State Department to justify the proposed supplying of arms by the United States to Arab countries.

In his official report to the United Nations, Maj. Gen. Vagn Bennike, the truce commissioner, warns of a threat to the security of the area if the present tensions between the Arab nations and Israel does not diminish. The situation is such, however, he reports, that the tensions are gravely mounting. He pointed out that the complaints and countercomplaints during the the first 3 months of this year showed a sharp increase over the corresponding period a year ago.

How can supplying the Arab States with arms contribute to the stability of the Near East under these circumstances, as the State Department claims?

Certainly no one guarantees, or seriously assumes, that the Arab governments are going to use the arms to fight side by side with the free countries in case of a Communist aggression. They have not fought in the last war even when the countries were actually invaded by the totalitarian armies. The recent revolutions in Egypt and Syria indicate that the presence of armed forces in these lands is the cause rather than the remedy for instability and chaos.

How can the State Department guarantee that any munitions sent the Arabs would be used for the purpose of internally strengthening the Arab ruling groups against communism and not for use against Israel? This is not an academic question. The recent experiences in those countries prove the opposite. Every Arab country had 1 or more revolutions in the last 5 years. Not one of those revolutions was directed against any Communist threat. But hardly a week passes when some Arab leader does not proclaim hostility toward Israel and does not threaten a second round.

The American people are not as naive and uninformed as some officials of our State Department, for reasons of their own, assume. Arms for the Arab States are definitely unrelated to the problem of the inner security of those countries. It is the responsibility of our representatives in Congress to call upon the State Department for an explanation of this irrational and explosive policy.

Speech of Hon. John E. Fogarty, of Rhode Island, at Annual Dinner of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel, Providence, R. I., March 17, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by me at the annual dinner of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel, Providence, R. I., on March 17, 1954:

It seems to me that whenever men gather to pay tribute to a name, a memory, an ideal, or an occasion—there must be something in the recollection of that name or memory or ideal or occasion which, while providing happiness in recollection, will provide inspiration to carry on with the purpose for which that person lived, the memory exists, an ideal is upheld, or an occasion is cherished.

So it is, I think, tonight.

True it is that we gather here because we are the sons of Irishmen and our hearts go out to the Emerald Isle.

In the words of the poet:

"To the Emerald Isle, where our kindred are dwelling
And where the remains of our forefathers sleep,
Our eyes turn today."

But, whenever I think of the day we celebrate on the 17th of March, I think of George Washington, and I think of February 22, 1732, when the future Commander in Chief of the Continental Forces in the war of the American Revolution, and the first President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland County in Virginia.

His birthday is an anniversary when people delight to recall the simple greatness of his character, and the far-reaching influence of his deeds. He ever stands for mankind as the incarnation of the holy sentiment of patriotism.

Rufus Choate, in his eloquent eulogy of Washington, said "His memory is first and most sacred in our love, and ever hereafter, till the last drop of blood shall freeze in the last American heart, his name shall be a spell of power and might."

He maintained by peace the independence of his country which he had won by war. He firmly established both his country and its freedom in an induring frame of constitutional government, fashioned to make liberty and union one and inseparable.

And for this, George Washington's Day is celebrated.

I think of the 12th of February, the birthday of the immortal Lincoln. He represents in the minds of all men the will of a sovereign people to preserve the unity of a nation.

Though there were many apparently well-founded legal arguments raised to justify secession, Lincoln's memory is kept alive in schools, in clubs and societies, and in home circles, because he was the great and humble man by whose efforts the Union was preserved.

And for this his day is celebrated.

I think, too, of Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory." Born on March 15, 1767. His father died before Jackson was born. His only dear mother died soon after. His only

brothers were killed during the War of the Revolution. Left alone in the world in his early youth, he developed such a character—such a devotion to the cause of freedom and justice that he lived to see the day when he could drive Packenham's Peninsular Campaigners into the sea before New Orleans, and later preside in Washington as the President of the young Republic which he loved so much. He was the leader of the great Jeffersonian Party and the epitome of loyalty and patriotism. He is probably best remembered for his stanch declaration, "The Federal Union—it must be preserved."

And for this his day is celebrated.

When I think of the day we celebrate, I think of many other days that are celebrated by peoples throughout the world, because some one person stood for devotion to country with an unshakable firmness. I think of Empire Day, commemorating the birthday of Queen Victoria, on May 24, 1819. During the latter half of the last century few things did more to foster British unity and patriotism than the observance of this queen's birthday, which was known throughout the British world as Empire Day. Few sovereigns, if any, have been more influential in advancing the interests of her nation.

And for this her day was celebrated.

I think, too, of St. Paul, whose feast day is observed throughout the Catholic Church on June 30. Paul of Tarsus was a representative of a great empire; he found great delight in seeking to destroy the small group of Christians who pleaded only for the right to be as God made them.

Paul of Tarsus eventually realized that it was wrong to persist in error. He was converted and became the champion of Christianty and the cause of justice.

And for this his day is celebrated.

I think, also, when we talk about the day we celebrate, of Daniel O'Connell, of Wolfe Tone, of Robert Emmett of name after name after name. I think of St. Patrick, of St. Brigid, St. Kevin, and the Dove of the Cell. I think of the Book of Kells, of the Treaty of Limerick, the Wild Geese, and the countless thousands of names of exiles who have loaned their names and fames to the winning and preservation of freedom and liberty everywhere—where men have been willing to fight and die if need be for the greatest treasure God let any man have—the right to call his home his own.

I think of the land of my ancestors, and all the things about it my father told me.

I remember a verse my father had me learn:

"Dear Erin, how sweetly thy green bosom rises
An emerald set in the ring of the sea
Each blade of thy meadows my faithful heart prises
Thou Queen of the west, the world's Cushla-ma-chree!"

And I think of Ireland's patron saint, St. Patrick.

When you talk with Irishmen and Irishwomen—and their sons and daughters—I dare say you will get a different impression of the immortal Patrick from each one with whom you speak.

Now, I think of St. Patrick as the conquering priest on the Hill of Slane—applying the flint to the great paschal fire for Christ on the eve of Easter. Across the valley floor sat Tara, the noblest pile in all Ireland, and there were gathered all the great nobles and Druid priests. Tonight for them was the Feast of Beltaine. It was a night they believed belonged only to the prince of darkness. It was the law in Erin then—that when all the great men gathered at Tara, every fire in the land must be extinguished. Not on any hearth or in any field or even in the deepest corner of the forest could there be a flame alive.

All Ireland lay in blackness, and the law said that if any man broke this rule—if he offended the gods by kindling a flame—he must be hunted out and put to death. No fire could be lighted until the torch was held to the great fire at Tara and the great feasting was commenced.

But St. Patrick lighted his fire and the flames roared up toward the heavens, and from that moment Christianity became the dominant force in Ireland's life.

And I like to think that the fire which Patrick lighted on the Hill of Slane is still an unquenchable fire which burns in the heart of every Irishman—and spurs him on in his fight for the triumph of good over evil—of right over wrong.

Of right over wrong I say—and an Irishman's heart is sorely distrubed at the insistence that there must be preserved, in the land of the Gael, an artificial boundary which carves out of the heart of a land God meant to be one—six beloved counties. Without a basis in reason these six northern counties are declared, as it were, a "no Irishman's land," and the proud people who have fought for centuries for freedom and justice and unity are denied that measure of success which would crown their efforts with glory—and make Ireland truly—in the fullest meaning of the word—a member of the world's community of nations.

I feel deep in my heart that without unity in Ireland, proclamations of justice are hypocritical; without unity in Ireland, the protestations that Ireland has achieved complete nationhood are feeble—even meaningless.

Thinking of these things, I grow saddened when I recall that St' Patrick's See, the archbishopric of Armagh, lies within the six proscribed counties—and that the great saint's final resting place on this mortal sphere is located in Saul, in County Down—in an area which is alleged not to be Irish. Such a contradiction in fact has probably never before existed in all the world's history.

The dominating force which wove into the tapestry of history the names and fames of these giants of yesteryear can be summed up in one flaming word, "Unity."

Each one was intimately familiar with the pains and anguish that attend the shedding of human blood. Each one knew deep in his heart the mental suffering which accompanies the frustration of a people's dreams and ambitions.

Each one knew the meaning of faith in a cause—in a purpose—which was the dominating feature of his life.

Each one understood the meaning of hope—ever resurgent—no matter what were the obstacles placed in the way.

Each one lived to know the meaning of love for those who had willfully sought to strangle the faith and hope which lived in their hearts.

These are the thoughts which fill my mind today—while we are gathered to celebrate the day of Erin's patron saint.

As sons of Irishmen, we know the meaning of faith in a cause which is centuries old. True to the traditions handed down to us by our forebears, we know what it is to hope—and hoping—to do whatever lies in our power to bind up the wounds of the beautiful Cathleen Ni Houlihan and to eradicate fro mthe story of nations the iniquitous dismemberment of her beautiful body which God specially planned to be one in everything that constitutes a nation, one above all in the compactness of its island territory.

On this day we celebrate, it is fitting that we pray God we may live to know, in our own time, the meaning of love for those who willfully brought this unfortunate state of affairs into being.

Just as all Americans are heirs to Washington and the War of Independence—to Jackson and Lincoln with their determination to preserve the Union—so all Irishmen everywhere—no matter what the land where the exile live—no matter what the county wherein he raises his family—are heirs to St. Patrick.

May Slane's fire always burn fiercely in our hearts—and when men speak of Ireland, let them not speak of the greater part of Ireland—but Ireland as a single entity—Ireland as a nation—Ireland as a whole—Ireland as a country—from Fair Head in Antrim to Mizzen Head in Cork.

Spoon Fed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, with the purchase of the Washington Times-Herald by the Washington Post, Washington loses a publication which gave its people not only accurate, unslanted news stories but unbiased editorials and columnists' thinking.

It is unfortunate, indeed, if factual reporters like Willard Edwards can no longer give the people of Washington and vicinity an accurate account of the activities of Communists within the Government. The Members of Congress, at least, keep advised through the press from their districts, of what is actually happening in Washington.

While we are spending millions of dollars through Government propaganda to advise Communists abroad of a few of the things that are happening in the world, it might be well if the people of Washington were given an unbiased account of what happens each day here in the Nation's Capital.

By request, I am today extending in the RECORD an article from the Firing Line which reads as follows:

ATTACK ON THE FBI

Harper's magazine March 1954 issue—"How Good Is an FBI Report" by Alan Barth. A member of the editorial staff of the Washington Post, Mr. Barth indirectly explains why Post editorials in the past have consistently condemned congressional investigations of communism in the Government, the Federal employee loyalty program, while at the same time supporting Alger Hiss, William Remington, and Owen J. Lattimore. In fact, the Washington Times-Herald of January 16, 1948, reported that Congressman DONDERO of Michigan, in a speech which he had made the previous day on the floor of the House of Representatives, referred to the Post as Washington, D. C. edition of the Daily Worker. The Barth article is strikingly similar to the tone of the Washington Post editorials.

Attacks on the FBI are not new either to Barth or Harper's. In a review of Max Lowenthal's book "The Federal Bureau of Investigation" which appeared in the December 4, 1950, issue of the New Republic, Barth charged that, "When men fear that they may be under surveillance because of opinions or associations which a police agency considers subversive, they cease to be free men." Harper's magazine in its October 1949 issue carried an article by Bernard De Voto entitled "Due Notice to the FBI." In his

attack on FBI methods of gathering information De Voto stated "we find out that the FBI has put at the disposal of this or that body a hash of gossip, rumor, slander, backbiting, malice, and drunken invention which, when it makes the headlines, shatters the reputations of innocent and harmless people."

The basic premise of the Barth article is to provide an alibi for not getting certain Communists out of Government. The Barth alibi is that FBI reports cannot be taken seriously as they contain "information culled sometimes from knaves and nitwits, sometimes from persons whose own devotion to the United States ought to be suspect." Barth is singularly silent on the thousands of persons FBI agents must interview daily from every walk and station of life including members of the American Legion.

The secondary purpose of the article is to tear down respect and confidence in law enforcement. While Barth denounces FBI reports, he admits very few have been made public. In fact, he refers to only four reports in his whole article and then only by quoting portions out of context that suit his purpose.

Barth's reliability can be judged by an examination of statements, cited by him as fact, which can easily be checked against public records. Barth says: "At least one of the employees of the Office of Strategic Services accused of espionage, Duncan Lee, retained the full confidence of Maj. Gen. William Donovan, despite the FBI reports." According to testimony before the Senate Committee on Internal Security, Duncan Lee was named first in a report dated November 8, 1945. General Donovan left OSS on October 1, 1945; thus he would have no occasion or even the right to receive FBI reports.

The late Robert P. Patterson, when Under Secretary of War, cleared Nathan Gregory Silvermaster in the face of warnings from Military Intelligence, Civil Service Commission, and the FBI, according to Barth. The Patterson letter cited by Barth which was dated July 3, 1942, and Silvermaster's answers which are a matter of record clearly establish that Secretary Patterson based his judgment on an Army not an FBI report. Barth claims Hiss was kept in a position of trust by the Secretary of State James F. Byrnes but Barth is silent on the Byrnes' public statement in the Harry Dexter White case of how he was so concerned that he sent the report to former President Truman.. Nor does Barth recall in his article that Dean Acheson, who would not turn his back on Hiss even after Hiss was convicted for perjury, was actually running the State Department at that time.

Former Attorney General Jackson and J. Edgar Hoover are quoted by Barth as citing the need to protect the innocent as a reason for maintaining the confidential character of FBI reports. Barth fails to quote these officials on their primary reasons for objecting to opening FBI files, namely, security considerations. Barth further states that loyalty interrogations of Federal employees "were based on information conveyed in FBI confidential reports." Barth then refers to questions asked in one case if the "employee favored or opposed the segregation of blood in Red Cross blood banks. * * *" This question was asked in the Dorothy Bailey case wherein the United States Supreme Court upheld the Government action in firing her on loyalty grounds. The information which Barth claims came out of an FBI report was not in the FBI report. In fact, the editorial page of the Washington Post for May 2, 1951, carried a letter to the editor by the member of the Civil Service Loyalty Board who asked the question, stating that the information on the blood bank came from police department reports.

Other cases selected by Barth as examples of questionable FBI reporting include those of Solomon Adler, Judith Coplin, Harry Dexter White, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, and William Ludwig Ullman. Solomon Adler, a former United States Treasury attaché in China was identified as a member of an underground ring of the Communist Party. (See Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments—Report—Senate Internal Security Subcommittee 1953, p. 11.) It is a matter of public record that Judith Coplin was convicted of passing information to a Soviet agent while an employee of the Department of Justice. Harry Dexter White is dead, but ample evidence has been presented to indicate his complicity in treason. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster has taken refuge in the fifth amendment when asked about his Communist espionage activities. He had been named as the head of a spy apparatus by reliable witnesses. (See Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments—Report—Senate Internal Security Subcommittee 1953, p. 29—See also Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments—Part 3, pp. 101–176.) William Ludwig Ullman, former Air Force major and a member of the "Silvermaster Group," refused under oath to state whether or not he was or had been a member of the Communist Party. (See Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government—HUAC 1948, pp. 761–778.)

If Barth has been the author of the left wing slanted editorials in the Post and his record for accuracy was no better there than in his Harper's article, these editorials become understandable. Legionnaires reading Harper's should remember that the editors of Harper's endorsed the Barth article without qualification and it must be assumed that they did not check his facts. If they did and then endorsed the article, the credibility of Harper's must accordingly suffer.

Taxes and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of March 18, 1954:

TAXES AND POLITICS

It is unfortunate that the prospect is for almost a straight party vote when the tax revision bill comes up in the House today. Apparently it will be in a partisan framework, rather than on economic merit, that the Democratic amendment to raise income tax exemptions and kill dividend relief will be considered. This is a sorry basis on which to decide an issue that has a grave bearing on the President's program to stabilize the national economy.

The Democratic answer Tuesday night to President Eisenhower's plea on the reform bill gave the clue to the strategy. The Democrats are decrying favoritism, and they have attacked the most vulnerable portion, politically, of the revision bill. It is easy to appeal to nonstockholders with the charge that dividend relief would benefit primarily wealthy persons. It is far more difficult to demonstrate that the present double taxation of dividends exercises a depressing effect in removing the pressure on corporations to declare adequate dividends—and thus benefit not only large holders but also the small stockholders who use the dividends as pensions.

If the dividend relief plan is unpalatable politically, however, quite the opposite ought to be true of the retention of present income-tax exemptions. Senator GEORGE, in arguing for an increase in exemptions from $600 to $800, contended that not everyone is on the tax rolls anyhow. This is like saying that since not everyone bears a share of the burden, it won't hurt to excuse a few million more. The graduated income tax is the fairest of national levies, and it is right as a matter of principle that Americans in every group should participate in paying the costs of Government. If further tax relief proves necessary, it ought to come first in the more objectionable excise taxes which are taxes on consumption.

President Eisenhower is charged with the responsibility for safeguarding the economy. He has promised additional stimuli if there is not an economic upturn shortly. Such stimuli could include tax relief as part of a more comprehensive program. But whatever may be done ought to be done systematically, not willy-nilly in a scramble for political advantage. The President's position deserves support from responsible legislators in both parties.

Public Works Survey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OVERTON BROOKS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit for inclusion the following telegram addressed to Hon. William Webb, executive vice president of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress. This telegram was sent by Hon. John B. Quinn, executive director of the Missouri Valley Development Association:

LINCOLN, NEBR., *March 1, 1954.*

Hon. WILLIAM WEBB,
National River and Harbors Congress:

A 30-day survey in 7 of the 10 States of the Missouri Valley Basin reveals a deep concern on the part of responsible leaders in Government and business that a future public works program is jeopardized through almost a total lack of present and future planning for projects that can be economically justified. It is suggested that a resolution be introduced in Congress that would call for a survey to establish by fact that we have a woeful lack of blueprints for future public works. A resolution for consideration would be: "In the interest of the country's future economy and for the purpose of obtaining comparative figures for public works appropriations for the years 1935 to 1941 and from 1945 to 1953: Be it

Resolved, That Congress request the Bureau of Reclamation, the Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of Public Roads to make a combined three-agency report to Congress forthwith covering above periods on (1) authorization, (2) survey money, (3) design money, and (4) appropriations: Be it further

Resolved, That to make war on a future depression or a recession through a massive public works program requires careful detailed and 2 to 3 years of future planning. Otherwise, the Nation through necessity and acts of emergency will experience loss of millions through hasty and ill-conceived public works that cannot be economically justified."

Regards,

JOHN B. QUINN,
Executive Director, Missouri Valley Development Association.

Let's Spell It Out for Mr. Summerfield

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers of Montana are putting a recent change in postal regulations, which they say will increase costs while doing them a disservice, alongside claims by the Post Office Department that mail rates must be increased to break even and asking: What gives?

The change to which I refer is that of last August which permits the acceptance of third-class matter without specific address. The change in postal regulations, which is disturbing Mr. Ward Fanning, advertising manager of the Butte Daily Post and the Montana Standard, and other members of the Montana State Press Association, is order No. 55337, dated August 21, 1953. Mr. Fanning called it to my attention in a letter dated January 19, 1954, which read:

THE BUTTE DAILY POST,
THE MONTANA STANDARD,
Butte, Mont., January 19, 1954.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This morning my postman deposited a 10-page advertising handbill in my mailbox. It wasn't addressed to me but bore the inscription: "Residential Patron, Letter Carrier Route, Rural, or Star Route, Local" and was run through a United States postage meter in New York, permit No. 6190 issued to the Darling Shops—a national ready-to-wear group with a store in Butte.

You may well imagine how amazed I was upon opening the circular to find that it was produced in Springfield, Mass., and to learn how prodigally Uncle Sam was availing his mail service to this fashion retailer. It struck me as being grossly unfair competition not only to newspapers and radio stations but also the members of the Allied Printing Trades Unions in Butte and Montana.

I use the term amazed advisely in view of the fact that I have been very much impressed by recent statements of the Postmaster General of the United States to the effect that costs of operating his department were rising and, therefore, postal rate increases were inevitable. I also had in mind the recent increase in second-class-mail rates for newspapers.

Consequently, the Darling Shop mailing, which will only clutter the mails at the expense of the taxpayers of the United States for the benefit of a few advertisers; work to the disadvantage of union craftsmen; and compete unfairly with newspapers and radio stations at the local level—negates the distressed statements made by postal authorities.

I should like, therefore, to strongly protest on the following grounds, the postal ruling that permits such mailings:

1. That it places an unfair burden on the taxpayers who are in effect asked to shoulder the cost of the indiscriminate delivery of private advertising messages in the face of postal rate hikes. The use of mails by advertisers in cases like the Darling Shop, will multiply the volume of mail handled a hundred fold.

2. It is unfair competition to Butte and Montana members of graphic arts trade unions, inasmuch as advertiser such as the Darling Shops are able to get eastern printers to give them the advantage of huge press-run economies not possible prior to this ruling, and thus bypass local printers who would otherwise benefit from the processing of advertising material produced and distributed by established private enterprises in Butte and Montana. This economy is made more apparent when we realize advertisers can mail complete bundles of material—unaddressed and without a mailing list—and depend on Uncle Sam to deliver to every home in America. Incidentally, various unions are very much aware of the aspects of such advertising and are taking steps to register a protest on an organized basis.

3. With Uncle Sam distributing these unaddressed handbills and thereby eliminating the necessity of advertisers obtaining a mailing list from private sources and achieving distribution by private distributing agencies, local newspapers, radio stations, and all direct-mailing concerns in Butte and Montana are placed at a distinct disadvantage in competing for the advertising dollar of operators who will be quick to take advantage of such ill-advised postal services.

I am sure that after giving thought to the above points, you will recognize the unfairness of a postal ruling that permits such delivery and call it to the attention of the proper postal authority. At all events, please do what you can to remedy the situation—you may be sure your efforts will be appreciated.

With every good wish, I remain,
Cordially yours,

WARD FANNING.

Because I thought Mr. Fanning made a convincing case, I forwarded his letter to the Department the day I received it, January 21.

On February 4, I received a reply from Mr. N. R. Abrams, Assistant Postmaster General, who wrote:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
BUREAU OF POST OFFICE OPERATIONS,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1954.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN METCALF: The Postmaster General has asked me to reply to your letter of January 21, transmitting the enclosed communication from Mr. Ward Fanning, advertising manager, the Butte Daily Post, Butte, Mont., regarding the recent change in postal regulations which permits the acceptance of third-class matter without specific address.

Circulars without patron's name, box, or route number have been accepted for many years for delivery on rural and star routes. Circulars without patron's name but with street name and number have long been accepted for delivery on city and village letter-carrier routes. Order No. 55337, dated August 21, 1953, a copy of which is enclosed, provided for the omission of street name and number as well as patron's name from circulars to be delivered by letter carrier.

Circulars bearing street names and numbers must be individually sorted by clerks and carriers and delivered as addressed even though names are not included in the addresses. Much time has been used by clerks and carriers in separating and delivering identical circulars to specific street and number addressees. A large part of this time is now saved and patrons are receiving the circulars as satisfactorily as they did before. Mailers are saving the expense of obtaining and using unnecessary street names and numbers. The use of the simplified address will facilitate the delivery of the mails.

The purpose of Order No. 55337 is to eliminate unnecessary costs for the Department as well as the mailer and not to divert advertising from newspapers or other media. It is not believed that advertisers who presently utilize newspaper space will use the direct mail method sufficiently to bring about the serious effects anticipated by some publishers. Under the provisions of section 34.52 (h), Postal Laws and Regulations, newspapers publishers are permitted to mail sample copies of second-class publications with the simplified form of address.

It appears that the answer to this problem is fair and equitable postage rates rather than more restrictions on the use of the mails. This public has a perfect right to use the mails. Rates are too low and if publishers would lend their support for a fair rate for third-class mail, it probably would bring into proper balance the use of both second- and third-class mails for advertising purposes.

The Department does not feel that the information furnished by postmasters to mailers desiring to use the simplified form of address can be construed as furnishing free mailing lists. Mailing lists purchased by mail users from firms engaged in the compilation of such lists consists of names and addresses. The information furnished by postmasters in connection with the simplified form of address consists merely of the total number of stops on a particular letter carrier route or routes in order that mailers may know the number of pieces of advertising matter needed to cover a particular territory. Postmasters have for many years been permitted to furnish information to mailers regarding the number of rural, star route, or post-office box holders served by their particular post offices and this information has been published in the Postal Guide. The information now being furnished in connection with the extension of the simplified form of address to letter-carrier routes is in the same category and serves a similar purpose.

It might interest you to know that in the fiscal year 1953 the allocated cost of handling third-class mail exceeded the revenue by $159 million. You might also be interested in knowing that during that fiscal year the loss in handling second-class mail, principally magazines and newspapers, amounted to $231 million. Moreover, the accumulated loss in the Post Office Department since the end of World War II, a period of approximately 8 years, has now reached the staggering total of $3,800 million.

We appreciate your interest in submitting Mr. Ward's letter. If further information is desired, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

N. R. ABRAMS,
Assistant Postmaster General.

The same mail delivery that brought me Mr. Abrams reply brought another letter from Mr. Fanning.

"Who's kidding who?" Mr. Fanning asked in his second letter, dated February 2. His own investigation of the situation in Butte, Mr. Fanning wrote, showed that the "new simplified" procedure "is responsible for a great increase in the workload which local postal authorities must face." Mr. Fanning said it seemed to him that a mail carrier, who ordinarily would have to stop at only a fraction of the homes on his route, would, under the new procedure, be required to stop at every home every day. This he said, "would impose a terrific load upon the local carrier which far outweighs that of the sorter in the post office, which Mr. Abrams uses as justification for his simplified ruling."

Mr. Fanning continued in his letter of February 2:

I can't help thinking that postal authorities in Washington certainly don't know what is going on in the field and are closing their eyes to the situation. Certainly too, their thought of savings, as indicated by Mr. Abrams, reminds me of the ostrich with his head in the sand.

With such an attitude as expressed by Mr. Abrams, I realize that progress in withdrawing the "simplified rule" will be difficult. However, I think it is worthy of any effort you may choose to put forth and will be applauded by newspapers and radio stations generally.

Incidentally, newspapers are not worried about fair competition of direct-by-mail, we are concerned about unfair practices and don't like mouthings about economies which are strictly imaginary.

Thank you for your interest.

Cordially yours,

WARD FANNING.

Noting that Mr. Fanning discussed all the matters in Mr. Abrams' letter except the sixth paragraph beginning "The Department does not feel," I sent Mr. Abrams' February 1 letter to Mr. Fanning with a request that he give me his thinking on that paragraph.

Under date of February 9, he replied as follows:

THE BUTTE DAILY POST,
THE MONTANA STANDARD,
Butte, Mont., February 9, 1954.

Hon. LEE METCALF,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Reading the paragraph over, my overall conclusion is that I will agree with Mr. Abrams that "the Department does not feel that the information furnished by postmasters to mailers desiring the use of the simplified form of address can be construed as furnishing free mailing lists." But I counter, what the simplified ruling does is to eliminate the need of furnishing names and addresses and that is what we object to.

Let's spell this matter out for Mr. Abrams.

Prior to this simplified ruling, all advertisers using third-class mail for urban delivery were required to put the name and address or at least the address on each piece of advertising submitted for mailing. The advertisers were required to either build up lists for themselves or to go out and buy lists of addresses, and then pay for individual addressing of each piece which came to quite a sum.

Now the Post Office Department says in effect: "Here, gentlemen, is a list of the number of stops on every mail route in the country. Have your printer furnish us with a matched number of printed advertising pieces and we will deliver them for you. You do not need to address these pieces, you do not need to give us the names of householders, you do not even have to put the addresses on, we will take care of that. We'll give you a ready-made audience—cheap.

That's why Lever Bros., for example, is dumping in the mails 30 million pieces, each with the redeemable coupon destined for every home and family as part of its "$100,000 Sweepstakes" campaign. Is that flooding the mails or isn't it? Yet this flood is only beginning. That's why the Darling Shops undoubtedly printed a like amount and dumped them in the mails. Uncle Sam is offering the biggest bargain in advertising in years. He beats newspapers who are forced to maintain expensive news staffs and circulation organizations to build up the mass audience. He beats radio stations who are forced to invest heavily in broadcasting equipment and in program facilities to the punch.

No one can compete with the economies made by the elimination of mailing lists, the elimination of the addressing operation plus the economies afforded by volume production of the printing pieces. What local printer working on short runs with smaller presses can compete with giant businesses using rotary equipment?

Now let's consider what happens to the postal department. First, as I have pointed out, they must cope with an ever-increasing volume of printing matter as illustrated by the 30 million Lever Bros. and the Darling Shop deals. Every piece must be cased by a mailman in the post office and then every piece must be delivered by that mailman to every stop on his route. Let's assume he has 500 homes on his route. He must sort out 500 pieces and then make 500 separate deliveries. I have heard it said, although I would not want to vouch for its accuracy, that a mailman would be heavily burdened ordinarily if he had to make 50 percent of the stops on his route and I think that its reasonable to assume that an ordinary day's mail would not then require more than 1 out of 2 stops.

That's why Mr. Abrams' cry about $159 million being spent for handling third-class mail sounds hollow. If his third class cost $159 million last year it's sure to boom next year and in the years to follow and dwarf the $231 million he moans about for second-class mail.

The statements of the postal authorities, so far, indicates that they do not know the full potential of this simplified ruling and that they are underestimating what effect it is going to have in the field. I, for one, am going to be a very interested observer of the experiences resulting from this so-called simplification. And I am quite sure that all newspapers and radio stations and graphic arts trades unions will also be interested observers.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Cordially yours,

WARD FANNING.

While all this was going on, I received the following from the Montana State Press Association:

MONTANA STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION,
Missoula, Mont., January 21, 1954.

Mr. A. E. SUMMERFIELD,
Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SUMMERFIELD: The legislative and executive committees of Montana State Press Association, by unanimous vote, instructed me as secretary to tell you that the association, representing the daily and weekly newspaper publishers of Montana, is opposed to the new mail ruling which permits delivery of third-class mail without individual addresses.

I am also instructed to send copies of this letter to Montana's Senators and Representatives, the chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee, National Editorial Association, American Newspaper Publishers Association, and the National Association of Letter Carriers.

We realize that the new ruling simply extends to third-class mail users a privilege in larger communities that they already enjoyed where house-to-house delivery is not available. Consistency is not always a virtue, however, and if it is desirable in this case, a good case can be made out for not permitting any third-class mail to be delivered without a name and address.

Newspapers are vital for an informed people. Their financial health and continued existence depends very largely on advertising revenue. It seems virtually certain that this revenue will be drastically cut by the increased use of third-class mail, including handbills that local firms are likely to use instead of newspaper advertising.

A newspaper subscription list is a valuable property, built up over the years and representing an expenditures of much effort. What a newspaper has to offer potential advertisers is a guarantee of getting the advertisers' message to those subscribers. The offer loses its potency if the Post Office will do the job without requiring addresses on third-class mail.

One of the biggest advertisers in Montana papers has already begun to experiment with third-class mail. If even this one advertiser cuts his newspaper appropriation, the loss will be serious to our publishers.

Montana State Press Association therefore urges that the new ruling about third-class mail be rescinded without delay.

Sincerely yours,

DOROTHY M. JOHNSON,
Secretary-Manager,
Montana State Press Association.

I replied as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 4, 1954.

Miss DOROTHY M. JOHNSON,
Secretary-Manager, Montana State Press Association, Missoula, Mont.

DEAR MISS JOHNSON: I was glad to receive a copy of your letter from the Montana State Press Association to Postmaster General Summerfield.

While this is an administration ruling in which Congress has no part, I do have some comments.

Postmaster General Summerfield has repeatedly talked about bringing economy to the Post Office Department and has talked about making the Department self-supporting. In view of these comments, I can see no justification whatsoever for an extension of a service that has already operated at a deficit, a service that now is one of those that is resulting in mounting losses to the Post Office Department, at a time when economies are being attempted through such petty reductions as closing many of Montana's fourth-class post offices, proposed elimination of Saturday and Sunday railway postal operations, and other genuine services to the people of the Nation, I cannot justify this attempt to make it easier to use the third-class mailing privilege and flood communities with a kind of mail that is not necessary or even desirable.

I hope that the administration can be prevailed upon to rescind this order and restore service as well to some of our outlying communities. If there is any need to alter the present operations they can increase postal salaries and thereby work for better efficiency within the organization itself.

Very truly yours,

LEE METCALF.

There we have it, gentlemen.

I believe this order is unjustified—particularly as this same Department is now trying to force a postal-rate increase upon our people.

Tax-Revision Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial is from the Anderson (S. C.) Independent. This

splendid editorial adequately covers the present dilemma:

President Eisenhower, when running for office, told the people it was silly to say that taxes couldn't be cut. Silly, too, to say the budget couldn't be balanced.

A good many people who heard no such rosy promises from Adlai Stevenson went out and voted for Eisenhower—and the tax reductions he promised.

Stevenson knew that it would be deceitful to make grandiose promises of tax reductions when the Nation's defense outlay was taking close to 90 cents out of every tax dollar.

Eisenhower and his Republican advisers knew this also. But they promised tax slashes and strong national defense.

The President told the people Monday night that it would be dangerous to cut income taxes paid by millions of lower-bracket taxpayers.

He pleaded that the Government needs the money for defense spending.

He painted a dark picture of budget imbalance if Senator GEORGE's proposal is approved.

Pending in Congress is the Republican tax-revision bill.

This bill proposes tax reductions in numerous ways, most of them benefiting large corporations or those blessed with large wealth.

It's no sin for a corporation to be big or for an individual to be wealthy, but it constitutes a wrong against all other citizens if the big and the wealthy are shown special favors.

The Republican tax bill does propose special favors for the big-wigs, and offers precious little tax relief to millions of wage earners and salaried people.

President Eisenhower contends that everyone should pay his fair share of the cost of Government and defense. We wholeheartedly agree.

We believe, with House Democratic Leader SAM RAYBURN and Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, that any tax program that caters to the big-wigs without including small taxpayers in its benefits, is not a fair program.

Every-day citizens in Anderson and elsewhere who fell for Republican promises are discovering that they have been played for suckers.

Eisenhower promised tax cuts. His party is delivering on that promise—for the favored few.

He promised 100-percent parity for farmers. His party is trying to knock price supports to 75 percent or lower.

He promised leadership and unity. His party has been torn apart by MCCARTHY, and there's less unity.

Alibis and emotional appeals won't erase the record. Now the only hope of the taxpayers is that the Democrats force the Republicans to carry out their campaign promises.

The Growing Injury From Import Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALLAN OAKLEY HUNTER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, recently a group of California industries, farm and labor organizations met in Los Angeles to consider the problem posed by import competition. The industries included tuna, pottery, hardboard, bicycles, meatpacking, wine, and dehydrated vegetables. Agricultural crops represented were almonds, walnuts, grapes, and figs. Tens of thousands of workers are employed in these industries and farm occupations. Labor was represented by cannery and fisheries workers and seafarers.

The meeting resulted in setting up a regional organization affiliated with the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, and in a resolution which is reproduced below.

The inroads made by imports into California industries, several of which are in my district, are a serious matter—far too serious to be brushed off and ignored. I am sure that we will hear more from these industries as import pressure mounts and it will be up to us to provide proper remedies against the growing injury from import competition. The existing remedies are not working to the satisfaction of our domestic producers.

The resolution follows:

Whereas import competition has become a growing menace both to employment and reasonable financial returns on capital as the great era of war and postwar prosperity begins to ebb, thus confronting important segments of California industry, agriculture, and labor with the prospect of shrinking incomes;

Whereas the menace of imports lies principally in the foreign competitive advantages derived from lower wages prevailing abroad, not wholly offset by the higher productivity enjoyed by our producers, thus generating deflationary pressures upon a market faced with problems of surplus capacity, rising inventories, and unemployment;

Whereas our tariffs were reduced during the era of prosperity while domestic demand was sufficiently strong to absorb both expanded domestic output plus imports at high prices, thus contributing to the high level of national income that is indispensable to our national solvency in view of our extremely high national financial obligations;

Whereas the average protection provided by our tariff has been reduced by approximately 75 percent in the past 20 years in a reckless, impulsive, and irresponsible drive toward free trade, ending in the virtual loss of tariff autonomy by this country through unconstitutional procedures;

Whereas the Randall Commission on Foreign Economic Policy has recommended to the President a further lowering of our tariff and a further 3-year extension of the so-called reciprocal trade agreements program: Therefore be it

Resolved—

1. That the tariff-cutting program as conducted under the trade-agreements program be brought to a halt by allowing the present Trade Agreements Act to expire in June 1954;

2. That remedial measures against import injury be amended to assure fairness of import competition and the protection of domestic industry, agriculture, and labor against intolerable handicaps in meeting such competition;

3. That with one exception the recommendations of the Randall Commission with respect to tariffs be set aside as untimely and economically unwise in the present state of uneasy balance between stability and recession but that it be supported in its recommendation that GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) be called before Congress for review of its general provisions; and

4. That Congress resume its constitutional responsibility to regulate our foreign commerce and empower the Tariff Commission as its agency to adjust tariff rates and import restrictions in accordance with principles of fair competition set forth in the enabling legislation.

Tax Revision and Tax Reduction Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include two recent messages to my constituents on the tax revision and tax reduction programs of the present administration and the majority party in Congress:

REVISION OF FEDERAL TAX LAW

The second major portion of our tax relief program is now ready for action in the House of Representatives. On January 1 an average 11-percent reduction in personal income taxes became effective for all Federal income taxpayers. Now the Ways and Means Committee has placed before us a major tax revision bill which will provide an estimated $1½ billion in additional tax savings.

It has been almost 80 years since we have had a complete revision of our Federal tax laws. The last was in 1876. Meanwhile many new taxes have been added, many new sources of revenue have been tapped, and there is a real need for correcting some of the conflicting, overlapping, unjust, and unnecessary provisions of tax laws. Also it is necessary to make certain changes to bring the law into line with present-day conditions.

Mr. Doughton, the former Democrat chairman of the House Tax Committee, once said that he regretted he had never been able in his years as chairman to undertake the job of revision that he considered was necessary. However, both he and the present chairman, DAN REED, made some preparations for the work and a year ago, when the new administration took office, Mr. REED put the committee staff to work, with the cooperation of the new Secretary of the Treasury. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation sent out thousands of questionnaires and invited suggestions and recommendations from all who were interested. Numerour organizations, farm groups, businessmen, and others proposed changes. Hearings were started last June and continued into August, with more than 600 witnesses. Over 1,000 statements were filed and examined.

When Congress convened 2 months ago, the committee went into daily sessions to study these recommendations. Each proposed change in Federal tax law was examined, and voted upon. The bill is now a document of some 900 pages, in which there are 30 major changes in tax law, some 3,000 comparatively minor revisions, and many deletions of obsolete provisions, changes in language, and changes in the order of topics. It amounts to a recodification of the basic Federal tax laws.

PROVISION FOR TAX SAVINGS

Probably you have read of some of the changes as they were announced in the press from day to day. For example, the bill would permit larger deductions for medical expenses of the individual taxpayer and his family. Parents would be permitted to con-

tinue to claim an exemption for a child even though the child had earnings of over $600 per year. This is especially important to the parents of high school children who take summer jobs. The tax status of 700,000 widowed, separated, divorced or single "heads of families" would be re-defined, thereby cutting their taxes a total of $50 million per year. A foster child or a child in the process of adoption could be claimed as an exemption under the new proposal. The first $1,200 of the pension income of retired persons would be exempted from Federal income tax, a revision that will result in a $10 million annual saving for 500,000 people who live on annuities. This will be very important to our retired teachers. In addition, the tax treatment of amounts contributed to pensions and annuities would be greatly liberalized, thus adding incentive for such programs.

The bill also contains the provisions of a measure I introduced last year to permit working mothers to deduct up to $600 a year for the expenses of child care during working hours—the so-called baby-sitter bill.

Farmers will be permitted to deduct up to 25 percent of their gross income for expenses of soil conservation. People who are buying goods on the installment plan will be permitted to deduct 6 percent of the unpaid balance on outstanding installment contracts. A homeowner who sells his house will be able to deduct the cost of painting and other repairs he has made in order to get the house ready for sale. Another item that should be included in the list is the amendment to permit ministers to deduct allowances that are given to them for housing. Formerly ministers who were provided a parsonage paid no tax, but those who received a cash allowance were taxed. You will note that all of these provisions are directed toward removing inequalities and hardships in existing law. This has been one of the committee's prime objectives.

BUSINESS PROVISIONS

There are some changes also in tax procedures. As the President recommended, the date for filing returns would be changed from March 15 to April 15. Farmers would be getting an additional 15 days for filing their estimates or final returns. The filing for business firms, and the installment payments, also would be changed.

Another provision of the bill applies to the double taxation of dividends. At present the law provides that the income of a corporation is taxed at rates of 52 percent and more, and when that income is distributed to stockholders as dividends, it is taxed as individual income. Thus the same money is subject to taxation twice. The bill would make a small first start toward correcting this, beginning with those whose total income from dividends is less than $100. About 4 million Americans own shares in American corporations.

There are other provisions affecting business, though not as many as those that concern individuals. For example, the bill would give quicker tax deductions for depreciation, saving about $350 million per year. Another provision would permit certain retention of profits for future growth, which will be an enormous help to small companies in getting started. Also there is a lower level of taxation for firms with foreign operations, on their foreign earnings, in line with the administration policy of encouraging investment abroad.

In all, about one-third of the items are intended to correct faults in business taxation, encourage new enterprise and make new jobs. The remaining two-thirds are for the benefit of individual taxpayers, removing unfair taxes or inequalities in tax treatment.

OBJECTIVES: FAIR AND LIGHTER TAXES

It is recognized that not everyone will be pleased with every provision, and there may be some people who feel they have a legitimate complaint that was not corrected. However, I think it can be said that the bill is a comprehensive treatment of a difficult problem, and long overdue. Because of the technicality and complexity of tax legislation, it is customary to debate these bills in the House under what is called a closed rule, permitting no amendment. Amendment will be possible, however, in the Senate.

The President and the Congress have two purposes in writing this tax legislation—first to reduce taxes as swifty as possible so that individuals will have control of the spending of their own earnings, and second to make tax laws fair and just to all.

The January reduction in personal income tax, and this revision of taxes, are the first two steps in the program.

Next, the President has proposed and the committee is considering the question of additional changes in tax rates. As you know, the wartime increase in corporation income tax and in many excise taxes expires next month. The committee must decide whether to continue or change them. There is also the proposal of Senator GEORGE to increase personal exemptions from $600 to $800. This would cut Government revenue an additional $5 billion. Whether or not we wish to increase the national debt for our children to pay, in order to enjoy this extra tax reduction now, is a question that must be answered later this year. Meanwhile, Congress has made a good start toward providing a more fair and equitable distribution of the Federal tax load.

REPORT NO. 2: TAX DEBATE

The House has just been through a violent and often times partisan debate over a 900-page tax bill that is the first attempt in 80 years to recodify our Federal tax laws. It is a monumental effort to improve the Federal tax structure and to make the burden easier to bear. There are 3,000 changes in our Federal tax laws in the bill.

No one likes taxes, but it is the responsibility of the Congress and the administration to work out a tax program that will provide the revenue necessary to operate the Government, and spread the burden among our citizens as fairly and equitably as is possible.

The administration devoted many months of study to this for legislation and now recommends a program that would give everyone in the United States some tax relief, spreading the benefits equally throughout the population, but without reducing revenue to the point where it would endanger the financial stability of our Nation.

This program is divided into three parts. The first provided an average 11 percent reduction in personal Federal income tax, effective last January 1. It meant a cut in Government revenue of about $3 billion per year. You have noticed the savings from this tax reduction in larger take-home pay since January 1 and in the smaller amount shown in your estimate of 1954 income tax, which most of us filed last week.

The second step in the administration program was the proposal that the corporation income taxes and the excise taxes, due to revert to pre-Korean war rates April 1, should be extended 1 year. The House agreed to part of this proposal. The high wartime rate of tax on corporation income will be continued for 1 more year, as the President suggested. This means that corporations will pay an additional $1.2 billion, if the Senate adopts the House law.

EXCISE SAVING $1 BILLION

However, the House did not go along with the President on his request for extension of the excise tax rates. Instead the committee put a maximum of 10 percent on all excises. This means that the excise taxes that have been higher than 10 percent will be reduced to that level April 1. This action is also dependent upon Senate acceptance of the House measure. Among the items on which American consumers will save money as a result of this decision are theater and sports admissions ($152 million), toilet and cosmetic preparations ($55 million), telephone and telegraph bills ($235 million), luggage and handbags ($40 million), electric light bulbs ($20 million), firearms and shells, sporting goods ($3 million), rail, plane, and bus tickets ($95 million), fountain pens and photographic equipment and many other items. This cut benefits everyone. It will save Americans $1 billion per year at present buying levels.

The third step in the President's program is the monumental revision of the Federal tax structure, about which I reported to you several weeks ago. This bill has been under consideration in the House during the past few days.

It has been nearly 80 years since anyone tried to revise our Federal tax laws and remove the many complex and inequitable provisions that have been enacted or have become outmoded over the years. It has been a job that both Democrats and Republicans agreed should be done. The House Ways and Means Committee and the Treasury Department have been working on it ever since Mr. Eisenhower took office 14 months ago.

SAVINGS FROM REVISION

Several weeks ago I reported to you some of the provisions of the measure that will mean savings to American taxpayers. I now have more specific information as to the exact amount of savings. The bill will save $778 million annually for individual taxpayers, and $619 million to corporations. The savings to individuals include $50 million under a provision that permits the head of a household to use a joint return, $240 million for dividend exclusion and credits, almost all of which is for stockholders whose dividends amount to less than $100 per year; $10 million on taxation of annuities; $75 million for families whose teenage children earn more than $600 in part time or summer work; $125 million by exempting the first $1,200 of retirement income received by such people as our retired Montana school teachers; $10 million by permitting a deduction for the unpaid balance on installment plan buying; $80 million by permitting deductions of medical expenses that are more than 3 percent of gross income; $40 million by allowing a $600 exemption for working mothers who must hire special child care while they are at work; $3 million from a personal exemption on trusts; $25 million from an exemption on certain life insurance premiums; and $25 million through an increase in the amount of charitable contributions that may be deducted. Also, $10 million will be lost to the Treasury through the added deduction for soil and conservation work by farmers. There are many minor changes, but these are the most important, and you will note that they are of benefit to citizens in every walk of life.

The changes and revisions for corporations are intended to facilitate collection of taxes and to encourage investment of capital in both foreign and domestic enterprises. Increased capital investment means more jobs and more income, and eventually will mean more revenue to the Government.

PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS ISSUE

This measure has been under attack in two ways. First, it was charged that it did not benefit the average taxpayer. I believe that you can form your own opinion on that matter, remembering the long list of revisions that I have cited, each of which is of benefit to some hard-pressed taxpayer whose special problem has been ignored under the old laws. The exemptions for retirement pay and working mothers are good samples.

Second, it has been charged that Congress should not be considering revision at all, but should be writing a bill to increase per-

sonal income tax exemption by $100 or $200. This is confusing the issue. The bill we have been working on is a corrective measure, and not a tax cut. As a matter of fact, despite the many savings for individuals, it would cost the Government only $200 million this year. Until it was decided to use it as a vehicle for partisan political strategy, both sides of the House and all concerned had said that it was necessary and desirable.

The question of an additional tax cut—whether it be through a percentage decrease or an increase in exemptions—is a separate subject which should be considered on its own merits. It is definitely a part of the administration program, but the administration, the Congress and the people of this Nation must first decide whether we can afford 2 personal income tax cuts in 1 year. No hearings have been held on this subject, and action on such important legislation without hearings will not result in sound legislation. It is estimated that each $100 increase in exemption would mean a $2½ billion cut in Federal revenue. The question is whether or not a nation so heavily in debt and so deeply involved in international responsibilities can afford to threaten its own financial stability by so large a revenue deduction.

Now let us look at the record of the men who are demanding personal exemption increases this year. They are the men who had control of Congress and the administration for twenty-odd years, and their record is shown on this table:

Revenue act	Income year	Personal exemptions, 1952–54		Party controlling Congress when revenue act passed
		Married couple	Single	
1926–28	1925–31	$3,500	$1,500	Republican.
1932	1932–33	2,500	1,000	Democrat.
1934	1934–35	2,500	1,000	Do.
1936–38	1936–39	2,500	2,500	Do.
1940	1940	2,000	800	Do.
1941	1941	1,500	750	Do.
1942	1942–43	1,200	500	Do.
1944	1944–45	1,000	500	Do.
1945	1946–47	1,000	500	Do.
1948	1948–53	1,200	600	Republican.

Plus an additional $600 exemption to persons over 65 and to blind. The 1948 increase in personal exemptions was the action of the 80th Congress, and we did it over a Truman veto. For 20 years the trend in America has been toward more Government spending, more Government borrowing, and more and higher taxes. We are endeavoring to reverse that trend. The economies in Government in the past 15 months have permitted $7 billion in tax relief.

The iniquitous thing about the motion is that it wears a fetching false face—a mask of a personal exemption increase. Those who made and supported the motion think that the taxpayer will see only the mask and not the face. They do not, Mr. Speaker, credit the American taxpayer with enough intelligence.

The people today are informed about fiscal matters and affairs of state, and it takes only a minimum of intelligence to recognize this motion, the face behind the mask, as a piece of parliamentary chicanery and political opportunism, unworthy of the traditions of the political party fathered by that great Virginian, Thomas Jefferson.

For, I repeat, the real purpose of this motion was to prevent this tax relief bill from becoming law in this election year. It was politically preconceived, with malice aforethought, to embarrass the President of the United States by people who have been pretending to lend bipartisan support to his program.

The President's enemies know full well that, as much as he wants to grant the American people the relief contained in this bill, he would be compelled to veto the whole bill if it contains a provision for an increase in the individual exemption that year. As reported by the committee, the bill grants nearly $1.4 billion in tax relief. The motion to increase the exemption would cost the Treasury an additional $2.3 billion. Since the budget is already out of balance, this would mean that the national debt would be increased by that amount, the statutory debt limit would be violated, and the value of all Government bonds and securities would be jeopardized. This might well create an economic panic leading to a depression, and it is the little man who suffers in a depression.

Still, the proponents of this motion to recommit, who, being in the minority, have no responsibility to keep our economy sound and who would stand to profit politically from a panic, pretend that they are trying to help the little man. They are marching up and down the length and breadth of this land telling the people that the tax-relief measures granted by this Congress help business and not the individual. A look at the record and an analysis of the laws passed this year will prove that they are in grievous error.

In the tax-revision bill just considered, tax relief for business totals $581 million. By reason of the expiration on January 1 of this year of the war-imposed excess-profits tax, business was relieved of $1.7 billion in taxes. This makes a total tax relief for business of $2.3 billion. But it must be borne in mind that the bill on the floor today extends the present 52-percent tax rate on corporations which was scheduled under the old law to drop to 47 percent this year, and this provision alone will cost corporations an additional $1.2 billion in taxes next year.

In the tax-revision bill just considered, individuals will receive $778 million in tax relief exclusive of any increase in the individual exemption. Under the 10-percent cut in individual taxes on January 1 of this year, individuals received about $3 billion of the benefits. Under the excise-tax-reduction bill passed by the House last week, individuals received $912 million in relief. This makes a total tax relief for individual taxpayers of $4.7 billion.

All together, this Congress will have granted, exclusive of individual exemption increases, a total tax relief of $7 billion of which business will get 32.9 percent, and individuals will get 67.1 percent. Moreover, tax relief to business—most of which is small business—means help for the individuals who own the business, individuals who work for the business and individuals who buy the products or the services of the business.

There is another interesting angle to this problem. The best possible way to cut taxes is to cut governmental spending. It is significant to note that most of these people who are pretending to be so eager to help the taxpayer are the same people who consistently make and vote for amendments to increase every appropriation bill which comes on the floor. Possibly it is good politics to vote to increase spending and cut revenue when the budget is already in the red, but it is most certainly faulty statesmanship.

The tragic and unfair thing about this parliamentary trick is that it makes it appear that every person who voted for the motion to recommit the bill to committee favors the principle of increasing the individual exemption and that everyone who voted against the motion opposes the principle. This simply is not true. During the 20-year administration of the people who voted for this motion today, the individual exemptions for a married couple were reduced from $2,500 to $1,000 and were raised to the present $1,200—plus an additional exemption for the blind and those over 65—only when their administration lost control of Congress in 1948. It will be remembered that the Republican 80th Congress passed this personal-exemption increase over the determined opposition of the very people who, in 1948, called it a rich man's bill and who now call it a poor man's bill. In fact, President Truman vetoed the increase in 1948 and it was passed over his veto.

On the other hand, many of those who voted against the motion today definitely favor the principle of an increase in the personal exemption. As for myself, I introduced a bill in 1953 during the last session of Congress just a few days after I got to Washington, at a time when I could not possibly have foreseen the $4.7 billion tax relief granted to individuals this year.

My bill would increase the exemption from $600 to $750. Moreover, it would apply not only to the taxpayer but to all his dependents as well. Thus, a man and wife with 2 children would have $3,000 of their income completely exempt from taxation. This should demonstrate how I feel about the principle involved, and if the Senate should vote and a conference committee of both Houses should report a recommendation to increase the exemption, I certainly would support it. If such should happen, however, I am persuaded that the President, by reason of the increased deficit and

Internal Revenue Code, 1954

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, in view of the President's recent radio announcement indicating that he will veto the entire tax revision bill if it should contain a personal exemption increase this year, the motion to recommit the bill was nothing in the world but a motion to kill the bill and deny any tax relief whatever to the belabored American taxpayer, and I think it is important that the people understand this.

the violation of the debt line, would be compelled to veto the whole bill.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, the vote on this motion to recommit the bill to committee was not a vote for or against the principle of increasing the personal income-tax exemptions; it was a vote to save or a vote to kill the major tax revision bill which plugs 50 rich-man loopholes, corrects hundreds of irregularities against the little man, and saves the American taxpayers $1,359,000,000 a year.

Fourteenth Report on Legislation of the Eighty-third Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include my 14th report to my constituents in the 2d District of Illinois on the bills passed by the Senate and House, later signed by the President, and becoming laws enacted by this Congress. The report follows:

DEAR FRIEND: Here are the new laws of the land that have been enacted since my last report to you:

PUBLIC LAW 301

S. 2689, patrol of highways in Wright-Patterson Air Force Base:

Because the attorney general of Ohio rendered an opinion in 1952 the Congress of the United States 2 years later had to pass a new law. It happened this way: Some 20 years ago the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base was established. Within the boundaries of the base were 18 miles of State and county roads, including 5.7 miles of 4-lane highways heavily traveled by the civilian public. For 20 years the State of Ohio patrolled these roads, enforcing the State's traffic laws. Then suddenly on September 25, 1952, the attorney general of Ohio rendered his opinion that Ohio had no authority to enforce the State traffic laws because the United States had exclusive jurisdiction.

When Ohio ceased patrolling the roads the commanding general of Wright-Patterson had his troubles. Patrolling State roads (including busy four-lane highways) is not a customary military function. The general had insufficient personnel. That was not all. Violators had to be taken before the United States district court at Dayton, converting that dignified branch of the Federal judicial system into a crowded, overtaxed, underrespected minor traffic court.

As your representative I was happy to cast your vote for Public Law 301, giving concurrent jurisdiction to the United States of America and the State of Ohio. The practical effect is that normally the State of Ohio will patrol the highways (on which most of the traffic is civilian) and that the military authorities will be called upon only on occasions of necessity. Just common sense.

PUBLIC LAW 302

H. R. 8069, extends life of Commission on Intergovernmental Relations:

Public Law 109 of the 1st session of the 83d Congress created the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. (See my 7th report on legislation of the 83d Cong.) The Commission, after a study of the roles of Federal, State, and local governments, was to report its recommendations not later than March 1, 1954, in order that this Congress could act upon them. Public Law 302 extends the date to March 1, 1955. Reason: the Presidential discharge of the Chairman (Dr. Clarence E. Manion, of Notre Dame) left the Commission in too much confusion immediately to get together on a report. It seemed best to start all over again.

The House consented to the arrangement on February 25, no one objecting. Manion's friends in the Senate, angry, held things up until March 1, the very last moment. Senator JOHNSON, minority leader, commented: "We all hoped last year would be a study year and this year we would have a chance to study the studies. While we regret to see a report postponed that long, we are willing to go along because of the unusual circumstances in which the administration finds itself."

PUBLIC LAW 303

S. 2175, adjusts retirement benefits for Members and employees of the legislative branch:

Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, of Maine, who herself was a congressional secretary, later a Member of the House, and then a Senator, introduced this measure to bring the legislative retirement system more in line with that in other branches of the Federal Government.

Congressional secretaries (who constitute a specialized profession) and other legislative employees have no certainty of tenure. I think they are entitled to retirement coverage to the same extent as other Federal workers. Public Law 303 provides what the Senate report described as "a sound and adequate retirement formula attuned to circumstances peculiar to their employment status." After 5 years of service and the making of the required retirement payments (6 percent of salary), congressional employees on reaching retirement age are entitled to receive 2½ percent of the average salary during 5 years multiplied by the number of years of service.

Public Law 303 also makes some amendments to the law of 1946 granting retirement benefits to Members of Congress who qualify by paying in 6 percent of their salaries. The formula is followed of multiplying 2½ percent of average salary by the number of years of service (1) in the Congress, and (2) in the armed services in wartime.

PUBLIC LAW 304

H. R. 7996, second supplemental appropriation bill of 1954:

This and other appropriation laws, both first and second sessions, will be covered later in a separate report.

Largest item in these appropriations totaling $27,517,616 (not including $8,120,500 for Coast Guard because this money merely was transferred from previous Air Force appropriations) is $15 million for unemployment compensation for veterans.

I think you will find some interest in the Coast Guard item. This is to complete the construction and outfitting of a chain of three navigational aid (loran) stations in the Arctic. It is in addition to $1,484,675 previously provided for preliminary work, which makes a total of over $9.5 million. These stations, part of an overall plan of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, supplement similar stations already built in Alaska.

Cost of construction in the Arctic is high, three times that in Alaska, which in turn is much higher than in continental United States. The money comes by transfer to the Coast Guard from the 1954 appropriations to the Air Force for maintenance and operations.

PUBLIC LAW 305

H. R. 6130, priorities in Lanham warhousing purchases:

Here is a striking illustration of how far the Government and the Congress of the United States will go to avoid doing an injustice.

At the present time dwellings are being sold under the Lanham War Housing Act. In a few isolated cases (total not to exceed 70) permanent dwellings were already located on the site at the time the Government took over. Public Law 305 gives the former owners of the dwellings priority in purchasing under certain approved conditions. Purpose is to save them from being evicted from old established family seats. The law properly, however, gives no preference to former owners of real estate on which the housing was constructed by the Government.

PUBLIC LAW 306

S. 1160, authorizing exchange of land in Arizona:

In 1905 the United States acquired land in the city of Tucson in Arizona as an agency site for the San Xavier Indian Reservation, which serves the Papago Indians. Cost: $125. Public Law 306 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to swap the land for another piece of land of about the same value in Pima County, Ariz., and more convenient to the Papago Tribe. The House passed the measure on the Consent Calendar, and I remained silent, thinking you would not wish me to do otherwise. Silence in such instances gives assent.

FIRST CASUALTY TO RETURN

Congressman CLIFFORD DAVIS, of Tennessee, who was 1 of the 5 Members shot on March 1, returned to the floor of the House on March 16. You will like his remarks on pages 3154–3155 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day.

Cordially and sincerely,

BARRATT O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

Church Council for Reform in Congress' Red Inquiries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of this session of Congress, January 6, 1954, I introduced House Joint Resolution 328 to establish a Joint Committee on Internal Security. The bill also incorporates a code of procedures aimed at affording witnesses certain rights and protections similar to those they would receive in a court of law. A similar resolution was later introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and in the Senate by the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], along with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY]. In today's issue of the New York Times there appears an article by Mr. Russell Porter entitled "Church Council for Reform in Congress' Red Inquiries."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include this article, along with the text of the statement adopted on March 17, 1954, by the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, urging procedural reforms in congressional investigating committees and the establishment of a single joint committee on internal security:

CHURCH COUNCIL FOR REFORM IN CONGRESS' RED INQUIRIES

(By Russell Porter)

Top Protestant leaders called yesterday for eight procedural reforms in congressional investigating committees and a single joint committee to investigate subversive activities. The reforms would protect the rights of witnesses and accused persons and groups, and would restrict the powers of committees, their chairmen and staffs.

This action was taken by the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America. The board adopted a statement recommended by a "watchdog" Committee on the Maintenance of American Freedom, appointed a year ago. Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill of the Protestant Episcopal Church is the committee chairman, and Charles C. Parlin, a prominent Methodist layman and attorney, is vice chairman.

The statement was prepared by a subcommittee headed by the Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief administrative officer of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The general board, which is the national council's policymaking body, adopted the statement by a vote of 90 to 2.

The vote was taken by show of hands in executive session at the Marble Collegiate Reformed Protestant Church, 29th Street and Fifth Avenue. A spokesman for the council made it public.

Besides proposing procedural reforms and a single joint committee, the statement called on the American people not to let the Government determine for them what is and is not American, and on the churches to provide for the country a feeling of spiritual security to replace what it termed "The prevailing mood of restlessness and tensions."

COMMITTEE COMPETITION SEEN

The statement asserted that American freedom was now being threatened by the procedural abuses it seeks to correct, and by competition among committees seeking publicity, personal aggrandizement, and political advantage. It criticized wastage and duplication of effort.

It charged the committees with stigmatizing individuals and organizations on the basis of unsupported accusations and casual associations, with forcing witneses to testify about economic pretext of investigating subversive activities, and with acting as "legislative courts" to determine guilt or innocence.

The statement also criticized the committees for refusing to let counsel for witnesses question them and cross-examine their accusers, and for letting defamatory material be read into the record without requiring the accuser to confront the accused.

Likewise it charged the committees with failing to confine themselves to collecting information for the purposes of legislation, with usurping powers not granted to them by the Constitution, with letting committee chairmen schedule hearings, subpena witnesses and evaluate their testimony without consulting other members, and with releasing unverified and unevaluated information from committee files in such a way as to spread malicious gossip.

Its proposed reforms, said the statement, were aimed to correct the conditions complained of.

Another document made public with the statement indicated each and every complaint was not intended to apply equally to all committees. The second document consisted of testimony given by Mr. Parlin last month before the House Subcommittee on Rules at Washington, on bills pending before Congress to reform committee procedures.

Mr. Parlin in his testimony dealt primarily with the practice of releasing information from committee files, which he said he thought had been followed only by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Yesterday's statement praised President Eisenhower, both Republican and Democratic Party leaders, and those Members of Congress who have urged procedural reforms. It also recognized "the real menace of communism," and said a single joint committee would enable Congress to "concentrate energy on the legitimate and essential tasks of resisting the Communist threat."

TO AID CURRENT MOVEMENT

Mr. Parlin, vice chairman of the "watchdog committee" said the statement was acted on at this time to aid the present movement in Congress to improve investigative procedures.

The "watchdog committee" was authorized by a vote of 69 to 2 at an open meeting of the general board in March 1953, to safeguard American freedom against both Communist infiltration and wrong methods of meeting it.

Bishop Sherrill and Mr. Parlin were among religious leaders who met with Representative HAROLD VELDE, Republican of Illinois, chairman, and four other members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in Washington last January, and proposed changes in that committee's procedures. Mr. VELDE was severely criticized last year for suggesting his committee might be investigating Communist infiltration of the churches.

Mr. Parlin was counsel for Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church at his hearing before the Velde committee last July to answer charges in the committee's files.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America consists of 30 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions with an estimated total membership of 35 million persons.

The general board approved plans to hold the next meeting of the council's general assembly, its supreme governing body in Boston on November 28 and to go to St. Louis for the 1957 assembly meeting.

TEXT OF THE CHURCH COUNCIL'S STATEMENT

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is the text of a statement adopted here yesterday by the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, urging procedural reforms in congressional investigating committees and a single joint committee on subversive activities.)

Deeply concerned by certan trends in American public life the National Council of Churches in March 1953 created a "committee on the maintenance of American freedom" and instructed it to "watch developments that threaten the freedom of any of our people or their institutions, whether through denying the basic right of freedom of thought, through Communist infiltration, or wrong methods of meeting that infiltration."

I

One such threat has come from procedural uses by congressional committees. Remedial measures are now being proposed, and we commend the President, the leaders of both major parties, and the Members of Congress who have spoken out and demanded reforms. If these reforms are to be adequate they should provide protection from at least the following:

1. The stigmatizing of individuals and organizations on the basis of unsupported accusations and casual associations.

2. The forcing of citizens, under pretext of investigation of subversive activities, to testify concerning their personal economic and political beliefs.

3. The functioning of congressional committees as legislative courts to determine the guilt or innocence of individuals.

4. The denying to "witnesses" opportunity to bring out material favorable to their side of the case through questions by witnesses' own counsel and opportunity to test the validity of accusations through cross-examination of accusers.

5. The permitting to a committee member or counsel the reading into the record against a "witness" defamatory material and charges without requiring the accuser personally to confront the accused.

6. The usurping by congressional committees of powers not granted to Congress by the Constitution and their failing to concentrate on the primary task of collecting information for purposes of new legislation.

7. The scheduling of hearings, subpenaing of witnesses, and evaluating of their testimony by chairmen of committees without the concurrence of, or consultation with, their fellow committee members.

8. The releasing from the files of a congressional committee of so-called information consisting of unverified and unevaluated data in such a way that the committee can be used to help spread and give credence to malicious gossip.

II

Another threat has come from competition among rival congressional committees, creating the impression that they seek publicity, personal aggrandizement, and political advantage rather than basic facts. In order to concentrate energy on the legitimate and essential task of resisting the Communist threat, and in order to avoid wastage and duplication of effort and to minimize the risk of the exploitation of public interest and fear, we urge the establishment of a single joint congressional committee for the investigation of subversive activity.

III

A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in Government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American. The American way is to preserve freedom by encouraging diversity within the unity of the Nation and by trusting truth to prevail over error in open discussion. The American way is to rely upon individuals to develop and express individual opinions. The American way is to depend upon the educational institutions to seek the truth and teach it without fear. The American way is to look to the churches in the richness of their diversity to bring to the Nation light and discipline from God to maintain a responsible freedom.

IV

Aggravating these threats to American freedom is the prevailing mood of restlessness and tension. This arises in part from the real menace of communism, which our Nation is resisting by strength. It arises in part from the lack of a sense of security within our people which no physical strength can produce. Spiritual security can be achieved only by strengthening the Nation's faith in God. The responsibility for deepening this faith rests with the churches.

The Tax Strategy of the Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Baltimore Sun of March 18, 1954:

THE TAX STRATEGY OF THE DEMOCRATS

The Democratic strategy in the debate on the administration's omnibus tax bill is not admirable. What the Democrats are trying to do—and the first vote on this may come today in the House—is to strike out a provision which would reduce the extent of the double taxation on corporate dividends and substitute instead a tax-cutting provision for increasing personal exemptions under the income tax.

The basis of this effort is electioneering, pure and simple. By championing an increase in the personal exemptions, the Democrats are posing as champions of the "little man," since such an increase would have the effect of freeing a large proportion of small income-tax payers from all liability from income tax. In demanding that the provision regarding dividends be struck out, the Democrats are implying that it was placed in the measure solely to favor the wealthy.

The facts are otherwise.

The increase in the personal exemption from $600 to $700, as President Eisenhower stated the other night, would result in a loss of revenue so large as to throw the administration's fiscal program badly out of balance, and the President added his moral objection to a reform which would free so many of all direct tax liability to their country.

As for the dividend measure, it is but one of hundreds of provisions in a bill which is the first effort in a half century to clean out the accumulation of inconsistencies and inequities which clutter up the Federal tax structure. At present corporate dividends are subject to double taxation—once at the corporate level and again at the personal income level. Double taxation is repugnant in principle and all responsible students of tax matters have long agreed that it should be eliminated. It operates unjustly on all whose incomes are affected by corporate dividends—not merely the handful of the wealthy and the much more numerous small holders of stock, but the beneficiaries of insurance policies, pension plans, trust funds, and the like.

The Democratic position on these matters is a clever strategy for earning unthinking applause and votes. But we do not believe that the majority of the House and the Senate will go along.

Too Much Scattered Fire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the following editorial entitled "Too Much Scattered Fire," which appeared in the March 16, 1954, issue of the New York World-Telegram:

TOO MUCH SCATTERED FIRE

Ferreting Communists out of the Government, or from any other places in American life they have wormed into, is a deadly serious and an overwhelmingly important job.

It is not a job for amateurs or headline hunters or feudists or demagogs. It is not a job to be done by hit-and-miss investigating or by banging away now at one suspect, now at another, without ever getting down to the roots of the conspiracy. It is not a job for every Joe or Harold in Congress.

At the moment, Congress has three committees blustering around with this problem, competing for news space and television time, bumping into each other. That is precisely why the situation has reached its present state of ridiculous confusion. That is why such men as Senator MCCARTHY and Representative VELDE have made themselves, not communism, the prevailing issues.

The best all-around investigation of communism has been turned in by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, whether its chairman was a Democrat or a Republican, the reports of this committee have been consistent with the facts, and they have been constructive exposures of how the Communist apparatus worked, who made it work, and where it worked. On the basis of that kind of exposure, Congress and the administration and the public can intelligently devise ways to cope with Communist subversion and espionage.

Other less systematic investigations may have done their share in arousing the country to the danger of the Communist infiltration. But they inevitably lead to what Vice President NIXON called "violent controversies over an issue that we ought to be together on."

This is the reason some leaders in Congress now are talking of a plan to abolish all three of the present committees—the McCarthy committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The idea is to consolidate Communist investigation in a single joint Senate-House committee. Such a committee could employ the ablest and most experienced experts on communism. It could do the job much more cheaply and much more effectively.

Opportunities for June Graduates in Medical Social Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, "What next, after graduation?" is a question which takes the center of the stage for many young people at this time of the year. It is good that this is so. The decisions which college students make concerning their careers are important not only to them, to their parents and their professors. They are important to their community and Nation.

It is precisely because what these young people decide to do after graduation is so important to their community and Nation that I want to call attention to the growing opportunities for useful and interesting careers in the health field.

Many know how desperately we need more doctors and nurses. But they may not be as aware of the fact that hospitals and health agencies also need medical social workers—men and women who are specially trained to work with doctors and nurses to help sick people return to health and normal life. According to a recent study by the United States Public Health Service, we will need 3,500 newly trained medical social workers by 1957. Many of that number will be needed in my own State of Ohio.

The art of healing, we now know, often calls for more than medicine and surgery. The doctor asks the medical social worker to help him work with a patient when the social, psychological or economic upsets connected with the patient's illness hinder recovery. The medical social worker is skilled in helping the patient and his family handle personal problems resulting from illness or disability. With the doctor and the nurse, the medical social worker is an important member of the modern medical team.

In Ohio, we are fortunate to have one of the Nation's best training centers for medical social work at the Graduate School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, in the city of Cleveland. A close working relationship between the Schools of Medicine and Nursing and medical social work training at Western Reserve combines the best in classroom and practical work experience. Western Reserve graduates have made splendid records as medical social workers in Ohio and throughout the country.

Medical social work, like all professions, requires special training beyond college graduation. There are no short cuts. However, unless we are to find our health services dangerously undermanned in the future, at least 800 to 1,000 college graduates this year, and for the next several years, should enter graduate schools of social work for medical social work training. Already there are three times as many medical social work jobs available as there are qualified applicants to fill them. Our expanding medical services mean that the trained medical social worker has a choice of jobs now and excellent prospects for future advancement.

From long years of association with health work as a lay person and as the sponsor of much health legislation in Congress I know how important it is to have our hospitals and health agencies adequately staffed with trained and dedicated men and women. Medical social work offers both young men and women opportunities to serve their communities in many ways. It is the right career for young people who like the medical atmosphere, have a genuine interest in all kinds of people and want to grow with a growing profession.

More details about the requirements and opportunities for medical social work training are available from the School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio, or from the American Association of Medical Social Workers, 1834 K Street NW., Washington 6, D. C.

The President's Tax Views

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith

an editorial from the March 17, 1954, issue of the Roanoke Times and an editorial from the March 17, 1954, issue of the Lynchburg News concerning the President's tax views:

[From the Roanoke Times of March 17, 1954]

THE PRESIDENT ON TAX CUTTING

If there were a serious business recession, it could be argued that drastic tax reduction is a necessary stimulant for the Nation's economy. In that case there might be some justification for increased deficit spending by the Government.

But business is not in an alarming condition. On the other hand, the Government continues to operate on an unbalanced budget and every tax cut makes more remote the day when the country will be able to match spending with income. Those considerations don't carry much weight in an election year, when nearly every Congressman wants to please the voters.

President Eisenhower took a firm stand on the side of sound fiscal management when he explained his administration's tax program to the people Monday evening. Mr. Eisenhower struck out at the Democratic proposal for raising personal income-tax exemptions under which many persons would be relieved of any Federal income tax at all. He might have gone further and expressed disapproval of Republicans who have gone counter to his wishes in slashing revenues. Republicans as well as Democrats have joined in the rush to make political hay out of tax cutting. Only three Members of the House voted against the bill lopping nearly a billion dollars from excise taxes.

The President, however, delivered an effective defense of his tax-revision program and gave a warning against expansion of deficit spending which should be taken to heart by the people. The plan is a fair one, extending a measure of relief to both individuals and business. It is a program which should be weighed in an atmosphere free of the pressures of politics.

The proposal supported by Democrats and likely to have the backing of some Republicans would take 4 million persons off the tax rolls if the exemption is raised to $700, it is estimated. If the exemption is raised to $1,000 in later years, as proposed, approximately 14 million persons would escape income taxpayment altogether. Proponents seek to substitute this feature for the recommended reduction in dividend taxes. It is right to impose income taxes according to the ability to pay. The fairer way to do that is by adjustment of rates. Everyone with the means ought to be required to bear a just share of the expense of government. An increase in exemptions, such as now advocated, would allow millions to shift the burden to others.

The House last week voted 411 to 3 for a reduction in excise taxes which will cost the Government a billion dollars in revenue. With the budget already out of balance by an estimated $2.9 billion, it is dismaying to witness an almost total disregard in Congress of the evils of deficit spending. The Senate apparently will approve the reduction, and the President, it is indicated, will accept it in order to preserve the billion-dollar revenue from liquor, tobacco, gasoline, and automobile excises provided in the bill.

Now comes the administration's omnibus bill, a comprehensive revision of the Federal tax structure. Its effect on revenues was calculated when the new budget was drawn up. The bill sets up more liberal income-tax deductions for such things as medical expenses and child-care expenses of working widows. Its controversial features are those which grant tax relief to corporations and persons receiving dividends from corporate stock.

The administration and Republican supporters of the measure argue that tax incentives for business will encourage plant expansion, stimulate production, and provide more jobs. Democrats contend the bill favors corporations and large shareholders and that the best way to promote business prosperity is to grant tax relief to individuals through more liberal personal exemptions.

The latter plan, on the scale which its backers advocate, would take from the Government billions of dollars of revenue and force an indefinite continuation of deficit spending, piling up debt for future generations.

"The only way to make more tax cuts now is to have bigger and better deficits and to borrow more and more money," Mr. Eisenhower cautioned. "Either we or our children will have to bear the burden of this debt. This is one kind of chicken that always comes home to roost."

Unfortunately, what is best for the country is not the main concern of Congressmen looking toward next November's elections.

[From the Lynchburg News of March 17, 1954]

IKE ON TAXES

President Eisenhower put his finger on the heart of the matter when he pointed out in his Monday night speech that the opposition's income tax proposals would exempt millions of Americans from all taxpayments. They would create a privileged class of Americans who would bear no part of the burden of the support of the Government and of the Government's system of subsidies. One-third of our citizens would let two-thirds pay the bills for all.

If an overworked word can be used with effect at any time, it is in this case. The Democratic Party's tax reduction plan is un-American. "I simply don't believe for one second," said the President, "that anyone privileged to live in this country wants someone else to pay his own fair and just share of the cost of the Government." The President may be wrong there; those proposing that policy obviously believe it will be popular enough with those who are favored to get votes for the party in November. But the President's belief ought to be correct, and our opinion is that it is. Politicians before this have failed to gage public opinion correctly and have found that seemingly expedient political moves turned out to be mistakes.

There is another reason why it is wrong to exempt millions of citizens from the payment of any income taxes. It is from such taxes that the Federal Government derives the greater part of its revenues. If a huge group of citizens is relieved of paying any of these taxes, the natural inclination of its members will be to approve greater and greater spending and bigger and bigger deficits. Having votes but paying nothing, these citizens will be on the side of the spendthrifts, especially when the spending seems to be more in their interest than in that of those who do the paying. Tax and spend, elect and elect, will then be even more tempting to the officeholders than it was when Harry Hopkins inadvertently revealed New Deal policy.

If the budget isn't brought close to a balance now, if the huge national debt is to be increased even more now, there is little hope of ever getting a balanced budget and little hope of ever checking the mounting debt increases. If we are going to inflate now on the theory that a little inflation is possible and that it is needed even to meet a slight recession, we are going to inflate more later. That is the objection to any big tax reduction today. But to those objections there is added in the case of proposed tax exemption for millions the objection raised by President Eisenhower. It is not a healthy nation when a part carry the burden for the others, when those who contribute nothing have an effective voice in saying how much shall be spent.

It is an election year and candidates for office always like to come begging votes with a little bribe in their hands for the voters, but it is not too much to hope that there will be found enough support in the Congress for a sane fiscal policy such as that proposed by President Eisenhower.

Certainly the country can count on some of the southern Democrats, not all of whom will follow Senators GEORGE and RUSSELL.

Postal Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Andrew T. Walker, the president of Branch 1, United National Association of Post Office Clerks, recently appeared before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in support of the $800 postal pay raise.

I therefore, under unanimous consent, insert in the Appendix of the RECORD, the statement made by Mr. Walker to that committee:

STATEMENT OF ANDREW T. WALKER, PRESIDENT OF BRANCH 1, UNITED NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS, MARCH 1954

At the very outset I would like to state for the record that my name is Andrew T. Walker, president of Branch 1 of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks. My branch, which is in New York City, is one of the largest city postal groups in the Nation.

The purpose for which you, gentlemen, have gathered together is one which has captured the sincere support and interest of not alone the employees of the postal service, but also outstanding members of the newspaper press, radio and television networks, as well as many Members of Congress. A raise for the postal worker is long overdue as some of my testimony and statements of many others appearing before you have indicated.

When living costs rise, postal clerks with fixed incomes are caught in a deadly squeeze-play. By certain basic rights set forth by Congress civil service employees feel entitled to a wage to support themselves and their dear ones in a fashion meeting with the American standard of living. Our economic position as a group has steadily declined since 1939. Since that time our salary has been outdistanced by adjustments made in salaries of civilian workers.

One of your colleagues, the Honorable SAMUEL W. YORTY, propounds a very significant point in his excellent statement made on Monday, February 22, 1954, in regards to a postal pay raise. Congressman YORTY said:

"Let us look at the facts in this case. In the months between July 1951 and the same period in 1953—I mention 1951 because that was the date of the last enactment of pay-raise legislation for Federal employees—the weekly earnings for women clerical workers increased as much as 14.3 percent in Atlanta, Ga., and 8.4 percent in San Francisco, Calif. In this same period the gross average weekly earnings of production workers in all manu-

facturing industries in the United States increased by 11.6 percent. In the retail trade the increase was 8 percent; banks and trust companies increased 8.7 percent; insurance carriers, 10.7 percent; and gas and electric utilities, 13.2 percent." Without a doubt, Mr. YORTY has made an extensive and exact study of the percentage wage increases in these various production fields; and he goes on to say: "Federal and postal employees are not endeavoring to set a new pattern for possible additional wage increases in the private sectors of the economy; but rather we strongly urge that Congress allow these employees to follow and catch up with the pattern which has already been set. They should be allowed to receive enough compensation for their toil to buy not only the necessities of life but also a few pleasures."

Postal employees throughout the Nation stand indebted to Mr. YORTY and to the many other Congressmen and Senators who have come forth to state facts and figures as they truly are in relationship to the current request of postal employees for a postal pay raise.

There is a popular school of thought for the reason why civil-service salaries are always regarded as being inadequate and behind salaries paid in private industry. That view being that legislative machinery for pay scale adjustment is cumbersome, grinds hard at the start and runs slow at its very best. The result is that each time postal salary bills are passed they become obsolete on the day it is enacted. By the time we had received our last increase in 1951 it had become outdated the day the law was signed because of the steadily mounting prices for the necessities of life itself.

The salary increase proposal as contained in the Withrow bill, H. R. 2344, granting an annual $800 pay raise for regular employees and a 40-cent hourly increase for hourly rate employees is fair and equitable. Also the bill provides for elimination of the two present lowest salary grades for clerks as an overtime scale rate for substitute postal clerks.

The recent plan submitted by the Postmaster General which will reclassify clerical grades with just a token salary increase certainly represents a "backward march movement" in modern salary grading in accordance with the high cost of living. The plan as drawn up by the Fry Asociates does not present a true comparison of postal salaries as against wages paid in private industry or to municipal employees such as policemen, firemen, and teachers. The principles as to job grading and production as embodied in the postal department plan has indeed some merit but the suggested step raises in the starting phase is far from being adequate. I would like to suggest that this committee proceed as it is in determining an equitable postal pay raise and set up very soon a congressional study committee for the express purpose of reviewing the aspects of the Fry Associates reclassification plan.

In all of my near 50 years of service I have never witnessed the wholesale competition that there is today between New York postal employees for part and sideline jobs in private industry. It is a genuine disgrace and certainly reflects little credit upon such employment as a postal employee for either himself to work two jobs or send his wife out to work.

This much-merited bill, H. R. 2344, should be enacted into law so that employment in one of America's greatest and respected agencies will once again assure those of us that take part in this communication system of ours a normal standard of living.

I would like to thank you gentlemen, for the opportunity of presenting to you my statement on the urgency for committee endorsement of H. R. 2344.

Legalizing a Blackjack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, in today's issue of the Wall Street Journal appears an editorial entitled "Legalizing a Blackjack." The editorial has to do with certain aspects of the Taft-Hartley law and certain rulings of the National Labor Relations Board thereunder, and also points out certain activities which have been indulged in, which I believe it is important for us to consider and to bear in mind at this time.

Therefore I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEGALIZING A BLACKJACK

A layman reading the Taft-Hartley law would conclude from the plain language of the statute that secondary boycotts by labor unions are illegal. Yet the secondary boycott remains not only in practice but sometimes with the sanction of the National Labor Relations Board.

In general, a secondary boycott is the refusal by union employees of one company to handle goods of another company with which it may be having a dispute. Back in 1949 the Labor Board ruled that such boycotts are alright, despite any provisions of the Taft-Hartley law, when a company has agreed to permit them in its contract with the union.

In effect, the Board thus said that an illegal action is no longer illegal if it is agreed to by an employer. The result was to legalize a blackjack—not against the employer with whom the union has a contract but against an employer from whom it demands one.

To see how the blackjack can be used, consider a case now before the present Labor Board, which is reviewing this interpretation of the law.

The teamsters union demanded that a trucking concern in Nebraska sign a contract with the union. The company declined. A few days later teamster members working for other trucking concerns refused to handle goods moving to or from this particular company under a contract agreement that the teamsters did not have to handle unfair work.

The neatness of this device is that the teamsters union does not have to organize the employees of the Nebraska firm, or submit to an employee's election. The fact that the company's employees might be opposed to joining the teamsters becomes a matter of small consequence. The teamster's weapon is its ability through the secondary boycott to put the company out of business.

The right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively is not protected by this sort of legal rule; if the employees of this company want to join the teamsters they are free to do so quite apart from this ruling. To the contrary, the effect of the rule is to interfere with the right of those employees to join some other union, or to have no union at all, if that is what they wish. It is a weapon that can be used to sandbag the truck driver just as much as the truck owner.

We do not think that the present labor law can be properly interpreted to sanction this sort of thing and we hope the Labor Board will alter the old ruling. But if that is a proper interpretion, then it is clear where the fault lies. The law has no business making blackjacking legal.

Problems and Progress in Defense Planning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, Adm. Arthur Radford, the present chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of our armed services, is one of the great Americans of our generation.

Not only did he prove his worth as a great military tactician and strategist in World War II, but he has likewise demonstrated his outstanding capacity for dealing with other nations and peoples in time of peace.

Admiral Radford, because of his superb natural talents, his brilliant record as a military leader, his tact and diplomacy in dealing with his fellowman, in addition to his sterling character and admirable courage, was selected by President Eisenhower to serve as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are likewise men of tested experience, broad vision, and great accomplishments.

Before the Economic Club of New York City on March 9, 1954, Admiral Radford delivered a most timely, informative, and interesting address on Problems and Progress in Defense Planning. This address should be read by every American and especially studied by the columnists and commendators because it will give a much clearer and more accurate picture of the so-called New Look of our overall strategy developed by all three branches of our armed services.

Under leave heretofore granted to extend my remarks, I include Admiral Radford's address:

PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS IN DEFENSE PLANNING

Mr. Igleheart and members of the Economic Club of New York, it is a privilege for me to meet with this fine organization. The reputation maintained by your club since it was founded in 1907 is in keeping with the finest American traditions. Your interest in the affairs of our Nation is part of the strength of our country, a strength which is nourished by the interchange of ideas among freemen.

There are several reasons why your interest in defense matters should be greater than ever. The first is that more than half of our Government expenditures are required currently to meet the cost of past wars, to maintain Armed Forces at present levels, and to support the international aid programs. Second is the tremendous increase in the destructive power of new weapons. Third is the airplane, which has brought the battlefield into the backyard of every

citizen. And fourth, of course, is the massive nature of the Communist threat.

In discussing security problems with members of your organization, I find considerable interest focused upon our national defense planning. I am sure you gentlemen would be the first to understand that it is quite impracticable for me to tell you all about such planning during the next few minutes. Perhaps, however, I can discuss 1 or 2 facets of it in such a way as to lead toward a better understanding.

COMMUNIST EXPANSION

Today, due to the massive nature of the Communist threat, we are in a period of tension and cold war. It could increase in intensity, and it could decrease. It could last 10 or 20 years, or even for a century. You and I should prepare our plans accordingly.

Communism is a continuing menace. It operates in global terms with global objectives. It has no time limit for the accomplishment of its objectives, and it can attempt to achieve its goals at any time it is expedient.

Communism is also monopolistic and ruthless. It is governed by a small group of directors who can make sudden, and sometimes illogical, decisions. These directors are not responsible to any stockholders or customers, nor do they declare any dividends.

Worse than that, communism is death on free competition, on small countries, and on small business. It has no hesitancy in putting the squeeze on a neighbor with a view to eliminating the competition, and amalgamating it into its own vast expanding corporation.

Indeed, communism is a total menace.

The Soviets' one big goal, of course, is world communism and world domination. That was the dream of their revolutionary architects. In Lenin's eyes, however, world domination was not to be achieved without a struggle. Lenin explained this in his writings when he said:

"We are living not merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

The Soviets have a big start toward their goal. The processes of communism have made the Soviet Union the largest colonial power the world has ever seen. In the short space of 15 years, the Soviets have colonized some 640 million people, and millions of square miles of land, complete with homes, factories, and resources.

What this means is that the free nation coalition can ill afford to let a single additional area fall behind the Iron Curtain. Though it often seems unclear, and is sometimes deliberately obscured, it is as simple as A B C. Aside from the tragedy to the people conquered, Soviet domination means that these people and their resources will be harnessed to the Soviet war machine, and may be turned against us.

In my opinion, when any nation falls victim to Soviet aggression, whether internal or external, the Soviet Union becomes stronger, and United States safety is lessened. If communism is permitted to gobble up parts of the world 1 by 1, the day will come when the Soviet bloc will be so powerful that no corner of the world will be safe.

Indeed, communism has many tentacles, and there are many prizes. One prize example is Indochina where Communist infiltration, insurrection, and aggression constitute a serious problem.

INDOCHINA

Indochina is of special interest to us because its loss would imperil directly the whole of southeast Asia, and indirectly a much wider area. If southeast Asia fell into the Communist sphere of influence, more millions of people would lose their freedom. Important raw materials and markets would be denied to free nations except on terms dictated by Communist Peiping and Moscow. The Communist potential strength would then be increased. The Reds would be that much stronger, and we would be that much weaker.

Thus, it was apparent that it would be necessary to do more in the Far East. Accordingly, we have made available substantial additional resources to assist military defense efforts in Indochina, and to defeat Communist Vietminh aggression.

This war in Indochina has raged for over 7 years. The military forces of France, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have been fighting with considerable sacrifice of life and treasure. The peoples and the armies involved have had our support.

There has been public speculation to the effect that the United States seeks to direct and control the military operations in Indochina. This is not the case at all.

Perhaps such speculation is based on our experience in the Korean war where, under the United Nations, we did conduct military operations; and where we were highly successful in organizing and training South Korean manpower into skilled fighting combat units. In fact, the United States Army's performance was so successful there, it is now possible for the South Koreans to assume increasingly greater responsibility for the ground defense of their country in the not-too-distant future.

Indochina, however, presents a different situation. Primary responsibility for the conduct of military operations rests upon France and the Associated States. Their manpower must do the fighting, and they must bear a large part of the cost of military effort, but it is clearly impossible for them to bear the entire cost.

The United States has not requested, and does not desire, to assume responsibility for the military situation in Indochina. That responsibility is recognized by all concerned to belong to the French and the Associated States.

However, in consonance with our long established policy of rendering material assistance and moral support to nations threatened by Communist aggression, the United States has supplied much of the material means to help them fight against it. We plan to continue such military assistance programs, and to cooperate with our friends in Indochina.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Indochina is but one part of the overall conflict between communism and nations which want to be free. All in all, the free nations constitute the chief obstacle to Soviet aims. Collectively, they must be kept politically, economically, and militarily strong.

Prior to 1950, the United States liquidated the most powerful military machine in American history, and placed it at such a low level as practically to invite aggression.

When the Korean war began, no one was sure what it meant. No one knew whether it would be confined to Korea, or whether if portended a global war. We had to generate military strength as quickly as possible.

This we did. Our Armed Forces expanded hastily to a strength of 3½ million men and women, and our military aid programs helped to generate additional forces amongst our allies. Our major course of action to deter war was the development of such strength, by a combination of alliances and forces, that the Communists would recognize, in advance, the cost of further aggression.

In 4 years' time, collective Allied military strength improved. You may not realize how much. There has been a greater increase in Allied military strength during the past 4 years than there has been in the Communist bloc. At the same time, of course, we had farther to go, and Korea provided the impetus.

PLANNING UNITED STATES FORCES

But an important question was left unanswered. For several years, we had been building our forces for a particular peak year of crisis, but what was to be the pattern after that? What size and deployment of armed forces should we have in the light of the Soviet threat, the existence of atomic weapons, United States commitments, our limited manpower, and the national economy for the long pull?

The question faced the new Joint Chiefs of Staff when they took office last August. It most assuredly would have faced any set of Chiefs, at that time.

Since it is impossible to forecast precisely the year and the amount of maximum military danger, part of the answer was to provide a sturdy military posture which could be maintained indefinitely over an extended period of cold war. Part of it was to take advantage of new weapons and technological developments. Another part was to improve the readiness of our Reserve forces to meet today's requirements for rapid mobilization. Still another part was to adjust the balance of United States forces so as to fit into the larger system of collective allied forces.

We tackled this problem by making a reappraisal of our security requirements appropriate to our current and prospective situation.

Here, I might take just a moment to assure you that: Our planning does not subscribe to the thinking that the ability to deliver massive atomic retaliation is, by itself, adequate to meet all our security needs. It is not correct to say we are relying exclusively on one weapon, or one service, or that we are anticipating one kind of war. I believe that this Nation could be a prisoner of its own military posture if it had no capability, other than one to deliver a massive atomic attack.

It should be evident from the forces we intend to maintain that we are not relying solely upon air power. We shall continue to have over a million men in our Army, and we shall continue to have a Navy that is second to none. We have never before attempted to keep forces of this size over an indefinite period of time.

RELATIVE EMPHASIS

The program for our Armed Forces is more a matter of emphasis. We are putting emphasis on our advantages, our long suits, in other words, on airpower, on new weapons, and on a high state of combat-operational readiness. We are placing emphasis on a Ready Reserve, mobility and flexibility, not for any one date, but for now and for the indefinite future.

As the importance of airpower and new weapons increases, it does not necessarily mean that the importance of ground and naval forces decreases.

Actually, each of our armed services is essential. Each has vital roles to perform. By no means are we divesting ourselves of our capabilities in other essential arms and forces. The effectiveness of the Army, Navy, and Marine forces will continue to be improved with better equipment, new weapons, and a better planning of Reserve components. We must have strong, mobile, combat-ready units capable of being projected wherever required.

Not only that, we must have allies. We recognize that the safety of the United States cannot be assured by the United States alone, indispensable as that is. The prudent course calls for a steady military coalition with our partners, sustained and planned so as to use our joint capabilities with maximum efficiency and minimum strain.

We also recognize that the free nations are face to face with a totalitarian system

and its inherent dangers of a shooting war. The Soviets enjoy a competitive advantage in that they can control natural resources, mobilize manpower, adjust finances, and control their colonies with a directness and a simplicity which free nations canot achieve. Within wide limits, they can marshal great amounts of military power or political and economic pressure by squeezing it out of a lowered standard of living for the masses under their domination. They are expert at continuing tensions and conducting cold war.

But we do not have to help make the Soviet bloc stronger. From a military standpoint, we cannot afford to indulge in a traffic of strategic materials with which they could increase their combat-war potential to the detriment of world peace. Beyond that, there can be no real profits from trade with aggressor nations which are worth the price of future security. I think we should continue to draw a distinction between trade which contributes to peace and trade which contributes to war. If we do not, we shall be furthering the destruction of all we hold dear.

Stopping communism is more than just a military job. It is political, economic, and psychological too. We have to be able to counter threats in all these areas. Military programs must be complemented in these other fields by positive programs which are adequate to prevent the Communists from extending their domination.

Let us not sit by idly, and watch a single additional nation fall behind the Iron Curtain. Let us not let anything happen which would help communism grow stronger, and freedom grow weaker.

DEFENSE PLANNING

Appropos of defense planning, the plans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are not static, but will change as conditions change. Our plans are evolutionary. They are based on a sound combination of important planning factors, as well as the latest developments in weapons and equipment. They are designed for our own defense and for collective defense.

Today's military program is one for attaining, and maintaining indefinitely thereafter, in an improved state of readiness, selected United States Armed Forces which give us a sturdy military posture, and which constitute the most effective contribution to the balanced collective strength of the free nations of the world.

Should another major or global war be forced upon us, I feel confident that this Nation would use whatever forces, and all the forces, necessary to insure the future security and survival of our United States of America.

Hungarian Freedom Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on the 15th day of March, the freedom day of Hungary, it is fitting and proper that we in free America should send a message of friendship and of hope to those suffering under Soviet tyranny. To the brave people of Hungary we give assurance that there will be no halting of the tireless efforts of the people of the United States to bring to all peoples the sweets of independence and the fruits of freedom.

For Hungary we hold a sentiment of affection and of gratitude. It was Col. Michael Kováts de Fabricy, Hungarian, who 177 years ago, in a dark hour, joined the Army of George Washington. He participated in many an engagement as the second in command of the famous Pulaski Legion. At Charleston, leading his men in attack, he was mortally wounded. The American Hungarian Association with inspiring propriety has adopted as its slogan "Faithful unto death," from the life and service of Colonel Kováts.

The U. S. A. Can't Bail Out Landless Peasants Everywhere

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, it has been said over and over again that the American taxpayer is overburdened, and it has also been repeated time and time again that his onerous burdens could be drastically lightened and the budget balanced if our foreign commitments were sharply reduced.

Once again I state this fact; and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial "The U. S. A. Can't Bail Out Landless Peasants Everywhere," which was published in the March 20 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. One of the aspects of our foreign giveaway policy is there pointed out.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE U. S. A. CAN'T BAIL OUT LANDLESS PEASANTS EVERYWHERE

If a private charity collector representing the Society for the Advancement of Worthy Iranian Peasants approached 1,600 Americans, each with a wife, 2 children and a gross income of $4,228 a year, and demanded $312 from each man for his charity, chances are he would not get far.

The Federal Government, however, is doing just that in substance, although it does not have to put the bite on a sucker list as obviously as a Society for the Advancement of Worthy Iranian Peasants might do. What has happened is this:

The Shah of Iran decided to deed 31,000 acres to 1,600 landless peasants. Under Point 4, the United States is handing these 1,600 distant, dusty Persians $500,000 to buy necessary farm implements, seed, and so on. That figures out at $312 per peasant, or the amount a married taxpayer with 3 dependents and an income of $4,228 a year forked over in 1953 income taxes.

No doubt some people in the world feel that this is a fine gesture on the part of us wealthy Americans with $4,228 a year and only 1 wife and a mere 2 children to support. Very real, direct benefits to us are possible too. The $500,000 presumably will help to counteract communism in a crucial area. It may boost sales of American farm machinery to Iran, and thus aid workers in Hometown, USA. It is "good propaganda."

But before the impression spreads across Asia that the United States stands ready to finance every peasant farmer to the tune of $300 or more, someone in Washington with the voice of authority should explain that American generosity has its limits.

As it is, the Shah is reported ready to transfer some 3 million acres to approximately 150,000 peasants. If they should get what their 1,600 fellow countrymen got, that would mean about $47 million more for peasants in Iran. There are 356 million people in India, a land which we also seek to buttress against communism, and there are 463 million in China, which we must someday redeem from communism for the sake of world peace. A high percentage of all these are small farmers who quite likely feel themselves as deserving of aid as 1,600 or 150,000 peasants in Iran.

What the world ought to be told, before it completely confuses the United States Treasury with a fabulous, self-refilling horn of plenty, is that dollars come from Americans, who are, after all, only human too. There is only 1 United States income-tax payer for every 40 persons in the world, and there is not much chance of stretching him farther without having him snap. He's fairly taut already.

Report on Health Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has filed a preliminary report on the inquiry it has been conducting for many months into national health problems.

The Courier-Post, newspaper of Camden, N. J., refers to this report in an editorial which appears in its issue of March 16, 1954, and is made a part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

REPORT ON HEALTH PROBLEMS BY WOLVERTON COMMITTEE

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which Congressman WOLVERTON is chairman, has issued a preliminary report on the inquiry it has been conducting for many months into national health problems.

"The toll of our major diseases—their causes, prevention, and control" form the subject of the report, which, WOLVERTON points out, does not "reflect conclusions or recommendations of the committee" but is purely factual. It covers testimony given at hearings last October which were conducted as a series of panel discussions with 95 distinguished physicians, scientists, and laymen participating.

"The committee's purpose in asking them to come before the committee," Wolverton says in his foreword to the report, "was to advise the members on the current status of knowledge in specific fields, to document the extent of public and private efforts to find the causes of and to control disease and to highlight the health problems and health needs of the Nation today."

During this first phase of its investigation "the committee directed its attention * * * to heart disease, cancer, arthritis and rheumatism, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, blindness, hearing defects, epilepsy, cerebral palsy, muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, diabetes, and mental illness. It was not possible to hear testimony on a host of other diseases. Most of the discussions, however, were broad enough to appear to be equally

applicable to the whole field of medicine and public health."

The expert testimony at the October hearings was sought "as a necessary background for the second phase of the inquiry, which represents a study of ways and means of providing protection for the American people against the heavy burden, and all to frequent financial catastrophe, arising from the major illnesses."

While the committee has not in this report fomulated policies or recommendations of its own, the report contains many recommendations of the expert witnesses.

In the summary of the testimony section which opens the report, "a national medical research program that will progressively produce means of treatment and ultimately determine causes and open the way to prevention and cure of disease" is called "the most promising weapon now available for attack upon disease." Continuing and enlarged Federal and State aid in such work, in conjunction with private research, is urgently recommetnded as "a matter of high priority." Other recommendations deal with attacks on disease by prevention, control, and rehabilitation.

The vast scope of the Wolverton inquiry is indicated by the fact that this summarized and preliminary report consists of 206 pages, and merely covers hearings that established a foundation of factual information on which the inquiry could proceed, in further hearings, to draft legislation relating to health problems.

Some of this legislation has already been introduced, such as Wolverton's bill and a companion measure by Senator SMITH for Federal reinsurance of private health insurance plans which would permit their expansion and increased usefulness—a keystone of President Eisenhower's recommendations to Congress for public health legislation.

One committee bill was passed by voice vote in the House last week and sent to the Senate, authorizing $60 million annually for Federal aid to the States in construction of diagnostic centers, hospitals for the chronically ill, nursing homes and rehabilitation facilities.

President Eisenhower's budget for the 1954–55 fiscal year contains an item to cover the cost of this construction, and the bill is another major one in the Eisenhower-Wolverton health program.

During House debate WOLVERTON pointed out that one of the principal advantages of this bill would be to bring health facilities within the reach of remote communities that otherwise could not get them.

Much more health legislation under the Eisenhower-Wolverton program remains to be drawn up and introduced at the current session. The committee has undertaken an enormous task that can be completed only by degrees.

But it is a task that, while unspectacular compared to many other actions of Congress, is of far more importance than most of them.

The committee's preliminary report creates the impression that it is a task that is being systematically and painstakingly undertaken, and that in the end will be productive of great good to the Nation.

Taxes and Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of March 18, 1954:

TAXES AND POLITICS

When the times comes today for the House of Representatives to vote on the tax-reform bill we hope that every Member will pause for a moment to ask himself what he believes in his heart is good for the Nation. If this question is honestly put, and honestly answered, it is difficult to understand how the President's proposal can fail.

If, on the other hand, the House votes to undermine this measure because it thinks such a course will be politically popular in an election year, then it is not only the tax bill that will be in danger. We shall be in a bad way indeed if it is considered to be either good morals or good politics to try to buy votes in November by offering several million voters something for nothing now in the form of increased exemptions from the Federal income tax at the price of increased deficits for the Federal Government.

The bill that will be voted on in the House today is a major revision of the tax laws, the most comprehensive in more than three-quarters of a century. It is a fundamental piece of legislation and one that is badly needed. Those who argue that the bill merely represents the "trickle down" theory of tax relief conveniently forget the revenue that the Government will gain by extending corporation taxes at present levels.

The House has already approved by nearly unanimous vote a major reduction in excise taxes, on top of the previous reduction in personal income tax and elimination of the excess-profits tax. Now the Democrats are proposing to amend the pending tax-revision bill today by enlarging the area of individual exemptions at a cost to the Federal Treasury of some $2.5 billion. If they succeed in doing this they will be helping to wreck the administration's fiscal program. They will be following a course of financial irresponsibility.

Middle of the Road

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, when the ability and character of any of our colleagues are editorialized by a respected and discerning press, it should be noted in the RECORD. For too often the nice things that are said of a man in public life come too late to be personally appreciated. This morning I received a clipping from a friend of mine. It was an editorial cut from the pages of his hometown newspaper. The New Britain Herald in New Britain, Conn., is one of the leading Independent-Republican newspapers in New England. The regard which this publication holds for our colleague, Hon. THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, reflects, I believe, the high esteem in which he is held by the Members of Congress. I am aware of his modesty and I know that, if he were asked, he would not permit me to insert in the RECORD this fine tribute to him. So, Mr. Speaker, because this House should have knowledge of it, I do it on my own; and under unanimous consent, I include it with my own remarks:

MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

The First Congressional District of Connecticut has been fortunate in recent years at least in the caliber of the men it has chosen to represent it in the United States House of Representatives. We were reminded of this fact the other night as we sat chatting with Congressman THOMAS J. DODD following a meeting of the American Italian Democratic Club at the Burritt Hotel. Anyone who has followed "TOM" DODD's career realizes that he is a gentleman, scholar, and of unimpeachable integrity.

He succeeded Abraham A. Ribicoff, New Britain native, when the former Representative withdrew from the House to wage a spectacular fight for the United States Senate against PRESCOTT BUSH. BUSH beat out the Hartford attorney only because Dwight Eisenhower carried the State by a large plurality in his quest for the Presidency and in so doing pulled BUSH to victory. DODD was easily elected to the House, the only Democrat to survive the Eisenhower sweep.

His record in the House has been outstanding. The man is a Democrat but he has never permitted party interests to sway him when he feels that the larger interests of the country, the State or the district would be better served by an independent act on his part. His ability to think things out for himself and to come up with an answer to which he can conscientiously give his entire support have enabled him to become one of the outstanding freshmen legislators in Washington.

In his recent speech here DODD's characteristics came into full expression. He talked to a Democratic meeting yet he did not hesitate to lay it on the line in criticizing reactionary Republicans and ultra-liberal, left-wing Democrats, both fo whom he felt are endangering the welfare of the United States by their extreme diversionary tactics. It would have been easy for TOM DODD to have kept quiet and to give an innocuous report on Washington yet he said the things he had in his heart.

The Representative believes that most Americans are moderate in their political views, that they want to follow middle-of-the-road policies both at home and abroad. He believes that in Hartford County we have a typical cross-section of the Nation as a whole with agricultural, industrial, and white-collar interests well diversified. He frankly says that few of his constituents are radicals or extremists and that he orders his actions accordingly.

If only Connecticut and the rest of the Nation could elect men such as DODD, and there are those good men in both parties, the Government of this Nation would be in excellent hands. We need more men of moderation, men who, like DODD and Abe Ribicoff before him, will think things out, who will act intelligently and logically rather than emotionally. TOM DODD can probably return to Congress if he so desires. But the people of Connecticut should be assured that he will act creditably and honestly in any office to which he is elected. He cannot act otherwise.

Salute to the Sons of Erin

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the sons of Aaron are very happy on this joyous day to join the good sons of all people in their tribute to the sons of Erin. The patron saint of Ireland, St. Patrick, was

one of the greatest leaders of all time in the fight for freedom for all people. The pains of slavery which he suffered made him an even more deeply religious man.

It is good to pause for a moment from the legislative duties of this House this day to think upon the life, and the deeds, and the glorious memory of a very holy man.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Friday, February 19, 1954, edition of the Independence Examiner, Independence, Mo.:

BELIEVES ECONOMY SOUND

There is no disagreement in this country over the fact that business is off and unemployment is up. Disagreement surrounds the questions of how serious the matter is and what, if anything, should be done about it.

Labor leaders are clamoring for action, by which they mean a variety of things—wage boosts for workers, reduced taxes for lower-income levels, public-works projects to make work and stimulate industry, and what not.

Some Democrats and others have joined the critics who decry Republican inaction.

But at a recent press conference, President Eisenhower showed himself unmoved by this chorus shouting doom. For one thing, he remembers that many of these same people were not speaking up at all when unemployment was nearly twice as great under former President Truman in 1949–50.

For another, the President's economic advisers are confident that the present downturn is not serious, that it will end in a few months, that the thing to do is allow a certain amount of "readjustment"—downward movement—to take place.

Mr. Eisenhower plainly is governed by still a third consideration. He believes that as President it is his duty to maintain sturdy confidence in the Nation's economy. If he were to act at the first sign of trouble, he reasons, then America would take a cue from him and assume that the danger was serious.

Instead, he asks that the people adopt a "steady, unshakable attitude of public confidence" while the economy makes what he believes is a transition from war to peace levels.

No one who has seen Mr. Eisenhower's new legislative program, embracing as it does wider social security, housing, farm aid, health, broader unemployment insurance, can argue that the President is indifferent to the people's welfare. To contend that he is standing callously by while "readjustment" works its cruel effect on unemployed workers is to miss altogether Mr. Eisenhower's basic humanity and devotion to the common weal.

Obviously the President thinks he can do the average man more good right now by letting the war-to-peace transition take place without interference, so long as the pain of unemployment is eased.

For the good of us all, it is time we learned whether this economy can exist at high level without war-defense expenditures or artificial, depression-style props. Since we have had either one or the other of these situations in effect since 1933, the test has not yet been made.

Mr. Eisenhower's confidence thus is more than a glib expression of hope. He intends to reflect a deep-seated conviction that the American economy is fundamentally a healthy one—and will prove it if just given a reasonable chance.

International Educational Exchange Activities of the State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, the House voted last week to reduce funds for the international educational exchange activities of the State Department from the requested figure of $15 million to $9 million—or 40 percent below its present operating level. I am concerned, as are most members of the Congress, about economy in Government. But I think that all of us must be fully informed on just what these economies will mean. In the case of the exchange program, the reduction voted by the House would mean cutting out such activities in close to 50 countries, many of them critical to our international relations. I would like to call your attention to the effect in one area alone. There will, for example, be no exchange of persons with the other American republics at all. It would also mean the end of all aid by this Government to 230 American-sponsored schools in those countries.

The importance of these schools to us is brought out sharply by the example of the American school in Guatemala. American Ambassador Peurifoy commented recently on the quality of this school's work as a laboratory for improving Guatemalan educational methods, and noted that it is "training a generation of young people who will, through their education, have achieved strong ties with and a basic understanding of the United States."

This action comes at a particularly unfortunate time. The Latin American delegations at the Caracas meeting have already indicated that their governments and their peoples are disheartened because of what they feel to be the greatly slackened United States interest in Latin American relations. At this conference it had been the Secretary of State's intention to advise the Latin American representatives that every effort is to be made to implement Dr. Milton Eisenhower's report to the President.

In his comprehensive report, Dr. Eisenhower strongly recommended an increase in the educational-exchange program with the other American Republics. He stressed the fact that improved relations with the Latin American states are a primary necessity, not only for the realization of our foreign policy but for the actual security of the United States. He points out that not good will alone, but new policies, new actions, and, if necessary, new legislation must be employed to bring about the newly revitalized and needed relationship. The report calls specifically and emphatically for expansion of exchange of persons, scholarships, and aid to American-sponsored schools.

The political reactions and consequences of this decision for the Latin American area are many and varied. Guatemala is an example of the degree to which the United States can be embarrassed and impeded in its international relations by a Communist-infiltrated government in this hemisphere. There can be no question that other governments, continually deceived by Communist agencies, are dangerously close to following the path of Guatemala, for example, Bolivia. For the United States to cut off these interchanges, one of the mainstays of hemispheric solidarity, would be disastrous to the execution of our foreign policy, to our prestige in Latin America, and to the effectiveness of inter-American action as such in the United Nations.

The action of the House should also be reviewed in the light of the accelerated exchange program the Soviet Union and the satellite nations are now conducting with Latin America. In a 3-month period last year, 32 Guatemalans were invited behind the Iron Curtain, whereas we were able to bring only 8 Guatemalans to the United States during the entire year. Information has just come to my attention that during 1953 about 30 prominent Brazilian intellectuals from the State of Sao Paolo alone were invited to the U. S. S. R. and its satellites, while we were able to bring up only a total of 42 from all Brazil.

If it becomes necessary for the House to further review the total appropriations contained in this bill, I would like to suggest that the facts I have outlined be given careful attention.

Seeds of Treason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Post-Standard of Syracuse, N. Y., dated January 20, 1954:

SEEDS OF TREASON

Victor Lasky, one of the great anti-Communist fighters of our time, is in town this evening to talk at an American Legion banquet.

Mr. Lasky, in his superb book, Seeds of Treason, unmasked the Alger Hiss conspiracy for what it is. This book has contributed enormously, if not to the conviction of Hiss, at least to the public's understanding of the Hiss cell in the Government, and how it worked to undermine the Nation.

As a matter of fact, it was only by the most herculean effort that the Government was able to convict Hiss, and then for perjury—not for treason.

In another case almost as bad, the Government caught Judy Coplon redhanded with stolen Government documents in her handbag. Yet the Coplon woman was able, on legalistic grounds, to have two convictions reversed and it is questionable whether she ever will be sent to jail. Except for the enormous moral censure, which can mean nothing to a person of this sort, this woman remains free, and, indeed, married her lawyer and had a baby.

Golden Anniversary of St. Lucy's Parish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, a renowned religious institution located in my district, St. Lucy's Roman Catholic Church, is currently celebrating its golden anniversary. The parish dates from the year 1904, when it was founded to minister to the spiritual needs of God-fearing and freedom-loving Italian immigrants living in this densely populated area. Last Sunday, March 14, when the parish observed its golden anniversary day, some 10,000 parishioners visited the church and celebrated the event with prayers.

Sunday evening the members of the parish observed the anniversary at a dinner and dance at the Hotel St. George in Brooklyn. I had the honor of attending the dinner, together with the majority leader of the New York City Council, the Honorable Joseph T. Sharkey, and many other dignitaries. It was one of the most magnificent and festive events that I have ever attended, with every inch of space in use in the grand ballroom and also in the balcony.

The Rev. Dante Del Fiorentino, pastor of St. Lucy's, is not only an outstanding and highly respected religious leader but is also the author of a fine work known as Immortal Bohemian, which is an intimate memoir of Giacomo Puccini. Needless to say, my brother Harry and I are very proud to enjoy the personal friendship of the good pastor.

On the occasion of the historic celebration of St. Lucy's Church, I extend my greetings and best wishes to all its members and their families. The parishioners of St. Lucy's are known for their deep religious faith, their loyalty and patriotism to our country, their devotion to their families, and their industriousness. Records show that some 3,000 young men from the parish served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II, of whom a number paid the supreme sacrifice for our country.

In connection with the anniversary, the parish published a journal containing the history of its growth during the past half century. It is preceded by brief remarks from its pastor, the Reverend Del Fiorentino. I am happy to insert the remarks of the pastor and the history of the parish, as well as the membership of the anniversary committee, into the RECORD.

ST. LUCY'S PARISH, 1904–54

We pause today to rejoice in the glory of the 50th anniversary of St. Lucy's Church. We pause to enjoy the surge of many memories, like a grand symphony whose opening theme is the pioneering spirit of the founders and the closing theme our chorus of thanksgiving.

Thanks be to God, to our superiors, to the parishioners and friends. The priests and the people of yesterday needed faith and courage to build; the priests and the people of today need the same spirit to carry on the ideals for which the church was erected. The difficulties which are not diminished must be countered with increased determination.

As the presence of God vivifies the material structure of the church, so the idea of an eternal destiny must animate our temporal life. The example of our fathers will guide us and the light of our protectress St. Lucy will shine on our path.

Let us leave a rich heritage of memories to all those who will have the good fortune of celebrating the diamond jubilee of St. Lucy's Church. Ad meliora.

REV. DANTE DEL FIORENTINO,
Pastor.

EARLY BACKGROUND

The corner of the navy yard district bounded by Kent, Nostrand, Flushing, and DeKalb Avenues was densely populated by Italian immigrants at the turn of the 20th century. They were people of very modest means. The heads of families were, for the most part, hard-working laborers, shoemakers, and tailors. The majority of these immigrants were natives of southern Italy: Avellino, Calabria, and Naples—ambitious people, but nevertheless stifled by the unfortunate exigencies of economics and a speaking knowledge of the English language.

FAMILY LIFE IN 1904

The size of each family was not limited to 2 or 3, but averaged 6 and 7 children. The family hearth, in most cases, was a large ample kitchen in a cold-water flat. The kitchen was the place for all family gatherings. The parlor, if there was one, was reserved for guests or else converted into a bedroom, especially in the case of a fast-growing family.

No radio, no television to release the inhibitions of growing children; instead, the children in most families were entertained by mother's Italian nursery rhymes before going to bed. In more unfortunate families, where the unskilled labor of the father did not earn enough for even bare necessities, the children helped mother in sweatshop work up until all hours of the night at starvation wages.

In short, the neighborhood in 1904, which is now St. Lucy's parish, was made up of families who lived under conditions of poverty, stress, and hardship; conditions, for the most part, brought on by unscrupulous machinations of employers who seized every opportunity to profit by the necessarily humble nature of these Italian immigrants in a strange land. Some families literally had to fight for their very existence.

The problem of schooling for children was solved by Public School 157 on Kent Avenue, Public School 54 on Sanford Street, and Public School 45 on Lafayette Avenue.

The virtues infused into the minds and hearts of children by their devoted parents were not the ostentatious pampering of modern times; nor the selfishness, envy, and unfaithfulness of broken homes; nor the riches and good living which sometimes destroy the basic elements of Christian family life—rather, the virtues found in those humble homes were religion, family loyalty, love, and industry.

REV. FRANCESCO CASTELLANO, MARCH 1904–OCTOBER 1904

Pioneering days

Up until 1904, the spiritual needs of these people were administered by the neighboring Catholic Churches in the outlying neighborhoods. The necessity of an Italian-speaking clergy to minister to the people in this densely populated district came to the attention of the late Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alfonso Arcese, who in turn communicated his views to the diocesan chancery. After a time, this humble and zealous priest obtained permission to start a parish. The first church that took the name of St. Lucy was a former Protestant meeting hall on Park Avenue, between Spencer and Walworth Streets.

The first mass was celebrated on March 13, 1904, by the founder-pastor, the late Rev. Francesco Castellano. On October 16 of the same year, Father Castellano was succeeded by Father Alfonso Arcese, whose influence and recommendations had led to the establishment of the new parish 7 months earlier.

REV. ALFONSO ARCESE, 1904–08

Early apostolate

With the organization of the parish well on its way, it might be well to mention one of the very serious problems that Father Alfonso Arcese had to solve, namely, the inroads made by Protestant sects who, by means of subtle propaganda, the offering of free coal during the winter months, food tickets, etc., had succeeded in proselytizing with a certain measure of success. However, the formation of different children's sodalities, the house-to-house canvassing by Father Alfonso Arcese and his assistants, aided by two Sisters of Mercy from Mercy Convent on Willoughby Avenue, who organized the children into classes for catechetical instructions, the danger of Protestant proselytizing was reduced to a minimum.

The material and spiritual fruits of Father Alfonso Arcese's organizational abilities were realized 2 years later, in 1906, when properties were acquired on Kent Avenue between Park and Flushing Avenues, for the erection of a basement church which later in 1931 was to be replaced by the present upper church.

REV. FRANCESCO CASTELLANO, 1908–13

In 1908, Father Castellano returned as pastor up until 1913. During these years he is well remembered as an energetic, zealous, holy shepherd of souls who brought spiritual aid and comfort into the humble homes of his flock.

REV. GEORGE CARUANA, 1913–14

He was succeeded by Father George Caruana, who earlier had served with distinction as secretary to the apostolic delegate at Manila, Philippine Islands, from 1907 to 1910. On June 7, 1914, he left St. Lucy's Church to serve as chaplain in the United States Army, stationed in the Canal Zone. Later he successively became secretary to Cardinal Dougherty, of Philadelphia; bishop of San Juan, Puerto Rico; apostolic delegate to Mexico and the Antilles; apostolic internuncio to Haiti and apostolic nuncio to Cuba. He died March 25, 1951, at Misericordia Hospital, Philadelphia.

REV. ALFONSO ARCESE, 1914–21

Building campaign

Father Alfonso Arcese returned once again to St. Lucy as pastor to succeed Father Caruana on June 7, 1914. On November 3, 1914, he was elevated to the dignity of domestic prelate. During his fruitful and zealous pastorate between 1914 and 1921, Monsignor Arcese instituted a vigorous campaign to build a new church to serve the fast-growing parish. Although the campaign was discontinued during World War I in which many sons of St. Lucy paid the supreme sacrifice, it was renewed immediately after the armistice. It was a campaign which finally culminated in the blessing of the corner-

stone in the month of May 1920, by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Kumpert.

St. Lucy's Band

During these years of real apostolic work by Msgr. Alfonso Arcese and his assistants, the St. Lucy Band was organized by Father Anthony DeLiberty, who then served as an assistant to Monsignor Arcese. The sincerity with which the members of this band studied to perfect themselves in the art of music has borne fruit in the persons of many outstanding musicians who now occupy important posts in the musical and entertainment field.

A leader among priests

The centennial issue of "The Tablet" printed the following encomium about our late beloved pastor: "Monsignor Arcese's contribution to the diocese of Brooklyn was beyond human evaluation. He was venerated by his brother priests for his wise and skillful counsel, as well as for his inspired leadership. For many years he was synodal judge and a diocesan consultor, assisting Bishop Molloy by his loyal and prudent service and experience. It was under his leadership that the Italian Catholic Union was established, that the weekly Catholic newspaper, Il Crociato, was founded, and that the series of parochial and interparochial eucharistic congresses were held in the Italian parishes of the diocese. He was one of the founders of the Italian Board of Guardians, guiding and supervising this young organization in its formative years."

REV. LEO A. ARCESE, 1921–41

Dedication of new church

In January 1921 Father Leo A. Arcese succeeded his brother, Msgr. Alfonso Arcese as pastor. On the morning of December 11, 1921, at 10: 30 a. m., a gallery of noted ecclesiastics attended the dedication of the new Church of St. Lucy. The new edifice was described by the metropolitan newspapers, at that time, as "a monumental structure in the romanesque basilica style of architecture, regarded as one of the best examples of its kind in the metropolitan district—a magnificent structure costing about $300,000."

With the presence of so many ecclesiastics at the dedication ceremonies, the parishioners of St. Lucy's Church witnessed an edifying spectacle with all the solemnity and pomp of the Roman Catholic Church.

At 10:30 a. m. Bishop Thomas E. Molloy conducted the preliminary dedication ceremonies, assisted by Rev. Joseph Agrella and Rev. Clarence Murphy. At the conclusion of dedicatory prayers and hymns by the chancel choir of St. Bridget's Church, Bishop Molloy blessed the new church.

A solemn pontifical mass followed, celebrated by Archbishop Patrick J. Hayes of New York with Rt. Rev. George Kumpert as assistant priest, Rt. Rev. Vincent Arcese, deacon, and Rt. Rev. Gaetano Arcese as subdeacon, Rt: Rev. M. G. Flannery and Rt. Rev. E. J. McGoldrick acted as deacons of honor to Archbishop Hayes.

Most Rev. John J. Dunne, auxiliary bishop of New York, was seated within the sanctuary, surrounded by the Monsignori and visiting priests. Rev. F. X Driscoll, chancelor of the diocese, and Rev. Sylvester Higgins were chaplains to Bishop Dunne. Bishop Malloy was assisted by Rev. Peter Saponara and Rev. Ottavio Sylvestri.

Masters of ceremonies were Rev. J. P. Dineen, secretary to Archbishop Hayes and Rev. James T. Kelty, secretary to Bishop Molloy. The only laymen within the sanctuary were Henry Heide of Manhattan and John E. Baxter of Brooklyn, Knights of St. Gregory.

The sermon was preached in Italian by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alfonso Arcese. He expressed particular pride in the erection of the handsome edifice, a monument to the unfailing devotion of the parishioners of St. Lucy's Church. Bishop Molloy delivered a brief address in which he reminded the congregation of the signal honor bestowed upon them by the presence of Archbishop Hayes and complemented them upon their zeal and loyal support of their present pastor, Rev. Leo A. Arcese.

The new church was packed to overflow, about 1,000 persons occupying the seating and standing capacity.

Holy Name Society

Father Leo Arcese, immediately after the inauguration, reorganized all the children's sodalities and adult societies of the church with a decided accent on the youth of the parish, especially the Junior Holy Name Society, which in his pastorate reached the large membership of 400 young men, at that time considered to be the largest Holy Name Society in the Brooklyn diocese.

In March of 1922 the 14 Stations of the Cross, donated by different families of the parish, were erected and blessed in a magnificent ceremony conducted by Rev. Valeriano Piangini, O. F. M.

Social welfare bureau

During Father Leo Arcese's pastorate, one of his most notable achievements was the esablishment of St. Lucy's Social Welfare Bureau. At that time the Catholic charities bureaus of Brooklyn and New York were in their infancy. City welfare agencies were also unorganized, and the problem of material relief for the poor and unemployed in the parish called for quick and resolute action. A committee of businessmen and professional men of the parish was organized to raise and donate funds. The day-to-day full-time work of the bureau was taken on by two ladies of the parish who were also active members of the Catholic Big Sisters.

During the depression years, the generosity of the members of the committee, which was also made up of non-Catholic friends of the parish was beyond evaluation. The material aid and comfort dispensed by the social-welfare bureau under the able and inspired leadership of Father Leo Acrese, throughout the parish, was a pioneering work which earned the combined praise of city and diocesan officials.

In 1930, one of the largest social affairs of St. Lucy's parish, sponsored by the social-welfare bureau, was held in the main ballroom of the St. George Hotel, at which 1,200 people attended.

In 1931, Father Leo Arcese built St. Lucy Stadium at which the social service bureau sponsored AAU boxing matches.

St. Thomas settlement

In 1922, Father Arcese called the Pallottine Sisters to serve the parish in organizing the children's sodalities, to take charge of the social work and instruct public-school children for first Holy Communion and confirmation. It is no exaggeration to say that most of us who did not have the benefits of a Catholic school education owe these good sisters untold gratitude for implanting in us the seeds of our Catholic faith. The corporal and spiritual works performed by these sisters throughout the years are beyond human evaluation.

One year later, in 1923, the present convent, St. Thomas settlement, was established. Now, the sisters, who had been living in an upstairs room above the sacristy of the church, were given their own home. Shortly thereafter, besides their other parish duties, a day nursery for the children of working mothers and fathers was established.

Rev. Mother Gertrude

A history of St. Lucy's Parish would not be complete without mentioning Sister Gertrude, who later became the superior of St. Thomas Settlement. The work of this sister among the Italians of St. Lucy's Parish was particularly significant because she was a native of Ireland who spoke perfect Italian. She possessed a phenomenal memory. Knowing the names and addresses of practically every parishioner. She was loved and known by all, young and old, as a confidante and adviser. When her slight Irish brogue transformed itself into the Italian language, the less fortunate members of our parish, to whom she dispensed material and spiritual aid, found in her a true angel of mercy. The positive witness of the veneration in which she was held was seen on the day of her solemn funeral when the public schools in the vicinity were closed in homage to her, and the funeral procession was witnessed by an estimated 25,000 people of the parish.

St. Thomas Hall

When St. Thomas Hall was erected, the parish at last had a center for all its athletic activities, chief among which were its basketball teams. The Sunday afternoon basketball games were a "must" for all the youth of the parish, with dancing until 6 p. m. Some of the backetball teams, developed in St. Lucy's Parish who won numerous championships were rated as the best in the metropolitan area. Some of the famous teams who were invited to play St. Lucy's Big Five were the House of David, Jewels, Celtics, and others.

On February 19, 1924, the magnificent organ was blessed and in March 1925, the main altar and sanctuary were completed and consecrated, as was the side altar dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, Patroness of the United States. In 1929, Father Leo Arcese redecorated the interior of the church with the completion of the stained glass windows of the church. These beautiful windows are one of its finest features. Each window was donated by a church society or various parishioners and benefactors of the parish.

Silver jubilee

On December 8, 1929, the Silver Jubilee of the foundation of the church was celebrated with a solemn pontifical mass by Bishop Thomas E. Molloy. The sermon was preached by the founder-pastor, Father Francesco Castellano.

On December 7, 1931, Father Leo Arcese was appointed pastor of the Church of the Nativity of Our Blessed Lady and Father Anthony DeLiberty succeeded him as pastor of St. Lucy's Church.

REV. ANTHONY M. D'LIBERTY, 1931–49

Father DeLiberty was no stranger to the parishioners of St. Lucy, for he had served as an assistant from 1909 to 1923. In addition, his experience as a shepherd of souls was well founded. Before his appointment as pastor of St. Lucy, he founded and was pastor of Most Precious Blood Parish on Bay 41st Street in Coney Island.

During the ensuing years in the life of the parish and during the pastorate of Father DeLiberty many notable works were inaugurated.

St. Vincent De Paul Society

The St. Vincent De Paul Society was organized by Father DeLiberty to take over the work previously done by the social welfare bureau. The corporal and spiritual works of mercy performed by the faithful members of this society, although unnoticed, has been carried on to the present date with all the zeal and love of sons of St. Vincent and Frederick Ozanam. Hospitals and prisons are visited and material aid is dispensed to the needy of the parish. Under its sponsorship the blind people throughout the diocese convene once a year for Mass and mammoth communion breakfast at St. Lucy's auditorium.

The Passion play

The Redeemer Passion play, which was produced and conceived by Father DeLiberty and presented by St. Lucy's dramatic society every year during the Lenten season, beginning in 1931, was one of the first and foremost of Father DeLiberty's works. At that time the passion play was presented at St.

Thomas hall. When the lower church was converted into an auditorium the passion play was then transferred to St. Lucy's auditorium.

In 1950 the Brooklyn Academy of Music was the scene of a highly successful presentation dramatically and artistically. It has been estimated that 500,000 adults, children, clergy, and religious have been edified by the efforts of the members of St. Lucy's dramatic society. These young men and women have one end in view in presenting the Passion play throughout the years—the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Its founder, Father DeLiberty, suggested this goal to the first Passion players in 1931, and it still remains their fervent and consuming desire.

Eucharistic Congress

In September of 1936, St. Lucy's Church was the scene of the Fourth Diocesan Eucharistic Congress of the Italian Parishes of Brooklyn. For 5 days, the faithful of the Italian parishes of Brooklyn and Long Island converged on St. Lucy's Church to take part in the numerous spiritual and educational activities of the congress. Many notable lectures were given by outstanding members of the Italian-American Catholic laity. The congress closed in great solemnity with a pontifical mass celebrated by Auxiliary Bishop Raymond A. Kearney.

St. Lucy's Home News

Another notable achievement, perhaps unequaled throughout the metropolitan area, was the work accomplished by the publication, St. Lucy's Home News, sponsored by the Committee of the Armed Forces of St. Lucy's Church. The first issue was published in September 1942, and bimonthly thereafter. Each issue numbered 5,000 copies, of which 3,000 were sent overseas and 2,000 were distributed on the home front. The expenses for each issue amounted to $500. In order to raise this amount to carry on this great work, the Committee of the Armed Forces sponsored a monthly jamboree in the church auditorium. To this were added personal contributions of the members of the committee itself, for the paper carried no advertising.

The measure of good cheer derived from the servicemen of St. Lucy's parish who received this paper overseas can never be estimated. Suffice it to say that the thousands of letters received by the staff from our boys is sufficient testimony to its value as a morale builder during World War II. It has been estimated that 3,000 young men from St. Lucy's parish served our country on 2 fronts. Although many returned wounded and visibly changed by the ravages of war, the providence of God permitted few to pay the supreme penalty.

End of World War II

After bearing up under war's griefs and discouragements, the people of St. Lucy's parish eagerly awaited the home-return of their husbands, fathers, and brothers. Peace had returned once again, to prove that it harbored its own grief and disillusionment. For the moment, however, joy and thanksgiving reigned unchecked and all seemed well with the world and St. Lucy's Church.

In January of 1949, Father DeLiberty was appointed pastor of St. Rocco's Church, Glen Cove, Long Island, and Rev. Dante Del Fiorentino, the outgoing pastor of St. Rocco's Church succeeded him as pastor of St. Lucy's Church.

REV. DANTE DEL FIORENTINO, 1949

Father Dante came to St. Lucy's Church at a time when the parish was still suffering from the social upheaval brought on by World War II. All parishes within the city limits were, and still are, experiencing a trend of the times with the people moving out of the city to suburban areas. St. Lucy's parish is no exception to this trend.

Passion Play to academy of music

However, this very apparent and grave problem found Father Dante undaunted. Almost immediately upon arrival, he announced that the Passion Play would be presented at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. After extensive preparation, the Passion Play was presented in the opera hall of the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 3 performances before an estimated attendance of 6,000 adults, clergy, religious, and children.

Renovtion of church

Another project which Father Dante immediately started was the renovation of the interior of the church which took the form of a new chapel of St. Lucy, completed and blessed on December 13, 1950. The funds needed for the erection and decoration were contributed through the generosity of the parishioners. The altar, the statue of St. Lucy, and altar rail are of Carrara marble imported from Italy. The chapel, which is virtually a shrine to St. Lucy, our patroness, is truly a magnificent example of artistic and esthetic taste.

In 1953, new chandeliers throughout the church were installed and at present the entire interior of the church is being redecorated with the sanctuary already completed in preparation for the religious celebration of this, the golden jubilee year of St. Lucy's parish.

Conclusion

As we come to the end of our brief history of St. Lucy's parish, we hope that those who follow us will find in this history many accomplishments that can be accounted as milestones to praise and imitate. From humble beginnings and a faith, born of hope, love, courage, and the leadership of many faithful priests who have shepherded the people of St. Lucy's parish, we have lived to see many of our sons and daughters achieve their goals in the arts, sciences, business, government, and vocations to the religious life. St. Lucy's parish can proudly look to the past and be inspired to further accomplishments in the future for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

COMMITTEE FOR THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ST. LUCY'S PARISH

Pastor: Rev. Dante Del Fiorentino.

Assistants: Rev. Louis A. Giuliano, Rev. Angelo Moschella, Rev. Peter Chiara.

Executive committee: Frank Sola, chairman; Carmine Basile, vice chairman; Michael J. Romano, secretary; Andrew Saracena, treasurer; Urban P. Intondi, historian.

Dinner committee: Salvatore E. Basile, chairman; Josephine Garone, cochairman; Frank Fabiano, secretary.

Ticket committee: Joseph Gallo, chairman; Frank Venice; Anthony Chiusano; Moe M. Cucchissi; Robert Scalise.

Journal committee: Joseph C. Pagnotta, chairman; Michael Claro; Anthony Devito; Jennie P. Iacovino; Filomena Scaccia, Sarah Benincasa; Winnie Chiusano; Angela Chiusano.

Reception committee: John A. Breglia, chairman; Anthony Acquavella; Michael Coiro; Eugene R. Balestrieri; Carl Marano; Louis Potenza; Joseph Sparacio; Nicholas Strammiello; Frank Sena; Anthony Tuths.

Entertainment committee: Daniel Del Casino, chairman; James Scotti.

Publicity committee: Frank Biondi, chairman; Anthony Scalise; Joseph Ingenito.

Booster committee: Ann Matteo, chairman; Mary Bargione; Rosa Di Pasquale; Catherine Guglielmo; Mary Federico; Mary Varano.

Honorary committee: James Amadei, Esq.; Michael L. Basile, Esq.; Joseph Brancati, M. D.; William Capodice, Esq.; N. E. Caputo, M. D.; Eugene Caputo, Ph. G.; Hon. Michael J. Chiusano; Pasquale Carone, M. D.; Louis L. Delson, D. D. S.; Eugene De Vivo, Esq.; P. Vincent Landi, Esq.; Sal Landi, Esq.; Joseph Lionello, M. D.; Emil Mele, D. D. S.; Fiore Manganelli, D. D. S.; Ralph Manganelli, D. D. S.; Edward Pacelli, Esq.; G. Rizzuti, M. D.; Emil Sartori, Esq.; John Raimondi, Esq.; John Scafati, Ch. E.; Michael Sena, Ph. G.; Joseph Sena, Ph. G.; Stephen Sarapede, Esq.; Louis Scordamaglia, M. D.; Ralph Spina, Esq.; Philip Tuths, M. D.; Carmine Ventiera, Esq.

Smearing Loyal Americans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the internationalists, those who have little faith in America, in our Constitution, who would surrender our independence and establish a one-world organization, are in full cry after all who point to the attempt to destroy us as a Nation. Lindbergh, Dies, and many, many others have felt the force, suffered from the efforts of these smears.

More recently, McCarthyism and McCARTHY, because he has been most effective, has been the victim of their tirades.

Neither regard for the facts nor logic seem to have any place in their efforts.

I cannot go along with either the Evening Star or the Washington Post in their interpretations of the White House policy I just cannot accept the thought that when the President referred to hysteria, his remarks were directed at McCARTHY'S efforts to expose communism. Nor can I entertain the conclusion that it is reported that, when the President is quoted as "backing the Army," he for one moment thinks that out of two or three million in the Army, not one can possibly advocate communism or be arbitrarily dictatorial.

That we need to continue the fight against communism is apparent from the address delivered by the Honorable WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, Senator from Indiana, on January 28, 1954, and which is republished in the February 5 issue of the U. S. News & World Report and which reads as follows:

In the Subcommittee on Internal Security, we are all string savers. Senator McCARRAN will, I am sure, vouch for this. [Senator PAT MCCARRAN, Democrat, of Nevada, preceded Senator JENNER as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.] We pick up threads of information, the way grandma used to pick up string, and store them away in the files. When we get enough, we tie them together into a major investigation and report.

Bob Morris, as counsel for the subcommittee, was a superstring saver. In fact, one of the reasons we chose him as our counsel was because he came to us with his pockets full of information that he had been saving through the years. In one pocket he had threads collected during the Rapp-Coudert investigation of Communists in education in New York, which was where he got his baptism of fire as a Red hunter. Last year we tied many of those threads together, added a lot more, and produced our investigation of subversive influence in the educational process. Our investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations had some

strings out of Bob Morris' pocket in it, too. They were very interesting strings, reaching back to the days of his service in the Office of Naval Intelligence during the war, stretching out to the far reaches of the Pacific and headquarters of Admiral Nimitz, commander in chief, Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean areas at Pearl Harbor. Let me tell you about them.

In 1944, Bob Morris was a chubby young lieutenant at Admiral Nimitz's headquarters, attached to Intelligence. He found out that Intelligence headquarters was being deluged with Communist and pro-Communist literature, peddling the line that the Chinese Communists were just wholesome agrarian fellows who should be taken into Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist government. There were regular installments of an obscure little magazine called Amerasia. There were regular installments of a little magazine called Pacific Affairs, which was the organ of the Institute of Pacific Relations. There were the writings of that "objective" scholar, Owen Lattimore, who, as our record clearly shows, even went to Moscow to get his objectivity spruced up by the chief of the Far East division of that great organ of scholarship, the Communist International. There were also the "objective" dispatches of those two "objective" State Department observers, John Stewart Service and John K. Emmerson.

After Bob Morris saw enough of this pro-Communist material to satisfy himself that something very funny was going on, he bypassed the chain of command and asked for an interview with Admiral Nimitz himself. He got his interview not only with Admiral Nimitz, but also with top-ranking officers of the Admiral's staff. And it was one of these gentlemen, incidentally, who told us this story. The talk was scheduled for 20 minutes at a regular staff briefing session. Morris began talking. He told about the Communist literature at Intelligence headquarters. He told about the Communist design in China. He told about the nature of the Soviet multinational organization. By this time, he had long since used up his 20-minute allowance, but Admiral Nimitz ordered him to go on talking and he continued for more than an hour.

What else did he talk about? How did he get out there in the Pacific in the first place? There is a thread in this part of the story which our subcommittee is tying up with other threads at this very minute.

Bob Morris was sent to the Pacific because he had been hustled out of the office of Naval Intelligence in New York. He knew too much about what the Communists were really up to. In May of 1944, he was in the counter-intelligence section of Naval Intelligence in the New York district. One of his undercover agents had succeeded in penetrating the Communist organization and in reaching a strategic post in the network.

One night, the late Joseph Shaplen, a star reporter for the New York Times, phoned Bob Morris and told him that Victor Kravchenko, an official of the Soviet purchasing commission, had fled from his Soviet masters and was hiding in New York. Shaplen said that Kravchenko wanted to talk to Bob Morris, and in a very short time, Morris and Kravchenko were together. (Kravchenko, you will recall, later wrote a book detailing some of his experiences entitled, "I Chose Freedom.")

Morris passed the word back to his superior, Capt. W. B. Howe, who was intelligence officer for the district. Howe, in turn, passed it immediately to Washington and asked for authorization to get the many more details that Kravechenko could supply. How did Washington answer that request? How would you have answered? You would have said, "Get every last detail you can lay your hands on." Wouldn't you? But that was not what Washington said. The order that came back to Captain Howe and, through him, to Lieutenant Morris was this: "Let Kravechenko alone."

Why? Who was there in Washington who didn't want American Naval Intelligence to be told the truth about Soviet anti-American activities, Soviet plans, and Soviet intentions? Is that person still behind a desk where he can continue to give such orders?

RECORDS DESTROYED

Then something else happened. Word came to New York that plans were under way to have Naval Intelligence break up its Communist counterintelligence unit, including this secret apparatus which the New York group had set up. Morris was sent to Washington on Captain Howe's instructions to urge the Director of Naval Intelligence not to take this step. Did he succeed in saving this absolutely vital intelligence function? Well, if he had succeeded, how did he end up in Pearl Harbor. Someone scattered the members of the New York unit of Naval Intelligence to the four corners of the earth—within a few days after Bob Morris made his plea; and they did something even worse: They ordered the destruction of the files gathered by that unit.

Those were the files that had the basic information on Communists in the maritime units, Communists on the waterfront, and Communists in the convoys that went to Russia itself.

Is there anyone who believes that the Chief of Naval Intelligence gave that order on his own initiative? Whoever heard of intelligence officials destroying their own files?

Well, then, who would have had the authority to give an order as sweeping and unprecedented as this one? Admiral Nimitz was curious about that.

WHO? "THE WHITE HOUSE"

A few days after Bob Morris told him the story at that meeting I have just described, Adm. Ernest J. King (then Chief of Naval Operations) came to the headquarters of the Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet and Pacific Ocean Areas, on one of his periodic visits from Washington. Nimitz told King what Bob Morris had told him and asked if it could possibly be true that such an incredible order could have been issued. Admiral King replied that it was true.

"But who," demanded Admiral Nimitz, "could possibly have given such an order?"

Admiral King replied, "The White House."

While you are pondering the implications of this story, let me remind you that it is already a matter of record that a similar attempt was made, at the same time, to destroy the War Department records on subversion. It would have succeeded if it had not been for the courageous work of Senator BRIDGES (Republican, of New Hampshire) in bringing this destruction to a halt.

Ladies and gentlemen, for the past several months I have been doing my humble best to persuade the people of the United States that Communist subversion is the spearhead of Communist military attack. For years, we have been uncovering glimpses of that spearhead in our labor unions, our schools and universities, our atomic-research laboratories, and our civilian Government departments. We know that Communist agents have stolen valuable secrets from those research laboratories and Government departments. We know that they have concocted or manipulated or immobilized American policy in those departments.

The Communists fear, above all others, indefatigable string collectors like Bob Morris. They dread the strings he collects. Therefore, their primary aim wherever they secure a foothold is to destroy all records of their own crimes, to destroy subversive files. All I can say at this moment is that the threads of information Bob Morris has brought to us on this subject will be followed energetically and methodically to their logical goal wherever they may lead.

Performance Comparisons of Naval Air Stations at Alameda and San Diego

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, for some time our colleague the distinguished gentleman from California, Hon. GEORGE P. MILLER, and I have engaged in a friendly feud over the relative merits of the two major west-coast naval air bases in our respective districts in California.

While we Californians are the acknowledged champions in the art of dealing the wonders of the golden west, it does not preclude us from debating between ourselves the respective merits of the local areas within the great confines of our State.

In a moment of understandable enthusiasm last month before the House of Representatives, Mr. MILLER made the following statement:

> The naval air station at Alameda is the most active air station under the naval air arm. It was here that the battle damage and repair of the Korean conflict was handled.

We of the San Diego area, recognizing this obvious encroachment on our own claim to leadership and ability, challenge Mr. MILLER'S statement and present the following comparison of the two naval air stations at San Diego and Alameda, based on a compilation made by employee group representatives from the San Diego Naval Air Station.

PERFORMANCE COMPARISONS OF NAVAL AIR STATIONS AT ALAMEDA AND SAN DIEGO

1. NAS, San Diego, and NAS, Alameda, are designated to process the following number of different model aircraft as indicated:

(a) (1) San Diego is the designated overhaul point for 30 different models of aircraft as compared with 13 for Alameda.

(2) Whenever new aircraft or aircraft overhauled at other activities are to be delivered to ComAirPac, it is first necessary to check them over at a west coast activity for the correction of pilot discrepancies, incorporation of recent technical directives, etc. For this category of work San Diego is designated to process 61 different models of aircraft as compared with 6 for Alameda.

(3) When ComAirPac has aircraft to be returned to BuAer custody because they need overhaul, have completed their service life, etc., they are turned in to one of the west coast activities. For this category of work San Diego is designated to process 54 different models of aircraft as compared with 9 for Alameda.

(b) The foregoing figures are significant in that they clearly indicate that the preponderance of the categories of work which are very necessary to ComAirPac's operations is accomplished by San Diego. It also indicates that in order to be able to do this work a much greater flexibility of operations is necessary. The deliveries of new and newly overhauled aircraft during the peak of the Korean conflict was extremely heavy. Any undue delay in the delivery of these aircraft would have seriously hampered the fleet's operations. In addition to the foregoing, San Diego preserved a tremendous number of aircraft for shipment overseas, both for the Navy and the Air Force. The efficient manner in which this was done was, on

several occasions, the subject of letters of commendation to this station from both ComAirPac and the Air Force.

2. During the calendar years 1952 and 1953, which are representative of the peak requirements of the Korean conflict, the following fleet work was performed by the two stations: Crash-damage repair: San Diego, 317; Alameda, 157.

The significant factor concerning the foregoing comparative figures is that it is acknowledged by industry at large that high volume limited scope work is more capable of being produced efficiently and economically. There is undeniable proof that Alameda has been favored in this respect in that they are currently processing approximately 3 basic models of aircraft as opposed to 9 or 10 for San Diego. Diversification of workload requires an extreme spread of trade skills since each program is of equal importance and requires the same basic treatment. Further, work in connection with aircraft deliveries and returns, crash-damage repairs, and modifications is performed on unplanned basis, i. e., it is not scheduled by the Bureau and is done on an "as required" basis. It is obvious that the Bureau of Aeronautics has prime confidence in San Diego for the accomplishment of such work inasmuch as San Diego has been designated for 10 times as many models of aircraft as Alameda. The contribution of San Diego to the Korean conflict as opposed to Alameda is evidenced by virtue of the numbers of aircraft processed under the category of "crash-damage" and fleet modifications.

We have every reason to be proud of Naval Air Station, San Diego for the part it has played in peace and war. Also, Naval Air Station, San Diego has many employees who have contributed to the progress of commercial as well as military aviation and we hope to continue to be among the leaders in that field.

In conclusion to the many fine and sincere officers who have commanded this station, the civilian employees wish to express their thanks for the leadership and a job well done, and request this be made part of the record.

W. H. Keogh, Master and Foreman's Association; B. T. Freeman, P. and E. and Progressman's Association; A. J. Callahan, North Island Association; L. W. Husbands, Shop Planners Association; R. R. Wallace, Chairman; Paul R. Cooksey, Naval Civilian Administration Association; C. L. Shields, Leading and Quarterman Association; Leon B. Coyle, Naval Empolyees Association; American Federation of Government Employees; International Association of Machinists; American Legion; Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Education and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, students across the country have wholeheartedly supported my bill H. R. 1274, which would make college expenses tax deductible.

In that regard, I would like to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following resolution adopted by the Ohio-Indiana region of the United States National Student Association at their winter assembly. It is as follows:

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY,
Columbus, Ohio, March 6, 1954.

The Honorable ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
Representative from New York,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MULTER: This is to inform you of a resolution passed at the winter assembly of the Ohio-Indiana region of the United States National Student Association in regard to your proposed bill, H. R. 1274. The resolution is as follows:

"The Ohio-Indiana region of the United States National Student Association wishes to go on record as strongly endorsing H. R. 1274, introduced by Representative MULTER, to permit college students and/or their parents to deduct educational expenses for income-tax purposes."

The assembly was attended by 92 delegates representing approximately 41,500 students from colleges and universities in Ohio and Indiana.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the Senators of both States in the hope that it will gain support for your bill. In addition, we are planning a campaign urging individual students and their parents to write similar letters to their representatives.

As students, we certainly appreciate your efforts to ease the financial burden on ourselves and our parents while we are attempting to gain an education.

Very truly yours,

GERALD K. SILBERMAN,
Chairman, Ohio-Indiana Region.

Our Bomb, or Russia's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the President has said we must not give away to fear. There is one fear, however, we cannot dispel. It is the fear that, if we have developed a hydrogen bomb, the Russians have, too. Yesterday came news that increases that fear. It appeared in the issue of Time magazine that hit the newsstands yesterday.

On November 1, 1952, the United States conducted experiments contributing to a hydrogen bomb. The experiment wiped out an island. On March 1, 1954, somewhere in the United States proving ground of the Marshall Islands, the AEC exploded a thermonuclear device atop a tower. The force of the blast completely surprised officials of the AEC. It was so powerful that the 1952 tower shot is now reclassified as a misfire. The power of this test shot was, to put it simply, 500 times the force of the Hiroshima atomic blast of 1945, or equal to 10 million tons of TNT. And this was merely a tower shot, in practice for the formal test, by parachute drop from the bays of the B–36 bomber, which is yet to come.

The awesome force of this hydrogen device is not nearly so terrible, however, as the thought that Russia may also have exploded a hydrogen device of equal power, or, if she has not, she may shortly. Russia's first thermonuclear explosion came in August 1953, less than a year after our 1952 "experiment." That is a fear sober men cannot dispel.

If Russia has a bomb comparable to any we have developed, our only protection against attack employing it is the ability to deliver ours first. Long-range strategic airpower is our only possible defense against the horrifying possibility of hydrogen-bomb attack—long-range airpower and enough of it. The Secretary of Defense has told the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee that our new weapons in being and those currently emerging from research and prototype models are still advanced over those of the Soviet arsenal. We must make sure that they continue to be superior. Questions of cost, of balanced budgets, and what the national economy will bear are mere irritants in comparison with the great question of survival. A bomb 500 times the force of the Hiroshima atomic bomb could obliterate any American city, and a dozen such bombs would paralyze our Nation. No defense against such a bomb can be adequate; we can only make sure that if any such bomb is delivered we will do the delivering.

Mr. Speaker, with the consent of my colleagues, I wish to insert in the RECORD the sobering, frightening lead article from the March 22 issue of Time magazine. Time gave no source for its information on the two explosions, but the correctness of its information has not been denied. The article follows:

THE ATOM

FIVE HUNDRED HIROSHIMAS

At dawn on March 1 a marine corporal on lonely Kwajelein saw an awesome sight. "All of a sudden," he wrote his mother, "the sky lighted up, a bright orange, and remained that way for what seemed like a couple of minutes. * * * We heard very loud rumblings that sounded like thunder. Then the whole barracks began shaking as if there had been an earthquake. This was followed by a very high wind." In another letter, 2 days later, the corporal reported that two United States destroyers pulled into Kwajalein with victims of atomic radiation.

MAN'S GREATEST EXPLOSION

What the corporal saw and reported from his own perch was the result of the biggest explosion ever set off by man. It happened several hundred miles away from Kwajalein, somewhere in the United States proving ground in the Marshall Islands. In a precautionary rehearsal of a formal test shot from an Air Force bomber that will take place some time in the next 2 weeks, United States scientists had exploded a thermonuclear device atop a tower. The force of the blast completely surprised them.

Calculations of the explosion's energy and effect are incomplete, but they were so great that the Atomic Energy Commission was forced to reclassify the previous tower shot (November 1, 1952) as a misfire.

The details of that misfire are awesome enough. Items:

Its fireball measured 28 miles in diameter.

Its force was calculated at 5 megatons, i. e., equal to 5 milion tons of TNT or 250 times the force of the Hiroshima atomic bomb.

Its mushroom cloud climbed 90,000 feet, into the stratosphere, and a fast transport plane carrying an Air Force general and an Atomic Energy Commissioner at 30,000 feet, 50 miles away, had to turn and run to avoid being caught under the lip of the mushroom.

A STRING OF SALUTES

The test of last fortnight makes all its predecessors, including the 1952 shot, look like a string of 1-inch salutes. The force

of the explosion probably exceeded 10 megatons (500 Hiroshimas). It sent a radioactive cloud billowing to a height that may have exceeded 20 miles. In the thin air of the stratosphere, it seems likely, the cloud slumped over like water tossed from a bucket.

Twenty-eight United States observers and 236 natives of local islands had been evacuated to what had been considered a completely safe refuge, but the unpredicted fallout showered them with radioactive particles. Their exposure to radiation was 10 times greater than scientists deem safe, but the AEC was reassuring. "There were no burns," said a Commission announcement. "All are reported well. After completion of the atomic tests, they will be returned to their homes."

The 1954 blast upset plans for the formal test shot, which will be witnessed by the AEC, the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, and Dr. Edward Teller, the scientist principally responsible for the thermonuclear weapon. While scientists feverishly recalculated their data and tried to explain the unexpected force of the big blast, the formal test was postponed a few days. That test, in which a thermonuclear device will be dropped from the bays of a B-36 on the shrouds of a huge parachute (to give the plane time to get out of the way), is expected to duplicate the March 1 explosion.

The prospect sobered the Government officials who will witness the shot. Last week, as he prepared to leave for the Pacific, AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss said goodby to a reporter: "I'll see you when I get back—if I get back."

Hudson County Bar Association Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, recently the Bar Association of Hudson County, N. J., held its 76th annual dinner in the Hotel Statler, New York City. The guests of honor were Hon. Peter P. Artaserse, Hon. David Pindar, and Hon. Mark A. Sullivan, Jr., of the superior court. The dinner was attended by more than 1,000 members of the bar, not only from Hudson County but from many other counties in the State. Members of the supreme court, high court of New Jersey, the superior court, and all inferior courts were present in large numbers.

The principal speaker of the evening was the Governor-elect of New Jersey, Hon. Robert B. Meyner, who has since become Governor of that great State.

A preliminary address introducing the chairman of the evening was delivered by Alex. R. DeSevo, Esq., chairman of the dinner committee, who has since been installed as president of the association. The address of Mr. DeSevo sparkled with wit and delighted his very large audience, whose enjoyment of it was unmistakably noted by gales of laughter and frequent and heavy rounds of applause. The brief, enjoyable address of Counselor DeSevo is appended herewith:

Assignment Judge Proctor, our honored guests, Judges Artaserse, Pindar, and Sullivan, our members in good standing, Governor-elect Meyner, President Reeves, Mr. Curry, Mr. Rosenkrantz, distinguished jurists, of both the high order and the low order, members of the Hudson County Bar Association, and their friends and guests, my duties as chairman of the 76th anniversary dinner, to all intents and purposes, terminated upon my ascension to the dais tonight. However, tradition has it that the chairman, for all the headaches, heartaches, and ulcers, which are exclusively his, is given the privilege, after paying for his ticket, to sit at the end of the dais and so close to the end that if he sneezes a trifle too hard he will find himself on the floor, and, as Judge Meaney would say, sitting on his derriere.

With your kind permission and indulgence, I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to those members of my committee who worked so hard and diligently to make this affair the success it appears to be.

From my position on the dais, you appear to be a very happy bunch, and I have the right to assume that you have all enjoyed yourselves tonight.

I see many smiling faces and perchance the liquid portion of the menu may be the proximate cause, but (with apologies to Judge Ackerson), that is a question of fact to be decided by each and every one of you either tomorrow morning or afternoon, depending upon the condition of your gastrointestinal tract.

For 1 month, what little law practice I have, has been completely neglected. During that period, my office has been a combination of Grand Central Station, McBride's Ticket Agency, and a branch of the telephone company. The secretary, whom I share with my brother Eddie, quit at least twice a week, and my brother fired her at least three times because he could not make use of her services.

When I accepted this chairmanship, I was a robust featherweight. Two weeks later I became a medium bantamweight. Now I bet I can ride Native Dancer without sweating it out. I now notice that my sparse head of hair is graying at the temples, and you can rest assured that it is not due to the pressure of law business or the new rules of practice and procedure.

You have no idea of the difficulties encountered in attempting to seat close to 1,000 lawyers and their friends. The requests came in all shapes and forms, and manner of communications, and I dare say they are still coming in.

Just to give you an example of what I went through, I want to read to you excerpts from a letter I received only yesterday:

"DEAR ALEX: As you know, I am a very busy man. I want a ticket for Meyner's dinner [spelled Miner]. He is a good pal of mine and through my efforts he carried Atlantic, Monmouth, and Ocean Counties. I must be seated at a table where I can always see the Governor; otherwise I am sure he will be very much disappointed. As soon as I receive a ticket from you, then I will mail you a check for $3.75."

Here is my response:

"Your application for ticket to the Meyner dinner received. The Miner you knew has completely changed; he now spells his name Meyner. There is no haste. The dinner won't be held until after January 19. Since you are a pal of Bob's, you will receive a ticket direct from him, without charge.

"With the best of personal regards and with the hopes that you will put in a good word for me with Bob, I am,

"Affectionately yours,

"ALEX."

Incidentally, I never heard of him before and he is not listed in the Lawyer's Diary.

Two events will take place next month of much interest to you. On January 19, Governor-elect Meyner will be inaugurated as the chief executive of our State and then will begin his headaches and heartaches. One of the greatest problems that will face him will be the filling of the vast amount of jobs at his disposal. Two days later, I will be inducted as president of the Hudson County Bar Association, by our beloved Assignment Judge Hayden Proctor, and my greatest problem will be: Who will accept the jobs that I will have at my disposal?

Governor, I will make a deal with you. If I go to your inaugural, will you come to mine? You may be my Governor, but I am going to be your president.

I have only one apology to make tonight. I am extremely sorry that I was unable to seat everybody in the laps of the Governor and the judges. You will hear speeches from our three honored guests, three of the most active members of our association, and from our energetic, youthful Governor, and I can assure you that their speeches will not be like the horns of a steer, a point here and a point there, and a lot of bull in between.

I will now exercise my other privilege as dinner chairman, and that will be to introduce the permanent chairman of the evening, who is always the president of our association, and it is with great pleasure and delight that I present to you, Judge Furman W. Reeves.

I thank you.

It's a Grand Old Rag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the 80th Congress, I was chairman of a special subcommittee appointed to study various business aspects of the Panama Canal. In the course of our deliberations, I discovered a most unusual and valuable source of authentic historical data concerning the Republic of Panama and the canal. It was in the 100-year-old files of the newspaper, Star and Herald, published in Panama City. On March 10, 1949, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial written on the 100th anniversary of this great newspaper.

Today it is my privilege to place in the RECORD an editorial from the Star and Herald published Tuesday, February 23, 1954, commemorating the 105th anniversary of this venerable publication, which, despite its advanced years, has the youngest and most modern ideas:

IT'S A GRAND OLD RAG

George Cohan made that song famous early in this century when, singing also the Yankee Doodle Boy, he referred to the Stars and Stripes. We of this paper's staff paraphase his song and apply it to the venerable Star and Herald which is 105 years old today. We are proud to state that, though an English language paper printed in a Latin country, it is this Nation's oldest daily, thus the dean of the Isthmian press. Incidentally it is the oldest English language daily on the west coast of all three Americas.

The precious yellowing files of this dean of isthmian journalism carry some of the most thrilling stories of its age. It started with the Gold Rush to California back in 1849. That was really a repetition of Panama's first gold rush 400 years ago when the conquistadores were finding gold here and later in Peru and rushing it across the isthmus over the old Camino Real to the waiting Spanish ships anchored in Portobelo.

The California boom was bringing American adventurers by every ship to Chagres for the long trek to the capital, there to await passage on vessels bound for California. Three of these venturesome Gringos were printers who got together and started a tiny newspaper they called The Panama Star. They were J. B. Bideiman, S. K. Henarie, and J. P. Bachman. As a group they remained here but briefly. They had their sights trained on El Dorado and each departed in turn as soon as he could clinch accommodations. The tiny sheet was left to whomsoever could get out an issue or two. But it was not born to die in its infancy, gold or no gold.

Peyton Middleton arrived in July 1849 with his brother Lewis who continued to California, but Peyton apparently found pioneer journalism at this interesting crossroads a greater bait that the gold he might find in California. His continuous reporting—filled with comment but no worse than the stories carried those days in the budding newspapers of the United States—covered one of the thrilling periods of Panama's history. That gold rush was the incentive for the Panama Railroad project, and with the PRR came progress to this long neglected land, first on the continental mainland of the Americas to be colonized by the Conquistadores.

Panama was then so isolated that it did not realize the railroad had been built from Colon to Gatun until Middleton crossed the Isthmus—it took him several days—and was flabbergasted by the progress achieved. It made a big scoop for the little Star.

The Panama Herald was started later as an opposition sheet and the editors of each paper ribbed and prodded each other in their daily editorials. The Star had grown from a weekly to a thrice-weekly newspaper.

La Estrella was launched by the Star owners, thereby increasing its circulation value immensely. Having no cable service then, the Star writers cribbed the foreign news from any paper they could filch from incoming travelers from anywhere in the world. The Star and La Estrella were carrying world news, most of it quoted from United States or other sheets, but it was still news when it hit the street here.

When La Estrella was 2 years old the Star and the Herald merged in one English newspaper. It was being shipped to all nearby countries by then. The decision to merge (in 1854) was taken by Archibald B. Boyd who had become Middleton's partner.

The yellowing pages of the sister newspapers have covered the history of the Panama Canal throughout the negotiations with Colombia and the culminating deal with the United States. They have covered 2 World Wars and the first 50 years of this young Nation's history. They are a gold mine of information for students of history, social progress, or local politics. And they are open to any good "cause that lacks assistance; for the future in the distance; for the wrong that needs resistance; and the good that I can do."

The twin papers have been owned by the Duque family for approximately half a century. That family was founded in Panama by José Gabriel Duque who was known as a great philanthropist and who started both the national lottery and the national fire department. It is still operated by Duques, with T. Gabriel Duque as president and director and his brothers Felix and Alejandro holding key executive posts in the company.

Members of the Star and Herald editorial staff are proud of the "rag's" history and the share it has taken in recording the history of the Nation it serves. It is also proud of the service it gives our Canal Zone readers and its English-speaking readers in Panama.

It's a grand old rag and we intend to keep it waving and carrying the news for a few more centuries too, "we" meaning those who will come after and remain true to its traditions of honesty and justice.

Communism and Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address by Stuart W. Conner, special assistant to the attorney general, State of New Hampshire, whch is very interesting and very constructive.

Mr. Conner, a former special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, delivered the address before post-office employees of the Lawrence, Mass., postal district, at North Andover, Mass., Sunday, March 7, 1954, on the occasion of the Lawrence postal employees' annual spiritual Sunday.

The address follows:

It gives me particular pleasure to participate in an interfaith function such as this. In the last analysis the struggle between the free world and the forces of communism is a struggle between the moral and spiritual elements in society and the forces of materialism. It is the importance of the individual, which is proclaimed by our Judaic-Christian religion, upon which our system of government is based, and it is this appreciation of the individual which is rejected by the Communists.

It is the duty of every citizen in the United States today to learn what communism is and how it operates. If the rate of advance of communism were to be continued, in 35 or 40 years all the world would be under the heel of the Red army and the Soviet secret police. If we are to survive, we have to know our enemy.

Communists are perhaps the most dedicated people in the world. When conditions permit, they zealously devote every minute to furthering their cause. Lenin set the pattern with his statement that the Communists did not want people who would give only their spare time to the party, but wanted only people who would give to the cause the whole of their lives.

If the rest of us were as dedicated to our respective religions and principles of government, there would be no problem of communism in the United States and maybe nowhere in the world.

To understand communism, I feel it is essential to have a working knowledge of the theory of communism.

The theory of communism, commonly known as Marxism-Leninism, was originated by Karl Marx, a German, in the mid-1800's. He had as his collaborator, Friedrich Engels, another German. The next great man in communism was Nikolai Lenin, the first dictator of the Soviet Union, under whose leadership communism was first put into practice. Joseph Stalin was the fourth important personage in the field of Marxism-Leninism.

At the root of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical-materialism. Dialectical-materialism is allegedly a scientific and materialistic explanation of the development and evolution of the universe and of all matter including humanity. It provides a formula which Communists believe explains the development of all matter.

This formula holds that in any given situation, be it in the layers of rocks deep underground, or in the realm of human relations, internal contradictions will arise. These contradictions will lead to conflicts and the conflicts will cause a transformation in the original situation. The old situation goes out of existence and a new condition arises. The process goes on indefinitely with contradition arising in each new situation. Let us leave the formula for a moment and consider other aspects of the Communist theory.

To Marx and Engels the only important influence on humanity was the economic influence. They taught that the status of society, laws, arts, and professions, what men did and thought, and the very stage of civilization was controlled by economic influences. To Communists man does not control the economy, but rather is controlled by the economy. Man is a pawn in history who is what he is only because of the economic winds blowing in his time. Obviously, the economic situation existing is important, but so are morality, patriotism, human intelligence, and scientific development, and many other factors which are ignored by the Communists.

Another important facet of the theory of communism is the theory of classes. Marx taught that society can be divided into two classes; those who control the means of production and those who earn their livelihood by their own labor, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. To each class Marx imputed the extremes of the class. To the entire bourgeoisie Marx imputed characteristics of immorality, great wealth, and despotism, and he considered all the proletariat to be oppressed, penniless, destitute. The interests of the two classes are diametrically and irreconciliably opposed, in Communist theory, with the bourgeoisie oppressing and living off the labor of the proletariat. Marx never envisioned the development of the great middle class.

Applying the dialectical formula to society, Marxists claim that contradictions inevitably arise between the two classes because of economic inequalities; that the contradictions develop into conflicts which in turn cause a transformation and a new situation arises. The old classes pass out of existence and new ones are formed.

Marx gave as an example of the application of the dialectical formula to society the evolution of society from the primitive communal society to slave and master, to feudalism, to capitalism, the present stage of most of the world. Applying the formula to the future, Marx foresaw the process of development continuing. The next stage above capitalism was to be communism and there the evolution would stop for the highest stage of society would have been realized.

The Communist believes that this development of society results from a law of nature, the dialectical formula, and therefore is inescapable and irresistible. Therein lies the key to the Communist dedication to his cause. He knows that victory for his cause is assured because an undeniable law of nature, like the law of gravity, provides that society will develop in this pattern and that no human efforts can change the pattern. Knowing communism will ultimately triumph, he is willing to devote the whole of his life. This makes a Communist a fanatical and formidable foe.

What is this ultimate stage of development envisioned by Communists? What is the goal of the dialectical formula? It is referred to by them as the Utopian society. It is to be: (1) socialistic; the means of production and exchange to be owned by the community rather than by individuals; (2)

classless, the bourgeoisie to be eliminated in the final conflict and transformation, this leaving only the proletariat. There being only one class remaining, society would be in effect classless; (3) stateless, by Marxist view, governments exist only to suppress a class and when society is classless there would be no need for state machinery and it would wither away (to contend that human beings can live together in an orderly fashion without governmental structure is so absurd as not to be worthy of comment); (4) godless, materialistic and atheistic.

Communists recognize that in a world of governments and nations a stateless society would not last long and they have an answer for this. Since the Communists have to take the world piecemeal, they have developed an intervening step between the acquisition of control by the Communists and the utopian society. It is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this stage the socialization of property and the means of production takes place and there is to be a ruthless consolidation of power by the Communists. All dissident elements are to be eliminated. This is to be, under the Communists, a most severe dictatorship.

According to the Marxist theory, when all the world has reached the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there are no remaining capitalist governments, then there will no longer be need for state machinery because there will be no class to suppress another class. The period will have been reached for the utopian communism to come into existence and the state will "wither away." It would be interesting to see how fast a powerful dictator like Stalin relinquished his power and "withered away."

Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Lenin stated, "Marxism is materialism. As such it is relentlessly opposed to religion." Marx described religion as the opium of the people. While communism is materialistic and atheistic, those who formulated the Communist viewpoint on religion were not so foolish as to oppose it unequivocally at every point, knowing its spiritual strength. In 1905 Lenin instructed that the official policy of the Communist government must be that religion was a private matter for the individual and that there must be no discrimination in the rights of citizens on religious grounds. At the same time he laid down the rule that as regards the Communist Party, it was no private matter, and atheistic and antireligious work needed to be carried out by the party vigorously at all times. The tactics of the party are to not exclude any person believing in religion, but to take him into the party if he meets all other qualifications and to educate him in dialectical materialism which will destroy his faith in God. Communists realize that if they placed their atheistic philosophy constantly before the public, they would create active antagonism and have a hard time developing new recruits. They relegate their atheism to a subordinate place and accent the class-struggle aspect of their program to the public.

It is exactly this deception, which was propounded by Lenin before the Russian Revolution, which has enabled the Communist Party in this country to secure a few converts among religious people. Outwardly the party emphasizes other aspects of communism and does not publicly attack religion. Communist training is designed to tear down a person's religious faith and to replace it with atheism. The training is so subtle and gradual that the recruit does not realize the goal he is being led toward until he has arrived, and has been conditioned an atheist.

As we have seen, initially Communist theory proclaimed that man's religion was a private matter as far as the government was concerned, even though the Communist Party is militantly atheistic. In practice, however, Communists wrenched religious activity in the Soviet Union to its knees and it is now apparently sterile and subservient to the Red rulers. In the Soviet zone of Germany the Communist masters are now calling religion profoundly immoral, if you can imagaine Communists calling religion immoral, and saying that Communist morals are diametrically opposed to religious morals. The Communists have maintained relentless pressure on all religious activities in Communist controlled East Europe and a good many of the leading clergy have been imprisoned or executed. In China it has been the same story; the missionaries have been run out of the country or imprisoned and the native religious leaders are facing persecution of various types if they do not conform to the Communist domination. In practice communism has never tolerated any more religious activity on the part of those under its control than was necessary and any effective religious activity is, to use their own expression, "diametrically opposed" to communism's atheism. Let no one tell you communism is not violently opposed to any concept of God or the Judaic-Christian code of ethics and morals, both in theory and practice.

What we stand for in the western Republics is the right to worship God in the manner of our own choosing. What Communists stand for is atheism and godlessness. Communists in the United States try to create antagonisms between the different religious and racial groups, but there is an answer to it; interfaith functions such as we have here today.

Related to the Communist rejection of Judaic-Christian concept of morality and religion is the Communist view of ethics. Lenin, the "developer" of communism, stated, "We do not believe in an eternal morality." Whatever action furthers the cause of communism is ethical as far as Communists are concerned. Subterfuge, deception, deceit, perjury, terrorism, and violence, all are ethical if they further the ultimate goal of communism at a particular time and place. This attitude opens the door for the concept that the ends justify the means, a concept absolutely rejected by any modern code of ethics or religion and by civilized society. But it is this code of honor which permitted the great Communist leader, Stalin, to enter into a compact with communism's avowed mortal enemy, Nazi fascism. If it furthers the goals of communism, it is ethical no matter how traitorous or treasonous the act. It is this standard of ethics that permitted numerous publicly identified Soviet espionage agents to steal their own country's most vital secrets and sneak them to an alien power. It is the Communist standard of ethics used by the Soviet Union that our own statesmen and diplomats have been slow to comprehend and that continues to cause us to suffer at the hands of the Soviet masters in every diplomatic contact. These ethics have permitted the Soviet Union to break 9 nonaggression pacts, 11 alliances, and numerous other international agreements in the last 29 years. The Soviet word is worthless and it is deceptive because it will be broken at any time that it will further the Communist goal to break it.

How do the Communists intend to take control over non-Communist countries? The world's greatest authorities on communism, Lenin and Stalin, have this to say, and I quote, "The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution," Lenin stated. He also said, "It is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and the most ruthless war waged by the new class against the * * * enemy * * * the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible, without a long, stubborn, and desperate war of life and death, a war which requires perseverance, discipline, firmness, inflexibility, and unity of will."

Stalin confirmed Lenin's statements, saying, "Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution without the dictatorship of the proletariat?" Stalin answered his own question, "Obviously not."

We dare not take them at any less than their own word.

What are the plans of the American Communists for taking control of our country? William Z. Foster is the present chairman of the Communist Party, U. S. A. In 1928 he was not the chairman of the Communist Party but was a leading Communist in this country. In sworn testimony before a congressional committee that year he made the statements which I will quote to you. He has never repudiated these statements to my knowledge, but has reaffirmed them. Foster stated, "The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the confiscation of the social necessities of life. * * * The working class must shatter the capitalist state. * * * No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could become, even if he would, President of the present Government. When a Communist heads a government in the United States, and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises, that government will not be a capitalistic government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat." Foster further stated, "The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the Communists of the United States owe no allegiance to the Government of the United States or to the American flag. Communists of this and all countries look upon the Soviet Union as their country, and they recognize only one flag, the Red flag."

One of the most furtive characters in the Communist movement in the United States was an individual of many aliases, most commonly known as J. Peters. Peters was head of the underground section of the Communist Party U. S. A. and helped organize the Harold Ware cell of the Communist Party among Government workers in Washington, D. C., in the 1930's. Many of the members of this cell later became Soviet espionage agents. Peters also was a representative of the Communist international in this country. In 1935 he wrote a manual for the Communist Party organizers. Peters set forth the role and aim of the Communist Party as follows, "As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the U. S. A. leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States."

In describing the conditions for membership in the Communist Party, Peters instructed that recruits must take the following pledge, "I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Dare we take these Communists at any less than their own word? I think not, look at Czechoslovakia.

How successful has communism been in its design for world conquest? At the time of the October Revolution in 1917 there were seventy-five or eighty thousand Bolsheviks. Thirty-seven years later, today, Communists control one-half the population of the world, of which only a small percentage belongs to the Communist Party. At this rate of advance it would take only another 35 or 40

years for the Soviets to subjugate the entire world. Since World War II the Communists have taken over the following: East Germany, a zone of Austria, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, China, a part of Mongolia, and North Korea.

Not one of these countries voted in communism. No country in the world has ever voted in communism.

These are irrefutable facts of aggression, suppression, and slavery. We hear of an armed Slavic underground and spontaneous uprisings in the Soviet zone of Germany being suppressed by tanks, machineguns, and firing squads, and yet there are a few fuzzy-thinking Americans who flock to every Communist-front group the Communists can dream up.

Even in the United States Communists have penetrated almost every aspect of our national life. They have infiltrated the entertainment industry and press, Government, labor unions, educational institutions, minority groups, nationality groups, and apparently even the clergy.

We have all heard much concerning the fabulous efforts of Soviet espionage in our country, but there is one phase of espionage operations with which we are not so familiar. Gen. Walter Krivitsky, head of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe in the 1930's, called our attention to the fact that espionage is one of the important arms of Soviet foreign relations. We know of the achievements of the Communists in stealing military secrets, but we hear little about an even more treacherous endeavor of theirs, the placing of espionage agents in responsible positions in non-Communist governments to influence the policies of the non-Communist governments.

The danger to non-Communist countries of this type of espionage operation can hardly be overemphasized. The Soviets had espionage agents on policy-making levels in the government of imperial Japan during the last war and they had them in the United States Government. Alger Hiss had held the position of Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs in the Department of State, a very important State Department post incidentally, and the position of Secretary General of the San Francisco Conference for Drafting of the United Nations Charter. He was also one of President Roosevelt's advisers at the Yalta Conference. Who can estimate the damage to this country that such a person could commit? Harry Dexter White is generally credited with devising the Morgenthau plan for making Germany an agrarian state after the last war. West Germany today appears to be the most vigorous country in Western Europe and it would seem from Soviet Russia's reaction that West Germany might be the biggest deterrent to further Communist aggression in Europe in the years to come. Had Harry Dexter White's plan been accepted by this country and its allies, the position of the free world in Europe would be even less tenable.

The press quoted Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., on February 3 of this year as saying it would make no difference if there were Communist agents in the United Nations Organization because there are no secrets to steal. Ambassador Lodge, by this remark, showed a lack of appreciation of the more dangerous aspects of Communist espionage. If there are espionage agents in the United Nations Organization, they would be in positions to influence decisions of that international organization. It is interesting to note that a considerable number of Soviet agents have secured employment in international organizations of several types and it is safe to assume this was not by accident.

Is there a threat from communism in the United States today? If we do no more than take communism at its own words, the threat is apparent. Communist ethics allow them to use deceipt, subterfuge and duplicity in the conduct of diplomacy and in the party's daily agitation in the factories and in the streets. This creates a threat because of our own failure to grasp this fact in our dealings with the party at home and more particularly in our international relations.

The man most fully informed concerning communism in the United States today, a man to whom this country owes an eternal debt, John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations last December concerning the status of the Communist Party in this country then. I would like to quote you some of Director Hoover's revealing remarks. He testified, "The extent of potential dangerousness of the Communist Party, United States of America * * * should not be judged merely by the extent of its membership. It has a strong fifth-column strength. As open party membership ebbs more and more, reliance is placed upon (1) underground leadership, (2) concealed members, (3) front groups, (4) fellow travelers, (5) Communist sympathizers, and (6) dupes. * * * The discipline of the party, as in the past, has been rigidly administered from the top by a small group of Communist Party functionaries who are fanatically devoted to the Communist cause."

Mr. Hoover explained that "Today, there are two types of Communist Party leadership: Open leadership * * * and an underground leadership which actually has been assuming more and more authority and control to administer the entire party in the event it is no longer feasible to continue in the open. Through the perfection of the underground apparatus, the party aims to preserve intact a hard core of militant Communists to carry out the aims and objectives of the international Communist movement under all forms of adversity."

He cited at great length the security measures of the party to show the stealth of the American Communists and this clearly showed the conspiratorial nature of the party. Mr. Hoover's statement also made apparent, from the underground nature of the party, the danger from communism as constituted in the United States in 1953.

Our investigation currently being conducted by the attorney general's office in New Hampshire bears out Mr. Hoover's description of the current status of the party.

Communism is a fact, and will be for some generations to come. It will affect many phases of the lives of each of us, and our children and grandchildren. It will affect the laws we live under, who is elected to represent us, what our economic situation will be, whether we will see military service and whether our children go to atomic war or build a new world based on the morality of our Judaic-Christian religions.

We cannot evade communism. We cannot avoid it. But our survival demands we understand it. We have to better know our enemy.

New Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER NORBLAD
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 28, 1954

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial by Robert Ingalls, of Corvallis, Oreg., published in the Corvallis Gazette-Times of March 11, 1954:

NEW AIR FORCE ACADEMY

The Congress is just about to authorize some $125 million for a new Air Force academy. Somehow we just can't see it.

No one can argue that we don't need a school to train officers or that we don't need the plane drivers, but is a new academy the best approach?

Senator ALBERT GORE, of Tennessee, argues that creating a third service academy "flies in the teeth of unification." His point is well taken. If future cooperation among the services is to be improved, and the good Lord knows it needs improvement, this is no way to go about the job.

In many respects the military trade-school system is bad enough, but to have them go to different trade schools only tends to aggravate the situation. There is no reason why there shouldn't be one school where the men could all take the same basic courses together and get to know and work with one another.

It is our opinion, too, that there should be a different method of selection for candidates to enter the academies. Some service as enlisted men would make better officers of all academy graduates. Another method might be to have the candidates go to school for 2 years in their home States and then select the best undergraduates for further schooling at the academies.

There is no perfect system, of course, because officers are people just like the rest of us and you always get good and bad people as the result of any system. We served with some officers from the Point who were hot rocks in every sense of the word and don't recall a Point officer who was professionally inadequate. There were some, however, who were far from socially adequate and seemed to feel they were born to the purple just because they went to the trade school.

The best officers we saw in the whole of our 4½ years of service were chosen by the Tomlinson Act. These men were selected ROTC graduates who were hand picked to serve a year in the Regulars. After a year of this service the best one out of every 20 was offered a permanent commission. After such a complete weeding out, the Army really got some upper-drawer men.

The Right Idea on Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the News of Washington, D. C., issue of March 17, 1954, contains an editorial on the subject of health insurance. It is entitled to the utmost consideration in connection with the health insurance plan now before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House.

I include the editorial as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

THE RIGHT IDEA

The Eisenhower administration is on the right track with its new health insurance program, although many questions about it remain to be answered.

The program has been submitted to Congress and hearings are scheduled in both Houses. The big question is this:

Will the program discourage the sale of health insurance policies that can be taken away from a person when he becomes seri-

ously ill—when he needs such help the most?

The evidence available is that it will.

We believe that it must.

The administration's program has not the slightest resemblance to the Truman compulsory health insurance pipe dream.

The new plan is one to encourage private business and nonprofit health groups to provide broader health insurance coverage.

Under the program, Congress would put $25 million into a reinsurance fund, to be administered by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department.

That Department then could offer reinsurance to companies and groups willing to try selling better insurance to the people.

Admittedly, there is a risk in selling any new type of insurance—because no company can know, until it has experimented a little, how much to charge for it.

The Eisenhower plan would take away some of that risk. A company whose new policy had been approved by the Government, and which had bought Federal reinsurance on the policy, could recoup from the Government a part of any really heavy losses it might suffer.

There already have been forebodings that $25 million would be only an opening bite on Congress, and that many more millions would have to be poured into this venture before it became sound.

That is a possibility, of course. It is one Congress should look into—meanwhile recalling that similar predictions were made when the Government set up the Federal Deposits Insurance Corporation in the thirties. No such thing happened in that case, and there are interesting parallels between the well-established FDIC program and the new health insurance plan.

There are others who fear that the new program would mean more Government control over business—the insurance business. The answer is that no insurance company will be forced to participate.

The administration believes this plan will persuade the companies and groups to make wholehearted attempts to give the people a better break.

Competition will, the Government believes, wipe out the cancellable bargain-basement policies now widely sold—policies which are fine for healthy people but not for sick ones.

To assure that this happens, we advocate that one iron-bound condition be written into the bill now pending before Congress:

No health insurance policy should be reinsured unless it is noncancellable.

The Government should reinsure only those policies which, once bought, cannot be taken away from the trusting buyer.

Does Television Help Sports Financially?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass., of Tuesday, March 16, 1954:

DOES TV HURT SPORTS?

Does television help sports financially or does it hurt them? Television manufacturers, who may not be entirely free from prejudice, deny that the home screen is keeping fans from attending boxing matches or ball games. They admit that in 1949 attendance figures showed an expenditure of $280 million, while in 1952 the figure had dropped to $265 million. Even the lower figure was well above that for 1946, which was $240 million. Any falling off, say the TV folk, was more than made up by the income from rights fees.

Not all sports have lost attendance. Baseball has dropped, but horseracing has gained. College football has lost patrons, but these seem to have gone to the professional variety. Baseball attendance, though less than a few years ago, is still well above the figure realized in 1939, the 100th anniversary of its beginning.

More will be heard about this controversy. Meanwhile the baseball owners are debating ways and means to limit TV in their territory.

Features of Republican Tax-Revision Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the following are the highlights and features in condensed form of the Republican tax-revision bill adopted by the House today:

DEPENDENTS

1. Parents can claim deduction of $600 for each child regardless of child's annual earnings.

2. Aged or other dependents cared for jointly can be rotated for full exemption among taxpayers providing support.

3. Taxpayer can claim $600 exemption for foster child or other persons irrespective of relationship if support is provided in home during taxable year.

Total saving to taxpayers, $85 million.

CHILD-CARE EXPENSES

1. Single working parent allowed $600 deduction for expense paid for caring for each child under 10.

2. Same deduction allowed for all children, 10 to 16, physically handicapped.

Total saving to taxpayers, $40 million.

MEDICAL EXPENSES

1. May be deducted when exceed 3 percent of adjusted gross income (instead of former 5 percent).

2. Example: Family with $3,000 gross income, medical expenses of $150, now can deduct total of $60. None previously.

Total saving to taxpayers, $80 million.

HEAD OF FAMILY

1. Head of household allowed income-splitting accorded married couples.

2. Dependents need not live in home of taxpayer.

Total saving to taxpayers, $50 million.

RETIREMENT INCOME CREDIT

1. All retired people, including school teachers, firemen, policemen, civil servants, allowed to exempt $1,200 of retirement income.

Total saving to taxpayers, $125 million.

CREDIT PURCHASES

1. Deductions allowed for interest carrying charges on time purchases up to 6 percent.

Total saving to taxpayers, $10 million.

CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

1. Deductions allowed up to 30 percent instead of 20 percent.

Total saving to taxpayers, $25 million.

AID TO FARMERS

1. Deductions up to 25 percent of farm income allowed for soil and water conservation expenses.

Total saving to taxpayers, $10 million.

LIFE INSURANCE

1. Lessens estate tax on certain insurance policies.

Total saving to taxpayers, $25 million.

SICKNESS AND ACCIDENT PLANS

1. Employees are not taxed on employers' contributions to sickness benefits.

2. Exempts from taxation sick and accident pay checks up to $100 weekly.

Total saving on taxes: No estimate possible.

FOREIGN INCOME

1. Allows firms doing business abroad a 14-point tax reduction, equalizing competitive advantage of foreign firms.

Total saving on taxes, $147 million.

DEPRECIATION

1. Declining balance method adopted for writing off more of machine's cost in its early years.

Total saving on taxes: $375 million; $75 million for individuals.

NET OPERATING LOSS

1. Extends net operating loss carryback to 2 years.

Total saving on taxes, $100 million.

ACCOUNTING PROVISIONS

1. Closes 50 tax loopholes, brings income tax law provisions into harmony with accounting principles, overhauls pension, profit-sharing, and bonus plans.

Total saving on taxes, $45 million.

TAX ON ANNUITIES

1. Ends annual 3 percent paid in taxes on total cost of annuity. Provides instead a method of computing tax on basis of cost divided by years of life expectancy.

Total saving on taxes, $10 million.

DIVIDEND CREDIT

1. Excludes first $50 in dividends from taxation the first year, $100 thereafter.

2. In addition, provides a dividend-received credit against tax equal to 5 percent of such income in first year, 10 percent thereafter.

3. Example: Dividend payment of $250 first year would be reduced for tax purposes to $200, then an additional $10 as a reduction against total tax.

Total saving on taxes: $240 million.

FACTS ON THE ISSUE OF ELIMINATING DOUBLE TAX ON DIVIDENDS

In the past the elimination of double taxation on dividends has never been a political issue.

Fact: President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his tax message of March 1936 called attention to the inequity of double taxation on dividends.

Fact: The House Committee on Postwar Policy and Planning recommended the elimination of double taxation in 1944 and again in 1946.

This committee, under Democratic chairmanship and composed of 10 Democrats, including the ranking Democrat on the present committee, emphasized that the elimination of double dividend taxation would provide a stimulus to risk capital.

Fact: The Committee for Economic Development in its November 1947 tax report described double taxation as gross inequity and stated that it increased the vulnerability of the economy to serious deflation and unemployment.

Fact: Organizations ranging from the American Farm Bureau Federation to the Investors League and the American Retail Federation have opposed double taxation of dividends before every Congress, beginning in 1947.

Fact: The minority (Democrat) report of the House Ways and Means Committee in 1948, including many present Democrat members of the House Ways and Means Committee, advocated relief from double taxation on dividends.

Fact: In addition this same committee called for a comprehensive revision of the entire Federal tax system and listed double taxation of dividends as one of the most important provisions in need of revision.

CORPORATION TAXES

The same tax revision bill passed by the House on March 18 provides for the continuation of taxes on corporations for 1 more year at 52 percent.

This extension will give the Treasury $1,200,000,000 in revenue in fiscal 1955, and makes possible to a large extent the tax savings that are being passed on to individual taxpayers.

REPUBLICAN ACTION FOR TAXPAYERS

The 10-percent reduction in Federal income taxes saves the taxpayers a total of $3 billion annually. This tax cut would not have been possible if the Congress and the administration had not cut the Truman budget by $14 billion.

Nor would the $2 billion tax saving by elimination of the excess-profits tax been possible without this budget cutting.

The excise-tax-reduction bill was passed by the House on March 10. It saves taxpayers an additional $900 million annually.

Savings in the tax revision measure adopted March 18 save taxpayers $1,300,000,000.

A total of $778 million of this tax saving is for individuals. The remainder, $612 million, is tax relief for business.

The overall tax-cut program amounts to a taxpayers' saving of $7,300,000,000. Of this amount individuals receive an overall total tax saving of $4,700,000,000. The tax savings so far surpass any previous total in the history of Congress.

One Hundred Percent Farm Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, as far as the interests of the farmer are concerned, I have a 100-percent record.

I have championed the farmers' cause in REA. Likewise, the FHA and FCA have received my support. Soil conservation and crop insurance got my support. Drought aid and seed loans got my support. Improvement in rural-telephone systems got my support. Having been born and raised on a farm, I clearly understand their needs.

Full parity prices for farmers has always received my support. In every instance I voted for the best farm bill before the House. Not once did I oppose their interests. I have always viewed with alarm any tendency in falling prices for farm products.

Even beyond this, thousands of farmers asked me to help with their individual problems. In each case they got action. Not once was any farmer turned down.

I have always fought and voted against the oleo trust which aims at the destruction of dairy farming. Likewise, I have fought against imports of farm products from foreign countries. As one who understands by background farm needs, and as one who has always worked and voted in their interests, I am proud to say I have a 100-percent farm record.

Turn Back the Money Monopolists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I should like to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article written by Mr. Ed Wimmer, president, Forward American Publishing Guild, and vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, which appeared in the March 15, 1954, edition of the Cincinnati Enquirer.

It is my hope that, after reading this very enlightening article, the membership will see the need for enacting bank-holding company legislation:

BANKERS SEEK LEGISLATION TO HALT HOLDING COMPANIES—NEED PUBLIC SUPPORT

(By Ed Wimmer)

President Garfield once said that no threat to the American system of government was as dangerous as a concentration of credit resources. In later years, Woodrow Wilson addressed himself to the problem and called control over credit by the few the most frightening monopoly in the country, and he challenged the statesmen of his day to serve the long future and true liberties of men by breaking it up.

Wilson was accused of demagoguery, but 2 years later the famous Pujo committee supported his charge and recommended immediate action that would restore competition in the whole field of banking and credit. No action was taken, however, and there grew up over America a mighty cobweb of interlocking commercial and savings banks, insurance companies, trust companies, and nonfinancial corporations which present-day lawmakers, judges, and economists have branded a money monopoly of such stupendous proportions as to stagger the imagination.

Transamerica, the mighty Giannini banking empire with headquarters in California, reached out and gobbled up 39 percent of the banking business of 5 States, and delved into insurance, chainstores, and a myriad of other businesses. Lehman Bros. of New York extended their web of directorates to American Stores, Jewel Tea Co., Kroger, Sears Roebuck, Associated Dry Goods, Allied Stores, Federated Department Stores, Gimbel Bros., W. T. Grant, Interstate Department Stores, Kaufman, Woolworth, and others too numerous to mention.

Chase National of New York reached out into Borden, Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., Allied Stores, McCrory, H. L. Green, and others. Goldman Sachs of New York, tied in with Jewel Tea, National Dairy, Sears Roebuck, S. H. Kress, Gimbel Bros., Kaufman and the May Co., with J. P. Morgan and Guaranty Trust finishing up the picture. As far back as 1936, these five private banks and 19 other financial institutions had 484 directors on the boards of corporations representing 60 percent of the Nation's corporate wealth, and controlled, according to the findings of a congressional committee, more than one-third of the total resources of America's 16,000 banks. Congressman PATMAN, of Texas, said in 1936, that resources of Guaranty Trust exceeded the resources of 1,455 banks in Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.

Ben DuBois, secretary-manager of the Independent Bankers' Association, has cited the Northwest Bancorporation, with its virtual monopoly in Minneapolis and 73 banks and branches in a 7-State area, as another giant threatening the democracy of credit in the Northwest region. Led by DuBois, a growing battalion of battling bankers have thrown conservatism to the winds, and have gone all-out in a renewed attempt to get legislation that will outlaw bankholding company control of business firms, and prevent any further expansion of banking by bank-holding companies. The National Federation of Independent Business is now polling its great membership on this legislation, introduced as S. 1118 in the Senate by Senator HOMER CAPEHART, Republican, of Indiana, and as H. R. 5144 in the House by Representative A. J. MULTER, Democrat, of New York.

D. Emmert Brumbaugh, banker of Claysburg, Pa., president of the Independent Bankers' Association, has toured the country with Mr. DuBois, to stir up support of these bills, and is sounding the warning—that the spread of monopoly banking threatens not only the traditional American banking system, but is a threat to free enterprise and a straight road to socialism.

Independent bankers who have joined this crusade to turn back the money monopolists, should receive the admiration and support of thinking Americans in all walks of life.

Peabody Post, No. 153, the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a portion of my address delivered at the 35th anniversary banquet, Peabody Post, No. 153, the American Legion, Peabody, Mass., on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1954.

The banquet committee chairman was Mr. Charles M. Boyle, past commander of this post, 1922–23, the toastmaster was Mr. Osborn Palmer, first commander of this post, 1919–20.

Invited guests were Mayor Philip C. O'Donnell; Representative John E. Murphy; Representative Philip J. Durkin; Mr. Coleman L. Nee, department commander, American Legion; Mr. Claude H. Phillips, district commander, American Legion; Mr. John L. Quigley, commandant Soldier's Home, Chelsea; Mr. Lester Pitcher, commander, VFW Post, No. 1011; Mr. George Cokorogianis, commander, DAV Post No. 100; Mrs. Alice A. Lysaght, president, Ladies Auxiliary, Post No. 153; Rev. Charles X. Leahy; Rev. Arthur W. Bowler; Rev. Edward Gaudette, and Rev. Edward Carney, O. S. A.

Portion of the address follows:

Looking around this large gathering tonight, composed of men and women who have served their country well in time of danger, I see a unity that is above the dif-

ferences of race or creed. Any person who has ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States, may put aside his uniform after his tour of duty is over, but he never loses the pride and the faith that he acquired by unselfish service in the protection of his country.

Out of this experience, the American Legion, together with other organizations of veterans, have become the vigilant guardians of our liberties.

It is well that we have organizations to keep the United States wide awake. For even now we are battling an enemy who is using every weapon short of all-out war to weaken the Western World, and, if he can, to destroy us from within.

Even when communism speaks of peace it is using the olive branch to wage secret, but nonetheless deadly, war.

In 1936, a constitution describing the rights and duties of citizens, was adopted by a major power. It guaranteed, and I quote: "(a) Freedom of speech, (b) freedom of press, (c) freedom of assemblies and meetings, (d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations."

One would think that this constitution was modeled after that of the United States. The freedoms, as stated on paper, are similar to the ones we actually enjoy, but there all resemblance ceases.

If you dared to practice them in the other country I refer to, you would find yourself in a jail, or a slave-labor camp, or 6 feet under, free at last from any further persecution.

That country is Soviet Russia.

Communism is a trap that is always baited for the weak, the ignorant, and the lazy elements that are to be found in every nation.

The American Legion from its very beginning has fought against these shortcomings in our national character. In spite of those who would divert it from its patriotic purpose by ridicule, the Legion has persisted in its policy of preserving our liberties through strength and vigilance. All of us are better citizens because of its fine educational program. And our Nation is not defenseless because the American Legion has never let us forget that a nation unprepared is a nation half-enslaved.

That is why we have come to honor the anniversary of the Legion tonight.

To those of us who served in World War I, Russia and the Communists were far away and somewhat amusing. The newspapers called them Bolsheviks, and we thought of them as wild and bearded people who specialized in the manufacture and use of homemade bombs to exterminate one another.

When the AEF came back from France, after defeating the Kaiser, its members put away their high-collared uniforms and their bandage-roll leggings and their souvenirs; put them away in the attic and settled down to the humdrum battle of earning a living.

A generation later their younger sons and daughters were filling up the transports again, bound for the war against fascism and all its brutalities. They say that politics makes strange bedfellows, but war comes up with more fantastic ones. This time the Reds, by an odd twist of fate, had become our heroic allies.

After great cost and human effort that conflict was won, and again we packed up our bags and rushed home. But the Russians did not. Scheming all the time, they had developed the technique of disrupting one country after another; paralyzing their governments and then taking over control by the device of puppet governments whose first and only allegiance was to Moscow.

In 1950 we had to take drastic action to halt these spreading conquests that were pushing the free world back, step by step. Again our young men and women sailed for a distant battlefield that some of us had trouble in locating on the map. Hundreds of thousands of Americans fought there to halt the tide of aggression in a local war where Communist imperialism overplayed its hand. Americans were killed and wounded and tortured in a way that was unprecedented in our experience as a nation.

Out there an uneasy truce prevails, where we have neither won nor lost the war as yet, but where the odds are still against us. Russia fought it by remote control, using North Korean and Chinese satellite troops. We fought it with South Korean and American soldiers.

At last, the master design of the Reds becomes clear.

The United States is the final target.

We are the only ones that they fear.

And so the game is to make us overextend ourselves with the intent that we shall finally become exhausted and bankrupt—cracking up from within.

The present situation in Indochina is a case in point.

There is a battlefield of their own choosing, where they hope to suck us in. It is an area rich in raw materials that we cannot afford to lose by default to the Reds. A country of rice paddies and jungles and few roads, where infiltration is easy, and hit-and-run attacks by small guerrilla bands can keep large forces pinned down.

France has been bled white by years of indecisive fighting there, and would pull out with any kind of a face-saving deal. That means we would have to take up their burden, pouring men and materials into the breach or surrender to Communist blackmail, in return for an empty promise by the Reds to call off aggression in Korea and elsewhere.

It is here that a grave mistake in our foreign policy is revealed. We think that arms and money will solve everything. But our prestige has been steadily falling throughout Asia, and the Reds are always alert to assist that decline and to take advantage of it. Guns and fertilizer and tractors won't buy friends. Our political and diplomatic leadership does not know how to win the minds and emotions of impoverished people. We have failed to build up their own pride or to show them how they can make progress within the framework of their own culture and economic outlook, or to encourage the development of their own leaders.

To the poverty-stricken and ignorant millions of Asia, the Communists promise everything: peace, redistribution of the land, equality of race, the ending of foreign domination, et cetera.

Unfortunately, the Communists are doing a better selling job while we wait for the next Communist move, and then, belatedly, try to find an answer to it.

Pouring military supplies into Indochina will not save that important area from communism unless we open the way for independence, treat these people as equal to ourselves as human beings, and give them something to fight for.

If we rely upon things alone to solve our problems, then we reduce ourselves to the level of Communist materialism.

It is elemental, of course, that we must provide other nations with weapons and machines and money, but these alone won't win the battle for survival.

We must have a real crusade for freedom that will enlist the slumbering moral might of the United States for the service of humanity and by "doing unto others as we would have others do unto us" defeat the lies of Communist propaganda and encourage the peoples of all nations to improve their standard of living without dictation from us.

We have to put ourselves in their shoes and try to understand their viewpoint.

Diplomats have compiled a doubtful record when you come to think of it:

Despite all their expert advisers, their plans, their notes, and their conferences they don't succeed in preventing wars. The war which the little people must win for them by superhuman effort and staggering sacrifices.

And after the victory is won the diplomats take charge again and busily proceed to lose the peace.

Perhaps a new approach is needed away from high-level diplomats who have lost contact with the common people in the very countries they profess to represent. Before the diplomats appease us into surrender or blunder us into atomic annihiliation.

I think we need the direct and forthright aprpoach of a St. Patrick, who drove the snakes out of Ireland. A modern St. Patrick, who would drive the last few Communists out of sensitive positions in public life before they could sell out Indochina or deliver any more military secrets to the Russians.

I think that we should try to reach the peoples instead of their governments. To bring them together—to resolve their differences and suspicions—so that they will rally around a realistic program to save themselves and the world from Communist imperialism.

From the European peasant to the "untouchables" of India; from Greece to China, the Philippines, and Japan, we must find out what they, the mute millions, want, and then help them by a plan to raise their own standards of living that will respect their common human dignity.

From people to people who have a capacity for reaching an understanding more effective than the intrigues of their rival governments.

As the American Legion's pledge says:

"For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a 100 percent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our associations in the great wars; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state, and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

To which I might add: "Under the one God in whom we trust."

Old People Need Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the sad blots on our Nation is the care of our very own people who made our Nation the greatest on earth. They did a much better job of it than we in this generation are doing. They gave us a nation which was the envy of the world. They deserve better treatment than what they are now receiving.

For a nation like ours that proposes to play Santa Claus to the world, giving billions to people who never were or will be our friends, we do not do a very good job at taking care of our aged and disabled. This has been and is one of the

most heartbreaking conditions in my entire experience.

We have increased old-age benefits some. But we still have a system where the aged have to beg for what they get. I have supported and voted for these increases. If we were to take just 5 percent of what we throw away all over the world, we could finance a decent old-age-pension system.

The old-age problem is not one which will always be with us. In a few years our social-security benefits will do most of this job. That is why I have also voted for and supported increased benefits and the inclusion of more people in our social-security laws.

In this work, I have the solid support and confidence of the Townsend groups and every old-age pension organization in the Nation. Without exception, they are 100 percent behind me. I am glad to be their representative and shall continue to strive for their betterment. We can do a much better job with an old-age pension setup. We should do a better job and we should do so at once. The increases we have made in the last few years have more than been eaten up in increased cost of living.

I shall continue to strive for their betterment. That we cannot afford it is hogwash. We cannot afford not to do it. We can easily cut spending where it is doing us no good. From what dollars we gave Communist Russia in the last 10 years would pay $60 at 60 for the rest of our generation. At least the old people would not have used that money to kill our boys as Communist Russia is now doing.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily RECORD at $1.50 per month, payable in advance.

Remit by money order payable to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Appendix

Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey, and published in Life magazine of March 15, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DESCRIBES HOW PROPOSED REFORM IN TAXATION ENCOURAGES BETTER BUSINESS AND MORE JOBS

(By George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury)

While I was working in my office the other day a businessman called me up from California. A large manufacturer, he had just come out of a meeting with his board of directors. "I want to know," he said, "whether or not the tax revision bill will be passed by the Congress. Can you give me any assurances that it will?" Naturally I could only say that I didn't know, but that I felt strongly that it should be.

When I asked him why, he said, "Our business has been slowing up. My company wants to spend several million dollars in a big sales campaign to get things moving again. If we are sure the new tax program will pass, the board of directors will approve the expense. If not, I doubt that I can talk them into it."

We get many such calls. In fact every day somebody telephones to ask the question, "Will we get that tax revision?" A widow called. She had a small savings account which she wanted to invest if she could only be sure that she would be relieved of double taxation on the small investment she already had. The other day a food processor flew in from the Midwest to see us. His firm had developed a new product and he brought along a sample for me to taste. "We have tested this stuff in every way," he said. "We know we can produce it and we are ready to build a brandnew plant and hire several thousand people to make it and market it. But under present tax depreciation provisions, the risk would be too great."

The interest of these people and thousands of others in similar dilemmas shows what is at stake in the decision on taxes now before the Congress. In my opinion our tax program is a key to whether or not this country stays strong and growing. This program will breathe into American industry a new incentive that will create more and better jobs, more and better products and above all will bring our money affairs to a level of sanity.

We have worked for more than a year on this program. President Eisenhower stressed the importance of tax revision in his first state of the union message. The House Ways and Means Committee, under the direction of Chairman DANIEL A. REED, and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation began working together early in 1953. Last summer the Ways and Means Committee held some 50 days of hearings and heard testimony from more than 1,000 witnesses. Recommendations for changes were prepared and fully considered. That work has now been completed. The finished bill is being reported this week to the House of Representatives. It is a good joint product of the Congress and the Administration working together.

The philosophy behind this program is precisely opposite from the philosophy that motivated the financial conduct of the Government of the thirties and forties. During this period the Government repeatedly resorted to deficit financing. This simply means living beyond your income, and it is just as damaging to a government as to a family. Suppose a father and mother called their children together and said, "Now look, kids, we are going to spend a lot of money this year. Instead of spending only what we can afford, we are going to spend more than we can afford, and we are going to borrow the rest. The borrowed money won't come due until we are dead and gone. Your children and your children's children will have to pay it off."

That's what the Nation was doing. We were borrowing in this generation and putting the burden of raising taxes to pay off the loan on to the next. We have been mortgaging our children's future; we have been getting a free ride on the young people. If the old folks want to saddle the young folks with this extra future taxload, and if the young folks want to take it, that might look, momentarily, like an easy way out of the problem. But I don't want it that way myself. I want to pay my own share. To pay our own share we have to pay as we go and, like the American family, pursue the fundamental economic law of living within our income.

The first step in this direction, after fully providing for the costs of our national security, is to reduce the cost of Government. There are two ways to do this: (1) Drop people from whom the taxpayers are not getting full money's worth or whose jobs are not necessary; (2) stop buying things for which the Government is not getting full value or which it can get along without. We have already made big strides in this direction. Our budget for the coming fiscal year shows a reduction of more than $12 billion from the spending plans of the last administration. Though we will not be able to balance the budget in the coming fiscal year, our budget's deficit of $2.9 billion is $6.5 billion less than the $9.4 billion deficit of the last fiscal year of the previous administration.

These governmental savings, of course, cut down the number of jobs paid for with Government money. This creates serious problems for each person affected. So new jobs in private enterprise must be created as rapidly as possible for those released by the cuts in what the Government spends.

A lot of men and women have been employed making military equipment. Now many of those people can be transferred to making the things that can be used in peaceful pursuits. It is this transfer which the country is now going through and which necessarily creates some temporary unemployment. Some people have called it a recession. It really is a transition during which the billions of dollars' worth of spending by the Government is transferred to spending by the millions of private individuals whose taxes have been cut.

It means transferring men from jobs making things for killing to jobs making things for living.

There are many good signs that the transition, difficult as it is, is being accomplished without generally serious trouble.

The new tax program will help to ease the transfer.

Let's consider the average family with savings to invest. The rate of individuals' savings in this country is running at record peacetime levels—$18 billion last year. If invested, those savings can be a big source for providing more and more jobs through creating new farms and factories and other places to work. Under the present tax laws, investment in ownership shares of American enterprise is taxed twice. This is the only case of double taxation in America. It penalizes investment in common stock which is so vital to raising money for new ventures. Our new program begins to cut down this double levy and so helps create more jobs.

About two-thirds of the tax reductions from our new proposals will go directly to millions of individual taxpayers suffering from special hardships and unfair provisions. There will be larger deductions for medical expenses and special deductions for working widows for the cost of babysitters. Heads of families will receive benefits so that the death of a husband or wife will not bring a sharp increase in taxes at a time of great personal distress. Parents will be able to claim a child as a dependent even if the child makes over $600 a year in helping to earn his own living or working his way through college. Fairer consideration will be given income from pensions, and there will be a tax exemption up to $100 a week of amounts received as sickness and accident benefits.

Farmers' soil conservation expenses will be given more liberal tax treatment. Farmers will be able to write off depreciation on their equipment faster and so be in position to buy new and better farm implements and tools.

The tax problems that these provisions are intended to answer have brought a lot of people to my office. One was a policeman's widow who represented a private group pension plan for widows of policemen and firemen. Under the present tax law, her group is meagerly treated compared to the tax advantages of those who fall under social security. She rightly thinks her group should get a better break, and if the Congress puts our program into law, it will.

We believe that further tax reduction should be made just as soon as further cuts in Government spending are in sight. Taxes should go down by the reduction of rates all along the line so that all taxpayers are fairly treated.

It would be unrealistic to say that our tax program will be adopted by the Congress without opposition and without the danger of undermining compromises. In-

deed, in recent weeks a strong pressure has been felt to substitute for this program a lush cut in individual income taxes. An argument is brewing around a proposal to raise individual income-tax exemptions from $600 to $800 this year and to $1,000 next year. There are three things wrong with this idea of cutting taxes now by increasing the exemption:

1. A $1,000 exemption would mean that about 15 million people now filing tax returns would be exempt from paying any income tax at all. That would be a mistake. All Americans ought to make some contribution to their Government, in relation, of course, to what they can afford. Every American wants to pay his share. He doesn't want to pass his fair share of the load off to some other fellow. As a matter of fact, he can't. If he does, the load will become too heavy to bear for the other taxpayers with average incomes, and the unbalanced structure will all come crashing down.

2. Putting more money into the hands of consumers by raising tax exemptions is not the best way to stimulate the basic propelling force that makes jobs. Jobs make payrolls and payrolls make the money that makes for higher standards of living and pays the taxes as well.

3. The proposal of the opposition is more than the budget can stand. It would cost us nearly $5 billion of lost revenue this year and nearly $8 billion next year. We are just beginning to get the recurrent deficits of the past years under control. This would be the worst possible time for us to turn around and head back in the opposite direction. We would lose the confidence of all the people in the financial stability that we have gained, and confidence is vital to an expanding, growing economy. Many people forget, too, that we have already handed back more than $5 billion of tax money for this year to the people to spend as they choose. This was done by ending the excess-profits tax and cutting Government spending to make possible the 10 percent income-tax reduction of January 1.

Moreover, the rest of our tax program will bring the total tax money handed back to the people this year to more than $7 billion, by far the greatest step in many years toward lightening the tax burden of the individual citizen. Those who would have us go further into debt by excessive and supposedly politically expedient tax cuts are really telling the American people: "Never mind. You won't have to pay the bill. You can get out of your obligation." To be taken in by such a false philosophy at a time when we are not in war or in a real emergency would be a tragic mistake.

There is no magic source of free, unlimited money. All that the Government spends must finally be paid by taxes collected from the people. If taxes paid this year are less than we spend this year, the excess has to be borrowed. Whatever is borrowed has to be repaid later by the collection of taxes to repay it. All that we spend this year, over and above the taxes we pay this year, will just be added to the taxes we will have to pay in a later year. We can shirk our responsibility today and not pay our share, but only by passing it along to be paid a little later. Those who die in the meantime will be ahead, if that is any comfort to them, but their share will be added to the burdens of their children and grandchildren.

This tax program is a vital part of the entire program of this administration as proposed by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union and other messages. It is designed to make America more secure, both from without and from within, and a better, safer, more really prosperous country for us all to live in.

Combating Internal Subversion and Exposing Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the problem of combating internal subversion and exposing the Communists is one which has had the attention of many of us for many months and many years.

One individual who has given concentrated thought to this problem, and who has been directly connected with it, is the Honorable Myles J. Lane, former United States attorney for the southern district of New York. Mr. Lane is distinguished, among other reasons, for the fact that he directed the prosecution of the 11 top Communists in the United States and secured their conviction. He should know what he is talking about. Mr. Lane made a speech recently, in which he said, among other things—and I think his statement can be considered authoritative—that he knows of not a single Communist "who has been unearthed by any person or congressional committee independent of the FBI." This is an amazing fact of which the public is too little aware.

Mr. Lane, who, as I indicated, has thought deeply about the matter, has come up with a positive suggestion for combating communism in the United States—for combating the ideas and programs of the Communists. He presented his proposal in a speech at Town Hall in New York on February 24.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from Mr. Lane's speech on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAVE THE COMMUNISTS PROSECUTIONS BEEN SUCCESSFUL?

(Excerpts from the speech delivered at Town Hall on February 24, 1954 by Myles J. Lane, former United States attorney for the southern district of New York)

Have the Communists prosecutions and the congressional probes succeeded in alerting the public to the real dangers of communism?

They have contributed something but not enough. They are but a temporary expedient. What we need is something of a more enduring nature.

No one can quarrel about the danger of communism. The writings, teachings, and pronouncements of the Soviet leaders are concrete evidence of the fact that this athiestic philosophy of mental and phyical enslavement constitutes a direct and ever-present threat to our democratic way of life. The shameful record of cruel, violent, and bloody conquests by the Soviet Union and their satellites is convincing proof of the potency of this threat.

This should teach us that our hope for the future against the pressures of the Kremlin and the Soviet efforts to warp, distort, and confuse the minds of our citizens is a united front of all Americans, enlightened and alerted to the dangers of communism.

Partisan politics has a proper and a rightful place in any democracy. However, it has no place in any issue which effects the security of the nation. The Communist Party is not a political party. It is an integral part of the Communist conspiracy. It is a medium for furthering the propaganda, espionage, and sabotage activities of the Soviet Union in this country. As we proved in the trials of Dennis et al and Flynn et al, the members of the Communist Party are dedicated to the overthrow of this country by force and by violence. It is a part of the Communist credo.

Some of the accounts you have read in the press and heard on the air might lead one to believe that the fight against communism has been the responsibility of a few. It is true that the major portion of Communists who have been convicted for conspiring to overthrow the Government by force and violence, and for similar offenses involving the security of the United States have been convicted by Democratic prosecutors. It is true too that a few Republican Senators have conducted probes to ascertain the degree of communistic infiltration in industry and Government, but let me disabuse you of the idea that either major party or the members thereof have been given a divine mandate to conduct a one-man, a one-committee, or a one-party crusade against communism. The fight against communism is the responsibility of every man, woman, and child who has a stake in the priceless heritage of freedom which is the hallmark of our democratic form of Government.

The normal function of a congressional probe is to develop facts which may serve to aid the Congress in enacting remedial or corrective legislation. During recent months a member of the Senate conducting a probe involving Communist infiltration of Government has enunciated an additional function—namely, the responsibility to alert the public to the threat of communism by publishing the daily results of its hearings—both executive and public. I cannot quarrel with the fact that the public should be made aware of the danger of communism for it has remained apathetic for too long a period of time.

Congressional probes are a necessary and important function of Government. However, as a medium of enlightening the public as to the real meaning of communism, congressional probes suffer from two weaknesses.

1. They are a poor substitute for education.

2. The members of the committee are subjected to the temptation to utilize them for partisan politics.

The American public must and should be taught the real meaning of what a loathsome fraud communism is. However, this should be done through a national educational program which should be as thorough, as efficient, and as professional as that given by any of our graduate schools of law, medicine, business, science, or religion.

The function of digging out Communists is not a function of the legislative branch of the Government but rather it is the responsibility of the executive branch of the Government, specifically, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That is why the Government gave the FBI a $90 million appropriation in 1952 and one of $77 million in 1954. I might add parenthetically that the FBI has done a magnificent job in the fight against communism. I know of no Communist who has been unearthed by any person or congressional committee independent of the FBI. As the United States attorney for the southern district of New York, I had the privilege of working very closely with the

members of this great organization and while I personally had a hand in the conviction of a number of top Communists—I give 98 percent of the credit to the great organization headed by J. Edgar Hoover. No Senator, no Congressman, no prosecutor should expressly or by implication, attempt to usurp the credit, which is richly deserved by the FBI for uncovering the Communists. God bless the FBI. I cannot say enough for its value to this Government.

The spectacle which we have witnessed in recent months with politicians accusing one another of coddling Communists, with the legislators bickering with the Army, with the expressed intention by some politicians to make communism a political issue in the coming campaign appears to be evidence that our politicians have succumbed to the temptation to use communism as a political issue at the expense of the public—because, this can, and will, create confusion, dissention, hate, and disunity among the citizens of this citadel of freedom—to the delight, comfort, and benefit of the Communists whose creed is divide and conquer.

At no time in the history of our country has it been more imperative that we stand together united against a deadly enemy. The prophetic words of Abraham Lincoln should serve as a warning to all of us when he said that America would never be conquered from without; if it failed it would be by division and corruption from within.

The time has come when politicians should cease looking upon communism in terms of a political issue to further their own political ambitions. The time has come when the Communists should be looked upon as a threat to every American and not to the members of one party or the other. In short, the time has come when every man, woman, and child should be thoroughly indoctrinated as to the true meaning and the inherent threat of the vicious ideology of communism.

There is only one way to accomplish this and that is by the establishment of a national foundation to combat communism and all "isms" which would conduct an all-out educational campaign to teach the people of this land what communism is.

We have in this country today many foundations in the field of science, education, and medicine which have made tremendous worthwhile contributions to humanity. We have the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, the Heart Foundation, and the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund and others. Yet with all due respect to the great achievements of these wonderful institutions—their value and importance pales by comparison to a foundation which has for its objective the protection and fostering from the ravages of a cancer of the intellect, those priceless freedoms which are embodied in our Democratic form of government. God forbid that our Nation should fall prey—through internal disunity or a lack of vigilance—to the craven dictatorship of the Soviet Union—but should such a horrible fate overtake us—these great medical, educational, and scientific foundations would be conspicuous by their absence.

A national foundation to combat communism should be established along quasi-official lines similar to the Red Cross. Its honorary President would always be the President of the United States. It should be a nonpartisan organization operated by funds received from public and private donations. It should include on its board of directors the leaders of religion, education, industry, and labor. Special pains should be taken to insure an equal balance between these groups. It should name as its managing director a person of the stature of J. Edgar Hoover—one who is familiar with the problems involved and who commands the respect of the American public.

The charter of the organization would guarantee that its operations would be within the framework of our Constitution with the end in view of winning the battle against Communists without losing our civil rights and our constitutional liberties.

The foundation would embark on a tremendous educational program which would bring the truth about the evils of communism into every town, city, and hamlet in our country. Through research, collaberation with State and city educational committees, with labor unions, management groups, religious organizations, college and school heads, veterans' organizations, women's clubs, Kiwanis, Rotary, and similar organizations, newspapers, magazines, radio and television outlets, the foundation can bring to the public the results of a scientific research into the true status of communism.

Listen to what the American Bar Association has to say in a brief dated September 17, 1951, prepared by a special committee on Communist tactics, strategy, and objections. I quote:

"In the debate on the resolution it became evident that there is widespread ignorance and confusion throughout the United States concerning the nature of communism and concerning the objects and purposes of those people in this country and elsewhere who embrace and follow Communist teachings. In large part the confusion is deliberately created by the Communists themselves. The advancement of the Communist movement in America depends for success upon a general misunderstanding of communism and of Communist aims on the part of those outside the fold.

"If the real purpose, aims, tactics, and practices of communism were as clear to all Americans as they undoubtedly are to the Communists themselves, the popular revulsion of patriotic Americans against all who follow the conspiratorial cult and the Communist line would stop this subversive movement in its tracks.

"We have attempted to point out hereinabove that so little is really known and understood about the Communist movement, that it is difficult to discuss it, understand it, and, above all, explain it to others because of a lack of knowledge. Your committee feels that the American lawyer is looked up to in every section of the land as a leader, not only in legal matters, but in political, economic, patriotic, social, and religious matters as well. Usually he is on the board of directors of the bank, the hospital, the club, or the church. He is a member of the parent-teacher organizations. He is the speaker before patriotic and social gatherings. Generally he is looked up to as a fountainhead of knowledge in all matters affecting the life and security of the citizen. Your committee feels that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines and teachings of communism so as to be able to clearly explain it to those who look to him for leadership and guidance. Your committee believes that expressions such as 'dialectical materialism,' 'revisionism,' 'opportunism,' and 'democratic centralism' are expressions of definite meaning and purpose within the Communist movement. The American lawyer should be educated as to their meaning.

"The chairman, as well as other members of the committee have been called upon to address State and local bar associations at their meetings, when this problem is being discussed. The reception accorded was most cordial. The experiences gained were something we shall always remember. The one thing to report again on this is that we find so few of our brethren properly advised and educated in the field of discussion. We repeat with emphasis that we lawyers cannot intelligently meet and discuss the subject of communism or of Marxism-Leninism unless we are willing to take the time to study it upon a realistic and thorough course of reading and research.

"Communism, with all its false promises and philosophy, has been fed to the masses by constant publications, pamphlets, slogans, and directives. About all that the average lawyer knows about it is what he reads in the newspaper. That is not enough, if you want to be intelligently equipped to point out the evils of communism, whenever the occasion permits or warrants, to those who are so easily duped into believing that it is the way to a new utopia."

This is the strongest argument for an educational program which would teach the American people of the dangers of communism and the Communist Party.

If lawyers trained to think analytically confess that they are confused and ignorant as to the true meaning and dangers of communism, what chance has the ordinary Mr. John Q. Public to understand and appreciate the threat.

If the American Bar Association has seen fit to publish and disseminate a brief on the subject to realistically study the problem—why shouldn't the average citizen be alerted to the dangers of this intellectual cancer.

We have a wonderful idea known as the Crusade for Freedom. Its object is to keep alive the spark of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. It is a constructive project and it should be encouraged.

However, the irony of the situation is the fact that while we are solicitous of the welfare and the future freedoms of those who have suffered at the hands of totalitarian dictators abroad we have neglected to safeguard our freedom at home by our failure to see to it that all Americans are properly indoctrinated against the evils of communism.

Our best guarantee of the future retention of our precious freedoms is an enlightened and an alerted public. In demonstrating the fallacies of communism we will be teaching by contrast the greatness of our democracy.

I intend to invite, within the next 90 days, opinions from the leaders of religion, education, industry, and labor regarding the wisdom of setting up what I believe will prove an essential prop to our democratic way of life, namely, a national foundation to combat communism and all other isms.

Increase in Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I am in receipt of a letter from a constituent of mine in Montana, inviting attention to the serious increase in juvenile delinquency in our country. The writer of the letter recommends, as an appropriate move in an effort to stop this trend, the passage of the Bryson bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter, written to me by Mrs. E. B. Noble, State president of the Montana WCTU, Kalispell, Mont., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONTANA WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN
TEMPERANCE UNION,
Kalispell, Mont., March 14, 1954.

Senator JAMES MURRAY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: I know you would appreciate a letter telling how your supporters in Montana feel in Montana on the Bryson bill. We feel it is time to bring the bill out of the committee and onto the floor.

We urge you to vote for the passage of this bill (the Bryson bill).

The increase in juvenile delinquency and crime makes us realize that if the youth of today are to become leaders in our Government we must protect them from the forces that seek to lower their moral standards.

I definitely think that liquor advertisements of radio and TV are not character building but give youth and its entire audience false life values and in the end is the cause of much of our present crime wave.

I represent 600 members of the Montana WCTU. This letter is an expression of their sentiments. I ask that this letter become a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

May we have your support?

Mrs. E. B. NOBLE,
State President, Montana WCTU.

Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, the March 6 issue of the Eau Claire (Wis.) Daily Telegram contains a splendid editorial commending our friend and associate, the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY]. It points out a number of his most recent achievements on behalf of his State and the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this Wisconsin editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILEY AIDS IN THREE EISENHOWER VICTORIES

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Chippewa Falls, played a major role in three recent Senate victories for the Eisenhower administration.

The most important of these was defeat of the Bricker amendment and all its appendages. Second was confirmation of former Gov. Earl Warren, of California, to the office of Chief Justice of the United States. The third was Senate approval of the proposed St. Lawrence seaway.

These were all victories for the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party and show that the enlightened elements of the GOP are in control, if only by the narrowest of margins.

The proposed constitutional amendment of Senator BRICKER, Republican, Ohio, with its Bricker compromise and the compromise substitute sponsored by Senator GEORGE, Democrat, Georgia, rallied the nationalist, staunchly conservative wing of the party. With help of some Democrats this group came within a single vote of threatening the authority of the President to direct international relations.

The President's supporters mustered only 31 votes to throw out the George substitute, only 1 over the necessary one-third of those present to prevent submission of the proposed constitutional amendment to the 48 States. And only 13 of the 31 were Republicans.

Senator WILEY played a leading role in heading off this movement to curb the President's powers in negotiating treaties. This was in spite of an action of the Wisconsin Republican convention criticising the Senator for opposition to the Bricker amendment. It took courage for Mr. WILEY to vote his convictions in loyal support of the President when many constituents were aligned on the other side. And the one vote victory is significant.

As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator WILEY, more than his colleagues, knows how important it is to retain the constitutional authority granted the President. The United States has suffered severe loss of prestige among our allies and neutral nations because of renewed isolationist tendencies. We cannot afford new setbacks.

In the appointment of former Governor Warren the Wisconsin Senator was again influential in ending the long delay caused by action of Senator LANGER, Republican, North Dakota, Senate Judiciary Committee chairman. * * *

It is the St. Lawrence Waterway, however, that has been given Senator WILEY's greatest efforts. Since his election as United States Senator in 1938 he has been a leader in the fight to open the Great Lakes to ocean navigation, introducing his own bills in some sessions and ardently supporting similar measures at other times.

The seaway project was the topic of bitter controversy in and out of Congress for two decades. Now it has won Senate approval but it still must buck heavy opposition in the House. Prospects for final adoption look better than ever before, but if the seaway bill is again pigeonholed you can be sure the Wisconsin Senator will continue the fight. If he was easily discouraged he would have given up on this long ago.

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Celebration Marking the 300th Anniversary of the First Jewish Settlement in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. BURKE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Dick Cull, Jr., which appeared March 14, 1954, in the Dayton Daily News, concerning plans for a celebration marking the 300th anniversary of the first Jewish settlement in this country. I believe that Mr. Cull's article is most interesting and informative, and that it should be given wide circulation in an effort to focus attention on this coming Jewish celebration.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JEWS PLAN OBSERVANCE OF SETTLEMENT IN UNITED STATES

(By Dick Cull, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, March 13.—Jews across the United States now are planning celebrations to mark the 300th anniversary of the first Jewish settlement in this country in September 1654.

As the local and State groups shape their plans, this Capital gets ready to stage the climactic event of the tercentenary year, a mass outdoor national religious program in May 1955, at the local amphitheater.

The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, now New York, was 30 years old when 23 Jews first arrived there in September 1654.

Historians say they came on the bark *St. Charles*, probably from Cape St. Anthony in Brazil, after South America had been closed to Jewish settlers through the victory of the Portuguese over the Dutch.

They were poor war refugees, these new arrivals, unable to pay the full amount of their passage. Two of the men in the party of men, women, and children were held as surety until the travel bill was paid.

Peter Stuyvesant, Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, was angry over the arrival of the Jews. He at once protested by mail to Dutch directors of the American colony in Holland. At the same time, the Jewish newcomers wrote to Dutch Jews back home asking help in their fight to stay in the new country.

In his book, A History of the Jews in the United States, Rabbi Lee J. Livinger, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati, told of the outcome of the dispute this way:

"Naturally the Dutch directors tried to make their colony as much like the mother country as possible, and Holland had the most liberal policy toward the Jews of any nation in those days.

"So when Stuyvesant asked that 'the deceitful race be not allowed further to infect and trouble this new colony,' citing their poverty as a reason, the directors sided against him."

The Jewish settlers, wanderers in search of freedom, won their goals step by step. Their first victory was the right to remain; next to serve in the militia; then to travel and to trade; to establish a Jewish burial ground; own their own homes, and to be citizens.

Actually, according to research in the Library of Congress, the 23 settlers who arrived in September 1654 were not the first Jews to reach United States soil. That honor apparently belongs to Jacob Barsimon, who came to New Amsterdam from Holland on the ship *Peartree* a month earlier.

The story of the arrival of the first Jews in Ohio in 1817 is told in the book, The Jews Come to America, by Paul Masserman and Max Baker.

The first Jew in Ohio was Joseph Jonas, who left his home in Exeter, England, in 1816 to come to New York, according to these authors.

Jonas had heard a great deal about the Ohio Valley while in England and decided to go there, even against the advice of his best friends.

He came to Cincinnati in 1817 as a watchmaker. As the only Jew in the city, he prayed "that he might be a nucleus around which the first congregation might be formed to worship the God of Israel in the great western territory."

People came from afar to see the stranger. One old Quaker woman asked: "Art thou a Jew? Thou art one of God's chosen people. Wilt thou let me examine thee?"

She did just that, turning Jonas around and around, and then exclaiming in a disappointed voice: "Well, thou art no different from other people."

For 2 years Jonas was the only Jew in Cincinnati, the oldest Jewish community west of the Alleghany Mountains.

In June 1819, he was joined by 3 other Jews—Lewis Cohen, of London; Barnett Levi, of Liverpool, and Jonas Levi, of Exeter, England.

During the high holidays in the autumn of 1819, these four, together with Israel Johnson, of Brookville, Ind., a frontier-trading station, held the first Jewish services in the western part of the United States.

From this period on Jews kept drifting into the Ohio Valley. For the most part these early settlers were of English descent, but after 1830 the influx to the area was definately of a German character.

Disposal of Surplus Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was interested to read in the March 10 issue of the La Cross Register, the official newspaper of the diocese of La Crosse, Wis., an editorial on the vital issue of disposal of surplus food.

I have commented on several occasions on this overall subject, most recently in connection with my introduction of Senate Concurrent Resolution 68 on March 10 urging the President to find constructive channels for disposal of these products. In my resolution, as in the Register editorial, the moral obligation toward this objective was stated. I have stated, also in connection with my cosponsorship of S. 3092, that sound procedures should be set up to assure disposal basically to needy American citizens.

To me, our surplus foods represent not a liability nor a headache, but a great national asset.

I send to the desk the text of the editorial from the La Crosse Register and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be followed by a letter from the Superior, Wis., diocesan Council of Catholic Women.

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the La Crosse (Wis.) Register of March 12, 1954]

SURPLUS FOODS

"You will undoubtedly be preoccupied with directing toward underfed peoples, who make up 70 percent of the world's population, the surplus production of the more favored nations, thereby assuring the latter of stable markets."

This was the suggestion of our Holy Father, Pius XII, to delegates attending a session of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization, December 6, 1953.

The United States is suffering from perhaps the greatest surplus of farm products ever amassed in the history of the world—much of it destined to rot in useless storage while United States taxpayers spend nearly $500,000 per day to keep it in storage.

Yes, every time a plan is drafted to distribute this surplus to the victims of war, the needy and the starving, trade interests raise false alarms. They fear lest the delicate balance of international trade be upset by this gesture of justice and charity to our underfed neighbors throughout the world. They fear that other producer countries may consider our charity an act of discrimination against them, and that these countries may retaliate in kind. They also fear that the prices of farm products might become cheapened if the needs of our starving neighbors were satisfied.

But the tragic fact is that no trade channels will ever be able to make available to these unfortunate underfed of the world the bread and rice and milk which they so urgently need. As the Register editor stated upon his return from South America last month, millions of children have tasted not a single drop of milk since they left their mothers' breasts. Two of every three persons in this world have never enjoyed a full meal.

We spend billions for defense in our own country, and spend other billions abroad to purchase friends in a global conflict. Yet we fear to spend fewer millions for a national act of justice and charity by free distribution of our unwanted surpluses to war victims and the undernourished of South America, Korea, India, Pakistan, Japan, and the Near East.

Our present international military-economic policies seem to create anti-United States hatreds and to arouse Yankee-go-home drives among the less-favored nations of the world. We have nothing to lose, and only friends to gain, should we carry out our Holy Father's plea, to direct our surplus production to the underfed 70 percent of the world's population.

To help the United States Government dispose of its surpluses and to stabilize American markets, many voluntary agencies have offered their services to distribute wheat, butter, cheese, dried milk solids, and other stocks to the needy of the world—among them are CARE, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and many others.

In this manner, we could perhaps solve most of our own surplus problems which weigh heavily on every taxpayer, while we would be performing an act of Christian justice and charity to our world neighbors.

DIOCESAN COUNCIL OF
CATHOLIC WOMEN,
March 12, 1954.

The Honorable ALEXANDER E. WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: It has been brought to my attention that the United States Government has vast stores of surplus food supplies, and it is studying at the present time the matter of disposal of these supplies, because of storage space and deterioration.

The purpose of this letter is to ask your cooperation in seeing that any program of disposal of United States surplus, shall give full right to the needs of the refugees, the war-displaced, and the underfed, and that maximum use be made of the distribution channels of American Voluntary Foreign Relief Agencies.

I have been given the authority to speak in behalf of the 12,000 women of the Superior Diocesan Council of Catholic Women.

We will appreciate your support in this matter.

Sincerely,
MRS. JOHN A. WIPPERFURTH,
President Superior Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, Tomahawk, Wis.

Taxation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the full text of the radio-TV broadcast of Mr. Eric Sevareid on the general subject of national domestic policy, particularly with reference to taxation.

There being no objection, the text of the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. SEVAREID. If this week goes down as McCarthy week in the Washington calendar, next week will go down as tax week. The question of whose taxes should be cut, how and by how much, is likely to dominate in the official oratory.

The Democratic leader in the House, SAM RAYBURN, is sure his party will win the House vote to increase individual income-tax exemptions by a $100 for everybody. If that should become law, you could deduct $700 instead of $600 for each dependent before figuring your taxable income. It would mean that more than 4 million present taxpayers would go off the income-tax rolls entirely. It would mean that a married man with 3 children would have to earn $4,000 a year or more before paying a cent of Federal income tax.

To the Treasury it would mean an additional loss of nearly $2½ billion in revenue and the Federal debt next year increased by about $6 billion instead of the approximately $3½ billion now expected. It would, in fact, play most painful hob with the whole Eisenhower approach to Federal financing. The President will try to stop this avalanche with his Monday night broadcast to the country.

This Democratic move will include a corollary attempt to knock out the planned reduction in taxes on stock dividends. It is all part of what is clearly a most effective political counteroffensive designed to convince the voters that the administration is giving nearly all its planned tax relief to business and to citizens in the high tax bracket. Since this is election year, a good many Republican Congressmen also find themselves drawn like moths toward this almost irresistible flame.

The accusation of favoring business and the rich is easy to make, but the defense is hard to make because it is more complex. Administration officials point out several things. For one thing, the canceling of the excess-profits tax on corporations this year was done under a Democratic law, not a Republican law; for another, the administration is extending the present high rate on normal corporation income taxes, instead of reducing it as called for under another Democratic law.

They argue that the country ought to be satisfied with the reductions already granted or planned for individual taxpayers. There was the general 10 percent reduction in January, there are the planned excise-tax cuts, the relief scheduled for individuals on medical expenses, annuities, working wives and children, widowers, and those with dependent parents. They take considerable pride in the 900-page bill for revising the whole tax structure for the first time in 70 years, a job that involved 3,000 changes in the tax code, worked out by 51 separate teams of experts.

They argue that they have not been thinking in terms of group against group, or class against class; what they have based their whole approach on are two things: Removing specific inequities, no matter who is involved, and providing incentives for business growth and investment. That is why they have a new scheme for plant and machinery depreciation, and for softening what they call the double taxation of dividends.

They are thinking in terms of normal economic expansion, not of emergency measures to stimulate buying and the current business turnover. Those who support the increased exemption, which would immediately put spending money into the hands of millions of consumers, are thinking not only of group or class inequities but of an emergency pump-priming move to check the current business slowdown. And that, the administration argues, is quite a different matter.

They contend it will put off the day of a balanced budget still further and that the present amount of unemployment does not justify such a strong measure. It is something they would rather keep in reserve for a real emergency, and even then they would

really prefer to lower the income-tax rate rather than increase the individual exemption. But the best-laid plans of mice and tax experts go oft astray, especially when elections and votes cast their long shadows. And right now it's anybody's guess what the tax bill will look like when Congress is finished with it.

This is Eric Sevareid in Washington.

Internal Revenue Code of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8300) to revise the internal revenue laws of the United States.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, we have listened to Member after Member on the Republican side take the floor today, and I presume some of them did yesterday while I was home celebrating St. Patrick's Day, and say that this is a tax-revision bill.

Well, I have before me the RECORD of March 17, on page 3250 of which the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK], majority leader of the House had this to say:

Mr. Chairman, today and tomorrow the House debates another major step toward providing the American people with the largest tax-cutting program in the Nation's history.

I never thought that tax cutting was the same as tax revision. I think the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK], the majority leader, by that statement concedes what we Democrats have consistently stated, that this is a tax reduction bill.

My friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIMPSON] during his remarks said that this is a good bill, a good law, yet it gives to those with unearned income from dividend sources a decided advantage over the American who goes out and earns his income with his hands or with his or her brains. That is indefensible. To me it is not only legalistically wrong, but it is morally wrong to give to the person with the unearned income from dividend sources in some cases a 300 percent tax advantage over other Americans making the same income but making their income as a result of earning it either by working with their hands or working with their brains. My friend from Pennsylvania also said that the people at home want a job, a regular job. I thoroughly agree with him, and we Democrats are making the fight that we are to try to give them a regular job. There are close to 4 million people unemployed today. That does not include those out of employment for a period of 30 days, where the factory or the plant closes down for a week or 10 days up to 30 days. That does not take into consideration the reduced income by reason of wiping out overtime pay and the reduced hours per week that exist now throughout the country among those who are still employed. So we Democrats are trying by our motion to recommit to restore to the people or to give to the people purchasing power to stop further recession, to bring back prosperity, and to give to those unemployed the jobs they seek.

Mr. Chairman, I have heard the argument advanced about politics being attached to the Democratic Party in the motion to recommit. What about the politics of last week by the Republican leadership when they cut excise taxes $912 million more than President Eisenhower wanted? I have also heard the argument advanced about a further deficit of one billion three or four hundred million if the Democratic motion to recommit is carried. Why, my dear friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED], whom I have great affection for, and he knows it, reported out the bill that passed this House last week that cut excise taxes $912 million below what President Eisenhower recommended. And I did not hear the President argue very much against that, except one of those two-way streets, two-way talks about a little slap on the wrist, that you have got to take the good with the bad or something of that kind.

The Boston Post, which is a mighty good newspaper, despite its error in 1952 in supporting President Eisenhower, only the other day in an editorial, in part, said:

Tax reductions to restore purchasing power of the masses of the people and to give added incentives to investors are necessary.

That is from a paper that supported President Eisenhower. The Post also in the same editorial said:

The need is for tax relief at the very base of the tax structure and the Democrats have drawn together to provide that relief.

There is a clear, sharply cut issue here; whether or not the Members of the House are going to vote for the trickling-down policy, whether or not there are enough independent Republicans who will vote against that policy. It is a question of the trickling-down policy on the one side and the policy of the Democratic Party of helping the people generally, on the other side; of starting at the base rather than starting at the upper levels. That is a clear-cut issue which cannot be denied. When we vote in a comparatively short time, that is going to be the issue. From my experiences with the trickling-down policies of the Republican Party, in past years, I should say that very little has trickled down to the people.

I know that pressure has been brought upon my Republican colleagues. I am not going to comment harshly upon that. But if there were a Democratic President and the same kind of pressure were being exerted upon the Democrats, the Republicans would be "hollering" to the high skies.

While there are provisions of the pending tax bill that I favor and support, if the motion to recommit is defeated, because of the inequitableness of the bill from an overall angle, I cannot in conscience vote for its passage.

I hope that the sound policy of the Democratic Party in the people's interests will be supported by a majority of the Members of the House today.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Post]

TAXES AND RECESSION

At Worcester on October 22, 1952, President Eisenhower expressed his conviction that taxes were too high and reflected not only necessary Federal expenditures but also the added cost of waste, inefficiency, duplication, and corruption.

He was campaigning for office at that time. The balanced budget became the objective toward which the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget would be directed to bend all their fiscal energies, while President Eisenhower went after waste, inefficiency, duplication, and corruption.

Indeed, the balanced budget achieved an almost idolatrous place in the doctrinaire fiscal policies of the administration, come what may. When the economic facts of life refused to conform to that policy, the initiative passed to the Democrats, who now press for tax relief for the great masses of the people.

The time for such tax relief as the proposal of Senator GEORGE would give is now—before the symptoms of economic distress become more severe. The lesson should have been learned during the great depression of the 1930's, which demonstrated that efforts to balance the budget when production is declining only aggravate the economic weakness.

Tax reductions to restore the purchasing power of the mass of people and to give added incentives to investors are necessary. These should be substantial relief measures.

The tight money policy imposed by the administration over a year ago has been eased for reasons quite opposite to a threatened recession. The money policies were eased to control inflation, although it has had a beneficial effect on the faltering economy. The depreciation allowances proposed by the administration are not enough, and affords no immediate relief to the great mass of taxpayers.

The clank of cash registers in the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget is very deceptive music. It is the tempo of cash registers ringing up sales in hundreds of thousands of retail outlets all over the Nation which should be heeded.

It is rather late for a reappraisal of that unquestioned leadership which the White House spokesman attributed to the President. It is late for the administration to revise its estimates of the Nation's economic needs.

The need is for tax relief at the very base of the tax structure, and Democrats have drawn together to provide that relief. There will be sneering references to pump priming and vote snaring in the debate on this issue, but there is also the lingering memory of the "me-tooism" of the Republican Party through the years.

Suggestions Relative to an Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I am inserting in the RECORD

a statement, including the views and suggestions, of Mr. Garrett, one of the progressive and successful farmers in my community. Mr. Garrett, a leading farmer and stockman, deals with the question of an agricultural program and related subjects.

I trust the Members of the House will carefully read this statement.

SUGGESTIONS RELATIVE TO AN AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

(By Frank Garrett)

As a farmer and stockman living on and personally operating my own farm plus some rented grassland, near Overbrook, Kans., Osage County, may I submit to you my views and suggestions relative to an agricultural program and related subjects.

Shortly after Ezra Taft Benson was appointed Secretary of Agriculture, he made the statement that eventually he hoped that agriculture would be able to stand on its own two feet.

This statement expresses sound thinking with respect to the proper relationship of one major industry with another as well as the relationship of one individual with another in a society such as ours. A principle or relationship which I heartily endorse.

However, in applying this principle to our economic system that has been developed and actually practiced since the early period of our history, the statement is revolutionary in scope.

In view of this statement of policy by the Secretary, I now move toward the revolutionary aspects of the statement with relation to a farm program and related segments of our total economy.

I think that nearly all of our people engaged in the business of farming and ranching would very much prefer to stand on their own two feet, but because of having to operate under an economy that is artificial by reason of direct or indirect guaranties (subsidies) from Government to capital, labor, and industry, it is most difficult for people engaged in agriculture to do so and receive a just margin of profit at the marketplace.

Any farm program considered by the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Congress, should and must take into account the factors mentioned above.

For all to stand on their own two feet in this business of providing shelter, food, clothing, and the necessary tools with which to do so, then in all fairness all guaranties or subsidies both direct and indirect by Government should be done away with.

I doubt very much if this will ever be done, but I am sure the American farmer and rancher would be willing to take his changes with those engaged in other segments of our economy.

Much study has been made by the President's National Agricultural Advisory Commission which includes among others some people who are engaged in the operation of farms and ranches.

Members of the Agricultural Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress have made an extensive study and survey of the agricultural situation.

We hear and read much about flexible price supports for agricultural commodities, but hear and read almost nothing about policies that would also cause those other segments of our economy, namely, capital, industry, and labor to flex when agriculture flexes.

All segments of our economy must flex together if we are to have a prosperous and balanced economy for all our people.

The 90 percent of parity principle has been debated extensively. Farm people generally seem to understand this principle better than the flexible plan. This may be more understandable when you consider the fact that the farmers' costs of operating are not as flexible as the markets upon which they must sell. The farmer knows that it takes hard cash to pay his bills and that no creditor has to date accepted philosophy as a medium of exchange. The farmers' markets are as changeable as the four winds in Kansas.

I challenge any other segment of our economy to operate under similar operating costs and market conditions and long survive.

The greatest objection being raised with respect to agricultural programs is the amount of money that the Government has invested in the different phases of them and particularly in the huge amounts of agricultural commodities that the Government is now required to take off the hands of the producers if the producers choose to let the Government have the product because they cannot obtain a just price at the public-market place.

Under certain conditions after surpluses and additional amounts which would otherwise be marketed normally, become so great the Government requires acreage allotments on certain basic commodities in an effort to control production.

In my estimation this is a weak system. The farmer merely does a better job of farming, adds more fertilizer and produces just as many or more bushels or pounds from his limited acreage as he did before acreage allotments were invoked by the Secretary of Agriculture.

I want to suggest to the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, Members of the Congress, and to the farmers and ranchers of this Nation a plan which, if provided with the necessary legislation to implement it, would result in a grassroots or individualistic control of the basic commodities marketed each year.

We will always know approximately what our normal consumption of the basic commodities will be each year, also what our normal carryover of each should be, and also we will know about how much of each commodity we will be able to export each year.

The necessary legislation needed then is to prohibit marketings of the basic commodities in excess of normal consumption, plus a normal carryover and amounts exportable each year, of the commodities defined as basic.

If this were done it would result in the farmer or rancher carrying over into the next marketing year any fractional part of his production of the basic commodities in excess of marketable quotas. The producer then in turn would naturally control his own production by his own farm practices. Perhaps he would not plant quite so many acres of a given commodity the next year or he might plant the same number of acres but not fertilize quite so heavy, then again he might choose to rest some of his land. Also, if he produced in 2 years all he could market in 3 years, he would not necessarily have to plant any acreage of a given commodity the third year if he so chose. Such legislation would need to allow for certain adjustments so that the foreseeable demands for consumption, carryover, and exportable amounts, would be allowed to reach the markets.

For instance, drought may strike a certain area and for that reason in order that consumption, carryover, and export demands may be met such adjustments of marketings should be incorporated in such legislation. Also the farmer or producer has a right to that market demand and the consumers and the people as a whole have a right to expect that a normal flow of the basic commodities will be available to meet the demands of their normal consumption, carryover, and exports. Provision for wartime production and marketing should be includd.

This plan, I believe, would result in more individual freedom of action to the producer in the operation of his acreage in the production of any commodities defined as basic.

This plan would take the Government out of the storage business as such and the producer would control his surplus production until actually marketed through our regular free market system.

Under this plan, farmers and ranchers will need credit made available to them at reasonable rates of interest so that they can store their surplus commodities either in commercial storage or provide storage on their own premises. Government by law now provides many kindls of long-term credit. If any changes are necessary in present laws mentioned above, Congress should take such action.

Congress should also provide certain price guaranties that would effect a stabilized market without the Government actually having to become owner of the commodities.

This plan would eliminate the Government from its present position of being the dumping ground for large quantities of agricultural products.

If this plan should be adopted, present surpluses now owned by the Government should be segregated or walled off and disposed of in a manner most advantageous to the Government and the people of our Nation as a whole.

This plan would be in keeping with the much desired and much needed trend of restoring more responsibilities back to the individual citizen with the Government resuming its rightful role of umpire in its relation to our agricultural economy.

By this plan our Government will be doing just what it is doing for other segments of our economy, that of assisting a major industry (agriculture) to stabilize its markets. This is not an unreasonable demand by agriculture upon our Government since our Government long ago embarked upon an arthicial economy for capital, industry, and labor.

This plan, I believe would prove to be less expensive and burdensome to administer than any plan previously tried.

I appeal to my fellow farmers, public officials and to all citizens of this Nation to give this plan a lot of solemn thought and study, having uppermost in your minds what is best for our total economy.

Why should farmers be compelled to operate in an economy that forces maximum production at all times because of the fear that if he does not he will not have the necessary funds required to provide food, clothing, shelter, the necessary tools with which to do so, and at the same time maintaining a reasonable standard of living and providing education for his children.

Having to operate under such an economy forces the farmer to dissipate the greatest resource this Nation has, the soil.

If it were possible for the farmer to operate under a stable economy, he could spend more time and money working at a most important job, that of conserving the soil which should be turned to our children in better condition than we found it if the people of this Nation are to continue to be prosperous and able to defend this Nation in the decades ahead. Furthermore, the farmer might then have a little time to really get acquainted with his family, and if they so choose the family could take a little time off, from forced production, to take a much needed vacation once a year.

A little fishing and, yes, even a bit of sideline recreation such as golf might be most helpful to the farm family in many ways, particularly in sharing in the responsibility of helping to stabilize our agricultural economy.

Other segments of our economy have enjoyed subsidies either direct or indirect for so long that they now consider them a part of the American system and oftentimes spokesmen for these groups are the most vocal in urging farmers to produce without

limit and accept without complaint the prices of unregulated markets and supplies which have in the past history of this Nation not only produced economic chaos for agriculture, but brought economic chaos down upon capital, industry, and labor.

A balanced and stabilized economy in this Nation is possible if we can have proper cooperation between the several segments of our economy.

The Government's role should be that of assisting the several segments to cooperate with one another.

As agriculture goes so goes the Nation.

Is Our Country Free?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, we pride ourselves on our freedom and our liberty. Many wars have been fought to safeguard those precious God-given rights. In New York we now see what few recognize as an impairment, if not a complete deprivation of those rights. The wildcat dock strike in New York City is the direct result of the attempt by a few men to continue to enslave the dock workers of the New York port.

One would think that under such circumstances every union leader in the country would join the fight to stamp out gangsterism and racketeering. I know that Mayor Wagner is doing his best to keep the port open and to maintain peace and order.

He needs the help and the moral support of every right-thinking American citizen.

Most apropos is the following article by Victor Riesel, which appeared in the Daily Mirror of March 19, 1954, as follows:

JOHN L. HOLDS THE ANSWER TO WILDCAT DOCK STRIKE

(By Victor Riesel)

In the world's greatest port, New York, women are being followed and terrorized because their husbands choose to try to earn their daily bread. Big, honest longshoremen, who fought for our land, are being trailed by goon squads in expensive cars and warned not to attempt to move United States Army cargo.

The United States mails are being delayed and diverted. Ships at sea are being radioed not to come into port. Human values, worth more than the scores of millions of dollars being lost in profits and wages, are being ground into the muck of the waterfront.

The deadened port of New York may at any moment become the pivot point for an international strike which could paralyze the ports of the Western World.

All this was placed before John L. Lewis in Florida some days ago by his own aides, who rushed to him from Washington. They went to Lewis because his name, his dignity, and 150,000 of his union's dollars have been used by the wildcatters who call themselves strikers.

John Lewis' lieutenants urged him to break away from the old longshoremen's union. They pleaded with him to denounce the outlaws publicly. He listened carefully. And I was reminded of the eloquence which rumbled from him at one of the many dull congressional hearings which he has electrified with a few words. Some years ago Lewis said:

"How many shocks do we wish? How many shocks does it take to move us? Do we live only on shocks and thrills and sensations and the debasement of human values and the wastage of human lives?"

Today John can answer his own questions. Thousands of humble men seeking their living have been shocked and debased by the "strikers" now ringing New York and keeping men from going to work and reviving the multibillion port.

If John L. seeks further evidence, I pass on to him the frustration of big, blond, ex-sergeant, Thomas (Jimmie) Frye. Tragedy doesn't always spring from the desiccated pages of the classics. Sometimes it springs from plain guys like Jimmie. He didn't sound like Shakespeare; he didn't even sound like John L. Lewis—but there was poignant eloquence in the simple words of AFL longshoreman Jimmie Frye when he reported what happened as he left his Brooklyn home at 7:30 p. m. last Friday night.

"On the corner two men were standing there, stopped me and pushed me against the building," he said.

"One was wearing a green Army jacket and a grayish-blue peak cap. He said, 'I'll put you you in a * * * box. Don't you ever go on the pier again.' He said further, 'We know where your wife works at. If you step on another * * * pier we'll get her, too.' Then they jumped into a light tan car which was waiting at the curb with two of the sidekicks."

And the ex combat soldier could not move a muscle. He just stood there and took it from two men. It was no longer his life. Now, any move of his could kill his wife. Her crime was being the wife of a man who had joined the crusading AFL union to help wipe the thugs off the waterfront.

There are hundreds such cases. The documents are available to prove this terror by the band which is making its last stand.

The so-called 70-man rank-and-file strike committee of longshoremen now fighting the clean new AFL union should know that they are being exploited.

In a few weeks, this strike could begin to strangle Western economy.

Unless John Lewis, speaking despite his fatigue, chokes off his funds and unleashes his eloquence in swift thunder.

Internal Revenue Code of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8300) to revise the internal-revenue laws of the United States.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Arkansas stated that because section 312 (a) (1) of the bill does not specifically define the term "dividend" as including the distribution of securities, the bill would permit the distribution of a tax-free dividend in securities, and has characterized this as a glaring loophole which got by the committee.

The gentleman from Arkansas is a very able lawyer who has made a real contribution to the work of the committee in drafting the bill, and if he had raised his point in the committee, I am sure that the language of section 312 (a) (1) could have been revised to meet his point. However, I am sorry that the demands on his time caused him to overlook the committee report on section 312 (a) (1) which on page A98 clearly states in part that "a dividend means a distribution of securities or property by a corporation to its shareholders" thus making it clear that a dividend distribution of securities will be taxable under the new code to the same extent as a dividend distribution of any other property. In other words the so-called loophole referred to by the gentleman from Arkansas simply does not exist and, far from getting by the committee, was specifically provided against in its report.

Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of March 15, 1954:

ROSCOE'S HOUSING COMMENT IS SOUND

It was good to hear the voice of Andrew S. Roscoe, president of the South Brooklyn Savings & Loan Association, raised in a plea for new decent housing, both publicly and privately financed.

He pointed out that private enterprise could not solve this borough's housing problem without Government cooperation—a fact which we have commented on from time to time. This discussion arose out of Mr. Roscoe's reference, in a speech at the Columbus Club, to the need for the completion of Concord Houses, the private-housing development in the Brooklyn Civic Center for the construction of which a group of mutual-savings banks accepted responsibility.

Just a month ago the Eagle based an editorial on the fact that no steps were being taken to build a group of four more elevator-apartment houses called for under arrangements made with the city by the Concord Houses banking group. The original three structures are fully occupied and now operating at a profit, so it is hard to understand why the project is not pushed on to completion or arrangements made to have it taken over by others.

Mr. Roscoe specifically made the point that private investors traditionally opposed to public housing—referring specifically to bankers and real-estate men—cannot escape the responsibility to see that their poorer neighbors get decent housing. But he was quick to state a little later that these men individually are really social-minded and are only collectively opposed to public housing.

We were greatly impressed with Mr. Roscoe's declaration that in a community like Brooklyn in which there are $4 billion in savings accounts in the borough's banking system, there is no need for substandard housing.

Brooklyn is ashamed of its slums and it is to be hoped that their elimination is pushed forward as speedily as possible.

The Communists' New Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the recent significant shift in the Communist line needs to be understood by all who would strengthen democracy. The article which follows appeared in the New Republic of March 22, 1954, and makes an important contribution to the cause of freedom:

THE COMMUNISTS' NEW LINE—WHY THE PARTY HAS DECIDED THAT LIBERALS MUST EXPERIENCE CATASTROPHE

(By Gus Tyler)

The American Communists have again shifted their line back to the popular-front policy of the midthirties. But with one significant difference: Where the earlier effort was directed toward cementing an alliance between the United States and European powers, today's popular front will work to disrupt any such alliance.

In its carefully articulated new policy, the Communist Party assigns intricate roles to itself, to the trade unions, to the farm organizations, to the Negro, to the liberal, to the Democratic, Republican, and Progressive Parties, and to MCCARTHY.

Today's fashionable American Communist will masquerade as an old-fashioned Jefferson-Lincoln American, with faith in the two-party system, zeal for the defense of our country, abhorrence for imported social systems, contempt for any group of trade unionists seeking to dominate labor, disdain for those who call religion the opiate of the people.

We have all this on the admission of the Communist Party itself. In its draft program, published March 7, 1954, the new comrade makes his entrance with lines like these:

"The issue at the present time is not communism. * * * Socialism will come into existence only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it. * * * No social system can be imported from abroad. * * * To unite a new political majority for 1954 and 1956 requires recognition that the two-party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of the American people now express themselves. * * * American Communists believe in the defense of their country. * * * The Communist Party declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious belief. * * * We deny any intent to dominate or control the trade-union movement. The draft program is titled, 'The American Way,' of course."

If this program isn't American enough for you, the party practically invites you to enter party councils to make it more American; and no party card is required for admission. "The party appeals to non-Communists as well as Communists to read the draft carefully and submit their criticisms and thus help prepare the final version of the program." What better proof that the party is no closed conspiracy.

American trade unions are given the task of initiating the new popular front. Its short-range objective is the elections of 1954 and 1956; the long-range objective "must be to help bring about a regrouping and realinement within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas." The Progressive Party nationally and the American Labor Party in New York should quit running separate candidates except where there are just no acceptable Republicans or Democrats to embrace.

This is the Communist Party as the party would like others to see it: peaceful, patient, patriotic, and pious.

What is behind this public-relations venture? The answer is contained in the main report delivered at the national conference of the Communist Party, United States of America, last fall, New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy.

The new opportunity came with the cessation of war in Korea. The main report affirms:

"The objective situation, and the changing political temper of the masses, creates the possibility for the party to intervene in a more decisive fashion than was possible in the past period because a new relationship can be established today between the party and the masses."

Quoting from an article of mine in the ADA World, the report continues:

"Social democracy is well aware of this. Here, for example, is how Gus Tyler, Dubinsky's specialist in the struggle against communism, foresees the trend of events. 'Within the American community itself, we may expect a resurgence of Communist influence. In the United States, Communist prestige has always risen in periods of Soviet-American friendship. * * * In short, for the left-of-center forces in America, 1953, and the months to follow can be another Popular-Front World War II ear. * * *

"For the Social Democrats, of course, that would be a catastrophe. But the American people will make progress only in proportion as the policy of social democracy experiences one catastrophe after another."

In other—simpler—words, the Communists expect to make headway in coming months provided the anti-Communist liberals suffer demoralization and defeat.

The report explains further what constitutes progress and why anti-Communist liberals must experience catastrophe.

"Formerly (says the report) the Soviet struggle for peace was mainly directed to * * * blocking and retarding American imperialism's drive to war. * * * In view of the new features of the international situation the Soviet Union's peace initiative has a qualitatively new content. * * * It is aimed * * * at undermining the present anti-Soviet war alliance."

Whatever isolates America is grist to the Communist mill. And the perfect grist according to the report is Senator MCCARTHY. The McCarthy issue is the swiftest and most dramatic means to isolate America: to discredit the internationalism of Eisenhower before the American people and to separate the rest of the non-Soviet world from the American people.

The report makes it perfectly clear that the fight against McCarthyism is not the chief concern of the party. MCCARTHY is only a means toward an end, less to be opposed than to be used. The Communists denounce those "liberal and social-democratic forces [that] attempt to confine the struggle as though McCarthyism were a thing in itself." To do so, they maintain, is "to fall victim to a very narrow concept of the struggle against McCarthyism to the effect that it consists only of a struggle against witch-hunting expeditions, character assassination, abuse of congressional immunity, and other aspects of McCarthyism." The Communists and the Senator are, in fact, united in a common purpose; both want the world to believe that MCCARTHY and America are one and the same.

Chief obstacle to the new Communist strategy is the American liberal, especially the liberal leadership in the trade unions. Many months ago the Communist Party decided upon a policy of industrial concentration, a forced march into the labor movement. To date the Communists must chalk up losses in this attempt.

In a report to the last National Conference of the Communist Party, titled "Organize the Party for Victory Over Reaction," the party admits: "The party is not based predominantly on industrial workers. On the contrary, there has been a serious decline of industrial workers in the past several years. * * * The fluctuation of the membership has been highest in such key industrial centers as Ohio, Illinois, western Pennsylvania, and Michigan."

Even among the Communist-dominated unions, the party is having trouble. The last named report adds: "They have suffered serious losses of membership as a result of the combined assaults of employers, Government, and the right-wing labor bureaucrats."

Among these left-led unions, despite party desires, "there is still no unity and coordination of these unions." On the contrary, there is a strong urge among the Red-led unions to enter the "right-led unions either piecemeal or en bloc, regardless of any other considerations, including the consideration that the left leadership of these unions on an international, district, and local level will be removed." The party refers to this urge as a panicky, liquidationist course.

Judging from this, it is the Communists rather than their liberal opponents in the trade unions who are scattering one catastrophe after another. The party's failure in its industrial concentration policy is best summed up in the plaint of a trade unionist in Party Voice, a bulletin of the New York State Communist Party, of December 1953: "There are 7 members in our group whose ages range from 40 to 65 years. These 7 are the remaining core of a group of 35."

Where can the seven Communists turn for hope? To rising unemployment or mounting McCarthyism, to isolationists, and xenophobes.

The Arab States: Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the March 8, 1954, edition of Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress. The author is a distinguished journalist and an expert on Middle East affairs.

THE ARAB STATES: EGYPT

(By Sh. Yin'am)

Among the 8 Arab States of today Egypt is the one with the oldest tradition of modern, independent, or semi-independent statehood. An Egyptian state came into being during the first 4 decades of the 19th century, under Muhammad Ali; the rule of his descendants ended in 1952 with the expulsion of King Farouk, gave Egypt a continuity unequaled by any other Arab state.

This Egyptian State had been under nominal Turkish sovereignty until 1882. When European interests and great-power intervention, growing particularly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, came to a head during a grave financial-political crisis (1879–82), British forces occupied Egypt in 1882. Although that occupation was officially designated as temporary, its perpetuation, and the resulting conflict between Britain and the growing Egyptian national movement, have been the dominating factors of Egyptian history and public life ever since. British rule laid the foundations for modern

administrative and political practices and structures, and made Egypt into the most advanced and developed Arab country. It was, however, out of tune with the national movement for self-rule, growing in leaps and bounds in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, and the concessions it made to that movement were always made grudgingly and belatedly.

The Egyptian Nationalist movement reached its first peak immediately after the First World War, under the leadership of Egypt's national hero, Sa'ad Zaghloul, and the Wafd Party he founded. When negotiations, initiated after disturbances, failed to reach an agreement providing for Egyptian independence under conditions acceptable to and safeguarding British imperial interests, Britain, in February 1922, proclaimed Egypt an independent state by a unilateral declaration qualified by four reservations: Britain would continue holding herself responsible for, and supervising (a) the defense of British imperial ways of communications passing through Egypt, and particularly the Suez Canal; (b) the defense of Egypt against external aggression; (c) the protection of foreigners in Egypt; (d) the status quo in the Sudan—governed de jure by an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, i. e., joint rule, under an Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899, but ruled de facto by a British colonial administration.

The Egyptian Nationalists refused to recognize that unilateral British proclamation of independence, and particularly the reservations attached to it. In fact, the points at issue in 1922—with the exception of reservation (c), concerning the protection of foreigners, that was later dropped—have remained to this very day the main obstacles to an Anglo-Egyptian agreement. While the Sudan conflict was resolved by agreement in 1953, the maintenance of British troops in the Suez Canal zone for the defense of Egypt, world communications, and international interests of the free world against possible aggression, still is the principal issue of the Anglo-Egyptian conflict of today.

While refusing, however, to give their formal approval to the political basis of the 1922 proclamation of independence, the Egyptians did not hesitate to make full use of it in the practical field of internal administration and policies. They formulated a constitution (1923) and established a Parliament and a senate (since 1924); their ruler, Sultan Fuad, proclaimed himself King; fully fledged Egyptian Cabinets followed each other (in rather too quick succession, as far as the stability of the young state was concerned), and comprehensive administrative services were established, including an army and internal security forces; even foreign relations were established and maintained by the Egyptian Government. Subject to the four British reservations, Egypt's governmental and administrative independence dates, therefore, from 1922.

With the assumption of this (restricted) independence and these (not quite full) governmental powers, however, some of the dangers of the Arab independent state of the 20th century became apparent and seeds of future decay were sown without delay. The national movement, united for the attainment of independence, disintegrated and the Wafd party gradually broke up into several factions, cliques, and groups centered on personalities and clannish interests rather than on political principles, and fighting each other for the spoils of power (with the king's entourage and court-sponsored factions playing an important role). Corruption, nepotism, and maladministration were ubiquitous. The new governments displayed an appalling lack of consideration for the general welfare, for social development, health, and education. They were entirely preoccupied with the continuation of their purely political struggle against the last vestiges of British tutelage—forgetting that, as almost-independent rulers of a country of 20 million, their main responsibilities lay in positive and constructive fields and in undertaking long overdue reforms.

The fight against Britain's reservations continued. After several unsuccessful attempts, a treaty was finally concluded in 1936—and hailed by all shades of Egyptian public opinion as fulfilling Egypt's national demands. This treaty, in force until 1956, provided for full and unrestricted Egyptian independence; Egypt became a member of the then existing League of Nations, with Britain acting as sponsor; the Anglo-Egyptian condominium over the Sudan was confirmed; British forces were to evacuate Egypt proper (this evacuation, postponed owing to the needs of the Second World War, was completed in 1947); independent Egypt and Britain entered a defense alliance permitting Britain to maintain in the Suez Canal Zone 10,000 troops and 400 air force pilots with such auxiliary troops as might be needed; Britain pledged herself to come to Egypt's aid in the event of external aggression or war, while Egypt's contribution to the joint defense was to consist in putting at Britain's disposal, in the event of war, the territory of Egypt and all her means of communications, ports, airfields, etc.

Although the treaty of 1936 had been negotiated and signed by an all-embracing Egyptian coalition headed by the Wafd leader Mustafa Nahas (Zaghloul had died in 1927), it was soon forgotten that it had been hailed as the fulfilment of Egypt's national aspirations. Its liberating aspects were soon overshadowed by its mutual defense clauses, considered by the Egyptian public as restrictions on Egypt's full and unfettered independence. This impatience was heightened by the postponement of the evacuation of British troops from Cairo and Alexandria, necessitated by the war, and the general feeling that an alliance with the Western Powers was thrust by force on an unwilling Egypt that would have prefererd to remain neutral or join the Axis.

Soon the cry for evacuation (of the Suez Canal Zone, too) and unity of the Nile Valley (i. e., the abolition of the condominium and the annexation of the Sudan to Egypt) became the twin slogans of Egypt and a nationalistic obsession with both leadership and masses. When postwar negotiations failed to yield results, the Wafd government, in October 1951, unilaterally abrogated the treaty of 1936 and proclaimed the Sudan part of Egypt and King Farouk King of Egypt and the Sudan.

The fact that this unilateral proclamation remained a fanatical demonstration, void of any factual political content, as it could not be enforced, and the cul de sac into which Egyptian policies were maneuvered by the resulting riots and disturbances, constituted one of the major causes for the military revolution of July 1952, led by Gen. Muhammad Naguib and Col. Gamal Abdul-Nasser. Another cause, no less powerful, was the regime of corruption, inefficiency, and maladministration, coupled with the growing social discontent. That corruption, and the fact that Egypt's rulers had been preoccupied with the external trappings of modern statehood while neglecting the social, economic, educational, and administrative foundations upon which modern statehood must be built, were highlighted by the defeat of the Egyptian Army in the first modern war in which it actually participated: the Arab-Israel War of 1948.

Egypt had been rather aloof from the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine until the later thirties. Although speaking Arabic and harboring the unchallenged cultural, literary, and journalistic center of the Arab world, Egypt's people had not considered the Arab Near East as their main field of interest and Arab solidarity had not been a living concept in Egypt. Developments of the late thirties and the early forties, in which British policies had been largely instrumental, set Egyptian statesmen on the path of Arab unity; when the Arab League was founded in 1945, Egypt was its host and leader, Egypt provided its secretariat and Egypt shaped its policies. Leadership of the Arab League, predominance in the Arab world, has remained one of the major pillars and aims of every Egyptian Government ever since. As the fight against Jewish Palestine, and later Israel, was the main preoccupation of the Arab League, in fact the only consideration that held together its diverging elements, Egypt, in spite of its original aloofness, took over leadership of this issue, too. It would seem, however, that the Palestine-Israel issue has been much less vital, of much less direct concern, to the Egyptian public than to that of the other Arab States. It has been established beyond doubt that Egypt opposed the invasion of Palestine by the Arab armies in 1948, and that the final order to the Egyptian Army was given only to avoid losing the initiative and predominance in the Arab world to King Abdullah of Jordan; the responsibility for that decision, taken without fully consulting the army command, is today being shirked by all Egyptian leaders still alive—it has been pinned on ex-King Farouk and on the then Premier who is dead.

Since July 1952, Egypt has been ruled by a military dictatorship, whose head, General Naguib, was proclaimed President and Premier, after the expulsion of King Farouk. All other parties and political leaders have been purged; some of them have been tried by military tribunals for alleged past misdeeds—mainly corruption—and alleged plots against the new regime. The new regime's foreign policies have become more rational, more calculated, and in certain aspects more moderate than those of its predecessors. Its main achievement was an agreement with Britain on the Sudan, in February 1953, according to which the Sudan is to determine, after a transitional period of 3 years, its own future (as to separate independence, or union or federation with Egypt). By this agreement, the Sudan issue has been removed from the context of the Anglo-Egyptian conflict, leaving the evacuation of the British forces from the Suez Canal zone and future Anglo-Egyptian defense arrangements as the only issue in dispute.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—At the end of February 1954, Naguib was deposed from all his positions in an upheaval resulting from a split in the ruling officers' junta. However, his supporters quickly rallied and restored him to the presidency, while Nasser succeeded him as Premier and leader of the Revolutionary Council. The internal power struggle is still going on and the future of the regime appears doubtful.)

In general, however, the contents and aims of Egypt's foreign policies have not changed under the new regime. Egypt remains basically neutralist in the cold war—possible defense alliances with the West, in return for the West's evacuation of the Suez Canal zone, belonging to the realm of surface tactics only. Its chief aspiration remains leadership of the Arab world. Its hostility toward Israel, its refusal to face the fact of Israel's existence and to negotiate a peace treaty, and its maintenance of illegal practices of blockade and boycott—remain unchanged. Moreover, in spite of several statements of moderation made here and there, the strong political and military stress put by the new rulers on the army and its development, coupled with a number of bellicose speeches, create the impression that a future resumption of the war against Israel is included in Egypt's political planning. Anti-British emotions and anti-British policies remain Egypt's major preoccupation.

While the Arab-Israel war of 1948 brought upon the 65,000 Jews of Egypt a wave of persecution—governmental chicanery, expro-

priations, concentration camps, extortion, combined with mob violence and pogroms—the new regime in Egypt takes the distinction between the Israel enemy and the loyal Jews of Egypt seriously and practices a deliberately stressed policy of nondiscrimination. Those Jews who have remained in Egypt—about 35,000—seem to have settled down. Many of them are officially foreign citizens, part of the colony of about 250,000 foreign citizens—remnants of the regime of capitulations under which foreign citizens enjoyed certain privileges and were protected by, and under the jurisdiction of, their consulates. Thousands of those foreign citizens—Greeks, Italians, Armenians, etc.—have been gradually acquiring Egyptian citizenship, thus adding new elements to the existing indigenous minority of more than a million Egyptian-Coptic Christians.

Egypt's main and real problems, however, far removed from the field of external politics, remain unchanged. These may be summarized as follows: The discrepancy between the fast growing population and the limited area of cultivable land—calling for vigorous economic development rather than adventures in the fields of foreign and military politics; the inequitable distribution of wealth—creating an abyss between the very few too rich and the millions of downtrodden abjectly poor; the concentration of most of the land in the hands of absentee landlords and urban speculators, leaving millions of peasants landless—calling for energetic and courageous land reform and social renovation; the absence of a healthy, active, and progressive middle class; the cruelly high percentage of diseases and the low level of literacy and education.

The new regime came to power with high sounding promises of far-reaching reforms in the social and agrarian spheres, of vigorous development and economic activity, of a deep rejuvenation of the Egyptian Nation. It seems to have succeeded in its attempt to weed out corruption and maladministration; it pursues energetic plans of economic development—especially where such development is of benefit to military purposes. It has been, however, too busy with keeping itself in power and purging its internal enemies, and with maneuvering in foreign politics, to be able to achieve serious progress in the one field of activity that is decisive for the future of the Egyptian nation; the field of social, agrarian, and economic reform, of health and education, of the welfare of the Egyptian people. It is by its achievements in this field that the dictatorship will be judged by history.

The Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted by the House, I present for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article on the farm problem, with particular reference to the dairy industry and butter surpluses prepared for me and presented to me on February 23, 1954, by Russell J. Davis, a former resident of Harrison, N. Y., and now of Washington. Mr. Davis is recognized nationally as an able and experienced student of the dairy industry. I feel that his penetrating and yet understandable discussion on one of our Nation's most complex and vital problems merits careful scrutiny by the layman and consumer.

THE FARM PROBLEM

The farm problem is not just a minor matter to be thrashed out and settled between the various farm groups and the Department of Agriculture.

Nor is its solution a rabbit, to be pulled out of the hat by the President, Secretary Benson, or Congress through adequate leadership alone.

The initial approach must emanate from a deep recognition by all thoughtful citizens of our country that farm income be placed in a permanent position of stability, less variation in prices to farmers caused by surpluses and shortages, less variation in farm income in relation to the things which farm people must buy, and less Government and more farmer control of his affairs and destiny.

Why should all good citizens be actively interested in the long-awaited solution of this important problem of our age?

1. To begin with, there is a moral obligation which we owe to the farm segment of our population for a job well done—many times under most discouraging circumstances, as to low prices, weather, disease, etc.—a group which has produced, and will continue to produce, the most abundant food supply of the highest quality, and of the greatest variety in the world, at a low price level to consumers which excels that of any other economy throughout the universe, a level which has maintained an average food cost to consumers of about 26 percent of the average worker income for many years, including the cost of our highly developed distribution system.

2. There is another impelling reason why all good citizens should be interested and willing to lend a helping hand in the solution of the farm problem. It is the American way to offer understanding and moral support to those deserving groups who have not succeeded in placing themselves in an equitable and reasonably secure position of their own choice through the aid of their own representative organizations plus Government assistance. But remember, one's interest must not stem from benevolent or welfaring thinking. The hard-working, God-fearing farm character is much too strong and independent to react to that kind of an approach. He will accept sincere understanding help for his team, however.

3. Consumers of every description should be thoughtfully interested in the farm problem even if through none other than the selfish motive. When reasonably enlightened, they would likely understand that those requisites which would further justice, equity, and security for the farm group would also be beneficial to all consumers.

4. And every living soul in the Nation with any degree of a sense of loyalty should be sincerely interested in the solution of our farm problem because we have suddenly emerged from a comparatively young country to a world leader, and the present unstable status of our farm economy is not a favorable example of our great organizing ability and know-how.

5. Our producers of food and fiber are much more in need of understanding and support from other segments of our population today than they were 40 years, or even 20 years, ago because of the decline in our farm population.

Farm population:	
1910	32,000,000
1950	25,000,000
Percent of total population:	
1910	35
1950	16.6

After conviction that a solution of the farm problem merits every good citizen's interest and attention, the next step is to gain some understanding of the problems of agriculture with its intricacies as to production and marketing under our basic economic law of supply and demand. It is also extremely important to have some conception of the nature of a good substantial farmer and the way he looks at his way of life with all of its virtues and problems.

In the early colonial days, producing and storing food for family use was a way of life. Almost everyone did that regardless of what other avocation or interest one might wish to pursue. Then came the era where some individuals were able, or fortunate enough, to produce more than they needed for themselves. Bartering was followed by the freer use of money. Transportation slowly developed until now food is normally shipped vice versa between California and Maine, and Washington State and Florida.

The significant point, however, is that the business of agriculture has retained more of the original approach than almost any other kind of endeavor. Perhaps it has been a happy event that the market controlling volume comes from diversified, sideline, and small-farm operations. And perhaps there are good reasons why this ingredient of independent smallness has remained in our agricultural life.

In looking back at the devastation of the thirties, a striking contrast was provided between the plight of the cotton farmer of the South, or the wheat farmer of the Plain States, and the small diversified farmer of New England who received ruinous prices, but a large percentage of whom survived, financially. And most of those farms in New England are still being operated in the same small-volume, progressive way—a small volume of milk, a little meat, poultry and eggs in some cases, fruit orchards in others, vegetables for local markets, maple sugar, summer resort business, and many other small avenues of return. They live within close proximity of the market and they cater to it, expertly; they sell more of the products in short supply and high in price, and consume at home more of the lower price, surplus products; they are frugal in every way.

In times of surpluses, much is said along adverse lines about small-farm operations and marginal land, but in times of shortages, small-farm operations, on a nationwide basis, contribute more, percentagewise, in alleviating high prices than do the large-farm operations. The willingness of our farm people to go on producing an abundance of excellent food supply at a man-hour return out of proportion to city life has made a tremendous contribution toward our country's development—culturally, scientifically, technologically, and industrially. (Farm owners and workers averaging $1,000 per year and nonfarm workers $2,000.)

It permitted those with little money, or income, to follow their chosen interest until it became a profitable endeavor. The intelligent farmer is quick to admit that many of these resultant developments have brought beneficial rural improvements in the form of rural electrification, tractors, combines, cotton gins, milking machines, improved fertilizers, and many, many, other innovations of equal importance plus the scientific knowledge that goes with such changes in methods. On the other hand, farm families have supplied many of the country's sterling leaders in all walks of life—men who carried our development over the rough spots and on to further progress. Industrial manufacturing people know that the farm has been a reservoir and a refuge for their labor supply—migrating back to the small farm way of life in bad times where they could be useful rather than to deteriorate in city unemployment. You will find farm heritage, or love of country life, on the front end of the shirt sleeve to shirt sleeve evolution of almost all of our great American families. They are strong physically, and

have learned how to cope with catastrophe to preserve our pioneer go-ahead spirit plus the sense of fair play.

It is well for people of city heritage to know that in order to have an abundant food supply at all times, there must be surpluses about nine-tenths of the time. City dwellers do understand, of course, that managed surpluses can be helpful in stabilizing prices to consumers. It requires deeper reasoning and analysis, however, to realize that sizable unmanaged surpluses which bring about devastating prices to producers under our basic marketing practice of supply and demand, also result in a boomerang to consumers in the form of extremely high prices. Remember potatoes—one season of great waste followed by another of high prices. A more constant price level would have been more equitable to farmers and more reasonable to consumers. Pork is a more recent example without the waste angle.

Few city people know that seldom, if ever, do acute shortages occur in a given food crop without a real cause, without a preceding low price level or a disaster of some kind. Give the farmer a constant fair price and he will continue to produce adequately. It also should be sensed that from a given amount of acreage, a disaster crop at high prices may net the farmer less in total dollars of return than a full crop at reasonable prices.

Lest we forget, it was the full coffers of grain in the United States and Canada which helped to make our great World War II effort appear so efficient, and during the Korean episode, our food habits actually improved in variety (balance), in quality, and in volume of food where needed. It is the accelerated farm production to meet these world emergencies since 1941, at prices more equitable to agricultural effort, and a growing recognition by our Nation as a whole that a continuing high level of economic activity depends on a stable level of prosperity among farm people, which is the basic cause of our present surplus situation (excessive Government stored stocks).

Don't be too quick to blame the farmer for overproducing. Did he know what the Korean situation might lead into, or does he know now whether the world threat has passed? Does the rest of the Nation want to wreck our economy with devastating prices to our farmers? This is a challenge to all good citizens, and no one individual or group has the complete answer or holds the key which prevents an equitable solution.

It is the sincere belief of this writer that the better minds of the Nation have not been thinking as deeply or coordinating nearly so well on this vital economic and social problem of our times as they have in many other fields. Perhaps we should put it this way, that too few of the better minds have been really bearing down on the approach to a solution. Some of these minds left the farm years ago as a hopeless source of equitable income, and still carry that image. Others are influenced by the fact that farmers have not suffered too greatly from overproduction since the beginning of World War II, although the Korean outbreak did save a nosedive in 1950. A condition of acute shortage in total food production or a high level of food cost to consumers in relation to average consumer income hasn't presented itself either.

Close students of the situation realize, however, that conditions have changed greatly since 1941; that there is an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation developing, and that there is a vital need that farm income be placed in a permanent position of stability.

For those who wish to expand their general farm background knowledge, the writer can heartily recommend the speech made by Representative CLIFFORD R. HOPE, chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, on August 22, 1953, Grange Day, Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, N. Y.

In order to lift this discussion out of the realm of generalization, and be more specific, permit me to state a firm conviction I have held for several years. Ever since the devastation days of the thirties, one basic fallacy in every approach designed to aid the farmer in reaching and maintaining an equitable overall return has been that one and the same specific legislation was prescribed as a cure-all for the marketing problems for all farm products.

There is sound thinking gaining ground, however, which reasons that there should be overall legislation stipulating restraining limitations, but offering choice of implements, such as crop-production restriction, two-price system, etc., to each product. Each product industry formulating its own operating approach which must fully comply, of course, with the overall law.

My sincere feeling is that each product industry should come up with its own needs in the form of a stabilization plan for that industry, and then the Department of Agriculture and congressional leaders show the way to, and with, the great farm organizations in formulating overall legislation under which each product industry can function justly.

It seems to me that this kind of an approach to the farm problem makes sense. Congressional attempts of the last 25 years had 2 strikes against them before the hearings began—they received material from all product industries, all organizations, and all people—and then they were confroned with the task of grinding out some sort of a law which would fit the unadulterated mass of confusion.

A concerted interest by all good citizens could take the spotlight off of Government as the only source of action and ignite the spark which would start the best minds in each industry to work. Of course, unison at the beginning is not to be expected.

A chart is being inserted at this point which provides one with a superficial glance at the requisite character of various farm-plan bills presented to Congress prior to June 1950. Common features do present themselves, but perplexity as to congressional direction remains obvious.

Features common in some degree with two or more of the farm plans presented to Congress previous to June 1950

	(1) Hope-Aiken	(2) Present plan	(3) Brannan	(4) Republican	(6) National Grange	(6) Southern	(7) Lodge	(8) Dolliver	(9) Brandt	(10) Sparkman
Commission or Commodity Board					X				X	
Production controls	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Proposing full parity			X	X	X	X			X	X
Production payments			X		X			X		
2-price system					X				X	X
Self-financing provisions				X					X	X
Quality recognition			X							X
Emphasis on soil conservation and agricultural research				X			X	X		
Tariff adjustments				X						X
Farm-storage facilities				X			X			
Encouragement to family-sized farms			X				X			

Devised as an additional innovation to the briefing of the 10 farm plan bills listed above, and displayed at the producer-distributor meeting in Chicago, June 1950.

Prepared by Russell J. Davis for the Milk Industry Foundation, Washington, D. C., June 1950.

Such a discussion as this could not be complete without following our general line of reasoning down into one farm product industry. It so happens that the writer is of dairy-farm heritage, with a full experience in the processing, marketing, and distribution phases of the dairy industry, plus 10 years of detailed study of overall dairy problems in the Washington, D. C., picture.

Listening to careless remarks regarding matters of the dairy industry has taught me to refrain from making positive or specific statements about the complexities of any other farm product industry, as well as all other matters out of one's sphere. Experienced men within the dairy industry always qualify themselves when chatting together by saying they are manufacturing dairy-industry men, or fluid milkmen—then there are subdivisions such as frozen dairy products, butter, all kinds of cheeses, concentrated milks, dried milks, etc., all of which require a lifetime of experience to be expert on what is wise in that particular category of the dairy industry.

This has been carried through to the extreme to show how difficult it is for Congress to get a comprehensive and accurate picture.

It has been considered politically expedient for the Government agencies to cloak their explanations with generalizations, which mean little to the average Congressman lacking background experience in the particular industry, let alone the particular product—Congressmen who may be listening to a discussion on butter one day and a problem in the tobacco industry the next day.

The writer will do his best to avoid the overuse of statistics in the remainder of this discussion. There are some aspects of the dairy industry, however, which cannot be explained effectively any other way.

About 21½ million dairy cows on some 3½ million farms in the United States produced approximately 115.2 billion pounds of milk in 1952. Nearly 9 million of these cows, producing over 52 billion pounds of milk, were located in what might be termed the "milk bowl" of the North Central area, which includes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri—as against about 3 million cows, producing about 20 billion pounds, in the North Atlantic States, which include New England plus New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Suppose we inject right here that these 17 States which produce about 72 billion pounds of our country's 115.2 billion pound total milk supply in 1952, also contain about one-half of the Nation's human population (something less than 40 million in each area).

The East producing primarily for fluid-milk consumption, and the Central West taking care of their own needs for all types of dairy products, plus supplementing the supplies of the rest of the country. Some local areas in the milk bowl producing all of their milk (for butter plus nonfat solids) all year around, and others producing all of their milk for cheddar cheese all year around.

It might be interesting to those with little knowledge of the dairy industry to know just how the total milk supply of 115.2 billion pounds was utilized in 1952. The 1953 figures recently released show an estimated total of 121.2 billion pounds.

Fluid milk and cream	Million pounds	Percent of total
Cities and villages	44,200	38.4
Total farm (used at farm)	11,400	9.9
Creamery butter (plus nonfat solids)	23,827	20.7
Farm butter (manufactured at farm)	4,514	3.9
Cheese	11,640	10.1
Evaporated and condensed	6,848	6.0
Frozen dairy products	7,285	6.3
Fed calves (used at farm)	3,348	2.9
Dry whole milk	774	.7
Miscellaneous factory products and other uses	1,281	1.1
Total	[1] 115,117	100.0

[1] A seasonal range from 12 billion pounds in May to 7.9 billion in November.

It is well for the layman to know that fluid milk brings the highest return to producers, and milk manufactured into butter and cheddar cheese the lowest—fluid milk, ranging from $4 to $6 and $7 per hundredweight, depending on the area and condition within that area, and manufacturing milk for butter and cheese ranging between $3.60 and $3.70 for milk of comparable butterfat test. It costs more to produce Grade A milk for fluid use than manufacturing milk for cheddar cheese. It also costs considerably more to produce milk under artificial conditions in Florida than under good dairy industry conditions in Minnesota.

The layman consumer might be interested to know that he pays almost double for the same volume of milk solids in fluid bottled milk delivered to his home as he would for the same volume of milk solids in a (butter-nonfat, dried milk solids) combination through chain store channels.

One must understand, of course, that the consumer price structure in the dairy industry business is the result of extremely keen competition, and therefore it can be said that the present high level of fluid bottled milk prices have come about through the willingness of the consumer to pay.

It shouldn't be difficult to see that fluid milk is the desired outlet of all producers of good quality milk in every State—and that the fellow who is producing equally high quality milk on a butter return is feeling rather sad right now—something similar to the efficient worker who must accept the minimum wage. This correlation is nearer to being accurate than many of us can visualize. Remember as we proceed, that 80-cent butter (retail) to the consumer is not a profitable item to the dairy farmer. If 90 percent of a producer's outlet is in a good fluid milk market, he is not so badly off, but the fellow who must accept a 100 percent return in butter is not in a very good position to buy the things which city people wish to produce and sell.

This question of disparity in prices to milk producers is not something that came into being overnight nor should it be solved in one swoop. Nonpartisan students of the dairy industry agree, however, that there must be and will be freer movement of quality dairy products on a countrywide basis.

The obstacles are of double derivation—nature and man-devised. Perishableness, fluid bulk—88 percent water—and the wide open spaces of our country are among the contributions of nature, while health department regulations, food and drug laws, and local production for local fluid milk use have been conceived by man, and used both wisely and selfishly. It appears now that the innovation of a fresh-tasting, sterilized, concentrated milk of new invention may clear away some of the present determents.

It should be understood that the sanitary requirements under which fluid milk is normally produced are more rigid and costly than those normally required for milk produced solely for manufacturing purposes (Cheddar cheese). Fluid milk farmers are confronted with the problem of producing an even flow of milk all year around, while the butter and cheese outlets are much less exacting. Fluid milk farmers, generally, feel that they suffered many trials and tribulations in building and maintaining their local fluid milk market. They feel that they have taken an active part in the education of consumers in the greater use of fluid milk, to the benefit of the dairy industry as a whole.

The producers of manufacturing milk, on the other hand, have been supplying, at low price, that portion of our total milk supply which makes the abundance of all types of dairy products a reality—that supply, which also provides a reserve on which fluid milk markets can pull in times of emergency. Without this reserve supply it is doubtful that our geat fluid milk development (as known in no other country) would have been possible. The announcer proclaims it a draw.

Now let's digress to look at the morning newspaper, February 17, 1954. Maybe we can renew our interest by applying something of what we have learned. Secretary Benson's decision to base the Government support price on butter at 75 percent of parity rather than the present 90 percent of parity is estimated to lower the price of butter to consumers by 8¼ cents a pound. In the writeup appeared repercussions from the Minnesota butter farmers. (This will bring his actual price for milk down close to $3 per hundredweight.) Those fluid markets working under butter pricing formulas will be immediately affected to some degree, other fluid markets will use the "wait and see" method. Senator ANDERSON (former Secretary of Agriculture) defends Secretary Benson, "the support level had to come down" he said. "It was not an easy decision."

No doubt, we all can see that if milk production is discouraged in one of our most efficient milk-producing States such as Minnesota, the increasing demand for dairy products by our fast-growing population could easily change the supply situation from surplus to shortage—and butter could go to $1 per pound. Naturally, it was not an easy decision, even for a man of Mr. Benson's nonpolitical makeup.

We all must realize that this decision to move the butter surplus at bargain prices has little to do with the formulation of an equitable stabilization plan except to clear the market before a new approach is made. It stems more from our divine belief that good food must not be permitted to spoil.

Perhaps some of you good people are still choking on the statement "butter at 80 cents a pound to consumers is not profitable to milk producers." The average consumer has sort of a subconscious feeling that 60 cents a pound is a good strong price for butter. The paramount reason is that butter prices ranged between 30 and 50 cents per pound for a great many years. In recent years, margarine provided the alternative which proved the point, and substantiated the consumer's conception. Butter went high in price many times but always returned to a reasonable figure, providing further proof that his opinion was correct.

In looking back over the total milk production figures for the United States, we find there was an increase from 67 billion pounds in 1919 to 99 billion pounds in 1929, a gain of 50 percent in 10 years. This set off an overproduction era which lasted until the outbreak of World War II in 1940 when we began shipping our surpluses abroad. During this period butter prices were pushed through the floor. Much milk was held back on the farm; some made into farm butter, some fed back to livestock, much was actually wasted. The spring surplus situations got so bad at times that butter speculators actually prevented the butter market from dropping further inasmuch as they didn't wish to jeopardize the investment they already held in butter up to that time. Subsidies and a rollback of 5 cents a pound kept butter prices to consumers below their true value during the early forties, and then came the consumer acceptance of margarine as a table spread.

From 1941 to about October of 1952, a strong demand situation for dairy products existed in which there was little or no surplus pressure on butter except during the first half of 1950 (pre-Korea). Total milk production was about 115.2 pounds in 1941, moved up to nearly 120 billion in 1945, back to 112.7 in 1948, increasing to 116.6 in 1950, and back to 115.2 in 1952, with the 1953 estimate at 121.2.

It can be seen that total milk production was almost identical in 1941 and 1952, while total population increased from 131 million in 1940, to 150 million in 1950, and passed an estimated 160 million mark in late 1953. During these 11 years (1941–52) the consumption of fluid milk increased about 10 billion pounds—from 44 plus to 54 plus—a miraculous gain in the right direction, for the welfare of the farmers and the dietary habits of consumers. Let me add that an orchid is in order to the Dairy Department of the Department of Agriculture for the general policies carried during this evolution.

Where did this 10 billion pounds of increase in fluid milk come from? You're right, out of the decreased utilization of milk for butter. Smaller increases in other dairy products also came out of butter. What food product took up the slack in the Nation's total table-spread requirements? You guessed it again, margarine—the proportion being about equal out of approximately 2½ billion pounds of total spread consumed in 1952.

There was a short supply situation in the butter market during the winter of 1951–52, which became acute because of snowstorms in late February, and butter went to a dollar per pound, retail. Remember, the surplus pressure on butter did not become serious until October 1952 when the Government began buying under the support program. No butter stocks were being held by the Government at that time.

The butter stocks now being held represent roughly 10 percent of the total table-spread consumed, which would have meant about a 60 butter–40 margarine ratio of consumption if all butter has been disposed of during 1953.

There is an extremely important change which took place during these 11 years of dairy industry progress which all good citizens should understand and ponder carefully—the difference in the degree of sensitiveness of the butter market to surplus pressure, in relation to what it was previous to 1940.

The farmer is thinking in terms of 90-percent parity which means about 80-cent butter to consumers. The consumer, however, is thinking in terms of 50- to 60-cent butter, especially when butter is considered to be in surplus by the farmer. And then there is that greatly improved margarine, which has been given a butter flavor by churning it in fresh skim milk, always uniform in quality, and always available at 30 cents per pound.

It shouldn't be too difficult to realize that, under a free supply and demand market, butter would have to drop at least 20 cents per pound (80 to 60) before the shift from margarine back to butter would begin in any noticeable degree. And what would the Minnesota butter farmer do in this case? Then how about the margarine industry with its vegetable-fat producing farmers? It should be understood that the producer return from cheddar cheese utilization would hold up better than butter in a free market (minus Government support).

Total milk production in 1953 increased about 6 billion pounds over 1952. Total consumption of all dairy products, in total pounds of milk equivalent, remained about the same. Per capita consumption declined about 12 pounds due to our normal yearly increase in population.

Although 1953 was a favorable year for milk production, there was an unusual factor which entered into the picture. The South and Southwest have put the production of milk for local fluid milk use on an up-to-date business basis. This has interested local farmers, and greatly stimulated milk production in those areas on a year around basis. This very healthy development for the dairy industry, from the long-

range standpoint, has caused extra complications during the current surplus situation, in that, the customary large importation of fresh milk and cream from the North Central West has shrunk to a trickle. The west coast States are producing more of their needs of manufactured dairy products.

There is also an angle on the consumption side which warrants mention. The Nation's level of diet (volume and variety) has reached the point where a very large percentage of our people have been getting all the food they need and want—some too much, and some of those who had been eating too much are cutting down. In our greatest total income year of 1953, the average consumer was not particularly interested in more food, or other small household items. He was saving for the larger things—television sets, automobiles, and homes.

Do we really want our farmers, who have done a good job of producing in abundance at reasonable prices, to be placed in a permanent position of stability in relation to the things farm people must buy? If we do, we must take off our coats right now and get busy.

In the case of butter, Secretary Benson has used all of the tools at his command to prevent waste and clear the market.

It makes sense that men of the dairy industry know more about milk industry economies than men of Government. They are working in it all of the time. The details of just how it shall be done should not be quibbled about at this point. The main thing right now is to get agreement within the industry that it must be done. Of course, there are generalities which might be helpful in convincing some of us that the self-help approach could work out in one industry, such as the dairy industry.

Under a plan of self-help, stored dairy products stocks could be rotated without suffering criticism through the claim that Government was competing with business. Under such a plan the cost of surplus could be placed directly on the producer, which he would actually see in the form of an assessment deduction in dollars and cents.

The cost in total dollars to consumers for such a product as butter would actually be less for a 5-year period at a constant 80-cent price per pound than if it jumped up and down between 50 cents and $1 plus—and much more efficient in farm-production costs.

It is interestng to note the following comparison of figures contained in the self-help plan being proposed by the National Milk Producers Federation:

	Price per hundredweight to producers
90 percent of parity	$3.92
85 percent of parity	3.70
80 percent of parity	3.48
75 percent of parity	3.26

Based on a 3-billion-pound milk surplus:

	Fee per hundredweight
25 percent loss	$0.0353
50 percent loss	.0707
75 percent loss	.1060
100 percent loss	.1413

This would mean that if the 3-billion surplus was entirely given away the fee to all milk producers would be less than 15 cents per hundredweight, whereas a drop from 90 to 75 percent of parity could mean a 56-cent per hundredweight decrease.

Naturally, there are some logical musts. It must be understood that the manufacturers' associations and labor organizations will point to monopoly, but they have their Taft-Hartley law, minimum-wage, and fair-price provisions, and perhaps some of the nonfarm industries will find a way of using some of the avenues which have been uncovered in the farm approach.

The fluid-milk farmers, who might be termed the "haves" within the dairy industry, have got to be considerate and generous with the "have-nots," the 100-percent butter farmers, if they hope to present a united front.

While agreement in the dairy industry is being sought, it is necessary that all other farm-product industries go through the same evolution of solution approach, whether they are in an acute surplus situation right now or not.

And here is where the full scope of the Nation's best minds can help. Are we going to face up to this problem at once or procrastinate through apathy? This is not only the problem of Secretary Benson's Department and Congress; it is yours and mine as well. All consumers can assist materially by becoming informed.

As a sincere dairy-industry man, I will venture to say that if a going (5-year-old improved-through-trial-and-error) dairy stabilization plan (under the formulation of an overall farm law which is well within the realm of possibility) had been functioning in October 1952 when our present surplus situation first began to appear serious, the impact of this postwar supply situation would have been handled in such a way that there would be no dairy "ruckus" on the Washington scene today, and the 100-percent butter farmers would be concentrating fully on competing for some of the higher return outlet.

What can well-informed, patriotic citizens do to get at the heart of a permanent solution—to this farm problem dilemma—overabundance of production resulting in devastating prices to farmers and contributing to economic cycles, or production shortages with resultant high prices, loss of markets and ruinous inflation?

All are in agreement that the desired goal is simple abundance at fair and constant prices to the farmer and reasonable prices to consumers, with a minimum of waste and spoilage—and all agree that the people of our great country possess the knowledge and ability to bring this ideal into reality.

What then is wrong?

There must be education of all good citizens as to the overall problems involved—and a more grownup willingness to cooperate among all individuals as well as the organizations who make up the complete farm picture. What can the informed citizen do about this indivdually?

He can practice and teach the art of straight follow-through thinking. Average layman reasoning must be kept from "snowballing" out on unimportant tangents such as the following quotation suggests: "We have already paid for the butter, why can't we have it?" etc. When the fact of the matter is that if the butter surplus were to be distributed equally on a nationwide gratis basis, each person would receive about 2 pounds. Certainly, every sensible consumer should be more interested in preventing butter from skyrocketing to a dollar a pound through shortage in the future than he is in the 2 pounds of excess carryover right now. (In no way is this meant to condone waste or minimize the current marketing problem.)

Those who understand finance and are interested in a sound national economy are extremely concerned with the trend of subsidy payments by Government in the various fields of business endeavor—products, goods, and services as well as farm products. Two pounds of butter, which has not been wasted as yet, looks rather minor in this comparison also. Surplus trends in butter should be, and can be, managed in such a way that they turn out to be extremely advantageous in alleviating unnecessarily high prices to consumers in times of shortages—high prices which are also detrimental to farmers from the long-range standpoint.

Farm product industry people as a group are independent, self-reliant, thinking people, and by nature do not readily move forward together. Perhaps some good citizen executives in other fields of endeavor could jolt us a bit and wake us up as to what full cooperation in getting started on the solution—approach to the farm problem means at this time to the future prosperity and welfare of our country—and to the world. It could be that those who have been struggling with farm problems for years have become somewhat casehardened and "punch drunk."

Congress appears ready and eager to act this year on a permanent solution. There has been considerable discussion as to the single product—industry approach. It is to be hoped that the light of industry-financed surpluses will be envisioned by the people of all product industries through the urge of full cooperation. It seems un-American again to place Congress in a position where they feel obligated to struggle with utter confusion. Each product industry could very well take care of its own business end of handling their surpluses—there is still plenty of sphere in which the great farm organizations and the Department of Agriculture can function advantageously to serve producers and consumers.

An excellent way to appraise the progress of educational effort is through the volume and nature of congressional mail.

Physician to the Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, in reading the March 6 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association, I found an interesting article describing the work of the able physician and friend of all of us who serves as medical officer to the Congress.

Dr. Calver's life, as we know too well, is a series of one emergency after another. The article appeared at a moment when the worst catastrophe in the history of the Congress had just taken place—the reckless shooting by Puerto Rican desperadoes. I am glad to see that his merit and his energies have been brought to the attention of the entire medical profession in the United States and to the large number of American doctors abroad who read the AMA Journal.

The article, entitled "Physician to the Congress," appeared in Spectrum, a 12-page insert which is bound into the AMA Journal every week under the sponsorship of Charles Pfizer & Co., Inc. While it is independently edited by a staff of physicians, writers, and correspondents, it is also checked by the American Medical Association.

Mr. Speaker, I think this evaluation of the work performed by the physician to the Congress will be of interest to all of the Members, and under unanimous consent, I include the article with these remarks. It follows:

PHYSICIAN TO THE CONGRESS

Every physician has a distinguished patient or two to worry about, but the roster of patients who come under the care of George Wehnes Calver is formidable. It consists of the Congress of the United States, to which he is attending physician, and has been, since the post was created in 1928. A retired rear admiral, Calver presides over his own office, his laboratory, and a concatenation of offices and aid stations in and about the Capitol, and looks after the medical exigencies of 531 Representatives, Senators, and their aides, and of a huge number of visitors, making a total of 40,000 to 60,000 patient visits a year. That the job is well done can be attested to by congressional action some 20 years ago, forbidding the Navy to reassign Calver without the express permission of the Congress.

REPRESENTATIVE AILMENTS

Medical problems of Congressmen are much as would be expected of a hard-working but sedentary group of men, many of middle age and beyond, constantly faced by complex problems, taxing decisions, and a prospect of being called upon at any moment to speak publicly in favor of a crucial position, or against one. Hence, much of Calver's work deals with hypertension specifically and with geriatric problems of a more general sort. He has seen a patient's blood pressure rise 20 points on making a speech, and as much as 80 points when it was attended by unusual excitement (such as heckling). Often he has traced a digestive complaint more or less directly to a disturbing committee hearing or legislative debate. "Psychosomatic forces * * * are among the great influences to be considered in evaluating the physical condition a patient describes," he observes, and it is evident this must be even more true of men in public life than of other patients.

Among his geriatric problems Calver includes cardiovascular changes such as arteriosclerosis, metabolic disturbances, nutritional disorders, and changes in hormonal pattern characteristic of later life. Because of his friendly disposition, Calver can maintain a warm personal relationship with his large and, as the elections go, changing, roster of patients. When necessary, he can discipline his patients and exhort them to behave in a medically discreet fashion—but not always. Some years ago he ordered a Tennessee Congressman to bed because of an ominous electrocardiogram; yet the patient insisted on making an urgent speech and fell dead as he spoke. The normally confidential character of medical practice is accentuated when the patients are prominent men, as Calver's are, about whom there is constant prying. Thus Calver refrains from hinting at even the proportion of Congressmen who may be hypertensive, for example; because even his statistical evaluations would make capital for the politically curious, they are not divulged.

OFFICE CALLS ARE HOUSE CALLS

Calver routinely asks each new Senator or Congressman for a copy of his medical history (with the cooperation, of course, of the physician at home). Soon afterward Calver invites the prospective patient to appear for a complete workup that includes an electrocardiogram; such naval hospital facilities are used as may be needed beyond the office routine. (Calver's collection of electrocardiograms is very large and extends back as far as the 1920's.) His patient returns p. r. n., but may also be urged to come in periodically to be checked up; some are placed on a watch list and may be asked to report for examination when Calver considers it time. "In this way," he states, "we've got our coronaries under pretty good control."

Since Calver's main task is to man his office as well as supervise the work of his staff and his aid stations, he is unable to make house calls during the session and therefore encourages patients to consult physicians of their own. But any Congressman who needs hospitalization may come under Calver's care and may be sent to a hospital of the patient's choice, to Walter Reed or the National Naval Medical Center, for which Congressmen are eligible (at full fees). His aid stations, too, are busy.

CHANGES IN THE LEGISLATIVE BODY

Calver's day begins at the National Naval Medical Center, where he is a consultant, and where he has under study the electrochemical measurement of body changes, particularly (as might be expected) those related to the aging process. Though his office is open from 9, he arrives at noon, when the Congress meets, and sees patients there until adjournment, some time between 5 and 7. When there are late sessions he may remain until the small hours in order to handle whatever medical emergencies may arise among the Congressmen at work. Other Congressmen who are not needed on the floor may drop in and chat. But then, too, the ones who remain at work may need treatment for collapse.

Calver's office is lined with photographs of famous people, though to him they are simply patients. He considers his job one of keeping them best able to meet the severe demands of life in Washington. As he says, "To keep men well and on the job is more important than merely waiting for them to get sick."

Fairness Vital in Drive on Real Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, of March 15, 1954, which discusses the recent speech of Vice President NIXON. The editorial follows:

FAIRNESS VITAL IN DRIVE ON REAL REDS

Vice President NIXON's nationwide address Saturday night strongly defending both the administration's foreign policy and its determination to root out subversives without violating American standards of fair play dramatically demonstrated the wisdom of NIXON's selection to reply to Adlai Stevenson.

The criticisms made by Stevenson were directed at the entire Republican administration, not at any single individual. Charges that the administration had embraced "McCarthyism" to the extent that its leadership in vital fields had fallen down demanded answers by an officially designated spokesman for that administration.

NIXON fulfilled his job as spokesman admirably, in a way that should cause members of his own party to unite more strongly behind President Eisenhower's constructive program, and Democrats to go slow on merely partisan criticism of that program.

The Vice President touched a vulnerable spot in Stevenson's attack on the new Republican foreign policy when he pointed out that the 1952 Democratic candidate for President had offered no alternative, constructive or otherwise.

That, after all, is what was wrong with foreign relations as they had been conducted under the Democrats. There was no well-thought-out program. There was improvisation, resulting in frequent crises, a war in Korea, and staggering defense costs.

As NIXON explained, the aim of the Eisenhower approach is to keep the cold war initiative, as a means of securing peace. With long-range planning, this Nation can make clear to potential aggressors the perils they may unleash and keep our defenses up over a long period without saddling ourselves with an intolerable burden of spending and taxes.

Many Americans will believe that the Democrats ought to be given greater responsibility in foreign affairs. Democratic representation at the forthcoming Geneva conference with Red China, Russia, and other participants in the Korean war might be helpful.

But NIXON could have gone further than he did in criticizing the way Democrats are failing to cooperate with the President's program. On taxes they are threatening to produce new deficts with their demands for heavy tax cuts. Without proposing any realistic solutions of their own, they are trying to torpedo the Eisenhower farm plan.

NIXON, however, was not satisfied with merely defending the Administration's programs in general. He met head-on Stevenson's allegation that the administration had followed unfair methods of ferreting out Communists in the hopes of political gain.

Events during the past week have shown how little there was to the charge that the administration had "embraced McCarthyism." Led by President Eisenhower, high-ranking Republicans had left no doubt that they strongly disapproved of Senator MCCARTHY'S methods in many cases.

NIXON underscored these developments with his sharp criticism of "questionable methods" and "reckless talk" which tended to make MCCARTHY, rather than Communists-in-Government, the issue.

In assailing unfairness in congressional investigations, NIXON made clear the two big objections to riding roughshod over individual rights in battling communism. One is that such methods are wrong, since they are contrary to American principles of justice. The other is that they may actually help the Communists by confusing the issues.

The Senate Republicans already have taken steps to curb these excesses in investigations. This move should be pressed vigorously, with action by the Senate, if necessary, to insure that rules safeguarding individual rights are enforced.

As NIXON said, we cannot let up in our vigilance against subversives, or in our efforts to root them out of Government—and keep them out. This vital job will be done more effectively, and with the united support of the American people, if it is carried out under firm guaranties of justice and fair play.

The New Model Trojan Horse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 16, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the New Leader of March 22 and throws light on the present tactics of the Communist Party and its members:

THE NEW MODEL TROJAN HORSE
(By Walter K. Lewis)

These are hard days for the members of liberal organizations who have been fighting

communism for a decade or more. Almost all these anti-Communists deplore the activities of Senator McCarthy; yet, there is a growing tendency around them, caused by the anti-McCarthy revulsion, to pooh-pooh their warnings of the renewed Communists infiltration of their organizations. Quite a few innocent liberals have begun to think that even those who call a Communist a Communist are guilty of McCarthyism. And so, those who have combined years of constructive liberal activity with knowledgeable anti-communism are faced with a great new battle: To make clear to their friends and colleagues the necessity for vigilance against Communist infiltration, even while expressing their rightful animosity at the smears of anti-liberal vigilantes.

The necessity for resistance to reactionary smears is apparent to most liberals; so is the palpable Soviet Communist threat to our democratic institutions. What is not clear is how the Communists intend to infiltrate community, labor, political and minority groups and how difficult it will be to stop them; liberal complacency on this score is appalling. In this article, I would like to illustrate the new Communist method, through official Communist documents designed for intra-party use which have come into my possession.

The Communists plan to infiltrate, among other groups, the various parent-teachers associations. They have rehearsed clearly with their members all the legitimate grievances that assail parents and teachers (overcrowding, insufficient pay, backward curriculums, death of new construction, etc.). Then, says an anonymous Communist educational commissar in New York:

"It is important to remember, when doing parents' work, that you join a well-established organization many of whose members have been active for many years and are giving leadership. They are not looking for someone to guide their way. They want women for their committees, typists, adgetters for the PA paper, Jimmy Higginses—not presidents. This is an organization in which you work your way to the top patiently. Secondly, don't join PA (or any organization) with the attitude of 'I'm going to build myself a mass base.' PA is made up of fine women, genuinely concerned about the education their children are getting, anxious and willing to work hard for better schools. They live around your house and have the same problems of high rent and high food costs. They are good, honest women and they can and should become your friends. Make friends and you'll find yourself with a mass base.

"The active women do have a social relationship with each other, and if you isolate yourself from their social life, no amount of bright contributions on the floor of a meeting will gain your influence."

The Communists discuss how their propaganda can be introduced: demands that book burning be condemned, McCarthyism fought, civil-defense drills for children curtailed. The Communist Party says: "If we work correctly and gain the respect and affection of the other mothers, these issues can be made the property of the PA."

What is true of parents' associations is true elsewhere. Emphasis is placed on united-front activities. Whenever a demand comes up with which the Communists can even minutely agree, they will. And in this category belong scores of local and national social grievances held by liberals and even some conservatives. No community organization is too small or too large, too specialized or too broad, for Communists to infiltrate; this is the official Communist Party position. The weaker a group, the easier it becomes for the Communists to infiltrate it.

What is the role of the Communist Party clubs in such a huge operation? Well, here is the official definition: "The members of such a club belong to mass organizations, and the club gives leadership to struggles." The Communists tell each other: "Our party must grasp that the essence of a vanguard party under all conditions is to react and act upon conditions—to play a positive role, and in certain periods a decisive role—to change them. That is the period we are now entering."

How can this new infiltration effort be combated before it achieves results? Obviously, this is a task far beyond the scope and capability of the FBI or congressional committees. Nor can it be done by local vigilantes who are hostile to the aims of the liberal groups which are the Communist targets. Many anti-Communist members of a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would be skeptical of charges of communism when they were hurled by people who have never spent an hour fighting discrimination. Few members of a parent-teachers association would listen long to anti-Communist advice proffered by foes of public education.

If Communist infiltration is to be stopped before it makes headway, the job must be done by liberals themselves, by the responsible men and women who have devoted their days to constructive liberal efforts which would be wrecked if the Communists took over.

The Point 4 Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 19, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article carried in the Reader's Digest, entitled "The Point 4 Story."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE POINT 4 STORY—THE NAME IS GONE AND SO IS ITS MAGIC APPEAL TO OTHER NATIONS

Once upon a recent time, an American official traveling on the Damascus Road toward the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan pulled up to the road barrier at the border of the tiny middle eastern country. The sentry was not impressed with the American's diplomatic passport. The American tried to explain that he was on an official mission, a friendly mission, to the Jordan Government. But the gate remained closed and the sentry firmly stood his ground. Then the American uttered the magic words—"Point 4." A grin spread over the face of the sentry as he unlocked the gate and waved the American down the road.

This story, told by Stanley Andrews, former director of the Technical Cooperation Administration, illustrates how point 4 has become a household word throughout the underdeveloped areas of the world.

But today, the world seems in danger of losing not only a household word, but also the most imaginative and humanitarian program in recent history. In many ways, the Republican administration has seemed to treat point 4 as a sort of stepchild. It has buried the point 4 name—primarily, it would seem, because of its obvious Democratic origin; it has tried to turn the original TCA program over to private organizations, which most observers believe is not practical at present. It has shattered the core of the point 4 staff and seems determined to diminish the humanitarian character of the program by submerging technical assistance within an aid program primarily military in character.

One official summed it up when he said that point 4 is in danger of being cut to point 2½.

The term "point 4" entered the language just 5 years ago. President Truman, speaking at his inaugural in 1949, enumerated four points in the administration's foreign policy. It was the fourth point that caught the world's attention:

"We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. We should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life."

The program began simply. To millions of people in underdeveloped areas, point 4 meant a doctor who vaccinated their children, a farmer who showed them how to raise more rice on their land, an extra meal for a nursing mother, a tube of aureomycin to save her baby's eyes.

Where 8 out of 10 people live on the land and are chronically hungry because they cannot wrest enough food from the land, point 4 cooperation began with improvements in the cultivation of the soil. Better seed and better methods of sowing, a simple steel tool to replace the crude stick as a plow. These simple things have produced startling results.

In India, a new variety of wheat was developed. A few farmers tried it and found that it gave almost half again as much wheat. The news spread from village to village and hundreds of farmers are now using the wheat, some of them doubling their production.

In Ecuador, the all-important potato crop has been increased six-fold through point 4 help. A rice production program in Borneo is rehabilitating old rice fields and reclaiming marshy areas. Sixteen United States technicians, cooperating with the Government of Indonesia, have given 2 million people protection against malaria. In the Philippines, deaths from beriberi, one of the highest causes of death, were reduced by one-half in the course of a year through education in nutrition. A cooperative educational program between the United States and Iran has enabled 6,000 children in one city to go to school for the first time.

More recently, a modest copy of the Tennessee Valley Authority is bringing water to the parched earth of Afghanistan, giving promise of lush agricultural fields.

These are but a few examples of what has been done through point 4 cooperation with other countries to kindle their hopes for economic security. Meanwhile, scores of people from these countries have been and are being trained in the United States to take up where point 4 technicians leave off.

Despite this progress and the remarkable achievements of point 4, the Eisenhower administration seems determined to make serious changes in the program. Point 4 experts fear that administration officials have lost sight of two essential characteristics of the original program.

One is its essentially long-range character. The originators of the point 4 program knew that in areas where a crude stick is used for a plow, where the simplest principles of sanitation are unknown, and where there isn't even a word for "school," it will take years to catch up with the 20th century. But the Eisenhower administration shows little interest in continuing the Government's part of the program.

The first hint of this came early in 1953, when Secretary of State Dulles suggested that the job of technical assistance be turned over to private groups and agencies. The Christian Science Monitor pointed out the

danger in this suggestion, warning "until foundations do much more than at present there will be a continuing need for the sort of assistance that point 4 was originally designed to give."

Some time later, Foreign Aid Administrator Stassen reasserted the Dulles proposal as a means of reducing the Government's point 4 program, which prompted the Louisville Courier Journal to observe:

"The basic secret of point 4 success to date and of its increasing acceptance abroad has been something that no private agency can guarantee—the absolute lack of all political, commercial, and religious strings, or the foreign fear thereof."

The second aspect of the point 4 program which the new administration is in danger of injuring is its essentially humanitarian character. To the world, the program has not been based purely on United States self-interest, for the benefits to the United States are intangible and indirect: the friendship of starving people, and the stopping of the spread of what President Truman called "stomach communism."

Nonetheless, throughout 1953, the administration was bent on submerging the technical assistance program within a primarily military aid program, which the world looks upon as built around United States self-interest rather than upon humanitarian motives.

In August of 1953 a Presidential reorganization plan, approved by Congress, lumped point 4 with the rest of the Mutual Security program under one agency headed by Mr. Stassen. As a result, technical aid will be carried on abroad through the same United States mission that administers the military-aid program.

This mixing of technical and military aid brought vigorous protests from church and civil groups. Dr. Walter Van Kirk, high official of the National Council of Churches, declared: "If and when technical assistance is shifted from its original purpose of humanitarian aid to that of military strategy and cold-war tactics, it is risking the good will and friendship of the very people for whom this program was initiated."

The press also expressed doubts about the merger. James Free, writing in the Birmingham News, put it this way: "A single United States operations mission hands out the machineguns and explains how to improve farm yield. More efficient, sure. But it makes some of the Soviet Union's next-door neighbors, which we are trying to woo away from communism, wonder if point 4 has a humanitarian purpose."

Stassen repeatedly asserted that point 4 would retain its individual character. But shortly after taking over the program he fired almost half of the members of the TCA Washington staff. Some 1,500 top-flight technicians in 35 countries felt the impact.

The result, reported Paul P. Kennedy, in a series of articles in the New York Times, "was a drastic drop in morale among the old personnel of the agency still in service. This decline in morale apparently has been transmitted to the field, where difficult-to-get technical recruits are showing increasing eagerness to get home."

Much of the Administration's energies seem to have centered around efforts to bury the name "point 4." Last July, Stanley Andrews told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "it had been suggested" the term "point 4" be omitted wherever possible from agency literature. It would be difficult, the former TCA Director explained, because "it took on, kind of like Coca-Cola." The program is now known officially by the more formal "technical-assistance program."

Strongest protest of the scuttling of point 4 came from 5 Democratic members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In a joint letter to Director Stassen, Senators Green, Sparkman, Gillette, Humphries, and Mansfield wrote: "It is almost beyond belief that any American could seek to liquidate the tremendous amount of good will that has become associated with the name 'point 4.'"

The International Development Advisory Board, established under law to advise on technical assistance, and reactivated by President Eisenhower last September, repeated the warnings of other groups and individuals. Although the term "point 4" is carefully omitted from the 27-page report on technical assistance, the Board, under the chairmanship of Eric Johnston, emphasizes the "danger that technical cooperation will • • • be lumped together with military or economic aid programs of an entirely different character and aim." Such a step, the report says, "would have the most serious consequences."

"In many countries," the report continues, "it would mobilize popular support against technical assistance," which, of course, would be tantamount to building up anti-American sentiments abroad.

"At home," says the report, "it would cost the program popular support. The churches which hitherto have been among the strongest supporters would regard any submersion of the technical cooperation program into military or defense aid as a major mistake."

The New York Times, commenting on the Board's report, agrees that the whole world-wide project cannot safely be made part of a military effort. It must be kept separate as a bold new program for the future.

Despite his campaign promise "to intensify the extension of technical assistance to underdeveloped nations," President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message this year simply said that "technical assistance must be maintained." At the same time, the President asked for power to transfer funds freely from the technical to the military assistance program.

Later, in his budget message, the President made it quite clear that technical assistance was to be given only in relation to the military efforts involved and that the long-range objective of the original point 4 program had been lost.

The future of point 4 is, therefore, uncertain. The Republican Party, since point 4's inception, has shown little enthusiasm for the program. Only eight Republicans in the Senate voted to enact it into law in 1950. Last year the Republican-controlled Congress cut the modest point 4 appropriation by more than 25 percent—from $157 million, less than the cost of one battleship, to barely $117 million.

The Louisville Courier-Journal, commenting on the magnificent achievements of point 4, asks "Why throw all this away? Perhaps it was because a man named Truman started it all." And the Courier-Journal added: "But whatever the reason, Messrs. Dulles, Stassen, if not President Eisenhower, owe a better explanation and a far franker one than any they have yet given to the Nation."

Mr. Nixon Scores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial from the San Diego Union, of March 17, 1954, which discusses the recent speech of Vice President NIXON. The editorial follows:

MR. NIXON SCORES

Examining the comment which has followed the inflamatory address made by Adlai Stevenson and the factual answer of Vice President NIXON, it would appear that the impression left by the latter was the more substantial. This was a round won by the Republicans.

Mr. NIXON calmly reported on the Eisenhower administration's approach to the problems of the Nation. And he cited the results. He relied on facts to support his opinions. Mr. Stevenson had resorted to quips and to political trickery. His bluff was called.

We believe the Nation has tired of political tirades, such as those which Harry Truman used successfully in the 1948 election. Perhaps sobered by the Korean War, the country appears to have new appreciation for facts and logic. It received these from Mr. NIXON.

It has been typical of leaders of the Eisenhower administration to stick to high principle and to approach each problem objectively. The President has refused to let the petty issues divert him. Mr. NIXON has done this also, outlining his views on even the controversial McCarthy issue on the basis of principle, not personality.

Mr. NIXON's speech was inspiring. In retrospect, even Mr. Stevenson must realize his was not.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

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Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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Appendix

A Better Program—Farmers Deserve It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the officers of the National Farmers Union have been the severest critics of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's new farm program. To their credit, however, they invited Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson to address the annual meeting of the Farmers Union March 17, in Denver, Colo.

Secretary Benson jumped at the chance, and, I firmly believe, made one of the finest talks on the subject of rigid price supports, who benefits from them, and what their continuation will mean to the farmer, that I have ever read. I want to make his speech a part of the RECORD, and I earnestly recommend that every Member of Congress read it thoughtfully and carefully.

Secretary Benson's address follows:

A BETTER PROGRAM—FARMERS DESERVE IT

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson before the annual meeting of the National Farmers Union, in Denver, Colo., March 17, 1954)

This is a signal honor and a very real pleasure.

A great debate over the future of American farming is now underway. In the next few weeks the discussion will probably grow more intense as the Congress, our law-making body, gets closer to a decision on the problems of agriculture.

For this reason I greatly appreciate the opportunity to appear at this convention. I want to tell you a few things about the administration's new farm program, the thinking behind it, and thereby perhaps answer some of the questions that may be in your minds.

It is no secret, of course, that the present policy of your organization does not seem to coincide with my viewpoint nor with that of the Eisenhower administration. Thus it caused a raised eyebrow or two in the Department of Agriculture when your invitation to be here today was first received.

AMERICAN TRADITION

The fact that you nevertheless extended the invitation is in keeping with the American tradition that there should be free and open discussion of every national issue. It also is in keeping with the service your organization has rendered to agriculture throughout the years.

After receiving your invitation I determined to be as forthright as possible in my remarks. I find it difficult to be otherwise. What is the difference, I asked myself, between the administration policy and that of the Farmers Union? So I started to check around. First I reviewed a speech given by your President Patton before a recent farm policy conference sponsored by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

I found that many of the beliefs expressed there were the same as mine. In two places or more I found a strong plea by your spokesman for the preservation of personal freedoms, liberties, and rights. I heartily subscribe to this, even to the point of believing that the American farmer should have greater freedom to decide for himself how much acreage to plant to wheat, cotton, corn, or any other commodity, rather than have this determined by his Government.

I read on a little further and found that President Patton came even closer to my viewpoint by stoutly defending the family farm where—and I quote—"the operator and his family make all, or almost all, of the management decisions."

ABUNDANT PRODUCTION

Still I read on, and ran across a plea by Mr. Patton for abundant farm production to build and maintain fully adequate safety reserves of food and fiber. That is definitely the aim of the Republican administration. We are opposed to an economy of scarcity. We do not subscribe to the policy of those who shout for endless acreage and marketing controls. We want abundant production. That is the fundamental basis of the new farm program. We are dedicated to the idea that farm income depends on production.

Toward the end of the address I found the big differences between the administration and the Farmers Union. These were on the issues of flexible price supports and modernized parity. So I asked myself: "How serious are these differences of viewpoint?"

In an effort to clarify this I checked back into the testimony preceding the Agricultural Act of 1948. Let me tell you what I found. The record shows that your organization supported both the principles of flexible price supports and modernized parity.

Now if your officers and perhaps many of you delegates supported flexible supports and modernized parity in 1948, it must have been because of a conviction that they were good for agriculture. Members of Congress also must have thought such a program good for farmers because they overwhelmingly voted it into law.

PRIOR APPROVAL

I know that former President Truman favored flexible supports because in a message on May 15, 1948, he told the Congress:

"Now we must look ahead to a farm price-support policy geared to our improved farm economy. Many shifts in production will have to be made, and flexible price supports will help us make them in an orderly manner. This will require authority to make prompt adjustments in support levels in line with current and prospective supply and demand conditions. It will also require flexibility in the choice of methods or programs that are designed to be most effective for individual commodities, that avoid waste, and that help bring about needed adjustments in production, distribution, and consumption."

In checking the congressional debate of 1948, I discovered that even Senator YOUNG, of North Dakota, now a leader in the fight for high and rigid supports, at that time gave hearty endorsement to flexible supports. He warned the Senate, and I quote, "Some time we shall have to get back to peacetime supports at a fair level and this bill does just that."

NOW IS THE TIME

Now President Patton and delegates to this convention, what the administration is saying is that the time has arrived when we must start returning to this peacetime basis for agriculture. World War II has ended. The Korean war has ended. The Republican administration of which I am a part is not looking for another war to answer the farm problem. We believe farmers can be prosperous without war.

Farm conditions are not the same now as they were in 1948 but general economic conditions are about the same. Righ and wrong haven't changed since 1948. The principles of freedom from Government control have grown stronger, if anything, since that time. Therefore, it is difficult to see why one who favored flexible supports in 1948 would not favor them now.

Rigid price supports are uneconomic. They are directly opposed to the principle of supply and demand. They were first placed at 90 percent of parity during World War II to spur production. It doesn't make them any better if persons in high places merely shut their eyes to the obvious defects of these rigid supports.

A caller at my office recently suggested that if the principle of high, rigid supports had been applied to the harness industry a number of years ago we still might have a thriving harness business in this country. That might be true, but it is certain that we would be up to our knees in harnesses.

WHO'S TO BLAME?

There has been a lot of shouting the past year over farm income. Shortly after January 20, 1953, quite a few people suddenly became alarmed over the plight of farmers. The Eisenhower administration hadn't been in office a month before it was being blamed for the decline in farm income.

Well, we are prepared to take our share of the blame. And I will tell you just what that share amounts to. When we took office in January of 1953 farmers were receiving 94 percent of parity for their products. In the course of the next year this declined to 90, turned the corner and started back up. For the past year the figure has averaged about 92 percent.

As I said, we are willing to bear the responsibility for this two-point decline, but at the same time I want to see the preceding Administration take the responsibility for the 16-point plunge that took place during its final 2 years in office. Remember those figures when you sit down to figure out which administration is the real friend of the farmers.

I said a few moments ago that the administration believes the prosperity of farmers depends on production. But it must be economic production—production for which there is a demand.

OVERALL TASK

Now I recognize the farm problem can mean all things to all people. The farmer whose principal income is derived from wheat may see it largely as a problem of more exports. The rancher may see it only in terms of cattle prices. A Member of Congress may see it from an entirely different point of view. And, so, I might add, may the Secretary of Agriculture.

This fact was brought home to me during a recent meeting I had with a Congressman from one of the dairy States. He was greatly disturbed, as I am, at the declining per capita consumption of butter and the piling up of huge quantities of dairy products in Government hands.

We discussed the problem at some length from the viewpoint of farmers, consumers, and the Government.

"Here are the facts," I said. "Here is what we have done. Given those same facts, what would you have done?"

The response was quick. He asked: "Do you mean if I were Secretary of Agriculture or if I were running for reelection?"

NO SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS

I suppose that all of us like to think that we always do what we believe to be right. Being human, however, we sometimes permit our own immediate self-interest to influence our judgment upon what course of action may be the right one.

Of one thing I am certain. The decisions which made this country great were characterized by neither timidity nor short-sightedness. American agriculture did not reach its present eminence because of any farm price support formula—rigid or flexible.

If agriculture continues to make great forward strides, it will not be because of mere legislation. It will be because you people on the farms of the Nation—together with our scientists—all push forward this march of progress which has made our agricultural plant one of the modern wonders of the world.

Those of you who grow hybrid corn—I ask you—how important are price supports in comparison with this revolutionary discovery which overnight figuratively made 2 ears of corn grow where only one had grown before?

WHEAT AND CATTLE

You people who grow wheat—was it price supports or was it mechanization, better seed and improved farming practices which brought a new day to the Great Plains?

You cattle people—who have had no direct price supports of any kind—you know that scientific breeding and feeding have done more to establish your operations upon a sound basis than Government controls and price-fixing ever could have accomplished.

We have come through an extended period—from 1942 through 1951—when American agriculture made its greatest gains in both production and income. During every one of those 10 years, farmers received an average of between 100 and 115 percent of parity for their products in the market place. Farm income would have been substantially the same had we been supporting prices at 60 or 90 or even 100 percent of parity.

I believe that every farmer in this audience would far rather receive full parity for his commodities in the market place than some arbitrarily fixed percentage of parity in a Government warehouse.

SUPPORT FAILS

The record shows it wasn't high supports that kept farm prices high during the years of World War II and those immediately following.

Rigid price supports won't hold prices even at 90 percent of parity when supplies overtake demand.

The most recent Department of Agriculture report shows that farmers are receiving only 79 percent of parity for corn, 83 percent for wheat, and 84 percent for peanuts, despite the 90-percent supports.

This year we are confronted with a record carryover of wheat. On July 1 we will have on hand, with most of it owned by the Government, an estimated 800 million bushels. That is enough to meet our total domestic requirements and about half of our export needs for an entire year. And we will have that supply at the beginning of a new crop harvest which may yield an additional billion bushels.

How can even the most ardent advocates of rigid price supports argue that a continuation of the very program which helped create this situation will ever solve it?

BULGING BINS

Right today your Government has approximately $2 billion invested in wheat alone. And despite that huge outlay, wheat prices are only 83 percent of parity. In view of this, isn't it becoming mighty obvious that a better program is needed? If $2 billion won't do the job, can anyone say with any degree of assurance that $4 billion would do it, or $6 billion?

In the end, the wheat grower might very well wind up in the same position as the potato grower did in 1950—with no program at all. I sincerely hope that day will never come. But I believe you must seriously consider the possibility that advocates of rigid supports are inevitably leading you toward lower prices and a complete breakdown of the program.

I think it is important to remember that nearly 60 percent of the cash receipts of our farmers come from commodities which are not under price supports. I think it is equally important to remember that through the last 20 years the prices of these non-supported commodities have actually averaged higher in relation to parity than have the supported commodities.

Only 23 percent of farm income is derived from the 6 basic commodities now supported at a rigid 90 percent of parity.

BILLIONS TIED UP

Today the overwhelming part of the $6¾ billion which the Government has invested in price-support operations is tied up in wheat, corn, dairy products, and cotton and cottonseed oil. These four commodities account for roughly nine-tenths of our cash outlays for direct price supports.

What this means is that the diversified, family-sized farms have not been receiving much help from the present program. Rather, the greatest assistance has gone to the big volume, low-cost producers.

Some of you delegates may doubt this. You say: "The National Farmers Union has always been a strong supporter of the small farmer. We would not back any program that primarily helped the big producer."

I agree that your organization has a substantial record of trying to help the smaller producer. So have I. Most of my life has been devoted to the preservation and encouragement of the family-sized farm. And I do not intend to change now that I have become Secretary of Agriculture.

WHO'S BENEFITING?

It is because of the Farmers Union background and record that it should be in the front ranks urging enactment of the new program.

Perhaps you want some proof that the present rigid supports primarily benefit the large producer. I will give it to you. I recently asked the Commodity Credit Corporation to compile figures on major wheat, corn, and cotton loans on 1953 crops. Hang onto your seats while I cite a few of them.

In Kansas the largest wheat loan was $139,237. The second largest was $125,198. Did any of you delegates receive these? Perhaps you would like to know what the average wheat loan was in Kansas? It was $1,525. Now in order to get an average like that there had to be a vast number of loans of just a few hundred dollars to offset the loans going to the big operators.

In California the largest cotton loan was nearly $1¼ million. Did anyone here cash in on that? Yet the average cotton loan in California was $1,731. In Missouri the largest loan was $643,993. The average loan was only $395.

LARGE NOT SMALL

In North Dakota the largest wheat loan was $127,281 and the second largest $84,935. The average was $2,890. In Minnesota the largest wheat loan was $49,450 and the second largest $47,766. The average was $1,194.

Let's look at corn. Nn Nebraska the largest corn loan was $67,000 and the second largest $41,780. The average was $2,487. In North Dakota the largest corn loan was $8,401 and the second largest $8,265. The average was only $720.

Is this a program to preserve the family-sized farm? Is this the kind of program the National Farmers Union wants? Do you want a program that channels most of the benefits to the large producer?

We can go even a little further. Let us assume that the average farmer might have $1,000 worth of loans. The difference between that amount supported at 90 percent of parity and at 80 percent is at most $100. That is what this average farmer would receive for having his acreage slashed, for losing his freedom of decision, for the perpetuation of an unbalanced market. For the fellow with $100,000 worth of loans the difference would be $10,000. For the few who receive half a million dollars worth of loans the difference would be $50,000.

NAIL IT DOWN

So let's nail it down once and for all that operators of family-sized farms receive comparatively little help from the present program. As a matter of fact, more than half of the Nation's 5½ million farmers receive only relatively few dollars from price supports. Even more important, many farmers help pay for price supports to other farmers while receiving little or no benefit themselves.

I believe we can best point our farm program in the direction of fewer controls, better balanced production, and greater prosperity through adoption of President Eisenhower's recent recommendations. This plan requires relatively little new legislation. Congress has already scheduled the shift to flexible supports on January 1, 1955, and the transition to modernized parity for wheat, cotton, corn, and peanuts on January 1, 1956.

To provide for a more gradual change and to prevent any sharp decline in prices of the basic commodities, the President has recommended a transitional parity which would limit the change to 5 percentage points per year when the new parity become effective 2 years hence.

THE NEW APPROACH

To permit this new program to get under way without the handicap of present surpluses, the President asked for authority to set aside up to $2½ billion worth of wheat, cotton, vegetable oils, and possibly dairy products. These items would be completely isolated from the market. Wheat and cotton would not even be counted in the annual supply figures which are used to determine the levels of price support. This would permit higher price support levels than would otherwise be possible under the law.

These set-asides would be liquidated over a period of years in the form of famine relief and other charitable undertakings at home and abroad, for economic assistance to friendly countries and to expand foreign trade over and above normal levels.

This set-aside provision is an essential part of the proposed farm program. It could not be justified in connection with an extended program of supports at 90 percent of parity since this would only create new surpluses.

GOVERNMENT CAUSED

Most of our current surplus problems can be laid at the doorstep of the Government itself. Through World War II and the years immediately following, and again during the Korean war, the farmer was urged to produce every possible pound of food and fiber. He met the unprecedented demands of our own Nation and those of our allies with the greatest output of agricultural commodities in all history.

Our Government continued to call for all-out production, with high price support incentives, after the emergency had passed.

In the face of sharply declining exports and mounting surpluses, the administration in 1952 failed to invoke production controls on the 1953 wheat and cotton crops. It even urged farmers to increase their corn acreage.

We are reaping the whirlwind of those unwise 1952 decisions today.

Because the Government itself created this situation, I believe that the Government has a moral obligation to set it straight—without penalizing the farmer.

FARMERS NEED HELP

In that connection, I wish to make it very clear that this administration will not let the farmer down. Some people would have you believe that farmers are the only citizens who receive Government aid. I say to you that this is not true. Industry, business, transportation, and other segments of our economy also receive substantial Government assistance in one form or another.

I am opposed to Government paternalistic control and excessive subsidies because I believe they are a threat to our American way of life. But the farmer should not be singled out for criticism. His performance in the main has been magnificent. Let us all set our houses in order.

Actually, the farmer has been doing a better job and getting less return in recent years. He is now receiving only 45 cents out of the consumer's food dollar. At the same time, it now takes only 17 percent of the consumer's food dollar to buy the same supplies as he got for 25 percent of his dollar back in 1935–39. This is a tribute to agricultural efficiency. The farmer should be rewarded, not penalized, for this achievement.

FUTURE FARM GOALS

It is my considered opinion that governmental expenditures for aid to agriculture are going to increase greatly during the adjustment period of the next 2 or 3 years, whether we have flexible or rigid price supports on basic commodities.

We have asked for an increase of $1¾ billion in the borrowing authority of CCC.

Since this administration took office we have been spending section 32 funds for removal of surplus commodities at double the rate of recent years.

We have extended the wheat export subsidy to cover some sales made outside the International Wheat Agreement.

We have redoubled our efforts to recapture lost foreign markets through the expansion of our Foreign Agricultural Service and through enactment of legislation permitting sales of surplus commodities to other nations in exchange for local currencies.

MODERNIZATION PROGRAM

We have more funds available for expansion of rural electric and telephone facilities this fiscal year.

At the same time I believe we must attempt to hold within reasonable bounds the large increases in our farm program outlays which almost certainly lie ahead. We must seek to obtain measurable increases in the actual buying power of our farmers through these expenditures. And when I remind you that the real buying power of farmers has decreased during 5 of the last 6 years, I believe you may agree that we need a better program than the one we have.

We need this improved program so that farmers may fully share in the more prosperous, more stable, and stronger America that is being built by the Eisenhower administration. For the first time in many years major economies are being made in the operation of Government. Taxes are on the way down. Integrity is once again becoming the watchword of those who work in Government. Personal rights and liberties are accorded full respect.

FARMER'S FAIR SHARE

At nearly every turn progress is being made. The farmer must get his share of that progress.

Now I should like to turn briefly to a subject which I know is of especial interest to the National Farmers Union. That is the grain storage program which has been moving forward at an unprecedented rate under this administration.

You farmers know that price supports are not worth much if you don't have storage space available. In past years this has not always been obtainable and some of you have been forced to sell your crops on the open market at harvesttime when prices are usually at their lowest.

A national grain storage conference will be held in Omaha tomorrow to review the entire situation and to expand the drive for adequate facilities to handle our record grain supplies. When this meeting was announced earlier this month we also advised farmers that CCC would pay them to reseal 1953 crops of wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, grain sorghums, and flaxseed now under loan. At the same time the farm-storage facility and equipment loans were extended for another year.

FIVE-POINT ATTACK

We are attacking the storage problem with a five-point program which includes:

1. A guaranteed occupancy plan.
2. Direct loans from CCC for on-the-farm construction of bins and cribs.
3. A rapid tax amortization plan.
4. An increase during the last year of more than 96 million bushels in CCC's ownership of storage facilities.
5. An emergency storage plan under which idle cargo ships of the Maritime Commission are being used to store wheat.

The use guaranty program is expected to add about 200 million bushels of new storage space to our total.

I am pleased to report, on the basis of applications approved thus far, that nearly one-fourth of this new space will be built byco-ops, including a number of Farmers Union cooperatives.

ON-FARM STORAGE

The Department of Agriculture is also making loans to individual farmers for construction of on-the-farm storage. During 1953 CCC approved 10,000 loans, involving construction of 30 million bushels of storage capacity.

All of this new warehousing capacity will prove of incalculable value in helping farmers to avail themselves of the various crop loans.

Through the many years that I have been acquainted with the Farmers Union, I know that your organization has been dedicated to the cause of world peace. No man prays more earnestly than I do that we may have it in our time.

As a candidate in 1952, President Eisenhower solemnly pledged that he would bring an end to the Korean war. That golden promise has been redeemed.

NO MORE BLOODSHED

Your sons are no longer being sent overseas to die on the battlefields of Asia.

The ending of that bloodshed has not been without some economic repercussions. Some industrial workers who were building planes, tanks, and guns to replace equipment destroyed in Korea have lost their jobs. Our farms, our mines, and our factories are no longer being pressed for increased production to meet the insatiable demands of war.

I believe the American people will take in stride the readjustments which are being made. I believe they would rather see those readjustments than a continuation of the carnage, heartache, and suffering that characterized Korea.

We have been proceeding upon the assumption that if the farmers of America fully understood the causes of our current agricultural problem they would instinctively turn toward the best solution. We have sought to lay the whole problem before them in frank and free discussion. We have urged them to give consideration to what we believe is a more sound and constructive approach to the entire question of price supports.

STABLE, PROSPEROUS, FREE

As I said earlier, we believe that a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture is essential to the welfare of the United States. I believe all this can be achieved without war.

Contrary to what many of you may have been led to believe, my own quarrel with the theory of rigid supports is not that they give the farmer too much, but that in actual practice they do not give him enough.

They prevent him from attaining full parity in the market place because they encourage price-depressing surpluses of certain commodities. They beget more and controls. They stifle his freedom of action. They bar him from his natural markets. They encourage him to deplete his soil. They disrupt normal economic processes. And, finally, they threaten to collapse of their own weight, crushing in the process the very people they were designed to aid.

COLLAPSE THREATENS

If I do not succeed in making any other point here, I want to impress upon you just as firmly as I can that the farm program of today is heading toward collapse.

I don't want to see us lose the great gains we have made through the years in agricultural legislation. I don't want to see the entire theory of farm price supports swept away in a crisis which will certainly result from mounting surpluses and demands for additional billions of dollars to pile up still more unneeded commodities.

You may say this will not happen. But if we continue in the direction we are now headed, it will happen—inevitably it will happen.

I have spent most of my lifetime—just as nearly all of you have spent yours—as a farmer and as an active worker in the cooperative movement.

ALSO A CHALLENGE

Today I am striving earnestly and conscientiously to serve my country as Secretary of Agriculture. It is not a job which any man would want at this time if he were interested only in advancing his personal comfort or popularity. It is a job which invites more brickbats than bouquets.

But it is also a challenge. Certainly the sternest one I have ever faced. I am going to see it through just as long as the President of the United States wants me to remain in his Cabinet. And I pledge to you and every farmer in America that I will never knowingly advocate or support any program or policy which I believe is not in the best interests of our farmers—regardless of political pressure.

I am going to continue to fight for American agriculture and for what I believe to be right, as God gives me the strength to do a job which I know must be done.

The Future of Rural Electrification in Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH BUTLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Future of Rural Electrification in Nebraska," which I delivered at the dedication of the new office building of the Northeast Nebraska

Rural Public Power District, at Emerson, Nebr., on March 16.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Friends, it is a real pleasure for me to be here with you today on the occasion of the opening of your brandnew office building. Like you, I have taken a great deal of pleasure in looking over the building today. It is a fine building.

This building serves as a sort of symbol of how far REA has traveled since the early days when we were trying to get rural electrification started. I know from personal experience just how much REA means because I have been a member of the Twin Valley REA for a good many years. I am probably one of the heaviest users of REA current in the State, because I operate three major capacity irrigation pumps. I mention this simply to show you that I am keenly personally interested in the success of REA.

Back in 1935, when the REA was started, only 7 percent of the farms in Nebraska had electricity. According to the last report in 1953, 95 percent of the farms in the State had electric service.

Before I came out here, I took the time to look through some of my old speeches. I was a little surprised to see how many times I had made speeches about REA in the past. During the early years of REA, in the dry years of the 1930's, rural electrification in Nebraska grew rather slowly. Then the war came. It was extremely difficult to get much construction during the war years because of the shortages of materials. At the end of the war, there were still only about 30 percent of the farms in Nebraska with electric service.

Back during that period I made quate a number of speeches to groups like this about the glorious future of rural electrification. During 1946, when I was campaigning for reelection, I told a good many audiences that I thought we could bring electric service within the reach of every Nebraska farmer who wanted it before the end of my second term in the Senate in 1953. I don't know whether everyone believed me at that time. As I told you a moment ago, according to last year's report, 95 percent of the farms in Nebraska now have electric service.

In other words, I believe we have just about completed the job of bringing electric service to everyone who wants it. I am not trying to take the credit for that. I realize perfectly well that that job was done by the farms through their public power districts and cooperatives. I have tried to help the movement along wherever I could. It has always been a real pleasure to be able to help the various locals, or even the individual farmers, when they came to me with some problem about getting their loans, or about getting construction underway, or distribution lines extended.

In my opinion, that is a splendid record of progress which cannot be denied. I am glad to say that it has been duplicated in a good many of the other States of the Union. Most of the other States have also reached the point where electric service has been brought to every farm home that wants it. The whole movement has made a tremendous difference in farm life.

Right here I want to say just one word about the conduct of the REA program in Washington during this whole period. During the period from 1935 to 1952 the program was conducted under a democratic administration. All through that period I insisted that REA was an absolutely nonpartisan, nonpolitical program. It was conducted that way by the Democrats. Since the beginning of 1953 it has been under a Republican administration. I am very happy to be able to say that it is still being conducted in a completely nonpartisan manner.

You don't have to vote for any certain political party or individual to get an REA loan or to get electric service brought to your farm. REA is not an issue between the two political parties. I hope we will always keep it that way.

At the same time, during the past year, there has been a certain amount of political argument back and forth about various aspects of the power question. I don't intend to enter into that argument at this time. However, you might be interested in a few of my thoughts as to what the immediate future holds for the REA program.

First of all, your present Administrator, Ancher Nelsen, is a real midwesterner, a dirt farmer from Minnesota. Mr. Nelson was lieutenant governor of Minnesota before he came to Washington, but at the same time, he was also vice president of one of the REA co-ops in Minnesota. I believe he has been doing a very sincere and efficient job as REA Administrator.

Last year, I heard some expressions of concern that the new administration intended to cut back sharply on appropriations for REA loans. I am glad to be able to report that no such thing has happened. Exactly the contrary is true. During this present fiscal year, REA has more loan funds available for the electric and telephone programs than it had during the previous fiscal year.

Furthermore, the new Administrator is doing a first-rate job in getting these loan funds put into use. You may have heard it charged that there was a slowdown in handling loan applications. The record proves there is nothing to that charge. As a matter of fact, Mr. Nelsen has approved more loans during the past 10 months than were approved during the same period during the previous year. I don't believe there has been a single case where a rural electric system with a feasible and legitimate application has had its loan turned down, or unreasonably delayed.

If any Nebraska locals ever have any trouble with their loan applications, I think they know what they should do. They should come to me for any help they need. Actually, during the past year, I can recall hardly any requests for help on loan applications. Apparently, Mr. Nelsen's organization must be giving pretty good and prompt service.

As I pointed out before, electric service has now been carried to practically every farm in Nebraska. In other words, the line building job is now pretty well behind us. The pioneering phase is over. But there are still problems to handle that are just as important. One of the jobs of your public power district is to maintain the kind of electric service that its customers need and demand. Another job is to provide solid and careful management of your properties and your business, so that you can stay on a sound, financial basis. A third problem is to keep on supplying the increasing quantities of power that your members call for.

Before leaving Washington, I checked with REA headquarters and was told that in 1940, in the first month of your operation, your members of this district used an average of only 29 kilowatt-hours of electricity. Now they tell me, your members use an average of 328 kilowatt-hours a month. That is more than 10 times as much electricity per customer as you used 14 years ago.

Supplying these increased quantities of power creates real problems for your management—problems of several different kinds. For one thing, it may mean that you will need to expand facilities from time to time. To do that, you may need financing. I mention that fact because, as you probably realize, your future financing depends partly on your present management, including your record of repayment on present loans.

The Government mortgage on your physical system is only a small part of the security of these loans. The real security is in the efficient operation of your rural electrification system. Good management will keep those loans secure from the standpoint of the Government, and will therefore guarantee your credit standing when you have to borrow again.

One reason why we have always been able to get adequate appropriations for this program is because it has proven financially sound. So long as that is true, I am confident that future Congresses will be willing to provide the funds needed for future expansion.

Another problem you may face in the fairly near future is the problem of the source of additional power to meet your growing needs. That problem will be particularly important if the use of electricity by REA members continues to increase as it has during recent years, and as we expect it will.

A good deal of study has been given to the general problem of the future power needs of the REA locals in Nebraska, and in fact of the overall future requirements for power for all of Nebraska. Here in Nebraska we have our own publicly owned power systems which are able to coordinate their efforts and their planning. During the past year, I have had a good many conferences with representatives of the Nebraska Public Power System and the Consumers Public Power District, as well as with representatives of the various REA locals. Some of them are pretty concerned about future power supplies and, of course, they have a right to be concerned.

First of all, I assume everyone knows what is meant by the preference clause. The preference clause is a clause written into various acts of Congress which says that public bodies and farm cooperatives shall have preference in purchasing power generated at Federal dams. In other words, they will have preference over private utilities in the right to purchase such power. That preference for public bodies and farm cooperatives has been a definite policy of the United States Government in one form or another for a good many years—in fact, all the way back to the Reclamation Act of Teddy Roosevelt's time. It appears again and again in the laws relating to the distribution of Federal power. Sometimes the wording in the various laws is changed a little, but all the way through the principle of preference is carefully preserved. I want you to understand that there is no thought in anyone's mind of changing that general principle. There is some argument as to just exactly how that principle should be applied, but I repeat, there is no thought in anyone's mind of changing that principle.

At least if anyone—a private utility or anyone else—tries to get that principle changed, I can promise you he won't get anywhere.

It is when we get around to applying the principle that we start to get into trouble. Apparently, there are at least 3 or 4 different ways of applying this principle of preference. First of all, when a power dam is completed and the power is available, that power must be offered first to the preference customers—the public bodies and cooperatives. That much is clear. At that time, the preference customers are entitled to purchase as much of the Federal power they want at the standard rate. If the preference customers want all the power the dam can produce, they will get it all, and private companies will not get any. That is the law, and no one disputes it.

The problem in the application of the preference clause arises under circumstances that are a little different. Sometimes when a block of power is made available for distribution by the Federal Government, preference customers don't want very much of that power right away, but expect to want more later on. For the time being, the extra

power must be sold to private utilities. Then, when the preference customers grow to the point where they need more Federal power, they want to take it away from the private utilities. How do they go about getting it back from the private utility, whose customers depend on that source of power?

In this situation, it has been urged that the Federal Government should put a "withdrawal clause" in all its power contracts with private utilities, so that their power can be withdrawn and turned over to the preference customer. That is one way to do it, but it does create problems. For example, it is hard for the Federal Government to get a full rate for the power sold to a private utility, if the Government insists on including a "withdrawal clause." No power company, private or public, wants to be faced with a situation where its source of power will be taken away on short notice.

I mention this problem just to show you that there may be legitimate differences of opinion as to how to apply the so-called preference clause. There is underway right now quite a controversy as to just how it should be applied. The Department of the Interior, which handles the sale of Federal power, has come in for quite a bit of criticism during recent months for the manner in which they have proposed to apply it. The Department has been accused of making radical changes in the system of selling Federal power.

Some of its critics have raised the question: Why should the system of marketing Federal power be changed? Well, I don't believe it has been changed so much. A good many contracts with nonpreference customers, running back 10 years or more, have not had a withdrawal clause. So, leaving out the withdrawal clause is not a new idea.

I think, though, there may be a good deal of misunderstanding about the present policy. Last year, the Interior Department was confronted with the problem of selling large blocks of new power that will come into production from several new Missouri dams in the near future. Regardless of what administration we had in office, that problem would still have had to be met. In that situation, the Department issued a set of general rules, called power marketing criteria, governing the sale of the power. I didn't agree with every detail of those rules myself, and some of them have been changed already.

I think we do have to agree with one principal objective of the Department. That was, to handle the power sale in such a way as to improve the revenue to the Federal Government, to place the whole operation on a firmer, more secure and businesslike basis. In other words, it is a matter of helping these dams pay out their cost of construction, but without any increase in the rate to REA's.

I don't think the Department has this whole problem licked yet, but they have made a good deal of progress. Actually, they have made a number of major changes in their original proposal, in order to go along with the criticisms by preference customers, including the REA's.

For example, today they are generally not contracting power to nonpreference customers for more than a 5-year period at a time. If preference customers find they are going to need more power in a few years, the Interior Department can generally pull it back from a private utility so as to have it available for the REA local or other preference customer.

In other words, the 3-year or 5-year contract is an attempt to preserve the financial advantage to the Government, but at the same time, to favor the preference of publicly owned systems, not only now, but in the future.

The particular question of interpretation is only one of the problems in deciding exactly how the preference clause is to be applied. I have talked with departmental officials about these matters a good many times, including Clarence Davis from our own State, the Solicitor of the Department, who was formerly with the Consumers Public Power District here in Nebraska. They are all giving me 100-percent cooperation in trying to work these things out.

Sincere men may have honest differences of opinion. So far as I personally am concerned, I want to place myself squarely on record on this one point. If there is a difference of opinion as to the proper interpretation of the preference clause, I intend to see to it that we follow that interpretation which will be of the most benefit to rural electrification. I have been working for the rural electrification of Nebraska ever since I first came to the Senate, and before that. I am sure you know I am not going to change now.

I do think, however, that it is possible to get too excited about some of these issues. I have discussed this question of interpreting the preference clause at some length, because apparently a good many of the co-ops and districts in Nebraska have been very much concerned about it. A good many of them have written me. Yet, the actual fact is that the whole issue does not affect, and could not possibly affect, any of the REA locals in eastern Nebraska in the slightest degree.

Let me say that again so that I am sure you understand it. No interpretation of the preference clause, no possible change in the interpretation of the preference clause, could possibly affect the REA in the eastern part of Nebraska. The whole argument simply does not have anything to do with you people in this area.

It cannot affect, in any way, shape, or form, the operations of the Northeast Nebraska Rural Public Power District. I think you should know that, so that you will not be agitated if someone tells you that a change is being made in the preference clause which will hurt the operations in your district.

That is so for a very simple reason. Preference customers in the eastern power-marketing division of the Missouri River Basin will need and will take all the Federal power that is to be generated. In fact, there will not, in all probability, be enough Federal power to meet your future needs.

At any rate, private utilities are not to receive any of the Federal power generated in this whole area by any of the big mainstem dams. The preference customers will get it all. The Department of the Interior has announced that, the private utilities realize it, and all the chief critics of the Interior Department admit it is true.

There has been quite a lot of legislation to the effect that there should be withdrawal clauses in contracts with nonpreference customers in the eastern division of the Missouri Basin. People who talk that way miss the point entirely. Nonpreference customers will not receive any power in the eastern Missouri Basin. There can't be any withdrawal clauses in contracts with private utilities in this area because they don't have any contracts, and because they will not have any Federal power to withdraw.

The situation is a good deal different in what is called the western division of the Missouri Basin. That includes the western one-third of our State, together with areas in Colorado and Wyoming. There, the application of the preference clase has some meaning. I believe we will find some means of taking care of the growing needs of the REA's in western Nebraska, perhaps through the use of short-term contracts—5 years—with nonproference customers. As I said before, if there is a legitimate difference of opinion as to how the law should be interpreted, I shall try to see that it is interpreted in such a way as to serve the needs of rural electrification.

And I might add one more thought here. As you know, I am chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Our committee has general jurisdiction over the Interior Department, including questions relating to power. In that position, I think I can promise you that no policy is going to be adopted that will hurt the Nebraska REA locals.

There is another question—still unsettled—that is really important to the growth of rural electrification in eastern Nebraska. That is the problem of getting transmission lines built from the main-stem dams in South Dakota to load centers in Nebraska.

As you know, the present administration has been trying to economize in every possible way. That attempted economy has been applied to every bureau and agency in the Federal Government. Altogether they have been doing a pretty good job.

When it comes to public power, the administration has tried to avoid constructing any unnecessary facilities. For example, they do not want to build a transmission line with Federal money if it would duplicate an existing transmission line, or if someone other than the Federal Government can be induced to build it.

However, we have a particular situation here in Nebraska where I believe we will have to insist that the Federal Government build transmission lines from the dams in South Dakota. At least, if the Federal Government will not build the lines they should be willing to make a discount in the rate they charge for Federal power, so that the Consumers Public Power District can build those lines and pay off the cost of construction without raising the rate to its customers.

Last year, this question first came up. I went before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee and succeeded in having put in the appropriations bill enough money to carry a transmission line across the river from the Gavins Point Dam into Nebraska. This year, I expect to ask the committee again to provide funds to carry that line down to Belden, and another line down to Neligh or some alternative point. I feel pretty confident that we will either get those lines built or else get a discount on the power rate, which would be just as good. As I mentioned before, I am chairman of a Senate committee which has a certain amount of influence in these matters.

I don't like to make any promises that I can't deliver on, and I don't want to give you the impression that I can solve all your problems for you in Washington. I know your management doesn't think that. Any growing business organization runs into problems from time to time. The management, if it is any good, finds ways to solve those problems. Your management has done a first-rate job so far, and I am confident they will continue to do so.

I don't like to see the attitude grow up that the Federal Government must step in and solve every problem that comes up for you. This controversy of the past year about securing Federal power is one example. Of course, you want your share of the Federal power, and you should have it. But Federal power will never solve all your problems. In fact, as you know, the Federal Government is not going to be in position to supply all your increasing power needs.

They don't do it now. At present, your power comes largely from generation by the Nebraska Public Power System, partly hydro, partly steam. In the future, more steam plants may have to be built. Officials of the NPPS and the consumers' district are already aware of that, and are taking steps to meet future needs. So I think it is a mistake to spend all our time worrying about what

the Federal Government will do for us. Nebraska has taken care of itself pretty well in the matter of power so far, and I believe we will be able to continue to do so.

Friends, I felt you wanted a frank report on this whole power problem from me, and I have tried to give it to you. Some of my discussion may have been rather technical. I hope it wasn't too technical. I want to assure you that I will continue, as in the past, to help your rural public-power district along in every way that I can. Farm life today, with electricity, is a whole lot different from what it was a few years back. I am sure farmers will continue to use more and more electricity, and more and more modern conveniences, just as city people do. There is no reason why they shouldn't. It will call for increased supplies of power from somewhere, but I am sure that increased power can be found and provided to the REA's at reasonable rates.

Bill To Provide for Stabilization of Production and Prices of Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK WESTLAND
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced for appropriate reference a bill to provide an adequate, balanced, and orderly flow of dairy products in domestic and foreign commerce; to stabilize production and the farm price of milk and dairy products; to impose a stabilization fee on the marketing of milk and butterfat; to provide adequate administration; and for other purposes.

I desire to address myself briefly in support of this proposed legislation.

My bill is identical with one that was introduced on March 18 before the Senate of this Congress by the distinguished senior Senator from the State of South Dakota, Mr. MUNDT.

It is known as the self-help proposal of the National Milk Producers Federation and was explained last week in hearings before the agriculture committees of this House and Senate by Russell S. Waltz, president of the National Milk Producers Federation. In his testimony he made it clear that this is a proposal whereby the more than 2,000,000 farmers who make all or part of their income producing milk submit a program under which they will manage, control, and administer their own production stabilization and price-support operation and finance any costs through self-imposed assessments upon their milk or butterfat earnings.

Such an objective requires this Congress to consider carefully this proposed legislation. If we can assist as major a segment of the Nation's agriculture as the dairy farmer—he represents the largest single segment of farming and 20 percent of the total farm income—in getting a self-help program, we will have taken the Government out of the dairy business, a most desired objective.

This bill provides for a 15-member Dairy Stabilization Board to be appointed by the President of the United States from a list of 45 candidates elected by ballot from among the Nation's dairy farmers. The Board would be representative of 15 districts to reflect the pattern and interests of dairy production.

The Board, using statistics presently available, would have the power to set a minimum level for farm prices for a coming marketing year and maintain it through self-imposed assessments from the farmer's own milk or butterfat returns. In its support operation, the Board would have the power to purchase such supplies of processed dairy products as are necessary to maintain the farm price level. It would have no power to interfere with the operation of a free market nor set prices at retail levels and would be required to dispose of any holdings in such a manner as not to upset normal marketing.

We have ample precedent for such legislation in existing milk marketing orders and other commodity marketing agreements, both National and State. There is no power intended for the Dairy Stabilization Board under this bill that is not already being used by the Commodity Credit Corporation in its support operations. But it is intended that this Board, because of its close contact with the industry, would be more flexible in its utilization operations. For example, it could dispose of overproduction overseas without all the formalities that now seem insurmountable in the present CCC operation. The ability to dispose of stocks would be a great encouragement to the industry to maintain proper inventories, something which is not now true under the CCC operation in which we have the Government carrying the entire dairy inventory of the Nation.

The Board, under this bill, would have the power to push the sale of dairy products by advertising, marketing research, and education through the use of any funds not needed for price support operation.

Government entry into this operation would be only at such times as the Government was responsible for dairy imports or increased production due to use of acres diverted to dairy production as a result of support operations upon other commodities. Dairy products created as a result of either of these conditions would have to be purchased by the CCC.

Under the provisions of this bill the capital necessary to launch this self-help program would be obtained by authority to borrow up to $500 million from the CCC or private investors. This money would be a loan and would be repayable at interest rates comparable to going rates for Government funds at the time of the borrowing. Assessments would be set at levels necessary to discharge the capital and interest obligations incurred by the Board.

I want to point out that there is plenty of precedent for such a financial transaction between the farmers and their Government and that the record of farmer repayment of such obligations is excellent. I cite the cases of the Production Credit Associations, the Rural Electric Cooperatives, the Bank for Cooperatives as a few examples. The farmers' record in the field of private credit is equally good. Rural banks have existed for years on long-and short-term farmer paper and many of our largest financial institutions are heavy investors in agriculture because of the excellent credit risk represented.

In conclusion, I desire to emphasize again that this bill represents a move on the part of our largest segment of agriculture to obtain, finance, and direct its own price support and production stabilization program. This is an objective within the American concept of free enterprise-and individual determination of economic welfare.

Perpetuating an Error

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation there is disappointment over our failure to really tackle the Nation's highway problem. The following editorial from the Detroit Times of March 11 is right to the point:

PERPETUATING AN ERROR

There are two main reasons why road-building has not kept pace with increased traffic and highway obsolescence.

One is that no highway work was done during the war; the other is that we just did not spend enough money to do the job.

Nothing can be done about the first reason.

Something can be done about the second, and many States have done and are doing it through increases in gasoline taxes, bond issues and toll roads.

What is the Federal Government doing?

It is dragging its feet.

A couple of days ago the House passed by a voice vote the administration-supported McGregor bill. This would give the States an additional $225 million annually for 2 years—a mere dribble compared to what is needed, and that dribble wouldn't start going to the State until July 1, 1955.

The Hearst newspapers have pointed out that the McGregor bill is a totally inadequate bill. If the Senate passes it, the Senate will join the House in doing American road-building plans a disservice under the pretension of doing them good. We don't want any part of it.

There is reason to hope the Senate will not pass it, and that reason is based on another bill introduced by Senator FERGUSON.

The Ferguson bill calls for more than $2 billion in Federal highway aid for each of the next 2 years. It courageously and intelligently comes to grips with one of the basic problems, that of completing the vital interstate-highway system.

It is true the Ferguson bill would fall short by $125 million annually of the estimated full-scale Federal-State building needs—but the McGregor bill would leave a staggering gap of $1,900 million.

In other words, the Ferguson bill represents a realistic approach to a great and growing problem where the McGregor bill is a quibbling evasion.

The Senate should pass the Ferguson bill.

Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing H. R. 8494 to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to include the following changes:

First. It widens the coverage of the act to include employers engaged in any activity affecting commerce, and also specifically employees in large retail enterprises and hired labor on large factory farms.

Second. It increases the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.25 per hour on the mainland of the United States.

Third. It increases the minimum wages in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Island by 50 cents per hour above the rates now established by industry committee recommendations in the different industries. Thereafter the minimum wage would be increased annually by one-third of the difference between $1.25 and the augmented industry rate until, after 3 years, the minimum wage of $1.25 per hour would apply to all industries covered by the act in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Fourth. It reduces the standard workweek before overtime rates are applicable from 40 hours to 37½ hours during the first 2 years after the effective date of the act and to 35 hours after the expiration of the 4th year.

Fifth. It eliminates the overtime exemption in so-called seasonal industries.

Sixth. It raises the minimum rate which may be paid learners, apprentices, messengers, and the handicapped to no less than $1 per hour.

Seventh. It changes the limitation on the period during which the administrator of the act may bring action to recover unpaid minimum wages or overtime compensation from 2 years to 4 years.

In general, this bill liberalizes the Fair Labor Standards Act in coverage, in inclusiveness, in the reduction of exemptions, and in providing a more adequate minimum wage, as well as a standard workweek more in harmony with what we need and can afford in the second half of the 20th century.

We hear nothing but praise of the principles of the Fair Labor Standards Act and of our successful experience under it. The act protects their fair employer against the unfair competition of sweatshops. President Eisenhower and Secretary of Labor Mitchell have both expressed a desire to widen the coverage of the act. At present only about 24 million workers are covered by the act, or less than half of the Nation's workers. My bill would include a large fraction of the rest, leaving out only those whose activities do not affect commerce and certain special groups like hired workers on family farms and employees in local small retail stores and service establishments. The new wage-and-hour standards included in my bill represent realistic standards based on present higher costs of living, going wage rates, increases in productivity, and the present need to stimulate consumer purchasing power.

A Victory for Reason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a forceful editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle on the subject of the administration's tax bill which has just passed the House. As this article points out, the people can usually be depended upon to differentiate between arguments, purely political, and those on the merits.

It is significant that the loudest proponents of an increase in exemptions at this time when the budget is unbalanced and we have a cold war situation facing us all over the world are the very same leaders who, back in 1948 when the Republicans increased exemptions from $500 to $600 at a time when they had succeeded in balancing the budget and we were at peace, opposed that move as financially irresponsible and attacked the tax bill as a rich man's tax bill.

Contionator numquam moritur.

The editorial follows:

A VICTORY FOR REASON

President Eisenhower has demonstrated skill, integrity and authority. That is the lesson derived from passage of the administration's tax bill in the House of Representatives. We knew he had courage, which he again proved in his nationwide address on taxation. Therein he urged the people to pass up a small temporary tax benefit in favor of a program which would work more slowly, but more surely to the benefit of all.

His tax bill progressed when the House voted down a crippling amendment, the proposal that exemptions be increased to a point which would have excused 4 million citizens from payment of income taxes of any size. May the bill have equal success in the Senate. The decision was made on what amounted to a party vote—practically solid Republican for the President's plan, practically Democratic in opposition.

No deficit financing for a Nation is as evil as it is in the private home. It is not bettered by the fact that the deficit will not be as large now as it was in wartime. It does not matter that we have turned away from extravagant spending nationally and therefore can reduce the tax burden. What savings we accomplish must be applied to keeping our house in order, not in continuing our longtime habit of spending more than we can take in.

The new tax bill is a turn toward national sanity. Its victory in the House was a triumph for the President. It also was a triumph for the people. It is a tribute to their good sense. Had they not agreed with the President, they could have applied pressure enough to make the result closer. The incident once more proves democracy, properly informed, will act properly. As between Eisenhower's appeal to reason, and the opposition's appeal to class division and self-interest, reason has won.

Communists Cut Contact to United States Pilot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article called to my attention by Mr. William A. Parton, of San Jose, Calif. Mr. Parton and Captain Buol served in the Marine Air Corps together during World War II.

The article follows:

COMMUNISTS CUT CONTACT TO UNITED STATES PILOT

(By Frank Robertson)

HONG KONG.—Capt. Lawrence R. Buol, an airline pilot known to his friends as Bob, has been in a Chinese Communist prison for more than 4 years—longer than any of the other 311 Americans being held in Chinese jails.

During all this time his courageous and attractive wife has remained in the Far East, making repeated attempts to effect her husband's release or even get reliable information about him. She works in Taipei, Formosa, as secretary to former Gen. Claire Chennault, chairman of the board of Civil Air Transport, her husband's airline company.

In January 1950, when Communist troops were swarming south toward the Indochina border, an effort, in which CAT was engaged, was being made to remove from the mining center of Mengtze, just north of the border, valuable stocks of tin concentrates stored there.

On January 15, Captain Buol, with a Puerto Rican crew chief and three Chinese assistants, were landed at Mengtze to set up a station for the airline. At seven that evening their radio station went off the air without warning.

TROOPS CONVERGE

Next morning a CAT pilot circling the area saw long columns of troops converging on the town, and shortly afterward his plane was struck by ground fire. Meanwhile, in the confusion of the changeover, the CAT men at the airfield were able to come on the air with a brief message asking that another evacuation plane be sent immediately. "This will be our last chance to get out," the message said.

The plane arrived that afternoon and, following instructions laid out on the field with cloth panels, landed. As it was taxiing, however, it was brought under rifle fire and the copilot was wounded. The plane took off again immediately. Nothing was seen of Captain Buol.

On January 21, CAT received a last message from the radio station at Mengtze. Signed by one of the Chinese employees, it said: "Mengtze liberated. All safe. Tell Mrs. Buol."

Captain Buol was taken to Kunming, and for 18 months Mrs. Buol was able to get word of him, and an occasional message to him, through the British consul in that city who,

however, never was permitted to see the prisoner.

APPEAL TO TRUMAN

Meanwhile, Mrs. Buol had appealed to President Truman, the International Red Cross, and Premier Chou En-lai of China. In November 1950, she asked Warren Austin, then United States delegate to the United Nations, to appeal to the Chinese Communists then on a mission to the U. N. She was told that it would be "almost impossible" to approach them on such a question.

With the otubreak of the Korean war Chinese friends advised her to discontinue efforts to help her husband lest the Communists be led to believe that Captain Buol was a prisoner of special importance.

Since the Korean war ended Mrs. Buol has written to President Eisenhower, and talked to Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON and Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican, of California, during their visits to Formosa, and appealed to other prominent Americans.

"My suggestion to all the officials I have talked to has been that we keep driving home the matter of these Americans' release through our contact with the Russians at the United Nations, pointing out that recognition of Red China is completely out of the question as long as that country continues to act like a barbaric nation, holding innocent Americans as prisoners after beastly trials and degradation in public, and finally imprisoning them for crimes they never committed," she said recently.

NO NEWS SINCE 1950

Mrs. Buol has had no reliable information about her husband since June 1950, when the British consulate in Kunming was closed. She does not know where he is being held, but believes he is back in Kunming after spending most of 1952 in Canton.

Persons coming out of China have told her that her husband has had to submit twice to what the Communists call a trial, once in Kunming in 1951 and again in Canton the following year; that on each occasion he was charged with being an American spy; and that after each trial he was quite ill. She was not able to verify this information.

Mrs. Buol plans to return to the United States this spring to bring the story of her husband's plight, and that of the 311 other Americans in Chinese Communist prisons, before as wide an audience as possible.

Fixed Parity—Prices Fall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress, I am sure, welcome the views of experienced agriculturalists on the farm problem. On March 17 recent timely remarks of R. K. Bliss, extension professor at Iowa State College, were made the basis of a splendid editorial. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial entitled "Fixed Parity—Prices Fall":

FIXED PARITY—PRICES FALL

R. K. Bliss, for many years an outstanding observer of the agricultural picture in Iowa and an active worker in it himself, made some comments the other day on the farm picture. There were several significant things.

1. The present decline in agricultural prices and agricultural income has come about under the present 90 percent supports of farm prices. This is the law which was in effect when the Eisenhower administration came to office. In other words, Democratic charges about the new administration taking away farm benefits are unfounded, for the reason the law is the one which they passed and which was in effect when the Eisenhower administration took office.

2. It might surprise many to recall that in October of 1940, 8 years after a planned farm program had been launched but before World War II broke out, hogs were selling in Iowa for an average of $5.90 a hundred, eggs bring 17.7 cents a dozen, and butterfat 30 cents a pound. Cattle were correspondingly low.

The point that Mr. Bliss is making—Raymond Sayre made the same one last week in an address at the Creston Production Credit Association meeting—is that it has taken 2 wars to pull agriculture out of the surplus problem. No farm program, regardless of whether sponsored by Democrats or Republicans, has yet proved it can level out a surplus in peacetime. It has taken a war.

Can a farm program now be hammered out which will jump this hurdle, without another war? That is what the Congress is about to face up to. It has a considerable bit of history to assist in its efforts on this. And chief lesson to date is that farm programs under which we have been operating for the past 20 years haven't been able to stop farm price slides on their own. They have helped, such as a corn loan program, to level out price bulges and sharp breaks. That has been a most important program. But general trends—that still seems to be something else.

H. R. 8300

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion at times about the proper attitude to assume when a legislator votes on measures that are concerned with the public welfare. There apparently are some people who would vote on the basis of political expediency in the desire or hope of attracting votes at the next election. Then, too, there is another group who think about the future of the country and the general welfare of all of the people.

The following letter was received on the morning after I had voted against the recommittal motion of the Internal Revenue Act, H. R. 8300, and for its final passage. It is typical of the many letters that I received, and the writer of the letter has placed the welfare of the country above personal or selfish interest.

Under unanimous consent, I include this letter:

ALEXANDRIA, IND., *March 15, 1954.*

Hon. JOHN V. BEAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As a member of your constituency, I would like to express my sentiments in favor of the tax proposal of the administration.

As a taxpayer, I would like to see more money staying in my own bank account. But I am much more desirous of a strong and thriving Nation. If maintaining the present tax level will mean that our country is no longer operating at a loss, then I feel that I cannot do anything else but hold to that level.

As for the talk about this being an election year, I trust that you will not follow such a line of sheer expediency. Surely you and your colleagues are intelligent enough to know that political expediency must never, for God's sake, take precedence over the Nation's welfare. I know that the voters will respect integrity more than cheapness of political exploiters.

I hope and trust that you will speak firmly and affirmatively for the maintaining of the present tax level.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. HUBER,
Pastor, First Christian Church.

Slump Compels Return to Easier Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an article entitled "Slump Compels Return to Easier Money," written by John Harriman and appearing in the Boston Globe of March 19, 1954.

SLUMP COMPELS RETURN TO EASIER MONEY

(By John Harriman)

The money managers are doing all in their power to check the down-turn in business.

That is the unmistakable message spelled out by the drop in the interest rate on prime business loans which was initiated by New York banks on Wednesday.

Back of this action is the policy of the Federal Reserve System, which has set its sights on more and cheaper money and in so doing completely reversed the fiscal policies pursued by the administration during its first months in office.

DUAL INFLUENCE ON INTEREST RATES

There are two ways through which the administration can influence interest rates—Federal Reserve policy and Treasury debt management. Both have been employed recently.

Since last May the Federal Reserve has bought around $1,500,000,000 of Government securities. Early last month it reduced the discount rate from 2 percent to 1¾ percent.

Both of these steps were designed to either hold down, or to reduce, interest rates. The purchase of Government securities keeps prices high, and interest rates low, on the bond markets. The reduction in the discount rate in effect issues an invitation to banks to come and get money at the Federal Reserve at a cheaper rate so that they may lend more money to their customers.

That reduction in the discount rate was the final tipoff that money was to become cheaper for business borrowings, and it made Tuesday's action by the New York banks inevitable.

But even before this cut, it should be noted, bankers were becoming uneasy over rates. The demand for money by business had started to drop sharply during the final months of 1953; and the big finance companies were even then borrowing at 1⅞ percent for 3 months' commercial paper.

The lending of New York banks which accounts for 20 percent of all business loans, dropped by $542 million between January 1 and March 15—5 times the decline of the previous year for the same period.

NEW LOOK HAS A NEW DEAL LOOK

The role of the Treasury in cheapening money lies for the most part in avoiding the issuance of long-term bonds. Short-term Treasuries are in large part bought by banks, or the Federal Reserve, and through such purchases the money supply is increased. Long-term bonds are bought for private investors, and their issuance in large amounts by the Government sops up available investment funds and acts to raise interest rates.

The Treasury recently has issued short-term notes and avoided long-term bonds.

Taken in conjunction, these policies of the Federal Reserve and the Treasury mean that our fiscal policy is getting not only a New Look, compared to its appearance a year ago, but also a decidedly New Deal look. In short, we are back to the easy money policies of both the Truman and Roosevelt administrations.

It was, of course, the downturn in business which in large part has dictated this reversal in fiscal policy, for easy and plentiful money is strong antidote to business recession.

It has also been said that Detroit has been in there pitching for plenty of money at lower interest rates and that the arguments of the big auto manufacturers have impressed the administration.

Industries which sell on time have no desire to see high interest rates or tight money.

Your Taxes Will Be Less

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Charles B. Seib, of the Gannett News Bureau, has written a readable and easily understood analysis of the 875-page tax revision bill which the House has just passed. Under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose Mr. Seib's article from the Rochester (N. Y.) Times-Union:

YOUR TAXES WILL BE LESS—HERE'S HOW THE NEW LAW WILL WORK

(By Charles B. Seib)

Behind the political turmoil over tax reduction, one fact stands out: the administration's omnibus tax revision bill contains savings for millions of individual taxpayers.

Farmers, working mothers, families with big medical bills, stockholders, retired people, and many others stand to benefit from provisions in the 875-page measure approved yesterday by the House and sent to the Senate.

Experts estimate that $800 million of the tax relief in the bill will go to individual taxpayers. The other $600 million worth will benefit business in keeping with the administration's view that incentives are needed to promote business expansion and maintain prosperity.

All but $200 million of the cost of this bill will be covered by retention of the present high corporate tax rates, which were due to stop April 1.

Benefits to individual taxpayers will be added to the $3 billion income-tax slash which was effective last January 1. Also, the little fellow appears likely to benefit from another tax concession which seems about to get congressional approval—a $900-million cut in Federal excise taxes on theater admissions, telephone calls, light bulbs, jewelry, and many other items.

Thus, even without the $100 boost in personal exemptions urged by the Democrats, individual taxpayers probably will be able to chalk up a $4,700,000,000 tax saving for 1954.

Here are some of the benefits for individual taxpayers contained in the 875-page tax-revision bill as it now stands:

Medical expenses: A deduction can be taken of all medical expenses over 3 percent of gross income instead of over 5 percent, as present law provides. The present dollar ceiling on the amount of medical deductions is doubled. Travel prescribed by a physician is deductible.

It is claimed that this provision will be of special benefit to low-income taxpayers. A Treasury survey, based on 1949 tax figures, shows that 4,591,842 taxpayers were able to take deductions for medical expenses in excess of 5 percent of income.

Of these, 3,812,421 had adjusted gross incomes under $5,000 and their deductions totaled over a billion dollars, for an average of $267. The proposed 3-percent provision would have meant much higher deductions for these people and also would have increased greatly the number of people able to take medical deductions.

Child care: In certain cases, a deduction of up to $600 will be allowed for expenses incurred for child care to make it possible for a parent to hold a job. This is intended especially as a boon to working mothers who must pay nursemaids or nursery school bills.

Dependents: Present law denies the taxpayer the right to take credit for a dependent if the dependent earns over $600 in the tax year. This limitation would be removed on dependents who are not over 19 years old or who are still in school if the taxpayer furnishes more than half of the dependent's support.

In cases where two or more persons jointly support a dependent—as frequently happens with elderly parents—present law denies a dependency exemption unless one member of the group pays more than half of the dependent's support. The new law would permit any member of the group to take the exemption by agreement with the others, providing the whole group supplies more than half of total support.

Retirement income: Retired workers over 65 would be able to exclude up to $1,200 of income from dividends, interest, rents, pensions, or annuities from their taxable income. This figure would be reduced by amounts received from Social Security, railroad retirement benefits, or veterans benefits, which are already tax free. It would also be reduced by any amount over $900 the taxpayer earns by working. The total tax reduction permitted under this section would be held to $240. Married couples could each take advantage of this provision if each has retirement income.

Fast depreciation: This provision would enable heavier depreciation allowances early in the life of the item involved, in contrast to the present system of taking equal amounts over the life of the item. While this is of special interest to businessmen, it also will benefit farmers, storekeepers, landlords, and others.

Heads of families: Present split income benefits granted to married couples would be extended to unmarried persons maintaining a household and supporting one or more dependents. The law now only allows them one-half of the income splitting benefit. Many single, widowed, divorced, or separated persons who support a close relative would benefit from this provision, which also provides that the dependent supported does not have to live in the home of the taxpayer. There is some tightening of the definition of who can qualify as head of a family.

Soil conservatio nexpenses: Farmers would be permitted to deduct as current expenses up to 25 percent of their gross income for spending for soil and water conservation. If the spending exceeds the 25-percent limit, the excess can be carried over to the next year.

Dividend taxation: The new bill would exclude from taxation $50 of dividend income this year, $100 next year. If both members of a married couple has dividend income they can take double this amount on their joint return. Also 5 percent of remaining dividends—10 percent after August 1, 1955—can be deducted from the total tax liability.

This provision would free more than 1 million taxpayers from all taxes on dividend income and would help 2½ million others. The cost would be $240 million in fiscal 1955 and it would climb to $815 million in the first full year of operation at the $100-10 percent rate.

This section came in for heavy Democratic criticism on the grounds that it would help only well-to-do taxpayers. Its sponsors point out, however, that the benefits decrease sharply as the amount of dividend income goes up. They also quote Treasury figures showing that in 1950, 1,890,690 taxpayers reporting dividend income had total income from all sources of less than $5,000 each.

Other provisions of the new law provide tax benefits for people receiving annuities, life-insurance beneficiaries, people who sell their homes at a profit, people who buy on the installment plan, people who contribute large proportions of their income to charity, people who pay alimony without the formality of a court order, people who incur business expenses which are not reimbursed by their employers, and others.

Hungarian Freedom Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me in Washington, D. C., at the celebration of Hungarian Freedom Day on March 14, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT A CELEBRATION OF HUNGARIAN FREEDOM DAY IN WASHINGTON, D. C., SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 1954

"The immortal glory of your forefathers was that they did not shrink to accept the trial, and were devoted and heroic to sacrifice themselves to their country's destiny."

It is with reverence, deep appreciation, and the greatest of admiration that I recall and redirect those immortal words of Louis Kossuth as they were spoken at Lexington, Mass., on May 11, 1852. These were words from the lips and from the heart of as great a national hero as any country ever had.

Fresh from exile in Turkey, where the safety of the Hungarian patriot could no longer be guaranteed, he set foot on United States soil on December 5, 1851. He then proceeded to conquer the heart and soul of America as he swept the length and breadth of the land with thunderous and magnificent oratory in a foreign language—English.

The American people responded. Themselves the product of revolution, the champions of liberty, they were stirred. For almost 4 years they had followed, from day to day, the progress of a political earthquake.

On the 15th of March, in 1848, the people of Hungary had risen in revolution under the leadership of Louis Kossuth. It was a revolt against a system—a feudal system—the Hapsburg dynasty. It was a revolt brought on by a search for freedom and independence. Who in the world knew that desire any better than the people of America?

There will be many speeches around the world today. Orators will proclaim this day of Hungary's independence in glowing terms—and in many tongues. The life and times of this and other great patriots will be relived, and their heroic deeds will be emblazoned again across the pages of freedom's ledger. It will be my purpose to leave these pleasant assigns to others. However, in this day of international unrest, as governments rise and fall, as freedom-loving people cringe in fear of the forces of tyranny, it is well to recall—just for a moment—some of the timely utterances of this man whose deeds gave rise to the celebration in which we take part today.

At Boston—on May 14, 1852—he said: "Freedom never yet was given to nations as a gift, but only as a reward bravely earned by one's own exertions, own sacrifices, and own toil, and never will, never shall it be obtained otherwise." How appropriate that he should have chosen Boston as the platform from which to speak of sacrifices and the price of freedom.

At St. Louis—speaking of Freedom of religion—he said: "I consider religion to be a matter of conscience which every man has to arrange between himself and God. And therefore I respect the religious conviction of every man. I claim religious liberty for myself and my nation, and must of course respect in others the right I claim for myself. There is nothing in the world capable to rouse a greater indignation in my breast than religious oppression." Those are the words and the innermost convictions of a man who was a Protestant by birth and by connection—a member of a nation of which the majority is composed of Catholics.

At Birmingham—speaking of free enterprise—he said: "Industry is a chief element of greatness, welfare, power, and might. It is industry which gives practical value to science. In other branches of employment human faculty appears to be a developing power, but industry is creating power, and being so, it is the most efficient locomotive of progress." Little could he have known of the severe tests to which free enterprise was to be put in coming years. Little could he have known of the attacks to come from every conceivable "ism"—even the "ism" of the dread scourge which blankets the flame he kindled more than a hundred years ago in his own dear land.

Pursuing that very thought when he spoke of the East-West struggle—at Pittsburgh—he said: 'One thing I am sure of, and that is, that Russia triumphant in Europe, can and will attack you in your most vital interests, and can hurt you mortally, without even resorting to war." Those words—as were his others—are as timely today at this very moment.

Louis Kossuth, out of his burning love for freedom and for his people and for his country, ridded Hungary of one evil master. Today it is the avowed intent of all freedom-loving people, the world over, to join hands and throw off the yoke of the Red masters who seek to stamp out the embers still nurtured and fanned by a mighty spirit.

It is well to notice the stress placed by Kossuth on the community of interests which linked America to Hungary. He understood, even then, that the destruction of Hungary was something to which the American people could not be indifferent. Today—just over a hundred years later—we know full well how closely the fate of the United States is allied with the fate of Hungary and with the fate of other nations languishing behind the Iron Curtain. We know—equally well—that while we do not live in one world politically, we do live in one world economically and startegically. We know that a world drawn closer together by science must share a desire to be free if peace is to prevail. We know that the appetite of the Russian political juggernaut is ravenous. We know that it is determined to extend its predatory power over all the world. We know that the fate of America may well hang in the balance. We know that Hungary is a step on the Kremlin's road to the United States.

We shall do well to heed these words of Louis Kossuth. We shall do well to recognize the natural community of interests which he emphasized.

Since we, as a nation, owe so much to the babble of blood which courses through our veins, it would be well to recall, for a moment, some of the other contributors to Hungarian-American interests. True, a list of names will not include those mighty contributors to our basic living. There is, as usual, no record of the names of those who gave so much to our country as they toiled—through their own choice—in the mines and in the factories. Yet, there are names that bring an instant smile or nod of recognition—names as well known in the American household as those of the movie stars of the moment—for it happens that Hungary has given so much to the arts of our country.

Instrumental in the actual birth of our great movie industry of today were three whose names are legend: Adolph Zukor, William Fox, and Carl Laemmle. Well known to the followers of the legitimate theater is the name of the brilliant author of sophisticated comedy, Molnar. It would be unforgivable to overlook the famous daughter of Hungarian immigrants who made her contributions to American letters as the writer of best-seller novels, Edna Ferber. A successful publisher was Hungarian-born Charlotte Lederer, the mother of Mrs. Anna Rosenberg. One Hungarian sculptor of note is Alexander Finte, the designer and creator of the beautiful bronze plaque of Col. Michael Kovats. The plaque shows the famous soldier on his mount and hangs today in the national headquarters of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America at Dupont Circle here in Washington.

The list goes on and on. It is longer than there is time to recount here today. Let it be said, simply, that there is no field in which the Hungarian has not made his indelible mark. Without bothering to search, you find him in science, medicine, art, engineering, industry, and in every field of endeavor. They continue to come today. They have been coming for generations.

The man we have chosen to honor especially on this anniversary of the liberation is one who typifies the love of the Hungarian for freedom. Today, it is I who am honored to have a part in your services to his honor and his memory.

On the 11th day of May, in the year 1779, a Hungarian patriot was killed in my country's fight for freedom in the streets of my native city of Charleston.

Who was this man? Why was he in Charleston? The answer to these and many other questions lies far away from the spot where he fell—fighting a good fight.

In the year 1724 there was born on the Hungarian plains, to Calvinist parents, a Michael Kovats. He was born in a region where military tradition was strong and where the people were descendants of warriors who had terrorized Eastern Europe centuries before. Young Kovats joined the mounted troops and immediately began a full life of adventure across Europe.

It was during this time that Frederick the Great was warring against a large part of the world. In great need of soldiers he obtained recruits for his armies as best he could. Although there may be some missing details as to just how it happened, there can be no surprise at finding Kovats riding and fighting for the Prussians for the next 16 years. In a fight between the forces of Frederick and his native Hungary, Kovats was captured by his countrymen. Today, of course, he would be guilty of high treason for fighting against his own country. At that time, however, the lines were not quite so finely drawn, and Captain Kovats talked his way out of the predicament. It was at this point that he heard of the fight being waged by the American colonists for their freedom, and he decided to try his luck overseas. Setting out for America by way of Venice and Genoa, he reached Bordeaux. There he offered his services to America in a letter to Benjamin Franklin who was at that time in Paris.

His activities for a short time are not clear but we do know that he arrived in America without hearing from Mr. Franklin. We do know also that he sought and found the famed champion of Polish liberty, Count Pulaski.

The Count must have found Kovats to his liking because he wrote immediately to General Washington recommending him as a man of great merit and deserving of the charge of master of exercises. Several similar letters were dispatched before a reply was received. The reply was Count Pulaski's authorization for the formation of the Pulaski Legion and an appointment for Colonel Kovats.

After being ordered to Sussex Courthouse, Pulaski's Legion wintered at Cale's Fort, where it defended New Jersey against the Indians. In February of that year, 1779, the Legion was ordered to join General Lincoln in South Carolina. It reached Charleston in May to find the town defended by General Moultrie against the British forces under General Prevost.

On the 11th of May an overwhelming British force was attacked by Pulaski and Kovats. It was in the first onslaught that Kovats was mortally wounded. He was buried by the British at the spot where he fell. This spot is marked today—as it was then—on Huger Street.

Michael Kovats died as he had lived—fighting against all odds for the freedom he held so dear. He came to his mortal end at the age of 55, fulfilling a promise to Benjamin Franklin. When he wrote to Franklin and offered his services to the Colonists, he signed his letter "faithful unto death." In 1907 when the American Hungarian Federation was founded, those words were chosen as the Federation's motto. That letter, written in classic Latin and in a neat hand, shows its author to have been a learned man.

It was just 175 years ago that this brave "Yas'Koon" hussar gave his life for the future of a new country. His name, his life, and his deeds are recalled during this celebration of the beginning of the struggle for liberation. Even now plans are being made for a cavalcade of prominent American Hungarians to travel to Charleston for the purpose of honoring the city's Hungarian defender. The celebration will take place on May 11 on the 175th anniversary of his death.

It is with pardonable pride, for my part, that Hungariens everywhere may point to the deeds of these two great patriots. It is because of such a heritage that there is real hope of another successful overthrow of a tyrannical master. That is why we contend with confidence that this Red tide will never quench the flame or inundate the spirit that has survived the tyranny of despots in the past.

Remember, then, the words and the deeds of your great liberator. Consider also the great spirit of this young soldier from the plains who gave his life to the cause of freemen. These men performed their tasks in

their time, and they have forever taken their places in our hearts.

Let us remember the heroism of the patriots who have joined in the struggle for independence, but let us move onward in this never-ending fight against the forces of tyranny and oppression. So long as one soul cries out for freedom, there must be no letdown in our pursuit of the tyrant.

Our faith is mighty. Our sacred objectives are sure.

"The immortal glory of your forefathers was, that they did not shrink to accept the trial and were devoted and heroic to sacrifice themselves to their country's destiny." So spoke Kossuth.

American Leadership in a World of Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last Saturday it was my privilege to address the sixth annual convention of the Military Government Association, at the Statler Hotel, in Washington, D. C. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, before the sixth annual convention of the Military Government Association, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., March 20, 1954)

It is a privilege to address the sixth annual convention of the Military Government Association.

It is altogether appropriate that you and I should review together some of the key international problems of our times.

It is particularly appropriate because, after all, military government is completely intertwined with American foreign policy.

Six years ago, your distinguished first president, Gen. John Hildring pointed out this interrelationship when he stated that, "Military government people took the first steps toward the establishment of peace. They, perhaps, more than any one group of our citizens, are aware of what the United States faces if we as a Nation, collectively and individually, fail to discharge with vigor and intelligence the international responsibilities which World War II and the postwar period have forced upon us."

Then, looking toward the future and your opportunity to contribute further, he said: "The association could provide a head of steam behind a proper foreign policy while, at the same time, constituting a source of intelligent and constructive criticism."

And so my friends, I want to talk to you this afternoon about how we—you and I—may be adequate in carrying forward a proper foreign policy, a foreign policy which may banish the dreaded scourge of war and the grim conditions of want and insecurity and fear.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF UNITED STATES MILITARY GOVERNMENT

All of you gentlemen have known war and war's bitter aftermath.

"War," said General Sherman very accurately, "is hell."

And military occupation itself is no pink tea. It is a hard, difficult, complicated task. To administer occupied areas in the wake of war's devastation invariably presents some of the most difficult challenges ever faced by United States military commanders.

I am firmly convinced that the record achieved by American military government and after World War II constitutes some of the brightest pages in United States military history.

You gentlemen helped write what I think is one of the most amazing chapters in the history of the world—a chapter which we might entitled with the motto "To the victor belongs the responsibility."

For the first time in human history, a conqueror came, not to despoil, not to loot, not to persecute and oppress, not to disperse peoples and banish cultures; a conqueror came to rebuild, to reconstruct, to uplift, to improve.

To this victor—to you and to me and our countrymen—belonged not the spoils, but the responsibility.

American military governors and their personnel sought to import an adapt from our country the greatest values, the highest ideals which we have achieved in almost two centuries of freedom.

We sought to lay before the conquered peoples the finest concepts which we have learned and practiced in education, in civil liberties, in labor relations, in jurisprudence, in agricultural affairs, in governmental practices.

No; this new-type conqueror did not impose his will on the conquered.

This conqueror did not empty the vanquished's treasury; on the contrary, he dipped deeply into his own Treasury. From the pockets of the taxpayer we poured forth $3½ billion in aid to Germany; $2 billion to Japan in the postwar years.

THE MIRACLE OF THE OCCUPIED LANDS

And the experiment worked.

The financial sacrifices we made, following the even greater sacrifices of our heroes in uniform, proved not in vain.

A new Japan, a new Germany have arisen from the ashes of defeat. They are strong, peaceful countries, with competent leadership—eager to work as partners in the community of nations.

This is truly a miracle of modern times.

It is admittedly not a miracle without its imperfections, without its blemishes, without persistent and annoying problems, but it is a miracle nonetheless.

How did it come to pass?

Why did you and your compatriots succeed?

I should like to turn to the record to find the principles which you applied which proved so valid, for they are principles applicable, with certain adaptations, elsewhere throughout the world.

So I ask: Why did you succeed? I believe you succeeded because you provided the four principles of leadership: A leadership of constructive example, a leadership of confidence and decision, a leadership which stimulated native leadership, a leadership of realism, a leadership which conferred responsibility.

WHY THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

In all this wide world today, there is no greater need than the need for leadership. Not the leadership of dictators, nor of tyrants, but the leadership of brave men; wise men; good men; selfless, dedicated, inspired.

If you want to find why this type of leadership is so desperately needed, read this afternoon's newspapers and listen to this afternoon's radio and television programs for news of the latest experimental developments with the dread hydrogen bomb.

This mighty weapon, this terrifying weapon—and all its companion instruments of mass destruction which may be developed in the future—emphasize the need for United States leadership. They emphasize the absolute necessity for us to rise to the great challenge which is ours.

The fact that American scientists and American industrial genius have already so intensively perfected the H-bomb is no source for smugness and self-satisfaction on our part.

Of course, we feel somewhat more secure, knowing that we are proceeding, all out as we must, in order to equip ourselves with the most vital means of offense and defense.

But we know full well that the Soviet Union is doing likewise. It is concentrating, the energies of its slave empire on this highest—priority task. Its scientific progress in weapons of destruction is proceeding, apparently at an accelerating pace.

So, I repeat, there is no reason for American smugness and self-satisfaction. But there is need for prayer—for prayer that man in his race to improve the world will catch up with man in his race to destroy the world.

Man—the destroyer—has the head start.

But man—the builder must and will, I believe, catch up.

Remember there is little consolation in our power of retaliation. There is little consolation in the fact that if the Soviets were to unleash war, "we could destroy X number of Soviet targets and X number of plants and people in X number of hours."

For that matter, Soviet bombers and guided missles and bacteriological warfare and H-bombs and A-bombs—piercing our inadequate defense—could—with the very onset of undeclared war—rack up a terrible toll on our own country and on allied countries.

This fateful set of facts has impelled our Government time and again to exercise the type of leadership which was so eloquently expressed, for example, in President Eisenhower's historic address before the United Nations.

This leadership was ably expressed in the repeated diplomatic proposals by our worthy Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles—proposals backed with all America's heart and soul, urging that the Soviet leaders wake up to the dangers of their own policies. Let them wake up to the need for genuine collaboration toward peace—collaboration not with mere instruments of paper, but with irrevocable deeds.

As for ourselves, in spite of all our frustrating experiences in the face of Soviet obstinacy, we must persevere in our proposals, and indeed we will.

Only the highest leadership, the truest vision, the most dedicated souls can spare the world and ourselves from a catastrophe which no people seeks to avoid more than our own people.

You who have seen war at first hand know full well whereof I speak.

You who have tried to repair the damage of war's carnage know so well of the infinitely worse carnage which could come with an atomic Armageddon.

You, however, who have devoted so many man-years in the honored service of your country know that, as the Father of his Country said, "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means of preserving the peace."

But I say that we must prepare, as well, for peace itself—prepare with all the energy, all the ingenuity, all the devotion which we have previously devoted to war. We must prepare for peace by demonstrating the highest type of leadership, such as you have well demonstrated already.

Now, what are the principles of your military government actions to which I earlier referred?

LEADERSHIP BY EXAMPLE

First of all, you gentlemen demonstrated the power of constructive example.

You knew that no military government could succeed unless its forces demonstrated principles of ethical conduct, fair play, among its own members and with the public as a whole.

You knew that the people of an occupied area had to have cause to look up to military government, to have respect for it; the respect had to be genuinely deserved; and it was deserved.

Our military government forces displayed, in my judgment, the highest standards of conduct which any forces in history in a similar position have displayed.

We are familiar with certain exceptions in our record. But I repeat, notwithstanding those phases of our actions which could obviously have stood improvement, we may be deeply proud of the record which you gentlemen and your associates compiled.

What we must learn from that record is that the United States must continue to hold up a light today for all the forld to see.

We will maintain the respect of the world if we continue to apply—not simply give lip service to—the creed of our Constitutional Republic. We must apply the creed of our democratic, representative Government, of our free society—in which all men are created free and equal.

If we break faith with our own creed, if there are evidences of bigotry, of discrimination in the United States, or of disregard of the fundamental rights of our fellow citizens, we can be sure that the evidences are quickly noted by the rest of the world. And those few conditions are magnified out of all proportion by our enemies.

We must give our enemies no cause for such distortion. We must give them no cause, not only because we are interested in winning the war of ideas, but because, even if we were not engaged in a cold war, we would want to apply, and should apply, fair play to our own citizens.

LEADERSHIP BY DECISION

A second principle which you gentlemen applied is that military government must demonstrate confidence in itself—decisiveness in its decisions.

It cannot be animated by fear and doubt and anxiety any more than it can permit itself to be bogged down with red tape.

It must act upon critical situations with promptness—with thoroughness.

So, too, the United States today must be capable of acting in our far-flung areas of responsibility with dispatch, with decisiveness, with adequacy.

We are all familiar with certain controversy on the crucial policy of so-called massive, instant retaliation against aggression.

We are all familiar with problems involved in this policy—problems which are inevitable, but by no means insuperable.

(a) They are problems intrinsic to our constitutional government, for it is the Congress which alone has the power to declare war; and

(b) Problems of our formal and informal relations with our allies, as well as other problems.

It is not my purpose at the present time to try to spell out for the executive branch policies which it, itself, initiated, and which it, itself, is carefully elaborating to the Congress, to the American people, to our allies, and to the world.

I do, however, want to point out that there is one phase of the general issue of decisive United States action on which every Member of the Senate in particular can and should speak.

MASSIVE, INSTANT CONFUSION IN THE LAW COUNTS

I refer to the controversy over the powers of the Chief Executive to negotiate treaties subject to Senate ratification, and to negotiate executive agreements—treaties and agreements which provide the sinews of strength for the free world.

I am not going to attempt to outline the lengthy background of this question, the so-called Bricker amendment—to analyze all of its legal implications. This is neither the time nor the place for that.

I do want to put out, however, that right now, there is hanging over the Senate the prospect of another debate, and then another vote on the issue of the so-called George substitute to the Bricker amendment.

Yes, there is hanging over us the prospect of a vague, contradictory Constitutional amendment which will bring on, in effect, massive instant confusion in our law courts and in the world.

So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the Senate reconsidering important issues when the occasion warrants.

BRICKER CONTROVERSY UNDERMINES UNITED STATES

However, in my firm judgment, the net effect of stil more debate on the George substitute—is for the United States to undermine its own position and to demonstrate to the world that we are motivated not by confidence, bu by fear.

Fear of whom?

Fear of the office of the Presidency of the United States. Fear of ourselves. Fear of tomorrow.

Yet, why should we have such fear? Do not we ourselves elect the President? Does not the Congress have more than sufficient power to check and balance the President? Does not the Supreme Court have more than sufficient powers to check and balance both the Congress and the legislative branch and vice versa? Why should the greatest power on earth demonstrate fear of itself and of its future?

If we should be concerned about anything, it should be about the Soviet Union and not about ourselves.

If there should be concern it should be over the possibilities that our Government may not be in a position to act promptly enough rather than too promptly—in dealing with international crisis.

I say to you my friends that there is no reason for fear of ourselves.

I do not underestimate the fact that some day, conceivably a President could abuse the power to negotiate executive agreements. But for that matter, there is no power or authority on earth which might not some day be abused.

Already, in the past, there have been agreements which I, for one, have strongly opposed—the secret agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam.

But they constitute no excuse for strait-jacketing the Chief Executive of our land, the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, particularly the great soldier, the great statesman, the great patriot who now occupies the White House.

I have full confidence that if Congress is eternally vigilant, if the American people are always vigilant, we need have no fear for the future, either of dangers from without or dangers from within.

I have a great deal of admiration for opponents who have debated this issue of treaties and executive agreements, particularly for my distinguished friend, the senior Senator from Georgia, one of the finest servants ever to occupy the office of United States Senator.

But I respectfully point out that because of this somewhat strange controversy over treaties and agreements, the free world has become mystified. It is confused. Is is unpleasantly surprised to find the United States, the greatest guardian of peace and freedom, riddled apparently with fears, tortured with self-created artificial doubts, when it should instead be animated by a great faith, and abiding confidence.

I say that just as military-government people had to demonstrate faith in themselves, so it is up to all America today to demonstrate faith in our own leadership.

Let there be no partisan fears. Let partisan politics always cease at the water's edge.

Let us have faith in the office of Presidency, in the Congress, in the judiciary, and in the American people themselves.

Let us have faith in our Foreign Service, faith in our Armed Forces. Let us have faith that we will be adequate to our responsibilities, and that our Allies will be adequate. Let us have faith in the United Nations.

But let this faith not be a blind faith, an unquestioning faith, a serflike faith.

Let it be a faith based upon constructively critical analysis, upon the process of dynamic checks and balances.

But let it be faith nonetheless—faith which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

Let us not shrink from our worldwide responsibilities. Let us give the Soviet Union no cause for rejoicing that we are being overcome by timidity or fear or anxiety or doubt.

Let the Kremlin shake from its own well-justified fears. Let it be more tortured, as it is indeed increasingly tortured, by anxiety that its slave empire will rise against it—will rise at every opportunity—if not in violent revolution, then by every available means of displaying unrest, by slow-down stoppages, and sabotage.

We need have no such fears. Our conscience is clear. We have demonstrated our faith in our Allies in the past. That faith has been well merited. And the faith we have shown others has been reciprocated by the faith of others in us.

We do have the confidence of free men. We need to increase that confidence and we can only do so if we demonstrate confidence in ourselves.

LEADERSHIP BY STIMULATING OTHER LEADERS

I have referred to leadership by example.

I have referred to leadership by decision.

I now refer to leadership by raising other leaders.

The reason our military Government policies succeeded so well is that our authorities clearly perceived that the redemption of the enemy lands could only come from those lands themselves, and, in particular, from a new type of leadership.

The two principal enemy nations—Germany and Japan—have both been nations which have in the past contributed much leadership to the world in a vast variety of peaceful fields, in science, in culture.

Unfortunately, they have also had a legacy of authoritarian and military leadership.

The task confronting us was to establish conditions and a climate in which a new democratic and peaceful leadership could arise.

The fact that we succeeded is attested by the fact that in the family of nations today, a leading role is played by two of the great leaders of modern times—Chancelor Konrad Adenauer, of Germany; and Premier Yoshida, of Japan. They are both old in years but young in heart and courageous in soul.

Germany and Japan are fortunate indeed that they have these distinguished leaders who serve so well the needs of their respective nations and the needs of the world.

These men are working side by side with other great spokesmen of the free world; with that great statesman, Winston Churchill; with illustrious men of France like Georges Bidault; great men of Italy, great men speaking for Europe itself, like Jean Monnet. I wish these leaders Godspeed in their efforts for unity and cooperation in the common cause.

LEADERSHIP OF REALISM

And now, I turn to another principle of leadership. It is the principle of realism.

There is not a man in this audience today who has not in the performance of his military Government duties been confronted at times by situations which were fast disintegrating. They were situations on which you had either to get the facts and realistically

appraise them and act upon them or ignore them and suffer the consequences later on.

But the history of this century is a history of lack of realism. It is full of instances where the nations chose to wear rose-colored glasses, chose to ignore harsh facts, chose to be not realists, but dreamers and star-gazers.

What we need in the world today, however, is a leadership of realism; a leadership which recognizes critical problems instead of withdrawing from them.

INFECTION FROM THE GUATEMALAN BOIL

I want to refer to one such critical problem, and it is Indochina.

I could refer to many others, for example, the grim problem of Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere.

I refer to infiltration—or, more precisely, Soviet intervention, centered in Guatemala, the principal Communist beachhead in the hemisphere; Soviet intervention against which our able Secretary of State and his delegation have labored so well in Caracas at the 10th Inter-American Conference.

But Guatemala remains, as Secretary Dulles and you and I and our good neighbors know so well, a festering boil, a boil whose pus, having poured over all of Guatemala itself, is now unfortunately pouring over the organism of the hemisphere.

THE MEANING OF INDOCHINA

Time is not available to elaborate and so I want to turn to another critical area—Indochina. There, a historic battle is now raging. I am not referring to the specific struggle at the Dien Bien Phu. I am referring to the overall battle for that country as a whole—a bloody battle of attrition which will determine whether the entire flank of the free world in southeast Asia will stand or will collapse.

I say that the American people must recognize, as the President of the United States and Joint Chiefs of Staff have apparently recognized, that there in Indochina is raging a struggle which, in its own smaller way, may be almost as crucial as was the struggle for China itself; a struggle which ended in such tragedy to the free world.

If the Indochinese struggle is lost, we may look back to it 5 years, 2 years, or even 1 year from now and state that "here was suffered as tragic and historic a defeat for the free world as any which has occurred in this century."

Indochina must not fall to the Kremlin. Indochina must be held on the battlefield. It must not and will not be lost at a conference table.

Indochina must be held. It can be held and will be held, provided the free world, particularly the people of the Associated States themselves, recognize that the global Communist conspiracy must not—it must not—triumph there—lest all mankind be further imperiled.

It must not triumph because if it does, the Kremlin will have seized a vast treasury of people and minerals and geography and it will have increased many fold its potentialities for the conquest of the remainder of the world.

I do not imply that I want to see or expect to see American manpower committed to this epic struggle.

Exactly to the contrary, I believe that our contributions must and will be limited to financial and material resources, with limited numbers of key technicians, such as we have already made available.

NOT A BUSH-LEAGUE WAR, BUT THE WORLD SERIES

But I want to emphasize that this is no "bush league" war.

This is the "world series"—a crucial game in that series—a series in which the enemy has thrown away the rule book.

It is a game of life and death stakes—the life and death of Indochina—the life the death of southeast Asia—perhaps, ultimately, by chain reaction, the life and death of the free world.

There must be no shirking of any responsibility to help win this game.

It would be a tragedy if we of America who suffered 30,000 dead boys in Korea and 100,000 other casualties on that shattered peninsula, should lose in south Asia—all or much—of what we gained by our magnificent stand in Korea—by the undaunted stand of the free Korean people, alongside the other gallant United Nations forces.

You and I know that there have been some American critics of our policy of aid to Indochina. I ask them, however, in all frankness, What do you propose as an alternative? Do you propose that we abandon France, which has bled so long and so seriously in that bitter theater? Do you propose that we abandon the people of Laos and Vietnam and Cambodia?

WE MUST TAKE RISKS

I know that the critics do not want American forces to become directly involved in that struggle, and I share that desire.

But it is one thing to avoid American boys shedding their blood in Indochina, and it is another thing to assume that we can avoid any risk whatsoever there, by simply burying our heads in the sand.

Of course, when we sent technicians, we took some risk with their lives—some risk that a stray bullet or an intended bullet would hit an American lad.

No one hopes more fervently than I that this will not occur. But this is a world of risks, a world of danger. Anyone who tells you that we can live in the world without any risks is spinning pipedreams which have no relation to reality.

I assure you that it would have been an infinitely worse risk not to have sent our technicians to Indochina—an infinitely worse risk to hazard the unavailability of aerial supplies to Indochina.

Whoever heard of a leader who was unwilling to take risks? Is there a man in this audience who has not taken risks during his military service, let alone in his civilian life? Of course not.

Remember that international communism thrives on the unwillingness of its enemies to take risks. When it sent its forces hurtling over the borders of South Korea, it expected that we would not take a risk. But we did.

When it slashed the land lifelines to beleaguered Berlin, it expected that we would not take a risk. But we did. And by our superb airlift we saved Berlin and the day.

We took risks in Greece when we saved that nation from the Communist forces. In fact, our very birth as a nation was a gigantic risk which the Founding Fathers embarked upon in order to establish a new and free Nation. And we have taken other risks, and the risks have paid off. They have paid off in peace and in freedom. They have paid off by saving blood and treasure.

LEADERSHIP BY CONFERRING RESPONSIBILITY

I want to turn now to a final point in the list of principles of leadership which limited time will permit me to cover today.

I have said that you cannot lead unless you help raise other leaders. You cannot lead unless you have confidence in yourself.

But neither can you lead by doing for others what they should be doing for themselves.

Leadership encourages other to assume their own responsibilities.

We could not do for Germany and Japan what they had to do for themselves. They must still do a great deal more for themselves, and so must the other free nations.

We cannot do for the people of the Associated States of Indochina what they must do for themselves—defend their own homelands against international communism with all their heart and soul.

Of course, for them to do so requires them to feel that this cause is their cause, and not just France's cause and the cause of the rest of the world.

They themselves will fight all-out, when they feel that they have a great deal more worth fighting for.

The unfortunate aspect of the situation is that so considerable a segment of the population there has so obviously not felt that it was worth fighting and dying against the Communist forces.

Many people have preferred thereby to stay on the sidelines and there to await the outcome. Others have preferred to commit themselves to the Moscow-managed forces of Ho Chi Minh.

Contrast this disunity with the unity displayed by the people of South Korea when the aggressor struck there.

Few peoples ever gave themselves more unreservedly to a cause than the people of the Republic of Korea.

So, obviously in Indochina, where so many native people do have reservations in mind, France still has much to do to help assure their full allegiance to freedom's banner against communism.

But other nations have also much to do to win uncommitted millions to freedom's banner.

There are literally hundreds of millions of people in the world today who deplore what they regard as the colonialism of the West, almost as vigorously, or more so, than they deplore the communism of the East.

We, who freed ourselves from colonial status have always sympathized with the right of peoples to attain their own sovereignty.

We will continue to play our constructive role encouraging orderly transition from dependence to independence by those peoples who are ready for it.

But we will not go to the extreme to which the Communists would like us to go, of encouraging such premature independence as to result in chaos and confusion among peoples unready for independence.

CONCLUSION

These then, my friends, are some of the principles of leadership which I think must be demonstrated today.

They are by no means all the principles of leadership, but they at least are a minimum, on the basis of which you I must act.

I emphasize "you and I" because, although so many of you are in civilian clothes and in private life today, you are still a vital part of the strength of this Republic.

Napoleon once said that every soldier carries with him a marshal's baton. Why? Because upon the conduct of the individual soldier depends the success or failure of the marshal commanding him.

So, too, in this age of total struggle—of society against society, ideology against ideology, every citizen carries his country's flag with him.

He can carry it high—by demonstrating alert, constructive, informed citizenship, or he can carry it soiled and wrinkled, by failing in his responsibilities to his community, to his Nation, to his God.

Of this audience I have no doubt. The flag is high in your heart. The baton is firmly in your grasp.

As you were once adequate in the service of our country, so today, in uniform or the civilian clothes, you will be adequate, and so will be our Nation.

Thank you, and good luck to you all.

Address by Secretary of the Army at Inauguration of Gen. Mark Clark as President of the Citadel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an able and impressive address delivered by the Secretary of the Army, Hon. Robert T. Stevens, on the occassion of the inauguration of Gen. Mark Clark as president of the Citadel, the great military institution of South Carolina.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT T. STEVENS, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY, INAUGURATION OF GENERAL CLARK AS PRESIDENT OF THE CITADEL, CHARLESTON, S. C., MARCH 19, 1954

It is an honor to take part this morning in the inauguration of one of our Nation's most distinguished soldiers as head of one of our Nation's most distinguished military colleges.

Few there are who would be qualified to follow in the footsteps of your beloved leader for the last 22 years. Gen. Charles P. Summerall built well upon the solid foundation of an honorable tradition. Under his direction the Citadel increased greatly in size, but far more important, he put upon it the indelible mark of his own magnificent personality. He imbued it with the vigor of his own spirit and the strength of his own character. He did much to make the Citadel and its officer-alumni more than ever the objects of profound respect wherever the uniform is worn.

Impressive indeed must be the attributes of a worthy successor. I am certain that the years to come will confirm my opinion that Gen. Mark Clark was a most happy choice.

To the office of president he brings the high integrity and courage which have been so evident throughout his long and brilliant military career. He brings the splendid qualities of mind and spirit that underlie his most admirable record as a combat commander, as a military and civil administrator, and as a diplomat.

I see no need for me to spell out that record in detail for it is, I am sure, well known to all of us. It goes back to the First World War when, as a captain of infantry, Mark Clark was wounded in action. At the outset of World War II, he emerged as a senior officer of great promise, and his subsequent exploits more than justified every expectation.

He played a leading role in the rapid expansion of our Army. He became General Eisenhouwer's trusted deputy for the invasion of North Africa, and won the Distinguished Service Cross for the courage and statesmanship he displayed during exceedingly hazardous negotiations with the French. In Italy he commanded the 15th Army Group which swept the Germans from Salerno to the Brenner Pass. He served as United States High Commissioner for Austria, and sat as the deputy of our Secretary of State when the Council of Foreign Ministers attempted to negotiate a peace treaty for that country. Later, on the other side of the world, he served with great distinction as the United Nations commander in bloody Korea, and as American Far East commander.

Today he assumes another tremendously important role for which he is eminently fitted. As the new president of the Citadel, he is heir to a great legacy of opportunity, of prestige—and of responsibility. The Citadel is peculiarly a symbol of the basic strength, determination, and solidarity of the American people.

Citadel students and graduates were sincere and determined advocates of the high principles which motivated the citizens of the embattled South. It is part of its cherished tradition that it was a Citadel superintendent who gave the command to fire the first shot of the war between the States, and a Citadel cadet who pulled the lanyard. The flag of the Corps of Cadets proudly bears eight Confederate battle streamers.

The united Republic has had no more stanch, courageous, and effective defenders in the great wars of later years than the men of the Citadel. And today men of the Citadel—from the South, the North, the East, and the West—are providing an impressive measure of the leaven of great leadership, capability, and moral stamina upon which our national strength so largely depends. It is a matter of justifiable pride to everyone connected with the Citadel that during World War II it led all other American colleges—with the exception of West Point and Annapolis—in the percentage of graduates serving in the Armed Forces.

The Citadel's fame, of course, does not rest alone upon its great martial record. Through the years it has aspired to provide "a complete and generous education * * * which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all of the offices of a citizen." It has been outstandingly successful in achieving that purpose. Among Citadel graduates are brilliant men in key civil positions throughout the land who have helped and are helping to mold an ever stronger and greater America.

Nevertheless I think it is as a military college that the Citadel plays, and will continue to play, its most important role in these troubled times.

Of the many thorny problems confronting us as we strive to deal realistically with the Soviet threat of aggression, one stands out in my mind as being of such fundamental importance that it cannot be too often or too strongly stressed. This is the problem of insuring the continuous development of the highest quality of military leadership. I consider it a matter of grave consequence, particularly in view of our normal dependence upon relatively small active forces which must be rapidly and enormously expanded in order to meet a war emergency.

Great leadership is a priceless military asset, and the lack of it can never be offset by numbers of men, by a preponderance of guns and tanks, of planes, bombs, ships or any other material things, no matter how good they may be, how modern, how powerful. No matter how large and well equipped it may be, a military force which goes forth to battle without fine leadership—not only at the top but all down through the ranks—marches toward defeat and disaster.

We certainly have fine leaders today. Never before have we had available so many senior officers tempered in the fires of war, thoroughly versed by experience in the command of large bodies of men, and practiced in the solution of military problems of the first magnitude.

For more than a year now, as Secretary of the Army, I have worked in close association with a great many of these highly competent officers upon whose shoulders rests a major part of the burden of our national security. I have the most profound respect for their unalloyed patriotism, their zeal, their high character and intelligence, and their professional stature. In my visits to the Far East, to Europe, and to installations throughout the United States I have become acquainted with all our top commanders in the field, and I have brought back with me to Washington a firm belief in their great capacity and unsurpassed devotion to the Nation.

We are also fortunate in having the kind of enlisted men who make up the bulk of our Army. I have seen them under the stress of battle, I have seen them standing guard at farflung outposts, and I have seen them undergoing their gruelling training. I have talked to them and I have come to know them. And, knowing them, I am resolved that they shall continue to have the finest possible leadership; they deserve no less.

The bravery and capability of the American soldier is written large on the pages of history. How often the words "valor above and beyond the call of duty" have been his epitaph. I want to tell you about two American soldiers in particular. I pick them from the thousands only because a little over a week ago it was my solemn privilege to present to their parents Medals of Honor which had been awarded posthumously.

One was Sfc. Ray Duke of Tracy City, Tenn. Sergeant Duke, who was in action against the enemy in Korea, learned that several of his men were isolated and heavily engaged in an area from which his platoon had been ordered to withdraw. He led forward a small force which recovered the position and the trapped men. The enemy attacked and Sergeant Duke, although wounded by mortar fragments, calmly moved along his platoon line to direct the fire of his men and encourage them. Wounded a second time, he received first aid and returned to his position. When the enemy attacked again shortly after dawn, the sergeant, despite his wounds, continued to supervise the defense of each position. The platoon was threatened with annihilation, and had again been ordered to withdraw when Sergeant Duke was wounded a third time. Both legs were injured. Unable to walk and realizing that he was impeding the progress of the comrades who were carrying him, he instructed them to leave him behind. He was last seen pouring devastating fire into the ranks of the onrushing enemy.

The other man was Pfc. Charles George of Whittier, N. C. While a member of a raiding party, he leaped into a Communist trench and closed with the enemy in hand-to-hand combat. When the patrol was ordered to withdraw, he remained behind with two companions to cover its withdrawal. When a hostile soldier hurled a grenade into the midst of the trio, Private George unhesitatingly threw himself upon the grenade and absorbed the full force of the blast. Although terribly wounded, he refrained from crying out in order not to reveal the position of his comrades. They eventually managed to get him to an aid station, but he died.

These two instances are vivid examples of the courage of the American soldier, and I include all ranks—for valor is found at every level in the Army.

The Army's brilliant Chief of Staff, General Ridgway, for example, is well known for his personal bravery and inspirational leadership in battle. He parachuted into Normandy to spearhead our assault on the Nazi-held peninsula. When he commanded the XVIII Airborne Corps it was said that "at the furthest point of advance of Ridgway's corps you would always find the corps commander, the division commander, the regimental commander and any riflemen who could keep up."

Our senior officers set the standards for courage by their own actions. I know all of you are well familiar with the heroic exploits of General Dean in Korea. During World War II, General Clark made a perilous landing from a submarine on the enemy-occupied North African coast for a secret meeting with a group of French officers to arrange details of the invasion which was to follow. General Taylor, at present commanding our

Eighth Army in Korea, had himself smuggled into enemy-held Italy, in order to confer with Marshal Badoglio about terms of the Italian surrender. After a hazardous trip past road blocks, German sentries, and innumerable other dangers, he successfully completed his mission, although his life was in constant peril.

These are but a few of many examples I could mention. But they serve to illustrate the kind of men of which this Army is composed. I reaffirm to all America today what a wonderful United States Army we have.

After all, it did produce the President of the United States. It did produce Ridgway, Marshall, Bradley, MacArthur, Collins, Clark, Clay, Van Fleet, Taylor, Gruenther, Hull—to mention only a few of the great soldiers who, in the past decade, have brought high honor to the uniform.

This Army began with George Washington, and its fidelity and determination in the dark days of Valley Forge were all that kept the flickering spark of liberty alive. In truth it created the opportunity for the United States of America to exist as a free nation and to become a great nation.

In less than two centuries a wilderness has been transformed into one of the greatest world powers in history. No element in American society has made a more valuable, more selfless, more consistently outstanding—and more generally unacknowledged—contribution to that development than the United States Army.

Its primary mission, of course, is to insure the military security of the United States, and the challenge of war has ever found it capable of almost incredible feats. Careful preparation and study by the Army's officers, despite decades of public neglect of the military, made possible the tremendous achievements of World War I. The United States Army successfully carried out a tremendous expansion in a few short months. It organized, trained, supported, and took into combat a great military force which tipped the balance in favor of the Allied Powers and brought about the defeat of the German aggressor.

Similarly, in 1941, the skill and vigor of our Army officers, and their years of experience and study, enabled America to create in a relatively short time the greatest army in all history. That army proved its quality in north Africa and Italy, on the Normandy beaches, on the islands of the Pacific—in the tropics, in the desert, in the mountains, and the frozen Arctic.

And then Korea. Surely no army in history has fought more nobly under more trying conditions. It was outnumbered from the begining, confronted by an enemy who inhumanly sacrificed his men by the thousands to overrun a single position, an enemy who tortured his prisoners, and who disdained the scruples of civilized nations, yet it threw back the aggressor and fought him to a standstill.

It fought nobly in spite of the fact that the Korean conflict was unique in our history. The cause was not solely national, but the cause of all free men. The issues were not as clear in the public mind as had been the case in other wars. Nevertheless, the United States Army successfully conducted its operations and produced the magnificent Eighth Army which has never been surpassed in its capacity to fight by any army in the history of the world.

The Army's peacetime contributions to the national welfare and the development of our country are often overlooked, but the record of those contributions is an indivisible part of the record of America's rise to greatness.

The exploring and mapping expeditions which charted the course of our territorial expansion are known by the names of the Army officers who led them—Lewis and Clark, Zebulon Pike, John C. Fremont, to cite only a few. The westward migration of settlers was possible only because of these explorations and because the Army provided the settlers protection against the hostile tribes—protection to a far greater extent than could rightfully have been expected in view of its limited manpower.

The United States Military Academy was the first engineering school in America, and its graduates through the years have richly rewarded the Nation for the technical training they received. They were the indispensable engineers, the surveyors, and builders of the young Republic. They built our Nation's first roads and canals. That illustrious soldier, Robert E. Lee, as a captain carried out an engineering project which literally saved the city of St. Louis as a prosperous commercial center by preventing the Mississippi River from changing its course and leaving the city miles from that vital avenue of trade.

The Army constructed the Panama Canal, considered virtually an impossible task. The canal is a tribute not only to the engineering skill of its officers, but also to their medical skill and their administrative ability. It established and operates the Alaska Communications System and built the Alaska Highway through forests and over frozen muskeg from Dawson Creek across the Yukon territory to Fairbanks. Flood control and the constant improvement of our navigable waterways and our harbors, so vital to our commerce, have always been its responsibility.

In the light of this record, and the outstanding character of our professional military men, it is deplorable that the Army as a whole—more particularly its Officer Corps, and especially its senior officers—should too often be the target for irresponsible criticism.

The fundamental principle emphasized by President Eisenhower that "* * * professional military leaders must not be thrust into the political arena to become the prey of partisan politics" has too often been forgotten or flouted. There is a tendency to overlook the fact that the soldier is an integral part of the community and is entitled to the same guaranties and protected by the same Bill of Rights as every other American citizen. It is sometimes forgotten that it was the Army which played a major role in the foundation of this Nation and made possible the firm establishment of liberty, justice, and individual freedom. The Army has successfully defended those principles in every war, and I propose to defend it and its prestige and integrity.

Ours is a superbly trained Army, ready to fight on any terrain, under any circumstances whenever it may be called upon to do so. It is one of the toughest, most efficient, fastest moving armies ever known. Day by day it is becoming tougher and its striking power and mobility are becoming greater. Every activity that does not contribute to combat effectiveness is being eliminated. Although the fighting has ceased in Korea, the pace of training has not been slowed. New and improved weapons of unbelievable variety—both atomic and coventional—are giving our forces a punch which only a few years ago seemed beyond achievement. From bottom to top it is a hard-muscled, tough-minded Army, well trained and superbly led.

If I had to find a single word by which to characterize the officers of the United States Army, that word would be: Integrity—absolute, uncompromising integrity.

This includes both professional integrity and moral integrity. By professional integrity I mean unceasing striving to master one of the most complex, difficult, and demanding vocations which exists. By moral integrity I mean loyalty to the American people, to the Government, to constituted civilian authority, and to the principles of truth, justice, and liberty upon which our Government is based. I mean as true loyalty to subordinates as to superiors—loyalty up, and loyalty down.

One often hears disparaging references to the so-called military mind. I have heard apologists deny that there is a military mind. They are wrong. Of course there is a military mind, just as there is a legal mind and a scientific mind and an academic mind. It would be a sad commentary on the Army as an institution if it made no indelible imprint upon its members after years of training and service.

I want to tell you something about the military mind. It is a mind which seeks to anticipate and prepare for every eventuality. It is a mind capable of dealing brilliantly with the special problems which concern the military security of the Nation. It is a mind conditioned by courage, by a tradition of selfless service, by the highest standards of character. It is, in short, a mind which measures every action by the yardstick of "duty, honor, country." I fervently pray that our Nation will continue to develop such minds.

When I hear distinguished officers slurringly referred to as the brass it disturbs me greatly. I heartily endorse the sentiment of that eminent American and South Carolinian, Bernard Baruch, who said: "In my experience, the brass is all pure gold."

Men such as those who lead our Army today cannot and will not let America down in any respect—of that I am certain. The perpetuation of this hard core of able, dedicated officers and noncommissioned officers is of especially vital concern to the Nation as dangers and uncertainties beset us on every hand. The day that America allows this breed of men to die out through indifference, thoughtlessness, or neglect, that day America signs her own death warrant.

It is of the utmost importance that everything possible be done to create an atmosphere conducive to the maintenance of a career military service, clothed in dignity and honor, which will be attractive to the highest type of young American. Nothing is more detrimental to the service than a feeling among its personnel that they are held in low esteem by their fellow citizens. Any action which fosters such a conclusion strikes at the taproots of our security.

Unless the trend of recent years is reversed, and a climate created in which the development of military leadership of the highest type is encouraged, there will be little hope that in the future America will possess the kind of military leaders we are fortunate enough to have today and to have had in the past. The Secretary of Defense and the other officials of the Defense Department, as well as the Members of Congress, are giving the matter very serious consideration at the present time. However, it is not their responsibility alone. It is the responsibility of every American.

A very great and particular responsibility for our future security rests upon those charged with the trajning and indoctrination of tomorrow's leaders. To men of vision, of ability, and of high purpose it represents a challenging opportunity for service to America.

And now my sincere congratulations to you, General Clark, on your accession to the leadership of this great military college. To the Governor of South Carolina, the board of visitors, the faculty, the alumni, and the student battalions, my equally sincere congratulations on having so fine a soldier, so able an administrator, and so great an American presiding over the destiny of The Citadel.

The Instant Retaliation Policy Defended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Instant Retaliation Policy Defended," written by me, which appeared in the magazine section of the New York Times of Sunday, March 21, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE INSTANT RETALIATION POLICY DEFENDED

(By Hon. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, of California)

WASHINGTON.—In an article in this magazine on February 28, Chester Bowles, the former Ambassador to India and a Democrat, raised some large questions about what he called the doctrine of "instant retaliation" set out in a speech on foreign policy made by the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, on January 12. Mr. Bowles cast doubt on the wisdom of our policy, saying that in dealing with future armed Soviet or Chinese aggression anywhere in the world the administration proposes to rely chiefly on atomic attack upon major Communist cities. He called for a "great debate."

Mr. Bowles's critiqué is so misleading that I should like to correct some of the erroneous impressions he has left. In general, our policy is this:

We do not and would not expect to rely solely on the atomic weapon. The essence of the new policy is to develop a wider range of effective measures—economic, political, and psychological as well as military—and thus be enabled to combat communism more effectively. We aim to encourage true liberation and freedom of colonial peoples or of independent nations who have lost their freedom to a new and more terrible type of subjection, which is Communist totalitarianism. And our policy is to insure the sort of defense which our economy can sustain over the long haul without disaster.

Let me set the record straight by taking up specific points raised by Mr. Bowles in his article.

1. Mr. Bowles says: "The doctrine of 'instant retaliation' * * * appears to be a far-reaching shift in our foreign policy. * * * [Mr. Dulles] seems to propose the virtual abandonment of the local-resistance, limited-war concept. He emphasizes the deterrent of massive retaliatory power * * * The term 'instant retaliation' has always been associated with strategic atomic bombing."

The doctrine of instant retaliation is neither a fundamental shift in the Nation's foreign policy nor a refinement and restatement of past policies. The doctrine is a departure from the policy of containment which we have heretofore followed in recent years. The essence of our policy, as outlined in Mr. Dulles' speech, is that our defensive methods are not disclosed to the Kremlin in advance, and instant retaliation may be applied to whatever strategic situation develops.

This does not necessarily mean atomic retaliation, but may be a naval blockade, conventional air harassment of Communist communications lines or greater supplies of arms and ammunition to non-Communist governments and to people behind the Iron Curtain who are engaged in the struggle against communism.

It is clear, therefore, that this administration intends to change our defense emphasis to a point where we are no longer dependent on merely reacting to Soviet initiative within limits planned and desired by the Kremlin.

2. Mr. Bowles says: "(The proposal) 'to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing,' implies places beyond the area of aggression, for that area is chosen by the enemy. The places we choose, if they are to provide the most suitable atom-bomb targets, are likely to have highly concentrated populations. * * * Are we prepared to exact this frightful toll of helpless people in order to punish the rulers who control them?"

That part of our foreign policy which, in case of open aggression, calls for instant retaliation at place of our own choosing means that if and when the United States national interest requires active resistance to further Communist aggression, reprisal would be appropriate to the area and objective. No one, of course, has advocated conventional or atomic bombing of cities having no strategic importance. No sane person would use an elephant gun to hunt rabbits, and the new policy realistically calls for striking home at the source of aggression to cripple the aggressor's strength in whatever way seems most feasible at the time.

For example, if another Korean conflict developed as a result of Communist aggression, the new policy would not neutralize our power at the Yalu River. The Communists are on notice that their military supply centers, arsenals, and mobilization depots on the other side of the Yalu would no longer be a privileged sanctuary.

3. Mr. Bowles says: "If we place our principal reliance in Asia upon a method of retaliation which carries what are probably unacceptable risks, and at the same time reduce our capacity for more limited, local responses, as the new policy seems to do, will we not in fact invite rather than deter local aggression in Asia?"

If the Communist forces in North Korea, China, and Moscow had known when South Korea was invaded in June 1950 that the United States would take whatever steps our national interest required, that war—which cost 140,000 United States casualties, 1,500,000 casualties from the Republic of Korea, and 15,000 casualties from the other nations—would probably have never happened. Communism is a global and not a mere area menace.

As the Secretary of State said in his New York speech, "There is no local defense which alone will contain the mighty landpower of the Communist world. Local defenses must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power. A potential aggressor must know that he cannot always prescribe battle positions which suit him. Otherwise, for example, a potential aggressor who is glutted with manpower might be tempted to attack in confidence that resistance would be confined to manpower. He might be tempted to attack in places where his superiority was decisive."

American possession of the atomic weapon and its continued superiority in this field has certainly had a deterrent effect upon the Soviet's plan of aggression. Otherwise, all of Germany, and perhaps all of Europe, would be, no doubt, behind the Iron Curtain.

All the evidence indicates that Europe now feels that the United States' deterrent (including atomic power) saved them from attack. They are convinced that the Soviet Union does not want war at the present time and would not be likely to participate so long as we evidence a determination to retaliate in an overall fashion in the event of aggression against this country or against our forces stationed abroad in conformity with our treaty obligations.

4. Mr. Bowles says: "If * * * the Communists calculate that we will not risk general war over some small Asian aggression, and they do succeed in once calling our bluff, does not much of any deterrent value of the policy disappear overnight?"

The conclusion that we might destroy the effectiveness of our new foreign policy by having our bluff called on some relatively insignificant aggression is based on a misunderstanding of the doctrine of instant retaliation. All that the men in the Kremlin should know is that in the event of further aggression the United States will take whatever steps our national interest requires. We certainly shouldn't telegraph our strategic plans in advance.

The means open to us under this new policy in the event of a minor aggression are not limited to actual participation. Sending supplies of arms and ammunition from this country to people engaged in the struggle against communism is a typical counteraction that could be used in such an instance. Among other steps that might well be taken would be means toward arming the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain to join in the struggle against the Communist menace.

5. Mr. Bowles says: "Our war-weary European allies * * * would suffer even more grievously than we from atomic counterattack. Suspicion that our new policy incurs unnecessary risks of a third world war may further dampen their enthusiasm for * * * European defense."

United States foreign policy is being developed and executed in agreement with our allies and on the basis of collective security. We count upon convincing our allies that the adjusted concept of defense yields not only greater economy of effort but also a multiplicity of alternatives that will keep the men in the Kremlin and in their satellite capitals on the defensive.

As the Secretary of State has said: "We need allies and collective security. Our purpose is to make these relations more effective, less costly. This can be done by placing more reliance on deterrent power and less dependence on local defensive power."

No major steps, of course, will be taken without full consultation and agreement among our allies in the West and the East. Local conventional defenses, even if strengthened, are known to Europe to be inadequate to repel Soviet ground attack, but it feels them to be a valuable supplement to the deterrent power of the United States air strength, our atomic capabilities and our determination to use whatever force is necessary.

6. Mr. Bowles says: "What effect will the new policy have on whatever hope still exists for international atomic control? * * * If we move toward almost complete dependence on atom bombs to keep the peace, we may kill the dream of atomic disarmament * * *."

My understanding is that we still stand, as President Eisenhower has reiterated so often, for effective atomic controls thus far rejected by the Soviet Union. Until such an agreement is reached we cannot and should not renounce use of the most effective deterrent to war now available to us, especially where such deterrent helps the free world to overcome the predominance in armed manpower that the Soviet world now posseases.

If and when an effective system of atomic control should be established, the situation would be different and our strategy would doubtless be modified accordingly.

7. Mr. Bowles says: "Under the Constitution Congress, and Congress alone, has the power to declare war. Of course, the President, as Commander in Chief, has wide authority to deploy our Armed Forces and even commit them to battle, and this can create a situation in which the declaration of war by Congress becomes a formality. But while this has always been a possibility, we have never adopted a policy which, in advance, turns the possibility into a likelihood."

In no case does the policy enunciated by Secretary Dulles means the bypassing of congressional power to declare war. The emphasis of the new policy is on capacity to act quickly. A state of readiness is necessary under the conditions existing in the world today.

However, the use of that capacity depends upon our constitutional requirements, our existing treaty commitments and the involvement of our own forces stationed abroad under those treaties, the character and location of the attack in relation to the United States and such other factors as will clearly indicate to the American Government and the American people that our vital interests are at stake as well as our survival as part of a free world of freemen.

Should there be a Pearl Harbor type of attack while Congress is not in session, any President of the United States would have an obligation to take all steps necessary to strike at the source of the aggression and to eliminate as far as possible the source from which the attacking planes or units came.

If this were not true and we were immobilized for the several days necessary for Congress to assemble, the war could be lost as far as our forces stationed abroad in Western Europe and other areas are concerned.

8. Mr. Bowles says: "How does the new policy deal with * * * [Soviet techniques] which do not take the form of external aggression * * *? Can we afford to put all our eggs into a single military basket? * * * What about point 4 * * *? What of the pessimistic estimate of American [economic] capacities on which the new policy seems to be based?"

We must keep in mind that our major efforts and hopes would prove futile if Communist aggression is allowed to strike and strike again until the presently free nations are absorbed one by one into the Soviet orbit. Communist strategy initially has always been directed at weakening and subverting, internally, existing Governments in the free areas of the world. No nation in all history has ever done so much as the United States to give economic and technical aid to combat inner sources of weakness among our friends and allies. Our complete policy, in addition to a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing, embraces a great many other actions and tactics, economic and political, designed to strengthen the free world.

We must understand, however, that the men in the Kremlin recognize that if they could bring about a financial collapse of our Government and our economy by prolonged defense spending of a size not even this great Nation could support, they would have achieved their objective without moving a division across a single international frontier or without subverting a single government internally.

They know that if America goes down, we take the entire free world down with us. Our policy is to insure the sort of defense which our economy can sustain over the long haul without disaster. We constantly want to reduce the fat and strengthen the muscle in our defense organization. However, we do not assume that recent or present-level expenditures would be the maximum under any or all circumstances.

9. Mr. Bowles says: "[In the] great debates over our foreign policy since World War II * * * differing points of view were heard, and the essential questions were asked and answered * * *. A great debate on instant retaliation would serve not only to air the issues raised * * *, but to produce something in the way of positive alternatives to the new policy."

Nothing could please the men in the Kremlin more than to have a great debate on the floor of the Congress or throughout the country which would define and limit the steps we might take in the event of further Communist aggression.

All that the men in the Kremlin should know is that in the event of further aggression the United States will take whatever steps our national interest requires.

We must not overlook the fact that without the use of atomic weapons the Netherlands surrendered to Nazi Germany in 4 days and Belgium surrendered in 18 days. If a great debate were going on during such a period the world would be lost while legislators and journalists weer inadvertently supplying the men in the Kremlin and their invading forces with information which would be invaluable to them.

The policy set forth in Secretary Dulles' speech is directed specifically at the problem of controlling, or better, deterring Communist aggression wherever it might threaten. Only behind the protective shield of a policy which will prevent continuing aggression and continuing disaster can we and other free nations expect to survive and develop our form of society and political institutions with hopeful prospects for the future.

The Republican and Democratic leadership in both the Senate and the House, together with the Armed Services, Foreign Relations, and Appropriations Committees of Congress, will continue to be fully consulted and advised by our military and State Department representatives relative to developments in our bipartisan foreign policy.

However, I am convinced that if our people will use the same courage and common sense that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and gave us, first, our Declaration of Independence and, later, our Constitution, there is no domestic problem we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear. Our new foreign policy is based on such courage and common sense.

Expanded Agricultural Extension Work for Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the great and invaluable services performed for American agriculture is that performed by the Agricultural Extension Service. My own State has long pioneered in this work on behalf of the 168,000 farms of America's Dairyland.

Consequently, I was pleased to receive this morning from the associate director of the agricultural extension service of the University of Wisconsin's College of Agriculture, Mr. M. L. Ahlgren, a splendid letter. It advises of the detailed plans of the service to use certain additional necessary funds which we trust will be made available under the 1955 fiscal year appropriation.

Senators are familiar with the fact that American agriculture has recently suffered serious reverses. Every effort, therefore, that can be made to expand help to the famers of our Nation, help to their wives, to their children, to their farm laborers—every such effort repays itself manifold in terms of the well-being of our country as a whole.

A strong agriculture is the foundation of a strong America, not merely from an economic standpoint, but also from a moral standpoint, because the farm is the great laboratory of nature and of life.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Ahlgren's letter and the release prepared by the agricultural extension service be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I earnestly trust that the additional funds which are contemplated will indeed be granted, and I pledge my own efforts to that worthy end.

There being no objection, the letter and release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE,
Madison, March 17, 1594.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WILEY: We have been informed that among President Eisenhower's budget recommendations to the Congress there is an item of $7,064,721 of increased support for agricultural extension work in the various States and Territories of the United States for fiscal 1955. Wisconsin's share of this increase, should it be made available, would amount to $186,591.69.

A short time ago the agricultural extension service of the College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, was asked to indicate the use that would be made of an increase in Federal appropriations for agricultural extension work should such funds be made available by the Congress for fiscal 1955. In response to that request we prepared a statement which indicates the use that would be made in our State of such an additional allocation of funds. The proposal that we have developed has been discussed widely with many individuals in the State, and it has been well and enthusiastically received. A copy of this proposal is attached. It is being sent you with the thought in mind that you might wish to know of our plans for using increased Federal funds for agricultural extension should the Congress decide to make them available for fiscal 1955.

If there is any additional information you would care to have, we would be happy to provide it.

Very truly yours,
HENRY L. AHLGREN,
Associate Director.

PROPOSED USE OF INCREASED FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION IN WISCONSIN

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
Madison, Wis., March 1, 1954.

Almost every one of Wisconsin's 168,000 farms and farm homes has felt the impact of the Agricultural Extension Service and has benefited substantially as a result.

County agricultural agents have helped farmers to incorporate the findings of science and technology into their businesses in order that they might obtain larger incomes and greater satisfactions from farm life. They have helped in a very substantial way to keep our agriculture sound and productive by conducting an educational program that has aided in bringing into widespread use in our agriculture such important developments and practices as (1) mechanization and the use of laborsaving devices; (2) liming, treatment with commercial fertilizer, better use and conservation of barnyard manure, and the employment of cropping practices tailored to the land; (3) new varieties of many crop plants that are superior in such characteristics as yield, quality, disease and drought resistance, and winterhardiness; (4) improved hay and pasture crops and more effective ways of conserving and utilizing them; (5) better pastures; (6) treatment

with chemicals that are highly effective in controlling many destructive weeds, insects, and diseases; (7) breeding of livestock for higher efficiency of production; (8) better livestock and poultry through improved feeding; (9) improved methods of sanitation and disease control for livestock; (10) improved quality of agricultural commodities; (11) reduction of losses due to waste and spoilage; and (12) better marketing and distribution of agricultural commodities.

Likewise, home-demonstration agents have shown rural women how to improve the diet and clothing of their families and how to make their homes more comfortable and attractive. They have encouraged home production and preservation of foods. They have given guidance in the wise buying and efficient use of laborsaving equipment, in matters dealing with child development and family relations, housing, and with many other problems integrally related to family life and home management. They have helped farm women develop self-confidence, poise, and social graces. They have emphasized the importance of developing a sense of citizenship among rural women and have made them much more conscious of their responsibilities and the opportunities for service that exist in their communities.

Still another important phase of our agricultural extension program is concerned with the development of rural youth. Through 4–H Club work, farm boys and girls receive their first introduction to the science of farming and homemaking. It is through participation in this program that boys first learn the significance in a successful farm enterprise of livestock breeding, feeding and management, soil, forest, and water conservation, soil testing, treatment with commercial fertilizer, the use of adapted crop varieties, disease, and insect control, market demands, grades, and qualities. Likewise, girls first learn about food production, food preparation, nutrition, health, home nursing, child care, clothing construction, and design, home improvements and home mechanization through participation in the 4–H Club program. It is in this and the Young Men and Women's Program that boys and girls first learn to take action in groups and where an excellent opportunity is provided for the development of leadership, good citizenship, and character.

OUR APPROACH NEEDS TO BE BROADENED AND INTENSIFIED

Though it has been valuable and effective, our Agricultural Extension program is not yet sufficiently broad in its scope or sharp in its focus to meet the more exacting needs of our times. Problems that are increasingly complex confront those who are now engaged in or who desire to engage in the business of farming. A great many problems must be met and solved if agriculture is to remain strong and solvent in the years that lie ahead. Among these we should certainly list (1) cost-price relationships, (2) overproduction of certain agricultural commodities, (3) getting started in farming in view of heavy capital requirements, (4) the declining farm labor supply, (5) fitting new technological developments into the farm enterprise, (6) variable prices, yields and production, (7) increasing costs of production, (8) marketing, (9) poor quality products, (10) marginal farming due to insufficient working capital or lack of good land, (11) relations with urban consumers, (12) conservation and improvement of farm resources, (13) changing demands for farm products, and (14) security following retirement. Each problem requires understanding by local people of the facts, issues, choices; and the best scientific application. To be prepared for the type of service that will be needed for an agriculture faced with changing, complicated problems, the Agricultural Extension Service in Wisconsin must eventually expand and increase the scope of its activities (1) to provide for more individual teaching in a program of complete farm and home planning (2) to facilitate work with girls and boys in our 4–H Club and older youth programs (3) in consumer education and marketing, (4) with groups in urban areas, and (5) in public affairs education.

FIRST ALLOTMENT TO BE USED FOR FARM AND HOME PLANNING

The first allotment of $186,591.69 of increased Federal funds for Wisconsin will be used entirely to develop a program of complete farm and home planning for individual farm families.

We all recognize that farming has changed from an occupation that formerly required moderate amounts of capital, management or know-how, and investment in land to a business which now requires large amounts of capital, much technical and business management, and heavy investment in land. How to select and combine the various enterprises on the individual farm, what intensity to carry them and how to inject modern technology into the business have become major problems. Some farmers are able through reading and by attending meetings and demonstrations to solve these problems. Many other farmers, however, could combine these enterprises and integrate these new technologies and programs much more efficiently and economically into their businesses than they now do.

Similar problems of an increasing complex nature also confront the homemaker as she with her husband plans to rear a family in today's world. Since developments in the social sciences have not kept pace with those in technological areas, the farm family is faced with many problems that are a direct result of technological developments. The impact of advertising through the press, radio, and television is substantial and necessitates a constant evaluation on the part of all members of the farm family of their real needs. The high degree of specialization which is characteristic of our age requires that homemakers seek desired information from many sources. Frequently she is at a loss to know how to coordinate and integrate for the best use of her family the information she obtains.

The Agricultural Extension Service in its early years worked intimately with individual farm families, as a way of reaching, through them, still other families. The county agricultural agent and the home demonstration agent established influence and confidence by working with a relatively small number of families, getting to know them personally, to understand their problems more fully and to help fit new technology into their individual systems of farming and homemaking. However, as the demand for service expanded, the Agricultural Extension Service found it increasingly necessary to abandon much of the personal service type of approach that marked its early work, and to rely more and more on a mass type of approach facilitated by meetings, group demonstrations, the radio, television, publications, newspaper, and magazine articles.

Furthermore, and for the most part, our programs have developed haphazardly and on a piecemeal basis. Often it has been a question of the squeaky wheel getting the grease or of moving from one emergency to another. Farm life is not lived on a piecemeal basis nor do farm families progress by moving from one emergency to another. The farm family is continually faced with problems of considering and integrating for its best and most effective use such diverse items as production, marketing, remodeling of the home or other farm buildings, new construction, advanced schooling for sons and daughters, the purchase of a new car, tractor, or other farm or home equipment, soil improvement and conservation, family and community relationships and many others. Consequently, the farmer and his family, his soil, his cropping system, his livestock, the quality of the products he produces, his machinery, his available supply of labor, consumer demands for his products, marketing and other off-the-farm forces including public affairs that affect his enterprise must all be considered in developing a program to fit his needs and requirements. A further responsibility would be to assist the farmer and his family to participate in and actively support the organized programs that help to make his community a desirable place in which to live. We believe that the needs of modern agriculture and homemaking can be served most effectively through a coordinated program that makes available the full resources of agricultural extension in one approach to all the enterprises on the farm. The program that we envision is based on the whole farm rather than the piecemeal type of approach and is designed through personal service to establish a sound economic base under each farm. Because of the need for developing a program involving a combined approach on each farm the entire initial increase in the Federal appropriation for Wisconsin would be used as follows:

Employment and expenses for 34 additional county extension workers ($4,500 per worker) in 34 counties to provide individual teaching based on a program of complete farm and home planning, primarily for young farm couples or for those who are just beginning farming. Each county worker would work with approximately 250 such families. We believe that the many special problems facing young farm couples or those who are just beginning farming are such as to warrant that major consideration be given them from the first allotment of funds. (It is assumed that the various counties would be willing to provide some funds to support the additional county personnel that will be involved)	$153,000.00
Employment and expenses for 2 additional supervisors	15,000.00
Employment and expenses for 3 additional specialists	18,591.69
Total	186,591.69

What America Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, Madam Besa Sklarsky is director of the dance department at Sullins College in Bristol, Va., in my congressional district.

Madam Sklarsky was born and educated in Russia. She lived in Russia during the period from the beginning of the reolution in 1917 through the terrors of 1925–26.

She came to this country via Poland, Germany, France, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria, moving in each case in

advance of the terror and privation of totalitarianism.

I have had many inspiring conversations with Madam Sklarsky. She has taken an active part in the civic life of my community and through her speeches is bringing to many of my constituents a new concept of the freedoms we enjoy.

Recently Madam Sklarsky addressed the Rotary Club of Bristol, and that speech now is being printed for distribution abroad by the United States Information Agency. I am privileged to include it today in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

Before I express my feelings on what America means to me, I feel it is my duty, in front of an all-male audience, to pay tribute to American women who, with full right, occupy the first place in the world among women of all other countries. She is a symbol of everything that is perfect—as mother, wife, hostess. She holds the most difficult jobs. She is educated, organized, alert, vital, ambitious. She takes a prominent part in all walks of life—politics, education, medicine, science, art, social work, and at the same time is the best-dressed woman in the world.

AMERICA FOR ME IS FAITH IN GOD

One cannot help regaining a strong faith in God living in this country where the churches, family life, and each community is so organized that every day of our lives brings us nearer to God. America relies on Him, believes in Him, and lets Him guide her. You Americans also feel that you are blessed by God to be born and live in this country and enjoy all these privileges. America and faith are synonymous.

AMERICA FOR ME IS FAITH IN MANKIND

Almost 400 years ago people of all races, nations, colors, and religions started coming here, and to this day they are still coming and coming. Each one finds a home here. Each one gives his capacities, talents, desire to create and accomplish, and at the same time has full freedom to do what he pleases and to go where he pleases. These conditions were the foundation on which was created the big miracle which is this country of ours. It is rich, prosperous with every human achievement, and an example and help to the rest of the world. All of this is what mankind is capable of when given the proper conditions. America is proof of what mankind is.

AMERICA FOR ME IS FAITH IN JUSTICE

This country is organized out of a desire for justice and to prove that justice can be established in all factors of life and can and should be maintained in spite of all obstacles in political and social environment. When I think of those wise and noble men fighting and struggling for the right to live in decent conditions; when I think of them gathered together forming the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, then I know that those men wanted the spirit of justice to survive and live forever. They were not bitter and cruel like the dictators in our time. They wanted justice for one and all. This noble heritage they left for humanity. Justice is the noblest gift to humanity and America will always have faith in justice.

AMERICA FOR ME IS FAITH IN PEACE

We all know and feel every minute how important peace is for us. No other country in the world has contributed so much to peace as America. Many millions were spent, and are being spent, for the purpose of peace. With all possible means this country tries to maintain peace. With all possible sacrifice she seeks to establish peace. Nothing means more to Americans than peace. In spite of all obstacles America courageously marches toward peace. I have regained faith in peace, and I hope and pray for it daily.

AMERICA FOR ME IS FAITH IN FREEDOM

I am thankful to destiny that I was privileged to live and see what freedom means—to write, to do what I feel and what I think is right, to be able to live without fear. This is the biggest blessing God gave to this beloved country. Since coming here I cannot overcome this divine feeling of being reborn in better conditions, of being able to relearn how a country can give decency to every human being, of being able to feel equal with everyone, of being able to be myself, to be one of the many with the same privileges, and to worship God in the way that seems right. Without fear I can express my opinion and stand up for my rights. This can be done only in America where are concentrated the most precious attributes of the universe. So may we never, not for a minute, forget to thank God for the privilege of being here. To thank Him with thoughts, with deeds, and with appreciation, and in our daily prayers breathe these three words:

God bless America.

The Domestic Business Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a letter written by Chester D. Tripp, editor and publisher of Economic Trend Line Studies, of Chicago, Ill. Mr. Tripp is an outstanding author on economic matters, and his letter should be of very great interest to all Members of this body. It follows:

MARCH 15, 1954.

AN OPEN LETTER TO OUR FRIENDS IN CONGRESS ON THE DOMESTIC BUSINESS SITUATION

I am addressing this letter to our many friends in the Congress of the United States. Several inquiries have come to hand from Members asking us to spell out in a little more detail our views on the unfolding economy. I will answer some of these inquiries with this letter, and it may be that others in the Congress and in private business may be interested in the observations.

The country is definitely divided in its economic views. Some feel that we are leaving a boom and getting into normalcy; others that we are getting into a depression. It has been our view that the chances very much favor the former, if we act with reasonable intelligence as a people. Let me give some of the reasons.

We all agree that we have been in a boom, some aspects of which have been almost a "fool's paradise." The boom has lasted a long time, and it is a reasonable assumption that we should recede from it, the stopping point being the only uncertainty.

Historically, there have been some very sharp dividing lines between minor adjustments and deflations, and there are some characteristics of a boom background that indicate depression conditions that are almost as symptomatic as fever is with typhoid or red spotches with measles. I would like to mention two of the most important:

First, in many years we have never had a depression that was not anticipated by a boom of some proportions, a boom great enough to overextend available funds to a point where money was not only increasing in cost, but becoming unavailable except to the best risks.

Second, I can find no record of a depression that did not start with commodity values at a relatively high point. There are still other characteristic symptoms, but I think these two are enough to mention. Let us analyze these at the present time. They have always been dominant.

In the first place, money 8 months ago had advanced substantially in price and was becoming unavailable; in fact, this money tightness was one of the pressures that brought on the current recession. It is a definite fact, however, that today, largely due to Government action, this money stringency has been more than relieved; it has been eliminated. This is a state of affairs that seldom happens except toward the end of a correction. I think it is safe to say that if money had stayed tight that the prospects for the future would have been very different than they are today.

Let us take a look at the composite commodity price structure. The Korean boom put a great pressure on available supplies and prices associated with them. Enormous amounts of money were required to finance commodities and the value of inventories was thereby greatly increased. However, at the present time we have had a year and a half of declining commodity prices. The break has amounted to almost 25 percent and some of the declines have been painfully excessive. It is true that the decline has been far from uniform, but in the main, and from a money-requirement point of view, this decline has had an appreciable effect on the money required to do business. In our opinion, we are in a much safer position than if we had to face a substantial commodity decline, rather than a condition where the decline is already well understood and largely behind us.

A third aspect that deserves attention, and will bear watching, is the country's use of bank money. In the case of major declines, debits have always fallen sharply. At the present time, I am glad to report that bank debits have so far refused to fall and have actually advanced moderately.

The main weak point that we face now is, how far inventory volume and values will decline, and how disturbing this decline can be to our 160 million people. Total inventories of a visible type amount to some $80 billion at the present time. This is probably excessive, and it would be our guess that a decline of six or seven billion might be a reasonable expectation. It is a pretty well recognized fact that 80 to 85 percent of commodity values represent labor and services. We might, therefore, assume that five or six billion dollars of labor has been consumed in producing these commodities that are, in a sense, redundant. It might, therefore, be expected that five or six billion dollars in labor effort as reflected in unemployment would be a reasonable expectation to get back to normal. Although such a figure is serious to many individuals, it is not too important from the point of view of the national economy. It is a very small fraction of the national income. There will be hardship cases that will make the headlines and be political news, but a large part of the vacuum that has to be filled can easily come out of savings, unemployment relief, and much needed vacations.

There is nothing in this figure that would indicate that the decline would necessarily feed on itself. Capital creation and home building should go on and is going on so far without any important decline. It is to be hoped that the inventory reductions will not be too rapid, and to date, they have not been. Although the December figures are the latest we have, and they show something of a decline, we in this office are of the opinion that some $2 billion has probably been taken out of inventory accounts already. The balance should not be too hard to assimilate.

In our letter at the beginning of the year, we indicated that the worst business news might still be ahead of us. I mean by that, the superficial news that makes the headlines, but we thought at that time, and still do, that the basic adjustments had already been started, and that they were of a nature that would pretty well contain the recession. We detected certain factors of underlying strength in the economy as early as the month of November 1953, and these were confirmed in the first week of January 1954.

I think the President was a little optimistic, if he were correctly quoted that "March would be the critical month." I would be more inclined to think that it might be 60 days later, for what such an observation is worth. There is a substantial relationship between cause and effect in national economics, and two of the elements that I have mentioned above have already experienced substantial correction.

Rational taxation, as well as availability of money, are both important in controlling economic trends. The money end, in our opinion, has been taken care of but further reduction in taxes would be an actual as well as a psychological stimulant. Taxes have been too high. We are inclined to agree with Colin Clark that when taxes take over 25 percent of the national income, they are a very deadening influence on the economy. However, one must note in this connection that when commodity prices are advancing the incident of taxation can be passed on and only expresses itself in the degree of inflation that we are experiencing. However, if the commodities are declining, many taxes cannot be passed on and weigh heavily on business activity, especially on the smaller or younger units.

There are two aspects to taxation that should be kept in mind: First, what tax take is necessary to meet emergencies or foolish extravagance, and second, what taxes can be taken without crushing business. These aspects are entirely different and have to be kept separate in our minds. Bills must be paid and, therefore, taxes have to be geared somewhat to expenditures, but the natural law is that expenditures have to be adjusted to the tax take unless we are willing to face the usual bad results of going into debt.

I do not believe that the country will talk itself into a depression; the forces involved are too fundamental for that. Nor can we talk ourselves out of a depression for the same reason, but I think it is safe to say at the present time that if commodities have substantially stabilized, and they seem to have done so, and if money stays reasonably available, and it seems to be so, that the chances greatly favor our getting into equilibrium at a point not too far below where we are now in terms of the national income. If historical comparisons are any unit of measure, it is a reasonable assumption that the last quarter of the year will be as full of promise as the first quarter was in the lack of it.

ECONOMIC TREND LINE STUDIES,
CHESTER D. TRIPP.

The Importance of the American Merchant Marine to American Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I include an address by Mr. Francis T. Greene, executive vice president of the American Merchant Marine Institute, Inc. I am certain that we all look with admiration upon the accomplishments and great services rendered by the merchant marine during our previous global conflicts. The address very clearly points out the importance of the merchant marine in normal economic times to our Nation's business and the health of our economy.

The address follows:

In a superficial sense, it seems as though I were carrying coals to Newcastle in talking to a group of shipping people on the subject of the commercial importance of the American merchant marine. I do so only because it is a fact so little known by the American people. All of you know from your own experience just how important it is to maintain an American merchant marine on a solid footing. You know its importance to our national defense. You do not need to be reminded, if I may quote Admiral Gallery, of the United States Navy, that "The backbone of seapower is not the battleship or aircraft carrier, but the lowly, peaceful merchant ship. * * * It is to keep these merchant ships moving that we need a Navy. Great ships of war, like the new aircraft carrier *Forrestal*, are really the servants and guardians of the merchant ships." The importance of the American merchant marine in time of war and grave national emergency has been brought home to all thinking Americans by the experiences of World War I, World War II, and yesterday's Korean fighting.

The commercial importance of the American-flag fleet, however, is by no means realized by the American public as a whole. Indeed, it was this very lack of realization that produced the acute commercial shipping crises preceding our entry into World War I. It was this lack of understanding that produced the almost complete deterioriation of private American shipping following that war. It is this lack of realization of the commercial importance of American shipping which, despite history, again threatens the business and Government support that our shipping must have if it is to survive foreign competition—foreign competition based on low foreign wages.

It is this same lack of understanding which has just produced the shortsighted majority recommendation of the so-called Randall Commission "that the statutory provisions requiring the use of United States vessels for shipments financed by loans or grants of the United States Government or its agencies be repealed and that other means of support be provided by direct means"—presumably at the cost of the American taxpayer as a substitute for the American shipping activity which has carried the aid that the United States has so generously donated to the rest of the free world.

The American businessman should remember what has happened to him in the past and what will happen to him in the future should he and our Government ever permit the American operating fleet again to lapse into disuse and decay. It is up to you to help carry this message to those who either have not thought the problem through or have no acquaintance with their need to keep American ships sailing the seven seas.

The Randall Commission recommends "that the determination of the active merchant fleet requirements of the United States * * * take account of the availability of foreign vessels." To me it is inconceivable that the majority of the Randall Commission could have shut its eyes to the crisis to American business created during the period 1914 to 1917, when the foreign nations upon whose ships we then depended withdrew their ships almost completely from peacetime trade with the United States. Freight then piled up in all the American ports for lack of ships to carry it to such an extent that by 1915 the congestion in American ports on both coasts made it necessary to establish railroad embargoes that reached far into the interior. At the same time, ocean freight rates, controlled almost exclusively by the foreign owners of foreign-flag ships, skyrocketed so high as to price the American businessman out of the world commercial markets even had he been able to get any ships in which to carry his products. From 1910 to 1915 the freight charges on cotton from New York to Liverpool went up 700 percent. Freight charges on wheat from the United States to Europe quadrupled. Freight rates on rubber from southeast Asia to our Pacific coast jumped from $20 to $127.50 per ton.

There was in this period prior to America's entry into World War I grave danger that American economic life would be disrupted and that our commercial export trade, which represents in so many cases the margin of profit for the American businessman, would be utterly destroyed. The result was a widespread public clamor for Government intervention and a Government shipbuilding program. This took time. As usual, although this program was not too little, it was too late.

Every American businessman should read the recent testimony of Mr. Donald G. Ward, director of transportation of the Mathieson Chemical Corp., before a Senate investigating committee. Speaking on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, he thus summarized the major disruptions of American commerce which have resulted from our shortsighted dependence on foreign-flag shipping:

"History offers excellent guideposts for the future. Therefore, I should like to recall some of our experience of the past. Such experience has shown that in the event of any international disturbance, not necessarily one involving the United States directly, foreign-flag shipping on which American exporters and importers might rely will be withdrawn to be placed in other service considered more essential by the country whose flag it flies, or just more lucrative service.

"Boer War: I cite as an example the Boer War, fought by the British in South Africa at the turn of the century. That may seem to be going back a long way for an example, but it proves a point. In that war, which did not involve us, the withdrawal of British ships from normal trade to supply British troops in South Africa, and the increase in British-controlled rates, imposed a heavy burden upon our foreign trade.

"World War I: When World War I began, and we were not then involved, since the principal combatants were also the leading maritime nations, they naturally requisitioned or interned most of their ships. Foreign-flag ships were withdrawn from our ports—some to do essential work for their own countries, and some to switch to other operations made lucrative because of the withdrawal of a sizable amount of shipping from the normal channels of trade. Cargo piled up on our wharves and in our warehouses, and railroad cars could not be unloaded. Rail congestion at eastern seaports extended back as far as Chicago, and rail embargoes had to be declared. Because of this congestion, people in the East did without some of the essentials of life, and relatively little foreign trade moved when it was greatly in demand.

"British coal strike: Moving on, a famous example of the dubious policy of depending on foreign tonnage to serve our foreign trade is the British coal strike in 1926. The ships that were carrying our commerce were withdrawn at a time when the crops of the United States were ready to move. They were needed to bring coal to the mother country. This is an example of

foreign-flag ships being assigned to more essential service in the interest of the country whose flag they fly.

"World War II: We come to the next serious disruption of our shipping services—World War II. This time, cargo was not piled high on our docks. Warehouses and railroad yards were not congested. We had had the stimulating effects of the Merchant Marine Acts of 1928 and 1936. We had started on a program of building an American-flag merchant marine. Commendable as that was, it was not the answer to why there was no congestion on our docks, in our warehouses, or in railroad yards. The real answer was that only that traffic was allowed to move that could be accommodated in the relatively small number of available ships. The same thing happened then that had happened in 1914. Foreign-flag tonnage disappeared from our ports, except to carry lend-lease cargo home. Little shipping was left, and that was American-flag shipping. And there wasn't nearly enough of that."

Relying upon foreign-flag shipping is like relying upon the loan of your neighbor's car. When you need it most, he will also need it. You will either walk or stay at home.

In the face of this history, at least 5, and probably 8, members of the Randall Commission dissented from the reliance which the majority urged America to place upon the foreign-flag shipping. I would call to your attention this minority viewpoint which alone concides with the lessons of experience:

"It is not disputed that the United States should have an adequate merchant marine for the national defense and to develop and maintain its foreign and domestic commerce. It is my conviction that the report of the Commission dealing with this important matter is not only inadequate to accomplish these objectives, but if its provisions were implemented, our merchant marine would be weakened.

"The history of our maritime industry from the First World War to the present confirms the fact that this industry has been inadequate to meet the needs for the development of our foreign trade and for the defense of our Nation during times when we were at war.

"In the determination of the requirements for a United States merchant fleet, which no responsible governmental agency has as yet done, we should not put substantial reliance on the merchant ships of our allies. Our experience over the past 4 or 5 decades confirms this conclusion. Whatever agency within our Government is charged with the task of determining the size of our merchant marine, it should set as its goal the establishment and maintenance of a merchant marine and a shipbuilding industry that is reasonably self-sufficient. Although the cost required to accomplish this should be kept to a minimum, economy should not be a major consideration, for what might seem economical initially would in the long run prove most costly. To have such a merchant marine requires experienced shipbuilders to construct the ships and to keep them in repair, and seasoned men to man the ships in active service. These cannot be had by relying upon our allies.

"At the outbreak of two world wars, the United States has been caught short of sufficient ship bottoms to meet its requirements. Our allies did not, and could not, supply the necessary ships—most of them were bottled up by an effective enemy blockade."

There is a more subtle, but equally important, advantage to the American businessman of maintaining his merchant marine during times of peace and international quiet than in time of war. This advantage lies in the effect of American shipping upon worldwide shipping rates which must be paid by American importers and exporters regardless of whether the cargoes move in foreign or American bottoms.

Almost all American berth operators are members of international conferences created to establish an orderly and reliable rate structure upon which importers and exporters may depend in making forward commitments. What would happen to the rates charged to the American businessman if there were no American lines seated at the conference table to fight for freight rates fair to American products in competition with the products of foreign countries whose national flag lines are also seated at the same conference table? The representative of the chamber of commerce was asked, during a recent Senate investigation, this self-same question, and I quote his answer:

"I think it would have an entirely and definitely disastrous effect on our foreign commerce. * * * I believe that American ships do have a beneficial effect and that they are a counterweight on the side of the American exporter and importer in the making of ocean freight rates. * * * We cannot sell in the foreign trade unless we have freight rates which are comparable and competitive with producers of like material in foreign countries throughout the world. If we do not have American lines represented in the conference, protecting American business and at the same time, of course, protecting their own trades, we may find ourselves out of foreign trade completely."

Mr. Ward went on to say that if we did not have American representation in international marine conferences to protect freight rates to and from America versus those of our foreign competing nations, our businessmen would be, and I quote, "completely at their mercy, and I am afraid their mercy would not be good for us."

In a similar vein, Mr. Harry J. Carroll, director of traffic of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., stated that in the rubber business there was a great deal of foreign competition, particularly British and Italian. This American businessman, with so wide a traffic experience, concluded:

"If we do not have the American merchant marine to protect our interest, we become at the mercy of our foreign friends, and the rates can go any place and the service can go any place."

It seems to me that one of the principal difficulties facing the American merchant marine under today's almost peacetime conditions is that of its public relations—the unfulfilled need of bringing home to the American businessman and the American taxpayer just how important an American-flag shipping industry, financed by American capital and controlled by American businessmen—is to their well-being. The manufacturer or shipper, from the interior of our country, seldom, if ever, sees the ships that carry his products abroad. He very seldom even stops to think of these unseen ships which alone make possible his export trade, even though he knows full well that the 10 or 15 percent of his total production that is sold abroad means the difference between profit or loss. Our problem is how to reach and tell these simple facts of life to the millions upon millions of American citizens who produce or sell the goods which compose the foreign commerce of the United States, which amounts annually to about 200 million cargo tons, with a value of over $25 billion per annum. The whole American public could be reached if our industry could afford the annual appropriations for institutional advertising and other forms of public relations, such as that of the Association of American Railroads, which runs somewhere between $2 million to $4 million per year, or even that of the American Trucking Association, which is substantially in excess of half a million dollars a year. Yet we have a message to bring to the American people of even greater importance to them and of far more economic complexity than the messages of other forms of transportation. However, the American shipping industry, faced with a world-wide shipping slump and using far more red than black ink at the foot of its 1953 profit-and-loss statements, obviously can afford no such sums. It is, therefore, dependent almost wholly upon messengers, such as yourselves, who know and appreciate our need for our own ships in the recurrent times of shipping shortages and international crises, to tell these facts up and down the highways and byways of American business and community life. We must rely in large measure upon you to bring home to the American people the self-evident truism, disregarded by the enemies of the American merchant marine and its foreign competitors, but thus stated by George Washington as long ago as 1790:

"I recommend it to your serious reflections how far and in what mode it may be expedient to guard against embarrassments from these contingencies by such encouragements to our own navigation as will render our commerce and agriculture less dependent on foreign bottoms, which may fail us in the very moments most interesting to both these great objects—the price of transporting American products to their proper markets abroad."

It is the aim of the Magna Carta of American-flag shipping—the Merchant Marine Act of 1936—to develop an American merchant marine capable of carrying at least 50 percent of American foreign-commerce cargoes. Achievement of this aim would represent a safeguard of strategic commercial importance to the American businessman through assuring him of the ever-ready availability of ships and shipping, and a constant protection against the skyrocketing of ocean freight rates dominated solely by his foreign competitors. The achievement of this aim lies in large measure in your hands, since only through you, and thousands of others like you, can the salesmanship job be done which must be done in order to bring home our message to the American shipper, businessman, and taxpayer.

Investigating Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, from the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club of Fort Worth, Tex., received today, with the request that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, comes the following resolution:

Whereas Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY has continued to expose to the public gaze the activities of those who would deliver this country into the hands of atheistic communism; and

Whereas in the course of investigations by his senatorial committee the average American citizen has become aware of the danger of Communist infiltration of his Government; and

Whereas subversive activities in the United States Army, Voice of America, overseas information program, United States State Department, United States Treasury Department, educational system, and other vital phases of American life have been brought to light through these investigations, and especially through Senator MCCARTHY'S penetrating cross-examination of witnesses who take refuge behind the fifth amendment; and

Whereas most Americans are just as concerned about the Communist infiltration of American institutions as they are about the

Communist threat abroad: Now, be it therefore unanimously

Resolved by the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club of Fort Worth, Tex., That we commend Senator McCarthy's vigilance and aggressiveness in exposing tools of the Communist conspiracy within the United States, and call upon the executive and legislative branches to support him in his work, so that no Communist or fellow travelers will be protected from exposure by any branch of the Government of the United States.

Unanimously adopted this 17th day of March 1954 by the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club of Fort Worth, Tex.

Margaret Womack
Mrs. Harry Womack,
President.

The Democratic Tax Stratagem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, one of the leading weekly newspapers of the First Congressional District, New York, is the Long Islander. It was founded by Walt Whitman in 1838. It possesses an historic record of achievement, of courage, and of presenting the truth. In recent months it has set the pace in the community it serves on the grave question generically referred to as McCarthyism. This newspaper's viewpoint in this respect is newsworthy not only because the paper is Republican in its tendencies and affiliations but also because the clientele it serves is overwhelmingly conservative-Republican. This paper's most recent editorial on this pungent issue states:

And that is why until now the Democrats could afford to sit on their hands and keep out of the mess. But the situation is their problem and their responsibility now, because they are part of the Senate, too. If McCarthy gets away with his defiance of the legislative, as he has done several times with the executive, the Democrats will be equally to blame. This is no longer strictly interparty warfare. It involves the power and the dignity of the entire Senate.

Whether the Senate will prove to be the agency which will finally stand up to a McCarthy challenge or not, the very act of the challenge itself has made crystal clear the manner of man McCarthy is. It has made plain his driving desire for power, his attempt to put himself above or beyond the reach of the influences which curb the conduct of the rest of America's citizens. Surely even his most fervent followers cannot stomach this.

Typical of the fine advice and guidance given by this newspaper to its readers is in its editorial of March 18 entitled "The Democratic Tax Stratagem," which is, Mr. Speaker, herein set forth for the benefit of my colleagues:

The Democratic Tax Stratagem

The Democrats who are bent on sabotaging President Eisenhower's budget by tacking on an income-tax exemption raise to the omnibus tax-revision bill forget that when they were in power they resisted tax cuts, too. These same Democrats maintained then that to lower taxes would be to wreck the country's financial soundness, to imperil national defense and foreign policy, and to intensify inflation.

Things have not altered sufficiently since 1952 to make these arguments any less weighty. What was true then is just as true now. The only difference lies in who is using them. If the Democrats believed these arguments to be good before, then why should they turn against them now? Could it be that voting for or against tax cuts is not so much a matter of what will be to the best interests of the country as it is of political expediency? Could it be that the Democrats are willing to sacrifice the well-being of the country for the sake of a few votes, even against their intelligent judgment? That's what they accused their opponents of doing back when they were in power.

It is true that most voters aren't fond of taxes. But it is also true that for a good many years now most voters have appreciated the necessity for those taxes. No votes have been lost through the instigation and support of a sound tax program, and few have been gained through tax cuts. But inconsistency and an abrupt switch from one side of the fence to the other can make a voter confused and mistrustful.

Are these Congressman so bent on cutting taxes, members of that same Democratic Party which fought so staunchly against tax cuts so short a time ago? It's gettting so you can't tell the players any more without a tax program. And it's getting very hard to tell whether the "out" party ever has anything but its own welfare at heart.

Government Tax Program Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Reading (Mass.) Chronicle of March 18, 1954:

Government Tax Program Necessary

The Eisenhower tax program debate deserves more attention than it is getting. It is unfortunate that we can do so little about it. We can, of course, and should, contact our Representative and Senators but most of the threat to the program comes from Senators and Representatives from other sections with whom we have no influence.

Few Americans if they understood the issue clearly would trade their country's security for the few dollars (to individuals they would be few) they stand to save. In the end, too, the result may be very expensive to the same people.

Only the American people can pay the cost of American Government and American foreign programs. It has been proven over the years that the few cannot pay for the many. Hence any excessive cut in taxes—and you cannot believe that the Eisenhower administration has not honestly tried to find a way to further cut taxes because it would be a popular move to do so—will create more acute problems in the future.

It is easy enough for the party out of power to fight for these cuts—if they get them, they will disclaim all responsibility for any unfortunate results, while claiming credit for giving the taxpayer a saving. If they do not get them, they have more political ammunition. Everything to gain and nothing to lose unless voters develop longer memories.

This sabotage of the tax program is something we cannot afford as a people or a party.

The Question of Trieste at the Berlin Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the March 5 issue of the Middletown Bulletin. Obviously, Mr. Molotov would undo all that which has been accomplished since the Trieste problem originated in 1946.

It is the duty of our country, its diplomats, and its citizens to see that the issue of Trieste does not become the whipping boy of the conference table and subject to the fantasy and trickery of Russia's agents. A peaceable solution to the thorny problem of Trieste is one which will add inestimable strength to our western coalition in Europe, and I believe the following article brings out the position of antagonists who would very much like to see otherwise.

The article follows:

The Question of Trieste at the Berlin Conference

The question of Trieste did not figure on the agenda of the Berlin Conference, but Mr. Molotov, with a sudden gesture, pulled it out of his hatful of fantastic diplomatic lies and placed it gracefully before the surprised and stupefied Allies.

The pretext was the debate for a peace treaty with Austria: First Molotov said that Russia would not withdraw her own occupation troops in Austria unless the Anglo-American military base of Trieste were given up; then he asked that the Trieste problem be placed before the U. N. Security Council under the guise of the application of the Peace Treaty with Italy, which would mean the renewed proposal of a complete congealment of the Free Territory of Trieste, taking it away from both Italy and Yugoslavia, and dealing a final fatal blow to all projects, and to all diplomatic negotiations since July 3, 1946, the date on which the unfortunate Trieste solution was conceived.

Molotov, however, with legendary impudence proved that he was ignoring the fact that of practically 5 years the solution of the Trieste problem had not been revolving about the nomination of a governor but rather, about managing to find a common meeting ground for the opposing Italian and Yugoslav viewpoints which would protect the sacred Italian rights and put a stop to the absurd and provacatory Yugoslav claims.

The Allies, in the face of Molotov's rearing up, displayed a certain amount of surprise: But was it not their fault that Molotov once more had been able to lay on the Berlin Conference table a vicious diversion and invent a new pretext for keeping the Russian troops two steps from the Alps and the Adriatic? The incredibly nearsighted Allied condescension toward Yugoslavia, the cause and prime source of the Trieste situation, not having wanted and known how to resolutely oppose the Russian "Niet" [No]

and Belgrade's long-time blackmail, or having interposed months and years of delay and hesitation, not having, above all, understood that the question of Trieste is part of the overall picture of European pacification, has given Molotov, however, an opportunity to propose a new [horse-] trade, because that's what it is.

As to the Italians, they are already afraid of the Russians possibly using Trieste to open a counter-party [opposition party] in their own favor, openly hostile to the Italian interests. But when have the Italian interests ever been close to the heart of the Russians? Owing to Moscow's veto, Italy was kept out of the U. N.; the original and then persistent arrogance of Tito was due to Russia; the choking of our trade and exchange of goods with the other side of the Adriatic has been due to Russia; the injustice of our eastern borders is due to Russia. Now, at Berlin, Russia is renewing her anti-Italian game. Though we did not anticipate it we feared it; and it is really paradoxical that we, the Atlantic Allies, should be exposed to this indirect aggression.

We are sure that Molotov's attempt will be frustrated; nevertheless, it is being borne in mind that, in addition to the [horse] trade and the diversion, Russia does not want to withdraw her own troops from Austria, as she does not want to withdraw them from Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, so as to keep the door open for an invasion of the northern Adriatic, thus outflanking the defense of southern Europe. We Italians have known these things for a long time, and when we ask for the return of "Italism" to the Trieste Territory, we are moved not only by a nationalist feeling but by an intelligent and enlightened understanding of the defensive needs of Europe.

The question of Trieste will be settled via the road which started with the tripartite declaration of March 20, 1948, followed by the bipartite declaration of October 8, 1953; Italy is, in fact, not willing to deviate from this clearly laid-out road and will not give Mr. Molotov the right to take charge, at his pleasure, of the fate of so many of our compatriots. Russia has already swallowed up and eliminated too many of them in their concentration camps.

The American Taxpayer Has Made Great Sacrifices in Aiding Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRADY GENTRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, the people of the United States, numbering less than 7 percent of the world's population, have been carrying the burden of supporting most of the world. In the 8 years since 1945, Congress has given outright to other nations more than it cost to operate our country in the 143-year period from 1775 to November 11, 1918, the close of World War I.

This period, covering all but 35 years of our Nation's history, included the administrations of 28 of our 34 Presidents. It started with Washington, the father of our country, and ended with Woodrow Wilson, one of our greatest Presidents. It covered the period in which six of our Nation's wars were fought.

Even though most of the nations receiving our generous help now have the greatest production in their history and some have more favorable debt structures than our own; even though practically all of them now enjoy a high standard of living and are fully able to pay their own way, we are told that, if we relax even for a moment in continuing the burden of giving them these vast sums, they likely will go Communist and be enemies instead of friends.

In considering these unprecedented sacrifices on the part of our Nation towards other nations, what are some of the happenings and circumstances in the world today which seem to show that our country must indeed be considered by our statesmen to be not only in a very difficult situation but in an almost helpless one, else we simply would not be doing as we are, neither would we permit what other nations are doing.

For years, we constantly denounced Spain as a bitter enemy. Franco was represented by our statesmen as a Fascist dictator who should be liquidated. We had Spain outlawed by the society of nations. Franco is still on the job, he has retracted nothing and he has not changed. But, we have changed. We have completely reversed our position. We now embrace Franco. We go further and represent him as eminently worthy and respectable to the very same nations we asked to outlaw him a few years ago. We have become his partner and protector. We are now supporting him and his government.

The cost to the American people of this about-face is an initial $800 million, $400 million in the construction of bases in Spain and $400 million for Franco. The bases are to remain Spanish property and we "hope" to use them if there is war, although the Government has announced that we now do not have permission to use them in the event of an emergency. Naturally, we have acquired another permanent dependent. If we do not continue to shell out more money every time Franco demands it, he will simply tell us to get out and go home. That seems to be our same situation everywhere.

A few years ago, India, a poor, backward land of 400 million people was a British possession. By the completely peaceful means of passive resistance and favorable world opinion, she secured her independence but only after her division, by reason of religious differences, into the two countries of India and Pakistan. These two divisions since have constantly quarreled and only military weakness has kept them from fighting. Pakistan, which itself is actually composed of two bodies of land 1,000 miles apart, one of which adjoins India on the west and the other on the northeast, has now accepted the urgings of the United States to become a modern military power at the expense of the American taxpayer. Because of India's and Pakistan's present strong differences, India bitterly objected to this action of America for reasons obviously clear. So, what happened? The United States countered that while she was going to arm Pakistan, she was willing also to make a military power of India, naturally also at the expense of the American taxpayer. All the United States needed was India's consent.

Such a solution would have given two formerly peaceful countries the destructive armaments with which to get at each others throats as well as to pick partners in the world lineup. Naturally, too, arming two countries aggregating 400 million people with the most expensive warmaking equipment ever known would have added untold billions of dollars to our tax burdens. Fortunately or unfortunately, Nehru of India declined the great sums of American money he could have had simply for the taking. He was not ready to substitute the spinning wheel for American hydrogen bombs and fortress tanks. He ruefully added, however, that America's making a military power of Pakistan would consign the people of India to high taxes for generations, an admission that he would try to arm his own people.

Turkey's President recently visited the United States. What for? He minced no words. Asked by reporters on his arrival his purpose in coming, he stated he wanted more American money and had come to see the President about it.

It was reported recently, and not denied, that our Ambassador to Italy, in a personal meeting with our President, advised him that if we do not now increase the several hundred million dollars we have been giving Italy each year, that country is likely to go Communist. Even after all our sacrifices for Italy during the last 9 years, more than one-half of the Italian people voted anti-American in the last election a few months ago.

We have finally just succeeded in getting Japan to permit us to rearm her, contrary to a constitution we made her sign less than 8 years ago that outlawed all armed forces for her forever. The people of our country are to pay the bill for again making Japan a modern military power. That is not all. The United States has also obligated herself to extend economic aid to Japan while she is restoring her military might. It will take many billions.

Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia, is to visit the President in May. It is said that an alliance which obligates us to make a military power of the shoeless, nomadic tribes of Ethiopia will result. While the cost to America will come high, it can be done—if the money holds out.

At the inter-American meeting in Caracas recently, Mr. Dulles secured the adoption of a resolution condemning Communist governments in the Americas. The consideration for its adoption was the promise by Mr. Dulles to call another meeting in Washington at which the sole subject would be the financial and economic problems of our American neighbors. The countries of Central and South America protest openly that European and Asian countries have been treated better than they have and that they want this disparity corrected. Based on the recent past, it will be corrected to the detriment of the American taxpayer.

It has been reported in recent weeks, and generally taken for granted, that the United States has been ready for some time to pay the bill to get Iran to come to an agreement with Britain regarding Iranian oil and also to pay Egypt the sum necessary to secure that country's

agreement with Britain for continued occupancy of the Suez Canal by Britain. Both bills will come high.

Congress passed a law sometime ago that countries which sold Russia or China strategic goods could not receive further United States aid unless the President, regardless of such action, found it to our interest to do so. Norway, Denmark, France, and Italy have since been selling Russia strategic goods. The President has just found, however, that it is to our interest to continue them on our gift list, which, of course, is being done. It is interesting in this connection that all four of these countries now have their greatest production in history. Norway and Denmark are particularly prosperous countries with a high standard of living. Both of these countries have cut their public debt more than 30 percent since 1946. Our public debt has increased. Just why we should be giving money to countries financially able to do anything for themselves which is in their own interest, I am unable to answer.

Not long ago, Israel was cut off our gift list for a claimed infraction of the rules. Restored after a few days, it was later announced that aid to her would be stepped up considerably for the year. Last year, the United States gave Israel an amount equal to $180 for each Israeli family. A lot of American families could use a gift of $180 each year but, they are giving, not getting.

The gracious Queen Mother of England is coming to America soon. Is this supposed to revive any flagging spirits among our taxpayers who might tire of continued handouts to Britain to foot the bill for her plunge into the excesses of socialism?

Our Armed Forces are now occupying 51 foreign countries. There are only a few others of any consequence in the world. At the same time, there are more than 80 nations receiving aid from us regularly.

Then, there is what is called the offshore procurement program. Someone decided that the billions being given to foreign nations yearly was not enough. They also determined that labor that needed work in America should not work but remain idle. So, it was decided that we would have the products we were giving foreing countries actually made in those countries. That meant that we would also give their labor the money for making these products instead of giving it to our own unemployed labor. That is a case of having your cake and eating it too. But, for the foreign nations, not for our own country.

When the President requested last year that 250,000 extra foreigners be admitted to the United States, he put it on the grounds of international political considerations. Just a few months before, one of the greatest controversies in congressional history had ended with the passage, after years of study and consideration, of the McCarran-Walter Act and with what was thought to be a settlement of the immigration problem for a time. Under such circumstances and with unemployment staring us in the face, what nation or group of nations, what foreigner or group of foreigners were so indispensable to our country and its future that the President would, so early after the conclusion of the historic struggle over the McCarran-Walter Act, use the tremendous influence of his office on Congress to violate its terms and let 250,000 extra immigrants come here.

Some of our surplus agricultural products are being kept off the world markets solely because of international political considerations. As a result, they either must be dumped, given away, or allowed to rot, all at the taxpayer's expense. To sell these products on world markets might make Nepal, Monaco, or even Luxembourg mad. So, our people must take the loss, particularly our farmers.

If France and the other nations of Europe will finally carry out their long-delayed promise of 2 years ago to ratify EDC, there will be no need for American armed occupancy of Europe after a few years. If they will not ratify it, further intervention there is money thrown down the rathole.

Observers on the scene in Europe report that one French requirement for ratification of EDC is the outright commitment that American armies must occupy Europe for 50 years. George Washington will turn over in his grave at that one.

So, we see that practically every nation in the world today, with the exception of the 6 or 7 Communist countries, are constantly standing with hat in hand at our Treasury door waiting for any tax money that comes in. Nothing like it has been seen before in the history of the world.

The policy that results in our present international situation was adopted a good many years ago. Everybody deplores what we have come to but those who inherited the problem last year seem not to have found an acceptable substitute. Although difficult to understand, it seems taken for granted that the United States must rebuy yearly the friendship of each of the world's nations, else any nation left out, regardless of our long-time friendship and aid, will likely adopt communism and join Russia, a country in no position to do anything for anybody. Regardless of our own financial position, we are told by Mr. Stassen, our international paymaster, that our people must look forward to carrying this burden on a permanent basis. Only recently he announced that we must begin giving far more aid to the countries of the Far East.

How did our country get into such a horrible situation? Are we so helpless than we must be hijacked by everybody? Must we make a permanent mendicant of every other nation in the world? Is there nothing left for us but to exhaust our remaining resources in being a sugar daddy to the rest of the world?

Can it be possible that we, as a nation, are in the position of the plunger who, long after better judgment and prudence dictate more careful consideration of his course of action, continues throwing good money after bad? If things are as pictured, it emphasizes the extreme urgency for a just and honorable peace throughout the world. Since all of us know that our situation is not good, is there something each of us can do that might help our country in its present predicament? There must be and I think there is.

Mr. Dulles recently met with the foreign ministers of France, England, and Russia. Another meeting is scheduled soon for Geneva. Most people are saying we can never reach an agreement with the Russians. The Russian system of government is bad but it is the same system it was during the years following 1933 when we were friendly with the Russians and when our Presidents were prone to speak of Stalin almost in terms of affection. Some of our statesmen were then according Russia distinction by referring to her as a democracy. We know nothing about Russia today that we did not know then. We know, too, that we now have the closest bonds of friendship with two of the most ruthless dictators known to history. One is a Communist—Tito—and the other is a Fascist—Franco. We don't seem to be choosing even our closest friends with any especial care. Under these circumstances, and with the knowledge of the total devastation that warfare today would bring to our country, is not the idea held by many people that we should not even confer with Russia in the search for peace completely unrealistic?

We must remember that if we can never reach an agreement, only two courses of action are left to us. One is a resort to war, now. The other is a continuation of the present back-breaking burden of carrying the whole world on our shoulders for an indefinite period of time—and then war.

Must our people be expected, with their tax moneys and their resources, to support the whole world, forever? While we must be strong militarily, must our people be required to maintain forever the greatest and most costly military system the world has ever known? Must they also carry, forever, the tremendous financial burden now occasioned by occupancy of 51 foreign countries by our Armed Forces? It would seem that they must, unless we compose the differences that now divide the world. Quite literally, then, the facts and circumstances suggest the course of conciliation and agreement, rather than of war.

In the interest of all mankind, every American citizen should determinedly support everything that is being done today in trying to settle our differences by conciliation and bring amity and concord to a disordered world. Only in that way can the clouds of war be lifted and our people be given an era of peace.

More Funds for the House Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Santa Monica Evening Outlook of March 15, 1954:

MORE FUNDS FOR THE HOUSE COMMITTEE

The McCarthy-Stevens, McCarthy-Eisenhower, and McCarthy-NBC-CBS three-ring row has held so much of the national spotlight during recent weeks that an item of real importance slipped by almost unnoticed. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been given a whopping $275,000 addition to the $300,000 the House voted it last year. The vote by which the new grant was approved represented an overwhelming endorsement of the work of the committee.

To those who have followed the controversial history of the Un-American Activities Committee, this endorsement represents a victory that should have rated headlines all over the country. It means that after years of the most violent kind of opposition from leftwing Democrats and two Democratic Presidents, as well as the Communists, the committee has come out on top.

The absence of Democratic opposition to the appropriation bill was significant. It shows that vote-conscious Democratic representatives realize that they no longer have the excuse that they were following the lead of the President in opposing the group. Without this convenient shield, they would receive the full wrath of voters who would correctly interpret their opposition as evidence of leftwing sympathies.

The news has special import to Californians. The committee recently conducted an investigation of Communist infiltration of the vital San Francisco Bay area. It promised to return this year for another look which would include the Los Angeles and San Diego areas, but stated that this project was conditional upon the appropriation of additional funds. Since this condition has been satisfied we expect that our local "Reddies" will come in for an exposure treatment in the not too distant future.

Bill To Amend Section 1239 of the Internal Revenue Code

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which seeks to amend section 1239 of the bill to revise the Internal Revenue Code, H. R. 8300, which passed the House last Friday.

The purpose of introducing the bill is to call attention to a problem which may be accentuated as a result of the new declining balance depreciation methods provided for in H. R. 8300. I am not entirely certain that the wording of my proposed amendment would accomplish the purpose sought, or, in deed, that the problem would actually prove to be accentuated. However, the matter is serious enough, in my opinion, to call it to the attention of the Members of the House and of the other body and of the public.

Quick amortization on capital equipment has been permitted companies for the purpose of encouraging those companies to prepare for the defense program. Likewise more liberal laws for amortization have been suggested in H. R. 8300 in order to encourage companies to scrap outmoded machinery and replace it with modern equipment.

However, in the past we have found that certain enterprising persons have brought up companies with capital assets set up on a favorable amortization base, not for the purpose of carrying on production with these facilities or, indeed, to keep them available for standby in the event of defense need, but rather to liquidate and sell these assets to gain the advantage of the favorable capital-gains tax rate over the standard income-tax rate.

The gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FORAND] among others raised this problem in executive session of the Ways and Means Committee. At the time I was concerned about the problem, but I was also concerned about, first, not interfering with the proper functioning of liberalized amortization which I thought was so necessary to the soundness of our economy; second, not interfering with the normal business of selling the assets of companies going out of business for proper reasons. There are many fine citizens and corporations in the business of liquidating and selling the assets of companies going out of business. This is a specialized field and a very honorable field of economic endeavor serving a real economic purpose.

However, I am anxious to protect against any encouragement to entrepreneurs to go in and buy a going concern simply to liquidate it because a gain might be made through the differential between the normal income-tax rate and the rate for long-term capital gain. This, of course, is economically bad.

I do not conclude that either this will happen or that H. R. 8300, as presently written, will encourage it. However, the Ways and Means Committee report accompanying H. R. 8300 does not reflect the possibility of this situation and I believe special attention should be directed to this possibility. Again I state that I am by no means certain that the bill I have introduced will either do the job or, indeed, will not create more problems than it will correct.

The Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, from the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club, of Fort Worth, Tex., received today, with the request that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, comes the following resolution:

Whereas a tremendous number of international treaties have been made and are being proposed which would take precedence over our Constitution and change the internal laws of the United States; and

Whereas the American Bar Association has made an intensive study of this danger and has concluded that a constitutional amendment such as the Bricker amendment (or George substitute) is vital to safeguard the rights of the American people; and

Whereas it is an abuse of the Executive power for the President to try to prevent the consideration of this amendment by the States: Now, be it therefore unanimously

Resolved by the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club, of Fort Worth, Tex., That the Senate of the United States be urged to favorably reconsider the George amendment at the earliest possible date, so that this great issue may be decided by the States.

Unanimously adopted this 17th day of March 1954 by the Tarrant County Republican Women's Club, of Fort Worth, TEX.

MARGARET WOMACK,
Mrs. Harry Womack,
President.

Stevenson Press Conference Disappointing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article from the Boston Traveler of March 19, 1954, from the facile pen of Cornelius Dalton, one of the ace newspaper columnists of New England:

STEVENSON PRESS CONFERENCE DISAPPOINTING IN THE BAY STATE

(By Cornelius Dalton)

Adlai E. Stevenson's performance at his press conference yesterday—the first he has held in Boston since his defeat for the Presidency 16 months ago—was strangely anticlimatic.

There was something electric about the atmosphere in room 1464 at the Statler before Stevenson arrived for the conference. Then, when he did arrive, 25 minutes late, he gave off hardly a spark.

Stevenson, who has a quick mind and a facile tongue, occasionally showed glimmers of the wit for which he is noted. But it was altogether a dull and disappointing session, not worth the 25-minute wait.

The arrangements for the press conference, however, were extremely efficient. It was probably this, more than anything else, that produced the air of expectancy.

A half-dozen rows of straight-backed chairs were lined up with remarkable precision in the small room. In front against the wall, facing the rows of chairs, was an empty divan, reserved for the Democratic leader. Little glass ash trays were scattered around the room—for the convenience of the press and the protection of the rug.

At 10:30 a. m., when the conference was scheduled to begin, there were 26 persons sitting in the rows of chairs inside the room, and a dozen protographers and TV and newsreel cameramen standing in the hallway and corridor outside.

About half of the 26 chair occupants were reporters. The others were special guests.

Four members of the editorial staff of the Harvard Crimson sat together in the third row. They looked much more formidable than the working press.

There also were several young ladies, only a little less formidable looking than the Crimson editors. One of them, according to the Harvard boys, was from the Wellesley College weekly, and another, they thought, was from the Radcliffe paper.

In the back row, looking more owlish than formidable, sat Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard, the young Pulitzer prize-winning historian who is national cochairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and was a Stevenson speechwriter during the 1952 campaign.

At 10:51 a. m., there was a flurry at the door. The TV men burst in, rushed to the front of the room, turned on their powerful floodlights, and focused their cameras on the reporters.

One of them pointed to the empty divan and said: "All be looking as though Stevenson is over here." Another said: "Start making notes."

After a minute of picture taking the TV men put out their lights, said thank you, and retired.

At 10:55, there was another flurry at the door. This time it was Stevenson.

The TV men, accompanied by the newspaper photographers, rushed in again, turned on their lights, and took some pictures of Stevenson sitting on the divan.

Then the press conference began.

"I apologize for being late," Stevenson said, explaining that he had been detained at the breakfast given in his honor by Mayor Hynes in the Georgian Room downstairs.

"When Democrats eat breakfast at someone else's expense," he said, "they have to take quite a while."

Nothing said during the entire press conference by the most famous phrasemaker in politics today was as bright as that opening remark.

Niagara Power Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, a truly responsible and well-run labor organization located in the First Congressional District of New York is Local 1049, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL. They have long been stanch advocates of the free-enterprise system. In this conjunction I would like to include in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, at the specific request of this fine local union, the A. F. of L. position on the Niagara power project, which is here presented:

The New York State Association of Electrical Workers (AFL) today called upon the United States Senate to help authorize electrical companies to develop additional hydropower at Niagara Falls to "initiate promptly over 100 million man-hours of employment."

"Unemployment is now the subject of deep personal concern to the workers and their families," John R. Weigelt, secretary-treasurer of the Electrical Workers, declared in a letter to members of the Public Works Committee and other Members of the Senate. He said he spoke for 100,000 members of his association and 700,000 members of the International Brotherhod of Electrical Workers and felt he was speaking for 3 million other A. F. of L. construction workers.

The Public Works Committee is now holding hearings on three bills which would authorize construction of an additional 1,100,000 kilowatts of electricity at Niagara Falls. One of the bills, sponsored by Senators CAPEHART and MARTIN, passed the House as the Dondero-Miller bill at the last session by a vote of 262 to 120. This bill would permit development of the project by investor-owned companies. The other bills would authorize development by the New York State Power Authority.

Mr. Weigelt pointed out that the Power Authority would have to raise funds, start condemnation proceedings, undergo litigation, make surveys, draft plans, and obtain bids before it could get underway.

"Theoretical construction years from now will be no stimulant to employment now," he emphasized.

He estimates that the project will require 100,000 tons of steel, 29 million board-feet of lumber, 3,500,000 barrels of cement and $100 million of generating equipment, among other materials. It is further estimated, he said, that substantially in excess of one-half of the project's total cost of $400 million will be expended, directly or indirectly, for labor.

By permitting the private companies to construct the project, Mr. Weigelt foresaw immediate benefits flowing to steel workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana; automobile workers in Michigan; copper and zinc miners in Arizona and New Mexico; machinery makers in Ohio, New York, and New England; cement, brick, and stone workers in New Hampshire, South Dakota, New York, Vermont, and Pennsylvania; textile and shoe employees in New England and the South; oil workers in Oklahoma and Texas; cotton workers in Mississippi and other Southern States; fruit and vegetable workers in Florida and California; and lumbermen in Tennessee and other States—all industrial areas feeling the pinch of the current economic decline.

"As construction workers with a serious unemployment problem, we want, and must have, jobs now," Mr. Weigelt told the Senators. "Whatever merits the development of Niagara power by the New York State Power Authority may have—and we deny them—theoretical construction years from now will be no stimulant to employment now.

"As workers and as citizens, we feel that a bold, outstanding move that will give new life to venture capital now will have a greater effect in reviving full employment than any stopgap public works.

"The private companies can go ahead now. All they need is your approval.

"Any delay in passing this legislation is a filibuster on jobs," Mr. Weigelt stressed.

Low Tariffs Create a Menace to Employment and Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, for the past 20 years tariffs have been reduced in a reckless and irresponsible manner and their serious implications have not been apprised by our people due to the prosperity created by war. There can be no denial that low tariffs have been creating a growing menace to employment and capital.

For several years, I have urged the responsible officials of the Federal Government to take corrective steps to remedy the great inroads made by foreign competition on our industries. I have repeated, in many instances, that our labor and industry should not be made "guinea pigs" for so-called internationalists and their policies of free trade.

The present Trade Agreements Act should be allowed to expire in June 1954 and Congress should resume its constitutional responsibility to regulate commerce, adjust tariff rates, and provide import restrictions in accordance with the principles of fair competition.

I vehemently disagree with the recommendations of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy in the further decrease of tariffs. It should be the authority of Congress to review our trade policies with vigor and concern, study the serious ramifications of legislation in order to protect our domestic producers from foreign competition, and adjust our trade policies in complete fairness.

As import pressure mounts from all sources, we will hear of other industries which have been affected. Already the coal industry has been unfairly afflicted by the imports of cheap foreign residual oil; the labor and management of the glass industry have been caused great alarm by cheap foreign imports; and the same situation exists in many other private enterprises. I highly recommend that all industries of our great Nation take this issue to heart—it is a serious matter and should not be ignored.

I have received thousands of communications from employees of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co., located in Ford City, part of my congressional district, which I have the honor to represent. While it is impossible to elaborate all the views expressed, I feel the following resolution adopted by the elected officials of Armstrong County confirms the existing problems in the glass industry and I include the same as part of my remarks:

Whereas it has come to our attention that a further reduction in the United States import duties on plate glass and window glass has been recommended by the Randall Commission; and

Whereas there is a great spread in wages between foreign glass workers and those of this country, which spread amounts to something close to $2 per hour or more; and

Whereas almost all of the principal trading nations of the world have a higher percentage of duty on total imports than does the United States, a typical example being England, which at the present time collects duties amounting to approximately 25 percent of the value of their imports per year, while this country is collecting about 5 percent; and

Whereas raw material costs for glass making are more than twice as much in this country than they are abroad; and

Whereas the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. is one of the country's largest producers of window glass and plate glass and 2 of its 4 plate-glass plants are located at Ford City, which is situated in the central part of Armstrong County; and

Whereas further decreases in the duties imposed on importations of plate glass and window glass would materially affect this country's plate- and window-glass industry and the Ford City plant of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. would be involved; and

Whereas unemployment in the glass industry, which is by far the county's largest industrial operation, would affect many workers directly and all of the business and professional men as well as the tax income of the county: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, and it is hereby resolved, That we, the elected officials of Armstrong County, go on record as being unanimously opposed to such a reduction in import duties

and request that you actively oppose any further reduction in the import duties on plate and window glass such as have been proposed by the Randall Commission.

J. Frank Graff, President Judge; Robert E. Ashe, District Attorney; Ross B. McIlwain, Wm. H. Claypoole, Walter H. Miller, County Commissioners; Herbert G. Gates, Prothonotary; Robert H. Powers, Register and Recorder; Ray DeLancey, Treasurer; Thomas C. Hutchison, Sheriff; E. Clinton Stitt, Controller; C. N. Hanner, Superintendent of Schools.

Smithsonian Suffering From Simple Neglect

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OREN HARRIS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, in his daily editorial column, Our Daily Bread, Mr. Alex H. Washburn, editor of the Hope Star, Hope, Ark., brings to our attention a most important question in connection with adequate lighting for the Smithsonian Institution. Mr. Washburn was in Washington recently, and, as thousands of other people from all over the United States, and, in fact, the world, he visited the Smithsonian Institution. He was somewhat incensed by the poor lighting and complained to the guard. He was impressed by the fact that the guard advised him that nearly all the visitors "squawked" about the poor lighting.

On returning to his home in Hope, Ark., he wrote an editorial for his paper under date of March 18, 1954. It is interesting and appropriate. I think he is to be commended for bringing this matter to our attention in Congress, since Congress is responsible for this most important Institution.

As one Member, I shall do what I can to correct this situation. I wanted to bring this to the attention of every Member of Congress, and, therefore, I include it in the RECORD with this extension of remarks.

The editorial follows:

When I was in Washington the first of the month I complained to a guard about the poor lighting in the main building of the Smithsonian Institution and told him I was going to write a memo to Congress when I got back home.

I suppose there are a thousand questions more important right now than the matter of why our national museum is kept so dark that it is difficult enough to see the exhibits, let alone try to take pictures of them. Nevertheless the question should be looked into. The guard to whom I complained said nearly all the visitors squawked about the poor lighting.

The main Smithsonian Building is an ancient piece of architecture with poorly arranged windows to begin with, and its electric lights are so feeble you can't make out the exhibits even in daytime.

Over in the new building where the fossil remains of the great reptiles of antiquity are shown it is a different story. The new building has big windows and fine lighting. Unfortunately most of the things people want to see first are in the old building—things like early automobiles, wood-burning locomotives, the original Wright airplane, and Lindbergh's Spirit of St. Louis.

Poor lighting isn't the normal thing in Washington. What the Smithsonian is suffering from is simple neglect.

Ironically enough, the only spot in the old building that is brilliantly lighted is the men's rest room. I suppose the plumbing of the venerable structure finally gave out, and while the authorities were putting in new plumbing they added modern lights—in this one room.

It's a bizarre experience, walking out of a 20th century lavatory into the darkness of the Smithsonian's enchanted aisles.

I'll send this piece on to Washington, with another copy to the Smithsonian Institution for that guard who talked so frankly when I complained.

Another Slogan Fades Away—New Look Not New

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, first it was the hoax of the shield of the 7th Fleet between Formosa and the Communist China mainland; next it was the slogans about rolling back communism, or the strategy of liberation; and finally it was the New Look in military-foreign policy. Each time, when the American people looked behind the brightly tinseled, neat packages, labeled with a catchy slogan, they found themselves the victim of misrepresentation.

Each time the American people have found they have been overmerchandised—in short, sold a bill of goods. So it has been with the New Look. For some time the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been suggesting that there is not much new in the New Look. Next, President Eisenhower admitted the New Look was not new but, rather, in his words, "an attempt by intelligent people to keep abreast of the times." The President does not even like the term. Now we finally learn that he does not even like slogans. We hope the slogan makers of his team were listening.

Finally, Mr. Dulles himself has come forth and stated that he did not really mean what he seemed to be saying on January 12 about "massive retaliatory power." Thus, if President Eisenhower's wishes are honored, the catchy slogan New Look will fade away, as have the earlier slogans regarding the 7th Fleet and the so-called strategy of liberation.

But there remain serious questions still unanswered regarding the administration's military policies. These questions can only be answered and seriously debated if those who present and promote them will refrain from tying them up in a neat little package and attempting to merchandise them as they would bars of soap.

Hanson W. Baldwin, of the New York Times, has raised some penetrating questions about our proposed military policies. He observes, in an article on March 21, that—

The administration would have been on somewhat safer ground if, instead of claiming more for less, it had said frankly that it was increasing slightly our calculated military risk in order to reduce our calculated economic risk.

Under unanimous consent, I include Mr. Baldwin's article in the RECORD, as follows:

CAPITAL DEBATE CASTS NEW LIGHT ON NEW LOOK—CRITICISMS, ANSWERS, AND COMMENTS ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S STRATEGY

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The New Look got a new fitting in Washington last week and the amendments and criticisms included even its name.

The President, Secretary of State Dulles, who originally expounded the "deterrent of massive retaliatory power"; Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada; Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and various other spokesmen—including Democrats and Republicans of high and low degree—all joined in a swelling discussion of the Nation's politico-military policies.

The debate centered around the following points:

HOW NEW IS IT?

Criticism: The New Look is not new at all but simply represents a reversion to the air-power, sea-power, peripheral strategy, "Fortress America" concepts of former President Hoover and the late Senator Robert A. Taft. As such, it has disturbed Europeans, who fear that our emphasis upon atomic weapons and airpower exposes them to: (a) enemy atomic retaliation, and (b) withdrawal of American troops from Europe and a strategy based upon the negative policy of liberation after conquest rather than defense against conquest. The down-grading of "local defenses" by Secretary Dulles represents an isolationist trend and the threat of "instant retaliation" seems to be a unilateral doctrine.

The answers: The President himself said last week he did not like the term "New Look"; it meant little to him. He added that it was not all new anway and that it was "simply an attempt by intelligent people to keep abreast of the times." One of tis objectives, he implied, was the conservatism of American manpower. A "great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing" is the best insurance for European cities against the threat of Russion atomic devastation. Secretary of Defense Wilson and others have denied that there were any "immediate" plans to bring troops back from Europe, but added that development of new weapons might make "substantial reduction of troops overseas possible—in the long run."

But "we need allies and we need collective security," Mr. Dulles said, and we must "place more reliance upon community deterrent power." To which he added last week in an article written for Foreign Affairs: "The cornerstone of security for the free nations must be a collective system of defense. • • • Without to cooperation of allies, we would not even be in a position to retaliate massively against the war industries of an attacking nation. A prospective attacker is not likely to invade if he believes the probable hurt will outbalance the probable gain."

Comment: The New Look really represents something old and something new—a blend of the airpower, seapower, Hoover-Taft concepts with Eisenhower internationalism. Our troop strength overseas, including Europe, will be reduced, but there is certainly no plan to withdraw all United States forces into the Western Hemisphere.

Modern weapons make any isolationist policy impossible and, in any case, the Eisenhower administration is firmly and irrevocably committed to a system of security based upon multilateral and bilateral agreements and/or alliances all over the world. Emphasis upon Continental defense and a strategic reserve at home is frank recognition of the increased threat to the United States presented by the Russian hydrogen bomb and the need for greater strategic flexibility. Despite primary emphasis upon a "great capacity to retaliate," the United States is actually strengthening local defenses all over the world.

Without overseas bases our capacity to retaliate would be very materially reduced. Preconsultation among the allies about such retaliation and other war measures is necessary—and has been taking place—but no such consultation can cover all eventualities, and no nation can bind itself in perpetuity to a fixed future course of action, based upon hypothetical happenings.

LITTLE WARS

Criticism: A great capacity to retaliate may deter Soviet aggression by armed force but offers no deterrent to Communist infiltration, or to a subversive coup. The atomic bomb is no answer to the Indochina situation, to Trieste street fighting, to an Israeli-Arab struggle. If used in such conflicts, it would turn little wars into big ones.

The answers: The capabilities of massive retaliation and the atomic bomb are not the sole string to our bow. Admiral Radford has pointed out that the policies enunciated by Mr. Dulles and the administration do not commit us to a one-weapon, one-service concept and do not necessarily mean we will retaliate with the atomic bomb or with air power. The aim is to keep the enemy guessing, but to let him understand he will be hurt if he starts another war by proxy. Massive retaliation against Communist China might be applied by naval blockade, air action, amphibious assault and/or atomic attack if Communist Chinese troops intervened massively in Indochina. But local defenses have to be maintained—"a sufficient military establishment to maintain order against subversion." Arms aid is to continue, technical assistance is to continue but economic aid "in the form of grants" is on the "way out" as a major "element of our foreign policy," though it will be continued in areas "near the Soviet orbit"—notably in the Middle and Far East.

Comment: No formula or strategic plan can possibly anticipate every enemy action all over the world. To attempt to be strong everywhere is to be weak everywhere. The principle of concentration is correct militarily but must be tempered by political considerations. The problem is one of degree and emphasis. If the capacity for massive retaliation is stressed too greatly at the expense of local forces and foreign aid, we might well prepare ourselves to win a hot war while losing the cold war. Military plans and next year's military and foreign-aid budget do not, however, reflect such a danger as yet.

STRATEGY FOR PEACE

Criticism: The New Look is a strategy for war; it is not a program for peace.

Answer: Mr. Dulles stressed last week the capacity to retaliate instantly and massively as a deterrent to war. "In no place did I say we would retaliate instantly."

Comment: The New Look is a strategic or politico-military doctrine, but the political objectives of the doctrine—the kind of world we want after any war we may have to fight—have not been so clearly outlined. Is our political objective liberation or containment? A deterrent to war is essential, but what kind of world do we want?

ATOMIC SECRECY

Criticism: The threat of massive retaliation is incompatible with our atomic secrecy.

Answer: Some of the Atomic Energy Commission personnel and our military leaders answer: Perhaps, but how far would you go? Should we announce the size of our atomic armory and allow observers at hydrogen bomb tests? The Russian leaders already know how powerful the hydrogen bomb is and that knowledge does not appear to have affected the Russian course of action.

Comment: If the capacity to retaliate massively is to form a primary part of our politico-military security system we must be certain that the Russian leaders, and, as far as possible, the Russian people, understand the tremendous strength of that capacity. We should advertise our hydrogen and atomic capabilities, not conceal them.

ECONOMIC FACTOR

Criticism: The New Look is primarily motivated by the administration's desire to save money.

Answer: The administration, Mr. Dulles has said, wants "maximum protection at bearable cost." Continued budgetary deficits and $50 billion defense budgets could "not be continued too long without grave * * * consequences." It is now possible, by the emphasis on capacity for massive retaliation, to select military means instead of multiplying them; to "get and to share more security at less cost."

Comment: There is no doubt that reduction of costs was a major factor, probably the major factor, in the new program. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Budget Director had more influence in shaping the overall sizes of the services than did the Joint Chiefs of Staff. New weapons certainly give a bigger bang, but no one yet knows exactly what effect they will have in war, or, indeed, whether they can ever be used. The administration would have been on somewhat safer ground if, instead of claiming more for less, it had said frankly that it was increasing slightly our calculated military risk in order to reduce our calculated economic risk.

There are many other criticisms of the New Look, some of them technical, some of them detailed. There are undoubtedly inconsistencies in the program, and there are weak spots in our security organization. Moreover, our future objectives should try to avoid at all costs a strategy which would commit us to either (a) an unlimited atomic war, or (b) an unlimited land war with mass armies. But, as so far developed, the New Look is an attempt to bridge past and future. It does not wreck our armed services, nor is the manpower reduction so far ordered unduly dangerous. But in this age of hydrogen city busters we must continue to question and debate all politico-military policies.

Totalitarianism and Religion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to a very interesting and enlightening article written by Dr. Bernard Heller, and which appeared in the March 15, 1954, issue of Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress. Dr. Heller is visiting professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion.

The article follows:

TOTALITARIANISM AND RELIGION

(By Bernard Heller)

When the three ancient Jewish youths spurned the royal despot's proffers of life without the right to follow the worship of the God of their fathers, their answer was: "Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, but if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden images which thou hast set up." This has been the answer of martyrs of all creeds and ages. Since their time the earth has been drenched with the blood of countless men and women who have fought for such liberty or preferred death rather than life without it.

The insistence of individuals and minority groups upon the right to think for themselves and to be regarded as the best judges of their own interest, particularly in matters of spiritual conviction and personal taste, succeeded in setting bounds to the state's insatiable greed for power over its subjects. Early Christianity asserted that human actions fell in one of two categories, each separate and autonomous: in one, Caesar or the state was supreme; in the other, God or the church was supreme. Conflict between these two schools of thought was very evident in the Middle Ages and has been revived with all its intensity in totalitarian lands.

This division Judaism never acknowledged. Religion was concerned with all interests and actions of men. All life was and could be made holy. Refusal to demarcate the sacred from the secular, together with the fact that Judaism did not acquire or prefer, after 70 C. E., a form or the organization and power which Christianity enjoyed, spared it the struggle which the church went through. The only means of inducing obedience to the religious leaders and communal rulers was moral suasion and the approbation or disapprobation of fellow Jews. When a Jew lived a Jewish life and paid the communal tax that was assigned to him, or responded to an appeal for the support of a cultural or philanthropic institution, he did it without the coercion and punishment which we associate with governmental edicts. Judaism played a role in evolving a system of free-will obedience to communal and spiritual regulations, not only by checking the invasion of temporal power in matters of religious belief and behavior but also in putting the religious duties on a voluntary basis—a practice now common, especially in lands where church and state are separate.

The second contribution which religion made to the ideal of human liberty and freedom is its affirmation of the supreme worth of the individual. Each man, no matter how lowly his origin, humble his social station, or meager his mental power, is dear and precious unto God. Religion has given special emphasis to this doctrine. It has, in fact, discovered it. It ignores racial or national distinctions in its avowal of the infinite worth of human personality. This is true equally of Judaism and Christianity.

When the Author of the story of creation tells us that man was made in the image of God and that, though fashioned from the dust of the earth, God, nevertheless, breathed into his nostrils a breath of life and thus endowed him with a soul, He proclaims the divinity of man—even primitive man. In commenting on the statement that man was made in the image of God, the Talmudic rabbis call attention to the matchless power of the divine and the singularity of every human being. Men, like coins, they observe, are the product of one divine stamp or mold and yet no two individuals may be found to be identical. They hold an individual so important that each man may say: "For my sake was the universe created. He who saves

the life of a single person is as if he saved all humanity."

That the ambitions of the king, the needs of Israel or the state, or even the glory of God did not justify the wanton or unconditioned sacrifice of human beings is the view not only of Talmudic rabbis, but even of Biblical authors. I have reference not to the prophet's vision of a warless world, of the coming of a time when men will beat their swords into plowshares, or Isaiah's exhortation to Ahaz to place his reliance upon God instead of military armaments when the Kings of Syria and Samaria united and threatened to attack Judea. I have in mind the passage in Deuteronomy where the officers are commanded on the eve of battle to make the following announcements to the soldiers: "What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard and hath not yet eaten of it? let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it. And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife and hath not taken her? let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her." These passages, asserting that the individual's right to happiness stands above the needs and destiny of the state, are most remarkable when you consider the age, the need of the Israelitish tribes for a home, and that to the author that territory was a land promised to them by Jehovah himself.

Even the early prophets repudiate the notion of the infallibility of the state and the dictum, "The king can do no wrong." When David committed that grievous sin against Uriah, Nathan, at the behest of God, faced the monarch and cried out, "Thou art a culprit." Jeremiah did not succumb to the feeling of security which the populace derived from the notion of the inviolability of the temple and the state. He predicted the doom of both institutions, a doom that was inescapable since the king, the princes, and the priests persisted in their social and spiritual delinquencies. In speculating on the causes of the downfall of the state, the rabbis assert that the temple was destroyed because teachers and leaders were present at a feast and were unmoved by the shame to which the host subjected an individual whom he disliked but who had been invited by error of his servant.

The principle that human consideration and welfare stand above loyalty to credal doctrine or religious institutions is a fundamental affirmation of Talmudic lore and legislation. That the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath was a Pharisaic tenet. They esteemed so much the life of the individual that they counselled the individual not to accept martyrdom indiscriminately even for the glory and the sanctification of the divine name. When the Romans made observance of Judaism a capital offense, there were many pious persons who were willing to face death rather than heed these edits. The rabbis commanded them to offer up their lives only if they be forced to worship an idol, kill another human being or commit adultery.

The rabbis deemed Judaism universal in its purview and they not only accorded equal political rights and possibilities for salvation to members of all races who affiliated themselves with Israel, but even to those who were averse or could not get themselves to assume the heavy responsibilities involved in such a step. "The pious of all nations will have a share in the world to come" was their dictum. The Old Testament prescribed a treatment of strangers or aliens which modern Christian regimes could well emulate. "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself."

The doctrine of the sanctity of personality is no less fundamental to Christianity, no matter how some of its nominal devotees may have disregarded it. To authentic Christianity, the individual and his spiritual life was a sanctuary which no power, no matter how omnipotent, had a right to invade. When the early Christians huddled themselves in the Coliseum and resigned themselves to be devoured by the unleashed hungry lions, when Luther fearlessly posted his theses on the door of the church of Wittenberg—these things were in the defense of the individual's right to spiritual expression.

This right, won by the struggle and sacrifice of countless heroes and martyrs, has been trampled upon by communism, fascism, and other forms of totalitarianism. Theirs is a philosophy which negates the importance and imperiousness of the spiritual sovereignty of the individual. They proclaim the state as "the conscience and the will of the people." They subscribe to Hegel's apotheosis of the state. "The state," wrote Hegel, "is the divine idea as it exists on earth. The state is the absolute power on earth; it is its own end. It is the ultimate end which has the highest right over the individual, whose highest duty is to be a member of the state."

Apostles of totalitarianism spurn and deprecate individualism by the glib reply that liberty will never yield bread and efficiency. Even if we do not dispute the material advantage to which totalitarian states lay claim, we cannot ignore the fact that, just as evolution in the realm of biology and zoology is made possible by variations and mutations, just so is social and cultural progress and richness conditioned by the lack of impediments to divergencies of opinion and freedom of expression.

Religion's admonition ever was, "And thou shall choose the 'way of life'." Man today stands at a crossroad. One way leads to spiritual life the other to spiritual death, and perhaps also to physical annihilation.

Liberation in the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks an excellent speech given by Beglar Navassardian, secretary of Paris Bloc in the United States, given at the Town Hall, New York, on Sunday, March 14:

It was in Paris, toward the end of March of last year, that after intense, often difficult, but finally most fruitful deliberations that the Paris Bloc was founded. And today, representative organizations of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Ukraine celebrate the first anniversary of that historic occasion.

The Paris Bloc has taken its firm stand with the democracies of the East and the West in their struggle against Communist tyranny.

Now, if I were asked to set down one word on the common banner of the democracies at present combating communism, surely it would be the word "freedom."

Yet freedom as such is an abstract term. It is an inspiring and noble ideal and as such is a guiding beacon to mankind. But as in the case of all ideals, so in that of freedom, it must be brought down from its heights to the realm of practical reality. It must be made applicable within the confines of national and international structures. In other words, freedom must don a political, economic, and social garment that should be seen and not invisible as the emperor's clothes in Anderson's tale.

For the hard reality is that freedom and liberty cannot exist in a vacuum. They must be made to function and for that a framework is necessary.

And as we look at history, political science, and the psychology of nations and peoples, one overpowering conclusion emerges always:

That the only sound, feasible, and just framework for the practical application of freedom is that of national independence and statehood for the peoples of this world.

For only within the confines of such a framework do the noble, yet abstract ideas of freedom of speech, of thought, of worship and all others take form and become truly applicable.

We constantly hear and repeat that those under Soviet domination are deprived of all freedoms. What we fail to do is to take the next logical step and say that they are deprived of these freedoms within the realm of national structures and expression.

For all human expression, in the final analysis, bears this stamp. Take religion. Of all the outcries of man's soul this is no doubt the most universal. And yet, in each case, whether it be the outcry of an Idel-Urali, a Ukrainian, or an Azerbaidjani, it carries the imprint and intensity of national expression. And so in speech, in creative work, in science and every other field, the seekings of the human heart, mind, and soul reach the universal, the international only through and by way of the national.

Therefore, if these expressions we seek are to be free, if freedom itself is to have meaning, if it is to become alive and not remain an abstract thought, then must the international order of independent nations become the sine qua non of our political tomorrow.

The Paris Bloc and those participating here, representative organizations of Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Ukraine and in fact all subjugated peoples, brothers in the common and depthless sea of suffering, do not and cannot advocate what some like to attribute to those who believe in national independence.

Explicity, we do not and cannot and will not advocate hatred between peoples and nations. Only those, whose political vision is so myopic as to border on blindness, only they fail to realize that the oppressed peoples have suffered too long and too much to advocate blind chauvinism, hatred, and egocentric self-sufficiency.

The fact of the Paris Bloc itself is the conclusive evidence of the faith of its members in the splendid spirit of cooperation of nationalities working hand in hand in tolerance, understanding, and brotherhood.

But this is possible—in its very pragmatic and pratical sense—only when the rights of peoples are not trodden underfoot, when they can hold their heads high, when they are equal partners in a world that believes in equality and justice.

As I said, those of the Paris Bloc and those participating here today have risen forth from the common sea of suffering. Yet the analogy is even deeper. For here we have the Armenians and the Azerbaidjani and the Byelorussians and Georgians and the Idel-Uralis and the North Caucasians and the Turkestanis and the Ukrainians, each of whom has a centuries-old and glorious history.

It is not one of conquest and aggression but rather a proud and noble record of a valiant struggle for the right to freedom and

equality and justice. Each of them has had countless centuries of independence and statehood, of creative work and civilization, of contribution to the international effort of man for a better world.

Each of these has sacrificed the blood of its best sons and daughters, generation after generation, for the triumph of freedom and justice, within the confines not only of its own territory, but those of all the peoples in bondage.

And yet there is another important point of similarity.

The Paris Bloc consists of the most qualified organizations from each nationality represented. We do not merely make the statement, for the evidence is there to be had.

It is of the most conclusive class and is this: That for 35 years in each respective homeland of the organizations of the Paris Bloc, the Soviets have waged a relentless and most intense battle against the existence, the memory and the name even of these organizations.

And this one fact in itself is indisputable evidence of the efficiency of the Paric Bloc members, for as we all know the Soviets are not in the habit of wasting their breath on dead opponents or phantom adversaries.

Less than a month ago, in an address beamed to the American Nation on radio and television, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said:

"We must continue to hold fast to the conviction that the peoples and nations who are today not masters of their own destinies shall become their own masters."

Yes, indeed. And this, not because the peoples and nations now in bondage wish to be self-willed, capriciously creating new problems and complications, but because the only salvation of mankind, as one organized whole, is an order where—again in the words of Mr. Dulles—"each nation is master of its own destiny."

For then and only then will justice, freedom, and above all lasting peace cease to be abstract terms and become a living reality to be enjoyed everywhere, for all peoples, at all times.

The Situation in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Tangle Over China: K. C. Wu's Charges," written by Herbert Elliston, and published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 21, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TANGLE OVER CHINA: K. C. WU'S CHARGES
(By Herbert Elliston)

The canonization of Chiang Kai-shek in latter-day America is not least among the squalid spectacles (as the Alsop brothers would put it) which have flourished under the circus tent of McCarthyism. It will scarcely be credible a generation hence. We pick up the check for the bulk of the Nationalist budget—in great part justified by the need to hold Formosa—but these payments are what Vinegar Joe Stilwell would have called peanuts. The matter goes much beyond the drain upon our pocketbook.

I am thinking of what the canonization of Chiang has entailed in noncash terms. We are justifiably accused in Europe of lack of realism on this policy. In Asia, we are called backers of the imperialist order and the status quo and reaction. The glorification of Chiang has led us in Burma actually to subsidize allegedly pro-Chiang bandits (for the invasion of mainland China) who keep Burma in a state of alarm but who do not bother the Communists in Peking a single bit. Then there is the corruption in our domestic politics which the lavish subsidization in behalf of Formosa has induced. This is a tale that remains to be told—a tale focusing on the amorphous China lobby.

There is one historian who could do it. He is Herbert Feis. His China Tangle is a great work of exposure of the muddy events in the China-American relation between Pearl Harbor and the Marshall mission. What has bothered me about the adultation of the Gissimo is the way the concomitant, no-questions-asked policy has put us out on a limb. So little is needed to cut it off, as, for instance, the passing of Chiang Kai-shek, now approaching his 70th year. If he were to vacate the tortured scene in Formosa, the place is all set for the succession of his son, Gen. Chiang Ching-kuo.

And then what? The young Chiang is the poo-bah of his father's administration, but his main job is to run the political police, which control the army, on whose prowess and on whose numbers so much nonsense has been expended. He is also head of the secret police and the youth corps. Young Chiang had some years of schooling in these black arts in Russia. What is to prevent him from selling out to the Communist government in Peking as soon as Chiang Kai-shek dies? A man who in Moscow in 1927 denounced his own father as a traitor and a counter-revolutionary is capable of anything. Lack of filial feeling is particularly heinous in a Chinese.

Now a little light and truth is being let in on his regime and the Chinese-American racket in Formosa. It does not come from an official American source. Oh dear, no. Our people in the know, when not party to the shenanigans, are too scared of McCarthyism to tell what they know. Disillusion comes from no less a person that K. C. Wu, the man who is always trotted out as a guarantee that Formosa is on the democratic level. Wu got his name for honesty and efficiency as the mayor of Shanghai in the 1930's. In the Formosa regime he has been governor of the island. Arriving in America a few weeks ago, he now confesses he found the regime at Taipeh past stomaching, and is not going back.

The statement he has issued will stagger those Americans who have been fed on the China Lobby's pap. Wu calls Formosa, bluntly, a police state, reveals how Chiang Ching-kuo's thugs tried to eliminate him, and appeals for an American investigation of the Nationalist Party finances.

Thus what a few voices have been insisting upon in America, and have been accused of lese majeste for so doing, is now being said out loud by the most respectable name in the Formosa administration. No doubt Wu will be villified from Taipeh along with the American critics of conditions in Formosa and of our China "policy." But Wu is not an American diplomat who can be put on the rack by one of half a dozen investigating committees of Congress. He must be taken seriously.

Let us hope Congress will wake up and take notice of the storm signals. Wu is inspired by the highest motives of keeping Formosa from becoming so rotten within that there could be no supporting it. The disguise over Formosa cannot last much longer; the sacred cow is at last becoming touchable.

The Educational Exchange Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Good Will Plowed Under," which was published yesterday, March 21, in the Washington Post. The editorial relates to the reduction, as voted by the House of Representatives, in the appropriation for the international student-exchange program.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed, in connection with the editorial, a news release by the University of Minnesota, under date of March 11, 1954, regarding a plea on the same subject made by the president of the University of Minnesota. Because of the importance of this matter, I wish to have both the editorial and the release printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of March 21, 1954]

GOOD WILL PLOWED UNDER

Much as we appreciate the need for economy, it is difficult to understand why the House slashed so deeply into the educational exchange service of the overseas information and good will program. The State Department's request for $15 million for continuation of the program at about its present level was cut to 9 million and of this $7,560,166 would go for the purchase of foreign credits in the United States Treasury. Some of the foreign credits would not be usable because they could be expended only for transportation and no dollar funds would be available to support students after their arrival. The result would be a most drastic curtailment of activities that have been earning good will and understanding for the United States the world over.

According to Senator FULBRIGHT, the cut would practically put out of business the student exchange program that bears his name. In the case of 46 countries, including all the republics of Latin America, the exchange of students with the United States would be completely cut off. Plans for bringing so-called leaders of thought and attitude from 70 different countries, to acquaint them with the American way of life, would have to be dropped if the decision of the House should be sustained. And the same is true of the plan for sending American specialists abroad and of the teacher exchange program designed to familiarize students abroad with American educational methods, customs, and ideas.

Is it possible that the House deliberately voted this false economy? American security, world peace and in considerable measure prosperity depend upon continued close and friendly relations with other countries of the free world. The educational exchange program is one of the best means devised for promotion of understanding between peoples. It cannot be sacrificed without serious loss of the cement needed to hold the free world together. Every believer in free-world cooperation will hope that the Senate will vote to give the administration the funds it needs to make this device for building good will effective.

SENATE URGED TO RESTORE $6 MILLION HOUSE CUT IN EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM FUNDS FOR 1955

MINNEAPOLIS.—A plea for restoration by the United States Senate of a $6 million House of Representatives slash in President Eisenhower's $15 million 1955 budget request for the State Department's international education exchange program was made Thursday (March 11) by University of Minnesota President J. L. Morrill.

As chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, President Morrill directed his appeal through Senator EDWARD J. THYE, Republican, of Minnesota, a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, pointing out that the House cut will force a crippling 40 percent reduction from the current operating level of the exchange program. According to Morrill, Senator THYE has pledged his help in restoring the appropriation to the requested figure.

"If the Senate sustains the reduction voted by the House," Morrill cautioned, "our educational exchange effort will shrivel from an effective worldwide program involving 70 countries to a restricted operation—on a sharply reduced scale—in only 21 countries. We will have no educational exchange program with the other American republics and none with 26 countries in other parts of the free world.

"The House cutback would cripple our endeavors to build up overseas, through the exchange program, a receptive climate of public opinion in which the actions and policies of the United States can be interpreted correctly, in which cooperation and solidarity between free people can be enhanced and in which distorted views of American life and motives can be corrected.

"Our educational exchange program," continued President Morrill, "has been making friends abroad for us for the last 15 years. Many of these friends are persons who are or who will become influential in making national policy and in affecting public opinion in their countries—including educators, editors and reporters, legislators, and labor leaders."

President Morrill contended that the cost of making these influential friends for the United States throughout the world is comparatively low. The educational-exchange budget for 70 countries amounts to $14,965,000 for this year, he explained. President Eisenhower has asked $15 million to provide in 1955 for 4,513 exchanges involving key people from those 70 countries and carefully selected Americans to demonstrate American aims and achievements to their hosts abroad, Morrill reported.

These funds are drawn from two major sources. About half are foreign currencies available under the Fulbright Act as a result of surplus-property sales in 21 foreign countries. The other half are dollar appropriations available under authorization of the Smith-Mundt Act.

The dollar funds are essential, Morrill said, to cover the expenses in the United States of all foreign grantees and form our only source of funds for exchanges with 46 countries in which no foreign-currency credits are presently available to us. In addition to the American republics, these countries include Korea, Turkey, Iran, and Indonesia, and many others. The House appropriation would force elimination of the total educational-exchange program in these 46 nations.

"As American citizens," Morrill reminded the Senate in his appeal, "we cannot sit by complacently and expect the peoples and governments of other countries to support us in our international policies unless they understand and respect us. We have already gained much support from those who have seen us firsthand, either on our soil or theirs, through the exchange program.

"We stand to sacrifice this source of much-needed understanding and support in these crucial times of world unrest unless the Congress is persuaded to maintain this program at least at its present strength. It is difficult to find any wisdom in curtailing such a profitable endeavor."

Statehood for Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Americans First," published in the Fairbanks (Alaska) Daily News-Miner of March 15, 1954, and an editorial entitled "Ready for Statehood?" published in the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner of Thursday, March 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner of March 15, 1954]

AMERICANS FIRST

As the statehood debate in Congress gets underway, it is becoming more and more apparent to Alaskans that this Territory is greatly misunderstood by many of America's Representatives and Senators.

A classic example of this fact was mailed to the News-Miner by Mrs. Margaret Brechan, of Newport Beach, Calif. Mrs. Brechan, a former Alaskan, sent us a quotation from the Los Angeles Times of Tuesday, March 2, 1954, in which Representative EDNA F. KELLY, Democrat from New York, commented on the shooting of five Congressmen by Puerto Rican radicals. Mrs. KELLY is quoted as saying:

"This is a tough break for Hawaii and Alaska, but I'm going to change my stand. No statehood for non-Americans. From now on, I'm against it."

Obviously, she was shocked by the outrageous incident in the House of Representatives, and possibly she has reconsidered her words since the shooting. But, her statement is all too typical of the manner in which many Congressmen regard Alaska.

Don't these Congressmen realize that the overwhelming majority of the people in Alaska are Americans from their own States who have migrated north in search of opportunity, just as the pioneers of the 1800's traveled west to better themselves and their families?

And haven't our Congressmen heard about the record of Americanism that has been achieved by the native residents of Alaska? Don't they know that it was the Eskimo scout who volunteered to guard our Actic coastline in the dark days after Pearl Harbor, and that the constant vigilance of these true Americans resulted in the discovery of the first Japanese balloon that drifted across the Pacific with prevailing winds, loaded with high explosives. Thanks to the day-and-night vigilance of the Eskimo-Americans, our Nation was prepared when these deadly balloons began to take lives in the United States.

Aren't our Congressmen aware of the fact that virtually every able-bodied Eskimo of military age is now in the National Guard, drilling regularly to defend our shores from an aggressive nation that lies only 55 miles away?

Aren't they aware that even when Senator MCCARTHY'S investigators came to Alaska, they made no charges that even a hint of un-Americanism existed here. They interested themselves with the conduct of public officials who were appointed in the United States, and exported to Alaska from there. In the entire history of Alaska, there has never been a documented accusation set forth that any group of Alaskans, native or white, has engaged in subversive activities.

Non-Americans? The overwhelming majority of Alaskans are ambitious modern-day pioneers from every corner of the United States, and they are as American as the New England State, the Texas county, or the New York City borough from which they sprang. As for Alaska's natives, take any Arctic village, determine the number of National Guard members in it, and compare that figure with the number of guardsmen, in a community of equal size in Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, New Jersey, or Oregon. Then you'll find where real Americans live.

The record is clear. There is absolutely no validity in any argument that purports to show that Alaskans are not Americans.

Yet, today our Government has granted Alaskans only the right to pay the debt of American citizenship. We meet our Federal taxes to the letter of the law, and help defray the cost of maintaining government in the greatest stronghold of freedom on this earth. But, we have no representation in Congress, no vote for our President, no jurisdiction over our Federal tax contributions, no clear-cut right to mold our own destiny.

When is America, the last great stronghold of liberty and freedom, going to give Alaskans the rights and privileges that Americans have held dear since 1776?

[From the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner of March 18, 1954]

READY FOR STATEHOOD?

Those who oppose Alaska as a candidate for statehood repeatedly express the opinion that this Territory is not ready to become a State.

In the congressional debate over the Alaska statehood measure, much is being said about the fact that Alaska has a population of only about 182,000 people who inhabit an area twice as large as the State of Texas.

Statehood opponents are asking how this small number of people can maintain highways throughout our vast State, police remote areas, maintain a judicial system, and finance the county seats that would be required. The taxation needed to support this State government would bleed Alaska white, they claim.

To a limited extent, we agree with the charge that Alaska is not ready for statehood. We say, Alaska is not quite ready. But Alaska is as ready as it ever will be under the system of absentee government, unjust taxation, and Federal neglect that now prevails.

Why has Alaska such a sparse population some 56 years after the gold rush of 1898 brought thousands of men north? The answer is obvious to anyone that has spent time in the Territory: Alaska does not hold her immigrants. Eager, ambitious people from the United States pour north on the Alaska highway to start life anew, and on the opposite lane of the highway, discouraged, disgruntled citizens drive south, back to the States. The volume of traffic on that highway almost balances, north and south, every year.

When a prospective pioneer arrives in Alaska, he hopes to carve out a homestead, or opens some sort of a business enterprise. He wants to build a home, to take roots in what he believes is an open frontier, and raise a family there. What does he find? He finds these hopes are often empty dreams.

He can't accumulate capital to build his home or his business when the Federal Government is taking an unfair portion of his

income. Doing business in a land of high costs, he'll find that wages which are scarcely adequate to support him are taxed at "luxury" rates by Uncle Sam. He'll see the Federal Government draining millions of dollars of badly needed capital out of this undeveloped frontier every year, and the worst part of it is that this money is being taken unjustly, on a scale designed for living costs far less than Alaskans must meet.

He'll find that potentially valuable farm land lies undeveloped because the Federal Government withdrew it from public domain years ago and has never restored it. He finds a maze of Government regulations hamstringing him every time he attempts to develop an Alaskan resource.

He'll get little assistance from the Government in his pioneering venture. There's no Federal agency promoting Alaska expansion. He'll find that he must finance his own access roads to his property; loans to develop his enterprise are virtually impossible to obtain; there are no extensive advisory services to help him overcome special cold-weather problems; law enforcement and fire protection will be virtually nonexistent if he is outside a corporate city limits; if he builds his access road, the snows of winter will block it and cut him off from civilization—for no Federal agency will clear it for him.

On top of this, he can't appeal to his Congressman, for he has no Congressman. He has no voice in Federal affairs whatsoever, although his welfare hinges almost entirely on the decisions of Federal officials.

In the end, this pioneer will begin to see things clearly: The situation is hopeless; year after year he labors on a high-cost-of-living escalator, barely making ends meet and suffering all sorts of hardships and discouragements, while Uncle Sam picks up the profits and gives him nothing in return.

Back to Oklahoma or New York goes this pioneer; an eager new man takes his place, and in turn this newcomer exhausts his enthusiasm and gives up. Thus goes the cycle, year after year, decade after decade.

Alaska has never been developed because this Nation has never given the Territory a chance to develop. In the days of the old West, the United States threw open the lands and resources to all comers, and extended every possible assistance to enterprising people who moved West. Land grants to railroads kept transportation links right at the heels of the westward migration. In a few decades a continent was conquered and civilized.

No such migration has ever conquered Alaska, because our Government forgot the formula that developed the West, and has carefully hamstrung pioneering in the far North. What conquered the West? A dream of riches that the pioneer entertained in his mind as he swung his ax. This dream of riches is the most powerful motivation that exists under the system of free enterprise.

But there is no dream of riches on the last frontier—inequitable taxation, stringent and misguided regulations governing the appropriation of land and the use of resources, the lack of Federal assistance and subsidized transportation links with the States, the complete inability of a citizen to register his protest to the Federal Government through the ballotbox—all combine to prevent an Alaskan settler from entertaining hopes that he'll ever be prosperous or happy in the North.

It has become clear that Alaska will not achieve anything that approaches its destiny under its present status.

Statehood will not be a cure-all for our troubles. But, we will be able to make well-directed steps toward solving our problems. The immediate government of Alaska will fall into the hands of Alaskans who will know how to develop this Territory and make it a prosperous adjunct to the United States. We'll be able to fight for our rights in Congress. Most important of all, the bitterness that develops in the heart of an American when he must fight oppression without the right to resort to the ballot box will no longer plague Alaska.

When Congressmen argue that Alaska is not yet ready for statehood, we extend our limited agreement with this statement; we say, "No, Alaska isn't quite ready for statehood, but it will never be ready under the present form of government."

Nearly 100 years of Federal Government rule in Alaska has made it clear that there is no hope of developing a prosperous, self-supporting Alaska under such domination. Americans will not put their hearts into the task of building an empire under a despotic rule.

As a State we will have trouble, but we will also have hope. We will be able to build roads where they should be built, set up a suitable climate for industrial expansion, offer newcomers a fair deal on this promising frontier, cast our votes in United States elections and in Congress, live and expand like Americans have always done when they were given an undeveloped land to civilize.

Alaskans can make the Far North a most valued State of the Union. All they ask from Congress is one gift: Just give us our rights; no Americans could ask for less and offer more.

Farmers and the State Department

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very timely editorial entitled "Farmers and the State Department," which was published in the April 1954 issue of the Farm Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARMERS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Farmers are entitled to know how they stand with their country's Department of State. We believe farmers have a right to know more than they have been told, and to form their own judgments accordingly.

The Secretary of State and his Department are expected to keep the people of the free world on our side, and, wherever possible, to enlarge the area of freedom. They are asked to do this without getting us into war; and to make sure that we shall have friends.

These are serious responsibilities. Do they justify the State Department's actions, affecting agriculture?

American agriculture is not only hurt by lack of foreign sales, but is blamed for piling up commodities in storage. Support prices have not been the sole cause of the giant accumulations; State Department policy against vigorous efforts to sell surpluses abroad can be blamed for some of them.

To be more specific, West Germany had dollars with which she desired to buy $3 million worth of American cotton. Under State Department pressure, Germany bought the cotton elsewhere. Likewise Italy had $15 million to spend for American cotton; the deal went through only after months of State Department resistance.

When a deal had been set up for a large sale of apples to Britain, the State Department blocked it completely. The dollars which the British had intended to pay to American farmers for apples finally came here; but it came for celluloid toys and bubble gum. Industry was favored over agriculture.

If the State Department feels that it must help other countries sell their agricultural products first, in order to keep their friendship, then it, not the USDA, should shoulder the burden of storing surpluses.

The State Department not only must approve every one of the few agricultural attachés the United States keeps abroad, but insists that their reports come to the State Department offices before anyone in Agriculture sees them.

Advocates of trying a two-price system may be sure that State Department objections kept mention of it out of the President's agricultural message.

The State Department contradicts principles of freedom when it stands in the way of free-enterprise efforts to sell American farm products abroad. Representative JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Mississippi's statesmanlike Member of Congress, has said, too, that "farmers join other taxpayers to foot the big bill to rehabilitate other countries. Is it fair that they must contribute additionally by being compelled to hold quantities of farm commodities off the world markets, in order to let other countries sell theirs first?"

The State Department wields more economic power than belongs to it, more perhaps than belongs anywhere in government. If high supports continue to create still more mountainous surpluses because foreign outlets are denied, then blame for any agricultural depression will have to be shared by those whose policies have prevented sales abroad.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska Together

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Hawaii and Alaska Together," published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of March 12, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAWAII AND ALASKA TOGETHER

Following the historical practice of presenting two Territories for statehood at one time, the Senate has joined the bills to admit Hawaii and Alaska. Doubtless some of the votes to combine reflected the belief of the opponents of the statehood proposals that Hawaii would have less of a chance if coupled with Alaska.

Actually there is good reason to vote on the two Territories in the Senate at the same time. Both deserve statehood. Neither ought to be left standing at the door while the other is admitted. If they are considered together, the prospect of possible partisan advantage will minimize. Moreover passage of a combined Hawaii-Alaska measure will put the question of Alaska squarely to the House, in whose committee the Alaskan statehood bill has slumbered for 9 months.

The next move of the White House ought to be plain. If the President will come out just as strongly for admitting both Terri-

tories as he did for taking in Hawaii, passage should be assured. Mr. Eisenhower used his influence in obtaining passage of the St. Lawrence seaway bill in the Senate. Let him do the same on Hawaii and Alaska.

The second session of the 82d Congress has been anything but distinguished thus far. Admission bills for the States No. 49 and No. 50 would brighten a dull record.

Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, in view of the diversity of opinion which presently exists regarding the subject of tax reduction, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two excellent and cogent editorials which express with much force the advantages to be gained from legislation now pending.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of March 19, 1954]

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK

"RICH MAN'S" TAX BILL

If you were to ask most men in the middle or upper income brackets which tax proposal—the administration's dividend credit or the Democrat's increased personal exemption—they prefer, the Democratic proposal offered by Senator GEORGE would win hands-down.

The Democrats, who want to increase everybody's tax exemption to $1,000, didn't mention it the other night on the radio but this plan would give many rich men a good many more dollars of savings than it would give a man of more moderate income. By comparison, the administration's proposal to allow some tax credit for dividend income would give a lot of benefit to the man with small invested savings while it is rather niggardly toward the rich man.

If this is not exactly a point of view you have been hearing from the politicians, consider how the two proposals could work.

Take the case of 2 married men, each with 2 children, under the Democratic proposal. Each would be able eventually to deduct $4,000 from his income before computing his tax. Since their exemptions are now $2,400 they would have a net gain of $1,600 in tax-free income. If one of these men, let us say, were paying a 20-percent tax rate, he would save a maximum of $320. If, however, he were paying a 30-percent rate, the $1,600 extra exemption would save him $480. And if he were in the 50-percent tax bracket, he would save $800—or more than twice as much as the man in the lowest tax bracket.

The administration's dividend credit proposal would eventually permit a taxpayer to deduct for tax purposes all of his dividend income up to $100. For millions of taxpayers in the low income-tax brackets whose invested savings are small this will mean that they will not have to pay any tax whatever on their dividend income.

But take that high-income executive paying a 50-percent rate who has, say, $5,000 of his income in dividends. The flat $100 exemption would save him $50 in taxes. He would also be allowed to take as a tax credit a sum equal to 10 percent of his dividends over $100. In this case the amount of such dividends is $4,900, and his extra tax credit is therefore $490. This plus the $50 credit gives him a total tax saving of $540.

Thus this rich man would save $800 under the Democratic proposal and only $540 under the administration bill.

It is certainly true that those with very large dividend incomes will save more dollars than those with smaller dividend incomes. What is glossed over is that there are more people with small dividend incomes than with large dividend incomes; United States Steel has just figured that 56 percent of its stockholders have total incomes of less than $5,000 a year. It is just as true—and here is the absurdity of the argument—that the George proposal is likewise going to save more dollars for those with more income.

The plain fact is that we have rigged our tax laws with such steeply progressive rates that it is almost impossible to have any reduction that does not give the man with the large earnings more dollar savings precisely because he was paying a higher and discriminatory rate to begin with.

Of course all this arithmetic has little pertinence to the real arguments for or against either proposal. The administration's tax bill contains many proposals. One, for instance, would permit certain working mothers to deduct some expenses for nursing services, and we have heard no Democratic outcries that this is discrimination because there are fewer working than nonworking mothers. Nor should we. The tax laws ought to be debated on what is just to individual citizens and what is wise public policy.

But the arithmetic has quite a lot of pertinence to the Democrats' rich-man-poor-man political argument.

[From the Baltimore Sun of March 18, 1954]

THE TAX STRATEGY OF THE DEMOCRATS

The Democratic strategy in the debate on the administration's omnibus tax bill is not admirable. What the Democrats are trying to do—and the first vote on this may come today in the House—is to strike out a provision which would reduce the extent of the double taxation on corporate dividends and substitute instead a tax-cutting provision for increasing personal exemptions under the income tax.

The basis of this effort is electioneering, pure and simple. By championing an increase in the personal exemptions, the Democrats are posing as champions of the little man, since such an increase would have the effect of freeing a large proportion of small income-tax payers from all liability from income tax. In demanding that the provision regarding dividends be struck out, the Democrats are implying that it was placed in the measure solely to favor the wealthy.

The facts are otherwise.

The increase in the personal exemption from $600 to $700 as President Eisenhower stated the other night, would result in a loss of revenue so large as to throw the administration's fiscal program badly out of balance, and the President added his moral objection to a reform which would free so many of all direct tax liability to their country.

As for the dividend measure, it is but one of hundreds of provisions in a bill which is the first effort in a half century to clean out the accumulation of inconsistencies and inequities which clutter up the Federal tax structure. At present, corporate dividends are subject to double taxation—once at the corporate level and again at the personal income level. Double taxation is repugnant in principle and all responsible students of tax matters have long agreed that it should be eliminated. It operates unjustly on all whose incomes are affected by corporate dividends—not merely the handful of the wealthy and the much more more numerous small holders of stock, but the beneficiaries of insurance policies, pension plans, trust funds, and the like.

The Democratic position on these matters is a clever strategy for earning unthinking applause and votes. But we do not believe that the majority of the House and Senate will go along.

A Record of Soviet Aggression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Bruno Shaw:

SOVIET NONAGGRESSION PACTS: A RECORD OF SOVIET AGGRESSION

(By Bruno Shaw)

This is the story of nonaggression pacts entered into between the Soviet Union and other countries of Europe. It does not include nations such as Iran, Turkey, Greece, and others, which, threatened or invaded by the Russians or their puppet armies, recovered or maintained their sovereignty through timely assistance from the United States. It deals only with those countries whose independence and native institutions were destroyed by Communist aggression.

This is a factual record of Communist deceit, ruthlessness, brutality and invasion, of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, and Finland, with each of whom the Soviet Union had signed a nonaggression pact.

The record of Soviet aggression has about it much of the quality of Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb who were standing ing in a shallow stream. The wolf complained that the lamb was muddying the water the wolf wished to drink. The lamb pointed out that this could not be, for the wolf was upstream and the water flowed from him down to the lamb. Anyway, said the wolf savagely, I heard that you told lies about me last year. How could that be, pleaded the lamb, since I wasn't born until this year? Well then, snarled the wolf, it was someone in your family anyway. But no matter who it was, I do not intend to be talked out of my breakfast. And without further ado, he leaped upon the lamb and devoured him. The moral, Aesop points out, is that the tyrant can always find an excuse for his tyranny.

POLAND

On July 25, 1932, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Poland, which was extended on May 5, 1934, until December 31, 1945. It provided: "The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from taking any aggressive action against or invading the territory of the other party. Any act of violence shall be regarded as contrary to this undertaking even if such acts are committed without declaration of war and avoid all warlike manifestations."

On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union entered into a nonaggression pact with Germany. It provided that: "In the event of a territorial and political transformation of the territories belonging to the Polish State, the spheres of interest of Germany and the U. S. S. R. will be delimited approximately on the Narev-Vistula-San line. The question of whether the maintenance of an independent Polish State will be considered desirable will be solved by both Governments in friendly understanding."

On September 1, 9 days after the signing of the Soviet-German pact, German armed forces invaded Poland from the west.

On September 3, Germany's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop notified the German Ambassador to Warsaw, Count F. W. von der Schulenburg, that the Polish Army would be decisively beaten in a few weeks, and instructed him to advise Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that the Soviet Union should make preparations to have its forces occupy the zone allotted to it.

On September 9, Molotov informed Ribbentrop that Soviet intervention could be expected shortly.

On September 17, Molotov sent this note to the Polish Ambassador to Moscow, W. Grzybowski: "The Polish-German war has revealed the internal bankruptcy of the Polish State. During the course of 10 days' hostilities Poland has lost all her industrial areas and cultural centers. This means that the Polish State and its Government have, in fact, ceased to exist. Therefore the agreements concluded between the U. S. S. R. and Poland have ceased to operate. In these circumstances the Soviet Government has directed the high command of the Red army to order the troops to cross the frontier and to take under their protection the life and property of the population of western Ukraine and western White Russia."

On the same day, on September 17, 1939, 4 years prior to the expiration date of the Soviet Union's nonaggression pact with Poland, Soviet troops invaded Poland. On the same day, too, Ribbentrop telephoned Count Galeazzo Ciano, Italy's Foreign Minister, that Russian intervention in Poland had taken place according to a prearranged plan.

The following day the German and Soviet Governments issued this joint declaration: "In order to avoid unfounded rumors concerning the aims pursued by Soviet and German forces now in Poland, the Government of the U. S. S. R. and the Government of Germany declare that the aim of their troops is to restore order in Poland, disturbed by the disintegration of the Polish State, and to assist the Polish population in the reconstruction of its national existence."

LITHUANIA

On September 28, 1926, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Lithuania, which was extended on April 4, 1934, until December 31, 1945. It provided: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic mutually undertake to respect in all circumstances the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other."

On May 28, 1940, the Soviet Union sent a note to Lithuania complaining that members of the Red army had been kidnaped on Lithuanian territory. A number of Red army soldiers, charged the Soviet, had mysteriously disappeared from a Russian tank brigade. The note made no demands, but the Lithuanian Government, alarmed by Moscow's attitude, suggested that a mixed commission investigate the charge which Lithuania declared was unfounded. The Soviet Government rejected this proposal.

On June 7, in response to a Soviet demand that he appear before Molotov personally, Antanas Merkys, the Lithuanian Prime Minister, arrived in Moscow. There, on June 9, Merkys was told by Molotov that Lithuania had violated Soviet-Lithuanian agreements. This was denied by Merkys, and Moltov seemed satisfied for the moment.

On June 15, the Soviet Union directed an ultimatum to Lithuania. It declared: "The Lithuanian Government is violating its mutual assistance agreement with Soviet Russia (which permitted a limited number of Soviet troops on Lithuanian soil) and is preparing an attack upon the Soviet garrisons situated in Lithuania." It demanded the right to station Soviet troops in all the major centers of the country, and the formation of a new government on the Soviet system. Red army troops arrived in Lithuania together with the Soviet ultimatum, and on the same day Lithuania was occupied from border to border by Soviet armed forces.

On June 17, 2 days later, a new government was formed under the direct on-the-ground supervision of Vladimir G. Dekanozov, Soviet Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs. This is the same Dekanozov (a protege of Molotov) who was shot on December 23, 1953, together with Lavrenti P. Beria, former Soviet Deputy Premier, after they and four other high Soviet Government officials were found guilty of high treason in a secret trial, and sentenced to death.

Kean Cites Groups New Tax Bill Aids

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "KEAN Cites Groups New Tax Bill Aids," written by William G. Hetherington, and published on March 21, 1954, in the Newark (N. J.) Evening News.

The Kean referred to in the headline of the story is New Jersey's able Representative, ROBERT W. KEAN, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and an acknowledged expert on tax legislation. Mr. KEAN's review of certain provisions of the tax revision bill are very timely, and should be of interest to all who are concerned with this legislation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEAN CITES GROUP'S NEW TAX BILL AIDS—LISTS INEQUITIES REVISION END

(By W. G. Hetherington)

WASHINGTON.—Inventors, retired workers, parents of college students, widows, members of the Armed Forces, and other groups will be benefited by the administration's tax revision bill, according to Representative KEAN, Republican, 12th District of New Jersey, who played a major part in its passage in the House.

KEAN, a ranking member of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, said the 875-page tax revision bill contained many corrections of inequities in the present tax law that were virtually unknown to the average taxpayer.

Under existing law, KEAN remarked, the Federal Government does not tax benefits under social security and a number of other retirement programs, but still some forms of retirement income are taxed. The new bill gives tax exemption to other retirement income. Under it, low bracket taxpayers over the age of 65 would be entitled to a complete exemption equal to $1,200 of retirement income.

The present law, KEAN explained, provides a special exclusion up to $5,000 for an employer's payment to beneficiaries of a deceased employee. However, a catch in the law makes the tax exclusion available only when the payment is made under a contract.

"This law has hurt many widows and their children," KEAN said, "and if the new bill becomes law such payment by employees would be tax free even without a contract."

In the present law is the provision which taxes accident or health benefits unless they are paid under an insurance contract. Because of this technicality, according to KEAN, an inequity of tax liability exists for some persons who are sick or injured.

KEAN said the new bill provides that benefits up to $100 a week as compensation for loss of wages—whether paid by contract or not—are entirely free of taxation if they are received for personal injury or sickness.

The Jersey Representative explained that the bill would extend permanently a provision due to expire January 1, 1955, for members of the Armed Forces in combat zones or hospitalized as a result of wounds in combat zones. Under the provision, enlisted personnel are excluded from paying income tax on their salary and the exclusion for commissioned officers is limited to the first $200 of pay a month while in combat zones or hospitalized from combat wounds.

FORGIVENESS CLAUSE

Also extended permanently, KEAN pointed out, is the tax forgiveness provision for men killed in combat zones. This provision erases any income-tax debt to the Federal Government for these members of the Armed Forces.

At present an amateur inventor receives the benefit of capital gains treatment on the outright sale of a patent. A professional inventor does not. Neither of them is given capital gains treatment if the sales of their patents result in royalty income rather than installment payments.

The distinction between amateur and professional inventors and royalty and installment payments, KEAN feels, is arbitrary and tends to discourage scientific work. The new bill, he said, eliminated the distinction between amateur and professional inventors and royalty and installment payments so that both, having met certain requirements, receive capital gains treatment.

Gifts to minors, the Congressman commented, are often hindered because at present it isn't clear how such a gift can be made in trust or through a guardian other than for the minor's future use—and, if it is for the minor's future interest, the standard $3,000 gift tax exemption is not available.

According to KEAN, the difficulty on this has arisen in the past because a minor does not have full control over property until reaching the age of 21 and, therefore, such gifts can be considered by strict interpretation of the law as being a future interest and thus taxable.

REMEDIED IN REVISION

This is cleared up in the new bill, which states that gifts to minors up to $3,000 a year will be tax-free if these gifts can be spent by the children or by someone for them prior to the child's reaching the age of 21—or, if not spent as prescribed, if the gift goes to the child when he becomes 21.

The tax law, as it now exists, allows credit for losses from embezzlement and other thefts only in the year the loss occurred, KEAN explained, although in cases of embezzlement, the loss may not be discovered until the time limitation has expired. Under the new bill the loss could be deducted in the year it was discovered.

The Internal Revenue Service does not allow a deduction or tax credit when control of a corporation is acquired principally to avoid taxes, KEAN explained, adding that it has been difficult, however, to establish whether the purpose of acquisition of a corporation was for tax avoidance.

The new bill, he said, would have the effect of throwing the burden of proof on the corporation where the sum paid to gain control is substantially disproportionate to the value of the corporation and the tax benefits which might be gained would not otherwise be available to the purchaser.

KEAN added:

STUDENT'S EARNINGS

"At present, if a student has a summer job his family may be faced with the disagreeable task of urging him to stop work when he has earned $599, because, under present law, if a dependent has income over $600 the parent can no longer claim him as an income-tax deduction.

"The working student would probably pay only a small income tax on his earnings over $600. The family breadwinner, however, in all probability is in a higher income-tax bracket. Therefore, the actual result of the student's extra few days of work might result in a considerable loss in the family's net income.

"The proposed new law would provide that a son or daughter under 19, or a student in a regular school or college, may continue to be classed as a dependent just as long as his parents contribute more than half of his support. This removes the limitation on the amount a student may earn and still be a dependent but, of course, the student himself will have to pay income tax on earnings greater than $600.

"Another advantage to students and their parents in the proposed bill is the provision that scholarships, no matter how substantial, may be elminated in determining whether the parent is contributing more than half the student's support.

"Married couples enjoy the right of filing joint income-tax returns today. This, in most instances, reduces their tax burden. Widows and widowers who are the heads of households and support minor children do not have this right under present law. In the bill they too would be given the benefit of splitting their income just as if they were still married—for, after all, their obligations are still much greater than most single persons."

ANOTHER BOOM

"Also, those who have been unfortunate enough to lose their mate, the working mother or widower, may deduct the amount they spend up to $600 for the care of a child under 10 years of age. And if the child is so physically handicapped that attendance at school is impossible the deduction will be available until the age of 16.

"The present provision for medical deduction has proved too rigid. Today a taxpayer cannot deduct medical expenses until they exceed 5 percent of his income. The new proposal is that medical deductions may be made after they exceed 3 percent of income.

"For example, under the present law, if a family's net income is $4,000, only those medical expenses over $200 could be deducted. Under the new law, medical expenses over $120 could be deducted.

"In cases today of several children jointly supporting a parent, confusion about tax deductions arises. Deduction has been allowed only if one child contributes more than half the support.

"This seems unfair when there are several children contributing, because it is very unlikely that any one child will contribute as much as 50 percent. The bill provides that a family could agree which member has the right to claim the deduction, limited only to the fact that he must contribute at least 10 percent of the support.

"Most of the other 3,000 changes in the bill are highly technical and are not of great interest to the general public. The new bill also closes 52 loopholes in the present law which are so complex most of them are known only to lawyers."

The Tax Revision Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. MUMMA
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, the day we passed the tax-revision bill (H. R. 8300) in the House, my hometown paper, the Patriot, of Harrisburg, Pa., had an editorial which I feel justifies the Republican position on this legislation. It shows that the home folks fully understood the political implications of the suggested "vote bonus."

Pursuant to the privilege granted me, I include this editorial in my remarks. It is as follows:

DEAR VOTERS

For those with anything but the briefest of memories, the Democrats' bleeding concern for the poor taxpayer must come as a high voltage shocker. The little man with the perforated paycheck has suddenly been elected king, with the not very well concealed hope that he will in turn elect his kingmaker come election time this fall.

If our memory doesn't fail us—and even if it does, there are black and white statistics to jog it along—the Democrats have been busy picking the little man's pocket for 20 years, until it is as threadbare as a hand-me-down suit.

This sudden concern for the taxpayer goes back to the bleak day in November 1952, when the same taxpayer to whom the Democrats now are appealing decided he's had it. He dumped the free-wheeling spenders in a smothering avalanche of protest votes. That brought the greatest flip in modern economics. The Democrats forthwith decided that standing the taxpayer on his head to catch all the loose change that might trickle out of his pockets should be switched to a foot stand, where they could pour a little cash back in.

That's what all the whooping and hollering is about in Washington. Congressmen, the Democrats in the majority but also some Republicans with a weather eye on the November elections, want tax cuts that show a simple and direct benefit to the little fellow.

The House takes up debate today on the 875-page revision of the revenue code which provides $1,397,000,000 in revenue reductions the first year. The revision is sorely needed. Over the years amendments, court rulings, and departmental regulations have combined to snarl the tax laws into a tangle of confusion and inequity. As it stands it would save hundreds of millions for taxpayers annually.

The Democrats aren't satisfied. They want an amendment providing a minimum increase of $100 in personal exemptions on individual income tax a bald political maneuver to corral votes. They want to prove to the same fellow they've been shaking down for the last 20 years that they now are his best friends.

The President, with fine political courage, has assumed leadership of the fight against this outright vote bonus, which would relieve millions of taxpayers of all responsibility for the conduct of their Government. In a personal appeal to the people, the President put it this way:

"I think this is wrong. I am for everybody paying his fair share. When the time comes to cut income taxes still more, let's cut them. But I do not believe that the way to do it is to excuse millions of Americans from paying any income tax at all. The good American doesn't ask for favored position or treatment. Naturally he wants all fellow citizens to pay their fair share of the taxes, and he wants every cent collected to be spent wisely and economically. But every real American is proud to carry his share of the burden."

A southern Democrat made this cogent observation: "It is tragic but true that our politicians are always playing politics."

And the game never was hotter. The Democrats realize that with the exception of the 10-percent income tax cut last January 1, the benefits under the new bill are not immediately apparent. Furthermore, the bill includes provisions such as those ending the double taxation on dividends and increasing depreciation allowances on plant machinery, which lend themselves to attack as "favoring the rich." The Democrats thus have dragged out their favorite whipping boy, but it is hardly debatable that it is capital investment which creates jobs and that any incentive to industry expansion is a stimulant to the economy. That makes jobs, which sustain prosperity, which makes honest tax cuts possible.

Overhauling the tax structure will relieve the victims of discrimination and apportion the load in a way best calculated to serve the general welfare.

President Eisenhower is being realistically honest. His eye is on the general welfare. The Democrats are playing transparent politics. Their eyes are on next November.

The Soviet Seizure of Rumania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. Barbu Niculescu, secretary general of the League of Free Rumanians.

Mr. Niculescu's letter is entered into the RECORD because of its possible interest to many Member of the Congress:

THE LEAGUE OF FREE ROMANIANS,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We take the liberty of drawing your attention to the events which led to the Soviet seizure of Rumania on the 6th of March 1945. This date has become an anniversary of the enslavement of a free nation. The circumstances under which the brutal interference took place have been vividly described by two important Rumanian democratic leaders, the late General Radescu and Mr. Mihail Farcasanu. The first was the legal Prime Minister during the period preceeding the seizure, he survived an attempted assassination and was obliged to flee the country. His deposition was given in Lisbon on August 26, 1947. The latter, Farcasanu, a liberal leader of his country, was condemned by the Communists to life imprisonment for his anti-Communist fight and pro-American attitude, he also succeeded in fleeing. He gave his testimony in Rome on August 19, 1947. They both relate how barely 2 weeks after the Yalta declaration Andrei Vishinsky delivered an ultimatum to the King demanding the immediate removal of the legal government. The Red army had already disarmed the garrison and police of Bucharest and with mechanized units were partrolling the city. By means of this implacable pressure Vishinsky was able to impose a Communist Soviet-controlled government on the unfortunate country.

It is 9 years since the day of Vishinsky's fiat in which Rumanians of all creeds, denominations, and walks of life have suffered continual persecution. Mass deportations, slave labor in the mines and on the Danube Canal, totalitarian regimentation, ruthless economic exploitation, and abject terror through denunciation and arrest, have since been the lot of the Rumanian people. Yet in spite of all this they have kept their will to resist and their faith in freedom. Acts of sabotage are frequent and hope and belief in the United States have survived the many trials. I feel that we must acknowledge with respect this spirit of faith and continual resistence in the face of such odds.

BARBU NICULESCU,
Secretary General of the League of Free Romanians.

Tito Useless to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 18, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith an article which appeared in the Tidings newspaper, printed in Los Angeles on January 15, 1954, and which Dr. Anthony Butkovich, a native of Yugoslavia, explains why Tito would be useless to the United States in either the cold or hot war against communism:

IN WAR: TAPS FOR TITO—WHY TITO IS USELESS TO THE UNITED STATES

Communist Tito, of Yugoslavia—in or out of an East-West war—is completely useless to the United States.

So declared Dr. Anthony Butkovich in an interview with the Tidings this week. The Croatian-born educator and lecturer blasted the thesis that the Red dictator serves the West as a valuable military ally.

"Whether Tito wanted to help the West or not is beside the point," Dr. Butkovich says. "Either way, he could not for several reasons:

"1. The Croatian people, as well as other Yugoslav racial groups, hate Tito too much. They have fought hundreds of years for independence—and Tito has given them slavery.

"2. Again, the peoples within Yugoslavia are deeply religious. Forty percent of the country is Catholic. Tito's persecution of the church shows them he is not of them.

"3. Tito has completely shattered the social-economic structure of the country."

POOR POSITION

"4. Another reason Tito would be of no use to the West is because of the poor geographical position of the country, a position strategically impossible to help.

"Major Yugoslav cities are within a few hours from Russian tanks and planes; his harbors are too small to land troops or supplies, while the Yugoslav mountain roads leading from the sea to the cities are often too small for luxury cars, much less military vehicles.

"5. As for Tito, as an effective guerrilla fighter, this is impossible. He would have to have more support than simply a hard-core military force—and he is so detested by the peasantry for what he has done to them that they would never go to his aid.

"In case of a war or revolution within Yugoslavia, you can be certain of one thing: a series of national revolutions would take place immediately among the Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, and others—and the last person any of them would worry about is Tito or his communism."

TAPS FOR TITO

What then does Dr. Butkovich see on the Red dictator's horizon?

Continued Tito attempts to smooth over the Belgrade-Moscow breach. Tito's trouble with the Kremlin was simply a case of trouble in the family. Tito does think that Soviet communism is in a state of decay—what with its big parades, fancy uniforms, motion picture stars, and the like—but he feels much more at home with communism than with the West.

"You can be certain of one thing," warns the Croatian. "The United States will eventually say that its support of Tito was one of the biggest mistakes it ever made."

When Is a Tax Cut Only a Revision?

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8300) to revise the internal revenue laws of the United States.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Chairman, there has been some difference of opinion expressed about this bill as to whether it is a tax-revision bill or a tax-reduction bill.

Obviously it is both, and no one should attempt to create the impression that there are no tax cuts in this bill.

I believe that everyone agrees that insofar as it is a general revision of the Internal Revenue Code, it is a good bill, and the distinguished members of the Ways and Means Committee, and particularly its fine chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED], are to be highly complimented for the splendid work they have done in that connection. Similarly, I am sure that no one will try to take credit from the committee for having written into this bill larger deductions for medical expenses, and costs of child care and for pensioners. Criticism in that respect will be leveled only against those who will attempt to contend that those provisions go as far as they should, or accomplish all of the fine purposes that may be attributed to them. For instance, the deduction for medical expenses is an allowance only of the excess over 3 percent of the income. A family of 4 with a gross income of $5,000 will be permitted to deduct for medical expenses only such sum which exceeds $150. I believe it would be much fairer to the family earning $5,000 a year or less to allow them a medical deduction of $150 a year. The same section contains a provision permitting a deduction of any excess over 1 percent of gross salary spent for traveling for health. I doubt whether any families with a gross income of $5,000 a year or less can spend even the $50 for traveling for health, no less spend a sum in excess thereof.

The special deduction for the costs of child care for widows and widowers is entirely insufficient because it is limited to $600 per year. While we must concede that that $600 a year is better than no deduction at all, it is completely unrealistic because it is utterly impossible to employ anyone for as little as $12 a week to take care of a child or children while a parent is employed.

The tax exemption granted to those who are retired for $1,200 of pension income is also unrealistic because it is limited to those who are 65 years of age or older. A married couple of 65 years of age presently have tax exemption of $2,400, and very few of those people have any income above that $2,400 to apply against an additional $1,200 exemption. The exemption should have been granted without any age limitation.

Then the bill contains an exemption of $100 a week for moneys received from sickness and accident benefit insurance. I do not know of a single family with a gross income of $5,000 a year or less who can afford to own such a policy that pays that kind of benefit.

On the other hand, there are provisions in this bill which will cut the taxes of the large corporations and of the big income earners by billions of dollars. We have been told that the reason for those tax cuts was to expand industry and thereby create new jobs.

Anyone who will give the slightest thought to the subject will know that these tax reductions will not have that effect to any great extent. We heard the same argument when we were told that that would be the effect of the removal of the excess-profits tax. If what happened after removing those taxes is to be any standard of comparison the tax cuts in this bill for the benefit of big business will have an even worse effect. Despite the newspaper claims about expansion programs by some big corporations, the overall picture throughout the country shows that there will be much less expansion of industry this year than there was last year. The reduction of the taxes effective for this year has not brought about any expansion of industry, nor the creation of any new jobs.

I will agree with those who say that a tax on dividends is an unfair tax. But I vigorously disagree with those who contend that by eliminating those taxes industry will be expanded. One need not be a tax expert to know that every corporation out of its profits first sets aside the moneys it needs for its expansion programs. It pays as dividends to its stockholders only what is left after it has planned its expansion programs.

Our income-tax philosophy has been all through the years that taxes be levied and collected on a graduated scale so that those who earn most will pay most. If that theory is to be pursued then the only fair way to reduce taxes is by increasing the exemptions. As we increase the exemptions those in the lowest scales pay the lowest taxes and while getting the same exemption those in the highest scales get a reduction in the highest bracket. The Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President has told the Congress that we

cannot afford to reduce our taxes by the total of the taxes that would be lost by increasing the personal tax exemptions by another $100 and by granting tax exemption on corporate dividends.

If that is so then the choice to be made is an easy one. It is not a political choice, it is a sound economic choice. It is not the choice made by the administration. It should be—grant an increased personal exemption as against the exemption for the recipients of corporate dividends.

Most of the small-income earners of our country have savings accounts either in mutual savings banks, in building and loan associations, or in farmer cooperatives. They do not own stocks. The dividends and income receivable from those savings accounts and shares in building and loan associations and farmer cooperatives are specifically excluded in this bill from the dividend exemption.

Let us consider for a moment what that means. Only 8 percent of our American families own any stock in corporations such as we are discussing. Ninety-two percent of our American familes own no such stock. Six-tenths of 1 percent of our American families own 80 percent of all such stock.

Now let us break that down further. Slightly more than 80 percent of all taxpayers having incomes under $5,000 per year get less than 11 percent of such corporate dividends. Less than 4 percent of our taxpayers with incomes over $10,000 get 76 percent of such corporate dividends. Eight-tenths of 1 percent of our taxpayers with incomes over $25,000 get 55 percent of such corporate dividends.

Let us see what this means in dollars and cents.

A taxpayer earning $50,000 gross income, of which $40,000 is dividends, under this bill will save $10,470. As against that, a family of 4 with earnings of $3,500 will save $120, if the Congress will give that family a $700 per person exemption instead of the $600 now provided for. The latter is the Democratic proposal.

I now would like to turn your attention for a moment to the speech made by President Eisenhower to the people of the country on March 15, 1954, on this subject. In that connection I have in mind those reminders coming from the Republican side of the aisle of our promises that we would support President Eisenhower's program. But do not overlook that we Democrats promised to support President Eisenhower's program only when it was in the best interests of the country. This tax bill is not in the best interests of the country. The President himself failed to make out a case for this tax program of his.

In speaking to the people, President Eisenhower said:

> We want to improve and expand our social-security program.

Neither this bill nor the Democratic program to increase personal tax exemptions has anything to do with the social-security program. It is a self-sustaining program, paid for out of social-security deductions separate and apart from any taxes.

The President then said:

> We want a broader and stronger system of unemployment insurance.

Neither this bill nor the Democratic tax program to increase personal exemptions has anything to do with unemployment insurance. That, too, is a self-sustaining program, paid for by unemployment-insurance deductions made by the employer separate and apart from tax payments. That has nothing to do with this bill.

The President also said:

> We want more and better homes for our people.

There is nothing in this tax program nor in the Democratic program to increase personal tax exemptions that has anything to do with homes—good, bad, or indifferent. I might add the President did send to the Congress a separate message on housing, as a result of which his Housing Administrator presented a bill to the Congress. The House Banking and Currency Committee, of which I am a member, has just completed 2 weeks of public hearings on that bill and that program. Most people who have studied the bill and the program agree that little or no additional housing will come therefrom. But, I repeat, that program has nothing to do with this tax bill or the amendment thereof sought by the Democrats.

The President next said:

> We want to do away with slums in our cities.

Nothing in this tax bill will do away with such slums, nor will increased personal exemptions stop slum clearance. If anything, it may help because if we give the average taxpayer a little more money he may be able to get a better home for himself. The President then said:

> We want to foster a much improved health program.

There is nothing in this tax bill that has anything to do with a health program. Increased personal tax exemptions may make some more money available to the families of our country who today cannot afford the services of a doctor or a dentist.

The President then said:

> We want a better and a lasting farm program, with better reclamation and conservation.

This tax bill has nothing to do with those programs. The President had better address himself to his Secretary of Agriculture, who ever since his appointment has been recommending cuts in those programs.

The President then said:

> We want an improved Taft-Hartley Act to protect workers and employers.

Who ever heard of a tax program dealing with the Taft-Hartley Act? This tax bill does not deal with it or with any phase of it.

The President then said:

> We want wider markets overseas for our products.

But there is not a word in this bill about such markets or any intimation of how we may attain them as a result of this bill or how the attainment thereof may be interfered with in any degree by increased personal tax exemptions.

Lastly, the President said:

> We want, above all, maximum protection of freedom and a strong and growing economy—an economy free from both inflation and depression.

Of course we do.

I have searched through this entire bill of 875 pages and through the committee's report on the bill, of 468 pages, which includes the minority views as well as the majority views. I can find none of those things which the President says we want, and which we do want, referred to or even remotely touched upon in this tax bill.

I regret to say that, in my opinion, this talk by the President was a partisan political speech which attempted to appeal to the emotions of the American people, throwing aside logic and reason, and, at the same time, trying to stamp the Democratic effort to improve the bill as a purely political move.

If the Democrats sought to play politics with this issue it would have been very simple for them to make their speeches and then sit back and let the bill be enacted, and go to the people in November with the issue that this bill cut the taxes for the wealthy and did nothing for practically 90 percent of our people. The Democrats will fight hard for a better tax bill because the interests of the country demand it. We want to see such a bill enacted, even though we lose a good campaign issue.

In conclusion, let me refer to the President's closing remarks in his speech to the people on March 15. He said:

> Viewing with gloom is only to be expected in the spring of an election year.

Let me say again as my colleagues have said many times on and off the floor of this House, we Democrats are not viewing with gloom, and we are not viewing with alarm. We are pointing to facts that cannot be disputed.

We are trying to alert a lethargic administration into action. We are begging that the stable door be locked before the horse is stolen. I have already pointed out that expansion throughout our economy has been cut back for 1954. That is true in every industry except mining. Unemployment continues to climb. Not only are there many people out of work, but many people who are working are putting in less hours and earning less pay. Production has already been cut back to what it was in 1949. Exports are down and farmers are earning less. Savings are up and consumers are buying less.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago in its current report indicates that the current business decline is more than an inventory adjustment. I agree with the President; we do not need a depression. But closing our eyes to the facts of life will not prevent one.

We can be sure of a Democratic victory in November if we have a depression, but every right-minded Democrat is an American first.

As an American, each of us wants to avoid a depression, even if we lose an election.

Mexican Laborers Cross United States Border Without Incident

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Mexican farm labor resolution a few weeks ago, we heard many dire predictions of the consequences of border recruiting of such labor. References were made to a so-called riot that supposedly had occurred at Mexicali during the brief period that workers were recruited at the border on a unilateral basis. It was suggested that border recruiting could not be handled on an orderly basis. It has always been the belief of Congressmen along the border that recruiting of workers who lived along the border was an important aspect of controlling the flow of wetback laborers. Consequently we have been encouraged by the first reports coming in from these areas, since the new international agreement has gone into effect. They indicate a careful screening of aliens, and patient, orderly interest by qualified agricultural workers who want the legally protected status that is available to them through the new agreement.

Under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of March 17, 1954:

MEXICAN LABORERS CROSS UNITED STATES BORDER WITHOUT INCIDENT

The first group of 200 Mexican farm workers recruited under a new United States-Mexican agreement streamed quietly across the border at Calexico yesterday.

Personnel at the United States Labor Department reception center south of El Centro swiftly screened the laborers for health, loyalty, and previous farm experience.

The new pact, signed in Mexico City last Friday, provides for border recruiting of Mexican workers for labor on United States farms, but recruiting is handled by Mexican officials on the southern side of the border.

SHARP CONTRAST

Recruiting arrangements contrasted sharply to rioting during a brief period of border recruiting that ended February 5. Yesterday more than 6,000 Mexicans, almost assured of jobs in California citrus groves and fields, waited peaceably outside Mexicali for their turns to be processed.

Untrained personnel at the Mexican recruitment center in Mexicali slowed yesterday's processing. Walter Francis, manager of the El Centro center, said he hoped to recruit 600 laborers a day until 6,500 contracts have been fulfilled.

TOMATOES THREATENED

First shipments of laborers will be sent to southern California citrus groves and San Joaquin Valley fields where a labor shortage has threatened the early tomato crop.

Later, groups will be used to harvest sugar beets and melons and harvest cotton in Imperial Valley, Francis said. A group of 165 workers who had been working in Imperial Valley was sent from the reception center to Ventura.

The rush of migrants to Mexicali came suddenly as word spread that hiring had again started. The job seekers crowded into a nearby ball park during the day. Many of them used huge sewer pipes—placed along the border for the laying of a new line—as sleeping places at night.

PRESIDENT SIGNS RECRUITMENT BILL

WASHINGTON, March 16.—President Eisenhower today signed into law a measure authorizing the United States to recruit Mexican farm workers on the American side of the border when this Government has no farm-labor agreement with Mexico.

The law has no force at present, for the United States and Mexico have signed a new international pact, but California legislators were pleased by the President's signing of the bill, which they said would help to speed future labor agreements with Mexico.

Red China and the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the March 18, 1954, release of the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Massachusetts, with reference to Red China. I am sure that many of the Members of Congress, like myself, agree wholeheartedly with the sentiments expressed in this release:

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
DEPARTMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Boston, Mass., March 18, 1954.

Both Senators LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and JOHN F. KENNEDY were notified by the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Massachusetts, that their organization has gone on record as opposed to Red China being admitted to the United Nations, State DAV Commander George J. Lynch disclosed today.

A resolution passed by the executive committee of the DAV, according to Lynch, also called for the United States to withdraw its membership if Red China is seated in the U. N.

"Why should a nation that has tortured, butchered, and killed American fighting men," declared Lynch, "be admitted to a council of countries whose chief aim and motive is to maintain peace throughout the world? Why should a country that still holds American Air Force men as prisoners be given a voice that would only speak in the behalf of the Kremlin and communism?"

Lynch pointed out that Red China has failed to make available complete lists of prisoners of war and that many Air Force veterans, listed as unaccounted for, have not been declared dead by the War Department.

"If one could go behind the wall of Red China," Lynch further stated, "I'm sure we would find some of America's fighting men still subject to torture and slavery. If the United States should find that Red China is allowed in the United Nations, then this country should immediately withdraw our membership from that council.

"Red China, an ally of Russia and an exponent of the evils of communism, has no love for America.

"They seek to destroy everything that America stands for—peace, independence, and our right to worship God."

Lynch stated that Senators SALTONSTALL and KENNEDY have been sent copies of the DAV resolution.

The Crusade for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement printed and distributed by the West Haven Board of Education in West Haven, which is in my Third Congressional District. I feel that this program which is to be initiated in certain grades of the West Haven schools is one which reflects the true spirit of good Americanism and good citizenship. It is especially important as practiced by our growing children. This is a fine example of the crusade for America, and I am certain that other groups will see the advantages of following suit.

The statement follows:

THE CRUSADE FOR AMERICA

The Board of Education, of West Haven, Conn.; Melvin E. Wagner, superintendent of schools; and Lt. Col. Ralph P. Lawson, chairman of the Americanism program of Hughson-Miller Post, No. 71, American Legion, feeling that, while any true American would have no respect for the Communist philosophy, something more should be done to engender good American nationalistic feeling in the youth of the area, and feeling, also, that a child who loves his flag, his country, and his God, can hardly become a juvenile delinquent, have inaugurated the following program in the West Haven schools:

On January 26, 1954 (which incidentally is the birthday of one of our greatest soldiers, Gen. Douglas MacArthur), Lieutenat Colonel Lawson, accompanied by Leo DiMartino, and Oscar Marchant, Legionnaires; and Matthew L. Goodstein, commander of the local post, No. 71, of the American Legion, went to each of the 10 elementary schools in the town of West Haven, 5 on the 26th of January and 5 on the 27th, to give instruction regarding the American flag. Lieutenant Colonel Lawson talked for approximately 30 to 45 minutes at each school to the children there assembled, attempting to impress upon them the meaning of the flag, the meaning of its colors, its stars and its stripes. It was explained to the children that the blue of the American flag stands for honor, loyalty, fidelity, patriotism; the white for beauty, purity of body, soul, and purpose. The red, the Legionnaires present feel, signifies the blood which has been shed by them and all other American patriots through the ages in an effort to keep that flag worthy to fly over the heads of our children.

A great deal of interest and respect was evidenced by the children toward the American flag and its meanings. Knowing, from investigation, that nowhere in this country and in no place even approximating its size has there been attempted such an all-inclusive campaign, this group felt that it would be appropriate that the children be given the thrill that comes only with the raising and lowering of the national emblem. Therefore the following routine was instituted:

At 9 o'clock each morning at the flagpole in front of each school the school flag is to be raised by a group of honor-guard students. By honor guard is meant 3 students, who, at intervals of 2 weeks, are chosen for their outstanding citizenship. The flag is raised in the proper manner and with the proper respect. All students who witness this cere-

mony stand at attention quietly, with their right hands over their hearts in salute.

At 2:55 each afternoon the same group lowers each flag, folding it properly in the manner of a tricorner, bringing it to the principal of the school for safekeeping until morning. All students witnessing this operation also salute the flag. It is the universal custom in the West Haven elementary schools to open the daily work with a pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America.

It is felt that with this policy in force, the students will gain respect for the American flag, obedience to constituted authority, and acquire a sense of responsibility which can be taught in no other manner.

This program which has been inaugurated is not to be considered a spontaneous flurry of flag waving, but a regular part of the school curriculum in all schools, and it is to be carried on each day and is to be the responsibility of the principal to see that it is carried out efficiently and well.

The program is being initiated in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th grades especially, the pupils of those grades being the material used for the honor guards, as it is believed that children of these formative years are the most receptive to the program.

Another thought injected was that, as this country of America had its beginnings here in New England, the originator of this project feels it would only be appropriate that the crusade of America, or the rebirth of Americanism, should also have its start here.

Lieutenant Colonel Lawson, who instigated the idea of the above program, is a paraplegic and it was with considerable discomfort that he carried through the inauguration of the above exercises. The weather on the days stipulated was extremely stormy and slippery, but, nevertheless, he would not call off the scheduled plan, and it was very successfully carried through in the best military manner.

Armed Services Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, more and more organizations and cities interested in the armed services are sending in resolutions requesting congressional action this year on restoration of fringe benefits and an increase in military pay as a means of stemming the alarming drop of morale and subsequent decrease in reenlistments to the lowest period in history. The latest group to indicate their interest in correcting the situation is the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, which has presented a resolution drafted by the armed services committee of that organization. Under unanimous consent, I include these remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Whereas during the past few months a critical reduction in enlistment and reenlistment in the armed services of the United States has become apparent; and

Whereas this reduction in the number of career servicemen in the armed services cannot avoid having a detrimental effect on the Defense Establishment of this Nation; and

Whereas the reduction in enlistment and reenlistment is attributable in part to the lack of an adequate pay rate for armed services personnel to compare with advances in salary, which have generally been gained by civilians: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That legislation in the Congress of the United States be expedited to provide for adequate pay rates for armed services members to more realistic economic standards; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of National Defense urge prompt congressional action to achieve this end.

Pay Raises in the Postal Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I wish to include, for the information of those Members who may not have had the opportunity to read it, the press release of the Government Employees Council, American Federation of Labor, with reference to the proposal by Postmaster General Summerfield for pay raises in the postal service.

I am in complete agreement with the sentiments expressed in this release, and I do hope that my colleagues will carefully consider the information it contains.

The release follows:

The Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor charged today that a postmasters' organization whose members stand to gain very handsome increases under the Summerfield plan are attempting to do a selling job for the sole purpose of supplying the Post Office Department with newspaper clippings intended to show wholesale acceptance of the Department proposal. The Government Employees' Council is composed of organizations representing the overwhelming majority of postal employees, including supervisors, clerks, letter carriers, railway postal clerks, mail handlers, rural carriers, special delivery messengers, motor vehicle employees, and custodial employees.

The council asserted "that the plan as proposed would provide Cadillacs for postmasters and roller skates for employees." Council spokesmen said that "understandably a group whose members would receive increases running into the thousands of dollars per year could be expected to favor the Department's proposal even though thousands of clerks, letter carriers, and other employees would receive increases of only $10 a year."

The council roundly condemned the use of such misleading news releases and called attention to the following misstatements of facts contained in the release by the postmasters' group:

"1. Clerks and carriers would be paid $210 more a year as a starting salary; and their maximum rates increased by $100 or about 5 cents an hour."

This statement is more important for what it does not say rather than for what it does say. It does not tell you that a clerk or carrier now in grade 3 at $3,470 per annum would only be increased to $3,480 per annum, an increase of $10, or about 19 cents per week. It does not mention the thousands of jobs that would be downgraded with resulting loss in wages to the employees.

"2. The time needed by most employees to advance from the minimum to the maximum salary rate for their job would be reduced in most cases by 2 years."

This statement is correct as it applies to new employees or first-year employees and does not affect the bulk of employees. In the case of mail handlers the new plan increases the number of grades and lowers the entrance salary.

"3. More adequate pay differentials are provided for employees with higher skills, supervisors, and managerial personnel who, at present, have slight incentive to rise above routine work levels."

We believe that reorganization should be considered, but we do not believe that the hastily concocted Fry plan provides the answer. The supervisor-sponsored bill, H. R. 2585, provides a far better reclassification. It is patently absurd to make the statement that employees have slight incentive when in the first examinations of that kind which were held on November 14 of last year in some 200 offices, more than 35,000 employees evidenced a desire to rise above routine work levels. On February 13 of this year further examinations were held in another 300 offices and again many thousands of employees evidenced a desire to rise above routine work levels. Seemingly any lack of incentive would have to be found in those offices which have not as yet held examinations.

"4. The salary of no individual employee will be decreased as a result of the application of this new plan."

This statement is not justified by any bill yet introduced in the Congress. If the reallocation of positions is to be handled by postmasters, it will certainly lead to the greatest Roman holiday and the largest sacrifice since the destruction of the Colosseum at Rome.

"5. Supervisors, who at present have single rates for their jobs, would be given the opportunity to progress within a rate range."

The best possible answer to that statement is the fact that the National Association of Postal Supervisors does not endorse the Department proposal. The proposal limits these advancements to three steps on an automatic basis. The additional steps will be at the option of the postmaster resulting, we fear, in wholesale favoritism.

"6. The earnings of regular clerks and letter carriers now averaging $1.96 per hour for a 40-hour-week wage of $78.26 have increased more since 1939 than the cost-of-living index."

This statement conveniently overlooks the fact that the 1939 wage represented net spendable earnings. In other words, actual dollars that an employee took home, while the 1953 wage is a gross wage at least $800 in excess of actual spendable earnings. Measured in terms of bread and shoes and clothes and shelter, the 1953 wage has not increased in comparison to the cost-of-living index. The average take-home pay of a clerk or carrier has increased but 68 percent, while the cost of living has practically doubled.

"7. Regular postal clerks and letter carriers whose earnings averaged $78.26 weekly earn substantially more than do the teachers and principals of all elementary and secondary schools in the country, on the average."

It is interesting to note that the Fry Associates used as a basis for comparison, the most notoriously underpaid group in the American economy. In the March 9 issue of Look magazine Robert Hutchins says: "We are already short 72,000 teachers, yet 60,000 of those we have leave the profession every year. One reason, of course, is that they are not paid a living wage."

"8. Nonsupervisory postal employees now average $72.69 for a 40-hour week at $1.82 per hour on a comparable basis they are better paid than the average production workers in manufacturing industries up to and including lead foreman, and including over-

time pay. Postal employees receive full pay for 13, 20, or 26 working days' annual leave, dependent on length of service, plus 13 working days' sick leave per year."

Here again we have a statement that is more important for what it does not say than for what it does. The statement does not tell you, for example, that the groups referred to have for the past 15 years received increases averaging better than 175 percent more than their 1930 earnings. Of 32 representative groups, all of whom received a wage more than 25 percent lower than that of postoffice clerks and letter carriers in 1939, more than half now receive a wage far in excess of the postal wage. Had the wages of postal employees been advanced, as were the wages of workers in private industry, postoffice clerks and letter carriers would today be receiving salaries averaging between $115 and $120 per week.

"9. Regular postal clerks and letter carriers, currently averaging $1.96 an hour for a 40-hour week, are paid slightly more than the combined average of city firemen or city policemen of three major cities—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia."

This statement is an outright falsehood. In New York City policemen have a salary range of $3,780 to $4,780 in a 3-year period. In Chicago policemen have a salary range of $4,242 to $4,725. Whatever the actual weekly earning of this group may be, they have to be considerably in excess of the rate for postoffice clerks and letter carriers who range only from $3,270 to $4,070 in 8 years.

The Arab States: Lebanon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, the second in a series on the Arab States, is worthy of our colleagues' attention. It appeared in the March 15, 1954, eddition of the Congress Weekly, the official publication of the American Jewish Congress:

THE ARAB STATES: LEBANON

(By Sh. Yin'am)

The Lebon's character, history and problems are determined by an extraordinary demographic fact that has no parallel elsewhere on the globe; there is no majority in the Lebanon, and its population is made up of minorities only.

There has been no official census in the Lebanon for many years—mainly because the Christian communities are afraid that a census might show that all non-Christian groups taken together have wrested the majority out of Christian hands. Latest estimates run as follows: Maronite Christions (an independent eastern church united with the Catholic Church, but retaining a certain autonomy)—370,000; Sunni Muslims—265,000; Shii Muslims (in the Lebanon also called Metawalis)—235,000; Greek-Orthodox Christians—125,000; Druzes—80,000; Greek-Catholics—75,000; Armenian Orthodox—65,000; Armenian Catholics—15,000; Protestants—12,000; smaller Christian denominations—15,000; Jews—five to six thousand; others—6,000. All Christian communities together constitute, therefore, about 53 percent of the population, while the 3 main non-Christian groups (Muslims and Druzes) are about 45 percent. (As mentioned, the non-Christian communities regard this estimate as outdated and claim a de facto majority).

The various communities of the Lebanon are all Arabic speaking. Were Arab nationalism, based on common language and cultural-historical tradition, the only, or the main, factor determining group consciousness in the Near East, the communal-confessional atomization of the Lebanon would not be of such overriding importance. Indeed, in the long run, a tendency toward growing secular (Arab) nationalism and decreasing communal consciousness may be discerned. For the present, however, and the foreseeable future, the religious community, endowed with age-old traditions and an almost national sense of cohesion, commands near eastern man's primary loyalty and allegiance. This being so, the Republic of the Lebanon exists—and can exist—only by virtue of a jealously guarded equilibrium between its various communities.

The constitution, while providing for full equality of all citizens, regardless of religion, also provides that the various communities should always be justly and fairly represented in all institutions of government and administration. To insure this, parliamentary elections in the Lebanon are held on a communal basis, that is, it is laid down in advance, by law, how many members of the various communities are to represent a certain constituency. In general, political groups or parties present lists containing, in each district, the required number of Maronites, Sunni Muslims, etc. While details have been changed many times, the principle, although often criticized, has been in force since a Lebanese state exists and the number of members of the various communities both in Parliament as a whole and in its constituencies has been fixed by law (and has always reflected the slight majority of Christians).

In addition to this basic parliamentary communalism, the principle of equitable representation of the communities has created a number of usages and traditions which, although not explicitly laid down by law, are fairly rigidly kept. The President of the Republic is, according to usage, always a Maronite Christian; the Premier—a Sunni Muslim; a Greek Orthodox, a Shi'i Muslim, a Druze, a Maronite get the next ministerial appointments; a Shi'i Muslim is usually president of Parliament. A jealous watch is kept over equitable proportional representation in the civil service, the army, the diplomatic service, etc.

This complicated checkerboard picture is mainly a result of the creation of the Greater Lebanon by the French mandate, in September 1920. Prior to that date, a semi-autonomous Province of Lebanon had existed within the Ottoman-Turkish Empire. It had been created by intervention of the great powers in 1860, following protracted communal disturbances, mainly between Maronites and Druzes. This Province had included, however, only the so-called Mount Lebanon, the area where the Maronite Christians and the Druzes were largely concentrated and where other groups constituted small minorities only. In 1920, four new areas were added to the territory of the Lebanon: the city of Beirut, and north Lebanon (with the city of Tripoli), with a Sunni-Muslim majority and large concentrations of Greek-Orthodox Christians; south Lebanon and The Valley (Al-Biqa', between the Lebanon and the anti-Lebanon mountain ranges on the Syrian-Lebanese border), with a Shi'i-Muslim majority.

This enlargement of the Lebanon, however, created not only the basic demographic picture of the state of minorities with its communal checks and balances; it created severe political problems, too. The nationalists of Syria did not recognize the creation of the Greater Lebanon. The most extremist among them demanded the annexation of the whole of Lebanon to Syria, while the more moderate claimed at least the areas annexed to Lebanon in 1920, namely, north Lebanon, south Lebanon, and the Biqa with their Muslim majorities. The fact that both Lebanon and Syria were still under French mandate, had joint administrative and economic-financial services, and were not finally crystallized and recognized political entities, contributed to the situation of the twenties and thirties where the very existence of the Lebanon, or at least its boundaries, were still considered to be in flux and subject to struggle. Within the Lebanon itself, although there were many exceptions, the Christians, and especially the Maronites, were considered to be the advocates and defenders of the independent Lebanon within its greater boundaries, while many Muslims sympathized with the idea of merging the Lebanon in a greater Syrian state, or at least of ceding to Syria the districts with Muslim majorities.

While thus the very existence of the Lebanon as an independent state (with a strongly Christian character) was in dispute, and Lebanese nationalism came to have strong anti-Syrian, anti-Muslim, anti-Arab overtones and a Christian flavor (some of its proponents dreaming of a Christian Lebanon as a national home for the Christians of the Arab East—analogous to the Jewish national home in Palestine), the Lebanese struggle against French tutelage and for complete independence from the mandatory regime was by necessity somewhat mitigated and modified. For it was France to whom many Christian Lebanese nationalists looked for support and protection against Syrian-Arab expansion and pro-Syrian irredentism on the part of Lebanese Muslims. By the same token, several Lebanese leaders developed strong feelings of friendship and a community of interests with the Jews of Palestine.

It should be noted, however, that these feelings of insecurity vis-a-vis Muslim-Arab surroundings, this innate consciousness of being a minority in the Near East, very often created a state of mind in sharpest contrast to the one described: A self-conscious desire to overstress an extremist Arab nationalism, to be "more Arab than the Arab," to prove a rigid sameness and loyalty—for instance, in an extremist anti-French or anti-Israel attitude. Although a basic, instinctive friendship for Israel, coupled with a vivid fear of Syrian-Arab expansionism, undoubtedly still exists in the hearts of many Lebanese Christians, it is today not openly expressed, but it is the other mode of minority psychology that dominates Lebanese political thinking—at least outwardly. In 1948, the Lebanon—with its small and undeveloped army—took part in the Arab-Israel war, and its official hostility to Israel equals that of the other Arab States.

The juxtaposition of pro-French and anti-French, Lebanese-nationalist and pro-Syrian, belongs to the world and climate of the twenties and early thirties. As the problems involved have disappeared, or at least changed their form, the rifts and conflicts they created are no longer live issues. But the scales of values, the sentiments and imponderables expressed in them continue to form the politico-psychological background of Lebanese public life.

The main change occurred in the early forties. In these years the struggle for complete independence against French tutelage grew more violent and more bitter, as was inevitable in the climate prevailing in the Near East in those days and especially in view of strong British encouragement for Arab anti-French nationalism. In 1943, the anti-French faction won the elections and a French attempt to install by force states-

men more sympathetic to them failed. By 1945–46 the French had been forced out of the Lebanon, the ultimate crisis, and its anti-French solution, being a byproduct of the Franco-Syrian crisis of 1945. While Lebanese public life and culture are still deeply influenced by and close to French language and culture, French direct political influence has been eliminated from the Lebanon, as well as from Syria—leaving these two states, in contrast to Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan, with no special treaties with any Western power. It may be said, however, that the vacuum left by French evacuation and the absence of British influence has tended to bring Syria and the Lebanon within the orbit of stronger United States influence.

While French domination thus disappeared and pro-French or anti-French became meaningless, the antagonism between Lebanese independence and Arab nationalism also became obsolete—at least officially. The foundation of the Arab League in 1945, far from giving new impetus to pan-Syrian or pan-Arab aspirations inimical to Lebanese independence, was based on the explicit and solemn recognition of the political and territorial status quo in the various Arab countries and on their unfettered sovereignty. In the case of the Lebanon this was further reaffirmed by a special annex to the foundation-protocol of the Arab League. Lebanese nationalists, jealously guarding their country's independence against Syrian or pan-Arab encroachments, have become ardent supporters of the Arab League as the guardian of the status quo, and the Lebanon is most active in the councils of the League, sometimes appearing as the neutral mediator or arbiter between Egyptian and Iraqi-Hashemite interests.

While the Lebanon's external position has thus been strengthened and secured, its internal regime has witnessed vicissitudes similar to those of the other Arab countries. On the basis of confessionalism, coupled with the strong remnants of semifeudal loyalties—especially in the Shi'i-Metawali and the Druse communities—corruption and maladministration, nepotism, and factional strife have reared their heads. The pseudoparliamentary practices imitated from western sources have failed to take root, turning elections and parliamentary procedures into a sad farce—as attested by the Lebanese press itself on innumerable occasions. In September 1952 a coup d'etat removed President Bishara al-Khouri, considered as the center of nepotism and corruption, and replaced him with Camille Sham'oun. Great expectations for a basic change in the sociopolitical setup, for reforms and revival, have not, however, been fulfilled.

The Jewish community in the Lebanon, numbering from five to six thousand, is the only Jewish group in the Arab States that has not considerably decreased in numbers during the last years. Such emigration as took place was replaced by the movement of Syrian Jews from Aleppo and Damascus to the freer climate of Beirut. The coexistence of so many different minority communities has indeed created a climate more agreeable to the existence of a Jewish community, too. Even during the hectic days of 1948 the Jews of the Lebanon experienced much less anxiety and persecution than their brethren in the other Arab countries—especially so as organizations of Christian-nationalist youth actively prevented the urban mob from any outrages against the Jewish quarter. Today the position of the Jews in the Lebanon seems to be more or less normal and secure—some instances of discrimination notwithstanding. The fact that hostility to Israel, although officially professed and practiced, cannot be regarded as too deep or genuine, certainly contributes to that situation of security.

The New York Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, since my advent in the 83d Congress, I have been waiting for the appropriate time to present my compliments to what is, in my opinion, the finest newspaper published in the world today. The New York Times meets every possible test of journalism, news coverage, printing paper's activities were shown to millions standards, and so forth. This great across the country yesterday, March 2, 1954, on a Ford Foundation television program.

But what this television program could not present is one outstanding fact: The New York Times editorial policy has as its major premise when tackling a problem: "What is in the best interests of our Nation?" Recent months have found this newspaper taking the editorial lead against what many believe to be a malignant threat to American democracy and to the Republic for which it stands. The daily newspapers as well as many of the weekly papers in New York's First Congressional District are presenting a solid and courageous front on this grave question.

Today's New York Times' lead editorial, set forth below, reiterates the rights and duties of a responsible press. This is a creed of freedom. It presents a challenge to intimidation, to fear, and to blind ignorance from all sources. An enlightened American press, our greatest bulwark against tyranny from whatever direction, could do no better than to follow this creed and to accept its challenge.

The editorial follows:

THE RIGHT TO INVESTIGATE

This newspaper welcomes the offer of the junior Senator from Wisconsin to investigate the press—meaning by the press, we suppose, all means of public communication, including radio, television, and the unamplified human voice. If the junior Senator isn't scared at what he proposes we are sure the press isn't.

This newspaper believes in the right and necessity for congressional investigations conducted for the purpose of helping lawmakers make laws. It does not believe in such investigations as instruments of private ambition or agencies of terrorism. It does not, therefore, believe in the sort of investigation that has been conducted by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. It believes in sensible and intelligent investigations, in calm and judicial investigation, in investigations honestly intended to bring out facts.

This newspaper believes that the press has the right and duty to print all the news that's fit to print; to interpret and explain that news to the best of its ability; to advocate or oppose public policies, and to criticize public officials, whether they are in the executive branch of the Government or in the legislative branch. It believes the press at this moment has a particular right and duty to report fully and criticize intelligently the gyrations of the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

It believes that the massive drive against the junior Senator from Wisconsin has come from communism's worst enemies; those who hate tyranny in all its forms, those who believe in saying what they think and letting others do the same, those who stand for man's liberty and dignity everywhere and under all circumstances.

We believe in investigating. That is the business of a newspaper and the pride and glory of a self-respecting newspaperman. Let the junior Senator call the responsible press of this country to the stand. They will welcome his questions; they have nothing to fear. But let him realize, also, that they will have questions to ask of him, and that some of those questions he may well fear.

Still Asking for Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on March 18 our colleague from New York, doing a little laundry work for the Brownson Subcommittee on Government Operations, referred to a statement made by me in which comment was made on the activities of that subcommittee in connection with its recent trip abroad. In my statement, which is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 16, pages 3155–3157, and a part of which is reprinted for our colleague from New York, I correctly stated that the cost of the trip was reported as $1,311.75, which figure was taken from the records in the office of the Committee on House Administration. Three committee members, 2 members of the staff, went on the trip, which for all but 1 took 24¾ days, and if the number of days is multiplied by $9, the per diem allowance, we get the figure of $1,311.75, which obviously is not the cost of the trip.

There is no accurate way of figuring the transportation cost for the members of the committee and its staff, unless the total cost of the operation of the plane is divided by the number who made the trip and proper allowance made for plane maintenance and its operation by the crew. Had the committee traveled by commercial plane, which I knew it did not, the cost would have been in a DC–4, $51,514.75; if in a DC–6, $79,301.75; if by commercial plane, $8,999 plus cost of lodgings and meals away from the plane.

A very convenient and customary way for an executive department or a legislative committee to conceal the actual cost of any trip is to figure in an account for all items of cost. Three Republican members of the subcommittee, 2 members of the staff, according to the vouchers, went on this trip. Belton O. Bryan, aide of the State Department, also went on the trip. How many others traveled on the plane, I have no way of knowing; how many Government employees spent their time in waiting on and advising with committtee members and members of the staff, I do not know nor do I care. I do know, however, that it costs the taxpayers dollars for trips of this nature and I do know that according to their own

statements on vouchers, the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWNSON] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER], also a member of the committee, have now spent 66¾ days in travel abroad.

Presumably they think the trips and the services they have rendered to the Government well worth the money; otherwise they would not have gone.

Apparently they also think that they can render other worthwhile services for that subcommittee though it has already had $66,000 of which it has, as of January 1, 1954, spent $46,223.22, and as of that date had on hand $19,776.78; is still asking for an additional $52,000 to finance it during the next 9 months.

It might also be suggested that this said committee is not investigating executive departments of a Democratic administration. It has been and it is investigating the executive departments which are a part of, and which are controlled by, the Eisenhower Republican administration. My thought always has been and still is that by and large a suggestion to the Republicans in high command might possibly bring about any needed reform and that it was only where an obvious wrong practice, an obvious violation of the law, or of a department rule or regulation was to the harm of the people being ignored that it became necessary for congressional committees to correct either apparent or partially concealed faults by the executive agencies of its own political faith.

While we are voting to deny the low-income tax groups an exemption of more than $600 and I voted against increasing the exemption because I think everyone should participate in the payment of taxes, we can, at least I think we can, reduce the tax rate and approach a balancing of the budget by curtailing needless, even though they be pleasurable, expenditures by the legislative as well as the executive departments. I do think that my distinguished colleagues, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BROWNSON] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER], are so intelligent, so industrious, and so capable that it should not be necessary for them to spend more than 66¾ days in travel abroad at the taxpayers expense in order to learn what kind of international operations we should take in order to best serve the interest of our people. However, that is a matter for their judgment, for their discretion.

All I am doing is to suggest to my Republican colleagues that we do not too greatly overdo the New Deal's spending.

Do You Want a Salary Increase?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, Sunday evening my Connecticut colleague from the Third District [Mr. CRETELLA] and I attended a very fine State convention of the National Federation of Motor Vehicle Employees of the Post Office Department. It was held at the New Haven Fire Department training center in New Haven, Conn. Many representatives of Connecticut locals were present as were members from union locals in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York. It was my 7th of 8 annual meetings and banquets among men who have been called miracle men since their jobs are to keep the trucks and various vehicles in good running condition—today's equipment is far superior and up to date than when I first became acquainted with their garages and trucks as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee in the 80th Congress. No longer do they make as many parts, unobtainable otherwise, for old trucks of the fleet but the demands on their ingenuity are made each day to see that the mails are transported.

On Friday I read their official magazine for March. It is published each month and appropriately named Rotor. Especially interesting and well written was the editorial "Do You Want a Salary Increase?" which, in addition to its timeliness and appropriateness stresses duties and responsibilities of every citizen in Government. Under leave to extend my remarks, this editorial is included:

DO YOU WANT A SALARY INCREASE?

Some people may think that the title of this editorial is sort of a silly question. Under ordinary circumstances, it would be silly, but, when you sit down and give some thought to the question at hand you have to come up with the thought, "I wonder if they really want a raise," for they honestly have done nothing to help promote the campaign for a salary increase.

Some people have a funny philosophy of life, especially where an organization of their fellow employees is concerned. For more clarification, let's call them labor organizations, for that is really what they are, whether they be controlled by the company you work for or by the members. The big idea that a great many people have is that when they apply for, and receive a membership in a labor organization that their troubles are over. Now all they have to do, is to sit smugly by, and tell the organization what they want, and if the organization is unable to get it for them, it is no good or the officers are racketeers. They forget the one and most important thing in an organization—your membership. Your membership in any good American organization gives you the right to help transact the business of that organization just as sure and as right as your American citizenship gives you the right to vote and say who is to lead us in this great country of ours.

Like voting in our city, State, and National elections, many of the members of the organization leave it to the other fellows and then criticize the country or organization. Citizenship in this great country is a heritage that many have suffered and died for, and should not be thrown away by our failing to properly carry out that citizenship on election day or any other day our country needs our assistance. Do not stand by and feel you are not needed. Show your gratitude by aiding in everything that has for the building of a better America.

In this great organization of ours, the National Federation of Post Office Motor Vehicle Employees, we have a great group of hard, loyal workingmen who have formed this organization for the sole purpose of bettering the living conditions of a group of Government employees who were without the proper representation in this fast-growing country. Like the country, our federation is founded on the same principle. Every man is given the right to apply for membership, regardless of his race, creed, or color. There is no pressure or coercion used to attain our members. Our members apply at their own free will and are admitted to this fine organization.

The paramount policy of this federation is the wages and working conditions of its membership, and right now, it is in one of the greatest campaigns in its history and it is the duty of every member to follow the instructions of the leader and our front man in this fight right now, our legislative representative, Paul M. Castiglioni, who has done a great deal so far in this campaign as you will read in the columns of this issue. Mr. Castiglioni issues bulletions out of our Washington headquarters, giving the progress of our legislation. In those bulletins are instructions to each officer and member. To carry out those instructions on many occasions is only to inform your Senators or your Congressmen of your desire for the legislation at hand. The only thing you have to do is sit right down and write a short letter to your Senators and Congressman telling them that you would like their support and vote for the legislation of your choice.

Right now our choice of legislation is the Withrow bill for an $800 across-the-board raise in salary, and it is your for the asking. Do not sit down and do a lot of wishful thinking, write those letters to your Senators and Congressmen and let them know what you want so that the next time your legislative representative appears before the Congress or its committees, that the Members of the Congress can say, "Yes, I know he is telling the truth because my constituents have written me many letters and told me about this legislation and we will have to give it every consideration." Do not stand by and grumble—get on the bandwagon, attend your local's meetings and I am sure that this great federation will be a success in this campaign, just as it has been in the others. Remember, a winner never quits, and a quitter never wins.

Liberty, Independence, and St. Patrick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a St. Patrick's Day address I delivered over television station WXEL, radio station WERE, and radio station WJW, Cleveland, March 17, on liberty, independence, and St. Patrick:

Today we here in Cleveland pay reference to Ireland's patron saint, just as other men and women of the Irish race everywhere in the world on this day pay tribute to good St. Patrick. On March 17 of each and every year all true Irishmen pause to take pride in their heritage and reflect upon the very special obligations which they carry as loyal sons of St. Patrick.

This year, like all years bygone, is filled with an abundance of opportunity to take pride in what the Irish have done and are doing to uphold the traditions of St. Patrick. But the harried world in which we live leaves us little time for full reflection on the unchanging truths and basic principles which

have brought greatness to the Irish race. We are too satisfied with knowing that everywhere Irishmen have settled in the four quarters of the globe, they have stood for, fought for, and died for those great ideals which have sustained western civilization in its times of darkest peril. It would do us well to take time this March 17 to better understand why the Irish possess this rich endowment.

Irish history before the days of St. Patrick is seldom talked about and is adeptly avoided by most Irish orators.

The clan wars, the feuds, the raids engaged in by the Irish and practiced upon their fellow Irishmen are legendary. The clan leader won his place by physical might and the standing of the clan was measured by its ability to withstand the most rugged of physical engagements. Might made right. It is accurate to say that life in Ireland before the coming of St. Patrick was, in its essentials, barbaric.

St. Patrick brought to the Irish race that greatness of spirit without which no nation or race of people may long endure. He traveled the length and breadth of Ireland teaching the doctrine of Christianity. To illustrate the Christian principle of the trinity, he would pluck a shamrock from the roadside and use the three leaves on the one stem to symbolize in simple fashion that basic principle of Christian doctrine. No more striking and beautiful tradition exists in all sacred history than that of the triumph of St. Patrick's great courage, his deep faith in Christian teachings, and the power of truth, as we find related in the story of his meeting with the king, the princes, and the clan leaders of Ireland in the famed halls of Tara.

Gathered there for the annual ceremonial rites of their sun worship, the lords of Ireland were disturbed by the presence of St. Patrick, who dared to set up his own small tent alongside the great hall of Tara. With nightfall and under the blinking stars, he lighted his own ceremonial fire in accordance with his Christian faith. This effrontery to the pagan traditions of the sun worshipers caused Patrick to be brought before the lords of Tara Hall. And so eloquently did he plead the cause of Christianity, so simply and yet so profoundly did he illustrate by the shamrock, the principle of the trinity, that he won the protection and later the conversion of these lords to the Christian faith.

This marked the turning point of St. Patrick's mission. With an alacrity unapproached by any other people in history, the truth-hungry people of Ireland embraced the beautiful philosophy of Christianity. No people, through persecution, through hardship, and even up to the portals of death itself, have been more devout, more faithful, and more courageous in their faith than have the Irish people.

Just as the Irish are identified by their devotion to Christianity so are they known for their willingness to die for the cause of liberty and human freedom. There is scarce a spot on earth where the struggle for liberty has taken place in which some Irishmen have not played a noble part. Man's eternal struggle to be free from any and all tyranny and alien rule has always had a special hold on the Irish spirit.

The reasons back of this are clear and irrefutable. A people with spirit and courage who are persecuted and deprived of their dignity as individuals and as a nation will be strengthened in their determination to be free and in proper time will make any sacrifices to win their freedom. That is the history of mankind. It is certainly the very special history of the Irish race.

The history of the United States is emblazoned and glorified with the names of brave and brilliant men and women of Irish origin who have helped in the struggles for the freedom of our democracy and the personal liberties guaranteed to us under our Constitution and Bill of Rights. The voices of Irish patriots played their part in the debates in the Continental Congress which eventually led to the decision to separate from England and to establish a sovereign nation, based upon moral principles and taking its strength from divine providence. Even before the great struggle for our own independence began, many sons of Ireland were among the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

It is estimated that half of the Revolutionary Army was made up of men of Irish blood, and many of the most brilliant leaders in the Continental Army under George Washington were of Irish lineage. So grateful was Gen. George Washington for the fighting courage of Irish patriots that on the historic night of March 17, 1776, when the English troops fled from Boston, Washington ordered that the watchword in the patriot lines that night should be "St. Patrick." After the war was won and victory rested upon the banner of liberty, beneath which had so proudly marched the Irish legions, General Washington, then our first President, accepted membership in the New York branch of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. In his letter of acceptance he wrote:

"I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Sons of St. Patrick in this city—a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked."

This love of adopted country, of liberty, and of the blessings of human freedom which has characterized the life and times of the Irish in the United States is also reflected in the history of most of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The mark of the Irish patriot is emblazoned on the foundations of Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, and other nations who now form the Pan American Union. The same may be said about Australia and New Zealand.

Nor did the Irish neglect to take part in the struggles for human liberty that raged throughout the Old World. They made their contribution in France, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and in many other lands where man has made the heroic effort for liberty and independence.

This is not an accident of history.

It is surely the handiwork of God, for the spirit of the Irish finds its source in and takes its strength from God. The great faith of the Irish is not complicated by the doubts and indecision which plague those who fail to understand the nature of man and his purpose on earth. The beautiful, yet simple, Irish saying of "For God and country" best expresses the earthly mission of the sons and daughters of St. Patrick. It surely accounts for their devotion to the cause of our beloved United States of America. It serves as a timeless promise that wherever and whenever men shall struggle for governments which are founded on moral principles and take their strength from divine providence the fighting sons of Erin will be in the vanguard.

The Irish hold no monopoly on being persecuted as a race or as a nation. Other races and nations have suffered at the hands of the despot. It also tells us that other races and nations have survived their martyrdom to rise again in dignity and honor to national sovereignty. The long, hard struggle of man to be free has always been opposed by those evil forces which seek to enslave mankind.

The heavy clouds of ruthless tyranny once again darken the skies over nations that were once free and independent. Man is being persecuted because he believes in and defends God, country, and the dignity of his fellow men. Millions of people have fled this tyranny to find sanctuary in the free world. Like the sons and daughters of St. Patrick, in generations past, these seekers of freedom are being spread to the four winds. They carry with them the same yearnings, hopes, and dreams as did the Irish patriots.

The violence of persecution which is now taking place in an area covering almost one-third of the globe and inhabited by 800 million people is unequaled in all of recorded history. It appears that all the despots, tyrants, and the legions of the devil have returned to haunt the world and, having united in their evil cause, seek to enslave all mankind. Sailing under the banner of atheistic materialism, these satanic forces seek to destroy those spiritual values which have uplifted mankind through the centuries and to turn back the pages of history for several thousand years. In this holocaust which threatens to engulf the world, enlightened mankind continues the eternal struggle for those values which western civilization holds to be as dear as life itself.

The uprooted sons and daughters of Poland, thrown to the four winds by this new tyranny, look to their patron saint—St. Casimir—just as the Irish have always looked to their patron saint, St. Patrick. So do the sons and daughters of Hungary look to St. Stephen. In the same manner do the Lithuanians look to blessed Cunegurda; the Byelo-Russians look to St. Andrew, the apostle; the Slovaks and the Ukrainians look to the brother saints Cyril and Methodius; the Armenians look to St. Gregory Elimination; the Georgians look to the apostle St. Nino; the Rumanians look to the apostle St. Nicetas; the Latvians and Estonians look to Bishop Albert. Indeed, all the enslaved nations have their patron saints to preserve them, to guide them and to give them strength in their hour of martyrdom.

History has the happy habit of repeating itself, just as it records the glorious rewards awaiting those who stand fast in the faith of their forebears. These sons and daughters of the martyred lands shall surely become the new seeds of liberty, freedom, and independence. Like the Irish, who performed this heroic task so well in their hour of greatest suffering, they will rekindle in the hearts and minds of all free men those great ideals which alone can turn back the tide of barbaric despotism. This is their appointed task. They cannot fail—we may not let them fail!

This St. Patrick's day is especially appropriate for spiritual meditations because it comes when the entire world is embroiled in a great upheaval which seeks to challenge our very survival.

We must never forget that, when the sons and daughers of Erin first came to these shores, they encountered amongst the thoughtless people who had preceded them to this land, ridicule and discrimination that seared their souls, and hampered their efforts to take their rightful place in the pattern of American life.

Along with God-fearing and right-thinking people, by their grit and tenacity, they overcame these prejudices so that now this intolerance has almost completely vanished, thanks to the Grace of God.

Having gone through these trials themselves, the Irish people of this day and age should be the champions of all minorities and should fight intolerance where ever it may rear its ugly head. They should be especially warm and understanding toward the problems of the dispossessed and uprooted who have found sanctuary among us.

They should never discriminate against or ridicule or attack any man, because of his race, his color, or his creed.

Having experienced the bitter taste of discrimination, they should never force that cup of gall upon any other human being.

Irish men and Irish women will again resolve on this solemn St. Patrick's Day to pursue such a course, and they will bring more blessings to our great Nation and greater credit to themselves. These are the very special obligations they carry as loyal sons and daughters of St. Patrick.

The Late George Wetherby and the Late Lawrence G. Duncan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying something about the tragic accident which occurred last Friday evening near Louisville, Ky., taking the lives of two of Kentucky's most able public servants. Any individual who was well acquainted with George Wetherby, judge of Jefferson County, the most populous in Kentucky and County Attorney Lawrence G. Duncan can without hesitation pay tribute to the life, character, and accomplishments of those gentlemen.

I have the privilege of attending law school with Lawrence Duncan in the fall of 1933. He stands out in my mind as an excellent student. We all respected his judgment and wisdom and his thoroughness in discussing a legal proposition. He was gifted in the field of public speaking and a man of unquestionable character and integrity.

Knowing George Wetherby since 1947 led me to believe that he was a man of action and a man who was wholeheartedly interested in the betterment of his community and government.

Mr. Speaker, this tragic accident occurred at a time when Judge Wetherby had just reached the point where he could better serve his people. His going will be thought about for many years to come in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. His contribution as a public servant is a beautiful memory of which we, his friends, can always be proud. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a story taken from the Louisville Courier-Journal dated March 20, 1954, listing the accomplishments, and also an editorial included in the Sunday Courier-Journal of March 21, 1954:

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 20, 1954]

WETHERBY ACCOMPLISHED A LOT IN SHORT TIME IN OFFICE

County Judge George S. Wetherby packed accomplishments into the 11 weeks he held office.

He outlined a broad program of changes when he campaigned for office last fall. In the short period after taking over on January 4 he accomplished a large part of the program.

To a newspaper friend, he had remarked: "Why wait 4 years to get things done?"

His achievements included:

1. With Mayor Andrew Broaddus, he pressed successfully for legislation to clear the way for consolidation of some Jefferson County and city of Louisville governmental agencies and functions.

2. Also with the mayor, he began a program of closer coordination of city and county governments with the so-called independent agencies such as the board of health, air board, and the planning and zoning commission.

3. He sponsored legislation to separate the enforcement of county alcoholic-beverage-control regulations from the county police department and to place them under an ABC admistrator.

4. He established a juvenile delinquency prevention program as part of the county welfare department.

5. At his request, fiscal court created a revolving fund to give emergency assistance to the county-sponsored community volunteer fire departments.

6. He created a new position—executive assistant to the county judge—and appointed a Louisville native, George C. Long, Chicago, to fill it.

7. He came out in favor of consolidating the city and county school systems.

8. He started County Peoples' Day at which the public has an opportunity each month to tell its complaints and suggestions directly to the county judge and department officials.

9. He obtained approval by fiscal court of a plan to build a $460,000 addition to the Fiscal Court Building on Sixth between Jefferson and Market.

Early this month Judge Wetherby arranged for a visit here by Brig. Gen. W. P. Wilson, Washington, Chief of the National Guard Bureau's Air Force Division, to get firsthand information on the National Guard's requirements for the controversial north-south runway at Standiford Field.

As a result of the visit, Wetherby reaffirmed his position that a 2,800-foot paved extension of the runway is desirable. The Air National Guard said the additional runway length is needed so its unit here can be equipped with jet planes.

The judge was air-minded. For a study of county problems, he arranged a 2-hour flight in an Air National Guard plane February 25 with 18 officials, ANG officers, and reporters aboard.

BORN AT MIDDLETOWN

He thought that a view from 8,000 feet up was the best way to understand city-county physical problems in their proper relationships.

Wetherby was born at Middletown, September 5, 1905, son of Dr. Samuel Davis Wetherby and Mrs. Fannie Yenowine Wetherby. He attended public schools in Middletown and Anchorage and then went to University of Kentucky, Western Kentucky State College, and Jefferson School of Law.

He practiced law from 1933 until he resigned from the firm of Tilford, Wetherby, Dobbins & Boone to take public office this year.

Before studying law he worked for several years as an engineer. While studying law he worked as a sales representative for a tailoring firm.

WAS HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER

In 1937 he was appointed State highway commissioner for the Third District. He held that post until 1940.

He served as director of the Kentucky Athletic Board of Control from 1948 to 1952.

He was a member of the Kentucky Mental Health Advisory Board.

In 1942, Wetherby enlisted in the Army and served in the Infantry and Air Forces until the next year, when he was discharged because of an injury received in training.

He then volunteered for overseas assignment with the American Red Cross. He served in combat areas in Africa, Italy, France, and Germany as a Red Cross field director.

LANDED IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

He made the landing in southern France with the 180th Regiment of the 45th "Thunderbird" Infantry Division. He held four battle stars, a silver arrowhead, and an honorary Combat Infantryman's Badge awarded by the Army, a meritorious-service award by the President, and an honorary colonel's commission from the Governor of Oklahoma for outstanding service in the 45th Division.

In high school, Wetherby captained his football, basketball, and baseball teams and he played each sport as a freshman at the University of Kentucky.

He was the first president and an organizer of the Jefferson County Baseball League in 1941 and president and organizer of the Suburban Baseball League in 1946. He was an organizer of the Anchorage Children's Theater and the Middletown civic club.

WAS GOODWILL PRESIDENT

Wetherby served four terms as president of Goodwill Industries of Kentucky. A charter member of the Kentucky Mental Health Association, he also served on the Louisville Health and Welfare Council.

In the World War II period between his Army and Red Cross service he was cochairman of the Jefferson County scrap-metal drive. He was appeal agent for Draft Board 43 from 1949 to 1952.

He was a member of Middletown Methodist Church.

A past commander of Anchorage American Legion post, he was a member of the 40 and 8, past national president of Phi Beta Gamma legal fraternity, and past president and past secretary of the Jefferson County Young Decomratic Club.

He was a former director of Owl Creek Country Club.

[From the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 21, 1954]

THE PUBLIC IS LOSER BY SHOCKING DEATHS

The shocking and needless deaths of County Judge George Wetherby and County Attorney Lawrence Duncan bring to the community and the State a sense of both personal and public loss.

There is first the welling of sympathy, certainly without stint anywhere. There is the feeling of horror that always strikes home at sight of mortal dangers upon the crowded highways. This time the impact touches everybody. The first official families of Kentucky and Jefferson County, names most familiar to all, personalities most distinct and vital, are involved.

And then there follows, close upon the personal and emotional effect, the knowledge that the public service, the general interest, is also the loser. Both Judge Wetherby and Mr. Duncan were able as administrators and beyond that, as interpreters of civic obligation. In the short 11 weeks of his service, Judge Wetherby had shown a sureness of purpose, knowledge, and conviction that surprised even those who knew him well.

In a large sense, it could be said that George Wetherby's whole life had been spent in preparation for his service as county judge. This is what makes his loss, here at the start of his term, so tragic. As a citizen and as member of public and private appointive boards he had been concerned deeply with human needs. His work with the Red Cross, the Goodwill Industries, the Mental Health Association and the Health and Welfare Council had sharpened his awareness of people and their problems. For years he was active, almost to the point of dedication, in programs for underprivileged groups, particularly juveniles. This interest was reflected in his first moves as county judge, one of which was reorganization of the county welfare department geared to a delinquency-prevention program.

No head of the county government before Judge Wetherby had moved quite so positively into collaboration with Louisville's city government for solution of common problems. His favor for consolidation—in schools, in joint planning, in generally more direct and responsible administration—was displayed at once. A fresh note seemed to come with his official entrance into public affairs, marked by an immediate alliance with Mayor Broaddus for seeking improvements. It is an affecting thought that he and Mr. Duncan died as they traveled to the State Capitol, intent upon their public mission.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed release from the Office of the Postmaster General tells an interesting story and points up the different philosophies that exist in regard to postal rates, particularly as regards Canada's compared to our own.

The same day I read this release I also noted that in a recent poll taken by the American press of March 1954 in answer to the question, "Do you favor the creation of a permanent commission to establish fair and reasonable postal rates?" the editors answered: Yes, 82 percent; no, 15 percent; no answer, 3 percent.

The President and the editors are right, and it is time that we passed the legislation now pending to bring such a commission into being.

The release follows:

Canada will continue to operate its postal service on a pay-as-you-go basis, with the actual users of the mails paying the costs.

This long-term Canadian policy was reemphasized recently when the Canadian Parliament approved higher rates for first-class mail by amendment to the Canada Post Office Act.

Effective April 1, 1954, Canadian letter rates will be raised from 4 cents to 5 cents for the first ounce and from 2 cents to 3 cents for additional ounces. Post-card rates will also go up 1 cent, from 3 cents to 4 cents, on the same date.

These rate increases are being made to meet anticipated higher operating costs in the year ahead, and despite the fact Canadian postal operations have shown a surplus of $13,200,000 in the past 2 years.

Canadian postal revenues are generally slightly in excess of expenditures. In the 21-year period, 1933 to 1953, Canadian postal operations have shown a surplus in all but 2 years, 1939 and 1951.

The United States Post Office Department, in the similar 21-year period from 1933 to 1953, has shown a deficit in all but the 3 war years of 1943, 1944, and 1945. Since World War II this accumulated United States postal deficit totals more than $4 billion and is costing United States taxpayers more than $100 million for interest alone on this huge sum.

The startling financial contrast between the costs to the taxpayers for postal service in these 2 neighboring countries during the past 5 years is highlighted by figures released today, without comment, by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield.

The financial operations of the Canadian postal system for the years 1949–53 have produced a surplus of $16.8 million. Itemized by years, the results were:

[In millions]

Year ended Mar. 31	Revenue	Expenditures	Surplus
1953	$129.4	$122.9	$6.5
1952	122.3	115.6	6.7
1951	106.6	106.9	−(1.3)
1950	101.3	99.4	1.9
1949	96.0	93.0	3.0

The United States Post Office Department's fiscal record for the past 5 years shows an accumulated deficit during this period of $3,120 million. The yearly breakdown follows:

[In millions]

Year ended June 30	Revenue	Expenditures	Deficit
1953	$2,007.0	$2,760.0	$663.0
1952	1,952.8	2,679.8	727.0
1951	1,781.6	2,333.1	551.5
1950	1,683.4	2,272.9	589.5
1949	1,577.7	2,169.2	591.5

The Southwestern Power Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, 1954, the Department of the Interior issued a directive which would eliminate the Southwestern Power Administration as an administrative agency operating in the field.

The SPA was set up many years ago to administer the supply of the wholesale power needs of municipalities and rural electric cooperatives in the area comprising the States of Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. This crippling action of the Department of the Interior came as a surprising and shocking blow to the people residing in this large and populous area of the Southwestern United States. The directive was allegedly based on the report of a so-called survey team. Who were the members of this team, and where did they come from? I do not exactly know who they were or where they came from, but I do know who they were not and where they did not come from. Not one single solitary individual from the area affected by the drastic directive served on the so-called survey team.

The Southwestern Power Administration was on trial in connection with the purported studies made by the team. Yes, as it turned out, its very life could be at stake, yet, Mr. Speaker, no one from the area served on the team. This action is not consistent with our notions of an open and public trial before a jury of our peers.

The SPA is certainly in a moribund state, but it can still be revitalized and made to live again its tremendously useful life in the past. The Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest pointed out the way at a meeting in Jefferson City, Mo., on February 27, 1954. The advisory committee adopted a resolution recommending that a further study be made of the power supply problems and power needs throughout the area, but only after full consultation with the congressional Representatives, the REA Administrator, the municipalities and rural electric cooperatives in the States affected. And an appeal has been made by the committee to the President of the United States by letter dated March 3, 1954, to bring about such a fair-play treatment according to our democratic processes of government. I urge this course of action and suggest that nothing short of it will truly solve this serious problem.

The resolution of the committee and the letter to the President follow:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR DIRECTIVE, ISSUED FEBRUARY 18, 1954

"Whereas the United States Department of the Interior issued a directive February 18, 1954, eliminating the Southwestern Power Administration as an administrative agency operating in the field; and

"Whereas the Southwestern Power Administration has been a key contracting party in supplying wholesale power needs of municipals and rural electric cooperatives throughout a six-State area comprising Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest, duly assembled in Jefferson City, Mo., this 27th day of February 1954, finds the directive not in the best interests of municipals and rural electric cooperatives; be it further

"*Resolved*, That the committee recommends further study be made of the power supply problems and power needs throughout the area and that such a study include full consultation with congressional Representatives in the States affected; the REA Administrator, municipals and rural electric cooperatives before any final actions are taken."

Certified to by:

U. J. GAJAN, *Chairman.*
JULIUS HELM, *Secretary.*

MISSOURI STATE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ASSOCIATION,
Jefferson City, Mo., March 3, 1954.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Enclosed herewith is copy of resolution relating to a directive issued by the Department of the Interior, February 18, 1954, which I believe is self-explanatory.

We hope the resolution is interpreted in the spirit in which it was written, i. e., a spirit of friendly and constructive suggestions.

After long and conscientious deliberations, the Advisory Committee on Power for the Southwest, which comprises 60 representatives from municipal and rural electric cooperatives in the 6 States affected, concluded that the directive was not in the best interests of the Government, private utility companies, municipals, and the rural electric cooperatives. Furthermore, the committee concluded that the criteria allegedly used as the basis in formulating the directive—namely, a report of a survey team—was a violation of fair play and our democratic processes of government. As expressed in the last paragraph of the resolution, the committee feels that it is only fair and American that the people who are most affected be fully consulted before the directive is made effective.

It is an incontrovertible fact that not one individual from the area affected served on the survey team that made the report, which apparently was the basis for the February 18 directive. Furthermore, the committee has no record of the survey team report being made available to anyone connected with the municipals or rural electric cooperatives in the area affected, or the Rural Electrification Administration, for comment and interpretation prior to its release.

We don't believe the recommendations contained in the enclosed resolution to be unfair or unreasonable. We hope they will receive your earnest consideration.

With highest esteem.

Yours respectfully,

JULIUS HELM,
Secretary, Committee on Power for the Southwest.

Salary Increases for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, herewith my statement to the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service advocating an $800 salary increase for postal employees:

Mr. Chairman, as an indication of my support of an $800 salary increase for postal employees, I introduced a companion bill (H. R. 7431) to Congressman WITHROW's H. R. 2344. My introducing H. R. 7431 was the result of conferences with numerous representatives of various postal groups as well as my discussions with hundreds of individual postal employees. I am firmly convinced that the postal employees are entitled to a flat $800 annual salary increase and I know that this figure was not picked at random. It was recommended after a careful survey of the salary scales of Post Office employees as compared with private industry throughout the past 15 years. The most important factor of course was the tremendous increase in the cost of living during the period from 1939 to 1954. A comprehensive comparison of average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries during this period has already been presented to this committee by the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and others.

Actually it is difficult to compare the salary of postal employees with other production employees, as the former, after several years of training, acquire skills which are unique to the postal service and do not lend well to mechanization. Speedy delivery of letters and packages is dependent largely upon the trained eye and memorized schemes of the postal employee. The specialized knowledge of a postal employee is salable only to the Post Office Department. If after contributing 5, 10, or more years of his life to the postal service an employee is unable to provide adequately for his family, he cannot seek other employment on the basis of previous experience. Consequently most postal employees merely "sweat it out" and supplement their meager incomes with outside employment that taxes their physical energy and mental alertness. It should not be necessary for postal employees to engage in other employment, and it would not be necessary for them to do so if the Congress authorized pay increases to adequately compensate these Federal employees who have served us so well and faithfully over the years.

From 1945 to 1951 mail volume increased 27.7 percent, while personnel increased only 14.3 percent. This, of course, reflects a great increase in individual productivity. It cannot be denied that the postal employee is entitled to share in the benefits of increased production and a salary based on the American way of life. Throughout history the postal employees have shown their faith in our Government's recognition of services rendered well and above the call of duty. It is admirable that they have maintained this faith, and I sincerely hope that the 83d Congress will not let them down.

If we are going to build up and maintain a postal service that provides an incentive for the best qualified and most productive employees to make it their life's work, we must maintain pay at reasonable levels. For that reason, and to alleviate the hardships that so many postal employees are facing with rising prices in recent years, I am strongly in favor of this committee's reporting to the House of Representatives without further delay a bill providing for an $800 annual salary increase for postal employees.

Treasury Short-Term Loans Show Depression Is Feared

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

TREASURY SHORT-TERM LOANS SHOW DEPRESSION IS FEARED

(By Sylvia Porter)

It's in the little things that you can read the true tale.

It's the back-page item rather than the front-page headline that so often will tell you how deeply the administration is worried about today's recession, how serious is its determination to end it quickly, how willing it is to compromise on its basic pledges and platforms to achieve this.

For instance, "The United States Treasury today announced that on Tuesday, March 16, it will sell $1.5 billion of securities due in 94 days. The securities may be turned in by buyers to pay June 15 taxes; those not turned in will be paid off in cash June 24."

A seemingly insignificant, routine, technical news release? Oh, no. For here is the story behind it, and here is what it reveals to you about your Government's attitudes today.

TRIES TO COMPETE

When the Eisenhower administration came to power less than 14 months ago, one of its fundamental and most publicized aims was to get the national debt on a sound basis.

"The huge, sprawling debt born in the New Deal-Fair Deal eras is appallingly dangerous," cried the administration's spokesmen.

The Treasury is overloaded with short-term debts. It is asking for disaster by borrowing debt. As the Federal Reserve Board clamped down on credit in early 1953, the Treasury appealed to the Nation's big savings institutions to buy some of its long-term bonds. As insurance companies, savings banks, etc., indicated they were more inclined to lend their funds to businessmen and homebuilders, the Treasury tried to compete by offering as much as 3¼ percent interest on a bond.

It was a deliberate program, risky and expensive. But, said the Treasury's experts, the debt must be reconstructed. The Treasury must not borrow so much through short-term securities; this is fiscal madness.

Then came mid-1953 and the Federal Reserve began pouring money into the banking system, shifting from a policy of anti-inflation to anti-deflation. And prices of outstanding United States bonds started to skyrocket. And the big investors began approaching the Treasury, saying: "O. K., we're ready now. We'll buy your long-term bonds. Sell them to us."

The Treasury's policymakers were exultant. And the time for a major bond sale by the Treasury was tentatively set for March—this month. (I know; I have been in on the talks.)

But came the message to the Treasury from other top-level authorities in Washington:

"You must not sell a bond to the big investors now. You might mop up money that otherwise would be available for business loans or mortgages. This is a recession. You must not take the chance of adding to it by your operations. Finance your operations by month-to-month borrowings. Put your program on the shelf for a while."

Came the message to the Treasury from GOP strategists:

"You must not sell a bond to the big investors now. Such Senators as PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois, who are economists, can crucify you for this. Don't take the chance. Live from month to month."

THEY'RE AFRAID

And the Treasury's policymakers listened and sighed, checked and rechecked, and announced: "On Tuesday, March 16, the United States Treasury will sell $1.5 billion of securities due in 94 days."

Are they afraid of this recession? Yes.

Are they determined to end it quickly? Yes.

Are they willing to compromise on basic pledges and programs to achieve this? Yes.

It's in the little things that you can read the true tale.

The Army Engineers Are in the Business of Confiscating Private Property

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when many homeowners in the area of the Garrison Reservoir were ordered off their property and the price for it fixed by the Army engineers or by juries, the question of the improvements, like buildings, was left entirely to the whim and caprice of the Army engineers.

The proposition was made to the owners that they could buy back the improvements at the price fixed by the engineers, and the owners accepted. When the actual agreements were presented to these owners they found that they had to get their buildings off the land by December 31, 1953, a time in the winter months when the weather is inclement. House movers would not undertake the job of moving in this severe weather, and as a result the former owners could not move their buildings to meet the demands of the engineers.

The United States attorneys were instructed to bring action of dispossession against these owners, with the further demand that as a penalty for not moving on time, the buildings would be confiscated by the Government. Cases of this character are now pending in the United States district court in North Dakota.

This office has done everything possible to reason with these autocrats and get them to extend the time until spring came so that the owners would not lose their property. The United States district court was agreeable to the delay if the engineers would consent. But, no sir, no consent to extend the time could be obtained, and the attorneys have been ordered to proceed.

The result will be that a few old dwellings will be confiscated by the Government, which will mean nothing in money to it, and the former owners will lose that which will enable them to live. Not a single owner refused to move, and would have moved on time if the weather conditions had permitted them to do so.

There is nothing involved in the owners not moving on time so far as the reservoir is concerned, because the area will not be flooded for another year; and by June 1, 1954, all of the buildings could have been removed and the property saved to those who direly need the buildings. To make matters worse still, the owners had to buy new locations, and did so, on which to set these buildings, but it was an impossibility for them to move in time to meet the demands of the Army engineers.

The secret police of Russia, the Elite Guard under Hitler, and the Nazi Blackshirts of Italy never imposed more harsh conditions on owners anywhere, nor were more ruthless in their destruction.

The question arises, Who gave the Army engineers authority to make the owners move in the wintertime? Who gave them authority to go ahead and wantonly destroy property that belongs to good loyal American citizens? The answer is that the Army engineers gave themselves this authority. This procedure is a dastardly act against defenseless people. Is there not a single Army engineer in the United States who is a loyal American citizen with humanity enough in him to do justice to his own fellow citizens? There may be some, but my contacts with them force me to the conclusion that there are none—at least none in authority.

The United States Government is ready to fly to the relief of people in any other country, but here at home we practice that which we condemn in others. What will real Americans think of this procedure to confiscate the property of citizens of this country who cannot comply with the rigid, unnecessary, and inhuman orders of the autocrats of the Army engineers? Have we turned over to these czars the power of government?

Under their equitable jurisdiction the courts could prevent this complete confiscation. But the question is, Will they do it?

By legislation, Congress could remove the Army engineers from all civil functions, as suggested by the Hoover Committee. But the question is, Will Congress do it, or will it permit these autocrats to proceed precisely as Nazis and Soviets have proceeded in their countries? There is more at stake than the value of these little humble dwellings. The larger question is whether or not the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights mean anything? A still further question is whether these men with the brass hats can, of their own motion, direct the affairs of this Government?

Our Importing and Exporting Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman, of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on the Import-Export Policy, who lives here in Washington, delivered an address in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 6 on the subject of our import and export policy. This address was delivered before the World Affairs Institute.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am asking that this address be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PROTECTION OF THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY BY ADEQUATE TARIFFS

(Address delivered by O. R. Strackbein, chairman, the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, before the World Affairs Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio, March 6, 1954)

Not within a generation has the tariff question been as hotly debated as today. Most of the younger generation knows very little about the subject. Perhaps that is why the subject of our intercollegiate debates this year is: "Should the United States adopt free trade?"

It is, therefore, with the deepest sense of responsibility that I address myself to you on this very important subject. It is most desirable that the issue be drawn clearly, that the arguments be set forth in understandable terms, and the conclusions drawn in keeping with the national interest. On this, I believe, we can all agree. The difference comes over the means of serving that interest.

There are those who believe that the national interest would best be served by a removal of all our tariff protection, just as the pacifists believe that the interests of world peace would be served best by universal disarmament.

Your present speaker is numbered among those who believe that it is in the national interest to maintain a reasonable level of tariffs or import quotas just as it is necessary in the present state of the world to maintain our armament. Even the Randall Commission, which recently reported to the President on our foreign economic policy, admitted that neither complete international specialization of labor nor completely free trade is feasible.

It is not difficult to understand why the concept of free trade should make a powerful appeal. It was probably born in the Garden of Eden. The United States, in fact, does honor the principle of free trade on a very large scale. We have it right here at home among our States. There is no tariff on goods crossing State lines. Moreover, we levy no duty at all on more than half our imports. Roughly, 60 percent of all our imports are now and, for more than 40 years, have been free of duty.

Worldwide free trade would permit each country to produce such crops, mine such minerals, and process or manufacture such goods as its soil, climate, natural resources, labor skill, and labor supply combine to make most profitable.

Should all countries adhere to this principle, the Tropics would produce tropical fruits and other tropical products, the Temporate Zone would produce those things for which its climate best fits it, and would not try to produce coffee or bananas; that would be too expensive. It would trade its own products for the latter, and everybody would benefit. This is the concept of international division or specialization of labor.

Since we in this country have free trade internally and accept 60 percent of our total imports free of duty, why do we draw the line? Why do we not go all the way toward free trade? Why do we cling to a tariff at all?

There are several reasons; but, first, let it be said that in the past 20 years the protection of our existing tariff has been reduced 75 percent. The average duty on the imports that pay a duty has come down from 50.02 percent in the 1931–35 period to about 12½ percent at the present time. This represents a real attack on our so-called tariff wall. What is left of it is one-quarter as high on the average as it was 20 years ago.

But, having gone this far, why not tear away what is left of the wall?

Perhaps the primary obstacle is the national security. In 1917 we found ourselves dependent upon foreign sources of supply for scientific apparatus, dyestuffs, and fertilizer, among other products. In 1941 our supply of crude rubber was cut off. Luckily, we soon got underway with our synthetic substitute. Next time we might not be so lucky. We should therefore go as far as we can to assure ourselves of an adequate domestic supply of strategic materials. If the imposition or raising of a tariff is necessary to give us this assurance we should use it. Even the original free trader, Adam Smith, made an exception to free trade in behalf of the national security.

The economic as distinguished from the military reason for protection is different but ultimately comes much to the same conclusion. If we are to remain economically strong, we must have a great diversity of healthy industry and agriculture. We must avoid becoming economic specialists. We must not become a nation dominated by a few gigantic mass-production industries. That way would lie both economic and military vulnerability. If, contrary to fact, we lived in a world of assured and everlasting peace, we might move in that direction; but even under such an improbable assumption we must proceed slowly lest we wreck our economy on the way.

This brings us to the one factor of international commercial competition that was overlooked or dismissed by Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations no less than by his followers, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill. This is the difference in wages among the countries of the world.

It does not necessarily follow that an industry in this country that pays $1.75 per hour cannot compete with an industry of another country where the wages are only 50 cents an hour. Relative productivity must be taken into account. If our worker were three times as productive as his foreign counterpart in this example, he might indeed compete with him successfully. But such a degree of superior productivity is not always enjoyed by our producers. We have no monopoly on modern machinery and equipment. Since World War II we have indeed gone far to help other countries build modern factories.

In the making of bicycles, Britain outstrips us in size of her industry. In flat glass, Belgium has efficient machinery. In lacemaking, European countries use machinery of the same make as we do, namely

of British manufacture. Japan has very modern textile machinery. Yet Japanese wages do well to equal one-tenth of the rates paid in this country. In fisheries, we have little or no advantage over other countries, with some exceptions.

Under these circumstances, only a few of which have been mentioned, free trade would either drive our domestic industries out of business or would force combinations into monopolies as a means of survival.

The theory of free trade never looked upon lower wages as representing a true economic advantage. In the economic sense they conceal a spurious advantage and have nothing to do with advantages of soil, climate, water, mineral resources, etc., which Adam Smith had in mind as a logical basis for the mutually advantageous exchange of goods.

Another difficulty with the idea of international specialization is that fewer and fewer countries are satisfied to remain mere producers of raw materials, as Britain learned years ago. They seek industrialization. They want to produce at home more of the manufactured products that they need. Britain, Germany, and Japan are very unhappy today over the fact that they are so dependent upon other countries for many of the products they need in order to live. Why should we consciously adopt a policy that would increase our own dependence?

In some of our production we have what is called an absolute advantage over other countries, as possibly in automobile production. In some other products, other countries have an absolute advantage, such as banana growing in the tropics. In other lines we have a comparative advantage, that is, an advantage but not as great as in those instances where we enjoy an absolute advantage.

The free traders say that we should devote ourselves to the products in which we have an absolute or the greatest comparative advantage, and leave the remainder to the mercies of unimpeded competition. Let the so-called marginal or inefficient industries die, if they cannot survive, they say.

Do you know what this would do to vast areas of our country? It would return them to the wilderness. Is that what we want, keeping in mind that in most instances all our industries would be able to compete with imports if they were free to pay wages as low as their foreign competitors?

You cannot read much of the literature of those who would strip us of our remaining economic defenses without running into the claim that the consumer would benefit from the lower prices that free trade presumably would bring. Well, our No. 1 import, namely, coffee, is now and long has been on the free list. Yet, the price of coffee has run out of bounds.

In any case, our national obligations are so high that they can be met only by a continuing high national income. This calls for continuing high prices, high employment, a high level of production, reasonable profits, and a high flow of investment in plant renewals, plant expansion, etc. How can the consumer stake a claim to low prices under such circumstances? A return to the price levels of 1939 would throw this country into abject bankruptcy.

Our inflated economy, moreover, is highly vulnerable to deflationary forces now that we have moved from an almost universal seller's market into a buyer's or surplus market.

Then there are those who contend that a removal of the tariff and quotas would affect only a few of our smaller industries, and thus would affect employment only in a minor degree. This is a very dangerous assumption. Fully a quarter of our industries and agriculture is vulnerable to import competition. At least 5 million people directly employed in production and another 10 million indirectly employed as a result of the production of the 5 million would be exposed to competition in varying degrees of severity if the tariff and quotas were removed. This is a conservative estimate.

We could not expose so important a part of our economy in buyer's market to deflationary competition without endangering the economy as a whole. The fact is that the drastic and reckless tariff cuts of the past 20 years, carried out principally under the umbrella of prosperity or a seller's market, have already exposed many of our industries beyond the safety or peril point. This is coming to light more and more almost daily. Therefore, we need administrative machinery that will permit adjustment of duties to assure the restoration of fair import competition when the handicap of domestic producers becomes too great to bear.

But what of exports? If we lose export markets, will not that also lead to unemployment? Obviously it will.

Yet what else can we expect During the past 15 years our exports have been stimulated artificially by war and postwar political and military considerations. A great part of this great flow of exports has, therefore, not moved from normal commercial considerations. Our imports, on the other hand, have not been stimulated to nearly the same degree. Should the world return to a more pacific state, our exports would be expected to decline. Even today, if we leave out of account our shipment of military supplies, our imports are approaching a balance with our exports. As other countries such as Britain, Germany, Japan, etc., are regaining their prewar markets, our own shipments shrink; also, the needs of the war-torn world no longer place upon us the huge demands for reconstruction materials, equipment, and supplies as they did a short time ago. This spells a further shrinkage of our exports.

In the meantime our per capita imports have, indeed, risen a great deal. They have gone from an average of $15.92 in 1938–39 to $70.32 in 1951–52. Thus, any allegation that we refuse to import is grossly in error.

It is only natural that our great export interests should seek to hold their foreign markets, but that they should do so at the expense of domestic producers is another matter. The automobile industry, or at least a sizable part of it, has been in the forefront of the clamor. They would not be so anxious if the dollars that they would like other countries to get by selling to our market so that these dollars might be used to buy more American cars—I say they would not be so anxious if the foreign countries sold us a million cars in order to get a billion dollars to buy our cars. No, indeed. The automobile industry would not like that. It likes it much better if other countries send us, instead of automobiles, pottery and glass products, wool, bicycles, meat, cheese, fisheries products, hats, fuel oil, chemicals, scientific apparatus, carpets, motorcycles, vegetables, nuts, plywood, mittens, wallpaper, lace, and many other products—just so long as it is not automobiles.

Other heavy exporters are producers of wheat, cotton, and tobacco. To hear them advocate free trade in all its economic beauty you would not think that wheat is almost completely protected by a highly restrictive import quota, as is also wheat flour. You would never guess that cotton is similarly protected by a quota that lets only a trickle of the fiber come in from abroad. You would never suspect that tobacco enjoys tariff protection and that tobacco seed cannot be exported, lest other countries come into competition with us. Never. Yet those are the facts.

Up to now this trio, together with the automobile industry and office machine makers, have identified themselves with the national interest, whilst holding up to scorn those of us who believe in protection, as being local, selfish interests. They wear a halo; we exhibit the cloven hoof. It must be wonderful to rationalize oneself into such a warm, silk-lined cocoon of moral self-approval.

I leave the merits of the case to you.

The McCloy Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George E. Sokolsky which appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 22, 1954:

THE MCCLOY DECISION

(By George E. Sokolsky)

In the argument as to whether John J. McCloy signed the directive dated December 30, 1944, on the subject, "Disposition of Subversive and Disaffected Military Personnel," the answer is that it was signed by Brig. Gen. Robert H. Dunlop, Acting Adjutant General. The essence of this directive is:

"No action will be taken under the reference letter that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist Party unless there is a specific finding that the individual involved has a loyalty to the Communist Party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States. No such finding should be based on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist Party may have advanced."

However, John J. McCloy, then Assistant Secretary of War, testified before the House special committee of the Committee on Military Affairs as follows:

"So, General Bissell and I talked the matter over, and I talked it over in one of the war council meetings, at which the Chief of Staff, the Secretary of War, and the representatives of each of the staff bureaus meet once a week and we generally came to the conclusion reflected in the light of our experience and tried to produce something we thought was practicable and sensible.

"I was responsible as much as anyone. I would say General Bissell and I were jointly involved in it. The actual language was arrived at between us."

The question arises how such an order came to be issued. Now chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank, McCloy stated:

"The matter arose entirely within the War Department. There were inquiries, as I say, from Congress and there were letters transmitted to us, not only from Congress but from other agencies of the Government, including the White House, concerning these complaints—from all the various letterboxes to which soldiers write from time to time."

Again when questioned, McCloy accepted War Department responsibility, as the following colloquy shows:

"Mr. THOMASON. Did I understand you to say, Mr. Secretary, in answer to Mr. ELSTON, that the War Department is solely and exclusively responsible for this directive?

"Mr. MCCLOY. Yes, sir.

"Mr. THOMASON. And that no outside organization or no Government agency or any person in high authority in any Government agency either suggested or requested it?

"Mr. McCLOY. No."

As to the charges recently made that McCloy or someone else ordered men's records destroyed, McCloy's denial was complete in the 1945 hearing. This was confirmed in the same investigation by Gen. Clayton Bissell, who at that time was head of G–2 (intelligence).

At this hearing, General Bissell gave this information:

"General BISSELL. We have had approximately 100,000 investigations of all types, and of those, about 2,500 have related to alleged Communists.

"Mr. THOMASON. How many of them have been discharged?

"General BISSELL. Of alleged Communists, we have discharged two."

In this investigation, General Bissell said:

"It revolves around the definition of a Communist. It is not clear. I wish it were clearer. I wish we had a clearer expression of what a Communist is."

Perhaps in this one citation lies all our difficulties. By 1945, when this investigation was held, the literature on communism defining the subject was enormous, beginning with the Communist Manifesto of 1848, running through the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Plekhanov, Bukharin, Stalin, and a host of others in many countries.

Nearsighted New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of March 17, 1954:

NEARSIGHTED NEW LOOK

Our great military minds are now in a huddle over the problem of making the New Look in defense formulated by President Eisenhower acceptable to all the trade-school generals and admirals, who nourish a fond delusion that the American people will buy whatever kind of popgun they choose to promote.

What's wrong with the New Look in defense is that it is neither new nor a defense, nor is it anything but a myopic view of the realities of warfare today.

A few Japanese fishermen who arrived in port burned beet red from atomic ashes dropping out of a test burst of an atomic bomb in the Marshall Islands on March 1—although they were 80 miles away—had a taste of the realities.

The grim facts are that if the Soviet Union carries through its intentions and launches a surprise attack upon the United States a great deal of the New Look in defense so highly touted by the administration won't even get off the ground. The primary objective of the Soviet Union is to cripple the United States in a single massive blow. And much of the massive retaliatory power that Eisenhower and Dulles have been promoting will vanish in an atomic cloud.

All the coy hints dropped so casually by Dulles, Eisenhower, and the trade-school boys are to the effect that the United States is going to be very gentlemanly about warfare. We are supposed to wait until the Soviet Union attacks, then we will call Congress together to declare war—and then, while a dozen American production centers are sending up pathetic wisps of smoke around a few million casualties, we will show the enemy something.

The trouble is that they view the atomic bomb as some sort of new toy—an untested weapon. They are still fighting the Battle of Gettysburg, the duel between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, and the trench warfare of World War I. Look no further into the past than the conflict in Korea for proof.

The principles of warfare haven't changed. Victory goes to whoever gets to the target first. But the New Look in defense doesn't contemplate any such principle. The New Look will have us all sit quietly awaiting the atomic attack, blissfully unaware that when a dozen American cities are vaporized there just won't be any massive retaliation. We will have had it for good.

Wainwright's Statement of Great Significance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Massapequa (N. Y.) Post of Thursday, March 4, 1954:

WAINWRIGHT'S STATEMENT OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

We wish to call your attention to Congressman STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT'S article on the Stevens-McCarthy controversy elsewhere in the paper. His words deserve the most careful reading by everyone interested in preserving our American heritage and way of life.

It is heartening to see a young man, part of the regular Republican organization of Nassau and Suffolk Counties so completely aware of the implications regarding the recent conduct of our congressional investigations. One could wish that his chief, President Eisenhower, who undoubtedly shares his views, has stated them so forthrightly and at the proper time.

Americans must be made aware of the fact that this Nation faces two threats, one from the left and one from the right. Both would destroy our system of government, both are equally tyrannical. The Communist threat is easy to see, because it owes its allegiance to a foreign power. The Fascist threat is not so easy, because its chief foreign exponents were defeated in the last war, and because its adherents in this country disguise it with a phony type of patriotism.

Communists and Fascists alike want you to believe that if they accuse a man of something, the fact that they have so accused him must mean that he is guilty. No trial is necessary; no defense; no examination of the evidence. They wouldn't have accused him if there were any possibility of his innocence, they say. And to save our Nation, they add, we must let them be in full charge, we must rely entirely on their judgment and we must be willing to give up our democratic freedoms. This is precisely the device that Hitler used. History has proven that once we agree to give up those freedoms, no one is going to hand them back to us without a fight.

These words of Congressman WAINWRIGHT bear repeating, and they are worthy to be part of the code of every American: "I will fight tyranny and injustice whether it come from the menace of our evil breed of domestic Communists or from a fascist threat, veiled in a wicked purpose under the guise of 'true Americanism'." We urge our readers to communicate their views on this matter to Congressman WAINWRIGHT in Washington, D. C.

Shield of the Fifth Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am enclosing an excellent editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., March 21, 1954:

IN ESSENCE, A PLEA OF GUILT

During the hearings by the Kefauver committee investigating organized crime throughout the country, the claim of the protection of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was frequently raised. There was no question in anyone's mind who read the accounts of these hearings or saw them over television as to the motive of the witness or the implication to be drawn from the plea. It was perfectly obvious that it amounted, in substance, to admission that guilt of some nature or other was being hidden.

Since then there has been an effort to create a new aura of innocence around the claim of the protection of the fifth amendment. In hearings before the United States Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee and before the Permanent Investigation Subcommittee and even here in our own State, there has been an effort on the part of reluctant witnesses to make it appear that their refusal to testify was merely the exercise of freedom of thought and that any insistence upon the witnesses affirming or denying Communist affiliations or espionage activities was an abuse of their civil liberties.

These witnesses have even set up a new theory of law for the guidance of themselves. Using the shield of the fifth amendment, they have boldly exercised the right to refuse to testify concerning the activities of other persons, even though it may be in regard to matters of vital concern to the Nation. Many of us may be reluctant to appear as witnesses, and especially to testify concerning friends, but this is not a field in which we can exercise any right of judgment; we must take the stand and tell the whole truth. To permit witnesses to determine at their own discretion whether or not they will testify concerning others would not only cripple investigating committees but would completely destroy the effectiveness of our courts of law. And in this departure from all accepted legal principles, the reluctant witnesses again seek public sympathy by the implication that they are only prompted by loyalty to friends, rather than a desire to conceal evidence and hide the truth.

This effort to pervert the true meaning of invoking the fifth amendment has been aided and abetted by numerous writers of questionable leanings and supported by misguided liberal thinkers. Unfortunately rather rough tactics used at some hearings have furnished just enough framework on which to erect this distortion of the truth.

An article in the April issue of Reader's Digest puts the matter in its true light. It points out that that part of the fifth amend-

ment to the Constitution of the United States of America which reads that no person "shall be compelled in any criminal cases to be a witness against himself," was originally designed only to protect accused persons against having torture used to extort confessions from them, although its application has been broadened by the courts to apply even to legislative bodies where no finding of guilt can be made. The extension, of course, was to prevent the use of evidence obtained in such a hearing in a court of law on a criminal charge at a later date.

As is pointed out in the article, the true nature of the claim of the protection of the fifth amendment has been enunciated by many courts. Although it would not apply in a criminal case, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts has said in a matter concerning the removal of a public official:

"Instant impulse, spontaneous anxiety and deep yearning to repel charges impugning his honor would be expected from an innocent man. Refusal to testify in his own behalf under such circumstances is conduct in the nature of an admission. Culpability alone seals lips."

At the time of the famous Teapot Dome scandal, a United States court of appeals said in a lawsuit resulting from the investigation:

"The silence and evasions in this suit suggest many pertinent inquiries. Why is the plea of self-incrimination—one not resorted to by honest men—the refuge of (the witness)?

"Men with honest motives and purposes do not remain silent when their honor is assailed."

A group of prominent legal authorities consulted by the United Nations concerning the dismissal of United States citizens who had invoked the fifth amendment before a Senate committee found that the refusal to testify was justification for firing the reluctant witnesses and said:

"The exercise of this privilege creates so strong a suspicion of guilt that the fact of its exercise must be withheld from the jury in a criminal trial."

Various suggestions as to the best procedure to end the abuse of the fifth amendment have been made. Among those suggested have been the requiring of public employees to sign a waiver of immunity with respect to testifying about their official acts. It has also been proposed that Congress enact a statute which would grant legal immunity for his crimes to any witness testifying at hearings concerning espionage and subversion.

While such proposals may have their usefulness, it is much more important that claiming the protection of the fifth amendment be seen in its proper aspect; that the distortions and perversions that have been built up around it be dispelled so that the public will once again realize that it is, in essence, a plea of guilt.

A Letter From a Constituent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. WAMPLER
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WAMPLER. Mr. Speaker, recently I mailed to my congressional district a questionnaire polling the opinions of my constituents on various legislative matters.

In answer to one of these questionnaires I received the following inspiring letter from Mrs. William Puckett, R. F. D. 2, Saltville, Va.:

I am not capable to advise, but would like to say I was a child when Cleveland was President. When McKinley was elected I was a young housewife. He was a good man and a good President, so he was not allowed to live.

Now I think Eisenhower is a good man and doing everything he can to make things better for people.

And I pray God's blessings for him, to direct him and protect him all the way.

And I thank you.

JUST AN OLD GRANDMA.

Enlightened Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, an eminently fair and objective appraisal of the tax bill voted by this House is given by the prominent columnist, Dorothy Thompson, in an article appearing in today's Washington Evening Star, under the title "Enlightened GOP Tax Bill."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this commentary on the Republican tax program by Miss Thompson:

I have long wished that firms would stick to advertising their products instead of trying to create emotional associations around them. If I am in the market for a car, I want to know how it will stand up, how much mileage I'll get for a gallon of gas, and what it is likely to cost me in repairs. I am not interested in what some movie star or socialite prefers.

Some advertising appeals to the emotion of fear—that if you don't use this or that you'll smell bad or your teeth will drop out, or what not; or snobbery; or sex hunger; or even Americanism.

This is only a preface to saying that political measures are promoted the same way, and this is more serious.

The administration's tax proposals have been advertised by the opposition as a rich man's tax bill, appealing to the overwhelming majority with moderate incomes.

But no income-tax bill of present or foreseeable proportions can be paid by the upper income group for the simple reason that it receives a very small part of the whole national income. The rosy illusion that the ever-increasing activities of the modern state can be paid out of the pockets of the rich was blown sky high in Socialist Britain, and even in the Soviet Union where theoretically nobody should pay any taxes since Government expropriates for its own use the profits of the entire productive system.

Senator WALTER GEORGE'S proposal—to increase everybody's tax exemption to $1,000—would save those with high-bracket incomes more than those of moderate means. Savings would amount proportionally according to whether the citizen were paying the 20-percent, 30-percent, or 50-percent tax rate. The last would save more than double that of the first.

The phrase "rich man's tax bill" assumes that only the rich derive income from invested savings. This is untrue. In many of America's greatest industries small stockholders greatly outnumber large ones. The old, especially, count on checks from investments and the lower the amount the more the administration bill will help them. It will give negligible aid to those in the 50-percent bracket, with dividend incomes of more than $5,000 a year. The George proposal would be easier on the large stockholder than the small one.

This administration has, at last, considered working mothers, allowing them to exempt some of the expense of paying others to care for their children. This definitely favors the most exploited group in the country—the women who must work outside their homes to support themselves and their children, and, at the same time, fulfill the obligations of the nonearning housewife and mother. This writer raised this issue long ago in the Ladies' Home Journal. But the Democrats never lifted a finger to help this harassed group. The administration bill allows the taxpayer, for the first time, to deduct all medical costs of having a baby. This far more greatly aids low-income receivers than it does the "rich." In America wealth rarely accumulates before middle age, when the child-bearing period is closing or ended. It is a first-rate social measure, for it encourages prospective mothers to seek better care, and from the very beginning of pregnancy.

On the whole, the administration has presented an enlightened tax bill, from the viewpoint of justice, the welfare of the national economy, and the commitments the Government has assumed—which is another story.

Democratic outcries are not based on the rational merits or demerits of the proposals but on an appeal to class and emotional prejudices—to fear of having something put over by the rich, and to snobbery-in-reverse—with an eye to elections.

What's the Communist Quota, Democrats?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, some of the Democratic high command is still following the pooh-pooh line on Communists in America. They have been hitting hard at the assertions of the administration that security risks have been removed from Federal payrolls and on every occasion, Mr. Truman and Mr. Stevenson lead the chorus of scoffers. Mr. Truman has said that there "aren't an eyeful of Communists in the whole country."

Irrespective of grammar, this sentence merits some attention. On the one hand, it implies a dangerous admission that because a group is numerically small, it is not potentially destructive. There may be no more than a comparative handful of arsonists in any major city in the world, but they may cause devastating fires. Communists, trained in the technique of revolution, are taught to be maximally destructive as individuals. The business of putting a radio station out of operation, or of transmitting vital atomic secrets does not require an army of subversives. It requires a few fanatics, or sometimes one. Klaus Fuchs by himself had the power of a vast army. Harry Dexter White spoke with the voice of a thunder-

clap. Alger Hiss' red herring emitted a powerful odor.

Let us not kid the American people. The record tells the story. The "eyeful of Communists" who got on the Federal payroll got there under Democratic auspices.

They are getting kicked out under Republican auspices.

Forty-second Birthday of Girl Scouts of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing more inspiring than to look into the faces of a group of girls who are bound together as members of the Girl Scouts of America. A Girl Scout's outlook upon life has all the zest for adventure, for discovery, for future ambitions, and carries with it a deep-rooted love of home, community, and country.

Girl Scout Week was celebrated March 7–13, and March 12 marked the 42d birthday of the organization.

I wish to pay tribute, not only to the Girl Scouts of my congressional district, but to all Girl Scouts and those adults who guide and direct in this organization.

In the first decade of this century, Lord Baden-Powell, the founder of Boy Scouting; his sister, Miss Agnes Baden-Powell; and others launched the Girl Guide movement in England. It was a program based on Scouting ideals but developed especially for girls.

During the years in which the Boy Scout movements developed in England, Mrs. Juliette Gordon Low, of Savannah, Ga., was living in England. She became deeply interested in the Scout and Girl Guide movements. From England, Juliette Low carried Girl Guiding to the United States, where she adapted the program and organization to meet the needs of American girls. On March 12, 1912, she established the first troop of Girl Scouts in the United States. In June 1913 the first national headquarters of the Girl Scouts was opened. In June 1915 the Girl Scout organization was incorporated.

The story of Girl Scouting is an exciting one. No one could foresee in 1912 what would be the future of the little movement started in Savannah, Ga. But those who saw its aim could visualize the development of an individual into an efficient, happy, healthy, and resourceful citizen.

The constitution of the Girl Scouts of the United States of America states the purpose and function of the organization like this:

Purpose: The purpose of this organization is to help girls realize the ideals of womanhood as a preparation for their responsibilities in the home and as active citizens in the community and in the world.

Program: The program of the Girl Scout movement is open to all girls. It shall be built on educational lines, giving girls an experience in making and carrying out plans based on broad fields of interest. It shall encourage a love of outdoor life and a practical knowledge of health. The Girl Scout program shall aim, through comradeship, to develop initiative, self-control, self-reliance, and unselfish service to others.

The art of living together with other human beings is everybody's job and one which the Girl Scouts of America does not take lightly. Scouting is an experience in living together, and every Girl Scout troop is a living human relations laboratory.

The right to differ with others has been a precious American heritage. However, before young people can grasp the concept of difference—they must understand how people are alike. It is the intent of the Girl Scout program to make each experience rich and meaningful for each individual Scout; giving her a sense of greater emotional security within herself and to help her develop a sense of oneness and unity with a group. Girl Scouts think about their relationship to others. The essentials of living happily and creatively together are important goals in the Scouting program. However, these goals are never emphasized at the sacrifice of an individual.

The late Thomas Wolfe once wrote that we are the sum of all the moments of our lives. That is a concise way of saying that all the experiences of our lives play a role in developing us—our companion, our training, the discipline we have known, the habits we have acquired. We are the sum of all those moments.

Let us think for a second—what will the youth of today be like 20 years from now? Will they be well balanced, self-reliant men and women? Or will they be unable to cope with the problems of adult living?

Dr. Edward A. Strecker, psychiatrist, who served as a consultant to the Surgeons General of the Army and Navy during World War II, maintains that the pattern of mental health is set early in childhood. The answer to 90 percent of mental trouble is immaturity, he says.

It is, indeed, encouraging to know that the program of the Girl Scouts of America is surely and successfully contributing to the sound growth of youth today. The Girl Scout movement, however, does not believe it should serve as a substitute for other natural agencies of a girl's training—such as home, church, and school.

Scouting is sponsored by the community. Its sponsoring bodies are community organizations. Its administrative councils, its sustaining committees, and its consultants, as well as its troop leaders, are all composed of representative citizens of the community. In turn Girl Scouts serve the community. Scouting exists by and for the community.

Girl Scouting offers our youth a chance to lead a fourfold life, where love, play, work, and worship are equally developed. The Girl Scout program represents a stake in the future of America. The future of America is dependent upon happy, well-adjusted, and self-reliant adults.

United States Merchant Marine a Ghost Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered on WMEX, Boston, Mass., Saturday, March 20, 1954:

The lack of merchant shipping is the weak link in the chain of our defenses.

We are spending $50 billions a year for military manpower and weapons. But only $102 million, or one-four hundred and ninetieth of that sum, is set aside for the maritime service. Most of this will be spent to equalize costs, leaving only a bare $17 million for new construction.

The Commerce Subcommittee of the United States has just revealed the results of a survey covering foreign shipyards and merchant fleets.

During 1953 England, Germany, Japan, and Italy topped us in construction of shipping. Our tonnage increase was a mere 60,000.

Merchant vessels should carry our seaborne commerce and are expected to serve as a naval auxiliary in time of war.

We had two previous close calls—during World War I and II—when enemy submarines were sinking ships faster than we could build them until an all-out and wasteful shipbuilding program was put into hig-gear. Our reserves were small to start off with and were almost eliminated before we got our assembly-line production going.

Experts say that most of our present and small fleet is already old-fashioned, slow, and is suffering from high maintenance costs. It is a ghost fleet because it lacks the 214 ships to give it substance and strength.

The greatest trading nation in the world, and one with a genius for developing other forms of transportation, is falling down on the job of providing for our own maritime defenses.

Less than 50 percent of our foreign-aid shipments are being carried in foreign bottoms. In private commerce, we are even more dependent upon the merchant fleets of other nations.

The American Legion is leading the fight to correct this grave deficiency. We in New England, with our great seafaring tradition, observe with anxiety the decline of our private-shipbuilding facilities for lack of orders. This, in turn, becomes a national problem as it affects other maritime States. I believe that we should support the Legion in its program to mobilize public opinion, and thereby encourage the development of the American merchant marine as our fourth arm of national security.

As set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 it is the declared policy of the United States to maintain a strong, privately owned merchant marine capable of serving the interests of the Nation in peace and in war. Although it is a primary feature of this policy to rely chiefly upon private ownership and operation, the merchant marine is regarded not only as a business in the ordinary sense; ships have come to be considered as instruments of national security and foreign policy as well.

The total private fleet is down to 1,300 ships, and would be smaller without the small assistance it is now getting from the Government. In World War II, after the most intensive-shipbuilding program ever conceived and carried out, we managed to

reach a peak of more than 6,000 fully employed ships.

As the merchant fleet declines so do the shipbuilding and repair industries. Skilled workers and skilled crews fade away.

By the end of May 1951 the inactive reserve had reached a low point of 1,750 ships, of which nearly 1,400 were of the Liberty type, constructed in a hurry, slow-moving, and already out-of-date. Because our ship reserve is sadly lacking in tankers, fast freighters, and modern passenger vessels it is described as a "wastebasket" fleet, which would be more of a burden than a help under combat conditions.

I think that "ghost fleet" is a better description, because it has become so small that you can't even see it.

It was back in 1950 that a subcommittee of the United States Senate, after lengthy hearings, recommended that:

1. Legislative and administrative measures be directed toward the building up of the privately owned component of the merchant marine.

2. That construction-differential subsidies be extended to all our vessels in foreign trade.

3. That reliance be placed on a well-balanced American merchant marine for national defense purposes.

4. That the executive departments of the Government prepare a statement for Congress on the minimum vessel tonnage needed for commerce and the national defense.

There was the basic problem of the flight of shipping capital to foreign flags to take advantage of cheaper costs and tax advantages. Much of this transfer of capital had been in the form of ship transfers, particularly the sale of ships to foreigners under the Ship Sales Act of 1946.

Another problem has been the pentration of Communists into some maritime and stevedoring unions, where patriotic union members and their leaders are working hard to weed out these destructive elements.

There are many arguments in favor of increased subsidies to strengthen our merchant marine.

A modern and efficient fleet is essential for national security, and the United States must not be caught "with its tonnage down" as it was in 1941. Past experience has demonstrated that peacetime demand for shipping falls far short of defense requirements and subsidies are necessary, therefore, to maintain a fleet large enough to meet defense requirements. Since the Soviets are said to have a submarine fleet many times larger than Hitler had at the beginning of World War II, there would be a much heavier shipping loss in another war. Compared with other subsidy programs of the United States Government, the help given to the merchant marine is but a small fraction of 1 percent of the whole national budget. A shipping program would retain valuable, skilled labor in our shipyards and would be a prop to the economy. Most of the world's maritime nations grant some form of shipping aid. As the leader of the free world, we cannot afford to lag behind in ocean transport, which is still the main line of supply.

The ability to furnish prompt logistic support over great distances has been of tremendous military importance. This support has been provided by the Navy with the able assistance of the merchant marine. Our experience in Korea, even when there was no interference by the enemy, demonstrates again and conclusively the need for an adequate merchant marine in being.

There was a period during 1942 and 1943 when shipping losses were running far ahead of ship construction.

Only a superhuman program turned the tide, but this was costly and wasteful due to the frantic pressures of the emergency and tied-up materials and manpower that were needed elsewhere.

Over 7 million Americans and enormous quantities of supplies had to be transported thousands of miles by sea during World War II. Time and circumstances forced us to ship 978,000 American troops on the numerous transatlantic trips of the British liners *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*. We had to pay a charge of 20 pounds in British currency for each soldier.

You see, we had to pay a subsidy anyway and one that did not inure to the benefit of our own merchant marine because of our short-sightedness.

Speaking of subsidies by our own Government, there is a mistaken belief that their prime purpose is to provide profits for the shipowners. This is not so. The subsidy establishes parity between American builders and operators on the one hand, and their foreign competitors on the other. Also, the recapture section in the law allows the Government to get back a large percentage of the money it pays out in subsidies. In the 10 years ending in 1948 the Government spent only $88 million in operating subsidies, but recovered $52 million of that total. If all other subsidy programs could show the same results, the United States Treasury would have $1 billion more than it has at the present time.

It was the intent of Congress that 50 percent of our export and import trade should be carried in American ships. But the average figure is down to 30 percent—meaning that our minimum program has been reduced below the margin of safety.

A merchant marine on a skeleton basis could be crushed in another emergency, leaving a gap that would be fatal. We would not have time to expand it to full strength, because it would soon be nonexistent. A complete collapse of ocean transport for a few months or less would doom our allies to surrender and would cut off our overseas garrisons from their essential supplies.

Even in peacetime we cannot afford to be careless.

The period in which we are now living is not one of war or peace, but one in which we must be alert and ready.

Russia knows that our ability to produce and transport was a key factor in winning both World Wars.

Russia knows that "mothball" fleets have a limited value, because they are being outdistanced by newer and faster ships that are not being built by the United States in sufficient numbers.

Russia knows that we can't keep private shipyards, and special skills of their workers, and trained crews for merchant vessels forever "on call" without employment to sustain them.

The United States, economic leader of the world, is today operating less than 10 percent of the world's merchant ships.

We can do better than that.

We must.

The buildup of our merchant marine is necessary for our world trade and our national security.

Too little today may become too late tomorrow.

The George-Barden Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. A. THOMPSON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, it is with great alarm that I learn of the possibility of a reduction in the appropriation for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the George-Barden Act. This program has been worth far more to the people of Louisiana than any funds spent in its administration. The education gained by youths and adults in Louisiana through this program will without a doubt result in higher earning capacity for these individuals and, indirectly, the amount spent by the Federal Government will be repaid. It is my distinct feeling that a cut in these funds would not result in any real economy.

I have received many letters and telegrams asking my assistance in obtaining the full appropriation of funds for this program from various officials of my State who are qualified to express themselves in these regards. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter which I have received from Mr. Rex H. Smelser, the director of the Sowela Vocational-Technical School in Lake Charles, La., who has spent many years in this work and has made a great contribution to the vocational education program in the State of Louisiana, and is exceptionally well qualified to speak on the subject:

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
SOWELA VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOL,
Lake Charles, La., February 22, 1954.

Hon. T. A. THOMPSON,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR T. A.: I remember back in 1940, when this country became involved in a very critical situation that later developed into World War II, our Government called on vocational education to set up training programs around the clock. I remember that we opened the doors of our vocational schools and never closed them day or night until thousands of men and women had been trained to produce war materials, such as tanks, guns, airplanes, ships, ammunition, and many other items.

During the time of this emergency it was my privilege to assist in the training of many people who were working directly under the command of a very brilliant and able major, who later became a general, and is at present the President of these United States. It is very disappointing for those of us who contributed to this great movement to learn that this same man has recommended that Congress gradually strangle vocational education by cutting off Federal aid bit by bit.

It is further distressing to note that our Government during the past year spent an average of $8 per student on the American youth who were studying vocational education while expending $5,000 per student to assist foreign youth in their program to develop good international relations. I am sure that if any Member of Congress would think carefully of these comparisons of value, he would be ashamed to ask one of these $8 people to cast a ballot for him. I cannot understand why the sons of those men who started that situation in Europe in the late thirties should be given so much more value than the sons of those valiant Americans who stopped it.

I do not want to bother you too much with such things, because I know you realize how deeply I feel about this; but I hope that I will be able to say that my Congressman puts first values first, and I am looking forward to seeing you appear in person before the congressional committee and ask for the full amount for vocational education which is authorized by the George-Barden Act—$29,300,000. Any amount less than this is a direct indictment of the American way of life, and I challenge any right-thinking

American statesman to defend any action taken in favor of the 5,000 to 8 ratio.

Sincerely yours,

REX

Rex H. Smelser,
Director.

(Copies to Senator RUSSELL LONG, Washington, D. C.; Senator ALLEN ELLENDER, Washington, D. C.)

The People Report to Their Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, frequently I mail a report from Congress to the people of the 18th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent. This district is a metropolitan area made up of the communities of Long Beach, Lakewood, and Signal Hill. By this means I share with my friends and neighbors some of the experiences of my office and discuss important issues facing the Nation.

Last month the tables were turned by means of a printed questionnaire and I asked the people to report to their Congressman on 40 important questions of the day. Questionnaires were mailed to a cross section of all age, political and economic groups. Thousands poured back. Many with pertinent and helpful comments on a variety of issues.

So heavy were the returns that it was necessary to have them tabulated electronically by the IBM Co.

Most questionnaires represented the opinion of more than one person, as evidenced by many comments stating answers were the joint effort of a whole family. Others wrote that neighborhood or office groups of as large as 25 helped mark the questions. In a few cases the opinions in a household were so heatedly divided that additional questionnaires were requested for each family member. It is estimated that this poll fairly and accurately presents the personal views of at least 30,000 individual citizens. I place the results in this RECORD, knowing they will prove of real interest to other members of the United States Congress.

The 40 questions were preceded by the query: "In general, do you approve of the following?" Here are the questions and the answers:

1. Reduce foreign economic aid? Yes, 74 percent; no, 19 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.

2. Continue foreign military aid? Yes, 68 percent; No, 21 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

3. Go on leading NATO? Yes, 70 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

4. Worldwide atomic pool for peaceful developments? Yes, 57 percent; no, 32 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

5. Limited exchange of atomic-weapon knowledge with allies? Yes, 65 percent; no, 27 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

6. Base our defense on a "massive" capability to strike back? Yes, 83 percent; no, 8 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

7. More pay and benefits for professional military personnel? Yes, 41 percent; No, 46 percent; no opinion, 13 percent.

8. More funds for President's Federal employee loyalty program? Yes, 59 percent; no, 26 percent; no opinion, 15 percent.

9. Strip subversives of United States citizenship? Yes, 88 percent; no, 6 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

10. Bold Federal action, if needed, to assure steady economic growth? Yes, 82 percent; no, 9 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

11. Continue cutting down Government spending? Yes, 77 percent; no, 13 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

12. Increase national debt limit above $275 billion? Yes, 23 percent; no, 56 percent; no opinion, 21 percent.

13. Tax deductions for working mothers? Yes, 71 percent; no, 19 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

14. Less farm supports? Yes, 72 percent; no, 19 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

15. Federal waterpower projects where local financing is unavailable? Yes, 77 percent; no, 13 percent; no opinion, 10 percent.

16. Keep 2-cent Federal gasoline tax to support highway aid program? Yes, 82 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

17. Increase postal rates? Yes, 47 percent; no, 42 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

18. Enlarge social-security coverage and benefits? Yes, 75 percent; no, 17 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

19. Keep Taft-Hartley law with improvements? Yes, 81 percent; no, 12 percent; no opinion, 7 percent.

20. Federal funds for cancer and heart research? Yes, 68 percent; no, 23 percent; no opinion, 9 percent.

21. Expand Federal hospital construction aid? Yes, 62 percent; no, 23 percent; no opinion, 15 percent.

22. Spur private, nonprofit health insurance by Federal reinsurance? Yes, 58 percent; no, 23 percent; no opinion, 19 percent.

23. Federal aid for school construction where needed? Yes, 79 percent; no, 15 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

24. Give vote to 18-year-olds? Yes, 45 percent; no, 47 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

25. Use atomic weapons if Reds start new aggression? Yes, 77 percent; no, 9 percent; no opinion, 14 percent.

26. The Bricker amendment? Yes, 28 percent; no, 43 percent; no opinion, 29 percent.

27. Replace the draft law with universal military training? Yes, 65 percent; no, 24 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

28. Senator MCCARTHY'S investigations? Yes, 59 percent; no, 29 percent; no opinion, 12 percent.

29. Remain in the U. N.? Yes, 78 percent; no, 14 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

30. Keep Red China out of the U. N.? Yes, 84 percent; no, 8 percent; no opinion, 8 percent.

31. Pay raise for postal employees? Yes, 56 percent; no, 26 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

32. Pay raise for other Government employees? Yes, 33 percent; no, 41 percent; no opinion, 26 percent.

33. Ike's conduct of foreign affairs? Yes, 73 percent; no, 9 percent; no opinion, 18 percent.

34. Ike's handling of domestic problems? Yes, 71 percent; no, 13 percent; no opinion, 16 percent.

35. Ike's defense policies? Yes, 75 percent; no, 8 percent; no opinion, 17 percent.

36. Government economy if it results in loss of Government jobs in our own community? Yes, 73 percent; no, 16 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

37. Remove restrictions on income earned by social-security beneficiaries? Yes, 74 percent; no, 14 percent; no opinion, 12 percent.

38. Outlaw the Communist Party? Yes, 81 percent; no, 13 percent; no opinion, 6 percent.

39. Balance budget before further tax cuts? Yes, 72 percent; no, 17 percent; no opinion, 11 percent.

40. Should one joint House-Senate committee handle all un-American activity probes? Yes, 56 percent; no, 22 percent; no opinion, 22 percent.

Of course, it is not expected that I follow these poll results dogmatically by my votes here in the House. Often issues are presented to us in a much different form or substance from the poll questions, events or conditions sometimes may change by the time the House votes. It would be morally indefensible for me to take the popular side of an issue if my conscience dictated otherwise.

Nonetheless, this report from the people will be of much help to me in more accurately representing the desires of my constituents. The thousand of fine citizens who have cooperated by taking the time and trouble to mark their questionnaires have my very real gratitude.

Electioneering Pure and Simple

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. MILLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the traditionally Democratic Baltimore Sun pointed out in an editorial on March 18 that the opposition to the tax revision bill passed that day by the House was electioneering pure and simple.

Under leave heretofore granted, the editorial is hereto attached:

THE TAX STRATEGY OF THE DEMOCRATS

The Democratic strategy in the debate on the administration's omnibus tax bill is not admirable. What the Democrats are trying to do (and the first vote on this may come today in the House) is to strike out a provision which would reduce the extent of the double taxation on corporate dividends and substitute instead a tax-cutting provision for increasing personal exemptions under the income tax.

The basis of this effort is electioneering, pure and simple. By championing an increase in the personal exemptions, the Democrats are posing as champions of the little man, since such an increase would have the effect of freeing a large proportion of small-income taxpayers from all liability from income tax. In demanding that the provision regarding dividends be struck out, the Democrats are implying that it was placed in the measure solely to favor the wealthy.

The facts are otherwise.

The increase in the personal exemption from $600 to $700, as President Eisenhower stated the other night, would result in a loss of revenue so large as to throw the administration's fiscal program badly out of balance, and the President added his moral objections to a reform which would free so many of all direct tax liability to their country.

As for the dividend measure, it is but one of hundreds of provisions in a bill which is the first effort in a half century to clean out the accumulation of inconsistencies and inequities which clutter up the Federal tax structure. At present corporate dividends are subject to double taxation, once at the corporate level and again at the personal in-

come level. Double taxation is repugnant in principle, and all responsible students of tax matters have long agreed that it should be eliminated. It operates unjustly on all whose incomes are affected by corporate dividends, not merely the handful of the wealthy, and the much more numerous small holders of stocks, but the beneficiaries of insurance policies, pension plans, trust funds, and the like.

The Democratic position on these matters is a clever strategy for earning unthinking applause and votes. But we do not believe that the majority of House and Senate will go along.

One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Republican Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the complete text of the very excellent address delivered by the Honorable Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at Ripon, Wis., Saturday, March 20, 1954, on the occasion of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party.

The address follows:

Tonight the Republican Party looks forward to the second century of its service to the Nation. In an hour or two we shall stand upon ground honored from the past as the site of the founding of our great organization. The symbols of the past will be around us: The tiny schoolhouse in which the first Republicans met, and the torches which you will kindle, similar to those that were borne through the streets of this village a century before us.

But around us, too, will be the symbols of the present: The cameras and microphones and floodlights before us, helping all of America share this occasion. Here, too, will be the foundations for our future—our reaffirmations of the principles which guided the first Republicans, which guide us today and which will continue to furnish the bedrock of our enduring institution.

For the moment, however, my thoughts go back to the idealists of 1854 who gathered here to make firm plans for the guarantee of certain fundamental human rights. Their meeting in the little schoolhouse, perhaps brought on by a certain desperate urgency, resulted in a great determination.

Their problem was to combat effectively forces in the Union which would extend the principle of human slavery into the new frontiers of the United States. They recognized their inability to express their cause through the other political parties of that day. Their decision was to enlist progressive Americans in a new party, a party which they dedicated to the very simple—yet most exacting—premise of preserving human liberties.

There has never been success parallel to America's. There has never been a political party which has exerted such a profound influence upon the world as the one established right here in Ripon.

Inevitably, the new Republican Party mushroomed from the broken hopes of wornout experiments and older parties. In only 6 years it became the dominant party in the Nation.

It failed to elect its first Presidential candidate. But its great slogan rang through the land: "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory."

In 1861, a year of fearful peril to the Union, Abraham Lincoln became the first of 13 Republican Presidents. During all but eight of the remaining years of internal progress in the 19th century, Republican administrations governed the Nation. The great national farmers' organizations, the great unions of workingmen, and the great associations of business and the professions—all were founded and grew in times of Republican national leadership.

There are other milestones in our Party's long march through the years. The Republican party with the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act, revolutionized American business. Its objective was regulation in the interests of free and fair competition. It was designed to prevent monopoly and eventual ruin of free enterprise. It was the first in a long list of regulatory moves, all of which contributed to the increase of initiative and the broad American principle that everyone should have an equal chance.

Republicans organized and improved the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Consumers have been protected by the Republican pure food and drug laws.

Successively, Republican Congresses and administrations have provided for regulation and freer competition in grain exchanges, Federal fisheries, aviation, and communications.

Republicans created the Tariff Commission; they reformed bankruptcy laws.

Abraham Lincoln saw to the establishment of the Department of Agriculture.

The Department of Labor and Commerce came into being under Theodore Roosevelt.

It was Republicans who abolished the 12-hour day in industry, who established the principle of collective bargaining, who championed the cause of child labor laws.

The first Federal Bureau of Housing came into being in the Harding administration.

The first home-loan banks began operating in the Hoover administration.

It has been Republicans who led in establishing the sound housekeeping practices of the Federal Government. They founded the Civil Service Commission. They prepared the first Federal budget and established the General Accounting Office. They organized the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

By 1898, Americans began looking beyond their borders. They realized that the best interests of American democracy would be served by fostering it within the hemisphere. Under Republican President McKinley, the Nation engaged in a war with Spain which liberated the Spanish colonies.

An unexpected legacy resulted from this war—our guardianship over the Philippine islands 8,000 miles from home. From this moment, the United States began extending its commerce, aid, and security to millions of persons who, we thought, could prosper in the healthy atmosphere which had so greatly improved our own Nation in the 40 preceding years.

Under Republican President Theodore Roosevelt this new activity was enlarged with the construction of the Panama Canal.

Since World War II, the Republican Party has done everything in its power to make the United Nations a strong and workable instrument for peace. The late Senator Arthur Vandenberg was a towering figure in this cause.

Those are the highlights of our century of service.

Elsewhere since 1854, we have seen political institutions grow, and fade—monarchy, democracy, colonialism—dissolving into each other, and, tragically, into the archconspiracy of our time, communism.

Today the Republican Party, as a dynamic institution 100 years young, stands at the helm of the free world's struggle to overcome that conspiracy.

This grim crisis is new in scope, but old in principle, to the Republican Party.

To the extent that the party has met and discharged its responsibilities in the past, it will meet and surmount the critical problems of today and tomorrow.

It has summoned the best of America's specialists into the development of orderly defense and foreign policies. Starting with an inherited handicap caused by laggard diplomacy, the Republican administration under President Eisenhower has pursued and overtaken the enemy in the crucial matter of initiative.

American policy at long last is being made in America. We have become ready, with our allies, to withstand encroachment in ways of our own choosing. Above all, we observe this Republican anniversary in an atmosphere of peace.

Now, while we are looking back 100 years, I believe we should look back even farther today—back 178 years to the Declaration of Independence.

This is not idle, holiday oratory. I am speaking in deadly seriousness when I say the time is overdue for a reaffirmation by the American people of their God-given rights as free men to plan their own destinies, control their own futures, and conduct themselves so as to meet the tremendous challenge of the second half of the 20th century.

Perhaps no other service the Republican Party can achieve for the country matches this one. In 1950 we issued a statement of principles which boldly outlines our case then, and which is just as valid today:

"The major domestic issue today is liberty against socialism; whether we shall remain in this country a free people in constant control of our Government, or whether we shall delegate to an all-powerful Federal Government, with unlimited power to tax and spend, the rights to direct and operate our agriculture, industry, labor, and local communities, and the daily lives of our citizens. We believe there is no frontier beyond which devotion to the American system may not increase our knowledge, character, and material welfare; but we believe these goals can only be secured in a framework of liberty, equality, and justice, with adequate incentive and rewards to workmen and to industry for ability, knowledge, character, hard work, daring, and genius."

I am not one who thinks—or who can be persuaded by the most glib partisan spokesman—that our citizens have lost their intestinal fortitude during the past generation.

But somehow our objectives became confused and our goals misplaced.

We are living in a world of challenge. It will take challenge-minded Americans to measure up to the work at hand, both at home and along the dangerous no-man's land that lies between freedom and communism abroad.

True republicanism, as we view it, is not the easy way. What is the easy way, of course, is to accept the thesis of some that individuality, that enterprise, that ambition have somehow become outmoded. Faint hearts might agree to this; true followers of the party of Lincoln never will.

This much is terribly clear today: Our global adversaries live in the diabolical hope, perhaps even the expectation, that America will bleed itself to death economically during a protracted period of cold war, watchful waiting, or what have you. Overwhelming governmental expenses, whether they are caused by badly planned defense outlays or by spendthrift paternalism, are the surest ways to start this fatal hemorrhage. Under an enlightened Republican policy, which significantly marks this centennial of our party

of freedom, America has begun again to program wisely. History—and it may not be history written too far in the future—will judge whether we have done right. For myself, I am confident we have.

Let me quote once more from our statement of principles and objectives: "Liberty cannot breathe the air of bankruptcy and live."

Under that motto our immediate goal is prosperity produced in peace, something we have not seen for a generation, something which you younger people here have never seen.

Now, in dwelling at length tonight on incomparable achievement, I do not intend to convey the idea that the Republican Party has been without its scandal, its mistakes. But it has been humble in admitting these mistakes, and it has taken pride in its prompt, effective prosecution of those responsible.

We will never attempt to ignore wrongdoing by trying to blur the focus of history. In short, we do not believe in a coverup policy.

No political party can serve the people by protecting those who flout the moral standards of the society they represent.

The noblest and, may I say, the only, protective function assumed by a political organization is to maintain the bulwarks of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, to defend them for all of the people.

In doing that, this honorable political organization has identified itself completely with the problem of just and representative government. That has been the Republican way since the outset. It led Mr. Lincoln to observe in 1858, after he had been defeated for the Senate:

"Two years ago the Republicans of the Nation mustered over 1,300,000 strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through. * * * Did we brave all to falter now?"

No longer are there tragic divisions in our land. Our great country is united. Our danger is the dark greed of a hostile, global foe. Yet Lincoln's same philosophy permits President Eisenhower to affirm, as he did in this centennial year of the party, that the Republican objective is "the building of a strong America * * * a nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secured."

From the diversity of Lincoln's day has come the cohesion of our own. Since the men of three political parties emerged from the Ripon schoolhouse 100 years ago tonight, and firmly said, "We are Republicans," we have constantly built unity of purpose on the reasonable ground of diversity of interest.

Our ability to debate issues honestly, among ourselves and without malice, is testimony to broad appeal of our party's philosophy. Our resurgent popularity, among the citizens of the United States, is testimony to broad appeal of our party's leaders.

Behind us tonight lies a century of dynamic Republican leadership, support, and achievement.

Beyond us tonight the momentum of the past, quickened by the vision of our new leadership, takes us on a steady course toward greater freedom—a prosperity with peace.

Our Republican past, in large measure, has made possible our solid Republican present, and our assured Republican future. It has made possible the Eisenhower program for the benefit of us all, a program universally hailed as one of the most comprehensive ever sent to the Congress by any President.

It is a program that protects every segment of American life, and all citizens. It is a truly American program born of crying national need. It is a program fathered by a great American, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who is the author of this credo for all Republicans, for all Americans. I quote:

"In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human. In all those things which deal with the people's money or their economy, or their form of government, be conservative—and don't be afraid to use the word."

Hoard the Surplus—Starve the Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, children are existing on a starvation diet right in my own State of California while this administration hangs desperately on to the so-called surplus foods it seems determined to exploit to lower farm income. Why is so little interest shown in proposed plans to use this food instead of hoarding it? There is no dearth of plans to distribute the food to those who need it. But there is a callous disregard of all these plans by this administration. The following shocking newspaper article describes only one group of people in the United States who need more food. There are others.

It is high time that we stop talking so much about overproduction and do something about underconsumption. The sight of American children starving in the shadow of overflowing warehouses is a sad commentary on our system of distribution as well as this administration's inflexible desire to make farm prices flexible.

The article follows:

[From the San Francisco Chronicle of March 20, 1954]

HUNGER HITS MIGRATORY FARMHANDS

SAN LUIS OBISPO, March 19.—The families of 75 migratory farm workers in the Nipomo area have been existing at near-starvation levels because steady rain has kept them out of the fields where they normally get 6 weeks' work picking peas.

The plight of the families became known when children reported to school faint and ill with hunger.

A countywide radio and newspaper campaign was started this morning in an effort to get food donations after the county welfare agency said it had no funds available to help the migratory workers.

The campaign was touched off by the Red Cross, which has been distributing some food, the welfare agency, and the Parent-Teacher Association.

SIX PUPILS ILL

Virginia Carrington, principal at the Nipomo migratory workers' school, said at least 6 of her 100 pupils had been ill from hunger.

"It is hard to tell, however," she said. "Children can hold up pretty well. When they do feel hungry, we send them out for a drink of water. That helps them for a half hour. Then they must go out again."

"You see," she explained, "many of the families are living on a diet of flour and water with which they make a kind of gravy. Some of them do not even have that."

Mrs. Carrington said the Red Cross had been wonderful. It is issuing food to the families, she said, "but there are so many to feed."

OTHER COMPLICATIONS

Ralph Wilson, director of the county welfare department, said his hands were tied because of lack of funds. He said the situation was further complicated by unemployment caused by the shutdown by the Army of nearby Camp Roberts and Camp San Luis Obispo.

"We have been running about $5,000 in the red each month just trying to take care of the people out of work who live in the county," he said.

"To do anything for the agricultural workers would be impossible without special funds from the board of supervisors," he added.

To become eligible for county welfare aid, families normally are required to have lived in the county for 1 year.

The workers started arriving here about 2 weeks ago to take part in the 6-week pea-picking season. They have had only a total of from 4 to 6 days' work since then because of rain.

RAIN RETURNS

Pickers got in 5 hours of work in the fields yesterday and, for a time, hopes were high that the worst was over.

Today, however, disconsolate groups of men huddled about the camps as the rain returned and a downpour kept them from the fields.

The pea-picking season is the only time there is a considerable congregation of migratory workers in this area, Wilson said. "They come all the way from Arizona for it."

He said he had furnished social workers to help distribute any food newspaper stories may bring in.

"Something's got to be done right away," he said. "That's for sure."

On Book Burning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting at this point an article that appeared in a recent issue of the Wall Street Journal entitled "The Banning of Books."

This article points out that the United States Information Service does not appear ready and willing to remove Communist propaganda. However, it bans books written by the junior Senator from Wisconsin attacking communism, but the United States Information Service seems to be playing cozy on that issue. The article follows:

THE BANNING OF BOOKS

Last June there was a great hullabaloo raised about book burning. The clamor started when Senator McCARTHY charged that the overseas libraries contained some books written by Communists. Senator McCARTHY's revelation resulted in the removal of some of these books, and there were loud outcries in the press and elsewhere about the sacredness of the written word, the hunting of witches, and the burning of books.

Well, the United States Information Agency has now banned two books written by Senator McCARTHY. They are judged not suitable reading for the purposes of the program, and if any overseas library possesses these books they will be removed forthwith from the shelves.

And we haven't heard a word about book burning.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Prize-Winning Essay of Miss Sigrid Jan Larson in the Pakistan a Friendly Nation Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, recently the Embassy of Pakistan conducted a nationwide contest on Pakistan, a Friendly Nation. The Embassy of Pakistan offered as a prize to the high-school boy and girl writing the best essay a 30-day trip to Pakistan and return, all expenses paid.

I am proud of the fact that a Kansas girl, Miss Sigrid Jan Larson, a senior in the Topeka High School, won first place in the contest for the girls. Miss Jan is the daughter of a Washburn University law professor and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Larson, of Topeka, Kans. I congratulate Miss Jan on the excellent essay she wrote, and I also congratulate her on receiving this splendid trip.

It is most encouraging when one finds that our youth is taking an interest in the problems of the world. It is my hope that the present and future generations will learn how to live together with peoples of the world, and to do a better job than we who are older have done.

Miss Larson's essay is so well written and contains so many items of interest, that I now ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, in order that other Members of the Senate may read it.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAKISTAN ESSAY CONTEST

(By Sigrid Jan Larson, of Topeka High School, Topeka, Kans.)

Altaf glanced at the billboard showing the face of Quad-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah looking beseechingly down at the road, imploring his people to buy government bonds. The leader of the nation, the guide of the people, and the architect of Pakistan had left the Muslim world long since. But to Altaf and others like him milling in the road below, this man was and is the symbol of an ideal. He conceived and created the greatest Muslim state. He was always a source of inspiration to his people as is so clearly shown in the words of his last message:

"Nature has given you everything, you have got unlimited resources. The foundation of your state has been laid and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you godspeed."

Looming high above the billboard and the surrounding rooftops was the slender minaret. Noon was approaching and the muezzin would soon mount to the second balcony to give his call to prayer. "A great and wondrous religion," though Altaf, for he was thinking of the supreme gift of Islam—the ideal of unity, not only of God, but also the unity of mankind, which made every true believer a soldier in an army, a universal and international army. It was a wonderful feeling of strength and security that accompanied being a part of something so vast and so invincible.

Altaf paused a moment at the east gate of the city, finding it hard to walk quickly over this threshold. His memory recreated the image of the refugees who had set up their feeble camp of makeshift tents here shortly after partition. The space of a few years had not blurred the scene of destitution, disease, and the grief on the face of the people. The refugees were gone now. Somehow, the infant government had managed to absorb the millions of Muslims who had flew to the promised land.

He remembered the shock and amazement he had felt at the sudden appearance of women volunteers at that time. They had rallied to the appeal made by Pakistan's Women's Volunteer Service and by their miraculous accomplishments, had elevated the status of women considerably. Formerly, women had always remained within the confines of the home. Now they were learning to be doctors, nurses, and teachers and were training for many trades and businesses. There were even some women politicians. "Well," thought Altaf reluctantly, "that's progress."

The sound of the rhythmical cough of a sugarcane mill accompanied the middle-aged farmer on his walk homeward. Altaf slowed his pace in order to admire his own small fields, the symbol of his independence, the livelihood of his family, and the master of his fate. The land was aglow with the golden color of wheat. A smile crossed his face as he thought of the bumper crop he expected. It would not be like last year, with an abundance of unsalable cotton and a wheat crop destroyed by drought.

Like so many other Pakistani farmers, Altaf had been attracted by the high prices brought about by the Korean war and had planted a much larger share of his land in cash crops. With the drop in world prices coinciding with the ruinous drought, Pakistan faced widespread depression and even starvation. However, emergency aid from the United States and Britain saw her through the immediate crisis and with this help the Government make an all-out effort to restore the food-crop balance in farming. The country was now on an economic upgrade, for after agricultural strength was assured, small industries began to appear throughout the land.

The afternoon sun was making itself known as usual. The heat came up to meet Altaf's face and the sun scorched his back. He looked at the irrigation ditches that lined the road. Their little trickle of lifegiving water was a never-ending source of worry and fear to Altaf. Again the question came to his mind, "What could I do without this water?" The terrifying picture of dying vegetation, of a fertile field returning to desert and of the face of a starving child—his child, brought deep lines to his face.

He knew that with India in control of the Indus Water Basin, or of Kashmir, their water supply could be cut off at any moment. He also knew that if the movements to settle the disputes peaceably did not succeed there would surely be war. Altaf had always felt that war was wrong. He had often said to his wife that he was a simple man who asked little of life for himself. But he wanted his children to be free; free from want, from ignorance, from oppression and persecution. Gladly would he die to assure his children these freedoms. War was wrong but he would fight for what was right.

India claims the right to the Indus River Basin because the rivers rise in her territory. Naturally this seems rather unreasonable to Altaf and millions of other farmers like him who are so dependent upon this water.

Equally unreasonable seems the dispute over Kashmir. International prestige appears to be the dominant factor in India's claim to the princely state rather than any major economic, strategic, or social significance, as it is to Pakistan. Altaf shuddered at the thought of Kashmir under Hindu rule, for four-fifths of the country's population believed in Islam. Since the Indus and Sutlej Rivers flow through India-held Kashmir and the Jhelum River rises in that country, the significance of a free and impartial plebiscite is of even greater proportion. From a strategic point of view, a Pakistan without Kashmir would be virtually undefended.

As is the custom in many Pakistan communities, the farmers who lived in and around the village met to talk of an evening beneath the branches of the old pipal tree. On this evening as Altaf approached the group he noticed a young stranger who was the center of attention. Inquiry revealed him to be a student just returned from America where he had been studying agricultural methods at a Kansas college. Some of the youth's western mannerisms kept Altaf occupied for awhile and then he heard, "But machines, irrigation, hybrids, yes; what of the people in the States?"

The student turned to the man who had spoken. He smiled to himself for a moment and then said, simply, "Like you."

A questioning murmur ran through the group until the student said softly, "Let me tell you what I told Americans when they asked me about you. First, I told them of Islam. They can understand our religion, because they, too, worship one God, as we worship Allah. Then I told them of our struggle for independence, of Quaid-i-Azam, of our common dream of becoming a third force in the world and of protecting the rights of men too long neglected in South Asia. These things too, they understand, because they have struggled for freedom and independence; they revere great leaders called Washington and Lincoln; they will fight to protect the rights of men. In America, the dignity and the rights of an individual are as precious as they are to us here in Pakistan. I told them of our great ability and willingness to work hard and of our progress and achievements. Their response was respect and admiration. Americans find it easy to identify themselves with a young and virile nation. Then I told them about my people. Most of all, they respond to the democratic spirit of our people. I am sure you would be amazed at the number of Americans who would say, 'Why they are just like us.'"

The musical murmur of the Hookah pipe softly filled the evening air. The prevailing silence indicated the independent thinking going on in the minds of the men. Altaf looked at those about him in a new light.

"The democratic spirit of the people" were the words that awakened a thought in his mind. He smiled at Ali, his nearest neighbor, and Ali smiled too. The unspoken greeting conveyed the pride they felt in their country and the feeling of unity that stems from a common faith, a common goal, and a common belief in the dignity of man. Altaf expressed the thought that had come to his mind, "a nation is as its people; America, a friendly nation and Pakistan, a friendly nation."

And with the renewed hope and courage Altaf walked home to his wife and children.

Pakistan: A Friendly Nation—A Prize-Winning Essay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, recently a 17-year-old Texan, Michael Grady Woods, of Taylor, won a nationwide essay contest on the subject Pakistan: A Friendly Nation. We Texans are rightly proud of Michael Grady Woods. This young Taylor high-school boy has displayed a capacity for thought which many of his elders could well envy. Even more encouraging is this demonstration that the youth of our Nation are thinking about serious problems of the day.

I ask unanimous consent that his essay be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAKISTAN ESSAY CONTEST

(By Michael Grady Woods, of Taylor High School, Taylor, Tex.)

The South Asian link in the chain of democracy around the Soviet Empire so salient to the free world today at last seems about to be forged.

Pakistan, lusty Islamic infant of the Orient, has in little of 6 years beaten down the threats of religious and economic chaos to its 76 million people and has emerged as a power much to be reckoned with not only in its own explosive subcontinent but in the international cold-war situation in toto. Nevertheless, the nation has a long road to travel before industrial, financial, and political stability can be attained. The country's major problems—religious fanaticism, the Kashmir and Indus Basin water disputes with India, and a glaring lack of mineral resources and modern industry—are complicated by the apalling illiteracy rate (86.2 percent) and the semifeudal system existing in many of the provinces.

But in most cases Pakistan has ignored the experts' pessimism and has made astounding progress in dehorning a great many of her dilemmas. The West has every reason to see in this eastern titan a powerful ally in her struggle for existence with the corrupted communism of the Soviet world. To the United States the young Republic is perhaps more than that. The mystic, incomprehensible mirror of the East has at last yielded an image in which the American can for the first time see something of himself, a reflection of his own basic ideas and conflicts.

The conditions for a friendly relationship between two nations do not differ from those concerning people. There must at first be common interests in basic ideas and principles of existence. The two parties must be generally concurrent on their aims and ambitions and the methods of obtaining their goals. Very essentially, they must be interested in one another's welfare, and there must be an understanding of the mores which inevitably will differ between the two. Demonstrations of the friendship, such as lending of food or arms, will come later, after the fundamental kinship has been established. The ties between the United States and Pakistan are perhaps the strongest that have ever existed between two nations so far removed geographically.

The religious protestantism which played so signal a role in the founding of the United States was an even stronger motivating factor in the establishment of a separate Muslim nation on the Indian subcontinent. The two great faiths of the world, Christianity and Islam, which sprang centuries ago from the hill country of Judea, are the foundations on which rest the present United States Constitution and the Pakistani document that is in the making. A strict moral code and a sense of duty to God and to country compose the underlying philosophy of both countries' governments.

The Muslim people of all nations, comprising the largest religious sect ever known, have always felt themselves destined to a prominent position among the powers of the world, but through the ages the people have not shown a willingness to work for this position, nor have their leaders evinced a desire to make the necessary sacrifices. However, the philosophy of working for what you want, which helped carve from the vast wilderness of the Western World the greatest people's republic in the history of mankind, is also a dominant characteristic of the average Pakistani. Thus does another communion of ideas form a bond between these two peoples of East and West.

The industrial Pakistani takes great pride in his home, his village, his province, and now at last—his nation. The fire of nationalism has been spreading rapidly in the newly born Republic, but the Government is confronted with many states rights problems which Americans ought well to be able to understand and recognize as powerful factors in their own turbulent history. It must be remembered that it has taken 250 years, some of them bloody ones, for the United States to achieve its present state of patriotism to a strong Central Government.

Who can tell? Perhaps this camaraderie will be one of the first to rise above the age-old quid pro quo alliance and the governments will act toward one another as their religions demand the individual act. Thornton Wilder's planetary mind could also be developing on the opposite side of the world.

So it may be that Pakistan, child among nations, will find a godfather in the United States of America, which is always looking for another land where the principles of democracy, fraternity, and tolerance flourish. As the planetary mind might reason. Praise God, praise Allah; for who is to say that They are not one and the same?

The Aroma of Decency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Aroma of Decency," by Mr. John Crosby, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 19, 1954.

The article refers to certain recent statements of my colleague, the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], as "one of the greatest experiences television has ever offered."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO AND TELEVISION

(By John Crosby)

THE AROMA OF DECENCY

Well, it's the only thing anyone is interested in, so let's have at it again.

In Edward R. Murrow's second See It Now program devoted to Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, the star witness was Annie Lee Moss, an earnest, humble, scared Negro woman who had ben suspended from her job in the Army because she had been accused by MCCARTHY of being a member of the Communist Party. She denied this simply, earnestly, humbly. At the end of her testimony Senator SYMINGTON said: "I may be sticking my neck out, but I believe you."

At the end of Ed Murrow's program I guess everyone did. It was impossible not to. A friend of mine named Peter Lind Hayes, who happened to be watching the show with me, made a great remark: "This is the most dangerous woman in America." And without having any idea that she was so damaging, she was.

Here was a woman who had been deprived of her job on the flimsiest pretext, who earnestly denied that she had ever been a Communist, who had to have the meaning of the word espionage explained to her, who could barely read (though that great phony MCCARTHY had intimated she was stealing code secrets). I greatly doubt whether Annie Lee Moss knows she has any rights. Yet they were being so clearly violated in front of our very eyes that she won every heart.

And then there came a point in this broadcast which is one of the greatest experiences television has ever offered. That came when Senator MCCLELLAN began to rumble with indignation over the clear transgressions of this woman's rights. For the first time in a long time an American Senator began to act like an American (rather than whatever MCCARTHY acts like) and get damned angry about individuals who get pushed around.

At the very end, when Senator SYMINGTON leaned forward and said to Annie Lee Moss that, if she could not find a job, he would give her one—right there history turned a small but important corner. Here, for a change, was a Senator who wanted to give a woman a job, not to take it away. Here, for a change, was a Senator who said, "I trust you," not "I don't trust you." Here, for God's sake, was affirmation on which this country was founded rather than fear, suspicion, and hatred. Here was a man who was trying to help a woman, not to hurt her.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." JOE MCCARTHY would very probably like to imply (as he clearly implies about the fifth amendment) that that was written by Lenin, but it was written by Thomas Jefferson, and it is the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. When Thomas Jefferson wrote it the phrase "pursuit of happiness" meant simply the right to hold a job—the right to earn a living.

The American people fought a revolution to defend, among other things, the right of Annie Lee Moss to earn a living, and Senator MCCARTHY now decided she had no such right. It's about time MCCARTHY was labeled for what he is—a subversive who is

trying to undermine the very cornerstone of our country.

When Senator McCLELLAN started to defend Annie Lee Moss' right and when Senator SYMINGTON said, "I believe you," the sweet, clean aroma of decency filled the room—and the aroma of decency has been missing for a long time. The shocking thing about Senator McCARTHY and about this horrible mess with the Army is that it is indecent, and Americans are not indecent people. (And when I get called before a congressional committee for that remark the end is in sight.)

One other thing: Roy Cohn was on Meet the Press the other day, and for the second time they let him slip through their fingers. There is only one question to ask Roy Cohn in his dispute with the Army, and that is one of veracity. There is no other issue. Why didn't someone on the panel ask: "Why—since Senator McCARTHY has clearly been proved a liar on half a dozen occasions—should anyone take his word over anyone else's—including Annie Lee Moss?"

Especially Annie Lee Moss.

The Madness of War in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial of recent date entitled "The Madness of War in the Atomic Age," written by Fred Burdick.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MADNESS OF WAR IN THE ATOMIC AGE
(By Fred Burdick)

Top scientists and military authorities agree that civilization, if not humanity, could be destroyed in an all-out, scientific, germ, poison, chemical, A- and H-bomb world war. Under such circumstances it is obvious that for any nation to start or risk starting a third world war is madness. A terrible responsibility rests upon those who make policies relating to peace preservation and avoidance of war. We need to reduce the problem realistically down to the individual.

No normal person would consider deliberately killing with a bomb or mutilating or burning to death a mother with babe in arms. And yet modern war means just that multiplied by millions of such instances. We are prone to think of war in the abstract, but we need to reflect on war in all its horrifying, terrifying, diabolical, inhumane, barbarous realities.

For supporting testimony that war in the atomic age is madness we need only quote from statements of President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson:

"President EISENHOWER. I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity. Modern war does not differentiate between fighting men and the helpless child. It combines fortifications and schools and factories into a first priority bomb target.

"The products of war have always been suffering, hunger, and death. Destruction of cities is a return to barbarism. There are no difficulties among nations that require war for their settlement.

"The stake in this (peace) campaign is civilization, and it is rapidly becoming humanity's existence. We can make of this world a flowering garden or a sterile desert. The Golden Rule of human conduct applies equally to nations. Resort to force • • • can only result in even more acute problems."

"ADLAI STEVENSON. Wars have been avoided by patience and many have been precipitated by reckless haste. War in the atomic age would destroy what we seek to preserve—the spirit and material foundation of a free society. Freedom, unlike tyranny, cannot be imposed by force. In arms race lies bankruptcy or world catastrophe.

"There is no evil in the atom; only in men's souls. Coexistence is not passive acceptance of things as they are. It involves negotiation and adjustment, but not appeasement. Peace cannot be won as war is won.

"We can win the war against war because we must. Any great institution (U. N.) must suffer the pains of birth and growth. (Asian upheaval) desire decent living and freedom. Land reform is fundamental to the problem of Asia. Atomic energy can make world a desert or deserts to bloom. War provides no answer."

Communist Economic Espionage Aimed at United States Firms From Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I wish to make a matter of official record a warning contained in a news report from Munich, Germany, originating with the Herald Tribune news service, and published in the Council Bluffs Nonpareil, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, on March 18. The report warns that Soviet economic espionage, operating through Communist-controlled Polish trading firms and their commercial agents abroad, aims at securing samples of our most precious strategic materials, apparently for use in research and experimentation behind the Iron Curtain.

The article names 10 leading American industrial corporations as the main targets of the plan to obtain valuable technical material for Soviet Russia. The list includes steel and zinc manufacturers and producers of rare plastic molding compounds.

While I assume that these and other companies have already been notified by the appropriate Federal agency, I believe the matter of sufficient public concern to warrant asking unanimous consent that the article referred to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLISH ESPIONAGE IS AIMED AT UNITED STATES—MANUFACTURERS ARE PRINCIPAL TARGETS

MUNICH, GERMANY.—Moscow's satellite regime in Poland is reported here to have been assigned the task of spearheading Communist economic espionage against the United States and Western Europe on behalf of the Governments of Russia and Communist China.

Polish trading firms with headquarters in Warsaw are known, from close observations of their activities in Western capitals, to be using the Communist bloc's growing East-West trade offensive as an umbrella for obtaining limited quantities or samples of a wide variety of the most precious strategic materials in western markets.

A sizable number of important American manufacturers are reported to be among the principal targets of the Polish espionage setup, which is being aided by a network of agents of many nationalities.

METAL PRODUCTS

Instructions to Poland to step up its search for strategic metal products of leading American firms appear to have been issued in the middle of last year.

The Warsaw firm Impexmetal instructed its international representatives—particularly those in South America—to attempt to obtain small quantities, or samples, of a variety of items produced by such companies as these:

Bethlehem Steel Co., Bethlehem, Pa.; Republic Steel Corp., Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio; Lukens Steel Co., Coatesville, Pa.; Illinois Zinc Co., Chicago; and New Jersey Zinc Co., New York.

Simultaneously, the Warsaw firm Ciech sent out orders for samples or scraps of rare plastic molding compounds and other products made by United States firms including:

The Celotex Corp., Chicago; Rohm & Haas Co., Philadelphia; the B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio; Hercules Powder Co., Wilmington, Del.; and Celanese Corporation of America, New York.

STRATEGY STUDY

Extensive documentation of the specific Polish objectives, containing hundreds of precise details, have been compiled at the Munich headquarters of Radio Free Europe, an American-financed organization which conducts a constant European-wide study of Communist political and economic strategy.

In many cases, the quantities of the rare materials and products sought by the Poles are so small that it is assumed the Communist bloc desires them for research and experimentation.

In the case of the smallest quantities, they are known in many instances to be handed over by the Polish commercial agents to Warsaw's diplomats throughout the world for transport behind the Iron Curtain by diplomatic courier. Several other means of smuggling are also employed.

No explanation is available for the choice of the Warsaw regime by Moscow and Peiping as the principal instrument for this type of operation in the West. Previously, the Czechoslovak Communist regime in Prague was the favored Kremlin agent in this domain.

Dairymen Vow United Drive Against Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Dairymen Vow United Drive Against Surpluses," by Alfred D. Stedman, published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of March 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAIRYMEN VOW UNITED DRIVE AGAINST SURPLUSES

(By Alfred D. Stedman)

Taking a solemn oath with uplifted glasses of milk in right hands, 100 Minnesota dairy representatives enlisted Friday afternoon in a united effort to get farm and city consumers to drink and eat up the milk and dairy surplus.

Launched under leadership of the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation, the program aims to increase the consumption of milk and dairy products so the Government's equivalent of 8 billion pounds of milk holdings will vanish and dairymen can thrive in a surplus-free market once more.

One after another, dairy experts supplied the Hotel Lowry kickoff luncheon with details of how the milk and butter surplus can be consumed through better markets, better selling, improved quality, increased availability, lower consumer costs and improved public relations and understanding between Mr. Farmer and Mrs. Housewife. President James L. Morton, of the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation, presided. Two big points experts developed were:

1. If consumers last year had kept their consumption per person of fluid milk up to the levels of a few years ago, they would have drunk up all the milk that went into excess butter, cheese, and powdered milk that now is on the Government's hands.

2. Two extra patties a week of butter per person in this country could make the butter surplus disappear.

Though nothing was said about Secretary of Agriculture Benson's 15 percent cut in dairy price supports, scheduled for April 1, the luncheon meeting made clear the Minnesota dairy industry's determination, whatever may be the outcome on price supports, to do its utmost toward helping itself through to a better day.

MARKET SEARCH URGED

Finding more markets for Minnesota's pure milk through enactment of the Andresen bill knocking out Federal, State, and city barriers against it was one possibility emphasized by J. Delbert Wells, Farm Bureau secretary.

Greatly expanding the use of milk-vending machines was another opportunity explained by Ed Tiedeman, American Farm Bureau Federation dairy specialist. R. H. Bonde, in charge of vending-machine distribution for Land O' Lakes Creameries, Inc., told of that co-op's impressive gains in such distribution.

Use of other economical methods of milk distribution through gallon milk containers, half gallon cartons, and the Elwell plan of large bargain price differentials on additional quarts was explained by Tiedeman, Dr. E. Fred Kohler of the University of Minnesota and others. The need for expanding dairy markets is "dreadfully serious," Dr. Kohler said.

The place of advertising, education, public relations, and dynamic promotional work was explored by Governor Anderson; Lew Conlon, manager of the Minnesota Dairy Industries committee; W. S. Moscrip, chairman; and Verlon Welch, secretary of the Minesota Livestock Breeders Association.

THREE POINTS

Warned Tiedeman: A poor product can't be sold at any price; a product can't be sold at an unrealistically high price, and a product can't expect to move in maximum volume unless it is readily available to consumers.

Culling out low-producing cows and getting rid of bad butter were emphasized by him as essential to hold down surpluses.

And on the point of not antagonizing consumers with bad butter, State Commissioner Myron Clark told how, starting July 1, Wisconsin is requiring the grading and labeling of all butter. Thus, consumers will be put on notice when and if they buy any butter that is too poor to be graded. Sections of the Minnesota dairy industry have long demanded bad butter be outlawed, but not all creameries have gone along.

The dairy pledge spoken by all present said:

"I do hereby pledge my wholehearted and enthusiastic support in the promotion of all dairy products. I will, at every opportunity, do all within my power to further promote the use and consumption of milk, butter, cheese, and all other high-quality nutritional dairy products—in order to insure my own and the Nation's health and well-being, and to add to the stability and security of the great allied industry of dairying, so help me, God."

TVA Criticism at Paducah Answered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by a distinguished reporter, Mr. Marshall McNeil, with reference to criticism of the TVA, which appeared in the Memphis Press-Scimitar.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TVA CRITICISM AT PADUCAH ANSWERED—PRIVATE POWER, THOUGH, DISAPPOINTMENT

(By Marshall McNeil)

WASHINGTON.—The Atomic Energy Commissioner responsible for private power interests being called upon to furnish electricity to the AEC plant at Paducah, Ky., conceded today he is disappointed that the private venture has not turned out better.

But he still believes that to have called upon private power interests is a good thing for the country because it gives the vital AEC plant the added security of having available two independent sources of electricity.

The commissioner, Thomas E. Murray, expressed his views in replying to a letter from this reporter. Thus he answered for the first time complaints made by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and by others in its behalf. In the TVA the private power interests' venture at Paducah is known as the Ebasco Fiasco.

The statement by Murray is important for an additional reason. The President has called upon AEC to try to get private interests to assume a part of the powerload now borne by TVA. He would, in this way, release from 400,000 to 600,000 kilowatts of TVA power for it to channel into normal peacetime uses in the valley.

The plan is vigorously opposed by some TVA supporters on the grounds that the performance of private interests at Paducah shows AEC has to pay much more for power from this source than from TVA. Moreover, they argue, after the Government pays for the privately owned plants through high rates, the plants remain in private hands. TVA plants, they point out, are and remain Government property.

Presumably, Commissioner Murray is now trying to negotiate with private interests to furnish the AEC with the additional 400,000 to 600,000 kilowatts of power by fiscal 1956. But whatever he is doing is hidden behind AEC's characteristic secrecy, although various officials there concede that no questions of security are involved.

Gordon Clapp, Chairman of TVA, told the Paducah power story at the University of Chicago February 17, during a series of lectures on public power and his agency.

He explained that when AEC started its Paducah gaseous diffusion plant TVA was asked to furnish it with power. Then, suddenly, TVA was called upon to furnish only half the AEC power requirements. Commissioner Murray had arranged for several private power companies to organize a new company, Electric Energy, Inc., to provide the other half of the electricity required.

TVA started its Shawnee steam plant on one side of the Ohio, and EE, Inc., started its Joppa plant just across the river. Their construction was hailed as a race, but not by TVA.

Chairman Clapp told his lecture audience that TVA's plant produced power ahead of Joppa. He recalled that EE, Inc., canceled its contract with Ebasco Services, general contractor on the Joppa plant, "in order to permit reorganization of the construction project so that the station can be completed on a more efficient and economical basis."

He said the estimated cost of the private company Joppa plant of 4 original generating units increased "some 45 percent—from $81 million in May 1951 to $118 million in June 1953." He said the cost per kilowatt of capacity increased over the original EE, Inc., estimate of $126 to $184. He said 2 more units to be added at Joppa show estimates even higher—$198 per kilowatt.

"The taxpayers bought this record," Clapp said, "and they will have to pay for it; the private companies lost nothing because these increased costs are paid by AEC."

Commissioner Murray was sent a copy of Clapp's Chicago lecture last February 19, and asked to comment. In a letter dated March 17, he replied, saying that the delay had been occasioned because he had "been out in the Pacific"—presumably at the latest atomic tests.

Murray's letter continued: "Certainly I had hoped that the EEI effort would turn out better. However, I benefit to the country from this arrangement—the added security which accrues from the availability of 2 independent power supplies for this vital production plant—is still there."

Comments With Reference to Senator McClellan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Washington Sunday Star of March 21, 1954 by Mr. Cecil Holland, regarding my colleague, the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN].

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCCLELLAN IS HELPING CUT MCCARTHY DOWN TO SIZE

(By Cecil Holland)

If Senator MCCARTHY should ever be retired to one of his early pursuits as a Wisconsin chicken farmer, and should take the

time to muse on the turning point in his tempestuous Senate career.

Well, it's just possible he might look back to the time he crossed with the dour-appearing but pleasant and soft-spoken Senator McCLELLAN, Democrat, of Arkansas.

Things have never been quite the same for the rambunctious Wisconsin Republican since Senator McCLELLAN led Democratic members off the Senate Investigating subcommittee last year. In the passing months some of the Senator's footing with the Senate and the public, never too solid at best, seemed to slip away.

RICOCHET M'CARTHY

To be sure, Senator McCARTHY made a great show of getting along without the Democrats. Acting largely as a one-man subcommittee (other Republican members were occupied elsewhere), the Senator went on with hearings, closed and public, which grabbed front-page headlines across the country. With one sensational charge after another that were never backed up in hearings, Senator McCARTHY cut a wide swath, uninhibited and unrestrained by the sober counsel that might have been provided if Senator McCLELLAN had remained on the subcommittee.

All the while, there were being sown the seeds of Senator McCARTHY's present controversy with the Army—the embroglio that has brought the Wisconsin Republican to a major crisis in his career.

Now Senator McCLELLAN is back on the subcommittee, with the other two Democrats who walked off—Senators SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and JACKSON, of Washington. Inevitably he will play a leading role in the subcommittee's investigation of the charges and countercharges between Senator McCARTHY and the Army.

The next chapter in the McCarthy-Army controversy opens next Tuesday in the Senate Office Building. Then the subcommittee meets to approve a special counsel selected by Senator MUNDT, Republican, of South Dakota, and Senator McCLELLAN, to assist in the inquiry.

The 58-year-old farm-born Senator said the controversy is of such serious nature and proportions that the public must be given all the facts regardless of the persons involved. By his position as the ranking Democratic member of the subcommittee, by his standing in the Senate itself, and by a legal background which includes 4 years as a prosecuting attorney in Arkansas, Senator McCLELLAN is in a position to see that all the facts are brought out.

Senator McCLELLAN is identified with the conservative Southern Democratic wing in the Senate which, more often than not, has given most effective support in a quiet way to congressional exposures of the dangers of communism. Along with that, however, goes an abiding regard, as with most conservatives, for the rule of law and reason within the framework of the Bill of Rights—even in exposing Communists.

LAWYER AT 17

With Senator McCLELLAN that attitude traces itself back to his boyhood days in Arkansas. After attending public schools he studied law in the office of his father, Isaac McClellan, and passed the bar examinations when he was only 17. A special act of the Arkansas Legislature was required to permit him to practice before reaching 21.

From 1926 to 1930 he was an Arkansas prosecuting attorney. In 1934 he was elected to Congress and served two consecutive terms. After private practice of law for 2 years, he was elected to the Senate in 1942.

His Senate career (he's up for reelection this year) has been marked for the most part with appropriations and Government reorganization matters which allowed little opportunity to display his talents for infighting which became apparent in the run-in with Senator McCARTHY last year. Senator McCLELLAN is a strong advocate of economy in the Government and, with other southern Democrats, has maintained a watchful eye on any civil-rights proposals. At present he is 1 of 3 Democrats serving on 3 major Senate committees—Appropriations, Judiciary, and Government Operations.

Senator McCLELLAN views the current McCARTHY-Army controversy as a vindication of the position taken by the Democrats when they walked off Senator McCARTHY's investigating subcommittee last summer. That was in protest against the action of the GOP members of the subcommittee in the aftermath of the J. B. Matthews controversy. The Republicans voted Senator McCARTHY full authority over hiring and firing the subcommittee staff. The Democrats returned to the subcommittee in January after the rule was rescinded.

"It is very regrettable and unfortunate that this controversy has arisen," Senator McCLELLAN said. "But it should be kept in mind that all the events and circumstances occurred during that period in which the Democrats were resigned in protest of the obnoxious rule adopted by the Republican members, vesting in the chairman the sole and exclusive right to hire and discharge staff members."

As a former committee chairman himself, Senator McCLELLAN recognizes the scope and authority exercised by the head of a senatorial committee. But he is equally sure that each member of the committee shares a measure of responsibility with the chairman.

THE MOSS CASE

Since returning to the subcommittee, Senator McCLELLAN has shown that he has not approved of the way the subcommittee's investigations have been conducted. He revealed this in a pointed way in the recent public hearing in the Annie Lee Moss case.

After Mrs. Moss, a suspended Pentagon code clerk, had denied Senator McCARTHY's charges of Communist connection, Roy M. Cohn, the 27-year-old subcommittee counsel involved with Senator McCARTHY in the Army controversy, sought to show that secret testimony had been given showing, in fact, that the woman had attended Communist meetings.

Senator McCLELLAN quickly interrupted and lashed out at convicting people by "hearsay" evidence. He demanded that the testimony be produced and said that if it couldn't be Mr. Cohn should never have referred to it in a public session. When the Arkansas Senator had finished, the subcommittee's young counsel, usually fast with a reply, was left without a word to say.

Senator McCLELLAN also has indicated that he will insist on confirmation by the full subcommittee of Senator McCARTHY's appointments to the staff. Such a move bodes more trouble for young Mr. Cohn.

But those are matters which must await the public airing of the McCarthy-Army controversy. At Senator McCLELLAN's insistence, that has been given priority over all other subcommittee business.

THE VERACITY ISSUE

That investigation involves veracity. The Army has charged that Senator McCARTHY and Mr. Cohn exerted pressure to obtain special treatment for Army Pvt. G. David Schine, wealthy young New Yorker and former unpaid subcommittee consultant. Denying this, Senator McCARTHY and Mr. Cohn accused Secretary of the Army Stevens and John G. Adams, Army counsel, of using blackmail to head off an investigation of Communists in uniform. They also said Mr. Stevens and Mr. Adams sought to turn the inquiry to other branches of the armed services.

"In view of the serious charges made by the Army against members of the staff and the chairman of the committee and the countercharges made by them against the Army," said Senator McCLELLAN, "it is now this committee's responsibility to investigate the controversy in public hearings to hear sworn testimony from all persons involved and others who may have information.

"We must undertake to reveal to the Senate and to the public the full truth and disclose all that is false."

Senator McCLELLAN regards the controversy as something far more than a dispute between Senator McCARTHY and Mr. Cohn, on one hand, and the Army on the other.

"In a measure," the Senator said, "the charges against the chairman and the subcommittee staff reflect upon the integrity of the Senate, and certainly the accusations against the Army very definitely reflect upon the integrity of its administration, both of which are vital.

"This is an unpleasant task confronting the committee. But the job must be done without regard to any person involved."

Promises Are Being Kept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in more than 70 years a complete codification and revision of the Internal Revenue Code was passed by the House of Representatives. Savings to American taxpayers as a result of this measure, if it also passes the Senate, will amount to $1,300,000,000. Of this savings, $778 million is for individuals and the remainder, $612 million, is tax relief for business.

Space does not permit a complete review of the bill. It should be pointed out, however, that corporation taxes, originally scheduled by former Congresses to be reduced to 47 percent on April 1, are to be continued at the rate of 52 percent for another year, thus making it possible to reduce many personal taxes for the average person. Such matters as permitting additional deductions for medical expenses; allowing a $600 exemption to a widow or widower to pay for the care of children while the wage earner is employed; granting parents the right to a $600 exemption for an employed child under 18 and students over 18 so long as the parents provide 50 percent or more for the support of the child, giving foster children the same exemptions as blood related or legally adopted children; exempting the first $1,200 of income of retired school teachers and public employees; and a host of other good and helpful provisions—all designed to correct inequities and benefit the average person.

The approval of the section easing taxes on retirement income credit means a saving of $125 million to all retired people, including school teachers, firemen, policemen, and civil servants. This

allows them to exempt $1,200 of retirement income.

Also of much interest to me was approval of the section giving aid to farmers to the tune of about $10 million annually. The bill allows deductions up to 25 percent of farm income allowed for soil- and water-conservation expense. Another important saving will come to those who are entitled to include depreciation of machinery, including farm equipment, in their income-tax reports. This will mean a saving to individuals of about $75 million.

CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE

Since the Eisenhower administration took over, the total tax-cut program has brought savings to American taxpayers $7,300,000,000. Of this amount, individuals received an overall tax saving of $4,700,000,00. The tax savings surpass any previous total in the history of Congress.

EXCISE TAXES

The excise-tax-reduction bill passed by the House on March 10 saves taxpayers an additional $912 million annually. Under this bill as approved by the House the savings to the people in the several categories are estimated as follows:

Item	Former rate	New rate	Savings
	Percent	*Percent*	*Millions*
Telephone, telegraph, etc.	25–15	10	$300
Transportation of people	15	10	96
Admissions	20	10	175
Club dues, initiation fees	20	10	19
Furs	20	10	20
Jewelry	20	10	100
Luggage—hand bags	20	10	40
Cosmetics	20	10	55
Sporting goods	15	10	3
Mechanical pens, pencils, and lighters	15	10	4
Electric light bulbs	20	10	20
Cameras, films, etc.	20	10	15
Pistols, firearms, ammunition	11	10	1
Leases of safety deposit boxes	20	10	5
Total savings to taxpayers			912

Yes; the Eisenhower administration is hewing closely to its pledge to the American people. There is economy in government and there will be more. The irresponsible "tax and spend, spend and tax" days are gone. We are on the road to solvency again.

District of Columbia Public Works Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8097) to authorize the financing of a program of public-works construction for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS].

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I would like to address myself for a moment or two to the closing remarks of my good friend the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. MILLER]. He said, "Let us go ahead and pass this bill and send it over to the Senate. Let them work on it over there, and then when we get it back perhaps we will have something we can do something with," or words to that effect. That seems to me to be a complete abdication of our responsibilities. Of course, when a bill goes over to the other body it is not going to come up over there under a gag rule; it is going to come up there so that any Member of that body can offer any amendment that he sees fit to. But here, and, of course, I admit to a degree that the bill has many commendable features, although it also has some very objectionable features, we are asked either to take it or leave it, without a chance to do anything about eliminating the objectionable parts.

I submit to you that the sales tax on food is one of the most vicious forms of taxation that you can devise. Any tax expert or anyone who has studied taxes will say if you have to impose a sales tax exempt the family market basket from it.

We have had a good deal of experience with the sales tax in the State of Ohio. It brings in a considerable portion of our revenues for the political subdivisions and for schools. When that tax was first imposed in Ohio many years ago along at the beginning of the depression in the early thirties it was a general 3-percent sales tax. Over the years experience taught us that we would have a better tax structure if we would eliminate food from taxation and that was done. Also we eliminated the tax on all articles under 40 cents, because we found that the cost of collection was not commensurate with the return. They found that the sales tax has yielded more revenue with less struggle when some of those items were exempted.

Personally, I do not like the sales tax at all, if we can get away from it in any way shape or form. But, if I had to choose between the two, I certainly would go along with the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. MCMILLAN] and say it would be better to have a general 1-percent increase and leave food exempt from the sales tax. Certainly, you cannot say if you do that that everyone is not paying some tax in the District of Columbia because, if you leave the food out, there are still many items that are taxable which every family has to buy. I do not advocate that, but if I had to choose between the two, either having a tax on groceries or raising the present 2 percent tax to 3 percent, I certainly would go along with the latter. I would like to vote for this bill. I think the public works program here is long overdue, but you are asking some of us to vote for public works and at the same time tacking on this reprehensible tax on food. I might also say a word of commendation for the speech of my colleague, the gentleman from Alabama. I do not think there is a place in the United States where the liquor dealer gets as much profit as he does in Washington, D. C. I do not think there is a place in the United States that has as many liquor stores per capita as we do in Washington, D. C. Do not tell me that those fellows are not making a profit because if they were not, they would not be in the business. We have a monopoly in Ohio. We did not give up any of the taxes on liquor. We just left the tax on, the stamp tax and everything else, and in addition last year the State cleared $25 million. I think the proportionate profit in Washington on these so-called independent liquor stores that are on every corner and sometimes 2 or 3 to a block would be commensurate to the profit that the State made, if not more. In addition, under the system that we have in Ohio, where everyone who purchases has to sign a napplication, you have some little check on the winos and so on, who are the cause, in large part if you read the Post last week, of the tremendous problem of crime in the second precinct.

Communist Propaganda and the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, we finally have the last word on the St. Lawrence seaway. Izvestia, official organ of the Communist Party in Moscow, is against it. They consider it a part of an overall plot by Wall Street to control the Canadian economy.

In the issue of February 9, an extensive article appeared by one A. Mileikovsky, entitled, "American Continental Strategy and Canada." Under the guise of continental strategy, we are told in this characteristic outpouring of vituperation, the American monopolists are plotting the domination of Canada through the establishment of air bases, the exploitation of Canadian strategic raw materials, and the development of a continental transport system through the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway. The American monopolists, and I quote:

Are intensifying the struggle for the raw material resources of Canada. As was to be expected, the new onslaught of the American monopolies on Canada is explained by demands of the notorious continental strategy.

To prove this point, Comrade Mileikovsky quotes from President Eisenhower's state of the Union message of January 7:

In speaking of the formation on United States territory of a modern mobilization base—

He says—

the President said that the continental transport system, which also encompasses the territory of Canada, is part of this base. We are acquiring in even greater degree—

Said Eisenhower—

Certain raw materials from Canada which are most important to us. Ever more in-

dissoluble bonds of strategic interdependence are turning up in our relations with Canada. Now both countries are in need of a water route on the St. Lawrence River both for security reasons and for economic considerations. I urge Congress rapidly to approve our participation in this construction.

Mr. Mileikovsky asserts:

As we see, the full coincidence of strategic considerations with the economic interests of the American monopolies is emphasized in the above-mentioned statement.

Further down he reiterates that the American monopolists "intend to draw strategic raw materials from Canada on an increasing scale," and concedes that—

The waterway on the St. Lawrence River is called upon to insure the possibility for cheap transport from Canada to the United States of America of iron ore and other minerals in which the regions surrounding the basin of this river are especially rich.

This bright Communist geopolitician then goes on to say that—

American naval vessels could go through Canadian territory to the ports of the Great Lakes. It is easy to understand what will be the consequences of this strategic interdependence for Canada when, in addition to the American military bases located on the north and east of the country, vessels of the United States Navy will exercise defense functions along its southern border for a distance of almost 2,000 kilometers.

The Russians, therefore, feel that the Canadian and American people and their Governments must be pretty dense not to see the nefarious character of this mobilization program. Both Governments and the majority of people on both sides are in favor of proceeding with the St. Lawrence seaway on one basis or another. In fact, the official position of the Canadian Government and much of public opinion in Canada favor United States participation, although the Canadians are prepared to go ahead on their own if we do not join in the enterprise. On February 13 the Financial Post of Toronto ran one of their usual weekly questionnaires on the question: "If United States Congress now approves the St. Lawrence seaway should Canada cooperate or still go ahead with plans to build it alone?"

In summarizing the results of this questionnaire, the Post stated:

Cooperation with United States in the seaway project if Congress now approves the plan gets the overwhelming vote from respondents to this week's question by the Post. Generally, the majority view is that to go it alone now if Congress demonstrates it really means business would be an undesirable gesture. Against this is the view that Canada's own needs demand that we delay no longer in getting the project underway.

The newspaper asserts that—

This endorsement of a cooperative operative operation is not without qualification, however. Several respondents suspect that there may be sleepers in the New United States suggestions for cooperation.

The most representative reply, all of which are printed in this issue of the Financial Post, is that of A. L. Davies, publisher, Wig-Standard, Kingston. He said:

If the United States Government can assure the Canadian Government that it wishes to cooperate in building the seaway and that it can proceed with the ask without further delay, then I believe Canada should welcome United States cooperation. If, however, the United States Government can give no such assurance, I believe Canada should proceed on her own.

On March 15, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of the Canadian Government, Hon. Lester B. Pearson, stated before the National Press Club that the Canadian Government prefers a joint undertaking, although they are prepared to proceed alone if necessary. This is what he said:

The policy of the Canadian Government remains and is agreed to by all members of the Government, of course, we would prefer to have the seaway part of it done internationally. This seems to us to be the kind of thing that should be done by the two countries working together. However, if that cannot be done, then we are now prepared to go ahead with the navigation part on a national basis. We should be very happy to do it that way if we can't do it the other way.

Mr. Speaker, Izvestia is once again using another obvious technique of Russian communism to drive a wedge between friendly free nations—in this case, between the United States and our good neighbor to the north whose 4,000-mile border has not been fortified in more than a century. If it is in the military interests of Russia to show distrust between these two friendly countries and to bring about a lack of cooperation in this great enterprise. Surely it is in the interest of this country to proceed with it forthwith as we are advised to do by the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Commander in Chief and President of the United States.

U. N. Veto Rule Draws Fire of Akronites

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper article:

U. N. VETO RULE DRAWS FIRE OF AKRONITES

(By Clyde Mann)

Akronites gave the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee a number of excellent ideas about possible changes in the United Nations Charter.

Two United States Senators who listened to testimony of 19 witnesses at 2 sessions Friday in Simon Perkins School said they were surprised that so many know so much about the U. N.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin, Republican, chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee, and Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Montana, Democrat, said after the sessions:

"It is really gratifying to hear Americans express such intelligent views on the important issues affecting our country. The people of Akron have really contributed more than we expected."

The Akron hearings were the first conducted by the committee outside of Washington, WILEY said.

The committee is seeking information concerning what changes in the U. N. Charter Americans are talking about.

All except 1 of the 19 who testified are strongly for the United Nations and suggested that the charter be strengthened.

The dissenter said the "United States should get out of the U. N. and the U. N. should get out of the United States." He was Ray E. Harden, 767 West Main Street, Kent. He identified himself as a State highway engineer, a veteran, and a member of the Kent American Legion.

"The U. N. is breeding spies in this country and has forced this country to spend millions for Israel, and now the U. N. is attempting to influence schools."

Edward Piotter, a member of the American Rally Party and an employee of Goodyear Aircraft Corp., is in favor of the United States remaining in the General Assembly but withdrawing from the Security Council.

About 1,000 attended the hearings, including Mayor Berg, who sat through all of the testimony; his secretary, Leo Laney; and George Brittain, executive secretary of the Akron Chamber of Commerce. The chamber and Berg arranged the committee's hearing.

During the afternoon session Perkins Junior High School students from different classes filed in and out of the auditorium.

Senator WILEY said of special interest to him was the testimony of Rudolph Erich, 716 Grant Street, who proposed:

"An amendment to the U. N. Charter whereby any nation which has been forced, against the will of its people, to form a state with another nation, will have the right of an appeal.

"The establishing of a special committee in the U. N. to hold hearings with those national representatives who were recognized by their own people as a legal government before or during World War II and are now in exile."

"This is the first time," WILEY said, "that any suggestions to help nations such as Latvia, Estonia and the Croatians, Slovaks and other enslaved people have been made."

Others who appeared before the committee and their views in brief are:

Joseph G. Miller, president of Akron Junior Chamber of Commerce: "I think the greatest weakness of the U. N. is the inability of the Security Council to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international law and order."

Howard M. Doutt, 140 Mayfield Avenue, professor of secretarial science, University of Akron and a member of United World Federalists: "The U. N. should be strengthened to the point where it can maintain peace, but without power to interfere in the purely domestic affairs of any nation."

Mrs. Harry G. Long, 1777 West Market Street, a member of the Council of Church Women: "I am for abolishing the veto in matters of dispute and admission of new members."

Thomas G. MacGowan, 660 Nome Avenue, director of marketing research at Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. and a member of the United World Federalists: "The U. N. has done a great deal of good, but a number of principal weaknesses of the charter must be taken up at the review conference, namely:

"The absence of provision for a system of world law limited strictly to matters of arms, aggression, and the common security.

"The veto in the Security Council, which tends to paralyze any effective action in security matters.

"Lack of a veto-free way to set up a U. N. police force."

Rev. C. Willard Fetter, of the First Evangelical United Brethren Church: "The veto should be restricted so that it could not be used to block such matters as voting on peaceful settlement of disputes or the admission of new members to the U. N."

Reverend Fetter said he also was expressing the views of Rev. Robert Morey, Firestone Park Presbyterian Church; Rev. Eugene F. Morgan, Jr., Wesley Temple AME Zion

Church; Rev. Calvin Klent, Suffield Evangelical and Reformed Church; Rev. Franklin Minck, High Street Church of Christ; Rev. A. W. Meckstroth, Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church; Rev. W. C. Snowball, Woodland Methodist Church; Rev. James E. Wilson, East Market Street Church of Christ, and Rev. Bradley F. Skinner, Church in Silver Lake.

Joseph Glazer, educational director URW-CIO, speaking for URW President L. S. Buckmaster: "Some method should be found to nullify the veto power on matters affecting admission of new members and the settlement of international disputes. Amendments might also be considered for inspection commissions, information about the U. N. and world law."

Robert P. Whipple, Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. employee and treasurer of the Akron junior chamber of commerce: "Among those changes that must be made are the elimination of the veto, establishment of a police force to enforce the international law, revision of the trusteeship of backward, mandated countries."

David Horn, Oberlin College student and member of the World Federalists: "U. N. must have power to enforce disarmament, power of compulsory jurisdiction in all disputes and power to enact legislation in the strictly limited fields of war prevention and arms control."

Mrs. Martha Birnbaum, president of the League of Women Voters of Akron: "The United States should approach the problem of charter review with recognition that the charter as it is can be made to serve well the cause of international peace and justice."

John V. Cotton, attorney, speaking for the Council of Churches: "The Charter of the U. N. can and should be improved by revision. Some method should be devised to eliminate or at least to lessen the calamitous results of the veto power now existing in the Security Council."

Mrs. Gerald F. Duryee, of North Canton, chairman of national defense, northeast district of Ohio, National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution: "The United Nations should be a deliberative body of sovereign nations working together for the adjustment of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."

Mrs. Max Johnstone, teacher and a resident of Cuyahoga Falls: "U. N. needs an effective international police force. One U. N. weakness is the blocking of decision by the use of the veto."

Mrs. Johnstone also read the statements of 17 other women, including Dr. Mable Riedinger, vice president of the Akron Board of Education, and Mrs. Anne T. Case, president of the Akron Board of Education. All the women said they strongly favor the U. N.

Stella M. Robbins, 264 West Market Street: "The International Court of Justice Charter should be amended to permit the court to try any individuals who fail to abide by the armament regulations plan agreed upon by the member nations."

Dr. Harold A. Van Dorn, a member of the Americans for Democratic Action and professor of political science at Kent State University: "The charter should be so modified that a member of the Security Council may halt action approved by seven members of the Council only when the contemplated action involves national affairs in contrast to international affairs."

Attorney Chester Wise: "I do not favor dissolving the U. N. and organizing a new one without Russia. I want Russia in so that we can keep an eye on her. The record of the U. N. accomplishments is better than her critics indicate."

Amending the Refugee Act of 1953

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Judiciary Committee is considering H. R. 8193, which the House of Representatives adopted unanimously on March 15. This bill amends the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 by making available unused quotas allotted for Italian, Greek, and Dutch refugees to those who qualify as relatives under the act. For the security of the free world and for the good of the United States, it is my devout hope that the Senate will take prompt action toward enacting this legislation.

Here, within the framework of existing legislation, without adding a single new immigrant to the number approved in 1953, we can relieve distress in three countries which American policy regards as our outposts against the Communist peril.

It is noteworthy that Greece was the first European nation against which the Communists turned their armed might after World War II—and it was here that the United States first demonstrated its intent to halt Communist expansion. Greek heroism, supported by American arms, defeated communism—but the fight goes on, and this valiant friend must be aided.

The Dutch likewise stand bravely with us. It is to our common interest to use this effective means of helping the admission of those who qualify as relatives under the terms of the 1953 act.

Thoughtful Americans know the grave situation that confronts the free world in Italy. Red tyranny has marked these people, who contributed so much to the glory of the West and to all civilization, as the next victims of communism.

I feel that the Italians will defeat the Communists—but I feel the victory will be won only if America continues to support the cause of freemen. The bill which we sent to the Senate last week is an admirable device to help Italians, to remind them of our friendship for them, and still maintains the total quotas established under the 1953 legislation.

I call to the attention of the House an unusual series of articles which appeared in the New York Times, March 15–19, by C. L. Sulzberger. The articles sharply summarized the situation in Italy. The opening sentences of the first of these articles state the central facts:

Communism's most direct assault on the free world west of the Iron Curtain is being made in Italy.

Italian inexperience with democracy, economic imbalance, and individual regional traditions are being exploited by a brilliantly organized Communist Party to threaten the existence of parliamentary institutions.

Nevertheless, it appears highly unlikely that communism, despite many favorable circumstances, including a disrupted opposition, will be able to gain control of Italy, at least as long as the United States adheres to its policy of shoring up the free lands of Europe.

I want to underline that conclusion: Communism will not gain control as long as we continue our policy of supporting Italy.

The bill before the Senate is as effective a means as I know to support, to shore up our friends in Europe. I hope that it will become law with all possible speed.

The Cost of TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include a timely editorial from the Ottumwa Courier, Ottumwa, Iowa, of March 19, entitled "The Cost of TVA":

THE COST OF TVA

It used to be if anyone said a word against the Tennessee Valley Authority the objector was an enemy of the downtrodden residents of the area who were being given their first chance to live like other people.

That's all fine, and they should have that right, but the bill the rest of the taxpayers of the Nation are faced with is tremendous. That's because the plan was socialistic in its inception, and continues as such.

TVA has been operating for 19 years, and in comparison with a private utility, it had benefited from an interest subsidy of $284,457,000 by the end of June 1952. In addition, it is estimated that private utility taxes on TVA facilities would have been $346,447,000 more than TVA actually paid to States and local government in lieu of taxes through 1952. These two items, totaling $630,904,000, come to $41,096,000 more than the amount TVA collected in revenue from the sale of power in 19 years.

With the Tennessee River harnessed, the hydroelectric development has almost stopped. The largest part of TVA's annual appropriations is going into steam generating plants, seven being in operation or under construction. Expansion plans announced by TVA call for a power plant output by 1956 of 59 billion kilowatt-hours, in contrast to 1952 production of about 20 billion. If Congress continues to allow TVA to grow, only 30 percent of TVA's power capacity will come from hydroelectric plants by 1956. The soundness of allowing TVA to expand by using the taxpayers' dollars for steam plants which bear no relation to its authority to develop the Tennessee River, is questioned in a report issued by the National Chamber of Commerce.

Pointing out that the Tennessee Valley area should not be dependent on the mood and whims of Congress for expansion of its power supply, the report suggests that the long-run interests of this area would be best served if the power supply were locally owned, locally managed and locally financed, the same as in other sections of the United States.

Divorcement of the electric power business from TVA's activities in agriculture, manufacturing and conservation is recommended as a step toward better congressional control of the far-flung activities of the TVA.

A Plea for Reduction of Government Expenditure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mrs. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following significant letter written by a thoughtful constituent as a plea for drastic reduction of Government expenditure. Even though the Eisenhower administration has made drastic and successful effort for reduction in waste and inefficiency in Government, there must be no weakening of such total determination for economy as this letter demands:

EVANSTON, ILL., *March 12, 1953.*
The Honorable MARGUERITE S. CHURCH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN CHURCH: One electric refrigerator, $289.95; 1 carpet (9 by 12), $65.40; 1 electric sweeper, $74.95; 1 electric washing machine, $159.95; 3-piece luggage set, $43.60; 1 17-inch TV set, $199.50; 1 man's suit and accessories, $56.35; 1 woman's dress and accessories, $16.40; 2 boys' complete outfits, $32.80.

No, dear Congresswoman, the above imposing list of much-needed, much-longed-for articles is not our list to Santa Claus for 1954. They are just a few of the articles which we might have found under the tree in 1953 were it not for the heavy tax bill for the Klingensmith family, a result of unwanton, wasteful, and unnecessary Government spending and red tape.

Speaking of red tape, makes all of us see red when reading of daily congressional committee findings and disclosures of these unnecessary evils.

Herewith are just a few reminders which you and I have recently noted:

1. Last year our Government used up 8,900 spools of red tape, amounting to more than $4,700 just for tying up documents to be placed in storage. What a pity that it isn't possible to tie up those responsible for this with their own tape and put them in storage, thereby putting and end to such tactics. Unnecessary? IGHUG—"I'm gonna holler about unnecessary Government spending."

2. It recently cost 1 Government bureau $10,000 to lay off 32 employees, while in another it cost the taxpayers $22,500 to fire 25 employees. Unnecessary? IGHUG.

3. There are presently 400 dentists in the VA of which 121 never pull a tooth, just do paper wark. Unnecessary? IGHUG.

4. It cost Uncle $21,780 to send 45 Navy and Marine Corp legal students to law school, yet there are 270 lawyers in the Reserve and Regular Navy not doing legal work. Unnecessary? IGHUG.

To you, dear Congresswoman, who pledged your undying support and effort towards representing us in our best interests, I humbly solicit your aid and cooperation toward the complete annihilation of these unwarranted practices of uneconomical and unnecessary Government spending.

This is my personal invitation to you to join the ever popular IGHUG movement. The only qualifications are a good set of lungs for yelling loud and long and the will to help us end this wasteful spending. If you and I and everyone in this great country of ours do our bit toward that end, I can guarantee the Kluigensmith family that will find, at least a few, those articles on the list right under the tree, on the floor December 25, 1954.

Along with this letter go our thanks for a job well done and which we feel leaves little to be desired. Also a prayer for your continued good health, strength and the wisdom to direct your efforts and your decisions for the best interests of all IGHUG.

HAROLD KLUIGENSMITH AND FAMILY.

Eight Reasons Why This Nation Is Probably Safe From Any More Depressions Like That of the Early Thirties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared on March 11, 1954, in two of the better newspapers in southeast Texas, the Midcounty Review, of Nederland, and the Groves Advocate:

THE WAY I SEE IT
(By Farris Block)

Eight good reasons why this Nation is probably safe from any more depressions like that of the early thirties were outlined recently by Lester G. Fiesner, a district manager of the National Chamber of Commerce.

The reasons were described as stabilizers by the chamber of commerce manager and, while he did not express approval of all of them, he did give tacitly to them credit for their preventive influences.

They are as follows:

1. The farm-price-support program. The present rigid program can exert a stabilizing influence by discouraging disorderly marketing, price slashing, and undue competitive pressures.

2. The unemployment-compensation system. The system is backed by a trust fund of almost $9 billion, which provides payments for employees temporarily laid off.

3. The numerous private and public pension programs, including the Federal Government's social-security program. These will continue to pay money to beneficiaries and thus help to keep up the continuity of sales, regardless of economic conditions.

4. The Federal deposit-insurance system, which makes a bank run inconceivable.

5. The tax reductions which went into effect January 1 and others in prospect. These tend to leave more money in the hands of business for investment in new job-making enterprises and in the hands of consumers for spending.

6. The amortized nature of most of our private debt. It is still only about half as much as it was in 1929 relative to the national income.

7. The volume of liquid assets held by individuals and businesses. The volume has grown from $65 billion before the war to an estimated $270 billion today.

8. The quick reactions which occur in our tax picture, with its heavy reliance on the income tax. As employment and business drop off, the tax liability of individuals and businesses also quickly drop. Government revenues decline and the Government is forced to borrow. The Government has a wide range of choices on how to borrow and can do so in a way that will help maintain the money supply.

If you will analyze the eight stabilizers, you will find most of them features of programs enacted as legislation and law in past Democratic administrations. That they are today being recognized as cushions and possible preventives for a depresion is amazing. Some are way behind times, however, and still labeling such legislation as socialism.

Cardinal Wyszynski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, since September 1953, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Catholic Primate of Poland, has been under arrest by the present Communist regime in that country and has been prevented from carrying on his work as the religious leader of his people. It is evident that world communism, in its war on all religion, is preparing to make a mockery of justice again, as they did with Cardinal Mindszenty, and to bring Cardinal Wyszynski to trial on trumped-up charges of conspiracy against the state because they could not bend him to their will.

The arrest of Cardinal Wyszynski brings to a total of nine the number of Catholic bishops in that unhappy country who have been arrested or prevented in other ways from ministering to their people. These leaders of the church are undoubtedly now suffering the same "softening up" or "brainwashing" processes which led to the so-called confessions of Cardinal Mindszenty and of our own military officers in Korea. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we are soon treated to the spectacle of another trial at which the Polish satellites of the Kremlin will attempt to discredit the imprisoned cardinal, and, through him, Christianity itself. The Western World will certainly not be taken in by these tactics. Let us hope that their inhuman methods will have the opposite effect of strengthening our determination and uniting all peoples of all faiths in the struggle to root out the corroding communistic philosophy wherever it may appear.

The West of Twin Peaks Council of the Knights of Columbus in San Francisco recently adopted a resolution condemning the infamous imprisonment of Cardinal Wyszynski and exposing it for what it is—an act of aggression against religion everywhere. Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I insert the resolution and the letter which accompanied it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with these remarks as further assurance that the true nature of this vicious act is clearly understood:

WEST OF TWIN PEAKS,
COUNCIL, NO. 2542.
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS,
San Francisco, Calif.

Hon. JOHN F. SHELLEY,
Member of Congress, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SHELLEY: The officers and members, at a recent meeting of this council, adopted the enclosed resolution protesting the imprisonment of Polish prelate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. They have directed that

a copy of same be forwarded to you and others as noted below, for whatever best action you may deem appropriate, and/or at least to express the sentiments of American Catholics with respect to this unjustifiable deed aimed toward the destruction of Christian civilization. By such actions as this in the past, and certainly in the future, the aims and purposes of communism will be injuriously fostered and spread among mankind, and hope for restoration of peace to the world may be lost forever.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN BOHACH,
Grand Knight, West of Twin Peaks Council, No. 2542, Knights of Columbus.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by West of Twin Peaks Council, No. 2542, of the Knights of Columbus, at its regular meeting held at San Francisco, Calif., on Thursday, March 4, 1954:

"Whereas His Eminence Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland, has been arrested by the Polish Government and confined so that he is unable to freely perform the functions of his high office; and

"Whereas the imprisonment of His Eminence is an act of terrorism against religion and another infamous blow against the heroic Polish people; and

"Whereas such an act of aggression against the free exercise of religion is part of a long-range plan of atheistic communism to dominate the minds and wills of a deeply religious people by depriving them of their spiritual leader: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That West of Twin Peaks Council No. 2542 of the Knights of Columbus, a representative organization of American Catholic men, does hereby condemn the action of the Government of Poland for its treatment of Cardinal Wyszynski; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That this matter be brought to the attention of the appropriate officials of the Government of the United States and of the United Nations with the request that representations be made to the Polish Government looking to the release of this eminent Prelate of the Catholic Church; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution and a covering letter be transmitted to the President and Vice President of the United States, the United States Senators and Representatives in Congress from California, the Secretary of State of the United States, the American Ambassador to the United Nations, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Polish Ambassador, and to such other persons as may be appropriate in the premises."

Attest:

JOHN BOHACH,
Grand Knight.
FREDERICK T. KERI,
Recording Secretary.

Korean Free Enterprise Plan Should be Studied

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, the sum of more than $600 million, almost wholly derived from the taxpayers of the United States, is about to be expended for the relief and rehabilitation of the Republic of Korea.

I am reliably informed that except for relief expenditures, this vast sum will be used to consolidate the existing monopolistic government ownership of industry and commerce in Korea, and that there are no funds provided for the use and development of private industry.

I have introduced House Concurrent Resolution 219 which is aimed to bring present and future Korean expenditures into line with the basic principles of private enterprise upon which America has been built. A plan to do just this was published on page A1781 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Monday March 5, 1954.

The resolution follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the House and Senate that the unexpended funds, together with all future funds appropriated for rehabilitation of the national economy of the Republic of Korea, be so expended as to create in said Republic a national economy based upon rights of private property and free, competitive enterprise; and that no further funds from said appropriations be directly or indirectly expended, to continue the present socialized status and the monopolistic, government ownership of Korean industries.

Rhode Island Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AIME J. FORAND
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, the Rhode Island Association of Farmers is vitally interested in having the Congress appropriate additional funds for research and extension of services to agriculture.

I received a few days ago from Mr. Burton Froberg, president of the Rhode Island Association of Farmers, a letter advising me of the study that was made of the budget recommendations for this item and also outlining what such funds would mean to the State of Rhode Island, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Froberg's statement, which, I believe, is very interesting. It follows:

RHODE ISLAND'S SHARE IN THE PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH BUDGET AND HOW IT WILL BE USED

The research program at the Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station has been in progress for more than 60 years. This program has been expanded during this period as increased appropriations were made available from Federal and State sources. Because of rapidly changing conditions and actually rather limited resources expansion of facilities and personnel have not progressed rapidly enough to keep abreast of the problems which confront our agricultural producers, marketing services, and the consumer.

The budget, as submitted to the Congress by the President, carries an increase of $5,732,000 as payments to the States for expansion of the agricultural research program. Of this amount the Rhode Island station will receive $25,468 by formula plus a portion of the regional research funds. These funds will enable this station to expand certain phases of research now in progress and to include new research in fields where information is lacking.

Some of the problems on which this new money may be used in Rhode Island are as follows:

1. Reducing costs of production of forage crops.
2. Winter killing of legumes.
3. Disease and insect damage to crops.
4. Improving methods of utilization of forage crops.
5. Dutch Elm disease.
6. Improve poultry breeding.
7. Poultry diseases.
8. Dairy cattle breeding failures.
9. Losses which occur through market channels.
10. Improved efficiency in the marketing process.
11. Consumer preferences and satisfaction of textiles and clothing.

Many of these problems are complex and affect areas beyond the State. They will be studied in cooperation with other stations through the regional research program.

In addition to the provision in the President's budget for payments to States, a net increase of $4,144,000 is provided for work by United States Department of Agriculture agencies. This work is also important and of benefit to Rhode Island. The provisions in the President's budget for an expanded program of agricultural research and education are based on a careful appraisal of the needs in establishing a sound long-range program for the agriculture of the Nation. It has the strong support and endorsement of the major farm organizations—National and State. Collectively, the States provided $5 for each $1 of Federal-grant funds for agricultural research in 1953, so there can be no question but what the States have shouldered a major share of this responsibility.

These funds are important to the development of an adequate research program in Rhode Island. We, the Rhode Island Association of Farmers, respectfully request your support in the passage of this research budget as submitted by the President.

HOW RHODE ISLAND'S SHARE OF THE PROPOSED INCREASED FEDERAL APPROPRIATION WOULD BE USED IN THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION PROGRAM IN RHODE ISLAND

The increase in Federal Extension appropriations proposed in the Department appropriation request will provide $9,000 in additional funds for the Rhode Island extension service in the new fiscal year. The Rhode Island Association of Farmers learned this recently when I, as president of the association, discussed the Federal budget with the Director of Extension and what it would mean to Rhode Island. It was explained fully how it would be used.

The situation in Rhode Island is as follows: Less than 1½ percent of our population lives on farms. There is need for personal assistance in farm planning to put an economic base under the operation of their farms. In view of the high percentage of urban population there is urgent need to meet more of their needs for consumer information and assistance.

Considerable thought has been given to this matter and the situation that prevails in Rhode Island. The following is the result of that thinking: After setting aside sufficient amounts for travel expenses, necessary office equipment, and some additional clerical help it would appear that the Extension Service would be in a position to employ 1 full-time and 1 part-time professional employee. The full-time person would be employed in the field of consumer education. Presently funds are available only for a part-time farm-planning specialist; with these additional funds it is felt that this much needed service can be placed on a full-time basis.

Both these projects are particularly important to Rhode Island economy. Consumer education is of particular importance to the farmer in that it provides each one of

us to become better acquainted with each other's problems. It assists the consumer in the using of better diets and better use of our farm products, all of which results in better living for consumer and farmer alike.

The need of a full-time farm-planning specialist is of an urgent need at this time because of narrowing margins makes it extremely necessary for sound farm planning. Such a specialist would be especially helpful to farmers at this time to make plans that will lead to profitable farm operations.

We, the Rhode Island Association of Farmers, respectfully request your support in any legislation that will provide for an increase in the Federal appropriation for agricultural extension work. It is needed both on national and local levels.

H. R. 8300

SPEECH
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8300) to revise the internal revenue laws of the United States.

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, it is to be regretted that H. R. 8300, a bill to revise the internal-revenue laws, seemingly has become a political issue. I note this morning in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, a democratic liberal paper, an editorial, and I quote:

It is unfortunate that the prospect is for almost a straight party vote when the tax-revision bill comes up in the House today. Apparently it will be in a partisan framework, rather than on economic merit, that the Democratic amendment to raise income-tax exemptions and kill dividend relief will be considered. This is a sorry basis on which to decide an issue that has a grave bearing on the President's program to stabilize the national economy.

I think many people have the wrong impression relative to what the increase for dependency allotment really means. If the amendment offered by the opposition is accepted, increasing from $600 to $700 dependency exemption, it would only mean approximately 30 to 40 cents per week for each worker. I feel certain the people I represent would much rather have a reduction in taxes on theaters or amusement admissions, telephones, transportation, leather goods, including women's purses, and other excise taxes, than they would to have the meager 30 cents a week reduction on income taxes. If we accept the amendment four or five million people are not going to have to pay any income tax at all.

Mr. Chairman, it has been admitted that the move of the opposition to raise exemptions is political and I am sure the people I represent do not want politics to enter into a tax program. I am of the firm belief they are intelligent enough to analyze the situation and realize it is better to leave the exemptions as they are now with all of us paying our proportionate share of the taxes.

I repeat, let us all assume our just and rightful share of the tax burden and the responsibility of our citizenship in maintaining our freedoms.

Dangers in Hurried Indian Decontrol Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a statement by Mr. Jonathan M. Steere, president of the Indian Rights Association, of Philadelphia, which appeared in the March 17 edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

In my opinion the Indian situation constitutes a crisis that merits wide attention and earnest consideration:

DANGERS IN HURRIED INDIAN DECONTROL BILLS

To the EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER:

The most revolutionary proposals in decades are embodied in 10 bills recently introduced in Congress to end Federal supervision of the affairs of more than 66,000 Indians in 10 States. Other Indian groups fear they are marked for similar action at an early date.

Varied in details, all the bills provide for early termination of Federal trusteeship and tax exemption of Indian property, and an end to Federal responsibility for health, education and other services for the groups named. They give the tribes a period ranging from 3 months to about 6 years, to determine how they wish to operate on their own, suggesting certain alternatives: (1) That the assets of the tribe be transferred to a tribal corporation or other legal entity for management; (2) that the assets be transferred to a trustee or trustees chosen by the tribe and approved by the Secretary of the Interior for management or liquidation; (3) division of the assets or the proceeds thereof among members of the tribe.

Many of the present arrangements under which the Indians live are based on treaties or agreements solemnly entered into between the tribes and the Federal Government. Such arrangements can be justly terminated only with the consent and cooperation of the Indians concerned. Trust status and tax exemption of Indian land holdings are generally a part of the price they received for larger areas surrendered by them.

It has been demonstrated repeatedly that premature removal of Federal trusteeship of individual land holdings in allotted areas results in the passage of their land to white ownership with the former Indian land holders becoming dependents in their communities.

In response to the apprehension of the Indian people in this crisis, the National Congress of American Indians called an emergency conference in Washington over the weekend of February 27. More than 170 Indians representing 43 tribes attended. Indian after Indian in 5 or 6 minute talks presented their group's opposition to hasty termination of Federal trusteeship and supervision.

With the goal of termination of special attention to American Indians at a time and in a manner that will promote rather than retard their progress there is much agreement. The greatest danger is the desire of Congress to get it done in a hurry.

Study of the proposed bills and the hearings thus far conducted indicate that much more time is needed to work out termination procedure and to perfect plans to meet the situation of different groups.

JONATHAN M. STEERE,
President, Indian Rights Association.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 9.*

The Administration's Power Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the fact that there are two different stories out on the administration's new power policy. One, for public consumption, soothes REA cooperatives and other preference groups with words to the effect that their needs will continue to be met, that there will be new projects started. The other, so far confined pretty much to business leaders, tells a different story. I should like today to give you a few examples.

One example from my file is a piece from the Public Utilities Fortnightly of January 21, 1954. It includes these words:

Administrator Nelson considers it his duty to get the job of extending electricity and telephone service to the farmer over with as quickly as possible by the best and shortest means possible. That means that REA may soon be entering the simple role of a liquidating agency for loans outstanding, in view of the fact that the farm electrification job is in its final stage.

No one, as far as I know, has laid that statement down alongside one from the Interior Department which says that preference groups, among them REA's, have applied for more than twice as much power as the Federal Government has available.

Contrast this statement with one by Secretary of Interior McKay, who, when asked: "What about these rumors of wrecking the rural electrification program?" replied:

The answer to that question can be found in the statements of the national master of the Grange and the president of the American Farm Bureau Federation. They see no ill-effect on rural electrification by our policy and, in fact, expect improvements to come to REA.

The newspapers of last December 10 carried an Associated Press story, which said, in part:

WASHINGTON.—Interior Department officials renewed Wednesday a promise to interpret liberally the provisons of a controversial new power-sale policy and denied the Department is acting as a stooge for a private power monopoly.

Clarence A. Davis, Department solicitor, told a Senate subcommittee he wanted to enter a categorical denial of what he said were implications that the Department is fronting for private power interests.

Within a month—in the January 11, 1954, issue—Barron's National Business

and Financial Weekly magazine was telling its businessmen subscribers:

The fact is that the administration has quietly but effectively thrown the switch on public power. For the first time in 20 years the Department of the Interior, under Secretary Douglas McKay, is no longer actively working to blanket the United States with one huge Federal grid * * * the administration has made it amply clear that from here on the job of supplying the Nation with the power it needs will be left principally to the private utilities. * * * But the true significance of the McKay decision lay in the following words: "We believe private enterprise, where possible, should develop the rivers of the Nation." Nothing like that has issued from the cavernous Interior Department since the days of Herbert Hoover.

Equally significant is the new policy on the marketing of public power, outlined in midsummer by the Department. For years this output was sold according to a preference system which recognized a strict order of priority among customers. Under it the needs of various public bodies were supplied first. Big industrial users were next in line and private utilities brought up the rear. Now the utilities are to get a fairer shake. In effect, under the new marketing policy, they will have first call on all additional supplies of public power after the legitimate requirements of the public bodies have been met. In the process of this revision, the Bonneville Power Administration has been put under new management. Equally important for the Pacific Northwest, where power shortages have been chronic, a huge private utility construction program, on the scale of the projects now going up on the Ohio Valley, is reportedly taking shape on the Columbia.

So the United States power scheme is changing and the Nation's private utilities, which will mark the 75th anniversary of the incandescent lamp this year, have a happily suitable backdrop for their celebration.

There also are two answers to questions about the preference clause. I quote now from the most recent newsletter of a Congressman who is up on the problem:

The Interior Department officials responsible for policy told our committee that preference customers are being given first opportunity to purchase power generated by the Federal Government, as provided by law, and that the letter of the law and the intent of Congress will be adhered to.

Of course, as you know, the preference clause is under bitter attack as indicated by this paragraph from a speech by Governor Dewey before the New York State Publishers' Association last January 14:

Actually, it—

The preference clause—

amounts to a provision which says that if the State of New York is allowed to develop the water power which belongs to the people, it is obligated by law to offer that power first to those communities which bend the knee to the Moscow concept, abandon private operation of their public utilities, and socialize them.

Typical of what is being told the "insiders" is an article which recently appeared in Electric Light and Power, a magazine whose masthead says:

It is distributed gratis to executives and department heads of electric light and power companies throughout the United States, her possessions, Mexico, and the West Indies, and to consulting engineers and construction companies interested in the design, construction, and operation of electric service companies.

This article forecasts for the executives of private companies the bright new world into which we are emerging. Among other predictions the following article forecasts "that the end of 1954 will see the public-power boys a badly licked crew" and prophesies "the progressive decline of recent years in the REA program will continue, probably at a much faster clip."

The article is inserted so that all Members may read the interpretation that this author has put upon the administration's power policy:

POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IS FAVORABLE

Decisive action by the Eisenhower administration in its fledgling year, viewed with the likely shape of domestic things to come, add up to a generally bright political outlook for the electric-utility industry for the year ahead.

Key issue will be the administration's already battle-scarred power policy, and the question now spotlighted is: Will the administration continue to stick to its guns on the issue? A clearer look down the road where the answer lies is afforded by a backward glance at 1953.

When it took over the helm last January, the new administration immediately plunged into the campaign-promised job of putting the vast operations of Government on a sound, middle-road basis. To a large degree, it meant taking an inherited crazy-quilt of leftish programs and policies hatched over the 20 years of "dealism" and reworking it into something resembling a sane American pattern. Enormity of the job caused even the most optimistic Republicans to doubt that much could be accomplished in the first year.

POWER POLICY OVERHAULED

It is particularly significant that of all the areas of Federal policy in need of overhaul, the one having to do with the Government's electric-power program got the quickest and most decisive treatment. It was not by mere chance. The farthest reach toward socialism had occurred in that area.

The administration's long-range remedy was Interior Department's power policy statement of last August—a definitive set of rules drawn within the four corners of existing law. It is worth recalling that the statement was studied and approved at the Executive and Cabinet levels, a procedure usually followed only in matters of highest importance. The policy was intended to slam the brakes on the crusade for public-power expansion under Federal Government dominance; to stop the public-power tail wagging the multiple-purpose dog. So far it has done just that.

This background, together with a look at the caliber of men running the show at Interior, leaves little basis for belief that the administration will materially alter the rules laid down in its power policy, or the guiding philosophy under which it is being applied, regardless of what pressures the public-power forces are able to bring to bear. Instead, it appears more within the realm of possibility that the administration may take the further step of seeking to enact basic principles of the policy into law. Logical vehicle for such a step would be the log-rolling type of legislation, such as a public-works bill. That type of strategy is doubtless as good today as it was when the New Deal used it in the 1944 Flood Control Act.

Left-wing public power, farm, and labor groups can be expected to step up their concerted war against the new power policy, and will continue efforts to link the private utilities to some sinister conspiracy to kill off public ownership gains. Organizations similar to the new Citizens for TVA, the recently formed Missouri Basin Electric Consumers Association, and the National Electric Consumers Conference, which was hatched in Denver last month, will pop up with noisy regularity. But behind them all will be the same old crowd of public power diehards. They can be expected to come up with additional stunts such as the threatened "kilowatt caravan" march on Washington, and a certain handful of Members of Congress will continue to be their sounding boards. The feathers will fly, time after time, in and out of Congress.

Further improvement in the Washington political climate may often be hard to detect through the noise and smoke of battle, but the chances are that the end of 1954 will see the public-power boys a badly licked crew.

SAFE MAJORITY ON BIG ISSUES

A look at the legislative front indicates that recurring flareups in Congress over power and related matters will get relatively little of the lawmakers' attention. Reason is that the Republican leadership will have its hands full trying to enact the President's progressive and dynamic program, which will involve such major issues as national defense, foreign aid, budget and taxes, the farm problem, labor-law revision, public housing, and social-security expansion. While Congress is closely divided between the two parties, continued support from conservative Democrats is expected to give the administration a fairly safe majority on most of the big issues. This is particularly true with respect to the public-power issue, which usually finds its way into debates on appropriations.

The problem of how to cut taxes and balance the budget will remain a top administration headache, indicating that appropriations for Federal projects involving power facilities will be even skimpier than last year.

A lively fight is in prospect over the bill to authorize private redevelopment of power at Niagara Falls. The measure passed the House last year but got no action on the Senate side. Since the administration will neither support nor oppose the bill, any forecast of its fate is pure speculation. This much can be said: Its biggest hurdle has been opposition by Governor Dewey, who wants the project developed by New York State. Governor Dewey's political potency is definitely on the WANE.

Some effort will be made to authorize private construction and operation of nuclear powerplants, but enactment of such legislation is doubtful. Meanwhile, the Atomic Energy Commission will continue, probably expand, its program of joint atomic power research with private industry teams. Expected agreement for private investment in steam-turbine and generating facilities to tie in with AEC's planned full-scale power reactor, would begin shedding light on costs and technology involved in nuclear plants of central-station proportions.

REGULATORY APPROACH REALISTIC

The much improved atmosphere within the Federal Power Commission should be increasingly reflected by way of a more sympathetic and realistic approach to the industry's regulatory problems. That the Commission is in step with the administration's power policy views is best told in a recent statement by Chairman Jerome Kuykendall. He said that while Federal construction of hydroelectric projects "does not necessarily mean a detriment to private electric utility firms * * *. I would say, however, as a general principle, that whenever the Government constructs a dam which could be built by non-Federal interests, that it has overextended itself."

With over 90 percent of the Nation's farms electrified, the progressive decline of recent years in the REA program will continue, probably at a much faster clip. Fireworks may break out over past REA feasibility standards. Administrator Ancher Nelsen,

who put the matter under close study, has revealed that "we have come across many disturbing situations."

The Hoover Commission's study to determine the proper bounds of the Government's activities in the field of water- and power-resource development will move along quietly but steadily. Barring an unlikely interim report to Congress, the Commission's findings in this phase of its study will not be unveiled until the end of the year. Its recommendations for changes in the Federal power setup are due by May 31, 1955.

War by Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune on March 19, 1954, on the subject of War by Treaty:

WAR BY TREATY

With the Bricker amendment pole-axed, Secretary of State Dulles now takes the liberty to inform the American people that the President has authority under the NATO Treaty to put the Nation instantly into war if an enemy should bomb Paris or London. In ordering such retaliation, Mr. Dulles said, the President need not observe the constitutional requirement that wars are to be declared only by Congress.

Mr. Dulles offered this opinion a mere 6 days after Mr. Eisenhower had flatly said, "There is going to be no involvement of America in war unless it is a result of the constitutional process that is placed upon Congress to declare it. Now, let us have that clear. And that is the answer."

The President of the United States speaks with great authority, but what are we to think when the Secretary of State comes along in less than a week to contradict or correct him?

Apparently Mr. Eisenhower recognized the inconsistency of the positions of himself and the Secretary, for he issued another statement which brought him at least halfway toward the Dulles conception of his powers. He asserted this time that he could take military action immediately, without waiting for Congress to declare war, if the country were attacked by an aggressor. He said that such action should be taken "within 2 minutes," and that a President who failed to do so should not be impeached, but hanged.

It will be seen that Mr. Eisenhower did not go so far as Mr. Dulles, contending only that he had power to act if American territory were attacked, not if foreign cities were attacked. His contribution does little to clarify the confusing views of the administration on this matter, but, still, he is in substantial agreement with Dulles that Congress' constitutional powers can be ignored with impunity.

Indeed, Mr. Dulles has now made an admission which, if he had volunteered it a little earlier, would almost certainly have persuaded the Senate to approve the Bricker amendment, and perhaps even to strengthen it, for the Secretary's remarks show how merited were the fears of those who wanted to write into the Constitution an amendment which would make it impossible for treaties to contravene the provisions of that document.

Mr. Dulles, in his testimony last year in opposition to the amendment, contended that the protection sought by those advocating the amendment was unnecessary. Yet, by his latest statement, he shows how very necessary that protection is. He confirms what, in a more candid moment 2 years ago, he admitted to be the fact—that treaties "can take powers away from the Congress and give them to the President."

In asserting that the Atlantic Pact carries an automatic warrant for a Presidential decision for war, Mr. Dulles evidently relies on the article of that treaty specifying that "the parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them • • • shall be considered an attack against them all."

Let us see what the authoritative spokesmen of the Truman administration were saying in interpreting this obligation when they were busy selling the Atlantic Pact to the Senate in 1949. The campaign to put the treaty across was led by former Senator Tom Connally, New Deal chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the late Senator Vandenberg, the bipartisan Michigan Republican.

On February 14, 1949, these Senators assured their colleagues that the treaty would not obligate the United States to go to war, even if one of its proposed allies was attacked. Mr. Connally said that when an attack occurred, "the United States can determine, legally, morally, and constitutionally, what our course will be under the given circumstances. That is reserved to us."

Mr. Connally continued, "If we think it is a matter with reference to which we should go to war, we can do so. If we think it is not such a matter, we will not go to war." Vandenberg agreed.

Dulles now says we are to go to war without waiting for Congress to act if London or Paris is bombed. On June 7, 1949, the Committee on Foreign Relations, with Connally as chairman, reported on the Atlantic Pact. This report said that the action clause of the treaty "does not commit any of the parties to declare war," and that "what we may do • • • will depend upon our own independent decision in each particular instance, reached in accordance with our own constitutional processes."

In relation to Dulles' hypothetical bombing of London or Paris, Connally brought up at that time an analogous situation. He asked if the United States would be obligated to react to an attack on Paris or Copenhagen in the same way it would react to an attack on New York City. The answer, he said flatly, was "No."

The Secretary's brief in support of Presidential war is the best argument possible for reviving the Bricker amendment in the stringent terms proposed by the American Bar Association and enacting it at once.

Shooting Incident in the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following communication addressed to me and signed by 82 American citizens, native of Puerto Rico, expressing their regrets at the lamentable shooting incident which occurred in the House of Representatives on March 1:

MARCH 4, 1954.

Hon. PETER W. RODINO,
Representative, 10th Congressional District, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The undersigned are residents of the city of Newark and citizens of the United States, natives of Puerto Rico.

We wish to express our sincere regret of the incident which took place on Monday, March 1, 1954, in the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C., when five of the duly elected Representatives to Congress were shot in a wanton and criminal disregard of law and order and of the very concepts upon which the freedom of all people is based.

The signers hereof are a cross-section of the population of Puerto Rican origin in the city of Newark, and we wish to state for the record that we heartily condemn the atrocity committed on March 1, and that so far as we are concerned, the perpetrators of that disgraceful act cannot be considered decent citizens of any country, and certainly are not representative of the Puerto Rican people in the United States or elsewhere.

We hereby pledge our unfaltering allegiance to the United States and assert that the interest of Puerto Rico will best be served by its continuance as a part of these great United States.

More Businessmen Support Fair Program for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I note an increasing number of ninth district businessmen's groups are writing me, urging 90 percent of parity price supports, and supporting me in my long fight for a minimum of 90 percent of parity for farm produce. They know that their prosperity and the prosperity of everyone in America depends upon the solvency of the farmer. If the farmer is forced into a depression, we will all suffer a depression.

I am glad to know that the businessmen of many communities in my State of Minnesota are working together on this important issue, as exemplified in a statement I received from the businessmen of Waubun, Minn.

This statement contains the following pertinent points:

Since no man can live without the products of the soil, the tillers of that soil, our farmers, must be treated fairly in order that our Nation may grow stronger and by its strength, ultimately bring peace to the world.

We feel that the farmers are not asking too much when they ask for fair treatment. Everyone knows that there are many, many minor industries that are absolutely unable to stand on their own feet, but, because of the extremely valuable nature of their services, cannot be allowed to fold, and so are supported by Government subsidies, direct or indirect.

Then, why, when the basic industry, farming is, so to speak, weak in the knees,

should the supports be removed or drastically reduced? Is it to hasten the collapse of the small farm, and the small-business man—the very backbones of the Nation. Perhaps that is not the intention. But that will be the result.

The statement concludes with an expression of strong opposition to the new farm program of flexible supports.

Teen-Age Gang From the Inside

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. HENDRICKSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Teen-Age Gang From the Inside," published in the magazine section of the New York Times of March 21, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I hope every Member of the Senate will read this fine article, which deals eloquently with the subject, and is very enlightening.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEEN-AGE GANG FROM THE INSIDE—WHAT MAKES A GANG BOY RUN?—HERE IS A REPORT DIRECT FROM THE STREETS

(By Will Chasan)

"I remember the time a gang boy asked me to keep a gun for him for a few days," said the young man on the staff of the New York City Youth Board. "In another case, it was a hypodermic needle."

He had had to cope with confidences involving hold-up plans, impending "rumbles"—the teen-age wars that produced 10 murders in New York City in a single year—and a variety of other crimes. "You run into some touchy situations in this job," he said.

Compactly built, dark-eyed, pleasantly earnest, he leaned forward in a red upholstered chair at the Youth Board center in East Harlem, a high-delinquency area, as he talked of his experiences as a street-club worker. This is the Youth Board's discreet title for the handful of men it has assigned to seek out the city's worst, antisocial juvenile gangs, gain their confidence, and redirect them along more wholesome lines. A relatively new and difficult, but excitably useful, approach to the juvenile gang problem, it has evoked interest all over the world.

The problem, among the most disquieting aspects of a major postwar rise in juvenile delinquency, is nearly universal. In the United States last year an estimated 1 million teen-agers were in difficulty with the police. The gangs compound the evil by creating teen-age communities in which criminal acts, from vandalism to murder, are the gateway to esteem. In addition, fighting and killing gangs have plunged entire areas into a state of terror. No one has any realistic idea of how many such gangs exist. The problem is so acute now, however, that the subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Judiciary Committee has been making a special study of it at hearings around the country.

To get a kind of preview of what the committee might turn up in New York, I went up to the East Harlem center a while back to spend some time with a veteran street-club worker whom I'll call Hank. "It would be better not to use my right name," he said. "The gang I'm working with might resent it."

Hank, I had been told, was a fairly typical street-club worker. "All of our street-club staff are in their twenties or early thirties," a youth board spokesman had said. "They have some background in social or recreation work. Most of them have lived in the kind of neighborhood in which gangs tend to operate. Most important, they have what we call the ability to relate to the gang boy's situation." A few, he added, had been gang boys themselves.

Hank, who joined the youth board staff 3 years ago as one of a group of 11 selected out of a batch of 350 applicants, had grown up in a neighborhood of dreary row houses hedged in by factories. He had taught boxing to a church youth group. It was clear, after a few minutes of conversation with him, that he "related" fine. "My God!" he said when I asked why he had become a street-club worker. "Someone's got to do something about this mess."

Hank had studied and worked with gangs long enough to consider himself an expert. "It isn't hard to understand what produces the gang boy," he said. "For example, look around this center." A deep, dingy, L-shaped store, it contained a pingpong table, a battered desk, three upholstered pieces, and some wooden chairs. The upholstered pieces were arranged as if they were in a livingroom. "The boys wanted it that way," said Hank. "Most of them don't know what it's like to have a living room in their own homes."

Some of the gang kids he knew didn't even have homes. He spoke of this as though pained by recollections. "They sleep on roofs or in hallways," he said. "Or they're members of large families where there aren't enough beds to go around. I've heard kids, leaving the corner at night, say 'Well, I guess I'll crawl back into my hole now.'"

Observing juvenile gangs on New York's lower East Side over half a century ago, Jacob Riis had called them a "distemper of the slum." But it wasn't the slum alone that produced gang boys, Hank noted. Gangs had turned up in fashionable suburbs, too. It was the desolate sense of being uncared for and ignored in an adult world, to which a slum environment, of course, contributed. "In one of the groups we're working with now," he said, "every kid, without exception, comes from a broken family."

Later, walking down a grimy Manhattan street banked by ancient and overcrowded tenements, he pointed to a group of teen-age boys loitering on a stoop. "There's part of a gang," he said. "I happen to know some of them. They may look just like other kids in their dungarees and windbreakers, but I'd be willing to bet that not one of them has a decent home environment. One of them is part of a family of 11 living in a 4-room apartment. The father of another is a chonic drunk. Another one's mother has lots of boy friends. What the devil can you expect of them?"

Naturally, many gang boys, frequently the leaders, had disturbed personalities, I was told. Examining eight of them a short time before, a psychiatrist had found that all were either neurotic, psychotic (schizophrenic or paranoid), or prepsychotic. Though not typical, this was revealing. The gang, said Hank, is a community living under a shadow.

"As a rule, gang boys distrust all adults, which makes gaining their confidence the big job in redirecting them," he said. "Kids have come up to me and asked, 'You a queer? You a cop? You a dope pusher?'" He shook his head, marveling. "It's hard to believe, but they can't understand an adult just wanting to help them. On my first assignment they tailed me for weeks to see whether I went into a precinct house."

His first assignment had been with a gang in a seamy Brooklyn area. As bad as any of the 40 or 50 now plaguing New York, its members had been excluded from the neighborhood settlement house for smashing furniture, beating up other kids, and attempting to rape the director. It had a ruling clique consisting of leaders for bopping, the gang word for fighting; burglaries, auto thefts, social activities, and narcotics. Of the gang's 45 members, 43 used narcotics. Twenty were addicts.

"In that kind of situation you have to move slowly," Hank said.

Street-club workers have a more or less standard technique in opening a project. They begin by collecting the names of all the worst kids in the neighborhood and all the information about them they can get from school and police officials and other sources.

"I even read the scrawlings on fences, building walls and sidewalks," Hank said. After that, for months, he "hung around." The gang boys congregated in the neighborhood pool room and candy store. "I'd go in there, day after day," Hank said, "maybe play a game of pool, drop a nickel in the juke box, offer a kid a cigaret."

The boys had become aware of him, of course. Finally, one of them had asked who he was. "We don't make a secret of it," he said, "so I told them. But they weren't ready to have any part of me yet. That's when they began to tail me."

He had continued to work at penetrating their hostility by doing small favors for them and their families. "I helped them with relief problems," he said. "I got jobs for a few of them. I visited one of the kids in jail. He said, 'Hell, even my mother doesn't visit me here,' and he gave me a message to take back to the gang. Then I got a couple of them out of scrapes, and they decided that I was okay."

"Once," he added wryly, "they invited me to be first in a 'line-up' they had arranged with some neighborhood girl. It was a big deal. That's an honor reserved for the gang leader. I said, 'No, I'd rather not.'" They had offered him stolen articles, which he had declined. "It was hard for them to grasp that I could be a regular guy and on the side of the law," he said.

They kept testing him. Once a boy came up to him and said, "Hank, we got it all planned. B —— and I are going to knock over a store tonight. We're really going to do it this time."

"Telling him that it was wrong wouldn't have done any good," said Hank. "He would have told me that I was talking like a cop. It would have undermined his confidence in me. So, I said, 'Hey, this is a helluva time for you to be pulling a job, isn't it? I thought you and Helen were thinking about getting married. This is no time for you to land in the can. How would Helen feel?' Well, the boy had said, wavering, he had promised B —— that he would go through with the hold-up. He didn't want to "punk out."

"I'll explain it to him, if you want me to," Hank had replied.

"Will you, Hank? Will you?" the boy had said. "I'd sure be grateful."

"Only," remembered Hank ruefully, "it wasn't always so easy."

The typical gang is a despotism; authority is vested either in the leader or the leadership clique. Normally, no gang boy wants to defy this authority because it means a beating and ostracism. "I began to work at breaking this down as soon as I had their confidence," Hank said. "Really, it's the first step in transforming a gang into a club. I'd offer to help them arrange a dance or set up a ball team, and suggest that they set up a committee to handle it. In a committee, most of the boys felt free to express

themselves. I'd say that was the point at which the gang began to disintegrate."

The dance is a big event in a gang boy's life, Hank said. Usually, a gang rented an apartment for a night and crowded 100 or more kids into it. It would be so crowded that they'd step on each other's toes, and bump into one another's girl friends.

"Under those circumstances, it's easy for trouble to start," said Hank. "We get them a hall, and they have more fun and less friction."

I had accompanied Hank to a dance sponsored by the youth board. It had been pleasant animated and peaceful. "But you never really know how it will turn out," he said. "A month or so ago, one of our dances was invaded by three boys from a rival gang. They had guns, but fortunately they left without firing a shot."

Eventually, helped by social workers on the staff of the youth board, the juvenile aid bureau and cooperating neighborhood groups, Hank had managed to channel the energies of the boys in his Brooklyn gang into more normal social pursuits and sports. They hadn't become little Lord Fauntleroys or even Huck Finns, but as a gang they had ceased being a problem.

In the process the 20 dope addicts had broken away, but the nonaddicts had declared war on the dope pushers. "They'd come up to me on the street," Hank said, and say, 'See that guy on the corner. He's a dope pusher. We're going to bust him.' "

Why did so many of the gang boys use narcotics? "Not so many, really," said Hank, "but I'll tell you what one of the kids said. He said, 'See that garbage in the alley? See that messy house? Well, when I smoke a reefer it all disappears. Everything becomes nice. And I ain't nobody no more. I'm somebody.' "

"It's an escape," Hank continued. "You have to understand that gang boys lead pretty boring lives." As he described it, the members, most of them chronic truants or jobless, drift from one neighborhood haunt to another, then back in an aimless cycle. They are constantly trying to duck out from under reality.

A few work sporadically, especially if they happen to be on parole—"serving time" is the surest way to prestige in the gang community—but the feeling is that regular jobs, which "don't get you anywhere," are for "drags." Frequently the gang boy's model of success is the man "with lots of bread" who rolls through the neighborhood in a "vicious" convertible, stopping here and there to transact his business—women, numbers, and narcotics.

Most gang boys, said Hank, are driven by a need for what they call "rep." Reputation, standing, is the most important thing in their lives. They're denied it in their homes. The schools, overcrowded and understaffed, can't give it to them. So they look for it in their gangs. That explains why they fight such ferocious wars over the right to softball fields or a stolen girl friend or a casual shove or some imaginary insult.

Teen-age wars, or "rumbles," could be absolutely unpredictable, Hank said. "A gang leader or the leadership clique will call the boys together and say, 'One of our boys got beat up on — Street. We're going down.' And, brother, that's it."

But often the wars were highly formal affairs. Rival war counselors and "bopping leaders" determined, in conference, with each other, when the "rumble" was to take place, where, and with what weapons. There were intricate maneuvers. Sometimes, instead of a "rumble," they arranged for a "fair one," in which one or several boys from each gang battled it out to avenge a real or fancied grievance. "We encourage the 'fair one' as a substitute for a 'rumble,' " Hank said.

Sometimes gangs, tired of "bopping," want to avoid wars with their rivals, but they're desperately afraid of losing face. To "punk out" on a "rumble" is for most of them unthinkable.

"We went to great lengths to get war counselors and 'bopping leaders' together for peace talks requiring no loss of face," said Hank. "In one instance, involving several Brooklyn gangs, we picked up the gang leaders in separate cars, blindfolded them, and drove them to a meeting place in a neutral neighborhood. It was a real cloak-and-dagger atmosphere. We frisked them, provided them with cokes and cigarettes, and encouraged them to talk out their grievances.

"It was interesting to watch. They talked tough, not giving an inch, accusing each other of all sorts of insults. We were skating on thin ice. Once or twice I thought we were breaking through. But I noticed after a while that they were opening coke bottles for each other and passing cigarettes back and forth. I figured, then, that we were all right."

Teen-age gang wars have abated of late as a result of the efforts of the Youth Board, the Juvenile Aid Bureau, and literally dozens of other agencies. "This was our primary objective," said Hank. He showed me a release from the Youth Board in which it also pointed encouragingly to the fact that in the 11 high-delinquency areas in which it functions, though they are the worst in the city, the number of serious juvenile crimes has increased less than it has elsewhere.

What did it mean? Against the overall pattern perhaps very little, he answered. Federal authorities predict that, nationally, there will be a 50-percent increase between 1950 and 1960 in juvenile crime. Since the juvenile gang is simply a manifestation of juvenile delinquency, the prediction is that gangs will increase too.

But Hank took a technician's view. "For the street-club worker, what it comes down to is this," he said. "If we can go into a neighborhood and break the pattern by which older gang boys lead their younger brothers into antisocial activity, then we've got something. Maybe not much, because the problem is bigger than we are. But maybe, too, a society that's willing to spend a couple of billion dollars on a new highway will decide some day to spend that kind of money to rehabilitate its kids."

He didn't think that the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Judiciary Committee would come up with a much better answer.

Make Our Highways Safe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill to allow States to require that out-of-State motor vehicles and the operators of such vehicles comply with certain minimum requirements relating to inspections and insurance while within their borders.

If this proposal is enacted, the Congress would consent to legislation being enacted by any State which would penalize, prohibit, or discourage operation within its borders of any motor vehicle owned by a person residing in another State who has not complied with that State's minimum requirements as to insurance, inspection, and safe maintenance requirements. This is to apply to temporary operation within or through the State. It does not affect a State's requirements as to residents' licenses, nor does it attempt to regulate interstate commerce or license fees in connection therewith.

It is believed this legislation would greatly decrease traffic accidents and provide greater safety on highways throughout the Nation.

The Order of AHEPA: Its Purposes and Objectives Highlighted at Its 11th Biennial National Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, last evening I was the guest of the Springfield (Mass.) Altis Chapter, No. 85, at the national banquet of the Order of Ahepa. The occasion gave me an opportunity to learn more intimately the purposes and accomplishments of this great fraternal organization. The event impressed me with the tremendous influence for good that this association has upon our Nation. I believe that it emphatically demonstrated that the great people of the Ionian peninsula are indeed one of the world's most effective bulwark's against totalitarianism. To anyone who has read history, this, of course, is not surprising. For Greece gave democracy to the world. Her valiant people have fought and died over the centuries to maintain the dignity of man and to insure that the yoke of oppression would not burden Hellenic shoulders.

I am indebted to the AHEPA chapter in my home city for presenting me with the opportunity to attend last night's memorable association. I take pride in the fact that Mr. James Mazarakos, a supreme governor of the order, and John G. Gamilis, president of Altis chapter, played important parts in making the affair a success.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a statement on the Order of Ahepa, by Mr. James Dikeou, the chairman of the banquet, and a review of AHEPA's objectives by its supreme president, Leo J. Lamberson:

THE ORDER OF AHEPA

It may well be said that this order constitutes the temple of the Hellenic spirit in America. It represents the highest exponent of Hellenic ideals in the new world. Through the Order of AHEPA the Hellenic people in America express their patriotic, political, economic, social, spiritual, and charitable characteristics. The membership of this order is composed of men who have remained true under adverse and fortunate experiences—undismayed by distress, unchanged by the change of fortune.

The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association—AHEPA—is not an accident. It is a purposeful organization founded by American citizens of Hellenic ancestry on the principle of individual ex-

cellence. It is dedicated to the task of preparing the individual to exercise the rights and duties of American citizenship intelligently, courageously, and unselfishly.

Hellenic migration to America is most recent. There is scarcely a Greek who has been here more than 50 years. Unfamiliar with the language and lacking in specialized training, they found employment in the performance of tasks which required brawn, muscle, and perseverance. They dug in the mines, made the beds and laid the tracks of transcontinental railroads, built and painted bridges, factories, and smokestacks, and fed the glowing furnaces of the coke ovens and steel mills.

The Greek spirit of enterprise soon asserted itself and prompted them to lay down the pick, the brush, and the shovel and to enter the field of trade and commerce. A most valuable asset was the great respect they had for small beginnings. They elevated the humble push cart, popcorn machine, peanut roaster, the flower stand, and the shoeshine parlor into the dignity of business. From these humble but dignified, honest, and useful efforts, developed the colossal industries owned and operated by fabulous tycoons of the day.

Occupied with their intensive efforts to establish themselves in the new world, and with their all-out participation in the service of the American Armed Forces during World War I, the Greek people had very little chance or opportunity to prepare themselves for the intelligent exercise of their privileges and responsibilities as American citizens. Realizing the need of more knowledge and understanding about American history and traditions, more about the governmental machinery and civic customs of the American communities, the Greek immigrants organized AHEPA to help them acquire that knowledge and understanding.

Their faith in the efficacy of organized cooperation has been justified. Through the patriotic, civic, and social activities of the Order of AHEPA, the Greek immigrants have become fully acquainted with every phase and concept of American life. Through it they have been able to take and keep their proper place in the ranks of a useful citizenry, and to raise their families in the American traditions.

Our desire for good fellowship prompted the inauguration of the AHEPA national banquet and the rich harvests of mutual understandings, friendships, and pleasant memories reaped from it sustained the effort to repeat the performance biennally for nearly a quarter of a century. It is in that ancient spirit of fellowship, friendship, and fearless freedom that we welcome you to the 11th reoccurrence of this function and bid you to accept our classic hospitality.

JAMES GEO. DIKEOU,
Chairman.

WHAT ARE AHEPA'S OBJECTIVES?

AHEPA's objectives, established by constitution, follow:

(a) To promote and encourage loyalty to the United States of America.

(b) To instruct its members, by precepts and examples, in the tenets and fundamental principles of government.

(c) To instill in every one of its members a due appreciation of the privileges of citizenship.

(d) To awaken in every member an abhorrence of all political corruption.

(e) To arouse mankind to the realization that tyranny is a menace to life, property, prosperity, honor, and integrity of every nation.

(f) To promote throughout the world, and especially in the United States of America, a better and more comprehensive understanding of the Hellenic peoples and nation, and to revive, cultivate, enrich, and marshal into active service for humanity the noblest attributes and ideals of true Hellenism.

(g) To perfect moral sense in its members, promote good fellowship, endow them with a spirit of altruism, common understanding, mutual benevolence, and helpfulness.

(h) To champion the cause of education.

(i) To resist by lawful means and methods any tendency toward a union between the civil government and any church or religion.

U. S. S. "Olympia"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to report to the House that from all sections of the country I have been receiving letters applauding the favorable actions of the Committee on Armed Services in the matter of restoring and saving for posterity 4 historic battleships, the *Constellation*, the *Hartford*, the *Olympia*, and the *Oregon*. The circumstance that I introduced a bill for the restoration of the *Olympia* explains why these good people have been writing me. For myself, as well as for my correspondents, many of them veterans of the Spanish-American War, I wish to commend the committee for its gracious recognition of the value of patriotic sentiment in the maintenance of a strong national character.

I am extending my remarks to include a letter and a poem from Lester J. Williams, chief quartermaster, United States Navy, presently stationed at the United States Naval Training Center at San Diego, Calif., but who in April will be transferred to the Fleet Reserve, the new address being 1916 Marber Avenue, Long Beach, Calif. His letter follows:

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'HARA: I noticed in the newspaper (San Diego Press-Telegram) a few months ago, that there was an interest in preserving the U. S. S. *Olympia*, now rusting away in the Schuylkill River.

I notice in the Navy Times, dated March 6, 1954, that you—Representative BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois—were interested in berthing her near Chicago and keeping her in repair. Well, Illinois being my home State, I decided to write to you and enclose the literary effort that may or may not help your (our) cause. I believe of all four ships—*Constellation*, *Hartford*, *Oregon*, and *Olympia*— the *Olympia* has the greatest claim to fame.

Very truly yours,
LESTER J. WILLIAMS,
Chief Quartermaster, United States Navy.

The poem follows:

THE SCOURGE OF TYRANNY
(By Lester J. Williams, U. S. Navy)

A grand old ship lies old and forgotten,
Her decks and bulkheads rusty and rotten;
In Schuylkill Channel, wasting and lone
Her fighting long over, her mission done.

Her laurels were many, her spirit brave;
'Tis ungrateful to give her an unmarked grave!
Proudly she sailed in days of yore,
And bravely she fought on foreign shore.

Ah, children, young men, you older ones, too,
With what wonder and awe in your history at school
You read of her exploits at home and afar,
And wished you had shared in her mission at war.

Stately she sailed into Manila Bay,
Old Glory flying proud and free;
Flagship of the fleet that glorious day,
That defeated Spanish tyranny!

'Twas from her decks came the historic command
Revered by millions throughout our land;
Calmly, the order from Commodore Dewey,
"You may fire when you are ready, Gridley."

The rest is history, known by all;
Freedom's gain and tyranny's fall;
The U. S. S. *Olympia*, queen of queens,
Gave freedom and democracy to the Philippines!

Came World War I, and ships of the line
Sailed far and wide on the ocean's brine,
And this Grand Old Lady continued to shine,
Serving with honor as in her prime.

In nineteen hundred and twenty-one,
Her laurels won, her fighting done,
She sailed her last mission on billowing foam,
Bringing the Unknown Soldier home.

What glorious memories are in her heart;
Memories from which we'd have her part;
Forlorn, forgotten, year after year,
And we, whom she served, have no sorrow, no tear.

Can it be we're ungrateful, we've hardened our hearts?
Can it be that we care naught how she departs?
Will we give her over to the wrecker's flame
To die a death of fire and shame?

O America, America, don't let it be
In this land of the brave and home of the free;
Don't let old *Olympia*, who serve us so well
Die in ignominy and shame in a flaming hell.

'Tis better to sail her far from shore,
Far from the eyes that so deplore
Her rusting hulk, her rotting decks,
And let her join the myriad wrecks!
Let her lie in state forevermore
Midst the ferns and flowers of the ocean's floor.

Repair her, restore her, and honor her fame!
Let her rest in state on the briny sea,
That millions unborn may ne'er forget the name
Olympia, the scourge of tyranny!

For Top Brass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I would like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a part of the column written by Drew Pearson entitled "For Top Brass." This apeared in the Boston Traveler for Saturday, March 6, 1954, and has to do with the Summerfield plan for postal pay raises which is so bitterly opposed by all fair-minded Members of Congress:

FOR TOP BRASS

Chief objection to Summerfield's $60 million pay-boost plan is that too much of the $60 million would go to the top brass in the postal service and too little to mailmen, clerks, and other rank-and-file employees.

For example, the letter carrier, the backbone of the postal service, must be an authority on postal laws and regulations in addition to his important, daily task of carrying the mail from Main Street to Wall Street. Yet he must have 9 years' experience to qualify for a top pay of only $4,070 a year.

The same salary scale applies to postal clerks, who must know every town and village in the U. S. A. and the best rail route to reach it.

Yet, under the Summerfield proposal, a mailman or clerk with 9 year's experience would be given a raise of only $100 a year, or less than $2 a week. A mailman or clerk with 4 years' experience would get $25 a year, or the equivalent of 48 cents a week. Those with 3 years service would be given the munificent raise of $10 a year, or about 19 cents a week—not even enough to buy an extra quart of milk for their families.

It may or may not be significant, but the most substantial pay boost for letter carriers and clerks would go to those with only 1 year's service. They would get a $210 yearly hike. All, incidentally, were appointed under the Eisenhower administration.

Ancient Order of Hibernians, Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein the address of Mr. Thomas Dorgan, clerk of Superior Civil Court of Boston, Mass., to the members of the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Ancient Order of Hibernians and the ladies' auxiliary at the annual corporate breakfast on Sunday, March 21, 1954, in St. Mary's Auditorium, Lawrence, Mass., following the 8 a. m. Mass at St. Mary's Church.

Other speakers who addressed the sizable gathering were Denis D. O'Sullivan, president of the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Ancient Order of Hibernians; Rev. Father James M. Hurley, O. S. A., pastor of St. Mary's Church; Mayor John J. Buckley; and Miss Katherine McDonough, president of the ladies' auxiliary.

I introduced the principal speaker of the morning, and following his remarks a bolt of cloth manufactured in the textile mills of the city of Lawrence, Mass., was presented to the speaker by the Reverend Father Hurley.

The following guests were also introduced: Hon. John E. Fenton, judge of the land court; Hon. Michael A. Flanagan, State senator; State Representative William X. Wall, and Alderman John W. Fallon.

Mr. Dorgan's address follows:

Just a few days ago we celebrated the memory of the great saint of Ireland, who has come down to us through the pages of history as one of the outstanding men of all time. The task that he accomplished, as we look back upon it, was almost impossible of performance, and unless we are quick to admit that it was miraculous, no satisfactory explanation of its scope and completeness could be given. He brought a new doctrine into Ireland.

Looking at his work in its purely natural aspects, it was a masterpiece of infiltration. He was, as nearly as I can recall it, one man against countless thousands, and these thousands were set to resist stubbornly his heroic efforts to convert them. Despite the lack of everything that would smooth his path, in spite of the absence of rapid means of transportation or communication, he was able to change the opinion and thinking of a nation. Of course, as time went on his converts became zealous in his cause, and where one man started, now hundreds lifted up his banner and carried on his work.

What significance has this in my discussion of communism? I think that it dramatically points up the danger involved to this country by the presence in it of so many pro-Communists, fellow travelers, and those whose uncertainty and intellectual confusion makes it most charitable to designate their color as—slightly pink.

In a world that has shrunk to the size of a suburban backyard because of the existence now of lightning-fast methods of communication and almost instantaneous transportation, there is no room in one small segment of it, such as our country actually is, for Communists and fellow travelers, if our American ideals and our American institutions are to survive.

The citizens of our great country, reviewing in their minds the horrible destruction that was visited upon Hiroshima by the dropping of the atom bomb, are filled with terror when they anticipate the holocaust that might develop from similar visitations to our own cities and towns. And as great as the horror we can engender by a contemplation of the atom bomb, it pales almost into insignificance alongside the distress and concern we now feel, as we think of the unbelievable destruction contained in the latest inventions of man's frenzy—the hydrogen bomb, etc.

These are not the only nightmares that trouble the sleep of our Nation. Dramatic advertisements in our newspapers from coast to coast—cleverly worded appeals emanating from the country's loud speakers, and the latest of all, dramatic presentations on the television screens picture the dangers to our health and future from diseases of the heart, cancer, and infantile paralysis.

As a result of these campaigns and drives, much good is done. In no sense do I mean to minimize their effectiveness. However, my purpose in mentioning them here, as well as my reference to the atom and hydrogen bombs, is merely to emphasize my conviction that no one of these to which I have referred—no combination of them—nor all of them together—pose as serious a problem to the safety of our country as the presence in our midst, of Communist spies and sympathizers. And by far the most dangerous of all who fit into this category are the ones whom I am pleased to refer to as "intellectual spies."

My definition of an intellectual spy is a man or woman, who, by special ability and training in our schools and universities, qualifies himself to take a leading part in the education of the youth of our country.

Today I should like to talk about academic freedom, because the training of our children is a most important issue. I'd like to talk about it from the viewpoint of a man who for many years has held political office. What is the right attitude of political authority towards academic freedom? This is the question I would like to talk about.

I think it is always a sorry day for civilization when the political authority begins to tell teachers and professors what they must believe, and what they must think, and what they must tell to others. The teaching profession is an ancient and honorable one. The teaching profession is engaged in the highest pursuit of human enterprise—the seeking and possessing that truth which makes men free; the stimulation of others to seek that truth and that sublime assistance which it is theirs to give in the formation of the minds of their fellowmen.

Now it does not belong to the state to determine what is true. The political authority must never arrogantly presume to manufacture an ideology for the indoctrination of the citizens. The pursuit of truth and the discovery of truth and the imparting of truth is an area of human activity which takes place under the protective laws of the State. If there are indeed certain basic rights which come to us from a source of authority above the state, it is no less true that the exercise of our rights has been placed under the protective authority of the state. In America we established our Government to make secure our God-given rights. However, in daily life, and especially at the present critical moment of American history, the problems surrounding the freedom of the teacher have grown very complex. The state legally charters an educational institution—it gives it the legal right to exist and function within the community, and it gives it tax-exempt privileges. From then on, in administration, in establishing the qualifications of fitness for teaching personnel, in prescribing the course of studies, in adopting methods of pedagogy, and in setting standards of academic fitness for those who attend the school, the collegiate body must be free to chart its own course.

All this appears clear and simple enough when we talk about general ideals. But in practice certain situations in society often arise which cause the anxious concern of the citizens at large and the governments which they establish to secure their common welfare. There are two major concerns that present themselves periodically to the political authority—the evils of heresy and the evils of conspiracy.

When it comes to the evils of heresy, the political authority down through the centuries has very frequently taken repressive measures in the interest of orthodoxy. This is a field in which I have no particular competence and must leave to others for proper discussion. However, any sensible American knows that in America the great number of religious bodies who differ in religious beliefs makes it necessary that there be legal toleration of heresy in the interests of respecting liberty of conscience and the dignity of man. There is, indeed, a place for heresy in American civilization, and, consequently, in the interest of rendering secure the ideals of academic freedom, the political authority must find itself benignly tolerant of teachers and professors who explore the vast reaches of human knowledge and seek to understand and communicate to others the nature of reality and the meaning of life. The proper corrective of error is not the politician but rather the professor sincerely in love with truth. While men sincerely seek the truth, heresies must be tolerated.

But the fruits of heresies sometimes demand the concern of the political authority. For a professor to declare that a sound theory of social life demands that we "abolish eternal truths, abolish all morality" is to rightly run the risk of arousing the concern

of the average community. Karl Marx made that statement in his book Capital, page 341, the modern library edition, 1932. When a professors say that "atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism of the theory and practice of scientific socialism" the citizens of a community are again apt to manifest a certain resentful concern. When a professor explains that Communists do not deny all morality, but only in the "sense which deduces these morals from God's commandments" (Lenin on Religion, p. 55, Little Lenin Library, vol. 7) and proceeds to approvingly explain that "we say our morality is wholly subordinated in the class struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class struggle of the proletariat" (Lenin on Religion, p. 56), the citizens and their government officials might understandably pick up their ears with apprehensive interest.

When a professor approvingly expounds the Communist morality to the effect that the Communist, in order to achieve his kind of society, is morally justified, "if need be, to resort to all sorts of devices, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate the trade unions and to remain in them and to carry on Communist works in them at all costs" (Lenin, Left Wing Communism, p. 38, Little Lenin Library, 1934), then the vigilant citizen should be positively alerted that the common welfare of his community is being actively threatened.

Possibly even this kind of heresy could be tolerated in a college if kept on a merely academic plane—dangerous as it is. But when the theory becomes a social gospel, when the theory has begun to be zealously propagated by fanatical apostles, when the academic theory takes to itself historical substance and appears in political form; when it proceeds to capture the social, economic, and political resources of a vast nation, bringing them under its militantly atheistic might; when this ruthless atheistic power begins to spread its unholy influence over the entire globe until it shuts up behind the Iron Curtain one-third of the world's population and almost as much of the earth's surface and seeks to continue its method of conquest by poisonous infiltration in the educational institutions of free countries, then the political authority must be faithful to its purpose of securing the common welfare of its people, of protecting their rights and liberties, and investigate, running down, exposing, convicting, and isolating this horrible threat to society.

The political authority must honor the teaching profession. It is arrogance to call for an investigation of the teaching class as such. But wherever appears the threat of conspiracy, whether the threat be found in a member of the clergy or the teaching profession, in government or business, in labor or in the professions, the threat must be sought out and evaluated, and, if found real and existent exterminated.

There were within the past 5 years statements by the presidents and governing boards of our colleges and universities toward possible subversion. Now those words of the presidents and governing boards are admirable statements of policy. They acknowledge a profound sense of responsibility on the part of the collegiate board of directors. When properly put into effect, they automatically eliminate the necessity of the political authority to remind the collegiate board of directors that it is shirking its responsibility to the community.

But when the collegiate board fails to follow this policy; when the collegiate board takes the attitude that they are above the law; when the collegiate board considers that a Communist professor has the right to his private beliefs and his activities must be tolerated in the name of academic freedom; then the political authority is justified in looking in on the situation.

It not only has the right—it has the duty to investigate any professor seriously suspected of being tied to the Communist conspiracy. Every Communist is a traitor.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that communism is not simply a theory. It is an international conspiracy which grievously threatens the national existence of the United States. In this matter, the quarrel between the political authorities and colleges has not been an indictment of any group; it is not an indictment of colleges as such; it is not an indictment of the alumni of any particular college; it is not an indictment of the student body of any particular college; it is certainly not an indictment of the faculty of any particular college. The quarrel, and I consider it a legitimate quarrel, has been with the lack of responsibility for the welfare of the community, as manifested by the attitude of certain collegiate boards of directors who in this matter have shirked their responsibility to the community.

Army Base, Boston, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a statement made by me on March 22, 1954, on the importance and necessity of saving the Army base in Boston, Mass.

I also include an article, written by John Harriman, appearing in the Boston Globe of March 21, 1954.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK, OF MASSACHUSETTS

The proposal of the Army to abandon the Army base pier and warehouses at Boston, because the pile foundations are weakening and there is danger of these structures falling into the harbor and blocking the reserve channel, presents a situation which should arouse the indignation of every citizen of Boston and Massachusetts.

The plea of the Army authorities that they do not have the money to place the pier and warehouses in proper repair is not valid and the weakest possible excuse that could be established for such a decision. I cannot believe that this decision has been reviewed by competent authority in the Department of the Army, of the Department of Defense, or that it reflects a final decision.

The idea that a property worth probably $50 million could be abandoned because of an unwillingness to spend $9 million to $12 million to place it in proper repair is waste of the taxpayers' money and not economy. The proposal that the State or city governments or private interests might be willing to lease or buy the pier and warehouses and spend such a large sum to put it back into working condition, with the Federal Government retaining the right to take it back in the event of an emergency, is an insult to the intelligence of our people.

I am informed by competent legal authority that the Army cannot legally abandon this portion of the Boston Army Base, cannot escape its responsibility, cannot permit such a public nuisance, or fire and accident hazard, and that in all probability the General Services Administration, which by law must be responsible for disposal of the property, will not accept this liability for it, pending possible disposition.

This means that for another year and a quarter, the Army will have full responsibility for maintaining the piers and warehouses and pay for the cost of care and upkeep, in the event that no buyer or lessee can be found.

The possible alternative that the Army could tear down the buildings and piers is unthinkable because the buildings and surface of the piers are in excellent condition and most useful not alone to the citizens of our State but also to the Federal Government.

The Army base was the second most important port of embarkation on the Atlantic coast during the last World War, a vital link in the invasion of Europe and the defeat of Germany.

If the Army base was not there it would have been necessary to build it, and if it is destroyed or allowed to fall into Boston Harbor, merely on the excuse that the Army does not need it at this moment, it would have to be rebuilt at tremendous cost and speed in the event of another war involving Europe.

The Army is not alone one of our fighting forces, it is also the trustee of the military facilities entrusted to its care by the American people. It cannot avoid its responsibilities by passing the buck to Congress, and it cannot abandon its property on such flimsy reasons.

I feel sure that when this decision to abandon the Army base piers and warehouses is studied by the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of Defense, which I understand is now taking place, the money for its proper repair and maintenance will be found. It does not seem possible that any other decision could be made, and certainly none other should be made.

[From the Boston Sunday Globe of March 21, 1954]

WHY NATION NEEDS BOSTON ARMY BASE—THE BEST PHYSICAL PORT FACILITIES ALONG ATLANTIC MUST NOT BE LOST TO COUNTRY, AND WHAT MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRIVATE CAPITAL TO SOLVE PROBLEM

(By John Harriman)

We of New England are sometimes prone to take our greatest assets for granted. Such is the case where the port of Boston is concerned, which has never received the public interest and support, which it deserves.

Boston Harbor covers about 47 square miles of water, and has over 140 miles of waterfront. It provides excellent protection from rough weather, yet its deep water anchorage is easy of access through three main channels. It is less than 7 miles from the open sea.

This harbor has 259 piers or wharves, with 80 miles of berthing space. Most of these are private or Government piers not available to public use. Of public piers there are 10, 9 owned by the Commonwealth and 1 by the United States Government.

Thus the port of Boston has physical facilities unexcelled by any other port on the Atlantic coast.

THREE HUNDRED SHIPS LAST YEAR

Yet there is one fly in the ointment. The so-called Army base piers, owned by the United States Government, have not been kept in repair in recent years and are now threatened with collapse. A large sum is needed to return the piers to usefulness, and if that sum is not forthcoming the base will be removed from use on August 1.

This would be a serious blow for Boston. Last year this base handled more than 300 ships, and 300,000 tons of freight. It is estimated that every ton of freight handled in the port accounts for about $50 in the gross economic income of this community. No alternate facilities are available, for the Army base represents about 30 percent of the port's total berthing capacity. Thus the danger to our economic life is very real.

What gives the present situation an ironic twist is that this threatened setback comes at a time when the port of Boston is just beginning to make headway against the tides of adversity which have handicapped its operations in recent years.

Unsettled labor conditions have long been a problem of the port, but in October 1951, an agreement signed by the International Longshoremen's Association and the Boston Shipping Association laid the first cornerstone for industrial peace.

LITTLE SUPPORT FROM NEW ENGLAND

For many years the port of Boston has suffered discriminatory rates on the combination rail and water haul from inland centers on goods going into export. Some progress has been made in overcoming this practice recently, specifically on the important bulk cargo of grain.

Boston, as a port, has never received the support of New England shippers that it should have, due in large part to the greater frequency of sailings from New York. As a result of this, about 10 times as much freight has come inward through the port than has gone outward from the port. But progress is being made here, too. Five shipping firms have recently established service from Boston to Japan, Mexico, Cuba, the west coast of Africa, and the west coast of the United States.

While the port of Boston does not enjoy the complete freedom of political interference characteristic of the ports of New York and New Orleans, we have in this direction, too, made gains lately. The State legislature still keeps a hold on the port's finances, but autonomy is otherwise assured by creation of the Port of Boston Commission, a State agency, which was established to supersede the old port authority in 1953.

TWELVE MILLION DOLLARS FOR REPAIRS

In addition, the port is engaged on a major $36 million improvement program. Three lines have recently established regular passenger service to and from Boston with Britain, the European Continent, and the Near East and Mediterranean.

Today this solid accomplishment of the past 8 years is threatened by the Army's refusal to put its Army base into proper condition. The piers are now leased by the Army to the Maritime Commission, which in turn leases to the present private operators. Engineering estimates say an expenditure of $10 to $12 million would give the base a useful life of 50 years.

The Army, under lowered appropriations and tightened budgetary control, has stated that the base fulfills no peacetime military need, and suggests that funds to put it in order come from either private lessees or the Commonwealth. Port interests point out that any such investment is impossible for any private company, as the gross to a lessee is only some $300,000 to $500,000 a year, out of which heavy rental must be paid to the Maritime Commission.

On the other hand, there is a possibility that a way might be found for the Commonwealth to participate in some manner with the Army in meeting the cost of repairs, or, conceivably, to take over the whole job if the Army disposes of the base by declaring it surplus.

GREAT NATURAL ASSET

Port officials point out, however, that the Army base is by its very nature a facility which should be kept in standby readiness as a defense measure. It was a major embarkation point in World War I and World War II, and handled over 1 million tons of military freight during the latter conflict. Its repair, say these officials, should therefore be the Army's job.

Some solution to the problem of this important part of the port of Boston will almost surely be found. Perhaps the airing of this problem today will, in the end, serve the port by quickening public opinion to the great economic asset that it represents.

The port of Boston still has shortcomings. These shortcomings, said the Boston Federal Reserve Bank in a special study of the port in 1950, "can probably be blamed on the community at large; they are shared by all groups."

This is still true today.

A Plan or Just an Idea?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD today two editorials recently published by two newspapers of my State—the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the Prosser Record-Bulletin.

These editorials reflect doubts widely held, doubts that the so-called partnership plan of this administration with respect to water resources is any plan at all.

The Post-Intelligencer suggests that it is now apparent that the idea is not a plan, as many of us have contended all along, and the Record-Bulletin reproves the administration for at least temporary abdication of an historic responsibility.

In view of the fact that the partnership idea thus far has not produced one kilowatt of new power, in the face of an approaching shortage of hydroelectric energy in the Pacific Northwest of unparalleled magnitude, I think the points of both editorials are well taken.

The editorials follow:

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer of February 26, 1954]

SPELL IT OUT

One of the most significant and, as it turns out, most controversial proposals of the Eisenhower administration has been the suggestion that a partnership of Federal Government and local bodies be developed in the Pacific Northwest for water resource development.

The Post-Intelligencer has belief in that proposal, and is already on record to that effect. We have urged study of the various plans and proposals put forward to implement that idea, notably the recommendation of ex-Gov. Charles A. Sprague, of Salem, Oreg.

At this point, however, we think it well to invite attention to a statement by Herbert G. West, ex-mayor of Walla Walla, and executive vice president of the Inland Empire Waterways Association.

He wants the administration to be a little more specific about its own role in the partnership. Says Mr. West: "We should request the Federal Government, as the major stockholder in our river system, to stop using partnership as a catchall phrase—but to get the partners around the table and spell out in detail the responsibilities of each to keep the program moving ahead until all the details can be worked out."

Mr. West continues: "The people of the Pacific Northwest want a working partnership on a regionwide basis that will insure maximum development of our water resources. They expect the Federal Government to measure up to its responsibilities, to clear the air, and to offer a concrete program embracing all levels of Government participation and private enterprise cooperation."

We don't see how anybody can quarrel with Mr. West's invitation for Uncle Sam to come a little clearer on what he means by partnership in Pacific Northwest water resources.

The same question is on the horizon with regard to forestry. If Congress approves the President's 1954–1955 budget for the United States Forest Service, then clearly the administration is adopting the partnership idea in forestry too.

Most people seem to like the idea. But now it dawns that an idea is not a plan.

[From the Prosser (Wash.) Record-Bulletin]

MORE POWER NEEDED

If the Federal Government is going to change its policy in hydroelectric power development, it is necessarily going to take quite a long time to put the change into effect. Thus far it has not been made clear just what shape the partnership policy will take. In the meantime we have had no new starts in Federal dam projects in the Northwest for several years. We are hungry for power. It is our one great economic advantage which can keep us competitive industrially with other regions of the Nation. We have experienced one electric brown-out in a low-water year. It hurt the Northwest and the Nation. If we do not have one or more major new dams started soon, the power shortage will become critical and seriously damage our economy.

It would seem reasonable that the Federal Government should build one or more new dams now, and keep new power production up to a minimum schedule while the machinery for the partnership plan is evolved.

Economy in Federal spending is the reason given for the no new start policy. But we maintain that to curtail Federal investment in power development in the Northwest is not economy. A look at the statistics of the Federal investment in power in the Northwest is surprising.

Big figures are hard to grasp. But it is a fact that the total gross Federal investment in power in the Columbia River power system since the first dollar was spent many years ago, is less than $1 billion. As of June 30 of 1953 the Government had invested a grand total of about $871 million. This is all the money invested over a period of more than 20 years. The figure includes interest charged and unexpended appropriations. It even includes some costs allocated to power which are in reality a subsidy to irrigation. Of this total investment, already $145 million have been repaid to the Treasury, bringing the total net investment down to less than three-quarters of $1 billion. Bonneville Dam is nearly a third paid for and the great Coulee Dam is about one-quarter paid.

The total net investment over a 20-year period is but a tiny fraction of annual expenditures. Obviously Federal investment in Northwest power has not been expensive. It has been profitable. If one could determine how much additional income and excise taxes the Federal Government has collected in the Northwest in the last two decades as a direct result of economic growth from power, it would prove that the Government has actually made a profit.

There is no valid reason why the Government should abdicate its historic responsibility while a new program is being evolved. Our congressional delegation in both parties is seeking new dam starts. Businessmen, farmers, workers, chambers of commerce, and other groups of the Northwest should demand at least one major new start now.

Straits of Mackinac Bridge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. VICTOR A. KNOX

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on March 6 to return to the 11th Congressional District of Michigan to attend and speak at the testimonial dinner celebrating an occasion of much importance to the State of Michigan and our Nation. I refer to the realization that at long last we will have a connecting link, a bridge—the greatest achievement of its kind in the world—between the Upper and Lower Peninsulas of Michigan. The Straits of Mackinac Bridge will be more than 5 miles long and will carry 4 lanes of traffic. It will be a 26,444-foot structure of suspension type and will cost approximately $100 million. The 8,614 feet between the cable anchorages will represent the longest such span in the world, and the 2 center piers from rockbottom to top will exceed the height of the Washington Monument by 200 feet. Now in traveling across the Straits of Mackinac by ferry approximately 1 hour is consumed, but when the bridge will be completed, in 1958, one may cross in 10 minutes.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the address made by me at the testimonial celebration in Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., on March 6, 1954:

Thank you my good friend Walter, Reverend Whitemore, Governor Williams, ladies and gentlemen, my former colleagues of the Michigan Legislature, who were the minute men, the men that did the leg work—the men who were your voice which was spoken in the Michigan Legislature on this great project that is about to become a reality—something we have long strived for. And the credit goes to you the people, who were so enthusiastic and let your legislators know of your great desires, and from that came your voice in the halls of the Michigan Legislature that brought about this great project.

I should at this time like to pay those compliments, which are just, to Mr. Deike and his wonderful choir—the high school band who entertained us here this evening—also to the four church groups who put on this wonderful dinner. It is amazing to find that we have amidst us those people who are so willing and desiring to bring about and help in the celebration of this great project. Also the committee on arrangements—they have done a tremendous job.

I am most happy and grateful to be back here in my home town and in the wonderful district which I represent in Congress, and enjoy the peace and quiet of this great north country. That is the one thing that has brought so many people to this great north country, because when they return to their respective homes they once again tell their friends about all the things we have to offer and they are many, and many times fold they will increase through this project.

This great section of our State of Michigan is in for one of the most prosperous periods of its history. Through the construction period of the Straits Bridge and the possibilities of a bridge known as the International Bridge connecting Sault Ste. Marie, Canada, and Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., a great amount of wealth will be undoubtedly invested in order to meet that day, that final day, when we cut the ribbon on the bridge at the Straits of Mackinac.

We can see great expansion, at least I can through my views, of what is going to happen to this great north country of ours. I cannot see one ounce of a recession or a depression of any kind. We are in for prosperity. Through this bridge it will not only mean prosperity to this great north country, but it will contribute great wealth to the rest of our State and to our Nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to bring you my story. I want you to know how this bridge became a reality. It is true that I was a member of the Michigan Legislature through this period—your voice from Chippewa County which I represented, was heard through me in the legislative halls—the same as all the rest of the legislators that have been mentioned here by our toastmaster, Walter Gries.

It was back in 1949 that a gentleman from Mackinac Island, Stewart Woodfill, came to Lansing. He came into my office, as I was the speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives at that time, and told of what he thought could be done and thought the time had come when the move should be made to build the bridge across the Straits of Mackinac. I arranged hearings for Stewart Woodfill, which I also attended, before the senate committee and before the house committee. He was a great salesman. He did a wonderful job as far as he went. But after he completed what he thought was his duty and his errand, he then quietly withdrew to the background, but always kept the bridge foremost in his mind.

Back in 1947, and I read it again today, a resolution was passed by the automobile dealers requesting that a movement be made to construct the bridge across the Straits of Mackinac, and there were many other civic organizations that did likewise. They joined in that great march to bring about a bridge across the Straits of Mackinac.

The legislation that was drafted was not entirely my own. There were a great many people that assisted in this legislation. We felt that we must have as near a perfect bill as we could get in order to sell it to the Michigan Legislature. So we did. We framed the bill, and I as speaker of the house of representatives, with Bill Ellsworth our State senator, negotiated the introduction, and Senator Ellsworth introduced the bill in the State senate. After a period of time elapsed, and I was in contact continually with Senator Ellsworth, I was informed by him that his bill was locked up in the State affairs committee of the senate. Bill came to me and requested that I attempt to have the bill introduced in the house.

Now I am going to single out one man here tonight, a legislator who was serving his second term in the Michigan Legislature. He is not from this area. He is a young man and an attorney from down in Allegan County, and his name is none other than Senator Edward Hutchinson. At that time he was Representative Hutchinson. I called Mr. Hutchinson into my office and told him of the problem that was facing us and asked him if he would introduce this bill for me with the cosponsors of the legislators in the immediate vicinity of this great north country.

Mr. Hutchinson said "Well, could I take the bill home with me and study it and look it over?" I said, "Yes, by all means, Ed, take as much time as you think is necessary and when you're ready to report, please report back to me." The next day Edward Hutchinson came into my office and he made a couple of technical changes in the bill and said that he was ready to introduce the bill for us. Mr. Hutchinson lives in the adjacent county to the gentleman who bottled up our bill in the senate. I believe sincerely that with the introduction of the Straits Bridge by Mr. Hutchinson it gained a terrific amount of support in southwestern and southern Michigan. The bill was introduced but not as it was in the senate; the bill was split in two parts. All we provided for in the house bill was the creation of the Straits Bridge Authority. We appropriated $75,000 for the authority to make their survey and provided that the authority report to the legislature their findings.

Now, why did we do it? Because of the fact that we had bridge bills before that were reported to the Governor in the State of Michigan and, therefore, the legislature had never gained all of the knowledge that they should have to bring forth a final conclusion of that particular project. Now, we did this for a reason and that was to bring the responsibility of work to all legislators because it was the legislature that must create the bridge authority. There was no one else to create it.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we also provided in the bill that the dean of engineering of the University of Michigan shall select the three top engineering firms in the United States of America and recommend them to the authority. The dean of engineering at the University of Michigan did do that very job. He selected the three top engineering firms in the United States. We have one of those very fine gentlemen here with us tonight and we are going to hear from him later.

After the bill was introduced and passed in the house and went to the senate, where it also passed, it came back and, as I said, the authority reported. When the authority came into my office and deposited the report with me—the report of the study of that authority and their recommendations, as they did in the State senate with the lieutenant governor—the chairman of the authority, Mr. Brown, asked me if this was all. So, in discussing this question, I asked Mr. Brown if he and the engineers would care to make a verbal report to the Michigan Legislature. He said, "We would be most happy to answer questions if there should be any asked." That was the day of greasing the skids that brought about this real project. So I immediately called a joint session of the Michigan House of Representatives and the State senate. We convened and immediately threw the meeting open to the public, and that authority, the bridge authority, made the report and then committed themselves to questioning. Never once did the engineering firms or the bridge authority falter in the answer of the questions that were presented to them by the members of the Legislature of the State of Michigan. After that day we immediately introduced the legislation over in the State senate by Senator Ellsworth and others, to grant the authority the right to proceed with the construction of the bridge. That bill passed the senate and came over to the house of representatives, and was passed, and the authority was granted the right to proceed. The authority undoubtedly tonight will tell you of their trials and tribulations in their job of bringing about that $96,400,033.33 which the authority received about 2 weeks ago in the form of a check to build a bridge across the Straits of Mackinac.

I bring this message to you ladies and gentlemen because it is no political party that is building the bridge across the Straits of Mackinac. We had Republican support and we had Democrat support. On the floor in both the senate and house of representatives we had Democrats and we had Republicans vote for that authority. We had the State administrative board, composed of the Governor and all the elected officials of the State of Michigan, that approved of the bonds. I want to pay a compliment to a man who is an elected official, your attorney general, Frank Millard, for his fine and outstanding ability in the presentation of the recent case before the supreme court, which was favor-

able, as far as the authority is concerned, to proceed with the sale of the bonds.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the history. The Governor of the State of Michigan also participated in this overall program. He signed the bill and he worked among his members of the legislative branches to gain support for this project. I want to say once again to you, it was you, the people, that made it possible because it was your voices that were heard in the legislative halls of the great State of Michigan that sold the project to the legislature.

The minutemen, the legmen that are here tonight, and others that have been mentioned, should receive the reddest roses with the longest green stems, because they are the people that did your job for you and made this project possible, and in the very near future it will be your right and my right to travel across the Straits of Mackinac, not by boat but by vehicle traffic.

We have a very tremendous problem facing us in this great Nation of ours and that is our highway system. This bridge is going to create some problems as far as our highways are concerned. We must meet them. This year the Congress of the United States, I believe I can say at this time, is going to increase the appropriation for highway purposes by $275 million more than what they appropriated a year ago. The statistics that we receive today relative to highway needs is the fabulous sum of $4 billion. That is the amount of money that it would take today to put our highways in condition to carry the traffic of today. It's amazing when you read the newspaper articles of the deaths—weekly, monthly, and yearly—just in the State of Michigan. But when you go over the entire Nation it's tremendous. We owe it to our people of today and our people of tomorrow to make available the necessary funds to bring safe highways for safe travel for the people of this great Nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, it was nice to have been with you. God bless you and good night.

The Mask Has Become the Man

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 8, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 13 years ago, in its February 1941 issue, Reader's Digest carried a story entitled "A Visit to Berchtesgaden."

The story opens at the peak of Hitler's victories in World War II. It tells of Joshua's visit to Hitler at Berchtesgaden and of Hitler's visit, through time, with Joshua to the famed trumpet and the crumbling walls of Jericho, 40 centuries ago.

The moral of the story appears to be that as you fight something, unless you are exceedingly careful, you are apt to absorb the spirit of what you fight, setting in train acts like those you sought to avoid.

Appalled at the slaughter and the misery he had seen at Jericho, Hitler tried to return to Berchtesgaden untainted. But it was too late. "The mask has become the man," said Joshua, "you cannot doff it."

Under unanimous consent, the article is cited below. I trust that it will be of some interest to the Congress in its current deliberations, especially in these days when so many people feel drained of strength and achievement and of purpose:

A VISIT TO BERCHTESGADEN

(By Hillel Bernstein)

(This seems to me the story of the year. To read it is a personal experience, and upon publication the story will become a national and international experience. It is more than literature. It is the contemporary mind coming to a great conclusion about one of the great contemporary problems. (Carl Van Doren.))

(HISTORICAL NOTE.—The World War of 1914–18 gave birth to the legend of the Unknown Soldier. After the World War which began in 1939 the despairing, mystical times brought forth a new legend, that of the Resurrected Soldier. He was expected hourly to return from the grave and liberate the enslaved peoples from the yoke of the Nazi conquerors.)

When Hitler felt the need for brooding mystically over some problem of state, he usually repaired to his mountain residence at Berchtesgaden, high above the Bavarian countryside. In such a mood he sat one evening in the private projection room of his mountain retreat, viewing again—for the hundredth time—the motion-picture record of his military triumphs.

He sat alone there, savoring with relish the striking power of his army and air force. The performance was ever a bracing tonic to the Führer. Having willed all these campaigns he also felt that he had achieved all this destruction personally. It was as if he, Hitler, has smashed Warsaw with a drive of his right first, and had destroyed a square mile of buildings in the center of Amsterdam with a vigorous kick of his left boot. He drank it in greedily with his eyes.

No previous military leader in history had enjoyed the delights of being able to view his campaigns again whenever he pleased. Hitler reflected that Napoleon, or Caesar, or Alexander, would have envied him this precious advantage. Great as they were, they could not bring back the sights of their stirring, smashing triumphs. They could not re-create, as he could, the scenes of power, victory, and glory.

Suddenly he felt a chill, and had a creepy feeling that he had was not alone. He peered anxiously through the dark of the room. At the back there stood what seemed to be the figure of a huge man. Hitler's first instinct was to ring for his guards. But somehow his hand—the hand that had smashed Warsaw—was powerless to function.

"Who's there?" he said.

"I am a soldier," replied a low voice.

Hitler knew that this was no flesh-and-blood intruder. He was nervous and he played for time.

"Who let you in?" he demanded.

"I come from the past. No one let me in."

"Do not imagine that I am alone," Hitler cried. "The power of my invincible Reichswehr is about me. I am not unprotected."

"Yet now you are alone," the voice answered.

"What do you want?" Hitler's voice was thin and piping.

"For the present," came the answer, "I am looking at your battles."

"You said you were a soldier. What is your rank?"

"I am a commander."

Hitler became ingratiating. "A commander. Then you can study my battles with the eye of an expert. No doubt you can compare them with your own campaigns."

"My battles were different," said the other, curtly. A sense of superiority was evident in his manner but Hitler chose to ignore it.

"Naturally," he said. "All battles are different. A different general, a different kind of battle. And what were your battles like?"

"In most of them," said the stranger, "I spared no living thing."

Hitler's military vanity was piqued. "Do not try to talk to me in superior tones," he cried. "What scale were your campaigns on? Mine are on a world scale. Suppose I do leave a building standing here or there, or a few miserable enemies alive. Think of the immensity of my work. Military experts agree that there has been nothing like my wars in history. I have succeded more than any other man—more than Napoleon, or Caesar, or Alexander. Who, then, are you?"

The other's voice indicated a cold fury; he, too, evidently had his military vanity. "You are going to see my battles," he said.

It was said ominously, and Hitler grew wary, remembering that he was facing an unknown danger. He said, in softer tones, "How can I see your battles? They are over and done with."

"No," was the answer. "They are still going on. I have fought them over again a thousand times. I will take you into the fighting, from the very beginning of my first campaign."

"I don't know what you mean," Hitler said, "and I cannot waste more time. I have many things to do."

The voice was freezingly contemptuous. "You are coming with me."

For the first time Hitler became clearly aware of the face. It was like nothing that he had known before: large, strong, hard-featured, expressionless, unearthly. But the eyes—the eyes. They were somehow like windows which widened out so that a world could be seen through them, a world of dooms and agonies.

Hitler felt drained of strength, achievement, fame, everything. Now the stranger's voice, as he spoke again, was inexorable. "Come with me," he said.

Hitler had a sudden feeling that he was in movement, and he struggled with all his might. But it was useless. In a moment he was out of Germany and out of his element.

They traveled on the wings of the past. They sped past the Napoleonic wars and the French Revolution, past the Thirty Years' War, past the Renaissance, and they did not even stop for the Middle Ages and the struggle between the emperors and the popes.

"Where are you taking me?" Hitler asked.

"Patience," said his fellow traveler. "I visited with you in modern times. You will visit with me in ancient times."

The Roman Empire went by like a flash, and the campaigns of Alexander the Great were just a flicker on the way. "That was Greek civilization just then," said the stranger, with a backward gesture. And then at last, "We have arrived."

Hitler found himself set down in rugged country, among warriors—hard, fierce, determined-looking men—many thousands of them gathered in an encampment. He watched his companion instantly take charge, as if he had not been away. He noted, too, from the moment of arrival, that there was a change in his companion. He looked smaller now, and without that terrifying atmosphere of doom which had characterized him at Berchtesgaden. He was more of a man and less of a shade. Although Hitler was in his power, the Führer did not fear his captor as much as he had a little while ago in the 20th century. Set in his own environment, the man was no more terrible than Hitler in his.

Immediately after his arrival there was an inspection of forces. Hitler went down the ranks with his companion, surveying the faces and military bearing of the soldiers. "Excellent fighting men," he said. "They remind me of some of my good sergeants in the Reichswehr." He spoke directly to one man, saying, "I should like to have had you for my good Reichswehr."

The man seemed to take no notice of this pretty speech, and Hitler said angrily to his companion, "Do you approve of your

common soldiers behaving rudely to a visiting commander?"

"Forty centuries separate you from these men," was the reply. "They cannot see or hear you. You are not even dust in anyone's eye."

"Did you take me out of the 20th century in order to insult me?" Hitler complained. "I want to go back to the Reich, where I am in everyone's eye."

"You will go back soon," said the leader. "Meanwhile, there are battles to be viewed."

The inspection was followed by a council of war. The warriors, under the leadership of Hitler's companion, planned to invade new lands, slay all the inhabitants, and take their lands for themselves and their posterity. Hitler, the invisible one, listened to the plan of action.

"All, then, is in readiness," said the leader.

"Wait," said Hitler. "As a commander I criticize your preparations as crude and amateurish. Your plan is incomplete."

"Speak on," said Hitler's companion.

Hitler said: "Where is your propaganda machine? Where are your grievances? Why haven't you proved first that your nationals over there are being persecuted? That the other side is plotting to attack you? Where are your frontier incidents? Your atrocities? You haven't even shown the foresight to colonize some people over there first, to be killed in atrocities at the right moment. What a bungled campaign."

"None of that is necessary," said the leader. "We do not have to justify ourselves. It is the Lord who has told us to take those lands."

"That's good about the Lord," Hitler admitted. "That's always good. God is with me, too."

Then he bethought himself of another piece of excellent counsel. "You've forgotten one very important move," he said. "You ought to prove first of all that your enemies are dominated by the Jews. By the Jewish warmongers, who have instigated them to fight against you. If you do that, you will always be a hero, no matter what else you do."

His companion smiled. "That won't be necessary, either," he said. "For, you see, we are the Jews."

Hitler gasped. He looked wildly about, at those fierce, hard faces, at those warriors whose strength and soldierlike qualities he had admired. "But it's impossible," he cried. "Jews. But it can't be. And you yourself?"

"All of us."

"You're joking. I know what Jews are, and they're not fighters," he screamed. "Bankers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, tradesmen, journalists." He spat out his contempt. "Warmongers. They get others to do their fighting."

"These are the Jewish soldiers," said his companion, "and they will do their own fighting. Forty thousand of them are gathered here, and not an enemy will escape the edge of their swords."

Hitler was suddenly in panic. Forty thousand fighting Jews, and he alone among them, without a single army of 2 million to defend him. And the leader knew who he was. Already Hitler writhed in anticipation of being torn to pieces.

"You forget that they cannot see or hear you," said the leader, reading his thoughts.

Yet Hitler was sick. He sat down on a rock, and said feebly, "What is this place?"

"You are in the first chapter of the Book of Joshua of the Old Testament."

"In the Bible," groaned Hitler. "And you?"

"Joshua."

"The Bible. I had to listen to sermons from that when I was a boy. There was one about Joshua, the miracle soldier. Are you he who blew down the walls of Jericho?"

"You will see them blown down," said Joshua.

Then Hitler made a fighting effort to liberate himself from his environment. He stood up and shrieked: "No! No! I won't stay here in the Bible. I hate that book. I've got a book—my own book, Mein Kampf—and I want to go back to it. I want to go back to my German Reich and my German people."

His voice rose to a scream which he hoped would pierce the centuries, reach Berlin, arouse the Gestapo. "Help! Help! Germans to the rescue. I've been kidnaped by the Jews."

"They can't see or hear you in Berlin either," said Joshua. "There is no Berlin. It is still a marsh."

Hitler was forced to resign himself for the time being to the role of invisible spectator. The one satisfaction he enjoyed, as he looked at the fighting Jews, was his knowledge that in his day their descendants would constitute a minority that he could persecute and terrorize. At times he indulged in secret bravado. "Yah!" he jeered. "You capitalistic, bolshevistic, democratic, pacifistic, warmongering, trading, scribbling, pill-rolling, lawyering, banking Jews—yah!—you men of peace and good will, I despise you, I persecute you, I make you fear me. You tremble at the thought of me. I am the scourge." But no one heard him.

After a night of preparation and prayer, the army started on its campaign of invasion. The destination was Jericho and the first objective was the crossing of the river Jordan. To achieve the crossing swiftly and successfully, Joshua said that a miracle was in order, a miracle which would divide the waters. "Miracle," scoffed Hitler. "My army engineers create a miracle by spanning the river with pontoon bridges or rubber boats."

Hitler crossed the Jordan with Joshua as the waters divided. He was present at the siege of Jericho and he saw the walls come tumbling down at the final blast of the trumpets. It reminded him that he had blown down the bastion of Prague with a radio speech and the accompanying Nazi of "Sieg Heil." "My voice, too," he said, "is the trumpet of destiny."

The walls came down, and Hitler watched the soldiers swarm over the debris and into the city with their swords flashing. It was slaughter and annihilation in the name of the Lord, who had instructed Joshua to spare no living thing.

Hitler had often dreamed of the annihilation of a foe to the last man. He had never seen his dream realized so completely as at Jericho. It sickened him.

Joshua, observing him, said, "It takes a strong stomach to do the Lord's work."

"What are you trying to insinuate?" said Hitler, touchily. "I never felt better in my life."

"You look woefully sick," said Joshua. "But you would be far sicker if you had to direct this slaughter over and over again a thousand times, as I have had to do."

The campaigns continued. Hitler watched the burning of Ai, and he saw the King of Ai hanged on a tree until eventide. For the first time he noticed a peculiar change in Joshua. The Jewish commander was indomitable, fiery, relentless; but there were moments in the midst of it all when he looked sad and weary and inconceivably old. Hitler happened to catch Joshua in his tent in one of those moments; the sight startled him.

"Go away," said Joshua, in a tired, weak voice.

"Where shall I go?" said Hitler. "You must take me back to my Reich."

"I can't do that until my campaigns are over," said Joshua.

"Then why did you bring me here in the first place?"

"Military pride," said Joshua. "I always feel that way at the beginning. But as the campaigns go on my spirit staggers under the burden. There is that within me which wants to cry out against the slaughter. But the words stop in my throat, and I cannot. I am powerless to change the course of the battle. And I feel every wound, every plunge of the sword, every slaying. It is the mass slaying of Joshua which I undergo. And it is Joshua who directs his own thousandfold slaying."

"I am not weak," said Hitler. "I do not sigh and falter at the sight of bloodshed."

"You have battles, too, which you will want to change later," said Joshua. "You, too, will be powerless."

"I will not want to change anything," said Hitler.

He was delighted to have caught Joshua in such a revealing moment; it made him feel superior and contemptuous. But if he believed this would continue as a permanent condition, he was disappointed. Joshua was again militant, again merciless. He marched against the coalition of the five kings, met their forces at Gibeon and slaughtered them. The 5 kings were hanged on 5 trees. At Azekah, Hitler saw the fleeing hordes of the enemy bombed with great stones from Heaven. There was another miracle that day, and this time Hitler was really impressed. It was getting towards evening and Joshua needed more daylight in order to complete the victory. He commanded the sun to stand still at Gibeon and the moon to remain in the valley of Ajalon.

The invasion and occupation of other lands continued, and Hitler watched the destruction of the Canaanites, the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites.

One part of the Jewish leader looked young and implacable, commanded the army and drove the soldiers on to triumph. The other part, aged, weary, sad, looked heavily on at the destruction. "The slaughter avails nothing," this second Joshua said. "The miracles avail nothing. They have to be paid for in misery."

Joshua had conquered completely and the children of Israel were in possession of the Promised Land. There was a great gathering of joy. All the victorious warriors were assembled to honor the man who had led them to victory. When Joshua appeared, the din was terrific.

Hitler, standing nearby, was assailed with nostalgia. This was the kind of applause he usually got in Germany, and it went to his head like a powerful stimulant. It took fortitude not to respond.

Little by little, however, the faces faded out, the scene blurred; only the mass effect of a great celebration remained.

Joshua was addressing his soldiers. "With the help of the Lord," he was saying, "we has conquered. Now the children of Israel have the Promised Land. Let us worship the Lord and observe His Commandments, and we shall always enjoy the fruits of these victories—we and our children and our children's children."

There was another burst of applause, and this time Hitler, no longer aware of time and place, responded to it as automatically as if the applause came from a Nazi cheering section directed by Herr Goebbels. He bounded to the front of the platform, acknowledged the shouts of the warriors, and began to speak, pouring out his pentup emotions. "My German Soldier Comrades," he began. "This is a great hour in our history. The Lord has been with us, and we have conquered. The Lord told me to lead the Germans out of the wilderness of despair and the Versailles Diktat. The Lord told me to take the lands of the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Belgians, the French, the English, the Russians, the Americans. All these lands, He said, should be German lands, and those whom we do not annihilate should be our serfs—hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Germans.

"Now we have conquered, and now the world is ours. Now our German Reich embraces and dominates the earth, and we shall be the master race for the next 1,000 years. We Germans are the chosen people, chosen by God. The world must recognize that we are the chosen people and it must submit to our decisions and our government, for this universe is ours."

He went on and on, in a paroxysm of joy, and his body quivered as if he were experiencing the ecstasy of divine communication. But suddenly Joshua was at his side and leading him away.

"They did not hear a word, and cannot," said Joshua. "But I heard, and it is sufficient. And now, home to your Reich."

Again there was the sudden sense of motion. Just as speedily as they had traveled toward the times of Joshua, they now moved toward the times of Hitler. Almost immediately they were once more in the motion-picture projection room at Berchtesgaden. The film of Hitler's triumphs was still on the screen, and the scene as they entered showed a gathering of 200,000 Nazis shouting "Seig Heil."

"It is not true," said Hitler, "that no one heard me when I made that speech. Eighty-five million Germans heard me."

"So much the worse for them," said Joshua.

He was again a huge, formidable shape in the darkness, but Hitler no longer felt as disturbed as he had been at the beginning. "Eighty-five million triumphant, victorious people," cried Hitler, ecstatically, "The German master race. The rulers of the world."

"So be it," said Joshua. "You have declared yourselves a chosen people, and it is done. The Germans of your day are taking the place of the Jews of my day, and the Germans of a future day will take the place of the Jews of your day. It relieves us of a burden that has scarred us and borne us down, and which in adversity has made us the targets and scapegoats of all mankind. From now on you can have all the triumphs of a chosen people, and afterward, upon your downfall, you can have their persecutions, too. My Jews may rest at last. And I may rest."

"Whatever are you saying?" said Hitler. "Persecutions? Taking the place of Jews? What devilish nonsense is this?"

"You have been imitating the Jews of my time," said Joshua, and his voice ranged through the world with more volume than all the choruses of "Sieg Heil." "You have desired to be a chosen people, and now you have become one—self-chosen. I have been waiting 4,000 years for this day, waiting to be relieved of the painful punishment of fighting my battles over. And during that time I have seen the descendants of my Jews suffering the revenge of a world that remembered them once as chosen. But now, in the world's eyes, there is a new chosen people, a self-proclaimed one. Let them suffer when their time comes, while my people enjoy the delights of oblivion. My people have earned their rest."

Hitler looked into those window-eyes, and what he saw there affrighted him. Harassed Germans were there, weak and furtive, driven from pillar to post, with men lashing at them with whips while the mob jeered and showed its fangs of hatred. He sobbed and wept for the sight. Then he frantically fought off the illusion.

"No," he shrieked. "It is not so. We have not been imitating the Jews. We want to be nothing like them. Our destiny is a German destiny. Siegfried, not Joshua. We shall never know defeat and disperaion."

"You have seen what we were," said Joshua. "You may see what you will become."

Hitler put his hands over his eyes.

"It is not for nothing," said Joshua, "that in every plan of conquest you strove to identify your foes with the Jews; to make them Jews, no matter what they were in reality. Not for nothing have you fashioned the Jew into your world enemy. Deep down, deep in the spirit, an urge drove you. An urge to supplant the Jews. Not as they are today but in their ancient role."

"Outrageous and ridiculous," cried Hitler, full of hysteria. "I used the Jews as a propaganda weapon, yes—but with contempt. I made them my enemy, yes. I identified them with our foes, so that I could achieve what I wanted without opposition, because no one would dream of opposing me on behalf of the Jews. But what has that to do with imitation?"

"The mask has become the man," said Joshua. "You cannot doff it."

Hitler looked through those eyes again, and was appalled.

Joshua said, "When Moses placed his hand upon me and God instructed me, we were the chosen people. Thus imbued, I led my people in conquest of the Promised Land. No man in my lifetime could withstand me, no man and no people. We believed ourselves a chosen people, and while we were victorious we gloried in it. After me there came others, who strove to temper what I had done, whose aim was justice and mercy, the blessed leaven of tolerance and understanding, and then the brotherhood of man rather than the exclusive brotherhood of one tribe of men. But we have not been allowed to forget that we were once a chosen people. Defeated, dispersed, persecuted, we have paid bitterly and long after our time. We have done enough penance. We desired to forget that we were ever a military people; we cultivated all the ways of peace; we forgot the practice of arms. But our path was not made lighter.

"Now, at last, you have come, you and the Germans, and you hunger and strive to be chosen. So be it. For centuries my people have tried to escape the burden of memory of their role, but they had to wait for your coming. As for me, I have made my journey and my long penance is over.

"And now, O Wandering German to be, I leave you."

"Wait, wait," cried Hitler, hurrying to the door as if Joshua had left by that medium. "Let us talk this over. I——"

But he was 40 centuries too late.

Victory for Statesmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial in the New York Herald Tribune of Friday, March 19, 1954:

VICTORY FOR STATESMANSHIP

The House vote, rejecting the Democrats' proposal to raise income-tax exemptions, is a resounding victory for the administration. Even more, it is a victory for good sense and for statesmanship. President Eisenhower showed genuine political courage in going to the people with his plea for tax reduction based on sound economic considerations and preserving a broad tax base. He was handsomely vindicated. With party lines holding firm to an unusual degree, the Republican Party emerged as the party that insists on putting the national good above all other considerations. The fight is not over, but a battle of major importance has been won. The President and the overwhelming majority of Republicans who stood with him (as well as the nine Democrats who forsook their own party on the crucial vote) all deserve congratulations.

Traffic "Voice of Doom" Is Really an Affable Fellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ROBSION, JR.
OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I am very glad to extend as part of these remarks an article appearing in the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 7, 1954, concerning a very distinguished American, Dr. Ned H. Dearborn, president of the National Safety Council. The article tells of the splendid work done by Dr. Dearborn in helping to save the lives of Americans all over the United States, through the activities of the National Safety Council.

Members of the House will recall that during the last session of the Congress, Public Law 259 was enacted to grant a Federal charter to the National Safety Council, thereby recognizing the high character of its work, and the wonderful achievements of its officers, including Dr. Dearborn, its president, in carrying out its important purposes.

Dr. Dearborn, born on a small farm in Pennsylvania in 1893, became one of the country's leading educators. His full energies are now devoted to educating the American people to live safely. The National Safety Council seeks to have the people know the causes of accidents and the ways to prevent them. In this vital movement, Dr. Dearborn has come to be known as Mr. Safety.

The article follows:

TRAFFIC "VOICE OF DOOM" REALLY IS AN AFFABLE FELLOW—SAFETY-COUNCIL HEAD WORRIES OVER HIGH TOLLS

(By William J. Conway)

CHICAGO, March 6.—Thousands of American automobile drivers probably visualize Ned Dearborn, president of the National Safety Council, as a calamity howler and grouch.

Before every big holiday he makes a dire prophecy and, if it comes true, he scolds the public for fulfilling his prediction.

On the eve of the Memorial Day weekend last year, for instance, he warned that 240 persons were likely to meet death in automobile accidents.

The death toll was 241, and he complained:

"It is bitterly ironic that once again America has seen fit to honor the dead on Memorial Day by needlessly killing the living. How long are we going to accept such bloodshed with stupid apathy?"

IS AFFABLE, PHILOSOPHICAL

Actually Dearborn, at 60, is an affable, philosophical fellow who spends a lot of time worrying over whether you'll get killed.

"I get half sick," he said recently in describing his reaction to heavy holiday slaughter. "I can see the injured lying along the roads. I wonder what more can be done to reduce this human suffering."

He recalled that his only child, Gayle, a bomber navigator, was shot down and killed in Germany during World War II.

"Those who lost sons or daughters or other loved ones in accidents suffered a greater blow than I did. Accident deaths are so senseless. I had the melancholy satisfaction of knowing my son died for his country."

Born on a farm near Conneautville, Pa., Dearborn earned three degrees at Columbia University's Teachers College. He joined New York University's faculty in 1929 and became dean of the university's division of general education in 1934.

SET UP SAFETY CENTER

He established the center for safety education at NYU in 1938. Teachers went there to learn how to teach safety in schools.

Safety leaders soon learned about Dearborn, too. He was appointed executive vice president of the National Safety Council in 1942 and moved up to president July 20, 1944.

Dearborn regards the National Safety Council as the spearhead of the safety movement. It's a sizable spearhead. The staff of 310 includes statisticians, writers, editors, artists, traffic and industrial engineers, and printers. Its prime function is to gather and distribute information about the causes of accidents and ways to prevent them.

The income of the private nonprofit organization now runs about $3½ million a year. About $3 million comes from dues of members (such as industrial, insurance, transportation, companies) and the sale of services and publications (such as films, manuals, posters, magazines). The balance is from gifts.

INFORMATION SUPPLIED FREE

Information is supplied free to wire services, newspapers, TV, and radio stations. Among such news items are the preholiday statements.

How are they composed?

A few days before Memorial Day 1953, for example, a conference was called in the council's GHQ. In the huddle were Gene Miller and Al Battery, statistics experts, and Paul Jones and Jack Horner, directors, respectively, of the public information and news departments.

They examined reports of previous holidays, scanned charts of accident trends, studied the long-range weather outlook, estimated the increase over normal traffic volume. Their production of 240 traffic fatalities missed the actual total by just one. That was as close as the council ever came.

TOLL DEPRESSED HIM

Dearborn was depressed by the feat. The higher the toll, the more dejected he becomes. He never felt, or looked, worse than he did when he arrived, noticeably haggard, at his office January 2, 1953.

During the Christmas and New Year holidays deaths by accident had mounted to the jolting total of 1,336.

When Dearborn met with department heads, he said:

"I didn't get any sleep last night. What can we do about such a toll?"

The council responded by stepping up its continuous campaign against carelessness and indifference.

I asked Dearborn if there is any simple way to measure the progress of the safety movement during the council's 40 years.

1953 RATE WAS LOWEST

"Yes," he replied, "in 1953 the death rate for accidents in this country was the lowest on record. If the death rate for accidents for the first 13 years of the 20th century had persisted to the present time, 570,000 additional Americans would be dead."

The 1953 toll—95,000 deaths in accidents of all kinds—still was at a high numerical level.

Can the death toll be reduced in the future?

Dearborn puffed on a cigar and pondered the question. Then he said:

"If we keep up our program of public education, we—meaning everybody interested—ought to cut it in half in 15 years."

The Postman's Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette, Tuesday, March 16, 1954:

THE POSTMAN'S RAISE

The Eisenhower administration's policy of discrimination against the great bulk of the American people is painfully evident in a measure now before Congress to increase salaries of postal workers.

Recommended by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, the bill is the result of a study conducted by a Chicago research firm. It proposes the codification of the 92 present classifications into 19 separate classifications, with salary increases ranging from $10 to $5,005 per year. More than 400,000 of the 500,000 postal field service employees would benefit at a total cost of $80,000,000 to the Post Office Department.

At casual glance, these objectives appear to be fair and worthy. The mail carrier who comes to your door daily through whatever weather the elements might produce deserves the right to live a comfortable existence, as free of financial worry as is commensurate with his education, ability and job responsibility. Several years have lapsed since the last general pay increase for postal workers, but the rising cost of living has not paused to wait the will of Congress.

Since 1939, earnings of the letter carrier or postal clerk have increased only 68 percent, while the cost of living has practically doubled. There is no valid argument, therefore, against a general upward adjustment of their salaries.

But is the Summerfield plan the answer? Is it an honest solution to the problem, honestly arrived at, without dishonest political objectives?

The answer is obvious when the range of salary increases is carefully analyzed.

The first 2 classifications would be combined with grade 3, automatically placing the beginning letter carrier in the same grade with an employee of some service, presumably 2 or 3 years. The beginner would start at a salary of $3,480 per year, $210 more than at present. The 2- or 3-year man, however, would get an increase of only $10 per year to the same $3,480 salary as the beginner. In other words, the man with experience would actually be valued below the man without experience. Does that make sense?

Other letter-carrier classifications would be given increases from $25 to $100 per year, with the average probably ranging from $40 to $50 per year—less than $1 per week.

In the case of supervisors and postmasters, however, in some instances the increase would actually be $5,005 per year, and in many cases would run as high as $2,000.

It doesn't take an Einstein to analyze those figures and find out who would receive the cream of the benefits under the Summerfield plan.

Postmasters, already in the upper pay brackets of their department, would be pushed even higher. Clerks and carriers, however, would scarcely get cigarette money under the Postmaster General's plan. It would provide Cadillacs for postmasters and roller skates for clerks and carriers.

Coupled with the much-publicized tax-reduction program, which actually would benefit the favored few at the expense of the suffering many, the Summerfield plan proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the Eisenhower administration is committed body and soul to Mr. Big. The average citizen comes in a poor but definite second best.

The Summerfield plan is a thinly disguised fraud and should be replaced by a realistic measure increasing salaries of postal clerks and carriers by a realistic—and honest—amount.

Surplus Foods Should Be Immediately Distributed to Deserving Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, the district which I have the honor to represent extends about 150 miles along the Ohio River and northward about an equal distance. It comprises the counties of Athens, Fairfield, Gallia, Hocking, Jackson, Lawrence, Meigs, and Vinton. In certain sections of each of these counties there are located some very needy families. We have reports constantly to the effect that the Government has a large surplus of food. I have looked into this matter rather closely and find that the Government, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, is undertaking to distribute this surplus food in such a way as to bring a substantial relief to these needy families.

The Agricultural Marketing Service operates through the State authorities. In Ohio this distribution is made through the State supervisor of community distribution.

I have investigated this situation rather thoroughly with the people and officials in our district and I am glad to know that the city of Jackson has been designated to be the distributive center for these surplus commodities. Jackson is very advantageously located from the standpoint of being accessible to all parts of our district.

I am sure that the county commissioners in each of these counties will respond enthusiastically to the performance of this task and I am also sure that the various relief organizations in the counties will respond enthusiastically to carry out this very important and worthy program. It shall be my purpose to cooperate fully with these various organizations so that we can do successfully what the Government wants done and also we can bring relief to many worthy people who are anxious to have it and

are entitled to it under the circumstances.

Several bills have been introduced in the Senate and also in the House. The purpose of these bills is to provide full and complete authority for the Government agencies to distribute the great quantities of surplus food that are piling up in the various sections of the country. The figures now show that the Government has in stock and available for distribution, more than 300 million pounds of butter and likewise more than 300 million pounds of cheese and milk. Also the Government has great quantities of other food that could be prepared for distribution and should be distributed where needed.

It shall be my purpose to support and aid in the passage of any legislation that may be needed to bring about early distribution of these great quantities of foods that are available. There is no doubt that the local agencies, if given proper encouragement, can provide for the fair and adequate distribution of these surplus foods.

The Great Debate: 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the critical importance of our national defense at this troubled moment in history gives every thoughtful Member of Congress deep concern. It is our duty to weigh with great care the recommendations of those who are qualified to speak as experts, and as far as it is possible for us to do so, we should inform ourselves of the many different aspects of the defense problem.

Catch phrases may intrigue us—push-button warfare, the New Look, massive retaliation, and so on. However, there are certain fundamentals of military science which have never been supplanted from the first days when men began to fight in groups against other men.

I have just read the prize essay of 1954 of the United States Naval Institute Proceedings. The title is "The Great Debate: 1954." It was written by a Texan, Comdr. Ralph E. Williams, Jr., United States Navy.

It presents such a clear and concise picture of the overall defense problem that I feel it should be in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Members of Congress and the general public to read and study:

THE GREAT DEBATE: 1954

(By Comdr. Ralph E. Williams, Jr. (SC), U. S. Navy)

I

Ours being a free country, the proponents of any course of action are entitled to argue the merits of their case before the forum of American opinion, provided that they do not overstep the bounds of simple decency and military security. If they argue honestly and if all sides to a question are competently put forth, the American public will generally show enough wisdom to choose one of the better alternatives. This is a far cry from saying that the American people will invariably act rationally in dealing with issues. We have made some pretty terrible mistakes in the past, and no doubt we shall make more in the future. But the signs of our times warn us that we had better not make too many and that there are some mistakes that we now simply cannot afford to make at all.

So the process of public debate upon the issues that press upon us for decision goes on, must go on as a necessary function of a working democracy. And the evidence is rapidly accumulating which would lead one to suspect that a debate of major proportions is shaping up for the early months of 1954.

To begin with, we have been doing two things at a prodigious rate over the past 3 years: spending money and developing new weapons. We are tired of the former and entranced with the latter. Since the beginning of the Korean war we have spent over a hundred billion dollars directly for national defense and have authorized the expenditure of nearly a hundred billion more. Our soldiers, sailors, and airmen come—a good many of them reluctantly—at $10,000 a year. Twenty-five thousand of them have died and a hundred thousand more have been injured in three cruel and bitter years of fighting.

Now a conscript army is a decidedly unpopular thing in a democracy, even in the face of a clear and evident need for it. It can be expected that as the present armed truce in the world wears on, the present level of our Armed Forces may become increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of a mounting weariness with the separations, hardships, inconvenience, and economic burdens that it inevitably entails.

One of the contributing causes to this great restiveness has been and will continue to be the strategic and tactical possibilities held out by the recent advances in novel weapons. Nuclear bombs enormously more powerful than the nominal 20-kiloton Hiroshima weapon have been developed and tested. Guided missiles of a number of types are in varying stages of development, and some are already in production. Missiles capable of carrying atomic warheads have been launched from the deck of ships. The Army has successfully fired an atomic projectile from a 280-millimeter cannon.

Reading as much significance as they could into the sketchy announcements of the Defense Department, many Americans have come to conclude that we are reaching the pay point on a completely new weapons program centered on atomic bombs and guided missiles, which would provide, at a fraction of the cost in money and manpower, several times the destructiveness available from our present weapons. A battery of atomic cannon might replace, not a division's artillery, but the division itself. A few small guided missile ships might come to do the work of an entire carrier task force. A relatively few atomic bombs delivered upon a selected target system by aircraft, guided missiles, or a combination of the two would completely destroy the warmaking potential of an enemy and do it within so short a period as to render superfluous and unnecessary most of our existing armaments. The era of push-button warfare, or something close to it, appears to be just around the corner.

Meanwhile, we have not been alone in the development of superweapons. On August 20 it was officially confirmed in this country that the Soviet Union had exploded a thermonuclear device. Disregarding the technical language in which it was expressed, most Americans took the announcement to mean that the Soviet had, or eventually would have, a bomb capable of leveling a city the size of New York. The announcement fixed the position of Soviet progress in thermonuclear development as being about a year behind our own, and perhaps as much as a year ahead of what our previous estimates had considered it to be. Significantly enough, it compelled many Americans for the first time to consider seriously the matter of continental defense against atomic attack and what, if anything, could be done about it.

New Year's 1954, thus finds us more than ordinarily preoccupied, not only with atomic warfare, but with the burdens of maintaining both atomic and conventional weapons systems. Since a good part of this preoccupation will lead to the conviction in certain quarters that we ought to be doing something other than what we are doing (depending on whose viewpoint is at stake), it is a fair guess that our present arms program will come in for increasing criticism as the proponents of opposed views come to grips with the earthy realities of money and people in the budget-making process next spring.

On the other hand, we may expect that the present program will be stoutly defended, as it already has been in the public press, by those charged with its formulation and development. Speaking before the Marine Corps schools in Quantico, Va., in September, Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson expressed his convictions about weapons systems in these words:

"The increasing power of the atomic bomb suggests to me that the need for improvement of the more conventional forms of warfare may well become greater, rather than less, as we approach absoluteness in mass destruction weapons."

In something of the same vein, Army Secretary Stevens observed in October 1953, "The time is not here when it would be the part of wisdom to put all our eggs in one basket. The necessity remains for the maintenance of military forces whose successful employment has been proved." Twice in November 1953, General Ridgway found it appropriate to emphasize and explain in his public utterances the importance of the ground soldier in war.

As the field of maneuver thus narrowed with the approach of the coming fiscal year, we are likely to see a contest between two opposed strategic concepts revived with an asperity unknown since the days of Billy Mitchell. For purposes of identification, these views are summarized briefly in the following two paragraphs.

First, there is the air-atomic concept, very capably advanced in the September issue of the Atlantic Monthly by former Secretary of the Air Force Finletter, which sees an atomic blitz as the transcendent danger to the United States and advocates a strategic atomic air-arm capability of overwhelming strength as the one decisive weapon about which our military strategy should be built. While conventional weapons would not be eliminated entirely, far greater emphasis than is now the case would be placed upon atomic devices. Within the context of current budgetary policy, this could only mean a drastic reduction in conventional armaments to provide the wherewithal to finance the increased air capability advocated.

Second, there is the much-maligned balanced force concept, which seeks to have the forces available to handle a variety of enemy capabilities, both atomic and conventional. Through it we seek to be reasonably well-equipped to deal with any eventuality, rather than to be preeminently well equipped to deal with one, and not equipped at all to deal with the others. In all fairness it should be noted here that the balanced force concept has never had anything to do with equal shares in the budget. To be specific, appropriations since the inception of our present National Security Organization in 1947 have given $69 billions to the Army, $59 billions to the Navy, and $74 billions to the Air Force. The remaining unexpended obligational authority provides $27 billions for the Army, $24 billions for the Navy, and $37 billions for the Air Force. Ideally, a balanced force is balanced against enemy capabilities—nothing more and nothing less.

Within the limitations of what can be done with things being the way they are, our present force is constituted with that objective in mind.

Perhaps the first thing to be said about these two concepts is that as stated by their protagonists they are indeed incompatible with one another under a budget anywhere remotely resembling what the American people could or would support under today's conditions. This being the case, we face the prospect of another great debate in the months ahead in which, ironically, the contest in the budget arena will be an interesting but irrelevant sidelight. For the real issues which confront us go far deeper than the momentary strength of the Army, or the Navy, or the Air Force, or the state of our continental defense, or the size of our atomic stockpiles. These things are but the surface evidences of a division that goes to the roots of our civilization itself. It is to be hoped as the American people encounter these issues and deal with them that they can be persuaded to believe that here is something fundamental to the survival of all that is fine and decent and worthy in our heritage, and perhaps of the world itself as we know it. For we shall be considering nothing less than the place and purpose of war in the pursuit of the objectives of a democratic society.

II

It is this fundamental issue that relates the great debate of 1954 so closely to the great debate of 1951. It will be remembered that one of the issues over which that conflict raged was that of whether or not our true interest would be served by enlarging the scope of the Korean conflict to include the mainland of China. We eventually decided that it would not. Another issue, and one which brought Mr. Attlee to Washington rather precipitately to discuss the matter, was that of whether we should use the atomic bomb, either tactically or strategically, on the enemy we were then fighting. We decided it would not only be profitless but dangerous to do so. And while we were never very definite about our political objectives in the Korean war, it is quite plain that they never at any time went beyond the unification of Korea, and that perhaps only while our troops were rampaging through the People's Republic on their way to the Yalu. No one in his right mind ever had any idea of starting a new world order out of the military decision we sought in Korea.

Finally, and much later, we accepted an armistice without victory under a territorial dispensation that left Korea about as it had been 3 years before, and with the northern half of it firmly in the possession of an undefeated army.

Perhaps not since the time of President Polk has our country been so bitterly divided over the conduct of an external war, and the acrimony of the 1951 debate will be with us for years to come. But if we consent to view the matter objectively, and without discussing the merits of the case, we can see in our conduct of the Korean war a total departure from our two immediately previous adventures into the realm of international violence. Its significance lay in the fact that for the first time in this century we deliberately chose to fight a major war in a lesser degree than that of which we were capable. In what was truly a remarkable act of forbearance we, of our own design, limited our objectives, our methods, and the area of our military operations in recognition of the fact that a conclusive military victory was not the summary objective of our efforts.

All this was in sharp contrast to the two wars immediately preceding. There we were disposed to picture each conflict as an uncompromising fight of right against wrong, to insist upon beating the enemy into complete submission, and to regard negotiations for anything less than unconditional surrender as a covenant with the Devil himself. In the second of the World Wars this moral hysteria betrayed us into a witless, paranoic insistence that 80 million Germans and 70 million Japanese were our mortal enemies and must be destroyed wherever they might be found and at whatever cost.

Having announced by both word and deed our intention of giving no quarter, we were properly rewarded for our short-sightedness by having to overrun every foot of Germany to the Elbe and of having to expend thousands of lives and billions of dollars to bring a capitulation to Japan who was hopelessly beaten at least a year before. Then, on the morrow of victory, we concerned ourselves mightily with the weakened state of our past enemies and began to pour out billions of dollars to restore what we had so recently poured out billions to destroy.

So the 1951 debate turned the country's attention directly upon the matter of the place of war within the framework of national policy. It resulted in our decision to fight a limited war, for a limited objective, by limited means. It was a significant departure from the Wilsonian credu of "force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit," or the Rooseveltian "Unconditional Surrender," or of General MacArthur's more recent "War's very object is victory." And it is an indication, but only an indication, of the disposition of the American people to view the matter of dealing with one's enemies in a calmer light than they had exhibited before and to set some sort of limit upon the price in blood and treasure which we might be willing to pay to attain a political objective of limited advantage to our national security. The territorial integrity of the Republic of Korea was vital to us and worth our going to considerable expense and trouble to preserve. It was not so vital that it was worth our becoming deeply involved in a continental war with China which might end in a total global conflict and somehow we knew it.

In peace or in war, there can be but one rational basis for a nation's acts and policies: namely the pursuit of objectives that will most effectively advance its interests. Moreover, the controlling objectives of a nation are always political ones, never military. War is never fought merely for the sake of fighting. Beyond the end of any war—and wars do end—political relationships again supervene, and in order for the war to have had any purpose for the victor those political relationships must be more satisfactory and more hopeful at its end than they were at its beginning. If a war is pursued with any other objective in mind it is being conducted irrationally and at odds with its larger purpose, and a nation which persists in such conduct will eventually go down to the ruin and destruction it rightfully deserves.

Perhaps a dawning awareness of this reality was in fact the controlling element in our deliberations about the Korean war. If this is the lesson we have gotten, however, imperfectly, from our bitter experience of the past 40 years, then we have indeed come a long way.

III

Now we are about to see the question of the limitation of war put to us again, stated in different terms than it was in 1951. Naturally enough for America, most of the sound and fury will center about weapons and weapons systems. We are a great people for gimmicks and gadgets, and, sensing this, the parties at interest will undoubtedly state the case in terms of the performance of the weapons they seek to procure. But if our understanding of the problem stops here it will indeed be unfortunate, for we shall be deceived into thinking we have a simple choice between means to the same objective.

This is not the case. The air-atomic concept is oriented in an entirely different direction from that of the balanced force concept and cannot in its very nature be employed for the same purposes. A nation is bound to pursue ends which its leadership considers essential to the advancement of its long-term interests. This it does through peace and through war, dependent upon the circumstances in which it finds itself. The strategy and weapons of the balanced force concept are designed to serve the ends of policy, and while they have not always done so, the possibility was always there, and there was nothing inherent in the nature of the concept that would preclude its being employed effectively in the pursuit of national goals.

The inherent weakness of the air-atomic concept and the source of its incompatibility with sound national objectives arise out of the fact that its weapons cannot be used at all except in total war. And total war in the light of today's weapons capabilities means the irretrievable loss of all objectives of every nation involved in it. None of the belligerents could ever win such a war; most of them could not even survive it.

It may be argued, with some merit, that American atomic air power was the principal deterrent to a general attack by the Soviet in the years immediately following the Second World War. That may be true, but it is also irrelvant. 1947 is not 1957. The Soviet atomic capability has gone a long way toward neutralizing our own, and our own atomic capability now gives us small comfort indeed.

Threat of the use of atomic weapons did not deter, for example, the North Korean invasion of June 25, 1950, nor did it deter the entry of the Chinese volunteers into the conflict 6 months later. It did not deter the conquest of China by the Communists—a staggering blow to our position in the Far East. It did not deter the Communist intervention in Greece. It did not deter the Berlin blockade. Despite our obvious and vital interest in French Indochina, it does not deter in the slightest instance the operation of the Viet Minh forces there. In no possible way does it deter the ceaseless political, economic, and ideological warfare carried on against us year in and year out. Further—and this is something we all should think about very carefully—it is not going to deter an attack upon our allies in Europe by an enemy deliberately restricting his operations to conventional methods under a quid pro quo with his victims against the use of atomic armaments. For it is not ourselves and not our President who in these circumstances will have the last word in the use of our atomic airpower. Rather it will be the nations whose continuing consent is necessary for our use of the airbases we have constructed within their boundaries, and upon whose policies and attitudes we shall have to depend, for many years to come, upon the full and effective employment of our atomic capabilities.

Despite these limitations, our atomic airpower is, within its proper field of effectiveness, an indispensable part of our military power. It suffers principally from being oversold and from having capabilities ascribed to it that it never in fact possessed.

It cannot deter political, economic, or ideological warfare, nor can it deter conventional military operations. But it can, and must, deter an attack by a hostile power using atomic weapons, and in this, and this alone, lies its whole purpose and justification as a method of warfare. Its real value is that of an uncommitted reserve, and it loses that value the moment it is committed; for if atom bombs fall on Leningrad and Moscow, they will surely fall upon Washington and New York, and the sum of this bloody business of trading queens will very likely be ruin and stalemate for both sides. Ironically, atomic air power can be justified

only for the sole purpose of insuring that it will never be used. Be it based on Air Force or naval capabilities, this is what our possession of atomic air power means, and this is all it means.

Atomic airpower deters atomic airpower, period. If we want to deter anything else and if we want to have the means of dealing with the situation in case the deterrents fail, we must be able to counter, promptly and effectively, any aggressive movement, whether by a hostile army, navy, or air force. We must have weapons and concepts suited to the needs of every level of military operations between the border raid and all-out global war. If our forces are to play their part effectively as an instrument of national policy, we must have this broad capability and our enemies must know it. If we do not have such a capability, and if we narrow our freedom of action to fit the limitations of a single weapon concept, we court a very dangerous possibility.

If, by our concentration on a single weapon, we reduce our other military capabilities to the point where we can make no adequate reply to an act of limited aggression, we can, when confronted with such an act, have only two alternatives: We can capitulate, and stand idly by, watching our position in the world being nibbled away, or, perhaps stung by frustration and humiliation of successive defeats, we may invoke our atomic power and in so doing extend the conflict to a scope and level of intensity totally unwarranted by the circumstances of the aggressive act. In this way, by limiting our capability of dealing with the acts of limited warfare, we substantially increase the chances of atomic warfare. Worse still, the atomic superiority upon which we relied as a deterrent to war would, through our weakness in conventional measures, serve to invite the very conflict we seek to avoid.

The air-atomic concept, moreover, is singularly at odds with our participation in any program which might have for its objective the control of atomic weapons. It has consistently been our policy to seek a basis on which atomic weapons might be effectively brought under international control. We have gone so far as to author a plan for such a purpose which has won support from all the membership of the United Nations save the Soviet bloc. But if atomic weapons become our only effective means for exerting force, we can hardly countenance any arrangement which would deprive us of our only means for defending ourselves. Once committed to the air-atomic concept, we must necessarily abandon once and for all the search for ways of outlawing nuclear weapons. Yet to do so is to abandon hope that the world can ever move so much as an inch out of the shadow of the atomic bomb.

Something remains to be said about the proposal that atomic weapons be employed for tactical purposes while forswearing their use in strategic operations, the idea being to establish certain limits upon the types of operation and, to an extent, the geographic area in which maximum force could be used. If such a delineation could in fact be accomplished, the nonmilitary elements of the nations involved might regain much of the privileged status they enjoyed prior to World War II and the military decision might be brought off with far less destruction and far more purpose than might otherwise be the case.

In point of practice, however, there seems little prospect that any kind of line can be drawn, either as between tactical and strategic operations, or between military and nonmilitary targets. Most prospective battle areas are rather densely populated. Armies fight in, around, and for cities. The combat zone in a war of mobility may be 50 miles deep, and a target classified strategic 1 day may well become tactical the next. Battlefield interdiction, a legitimate and necessary tactical operation, demands the destruction of roads, railroads, rolling stock, port facilities, and waterways directly serving an enemy's battle formations. Almost without exception, the most lucrative of these communications targets will be found firmly imbedded in a matrix of noncombatant installations. If anything as imprecise as an atomic bomb is used upon them the whole case for differentiating between targets falls down. It makes little difference if ground zero happens to be in the middle of a railroad marshalling yard if the town around it is blown sky high as well. well.

This simply means that we need to know a great deal more than we now know about the tactical possibilities, both offensive and defensive, of atomic weapons. There is good reason to look for their use against such obvious targets as convoy formations, concentrations of troops and shipping during amphibious operations, and particularly important individual ships such as aircraft carriers. It is our misfortune that in the nature of our circumstances as a sea power we should present so many targets which are clearly and exclusively military or tactical, or both. We are thus relatively more vulnerable than a land-based enemy to any convention restricting the employment of atomic weapons to certain categories of targets and operations—which is all the more reason why we should seek to ban them altogether.

There might still possibly be a use for the atomic bomb as a weapon to be applied directly against troops in open country, but its value in such cases is open to serious question. Even a thermonuclear bomb, to be worth while, demands a certain minimum density of personnel and equipment in the target area, and whether this minimum requirement would ever be met is something no one can know for certain. The use of atomic weapons, or even the threat of their use, by both sides in an operation leaves the whole matter of future land warfare open to conjecture. Only this much seems certain: When the last bomb has been detonated and the last gun has been fired, the issue of the battle will go to the side whose soldiers are in possession of the ground over which it was fought. The ultimate weapon is the man, not the bomb.

IV

As long as we exist as a people on this earth, we are bound to have enemies, and our central problem of survival consists of finding ways to live with them under terms which effectively serve our interests, not in perfecting ways to expunge them from the face of the earth. For politics is continuous, while war is episodic, and there is abundant evidence at hand to show how quickly allies can turn into enemies and enemies into allies. It is asking too much of a distraught and grievance-ridden world to suppose that its peoples will at any time soon consent to be locked together in some sort of timeless status quo which will miraculously dissolve all elements of controversy. As long as great inequities exist in the world, as they surely do, we shall continue to have the basis for conflict among nations and bitterness among men. We should recognize this, and we should have the good sense to draw from it the conclusion that the terms "peace" and "security" in our world can never have more than relative meaning, and that the realities these terms represent can only suffer by any attempt to confer upon them the status of absolutes.

If we cannot avoid conflict, it becomes doubly important that we learn to deal with it at the least practicable level of violence and in installments small enough to give some promise that a settlement might be reached.

We must proceed, a step at a time, to reduce tensions and areas of disagreement wherever and whenever we can do so. If the diplomatic contest boils over into military action, we should strive within the realities given us to see that the military operations we undertake do not prejudice the outcome of the political negotiations which we must resume at the end of hostilities. We should have the modesty to admit that it is not within our power to settle all or even a substantial part of the world's problems and the patience to recognize that even the unpretentious settlements we do achieve are not likely to be very permanent.

This should be no cause for great disillusionment among people who as individuals have become accustomed to regard life as "just one damned thing after another" and who accept its trials and vicissitudes in a spirit of forbearance and good humor that permits them to lead full, decent, and useful lives in spite of their troubles. It simply means that we shall have to stop viewing our prospects in terms of stark absolutes, as if there were no place for the conduct of our national affairs between the extremes of total peace and total war. It requires, in the words of George Kennan, "a new attitude among us toward many things outside our borders that are irritating and unpleasant today—an attitude more like the doctor toward those physical phenomena in the human body which are neither pleasing nor fortunate—an attitude of detachment and soberness and readiness to reserve judgment."[1] We shall serve the cause of humanity far better by conducting our public business in this manner, seeking limited objectives and piecemeal gains, rather than attempting a permanent, global settlement through some militant, self-righteous crusade which can only lead to bitterness and bloodshed.

If a civilization is going anywhere, except downhill, the product of its activities over a period of time must amount to an increase in the sum of human happiness within its boundaries. We are thus bound to stand for the spreading and diffusion of the things we recognize as good. We stand for human freedom and the brotherhood of man. We stand for a decent standard of living. We stand for tolerance and justice and understanding. But none of these things can be propagated by force. Compulsion belongs to tyranny, not to us. The cause of civilization is not advanced by the hatred and destruction and brutality of war. We cannot find brotherhood at the end of a bayonet, and we cannot dispense human freedom from the barrel of an 8" gun. We cannot raise the standard of living by destroying the means which make it possible to live at all. The best that war can possibly do for a democracy is to obtain its survival against the day when it can resume the advancement of civilization by the political processes available to it in peace. But war, of itself, can in no positive way serve the goals of a democratic society.

Knowing this, we need to adopt a sensible attitude toward the purposes and possibilities of atomic weapons. At this particular moment we are absolutely dependent upon them, and our safety and the safety of the entire civilized world depends upon our having an atomic capability sufficient to devastate any enemy who might elect to initiate an atomic attack upon us. We must have our delivery capability effectively dispersed between land-based and carrier-based aircraft, lest one or the other be seriously crippled through a concatenation of political and military events which we cannot now fully foresee. But beyond our having such a capability there seems to be no point in saturating ourselves with weapons and bombardment aircraft for the sake of having "overwhelming air superiority," whatever that expression connotes. It is rather like

[1] Kennan, George, American Diplomacy, Chicago, 1951, p. 103.

a man buying three overcoats when he really needs a pair of galoshes.

We must recognize that the only purpose our atomic capability can have is to obtain the conditions which effectively enjoin an enemy from using his. It can never be used as an instrument of policy, either military or diplomatic, and because of this fact our requirement for the more conventional types of weapons remains as insistent as ever. We must never relinquish the idea of international control of atomic weapons, and we must work patiently and wholeheartedly to make the idea a reality. Just as importantly, we must be prepared to accept such control without prejudice to our own interests, if and when we reach the basis for an agreement. This means a level of conventional armaments adequate to meet the needs of our national security in the absence of atomic weapons.

Above all, we must stop boggling at the specter of atomic warfare as if it were the only possibility that confronts us. The state of mind of a democracy is an important thing, and it is important just now that we get ourselves disentangled from the witchcraft of our atomic alarmists. We don't want to go to sleep on the matter, of course, but we don't want to go crazy, either. It is up to us to see the atomic bomb in its proper perspective within the great context of political, military, economic, and spiritual realities which bear upon our problem of survival, and to see to it that our efforts—and they are very great efforts—come to some fulfillment in terms of the objectives we wish to see attained. If we pursue this course, we shall be doing about all we can reasonably expect to do, and we shall be moving—slowly, haltingly, but still moving—in the direction of a world in which men can live in freedom, and can face the future with some assurance.

Elmer A. Rogers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the New York Society for the City of New York was organized June 20, 1914, to promote friendly social relations among those born within the limits of the Greater City of New York; to cultivate a proper civic pride; to cherish and perpetuate the memories and traditions of our city; to preserve its good name at home and abroad; and to promote the welfare of the members. At its recent election, Elmer A. Rogers was reelected president.

Mr. Rogers was born in New York City on December 9, 1900, and received his education in the New York City public schools, the College of the City of New York, New York University, and New York Law School. He received his doctor of laws degree in 1922, and thereafter took postgraduate courses in government; admitted to practice of law in New York, 1927; United States District Court, Southern District of New York, 1929; United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, 1932; United States Treasury Department, 1924; Tax Court of the United States, 1948; United States Supreme Court, 1949; United States Customs Court and Federal Communications Commission, 1950; assistant to late Supreme Court Justice Henry L. Sherman in New York State senatorial contest before Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, 1928; special deputy assistant attorney general, 1931–32; member George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1932; chairman, national committee on Americanism, Improved Order of Red Men, 1933; member of committee, Citizens Reconstruction Organization—the President's anti-hoarding campaign—1932; counsel to special committee, Washington Heights Taxpayers Association To Investigate Public Utilities, 1933; deputy great sachem, Improved Order of Red Men, 1931–37; member special panel of arbitrators, American Arbitration Association, 1939; assistant secretary of City Title Insurance Co., 1941; president, the First National Bank of Ardsley, 1943; national panel of arbitrators, American Arbitration Association, 1941; director of purchasing department of the Greater New York Civilian Defense Volunteer Office, 1943; served in the United States Coast Guard Reserve, 1944–45; member of the advisory planning board of the New York City Planning Commission, 1946–51; member of the mayor's committee for the celebration of the golden anniversary of the city of New York, 1948.

Author of All-Purpose Real-Estate Contract and Improved Form of Direct-Reduction Mortgage, 1941; Embezzlement: Its Income-Tax Problems, 1948; Federal Income-Tax Discussion of Illegal and Unlawful Gains, 1949; Comprehensive Mortgage, 1954.

Biography published in Who's Who in Law, Who's Who in the East, and Who's Who in New York.

Member of the following professional societies, clubs, and organizations: New York County Lawyers Association, formerly member of the membership committee and committee on professional economics; Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, formerly member of OPA committee and chairman of committee on unlawful practice of the law; American Bar Association; Munn Lodge, No. 190, F. & A. M.; the Consistory of New York City; Detectives Endowment Association, honorary member; National Democratic Club; Grand Street Boys' Association; Academy of Political Science; New York Society for the City of New York; Tammany Society or Columbian Order; Army and Navy Union, Alexander Blasius Garrison, No. 868, past chief of staff and honorary life member New York County Council; American Legion, Grand Street Boys' Post, No. 1025, past commander, chairman of committee on school awards for Americanism; Greater New York Civic Center Association, Inc., member of board of directors; Society of American Military Engineers; Welfare League for Retarded Children, general counsel; Stuyvesant Training Corps, organizer, 1915.

The New York Society for the City of New York was organized by such men as Hon. Samuel Ecker, and the late Hon. Frederick De Witt Wells, Hon. John J. Dietz, Hon. Frank Buckley, Hon. James J. Archer, Hon. John R. Davies, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. Alfred E. Smith, and Hon. James W. Gerard.

The Tariff Hits Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Clarksburg (W. Va.) Exponent, Wednesday, March 10, 1954.

THE TARIFF HITS HOME

The following is reprinted from the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer:

"Historically, the tariff is a dry and uninteresting subject. It has been a topic of debate in congressional circles for more than half a century. Advocates of free trade on the one hand and of prohibitive tariffs on the other, have aired their views over the years. Always, official policy has remained somewhere between the extremes, fluctuating toward high or low protection as the complexion of the Congress changed.

"Because of the technical and more or less abstract character of the debate and the complications involved in the implementation of any trade policy, the controversy has left the great mass of the people cold. They have taken the position, for the most part, that it didn't make much difference which way the cat jumped.

"In order to make the tariff real to most of us, it is necessary to give it a local application—to measure it by its impact on something touching our daily lives.

"The other day, a special Commission on Foreign Economic Policy appointed some months ago by President Eisenhower, recommended among other things that the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act be extended for 3 more years and the President given authority to reduce American tariffs by as much as 15 percent from existing levels. This law, which was enacted back in 1934, has been extended from time to time by Congress. At present, it is due to expire on June 12. Under it, various duties have been reduced in a series of trade agreements, some of them by as much as 75 percent.

"It happened that while Congress is being urged to reduce tariff protection still further, an industry vital to the Ohio Valley is being hard pressed because tariffs already are far too low.

"According to Mr. Carl J. Uhrman, executive of the Imperial Glass Co., Bellaire, and chairman of the tariff committee of the American Glassware Association, duties on hand-blown glass imports have been reduced from 16 percent to only 5 percent in a series of trade agreements since 1937. During the same period, according to Mr. Uhrman, England actually has increased tariffs on the same products from 21 to 24 percent.

"What has been the effect of this? Again, according to Mr. Uhrman, a business slump which has halved the payrolls of glass workers in this immediate vicinity, forced at least one plant to close, and brought all of the others face to face with the prospect of crippling curtailment at best, failure at worst.

"Why is this so? Because low labor costs abroad, a standard of living far below the American level, makes it possible for foreign manufacturers to pay such duties as remain and still sell on the American market at prices which American manufacturers simply cannot meet.

"That's all there is to the tariff, so far as the hand-blown glass industry, the pottery industry, the wine industry and many other American industries are concerned. The trade policy of the national administration

over the past 20 years has struck with particular violence at all of those industries employing handcrafts—industries in which individual workmanship is important; the great category of small industry that has been the backbone of American development over the years and which still is the hard core of our economic existence.

"The mass product industries—steel, automobiles, and the like—do not feel the pinch of this undercutting foreign competition to the same extent because the foreign competition is not big or efficient enough to distush them seriously. That is why, no doubt, the President's Commission also includes in its recommendations preferential tax treatment for American industries which establish subsidiary plants abroad. It is true also in some measure of mechanized agriculture.

"So the powers that be are willing to sacrifice the great handcraft industries of the country in a program of tariff destruction in order to bolster these same industries abroad, in the professed belief that the mere exchange of more goods internationally will promote world peace and prosperity. This in spite of the fact that there is nowhere else in the world evidence of a disposition to remove restrictions on trade movement.

"How such a policy can possibly advance the interests of the American people or add to our industrial or economic strength passes the understanding of all save those who have espoused the doctrine of internationalism and who hold it an obligation of the United States to promote the one-world ideal at whatever cost to the national life of the American people.

"No free-trade advocate has as yet advanced a convincing argument against a tariff structure high enough, and only high enough, to equalize costs between domestic products and their foreign counterparts laid down on the American market."

A Stiffer Stand in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein an editorial which appeared in the Christian Science Moniter, Boston, Mass., of Monday, March 22, 1954:

A STIFFER STAND IN ITALY

The resolution of Premier Scelba and his Cabinet to crackdown on some of the unusual and dangerous privileges enjoyed by the Communist Party in Italy may represent an important turning point in Italian affairs.

The Communists, for example, have been printing their newspaper, Unità, on government-owned presses in a government-owned building, while housing their party and labor-union headquarters in buildings taken from the Fascists at the end of the war. They have financed their activities by a monopoly of trade with the Soviet Union and have brought in propaganda freely through the Iron Curtain.

Signor Scelba promises to assert the state's control of trade and cultural relations with Eastern European countries and to "eliminate abuses on the part of organizations which operate against the democratic regime."

He is handicapped at the moment by scandals touching the police authorities on which me must rely and even the family of a Cabinet member, but these do not seem to be of a type which go to the heart of the regime. There exists, in fact, great confidence in the integrity of Signor Scelba and his subordinates.

To judge by some recent accounts, it might appear that they are waging a hopeless fight against a Communist tide. But a long look at the situation is by no means so discouraging. It is true that the combined vote of the Communists and the left-wing (Nenni) Socialists last year was nearly 35 percent—but so was the vote of the corresponding parties as long ago as 1919, before the era of Mussolini. Although the Italian Communist Party has made some gains in the last 2 or 3 years, it is still below the peak of its power in 1946 and 1947.

There is no question but that communism presents a threat in Italy. And Signor Scelba's firmness may be just what is needed to restrain it from muscling into power by acts of growing violence. But there are those, including former Premier de Gasperi, who feel that the inclination of the neo-Fascist MSI (Italian Social Movement) and right-wing Monarchists toward use of force must also be watched.

The centrist government under the Christian Democrats has the serious responsibility of preserving order as against either extreme without persecuting freedom of thought. If the Scelba cabinet should fail, there is the possibility of a recall of former Premier Pella or of new elections. But there is strong hope that it will succeed.

The recent appeal of an east coast American newspaper publisher for a war of aggression by the West to save Italy from communism appears premature even if it were not also unmoral and profoundly unwise. In the judgment of at least one seasoned foreign correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, of the New York Times, if democracy keeps its courage and wisdom it is unlikely that communism will gain control of Italy for years to come, if ever.

You Do Not Have To Be a Genius To Direct a President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an article which might well be termed "Interesting, To Say the Least," appearing in the Washington Star of March 21, 1954, written by Harry MacArthur, in relation to Robert Montgomery, which article makes interesting and somewhat amusing reading and is capable of somewhat interesting implications on the question of merely to advise, not to direct.

The article follows:

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A GENIUS TO HELP A PRESIDENT—ROBERT MONTGOMERY SAYS HIS ROLE IS MERELY TO ADVISE, NOT TO DIRECT

(By Harry MacArthur)

You don't have to be a genius to advise a President. You can have this on the authority of Robert Montgomery, onetime movie star and director and now a successful television producer. He also, as you undoubtedly know, has added the title of Presidential adviser, with a White House office (but no salary).

Just what does the new job entail? Well, Mr. Montgomery appeared at a White House press conference recently and immediately aroused some speculation. Did his presence indicate that a wedding of television and President Eisenhower's sessions with newsmen was in the offing?

He was quick to allay any fears the reporters had about TV cameras peering over their shoulders while they worked. At the same time he revealed something of the nature of the Washington job which brings him here from 1 to 3 days a week.

WITH GOOD REASON

He was well aware that his presence at the press conference might be misinterpreted, Mr. Montgomery said later on an NBC-WRC radio program, Report From the White House. He was there with good reason, however.

"I went to watch the President," he explained, "to watch his method of expressing himself, his mannerisms, so that at no time would I hamper those expressions or mannerisms if I were working with him." His task, Mr. Montgomery said, is to make things easier for General Eisenhower—not to turn him into a TV actor.

"The primary objective of my function," he said, "is not in any way to direct the President, not to make him give a performance. It is to make the President as comfortable as possible so he can succeed in displaying his own personality, his own attitudes, and his own movements in whatever he says and does.

"The President is most effective (on television) when no technical gimmick stands in his way of expressing himself. That's the reason for my job. The more comfortable he feels, the more latitude he feels in movement, the better off he is when he goes to express himself."

He added that "you don't have to be a genius" to provide this sort of assistance. As an example, he cited the raising of the lectern the President used when he delivered his state of the Union message to Congress. Instead of looking at the top of his head as he bent to read a speech, home viewers could see the President's face.

Another Montgomery contribution to the presidential comfort before TV cameras was to reduce the glare in his face during telecasts. He sat down in the President's chair in the White House TV studio, Mr. Montgomery revealed, and discovered that the lights shining in his face "were so blinding that I couldn't see 2 feet in front of me."

A great deal of the glare, he discovered, was reflected from the shiny surface of the President's desk. Covering this with green baize reduced the light by about 40 percent.

Mr. Montgomery also has been able to point out to General Eisenhower the intimate nature of television as a medium of communication.

"One of the mistakes that most people make in appearing on TV, particularly in public life, is that they think they are talking to a mass audience," he explained. "Actually, they are not talking to a mass audience. They are only talking to a maximum of 4 or 5 people and these people are sitting in a home. So the approach is not that of a man talking to Madison Square Garden filled with 25,000 people, but that of a man having a conversation in somebody's home."

VICE PRESIDENT KNOWS

Whatever the quality of the advice he receives in other areas, the President clearly is being well advised in the use of television. Mr. Montgomery's words echo the theory both professional and nonprofessional critics have been trying to sell TV broadcasters for years.

As an example of precisely what Mr. Montgomery means, the President need look no further than his Vice President. Regarded from the television rather than a political point of view, Vice President Nixon is a mas-

ter of the informal, confidential, personal approach to TV. It is most effective.

The President, Mr. Montgomery said (and as viewers undoubtedly have noticed), is "more and more relaxed as time goes on." As for Mr. Montgomery himself: "After 30 years, I'm about 5 times as nervous today as I was 30 years ago in public appearances. I don't think anyone who goes on with absolutely no nerves of any kind is actually any good."

Grim Days Ahead for the United States Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "Grim Days Ahead for the United States Merchant Marine," which apeared in the March issue of Sheet Metal Workers Journal, official publication of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association:

GRIM DAYS AHEAD FOR THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE

There's stormy weather ahead for American shipping and shipbuilding in 1954 and thereafter unless the trend downward is arrested by prompt and energetic action by Congress.

That is the general consensus of shipping people, including labor unions whose craftsmen are employed in the many phases of ship construction and of management personnel who supervise the yards and the shipping industry.

TREND IS DISAPPOINTING

The trends in the shipping situation are becoming dramatically and disappointingly apparent as 1954 unfolds:

1. Ship construction in private yards is way down, with only 2 vessels remaining under construction after 1954, unless orders are placed for others during this calendar year.

2. The volume of cargo carried by American merchant ships has been slipping rapidly since the peak of World War II.

3. Organized labor, taking cognizance of the dangerous situation, has called attention to the need of strong support for an American merchant marine through united action of the chief labor groups in the shipping industry.

4. With the recovery of European nations, foreign-flag competition in shipping and foreign competition in ship construction is rising rapidly.

5. The outlook as world trade tends toward foreign flags becomes increasingly grim for all elements in the American shipping industry.

Sheet metalworkers employed in the shipping industry have an immediate and an important stake in this shipping problem.

Their livelihood depends on the solution to the shipping crisis—or else they have to seek employment in other phases of the sheet-metal trade. Moreover, as American citizens, sheet metalworkers, just as everybody else, feel a strong need for a strong American merchant marine.

The arguments for a strong American merchant marine are old and have been repeated so many times that it is believed that they may have lost much of their force. The story now unfolding is more than a twicetold tale. After World War I American shipping was allowed to deteriorate and as a result tremendous efforts were required to get our shipping to a point where it could render its full service to the defense and later war efforts. After World War II we began retrenching rapidly.

ARGUMENTS FRUITLESS

The argument for a strong merchant marine as a defense auxiliary is apparently having less force now than ever, despite the arguments for a strong and secure America. The figures on construction in private yards tell the sad story.

In 1954 a total of 42 ships will be delivered from American private shipyards and shipbuilders. The way these ships are being completed by months is as follows: February, 5 ships; March, 6 ships; April, 6 ships: May, 1 ship; June, 7 ships; July, 3 ships; August, 3 ships; September, 3 ships; October, 2 ships; November, 4 ships; December, 2 ships.

According to the construction figures from American shipyards, only two vessels will remain unfinished by the end of this year. One of these is scheduled for delivery in January and one in April 1955.

These 44 ships for 1954 delivery include 27 tankers, 13 cargo vessels, 2 ore carriers, and 2 passenger-auto ferries.

CARGO CARRIAGE DECLINES

With the recovery of foreign nations we are noting a decline in cargo carriage by American-flag lines. This means that more and more ships are being built abroad for world trade and more and more ship-repair work is being carried forward in foreign shipyards around the world.

Since the tanker fleet is an important component of American flag shipping, it might be well to note the trend in tankers. At the beginning of this year the United States privately owned tanker fleet represented 21 percent of the world's tanker tonnage and, according to the American Merchant Marine Institute, comprises the largest fleet of oceangoing tankers under any one flag. The fleet included as of January 1 a total of 442 vessels and 6,925,463 deadweight tons. During the last year (1953), 14 tankers were added to the fleet, 7 were scrapped, 2 were marine losses, 1 was converted to dry-cargo carriage, 1 was removed to Great Lakes operation, and 4 were transferred or sold abroad.

How does our tanker fleet stack up as of now in foreign trade? The picture is described as one of sharp decline in the past year. From a postwar high of 76-percent participation in 1946, says the American Merchant Marine Institute, authoritative trade association for the shipping industry, United States flag vessels slumped to 34-percent participation in the movement of our tanker imports in 1953. The institute says that the "United States flag percentagewise participation in our tanker import trade today is substantially below the 1938 level, when the United States flag tankers carried 53 percent."

Here are some other figures which help illustrate the decline: During the years 1946–50 United States flag vessels carried approximately one-third of our tanker exports; in the following years the proportion fell rapidly to 24 percent in 1951; 19 percent in 1952, and 18 percent in 1953.

Organized labor has become highly disturbed over the status of shipping and shipbuilding. These two great segments of the shipping industry cannot be completely separated. If we have a poverty-stricken oceangoing fleet and a small overseas trade carried by American bottoms, we will have a poverty-stricken shipbuilding and ship-repair industry. On the other hand, if America is to keep her place in the foreign trade and foreign-cargo carriage in dry cargo and tanker and passenger carriage, we will have a virile and active shipbuilding industry.

Maritime unions concerned primarily with actual fleet operations and manning have become highly troubled over the decline of American shipping. A conference was held in Washington, D. C., in January, called the Conference of American Maritime Unions, called to study and make recommendations on the current shipping crisis. This conference included union leaders from American Federation of Labor affiliates as well as those from affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the United Mine Workers of America, District 50. The conference represented both deck and officer personnel.

The conference delegates in a manifesto issued warned that opponents of the American merchant marine are seeking to drive American shipping off the high seas and made a series of recommendations including:

1. Recommendation for construction subsidies for American shipbuilders.

2. Charter of Government-owned vessels to private companies.

3. Government development of special purpose vessels and docks.

4. Recommendation that coastwise operators be permitted to buy idle Government tonnage.

5. The conference asked that the Interstate Commerce Commission be investigated for allowing lower railroad rates on coastwise and intercoastal lines in competitive cargo carriage areas.

6. Reduced tolls for American ships through the Panama Canal were urged.

7. Maritime unions should be recommended at hearings on transfer of ships to foreign lines.

WOULD CHANGE T-H ACT

8. Amendment of Taft-Hartley should be made permitting rotary hiring halls.

9. Communist-controlled unions should be denied collective bargaining rights.

In addition to these general recommendations, the conference also made recommendations on legislation, foreign competition, United States Marine Hospitals, Coast Guard screening of personnel, alien seamen, training program, Military Sea Transport Service. After its strong series of recommendations the unions named a standing committee to act as an observation post for the unions in Washington.

The strong voice of the operating unions indicates the plight of American shipping industry. What is the answer? The answer which holds significance to sheet metal workers in the shipbuilding phases of construction are intensely interested, but they, like others, realize the answer is neither easy nor simple.

NO FUNDS FOR SHIPS

President Eisenhower did not include in his 1955–56 budget message issued recently any provision for subsidy payments for ship construction. This omission has had an extremely dampening effect on all in the shipping industry. Moreover, increased attention to atomic weapons has tended to obscure the value and importance of the merchant fleet.

As America has its troubles, foreign flags are increasing on the high seas. Nations which were slowed down by World War II are making strong comebacks. Great Britain and Norway both are again near the top in shipping. Other nations are rising rapidly and even the vanquished are winning a strong place in maritime commerce—Germany and Japan. Moreover, a new nation is engaging in maritime commerce: Israel.

CONTROVERSIAL REPORT

As unions and employers struggle with the maritime problem, a new battle is arising in Congress over the so-called Randall report. This is a report on foreign trade issued by the committee headed by Clarence E. Randall, industrialist. This report goes

far toward encouraging more foreign trade, but much of it at the expense of American merchant shipping, according to unions. Congressman JOHN F. SHELLEY, Democrat, of California, has voiced the sentiments on certain phases of the report when he said he "heartily disagreed" with one important phase of the report. Said Congressman SHELLEY:

"The particular issue I have in mind is this: in a very weasel-worded way they have made a recommendation that the 50 percent requirement in regard to the carriage of American-aid cargoes to foreign countries in American vessels be eliminated, and any existing legislation pertaining thereto be repealed."

The California Congressman said this would bring about a "disastrous result" to the American merchant marine. His attitude typifies the thinking of many and so we may expect to see a real fight shaping up in Congress soon.

One of the reasons why we may expect to see a strong campaign for an American merchant marine soon is the fact that a nation does not build a great merchant fleet overnight. It takes extended planning and engineering before construction work can actually begin. The fact that there is so little on the drawing boards is causing increased alarm on the part of all of those with a heavy stake in the merchant marine.

As the realization of the grim state of affairs dawns on the public at large, observers in Washington are wishing and hoping that some definite steps can be made soon toward awakening Congress to the danger both to security and to our economy and many thousands of workers presented by the decline in the merchant marine.

Free Trade on the March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the American people are beginning to realize that after their pockets have been picked in the form of foreign aid a powerful effort is being made by the internationalists to turn over our American markets to foreign interests. It is about time that those who are promoting this raid upon our market be brought to heel.

Under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Times of Tuesday, March 23, 1954, which is headed "Experts Say Randall Report Fails as World Trade Policy."

EXPERTS SAY RANDALL REPORT FAILS AS WORLD TRADE POLICY

PRINCETON, N. J., March 22.—The Randall Commission report, which is expected to provide the basis of President Eisenhower's foreign economic policy, was criticized today as inadequate by a group of 18 economics experts.

They scored the report for what they called "its want of basic philosophy and for its failure to assert American leadership or to enlighten the American people as to their international responsibilities and opportunities."

The criticism, contained in a 25,000-word report published today, was the result of a 2-day conference sponsored here last month by Princeton University's international finance section and center of international studies. The critique will be mailed to 2,500 individuals and groups throughout the country.

The Randall Commission report presented to the President an January 23, had criticized United States foreign economic relations and called for freer world trade with a greater interchange of currency, was removal of artificial trade barriers and a lowering of tariffs.

The commission was headed by Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the Inland Steel Co., and was formally called the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. It had 17 members, 10 Members of Congress and 7 leaders in business, labor, and economics. Its recommendations are now being drafted as proposals for Congress.

Although the Princeton report agreed with the Randall Commission in certain respects, it struck at what it termed the "lack of optimism and the lack of confidence in the American economy."

"There is no emphasis [in the Randall report] on the possibility of American consumers' and producers' standing to gain from freer trade and large imports," the economists declared.

They also expressed disappointment with the commission for having given "no consideration to the problem of United States policy toward the economic and political integration of Western Europe, or toward Japan," a nation of "great political and economic importance to the United States."

"An even more serious omission of the report," they continued, "was its failure to discuss more than incidentally, the question of whether the United States should be concerned with the attempts to facilitate the economic development of the so-called underdeveloped areas and, if so, what are the most effective means of doing so."

The conference agreed with several of the Randall Commission's recommendations on trade policy, with the statement that if they could be enacted in their entirety in the next 2 years "the result would constitute the biggest single step toward a more liberal commercial policy" since the Trade Agreements Act of 1934.

GRADUAL APPROACH LAUDED

The group found, however, "no sense at all that the problem is more than one of the rest of the world's trade and payments with the United States."

While it praised the gradual approach to tariff reductions, the conference criticized the "year-by-year approach in the recommendations of the Randall report" for two reasons:

1. "Setting up tariff reductions on a calendar basis would inhibit practically all imports of the affected goods for a considerable time prior to each successive reduction."

2. "Most of those who would support a series of gradual tariff reductions would probably also be willing to support one major reduction all at once, whereas those who opposed reductions would have a longer period to press Congress into passing a law suspending execution of the second and third reductions."

Almost unanimously the conference stated that "in building the report around the dollar-gap problem, the Randall Commission has taken too narrow a focus."

The "dollar gap" is the difference between the dollars that foreign countries have or are likely to earn and the dollars they need to buy goods and services.

The Randall report stressed the need for measures to close this gap to encourage trade, since most foreign nations lack enough dollars or dollar credits.

The Princeton group also said the commission had not dealt with the problems of an American business slump on other countries, although "the outside world is extremely apprehensive of an unemployment slump in the United States" and such a fear "figures importantly in foreign thinking about the desirability of freer trade and payments."

The participants in the conference included Edward M. Bernstein of the International Monetary Fund, H. Van B. Cleveland of the Committee for Economic Development, William Diebold, Jr., of the Council on Foreign Relations, Theodore Geiger of the National Planning Association, Stacy May of the International Basic Economy Corp., and Prof. Jacob Viner, of Princeton University.

Klaus Knorr, a member of Princeton's Center of International Studies, and Gardner Patterson of the International Finance Section, prepared the published report.

A Testimonial to Dr. Oscar F. Blackwelder

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, during the past 20 years Dr. Oscar F. Blackwelder, as pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, on Capitol Hill, has served that section of the city of Washington in a manner that has left an indelible imprint for good. His influence as a Christian minister has extended far beyond the normal boundaries of a parish. His cheerful and friendly manner, his wise counsel, his deep and abiding interest in the welfare of all who came within the circle of his influence, his untiring and zealous preaching, and his activity in the work of the Lord has won for him a warm spot in the hearts of all who have come in contact with him, whether members of the church he served or in any other manner.

As he becomes pastor emeritus of the Church of the Reformation his influence for good will continue, and he may be assured of the deep and abiding affection of all who have known him.

It was particularly fitting and appropriate that the high regard in which he is held should be attested by the testimonial presented to him on behalf of the congregation at the morning service on Sunday, March 21, 1954. It reads as follows:

A TESTIMONIAL TO DR. OSCAR F. BLACKWELDER, PASTOR EMERITUS, LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REFORMATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

As we look back on your 20 years of Christian ministry on Capitol Hill our hearts are filled with deep gratitude to God and to you our faithful servant of Jesus Christ. Your warmly human personality, your compassion for the problems, concerns, and ills of people in all walks of life, your inspirational leadership, and your preaching, teaching, and counseling ministry have left their mark on the members and friends of the Church of the Reformation, the Lutheran family of Christians, and Protestantism at large.

As a teacher, writer, and churchman, and through your radio ministry, you have touched the lives of countless thousands across the Nation and you have made a profound impression on the religious life in the Nation's Capital.

You have shared so willingly and abundantly with each one of us your personal warmth, your wisdom, your friendly understanding, and your fine Christian spirit. You have guided, inspired, and strengthened our spiritual lives. God has truly blessed our church and your ministry among us. We pray that He will continue to bless you and your family and that we may look forward to many years of Christian fellowship together.

For the congregation and the council:
LAWRENCE D. FOLKEMER, *Pastor.*
DWIGHT D. DOTY, *Vice President.*
MRS. CHARLOTTE S. THOMPSON, *Secretary.*
Dated March 21, 1954 at Washington, D. C.

Strong Action Urged by A. F. of L. in Attack on Business Slump

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article entitled "Strong Action Urged by A. F. of L. in Attack on Business Slump," which appeared in the March 1954 issue of the Sheet Metal Workers' Journal. The article follows:

Strong action on the economic front to prevent a further decline in business is being sought by the American Federation of Labor. Officials and economists of the A. F. of L. are presenting a strong case to the administration and to Congress in behalf of economic and legislative action.

The A. F. of L. case is the result of months of observation, study, and analysis of the economic picture and has taken the form of a formal seven-point program submitted by the American Federation of Labor's executive council at its midwinter meeting in Miami, Fla., last month.

The council drew attention to the decline in purchasing power and pointed out that further declines would result in a sharp increase in unemployment. During the Florida meetings the staff economists of the council submitted a series of charts which illustrated the growth of unemployment and the declines registered in wages and salaries, in industrial production and in gross national product. For the information of the members these charts are produced with this article.

The seven-point program offered by the council was a broad one and follows:

"1. Prompt increase in the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act to $1.25 per hour and extension of coverage of the law to the workers now exempt.

"It is disappointing that the President's recommendations for increase in the minimum wage have failed to materialize. The archaic economic views expressed on the subject in his economic report reveal that he has relied on the advice of persons having only a remote knowledge of the role of the minimum wage in a modern competitive economy. There is clear evidence that the increase we recommend is economically feasible and urgently necessary at this time.

"The unemployment insurance system must be generally strengthened without delay to increase the amount and duration of benefits, with benefits geared to wage-loss rather than needs concept. Unjustified eligibility and disqualification restrictions should be removed from the administration of unemployment insurance laws and coverage extended. State legislatures not meeting this year should convene in special sessions to act on needed changes.

"3. Adequate provision should be made to wipe out the great deficiencies in educational, health, and welfare facilities and services, and to strengthen natural resource development and conservation.

"In the drive for economy government aids and services essential to the national welfare have been too often sacrificed or ignored.

"4. Funds should be made available to launch without delay a program of socially useful public works with Federal grants and loans available to States and municipalities in need of such assistance and Federal projects directly undertaken where appropriate.

"5. Aids for housing low- and middle-income families, slum clearance and urban redevelopment should be far more advanced in size and character than proposed in the special message on housing.

"6. General tax reductions must not be put ahead of the Federal Government's responsibility to maintain stability and strength of our economy. When the budgetary situation permits, priority must be given to tax relief for those with taxable incomes of under $2,000.

"The so-called technical revisions recently proposed overwhelmingly favor the well-to-do and business community with tax easements. We ask that preferential tax treatment accorded to these favored groups be rejected and that instead, the numerous and costly tax escape devices be eliminated.

"7. Full effect should be given to the Employment Act of 1946, requiring the Federal Government to mobilize all its resources to promote conditions which afford useful employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

"The Council of Economic Advisers has not discharged its full responsibility required by this act."

Order of AHEPA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Order of AHEPA has made during its 33 years of existence an enviable record of accomplishment in promoting friendship between America and Greece, and, by good works both in this country and Greece, has been of great material help to those of their countrymen who have been in need. This has been particularly noteworthy in the trying times incident to World War II and subsequent thereto.

As a part of my remarks, I include the following short summary of the order prepared by James George Dikeow, which sets forth the principles of which it stands, its aims and purposes, and something of its achievements. It reads as follows:

THE ORDER OF AHEPA

It may well be said that this order constitutes the temple of the Hellenic spirit in America. It represents the highest exponent of Hellenic ideals in the New World. Through the Order of AHEPA, the Hellenic people in America express their patriotic, political, economic, social, spiritual, and charitable characteristics. The membership of this order is composed of men who have remained true under adverse and fortunate experiences—"undismayed by distress, unchanged by the change of fortune."

The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association—AHEPA—is not an accident. It is a purposeful organization founded by American citizens of Hellenic ancestry on the principle of individual excellence. It is dedicated to the task of preparing the individual to exercise the rights and duties of American citizenship intelligently, courageously, and unselfishly.

Hellenic migration to America is most recent. There is scarcely a Greek who has been here more than 50 years. Unfamiliar with the language and lacking in specialized training, they found employment in the performance of tasks which required brawn, muscle, and perseverance. They dug in the mines, made the beds and laid the tracks of transcontinental railroads, built and painted bridges, factories, and smokestacks, and fed the glowing furnaces of the coke ovens and steel mills.

The Greek spirit of enterprise soon asserted itself and prompted them to lay down the pick, the brush, and the shovel and to enter the field of trade and commerce. A most valuable asset was the great respect they had for small beginnings. They elevated the humble pushcart, popcorn machine, peanut roaster, the flower stand, and the shoeshine parlor into the dignity of business. From these humble but dignified, honest, and useful efforts developed the colossal industries owned and operated by fabulous tycoons of the day.

Occupied with their intensive efforts to establish themselves in the New World, and with their all-out participation in the service of the American Armed Forces during World War I, the Greek people had very little chance or opportunity to prepare themselves for the intelligent exercise of their privileges and responsibilities as American citizens. Realizing the need of more knowledge and understanding about American history and traditions, more about the governmental machinery and civic customs of the American communities, the Greek immigrants organized AHEPA to help them acquire that knowledge and understanding.

Their faith in the efficacy of organized cooperation has been justified. Through the patriotic, civic, and social activities of the Order of Ahepa, the Greek immigrants have become fully acquainted with every phase and concept of American life. Through it they have been able to take and keep their proper place in the ranks of a useful citizenry and to raise their families in the American traditions.

Our desire for good fellowship prompted the inauguration of the Ahepa national banquet and the rich harvests of mutual understandings, friendships, and pleasant memories reaped from it sustained the effort to repeat the performance biennially for nearly a quarter of a century. It is in that ancient spirit of fellowship, friendship, and fearless freedom that we welcome you to the 11th reoccurrence of this function and bid you to accept our classic hospitality.

JAMES GEO. DIKEOU,
Chairman.

The officers of the order and its subsidiaries are as follows:

ORDER OF AHEPA, SUPREME LODGE

Leo J. Lamberson, supreme president; Stephen S. Scopas, supreme vice president; Peter Kourmoules, George N. George, supreme secretaries; John A. Kiamos, supreme treasurer; Chris D. Tsipuras, supreme governor of Canada; John T. Laskaris, supreme counselor; James Mazarakos, supreme gov-

ernor; James A. Milias, supreme governor; Andrew C. Angelson, supreme governor.

Past supreme presidents: Nicholas D. Chotas, George Demeter, Dean Alfange, Harris J. Booras, Van A. Nomikos, V. I. Chebithes, George E. Phillies, Achilles Catsonis, George C. Vournas, William G. Helis, John G. Thevos, Peter L. Bell.

Mother lodge members: Nicholas D. Chotas, James Cambell, Harry Angelopoulos, Spiros J. Stamos, George A. Polos, John Angelopoulos, George Campbell, James Vlass.

DAUGHTERS OF PENELOPE, AHEPA SENIOR LADIES AUXILIARY

Grand lodge officers: Miss Adeline Geo-Karis, grand president; Mrs. Tula Zotaley, vice president; Mrs. Christine Johnson, grand secretary; Mrs. Cleo Tsapralis, grand treasurer; Mrs. Zoe Cavalaris, grand governor; Miss Christine Pappas, grand governor; Miss Sophia Angelos, grand governor; Mrs. Helen Lambrou, grand governor; Mrs. Angie Varlas, national advisor to Maids of Athens.

SONS OF PERICLES, JUNIOR ORDER OF AHEPA

Officers: Nick Theodore, supreme president; Arthur Gonos, supreme vice president; John Benakis, supreme governor; Nick Demeris, supreme governor; Jeffrey Economou, secretary-treasurer; Nick Velonis, supreme governor; Jerry Sokaris, supreme governor.

GUBNATORIAL DISTRICTS

Mother Lodge, District No. 1: George N. Peter Pahno, governor.

Citrus, District No. 2: Nick Mack, governor.

Capital, District No. 3: John P. Angelson, governor.

Power, District No. 4: William Seras, governor.

Garden State, District No. 5: Milton Marikakis, governor.

Empire, District No. 6: Peter G. Giftos, governor.

Yankee, District No. 7: Anthony Don Bullion, governor.

Bay State, District No. 8: William Tsaffaras, governor.

Nothern New England, District No. 9: Christos Costarakis, governor.

Automotive, District No. 10: Stephen Andreadis, governor.

Buckeye, District No. 11: John G. Martin, governor.

Hossier, District No. 12: Eli D. Miller, governor.

Blue Ribbon, District No. 13: William D. Belroy, governor.

Grainsfields, District No. 14: James Demos, governor.

Oil Center, District No. 15: William C. Karnazes, governor.

Delta, District No. 16: George Pakis, governor.

The Silver, District No. 17: P. C. Dakis, governor.

Rocky Mountain, District No. 18: Thomas Corontzos, governor.

Mormon, District No. 19: George Morris, governor.

El Camino Real, District No. 20: Nick Angelos, governor.

Golden Gate, District No. 21: Nicholas A. Loumos, governor.

Firwood, District No. 22: Thomas N. Sideres, governor.

Beaver, District No. 23: George Spiropoulos, governor.

Royal Canadian, District No. 24: James N. Kangles, governor.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, ch. 23, sec. 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, ch. 630, sec. 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type, nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matters to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

Inadequacy of Antiespionage Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, one of the very first projects which I initiated as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the 83d Congress was to arrange for the preparation of a study of the inadequacy of our Nation's antiespionage and related laws.

I did so in particular connection with my responsibilities as chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Security Affairs. This subcommittee was set up at my personal request at the very first meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1953.

I have long been interested in this overall subject, particularly because now I am the ranking Republican of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and in the 80th Congress served as its chairman. The Judiciary Committee is, of course, vested with responsibility for internal security.

This is not merely a domestic problem, of course. I know full well that just as our own Nation's security laws are exceedingly lax, so the laws of many allied countries are even more lax and less adequate to cope with the problem of Communist traitors in their midst.

BILLS SHOULD BE EXPEDITED

Mr. President, this is March 24, 1954. I do not know how long this 2d session of the 83d Congress will last; nor does anyone else at this particular stage.

It is clear, however, that as we head into the final months of this Congress, we are going to be confronted by a mass of legislation.

I am hoping, therefore, that necessary legislation to tighten our internal-security laws, to close the literally dozens upon dozens of loopholes, will be enacted in time and will not become lost in the shuffle. I know that the National Security Council shares my desire in this respect.

TWENTY-EIGHT PAGE COMMITTEE PRINT

The printed study which resulted from my request to spotlight present legal inadequacies was published last April by the committee. It took 28 full pages merely to highlight these inadequacies. We could probably have devoted 280 pages toward exploration of them in further detail, and toward enumerating still further loopholes.

MR. SOKOLSKY'S COLUMN

In this connection, I was very pleased that the distinguished syndicated columnist, Mr. George E. Sokolsky, has devoted his column today to pointing up the implications of the study which I had initiated.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Sokolsky's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, to be followed by the conclusions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee print to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the article and committee conclusions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 24, 1954]

THESE DAYS

(By George E. Sokolsky)

THE LOSING BATTLE

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY makes a point that should be obvious to all but is overlooked because historic changes are difficult to note at the time they occur. He says:

"Let us first note that Soviet Russia has demonstrated that techniques of internal destruction are integral parts of its foreign policy. The U. S. S. R. has, in effect, revolutionized the entire intelligence and related fields in international relations. It has placed espionage on an assembly-line basis, graduating hundreds and thousands of agents, expertly trained as cadres in the interrelated skills of agitation, insurrection, espionage, sabotage, and subversion in countries throughout the world."

This has never occurred before in any country. Espionage used to be an art devoted to the single purpose of obtaining military secrets and policy plans. To "agitation, insurrection, espionage, sabotage, and subversion" should be added "infiltration," which is the strongest weapon because it places directly inside a government agents of another government.

The very existence of such a weapon has a damaging effect, since literally everyone becomes suspicious of everyone else. The fact that there could be even one Alger Hiss, one Harry Dexter White, one William Remington, lays all employees of Government open to the prospect of screenings, investigations, clearances, etc. It is a demoralizing condition.

In a report prepared by the Committee on Foreign Relations with the assistance of the Library of Congress, dealing with the adequacy of United States laws with respect to offenses against national security, from which the above quotation from Senator WILEY was taken, this idea is emphasized that while only a fraction of 1 percent of those engaged in the British-American-Canadian atomic energy program were in a position to give Soviet Russia any vital information, the Russians got the information:

"But, the Soviet network penetrated that tiny fraction of 1 percent and achieved the remarkable feat of stealing crucial secrets through Klaus Fuchs, Bruno Pontecorvo, Alan Nunn May, and David Greenglass—all of whom possessed the variety of relatively rare requisites to secure valuable information about our atomic program."

When, therefore, it is suggested that all the investigations lead to nothing because they usually turn up small men, the answer must be that who could have been more obscure than Julius Rosenberg or his brother-in-law, David Greenglass?

Nevertheless, Rosenberg penetrated two of the most secret areas in the world, Los Alamos and Fort Monmouth. He arranged to place his cells in both organizations. He secured cover for his agents, got the stuff out, and prevented his agents from being caught.

It was hoped that the Fort Monmouth investigation would produce the techniques of Rosenberg's operations. Congressional investigations may be a last opportunity to discover how an obscure personality like Julius Rosenberg could do so magnificent a job for his principals.

The Constitution in the current situation really protects traitors, and it may one day be necessary to amend the Constitution to safeguard this country against the new weapons the Soviet universal state uses against us. This is the constitutional definition of treason:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

Neither Congress nor the courts may enlarge on this definition. That is why most traitors are convicted of perjury or not convicted at all. It is growing increasingly difficult to prove that a person is adhering to our enemies, and if faced by the question, he need only take a plea under the fifth amendment and he is safe.

CONCLUSIONS OF COMMITTEE STUDY

In varying circumstances, a hostile act against the United States may be punished as treason, as a violation of the international law of war, or as a breach of a specific statute. But in many instances such conduct may escape punishment entirely. Among the factors which contribute to that result are the following:

1. The definition of treason does not cover a conspiracy to overthrow the Government which has not ripened into an actual levying of war, or aid given to a foreign power which is hostile in fact, but not an enemy in contemplation of law.

2. The requirements for proof of treason make it virtually impossible to convict a clever conspirator of this crime.

3. The law of war, by its terms, operates only in time of war.

4. Much of the statutory law penalizing hostile conduct is directed primarily against wartime offenses.

5. Where applicable in time of peace, many statutes define offenses against national security by reference to national defense, thus creating a doubt concerning their applicability to the mutual security program.

6. Statutory offenses are defined in terms of particular acts which may injure the United States or aid a foreign power. By inadvertence or by choice of policy, an unforeseeable variety of acts which may accomplish these results are not penalized.

7. A number of statutes do not deal with attempts to commit the offenses therein defined.

8. Many of these crimes are subject to short statutes of limitation which may bar prosecution before the violation of law is discovered.

9. Constitutional guaranties of a public trial and due process of law make it difficult to prove certain offenses, particularly espionage, without endangering national security by disclosing secret information.

10. Restrictions on admissibility of evidence, such as that obtained by wiretapping, increase the difficulty of proving violations of security laws.

11. The limited scope of extradition treaties may enable an offender to avoid punishment if he leaves the country before the crime is discovered, or thereafter escapes.

12. The immunity enjoyed by diplomatic representatives is, and the privileges and immunities of employees of international organizations may be, an obstacle to the detection and punishment of subversive activities.

Address by Mrs. Katie Louchheim

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a speech delivered by Mrs. Katie Louchheim, director of women's activities of the Democratic National Committee, to the Women's National Press Club on March 16.

I believe women of both political parties will find its point of view refreshing and its ideas stimulating.

The speech follows:

It's a pleasure to appear on this program with Bertha Adkins not only because I admire and respect her, but because we really have a lot in common—much more than most people realize.

We both want women to understand politics, to like politics and to be active in politics.

I am certain we share some of the same problems. We both fight the same battle of geography. We both sit up nights trying to figure out how to keep those grassroots flourishing. And, occasionally, we both find ourselves called upon to dig up that crab grass that threatens even the most carefully tended yard.

We both think our party is the best party. We both think our candidates are the best candidates. And, we both want our side to win the election next November.

So you see, Bertha and I are in complete agreement up to a point—the point of the pencil in the voting booth and where it makes an X.

It's also a pleasure to be invited to speak before the Women's National Press Club members and their guests. I'm proud of being a member of this club and grateful to you for all you've taught me. Among the assets I think will be most helpful in my present post, I count the wits you helped me sharpen and the conviction based on long experience, that to a politician, a kind word is like that kiss on the hand but a good news story, like a diamond bracelet, lasts forever.

Today Bertha and I were asked to talk about women in the coming campaign—to define their role in politics. Well, my favorite boss, Stephen Mitchell, had something to say about that recently. He said: "The role of women in the Democratic Party is established; it is a role of complete equality. Positions of leadership are open to women on the basis of their abilities, and the days of fighting for recognition and for the right to full participation in party affairs are over."

What my chairman was saying in well-rounded sentences is that men have discovered that women are more than party errand girls—that they have heads as well as feet.

And as director of women's activities in the Democratic committee it is my job to see that women use their feet and their heads; their hands and their hearts.

In the coming campaign, we won't have to start from scratch. There are the time-honored, time-tested methods of organizing the precinct, getting voters registered, ringing doorbells, distributing literature and getting out the vote.

But I believe the biggest part of the job is to get out the thought as well as the vote.

How do you go about doing this? Well, it isn't as hard as it used to be because we party workers have a lot of nonpartisan helpers—and I'm looking a good many of them in the eye right now. You of the press, radio, and television are our stanchest allies.

Every day you help us to relate the individual to the issues. You tell him what is going on in the world. You tell him who in the administration says what about it. Then, you hammer it home with a basic English translation.

No one can pick up the morning paper, snap on the car radio or sit in front of a TV set without learning something about the many problems that face America today. This is the elementary participation of the citizens in affairs of the Nation. And such knowledge is the prelude to the desire for political action.

You break the first ground in people's minds. We party people follow up scattering the seeds of ideas. Our officeholders and our candidates make speeches, write letters and chat with the folks back home.

Soon ideas take root in the public mind and sprouts begin to appear. Here is where the women can get out their tools and do some extensive political gardening.

There is no limit to the variety and degree of their participation. We know we can find a job for every woman and we hope we can find a woman for every job.

Different women like to do different things and they have varying amounts of time to give. We need them all and we welcome them all.

Some like to work with people, others are good at organizing. Some like to write; others like to do publicity or research. Some like to do office work and some even like to raise money.

Another important thing to realize is that participation in politics does not necessarily take a lot of time.

A woman can campaign simply by sitting in her living room and educating herself on the issues and talking about them intelligently to her family and friends.

A woman can be even more active and still not leave her home. She can invite her neighbors in for political talk and refreshment. It's swell to perk coffee for the election night watch, but it is better to serve up a preelection brew that will stimulate some thinking.

And I haven't even mentioned the women who throw their hats in the ring. We are proud that more and more women are finding that they can manage both homes and the kind of political activity that serves their community. You will find them on school boards, on county councils, and holding city offices. This is the answer for those with young children. Those with more freedom are serving in State legislatures, in State governments and in the halls of Congress.

And the old-fashioned idea that women can't be vote getters is dead and buried. People vote for the candidate with sound ideas and a sound program. They do not cast their votes for men or women.

The Democratic Party has long realized that women are an asset. Ours was the first party to invite women to serve on the highest party councils—even before women had the vote. Ours was the first party to appoint women to high office. And recently we've taken another step forward by abolishing the women's division and making women full-fledged party members. Today, exactly half the members of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee, are women. We're no longer regarded as an auxiliary to an exclusive men's club.

When election day arrives, those who have labored in the Democratic field may confidently expect to reap a bumper crop—at 90 percent of parity.

But every woman who has worked in politics—whether she is on the winning or losing side—will find she has had a rewarding experience. I could give you a dozen reasons why, but I'll limit myself to three.

Her energies will have gone into a constructive effort directed toward the things in which she believes.

She will have met and dealt with a variety of new people and that in itself is an enriching experience.

And likely as not, she will have discovered in herself new talents or developed latent ones.

By working in politics women give service to all humanity as well as to their country and to their party for in the long run, good government, for all the people, is their goal.

Politics would be a much different—and far sorrier—affair were it not for women.

One of our great Democratic Presidents, Woodrow Wilson, recognized this. For when he made his unprecedented appearance before the Senate to plead for the Federal amendment for women's suffrage on September 30, 1918, he said:

"I for one believe that our safety in these questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our councils. We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system of life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselings we shall be only half-wise."

What was true in Wilson's day is truer in ours. At no time in history has the world needed more the cool hand of woman on its fevered brow. The headaches of the atomic age call for more than the sedatives of demagoguery. Women have always insisted on talking sense and they will insist even more firmly in the coming campaign.

The woman who gets out the thought as well as the vote will want to know what this administration will be doing about such important issues as: the pronounced rise in unemployment, the increasing cost of living despite declining farm prices, the encroachment of private interests upon the country's natural resources, the curtailment of public power, REA, soil conservation, public housing and health programs, and of course, the tax program which favors tax reduction for the corporation rather than the American family. And in the field of foreign policy, women who are bargainwise by nature, will be wondering whether our national security can be bought cutrate.

We are confident that this November the women of America will turn to the Democratic Party as the party whose record on these issues is clear.

Ohio Valley Navigation Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to

include a letter from Mr. Alex S. Chamberlain, chairman of the board of directors of the Ohio Valley Improvement Association, Inc. The letter follows:

DEAR SIR: In our letter of February 12, we brought to your attention the need for funds to start construction, during fiscal 1955, of modern locks and dams at New Cumberland, W. Va., at Greenup, Ky., and at Markland, Ind. These three new locks and dams—part of the United States Army Engineers' overall navigation program for the Ohio River—will replace 12 obsolete and inadequate locks and dams.

According to the best estimates available, the 1953 volume of river traffic between Huntington, W. Va., and the Cincinnati area was approximately 16 million tons—an increase of about 15 percent over 1952. The badly needed Greenup and Markland projects are in this stretch of the river.

Traffic delays encountered when moving the increased volume of freight through the present outmoded locks have already reached serious proportions. Now, however, a new coal movement has begun, involving the barge transportation of 12 million tons of coal annually from Huntington to Mount Vernon, Ind., whence it will be transshipped by rail to steel mills in the Chicago district. This nearly doubles the transportation load on this section of the Ohio as illustrated in the attached graph.

This added load will drastically increase traffic congestion at locks, slow down all freight movements and thus add at least 10 percent to transportation costs. The Federal Government's cost for repair and maintenance of the old facilities will be further increased. Breakdowns of the overburdened locks will become more frequent and serious, resulting in danger of a major collapse which might shut off all navigation for months.

The Greenup and Markland projects, each requiring 5 years to construct, will replace 9 obsolete structures, will greatly reduce maintenance costs to the Government, will reduce the number of lockages by 75 percent, and substantially decrease transportation costs, thereby benefiting the economy and citizens of the Ohio Valley.

The present, obsolete facilities create a grave danger to the national health and welfare as vital cargoes are subjected to prolonged delays. It is a matter of extreme urgency that funds be appropriated to commence construction of the Greenup and Markland locks and dams in fiscal 1955.

Airpower Must Be the Key to the New Look in Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, discussion of the New Look in defense often results in confusion. An admirable attempt at clarification was made last week by Mr. John Daly, the distinguished news analyst of the American Broadcasting Co. The statement is brief, but effectively makes the point that the key to the New Look is that it permits us the power of taking the initiative. Massive retaliatory power is not the key to the New Look, but the choice of meeting aggression with local forces or instant massive retaliation is.

What Mr. Daly did not say, and should have said, is that the atomic bomb is not in itself important in the New Look. What is important, is the power to deliver it—these are the essential elements of any adequate military strategy for the present day.

Mr. Speaker, only a strong United States Air Force will give us the means of delivery, permit initiative of action, and insure the delivery of the bomb on the target. In his budget message to the Congress, the President said that the budget "points toward the creation, maintenance, and full exploitation of modern airpower." It is up to the Congress to make sure that we create and maintain sufficient airpower to permit the full exploitation thereof.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I wish to insert Mr. John Daly's comment on the New Look in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It follows:

Now let's talk about the New Look in defense. The Nation is confused and there is a good deal of argument because we are changing our military strategy. The change is a continuing and necessary process. The cavalry introduced by ancient oriental invaders brought the decline of the famed Roman Legion. The long bow used so effectively by the British at Agincourt signaled the decline of armored knight and cavalry. The use of mass artillery and machinegun fire brought the static entrenchment of First World War and then that static line crumpled before the tanks, the mechanized infantry, the mass bomber formations of the Second World War. Now the atomic era. The development of flying missiles with atomic warheads, pushbutton warfare—this and the fact that our enemy has vastly superior manpower—demands change, and it has produced today's controversial New Look in defense. The administration's first explanation of this New Look brought objections because it called for instant massive retaliation to aggression by means and at places of our own choosing. The first objection. Does this mean that we atom blitz Moscow because of a minor Red attack in British Malaya? Would we start world war III over a minor issue? Well, tonight clarifying statements [were issued] from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford, Defense Secretary Wilson, and Secretary of State Dulles. They stress that massive retaliation is not automatic. We will meet each case of enemy aggression in the most appropriate manner using local defense forces where practical. We are not relying exclusively on the A-bomb, the H-bomb or just airpower. Reductions in Army manpower are offset by increased Allied Forces and a more active American Reserve. Another problem. Both our Allies and Congress demand that they be consulted before we launch an instant massive retaliatory attack. To answer this objection you won't have something that will satisfy everyone completely. Secretary Dulles says cooperation with our Allies is the cornerstone of our policy. That the power to declare war is the right of the Congress alone. And that both will be consulted in most cases. But should the Reds attack first, for example Paris or London, New York, or Chicago or any one of 33 Allied countries, President Eisenhower has the right under the NATO Treaty to retaliate instantly and massively without consulting Congress or our Allies. Secretary Dulles makes this point that the whole idea of the New Look is the key to the success of our policy. The Kremlin never knowing if their next move might bring an atom bomb crashing down around them may decide to stay in its own backyard. If they do test us we still have the choice of meeting their attack with local forces or instant massive retaliation. Under the new strategy the initiative is ours not theirs.

One Hundred and Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER FERGUSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on the 133d anniversary of Greek independence, March 25, 1954. I invite the attention of Senators to the fact that the fight for the freedom of Greece was started by Gen. Alexander Ypsilanti, for whom Ypsilanti, Mich., is named.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FERGUSON

On March 25, Greece celebrates the 133d anniversary of its independence and the establishment of the modern Greek state.

The Greek fight for freedom was started by Alexander Ypsilanti, for whom Ypsilanti, Mich., was named. He fired the first shot at Jassy, Moldavia, in March 1821. He and his small army were slain, to the last man, in the battle of Dragatsani. But his followers continued the fight and the Greek revolution really dates from Annunciation Sunday, March 25, 1821, when Germanos, Archibishop of Patras, blessed the freedom movement. Then followed 7 years of desperate fighting. Out of it emerged a free and independent Greece.

Ancient Greece for centuries was the cradle of democracy and gave to the world a rich heritage of ideas and the highest concept of civilization.

Later, when the Roman Empire was divided, Greek genius hellenized the eastern part of this empire, and created the Greek Byzantine Empire. For a thousand years this was the bulwark of European civilization and Christianity against Asiatic invasions, until in the middle of the 15th century, it succumbed to the blows of Asiatic invaders. Nevertheless, the Greeks clung to their love of liberty and the Grecian traditions and ideals. The 15th century invasion was in part responsible for bringing about the great Renaissance in other parts of the known Western World because there was a great exodus of Greek scholars and artists from Greece to what is now Italy, France, Germany, England, and other nations.

When the Greeks rose in 1821 to regain their independence, this movement was applauded throughout most of the world as a symbol of the rebirth of the democratic state. The poems of Byron and Shelley, extolling Greek heroes, found a warm place in America's heart. The devotion of America to the Greeks is founded not on political consid-

eration, but in the unshakable faith which the Greeks have in the lofty democratic principles which characterize this nation in all the manifestations of its national life.

And what the people of Greece thought of the friendship of the American people is indelibly recorded in no less authentic and unfading an instrument than the Hymn to Liberty—Greece's national anthem, written by Dionysios Solomos, the poet laureate of Greece, who lived at the time Greece won her independence.

On the occasion of the national anniversary of Greece's independence, I ask all Americans of good will to bear in mind the unparalleled sufferings of the Greek people and to take all possible interest in this small nation which gave everything it possessed in the common cause of freedom in World War II and in the Korean war, and which by its sacrifices and gallantry, elicited the admiration of this Republic.

There has been no moment in all recorded history when Grecian valor and intellect have not been recognized as pre-eminent. In every period of the long history of mankind's advance, the people of Greece have played a glorious role. It was not by error that the poet spoke of the "glory that was Greece"; nor was it merely a graceful compliment. It was an acknowledgment of superlative merit which mankind has recognized in the Greeks from the earliest times.

It is the glory of Greece that no tyrant has ever succeeded in crushing her.

And it is to the glory of Greece that it bequeathed to all the world a heritage of learning, art, and courage.

As we commemorate this anniversary, we know that no tyrant ever will conquer Greece.

We owe a great debt to the Greek mind and to the Greek spirit.

Most of us have proud ties to those older civilizations from which we sprang and certainly this is true of you Americans who are fortunate to have a Grecian heritage.

The people of Greek antecedents, free and independent wherever they are, will continue to exemplify the noblest qualities of freemen, and I am happy to join them in honoring this undying spirit.

Hartford People Are Making Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, we have all been hearing and reading much about the depression supposedly taking hold of the country.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following pertinent article which appeared in the March 21 issue of the Hartford (Conn.) Courant:

HARTFORD PEOPLE ARE MAKING MONEY

Maybe we are all on the skids. But if anyone takes the trouble to consult the facts, rather than his assumptions, he will find that in the Greater Hartford area it just isn't so. The Courant recently had occasion to point out, on the basis of State labor department figures, that Greater Hartford's employment was higher in January and February this year than a year ago. Unquestionably there is less overtime, and as always some have been laid off. But no matter what anybody thinks there were in those first 2 months of 1954—the last for which figures are available— about 6,000 more persons at work than in the same months the year before.

Now further figures from the same source show the inevitable result: In the sum total there is more money in people's jeans hereabouts to pay for the groceries, and for that matter the luxuries, than there was the year before. It is true that, again as between January and February this year and the same months a year ago, the average weekly industrial wage went down about $2 a week. That is what comes out of a slightly shorter workweek, offset by slightly higher hourly pay. The slightly shorter workweek, with more people working, also amounts to a grand total of industrial man-hours this year that is 99.9 percent of what it was last year. That means, for practical purposes, no change whatever. But there remains that fact that there are more people at work. Hence total industrial pay rolls were up 2.3 percent over what they were a year ago.

On top of this, nonmanufacturing employment was up for those same 2 months. This year it was about 2 percent higher than last year. There were no reports of salary or wage cuts, but many of salary or wage increases. This means that the total of nonmanufacturing pay rolls was also up this year.

All this goes to prove, once more, that it is well to get the facts before one forms an opinion. And when all Hartford's ups and downs are taken into account, these latest figures mean only one thing. In and about Hartford more people are at work than a year ago; and the sum total of what all of them are taking home adds up to more money. If that is a recession, it is an odd one.

A Program for the Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 25, 1954

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, the following item, which deals with the relative importance of dairy products among other agricultural products, farm income, and the price-support program, has been very ably prepared by Mr. John York, an economist connected with the Eastern Milk Producers Cooperative Association. I ask that my colleagues give this article their attention:

A PROGRAM FOR THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

Eastern Milk Producers Cooperative, the largest dairy farmers bargaining cooperative in the United States, is comprised of over 8,000 members located in the North Atlantic States. The following statement is presented on behalf of that association:

In an effort to sustain stability in our economy, Congress has established certain price safeguards for the benefit of all people. It appears that, in some instances, these benefits may have accrued to the advantage of one group more favorably than to another. It has been said that the dairy industry supports the livelihood of 1 out of every 12 people in the United States, either directly or indirectly. This does not take into account the fact that the dairy industry has an effect on many independent industries, including such important ones as the farm-implement industry, automotive industry, durable-goods industry, and many others.

In establishing certain price safeguards, the Government has supported through its price-support program, many agricultural commodities, including dairy products at 90 percent of parity. Yet it seems to be unknown to many of the rank-and-file laymen that Government supports are used to support prices of other agricultural commodities apart from the dairy industry as well as industries not characterized as agricultural. Such ignorance may explain the frequent criticism of support prices, particularly dairy support prices. Butter, for example, has been singled out for criticism under the support program, although other commodities have been supported by the Government to a larger extent than butter. Perhaps this is caused by the fact that the average consumer can easily understand the significance of a pound of surplus butter, while it may be difficult to see the importance of a bushel of surplus wheat, a pound of surplus cottonseed oil, or a bale of surplus cotton. Therefore, it seems important to outline some aspects of the support price structure and its impact on our total economy, particularly in view of the present program to support dairy products at 75 percent of parity, a reduction from 90 percent, as announced on February 15, 1954.

Dairy products contributed an average of 13.3 percent of the national farm income during the 4-year period, January 1, 1949, to December 31, 1952. Relative to wheat, dairy products were more than twice as important; to corn, they were over three times as important; and as compared to tobacco, dairy products contributed almost four times as much to United States farm income. Cotton was hardly more than half as important as dairy products, and peanuts were less than one-twentieth as important.

The Commodity Credit Corporation spent $555 million, or about 9 percent, of its total price-support funds on dairy products during the period January 1, 1949, through November 30, 1953. During this period, peanuts received about one-half as much price-support money as did dairy products. It will be recalled from the previous discussion that dairy products contributed over 20 times as much farm income as did peanuts. During the 5-year period, 1949–53, $280.4 million were spent in supporting butter prices, while $289 million were spent on peanuts.

Peanuts and tobacco together represented 9 percent of CCC expenditures in supporting prices between June 1, 1949, and November 30, 1953. During the same period these commodities contributed less than one-third toward total United States farm income as compared with the total contribution of dairy products. Also, during the same period the CCC spent almost 2½ times as much money on supporting cotton prices as it did on supporting dairy prices. In terms of its contribution to United States farm income, dairy products were 1.7 times as important as cotton.

Support spending on wheat and corn present a striking contrast to the amounts spent on dairy supports. The CCC expenditures amounted to $4.3 billion on these two commodities of which wheat received the lion's share. As compared to the $550 million spent on dairy supports, wheat and corn together received 780 percent more Government aid. Of the total CCC investment, wheat and corn together received 49 percent, as compared to dairy products' 8 percent. Wheat and corn contributed together 10.4 percent of the national farm income, while dairy products contributed 13.3 percent.

The price-support programs administered by the Commodity Credit Corporation have resulted in a total net loss to the Govern-

ment of about $1.2 billion since they were started in 1933. Of this loss, dairy products contributed only about 14 percent.

It is interesting to note that as of January 6, 1954, the Government held 260 million pounds of butter and 968 million pounds of cottonseed oil, a principal ingredient in the manufacture of oleomargarine, exclusive of other vegetable oils held by the Government. These amounts represent $174 million for butter and $178 million for cottonseed oil. The public hears a great deal about the former. Not only does the Government hold more pounds of cottonseed oil than butter in storage, but also the Government's holdings represent more money invested in cottonseed oil than butter.

Dairy farming requires a relatively heavier investment in machinery and equipment than any other types of farming. In terms of the average net income on dairy farms in the three regions of Central Northeast, east Wisconsin, west Wisconsin for 1952, the investment in machinery and equipment was 111 percent. In other words, the value of machinery and equipment of dairy farms in 1952 was 11 percent greater than the annual net income.

In the case of cash grain farms in the Corn Belt, on the other hand, the investment in machinery and equipment was only 65 percent of annual income. Other types of farming ranged as low as 10 percent of annual income in machinery and equipment investment.

The obvious conclusion is that dairy farmers are the greatest spenders for these industrial products which are vital to the health of our economy.

Dairy farmers have suffered increasingly during the last 2 years. Their plight has become well known as the cost-price squeeze. The cost of producing a hundred pounds of milk in 1952 was $5.72. The average uniform price for milk testing 3.7 percent butterfat that year was $4.68 per hundredweight. The average producer in the New York pool makes 395 pounds of milk per day, or 144,570 pounds in 1952. His gross income on his dairy operation was $6,768. His gross dairy production costs were $8,269, giving him a net loss of $1,501.

A reduction of 5 percent in the parity level will reduce the average annual gross income of the dairy farmer of the northeast by about $200. A 15-percent cut, or reducing dairy supports to 75 percent of parity, will lower the average dairyman's income about $600.

With parity slashed to 75 percent, New York milkshed farmers will lose about $2 million per month. Milk producers in the North Atlantic States will lose annually approximately $67 million, and producers in the United States will lose approximately three-quarter billion dollars.

These remarks do not deal with the economic interdependence of dairy farming in the national economy, suffice it to say that agriculture is the greatest single industry and that the dairy industry is the greatest agricultural industry. Consequently, any price change in the dairy industry affecting the returns of dairy farmers will, in turn, affect the national economy. A prosperous agriculture, a prosperous dairy industry, is essential to a prosperous national economy.

Based on the above considerations, Eastern Milk Producers Cooperative Association, speaking not only for its own 8,000 members but in the interest of all dairy producers, is of the firm belief that dairy products must be supported at 90 percent of parity. This level of support prices is essential to avert a serious national financial disaster among milk producers.

Given the desirable support level of 90 percent of parity, Eastern Milk Producers Cooperative Association is of the opinion that a sound program for the dairy industry must provide first of all for the disposal of existing surplus stocks in the hands of the Government in such a manner that there will be no interference with normal marketings of milk and dairy products. We believe with President Eisenhower that the threat of huge surpluses must be removed from current markets. The President very wisely indicated in his message of January 11, 1954, to the Congress that the surplus stocks "can be insulated from the commercial markets and used in constructive ways."

To dispose of existing stocks of butter we submit two suggestions:

First, the Armed Forces and the Veterans' Administration should cease purchasing oleomargarine and should purchase butter instead from the Commodity Credit Corporation at a price competitive with oleomargarine. Insofar as the Armed Forces are concerned, a plan for this was announced in the spring of 1953. Nevertheless, purchases of butter by the Army, which does the buying for all the Armed Forces under this arrangement, have been at a rate considerably lower than oleomargarine consumption in 1952. In that year oleomargarine consumption by the Armed Forces amounted to 54 million pounds, according to figures released by the Department of Agriculture. Compared with this, purchases of butter by the Army under the special arrangement with the Commodity Credit Corporation have amounted to only 19 million pounds since June 10, 1953.

With respect to the Veterans' Administration, it is our understanding that this agency is only now getting started in purchasing butter for hospitalized veterans from the Commodity Credit Corporation.

It is obvious, therefore, that in both the Armed Forces and in the Veterans' Administration there exists an outlet for surplus butter which has not been fully utilized.

Second, an intensive effort should be made to utilize overseas outlets. In this connection, we recall that in 1951 the Congress appropriated $190 million for the purchase of wheat for shipment to India on a basis which was little short of donation. While we recognize that the incentive for this action was something other than the disposal of surplus wheat, we nevertheless feel that India offers a possible outlet for butter. Butter can be converted to the oil product known as ghee, which is commonly used by the population of India. We would suggest that our Government undertake negotiations with the Government of India with a view of disposing of our surplus stocks of butter in that country.

With respect to stocks of cheese, we believe that, given a sufficient period of time, these can be disposed of through the school lunch program and other institutional feeding plans, provided that the permanent dairy program adopted does not call for substantial further purchases of this commodity.

Stocks of dry skim milk can be disposed of to special areas in Western Europe and Asia without interfering with normal channels of trade.

These remarks relate to the problem of disposing of existing surplus stocks. There remains then the question of the broader program for the future, a program which would avoid the accumulation of such stocks.

In his message of January 11 to the Congress, the President recommended a program for wool which would embody among other things, the following features:

1. Prices of domestically produced wool are to be permitted to seek their level in the market;

2. Direct payments are to be made to domestic producers at a rate sufficient to give producers an average return equivalent to 90 percent of parity.

We fail to see why a program of this nature should not be feasible also for milk and dairy products, and we suggest that this approach be further examined.

Recent press reports indicated that the Department of Agriculture plans to dispose of existing stocks of butter to domestic consumers through some arrangement whereby the average cost of the butter procured by consumers would be lowered. The question may justifiably be raised as to how this plan differs from the proposed wool type of program. To us the only difference seems to be that the butter operation was roundabout, cumbersome, and administratively costly. It would seem that rather than buy butter at the support price, only to dispose of it later at lower prices in domestic markets, it might have been better to sell it at the lower prices to begin with, and thus avoid all the costly purchasing and storage operations. A further advantage of the wool-type-of-program approach would be that the lower price could be made applicable to all dairy products, which would obviate the need for funneling all the surplus milk through the creamery and cheese factory, as at present. In other words, under the wool type of program, the surplus would be consumed without being first purchased and stored.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Dairy products contribute more toward the national farm income than any other agricultural commodity.

2. The Government has spent less money on supporting dairy products than any other important agricultural commodity.

3. Losses incurred by the CCC in supporting dairy products have been relatively low.

4. Dairy farmers invest relatively more money on machinery and equipment and a reduction in dairy farm income will seriously affect the industrial economy.

5. A reduction in the support price on dairy products is discriminatory and further aggravates the current cost-price squeeze on dairy farmers.

6. New York milkshed dairymen will lose $2 million per month.

7. The survival of dairy farmers requires the maintenance of the support price for dairy products at 90 percent of parity.

8. Existing surplus stocks of dairy products should be disposed of to the Armed Forces, Veterans' Administration hospitals, the school-lunch program, and overseas outlets.

9. A permanent dairy program should follow the lines of the proposed wool program.

One Hundred and Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL CHUDOFF
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. CHUDOFF. Mr. Speaker, on March 25 of this year, Americans of Hellenic descent throughout the length and breadth of this great country will join all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world in celebrating and commemorating the 133d anniversary of Greek independence, and independence won over tyrannical Ottoman rule by a long and heroic struggle.

In view of the indisputable fact that Greece today stands as a fortress of freedom in the Mediterranean and is of great importance strategically and geographically to our own national defense and security as well as being a true and stanch ally, the United States has invested billions of dollars in the rehabili-

tation of Greece, the cradle of Western civilization. It is now an accepted fact that this investment was indeed a wise and judicious one, because our firm stand and financial assistance to Greece has resulted in uniting Greece, not only internally but also with Turkey in their common stand against communism.

Americans of Hellenic descent in the great city of Philadelphia intend to celebrate appropriately on March 25 the anniversary of Greek independence by proper observance, and I am certain that similar celebrations will reverberate throughout the entire United States in all cities, whether large or small.

Sound Tax Rates and Sound Tax Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, my philosophy of taxes is a simple and direct one. Oppressive taxes do not create income. Oppressive taxes do not produce jobs, encourage investments, nor stimulate the economy. For the past 20 years we have been enacting laws without regard to their effect upon the well-being of the country, without regard to their effect upon the productive potential of the country, and without regard to their effect upon the incentive of all classes of our citizens.

I believe we all want to see a strong America, a happy America, and an economically sound America. To do this we must provide the voluntary stimulation in all of our citizens to earn, produce, and invest.

This result will be impossible under our present tax system. Our taxes at the present time are so high and punitive that they are actually destroying not only our capacity to produce for ourselves but also our capacity to meet on an equal footing the competition of other nations.

At present we have the highest tax system of any of the leading countries in the world. Even with the elimination of the excess profits tax as of December 31 of 1953 our corporate taxes are greater than those in England, France, Canada, and many of the continental European countries.

I had hoped that in the beginning of the first session of the 83d Congress, early this year, we would start our legislation with an immediate policy of tax reduction.

It is for this reason that the Committee on Ways and Means in early 1953 recommended that the excess-profits tax be allowed to expire as of July 1, 1953, and that individual income taxes be reduced as of the same date.

In my opinion, if this had been done we would have placed the economy ahead by at least 6 months or a year.

As many of you know, I was bitterly disappointed at the failure of Congress to provide this much-needed relief. I still believe we have a golden opportunity to enact further corrective tax legislation this session. The termination of the excess-profits tax as of the beginning of 1954 should be a stimulating effect upon our economy. The individual income-tax reductions, effective as of January 1, 1954, will, in themselves, give hope to many of our citizens that we are at last starting on the road toward sound tax rates and sound tax policies.

Our tax-revision program which was made the first order of business by the Ways and Means Committee has passed the House and if passed by the Senate will remove many of the inequities, hardships, unsound policies, and complications which have crept into our tax system over the last 75 years.

But, we must not stop there. I, for one, will never be content until our tax rates are reduced to a fair and reasonable level. I, for one, will never be content until we have a tax system which will encourage and not impede productive effort. As was well stated in a recent issue of Life magazine:

> The moral, of course, is that the power to tax is not only the power to destroy (in Daniel Webster's famous phrase) but also the power to encourage, discourage, channel, rechannel, induce, thwart, and twist out of shape, and the thing to worry about is the fact that the Federal system, now that it collects nearly a quarter of the whole national income, is an instrument of really frightening social impact. Without even seeming to—indeed without meaning to—Congress, by the way it writes our tax laws, can penalize industriousness, reward inefficiency, enrich one businessman at the expense of another, set our whole system of industry and society topsy-turvy.

Mr. Speaker, at present many thousands of businessmen are required to spend more time in solving their tax problems than they are in selling their products. I cannot too strongly emphasize that there is danger in placing too much stress upon hypothetical figures and estimates and ignoring their actual consequences. Too often we have realized too late that oppressive rates do not raise revenue.

I, for one, have never been an advocate of the theory that tax reduction must await a balanced budget. While Government expenditures must be cut wherever possible we must not let that fact alone interfere with efforts to reduce or remove oppressive taxes.

If we all put our shoulders to the wheel I believe we can make real and concrete steps this year toward reaching the goal of fair taxation.

I ask the help and support of every true American in achieving this great objective.

Action of Committee on Veterans' Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Subcommittee on Hospitals of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs met in executive session and disposed of two matters that have been under active consideration for some time. I submit below two resolutions that received unanimous approval of the subcommittee, and later of the full committee. The first of these is the result of extensive hearings during the first session of this Congress upon the subject of the hospitalization of non-service-connected veterans. The second resolution pertains to the disposition of hospital sites that have been determined to be excess or surplus by the Veterans' Administration. We also reported H. R. 8044, extending hospitalization in the Philippines for 5 years and H. R. 8180, increasing aid to State homes.

The resolutions follow:

Whereas the Subcommittee on Hospitals of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs did circulate a questionnaire among all Veterans' Administration hospitals and other medical facilities during 1953 in an effort to determine the efficiency and adequacy of their operation; and

Whereas said subcommittee held hearings of 3 weeks' duration, providing 1,265 pages of printed testimony, on the subject of entitlement and eligibility of veterans for hospital care; and

Whereas all interested organizations, including veterans' groups, medical societies, and appropriate officials of the Government were heard on this subject; and

Whereas the Veterans' Administration has issued an addendum to the admission application form for hospital care requiring the listing of assets and liabilities for non-service-connected cases; and

Whereas information on said addendum is not to be divulged to other than appropriate Veterans' Administration officials; and

Whereas said addendum does not preclude hospitalization for needy cases: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the committee approves the present unlimited hospitalization of service-connected veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That the Committee on Veterans' Affairs urges the cooperation of all veterans' groups and all other parties interested in medical care for veterans that the new admission policy be given a fair trial and period of operation before any final conclusion is reached on its workability or feasibility; and be it further

Resolved, That no legislation be considered on this subject until the effect of the new policy has been determined; and be it further

Resolved, That the committee approves the continued hospitalization of non-service-connected neuropsychiatric and tubercuular veterans; and be it further

Resolved, That the committee approves the continued hospitalization of other groups of non-service-connected veterans where beds are available and the veteran does not have the ability to pay for private hospitalization.

Whereas on March 3, 1954, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs adopted a motion asking the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Administrator of General Services Administration to rescind any action previously taken looking to the disposal as surplus property 16 hospital sites declared excess to the needs of the Veterans' Administration; and

Whereas 3 days of hearings have been held by the Subcommittee on Hospitals concerning these 16 sites; and

Whereas testimony from all parties interested in this question was received by said subcommittee; and

Whereas 2 of the sites have already been disposed of, and the remaining 13 were not suitable to the needs of the Veterans' Administration, for the following reasons: Lack

of patient load in the area of the site, inability to staff the hospital, or objection to the site by the Civil Defense Administration: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs be requested to reserve the hospital site at Gainesville, Fla., for 5 years from the date of approval of this resolution, and that no further action be taken by the Veterans' Administration to dispose of this site prior to the expiration of this 5-year period; and be it further

Resolved, That the Administrator of General Services Administration be requested to return to the custody and control of the Veterans' Administration said site at Gainesville, Fla.; and be it further

Resolved, That the Committee on Veterans' Affairs interposes no objection to the disposal of the remaining 15 sites in accordance with existing law.

Newspaper and People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, what happens when a large daily newspaper is sold?

I think my colleagues will be interested to read the dramatic and human account by Marian Witcover and Nancy Ross of the last day of the Washington Times-Herald, as published in Editor and Publisher magazine on March 20, 1954:

STAR BROKE THE NEWS TO TIMES-HERALD STAFF

(By Marian Witcover and Nancy Ross)

WASHINGTON.—The rumors started at 11 a. m., but nobody knew for sure. At 11:30 a. m. the Washington Evening Star broke the story that negotiations for the sale of the Times-Herald to the Washington Post were in progress. No word had come from the front office. At 12:45 a Chicago Tribune news service wire was tacked up on the city room bulletin board—the wire was sent at 12:44.

At 1 p. m. a note from the Herald front office, the first official word, was tacked up on the same board. The note stated that publication was "suspended with this morning's edition."

Reaction in the city room was slow in coming. With few exceptions, the staff work on as usual until the Star broke the story.

"It sort of sweeps a large hunk of your life away," said Gus Miller, editor of the Weekender (Sunday supplement). The large hunk in this case was 27 years.

BIG STORY—NOT INTERESTED

Bernie Harrison, radio and television editor, who has been with the Herald almost as long as Gus, said, "There have been rumbles of trouble before, but I always thought we'd ride it out; it's like someone very close to you dies."

Reporter Ed Koterba, on his way to work, learned almost as soon as the men on the spot. He interrupted his lunch in Bethesda, Md., to call in a terrible ambulance accident there. "We're not interested in it," the desk man said. "What?" "It doesn't matter any more—we're sold."

Don Munson, staff writer, was robbed of a scoop. "I've finally got it," he said over the phone, ready to speel off the defense story he'd been after for days. "Well, stop by on your way back and drop it off at the Post."

"Why, have they got it?"

"They have now. They just bought us out."

Koterba and Munson came to work anyway. They joined the group discussing how did you hear it, when did you hear it, and what are you going to do?

IT HAPPENED BEFORE

"Do? Beyond having dinner tonight I don't know," Albert Armitage, Sunday and feature editor of 7 years, said. He was "too stunned" to describe how he felt, although he'd been through it before when the Philadelphia Record, where he worked for 13 years, was sold.

Sid Ipstein, city editor, said, "I didn't know in advance. Sort of like a blow to the solar plexis. It's a shame that a newspaper that has weathered so many things——" he broke off.

Clarence E. Hill, age 56, copy editor, joshed as he made for the time sheet, "I want to make sure I signed in and out today."

"I don't like night work anyway," the assistant slot man, Lou Brannon, quipped. "I'm mighty happy; besides, I can use the severance pay."

Most of the men have families and homes, such as Carroll Hall, sportswriter, who dashed to the phone and called his wife. "I just told her to sell the house," he explained. They bought it 2 months ago.

Koterba, who has one child and another on the way, said wearily, "We just bought a house. I guess I'll wait till the dust clears."

THEY'LL START LOOKING

As for the women, a reporter who'd been with the Times-Herald for 13 years broke into tears. Another, Fran Malloy, feature writer, felt "as if the rug were jerked out from under me and I'm still tumbling."

White-haired Vylla Poe Wilson, clubs editor for 14 years, cracked, "I never had a field mouse fear of cold or destiny." Betty Vitol, of the art department, said, "I'll start looking for a job like everyone else."

"Is it true? Why didn't you call me?" Barbara Holmes, woman's editor, queried her staff as she phoned from Doctor's Hospital. She was about to undergo surgery there when an unidentified person called her and told her the news.

Joseph Klipple, reporter, wondered how the sale was made between the men involved because of the great difference in their points of view.

The city room became the unofficial meeting place. Representatives of all the employees wandered in—typesetters, engravers, advertising men, clerical workers, and janitors.

Bill Louvier's was the only typewriter in operation. He was filling out an expense account. Louvier was 1 of the 3 reporters in the room who had gravitated to the Herald from the St. Louis Star-Times after it folded in the summer of 1951. The other two were Don Munson and William Kurtzeborn.

JINGLE OF PHONES

Telephones kept ringing and people kept answering them, and the teleprinters kept clicking. But the news got no further.

There was much talk of severance pay, and of when it would be received. The staff repeated trips to the bulletin board for latest developments. The developments were openings for one or more good copy editors and reporters via the Indianapolis Times, a notice of the guild meeting on the 18th; and the book of poems inscribed in gold on its red leather cover "Merry Christmas from Maryland and Robert McCormick, 1953," which someone had tacked up.

People started leaving around 5 p. m. Some decided to come back to work the next day, if they could get in. There were guards at the door and passes for readmittance lay unsigned, except for a handful, on an editor's desk.

One of the last to leave was George Clark, dayside city editor, who had kept his staff producing the same as usual until official notice and then it struck:

In the words of several of the staff: "What a hell of a thing to happen on St. Patrick's Day."

"Together Let Us Labor As One Strong Force"—How Mercer County, W. Va., Is Organizing To Combat Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, it is with good cause that the Nation is aroused over the spreading disease of juvenile delinquency, that the Senate of the United States has a special subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee working toward a solution of this national disgrace, that agencies of government at every level and men and women of good will in all communities are intent on studies into the cause and cure of the social sickness which so tragically affects so many of our youth.

The magnitude of the problem is well known. We cannot read a newspaper without experiencing a sense of shock in the reports of youthful offenders and the seriousness of the crimes in which they have been involved. We have it on the authority of J. Edgar Hoover that crime in the United States is today costing us an average of $495 per family—$20 billion a year. And much of this terrible cost of crime is lodged in the crimes of juveniles.

THE COST OF CRIME IN UNDERSTANDABLE TERMS

Twenty billions of dollars is an almost incomprehensible sum, Mr. Speaker. What does it represent in terms we can comprehend? It is the equivalent of all of the profits of all of the corporations in the United States last year after taxes. It is the equivalent of all of the money spent by all of the people in the United States in 1953 for clothing. It is the equivalent of all of the guns, ships, planes, tanks, uniforms, ammunition, all of the payrolls, and all of the other costs of whatever type and variety of the national defense programs of the United States during all of 1950. That includes 6 months of the costs of the Korean war.

Such, according to the chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is the cost of crime in the United States every year.

How man schools could we build for that kind of money? How many swimming pools, parks, auditoriums, sports centers, bowling alleys? How many colleges? How many churches? How many miles of muchly needed highways could we build?

Aside from the astronomical cost of crime and the high proportion of that cost attributable to juvenile delinquency, what about the social wreckage, the family tragedy, the human misery which

accompanies the depredations of these maladjusted or sick youngsters who transgress, suffer, and cause suffering without end?

MOST YOUNGSTERS ARE SOUND

The problem has reached such proportions that it sometimes seems as if we are raising a generation not of children but of human monsters. And yet, when we regain our calm and look with more objectivity on the overall picture, we know—we cannot help but know—that most of our youngsters are sound and decent and fine kids, and those who have slipped their moorings are only a small minority which makes up in the virulence of its excesses for the comparative smallness of its size.

Comforting as that might be in statistical terms, it is small comfort indeed when we realize we have not "solved" the problem of juvenile delinquency, we have not found the key to its prevention, although we have the skill and energy and brains and initiative to unlock the innermost secrets of the atom.

What a commentary it is on our time, and on our civilization, that we can, with one thermonuclear device, erase life from vast areas of the landscape, but we cannot direct the lives of our youth sufficiently well to eliminate this scourge of delinquency.

But the picture is not all bad. As I said earlier, we are, as a people and in our own communities, trying to find the key, the solution, to this problem. We are not ignoring it. And I am sure we will progress.

MERCER COUNTY ORGANIZES TO FIGHT DELINQUENCY

I think one of the best approaches being made anywhere in the United States toward this goal is now taking place in my own home county—Mercer County, W. Va. It is a cooperative community effort which we dare to think is succeeding at least partially. And I am so deeply pleased and so impressed by the attitude and approach of this movement that I want to share our technique with the membership of the House in the hopes that our approach can be useful in other localities.

In Mercer County, Mr. Speaker, we used to like to think that juvenile delinquency was a "big city" problem and that the neighborliness and good feeling and, for want of a better word I would say the family and community spirit of smaller communities made for an avoidance of this problem.

True, young people in the area sometimes got into scrapes or into serious difficulties with the law, but we tended to look upon these things as random accidents of personality adjustment.

We forgot, I think, that in our lifetimes not only the mechanics of daily living had completely changed from a slower pace to jet speeds but that social relationship had also undergone a far-reaching change.

These changes came step-by-step over the years in a comparative gradualness which perhaps caused us to overlook their cumulative effect. It is only when we look at standards today with the eyes of children that we suddenly grasp the alarming fact that there is often a big difference between our preachments and teachings to our youngsters at home and the facts of life as these kids see life in the actual world of today.

THIS IS EVERYONE'S JOB

Perhaps even more significant is the fact that we may not have been doing the teaching or preaching at all—that instead of instilling what might be regarded sometimes as old-fashioned precepts, we were too busy with our activities and the youngsters too busy with theirs for there to be any real family discussions at all.

And that is where the Better Citizens League of Mercer County enters the picture. We in Mercer County were suddenly awakened to the unpleasant but stark reality that juvenile delinquency—yes and adult crime, too—were not "police" problems so much as they were the individual problems of every family and every neighbor and every church and club.

When we all have individual problems that are very similar, we inevitably find it advisable and effective to consult and advise with each other on handling those problems. And that leads to organization to do something, collectively, about them. Only then can we feel we are getting somewhere in finding a solution.

The Better Citizens League of Mercer County was organized last September. It was not a spontaneous thing, it required organizational zeal and missionary spirit. Fortunately for all of us in our county, those attributes were present in sufficient strength among outstanding civic-minded men and women to get the program underway.

We were told that crime was costing us—as taxpayers—staggering sums right in our own county; that the cost of maintaining the prisoners in the county jail during the preceding fiscal year had come to nearly $30,000.

Talking dollars made sense to a lot of people, but much more important was the sense which was made by concrete illustrations and examples of what we, as citizens, could do about the problem.

OBJECTIVES OF BETTER CITIZENS LEAGUE

The slogan of the movement was "Save the child and you save the community." And these were the objectives which were outlined:

First. To give primacy to the human and spiritual values of life in order to improve the moral conduct of parents and children.

Second. To develop by precept and example a more aggressive and serviceable citizenship with a greater challenge to the home, the church, the school, and society at large, toward this purpose.

Third. To enlist Mercer County citizens in a crusade against juvenile acts of delinquency, adult crime, and together labor as one strong force to overcome this evil with good.

Fourth. To realize that the virtue of good character lies in the hearts of men and women to be taught to their children. When it dies there, no law, nor court can save it.

Fifth. To practice, and to teach others, a greater respect for law, unqualified allegiance to our Government and love and respect for the invisible flag of our God and for the Stars and Stripes of our country.

Noble sentiments you say? Ah, yes; if that is all they are. But in this instance, a community aroused has enjoyed the thrill of putting these sentiments to work in earnest, and we believe we are getting results.

We have a board of directors for the league which includes our county superintendent of schools, the judge of our criminal court, other school officials, representatives of the department of public assistance, chamber of commerce, and the State college, and also representatives from the cities of Bluefield, Princeton, Athens, Matoaka, Bramwell, and Oakvale. The league has committees on juvenile crime, adult crime, recreation, law and order, publicity, school absenteeism, and church assistance. The president of the league, Mr. J. Sheb Dudley, is a man with a mission. Equally important, the membership of the league is composed of conscientious and far-sighted parents.

DELINQUENCY AND CRIME DECREASE

Mr. Dudley revealed in a report to the membership earlier this month that juvenile-delinquency cases, as well as truant cases, coming before the courts of our county have been greatly reduced in the past 3 months. Judge Walter V. Ross, the judge of our county criminal court, says this is due in large measure to the influence and activity of the league.

The league at last report had 1,000 members—1,000 men and women enlisted to work constantly in the home, in the church, in the service clubs and fraternal organizations, and in the community generally to aid our families to stay whole and happy and free of this virus of juvenile delinquency and crime.

To attack the problem the league decided it would be useful to learn more about it. Consequently, one of its most important steps since organization was a recent community seminar on juvenile delinquency at which one of the finest women in America, and one of the greatest experts we have on this scourge of delinquency, came to Bluefield to talk to the parents and other citizens of our county. I am referring to Dr. Martha M. Eliot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, who visited Bluefield on March 12. Her advice and counsel were most helpful and, even more important, reassuring; for the steps Dr. Eliot outlined as part of a model community drive on delinquency came close to paralleling those which Mercer County had already begun to follow under the leadership of the Better Citizens' League.

A GOOD START

Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Mercer County have not ended juvenile delinquency and solved all of our community problems of crime, maladjustment, dislocation, and human relationships. But I think we have made a start—a good start, a firm and substantial start, a promising start, and an effective one—toward the organization of our skills and our energies and physical resources toward the conservation of our human resources—our youth, our families, our way of life.

If we can get across to ourselves and to each other the truism that there are no bad kids unless we fail somewhere along the line and let them go bad, we might well discover not only a path to prevention of delinquency but a route back to the genuine happiness of living we used to see so often and so clearly in our own younger days, and which we see today as only an occasional, exceptional, flashing rarity in our midst.

HAVE WE BEEN LOSING THE CAPACITY FOR HAPPINESS?

Is it possible that the decline in happiness and contentment despite the vast improvement in our well-being over the past years has robbed our children—or, at least, many of them—of the capacity for happiness, and thus of the ability to adjust to life's changes and life's demands and life's responsibilities? Could there be in this situation a key to the virus of delinquency?

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the way the citizens of Mercer County are going about their crusade to recement the relationships of adults and youth, to reestablish bases for a mutual sharing by adults and youth of the everyday good things of our life together, and to teach our families to work and play together in community enterprises may help to give us an answer to this and to many other vexing problems of social relationships.

The citizens of Mercer County are working at this project to make it work. And that is all one could ask. I have every confidence of full success.

Tabulation of Replies to Questionnaire on Issues Facing Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, last month I mailed a questionnaire to the people of my congressional district, requesting them to inform me how they felt about the issues we would consider in this session of Congress.

To date, I have received 8,495 replies. It is claimed that this return is a good barometer of what the people think and believe. I am pleased with the result of this project. It indicates an increased interest by the people of the 11th Congressional District in the problems of the United States.

About one-half of the people who made returns added explanatory remarks on the reverse side of the questionnaire. More than 2,500 enclosed letters and suggestions, and I must say that they were very helpful and informative. In many instances, people qualified their "yes" and "no" answers to reflect their attitude on the more controversial issues.

The result of the poll reflects the percent of people voting "yes," those voting "no," and the ones that expressed "no opinion."

Second questionnaire

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. Do you feel the Eisenhower administration is doing a good job?	77	19	4
2. Do you think the postal employees should receive a raise in pay?	50	33	17
3. Do you believe postal rates should be increased on all classes of mail?	25	66	9
4. Do you believe parcel post packages should be increased in size and weight?	46	34	20
5. Do you believe the civil-defense program should be strengthened by additional Federal aid?	69	17	14
6. Should reasonable changes be made in the Taft-Hartley Act?	80	9	11
7. Should the age limit for voting be reduced from 21 to 18?	37	63	------
8. Do you think income taxes should be lowered by:			
Lowering the income-tax rate?	53	21	26
Increasing the exemptions for dependents?	49	33	18
Raising the exemptions for married couples?	59	19	22
9. Should social security be broadened to include groups not now covered?	76	13	11
Would you favor reducing the age limit for benefits from 65 to 60?	70	26	4
Would you favor increasing the amount a person may earn and still be eligible for benefits?	81	13	6
The social-security rate of 2 percent became effective Jan. 1. Should it be kept at that rate?	73	14	13
10. Do you believe the United States should remain in the United Nations?	76	15	9
11. Do you favor the investigation of Communist subversives by the McCarthy committee?	71	17	12
12. Do you favor the price supports and subsidies for farmers?	29	59	12
13. Do you think we should restrict imports which hurt our industries?	79	12	9
14. Do you favor the Bricker amendment which would abolish secret treaties?	54	32	14
15. Do you favor the United States making trade agreements with Russia?	17	74	9
16. Do you believe retirement funds and benefits should be nontaxable?	90	7	3
17. Do you think universal military training should be part of a high-school course?	56	37	7
18. Do you think cooperatives should be fully taxed?	80	10	10
19. Do you think the proposal for a deeper river channel between Trenton and Philadelphia on the Delaware River is a good one?	51	18	31

The Legion's Civic-Mindedness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appearing in the Paterson (N. J.) Morning Call emphasizes the constructive aid being given our civil defense program by the New Jersey State Department of the American Legion:

THE LEGION'S CIVIC-MINDEDNESS

Nothing which has happened since the reactivation of civil defense during the Korean war or the projection this year of a disaster-control program will contribute more public interest and drive to that combined program than the action taken recently by the State department of the American Legion.

At a meeting in Trenton the Legion's executive board urged officials of the 443 posts throughout the State to enlist volunteers from their membership to take a training course in heavy-duty rescue work. The course will be given by the State civil defense organization. The State board's action was in line with promises made by National Commander Arthur J. Connell to President Eisenhower.

At present there are 252,000 active volunteers enrolled in civil defense work in New Jersey, and the spirit and the effectiveness of the organization will be immeasurably increased by whatever additional help the Legionnaires will provide. The Legion's interest is again typical of that splendid organization's devotion to the duties of citizenship. Americans should take great pride in such unselfish civic-mindedness.

A Food Stamp Plan Would Be a Logical Method—Letter From Missouri Director of Welfare on Sullivan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I wrote recently to Missouri Welfare Director Proctor N. Carter enclosing a copy of my bill H. R. 7870, and requested his detailed comments on the proposed legislation.

H. R. 7870 provides that "in order to promote the general welfare, raise the levels of health and of nourishment for needy persons whose incomes prevent them from enjoying adequate diets, and to remove the specter of want, malnutrition, or hunger in the midst of mountains of surplus food now accumulating under Government ownership in warehouses and other storage facilities," the Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to distribute up to $1 billion in surplus food a year to needy persons through a food-stamp system.

The food stamps would be issued by State or local welfare agencies voluntarily participating in the program and would be redeemable by the recipients at whatever type of local distribution point the Secretary of Agriculture would determine was most feasible. A needy person is defined under the bill as one "receiving welfare assistance—financial or otherwise—from the welfare department or equivalent agency of any State or political subdivision thereof, or who is, in the opinion of such agency or agencies, in need of welfare assistance but is ineligible to receive it because of State or local law," meaning residence requirements, and so on.

Surplus foods so distributed would be in addition to, and not in place of, welfare assistance already being given by the appropriate public agency.

I have outlined here the essential features of the bill, Mr. Speaker, because Mr. Carter's reply, which I know will be of interest to the membership of the House, discusses some of the provisions in some detail.

Mr. Carter, whose division of welfare in the State department of public health and welfare at Jefferson City, Mo., has jurisdiction over old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, general relief, child welfare services, aid to the blind, services to the blind, aid to the disabled, and the Federal Soldiers' Home, wrote me as follows:

DIVISION OF WELFARE,
STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE,
Jefferson City, Mo., March 17, 1954.

HON. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
Congresswoman, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I was very glad to have your letter of March 15 and to have the opportunity to review and comment on H. R. 7870. I certainly agree with you wholeheartedly that some way should be found to distribute surplus foods to the needy persons in this country rather than continuing to build up vast stores in caves and warehouses.

Speaking from the experience of this agency in ministering to needy persons in the State of Missouri, I believe that a food stamp plan would be a logical method of giving additional help to the poorest families in this State. At the same time, I would hope that the regulations governing such an operation could be kept as simple as possible and free of unnecessary detail.

I have several questions and comments concerning the provisions of H. R. 7870 which I am including for whatever use you may wish to make of them:

1. In subsection (3) of section 2, you provide for the distribution of surplus food in packaged or other convenient form. If that provision would require additional administrative costs for packaging, transporting, warehousing, and distributing, would it not be better to confine the program to the issuance of stamps as provided in subsection (2), thereby using present warehousing and merchandising facilities?

2. Subsection (4) of section 2 provides that the Secretary of Agriculture would establish the standards under which the welfare authorities would distribute surplus foods to the needy. Would it be better to have such standards prepared by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, thereby utilizing present channels of operation between the States and the Federal Government? The Secretary of Agriculture would, of course, be the logical person to designate which foods are surplus?

3. Section 4 provides that the surplus food would be in addition to and not replace any welfare assistance. I believe this is a very desirable provision.

4. The first part of section 7 defines a needy person as anyone receiving assistance from a welfare department, which is very good. While I am very much in sympathy with the idea contained in the latter part of this section regarding persons who need assistance but are ineligible, I have some question as to what regulations might be required in order to carry this out. For example, would it be necessary for our offices to make an investigation of each applicant in this group, would they be considered as being in need on the basis of their own statement, or would some other procedure be used in determining this fact? If an investigation would be required by our department, I believe it would add a great deal to our cost of administration.

Very truly yours,
PROCTOR N. CARTER,
Director.

Mr. Speaker, I deeply appreciate the careful thought our State Director of Welfare has given to the proposed legislation. I am sure his comments, which are most valuable to me, will also be helpful to the House Committee on Agriculture when it takes up the subject matter of H. R. 7870.

In reference to the four points noted in his letter, I might say the proposal on packaging of the food in convenient form was made necessary, I believe, by the fact that many of the surplus commodities are now stored in bulk and it would otherwise be a problem to get butter, for instance, to individual recipients.

REASONS FOR CERTAIN OF THE PROVISIONS

There is much to recommend Mr. Carter's suggestion that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare also participate in the food-stamp program, and I hope the committee will go into that and certainly invite witnesses from that Department to discuss that part of the bill. However, I still believe it necessary to provide the Secretary of Agriculture, as H. R. 7870 presently does, with direct authority to set the standards for the mechanics of the food stamp distribution system, since the technical problems of having the food in the right places at the right time and in the necessary amounts will all be his responsibility.

In the fourth point in Mr. Carter's letter, I recognize the fact that there will be a problem in the financing of the necessary certification of needy persons not on public welfare rolls. Whether Federal, State or local funds should be used for this purpose is a matter, I believe, that requires full hearings and intergovernmental discussions. Under H. R. 7870, Federal funds could be used for that purpose, but I have purposely not tried to designate the exact manner in which that problem would be handled.

The one thing in that connection that I do believe is absolutely necessary to the success of such a program, however, is that provision is made for participation in the plan by all families in actual need, whether on the public assistance rolls or not. The private charities are acutely conscious of this problem, particularly as it applies to unemployed persons who, under Missouri law, for instance, cannot qualify for public welfare if they are physically employable.

If the Congress adopts H. R. 7870, I know that the technical problem of financing certification of needy persons not on public welfare can be worked out.

Monster of 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Times-Picayune of March 22, 1954:

MONSTER OF 1965

The Mississippi River Commission's recommendation for Old River control works answers nearly all the questions incident to the threatened capture of the lower Mississippi River by the Atchafalaya.

If we take 1965, as the commission does, for the year of crisis—give a year, take a year—and assume that nothing has been done to prevent the Atchafalaya's gradual grab of 40 percent of the Mississippi River flow at Old River, we can see the full shape of the monster lurking in this problem.

For, suppose in that same year comes the project flood, or for that matter, something less than the project flood.

There we have the choice of two dismal evils. One is the final, irretrievable shift of the Mississippi to a shorter, inviting channel—a shift impelled by the tumultuous push and scour of mighty floodwaters. In so doing, it drowns the Atchafalaya Valley. What the varied effects thereafter would be on all lower southeast Louisiana has been summarized—conservatively, in our estimation—in the commission report.

The other choice is to rush some sort of dam across Old River (if that could be done under such conditions) and thereby drown New Orleans and the lower Mississippi. For without some sizable diversion via the upper Atchafalaya, both the Morganza and Bonnet Caree Floodways together cannot hold the "Old Man" between levees, in his project proportions.

That any such monstrousness in decision, let alone in disastrous effect, and intolerably burdensome repair, can be allowed to confront us is, of course, unthinkable. Yet the Louisiana delegation, and engineering counsel, should be well armed with graphic aids, as well as words, to show Congress what could happen and how it can be kept from happening.

A side worry in this, which is touched on in the report, is the current and continuing effect of silting on the capacity of the lower Atchafalaya Basin Floodway. This silting, from the Atchafalaya, increases with the latter's growth. It has already impaired the planned capacity. Interim remedies seem difficult. It thus would seem that before 1965, either a project flood or near-project flood might overcome or circumvent the lower Mississippi's project defense, independent of the "capture" threat. This goes to the point that 1965 is by no means a completely comfortable target date for Old River control works completion.

Postmaster General's Effort To Improve First-Class Mail Service Rejected by Civil Aeronautics Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, on January 27 of this year, I called to the attention of the Congress a petition that the Postmaster General of the United States had filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board which urged that the Post Office Department be permitted to use the services of the all-cargo airlines in his experimental program of carrying ordinary surface mail by air. In his petition the Postmaster General gave many sound reasons why it would be in the public interest and vastly in the interest of properly conducting his current experiment in the carriage of ordinary surface mail by air for him to be able to

utilize the facilities of the all-cargo carriers.

On March 17, last week, by a 3-to-2 decision, the Civil Aeronautics Board rejected the plea of the Postmaster General and denied to him the privilege of utilizing the all-cargo lines in his experiment. Although the Board had previously determined that it had the power to grant such a request, the three man majority, Chairman Gurney, Member Ryan, and Member Denny refused to accede to the Postmaster General's request, and two of these members, Chairman Gurney and Mr. Denny went so far as to say that they did not find the Postmaster General's request in the public interest.

The Board's disregard of the best interests of the public and of the postal service is now apparent. Not only has regular airmail and air express been reserved solely for the passenger carrier competitors for airfreight, although economic conditions no longer justify the reservation of either, but now a completely new form of traffic, more closely resembling airfreight than anything else, is handed to the passenger carriers exclusively as top-off traffic subsidy for their airfreight operations in competition with those of the freight-only carriers. The Board might just as well put its official stamp of approval on the obvious process of attrition which has been invoked for about 8 years now against the only substantial effort ever made to develop transportation by air on a self-sustaining basis.

It is still hard for me to believe that the Board so intended but, if so, this is indeed a dark day when we in Congress must stand by and witness an agency of our Government take part in the strangulation of private initiative in American aviation and, at the same time, thwart the efforts of the Postmaster General to improve the postal service.

Tax Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD this pertinent comment by Robert Anderson, editor of one of the leading weekly newspapers in my district, the Menomonee Falls News:

NOW IS THE TIME

During the 20 years in which they led the Nation, the Democrats showed little concern for the taxpayer. Now, all of a sudden they feel that personal tax exemptions should be raised to give us tax relief.

We've always felt that Federal income taxes were too high, but we wonder why the Democrats didn't show a little of that concern during the time they were in office. Unless our memory is becoming awfully poor, the only tax relief we have had in the past 20 years was when that "worst, do-nothing" 80th Congress (as Truman referred to the brief period of control by the Republicans) raised personal exemptions from $500 to $600.

If Russia Blows the Whistle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, of the Strategic Air Command, is known as a man of few words. He could not have used fewer words more effectively than in explaining the relationship between airpower and security. The general said:

Someone may blow a whistle on us tomorrow and we'll have to go out and fight.

If we do have to fight, we will need lots of airpower, and superior airpower. But the best reason for maintaining adequate airpower is that if we have it, we probably will not have to use it.

The real question raised by the so-called New Look is whether we are building sufficient airpower, rapidly enough to keep us out of war. A new goal of 137 wings by June 30, 1957, has been substituted for the former goal of 143 wings by June 30, 1955. We are told that the 137 wings will have the combat strength of the 143, as a result of new developments in aircraft and new use of carrier aircraft. So the chief difference between the 143-wing program and the 137-wing program is one of goal attainment. The Secretary of the Air Force stated on Tuesday of last week to the Senate Appropriations Committee that the concept of a fixed D-day has been rejected, and the concept of a floating D-day substituted. But D-day will not be determined by the United States Department of Defense, nor by any congressional committee. D-day is on the enemy's calendar, not ours.

What we have postponed is not D-day but our readiness to meet it, if it comes. So the New Look in defense turns out to be primarily a loss of 2 years of precious time. The changing situation in the world has grown worse while we have thrown time away. False economies left us unprepared for the task we were called to perform in Korea. Delays and postponements now are not preparing us for what we may be called on to do tomorrow—if Russia blows the whistle.

Mr. Speaker, the first duty of the Congress is to provide the military strength essential to meet the Soviet threat, whenever—and wherever—it materializes. That means adequate airpower. Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues to extend my remarks, I insert in the RECORD the following editorial from the Boston Record of March 8:

STAY IN FRONT

Gen. Curtis Lemay, Chief of Strategic Air Command of the Air Force, has what impresses us as the proper concept of the relationship between airpower and security.

He suggests that it is dangerous, and may be fatal, for America to be content with anything less than superior airpower because:

"Someone may blow a whistle on us tomorrow and we'll have to go out and fight."

Inferior airpower is not capable of winning in modern warfare.

It is wholly incapable of preventing involvement in unwanted war.

Since victory in war, if we have to fight, and avoidance of war altogether, if that is possible, are among the top-most aspirations of the American people, the policy of getting out in front of our potential enemies in airpower and of staying in front should never be out of our minds.

If it is said that kind of airpower is expensive, that is true.

But it is not a fraction of the cost of fighting a victorious war.

The cost of losing a major war would be utter extinguishment of our national wealth and resources, not to mention the lives and freedom of our people.

Let America get the lead in airpower and keep it, as General Lemay admonishes, and if we don't manage to keep out of future war we will at least survive it.

Reduction of Bias and Discrimination in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Bias Fading Away," which appeared in the March 22 issue of the New York Daily News, and which points out another milestone in the success of the New York State law against discrimination.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIAS FADING AWAY

New York State's Commission Against Discrimination has submitted its annual report to Governor Dewey and the legislature. The news was good. In 1953, says Commission Chairman Ward B. Arbury, his group was called upon to check 283 formal discrimination complaints. Of these, just 62 were found to be based on probable bias as regards color, religion, or nationality.

In 60 of those cases, the issues were ironed out quietly by State conciliators. In only two instances were public hearings necessary.

Where does discrimination still exist? The breakdown discloses that 75 percent of the complaints were made against employers; 13 percent against vacation resorts, hotels, restaurants, theaters, etc.; 6 percent against employment agencies; 6 percent against labor unions.

Even in highly enlightened New York State, it was found, some color bias persists. A total of 186 such charges were filed.

During the year there were only 37 claims of discrimination because of creed. A total of 14, including Italian, Spanish, Puerto Rican, American, Argentine, British, Russian, and Filipino citizens, reported that they had experienced bias because of their racial origin.

EMPLOYERS COOPERATE

Mr. Arbury points out, furthermore, that the discrimination trend is still heading downward. In the past year an extraordinary number of employers and labor unions have revised their policies as to minority groups. One of the largest railroad brotherhoods now admits Negroes to full membership; manufacturing plants, retail stores, and other businesses have cooperated with the commission's quiet but firm suggestions.

The group now believes that "the ultimate elimination of discrimination based on racial, religious, or nationality grounds can become a reality in the foreseeable future."

We'd say that's heartening news. Moscow newspapers and official United States commie hate sheets please copy.

Boom, Bust, and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, there is now much talk about reducing taxes. Personally I feel that so long as we are running deficits a reduction of taxes is not sound from the American standpoint. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Boom, Bust, and Taxes," published in the Washington Daily News of March 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOOM, BUST, AND TAXES

Several items on our desk inspire these observations about our economy.

One is a thick report from the Committee on Economic Development, an unofficial group which the last 12 years has been contributing research, information, and suggestions looking toward economic stability.

The report analyzes current economic trends, contrasts them with the factors leading to the depression of the 1930s, concludes there is little resemblance and offers some ideas about meeting the present period of readjustment.

But, since there is no way to "rule" the economy—economics not being by any means an exact science—the CED does not pretend that its basic ideas are any substitute for "insight, judgment, boldness, and moderation" in dealing with the situation as it unfolds.

It does say, however, that the problem is one for all elements—business, labor, consumer, government. It is not, as some of our politicians keep preaching, solely the problem of the Federal Government.

IMPORTANCE OF CONFIDENCE

One major factor is psychological—the fear of a decline, which causes people to hold back their spending, either in the hope that there will be lower prices or in the belief they will have greater need for their money later. This could be disastrous, if built up to outlandish proportions, as some of our prophets of gloom should understand.

Confidence is the foundation of our economy. And a basis for confidence is hard work. As Ben Moreell, chairman of the board of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., points out in the last issue of his company publication, there is no substitute for hard work.

Now that we are in a buyers' market, Mr. Moreell argues, the emphasis must be shifted from production volume to quality, costs, and contacts with customers. Those are the things which induce consumers to buy.

People never cease to want things. They will buy what they want if the product is right and the price is right.

One of the factors in price, of course, is taxes. Real tax reduction, then, helps to stimulate buying and therefore has an important effect on the economy. But phony tax cuts have the opposite effect.

DEFICITS ARE INFLATIONARY

Tax cuts are phony so long as the Government is running up big deficits. When the Government doesn't have enough income to meet its expenses, it borrows. If the present wave of deep tax cutting prevails in Congress, the Government will be borrowing ever bigger sums. Such borrowing is inflationary, as any Congressman looking back over the last 20 years should have learned.

Whatever money benefits the consumer may gain from the proposed tax cuts will be more than wiped out by the ensuing price inflation. It is precisely inflation, over a long period, which created the present economic dip. More of it may postpone a dip, but inevitably will make it worse.

Which makes us wonder about the fact that some of those loudest in the clamor for overly deep tax cuts also are hanging crepe on the economic outlook.

Inside Labor—Impotency of the States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WINGATE H. LUCAS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Victor Riesel:

INSIDE LABOR—IMPOTENCY OF THE STATES

(By Victor Riesel)

This will come as a surprise to many a governor. But, as a result of recent high court decisions, the States have no power to regulate or control strikes, boycotts, or picketing—and that includes mass picketing.

This is true even in emergencies such as the cutting off of milk or bread supplies.

The States, their governors and their courts can act only if there is picket line violence. They cannot interfere unless the strike is against one of the very, very few businesses which can be proved to be strictly local and which have absolutely no relations to interstate commerce.

The specific local character of a business is difficult to prove. Even office skyscrapers have been ruled in interstate commerce.

Furthermore, it can be reported authentically that the White House has changed its plans, which formerly called for a special Presidential message urging that the States be given power to regulate strikes and picketing. President Eisenhower reversed himself during private White House conferences because of the opposition of Labor Secretary James Mitchell. This Cabinet member fought any further concessions to the States. As a result there is a deadlock behind the scenes—and, at least for the moment, Mitchell's views prevail.

So the whole operation is bogged down. Without a message from Ike, Congress itself won't move to give the States the power they've been seeking. This, therefore, can become a substantial victory for labor.

Reason is that the Supreme Court has ruled that the States have no power to act on the labor front where the jurisdiction conflicts with the Federal Taft-Hartley Act.

The courts have been knocked out of the Pennsylvania antisedition law. This is another example of the narrowing of the power of the States.

Without further White House pressure, the stalemated situation means that many a factory and many a municipality will be in a shadowland area over which no one force or authority has power. Conjecture, for example, about a milk strike which cuts off all supplies from a city.

The strike is peaceful, but bitterly deadlocked. Under this situation other unions can refuse to transport and distribute the milk. Yet, because the dairy industry is interstate, neither the city nor the State can move.

Even though the strike comes under the Federal law, it is not a national emergency, but a local one. The Federal Government, therefore, has no power to move in. The crisis, then, is in the hands of the warring labor and management officials. Their reason alone can prevail.

The State can move in only one area—on the public utility front. If an emergency threatens because a strike has cut the supply of gas, electric power or water, the State can act—but only if it seizes the public utility plants. It cannot move against the strike, the strikers, or the pickets. It can operate the utilities—if it can find workers to go through the lines.

However, this means that many a governor or mayor will be faced with surrender of his own belief that it is wrong to seize private property.

There are just a few leaders of industry and labor who are aware of what has happened so swiftly on this front in the past few weeks. These industrialists have been pressuring the White House and Congress for action. President Eisenhower's current decision against bidding for an increase in State authority over labor comes just as the national chamber of commerce is demanding that "States should be free to implement all their labor laws in such matters as strikes, walkouts, picketing, boycotts, and enforcement of valid collective bargaining contracts."

The Nation's top labor leaders, who have been in touch with Secretary Mitchell, whom they consider their best friend in the administration, are quietly delighted with the deadlock inside the White House. But the quietude on the Hill soon will be smashed.

The maverick House Labor Committee is planning to bring out a labor bill which returns broad powers over unions to the States. The Senate Labor Committee, on the other hand, will reflect the current White House views. Congress will, therefore, be deadlocked.

There will be no new labor law to replace the Taft-Hartley. And no powers for the States.

The Bryson Bill: H. R. 1227

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ERNEST WHARTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, my daily mail frequently includes communications in support of the Bryson bill, H. R. 1227, to prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages, and for other purposes.

In view of the great public interest in this matter, I trust that the subject may receive due consideration in the present Congress.

Congressman J. ERNEST WHARTON,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned request that you present this petition to the House and have notice of it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Also, we ask that you give it to the chair-

man of the committee handling the Bryson bill, H. R. 1227.

We strongly object to the constant invasion of our private homes via radio, television, and periodicals with material calculated to induce drinking of alcoholic beverages.

We do not like the effect of such propaganda on our children and young people. Clear heads and sound judgment are of vital importance to us and to our country.

EMILIE M. SCHULTE
(And 17 additional signers).
RHINEBECK, N. Y.

Strict Embargo Only Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include an objective article entitled "Strict Embargo Only Answer," written by George Minot, appearing in the Boston Herald of March 21, 1954:

WEST SPLIT WIDE OPEN ON AIMS IN ASIA—STRICT EMBARGO ONLY ANSWER

(By George Minot)

There's going to be a big conference on the Far East in Geneva next months. Once again it's obvious we're in for more trouble. Sympathizers of the Communists encourage us to get into these things. Anly after it is too late we find that they do nothing but build up Soviet prestige. It should be clear to anybody that the Reds are entirely indifferent to pleas of the West for a peace settlement. At each parley their arrogance grows more unbearable.

Secretary Dulles came home from the Berlin conference trying to give the impression we had done all right there. He was flabbergasted when the Republicans in the Senate started to question him sharply. Then people began to realize we had been taken to the cleaners again.

REDS HAD TWO AIMS AT BERLIN

Soviet diplomacy at Berlin was aimed at two things. One was to stave off enactment of the European Defense Community. M. Bidault talked boldly at Berlin, but when he returned to Paris his words were lost in the swampy mess that has engulfed French politics since the war.

The other Soviet objective in Berlin was to use the difficulties in which the European countries find themselves as a lever to get the United States into agreement for talks on a truce in the Indochina war—and to get China's admission into a far-eastern conference.

Molotov, a wily monster if ever there was one, did very well at Berlin, despite our early satisfaction. At Geneva, too, surrounded by the Red Chinese, the North Koreans, and Ho Chi Minh, of Indochina, he will do all right.

In Europe the Western Powers are pretty well united on what ought to be done. In Asia we are split from hell to high heaven. Our own military men are reported to be appalled at the prospect of dickering with the Communists over the war in Indochina before there is any sign of a victory for the non-Communist side.

It is all very well for the French to point to Korea and tell us we got out of there without victory and without loss of too much face, but the comparison isn't any good. For one thing, Korea is split by a natural line; for another, we actually did repel aggression. Again we had the will to fight.

JUST WANT TO GET OUT

The French simply want to get out of there. It is not hard to understand that. They are not anywhere near as upset over the results of a complete Communist takeover in that part of the world as we are.

The Geneva conference easily can become a trap for the French. The Russians are certain to offer a peace in Indochina if the French will abandon the European Defense Community idea. Inasmuch as any French politician would be taking his life in his hands if he agreed to any setup in Europe that contained a strong and rearmed Germany, and as any peace in Indochina could be broken by the Reds 10 days or less after it was signed, you can see there's not going to be anything good coming out of the Geneva conference as far as France is concerned.

Britain, on the other hand, expects to get quite a lot at Geneva. Britain wants to trade much more in Asia and as Britain never plans to trade with anybody without getting the better of the bargain, she is not averse to trading with foe as well as friend.

Prime Minister Churchill wants wide relaxation of restrictions against trade with Russia. At Geneva he says he plans to discuss that "with our American friends."

CHURCHILL IS FRANK

"I am speaking so far," he went on in Commons, "only of trade with Russia. We cannot relax restrictions on trade with China until a Korean, or wider, far-eastern settlement is established. But that is a prospect to which we hope the conference at Geneva will open the road."

That is frank enough. We are going there in the hope of protecting free nations that lie in the path of the Commie steamroller. We want to get a state of affairs so we won't have to send men there to be killed and tortured, or spend three or four billion dollars a year fighting a war.

The British are going there hoping to get a settlement on the basis of empire trade expansion. They see nothing wrong in accepting aggressors who carry on warfare in a manner barbarians of the Dark Ages would be ashamed of back in the family of nations without even a suggestion that they wipe the blood from their hands.

Dulles has insisted that we did not invite the Peiping regime to Geneva to recognize it, but to make it account to the world for its aggressions. The British and the French, on the other hand, would recognize the Red China Government and would vote to accept it into the councils of the United Nations.

BRITISH WOULD MAKE DEAL

The British today are telling both the French and Americans that Red China would stop supplying the materiel and training the manpower to keep Ho Chi Minh's war machine in operation if promised a relaxation in trade restrictions imposed by the West.

Thus, of all the conferences in the recent past, the one coming up next month offers about the least hope for anything decent.

It is time we stopped our wishful thinking about Asia. We didn't win in Korea. Huge Red Chinese armies are still dug in in North Korea. They are building up their air forces and violating the truce conditions daily. You won't see them reprimanded at the Geneva Conference. Surrender in Indochina certainly won't be construed in India, Burma, or Thailand as anything but a victory for the Reds.

There is only one way we can win in Asia, and we won't get that. That is an honest, ironclad agreement among the United States and its allies for a strict embargo so the western nations will not continue to build up Red China. If we don't do that, it will be only a question of time before the Commies gobble up everything there is in that part of the world.

Teachers Must Be Guides, Friends as Well as Exponents of Three R's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call to the attention of the House the enclosed article by Harrison W. Fry, captioned "Teachers Must Be Guides, Friends as Well as Exponents of Three R's," appearing in a recent issue of a New Jersey newspaper:

TEACHERS MUST BE GUIDES, FRIENDS AS WELL AS EXPONENTS OF THREE R'S

(By Harrison W. Fry)

What is a teacher?

To some pupils she is a person to be outwitted whenever possible.

To some parents she is just a babysitter for their children.

In her proper perspective she is a concatenation of many forces, for she is the link that binds the home and the community together for the building of the future citizen.

A picture of the teacher as a paragon of perfection is presented in the yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the NEA, just issued.

Woven through the pages, there are subtly presented specifications of what a teacher is expected to be in today's world. Potentially she is a technician, an artist, and a social engineer.

The teacher interacts each day with from 30 to 150 different personalities. At no time is she expected to be irritated by or to dislike any child.

Today she is no longer just a judge and taskmaster, but a guide and counselor with a flexibility of plans that seek to meet the needs of each individual pupil under her care.

She must be a morale builder for parents, to give them reassurance that they are succeeding as parents, and seek their cooperation.

People are important. In the schools particularly is that true. The personality of the teacher is given high place in the year book.

"Although," it is pointed out, "a teacher may create a beautiful physical environment and bring understandings and skills to the classroom, the children's learning is conditioned as much, or more, by the world outside the four walls of the classroom as by that within. The values, pressures and conflicts of culture become incorporated within the personalities of people—the children, the parent, the teacher—and influence their daily reactions and decisions."

The teacher, it is suggested, should have a wide circle of supporting friends, for after all teachers are but grown-up kids. When they, as the children they teach, have been championed by supporting parents, guided by tolerant older brothers and sisters, comforted and cheered over the stony places by friends, they are more capable of reacting warmly.

The teacher who has been a friend, has a friend and is therefore more competent to be a friend to her pupils. Indeed, the year book comments, the importance of a teacher's attitude cannot be exaggerated.

Today when the world is in turmoil and there is change on every every side, many parents and taxpayers cling desperately to the school of yesterday as a landmark they do not wish to change. It has become a problem to the profession of teaching, for

another segment of the community wants change—sometimes too rapidly.

In the midst of all this—in addition to knowing her subject, her pupils, their parents—she must know her community through constant contact with it outside classroom walls.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was delighted to note in the March 23 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, beginning on page A2202, that a distinguished member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representative BOLTON, had drawn the attention of the Nation to an effort by the Kremlin to drive a wedge between the United States and Canada. Representative BOLTON, second ranking Republican on that distinguished committee, pointed out that a writer in the Communist Party newspaper, Isvestia, attempted to depict America's plans for an integrated defense of the North American Continent as another so-called United States monopolistic plot.

Nothing, of course, could be farther from the truth, but that does not faze the glib spokesmen of the Kremlin.

The Soviets simply do not want to see the United States and Canada join hands in common defense. The Soviets are mortally afraid of one particular project which would mean greatly improved North American security. That project is the St. Lawrence seaway.

The Communists' military strategists and geopoliticians recognize that the seaway as a transportation artery, as a channel for vital raw materials like iron ore, as a protected shipyard area, is a crucial contribution to continental defense.

Let those who oppose the seaway in this country note the Communists' efforts.

Let them note that world communism desires the defeat of St. Lawrence seaway legislation. Let them note that world communism tries to estrange us from Canada, and let them in this country act in accordance with our American needs and our American interests in conjunction with our good neighbor.

I send to the desk certain illuminating editorials from various areas of our Nation favoring the St. Lawrence seaway project, and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald of February 19, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PROSPECTS

Inasmuch as the St. Lawrence seaway is going to be built, anyway—Canada is ready to build it alone, if necessary—it is encouraging to hear that the House of Representatives may vote soon on the question of United States participation.

The reason for the change of attitude by some Congressmen evidently is the same one which led to Senate approval: Since there is going to be a seaway, it is better that the United States have a voice in its operation.

That is a compelling reason, and one which calls for early action in Washington.

[From the Duluth (Minn.) News-Tribune of February 15, 1954]

AN OLD SEAWAY FOE MAKES NO COMMENT

When the bright youngster asks you what an eloquent silence is, tell him he should have been in St. Louis the other day. The Mississippi Valley Association was meeting there.

Never noted for silence, the association was delightfully quiet on one topic. In years past the association used to denounce the seaway. A year ago it said nothing. Now we know that the 1953 lull was no accident. The association chose not to comment on the seaway this year, either.

Indeed, officials said the group is now so evenly divided on the seaway that a debate on a seaway resolution might split it wide open. Hence the silence.

This could be called an eloquent silence. It told more about the seaway's support and chances than many a resolution has said.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of February 12, 1954]

SOUTHERN BUSINESS IS DROPPING SEAWAY FIGHT

Former opponents of the St. Lawrence seaway seem joining in a bandwagon rush to support American participation in the project, now that congressional sentiment has swung in that direction.

Typical of changing attitudes in the South is the action of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce. Through the years Memphis business interests, along with those in other southern and eastern cities, have fought the seaway. But now they have decided the seaway may not be so bad after all. The Memphis chamber, by vote of its board of directors, has withdrawn all opposition.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal declares this action is one of wisdom, and continues:

"We do not share the fears of those who think the seaway would hurt the Mississippi Valley. We do not believe that anything can stop the orderly growth of this great area, and we are reasonably certain that the seaway, when ultimately linked to the Mississippi River system, will actually be an aid to our economic growth."

This new attitude is welcome to the Upper Mississippi Valley. Gains from the seaway will ultimately benefit the whole inland region.

[From Erie (Pa.) Dispatch of February 24, 1954]

ACROSS THE LAKE

While keeping one ear to the ground for Washington developments on the St. Lawrence seaway project, we also have attempted to learn something of Canadian sentiment on the project.

Of course, the big thing responsible for our own present put-up-or-shut-up determination to settle the issue once and for all was Canada's avowed intent to go it alone if the United States declines.

However, the go-it-alone spirit in Canada, while it began as a desperate solution, has taken a contagious hold on large segments of the Canadian population.

There is vigorous sentiment in some sectors to make the seaway an all-Canadian project.

Fortunately, however, the responsible officials and leaders in Canada welcome American participation in this development of a system which would spread along our mutual boundary and which would serve both of our nations.

One expression of the spirit of bination cooperation came from the Winnipeg Free Press, which called the go-it-alone clamor unworthy nationalism.

So much for the aspect from across the lake.

In this country, the battle continues. However, the tide has taken one of the most encouraging turns of the entire long and weary struggle over this project.

The Senate approved the project by a 51–33 vote and the bill came out of committee in the House by an even more impressively healthy vote of approval.

The entire atmosphere surrounding the bill in Washington is charged with impending victory.

That's as far as our optimism will permit us to go. A chicken this important to Erie and to the Nation just can't be counted before fully hatched.

[From the Kansas City (Kans.) Kansan of February 14, 1954]

SEAWAY AS INLAND BOOST

At least one man in the Kansas City trade area is out of "neutral" on the St. Lawrence River proposal. Bruce F. Mahon, general traffic agent for the Frisco Railroad, in an address to the Fort Scott Lions Club predicted that if the seaways project goes through, "the Midwest will wrest from the East its long industrial domination over the rest of the United States" (to quote the Fort Scott Tribune-Monitor).

In his opinion the area within a 500-mile radius of Chicago would stand the best chance to acquire industries moving inland from the East. It is Mahon's belief that they have long wanted to move inland but were prevented by high freight rates on needed raw materials.

Mahon emphasized that the views were his own. But having been in the East studying the situation, he said the things he heard in favor of the seaway he liked better than the things he heard against it. The Frisco has not taken a position on the project, he said, but is taking a long view of it. The eastern railroads are opposed to the seaway and will be hurt, he thought.

Opinion in the Kansas City area has not been very articulate. As a matter of fact there is a surprising indifference, considering the fact that the seaway is a major issue in Congress. President Eisenhower is credited with achieving a victory in persuading the Senate to pass the bill. The final answer, however, is with the House, where seaway sentiment is not considered strong.

The issue has been before Congress for half a century.

[From the Gastonia (N. C.) Gazette of February 12, 1954]

THERE ARE TWO SIDES—EVEN IN THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY ISSUE

For more than two decades the St. Lawrence seaway project has been a topic of bitter controversy in and out of Congress. Through this span the arguments shifted, but they always added up to the same result: No action.

Now the project has won Senate approval but it still must buck heavy and perhaps fatal opposition in the House. Some observers are predicting it will never get past the House Rules Committee.

Unlike many perennial issues, the seaway project was fought pro and con along clearly discernible lines. From the start, the salt-water ports, the railroads, the utilities, and the coal interests battled it. They feared it would hurt them—and said so plainly.

On the other side, the fresh-water lake ports of the Great Lakes, and the whole, expansive Midwestern region argued honestly

that it meant greater economic development for them.

After World War II they added another argument: the depletion of American iron ore reserves compelled resort to outside sources, with newly discovered stocks in the Quebec-Labrador area among the most convenient and desirable. Lying fairly close to the St. Lawrence system, these ores could be brought more cheaply to establish inland mills over a fully developed waterway.

Opponents scoffed at this contention, labeling it just a smokescreen for the old argument. And they had sufficient strength to keep the project bottled up in Congress year after year.

The economics of transportation are not simple. The railroads fought the Panama Canal, too, because they thought it would ruin their transcontinental business. It did not. No one can really be sure what effect the St. Lawrence seaway, opening the interior of America to larger oceangoing vessels, would have on the railroads and on ports like Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

But evidently a good many Senators whose own areas are not directly affected by the seaway issue have become convinced that the national interest justifies upsetting traditional transportation patterns in America.

Undoubtedly they may have been influenced strongly, too, by the outside pressure from Canada. The Canadians, weary of waiting for the United States to make up its mind, announced in 1951 their intention to proceed alone with the project. Canada's Parliament authorized construction.

Canada under this plan would, of course, have chief control of seaway facilities. Inasmuch as these steps appeared to be more than mere bluff, American lawmakers began to realize that ship traffic important to America might before too long be moving through a waterway over which this country had no governing voice.

Whether these same considerations might prevail in the more explosive House is uncertain. But at the very least the project deserves to come to the floor for a vote. The St. Lawrence seaway has been held in the suspended state too long. We owe it to ourselves and our friends up North to decide one way or another.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News-Free Press of February 20, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

The proposal to build a St. Lawrence seaway connecting the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean has shown remarkable recuperative ability. It has been fought over time after time for many years with its proponents having no success. But each time it has popped again, as full of life as ever.

Canada deserves some credit for the current liveliness of the issue. Our neighbors to the north, tired of American inaction on the St. Lawrence seaway, announced they would build the seaway by themselves if the United States did not want to undertake the project jointly. That would mean Canada would be the sole collector of the tolls which would result from the expected busy use of the seaway by American ships as well as those of other nations.

Thus stimulated by Canada, the Senate has passed the seaway plan, despite the long opposition by eastern seaboard railroads and shipping interests and Gulf of Mexico shippers. In the past, additional opposition to the seaway plan has come from individuals and groups fearful that the seaway development, if undertaken in the New Deal-Fair Deal era, would result in expansion of socialized power by the Federal Government. Under the new administration there is less likelihood new Federal power projects will be undertaken.

Further impetus has been given the plan by the appeal of President Eisenhower that it is needed for national defense. The St. Lawrence seaway would provide a deep-water route which would permit iron-ore-bearing ships from coastal Canada and the new fields in Venezuela to carry their cargoes directly to inland processing centers in the United States. With the inland Mesabi range playing out as a high-grade iron source, the importance of the seaway plan has been greatly increased.

Proper development of the seaway could give it rank with the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal in importance to international shipping. The St. Lawrence seaway, if kept free of Federal power projects and if financed on a sound basis, could be of extremely great and permanent value to the Nation.

Under terms of the act as now written, the American share of the construction costs would be met by a Treasury loan of $105 million. Various methods have been suggested to make the project self-liquidating and self-supporting. Much attention needs to be given to this phase of the planning.

The ships which use the seaway should be required to pay tolls scheduled to retire the Treasury loan over a reasonable period. It might be feasible to finance the seaway project by the issue of revenue bonds, which would be retired through income of the seaway.

Such a financing plan, coupled with a prohibition of Federal power projects which should be written into the seaway bill, would provide this Nation added assurance that adoption of the seaway plan would be a wise step.

The real fight on the seaway plan is due to come in the House, where these important points should be carefully studied and clearly written.

[From the Duluth (Minn.) News-Tribune of February 22, 1954]

CUTTING FREIGHT COSTS NOT NECESSARILY WICKED

Once we've learned about Santa Claus' true identity, no other delusion has a chance. Only the other day, for instance, the anti-seaway lobby screamed its discovery that some of the companies supporting proseaway lobbying are actually interested in getting lower freight costs for themselves—and, inevitably, for anyone else using the same routes.

These interests which actually want to cut their expenses include steel companies interested in the Labrador-Quebec development and two auto companies, Ford and Chrysler.

The Detroit Board of Trade is quoted as saying that the seaway will enable Mr. Ford to get a car to Europe for $20 less than is now the case. Then, from the seaway foes, comes this baleful augury:

"If the grandiose scheme of creating artificial, part-time 'seaports' more than 2,000 miles inland is realized, with the resulting unemployment on the eastern and gulf coasts, and throughout the coal fields, he will certainly need to sell his cars in Europe."

That sentence is a gem of emotional writing. But some grandiose schemes succeed, as the seaway will. Human effort has made every major port more or less artificial.

Many of life's necessities and conveniences, from grain fields to trout streams, from straw hats to overshoes, can be used only part of the year. The fact that the seaports will be so far inland is the point of the whole seaway effort—a new seaport 2, 20 or 200 miles inland would not mean nearly so much.

And how welcome those new seaports will be. They can provide the employment needed to enable the population of the east and gulf coasts, and of the coal country, to get back to a car-buying standard of living. But it's hard to shake off a hunch that while the seaway is building, and after it has opened, the coal miners and the easterners and gulf staters will go right on buying cars, even if Detroit is selling more of them in Europe.

[From the Wichita Falls (Tex.) Record-News of February 19, 1954]

HOUSE OF SURPRISES

After the St. Lawrence seaway project skimmed through the Senate with a 51 to 33 victory, it was widely forecast that the plan would encounter extreme difficulty in the House. But the House, too, is providing surprises.

The House Public Works Committee, generally thought to be well-sprinkled with seaway opponents, voted to approve the project 23 to 6. The size of this vote is accepted by congressional leaders as presaging triumph for the seaway on the floor a few weeks hence.

The issue has been hanging fire for decades. Action finally was forced by Canada's assumption of the initiative, the Canadians having decided to get on with the seaway with or without American cooperation. When President Eisenhower put the issue on the "must" list for 1954, that evidently provided the necessary final push.

The Waterfront Crisis in New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the March 19 issue of the New York Times, which deals with the waterfront situation in New York City.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WATERFRONT CRISIS

The crisis on the waterfront is the first real test of Mayor Wagner's courage and the resourcefulness of his new labor department. His announced determination to put an end to the invasion by "goons" at pierheads will, we hope, be carried through promptly and vigorously. However, the violence is only the effect and not the cause of the near shutdown of this port for the last 2 weeks. The cause of the disturbances, we regret to say, has scarcely been touched by the mayor except in an almost perfunctory manner.

The dispute stems from the determined effort by elements in the racketeer-encrusted International Longshoremen's Association to hang on to illicit practices which have been so profitable to them and so costly to shippers and the public for 25 years. The terms on which these elements would end their so-called wildcat strike are intended to force the Federal Government to capitulate, for they insist (1) that the Government count the ballots cast in last winter's election (thus abandoning its investigation of coercion at the polls), and (2) that the Government enjoin the AFL Teamsters. To compel the Government to accede to their demands, the forces on the piers unleashed the strike, terrorized decent longshoremen and some of the employers, violated an injunction and incurred charges of civil and criminal contempt which are yet to be heard.

That the turmoil on the waterfront is a legitimate labor dispute is sheer pretense by the racketeers hiding behind their goon squads. Unfortunately, Mayor Wagner has made the mistake of treating the representatives of these elements as if they were worthy of acceptance on the same level as that of the AFL, which has been courageously fighting for a decent union of dockers for more

than a year. The result has been to play into the hands of the waterfront mob.

If the mayor is intent on tackling the main problem he can still do so. The dispute was sparked by the discharge of an AFL shop steward on pier 32, North River. Reinstatement of the steward and the setting up of shop stewards or grievance representatives at the request of either union group is a simple interim solution. Meanwhile the National Labor Relations Board and the courts could work on other aspects of the dispute.

This plan does not require the assent of either of the dockers' groups. It can be put into effect by the shipping employers and the employing stevedores. If, for some reason, they are loath to do so the mayor may legitimately exercise pressure on them. For him to sit back and hope for the best would be to give in to the hoodlums whom employers hesitate to meet frontally. We would also like to see some sign that the mayor is prepared to use some direct pressure on the racketeers, who have long forfeited the right to represent honest dockworkers.

Today's Research and Tomorrow's World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I think one of the most important speeches made in the past year was delivered at Stanford University a few days ago by one of the most distinguished scientists in the United States, a man who is well known to every Member of the United States Senate. I refer to Dr. Vannevar Bush. The address is entitled "Today's Research and Tomorrow's World."

I have been advised by the Government Printing Office that the text of the address slightly exceeds the two printed pages allowed under the rule, and that the cost of printing it in the RECORD will be $198.35. I believe it is such an excellent address that it ought to be printed in the RECORD notwithstanding the additional cost involved. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY'S RESEARCH AND TOMORROW'S WORLD

(By Dr. Vannevar Bush, president, Carnegie Institution of Washington)

It always gives me a lift to visit California, and to participate in the atmosphere of courage and progress which permeates this part of our great country. It is especially pleasant to meet with you gentlemen, and to consider with you the subject of research. For research, soundly administered and soundly applied, furnishes a foundation for progress in this modern world; and Stanford Research Institute, in its participation with business on the Pacific coast, exemplifies a type of teamwork which can go far indeed.

I am reminded of an old story of a Negro in the deep South, who, when asked if he would like to earn a quarter, replied, "No, boss, I already has a quarter." This fair land already has much more than a quarter; it has resources and a progressive spirit. But it is not content to rest on its laurels, and, barring war or disaster, it promises to present to the world an extension and refinement of the civilized life such as mankind has not yet seen.

I could spend the entire time which is available to me in developing this theme. I could expatiate upon the great growth of research and its potential value, upon the effective partnership between the scientist and the man of business, upon the opportunities which are here unique. I could trace for you the awakening to the value of research which has occurred in this country, partly because of the startling accomplishments in the military application of science during the war. And I could examine the appropriate relations between research men and pioneers in business, and the need for better understanding one of the other. In particular I could enlarge at length upon the accomplishments of Stanford Research Institute, its sound growth, the high caliber of its staff, and the vital service it is performing for its community.

But all these matters were treated by General Sarnoff when he spoke in San Francisco 2 years ago, and I will not bore you with repetition. Instead I can cover much of this whole phase of a large subject by endorsing what he then said. So I shall attempt to go on from there, and examine with you some of the stern conditions which now surround us and vitally affect all that we do, and all that we attempt. And then, having done so briefly, I shall attempt to look forward to what science may next have in store, where our research activities may concentrate in the years ahead, and what the obstacles and dangers may be as this present great surge of research goes forward.

It would be reasoning in a vacuum to visualize the future and ignore the threat which hangs over us, and which may destroy all our accomplishments and wreck our lives and those of our children. This is not to be a talk on the danger of war. Yet we must touch upon it if we would see the picture whole; for our attempt to move forward to a better life for all must be accompanied by a strenuous effort to ward off the holocaust which might engulf us. There is a tendency, unfortunately, to think of these things for a moment and then to turn to more pleasant thoughts. For the nature of possible war is so grim that we shrink instinctively even from its consideration, and here lies the root of some of our present danger. There is a tendency to take a fatalistic attitude, to hold that the evolution of methods and making war leads us uncontrollably toward a chasm, and that we can do little to avert becoming engulfed theerin. But there is a great deal we can do, and we had better be about it.

The President has spoken, and we now have one part of the situation authoritatively before us. The time is coming, and coming soon, when two hostile parts of the world will face each other acress great stocks of A bombs, and probably with effective means for delivering them. Moreover, their destructive power will be measured in millions of tons of TNT equivalent, rather than the thousands of tons of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A single bomb would remove a city. Many of the palliatives we have considered become futile in the face of this appalling fact. This threat is the great central dismaying condition which surrounds all that we plan, all that we do.

There are a number of possible future courses of events. One is war, an atomic war, which would flatten great cities in a great burst of aerial combat and leave the world shaken and exhausted. It would not end civilization, but it would set the clock back, and bring on a type of civilization which we can now hardly visualize. It might transfer to the Orient the center of what would come to be regarded as advanced civilization.

Another possibility is a long stalemate, with no full unleashing of the great new forces of desruction. This would be a time of stress indeed, and governmental forms and the philosophy of peoples would gradually become transformed. The interval might be punctuated with minor wars, while the destructive air fleets were held in leash. It would be an unhappy time, living on the edge of a volcano, where an accident on an insane dictator could plunge us in. We are now entering such a period, and no man can say how long it may last, or whether it can last at all.

Another possibility is that such a period may gradually give way to something more salutary. World government, capable of restricting the warlike urge of man, may indeed come and cover the world. Perhaps it will be preceded by a time when dispersion, or decentralization, will proceed to extremes we cannot now grasp, when great targets will be few, and when there will be an approach to a condition such that no target will be of much greater cost or value than the weapon necessary to destroy it, together with the cost of the means of delivery of that weapon through a complex tight defense. Perhaps there will be an evolution of the present Russian totalitarian empire, the nature of which renders the present threat acute, and perhaps there will appear genuine democracy over much of the earth, peace by agreement, and real disarmament. For democracies will not go to war with one another when the first result will be great mutual destruction, since democracies can enter war only if the people consent.

Many things might happen, most of them grim, many of them improbable. Yet, whatever the future has in store, for the present we struggle to maintain peace, and to postpone the time when we may meet a fully developed impasse. This we can do, and are doing, by creating strength in the free world. Of this effort there are many phases, and I will speak briefly on only one of them.

We can build an adequate defense system for the North American Continent. The President has recently stated that we will move in this direction, and undoubtedly he will soon say more on the subject. It is not a question of attempting to build an airtight system, capable of destroying every plane which might attack, for no system can be 100 percent perfect. It does not mean adopting a Maginot line complex, or thrusting our heads into the sand. It merely means attaining a reasonable balance between preparations for offense and for defense. No successful offensive can be launched except from a relatively secure base. Our main reliance for preventing war must reside, for some time to come, in our offensive strength, our ability to strike such a devastating blow that no enemy would dare attack us. But we have gotten out of balance, we are now nearly wide open to aerial attack, and this does not make sense. We must correct this situation and do so rapidly and well.

We have gotten into this sort of unbalance for two reasons. First, it is only fairly recently that technical advances have been made which are potentially capable of giving us a reasonable degree of protection at a cost which we can afford, protection which would raise doubt in the mind of an enemy whether he could so reduce our military potential in a single surprise attack that he could afford the risk, protection such that we could fight on and ultimately prevail even if we took heavy damage in the initial attack. There have been technical breakthroughs, and it is now possible to do the job at least to this extent if we plan well and proceed vigorously. Perhaps we can do much better than now appears, for the scientific and technical men of this country, fully launched on a well-backed program, would produce methods and weapons which we do not now

have. They certainly did during the war. The way in which the program is organized is very important. We need to collaborate to the fullest with Canada, our neighbor to the north. Our own effort will involve action by Army, Navy, and Air. It will involve research, development, manufacture, installation, training, and above all integrated planning. When we have a tough task of this sort, experience shows that we proceed best by giving one man the job to do and then fully backing him. He should have the confidence of the military men, scientists, and engineers of the country, and the evident full support of the President of the United States. Even at best we cannot be wholly immune to attack. But we can have a defensive system that is worthwhile, without unduly burdening our economy, and without unwise sacrifice of any other element of our national military preparedness. And we had better insist on having it and having it soon.

The second reason why our military program has been out of balance is that our national military planning organization is not yet all that it should be. In modern war the efforts of Army, Navy, and Air are so closely interlinked that fractional planning is no longer sufficient. The primary reason for unification of the three services was to provide for central military planning that could integrate the parts into a comprehensive whole. We have proceeded far on this matter since the war, but not yet far enough. The efforts of the Rockefeller committee, last spring, resulted in genuine improvement. But we still have a great deal of provincialism and special pleading, and our military program is still influenced to an undue extent by emotionalism and the opinions of the partially informed. This is not a criticism of the military men involved; it would be asking a great deal to expect such a transformation in military thinking and planning in a decade, and we have military leaders in this country in whom we may have confidence. But the organizational system under which they operate is by no means perfect, and the pull of individual service loyalties is very strong. I will not enlarge upon this matter; I have spoken concerning it a number of times, and there has been genuine recent improvement. Let me just add that sound integrated national military planning is utterly essential for our national safety, that there is still room for improvement in this regard, and that we can have it if we realize the need and make ourselves heard.

Let me add one cheerful note before I leave this subject of our military problems. I have just returned from Paris, where I participated in some discussion with American officers and with officers of our allies. I never worked with a more devoted, intelligent, harmonious, hardworking group of men. This is an extraordinary accomplishment, when the inherent difficulties of working with allies are considered. The man who launched this joint military effort in Europe is now President of the United States. Under his strong leadership, which he seems now to be exerting, we can accomplish great things.

There is much more that we need to do in order that we may proceed on our path toward better health, a higher standard of living, and greater understanding among many men. We need to make our system of democracy work, to establish integrity and justice firmly in high places. We need to avoid industrial boom and bust, the intoxication of 1929 as the pessimism of the early thirties. We need to maintain vigorously some of our ideals of freedom that we would forget at our peril: that every accused man is entitled to judgment by his peers, that he is considered innocent until proved guilty, that he is entitled to hold any political opinions whatever so long as he is loyal to his country and does not conspire against it. We need to hold to these ideals even while we root out from among us those adherents to a hostile foreign power who would use our tolerance and our liberties to plot against us. We need to find methods by which industry and labor may adjust their differences, without un-American coercion of any individual either to work or not to work, without limiting the rights of any group to band together to attempt to reach common objectives under the law, and without disrupting our entire economy in the face of the enemy. All these things and many more must be accomplished if this country is to go forward to its manifest destiny, and lead the world onward and upward.

But, if these things are done, the future may be bright indeed. We have just begun to reap the benefits of vigorous research and development, we have just scratched the surface of what may be accomplished when science is applied in an economic manner for the preservation of the health and the satisfaction of the needs of men. Let us look forward to what may occur if our accelerating progress continues.

I am not going to spend much time on some of the trends which are obvious. We are evidently going to have new metals and a wide variety of materials. Greater mechanization of industry is coming. I was down in a German coal mine only a few days ago, where no shovel touches the coal from the seam to the boiler, and where no explosives are used at the seam. Great refineries, with central control, are already automatic factories and will be joined by other forms. The startling progress in electronics in all phases now gives us the means to proceed in this direction just as far as the economics of the individual situation warrants, and this is much farther than we have yet gone.

But let us consider a trend that is not so evident. There has been a great blossoming of the biological sciences. They are moving out of empiricism into logical order. There is fresh understanding of subtle matter—in genetics, in enzymology, in embryology, in the role of hormones, in the nature of viruses. There are already applications in medicine—antibiotics, vitamins, hormones—in the fermentation industries, in agriculture. But in the whole field of biological applications a dam is about to break, and a surge forward is ready to occur, just as in the physical sciences the fundamental discoveries of centuries finally led to the present day of thermionic tubes, transistors, television, atomic energy.

For one thing, the productivity of agriculture may be multiplied by soil conditioners, control of trace elements, logical rather than empirical development of new varieties and even of species of plants and animals. Solar power may open up arid areas long before atomic power can be harnessed for the purpose. Conventional agriculture will be supplemented by the process production of foods. New methods of sterilizing and packaging will supplement, may displace to some extent, elaborate processes of refrigeration. Insecticides, chemical control of weeds, means of retention of fertilizers will insure that tilling of the soil will become highly technical and efficient.

All this, if it spreads to the overpopulated regions of the earth, may give us a breathing space in the race involving pressure of population increase on the soil. It cannot alone solve the problem of overpopulation, for a geometric progression is not controllable in this way in the long run. But in many areas a temporary rise in the standards of living may lead to voluntary limitations of the birth rate, and to a stationary population, as has already occurred in some countries. Moreover, there will probably appear chemotherapeutic methods of limiting the birth rate which may be acceptable to people at a low level of living standards. In one way or another the world must learn to solve this problem of the tendency of populations at a low level to increase until famine or pestilence or war sets a limit. It is not enough for man to control his environment; he must also learn to control himself. Our successful methods of reducing the death rate in backward countries must be matched by methods of reducing the birth rate. Means appear to be in sight, first for producing a respite, and second for attacking the heart of the problem.

The day is coming, is here in certain minor ways, when chemical control of mental disease may be a powerful weapon in the war against man's ills. It could empty many, perhaps most, of the hospital beds of the country devoted to diseases of the mind. This is in some ways far more important than the attack on cancer and heart disease, more important even than geriatrics, for sound mental and emotional life, happy constructive life, is far more important than mere length of years. True, we would press every effort to remove pain and distress; the modern approach to narcotics is, for example, a very salutary thing; but solution of the problem of the mentally unhinged, by chemotherapy and in other ways, opens up still more attractive vistas. Still, we should not overlook the fact that chemical control of mental disease also implies chemical control of the emotions, and that this can have its appaling dangers. We had best have our governmental systems in very stable form indeed before such things become possible. A world in which chemical additives to the diet would produce docility, or the reverse, may produce problems beside which control of atomic energy is relatively simple.

Wherever we turn in biology today, we meet the problem of an exceedingly difficult form of chemistry, difficult because molecules of atomic weight of a million are met with, and the usual forms of chemical thinking and manipulation are lame indeed. Progress is being made, but it is tough going. The nucleic acids seem to be at the basis of all genetic processes. We recognize their building blocks, and something of the way in which these blocks are assembled. There has recently been proposed, from England, a mechanism by which a nucleic acid may assemble materials from its environment and create duplicates of its exceedingly complex structure. This is of great importance indeed. Life probably began on this earth when molecules first appeared which had this power of self-duplication. The reproduction of proteins is the basis of growth. The duplicating of genes is at the basis of heredity. If we can understand the underlying mechanism, and control it in new ways, we can proceed rapidly in many fields.

But the handling of giant molecules requires a new type of chemistry, a new type of chemical thinking. It may require supplements to our thinking processes which are not yet created. There is a beginning in this direction certainly. Analytical machinery can proceed from an X-ray spectograph to the molecular arrangements and spacing of a crystal under examination, although not as yet without human intervention in the process to supply missing phase angles. Some day the machine will do the whole job.

There have been great strides in the development of machines for supplementing and substituting for human thought. Digital machines can perform hundreds of thousands of arithmetical manipulations a second, and by so doing can solve even abstruse partial differential equations. There is no reason why man should not relegate to the machine all those parts of his processes of cerebration which are repetitive in nature, or subject to exact formulation, thus freeing his mind for those processes which the human brain alone can encompass. The machine can manipulate, it can remember, it can even learn by experience, as witness Shannons mechanical mouse in a maze.

But it cannot think in a complete sense. When the machine is joined to man's brain, which can guide it, the combination can perform feats of analysis that reach much farther into the unknown than can the unaided individual, far beyond what can be resolved by groups of men with conventional aids. The digital machine is on the peak of the wave of progress in analytical machinery, and the analog machines for the purpose are now to some extent overshadowed. But these are not the only possibilities. In between lie special-purpose devices, such as the crystal analysis machine I have just noted. Some day such machines may enable us to cope with the growing complexities of biochemistry, and bring order and understanding to a field of fundamental importance to the race.

But this process of supplementing man's mind by the machine needs to go much farther than this, if we are to cope with the complexities of the world that is coming. Civilization proceeds because man can store, transmit, and consult the record, because the accomplishments of one generation are available to the next, because every man can share the experience of his fellows. A great surge forward came when Gutenberg introduced movable type. Modern methods of printing will soon move beyond the use of metal type and become much more facile. Electrical means of communication, culminating in television, enhance the interchange of current thinking. Modern transportation by air brings men together over vast distances. But we are still in the horse-and-buggy stage in the ways in which we store and consult the record. It looks as though we were about to become buried in a mountain of printed scientific results, with no effective means of penetrating the mass to find the streak of ore that may be needed for further progress. In the field of physics alone there are thousands of current scientific journals. One of these alone, the Physical Review, publishes 5,000 pages a year. No man can handle such masses of material by the methods of a generation ago. Scientists, perforce, become limited to the following of highly specialized trails only. Papers with results of genuine value are printed, stored, and buried. The conventional library is becoming an anachronism.

Modern mechanization and instrumentation can undoubtedly take us out of this morass. Electronic selection at very high speed, microphotography carried to extremes now possible, facsimile transmission made rapid by television, these and a dozen other techniques can solve the problem. Personally I believe the solution will involve storage and search by association of ideas, in much the way in which the human memory operates. But this great problem of modern methods of manipulating the scientific record is everyone's business, and no one's in particular. Its solution would involve very large sums of money. This is particularly true since pilot-plant experimentation is very difficult and expensive, by reason of the form of the existing record. It is perhaps too subtle a matter to be pursued by government, and too pioneering in nature. So it doesn't get done, as yet. But it must be solved or we shall be in the fix of a colony of bacteria, bogged down, with all progress stopped by the burden of our own product.

As we look forward in science there is thus plenty to do, and plenty of fields for fresh accomplishment, for Stanford Research Institute, for other organizations which resemble it, for the men of vision whose support makes their true progress possible.

Let us not forget, however, that there is more to be done than just to pursue the practical results which flow from the application of fundamental science. That science itself must be pushed ahead in every area, in theoretical fields that are now so remote from application that no one can see any connection, in fields so abstruse that they cannot be successfully explained to layman. For, unless we continuously restore the fund of basic knowledge, we shall ultimately exhaust it. And the greatest steps forward in the future rest on accomplishments of pure science which are now in infancy. Who, in the early days of the century, when the theory of the atomic nucleus was being laboriously constructed, would have predicted that the practical results of an understanding of the atom would today be the great dominating influence on our lives and plans? Who can predict what theory, today in the deep recesses of academic halls, may influence the lives of the next generation in comparable ways? As we pursue the fascinating trail of applying science, let us not neglect the foundation on which it rests.

Let me close by emphasizing another aspect of fundamental research, which transcends the reasons usually advanced for its support. There is a reason for the search for knowledge which is inherent in the nature of man himself. The motivation which urges scientific men forward is the faith that it is good for man to understand, that this is his mission. The human race is, from one point of view, an incidental excrescence in an enormous and heartless cosmos. We crawl upon a rock which hurtles through space, doomed to struggle with one another in accordance with an inexorable law of evolution, bound for extinction as the earth grows cold, unsung and unremembered, our greatest works but the meaningless scratching upon the walls of the prison in which we are confined. But there is another side to the coin. Man, in his dignity, looks out upon the cosmos and fathoms it. He examines distant galaxies by light which left them a half billion years ago.

He traces several billion years into the past and gropes toward an understanding of the universe as a time-space complex with a strange geometry which renders it invariant to the point of observation. He constructs his cosmic geometry as the projection of a four-dimensional space configuration, the shadow of which alone he can grasp. He turns inward, breaks down his molecules to atoms, then to protons, neutrons, and electrons, watches and manipulates the alterations of these into new and strange entities of brief existence. He probes for the ultimate forces which control the form of the nucleus, and thereby control all matter. Moreover, he turns upon himself and examines the mechanisms by which nerves act, the mechanisms by which the brain itself remembers, combines, and controls. And as he does all this he marvels, nonetheless, at the great central fact of existence, that he has a consciousness which enables him to comprehend.

It is good for man thus to search for understanding. His search will lead him into dangers, and he may not avoid them. But even disaster, a temporary reversal of the trend which we call progress, is preferable to the monotonous existence of a vegetable. We are embarked upon a great adventure not of our own choosing or making. It holds perils, and the things we learn may dismay us. But there is a deep meaning to consciousness, even if we cannot grasp it. There is a reason for man's search for understanding which extends beyond his immediate needs for food and shelter. This reason is his inherent urge to know. We share the great adventure with one another. Let us together pursue science for the practical benefits it may yield. But let us pursue it also because we would rise above the sordid daily struggle with nature and with ourselves, look out upon the universe in which we find ourselves; and down into its intricacies. Let us pursue science because we respond to the urge which lies deep in all of us to press on toward greater understanding.

The Port of New Haven

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, a great event took place in Connecticut last week when the steamship *Flying Enterprise II*, owned by the Isbrandtsen Steamship Co. and captained by the famous Kurt Carlsen, arrived at the port of New Haven on March 16. That occasion marked the start of an international general cargo trade that has been unknown to Connecticut for over 50 years.

Appropriate ceremonies to mark the event started when Mrs. Anne A. Mitchell, collector of customs for the district of Connecticut and members of her staff, riding aboard the Coast Guard cutter *Yeaton*, which had been ordered to New Haven by my good friend, Rear Adm. Louis B. Olsen, commander of the Third Coast Guard District, met the *Flying Enterprise II* at the entrance to New Haven Harbor and escorted her to her berth at T. A. D. Jones' New Haven terminal pier.

Aboard the cutter *Yeaton*, commanded by Lt. (jg) Charles J. Blaha, United States Coast Guard, in addition to Mrs. Mitchell, was the official welcoming party composed of Lt. Gov. Edward N. Allen; President Harry White, of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce, and his executive vice president, W. Adam Johnson; Capt. Fulton Rindge, naval aide to Gov. John Lodge; T. A. D. Jones, owner and operator of the New Haven Terminal; and New Haven Harbor Commissioners John Davidson, Harold Dahill, and Edward Jewett. Arthur Gosselin, chairman of the chamber of commerce harbor development committee, met the ship at the New Haven Terminal pier in company with New Haven's mayor, Hon. Richard C. Lee.

Two days of festivities followed in which Captain Carlsen and the Isbrandtsen Steamship Co. were feted and officially greeted to Connecticut by Gov. John Lodge.

The New Haven Journal Courier, on March 22, reprinted an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune in which they took note of the opening of the port of New Haven to general cargo shipping traffic. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the editorial:

THE PORT OF NEW HAVEN

It takes more than one ship to make a seaport, but New Haven is off to a good start. For 14 years the citizens of the city on the sound have been working toward making their harbor suitable for oceangoing vessels, a project which cost $3 million and an untold amount of labor and effort. A century ago New Haven was a busy port for oceangoing vessels, including whalers, but with the coming of the heavier steamships, the port fell idle.

On Wednesday, however, an oceangoing vessel put into New Haven, the first in 50 years. It was a good ship, too—the *Flying Enterprise II* of the Isbrandtsen Line, commanded by no less distinguished a seaman

than Capt. Henrik Kurt Carlsen. Isbrandtsen is the first line to have contracted for the regular use of New Haven's port facilities but city officials, and State officials, too, hope that others will follow soon. And there seems no reason why they shouldn't. New Haven's communal spirit, enterprise, and willingnes to invest in the future have started to pay dividends. New York doesn't yet have to look to its laurels as the country's busiest seaport, but one of these days some smart Yankee promoter may get the idea of turning New Haven into an ocean passenger terminus with, of course, world cruises for Yale men and boat trains running to Manhattan.

Museum and Archives of Polish Roman Catholic Union Perpetuate Polish History in United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS S. GORDON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD an article that appeared in the Fraternal Monitor, Rochester, N. Y., written by Sabina P. Logisz, relating the founding and accomplishments of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, one of the oldest and largest organizations of its kind in this country, located in the Eighth Congressional District of Illinois, Chicago, which I have the honor to represent.

The museum contains a collection that pertains to the history of Polish personalities who have shared and contributed to the growth and development of our great country.

The founders of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union should be congratulated for their foresightedness in creating and bringing to light a common cultural cause. Let us hope this fine institution will continue to exist in order to perpetuate the heritage of a noble nation, Poland, and its many outstanding patriots.

The article follows:

MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES OF POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION PERPETUATE POLISH HISTORY IN UNITED STATES

(By Sabina P. Logisz)

(EDITORIAL NOTE.—Fraternal societies make many varied contributions of lasting value to America. A significant example of this is the Museum and Archives of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, located in its headquarters building at 984 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago. It is another evidence of insurance with a heart and of the fact that the activities of the societies include many constructive avenues in addition to that of providing life insurance. Any fraternalist, regardless of his religion or racial extraction, would find much to be proud of it he could visit this storehouse of fascinating objects of Polish art and history in America, as has this writer. President K. I. Kozakiewicz is continuing the fine beginning made by his predecessor, the late Joseph L. Kania. In this article the history and accomplishments of this important byproduct of fraternalism are reviewed.)

On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, the oldest Polish organization in the United States, we pause to reflect upon its growth and achievements. The latter are numerous. It is difficult to ascertain which might be the greatest or most creditable to the union. However, uppermost in our mind, as in the minds of all culturally inclined and history conscious individuals, top honors for Polish Roman Catholic Union's outstanding achievement will always be challenged, if not won, by the archives and museum, which the union instituted 16 years ago. Until that time there was no organized effort to concentrate or preserve Polonia's past. The survival of written records and evidences establishing it or its contribution to the development of the United States, were more or less left to the mercy of the elements and time. It is, therefore, easy to comprehend the meaning and importance of an institution like the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the chief purpose of which is to collect everything that pertains to the history of the Polish past in America.

The Polish past in America records an array of brilliant personalities, heroic patriots, and just ordinary individuals who have contributed to the growth and development of our great United States. It is a past that measures up to the achievements of any other nationality group that one might choose to consider. Perhaps, in some respects, it might surpass many. The American of Polish descent has much to be proud of—the heritage of his fathers in this country—for, while General Pulaski and General Kosciuszko are the two best known for their splendid services in the American Revolutionary War—there are literally scores of others of Polish descent in every field of endeavor who have given unselfishly of themselves for America when she was still in her infancy.

It became a man's dream to assemble the evidence of this worthy past in one visible place for all to see and admire. Eventually the dream became a reality out of which emerged an institution of much renown today. The dreamer was the late Joseph L. Kania; the dream was the archives and museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

Actually, the idea that gave birth to the Polish museum originated in the mind of President Kania upon examination of several boxes containing papers and records of Wydzial Narodowy (Polish National Department, an organization active during World War I), which were stored in the basement of the Union Building. He felt that such documents deserved a safer and far more appropriate repository than was allocated to them and immediately conceived the idea that they constitute the nucleus of an archives housing the written past of the Poles in America. He discussed this plan which already was taking on concrete and vast proportions in his mind's eye with Miecislaus Haiman, erstwhile coeditor of the official organ of the PRCU and Polonia's outstanding historian. Their mutual enthusiasm grew. As a result and after some difficulties, as well as repeated efforts on the part of Kania, on October 15, 1935, he (Kania) finally succeeded in having the board of the Polish Roman Catholic Union pass a resolution stating that a Polish museum would be established. From then on a vague conception became a positive reality which soon was to surpass the fondest expectations of the most enthusiastic individuals.

The museum was officially opened on January 12, 1937, occupying part of the Union Building's second floor. By November of that year it outgrew its original quarters so enormously that President Kania deemed it necessary to petition the board of the Polish Roman Catholic Union to appropriate additional space which could house the ever-increasing collections. Consequently, it was decided that the entire third floor, including the auditorium, be utilized for that purpose. Later on the fourth floor was added.

FIRST CURATOR

Once President Kania succeeded in putting over his idea of a Polish museum, he realized that such a project can only flourish under the direction and guidance of a competent person. Finding one was an easy task. It was only a matter of approaching Miecislaus Haiman and offering the position to him. Before long, Haiman decided that he would prefer to leave his assistant editorship to organize the museum. A researcher of Polish American history by avocation, Haiman found the new assignment an outlet for his qualifications and abilities. With the aid of President Kania and the good will of the Polish American people, he developed a museum—in fact, not only a museum, but an institution that became known in Europe and America as a cultural center of the Poles in the United States.

January 15, 1949, proved a most unfortunate date in the annals of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, for on this day, after years of laborious and fruitful service, Miecislaus Haiman, the first curator, died. Of him, it was said "When death's caress gently claimed this precious prize it also placed the last period on the final page of the book of his accomplishments leaving room for infringement by no one. For such men—while their achievements are limited to a sphere of their own rather than a universe—come once in a generation to lay the groundwork for future developers in the next. Yes, Miecislaus Haiman stands alone * * * a pioneer writer in the field of Polish American history, an authority whose contributions on the Polish past in this country will always remain a part of our national historical heritage."

While the collections were growing, space was diminishing. By January 12, 1952, the 15th anniversary of the Polish museum, the inevitable shortage of space was becoming more and more acute. At the order of President Kania and the Museum Committee, the museum quarters were completely renovated in preparation for this event. Several constructive changes were instituted, so much so, that upon completion of the work an even more beautiful museum resulted.

To cope temporarily with the problem of overcrowded exhibits two rooms were converted into exhibit halls: (1) Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko Room and (2) The Art Gallery.

A stained glass window by Mr. Jurgielewicz, executed especially for the New York World's Fair in 1939 by S. G. Zelenski, of Crocow, was also set up at this time.

MUSEUM HALLS

The museum, whose monetary value can never be established, because of its numerous irreplaceable items, consists of the following:

The Paderewski memorial room, dedicated to the memory of the great master of our time. The New York hotel room in which Paderewski died has been completely restored in the memorial room. There are all his personal objects, including the familiar fur-collared overcoat and black hat, the famous chair which toured the world with the renowned pianist, his last piano, his deathbed, and hundreds of other Paderewski items.

The Kosciusko room, dedicated to the revered Polish and American hero. Contains the famous Dr. Alexander Kahanowicz collection, which the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America was fortunate enough to purchase at a greatly reduced price of $10,000. Since then it was augmented by additional purchase of Kosciusko items and now consists of over 73 original letters of the general, letters to him and about him by promi-

nent leaders of the American Revolution and others, engravings, paintings, medals, books, and other relics. One of the Kosciusko letters toured the country on the Freedom Train.

The maritime room, housing miniature Polish ship models, etc.

Pioneer room, containing portraits of early Polish-American pioneers and later leaders of the American Poles in the United States.

Main exhibit room, featuring Helena Modrzejewska (Modjeska), the great Polish Shakesperian actress, whose mementos are in a special case, and Marcella Sembrich-Kochanska costumes and relics; station from the first Polish church in America; uniforms of old Polish societies; regional costumes of Poland; collection of Pulaski letters; peasant art collection; murals by Jan Rosen; documents, seals, letters of Polish kings; rare, old Polish books; shrine containing soil from famous Polish battlefields, and scores of other items pertaining to the history of Poles in America and the culture of Poland.

Miecislaus Haiman room, dedicated to the memory of the first curator of the Polish Museum and outstanding Polish-American historian.

Art gallery containing more than 200 original paintings and sculptures by some of the greatest Polish-American and Polish artists. One of the most impressive paintings was presented to the museum by the Polish Women's Alliance of America. It is entitled "Pulaski at Savannah," by Stanislaus Batowski. This painting won first prize at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. It was unveiled by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Polish Pavilion (from the New York World's Fair, 1939): This includes a plaque containing names of perpetual members of the Polish American Historical Society, which was organized to help the museum financially.

Annals: Official organ of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. Modest in appearance, it is patterned after the publications of other institutions. The first volumne appeared in 1936 and contained Poles in the Early History of Texas by Miecislaus Haiman, its initiator Copies have been sent to the important libraries in the United States and Poland.

Recently the publication of the Annals has been temporarily suspended, but it is expected to be resumed.

Library and catalogs: It is believed that the archives and museum probably has the largest collection of Polonica in the world, its core being the gift of Miecislaus Haiman, who donated his own Polonica in 1935. Since then it has grown through gifts and purchases.

The museum published two annotated catalogs, compiled by Dr. A. S. Wolanin, former assistant of the late Miecislaus Haiman. The first volume was published in 1945, entitled: "Polonica in English." The second volume, entitled "Polonica Americana" was published in 1950.

The purpose of publishing the catalogs is to make the archives and museum library accessible to those engaged in research in the field of Polonica Americana and Polish history, literature, science, etc.

The Polish Museum Society: Organized by Kania in 1937 for the purpose of assisting the Polish Museum financially and to afford Polonia the opportunity to unite in aiding a common cultural cause. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Felix Kachnowski, high chaplain, is the chairman, and Editor Zygmunt Stefanowicz is secretary.

PRESIDENT KOZAKIEWICZ

Fate dealt a heavy blow to the growth and expansion of the museum when Joseph L. Kania died on April 12, 1953. It sustained a very heavy loss in the untimely death of its stanchest supporter, founder, and loyal builder. However, reflecting, deeper reasons for regret dissipate when we look upon it as a challenge to carry on a cause which he began. Continued progress and expansion of the museum is the best recognition for its founder and builders. It is toward this end that Dr. Kasimir I. Kozakiewicz, president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, is now working. Hampered by meager funds, he is earnestly striving to strengthen the financial status of the museum so that not only its existence but also its growth may be insured.

In Full Cry

SPEECH

OF

CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, some of the pack which so successfully in the thirties and early forties hounded those who suggested that Communists had and were infiltrating our Government are again in full cry after those who believe in America, the way in which its people live, and the principles of the Constitution.

Some of those who are now so bitter, so unreliable, so biased, and so prejudiced against anyone who ventures to suggested that our efforts to fight communism should not be confined to the fields chosen by Stalin and his successors, daily by direct charge and sly innuendo seek to tear down and ostracize loyal, patriotic citizens, one of whom is direct, forceful, and successful in his methods.

Apparently, a few, jealous of the high regard in which patriotic Americans hold him, seem to be trying to trail with the pack, taking a procedural shortcut now and then to hinder, if not to block, the Red hunting.

Well do I remember when some of these same columnists and publications were just as bitterly, just as unfairly, just as shamefully, and just as falsely attack our colleague from Texas, MARTIN DIES. They made life unpleasant for our then colleague, Joe Starnes, of Alabama. They finally "got" our colleagues John Rankin of Mississippi, and Felix Hébert, of Louisiana.

Yes; they even howled on the trail when our Vice President insisted that the truth be known and with Whittaker Chambers and others insisted upon exposing Alger Hiss.

The procedure is nothing new, nor are the methods nor is the lack of truth. To me, the only amazing thing is the fact that some intelligent, patriotic people who should know better join in the squalling and the bawling to silence those who are attempting to expose Communists in the Federal Government.

For myself, even though procedure and methods can be criticized, while I will, if occasion offers, suggest better procedure but so long as the Red menace threatens us here at home, I will go along with JOE, not the good old Joe of Truman but the JOE in whom so many Americans have faith.

Nor will I be led astray or listen to the sounds of a sham battle as to the leadership of the Republican Party attempted to be staged by those who appear to be annoyed by exposure of Communists.

In his article, printed herewith, published in yesterday's papers, David Lawrence again clearly laid the issue on the line.

It reads as follows:

MCCARTHY NEARS MARTYRDOM—HE WILL DRAW BIG CROWDS IN THE COMING CAMPAIGN, AND HE CAN THANK CRITICS FOR THE BUILDUP

(By David Lawrence)

Maybe those who are ganging up on Senator MCCARTHY nowadays in Washington and elsewhere will succeed in making him a martyr—and then a hero. This is, of course, far from their intent. But their methods and tactics could bring about that result just as happened in the case of another Wisconsin Senator more than three decades ago.

Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr., Progressive Republican, was denounced from one end of the country to the other because he didn't believe in the issues on which World War I were being fought. His speeches during the war were so unpopular with the people generally that both Republican houses of the Wisconsin Legislature, by majority vote, and the Republican Central Committee of that State petitioned the United States Senate to expel him. The resolution was introduced, referred to a committee, and was never acted upon by the Senate. Senator La Follettee was antiwar, but was regarded by some people as actually obstructing the war effort itself.

In 1920, however, just after the war ended, Bob La Follette was reelected Senator from Wisconsin by the biggest majority he ever got, and in 1924 polled nearly 5 million votes as a third-party candidate for the Presidency, Calvin Coolidge was elected, but he won the electoral votes of 12 States west of, the Mississippi by less than a majority of the votes in those States.

When President Truman went to Wisconsin in recent years to campaign, he extolled Bob La Follette as a great hero and said he hoped that Wisconsin would breed more La Follettes. Thus are martyrs converted into heroes as time passes.

Now the analogy extends only to the fact that Senator MCCARTHY is being denounced by opponents in just as intemperate a vein as was Senator La Follette, but it merely won the latter more and more supporters.

History may repeat itself. For the opponents of Senator MCCARTHY are overreaching themselves and causing more bitter cleavages than they realize. The other day a prominent Protestant clergyman in a nationally known church in New York attacked the Catholic Church as giving birth to such men as MCCARTHY. This regrettable assault on the Catholic religion was promptly repudiated editorially by two very important newspapers which have been bitterly opposed to Senator MCCARTHY but who deplored the raising of this issue.

Some of the big Protestant Church organizations have lately been getting into the fray with resolutions that border closely on church intervention in politics. The lack of restraint on the part of the critics is a cause for concern.

Senator MCCARTHY'S views or his attitude in committee work can hardly be made the basis of his expulsion from the Senate despite the fact that he has incurred enmities by his vigorous fight against Communists in the Government. Some of the critics are indulging in the same smear tactics and the same intolerance which they attribute to congressional committee hearings. Examining some of the expressions of opinion one reads or hears against MCCARTHY, it might appear that Senators can be thrown out of the Senate just because they utter unpopular views. It seems to be forgotten that anything a Senator chooses to say at a com-

mittee hearing, he can also say in a speech on the floor of the Senate, and there is no rule by which he can be punished for freedom of expression.

Not so many years ago Senator Heflin, Democrat, of Alabama, got up in the Senate nearly every week for a long time and repeatedly made bitter attacks on the Catholic Church as an institution. His words were unwise but nobody rose to say he should be expelled from the Senate or disavowed by his party. There have been many excesses on the part of Members of Congress in the past, particularly by investigating committees, but when the advantage politically was on the other side, the so-called liberals did not inveigh against methods or demand fair codes of procedure. A case in point now is the fact that, despite charges of fraud in the New Mexico election, Senator CHAVEZ, Democrat, today is permitted to vote in the Senate. Yet Senator MCCARTHY is supposed to absent himself from a committee of which he is chairman.

When a man as pugnacious as Senator MCCARTHY is attacked, naturally he will fight back. For many weeks now the anti-McCarthy folks have been goading the President to have a knockdown, drag-out fight with the Wisconsin Senator. Mr. Eisenhower didn't have to add fuel to the flames at every press conference in recent weeks, but he has hardly failed each time to fall for the efforts of the leftwing to get him into the headlines on the anti-McCarthy side. Naturally the Wisconsin Senator isn't going to stand for a purge any more than Democratic Senators have in the past when Democratic Presidents have gone even further in trying to read them out of the party.

The Democrats have played the game shrewdly. They knew that the Truman hold-overs in Washington and a sympathetic press corps would keep the McCarthy issue alive and now the anti-McCarthy partisans are rejoicing. The Democrats think they have damaged the Republican Party and made it easier for the Democrats to return to power. The anti-McCarthy Republicans think they have overnight, by merely denouncing MCCARTHY, driven away from him many millions of Republicans who have been his followers. But it must not be forgotten that there are millions of Democratic voters who will cross over to the Republican Party to help elect candidates for Congress who are determined to root out Communists in the Government and to expose those who protected them in the past. The Wisconsin Senator in the 1952 primaries had an overwhelming majority, and much of it came from Democrats who voted for MCCARTHY in the Republican primaries. He certainly will draw big crowds in the coming campaign and he can thank his critics for the buildup they have given him.

For Distinguished Service on Behalf of John Hvasta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to again call the attention of my colleagues to the tireless efforts of the Honorable PETER RODINO and the Newark Star-Ledger in behalf of freeing John Hvasta from the hands of the Communists in Czechoslovakia.

Last evening, Mr. RODINO and the Star-Ledger received richly deserved awards for their efforts from the Newark chapter of Unico National. Under unanimous consent I include these awards in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF AWARD, UNICO NATIONAL, NEWARK CHAPTER AWARD

TO CONGRESSMAN PETER W. RODINO, JR.

For distinguished service on behalf of John Hvasta. Since your untiring efforts to preserve his rights and benefits enlightened the free world of the dangers and threats of tyrannical rule, and for your faith in democracy which made you persevere in your work when hope seemed dim, and for your loyalty to your constituents which revealed to all that you are truly a congressional representative of the people.

STATEMENT OF AWARD, UNICO NATIONAL, NEWARK CHAPTER AWARD

TO NEWARK STAR-LEDGER

For your continued efforts against seemingly unsurmountable obstacles in focusing the attention of the proper authorities and the free citizens upon the plight of John Hvasta, and thus also expose to the light of day the appalling conditions imposed upon humanity throughout the greater portion of the civilized world by the greatest force of evil that ever tread the face of the earth.

Public Attitude on Tax Bill Bespeaks Concern About Deficit Financing and Opposition To Increase in Public Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the public response to the action of the House in refusing last week to increase the public debt by several billion dollars is most encouraging. It bespeaks a wholesome and informed interest in the Nation's solvency and its financial stability.

With but few exceptions the American press has praised the House for passing the tax-revision bill and for refusing to raise personal exemptions by $100, thereby reducing the income of the Government by $2.4 billion per year.

And since we are faced with a budget deficit of $3.3 billion in the current fiscal year ending June 30, and we are told there will be a budget deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, of about $2.9 billion, taking into account anticipated loss of revenue of some $6 billion per year because of tax changes already agreed to, it follows that to have yielded to the election-year appeal for the cut in exemptions would force the Government to borrow at least $5 billion more money to make up for the loss in revenue. That would mean at least $5 billion added to the public debt.

The American people are genuinely concerned about such an unwarranted increase in the public debt at this time, with the resulting inflation, more interest, and fiscal instability. "Never underestimate the intelligence of the American people," reminded the New York Times in an editorial on this subject, "and never underestimate their knowledge of the facts in a given situation."

In a similar vein, the Memphis Commercial Appeal of March 20, 1954, in an editorial entitled "Good Sense Wins," commented:

Members of the House of Representatives have approved, by a narrow margin, a sensible pace in tax reduction.

The pull toward faster reductions during this election year is tremendous. Hope that a majority of voters will see inflation and higher real cost in failure to pay the cost of Government is, in a way, a vote of confidence in maturity of the public thinking.

GRASS ROOTS UNDERSTANDING

Mr. Speaker, it is most significant that this understanding of the implications of an unbalanced fiscal policy is widespread. It is significant because it is evidence of the anxiety of the people over the magnitude of our public debt and the dangers in deficit financing.

Following my vote last week against increasing the public debt by at least $5 billion, I received many letters, practically all of them praising me for my stand. And they come from hard-pressed taxpayers. I desire to quote from just a few of them, and I do so only for the purpose of illustrating grass-roots reaction to this important subject.

A businessman in the small town of Santa Anna, Tex., wrote:

May I take this opportunity to commend you on your recent vote on the tax question. * * *

At a party last night every man that I heard express himself agreed with this vote, several said they were going to write you regarding same.

From here it just doesn't look reasonable to reduce taxes—and I don't like to pay taxes—when our budget is unbalanced and our national debt is at its highest. I would much prefer to pay my share rather than unload on my children and grandchildren.

Another from a stock farmer near Brady, Tex.:

It is a rare occasion that I will take the time to write to any of our lawmakers. However, I was so very glad to see, in the instance of the tax issue, raising of the $600 deduction allowed in income-tax returns, that you and other Texas Democrats are individual thinkers and do not merely vote as the party bosses prescribe or as we say "follow like a bunch of sheep," not thinking for themselves as to where they are going and why.

A salaried businessman in San Angelo, Tex. writes:

I am proud of your vote on the tax issue. I don't guess there is anyone who dislikes paying high taxes more than I, but I am in favor of cutting expenses and start reducing our debt a little before we do any tax cutting. It is hardly fair to our children and generations to come to have to pay all our debts.

A housewife in San Angelo writes in a similar vein:

I wish to commend your stand and vote on the tax cut amendment that was defeated in the House yesterday. I feel it showed your interest in the welfare of our Nation and raises you above the level of partisan politicians who consider political expediency first and what's best for all, secondly.

A businessman who lives in Coleman, Tex., writes:

Just read in the paper today of the stand you took on the raising of the income-tax exemption and want to commend you very highly on your stand. Have heard nothing but praise of you on the streets today.

It would be bad enough to reduce taxes if our budget was balanced and make the attempt as it is, I consider almost criminal. * * Do we ever expect to make a payment on the unheard-of debt we owe? Do we want to pass it all to future generations instead of at least making token payments on it. What would happen if the business of the country was run on the same basis as so many in our Congress would run the business of our country?

I have received scores of other similar expressions, Mr. Speaker, but these excerpts are typical and almost certainly represent a cross section of public opinion. I have received only three expressions to the contrary.

At the beginning I stated that the American press is almost unanimous in approving the House action. Under leave to extend my remarks I include excerpts from a number of editorials from Texas papers. They follow:

[From the San Angelo Standard-Times of March 21, 1954]

TEXANS HELPED TO SCUTTLE POLITICAL PLAY ON TAXES

The nine Democrats, among them Representative O. C. FISHER, of San Angelo, who crossed party lines and Thursday voted against the Democratic proposal to cut personal income taxes need not apologize for their actions when they come home.

They are to be commended for their courage in espousing an unpopular cause in an election year.

The Democratic proposal, which would have raised exemptions from $600 to $700 a year for every person, was a baldly political move designed to ingratiate the Democrats with the voters in next fall's elections.

It would have reduced the taxes of millions of Americans and would have cost the Treasury $2,400,000,000 at a time when it is facing deficits. Instead the administration has supported and the House has passed a Republican bill which will cost the Government $1 billion less than the Democratic bill and which will end to a very small extent the double taxation on corporation earnings.

In following the President's leadership, FISHER and the three other Texas Democrats, MARTIN DIES, J. FRANK WILSON, and BRADY GENTRY, jeopardized their personal popularity with voters weary of burdensome taxation.

The President indicated in his radio talk last week that he considers the matter of reducing personal income taxes one that transcends political considerations and affects the welfare of the whole Nation. The administration believes its tax-cutting bill reduced taxes by as much as Eisenhower's economies in Government will permit. Further tax cuts couldn't be made without damaging the Nation's domestic and military programs, he indicated.

However, the Democrats aren't through yet. Although the administration tax bill squeezed through the House, Senate Democrats, under the leadership of Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, will try to substitute individual tax exemptions of $800 or $1,000 a person. This is even worse than the Democratic proposal of $700 exemption in the House.

Speaking specifically of the $800 or $1,000 exemption, President Eisenhower said this would involve losses to the Treasury of $2.5 billion to $8 billion.

But the most potent objection outlined by Eisenhower is that a $1,000 exemption would excuse 1 taxpayer in every 3 from all Federal income taxes.

"I think this is wrong," he continued. "I am for everybody paying his fair share. When the time comes to cut income taxes still more, let's cut them. But I do not believe that the way to do it is to excuse millions of Americans from paying any income tax at all. * * * A real American is proud to carry his share of the burden."

[From the Fort Worth Star-Telegram]

RED-INK TAX REDUCTION IS TURNED BACK

The lower House of Congress has voted against a red-ink reduction in income taxes. Despite the powerful political attractiveness of the scheme to raise personal tax exemptions by $100 a year, the House turned its back on the unsound idea of a tax reduction that would have to come out of borrowed money.

The strong political temptation involved in such a tax-cutting proposal was manifest in the narrowness of the vote—210 to 204—by which the proposal was defeated. There also was evidence of the strength of President Eisenhower's leadership in the fact that 201 Republicans and 9 Democrats rallied to the support of his effort to keep taxation on a sound basis. No matter how narrow the margin, the House vote was a victory for soundness and responsibility in Government finances.

It is notable that four Texas Members of the House—Congressmen FISHER, of San Angelo; DIES of Lufkin; GENTRY, of Tyler; and WILSON, of Dallas—cast the key votes and two others, Congressmen LYLE, of Corpus Christi, and Regan, of Midland, were paired against the Treasury-raiding proposal. Their stand against unwise tax cutting is to be commended.

* * * * *

It is impossible not to sympathize thoroughly with any desire for a tax cut, and the proposal for higher exemptions is one which any taxpayer readily can translate into a reduction in his personal tax bill. But the appearance is deceptive when it means creating greater national debt and greater cost of carrying that debt. It could mean that every dollar saved now would cost the taxpayer $2 later. In short, it would be equivalent to paying a dividend out of principal instead of surplus.

[From the Dallas Morning News of March 20, 1954]

NEW TAX BILL NO BUDGET BALANCER

The dramatic feature of the vote in the Lower House of Congress Thursday on the tax bill was the rejection of the personal exemption increase. The important feature was the passage of the bill itself. The almost 5 to 1 vote for the measure is House corroboration of the latter fact.

The bill which now goes to the Senate is unquestionably in the nature of tax relief. It will assist the taxpayers, large and small. It will affect the gross receipts of the Treasury unless the release of purchasing power stimulates enough business to make up the deficit. But had the personal exemption been added to the other provisions, the Treasury would have been forced to face an imbalance of high risk.

Eventually it is to be hoped that our top-heavy income tax system can be brought back to sanity. That will be impossible until a heavy percentage of Federal spending is eliminated. That can best be accomplished by returning Federal Government to Federal matters only, relinquishing much of the activity taken over since 1933 to State control. If that is ever done, as seems improbable now, it might be possible to restore the personal exemption to the level of 1916–33 when it took a majority of our people out of income-tax paying class.

Compared to cost of living the exemption figures of those halcyon days, ranging from $1,800 to $2,500 were more realistic than our current $600 figure. In terms of the present dollar, the $1,800 would be $5,500 to that $600. But the fact remains that so great a change would have to occur in present day Washington to return to the older figures that it may never happen.

The Democratic effort to add an extra $100 now was, of course, strictly political. Even the defeat of the proposal will not minimize that the attempt will be capitalized as a campaign issue. But the more thoughtful Democrats, including four Texans, who voted with the majority at party risk, merit the highest praise. Good politics was to vote for the exemption. Statesmanship was to vote against it.

[From the San Antonio Express of March 20, 1954]

Much as they would have liked to have seen their Federal incomes taxes lowered—and their take-home pay increased proportionately—the mass of farsighted Americans will agree that the House majority in Washington, voting on the proposed Revenue Act of 1954, did well to follow the President's advice and reject the proposed increase in personal exemption from $600 to $700 a year.

As Mr. Eisenhower had shown in his recent broadcast, adopting that proposed measure would have cost the Treasury $2.5 billion a year. Were the exemption basis raised to $1,000 a year—as Senator GEORGE has suggested for an ultimate goal—the Treasury would be out some $8 billion a year. The President says, quite justifiably, that the Government cannot spare that money.

Already the administration has cut expenditures by some $14 billion a year, all told, from the last Truman budget. Any further reduction would be at the expense of the national defense program. And to cripple that program would be to invite attack from Communist dictatorship, even now heavily armed. Do the people desire to take the risk?

The alternative would be deficit spending—in which case the national debt limit would have to be raised above $275 billion. Next, the people would have to see their already staggering interest bill (which is deadweight overhead expense) increased. Worse yet, further Government borrowing would inescapably cheapen the dollar and send prices soaring. Inflation imposes a heavy tax which the Government, instead of collecting, has to pay.

As every sensible person recognizes, it is cheaper to pay income taxes now than to pay inflation taxes later on. Moreover, as President Eisenhower properly emphasizes, to release several million low-income Americans from paying income taxes at all would have a bad moral effect. As he rightly assumes, the patriotic citizen does not want that; rather, he is "proud to carry his share of the burden. He says 'I am a taxpayer' in the same spirit that he says, 'I am an American.'"

The bill now goes to the Senate Finance Committee, where a wrangle over proposed amendments may be expected. Perhaps the measure may emerge with something like the George proposals—to cut taxes by that ultimate $8 billion a year—tacked on to it. In any case the Senate debate will be long and hot.

Even so, one safely may predict, the Revenue Act of 1954 finally will pass substantially as the President desires it. As in the House, no doubt, it will command enough Democratic votes to assure that outcome.

[From the Houston Post of March 20, 1954]

HOUSE MAJORITY DISPLAYS COURAGE IN TAX-BILL VOTE

The 210 Members of the House of Representatives who voted against the Democratic proposal to increase individual income-tax exemptions displayed a high order of politi-

cal courage, as well as proof that they have the best interests of the Nation at heart.

Every one of them must stand for reelection within a few months. Had they considered only their own political future, it is probable they would have voted for the exemption increase, because tax reductions are more popular than continued high taxes.

But they knew that it would have increased the already towering national debt and opened the door to renewed inflation. The vote was a triumph of statesmanship over political expediency. Assuming that they do not later succumb to pressure and switch, these men will deserve well of their constituents in the November election. The opposition has made known it intends to use their vote as a means of defeating them.

The vote was a triumph also for President Eisenhower, whose reasoned explanation of the necessity for continuing the exemption figure at $600 undoubtedly was effective in holding the line. A week ago it was believed that the tax-reduction amendment to the general tax bill might carry.

The tax controversy now goes to the Senate, where Senator WALTER GEORGE is sponsoring a proposal to increase individual exemptions to $800 this year and $1,000 next year. It would be foolish to attempt to predict what the Senate will do, but the fight is expected to be no less intense than it was in the House.

The exemption-increase debate overshadowed the substantial benefits for all taxpayers which the new tax bill contains. Tax savings amounting to more than $1.3 billion assure some relief to virtually everyone. The bill, in addition, corrects a number of tax inequities which have galled taxpayers for years.

Management of the New Haven Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that private business disputes should take up the time of the Congress or space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

However, because there have been statements made here on one side of the dispute now raging over the New Haven Railroad, I think it is only fair that I comply with a request to submit a statement made by the other side in this same dispute.

Mr. John P. Rutherford, a present director of the New Haven Railroad and a large stockholder in it, has made the following statement concerning the struggle for the management of the New Haven Railroad.

As a matter of fairness, I insert his statement in the RECORD so that those who are interested in this dispute may have an opportunity to hear both sides of the case:

DIRECTORS AND STOCKHOLDERS OPPOSING THE PRESENT MANAGEMENT OF THE NEW HAVEN RAILROAD

The present management of the New Haven Railroad appears to have become desperate in its efforts to retain control of the railroad, it was charged today by John P. Rutherford, present director of the railroad, and owner of large blocks of the corporation's bonds and stocks. Others who should know the truth, he said, appear to be grossly misinformed about Patrick B. McGinnis, a member of the group.

"The recent reference by Frederic C. Dumain, Jr., present president of New Haven Railroad, to the McGinnis management of Norfolk Southern Railway Co., signifies either a complete lack of understanding of the facts or an unwillingness to face facts," Mr. Rutherfurd said. "This is not surprising since refusal to face facts has long been characteristic of the one-man operation of the New Haven Railroad under the Dumaine dynasty. It is unfortunate that others labor under a misapprehension.

"The actual facts in the Norfolk Southern Railroad Co. situation are a matter of public record, and they are available to all. They show beyond peradventure the complete revitalization of one of the country's class I railroads under the management headed by Patrick B. McGinnis. This revitalization was evidenced in vast improvement of the physical properties, far-reaching dieselization of tractive equipment, phenomenal recovery in earning power, sharp reduction in indebtedness and interest charges, the placement of the common stock on a liberal and regular dividend-paying basis, and striking increase in value of the road's securities.

"The facts of the matter are these: By 1946, only 4 years following its emergence from receivership, Norfolk Southern Railway Co. was confronted with the threat of a return to receivership. In that year the road failed by $55,183 to earn its fixed charges of $315,417. The deficit after allowing for contingent interest of $313,015 on the income bonds was $368,198. Payment of this contingent interest was defaulted.

"The new management headed by Patrick B. McGinnis took over early in 1947. The road in that year earned $1,874,734 before fixed charges, before Federal income taxes and $1,625,256 for contingent interest charges. A profit was earned in each year thereafter during the new management's tenure. Income after fixed charges and before Federal income taxes in 1951 was $1,578,846.

"Through judicious financial management, the last of the road's $6,260,500 of 5 percent convertible income bonds outstanding at the close of 1946 were retired in 1952. By that time, fixed and contingent interest charges, exclusive of equipment trust obligations, had been cut to $127,288, from $489,985 at the close of 1946. Since rental income derived from Virginia Electric Power Co. on a lease extending beyond the maturity date on the bonds nearly covered annual interest and sinking-fund requirements, the Norfolk Southern Railway Co. was the only class I railroad in the United States which, in effect, could be considered a debt-free property.

"In 1946, the market price of the road's common stock ranged between $8 and $14.75 per share. In 1951, the range was $27.50 to $35.25 per share.

"Beginning in 1948, the McGinnis management started payment of regular dividends which by 1949 were made on the basis of $3 per share per annum, continuing into 1952 when the stock was split 2 for 1, and the new stock was placed on a dividend basis equal to $3.40 per share on the old stock.

"The remarkable improvement in earning power and financial condition of the Norfolk Southern Railway Co., in the years 1947–52 attests the pursuit of alert management policies which included big improvement in all segments of the railroad plant. Through wise expenditures on ways and structures, the physical property was placed in A–1 condition. By 1952, the condition of the road's freight cars was far better than that of class I railroads generally. By that time, also, aged locomotives in operation at the end of 1946 had been scrapped and the road was 90 percent dieselized.

"Anthony F. Arpai, member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, reported as follows on the McGinnis management of Norfolk Southern Railway Co.:

" 'In some instances those officials were called upon to exercise judgment as to the best course to pursue at the time. While we might have reached some other conclusion, we are not empowered to substitute our judgment for theirs. * * * Many corporate officers and lesser personnel have expense accounts and are expected to promote traffic and goodwill by judicious entertaining. Here, too, the amounts expended and the latitude given any particular official is a matter of judgment. * * *

" 'Expenses for entertainment and travel must bear some reasonable relation to the production of benefit and the promotion of the interests of the railroad. However, as to the amount and substantiation, we should not require more than the Bureau of Internal Revenue, since thereby we would be placing a standard on railroads which other forms of business do not have to meet. * * *'

"A well-known travel publication refers as follows to Mr. McGinnis' accomplishments for Norfolk Southern Railway Co.:

" 'Back in 1948, he (Patrick B. McGinnis) was instrumental in placing old P. C. Dumaine behind the throttle of the New Haven. His own flyer in railroading took place after the war when he bought into the Norfolk & Southern and was elected its chairman in 1947. The McGinnis touch was something weird and wonderful to behold. He * * * pulled up unprofitable track, dieselized, and went hunting for more tonnage. Traffic and revenues went up, debt and expenses went down, and dividends were disbursed.'

"These are the actual facts of the Norfolk Southern Railway Co. under the management headed by Patrick B. McGinnis as contained in files of the Interstate Commerce Commission. They testify to the exceptional capabilities of that management. They point to the possibilities, by a change in management, of restoring railroad operations of the New Haven Railroad to a profitable basis.

"The brilliant operating record established by the McGinnis management of Norfolk Southern Railway Co. stands out in happy contrast to the dismal record of the Dumaine management of the New Haven Railroad. Large losses have been suffered from railroad operations; and even though other income from nonrailroad sources increased nearly $500,000 in 1953, consolidated earnings available for preferred dividend requirements declined more than $1 million to $5,045,451.

"Liquid resources of the corporation are being dissipated rapidly. Current liabilities on December 31, 1953, were $31,575,333, or $5,449,319 in excess of current assets of $26,126,014. This net current asset deficit is a far cry from the net current asset surplus of $33,559,847 as of December 31, 1947. Significantly, too, a small-print footnote to the 1953 annual report's balance sheet reveals that the current liability figure 'does not include any estimate of cash required in settlement of Boston and Providence claims or New Haven preferred dividends earned and not declared.' If this policy of dissipating liquid resources is continued, the corporation will soon be confronted with a financial crisis."

Arab Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the

following editorial which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of March 19, 1954. I do hope our State Department will also give it some careful attention:

ARAB RESPONSIBILITY

When a busload of Israeli civilians is machinegunned on a desert road there is tragic evidence of the bitterness and insecurity that prevails along the armistice frontier in Palestine. Doubtless there will be an investigation by the United Nations; perhaps it may result in a condemnation of some Arab state, as previously there have been condemnations of Israel for the attack upon Kibya, and of both Syria and Israel for the fighting at the Sea of Galilee. It is less important, however, to establish responsibility for individual acts of violence than to come to grips with the continuing and dangerous state of belligerency that exists in the Near East, despite the armistice and despite the watchful eye of the U. N.

The plain fact is that the Arab States have refused to take any serious steps that might contribute to peace and stability. Jordan, for example, which has the longest common frontier with Israel, refuses to confer with her neighbor, although U. N. Secretary General Hammarskjold has attempted to convoke such a conference to deal with border problems. Egypt has resisted U. N. attempts to open the Suez Canal to Israeli traffic, although guaranties for the free use of the canal are written into international law. Indeed, Egypt has also blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba, an interference with seaborne commerce that is only tolerable in international law when a state of war exists.

This pattern of action by the Arab nations constitutes more than a threat to the peace—it is a denial that there is peace. In the case of the Suez Canal, the Egyptian actions have no legal justification whatever. The general attitude of the Arab States that the war with Israel continues, justifying the use of every means short of formal military operations, is certainly a breach of the spirit of the armistice and forms a very real danger in the Near East. Both merit the strongest possible protests by the U. N. and by all the nations having diplomatic or commercial relations with the region.

The Arab nations can accomplish nothing but irritation and provocation by their tactics. They have not only delayed the economic collaboration which is so necessary to the Near East but are raising grave doubts as to the wisdom of any sort of aid from the West to themselves. Egypt, for example, had won support from a large segment of world opinion in its demand for full control over the Suez Canal Zone. Yet Egypt's case has been jeopardized by the cavalier treatment of shipping in the waterway and its vicinity. Respect for treaties and for the judgment of competent international organizations is a primary test of national responsibility. The Arab nations should be reminded of this important fact.

An Honest Program of Tax Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I desire to include an editorial from the March 18 issue of the Petaluma (Calif.) Argus-Courier which, in my estimation, is pertinent to the political maneuvers injected into the question of reduced taxation.

The Eisenhower administration is making a conscientious and fruitful effort to reduce taxes as rapidly as possible, in keeping with economic feasibility. Economies in government, brought about under the leadership and sound planning of this administration, are being passed on to the public in the form of tax savings. In fact, tax reductions already in effect and those approved by the House, will total $7 billion—a new record in the history of our country—with $4.7 billion of that total going directly to the benefit of individuals.

Realistic tax cuts can only be based on spending cuts. That is the honest way, the way in keeping with the best interests of the general public and living up to the faith expressed by the people at the polls in this administration.

I am happy to be counted among those actively supporting the economy and tax-reduction programs of the Eisenhower administration, and call your attention to the following views as expressed editorially by one of the leading newspapers in my congressional district:

DEMOCRATS MISS THE POINT

Three congressional Democratic leaders went on the air Tuesday night in reply to President Eisenhower's Monday night appeal for his tax program. They charged that the administration's tax program offers little or no relief at all for the 80 percent of the taxpayers who earn $5,000 a year or less.

It was a typical demagogic appeal, purely political, designed to appeal to the unthinking voter without logic and wholly uneconomic. Like our cartoonist today, the Democrats have missed the point. Tax cuts may seem to the unthinking voter the answer to his prayer for tax relief. But they aren't unless they are coupled with spending cuts.

President Eisenhower pointed out Monday night that further tax cuts would result in bigger deficits and a larger debt. This in turn creates inflation, and the dollar buys less. In the end we pay in higher prices whatever we may have saved in taxes. What is more, we have to pay in taxes for the interest on the debt we have incurred, and eventually we have to pay through taxes for the retirement of that debt.

This may seem a little more complicated than what the Democrats have promised, but it is far more honest. It is cruel to promise the taxpayer tax relief if tax cuts are not coupled with expense cuts, because under such conditions tax relief is only an illusion.

The Democrats made no attempt to answer the President's arguments, because, of course, they couldn't. They were appealing mainly to greed and selfishness, and not to reason. We trust that the voters themselves will use a little reason and convey to Congress their support of the President's tax program.

Our Army: Just Cause for Pride

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, on last Friday, March 19, it was my pleasure and good fortune to hear a most powerful and interesting address delivered by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, before the National Press Club in Washington, D. C.

A well-deserved tribute was paid General Ridgway by Tony Vaccaro, president of the National Press Club, in his introduction of our great Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include both the fine introduction by Mr. Vaccaro and the timely and masterful address of General Ridgway:

INTRODUCTION OF GENERAL RIDGWAY BY TONY VACCARO

It is with real pride that we are able to have Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway as our speaker today.

Before becoming Chief of Staff of the Army, he served as a combat man on many fronts.

He served with his troops in Europe and the Far East. And he has served without his troops on both sides of Capitol Hill as a frontline witness. No man could reach his eminent place without some experience with the congressional terrain.

We like to remember him as the commander of the 82d Airborne Division during World War II who parachuted himself into Normandy on D-day.

We recall with pride how he whipped a dispirited 8th Army in Korea into as fine an army of fighting men as the world has ever known. He was a familiar frontline figure.

Military men say that no man has a more intimate knowledge of combat men and weapons, tactics, and troop capabilities.

Before becoming the Army's Chief of Staff he held all the Allied commands in the Far East as a successor to General MacArthur. And he later succeeded our President as Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty forces in Europe.

We are particularly fortunate in having General Ridgway at a time when Congress is considering the New Look budget, and some of you may not feel clear about the policy of massive retaliation.

The New Look, as many of us understand it, involves, among other things, slimming down the Army by three of its present divisions.

How General Ridgway likes the looks of this part of the New Look is a question in which we are all interested.

In this atomic age, with Russia still an ever-present threat to world peace, it is a wonderful thing to have one of our top military men talk to us on some of the problems we all face.

I saw the atomic age dawn from the safety of the cruiser *Augusta* when President Truman was moving back to the United States from the Potsdam Conference in 1945. I saw it on a handout announcing the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japanese cities.

I never even knew they were trying to split th atom until that day. They had such simple comic strips when I was growing up.

But now that all have become familiar with the terror of the atom bomb and the even more terrible hydrogen bomb, we all want to know more about our defenses. And no one is better acquainted with that subject than Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway.

ADDRESS BY GEN. MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY, BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1954

All my life I have been properly impressed by the fact that the pen is mightier than the sword. You can understand my feelings of trepidation, I am sure, standing here as a lone soldier facing the assembled power of the press, not only outnumbered but, since your weapons are traditionally so much more

potent than mine, somewhat outgunned as well. Being both outnumbered and outgunned in this fashion can be a pretty bad situation, but thinking back to our airborne operations in World War II, that was normal.

In more serious vein, I assure you that the armed services of the United States and the civilian officials who direct them are bending every effort to make sure that even though our forces may sometimes be exceeded in quantity, they shall never be exceeded in quality of personnel, weapons, or equipment.

And as between quantity and quality, it is quality which is more important. It is on quality that all our Armed Forces place chief emphasis. Each has its essential function; each is actively developing the greatest effectiveness attainable.

In the Nation's efforts to achieve national security, the Army is playing and will continue to play a vital role.

The measures being taken for the military security of the United States are, of course, greatly influenced by the nature of the potential threat. The threat which menaces us has massive power in land, air, and both surface and subsurface naval forces. It is deployed widely and in strength. The Communists could strike heavily on land, in air, and on the sea at a number of point simultaneously.

If general war should come, there would be several things we and our allies would have to do in order to win.

We would have to reduce the other side's industrial potential and military bases. Initially, at least, that would be a task chiefly for our strategic air and—to the extent that it could be done by naval forces—for the Navy.

We would have to mobilize our own strength in order to develop the forces to go in and destroy the enemy forces. This would entail not merely the mobilization and training of men but also the conversion of industry to full war production. The mobilization task would be one for all the military services and for the Nation as a whole.

And while we were doing these other things, we would have to be protecting our military and industrial bases against capture or destruction by the enemy. This, too, would be a task for all our services, as well as for the military forces of our allies. But for the United States Army specifically, it would mean halting the advance of enemy ground forces, and providing antiaircraft artillery to participate in defense against air attack.

Finally, the services would have to join in carrying the fight to the enemy and defeating him.

The matter of stopping the advance of attacking enemy forces would be vitally important.

Let us suppose that the Soviet divisions were to overrun Western Europe. Even if the allies succeeded in destroying all the industrial centers behind the Iron Curtain, it would still be possible for the Soviet Union to have the use of extensive captured industrial facilities and resources. The Soviet block might then be about as well off industrially as before, since it would merely have traded its own industrial facilities for those of Western Europe. The free world, on the other hand, would be substantially weaker in industrial potential—and industrial potential is a vitally important aspect of military capability. Allied destruction of the captured industry might even the balance by denying its use to the enemy, but the havoc which such destruction would create in the allied countries overrun by the aggressor would be a powerful deterrent to the adoption of such a course by the free nations of the world, and might well be so repugnant as to cause its rejection.

Beyond any question, then, the halting of aggression before it could seize such important objectives would be vital. The retention of strategic areas of the world now in friendly hands is of the greatest importance. And the Army is the prime instrument for halting aggression by land forces. I do not mean to underrate the tremendous contributions of air and naval forces in halting attacking ground forces. They would be essential in any major military operations, and the striking power of the air continues to grow. But in the final analysis, the advance of powerful ground forces with their supporting air could not be halted without powerful ground forces—I mean a powerful army—in the opposing lineup.

The German Army's 26 divisions in Italy in 1944–45 illustrated that. This German force was maintained in the field, in the face of allied air superiority, despite the fact that its ground line of communications was rendered especially vulnerable by being constricted to a narrow defile at the Brenner Pass. A more recent example was in 1950, when nothing stopped the North Korean drive southward from the 38th parallel until we threw in strong ground forces.

A future war, of course, would be different in that we would have weapons of tremendously greater destructive power—weapons that then did not exist. But we have valid grounds for believing that the Soviet Union would have similar weapons. And we can assume he would achieve considerable surprise in striking with little or no warning. It comes down to the fact, recorded over and over in military history, that when both contestants get improved weapons, the weapons tend to strike a balance.

As for the second of the Army missions which I mentioned—the Army's antiaircraft mission—it has an immediate importance to all of us.

Strategically, our speed of ultimate victory would depend, to a large extent, on our success in maintaining our industrial production base and on the continued ability of our Government and industry to exercise effective direction over their many essential activities.

These could be adversely affected by successful air attack upon our great production, communications, and population concentrations.

To reduce the potential effectiveness of such attacks, the Army Antiaircraft Command has joined with the Air Force to develop what might be likened to a defense in depth. The Army's share in this task is to provide final rings of defense against any enemy aircraft penetrating the screen of fighter interceptors which would go out to meet the attacking bombers.

Besides general war, there is always the possibility that the United States might become engaged in conflicts which would be more local in scope—what are sometimes called brush-fire wars.

To the extent that such wars remain localized, the possibility of making effective use of the whole range of modern weapons, quite apart from the high level policy decisions involved, would be directly affected by the terrain in the theater of operations and by the character of the enemy—by that I mean his system of political, economic, military, and social organization.

For example, in Korea, the mountainous terrain and narrow valleys, transformed into marshes by the rice paddies with which the valleys were filled, definitely limited our ability to make full use of tanks. Tanks in support of infantry were of the greatest value, but the lack of open country prevented us from using armor in great strength as we did with such success in Western Europe during World War II.

Also in Korea, the comparatively undeveloped economic organization of the country reduced the value of strategic attacks on the enemy's industry and lines of communications. The more primitive a country, the more decentralized it is. That means that such a country is not badly hurt by blows struck primarily at the installations and facilities which correspond to its heart or brain or nervous system. It is not as dependent on them as is a more highly organized and integrated enemy. Conclusive military results against the undeveloped type of enemy are achieved by destroying, or severely damaging the bulk of his fighting forces. The military services all make valuable contributions to achieve that goal; but ultimately the burden should be shouldered largely by land forces, with, of course, supporting sea and air power.

Now, I said earlier that the Communist threat had massive military power. In land forces there are about 175 Soviet divisions, some 70 satellite divisions, and a 2-million man Chinese Communist Army. The Soviet world, despite its new weapons, has made no move to reduce those land forces. The Soviet Union also has a strong air force with both tactical and long-range strategic capabilities, and a navy of substantial strength, especially in submarines.

Obviously, it would be impossible for us to match numerically the military forces the Communists could put in the field against us in Eurasia. What counts is not mere numbers, but striking power. And in the development of superior striking power we have distinct advantages in collective intelligence, ingenuity, industrial genius, and what is even more important, in greater spiritual strength, unselfish patriotism, and steadfast dedication to liberty. We must exploit these advantages with which we are blessed.

To this end, we strive for the closest teamwork not only with the Navy and Air Force, but also between Army planners and scientific and industrial leaders throughout the Nation.

One of the finest examples of this teamwork is seen in the Army's research and development program. As new scientific advances occur, their possible application to the needs of the Army is painstakingly and analytically examined.

Similarly, as new requirements for the Army occur, these needs are communicated to those in science and industry capable of developing the materiel to meet those requirements.

To insure that the Army is keeping abreast of the latest advances in the field of science, a distinguished civilian panel of scientific advisers under the chairmanship of Dr. Killian, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, periodically reviews the Army's research and development program. The presonnel of many of our great American educational institutions and of our industrial organizations are the Army's active partners in our quest for the most modern Army possible. Two-thirds of the money available to our research and development program is spent on contracts with universities and industrial groups—a total of several hundred million dollars this year.

This close integration of civilian and Army personnel for the benefit of our national security has been in effect for some years, for the industrial and scientific achievements of our Nation in World War II demonstrated conclusively the value of such teamwork and its benefit to the Army and to the country as a whole.

One benefit of this splendid teamwork by soldiers and scientists is the Army's constantly improving equipment, which gives greater effect to the quality of our troops. In general terms, this is accomplished in three ways: By increased mobility, so that by swift concentration, striking forces may effectively attack critical objectives in rapid succession; by arming our men with weapons of increased firepower, which means weapons of greater range, greater destructive effect, and, in many cases, greater rate of fire; and by extending and improving communications so that our increased mobility can be used in the most effective manner—that is,

in direct response to the directions of the commander which, in turn, are based upon a momentarily up-to-date knowledge of the situation.

Those characteristics are especially important in the light of the enemy's possession of modern weapons. To minimize the effect of their increased destructiveness we shall necessarily employ tactics in which our forces normally will be far more widely dispersed than has previously been the case. Rapid concentration for attack will be the rule, followed by rapid dispersion, once the attack has succeeded.

I shall now speak more specifically about a few of the important new weapons and items of equipment which have been or soon will be issued to our units.

Contributing in important degree to the Army's mobility has been the development of Army aviation.

The helicopter, for example, proved its value again and again in Korea, transporting equipment, supplies, and personnel rapidly and efficiently to areas which were isolated from every other means of approach except foot travel. Its spectacular success in the evacuation of wounded is well known. Its potential usefulness has only begun. We have no doubt that helicopters capable of transporting tactically significant numbers of troops, with their equipment, will eventually be available.

Light weight, fixed-wing aircraft also are making an increased contribution to the capabilities of our combat forces. To offer only one illustration, their availability gives commanders greatly improved ability for personal reconnaissance, for frequent visits to front-line units, and for being on the spot at crises of action.

Another improvement in battlefield mobility is provided by the armored personnel carriers which were tried out in Korea and which proved to be valuable assets. Using them, infantry can be moved rapidly under protection from small-arms fire and shell fragments.

Communications equipment, which today is of even greater importance than ever before, is lighter, more dependable, and more extensively issued. One of the advances important in making these developments possible was the transistor, which we hope to substitute in many cases for vacuum tubes. It is lighter, sturdier, smaller, has a longer life, and requires less power.

So far as weapons are concerned, the Army has developed several which promise to be extremely significant.

Among these is the first successful adaptation of the rocket principle to a tactical missile with a medium-to-long range capability. It is used in a manner similar to artillery, and has the range characteristics of our present heavy artillery. Its great advantage is that it can be emplaced much more rapidly than conventional artillery and can deliver a payload of explosive on the target equivalent to hundreds of rounds of artillery fire. Being a free rocket, it is simple in design and simple to operate. It thus has high mobility and great firepower and is well adapted to use in rapidly moving situations.

Another new weapon soon to be issued for tactical use is a guided missile with a range of more than 50 miles. Traveling at supersonic speed and guided to the target throughout its flight, it is extremely accurate and poses a threat to enemy installations far beyond the range of conventional Army weapons.

Still another new weapon, this one already available not only in the United States but to United States Army units overseas, is the 280-millimeter cannon, which is capable of firing either conventional or atomic projectiles. It was designed to offset certain deficiencies inherent in air delivery of tactical atomic bombs—that is, it is capable of firing with pintpoint accuracy and regardless of conditions of weather or visibility. Furthermore, like any other artillery piece it can fire in rapid succession at widely separated targets, since its fire can be shifted from any one point to another point within its range capabilities merely by the twirling of traversing and elevating handwheels. Since one of the most profitable targets for tactical atomic weapons is massed troops, and since no enemy, knowing of our possession of tactical atomic weapons, would willingly stay massed for any length of time, suitable targets will often be fleeting, or, as we call them, targets of opportunity. Successful engagement of them obviously requires rapid action, which is one of the most significant characteristics and advantages of atomic artillery.

Another new artillery piece, also available to using organizations, is the "Skysweeper" antiaircraft gun which is designed to engage aircraft flying at low and medium altitudes. It might be described as a machinegun shooting artillery projectiles, since it is an automatic cannon firing 75-millimeter ammunition. One great advantage is that with every weapon there is mounted on the same carriage a radar to locate the target and a computer to calculate the amount by which the gun must lead the target in order to hit it. Previously, we had 1 radar and 1 director for every 4 guns; thus, the number of fire units was only one-fourth of the number of guns. With the "Skysweeper," every gun is a fire unit.

For engaging high-altitude planes, we have the new NIKE, an antiaircraft guided missile which travels at supersonic speed. It can achieve a very high degree of accuracy against even supersonic aircraft flying at altitudes and ranges well beyond anything of which our other available antiaircraft weapons are capable. NIKE units have already been incorporated into our antiaircraft defenses, and more will be added as equipment is produced and units complete their training.

Through these and other new weapons and equipment, through the tactics which we are devising and testing to make maximum use of them, and through vigorous, intensive, and realistic training, we are increasing the flexibility, striking power, and capability of the Army.

No matter how great its effectiveness, however, the active Army, of course, would not be large enough, without large-scale augmentation, to fight a full-scale war. One of its tasks would be to provide forces for initial operations in the combat zones. Another would be to provide the nuclei around which new units, filled out by men brought in from civilian life, could be built.

But creation of such forces takes time, and the need for expansion would be immediate. Therefore, added emphasis is being given to the National Guard and the Army Reserve. In World War II and in Korea, both these organizations rendered invaluable service. Thanks to their availability, rapid expansion was possible.

In case of general mobilization today, however, it would be essential to have not just trained individuals; even units which were considerably under their fighting strength would not be enough. We must have entire organizations which can begin full functioning on very short notice. Accordingly, one of the major points of emphasis in the Army's Reserve components programs, now under active study, is the development of such units.

As I said earlier, the United States Army is emphasizing quality. This means quality of equipment, quality of organization, quality of leadership, quality of tactics, and above all, quality of men. An army is in essence the sum total of its members. No matter how superior and numerous their arms, it is their training, their leadership, their spiritual strength which are the elements determining the Army's character, its capacity, and its success in combat—the ultimate criterion of its worth.

I assure you that the character and the capacity of the United States Army are such as to give the Nation just cause for pride. We are deeply proud of our Army. We are proud of our high-principled Secretary, Robert T. Stevens, of whose integrity, courage, and devotion to duty the country, too, will be deeply proud, when the full story of unfolding events becomes known. The Army is an essential part of the framework of our national security. If war should come again, whether it be large or small, it will finally be won on the ground. In the last analysis, victory will depend upon the achievement of domination over the portions of the earth's surface which are in dispute, and over the people who inhabit them.

Your Army is devoting its vigorous and unswerving attention to fitting itself for its role as a member of the team by which, should war come, the Nation would achieve victory.

Luigi Einaudi, President of Italy: Statesman, Patriot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask the Congress to pause briefly today and reflect on one of the great statesmen of our time. President Luigi Einaudi has reached the wonderful age of 80. His whole life has been dedicated to the betterment of mankind. Over the past crucial years, he has breathed life and hope into an Italy that, at times, seemed to have given up. But this great man knew the spirit of the Italian people; he had seen them in moments of success and hours of tragedy. He infused in them a new hope and this he continues to do. In behalf of the Congress, I congratulate him on his birthday and wish for him many more years of a useful and active life in the service of the country he loves so well.

Mr. Speaker, the New York Times highlights President Einaudi's career in an editorial printed this morning. I commend it to the attention of the House and, under unanimous consent, include it in the RECORD:

LUIGI EINAUDI AT 80

It is an interesting phenomenon of postwar European history that some of the best pages have been written by elder statesmen. President Luigi Einaudi of Italy, who is 80 years old today, fully deserves a place in the Hall of Fame that includes such names as Churchill and Adenauer, to pick a few living examples.

Luigi Einaudi is a type that is rare in the United States and is even becoming a rarity in Europe—the scholar-statesman. His life has, for the most part, been devoted to the teaching, writing and editing of economic subjects, and he is certainly one of the experts in that field. He has been a publisher of note and has written with distinction on education, politics, and history. His knowledge of economics stood him in good stead, as he is more responsible than any other man for the solid economic and fiscal policies that have held the Italian economy and the

monetary unit together in the shaky postwar period. Those who criticize him do so on the score that he is excessively orthodox in his theories, but even his critics will not deny that to have prevented a serious inflation in postwar Italy was quite a feat.

The almost endless list of President Einaudi's published works are proof of his scholarship, but there is a more tangible field where he has served his country with great distinction. He is one of a noble group of liberals, among them the philosopher, Benedetto Croce, the statesman Carlo Sforza and the newspaper publisher, Luigi Albertini, who kept freedom of thought alive in Fascist times.

His country needed a man of Luigi Einaudi's integrity as well as intellectual brilliance in these difficult years. For the sake of Italy and the democratic West one hopes that there will be many happy returns of the day for President Einaudi.

Pensions for the Professions and the Self-Employed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, it should be of interest to those desirous of effectuating the setting up of voluntary restricted retirement funds for the professional and self-employed groups of this country not otherwise able to participate in retirement plans created under the provisions of section 165 of the Internal Revenue Code to read the following report of the Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement—the Millard Tucker No. 2 committee—of the House of Commons which was set up by Sir Stafford Cripps in August of 1950, and which report was filed the week of February 20, 1954. The report is as follows:

PENSIONS AND TAXATION

(The Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement (the Millard Tucker No. 2 committee), which reported this week, was set up by Sir Stafford Cripps in August 1950. At first sight, 3½ years may seem a long time to spend on a single aspect of fiscal policy; retirement benefits and their associated tax problems take up only 16 out of the 532 sections in the Income Tax Act of 1952. Even allowing for the burden of work that has fallen on Mr. J. Millard Tucker, QC, and his colleagues, there seemed to be grounds for the eagerness with which the report has been awaited. Now the scale of the committee's work can be appreciated. It is as though it has had to unraval a dozen inferior tapestries, disentangle the skeins of wool and attempt to remake them into a single homogeneous design. The unravelling and disentangling has clearly been the hardest part of the job. And throughout the report (as in all efforts at taxation reform) runs the lament: "If only one could start from scratch, with no regard to vested interests.")

QUESTIONS AND PRINCIPLES

The Tucker No. 2 committee was given a fourfold task:

(a) Are alterations desirable in the tax treatment of pension arrangements by employers for the benefit of their employees?

(b) Are alterations desirable in the tax treatment of private life assurances?

(c) How should annuities purchased out of capital be taxed?

(d) What tax treatment is appropriate to pension schemes for those who are unable to benefit from an arrangement sponsored by an employer?

In these questions, matters of principle and detail are so closely joined together that no conveniently broad generalizations are possible. The report gains in authority for this very reason; it has been drafted as a working document, with a minimum of matters left for departmental consideration in the hope that action can be taken in this year's finance bill.

Three main principles govern the committee's conclusions:

1. A man who works in a business for substantially the whole of his working life should be rewarded over a longer period than his actual service.

2. The buildup of bona fide and reasonable schemes by means of contributions from employers and employees and by income earned on the accumulated funds should be exempt from tax; benefits should be taxable as and when they emerge (subject, on grounds of expediency rather than principle, to the exemption of lump-sum payments in commutation of benefit rights within certain limits.

3. The existing distinction between employed persons who can provide for retirement out of untaxed income and those who cannot should be abolished and a broad uniformity should be introduced into future arrangements.

Hitherto the working population has been divided: Employees (including whole-time service directors) of concerns enjoying approved schemes form the "haves"; those employees for whom no schemes are available, the self-employed and controlling and part-time directors, make up the "have nots." The committee estimates that of the 23 million employed in 1953, 6 million were already covered by some form of pension other than the national scheme. It puts the number of self-employed at just over 2 million, of whom 400,000 would not be interested in any arrangement because they are not liable for tax. In the past the self-employed and controlling directors have been excluded, mainly because pensions had their origin as an element in basic wages and salaries, but also because such persons had the power to make arrangements for themselves by which they could obtain tax advantages beyond what would be reasonable. Now the committee proposes a realinement. All employed persons should have the right, following the general principles, to translate some of their current earning power into provision for old age and to obtain broadly similar tax benefits by doing so. A line is to be drawn, however, between those who could arrange their schemes to suit their own best advantage and those who perforce have to take what their employers provide for them.

AID FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED

It is to this first group of the self-employed, controlling directors, part-time directors, and employees who are not at present covered by any scheme arranged by their employer that the report holds out the hope of tax benefits, subject to prescribed limits. It is estimated that 1,600,000 self-employed and 9,500,000 non-provided-for employees and controlling directors are involved. The committee recognizes that these classes are fiscally underprivileged in that they cannot now provide out of current earnings, after personal taxes have been paid on them, for retirement benefits of the kind and on the scale afforded to ordinary employees who belong to approved schemes. The committee is at pains to show that it is concerned with principle rather than with expediency in this matter. Some form of special relief for savings has been provided ever since 1799, when Pitt introduced life-assurance relief; again the royal commission of 1920 must have proceeded on the principle that remuneration earned from work should be spread forward to cover retirement. The committee's analysis brings it to the conclusion that what applies to an ordinary employee should apply equally to a person who is self-employed; it is most unfortunate that two members of the committee have felt unable to accept this view and have entered a reservation to this part of the report.

Having thus justified equality of treatment for the self-employed on wider grounds than that of need alone, and with the salutary reminder that the law of income tax is not one of the laws of nature, the committee considers the special circumstances of the four cases. Since there is no employer to exercise a restraining influence, the first need is to insure that the spreading forward of income does not become unreasonable; this is to be done, not by controlling the amount of benefit (which would be impossible) but by controlling the proportion of each year's earnings which may be put into a scheme and fixing the date at which the benefits can be drawn upon. The scheme itself must be put beyond the control of the contributor. No doubt group schemes to cover particular professions will be set up; in other cases the life offices have indicated their willingness to issue special policies to individuals giving effect to what the committee proposes, and it is hoped that standard forms will be agreed between the revenue and the assurance companies to facilitate the approval of individual schemes. Stated in its simplest terms, the committee's proposal is that each year's contribution by an individual out of his earned income shall, in effect, be a single premium securing a specified amount of annuity at the specified future retirement age. There would be options to provide for widows' and dependents' pensions.

The fixing of a retirement age is difficult, not only because some self-employed people have to retire early, but also because people who are their own masters usually enjoy twilight years which are neither work nor play. The committee recommends (and it is a typically useful proposal designed to iron out anomalies and uncertainties) that whatever in fact actually happens the schemes should be arranged on the footing of retirement at between 65 and 70 for men and between 60 and 65 for women. Contributions may be paid and will be allowed for taxation up to whatever limits are chosen; thereafter benefits will be paid whether or not the self-employed person goes on working.

The committee then considers what maximum permissible contribution may be made in each year. If the figure is fixed too high, the sum of the annuities bought with each year's contribution will eventually produce a pension which is disproportionate to the remuneration enjoyed before retirement. It therefore contemplates two types of annuity—one, type A, with alternatives in the event of death before retirement age, and with provisions for dependents; and the second, type B, for a deferred annuity only, with no other benefit or any return in the event of death or disability before retirement age. The individual may choose which he prefers, or have some of one and some of the other. In ordinary circumstances, the committee concludes, it would be reasonable if 12 percent of a year's earned income were put into a type A policy, or 10 percent into a type B policy.

These general percentages are to be varied to allow for two special factors. First, in some cases income may be derived from capital assets rather than from personal exertion; it is this point which most worries the two signatories to the reservation. Clearly, income from capital assets ought not to add to the amount which can be set aside to build up retirement benefit; but equally clearly, any detailed computations to exclude them would be an accounting monstrosity. In the end, the committee recommends that the

difficulty should be met by a rough and ready adjustment of the annual percentage contribution itself. It proceeds on the assumption that income from capital assets will fall in the highest part of total earnings and that only in the case of earnings of over £5,000 will the amount be of significance. A lower percentage is therefore suggested for earnings over £5,000: the figures proposed for the type A policy are 12 percent of the first £5,000, 9 percent on the second £5,000 and 6 percent on the balance whilst in type B the corresponding percentages are 10, 7½, and 5.

Thus, under a type A policy, an individual earning £5,000 could invest £600 free of tax in the purchase of a deferred annuity, but another earning £15,000 could invest not £1,800 but only £1,350. This in itself would be an injustice to professional men who work hard but employ little capital and the committee recommends that the inland revenue should have a discretion in such cases. It is noteworthy that the minority report exempts the earnings of self-employed professional men from its criticism of the proposals.

Secondly, some provision has to be made for back service where an individual is already of mature age. The proposals to this end are simple, equitable, and ingenious. The committee recognizes that to put the four underprivileged classes on an equal footing with employees who benefit from approved schemes logically implies that the self-employed should be entitled to set aside the appropriate percentage of earnings of all past years. But this is hardly practicable; in any case, few of the self-employed could afford it. The committee concludes that justice will be done if back-service relief is extended to 1939 but no further; if the scheme were to come into force for 1954–55, this would make 15 years of leeway. It is proposed that the basic 12 percent should be increased by four-tenths of 1 percent for each year between April 1939 and April 1954, during which a person was in any of the 4 classes (war service counting as part of the qualifying period). Thus, the maximum rate for all future annual contributions would be increased from 12 percent to 18 percent, i. e., by 6 percent, representing 15 years at four-tenths percent per annum. The rates in the 10-percent class would be correspondingly increased.

This would be a material help to those self-employed persons who still have a reasonable number of years of working life before them. A man who began professional life 20 years ago, for example, with 20 years ahead and an average earned income in the neighborhood of £4,000 a year, would be able to set aside 20 contributions of £720. At present rates of tax (12 shillings 6 pence in the pound between £3,000 and £4,000) the net annual cost to the individual would be £270 a year. The gross sum of £720 a year accumulated at 3½ percent interest (the interest would be tax-free) for 20 years would amount to £20,000, of which a quarter could be commuted in a tax-free lump sum; if the remainder were translated at 65 into a life annuity, it would provide a pension of about £1,500 a year. The position of persons closer to retirement age would not be so favorable.

SCHEMES FOR EMPLOYEES

In a careful survey of existing arrangements for providing retirement benefits for employees, the committee brings out the many inconsistencies which now exist. Employees' contributions are sometimes allowed in full as deductions from taxable income as if they were expenses; in other cases, only life assurance relief can be claimed; sometimes the whole of the benefit is taxable; sometimes part or whole is tax free; the income of some funds is exempt from tax, whilst in others it is liable. All the evidence received from important representative bodies pleaded for greater uniformity, but as the report wryly records, they were by no means agreed on how uniformity could be secured.

The committee proposes that all future schemes for the provision of benefits for employees should be based on a general plan allowing for the exemption from tax of the buildup of the fund and for the taxation of the benefits. To qualify for the tax reliefs, future schemes must first secure the approval of the Revenue (from whose decision there is to be no appeal) and certain broad rules (subject to a wide discretion of the Revenue) are laid down. Employees must not be able to withdraw benefits at will—otherwise the scheme would be a mere device for spreading remuneration and no more than a temporary savings bank. The contributions of both employer and employee must be effectively alienated so that they cannot be dealt with except in accordance with the scheme. The arrangement should be known to the employee, the employer should participate, and the nature of the benefits should be the same for all who are included. The retirement benefit should not be excessive in relation to the remuneration earned in the closing years of service: the Revenue is to give automatic approval if the benefit is limited to a pension of one-sixtieth, for each year of service, of the average salary for the last 3 years. After 40 years this will give a two-thirds pension, which is common today. If the employment extends longer than 40 years and beyond the age of 60 the maximum benefit may be increased to three-quarters. The existing £2,000 limit for contributory pensions should go. Finally, the scheme must provide that benefits should not escape proper taxation; pensions cannot be assigned or (except for certain permissible lump-sum payments) commuted.

A scheme which satisfies these conditions should be exempted from taxation on its buildup. Payments by employers would be allowed as business expenses, whilst special payments to cover back service will also be allowed if spread over a period. The employee's annual contributions would likewise qualify for full relief up to 15 percent (a generous margin) of his remuneration for the year. Where the scheme is funded the investment income of the fund should be exempt from tax; and where it is operated by the purchase of a deferred annuity through an insurance company the investment income of that company's annuity fund should be exempted to the extent that it covers pensions policies.

On the taxation of the benefits as they emerge at retirement or at earlier death, the committee is clear that all amounts received by way of annual pension ought to be taxed as if they were earned income. But it finds itself in difficulty when it considers the lump-sum benefits which are now a common element in many pension schemes. The principle that it lays down would require the taxation of all lump sums or alternatively their prohibition. But this could not be done without interfering with existing contractual arrangements providing for lump-sum payments. It would seriously upset uniformity if future schemes were to leave out lump-sum payments or make them taxable. The civil service have received some part of their benefits in the form of a lump sum since 1909 and even the 1947 Finance Act, by implication, approved such tax-free payments. With reluctance, therefore, the report records:

If we were dealing with the matter without any reference to existing practice we should have found it very difficult to recommend that any part of the benefit should be in tax-free form; but since the practice is now so firmly established and seems to have been tacitly provided in the 1947 legislation and in the 1950 legislation relating to judges, we find it impossible to say that in future it should not apply.

The committee proposes, therefore, that the existing arrangements which enable an employee to take up to one-quarter of his retirement benefit as a tax-free lump sum should be continued, but subject to limitations. The greatest lump sum payable to any civil servant is a little under £8,000. The committee is aware, however, that arrangements made since the 1947 act, commonly known as "tophat" schemes, are resulting in very large lump-sum payments, and cases of up to £40,000 were quoted. This it regards as excessive, and it recommends that there should be an absolute upper limit on lump-sum payments of £10,000 in future schemes. At the other end of the scale the committee feels that, largely for convenience, small retirement benefits should not be subject to the requirement that three-quarters should be in pension form. If the aggregate value of the benefits is £1,000 or less, the whole amount might be taken as a lump sum.

Transitions from one basis to another are always difficult. The committee would, of course, have liked to wipe the slate clean and start afresh. Many contributors, however, have already made their future plans in the expectation that the present arrangements would stand, and any compulsory alteration to their detriment would be unjust. But it would be equally unjust to bind a contributor to an unfavorable arrangement when new entrants could get better terms. So the committee proposes that all existing schemes should be divided into 2 parts, 1 under the old and the other under the new rules. The old part would be closed to new entrants, who would form the new part and in addition old members would be given the option to transfer if they wished. It is the type of taxpayers' option which is naturally not welcomed by the revenue, but it is difficult to see an alternative.

TAXING ANNUITIES

The purchase of an annuity, if the scales were not so heavily weighted against it, would be a part of the normal provisions made for retirement by a person outside any existing scheme, or who wished to make additional provision. The taxation treatment of such annuities has long been a fiscal enormity and Mr. Gaitskell, when Chancellor, added the subject to the committee's agenda. On any commonsense view an annuity is made up partly of a return of the capital expended on its purchase and partly of interest earned thereon: On this basis the first part ought to be tax-free, and the second taxable. But British tax law has not developed on these lines and a closely reasoned view of the law as it now exists, backed by the findings of royal commissions of earlier years, is that a capital sum has been sunk in the purchase of a source of income, and that everything flowing from that source is taxable.

In such circumstances the purchase of an ordinary life annuity has become highly imprudent to anyone liable to a normal rate of tax unless he rates his expectation of life very highly, and an artificial hybrid, the annuity certain, has been invented to take care of some, but by no means all of the mischief. The committee, remembering its earlier dictum that the income-tax acts are made by and for man, recommends that the law should be changed and that the estimated capital content of annuities should be exempt from tax. This relates, of course, only to annuities purchased out of individual savings or capital and is quite separate from and independent of the provision of retirement benefits for self-employed and similar persons as part of a scheme; such annuities would be fully taxable as earned income.

COST AND PROSPECTS

The committee has obtained from the revenue tentative estimates of the costs of its proposals. Changes to existing schemes come to £5 million; provision for the self-employed and controlling directors would cost £35 million, for the "non-provided-for employees" (assuming one-half take advantage) £30 million; for "partially provided for employees" £5 million; and the cost of relieving existing annuities would be £3 mil-

lion. The total of £77 million is impressive, and will not be welcome to Mr. Butler. But it is important to recognize that it does not represent a net cost to the community as a whole. The creation of pension rights in the future will create additional taxable income, albeit taxable at lower rates than those at which the initial contributions were realized, just as surely as interest on the national debt creates taxable income. Moreover if the full advantages are to be realized, relief from taxation given in the short run will have to be matched by an upsurge of real saving by the self-employed and others; indeed, one of their big headaches of the future will be how to provide the permissible contributions. And when eventually the benefits are received much dissaving, in the form of living on capital, will be avoided.

It is difficult to judge from the short, two-page reservations of Sir John Cater and Mr. Woodcock how fundamental are their objections to the proposals relating to the self-employed. At first sight it would seem that their dissent is based largely on the assumption that the self-employed usually possess sufficient capital assets to provide for their retirement—an assumption scarcely supported by the fact that 88 percent of the self-employed enjoy incomes under £1,000 a year. It must be hoped that these reservations will not be misused to inflame political controversy on a matter that ought to be nonpolitical.

Mr. Millard Tucker and his colleagues have done a difficult job well. If their proposals are implemented some better order will be brought to pension arrangements, which have long been chaotic; in particular a dangerous social schism between the pensionable and the nonpensionable will have been closed. If individual saving out of net income will never again be possible, because high rates of taxation are here to stay, it is the more necessary that sponsored savings through retirement funds should be open on equal terms to all taxpayers.

Address by Hon. Augustus Gardner Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I wish to include an address given before the Shamrock Club of Boston at the annual St. Patrick's Eve celebration this year by the Honorable Augustus Gardner Means, of Essex, a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature. It contains an excellent history of the accomplishments of the Irish people in the United States and I commend it to all Members of the House of Representatives:

At the exercises at the State House, on Wednesday last, Senator Stanton's question as to the theme of my address tonight caused me to say: "America owes much to the three great Irishmen who directed the strategy which compelled the evacuation of Boston on that glorious St. Patrick's Day in the morning on March 17, 1776, Gen. George Washington, Gen. John Sullivan, and Col. (later general) Henry Knox."

That remark caused such consternation in the ranks of Anglophile interpreters of history that it may be necessary for Col. Tom Sullivan, as headman of the cops, to detail our good friend, Martin Coleman, of the Shamrock's uniformed force, to protect me in the weeks to come.

However, I am absolutely sincere in my assertion that George Washington and Henry Knox were Irishmen—no one doubts the antecedents of Gen. John Sullivan.

If and when historians and writers of textbooks on American history tell the truth about the Irish contribution to the foundation, establishment, and continuance of our form of American Government, our school children will have an understanding of the valor of the fighting race.

Too long have so-called impartial historians colored the pages of history, either by ignorance or design, to deny to the Irish race that recognition which properly belongs on every page of truthful exposition of our country from pre-Columbian exploration down to and including present-day events.

I know whereof I speak. My great-grandfather, Henry Cabot Lodge, the greatest American of his time, was an historian of note. He received his doctorate in philosophy from Harvard in 1876 on his thesis, The Land Law of the Anglo-Saxons. He was the friend of John Devoy and of Fathers Robert J. Johnson, of the Gate of Heaven Parish, and Patrick Bowen Murphy, of the Holy Rosary Parish, in South Boston. The oldtime families of the Gate of Heaven Parish need no retelling of Henry Cabot Lodge's contribution to Father Johnson in his building of the new church.

The Rosary Parish is no more, but the memory of Father Murphy, the old 9th Regiment Spanish War chaplain and Fenian invader of Canada in his younger days, is still green in the hearts of families from the "D and Sixth" area of the Peninsular district. Col. Tom Sullivan, as a communicant of the old Gate of Heaven and as a comrade of Father Murphy in the Major O'Connor Camp of the Spanish War Veterans has memories of those associations.

As to John Devoy—he was the American mentor of the Irish rebellion of Easter week, 1916, which was responsible for the liberty and freedom which the 26 counties of Ireland enjoy today, and which, please God, the imprisoned 6 counties of northeast Ireland will soon enjoy as an integral part of the Irish Republic. If you want to find out anything about John Devoy, oldtime Fenian and Clan-na-Gael chieftain, just ask Mr. Joseph F. Shields, consul of the Irish Republic in Boston.

My grandfather, Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, resigned his seat in the National House to again enter the Armed Forces, giving up his life in World War I. Joe Kane, JACK KENNEDY's first cousin once removed, will vouch for the accuracy of that statement. My father was in that war as a marine, and I was in World War II as a doughboy. I shall not dwell upon the contribution of my father or of myself.

My Irish blood boils at the falsities of history. The importance of that original Evacuation Day in 1776 has been minimized, when every impartial historian should know that it was the turning point of the Revolution. Without that March 17 on Dorchester Heights in South Boston there would have been no July 4, that year, in Philadelphia. The numismatic history of the United States is predicated upon that victory of the Irish Gen. George Washington on that St. Patrick's Day.

With the evacuation of Boston, there was not one, single, solitary British soldier left on the soil of any of the Thirteen Original Colonies. For the first time, the Thirteen Colonies were free from British domination.

The Continental Congress, meeting at Philadelphia, received the news of the evacuation on March 25 and voted that a gold medal be struck and presented to Washington in commemoration of the event. That medal, now kept in the treasure room of the Boston Public Library, was the very first decoration awarded to any individual in our Armed Forces. It was particularly fitting and proper that it should go to the Irishman, Gen. George Washington.

Prior to that first Evacuation Day-St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1776, it must be remembered that the events at Concord and Lexington and at Bunker Hill, were merely armed resistance of the local colonists to the ministerial forces in their efforts to secure redress as British subjects. With the victory directed by General Washington from Dorchester Heights, in South Boston, it was no longer a rebellion of British subjects against oppression; it was then a revolution with the inception of American independence having its culmination in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

The stirring events leading to the evacuation of Boston on St. Patrick's Day, 1776, mark the time when the United States Army, as such, had its first baptism of fire and its first glorious victory at the conclusion of its first campaign under its first Commander in Chief, Gen. George Washington.

The brigadier of the day at the evacuation was Gen. John Sullivan, son of the Irish schoolmaster, Owen Sullivan, from Limerick, and his wife, Margery Brown Sullivan, from County Cork. The schoolteacher, to show his competence when he applied for a teaching position in Berwick, Maine, in 1723, wrote his application in seven languages. When Margery Brown consented to marry the schoolmaster, she was asked what she would do in America and her reply became a classic: "Sure, I'll raise a family of governors for them."

She was telling the truth. She was the mother of a Governor of New Hampshire and of Massachusetts, of the first judge appointed by Washington in New Hampshire, of an attorney general of New Hampshire, of New Hampshire's only major general in the Revolutionary War, and of four sons who were officers in that Army. She was the grandmother of a Governor of Maine, of a United States Senator from New Hampshire, and of an attorney general of New Hampshire. She was the great-grandmother of an attorney general of New Hampshire and of a judge of the courts of that State. She was the great-great-grandmother of a distinguished officer of the 13th New Hampshire Regiment in the Civil War.

Her present-day descendants occupy positions of trust and of prominence. Whether in tribute to General Sullivan or his immigrant mother, General Washington made the password of the day "St. Patrick" at the evacuation of Boston. Bigoted historians would have a hard task to prove that John Sullivan was not an Irishman.

As to Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller who became chief of artillery under Washington, the founder of the Society of the Cincinnati, and the genius who brought the noble train of artillery from Ticonderoga, without which Washington stood helpless in the siege of Boston—he, too, was an Irishman, a descendant of a Belfast family, and a member of the Charitable Irish Society.

The noble train of artillery was part of the impedimenta of war captured by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" on that eventful May 10, 1775, at the very time that the Second Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, was addressing a message to the people of Ireland, appealing for their continued support of their brethren beyond the Atlantic. That message concluded with the remarkable statement that both Ireland and America had nothing to expect from England, the common enemy, "except the humble favor of being the last devoured."

This authentic document is on file at Washington, D. C., but, strangely enough,

historians overlook it and it is not to be found in textbooks. Neither is the tragic story of the hero of Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen, portrayed to our youth. A prisoner in the foul hold of the British ship *Solebay*, chained to an iron bar, shackled, and manacled, Allen was welcomed as a real hero by the Irish citizenry when the *Solebay* put into Cork Harbor. He was furnished with money, clothing, and foodstuffs by the Irish. Our children do not find these facts in current textbooks.

Before proceeding further, I think I should refer to the O'Brien family of Maine, whom Congressman O'NEILL spoke of here 1 year ago with additional comments by Col. Tom Sullivan, as you will all remember. Maurice O'Brien was born in Cork and was the father of the five sons, headed by Jeremiah, who captured a British armed schooner in Machias Bay on May 11, 1775, the first naval victory and the first blow struck on water in the War for Independence. James Fenimore Cooper called the engagement the Lexington of the Seas, and a beautiful bronze tablet on the grand staircase leading from the Governor's office to the hall of flags, in our own statehouse, commemorates the event.

When we come to the greatest Irishman of the three who took part in the evacuation of Boston, Gen. George Washington, I realize that I am somewhat timorous in rushing in to expound my doctrines where historians fear to tread.

I make the flat declaration that George Washington was an Irishman and I challenge any and all Ivy College historians to prove otherwise. If some of the professors can come out of the protective shadows of the fifth amendment long enough to take up my challenge, I shall be gratified.

Were time to allow, I could trace in detail, the story of the Irish gentleman, Patrick Maguire particularly, who accompanied Columbus on his voyage of discovery, with the traditions, folklore, and scientific facts of the voyages of St. Brendan, the navigator, to guide them; of the Irish succor to the starving Puritans, in 1630, when the arrival of the ship *Lion* from Ireland, laden with provisions turned the day of fasting into a day of thanksgiving and prayer; of the Irish donation, 100 years before the Revolution when, in 1676, the good ship *Katherine* arrived, laden with foodstuffs and commodities, the contributions of Irish merchants which meant so much to Boston and vicinity at that time.

Reciprocally, Boston Yankees, in the 1840's, sent relief donations to the starving Irish in the so-called potato-famine years. There never was any famine in Ireland. In those dreadful years when over one-half of Ireland's population of 8 million people either died of starvation or emigrated to foreign lands, American and other relief ships had to anchor in Irish harbors while British ships held space at the docks and piers, being loaded to the gunwales, with tons upon tons of foodstuffs for transportation out of Ireland and into England—enough to feed a population twice that of Ireland.

It was British law and British law, alone, which caused the starvation of an entire populace. However, America benefited by the strong wave of immigration. The history of the Irish brigade in the Civil War, of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, Col. Michael Cocoran, of New York's 69th, and of Col. Thomas Cass, of our own Massachusetts 9th, together with the glorious record of the 28th Massachusetts merely attest to this fact.

Back in Revolutionary days, the activities of men like Blair McClenachan, Oliver Pollock, and Edward Fox of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia (of which, by the way, Washington was an honorary member) in financing the Revolution with Robert Morris and Haym Solomon, the Jewish philanthropist, should be emblazoned on the pages of every history book in our schools. The identity, as Irishmen, of John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress; of Charles Thompson, the Secretary thereof; of John Nixon, who first read the Declaration publicly; and of John Dunlap, who first printed it, should be made known to our children. Besides Hancock, the following Irishmen who signed the Declaration of Independence should be published to the world: Matthew Thornton, of New Hampshire; John Hart, of New Jersey; James Smith and George Taylor, of Pennsylvania; George Reed and Thomas McKean, of Delaware; Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Md.; Edward Rutledge and Thomas Lynch, of South Carolina; and Robert Treat Paine, of Massachusetts.

Besides the three great Irish generals who took part in the Evacuation of Boston compulsion, Washington, Sullivan, and Knox, the following Irish general officers were in the Patriot army: Richard Montgomery, the first general officer to lose his life in action; John Armstrong, William Thompson, Andrew Lewis, William Maxwell, Anthony Wayne, James Clinton, James Moore, Joseph Reed, John Nixon, William Irvine, Edward Hand, Richard Butler, Walter Stewart, Stephen Moylan, and James Cochran.

I shall not attempt to enumerate the long list of naval officers who share the honors with the O'Briens of Maine. Suffice it to mention only the "father of the American Navy," Commodore Jack Barry.

Volumes could be written on the assistance of the Irishmen in the service of France who came to our assistance. The Dillon, Berwick, Roche-Fermoy, and Walsh Regiments of the Irish Brigade, Franco-Irishmen of the first to the fourth generations, fought and died for American independence. Lafayette and Rochambeau testified to their valor.

I might go on for hours and never have time to tell the complete story of the Irish pages of American history hidden from view, but as time places a limitation on me, I shall confine myself to the Irish antecedents of Gen. George Washington.

All American historians, whether of the present, or like Bancroft and Irving of other days, trace the genealogy of George Washington back to Lawrence Washington, grantee of the manor of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, England. This Lawrence was mayor of Northampton and received the grant of Sulgrave in either 1538 or 1539.

Apparently the Washingtons sprang from one William DeHertburn, a Norman, who, genealogists assert, exchanged the village of Hertburn for the manor and village of Wessyngton. The family is mentioned in the Bolden Book, recorded in 1183. With the exchange of its estate, the family gave up the name of DeHertburn and took the name of DeWessyngton.

For 3½ centuries the fortunes of the family changed as well as the spelling of the name, and divers branches spread out over England and into Ireland. Thus from the DeHertburns of 1183 to the Washingtons of Sulgrave Manor of 1538–39, the name varied from DeWessyngton, DeWeschington, Weshington, Wassington, Washington, and finally, to Washington.

The Lawrence Washington who received the grant of Sulgrave in 1538–39 had a son, Robert, who sold Sulgrave, according to some historians, in 1610. Others claim that Sulgrave remained in the family until 1620. The latter was the year of the settlement of Plymouth. Boston was settled in 1630. Virginia was settled, of course (Jamestown), in 1606. It may be noted that there is no mention of a Washington in any part of America among the original settlers.

All historians are agreed that the first Washington to come to this country was John Washington, the greatgrandfather of Gen. George Washington. If and when historians can agree as to where John Washington was just prior to his coming to America, then a definite genealogical citation can be made as to Gen. George Washington's family's antecedent nationality.

Propaganda has been rife since the American Revolution as to English ancestry of the father of our country. We have had Sulgrave Manor dinned into our ears for a century and a half until it would appear that our George Washington was not even an American, much less an Irishman. That is one of the main reasons why I demand that so-called historians tell the truth about the Irish contribution to the foundation, establishment, and continuance of our form of American Government.

When the British sallied out of Boston to Concord and Lexington on April 19, 1775, one of their main objectives was the intended capture of John Hancock and Samuel Adams. These two patriots were excluded from the amnesty proclamation of General Gage—if captured, they would have been hanged. Were George Washington captured by the British during the Revolution that, undoubtedly, would have been his fate.

The success of the American Revolution was all that saved George Washington from British wrath. The failure of the Irish Revolution of 1798, two score years after our battle was in full sway, cost one of the Irish Washingtons his life. He was hanged as a rebel at New Ross, County Wexford. Tragically, another member of the Irish contingent, little 8-year-old Anne Washington, was shot and killed by British soldiers in her home in Wicklow.

Had the British laid hands on John Washington, Gen. George Washington's great-grandfather, in 1655, he never would have set foot in America. He would have been "hanged, drawn, and quartered" to satisfy the bloodlust of Oliver Cromwell's roundheaded fanatics. That he was not so murdered by the British but saved and allowed to migrate to America needs more explaining by the pro-British historians than the bald statement of Washington Irving, the most tolerant of them all.

Says Irving: "We have little note of the Sulgrave branch of the family after the death of Charles I, and the exile of his successor. England, during the protectorate, became an uncomfortable residence to such as had signalized themselves as adherents to the House of Stuart. In 1655, an attempt at a general insurrection drew upon them the vengeance of Cromwell. Many of their party who had no share in the conspiracy, yet sought refuge in other lands, where they might live free from molestation. This may have been the case with the two brothers, John and Andrew Washington, great-grandsons of the grantee of Sulgrave."

Irving states that John Washington came to Virginia in 1657. Other historians place the date as 1659. Whether those blacked-out years were two, 1655–57, or four, 1655–59, is immaterial. An English Stuart adherent could become a free Irishman by the naturalization of necessity and self preservation, whether the process took 4 years, 2 years, or 2 days, just so long as the time element was sufficient to escape Cromwell's murderous assassins.

It seems tragically strange that eminent historians cannot pierce the veil of mystery surrounding the whereabouts of John Washington from 1655 to 1657 or to 1659, whichever is the correct date of his migration to America. Oliver Cromwell died on September 3, 1658, so it seems reasonable to suppose that the great-grandfather of Gen. George Washington felt free to leave the security of his haven in Ireland after that date.

On the accession of Charles II, in 1660, the skeletal remains of Oliver Cromwell were dug up from his grave in Westminster Abbey and hanged, in chains, as a common criminal, at Tyburn, near Hyde Park, in London. This could well have been the fate of John Washington had the Round Head Regicides apprehended him. His remains would have rotted at the foot of the gallows, at Tyburn, in the common grave of criminals of the lowest sort.

What actually protected the life of John Washington and made possible the birth of George Washington, three generations later, was the Irish devotion to principle and duty exhibited by the Hibernian branch of the family.

If I may go back to Lawrence Washington, the 16th century mayor of Northampton and the grantee of Sulgrave, and his son, Robert, who sold that inheritance in 1610, we may get a better picture of the hesitancy of some historians to tell the truth. Another Lawrence, son of Robert and grandson of the grantee, was the father of 17 children. One of these 17 was also named Lawrence. This Lawrence, who was rector of Purleigh, England, from 1633 to 1643, married below his station. His wife was a bailiff's daughter. John Washington, the founder of the American branch of the family, was the child of that union.

It is a family tradition of the Roscommon, Ireland, branch of the Washingtons that they, the descendants of Robert of Sulgrave, protected John Washington from Cromwell's wrath and migrated him to America when safety was assured.

Is it not about time that a research project was started at Harvard or one of the other Ivy colleges to ascertain the truth of George Washington's heritage? Must we have Sulgrave Manor dinned into our ears and the ears of our children and our children's children, ad nauseam, when the records, unless deliberately destroyed, could settle this controversy, once and for all?

I claim and aver that George Washington was an Irishman by virtue of the naturalization of necessity and of safety of his great-grandfather, John Washington, into the Roscommon branch of the family. I challenge historians, Anglophile, or otherwise, to prove me wrong.

My fellow Shamrocks, I would like to conclude my remarks with an extract from an address delivered in 1828 by George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha Washington, in answer to an appeal from Ireland for funds in aid of the fight for Catholic emancipation:

"And why is this imposing appeal made to our sympathies? It is an appeal from that very Ireland whose generous sons, alike in the day of our gloom and of our glory, shared in our misfortunes and joined in our success; who, with undaunted courage, breasted the storm which, once threatening to overwhelm us, howled with fearful and desolating fury through this now happy land; who, with aspirations deep and fervent in our cause, whether under the walls of the Castle of Dublin, in the shock of our liberty's battles, or in the feeble expiring accents of famine and misery, amidst the horrors of the prison ships, cried from their hearts, 'God save America.'

"Tell me not of the aid which we received from another European nation in the struggle for independence; that aid was most, nay, all essential to our ultimate success; but remember, years of the conflict had rolled away. Of the operatives in war—I mean the soldier—up to the coming of the French, Ireland had furnished in the ratio of 100 for 1 of any foreign nation whatever.

"Then honored be the old good service of the sons of Erin in the War of Independence. Let the shamrock be entwined with the laurels of the Revolution, and truth and justice, guiding the pen of history, inscribe on the tablets of America's remembrance 'Eternal gratitude to Irishmen.'"

One Hundred and Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT W. UPTON
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. UPTON. Mr. President, Greece, the cradle of democracy, will celebrate the 133d anniversary of her independence on March 25. In Greece we have a noble ally in our struggle against the Communists in their conspiracy for world conquest. Americans of Greek origin are proud of their American citizenship and of our free institutions. Their national organization, the AHEPA, at their annual banquet this week, had among their guests many Members of Congress. The address of their president, Leo J. Lamberson, is indicative of their important contribution to our American way of life.

I ask unanimous consent to have this address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. LAMBERSON. Mr. Toastmaster, Your Eminence, Members of the United States Senate and Congress, honored guests, members of the AHEPA family, ladies and gentlemen, it is with deep pride to head this progressive organization, the Order of AHEPA, known as the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

The blue and white folders on your table, What Is AHEPA? give you a preview of our 32-year-old fraternity, its record, its objectives and its precepts.

This evening I salute the venerable mother lodge members, as our founding fathers of AHEPA: To the 13 past supreme presidents for their toil, deeds and reverence to the shrine of our AHEPA Temple.

The Order of AHEPA and its official family has become America's foremost organization acting as the spokesmen of some 1 million Americans of Hellenic extraction.

As many historians have written on the glory that was Greece—it was because of the spirit that prevailed at the pass of Thermopylae, the Battle of Marathon, and others, which were so achieved by the age-old maxim, "Better live an hour of freedom than 40 years of slavery" (Greek).

Yet that same spirit precipitated their determined stand to defend Greece on October 28, 1940, when the Fascist and Nazi hordes pounced upon little Greece, and more recently when 5,000 Greek soldiers answered the call and traveled over one-half way around the world to join the United States with the U. N. in the fight for the liberty of another nation, the people of South Korea.

AHEPA has chosen to perpetuate that same spirit by stressing upon the sacred obligation of our responsibilities as a citizen are more important now than ever before in the history of our Nation.

That constantly our watchword is, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Our American citizenship, like the Hellenic heritage, is a most priceless privilege. It is our guaranty of freedom, dignity, and opportunity, but we must pay a price for that privilege, and the price we must pay is eternal vigilance, for eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The spirit of freedom and democracy is a most sacred possession, and that mankind's most powerful and progressive instrumentality is the ballot box, a part of our American way of life. It is the atomic weapon of our peaceful Republic.

Ahepans everywhere do manifest a sense of great responsibility and the recognition of our fundamental civic and community obligations, and to become genuinely interested in good government and the actual practice of the true principles of a democracy, by taking part and lending a voice in our governmental affairs.

Therefore, we call for a reappraisal of our sacred responsibilities as citizens, and self sacrifice is still one of our major safeguards in this grand Republic. That our paramount obligation is to preserve those rights, as well as to receive and partake of its benefits.

That our American institutions, and our freedom must be handed down from our generation to the next, unblemished and undiminished.

Ours is a great Nation—but America is not great because of its population, or because of its area, or its wealth. But America is great, if not the greatest of all time, because of its American way of life its system of government, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; its free enterprise which established an economic system providing us with the highest standards of living of any people throughout the world; America is great because of its unmatched freedoms, its freedom of speech, the press and religion, the right to trial by jury, and the guaranteed due process of law. America is great because it is a land of opportunity—unlimited and of a bountiful variety.

Therefore, Ahepa has literally become the vehicle for Americans of Hellenic extraction to help preserve and perpetuate this American way of life and we firmly believe that the greatest cementing force in the United States is the lifeblood and zeal of patriotic spirit of every living American.

It is often said, "He who loses his wealth loses much, he who loses a friend loses more, but he who loses his courage loses everything."

So it is with this renewed courage, devoted fraternalism and with God's help that we shall and we must march forward, steadily and triumphantly.

Marching forward, seeking to exterminate the termites at our democratic institutions, not with just passive Americanism, but with an active, vibrant spirit and zeal, with impregnable faith, faith in a greater America, and with fervent hope in the future of this nation of ours.

Our future is shaped out of the past,—the vivid—eventful heroic past. That's why it is so imperative to strengthen and preserve the democratic processes and the rule of law—which so characterizes the history of Greece and of America. In Greece, the leading nation of 20 centuries ago, out of the cradle of civilization, in the land where democracy was born—nurtured and perpetuated down through the ages—to where today America has become the highest exponent of all modern democracies, where liberty, freedom and opportunity prevail over tyranny and evil.

Today, we are living in a world where our neighbors are most of the nations over the globe. However, amongst certain nations whose avowed purpose and objective, and whose every effort is seeking the destruction not only of all democracies and the free peoples of the world, but the calculated destruction of all brotherhood, Christianity, and humanitarianism.

The tempo of our times must turn more and more to the light of the liberty-loving peoples—to the beacon rays of this vast land of ours—and of the spirit of tolerance, brotherhood and religion.

Last Saturday morning when our supreme lodge made its annual visit to the White House, President Eisenhower related how impressed he was with the King and Queen of

Greece while the President was in Greece in 1952 and with their recent visit to the United States.

It was a grand gesture for the State Department of the United States to have the King and Queen as official guests of honor in America. This is not only symbolic of fine relations between Greece and America—but very definitely, it cemented the spiritual bonds which bind the people of Greece together with the people of the United States, bridging the ties of common purposes and mutual aims as both nations hold everlasting enmity toward tyranny and evil—toward communism and anarchy.

Many a Hellene in Greece has often said and even here tonight "Thank God for American aid to Greece"—aid through UNRRA—Marshall plan, and ECA, and the NATO. Such aid has definitely placed Greece on the most secure side—on our side of the Iron Curtain—Greece has now become America's sentinel, in a most strategic position as America's outpost in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean; it is the bulwark against communism and its satellites.

Aid and justice for Greece as a faithful noble ally of America, has brought her closer and more friendly; and certainly cemented our relationships to help perpetuate freedom, liberty, dignity, and the democratic institutions with the pursuit of happiness for our posterity.

Today—there's even a greater need to join forces with all liberty-loving peoples in defense of freedom—and to protect and preserve the rights of the free peoples to live under a government of their own choosing.

Americans of Hellenic extraction and zealous of their rights and justly proud of their heritage. For them, American citizenship and Hellenism become more harmonious, and their loyalty and devotion to their principles and everything they stand for, are so envied by many others throughout the world.

Whether we are Ahepans or not—we are Americans first, last, and always. Ahepans and American citizenship have now become quite synonymous. Yes, citizens, not subjects, for there is a vast difference. A subject has mere privileges, but a United States citizen has rights—constitutional rights, Bill of Rights—inalienable rights which never can be taken away in the United States. That is why so many citizens who earned their American naturalization and by choice, are so proud of their American citizenship. It is no small wonder why such loyalty prevails amongst them. His loyalty is to his community, his State, and to our Nation. But a subject of other nations must be loyal only to his king, prince, potentate or dictator. It's no simple wonder they can sing—with bursting pride—"God Bless America."

All Hellenism in Greece are most grateful not only for the aid to Greece mentioned previously, but ever grateful to you Senators and Congressmen, with your colleagues, for the displaced-persons program of a few years ago, and the new European Refugee Relief Act of last August. It was a deep recognition of the United States Government and a signal honor to the Order of Ahepa when the State Department approved of the Ahepa Refugee Relief Committee as an accredited agency in this noble, humanitarian cause and worthy task now getting under way.

Such legislation supported by you Senators and Congressmen not only promotes goodwill, but creates a better understanding between America and a noble, heroic ally, Greece. It actually proves that America acts with deeds and not just words, and believes in the practice of the Biblical phrase, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

More especially, such economic and military aid and assistance to Greece has not only promoted goodwill and cemented our ties, but it has become an investment that's become more effective than United States armored divisions in Greece in the defense against communism and its sphere of influence. There, American soldiers are not needed for such a defense upon the soil of Greece.

We are particularly grateful to the some 80 United States Senators and Congressmen who grace our roster of membership, along with 20 some Governors of the several States. On February 12, 1954, the official CONGRESSIONAL RECORD portrays that just last month Congressman COOLEY, of North Carolina, related his enthusiastic acceptance of such Ahepa membership and so extended into the RECORD. His address delivered at Raleigh, N. C., and even tonight our speaker, Senator DIRKSEN, has been an Ahepan for over 15 years. I am happy to report that Ahepa is also very grateful for the score or more of Senators and Congressmen who have only recently accepted our invitations to join our ranks.

America has been known to be a great melting pot, in which is compounded out of the various nationalities a most precious metal, the metal of Americanism.

Every citizen must be cognizant not only of his duties but of every sense of responsibility. We often expect, and even demand, a President, Governor, Senator, or Congressman to be conscientious in his duties and to his oath of office. So it is but fair and reciprocal to demand and call upon the most humble citizen to do likewise; to be conscientious as a juror; conscientious to pay his taxes, and conscientious to vote and participate in the political affairs and extend a voice in government.

I know from many an immigrant who becomes an American by choice, often shouts, "Thank God, I am an American."

Even many of us born in America, don't fully realize nor even appreciate this, unless one travels outside of the country, he really feels like an immigrant, then only can he fully appreciate his American citizenship.

The comradeship of Hellenes who fought in World War I and World War II, and in Korea, fully earned their "spurs"—and with all other Hellenes, pledged to promote a better understand of the principles of democracy and a higher appreciation of the benefits of American citizenship and to aggressively combat the spread of any radicalism and to eradicate all subversive movements. As Ahepans, our duty is to play even a more vital role in American citizenship—promote greater loyalty to American institutions and our devotion to the American way of life, and with a deep sense of responsibility to love, cherish, and defend those rights and those institutions for a strong America today, and a greater Nation of tomorrow—for the hope and beacon of light for the free peoples of the world.

May I conclude with the prize-winning award by our past supreme president:

"MY CREED

"I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon—if I can. I seek opportunity—not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled and dulled by having the state look after me. I want to take the calculated risk: To dream and to build, to fail and to succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to a guaranteed existence; the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of a utopia. I will not trade fredom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud, and unafraid; to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations and to face the world boldly and say, This I have done. All this is what it means to be an American." (By Dean Alfange, of New York.)

As the spokesman for our Ahepa family, Ahepa points with great pride to its record and its achievements, and its success to which most of you have contributed in one way or another, and each member solemnly pledges to everyone of you Senators and Congressmen—For Ahepa to hold fast as a pillar in the civic fiber of our Government and to remain steadfast in the foundation of our American way of life.

God bless America; God bless America.

Destruction of Domestic Lead-Zinc Industry by Foreign Metal Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, there has been much discussion before this body on the subject of the destruction of our strategic domestic lead-zinc industry by foreign metal imports. When discussed as a statistical matter, this problem gets scant attention or it loses force because the human factors are not apparent from the cold figures.

But the decline of a basic domestic industry means that men lose jobs, both in that industry and service businesses, schools close down, thriving communities become ghost towns, and what was once a wellspring of an area's economy becomes an economic and social problem for all levels of government. Furthermore, in the case of lead and zinc, domestic production of vital defense materials is sacrificed to foreign supplies that could be chopped off in time of a national emergency.

Because this problem is so serious in my State and in other lead-zinc-producing areas, I ask unanimous consent for publication in the Appendix a letter I received this morning from the board of commissioners of Summit County in the State of Utah.

These county commissioners are endeavoring to cope firsthand with a problem created by national trade policies which favor foreign mineral producers at the expense of well-paid American miners and domestic mining communities. Their letter shows what 20 years of free-trade policies have done to the community of Park City, Utah.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMIT COUNTY,
STATE OF UTAH,
Coalville, Utah, March 8, 1954.

Mr. CONGRESSMAN: This letter has been written to you who represent the people of the State of Utah on a national level. It comes from the representatives of the people on the county level. The purpose of this letter is to show you the dire situation that exists in Park City district of our county and the need for immediate emergency action.

As you undoubtedly know, the Park City mines have not operated since approximately the middle of 1952. There being no manufacturing industries in the town and little agricultural land to draw upon, Park City is economically dependent upon the activity of its mines. The mine payrolls constitute the community's only source of income. Since these payrolls have been cut off, the town has been rapidly going downhill in

population, school enrollment, business enterprises, and financial solvency until the town has become a liability to the county instead of an asset.

The operation of the mines is largely contingent upon receiving a price for their products that would enable them to meet these payroll and other operational expenses and to pay taxes toward the support of the various governmental agencies from the local to national levels. The current prices being paid for the ores these mines produce does not permit a profitable production, largely because national governmental tariff policies permit the influx of low-cost foreign metals practically duty free. A situation where domestic mines are penalized out of operation to the benefit of foreign producers who pay no taxes and contribute very little if anything to the welfare of our citizenry is un-American.

Just how this situation is affecting Park City and Summit County can be best revealed by a few statements of fact drawn from the local records.

1. The fact that this condition is not something that has dropped on us all at once is best indicated by the following population figures:

(a) Park City's population has dropped from 4,281 in 1930 to 2,000 in 1953.

(b) Park City school enrollment since 1941 has been as follows:

Year	Enrollment	Teachers employed
1941-42	1,052	33
1942-43	961	30
1943-44	835	29
1944-45	735	29
1945-46	743	27
1946-47	778	27
1947-48	752	28
1948-49	732	27
1949-50	675	27
1950-51	621	24
1951-52	592	23
1952-53	537	23
1953-54	449	17

2. In 1953 over 200 properties have been sold to the county for taxes. This year, 1954, at the May sale. Many of these properties are homes on which, because of the closing of the mines and no income, the owners have been unable to pay taxes. Many of these homes are vacant and rapidly going to ruin. Others are being lived in, but the occupants pay no rent. Naturally none of these properties contribute toward the county's tax burden.

3. With incomes shut off more and more residents are being forced to ask for medical care, hospitalization, and indigent support. Although last year's legislature granted an increase of some $4,000 to this fund, it will be exhausted within 8 months at the present rate of usage this year. The following figures will exemplify this problem:

1952 fund expended:	
Medical care	$5,581.93
Indigent and poor	2,469.81
Total	8,051.74
1953 fund:	
Medical care	4,289.15
Indigent and poor	7,860.80
Total	12,149.95
1954 fund which will be exhausted before year is out:	
Medical care	5,500.00
Indigent and poor	7,545.81
Total	13,045.81

4. Tax revenues from the mines represent one of the principal sources of income of the county, yet the drop in county mine valuation since 1940 totals $153,000; the loss of tax revenue about $6,500.

5. Many business houses that have somehow limped along through this period are about at the end of their rope and soon will be forced to close up. Such a situation will act to further reduce tax revenues, and, of course, the loss of population indicated above has meant a loss in tax revenue also.

These conditions make up the grim picture that will steadily get worse unless appropriate action is taken in the very near future.

What can be done?

The first step should be to revamp the tariff structure and to remold the thinking of our national leaders back to American principles of protecting domestic industries and our own citizens rather than to enrich foreign producers.

This is your job, Mr. Congressman.

There is another approach, coupled with the above which should be considered. That is to bring national influence upon the two most vitally interested parties, the mine operators and labor organizations to work out emergency means that might enable the mines to resume operations during this critical time.

Whenever a strike has been threatened or during cessations of operations due to a strike, Government mediators have repeatedly been called to the scene to work out a compromise settlement. Why not call in such a mediator now to sit down with the operators and the union to see if a similar compromise cannot be worked out to bridge this emergency.

This situation in Park City and Summit County is serious. We ask you help and cooperation now. Getting the mines reopened and the men back to work is the only sound solution to this problem. We do not want a welfare town. Handing out doles, free butter and other foodstuffs is not the answer. It is jobs.

Thanking you for your attention, we remain.

Very truly yours,

THE BOARD OF SUMMIT COUNTY COMMISSIONERS.
ARCHIE C. PACE, *Chairman.*
W. ERNEST CHAPPELL.
DAVID W. LOERTSCHER.

Attest:

J. EMERSON STAPLES,
Summitt County Clerk.

A Close Look at the New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include a speech which I delivered today at the National Aircraft Conference of the UAW-CIO:

A CLOSE LOOK AT THE NEW LOOK

Mr. Chairman, delegates, and distinguished guests. I am most happy to welcome the UAW aircraft delegates from all over the Nation, assembled here in Washington where you can take a close look at the New Look. The skills of the members of your union are an increasingly important component of our defense structure. Sudden spurts in aircraft orders alternating with sudden stops have too often played havoc with our airpower and our aircraft industry. We have just witnessed another in a long series of costly sudden shifts in our airpower program. It is to be hoped that we will now be permitted to proceed toward real air strength without interference by any newly inducted meat axers anxious to prove their prior political allegations of great waste by drastically cutting something—cutting anything—right or wrong.

If we are to proceed evenly toward adequate air power, we need an informed citizenry insistent upon such a course. We need strong groups geared to political action for defense of security. We need the active support and participation of great unions such as yours in this political fight to insure adequate productive capacity and maintenance of survival strength.

We stand today on a small part of this spinning sphere still able to choose between two paths; strength based upon voluntary sacrifice, which may mean peace, or at least a chance to survive if war comes to our land; or weakness resulting from taking the easy selfish way, which can mean unspeakable violence and destruction. Which shall it be? Never have the lives and liberties of so many thousands of millions yet unborn depended so surely upon the free choice of the citizens of one nation. Yes, the responsibilities of contemporary American citizenship are very great. Your union is a bulwark in the struggle for intelligent, informed, political action. I hope that in addition to other activities, interest in your political action committee will broaden and grow.

Now I would like to help you take that close look at the New Look.

The United States has faced many great crises in the past. At such times, our enemies have always found to their dismay that our country has a great unifying spirit which enables us to resolve our differences to cope with the common threat.

In meeting these past crises we have been fortunate in our geographical isolation. It has always afforded us the luxury of complacency until an enemy struck the first blow, then we still had time to resolve our dilatory differences, and start serious preparations for defense of our liberty. The air age no longer permits such a dilatory complacent attitude.

Today, an aggressor's long-range high-speed aircraft can deliver fantastic explosive power on the United States without warning. And we must clearly understand that we are faced by a ruthless potential enemy willing to strike without warning whenever he feels it to his advantage to do so. Our Nation's security in this air age, therefore, demands a sound military policy, supported by all the people in time of peace as well as war.

For many years now most Americans, regardless of domestic party policies, have recognized the need for bipartisanship in our foreign policy. We must have not only a resumption of this bipartisanship in our foreign policy, but also the establishment of nonpartisanship in our military policy. I want to discuss this nonpartisan military policy today in connection with my remarks about the so-called New Look.

The first requirement in establishing a sound nonpartisan military policy is an honest and complete statement of the facts. It may be that the present administration has so committed itself to the use of advertising agency techniques that it will not make an undramatic frank statement of the facts. I hope this is not the case. I hope that they have the capacity to heed the remarks of Benjamin Franklin who said: "The wise and brave dares own that he is wrong."

Certainly the Republican administration's current position on airpower is evidence of the serious blunder it committed a few months ago when it cut heavily into the budget and the personnel of the Air Force. So far, however, they have proved obstinately unwilling to acknowledge the fact publicly.

Instead, they describe their present military policy as a New Look in an attempt to

hide their mistakes. Ever since the New Look was announced, I have been trying to find out just what was new about it. In their attempt to make it really sound new, administration spokesmen have confused our allies and our own people. Now the President has thrown up his hands in disgust and repudiated this propaganda term. I think, though, I may have finally discovered the real answer to this so-called New Look. They simply have a new way of looking at things. Let me describe the process to you.

First, they look at the enemy's capabilities through the wrong end of a telescope. Then they look at our own capabilities with a pair of unfocused binoculars so that they see double. Then they take another look at the whole situation with a pair of rose-colored glasses. They describe what they see with meaningless but catchy slogans such as "more defense for less, the floating D-day concept, a bigger bang for a buck, national security in the large economy size." Slogans like these may be good for selling soap, but they neither give us security nor explain the administration's military program.

Every time the administration has been pressed to explain just what the New Look means they seem to be at a complete loss.

First, they implied that the New Look was based on a massive retaliatory capability. This is certainly not something new fashioned by this administration. Any schoolboy is aware of the massive retaliatory capability of the Strategic Air Command and our reliance on its effectiveness to deter Soviet aggression.

Then, when some skeptics point out that massive retaliation alone does not offer a solution to limited wars like Korea or Indochina, but appears to increase the likelihood of turning these into all-out war, the administration says that the new program does not eliminate the use of more conventional weapons. Is that new? The previous administration had already built up the Army and Navy. Next, they try to claim credit for an alleged new emphasis on air atomic power. This is all unadulterated political poppycock. Why don't they admit that while they talk about emphasis on airpower, they are asking for more appropriations for the Navy this year than last? Why don't they explain lucidly whether or not the cut in Army appropriations is a result of the fact that the fighting in Korea has ended? Why don't they admit that while talking about emphasis on airpower, they are cutting Air Force funds for aircraft from $3.5 billion last year to $2.76 billion this year? Everyone knows that the current rate of aircraft procurement is a result of appropriations made before this administration was little more than a gleam in the eye of the hard-money financiers.

When you get right down to it, what is all this business about a New Look or a new floating D-day concept which is said to build for the long pull rather than for a year of crisis? Why don't they admit that the Democratic administration constantly emphasized quality as well as quantity? Why don't they admit that as long ago as 1950, Secretary of Defense George Marshall resisted all impulsive attempts to build up too quickly, insisting that we must gradually build up to a reasonably high plateau which would fill our minimum requirements and then take a look around? Why don't they admit that it was Secretary Marshall who first insisted that we must be prepared to maintain that reasonable plateau for many years to come if necessary?

Well, like murder, truth will out, even when it is truth itself that has been the victim. In last Sunday's New York Times, the distinguished military analyst, Hanson W. Baldwin said, "There is no doubt that reduction of costs was a major factor—probably the major factor—in the new program. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Budget Director had more influence in shaping the overall sizes of the services than did the Joint Chiefs of Staff. New weapons certainly give a bigger bang, but no one yet knows exactly what effect they will have in war, or, indeed, whether they can ever be used. The administration would have been on somewhat safer ground if, instead of claiming more for less, it had said frankly that it was increasing slightly our calculated military risk in order to reduce our calculated economic risk.

In the same paper, the equally distinguished political writer, Mr. James Reston said:

"This may be a disappointment to the advertising warrior on upper Madison Avenue, but the attempt to 'merchandise the living hell out of the Eisenhower program'—as C. D. Jackson once put it—has not been a bowling success.

"It's an odd thing, too. Politicians love slogans as much as the hucksters and big-city magazine and TV experts who came down here with the Republicans, but few things have caused this administration more trouble than its slogans.

"The New Look foreign policy dispute this week is only one illustration. The New Look was presented around here for months as something revolutionary—more bang for a buck—but the President, the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff all spent a good part of this week explaining that the New Look really wasn't very new at all. It was merely an effort to keep up with the times, the President said, adding his displeasure with the whole idea of calling it the New Look."

In fairness, I must say that Secretary Wilson did finally admit at a press conference the other day (March 9) that the present military program represented simply a gradual evolution. When pressed for more details, he referred his questioners to an interview with Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which was reported in U. S. News & World Report. In that article, the present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff admitted that our strategic concepts are still basically the same. He went on to point out that we must still "be prepared to meet any kind of emergency."

Yet, despite such important admissions that the New Look is not really new, most of the administration's political spokesmen persist with their ballyhoo on the New Look at every opportunity. Why don't the rest of them face up to the facts as the President was finally goaded into doing, and admit that the New Look is nothing but semantics? Are they afraid of proving someone else right? General Vandenberg, for instance.

Last summer I fought together with Senators SYMINGTON, MAYBANK, RUSSELL, and HILL, and Congressmen MAHON, PRICE, PATTEN, TEAGUE, and other distinguished members of the Democratic Party to prevent the administration from drastically cutting and damaging the Air Force. At first, there were only a few of us who were stirred by the courageous stand taken by a real airpower authority, and a real man, Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg. We carried the debate to the public. As it progressed, we were joined by other Democrats, and by both Republicans and Democrats outside of Congress, who supported us in our stand against crippling American airpower at the very time when we should have been increasing its strength.

The record of that debate, when compared with the administration's present airpower program, proves that the stand of the majority of Democrats in Congress against cuts in airpower is now completely vindicated. It also proves that the stand Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg took in the face of bitter attacks, and even some most unfair abuse, was an honest and heroic stand. Why can't the administration show its own wisdom and honesty and admit that they were wrong? The high officials of this administration were diplomatically ill at the time of General Vandenberg's retirement ceremony. They owe him an apology, but they are not manly enough to admit it.

Only by the greatest effort on the part of the administration was the cut in American airpower pushed, shoved, and slammed through Congress. It was accomplished because the administration's deceptive arguments and loose promises were accepted at face value by a majority of the Republicans in the Congress. Let's take a look at some of these promises.

In the first place, Secretary Wilson ignored our own intelligence reports and said that we gave the Soviets credit for many aircraft they didn't have. Furthermore, he argued that the Soviet Air Force was primarily defensive. Shortly after the debate in Congress, the Soviets exploded a hydrogen bomb. A few weeks ago, Aviation Week carried pictures of two new Soviet modern long-range bombers which they were reported to have in the hundreds. Secretary Wilson was wrong. General Vandenberg was right.

In the second place, the administration solemnly promised over and over again that the Air Force cuts would not delay the build-up toward a 143-wing Air Force if the so-called New Look showed that such an Air Force was necessary. You may remember that at that time General Vandenberg stated that if the administration's delays and restrictions remained in effect, pending the New Look we could not have 143 wings before 1957, even if we decided the program was right after all. Now what has actually happened?

The administration tooks its look and came up with a new program for 137 air wings, instead of 143, but by the strangest coincidence, this so-called new program contains exactly the same number of combat wings as were contained in the 143 wing program for which the Democratic Members of Congress argued last year; that is, 126 combat wings. Now, however, the administration itself admits that we cannot have those 137 wings until 1957. Secretary Wilson was wrong. General Vandenberg was right.

But they still don't have the courage to admit their mistake. Instead, they expect people to believe that by changing the program from 143 wings down to 120 and then up to 137 they have achieved a new and unheard-of emphasis on airpower. They expect people to accept a so-called floating D-day concept as a reasonable explanation for reducing and then stretching out the previously planned buildup of our airpower from 1955 to 1957.

In the third place, the administration promised that no combat airplanes would be cut from the Air Force program and that all the combat aircraft construction which was deferred from last year to this year, would eventually be built. This promise also has proved unreliable by a very wide margin. Within a few weeks from the time the promise was made nearly 700 combat aircraft were cut from the program, and later, an additional 200 combat aircraft were also cut from the program.

In the fourth place, they promised that the Air Force would not be seriously cut in personnel and that the orderly training and replacement of Air Force personnel would continue. What happened? The official report of the Secretary of Defense disclosed that the number of men in uniform decreased by 50,000 during the past year. This decrease of 50,000 was absorbed entirely by the Air Force. Air Force personnel decreased from more than 975,000 to 925,000 during the past year. This is exactly what General Vandenberg warned would happen under the policies that were instituted by the ad-

ministration last spring. Again Secretary Wilson was wrong, General Vandenberg was right.

Now, we all believe in efficient use of manpower, but it is particularly disturbing to see just how the administration went about achieving personnel cuts. They not only arbitrarily lowered the ceiling on the number of Air Force personnel, but they introduced restrictions which kept the Air Force from meeting even the lower ceiling. For example, last spring they shortsightedly limited the recruiting of Air Force personnel to 3,000 a month at a time when the Air Force was able to recruit nearly 12,000 men a month. Most of the Air Force training commands stood idle and many thousands of young men who wanted to join the Air Force had to stay out. Now the Air Force is unable to recruit the men it needs, and it is unable to train new men fast enough to meet its urgent needs.

In this connection, I have been puzzled by a letter recently sent to me by the Secretary of the Air Force, Harold E. Talbott. He called my attention to an article by Francis B. Drake, entitled "On Guard." The article appeared in the Reader's Digest of August 1953. The article described a mission by Strategic Air Command. The Secretary said, "I was greatly impressed with the article." Well, I was greatly impressed by the fact that the Secretary was greatly impressed. Let me read you a few excerpts from this excellent article:

"Here we have an illustration of the alarming deficiency in our Government's scheme for preventing the outbreak of war: There are no duplicate atom-bomber crews.

"Should the United States ever come under attack, this deficiency would be appalling. The Red air force is already much larger than our own. It has amply trained manpower. It could maintain continuous bombardment. Yet at a time when every hour might be beyond price, when millions of our people might be under devastating attack, this bomber—and dozens like it—would have to remain grounded, subject to enemy destruction at any minute.

"The men would be willing to fly again, of course, to force their bodies back to the rigors of the stratosphere, but they would not be able to manage the split-second timing of their complex equipment. The Air Force believes that it would only sacrifice plane and crew to try.

"In a belated effort to catch up with the Red air force, we have more bombers on order. We need these badly. But, still more, we need crews to fly them. Commercial airlines average over four crews per plane. SAC is allowed only one. The reason? Lack of appropriations. It costs $50,000 per man to train an atom-bomber crew. SAC hasn't got the money.

"Considering that national survival is at stage, this policy is reckless."

This article sets forth the stark serious facts about the deficiencies in our airpower brought about and still shamefully glossed over by the pennypinchers in this administration. Was Secretary Talbott trying to emphasize by indirection the truth he feels prohibited from stating directly? I believe this was his purpose. I want to help him. His position is not an enviable one. Incidentally, Gen. Matthew Ridgway, a very great soldier, appears lately to also desire to break through the gag rule and speak his mind about the Army budget. It is disturbing enough to have defense made a subject of slogans but even more disturbing to see our best expert advisers silenced by civilians who know a lot about their dollars but little about our defense. This is not a healthy sign in this sick world.

In connection with this manpower problem, it is also distressing to see how the administration actually callously broke faith with thousands of ROTC students in our universities. As a result of the administration's actions, thousands of ROTC graduates will not, upon completion of their training, receive the commissions they were originally promised.

If the administration had been deliberately trying to undermine the faith of these fine young Americans in the Air Force they could not have done better. These young graduates of the Air ROTC are bitter—not toward the administration—but toward the Air Force, even though the Air Force broke faith with them only because of the administration's compulsion. This understandable bitterness will continue to haunt the Air Force for many years, and will complicate and aggravate its already difficult manpower problem.

Now, from a more immediate point of view, the Air Force is presently faced with the serious problem of maintaining combat readiness with an insufficient number of flying hours permitted. Obviously, the readiness of the Air Force and its state of training depends heavily on the amount of flying it does. Yet the actual fact is that despite the larger number of wings it has on paper, the Air Force is flying very little—if any—more than it was a year ago.

Many other instances could be cited to show just how wrong the administration was, and just how right General Vandenberg was, a year ago, but I think I have made the point sufficiently clear.

Let me review this record.

First, the record shows conclusively that the administration made a serious blunder in cutting our airport program a year ago.

Second, the record shows that the administration has tried to correct its blunder by setting up a so-called new program which will eventually provide about the same combat airpower for which General Vandenberg and the Democrats were arguing a year ago.

Third, the record shows that the administration has lost 2 years' time which they can't make up, and wasted a considerable amount of money.

Fourth, the record shows that the administration has tried to hide its errors from the American public by use of the so-called New Look slogan.

Well, all of us, I am sure, are more concerned with the future than the past. I have gone to this length to look at the past, because I hoped that it might clear the air. I hoped that it might serve to establish a starting point from which Democrats and Republicans alike could embark on a really bold new program for national security in the air age.

Air power programs should never be the plaything of the party in power. They must have continuity and be built up over a period of years through nonpartisan support. There is not a single aircraft in the Air Force's operational units today which was not bought from funds provided during the Democratic administration. None of the combat planes ordered from funds appropriated by the present administration will be delivered until next year after the Democrats have regained a majority in Congress, and incidentally, when I will have moved to the Senate. If the administration has begun design on any new aircraft, none of these will be delivered to operational units until after the presidential elections in 1956.

These facts alone should make clear the necessity for a continuous nonpartisan military policy. As a matter of fact, before the present administration obscured the issues, it was clear to everyone that much of our military policy could be traced back to the nonpartisan findings of the President's Air Policy Commission, and the Congressional Aviation Policy Board. The wise and far-seeing findings of these boards, composed of distinguished members of the Democratic and Republican parties, give clear evidence of the advantage of a nonpartisan military policy.

Since these groups made their reports, there have been many far-reaching changes in the world situation. We have been through a major war. We have developed smaller atomic weapons and the fantastic hydrogen bomb. Meanwhile, our enemy has exploded an A-bomb, a hydrogen bomb, and built up a long-range offensive air force.

Both the President's Commission and the Congressional Board would be among the first to admit that times change. Both groups pointed out the necessity for periodic reviews. Certainly the events of the past 7 years indicate the need not for a phony New Look but for a full-scale review of our military policy as well as our airpower policy. It is true, of course, that the Joint Chiefs of Staff have reviewed our military policy not only last year but every year. I think it was Lloyd George, however, who pointed out that: "War is too important to be left to the generals" (this includes the admirals). Pentagon politics being what they are, we need the nonpartisan considered judgment of scientists and other experts able to view our defense structure objectively.

It is perhaps understandable that no full-scale nonpartisan review of our military policy could be undertaken while the Korean war was in progress. Now that this war has been brought to at least a temporary end—although a highly tenuous one—I feel it would be appropriate to undertake such a review. I want to urge the President (and I hope you will join me) to take immediate steps in cooperation with the Congress to establish a commission to study our military policy in light of the new circumstances of modern warfare.

In the meantime, I urge everyone to support the current direction of the airpower program, although it is a belated and delayed step toward the kind of airpower program we urged the administration to adopt and support only last year. It does not go far enough and it is late, but at least it is better than running in the wrong direction as the administration was doing right after it came to power.

Let us hope that the administration will have the wisdom and the courage to admit their error, to admit General Vandenberg was right, to frankly accord him the high honor he is due and then embark on the dynamic program for our Nation's security in the air age, for which the general gave so much of his strength. General Vandenberg is a few miles from here in Walter Reed Hospital, a very sick man. But he is strong and secure in the hearts of his countrymen. History will indelibly engrave his name alongside that of Billy Mitchell. The name of Hoyt Vandenberg will shine forth as a symbol of courage and devotion to duty long after his materially richer, but spiritually poorer detractors, have faded into the dark recesses of oblivion.

Action To Prevent Depression

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following very fine article which appeared in the New Republic, issue of March 22, 1954. It is

written by our very distinguished colleague the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. BOLLING, and the distinguished Senator from Illinois, Mr. DOUGLAS:

The employment Act of 1946 endorsed the principle that every citizen has the right to a chance to earn a living. It stressed the "responsibility of the Federal Government to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." It required the President to submit annually a report on the economic state of the Nation together with his economic program. And it established a joint (House and Senate) committee to review and comment upon the President's proposals.

Accordingly, on January 28, President Eisenhower presented his report. The President was optimistic. He did note a readjustment; to offset it he proposed these measures: A higher public-debt limit, broadened social security, limited strengthening of the unemployment-compensation system, substitution of flexible for rigid agricultural supports, liberalization of foreign trade, some public housing, tentative planning for public works, and tax revisions primarily designed to stimulate production and investment.

Word that the administration was considering these measures was expected to halt the economy's downward drift. Instead, in February the drift continued. Anxious reporters queried the President on further steps to check growing unemployment in his press conference of February 18.

Joseph A. Slevin, of the Journal of Commerce: "Mr. President, do you think the economic downturn has reached a point where consumers should get larger tax concessions than your program called for?"

Answer: Well, he couldn't give an answer, an affirmative answer, to that one at this moment.

As they knew, in the Economic Report it stated that that was a measure to bring in very quickly when you saw this thing spreading very definitely.

He would think that March ought to be sort of the key month. March was a month when, he was told, that employment began normally to pick up, and you had a definite upturn in the curve.

Now, if that weren't true, he would say then we would have a very definite warning that would call for the institution of a number of measures. Possibly this tax reduction would be one of the first considered, although he couldn't say for certain.

A majority of the joint committee indicated only a few reservations in approving the President's program to ward off depression. A minority of 6 Democrats—3 Senators and 3 Congressmen—criticized it in general terms.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and Representative RICHARD BOLLING, Democrat, of Missouri, filed a detailed criticism and substitute proposals.

March is almost over; unemployment is rising still. Congress is considering the President's new proposals for tax cuts. Are further measures required? The proposals of Senator DOUGLAS and Representative BOLLING take on increased significance in this discussion. Excerpts from their statement are printed here:

To begin with we should like to call attention to the following lines of the Economic Report:

"Under the circumstances, governmental policies must either be flexible, adjusting to new and unforeseen developments, or run the peril of courting disaster. But flexible policies, adapted with promptness and vigor, require courage and candor on the part of Government officials."

There seems to be almost an utter lack of courage and candor on the part of Government officials which the report itself correctly advances as the necessary foundation for any economic program. On the contrary, glossing over economic facts prevails.

The lack of candor and courage in the Economic Report which the President's advisers have furnished him has led to three fundamental defects:

The current readjustment seems likely to be brief and self-correcting and—though the present situation must not be viewed with complacency, nevertheless—

Our economic growth is likely to be resumed during the year, especially if the Congress strengthens the economic environment by translating into action the administration's far-reaching program.

We distinctly disclaim any powers of economic prophecy. But we do believe economic statesmen should follow the dictum stated in the economic report:

"The best we can hope for it to minimize errors of miscalculation through making full use of available data, and to give due recognition to those elements of uncertainty that attach to both the present and the future."

Unfortunately, the economic report does not follow its own advice. Evidence is replete that one prime instance of a policy failure due to lack of recognition of elements of uncertainty and to errors of miscalculation turned up in the hard-money policy.

The cursory statement in the economic report about this grave error is symptomatic of the attitude of the administration report. It is the case of the soft pedal with the loud push. Had these policies, embarked upon so blithely, not been quickly eased, we might have been in a really serious situation months ago.

Even more obvious is the attitude exhibited in analyzing the current situation. We are asked to wait and see.

This bright optimism leads to a concentration on long-run policies at the expense of measures for short-term stability. Perhaps such optimism will turn out to be justified. But, it clearly does not accord with the rule quoted in regard to allowing for uncertainties nor with the report's own statements:

"Impressive as are the factors which justify confidence that the current settling of business activity will stay within relatively narrow limits, it should be recognized that periods of readjustment" always carry risks with them. Continued imbalance could result in cumulative effects, as one sector of the economy reacts upon another. Such reactions are partly psychological in character, but they are nonetheless real. A relatively slight fall in the level of activity, if interpreted as a harbinger of further declines, could lead consumers whose incomes have remained unchanged to start curtailing their purchases because they either fear a loss of income or hope for bargain prices later. If businessmen regard the first cropping off in orders as an occasion for curtailing their programs of capital investment, they could spread and intensify the difficulties they fear.

"Prudence as well as zeal for economic improvement require that public policy contribute both to the immediate strength of the economy and to its long-term growth."

Plainly, such prudence was not exercised before the Economic Report was submitted to the Congress. According to Prof. Alvin Hansen, of Harvard University, early in 1953 the American economy was basically sound, in no need of purging and did not have to have a readjustment. But when the decision for quick reductions in defense expenditures was taken, thus creating a temporary problem of transition, the administration adopted a policy of hard money and credit restriction through debt management. Although this latter mistake was soon too obvious to go on unreversed, nonetheless the administration, even in January 1954, still did not set forth a bold policy to meet the problems of transition.

It is not enough to point to the risks of uncertainty in economic forecasting. Action must be taken to insure against such risks.

Moreover, the fact that we may, in March or April, experience an upturn, does not rule out such action in the slightest degree. We must be alert not to read a seasonal upturn, which may occur in the overall pattern of recession, as a permanent turn to the better. Most recessions have been marked by varying degrees of fluctuation, while the general pattern was one of a receding economy.

Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, formerly of the Brookings Institution and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, in testimony before this committee correctly characterized the administration's premise:

"If I may resort to military vernacular, I would suggest that the net effect of the economic report is to portray this situation as 'operation little switch,' whereas in fact it will prove to be 'operation big switch.'"

The faulty premise that this transition is an easy, self-regulating small magnitude operation lies at the heart of the faulty policy proposals of the administration. Nowhere in the administration's report do we find:

1. A concrete program to move forward bodly now to prevent a worsening of present conditions, but rather a tendency to wait until the situation develops further.

2. A farsighted conception of the responsibilities for moving forward economically, in order to continue that expansion of purchasing and production necessary to provide jobs for the some 600,000 new members who will probably move into the labor force this year. Rather, there is an implied tendency to talk of the long-run need for sustained economic growth while, without saying so, surrendering in the immediate short run to "contraction" or "readjustment" without saying how far this process is acceptable before the attainment of long-run goals becomes a distant mirage.

We agree thoroughly with the basic concept of the report that production and jobs are the primary responsibility of private initiative and industry. We cannot accept, however, the implication that a depression must be upon us before Government should take some remedial action, especially when, as at present, a substantial part of the depressive forces grow out of governmental policies.

We regard the Executive's report as wholly inadequate in scope and wrong in the remedies it proposes.

We believe that the administration proposals are so hedged with a series of "ifs" that that there is displayed a reluctance to seize the initiative and act resolutely. Economic upheavals do not wait for certainties in administrative minds.

In fact, in speaking of the administration's program, the Economic Report states:

"It is not a legislative program of emergency measures, for the current situation clearly does not require one." We challenge this assumption.

Later the report sets forth the basic principles which it says will guide it in meeting the situation.

"The third basic principle is to pursue measures that will foster the expansion of private activity," by stimulating consumers to spend more money and businessmen to create more jobs, "so that the economy may resume its growth with new strength.

That is exactly what we Democrats propose to do, if the administration will lend its help.

"The fourth principle is to" act promptly and vigorously if "economic conditions require it."

Agreed. If not now, when? Must a depression be storming down upon us before that "if" time is reached?

The Democratic Party has traditionally stood for prosperity, and fought against depression, no matter which party held power. We believe all Democrats will give the President support on prompt and vigorous action. We would rather have prosperity and have the Republican Party in power forever than have this Nation undergo catastrophic up-

heaval of another depression, with all its terrible social consequences.

The objectives above, read against the business conditions we have recited from official sources, and against the very uncertain fate of the President's foreign-trade expansion program in this Republican Congress, compels us to believe that remedies are due now.

The trickle-down theory which is the core of the administration tax program was tried in 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1930, and everyone knows the results. They were disastrous. This concept is to give tax relief to the upper brackets, who will save more, invest more, expand industrial plant, create more jobs, and therefore expand purchasing and consumption.

In normal times, this concept has a reasonable working validity. There will be some expansion.

But these are not normal times. In periods of business uncertainty, savings flow into the banks, and there tend to become sterilized. Under increased business hazards, banks do not lend, and borrowers will not seek loans. Both sit tight and ride out the uncertainties.

Now the administration proposes to revive business by a trickle-down program of additional tax cuts for the higher brackets, and for business.

The administration tax program briefly provides for:

1. Two hundred and fifty million dollars of reductions for individual through more liberal credits for medical charges, baby sitters' deductions for working widows and widowers, income splitting for heads of households, and other small similar benefits.

2. One billion eight hundred million dollars of relief for business.

3. One billion two hundred million dollars of reductions for recipients of dividends.

Investors and business would get 12 times as much tax relief as individuals on salaries and wages. But that doesn't tell the whole story. The average individual would get $6 in tax relief, while the average dividend recipient would get $200 ($1.2 billion divided by 6 million stockholders). That is 33 times as much. But it should be noted that less than 4 percent of the taxpayers receiving dividends (the group with incomes over $10,000) get more than 75 percent of all dividends. Moreover, recent studies have shown that less than 1 percent of all American families own 80 percent of all publicly held stock.

This is trickle down with a capital T. It outdoes anything of the 1920's. It is inequitable and grossly so.

It will never solve the problem of stimulating consumers to spend more money and businessmen to create more jobs; it will not add basically to purchasing power, because, as we have shown, the $1.2 billion of tax relief to dividend earners will go mostly to the 4 percent of taxpayers who do have incomes of more than $10,000. The $1.8 billion of deductions for business will go primarily to a segment of the economy that has already received $2 billion of relief on the excess-profits tax, and that is already searching for markets for the products of present plants rather than worrying about expanding capacity.

We believe that what is needed now is a sound tax program, one which is fair to all taxpayers and one which will build up mass purchasing power and help to get this Nation out of its current recession. We advocate an immediate increase in the personal income-tax exemption of from $600 to $800 and drastic reductions in excise-tax rates. Such a program would pour additional purchasing power into the economy and hence increase sales, production, and employment.

There are other steps we can take.

Congress has appropriated $83 million for advance planning of State and local public works. In addition, it is estimated that by the end of the current fiscal year, $1.2 billion of authorized Federal civil-public-works projects will be planned to the stage where construction could be started. Around $3.5 billion is in the planning stage. Other plans should be ready for a worthwhile program of highways, roads, schools, hospitals, and other needed projects when they are needed to sustain the economy. We note with deep approval the constructive section of the committee report on the necessity of having these programs ready to go. We believe that the Congress should seriously consider one further step in this field: The enactment of legislation to create a specific agency to harmonize Federal-State-local plans, to keep such plans up to date, and to manage and direct public-construction programs when they are instituted. Such agency should be under the direction of the President, and should have the cooperation and facilities of all other Federal agencies at its support. Perhaps we shall need an additional appropriation for this purpose.

The appropriate committees of the Congress should consider legislation to encourage the States and give them incentives to modernize unemployment compensation payments under a standardized procedure. This modernization might include 26 weeks of compensation at 50 percent of a worker's average pay in the 3 months preceding layoff, with a maximum of $35 to $40 a week, should the committees, after hearing evidence, decide that this standard was desirable.

We should have energetic governmental efforts to remove the overhanging farm surplus without disrupting domestic or foreign markets.

1. Authorize the use of commodities to supplement the rations of those on relief, aged pensioners, and those in hospitals, orphanages, and public and private eleemosynary institutions.

2. Provide an expansive foreign-relief program through such private and/or public agencies as Congress may find suitable to handle this program.

3. Authorize and provide for the extensive exchange of commodities for strategic minerals including uranium, tin, manganese, rubber, and mica. Amendment of the law is necessary to expand the program and provide for processing and shipping.

4. Use surplus commodities as a means of psychological warfare wherever deliverable by various means.

Congress and the administration have a constructive responsibility to take a wide-awake look at the state of our economy.

The time to look is before it is too late. And a wide-awake look means a full recognition of the facts as we find them. Our minority statement was intended to fulfill this responsibility.

It is because we believe deeply in the hardiness and good sense of the American people and American business generally that we have stated the facts as we found them, without any garnishment or glossing over of the situation in order to delude ourselves and others that it is pleasant, when, in fact, it isn't.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.
RICHARD BOLLING.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Federowicz

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, with unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to record the program of the testimonial dinner honoring Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Federowicz, Ph. D., on the occasion of his investiture as a domestic prelate. This dinner was given last month in Nanticoke and was sponsored and patronized by many of my constituents from Nanticoke and throughout Wyoming Valley.

Monsignor Federowicz was born of Anthony and Pauline Trzeciakiewicz Federowicz in Swoyersville, Pa., received his education in the elementary schools of Swoyersville, colleges of New Jersey and Maryland, universities of Austria, Poland, and Washington, D. C.

He was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop Waitz, Innsbruck, Austria, in March of 1936. He received many honors through his appointments as a member of various charities and societies, with civic and social organizations, and as pastor of numerous churches. The many people and organizations which paid homage t ohim at his dinner are indicative of the fitting tributes due him. He is now the pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Nanticoke, Pa.:

PROGRAM

National anthem.....Assembly
Accompanist: Kazimer B. Sosnowski.
Invocation.....Rev. Valentine L. Biczysko
Pastor of St. Stanislaus Church, Nanticoke
Introduction of toastmaster.....
.....Rev. Edmund S. Penkala
Assistant Pastor of St. Mary's Church
Toastmaster.....Rev. Stanislaus F. Wolf
Pastor of Transfiguration Church, West Hazelton
Remarks.....Andrew E. Rushin
Assistant county superintendent of schools
Greetings.....St. Mary's Parochial School
Jeanette Bucholtz and Kathleen Starzynski
Duet.....Gloria Koshinski and Louise Nork
Acompanist: Irene Bavitz.
Remarks.....Rev. James E. Gryczka
Pastor of St. Hedwig's Church, Kingston
Greetings.....College Misericordia
Miss Bernadette Telegarsky, Johnstown, Pa.
Remarks.....Hon. John J. Aponick
Judge, common pleas court, Luzerne County
Violin Solo.....Sonya Voyton
Accompanist: Kazimer B. Sosnowski.
Address.....
.....Rt. Rev. Msgr. W. A. Losieniecki, J. U. L.
Pastor of Maternity B. V. M. Church, Wilkes-Barre
Presentation of Scroll..Rev. Roman L. Gizara
Director of St. Stanislaus Institute
Presentation of Gifts.....Leo F. Kowalski
Chairman of dinner
Acceptance.....
...Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Federowicz, Ph. D.
Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Nanticoke
Benediction.....Rev. Clarence J. Sikorski
Pastor of O. L. of Mt. Carmel Church, Lake Silkworth
Closing Song.....Boze Cos Polske
Accompanist: Kazimer B. Sosnowski.

Worries for Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I hope that the State Department will take particular note of the following item which appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald on March 23, 1954. It was written by Chalmers M. Roberts:

WORRIES FOR ISRAEL: THE NORTHERN TIER CONCEPT

JERUSALEM.—The division of this ancient city, holy to Christian, Jew, and Moslem, is more absolute even than the division of Berlin. And in a similar way it is symbolic of the controversy between Arab and Jew which dominates all facts of life in this part of the world.

There is no lessening of international tension here, or anywhere else along Israel's boundary with her four hostile neighbors, as there has been between the Communist orbit and the free world in Europe.

The traveler crosses from the Arab Jordan side of Jerusalem to the Israeli side through what is euphemistically called the Mandelbaum Gate. In fact, one walks across a hundred yards or so of battle-scarred no man's land between two opposing outposts.

For Israel and her physical neighbors are living the uneasy life of a military truce punctuated by almost continuous incidents of varying degrees of seriousness. Away from the borders, though in this tiny country, about the size of Massachusetts, one is never far from the Mediterranean or an Arab land, the people of Israel seem too busy with the building of a nation to have time to worry about their hostile neighbors.

Yet they do. And the latest worry, an almost all-consuming one in the field of foreign affairs, springs from the Eisenhower administration's policy of building military strength against the threat of Soviet communism by what is known as the northern-tier concept.

This is the plan, made public in Washington in January, to fill the power vacuum stretching from the Turkish border to Malaya by linking Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan in a defense pact to be given power through American arms.

Turkey is, of course, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization member with NATO arms. The President has announced that arms will go to Pakistan and a military mission is working out the details. About these two countries Israel has no real misgivings.

Iran is a cut different. She did not take part in the Arab-Israel war and there is, in fact, a somewhat camouflaged commercial diplomatic relationship between Tehran and Jerusalem. Iran's Foreign Minister has just said his nation will not enter into the defense pact already agreed to by Turkey and Pakistan. But from this vantage point, the statement has all the earmarks of a type of Persian bargaining with which the West is familiar.

Iraq is the real key to Israel's fears and to her constant stream of complaints over the American policy. Here, in Israel eyes, is the culmination of the pro-Arab policy. This Jewish state sees the Eisenhower administration adopting an about-face from the years of the Truman administration. The Israeli are unconvinced by explanations of the northern-tier concept's part in the free world's defense against worldwide communism. Here one sees only the eye in the needle.

One of Arab lands which sent forces to fight the Jews, only Iraq refused even to sign an armistice. Hence there is, in fact, a state of war still in existence. It is only because Iraq has no common frontier with Israel that relations are not more violent, it appears.

Israel officials say that Iraq is "the thin edge of the Arab wedge against Israel," that to arm Iraq, which also has no common frontier with the Soviet Union, means in time American arms for Syria, for Jordan, and for Egypt.

No Israeli believes that the United States can enact any worthwhile promise from Iraq, or for that matter from any other Arab land, that the arms will not be used against Israel.

Foreign Office officials expect the United States to allocate funds before the end of the fiscal year on June 30, for arming Iraq. They figure that the public disavowal by Iraq's Foreign Minister of any intention of taking American arms aid will be circumvented.

This disavowal, made at the last Arab League meeting under strong pressure from other Arab nations, especially Egypt, does not preclude, the Israeli say, Iraq's accepting arms from Britain under terms of an existing British-Iraqi pact. The United States could simply pay for the British arms manufacture as part of our offshore procurement program. At least that is the way they see it in Israel.

It does seem true that any substantial arming of Israel's Arab foes will upset the precarious balance of power which keeps the peace in this part of the world. Israel has a tough and effective army ready to fight for the country, but the Jews are worried that arming the Arab nations would amount to an American nod to the Arabs, however preposterous that may seem to Washington.

The Israeli are also unhappy over the failure of the Western Powers to join in effective pressure on Egypt for the obviously illegal blockade she has been conducting against Israel in the Suez Canal-Red Sea and Gulf of Aqaba areas. There is, it should be stated for the record at this point, talk in responsible quarters in the Israel Government of using force to drive the Egyptians off the two Saudi Arabian-owned islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba by which ships are kept from reaching the Israeli port of Elath.

Ohioan To Guide GOP Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully request permission to have reprinted in the RECORD the following newspaper article by Mr. Walker S. Buel, of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, regarding the appointment of Mr. Robert Humphreys, an Ohioan, as campaign director of the Republican National Committee:

OHIOAN TO GUIDE GOP CAMPAIGN—ROBERT HUMPHREYS NAMED TO HEAD CONGRESS DRIVE

(By Walker S. Buel)

WASHINGTON, February 22.—An Ohioan today became campaign director of the Republican National Committee as Chairman Leonard W. Hall made another move in preparation for the 1954 congressional battle.

Robert Humphreys, native of Greenville, hitherto director of public relations, was named campaign director. He was succeeded in the publicity post by James Bassett, political editor of the Los Angeles Mirror, who directed Vice President NIXON's campaign in 1952. Humphreys is 49 and Bassett 41. Both have backgrounds of newspaper experience.

The appointment of Humphreys recalled the successful Republican congressional campaign of 1946 when another Ohioan, Representative CLARENCE J. BROWN of Blanchester, served in the same role and helped bring about the GOP landslide of that year.

WILL TELL IKE'S STORY

Hall said the Republican organization "will gear itself to tell the complete, factual story of the Eisenhower administration's many accomplishments to the Nation between now and the November elections."

With this in view, Bassett will take over the task of augmenting the public relations operations for the campaign. Humphreys was public relations director for the Eisenhower campaign in 1952, and prior to that was public relations director of the Republican congressional campaign committee.

Hall said:

"In line with our policy to leave nothing undone to assure President Eisenhower of increased Republican majorities in both the Senate and the House next year, I am making these additional moves to intensify our 1954 effort. Jim Bassett, Bob Humphreys and Dave Baumhart, executive director of the committee, together with Miss Bertha Adkins, who heads our women's activities, will form a basic quartet for the conduct of the campaign.

"At the same time, we are working very closely with the Senate and House campaign committees under Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and Representative RICHARD M. SIMPSON for a coordinated effort on all fronts."

Humphreys was born in Greenville in 1905. He attended public schools there, and at Jackson, Mich., and Martinsville, Ind. before entering Columbia University. He was for 5 years national affairs editor of Newsweek magazine in New York City before joining the Republican congressional committee to organize its public relations department in June 1949.

Prior to that he was a political writer for International News Service in Washington. He has written political articles for national magazines. He was publicity director of the Indiana Republican State central committee during the campaigns of 1932 and 1934.

Pay Raises for Federal Classified Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I will introduce a bill to increase the basic rates of compensation of the classified employees of the Federal Government. To my mind it is becoming more and more imperative that the Congress should act at the earliest possible moment to correct the inequitable and unbalanced situation which exists with regard to the salaries being paid those Federal employees who are subject to the terms of the Classification Act of 1949.

Some of the factors which make a salary increase mandatory at this time are easily discerned, others are somewhat more elusive. First of all, since 1939 the cost of living as measured by the consumers' price index has risen 93 percent. Classified pay rates during the same period have risen only about 74 percent on the average. In some of the higher grades, the raises since 1939 have been only a fraction of the average increase. The net disposable income of Federal employees, that is, the money which they actually receive and can spend to buy food, clothing, housing, and other goods and services, has been further decreased since 1939 by two other factors—higher taxes and increased compulsory retirement deductions from their pay. I do not mean to imply that Federal employ-

ees should not contribute to their retirement system. I am merely pointing out the fact that the rate of contribution has increased from 3½ percent to 6 percent, with a consequent decrease in take-home pay.

A national magazine some months ago featured a story with the following headline: For Government Employees: Pay Is Up But Living Standards Are Down. A subhead pointed out that the pay hikes looked big on paper but that taxes and inflation ate up the raises and then some. Another subhead pointed out that wage earners, particularly those in unions, were receiving take-home pay which, even after living-cost rises, would buy one-fourth more than it did in 1939—Why Public Jobs Are Hard To Fill, U. S. News & World Report, Washington, October 10, 1952, p. 20. Along similar lines, employees in the manufacturing industries have received salary increases averaging 25 cents an hour since July 1951, the date of the last Federal pay raise.

Having noted that Federal pay increases have lagged far behind the cost of living and behind the raises granted in industry, we must ask ourselves if there is any conceivable reason why Federal classified employees should be expected to work for lower salaries than any other comparable group of American citizens. The answer to that question is an emphatic and unqualified "No." We pride ourselves on our fairness and on our lack of discrimination, but are we being fair to these Federal employees when we fail to take the necessary steps to protect their economic status? We hear repeated statements from members of both political parties, from officials of the present administration, as well as officials of the previous administration, to the effect that the great majority of Federal employees are conscientious, efficient, and capable employees who compare most favorably with employees found in private enterprise. No one will deny that there may be some Federal employees who fail to measure up to desirable standards, but if they remain in Government that is a criticism of our management techniques and not a valid excuse for failing to adjust Federal pay scales. Criticism of a few, however justified, should not be stretched to include the great bulk of Federal employees who are performing in a satisfactory manner and many of whom are rendering highly distinguished service to their Government.

The salary plan offered by the administration has upon examination proved to be inadequate. Under its provisions, 75 percent of the classified employees would get pay increases of $3.50 a week or less, and 14 percent would get practically nothing at all. The administration plan would correct some of the more glaring inequities in the present salary situation, but it simply does not go far enough to be much more than a sop. Certainly it provides no basic solution to the problem and at best represents only a stopgap measure.

The bill which I am introducing today is in the nature of an amendment to the Classification Act of 1949 and provides increased compensation for each of the 18 grades in the general schedule and the 10 grades in the crafts, protective, and custodian schedule. Increases start at $400 for grades GS–1 and raise to $1,000 for some of the supergrade jobs. The increases requested have been carefully worked out to adjust as many as possible of the inequities in the present salary system, but the bill is not an extreme proposal. The increases requested are modest, and take into account the consideration that economic conditions throughout the Nation might make it inadvisable at this time for Federal employees to press for the full redress due them. This bill is the minimum which we must provide to right an intolerable situation. Federal classified employees' salaries have lagged behind the cost of living; the increases granted since 1939 have not been comparable to those granted in industry; Federal employees as a whole are a capable and deserving group; and the administration pay plan is wholly inadequate. These are the chief reasons I offer for the support of this bill which I am introducing today. I have not even mentioned a number of other elements which also play an important part—the morale of employees, the difficulty of recruiting able people to serve in the Federal Government at low salaries, the necessity for so many Federal employees to hold another job in addition to their Government employment to make ends meet, and the economic stringency which forces their wives to work outside the home. All of these matters are of great importance and are directly connected with inadequate salaries now paid to Federal classified employees. It is my earnest hope that the situation will be remedied during this session of the 83d Congress.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

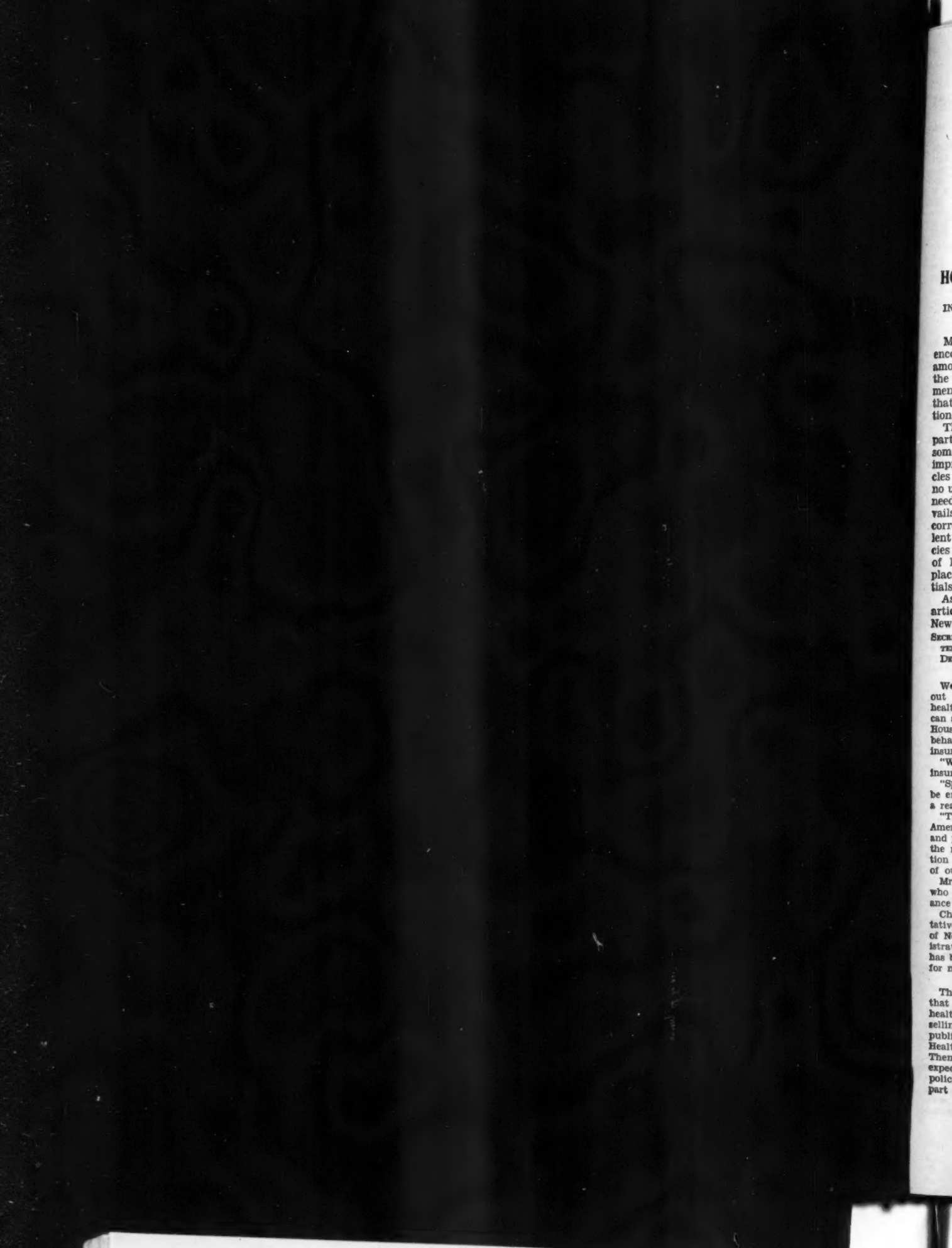

Appendix

Voluntary Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to realize from the vast amount of correspondence received and the widespread editorial and news treatment of the subject of health insurance that there is a real demand for legislation of this character.

The News of Washington has been particularly helpful in advocating that something be done by Congress that will improve existing conditions. Its articles and editorials have pointed out in no uncertain terms that there is a great need for a wider coverage than now prevails in health insurance plans and a correction of the evil that is too prevalent at this time of cancellation of policies as soon as possible after an illness of long or expensive character takes place. Those are only two of the essentials that need attention.

As part of my remarks, I include three articles appearing in one issue of the News, March 24, 1954, reading as follows:

SECRETARY TESTIFIES BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE—OVETA PLUMPS FOR HEALTH PLAN DESPITE LIMITATIONS

(By Albert M. Colegrove)

Welfare Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby held out hope today for "more noncancellable health insurance policies at prices people can afford to pay." She testified before the House Interstate Commerce Committee on behalf of the administration's health reinsurance plan.

"We need more and better voluntary health insurance," Mrs. Hobby said.

"Sponsors of health-insurance plans must be encouraged to move forward * * * with a readiness to undertake new risks.

"The bill before you can, in the traditional American way of individual responsibility and private endeavor, do much in providing the means by which better health protection may be attained by a large segment of our population."

Mrs. Hobby was the first of many witnesses who will speak for and against the reinsurance proposal in the next 2 weeks.

Chairman of the committee is Representative CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, who introduced the administration's bill in the House and whose group has been studying national health problems for months.

THE PLAN

The administration plan would provide that an insurance company or a nonprofit health group willing to take the risk of selling a more generous type of policy to the public could buy reinsurance from the Health - Education - Welfare Department. Then, if the company suffered an unexpected and heavy loss on the sales of its policy, the Government would pay back part of the loss.

THE LIMITATIONS

Mrs. Hobby conceded that the proposal had some limitations.

"First, it could help only those who can and are willing to include health insurance premium payments as a necessary part of the family budget, and those who are covered by insurance plans maintained by their employers," she said.

"Second, it may not immediately solve some of the problems of coverage for those who now are aged or of those who already are chronically ill.

"Third, it is apparent that the success of the plan depends on the willingness of the carriers actually to make use of it and to assume new and broader risks." (By "carriers," she meant insurance companies and health groups.)

Nonetheless, Mrs. Hobby said, "we are confident that the plan can bring significant benefits to the American people."

Mrs. Hobby's confidence is based on an administration belief that some insurance companies quickly will seize an opportunity to offer better policies if they have assurance that the Government will guarantee them against heavy losses. Administration feeling is that American business competition being what it is, other companies then will follow the leaders.

The administration bill makes it clear that only policies which offer more benefits and protection than those now generally sold will be eligible for reinsurance.

THE BENEFITS

As to the significant benefits which could result, Mrs. Hobby said:

"For example:

"Perhaps the number of exclusions from coverage under certain forms of health policies can be reduced.

"Perhaps the benefits can be made far more comprehensive as to the total limits, thereby providing better protection against major medical expenses.

"Perhaps the number of days of hospital confinement for which (insurance) reimbursement is provided might be greatly increased.

"Perhaps policies need not terminate upon the attainment of age 65 or some other stated age.

"Finally, perhaps more noncancelable policies can be written at prices people can afford to pay."

In the Senate, a Labor Subcommittee will begin hearings early next month on a similar bill, introduced by Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH, Republican, of New Jersey.

IKE'S HEALTH PLAN

(By Peter Edson)

The nine people who worked hardest to develop the administration's new limited Federal health reinsurance plan are divided on whether this scheme will work.

The nine:

Undersecretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Nelson A. Rockefeller.

C. Manton Eddy, Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Hartford, Conn.

Henry S. Beers, Aetna Life Insurance Co., Hartford, Conn.

Jarvis Farley, Massachusetts Insurance Co., Boston.

Dr. Charles G. Hayden, Massachusetts Blue Shield, Boston.

William S. McNary, Michigan Blue Cross, Detroit.

H. Lewis Rietz, Lincoln National Life Insurance Co., Fort Wayne, Ind.

J. Henry Smith, Equitable Life Assurance Society, New York.

James E. Stuart, Hospital Care Corp. (Blue Cross), Cincinnati.

This group worked 7 weeks to develop this plan. When finished they agreed it was the only voluntary plan that would be acceptable to the private insurance companies.

But only four were enthusiastic. They were Messrs. Rockefeller, Eddy, Smith, and Stuart.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby approved the plan, and recommended it to Mr. Eisenhower. So now it is before Congress in the form of two nearly identical bills introduced in the House by Representative CHARLES A. WOLVERTON and Senator H. ALEXANDER SMITH.

There is a fair chance Congress will pass one of the two. A $25 million fund would be created, but it is claimed this will be eventually returned to the Treasury—if the plan works.

The Government also would pay administrative costs for the first 5 years. After that it is hoped profits from the reinsurance capital fund will pay them.

The main attraction to the administration is that it leaves the job to the private industry. Government participation is held to a minimum and State laws will regulate everything.

The plan's purpose is to encourage companies to sell more liberal health insurance policies with full coverage on a noncancelable, lifetime basis. If the companies go broke, Federal reinsurance is supposed to bail them out.

One thing must be made clear. The Government's plan isn't going to help those who can't afford to buy regular health insurance from private insurance companies or nonprofit organizations like Blue Cross. Sixty-three million now have no such insurance.

An estimated 92 million have some form of hospitalization or limited health insurance. Only about 4 million have really comprehensive coverage. Nearby 900 companies and co-ops now offer some form of health insurance. Their annual premiums are about $1.8 billion and their profits paid out $1.2 billion.

THE INSURANCE PROBE

As a result of the recent Scripps-Howard series on the gimmicks in health-insurance policies—published in the News—hundreds of readers wrote letters complaining about policies they had purchased.

Also as a result of this series, written by Albert M. Colegrove, the House Interstate Commerce Committee has widened its investigation of health-insurance problems.

The main purpose of the Colegrove articles was to bring about a better deal for the people who invest their money in health insurance.

There are several ways to do this.

One is to alert health-insurance clients to the need for understanding the policies they buy. There are many reliable, surepay policies on the market. But there also are many which do not offer the protection against the costs of sickness and injury which their advertising slyly suggests.

Another way to clean up this situation is to bring to bear the agencies of Government enforcement. To that end, the Federal

Trade Commission has taken a direct interest in the type of health insurance which was the subject of Mr. Colegrove's research and writing.

To the same end, Mr. Colegrove this week turned over to Chairman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, of the Interstate Commerce Committee, more than 300 letters he had received, each reciting a specific story of unfair treatment. Mr. WOLVERTON'S committee, with these letters as a basis, will inquire into the whole subject.

Out of all this we hope there will develop a more ethical code of advertising among the "sell-'em-but-don't-pay-'em" type of insurance companies, a better understanding by the public of what it is buying and Government law and regulation which will erase the gimmicks from health-insurance policies.

Health insurance can be a valuable hedge against the day when accident or illness may strike. But it is not much help when a man who has paid premiums for 35 years, as did a New Jersey reader of the Colegrove series, has his policy suddenly canceled the first time he becomes ill and needs the benefits.

Presentation to Max Abelman by Brooklyn College Library Associates on His 67th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following proceedings at the presentation to Max Abelman by Brooklyn College Library Associates on his 67th birthday, chambers of Hon. Maximilian Moss, January 26, 1954:

Hon. MAXIMILIAN MOSS. Some of you may be surprised at the reason for this meeting. It is very simple. Some of you may know it—perhaps only one knows it—but this is the birthday of Max Abelman, an important event. [Applause.]

In any event this is a very delightful gathering of very distinguished personages. In other words, each of you is an honored guest here, with a special guest of honor in Max Abelman. I think I could say a lot, but I think I could not say it as well as Jim Farley. This morning I received the following telegram addressed to me:

"Will you please express my congratulations to our friend, Max Abelman, and explain that circumstances beyond my control make it impossible for me to be present with his friends today and participate in the ceremony of tribute to him. I know of no other man in the borough of Brooklyn who has made a greater contribution to the welfare of his fellow citizens nor done more to help those in need than he has. It is my heartfelt wish that he will continue to enjoy good health which will enable him to carry on in the future as he has so magnificently done in the past.

"JAMES A. FARLEY."

I think that sums it up far better than I could possibly state.

There is a letter from Frank Kingdon. In fact, I can recognize his handwriting as it is not typewritten:

"DEAR MAX: You know better than anybody else how deeply affected I am by word that you are laying aside your duties at the hospital. Because of your unique character and my admiration of you, I have shared, as have many others, in what you have been doing. We have been units in the Abelman mobilization of all good men to come to the aid of all good causes. You can have the satisfaction of knowing that every one of us is happy about all you have persuaded us to do. On the personal side, I can only repeat my great affection for you, and express my profound hope that for you and yours the best is yet to be.

"Affectionately,

"FRANK KINGDON."

Now, there is here a gentleman who represents the group which has created this meeting, that is the Brooklyn College Library Associates, of which Mr. Abelman is president. At this time, I think we might just as well do at the beginning what is normally done in the end, and that is to have Professor Bousfield come here and make the presentation.

Prof. HERBERT G. BOUSFIELD. Max, the Brooklyn College Library Associates wish to present you with this medal as a token of esteem for your friendship, not only to the library but to Brooklyn College, because it is through the library that the assistance comes to the college in this case. The library associates are mindful, just as is the college, of your untiring efforts on behalf of people, and in this case it is the young people of Brooklyn. They recognize your tremendous interest in the young people and they appreciate your dynamic energy which no one seems to be able to match—but for a man of 50, of course, that explains it. They appreciate the fact that you are, I think, a man of the people and for the people.

This medal, cast in lucite, says: "The library associates of Brooklyn College to Max Abelman, Ambassador of Good Will." [Applause.]

Judge Moss. Now, the reason I called on Professor Bousfield first instead of last is to let most of you know just what the tenor of this meeting is for.

I am sure we all will be extremely honored if the distinguished former Vice President who served under a most distinguished President, would care to say a few words.

Hon. HENRY A. WALLACE. Judge Moss, our good friend, and many other friends here: Each of us to the other, brought together by the magic of Max' kindliness in large measure. In the tradition of Vice Presidents I will say what the world needs is not as one indicated, a good 5-cent cigar, or as others have said, a 5-cent cup of coffee, but more men with the kindly tolerance, the ability to furnish the universal solvent of human understanding as between peoples of all shades of opinion, more men like Max Abelman.

Each of us can go back to many, many times in our lives when Max has decided in his own particular type of wisdom that so and so should get together, and Max has been there, quiet and self-effacing. So all our lives have been enriched in one way or another by Max, and if we had more Maxes in the world circulating around and serving the same kind of function out over the entire United States and the entire world, I know that the world would be a far better place.

And so MAX, I trust that the next 50 years will serve you as well as the past 51. [Applause.]

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you very much.

Judge Moss. Thank you very much, sir. My own name has now become so much more to me, after having heard Vice President Wallace and knowing what Max has done, because my name is Max also.

We have with us—I like to refer to him as a former Brooklynite—we hate to lose any one of such distinguished ability and such a fine citizen from Brooklyn—any one of the type of the man whom I will call on who leaves Brooklyn to us here is always a Brooklynite—I should like to call upon our fellow Brooklynite, Ambassador McDonald. [Applause.]

Hon. JAMES G. MCDONALD. Judge Moss, MAX, and friends, when I came to Brooklyn in 1938 from that second most important paper in the great city, the New York Times—you realize I am in the shadow of Brooklyn's great paper [Laughter]—I felt somewhat lost and perhaps even a little afraid. From the very beginning Max held my hand and sought to guide me through the intricacies of the social and other aspects of life in this great borough. Then I not only learnd that he was kind to me, but that he was kind to every one; that he was using his great talents, as the vice president has said, on behalf of our common humanity.

Therefore, I am delighted that his friends are gathering together now on this 51st birthday to express to him appreciation of what he has done for them and what he has done and will do for a larger public.

I hope MAX, that you are only at the beginning of your most creative career. [Applause.]

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you very much.

Judge Moss. You know, we have to reserve some speeches for the period after lunch. Therefore, we will just call on a few, very few here. The last is always good. We will then call upon the others after the lunch.

Dr. Carpenter is a very distinguished Brooklynite, to me the most prominent Protestant clergyman in the entire country, Dr. Carpenter.

Dr. J. HENRY CARPENTER. It is a privilege, certainly for me, to be here and say something about my good friend, Max Abelman, and to offer my most sincere appreciation and thanks for all that he has done here in the borough and in the hospital.

Every once in awhile I get called up there for something that they are going to have, this man or that person to grace the hospital, go around and see some of the rooms and so on. I am always very happy to be up there with the group because they are always such a distinguished group that Max has been able to bring up there to the hospital. I know that the hospital is going to miss that, as well as the rest of us who had some of those opportunities.

It has been wonderful to have the friendship of a fellow like Max Abelman, because he has always been a true friend. No matter what the circumstances or what the conditions were, he has always given his help. If you have called him on the phone as I have so many times, why, he is always the one that has been there to answer and give just that bit that you need.

It is a great privilege for me to just be able to say these words to Max. We could say very much more to express the appreciation of the whole Protestant community, the Protestant Council, and myself personally, for what Max has meant to Brooklyn.

May every blessing be with him in the years that are to come. [Applause.]

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you very much.

Judge Moss. Thank you, sir.

Now, every man here has during his entire lifetime been high up in service to the community. Just look around and we know that this man has done this and that man has done that, and so on.

The next man I call on is Dr. Cavallero. Here is a man who is president of the board of higher education. He has served valiantly in the board prior to being president, and has served in religious matters, social matters, and community matters, and he is tops with us. I have the distinction of now calling on our very dear friend, Joe Cavallero.

Hon. JOSEPH CAVALLERO. Judge Moss, Mrs. Leslie Sweedler, Reverend, my good friend Judge Sweedler, distinguished guests, and friends of Max Abelman, I see I have been elected to be one of those who has to work for his lunch. [Laughter.] When I was in-

vited to come here this afternoon I did not know the occasion for it. I have since learned what it is, and I certainly am very, very happy to be numbered among Max Abelman's friends and to be here this afternoon and pay tribute to him. My compliments and felicitations to him on the completion of his 67th birthday.

It was my happy privilege to install him into office as president of the Brooklyn College Library Associates. On that occasion I said quite a good deal about Max and it is too bad it was not recorded. But the things which struck me and which I mentioned on that occasion was the great humanitarian spirit which Max Abelman has demonstrated throughout his entire life. I mean that sincerely. Dr. Carpenter and I have worked on brotherhood movements. Of course, they have their place in the community. But in my humble opinion, I think that brotherhood can be best served in the manner that Max Abelman has done throughout his life; and that is by putting it forth ourselves individually and with all of the good people that we meet. You can do more, I think, for brotherhood in that fashion, in looking in the eyes of those whom you meet and sincere feeling within yourself that the person whom you are looking at is your brother, your sister, and so forth.

Max has exemplified that throughout his entire lifetime. Speaking as a Catholic, I know that our great Archbishop Molloy has a great deal of respect for him. He has been instrumental in not only raising money for our Catholic Church, but for his own religion and for the Protestant groups.

Max is a man that we need in this community. It is my fervent wish and prayer that God will bless you with him many more years in good health, with your dear wife and family, and that we will have you with us for many years to come. [Applause.]

Mr. ABELMAN. Thank you.

Judge Moss. I should like very much to have Dr. Masterson, who is the former president of the State Medical Society, and who knows our guest of honor, to say a few words.

Dr. JOHN MASTERSON. I am very happy to be here on this occasion. Anything I will say will probably be only repetitious of what has been said before. I have known Max for a good many years. I think I can honestly and sincerely say that I know of no one in the community who has given himself so much as Max to the betterment of the social and every other part of the community. I hope that the good Lord will spare him for many years and endow him with the greatest of all blessings, that of good health, so that he may continue in the service for which he has devoted his life, that of helping mankind. [Applause.]

Judge Moss. Thank you. I will beg your indulgence in calling one additional speaker, because we are nearing the lunch hour. The next speaker whom I would like to call is the last speaker, is the last man who came into the room. He is the new district attorney of Kings County. Knowing him as well as I do, together with Joe Cavallero and the rest of us who know him, I am sure we can say we have a fearless but very humane man who will be district attorney of this county for 4 years. I have the great privilege now of calling upon the man whom most of us refer to as Eddie, but formally as the Honorable Edward Silver.

Hon. EDWARD SILVER. Max, I deem it a real privilege to say just a word on this auspicious occasion. I want you to know before I came I scoured the records of my office for some mention of you. I want to say there is one place that you have made no name for yourself at all. [Laughter.]

I want to talk to you, Max, as a pupil does to a teacher. You know that throughout the years I had occasion to call you many times for advice on many branches of philanthropic, charitable and civic endeavors. I think you know that a teacher is regarded as the highest form of respect that you can pay to a man. Much has been said, but I am sure that all of us incorporate by reference the things that have been said, and we could say a lot more. But it is always dangerous to talk to hungry people. [Laughter.]

I want to say to you, Max, that I am personally indebted to you for the advice you have given to me. We all say that man is created in the image of God. I am sorry to say I see some men in whom it is hard to recognize any semblance of the Almighty. But I can say about you, that you are a true example of that wonderful belief that all of us hold. Your goodness, your kindness, your concern with your fellowman, regardless of race or creed, your willingness at all times to help the humble as well as the great, I think we can all say of you that you have truthfully been created in the image of God.

I only pray that the Almighty gives you many, many more years to come, so you can continue your service and continue to give me advice. [Applause.]

Judge Moss. At this time I will call on our guest of honor to say a few words.

Mr. MAX ABELMAN. Judge Moss, Mr. Wallace, Jim McDonald, and all my friends here, all the nice things that you said here today could not have been made possible without the sincere cooperation of the press, the men here, Dr. Kilcoyne and all the various men in the Borough. I hold here a letter in my hand that I received from his Eminence, Bishop Molloy. When I received it I was touched very much. He and a few of my friends said, "Max, do not retire. You ought to carry on." I just want to say to you in confidence that I am retired only in name because of the serious illness of my wife, but I am going to go on and work.

One of my hopes is that we should see more medical schools in this country. I hope that the Yeshivah University, the Einstein Medical College will come into being soon. I should like to see another medical school in Long Island. I should like to see another medical school down South and another medical school in the West. Dr. Masterson knows the shortage of doctors.

I will not say the politicians, but if our leaders would give as much attention to things of that sort, rather than going around hunting for communism, they would accomplish much more. I want to tell you there is one way of stopping communism, and that is to eliminate distress.

When I read every morning in the papers about coffee going up, coffee going up, this thing going up, let's have a change. I say let's have a change for the better and not for the worse. We are having a change for the worse at the present time. A great many people do not believe that is the situation.

I wish some of the men would go around to the subways or go around in various sections of the city and see what is going on. I touched on medicine for this reason. Dr. Masterson gets it, I get it, we all get it. The first thing you say is, "What do you do about qualifications?" You give a list of your qualifications. If you haven't got an "A" average you cannot get into a medical school. Doctor, you know very well that the fellow with all the "A's" does not do the best job.

This is off the record what I am going to say now. Einstein, the greatest mathematician was flunked. Flexner, one of the great scientists in the world—flunked. Morris Fishbein, the great Morris Fishbein of the AMA flunked. I told it to him. I think I can go down the list.

I just brought this out because this is one of the things I have been working on for years. In 1941 when I went down to see President Roosevelt I said to him then there was a shortage of doctors.

I want to say something to you gentlemen, that is going to surprise you . I am essentially very religious. I am a good Jew, good Protestant, and good Catholic. When His Holiness, Cardinal Pacelli, was in this country, I was the only Jew that was present. I have a great admiration for that man because that man has a brain. We need more men in this country with brains.

I want to thank you particularly, Manny Goldman, my dear friend, who has been wonderful. There is a man, silent and philanthropic. He has done such wonderful work very few people know it. There are a great many of that type in this city. I see my friend John Newton. There is a man who has done wonderful things that people know nothing about. Any number of men here.

We have a fine paper in this town, but it is not read enough. I would like to see the circulation go to about a million or more, then I know we could accomplish something. I have always advocated that, I want to thank them, particularly for their cooperation at all times in everything I attempted.

I want to thank Judge Moss. There is a sweetheart in this town. And Dave Benjamin who is one of my proteges, who is the chairman of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities' drive in Brooklyn, and he is in every movement that you can think of. He is one of the finest men we have in town.

I want to thank all of you. I would like to turn the tables and give this meeting over to you. I was surprised when Professor Bousfield gave me this award. I want to thank you again.

After our luncheon today we have an executive meeting at the college. I want to mention this in a hurry. My autographs that I have at the hospital, I am going to donate them to Brooklyn College. I have other things I want to donate to other places, but I am going to give those autographs to Brooklyn College. As soon as I can get myself together I will send them over to the college.

I want to thank you again and I appreciate it very much. [Applause.]

Judge Moss. The luncheon is going to take place at the Granada Hotel. You are all welcome. We would be very happy to have you all there.

Continuation of Direct-Loan Program to June 30, 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8152) to extend to June 30, 1955, the direct home and farmhouse loan authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs under title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, to make additional funds available therefor, and for other purposes.

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SECREST].

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Chairman, this program has worked well. Over 1,800 veterans are living in homes in Ohio today who would not own those homes had it not been for this program. It does

not solve the problem of every veteran who needs a direct loan, but it is a step in the right direction. It is, we think the maximum amount of money that we could get enacted into law, and without its enactment any amount we might want would be useless. I want also to discuss a little bit the question of interest rates. These direct loans are necessary because financial institutions will not lend the veteran the money he needs for his home, and where they will not lend him the money, his only hope is this direct-loan program. The committee last year considered the interest rate, and I think we were unanimous on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs that the rate should remain at 4 percent and not be increased to 4½ percent. But it was increased. This subcommittee is going to hold hearings on housing with respect to the interest rates. They are going to hold hearings on something else which I think is very important, and will, if it operates properly, enable us in the future to eliminate the necessity for a direct-loan program. At the present time these loans to veterans are guaranteed to the extent of 60 percent of their value. The committee is going to hold hearings any may increase that to 75 or 90 percent. I am convinced that if these loans were guaranteed to 90 percent of their value every lending institution in the country would accept them and every veteran who wanted a home could get a loan through the normal lending channels making unnecessary this direct-loan program.

So while I am not a member of this subcommittee—I am a member of the general committee—I say that our Committee on Housing will hold these hearings.

I think the only way and the best way to get good legislation is through the regular committees of the House and through the regular procedures of the House. If we are permitted to proceed in that manner, to consider a proper interest rate, to consider how much of these loans should be guaranteed by the Government, we will be able to come to the House with a bill before this session is over which I think will do far more for the veterans of this country than any speedy action we might take today without the full consideration of this committee itself.

This is a good bill. I hope the bill will pass the House and be enacted into law this year.

La Salle College Basketball Champions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a champion deservedly merits admiration and commendation, especially when this distinction was achieved through competition. We in Philadelphia are especially proud of our national collegiate basketball champions, the team of La Salle College. Since this notable and outstanding institution is located within the heart of my congressional district, it is only natural that I am so enthusiastic about the distinguished record of this team.

The game of basketball is played by hundreds of American colleges, and the winner of the National Collegiate Athletic Association tournament is generally regarded as collegiate champion of the land. On Saturday night, March 20, La Salle College, of Philadelphia, defeated Bradley University, of Peoria, Ill., 92–76, at Kansas City, Mo., in the final NCAA tournament game and was presented with the James W. St. Clair trophy, emblematic of national college basketball supremacy. The scaling of these heights of achievement is a tribute to Athletic Director James J. Henry, Coach Ken Loeffler, and every member of the La Salle College basketball squad, and a fitting climax to a season of hard work, cooperative effort, and real sportsmanship.

The Explorers started the season with all-American Tom Gola and veteran Frank O'Hara back from last year's team that had won 25 and lost 3 and was rated as the sixth best team in the country. However, even with Gola and O'Hara, the opinion was that a predominantly sophomore team would not be able to hold up through the difficult schedule that faced La Salle. With the skill of a master craftsman, Coach Loeffler developed his inexperienced players and used his two proven stars to the best advantage. As the season progressed, Loeffler's balanced offense and diversified defense began to prove their worth. At the end of the regular season, La Salle had won 21 games and lost only 4. In NCAA tournament play, after winning a thrilling contest from Fordham University, the youthful Explorers swept past North Carolina State College, the United States Naval Academy, Pennsylvania State University, and Bradley University, to the national championship.

Philadelphia's pride has been so well expressed in an editorial contained in the March 22 issue of the Philadelphia Daily News that I include it as a part of my remarks. It follows:

LA SALLE—PHILADELPHIA'S PRIDE

It was a triumph and a victory for every citizen of this fair city when the gallant La Salle basketball team won the national championship, out in Kansas City, to bring once more to the attention of the world the glowing worth of Philadelphia's athletes. And identified with every hero in every victory inevitably is the way of life which produces such achievement, makes it possible, and underwrites it with courage and training and sacrifice and skill.

The race is not always to the swift, nor to the strong, as we are told in Ecclesiastes, for there are other qualities upon which life itself has set the values and measured the worth. These other values, the intangibles, the unseen, all contributed to the triumph of our La Salle Explorers. Neither a big team, nor a small team, neither a band of lighting cohesion, nor a crushing power machine, La Salle's triumph symbolizes unison, common purpose, selflessness, the team spirit.

The great all-American Tom Gola played his outstanding part. The thoughtful, careful, craftsmanship of Coach Ken Loeffler was another essential. But so was the combined effort, and the individual effort, of each and every other player, from the sub on the bench to the star making the basket. So, likewise, was the spirit of the entire La Salle student body and faculty, which infused new strength and purpose into the players' hearts and gave high reason for their winning.

So, too, the pride of Philadelphians in their own, a pride now richer and stronger than ever.

The citizens of Philadelphia owe a debt to the college and to its athletes and its students.

They have carried our way of life along with their own ideals of effort to another pinnacle of athletic triumph.

The entire Nation will see and admire and respect.

And we will give thanks to La Salle and its stars like Gola, and its great Coach Loeffler, and each and every one in its classrooms and on its faculty, for the glory of achievement they have paraded before the world and personally brought to us.

We owe La Salle not only a civic gratitude and pride, but also a civic duty. The gallant team should be appropriately honored by the city fathers and undoubtedly will be.

The Heritage of the Irish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, on March 17, 1954, St. Patrick's Day, Hon. James P. McGranery, one of our former colleagues, former judge of the United States district court for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, and recently the Attorney General of the United States, was presented an award as the most outstanding Catholic layman by the Ancient Order of Hibernians of the District of Columbia. Following presentation to him of the award, he delivered the following scholarly address, historical and reverential in nature, which it is my privilege to append herewith:

Mr. Chairman, with the permission of your excellency, Bishop McNamara, right reverend and very reverend monsignori, reverend fathers, distinguished guests, members of the ladies' auxiliary, and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in accepting the distinguished honor which you have graciously conferred upon me, I would be less than human if I did not confess that I am humbly aware of, and deeply grateful for, the generosity of this recognition. Nevertheless, I am mindful of the fact that I can accept only in a representative capacity—representing the one person who is directly responsible for any course of action of mine that you deem worthy: the good and beautiful woman who is the mother of my children.

And, as I greet you on this feast day of St. Patrick, my heart is full of gratitude for the opportunity of commemorating with you an occasion sacred to the Apostle of Ireland.

Fitting your ancient order of an ancient people, your speaker should bring to you the eloquent accents of Grattan and Flood as they echoed in the classic halls of College Green, or the stirring appeals of Robert Emmet and Daniel O'Connell, or the inspiring summons of Shane O'Neill and the great Earl of Desmond.

Since that is impossible, I must rely on the heroic history of the sons and daughters of the Emerald Isle, a story of Christianity and of our civilization restored on the ruins of a pagan world.

It is a tale familiar to you who know well that the Ancient Order of Hibernians reaches back through centuries to the early period when the Knights of the Golden Chain and the Bardic Order gathered around the Kings; when brotherhoods of the Feni Erin flourished in Leinster; the Clan Deagha in Munster; the Knights of the Red Branch in Ulster; and the Cianna Morna in Connaught.

Although the historical bond of the ancient order of our time and of the great Irish organizations of antiquity is stretched thinly across time's divide, nevertheless, the common democracy of the two systems, their like patriotic and racial ideals suggest that the conception of the one is the inspiration of the other.

The Order of the Golden Chain was instituted by Munemon, monarch of all Ireland, who reigned 1,300 years before the coming of Christ; and historians relate that it became the most illustrious order in Europe, inspiring the chivalric orders of the Middle Ages, and those of pagan Gaul and Rome. Even the rules for admission of Gaulish knights were copied by the Romans from those long established for the Irish knight.

Queen Maeve of Connaught was transferred by Spenser into Queen Mab, fairy queen of English literature; and scholars have told us that the knights of the round table of the Celtic King Arthur were the Irish Knights of the Golden Chain. Transformed through the mists of time by writers of the sister isle who were more acquisitive than creative.

Queen Maeve lived about the time of the coming of Christ; but the provincial knights were organized a century later into a national militia which disappeared before Saint Patrick's coming. The knightly orders, however, continued; and their friendly attitude, their sympathetic reception to Saint Patrick made them a bulwark of strength to counter the hostility of the Druids. Hence, and as a natural development, the ancient Hibernian orders of knighthood were consecrated by the early Christian priesthood; The form of conferring knighthood became enriched with religious ceremonies. To some armorial bearings was added the blazon of the cross.

Knightly families of Ireland blossomed into sanctity—St. Columcille and St. Molua were of knightly rank, as were St. Finian, St. Brendan of Clonfert, St. Mainchen; while St. Brigid was of royal and knightly family.

To these knightly orders were entrusted the protection of the faith and of Ireland's ideals. No wonder Rory O'Moore, modern founder of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in 1641, revived the ancient orders in which his ancestors and the national heroes of Eire had battled for freedom and country. No record can be found of an earlier association bound together by a vow of fraternity, friendship, and unity, as in the ancient orders which had enrolled the great and the beloved: Fin Mac Cool, Fingal, Ossian, Conner Mac Nessa, Fergus Mac Roy, Conor of the Hundred Battles, Moran the Just, Niall of the Nine Hostages, and Hugony the Great.

Political oppression and religious prosecution had entered Ireland at the heels of the British invader and many of the old war chieftains of the Irish had scattered abroad: O'Donnell and O'Sullivan, O'Neill and O'Reilly in Spain; Dillon and O'Brien in France; the Browns and the Taafes and the Laceys in Austria; Barry, Moylan, Holmes of Waterford, Logans of Strabane in America.

Now the patriots of Ireland, loyal sons of Mother Church, joined together in the modern order pledging friendship, unity, and true Christian charity. Scores of years later—in 1836—the charter of American Hibernianism reached our shores. The late, revered Doctor Shahan, of Catholic University, described it:

"As good a patient of nobility as was ever conferred by king," for there is wanting in it no element of our liberal modern humanity. It brings "scared sparks of liberty and faith, of chivalry and tolerance, of kindly humanity and large brotherly charity" that have ever been cherished by the members of this organization.

Clearcut as the words of St. Patrick—are the guiding words of the charter:

"You must love without dissimulation, hating evil, cleaving to good. Love one another with brotherly love, without preventing one another, let the love of brotherhood abide in you, and forget not hospitality to your emigrant brother that may land on your shores, and we advise you, above all things, have natural charity among yourselves."

Not until 1838 did our society become known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians; ever since, the members have multiplied and increased, in loyal service of the King of Kings.

Every city of this country numbers among its citizens members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and of the ladies' auxiliary. The District of Columbia Ladies' Auxiliary is singularly honored, however, since one of its most charming and able members, Miss Lillian Fay, has been elected national president—first in the District of Columbia to be so exalted to highest national office. I join you in paying tribute to her and to the ladies' auxiliary District president, Mrs. Knight. In honoring these distinguished ladies, we pay homage to the ladies' auxiliary of your order and to their lovely patroness, St. Bridget—and to Mary, the Mother of God—symbolizing honor and purity in the home, and ever watching over the women of Ireland even to the generations born in far-off lands. Through Mary's intercession, since earliest days, the mother of an Irish family has personified the Christian virtues, inspired high and holy endeavor in her husband and her sons, and gallantly shared the defense of holy places throughout the isle of saints and scholars. Most of all, she has been the guardian of purity in the minds and hearts of her children, and she has been the sentinel of integrity and unity of family, vital unit of the Nation.

Even in the centuries before the mission of St. Patrick, women were honored in Ireland. His coming, however, raised them to their spiritual destiny just as the daughters of the King of Tara became Ireland's first nuns, and first mystics.

Fifty generations and more have passed since Patrick's spiritual conquest of the people who had held him captive in his youth. Yet his footsteps can be traced today throughout the Irish countryside, and his memory is green as the shamrocks he called emblems of the Blessed Trinity.

The bronze-coated iron mass bell, which was struck again and again as he offered the holy sacrifice of the mass, sounded forth 1,500 years later during the holy sacrifice of the mass in Phoenix Park at the Eucharistic Congress of 1932, when millions of the faithful had gathered in Ireland to give homage to the Eucharistic King.

The flame of the faith has been guarded zealously by the descendants of St. Patrick's converts and has shone forth across the darkness of heresy, paganism, and godlessness, as brightly as the first beacon of golden light at Shane on Easter Eve, which summoned the high king of Tara from his Druid-tended fire.

The cross that the missionary apostle carried to Tara of the kings has ever since been borne by pilgrims who, light his first brethren: "Walk in the name of the Lord our God."

Not all of us can visit the Slemish Mountain, where the lad, Patricius, watched his flocks and prayed; or walk on the road to Connacht which, like Tara, was sacred to the pagan mind before the time of Patrick. A visit to Tara—the capital of all Ireland a thousand years before Christ—would reveal not only the earthen ramparts of King Laoghaire, whose consent enabled Patrick to pour the baptismal waters of Christianity—but also the pagan sanctuary of ancient Ireland—where archaeologists have discovered foundations which had been cut in stark rock during the era before Homer sang of the Achaeans.

In Connacht, the misty mountains, the purpled walls, the primeval forests ar unchanged from the time when Patrick wended his solitary way to the summit of Croagh Patrick that even today, in the words of a recent pilgrim—

"Takes the word out of a man of the world and leaves him recognizing himself as a spirit."

Legend tells us that an angel appeared to Patrick there after 40 days and nights of fasting and promised him:

"All the men of Erin shall be blessed and consecrated to God through thee."

Throughout the length and breadth of the Emerald Isle are churches which cloister the holy relics of the saints and martyrs that tradition tells us were brought back from Rome by Patricius, Metropolitan of Ireland, after his visit to his holiness, Pope Leo I, in 441.

Armagh was a fortified city when Augustus ruled the Roman world, and in 445, Patrick chose this to be his metropolitan see.

It was in Downpatrick, however, that the sacred remains of Ireland's apostle saint, were interred. I have had the privilege of kneeling on the sacred soil of that holy place and of joining my prayers to the countless prayers of other Patricks who seek the intercession of our patrion saint.

The influence of the boy from Britain, the youthful slave who sought freedom from the yoke of the pagan, and found the only true liberty of the spirit in Christianity lingers in every village of Ireland, and may be found in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, Great Britain, South America, Canada and especially in these United States.

For St. Patrick, the first monk-missioner, formed a new rural Christianity in the self-supporting establishments of the Irish sees which easily developed into monasteries in the following century. He founded "not merely monasteries, but a whole people" which was destined to become a sanctuary of sanctity and culture. From Catholic Ireland, the light of Christian civilization was one day to return to reenlighten Europe.

Devoted Irish missionaries brought civilization and Christianity to the English, and built their first schools and towns. Wales was a mediaval Irish colony. Irish soldiers, colonists, missionaries, and legislators turned "the old Caledonia of the Romans into the Irish province of Scotia Minor"; then carried the complete investiture of Erin into the northern half of Great Britain, laying the foundations of Irish culture and Irish speech. Ireland was indeed the enthroned "motherland of all the races of the British Isles," receiving homage from the Briton and Pict and the immigrant low German subtribes of Angle, Saxon, and Jute.

The research of recent historians reveals that the Irish stand as the ancient, patrician element in the populations of the British Isles, with uniquely accurate titles and deeds to their history and genealogy; and the English as the later immigrants. Great Britain must look back to Ireland for its spiritual ancestry; or, finding none of her own, in the phrase of an authoritative source, "invent a patrimonial background" as do the "newly rich" who construct a fictional family tree in keeping with their recently acquired property.

Some English historians have actually performed this magic sleight of hand in recent years. But presently, they find their pens not as facile to deceive the eyes of archaeologists, and scholarly historians who search original sources of documentation.

Our contemporaries have become aware of the citadel of culture that was Ireland as the Roman Empire dissolved in ashes and our modern era dawned.

Before the school of Athens had perished in the east, or Monte Cassino was founded in the west, the Gaels of Ireland were completing the intellectual stronghold that was to be unequaled until quite modern times. Vandal and Goth were destroying Rome; Augustine had not glimpsed the English heathen; when Ireland had proudly raised on her soil, in addition to numerous lesser schools, the great congregation of university foundations that was to guard and increase the cultural treasury of Christian scholarship of all that Europe in the west was to know of the tradition of civilization for almost a decade of centuries.

The breadth of monastic culture drew aspiring students from the continent, while fortifying and inspiring great and saintly scholars to carry learning into all the countries of western Europe.

From the Irish seminaries of Armagh, Clonard, Bangor, and others, missionaries and preceptors ventured forth for almost 700 years.

Ireland's medieval Hiberno-Latin literature carrying the Greco-Roman seed escaped the annihilation of Baltic savagery. Irish missionary pioneers took part in a spiritual movement to spread and restore the civilized tradition of Christian culture to lands that had been laid waste by barbarians.

No wonder that the Gael's expeditionary impulse has continued through the centuries of thralldom and slavery even under British misrule.

The early search for freedom of Patricius had been transfigured into Ireland's eternal longing to be free to go to the God of Patrick. The inspired leadership of the sons of St. Patrick has continued to build nations in far-off places. Austria, Germany, France, the Argentine, Australia, Canada, the American colonies, and then these United States have been the beneficiaries of the Gael; and their spiritual, their cultural, their civic growth have somehow been quickened by the pioneering and courageous Gaels.

Our fellow Americans who are descended from the sons of Ireland have written glorious pages of American history, have contributed to the sciences and the arts of building a nation. The national fabric is bright with the golden threads of Gaelic gallantry, generosity, and devotion. For the American of Irish descent is never guilty of divided loyalty. He is faithful to his new-found country as he is to his beloved wife; his love of his adopted country is not diminished by his devotion to his motherland.

The eternal democratic principles of freedom are enshrined alike in the American and the Irish Nation. As more than half of Washington's army in the Revolutionary War were sons of Erin, so the continued fidelity and generosity of St. Patrick's sons in America aided the long struggle of Ireland for justice in the time of the trouble.

St. Patrick's prayer for the souls of his sons has helped them to keep the faith in the face of every disaster. The true son of Erin is a man of integrity, for in prayer he seeks strength, and his prayers are heard. He risked death for liberty long before Patrick Henry voiced his historic plea.

Every Gael, like every knightly member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is aware, in the words of the poet, that:

"What matters death, if freedom be not dead?
No flags are furled, if freedom's flag be furled.
Who fights for freedom, goes with joyful tread
To meet the fires of hell against him hurled,
And has for captain Him whose thorn-crowned head
Smiles from the cross upon a conquered world."

—*Joyce Kilmer.*

Resolutions Expressing the Regret of the People of Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to include several resolutions which have been sent to me from Puerto Rico, and which refer to the regrettable occurrence here on March 1, 1954, I wish to present the following resolutions expressing once more the deep regret and the consternation of the people of Puerto Rico:

MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY, UTUADO, P. R.

"Resolution 32A

"Resolution to condemn vigorously and with determination the uncalled for violence of some few members of the Nationalist Party against five Representatives in the Congress of the United States and to offer our prayers to Almighty God for the complete recovery of the victims of this tragic occurrence

"Whereas the people of Utuado, the same as all the inhabitants of the Island of Puerto Rico, believe in a peaceful and fraternal behavior in common with our associates of the great American Nation, to which we are proudly and satisfactorily associated;

"Whereas this expressed will of the people of Puerto Rico was manifested by the majority of all the Puerto Ricans during the celebration of four plebiscites in which was ratified our volition to form an association with the beloved American Republic;

"Whereas we Puerto Ricans have sufficient democratic convictions as to reject and condemn any bloody demonstration tending to gain power or destroy a democratically organized government: Therefore the Municipal Assembly of Utuado, P. R., at this session resolves—

"1. To condemn vigorously and with determination the uncalled for violence of some few members of the Nationalist Party against five Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and to offer our prayers to Almighty God for the complete recovery of the victims of this tragic occurrence.

"2. That once this resolution is approved by the mayor of Utuado, P. R., a certified copy be sent to the Honorable President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, D. C., for their knowledge and pertinent action."

The above resolution was unanimously approved by the Municipal Assembly of Utuado, P. R., with the vote of its present 11 members, the Honorable Eduardo Artau Roselló, Rafael Rodríguez Alvarez, José G. Marrero, Luis González González, Ramona Torres de Vera, Juan Gonzáles Vega, Olimpio Strubbe Cortés, Antonio Ginard Vilariño, Osvaldo Torres Gómez, Jesús Medina Alvarez y Octavio Ruíz Martínez, in special session held on March 2, 1954.

In testimony of which we sign and authorize this in Utuado, P. R., on March 2, 1954.

EDUARDO ARTAU ROSELLO,
President.
TEODORO SERRANO GONZALEZ,
Municipal Secretary.

Approved by me on the 3d day of March 1954.

ERMELINDO SANTIAGO,
Mayor of Utuado, P. R.

CAYEY, P. R., MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY.

"Resolution 15

"Resolution to condemn the action of the four fanatic Nationalists who deliberately and with criminal intent viciously attacked prominent and distinguished members of States of America on the afternoon of the House of Representatives of the United March 1, 1954, at Washington, D. C.

"Whereas the people of the city of Cayey, P. R., has expressed their indignation for the vandalic action in which the Honorables ALVIN M. BENTLEY, BEN P. JENSEN, KENNETH A. ROBERTS, CLIFFORD DAVIS, and GEORGE H. FALLON were wounded;

"Whereas this act was taken by four individuals of criminal background who belong to a small terrorists group closely associated to Communist groups both repudiated by all Puerto Ricans: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the municipal assembly unanimously on its meetings of March 4, 1954, in the City Hall of Cayey, P. R.—

"SECTION 1. That the city of Cayey represented by the mayor and the municipal assembly strongly and vigorously condemn the fanatic, criminal action by members of a very small group who repeatedly has been repudiated by all the decent and responsible American citizens born in Puerto Rico, the United States of America, and in other countries of the world.

"SEC. 2. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable President of the United States of America, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, to the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, to the sub-Secretary of State of Puerto Rico in Caracas, Venezuela, to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to the President of the Senate and the House of Represenatives of Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

Certified as a true and correct copy of Resolution No. 15, series 1953–54, adopted by the Municipal Assembly of Cayey, P. R., at a special meeting held on the 4th day of March 1954 and approved by the mayor on the 4th day of March 1954, entitled "Resolution to condemn the action of the four fanatic Nationalists who deliberately and with criminal intent viciously attacked prominent and distinguished Members of the House of Representatives of the United States of America on the afternoon of March 1, 1954, at Washington, D. C."

It is also hereby certified that the following members of the municipal assembly voted in the affirmative the approval of this ordinance:

MONSERRATE RIVERA,
President.
JORGE MELÉNDEZ,
Vice President.
ANSELMO FALERIA.
ARCADIO PEDRAZA ORTIZ.
CECILIO CRUZ CORDERO.
ROBERTO MORERA.
HERMINIO PAGÁN MELÉNDEZ.
JUAN ORRACA.
JOSÉ JUAN MELÉNDEZ.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 4th day March 1954.

MONSERRATE RIVERA,
President, Municipal Assembly.
V. APONTE,
Secretary, Municipal Assembly.

Approved:

FRANCISCO COLÓN JULIA,
Mayor.

ASOCIACION DE ALCALDES DE PUERTO RICO,
San Juan, P. R.

"Whereas on Monday, March 1 A. D. 1954, and for the first time in the history of the United States of America, a group of nationalist gun-wielders opened fire against House Members assembled in the crowded chamber of the House of Representatives, seriously injuring five distinguished Members of that outstanding lawmaking body,

thus spreading distress everywhere, both in the United States as well as the world over;

"Whereas upon being arrested, these frenzied politicians mingled the goodwill of Puerto Rico with their hellish plotting, when in truth the actors in said savage undertaking in no way partake of the sincere feelings of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"Whereas it is generally accepted as a fact that unlawful nationalism has never made ground in the civic thoughts and feelings of Puertoricans, as was amply evidenced at the time of the bloody events of October 30, 1950, when the whole citizenry abided by the law and by public order, and turned their backs in contempt on the seditious nationalists;

"Whereas the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, as a token of unsurmountable political wisdom, have ever shown preference for the faithful following of democratic practices and procedures in the attainment of collective goals, and on this ground throughout and created the Commonwealth, now willfully and freely associated to the American Union.

"Whereas for over two score and 10 years of democratic life and accomplishments, we Puertoricans have learned to honor the dynamic and democratic institutions of the great North American Republic, under whose guardianship we have made such a remarkable progress, that today and forever we stand as an example to and as a highly prized sight for the civilized world;

"Whereas the city and town mayors herein assembled, were freely and directly elected by the people's vote, and as such we are the genuine representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico throughout all cities and towns over the island, whose feelings are no other but an energetic reproof and an eternal damnation of the questionable procedures of the aforesaid nationalist gun-wielders: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the association of city and town mayors for the municipalities of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico assembled in a special general meeting held at the State capital on this 3d day of the month of March A. D. 1954—

"SECTION 1. We reprove in the most energetic manner the criminal committed by the frenzied nationalists against the most distinguished House Members, which form part of the legislative power of the United States Government; and we convey to the injured Congressmen, wounded on the occasion of said act of vandalism, our greatest sympathy and our most sincere and friendly wishes for a rapid recovery.

"SEC. 2. That copies of this resolution be presented for proper acknowledgment and due action to His Excellency, the President of the United States of America, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower; to the Honorable, the Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles; to the Honorable, the President of the United States Senate, Mr. Richard M. Nixon; to the Honorable, the Speaker of the House, Mr. Joseph W. Martin; to the Honorable Congressmen injured during the reproved assault; to the Honorable, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Don Luis Muñoz-Marín; to the Honorable House Member, the Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Dr. Antonio Fernós Isern; to the Honorable, the President of the Senate for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Mr. Samuel R. Quiñones; to the Honorable, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Mr. Ernesto Ramos Antonini; and the press and radio stations for the most ample publicity."

FEDERICO CORDERO,
President.

I. Edelmiro Rodrigues, secretary of the association of city and town mayors for the municipalities of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a resolution adopted by said association in a special general meeting held at San Juan, capital of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, on the 3d day of March A. D. 1954.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the official seal of said association to be affixed on this 4th day of March A. D. 1954.

EDELMIRO RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

Resolution by the Municipal Assembly of Manati, P. R., to condemn the act of terrorism committed by Puerto Rican individuals on the afternoon of March 1, 1954, in the House of Representatives; and to attest our repudiation of such act before the Congress of the United States, the Honorable President of the Nation and before the democratic and free world.

Whereas on the afternoon of the 1st day of March of 1954, a terrorist and bloody act was committed by Puerto Rican individuals in the House of Representatives of the United States of America, injuring several Members of that Honorable Legislative body;

Whereas this act constitutes one of embarrassment and moral and spiritual depression;

Whereas the protagonists of the act do not represent our people, and they are a group of outrageous and misguided fanatics, with no sense of true bravery or patriotism;

Whereas this Municipal Assembly of Manati, and the mayor, are aware of the offense committed by those merciless, who were born on this land, but who do not feel like the rest of the people, towards a Nation under whose protection they live: Therefore be it

Resolved by this Municipal Assembly of Manati, P. R.—

SECTION I. To convey to the Honorable President of the United States, to the National Congress, and to the people in general, our most energetic condemnation of the irresponsible and criminal act committed by frenzied Puerto Ricans, in the afternoon of the 1st day of March of 1954, in the House of Representatives in Washington, United States of America.

SEC. II. To reaffirm, in a sincere and positive way, that this act does not represent, nor is it patronized by the majority of the people, but by a small, dissappointed group, who has been repudiated by our people.

SEC. III. That copies of this resolution be presented to the Honorable President of the United States of America, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Honorable Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, and to the Honorable Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

ANGEL MACEIRA ORTIZ,
President, Municipal Assembly.
ORLANDO RIVERO, *Mayor.*

MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY OF CATAÑO, P. R.

Resolution 2

Resolution by the honorable Municipal Assembly of Cataño, P. R., reproving the brutal Nationalist attack against various Congressmen of the United States of America

Whereas on Monday, March 1, 1954, a group of Nationalist terrorists opened fire in the House of Representatives of the United States, seriously wounding five of the honorable Members of that legislative body;

Whereas upon being arrested, these political fanatics involved the good name of Puerto Rico, when really the authors of this vile attack in no way represent the feeling of the Puerto Rican people;

Whereas the Puerto Rican people, who have demonstrated their political wisdom, have always followed faithfully the democratic procedures for the fulfillment of its collective aspirations, and it was under these same procedures that the Commonwealth was established, voluntarily associated to the United States;

Whereas the legislators meeting here, elected by the people of this town, and as such representing the feeling of this community, which is no other, than that of energetic repudiation and condemnation of the tragic action by the said group of lunatic nationalists: Therefore be it

Resolved by this Municipal Assembly of Cataño, P. R., gathered in special session on March 5, 1954—

SECTION I. To condemn in a most energetic way the criminal attack against distinguished Congressmen and to express to the victims our most sincere testimony of sympathy and our most sincere wishes for a prompt recovery.

SEC. II. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Honorable President of the United States of America, Dwight D. Eisenhower; to the Honorable Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles; to the President of the Senate, Hon. Richard M. Nixon; to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Joseph W. Martin, and to all the Congressmen who were victims of the attack; to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Hon. Luis Muñoz-Marín, and to the Resident Commission in Washington, Hon. ANTONIO FERNÓS-ISERN.

RIO PIEDRAS ROTARY CLUB,
Rio Piedras, P. R., March 2, 1954.

Whereas the world press and radio have broadcast the news that a group of persons identified as Puerto Ricans entered the session hall of the United States House of Representatives and treacherously attacked the Members of that high body who were met in session, thus perpetrating an outrageous act of terrorism as a result of which distinguished Members of the United States Congress were wounded;

Whereas the general reaction of the people of Puerto Rico has been one of open and forceful repudiation and condemnation of this vandalic act;

Whereas the worthy and noble Rotary International movement in Puerto Rico is composed, as everywhere else throughout the world, by professionals in the different walks of life who are law-abiding and orderly people with a deeply rooted democratic spirit;

Whereas we, the responsible and worthy citizens who make up the enrollment of the Rio Piedras Rotary Club could not, on the loftiest plane of civism and without the least tangency with any political partisanship whatsoever, let this unfortunate event pass inadvertently without voicing our wrathful protest: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Rio Piedras Rotary Club, met in regular session on Tuesday, March 2, 1954—

1. To repudiate and condemn in the most forceful manner the treacherous assault against the life of fellow citizens who represent, by the free will of the people, that great American people with whom the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is associated by the common bonds of citizenship and of mutual respect and affection;

2. To declare before the world that the act we are now repudiating and condemning does not in any wise respond to any expression of the people of Puerto Rico in general, and specifically, much less does it respond to the lofty, peaceful, and decent sentiments which animate the Rotary International members in Puerto Rico, and particularly, the members of the Rio Piedras Rotary Club;

3. To convey to the President and the Congress of the United States, and to the distinguished wounded Congressmen the sympathy and solidarity of the members of the Rio Piedras Rotary Club;

4. To transmit copy of this resolution to the Pan-American Conference at present being held in the city of Caracas, capital of of the Republic of Venezuela.

The board of directors of the Association of University Graduates of the University of Puerto Rico, in extraordinary meeting convened for this purpose and held on March 3, 1954, unanimously agreed the following:

Whereas 4 Puerto Rican nationalists fired on Members of the House of Representatives while that body was in session, causing panic and wounding 5 Representatives, 2 of them seriously;

"Whereas this act of violence is contrary and violates the norms that should prevail in a democracy for the expression of individual convictions, whichever these may be;

"Whereas we consider that this act hurts the good name of Puerto Rico and is contrary to the ways of a peoples who have always distinguished itself for trying to solve its problems by democratic means: Therefore the Association of Graduates of the University of Puerto Rico deplores, repudiates, and condemns the action of the Puerto Rican nationalists."

It is approved that copy of this resolution be sent to (1) the President of the United States, (2) the President of the Senate of the United States, (3) the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, (4) the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, (5) the Governor of Puerto Rico, (6) the President of the Senate of Puerto Rico, (7) the speaker of the House of Representatives of Puerto Rico, (8) to all the press of Puerto Rico.

MARIA TERESA PICO,
Secretary.
MARIA TERESA C. DIAZ GARCIA,
President.

Independence of Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, many are the strands which have gone into the making of our civilization. We and our immediate predecessors have borrowed to a greater or lesser extent, from ancient civilizations of the Near East, from ancient Greece and from Rome, and from early Christianity. But many of us firmly believe that some of the best elements in our heritage and some of the most cherished of our ideas and ideals, particularly many of our modern ideas of freedom, liberty, and independence, have their roots in ancient Greece. Greeks of those distant days formulated and developed those sublime ideas, embodied them in ethical and legal precepts, and passed them on to posterity. That, one might say, is the legacy of Greece to us.

Those wise and learned Greeks, however were not able to maintain their independence. For centuries their country was conquered and ruled by foreign overlords and for many centuries they suffered under alien tyranny. Yet during all that time they remained true to their ancient traditions, cherishing the ideal of their national independence. Finally, in 1821 when the oppressive rule of their Turkish overlords had become almost unbearable they revolted against their oppressors and clamored for freedom, liberty and national political independence. We are very happy that their feats of bravery brought them independence, and today in celebrating the 133d anniversary of the beginning of that revolt and the Greek declaration of independence, we heartily hope that Greece will continue to live in peace and enjoy its hard-won freedom.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERE COOPER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following three articles and an editorial from the Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tenn., on the Tennessee Valley Authority:

(By Dick Allen)

(First of a series)

(TVA and private power interests are under contract to provide heavy loads of electricity to the Atomic Energy Commission's giant plant near Paducah, Ky. Construction of both multimillion dollar steam plants was started about the same time in 1951. This series of three stories will point up the current phase of construction at both plants, review the background which brought on the competition, and compare the progress made at the two plants.)

PADUCAH, KY., March 16.—Construction of the Tennessee Valley Authority's gigantic steam powerplant 12 miles northwest of here is well on schedule, with the fifth generating unit expected to be in operation by late fall.

Already, 4 power-producing units of 150,000 kilowatts each are shooting electricity from the nearby banks of the sprawling Ohio River over a maze of high-tension lines to the Atomic Energy Commission's gaseous diffusion plant a few miles away.

This means the TVA project here, called the Shawnee steam plant, is now supplying 600,000 kilowatts daily to the vast Paducah plant of the AEC, which represents the original design by TVA to meet half of the initial power requirements of the AEC project.

AEC ASKS MORE POWER

Meanwhile, however, the AEC has called on TVA to more than double the original supply, upping the figure to 1,200,000 kilowatts, and work is now in progress on constructing 6 additional generating units.

The projected completion date for the $216,500,000 plant is about the middle of 1955.

The AEC, largest power consumer in the country, has contracted both with TVA and private power companies for its electricity supply.

A review of the background which brought the private power companies into the picture of supplying energy to the AEC shows that in the fall of 1950 AEC asked TVA to develop a proposal for supplying 1 million kilowatts of power for its Paducah plant. At that time, it was considered this would be the full requirement of the Paducah plant.

TVA SOUGHT FUNDS

TVA officials went before Congress with a request for a supplemental appropriation to build the required generating facilities.

However, in December 1950, before the House Appropriations Committee had acted on the TVA request for funds, the AEC announced it had accepted the proposal of a new private company to supply half the required power for the plant.

The private company formed was the Electric Energy, Inc., composed of the Central Illinois Public Service Co., Illinois Power Co., Kentucky Utilities Co., Middle South Utilities, Inc., and Union Electric Co. of Missouri.

The private company proposed to build its steam plant at Joppa, Ill., 22 miles northwest of Paducah on the north side of the Ohio River.

REVISED FUND REQUEST

When AEC announced its decision to buy half its power supply from the private company, TVA revised its appropriation request.

In January 1951 TVA moved an army of engineers, designers, and workers into the Paducah area to begin construction on what will be the second largest steam plant in the country when completed.

On April 9, 1953—2 years and 3 months from the time construction was started—the first unit at TVA's Shawnee plant was placed in commercial operation. TVA's second Shawnee unit went into operation June 21, 1953, the third in October of that year, and the most recently completed unit began producing last January 8.

Fred L. Weiss, project manager at Shawnee, said work on the six additional units authorized by Congress after AEC stepped up its program and doubled its power requirements is well on schedule.

FIFTH UNIT DUE IN FALL

"The fifth unit should be in operation by late this fall and the others should come along at intervals of 6 weeks to 2 months."

TVA officials at the Shawnee plant take pride in pointing the Shawnee plant is being built within the TVA estimates.

Figures cited by Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the Board of TVA, show the cost per kilowatt of capability is estimated at $145.

The Shawnee plant is a conventional steam plant with all units housed. Outdoor equipment is limited to the towering 250-foot-tall 10 smokestacks, induced-draft fans, and fly-ash collectors.

There are 10 power-producing units in the plant, each unit consisting of a boiler plus a turbogenerator. The width of the powerhouse, including the area required for the stacks, is 386 feet at ground level.

Including the brick-and-glass service bay, the length of the powerhouse will be 1,063 feet. Structural steel forms the framework. That portion housing the 10 boilers, the coal bunkers, and related equipment will rise 100 feet above the ground and be sheathed in reddish-brown corrugated metal. The adjoining turbogenerator room will be encased in brick and glass block. The basement floor of the powerhouse will be 40 feet below ground. The condensers, one under each turbine, are installed in the basement. When the entire plant is in operation, it will use water from the Ohio River at the rate of more than 1 million gallons per minute to condense the steam exhausted from the turbines.

Bituminous coal from southern Illinois and western Kentucky, shipped to the plant by barge and railroad, is the principal fuel. When the 10 units are completed, the coal consumption will be 14,000 tons per day. Construction of 5,500 feet of coal belt conveyors bring the fuel from the dock at the river and the coal stockpile into the plant's furnaces.

IT'S 70 PERCENT COMPLETE

Plant officials estimate construction at 70 percent complete, including erection of the steelwork.

Construction of the Shawnee plant was marred in early days by thirty-odd walkouts by labor forces but, as one official explained, "they were all small."

There have been no labor disputes in recent months.

"We are quite proud of our labor situation at Shawnee," a TVA official said. "I believe our good relations with labor have been a prime factor in maintaining our construction schedule and getting the job done."

The peak of employment at Shawnee was in February of 1953 when there were 3,200 workers on the job. Currently, there are 2,400 contract workers completing the plant.

(Second of a series)

JOPPA, ILL., March 17.—The best news on the construction site of the $195 million steam powerplant being built here by private industry is the peaceful labor condition which currently prevails.

They haven't had a work stoppage at the big Joppa plant since last October. And for officials of Electric Energy, Inc., the combine of the 5 private power companies which formed a corporation to run the plant, and Bechtel Corp., the prime contractors, that's big news.

It means that approximately 2,500 construction workers are moving along at a fast pace with the hope of having the six-unit generating plant completed on schedule by the fall of 1955.

But the air of harmony now hanging over the north bank of the Ohio River about 22 miles from Paducah, Ky., does not erase the dark cloud which settled over the project during the early construction days of 1952 and 1953.

TROUBLE WAS RIFE

There were almost 40 walkouts, strikes, and other labor disputes in those days and it is generally regarded that the labor trouble is chiefly responsible for the Joppa plant not being first on the line with power to the Atomic Energy Commission's nearby gaseous diffusion plant.

Electric Energy, Inc., was formed on short notice back in December 1950, when the AEC, while dickering with TVA to supply its total power requirements, asked the private utility industry to submit a proposal for supplying part of the electricity it would need.

The private companies banding together were Central Illinois Public Service Co., Illinois Public Power Co., Kentucky Utilities Co., Middle South Utilities, Inc., and Union Electric Co. of Missouri.

The AEC accepted the private company's plan to build a steam plant near the Paducah atomic-energy plant and gave the private builders a contract to supply half of the original AEC power requirements at Paducah.

According to original plans, the first unit of the private company's Joppa steam plant was scheduled for initial operation 3 months ahead of TVA's first unit. The schedules were set by agreement between the AEC, national defense agencies in charge of allocating materials, the TVA and Electric Energy, Inc. Priorities on steel, copper, aluminum, and shop space for the manufacturing of turbogenerators were granted to the Joppa contractors on that basis.

CONTRACT TERMINATED

Ebasco Service Co. of New York was given the prime contract by Electric Energy, Inc., to build the plant competing with TVA. Ebasco is considered by many to be one of the finest contractors in its field in the country.

But then came the labor disputes. For some reason, work stoppage after work stoppage followed.

Finally, on July 30, 1953, soon after the second of the six generating units was in operation, Electric Energy, Inc., terminated its contract with Ebasco.

At that time, J. W. McAfee, president of Electric Energy, Inc., said, "The termination is being effected in order to permit reorganization of the construction project so that the station can be completed on a more efficient and economical basis." He said the reorganization was necessary because of the lack of productivity and consequent increased cost characterizing the work so far.

Bechtel Corp. was then given the contract. They moved in and immediately closed down the plant until the following August 31 for reorganization.

Since Bechtel took over, there have only been three minor work stoppages.

Joppa got its first generating unit into operation early in July of 1953, with the second unit following a few weeks later.

Bob Mitchell, head of public relations for the Bechtel operations at Joppa, said the third unit will be on the line and producing power by the end of this month. The fourth unit, he said, will be in operation by June 1, with the fifth and sixth units scheduled for final completion by the fall of next year.

"When the six units are completed, we will be producing 937,500 kilowatts," he said.

ALL OUT IN OPEN

The Joppa steam plant got under construction February 15, 1951. Essentially, its design is similar to the TVA plant just across the river, but the units at the Joppa plant are not housed. They are all out in the open.

A. J. Orselli, vice president of Bechtel and project manager in charge of contruction, was asked why the Joppa plant was a totally outdoor plant.

"Well, when it was designed we thought it would be more economical but now we don't know," he said.

The operation of the Joppa plant also will be similar to that of the Shawnee plant. When the 6 units are in operation, 3½ million tons of coal per year, or 10,000 tons a day will be required. Thirty-five million cubic feet of soil will have been excavated and more than 1 million lineal feet of conduit used. Three million feet of electrical wiring, exclusive of wiring in the giant turbines, will have been used. There will have been enough concrete used to make a solid concrete block the size of a football field and 35 feet high.

The plant will operate only 1 smokestack for each 2 generating units.

EE, Inc., officials estimated the plant is about 60 percent completed. Construction workers are now laying the foundation for the plant's fifth and sixth units.

Both construction and private power company officials at Joppa remain on their guard when questions are asked about the plant. The reason for the caginess could not be determined.

MUST HAVE A PASS

Security regulations are almost as stiff at the Joppa plant as they are at the billion-dollar atomic-energy plant near Paducah.

You cannot enter the main gate at the Joppa plant without a pass, obtained after clearance with the construction company. You must have a special pass to bring a camera into the area and sign an agreement allowing the company to censor any pictures you may take. Once in the construction area, it is necessary to have another pass to get near several of the restricted areas. And there are some areas the Joppa officials will not permit you near.

There are no restrictions whatsoever at TVA's big Shawnee plant.

Turner White, Jr., vice president of EE, Inc., and general manager of the Joppa plant, brushed aside the security regulations, saying he didn't believe them to be too severe.

"These security police are here to prevent accidents or misoperations," Mr. White said.

He said that from the time construction was first started there were several incidences of acts which the company thought were sabotage or deliberate.

Mr. White declined to discuss the costs per kilowatt of capacity at the private utility company's plant. These costs reportedly have increased over their original estimate of $126 to a high of $198.

"We're not through the stage of a shakedown cruise on the plant," Mr. White said. "And anyway, the cost per kilowatt of capacity is misleading because of the many factors that enter into arriving at this cost."

He added that the cost at the Joppa plant would be hard to figure since the company has yet to determine what its ultimate development in power will be.

(Last of a series)

PADUCAH, KY., March 18.—Smoke is billowing from four towering smokestacks at the Government-owned Shawnee steam power plant on one side of the Ohio River near here, while almost directly across the river a private power company has been able to fire up only two furnaces.

Both electric generating plants are competing in the business of producing power—and lots of it—for the gigantic Atomic Energy Commission's gaseous diffusion project at Paducah.

When it was announced late in 1950 that AEC had contracted with TVA to buy power from the 10-unit Shawnee generating plant and also had contracted with Electric Energy, Inc., to purchase its energy output from the 6-unit plant at Joppa, Ill., TVA critics hailed this as a race between private and public enterprise."

If actually it is a race, then TVA has hit the home stretch handily and without using the whip.

Here is what the record shows:

Both are steam power plants. Shawnee is a 10-unit project, capable, when completed, of producing 1,500,000 kilowatts. The Joppa plant is a six-unit project, capable, when completed, of generating 966,000 kilowatts.

CONTRAST IN COSTS

Shawnee's cost is estimated at $216,500,000. The cost of the Joppa plant was estimated last year to total more than $182 million, but the company's vice president now says the estimate has risen to $195 million, "but we hope it will be less."

The design and manufacture of boilers, turbines, and generators; the fabrication of steel; the erection of steel on the site; the operation of excavating equipment; and the placing of concrete are much the same types of operations whether at Shawnee or Joppa. Both projects depended on private manufacturers for boilers, turbogenerators, and the thousands of items of equipment making up a modern steam plant.

Shawnee was started in January of 1951, Joppa the following month. The first unit of the Joppa plant was scheduled for operation in September 1952, while the first unit of the TVA plant was scheduled for December of the same year. These dates were set by agreement between AEC, national defense agencies, the TVA, and EEInc. One of the major factors was the time when generators and turbines and other equipment could be obtained.

Both TVA and E. E, Inc., encountered difficulties. As a result of late equipment deliveries, TVA moved back the schedule date of operation from December 1952 to March 1953.

The first unit at TVA's Shawnee plant was placed in commercial operation on April 9, 1953. The second Shawnee unit went into operation on June 21, 1953, just a few weeks before the first unit at the Joppa plant went on the line.

To date, Shawnee has four units operating, with the fifth scheduled to go into production by fall. Joppa has two units producing, with the third reportedly ready for operation by the end of this month.

FINISHING AT SHAWNEE

The construction site at Shawnee is clean. About 2,400 ironworkers, boilermakers, welders, and other craftsmen are now on the job finishing the project. The plan is about 70-percent complete.

Across the big Ohio, approximately 2,500 workers are scurring about with bulldozers, derricks, cranes, and other construction equipment, still in the processing of laying the foundations for the plant's fifth and sixth units. Only 2 of the 3 smokestacks which will be used to operate Joppa's 6 units have been erected, while at Shawnee all 10 stacks, 1 for each unit, are in place and ready to go.

Both plants have had their share of labor troubles, even though the same kind of union labor in the Paducah area was used to build both projects.

Ebasco Services Inc. of New York, considered by many one of the best in its field, was given the original contract for the Joppa plant. But by July of 1953 there had been almost 40 work stoppages, strikes and walkouts at the construction site. On July 30, 1953, EE, Inc., announced it had terminated the contract with Ebasco "in order to permit reorganization of the construction project so that the station can be completed on a more efficient and economical basis."

The contract was turned over to the Bechtel Corp. of New York and San Francisco which, since it has been on the job, has had only three minor labor disputes. Bechtel officials say their labor relations are now "excellent" and decline to discuss what might have brought on the difficulties when Ebasco had the contract.

EXPERIENCE HELD FACTOR

Shawnee had a few more than 30 labor disputes, all of which officials called "minor." TVA officials attribute their better relations with labor to the fact that "the men on the TVA job were working for TVA" plus the wealth of experience their engineers and designers of steam plants have had.

What about the cost of producing power at the two plants?

On the basis of figures filed with the Securities anrd Exchange Commission, the private company's plant at Joppa will be substantially more expensive per unit of capacity than the Shawnee plant in contrast with the original estimates by which the contract was obtained from AEC. With the completion of six units the cost is estimated to run as high as $198 per kilowatt of capacity.

TVA has estimated the cost at the Shawnee plant at $145 per kilowatt of capacity.

As far as officials at the Joppa plant are concerned, they aren't talking about these costs. As Turner White Jr., vice president of EE, Inc., said, these costs are misleading because of the many factors involved in determining the figure."

The rates offered by TVA and the private company to AEC differ in one respect. Both the TVA and the company include a basic rate in their contracts, based on estimates of the cost of building steam plants and of operating and maintaining them after they are placed in service. The basic rates are, however, subject to escalator clauses, and it is here that TVA claims its rate is more advantageous to AEC.

The private companies base their escalators on the costs they actually experience, thus having in effect a cost-plus contract. TVA's rates are projected on the basis of national indexes such as the building cost index of the Engineering News-Record. The rates therefore are affected only by changes in costs over which TVA has no control.

With the peak of construction at both the powerplants and the AEC plant now passed, how is the historic old river town of Paducah faring?

Well, the businessmen and merchants are definitely crying the blues.

"Business is awful. Just terrible. Way down * * *."

These are typical comments.

Definitely, the boom in the Paducah area is over. The bars aren't crowded to overflowing any more. The stores are no longer jammed with customers.

With a peak population last year of some 60,000, Paducah now has an estimated population of something over 40,000.

But the Association of Commerce isn't viewing it with alarm. On the contrary, it is looking forward to a bright future.

The association points out Paducah has more today than it had before the atomic bubble appeared in 1950, when the city's population at that time was about 32,828.

"More people are seeking employment now than at any time in the last 3 years," association leaders said. "The employment office is full of construction workers who have been laid off but who will move on to jobs elsewhere as they develop. There is an adequate supply of white-collar workers from the same source. An increasing number of skilled workers is available, who were formerly employed in plants in Detroit, Hammond, and St. Louis, but who have returned to their homes in the Paducah area."

The association pointed out that before the atomic plant located here, Paducah had little to offer industry in the way of housing and available labor. Now, Paducah has both and the association is concentrating on bringing more industry into the area.

"A lot of people who came here to work in plants in the area have decided to stay," one official said. "You might say that we know we've had the cream; now that it is gone, we've got good, rich milk."

CLOUDS DARKEN OVER TVA

The cloud that appeared over power business of the Tennessee Valley Authority when the Eisenhower administration blocked starting of the Fulton generating plant has now darkened like a storm in the making.

In recent weeks it had seemed the sun might come out. TVA accomplishments in speed and low cost of construction at Paducah in sharp contrast to the Ebasco Fiasco of private power companies undertaking a duplicate task has become known to the general public. Attempts to get a private power explanation of what happened, which have included sending a reporter for the Commercial Appeal to the scene, have produced only conspicuous silence.

Gordon Clapp, TVA Chairman, has made an excellent presentation of the Nation's electrical building situation in a series of lectures at the University of Chicago. He has told the TVA story in convincing words, offered a plan for adequate power which would put Government money into private power, and he has especially shown the nationwide values of publicly owned power systems. His lectures may become a book of ammunition for public power advocates of future years.

But while residents of the TVA area were taking heart from these developments, private power has been quietly taking new ground in Congress. In a subcommittee of the House, working over the year's budget for the National Government, plans have been laid to tear up TVA rules for selling power and write new instructions.

Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS, of Memphis, sounded the alarm when he learned plans of the Independent Office Appropriations Subcommittee.

The plan is to take away the TVA power to fix the retail price of electricity it wholesales to municipal and cooperative distributors. This is the heart of the TVA accomplishment in getting low-price electricity to the people. It is the center of pain for the private power interests.

If TVA electricity retailed at the same price as private power in adjoining areas, or if private power could get TVA electricity and resell it at their own prices, we doubt if the public would ever have heard the word "socialism" linked with TVA.

This portion of TVA policy has the further result of blocking the tendency of city officials to feed city treasuries with profits from the sale of natural gas, water, and electricity. It is a policy based on the theory of electricity as a necessity of life, needed by every person at the very lowest possible price.

To go beyond producing electricity at low cost and see to it that it is still low priced when it reaches the people has been a fundamental of TVA.

This subcommittee also plans to alter TVA contracts with its distributors so that the municipalities and cooperatives may buy power from other sources or build generating plants. This sounds like authorizing supplemental power. In the practical economics of the power business it would more likely mean breaking off edges of the TVA area. Costs of small generating plants are so high that the net result would be offering part of the TVA market to the surrounding private power companies.

The subcommittee also plans to require TVA to pay interest on money advanced from the Federal Treasury for building the power producing parts of TVA, the steam plants, and the transmission lines. TVA is already returning this money on a 40-year schedule, and is ahead of schedule.

It is putting into the Treasury each year, in addition, a margin which might be used for bond interest instead. Use of bonds in place of Treasury advances might be accomplished without increasing the price of electricity. But this proposal goes further. In place of public sale of bonds, which would turn TVA loose from the yearly review by Congress through consideration of appropriations, it proposes to keep the debt in the Treasury, collect a fixed interest, and still keep the congressional apron strings.

This is a program being considered within a subcommittee.

The subcommittee has still to act. Then it will be subject to committee action. Action by the House is ahead. The Senate must approve. The President must sign.

Changes in such a long legislative path are possible. However, the political climate of Washington makes adoption of such a program cast a dark shadow over the future of TVA power.

There is time for the voting public to make its wishes known to Members of Congress. An emergency campaign by Friends of TVA, Inc., is in order.

There is politics in this situation. There is controversy over public power against private power. There are mechanics of financing. But overall this is a question of whether the wide area of millions of factories and homes dependent upon TVA for its electricity is to have enough electricity to grow as the rest of the Nation is growing.

While Congress debates, the power shortage of 1957 comes closer with neither TVA generators or private power generators being installed to meet our need.

Oil Activity at Home or Trouble Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, because the 27.5 percent depletion allowance has been greatly misunderstood, I would like

to call attention to the following editorial which appeared in the Tulsa World, published in Tulsa, Okla., under date of Friday, March 12, 1954:

OIL ACTIVITY AT HOME OR TROUBLE ABROAD

There is a great deal more politics than sincerity behind the attempt of three United States Senators to strike an economic blow against the domestic oil industry.

The three Senators, WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon; JOHN J. WILLIAMS, of Delaware; and GEORGE AIKEN, of Vermont, are moving out on a dangerous course that, among all the Members of the Senate, they are probably least qualified to expound. Senator MORSE is, as is now well known, a "hybrid" political personality; the other two are Republicans from non-oil-producing States.

There is no point in reviewing the merit of the present 27.5 percent oil depletion allowance. Nor is there cause for explaining what the allowance has meant to the Nation in the discovery of new and greater oil deposits. It is sufficient to say that the tax-relief clause is virtually the sole prop which keeps exploratory activity at its present high tempo. Otherwise normal losses would find the industry pulling in its neck and existing for the most part on established production, thereby reducing reserves needed in event of military emergency.

While it would be folly for the industry to treat the threat lightly, there is little real cause for concern. President Eisenhower pledged retention of the depletion clause in his 1952 campaign. Since then House Speaker JOSEPH MARTIN, a potent voice in administration policy matters, has reiterated that pledge and further declared the existence of no sentiment for a reduction in the allowance.

Aside from the political aspects of the situation, Congress must bear in mind the urgent necessity for continued exploration for oil by the domestic industry. Any tax blow which would discourage domestic production would in the natural progress of events throw the Nation ever deeper into the dangerous foreign oil snarl which at any time could develop into military complications.

From any viewpoint, the oil industry is complicated. It is sensitive in the extreme to economic fluctuations. And certainly anything that would do harm to the domestic arm of the industry would do harm to the entire industry. It is trite but true that as the oil industry flourishes so, too, does the general economy benefit.

William Randolph Hearst, Jr.: The Right To Know

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, our people should be told the facts concerning the perils of the thermonuclear era.

William Randolph Hearst, Jr., has performed a singular public service by dramatically and forcefully calling for a fuller disclosure of facts to our own people. His is no attempt to alarm, but rather a sensible, sober effort to prevent possible panic and disaster at a later time by keeping our people properly informed now. Complacency, wishful thinking, and ignorance of facts can spell doom for the free world. I congratulate Mr. Hearst for his timely editorial and the superb manner in which he states the case for more public information.

Yesterday in my speech to the aircraft convention of the CIO–UAW I called for a frank statement of the facts relative to our military situation. I also suggested the appointment of a nonpartisan commission to survey the whole problem and recommend a real nonpartisan military policy, free from Pentagon politics, or any considerations other than the survival of the United States and the free world. I believe this fits in perfectly with Mr. Hearst's suggestion. The commission could very well consider the matter of informing our own people and how to do it in a calm, proper, and timely manner.

The editorial from the New York Journal-American of March 21, 1954, follows:

H-BOMB FACTS SHOULD BE TOLD

The incredible power of the hydrogen explosion March 1 in the mid-Pacific proving grounds has emphasized the disagreement within the administration whether the American people and the world should be given more complete information on the destructive potentials of our atomic weapons.

The Hearst newspapers think they should.

This is our reason for printing the dramatic map by Staff Cartographer Harold Detje. Our purpose is not to frighten. It is to transpose the available information on the March 1 test into familiar physical terms, so that all of us can understand the awful power of the H-bomb.

It is questionable if the terrible statistics of the Pacific explosion would have become public knowledge except that 32 Japanese tuna fishermen in a boat 80 miles away were burned by a shower of radioactive ashes.

Now we want to make it clear that we recognize the vital line between legitimate public information and that which endangers the security of the Nation. In the latter category would go such obvious madness as telling Russia how many A- and H-bombs we have, and how we make them.

But we do feel our Government is wrong in holding back on legitimate facts, and we have a couple of very sound experts to support us.

In a speech here a couple of days ago Dr. James Beckerley, Director of the Atomic Energy Commmission Classification Office, said an "ostrich-like" attitude about atomic information could lead to catastrophe. He pointed out that the Russians must be presumed to have the H-bomb.

DEAD END?

Thomas E. Murray, also a member of the AEC, has repeatedly warned that unless the world recognizes that civilization can be destroyed the road ahead could be "a very short dead end." He suggested inviting foreign observers to an H-bomb test.

We will go further. We suggest that Russian observers be invited to an H-bomb test. What could they learn, of necessity miles away from the actual explosion, that Russia does not already know? What secrets could they pick up?

But they could go back and say to the Kremlin: "Believe us, boss, the Americans have a terrible thing. We humbly recommend that you get going on President Eisenhower's plan for a pooling of atomic energy for peaceful purposes before it is too late."

And as concerns the American people, we have no fear they will be panicked by more information. We think the press should be invited to cover H-bomb explosions as they were the A-bomb tests. We think the Defense Department should edit and release whatever color films they have of H-bomb tests, and they must have quite a few.

We think the American people have a right to know, or at least have explained to us, preferably by our top public servant, President Eisenhower, why we should not be permitted to know.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, Jr.

Stabilization of the Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to stabilize the dairy industry. It is similar to that introduced by other Members of the House and of the Senate.

The proposed drop in the dairy-support level from the present 90 percent to 75 percent will result in an income loss that would be a catastrophe, not only to the dairy farmers of my district, but to those of the Nation. It will result in an estimated loss of $600 million in current dairy income for the Nation. This could well trigger off a general depression, but in any event it is certain to create a depression in the segment of agriculture involved.

I want to point out to the Congress that the dairy segment of agriculture is the largest in the Nation, representing 20 percent of the gross farm income and involving more than 2 million farmers throughout the Nation.

Such a drastic income drop in this period of transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy is dangerous. This transition should be a gradual one, and maintaining the purchasing power in the hands of the Nation's dairy farmers is one of the best guaranties we have that such a transition will be gradual and orderly.

As you know, President Eisenhower expressed this viewpoint in his farm message, when he declared that changes in supports should be gradual—"in steps of 5 percentage points of the old parity per year"—during the transitional period to a modernized parity system.

If we impoverish this great segment of agriculture I predict that we will soon be asked to support the general economy with appropriations far exceeding the investment we would make in raising the dairy-support level from the announced 75 percent to the 85 percent proposed in my bill. I urge the Congress to give the most careful consideration to this matter immediately.

I submit an illustration of dairy farmers' income in my district:

	1952	1953	1954
Pounds produced	200,000	200,000	200,000
Price	$5	$4.50	$3.75
Gross income	$10,000	$9,000	$7,500
Cost of production	$6,700	$6,700	$6,700
Net income	$3,300	$2,300	$800

1949 census dairy farms in district 4477

Stark	1,540
Tuscarawas	1,110
Wayne	1,827

Day preceding census 1950 adjusted 1953 level, 1,500,000 pounds milk produced daily; 543,124,015 pounds produced annually.

Pounds whole milk sold 1949 adjusted 1953 level, 413,138,435 pounds at 50 cents per hundredweight.

Seventy-five percent support result equals two to two and one-half million dollars, or about 10 to 13 percent loss of income.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following tribute to one of our great allies, its peoples, and our American citizens of Hellenic descent.

The Greeks have been for centuries in the forefront of pioneers in nearly all fields of human activity, including all the arts and sciences which go into the making of western civilization. They have, however, been particularly prominent as teachers and practitioners of what we today call the social sciences. To them, free and unfettered speculation and experimentation in all phases of social and political activity seemed quite natural. In this way, they learned and came to appreciate the true worth of freedom and independence—individual as well as group and communal independence. This was the basis upon which their democratic city-states of yore were founded. Independence and freedom were the two most distinctive characteristics of these earliest known city-states. Thus, the independence which we prize most highly today was known to the Greek city-states some 2,500 years ago.

Subsequently, over the course of the centuries, through ancient and medieval times, the Greeks were unable to preserve their independence. And with the 15th century when all Greece was overrun by the Turks, it seemed as if that cradle of western civilization, with all its splendor and glory, was lost to the West.

Fortunately that was not to be the case. Almost four centuries of subjection to alien rule, sometimes under the harshest of tyrants, did not eradicate the Greek spirit of independence. During that time the Greeks nursed and nurtured their goal of national independence. And when their religious and spiritual leader, Archbishop Germanos of Patras unfurled the flag of revolt against their Turkish overlords on March 25, 1821, all Greeks to a man rallied to his aid.

From then on it took 8 years of hard fighting to regain the political independence of Greece. This was accomplished through the supreme sacrifice which Greeks cheerfully made for the attainment of their most cherished ideal.

Today Greece stands as a fortress of freedom in the Mediterranean and is of great importance strategically and geographically to our own national defense and security. She is a true and stanch ally, and the investments of the United States in this cradle of western civilization were wise and judicious. Our firm stand and financial assistance to Greece has resulted in uniting Greece, not only internally, but also with Turkey and Yugoslavia in their common stand against aggressor forces.

Today, on the 133d anniversary of the Independence Day of Greece, we join in its celebration and hope that this anniversary will always be celebrated in peace and freedom.

Postal Pay Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee is engaged in holding hearings on legislation to increase salaries of postal and other workers. Today the gentleman from Florida [Mr. LANTAFF] made a statement to the committee regarding this legislation.

Mr. LANTAFF was a valued member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for some time. He has, during his service in Congress, made a close study of postal and civil-service problems.

The statement which he made to the committee shows a careful study and a wide knowledge of the subject under consideration.

I insert it herewith as a part of these remarks:

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM C. LANTAFF, OF FLORIDA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, MARCH 25, 1954, ON THE SUBJECT OF A POSTAL PAY INCREASE AND THE FRY REPORT

Mr. Chairman, as a former member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I am deeply interested in the legislation pending before you to provide an increase in pay for postal employees. At the outset, I should like to say that for various personal reasons, I am not seeking reelection to the Congress, nor am I aspiring to any other political job. I plan to resume the practice of law in Miami, Fla., following adjournment of the 83d Congress. Therefore, my appearance before you today is not prompted by any political motives, but rather because of a sincere interest in the Post Office Department and its employees.

I realize that the committee must weigh several factors in arriving at a decision as to whether or not the pay of our postal employees should be increased and if so, by how much. Many of you are perhaps thinking that such an increase would make the task of balancing the budget even more difficult. Some of you undoubtedly have experienced the situation in your communities where a position paying $4,040 a year is sought after my dozens of applicants and that, accordingly, there is no necessity to raise postal pay this year. Others perhaps are wondering how you can justify a record of voting for economy in government if you approve the expenditure of an additional $320 million, as called for by the Rhodes-Withrow bills. All of these factors unquestionably complicate the issue for you.

From a survey conducted in my district, I am convinced, however, that not only the best interests of the postal employees will be served, but also the best interests of the Post Office Department by an increase in postal pay. As an example, of the 260 postal clerks in the Miami Post Office, 38 percent are forced to engage in part-time work in addition to their postal duties in order to provide for their families. The wives of 35 percent of these employees are forced to work. Notwithstanding this supplemental income, debts increased for 70 percent of the clerks during the past year. The average total debts, not including mortgages, amounts to $762.96, and 19 percent of the clerks have been forced to borrow on their insurance policies. The same situation that we find in the cast of post-office clerks is also true of the letter carriers in the Miami office. Out of 271 letter carriers, 48 percent engaged in part-time work and the wives of 43 percent of the letter carriers were working. At the same time, 83 percent of the carriers reported an increase in debts.

These surveys were both taken in the summer months. It is quite probable that the survey would show a greater number working during the winter months, because of the fact that work opportunities are not as great in Miami in the summer as they are in the winter.

It seems rather obvious that today's wage scale is not geared to today's high cost of living and is wholly unrealistic. Such a wage scale adversely affects the morale of this loyal group of employees and in the long run increases the costs of operating the Department. That such is true is supported by the fact that there was a 25 percent personnel turnover at the Miami post office for the period April 1, 1952, through March 31, 1953, exclusive of Christmas and seasonal help. This amounted to more than one a day for each working day. Certainly, no business of comparable size could operate efficiently or economically with such a turnover.

Our objective in 1951, when we increased postal salaries, was to bring these wages in line with the high cost of living and to enable the Post Office Department to compete with private industry in recruiting competent individuals into the service. As of July 1, 1951, when that increase became effective, the Consumer's Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was 185.5. As of December 1953, the index stood at 192.1. This is the last figure available for the old series index.

At the present time, the average annual salary of a post office clerk is approximately $4,040, and that of the letter carrier is $4,018, according to the report of the Postmaster General for July 1, 1952. It will thus be seen that the ratio between the salary and the BLS Index is approximately $22 for each point of the index. Therefore, in order to place the postal employee in the same salary position that we placed him in 1951, we would have to raise his salary at least $154 per annum.

There is another factor which I believe we should consider in arriving at a realistic wage scale. For the 5-year period from 1947 to 1952, the Post Office handled an increase in volume of 33 percent in number of pieces and 29 percent in weight, with an increase in personnel of only 9 percent. These figures are taken from the annual report of the Postmaster General. If we only use one-fourth of this improvement factor, which I feel sure you will agree is most reasonable, we could conclude that an additional 5 per-

cent should be added to postal salaries as a reward to the postal employee for increasing the efficiency of the service, even in the face of a demoralizing wage scale.

Certainly, no one can deny that our postal employees, in common with our citizens generally, are entitled to financial recognition for the part they have played and are playing in increasing efficiency and productivity in the Department. If we in Congress recognize that the employees of the Federal Government are entitled to share in the modest extent I have recommended, I feel sure that this added incentive will produce even greater savings in the Department and a better postal service.

Now, if we consider that a wage increase of $154 is necessary to restore the purchasing power to the postal employee that we endeavored to give him in 1951, we would then have an average annual earning for a postal clerk of $4,194. To this should be added the 5 percent that I have referred to, which amounts to $209.70. The total increase that would be justified, therefore, on the basis that I have outlined would be a minimum of $363.70 per annum.

I recognize that there is considerable merit in the position taken by our employee groups that postal salaries should be designed so as to provide the employee with at least the same sum that was available for normal living expenses in the year 1939. However, the other factors which I have discussed at the outset of these remarks undoubtedly make it difficult for the committee to go as far in the adjustment of postal salaries as you would like to do. Certainly, though, there is ample justification for a salary increase of approximately $400 per annum, and I urge the committee to increase postal salaries at least by this amount, so that the Department can recruit and retain the high type of employee capable of rendering the type of service demanded by the American people.

Before concluding my remarks I would like to briefly comment on the Fry report. Following presentation of this plan to Congress by the Postmaster General, I consulted with the postal employees in my district to determine whether or not the Fry recommendations were workable, and while I certainly don't pose to be an authority on the subject, I would like to call to the attention of this distinguished committee certain recommendations of the Fry report which I do not believe are in the best interests of the postal service.

In the first place, the plan of the Postmaster General contemplates that each postmaster will allocate individual jobs to grades for which specifications have been published. In other words, a clerk in the Miami post office might be classified as a clerk, junior, first-class post office, or possibly even as a mail handler, first-class post office, both of which positions are a grade 3. That same clerk, however, might be classified in grade 4 as a clerk, distribution, first-class post office, or even as a grade 5, station clerk or senior window clerk in a first-class post office. Now, would those clerks subscribing loyalty to whichever political party might be in power be designated as grade 5 clerks and those in the minority party as grade 3 clerks? If the employee is placed in grade 4, is there any assurance that, based on the whims of the postmaster, the position might not be downgraded subsequently to grade 3? It seems obvious to me that such a recommendation could lead to untold abuse on a breakdown of our civil service system.

One of the best morale factors in the Post Office Department has heretofore been the fact that a career employee in the Department could work up through the post office to the highest ranks in the Department. This incentive has certainly enabled us to keep good men in the postal system, even though salaries were inadequate. Our clerks, by performing many duties in the Department, became well qualified to move into positions as supervisors or postmasters. Illustrative of the many duties performed by our postal clerks are these pictures which were taken in the Miami post office, which I would like to supply to the committee at this time.

I would also like to introduce to the committee at this time a summary of the postal service of one of our clerks in the Miami post office, as well as a statement provided at my request by Mr. E. Ervin Gayle, vice president of the Florida Federation of Post Office Clerks, showing the multiple duties of a postal clerk in an average first-class post office.

From this evidence I think this committee can readily see that a postal clerk is sort of a jack-of-all-trades who becomes well versed in all the operations of the post office, thus qualifying him for promotion to the supervisory ranks.

It is obvious to me that the Fry report contemplates breaking down this system. First, it is recommended that these clerks be grouped into specific categories and their duties limited to specific tasks. Secondly, it is recommended that there be no arbitrary barriers to preventing supervisory positions from being filled by personnel from outside the postal service. Adoption of such a recommendation would certainly break down the morale of the postal department, as well as the civil-service system, and would mean eventually that such supervisory positions were to be filled only through the patronage system. To such a conclusion I certainly cannot subscribe.

Finally, I would like to call the committee's attention to the fact that adoption of the reclassification recommendations would lead to less efficiency and economy. If you will note in the pictures which I have submitted to the committee, the clerks are employed on various duties, depending on need, within an office. They may work on the distribution system for 4 hours. They would then provide relief for other clerks on the window, or they might even, when necessary, perform mail-handler's duties. Now, if they are classified as grade 3 clerks, are they to be expected to perform grade 5 work when necessary? If they are classified as grade 4 clerks, can they be utilized to do the work of a grade 3 clerk? Or will the tendency be to perform just the duties of the clerk in the grade to which he has been assigned? It is conceivable that adoption of the proposed reclassification system would lead to much unproductive time and require more employees to do the job.

I do feel, however, that there is merit in providing a different classification for some of our special and technical employees in the Department, but I cannot subscribe to the report of the Fry committee.

With the vast knowledge of postal operations possessed by the members of this committee, I am hopeful that any reclassification action will be deferred until after a select committee from the Department and the employee organization, working with select members of this committee, can make a complete and thorough study of this field.

Unemployment on Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues in the House may be interested in a letter, which I received a few days ago from Mr. George T. Wilkins, county superintendent of schools, Madison County, Ill. It deals with a subject which has often been mentioned on this floor. Each time it has been mentioned, the persons expressing their fear of a recession have been severely criticized by the administration.

I have been extremely cautious in making statements on this subject. Yet I feel that the economic conditions now prevailing should not be ignored. The letter which follows from Mr. Wilkins is not the first I have received from people back home, who are concerned and worried because of the growing unemployment situation throughout the country.

I offer Mr. Wilkins' letter for the attention of my colleagues because I am certain that they will recognize in a person holding the position he holds someone who has the very best opportunity to observe economic conditions at the grassroots. In my opinion, no one is better qualified in this regard than the director of a public-school system, who must necessarily keep himself well informed on such matters:

EDWARDSVILLE, ILL., *March 18, 1954.*

Hon. MELVIN D. PRICE,
United States Representative,
Twenty-second District,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: I continue to hear from the Republican Party and from President Eisenhower the other night in which they refer to unemployment in 1949–50. I wish to state that I can shed some light on the figures that they are giving. The people that they are reporting were unemployed in 1949–50 were GI's who graduated from college and were looking for a job. And, naturally, they would be listed in the unemployment figures because in the summer of 1950 there were all of them graduated from college. But, within a few months, they were all hired and, therefore, it is hard to find anyone that even realized that anybody was unemployed in 1949–50.

As you know, and I know, we are definitely in a recession now. We probably have between 8,000 and 10,000 people unemployed in Madison County and 4,000 or 5,000 working every other week or only 2- or 3- or 4-day work weeks. I happen to know that this condition exists all over the middle west.

Please explain to our Republican friends that when they refer to 1949–50, they are not referring to unemployment figures, but simply referring to the GI's that had graduated from college and made applications for work. That is the difference between the condition today and that in 1949–50.

I further endorse the Democrats proposal to increase the tax exemptions from $600 to $700. I, like a great number of other persons, did not get any tax decrease on January 1. I am having the same amount taken from my pay as I was before. There is nothing in President Eisenhower's tax proposal that will give me any reductions in taxes.

We hear a lot of talk about a great amount of savings in the bank. I want to inform you that 70 percent of the people don't have any savings and they owe other people. I fall in the group that doesn't have any savings and that doesn't owe any accounts.

I want to say that we are in a recession and the only thing that we are going to have to have happen to be in a big one, is for the stock market to break. We are going down the same road as in 1928–29.

I am sure that you are fighting for the increase in the tax exemptions up to $700 so that everyone will get a square shake out of this deal.

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE T. WILKINS,
County Superintendent of Schools,
Madison County, Ill.

The Sudeten German Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Sudeten German Case" sent to me by Dr. Walter Becher, of Muenchen, Germany. Dr. Becher is a member of the Bavarian Landtag and secretary general of the Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests. It is his wish that the plight of his people be brought to the attention of the Congress and the public of the United States through this article, with a view to an investigation of the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, and the hope that justice may be obtained:

THE SUDETEN GERMAN CASE

MUNICH, *March 16, 1954.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURDICK: The Sudeten German case and problem, the Sudeten German history, and the position of the Sudeten Germans in former Czechoslovakia were of utmost importance for the development of Central Europe; and their expulsion by the Communists in 1945, decided upon by the Potsdam agreement, was the clue for the communization of Central Europe. The solution of the Sudeten German and the Czech problem is of decisive importance for a future peaceful development in that part of Europe when once it will be free again, after the destroyal of the Communist system in the East and in Czechoslovakia.

Up to our days the Sudeten German case has been either fully unknown in America or interpreted from a standpoint completely and radically inimical to the Sudeten Germans. The Sudeten Germans, like all other Germans, faced a barrier of deliberate, inimical, false propaganda which, until recently, seemed omnipotent. In its efforts to break through this barrier, the Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests published in December 1953 the great Sudeten German Atlas, incorporating exact maps and statistical data. At the same time the book, Decline or Renascence of Central Europe, the Sudeten German-Czech Problem (January 1954) by the Sudeten German historian, Dr. Wilhelm K. Turnwald, was also published (University Press, Munich). These two works picture the Sudeten German case and history, of which I now shall try to give a short condensation.

For more than a thousand years, up to the time of their expulsion by the Communists in 1945, 3.5 million Sudeten Germans had lived together with 6.5 million Czechs in the area of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, the western and central parts of present Czechoslovakia, and the very heart of central Europe.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS AND OF SUDETENLAND

Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia were first inhabited by the Celtic Bojers, then by German tribes, the Marcomanni, Quadii and Langobards. In the 6th century after Christ the Slavs invaded from the east and settled down amidst the remnants of these German tribes. The Slavs were then under the rule of Asiatic Avars and the Franconian merchant, Samo, who later became their first duke, liberated them. In 1845, 14 chiefs of the Slav tribes accepted Christianity in Regensburg, Germany. The centrally situated Slav tribe of the Czechs soon united all other Slav tribes under the rule of the Premyslides. The Premyslides married German princesses and Bohemia became a fief of the German Empire. Later, the Bohemian dukes were made kings by the German Emperor and became electors of the German Empire.

The Bohemian dukes and landowners started to invite German settlers to Bohemia and Moravia. These settlers broke the uninhabited land on the borders of Bohemia and Moravia, cleared the forests and cultivated this newly won land. This region was coextensive with that now known as the Sudetenland. Other Germans were invited to other parts of Bohemia and Moravia, where they also opened mines and founded towns (all the towns in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, except one, the Hussite Tabor, were founded by the Germans); they cultivated trades and crafts and were given special privileges in their settlements. The Premyslides brought also German priests, courtiers, and knights into Bohemia. In 973 the first German bishopric was established in Prague, which was raised to an archbishopric in the 14th century, under Karl IV, the German Emperor, who at the same time was Bohemia's king. Under Karl IV, the German Peter Parler, of Gmuend, built the beautiful St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. The era of Karl IV was a happy and golden time for both the Germans and the Czechs, who recall Karl IV as "Father of the country." It was an example of how the Germans and the Czechs could live together and it was a real symbol of German-Czech cooperation.

The time of the colonization of the uninhabited parts of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia reminds one of the pioneer and colonization periods in America. This was the historical origin of the Sudeten German people and of the Sudetenland.

HUSSITISM

During a long time the German settlers and their Czech neighbors lived together in a fruitful coexistence. In the 15th century the Czech Jan Hus roused the masses of the Czech people against the Catholic Church and the Germans and Bohemia fell into a terrible revolutionary war, during which the Germans were driven out of the central Bohemian towns or murdered. The work and the achievements of the Germans had been ill-rewarded by the Czechs, for they had not come as intruders but had been invited by the kings; when they cleared the uninhabited land, founded cities, opened mines, and practiced trades and crafts, they took nothing away from the Czechs and the fruits of their work benefited the whole country.

It is difficult to see anything positive in the chauvinistic nationalism and mass hysteria of the Hussite period. And, curiously enough, the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans in 1945 and 1946 produced the same symptoms of nationalistic hatred and chauvinistic communism on the part of the initiators (Benes, Ripka, and others) as were evident in the Hussite time.

THE HAPSBURG EMPIRE: AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

A pacification and consolidation took place after 1526 with the incorporation of the Bohemian Kingdom into the Hapsburg Empire. The German burghers and artisans found their way back to the central Bohemian cities gradually, whereas the border regions, the Sudetenland, had been without interruption in German hands since the beginning. At the beginning of the 17th century a German Kaiser, the Hapsburg Rudolf II, was once more residing on the Hradschin in Prague.

The Thirty Years' War did not concern the German-Czech problem. It was a war between the Catholics and the Protestants on the entire territory of the German Empire and Czechs as well as German fought on both sides. The reconstruction after the war brought the Czechs and the Germans nearer together again. The extraordinary achievements of the Baroque time, with its splendid architecture and arts, were the works of all, the Germans, Austrians, Italians, Sudeten Germans, and Czechs. So became Prague one of the most beautiful cities of the Continent. The beautiful buildings, castles, churches, monasteries, and domestic architecture throughout the whole of Bohemia and Moravia at that time show the inseparability of the Sudeten Germans from the history and development even of those parts of Bohemia and Moravia in majority Czech. In this peaceful coexistence both nations, the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans, were intermarrying in central Bohemia and many common ties were developing. The historical records show clearly that in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the individual nations enjoyed considerable security and prosperity in common life.

The year of 1848 brought the awakening of nationalism also among the Czechs. Pan-Slav tendencies were clearly shown at the first Pan-Slav Congress in Prague in 1849, during which the Russian revolutionary Bakunin, one of the fathers of communism—as though in anticipation of what was to happen in Prague a hundred years later—played a leading role. The Czechs brought a new, dangerous conception of the national state. They started to consider the Bohemian kinship, which had been part of the German or Austrian Empire under German Kings, and which was the home for both, the Czechs and the Sudeten Germans, falsely as a historical National Czech State, with Czech kings and a Czech state nation, and they began to regard the Sudeten Germans as a mere minority in this national Czech Kingdom. Analogous to it were other symptoms of nationalist megalomania. In order to give evidence of a great literary past, a certain Vaclav Hanka forged medieval manuscripts which were soon revealed as forgeries by the Czechs themselves.

WORLD WAR I AND THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

The Czech politicians, led by Masaryk and Benes, saw in World War I their chance to disrupt the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire and to give the Czech people an independent state. Masaryk and Benes won the Slovaks for a common state by the promise that they will enjoy full autonomy. The new state, the First Czechoslovak Republic, came into being on October 28, 1918. But in spite of the fact that Austria-Hungary was dismembered on the basis of the right to self-determination, proclaimed by the American President Wilson, the very same right was refused to those 3,500,000 Sudeten Germans, who had to remain in the new state, subject to 6,500,000 Czechs.

Strongly opposed to this settlement, the Sudeten Germans decided to establish the provinces of German Bohemia and of Sudetenland and to affiliate these to the new Austrian Republic. The second head of the provincial government was Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, at present one of the chairmen of the Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests and President of the German Expellees' Landsmannschaften. The Czechs met this expression of will of the Sudeten Germans with armed force and occupied the Sudetenland by military forces. In March 1919 there were demonstrations in many Sudeten German cities. Czech military wantonly fired at the people and many Sudeten Germans were killed.

The leader of the Czech delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Dr. Edward Benes, presented maps, deliberately reducing areas of German settlement, which were later proved false by the Czech official census itself. Before the international forum Dr. Benes promised all rights to the Sudeten Germans as well as a state form for Czechoslovakia which was to be similar to that of Switzerland.

The Sudeten German complaints were not heard, for certain political circles in France

and England needed the new Czechoslovak Republic as an ally against Germany, and the League of Nations was dominated by the same Dr. Benes who later became its President. Only the United States representatives were against this violation of the principle of self-determination in the special case of the Sudeten Germans; however, at that time, America was already withdrawing from European affairs. The constitution of the Republic was drawn by a Czech commission. The Sudeten Germans were not invited to participate. Even these facts of the undemocratic beginning of Masaryk's new state are today almost unknown in the West.

Czech language became the national speech. The land reform allotted 2,025,400 acres of German property in the German linguistic area to the proteges of Czech political parties. Czech colonists with large families were settled amidst Sudeten German areas of settlement. New Czech schools were quickly built. The officials, the police, employees of the civil service in this area were almost exclusively Czechs. A new state security law was directed against the Sudeten Germans in the same way as were the administration reforms of 1927. Every kind of chauvinistic petty chicane reminded the Sudeten Germans again and again that they were only second-class citizens, only a minority.

A pleasing color had to be put on all this for foreign consumption. Dr. Benes disposed of some 150 million Czech crowns per year, in order to maintain numberless publicists abroad, who pictured Czechoslovakia as the home of democracy and an island of freedom in central Europe. Such international agencies as the League of Nations were largely dominated by certain French politicians who naturally had no interest in allowing the truth about Czechoslovakia, their ally, to become known.

In the parliamentary election of 1920, out of the 300 seats available, the Sudeten German parties won 74. Some Sudeten German parties—the so-called Activists—entered the Government. But the Czechs used the system of majority voting to vote down all Sudeten German proposals in the Parliament. The economic crisis at the end of the twenties gave the heaviest load to the Sudeten Germans. The Czech banks and the Czech administration only assisted Czech enterprise, but dealt a blow to the Sudeten German economy. Out of the 800,000 unemployed at that time, 500,000 were Sudeten Germans, so the hopes of the Sudeten Germans directed themselves more and more abroad.

MUNICH

The Benes-Czechs have never shown any real willingness to negotiations. The events of 1938 threw a light upon the internal instability of Czechoslovakia. Had a "Swiss" solution really been sought there in the years after 1918, the events of 1938 would have been very different.

In 1935 the Sudeten German Party won 1,249,530 votes and became thus the strongest party in Czechoslovakia. And yet it had to remain in opposition. At the beginning of 1937, the young generation of the parties participating in the government, addressed the Czechs and asked for reform. At that time Wenzel Jaksch asked whether there was room for the Sudeten Germans in the Republic at all, while Hans Schütz (Christian Party) demanded equal rights. (Botif are now members of the Bundestag, just as another young Activist, Richard Reitzner who, during World War II, lived in London totgether with Wenzel Jaksch. Reitzner and Schütz are also chairmen of the Sudeten German Association.) The Czech answer to the Sudeten German demands were only promises which the Czechs did not keep. Also Gustav Hacker's (Farmers' Party) protests were in vain.

The mediator in the crisis of 1938, Lord Runciman, stated in his report: "It is a hard thing to be ruled by an alien race. * * * In the last elections of 1935, the Sudeten German Party polled more votes than any other single party. But they can always be outvoted and consequently some of them feel that constitutional action is useless for them. * * * Even as late as the time of my mission, I could find no readiness on the part of the Czechoslovak Government to remedy (the complaints) on anything like an adequate scale. * * * Just as it is essential for the international position of Switzerland that her policy should be entirely neutral, so an analogous policy is necessary for Czechoslovakia—not only for her future existence, but for the peace of Europe." In other parts of his report, Lord Runciman pictured the situation as given in a part of the foregoing chapter.

Czechoslovakia, however, was never another Switzerland. She was never neutral. Thought having a strong German population, this Czechoslovakia was destined to be a pawn against Germany and since the treaty which Dr. Benes, in 1935, eagerly signed with the Soviet Union, not only a pawn of the West, but also of Communist Russia.

Thus in 1938 and in 1939, not only the Sudeten Germans, but also the Slovaks and the Hungarians left the Czechoslovak Republic, seeking self-determination. They left the state in which they have been only second-class citizens of minorities for 20 years, though all of them constituted a majority over the Czechs.

Munich became a slogan expressing capitulation before the power of a dictator. Certainly, the right to self-determination should never be enforced by violence in the future, but should rather be considered as a basic requirement of the free and democratic world itself. As fas as the Sudeten Germans are concerned, they were no partners of the Munich agreement, which was made by the four great powers only. They wanted—since 1918—their right to self-determination and are not responsible neither for the Munich agreement itself, nor for the further imperialism of Hitler, who later occupied also the Czech central part of Bohemia and Moravia, now violating the right to self-determination of the Czechs. During the whole World War II the Sudetenland and the Czech parts of Bohemia and Moravia were separated from each other by state borders and the inhabitants of the Sudetenland and those of the Czech parts of Bohemia and Moravia had nothing to do together.

WORLD WAR II: THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT, THE EXPULSION OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS

Dr. Benes, who in 1918 had hoped up to the end for an intervention of Soviet Russia, proved during World War II to be still more dangerous than in 1918. His hatred of everything German increased since 1938. The Russians were the first Allies who gave his exile government a de jure recognition. Benes wanted to show that he can do high politics without the aid of the Western Allies. He went to Moscow in 1943 and signed a new treaty with the U. S. S. R. His political line was to represent himself as the great bridge-builder between the West and the East. He was also one of those who decisively strengthened Roosevelt's sublime trust into the men of the Kremlin previous to the conference of Teheran. He proved to be the best tool of the Kremlin.

In all his planning Benes never forgot the Sudeten German question. He considered the Sudeten Germans the malicious instrument of his downfall. He did not wish any just solution in the future. The Sudeten Germans, this minority in the historical Czech Bohemia and Moravia, ought to be transferred from a Czechoslovakia of his conception according to his plans.

In 1945, together with the Red army, Benes and his National Front government entered Czechoslovakia and declared the so-called Kosice program. They installed the national committees (Czechoslovak Soviets), the justice of the people's courts, starting the persecution of all reactionaries, forbade all parties and newspapers except those of the National Front, abolished the freedom of speech, press, and election, nationalized private property as well as industries, installed the people's democracy as the state form, imprisoned and silenced also all decent Czech politicians exactly as all freedom-loving Slovaks and, at the same time, ordered the full expropriation and expulsion of all Sudeten Germans and Hungarians.

A regime of murder, rape, torture, looting, and expulsion began. Thousands were deported in open trucks, thousands driven on foot to concentration camps, hastily erected for the Sudeten Germans, or in death marches to the frontier. Three hundred thousand Sudeten Germans lost their lives during this expulsion. These horrors were planned deliberately and put into operation by the Czech Government. The expulsion was in the utmost interest of world communism and Benes and his National Front government followed most eagerly these Communist aims. By instigating bloody cruelties against the Sudeten Germans the Communists wanted to create an eternal hatred between the Germans and the Czechs; they wanted to provoke social unrest in the overcrowded remainder of Germany, to obtain the Sudeten German property in order to be able to buy further adherents and to be able to socialize Czechoslovakia after the expulsion of the hard-working Sudeten Germans, dedicated to free enterprise. The fact that the communization of Czechoslovakia was only possible after the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans show the following numbers. Over the whole of Czechoslovak industry the German participation was as follows:

Porcelain, chinaware industry, 90 percent; glass works, 85 percent; sugar refineries, 58 percent; iron and steel foundries, 70 percent; coal mines, 66 percent; wool industry, 75 percent; textile industry, 89 percent; chemical industry, 75 percent; paper industry, 80 percent; raw materials, 70 percent; lignite mining, 80 percent; textile machinery factories, 90 percent; cement works, 80 percent; industry of musical instruments, 90 percent; artificial silk industry, 80 percent; silk factories, 100 percent; fringe and gimp industries, 100 percent.

It can easily be seen how many products, from the famous beer to the Gablonz glassware and costume-jewelry industry, carrying the trademark "Made in Czechoslovakia," were in reality Sudeten German products. (Also the world-known spa of Carlsbad was a purely Sudeten German city and so on.) The Czechoslovak industry depended on the Sudeten Germans. The truth about Czechoslovakia and the Sudeten Germans is certainly no less surprising than the truth the Americans themselves are now revealing about their past policies.

FEBRUARY 1948 AND THE COUNCIL OF FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The National Front Government of Czechoslovakia by its Kosice program, by its expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, by its suppression of the freedom of Slovakia, by its nationalization of private property, by its silencing of all decent Slovak and Czech politicians, prepared the full communization of Czechoslovakia so thoroughly that in February 1948 the Communist Party could take over full power without obstacles, without any resistance or fight, legally, with the signature of President Benes, who, until shortly before he died, remained president also with a fully Communist government.

After February 1948 the Communists permitted, curiously enough, almost all the politicians of the national front to flee to the

West, where they were picked up by an American private society. They were gathered together and the Council of Free Czechoslovakia was established under the leadership of the men of the Benes' Socialist Party, while all decent Czechs and Slovaks were distanced exactly as in Czechoslovakia after 1945. But the attacks which the Czechs, Slovaks, and Sudeten Germans made against this leftist organization caused the council's executive committee's suspension and several of its members are now under congressional investigations, being asked about their pro-Communist work in the past.

In their opposition against the former national front and the present Council of Free Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten Germans have as their very able allies the freedom-loving Slovak people, the decent anti-Communist Czech politicians and parties and the Hungarians. It is especially the Slovak National Council Abroad, the Slovak Liberation Committee, and the Slovak League of America, the latter under President Philip H. Hrobak, who are decided enemies of the Czechoslovak idea and who are determined this time not to trade away their national independence. On March 14 the Slovaks celebrate their national independence day, recalling the creation of the Slovak Republic in 1939.

The Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests signed an agreement in 1950 with the Czech National Committee in London, headed by General of the Army Lev Prchala, in which the right to self-determination for both nations is formulated. It is the great hope of the Sudeten Germans that the decent Czechs, in the interest of the whole of Europe, will recover their position in the nation, but, in any case, they stand firmly for their right of self-determination, which was so many times refused to them. In this time of a common struggle against the Communist enemy, both the one in the East as well as the internal foe in the West, both nations, the Sudeten Germans and the Czechs, are gradually finding again the road of practical cooperation and assistance and of an ever stronger mutual and friendly understanding.

THE SUDETEN GERMANS AT PRESENT

At present there are 1,912,000 Sudeten Germans, that is Sudeten German expellees living in the German Federal Republic, 140,000 in Austria, 800,000 in the eastern zone of Germany, 4,000 in Sweden, and 10,000 in the rest of Europe and overseas. One hundred and fifty thousand Sudeten Germans, mostly skilled workers, are kept as slaves in Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten German expellees in the free world, by their skill and industry, established new existences and regained the export markets for those products, which previously they had had to export under the trade-mark "Made in Czechoslovakia," but a part of them is still living in bad conditions or in refugee camps—mostly farmers who are now without soil. All of the Sudeten German expellees have never given up their claim for their 1,000-year-old homeland, the Sudeteniand, and their right to return to Bohemia and Moravia after the defeat of communism.

Their main hope lies in the Congress of the United States. In the same way, as the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans was decided upon by the United States at the conferences of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, the repeal of these agreements, the return of the German expellees and the restoration of free enterprise and private property can again only be decided upon by the United States and its Congress.

We believe that the time of this false propaganda of the last decades, which always pictured the Sudeten Germans from a standpoint so completely distorted and untrue and so radically inimical to their interests, belongs to the past and that the time of truth is beginning. We have an unlimited belief in the justice of the American people. We believe that there are deep similarities between the Americans and the Germans and we are, indeed, proud of these.

With kindest regards and all best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

DR. WALTER BECHER,
Member of the Bavarian Landtag, Secretary General of the Association for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests.

Nation's Railroads Will Lose Cargoes to Foreign Ships if St. Lawrence Seaway Is Constructed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, those who vision foreign flagships carrying cargoes to Great Lake ports fail to recognize that every ton of that cargo will be taken from American railroads manned by American workingmen. In fact, these foreign flagships can put the railroads out of business.

To fully appreciate the threat of the St. Lawrence seaway to American railroads the following letter to the editor appearing in the March 10, 1954, issue of the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press tells the story:

RAPS ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PLAN—SAYS RAILROADS FILL INDUSTRY NEEDS

EDITOR, THE PITTSBURGH PRESS:

The March 3 issue of the Press carried a news item in which M. K. Mellott, a public relations executive, warned the Pittsburgh Rotary Club of Pittsburgh, losing its place as the top steel-producing center of the world if the St. Lawrence seaway project is not carried through.

This proposed seaway will cost the taxpayers exactly $2 billion, despite the fact that 90 percent of the area lies in Canada.

Mr. Mellott fears submarine action during wartime if Labrador ore must be carried to Atlantic coast ports.

What value would this seaway have if enemy planes and saboteurs wrecked the numerous locks and dams that will be necessary to float oceangoing vessels? It is a fact that this seaway will be closed to all traffic over a period of 5 months each year due to frigid weather.

Will the steel mills of Pittsburgh wait 5 months until the ice clears from the St. Lawrence River to stock their pile of ore?

The railroads of this Nation are doing a 100 percent job by meeting the needs of all industry. Shall they be obliged to curtail their service 7 months of the year, while the oceangoing vessels haul the coal and ore through a Government-subsidized seaway?

There are approximately 130 furnaces located in the States of Alabama, Colorado, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and California, and not one of these is located on navigable water. These furnaces produced more than 25 million gross tons of steel per year.

Mr. Mellott should realize that the railroads are the biggest customers the steel mills cater to. Here are some of the materials the railroads place orders for: steel freight and passenger cars, locomotives, track forgings, rails, track tools, signal equipment, cast-iron pipe, bridges, turntables, fuel, water, and sand stations, elevators, coal and ore handling machinery, steam and diesel cranes, bolts, nuts, washers, springs, flues, tubing, wheels, steel tires, axles, machine tools, hardware, and powerplant equipment.

According to the last report I received, the Duluth area still has a 30-year supply of ore, with all mills running at full blast. And since the Fairless Works at Morristown, Pa., is now using South American ore, the Duluth area will last for 50 more years.

Put the railroads out of the coal- and ore-hauling business and you won't need many steel mills in Pittsburgh or elsewhere.

J. A. AINOR.

Ireland Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address on the subject of Ireland Today, delivered by His Excellency John J. Hearne, Ambassador from Ireland, at the 153d annual St. Patrick's Day banquet of the Hibernian Society of Charleston, S. C., on March 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

When turning over in my thoughts some of the things of which you might desire me to speak to you on this occasion it occurred to me that as this is my first official visit to your far-famed city, the appropriate subject of this address would be The Ireland of Today, which I have the honor to represent in this great country. It occurred to me at the same time that we are now passing out of the era in which international relations have been studied in terms of states and entering upon an era in which the history of peoples and of their relations with each other must be studied in terms of civilizations. We shall have to reconcile ourselves to the idea that states are subordinate and ephemeral political phenomena in the lives of civilizations in whose bosoms they appear and disappear. A civilization is easy to recognize and easy enough to describe but it is not so easy to define. It is, perhaps, as indefinable as a perfume but as unmistakable. If I tried to understand the history of the United States by itself it would be unintelligible. I could not understand, for example, the part played in American life by Christianity or democracy, or the Federal system or representative institution of government, or equal justice under law, unless I look beyond your frontiers to Western Europe and the other overseas communities founded by Western Europeans and back beyond to the origins of Western Europe itself before Cabot sailed or Columbus came. I mean that I could find the chief explanation of this great country of yours in the heart and soul of western Christendom, or call it if you will western civilization or western society or the Atlantic community. But I would not have to seek the explanation in the Byzantine civilization—in Russia or Serbia, for example—or in Islam, or in the fabulous far-eastern world. I am not presenting this as a thesis, and shall not pursue it further. I am merely submitting an additional reason for my assumption that what I have to say to you this evening about my own country, whose fate and whose glory it has been to have fought the longest and

most successful war ever fought in the world for the survival of a civilization, may at this time have a measure of public usefulness and, at the same time, not offend the proprieties of this occasion. The chief thing to bear in mind about the great political thinkers and leaders of Ireland is that they have ever emphasized the importance of the inner life of the nation rather than that of the external form of the state. Let me tell you a little about our ideals and policies, that is, our national frame of mind today on the subject of the rehabilitation of the historic Irish nation within the framework of the Republic.

A few weeks ago I spoke to another audience about the National Constitution of Ireland and of its importance in relation to the whole of our national life. You know how greatly our people have been occupied and preoccupied with a major constitutional question, for practically all our lifetime. A war of independence and a civil war were fought on constitutional backgrounds and battlegrounds. Many people in other countries must have been thinking that nothing at all was taking place in Ireland during that time except an apparently endless controversy about sovereignty, allegiance, nationality, formulas of association with our great neighbor, forum of freedom generally, and somewhat theoretical definition of membership of international society. That controversy is now over, at all events insofar as the part of the national territory which the National Government and Parliament effectively control is concerned. It was long drawn out for external reasons which all the world knows.

Meanwhile, that is, since 1922 when the Irish people first got control of their institutions, comprehensive programs of national rehabilitation have been undertaken, and now, after 32 years or so, the life of the nation has been—I cannot say restored, for it was never lost—but revivified; and the face of the land transformed. I want to tell you a little about that in this brief address.

The Irish land war in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the beginning of the final phase of the Parliamentary movement for home rule. The ownership of the land was hard-won, but when it came, the success of the "plan of campaign", as the strategy of the land war was called, turned the thoughts of all Irishmen toward national self-government. And when that also came not finally through parliamentary agitation the problems of agriculture were the first to be tackled. The primary problem was the completion of land purchase. It was a long task, but as the control of legislation was now in the hands of our own people the main difficulty was out of the way. There was a financial problem with Great Britain. Up to 1932 the land annuities paid by the tenants as the purchase price of the farms had made their way to the British Treasury. They were withheld on various grounds; one, that they were illegal, and, another, that the nation was unable to bear so heavy a burden. In any event, the matter was finally adjusted by an agreement between the two governments in 1938.

I do not want to bother you with statistics. I will just give you one figure. Between 1881, the year of the Ashbourne Act, and the present year 1954, 450,000 tenant farmers became the proprietors of their farms. Ireland is, as you know, predominantly an agricultural country. Almost fifty percent of the occupied population make their living out of the land. I cannot tell you what a difference land purchase has made to the whole of our development. It gave the farmers a personal interest in improvements on the land. Improvements were no longer a reason for raising the rent. It enhanced the value of the holding; and the new position generally made the long depressed farming community self-reliant, more hard-working than ever, and prosperous. Farming methods were modernized, improvements in the inspection, grading and marketing of agricultural products were gradually effected as a result of a series of acts of Parliament designed for that purpose and promoted by a Minister for Agriculture of great vision who had a thorough knowledge of the needs of the Irish land and of the hopes of the new landowners. At the same time, the agricultural colleges in Dublin and elsewhere throughout the country for the training of young farmers and young farmers' wives were extended and new courses of study were added.

One development of enormous significance and value in 1931 was the spontaneous appearance at the instance of the people themselves of a movement for better instruction in the land. Muintir na Tire is the Irish name for this movement which has now become a national organization. It was a daring experiment which has now become a fruitful experience. It was promoted by a zealous young priest, now growing old but still alive, and deeply devoted to the land and alive to its importance in the religious and cultural life of our people. The agricultural policy generally had been directed to settling the largest possible number of working families on the land in economic holdings privately owned. You all know the difficulty in these days of city attractions of keeping young people on the land. The farmer's lot is hard, that of his wife harder still. If there is one avocation the duties of which can become a drudgery it is that of those who till the soil. The founder of Muinter na Tire set out to give the farmers of Ireland, especially the young men and women, a new interest in their work, in their homes, and in their community. He organized instruction classes, cooperative movements, local councils to consider local problems, not just agricultural problems but questions of local administration, schools, libraries, recreation halls, traditional and modern music and dancing, and farm-forum discussions. The tendency of a true democracy has been stated to be toward the building up of responsible opinion in small areas. It was so in Greece which had precisely the same agricultural problem in the Golden Age as Ireland has today or, for that matter, Scandinavia, or Nova Scotia, or even parts of Ohio.

I cannot tell you how grateful our people are to this country for the Marshall plan. It has enabled our Government to embark upon a great land reclamation scheme, drainage schemes, refertilization, reafforestation, and so on. Our present Minister for Agriculture stated publicly a few months ago that thanks to Marshall aid the Irish Government will be able to do more for Irish agriculture in 4 years than could otherwise have been done in 2 generations.

The next problem which presented itself 32 years ago was that of the establishment of native industry. The problem of the industrialization of a country whose economy was long based exclusively on agriculture was approached with great care. We had to bear in mind that we were a country of only 4 million or so in population, whose neighbor with 10 times our population is one of the great manufacturing countries of the world. The trade between the two countries had always been a balanced exchange of agricultural products for manufactured goods. But we had to have industrial producing goods that could be turned out economically at home, and we had to have industries which would at the same time absorb those of our young people, members of large families, who could not remain on the land, and did not enter the learned professions. We wanted, besides, to stop the hemorrhage of emigration. There will aways be Irishmen who will want to emigrate. The Irish were missionaries long before they were emigrants. They were apostles before they were pilgrims, and diplomats before they were deportees. But we did not want our young people to have to leave the country by economic necessity.

The industrialization of the country proceeded at first slowly and then rather more quickly. Under the protection of import tariffs we established the kind of industries which would most make for national security in a crisis—textiles, boots and shoes, hats, furniture, cutlery, pottery, etc. I am taking items at random. We already had large bacon-curing and flour-milling and distilling industries. We built the great Shannon electricity scheme at an initial cost of $40 million to provide light and industrial power. We have since advanced further in the matter of electricity-supply schemes. We built cement factories, sugar factories, and so on. All these enterprises would have been undertaken at a much earlier stage had the country been in control of its own affairs. Their coming into being in the 1920's and 1930's not only afforded employment and raised living standards at home, but also in many instances led to increased trade and new commercial contacts with other countries.

It was this last feature of the new developments which might be regarded as a chief justification of Ireland's economic policy; namely, that by developing her own resources to the fullest extent Ireland was not merely serving her own best interests but was, in fact, contributing in the most efficient manner to the progress and well-being of her neighbors. Since the inauguration of the European recovery program the ideals of economic production and distribution on a continentwide basis have received enthusiastic recognition and support, and it is an indication of the fundamental soundness of Ireland's economic policy that her main contribution to the European recovery program was by way of a redoubling of her productive effort rather than by any change in its direction, and that her record in the liberalization of intra-European trade is one of the best amongst all the participating countries.

There were many other developments in the past 25 years with which I shall not deal in this brief address—slum clearance in the cities, housing schemes all over the country, the building of new and the reconstruction or reequipment of old churches, schools, and hospitals; a striking renaissance in ecclesiastical architecture, the production of stained glass of classic beauty for the first time in Ireland, and a revival of the genius of the gold and silver smiths of 18th century Dublin in a new craftsmanship in these precious metals. Inevitably, in a Christian country like Ireland, the metalworkers found a scope for their skill in the making of sacred vessels, church ornaments in an endless variety of symbolic designs, sometimes quaintly or curiously conceived and always exquisitely wrought. These beautiful articles, as well as every kind of sacred vestment—in Irish poplin, Irish linen, and Irish lace—are to be found in every sacristy in the country. They find their way to the vestries of churches and monasteries and convents in England, in British Commonwealth countries, and all over this hemisphere. In an age of stupendous Irish missionary activity, they enrich the poor Irish missions in Africa and Asia, and today they are being hidden away in the catacombs of the stricken subcontinent of China.

But perhaps the most striking feature in the overall picture of recent Irish history has been the reorientation of policy in the matter of national education. When I was a boy, the only history I knew was a kind of birth-and-death register of defunct British monarchs. The royal marriage register was discreetly screened from adolescent eyes. I knew the dates of the births and the deaths of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. And, as glibly as the quiz kids of

your radio programs can run off the names of your Presidents, I could name the diseases of which some and the dates of which all of the Kings of England died. Of history I knew but little more. I am not saying that the reorientation in the matter of national education was confined to teaching Irish boys and girls the history of their own land. The national event to which I am adverting did not comprise merely a return to the study of the story of our own people. It gave a new direction to education in the national schools, the secondary schools, the technical schools, and the universities. It heralded, moreover, a return to the historic tradition of Irish scholarship, the story interrupted only when the siren settled on the land.

Our leaders, mostly men of wide culture, felt that the achievement of national liberty could be no better signalized than by the establishment of a great school of learning in Ireland comparable to the schools of Bangor and Glendalough from which shone centuries ago and, indeed, shines today across all the continents the glory of the first bright morning of the Christian Western World. And so, we have today in Dublin an Institute of Higher Studies to which graduates from the two great universities of Ireland—the National University and Dublin University—are admitted to lectures by a faculty of European scholars of worldwide fame, in Celtic studies, astronomy, cosmic physics, philosophy, mathematics, ancient and modern history, and so on. The institute, although only a few years in existence, has attracted students from all over the world and bids fair to become the chief European repository of Celtic learning as well as one of the foremost schools of pure science and scientific research in the Eastern Hemisphere.

I turn now for a moment to another matter, another subject which is very dear to the heart of all true Irishmen, I mean the restoration of the national language. It is one of those things which perhaps do not make sense to the materialist or the utilitarian. But the revival of the language was undertaken as a sacred trust, not merely because it enshrines so much of the Irish thought and life of bygone ages, not merely as a national symbol, or because it has proved in fact to be a flexible instrument of expression of the thought of today, but because the language is inevitably bound up with the question of the survival of our civilization. Never since the days of Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell, before the Gaelic order went down to seemingly permanent disaster at Kinsale, has its place in the hearts of our people been more secure than it is today.

Today, all the organs of government—executive, legislative, and judicial—are bent, with due regard to prudence and justice, on the noble task of making Ireland Irish-speaking once more. There is more Irish spoken in the country now than at any time in the past 50 years. It is spoken in Parliament, in the public service, in the courts, in the churches, in the two universities, in schools, in the theater, in factories and stores, on the farms, on the sports fields and in the playgrounds, and above all, in the home.

The president of the Gaelic League recently reported: "It is possible to walk from one end of the country to the other in the 26 counties and do one's business in the medium of Ireland." We all know the difficulties, but a thousand difficulties do not create a single doubt as to the wisdom and sense and value of the language revival policy. We are told that mistakes in the method of carrying out the policy have been made. But people who don't make mistakes in method can never perfect their technique. And the work is making sound progress year by year. In a stupendous task such as this, it is the direction in which we are moving that matters, not the pace at which we are going.

The Irish people have made up their minds on this vital matter which they believe to be bound up with our integrity, our coherence, and our continuity as a nation. And they are going to achieve the great national objective of Patrick Pearse of making Ireland "not free only, but Gaelic as well."

Perhaps you will now let me turn for a moment to the artistic and literary development which has been taking place in Ireland in the past few years. I do not need to tell the members of this audience of the name which many Irish painters have made for themselves, and the place they occupy in the history of contemporary, and, indeed, of modern art. Sean Keating's pictures have, as you know, found their way into permanent collections in Brussels, Rome, and New York. William Connor has held a number of successful exhibitions in the United States. Paul Henry's Irish landscapes hang in the Luxembourg in Paris. Harry Kernoff's portraits and murals are honored on the galleries of European schools of painting. Charles Lamb's western seaboard scene Hearing the News, is as famous for its dramatic quality as the play Spreading the News. Frank McKelvey's portraits and landscapes are in the Queen Juliana collection in Holland. Sean O'Sullivan's drawings are in the British museum. His portrait of William Butler Yeats in the foyer of the Abbey Theater is one of the noblest Irish canvasses of our time. And Leo Whelan's name is a household word. His Kerry Cobbler is a portrait of an artisan as precise as Chaucer and as universal as Shakespeare.

I could go on and on telling you of the scores of painters and the many sculptors who have enriched the cutural life of Ireland in the past few years. And I could go on and on listing the names and noting the genius of the brilliant galaxy of poets, playwrights, novelists, etc., whose work is now so generally acclaimed and keeps on appearing in perennial, spontaneous profusion. How can I describe them? Well, have you not seen a rush of birds, long captive, rioting and scintillating, preening their feathers, sometimes spreading their unaccustomed wings to rise and sing to Mount Aurora in the sunshine of the first bright days of their freedom? Ireland still lacks a great painter and a great poet inspired by the sanctity of her people, the genius of her civilization, and the miracle of her survival.

I hope I have not wearied you with these discursive but perhaps not wholly unrelated observations. I have been trying to give you a glimpse of the Irish scene and a portrait of the mind and face of the Ireland of today. It is a picture which stands out clearly on its European background, and is, on the whole, fair to behold. Ireland is prosperous, progressive, promising, and at peace. Her leaders have used the opportunity which freedom brought to weave the thin threads of her sacred and secular civilization, with loving fingers, into the organic life of the nation. This they did in the constitutional system itself. And they have used the opportunity which freedom brought to reconstruct their society from top to bottom, to rebuild their economy, increase their resources, extend their social services, and uplift the hearts and improve the lot of the lives of their people. The people themselves have now determined to work, might and main, for the Ireland of the future, and to that end, for the re-integration of the national territory of the historic Irish nation.

All the issues involved in the question of Irish national unity are precisely those which were involved in that of Irish independence. The same national issue is involved, namely, that the soul and soil and the seas of Ireland belong to the whole people of Ireland. The same democratic issue is involved, namely, that the majority of the Irish people alone have the right to rule their own land. The same issue of international justice is involved, namely, that no country has the right to hold any part of the territory of another country by force against the wishes of the majority of the people of that other country.

These issues are great enough and good enough to command the duty and the discipline of all Irishmen at home and throughout the world.

You will be told that there are many difficulties in the way of the restoration of the unity of Ireland. As I said in another context a moment ago, a thousand difficulties do not amount to a single doubt as to the wisdom and soundness of our attitude in this matter. Let Ireland be united; let the statesmen of the West who are interested in the future peaceful and harmonious development of the world see to it that all obstacles in the way of the full cooperation of Ireland with her neighbors are removed. That could be tomorrow, gentlemen. And then, when Ireland is reunited, all the captains and the chieftains of our Aeneid will have come home: Ireland will stand on guard again, as a Western European nation, secure within her frontiers, her whole people gathered and guided once more within their ancient citadel. She will be free to go forward confidently into the future with those other nations, some of whom are cofounders, like her, and all of whom, like her, are cosharers of the culture, and cokeepers of the conscience of the West.

Peace by Negotiation and the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Peace by Negotiation and the Press," written by the distinguished editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Star, Mr. William R. Mathews, and reprinted in the Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEACE BY NEGOTIATION AND THE PRESS—TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN COMPROMISE AND APPEASEMENT, TO EXPLAIN DANGERS OF BLIND ADHERENCE TO UNLIMITED OBJECTIVES, CALLED A BASIC TASK OF AMERICAN EDITORS

(By William R. Mathews)

TUCSON, February 3.—The conference of the Big Four which convened on January 25 in Berlin is the first conference on a Foreign Minister level to be held since 1947. As such it represents a new effort to tone down the cold war and come to a settlement by negotiation on the future of Germany.

While it is improbable that a settlement will be achieved at a first conference, the chances are that the cold war will recede afterward and a foundation will be laid for a second meeting. That this first effort represents an attempt to make peace, rather than war, calls for more recognition than it is receiving by us editors and the people of our country.

There cannot be a successful peace conference on Germany and Austria until there is a change in the prevailing attitude of

the American people. A peaceful settlement requires negotiation, and negotiation, to be successful, requires compromise. The current line of thought among American people is that compromise is appeasement; that unless we win a victory by having our own way at a conference, it is a failure. Consequently, there can be no diplomatic success, as distinguished from a diplomatic victory, no prolonged relaxation in international tension, as long as the American people demand unlimited and unattainable objectives, such as liberation, democracy, no peace with communism, and so forth. As long as we cherish those dreams of: There can be no peace until all people are free; the world cannot exist half slave and half free; it must be a war of liberation, or similar ideals, compromise becomes impossible and peace by negotiation doomed to failure.

In the face of such an attitude, neither President Eisenhower nor Secretary Dulles will dare go beyond the Eden proposal, which no Moscow delegation would dare accept. Neither will we accept the fantastic Moscow proposal. Mr. Molotov, as well as Mr. Dulles, knows that. This first conference is, therefore, probably doomed to a deadlock, possibly a polite one, where the door will be left ajar.

Nevertheless, if ultimate war is to be avoided, if there is to be a reduction in the gigantic sums spent on armament, commented on by President Eisenhower in his speech before the convention of April 1953, some middle ground has to be found. From what I have seen of politics and diplomacy, I am convinced that diplomats could find such a middle ground, if they were not afraid of being shot or publicly disgraced for attempting what would be denounced as appeasement or surrender.

That is where the press and we editors come in. Until the American press, until the editors of the country, change our attitude, the American people will not change theirs. We have a lot of explaining and counseling to do. To distinguish between compromise and appeasement, to explain the impossibility and the crucial danger involved in our blind adherence to unlimited and unattainable objectives, constitutes the basic task we have to perform.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

The world has never been all free nor all slave. No one government has ever conquered all of the world, and probably never will. Coexistence is a normal historical fact that must be accepted, whether we like it or not. Democratic countries are not necessarily peace-loving, nor are dictatorships always warlike. One of the most peaceful eras in all history was the 19th century, when autocracies dominated much of the world. All the people of the world cannot be cast in the same mold. All governments have to act to promote their self-interests.

The Russians can be counted upon never to keep a treaty that is not to their advantage to keep. So can we. The Soviets can reasonably be expected to keep an agreement that is to their interest to keep. So can we. No settlement concerning Germany will be worth the paper upon which it is written unless it meets the self-interest of the respective parties.

The Soviet Union will continue to follow traditional Russian policy. It wants protection from a rearmed Germany, for it has always feared Germany. Russia will always be sensitive, as it was in the days of the Czars, to what happens in the Baltic and the Danube Basin. Its Government has the advantage in that it can make a complete change in policy overnight, as it did in 1939. But not even the Kremlin will dare launch a war while it goes to the extreme of promising peace to the Russian people, as it is now. Hence the chances are favorable that it can and will make compromises, but only contingent upon some concessions made by us, with assurance that it will have reasonable protection from a future Germany.

A JOB FOR EDITORS

What concessions the Soviets would make, and those we could make, is the subject we editors should start discussing. Maybe we can get some valuable guidance in Washington in April, and perhaps we can be helpful to President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles. Certainly if peace by negotiation is to succeed, there must be a change in what we believe is possible.

We have now built up our military strength to a point so imposing—we have shown by our prompt reaction in Korea that we mean what we say—that we are now in a position to negotiate from strength. The attitude of the Russians reflects their appreciation of this fact, but we should realize that there are some matters on which no Russian Government, be it capitalist or Communist, will compromise.

Since the purpose of all military strength is to advance political policy, if we use it to bring about a settlement of a political problem by peaceful methods rather than war, it will have achieved its basic goal.

I know of no service more important than this for the press, for us editors, to perform.

Interview in Moscow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the March 5, 1954, edition of the New York Herald Tribune be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I would like to commend the recent articles of Mr. Marshall MacDuffie, which have appeared in recent editions of Collier's magazine, to my colleagues in the Senate. The reports of Mr. McDuffie's recent trip through the Soviet Union, and his interview with the first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, provide an intriguing insight into the life and thinking of present-day Russia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERVIEW IN MOSCOW

The interview with Nikita Sergeyevich Krushchev reported by Marshall MacDuffie in the current issue of Collier's puts the old subject of Soviet-American relations in a fresh and somewhat surprising light. Mr. MacDuffie is an excellent observer, trained in Government service during the war years and especially equipped by his experiences as chief of the UNRRA mission to the Ukraine in 1946 to understand the workings of the Soviet mentality. His friendly relations with Krushchev on that earlier occasion made it possible for him to pay a second visit last year. Now he reports that his host, first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, displayed a cordiality to himself and the people of the United States that was, to say the least, unexpected.

In brief, Krushchev was appreciative of UNRRA aid to the Ukraine, indicated a warm personal regard for his visitor and certain other Americans and harked back with some feeling to the period of the Russian-American alliance. The American people, in his opinion, do not think badly of the Soviet people and want nothing from them. The Soviet people, similarly, have no appetite for war; what they certainly want, he said, is better trade relations with the United States.

This tentative impression, however, is considerably modified by a close examination of the interview as a whole. It is clear that Krushchev made no substantial departure from the well-worn Communist propaganda line. He blamed the group which controls United States policy for fostering ill will between the two countries for the sake of the easy profits of war. He sees the American mind controlled by the American press, the press controlled by the Republican Party, and the party controlled by Wall Street or something worse. In sum, as the interviewer wisely observed, he showed a shocking willingness to swallow the propaganda he himself helped create.

Essential to Nation's Great Food Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a timely editorial appearing in the Seattle Times of March 21, 1954. It points up the fact that Congress should not unduly delay the appropriation of funds to enable the new International North Pacific Fisheries Commission to proceed with its responsibilities under the fisheries treaty signed by the United States, Canada, and Japan:

ESSENTIAL TO NATION'S GREAT FOOD RESOURCES

Congress as yet has made no suitable provision to enable the new International North Pacific Fisheries Commission to proceed with responsibilities assigned to it by the fisheries treaty signed by the United States, Canada, and Japan. Congress is not entirely to blame, for it is understood that a bill to implement the terms of the treaty, empowering the United States delegation to perform its appointed role, has been drafted, but is making the rounds of the numerous Federal agencies that must approve it before Congress can act.

Nor has any appropriation been made to provide the United States delegation with funds it will need to carry on its work. Neither of these matters should be delayed too long, for it is desirable that the commission be enabled soon to perform the functions which the treaty calls for.

It is unfortunate also that appropriations for another important commission, the International Pacific Halibut Commission, are being pared to a point where the work of that agency will be handicapped. This commission is a joint undertaking of the United States and Canada to regulate the halibut fishery of the North Pacific Ocean. Its duties and responsibilities have been increased under provisions of the United States-Canada-Japan Treaty.

The commission had asked for $79,000, for the new fiscal year. The State Department cut this request to $53,000, and the House Appropriations Committee has trimmed it further to $48,000. All these figures are inconsequential in the great sum total of Government spending.

The International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission has fared better. This agency's function is to build up, preserve and regulate the sockeye salmon fishery of Puget Sound and British Columbia waters. Its request for $139,000—to be matched by a like sum by Canada—has not been trimmed. Like the Halibut Commission, it will have certain new responsibilities under the Japan treaty.

These matters appear to be of less importance to the rest of the country than to the Pacific Northwest. But that is not altogether the case, for they concern some of the Nation's great food reserves. It is essential that these fish resources be effectively conserved.

Greek Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, today, March 25, marks the 133d anniversary of Greek independence. On this day in the year 1821 the Archbishop of Patras unfurled the national flag of Greece and the revolution against rule by the Ottoman Empire started.

The Greek urge to freedom was so compelling that the embattled Greek people fought against fantastic odds for over 6 years until their independence was finally assured after the great Naval Battle of Navarino in 1827.

The independence of Greece is one of the most glorious events of 19th century European history. The fight for freedom by the Greek people attracted the support of many outstanding world personalities and we all remember the glorious efforts in this endeavor of the great poet, Lord Byron.

The course of history for the valiant Greek nation has not been easy. Freedom from foreign domination was maintined from 1827 to 1941 and the world will not soon forget the heroic struggles of the Greek people against facism, and how they overcame great odds in driving back Mussolini's army in 1940. When the Nazis joined the fray, however, the Greek nation was overwhelmed, its people subjugated, its earth scorched, and its economic resources systematically destroyed by Hitler's hordes.

The Greek nation was once again liberated through the assistance of the British in 1944, but over 400,000 Greeks died of starvation during the period of ruthless occupation.

After World War II liberated Greece found its chief ports in ruins, three-fourths of its merchant fleet destroyed, the vital Corinth Canal blocked by mines, major rail lines torn up, highways useless, hundreds of bridges down, and farmland unproductive. With more than 1,500 villages and towns destroyed, thousands of people were homeless and living standards reached an almost impossibly low level.

In this moment of Greek national weakness the Communists struck. Unable to win a strong voice in the new Greek Government, theqy formed guerrilla bands to terrorize the villagers and to prevent them from carrying on their essential task of rehabilitation. This Communist move was intended to deal a deathblow to the war-torn economy of Greece and in the ensuing vacuum to force the country to accept Kremlin control.

Early in March of 1947 the Greek Government appealed to the United States for assistance. With a great example of courage and foresight and in full recognition, not only of the humanitarian needs of the Greek people but of the danger of international communism to the security of the free world and the United States, President Truman boldly responded with the initiation of what is now known as the Truman Doctrine for Greece and Turkey. The President then secured approval from Congress of his initial request for $300 million which went into the guns and equipment for the Greek Army as well as foodstuffs and other necessities for the population, and the Greek people were again on the way to the establishment of decency and freedom. Aided by an American military mission, a revitalized Greek Army defeated the Communists and established peace in October of 1949. Continued United States aid has helped rebuild the economy and has enabled the Greek people to strengthen their Army against another Communist attempt to seize power.

The United States action in Greece foreshadowed our stand in Korea, where American troops as well as United States military and economic assistance went into the fight against Communist aggression. It is also significant that the Greeks, having defeated the Communists at home, had a military unit fighting with other United Nations forces in Korea.

Today Greece and the United States share defense responsibilities as NATO partners. A United States military advisory mission is stationed in Athens, and Greek military personnel receive specialized training in America. With some 200,000 men under arms, Greece has a larger percentage of its population in active military service than any other European NATO nation, and this force could be doubled on short notice.

The treaty recently signed by Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia is a strong support to NATO defenses on the southeastern flank. We recognize that growing ties of friendship among these nations, as evidenced by the pact, will provide a stabilizing influence that will extend through Turkey to the Middle East.

And I have every confidence that the freedom-loving Greek people will ignore the recent request from the Soviet Union to repudiate this treaty. Not only do they hate totalitarianism of all kinds, but the Greek people have never gone back on their word.

The fight of the valiant Greek people against the Communists had further tragic consequences for this small nation which is the source of much of our western culture. During the course of this struggle against communism 25,000 Greek children were kidnapped by the Communists and sent behind the Iron Curtain for indoctrination by the Kremlin. Only a few hundred of these children, those who had been held in Yugoslavia, have been returned to their families. The Soviet bloc admits that they hold these 25,000 kidnapped children but cruelly insists on using them as child labor in Communist territory and refuses to return them to their families in Greece.

Here in our own country the Greek-American community has made a great contribution to our culture, to our economy, and to our democratic spirit. Almost every day we in the Congress are privileged to view the inspiring frescoes in the dome of our Nation's Capitol painted by Constantine Brumidi. Music lovers throughout the world thrill to the stirring genius of Dimitri Mitropoulos. The medical profession has long recognized the outstanding contributions to world health which the renowned Dr. Papanikolaou has made to the field of cancer research. The business community is privileged to enjoy the business genius of such as Spyros Skouras, and in the field of education we are deeply indebted to Raphael Demos, professor of philosophy at Harvard University.

There are today more than one-half million Americans of Greek origin and over 400 Greek Orthodox communities in the United States where their great traditions of culture are fostered and maintained. Each community has at least one church and parochial school where the Greek language and history is taught.

It is a great privilege to be able to join with the rest of the free world and with all of our patriotic American friends of Hellenic origin in observing March 25 as Greek Independence Day.

Color Television Is Advancing at a Rapid Pace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the rapid pace that is being made in bringing color television into use in most gratifying.

The following article appearing in the Wall Street Journal Wednesday, March 3, 1954, sets forth the part being taken by the Radio Corporation of America and the National Broadcasting Co., its wholly owned subsidiary, in promoting this important achievement. It is indeed welcome news.

The article to which I refer, and which I include as part of my remarks reads as follows:

NBC HAS 26 STATIONS READY FOR COLOR TV, OFFICIAL REPORTS

BOSTON.—Twenty-six stations in the National Broadcasting Co.'s network are now equipped to transmit color television shows and another 58 stations have orders in for color equipment. Barry Wood, NBC director of color coordination, told the Advertising Club of Boston. By the end of this year at

least 180 stations in all networks will be able to broadcast color TV shows, he added.

Mr. Wood said Radio Corporation of America and NBC, its wholly owned subsidiary, have spent $25 million developing television and that another $15 million will be spent in 1954, the first year of color TV's existence, in perfecting the system.

He noted that thus far 30 different TV shows have been transmitted by NBC by means of the present compatible system which, he said, results in a more sharply defined black and white picture.

He said best recent estimates are that 100,000 color TV sets will be in use by the end of 1954 and it's conceivable that as many as 10 million sets will be sold in the next 5 years.

Mr. Wood said it was only on December 17, 1953, that the FCC approved the compatible color television system and, he declared, "color TV is going to mushroom as fast or faster than black and white," with 27 million sets now in use.

Rainier National Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial of the Seattle Times on March 21 points out that a chairlift or some other such transportation facility could easily be constructed at Rainier National Park without impairing the beauty of the park. The vast majority of the people in the Pacific Northwest concur. It is only the inflexible policy of the National Park Service which stands in the way of increased utilization and enjoyment of the natural beauty of Rainier National Park. The editorial reads as follows:

SUMMER TOURIST STILL RAINIER'S CHIEF HOPE

Washington State's automobile club is doing a thoroughgoing job on its own part of studying the possibilities of developing Rainier National Park for year-'round use.

One of the questions involved in such a program is that of providing uphill transportation for skiers and tourists to upper levels of the park. The automobile club's investigations of this subject disclose that such was the original intent of the legislation creating the park in 1899. That act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to permit establishment in the park of a tramway or cable line or lines for the accommodation and convenience of tourists and others.

This section of the law was repealed in 1931, but the automobile club's information is that the Secretary of the Interior still is empowered by the newer legislation to allow the construction of permanent uphill transportation devices.

The club's thinking is that a chairlift or some other such transportation facility could easily be constructed without impairing the beauty of the park, by masking steel towers and other needed structures with stone and materials that would blend with the surrounding scene.

On the other side of the picture, is the view of the Rainier National Park Co., which originally built the lodge accommodations at Paradise Valley, and still operates the summer concession there, that winter operations in the area would never be profitable. If a year-round program is to be developed, in the opinion of the company, the summer tourist trade must be built up to offset winter losses.

The automobile club's questionnaire to its members as to their sentiments on plans for developing the park has elicited a preponderantly favorable response. But the number of replies received has not indicated as widespread interest in the subject as might have been expected.

All these efforts to explore the possibilities of fuller use of the State's foremost tourist and recreational asset are worthwhile. Thereby, it may be hoped, a satisfactory and workable program some day may be evolved.

Our Democracy Is Strong

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter to the editor of the New York Times which was printed on March 22, 1954. It was written by a good friend of mine, the Honorable Frank E. Karelsen, Jr., who is one of the outstanding civic leaders in New York City and a respected leader of the New York bar. I think it should be of great interest to the Members of Congress:

PRIDE IN OUR DEMOCRACY—McCARTHY SERVICE SEEN IN PROVING OUR IMPERVIOUSNESS TO PROPAGANDA

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Although your editorial policy has been very clear in condemning McCarthyism, your issue of March 12 carried a well-written letter in defense of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. As usual, the publication of that letter illustrated your fair policy of giving both sides of controversies.

I have not at any time, however, seen a clear statement of the real debt that the people of the United States owe the Senator.

It must be heartening to the American people that after 4 years of intensive investigation and the expenditure of nearly $1 million by the concededly able Senator the only subversives he has exposed are a pink dentist in the Armed Forces and 2 or 3 alleged Communists in the State Department and Government civil service, none of whom has been convicted.

GRATITUDE OWED

Even though the Senator and his able staff have used the most extreme methods in their investigations—justifying these methors on the ground that they were catching traitors—he has performed a real service in proving beyond any doubt that we in the United States have been practically impervious to the false, vicious communistic propaganda that has materially affected so many other peoples of the world. The American people can, indeed, be proud that their Government, their Armed Forces, their press, and their educational institutions, all of which were under the Senator's fire, have been and are so little infiltrated by Communists. Better proof of the virtues of American democracy could not be had, and for this they owe the Senator a debt of gratitude.

On the other hand, Senator McCARTHY has been of great service to the Communists. He has divided the American people; he has made them suspicious of their neighbors; he has split the Republican Party; he has damaged enormously the morale of the civil service and the Armed Forces; he has undermined the Voice of America and the State Department's prestige at home and abroad; he has held up to scorn such heroes as Generals Marshall and Zwicker. He has thrown unwarranted fear and consternation into our schools, educational institutions, libraries, and churches—he has accused some of our most valued commentators, reporters, newspapers, and magazines of having communistic leanings. All this has been grist in the Communist propaganda mills.

Thus, strange as it may seem, Senator McCARTHY has accomplished much that all the cunning and conniving of the Communists has been unable to achieve, and for this they, also, owe him their gratitude.

HIGH PRICE

It is evident from Senator McCARTHY's record that the internal Communist threat has been greatly exaggerated and that the American people have been whipped into unnecessary fear and suspicion. The price we have paid for this proof of our loyalty has been far too high. If, however, because of this experience a new policy is adopted, the high cost will not have been totally wasted.

As has often been said, "It is unnecessary to burn down the barn to get rid of the rats." The "getting rid of the rats" should be left to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the executive department, the schools, colleges, libraries, and churches, each acting in its own sphere. Only in extreme cases where there is clear evidence of failure should the medium of a congressional committee be utilized, and then with proper safeguards for the civil rights and liberties of those being examined. It should be remembered that the FBI and the Attorney General's office have been most efficient. The Rosenbergs and the few other persons involved in real espionage have been exposed, apprehended and convicted through their efforts and not those of Senator McCARTHY.

FRANK E. KARELSEN.

NEW YORK, *March 18, 1954.*

Robert Taft and American Policy in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the honor of participating in a series of lectures given at Taft School, Watertown, Conn., in honor of Senator Robert A. Taft at the school founded by his uncle, Horace Taft, and at which he received his praparatory training. I was invited to discuss American policy in the Far East. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a condensation of my address:

THE FREE WORLD'S STAKE IN ASIA

It is a great honor indeed to be invited to participate in this series of lectures to commmorate the life and work of your distinguished alumnus and trustee, Senator Robert A. Taft.

Seldom has there been a man whose words and deeds were so forthright, and whose life and conduct were so open to public view for so many years. Yet seldom has there been a man about whom so many people held such wholly different opinions, and were so almost violently sure that their understand-

ing of him was the correct one, and the only correct one.

Doubtless, the explanation is that he was a good deal more than any one of them knew or understood. That facet of his nature which attracted their allegiance or their opposition did exist. But it was only one of the many facets of a mind and character, which with all their simplicity, were extraordinarily varied.

In a previous lecture Mr. W. S. White of the New York Times, who is writing a biography of Senator Taft, has described to you the man and the statesman, his nobility, his caliber, his courage, and his kindliness.

As my small contribution to the total picture of Robert Taft which will grow in stature and greatness as time goes on, I should like to mention some of the outstanding characteristics which I myself observed through many contacts—congressional, political, personal.

It was my privilege to serve on the original Joint Committee on the Economic Report which was set up in the legislation designed to keep employment in America at as high a level as possible. In the sessions of that committee, usually on complicated economic questions, my first impression—and a never-ending source of astonishment—was Bob Taft's incredible brain. On almost every subject that came up he knew more facts, ranging from basic principles to detailed figures, than I knew how to dig out in the library.

His mind seemed to me primarily analytical. At a glance he could spot doubletalk in a bill or report and point out obscure language that seemed innocent enough but which actually contained or could be stretched to include grants of authority that were not apparent on the surface, and he always expressed himself as clearly and succinctly as he thought.

One soon became as acutely conscious of the integrity of his mind as of its brilliance. Such integrity is a moral quality. I have never know any person in whom there was greater oneness of the moral and the intellectual.

Unfortunately, some people assume that integrity means mere stubbornness or blind consistency just for the sake of consistency. He was almost worshipped by many ultraconservatives who assumed that his thinking was as fixed and frozen as their own. They never grasped that he was a genuine liberal in the true and historic sense of that word. By definition the true liberal is, of course, for maximum freedom and against rigidity, especially that rigidity which a government agency almost invariably tends to develop within itself and then to impose on those who come under its jurisdiction.

Bob Taft was inflexible as to principle, but extraordinarily flexible in application to differing situations. Some people called these adaptations compromises or inconsistencies, as if any political compromise is to be condemned. But compromise is unworthy only if made for personal reasons or to advance one's own political future. It is the mark of successful statesmanship when adjustments are made in minor details in order to achieve major objectives in the larger interests of the Nation.

The best statement I have seen of this combination of firmness and adaptability, which was so un-understandable and even irritating to lesser minds, was written by Henry Hazlitt in the Freeman of August 24, 1954.

"Sometimes he [Taft] would modify a position because he considered himself a servant of the people, and believed that a majority of the people were entitled to the final say. This trait was vividly brought home to me in conection with the same radio program I mentioned a while back. [On How Can We Legislate for General Welfare Without Curbing Personal Liberity.] On the afternoon before the program, Taft asked me to come over to see him in connection with the evening's debate—chiefly, I found, because he wanted to break gently to me the news that his position on the welfare state was going to be less uncompromising than my own.

"'You know,' he said, 'I spent years fighting these so-called welfare measures, and never got an ounce of public support. So I've decided that the American people want these things. And if they want them, they'll get them; and they're entitled to get them. Now our problem, it seems to me, is how to build fences and other safeguards around these measures to keep them from spreading and threatening liberties. * * *' And he went on to explain in detail what these 'fences' should be.

"Taft, in short, made compromises because he believed that through them he could accomplish more good in the long run; but he never made a compromise to serve a purely personal end."

Senator Taft was accused by some of being narrowly partisan, but never by any who knew him well. In party matters as in all others his primary concern was to determine what was right and in the best interests of the country. He proved on many occasions that he was not opposed to bipartisanship—if the policy deserved bipartisanship. But he knew that it was far more important to the country that a policy be right than it be bipartisan. He supported the Republican Party not because of any fanatical loyalty to it as such, but because he was convinced that its basic philosophy of government and its policies were nearest right on the most important issues. One of the reasons that they were nearest right was because he himself played such a large part in determining them.

He was called an isolationist by the Truman administration, in part because he would not go along with its policy of opposing communism in Europe while trying to appease it in Asia. He knew it was bound to fail as it has. He saw and repeatedly pointed out the fallacy in a fundamental premise of America's foreign policy in the immediate postwar years, namely, the illusion that the independence of Europe is more essential to American security than the independence of Asia; and its corollary, that Europe and the North Atlantic could be kept in the free world even if Asia were allowed to go behind the Iron Curtain.

In hard fact he was less isolationist than those who placed almost all their emphasis on building up Europe with only half-hearted efforts to keep Asia free.

Although his thinking was rejected by those in power, his constant insistence that events in Asia are just as important to us as those around the North Atlantic, has proved tragically correct. We got into two wars in Asia, while looking in the other direction, at Europe. And it is Communist gains in Asia today which have done most to reduce the stability and security of the countries in Europe to which so much attention and aid have been given.

To put it another way, the success of the Marshall plan and other programs of assistance to Europe is jeopardized today by failure at the same time to develop and follow similar policies and plans in Asia.

Perhaps Stalin's greatest victory was in persuading the administration then in power—but not Robert Taft—to concentrate most of its attention and efforts on Europe while Stalin concentrated his on Asia. If the Communists can consolidate their position in China and develop the vast manpower and natural resources of that country so as to weaken and, one by one, gradually take over, probably from within, the various countries lying around China, then Europe will be cut off from much of its markets and sources of raw materials. How it can then resist the pressures of the Soviet bloc has yet to be explained.

The immediate objective of a sound foreign policy in Asia must be to try to prevent any further gains by the Kremlin, especially in the 12 countries that lie as a crescent around China from Korea and Japan to Iran. In these 12 countries live approximately one-third of all the human beings in the world. The chief impressions gained from two trips to these countries within a year are as follows:

1. Most of their people and leaders are now awake to the nature of the Communist conspiracy. Perhaps the greatest long-range benefit of the war in Korea was that it prevented the Communists from taking over southeast Asia in 1950 and 1951 when they could have done it with relative ease. During the 3 long years while the Communists were tied down in Korea, the truth about communism in China leaked out. The reports of the refugees from Communist China, and the overwhelming rejection of it by its own indoctrinated troops when given a chance to make a free choice as prisoners of war, exploded the myth that the Communist regime in China is supported overwhelmingly by the people of that unhappy country.

2. The peoples of free Asia today fear communism instead of half-welcoming it, because they now know it will destroy the freedom from alien control which they have so recently won with such great effort.

3. Overwhelmingly they want to be on the side of the United States and the Free World, because they realize that is their best chance of retaining their national independence.

4. But they hesitate to take an open stand for the Free World, because they are uncertain as to the clarity and constancy of our purpose and policy with respect to them. Frankly, they are afraid that if the Kremlin should come to one of these conferences with some sort of package settlement which would appear to give security and peace to the countries around the North Atlantic, we might accept the deal, even though it be at the expense of the free peoples of Asia, and to the benefit of the Communist China that threatens their survival. A Cabinet member in one of those countries said, "How can you expect us to defy the Communist giant, just across our border, when some of your allies although 5,000 miles away are pressing you to accept Communist China?"

This is the main reason for their neutralism. We cannot expect them to take an open stand on our side until and unless we make it clear to them that we will not let them down again as the West has done on too many occasions in the past, both before and since Yalta.

Just as France is the question mark in Europe, so the big question mark to these people in Asia is the United States of America.

What can and should the United States do to retrieve the steadily deteriorating situation in Asia?

1. We must recognize frankly that it is the security, even the survival, of the free world that is at stake in Asia.

2. We must recognize that the Communist objective is the same in Asia as everywhere, to weaken the free world, and especially to isolate and destroy the United States, which is all that stands between the Kremlin and total world conquest.

3. We must understand that world war is not the immediate danger. The first stage in the Communist program is always to subvert the weak, mostly in Asia. The second is to confuse and divide the strong, mostly in Europe. Only then does war, as a final knockout blow, become advantageous to the Communists.

4. Since the Communists have demonstrated repeatedly that they will not go to war unless or until they have become strong

enough or the free world weak enough so that they are sure they will win, we must both keep ourselves strong and help keep the free world free. That is, we must not let the Reds gain any more victories—military, economic, or diplomatic. Admission to the U. N. would be the greatest possible diplomatic and political victory. Free Asia will crumble if convinced that the Communists are winning. Admission to the United Nations would mean to Asia, and should mean to us, that the Reds have already won.

5. We must never forget that in addition to keeping the free world free, we must find ways and means to encourage and help the enslaved peoples become free. That means we must not build up their enslavers. It is another reason why we must not give recognition to the Communists and thereby increase their prestige, influence, and power in the world.

6. We must also keep the Chinese Communists in economic trouble at home by resisting resumption of trade with them. If they are not our enemies, why do we draft and arm men to fight them? If they are our enemies, how can anyone suggest we do anything to make them stronger?

7. We must give greater encouragement and assistance to the free Chinese on Formosa and elsewhere, not for an attempted mass invasion of the Chinese mainland, but to enable them to smuggle agents and suitable supplies to the mainland to keep hope alive and to enable the resistance forces to do to the Reds exactly what the Reds for years did to the Nationalists—destroy communications, isolate the cities, disrupt the economy.

8. We must recognize that the only way we can achieve real security for the free world in Asia is by weakening, loosening, and eventually breaking the hold of the Communist regime in China. To break Communist China would immediately remove the danger to the rest of east and south Asia. Until Communist China is broken, no measures to save those areas are likely to have lasting success.

9. We must recognize that our most important ally in this titanic struggle—and the most dependable—is the oppressed peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Witness the revolt in East Berlin and the decision of Communist prisoners of war to choose freedom in exile on Formosa, rather than return even to their homes and families in enslaved China. America must put her faith in these oppressed people, and not in cynical deals with their oppressors.

What are the prospects for such an American policy? It has been developing steadily since the Eisenhower administration took over last year. Here are some indications:

1. Our Government is at last awake to the nature and methods of the Communist world conspiracy. So it is demanding deeds, not words, from Communist governments. For without deeds, the words are useless. We will not be party to any new Munich or Yalta.

2. Our Government is now aware that this planet is one strategic area, so there is balanced attention to Asia and Europe. Witness the new Joint Chiefs of Staff—all experts on Asia for the first time in our history. Witness again the President's state of the Union message. The foreign policy section began with three paragraphs on Asia. The illusion that we can keep Europe free without a free Asia is ended. Eventually the illusion that we can keep Asia free without a free China will have to be ended also.

3. Our Government is aware that effective resistance to the Communist threat in Asia is more a military than an economic matter. The Reds have never been able to seize a single country, beginning with Russia, except by force of arms. Hence there is more emphasis on military aid to countries that have the will to use it than on general economic aid to those without such a will.

4. Our Government is aware that in dealing with the Communist world conspiracy, our best military weapon, both to prevent a world war, and to win such a war if the Reds insist on it, is not local resistance around the periphery of the satellites, but massive retaliation against the principles which supply and control the satellites. Hence there is more emphasis on air and sea where we are strongest and can best get at the enemy, if he insists on war; and less emphasis on land where he is strongest and we can do him least damage.

5. Our Government is aware that our strongest ally in this struggle for survival—the one able to do the enemy most harm—is the peoples behind the Curtain who know Communist tyranny for what it is. We must not weaken this ally by any deals that would build up the tyrants. There could be no greater act of madness than to imagine that we can reform Communists by marrying them. The best way to influence our enemies is to stand steadfastly by our friends.

Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Greek Independence Spells Liberty to All," published in the Greek-language newspaper Atlantis of Sunday, March 21, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREEK INDEPENDENCE SPELLS LIBERTY TO ALL

(By Soterios Nicholson)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In our daily lives and thoughts we become wrapped up in ourselves and our present problems, while great historical and sociological changes are taking place. But sometimes in our being taken up with these momentous events and crises of our time we lose sight of our links with the past. Realization that the battling the world over to bring in the light of freedom in men's lives as contrasted to the darkness of enslavement is an effort that has not begun in our time but is the continuation of centuries-old evolution, can help us to define and sharpen our perspective.

Perhaps one of the greatest examples of such a link of the past with the present is that underscored by the War of Greek Independence—a milestone in the story of liberty as written in history by the Greek people. From that day, March 25, 1821, to the current period, this story of Greek liberty and freedom fought for and attained by the peoples of Greece, has broadened, taken on chapters but always with the same theme—that of a people ever seeking the fulfillment of their desire to live in freedom and in peace.

The spirit of liberty which overflowed its channel and spilled into the sinews and carried with it the battle of 8 years after 1821 is somewhat of a flexible and relative term. Not only is it of the mind but also of the heart.

This spirit, as we shall commemorate and renew it this March 25 when we celebrate the Greek independence, never dies but exists in the hearts and minds of men and women. It is the same spirit whether it belongs to the person lingering in a political prison or whether it is part and parcel of a politician's wares or whether it is the thing the warrior fights for on the battlefield. The important matter is that the possessor of the spirit of liberty uses it in his goals and ideals.

This great spirit spiked the Turk even as the Islamic rulers counted their 400th year of domination over the Greeks. Although many centuries had passed—centuries of oppression and rule by the sultans—this expression of freedom never was snuffed out but was rekindled and gave birth to a flame that has burned again and again, even in our lifetime, in both World Wars and in the war against communism.

It is often recorded that a people seeking their freedom will touch a responsive chord in peoples everywhere who have already broke with their masters. This is what happened in the 19th century when the Greeks rose up against their oppressors and after 8 years of bloody wars obtained complete independence from the Sultan in the 1829 Treaty of Adrianople.

Helping the Greeks in the war against the Moslem rule, a young, newly established Nation, the United States of America, which then was all but unrecognized in the intrigues and councils of Europe, sent ships laden with food, supplies, and other materials to give succor to the freedom fighters.

Even the might of the Turkish Empire could not keep down the spiritual tidal wave created by the Greeks who were intent upon achieving their liberty.

President Monroe, the author of the famous Monroe Doctrine, gave his sanction to the food deliveries while money and materials were gathered in such historic locations as Georgetown, the famous section of Washington, D. C.

Massachusetts sent Dr. Howe who traveled to Greece and stayed there several years helping the cause of the Greek patriots.

Some of the greatest pieces of oratory ever delivered in the United States Congress were then spoken in the defense of the Greek people and their cause. Orators, such as Daniel Webster, gave voice to feelings of many officials and leaders in this country that the United States which had copied the concept of democracy from Ancient Greece should now reciprocate and recognize in Greece's thoughts and action a rebirth of the inspiration which also was contained in the hearts of colonial countrymen.

And, said these speechmakers, among them the great statesmen of the time, the new Nation of the United States, must see its duty and help the older but struggling country of Greece. Here is the link of the past, the present, and the future, a one chapter in a book which makes the history of democratic peoples and principles so dramatic and so worth the retelling.

Support for the Bender Subcommittee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join vigilant constituents in my congressional district to support the Bender subcommittee by urging the necessary appropriation for this subcommittee which will enable it to proceed with its investigation of labor racketeering. An

article by Victor Reisel, dated March 1, 1954, has made it appear that those who are for wrong are more influential than those who are for the right.

I submit herewith a resolution adopted by the Frontier Club of Republican Women of Western New York:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas it appears from an article by Victor Reisel published in the Buffalo Courier-Express on March 1, 1954, that a request of the Bender subcommittee for an appropriation for $100,000 to investigate labor racketeering was rejected, and whereas it also appears that there is no indication that any other committee of Congress plans to enter this particular field: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Frontier Club of Republican Women requests and urges the Members of the House of Representatives to reconsider its action and authorise sufficient funds for use by the Bender subcommittee in continuance of this vital and urgently needed investigation.

New Haven: An International Port of Call

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, Wednesday, March 17, was a great day for New Haven, Conn., with ceremonies held on the Green commemorating the arrival in the port of a cargo vessel that previously made calls at ports in foreign lands gathering cargo destined for New Haven.

A high point of the largely attended gathering of such historical significance was an address by my colleague from the Third Connecticut District, Mr. CRETELLA. Under leave to extend, such is included:

Ladies and gentleman, today is a day in which the grand city of New Haven has passed one of her greatest milestones and the occasion is the glorious arrival of the Isbrandtsen's *Flying Enterprise* in our harbor.

This momentous occasion is inspired by the historical fact that this is the first time in over 50 years that a cargo vessel has steamed into New Haven as an international port of call.

I am greatly impressed and pleased personally to hear our New Haven port mentioned with such famous old international ports of call—in New York, Portugal, Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, north Africa, India, Ceylon, Philippines, Formosa, Japan, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

This twice monthly service to New Haven by the Isbrandtsen fleet as a part of the far-flung global trade pattern is truly significant and gratifying to say the least. When the Isbrandtsen ships ease out of New Haven harbor with them will go the spirit of New Haven- and Connecticut-made goods and products to points distant around the world.

The industrial and economic health of our State obviously will be greatly enhanced by the Isbrandtsen service. Through the untiring and vigilant efforts of the harbor commission, New Haven harbor has become a 6 million ton per year port, an appreciable increase in the past 5 years. The facility with which Connecticut goods may now be transported will bolster our industrial potential. I predict Connecticut will achieve even greater prominence beyond all expectation in her position as contributor to national and world markets.

The strategic and all important part in this drama by Arthur Gosselin is one which must not be overlooked. Fifteen years ago Arthur Gosselin was the chairman of the obscure harbor development committee of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce. That was when an isolated voice or two echoed that our harbors should be deep enough to accommodate big freighters. Art Gosselin took this seed of an idea and, with his energy, logic, persistence, and plain hard work, germinated this seed into what we see today.

Since 1949, after many futile years of effort, we have had a 35-foot harbor without which large modern freighters would be unable to navigate.

If I may use the expression, over 15 years of high seas have threatened Gosselin and his harbor associates in their design. The latest as you know, was the appeal taken by a rival steamship company to recind the order of the ICC giving Isbrandtsen a certificate to make New Haven a port of call. This was lost and also a subsequent injunction and it appears that Isbrandtsen is finally now running on smooth seas.

The word Isbrandtsen cannot be mentioned without calling to mind the name of Capt. Kurt Carlsen, who inaugurated the line's service this morning as captain of the *Flying Enterprise II*. I offer my congratulations to Captain Carlsen, as a spokesman, if I may, for all my fellow townspeople. His heroic deeds and great risk of his life in the 1951 attempt to save his ship, *Flying Enterprise I*, off the coast of England during a violent storm will long be remembered.

I have recently had the opportunity to express my intense interest in the future of New Haven Harbor. Upon the advice of and conferences with harbor expert Gosselin and his associates, I introduced a resolution this session of Congress, asking the United States Army Corps of Engineers to make further surveys of the New Haven harbor to determine the practicability of increased depth. In view of the greatly changed shipping and economic conditions, I feel additional depth is an absolute necessity. Therefore, I shall continue to urge Congress for early and favorable action.

Ex-Nazi Party Member as U. N. Observer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the appointment of a former Nazi Party member by the German Federal Republic as its United Nations observer—even one denazified and passed over by a Bundestag committee—is yet a tragic affront to the families of millions of American veterans who fought Hitler's national socialist Germany and other millions of refugees who lost all or part of their families in the Hitler terror. I have protested this appointment and append hereto the full record of this protest, my cablegram to High Commissioner Conant, the State Department's reply, and an illuminating editorial translated from Aufbau, the German-American weekly, reflecting the views of escapees from Nazi Germany. The subject deserves urgent reconsideration by the German Federal Government and the interested reading of Members:

MARCH 12, 1954.

Hon. JAMES B. CONANT,
High Commissioner for Germany,
APO 80, Care of Postmaster,
New, York, N. Y.:

Reports here regarding Peter Pfeiffer proposed to be sent by German Federal Republic to U. N. as observer alleged former member Nazi Party are very disquieting. Will you please investigate and advise me regarding Pfeiffer's background, reason why German Federal Republic chooses him as observer and position United States authorities regarding Pfeiffer's visa and other details. Am sure you appreciate shock to sensibilities of millions of Americans in such situation assuming reports here of Pfeiffer's background are correct.

JACOB K. JAVITS,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 18, 1954.

The Honorable JACOB K. JAVITS,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. JAVITS: The receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 12, 1954, enclosing a copy of your cablegram of the same date to High Commissioner Conant in Germany, asking for his comment on the appointment by the German Federal Republic Government of Dr. Peter Pfeiffer as German observer to the United Nations. Your letter requests the views of the Department on the same subject.

It is my understanding that you have already been informed over the telephone by Assistant Secretary McCardle of the substance of the reply which Mr. Conant has asked the Department to transmit to you and of the general attitude of the Department regarding the appointment of Dr. Pfeiffer. To complete your records and to discharge Mr. Conant's obligation to respond to your cablegram, however, there is quoted herewith the text of Mr. Conant's reply, dated March 15, 1954:

"Your telegram regarding Peter Pfeiffer received today. Have made inquiries Foreign Office which confirms Federal Government's decision to designate him German observer to United Nations. Appointment based upon his long service as career diplomat, with good continuous record Foreign Office and various important posts, chiefly Europe, from 1926 to end of war. Record shows Pfeiffer was ordinary member NSDAP, which he joined December 1940. He was de-Nazified May 1948, Munich, by regular procedure and placed in group V (not (repeat not) affected). Special Bundestag committee, composed representatives all parties, in August 1952 investigated and certified him for further employment, although recommending against foreign assignment before end of 1 year.

"I appreciate reason for your inquiry. Speaking as High Commissioner, I assure you I would do all in my power to prevent a development in Germany which would put former active Nazis in positions of importance, but believe individual cases must be examined on own merits. Our findings to date would appear to afford no—repeat no—basis for refusal visa for Pfeiffer as German official to United Nations, although when application for visa received matter will have further consideration."

As a supplement to Mr. Conant's comment, you will be interested in the specific language used with regard to Dr. Pfeiffer by the Investigating Committee on Foreign Office Personnel Policy of the German Bundestag,, which published its report on August 10, 1952. This, in rough translation from the German, is as follows:

"No objection to further employment, but recommend against nominating him for another year to any foreign post, especially since Pfeiffer had declared he had no such desire for the time being. Apart from the affair concerning the despatch of the last cable from the Algiers Consulate General, which cannot be entirely clarified, no evidence has come to light which could serve to prove that under the Nazi regime Pfeiffer had not acted correctly from a humane, moral, and legal point of view."

In the Department's view, it is worth emphasizing that this special committee of the German Bundestag was established in response to widespread comment in the German press regarding alleged former Nazis who had found, or resumed, positions in the German Foreign Office; that the committee was broadly representative of the German political parties; that the findings of the committee represented the considered opinion of German parliamentarians on whose judgment we must essentially rely for the furtherance of the domestic spirit in Germany; and that the committee's findings in the 21 cases it considered ranged from mild qualifying statements—as in Dr. Pfeiffer's case—to strongly adverse conclusions—in 3 cases—recommending outright separation from Foreign Office positions.

Sincerely yours,

THURSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary.
(For the Secretary of State).

[Translation of an editorial which appeared in the March 19, 1954, issue of Aufbau]

THE PFEIFFER CASE

The German Federal Government was fortunate enough to have mostly excellent representatives in Washington and its consulates, who cleverly and tactfully handled the difficult task of building up new relations with a former enemy.

Similar experiences were made by the representatives of Israel who, in conjunction with the Bonn government, laid the foundations of the German-Israeli restitution agreement which has had constructive results. A new agreement has just been signed, providing delivery of German goods in the amount of 200 million D marks. Dr. Shinar, head of the Israeli commission, considers his job more or less finished and will return to Israel shortly. He will return to the commission's Cologne headquarters only for short temporary stays in order to supervise deliveries under the contract.

In the meantime, even those Jewish circles who were so violently opposed to the Haag negotiations that Dutch police had to guard the members of both negotiating committees, have changed their minds. Ships, railroad material (beginning this fall, diesel trains will run between Tel Aviv and Haifa every half hour), new automatic telephone exchanges, new plants for better irrigation are to be delivered under the agreement. In a certain sense which does not lack a bloody irony, Germany's expiation efforts are materially contributing to the welfare of the State of Israel. "Thanks to these deliveries," says Dr. Shinar, "our country will have a new look within 6 months."

These facts have doubtlessly made a certain impression on public opinion in the United States, including Jewish circles. In this connection, it is doubly incomprehensible that the German Government has seen fit to appoint Peter Pfeiffer to the United Nations, where he is to replace German Consul General Dr. Hans Riesser. Not even Secretary General Hammarskjoeld's approval was asked for; although there is no formal agreement procedure on appointments to the United Nations, the Secretariat may give certain advice in cases of delegates whom it considers nonacceptable. But that is a minor point.

Pfeiffer once served under Dr. Gustav Stresemann and remained in the diplomatic service. Thus he became a servant of the Third Reich and a party member. This came to light in the course of a series of articles which the Frankfurter Rundschau published about the personnel policy of the Bonn Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The paper stated that Preiffer was unfit to serve. A committee of the Bonn Parliament studied the matter; it declared all facts reported by the newspaper to be correct, yet voiced no objection against Pfeiffer's further employment. However, it advised to send him abroad for 1 year—in a nonresponsible capacity.

It sounds like a very poor joke that apparently Preiffer's superiors consider an appointment to the United Nations as nonresponsible. Without taking into account any details of Preiffer's career, this must be termed a blunder of the first order. The German Government ought to know that members of many a people which suffered terribly under the hands of the very government Pfeiffer served, sit in the United Nations. The entire world feels that any employee of Hitler's government is tainted with its crimes. Aside from moral and ethical considerations, the most primitive measure of tactics and tact ought to have told them to avoid this entirely foreseeable uproar.

In the beginning of this article, we have intentionally pointed out a number of positive developments, in order to better contrast the blunder of this appointment. One conclusion may be drawn: Certain influential circles in Bonn believe that the miracle of Germany's economic comeback—a miracle achieved with American money—has completely changed the international atmosphere. This attitude is as absurd as it is disgraceful. As for us and all those who, directly or indirectly, belong to us, the label "Party member" suffices to discredit anyone for public office. It is to be hoped that Bonn, instead of making this rash appointment, of which the U. N. Secretariat was notified in Mr. Hammarskjoeld's absence, a question of prestige, will find a way to undo what is being considered a provocation in widest circles.

One Hundred Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the many loyal Americans of Hellenic descent in commemorating the 133d anniversary of Greek independence. The great Hellenic culture has had a profound and lasting effect on the freedom loving nations of the Western World. The Greeks as did the Americans fought long and hard to attain their independence and are ready and willing to fight just as hard and long in order to retain it. It is with great pride that Americans are able to know the Greek nation as a true and staunch ally in the continuing struggle for freedom for all people throughout the world. May the free peoples always be so fortunate as to number the brave Hellenes as one of the staunchest supports of the structure of collective security which stands, and must always stand, against the brutish forces of totalitarianism.

Accurate Employment Gage Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Accurate Employment Gage Needed," which appeared in the March 20, 1954, issue of the Owensboro (Ky.) Messenger.

Much has been said about unemployment during the past 90 days. It is imperative that we obtain a true picture of the job situation in this country.

A short time ago the outstanding economists in this country met here in Washington to survey the state of the Nation's prosperity. Every available indication of business activity was studied, and the consensus was that many economic changes would take place during the year 1954. These men are not alarmists. They are good Americans, who believe the facts concerning unemployment today must be faced. They make no demands for a huge program of deficit spending. Unemployment apparently has made no impression on some of our business leaders. Surveys show an unemployment increase and retail sale declines in many areas. Businessmen in this country will invest more than $27 billion in new plants and equipment during the year 1954. The 1954 spending plans of big business clearly indicate that businessmen as a group still have a good deal of confidence in the business future of this country.

No real American wants a depression or a recession, but it is imperative that the confusion existing today in regard to the job situation in this country be eliminated. I include at this point in the RECORD the editorial:

ACCURATE EMPLOYMENT GAGE NEEDED

Because a continued rise in unemployment will force a radical change in administration plans for taxes and spending, it is vital that Government statistical methods be overhauled to end the confusion about the job situation.

In its weekly business essay in a recent issue, Time magazine recommended such an overhaul to find out why there could be a difference of 728,000 in the Census Bureau's sets of unemployment estimates.

"One way the Government could help," the magazine stated, "would be to coordinate all unemployment statistics in an overall monthly report by some expert body such as the President's Council of Economic Advisers. This might give each figure its proper weight and thus end much of the confusion."

Government estimates on unemployment for January ranged from 2,359,000 to 3,087,000. No one knows which figure to believe, and recently Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks was so disturbed that he had a panel of experts checking over the accuracy of the whole statistical system.

"The trouble is that the Government uses three basic methods for charting the ebb and flow of United States unemployment, and all three need improvement. All are limited surveys and wide open to errors of interpretation," Time said.

The most important, and most controversial, of the three methods is the Census Bureau's total count of the United States labor force, which is currently about 62 million over the age of 14. The Bureau at first makes a check of a tiny, carefully chosen sample of 25,000 households in 68 key areas, then mathematically projects the figures to cover the 45 million American households. In January, when the two widely varying estimates were made, the Bureau increased its sampling to 230 communities.

But the Census figures, even if accurate, would not necessarily tell the whole story of unemployment. Even the definition of the word is a problem since only those out of work and actually looking for jobs are counted. Partial employment does not count under the Bureau's system.

The Government's two other methods of watching unemployment are much more limited in scope and provide only partial answers at their best. A monthly check by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of 155,000 companies and 23 million workers is a specific count of factory unemployment, not total unemployment. Its jobless estimate is based only on the rise and fall of payrolls.

Even less accurate as an unemployment guidepost are the much-quoted weekly figures on unemployment compensation. Jobless insurance covers a wide range of United States labor, approximately 60 percent of all workers, but the figures are only a rough approximation of unemployment and become increasingly misleading as employment climbs.

Over the years, United States business, both big and small, has learned to plan for the future by arming itself beforehand with as accurate statistics as it can get. Since these groups are near the backbone of the Nation, it is very important that the Government find some way to provide accurate statistics, especially in this time of bated breaths and scare talk.

New York Congregation of Puerto Rican Extraction Expresses Indignation at March 1 Shooting in House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended hereto is a letter addressed to this Congress from the ministers and congregants of the Christian Church of the Good Pastor located in my district in New York City expressing indignation at the tragic incident which occurred in this Chamber on March 1. This letter expresses a fine spirit of humanity and understanding and a sense of deep sympathy by religious leaders in the Puerto Rican community in New York City which coincides with the admirable attitude taken by the House.

The letter follows:

MARCH 10, 1954.

Congress of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

This is to express the feeling of great indignation from the majority of Spanish Christian Evangelicals in New York City toward the fanatic and devil-minded act of the Nationalist rebels.

We are praying for the wounded, especially Congressman BENTLEY.

Most respectfully,

Ramón Symán, Ramón Lebrón, Julio Sánchy, Benita Lebrón, Jacinto Cruz, Oscar Acevedo Cabrech, Rev. Nasario Cintris, Mercedes Menendez, Carlos Cutigrues, Carlos Abuses, William De Jesus, Jenow D. Jesus, Eduardo Loco, Hipalito Vega, Leopoldo Sanches Cruz: J. J., Ramón Ortiz, Diego Hermandez, José Lebrón, Hector Madera, Maria Negrón, Carmen Olmo, Carmen Ortiz, Irene De Jesus, Dora E. Casanova, Carmen Rosa Pecós, Maria Centevo, Sixta Sota, R. Santigo, A. Villanueva, Anna Villanuena.

National Sovereignty Versus World Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, on March 13, in Cleveland, Ohio, I delivered an address entitled "National Sovereignty Versus World Socialism" before the Slovak League of America and the Catholic Federation commemorating the 15th anniversary of the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939. This address was inserted by me in the Appendix of the RECORD on March 15, page A1962. I consider it appropriate to insert a letter I received from Stephan Hudac, president, and Andrew Zachar, secretary, of the Slovak League of America, district assembly No. 2, Cleveland, Ohio, which reads as follows:

SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
DISTRICT ASSEMBLY NO. 2,
Cleveland, Ohio, March 19, 1954.

The Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FEIGHAN: We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to you, Congressman, for your inspiring address on the occasion of the commemorative Slovak freedom rally held in Benedictine High School on March 13. Your message will echo and reecho throughout the free world where Slovaks assemble to encourage one another to carry on their struggle for national freedom against atheistic communism and foreign domination. Your words will bring new hope to our people beyond the seas, and will be beamed via shortwave from Rome and Madrid, as well as from other radio stations, directly to our native homeland of Slovakia where the embattled sons of freedom constitute the first line of defense on the Danube.

Your knowledge of Slovak history, and your sincere appreciation of the contributions of the Slovaks to modern civilization in the Western World, as well as your evaluation of the Christian heritage of our people, has won the admiration of Slovaks everywhere, for your speech will be quoted in our newspapers not only in this country but throughout the free world.

With best wishes,

Gratefully yours,

STEPHEN HUDAC,
President.
ANDREW ZACHAR,
Secretary.

How Silly Can They Get?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, in their desire to be all things to all men, this election year, our colleagues on the other side of the aisle are racking up a record that defies economics, accountancy, and just plain commonsense. The spectacle of a major political party fighting with its votes for more and more Government spending, bigger and bigger tax cuts, and, at the same time, a ceiling on the national debt would be ludicrous if the stakes were not of such magnitude. Fortunately, the tactics of our colleagues appear to be deluding no one but themselves. I include in the RECORD a copy of an editorial from the Buffalo Evening News of March 20, 1954, setting forth its views on their performance. It might appropriately be coupled with President Eisenhower's recent comments that—

The only way to have more tax cuts now is to have bigger and bigger deficits and to borrow more and more money. Either we or our children will have to bear the burden of this debt. This is one kind of a chicken that always comes home to roost.

The editorial follows:

HOW SILLY CAN THEY GET?

How irresponsible can the Democratic minority in Congress get?

The Democrats in the House this week voted 193 to 9 for a political-year reduction in the income tax, in the face of an already large inherited deficit.

That vote completed a ring-around-the-rosie record that adds up to sheer demagoguery.

It means that the House Democratic minority is now solidly and overwhelmingly on record for: More spending, lower taxes, and no increase in the national debt.

How demagogic can a party's voting record get?

Last summer the Democrats in the House voted, 125 to 69, against permitting an increase in the debt limit—this after they had voted 173 to 20 for an amendment to restore the limit to its present level by December 31, 1954.

When last year's appropriations were being passed the Democrats voted overwhelmingly, in one test roll call after another, on the side of higher and higher spending.

They voted, 156 to 33, to raise the Air Force budget by $1,200 million. They voted—in a similar lopsided ratio—for more spending for Voice of America, for rural telephones, for veterans hospitals, for other hospital construction, for airport construction, for public housing, for public power, for medical services for veterans, for defense-area schools, for bigger farm subsidies.

In its compilation of the record of the 1953 session of Congress, Editorial Research Reports listed 13 rollcall votes on the direct issue of more against less spending among the "outstanding rollcalls in the House." In each and every one of these test votes the Democrats were recorded as strongly favoring the spending side.

Yet they voted not to increase the debt limit.

And now they have voted, better than 20 to 1, for an irresponsible tax cut which ob-

viously would increase the deficit and force the national debt to go through the roof.

It is possible for a conscientious Congressman to be for higher spending and higher taxes to compensate, and against increasing the debt.

It is even possible to be for higher spending and lower taxes, and justify the bigger deficits as an anti-recession device.

But how in heaven's name can any party—at a time when the Government is already in the red—justify a record that stands for more spending, lower taxes, and no increase in debt?

Cynical politicians for years have quipped that the way to get re-elected is to vote for every appropriation and against every tax. But the Democratic minority in this Congress has gone that theory one better. Within less than a year, it has actually voted for more appropriations, less taxes, bigger deficits, and holding the lid on the debt.

This is the record on which House Democrats will present themselves to the voters this fall as a "responsible" party.

Taken together, it is a record of financial irresponsibility amounting to plain demagoguery.

The Reed Tax Revision Bill, H. R. 8300, Is an Excellent Piece of Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL T. CURTIS
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, there are so many provisions of H. R. 8300, referred to as the tax revision bill, that are of real help to the rank and file of our citizens. Time did not permit the mention of them all in the debate when we had that bill before us.

Just this morning I received a letter from an individual in Nebraska, which, omitting the names is as follows:

I understand that, as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, you would be interested in matters concerning certain phases of our income-tax law. To point out what I consider one inequity, I want to relate the circumstances in which I find myself; perhaps you can find a way to correct it—no doubt other taxpayers are in similar situations.

A family of eight children was found abandoned in a trailer here and were placed in a children's home supported by our Community Chest. My wife and I arranged to take one of these youngsters into our home, to give her some semblance of home life and to put her through high school and possibly college later. We have raised our own family, so do not wish to take legal adoption of this girl. In checking with our local internal revenue agents, I get an interpretation that in order to claim personal exemption under present law the dependent must be a close relative.

In this case I will be the sole and entire support of this dependent; actually, my cost will be $1,500 to $2,000 per year to raise this child in our manner of living. If we left the child in a charitable institution and made a $2,000 donation to that institution, I would have the benefit of the full deduction on my tax return; yet, by taking the child in our home where she will have a more normal life, we will not even be allowed a $600 deduction for a dependent. Does that seem equitable to you?

In the one case, charity will be responsible for her raising to maturity, Internal Revenue will be out the taxes on that part of my income that I donate to the institution, and the girl will have an institutional life. The other way, everyone benefits—charity is relieved of a burden, the girl has a home life, and the Government gains in taxes. Why shouldn't I be allowed the minimum personal exemption?

Mr. Speaker, the tax revision bill that the House passed takes care of this situation and grants the needed tax relief to this fine individual who has so unselfishly served. This is just illustrative of the need for a revision of our tax laws, which need was met by the Reed bill.

Niagara Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which I delivered to the Northeastern Electric Consumers Conference at Albany, N. Y., on February 27, 1954:

I am very glad that my good friend, John Burton, chairman of the State power authority is here and that he is going to take part in a panel discussion later in the afternoon. For that reason I think that it would be most inappropriate if I attempted in any way to specifically set forth the Dewey-Burton proposals as they are embodied in the Ives-Becker bill. However, I will make a reference to it later on.

This Niagara controversy is fundamentally an issue between the private utility monopoly and the consumers of electric power. I am very proud to be the third Roosevelt in the history of the State of New York to take an active part in this fight. And I emphasize that I am the third, because in doing so I emphasize that this is not a partisan issue. In fact, I think the grandaddy of the whole concept of public power was my uncle, Theodore Roosevelt.

This fight was carried on by Charles Evans Hughes, by many other prominent Republicans in our State, and, I believe, that it was in 1934 that the Republican State platform adopted proposals similar to those which the Democratic State platform first advocated in 1918. And I am sure I need not point to the number of Democrats who have led this fight, including Al Smith, my father when he was Governor and later when he was President, and the great Governor and Senator from our State, HERBERT H. LEHMAN.

No; this is not a partisan issue. It is an issue between the avaricious private utility monopoly and the consumers. The Capehart-Miller bill, as it is commonly known, was passed by the House of Representatives last July. It is now before the Senate, along with three other measures. The Case bill only repeals the clause in the treaty with Canada of 1950, which reserves to the Congress the right to decide how Niagara should be developed. If the Case bill were adopted this would put the Niagara project, as was the St. Lawrence project, under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission, who would then have the right to issue a license. Undoubtedly it would issue a license under existing regulations to the Power Authority of the State of New York, of which Mr. Burton is chairman. The other bill is the Ives-Becker bill, and I might point out in passing that it is quite questionable as to whether Senator IVES actually supports his own bill. When he introduced it, he was careful to put on the bill that he was introducing it "by request"—a well-known way in the Senate of pointing out to your colleagues that you are doubtful of the legislation you are introducing. I might point out, also, that Senator IVES' former assistant, Mr. Dwyer Shugrue, is listed with the State of New York as a lobbyist for some of the private utilities here in Albany, and although he is not registered under the Federal Lobbying Act, Mr. Shugrue has attended every Washington hearing which has been held on this legislation in the last 18 months.

The third proposal is the Lehman-Roosevelt proposal, which I will discuss after I have disposed of the private-utility plan, the Capehart-Miller bill.

What does this Capehart-Miller bill say? It says that the five utility companies which have banded together—it doesn't specifically name them, but it accurately describes them—shall be granted a license to develop the Niagara power potential and shall be given full jurisdiction over the distribution of the power thereby obtained. In other words, it hands over to the five private-power companies lock, stock, and barrel the valuable public resource that is the Niagara power potential.

What does this mean to us as consumers? First of all, it means that the power which will be derived from Niagara, which by 1960 will amount to some 16 percent of the total amount of power developed in the State, will be blended with high-cost steam power. It means that the savings which are made possible by hydroelectric development will not be passed on to the consumer.

First of all, the private utility company cannot float its bond issue at anywhere near the favorable terms which the State power authority could do.

Second, under the Public Service Commission's regulations, the private utilities are entitled to a 6-percent return on their investment even though they may pay only 4 percent on their bonds.

Third, it means the continuation of the present high salaries, expense accounts, propaganda activities, and other things that eventually are paid for by the consumer; and,

Fourth, it means that although the private utilities will pay taxes—Federal taxes, who really pays the taxes? We, the consumers.

There is a big hullabaloo over taxes. First of all, these taxes which might be paid from Niagara are only future taxes. They are not now being paid by the private utilities on Niagara because Niagara power is not now being developed. And so in talking about future taxes, it means that you, the consumer, are going to pay higher electric light bills to the private utility companies so that they in turn can pay higher taxes.

Mr. Machold himself, the president of Niagara-Mohawk, has estimated at the hearings last May before the joint House-Senate committee that the private utilities will develop power at Niagara at almost four times what it would cost the New York State Power Authority to develop the power. He quoted the figure of almost 8 mills as against the approximately 2 mills per kilowatt-hour which he admitted it would cost the New York State Power Authority. Now that's from the private utility boss himself.

I mentioned this question of advertising and propaganda. I have a number of exhibits here. The trouble with the consumer is that we don't have this kind of money to spend on advertising and on propaganda. You've seen and heard the television and radio programs put on by the private utility

companies. In my opinion, they are now violating the FCC regulations because they are using those programs as means of spreading their propaganda on legislation which is now before the Congress of the United States. I sought from the Columbia network equal time to test out whether there would be fair treatment on this issue and I was told that they would be glad to put me on a quiz show. And I went on this quiz show but I was allowed by the questioners only 3 minutes to discuss the problem of Niagara redevelopment as against the week-in and week-out half-hour programs put on by the private utilities.

I would like in passing to just give you 1 or 2 facts on this question of taxes. You know, it always amuses me when I see these great private utilities beat their chests and claim that they are dying to pay more taxes to Uncle Sam. This is a new tune. It is a sharp contrast to the tune being sung by, for example, the telephone company, who when it had a recent rate increase sent out a flier with every telephone bill. I am sure you got them the same way I got them, and the little slip of paper said, "We are terribly sorry to have to increase your rates but we hasten to point out that we are doing so because we are paying such high taxes"—and then they gave you a nice table showing all the taxes they are paying. But now we see the private utility companies, the electric companies, come along and they are just dying to pay more taxes—if you listen to their propaganda.

But actually what special tax benefits have they sought in the last 4 years? I have some statistics from the Department of Commerce and from the Library of Congress which are mighty interesting.

Since Korea, the private utility companies in the Niagara area have charged on defense contracts alone so much more above the national cost of electricity—so much more for that electricity used in the production of these defense contracts that Uncle Sam has in effect paid a subsidy to these private utility companies on defense contracts alone since the outbreak of Korean hostilities of over $200 million. Now furthermore, they have put in for and have been granted very favorable tax amortization certificates. They can, therefore, write off the construction costs of their new plants and equipment in 5 years. That means a very considerable tax saving. Mr. Macholl has refused to state whether the private utilities would apply for the tax writeoff if they were granted the right to develop Niagara. If they get tax writeoffs on that, in addition to what they have already received since Korea, the utility companies will have a total tax writeoff of over $450 million. Now these are the same fellows who are beating their chests and being so patriotic in their desire to pay your taxes for you.

It seems to me that this whole question really comes down to who is going to benefit from a natural resource which we the people of the State of New York own. Under the Lehman-Roosevelt proposal, and I hasten to add here that neither Senator LEHMAN nor I have favored Federal construction, ownership, and operation of this project at any time. Our original bill did call for Federal construction by the Corps of Army engineers, because it seemed to us at that time that they were the only qualified experienced outfit to build this tremendous projects. However, in the last year Mr. Burton's State power authority has been granted the license by the Federal Power Commission to develop St. Lawrence. He is now putting together the necessary staff to carry out that construction. He is securing the services of some of the top engineering firms and underwriting firms in the field. It is Senator LEHMAN'S and my considered judgment that under these changed circumstances there is no reason why the State power authority will not be eminently qualified to construct the Niagara project. And, therefore, our bill calls for the construction, ownership, and operation of the Niagara power project by the State of New York. So far Mr. Burton and I see eye-to-eye.

But then we get down to the $64 question of how this power is going to be distributed. I know that we argue and all too often use too many words about what is really meant by our two distribution proposals. I can only tell you that under the New York State plan as it is called, the Dewey-Burton proposal, the power will be turned over at the bus-bar to the same greedy private utility monopoly for distribution to the consumers. I know that Mr. Burton says he will have contracts which will guarantee to provide safeguards for the customers. But I am not sure that Mr. Burton is always going to be head of the State power authority. I am not at all sure that Mr. Burton accurately interprets the law of the State of New York on this very question because I interpret it the way his predecesor, also appointed by Governor Dewey, General Wilby, interpreted it and that is that there should be effected a preference clause as has been legislated by every Federal act for the last 50 years.

Mr. Burton and his associates have a different interpretation. Mr. Burton's interpretation is contrary to the interpretation of every commission since the act was passed in 1931, including the interpretation of General Wilby who, as I said, also was appointed by General Dewey.

The Lehman-Roosevelt proposal is simply this. When the power is to be distributed, we will permit rural cooperatives and municipalities to have a preference of acquisition of power, of their fair share of power, from the project at Niagara Falls, and then the private utility companies can get all the rest. How much power are we talking about? If all of the rural co-ops and municipalities in the area of economic transmission of Niagara were to apply for their preference, for their prior right of acquisition, they would take less than 10 percent of the total production of Niagara Falls, and if this preference or yardstick concept applies to St. Lawrence and Niagara, these rural co-ops and municipalities would take less than 5 percent of the total output of the two projects.

It seems to me like a lot of fuss about very little power. And, therefore, it seems to me that we must be right because if the big private utility monopolies are willing to pay millions and millions of dollars in propaganda and if Mr. Dewey and Mr. Burton are willing to exert themselves as they have on this issue, somebody must be scared of what competition through the yardstick principle is going to do to the power rates of the State of New York and the New England area.

In other words, my friends, if the rural co-ops and the municipal-owned plants distribution systems take this little piddling 10 percent and if they can prove that they can sell power cheaper to the consumer, what's going to happen? The same thing is going to happen in the northeast that has happened in the Tennessee Valley, as it happened in the northwest, as it happened in the southwest. The private utility companies are going to be forced to meet the competition and grant lower rates to consumers.

I want to tell you about one thing that pleases me very much about my position. I want to read you a quote from a speech the Governor of our State made after John Burton and Congressman BILL MILLER and I debated this issue about a month ago before the publishers association of the State of New York only a couple of blocks away. And I might say that this is a far more friendly audience from my point of view. But that evening after I left town, the Governor addressed the publishers and he said the following: "Now, all of you must listen to this because it applies to you. I don't know whether you are Republicans or Democrats and I don't care but whatever you are, wait and find out what the Governor thinks you are." Actually, he says, "it amounts to a provision"—this is a description of the preference clause in my bill—the Lehman-Roosevelt proposal, "it amounts to a provision which says that if the State of New York is allowed to develop the waterpower which belongs to its people it is obligated by law to offer that power first to those communities which bend the knee to the Moscow concept, abandon private operation of their public utilities and socialize them."

That is you he is describing by that demagogic statement, I am afraid that once again a man whom I had always thought was fairminded has slipped into what is becoming today one of the most frightening and dangerous trends of our time—the glib generalization which labels all your opposition as Communists.

He goes on, "if that were the case then the power from Niagara, which would amount in 1960 when it is to be finished, to 20 percent"—he's about 4 percent off—"of the total needs of New York. That would confer all of the power of Niagara on 20 percent of the people and deny the other 80 percent the reduction in power rates." Now that is a patently false statement because if the rural co-ops, as I said, and the municipalities take all of the power they can take under the fair share concept, they will take only 10 percent of all the power that is produced at Niagara. They won't take all of it as the Governor tried to indicate here.

As I said, what's all the shouting about. If the Governor thinks I have a bended knee to Moscow, he's wrong. I didn't spend 5 years in Uncle Sam's Navy to have some little fellow who has been sitting around here tell me that.

I don't think there is anybody in the United States, and perhaps in the world, who knows as much and who has fought more clearly and who has been made convincing in the positions he has taken on the whole subject of electric-power distribution than has Leland Olds in his great public service career.

I can tell you sort of off the record, I know that my father used to listen and learn and seek his advice. And I am very proud that now I have the opportunity to sit at his knee along with many, many others. But I want to suggest one thing. The pamphlet he recently published is a great comprehensive document. It is short enough for all of us here to read and to use in our work. I urge that you get out, however, a 1-page summary. I urge that you don't bother giving everybody the detailed background because that takes too long. I urge that you also go into the business of propaganda, but make yours honest propaganda. Talk about what our plan means in the way of cheaper rates to the consumer. Talk about competition as against monopoly. Second, I would suggest, that we constitute ourselves a committee of 150, or whatever number there are here at this conference. A committee to use every effort to talk about this issue to as many people as possible.

In each of our communities we have many civic, labor, farm, church, and social organizations. This is not a partisan issue, and therefore many of these organzations will permit you to speak at their meetings because you are not expressing a partisan political viewpoint. But I would urge each and everyone of you to go to the Kiwanis Club, the Rotary lunch, to your church men's group, to the farm bureau meeting, to the farmer's union meeting, to the Grange hall. Go to the women's sewing circle, go to every group of 4 or 5, or 6 or 8 or 10 and talk about what this issue is about. And if you do there will be a new awareness in your

community of what may happen if they don't wake up.

I want to add one last point. You know in times when money comes easy it doesn't matter if we spend an extra $2 or $3 or $4 per month on our electric light bill. Somehow we find the extra cash. But, my friends, whether we like it or not and I don't care what name you apply to it, we are in a recession. I know that in many of the communities you come from there are men today on the unemployment insurance rolls. Money is not as easy to come by as it used to be. And I am not blaming any political parties or any individual—these are the hard facts.

When we had the last great depression, public power was a burning issue because people needed public power—cheap power. And once again I predict to you that while we have been living on perhaps a little too much fat and, therefore, have lost sight of the importance of cheap power during the last few years, the housewife and the farmer, the head of the family and the businessman is becoming increasingly aware of the importance of having cheap electric power.

I need not tell you of the importance of cheap power to the farmers of our area. Electricity is becoming more and more of a necessity in the production of our agricultural products. I need not tell you of what cheap power can mean in bringing new industry to our States, of creating new jobs, of producing more goods at cheaper prices. These are some of the major factors of why our area must catch up to the rest of the Nation, which has had the benefit of cheap electric power.

Now is the time for New York and the northwestern region to get its fair share of the greatest natural resource for the development of electricity that could be given by God. It is high time that we developed it for our own benefit. With your help, my friends, we will roll back the propaganda of the greedy private utilities and we will roll forward the interests of the consumers whom we represent.

Open Letter to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS E. DORN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I should like to include the following article from the March 1954 issue of the BKRO News, the official newspaper of the employees' association, Brooklyn regional office, Veterans' Administration, 260 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., entitled "Open Letter to Congress":

OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS

We take this opportunity to state our case.

The employees' association of the Brooklyn regional office, Veterans' Administration, wishes to speak its piece on why we believe classified employees in the Federal Government deserve a substantial pay raise this year.

The majority of employees at this station are veterans, married, and have been with the VA about 8 years. Many have at least two children. The average salary is less than $3,000 per annum. It is considerably less after deductions such as 6 percent for retirement and withholding taxes.

Our last raise was 31 months ago. Since that time the cost of living has spiraled up and up. In order to make ends meet many of us have taken on other duties such as part-time jobs evenings and weekends. A large group of wives have had to find employment, sometimes resulting in the neglect of children.

We feel that this should not be so. Career employees should not be treated so shabbily. We do our jobs to the best of our ability. We perform a necessary service and feel that we should be compensated for it accordingly.

We urge you to pass legislation which would guarantee us a better wage so that we can continue to lead a decent American way of life.

Thirty-sixth Anniversay of Lithuania's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to submit to the House an address delivered by one of Buffalo's distinguished citizens, Walter V. Chopyk, before the Lithuanian Societies of Buffalo, N. Y., on February 28, 1954.

I want to personally join in the spirit of the message:

Mr. Chairman, our distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, this evening I bring you greetings from the Buffalo Chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on your 36th anniversary celebration of Lithuania's independence. The Ukraine for a long time has had the feeling of Lithuania's desire for freedom from Soviet bondage and persecution. We know the pains that Lithuania has suffered; we have suffered with her.

This evening as an American of Ukrainian descent, and as public relations director of the Buffalo Chapter of the UCCA, I would like to present to you an important step, which I think is a proper one, for our Government to take, a direct approach to a policy of liberation, a policy of hope, for 202 million outstretched hands behind the Iron Curtain.

At present in Congress there is Concurrent Resolution 58, introduced at the 83d Congress by Representative LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin. It reads as follows:

"That it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States in support of a policy of liberation should proceed to establish direct diplomatic relations with the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic."

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic, with its population of 42,272,000, and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, with 10,525,000 people (92 percent of the combined populations are of non-Russian origin), form the two largest non-Russian countries of the U. S. S. R.

As I have shown you, here we have two of the most populated areas of the U. S. S. R. which are the most sensitive and unstable areas within the Soviet orbit. Proof of this is the fact that in news dispatches of Premier Georgi Malenkov's unannounced tours into the Ukraine and other Soviet areas the velvet-glove approach is used in order to pacify the restless populace. With these facts in mind, let us visualize the consequences of the passage and amplification of House Concurrent Resolution 58:

1. It will lend enormous moral encouragement and support, not only to the Ukraine and Byelorussia but to all non-Russian nations, such as Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, and even to anti-imperialistic Russians who believe in and are struggling for freedom.

2. It would precipitate grave concern in the Kremlin over America's demonstrated interest in the two most unstable and restless national areas in the Soviet Union.

3. It would greatly advance our propaganda war against the Soviet Union and offset spurious Soviet propaganda that the hopes and aspirations of these nations lie with Moscow rather than Washington.

4. It will strengthen the bonds of alliance between America and these natural allies.

5. As a medium of the American peace, it would be an acid test of Soviet peace intentions.

6. If the offer of peaceful diplomatic relations is accepted, it will provide us with additional listening posts into the most forbidden and strategically important areas in the Soviet Empire.

7. If the offer is refused, it would generate acute embarrassment for the highly vocal puppet delegations representing these two nations in the U. N.

8. Either way, in this type of diplomatic poker, we stand to win by this concrete step in our unfolding policy of liberation and do justice to the thoughts underlying the declarations of our Secretary of State, as recently stated to former President Truman:

"Prolonged unwillingness to try new methods in solving international problems is condemning millions to despair, despotism, and genocide, and is endangering our own safety as Russian conquests are being consolidated against us"—New York Times, August 26, 1952.

My remarks concerning the liberation of the Ukraine are equally applicable to the plight of Lithuania, who is also fighting for its freedom. It is my fervent hope that the American sons and friends of these two countries—Lithuania and the Ukraine—will continue to act in concert and urge the United States to accelerate the adoption and pursuit of the policy of liberation contained in House Concurrent Resolution 58 and as outlined by my remarks here tonight, and to repudiate and abandon the soft policy of containment that our Government has heretofore followed.

Reading Maketh a Full Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Democratic Digest of April 1954:

READING MAKETH A FULL MAN

It must regretfully be reported that the Eisenhower administration is competing with such free enterprise publishing ventures as Life, the Saturday Evening Post, and the Democratic Digest.

One of the Government's big publishing successes is a booklet on how to wash dishes. In the 1952 campaign Mr. Eisenhower said this booklet was a "symbol of shameful wasting of tax funds." Well, sir, it turns out now that the Eisenhower administration is mailing out copies of this booklet so much faster than the Truman administration sent them out that the Department of Agriculture has had to publish 15,000 additional copies.

Another of the Government's popular booklets is causing some worry in Texas. It

seems that back in the Hoover administration there was a decline in prosperity (we don't want to use the word de * * * ssion because the Republicans might accuse us of trying to talk the country into a de * * * ssion) and jackrabbits became quite familiar items on the bill of fare of Texas farmers. In fact, former House Speaker SAM RAYBURN tells about a farmer coming into Bonham and saying, "The depression (the farmer said the word, not us) is over. I just saw a jackrabbit run across the road and only two men were chasing it." It turns out that the Government Printing Office is distributing a booklet entitled "Ways To Cook Rabbit," and folks down Texas way wonder if the administration is actually as confident as it sounds when it says nobody should worry about a de * * * ssion.

Mr. Hammell to Mr. Jones: Size and Weight Limits on Parcel Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, cited below is a recent letter from Mr. A. L. Hammell, president, Railway Express Agency, to Mr. Roland Jones, Jr., chairman, National Committee on Parcel Post Size and Weight Limitations.

At issue is size and weight legislation on parcel post and the extent of its aid to free enterprise, the carrier, the consumer, and the Government:

RAILWAY EXPRESS AGENCY, INC.,
New York, N. Y., March 2, 1954.

Mr. ROWLAND JONES, Jr.,
Chairman, National Committee on Parcel Post Size and Weight Limitations, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JONES: This will acknowledge your letter of February 24 in which you take sharp issue with the testimony of President Faricy, of the Association of American Railroads, who recently appeared as a witness in a hearing before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in connection with size and weight limits on parcel post.

As president of the American Retail Federation, you have repeatedly taken the position that the Government should not be in competition with private industry, criticizing the post exchange and similar operations in particular. The same principles apply to the transportation industry. For more than 40 years the parcel post system of this country has been a below-cost transportation service in competition not only with the express companies, but with other forms of transportation operating under the same competitive form of free enterprise. One of the principal victims of such unfair competition has been Railway Express Agency which is totally owned by the railroads, serving as their corporate vehicle for carrying on their express operations.

Aside from the free-enterprise principle, apparently you are without considerable factual information in drawing the conclusion you have that "any legislation which injures parcel post injures the railroads." The best evidence that Public Law 199 is a good thing for the railroads is the fact that Railway Express Agency in 1952 (the first year of the operation of that law) paid them approximately $51,000,000 more than in the year 1951.

Because of increases in railway wages and other costs the railroads were not able to carry all of these increased payments from the Railway Express Agency through to net income. However, the net result of the improvement to the railroads would amount to about $45 million. These are inescapable facts and explode completely the arguments you put forth and upon which you base the statement to which I have referred above.

In addition to the increased returns received by the railroads from Railway Express, they also benefited from the substantial diversion of former parcel-post traffic to freight forwarders. The latter's gross revenue increased 11.5 percent and shipments increased 16.2 percent as compared with the previous year of 1951. It is also my understanding that the LCL freight service of the railroads received some part of the traffic that may have been diverted from parcel-post service. In addition, some of my motor-carrier friends likewise operating under the free-enterprise system, say that they benefited from the passage of Public Law 199.

You have used very strong language with respect to the reaction of your group as shippers, in effect implying a boycott of railroad and allied services. I doubt that many of the cooperative groups to which you refer would agree to such action.

Naturally, because of the very serious effect repeal of Public Law 199 would have on the operations of this company, I am concerned with the loose statements you have made—not based upon fact but upon wishful thinking—and assuming that you have written similar letters to presidents of railroads having contracts with this agency, I am sending them a copy of this communication.

Very truly yours,

A. L. HAMMELL,
President.

In Truman Recession, 1950, 4,700,000 Were Jobless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VICTOR A. KNOX
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "In Truman Recession, 1950, 4,700,000 Were Jobless," which appeared in the Otsego County Herald-Times, March 11, 1954. The editorial follows:

IN TRUMAN RECESSION, 1950, 4,700,000 WERE JOBLESS

The Herald-Times is printing herewith an editorial taken from the February 24 issue of the Nashville Banner, one of the oldest and most respected newspapers in the South. It has a record of sticking with the facts and not following a most popular or most hysterical pattern of public thought. From the Banner comes this sane analysis of the employment situation:

"Speaking of unemployment, the trough of the Truman recession in terms of that was in January 1950—just 5 months before the start of the Korean police action, when 4,700,000 were out of work. On March 11 of that year the Bureau of Employment Security reported that the number of the Nation's distress areas (locations with 12 percent or more of their workers jobless) had risen from 39 to 43; and the AFL National Farm Labor Union told Mr. Truman on March 10 that at least 100,000 children of unemployed farm workers were starving.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics had reported on February 18, 1949, that 3 million were out of work in the Nation, but Commissioner Ewan Clague said consolingly that only if unemployment was sustained at 4 million to 5 million would the situation be serious.

"On July 26, in his economic report to Congress, Mr. Truman stated that unemployment was down to 3,400,000. That was 1 month after we got into the Korean war; by September the Census Bureau reported a further decline to 2,500,000; and by October the total was put at 1,940,000.

"It's well to keep the record straight—whether to see just where we are, and how we got there, or where we have been.

"Back in 1949, with unemployment hovering around that 3 million mark, Mr. Truman was speaking about 'another year' just experienced 'of bountiful prosperity.' With unemployment now hovering in that same vicinity he dons his fright wig to shout from an ADA rostrum that 'the Nation is in a recession.' And cooking on the same ideological burner, Democratic Chairman Stephen Mitchell opines that 'the economic situation will be a major issue in the 1954 campaign * * *' and, 'The principal question is going to be "am I better off or worse off than I was a year ago or 2 years ago?"'

"We don't know, of course, how much better off or worse off Mr. Mitchell is, but the country has some comparisons to make involving major considerations close to its heart. For one thing, it is not at war in Korea. Its sons as of this writing are not dying on that battlefield.

"It is moving a war economy to a peace economy, believing with the President that 'America's prosperity does not and need not depend upon war or the preparations for war. We know that this great country can make the adjustments necessary to meet changing circumstances without encouraging disaster and without bringing about the economic chaos for which the Communists hope.'

"Calamity howlers, whatever their motives, are engaged in a shoddy business which wiser minds in their own party condemn.

"The facts of unemployment are not something to be discounted out of existence, but to be faced realistically and intelligently. They were inevitable in the adjustment from war to peace—would anyone propose to solve them by reversing that direction. The Nation is capable of straighter thinking than that. With the confidence born of sober leadership, it can solve this problem otherwise. Meanwhile, it isn't amiss to remember that unemployment even in this interval of readjustment still is far under the total that occurred when Mr. Truman et al. were talking so glibly of that bountiful prosperity."

Confusion on Defense New Look Due to Overeager Spokesmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the so-called New Look was recently discussed by Mr. Roscoe Drummond, an able and distinguished columnist. I should like to include in our RECORD his article which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 19, 1954:

CONFUSION ON DEFENSE NEW LOOK DUE TO OVEREAGER SPOKESMEN—POLICY IS NOT REVOLUTIONARY BUT RATHER A CHANGE IN EMPHASIS DURING LONG-TERM BUILDUP

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson is instinctively a candid and plain-speaking public official. His latest candor and plain-spokenness appear in his testimony before Congress this week on the administration's New Look military policy. He testified that it is producing a lot of confusion.

Now there is one of the most accurate statements yet applied. The questions it raises are: Where does this confusion come from and why have we had so much of it?

There has been public confusion over the administration's new military policy because there has been official confusion in expounding it. In recent weeks—even in recent days—high Government officials have publicized conflicting and widely divergent interpretations of what the New Look means, what it involves, and what it is intended to do.

Let me illustrate. In his recent radio-telecast, Vice President NIXON stated that he would explain what this new policy is and how it differs from the old. He said:

"Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression at times and places that we chose."

Thus NIXON is saying that the New Look represents new policy and that its key characteristic is massive retaliation upon the major enemy.

The opposite of what Nixon said about the New Look is nearer the truth. The administration's military policy is not new, is not revolutionary, represents no significant break with previous military planning.

Its key characteristic is not massive retaliation, at least not in the view of Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who said this week that its distinguishing feature is a "steady, long-term gain in combat strength, rather than a rapid buildup for a particular crisis."

It does not assume that atomic retaliatory power will necessarily deter all aggression. It does not assume that the United States will be free of all local nibbling aggressions which may have to be met by limited defense.

The New Look does not assume any of these things, singly. In one sense, it assumes all of these things since its objective is to bring modern weapons into harness to increase all our military capabilities to meet emergencies which obviously cannot be foreseen.

What is original about the New Look is its emphasis upon the capacity for retaliation—which is aimed to avert aggression—and the increased freedom of action to counter aggression not merely at the point of attack but at places of our own choosing. This is not new American military doctrine but it is more to the front in our planning than heretofore.

Why the defense program ever got so lamely and so loosely and so contradictorily explained is hard to say. Probably the reason is that its numerous spokesmen were overeager to prove that it had nothing but new wares in the political show window.

The President himself began to set the record straight in his latest press conference. He said there was no one-weapon reliance at all in the Government's defense strategy. He said that to call the New Look revolutionary is not true. He said that we must have the capacity of massive retaliation as a deterrent but that we must be flexible enough to deal with limited aggressions and not assume that every aggression would be turned into a world war.

What was wrong, evidently was not the New Look but the new lookers.

Postal Supervisors' Salaries Commensurate With Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CECIL R. KING
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. KING of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my statement before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service urging salaries for postal supervisors commensurate with their responsibilities:

Mr. Chairman, I ask your earnest consideration of the provisions of legislation in behalf of postal supervisors.

In addition to a cost-of-living increase, the postal supervisor has a particular objective in this session of Congress in the provisions of H. R. 2585 and S. 1750 which provide for an adjustment of the inequities that have been caused by salary legislation enacted since 1945. These identical bills also provide for within-grade promotions in each level of supervision.

It will appear evident that an injustice exists when it is pointed out that all employees under the Classification Act as well as most employees in the postal service enjoy periodic step increases. Postal supervisors, however, have the unique distinction of being confined to a single salary grade. This phase alone should merit and warrant enactment of this legislation.

In recent years inequities and injustices have crept into the salary structure of the postal supervisor. He has found himself the victim of an unfortunate legislative cycle that has narrowed the salaries in various levels of supervision and responsibility.

First the Little-Steel formula restricted a full adjustment in Public Law 134 enacted in July 1945. Then came horizontal increases that added to the inequities. Finally the Wage Stabilization Act nullified efforts for a full adjustment in Public Law 204 enacted in 1951.

The present salary structure has been thrown out of balance by the restrictions previously mentioned. They have caused a very narrow spread to exist between various levels of supervision. This in turn has resulted in inadequate compensation commensurate with responsibility. The proposed salary schedules on the other hand will spread the salaries to compensate in each grade and in each level of supervision and responsibility.

I feel there is full justification for the enactment of this legislation. In fact, I feel that the salaries of postal supervisors initially should be at least those provided in the final grade of the within grade provisions. Particularly do I believe this when I compare the responsibilities and salaries of a postal supervisor with that of a supervisor in private industry or even within the Governmental service itself as provided in the general-service schedules. It also seems only equitable that assistant postmasters should be paid proportionately as to the responsibility held and also comparatively with the similar positions held in private industry, and that overtime should be available to supervisors at any time during the year as it is allowed to the clerks and carriers.

May I in behalf of the postal supervisors in my district appeal to your committee in its wisdom, Mr. Chairman, to approve this measure.

State of the Nations—Washington Semantics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the Wednesday, March 24, Christian Science Monitor.

To paraphrase Shakespeare: "What's in a slogan? A rose by any other name would smell."

The article follows:

STATE OF THE NATIONS—WASHINGTON SEMANTICS

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—It was after Paul Hoffman made one of his visits to Washington, including a call at the White House, that President Eisenhower said he was weary of the phrase New Look, and redefined it as meaning only an orderly evolution of United States military policy.

History does not record whether Mr. Hoffman commented to the President, as he has to others, on the wonderful semantics of the automobile industry, where he spent that part of his life not otherwise occupied by the Marshall plan, the Ford Foundation, and the Citizens for Eisenhower Committee.

However, there was a Hoffman call at the White House, after which the President did attempt to redefine one of Washington's most overused phrases into quiet terms. It can also be reported that sloganeering is falling into disrepute along the Potomac, that there is less talk of "merchandising" the administration program, and that two general categories of events preceded this notable change in the atmosphere of Washington.

One event was Mr. Hoffman's urbane discourse, heard by many others if perhaps not by the President, on semantics in the automobile industry. Mr. Hoffman pointed out that only the American automotive salesman of all people in the world could coin such a contradiction in terms as a "hard-top convertible," and that only in this same industry is the phrase "de luxe" employed to mean a utility as opposed to a luxury product.

The other event has been the sequence of governmental merchandising operations which have left a residue of embarrassing and as yet incomplete political explaining to be done. Experience with these operations makes it in order to present a glossary of Washington slogans as they are currently understood in this city.

This glossary is not complete. Nor is it objective. In exaggerated form it does express why Mr. Hoffman has been reminding administration officials of the inconsistency of "hard-top convertibles," and why the President redefined "New Look" as something evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

Sloganeering and merchandising had been carried beyond the point of diminish-

ing returns. Administration publicity was losing effectiveness from exaggerated claims in advance of performance. A readjustment down to a level of realism was in order. The President gave the cue to the whole administration when he redefined the "New Look."

It should be understood that the following definitions are drawn from Washington conversations, some of them from the political opposition. (And, of course, they are not a serious statement of the editorial position of the Christian Science Monitor.) Don't shoot the columnist:

"Unleashing Chiang Kai-shek." Keeping Chiang Kai-shek more comfortably housed on Formosa than the British kept King Haile Selassie during that monarch's exile from Ethiopia at the Hyde Park Hotel in London.

"Liberation." Containment of the Soviet empire by a reduced United States military budget subject to the qualification that there may be "normal setbacks" in the process.

"More dynamic foreign policy." Same as above.

"Twenty years of treason." Twenty years of Democrats in office.

"More than 2,400 security risks." One avowed former Communist Party member, anyhow.

"Dynamic, forward-looking legislative program." A legislative program which probably would merit considerable public approval if the McCarthy issue could be cleared away long enough for the public to be able to see the legislative program.

"Teamwork." Every high-placed Government official expressing an individual, and usually conflicting, view on the degree of menace of the Soviet atomic program.

"Agonizing reappraisal." Giving the French more guns, tanks, and planes for the war in Indochina entirely regardless of their continued reluctance to ratify EDC.

The United States has "the initiative." Communist pressure increases in Indochina, Britain, Canada, and India agree to promote United Nations membership for Communist China, and Moscow explodes an H-bomb.

"Hard money" and a "balanced budget." Rolling readjustment and an increase in the statutory Federal debt limit.

"Instant retaliation." Not dropping an A-bomb on Moscow at the next act of aggression because Moscow has A-bombs, too, and would drop them on the United States.

"Isolation of JOE MCCARTHY." A program mapped out at the Commodore Hotel in New York in January, 1953, under which the Senator has become the second most important individual in Washington and the most talked-about single person in the world.

"Psychological strategy." Justifying defense cuts in Washington by a theory of impending collapse inside the Soviet Union.

"Flexible price supports." A program for reviving the Democratic Party in the Farm Belt.

"Trade not aid." Contain the high-tariff bloc if possible.

"Bleeding-heart left-wingers." The Washington press corps.

Our Neglected Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, it is apparent to me and to many others that the Congress and the executive branch of our Government are showing an appalling lack of concern for the necessity of maintaining a strong merchant marine.

As a member of the great Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I am anxiously aware, as are the other members of that committee, that far too little is being done to avert the disaster of allowing this vital fourth arm of national defense to deteriorate to a state of impotence.

In this connection, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter in today's issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald. This letter was written by a man who served long and honorably in another branch of our national defense—H. E. Yarnell, admiral, United States Navy, retired.

It is heartening to see this evidence of recognition on the part of a man of high Navy rank of the fact that a strong merchant marine is an essential complement to a strong Navy, a strong Army, and a strong Air Force:

MAJOR DEFENSE ARM

In all the discussion of New Look plans for national defense, little or nothing has been said of the major importance of a merchant marine in such plans. Yet World Wars I and II demonstrated that merchant tonnage was just as necessary for victory as troops, planes, and men-of-war.

Yet we read in the press of shipyards closing down for lack of work; that the Maritime Academy is to be closed for economy's sake; that the number of merchant seamen has decreased by many thousands in recent months. We see very little in the press of efforts being made in Congress to remedy the situation.

At the same time we are pouring out billions on the armed services, and for aid of dubious value to dozens of foreign countries.

Surely elementary foresight on the part of our Government should prevent any further decay of this major arm of our national defense.

H. E. YARNELL,
Admiral, United States Navy, retired.
NEWPORT, R. I.

Continuation of Direct-Loan Program to June 30, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8152) to extend to June 30, 1955, the direct home and farmhouse loan authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs under title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, to make additional funds available therefor, and for other purposes.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to support this measure before us to extend the direct home and farmhouse loan authority of the Veterans' Administration to finance veterans in their purchases of homes.

I recall this measure was a part of the original GI bill passed in 1944 which I had the privilege of helping to write and pass on the floor of this House.

The operation of this particular measure has been so successful that even on its wide front of operations less than 1 percent of the loans negotiated by the veterans under this act have been in default. This is a splendid tribute to the honest ability, the purpose, and integrity of the veterans of our Nation.

It is a tribute to their soundness of judgment, their desire to own their own homes, and their willingness to struggle and save to meet the payments, as hundreds of thousands of them have so successfully done, since the Government provided them the opportunity under such legislation as this which we are extending today for another year, and on which we are voting today to increase the loan fund by $100 million.

A Statesman's Insight

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I have noted a splendid editorial in the Wadena (Minn.) Pioneer Journal which recognizes the high statesmanship of our colleague LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin. I feel that the editorial is of deep interest to my colleagues both on the subject matter discussed and the general recognition which is so justly due to our colleague LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin:

A STATESMAN'S INSIGHT

Representative LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin, is a stalwart foe of communism who speaks with authority. He is a high-ranking member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and has personally visited Europe, Asia, South America, and the Middle East in studying communism. In a reassuring article in the National Republic, of Washington, Mr. SMITH emphasizes the ignorance of the Washington Government under Truman and Acheson, which enormously aided the Soviet Union and the Chinese Reds in spreading their empire. He begs American citizens to study the true situation, to the end that they may be reassured as to the superiority of the free world in war strength. He asserts that the slave empire of Russia is in serious economic difficulties that will soon become apparent to the world. The Russian mainland, observes Mr. SMITH, with a population of 210 millions, "cannot begin to supply its own basic peacetime needs in food, clothing, and shelter. Russia is trying to sustain 62 percent more people than the United States with an overall annual industrial production which aggregates roughly one-third of the United States total."

Mr. SMITH analyzes the economy of Soviet Russia and puts his finger upon its fatal weakness—the system of slavery. The individuals actually in slave camps number about 20 million, while all workers nominally free are cruelly overworked in the frenzied effort to keep the nation fed, housed, clothed, and armed. The Wisconsin statesman takes note of the shortened life of slaves—about 6 years—and the deadly hatred of slavemasters by the victims and their families. He looks for an explosion of some kind as a result of the havoc wrought by slavery.

While they last, the advantages of slavery are deceptive. The ancients were deluded by the idea that slavery could enrich a state and give it permanent prosperity. Every nation practicing slavery ultimately succumbed to its evils. Only the Russian Communists and their Chinese accomplices now embrace the idea that they can maintain an economy based upon slavery. So long as slave labor seems to be cheap and before slavery's corrosive effects are detected, the system is superficially successful, but within it are the seeds of death—death by violence and national hemorrhage of blood.

Representative SMITH is right; Soviet Russia and Red China are doomed. The hour of their collapse cannot be foreseen. They may do great harm to the world before they collapse, and therefore the world must beware of them. But nature, human nature and God are not idle. In due time, even if the evil-doers are not beaten by war, the iron dice of destiny will decree the freedom of all Russians and all Chinese.

Rear Adm. M. L. Royar Rings the Bell for the Navy on the Taxpayer's Dollar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in a recent Department of the Navy release entitled "The Public Is Our Boss, Let Us Keep It Informed," Rear Adm. M. L. Royar, Chief, Bureau Supplies and Accounts, dingdongs the Navy to keep waste wiped off its slate to guarantee the taxpayer 100 cents on every 1 of his shore and offshore defense dollars.

I am interested in the below cited release by Admiral Royar, Mr. Speaker, because I like to tell of its application at the most efficient naval installation of its kind in the United States, in the world for that matter, bar none. I speak, of course, of the Naval Supply Depot, at Bayonne, N. J., skippered by Capt. Hugh Haynsworth.

It is wonderful for a Congressman to be able to stand on the floor of this House, Mr. Speaker, and in broad daylight, to challenge all comers to match the efficient operation of the taxpayers' dollar as one sees it at work in the supply depot at Bayonne, N. J. I like to tell this story, Mr. Speaker. Congratulations to all concerned.

However, performance is generally sparked by leadership and inspiration. This release by Admiral Royar furnished just that spark of leadership and inspiration as to make my constituency happy to have it cited herewith:

THE PUBLIC IS OUR BOSS; LET US KEEP IT INFORMED

(The Supply Corps of the Navy is charged with the responsibility of obtaining maximum value for the taxpayer's dollar in extending supply and logistic support to fleet and shore activities.)

The Christian religion is almost 20 centuries old, yet every Sunday morning the Little Church Around the Corner rings the bell to remind the people of their spiritual obligation. We, too, must keep ringing the bell to make sure that the people are mindful of our great Navy and its various operations. We cannot trust to the hope that our good deeds will shine forth like a candle in the dark. Rather, we must tell the story again and again by every means at our command.

Too seldom has the subject of Navy public information been seriously considered. Nevertheless, Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson recently had this to say:

"The keynote of the Navy's public information program is based upon the principle that the public has an inalienable right to know the manner in which the Navy is administered. To discharge this responsibility it is the policy of the Navy to keep the public fully informed on all Navy activities compatible with military security."

Public information is but one aspect of public relations and is not to be confused with publicity or propaganda. It deals in facts—facts which the public is entitled to know. It follows that a sound public information program will contribute immeasurably to a well-rounded public-relations policy. Experience has taught us that an informed public is an understanding public. If we are honest and forthright with the public it will be honest and forthright with us. This is basic in public relations.

A recent issue of the Navy's Public Relations Newsletter, reiterated official Navy policy concerning this phase of public relations as follows: "For most of us, the first—and strictly human—reaction when confronted with something unfortunate that can't help but put the Navy in a bad light is, 'For heaven's sake, don't let the press get hold of this.' Such a reaction is human, but it isn't smart because it simply is thoroughly dishonest and therefore thoroughly wrong. Any temporary respite from criticism is just that—very temporary. And the criticism for the original situation is nothing compared to the blasting which awaits the man or organization that tries to keep bad news a secret. Unsurprisingly, it seldom if ever ever remains a secret very long."

ADMIRAL CARNEY SPEAKS

In a letter thanking Yates McDaniel of the Asociated Press for speaking before the recent Commandants' Conference, the Chief of Naval Operations gave his views on this important point. Admiral Carney wrote:

"I was particularly impressed with your point about the importance of being frank and aboveboard with the press rather than trying to hide things that can't in the long run be hidden. This has always been my personal policy and will be the policy of the Navy as long as I have the power to influence it."

Public information is the "telling" part of the larger field of public relations. Any such program will fail if this important phase of the job is neglected. It is the duty of all technical information officers to keep the public aware of the Navy as an instrument of national security.

The basic public information objectives of the Navy Department have been and continue to be:

1. To satisfy the American public's justifiable interest in the Navy.

2. To obtain for the personnel of the Navy public recognition commensurate with their accomplishments.

3. To insure public awareness of the Navy's role within the Department of Defense and thereby continue public support of the United States Navy.

4. To develop cooperation and enthusiasm within the Naval Establishment which will reflect credit to the service.

RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING ESSENTIAL

Furthermore, these objectives are to create mutual confidence of respect and understanding between the Navy and the public. This is essential to insure a maximum realization in attaining national security.

In order to accomplish these objectives every naval officer must realize that good will is a byproduct of his own actions. How he deports himself in all dealings with people will determine to a degree what the public thinks of the Navy. He must bear in mind that public acceptance is one of the major goals of the public relations program. The policy still stands that public relations is an all-hands job.

In years gone by public relations was not recognized as such. It was simply labeled "leadership" or "commonsense." The Chief of Naval Operations, in a speech delivered December 11, 1953, said it this way:

"Let me cite one more Navy objective. I am thinking of a sound public relations program. I am speaking of public relations in the broader sense, as it affects every man wearing the uniform and those who support that uniform. It involves every aspect of human conduct in the field of human relations. Reams have been written on this subject, and rightly so, because of the fundamental importance of informed public opinion. I firmly believe there are two basic principles on which public relations are founded. They are integrity and commonsense."

In following this policy, we must first dissipate the myth that professional records will be marred if an officer is engaged for a reasonable period in a technical information officer's billet. He must realize that in this assignment he has an opportunity to broaden his professional experience and background which will reflect upon the Navy, the Supply Corps and himself.

NOTHING MYSTERIOUS OR COMPLICATED

There is nothing mysterious or complicated about public relations. Both public information and public relations follow normal, official channels. The main tools are common sense, an inclination for the work, a reliable sense of discretion, sustained enthusiasm and energy, plus a working knowledge of the supply system.

Some Supply Corps officers are reluctant to accept public information billets. This is perhaps due to a feeling of professional apprehension. Rotation of such duties among regular naval officers, however, does not prove an impediment to naval careers. As a matter of fact, it has proved a distinct ultimate advantage.

Since public relations is a command responsibility in all field activities, it remains the prerogative of a commanding officer to direct his own public-relations program. But how can we expect a commanding officer to support a public-relations program if he is totally unsympathetic and unfamiliar with the basic concepts of public information, having been denied or deprived of earlier training in this field.

It is essential, therefore, to encourage regular officers to serve enthusiastically in these billets, either in a primary or collateral-duty status.

NO ADDED EXPENSE

The Supply Corps must select the best qualified officers for these positions. By use of their services as information officers there would be no added expense incurred by the Navy.

In view of the cutbacks contemplated in total Naval Reserve officers on active duty, it will be necessary that more regulars assume public-information responsibilities.

All commands are free to devise their own public-relations techniques consistent with overall Navy policy. Since public relations is a management responsibility, these policies must be in the public interest and the public must be made aware of them. Admiral Carney emphasized this view when he said:

"An informed public is essential for an effective Navy. Commanding officers will therefore assure that the public information policies contained in the new United

States Navy Public Information Manual are effectively implemented, and that all hands are thoroughly indoctrinated as to their responsibilities to the public. The vigorous support of commanders and commanding officers is essential if the Navy's public relations program is to be effective. Only by full cooperation of all naval personnel is it possible to insure adequate and continuing public support for the Navy's vital role in national defense. Personnel assigned primary or collateral public information duties will be afforded direct access and full cooperation by their commanding officers to assure the efficient performance of all public information functions herein delineated."

A number of supply activities under the management control of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts are carrying on vigorous technical information programs. These are not propaganda mills. Such programs have resulted in much favorable public comment and recognition. It is the desire of the Bureau that other supply activities should initiate and set up effective technical information programs.

Several field activities have been cited for excellency in TIO functions by the Chief of Information, Navy Department, in the Public Relations Newsletter. NSD Bayonne has been so recognized no less than three times in recent months.

The three Naval Supply centers at Oakland, Norfolk, and Pearl Harbor have over a period of years carried on effective technical information programs. This includes technical information programs through the press, radio, and television, as well as guided tours for civic organizations and visits by other groups. For example, NSC Norfolk's motto is: Better public information today—better public relations tomorrow.

Another field activity with an interesting public relations program is NPO San Francisco. Its program is designed to solve the problem of how to get along. As a command responsibility, the officer in charge has assigned high priority to this program.

In order to have purchasing agents and contracting officer personnel understand and learn more about related supply functions, NPO San Francisco has undertaken an ambitious visitation program. In addition, trips to contractors' plants have been planned. This program has produced tangible results between naval installations of the west coast and the two major shipyards in the area. Also, other meetings are scheduled with trade organizations and chambers of commerce.

CLEARFIELD TELLS THE STORY

The Naval Supply Depot, Clearfield, Utah, is telling the supply story through extensive community and press relations. Preparing stories and supplying photographs to newspapers, magazines, trade journals, wire services, armed forces magazines, and station newspapers are regular duties of the depot's technical information officer.

NSD, San Pedro, Calif., is promoting better community relations with a weekly radio program which presents activities of interest to the community.

An example of coordinated technical information was demonstrated in the cold-weather clothing tests last February on Mount Washington, N. H. Life magazine gave extensive pictorial coverage to the event and the story also received wide news and pictorial coverage by the Associated Press and the New York Times. In addition it received nationwide television coverage by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This project was coordinated by the Technical Information Office of BuSandA with the Clothing Supply Office's technical information officer.

All types of publicity are potential tools for building good will, but they are only a part of establishing favorable public relations. So, we take advantage of another technique—direct community relations. This part of public relations should interest all Supply Corps officers as their official duties in shore billets are closely related to the community in which they live.

OAKLAND GETS RECOGNITION

When we do a good job in community relations we get favorable recognition. An example of this is an editorial concerning NSC Oakland which appeared in the Oakland Tribune as follows: "The 10th anniversary of the Oakland Naval Supply Center, largest of its kind in the United States, marked a decade of growth with Oakland and California. It serves to remind this community of the greatest importance of this activity to our economy. * * * Relations between the supply center and this community have always been excellent. We recommend the center as an example of good public relations."

Recently both military and civilian personnel of the Naval Supply Center at Norfolk, worked hard at their annual Christmas doll-dressing project. The bright faces of 2,000 little girls bespoke the community's appreciation.

Every opportunity to emphasize the family aspect of Navy life helps the Navy's community relations.

Speaking appearances before school groups, civic organizations, luncheon clubs, and any other community organizations which contribute to the community's progress help to improve Navy public relations and at the same time provide sounding boards for newspaper and radio coverage. The list of community endeavors is limited only by a TIO's ingenuity.

There is a feeling among some commands in the Supply Corps that as long as no major catastrophies occur, "Why worry about TIO activities?" A preacher may deliver a sermon each Sunday, live an exemplary life, with little or no public comment. Yet, let him be caught kissing a member of the choir and headlines blaze forth. Similarly, the Navy preserves millions of pounds of food successfully without notice, but when spoiled hams reek in the newspaper headlines.

The goodwill of the American people is a powerful asset to the Navy. Therefore, let us keep it as such. This can be done by making available complete and accurate information on naval supply operation. Because the Navy is public property, the public is entitled to know what has been bought with its tax dollars, and, whether its investment is contributing maximum support to national security. The rewards of a successful technical information program are public recognition, acceptance, and support.

Protecting America's Heritage of Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, in accordance with permission granted during the course of my remarks in the Senate today, I submit for publication in the Appendix of the RECORD the articles on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, to which I made reference.

The articles are as follows:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Drafted by Thomas Jefferson between June 11 and June 28, 1776, the Declaration of Independence is at once the Nation's most cherished symbol of liberty and Jefferson's most enduring monument. Here, in exalted and unforgettable phrases, Jefferson expressed the convictions in the minds and hearts of the American people. The political philosophy of the Declaration was not new; its ideals of individual liberty had already been expressed by John Locke and the continental philosophers. What Jefferson did was to summarize this philosophy in "self-evident truths" and to set forth a list of grievances against the King in order to justify before the world the breaking of ties between the Colonies and the mother country.

Early in May of 1776 Jefferson left his home at Monticello to ride to Philadelphia as one of Virginia's Delegates to the Continental Congress. Over a year had passed since the guns had blazed at Lexington and Concord and hopes of reconciliation with Great Britain were daily ebbing. Men in New England and the South had become convinced that independence was inevitable, but the middle Colonies still wavered. On May 15, the day after Jefferson reached Philadelphia, Virginia authorized its delegation to lay before Congress a resolution for independence.

At a meeting of Congress on June 7 in the State House, now Independence Hall, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered a resolution "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." On June 10 action on the Lee resolution was postponed for 3 weeks as some delegates wanted further instructions before voting on a question so momentous. Convinced, however, that the resolution would be adopted, Congress appointed a committee of five to draft a statement presenting to the world the case for independence. Jefferson was chairman of that committee; among its other members were John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. By June 28 Jefferson had written his draft, discussed it with Adams and Franklin individually, and obtained its approval by the committee. By that time all the middle colonies except New York had either directed or authorized their delegates to vote for the Lee resolution.

On July 1 Congress reconvened, and on July 2 the Lee resolution was adopted. Then the draft of the Declaration was taken up. Though Adams and Franklin had made a few changes in the draft and Congress made more, the document as a whole remains the work of Jefferson. All of July 3 and until the late afternoon of July 4, Congress debated the Declaration. Then the church bells rang to signal its adoption. At the direction of Congress the committee on the Declaration supervised its printing, which was finished early on July 5 so that copies were distributed that same day. On July 19 Congress ordered that the Declaration be engrossed on parchment. The engrossed copy was signed on August 2 by those delegates present and later by others.

The Declaration is both a great political document and an inspired piece of literature lofty in tone and perfect in phrasing, worthy to be cherished through the centuries by the American people.

THE CONSTITUTION

On May 26, 1787, the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to frame for the United States a government stronger than the loose association under the Articles of Confederation. All through the summer, in closed sessions, the able delegates debated, drafted and redrafted the articles of the new Constitution. Among the chief points at issue were how much power to allow the Central Government, how many representatives

in Congress to allow each State, and how these representatives should be elected—directly by the people or by the State legislatures. The work of many minds and many pens, the Constitution stands as a model of cooperative statesmanship and the art of compromise.

On September 17, 1787, the document was signed and sent to Congress, which soon forwarded printed copies to the State legislatures. Then began the great debate. Madison, Hamilton, and Jay wrote the brilliant Federalist papers, defending the new plan. Others joined the argument, in pamphlets, articles, speeches, and letters; in talk at taverns and coffee houses, at churches and homes.

By June 21, 1788, conventions in 9 States, the requisite number, had ratified the Constitution; the other States later approved it. Thus the States, which had so recently gained their independence, gave up some of their hard-won sovereignty "in Order to form a more perfect Union."

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

During the debates on the adoption of the Constitution its opponents again and again charged that the Constitution as drafted would open the way to tyranny by the Central Government. Fresh in their minds was the memory of the British violation of civil rights before and during the Revolution. They demanded a "bill of rights" that would spell out the immunities of individual citizens. Several State conventions in their formal ratification of the Constitution asked for such amendments; others ratified the Constitution with the understanding that the amendments would be offered.

On September 25, 1789, the First Congress of the United States, therefore, proposed to the State legislatures amendments to the Constitution that met the arguments most frequently advanced against it. The first two proposed amendments, which concerned the number of constituents for each Representative and the compensation of Congressmen, were not ratified. Articles 3 to 12, however, ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures, constitute the first 10 amendments of the Constitution.

Amendment 1 is the specific guaranty of freedom of religion, speech, and assembly and of the freedom of the press. Amendments 2 and 3 relate to "the right of the people to keep and bear arms" and the quartering of soldiers in private houses. Amendment 4 safeguards against "unreasonable searches and seizures." Amendments 5 to 8 deal with the rights of the accused in criminal cases, guarantee trial by jury and representation by counsel, and ban excessive bail and fines and "cruel and unusual punishments." Amendment 9 explicitly declares that the enumeration of certain rights of the people does not mean that these are the people's only rights, and amendment 10 states specifically that powers not given to the Central Government nor prohibited to the States under the Constitution are reserved to the States or to the people.

The proposals for the Bill of Rights represent a balance of the pendulum of government. The Declaration of Independence, based on the concept of the social compact between the people and their government, was followed by a weak government under the Articles of Confederation. Then the pendulum swung to the strong Central Government outlined in the Constitution. Lastly this swing was counterbalanced by the Bill of Rights, so that a strong central government could be maintained with due respect for the rights of the people.

THE STORY OF THE DOCUMENTS

During their existence of over a century and a half the Declaration, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights have been subjected to considerable travel and wear. Before 1786 the Declaration had already followed the frequent moves of the Continental Congress, making in all 9 journeys to 8 different cities or towns. The Constitution, after its signing in Philadelphia in 1787, had been taken from there to New York, where Congress was in session. On September 15, 1789, Congress, still in New York, ordered that the newly created Department of State should have custody of the Declaration and the Constitution.

A year later these documents, along with the Bill of Rights and other records, were taken from New York to Philadelphia, the temporary seat of the Federal Government. It was the enrolled original of the congressional resolution—the Federal Government's official copy of the Bill of Rights, reproduced in this brochure—that made this journey. Thirteen other copies, also written on parchment, had been transmitted to the States for their ratification.

In 1800, by order of President John Adams, the three great documents and other Government records were sent down the Delaware River and by sea to the new Federal City in the District of Columbia. They remained in Washington until the wartime summer of 1814. Then, while British troops were marching on the Capital, Secretary of State James Monroe ordered an emergency removal of the Declaration, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and other records in his custody. Packed in linen bags, they were hidden overnight in an old barn on the Virginia side of the Potomac and the next day were taken to Leesburg, Va. There they stayed until the British raiders had left Washington and the fleet had sailed down Chesapeake Bay.

As pieces of parchment the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are today in better condition than the Declaration. After 1814 the Constitution was kept in the State Department until 1921, and the Bill of Rights remained there until its transfer to the National Archives in 1938.

The Declaration of Independence, however, suffered further handling and exposure. From 1841 to 1894 it was exhibited, apparently with little concern about the likelihood of its fading. For the first 35 years of this period it hung in the Patent Office Building in Washington, opposite a window and exposed to sunlight; it was then shown in Philadelphia at the centennial of its signing; and soon after that it was displayed in the new State, War and Navy Building in Washington. The last was a timely change from the Patent Office Building; a few months after the document was removed, the room in which it had hung was gutted by flames.

Moreover, the Declaration was subjected to the making of several facsimiles, before the day of the photoengraving process. In 1818 and 1819 engravings of the text of the document were made and published with facsimiles of its signatures. It is not definitely known that the marked fading of the signers' names is due to the making of these facsimiles, but certainly the signatures have faded more than the rest of the document. Possibly the ink used by the signers of the Declaration was of poorer quality than that used by the engrosser and consequently faded more during the long exposure to sunlight in the Patent Office Building.

At any rate, it is almost certain that a facsimile made between 1820 and 1823 did impair the whole document. In 1820 Secretary of State John Quincy Adams commissioned William J. Stone, "a respectable Engraver," to make a facsimile of the Declaration. Presumably Stone, following the practice of the day, actually transferred some of the ink from the parchment to the copper plate in which he etched the image thus transferred. The copper plate was later bought by the State Department and is now in the National Archives. The reproduction of the Declaration in this brochure is from one of Stone's facsimiles.

Almost 120 years after the Declaration was signed, the State Department decided that the document should no longer be handled or exhibited. It announced in 1894 that the parchment had been "carefully wrapped and placed flat in a steel case." The Constitution was protected in the same way. In 1903 a committee of the National Academy of Sciences approved these precautions and recommended that the Declaration should never be exhibited.

Another committee of scholars examined the Declaration and the Constitution in 1920. This committee reported that the safes in which the documents were kept were of sheet steel too thin to be fireproof; it also reported its belief that exhibiting the parchments would not damage them further if they were hermetically sealed and protected against strong light.

In the following year the State Department transferred the Declaration and the Constitution to the Library of Congress. The two great documents were exhibited in the Library from 1924 to December 1952, except for a period during World War II, when they were safely stored in the bullion depository at Fort Knox, Ky., In 1951 the Library, with the aid of the National Bureau of Standards, further protected the documents by sealing them in glass enclosures filled with helium, properly humidified, and placing these enclosures in shrine cases fitted with special glass to screen out damaging light rays.

When the National Archives Building was constructed, its Exhibition Hall, was designed to display these early documents of our Government, and the murals shown in this brochure were painted as fitting accompaniments to the Declaration and the Constitution. In the spring of 1952 Congress through its Joint Committee on the Library directed that the National Archives should have custody of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and in the following December they were transferred to their present location. The National Archives has sealed the Bill of Rights in helium and has provided filters in the glass of the shrine cases in which the documents are now displayed.

Under the floor of the Exhibition Hall a vault has been constructed of steel and reinforced concrete. Into this vault the three encased documents, with their supports, can be quickly lowered by an electrically operated mechanism. Other machinery then closes over the vault a massive lid of metal and concrete. Provision has been made for manually operating the mechanisms to lower the documents and close the vault should electric current fail. The vault itself is fireproof, shockproof, and bombproof. Such are the precautions taken to guard these precious charters of liberty, the heritage and pride of the American people.

How Tyranny Is Born

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president, Thomas A. Edison, Inc., before the annual meeting of Pro-America, held at Fort Worth, Tex., on March 9, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How Tyranny Is Born

(Address by George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president, Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, N. J., and long-time business associates of the wizard of Menlo Park, before the annual meeting of Pro-America, Fort Worth, Tex., March 9, 1954)

Because pro-America stands for and fearlessly supports the basic principles, ideals, and philosophy of our system of Government, I am honored to address your meeting.

You are for America first, as all loyal citizens of other countries are for their country first, and it is about America and the American system of Government that I wish to speak.

Our Government is founded on a Constitution which Gladstone described as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Following the signing of this great document, a lady asked the venerable Benjamin Franklin, "Mr. Franklin, what have you given us?" The wise old man responded, "We have given you a republic," then the sage hesitated and concluded, "if you can keep it." Franklin knew that one of the saddest facts of history is that republics vanish. For example, the shift from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire was so gradual that the people lost their liberty before they realized it.

In his essay on politics Aristotle, the great lover of liberty, observed that the gradual usurpation of the people's power by government, even in small degrees, eventually deprived them of their liberty.

It must be realized at the outset that we cannot have efficient Government without power, but power of any kind is dangerous, whether it is in Government or whether it is in a machine.

The framers of our Constitution did not hesitate to draft an instrument whereunder "We, the people" granted power—dangerous power—to their public servants. But, by a most ingenious, statesmanlike, and novel arrangement, they so reduced the danger of the misuse of that power that "We, the people" have not lost it, after 170 years. Safety from usurpation is built into our Constitution, but it still requires watching, and "we, the people" must be ultimate watchdogs.

A few years ago, in a YMCA building in my hometown, a boiler let go, with rather frightful results. The designers of the boiler had provided automatic safety devices against the danger of explosion, just as the designers of our Constitution provided safety devices against the danger of usurpation of power. But the watchdogs—the superintendent and the janitor—had allowed the safety valves to go rusty. We have some wonderful safety gadgets in our Constitution, but we must not let them get rusty.

Now, about these safety devices. First and foremost, the power of our Government—the dangerous but necessary power—is split up among three separate branches, none directly answerable to the other two, but all answerable to their common master, the people.

Thus, article I, section 1, provides that: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States."

And section 8, in 18 different subdivisions, set forth in detail the tremendous power, which in their wisdom the draftsmen found it necessary to confer upon the Congress in order that we might have a great and powerful nation.

But there are restraints on that power. An individual Member of Congress can be impeached or jailed for misconduct. He and all his fellows can fail of reelection. Their laws can be repealed by a succeeding Congress. And the Supreme Court, for more than a century, has held that it can overrule congressional laws which violate the Constitution.

Then article II, section 1, provides: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

But he may be impeached, or fail of reelection, or denied by Congress the funds to finance any threatened usurpation by his executive power.

Then in article III, section 1, we find that: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

But the judges themselves may be impeached for misconduct, or their decisions overruled by subsequent judges, or by the people's own action in amending their Constitution.

However, even with our remarkable system of safeguards against usurpation, our history is dotted with instances of threatened and actual usurpation of power by each of the three separate branches of government.

My purpose today is to exhort you to be on your toes in guarding against usurpation by the executive branch, which, in my opinion, has been the principal offender in recent years. If we are to keep our Republic, such usurpation cannot be condoned or overlooked.

We have had a President urge legislation upon Congress which the Court has held to be unconstitutional. In a letter to the chairman of a congressional committee the President said: "I trust that your committee will not let any doubts of the bill's constitutionality prevent its passage." Urged by the White House, Congress enacted the Guffey Coal Act. When the Supreme Court, then composed of "nine old men" of integrity, declared the law to be unconstitutional, the enraged President urged Congress to pack the Court with judges who shared his philosophy.

Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said: "We live under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is." That is why it is so important that we place men on that bench who understand the philosophy of our system of government and who will fearlessly interpret the Constitution as our forefathers intended they should.

The Constitution says that only Congress has power to declare war, yet we have seen a President send our American boys, under a United Nations flag, to fight Communist aggression in Korea. There we suffered 140,000 casualties and spent more than $15 billion. He justified that violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution by calling the war a police action.

We have seen a President seize the steel industry without authority of law and in violation of the Constitution. In justification he proclaimed that the inherent power of the office of President gave him the authority to do whatever he thought best for the people. Caesar might have said that to the Roman Senate; Hitler might have said that to his Reichstag; Mussolini might have said that to his Fascist state; and Malenkov might say that to his Kremlin. But who in our Republic could conceive of a President proclaiming that the inherent power of his office gives him authority to do whatever he thinks best for the welfare of the people?

The seizure of the steel industry was declared unconstitutional by a majority opinion of the Supreme Court. However, the Chief Justice rendered a minority opinion in which he was joined by two of his associates. They reasoned that although neither Congress nor any express grant of power under the Constitution had authorized the President to seize the steel industry, he was granted that power by the United Nations Charter. If two additional members of that body had concurred, thus making a majority opinion, we would have been governed in that instance by the United Nations Charter, and not by our own Constitution.

About 60 years ago, someone asked James Russell Lowell, then the American Ambassador to Great Britain, "How long will the American Republic endure?" The great statesman and diplomat responded, "Only as long as the ideals of the men who made it continue dominant."

Those who would substitute the U. N. Charter for the Constitution of the United States I submit are not imbued with the ideals and the philosophy that gave birth to our Republic, and should their ideals and philosophy prevail we will not keep our Republic. If we are worthy of our heritage, if we appreciate our liberties, we will redouble our efforts to preserve our Constitution and thus perpetuate our liberties.

There are those who seem to think that our liberties are safeguarded by words inscribed on parchment, preserved in a glass case, produced in facsimile and hauled about the country on a Freedom Train. That is a snare and a delusion. The safeguards are there, and they are good, but they are not perfect. Our liberties will ultimately be safeguarded and preserved only by the same means by which they were won—by our loyalty and sacrifice.

Too many of us have left the control of our public affairs to political machines made up of men whom we would not employ in our own enterprises, for whose judgment, ability and experience we have little respect, and in whose character we have no confidence. There are those who say, "I want nothing to do with politics for politics are dirty." I submit that, in the broad sense, politics is the science and practice of government and that every citizen should share in that study and that practice. Politics will be as dirty as you and I permit it to be, and as clean as we demand. The price of decent government is still eternal vigilance.

Those of us who would save our Republic and avoid tyranny must, I think, emulate St. Paul who, crying that the days were evil, labored to improve them. We must not follow Hamlet who cried that the days were evil and merely cursed them.

Our forefathers gave us a system of government which has produced greater liberties and higher living standards than ever before experienced. As citizens, it is our duty and responsibility to do our utmost to protect that system and to provide moral leadership for the rest of the world. That is our duty and we cannot avoid it even if we would.

"Duty," said Robert E. Lee, "is the sublimest word in our language. Do your duty in all things," charged this great patriot. "You cannot do more, you should never wish to do less."

More than 2,400 years ago, Confucius, the first recorded and greatest Chinese philosopher said: "With righteousness in the heart there will be beauty in the character; with beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the home; with harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation; and with order in the nation there will be peace in the world."

Our forefathers had righteous hearts, they had beautiful character; there was harmony in their homes; there was order in the Nation, and they bequeathed to us a peaceful world. Let us emulate them.

Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolu-

tions adopted by the Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc., adopted at their 13th annual meeting held in Hutchinson, on March 11, 1954.

Kansas has been proud of the splendid progress that has been made in our State through the extension of electric service to our farmers. Much credit is due the efforts of the officers and members of the Kansas Electric Cooperatives, Inc.

In my opinion, we in Kansas have in Joe Jenness, executive secretary, one of the outstanding men in this field in the Nation.

In the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting, there are several suggestions which I would call to the attention of the Department of the Interior. These suggestions affect the future growth and expansion of the rural electrification program.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLICY RESOLUTIONS OF KANSAS ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES, INC., TOPEKA, KANS., PASSED AT THE 13TH ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN HUTCHINSON, KANS., MARCH 11, 1954

1. MISSOURI BASIN MARKETING CRITERIA, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

Whereas the vast majority of rural electric coooperatives in the United States of America have been formed as strictly nonprofit service organizations, and the area coverage systems being designed primarily to serve rural people where private enterprise, operating for profit, could not expect to operate at a profit;

Whereas the new Missouri Basin Power Marketing Criteria jeopardizes the successful termination of the many loan contracts by the REA cooperatives in Kansas and the Missouri Basin. Such cooperatives were formed and loans received with the prospect in many cases of power being available from Government-owned generating plants and backed by the preference clauses of the Federal marketing statutes.

Whereas the members of the KEC condemn and criticize the criteria policy of the Interior Department for the following reasons:

1. Arbitrarily limiting the amount of firm power available to preference customers.

2. Limiting the area of service and thereby making it impossible for some preference customers ever to receive any Government marketed power.

3. Refusing to give preferred customers contractual protection for future expansion;

Whereas the members of the KEC offer the following suggestions as a working policy for the Interior Department:

1. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association board should be notified by the Interior Department of any proposed changes in Rural Electric Association policy programs.

2. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association board should be notified by the Interior Department of any proposed development of power sources upon the public domain.

3. The Interior Department should give due consideration to the demands and advice of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association but more so to the needs of individual States, with ever a watchful eye in the development of private utility monopoly in any area: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members and delegates to the KEC meeting at Hutchinson, Kans., March 10 and 11, are aware of the lobbying efforts made by the private electric utilities on Congress and do condemn the new marketing criteria of the Interior Department along with the Hoover Commission planning the reorganization of the Federal power programs.

2. KEC POWER POLICY

Be it resolved, That—

We support the preference clause as the same has been developed over the past 50 years.

We support and we will continue to work with the present administration as we have with the past administration, but will oppose issues wherever and whenever they are harmful to our rural electric cooperatives in Kansas.

We will continue to support the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association because as an organized group of States we can accomplish more than a single State can.

We support the development of our country's potential hydropower and its sale and delivery at wholesale to load centers at the lowest possible cost consistent with sound business principles, first to public bodies and cooperatives then to others.

We support the proposition that any advantages that may accrue by way of development of atomic energy should be preserved for all of the people generally and particularly for rural electric cooperatives and public bodies.

We support every effort that is made to secure hydropower from Missouri Valley or from SPA or from other sources which may be supplemented with steam-plant power and/or with firm power on long-term contracts at rates that are as cheap or cheaper than the cost of generation. And that all G. & T. cooperatives should negotiate and attempt integration with all other sources of available power: Therefore be it

Resolved, That these suggestions be and become the nucleus of a Kansas Electric Cooperative power policy.

3. REVISION OF KEC CHARTER AND BYLAWS

Whereas the charter and bylaws of KEC need clarification and revision because they were developed under conditions which have since changed: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the President appoint a committee on the charter and bylaws. Said committee to make a study of the necessary changes and revisions and report back to the meeting of members their findings, suggestions, and proposed changes.

4. KEC CENTRAL OFFICE ASSISTANCE

Whereas the managers and cooperatives have many varied problems which could be correlated and aided by central office assistance: Be it therefore

Resolved, That KEC give such thought and aid to these problems, as will be beneficial to the cooperative members.

5. ORGANIZED LOAD BUILDING PROGRAM

Whereas the desire has been expressed that an organized load building program be promoted throughout Kansas: Now therefore be it

Resolved, That the KEC coordinate and develop all phases of such power-use programs.

6. RELATIONS WITH MUNICIPALITIES

Whereas municipalities and rural electric cooperatives have mutual power problems and are preference customers under the Federal preference clause: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we promote educational and mutual agreement meetings to explore this field.

7. VOTING RECORDS OF CONGRESSMEN

Whereas the voting records of Congressmen and the orders and directives of commissions and agencies relative to rural electric problems are of vital interest to cooperative members: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That such voting records and such orders and directives as are of interest to rural electric cooperatives be made public through rural electric cooperative publications.

8. TAXATION OF KANSAS ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES

Whereas the taxation of rural electric cooperatives in Kansas is relatively high as regards to taxation of rural electric cooperatives in other States: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That KEC take such steps as may be feasible to relieve this tax burden.

9. LENGTH OF TIME OF WHOLESALE POWER CONTRACTS

Whereas a number of Kansas electric cooperatives are at this time buying electric energy under short-term contracts containing rate schedules which are reasonable in most respects; and

Whereas it has long been the policy of REA to refuse to approve contracts for the purchase of electric energy for a period of more than 5 years; and

Whereas this policy neither permits the power company to set up a rate schedule that will amortize its necessary investments over a long period of time, nor allow the cooperative to put into effect long-range planning on financial or construction programs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend that the policy of REA be amended to permit the Administrator to approve power contracts for electric cooperatives for periods longer than 5 years in all cases wherein he finds:

(a) That the power supplier is equipped to meet all present and future needs of the cooperative in the area and for the period covered by the contract.

(b) That the rate schedule set forth in the contract is beneficial to the cooperative.

10. APPRECIATION FOR HOSPITALITY

Whereas the Ark Valley Co-Op Association, Jack Davis, manager; the Baker Hotel management and personnel; the Hutchinson Chamber of Commerce; Television Station KTVH; and the city of Hutchinson have provided excellent facilities and accommodations for this KEC meeting: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our sincere appreciation to all those who have made our stay so pleasant and profitable.

11. APPRECIATION FOR SERVICES RENDERED

Whereas the board of trustees of KEC, its executive secretary, and the various committees have given freely of their time, information, and energies to the end that the rural electric cooperatives program would be promoted: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our appreciation to each of these for their services during the past year.

12. APPRECIATION TO MR. NELSEN

Whereas Ancher Nelsen, Administrator of REA, has made an especial effort to be present at and take part in the KEC program and to participate in our mutual problems: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we express our appreciation to Mr. Nelsen for his attendance and counsel at this meeting; and be it further

Resolved, That we heartily endorse and approve the efforts and policies of Ancher Nelsen and his administration in behalf of the rural electric and rural telephone programs.

13. DISTRIBUTION OF RESOLUTIONS

Whereas the Congressmen and other commissions and agencies who work with REA problems are interested in matters that concern them in their respective official capacities: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we send a copy of appropriate resolutions to such affected persons.

14. TABLE ROCK DAM IN MISSOURI

Whereas there are prospects of an increase in population and the dire need for water conservation and flood control, the members and delegates to the KEC annual meeting at Hutchinson, Kans., March 10–11, 1954, recommend that money be appropriated for the building of Table Rock Dam in Missouri.

"Definitely Worthwhile To Initiate Some Sort of a Food Stamp Plan"—Letter From Former President of St. Louis Community Chest Commenting on Sullivan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have the comments of an outstanding St. Louis leader, Mr. William Charles, on my bill, H. R. 7870, for the establishment of a food-stamp plan for the distribution of some of our vast hoard of surplus food to people in outright need. Mr. Charles, who has worked long and hard in the vitally necessary, but often thankless, area of public service represented by our organized charities and nongovernmental health and welfare agencies, has just recently retired as president of the community chest of St. Louis and St. Louis County.

Speaking as a private citizen, he reports that a need certainly exists for supplementing the generally inadequate relief grants and for providing some assistance of this nature to those needy persons ineligible for public assistance because of situations such as our law in Missouri that employable persons cannot receive public assistance regardless of their ability to find jobs.

It is his suggestion that actual distribution of surplus foods under a food-stamp plan be done through local merchants. My bill permits the Secretary of Agriculture to designate the exact method of distribution of up to $1 billion worth of surplus food a year by food stamps. Mr. Charles also suggests that if it is not possible to use the local stores, the cost of maintaining necessary depots for the distribution be borne by the Federal Government. That is the intent of H. R. 7870, but it may have to be spelled out more clearly. He further suggests that the cost of personnel for certifying needy persons not on public welfare rolls be reimbursed to the State or local welfare agencies assigned that responsibility under the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I think all of the Members will be interested in the informed and valuable comments from this outstanding St. Louis leader in the field of the organized charities, and I inclose his letter as part of my remarks:

COMMUNITY CHEST OF ST. LOUIS
AND ST. LOUIS COUNTY,
St. Louis, Mo., March 15, 1954.

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 8 addressed to me as president of the Community Chest, a position from which I retired last week.

Speaking solely as a private citizen, I think that it would be definitely worthwhile to initiate some sort of a food stamp plan for persons now on relief or properly certified as being eligible for surplus foods. Certainly, a case could be made for supplementing the present relief grants to all categories of our public assistance group, where we generally know grants are inadequate. Certainly, a case could be made for providing some assistance of this sort to a fairly substantial number of families who because they are employable are not able to get any public assistance from the State of Missouri and there may be some other borderline situations also.

It would seem to me that there should be some assurances as follows:

1. If possible these food stamps should be redeemable through our local merchants. This would eliminate the necessity for any special distribution centers and would enable the individual to go to his usual store. This, by the way, was the practice in the immediate prewar period when we had a substantial surplus of food.

2. Or, if this is not possible and distribution depots of some sort have to be established, the cost of maintaining such depots and the necessary personnel should be borne by the Federal Government.

3. Then, with respect to certifying who is eligible beyond those persons now in receipt of public assistance, there should be some modest provision for reimbursing the States or municipalities for whatever special personnel they might have to hire to carry on this certification job.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM CHARLES.

Inspection of Certain Plants Offered for Sale Under Provisions of Public Law 205

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated March 15, 1954, from Mr. Holman D. Pettibone, chairman of the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission. It is in the nature of a progress report with respect to the activities of the Commission. The letter is addressed to Hon. HOMER CAPEHART, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 15, 1954.

Hon. HOMER CAPEHART,
Chairman, Banking and Currency Committee, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR CAPEHART: The Rubber Producing Disposal Commission has completed inspection of 25 of the 27 plants offered for sale under provisions of Public Law 205, to transfer synthetic rubber manufacture to private enterprise.

Inspection trips have included the following facilities: Three plants at Baton Rouge, La.; 2 plants at Lakes Charles, La.; 3 plants at Port Neches, Tex.; 3 plants at Baytown, Tex.; 2 plants at Houston, Tex.; 2 plants at Borger, Tex.; 4 plants in the Los Angeles area; 2 plants at Louisville, Ky.; 1 plant at Institute, W. Va.; 2 plants at Akron, Ohio; 1 plant at Kobuta, Pa.

The two plants at Naugatuck, Conn., remain to be visited.

Commission members have some impressions from our contacts that we feel should be reported to your committee at this time. They can be summarized as follows:

1. The plants have been well maintained by their present operators and are in good condition, including those in standby.

2. Although the quality of synthetic rubber has been vastly improved and new types developed such as cold rubber, in the past decade there have been no basic changes in the functional process of making rubber.

3. Properties average some 10 years of operation. The degree of their obsolescence and depreciation obviously will be a matter to resolve in final negotiations for their sale. In this connection, the first two observations are relevant.

4. Plants generally are well located in or near areas for facilitating efficient operation.

5. There is optimism in the industry over the long-term outlook for increased demand and expanding markets for synthetic rubber.

6. Keen competition exists among the rubber, chemical, and petroleum industries interested in buying the plants. Other companies not now engaged in synthetic-rubber manufacture or its component materials are also interested.

7. The Commission is impressed by the sincerity displayed by industrial executives. They have indicated a firm belief that the public interest will be served best by having plant ownership in private hands. They seem to feel that they have a responsibility in making this possible by offering to purchase the plants at realistic figures which recognize the potentialities of the synthetic-rubber industry.

8. The Commission has advised all prospective buyers that it will not recommend any giveaway program to Congress. Since its organization, the Commission has been guided by these basic factors:

(a) That technical information on the plants be equally available to all interested parties, regardless of size or nature of their business.

(b) That a full, fair value be obtained for the plants; that the sales pattern insure a free, competitive rubber industry; and that the interest of national security be protected.

(c) That the spirit and intent of the law, as developed in committee hearings and debate in both Houses of Congress, be followed.

The Commission of three members, appointed by the President, organized formally on November 10, 1953. As required by law, the Commission advertised for proposals on the plant properties on November 18, 1953. These advertisements appeared in several of the Nation's leading newspapers and business publications.

Under the law, proposals for purchase of the properties will be received until May 27 of this year. Then follows a period of negotiation with the bidders, ending December 27, 1954. No later than January 31, 1955, the Commission must submit its recommendatiops to Congress.

Brochures containing full technical data on the plants have been offered to all prospective buyers on request. The following résumé describes the activities of the Commission, of general interest, since last November:

1. The Commision's legal staff has consulted frequently with the office of the Attorney General. As required by law, the Attorney General must be consulted and pass on the sales pattern recommended.

2. One hundred and ninety-six requests for plant brochures have been received from all types of industrial firms. Hundreds of brochures have been distributed.

3. Two hundred and seventy-four requests for instructions and information have been received and answered.

4. Forty-two conferences with prospective purchasers have been held.

5. Interest in the disposal program is increasing. Proposals have been received and reviewed, without a price figure. The Commission is encouraging this procedure to

expedite discussions with all interested parties.

6. Interested industrial firms have been granted permission to visit plants and make their own engineering studies.

7. The Commission is evaluating individual plants through its staff organization, and a great deal of information is being developed.

Present employment at the Commission's office, including technical personnel, clerical and secretarial assistance totals 25. All are in Washington at the Commission's office, 811 Vermont Avenue NW.

Further reports will be made to your committee as developments warrant. Inquiries are invited on any phase of the program.

Respectfully submitted.

HOLMAN D. PETTIBONE,
Chairman.

Commonwealth Status for Alaska and Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, discussing the question of granting commonwealth status to Alaska and Hawaii.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF THE NATIONS

STATEHOOD OR COMMONWEALTH?

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—It would seem to this writer that Senators MONRONEY, FULBRIGHT, SMATHERS, and DANIEL made a constructive and long-overdue contribution to public thinking about the relationship of the United States to its outlying possessions when they proposed that Alaska and Hawaii be given not statehood but commonwealth status.

Such a proposal is bound to be a bitter disappointment to the good citizens of Alaska and Hawaii, most of whom are as American in every respect as the inhabitants of Massachusetts, New York, Tennessee, or California, and who have had the prospect of statehood dangled before their eyes by the party platforms of both Republicans and Democrats for a generation.

The proposal would, in effect, take away from Alaska and Hawaii something which has been promised repeatedly and which both have had much reason to anticipate at the present sitting of the Congress of the United States.

However, the intensity of the debate in Congress and the obvious reluctance of many Members of both House and Senate to proceed to the promised action attest to the existence of a deep and unresolved doubt about the wisdom of extending the territorial frontiers of the United States beyond those which now exist and which have been established and unchanged since Arizona and New Mexico were admitted to the Union in 1912.

The reasons usually given for hesitation about this step have not, I think, been the true reasons. Certainly it would raise serious questions if one were to be given statehood and the other denied it because of calculations as to the probable party alignment of its future Senators and Representatives in the United States Congress. Certainly, also, there would be an indefensible violation of the concepts of Americanism if any territory were denied admission on the ground that some of its citizens are of Asiatic rather than of European extraction.

The true reason for hesitation about statehood arises rather, I think, out of the fact that Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Marianas are all Territories noncontiguous to the existing territory of the United States and that history is liberally sprinkled with case examples of the unwisdom of attempting to govern noncontiguous Territories from one capital under one single parliament.

The English colonists who settled on the American seaboard were as English when they arrived as were their compatriots who remained at home, and continued to be as English until well after the separation. Yet there arose between them differences of interest which forced their separation.

There can be no serious doubt that a permanent colonial status is as intolerable under the American flag today as it was under the British royal standard in 1776. It has been the impropriety and the impermanence of colonial status which has brought the project of statehood of Alaska and Hawaii to its present position on the legislative calendar in Washington. American citizens of Alaska and Hawaii cannot properly be relegated much longer to the condition of "second-class citizens."

However, this does not need to mean that the only choice is between statehood and colonialism. Britain faced the same problem when it decided to grant commonwealth status to its former great dominions. These had first been colonies. It was not practical to grant them the equivalent of statehood because Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and Ceylon could not, in fact, be concentrated in the single city of London and managed in the single Parliament at Westminster. The commonwealth concept was invented to solve Britain's dilemma over the impossibility of statehood and the intolerability of continued colonial status for its mature offspring.

The United States has, in fact, already applied this same solution in the case of Puerto Rico. It is a self-governing commonwealth under the American flag. It is sovereign, independent, and equal, but has of its own free choice, and for sound and practical reasons, entrusted its foreign and defense policy to the Government in Washington. It has the right to withdraw this trust and break this association of mutual convenience any time it chooses. Puerto Rico is not a colony, a territory, or a possession. It is as independent of Washington as Canada is of London.

There is no reason why Alaska and Hawaii should not be able to prosper under commonwealth status as Canada and Australia have prospered. It is an honorable and dignified status. Its terms can be adjusted to fit the common interests of all concerned. It would recognize the basic and true reason for hesitation in Washington about statehood, for it would leave unchanged the established boundaries of the American Union.

The relationship of the 48 States to each other is a fixed and settled thing. The relationship of such a union to any outlying colony, territory, possession, or commonwealth cannot be fixed or certain for all time. To attempt to fix it so is, I think, to invite future, unforeseeable, and undesirable complications. The Soviet Union has not even attempted it with its contiguous satellites. Britain had to give up the Republic of Ireland although more Irishmen live in England than in Ireland. A commonwealth is flexible, and can adjust itself to the future. A union is not flexible, and can be extended overseas only at great risks and hazards.

Role of Senator McClellan in the McCarthy Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "MCCLELLAN Is Man of the Hour in Democrats Versus MCCARTHY," written by Leslie Carpenter and originally published in the Arkansas Gazette of Sunday, March 21, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MCCLELLAN IS MAN OF THE HOUR IN DEMOCRATS VERSUS MCCARTHY

(By Leslie Carpenter)

WASHINGTON, March 20.—The controversy over Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, has catapulted Arkansas' Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN into the center of the national political spotlight.

MCCLELLAN is today one of the most important Democrats in the country; he is the man who will most of all represent his party in the crucial "trial" of MCCARTHY and two of MCCARTHY's keymen: Roy Cohn, chief counsel of MCCARTHY's Investigations Subcommittee, and David Schine, millionaire Army private and one-time unpaid McCarthy investigator.

It is an unusual role for MCCLELLAN, a conservative southern Democrat of the HARRY BYRD-WALTER GEORGE school. As such, he often opposed programs offered by Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

But MCCLELLAN is well equipped for the task at hand. A skillful lawyer who taught himself the law and did a good job of it, MCCLELLAN has long ago proved that he is one of the sharpest men at cross-examination in the Senate.

THE TALK OF WASHINGTON

The sensational charge by the Army that Cohn and MCCARTHY used unusual influence to excuse Schine from the usual rigors of an Army private's life—as well as Cohn's reported threats to wreck the Army if Schine were sent overseas—is the No. 1 conversation topic throughout Washington.

The investigation by MCCARTHY's own subcommittee of the Army charges—to be conducted by a GOP Member, Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota, as acting chairman in the place of MCCARTHY—could be politically explosive, to put it mildly.

It originally had been proposed that the Senate Armed Services Committee conduct the investigation instead. But the Republicans were fearful of that. The Armed Services Committee chairman, LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts, is up for reelection this year, and Massachusetts, with a heavy Catholic population, is considered to be one of the most pro-MCCARTHY of all States. It would be risky, Republicans figured, to get SALTONSTALL involved in the middle of a big row over MCCARTHY.

HOW DEMOCRATS SEE IT

The Democrats, too, reasoned that it is quite possible, with the Republicans in control of all committees, that the report following the trial of McCarthy, Cohn, and Schine may be inconclusive. Much depends, of course, on the evidence.

"For the Democrats," one prominent Democrat confided to the Gazette, "the best politics would be to have an inconclusive report come out of McCARTHY's own committee than to have one out of the Armed Services Committee, if that is what we are going to get in the way of a report."

There are three Democrats on the McCarthy subcommittee. Besides McCLELLAN, they are Senators STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri, and HENRY JACKSON, of Washington. SYMINGTON and JACKSON are freshmen Senators and not experienced with free-swinging congressional investigations where he who hesitates is lost.

MCCLELLAN, as the senior Democrat and a skillful fighter in the kind of rough and tumble atmosphere that has prevailed under the chairmanship of McCARTHY, has taken over completely for the Democrats.

M'CLELLAN IN THE SADDLE

MCCLELLAN has made all the decisions, and SYMINGTON and JACKSON have followed his leadership. It was MCCLELLAN who decided they should resign from the subcommittee on the J. B. Matthews issue after Matthews smeared the protestant clergy of this Nation with the shocking charge of procommunism.

It was MCCLELLAN, for example, who decided how the coming investigation of the Army charges would be handled. He made one motion, including a series of points, but it was determined that he should break it up into several different motions. He did, but before he could offer several of them, McCARTHY, in an unusual burst of self-sacrifice, offered several of them himself. But the ground rules were laid by the Arkansan.

When a new reporter at the press table in the Senate dining room the other day asked, "What are the Democrats on the McCarthy subcommittee going to do?" several seasoned correspondents spoke up at once: "They're gonna do what JOHN MCCLELLAN tells 'em to do." The opinion was unanimous among all who have observed the McCarthy group's activities this year and last.

MCCLELLAN is not unmindful of how much McCARTHY's troubles are helping him in Arkansas where he faces reelection this year. He is also aware of the help it is to the Democratic Party, which has a chance of capturing both the House and Senate this year. He is watching the Republican Party split wide open on the McCarthy issue.

It has left him in a mellow and happy mood, something of a change for he is normally an earnest, solemn man, and the press sometimes finds him reticent.

The hearings on the sensational Army charges are certain to be among the most completely covered news events of modern politics. It was MCCLELLAN who first insisted that all hearings be opened to the public. This was one of his ground rules.

MCCLELLAN is going to request, too, that the television and radio networks be permitted to broadcast all hearings. The Arkansan pointed out that McCARTHY has let TV and radio have a free run of the place at all other hearings and there is no logic in barring them now.

The Arkansan insists that the special counsel the subcommitteee will employ for this investigation of the Army charges be a man in whom all Americans have respect. The goal is to get a man already nationally known for fairness and a knowledge of the law.

The investigation is going to be thorough. You can expect MCCLELLAN to see to that if the Republicans and the counsel don't. While MCCLELLAN won't discuss for publication what he intends to do in advance, it's safe to assume that he is going to keep digging until all the facts are revealed.

Washington is full of rumors about the close attachment between McCarthy, Cohn, and Schine. It will be MCCLELLAN'S purpose to separate the facts from the fiction and put the facts on record.

Arkansas' two Members of the Senate have played leading roles in the controversy over McCarthyism. Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT has been one of the most effective opponents of McCARTHY for several years.

FULBRIGHT IN THERE, TOO

FULBRIGHT, who has been involved in several brushes with McCARTHY, obviously would like nothing better than to take part in the investigation of the Army charges. But FULBRIGHT is not a member of the subcommittee and bows to his senior Senator.

Although Senators who are not members of the McCarthy subcommittee could, under Senate procedure, request the right to ask questions at the investigation, it is not expected that any will. Republican Senators are running from it and, although most Democratic Senators would jump at the chance to get into the act, they have confidence in MCCLELLAN'S ability to do the job and will stand aside.

NEW YORKER'S PRAISE

Doris Fleeson, former prize-winning reporter for the New York Daily News whose political column is syndicated nationally by United Features, wrote this week about MCCLELLAN.

"An authentic type in American politics," Mrs. Fleeson wrote, "is the country lawyer, often with little formal education, who rises to the Senate via the county courthouse where the great game is played with a tenacity and singleness of purpose not always seen in Washington.

"Democrats are congratulating themselves that the seniority system has put one of those skilled veterans in charge of their interests and the new and quaintly different Operation McCARTHY—the investigation of the present McCarthy staff. He is * * * MCCLELLAN * * *.

"There is considerable ground for Democratic belief in his talents as well as his experience * * * [Democrats] feel that MCCLELLAN'S background will serve the party well if the hearings encounter stormy weather, as they well might. The Senator from Arkansas is geographically, politically, and temperamentally invulnerable to the kind of counterattack McCARTHY so well knows how to make."

Reuther Accuses Administration of Opposition to Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of March 24, 1954:

REUTHER ACCUSES ADMINISTRATION OF OPPOSITION TO LABOR

CIO President Walter Reuther today labeled the Eisenhower administration "reactionary and antilabor" and said it has caused the law of the jungle to replace the law of reason at the collective-bargaining table.

Mr. Reuther was critical of top Cabinet officers, including Secretary of Labor Mitchell, who, he said is a full-fledged member of the millionaire's club.

CIO WILL ACT

If the Government persists in siding with management in the aircraft industry, Mr. Reuther said, the full weight of the CIO will be brought to bear to get the Government out of the union-management negotiating field.

He made his assertions to a conference of aircraft workers at the Hotel Statler.

"What we have been getting from the Eisenhower administration is pious words but poisonous deeds," Mr. Reuther said.

In addition to bringing the Defense Department's weight to bear on the side of management, he said, the administration has stacked the National Labor Relations Board until today it is a straight management-represented Board.

YORTY ALSO SPEAKS

Another speaker, Representative YORTY, Democrat, of California, accused the administration of making a serious blunder in cutting America's airpower. He said the effort to correct the blunder has been disguised under the term of "a New Look in national defense."

He argued that the New Look actually represents the same combat airpower for which Democrats were plugging last year.

"But the record shows that the administration has lost 2 years' time which they can't make up and wasted a considerable amount of money," the Californian said.

Foreign Residual Oil Is Gradually Destroying the Bituminous Coal Industry in Pennsylvania

SPEECH
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, my congressional district located in the heart of Pennsylvania, has been classified as a critical area by the United States Department of Labor because of heavy unemployment in the coal, railroad, and related industries. At the moment it is estimated that 11 percent of employables are unemployed and forced to live on unemployment insurance and surplus commodities.

One of the major contributing factors to this acute unemployment situation in my congressional district as well as the State of Pennsylvania is the importation of foreign residual oil from the Caribbean area. If this Congress would impose a quota limitation on foreign residual oil, much of the existing unemployment would be alleviated simply because coal would regain its eastern seaboard market.

The dire plight of the bituminous coal industry in Pennsylvania is evidenced by the following statistics compiled by the Central Pennsylvania Coal Producers Association, Altoona, Pa. A study of these statistics shows a continuous decline in the total tonnage of bituminous coal since 1946, which means that thousands of jobs of coal miners, railroaders, and others in related industries have been destroyed. At this point I should like to call attention to the following compilation of figures for the period 1947 through 1953:

Total tonnage of bituminous coal produced and total number of men employed in the State of Pennsylvania, 1947 to 1953, inclusive, and January 1954

Year	Total net tons	Increase or decrease, preceding year	Number of employees	Increase or decrease, preceding year
1947	144,626,000		109,202	
1948	130,642,000	−9.67	110,326	+1.03
1949	87,095,000	−33.33	100,119	−9.25
1950	103,445,000	+18.77	94,514	−5.60
1951	106,676,000	+3.12	86,369	−8.62
1952	87,316,000	−18.15	76,676	−11.22
1953	90,513,000	+3.66	61,420	−19.90
Decrease since 1947	54,113,000	−37.42	47,782	−43.76
January 1953	8,012,067		65,089	
January 1954	6,688,034		56,668	
Decrease	1,324,033	−16.53	8,421	−12.94
Total decrease	55,437,033		56,203	

Mr. Speaker, the above figures show the adverse effect that foreign residual oil is having on the economy of Pennsylvania by the decline in the production of bituminous coal. Not only is the economy of Pennsylvania affected, but our national security is threatened by the closing of bituminous mines.

It is not difficult to realize that a decline in annual production of 55,437,033 net tons over a 7-year period, and a decline of 56,203 employees in the same period is devastating. Taking coal at an average value of $5.75 a ton means a loss in revenue to the economy of central Pennsylvania of $319 million. This, of course, does not measure the loss in rail revenue and other allied industry and, of course, we cannot by any means determine the sociological impact on the mining communities as a result of the unemployment of 56,203 men.

The Department of Mines of Pennsylvania states that from January 1, 1953, to March 1, 1954, 58 operating mines were closed in central Pennsylvania, resulting in the dismissal of 3,497 men. Many factors have contributed to this decline. Some of them are domestic and local in character. These the industry and communities are attempting to solve.

Mr. Speaker, the most damaging contributing factor, however, is the importation of residual fuel oil from foreign countries. In 1953 this imported residual displaced 33 million net tons of coal and we are told that it will increase in 1954. The majority of this oil came to the eastern seaboard, which is the natural market area for central Pennsylvania coal. The oil has its origin in Venezuela and the Dutch West Indies. It is produced with cheap labor and is afforded ridiculously low transportation rates which, together with other factors, places it in a preferred position pricewise with Pennsylvania coal.

Mr. Speaker, although residents of Pennsylvania are concerned with the welfare of the coal industry in Pennsylvania, there is, however, another aspect of the situation that should receive the serious consideration of our national Government.

The energy requirements of our Nation are increasing at a normal rate. Our domestic sources of fuel supply are adequate to meet these normal demands. However, in abnormal times, such as we experienced in World War I and II, we have been sorely pressed for adequate fuel supply. In World War I our energy demands increased 31.6 percent in 4 years, and in World War II they increased 46.3 percent. Most of this increase in demand was met by increased production in the coal industry which reached its peak of 630 million tons in 1947 to 453 million tons in 1953.

In Pennsylvania, because of residual fuel oil competition and other factors, the production has declined from 145 million tons in 1947 to 91 million tons in 1953, or a decline of 37 percent. The decline is continuing. Production in Pennsylvania for January 1954 is down 16.53 percent compared with 1953. Because of this decline a great many mines have been closed and there has been a decline in personnel from 109,202 in 1947 to 56,668 in March 1954.

We in Pennsylvania know from experience that when a mine is closed it cannot be reopened. It fills up with water and caves in. Not only is this great quantity of valuable natural resource lost forever, but a source of supply that would be sorely needed in times of emergency is gone. Also, personnel to operate the mine in times of emergency would be unavailable.

In 1947 we produced nationally 139 million tons of strip coal. This was quick and easy coal. Because of depletion, it would not be available on the occasion of another emergency.

Another condition that is alarming in central Pennsylvania is the decline of the young men in the industry. In former times it was traditional for young men to follow in the footsteps of their fathers in the coal industry. However, with the mines closing as they are and operating part time, most of these young men are leaving the communities and seeking employment elsewhere.

There are various angles in this picture with which I am sure you are acquainted. We in Pennsylvania know that if something is not done immediately to alleviate the condition, central Pennsylvania as a coal-producing area will dry up. This source of fuel supply will be lost and should an emergency arise, our National Government would experience difficulty in getting sufficient fuel to run the machinery. Oil would be suddenly cut off and what oil is available would be used, of course, to man our war machinery.

Mr. Speaker, in the interest of my own congressional district, the State of Pennsylvania, the coal industry nationally, and the welfare of our Nation, Congress is urged to support legislation that would restrict the importation of foreign residual fuel oil.

Down to Earth Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor:

DOWN TO EARTH AGAIN
(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—American foreign policy is back on solid ground after a 2-month New Look excursion which has provided Washington with a serious, and happily attended, lesson in the dangers of mixing domestic politics with foreign policy. Remedial measures have been undertaken, and it will be some time before the exercise is repeated if John Foster Dulles has his way.

The 2-month excursion through the enchanted lagoons of the New Look began on January 12, when Mr. Dulles himself coined the phrase "instant retaliation," but did not at the time accompany it by a detailed explanation, which would have avoided the many misunderstandings which ensued. Those misunderstandings have now been clarified carefully and extensively by Mr. Dulles in a double redefinition of American foreign policy to be found in the text of his March 16 news conference and an article in the April issue of Foreign Affairs.

The net of those two operations can be summarized briefly as follows:

1. The United States is not basing its foreign policy exclusively on the strategic atomic weapon.

2. The United States will not use the atomic weapon in ways which would involve its allies without consulting the allies.

3. The reaction of the United States to new aggression will not necessarily be "instant," nor will it necessarily involve atomic weapons.

4. United States foreign policy must, and will, be "flexible," and must, and will, contemplate the use of other weapons besides the atomic.

5. Local or "bush wars" may break out and may have to be met by conventional or preatomic means.

6. The President cannot always consult Congress before deciding on the answer to some possible new act of aggression. He might, in fact, have to commit the Armed Forces of the United States at once in the event of an attack against any signatory of the NATO or the Rio treaties.

About all that is left of the 2-month excursion from the above is that so far as Indochina is concerned the President does not expect, or intend, to involve the United States in the war being waged there without consulting Congress.

One example of the confusion caused during the excursion is the fact that during the 2-month period the military staffs of every member of the NATO alliance requested urgent clarification of "instant retaliation."

Another example was provided by the explanations which the highest military leaders of the United States felt it necessary to make

in public to allay the misunderstandings which were for a time current.

A further example was provided by the political duel over the meaning of the New Look between Democrat Adlai Stevenson and Republican RICHARD M. NIXON.

The fact is that for several confused weeks it appeared both in the United States and in the outside world that Washington had embarked on a spectacular revision of basic American foreign policy. The truth is that no such thing ever happened; it only was made to seem to have happened.

The key to the confusion, and the clarification, was provided when Mr. Dulles explained that the important element in his January 12 speech was not the phrase "instant retaliation," but the words "capacity for" which preceded them. The primary reliance of the United States is vested in its "capacity for instant retaliation." Further clarification lies in the fact that Mr. Dulles regards this "capacity" as being the "deterrent" to major war.

Placed in this context, the fact emerges that the New Look is not in any sense revolutionary, or even in reality new. The capacity of the United States to retaliate instantly with atomic weapons has been the principal deterrent to major war ever since World War II ended. The capacity rested in the combination of the Strategic Air Command of the United States with the atomic bomb. This capacity has been husbanded jealously and developed zealously ever since the so-called cold war began. It has been the main counterweight in the world balance of military power to the armed forces of the Soviet Union. It continues to be the main counterweight to Soviet armed forces.

In retrospect, the confusion resulted primarily from two conditions. One was the understandable urge of Republican politicians to make their foreign policy look new when actually the element of continuity is far larger than the element of newness. The other was the low point which bipartisanship in foreign policy had reached in Washington.

For the most understandable domestic political reasons the administration has wanted to make its foreign and military policy look and sound new. Also, it had not remembered that until January of 1953 the Republican voice was long raised in a demand for more bipartisanship in foreign policy. But the excursion into the New Look put an intolerable strain on the alliance, and brought undesirable confusion into the whole picture.

From now on less will be said about newness, and consideration will be given to bipartisanship.

Postal Salary Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, this morning I appeared before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House and testified in behalf of much-needed postal salary legislation that will give the postal employee a living wage. I do hope that the committee will give favorable action to the bill introduced by Congressman WITHROW, of Wisconsin, which is now being considered by the committee.

In addition to several communications from the Gary, Hammond, East Chicago, and Whiting, Ind., organizations of the postal employees, I submitted the following statement for the consideration of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee:

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for this opportunity to present my views regarding the pending salary legislation concerning postal employees.

When I first came to Congress, in January 1943, I was happy to become a member of the Post Office and Post Roads Committee. At that time the postal employees had not received a permanent raise in salary for almost a quarter of a century. This committee met during the early days of the 78th Congress and over a period of several weeks held hearings on postal salary legislation and reported out a salary bill which was enacted into law in May 1943. Although the cost of living has increased by terrific proportions in the last 11 years, the postal employees have not been given equitable consideration by the Congress in salary increases which would overcome necessary living expenses. The increase in 1951 was but a pittance to enable the average postal employee and his family to enjoy just the ordinary necessities of modern living.

I represent a congressional district which is highly industrialized, and our people are exposed to the same abnormal high living costs as the people living in the city of Chicago and other great metropolitan areas.

I have received several surveys from groups of postal employees in the Calumet region of Indiana, setting out a breakdown of their wage check compared with the necessary monthly expenditures which they are compelled to meet monthly. I do hope that the members of your committee will take time pelled to meet monthly. I will submit for the record these salary breakdowns from Gary, Whiting, and Hammond, Ind., letter carriers organizations, and from other postal groups and organizations in the Calumet area of Indiana. I do hope that the members of your committee will take time to go over this astounding revelation of the financial condition of the postal workers in my area. It is revealed that 67 percent of the postal employees are compelled to seek outside work in order to make ends meet. This compares to 45 percent holding outside jobs which was revealed in the national poll. It is further revealed that approximately 65 percent of the wives of postal employees are working either part time or are seeking some source of outside income. This compares to 38.2 percent of the postal wives working on the national poll. Other very interesting statistics on this matter from my district are hereby submitted for the consideration of your honorable committee.

I firmly believe that if the Congress will give a substantial and equitable raise to the post-office employees, it would contribute a great deal to strengthen the purchasing power of the American public and this in turn will greatly aid industry and business which so sorely needs financial impetus to restore growing unemployment.

The Postmaster General's recommendation of reclassification legislation and accelerated pay increase at this time is not only unrealistic, complicated, and impractical, but it will not begin to provide just salary increases to the postal workers of America. If the Postmaster General is serious in his reclassification program, it should be submitmitted as separate legislation so this committee and Congress can give special study to the violent change in the American postal organization. His reorganization program and salary increases proposed would provide increases as low as ½ cent an hours for some postal employees. I firmly believe that the Postmaster General's recommendation is nothing more than a smokescreen in order to confuse the issue and muddy the waters to detract from the present legislation under consideration to give the postal workers an $800 flat pay raise. I believe the members of your committee sincerely feel that any employee, whether he is in private industry or Government service, should be paid adequate compensation; a salary which will retain his purchasing power parity with the paycheck which he received before Pearl Harbor. An $800 across-the-board increase as set out in the Withrow bill, would place the postal workers on an economic parity with the cost of living as it existed in 1938 and 1939.

I do not believe that the American public expect the Post Office Department to operate on a profit and loss basis. The American taxpayer pays billions to operate our Government and of course we realize that about 85 percent of this money is expended under the cost of war, both past, present, and future. The postal service is the one department of the Government which is in contact with every American almost daily. It is the one service which the taxpayer demands should be efficiently conducted. The men and women working in the service should be paid an ample wage and guaranteed future security for their homes and families. A raise of this kind would not only aid to restore employment in industry, but it would be a terrific impetus to our receding economy. I do hope this committee will report out favorably the Withrow bill and give the Congress an opportunity to debate and pass on the merits and demerits of this legislation so that postal workers of America can be placed on a plane close to the millions who work in industry, business, and other avenues of our economy.

The Future of a Chemical Industry in Utah

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, because of the distances from here to the Rocky Mountains, many Members of this body are more aware of the industrial development in the Urals than they are of the industrial and economic expansion that has been going forward in our own mountain defense bastion since 1940.

For that reason, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an excellent speech on the potentialities of Utah's chemical industry. The speech was made by Dr. Carl J. Christensen, acting dean, College of Mines and Mineral Industries, and coordinator of cooperative research at the University of Utah. The speech was delivered before the Salt Lake City Rotary Club on February 23, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FUTURE OF A CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IN UTAH

(By Carl J. Christensen)

Before starting, however, I must call your attention to the present existence of a chemical industry in the State, from which a large segment of the population of Utah draws its economic support. This chemical industry embraces the mining, smelting, and refining operations associated with copper,

lead, zinc, and silver; the mining of iron ore and coal and the fabrication of these to steel forms; the mining and refining of uranium; the refining of cobalt; the production and refining of petroleum; the mining of clays and transformation of these to clay products and catalysts; the production of sugar; the production of dairy products—especially cheese; the making of beer; the mining of quartzite and the production of metallurgical refractories from this material; the making of coke and the organic by-products of the coking operation; the production of salt and potassium chloride from lake brines; the production of phosphate fertilizers; the mining of gypsum, perlite, and lime rock and the fabrication of these into building materials; the production of portland cement from suitable clay and limestone raw materials; and a host of smaller chemical operations.

These are important chemical operations now supporting the economy of Utah, but I believe these are only secondary to the chemical industries which are potentially possible within the State.

I. EXISTING AND POTENTIAL MARKETS FOR CHEMICAL PRODUCTS

Chemistry is a young science. Lavoisier, a young Frenchman beheaded for being a nobleman during the French Revolution, is honored today for having laid the foundations of chemistry about 150 years ago. The chemical industry in the United States had its real beginnings in the present century. Two world wars have greatly stimulated the development of the chemical industry in the United States so that today chemistry is exploited here for the benefit of the people to a greater extent than in any other nation. We have more chemists and a greater output of chemicals by far than is found anywhere else in the world. Russia is gaining fast, but that is another story which should give us real concern; perhaps this can be discussed at a future date. Even with the great chemical production in the United States today, the demand for chemicals is rapidly increasing.

CHART II.—*Chemicals and allied products growth in value added by manufacture*

[Thousands of dollars]

	1939	1947	1951
Total, chemicals and allied products	$1,818,941	$5,365,901	$8,164,512
Industrial inorganic chemicals	233,718	454,099	854,309
Industrial organic chemicals	476,801	1,551,381	2,863,671
Drugs and medicines	260,649	748,570	1,276,906
Soap and related products	200,988	606,079	677,346
Paint and allied products	225,818	573,237	745,000
Gum and wood chemicals	20,723	62,965	73,006
Fertilizers	57,241	186,601	245,096
Vegetable and animal oils	86,785	482,476	430,425
Miscellaneous chemical products	256,218	699,193	998,753

The data in chart I (not printed) while impressive, are relative. The volume of business of the various components of the chemical industry and their growth over a 12-year period are shown in chart II. This growth in demand for products of the chemical industry is due to two causes:

(a) An increase in individual consumption of chemical products because man wants and can use for his purposes those things which chemistry makes available for his use.

(b) A rapidly increasing population which creates expanding markets for manufactured goods. (I might point out this creates jobs, and thus taxing power. There is a silver lining to the beclouded school problem causing so much concern today).

We experience boom times and depression times because of the fluctuating character of our economic forces, but these appear as mere ripples in the steeply ascending curve of demand for chemical products. A long look ahead—and this is what we take here—assures us that when we speak of chemical products we are considering items for which there is an expanding future demand.

The anticipated growth (according to one analysis) of the chemical industry is shown in chart III.

CHART III.—*Anticipated chemical industry growth*

[1950=100]

1950	100
1962	175
1975	500

Western United States is growing more rapidly than the East. At present the large bulk of chemical manufacture in the United States is located east of the Mississippi River or on the gulf coast of Texas. Chemical industry is coming West, however. W. C. Foster, president of the Manufacturing Chemists Association, makes the following statement in the January 4, 1954, issue of Chemical and Engineering News: "It is noteworthy that the chemical industry's great expansion in 1953 showed a trend toward concentrating in areas near raw material sources. Thus gulf coast and Far West were two areas where some of heaviest growth of the industry took place." As the West grows, so will grow the demand for chemicals produced in the West. Accordingly, Utah can expect a steeper demand curve for chemicals produced here than can the United States as a whole.

II. RAW MATERIALS AVAILABLE LOCALLY TO SUPPORT A CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The first item of importance to support a chemical industry is quantities of cheap power. This we have in Utah, either existing or immediately potential. Within 350 miles of Salt Lake City is to be found an estimated 400 billion tons of bituminous coal, or about one-seventh of the known bituminous coal deposits of the world. Oil is being found in what is anticipated will be an abundance. Oil shale sufficient to produce more petroleum products than have been taken from the earth since Colonel Drake drilled the first oil well at Titusville, Pa., in 1859, is found just to the east of us in the Colorado and Wasatch Plateau areas. Natural gas in reasonable abundance has been located in the Wasatch Plateau area and the Four Corners area. Other areas, also, are giving promise as producers of natural gas. The newest fuel, uranium, is being found in considerable abundance in eastern Utah and western Colorado. To supplement all this, there will come from the Echo Park Dam and other potential hydroelectric power sources from the development of the Colorado River enough energy to equal that to be obtained from the mining of 2 million tons of coal annually.

Fuel is abundant, and relatively cheap. No other area of the world, of which I am aware, has such a supply of fuel, both in quantity and variety.

Where fuel and raw materials do not exist together, the raw materials usually travel to the fuel for processing. Witness the transport of iron ores from Minnesota, South America, and Labrador to the coal deposits of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois for processing into steel products. Since fuel exists in Utah in great abundance, we can anticipate, according to this established economic pattern, that raw materials will have a tendency to flow here for processing.

For the chemical industry as a whole, the raw materials in table I are of top importance. Most of the materials in this list are found in the intermountain area in abundance. Water is not as plentiful as could be desired, but with water development it will be possible to expand the chemical industry to a very significant extent. Sulfur is available in limited supply near Cove Fort in southern Utah. Pyrites and sulfur are used interchangeably. In the copper-refining operations of this State, iron pyrite to the extent of approximately 1,000 tons is being sent daily to the tailings ponds. This could easily and cheaply be recovered if a market existed. The sulfur dioxide gas from the smelting operation is now being transformed to sulfuric acid and largely used locally in the chemical industry.

TABLE I

[Tons annually (1949)]

Raw-material:	*Quantity used*
Petroleum	(1)
Coal	(1)
Natural gas	(1)
Water	(1)
Air	(1)
Salt	10,926,000
Limestone	6,675,000
Sulfur	1,765,000
Phosphate rock	1,255,000
Lime	762,000
Pyrites	847,000
Sodium nitrate	400,000
Sand	189,000
Chrome ore	115,000
Bauxite	141,000
Fluorspar	89,000
Barites	81,000
Potash	66,000

[1] Unknown, but very large.

Sodium nitrate is not available as such, but the proposed Utah Chemical Co. operations will make nitric acid available which will supply the same need as sodium nitrate. Chrome ore is not found here, hence no extensive industry which uses chrome raw material is feasible. Bauxite is also not available. This supplies the aluminum industry with raw material. Some day, when the bauxite deposits of the world are depleted, then the aluminum industry will take its raw materials from clay. With its abundance of cheap power, Utah could easily compete in this industry. Potash is available in Utah in exceedingly large quantities. In addition to that which can be extracted from lake brines, there are tremendous deposits in the Thompson-Green River area of Utah. These deposits are little known.

Secretary Ickes ordered information on these deposits squelched at the beginning of World War II, but enough work has been done by the United States Bureau of Mines, and the information has leaked out, to make it quite certain that these deposits of potassium and magnesium salts are among the most extensive in the world. The German deposit of like nature called the "Stassfurt Salts" made chemists of the Germans and started them on their industrial and technological future. Our salt deposits could mean much to the chemical future of Utah.

Fluorine compounds are just now being developed into a chemical industry, and their future potential is great. Fluorine chemistry could be promoted in Utah, since fluorite is found here, and phosphate rock has fluorine as a component. The acidulation of phosphate rock releases the fluorine and makes the rock soluble for the fertilizer use. Other than the use of fluorite as a flux in the slag of the open-hearth furnaces at Geneva, the only way in which fluorine now enters into the Utah industrial scene is to be discharged into the atmosphere as an industrial waste gas, then taken up by the growing forage plants, such as alfalfa and grass. This the cows eat. The fluorine goes to the bones of the cow, causing a disease known as fluorosis. The teeth are especially affected so that the cow loses them through decay. The cow then slowly dies of starvation. Accordingly, the waste fluorine gases from the operations at Geneva have put the Geneva Steel into the business of buying cows and have put all the farmers of Utah County into the steel business. Farmers in other areas are now trying to get into the steel business, too. The fu-

ture of fluorine in Utah could be a brilliant one if a suitable chemical development of fluorine products were undertaken.

Other than the exceptions noted above, especially chrome ore and bauxite, and perhaps ultimately water, Utah has an abundance of all the key raw materials shown in the above list. There can be no doubt that a raw-material basis exists for a very large chemical industry in this State. Our great advantage is that we have all the necessary ingredients, fuels, and mineral raw materials to support a significant chemical industry in Utah.

Cancer Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, next month is cancer month. Throughout the United States a crusade against cancer will be launched. All who join in this great crusade deserve the plaudits and the praise of those of us who sit on the sidelines and watch for these crusaders are dedicated men. One such man is George E. Stringfellow, of New Jersey. A distinguished American and present vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, N. J., he has been the founder and the first president of the New Jersey division of the American Cancer Society. None have served more nobly and devotedly than Mr. Stringfellow.

The spirit of determination and sacrifice in this crusade against cancer can lick this dread disease. I am confident that all those who heard the following address which was delivered by Mr. Stringfellow at a joint meeting of Kiwanis, Rotary, and Lions Club of Bloomfield, and over station WAAT, will enthusiastically join in the crusade with him on How To Lick Cancer.

Mr. Stringfellow's address is as follows:

HOW TO LICK CANCER

I appreciate very much being invited to speak to you about the American Cancer Society and its program for the control of cancer.

Let me start with a few facts—facts that emphasize the realities of cancer in terms of human lives; in terms of what can be done about it; and in terms of why the American Cancer Society exists and why it needs your help.

More than 32 million Americans now alive will develop cancer unless some means is found of making people immune to it. If the present death rate is permitted to continue, 23 million of these Americans—nearly 5 times the entire population of New Jersey—will die of cancer. But one-third of those who die should be saved and could be saved if the tools we have developed were properly applied by all.

About 4 times as many people die of lung cancer today as in 1933—a great majority of them men over 45. We are losing all but 5 percent of those who develop lung cancer. With the knowledge and skill we now have, we ought to be saving 50 percent.

About 175,000 children in this country are motherless because of cancer. Of the 90,000 women who develop the most common forms of cancer, only about 30,000, or one-third, are now being saved. But 65,000, or more than two-thirds, could be saved if our present knowledge and skill were properly utilized by everyone concerned.

The ultimate goal in cancer control is discovery of new and effective means of preventing cancer. I wish I were in a position to say to you: In another year, 2 years, or 3 years, cancer research will find the answer all of us want. But I can't. No one can say when science will find an easy means of preventing death from cancer. I can only tell you that steady progress toward that happy day is being made, but it is necessarily slow. We are dealing with a biological problem of baffling complexity and we must keep the nationwide cancer research program operating at full capacity. No disease has ever been conquered without research.

Since 1954 the American Cancer Society has devoted to cancer research more than 25 percent of all the money contributed by the public to the society's cancer-control program. Since 1945 the society has spent nearly $30 million on research alone. Last year we had available for research nearly $5 million. That wasn't enough. Because of lack of funds, we had to turn down projects involving another $1 million that showed real promise.

If we can raise $25 million, as we hope to, we will have $6 million for research—and we will also have more money to expand our educational and service programs—vital programs that are saving lives daily.

You may ask, as I have heard many ask: "Does all the money invested in medical research pay off?". It does.

Let us consider medical research generally. Largely as a result of it, the death rate in the United States has declined 15 percent in a little more than 15 years. This means that 1,736,346 lives have been saved. These saved lives resulted in an estimated $2,500,000,000 in earnings to the national income alone. So, while we are saving lives through medical research—the goal toward which we are striving—we are at the same time vastly improving our national economy, our public health, and our morale in a time of great world stress.

Yet from all sources, the United States spends only about $180 million a year on medical research. Something over $16 million was spent in 1953 on cancer research. It wasn't enough. Consider that one-fifth of the people in the United States today will develop cancer. Consider that 227,000 Americans died of cancer last year—and only $16 million was available toward the effort to eliminate the cause of their deaths.

However, steady progress is being made. We know that right now lives are being saved—and many more can be saved—as a result of money invested in cancer research in recent years. Nearly developed combinations of surgery and radiation have made possible cures for cancer that would not have been possible a few years ago. Methods of diagnosis have been perfected to the extent that now many cancers can be detected when they are most susceptible to successful treatment.

And that brings us to the second phase of the American Cancer Society's program, education. It is through education that we hope to get people to take the steps necessary to protect themselves by using the weapons and skill we have at hand. The earlier cancer is detected—the better are the chances of cure. That is the message we must put across.

Science has made it possible in many cases to detect the presence of cancer long before the individual himself may become aware that something has gone wrong. Because of this, we must get more apparently well people to doctors for regular physical checkups. If we can do it we can save thousands of lives and untold suffering.

One of the big problems facing us today is to arouse and keep up an interest in self-protection. Today only 35 percent of the women who develop breast cancer are being saved, but if all women over 35 could be persuaded to practice self-examination and visit their doctors regularly up to 75 percent could be saved.

Today only 5 percent of the men who develop lung cancer are being saved, but lung cancer shows up on an X-ray plate while still a silent shadow, and if all men would see to it that they had regular chest X-rays up to 50 percent could be saved.

Deaths from lung cancer have increased from 3,400 in 1933 to 22,000 in 1953. No one can be sure of the cause of this immense increase. Many have pointed the finger of suspicion at cigarette smoking. The American Cancer Society takes no position on the matter, but it has under way one of the most remarkable studies ever planned to find out the truth. In another couple of years, or perhaps sooner, we shall know whether there is any relation between smoking and lung cancer.

It is very important that this study and research in the cause and treatment of lung cancer go forward. Any delay may cost thousands of lives. And it is just as important that our other research, education, and service programs go on.

To be successful in our mission to save lives from cancer we need the help of all of you. Cancer is everybody's business, and I know that in April, when we ask the public to give as much as it can, that you will all do your part and do it generously. Only in this way do we have hope of reducing our chances of death from cancer.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

The United States, the United Nations, and World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last Saturday it was my honor and privilege to appear in the Assembly Hall of the United Nations Building in New York, where there was held what is known as the Herald-Tribune Forum. It consisted of approximately 30 youngsters from 30 countries of the world who had been in the United States for several months visiting in the homes and schools of America. They were black, white, yellow, and red. There we had virtually a United Nations Assembly of youngsters representing 30 nations.

In front of me as I spoke were 5,000 New York high-school children and their parents. It was a rare occasion, and one which gave me a great deal of inspiration. Every one of the foreign students told what America meant to him, and the impact of American life upon him. It was really revealing. This program continued for approximately 3 hours. It was one of the finest experiences I have had.

Upon that occasion it was my privilege to deliver a brief address. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED STATES, THE U. N., AND WORLD PEACE

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, before foreign high school seniors in New York, March 27, 1954)

It is a genuine pleasure to be with you young people and your able teachers this afternoon. And it is a fine idea that we are meeting in the United Nations General Assembly. Coming from so many different lands, you are a kind of United Nations in miniature yourselves.

In recent years, I've traveled in many of your countries. Wherever I've gone, I've received a hospitality that has warmed my heart. I'm happy that you have had this opportunity to visit my country. I know you have received the same kind of hospitality here that I've received in your countries.

LEARNING ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

The United States is a big and many-sided country. One must be very careful or he will get a distorted picture of the land.

America isn't just skyscrapers, subways, automobiles, and all the other trappings of a great city like New York. These are parts of it and important parts.

But America is something more. America is vast agricultural lands and great plains and mountains. It is thousands of small towns and villages. It is countless churches of all faiths and schools and communities. It is millions of homes like the ones you are staying in. And these homes are lived in by descendants from every land represented here today and many more that are not represented here.

I speak as the son of immigrant parents who found America a land of opportunity. All of us in America who owe our origin to other lands have found that, above all, America is a great ideal of freedom—freedom for all people to grow and to develop in their own way and to their fullest capacity.

Now, how does one get to know this many-sided America? One can learn quickly about this country, if he will search for the America in the hearts of its people. If one finds it he will understand this country because he will know that its people are like the good people of his own country. All want the same basic things. All have the same basic decency. All are moved by the same hopes, and, yes, even the same fears.

BONDS THAT UNITE OUR COUNTRIES

Before I began to travel abroad, I used to hear a great deal about the differences that exist among people. Of course, there are differences of a superficial kind. But these differences are not anywhere near as important as the bond that unites the good people of all lands.

The bond that unites is our common humanity, our brotherhood under God. It is a bond of the heart. That is why I hope you have discovered the America that is in our hearts.

It is this bond which makes us want to learn from one another and to cooperate with one another for the common good. It is this bond of the heart which makes countries seek to live together in peace and work together to preserve peace.

It is around this bond that we can build the kind of world we want. A world of neighborliness and peace.

A few years ago we let the bond break. All the world's evil and hate and terror broke out in the most devastating war in history. You are old enough to remember that conflict even though you may not remember all the sorrow and pain that came out of it.

After the war, the nations of the world got together to try to restore this bond. It wasn't an easy job. We had to strike out along new paths and try new ideas.

One of the things that came out of this attempt was the United Nations in whose great hall we meet today. When we, the people, formed this organization, each nation had to decide whether it was going to come out of its shell a little. It had to decide whether or not it would reach out its hand and join together with others in a common effort to preserve peace in the world.

SENATE APPROVAL OF UNITED NATIONS

In this country, the decision to do so had to be made by the United States Senate. I remember when the question of joining the United Nations was before the Foreign Relations Committee in 1945. We discussed this matter for days and days. More than 100 Americans—lawyers, doctors, workers, housewives—told the committee in public hearings of their hope for peace. People in this country as in all countries were searching desperately for a means to keep war out of the world. And, finally, we on that committee decided that the United Nations offered the best hope of preserving peace. We recommended to the Senate that the United States participate fully in the organization. The Senate which represents all our 48 States, the 160 million people in this Nation, voted to joint the United Nations—only two Senators voted against the United Nations, and 89 voted to join it.

I don't know how much you young people have already learned about the American Government, but let me tell you that 89 to 2 is an enormous vote. More often votes in the Senate are something like 47 to 42 or 45 to 40 on important issues. You don't get a vote of 89 to 2 unless the people in this country are very much aroused about something and united on what they think.

Now, why did we get this kind of overwhelming vote on joining the United Nations?

I'll tell you why. I think the people of this country sensed in their deepest wisdom that in the world of today no nation can stand alone in freedom. A long time ago one of our great Revolutionary leaders, Benjamin Franklin, told his colleagues, "Gentlemen, we must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we will all hang separately."

You may hear that this part or that part of the United States is isolationist or that another part is world-minded. These are labels that conceal rather than reveal the truth. They are a lazy substitute for real thought and real understanding.

The great majority of the people of this country, regardless of where they live, regardless of political party, want to support those international institutions and activities that are really necessary to peace, to a decent life, and to freedom in the complex world of today. There may be a few ostriches in our midst who prefer to bury their heads in the sand and not see this world. But that kind of a bird is probably no more common in this country than it is in any other.

And because the great majority of Americans are alive to the realities of the world of today, the Senate of the United States voted overwhelmingly to join the United Nations. That is why the Senate has also supported regional organizations like the one we share with the Latin-American countries. That is why the Senate has endorsed technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas, so that we might share and exchange knowledge and skills with other countries.

ISOLATION NOT POSSIBLE

There was a time, perhaps, before science and invention changed things, when we could remain relatively apart from the rest of the world and still keep our freedom.

A century ago when my parents went out to the State of Wisconsin where I live, it took them 2 to 3 weeks to get there from New York by boat and wagon. You fly out there today in 2 or 3 hours. We move so fast in these days that, if you can imagine the world of yesterday as the size of a volleyball, the world of today is no bigger than a pingpong ball.

I think that comparison tells us why some kind of international organization has become essential. I think it tells us why this Nation and others joined together at San

Francisco almost 9 years ago to form the United Nations.

Today the Organization has 60 members. Nineteen other states have asked to join. Many of these deserve to be in and I hope that a way will soon be found to get them in.

THE UNITED NATIONS AS A PEACE ORGANIZATION

What kind of an organization is the United Nations that the peoples of the world formed to help them keep the peace. I know what it is not. It is not a superstate that will break down those national distinctions we should cherish. It does not mean that everyone is going to have to eat the same food, dress the same way, and live in the same kind of house.

It doesn't mean these things; and if it did, I would oppose it just as strongly as you would.

If anything, the United Nations will help us to preserve the uniqueness of each nation. It can help us preserve our national identity by preventing aggression which kills off free, independent states. In one sense the United Nations is the world's greatest threat—it threatens those totalitarian forces in the world community which seek to destroy freedom. The United Nations can become the greatest force for liberty the world has ever known.

In this meeting place all nations exercise their right to free speech, even though some of the Communist members may deny that right to their own citizens. In this forum nations meet together and work together to solve their common problems. As in America's frontier days, guns are left outside the door when nations come here into this very room to reason and even to quarrel together. I may say that, as a delegate from the United States, I have done my share of quarreling with the Soviet delegates.

But, above all, in this forum, the nations of the world have a chance to strengthen those bonds of human brotherhood under God which must be strengthened if mankind is to survive and to prosper.

That is the kind of organization which was established by the peoples of the world 9 years ago. Is it a perfect organization? Of course it isn't. How many works from the hand of man are?

But we can all work to make the United Nations more able to serve the needs of humanity. It will take courage, faith, and effort on the part of you young people who someday will inherit this work and the responsibility for carrying it on.

All of you will soon be going back to your homes. Some of you will come back here in not too many years, to sit in this same General Assembly as representatives of your country.

You will be striving with all your strength to organize a peace and make it stick. To do so, you must work to eliminate the bigotry, the ignorance, the poverity, and the unseeing hatred that breeds wars.

There are more men of good will in this world than men of evil. There are more nations seeking peace and freedom than nations worshiping force and ready to destroy freedom.

It has been said that might makes right. The truth is just the opposite. It is right that makes might. It is those who stand for peace and freedom who have the moral and spiritual strength to overwhelm evil.

MIGHT AND RIGHT

Over a century and a half ago a great French philosopher, Pascal, said: "Right without might is weakness. Might without right is tyranny. We must therefore combine right and might, making what is right, mighty, and what is mighty, right."

That is what we have tried to do in the United Nations. For only if we put might and right on the same side can we expect the free world to survive. It is a hard path. But we must not fail.

The Boy Scouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN C. STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered today by our colleague, the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], at Staunton, Va., March 29, 1954, at the annual council banquet of the Stonewall Jackson Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America. It reflects the fine American sentiments of the speaker, and the fine attributes of the Boy Scouts.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DAD OF AN EAGLE SCOUT TALKS

(Remarks of Hon. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, of Virginia, at the annual council banquet of the Stonewall Jackson Area Council, Stonewall Jackson Hotel, Staunton, Va., March 29, 1954)

Long before my home was in Lexington, I worshipped at the shrine of the immortal Stonewall Jackson. My father's father, Capt. Archie Robertson, served in Jackson's Army of Northern Virginia and was killed at the bloody Battle of Cold Harbor. Having been interested all my life in history I was, of course, interested in the history of the War Between the States and the part that Jackson played in that struggle until, as the Catholic priest said at the Confederate reunion in New Orleans: "O Lord, when in Thy inscrutable wisdom it was deemed best for the Confederate cause to fail it was first necessary that Thou should remove Thy faithful servant, Stonewall Jackson."

I read Henderson's Life of Jackson—a textbook in the military schools of Great Britain and other foreign countries in which that great English soldier listed Jackson among the alltime great in the realm of military genius. Frequently, when some cause in which I was interested was being hardpressed, I have quoted Jackson's last command, uttered in his delirium as he lay dying in the little farmhouse at Guinea Station: "You must hold your ground, General Pender, you must hold your ground to the last."

In view of the many challenges both at home and abroad to our Democratic institutions and inherited way of life and the necessity for the training of the youth of the land in those fundamental Jacksonian traits of love of God, love of country and irrefragable courage, it is most fitting and proper that the leaders of the Boy Scout movement in the valley of Virginia should have seen fit to name this the Stonewall Jackson Area Council.

In my public school days, Goldsmith's Deserted Village was required reading but I frankly did not fully appreciate then the real meaning of his lines:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

When I was a boy many young industries of our Nation were being financed with foreign loans and we were a debtor Nation. Certainly, I did not consider our country being threatened with too much wealth when I was elected to the House from this valley district in 1932 during the midst of the worst depression in our history and you may be interested in knowing that the total expenditures of the Government during my 1st year of service in the Congress were about $2 billion less than the interest we will pay this year on the national debt. Last year, however, the national income reached an all-time high and consumer purchases alone amounted to $229 billion. Naturally, all foreign nations look with envious eyes upon our national wealth, our natural resources, on our standard of living, which is by far the highest in the world and that situation has thrust upon us economic leadership in world affairs. And since most wars have their origin in economic problems our present position carries with it the requirement that we be able to assume military leadership whenever that is necessary to defend not only our property but the fundamental principles of our Government.

Since ideas over the radio have taken the wings of the morning and the steamship and airplane have brought the nations of the world jostling together it is no longer feasible for any nation to live alone in security even behind such formidable barriers as two mighty oceans. The Soviet Politburo which directs the destiny of 800,000,000 behind the Iron Curtain is bent upon world domination and since no one is able to lift the veil of the future to see when that threat to the free world will end, it is necessary for both us and our allies to have competent and trained manpower not only now but likewise for the foreseeable future.

In helping to arm and train the manpower of the free nations who have joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization we are not only conserving our own manpower but likewise our financial resources because the maintenance cost of a European division is about one-half that of an American division. But our military experts are definitely of the opinion that for ground troops we cannot rely solely upon our allies nor for the protection of our own shores can we rely solely upon our superiority in the air and in the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs. We also need manpower not only for the Air Force and the Navy but likewise for the Army and to those familiar with the problem of the availability of that manpower it is disturbing to know the high percentage of American youths who are found unfit for any type of military service, when called for examination under the Selective Service System. Even more alarming are the facts which have been brought out recently by State and National commissions which have made studies of the problem of juvenile delinquency.

In the light of these facts, it is most fortunate that there are in our country those like the splendid men and women attending this meeting, who are conscious of the fact that we have been neglecting our greatest wealth and our strongest bulwark against future aggression, namely, the youth of our land.

It was an English Army officer, named Robert Baden-Powell, who years ago observed English boys making a game of the scouting tactics he had been teaching to soldiers who had served under him in the wilds of Africa during the Boer War. He was the organizer of the Boy Scout movement as we know it today and techniques originally associated with war were adopted to encourage development of the heroic qualities possessed by every nation which has had to conquer a frontier. These involve love of nature, fellowship of man, and respect for God.

Three years from now our State plans a state and national celebration of the 350th anniversary of the first permanent white settlement on this continent. Due to the fact that those first settlers knew nothing about frontier life the Jamestown settlement came very close to not being a permanent one. Fortunately for us, the early settlers were able to make the necessary adjustment to an economy in which each

man had to build his own log cabin, each man had to produce his own food and each man had to learn the fundamental principle of cooperation with his neighbor in defense against hostile Indians. One hundred and sixty-nine years after the first settlement at Jamestown and 156 years after the first settlement at Plymouth Rock the colonies had increased to approximately 3 million people. They were both sturdy and freedom-loving people and when an English king attempted to deny to them that type of freedom which they felt was the birthright of every Englishman they rebelled. There followed 7 years of hardship and soul-trying war as 3 million colonists with little previous military training and with inadequate military equipment pitted their strength against what at that time was the greatest of world powers. But the glorious fact for us is that after losing many of the big battles they finally won the last and decisive one and a few years later a new nation was born.

In approximately the same period of time that it took the first settlers to reach the point where they were willing to challenge the autocratic power of the mother country and to form an independent nation of their own we have become, as I have indicated, the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

But if we are able to learn anything at all from history we are bound to know that wealth and pomp and circumstance have never saved any nation from ultimate destruction. Through the ages the safety of any nation always has depended in the final analysis upon the character and sturdiness of its people. One of the primary reasons that our lavish expenditures of over $40 billion since the end of World War II to help our European allies stem the tide of aggression has been less effective than we had hoped is the fact money won't buy friendship nor will it inspire in the heart of another man the love of freedom.

In recent years it has been my privilege to visit on a number of occasions the little Republic of Switzerland which won its freedom long before the first settlement at Jamestown and which has been able to preserve it through all the subsequent wars of Europe, including two world wars. While the casual visitor to Switzerland would be impressed by the beauty of the Swiss Alps and the fertility of the Swiss valleys, the more observant visitor is even more impressed by the sturdy character of the Swiss people. The spirit with which they have cherished their personal freedom was expressed by Lord Byron when he said:

"And when thy sons to fetters are consigned—
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom—
Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind."

That is the spirit which scout leaders seek to inculcate in the minds and hearts of the youth of America. While it gratifies us that since the commencement of the scout movement in 1910, 21 million men and boys have been enrolled in the movement among the 54 nations recognized by the international Boy Scout Bureau and that in 1953 the enrollment was 5,500,000, of which 3,395,884 men and boys were enrolled in our country, the fact remains that only 1 out of every 3 boys who would like to receive that type of training has been able to get it.

Recently National Scout Executive Schuck wrote me:

"How well the young men of tomorrow will meet the challenge of the times will depend upon the training that they receive today in character development, participating citizenship and personal fitness."

While financial gifts to that program are, of course, appreciated, the most valuable contribution is made by those who give their time. In return they get no financial reward but of these leaders it may be said in after years as Pericles said of the young men of Athens who died at Thermopylae: "Their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on, far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

What is the stuff which these leaders are weaving into the lives of the younger generation? It is summarized by the scout oath:

"On my honor, I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law: To help other people at all times; to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight."

Scout honor is the honor of character which impels one to do his duty in God's sight as well as in man's sight. The first specific commitment of the Scout Oath is duty to God and the next is to country—not a mere geographical area but the people of the Nation. And when a Boy Scout takes the oath to help other people at all times he is promising to live by the Golden Rule.

Essentials of good citizenship also are covered by the 12 points of the Scout laws which require a Scout to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, reverent.

President Eisenhower, who has given a strong endorsement to the Scout Movement, has recommended that the current Scout slogan "Forward on Liberty's Team" be implemented this year by special emphasis on the protection and wise management of our soil, water, mineral, forest, grassland, and wildlife resources.

This program has a particular appeal to me because throughout more than 30 years in public life one of my primary interests has been efforts to preserve and restore our renewable natural resources.

As first chairman of the Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries I tried to insure for future generations of Virginians the opportunities our forefathers had for healthful and invigorating outdoor sport. As a Member of Congress I sponsored the bill under which more than $100 million of taxes collected in connection with the sale of arms and ammunition has been returned to the States for conservation activities, and for 12 years I headed a special committee which made a continuing study of problems of wildlife conservation.

The doctors tell us that in our country heart trouble is the big killer, causing more deaths each year than any other disease and more than all of the so-called contagious diseases combined. Discussing that problem last year with Dr. White, of Boston, possibly the greatest heart specialist in the world, he said there would be less heart trouble in this country if the youth of our land were trained to take regular physical exercise and then keep it up the rest of their lives. I know of no better way to train the youth of our metropolitan areas, and incidentally at the present time only about 15 percent of our population is engaged in farming where boys can develop a strong body through manual labor, than to interest our city boys in hunting and fishing and in the course of that training in the out-of-doors to teach them how closely related the essential needs of mankind for food, clothing and shelter are to the needs of the animal kingdom and how dependent both are upon the conservation of our natural resources.

In helping to direct general attention to conservation needs and programs Scouts will have fixed in their own minds the importance of using and not abusing the bounties of nature. More important, however, is the fact that by participating in the current 3-year program as members of liberty's team several million boys will be reminded that liberty is something we have to work for.

I warmly commend the 900,000 adult Scout leaders of our Nation who are participating in a program of character and body building of over 3 million Boy and Cub Scouts, teaching them to appreciate the meaning or Thoreau when he said:

"To him whose vigorous and elastic mind keeps pace with the sun, the day is a perpetual morning."

St. Patrick's Day Address by Bishop McNamara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DENNIS CHAVEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, March 17 was St. Patrick's Day. On that day at a mass at St. Patrick's Church in Washington, Bishop McNamara delivered the sermon. It is all American. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the sermon which he delivered on that occasion.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Today we celebrate the feast of Ireland's Patron Saint. It is not without reason we call the day a feast although for the most part it will be celebrated as a secular holiday. Those for whom the pearl of faith has lost its luster may think of it only in terms of a banquet, but its real significance is lost except on those who can be merry at a banquet and not less merry at a mass.

If, in the best sense of the word, we are merry at this mass, which commemorates and continues the Sacrifice of the Cross, it is because we see Patrick as we should see him, as one who sacrificed himself for Ireland in union with Him Who on Calvary sacrified Himself for the world. It is not the mind of the church to make the celebration of this day a mere salute to the past; it is her desire rather to make it a challenge to the present and to remind us who are of the present St. Patrick's Day serves its purpose only insofar as it inspires thoughts of St. Patrick's way, the way of faith and love and sacrifice, the way of a great high priest who in his heroic efforts to serve the purpose of the church reflected the image of Jesus Christ to Ireland and the world.

Many of you here present on this occasion have come to this sacred edifice year after year on St. Patrick's Day as did your parents before you. You have come not only to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass but to hear a story which to you is ever old yet ever new because it is told of one you love. Today you would hear it again, the story of a Christian slave boy who served his pagan master as a shepherd of sheep and who, in his later years, would serve the people of Ireland as a shepherd of souls.

Patrick was only 16 years of age when captured and sold into slavery, but well for him he remembered the lessons he had learned in a Christian home. In the lonely hours of his watch on the slopes of the Slemish Mountain when, longing for the companions of his youth saddened his soul, he found what his heart desired in the companionship of God. He tells us, to quote his own words, that "the love of God and His fear increased

more and more as my spirit was stirred, so that on one single day I said as may as a hundred prayers and nearly as many at night."

In the sixth year of his captivity, having heard of a ship that was about to sail from Ireland, Patrick resolved to escape from his bondage and to set out for his childhood home. Although the port from which he would sail was 200 miles away, he reached it in time to beg for a free passage which he obtained from the captain of the ship only after much pleading in which he was joined by the members of the crew. Three days after the ship set sail he stepped ashore, but he was still far from home. Another 30 days would pass during which he would travel on foot through a rough and rugged country before he stood in the doorway of his father's house.

Great and heartwarming was the welcome given the boy who had been lost and was found; who had been as one dead and returned to life. "Leave us not again," his loved ones pleaded. "Stay with us always and be our comfort and joy." But try as he would, Patrick could not forget the years he had spent with the kindly people of Erin. Often in quiet hours, when alone with his own soul, he found himself in spirit with his flock of sheep on the Slemish Mountain. It was in one of those quiet hours, to quote his own words, that he heard "the voices of those who dwelt beside the Wood of Focluth, which is close to the Western Sea, and thus they cried as if with one mouth: 'We beseech thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us once again'." Those words rang in his ears like a tolling bell and their echoes would ring in his soul until death. Stay with us, said his parents and friends; come, said the voices, and come he would in God's good time.

In the course of the years that followed his arrival home, he prepared himself for the sacred ministry. We read that he spent 3 years of study in the monastic school of St. Martin of Tours and that he spent 15 years under the direction of St. Germain of Auxerre by whom he was ordained to the priesthood. In the year 432 he was raised to the episcopate and later commissioned by Pope St. Celestine to replace the deceased Palladius in the work of the evangelization of Ireland.

On reaching the shores of Ireland, Patrick, as an Ambassador of Christ, went with as little delay as possible to the King and the Chieftains of the country and announced his mission. In explaining its purpose, he spoke in words that were on fire with the love that filled his soul, and they burned their way into the hearts of his listeners. Pagans though they were they gave him the hand of welcome and bade him go his way in peace.

Need I tell you of the complete abandonment with which Patrick gave himself to the cause to which he had consecrated his life? Need I remind you of his prayers and mortifications which brought from heaven the Pentecostal fire that swept through the hearts of the Irish people, purging them of idolatry and preparing them for the faith that from then till now has been their glory and their pride? Shall I tell you of the thousands he baptised and of the princes and chieftains who became as one with the people under the banner of Christ? Tell me, do you know of a missionary in all history who served his cause with greater devotion, or who poured out his life with greater generosity at the feet of Christ for the sake of his people? Only when he was weighted down with the years, when his tired heart refused to carry its burden of flesh, did he cease from his labors. Then, at the end of his mission, as at its beginning, we see him on his knees pleading with God that the children of his soul would remain forever loyal to the church, forever true to their faith.

If ever a man left a people with a challenge, it was Patrick, and such a challenge as only the ignoble could ignore. Thanks be to God the response of the Irish people has been worthy of the great heart from which it came. What more fitting response could they have given to Patrick than lives that were patterned after his very own? Lives like those of Brigid and Columkill and a host of holy men and women whose names shine forth from the pages of history in letters of gold. What response could have been more welcome than that which was given by the successors of the bishops he consecrated and the priests he ordained, who, inspired by his memory, went forth from their homeland to help in the rebuilding of the churches and monasteries that lay in ruins following the barbarian invasion of the sixth and seventh centuries? And who did more to further the cause he served than the successors of these same godly men who in later centuries made known the name of Patrick in England, in France, in Germany, and Switzerland; who, said St. Bernard, "descended on foreign countries in an ever-flowing stream." Yes, and thanks to God, the stream continues to flow till this day through missionaries of Irish blood who serve the cause of Christ in China, in Korea, and in nearly every part of the world. In recent times some of our own countrymen, like Bishop Byrne and Bishop Ford, have died for the cause they served; some at the moment languish in prison cells. But today, one and all will kneel and thank God for giving Patrick to Ireland and to them even as you kneel to thank Him for giving Patrick to America and to you.

Ireland has had her critics, but not even the most unfair will deny that she has proved a worthy witness to the faith and to the man sent by God to bring her under the yoke of Christ. For centuries she proved himself in times of peace and she would prove herself not less worthy in times of war. Little did her people dream, when her missionaries went forth to help in the rebuilding of Europe following the barbarian invasion, that their own country in time would suffer from an invasion not less barbarous and not less cruel than that which had threatened to lay waste the whole of Europe.

If ever a people were tried as by fire, if ever a people suffered for their faith as did the martyrs of early Rome, it was the people of Ireland in penal days. They are robbed of their homes; their churches were confiscated; they were denied the rights which they owed only to God. Day after day and year after year they lived in penury and want. Untold thousands died from starvation; dying they knew that the loaf of bread and the bowl of soup which would keep life in their wasted bodies would be ttheirs for the asking if only they would deny their faith. But no, they would go down to their graves with honor and to God they would bring souls unstained by treason. It was not the easy way; it was St. Patrick's way.

Long was Ireland's night of suffering. Generations of her sons and daughters lived in poverty and pain. At death they left to their children neither silver nor gold, but they bequeated them a treasure beyond all price in memories of men and women who had resolved with the courage and determination of the great St. Paul that neither life nor death would separate them from the love of the Lord Jesus Christ. The memory of their sufferings for the faith will live forever in Irish hearts. Today we thank God for Patrick, but not less for the children of his soul.

But what was it, let me ask, that gave them the strength and courage to stand on Calvary with the crucified while passersby mocked their faith and constancy; that enabled them to resist the lure of bribes, the threats of torture, imprisonment, and death? What was it that made it possible for them to live from day to day and year to year under black clouds of impending disaster? It was a vision born of faith, a vision in which, through a rift in the clouds, they saw the face of Patrick, the man of God, who, in serving the purpose of the chruch, had reflected to Ireland the image of Jesus Christ. To betray Patrick would be to betray Christ and that they would never do. It was not the Irish way.

It is not for me on such an occasion as this to rake the ashes of what, I trust are burned out fires. It is not for me to stir up feelings of hatred on the feast of an apostle of love. If I recall for you the persecutions of past years, it is not because I would stress their cruelty or emphasize their horror. It is because they stand out in history as a witness to one of the most glorious triumphs of the faith in the annals of the church. What is more, I recall them because I cherish the hope that they will inspire you, the spiritual sons and daughters of Patrick, to share the spirit of love and loyalty that was characteristic of your fathers and encourage you to do for the faith in America what they did for the faith in Ireland.

In the darkest days of Erin's history, our country opened wide its gates to the Irish people. Here in the United States they found a haven and a home. They and their children have given much in return for what they have received, but in gratitude they must give even more if they would save this country, their country, from the folly of believing in its pride that it no longer needs the guiding hand of God.

Today our country is suffering from an invasion not less harmful to our faith and to our people than that which was suffered by Ireland in the darkest period of her history. We are suffering from an invasion of ideas, the spawn of a philosophy which would divorce religion from life and which would build a wall of separation between man and God.

In the early history of this country the importance of religion in the life of the American people was seldom if ever questioned. Today, not only is its importance denied; its very existence is assailed as an obstacle to enlightened progress, especially by men for whom the measure of life is not the glory of God, but the pleasure and satisfaction of man. You may behold around and about you the evil fruits of this baneful philosophy of life.

But what are you doing to correct the evils that threaten disaster in our country? What are you doing by way of answer to the recent appeal of the Holy Father to rebuild the world anew in the spirit of Christ? If you would know what to do, give ear to the words of Pius XI of happy memory: "As in all the stormy periods of the church, the fundamental remedy lies in a sincere renewal of private and public life according to the principles of the gospel by all those who belong to the fold of Christ, that they may be in truth the salt of the earth to preserve society from total corruption."

There is no other way to bring back to Christ the people who have rejected the Christian conception of life. The pagans of today will be impressed as were the Irish pagans of yesterday only when the Christians of today live as did the Irish Christians of yesterday. People of worldly minds know only too well of your claim to kinship with Christ through the church and they will laugh you to scorn if, when looking to see in you a resemblance to Christ, they see instead only a likeness of themselves. It is the difference that matters; the difference as perceived in love for your cause and in the sacrifice which, as proof of that love, you offer as one wtih the sacrifice through which Christ redeemed the world.

It was because our fathers were different that we honor them today. It was because of their refusal to conform to the world that they preserved the faith for us and only in-

sofar as we refuse to conform to the world shall we preserve it for those who come after us. God grant that we may measure up to the challenge of their memories and the valor of their deeds.

What a challenge there is in the thought that comes to us at this hour as we envision the scene at the Rock of the Mass around which our forefathers gathered for the Holy Sacrifice? Here we are at our ease before the altar of God. We fear no intrusion on our privacy. We dread no interference with our devotions. How different it was in those days when our fathers, who were denied the right of assembly, gathered for worship by stealth in glen and vale and at times in darksome caves. On the hills watchers scanned the horizon for the hirelings who hunted down their priests as though they were wolves. Only when the signal was given that all was well did the priest come out from his place of hiding and offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The people knew that in coming to them the priest was risking his life. They knew he could be killed at sight and the law would take no heed. And they shook with fear for the man of God when they thought of the cliff on the mountain were priests had been roped, back to back, and given the push that sent them down to their deaths on the jagged rocks below.

Ah, they were sad days for the priest and people of Ireland and at times sad and bitter memories took possession of their souls. But there was one glorious compensation. It was out of those memories they wove the beautiful bond of love and affection which from then until now has bound them to their priest, their Soggarth Aroon. God grant the bond may grow with the years and grow it will if we who minister at the altar and you who worship at the pews remember our debt to the past; if we remember that it was in tears and blood the tree was planted from which today we pluck the flowers.

In remembrance of that past you may wear today a ribbon of green on your coats, but I pray you will wear always the cross of Christ in your hearts. As is fitting, on this occasion, you will sing All Praise to St. Patrick. You may, if you wish, sing God Save America. But if you would do your part in saving America, sing, above all, the song that reveals the source of Patrick's power and the secret of his way:

"Christ with me.
"Christ before me.
"Christ behind me.
"Christ within me.
"Christ beneath me.
"Christ above me.
"Christ in the heart of everyone who thinks of me.
"Christ in the mouth of everyone who speaks of me.
"Christ in every eye that sees me.
"Christ in every ear that hears me."

May Christ be in your ears at this solemn moment to the end that you may accept the challenge of the day, to make your own the truth that was the guiding star of Patrick's life. The purpose of the church is to reflect the image of Jesus Christ to the world. Your duty as a member of the church is to reflect His image in your life. It will not be easy for you or for me, nor was it easy for our fathers in penal days. May we think of them often in days to come; yes, think of them as they gathered around the rock of the Mass; and, in times when we are tempted to grow weary in well-doing, in times of trial and sorrow when the clouds hang low in our sky, may it be given to us as it was given to them to see through a rift in the clouds the face of the man of God who, in the beauty, the grandeur, and the holiness of his life, reflected the image of Jesus Christ to Ireland and to the world.

Address by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, at Masonic Dedication Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, yesterday morning it was my pleasure to deliver an address on world affairs, before Masonic dedication services at the Hotel Astor and later at the Hotel Commodore, in New York City. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIGHT IN A WORLD OF DARKNESS AT NOON

It is a privilege and an honor to address this historic Masonic occasion.

I come to speak on the most important challenge of our times—the challenge of preserving the peace.

I would like to submit a few thoughts which may help to clarify the great problem of this age, How we may avoid world war III.

To "clarify" is to make clear, to bring light, to dispel darkness.

We of Masonry know the meaning of light: Light from on high; guidance from our Creator in solving our problems.

Never in history has man so needed light from on high.

DARKNESS AT NOON OVER THE WORLD

A black, artificial darkness today envelops one-third of the earth's peoples, living on one-fourth the earth's surface.

Dark storm clouds swirl, as well, over Indochina, over Guatemala.

Over vast expanses of the Pacific, scene of the ominous H-bomb experiments for our own defense there, soar grim, mushroom-shaped, and other shaped clouds of destruction. How many similar clouds are swirling over remote areas of Siberia?

Throughout much of the world there is Communist darkness at noon, as one author wrote, a manmade darkness at midday, when we might otherwise expect nature's light.

Amidst all this darkness, how well we recall now the words of John Henry Newman:

"Lead kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark, and I am far from home;
Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see the distant scene; one step enough for me."

Yes; we implore, "Lead, kindly Light," lead us step by step to the path of peace.

To help find that path, I, for one, should like to submit three simple guides this morning.

THREE GUIDES TO PEACE

They are:

(1) The United States is called upon to the highest purpose which has ever confronted a nation.

We are called upon to lead mankind from a world, clouded by wars and fear of wars—to a world of the sunshine of peace and plenty.

(2) The United States can only fulfill this responsibility of leadership if she collaborates as a partner in the team of nations.

Ours is not and must never be a leadership of command. Ours is a leadership of cooperation.

(3) The United States must be certain that the principles which guide her conduct are enduring principles of morality.

The United States must never be guilty of appeasement—of a sellout in the name of expediency.

Her strength is a moral strength. She is strong so long as she is just and pure, and so long as her objectives are just and pure.

THE COMMUNIST TYPE OF LEADERSHIP

Why do I stress these themes?

Because their exact opposites are stressed by our Communist opponents in the global struggle which is now raging.

The Communist principalities of evil believe in leadership, too.

It is the leadership of ruthless master over helpless slave.

It is the leadership of raw command, enforced by bullets, bayonets, and bombs.

It is leadership which violates every principle of morality—both in its objectives and in its tactics.

Which of the two types of leadership will triumph?

The leadership which we give to the free world or the leadership by which the Kremlin dominates the slave world, and by which it proposes to dominate the remainder of the world?

MASONRY: A FRATERNITY OF LEADERSHIP

It is altogether fitting and proper that, at this inspiring occasion, you and I, as Masons, as Americans, should contemplate the problem of American leadership.

It is because Masonry is a builder of leaders—of selfless, dedicated servants of mankind.

Masonry is founded upon the very principles of morality on which true leadership can alone be based.

It is because Masonry teaches the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God, on which our own beloved America was founded.

It is because Masonry unites men with intangible and tangible ties of fraternity, just as today America seeks to unite freemen everywhere, with tangible and intangible ties of a common cause.

OUR MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

And if we are to secure greater unity in the world, we must strengthen still further the ties between freemen everywhere. So, too, we must send our message to the enslaved peoples beyond the barrier of the Iron Curtain.

We must tell our story to the world—not just the American story, but the story of religion versus atheism; of love versus hatred; of peace versus violence; of plenty versus want.

THE BONDS THAT UNITE FREEMEN

We must cement the spiritual bonds which tie all men together—Christian and Jew, Moslem and Buddhist.

We must strengthen the material bonds between men.

What are those bonds?

They are military and political and economic.

These are voluntary bonds. They are not iron chains. They are bonds accepted freely and eagerly for the common good.

They include the military ties for the common defense against aggression. They are ties like those of the North Atlantic Treaty states, and the United States defense treaties with Australia and New Zealand, with Japan and Korea.

The political bonds include the ties that bind us to the United Nations and with the Organization of American States.

The economic bonds are the ties of the reciprocal trade-agreements law, the ties of the nobly conceived European Coal and Steel Community and similar endeavors, making for mutual trade and prosperity.

SELF-PRESERVATION: FIRST LAW OF NATURE

And why must we strengthen these bonds—and most important, the intangible, spiritual bonds between us? Because to do so is to abide by the first law of nature—our own self-preservation.

Since 1945, and the end of World War II, we have followed the present foreign-policy course because we knew that any other course would lead, not to self-preservation, but to national and international suicide.

We have helped other free nations because we knew that by helping them, we helped ourselves.

By arming them, we armed ourselves.

By strengthening their economies, we strengthened our own economy.

Thus, we have exercised commonsense—horsesense—in applying the first law of nature—the law of self-preservation.

Opponents of our foreign policy programs have tried to criticize it with all sorts of unfair epithets. They say it is a Santa Claus policy, a give-away policy, a do-good policy.

It is none of these things. It is enlightened self-interest.

HISTORY'S CHALLENGE TO US

History conferred upon us an opportunity to aid in rebuilding and reconstructing a shattered world.

History gave us the opportunity to save a world, and in that process, to save ourselves.

History required that we either change with changing times or else die because we were not adequate to respond to a changing world situation.

We rose to the occasion.

By all our billions of postwar aid, by all our farflung military commitments, we responded to destiny's challenge.

We have not thrown away our resources.

We have, in a larger sense, husbanded them.

By saving France from communism, Italy from communism, Japan and Germany from communism, we have helped save ourselves.

Can any of you picture what the world might have been like today if we had allowed the warbattered Europe of 1945 and 1946 to disintegrate in economic and political chaos?

Can any of you picture what might have happened if the mass worldwide unemployment which had been predicted for the postwar era had actually come to pass?

OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS SINCE 1945

Instead of unemployment, we helped create jobs—jobs abroad, and jobs here. Incidentally, we need still more jobs now—both at home and abroad. Depression is a far more evil and potent enemy than Communist propaganda itself.

Instead of mass starvation, we helped to raise food production and feed the world.

Instead of increased illiteracy and disease (or the continuation of the status quo of misery), we helped raise educational and nutritional and health standards by our point 4 and other programs throughout the world.

All of this is and was in accordance with the highest principles of our Judeo-Christian civilization.

It is in accordance with the highest principles of our Masonic faith, for Masonry is founded on the bedrock of Judeo-Christian civilization.

APPLYING THE MASONIC CREED

I know of few other public programs which so closely conform to Masonic ideals than our foreign aid program of recent years.

Masonry teaches us selflessness, and these programs have been selfless.

We have sacrificed. We have given generously of ourselves, and we have prospered. We have sacrificed not just our treasure but our dearest lifeblood.

Our brave boys themselves died for a noble cause. But by their deeds and the deeds of other United Nations boys a nation today lives—the Republic of Korea.

But, far more important, a magnificent idea lives—an idea that law and order must prevail in this universe; an idea that sheer might shall not erase right; an idea that the strong shall not trample the weak.

It is an old idea. It was expressed by Moses. It was expressed by the prophets. It was expressed by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.

It was aided and achieved by gallant GI's and ROK's and English, French, Turkish, and other boys on Porkchop Hill and Hill 984, or Heartbreak Hill.

THE ISSUE OF RECOGNIZING RED CHINA

With this background I want to comment to you now on another testing ground of that idea. It is centered in the Far East. It concerns Peking and Formosa and the United Nations.

It is the issue of the proposed entry by Communist China into the family of nations.

You are familiar with the fact that in Geneva on April 26 there will commence a critical conference on the Far East.

Several of our allies and numerous other free powers hope that out of Geneva some arrangement will come whereby Communist China may be admitted to the U. N. in return, perhaps, for a settlement in Indochina and elsewhere.

I, for one, strongly oppose any such spurious and self-defeating arrangement.

WHY I OPPOSE RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

I do so, for four reasons, among others:

(1) I do not believe that you can purchase peace and security by appeasing an aggressor.

History teaches that appeasement—economic, military, or political appeasement—does not end war or prevent war. It merely brings on new war, bloodier war, more disastrous war. It brings on war at the most disadvantageous terms, morally and physically.

(2) I oppose Red China shooting her way into the U. N., or into a diplomatic embassy in Washington because I do not believe in America turning her back to her proved allies—to Nationalist China—which fought so long and bled so seriously in the common cause of freedom, turning our back to the Republic of Korea, which itself has been the victim of the naked aggression of Red China.

(3) I am opposed because, in addition to my own individual evaluation of this situation, I know that the American people's evaluation is exactly the same.

That is why the House of Representatives last year thundered, by a 379 to 0 vote, its opposition of Red China.

It is why the Senate has, likewise, decisively indicated its opposition.

The United Nations cannot endure without the support of public opinion in the United States. That is a simple statement of fact. Let no one who holds the U. N. dear lose sight of that fact.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has stated that the United States would use the veto, if necessary, to keep the Chinese Communists from entering the United Nations Security Council.

However, we face a difficult problem because admission to the General Assembly and to the other organs of the U. N. is by majority vote and is not subject to veto.

(4) As a fourth reason, I oppose Red China's admission because the highest military echelons of the United States Government have soundly determined that the maintenance of a free Formosa on the side of the free world is essential to the security of the United States and of the Pacific.

Now, I want to make it quite clear that I do not like to see differences between our allies and ourselves develop on the issue of recognizing Communist China or on any other major issue.

I for one have always sought to find common meeting ground with our allies. I have sought to see problems through their eyes as well as our own, to discuss issues with them calmly, objectively, and without reference to personalities. I do not believe in recrimination and insult. I have always believed in the Biblical injunction: "Come, let us reason together."

Nevertheless, on this Red China issue, we must persevere on behalf of our position with the full resources of our convictions.

And those convictions run deep indeed.

THE CRIMES OF RED CHINA

I want to point out that Communist China is not only guilty of the crime of invasion of Korea, but she is guilty of other heinous acts against the conscience of the world.

She is guilty of the vicious peddling of narcotics to poison the minds and the bodies of free men and women.

She is guilty of extortion against Chinese throughout the world, of holding them up on the threat that harm will come to their relatives on the Chinese mainland.

She is guilty of open piracy. She is guilty of violation of every last international instrument regulating warfare.

She is guilty of hideous treatment against prisoners of war, outright murder of bodies and murder of minds through so-called brain washing.

She is guilty of atrocities against churchmen of all nationalities, churchmen who had lived in China in peace and in service to the Chinese people.

She is guilty of expropriation.

And she is guilty of other dreadful crimes as well.

When some of our allies says that Red China may be admitted into the family of nations when she has purged herself of her aggression, I ask: "When, if ever, will she purge herself of all her other crimes as well?"

I point out that the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs has testified that probably 15 million of her own citizens have died at the hands of the Peiping clique.

Does Red China propose to purge herself of that crime against her own people? Or does she propose to compound that crime and continue the slaughter of her citizens?

Does she propose to resume her aggression in Korea? Does she propose to continue to violate the sovereignty of her neighbors by fomenting revolution and civil war in Indochina, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, and other nearby lands?

DISPUTING OTHER ALLIED CRITICISMS OF US

Now, some of our allies may say that we Americans are impractical; that we are not, for instance, being realists; that we are allowing our emotions to get the best of us.

I dispute them.

I say, there is nothing more practical in this world than to recognize and abide by the spiritual law which prevails among men, as it prevails among nations.

It is a law as strong, as demonstrable as the law of gravity.

There is nothing more realistic in this world than for ourselves to become instruments of that spiritual law.

As for being emotional, why should we not fight for the right, as God gives us to see the right, and fight for it with all our heart and soul?

Perhaps we are being somewhat emotional. But we have every right to be.

We are emotional about the murder of our lads in Korea.

We are emotional about the possibility of more fighting in Korea.

The world will be a sadder world, indeed, if it ever loses its sense of righteous indignation over evil, if ever it surrenders at the altar of expediency its own innate sense of decency and morality, if ever it quells its wrath against godless iniquity.

Critics may say, too, that by our strong stand against Red China, we tie our own hands before going to the bargaining table.

But I say that there are certain things to which America must always be tied. We must be linked to the Ten Commandments—linked by the invisible ties that bind men of good will to the Holy Gospel.

I know that, in meeting this issue, as our Secretary of State and his colleagues proceed to Geneva, they will carry with them the hopes and the prayers of the American people.

Knowing as I do the enormous problems which they face, the complexities of the problems facing our allies, the extreme difficulties of negotiating with the Soviets, knowing this and more, I believe that our Secretary of State is deserving of our support and of our prayers. He is a patriot, high-minded, realistic, practical.

Geneva is but the latest of his long series of noble Conference efforts, aimed at a better, more peaceful, more secure world.

John Foster Dulles is a man of faith in his Nation and of faith in his Creator. He, like the President of the United States, believes as did Lincoln that, "Without divine assistance, I cannot succeed. With it, I cannot fail."

MAN'S DESTINY IS NOT ATOMIC ASH

We who have this faith know that we shall be adequate on this issue, as on other issues. Man was not created in God's image in order to be dissolved in atomic ash. Man was put here on earth for a higher destiny than to return to the caves after an atomic Armageddon.

So, we say, as did the Psalmist:

"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help.

"My help cometh from the Lord which made Heaven and earth."

We ask, as is asked in Romans, "If God be with, who can be against us?"

Forward, then, my brothers, chins high, faith undimmed.

CONCLUSION

With these thoughts I conclude my comments to you this morning.

I conclude on this note of faith because I feel that our cause shall indeed prevail and that light will conquer the darkness at noon.

Masonry teaches us faith, faith which "is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." Masonry teaches us worshipful reverence for our Maker—He who is all knowing, all seeing, all powerful.

Masonry teaches us to seek the light, to live by it, and to contribute to it.

"Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom.
Lead Thou us on.
The night is dark and we are far from home,
Lead Thou us on."

The Threat of Judicial Lawmaking

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GATHINGS] is recognized for 25 minutes.

(Mr. GATHINGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, after reversing itself 32 times within the past 16 years the Supreme Court of the United States could not be expected to receive the plaudits and commendation of the American people. The decisions of the Court formerly were legend; they were sacrosanct. Our citizens had the right to rely upon the decisions of the Supreme Court as being precedents. Men were chosen for membership on this high tribunal on the basis of ability and for their standing and reputation as able practitioners of the law. Unfortunately this system was changed in the thirties by the then Chief Executive, who sought to impose his will upon the Court and called its members "nine old men." Legislation was introduced in the Congress to pack the Court by increasing its size. These bills failed of enactment and, as a result, scorn and contempt was cast at those legislators of both Houses who possessed the patriotism and fortitude to oppose the courtpacking proposal.

The case was carried to the people in several States and in each instance the constitutents of these servants of the people approved their actions. The people in those States desired to maintain the time-honored system of checks and balances—the separation of powers of the three departments of Government. It was their conviction that the High Court should not be subservient to any Chief Executive. They felt that judicial appointments should not be made to carry out any President's scheme, plan or philosophy of Government, as it would destroy the prestige of the law and courts alike.

It is not within the province of the Supreme Court to write opinions which would amend the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court can construe the Constitution; it can interpret the Constitution, but it does not have the power to amend it. The machinery has been set up in the Constitution itself providing a definite manner of amending the Constitution; the people themselves have a voice in any such amendment.

On June 18, 1953, the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. DAVIS], and on March 15, 1954, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], inserted as part of their remarks a list of overruling cases and a list of overruled cases in which the Supreme Court overruled time-honored law from the present day to a period as far back as 95 years. The present court has so consistently struck down established law and set up different guideposts in their stead, that members of the Supreme Court itself have bitterly assailed such practice. Mr. Justice Roberts, in the case of *Smith* v. *Allwright, et al.* (321 U. S. 649), had this to say on page 669, and I quote:

The reason for my concern is that the instant decision overruling one announced about 9 years ago tends to bring adjudications of this tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, "good for this day and train only."

The legislative department of the Government should have the full power to make the laws and not the judiciary department. The Supreme Court as now constituted has brazenly attempted to change our laws through the process of court legislation, or judicial law.

The Supreme Court's racial segregation decision in our public schools is awaited with great concern and may be handed down at an early date. It will be one of the most significant decisions of the court in many decades. The cases to be decided originated in South Carolina, Virginia, the District of Columbia, Delaware, and Kansas. The question of whether racial segregation in the public schools, mostly at the grade level, would in itself abrogate the 14th amendment.

In 1896 the case of Plessy against Ferguson was decided. In that case the court held that the statute of Louisiana, acts of 1890, No. 111, requiring that railway companies provide equal but separate accommodations for both the white and colored races, and further that no person shall occupy "seats in coaches other than the ones assigned to them, on account of the race they belong to," and conferring upon train officers the power to refuse to carry passengers who would not occupy the coach to which they were assigned and exempting the railway company from liability for such refusal are not in conflict with the provisions of either of the 13th amendment or of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I quote from a part of the opinion of the court since it touched upon the matter of establishing separate schools for white and colored children:

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, or even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the State legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

In *Gong Lum et al.* v. *Rice et al.* (275 U. S. 78), the Court said:

The right and power of the State to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear.

Citing *Cumming* v. *Richmond County Board of Education* (175 U. S. 528, 545), Mr. Justice Harlan, in delivering the opinion of the Court in that case, said:

Under the circumstances disclosed, we cannot say that this action of the State court was, within the meaning of the 14th amendment, a denial by the State to the plaintiffs and to those associated with them of the equal protection of the laws, or of any privileges belonging to them as citizens of the United States. We may add that while all admit that the benefits and burdens of public taxation must be shared by citizens without discrimination against any class on account of their race, the education of the people in schools maintained by State taxation is a matter belonging to the respective

States, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and eight other members of his staff filed a brief urging the Court to overrule the cases that have consistently held that "separate and equal facilities satisfied all constitutional requirements" and to hold that segregation is unlawful. The Justice Department is taking up the torch of one group of citizens even though such position it takes totally disregards the many previous decisions of the Court on the question at issue.

It is a mammoth undertaking for public schools to offer equal facilities to white and Negro races. In the State of Arkansas every effort is being made to give all pupils the highest type of educational advantages. I quote from a news release from the State board of education written by Commissioner A. W. Ford in this regard:

Schools in Arkansas are the best in our history. This does not imply that we do not have many problems. But it does indicate that significant progress is being made in public education.

Ninety-eight percent of pupils, both white and Negro, are attending school 9 months this year. Our transportation system is one of the best. The school-lunch program ranks with the best in the Nation. Millions have been spent in recent years for new buildings and equipment. Our teachers are the best in our history. This is shown by the constant improvement in teacher preparation.

Many other improvements could be noted. The morale of the school people has definitely improved.

We will continue to have problems. But we should be thankful for living in a country where we can have problems and where we are privileged to work on these problems in our own way.

I have received some letters from eminent Arkansas educational leaders with respect to the manner in which school districts are now being operated in various cities of my district. These school leaders are superintendents of schools in which an appreciable percent of pupils in such districts attend the colored schools.

I have a letter from Superintendent J. E. Harris, of the Marvell Public Schools, Marvell, Ark., and I quote from his letter as follows:

MARVELL PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Marvell, Ark., February 27, 1954.

The Honorable E. C. GATHINGS,
House of Representatives,
Congress of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR "TOOK": I have your letter of February 24 before me and I am happy to be able to help you in submitting the following information as per your request:

1. Our district schools, according to the 1952–53 records, could only operate three months on tax funds paid by Negroes in our district.

2. The district assumes a total expense of $78,500 per year to operate Negro schools in this district.

3. Our expenditures for transportation of Negro pupils last year was $10,000.

4. About 90 percent of the operating spent on Negro schools is borne by whites.

5. The personal property assessment, less utilities, in our district is broken down as follows: White—$685,125; colored—$230,700.

If I can be of further service to you, please feel free to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. HARRIS,
Superintendent.

The next letter that I would like to make a part of my remarks is from Superintendent O. M. Shultz, Jr., of Wilson public schools, Wilson, Ark., and I quote:

WILSON PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Wilson, Ark., March 3, 1954.

Mr. E. C. GATHINGS,
Congress of United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GATHINGS: Regarding yours of February 24, I have done my best to secure accurate answers for you.

1. Our school district could not operate 1 day on tax funds paid by Negroes in our district. The total assessed valuation of the Wilson School District is $2,368,237. Our tax assessor estimates the real estate owned by Negroes in our district would be assessed around $4,000 and the personal property around $13,439.30. The real-estate estimate is rather accurate, due to the fact that we took land ownership plots in arriving at this estimate. The personal-property estimate was arrived at by taking 2 percent of personal-property valuation of the school district, which the assessor thought to be about right. The only way that we could arrive at an accurate figure would be to go through every personal property assessment sheet. The real-estate assessments do not show whether they belong to Negro or white.

2. During the 1952–53 school year, $40,271.25 was spent in operation of Negro schools. You understand, of course, that only a part of the money for operation of schools comes from local revenue.

3. In the 1952–53 school year, it cost $4,300 to transport the Negro pupils of this district. This figure includes only actual expenditure. In other words, no depreciation or capital outlay on buses is figured.

4. The colored people of our district bear less than 1 percent of expense of local taxes in the Wilson School District.

5. According to our audit, the following figures give the per-pupil cost of Negroes and whites for the 1952–53 school year:

White high-school cost per pupil	$277.33
White elementary-school cost per pupil	140.83
Negro high-school cost per pupil	789.79
Negro elementary-school cost per pupil	60.24

It is my hope that the above information will be of some value to you. If I can be of further help, do not hesitate to call me.

Respectfully yours,

O. M. SHULTZ, Jr.,
Superintendent, Wilson Schools.

I include a letter from Superintendent A. L. Whitten, of the Marianna public schools, Marianna, Ark.:

MARIANNA PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Marianna, Ark., March 8, 1954.

The Honorable E. C. GATHINGS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOOK: I was glad to get your letter of February 24, in which you were asking about expenses for our Negro schools.

We have about 1,400 Negroes and 1,200 white students in our district. We employ 41 teachers of each race. Our white teachers have higher qualifications in general than the Negroes and receive about $380 a year more salary.

I should think that the local tax paid by Negroes would operate our entire district for 4 or 5 weeks.

You asked about the amount of money spent to operate Negro schools. I should like to report that $76,619 was spent in 1951–52 as current expenses for our Negro schools. This was 40 percent of the total amount spent in current funds for that school year. We spent $2,078 to transport Negro students, but are spending twice that amount this year.

The Marianna district receives about one-half of its revenue from State sources and the remainder comes from a 28-mill levy on the assessed valuation in our district which embraces 232 square miles. I should think that the white taxpayers of this district pay at least 85 percent of the total operating cost for all the schools in the district. We operate the only high school for Negroes in Lee County and have approximately 60 nonresident pupils in high school. We are asking a 4-mill increase in local taxes this year in order that we can make further improvements in Negro teachers' salaries and in the facilities for Negro students.

Our Negro patrons have great pride in their own high school and if it were properly equipped and if they were provided with sufficient classroom space and good teachers, I am sure they would be very happy on the present segregated basis.

If we attempted to equalize fully from local sources of revenue, it would be necessary that the total millage be increased from the present 28 mills to approximately 45 to 50 mills. Most of this expense would come in providing adequate buildings and transportation facilities.

I appreciate your interest in this subject and I am sincerely hoping for a separate but equal ruling from the Supreme Court.

Cordially yours,

A. L. WHITTEN,
Superintendent.

I had occasion to discuss this matter of nonintegrated schools with Mr. W. B. Nicholson, an able and learned superintendent of the public school system at Blytheville, Ark., on his recent visit to Washington enroute home from the Atlantic City National School Conclave. Mr. Nicholson prepared a most timely resume with respect to the opportunities offered both white and Negro students in the Blytheville School District. I would like to quote verbatim from Professor Nicholson's statement:

EVALUATION OF THE RACE PROBLEM IN BLYTHEVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BLYTHEVILLE, ARK.

In the Blytheville School System all schools without respect to race are under the administration of one superintendent, one board of education, one elementary supervisor, and one high-school supervisor. Classes of Negro children are visited regularly by the supervisors who are white women. These supervisors from time to time take over the classes and demonstrate teaching techniques for the benefit of the teacher. Regular teachers' meetings are held and attended by the supervisors.

All teachers in the Blytheville School System are paid according to the same salary schedule. It is a significant fact that one of the first grade teachers in a Negro school qualifies for the highest classroom salary provided for in the salary schedule. This teacher has a master's degree and maximum teaching experience. First grade teachers receive slightly more than other teachers according to the salary schedule. Therefore, this teacher qualifies for and receives the highest classroom salary the schedule provides for.

A recent secret poll of the Negro teachers in the Blytheville School System showed that 1 teacher out of total of 36 voted against segregation. The others favored segregation with equalization of educational facilities and opportunities. The point these teachers made was that under a segregation policy their teaching positions were safe and secure.

They, themselves, furnished me with data showing the pitifully small number of Negro teachers employed throughout the Nation, especially in the north and east, where it is claimed segregation is not practiced.

PER PUPIL COST OF THE SCHOOLS

The per pupil cost of the Blytheville School System averages for the elementary schools slightly more than $160. The average per pupil cost for Negro elementary schools is included in this figure.

In the high schools the per-pupil cost for white children is somewhat higher than the same cost for Negro children. When it is considered that more than nine-tenths of the school tax xmoney is paid by white taxpayers and that approximately 60 percent of the children in school are white, it does not become necessarily an injustice, if the per-pupil cost for white children is a few percentages higher than the per-pupil cost for Negro children.

Certain Negro leaders in this community have pointed out to me a danger which they see in the close association of teen-age children of the two races in school. They point out that this is the time that the mating instinct awakens and asserts itself with great force. They fear for the continued existence of their race if segregation in schools should be abolished. They know they are in the great minority and in due course of time their descendants as pure-blood Negroes would cease to be. They tell me they are proud of their racial identity and prefer to see their racial integrity and individuality maintained and perpetuated. Their contention is, and I think justly so, for equalization of opportunity in all fields of human endeavor and also for ample assurances and help in maintaining their racial integrity and dignity.

W. B. NICHOLSON,
Superintendent of Schools.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the teacher salary schedule of the Blytheville Public School system be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Teacher salary schedule, Blytheville public schools, Blytheville, Ark.

Professional training	Period	Base salary	Salary including experience increments			
			1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years
1 year	Monthly	$132.75	$132.75	$132.75	$132.75	$132.75
	Annual	1,194.75	1,194.75	1,194.75	1,194.75	1,194.75
2 years	Monthly	162.00	167.00	172.00	177.00	177.00
	Annual	1,458.00	1,503.00	1,548.00	1,593.00	1,593.00
3 years	Monthly	193.50	199.50	205.50	211.50	211.50
	Annual	1,741.50	1,795.50	1,849.50	1,903.50	1,903.50
4 years	Monthly	249.72	256.72	263.72	270.72	277.72
	Annual	2,247.50	2,310.50	2,373.50	2,436.50	2,499.50
5 years	Monthly	276.50	284.50	292.50	300.50	308.50
	Annual	2,488.50	2,560.50	2,632.50	2,704.50	2,776.50

Mr. GATHINGS. Some 3 or 4 years ago a bond issue was voted by the patrons of the Blytheville School District for the purpose of constructing a school building which was badly needed by both white and Negro pupils. The directors of the Blytheville School District saw fit to give priority to the building of the colored school although an urgent need existed to build additional white facilities to alleviate a severe overcrowded condition. I cite this Blytheville case as typical of the general attitude of our people in assuming the weighty responsibility which rests upon them to offer the highest type of school training to members of both races. We feel without reservation or equivocation that every child of school age, regardless of color, is entitled under the Constitutions of the State of Arkansas and of the United States to equal educational opportunities and advantages with respect to that received by any other child. At the same time, we hold that school children should be classified into reasonable qualifications, including sex, race, age, and mental capacity. The individual States make these decisions, and rightly so.

One of the things that can be done by this Congress to provide better schools and school facilities would be the enactment of the bill (S. 2779) sponsored by my colleague the senior Senator from Arkansas, the Honorable JOHN L. MCCLELLAN. The bill would provide limited Federal financial assistance to the 48 States for the construction of public secondary and elementary school facilities. This assistance will aid the States materially, and the local districts, in providing a greatly improved school system. Under the McClellan bill, the first consideration is "the urgency of the need" and the equitable and nondiscriminatory priorities in apportionment of the Federal funds to projects where one need for assistance is greatest.

The relations between the races in the State of Arkansas and throughout the South have continuously improved in recent years. They are better today than they ever have been before. We only ask to be let alone, and that any problem affecting the education of our young people be handled by the several States themselves. The continuation of segregation in our public schools is in the interest of continued good relations and the advancement of both races.

Our American heritage is priceless; our system of government is the envy of nations everywhere. The maintenance and preservation of constitutional government is, or ought to be, the concern of all. Our forebears settled here to escape from the yokes of tyranny and oppression so that they might enjoy the blessings attending a free people. The framers of our Constitution were patriots in the truest sense. They wrote into that document in article 1, section 1, and I quote:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Encroachment by the Supreme Court of the United States on that constitutional provisioin is not a threat, it is a reality. The danger is real. The issues raised by these five cases now before the court should turn on the 10th amendment, which reserves all power to the States which are not specifically delegated to the Federal Government. I cannot believe that the Justices of the court will run roughshod over precedents and propriety in handing down this decision.

Mr. Speaker, the matter of providing school facilities to the Nation's children is a matter for the several States to determine. Any action on the part of the Supreme Court to destroy the segregated school system in the State of Arkansas, as well as the other States, will do irreparable harm to both the Negro and white races alike. I trust that the Supreme Court will see fit, in deciding these five school cases, to base its ruling on precedents and not on political considerations. The cases should be dismissed.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. The statement which the gentleman has made, I think, is necessary and also constructive. I wonder if the gentleman has noted the decisions of the Supreme Court which you might say enacted legislation, labor legislation, especially touching the Wagner Act.

Mr. GATHINGS. There are at least 32 decisions in which the Supreme Court overrode previous decisions of that particular tribunal.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. The bulwarks of our Government and of our civilization will continue to stand only if we have people with intellect and capacity to recognize it when they are being attacked and who have the courage to oppose such attacks and resist them vigorously when they are made.

The gentleman has pointed out to the House this afternoon very clearly the danger which we face by having one of the bulwarks of our Government torn down, the bulwark of States rights. The gentleman has pointed out to us very clearly that these rights are now under attack through a method of usurpation of legislative functions by the judicial department.

The gentleman has rendered a great service to us by calling attention to this, and I want to commend him for the very able address which he has just delivered.

Mr. GATHINGS. I thank the gentleman from Georgia, and I want to say that the gentleman from Georgia is an able attorney and had a marvelous record as judge in his own State prior to his coming to this body. He has consistently been the spearhead in connection with the maintenance of constitutional processes and I thank him so much for his splendid contribution.

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield.

Mr. HERLONG. I was very much interested in the remarks of the gentleman with regard to segregation in our schools. I should like to relate an incident that happened when I was home during our vacation last year.

A Negro doctor came to see me and asked if there was legislation pending up here designed to make white and colored children go to the same schools. I told him there was no legislation, but that there were cases in the Supreme Court.

He said, "I hope you will do everything you can to prevent that from happening, because," he said, "I was born and raised in Boston; I was educated at Boston University, and I have practiced there. I now have moved to Florida because I feel I can render a greater service to my people here in Florida, and my children are happier here." He said, "They would not be happy if they were compelled to go to the same school with white children."

That points up and emphasizes just what the gentleman said a moment ago about the ill effect of forcing the two races together.

Mr. GATHINGS. I agree with the gentleman and thank him wholeheartedly.

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield.

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. I compliment the gentleman particularly on his acknowledgment of the fact that our Federal Government has a responsibility to assist in the construction of Negro schools. I have introduced legislation to accomplish this objective, and I hope that hearings can soon be had upon it.

Mr. GATHINGS. I had not known before that the gentleman from Florida was sponsoring this legislation. School facilities for both races are needed.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to join my other colleagues in complimenting the gentleman from Arkansas on the statement he has made and the fact he has brought this information to the Members of the House and to the country as a whole. Certainly the gentleman's statement is timely and I hope that many will take heart in the points which the gentleman has made. If we in our State and in other States are given some time, these problems can be worked out at State level, as the gentleman desires them to be worked out.

Mr. GATHINGS. I thank the gentleman very much. The problems posed in the five cases before the Court are solely State matters.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. The gentleman has painted a very clear picture of what I consider to be perhaps the greatest danger facing our American democratic institutions. The question of whether or not segregation in public schools shall be continued in the South is more or less a minor question in relation to the long-range damage that would result from an adverse Supreme Court decision in this instance. We in the South are not so much disturbed over the immediate effects of an adverse Supreme Court ruling. It would be a very simple matter for us to abolish our public schools and set up a private segregated school system, which we certainly will do in the event the Supreme Court rules that we must integrate our public schools.

The real danger rests in the tendency of the court, to disregard the 10th amendment of the Constitution of the United States in rendering its decisions, and also to disregard the fact that only Congress has the power to pass laws. There has been a tendency in recent years, as you know, for the Supreme Court to usurp legislative powers, powers which rightfully belong to the Congress and to the Congress exclusively.

I was very much disturbed when I read the seven questions which were propounded by the Supreme Court to the attorneys on both sides in this case.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOW). The time of the gentleman from Arkansas has expired.

(On request of Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi and by unanimous consent, Mr. GATHINGS was allowed to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.)

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the questions which were asked by the Supreme Court in this case were questions which related exclusively to legislative matters. They dealt with methods of implementing an adverse court decision, purely a legislative prerogative. In my opinion, the court is not properly concerned with the answers to those questions; those are matters for Congress to determine.

Mr. GATHINGS. I am grateful to the gentleman from Mississippi for bringing his splendid comments to the attention of this House. I want to say to the gentleman from Mississippi that he made a marvelous talk to this House just a few days ago on this same subject.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. FORRESTER. I certainly want to compliment the gentleman upon his most logical and most timely address. I cannot help but regret the fact that when matters like this are discussed there are so few Members of this body on the floor. In addition to that, I seriously deplore that speeches of this kind and character cannot be printed without expense to the Congressmen in order that matters of this kind might be distributed into the homes of America. You know, it is a sad and tragic fact that a lot of our people in this country are completely unaware of one of the greatest dangers confronting this country today. The people are entitled to that kind of information. I was impressed with the gentleman's criticism concerning Attorney General Brownell. The gentleman is entitled to that criticism. There is no doubt about that. He could not possibly be a friend of the Court. As a matter of fact, he is an intruder and it should have been considered as an insult to the Court.

But now I want to be fair about it. I want to say that the chances are good that Attorney General Brownell felt he was following precedent because some of our Democratic Attorneys General have done the same thing. But it is not right and it is absolutely beyond the realm of his position, whether he be Democrat or whether he be Republican or who he is. I compliment the gentleman very much on his criticism relative to the issue that was brought before the Court on segregation. It is a matter that has been completely closed for 88 years. I cannot understand why Attorney General Brownell feels that it is a matter that has not been solved. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, the radical of radicals on this issue, understood that the matter was closed. But I certainly cannot understand why, when he looks at the District of Columbia, the seat of this Government, that for 88 years you have had segregated schools in the District of Columbia, which you could not possibly have had, had the matter not been completely settled. Yes; the gentleman is eminently correct. The Supreme Court, unfortunately, has become a lawmaking agency instead of a law-construing agency and is absolutely running wild without any check and without any balance. I thank the gentleman for his contribution to constitutional government.

Mr. GATHINGS. I thank the gentleman from Georgia most heartily. I want to say to the gentleman from Georgia that I have heard many Members of this House make complimentary remarks with regard to the marvelous talk he made recently on the question of judicial law. I agree with their views.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. When the gentleman so kindly yielded to me a few minutes ago, I did not have in mind the question of segregation, rather how far the Court might go in judicial legislation. But, in view of what was said by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], to the effect that perhaps a State would do away with its public system of education, then does the gentleman or did the gentleman from Georgia, where I understand they now have such legislation, think that the Supreme Court or the Congress could order the State to establish and maintain a system of education for all the people?

I am asking for information, and not in any critical vein.

Mr. GATHINGS. I feel that the Supreme Court nor Congress either should attempt to dictate to the States what should be done with respect to public education. I should like to yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman is asking me—I see he is looking in this direction—in the first place, I do not think at all that

the Supreme Court has any authority to outlaw segregation or to outlaw anything else. I think they have no authority or jurisdiction whatsoever to change the law, amend the law, modify it, or affect it in any way. But what they have authority to do and what they have been doing are two entirely different things.

To answer the question that the gentleman asked, I think that the Supreme Court feels that they have authority to take the step which the gentleman has just suggested. I think they feel that they are entirely capable of outlawing segregation and then of ordering the State to comply with whatever decision they might hand down; although, at the same time, I think that it would be completely unconstitutional and they would be completely without authority or jurisdiction. In my opinion neither the Supreme Court nor the Congress can, under the Constitution, order a State to establish or maintain a particular system of education. The kind of system a State maintains, or whether it maintains a system at all, are questions for the State to determine—not the Supreme Court or Congress.

Mr. GATHINGS. I am in full accord with the gentleman's position and wish to laud him for his efforts to preserve constitutional government in this country.

The National Science Foundation

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to speak today about the National Science Foundation. I have been greatly interested in the Foundation from the beginning when it was no more than an idea in the heads of some of our leading scientists, educators, and public officials. I followed the progress and worked toward the realization of this idea through the long legislative incubation period.

For a time, even after the legislation was approved, the existence of the Foundation seemed to be touch and go because of lack of funds. But today I am confident that the Foundation is here to stay and grow in importance. After 3 years of successful operation I know that the principles upon which it was founded are correct and that the need for this central scientific agency is greater than ever before.

In the Foundation we have an organization designed to serve as guardian for and to promote basic research in the sciences. It is based on our profound belief that knowledge is good for its own sake and that from the search for scientific truth, in ways which we cannot always foresee, we best serve the purposes of our national security, health, and prosperity. The facts of the matter are that the greatest and most vital practical advances trace directly back to basic research.

The importance of basic research and of the place of the Foundation in our national life has been recognized by other Federal agencies which depend upon technology. Recently the Honorable Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development, called attention to the continuing need for new scientific knowledge as a base for our military technology.

Our tremendous effort during the last war—

He states—

diverted scientists from their main mission of basic research and education. As a result, applied research and development has rapidly overtaken the supply of basic knowledge. Recognizing this vacuum after the war, the military departments furnished a considerable part of Federal support of basic research. However, in creating the National Science Foundation in 1950, the express intent of Congress was that the Foundation take over the support of general-purpose research. During the Korean war appropriations for the Foundation were so meager that only partial readjustment was possible. Since then, there have been pressures to complete the readjustment and, in line with this, the Department of Defense plans to get out of the business of supporting research for the general purpose of advancing science, leaving this function to the National Science Foundation.

I would also call to your attention certain pertinent passages in the recent report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on the toll of disease and present efforts to prevent and control disease. This excellent document contains a thoroughly up-to-date assessment of the state of our knowledge on heart disease, cancer, mental illness, arthritis, and other major diseases which afflict and cripple our people today. This report strongly emphasizes that scientists, even those interested in specific diseases, urge continuing and increased support for additional research on the basis common to many diseases.

Simply increasing the availability of medical care—

The report states—

cannot of itself solve the problems of disease. One of our prime sources is that of knowledge—knowledge about the causes of the principal diseases that plague mankind today. Without such knowledge the prevention and control of many such diseases is impossible.

The report notes that basic research study often appears abstract and unrelated to disease problems when taken out of the context of which they are an integral part.

These investigations—

It states—

are, however, on the frontier of medical research. In the opinion of many scientists, not only must the volume of work in this noncategorical and basic area be adequately supported, but expansion of such studies is a matter of high priority. The reason for this belief is the fact that disease is an abnormal functioning of one or more parts of the machinery which makes up the human body. To understand the abnormality and its causes, it is necessary to know and understand the normal processes and functions. Thus, one of the primary objectives must be the attainment of knowledge which permits a fuller understanding of the fundamental life processes that make the body function as an organized and well-regulated machine.

So, we learn that we must strengthen our basic underlying knowledge of nature in order to make advances in specific fields. Herein lies the strength and the promise of the work supported by the National Science Foundation.

Now, I wish to point out how basic research contributes to the industrial advance and wealth of this country. I will mention some specific examples of how basic research carried out during the past 25 years has contributed in the single field of chemistry to our gross national product.

First, there are the basic studies on polymerization or the step-by-step growth of large organic molecules. From this work, carried on in large part in the universities, has grown the synthetic-rubber industry, with a gross production this year of $600 million, and the synthetic-fiber industry—nylon, dacron, and so forth—amounting to $400 million, and a large section of the plastics industry amounting to $600 million a year.

Basic research on the separation of liquids and gases led directly to the modern processes for production of benzene, toluene, xylene, and butadiene—industries totaling $350 million a year.

Basic chemical studies of titanium and its compounds—supported in large part by the Government—have made possible the $200 million titanium industry, and the use of titanium as a structural material is just beginning.

Basic studies on vitamin chemistry have enabled us to manufacture synthetic vitamins A, B1, B2, C, and D valued at $50 million a year.

Basic research on antibiotics has led to the synthesis of chloromycetin, the first synthetic antibiotic.

Basic studies on thermodynamics and the physical chemistry of organic compounds have led to greater yields in petroleum processing and the development of better motor fuels—adding another $300 million a year to an already giant industry.

Basic studies of surface-active agents have created the wholly new detergent industry which today contributes $500 million to our gross national product.

As the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. COLE] is well aware, the atomic-energy industry in the last analysis depends largely upon chemistry for processing and reprocessing of fuel elements. Our use of uranium, plutonium, beryllium, zirconium, and the other materials needed in this great new industry has stemmed directly from basic research.

These are simply a few examples from one field of science. But they may help to show how directly basic research increases our national wealth and helps to assure a rising standard of living in this country.

By the end of the current—1954—fiscal year the Foundation will have obligated about $6.5 million for about 600 research projects in basic science. Since the average project is financed for 2 years, the Foundation in ecect has made possible the fuller utilization of 1,200 project-years of our best scientific talent.

We often speak of the need for conservation and wise utilization of our national resources. Hundreds of millions of dollars are appropriated each year for

conservation of water, of forests, of topsoil, of minerals, and of petroleum. Here we are concerned with not only the conservation and most effective utilization but the expansion of one of our greatest national resources—the supply of competent, well-trained scientists. Russia's intense efforts to increase its supply of scientifically trained manpower emphasizes the importance of our continued affairs along this line.

For fiscal 1955 the President has asked for $14 million for the program of the Foundation, of which $10 million is allocated for the direct support of basic research. This includes $3 million provided for research no longer to be supported by the Department of Defense—essential research but research not directly related to military operations and, hence, more appropriately carried on by the Foundation.

This support of basic research does not compete for the services of the able scientists in the country. It simply enables them to increase their productivity in their chosen fields of research and, at the same time, provides vitally necessary experience and training for younger scientists.

The rest of the Foundation's appropriation will be expended directly on the education of promising young scientists, on improving education in the sciences, on improving the means and methods of furthering the exchange of scientific information, and on making those studies which will assist this country in developing the wisest national policies regarding science.

These are productive dollars. In supporting basic research we buy at reasonable prices a stronger, healthier, more prosperous nation.

In conclusion, I am including the text of the Executive order issued by the President on March 17 with reference to scientific research by the Federal Government and the press release which accompanied it.

The Executive order follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER—ADMINISTRATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH BY AGENCIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Whereas the security and welfare of the United States depend increasingly upon the advancement of knowledge in the sciences; and

Whereas useful applications of science to defense, humanitarian, and other purposes in the Nation require a strong foundation in basic scientific knowledge and trained scientific manpower; and

Whereas the administration of Federal scientific research programs affecting institutions of learning must be consistent with the preservation of the strength, vitality, and independence of higher education in the United States; and

Whereas in order to conserve fiscal and manpower resources, it is necessary that Federal scientific research programs be administered with all practicable efficiency and economy; and

Whereas the National Science Foundation has been established by law for the purpose, among others, of developing and encouraging the pursuit of an appropriate and effective national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The National Science Foundation (hereinafter referred to as the Foundation) shall from time to time recommend to the President policies for the Federal Government which will strengthen the national scientific effort and furnish guidance toward defining the responsibilities of the Federal Government in the conduct and support of scientific research.

SEC. 2. The Foundation shall continue to make comprehensive studies and recommendations regarding the Nation's scientific research effort and its resources for scientific activities, including facilities and scientific personnel, and its foreseeable scientific needs, with particular attention to the extent of the Federal Government's activities and the resulting effects upon trained scientific personnel. In making such studies, the Foundation shall make full use of existing sources of information and research facilities within the Federal Government.

SEC. 3. The Foundation, in concert with each Federal agency concerned, shall review the scientific research programs and activities of the Federal Government in order, among other purposes, to formulate methods for strengthening the administration of such programs and activities by the responsible agencies, and to study areas of basic research where gaps or undesirable overlapping of support may exist, and shall recommend to the heads of agencies concerning the support given to basic research.

SEC. 4. As now or hereafter authorized or permitted by law, the Foundation shall be increasingly responsible for providing support by the Federal Government for general-purpose basic research through contracts and grants. The conduct and support by other Federal agencies of basic research in areas which are closely related to their missions is recognized as important and desirable, especially in response to current national needs, and shall continue.

SEC. 5. The Foundation, in consultation with educational institutions, the heads of Federal agencies, and the Commissioner of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall study the effects upon educational institutions of Federal policies and administration of contracts and grants for scientific research and development, and shall recommend policies and procedures which will promote the attainment of general national research objectives and realization of the research needs of Federal agencies while safeguarding the strength and independence of the Nation's institutions of learning.

SEC. 6. The head of each Federal agency engaged in scientific research shall make certain that effective executive, organizational, and fiscal practices exist to insure (a) that the Foundation is consulted on policies concerning the support of basic research; (b) that approved scientific research programs conducted by the agency are reviewed continuously in order to preserve priorities in research efforts and to adjust programs to meet changing conditions without imposing unnecessary added burdens on budgetary and other resources; (c) that applied research and development shall be undertaken with sufficient consideration of the underlying basic research and such other factors as relative urgency, project costs, and availability of manpower and facilities; and (d) that, subject to considerations of security and applicable law, adequate dissemination shall be made within the Federal Government of reports on the nature and progress of research projects as an aid to the efficiency and economy of the overall Federal scientific research program.

SEC. 7. Federal agencies supporting or engaging in scientific research shall, with the assistance of the Foundation, cooperate in an effort to improve the methods of classification and reporting of scientific research projects and activities, subject to the requirements of security of information.

SEC. 8. To facilitate the efficient use of scientific research equipment and facilities held by Federal agencies:

(a) the head of each such agency engaged in scientific research shall, to the extent practicable, encourage, and facilitate the sharing with other Federal agencies of major equipment and facilities;

(b) a Federal agency shall procure new major equipment or facilities for scientific research purposes only after taking suitable steps to ascertain that the need cannot be met adequately from existing inventories or facilities of its own or of other agencies; and

(c) the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development shall take necessary steps to insure that each Federal agency engaged directly in scientific research is kept informed of selected major equipment and facilities which could serve the needs of more than one agency. Each Federal agency possessing such equipment and facilities shall maintain appropriate records to assist other agencies in arranging for their joint use or exchange.

SEC. 9. The heads of the respective Federal agencies shall make such reports concerning activities within the purview of this order as may be required by the President.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 17, 1954.*

The press release follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 17, 1954.

The President today issued an Executive order designed to strengthen the conduct and administration of the scientific research and development programs of the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

The order directs the National Science Foundation to make studies of the scientific activities of the Nation and to recommend to the President policies to strengthen the research effort and define the Federal Government's role in it. The Foundation, over a period of time, is expected to become increasingly responsible for providing Federal support for basic research carried on in universities and other nonprofit institutions. Other Federal agencies, however, will continue to carry on basic research which is closely related to their statutory missions.

The Foundation will also study the effects of Federal research support on the Nation's educational institutions and recommend policies and procedures to promote the attainment of the Federal research objectives while safeguarding the strength and independence of the educational institutions.

The order also directs the head of each agency engaged in research to make sure that such research programs reflect urgent needs and are carried on economically and with regard to the efficient use of scientific manpower. In this connection the order provides a new method to facilitate the exchange of scientific equipment and facilities among the Federal agencies so as to avoid buying new equipment or building new facilities when another agency has unused equipment or facilities available.

In connection with his approval of the order, the President made the following statement:

"Science has a vital role in our Nation's security and growth. During the past half-century, it has brought about a vast transformation in industry, in agriculture, in medicine, in transportation, and in communications. Military science has been revolutionized by technological development. The impact of science is increasingly felt in every field of public policy including foreign affairs. All this has been brought about through a combination of vision, initiative, business enterprise, a strong educational sys-

tem, and the dedicated enthusiasm of the scientific community.

"The responsibilities of the Federal Government toward science have likewise changed greatly. In 1940, the Federal Government spent about $100 million in supporting research and development. The budget which I have just transmitted to the Congress calls for expenditures for these purposes in the next fiscal year of over $2 billion. This is convincing evidence of the important role of science and technology in our national affairs.

"The rapid expansion of Federal responsibility requires prudent administration. More than half of all the investment in the Nation today for scientific research and development is being made by the Federal Government. In large measure, these Federal funds are paid to industry and educational institutions for the conduct of research and development projects. Thus, our Federal policies and practices regarding research and development are felt immediately and substantially by industry and our educational institutions.

"More than 90 percent of this Federal support is presently going into applied research and development. This is the practical application of basic knowledge to a variety of products and devices. However, only a small fraction of the Federal funds is being used to stimulate and support the vital basic research which makes possible our practical scientific progress. I believe strongly that this Nation must extend its support of research in basic science.

"While the Executive order which I have signed today calls upon the National Science Foundation to carry out important responsibilities in regard to scientific research, it is also designed to strengthen the conduct and support of vital research and development in the several agencies where science is important in achieving their assigned missions.

"This order will for the first time set in motion important steps leading to a thorough and continuing review of the status of the Federal Government's activities in science, and thus enable the Government, together with industry, higher education, and the scientific community, to move forward with assurance toward the achievement of the Nation's goals.

"I expect and believe that this order will clarify the position of the Government toward the support and advancement of science in the Nation and that it will contribute in a constructive sense to the development of our national policy in this important and critical area."

And I want to quote two paragraphs from a letter I received from Dr. Alan T. Waterman, Director of the Foundation:

By focusing attention on the Federal research and development effort, and in particular on the need for greater emphasis on the more fundamental aspects of research, the President's order serves to remind the American people of the increasing importance of science to our national welfare and defense.

By defining for the Federal agencies with research and development programs the areas of individual responsibility as well as those which involve cooperative action, the order will assist the National Science Foundation and other agencies in functioning effectively.

Certainly this constructive effort by the President and the officials of the Foundation merit the warm support of Congress and the people of this country. Such support will bring great rewards in an increasingly strengthened advancement of science in its field of our national policy.

I am including an excellent editorial from the New York Times dealing with this development:

THE PRESIDENT ON SCIENCE

The President has directed the National Science Foundation to survey Federal research and development programs that now cost us well over $2 billion a year and that need coordination. His statistics and his recommendations are those to be found in the Foundation's annual report of 1953. Back of them is the general conviction that this country must rely largely on science to maintain its military and industrial position, and that basic research, the backbone of technological development, has not been adequately supported.

Of the vast sums that we are spending for research and development, 76 percent go to the Department of Defense and about 10 percent to the Atomic Energy Commission, again largely for defense. This can be explained in part by the national dread of another world war and the emphasis on atomic and other weapons and of that New Look of which we hear so much, but only in part. Despite the astounding progress in science, we have relied too much on Europe for new discoveries that we exploited. Even the way that led to the atomic bomb was indicated by Europe.

The National Science Foundation was created in 1950 to do exactly what the President had in mind, or, in the words of the act, "to develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences." Yet the various Government agencies that carry on research on a large scale do so independently, and there is nothing like an overall Federal policy. For the National Foundation it must be said that it is fully aware of the need and that last year it completed preliminary plans for a survey of the Nation's effort in research and development. The stage is now set for action.

The Bankruptcy Myth and National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the letter which follows appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald today. Its author, the well-known Harvard economist, Seymour Harris, explodes the presently popular administration contention that our economy is not strong enough to support a more adequate defense program.

In this, Professor Harris agrees with the unanimous views of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report as expressed in House Report No. 1256 filed on February 26, 1954.

As Mr. Harris emphasizes, the real prophets of gloom and doom are those Republicans who lack confidence in our economy's capacity to grow.

THE BANKRUPTCY MYTH AND NATIONAL SECURITY

In his reply to Governor Stevenson, Vice President NIXON said of the Democrats that "they know that this [the Democratic military program] would force us into bankruptcy, that we would destroy our freedom in attempting to defend it." (Is this not a reckless charge?) In his budget address, the President said, "We cannot afford to build military strength by sacrificing economic strength." Secretary Humphrey and key Republican Congressmen have made similar statements. It is also evident from testimony of General Bradley and General Ridgway and statements by former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas Finletter and the military strategist Mr. Hanson Baldwin that nonmilitary considerations played an excessive part in the determination of military policy. In his campaign Governor Stevenson wisely stressed the priority of security over finance.

It is about time that we repudiated this foolish talk about bankruptcy. (This is aside from the surprising statement made by the Vice President that a financial bankruptcy means a loss of freedom in the same sense as a Communist victory.)

I do not know what the Republican leaders mean by bankruptcy, but they certainly cannot mean inability to meet dollar obligations. Every sovereign power can meet the obligations expressed in its currency.

What are the signs of bankruptcy? Are they the rise since 1933 of gross output of 190 percent, of per capita disposable income (after taxes) of 99 percent, of personal consumption expenditures of 227 percent, of gross private investment of 1,386 percent? (All of these are corrected for price changes and hence represent genuine gains.)

Is it a sign of bankruptcy that since the depression thirties, the 20 percent of households with the lowest incomes increased their real incomes before taxation (dollars of stable purchasing power) by 45 percent, and the next four quartiles (from high to low incomes) by 41, 29, 22, and 14 percent, respectively? (Similar results are found after taxes.) Note that this improvement in distribution which strengthens our system was consistent with a great rise in output, consumption, and investment.

Is it the heavy tax load that spells bankruptcy for the present administration? On this score note that taxes accounted for 26 percent of our gross product as compared with 33½, 34, and 31½ percent for the United Kingdom, Germany, and France. Yet per capita income in the United States was almost three times that of the United Kingdom and France and four times that of Germany. Surely the tax burden, however annoying, considered relative to per capita income is not bankrupting us. The vast gains of income belie that position.

Is the national debt the troublesome item? Is the administration aware that the national debt, the heritage of our history over the years, as a percentage of our gross national income for but 1 year, declined from 130 percent of our income in 1945 to 75 percent in 1953, or a drop of more than 40 percent? Is it aware that the rise in the cost of financing this debt has been but 2 percent of the rise of income in the last 20 years ($6 billion against $309 billion)? This growth of debt probably raised income many times the rise in the cost of financing the debt. Incidentally, I am surprised that the President's speech writers inserted in his tax speech the statement that an increase of deficits passes the burden on to future generations.

Is inflation the measure of impending bankruptcy? In the campaign, the Republicans made much of the 50-cent dollar. They failed, however, to note that there were four times as many dollars around and hence that all dollars were worth twice as much as before the war.

They also failed to note that the inflation was a byproduct of a great and medium-sized war; that accompanying the inflation of the last 20 years had been a rise of output of almost two times; that the moderation of inflation as measured by the relation of price rise to percentage of income going to war was unprecedented (the inflation on this basis was but one-fourteenth that to be expected from the experience during the Civil War and one-third that to be expected from the experience of World War I.)

From all of this I conclude that the administration is endangering our security by overstressing financial considerations. They are reducing our military strength and depending too much on the atomic bomb because they believe we face financial disaster if Truman military policies are continued.

I stress the point that the Government cut military outlays by $4 billion when, according to all forecasts, gross national product in 1954 is likely to fall by 5 percent or more (or at least $17 billion) because of inadequate spending, and besides failing to gain, as it normally does, by $11 billion. Hence, here, because of insufficient spending, is a loss of $28 billion. An increased outlay of ten to fifteen billion dollars for security would save us from unnecessary wastage of resources and add (through secondary effects) ten to fifteen billion dollars of income to our private economy.

The point I make here is not that we should spend for military purposes in order to keep our economy healthy. There are much more productive ways of spending money. What I am stressing is that we should not, in weighing financial considerations excessively, endanger our defense. Furthermore, reduced spending would not bolster our economy now—rather the reverse—for our economy now requires more, not less, spending.

Finally, I note that the National Planning Association showed (Can We Afford Additional Programs for National Security, October 1953) that an "additional program of $10 billion by 1956 (above the administration's projected outlays) would not interfere with further business expansion and would not prevent a continuing increase in the standard of living." (Even tax reduction would be had.) A rise of $20 billion of security outlays by 1956 above the administration's proposed outlays "would permit a continuing increase in investment and at least a moderate increase in the standard of living." (Tax rates unchanged.) A rise of outlays by $33 billion "would represent a considerable rise from the peak level of the present program, not only in absolute amount but also in the ratio to total production. It would leave enough resources only for small increases in investments and standards of living. It would require an increase in taxes. * * *"

In summary, the administration is being misled by unknowledgeable advisers. We have too many Secretaries of the Treasury and too few Secretaries of Defense. These false prophets of bankruptcy are the prophets of gloom because they underestimate our economic strength, and by weakening our military position they increase the probability of World War II and hence of bankruptcy.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS,
Professor of Economics, Harvard University.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

"No" Is No Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of March 29, 1953, and which was written about my very dear friend, Max Abelman.

Max Abelman retired as public-relations director of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn in January of this year, leaving behind an enviable record of faithful and devoted service.

Mr. Abelman has spent the majority of his life in community work in Brooklyn and has raised millions of dollars for the less fortunate. With this in mind, the following article is most apropos:

"NO" IS NO ANSWER—A CHAMP TELLS HOW TO RAISE CHARITY CASH

"Be persistent: Do not take 'No' for a final answer."

That's the advice which Max Abelman, Brooklyn's most formidable fund raiser, tosses out to tyro charity solicitors in a recently published pamphlet entitled "Financing Social Movements."

Reprinted from an address which Abelman delivered before New York City Conference of Charities and Corrections on May 23, 1917, the pamphlet assures canvassers that "No one will or can refuse you if you keep after them and don't be discouraged."

"Give all your spare time to the noble cause," Abelman counsels. "Have in mind the spirit of the campaign but try, wherever possible, to get the signature for the amount subscribed. Rely on a second or third call."

ASK FOR MAXIMUM

The secretary to the board of Jewish Hospital who, in 40 years, has urged $100 million for charity out of local citizens, believes solicitors should always ask for the maximum and state diplomatically that no less is expected of the donor.

Abelman stresses the necessity of enlisting the press in fund campaigns and of securing the cooperation of editors, who, he says, can be used if properly approached. "Appeals," he says, "can be made in a direct, convincing manner through the papers."

ADVERTISING A MUST

"On numerous occasions," the writer observes, "people have protested and held up their hands in horror at the thought of advertising, claiming it to be undignified, but I maintain that, without proper advertising, your campaign is bound to be a failure."

"Needless to say," Abelman continues, "enthusiasm should not be carried to an extreme, but no one can truly help any cause unless he is personally enthusiastic and optimistic about it. These are bound to bring results."

Abelman's pamphlet is prefaced with an introduction by James G. McDonald, first United States Ambassador to Israel, in which he declares that: "For those of us who have had the pleasure of being closely associated with him, Max' life has been an inspiration."

An Appeal for Confidence in the Cause of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Indianapolis News entitled "An Appeal for Confidence in the Cause of America," which appeared on Thursday, March 4, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN APPEAL FOR CONFIDENCE IN THE CAUSE OF AMERICA

It has become the fashion in certain circles here and abroad to scold the citizens of the United States for political immaturity.

This charge and similar ones usually are applied in connection with international relations. This is particularly true during those periods when the Kremlin is staging one of its peace offensives. Watch for the practice to be intensified as the Geneva Conference nears.

We are told by American news commentators and former British Prime Ministers that world leadership was thrust upon us before we were ready for it.

We are warned that we are an inherently impetuous people. We must guard against this weakness, we are cautioned, lest we upset the applecart or burn down the barn to kill a few rats.

The implication in all this is that we should rely upon the superior political wisdom of European nations which have bled themselves a fish-belly gray in centuries of senseless, fruitless warfare. Or that we should look to the vaunted sagacity of Asiatic nations which have never yet been able to solves their own internal problems.

Incredible as it may seem, this phony pitch is having the desired effect on many Americans. There is a noticeable tendency in our country today toward an international inferiority complex.

That is not as it should be.

As Al Smith, a wise American, used to say—let's look at the record.

Let's see how politically immature, how irresponsibly impetuous history has proved us to be in comparison with some of our sister nations.

Let's ask a few questions.

Were the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution the products of politically immature minds? Or of penetrating minds which saw far into the future and somehow grasped the elusive secret of successful self-government?

Was the Monroe Doctrine a product of impetuosity? Or of a shrewd appraisal which through most of two centuries has had the result of maintaining the territorial integrity of the Americas?

Was the Civil War, or War Between the States, an irresponsible conflict to be classed with sanguinary European wars over which half-witted royal family would rule the roost? Or was it an honest and manly, though terrible, conflict aimed at settling basic issues of the greatest moment?

Was the handling of the Philippine and Cuban questions after the somewhat irresponsible Spanish-American War evidence of immaturity or social unenlightenment? Or was it a high example that broke the back of evil colonialism in our own century?

Was the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese War the product of American greenhorns? Or was it the product of the good offices of a nation which held world respect as a clean-handed force for peace with freedom and justice?

Was the war-breeding Treaty of Versailles the creature of irresponsible United States influence? Or was a great American President who sought a century of Christian peace overruled by short-sighted, greedy, vengeful allies?

Was the United States playing the part of an international ignoramus when it warned the world against Japanese aggression in 1931? Or were the real ignoramuses those nations which closed their eyes to the meaning of Mukden?

Was it the United States that kidded itself into thinking "peace in our time" had been purchased by the sellout at Munich? Or did that delusion belong to a couple of other nations which now lecture us on our international course and demand that we deal with the devil?

Unfortunately, our record of political maturity has been terribly spotty in the years

since Munich, although there have been notable successes.

There was, for example, the occupation of Japan and the peace treaty with that humbled nation.

There was the Truman doctrine, which saved Greece and Turkey when all was confusion and defeatism among our West European and British Allies.

There was the European recovery plan, an historic instance of international generosity and farsightedness, however faulty its administration.

There were the Berlin airlift, the North Atlantic Pact, and the European Defense Community concept.

And there was our forthright, courageous rush to aid little Korea, a move undertaken before we could be sure our friends in the United Nations would go along. That the Korean crusade later degenerated into an unholy mess, due to the wavering of our allies, does not take away from the wisdom and genuine world-mindedness of the original intervention.

It is true that we have made disastrous international errors in recent years, headed by the betrayal of China. But in almost every case of error we have been the victims of misguidance by our allies or the United Nations.

As a whole, the record of American sagacity in international affairs through nearly two centuries is one of the finest in history. Why, then, should we lack confidence in ourselves in this time of decision?

The Geneva Conference will provide a mighty test of American self-confidence. British and French leaders already are doing everything in their power to soften our leaders in order to gain recognition and a United Nations seat for the barbarous Red China regime. The Kremlin seeks the same end.

It is unthinkable that the United States should even consider recognition of the mass murderers of America's sons, let alone dignify the question in formal councils. Indeed, the time has come for this Nation to give serious consideration to the withdrawal of recognition of all Communist conspiracies.

Our allies, and their mouthpieces in this country, tell us we cannot do this or that because it would amount to going it alone. In the first place, doing what is right in the cause of liberty is not going it alone. It has the support of freemen throughout the world. And, in the second place, why should a confident America be afraid of being charged with going it alone?

Millions of human beings, including more than 1 million Americans, have died for the cause of liberty which the United States espouses. They will have died in vain if we run from the prospect of danger and make suicidal deals with the bloody-handed enemies of mankind. Unless our heritage of political wisdom and righteousness prevails in this hour of trial the councils of the heroic dead will pronounce our epitaph, "They weren't worth saving."

Eighty-four Dollars Per Taxpayer Wasted Annually

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 4, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article which appeared in the January 1954 issue of the Reserve Officer makes very interesting reading. It was written by Brig. Gen. Wendell Westover.

EIGHTY-FOUR DOLLARS PER TAXPAYER WASTED ANNUALLY—FOR LACK OF A SINGLE CATALOG $4.5 BILLION GO DOWN THE DRAIN EACH YEAR

(By Brig. Gen. Wendell Westover, U. S. Army Reserve, retired)

(As a veteran of two World Wars, a commissioned officer since 1916, and former Department of Army executive for Reserve and ROTC affairs, General Westover has more than a passing interest in national defense of the United States. As president of several corporations contributing substantial sums to the Treasury Department through the process of taxation, he understands the value of a dollar. His views on economy and production efficiency rate high in the commercial world. General Westover recently completed an exhaustive investigation of the military supply field. He acknowledges the invaluable assistance of Mr. Paul Monahan, former staff consultant to the Hébert Subcommittee on Procurement, House Armed Services Committee, 82d Cong. A resident of New York State, General Westover maintains his offices at 21 Plaza, Albany.)

A deliberate fraud is being perpetrated on the American people, the costliest and most dangerous swindle in American history.

The Hoover Commission described a single Federal catalog system as the key to an efficient supply system for the Government. Such a system was authorized by statute in 1929. For 24 years every effort to establish and implement such a system in peacetime has been marked by frustration and failure.

During World War II years, when deficiencies of combat material cost an immeasurable total of lives, its equivalent was instituted by Army Signal Corps, welcomed by our Marine Corps, and inclusion within its scope voluntarily requested by our Air Corps, the British, the Canadians, and the Australians, so that, except for the Navy bureaus, all of the Armed Forces of the English-speaking nations used this system.

Yet at the conclusion of the war, reversion to the impracticable was accomplished by a hidden oligarchy within the Pentagon, and today there is no single catalog system. "The conclusion is inescapable," testified Congressman ANDERSON before the Special Subcommittee on Procurement of the House Armed Services Committee, in February 1952, "that there exists either a colossal ignorance, a determined resistance, or almost criminal negligence."

The danger to our security, the penalty upon our economy, and the relentlessness of high level empire builders to perpetuate their autonomy, was recognized by the American Legion at its 1950 convention, when it resolved, "that the Secretary of Defense proceed immediately to develop and install a single catalog system to meet supply needs of the Armed Forces," and that "to insure the program against sabotage" it be defined in such a manner as to expose the fallacy of the existing Federal catalog system, operated by the Munitions Board and General Services Administration, and staffed by former Bureau of Supply personnel who foisted on the country a procedure estimated to have cost the taxpayers unnecessarily some $40 billion.

During these 24 years every procedure and every technique necessary for the establishment and installation of a single catalog system has been developed and tested. Gen. William H. Harrison, president of International Telephone & Telegraph Co.; Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board, Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Gen. David Sarnoff, chairman of the board, Radio Corporation of America; Hon. Herbert Hoover, Chairman, Hoover Commission; Gen. Brehon Somervell, former commanding general, Army Service Forces; Hon. Karl Bendetsen, former Under Secretary of the Army, and acting chairman, Defense Management Council, are but a few of notably capable men aware of the momentous implications of failure to promptly establish a single catalog system. Successful to date in denying this ingredient of an economical national security, are an unnamed coterie of military bureaucrats who are willing to impale the people of our country on the barbarous sword of a military autocracy.

To estimate the means by which these profligates maintain this situation, it is necessary to define the single catalog, and to analyze the current system in terms of its engenderation, its consequences, and the unbelievable camouflages instituted to perpetuate its powers behind the throne.

A single-catalog system encompasses the proper identification of items of supply: naming, describing, and numbering them so that each item may be distinguished one from the other; and the prompt distribution to all elements of the supply system of the information on these items in such form and at such periods as to be of maximum assistance to supply operations—all to the end that a common supply language throughout the Federal Government will facilitate the movement of supplies.

The Federal supply subcommittee of the Hoover Commission defined a single-catalog system as—

"(a) That in the National Defense Department Catalog each property item shall have but 1 name and 1 identification number and that no other names and identification numbers shall be used; and

"(b) That all agencies concerned with part or all of the processes of supply shall use the National Defense Catalog, and that no other catalog shall be used; and

"(c) That all reports to Congress or to the President on production, export, import, procurement, utilization, and disposal of commodities shall be submitted in terms of the nomenclature of the National Defense Catalog."

Before 1914 personnel operating the supply installations of both the Army and Navy were developing plans for supply cataloging. The supply personnel at Norfolk Navy Yard in 1914 developed a system which had objectives closely paralleling those of the Hoover Commission. This catalog was in full operation when we entered World War I.

In 1928 the Navy recommended that this catalog be adopted as a Federal Standard Stock Catalog for use by all Federal agencies, Testifying before the congressional Appropriations Committees from 1928 through 1931, Admirals Morris and Cheatham described it as "designed to list in orderly and classified arrangement all supplies regularly procured, stored, and issued," and stated that, "requirements should be so regulated as to avoid, so far as practicable, orders of requisitions for articles that do not appear in the catalog."

They recommended the catalog in book form, made up of individual sections, containing all items of recurrent use, to furnish information necessary for procurement, storage, and issue; each item having a standard stock number; sent out as one volume to all purchase and supply agencies because they are all concerned with it.

The Federal Standard Stock Catalog was authorized in 1929 to be completed on June 30, 1931. What happened? The plan just disappeared. Fifteen years later, when the catalog system for communications items was developed in 1943, the same elements as embraced in the original plans for the Federal catalog were employed to produce the most successful catalog system ever operated by the Armed Forces.

In the meantime, there was substituted a spurious, defective system that proved not only useless but destructive of the supply operations. The authority of the Federal Standard Stock Catalog was removed from

the personnel who operated supply installations and transferred to the Procurement Division of the Treasury, later renamed the Bureau of Federal Supply, which is today part of the General Services Administration. Thus the most fundamental element of the catalog system—"that the cataloger shall be in close touch with the storehouses and stock maintained by the Government"—was removed.

This step alone, by eliminating the technical analysis of item descriptions gathered together from various purchasing and supply points and hence making possible the uncovering of duplications, practically insured its failure as a management tool for military supply.

The Procurement Division cast aside the principles enunciated by Admiral Morris and adopted a plan of issuing information cards instead of book form, of including only items that agencies requested be included instead of all items of recurrent use, and emphasized classification systems for statistical purposes instead of identification for supply purposes. As a result, when World War II broke, supplies poured into warehouses and depots without identification, requisitions could not be filled nor even written understandably.

In the Army, special groups of technicians were established to review requisitions from overseas, attempting to guess what was wanted; special technical groups were set up in each warehouse to try to determine what was in boxes and packages arriving from manufacturers, opening every box and breaking all the seals in order to do so; without a standard unit of packing, inventorying was at best an educated guess. The need for a supply catalog was so great that when General Eisenhower was moving into North Africa he wired for one to be flown to him; finding that the catalog consisted of hundreds of thousands of cards, he requested two sets and necessary filing cabinets to hold them be sent by air. Cards were never satisfactory, were costly to house and maintain, were never complete.

In the Navy the disastrous effect of the use of this system was the same as in the Army. In the spring of 1944 the situation became so serious that Mr. Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, formed a committee of competent civilians to determine what was wrong with Navy supply. Their report condemned the Federal Standard Stock Catalog. Both the Army and Navy instituted projects to clean up the mess. The Army Signal Corps, using relatively untrained people, eliminated 63,000 out of 210,000 items on the records, and identified 58,000 duplications.

It has been estimated that the loss of lives because of these defective systems is beyond calculation, but the Inter-Allied Catalog Committee did evaluate the dollar loss of material and services for this Nation alone during World War II as between forty and sixty billions.

Throughout the war, in spite of having been abandoned by military supply agencies, the Bureau of Federal Supply continued to produce the Federal Standard Stock Catalog. In 1947 the Congress denied funds for this program with intent to end it. Instead, it was transferred, together with key personnel, to the Munitions Board, where the Bureau of Federal supply, cataloging personnel were continued to be paid by the Treasury Department with funds transferred from the Navy.

One of the first acts of this transferred group was to arrange that the Bureau of Federal Supply become a member of the Munitions Board cataloging group. The old Federal Standard Stock Catalog System then became the Munitions Board catalog program, manned by the same personnel and using the same policies and procedures as had proved ineffectual and costly during the war.

In consequence, we do not have a single catalog system today. We do have a 93-year supply of light bulbs; we do have a 247-year supply of loose-leaf binders; and we do have 931,616 item descriptions instead of—before the Munitions Board attempted to eradicate duplications—930,616; and we are—according to competent estimates—shoving $4½ billion annually up the proverbial creek.

During World War II, a group of experienced citizens, serving as commissioned officers, obtained first-hand information of the glaring defects of military supply and have pressed vigorously for supply reforms and for a sound, single catalog system. Of recognized supply catalogers who remained in the Department of Defense none have ever been used in the present program; instead, there has been carried on against them a ruthless, unscrupulous campaign of character assassination culminating in their dismissal or transfer from the Department.

Why? The Hoover Commission's report and recommendations were clear; the American Legion study and resolution in 1950 was explicit; the Assistant Secretary of the Army in 1951 informed the Secretary of Defense that a survey undertaken at his direction reported, "the program of the Munitions Board Cataloging Agency will not ultimately provide a useful management tool for the Department of Army"; the Special Subcommittee on Procurement of the House Armed Services Committee in 1952, became well aware of the situation; the famous Baltimore speech of General Eisenhower during the 1952 campaign describing Government waste and its effect on the pocketbook of every taxpayer was really a description of the result of not having a single catalog system; Lt. Col. Bryce Harlow, White House assistant, as former chief clerk of the House Armed Services Committee, is acquainted with all the reports; Defense Secretary Wilson and Deputy Secretary Keyes from their long experience in industry must know the absolute necessity of a single catalog system—and there are more than a half million present and former Reserve officers who know full well, from their World War II observations, the penalties arising from any system less than the best.

So, why? Perhaps the observations of Gen. Brehon Somervell, expressed last June to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Ammunition Shortages, Senate Committee on Armed Services, may provide a clue. Referring to the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Army having the support of the President and the Congress, he stated: "Without this support they will be unable to cope with the inertia or, otherwise stated, the traditions and ambitions of the entrenched arms and services, and of individual officers, which have hitherto blocked earnest, sensible, and sincere efforts for progress."

(Author's footnote to readers: Application of the title dollar figure to your position with respect to average income-tax payments will provide some interesting arithmetic. For my part, I've written my Congressmen.)

The Butter Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which I received from Mrs. Fred LaBergi, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., dealing with the butter situation in that State.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK.

Senator LANGER.

DEAR SENATOR: The last week has been a very busy week for our radio stations here in North Dakota. And I am sure you know why. Every housewife calling to find out where she could purchase some of this butter that sells for such a small figure. But only to learn that Russia gets it all.

I am sending a receipt for a pound of butter I purchased yesterday—and as you see I spent the best part of $1—(by the way—the clerk did not get enough tax for the governor).

There are several families in our block who don't dare use butter because of the price. Why not let them in on this little deal. Let Russia keep their gold. Many a boy lies in the hills of Korea all because Russia wanted more gold.

Why give our golden butter to those rats?

We depend on your good judgment, Senator LANGER, don't fail us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. FRED LABERGI.

Commencement Address by Dr. George E. Stringfellow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, Dr. George E. Stringfellow, senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, N. J., recently delivered an outstanding commencement address before the graduating class of one of our fine Indiana schools, the Indiana Technical College at Fort Wayne.

The address entitled "Preserving the Engineers' Heritage," seemed to me to be a very significant one and I therefore ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

President Keene, members of the board of trustees, honored guests, members of the faculty, and members of the graduating class of Indiana Technical College, I am complimented by the opportunity of addressing you on the subject Preserving the Engineers' Heritage.

This is not the first time I have addressed a graduating class but I cannot guarantee to you that it will not be the last time for my message today is not the customary exhortation to do your patriotic, civic, and moral duty.

Shortly before Pearl Harbor, when an extremely important personage addressed the graduating class of a leading university, some members of the class failed to attend, explaining that they could find better use for their time on a beautiful June morning than to listen to advice from a member of the generation which had led this country into its greatest depression and on to what was even then obviously the brink of its greatest war.

So I shall refrain from the hackneyed advice that you young gentlemen should keep your feet on the ground and your heads in

the clouds (a neat trick, by the way, if you could do it). I am reminded of the pompous old lady who, in the days when electric trolley cars were an innovation, came to a crossing where a new line was being constructed. She adjusted her lorgnette and condescendingly asked one of the construction crew: "My good man, if I should place my foot on that track would I get an electric shock?" To which he replied, "Yes, madam, if at the same time you placed your other foot on the overhead wire."

The spire of the Eiffel Tower seems almost to pierce the sky, and literally invites the lightning, as the lady's foot would have done, but its base covers a broad area and the engineer who designed it saw to it that it was well grounded. Likewise, your heritage as engineers has reached great heights because it is grounded on a broad base, not on any narrow specialization. It places more emphasis on broad human qualities which make for leadership than on mere technical acuteness, important as that undoubtedly is.

An engineer was originally a man who designed and used engines of war. Today the engines of war are not his chief preoccupation but are still unfortunately one objective. Because of what is known as the cold war, it is interesting to inquire what is going on in the Soviet world, especially in your chosen field. We are told that behind the Iron Curtain 40,000 engineers are being graduated each year, as compared to 20,000 each year in this country, and that their total has now reached 520,000, as against 550,000 of ours. But any useful comparison must be based on quality rather than on quantity. While our information about conditions in Russia is all too meager, there are intimations that all instruction there, even as to the laws of nature, must follow the party line. We hope that the engineers that our country is turning out are of the superior quality which comes from a recognition of freedom of thought and from free access to the world's storehouse of knowledge.

The pioneers of engineering could not have been described as mere engineers. That would have been an inadequate description. The great Leonardo da Vinci was perhaps the first aeronautical engineer, in that he made the first serious proposal and design for mechanical wings and for the use of an aerial screw, as sketches in his notebook testify. In 1505 he published a scientific paper on the Flight of Birds, but he was also a painter, a sculptor, an architect, an anatomist, a biologist, a philosopher, as well as an engineer, and in each one of those roles he was supreme.

Prof. Norbert Wiener, of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose teachings and writings have inspired a whole generation of engineers, has said that it was possible in the day of Aristotle, and in the day of Roger Bacon, and in the day of Da Vinci, to know virtually everything that could be known. He says that was true even down to the day of Leibnitz, who in the early 18th century gave to you engineers your precious tool of differential and integral calculus. But since the death of that great mathematician and philosopher in 1716, there hasn't been another human being who has had a full command of the entire intellectual activity of his day. Since that time science, including engineering, has been increasingly a task of specialists, in fields which show a tendency to grow progressively narrower.

While you can't all be Da Vincis or Leibnitzes, each of you can attain leadership in your own chosen profession if and only if, besides developing your own specialty, you drink eagerly and constantly at the fountain of the broad culture which is the heritage of the engineers.

You electrical engineers know that your patron saint, Volta, could not have created the voltaic pile—the primitive primary battery—if Galvani had not experimented with frogs. Civil engineering would have been unthinkable without the contribution of the astronomers and navigators who gave civil engineering its fundamental principles and its fundamental instruments. Even today the top-flight men in all the diversified engineering specialties find it indispensable to borrow not only from other branches of their own profession but from widely separated branches of knowledge, such as psychology, sociology, economics, and even astronomy.

Radio engineering, as you know, derived its great impulse from the investigations of a gifted pupil of Helmholtz named Heinrich Hertz, the discoverer of the Hertzian waves. Helmholtz, the sponsor, was not a communications engineer. He was a philosopher, concerned at that time in theoretical wave mechanics. He asked young Hertz to measure the length of electrical waves. From these investigations, wireless was born and you radio engineers are now about to take a lifelong ride on the magical waves. In passing, I think I should mention that even Hertz had the benefit of Thomas A. Edison's prior discovery of etheric force.

Since your progressive institution here in Fort Wayne keeps abreast of the times, with departments of both radio and aeronautical engineering, it is safe to prophesy that before long you will add a department which will be called nuclear engineering or perhaps atomic engineering, which, if not already here as a curriculum for technical colleges, is certainly just around the corner. Those engineers will have two patron saints, a man and a woman, both of whom were people of broad culture, pursuing knowledge for its own sake: Marie Curie, whose intellectual curiosity led her to the world-shaking discovery that the atom is not the ultimate simple thing it was supposed to be but a complex world of heavenly and hellish powers in itself; and Albert Einstein, who learned that mass may become energy in the almost unbelievable ratio, familiar to you students of modern physics, that "energy equals mass multiplied by the square of the velocity of light." (Think of it: the square of 186,000 miles per second.)

An important new branch of engineering is that of control and communications, which, with the development of electronics, is daily becoming more important. There again the engineer, no matter how broad his training may have been in the engineering field, has found it necessary to borrow from physiology, psychology, and other sciences.

In designing antiaircraft computers for war, and in designing the electronic brain which solves differential equations for the purposes of the peaceful arts, much has been learned from a study of the intercommunications between the human cerebrum and its sensory and motor subordinates.

It has been estimated that an electronic computer roughly equivalent to the brain of a newborn infant in its capacity for receiving and storing information and acting upon it, would require tubes and switches enough to fill the Empire State Building and the electric power of Niagara.

What I have just mentioned are bits of past and current human history which are just as thrilling to me, a manufacturer, as to you gentlemen as engineers, and are a part of the total human history without which humans are not complete humans and engineers are not complete engineers.

Everyone who has followed the career of such man as Winston Churchill or, in your own engineering field, Herbert Hoover, knows that a working knowledge of human history is not only a useful tool but an almost indispensable tool.

Thomas Alva Edison did not have the benefit of formal instruction beyond the elementary school, but he developed nevertheless into a soundly educated man of wide culture. He could talk finance with the bankers, and he knew more about certain plant fibers and saps than most botanists. When over 80 years of age, he devoted 3 years to the study of botany with a view of developing a domestic source of latex for rubber, immune from enemy action.

Mr. Edison was an organizer not only of research but of manufacture and of the commercial development of his inventions. As a mere specialized technician he could not have gotten together, and made effective, the force of 300 men in his research laboratory, working harmoniously in widely diversified specialities. That required broader human experience and attainments.

In the libraries in his home and in his laboratory you would find shelves of books, well worn, on literature, history, philosophy and all branches of science.

You gentlemen, seeking to fill the demand for something which is currently in short supply, have accelerated and telescoped your formal training so as to extend over a period of only 27 months, and I am happy to learn that there will be an immediate demand for the services that you are already qualified to render. But the rendering of those services will still leave you time, I hope, to supplement the formal instruction in your specialized field, which you have so admirably received and I hope admirably absorbed in this fine institution, by continued studies on a wider cultural plane which will continually broaden your foundations so that, like the Eiffel Tower, your spires may safely and surely reach skyward.

Those studies, on a wider plane, will not necessarily involve postgraduate courses, or even require you to become bookworms in libraries. History, biology, geology, astronomy, phychology and other exciting branches of learning are being continually brought up to date and summarized in readable book and magazine form for nonspecialists.

Even more important is the direction that you give to your outside interests. A medieval university, like Oxford or the University of Heidelberg, was not originally an organized institution for systematic instruction. It was a place where great minds lived and hungry minds came to receive ideas from them, and often to give back ideas in exchange.

Before Gutenberg invented the art of printing from movable type, such interchange of ideas between mind and mind was essentially by word of mouth.

Big minds discuss ideas; medium minds discuss events; and little minds discuss people.

You can seek out big minds. There will always be some in your suburb, or in your city block, or in your company. If you have not already developed a taste for discussing ideas with big minds it is a taste that you can readily acquire, and a diet that you will grow on; more nutritious and more palatable than a diet of personalities, or even, as a steady diet, or baseball or television. Not only will it pay off but, take it from me, you will like it.

If this admonition were to come to you from a professor of English literature or from the head of a department of European history, or from some cultural cloister, you might properly discount it as colored by a scholastic bias. But I bring it to you not as an academic person but as an industrialist and businessman who has for more than a generation been associated with engineers and who has availed himself abundantly of the services of engineers. I know the truth whereof I speak.

To be an outstanding engineer and a leader in the engineering profession, you must acquire, as did Edison, through devoted outside study, and contact with men of ideas, at least the rudiments of the various other branches of knowledge that have made human history so inspiring. These other branches of knowledge provide you gentlemen with the engineers' heritage whose symbol is about to be bestowed upon you as bachenor's degrees.

Educational Deficit and National Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most timely and challenging article entitled "Educational Deficit and National Crisis," written by Walter Lippmann and published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 28, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDUCATIONAL DEFICIT AND NATIONAL CRISIS

(By Walter Lippmann)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following has been excerpted from Mr. Lippmann's speech on March 19 to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, meeting in San Francisco.)

What I am going to say is the result of a prolonged exposure to the continuing crisis of our western society—to the crisis of the democratic governments and of free institutions during the wars and revolutions of the 20th century.

Now it does not come easily to anyone who—like me—has breathed the soft air of the world before the wars that began in 1914—who has known a world that was not divided and frightened and full of hate—it does not come easily to such a man to see clearly and to measure coolly the times we live in. The scale and scope and the complexity of our needs is without any precedent in our experience, and indeed—we may fairly say—in all human experience.

In 1900 men everywhere on earth acknowledged, even when they resented, the leadership of the Western nations. It was taken for granted that the liberal democracies were showing the way toward the good life in the good society, and few had any doubts of the eventual, but certain, progress of all mankind toward more democracy and a wider freedom.

The only question was when—the question was never whether—the less fortunate and the more backward peoples of the world would have learned to use not only the technology of the West but also the political institutions of the West. * * *

The beginning of this century the acknowledged model of a new government, even in Russia, was a liberal democracy in the British or the French or the Amercian style. Think what has happened to the western world and to its ideas and ideals during the 40 years since the world wars began. The hopes that men then took for for granted are no longer taken for granted. * * *

During this half-century the power of the western democratic nations has been declining. Their influence upon the destiny of the great masses of mankind has been shrinking. We are the heirs of the proudest tradition of government in the history of mankind. Yet we no longer find ourselves talking now—as we did before the First World War—about the progress of liberal democracy among the awakening multitudes of mankind. We are talking now about the defense and the survival of liberal democracy in its contracted area.

We are living in an age of disorder and upheaval. Though the United States has grown powerful and rich, we know in our hearts that we have become, at the same time, insecure and anxious. * * * We have been raised to the first place in the leadership of the western society at a time when the general civilization of the West has suffered a spectacular decline and is gravely threatened. * * *

We have had, and probably we must expect for a long time to have, dangerous and implacable enemies. But if we are to revive and recover, and are to go forward again, we must not look for the root of the trouble in our adversaries. We must look for it in ourselves. We must rid ourselves of the poison of self-pity. We must have done with the falsehood that all would be well were it not that we are the victims of wicked and designing men.

In 1914, when the decline of the West began, no one had heard of Lenin, Trotsky, Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung. We have not fallen from our preeminence because we have been attacked. It would be much truer to say, and it is nobler to say it, that we have been attacked because our capacity to cope with our tasks had begun to decline. * * *

We must take the manly view, which is that the failure of the western democracies during this catastrophic half of the 20th century is due to the failings of the democratic peoples. They have been atacked and brought down from their preeminence because they have lacked the clarity of purpose and the resolution of mind and of heart to cope with the accumulating disasters and disorders.

They have lacked the clarity of purpose and the resolution of mind and of heart to prevent the wars that have ruined the West, to prepare for these wars they could not prevent, and, having won them at last after exorbitant sacrifice and at ruinous cost, to settle those wars and to retore law and order upon the face of the globe.

I have said all this because it is only in the contest of our era that we can truly conceive the problem of educating the American democracy. When we do that, we must, I believe, come to see that the effort we are making to educate ourselves as a people is not nearly equal to our needs and to our responsibilities.

If we compare our total effort—in public and private schools, and from kindergarten through college—with what it was 50 years ago, the quantitative increase is impressive. We are offering much more schooling of a more expensive kind to very many more pupils * * *.

Now, if it were no more difficult to live in the United States today than it was 50 years ago, that is to say if life were as simple as it was then—if the problems of private and community life were as easily understood, if the task of governing the United States at home, and of conducting its foreign relations abroad, were as uncomplicated and no more dangerous than it was 50 years ago—then we could celebrate, we could be happy, we could be congratulating ourselves that we are making great progress in the task of educating ourselves as a democracy.

But we cannot make that comforting comparison without deceiving ourselves seriously. We cannot measure the demands upon our people in the second half of the 20th century—the demands in terms of trained intelligence, moral discipline, knowledge, and, not least, the wisdom of great affairs—by what was demanded of them at the beginning of the first half of this century * * *.

When we use this standard of comparison, we must find, I submit, that the increase in our effort to educate ourselves is of a quite different—and of a very much smaller—order of magnitude than is the increase in what is demanded of us in this divided and dangerous world.

Our educational effort and our educational needs are not now anywhere nearly in balance. The supply is not nearly keeping up with the demand. The burden of the task is very much heavier than is the strength of the effort. There is a very serious and dangerous deficit between the output of education and our private and public need to be educated. * * *

What shall we use as a measure of our educational effort? For the purpose of the comparison, I think we may take the total expenditure per capita, first in 1900, and then about half a century later, in 1953, on public and private schools from kindergarten through college.

And as a measure of the burden of our task—of the responsibilities and of the commitments to which education has now to be addressed—we might take Federal expenditures per capita, first in 1900, and then in our time, half a century later. * * *

Now, in 1900, the educational effort—measured in expenditures per capita—was $3.40. The task—as measured by Federal expenditure per capita—was $6.85. What we must be interested in is, I submit, the ratio between these two figures. We find, then, that in 1900 the Nation put out $1 of educational effort against $2 of public task.

How is it now, half a century or so later? In 1953 the educational effort was at the rate of about $76 per capita. Federal expenditures—including defense—had risen to $467 per capita. The ratio of educational effort to public task, which in 1900 was 1 to 2, had fallen, a half century later, to a ratio of 1 to 6. * * *

The two ratios, the one at the beginning of our rise to the position of the leading great power of the world and the other the ratio a half century later, when we carry the enormous burden abroad and at home, these two ratios show, I submit, that the effort we are now making to educate ourselves has fallen in relation to our needs.

I must remind you that this disparity between the educational effort and the public task is in fact greater than the figures suggest. For in this half century there has been a momentous change in the structure of American society, and it has added greatly to the burden upon the schools. * * * They are expected to perform many of the educational functions which used to be performed by the family, the settled community, the church, the family business, the family farm, the family trade. * * *

Can it be denied that the educational effort is inadequate? I think it cannot be denied. I do not mean that we are doing a little too little. I mean that we are doing much too little.

We are entering upon an era which will test to the utmost the capacity of our democracy to cope with the gravest problems of modern times, and on a scale never yet attempted in all the history of the world.

We are entering upon this difficult and dangerous period with what I believe we must call a growing deficit in the quantity and the quality of American education.

There is, I believe, compelling proof that we are operating at an educational deficit. It is to be found in many of the controversies within the educational system. * * * I have been especially interested in the problem of providing education for the men and women who must perform the highest functions in our society—the elucidation and the articulation of its ideals, the advancement of knowledge, the making of high policy in the Government, and the leadership of the people.

How are we discussing this problem? Are we, as we ought to be doing, studying what are the subjects and what are the disciplines which are needed for the education of the gifted children for the leadership of the Nation?

That is not the main thing we are discussing. We are discussing whether we can afford to educate our leaders, when we have so far to go before we have done what we

should do to provide equal opportunities for all people.

Most of the argument—indeed, the whole issue of whether to address the effort in education to the average of ability or to the higher capacities—derives from the assumption that we have to make that choice. But why do we have to choose? Why are we not planning to educate everybody as much as everybody can be educated, some much more and some less than others?

We have to do in the educational system something very like what we have done in the Military Establishment during the past 15 years. We have to make a breakthrough to a radically higher and broader conception of what is needed and of what can be done.

Our educational effort today, what we think we can afford, what we think we can do, how we feel entitled to treat our schools and our teachers all of that—is still in approximately the same position as was the military effort of this country before Pearl Harbor.

In 1940 our Armed Forces were still at a level designed for a policy of isolation in this hemisphere and of neutrality in any war across the two oceans. Today the Military Establishment has been raised to a different and higher plateau, and the effort that goes into it is enormously greater than it was in 1940.

Our educational effort, on the other hand, has not yet been raised to the plateau of the age we live in. I am not saying, of course, that we should spend $40 billion on education because we spend about that much on defense. I am saying that we must make the same order of radical change in our attitude toward education as we have made in our attitude toward defense. We must measure our educational effort as we do our military effort.

From the tragedies and the bitter experience of being involved in wars for which we were inadequately prepared, we have acquired the will to defend ourselves. And, having done that, having acquired the will, we have found the way. We know how to find the dollars that are needed to defend ourselves, even if we are to do without something else that is less vitally important.

In education we have not yet acquired that kind of will. But we need to acquire it, and we have no time to lose. We must acquire it in this decade. For if in the crucial years which are coming our people remain as unprepared as they are for their responsibilities and their mission, they may not be equal to the challenge; and if they do not succeed, they may never have a second chance in order to try again.

Not Enough Doctors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct attention of our colleagues to the following very interesting letter which appeared in the columns of the New York Herald Tribune of March 10, 1954:

NOT ENOUGH DOCTORS

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

From the World Almanac of 1949 come the following amazing statistics (the source is the American Medical Association):

Number of medical schools in 1905	160
Number of medical schools in 1945	77
Number of medical graduates in 1905	5,606
Number of medical graduates in 1945	5,543

Our country's population increased considerably from 1905 to 1945; yet there was no increase in either the number of medical schools or number of graduates. In my fields (architecture and engineering), the professions have conscientiously attempted to keep abreast of the need for adequate qualified architects and engineers as our Nation's population increased and as our higher standards of living demanded.

There are countless young men and women who are interested in studying medicine but who are thwarted in their efforts to gain entrance to a school; thus the Nation loses them as additional medical practitioners when, conversely, more doctors are so sorely needed. With this shortage of doctors, fees are set at all the traffic will bear. Many people who need medical care are denied it because of high costs and also because of the excessive time waiting for appointments which again many of us cannot afford. An adequate supply of doctors would soon correct this condition.

I believe that the present administration could do the country a great service by opening up the opportunities in medical practice through increasing, and enlarging, our medical colleges.

ALLAN C. JOHNSON,
Registered Architect.
IDAHO FALLS, IDAHO, *March 4, 1954.*

Mr. Speaker, we are constantly hearing about how we can improve the health of the people of our country. Unfortunately, no attention is given to the very basic need for more doctors, without which we can never hope to have a really healthy country.

Agricultural Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the full text of a series of articles which appeared in the Cotton Trade Journal, Memphis, Tenn., written by Mr. C. C. Smith, vice president of the National Bank of Commerce, Memphis, Tenn., with regard to the background of price support, acreage allotments, and other agricultural legislation.

Mr. Smith directed the Commodity Credit Corporation's cotton program from the years 1944 to 1947. I know of no man in the Nation who is better fitted and qualified to discuss these broad agricultural subjects as is Mr. Smith.

A wealth of factual data is incorporated in these three articles. It is especially beneficial to Members of the House and Senate at this particular time in the study of the long-range farm program which will be before both Houses of Congress in the near future.

I wholeheartedly commend these timely articles to the membership of the House:

BACKGROUND OF COTTON LEGISLATION POINTS UP CURRENT FARM PROBLEMS

(By C. C. Smith, vice president, National Bank of Commerce, Memphis)

Many phases of the agricultural problem will be under discussion in the present session of the 83d Congress. In order to follow the congressional debate and public discussion, it may be of interest to review the background as to the reasons and thinking which has gone into existing laws on (1) price supports, (2) acreage control, (3) Public Law 12 with reference to war crops, (4) sales prices for CCC commodities, (5) section 32 funds to facilitate new uses, exports, and distribution of commodities, and (6) section 22, which has to do with import controls.

A few comments are made in this article with reference to stockpiling cotton as there will be lively discussion on this point in the present Congress.

1. Price supports: The Farm Board attempted to provide price supports without acreage control and this plan collapsed within a short time. The Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) was incorporated in 1933 as the agency authorized to make advances for price supports. The CCC was originally organized as a Delaware corporation with very broad powers which included stabilizing, supporting, and protecting farm income and prices. One of its organizers told me its powers were broad enough in the beginning that it could have bought and sold gold. The CCC was changed from a Delaware corporation and given a Federal charter on June 30, 1948.

This article deals principally with cotton, and the following are the loan rates on cotton each year as a percentage of parity, the loan rate on middling fifteen-sixteenths of an inch cotton at average location, the amount of cotton entering the loan, each year and the total production of cotton each year.

Year	Loan as percentage of parity (percent)	Loan rate middling 15/16	Amount of cotton entering loan (bales)	Total production running bales
1933	69	10.00	1,926,000	12,664,000
1934	76	12.00	4,632,000	9,472,000
1935	62	10.00	115,000	10,420,000
1936 [1]				12,141,000
1937	53	9.00	5,581,000	18,252,000
1938	52	8.00	4,482,000	11,623,000
1939	56	8.95	30,000	11,481,000
1940	56	9.15	3,180,000	12,298,000
1941	85	14.22	2,221,000	10,495,000
1942	90	17.22	3,143,000	12,438,000
1943	90	19.26	3,594,000	11,129,000
1944	95	21.08	2,122,000	11,839,000
1945	92½	21.09	216,000	8,813,000
1946	92½	24.38	145,000	8,517,000
1947	92½	27.94	280,000	11,557,000
1948	92½	30.74	4,966,000	14,540,000
1949	90	29.43	3,190,000	15,921,000
1950	90	29.45	8,000	9,877,000
1951	90	31.71	1,114,000	15,064,000
1952	90	31.96	2,307,000	14,952,000
1953	90	32.70	[2] 7,000,000	[2] 16,272,000

[1] No loan.
[2] Estimated.

From its organization up to March 31, 1949, CCC had made a gross profit of $216,400,000 on cotton operations. On this date CCC had only 1,034 bales of inventory and had made loans on 13,600,000 bales during this period. The profit was made principally on the sale of 1934 and 1937 crop cotton acquired by CCC. The gross profit of $216,400,000 to CCC after paying all carrying charges was divided as $199,800,000 net profit to CCC and $16,600,000 equity paid to producers. The outcome as to profit or loss on the cotton acquired since March 31, 1949, cannot be determined until all of this cotton is sold.

FIRST AT FLAT PRICE

The loan was made at a flat price until 1937; for example, the 1934 loan rate was 12 cents per pound for cotton grading Low Middling and better and having a staple length of seven-eighths inch and longer, and a 10-cent loan on this basis in 1935. In 1937 the loan rate was changed to 9 cents per pound for cotton grading Middling and better with a staple of seven-eighths inch and longer,

with lower rates for grades below Middling and staple below seven-eighths inch. A more complete schedule of premiums and discounts was employed for the first time in 1938 and this has developed into the present complete schedule of premiums and discounts for all qualities.

The loan rate was changed to Middling ⅞ inch for the 1938 crop, as shown above, because the quality for price quotations in the 1909–14 period was Middling ⅞ and the 1909–14 period is the base period for which parity is calculated by the old parity method. The Congress mentioned Middling ⅞-inch cotton as the base quality in the Agricultural Act of 1938 and specifically directed CCC to base its loan on Middling ⅞ inch in 1948 with the following language: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, Middling ⅞-inch cotton should be the standard grade for purposes of parity and price support."

This provision of law requires the Secretary of Agriculture to base his support price in 1954 on Middling ⅞ inch and other provisions of law require him to support cotton at 90 percent of parity for the 1954 crop. Some trade sources have felt that the loan should be changed so that 90 percent of parity, for example, should relate to Middling 15/16, instead of Middling ⅞-inch cotton since Middling 15/16 is now the base quality for trading in both spot and futures markets and since the average length of the recent crops is above 15/16-inch staple. And such change in the base loan rate would require a change in the law.

AUTHORIZES ADJUSTMENTS

Section 403 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, authorizes the Secretary to make appropriate adjustments in the support price of any commodity for differences in grade, type, staple, quality, location, and other factors. This is the section under which present premiums and discounts and location differentials are made in the cotton-loan program, but the section again states, "Middling ⅞-inch cotton shall be the standard grade for purposes of parity and price support."

The big argument since price supports have been inaugurated is the level at which cotton and other commodities should be supported. Those who favor high support prices contend that parity is a fair relationship between what the farmer produces for sale and the cost of things he must buy, and that a high level of supports is necessary in order to insure the farmer's getting parity prices for his products. They also contend that a stable agriculture tends to stabilize the whole economy. There seems to be some merit to the fact that sharp breaks in commodity prices do disrupt both the farm economy and the economy of the entire country. The following information from the records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics illustrates this point. First is the index of prices received by farmers for their products in specified years as compared with prices received in 1909–14 equal 100. Second, the wholesale prices of all other than farm and food prices in the same specified years as compared with 1909–14 equal 100.

PRICES RECEIVED BY FARMERS

May 1920: 236.
June 1921: 112, decrease 53 percent.
July 1929: 150.
July 1930: 117, decrease 22 percent below 1929.
July 1931: 84, decrease 28 percent below 1930.
July 1932: 63, decrease 25 percent below 1931.
February 1933: 54, low point.
April 1937: 132.
April 1938: 97, decrease 27 percent below 1937.
January 1948: 310.
January 1949: 267, decrease 14 percent below 1948.
January 1950: 235, decrease 12 percent below 1949.
February 1951: 313.
February 1952: 293, decrease 7 percent below 1951.
February 1953: 264, decrease 10 percent below 1952.
January 1954: 259.[1]
October–November 1953: 254, low point.

WHOLESALE PRICES EXCEPT FARM AND FOOD PRICES

July 1920: 257.
July 1921: 147, decrease 43 percent.
July 1929: 136.
July 1930: 125, decrease 8 percent below 1929.
July 1931: 110, decrease 12 percent below 1930.
July 1932: 103, decrease 6 percent below 1931.
April 1933: 97, low point.
July 1937: 128.
July 1938: 120, decrease 6 percent.
November 1948: 219.
November 1949: 207, decrease 5 percent.
March 1951: 243.
March 1952: 236, decrease 3 percent below 1951.
March 1953: 235, decrease 3 percent below 1952.
January 1954: 237.[1]

This table shows that prices received by farmers fall earlier and more rapidly than wholesale prices. It also shows prices received by farmers generally rise higher than wholesale prices during these periods.

FARMING HAS CHANGED

The opponents of high price supports point out that mechanical farming has changed the relationship for many crops since the 1909–14 period and that calculations should be changed to present-day methods. They also point out the loss in export markets, the encouragement of substitutes, etc., the large investment and carrying costs of loan stocks. The arguments and many others, both pro and con, will be heard at this session of Congress.

The flexible system of price supports was written into Public Law 897 of the 80th Congress. Price supports were on a gradual scale from a low point of 60 percent of parity with large supplies, to 90 percent with normal supplies. Opponents of that law stated that where supplies of cotton, or other commodities, were normal with demand balancing supply, that market prices would be 90 percent of parity or higher and that support prices were needed when supplies exceeded demand. They further contended that even under acreage controls weather was a big factor in the size of the crop. They also contend that when the farmer planted his crop he could not anticipate the demand at harvestime and that the drop to 60 percent of parity price was too severe.

The Congress then inserted section 406 in the Agricultural Act of 1949 which provides that, "The Secretary shall, insofar as practicable, announce the level of price support for field crops in advance of the planting season." The theory of the Congressmen who supported this provision in the law was that if we were to have a system of flexible price supports the farmer should know prior to planting, rather than at the time of the harvest, the minimum price support on the crop that he was then planting and that this provision might encourage some acreage adjustment.

DISSATISFACTION OVER FLEXIBLE PROPS LED TO CREATION OF AAA, SMITH SAYS

(By C. C. Smith, vice president, National Bank of Commerce, Memphis)

As previously stated, there was much dissatisfaction in many agricultural areas with the law providing for flexible price supports ranging from 60 percent to 90 percent of parity, and this led to the enactment of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1949. It is necessary to understand certain definitions in order to understand the operation of this act—which is now the law. This act will become effective with the flexible price provisions applicable to the 1955 crop, unless changed by this session of the Congress. The normal supply of cotton is estimated domestic consumption, plus the estimated exports, plus 30 percent of the sum of such consumption and exports as an allowance for carryover.

The total supply is defined as the carryover at the beginning of the marketing year, plus the estimated crop in the United States, plus estimated imports. The "supply percentage" is determined by dividing the total supply by the normal supply. This act states, "For cotton and peanuts, if the supply percentage as of the beginning of the marketing year is" (as outlined below) "the level of support shall not be less than the following percentage of parity price."

This support price is further predicated upon producers approving marketing quotas and acreage control on their crop which is to be planted the next season. This approval must be given by two-thirds or more of the producers of cotton voting in favor of acreage control. If producers fail to vote by two-thirds majority for marketing quotas and to restrict acreage, the support price for cotton would be 50 percent of parity.

	Support-price (percent)
Supply percentage not more than 108	90
More than 108 but not more than 110	89
More than 110 but not more than 112	88
More than 112 but not more than 114	87
More than 114 but not more than 116	86
More than 116 but not more than 118	85
More than 118 but not more than 120	84
More than 120 but not more than 122	83
More than 122 but not more than 124	82
More than 124 but not more than 125	81
More than 125 but not more than 126	80
More than 126 but not more than 127	79
More than 127 but not more than 128	78
More than 128 but not more than 129	77
More than 129 but not more than 130	76
More than 130	75

In studying the above tables, it should be noted that the support price does not go below 90 percent until the supply percentage is above 108, or 8 percent above normal. The support price goes down 1 point for each 2 points increase in the supply percentage up to 124 percent (or 24 percent above normal). At this point, the support price drops one point for each point increase in the supply percentage.

MAINTAINED BY SPECIAL ACTS

The effective date of the flexible provisions of the 1949 law outlined above for cotton has been postponed by each Congress; usually in 2-year periods, and the 90-percent-support price has been maintained by special acts through the 1954 crop. The President and the Secretary of Agriculture have proposed that the flexible price provisions go into effect with the 1955 crop, but that the parity price of modernized parity not be allowed to drop more than 5 percent per year.

The provision to limit the drop in parity to 5 percent per year will likely require additional legislation. The present law also provides that the present method of calculating parity (so-called old parity), shall be used until January 1, 1956, and after that date that modernized parity be used. Modernized parity may be briefly stated as the price relationship of prices received by farmers to prices paid in the last 10 years. In the case of cotton, modernized parity for January 1954 was 1.19 cents per pound lower than old parity. The President and Secretary have suggested that the law be changed

[1] January is the latest month available as this is written.

so that modernized parity go into effect with the 1955 crop.

Acreage control: The first effort to control acreage was the plow-up campaign in 1933, when about 26 percent of the growing crop was plowed under. Farmers were paid at a fixed rate per pound, based upon their average yield, with the maximum payment $20 per acre, or a lower rate of payment and an option on an equivalent amount of cotton at 6 cents per pound. The next program was payment to the producer to divert his acreage from cotton into other crops, especially soil-improving crops.

The funds for payment to producers were financed through the proceeds derived from a processing tax, which was later declared unconstitutional. Recent cotton acreage control has been based upon the Agricultural Act of 1938, as amended. This law is based upon maintaining and improving the fertility of the land by planting soil-improving crops, and to assist in the marketing of agricultural commodities, and to provide for orderly marketing. The flow of commodities is controlled for practical purposes through acreage allotments and through price-support loans.

The Secretary is directed to proclaim acreage allotments in any year when the total supply of cotton exceeds the normal supply. Producers must vote on marketing quotas by December 15 and two-thirds of those voting must vote in favor of marketing quotas for acreage controls to be effective. The problem always arises as to the allotment of acreage to States, counties, and to farms. There are shifts of cotton acreage as between States and between counties within a State.

SOME EXCEPTIONS

In general, it has been thought that a gradual shift of acreage as represented by a 5-year period is best in both States and counties. There were some exceptions as between States in the so-called Memphis agreement in 1950, under which an allotment base of 22,500,000 acres was divided among States in 1950, 1951, and 1952, but for 1953 and subsequent years the acreage was to be allotted to the States based upon the acreage planted in each State during the 5 preceding calendar years. In an effort to hold down cotton plantings in 1949, the year 1949 was stricken from the records for purposes of acreage allotment.

The law further provides that the same years used in allotting acreage to State shall be used in distributing acreage to counties within a State, based upon the history of plantings in each county during these years.

In the special act passed in 1954 (Public Law 290), the Congress increased the allotment of 17,910,448 acres proclaimed by the Secretary to 21,200,000 acres to be divided among the States on the basis of 5-year history of plantings in each State. An additional 315,000 acres was divided on the basis of 157,500 acres to Arizona, California, and New Mexico, and 157,500 acres to the old cotton-growing States (excluding States with minimum allotments, such as Illinois, Kansas, and Nevada). Another special section further increased the Arizona allotment by 36,500 acres and the California allotment by 22,890 acres. The total national allotment for 1954 was, therefore, 21,379,358 acres.

The provisions of Public Law 290 increasing the National and State allotments above 17,910,448 acres apply to 1954 only. The provision also which prevented any farm from being reduced below 65 percent of the average acreage planted on the farm in 1951, 1952, and 1953, or 40 percent of the highest acreage planted on the farm in any one of these years, but not to exceed 50 percent of the cropland on the farm, expires after 1954. The permanent provisions of this law (Public Law 290 gives the couuty committee the option of allotting acreage to farms in the county as outlined in (1) or (2) which follow: (1) County committee, with the approval of the Secretary, can allot acreage to farms on the basis of the history of cotton plantings on each farm in the county for the 3 years preceding the year in which the allotment is made.

NO SPECIAL PROTECTION

If this is used there is no special protection to the farm which has been planting five acres or less, and under previous legislation could not be reduced prior to this time. (2) The county committee can continue to use a percentage of cropland for cotton allotment purposes as in the past and the five-acre provision remains. (3) The State committee and county committees are given greater authority to use State and county reserves to eliminate hardship cases. If there are no further changes in the law, it now appears that the national acreage allotment for 1955 will be approximately 18 million acres.

In the original AAA Act of 1938, a provision was written in the law that the national marketing quota for any year shall not be less than 10 million bales or 1 million bales less than domestic consumption plus exports, whichever is smaller. The theory of this provision was that a cut below this figure would seriously impair the income of the large number of farm families growing cotton, and allied business in the cotton area, and that it would be better to gradually reduce the surplus rather than try to reduce the surplus to normal in 1 year.

A question has arisen as to the interpretation of the national acreage required to provide a minimum marketing quota of 10 million bales. Many who were familiar with the passage of the original act, including a number of Congressmen, believed that the Secretary was required to provide a national acreage allotment based upon harvested acres and 5-year average yields which would produce 10 million bales. This interpretation would require the Secretary, in establishing the national allotment, to consider underplanting of allotments by farmers as well as normal abandonment of acreage.

The Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture ruled otherwise for this year, and this required the Secretary to establish an allotment for 1954 of 17,910,448 acres. The action of the Senate Agricultural Committee in 1954 seemed to confirm the opinion of the Solicitor. Unless there is some clarification of the law on this point, acreage controls seem certain for 1955 with a national allotment of approximately 18 million acres.

DIFFICULTY OUTLINED

The biggest difficulty in acreage allotments has been allotments to the farm. Those who plant a large percentage of their land in cotton contend that they brought the acreage allotment to the State and county and that allotments should be made on a percentage of past plantings on the individual farm. Those who have diversified their crops and smaller farmers generally contended that the allotments should be not on a percentage reduction from past plantings, but should be based upon a percentage of the cropland on the farm, since they claim the producer who planted a large percentage of his land in cotton contributed most to the surplus. In the earlier days the programs were shaped around history of plantings on the individual farm, but with considerable dissatisfaction from the diversified farmer and small farmer. This led to inserting a provision in the law that any farmer who had planted as much as five acres on his farm in any 1 of the past 3 years could not be reduced below 5 acres or his highest planted acres if he had planted below 5 acres and the remaining acreage allotted as a percentage of the cropland on the farm.

POLITICALLY POPULAR

The theory of this position was that this minimum 5-acre allotment of cotton as cash income for such family was necessary if the family had depended upon cotton for cash income. This provision was politically popular. The remainder of the acreage allotted to the county was prorated to farms on a percentage of cropland, but with a provision, each year prior to this year, which protected good cotton farms in uneven hill areas. This provision in the early law was that no farm could be reduced below 60 percent of its 1937 planted plus diverted acreage.

In the 1950 law, this was changed so that no farm was to receive an allotment less than 65 percent of the acreage planted on the farm, including acreage provided by Public Law 12, in 1946, 1947, and 1948, or 45 percent of the highest acreage planted on the farm in these 3 years, but no allotment was to be increased under this provision to more than 40 percent of the cropland on the farm which was tilled annually.

It seems evident that if a cropland factor is to be uniformly used some provision similar to the 1950 law must be inserted in the law on a permanent basis of the allotment returned to a history basis, otherwise hardship cases will continue to arise. With the objections to allotments on a history basis as outlined above, the 1954 law does give the county committee latitude in determining whether their county allotments in the future will be made on a cropland factor basis or a history basis, and this greatly improves the law but the point mentioned here will likely arise at some date in the future.

Public Law 12 was passed February 28, 1945, during the Second World War and provided that any farmer who diverted his land from the planting of cotton to the planting of designated war crops would continue to have this land in his cotton acreage history. It also provided that if any man was inducted into the Armed Forces and his land could not be planted in cotton, he would continue to have this acreage as a cotton record for his farm. Soybeans and peanuts and food and feed crops were the principal designated war crops in the South. These war crops continued in the records for 1945, 1946, and 1947. 1954 is the last year that they will figure in the basic records as cotton on the farm.

AAA Provision Boosts Movement of Crop Through Normal Channels

(By C. C. Smith, vice president, National Bank of Commerce, Memphis)

Sales prices for CCC commodities: Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949 outlines the restrictions on sales of commodities owned or controlled by CCC. The section states, "In determining sales policies for basic agricultural commodities" (which includes cotton) "or storable nonbasic commodities, the CCC should give consideration to the establishing of such policies with respect to prices, terms, and conditions as it determines will not discourage or deter manufacturers, processors, and dealers from acquiring and carrying normal inventories of the commodity of the current crop." This provision is to encourage the movement of the current crop through normal channels of trade and the carrying of normal inventories of the commodity.

The CCC is prohibited from selling any basic agricultural commodity (including cotton) or storable nonbasic commodity at less than 5 percent above the current support price for such commodity, plus reasonable carrying charges. Since we may produce less cotton in 1954 than will be consumed and exported, it may be necessary for merchants and mills to acquire some cotton from previous years' stocks. The minimum price at which CCC could sell any cotton in the domestic market after August 1, 1954, would be 5 percent above the 1954 loan rate plus reasonable carrying charges.

The matter of "reasonable carrying charges" was debated at the time this legislation was passed. Some people wanted a fixed charge such as charges from the beginning of the marketing year, but in the case of cotton this would give an advantage to those using low-grade cotton.

USDA WANTED LATITUDE

The Department of Agriculture wanted some latitude in fixing what charges should be added with the result that the wording, "Plus reasonable carrying charges" was inserted in the law. The restriction of 5 percent above the current year's support price plus reasonable carrying charges does not apply to the following:

(A) Sales for new or byproduct uses. It was thought that sales of these commodities even in the domestic market at a cheaper price was justified to develop a new use for the commodity.

(B) Sales of peanuts and oilseeds for the extraction of oil. The support price was frequently above the commercial oil-mill price for peanuts, flax, and some oilseeds.

(C) Sales for seed or feed if such sales will not substantially impair any price-support program.

(D) Sales of commodities which have substantially deteriorated in quality or to which there is danger of loss or waste through deterioration or spoilage.

(E) Sales for the purpose of establishing claims arising out of contract or against persons who have committed fraud, misrepresentation, or other wrongful acts with respect to the commodity. In the earlier days when CCC made a loan at 85 to 90 percent of parity and a producer fraudulently placed cotton or other commodities in the loan, the cotton could not be sold or a judgment established until it was sold at parity and a profit to such producer—this was the reason for placing this provision in the law.

(F) Sales for export. It should be noted that CCC can sell its commodities in the export market at less than the domestic price; for example, if foreign cotton prices are cheaper than United States domestic prices, CCC does have the authority to sell its cotton and meet foreign competition and this was placed in the law to meet such a situation if the conditions demanded it. It was intended that such cotton be handled through normal channels of trade.

(G) Sales of wool.

(H) Sales for other than primary uses. CCC can move perishables or other commodities into noncompetitive channels. This section 407 was written based upon many years operation by CCC and, although the Secretary has requested some changes, it appears unlikely that any material changes will be made.

Section 32 was originally enacted in 1935 to facilitate the exportation of agricultural commodities and products thereof or by payments to producers in connection with the production of that part of any agricultural commodity required for domestic consumption. Thirty percent of the gross receipts of import duties was earmarked for that purpose. The theory was that producers of export commodities, such as cotton, wheat, and tobacco, were injured by tariffs since tariffs caused producers of export commodities to pay higher prices for the items they buy to produce such export commodities, and, furthermore, tariffs handicap free exchange of trade and thereby handicap foreign countries obtaining dollars with which to buy export commodities.

LAW AMENDED

Cotton secured nearly all of these funds in the beginning, and the law was amended so that after June 30, 1939, no commodity could receive more than 25 percent of these funds in any 1 fiscal year. The authority of section 32 was extended in 1939 to encourage the domestic consumption of such commodities by diverting them from the normal channels of trade by the payment of benefits or indemnities to low-income groups—this financed the stamp plan.

Section 32 was further amended so that these funds could be used to "reestablish farmers' purchasing power by making payments in connection with normal production of any agricultural commodity for domestic consumption." The Agricultural Act of 1948 permits these funds to accumulate up to a total of $300 million as an unexpended balance at the end of any fiscal year.

This section was again amended to permit the use of section 32 funds for donation for relief purposes and to donate agricultural commodities for school-lunch funds. It is interesting to note that section 32 was designed and sponsored to assist producers of export agricultural commodities to export, or otherwise move, their crops through the earmarking of import duties, and that this law has now been changed to the benefit largely of perishable crops. It is hard to see how domestic relief or the school-lunch program is affected by tariffs and import duties. This section has provided a convenient source of funds to finance such programs, and these programs have no connection with the export market.

TWO COURSES SUGGESTED

It has been suggested that 1 of 2 courses might be helpful to export crops: (1) Return to the original intent of this section, or (2) increase the percentage of funds above 30 percent of the import duties which are earmarked, but specifically limit the use of one-half, two-thirds, or some specific amount to facilitate the export and use of export crops. Farmers have always hesitated to depend upon annual appropriations of the Congress for specific funds, but this section could constitute a source of funds to assist export commodities and products thereof through a continuing source of funds to facilitate the moving of such commodities in export or domestic trade.

SEC. 22. This section was added to the AAA Act of 1933 by the 74th Congress on August 24, 1935. Originally this section authorized the President to restrict the importation of any agricultural commodity or product whenever he found, after investigation by the Tariff Commission and its recommendations, that such importations were adversely affecting programs under the AAA Act of 1933.

CHANGED SEVERAL TIMES

Section 22 has been amended several times and the President is now authorized to impose quotas and import fees on any agricultural commodity, or product, whenever he finds, pursuant to appropriate hearings and proceedings of the Tariff Commission, that imports of such commodity, or products, adversely affect or seriously threaten any program undertaken by the Department of Agriculture—the Secretary of Agriculture is charged with advising the President regarding the need for action under section 22.

In the case of cotton, imports are restricted to the equivalent amount of average imports by countries in the 10 crop years 1929 to 1938 inclusive. The present quota for cotton under 1⅛ inches is as follows:

	Pounds
Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	783,816
Peru	247,952
India	2,003,483
China	1,370,791
Mexico	8,883,259
Brazil	618,723
Soviet Republic	475,124
Argentina	5,203
Haiti	237
Ecuador	9,333
Honduras	752
Paraguay	871
Colombia	124
Iraq	195
British East Africa	2,240
Netherlands East Indies	71,386
Other British West Indies	21,321
Nigeria	5,377
Other British West Africa	16,004
Other French Africa	689

The amount of quota is too small except for some imports from Egypt, Peru, India, China, Mexico, and Brazil.

The long staple quota of 45,656,420 pounds of 1⅛ inches and longer up to 1 1/16 inches is a global quota and can be imported from any country, but this is largely used for Egyptian cotton and a small amount from Peru.

Stockpile: The President suggested insulating substantial quantities of commodities in CCC stocks, which is equivalent to a stockpile in the case of cotton. CCC loans on 1953 crop cotton contain large quantities of good grade cotton. Stockpiling raises some interesting questions, however, in the case of cotton. How many bales and what qualities should be placed in a stockpile? If the stockpile is for security reasons we should know for example the combed yarn industry in World War II required grades of middling and better.

FORMED BOTTLENECK

We also know in carded yarns the cards were the bottleneck for maximum production and in order to secure maximum production of yarn and goods in time of war, carded yarn mills could generally best use bright strict low middling and better. We also know in all-out war there is little shipping space for export type cotton and hence, this type cotton would be in great surplus, especially the shorter lengths.

The question is raised as to when and how can a stockpile be acquired? The 1953 loan matures July 31, 1954, but if the 1954 crop should be short, producers may request an extension. CCC can acquire the cotton by taking title to the 1953 loan and paying the producer any equity above the loan plus carrying charges on the date the cotton is valued.

The question is likewise raised as to what price or by what method cotton acquired for a stockpile can be purchased out of the stockpile. The price could be fixed above some designated level, or in case of declared war. We are now in an emergency. It is also obvious that any rules passed by this Congress could be changed by a later Congress.

Agricultural Research and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, one of the salient features of the President's far-reaching new farm program is its emphasis on agricultural research as one means of helping solve our agricultural problems.

In view of this emphasis, and appropriations requests made to implement it, I asked Dr. R. H. Walker, director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and dean of the School of Agriculture at the Utah State Agricultural College, to give me a report on how agricultural research activities have aided the State of Utah in particular, and the west, in general. His report adequately describes the importance of this program and suggests very good reasons for gen-

eral support for the increased appropriation requests now being considered by congressional committees.

These agricultural research scientists work quietly in their laboratories and their research plots, but, as Dr. Walker's report points out, they render invaluable assistance to the farmer, the consumer, and the area's economy. Their assistance is now being requested by the administration to help solve the problem of how to dispose of agricultural surpluses. In 20 years, if our national population continues to grow at its postwar rate, they will be expected to have answers to the problem of how to feed the expanded national and world population.

These problems, and the role of our agricultural scientists in seeking their solution, are so vital, that I am asking unanimous consent to have Dr. Walker's report made a part of the Appendix to the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UTAH STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE,
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION,
Logan, Utah, March 16, 1954.

Hon. ARTHUR V. WATKINS,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WATKINS: You may be interested to know that practically all of the wheat grown in the dryland areas of Utah, southern Idaho, and other States of the intermountain region is from the varieties Wasatch and Cache which were produced in the cooperative wheat breeding program by Prof. D. C. Tingey, of the Utah State Agricultural College, and Dr. Rollo W. Woodward, of the United States Department of Agriculture. These men have worked together for a good many years and have made great improvements in our cereal varieties. The Velvon barley has practically replaced the older varieties of barley and it is a much more desirable variety to grow in this area. It is my understanding that it is being grown in many of the areas from Oregon to Nebraska. Likewise, farmers are growing the new oat varieties, Uton and Overland, which were developed in the cooperative plant breeding program.

Cooperative research on alfalfa seed production has solved one of our most difficult agricultural problems and has brought the Utah growers back into the alfalfa seed business. Prior to 1925 Utah was producing almost half of the alfalfa seed of the United States. All during the 1930s it seemed almost impossible to grow alfalfa seed and yields were as low as 50 to 60 pounds per acre. John W. Carlson, United States Department of Agriculture, and Prof. C. J. Sorenson, of the Utah State Agricultural College, working cooperatively, found that the difficulty was in the damage being done by the lygus bug. They then conducted experiments to control the lygus bug and found that DDT and several of the newer organic insecticides are very effective for this purpose.

Experiments are now underway to determine what effect the residues of these insecticides may have when the hay crop to which they are applied is fed to livestock. We are interested in knowing whether or not these insecticides will be carried over through the animals to the milk of the dairy cows or to the eggs of the chickens or to the meat of any of these animals and in turn be harmful to humans. Here again the Utah State Agricultural College and the United States Department of Agriculture are cooperating in this research. Furthermore, it is being financed in part by a research grant from the National Institutes of Health of the United States Public Health Service. Much valuable information has been obtained from this study; and this has been used by the Food and Drug Administration, the Bureau of Entomology in the United States Department of Agriculture, and other agencies in determining tolerances and also desirable and permissable rates of application of insecticides to agricultural crops.

Last year the tomato growers for the first time grew two new varieties of tomatoes in Utah, produced in the plant-breeding program conducted cooperatively by the USDA and the college under the leadership of Dr. Orson Cannon. These new varieties are known as the Loran Blood and the VR Moscow. They are both resistant to the verticillium wilt disease. The officials of the canning industry in the State and also the canning-crops growers in joint session with us not so long ago, told us that about 90 percent of all the tomatoes grown in Utah for canning last year were these two varieties, and that they were worth at least $300,000 additional in value to the tomato-canning industry in 1 year alone.

The United States Department of Agriculture has also been cooperating with the Utah State Agricultural College in irrigation and soil-management research, plant-disease control, livestock breeding, marketing of agricultural products, and a number of activities which I will not take time to describe at the present moment. In brief, let me point out, however, that all through the years the land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture have worked together cooperatively and have developed a very strong organization for agricultural research. Through our joint efforts, agricultural production efficiency is up at least one-third over what it was 10 to 15 years ago for the country as a whole. Great strides of progress are being made annually in the solution of many difficult agricultural problems and in the development of new methods, procedures, processes, productions, uses, and markets for agricultural products.

In the case of the Utah Experiment Station the funds allotted directly to us under proposed appropriations would amount to $32,900 and in addition to this we would share in regional funds allotted for the support for cooperative research to the extent of some $64,000. This would be a big boost to our research program and would enable us to tackle a number of very significant problems that the farm people of Utah have brought to us for investigation. Among these would be the problems of vibriosis, which is causing considerable loss in sheep and cattle through abortion; problems of range management and the best utilization of range management and the best utilization of range forages, where some 85 percent or more of our land is used for the grazing of livestock; the study of plan diseases such as the very difficult virus diseases of the fruit crop here in Utah which is taking a heavy toll; breeding and improvement of various crops, livestock and poultry, and flourine damage from air pollution. We have a rather broad agricultural research program and there is considerable pressure on us every day for support in the study of diseases of plants and animals, noxious weeds, and a good many other things. The solution of these problems gets at the heart of our agricultural situation and helps to make for permanent improvement in our agricultural industry.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

R. H. WALKER,
Dean and Director, School of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, Utah State Agricultural College.

New Washington "Mess"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 26, 1954, entitled "New Washington 'Mess.'"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW WASHINGTON "MESS"—WHAT DO YOU THINK OF GOP POLICY?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

What do you think of the manner in which the Republican Party is conducting itself in Washington today?

And what do you figure that you and the other voters may do about it this fall if the Republicans are unable to bring effective unity, loyalty and order into ranks soon?

These are two questions uppermost in the minds of the political leaders of both parties right now, and they are more interested in what you think than in what they think, about what is going on—and what isn't going on.

Here is a freshly elected, overwhelmingly elected, hopefully elected Republican Government; it has been in office 15 months. And what is the news which dominates the headlines of the newspapers most of which earnestly wish the administration well? It is this:

1. Much of the President's "dynamic, progressive" legislative program is imperiled by a Republican Congress, divided and preoccupied with "things negative," to use Mr. Eisenhower's phrase.

2. Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, Republican of Wisconsin, continues to spread the impression that the Eisenhower administration is either deliberately or stupidly "coddling Communists."

3. Virtually all of the attacks upon leading figures in the administration come from Republican Senators—not from Democrats—and Chief Justice Earl Warren, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and others finds their positions rendered doubly difficult by fellow Republicans.

What is to be the consequence, what is to be the political harvest of this heedless divisiveness, this feuding, this name-calling, this miasmic preoccupation with bitter negative controversy within the Republican administration? No wonder the Democrats are sitting cozily on the sidelines and wringing their hands in gleeful anticipation. No wonder the Republicans are whistling to keep their courage up.

Most objective observers are already convinced that unless this spectacle comes to an end soon, the Republicans will lose one or both houses of Congress in November. This judgment is fortified by a revealing and little publicized Crossley Poll—taken before the McCarthy-Zwicker episode, before the McCarthy-Stevens incident, before the McCarthy-Cohn-Schine-Army row began to resound—showing that if the election were held then the Democrats would gain 40 seats in the House of Representatives.

What is significant is that many of the most thoughtful, informed, dedicated sup-

porters of this Administration are beginning to shake their heads in dismay. Citing the "extraordinary actions of some Republican Members of the Senate * * * undermining the administration of President Eisenhower," Business Week magazine, which profoundly wants to see a Republican Government succeed, is candidly disclosing its worries. They are worries undoubtedly shared by many voters.

"Under these circumstances," Business Week says in a frank editorial, "it is only natural for people to ask themselves whether Republicans are equal to the responsibilities of power.

"For 20 years the Republicans were a minority party in this country. The Republican Senate leaders seem to have learned all too well how to be an opposition party. Unless they can learn to cooperate loyally and intelligently with an administration of their own party, the people of the country will be faced with the thought that their only place is in the opposition."

It is not just the success of the Eisenhower administration as such that is at stake in this still unchecked Republican feuding. It is not merely the fate of the Republican Party that is at stake. It is far more than that.

Two years ago some 33 million voters, distressed by the mess in Washington and the long tenure of one party, decided to entrust the Government of the United States to the hands of a political leadership which had campaigned on a program of enlightened conservatism—a conservatism dedicated to fiscal stability, to encouraging the Government's humanitarian responsibilities to the whole people.

President Eisenhower put the stamp of these concepts on his legislative program—the concept of the economic conservative and the humanitarian liberal, as he put it at a recent press conference.

But there is now another kind of mess in Washington, and it has been going on almost from the day the new Republican administration took office. The effect of this new kind of mess is to exhibit the Republican Government as quarrelsome, unproductive, and legislatively nearly impotent.

What is at stake is that after 33 million Americans voted for a change—voted to experiment with liberal Republicanism as an instrument of Government for the first time since the social revolution of the New Deal—a liberal Republican Government faces the prospect of repudiation after 2 short years, and, because of the party's opposition complex in Congress, without having had any full opportunity to show its real worthiness and value to the Nation.

Thus, conservative Government would be losing, for irrelevant but self-created reasons, its best and long-cherished opportunity.

Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written to the editor of the Palm Beach Post-Times, of Palm Beach, Fla., on March 25, 1954, by the distinguished Delegate from Hawaii, Mr. J. R. FARRINGTON. The letter is in response to an editorial published in the Palm Beach Post-Times on February 21, 1954. I recommend Mr. FARRINGTON's reply as not only an able and intelligent reply to that editorial but for reading in connection with the pending debate on statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1954.

Editor, PALM BEACH POST-TIMES,
Palm Beach, Fla.

DEAR SIR: This letter is prompted by your editorial of February 21. It was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 24 at the request of Senator PRICE DANIEL, of Texas.

You state that the admission of a Territory to the Union as a State is irrevocable. This is, of course, true—and has been since the expansion of the boundaries of our country beyond those of the Original Thirteen Colonies began. It was true of the admission of each of 29 States that, like Hawaii, were once Territories.

But this is a policy that has made our country great. Once you become a part of it, you can't leave it. The Civil War decided this.

It is true of Hawaii today, whether or not the promise of statehood is fulfilled. The conditions of annexation in 1898 determined this. We were "incorporated" into the Union and made an "integral part" thereof by the resolution of annexation adopted by Congress. There is no retreat from this position now.

Congress has no more power to set Hawaii free than it has to free one of the States—Florida, for instance. This is a fundamental fact in our whole case for statehood.

In 1900 Congress made Hawaii a Territory of the United States by the adoption of the Hawaiian Organic Act. It might have made us a "possession" like Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, none of which were "incorporated" into the Union.

But, significantly enough, Congress decided that Hawaii should be a Territory like Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico.

The promise of statehood was thus held out to the people of Hawaii by making us a Territory—a provisional State, so to speak. And so it is that our guiding light for a half century has been to prepare Hawaii for statehood.

The course we have followed in the intervening years has been in the traditional American pattern. We ask to be admitted into the Union on, fundamentally, the same basis as other Territories have been admitted, including Florida, now that we have demonstrated that we are prepared for the responsibilities of statehood. It is not true that a new precedent would be set by granting Hawaii statehood. The contrary is true.

To follow any other course would be to depart from the American tradition and to violate a well-established precedent. It would embark this country on a program of colonialism, clearly evident from the proposal now being advanced that Hawaii and Alaska be given Commonwealth status.

The fact that American influences have been predominant in Hawaii since the first American missionaries arrived there in 1820 and that its development has been in the American pattern has been completely demonstrated. Our life, economic, social, and religious, is so completely integrated with that of the rest of the country that only statehood remains to complete the process.

The comment of General MacArthur, who, like Admiral Nimitz, and many other military leaders, supports statehood, is pertinent to this point. He said:

"Hawaii to all intents and purposes is a part of the Pacific coast from the standpoint of national defense; Hawaii cannot be considered (separate) * * * from the Pacific coast in the defense of the Pacific * * * therefore, statehood or anything which tends to impress the islands of Hawaii into our system is a beneficial contribution to the defense posture of this country in the Pacific. I favor and support Hawaiian statehood for that reason."

No issue has been more exhaustively studied by Congress than has statehood for Hawaii. More than 5,000 pages of testimony have been recorded during the course of 12 different congressional inquiries on every conceivable aspect of this problem, that began in 1935. To say that it has not been adequately considered is simply to ignore the facts.

We believe Hawaii's admission to the Union will greatly enhance the position of our country in the Pacific. In the struggle against world communism, Hawaii is no less strategically situated than it was in World War II when we were the first American territory to be attacked. We are in the front lines in a war not of shooting alone but of ideas as well. To deny statehood to Hawaii now, in the face of the record of our people as American citizens, will be to break a promise made a half century ago, violate fundamental American tradition, and embark our country on the road to colonialism.

I regret to find myself in disagreement with you, but I am sure that if, instead of accepting the utterances of your junior Senator on their face value, you will study the speeches and the course being followed by Senator SPESSARD HOLLAND of your State, who sees this issue in its broader aspects, you may find reason to reverse the position you have taken.

Yours sincerely,
J. R. FARRINGTON,
Delegate from Hawaii.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 25, 1954.

Senator PRICE DANIEL,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR DANIEL: I enclose a copy of a letter that I have addressed to the editor of the Palm Beach Post-Times, Palm Beach, Fla., in consequence of their editorial that was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 24 at your request.

I hope that you will be willing to offer this also for publication in the RECORD.

Yours sincerely,
J. R. FARRINGTON,
Delegate from Hawaii.

Mr. Jones to Mr. Hammell: Size and Weight Limits on Parcel Post—No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following letter:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PARCEL
POST SIZE AND WEIGHT LIMITATIONS,
Washington, D. C., February 24, 1954.

Mr. A. L. HAMMELL,
Railway Express Agency, Inc.,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HAMMELL: Mr. William T. Faricy, president of the Association of American Railroads, was a witness at a recent hearing before a House subcommittee on the question of parcel post size and weight limits.

Mr. Faricy said that he was appearing on behalf of the railroads and that the railroads favored strict limitations on parcel post because "any legislation which injures Railway Express Agency also injures the railroads."

In our opinion, Mr. Faricy's position was shortsighted and a misstatement of the real interests of the railroads. We believe that an examination of the facts on your part will show that Public Law 199 has adversely affected the railroads. These are the facts: Nonlocal parcel post is transported primarily by the railroads. According to the Post Office Department, the railroads get more than 90 percent of this traffic from the Department. The ICC says this traffic is much more compensatory to the railroads than express traffic. Express business admittedly has been a serious financial drain on the railroads. Hence, it is more accurate to say "any legislation which injures parcel post injures the railroads."

These added facts are even more important to the railroads:

Public Law 199 barred from the mails about $100 million of parcel-post business. The Railway Express Agency has been able to capture only about one-fifth of this business. Obviously, what looked like a melon has turned out to be a lemon; the railroads are the primary losers. The other four-fifths of this traffic that would normally move by rail has gone to competitors or has not moved at all.

The retail trade and other organizations associated with this committee are a substantial cross section of business activity in this country—and we are substantial customers of the railroads. Since we, as shippers, in effect must bear in our freight rates the burden for express or other railroad deficits, we naturally are incensed that any spokesman for the railroads should indicate a willingness to acquiesce in policies which obviously are hurting the railroads.

We are concerned, too, with the damaging effects of the law on the parcel-post system of this country. There is no adequate substitute for the parcel-post system. Circumscribing the activities of parcel post is no solution to the problems of the express agency.

We are addressing this letter to you because we believe you are interested in hard cold facts rather than nebulous theories of free enterprise. Compensatory business from the Post Office Department and from such business concerns as are represented on our organizations provide the basis for operating the railroads successfully under private enterprise; they could not survive long if they depended on remuneration from express agency business.

We welcome your comments on this situation. We suggest that you make your own examination of the points cited above. We believe the facts are incontrovertible.

Sincerely yours,

ROWLAND JONES, Jr.

Mr. Jones to Mr. Hammell: Size and Weight Limits on Parcel Post—No. 2

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PARCEL POST SIZE AND WEIGHT LIMITATIONS,
Washington, D. C., March 5, 1954.

Mr. A. L. HAMMELL,
President, Railway Express Agency, Inc., New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HAMMELL: Thank you for responding to the issues I raised in my letter of February 24 with respect to the testimony of Mr. Faricy of the Association of American Railroads before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in connection with the size and weight limitations on parcel post. You have made some strong comments. Permit me to make a rejoinder.

As president of the Railway Express Agency, the corporate vehicle for carrying on the express operations of the railroads, you have repeatedly taken the position that the parcel post system is contrary to the precepts of American business. It seems obvious that it is your opinion that the parcel post system has made little contribution to the American economy. I venture to say that your opinion is not shared by the majority of the American public. The parcel post system since 1913 has made possible tremendous economic growth for this country. It has been the means whereby private enterprise has grown and prospered. It has been a dynamic transportation facility during a period when the express agency has been moribund, living only on its past reputation and reveling in history, when the Pony Express actually provided a service that served the public well.

In complete acceptance of the free-enterprise principle, we believe we do have factual information to draw the conclusion that "any legislation which injures parcel post injures the railroads." Further evidence is attached in the form of a copy of a letter we recently sent to Mr. Faricy on the same subject. Reference is made therein to certain statements of yours.

You overlook several facts which are material to a proper assessment of the situation vis-a-vis the railroads. The major portion of the improved revenues to which you refer had no relationship to Public Law 199. They were due primarily to higher express rates obtained in November 1951. Also, it is clear from your own statistics that a substantial part of the improvement occurred in segments of your business which were wholly unaffected by Public Law 199. You ignore completely the reduced revenues which the railroads have experienced as a result of the diversion of traffic which would otherwise go to the railroads as parcel-post traffic. It is not enough to look only at the post office transportation payments in aggregate amounts. Whether they recognize it or not, railroads are losers when they fail to maintain a proportionate share of the traffic when, as in the case of mail traffic, that traffic is an expanding traffic. The inescapable facts to which you refer substantiate our position; if they explode anything, it is your superficial analysis.

It is very strange, Mr. Hammell, that you, as the senior corporate officer of the Railway Express Agency, are joyful in the fact that your competitors have carried some of the traffic which otherwise would be handled by the railroads. Your apparent generosity and willingness to give railroad traffic to your motor-carrier friends is devastating.

I am sorry that you feel the language in my letter of February 24 is immoderate. The language used in expressing the reaction of our group as shippers was deliberate and, I believe, warranted. Your interpretation is your own.

Let me say in closing that I appreciate your sincere concern with the effect repeal of Public Law 199 would have on the operations of the express agency. I appreciate the honesty, sincerity, and vigorous manner in which you are presenting your viewpoint. We have attempted to present sincerely our views. That is the proper way for decisions to be reached in issues such as these.

With all good wishes.

Very truly yours,

ROWLAND JONES, Jr.,
Chairman.

Mr. Jones to Mr. Faricy: Size and Weight Limits on Parcel Post—No. 3

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON PARCEL POST SIZE AND WEIGHT LIMITATIONS,
Washington, D. C., March 3, 1954.

Mr. WILLIAM T. FARICY,
President, Association of American Railroads, Washington D. C.

DEAR MR. FARICY: Thank you for your letter of February 27. I am glad that my letters have stimulated a review on the part of railroad management of the facts involved in this parcel-post size and weight issue. It is apparent from your letter to me that you are not aware of certain detailed facts bearing on the situation. Let me call them to your attention.

First of all, I am amazed at your complacency concerning the heavy deficits being incurred by the railroads as a result of the express operations. I am amazed that you should prefer to handle parcel traffic through a medium that causes heavy deficits rather than to handle the same traffic as parcel post at much more favorable mail-pay rates.

Seemingly, you take consolation in the fact that the operations of the express service were "$45 million more favorable to the railroads in 1952 than in 1951." This is an unusual way of expressing satisfaction with a bad situation. It is hardly favorable to the railroads when in 1952 the railroads' out-of-pocket express deficits after such improvement amounted to $47.6 million. The same ICC report (Ex parte No. 185) from which the above is taken says (p. 11) that the entire railroad deficit from express agency operations in 1952 was $95.7 million when proper accounting is made for the almost half-billion dollars' worth of railroad property devoted to express service and for other proper charges. In other words, express traffic is bearing only about one-half of the railroads' costs in carrying it.

Contrast this situation with the revenues the railroads receive for handling the same same kind of traffic as parcel post. The ICC reported in its last annual report (1952, p. 44): "The rates which were prescribed in Docket No. 9200, Railway mail pay, have provided the railroads with mail revenues approximately equal to the operating expenses, rents, and taxes apportioned to that service." And another 10-percent increase is pending for additional costs incurred since that date.

You acknowledge in your letter that moderate rate increases affected to some extent the $45 million improvement in the express deficit in 1952. These moderate increases were effective November 15, 1951, and February 28, 1952. According to the ICC, these increases aggregated about 12 percent. A 12-percent increase on an express agency revenue base of $326 million in 1951 accounts

for almost $40 million. Of course, this is not a net increase.

Further examination of the pertinent details concerning this improvement, as shown by the express agency's own figures, reveals that much of the remainder of the so-called improvement, not accounted for by rate increases, was in categories of shipments wholly unaffected by Public Law 199. For example, carload shipments of the express agency increased 10.7 percent in 1952 over 1951. Similarly, less-than-carload lot shipments in the 1–20-pound bracket, also unaffected by Public Law 199, increased by 14 percent in 1952.

On the basis of these details, it is apparent that the improvement you profess to see as a result of Public Law 199 is largely illusory. With the same kind of reasoning—and looking only at some overall figures without details—it would be just as reasonable to argue that recent railroad layoffs are due to Public Law 199, because Public Law 199 is in effect now, and even by your own admission it has shifted business from rail to your competitors.

You also expressed the opinion in your letter to me that there had been no unfavorable change with respect to mail-service revenues as a result of Public Law 199. This is inconsistent with the testimony of Mr. Gross, of the express agency, who contended in the House hearings that the Post Office Department had reduced transportation payments as a result of the law by $46 million.

Obviously, here, again, a superficial look at mail revenues can lead to erroneous conclusions. The railroads have lost substantial traffic as a result of Public Law 199, but this fact has been obscured somewhat in mail revenues because the volume loss has been offset in part by normal increases in other mail. The plain fact is that without Public Law 199 the railroads would be enjoying substantially greater revenues than they are now obtaining from transportation performed for the Post Office Department.

I want to comment in detail also on your belief that I am in error in stating that the Railway Express Agency has been able to capture only about one-fifth of the business which was barred from the mails by Public Law 199. First of all, I call your attention to the analysis on this point by Congressman Broyhill. In his statement before the House committee, he said:

"The available statistics show that the transportation revenues of the express agency did increase somewhat in 1952 and 1953 as compared with the immediate preceding years. Total revenues for 1952 were reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission to be $402 million as against $326 million in 1951. It appears, however, that about $40 million of the $76 million increase was due to rate increases which became effective on November 15, 1951, and February 28, 1952. Of the $36 million due to increased traffic, it must be remembered that this includes carload traffic, and also less-than-carload lot traffic over 70 pounds and under 20 pounds—none of which was affected by Public Law 199. On the basis of express agency figures, about 45 percent of the less-than-carload lot traffic and, of course, none of the carload traffic fall within the 20-70-pound range affected by Public Law 199. In other words, it appears that of the $100 million of traffic driven out of the Post Office Department, the express agency has been able to attract less than $20 million of it."

Neither you nor the express agency witnesses challenged these figures in your testimony before the committee. Mr. Hammell submitted some figures on shipments from which he drew the conclusion that the express agency had obtained 57 percent of the shipments barred from the mails.

Even a 57 percent figure is an acknowledgment of a serious loss of traffic to the railroads. But let me point out two major errors in Mr. Hammell's analysis, which, when corrected, result in a conclusion which is almost identical to that reached by Congressman Broyhill; namely, that the percentage is not far from 20 percent—whether the calculations are based on revenues or shipments.

Mr. Hammell arrived at his 57 percent figure as follows: He noted that the Post Office Department said that 49.3 million parcels in the 20–70 pound bracket were barred from the mails by Public Law 199. Then he pointed to an increase of 14.3 million in l. c. l. express shipments in 1952 over 1951. This, he said, had to be multiplied by two "since express shipments average nearly two pieces per shipment." Then, he divided 28 million by 49.4 million to come to the conclusion that the express agency had garnered 57 percent of the pieces lost to the Post Office Department.

His statistics are faulty on two counts. First, the 14.3 million increase is not the shipments affected in the 20–70 pound range—they are all l. c. l. express shipments, including those over 100 pounds. Secondly, the round figure of two pieces per shipment which is used in the calculation is not the correct figure for parcels in the 20–70 pound range.

Enclosed are two photostats of exhibits submitted by the express agency in ICC Docket 31074 giving an analysis of l. c. l. express traffic by weight brackets for 1951 and 1952. These exhibits are very revealing. Applying the percentages shown on the exhibits to the total shipments in 1951 and 1952, it is evident, for example, that in the 1–20 pound bracket the express agency had 33.6 million shipments in 1951 and 38.3 million shipments in 1952—or an increase of 4.7 million shipments in a weight bracket wholly unaffected by Public Law 199. Subtracting these from the 14.3 million cited above leaves 9.6 million. In converting the 9.6 million shipments to pieces, the proper multiplier is 1.2. The express agency's own exhibit shows that the number of pieces per shipment in the 20–70 pound bracket averages 1.2—not the figure 2 which Mr. Hammell used. With the substitution of these corrected figures, Mr. Hammell's method based on shipments gives an end result of 23 percent—not substantially different from the conclusion reached by Congressman Broyhill, which I cited.

To summarize briefly our opinion, we believe Public Law 199 operates against the best interests of the railroads, the shipping public, the Post Office Department, and the tax-paying public. The railroads suffer from the business it diverts to competitors. The shipping public suffers from inconvenience, higher than necessary parcel post rates, discrimination in available service, added unnecessary distribution costs in packages, etc., and the penalty freight rates they are required to pay to cover the losses on express operations. The Post Office Department suffers a net operating loss of $73 million annually, as a result of the law, by its own figures. It is an unwilling party to the confusion, discrimination, and increased costs imposed on parcel post patrons.

No one can argue with your observation that "a line must be drawn" as to what postal services will be provided by the Government. We believe that the experience of 20 years with the old size and weight limitations is ample evidence that the proper line of demarcation existed prior to Public Law 199. The present law is no proper line of demarcation at all; it is a definition which has no rational basis. It exists solely because spurious arguments in 1951 confused rates with service; and because express agency officials were successful in blaming parcel post for certain basic problems of the express agency, which arise from its inability to meet the present-day needs of the shipping public. The plain fact is that the express service as it is constituted presently is no longer economically sound. Undoubtedly, it will continue to lose money for the railroads, with or without Public Law 199. In our opinion, the net loss to the railroads is substantially greater under Public Law 199. The parcel-post system—which has and is performing a much-needed service—can be counted on by the railroads as a much better source of revenue. Why railroad management cannot perceive the truth in this is difficult to understand.

Public confidence in railroad management will deteriorate unless you resolve this question with the business integrity and regard for the public interest required to meet your obligations.

Sincerely yours,

ROWLAND JONES, Jr.,
Chairman.

Repayment Features of Reclamation Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, there is widespread misunderstanding on the repayment features of reclamation projects. Many people still have the impression that reclamation works are built at the expense of the taxpayers, when, as a matter of fact, the construction costs are returned to the Government through power and irrigation water sales.

These revenue-producing features are carefully studied in every reclamation project and the proposed repayment program reviewed and approved both by the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of the Budget.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a newspaper editorial pointing out how this repayment program works and commending the resulting contributions to the country's economy. The editorial appeared in the Ogden Standard-Examiner, March 3, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANOTHER PINE VIEW PAYMENT

Considerable publicity attended the payment by the Ogden River Water Users' Association to the Bureau of Reclamation of another installment on construction projects for the Ogden River project, which includes the Pine View Dam. Such publicity is a good thing because it helps to remind the general public that appropriations made by Congress for irrigation projects are not free gifts to water users. They are loans, generous loans, but loans that must be repaid according to repayment contracts.

We who live out here in the reclamation States are fairly familiar with the procedure, but there are a great many Americans living elsewhere whose education in this respect isn't complete.

We read an editorial the other day in which the Chattanooga Times chided Chicago Daily News for not knowing that the Tennessee Valley Authority is required by law to pay back to the National Treasury the funds advanced by the Government for TVA power projects.

It was interesting to learn that 15,000 water users are now being served from Pine View Reservoir. The number doubtless will in-

crease as population pressure results in further division of the land.

Pine View is a grand resource for the area it serves. It has contributed to our increased wealth and will continue to do so far into the future.

The Ice-Bound St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Cold Facts on an Ice-Bound Seaway," which was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of Sunday, March 28. Accompanying the editorial is a photograph— which, of course, cannot be published in the RECORD—of the St. Lawrence River, taken a few weeks ago, and showing it to be impossible of passage.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COLD FACTS ON AN ICE-BOUND SEAWAY

Do you see what we see in the space to the right of this editorial? It is not the moon. It is the St. Lawrence seaway.

The photograph was taken in January of this year, in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River. With a final vote coming shortly in the House of Representatives on the seaway project, it is a good time to publish this picture, and a good time for Congressmen to study it, before they vote.

The vast crust of ice shown here makes one think of the glacial period of American history. As far as one can see there is ice, and more ice. What's more, the St. Lawrence iceway is frozen over 5 months out of every year. Even supporters of the seaway project don't deny that. They can't.

This is a good picture to study in the light of the extravagant claims made for the St. Lawrence seaway. For example, we are told it is essential for national defense. This photo suggests that for 5 months out of 12, anyway, the seaway would be an obstacle and not an asset to national defense.

Ships simply could not get through. Meantime, if port facilities elsewhere, other marine terminals, were harmed through loss of summer business to the seaway they, in turn, would be that much less equipped and able to take over the whole defense job in winter.

Of course, if we could persuade the enemy to send a fleet up the St. Lawrence just before freezing time—then we'd have him trapped. He'd be frozen in for 5 months.

Alas, an enemy might not be so obliging. Instead, he might decide to attack just when the seaway was frozen over and was as useless as the St. Lawrence is shown to be in this photograph.

We are also told that the seaway would provide an efficient and inexpensive route for bringing Labrador ore to middle western steel mills. If a route frozen over nearly half a year is an efficient route, would the seaway backers call a railroad efficient if its roadbed were out of commission 5 months out of 12?

We are told, further, that the seaway would be self-liquidating. If this means that, after 5 months, nature will take care of defrosting the project and melting the ice that's true. But if it is meant to suggest that the seaway would pay for itself, all the signs point to the contrary.

True, this first seaway bill calls for only $150 million. But that's to get Uncle Sam hooked to the project. Even that would not complete a 27-foot channel, and it is no secret that less than 4 percent of United States flag ships now afloat could use a 27-foot channel.

This means that as soon as Uncle Sam was committed to the seaway the ball would be started rolling to finish it. And the lowest estimates for a 35-foot channel run past the $2 billion mark—and nobody even pretends that the seaway would be self-liquidating on that basis.

Instead, the seaway would then be shown up for what it is—a costly boondoggle. We are glad that Senators MARTIN and DUFF are still fighting this waste of taxpayers' funds.

Some will say: what happens if we do not go on the seaway project? The answer is that Canada has said she will go it alone. If that is what she wants to do, well and good. Some will say, then, that she will charge tolls. Suppose she does. If United States ships pay them, the cost will be put where it belongs, and not on the back of the American taxpayer.

So we suggest taking yet another look at this picture. Ask yourselves—and we address this especially to Members of Congress before they vote—whether at a time of economy and when a mere $8,400,000 has not yet been found to keep the Delaware River dredged—this country should saddle itself with a New Deal boondoggle which even the New Deal could not put over.

Beware of Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Beware of Indochina," which was published in the February 1954 issue of the Oregon Farmer Union.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BEWARE OF INDOCHINA

The steady stream of propaganda stories coming out of Washington about Indochina is a warning to the American people. Sinister forces are working to extend our intervention in this Asiatic revolution. We shall have another Korea on our hands—only much worse—unless the mothers and fathers of the Nation register their emphatic protests in Washington. These protests should go to the White House, to Congressmen and Senators, and to the State Department.

The necessity for American intervention in those jungle swamp lands has been vastly exaggerated, the Oregon Statesman points out. It is putting a very high rating indeed on the three states of Indochina, Editor Sprague suggests, if saving them is necessary to save the free world.

The French, reasonably enough, seem willing now to accept the same kind of a compromise in Indochina that we accepted in Korea. Why should we insist on more—particularly at the cost of thousands of American lives which is certainly the price we would have to pay? Indochina is not worth that price, and the American people, we think, are not going to buy that kind of a bloody deal.

If unemployment continues to increase, we shall have to be even more alert against new United States military adventures in southeast Asia. While President Eisenhower undoubtedly would oppose it, some men in his administration might see an expansion of the war in southeast Asia as a means of ending the depression, and starting a new spiral of war prosperity.

The Statesman concludes with this sage advice:

"Our own counsel is one of patience. The free world is pretty weak if the loss of Indochina brings on its collapse. And the United States isn't big enough to do all the world policing alone. One needn't be an isolationist to respect the practical limits both of our resources and our capacities. Indochina may be a running sore, but the world isn't going to bleed to death because of it."

Texas Mid-Coastal Water Development Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, recently a group of men met together in the historic city of Victoria, Tex., to talk about a dream they have in common—a dream of a deep-water port in the Matagorda Bay area.

Texans are not afraid to dream; and, more often than not, action follows their dreams.

I believe that in the years to come, that meeting of men in Victoria, to form the Texas Mid-Coastal Water Development Association, will turn out to have been an occasion of no little significance.

Morris Roberts, publisher of the Victoria Advocate, and a widely known civic leader in his own area and throughout the State of Texas, recently told in his newspaper of the vision motivating those men. Because of the widespread importance of the work proposed to be done, I commend Mr. Roberts' article to the attention of all Senators, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

P. S.

(By Morris Roberts)

Forty-nine years ago a meeting was held in Victoria by a group of men who had a vision. They formed the Intracoastal Canal Association and set to work on a proposition that some thought was just a wild dream. They proposed that an intracoastal waterway be built along the Texas and Louisiana coasts.

Today, all who are familiar with our coast country, know the value of that great waterway.

This past week another group of men met in Victoria with a vision. They formed the Texas Mid-Coastal Water Department Association. The association is composed of men who wish to give active support as individuals to improvements of salt water facilities and conservation of fresh-water supplies along this immediate section of the Texas Gulf Coast. A primary purpose is to work toward securing a deepwater outlet to the Gulf of Mexico in the Matagorda Bay area.

One of these days there is going to be a deepwater port built in this area. The continued development of this section including

the counties of Matagorda, Jackson, Calhoun, Victoria, and Refugio, will in time necessitate the deep water so ocean-going vessels may serve the present and future industries. How long this will be, is now only a question of speculation. But it will come just as surely as 2 plus 2 make 4.

Though it may be a long time before a deepwater port is developed along this section of the coast, there are other projects that need immediate attention and solution. One is a deepwater outlet to the Gulf of Mexico in the Matagorda Bay area.

Navigation will never be realized for Bay City, Edna, Victoria, or Refugio, unless there is access to the gulf. It is true that Palacios, Port Lavaca, Port O'Connor, and Seadrift are situated on the coast with access to the bays and presently to the gulf through Pass Cavallo. But Cavallo is not maintained and is gradually filling up. At the present time it is barely possible for the shrimping fleets to navigate the pass. Some of the larger boats cannot make it. As a result, an important industry on our coast is gradually drying up. It is being moved to other points on the coast where there is access to the gulf.

It is the belief of many that one of the richest oil deposits under the tidelands lies off the coast of Matagorda, Calhoun, and Refugio Counties. Without an adequate outlet to the gulf, it will be difficult to develop these deposits.

Aside from the commercial advantages, a permanent deepwater pass will contribute much to the expanding recreation facilities on our section of the coast.

This proposition is a direct advantage to every 1 of the 5 counties represented by the men who met and formed this association. The Texas Mid-Coastal Water Development Association is the opportunity for the citizens of these five counties and even other counties of this section, to consolidate their efforts to accomplish something for their common good. Through unity, projects like this can be completed. There should be 5,000 members of this association before the summer is over. Victoria should furnish at least a thousand of them.

Improvements in navigation in the Matagorda Bay area helps every citizen in Victoria.

The Texas Mid-Coastal Water Development Association has been organized for the purpose of helping Victoria along with or sister communities of this five-county area. It has a noble purpose, as did the Intracoastal Canal Association when it was formed. The Intracoastal Canal Association has seen a major part of its purpose accomplished. It still works for expansion of its sponsored facilities, including the Guadalupe River Canal to Victoria.

The time will come when future generations will give thanks to those who have organized the Texas Mid-Coastal Water Development Association and others who will join in the effort for the common good.

Carl Viking Holman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have an interesting news release concerning Carl Viking Holman, who was a Republican candidate for the United States Senate in Washington State in the primary of 1952, announcing his resignation from the Republican Party. I ask unanimous consent that the news release be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Carl Viking Holman, Republican candidate who opposed Harry P. Cain for United States Senator in 1952, today announced his withdrawal from the Republican Party, stating that after watching the antics of the present administration in its first year of operation, and witnessing its failure to come to the aid of the wage earner, farmer, and small-business man, together with inability or unwillingness to conrol so-called "McCarthyism," he is forced to the conclusion that he can no longer continue an affiliation with the Republican Party. He said he is unwilling to accept the explanation of Secretary of State Dulles in relation to the recent 4-power conference in which he claims the United States got all it wanted when as a matter of fact it must be visible to any clear-thinking person that Mr. Molotov was the victor. And while we do have a "cease fire" in effect in Korea, the implication that we shall resort to the use of the atom or hydrogen bombs in the event of a renewal of hostilities, it leads to the belief that we have now adopted a shotgun policy in dealing with State Department matters. Mr. Holman does not agree that logical and reasonable discussions can be held with any other power on a "see it my way or else" basis by threatening devastation of their homeland, and thereby repeating the catastrophe of Hiroshima. Holman emphasized that the Eisenhower administration is firmly the party of big business and he opposes the policies that tend toward enriching the already rich and further enslave the poor through transfer of the tax base under the phrase that "what is good for General Motors is good for the United States." Holman said, "I believe with Thomas Jefferson that 'I shall entrust my cause into the hands of the common people,' and believing the Democratic Party to be more definitely concerned with the welfare of the many, rather than the interests of the few, I shall strive to make my voice heard through the media of the Democratic Party in the future."

Political Terms We Have Borrowed From Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Political Terms We Have Borrowed From Europe," which appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin of March 28.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POLITICAL TERMS WE HAVE BORROWED FROM EUROPE

"Don't look to the right, nor look to the left, but keep in the middle of the road."

That was the cry 60 years ago of the Populists, a real American radical movement. It was farm bred and homegrown, with no admixture of Marxian dialectics or European notions.

The left and right of the song had nothing to do with European political lingo frequently used and misused in this country today. When we talk today of a middle-of-the-roader we mean a man who is a political moderate and endeavors to keep a proper balance between conservative and progressive tendencies. But the Populist song did not mean that. It meant that the Populists were taking a straight road to their goals without bothering about side issues. Its "middle of the road" was a no-compromise slogan.

But since the start of the New Deal we have been adapting European terms to American political trends. They frequently are misapplied. "Right" in general means conservative; "left," radical; "center," moderate.

In a French Assembly years ago the conservatives happened to sit together on the right of the chamber, and the liberals of various hues on the left. That started the use of the terms in the present sense. They weren't used in Britain, which had the tradition of two major parties, as have we.

But France and other continental countries have a multiplicity of parties, some of the splinter variety. Even the biggest couldn't command a majority. So they had to coalesce to form groups. The governing combination couldn't take the name of any of its parts, so it seemed best to class it as left, right, or center, or a combination of any of these terms.

There were many governing combinations of left and center. For many years such left-center government ruled France. In adapting European terms to this country FDR described himself "left of center." That mean that he leaned away from the middle groups in political thinking toward the left, although not belonging to it.

Leftwinger is a term often loosely and inaccurately used. It is properly used to designate the more extreme or radical groups of the Socialist Party. Sometimes, as in Italy, the leftwing Socialists work with the Communists. But generally they form the extreme section of those who still cling to democratic views. The Labor leftwingers are the sharpest British critics of the United States.

Left and right are not in the American tradition, and don't belong in our political parlance. They go more properly with the pernicious bloc system. We don't want that in this country, although our major parties seem running deplorably to groups of special interests.

Opposition to Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD a letter which I received from a very intelligent native of Honolulu. She is very much interested in the statehood bill for Hawaii, and is very strongly opposed to it. I think her reasoning will be of interest to the Senate and the country. I am omitting her name, not at her request, but for manifest reasons.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR SIRS: I am a native-born Honolulan and I wish to thank you for combining the Hawaii statehood and Alaska bills together.

Keep it tied and deny statehood permanently for both Territories for the security of the national defense in the Pacific area.

The Hawaiian race and the white people who are residents of the islands do not want statehood, they want to be under the protection of the Federal Government. They don't like the idea of having an oriental Governor and Senator representing us in Congress and they also fear Communist control of local labor unions which means political control. A great majority of the orientals are for statehood. They know that they have political control in the union, small business, and in the Territorial government and city and county. All they need now is statehood and they will have full control of islands politically and economically.

If statehood is granted to the islands in the near future (which I hope will never happen), an oriental-controlled State will be added to the Union. It would weaken our mother country with the Communist tareat in the Far East, which means if we should be at war with Russia it would be very helpful for the Communist to enter the United States with the help of the oriental race.

I am in favor of Senator SMATHERS' proposal to make Hawaii as a Commonwealth which would exempt us from paying Federal taxes. It would attract mainland residents and industries to the islands. By doing this we will be able to have more white people living in the islands. The latest figure of the population of the islands is 69,000 white residents.

William S. McNary, Representing the American Hospital Association, Endorses H. R. 8356, a Bill To Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce continued its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services. This is one of the bills designed to implement the recommendations contained in the President's health message of January 18, 1954.

The committee heard testimony from Mr. William S. McNary, chairman of the Council on Government Relations of the American Hospital Association. His statement on behalf of the Hospital Association, endorsed this legislation.

William S. McNary is chairman of the Council on Government Relations of the American Hospital Association. He is also a former chairman of the Blue Cross Commission of the American Hospital Association. He appeared before the committee as official spokesman for both the Blue Cross Commission and the American Hospital Association Council on Government Relations. He is also executive vice president of the Michigan Hospital Service, one of the country's largest Blue Cross plans, which has enrolled almost one-half of the people of Michigan, a total of more than 3 million men, women, and children. He has been in that position since 1947. Prior to that time, he was for 10 years director of the Blue Cross plan for the State of Colorado, and prior to that time was for 10 years business manager of the University of Colorado School of Medicine and Hospitals.

He stated that—

I personally had opportunity, with a group of individuals experienced in the field of health insurance prepayment, to consult with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as to the technical details of this legislation (H. R. 8356). I am authorized, in appearing before you, to endorse the purposes of the Health Service Prepayment Plan Reinsurance Act. The Council on Government Relations, in discussing the legislation, asked that I officially express its desire to cooperate in the development and administration of this program to insure its success.

This legislation has been introduced so recently that there has been no opportunity for full study by any of the official bodies of the association. Endorsement of the purposes is made with the concurrence of the policy committee of the board of trustees of the association, authorized to act for it on this issue, and by the executive committee of the Blue Cross Commission since there has not been an opportunity for the full Blue Cross Commission to meet since the bill was introduced.

Our association has previously testified before your committee. In general, you know that we believe that the best way for financing personal health services for the employed population and their dependents is voluntary prepayment insurance. Some 90 million Americans presently have some type of hospital prepayment coverage. Blue Cross alone in the United States has presently enrolled some 43 million persons. Coverage of the balance of the employed population and their dependents is urgently needed. This is particularly true for the low-income groups and for those with special needs for hospital care. Much experimentation has been carried on by Blue Cross plans endeavoring to cover groups difficult of enrollment, such as the self-employed, farmworkers, the aged, certain dependents in household, etc. We do not believe that the total goal to be attained under voluntary prepayment will come easily. We do believe that it can be accomplished and that this proposed legislation may help to bring it nearer.

We have regularly testified before this and other committees of the Congress that additional funds will have to be provided to supplement the resources of that segment of the population whose individual incomes are inadequate to finance the purchase of prepaid protection. The Health Service Prepayment Plan Reinsurance Act does not propose any subsidy and it cannot be expected to answer this question. We believe that further study must be given to the development of methods for providing coverage for those groups which cannot pay in full for the cost of their own protection.

This Health Service Prepayment Plan Reinsurance Act has as one of its primary functions the reinsurance of prepayment offerings to groups with difficult enrollment and benefit problems, so that prepayment carriers may be encouraged to experiment further in extending coverage and benefits. We believe that as the act is structured, such experimentation will be encouraged, and that the act will help in the extension which we have stated is important if the people of this country are to have adequate protection. A second broad purpose of the act is to provide for the accumulation of information in regard to voluntary health prepayment countrywide. Provision is made for the collection of information, for the conduct of studies, and for the publication of this knowledge which presently is not supplied by any one agency and which would be difficult of attainment except through a Government program.

We have three points on which we would like to suggest amendments or the tightening of the language of the act:

1. In section 107A, we would suggest that the regulations promulgated by the Secretary be subject to approval of the council. This is the pattern used in the Hospital Survey and Construction Act which has been such a successful program. It is particularly important in this proposed legislation, H. R. 8356, because it is a new area for Federal operations and of necessity the terms of the act cannot be wholly explicit in delineating the powers of the Secretary and the area in which he is to operate. This being true, we feel that the necessary latitude allowed in administration which will be clarified through regulation, should be subject to the approval we suggest. First, in order that the Secretary be required to consult with people experienced in this field as is provided for within the membership of the council; and second, in order that the Secretary may utilize the council as protection against undue pressures for what might be unwise regulatory acts. We believe that this will not only insure wiser operation of the act, but will be a protection to the Secretary.

2. Section 201 provides for the collection of information and its publication. Elsewhere in the act there is provision for the collection of information from an individual prepayment carrier on which to judge whether a program suggested by that carrier is eligible for reinsurance. We believe that these two activities inevitably interweave, but that there should be written into the act provision that confidential information secured from a carrier in order to judge whether a specific plan will be approved and so needed in the administration of the plan, shall be considered privileged information and will not be released without the approval of the individual carrier furnishing the information.

3. Section 404 delineates the use of publicity about the reinsurance of a plan. We are entirely in sympathy with the objective of the section in protecting the public against deceptive or misleading use of the designation. We know that such statements to the public must be carefully controlled. However, we also believe that proper use of the knowledge by the public that a contract has been reinsured, could be in the public interest. We think that the wording of this section should not imply, as it seems to us it does, that any publicity at all is unwise. In our opinion, proper publicity might well be wise.

This testimony, of necessity, has been brief in view of the short time available for its preparation, and the limited opportunity that our association has had for study of every detail. We do, in general, endorse the legislation and stand ready to assist in its development in any way possible. We are gratified that the Federal Government, through this legislation, endorses the principle of working with voluntary agencies to meet health needs.

Butter and Cheese Surpluses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a very interesting letter received from Mr. Roy Dickinson, of Hobe Sound, Fla., conveying to me a suggestion in relation to the manner in which surpluses on butter and cheese can be disposed of by the Government. I am inserting this letter in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues and others who might read the RECORD. It is most pleasing to me to receive letters from persons throughout the country conveying to me their views on public questions and pending legislation. I have received many constructive suggestions from persons who have written me.

The letter I have received from Mr. Dickinson shows that he has given very serious consideration to the matters mentioned therein showing that he is a citizen interested in the public problems of the day. Mr. Dickinson's suggestion is worthy of consideration by the officials of the Department of Agriculture and by Members of Congress.

The letter follows:

HOBE SOUND, FLA., *March 22, 1954.*
Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: For the past 4 months I have read in newspapers and magazines and have heard over the radio, items concerning the surplus of butter and cheese owned by our Government and what will be or should be done about it.

For a quarter of a century I was connected with the butter and cheese business. In that time was responsible for the buying and selling of many millions of pounds of each.

I have been away from the dairy business since 1946 so I really have no personal interest as to the surplus product other than to be helpful to our Government. I am taking the liberty of writng you, giving my basic ideas or suggestions as to what I believe to be a sound manner of handling.

This butter and cheese was bought with the taxpayers money. Then give this tax money back to the taxpayers in the form of butter and cheese.

Doing this will increase the consumption, say of butter, from 8 pounds per capita a year to where it was at one time between 16 or 17 pounds.

This surplus of 300 million pounds of butter could be consumed 30 days after it was received by the housewife. It would take about 60 days to print this butter in various parts of the country and about 30 days to get it into the hands of the retailer.

With every pound of butter that the retailer would purchase through his regular channels he would receive free a like amount of Government-owned butter with a United States Government wrapper or brand on it. He would be obliged to sell the housewife one of his regular brands at not over 80 cents a pound, this based on 90 percent of parity, and give the housewife 1 pound of Government butter free. In short it would mean 40 cents butter to the housewife for a period of about 90 to 120 days.

In every locality there is someone who would gladly give a little time to check this butter out to the retailer.

The retailer could go to the local cold storage where a supply of this butter would be under refrigeration.

In order for the retailer to get this butter he would have to show an invoice from his regular source of supply with an invoice number on it. The party releasing the Government butter to the retailer would put an ink stamp over the invoice number so that this same invoice could not again be used to get more free butter.

It would make no difference what score butter the retailer was handling or selling.

Within a few months the surplus butter would be out of the way. This manner of handling could be used again when the surplus reached a 100 million pounds.

The above is just an outline of the idea. Cheese could be handled on a basis quite similar. The butter is a cinch and very simple to handle.

It has always been contended by the dairy industry that our people can consume all the dairy products that our country can produce.

Handling as outlined above would do away with any sharp practices. The only points where there might be leaks would be at the point of cutting or printing. This could be controlled by allowing the persons doing the printing a certain percent shrink from the bulk to the print form.

This manner of handling will work and will be fair all the way around and in the long run the least expensive.

You have my permission to make use of this letter in any manner you desire.

Yours very respectfully,
ROY DICKINSON.

Correspondence on Unauthorized Disclosures From Civil Service Commission Files

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I have received a very interesting communication from Mr. James C. Hill, of Pelham Manor, N. Y., who raises the question of apparent leaks in the security system of the Civil Service Commission. Mr. Hill has interested himself in the unauthorized disclosure some time ago by the the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] of the fact that there was so-called derogatory information in the personnel jacket of a distinguished and patriotic constituent of mine, Gen. Telford Taylor. Mr. Hill wrote to the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Honorable Philip Young, and asked Mr. Young how such a disclosure of a confidential matter had been made to the Senator from Wisconsin. Mr. Hill has received from Mr. Young a reply, a copy of which he has sent to me.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hill's letter to me, his letter to Commissioner Young, and Commissioner Young's reply be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PELHAM MANOR, N. Y., *March 19, 1954.*
Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LEHMAN: I am enclosing copies of recent correspondence with Mr. Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, which may be of interest to you.

You will recall, perhaps, the newspaper accounts of Senator McCARTHY'S attacks on Gen. Telford Taylor after an address by General Taylor at West Point in which he criticized the McCarthy investigations at Fort Monmouth. Senator McCARTHY immediately released a letter to the officials of West Point advising them of derogatory information in the civil-service records on General Taylor.

I was struck with the fact that, so far as I knew, no comment appeared in the press on the leaking of such information from confidential records of the Civil Service Commission to Senator McCARTHY or his staff. Perhaps it has come to be taken for granted that this is done. I believe, however, that it should be exposed and investigated, and that it may be significant to have this specific acknowledgment by Mr. Young that "this was a confidential record—apparently someone breached this confidence."

I have also sent copies of these letters to Senator FULBRIGHT, inasmuch as he has undertaken to criticize the Justice Department for making similar confidential matters known to Senator McCARTHY.

You are authorized in your discretion to make public use of this correspondence should you so desire. The original or photostatic copy of Mr. Young's letter can be furnished.

Very truly yours,
JAMES C. HILL.

P. S.—In passing, I am tempted also to inquire how it is that the Commission, which has been instrumental in tracking down over 2,000 "security risks," finds it a mystery how its own rules are violated and its confidential records disclosed.

J. C. H.

FEBRUARY 15, 1954.
Hon. PHILIP YOUNG,
Chairman, United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. YOUNG: A few weeks ago, after Gen. Telford Taylor made an address at West Point in which he criticized the investigations of the McCARTHY committee at Fort Monmouth, Senator McCARTHY released to the press a latter to West Point authorities asking, among other things, whether they had been aware that General Taylor's personnel files in the Federal Government had been "flagged" as containing derogatory information concerning his loyalty.

I believe that officials of the Civil Service Commission confirmed this to the press, and explained that there was at the time General Taylor left his Government position an unresolved question concerning his loyalty or security.

It had been my understanding that "derogatory" allegations about a Federal employee, which have not been fully investigated or confirmed, are held strictly confidential by the employing agency and /or the Civil Service Commission. I would like to know whether this is true or not, and what the rules and policies of the Commission are with respect to such information. Will you also explain how it becomes known to a congressional committee, or its staff, that the civil service records are marked or flagged in the manner which was reported to be true of General Taylor's papers.

Very truly yours,
JAMES C. HILL.

UNITED STATES
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., March 15, 1954.

Mr. JAMES C. HILL,
Pelham Manor, N. Y.

DEAR MR. HILL: This has reference to your letter of February 15, 1954, concerning certain newspaper accounts of information relating to the records of Gen. Telford Taylor.

The policy of the Commission with respect to derogatory information which has or has not been fully investigated is that "such information is held in confidence." The civil-service records are marked or flagged in such manner as to reveal an incomplete investigation or lack of investigation in order that the Government may resolve the matters if and when a person should again seek Federal employment. Such markings or flags are likewise held in confidence.

Just how the information regarding the flag card with respect to General Taylor's papers was first revealed is a mystery to the Commission. This was a confidential record—apparently someone breached this confidence. After the flag card was disclosed, varied inferences were being drawn from such information, and, in order to set the record straight, I testified before a congressional committee. While the Commission has never revealed to the public any information with regard to the flag card with respect to General Taylor, the congressional committee did so.

I regret that I am unable to comment further concerning your request as to how information in this case may have been in the hands of the congressional committee or the press.

Sincerely,

PHILIP YOUNG,
Chairman.

Opposition to Statehood for Alaska, Hawaii, or Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an extract from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 80th Congress, 1st session, which contained remarks by Hon. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR., of the State of New York, on Wednesday, March 12, 1947, in which he had inserted a letter from Hon. Nicholas Murray Butler, relating to the Hawaiian situation. The letter was addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, and is thoroughly apropos of the controversy now taking place in the Senate over the adoption of the Hawaiian statehood bill.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 7, 1947.

Hon. JULIUS A. KRUG,
Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: May I call to your attention a matter which I regard of extreme importance to the Government and people of the United States. Under no circumstances should Alaska, Hawaii, or Puerto Rico, or any other outlying island or Territory, be admitted as a State in our Federal Union. To do so, in my judgment, would mark the beginning of the end of the United States as we have known it and as it has become so familiar and so useful to the world. Our country now consists of a sound and compact area, bounded by Canada, by Mexico, and by the two oceans. To add outlying territory hundreds or thousands of miles away, with what certainly must be different interests from ours and very different background, might easily mark, as I said, the beginning of the end.

Think of what would happen were the vote of one Senator from Alaska or Hawaii or Puerto Rico to defeat the ratification of an important treaty affecting the policy and good order of the world. It is unthinkable that we should allow any such possibility.

On the other hand, I suggest that each one of these Territories—Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico—be set up, by treaty, as an independent and self-governing nation, subject to but two limitations. These are, first, that their relations with foreign powers should be subject to the approval of the President of the United States and the United States Senate. This would prevent any foreign power from using them to our disadvantage. The second is that litigants in any one of these countries should have the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The effect of this would be to establish a uniform system of public and civil law in this part of the world. This privilege now exists in the case of Puerto Rico and I am told works extremely well.

I earnestly ask your most serious consideration of this proposal and the avoidance of the damage that would be done to our Government and our people by extending the United States beyond its present very compact and naturally defined boundaries.

I regret that on account of my total blindness, I cannot sign this letter myself.

Sincerely yours,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

Soviet Union Should Be Expelled From the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, February 22, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations should take immediate action to expel the Soviet Union and the other Communist representatives from the United Nations. Chapter II, article 6 of the U. N. Charter provides that a member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles of the charter may be expelled from the organiaztion.

There is no question that the Soviet Union has persistently violated the principles contained in the charter. A mere recitation of the first five principles of the United Nations as set forth in article II of the charter will demonstrate the extent to which these Soviet Union has violated these principles. These read as follows:

ART. 2. The organization and its members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.

2. All members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter.

3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

5. All members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the provisions of the present charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

Last year I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 76, which among other things, requested the President of the United States to direct our representatives in the United Nations to demand the expulsion of the present Communist regime in the Soviet Union from the United Nations because of its persistent violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I continue to urge this course of action and include herewith an editorial from the U. S. News & World Report of March 19, 1954, written by Mr. David Lawrence:

THE MISSING U. N.
(By David Lawrence)

How naive are the American people, or, rather, how naive are the speakers who think the public crudulously accepts misleading statements about the true position of the United Nations in the world today?

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and a host of other well-meaning persons are going up and down the country in community after community telling the people to put their faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for the enforcement of world peace.

But the United Nations actually has failed so utterly to live up to its original purposes and to the solemn words of its charter that a statement of the truth would do far more toward building faith in any remodeled organization of the future than pious claims which ignore the facts of international life.

Thus, it was the Security Council of the United Nations which sent American troops into Korea in June 1950. Our troops engaged in that war by reason of an "Executive agreement" which was never submitted to either House of Congress for approval.

For more than 3 years the words "United Nations command" have been used in official documents and in reports to the United Nations. The fiction has been maintained that an army subject to United Nations instructions was fighting in Korea. The American Government at the outset was designated as "agent" for the U. N., and never has the "United Nations" been omitted from the phraseology of all communications and reports bearing on the Korean war.

Yet when the conference between the "United Nations command" and the Communists at Panmunjom broke down recently and no political conference was arranged for—as stipulated by the armistice—the United Nations dropped out of the whole thing.

No armistice agreements or peace proposals have ever been submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations. Hence, the unit which authorized the bloodshed had ceased to have a hand in endeavoring to consummate the peace agreement. The U. N. has abandoned in a practical sense the job of representing the more than 79,000 persons, including 31,500 Americans, who gave their

lives in the fight against the Communist armies.

Today the "United Nations" has no part in calling the Geneva conference starting April 26. This meeting is an improvised substitute for the "political conference" which the armistice agreement asked in vain to be called not later than October 28, 1953.

The Geneva conference is really a group of principals in a war theoretically fought by the United Nations. Soviet Russia—having acknowledged that it sent arms and ammunition to the Communist Chinese Government, which was declared an aggressor by the United Nations Assembly—is not in any way being brought to book or punished for its violation of the charter. Instead, Russia now is given prestige as an "inviting power" at Geneva, and, as such, invites the North Korean and Red Chinese Governments to participate. This is the hypocrisy of the hour.

Here, therefore, is a multipower conference outside the United Nations, owing no allegiance as a conference to the United Nations itself. When the meeting is over, the members of the U. N. who participated in the Geneva affairs will, of course, file with the U. N. a report of what happened—a routine act without significance, as the die will have been cast anyway.

The facts about the failure of the U. N. have never been faced by any of the statesmen of the world except the late Senator Taft, who a year ago pointed out that, in setting up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to maintain the peace of Europe several of the important members had bypassed the U. N. and that dependence must be placed hereafter on alliances of free nations for special purposes.

It is often argued that the U. N. is a handy forum—a debating society. It is, of course, an instrument for discussion through which moral force can be mobilized. But the sooner the apologists for the U. N. concede that the U. N. has failed as an enforcement body and that, in and of itself, the organization cannot be used for collective security in a military sense, the sooner will be dispelled the illusions being spread across this country about the nature of the United Nations.

Preparations are being made now to revise the Charter of the U. N. Morality cannot be legislated. To amend only the form and ignore the substance is to fail to meet the issue. There is no use revising the charter until there is a moral code observed by the members. There can be no substitute for good faith and an allegiance to solemnly given pledges.

It is the charter of some of the members rather than the phraseology of the Charter which needs revision. There is no room in any collective-security system for the faithless and the treasonable. The U. N. will begin to thrive when it expels from its membership unmoral governments and establishes an alliance of nations that are truly free.

Trieste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to include a resolution adopted by a prominent Philadelphia organization, Stella d'Italia, Italian barbers' mutual-aid society, concerning the territory of Trieste. This resolution meets with my wholehearted approbation:

Whereas we the officers and members of Stella d'Italia, over 200 in number, and representing a like number of families composed of loyal Americans of Italian extraction, all stanch believers in democracy, justice for all mankind, and peace for all people of the world, feel that in order to demonstrate these beliefs and in order to help preserve the peace, certain injustices must be righted; and

Whereas we as good citizens of the United States of America are convinced that a great injustice was done to the Italian people when as a result of World War II, the territory of Trieste was divided into zones A and B, the former being placed under the supervision of the United States and Great Britain and the latter under the Government of Yugoslavia; and

Whereas we feel that Trieste, being predominantly Italian and having belonged to Italy, any different arrangement or a partition would certainly jeopardize the cause of peace and should be considered a great tragedy for the Italian people: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we of the Stella d'Italia Society go on record in endorsing enthusiastically the decision made on October 8, 1953, by the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain to the effect that that part of the territory of Trieste, known as zone A be returned to Italy. We further urge the Government of the United States to continue its efforts to achieve the goal, and endeavor to make a reality, the restitution of the city of Trieste to her great and immortal mother Italy, in its entirety and without any artificial division. We believe that to do otherwise would be in violation of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms: be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower; to the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles; to the Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon; to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph Martin; to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, Alexander Wiley; to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, Robert B. Chiperfield; to the Senators from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, James H. Duff and John C. Martin; and to each Representative from the six congressional districts of Philadelphia, Pa.; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution shall be entered into and become a permanent component part of the minutes of this society.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN BONANNO,
President.
JOSEPH RESTIFO,
Corresponding Secretary.

Let's Have a Sound and Effective Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, California farmers are bitterly disappointed in the President's farm program.

President Eisenhower in his proposals for farm legislation submitted to Congress last January, failed entirely to recognize the needs of fruit, vegetable, meat, poultry, and dairy farmers. During the political campaign he promised that plans would be worked out to extend price supports to perishable products. Yet he entirely ignored the problems of these producers in his farm message.

The President makes the freezing or setting aside of $2.5 billion of existing farm surpluses and a return to the sliding scales of the 1949 act the key features of his proposal. We cannot build a sound and stable farm program on frozen surpluses and sliding scale supports.

Secretary Benson was right when he said farmers must produce for consumption and not for storage, but neither he nor President Eisenhower has come forward with a program which both protects the farmer against continually sliding prices and gets the supplies moved into consumption.

I recognized this problem last summer and I proposed a solution for it. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for August 3, 1953, you will find my proposals.

At that time I said:

It is a sad commentary on American life that we have surplus foods stored so long they are spoiling while large segments of our population have inadequate diets.

I estimated that 25 million of our people were on old-age assistance, lived in broken homes, were on public-assistance programs or lived in families where there were 6 or more children under 18 years of age. A large proportion of the people in these groups have inadequate incomes to purchase the foods they need for a healthy diet. I urged that a program be developed to use our surpluses to supplement the diets of these disadvantaged groups.

We have had a national school-lunch program for more than 10 years now. It is doing a wonderful job in the schools where it is in operation. Children are getting a well-balanced meal at noon at a nominal cost. Those who cannot pay even this nominal charge get their lunches free. The schools are given supplies of nutritious foods, to the extent they can use them, out of Government stocks acquired in price support and surplus removal operations.

The school-lunch program is an ideal means of bridging the gap between existing surpluses and inadequate diets. Yet, do you realize the school-lunch program reaches only about 30 percent of our schoolchildren? We could increase milk consumption considerably if we would only reach more of our school children with a school-lunch program.

Let us take another look at the groups in our population who for one reason or another are not likely to have adequate incomes to provide sufficient food, clothing and housing to present-day prices.

We have 13 million people in the United States now over 65 years of age and 8 million people over 70.

We have 6 million families where the husband or wife is missing or 10 to 15 million people living in broken homes.

We have 2.9 million families or around 15 million people in families where there are 4 or more children under 18 years of age.

We have 5.7 million people drawing old age and survivors insurance under the social-security program.

We have 2.6 million individuals receiving payments under disability insurance and retirement programs.

We have 2.6 million receiving old-age assistance under the State old-age assistance programs.

We also have 1.9 million receiving aid under the State programs of aid to dependent children; 100,000 blind individuals receiving aid, and 195,000 permanently and totally disabled receiving public assistance.

In August 1953, the latest period for which information is published, 243,000 families or almost one million individuals were receiving assistance—relief payments—from State and local governments.

Finally, on February 20, 1954, 2.4 million individuals were receiving unemployment compensation checks.

We all know that not everyone over 65 is in financial need. We also know that many of our wealthiest families are broken up. Of the 2.4 million individuals drawing unemployment compensation checks many will get their jobs back in a few weeks.

Yet we also know that many of our retired people are having a desperate existence on their small savings or inadequate pensions. We also know that the vast majority of our middle class or low-income families where the father or mother is missing have serious economic problems. We also know that families with 4 or more children under 18 at home in the lower half of the income range have problems in meeting their living expenses.

In most countries nothing can be done for these disadvantaged groups because the level of production and income is so low that everyone is having trouble in maintaining minimum living standards. Here in America we are unusually fortunate. Our pressing agricultural problem is not how to get enough produced but how to get our bountiful supplies used. How fortunate we are.

The only sensible solution to our current problem of excessive supplies and inadequate consumption among substantial groups is to develop a modern version of the food stamp plan which worked so successfully before the war.

With unemployment increasing and living costs continuing at record levels I am convinced that at least 10 to 20 percent of our population is suffering from inadequate diets. This is all so unnecessary. Let us quit talking about the high cost of storing our farm surpluses and begin doing something about distributing them to disadvantaged people in our own communities.

Net income from farming has dropped one-third since 1947–48 and is still heading down while nonfarm incomes have been steadily rising.

Surely this is no time to throw in the towel.

Unless we hold price supports at present levels and move surplus stocks into consumption, farmers are going to suffer income losses which will threaten the stability of our entire economy.

The administration's apparent lack of interest in any of the many diverse proposals to get the surpluses consumed, almost forces one to reluctantly conclude that they actually desire to use these surpluses as a "sword of Damocles" to destroy the farm-price-support program.

The Case Against the International Pool for Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Case Against the International Pool for Atomic Energy," which was written by a young housewife, the mother of three small children, who is concerned about the future of our country. It is an article which should be read and pondered by every thoughtful, loyal American.

The article follows:

THE CASE AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL POOL FOR ATOMIC ENERGY

(By Margaret L. Hadley, Campbell, Calif.)

"Thus saith the Lord; cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, in a salt land and not inhabited." (Jeremiah 17: 5, 6.)

The above text, written by the prophet Jeremiah over 2,000 years ago, could very graphically describe the United States of America after an atomic attack. Because of fear of atomic attack from Russia, the American people are currently being asked to join an atomic-energy pool under the direction and control of the United Nations. If we joined in such a pool, there remains one important question: Who and what could prevent the United Nations from launching an atomic attack against the United States?

We have been urged at various times to trust President Eisenhower. You may even have heard the argument advanced that he is in a position to know more than we, the people. In fact, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in his speech before the Senate Judiciary Committee in which he opposed the Bricker amendment, said: "I am authorized by the President to advise this committee 'the Executive cannot surrender the freedom of action which is necessary for its operations in the foreign affairs field.'" Further on Mr. Dulles states: "There is no actual experience to demonstrate the need of the far-reaching changes here proposed [referring to the Bricker amendment]. The fears are hypothetical."

We of pro-America know from our studies concerning the Bricker amendment that these fears are not hypothetical at all. All we need to do is remember Yalta and Potsdam, and to examine such treaties as the UN Covenant on Human Rights and the Genocide Convention to be convinced that these fears are very real indeed. Should we then trust Mr. Dulles on the theory that he is in a position to know more than we, the people, and give up our campaign for the passage of the Bricker amendment? The answer, of course, is simple. We shall continue to support the Bricker bill. Why? Because in the United States as in no other country, public officials are the servants of the people. We should never let them forget that. What is more important, we should not be deceived into forgetting it ourselves.

The United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights was not based on trust in man but on trust in God. Its authors recognized that any one man or group of men—even great men—cannot be trusted with unlimited power. In fact, the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights is nothing else but a series of restrictions on men in Government. Would you say that the following passage accurately describes the past history of the United States?

"Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is. For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit." Jeremiah 17: 7, 8.

Our President has sworn to support the Constitution and Bill of Rights. It is up to the people to check up and see that he keeps that oath. That is not fault finding or trouble making. It is merely acting in the spirit in which this Nation was conceived and was consequently so well blessed.

In the light of the above, let us consider the following:

The full text of the address by President Eisenhower to the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1953, can be found in the December 18 issue of the U. S. News & World Report.

In 1948 a book entitled "Peace or Anarchy" was published by Little, Brown, & Co. The author of that book is Cord Meyer, Jr., then president of the United World Federalists.

Those who read both of these will be immediately struck by the great similarity of the two proposals.

President Eisenhower proposed, "The governments principally involved * * * to begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable material to an International Atomic Energy Agency. We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the aegis of the United Nations." The reason for this proposal he gives as the way "out of fear and into peace."

Cord Meyer, Jr., on page 157 of his book, in developing the thought that the United Nations must have an assured and adequate source of funds points out that a strengthened U. N., through its control of atomic energy, would receive a substantial income from the sale of atomic power. Again peace is given as the objective.

However, let's consider just a few inevitable results to such a scheme.

1. The United States would buy backs its own atomic energy.

2. Congress now has power to cut off financial appropriations to the United Nations and thereby exercises some control over this organization if it would ever choose to use it. If the United Nations had its own private source of funds, it would not need to care what Congress thought of any of its actions. Its actions so to speak would be completely out of the hands of the United States Congress and therefore out of the hands of the American people.

President Eisenhower further stated, "The Atomic Energy Agency could be made responsible for the impounding, storage, and protection of the contributed fissionable and other materials. The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material can be made essentially immune to surprise seizure."

Cord Meyer, Jr., on page 170 of his book, discusses the necessity of being prepared to deal with national revolt against the United Nations. He suggests for this purpose that the U. N. police must be armed with those modern weapons which the national govern-

ments would be prohibited from owning. He explains that if the U. N. police had atomic bombs, in addition to tanks, warships, and planes, successful revolt would be out of the question. On page 172 he advances the idea that the distribution of the U. N. police in various strategic areas throughout the world is necessary to insure swift action and be a safeguard against a coup d'etat. The concentration of the entire heavy armament of the U. N. in one locality would create the danger of its seizure by conspirators according to Mr. Meyer. He proposes that a network of U. N. bases be established, each armed by an armed unit of the police. He feels that the seizure of any one base could then be met by joint action of the rest.

How would that affect us?

1. The United Nations would probably establish atomic bases in the United States. These U. N. bases would be extra territorial; that is, they would not be subject to the laws of our State or Federal Governments.

2. Under pretense of guarding these atomic bases, armed foreign police could be allowed to enter our country.

3. The United States, if we are to follow the policy advocated by Cord Meyer, Jr. (past president of the United World Federalists), would disarm while the United Nations would be armed.

4. If the U. N. had the power and means to wage war against a defenseless United States, what would prevent it from forcing upon us the adoption of the U. N. Covenant on Human Rights and the Genocide Convention, which would turn this country into a communistic totalitarian state overnight? This would bring an end to our present representative, constitutional government.

It may be argued that President Eisenhower did not advocate our turning over to the U. N. our atomic bombs, but only our raw fissionable material for peaceful uses. However, with the U. N. owning the raw materials, the bases, the know-how, and the U. N. police (owing no allegiance to the United States) guarding this pool, how could we prevent the U. N. from manufacturing its own atomic weapons?

In making your mind up on this problem, I feel that you should consider these five points:

1. Amendment II of the Constitution states that "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

2. President Eisenhower's proposal for an international pool of atomic energy could very likely be the first step to disarm the United States and to arm the U. N. as outlined in chapter VIII of "Peace and Anarchy," by Cord Meyer, Jr.

3. Apparently there is no way for us to guarantee that the U. N. will use the atomic pool for peaceful means and not for waging war against the United States.

4. If the U. N. by means of atomic weapons had the power to crush the United States, it would certainly have the power to strip us of our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

5. The President and all members of Congress swore, in their oath of office, to uphold and defend the Constiution of the United States.

I believe that the people of our country have a better plan to offer for the achievement of world peace. It was first presented by George Washington when he stated "That the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation, which is yet a stranger to it."

Business Failures Since 1900

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting letter I have received from Mr. L. J. Salter, of the Salter Canning Co., of New York.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SALTER CANNING CO., INC.,
North Rose, Wayne County, N. Y.,
February 26, 1954.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Last Monday former President Herbert Hoover referred to the "depression which lasted from 1931 to 1941," thus implying that the Roosevelt measures did little to cure it. Now this goes to show that gentlemen of this mentality, unfortunately advisers to the new administration, never go to the sources for their information but like stone-age men resort to "folklore." The excellent graph of business failures since 1900 that appeared in the New York Times of January 4, 1954, refutes the above and in further support of the refutation I here record the Dun & Bradstreet data of failures per 10,000 listed concerns, from the time that Harding picked up the reins of government to the time that Truman laid them down (excepting 1952, data on which I do not have):

Harding administration:	
1921	102
1922	120
1923	93
Coolidge administration:	
1924	100
1925	100
1926	101
1927	106
1928	109
Hoover administration:	
1929	104
1930	122
1931	133
1932	154
Roosevelt administration:	
1933	100
1934	61
1935	62
1936	48
1937	46
1938	61
1939	70
1940	63
1941	55
1942 (war)	45
1943 (war)	16
1944 (war)	7
Truman administration:	
1945 (war)	4
1946	5
1947	14
1948	20
1949	34
1950	34
1951	31

The 1920's may have been roaring but from the data they were anything but prosperous. To the contrary the years 1921 through 1932 were the blackest in our economic history, dating from 1870 when failure rates were first recorded. When Mr. Hoover stretched the depression out to 1941, I can surmise the nodding of approval by his admirers, including some of our business schools. Now it happens that banks, financial services, and our economic advisers to the new administration have stressed the great vigor of our economy as demonstrated by the continued low rate of business failures. If to Mr. Hoover and his admirers the low figures from 1934 through 1941 still imply a depression, then pray tell what shall we call the 1920's? Taking Mr. Hoover at his word and arguing from the data, it in truth appears that the Republican depression started in 1921 and ended in 1933. From our own experience the above data has great significance, for we had a difficult struggle to exist during all the 1920's as did others of this highly competitive industry and it is only since the mid-30s that we seemed on fairly stable ground. In that period our big competitors received secret rebates of 15–20 percent from suppliers—and these rebates were collected from us and other small canners, by our suppliers, to make up the deficit.

Let us look at the Dun & Bradstreet data more closely: The failure rate per 10,000 concerns from 1921 through 1930 averaged 105.7; the failure rate per 10,000 concerns from 1921 through 1932 averaged 112. Roosevelt inherited the ruins, yet in spite of this the 1932 rate of 154 slid down to 100 in 1933—and then on to new lows that our economy had never seen. The prewar years under the Roosevelt measures (1934 through 1941) averaged 58.25, the lowest failure rate in our economic history to that time, in peacetime. And the postwar years of 1946 through 1951 (I have not the rates for 1952 and 1953) average 23 per 10,000 concerns which is truly phenomenal, being far less than the low rate during World War I (1917 through 1919). I have in fairness left out the World War II years—yet compared with World War I figures, they too are phenomenally low for any war period in our economic history.

Of particular interest is the very low rate of failures since World War II. Postwar adjustments have always swung heavily in the other direction. What curbed the rate this time? We cannot lay it all to the armaments program for small competitive businesses that usually comprise the failure rate enjoyed none of that program. We here approach a theme that throws the school boys (our business schools) into agony and many are broken down with carrying their logic around this mountain:

The legacy we have from the Roosevelt era of minimum wages and maximum hours, of unemployment insurance and social security are no doubt factors to keep in mind, but from the angle that the annual rate of failures overwhelmingly involves the relatively small concerns in our economy, may we ask if the Robinson-Patman Act has played a part in this phenomenal postwar data? The act was adopted in June 1936, but its application and enforcement was slow in getting underway, due to prolonged investigations and court trials (the Great A. & P. Tea Co. case was in the legal hopper for 16 years). Some large violators tried to ignore it up to as recent as 1949—till a few triple-damage suits brought them to heel. Assuming that the years 1936 through 1941 were the shadow-boxing years so far as the act was concerned, and leaving out the war years when antitrust procedures were virtually nil, if we take the years of actual enforcement, namely, 1946 through 1951, we find the average of failures per 10,000 concerns slipped to the amazing low of 23 as stated above. The truth is, speaking for our own industry, that more canning plants shut down than the data reveals. Examples: By 1949 General Foods had discontinued canning in 20 to 25 of their plants scattered from coast to coast, and at this writing they are closing some of their freezing plants. Around 1949 Stokley closed a number of plants, etc. These failures do not show up in the Dun & Bradstreet data, as the parent companies remained in business. Such closings have occurred in other lines owned and operated by big busi-

ness. An official of one of the big food companies informed me they quit canning, as they could not compete against smaller and more efficient operators. So much for the folklore that big business is more efficient. Of course, the TNEC findings in the late 1930's disproved this, but it took the Robinson-Patman Act to convince the business world of the fact. Under pre-Robinson-Patman conditions these big competitors would have romped along on big rebates from their suppliers, and the rate of failures among the small would have again climbed to new peaks. That the big could not compete and that the small outcompeted them, where both bought their supplies on the same basis, can be traced directly to the act.

It therefore is not surprising that there is an unholy alliance between big suppliers and big users to weaken or destroy the Robinson-Patman Act. The fact that up to the present our small-business economy remains the healthiest in many, many decades, has given birth to the theory that the act encourages soft competion. If soft, then why are some big operators taking a beating? To the contrary it is hard competition from the small and more efficient that is winning out—and it is a situation we have never before witnessed in the 41 years we have been in business. The act has disproved practically all the old wives' tales handed down from the mustache-cup and high-button-shoe crowd.

No matter what one's politics or social status, one cannot dispute the Dun & Bradstreet data. Unfortunately there are guiders and advisers to the new administration who refuse to look at the record. The same with some of our business schools who turn out Arrow-collar slaves for big business. Attempts to destroy the Robinson-Patman Act will lead us back to that ignominious Republican era (1921 through 1932) of bleeding the small to fatten the big. Efficiency will then have no part in one's survival. Nor will fair competition. Rebates will keep the big and inefficient going, and will lead to further concentration of corporate wealth. Under threats of atomic bombing we should measure this well—for the American people might decide it not worth their lives to protect the loot.

Sincerely yours,

SALTER CANNING CO.
L. J. SALTER, *President.*

North Dakota Businessmen and Farmers Join in Fight for 100 Percent Parity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am proud to include this resolution on parity which was prepared by the members of the Civic Club at Strasburg, N. Dak.:

STRASBURG CIVIC CLUB,
Strasburg, N. Dak., March 18, 1954.
Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At the last regular meeting of the Strasburg Civic Club held on March 16, 1954, the Strasburg Civic Club, consisting of local businessmen and farmers, adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That we go on record condemning any effort on the part of any Congressman, the Department of Agriculture, or any agency for attempting to disrupt the present farm stabilization program, affecting all basic farm commodities.

"We further resolve that Congress shall not only maintain 90 percent of parity, but shall endeavor to establish 100 percent of parity for basic farm commodities. We do not favor any tendency toward flexibility of price support, but urge Congress to maintain a production control program which is essential in order to have stabilized price support.

"We further resolve to condemn any form of prosperity on war and bloodshed, but favor a genuinely sane and sound economic program, particularly for the producer, which shall be based on industry, security, and individual initiative.

"We further urge all business groups in other cities of this State as well as those of other agricultural States to go on record favoring similar resolutions."

Respectfully submitted.

THE STRASBURG CIVIC CLUB,
E. O. BOEB, *President.*
J. M. KLEIN, *Secretary.*

Judicial Review of the Decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENNETH B. KEATING
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter which has just been received from the Albany County, N. Y., veterans' service officer, with reference to H. R. 8515, which I introduced on March 23, 1954, to permit judicial review of decisions of the Administrator of Veterans' Appeals.

The letter follows:

ALBANY COUNTY VETERANS'
SERVICE OFFICER,
Albany, N. Y., March 26, 1954.
Hon. KENNETH B. KEATING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEATING: At the outset kindly be advised that we read with deep satisfaction in our Albany Times Union of March 24, 1954, as follows:

"Vet appeal bill introduced by Representative KEATING."

It is our very strong and sincere opinion, Congressman KEATING, that your bill (H. R. 8515) is a very timely and worthy piece of legislation, which, if enacted into law, and we sincerely hope that it will be, both compensation and pension benefits will then be awarded to those combat as well as noncombat claims who meritoriously should be on the rolls of the Veterans' Administration under existing law, and it will also at long last grant to all men and women who were so willing to lay down their lives on the bloody field of battle for our country in times of national danger, the very same constitutional rights that are now granted to all others under the law.

As you so truly stated and pointed out, those said decisions handed down by the Board of Veterans' Appeals that have at some time or other shocked each and every Member of the Congress, no doubt were handed down in good faith, but, nevertheless, these very same erroneous and unfair decisions have up to now, and will continue in the future, to impose grave injustices as well as unnecessary hardships upon the veteran and his dependents if your said bill does not receive favorable action by the Congress.

We take it upon ourselves at this time to say to you that we do humbly believe from our own experience in this line of endeavor that each and every serviceman and woman throughout this great land will be ever grateful to you, Congressman KEATING, for your very kind and considerate efforts in their behalf.

Do be assured that we are sincerely and deeply grateful to you for your very kind and considerate efforts on behalf of the veterans of all our wars and their dependents.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE J. PICKETT,
Albany County Veterans' Service Officer.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Monday, March 22, 1954, edition of the Independence Examiner, Independence, Mo.:

DULLES' STATURE GROWS

As time passes it becomes more and more evident that Secretary of State Dulles is not to be underestimated. His performance at the Inter-American Conference in Caracas, like that at the Berlin meeting, was highly creditable.

For a time after Dulles took office, it was fashionable in some quarters to picture him as a bumbler who had by some accident acquired a reputation as a foreign affairs expert. Frequent predictions were heard that he would be the first in President Eisenhower's Cabinet to feel the ax.

But by slow, plodding, and usually unspectacular stages, Dulles has managed to alter this impression among most of his critics. This includes many of the foreign ones, who were particularly vocal.

At Caracas the Secretary won almost unanimous support among Latin American nations for his resolution calling for a firm front against Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere. The lone dissenter was Guatemala, whose Government is rated extreme leftist.

Beyond this, Dulles acted to put relations with Latin America on a more cordial footing than they have been for years. He promised that the United States would consult with South and Central American governments on their economic problems.

During the postwar period, the United States has been concentrating on building up Western Europe and trying to rescue beleaguered Asia, but has not given its hemispheric friends much attention. The good-neighbor policy has languished.

They have naturally been somewhat unhappy. Most of the time these nations support us almost solidly in the United Nations. We do not want to buy this support, and they should not want to sell it.

But a policy which ignored the economic health of our Latin American neighbors—some of them quite near—would appear to be shortsighted, to say the least.

The test will come, of course, when we see what follows from the proposed economic conference. But Dulles has made a fine beginning in a neglected area.

Fear on the Campus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Fear on the Campus," which appears in the April issue of Redbook magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEAR ON THE CAMPUS

(By André Fontaine)

Many college students today are frightened. They are afraid to support unpopular causes, even when they believe in them; they are afraid to criticize our political and economic ways or try to improve them; they are afraid to ask too many questions about controversial subjects. In short, they are growing increasingly afraid to think for themselves.

Why? Because irresponsible investigators, hysterical community leaders, and other self-appointed thought police are swiftly and surely creating a climate of suppression and suspicion and fear on many of our college campuses.

This may sound like an exaggeration. But it is a conclusion I have reached after an intensive survey of colleges and universities across the country. Although I talked to professors and college officials, most of my time was spent with the students themselves, and it was the students who gave me the facts about this dangerous new atmosphere in our colleges.

Here is what some of them told me:

Jack Cookson, a law student at Ohio State University: "It seems to me that you go to college to think. If people are afraid to think until they get the word from some Government committee that it's O. K.—and many are today—you might as well close up the colleges."

Ed Eigel, editor of the student newspaper at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "Students today don't feel that they're free to sample every idea as they used to."

Howard Willens, past president of the University of Michigan's student legislature: "Today a student goes out of college with a textbook adherence to the United States system, instead of having considered other systems and found ours best. In a healthy democracy, everybody ought to be politically active. But I think today's students will avoid any political activity when they get out. Why shouldn't they? They're taught to withdraw from it in college."

Barbara Jettinghoff, editor of the Lantern at Ohio State University: "Communism is a touch-me-not subject for both professors and students. As a result, students don't know enough about it—and it's very important for our generation to know all about communism so that we can combat it intelligently."

Why are students so frightened? Dean Carl W. Ackerman, of the Columbia University School of Journalism, provides part of the answer: "Before or after graduation a student must look for a job. He knows all employers now investigate before hiring. * * * Students know also that Federal agencies investigate. * * * They interview professors, public-school teachers, references, and follow up leads like prosecuting attorneys. In practice, students are tried secretly without their knowledge and without an opportunity of explaining their records.

College campuses today are alive with rumors of students who have been denied jobs or commissions in the Armed Forces because of some organization they joined or contributed to, or some meeting they attended. Even if some of the stories are exaggerated or untrue, the fact that students repeat them is evidence of how much they worry about and fear the prospect of being investigated. And many of the stories are true.

At Wesleyan University in Connecticut, Harvey Lerner, president of the student body, told me, "I have a friend who went to Czechoslovakia in 1951 to attend an international student conference that included representatives of many countries, including some from behind the Iron Curtain. My friend heard the Commies spout off and he didn't have any trouble seeing through their propaganda—or answering it. He said that he had learned a lot about the kind of tricks they use.

"But later he was denied a commission in the Air Force because he had attended that conference."

At Yale, a student said, "I know a man who's personnel manager for a firm here in New Haven. Recently, he received a company investigator's report on a man he wanted to hire as a foreman. The report said the man was a Communist. The personnel manager didn't believe it, so he checked for himself. He found that the applicant had strong feelings about racial discrimination and several times had entertained Negroes at his home. His neighbors decided that this made him a Communist."

The student paused a moment. "I don't know," he said. "Things like that make you wonder how good some of these investigators are—and what kind of man it will be who checks on you. So you're awfully careful about what you do."

In many places, students are under suspicion if they only listen to someone who is suspected of being subversive. At the University of Michigan, for example, an investigator of the State police is assigned to check up on student activities. At every meeting of a liberal or leftist organization, he takes down names of students who attend. He notes the license numbers of cars parked around the hall, checks them with the motor vehicle bureau, and records the owners' names.

At one off-campus meeting in Ann Arbor, the State police actually took pictures. "It made me feel funny," a member of the student newspaper staff told me, "to see my face with a big number on it, then turn the picture over and see my name and the notation that I was a reporter and therefore O. K."

The situation was summed up by Ernest Rubenstein, a Princeton graduate and later editor of the Yale Law School Journal: "It's a sort of pervasive fear that you have—that you have to watch your step. It's hard to list the direct effects."

Direct or not, the effects are being felt by our 2,250,000 college students. And if this dangerous trend continues, they will be felt by every man, woman, and child in America.

This danger was underscored earlier this year by New York's Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at the opening of Columbia University's 200th anniversary celebration, which—significantly enough—has been dedicated to "man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof."

"This is an occasion," Governor Dewey said, "to rededicate ourselves to the preservation of freedom to change. This implies freedom of thought, then freedom of debate, then freedom to act * * *. Change is the law of life, and when change is prevented by force or suppression, the power of the movement for change builds up into counterforce. This is the history of all absolute government.

"By contrast, our constitutional guaranties have saved us the precious right to make mistakes and rectify them, to preserve the good while building the better, to change for the better and still have freedom to change again."

It is this freedom to change and improve that is in danger on our college campuses. This means not only change in government but in every vital aspect of our daily lives—our health, our homes, our jobs, our household appliances. For if young people today are too frightened to be dissatisfied with what we have, we have little chance of getting anything better. If Henry Ford hadn't been dissatisfied with slow, expensive handbuilding, we would never have attained our present mass production of automobiles. If bold, imaginative people hadn't been dissatisfied with the political ideas of 50 years ago, we would never have achieved social security, workmen's compensation, and women's suffrage.

But if college students are too frightened to criticize or ask questions or examine our present ideas too closely, then we are in serious danger of losing this precious "freedom to change."

How deep does this fear go? Here's what a class officer at Ohio State University told me:

"I know Redbook's reputation is good and that you personally have been given clearance by the University authorities. But even so, I'm worried about this interview. And yet I know that I have nothing to fear—except fear.

"I haven't joined anything that's doubtful. There's one organization on the campus that I'm very much interested in; it's trying to fight racial discrimination, and I'd like to help. But two or three members are leftists, so I can't join. I'm going to try for a Government job, and I don't want to have to explain why I joined."

Sometimes their fear holds students back from activities that have nothing to do with politics at all, but only with simple decency. Harland Randolph, president of Ohio State's senior class, told me how.

"There was a student here," Randolph said, "who had to leave because his family had no more money. Some of us wanted to start an organization to help him and other needy students. But when we got to talking about it, we realized that it was just the kind of cause that left-wingers would join—and we didn't see how we could keep them out. So we didn't form the group.

"Last year one of our instructors was fired after being investigated by the State un-American activities committee. He was broke, and his wife was about to have a baby. One girl I know wanted to give them some money to help out. She said that no matter what their politics, they were still people in trouble. But the girl didn't do it. She said that she was afraid she would be investigated."

To those of us outside the colleges, these students may sound unnecessarily panicky. But colleges and universities are traditionally among the institutions most sensitive to threats to freedom. And it would be foolhardy for thoughtful Americans to minimize the importance of these warning signs.

At a west coast college, for example, I talked to a professor who had taught in a German university during the early days of Hitlerism, had escaped, and had subsequently made a heroic record with the American Army. "It simply is not safe any more to express your views on controversial subjects in this country," he said. "If you use anything I say, please don't quote me. I have a family to think of."

Then he added quickly, in a shocked tone, "Good Lord! That's the same argument I used to hear in Germany from many good people who said they couldn't 'afford' to resist Hitler!"

The extent to which the freedom of students to explore unpopular ideas is being limited varies, of course, from campus to

campus. Great, wealthy institutions like Harvard and Yale can resist more pressure than can State universities, where administrators have to be more responsive to politicians, or small colleges, where local bigwigs or individual contributors to the endowment fund are likely to carry more weight. Yet even at Harvard, a recent poll of students showed that 60 percent believe congressional investigations are harming education.

In many colleges, my survey showed, courses on what communism is and how it works have been quietly dropped—even though all colleges work on the principle best expressed by Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of the City College of New York: "We don't each communism. We teach our students about communism."

Even on many campuses where courses about the nature of our worst enemy are still being taught, they have been watered down. Contra Costa Junior College in California has a Great Books course, in which students read a group of the world's most influential books and then discuss the ideas in them. One of these books is Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto. When a member of the board of trustees demanded that the book be removed from the list, the other board members objected; and newspapers like the San Francisco Chronicle backed them up. Although the book was kept on the list, the trustees decided to take tape recordings of what the students said about it and keep them for future reference. It's not hard to see how this has cut down freedom of discussion.

At Ohio State University, Jack Cookson, who is a member of the Student Senate, said, "I was disappointed in my political-science courses because there were no debates. No students got up to argue—whether they believed it or not—that a socialist system is better than ours. I can't argue the superiority of our own system unless there's an opposing argument to tear down."

President Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y., puts it this way: "If education is conceived as a means of telling students what to think and * * * then making sure they think it, this is the most un-American activity of all."

Perhaps what happened at the University of Michigan last year is the most dramatic proof of the fear that is spreading over American campuses. Anne Plumton, a member of the student legislature, told me about it:

"Some students were circulating a petition. I read it, and it sounded like something I would want to sign. But a group of students told me that a pretty liberal group was sponsoring it and that I'd better not sign. So I didn't.

"Later I got to thinking about it, and I got awful mad at myself for being afraid. So that afternoon I signed it."

The petition was the Declaration of Independence.

One of the saddest aspects of all this pressure on college students is that it's unnecessary. Most college students today seem to be politically conservative. On every campus I visited, an election was held before the 1952 presidential voting. Eisenhower won them all, hands down.

Furthermore, the students have demonstrated that they are well able to handle any Communist threat that may appear on campus. Last year, Zander Hollander wrote a series of five articles in the Michigan Daily on Communist-front groups in Ann Arbor. He spent 9 months on the investigation, named names, traced individuals and lines of affiliation to the State capital and even to Washington, D. C. The series was an outstanding journalistic job—factual, unhysterical and a complete expose of Communist-front activity on the campus.

Ironically, a few months later, Zander Hollander was one of a group of college editors whom the Russians allowed to enter their country. He came back with an even stronger faith in America, a greater determination to oppose communism, a vivid demonstration of how our college youth can think for themselves if we let them.

Perhaps even more significant was what happened not long ago at the University of Wisconsin. The Labor Youth League, which is generally regarded as a Communist-front organization, invited Abner Berry, an editor of the New York Daily Worker, to speak on campus. Immediately a group of newspapers and politicians started raising the roof. State Senator Gordon A. Bubolz threatened an investigation of the college. The Seymour Press, among other newspapers, wired the university to stop Berry from speaking.

The university refused. Berry arrived, made his speech to a few hundred students, and left. The student newspaper reported what happened:

"No better proof can be offered * * * as to the 'American' intentions of students than the treatment afforded Berry. The crowd was highly partisan, and they planned on doing much heckling. But the minute Berry started to speak the meeting became an outstanding example of democracy in action.

"Whenever a heckler attempted to rattle the speaker the crowd shouted, 'Be quiet—let him speak.' All heckling was done in a good-natured fashion, with students laughing and taking issue with the comments as he presented them. * * *

"Those who attended learned something. The questions asked the speaker showed intelligence and a realization of the Communist threat. The results of the student questioning brought out the faulty logic used by the speaker almost immediately. * * * The appearance of Berry, or any of his party, shows forcibly that free discussion and not suppression is the more effective answer to communism."

After the meeting the Seymour Press—which had opposed it—wrote another editorial praising the students and saying that their actions "certainly restored our faith in American youth."

Senator Bubolz got some rough editorial treatment, especially from the Madison Capital Times. "The university," it said, "deserves a pat on the back for not backing down before the huffing and puffing of Bubolz. And the students displayed a lot more sense and confidence in the American way than some of our muddle-headed, headline-happy politicians did."

Robert Neary, a member of the student legislature at Michigan, had the last and best word:

"We can beat the radicals—in the sunlight."

The Import of Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Weston Democrat, Weston, W. Va., Friday, March 26, 1954, showing the serious threat to the American markets by the importation of foreign glassware and pottery.

The editorial follows:

THE IMPORT OF IMPORTS

Of vital concern to Lewis County is the recent preliminary reports on 1953 imports prepared by the United States Tariff Commission. It reveals that imports of glassware in 1953 reached its highest mark—$5,704,000 worth.

These products were sold on the United States wholesale market for approximately $14,250,000 and it is estimated that $12,825,000 of this total was hand-blown ware. This equals 45 percent of the total United States consumption of this ware.

The irony of the situation is that included among the 17 foreign countries importing table and art glassware are many either behind the Iron Curtain or subject to the control of the Soviet Union.

Money derived from the exploitation of American markets, in other words, may someday be hurled against us in the form of bombs.

The foreign value in thousands of dollars for 1953 was as follows:

Germany, 1,070; Sweden, 678; Japan, 641; United Kingdom, 541; Italy, 520; France, 413; Austria, 408; Canada, 266; Netherlands, 207; Belgium, 142; Portugal, 137; Yugoslavia, 77; Hungary, 62; Finland, 52; Denmark, 46; Poland, 42; Czechoslovakia, 37; all others, 68. The total of $5,407,000 is the highest yet. In 1950 it was $3,454,000.

Cheaper labor, and in some countries labor that is tantamount to slave labor, has a direct and adverse effect on the glassworkers in the Lewis County factories.

Although almost everyone is in agreement that you can't build an unsurmountable tariff wall around this country and expect to keep a healthy export and import balance, nevertheless, American industry should be protected against excessive imports of cheap products.

The most logical solution is one for which Congressman CLEVELAND M. BAILEY has long been fighting—that of including a peril-point clause in tariff agreements that encompass small industries affected by foreign competition.

Under this plan certain small industries, including glass, china, watchmaking, and others, would be protected by a peril point, a point at which imports seriously threaten the local enterprise. When this situation is reached, imports would be stopped.

All Lewis countians are affected by this flood of foreign competition. Ther Congressman has long gone against his administration in advocating escape clauses in the reciprocal trade agreements.

Joint Resolutions of California Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith three joint resolutions adopted by the California Legislature:

Assembly Joint Resolution 1

Joint resolution relative to increasing the pay of the armed services

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Legislature of the State of California that the pay of the officers and enlisted personnel of the armed services of the United States of America is far behind the

present cost of living and has lagged behind the pay of other groups of Government employees; and

Whereas a significant portion of the population of the Nation and of this State is service connected and great hardship is being caused to the individuals concerned and their families and to the communities in which they reside by the existing pay status; and

Whereas the Legislature of the State of California has been informed that legislation has been introduced in Congress, in the form of H. R. 1437, to adjust the pay of the Armed Forces of the United States and that an increase has been recommended by the Department of Defense: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress and the President of the United States are hereby urged and memorialized to enact legislation which will eliminate the great inequities in the pay and benefits provided for the personnel of the armed services of the United States of America, which inequities directly affect the morale and efficiency of the armed services and place great hardship upon a large number of families thoughout the Nation; and that special attention be given to legislation increasing the pay of the armed services and protecting such other and further benefits as are extended to such persons; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be and he is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Assembly Joint Resolution 2

Joint resolution relative to using money collected by Federal gasoline, diesel fuel, and lubricating oil taxes upon Federal-aid primary highway systems

Whereas the Federal Government imposes a 6-cent ($0.06) a gallon tax on lubricating oil, and a tax on gasoline and diesel fuel sold by the producer or importer thereof, which at the present amounts to 2 cents ($0.02) a gallon and effective April 1, 1954, will amount to 1½ cents ($0.015) a gallon; and

Whereas the ultimate burden of paying such taxes is on those who operate motor vehicles over the Nation's highways and who use lubricating oil to lubricate machinery; and

Whereas it is only just and equitable that the revenue derived from such taxes be used primarily for the benefit of those who make them possible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to amend the Federal gasoline, diesel fuel, and lubricating oil tax acts so that all revenues collected thereunder shall be used solely for the construction, improvement, repair, and maintenance of Federal-aid highway systems throughout the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Assembly Joint Resolution 4

Joint resolution relative to closing the United States-Mexico border to unescorted minors

Whereas citizens of the United States are permitted to visit and return from many towns across the Mexican border without restriction; and

Whereas a congressional committee has reported information that many minors are visiting these towns for the sole purpose of obtaining drugs, including marijuana and heroin; and

Whereas the increased use of narcotics by minors is becoming a serious problem in the United States; and

Whereas recently more and more sinister crimes have been committed by minors while under the influence of narcotics; and

Whereas restrictions on narcotic drugs under laws of the United States are of little force and effect if minors have free access to the drugs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the State Department to take such measures as may be necessary to close the United States-Mexico border to all minors who are not accompanied by adults; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly is directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and to the Secretary of State of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from California.

Editorial Comment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Monday, March 22, 1954, edition of the Daily Star-Journal, Warrensburg, Mo.:

POLITICAL COURAGE

If further cuts in taxes were feasible at this time no one would be more pleased than President Eisenhower. This is an election year and he naturally wants to see enough members of his party elected to Congress to assure him of support for his program. One of the surest ways for him to help the cause of his party's candidates would be to come out in favor of sweeping tax reductions.

Despite this the President has found it necessary to state his firm opposition to further cuts in taxes at this time. He has thrown his weight against the idea proposed by Democrats in Congress to raise the amount of personal exemption for income-tax payers. This puts a number of members of his party who will be seeking reelection in the unenviable position of having to follow the President's leadership and vote against reductions or to break with the President and collaborate with the opposition party against his expressed disapproval.

Our defense effort and our domestic programs do cost money. It is possible to reduce the amount of money spent for these things to a certain extent. But there is a limit to how sharp these cuts can be at this time if we wish to retain our national health and security.

If taxes are cut and spending cannot be cut proportionately the national debt increases and a balanced budget becomes more and more of an impossibility. Perhaps it is better to pay taxes at the rate we are paying now than to go further into debt. The President displays political courage in saying so.

A Letter to President Syngman Rhee and a Letter to a Discouraged Air Force Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I have here two letters written by Capt. Eugene R. Guild, United States Army, retired, who is national director of Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men, and under unanimous consent, I include them in the RECORD. The slogan of the organization is "Our Sons Backed America—Will America Back Our Sons?" What is our answer?

The letters follow:

OUR SONS BACKED AMERICA—WILL AMERICA BACK OUR SONS?

MARCH 10, 1954.

President SYNGMAN RHEE,
Kyung Mu Dai, Seoul, Korea.

DEAR PRESIDENT RHEE: The United Press has spread the five-point anti-Communist program, contained in your letter to me, all over the country, as you can see from the Rocky Mountain News clipping attached.

Some of us will try to implement this program, but you must understand that America has yet to lose its liberty, as you in Korea did, and therefore it does not treasure it as do you.

In fighting Communists, one President tied the hands of our fighting sons in Korea, while another President now ties our hands in America. He has decreed, with the support of Republican and Democratic leaders, the press, and radio, that Communists in Government shall not be an issue. Whoever violates that decree gets smeared.

To object to pro-Red books in tax-supported libraries is "book burning," to expose a Communist in the State or Treasury Department is "unfair," to dig out Communists among the clergy is to slander all men of God, to allow the Army to be questioned about Communists in its ranks is "the first surrender of the United States Army in history." No one seems to remember, however, that the first defeat of the United States Army in history was engineered for it at Panmunjom.

So great is the fear of Russian reprisal that when mothers cry out for their captive sons in Korea they are asked by Washington, "What do you want us to do, risk war to free your sons?"

Yes, some of us will try to implement your five-point plan, but I fear that the majority of the people, dulled by their pleasures, will still be sitting at their TV sets when the first Communist gun butts crash through their front doors.

Most sincerely,

EUGENE R. GUILD,
Captain, United States Army, Retired; Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men, Glenwood Springs, Colo.

OUR SONS BACKED AMERICA—WILL AMERICA BACK OUR SONS?

LETTER TO A DISCOURAGED AIR FORCE WIFE

GLENWOOD SPRINGS, COLO.

Your husband, presumed to be dead, is one of the 176 airmen of the POW–hostage group determined or presumed to be dead, but I repeat, that unless the Government has furnished you proof of death, your hope

that he lives is exactly as justifiable now as it was before you received the notice. Political expediency determines your man's status now, just as it did when it tied his hands as he faced the enemy in Korea.

Lieutenant Colonel Heller's photo in a Communist hospital was identified by his kinfolk and by the Reds. He has not been repatriated, reported dead, determined to be dead, nor presumed to be dead. Yet, despite all the indisputable evidence of his capture, he has been removed from the captive POW–hostage list and, with 166 other living Air Force captives, hidden among the 2,000 missing on whom there was never any evidence of capture. The existence of a list of hostages held in violation of the truce might embarrass the politicians at the coming Geneva Conference.

Your case is more favorable than that of others—your man bailed out; signals from the ground followed; the Red radio reported his capture. You have no reason not to keep on fighting for your man, nor have the others whose cases are more circumstantial.

I am ashamed of the women who have let their men down simply because those men's commander in chief won't fight for them. The living among them need the wives and mothers of all of them to fight on, just so long as there is evidence that any American men are still held slaves by the Reds.

I am proud of that minority of about one-quarter of the women who still fight on for their airmen, their GI's, and their Marines—and who fight all the harder when they get a "presumed dead" notice or find out that their husband's records are now concealed among the missing. Their men can be proud of them, too—whether they are in Red stockades or Valhalla. They have courage—the same courage their men had against the enemy.

And I am also proud of, and salute, the women whose men have been proved dead or who have been actually sent home in caskets, but who fight valiantly on for their men's gallant companions. There are several of these with us—a fighting mother in San Antonio who carries on in memory of her son in Arlington. There are others, too.

And there are those American women who have suffered no loss in the war or who have had no men in the war at all, but who are fighting just as hard for these captive GI's as if they were their own—a women in Cedar Rapids; another in West Chicago; still another in Eugene, Ore.; and there's the one in Golden, Colo., who despite the ravages of a terrible illness, fights on with us. And there are many, many more.

With such women fighting beside you for your man, you can be of good heart.

Sincerely,

EUGENE R. GUILD,
Captain, United States Army, Retired, Fighting Homefolks of Fighting Men, National Director.

Retaliation and the Act of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial which appeared on March 17, 1954, in the Bakersfield Californian:

RETALIATION AND THE ACT OF WAR

President Eisenhower's assurance last week that the United States will not be plunged into war by his administration without the consent of Congress has pleased a great many people but others, reading of the New Look of our defensive posture and knowing the terrible swiftness of modern devastation, have been slightly worried about this.

So, apparently, have those who have entered with us in defensive agreements, who wonder how long they must endure an onslaught before the American Congress decides that the matter deserves our warlike attention.

Others, musing upon the apparent ease with which would-be assassins entered the House of Representatives and shot down five legislators, have idly mentioned their fear that a minion or minions of a foreign power might enter the House or Senate with an atomic infernal machine and the resultant explosion would make it impossible even to muster enough Congressmen to introduce a resolution calling for a declaration of war, let alone approve it.

Our stress on instant retaliation, a theme that runs through our defense preparations, implies that an attack will bring a swift retaliatory strike, and Secretary Dulles points out that this protection extends even to our North Atlantic Treaty partners, so that an attack on London or Paris will trigger our retaliatory move.

Since we have bases throughout the world, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Europe, Greenland, the Pacific isles, the Caribbean, and we are sending American Air Force and Army men into troubled zones such as Indochina, this doctrine of retaliation becomes a matter that looms larger and larger in the consideration of those things that divide a nation from a war state. They wonder how it is linked with the constitutional principle supported by President Eisenhower last week.

Secretary Dulles pointed out an important aspect of the new policy that may offer some help. The new theory of deterring new Soviet aggression by building up massive power of retaliation in the United States has its key in the uncertainty as to where, how, and when the United States would retaliate.

Mr. Dulles made this explanation at the news conference he held yesterday, in reference, apparently to a speech by Lester Pearson, Canadian Foreign Minister, who said that his own country and others in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization expect to be consulted before the United States went into any instant retaliation against any foe that might break the cold war into open conflict.

And some may believe that there could be no uncertainty as to where and when the United States may begin its retaliation; to be effective, it would have to be against the enemy and immediately after aggression. The New Look in our defense arrangements seeks to remove the third uncertainty, however. We will, according to administration spokesmen, strike swiftly and terribly with devastating weapons. What happens from there on out will be war, apparently, and it will be time for Congress to take care of the legal arrangements, if the attack does not fall on Washington, and there are Congressmen around to do it.

The Indians of California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the following is a copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of County Supervisors of San Diego County, Calif., concerning S. 2749 and H. R. 7332, now before Congress. A part of this resolution was inserted in the record under date of March 17, but through mistake it did not all appear.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OPPOSING THE ADOPTION OF THE EMMONS BILL

On motion of Supervisor Bird, seconded by Supervisor Rossi, the following resolution is adopted:

"Whereas the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has proposed and introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill commonly known as the Emmons bill (S. 2749), which bill provides for the termination of Federal supervision over trust and restricted property of individual and tribal Indians residing within the boundaries of the State of California; and

"Whereas this said bill will control and direct the disposition of trust and restricted Indian property within the boundaries of the county of San Diego; and

"Whereas the county of San Diego has a direct interest in the welfare and protection of the Indian inhabitants within the county who reside upon such trust or restricted lands and in the termination of Federal supervision over the 19 Indian reservations located within the boundaries of the county of San Diego; and

"Whereas the majority of the Indians residing within the county of San Diego are opposed to the Emmons bill in its present form; and

"Whereas, the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego has familiarized itself with the contents of this bill: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved:

"1. The county of San Diego opposes the adoption of the Emmons bill in its present form for the following reasons:

"(a) The cost of administering the program set forth in the bill is made chargeable against those sums held by the United States Government in the Treasury of the United States on behalf of the Mission Indians and thus in conjunction with previous offsets made against these sums the Indians are unjustly being denied moneys that were awarded to them by judgment against the United States of America for failure on behalf of the Government to perform the terms set forth in the treaties made between the various Indian tribes of the Mission group of the United States of America.

"(b) Section 6, subsection (d) of this act authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Interior to sell such lands as are determined to be held in trust for the California Indians. As the majority of Indian lands located within the county of San Diego are held in trust this would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell the property without the consent of the Indians.

"(c) The bill fails to recognize or properly define the distinction between tribes and bands that live on individual reservations and in the absence of such clarification the provisions for methods of property distribution as set forth in the bill are unworkable.

"(d) No provisions are made to bring the housing or sanitary conditions of the reservations up to the standards required by the State of California or its political subdivisions nor are any provisions made to aid the Indian in becoming self-sustaining in order that he will not immediately lose his property at the end of the tax exemption period.

"2. The county of San Diego recommends that the Congress appoint an advisory committee in each county of the State of California containing a substantial number of Indian reservations, said advisory committee to be composed of a representative of the particular county and of the State of California, the Government of the United States,

the Indians of the tribes concerned and a limited number of interested private citizens. The committee would survey the needs of each particular reservation within the county and would ascertain the desires of the Indians residing on said reservation and report within a reasonable time to Congress its recommendations for the termination of Federal supervision as to distribution of the reservation property.

"3. The clerk of the board of supervisors is directed to distribute a copy of this resolution to the Representatives in Congress from the San Diego area, the Secretary of the Interior, members of the appropriate Senate and House committees, and the Senators from the State of California."

Passed and adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Diego, State of California, this 23d day of February 1954, by the following votes:

Ayes: Supervisors Gibson, Bird, Robbins, and Rossi.

Noes: Supervisors, none.

Absent: Supervisor Howell.

Tax Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following three letters which appeared in the New York Times:

TAX PROPOSAL QUERIED—ADMINISTRATION PLAN FOR DIVIDEND INCOME SAID TO FAVOR WEALTHY

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I have just heard President Eisenhower's tax talk. Unfortunately, he was not forthright in discussing the adminitration's proposal to give preferred treatment to one kind of personal income—namely, income from dividends received from corporations.

Instead of recommending a reduction in the double taxation of corporate profits by reducing the flat-rate corporate profits, the Administration, in effect, proposes to exempt from taxation a significant part of a particular kind of personal income, which is subject to the progressive rates based on personal ability to pay.

The result would be that personal income from one type of security holdings would get highly favored treatment over income from other types of security and property income, such as interest, rent and profits from farms and unincorporated businesses.

Such favoritism for dividend receipts would mean taxing "earned" income from wages, salaries, and professional fees much more heavily than dividend income. The administration's proposal represents a tax bonanza for the wealthy.

An example will indicate the unfair results. Under the propsal to take effect in July 1955, which permits one's calculated income tax to be reduced by a sum equal to 10 percent of all dividend income, a man with three dependents and a personal income of $12,000 a year, all from dividends, would have a tax of only about $900, whereas his neighbors with the same size of family and exactly the same income but received from wages, salaries, or professional fees, would pay about $2,100 in Federal income tax, or more than twice as much.

The revenue loss from this sort of dividend exemption is apparently estimated at $240 million in the fiscal year starting next July and at $640 million a year the following year.

It would be much more equitable to have such revenue losses take the form of equivalent reductions in corporate income taxes or in personal income taxes for the benefit of all personal income taxpayers. I firmly believe that, even though I personally would gain much more tax relief from the dividend exemption proposal than from either of the suggested alternatives.

RICHARD A. LESTER,
Professor of Economics, Princeton University.

PRINCETON, N. J., *March 15, 1954.*

TAX POLICY DISCUSSED—REDUCTIONS IN EXCISES FAVORED OVER CHANGE IN EXEMPTIONS

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

A word on tax policy, centering on the objections to raising income-tax exemptions:

The general wish for lower taxes is a healthy one. Heavy Federal taxation is a bad thing in itself, acceptable only to avert the greater evil of inflation.

Whether or not the present level of unemployment presages a serious depression, it is serious enough to make it prudent for policy to err on the inflationary rather than the deflationary side. Tax cuts on the scale now being discussed in Washington could scarcely generate inflation in 1954 or early 1955. Letting weakness of consumer markets accentuate the downswing we have been experiencing could do major damage.

If tax cuts are to be made with the aim of arresting the downswing, it is important that they take effect as soon as possible. For this purpose immediate reductions in excises and in the income-tax withholding rates are more appropriate than income-tax credits, which would not have their main impact before next year. It is fruitless if not dangerous to attempt to provide now for tax cuts to take effect at some later date, since by then conditions may have improved to the point where the cuts would contribute to inflation.

If, as we all hope, the recession can be promptly overcome, then toward the middle of 1955 we may again face inflationary pressures. If so, increased taxes will be needed. To raise exemptions—and especially to provide now for a further increase in January 1955, as has been proposed in Congress—would make it very hard to bring revenue up again.

PRIORITY TO CUTS

Insofar as we can afford permanent tax concessions this year, priority goes to reducing excises and eliminating "nuisance taxes." These taxes seriously impair the efficiency of our economy. Cutting excises, incidentally, spells tax relief for the unemployed and for others who will not gain much from income-tax reduction.

The case for further tax cuts in 1954 rests on a presumably temporary need to ward off a further decline of production and employment. Accordingly, the appropriate form for any change in personal-income tax is a temporary abatement—either by a percentage of net income or a stated dollar amount per person—in the amount of tax otherwise due. Corresponding adjustments would of course be made in the withholding of income tax at source. Regular rates would go back into force at the end of a stated period, unless circumstances justified new legislation to prolong the abatement. A suitable expiry date, giving time for the incoming Congress to survey the situation in early 1955, would be March 31, 1955.

ALBERT GAILORD HART.
WILLIAM S. VICKREY,

NEW YORK, *March 18, 1954.*

(The writers of the above letter are members of the department of economics at Columbia University.)

TAXING STOCKHOLDERS — DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF WAGE EARNER UNDER PROPOSED BILL DENIED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Richard A. Lester, professor of economics, Princeton University, in a recent letter condemns the administration's proposed tax relief for dividends.

A full statement of the facts should emphasize that when a stockholder after July 1955 deducts from his tax 10 percent of his dividends he will still be paying a rate which for the highest bracket runs over 75 percent on this income whose source has already been taxed at 52 percent under the corporation-income levy. It seems to me that this reverses Professor Lester's statement that wages and salaries will be taxed "much more heavily than dividend income."

To use his example a person with 3 dependents and a dividend income of $12,000 might have received $25,000 were corporate income not taxed (except insofar as corporations would lower prices if relieved of the tax). Furthermore, the corporation rate was only 38 percent before the Korean war and is not benefiting from the current relief going to individual taxpayers. The 14-percent increase alone would come to $3,500 for the hypothetical stockholder.

Professor Lester does state that he would prefer a reduction in the corporation tax, although, since he does not concede that stockholders are now subjected to discrimination, it is fair to surmise that he prefers his other alternative of a still deeper cut than is now being granted to all individual taxpayers. But it seems probable that the reason the administration chose its alternative is that the same type of denunciation now being heaped on the dividend proposal would be heaped still more strongly on any cut in the corporation levy.

It is interesting that the percentage tax reduction offered by the administration's proposal is smaller as the stockholder's income gets larger, if one assumes that dividends make up all or the same proportion of his income throughout. This should please those who argue that all tax increases ought to hit those in the upper brackets harder and all reductions ought to favor those in the lower brackets more.

SIMON N. WHITNEY,
Professor of Economics, New York University.

NEW YORK, *March 19, 1954.*

The Economic Situation in Northeastern Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks in the RECORD, a resolution adopted on the 15th of March by the City Council of the City of Nanticoke, Pa.

The Government agencies in Washington and the Congressmen representing the anthracite areas are well aware of the situation existing in our area. We have been consistently and constantly using our active efforts to ease the unemployment condition by the establishment of new industries, and other projects, to provide work for the unemployed.

The following resolution was sent to me by Mayor Frank E. Kielar, of Nanti-

coke, Pa., and is a plea from the city council:

"Whereas the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, in which the city of Nanticoke is situated, has long been classified as a distressed area; and

"Whereas the depressed economic condition of our region and our community has been aggravated by the recent closure of the major anthracite mining operations in this area; and

"Whereas thousands of men are unemployed and they and their families face a dismal future, unless some immediate action is undertaken to relieve this condition; and

"Whereas the people of our community want to work and are averse to living on the dole; and

"Whereas we believe that every American shall have the opportunity to work: Therefore be it

"*Resolved by the City Council of the City of Nanticoke, Pa.*, That Congressman EDWARD J. BONIN, the representative of our people in the Congress of the United States, be and is hereby urged to place before the President and the Congress, the seriousness of the economic situation in northeastern Pennsylvania, in order that some assistance shall be given to the establishment of new industries here, where we have the labor supply, the land, the water and the rail and highway system to maintain and operate such industries; be it further

"*Resolved*, That we do hereby pledge ourselves to exert every effort toward the attainment of economic stability and prosperity for our community, our State, and our Nation."

Duly adopted by a unanimous vote of all the members of the City Council of the City of Nanticoke, Pa., at a regular meeting held on the 15th day of March 1954.

F. E. KIELAR, *Mayor.*

Attest:

THOMAS B. THOMAS, Sr.,
City Clerk.

Views on Tax Cuts Examined

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the following letter which appeared in the New York Times:

VIEWS ON TAX CUTS EXAMINED—CHECK IN UNEMPLOYMENT BY INCREASED SPENDING POWER ADVOCATED

(The writer of the following letter is professor of economics at Swarthmore College.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The current debate over taxes centers on two widely different viewpoints. At one extreme is the position that the threat of mounting unemployment will recede if certain barriers to private investment are removed, and, in addition, taxes are cut as Government spending is reduced. At the other extreme are those who argue that the prospective rise in unemployment is so serious that a far more sweeping reduction in taxes is needed.

A review of the available evidence, I submit, lends support to neither position. Rather, the facts indicate that in the fiscal years 1954 and 1955 the national product will approximate the total reached in fiscal 1953, but that output in these 2 years will fall rather considerably below the Nation's capacity.

This middle-zoned conclusion is the one indicated by the materials assembled by the staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, the most comprehensive and authoritative study available on the subject. According to this study, if present consumption, investment, and Government spending plans are carried out, the national product will come to about $363 billion in fiscal 1954 and $360 billion in fiscal 1955, compared with $360.4 billion actually realized in fiscal 1953.

MAXIMUM EMPLOYMENT LEVEL

These estimates allow for the $3.4 billion net reduction in taxes which occurred the first of the year but not for any further cuts proposed by the administration and now being discussed in Congress. At the same time, the staff concludes that the 1954 total will fall $2 billion short of the level deemed necessary to achieve maximum employment, if allowance is made for normal growth in output per man-hour and in the Nation's labor force. By 1955 it is estimated the gap will be no less than $13 billion.

Expressed in terms of employment, a spending gap of this size will mean unemployment of about 5 million by next winter.

If we look behind these projections it is hard to see how this gap is going to be significantly narrowed by any developments now in prospect.

Business investment and residential construction in fiscal 1954 and 1955 are assumed to remain close to the extremely high levels reached in fiscal 1953, with the exception of a drop in inventory accumulations. Even if present inventory policies are suddenly reversed, however, there is little chance that this type of investment could add more than $2 or $3 billions of total spending during the year beginning next July.

Finally, it is assumed that individuals will continue to save about 7½ percent of income after taxes and that total consumption in fiscal 1955 will be about $8 billions more than in fiscal 1953. Families might reduce their rate of saving to 6½ percent of incomes (in the years after the Second World War it even went as low as 5½ percent), but it would be reckless in the extreme to expect more than $2 or $3 billions additional spending from this source.

ESTIMATE OF SPENDING

After allowing for these adjustments as well as for any increased spending which may result from passage of the administration's omnibus tax bill, we would still fall short of reaching the maximum employment goal for fiscal 1955 by $5 or $6 billions.

The obvious inference to be drawn from the foregoing is that, if the rise in unemployment is to be checked, taxes which are most closely related to spending should be cut at least an additional $2 or $3 billions and the cuts should come now. Even this amount looks small against a deflationary gap of over twice this amount. But there are grounds for arguing that a reduction of this size, along with the cuts contained in the administration's omnibus tax bill, would cause business firms and consumers to increase their spending plans.

It can be argued that the reduction should not take the form of raising the present $600 exemption on personal incomes, since once off the tax rolls it is extremely difficult to get families back on again. From this point of view a sharp cut in excise taxes or a reduction in tax rates on personal incomes below $5,000 would probably be a better approach.

Such a program would contain some perils, not the least of which is the possibility of a general stampede by various interest groups for the nearest tax exit. Compared to the perils of waiting until unemployment becomes more serious, however, these dangers seem well worth incurring.

FRANK C. PIERSON.
SWARTHMORE, PA., *March 17, 1954.*

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Testifies Before House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in Support of H. R. 8356, a Bill To Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, March 24, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce opened its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouragaing more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services. This is one of the bills designed to implement the recommendations contained in the President's health message on January 18, 1954.

The major proposal in the bill is to establish a limited Federal reinsurance service with a self-sustaining fund derived from reinsurance premiums paid by the sponsors of health service prepayment plans participating in the program. The bill is based on the concept of private initiative, rather than the compulsory or socialized medicine concept. It would focus public attention on the need for and desirability of prepaying for the cost of medical care and would encourage private and nonprofit health insurance organizations to offer broader coverage for more people at a price they can afford to pay.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and certain members of her staff testified in support of this bill and expressed views that I am pleased to bring to the attention of the Congress:

H. R. 8356 implements one of the President's proposals for improving the health of the American people. This bill has as its objective the stimulation of voluntary health insurance plans to do a more effective job in providing protection for our people against the mounting costs of medical and hospital care. The device proposed to achieve this objective is that of reinsurance.

The President has repeatedly specified the general lines of attack his administration would take toward the problem of paying for health and medical care. He has rejected any step toward socialization of medicine—or even of the means of paying for medical care.

The course which he has proposed is to build on system of private health insurance plans, which has developed at an amazing rate. The President's state of the union address and his special message of January 18 on the health needs of the Nation recommended establishing a limited Federal reinsurance service to foster the growth of health prepayment plans.

In considering the reinsurance proposal contained in the bill the committee will be able to draw upon a substantial body of data and opinions which it has collected during the recent exhaustive health inquiry. As a result of that inquiry, the committee is familiar with the tremendous strides that have been taken in the development of a voluntary system for the prepayment of medical expenses. It is well to review some of these facts, in order that we may have before us the proper background for discussing this bill.

From what Dr. Keefer described to the committee during his testimony before the committee it is clear that much remains to be done in the voluntary health insurance field. A large segment of our population has no insurance protection, and for many of those with some insurance, the scope of the protection is not adequate.

We need more and better voluntary health insurance. The expansion of the present coverage of prepayment plans must be vigorously pressed forward. To achieve the full potential of private plans, pioneering efforts must continue. Sponsors of health insurance plans must be encouraged to move forward in a spirit of practical experimentation, with a readiness to undertake new risks.

We believe that the enactment of this bill, by providing an opportunity for broader sharing of these risks, would hasten the expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance plans.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H. R. 8356

I shall now describe the major features of the bill. Before proceeding to the heart of the bill, which is title III, I should like to invite attention to certain significant provisions in titles I and II.

TITLE I. GENERAL

Title I contains not only essential definitions but also several broad administrative provisions. There are three sections which is regarded as very important.

First, section 102 of the bill would establish a National Advisory Council on Health Service Prepayment Plans, with 12 appointed members, one of whom would be designated as Chairman by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Council would be charged with the general duties of advice, consultation and recommendation to the Secretary on matters of policy in connection with the administration of the act. Because of the highly technical nature of the program and the limited number of qualified persons upon whom we may call for technical advice, a limited waiver of certain conflicts-of-interest statutes is provided in the bill for members of the Advisory Council, as well as for special consultants.

Second, in determining the qualifications of carriers for reinsurance, the Secretary is directed by section 104 of the bill to utilize to the optimum extent the services and facilities of the State agencies that are responsible for supervising health insurance carriers. Recognizing that many companies conduct business in several States, the bill calls for the Secretary to endeavor to make arrangements for use of the appropriate agency in the carrier's home State or principal place of business.

Third, section 107 (b) of the bill forbids the exercise of any supervisory or regulatory control over any carrier, hospital, or other facility or provider of services, except as specifically provided in the act. In connection with this provision I want to make it abundantly clear that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare strongly believes that regulation of the insurance industry is and should remain a responsibility of the States.

TITLE II. STUDIES AND ADVISORY AND INFORMATIONAL SERVICES

Title II of the bill contains provisions which are an important supplement to the reinsurance plan itself. In accordance with one of the President's recommendations, this title authorizes the Secretary to "conduct studies and collect information concerning the organizational, actuarial, operational, and other problems of health service prepayment plans and their carriers." These studies would include the collection of much needed data on the incidence of sickness and its effects on the use of medical-care facilities and services. The information collected would be made available to the public and to sponsors of health service prepayment plans. Upon request, health insurance carriers would be given specific technical advice on organizational methods and other matters.

The purpose of these provisions of title II is to achieve a better understanding of the Nation's medical care problem, of the techniques for meeting it through voluntary means, and of the actuarial risks involved.

In support of these provisions, let me say that we are frequently reminded that the great gaps in our basic data are among the major obstacles to improvement and expansion of prepayment covage. Reliable and reasonably current information is needed on the incidence of disease, on utilization rates for the various health services, and on prepayment plan enrollment and organizational methods and problems. It is especially important to gather information which will provide a firmer basis for the determination of premium rates in the areas in which carriers have had little or no experience. It is believed that the service authorized under title II can help to fulfill these vital needs.

In summary, the provisions of titles I and II relating to the Advisory Council, the use of State agencies, and the conduct of technical studies are essential in developing a coordinated attack on the problems inherent in extending or improving voluntary health insurance. They will provide the tools for cooperative effort by Federal, State, and local agencies, public and private, and will assure that the broadest possible approach will be made to the problem.

TITLE III. REINSURANCE OF HEALTH SERVICE PREPAYMENT PLANS

I turn now to title III—the major part of the bill. In its simplest terms, this title would establish a reinsurance fund designed to encourage and stimulate insurance carriers to broaden benefits and areas of service.

TYPES OF CARRIERS ELIGIBLE

Under the bill, a carrier may be an insurance company, a voluntary nonprofit association, such as Blue Cross or Blue Shield, or a cooperative or a partnership engaged in providing protection under a health service prepayment plan. I want to make clear the belief of the Department that all groups in the voluntary health insurance field can contribute to the development of broader and better benefits for more people.

It should be noted that direct-service carriers would be eligible for reinsurance. That is, reinsurance would be available to prepayment plans which furnish medical or dental care or treatment through a salaried staff of physicians, surgeons, or dentists. However, in these cases the Department would first have to be satisfied that the carrier has an organizational structure which vests control over the manner in which medicine and dentistry are practiced solely in duly licensed members of these professions.

APPROVAL OF PLANS

The reinsurance program would be wholly voluntary, and plans could be reinsured only on application by the carrier.

Moreover, the bill is designed to assure that the Federal Government would not be competing with the insurance industry in the reinsurance field. No individual plan could be reinsured by the Federal reinsurance fund if it were already reinsured privately. Moreover, as a condition of reinsuring any type of plan, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be required to conclude that for plans of that particular type or kind, reinsurance was not available from private sources at comparable terms and rates to an extent adequate to promote the purposes of the reinsurance program. Thus, the Federal program would not be competing with private enterprise.

The terms and conditions governing approval of the plans submitted for reinsurance, and the types and kinds of plans which will be reinsured, would, in general, be determined by regulation. The bill directs that we take into consideration, in determining the types and kinds of plans eligible for reinsurance, the general purposes of the program, and that special emphasis be given to certain objectives. Here I wish to quote the provisions of the bill itself, beginning on line 24 of page 13 and ending on line 15 of page 14. The bill would direct the Secretary ot place "special emphasis upon the objective of encouraging experimentation designed to extend or adapt the prepayment method to substantive problem areas or geographic

areas for which that method is in any significant respect new, untried, or not yet fully effective or widely available on reasonable terms, such as—(a) coverage of classes of individuals for which protection through such health service prepayment plans appears to be feasible but is not adequate, or (b) the offering of protection in communities or areas in which such protection (in the respects in which it is offered) is not adequately available on a prepayment basis, or (c) a coverage of benefits or services which, either as to type, range, amount, or duration of such benefits or services, is not otherwise—generally or in a given area—widely available through such plans on an adequate basis."

These words in the bill, perhaps better than the purpose clauses themselves, indicate the direction in which it is thought the program should move.

The specifications concerning the eligibility of plans for reinsurance might include requirements or limitations on such matters as the ranges of health conditions to be covered by the plan; the kind, quantity, and duration of health services to be provided under the plan; undue exclusions or limitations; deductible amounts and maximum liability amounts; waiting periods; and the duration, cancellability, and renewability of policies or subscriber contracts issued pursuant to the plan.

These requirements, it should be remembered, would apply only to a carrier which voluntarily agrees to them as a part of a reinsurance contract involving a particular plan or plans of that carrier. Furthermore, although a plan would be disapproved if its rates were arbitrary or unreasonable, or such as to cause the plan to be financially unsound, the Secretary would not otherwise have authority to exercise any control whatsoever over the carrier's premium or subcription charges under a health service prepayment plan. Finally, no substantive changes of regulations could, without the carrier's consent, apply during the current term of a reinsurance contract.

Assuming that a particular plan meets the requirements prescribed in accordance with the foregoing provisions, and that it is determined that the plan is sound and would promote the purposes of the act, the Secretary would still be required to make certain findings with respect to the carrier itself. These are: (a) That the carrier is operating according to State law, and (b) that the carrier is financially sound and entitled to public confidence.

In making these determinations the Secretary would, as she indicated in her testimony relating to title I, make optimum use of State insurance authorities.

REINSURANCE PREMIUMS

Premium charges to be paid by carriers for reinsurance of their plans would be fixed with the dual objective of making the program self-sustaining, and stimulating and encouraging plans which would further the purposes of the program. The bill does not specify a statutory premium rate. Rather, reinsurance premiums would be fixed at different rates for the different health service prepayment plans to be reinsured, so as to reflect, in accordance with actuarial principles, the respective hazards involved.

SCOPE AND EXTENT OF REINSURANCE OBLIGATION

Upon approval of a plan, reinsurance certificate or contract would be issued to the carrier. The contract would cover only a particular plan. Losses under other plans sponsored by the same carrier would not obligate the Federal Government in any way, unless such other plans were also reinsured.

With respect to the actual liability of the Federal Government under a reinsurance contract, the bill establishes two principles:

First. The reinsurance program would reinsure abnormal losses only; that is, the abnormal losses of a carrier, in the aggregate, under a particular reinsured plan.

Second. The carrier would share in these abnormal losses. The reinsurance fund would undertake to meet only 75 percent of the abnormal losses.

The abnormal losses would be those in excess of premium income, after making a reasonable allowance for the carrier's administrative costs. This administrative expense allowance would be agreed upon for each plan at the time of the carrier's application for initial reinsurance, or for renewal of reinsurance.

It is emphasized that there would be, under the bill, no Federal liability to any individual policy holder. The only liability of the fund would be to carriers which have a reinsured plan or plans, and then only for those plans.

THE REINSURANCE FUND

The source from which reinsurance payments would be made is the reinsurance fund, which would be composed primarily of reinsurance premiums collected and of the earnings of the fund.

The bill would authorize an appropriation of $25 million to a capital-advance account in the Treasury. The appropriation would be available, without fiscal-year limittion, as a line of credit for advances of working capital to the reinsurance fund. When the fiscal condition of the fund permits, such advances would be repayable to the capital-advance account in the Treausry. The amount so repaid would again be available to the fund if future advances should be needed. Pending repayment of advances, the fund would pay interest thereon to the Treasury.

All reinsurance premiums would be paid into the reinsurance fund. It was indicated, these would be calculated with a view toward keeping the fund self-sustaining.

One of the most important features of the bill to understand is that the Government's reinsurance obligations would be limited to the moneys in the fund. It is not a subsidy-type plan with respect to reinsurance obligations, and there is no kind of open-ended authorization for this purpose.

The bill also provides that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would have discretionary authority to establish within the fund special reinsurance accounts. For example, such accounts might be created for classes of plans, classes of carriers, or groups of associated carriers. If this authority were exercised, premium payments woud be credted to, and the Government's liability under a given contract of reinsurance would be limited to, the appropriate account.

OTHER PROVISIONS

The bill would authorize appropriations from general revenues for administrative expenses for a transitional period of 5 fiscal years beginning July 1, 1954. After that, such expenses would have to be borne by the fund.

One final very important provision should be mentioned—section 404, relating to advertising. It is regarded as vital that every precaution be taken to prevent any reference to the reinsurance program which could result in misleading the public as to the scope, purpose, or financial undertakings of the program.

Two dangers exist. First, individuals who buy policies may think that reinsurance means a guarantee of benefit payments under any reinsured plan; and second, carriers which do not apply for reinsurance may be subjected to unfair competition by other carriers attempting to capitalize on the name of the United States Government in promoting their reinsured plans.

In actuality, reinsurance would not give an individual policyholder any positive assurance of receiving his benefit payments. Moreover, approval for reinsurance purposes would in no way signify that a reinsured plan is superior to plans not reinsured.

For these reasons, the advertising in connection with reinsured plans must be carefully circumscribed. The bill therefore provides that the fact of reinsurance cannot be used in advertising except in the manner specifically authorized by regulation. Criminal penalties are provided for unauthorized advertising which refers to the reinsurance program, as well as for wholly false advertising. Injunctive remedies are also provided.

I should like now to summarize the seven major characteristics of the reinsurance program as they are listed on the next chart. These are as follows:

First. Voluntary for each carrier.

Second. Regulation of carriers remains with States.

Third. Operates only where comparable reinsurance not available.

Fourth. Reinsure abnormal losses only.

Fifth. Carrier shares in losses—coinsurance.

Sixth. Federal liability limited to the fund—$25 million authorization, plus reinsurance premiums.

Seventh. Nonsubsidy basis—self-supporting.

Mr. Perkins, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, testified as to the manner in which the reinsurance program will operate.

Mr. Perkins presented charts which indicated that the program set forth in the bill is built upon well-established insurance principles. It embodies the safeguard that the reinsurance is only par-

tial. Furthermore, except as to administrative costs during the first 5 years, it is designed as a self-supporting program, financed from actuarially determined reinsurance premiums.

While it is believed that this program holds great promise for the American people, I want to mention three limitations.

First, it can help only those who can and are willing to include health insurance premiums as a necessary part of the family budget, and those who are covered by insurance plans maintained by their employers in whole or in part.

Second, it may not immediately solve some of the problems of coverage for those who are now aged or of those who already are chronically ill.

Third, it is apparent that the success of the plan depends on the willingness of the carriers actually to make use of it and to assume new and broader risks.

These reservations, however, do not detract from the positive gains which it is thought the bill can achieve. There is confidence that the plan can bring significant benefits for the American people. It is further believed that use of the reinsurance fund by carriers will induce them to experiment more broadly and more rapidly and to accelerate new ventures in the voluntary health field. If carriers are protected through reinsurance which provides a sharing of unexpected losses, obviously they should be able to expand the scope of protection that they offer.

For example, perhaps the number of exclusions from coverage under certain forms of health policies can be reduced; perhaps the benefits can be made far more comprehensive as to total limits, thereby providing better protection against major medical expenses; perhaps the number of days of hospital confinement for which reimbursement is provided might be greatly increased; perhaps policies need not terminate upon the attainment of age 65 or some other stated age, or upon termination of employment, as many policies now do; or perhaps terms may be found under which it is possible to provide insurance to individuals now considered uninsurable. Finally, perhaps more noncancellable policies can be written at prices people can afford to pay.

In brief, the stimulus of reinsurance protection and the help of advisory services, when added to the incentives of free competition, should result in enlarging the scope of health insurance coverage and improving the benefits it provides. The greater the success of our efforts, the more we will narrow the problem areas and the better we will be able to determine the extent of the need for other methods of making good medical care available to all Americans. Meanwhile, through public assistance and other public and private efforts, we will continue to help many of those for whom voluntary insurance is not feasible.

To conclude, the bill can, in the traditional American way of individual responsibility and private endeavor, do much in providing the means by which better health protection may be attained by a large segment of our population. The bill should have favorable consideration.

Administration's Black Friday in Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there are two morning newspapers in Chicago, Colonel McCormick's Tribune and the younger Marshall Field's Sun-Times. For the first time since President Eisenhower took over, both Chicago morning newspapers on last Friday, March 26, carried editorials critical of the administration. Strangely enough, the Sun-Times editorial was the one personally criticizing the President, while the Tribune editorial was confined to suggesting that one of the President's Cabinet appointees should be removed from office. The Sun-Times editorial especially has occasioned considerable talk since it marks the first time the Sun-Times has been even mildly critical of the President, whom it supported in the election of 1952. The Sun-Times editorial follows:

MCCARTHY VERSUS THE ARMY—THE PRESIDENT MISSES THE CENTRAL ISSUE

In discussing the latest aspect of the McCarthy-Army feud, President Eisenhower delivered a homily. He said that no man involved directly or indirectly in a dispute should sit in judgment on his own case.

That is an admirable sentiment. But it misses the heart of the issue. Newspaper stories which indicated the President had taken a firm stand against JOE MCCARTHY were being kinder to Ike than he deserved.

The central issue is not whether MCCARTHY is to sit as a judge in a Senate committe investigation involving him and his counsel, Roy Cohn, as against the Army. MCCARTHY already has agreed not to act in the capacity of judge.

What is at issue is MCCARTHY's insistence that he have the privilege of cross-examining Army witnesses appearing against him and Cohn. That is a privilege that MCCARTHY vehemently has denied to other persons appearing before his committee.

Now that he and Cohn are under investigation, MCCARTHY wants to change the rules. He has magnanimously offered to let the Army, as well as himself, cross-examine witnesses. The exception, which applies only to this case, obviously is being sought by MCCARTHY because he and Cohn are involved. Because he is a Senator he wants to exercise prerogatives that he always denied other Americans.

When the President was first questioned on that point at a news conference, he proceeded to utter his admonition against a man's sitting in judgment on his own case. When it was pointed out a second time that the privilege of cross-examination was the only issue, Ike vaguely replied he didn't know enough about the case to comment on it. But he ought to know.

In admitting his ignorance of the basic principle at issue—whether a Senator shall have princely privileges not enjoyed by other citizens—the President undoubtedly disappointed many Americans. For he failed to measure up to the responsibilities of political leadership that he is always talking about but which he seems most reluctant to exercise even when vital principles are at stake.

In this case, not only are such principles at stake but also the honor and integrity of the Army which nurtured Ike and through which he became a popular hero. Likewise at stake are the integrity and self-respect of men he has appointed to high Army posts.

If only in the interest of being loyal to his friends and to the Army, of which he is commander in chief, Ike should have kept himself informed on the developments in the McCarthy-Army feud. Even the pressure of keeping up with other onerous duties offers only the lamest excuse for his not being familiar with the details of the case.

MCCARTHY was quick to seize upon the President's ignorance of the central issue and to turn it to his own advantage. MCCARTHY and his like-minded colleagues have won another skirmish in their attempt to dominate the executive departments.

The President should not stand ineffectually by while Members of Congress try to chip away the authority of the Chief Executive. Spouting copy-book maxims, as James Reston of the New York Times recently described the Eisenhower administration homilies, will not stem the tide.

The President has a sworn duty to uphold our tri-partite form of government, including the constitutional sanctity of his own office. And it is later than he thinks.

Mr. Speaker, the Tribune editorial follows:

SECRETARY WEEKS AND AD–X2

Jess M. Ritchie of Oakland, Calif., who claims to be the Ponce de Leon of the storage battery business, has been haled before the Federal Trade Commission again to answer a complaint that he has falsely advertised a substance which he claims will rejuvenate tired batteries.

The quarrel over this battery additive, called AD–X2, led to the dismissal last year of Dr. Allen Astin, head of the Federal Bureau of Standards, by Commerce Secretary Weeks. Mr. Weeks charged Dr. Astin with "not being sufficiently objective" in conducting the tests which led the Bureau to pronounce the stuff worthless.

Scientists' protests against political interference with the Bureau of Standards forced Secretary Weeks to reinstate Dr. Astin. The Senate Small Business Committee got a report from Massachusetts Institute of Technology that did not condemn AD–X2, but a committee appointed by the National Academy of Science pronounced the Bureau of Standards' original work to be excellent, and characterized Ritchie's product as, indeed, worthless. It is as a result of this report that the Federal Trade Commission has reinstituted proceedings against Ritchie.

There is something more at issue here than Mr. Ritchie's chemical gimmick. Secretary Weeks has some tall explaining to do. On the available evidence, he used the power of his office to promote the sale of a questionable item, and to punish a scientist who seems to have done only what he was paid to do—protect the American people against a commercial fraud.

Congress should call the Secretary to account, provided, of course, President Eisenhower does not act first to rid himself of a bungling subordinate.

Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I have been very much concerned with the amount of space devoted by newspapers, radio, and television to discussing communism.

I was surprised by the letters that poured in on my office from almost every State in the Union following my address on the floor of Congress on the subject, "Communism in the Churches."

It must be true that our people are keenly aware of the menace of communism. To me, this is a healthy sign. Someone once said, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Unfortunately, we are a nation of extremists. We go from one extreme to another. We were indifferent to the menace some 20 years ago. Today, many people are laboring under a false impression and belief with respect to the seriousness of this threat. It is in the hope that I can perhaps shed a little light upon this subject that I come to you at this time.

The question most asked is, "How great is the menace?" Let me tell you that, in 1938, there were approximately 200,000 Communist card-holding members of the party in the United States. It did not compare with the memberships in France and in many other countries. Their program in this country was through the device known as the "front organization." Their ability to deceive gullible and unthinking people enabled them to wield much power in this Nation. We are a nation of joiners. I recall when other organizations have swept this country, and literally scores of good people joined. They joined to satisfy their curiosity, largely because they thought they could accomplish good. Likewise, when the Communists set up many front organizations, some with patriotic objectives, they found it easy to enlist the support of thousands of good Americans. As a matter of fact, the total claimed number of this type of organization in the United States in 1939 was in the thousands. It is hard to believe that so many Americans would affiliate with organizations concerning whose origin and purpose they had no knowledge. But this seems to have been the case. We must bear in mind that the majority of people who join these organizations were not Communists. They were not aware of the nature and purpose of the organization.

As soon as our people were properly informed, many of them immediately quit the organizations. Nevertheless, as a result of exposure, most of these organizations went out of business. The party itself shrank; until today, it numbers approximately 25,000 Communists in the United States.

Therefore, it follows as a matter of commonsense that the menace is far less today than it was during the period we slept. You can always depend on the American people to react properly and favorably when they are informed. May it be said to the credit of both political parties, Republicans as well as Democrats, that they have steadfastly supported the investigation and exposure of un-American activities. If innocent people who, in their carelessness joined these organizations, are persecuted and held up to public scorn, a great deal of harm will be done.

I believe that we should be constantly on the watch, since the very nature of communism is such that it can suddenly expand. As long as we have the ballot and homeowners and home lovers, as we do today, I do not believe we need ever fear communism taking over our country through popular consent.

I believe that poverty plays a leading role in Communist recruiting in our country. No doubt, when people are poor and feel that they are victims of discrimination, that would mitigate in the interest of the Communist movement.

We have traitors with us, and we will have them for a long time to come. I have believed for many years that we must constantly recognize what we are dealing with. I believe that communism means Russia, and I also believe that Russia means war, and that the free world must come to a showdown with Russia. My opinion is based upon statements of the leaders of the Soviet Union from the very beginning of the movement up to the present time.

Communism is marxism, and marxism is opposed to God; and how a godless country can live in peace and harmony with a country that worships God and believes in the divinity of Jesus Christ is more than I can understand.

There never has been a cult, since the beginning of time, which held so rigidly to its doctrine as communism. The very heart of their doctrine is world conquest. Since the Soviet Government has been in existence, they have taught their people world revolution and have talked about the time when a world revolution would occur. They are dead-bent, in my humble opinion, upon controlling the entime world and bringing it under the yoke of communism—and when they think the time is ripe, they will strike. We must remain strong on land and sea and in the air.

From time to time, they have changed their tactics. There was the period of the "front organization," during which many gullible people were enticed into communism. That was the period in which they pretended they were seeking democratic objectives by peaceful means. Their tactics may change, but their objectives remain today the same as they have ever been. It is a criminal conspiracy and, for that reason, men like Browder were convicted of crimes such as forging passports, and Dr. Burton was sent to the penitentiary for counterfeiting United States money to serve his party. They agree with Lenin that everything, whether right or wrong, shall be used if it serves their purpose. The world is dealing with international gangsters, with people who are committed to the planning and perpetuation of crime. When we recognize this ugly truth and approach the problem realistically, then our country will be more secure.

God knows, all of us hope and pray that war will not come. I do not believe there is enough room in the world for people who want to be free and people who have aspirations of human dignity to live with a cult which is dedicated—heart, mind, body, and soul—to the objective of conquering the entire world.

In 1929 Stalin addressed a group of American Communists in Moscow and very frankly and boldly told them:

> Yours is the decisive task. Go back to the United States and do all you can to prepare for the moment when we must conquer America.

So, when all of the Communist leaders for 25 years have admitted and boldly said to us, "We cannot live with you in the same world; communism cannot be secure or complete until such a time as you are destroyed," I am compelled to believe that in the words of Washington, "It is wise to prepare for the worst."

In the meantime, since it is a criminal conspiracy, as all of the courts have so found it, and since every congressional committee has concluded that it is a criminal conspiracy, why should we permit it to have legal stature in the United States, and how can you deal with it as long as you recognize it as legal?

This is no child's play. This is a fight for keeps. We must understand as a people that you and I will live to see the dreadful day when the forces of freedom, when nations who believe in the dignity and the rights of man, must call a halt to the ever-expanding ambition of communism. Furthermore, when they reach a stalemate in this cold war and are no longer able by deceit and trickery to extend their ruthless dominion, then they will resort to a hot war, a war that they are now feverishly preparing to wage.

I believe that the United States of America should make her position clear to the entire world—that we do not propose to sit idly by and see Russia enslave the rest of the world, that the time will soon come when we will have to speak out in no uncertain terms and say to her, "You cannot go one step further. Either you desist or you will have to fight." We are going to have to become stern and make our position crystal clear so that no one will misunderstand it. We will have to become equally as stern with our allies, and let them know where we stand and what they can depend on.

This thing of pussyfooting has reached the point where even our own people do not understand just what we mean. In my opinion, all of these meetings we are attending in foreign countries bid no good for the United States. I think they are merely saying to us: "Let us play the game." And then when they fail to accomplish their purpose by exacting from us an agreement that is favorable to them, they call the meeting off. The next step is to call another meeting, attempting the same thing, and hoping to wear down our resistance to the point that we will give in and that possibly Communist China will become a member of the family of nations and be permitted to join the United Nations.

When this happens, then the United States of America will either bow to the wishes of the Communist world or be forced to quit the United Nations. This is coming. This is their objective, and they will not quit. World revolution, as I said before, is their aim—to conquer the world. In my way of thinking, Russia is the only serious threat to world peace. The sooner we recognize this, the better it will be for America.

Calumet-Sag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of this morning, March 29, 1954, on the Calumet-Sag Waterway. Bills for the money with which to begin actual construction of this great development have been introduced by the three Members of the Congress from the southeastern area of Chicago, representing both Democratic and Republican parties.

The editorial follows:

FUNDS FOR NAVIGATION

Much excitement attended the recent arrival at New Haven, Conn., of the freighter *Flying Enterprise II*, the first oceangoing vessel, or so it was said, to call the port since the clipper-ship era ended 75 years ago. City officials hailed the event, predicting that New Haven would be revived as a world port.

The first cargo amounted to 1,300 tons. The owners of the vessel plan to have a ship call at New Haven every 2 weeks, and hope to build up business totaling 78,000 tons a year.

We mention this incident not to disparage New Haven's longing to become an important port, but to direct attention to two actions by Congress involving the Nation's shipping. Three years ago Congress voted an appropriation for deepening the New Haven port entrance from 27 to 35 feet. As a result 78,000 tons of shipping may be diverted there.

Last week, the House turned down an appropriation of $5 million to start work on the widening of the Calumet-Sag Channel of the Illinois Waterway, which last year carried more than 3 million tons of freight. Funds seem to be available for every east coast yacht basin, but none for one of the most important arteries of commerce.

The total cost of the Calumet-Sag improvement is estimated at $100 million. The size of this sum may have been the reason for the defeat of the initial appropriation. If so, Congress ought to take note of the fact that, unlike all the eastern harbors provided by Federal funds, Cal-Sag was brought to its present state of great usefulness by local revenues.

President Olis, of the Chicago Sanitary District, in an article in the current issue of Marine News, reports that between 1890 and 1936, more than $63 million was spent on the development of the waterway by the sanitary district, the State of Illinois, and the city of Chicago. Measured by today's construction costs, the value of the improvement is more than $350 million.

Mr. Olis concedes that most of this money was spent under the pressure of meeting Chicago's sanitation needs and that the navigation features came along as a kind of bonus. Today, he says, "it would be impossible to say how much of the large sums expended on the Cal-Sag Channel went for navigation purposes and how much for sanitation, but we do know that navigation receives the benefits of all the money spent on sanitation."

Members of congressional committees, the Army engineers, and everybody else who has examined the proposal to widen and deepen the channel have agreed that the job must be done, and that if it is done the volume of traffic on the waterway will be multiplied. Yet the House, by a voice vote, almost casually knocked out the item for this purpose in a $430 million bill for numerous flood control, navigation, and hydroelectric projects.

Having nothing to cheer about here, let's give nine rahs that a freighter will call at New Haven every other week.

Able and Honest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN TABER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I herewith submit an editorial appearing in the Ithaca Journal on the 23d of March in connection with the parity price of milk products, which is very interesting and illuminating. It indicates the problem that we face in connection with milk products very clearly:

ABLE AND HONEST

An honest and able Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, is speaking Wednesday in Bailey Hall.

Mr. Benson is somewhat unique in Washington. He is no politician, but in a long service with the farm cooperative movement he has learned a lot about farming. He is able. So are other people in Government. But we doubt if there are many men in this government or in previous governments who have brought something of a consecrated sense of duty to his job. Maybe a reason for that is his deep spiritual convictions.

We have no idea what Mr. Benson is going to talk about but one can get some idea about the man by taking a look at one of his hot problems. That is the price support of various dairy products, including milk and butterfat.

Mr. Benson has said that on April 1 the support will be 75 percent of parity and a howl went up, mainly from farmer politicians but also from a good many farmers.

Mr. Benson took a good look at the statute before he made his decision. Subdivision 201–C of the Agriculture Act of 1949 provides:

"The price of whole milk, butterfat, and the products of such commodities respectively shall be supported at such levels not in excess of 90 percent, nor less than 75 percent, of the parity price therefor as the Secretary determines necessary in order to assure an adequate supply."

So Mr. Benson was obligated to fix the price of milk products at no more than 75 percent if there was an adequate supply.

He had to determine what an adequate supply was and what level of support between 75 and 90 percent of parity is necessary to assure an adequate supply.

The record shows that during the past year the supply of milk, butterfat, and dairy products has been more than adequate and according to an opinion of the Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture, "Unless the Secretary can conscientiously determine that a support level of 75 percent will not insure an adequate supply it is an obligation under the statute to fix the support level at 75 percent. If he has any doubt as to the adequacy of the supply under such a support level it is his obligation to fix the support level at such higher percentage (not more than 90 percent) as he determines is necessary to assure an adequate supply."

And finally, the Solicitor pointed out that the determination must be made in the light of the very substantial stocks on hand representing the equivalent of more than 8 billion pounds of whole milk, the fact that the production during the current market year is expected to be about 122 billion pounds, an increase of 5 billion pounds from the preceding year and that the surplus production during the current marketing year will be more than 6 percent of total production.

Obviously that situation called for the minimum support, 75 percent, and Mr. Benson had the honesty and the guts to carry out the law.

What he will talk about in Ithaca may not deal with milk at all. It may deal with his flexible support program, which is heartily endorsed by some of the Nation's ablest farm leaders.

We cite this milk experience simply to point out that what Mr. Benson did about milk products was the only thing an honest Secretary of Agriculture could do. And further to point out that in him we have a man of the highest integrity who cannot be bamboozled or pressured by special interests or by politicians.

Dairymen Have Three Choices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENN R. DAVIS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting an editorial from Hoard's Dairyman, published at Fort Atkinson, Wis., because I believe it presents a thought-provoking suggestion for dealing with the problem of the price of dairy products. It was written by Editor William D. Knox, the son of our colleague from the 11th District of Michigan, the Honorable VICTOR KNOX.

Bill Knox is a thoughtful, practical man. He admits that his suggestion has its shortcomings, but certainly every other suggested program has its weaknesses. The fact is there is no easy, perfect, workable program for the immediate and long-range solution of the very acute problem now faced by the Nation's dairy producers. Mr. Knox has provided some solid food for thought, and I invite the suggestions of my colleagues:

DAIRYMEN HAVE THREE CHOICES

Now that the period of wishful thinking appears to be over in this dairy business, perhaps we can start scratching gravel and come up with a realistic dairy program. Too many people for too long have been wearing rose-colored glasses, hoping that the dairy surplus would melt away in the sun of some future bright day.

In our travels around the country and from our Washington report, we gather that most dairy farmers, dairy leaders, farm leaders, Government officials, and Congressmen are now ready to admit the realities of our time. The picture, bluntly, shows that during the past 2 months, we produced milk at an annual rate of 130 billion pounds. Last year we produced an all-time record of 121½ billion pounds. We consumed 116 billion pounds, and of that only 109 billion pounds went into civilian use.

The United States Department of Agriculture prediction is that we will produce 124 billion pounds this year. Remember, however, that the prediction last year at this time was only 118 billion pounds. That esti-

mate was off 3½ billion pounds. We think this year's estimate is just as far off, unless there is a widespread drought. In that event, the estimate may be nearly correct. In any event, there may be a gap of from 8 to 21 billion pounds of surplus rolling down the valley this year. This does not include the surplus carryover from last year.

In our opinion, any hope that lowered parity price supports are going to help the situation materially is, again, wishful thinking. They may slow down the rate of increased production; but we see no prospect of decreasing production, and have little hope that the decreased retail prices are going to stimulate a great increase in sales, although modest increases should be expected.

With our eyes wide open to the facts, let's look frankly to the alternatives open to dairymen. We believe there are three courses:

1. Remove all price supports and let prices fall where they will to clear the market. This would tend to squeeze out farmers with low producing cows and high costs of milk production. For many reasons, which we have enumerated in these columns before, we cannot endorse such a proposal.

2. Adopt the subsidy-payments plan through which farmers would receive direct payments from the Government. These payments would make up the difference between the low free market price and a given percentage of parity. As previously reported in these columns, this proposal has one major advantage and two very serious shortcomings.

3. Endorse an amended version of the National Milk Producers Federation plan. As previously reported here, the federation would set up a dairy stabilization board, made up of dairy farmers. The board would support the price of all milk going into domestic consumption by buying up the surplus. Any loss incurred in disposing of the surplus outside of domestic channels would be financed by a stabilization fee levied against all milk marketed.

Although we endorse the original proposal in principle, we must admit that it has two shortcomings. It does not provide a specific incentive to produce for a market rather than dump on a market. The second shortcoming is that the stabilization fee idea is not too palatable to many dairymen, nor does it attract enthusiastic congressional support.

In the light of the foregoing, in early March we proposed to several dairy leaders that the federation proposal be amended to accomplish the same objective without the levy of a stabilization fee. We offered for debate a market and surplus proposal that would return dairy farmers the same price as the federation proposal. It would work in this way:

Let us assume that we have a domestic market for 115 billion pounds of milk at the 90 percent of parity price level. Further, let us assume that we will produce 128 billion pounds this year.

The dairy stabilization board would guarantee dairy farmers a minimum of 90 percent of parity for all milk sold for domestic human consumption. We will refer to this milk as market milk. All surplus milk would be paid for at not to exceed the actual disposal price on foreign markets, in industry, or for feeds, etc.

The proposal would appear like this to a dairy farmer in his operations:

During the past 3 years, John Doe has marketed an average of 25,000 pounds of milk during May. His market this May would be 90 percent of this average, or 22,500 pounds. (Market of 90 percent is determined by dividing total production of 128 billion pounds into the available market of 115 billion pounds.) For this milk he would be assured of $4.27 per hundred, if this were the 90 percent of parity figure. Any surplus he placed on the market would bring the going surplus price realized by the dairy stabilization board. Let us assume this is $2 per hundred and that he sent 2,000 pounds of surplus to market. Here is his return for May: 22,500 pounds at $4.27, $960.75; 2,000 pounds at $2, $40; total, $1,000.75.

At 75 percent of parity price supports, as scheduled for April 1, the average national price would be about $3.55. The same amount of milk at this price in May would return: 24,500 pounds at $3.55, $869.75.

Please appreciate that this is a very brief outline. Many modifications and refinements will be desirable. For example, special provisions should apply to drought areas. The question we raise at this time is whether or not the principle is sound. If so, the dairy industry has a principle or base upon which it can build an effective program that:

1. Is not subject to political manipulation by any political party.

2. Prices dairy products to the consumer at a fair price level consistent with other industrial and conusmer prices.

3. Shares the burden of a surplus equitably among all producers on the basis of recent production history.

4. Does not limit production but provides an incentive to produce for the real market and not for market-wrecking surpluses.

5. Is self-financing. Original Government revolving fund could be paid back through a small percentage deduction on all surplus funds handled.

6. Does not limit market expansion. Sales promotion through the American Dairy Association would increase the market percentage. Efficient producers can increase their market by greater production if they so desire, but inefficient producers should be discouraged by the surplus price.

We readily admit the proposal has at least one shortcoming. Anyone who wishes to start dairying must either begin on an established dairy farm with a market or produce largely at a surplus price for the first year or so until a market is established. Admittedly, this shortcoming is also an asset in that it gives the present dairy farmer and industry some insulation from the great milk production potential of 25 to 30 million diverted acres. It serves to prevent the dumping of surplus corn, cotton, and wheat land on an already flooded dairy market.

We are not going to carry this proposal to Congress. It is offered simply as a constructive suggestion for consideration by our readers. Think it over, test it, and debate it. If you think it has merit, tell your dairy and farm organization officers, and write your Representatives and Senators in Congress. If you do not approve it, tell them that, too. These people are your elected representatives. Through them you should make your opinions and convictions known. Every voice of good judgment is a nail in the construction of a platform on which may be built a more prosperous dairy future.

Oscar Mayer's 95th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues in the Congress would wish to join me in extending congratulations to Oscar Mayer on this, his 95th birthday. Mr. Mayer opened a butcher shop in Chicago 71 years ago. His sausage products caught on, and the famous packing company bearing his name resulted. At 95 he is fit and alert, gets to the office every morning at 9. Joining in today's celebration of his natal day will be 16 grandchildren, 20 great grandchildren. Missing will be Carter H. Harrison, 5-time mayor of Chicago, who died a few months ago at 93. Harrison and Mayer were inseparable friends. Chicago is proud and fond of Oscar Mayer, one of her greatest sons.

Address of Hon. Robert V. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL CUNNINGHAM
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Robert B. Anderson, gave a wonderful message to the Army-Navy breakfast group of the International Council for Christian Leadership, Inc., at the Army-Navy Club on February 23, 1954. Under unanimous consent, I insert Mr. Anderson's message in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all may have an opportunity to benefit from his views:

One of the greatest books in English literature, and one which could be found in almost every American bookshelf up until a generation or two ago, opened with these words:

"As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where was a den, and laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed therein, I dreamed, and behold, I saw a man clothed with rags standing in a certain place with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked and saw him open the book and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying 'What shall I do?'"

Thus in these words did Christian, the hero of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress begin the long and arduous journey that ended in the redemption of his soul. Yet there is something more here than simply the opening passage of a great book. To me it is one of those profound and timeless observations about humanity which are the hallmarks of great literature. It says a great deal about man, not only about what he was in Bunyan's time, but about what he is today. Who among us is without a burden? Who among us has not at some solemn moment in his lifetime exclaimed, if only to himself: "What shall I do? What shall I do?"

The burdens of men are many and varied. Some are great, while others are trifling. Some are burdens which must be borne alone, while others must be borne jointly, as the inherited problems of a common society. What these burdens are, and the way in which men regard them goes a long way toward explaining why men think and act the way they do.

There is the burden of ethical conduct. It has been said of man that he is the only animal who laughs and weeps, because he is the only animal who is struck by the difference between what things are, and what they ought to be. It is man's unique ability to perceive abstract differences which raises the possibility of deliberate choice, includ-

ing the choice of an ultimate purpose in life. Moreover, the possibility of free choice inevitably brings with it a certain personal responsibility for the selection of what is right. It also constitutes at once the need and the foundation for a value system which will increase the natural probability that the choices made will be the right ones. Man is thus a moral creature, deeply responsive to moral values, and burdened with the responsibility for translating choice and value into morally correct action.

And this is a great burden indeed—this responsibility for translating choice and value into right action. Perhaps our greatest tragedy arises out of the fact that man, having perceived the difference between the way things are and the way they ought to be seems to do so little about it. It is not enough to say that man is by nature an imperfect creature, not yet ransomed from his own passions and brutishness, or that out of pure ignorance he may make wrong choices. The fact remains that man can and does make choices, and through the harsh logic of cause and effect he must inevitably bear the consequences of those choices. He now has it in his power to destroy a large part of his accumulated wealth, and send the course of civilization reeling back hundreds, perhaps thousands of years in time. He can choose to do this, or he can choose otherwise. But the choice and the responsibility are his, and his alone.

This leads me directly to the next burden—the burden of knowledge seeking, and the responsibility for discovering and transmitting truth. There was a time when men knew almost nothing of themselves or of the world about them. Almost without exception, every truth we now know represents a triumph of some man's inquiring mind over the forces of ignorance, doubt, and superstition. It may appear that we have learned a great deal during the past thousand generations, and in some fields we undoubtedly have—which is part of our trouble. Ironically, it is this very inequity of knowledge that is the source of our great peril, for our knowledge of the physical sciences has placed at our disposal more power than our knowledge of social sciences may permit us sensibly to control.

Practical knowledge is the product of two functions: Perception and communication. Before it is possible to know anything, to discover any of the abstract realities which are all about us, the mind must not only perceive the new reality to be something totally novel, but it must further relate it to those realities which are already known. Then, in order for the new truth to have meaning to anyone other than the discoverer, it must be described so definitively that its existence is recognized and accepted by the minds of others. In certain areas, particularly in the physical sciences, we have done rather well. Two times two is four in any language, and even our bitterest enemies accept the reality that water is two parts hydrogen and one part oxygen. But in the realm of human relationships, most of us struggle forever under the burden of the inexpressible. It is only when the utterance of some great master of human communication pierces the thick wall of inarticulateness that isolates each of us from his fellows that we glimpse the essential unity of truth. On these occasions we are likely as not to exclaim "Why, that's exactly what I always thought." Yet there is something more to it than impassioned phrases or clever words. There is no magic in words, except as people understand and act upon the realities they symbolize. The greatness of the Gettysburg address lay not in the simple beauty of its expression but in the fact that it crystallized the inchoate sentiments about liberty and brotherhood and representative government that lay in the hearts and minds of thinking men all over the world.

In order that our burden of ethical conduct may prove bearable, we must with renewed energy undertake the burden of finding and transmitting truth in the all-important area of human relationships. It is here that our need for progress is most urgent and we shall progress only to the extent that the truth about ourselves is made known to us, and becomes a part of our inner consciousness and understanding.

There is the burden of unpaid debts, far beyond his ability ever to repay, that each of us owes to those whose works and good will have enriched his own life. There is the huge debt one owes to his father and mother, for the years of tender care, of loving sacrifice, of wise counsel and patient guidance, for which no repayment is possible, and none is asked. There is the debt owed to friends who have opened their hearts, their homes, and their pocketbooks in times of great trouble and distress.

There is the massive debt that every one of us owes to those whose efforts contributed to the freedom, the comfort, and the security we now enjoy as the beneficiaries of the most enlightened culture the world has ever known. There were the great scientists, the inventors, the statesmen, the teachers and philosophers, the artists, poets and musicians. Yes; and there were soldiers, and sailors, and airmen, and marines, and coastguardsmen, who gave all that was in them to give, in order that their Nation might keep burning the lamp of freedom in a world darkened with despair. Who among us could being to estimate his debt to Galileo, to Gutenberg, to Pasteur, to Washington or Lincoln—or to the unknown one who sleeps at Arlington?

But the greatest debt of all we owe to the man of Galilee; he who gave everything, and who asked nothing, save that man believe in Him, and believing to be as brothers unto one another.

In a ministry of 3 short years Jesus of Nazareth changed the world, and in the suffering and agony of his crucifixion he redeemed it. He bore chains that we might be free; He suffered that we might prosper; He died that we might have life and have it more abundantly. He is the only force that can give meaning and purpose to the life of man; the only force that can bring the quality of order to a vast and seemingly planless universe.

Yet his concern is a deeply personal one—and so is the debt that each of us owes. We may satisfy part of that debt by works of dedication, by prayer and worship and by being in general the decent and admirable people He would want us to be. But we cannot ever discharge that debt or wash it away, as our sins were washed away, for even as we begin we can hear Him saying:

"Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

"And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."

Terrifying Responsibilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include pertinent excerpts from the address of A. T. Burch, associate editor of the Chicago Daily News, at a Decalogue Forum luncheon in Chicago, as reported in the Journal of the Decalogue Society of Lawyers:

Our responsibilities would terrify us except for one thing. In a democracy, everybody 21 years old and older is expected to have wise opinions on all the most important public questions, at least. The newspaper is an extension of the citizen's eyes and ears, and, we hope, a stimulator of his mind and conscience. It is our duty to keep the spotlight on critical areas of government. It is our faith that public business is the public's business.

* * * * *

A good deal of public concern has been expressed over the split decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, on the ground that these divisions tend to undermine confidence both in the law and the courts. The answer, I suppose, is the same that President Eisenhower recently made when questioned at a press conference about the differences of opinion in the Defense Department regarding the Air Force budget. "These hard problems," he said, "would not be problems if there were not two sides to them."

* * * * *

In 1947 the Supreme Court went a long way in further removing the risk of contempt punishment. In a Corpus Christi, Tex., case Justice Douglas declared for the majority:

"The law of the contempt is not made for the protection of judges who may be sensitive to the winds of public opinion. Judges are supposed to be made of fortitude, able to thrive in a hardy climate."

* * * * *

So much bloody crime goes unpunished in this country, and notably in Chicago, that the press would be shamefully recreant in its public duty if it stood aside as a passive and silent observer of this awful anarchy.

Democracy in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. MILLET HAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, although Italy had its full share of troubles with communism, it remains for a distinguished Italian priest, Don Luigi Sturgo, to make one of the most inspiring speeches of our times on the fundamental elements of democracy.

Father Sturzo, a founder of the Christian Democratic Party, recently addressed the Italian Chamber of Deputies on the subject Freedom Must Be Total, which is worthy of the attention of all people everywhere who love democracy and freedom. The speech, as recently reported in Time, follows:

Democracy has two fundamental elements. They are: Freedom, as opposed to despotism and a society in which there are no special classes, castes, or interests. Freedom must be total or else it is not freedom.

Despite all the good will and the oft-repeated statements of the men in government, both in the past and present, it cannot be denied that the weight of an ever more intrusive interference from the Government is upon us. I am not opposed to measured government intervention in the various branches of private activities, espe-

cially where private initiative cannot of itself adequately answer public needs.

FREEDOM AND POWER

Since the war, all attempts at getting back on the road to freedom have been barred by three factors: Lack of faith in freedom or, more exactly, fear of freedom; an inferiority complex in the face of Marxist propaganda; and the vested interests of a government bureaucracy. Today, 9 years after war's end, we find ourselves in such a maze of interlocking interests—and in such a psychological state—that it is hard to speak of an effective reduction of state intervention without being misunderstood. That is why I, who have no ties, can speak of it. It does not matter that my voice is that of an unheeded Cassandra. If I were silent, I should fail in my duty.

Two concepts face each other. One of them is state intervention, leading to state socialism. The other is freedom, leading to civic and social cooperation. I am for freedom.

Someone said that freedom must be defended at all times because, like virtue, it is at all times besieged. This is true for all, and for all cases. But the profound meaning of freedom must be understood. The best definition was given by Cicero: "Freedom is participation in power." Only in democracy can we have direct and indirect participation in power. But power presupposes property—and property means initiative, responsibility, and risk. This is a law of history. Therefore, the proletarian will have no power as long as he remains a proletarian.

But when the state is introduced in the place of the greater possibilities of private property, when government monopolies are created, when perpetual tenures are established by state-controlled groups, and government participation is established in private enterprise, then the course of freedom is altered or interrupted.

For some time we in Italy have been heading toward state capitalism and hence the formation of a new, restricted political class made up of those participating in that capitalism—in other words, the government and civil-service bureaucracy. It is no wonder privileged employees take to themselves bigger tasks and positions, that they are now present in large numbers in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. It is no wonder that a certain number of parliamentary representatives are simultaneously administrators or managers of state companies handling public funds. An attempt has been made to reconcile differences between state and private and semipublic companies, but the law is losing its ethical force because it has been observed only by a few and has been evaded by many.

THE CURSE OF MONOPOLIES

The system of state participation in enterprise allows the government and privileged bureaucracy to spread itself in such a way as to handicap and alter an economic dynamism otherwise capable of increasing production and absorbing the ever-growing labor market. These companies and the state monopolies acquire such credit and fiscal privileges that they can, at will, kill any private competition. It is the state—that is, the community—which bears the almost constant losses.

Thus private initiative becomes ever more contracted, while government participation gets even larger and keeps all power and almost all possession unto itself. In such an atmosphere, so-called private monopolies are also created. Whether private or government, they are still monopolies and as such are harmful to economy and freedom. I am not against a law penalizing the creation of private industrial and commercial monopolies, but simultaneously the state itself must eliminate its own monopolies.

God himself gave us liberty with the attached risk that we might follow the wrong road. But the attitude of today seems to be to cast the individual risk upon the state, that is, the community. If this continues, the time will come when we will all be civil servants. Should that day ever come to our country, a nation of responsible persons would no longer exist. It would be a host of irresponsible people.

The 16th Amendment to the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House have said and heard a great deal about taxation during the past few weeks. The Members of the other body are now debating the results of our labors. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the father of the 16th amendment, which made Federal income taxes posible, is still living in Seattle, Wash. He is former Senator Norris Brown, of Nebraska, who served from 1906 to 1912 in the Senate, and is now 90 years of age.

Senator Brown set forth an account of those days in a letter to a boy in Alabama, who inquired as to the most important event in the Senator's public service. The letter follows:

DECEMBER 2, 1953.

Mr. ROY PITTS,
Anniston, Ala.

DEAR MR. PITTS: In reply to your esteemed favor of November 20, I beg to say that the most important event in my service in the United States Senate occurred during the special session of the Congress called by President William Howard Taft in 1909. In his message to Congress, President Taft urged Congress to amend the revenue law. The House complied by passing the Paine bill. It was sent to the Senate where it was referred to the Finance Committee headed by Senator Aldrich. They reported the Paine bill back to the Senate with several amendments.

In the course of the debate, an amendment was offered from the floor of the Senate proposing the levy of an income tax on corporations. After much debate, I offered a joint resolution to amend the Federal Constitution which would confer on Congress the power to levy taxes on income. My resolution was referred to the Aldrich committee which reported it back to the Senate favorably.

Up to that time, the Supreme Court had held both ways on that question. Its last ruling was that Congress did not have that right under the Constitution.

The opposition to my resolution was led by Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Bailey, of Texas, on the ground that the last ruling of the Supreme Court was erroneous and unsound. Being the author of the resolution, I was given the privilege of leading the debate in its favor. My argument was that the resolution would end all doubt on the question of the power of Congress to impose taxes on income.

The Senate voted by more than the required two-thirds majority to adopt my resolution. It was later adopted by the House and sent to the States for consideration.

In February 1913, I had the honor to report to the Senate that the State of Wyoming had ratified the resolution, this being the 36th State to ratify.

The resolution is now known as the 16th amendment to the Constitution.

Very truly yours,

NORRIS BROWN.

Politics and the Pocketbook Appeal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, the reaction to the House approval of the tax-revision measure recently passed has been very interesting. A review of the act, and the motives that inspired the amendment to increase personal income-tax exemptions written by M. M. Oppegard, of the Grand Forks Herald, Grand Forks, N. Dak., has aroused considerable interest.

Mr. Oppegard has long been respected for his analytical ability, and this editorial should add to that respect:

IT SEEMS TO ME

Taxes and farm price supports apparently will be the two major issues the Democrats will carry into the congressional election campaigns this year, for already the first signal fires have been touched off by their battle leaders.

While the Communists-in-Government issue may have a part in the campaign if the Republicans have their way, it seems unlikely now that it will be a focal point, for it lacks in appeal to the vast majority of voters.

There is nothing like the pocketbook appeal in a political campaign, for that finds response even with voters not remotely affected, while communism is a rather vague subject to most of the voters and apparently excites only passing interest.

Naturally, the Democrats will want to look the other way when the Communist hunt is mentioned, for they created the need for the hunt by installing many Communists and fellow travelers in governmental posts.

Thus they hope to avoid that issue by centering their fire on taxes and farm supports, with their whole interest strictly political and without regard to the economic factors involved from a national viewpoint.

Political mass appeal was seen in the Democratic effort the other day to raise the personal income-tax exemption from $600 to $700, which was defeated in the House, while an effort to make it $800 now and $1,000 next year likely will be made in the Senate.

It should be remembered that the Democratic administrations of the past 20 years created the situations calling for more and more taxes, and the taxeating machine they created must still be fed by the Republican administration until its appetite can be reduced.

SAM RAYBURN, former Speaker of the Democrat-controlled House, is one of those now charging that the Republicans want to change the tax structure to help the rich and soak the poor, while the Democrats have always been the friend of the little fellow.

This is all very interesting, as fiction frequently is. Mr. RAYBURN, who hails from Texas, was one of the principal supporters of the 27.5-percent oil depletion allowance for income-tax purposes, which has been an important factor in creating a lot of Texas millionaires.

This liberal credit has been attacked frequently in Congress in recent years, but one

of the principal backers of the provision has been RAYBURN, now the minority leader and the friend of the poor.

Despite all their camouflage, it has long been apparent that the Democrats talk about helping the poor and soaking the rich, while the process really has been the reverse.

The present tax exemption is $600 for each dependent, giving a husband and wife $1,200 exemption, $600 for each dependent, while the single exemption also is $600.

The exemptions are this high only because RAYBURN and his Democratic cohorts failed in their efforts to defeat the tax bill of 1948, for from 1944 to 1947, the exemptions were $1,000 for man and wife and $500 for individuals and dependents.

It was the Republican-controlled 80th Congress that raised exemptions and credits and cut taxes in other ways. Twice tax-cutting measures were vetoed by then President Truman, but enough Democrats supported the Republican measures to pass them over the vetoes.

Then early in 1948, the Taft-led Congress again voted to raise exemptions and credits and reduce income taxes by 20 to 30 percent, with the larger percentages going to the lower brackets. Truman vetoed that bill too, but his veto was overridden and despite Democratic opposition, 7,400,000 low-income taxpayers were removed from the tax rolls.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, exemptions were $2,500 for man and wife, and $1,000 for a dependent or individual. Under Democratic control, these were reduced steadily until the $1,000 man-wife and $500 individual exemptions were reached.

In the 28 years Democrats were in office after the enaction of an income tax law, they never once raised the income-tax exemption. Instead, they lowered it consistently, aiming to collect from people of smaller and smaller incomes.

When the first income tax law was enacted in 1913, the exemption for a single person was $3,000; for a married person, $4,000. From 1917 to 1926, the exemption for a single person was $1,000, for the married it was $2,000 until 1921, when it was raised to $2,500. Democrats ruled Congress in 1917; Republicans controlled in 1921.

Only 337,000 persons were required to file income tax returns in 1915, and some of these were not taxable. As recently as 1928, when the Republicans controlled Congress, a married person with no dependent, with a net income of $5,000, had only to pay a $6 income tax liability.

If the personal exemption now were raised by $100 to $700, approximately 4 million taxpayers would go off the rolls, leaving 43 million still paying income taxes.

If the exemption were raised to $1,000, as Senator GEORGE proposes for 1955, almost 15 million taxpayers would be eliminated, or almost 1 in 3. In the eyes of the Democrats, that would mean 15 million assured votes, although their figuring may be wrong.

The slash in excise taxes voted by the House, effective April 1, likely will be increased by the Senate by $50 million, making the cut $962 million. The House cut excise taxes, with few exceptions, to a common 10-percent base, while the Senate Finance Committee in addition voted to eliminate all tax on movie tickets costing less than 60 cents.

The Senate is almost certain to accept its committee bill, and a compromise with the House may cut somewhat the price on tax-exempt tickets, possibly to 50 cents or even 40.

If the measure is adopted by a decisive vote, it is unlikely President Eisenhower will veto it, for it would appear his veto could be overridden. If the vote is close in the Senate, and that again appears unlikely, he might consider a veto, although he has said nothing on the subject.

We may expect at least the House version of the excise tax bill will be adopted, with considerable prospect that the final measure will exempt movie tickets up to a price from 40 cents to 60 cents.

Tax reduction, of course, desirable as it may be from a political point of view, is directly related to expenditures and the administration's determination to balance the budget.

It would seem, therefore, that the real approach to the subject is through the budget, with a determination to effect such realistic cuts in expenditure as can be attained without endangering our defense or upsetting our domestic economy.

Lower taxes would increase business, but lower taxes without corresponding reductions in governmental expenditures would feed inflation. It would seem a rather simple problem in economics if it could be shorn of all political considerations.

M. M. OPPEGARD.

Freedom Is the Fundamental Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including two statements that I consider unusual, in that they analyze basic fundamental problems facing the Nation today.

The first one is by Dr. Leo Wolman and is entitled "Freedom Is the Fundamental Issue." The centralization of power on a national scale, whether it be in business, in labor, or in government is dangerous. Dr. Wolman points out how in the field of labor, there is a gradual building up and centralization of the power represented by millions of workingmen that is dangerous to the citizens as well as to the labor-union members themselves.

I hope that every Member of Congress may have a chance to read this interesting editorial from the Los Angeles Times of March 27, 1954:

FREEDOM IS THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

The fight for individual freedom received powerful support when Dr. Leo Wolman, Director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, spoke to a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board here. Dr. Wolman, a lifetime student of labor relations, declared that the whittling away of individual rights and of local self-government, through the enactment of laws regulating labor, is an issue more important than any questions of wages or fringe benefits.

A VITAL ISSUE

Politicians who cater to the labor vote by which they mean the votes of workers which labor leaders assert they are able to deliver, may read Dr. Wolman's words with something of a shock. For he declared flatly that the authors of the labor law of the 1930's had no intention of compromising personal liberty or conferring unlimited power upon the Federal Government, though that was the effect of the enactment.

"It is against this whittling away of individual rights and of local self-government that localities are becoming increasingly rebellious," he said.

He pointed out that 15 States have enacted laws which declare that the right to work may not be denied any man because he is or is not a member of a labor union, and most of them also forbid the subtraction of union dues from a wage earner's pay check without his consent.

The issue is real and must be settled promptly, Dr. Wolman declared, before private power becomes so entrenched that it will be impossible to curb or regulate it.

MONOPOLY QUESTION

The issue is essentially that of monopoly, which the American people have been fighting all through their history; and a labor monopoly is as hurtful as any other kind. A man who may not work without the permission of a union official is not a free man in the fullest sense of the word.

The statement of Gov. Gordon Persons, of Alabama, when he signed the "right to work" bill adopted by that State's legislature, is one of the best answers that has been made to the customary union plea that nonunion men are free riders and get benefits which the union has obtained for all workers, but do not pay for them. Governor Persons declared that the churches are great organizations for good, and yet no one is compelled to be a church member; that the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other service organizations have done much to provide benefits for all veterans—yet no veteran is required to join.

"Individual labor unions themselves have a right to say whether they shall belong to the AFL, the CIO, or be independent," he declared.

It is not logical, obviously to extend a right of choice to unions and not to workers.

"Those who first settled in our great country did so because they wanted to. It has always been a tradition in America that any man could do as he pleased, as long as he did not violate the laws of the land," the Governor continued.

STRENGTH IN FREEDOM

"In my opinion, all of our labor unions will be far stronger and the members in them will have a far greater interest in and respect for the organizations if membership can be shown to be desirable and they are not forced to join.

"Because I believe in free labor and free enterprise, I am today signing the right-to-work bill."

Dr. Wolman's talk and Governor Persons' remarks are opposite because of the effort in Congress to amend the Taft-Hartley Act so as to make Federal law paramount over all local legislation. This would deprive States and localities of any control whatever over labor relations which, by a stretch of the imagination, could be held to "affect" interstate commerce.

This is not a fanciful supposition; some years back, a member of a Federal commission engaged in enforcing some aspects of a labor law declared that his commission had jurisdiction over shoeshine boys and barbers in an office building, if anybody in the building was engaged in interstate commerce.

The need is not for less, but for more, local control over strikes, picketing, and other activities which affect the local public welfare. Every State, and especially California, should have a right-to-work act.

Short Reply to Strange and Dangerous Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a comment by Raymond

Moley, which I believe to be very appropriate at this time.

Because some people are irritated by the way some investigating groups conduct their hearings, suggestions are being made which might very seriously curtail the power of Congress to investigate. The power to investigate is inherent in representative government. It is the spark that makes representative government really representative. Investigation brings out facts and situations that the legislature in general and the legislator in particular should know at the time a law is written and adopted.

Furthermore, the executive branch of the Government should be scrutinized periodically. That has been the procedure in our country since its inception. On occasion perhaps unjust or unfair criticism is heaped upon the executive department by overzealous investigators. However, by and large, and in the great majority of situations, investigations have been wholesome and beneficial to the cause of good government.

Mr. Moley is eminently qualified by training and experience to make constructive comments as he has in the article which follows:

SHORT REPLY TO STRANGE AND DANGEROUS TALK

I should not use valuable space to explain and defend the right of congressional committees to investigate if I had not heard in recent weeks, from apparently sane and educated people, some strange and dangerous talk. For this tremendous hullabaloo, not to say national madness about "you know who" has moved some people to wonder why Congress should investigate at all.

To question that right is to challenge the entire concept of representative government and the Constitution which gives meaning to that concept.

I shall avoid the academic process of quoting authorities past and present. A bit of commonsense will do. Congress must be our means of control over the vast bureaucracy which is directly responsible to the President. It must, through its committees, maintain a constant surveillance over that bureaucracy. For a politically constituted executive department cannot be trusted with the exclusive power to police itself.

No man can be a judge in his own cause. The courts cannot be the means of control, for they get before them only what private citizens or politically appointed prosecutors may bring to them. The FBI is responsible to a politically appointed attorney general. The press can print what it knows, but its access to information is limited.

Congress investigates for two purposes: First, to get the information necessary to guide it in making laws; second, to determine how its laws, including its appropriations, are being carried out.

The process through which it gathers this essential information through scores of committees and subcommittees is the heart of our free government. That continuous process of committee hearings should be and generally is carried on in true spirit of courtesy and cooperation between Members of Congress and members of the administration.

It would richly reward any American to examine in detail the work of just one subcommittee. Take, for example, the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, which deals with the Interior Department. Its hearings extended over several weeks in 1953. The record of those hearings fills four volumes, some 2,500 pages. The chairman, BEN JENSEN, of Iowa, was the essence of courtesy. The members of the Interior Department who testified were equally fair and cooperative.

Then multiply this mass of laborious work manyfold and you have a picture of government at work. There is no alternative to such a process of making government responsible to the people except dictatorship.

The tragedy of it all, however, is not the occasional person who, in his ignorance or excitement, cries out against Congress and all its works. The real injury comes from those who know exactly what they are doing when they traduce Congress and exalt what they call executive leadership.

There have been such voices before in nations which abandoned parliamentary government, only to find that the leader, in whatever language it was expressed, ultimately led his people to tragic ends.

One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty Foot Level for Garrison Dam Pool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OTTO KRUEGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, the increasing interest in the operating level for Garrison, N. Dak., Reservoir is more evident every day. The people of the State more fully realize the need for the maximum capacity of the storage basin, both for water reserves and power possibilities.

I would like to have the following editorial written by F. J. Froeschle, of the Ransom County Gazette, placed in the RECORD. It is evidence of the statewide realization of the need for an 1,850-foot level for Garrison Dam:

RANSOM NOTES

(By F. J. Froeschle)

Williston is about as far away as you can get from Lisbon and still be in North Dakota, so normally the interests of the two communities don't get deeply intertwined.

One thing that hasn't concerned Lisbonites is Williston's position with reference to Garrison Dam.

The people there are dead against a reservoir level higher than 1,840 feet above sea level largely because the proposed 1,850-foot level will require diking around a portion of the city.

But it happens that if Williston succeeds in reducing the reservoir level, it may someday prevent Ransom County from getting irrigation.

Bruce Johnson, supervising engineer of the Bureau of Reclamation's North Dakota office, told a group of Lisbon men last week:

"When irrigation of any size comes to Ransom County I believe it will come from the Sheyenne River and the water will be Missouri River water.

And that's where Lisbon interests enter into the pool level controversy.

Congressman OTTO KRUEGER pointed out last week that if the dam level is reduced to 1,840 feet it will mean the loss of 3,600,000 acre-feet of water reserve storage.

That, he adds, is a lot of moisture—"enough to irrigate 2 million acres for 2 years."

Congressman KRUEGER also reports on some of the relentless pressure that Williston folks have put behind their drive for the lower reservoir.

"I have been pressured to go along with the low operating level of the dam," he said. "I have been threatened with political annihilation, but I am still for the majority of the people of the State, and will be as long as I am in Congress. If the folks in one small area are correct, that will not be long.

So when KRUEGER entered his almost single-handed fight against the lower level before Congress recently, he was fighting Ransom County's battle and the battle of 25 other North Dakota counties that someday hope to stabilize the State's agriculture with irrigation.

Unlike most mortals, politicians sometimes get their reward on earth. With luck, Congressman KRUEGER may be one of those.

Self-Determination of the Communist-Enslaved Nations and Collective Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks the text of a speech I recently gave at the celebration of the first anniversary of the Paris Bloc United States Commission, at Town Hall, Sunday, March 14, 1954.

The text follows:

SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE COMMUNIST-ENSLAVED NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

(Speech of Hon. CHARLES J. KERSTEN, of Wisconsin, at the celebration of the first anniversary of the Paris Bloc United States Commission, at Town Hall, Sunday, March 14, 1954)

Ladies and gentlemen, the people enslaved by the Communist conspiracy should have contact with the outside world. They should have diplomatic representation in the free countries, including the United States. The peoples of nations of the Soviet Union, both non-Russian and Russian, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Rumanians, the Bulgarians, and all peoples under Communist domination should have delegates and should be represented in the United Nations.

Today none of these peoples has anyone to represent them and their interests in foreign countries. Today none of these peoples has a diplomatic voice in the United States.

They are represented both in foreign countries and in the United Nations by their enemies—only by tried and true members of the Communist conspirary which has enslaved them. At the outset some Americans might say, not you people here however, but does not Mr. Vishinsky represent the peoples and nations of the Soviet Union in the United Nations and do not the delegates from the Eastern European countries represent the Eastern European nations? My answer to these Americans would be if the United States of America which, God forbid, were to be conquered by the Communists, as these nations have been, would we the American people considered that we were being represented in foreign countries and in the United Nations by the delegates from an American Communist government? I leave that answer to you.

When the United States recognized the U. S. S. R. in 1933, it was for the expressed basic purposes that diplomatic relations and recognition would bring about friendly intercourse between the peoples involved.

I quote from the letter of President Roosevelt dated October 10, 1933:

"Since the beginning of my administration, I have contemplated the desirability of an effort to end the present abnormal relations

between the 125 million people of the United States and the 160 million people of Russia.

"It is most regrettable that these great peoples, between whom a happy tradition of friendship existed for more than a century to their mutual advantage, should now be without a practical method of communicating directly with each other."

President Roosevelt's letter was the basic document of resumption of relations between the United States and the U. S. S. R.

The purposes of international communication between the American people and the peoples of the Soviet Union, has as you know, not been accomplished. In fact, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the satellite nations have been completely enslaved by the Communist conspiracy and are now sealed off from any communication whatsoever with the free world.

Last year, in an important address, President Eisenhower laid down a significant challenge to the Soviet Union and I wish to quote at some length from the President's speech because of the significance thereof. He stated in part:

"We are ready to not only press forward with the present plans for closer unity of the nations of Western Europe but also, upon that foundation, to strive to foster a broader European community, conducive to the free movement of persons, of trade, and of ideas.

"His community would include a free and united Germany, with a government based upon free and secret elections.

"This free community and the full independence of the east European nations could mean the end of the present unnatural division of Europe. * * *

"Is it prepared to allow other nations, including those of Eastern Europe, the free choice of their own forms of government and the right to associate freely with other nations in a worldwide community of law?"

Can onyone conceive of the peoples of Armenia, the peoples of the Ukraine, the peoples of Byelorussia, the peoples of Georgia, the peoples of Azerbaidjan and all the other peoples of the Soviet Union, if given the opportunity to elect their own form of government, can anyone conceive of these peoples electing a Communist government? Is not the same thing true of any one of the other nations of Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union? Would not the same thing be true in China? In fact, if the peoples of Russia were given an opportunity to elect their own government, do you believe that they would reelect a regime which, since it has come to power, has officially murdered many millions of its own citizens?

We certainly know that the current peace offering of the Soviet Union is sincere.

Under the slogan "For a peoples peace and democracy," Georgi Malenkov said at Warsaw in September of 1947 when he founded the Cominform: "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the democratic countries is dedicated to this undermining of imperialism." The purpose of the Cominform is to carry on the worldwide conspiracy of Communist aggression from the base of an enslaved Eastern Europe.

In the Communist dictionary the word "peace" means only one kind of peace, i. e., a Communist peace, which in the inner circles of the Communist hierarchy means that there will be real peace only when communism extends throughout the earth and all peoples have been liberated from the imperialist slavery of capitalist society and the proletariat of the world are living in happy peoples' democracies.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "is a persistent struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society." (Lenin Selected Works, vol. 10, p. 84.)

The current peace offensive is a part of the persistent struggle prescribed by Lenin. The Soviet shift to words of peace from words of violence, from scorn to applause by Vishinsky in the U. N., the now good manners in Berlin, and the Communist talk of stopping the cold war to save civilization, are all part of a major stratagem with a very important objective for the Communists.

What is that important objective?

The obvious objective of the current Communist peace offensive is to cause the free world to want to enter into a bargain whereby the Communists will be given a breathing space and opportunity to consolidate and digest their conquests.

The great need of the Communists at this time is to be undisturbed and to have a free hand in these areas they have conquered. For if they should have a major setback, a setback that might begin the process of ultimate liberation of the captive peoples from the police state, it would seriously endanger their plans for world conquest. It might even commence a chain of events that could end in the eventual downfall of the center of the Communist terror in the Kremlin.

On the other hand, the Communists can afford to make almost any concession or bargain that leaves them free to forge the enslaved millions within and outside the Soviet Union into a weapon for further world aggression.

The passage by Congress in 1951 of the so-called Kersten amendment to the Mutual Security Act which provides, among other things, for the setting up of national military units from escapees from the captive nations, such units to be attached to NATO has caused the Communist leaders certain hysterical anguish because of the potential of such units for becoming magnets of defection from the Communist armed forces. Twice the Reds have leveled charges in the U. N. against the United States on the basis of this amendment claiming that it was an interference in the internal affairs of the peoples democracies"; and not bothering to advert to the fact that the Communists had themselves grossly interfered with and committed aggression upon the internal affairs of these very nations.

The magnitude and intensity of the current Communist peace offensive is, in direct proportion, to the Communist need to be let alone in Europe and Asia. It is vital to their interests to stop, in these areas, the beginnings of any movement toward freedom. For the members of the Politburo realize far more keenly than we that they are sitting on a volcano.

The sincerity of the Communist peace offensive might easily be tested by their reaction to the free world's insistence that they stand by their obligation under the Atlantic Charter and the postwar agreements to all of which they are signatories and withdraw their armed forces and agents from Eastern Europe and from China and permit the conduct in these areas and among the peoples and nations in the Soviet Union of free elections under U. N. supervision. But the Communists cannot relinquish their hold upon these criminally conquered nations. To do so would mean their fall and retaining them means that they are still on the road to world conquest.

A radical change since 19th century diplomacy has obviously occurred in the conditions under which the community of nations is evolving, a change which requires a new vision and new methods of dealing with the problem which confronts us.

What has happened to bring about this change?

Between the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the First World War in 1914, the world knew a period of relative calm and normalcy. This was due in a measure to a certain homogeneity of political ideas. The respect for treaties—the principle of pacta sunt servanda—still had some prestige and under the circumstances the technique of the balance of power contributed to prevent major catastrophies. The concept of war had generally acknowledged limits. War was waged for limited objectives, the idea of total war was as yet unpracticed. Frontiers still had a strong political significance. Conflicts were aimed at obtaining from the enemy specific material advantages and not at this absolute political, social, and national destruction. The frontiers, mutilated or not, remained as guardians of inviolable state entities.

At that moment we had to deal generally with what Guglielmo Ferrero called war of conflicts, that is to say a dispute on certain precise claims, which was settled in the actual framework of those claims.

In our time, on the contrary, we are faced with what the same author called war of aggression, by which is understood the will to achieve total destruction and subjugation of the adversary and to war upon society in the conquered areas.

With the advent of totalitarian concepts and techniques the whole picture has consequently changed and all the paraphernalia of international relations: peace, war, frontiers, balance of power, treaties, etc., are, in accordance, changed.

Is the frontier of France really on the Rhine and is our frontier at the limit of the territorial waters of our eastern seaboard? Are we fighting our enemies on those old lines of political boundaries, or are we forced by the nature of the new attack of our adversaries to struggle on new frontiers less clearly delineated and stable? Is not the new frontier which is imposed on us by our enemy a moveable one, a frontier which can be today in the Berlin cold war and tomorrow at Geneva or in the Pacific coast strikes, a frontier against aggression in Korea or a frontier against subversion in our own institutions?

Of course our intellectual formation and habits of mind render us rather reluctant to establish a clear connection between such apparently disparate facts. But the deeper we penetrate the subject the more incapable this connection appears.

The conclusion of all this should be clear. We are engaged in a worldwide struggle for survival. And there will be no true peace in the world until all the peoples of the Communist world are free. Until everyone of the Baltic peoples, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, the Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese in Asia, the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and the others in Eastern Europe, and the Ukrainians, Azerbaidjanians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, Turkestanians, North Caucausians, the Turkic Idel-Urali Russians, and all of the other peoples enslaved by Communist terror shall have the opportunity to choose the way in which they want to live their lives.

As Queen Juliana so aptly expressed our aim in her speech to our Congress a year ago, "One human race, under the law and love of God."

Last Monday Secretary of State Dulles stated at Caracas, Venezuela, the following:

"Most of the leaders of the Soviet party appear before the eyes of the world as responsible officials of the Soviet Government. In this capacity they conduct relations with the other governments through the traditional institutions of diplomacy. But at the same time they operate and control this worldwide clandestine political organization to which I have referred."

We are beginning to recognize that while the Communist leaders wear the trappings of diplomacy, that behind these trappings are the persons of arch criminals. No world order nor just peace can be based upon agreements with arch criminals.

We must cease doing business with these Communist regimes as though they represented the peoples of the enslaved nations, because they do not represent them. The Communist leaders are the enemies of the people. We must withdraw recognition of the Soviet regime, not on the grounds that we have cause for conflict between us and these peoples, but for the very opposite reasons that we have an affection and love for these suffering peoples and we prefer to cast our lot with them rather than with the bloody Communist gangsters that persecute them, and who are attempting to shape the world for universal conflict and ultimate war.

The world will finally be at peace when these enslaved peoples have regained their freedom. The longer they are enslaved the greater the danger of war. Their abandonment by the free world guarantees world war III. A policy to aid their self-liberation is a policy of peace. Their liberation should be our objective: The freedom of the peoples now living under communism so that they might once again regain their dignity as human beings, and bring peace under God to our children.

A New Grip on the Communist Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the very thoughtful and constructive article by our colleague, Congressman CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Florida, on the subject of A New Grip on the Communist Issue, as it appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 29, 1954:

A NEW GRIP ON THE COMMUNIST ISSUE

(By Hon. CHARLES E. BENNETT, of Florida)

PROGRAM IS SUGGESTED FOR RED ISSUE

For over 5 years, our country has been agitated over the problem of internal subversion. Seldom has an issue received the public attention given this one; and seldom have Americans been stirred as effectively to bitterness against other Americans.

America's international leadership is handicapped. We are not presenting the appearance of assurance which is necessary to effective leadership. To the international audience we appear to be hysterical, a Nation divided against itself. At home, we are diverted from pressing domestic problems.

There have been two approaches to this problem. The first contends that the threat of Communist conspiracy has been magnified, that extreme anti-Communist methods present a greater danger and that action on the problem should be primarily against those who use these extreme methods, not against the subversion itself. The other approach seems to contend that the success of the Communist conspiracy in America has been greater than is generally realized and that extreme methods which sometimes override the rights of the individual are justified to combat the danger.

The first approach has not only failed; it has intensified the problem by seeming to confirm the outcry that there is indifference in high places. The second approach has failed because its methods have been self-defeating. It has contributed to the problem by arousing fears without resolving them. Many on both sides have shown a disposition to capitalize on the issue for political gain, to discuss the problem on the basis of personalities rather than issues, to blame others and to serve their own purposes.

We are not limited to these alternatives. We can take a new grip on the problem of subversion. With this new grip we can, in this year, 1954, quiet the uproar over subversion to a whisper.

First, we should seek the prompt and effective action by the President and Congress which is needed in this field to bring about better laws and better law enforcement. Second, we should strive to raise the level of our handling of this matter to one of patriotism instead of partisanship.

We should recognize that few, if any, issues are of more importance to America today, and that we should give action on this matter high priority. Paradoxically, while sensation in this field has crowded out all else, quiet, effective action has been relegated to low priority status. Both the Democratic and Republican administrations, both the executive and legislative branches are to blame for the paralysis which has afflicted us in this. It has been well said that Senator MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, would probably be a little known Midwestern Senator now if the Democratic administration had not presented an appearance of indifference to the threat of Communist conspiracy.

It is now time to recognize that the Republican administration, both in its executive and legislative aspects, has taken no active leadership in basic remedial action on this problem. A few more employees have been discharged. The root of the problem is undisturbed. We remain as susceptible as ever to future subversion. The inaugural address, the 1953 state of the Union address, the 11-point legislative program of February 1953, the legislative program resulting from the White House conferences in December 1953 and the 1954 state of the Union address, contain few specific recommendations. In them there is no clear call to prompt, effective action. Nor has any real interest in solid accomplishments been apparent in Congress among those who have been most vocal in this field. Their actions mostly concern individuals who are the products of the weaknesses in our laws, not the weaknesses themselves.

It is time to stop the noise by taking effective legislative and executive action. There are now before Congress a number of promising proposals on subversion which have been languishing in committee. Without intending to obstruct, the Department of Justice has delayed, not encouraged, their consideration.

Whether they should be enacted is subject to debate. But it cannot be gainsaid that they are entitled to full and prompt consideration for whatever hope they offer for adding to our national security, quieting unfounded fears, and eliminating this issue as a handicap in our national and international affairs.

Among them are proposals to tighten the Federal laws against Federal employment of subversives, to strengthen the Foreign Agents Registration Act, to lengthen the statutes of limitations on subversive crimes, to urge Federal courts to consider such cases on a high priority basis, to permit Federal judges to deny bail to those convicted of such crimes pending appeals, to prohibit the taking of bail from subversive organizations or their members, to increase statutory penalties for such crimes, to take American citizenship from and deport naturalized citizens convicted of such crimes, to outlaw the Communist Party and make membership therein a crime, to require American citizens employed by the United Nations to receive security clearances, to authorize a new Assistant Attorney General to be responsible for combatting antisubversive activities, to strengthen the laws against Communist infiltration into labor unions and other organizations, to prohibit the use of the mails for sending Communist propaganda, and to prohibit Government loans to Communists.

We cannot know whether all of these would be desirable changes in our laws until they have been given thorough legislative consideration. But we should get on with the business of considering them.

Usually, a committee's first step toward considering a legislative proposal is to ask for a report from the executive departments concerned. Some committees of this Congress have not even taken this step on some of the important bills of this type before them. Reports were asked as long as 13 months ago on some of them, but the Department of Justice has given leisurely consideration to the bills and has not yet reported on many of them. If this pace continues, these bills have little chance of being considered before this Congress adjourns.

The executive departments have been slow in other ways to take effective action in this field. Under both Democratic and Republican administrations, use of grand juries and other investigative procedures in this field has been minor. In the absence of effective executive action, congressional investigations become necessary.

If the President would now, through the Attorney General, direct the initiation of needed grand jury and other investigations, there might be considerable sentiment in Congress for shifting this function back to the executive and judicial branches. It is obvious that the legislative branch is not equipped to investigate individual misbehavior as thoroughly and as impartially and with as much protection for the individual.

This, then, is the prompt and effective action which should be taken:

1. The President, through the Attorney General, should initiate grand jury and other investigations to perform some of the functions now carried out by congressional investigating committees and take proper and immediate action based upon such investigations.

2. The congressional committees responsible for antisubversive bills should request reports on such bills on which no reports have been requested, and should urge that reports be rendered as promptly as possible.

3. The President should see that all departments and agencies act quickly on these reports.

4. These committees should begin hearings and report the bills favorably or unfavorably as soon as possible.

5. The bills reported favorably should be brought up for debate in the Senate and the House and, after mature deliberation, passed or defeated.

Finally, we should raise the level of our consideration of this problem. Let us concentrate on issues instead of personalities. Exercising self-discipline, let us resist the temptation to make political capital of the issue, raising it above the level of partisanship to the level of patriotism. Let us seek to foster a greater spirit of unity among Americans, emphasizing the ideals and opinions we hold in common instead of our areas of disagreement. With self-discipline, let us be willing to enlist the support of all who will subscribe to these principles and to share with them the credit for solving this problem.

We should all resolve that we will take a new grip on this problem. By prompt and effective action on the part of the executive and legislative branches of our Government and by raising the level of our consideration of the real issues we can reduce this problem to minor status in 1954.

Declaration of Former Members of the Ukrainian Central Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following declaration by the former members of the Ukrainian Central Council. Throughout one finds eloquently expressed the spirit of democracy which motivates the Ukrainian people:

Thirty-five years ago, last April 29, 1953, the most prominent pregenitor of the Ukrainian National Republic—the Ukrainian Central Council—ceased its activities as a result of powerful foreign armanent.

From that date the Ukrainian Nation experienced many political regimes in Ukraine, and has the possibility to report to them its evaluation, based on its personal experiences, namely, which of them brought liberty and prosperity and which brought enslavement and misfortune.

We, the undersigned, former members of the Ukrainian Central Council, consider it our duty to express our opinion concerning this matter.

The Ukrainian Central Council was organized in March 1917 of representatives of all the Ukrainian organizations in the city of Kiev. The Ukrainian National Congress, in Kiev, in April of that year, ratified it, complementing it with representatives of organizations from all the districts of Ukraine, the all-Ukrainian conventions of peasants, workers, soldiers, political parties, teachers, cooperatives, land, and other civil organizations, as well as the nationality minorities of Ukraine, supplemented the composition of the Ukrainian Central Council with their delegates, and, in this manner, created an authentic all-national, free representation of Ukraine.

Each Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian civil, political, cultural and economic organization in Ukraine and the opportunity to send its deputies to the representative body. Hence, the Ukrainian Central Council represented the will of the entire population of Ukraine, of all its nationalities. Only those groups were not represented in it who did not acknowledge democracy.

Personally, we participated in the formation of the constitution of the Ukrainian Central Council. This legislature was constructed on the democratic traditions of the Ukrainian nation, based on the ideals of the French Revolution, and preserved in Ukrainian literature up to our era.

The Ukrainian Central Council, through its four universals, developed the self-government of the Ukrainian people from autonomy to independence. It broke the horrible Moscow fetters binding the Ukrainian people, which over a long period of years retarded their political and cultural development.

In accordance with the incontestable, clearly expressed, free will of the population of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Council declared the establishment of an independent sovereign Ukrainian state—the Ukrainian National Republic.

It organized an armed force of the Ukrainian nation—the regular army of the Ukrainian National Republic.

It succeeded to the previous heirlooms of Ukrainian ancestry and established as the official state emblem of Ukraine the ancient standard of the State of Wolodymyr the Great—the Gold Trident, and the blue and yellow flag.

It established an Ukrainian monetary system and postal stamps, karbowantal, hryvni, shahy.

The intensive development of Ukrainian public education, from the lowest to the highest; the organizing of Ukrainian educational and art workshops; the blossoming of excellent writers and press; the liberation of the Ukrainian Orthodow Church from Moscow bondage—all these illustrious marks of wonder of the resurrection of the Ukrainian Lazaar were the results of the creative activity of the Ukrainian Central Council.

Concerning national-personal autonomy, the Ukrainian Central Council established, by legislature, legal basis for humane relations between all peoples of Ukraine on the principles of liberty, equality, autonomy, and harmony.

Concerning land, it assured by legislature the development of peasant husbandry and food supplies for the entire population of Ukraine. Concerning an 8-hour work day, it protected the workers by legislation and established state control over the industrial production of the country.

Finally, the constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic guaranteed each citizen, without regard to race, creed, politics, or nationality, full citizen rights, inclusive of freedom of speech, press, assembly, livelihood, migration, and choice of vocation.

We were witnesses to that fact that in Ukraine, during the administration of the Ukrainian Central Council, without consideration of the acute political struggle—no one was arrested or indicted by the Ukrainian Government for his political, religious, or national tenets.

The Russian provisional government, though unwillingly, was forced to recognize this free democratic structure—the Ukrainian Central Council and the administration organized by it, the General Secretariat—as the supreme state government of Ukraine, and ratify an autonomous constitution for Ukraine.

Also, the supreme command of the southwestern front, with its staff, by special protocol, subordinated itself to the government, and the assistant commissar of this front, Nykolaj Hryhoryev, was sent to Kiev in November 1917, on a special commission to relinquish, according to protocol, all rights of the Russian Government in Ukraine to the Ukrainian Central Council. As of this date, Ukraine actually became an independent state, to which England and France sent their diplomatic emissaries.

The Government of Ukraine—the General Secretariat, and, as of January 22, 1918, the Council of National Ministers—was composed of members of various parties, creeds, and nationalities: Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, and Poles.

We witnessed how democratic elections to offices of local autonomy were conducted under this government, at which the majority (70 percent) of the votes supported the Democratic Party. We witnessed how the new autonomous departments, with a Ukrainian majority, developed broad, civil, cultural, and administrative activity, covering Ukraine with a huge net of schools, Prosvit (educational institutions), cooperatives, publications, and other organizations.

Even Lev Trotzky, then head of the Russian Soviet delegation, at the peace conference in Brest-Litovsk, declared: "There is not, and there cannot be, any doubt that the process of self-determination of Ukraine, within its geographical limits and state structures which satisfy the will of the people—will reach its ultimate." In his opinion, the actual self-determination of Ukraine became possible because of the following reasons: "In Ukraine, political activity resolves freely; there are not, and there never were, any medieval established organs which would pretend to representation of Ukraine; there are no previously appointed ministers who, by right of power, would act within the limits dictated from above; free elected councils of workers, peasants, and soldier delegates exist in Ukraine, and during the elections to offices of autonomous government, the principles of general equality, direct and secret balloting were utilized."

The equitable matter of national and political liberation of Ukraine, conducted by the Ukrainian Central Council, soon encountered the crafty, powerful enemy. The Bolsheviks, having seized the government in Russia, attempted to do the same in Ukraine. When the Ukrainian Central Council refused to recognize the Government of Russia as their own and announced their own statehood—the Ukrainian National Republic—the Communists of Moscow commenced to suppress this state by investigating uprisings by local Communists, later by sending the Red military guard and withdrawal from the front of its military sections, for the purpose of destroying the Ukrainian democracy. Lacking the strength to openly subdue the Ukrainian national movement, they attributed various intrigues to it; outwardly they recognized and preached self-determination up to separation, but actually they undermined it with all resources.

The Ukrainian Central Council, foreseeing all the perils from consolidation of bolshevik dictatorship in Russia, endeavored to forestall this danger by determining a satisfactory basis for the establishment of a federative Russian Government with the participation of all the newly resurrected states of the former Russian territory. The Russian Soviet Government, however, having dispelled the all-Russian legislative session, declined the efforts of the Ukrainians and commenced war against Ukraine on December 17, 1917, for the purpose of vanquishing it by military force.

Together with other citizens of Ukraine, we militantly resisted the Russian Bolshevik forces who came to Ukraine from Petrograd, Moscow, Briansk, Orla and many other cities of Russia. We personally read Muravov's orders, placarded by the Army in the streets of Kiev, following the departure from the City of the Ukrainian Army, where it was stated: "We bring the Soviet Government from the distant North on the points of our bayonets, and there where we establish it we will defend it with all the power of these bayonets."

The then Government of the Ukrainian National Republic did not capitulate before the dictatum of the Kremlin but independently, without externel assistance, organized opposition to the Bolshevik aggressor.

It had the moral support of all the groups among the Ukrainian population. Together with other members of the Ukrainian Central Council, we heard, at that time, the speech of the representative of the Jewish population in Ukraine, A. Shatz, who, after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, declared: "Only one constructive force remains on the entire territory of Russia—the Ukrainian Democracy and its organ, the Ukrainian Central Council." In behalf of his nation, Shatz pledged support in the struggle with Bolshevik violence. Another representative of the Jews in the Ukrainian Central Council, Zolotaryov, declared that "the Jewish proletariat, together with the Ukrainians, will defend the freedom and independence of Ukraine against Russian Bolshevism to the last drop of blood."

In the unequal struggle, the young Ukrainian National Republic collapsed, lacking arms and a well organized army, which could not be organized during the several months of the revolution.

Under these circumstances, our Government signed a treaty at Brest Litovsk with the Central Powers to liquidate the old Russo-German front in its rear, and accepted

military aid from them against the Bolsheviks. Through this treaty, Ukraine entered the international forum as a recognized state. Following this, the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, within a short time, rid its territory of Bolshevik occupation and the former democratic political structure and peace were reinstated. In Kiev, negotiations with the Bolsheviks commenced.

This conquest, however, was not successfully maintained. The Governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary, having their own interests and plans for Eastern Europe, utilized the sharp protests of the Ukrainian Government against the attitude of the German Army toward the Ukrainian population and plundering of its estates—to betray Ukraine. The German Military Command, by force of arms, suspended the activity of the Ukrainian Central Council, arresting several Ukrainian Ministers and appointing Gen. Paul Skoropadsky as Hetman of Ukraine.

The Moscow Soviet Government, which was warring with the Democratic Ukrainian National Republic, immediately acknowledged the government of Skoropadsky, although they were aware that it was an issue of the German powers and Russian reactionaries and that its punitive detachments burnt Ukrainian villages, arrested and exiled to concentration camps Ukrainian democratic workers and peasants.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people remained faithful to the Ukrainian National Republic. In the new circumstances ,the Ukrainian National Forces grouped in the Ukrainian National Alliance, which, under the leadership of the directorate, quickly organized an uprising against the reactionary regime of Skoropadsky and the German inimical forces.

We were present when, in January 1919, the Labor Congress of Ukraine, called by the Directorate, resurrected the Ukrainian National Republic, and, in agreement with the Government of the National Republic of Western Ukraine, reincarnated on the former territories of Austro-Hungary, announced the coalition of Ukrainian lands, previously under Russia and Austro-Hungary, into one sovereign Ukrainian State and engaged in effecting a treaty with Soviet Russia.

The Bolshevik Government, which previously recognized the regime of Skoropadsky, now declined to acknowledge the change of government in Ukraine, interrupted the peace negotiations in Kiev, and renewed the interrupted war with Ukraine.

Now, the Ukrainian National Republic was forced to defend itself not only against the Red aggressors from the north but, also, against the White Russian armies from the south. Just about that time Ukraine was attacked from the west by Poland, for the purpose of seizing Galicia and western lands for itself. Surrounded on three sides and lacking support in the world, our country was forced to compromise at the cost of heavy and unjustified territorial concessions with Poland, so that it could continue the struggle with Russian Bolsheviks with the aid of Poland, up to November 1920. When Poland, despite Ukrainian protests, concluded a separate treaty with the Bolsheviks, in Riga, the Ukrainian Government and Army did not succumb to the mercy of the enemies, but, nullifying the treaty with Poland, went into exile.

So ended the armed struggle of the regular army of the Ukrainian National Republic on the territory of Ukraine, which the neighboring aggressors divided amongst themselves. However, the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the occupants was not interrupted but continues up to the present time in forms and methods of insurgent detachments.

Following the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic, in some circles of Ukrainian society in exile a search commenced for other means of liberation. Some began to ponder over the political successes of Germany and Italy, who, losing the First World War, found themselves under the helms of Hitler and Mussolini, with their slogans of national-fascist dictatorship as remedies for all inefficiencies of Europe. Events of the Second World War proved that hopes of liberation, with Germany's assistance, were entirely unfounded. In Ukraine, German desired expansion of its own area of subsistence and due to this, the Ukrainian insurgent detachments were forced to fight aginst the Germans, as well as the Bolsheviks.

After due consideration of past events, we certify with profound conviction that—

1. The Ukrainian nation acquired self-power and liberated itself nationally and socially only during those periods when it stood on the democratic path and utilized its own traditions: democracy, centered in the Ukrainian central council, established an independent Ukrainian National Republic, and, under the directorate, united all Ukrainian lands into one sovereign state.

2. All attempts to introduce another regime, on dictatorial principles, gave the Ukrainian nation nothing advantageous. There, the political conclusion must be clear: For the achievement and enforcement of freedom, the Ukrainian nation must utilize such principles of social organization upon which it was most successful. These are the democratic principles and patterns of the Ukrainian National Republic.

This means that Ukrainian society, as a whole, should retain such an Ukrainian liberation policy which consistently develops its own democratic power and possibilities in branches of culture, administration, and politics.

This also means that internal social relations and powers should be organized on principles of the Ukrainian National Republic; that is, equality of political rights for all party and civil representatives of all nationalities inhabiting Ukraine.

Finally, this means that we can seek support for our struggle for liberation only of those nations and countries where the social forces are organized on similar principles.

The Ukrainian National Center in Exile, headed by the Ukrainian National Council, is established and fundamentally maintains the democratic aims of the Ukrainian National Republic. Unfortunately, not all Ukrainian political circles recognize these purposes but ineffectively waste effort and resources in criticism of them and mutual conquest.

Only the wide support of the Ukrainian National Council, in its dire struggle for liberation of Ukraine, in the daily and uninterrupted activity of all political parties, groups, and organizations, of the true, illustrious traditions of the Ukrainian National Republic, will hasten the day of Ukrainian victory and the feast of liberation.

Issued November 1953.

Col. Wolodymyr Kedrowsky, Former Member of the Ukrainian General Committee, Vice Minister of Military Affairs, Ambassador to Latvia, United States of America; Assistant Prof. Lev Chikalenko, Former Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Council, United States of America; Lt. Andrey Lichniakewich, Argentina; Tymish Olesijuk, M. D., Former Minister of Health, United States of America; Antin Postolowsky, Former Secretary of the Ukrainian Central Council, Argentina; Assistant Prof. Victor Prychodko, Former Vice Minister of Finance, Head of the Podolija Self-Government, United States of America; Kost Turkalo, United States of America; Prof. Panas Fedenko, Former Vice Minister of Intelligence, Political Delegate of Government at Military Winter Campaign, Former Member of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council, England; Prof. Solomon Goldelman, Former Vice Minister of Labor, Israel; Prof. Yakiw Zozula, Former Secretary of the All-Ukrainian Council of Military Deputies, United States of America; Mykola Kowalewsky, Ph. D., Former Minister of Agriculture, Austria; Alexander Zagrodsky, Former Lieutenant General of the Ukrainian Army; Arnold Margolin, Former Judge of Supreme Court of Ukraine, Ambassador to Great Britain, Head of the Ukrainian Delegation at Peace Conference in Paris; Iwan Palyvoda, Professor, Former Ukrainian General Postmaster; Svitozor Drahomanov, Professor, Former Director of Section in the Ministry of the Interior, United States of America.

Russia Will Continue Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article by that outstanding writer, Mr. David Lawrence, which appeared in the Evening Star on March 18:

RUSSIA WILL CONTINUE COLD WAR—PRESENT SOVIET POLICIES AIMED AT DRIVING WEDGES, PRODUCING DISSENSION AMONG FREE COUNTRIES

(By David Lawrence)

What is Russia's game? What are her plans and intentions?

All speeches coming out of the Communist ranks, including addresses by both Malenkov and Molotov in the last few days, indicate a desire to avoid a hot war and even to put an end to the cold war.

Why should Malenkov emphasize that, with the existence of modern means of destruction, a third world war would mean destruction of civilization? The answer is that he wishes his own people not to believe the cries from the free world that Soviet Russia has aggressive intentions. Also, he is impressed with America's growing armament program. He doesn't want the big atomic war.

Is Russia, therefore, interested primarily in the pursuit of the cold war, which thus far has added nearly 600 million persons to the side of the Communists in Europe and Asia without involving a single regiment of Soviet troops? The answer is that the cold war offers further opportunities for infiltration of free countries and also for the acquisition of important raw materials needed in the next 5 years for the Soviet armament program.

Does Russia concede that it wants to pursue the cold war? Of course not. Reiterating that its intentions are peaceful at all times, the spokesman for Soviet Russia who succeeded Stalin—Premier Malenkov—now says that Soviet Russia takes a strong stand against the policy of a cold war.

Where is the cold war being fought today? In Italy, in France, and in Great Britain, in India and in the Near East, and also in Africa and Latin America as well as within the United States.

Just what is the cold war? It is a method of warfare inside free countries which seeks, through Communist-front organizations and through political influence, to gain control

of governments or at least to influence the trend of their policies.

How is such infiltration accomplished? In some countries, like France and Italy, where the Communist Party is not regarded as a conspiracy, direct access is gained to cabinets and government departments where important information is acquired daily as to the trend of policies while they are being shaped. This permits Moscow to move on the diplomatic scene in ways that cause international friction and weaken the solidarity of the free world. Messrs. MacLean and Burgess, formerly of the British Foreign Office, sit behind the Iron Curtain advising the Russians. But the British keep on pooh-poohing the Communist menace and crying out against McCarthyism.

Is there other proof of infiltration? Recently the British Government discovered a Communist plot to take over the colonial government in British Guiana on the north coast of South America. The United States Government has discovered the same state of affairs in Guatemala. There are Communist activities in other Latin-American countries. It is obviously Soviet strategy to make as much trouble as possible for what is sometimes referred to as our back yard, because of Washington's need for Latin-American votes in the United Nations Assembly.

What is the present objection of the Soviets in the cold war? It is to drive a wedge between Great Britain and France, on the one hand, and the United States on the other. It is aimed at producing dissension by a campaign inside free countries to resume trade between Europe and the Iron Curtain countries. The door is being opened to such trade. The United States Government is wobbling on the issue. The Soviets see a chance of getting Britain and other countries so entangled in trade that Russia will acquire in the next few years strategic materials and machinery acutely needed for armament and also for improvement of the Moscow government's internal position through the production of more consumer goods.

What is the American Government doing in the cold war? Mostly it is carrying on a propaganda through radio and public statements by Government officials here, but it is weakened by leftwing pressure inside the United States to bring about the recognition of the government of Red China, even though it has been declared an aggressor by the United Nations. Once Red China is admitted to the United Nations, the prestige of the United States all over the world will be gravely damaged in the cold war.

What about the hot spot in the cold war—Indochina? This is the trump card of the Soviets. They see the French anxious to pull out and they see the Parliament in Paris divided through Communist influence, and they see all of southeast Asia soon falling into the hands of the Soviets once Indochina is surrendered by a phony armistice setup like Korea.

What about Korea? The Soviets have no intention of agreeing to the settlement of the Korean issues because by an indefinite postponement they can keep bogged down in the Far East American military forces which might be needed in Europe in a sudden emergency.

On balance, the Soviets hold a strong position in the cold war, and they are receiving at the moment their greatest stimulus from the operations of the American leftwing and its auxiliaries here and abroad who are pooh-poohing the Communist menace of infiltration inside the United States and who regularly denounce penetrating investigations hitherto conducted by congressional committees.

The cold war, on the whole, goes well for Soviet Russia, and that's the war Moscow is most eager to win because it is less expensive in men and money than a third world war of the atomic variety.

A Real Test of the Kremlin's Sincerity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address I delivered before the White Ruthenian—Byelorussian—Congress Committee of America, Commodore Hotel, New York City, March 28, on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the White Ruthenian nation:

It is a pleasure and an honor for me to be able to join with you today in commemorating the 36th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of White Ruthenia. I looked forward to this occasion because I felt it would afford me the opportunity to renew some old acquaintances and to meet some new friends in the fight for the cause of human freedom. I also felt the historic occasion we commemorate today would properly afford me the opportunity to point out some little-known facts about the White Ruthenian nation and its heroic, age-long struggle for national sovereignty.

The white Ruthenian people are known by a variety of different names here in the United States. They are more popularly known as Byelorussians because their homeland is now known as the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the 15 non-Russian nation-states held within the tyrannical empire of communism, known as the U. S. S. R. The American people are also aware that the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is recognized by the United Nations, has provided a seat in its councils for a representative of the Byelorussian people, but they are also aware that the historic aspirations and rightful cause of the Byelorussian people is, in no way, voiced or represented in the United Nations.

The white Ruthenian people are also known as "White Russians." This, understand, is derived from the fact that byelo means white, and in a literal translation into English, they have come to be known as White Russians. Unfortunately, they have been confused with the "White Russian" movement which developed in 1918 when the Bolsheviks were busy establishing total power in Moscovy. The Bolsheviks were known as the Red Rusians and the Russian-led and manned forces opposing the Bolsheviks, in large measure supported by the unwitting western leaders of that time, became known as the "White Russians" as a matter of contrast. Therefore "White Russian" became a political term distinguishing the monarchist motivated forces who were fighting to restore the Russian czarist autocracy. It is important, therefore, that we should never confuse the cause of the white Ruthenian people with that of the political monarchist movement, known as the "White Russians." The white Ruthenian people have never supported Russian totalitarianism, whether under the czars or the Bolsheviks, but have always striven for their national independence.

I am well aware that in recent years the white Ruthenian people here in the United States and elsewhere in the free world have been subjected to a considerable amount of embarrassment by being called Byelorussians. Their desire to be separated from any understanding that they are "Russians" is well appreciated by anyone who has taken the time to understand the difference between the white Ruthenian people and the ethnic Russian people. On the one hand, the Russian propaganda machine, whether Communist, monarchist, or Russian-concocted "federalist," has attempted to characterize the white Ruthenian people as "white Russians," but nevertheless Russians. On the other hand, as thinking men begin to understand better the amalgamated objectives of international communism and Russian imperialism, it becomes all the more important and necessary that the white Ruthenian people be distinguished from the Russian people.

The white Ruthenian people have maintained their distinctive culture, language, customs, characteristics, traditions, and folklore down through the centuries. Historians have many times referred to them as the people between the marshes. There is good reason for this characterization. Not only is white Ruthenia a nation between two great marshlands, but these marshlands have served on many occasions to protect its people from foreign invasions. The most notable example in all history is the case of Genghis Khan and his golden hordes which overran all of eastern and central Europe and penetrated into what we know today as western Europe. The legions of Genghis Khan, traveling on their fast and sturdy Siberian ponies, skilled as they were in cavalry flank maneuvers, were stopped by these great marshes. Consequently, the white Ruthenian people were spared the ravages and domination by the hordes of Genghis Khan.

Therefore, when I refer to the Byelorussian nation or people, it should be understood that I mean the White Ruthenian nation or people. When using these terms interchangeably, as I shall do in order to be precisely accurate in touching upon some significant epics in history, in no case will I be making reference to the Russian nation or people.

The distinctly White Ruthenian character which has preserved itself through many centuries was reawakened to the spirit of national sovereignty in 1917. With the crack-up of the feudal czarist empire in 1917, the enslaved non-Russian nations all took up the cause of national independence. The White Ruthenian people played their part in this heroic effort to replace despotism with independent governments responsive to the will of the people. In March 1917 a Byelorussian national council was formed in Minsk. It was made up of delegates representating the people from all walks of life in White Ruthenia. This council sent a delegation to Petrograd to demand autonomy for the White Ruthenian people. The Kerensky government, then in power, refused to grant this demand for autonomy, because its objective was the restoration of the Russian empire just as it had been before.

In December 1917 a provisional government was formed in Minsk, and on March 25, 1918, the Byelorussian national council broadened its base to include delegates from western Byelorussia, and then the independence of Byelorussia was proclaimed. On April 1, 1918, the Red army invaded and occupied eastern Byelorussia. The independent government of Byelorussia was then forced into exile.

In the period between the great wars, the White Ruthenian people never gave up their struggle for national independence. With the coming of World War II and the invasion of the U. S. S. R. by the German armies, the White Ruthenian people looked upon this event as another opportunity to make an heroic struggle for their national independence. They welcomed the German Wehrmacht as liberators, refusing to fight to uphold the cause of Red Russian imperialism; they desertad the Red army and surrendered to the Germans. They pleaded for an opportunity to drive the Bolsheviks out of all Eastern Europe, with the expectation that their reward would be an independent White Ruthenian nation. You and I know that the Nazis, because of their evil racial policies, looked upon the liberated

people of the U. S. S. R. as inferiors and little better than slaves of the new order.

The consequence of failing to permit the White Ruthenian people to fight for the destruction of the Bolsheviks and for their own national independence shall go down in history as one of the decisive factors for the defeat of the German armies in the east.

The people of White Ruthenia today are continuing to carry on their struggle for national independence just as are the people of the other non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. Last December, in an address before the National Conference for Peace and Freedom Through Liberation, I pointed out that the four forces for freedom at work within the U. S. S. R. were religion, enlightened nationalism, free labor, and free enterprise. I also stated that these four great forces form the foundation for the preservation of freedom and human dignity in the United States and in all other still free nations. I concluded that it was our common and urgent task to unite these four great forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain if the cause of peace and freedom was to win the worldwide struggle for the minds and allegiance of mankind.

Since giving that address, there has been a telling evidence emanating from the official pronouncements of the masters of the Kremlin that these four forces for freedom are their greatest enemies. The propaganda line of the Moscovites today within the U. S. S. R. seeks desperately to prove that the non-Russian nations held captive by Moscow are really free and independent. The Kremlin has singled out the case of the Ukrainian nation on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Peryslav to demonstrate their point. They claim that the Ukrainian nation is free and independent. They claim that the Ukrainian nation should be grateful to their great Russian brothers for securing this national independence. The Kremlin also demands that all the non-Russian people of the U. S. S. R. pay homage to the great Russians as the superior people of the U. S. S. R.

I have not the slightest doubt but that the greatest problem confronting the tyrants of the Kremlin is the problem of enlightened nationalism within the slave empire over which they rule. They are aware that the people of the non-Russian nations within the U. S. S. R. and others within the extended empire do not consider themselves to be independent, self-governing, or in any way free. There is nothing the Kremlin can do to persuade or convince the non-Russian peoples that their best interests rest in an alliance with the Moscovites.

In commemorating this 36th anniversary of White Ruthenian independence, we should be mindful that all the other nations of the U. S. S. R. have made similar struggles for their national independence. We must remember that the people of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, North Caucasia, and Turkestan continue to fight for their national independence and complete separation from the tyranny of Moscow. We must continue to hope and pray that some means can be found whereby the Russian people of Muscovy, relieved of their misguided and imperialist-minded intelligentsia, can also one day have their own independent and free government.

There are many ways in which we can aid the cause of the enslaved nations and people of the U. S. S. R. and the other once-free nations which have been annexed into the Muscovite Empire since World War II. But what I am interested in now is the development of practical means whereby we can support the historical aspiration of the non-Russian nations for their national independence. In doing this we obviously strengthen the struggle for a free Poland, a free Hungary, a free Slovakia, a free Czechia, a free Rumania, a free Bulgaria, a free Albania, a free and united Germany, a free and united Korea, a liberated Austria, a free Estonia, a free Latvia, and a free Lithuania.

One measure, I feel, can go a long way in giving such support is the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 58 in the present session of Congress. This resolution, as you know, calls for the establishment of full diplomatic relations by the United States with the white Ruthenian and Ukrainian nations. In the eyes of prominent international lawyers this resolution is consistent with the principles of international law governing the recognition of nations and States. On the basis of these principles, as stated by such prominent international lawyers as Kelsen, Wright, and others, the United States already recognizes white Ruthenia and Ukraine. Passage of this resolution will serve notice to the world in general and to the fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain in particular, that the United States of America stands firm in its belief that all nations, large and small, have a right to national sovereignty. It also serves notice that we shall never acquiesce in the slavery of these nations. It will also put the Kremlin to the most severe test it has ever faced in all its history. By the manner in which the Kremlin would respond to such an offer we could determine how sincere they presume to be in their peace claims and their desire to establish amity among nations. I assure you that I shall do all in my power to bring House Concurrent Resolution 58 to issue and passage in the present session of Congress.

It is my fervent prayer, and I am sure that of countless Americans, that on future anniversary occasions we shall be closer to the day of a genuine independence and true freedom of the white Ruthenian nation. For that day we must fight, for this fight is the real fight for freedom's cause.

Racial Prejudice and Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in a letter printed in the Washington Post on March 24, 1954, Rear Adm. Ellis N. Zacharias, USN, has offended those of us who sincerely believe that good citizenship and loyalty are not the exclusive attributes of any racial group. Admiral Zacharias, of course, denies his bias, but the following letter from a representative of the Japanese-American Citizens Association published in this morning's Washington Post speaks for itself in connection with racial prejudice and Hawaiian statehood:

While Admiral Zacharias, in opposing statehood for Hawaii, denies any attempt to "impugn the loyalty of any citizen of oriental extraction in Hawaii," whether he intends to or not, the fact is that he does and American citizens of Asian ancestry resent it.

In rejecting the equality of political status that statehood means to Japanese-American World War II and Korean war veterans, he directly impugns their loyalty by suggesting that their loyalty is not quite equal to the responsibilities of statehood.

"Under statehood," Admiral Zacharias claims, "Hawaii will have legislatures composed entirely of citizens of oriental extraction."

This allegation is an out-and-out appeal to the prejudices of some. It smacks of racism and bigotry. It is not based upon facts, for no Territorial legislature has ever been controlled by Americans of Asian ancestry. Under statehood, as under current Territorial status, the electorate will remain substantially the same; so past records indicate the error of this assumption.

MIKE M. MASAOKA,
Japanese-American Citizens' Association.
WASHINGTON.

Overseas Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Frank Kent, entitled "Gibes of British Press Traced to New Dealers":

GIBES OF BRITISH PRESS TRACED TO NEW DEALERS

(By Frank R. Kent)

The relations between the British and ourselves are more fundamentally and essentially close than those between any two other nations in the world. This is partly because, notwithstanding the great tide of immigration which in recent years has made our population heterogenous rather than homogeneous, more than one-third of our people are still of English descent. But there are many other things that bind us together.

These include language, literature, religion, basic law, to say nothing of the two World Wars in which we came in on the British side. While beyond question our weight made the difference between victory and defeat in both of those conflicts, it is not necessary to pretend our participation was wholly unselfish and disinterested. In the present world crisis in which the Russians are waging a cold war against free nations everywhere, the alliance between Great Britain and the United States is inevitable. Should, as is possible, this "cold war" lead to a third worldwide conflict, no one doubts that the British and the Americans would present a united front to the common Communist enemy.

There is, of course, a certain anti-American sentiment among the British and a certain anti-British sentiment here. Those who are old enough recall the fulminations of Big Bill Thompson, famous mayor of Chicago, who made a campaign issue of his desire to punch the then King George in the snoot. And there have been other demagogs of equal versatility on this side who capitalized the inherent English hostility among certain groups of our Irish voters. But neither with us nor with them has this sentiment ever amounted to a hill of beans. In our hearts we know—and the British know—that when the chips are down and the crisis has to be met, we are their inevitable allies and they are ours.

All this being so, then why is it that in a period as critical as the present our Government and the American President should have so bad a British press as it now has? At shorter and shorter intervals the British newspapers, including some of their best as well as some of their worst, burst out in editorials, dispatches, and articles belittling President Eisenhower and disparaging his administration. Some of these outbursts are violently denunciatory and some are just pompously critical. A queer but rather ap-

parent journalistic game is being played—apparent, that is, to those whose trade it is to follow journalistic trends and developments.

What is happening is this—in the United States the anti-Eisenhower New Deal columnists and commentators, plus the Democratic National Committee's publicity bureaucrats, outnumber the pro-Eisenhower commentators and writers by about 2 to 1. Ever since the 1952 election they have maintained a persistent barrage clearly designed to undermine his program and minimize his popularity. By reason of General Ike's strength with the people as a whole they have had little success in pulling him down. But they have had great success with the British newspaper correspondents in this country. With one or two exceptions, what these gentlemen have done—and are doing—is to base their dispatches to their British papers on the columns and comments of the American anti-Eisenhower columnists and commentators. The British papers then editorialize on these dispatches.

What follows is interesting. Again, with 1 or 2 exceptions, the American correspondents in England take these anti-Ike editorials and dispatches and cable them back to their papers in the United States, which then print them as a sort of symposium of British feeling about us. From one viewpoint this journalistic merry-go-round is ridiculous. Certainly it makes saps out of both the British papers and the American papers. But it does not make for good feelings between two great and friendly nations—and it does not represent real sentiment of the people in either. Certainly when one great English paper seriously asks whether Eisenhower or McCarthy is really the American President, it is time to ask how our British friends get that way—and why?

As to why, there are two ideas. One group says that while mostly the British correspondents are good men, during the Roosevelt-Truman regimes they became so pro-New and Fair Deal that they naturally play along now with the New Deal-Fair Deal American journalists, all of whom are anti-Eisenhower. Others insist that the great trouble is that these British correspondents have no real sources of information themselves and rely almost entirely upon the New York and Washington papers, in which the New Deal columnists and commentators are dominant. Whichever view is true, this journalistic game is being carried to absurd extremes and in the interests of both nations should be discontinued.

Newspaper Criticism

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this idea of getting peeved about something in the newspapers that says something about you that you do not like is nothing to worry overmuch about.

There is only one good thing about that that I know of. If the papers are vicious enough and they use the wrong kind of language, you can get an hour on the floor on a question of personal privilege. That is, if the Speaker and the Parliamentarian agree with you that they have gone far enough to justify an explanation.

But the thing I want to suggest this morning—that is, the point I wish to make—is that, if the friends of Communists intend to try a Member of the other body—the chairman of a committee—and, in addition to their demands that he get off the committee and take no part in its deliberations, they demand that he be denied the privilege of cross-examining the witnesses who appear against him, then they ought to give him a bill of particulars so the people would know the exact charges that are made.

You know, even a chicken thief has to be told whose chickens he stole and how many there were, their value, before he can be brought to trial, and I think they ought to do that with our colleague in the other body. Let him have a chance.

Let him be tried by his peers. Let him be confronted by the witnesses. Let him have the right of cross-examination.

And while they are about it, let them, before they bring in a verdict, be sure that each is free of prejudice—has not prejudged the case; has no personal knowledge of the alleged facts; has not expressed an opinion on the issue; has no desire to any part of the acclaim or publicity Joe has been getting.

In short, if they are to conduct a trial, as it appears they are, instead of a congressional hearing, let them follow trial procedure.

Hardening of the Economic Arteries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, many of us in this body are becoming increasingly concerned about the Nation's economic health. A challenging question today is, What part of the patient needs treatment now, the upper parts or the lower extremities? There are, of course, men of integrity who still insist that the patient is not seriously ill. Economic doctors, as well as medical men, are often found in disagreement among themselves.

The Bordentown (N. J.) Register has suggested that what we need now is "money in circulation." This leads me to suggest that what the Nation is now suffering from may be a mild case of hardening of the economic arteries. We have the medicine to cure this, Mr. Speaker, and there is little doubt that a wise tax policy will improve our money circulation.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Bordentown (N. J.) Register of March 18, 1954, in the RECORD:

THE PRESIDENT'S TAX APPEAL

We heard President Eisenhower's appeal to the people of the country on Monday night, to hold the tax base firm for the good of the national economy. We can understand his anxiety to keep tax revenues stable.

However, with millions unemployed around the country and more millions with greatly reduced earnings during 1954, will the tax revenues be stable? Economics is a complicated science, but experience has taught us that money in the hands of the working man creates greater wealth for America than any other means.

We heard Senator GEORGE's explanation of the new tax bill before Congress in which he told of the tax relief which would give those whose revenues comes from dividends a very great advantage over the man who works for a living.

The Democratic viewpoint is that an extra $100 or $200 in tax exemption to the working man, with a family, especially since his take-home pay may be very much less in 1954, would do much to aid the economy.

We believe with the President that all tax relief measures should be postponed until some effort had been made to balance the budget, but since his firmness only started with tax exemptions for the little fellow we are cold to his suggestions.

Just what happens on the tax bill is anybody's guess. We would like to see the money in circulation.

Time for Patriotism and Tolerance—An Address by David Rockefeller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, David Rockefeller is the grandson of John D. Rockefeller, whose large gifts laid the foundations for the greatness of the University of Chicago. On March 19, 1954, Mr. Rockefeller returned to the university, which he himself had attended and from which he had been graduated, as the speaker in connection with the convocation exercises. By unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the full text of Mr. Rockefeller's address:

Several months ago when Chancellor Kimpton asked me to speak to you today, March seemed very far away. Ever since, I have been wondering how I could have been so foolhardy as to agree to address a graduating class of the University of Chicago. I am still close enough to my graduate days here to recall with what skepticism we listened to what businessmen had to tell us of the world of practical affairs. At the same time, I have not been out long enough to be able to bring to you that kind of homely but pungent wisdom which comes from a lifetime of experience.

My main excuse is that the University of Chicago has meant a great deal to my family for three generations and it is with pride that I take part in the ceremonies today in this chapel which was built as a memorial to my grandmother. Inspired by the enthusiasm and ability of President William Rainey Harper, my grandfather made his first gift to the University of Chicago in 1889. The association continued through the next 2 decades as the skill and wisdom of President Harper molded a great educational institution. My grandfather was especially gratified by the fact that development of the University of Chicago brought with it the spread of the university idea of

research and graduate study throughout the entire Middle West.

The University, on the one hand, was founded on a deep religious faith. On the other, it drew its strength and vigor from the liberal-democratic tradition. These same two great forces were responsible as well for the development of our country as a whole. They were brought to our shores by our forefathers in colonial days. They played a predominant role in the American Revolution and in the drafting of the Constitution. It was fitting that they should also constitute the foundation on which our great universities were built. They were certainly deeply ingrained in the character of both President Harper and my grandfather.

My father came in contact with the University in the early days as my grandfather's representative. He, too, saw in President Harper a man of outstanding abilities. Later on, my father became interested in the Oriental Institute, as the result of a trip he took to Egypt with Dr. James Henry Breasted. I was fortunate enough to be a member of the party. Although I was only 13, I shall never forget the experience of travelling up the Nile in a lumbering side-wheeled dahabeah with one of the world's great historians as a guide.

My father was a trustee of the university for 13 years, and in later years he took an active part in the creation of International House and in the establishment of the Public Administration Clearing House. In 1928 he spoke from this very pulpit at the dedication of the chapel.

My own selection of the University of Chicago as a place to complete my graduate studies in economics was based on the outstanding reputation of the members of the economics department. Some years after receiving my degree, in 1940, I was invited to become a member of the board of trustees, an honor which I have greatly cherished.

Times have changed a great deal since President Harper first interested my grandfather in the university. The outlook of my generation is very different in many ways from his, but the fundamental concept of the role of the university in a free society has not changed. If anything, I believe the universities of the United States are more important today in the preservation and development of freedom and democracy than they were 60 years ago. I am confident that the liberal tradition is so deeply implanted in this university that it will never yield to any pressures to make it deviate from the pursuit of truth and freedom. I am proud that my family were able to play a part in building this university, and I am proud, as I know you will be, to hold a degree from it.

Because of these personal and family ties with the university I venture to speak to you today. What I have to say represents simply the convictions of someone who is glad to be an American citizen alive in 1954, who believes in the future of our country, and who finds pleasure and stimulation in having a role in its business life.

By force of circumstances, not all within our control, the United States has a predominant position in the world today. The mantle of responsibility is new to us, and we do not always wear it gracefully. There are even those among us who would like to see us shed it. If we are to keep it and use it wisely, both for ourselves and for the rest of the world—and I believe it would be folly to choose another course—each individual citizen must have a sense of personal responsibility. To exercise that responsibility, we must have a sense of self-confidence and face the facts, even though they at times may seem unpleasant, even dangerous.

It is a fact well known to psychologists that persons who are unsure of themselves or are fearful of a real or imaginary danger often seek to escape by finding easy refuge like the fabled ostrich. When the ostrich puts his head in the sand at the approach of danger, he is an escapist in modern psychological parlance. The important fact about the ostrich and his human emulators is, of course, that in burying his head in the sand he is doing the opposite of what he imagines. He is doing the very worst thing from the point of view of his self-preservation. If he kept alert, with his eyes open, he might at least have a chance to outwit or outrun his enemy. As it is, he is doomed to destruction.

The situations from which most of us are tempted to seek refuge do not normally involve a physical opponent from whom we wish to hide. They are apt to be more subtle enemies, such as our own shortcomings, the existence of which we dislike to recognize. Yet a failure to recognize them is likely to result in our own unhappiness and our failure as a contributing member of society.

At no time in our lives is it more important to examine ourselves and the world with a clear and penetrating eye than when our formal education comes to a close and we embark upon a career. Fortunately at this point, we are best equipped to do so. The major part of one's mature life is still to come and one's mind is in training to think clearly and incisively. At no other time does a person have such vigor and courage on his side. This is the time, then, to face squarely the opportunities which exist and to determine how they can be realized. And this is the time to expose and to master any unrecognized fears.

The decisions you must take regarding yourselves and your future are not always easy. Not a few times they cause concern and considerable worry. I would venture to say that at some time most most of us have experienced anguish in bringing ourselves to the point of making a difficult decision. Usually carrying it out is less painful than anticipated. By the same token, worry or fear which is not clearly known or understood usually appears less ominous after it has been recognized and met courageously.

A good illustration is the case of a young friend of mine of draft age who felt very strongly at the beginning of the recent war that the United States should be in the war, and who felt a sense of personal obligation to participate. Nevertheless, because of family responsibilities and a defense job, he could have been exempted from the draft had he so desired. After many days of inner conflict, he enlisted even though the thought of Army life was repugnant to him. The decision once made, he felt immediate relief and even satisfaction at doing what from the beginning he had been convinced was the right decision though an unpleasant one to make.

Perhaps it is presumptuous of me to draw to the attention of men and women such as yourselves thoughts which may seem so obvious. I do so because I feel very keenly that the world needs the background and ability which your presence here indicates you have. But the world needs you in the place where you will do your best—where you have a positive contribution to make and will be a well-adjusted member of your community. Yet you and I have known people who have started their careers with the same advantages and the same promise you now have who have turned out to be narrow, limited, and unfulfilled members of society. So often their failure to make the most of their potential has been caused by their inability to understand or master themselves and to face reality.

People who seek refuge from something within themselves close their eyes to what they do not wish to see and willfully bury their heads in their particular pile of sand. Escapists are found in all fields of activity. They are recognized by an attitude of mind—not by an occupation.

Some of you I hope will go into teaching. There is no profession which is more important to the civilized world than the teaching profession. It provides the continuity in learning between generations. Teachers at their best help to produce the leaders of society and inspire the oncoming generation to new heights of achievement. But there are two kinds of teachers, and I am sure that you all have seen both of them. One has patience, a deep interest in others, and a unique gift for imparting knowledge. These are valuable characteristics, but we don't all have them. Then there are other teachers who have drifted into teaching simply because it involved the least change in the pattern of life to which they had become accustomed and from which they lacked the self-confidence to depart. (I hope that no teachers of this variety are to be found at the University of Chicago.) These teachers, whose careers represent an attempt to escape from the world, do an injustice to themselves and their pupils. If you are to be teachers, I hope you will do so because that is the work you want beyond anything else, and not because it is simply the easiest path to follow.

Similarly, men in research these days are playing an increasingly essential role in society. Such men, if successful, have a profound curiosity and are apt to be as interested in ideas as in people. Research workers who enter their profession because of conviction and an urge to create are playing a positive role. Not so with those who see in it primarily a way of retreating into a laboratory where they hope to find themselves free from the problems of the world and free from personal cares and responsibilities. There are such people. But retreats like these are apt to be sterile and illusory for the individual. They are certainly unproductive so far as society is concerned.

In a different way, business can also be used to provide as much of a refuge for the escapist as the classroom or the laboratory. It most certainly need not be, for business can be an exciting vocation with many facets. If I were to characterize it, I would say it is a vocation with a premium on action and the intensely practical. Businessmen must get things done, and within certain stated limits measured by such yardsticks as cost, profits, and the all-important human factor. But business is only one aspect of human affairs, and the businessman who recognizes this is the one who is truly successful.

The man in business whose pattern of life, year in and year out, has been reduced to the same monotonous and unimaginative routine has long been the subject of satire. A daily office routine, evenings with television, weekends at cocktail parties and golf, is a schedule which need not be vicious and may be productive. But if it is unrelieved by positive thinking and a personal participation in community or public affairs, it is likely to lead to intolerance of change and new ideas; to an unwillingness to consider the welfare of others; and to a combative unconcern for activities outside his own orbit. In these conditions, the businessman too becomes an escapist quite as much as the long-haired professor who retreats to an ivory tower.

There is open to most of us, then, an opportunity for positive decision or an alternative route to escape. The path of conscious decision is the more difficult but infinitely the more satisfying. It requires knowledge of one's self and the courage of one's convictions. And one seldom travels far along this path without encountering some anxiety. Mistakes will be made—no one ever lived who didn't make mistakes and learn by them—yet I believe you will find that this path of decision is the only one that leads to satisfying and positive life.

A group of people or a nation can be as guilty of refusing to face unpleasant facts as an individual. National pride, for example, when it reflects a healthy espirt de corps is something we all admire. But when national pride becomes a form of aggressive

nationalism which, accompanied by the waving of flags, applauds our selling goods abroad but cries "for shame" when any foreign goods are offered for sale; when the same nationalism unduly limits the entry of immigrants to our shores despite the fact that our wealth and greatness, not to mention our very presence here, depended on immigration; and when again it fails to recognize our responsibilities toward the rest of the world, then nationalism may be termed a kind of escapism. Self-interest is a valid part of national policy, but escapism based on fear and insecurity leads to a retreat from the rest of the world, to bellicose and offensive self-aggrandizement, and to an effort to achieve economic self-sufficiency, all of which bear no more relationship to our own best interests than the frenzied effort of the ostrich at protection.

If isolationism is at least in part an outgrowth of mass insecurity, so also is totalitarianism in all forms. The insecure person looks to someone or something on which he can lean and on whom he can depend for guidance. The Ceasars and Hitlers of this world have succeeded because they found themselves among people lacking the confidence and strength to maintain a democratic form of government. There are rabble-rousers in every country who soothe, cajole and threaten the timid and the weak by flashy slogans, pet formulas and glittering panaceas.

Fortunately, we have not stood idle in face of the Communist threat of aggression and insidious subversion. We have developed a dynamic program to rally the free world to the cause of peace, freedom, and economic betterment. We are spending in the neighborhood of $45 billion a year to bolster our defenses and are contributing over $4 billion annually to the support of defense efforts of other free nations.

In addition, we have taken what history may well record as momentous steps to help other nations of the free world to help themselves in dealing with their economic problems. I refer, of course, to programs like the British loan, the Marshall plan, and our efforts to promote economic development through technical assistance and financial aid. These programs, while developed in a period when the Communist threat was uppermost in our minds, were motivated also by our genuine desire to work in cooperation with the peoples of the rest of the world in solving the problems we all face.

Communism, however, is not the only form of totalitarianism which we have to fear. Many decades will have passed before we will have felt the last ill effects of our war against nazism, fascism, and militarism. Let us be sure that in fighting Communist tyranny in the world, we do not run the risk of letting the pendulum swing back to the other extreme.

There is a great temptation to look for a knight in shining armor when the issues are confused. Instead of carefully and honestly looking at the facts, it is easier to look to someone who will save the day with a dramatic tilt with the enemy and a flourish of trumpets. The escapist looks for the strong leader and the easy solution. Knights in shining armor are quick to sweep aside what they consider the amenities—the so-called unnecessary trappings—of democratic society and when the dust is cleared, we may well find that we have neither the amenities nor democracy.

Despite all of the dangers and problems which beset the United States from without and from within, the opportunities for young Americans today are greater and more challenging than the youth of any country has ever known. The only things which will prevent us (perhaps I flatter myself by still classing myself among the youthful) from great achievement are limitations within us. Success does not depend upon outstanding brilliance nor special advantages. It does depend upon emotional balance, an ability to reason and a willingness to face facts as they are. Family environment, religious faith, and good schooling are factors which contribute to emotional stability and an orderly mind. From here on, however, we must determine for ourselves the degree to which we are prepared to face our responsibilities in the world and to do something about them. You now will take the next step toward making your life rich, exciting, and rewarding and at the same time toward contributing your share to the development of our great Nation at a time when it most urgently requires your services. This is a time when for positive decision—a time when people need faith and understanding, perspective and courage, drive and enthusiasm, patriotism and tolerance.

What Is Really Meant by the New Look?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to observe that administration leaders are now hard at work explaining that the New Look in military foreign policy is not so new after all, but merely an adaptation to recent developments. The President himself has come out against slogans, so maybe the term New Look will quietly fade away.

But important and vital questions about our present military-foreign policies still remain unanswered. The terrible power of weapons of destruction now in our arsenals, and presumably also possessed by the Soviet Union, increases the need for clear and level-headed debate and discussion of foreign policy.

Questions raised in an editorial in the Trenton Evening Times, March 18, 1954, call for full and adequate answers by administration leaders. The editorial follows:

THE NEW LOOK

With each new explanation, the often-expounded New Look of United States military and foreign policy posture is plunged into deeper obscurity. It is understandable that some of our allies are mystified and also deeply concerned over what we intend to do in the event of an emergency.

Vice President NIXON offered this clarification of our new policy: "Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression in times and places that we chose."

Substantially this is the way Secretary of State Dulles has defined the policy, although the Secretary has placed great emphasis on the instant and massive retaliation contemplated by the United States in the event of provocation. Mr. Dulles asserts that the President has the authority, without consulting Congress, to order such retaliation at his discretion.

Several pertinent questions arise from these authoritative statements on policy. Was not President Truman harshly criticized by Republicans in and out of Congress for his immediate intervention in Korea? And what would happen in the event of a renewal of the war in Korea or an attack on Formosa or some other nibbling operation or a little war of Communist instigation? Would there be a massive reprisal against the major source of aggression, which would be Moscow or Peiping?

Would this retaliation be ordered without consent and cooperation of our allies, as Mr. Pearson of Canada so reasonably inquires? And how does the new policy, as explained by Vice President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles, square with President Eisenhower's press conference statement that there is going to be no involvement of America unless it is the result of the constitutional process that is placed on Congress to declare it?

As the explanations now stands, we will bomb China or the Soviet Union when the next little war breaks out. Is this what is really meant by the New Look?

Undertime Replaces Overtime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by J. Arthur Lack, appeared in the March 26, 1954, issue of the Wall Street Journal. I believe the facts contained therein will be of interest to our colleagues. They substantiate what I have been saying about the effect of unemployment and shorter workweeks on our economy.

The article follows:

UNDERTIME — SHORTENING WORKWEEKS IN FACTORIES BECOMES A MAJOR ECONOMIC FACTOR—PITTSBURGH, HARDER HIT THAN MOST CITIES, FEELS IT IN AUTO, BEER, BREAD SALES, DENTISTS, BANKS, LAUNDRIES

(By J. Arthur Lack)

PITTSBURGH.—"Our clothing sales have been running 40 percent below a year ago," says R. H. Gilmore, manager and secretary of the Pittsburgh Mercantile Co. department store across the street from the big Southside mill of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. "Clothes are one of the things a worker can postpone buying when things get tough."

Heavy appliance and furniture sales also are way off, he reports. Even dollar volume of food sales at the department store's supermarket are running 12 percent under the year before, with workers' wives switching to the less costly kinds of victuals.

Some workers have been laid off at the J. & L. mills. But many more have held onto their jobs while seeing their earnings shrink as overtime wave way to shorter workweeks. The tightening in workers spending habits as a result of the "undertime" trend is a big factor in slower business, merchants in the neighborhood agree. The situation hereabouts, with the steel industry depressed more than most, is an exaggerated version of what's going on in other industrial areas. The whole undertime trend adds up to a major consideration for businessmen and employees throughout the United States.

SHORT WORKWEEK IN STEEL

Shortened workweeks have become the rule throughout most of the steel industry. Latest figures prepared by the American Iron and Steel Institute show that 645,000 basic steelworkers toiled an average 35.7 hours a week in January. A year earlier they averaged 40.7 hours. The industry this week is operating at 66.5 percent of capacity compared with around 75 percent in January.

But the trend from overtime to undertime work is by no means restricted to steel, although workers in that industry are among the hardest hit. Latest Government statis-

ties show the average workweek in all United States manufacturing plants in mid-February was 39.5 hours, down from 40.2 hours in December and 41 hours a year earlier.

In Detroit, another industrial center hit by shorter workweeks, one local tool manufacturer's production workers now are on a 40-hour week. A year ago these workers were working 52 hours. "A year ago the boys were buying high-priced homes and cars," says an executive, adding: "Now the fancy cars are becoming scarcer, and many men are having trouble meeting mortgages and other debt obligations."

MERCHANT TABOR'S REPORT

Drop into Paul Tabor's store near the Jones & Laughlin mill here and you'll get another view of how shorter workweeks are hitting worker spending. Mr. Tabor's is a combination laundry, delicatessen, candy, and grocery operation.

Pointing to a half-empty rack of laundered work clothes, Mr. Tabor declares: "My laundry business alone is down more than 50 percent. When they work 4 days instead of 5 or 6, they don't have to get their work clothes washed so often, and some of them now wash their clothes at home to save a little money."

One of the customers in Mr. Tabor's store, a 45-year-old pipefitter in the mill, tells a typical tale. He says he now makes $69.76 for a 32-hour week at $2.18 an hour, "a hell of a big drop" from the $103.36 he made when he worked 48 hours and got paid the equivalent of 52 hours.

"About a month ago we quit buying bread," he says. "My wife bakes it herself now. And we eat hardly any steak—it's a luxury now. A year ago we ate steak twice a week." He has also foresaken his liquid dietary supplement of 2 to 4 doubles and beer chasers every day at Max's Tavern. Now he has no whisky, only a beer or two.

SHORT-TIME BARTENDERS

Heavy-set Adolff Gribowicz, who owns a saloon facing the J. & L. mill, reports: "We're doing business, but it's down." Another bar in the vicinity used to employ two full-time bartenders; a little over a month ago the bartenders started working only 2 days each and the owner began tending the bar the rest of the time.

Walter Daylitko, who operates a grocery store two blocks from the mill, complains that business is way down. He moans: "My God, I get sick. It's getting bad. Credit is poor. For bills of $10, $20, or $30, the customers pay me one-third now instead of all."

"All along the line the millmen are switching to items that give them the most for their money," says another food-store operator. "A steelworker's wife can buy a pound of dry beans for 17 or 18 cents—and it's 3 times that pound when she cooks it. A pound of canned beans costs her 21 cents."

Mr. Gilmore, of the Pittsburgh Mercantile Co., likens the present pinch to the sales squeeze during the 1952 steel strike. "We've tightened up on credit," he adds. "Though repossessions have not gone up, payments have been reduced. Underemployed workers at least make some payments, but we have to wait for the unemployed."

BANKER BEARD'S REPORT

Edgar A. Beard, vice president in charge of consumer credit for Potter Bank & Trust Co., notes that the thinner wallets of the steelworkers have generally affected sales through the city of Pittsburgh. The bank lends money directly to people for auto purchases; on appliances, it arranges the credit with the dealers. Applications for consumer loans indicate auto sales are off and home appliance sales are pretty much down, says Mr. Beard.

"The steelworkers are trying to take care of what they have," he says. "They're coming in and inquiring what they can do to meet their payments with their smaller incomes. We've been drawing up new contracts for smaller payments."

He adds: "There's no great damage to anybody and no real suffering to speak of, but the time when the steelworker could pay for last year's foolishness on this year's income is over."

Another steelworker tells how four men in his shop have taken jobs on the side to bolster their incomes. They wash cars for $1 an hour at one of the assembly-line auto laundries. "But as long as I make at least 4 days a week, I'm not going to take a part-time job and scab some poor guys who are completely out of work," says he.

OWING THE GROCER?

With his own workweek reduced, he is not without money troubles. "Two weeks ago my little girl came home needing $7 for gym shoes and clothes for school," he says. "I didn't have any money. I had to make a shortcut somewhere else. Now she needs her baby teeth pulled out. It'll cost about $30. We'll let it ride until April 15 when I get my vacation money. If I have to take my vacation time off, though, we'll get her teeth fixed even if I have to run up a grocery bill."

He adds: "Ten years ago I would say nothing to spending $50. Now I'm scared to spend 50 cents."

UNITED STATES STEEL WORKER SPEAKS

Elsewhere in the steel-mill-studded valley along the Monongahela River the situation is much the same.

"Our gang used to work overtime 5 or 6 months ago," recalls a young grinder at United States Steel Corp.'s Duquesne works, one of a group of men who eliminate surface defects on steel bars. "We were required to work 12 hours 6 or 7 days a week in those days. Now we're working 5 days a week, 8 hours a day. Some of the other men in the mill are getting 4 days a week, others are 2 weeks on and 1 week off."

A 40-hour workweek nets the men in this steelworker's department $75.60 each, based on $1.89 an hour. It's a sharp drop from the $166.32 they made 6 months ago working 12 hours a day for 6 days a week. With time and a half pay for overtime, they then got paid the equivalent of 48 hours' extra pay for the 32 hours overtime they actually worked.

One rather typical steelworker, whose take-home pay has plunged to $66.50 for a 4-day week from over $103 a year ago, finds he must spend about $49 a week for food for his family of five.

"At least I haven't fallen behind yet in meeting any installments," he says, "but I have to squeeze like hell." He owes $100 on a $400 TV set, owes on his coal and a $50 watch he bought his son for Christmas.

This man has no share in the record savings in the hands of the public as a whole. Thirty-five $25 Government bonds bought during World War II went down the drain some time ago. "Yet the kids got to have clothes even if I have to borrow money," this steelman notes.

Noteworthy Achievements of the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is, indeed, a pleasure for me to invite the attention of the House to the activities of an unsual organization. The Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training is deserving of our highest commendation as it reaches another anniversary. We are extremely fortunate to have, in the interest of international understanding and solidarity, such an organization whose noble and constructive work has been progressively expanding for 74 years.

Right here in the Congress we regularly appropriate huge sums of money and debate at great length means whereby we may alleviate world distress. We seek to raise worldwide standards of living, aspiring to attain for all peoples the bare essentials for their existence. There are two principal motivating objectives that guide our actions. Humanitarian reasons, first of all, compel us to share our abundance of food, material goods, and our technical competence; and secondly, by reducing the suffering in the underdeveloped areas of the world, we strive to control, in some measure, the spread of communism.

There are those of us, however, who are prone to overlook the significant contributions that an organization such as the present one is making on an ever-expanding front. It does not require, nor does it seek, any national legislation or appropriations to subsidize its operations. Neither does it precipitate any international or domestic crises. The Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training is contributing decisively to world peace. Recognition and acknowledgement of its beneficial work, on our part, would be the first step to supplement effectively the current means we are taking to help people to help themselves. Subsequent methods and opportunities for us to further this group's valuable work would gradually be developed and presented for our consideration.

The Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training administers and operates a global system of tuition-free schools for the vocational education of Jewish people. Self-reliance and comradeship characterize the 18,000 trainees who comprise the network of 300 vocational training classes in 20 countries of the world. Five different continents are represented.

A tremendous service is rendered to the individual who in most instances is an underprivileged person in need of rehabilitation. A large portion of the student body consists of dislocated personnel who are desperately in need of economic security and of some stability in their precarious existence. Thousands of individuals consequently have had their standard of living raised, and have achieved an attendant personal dignity that they had never known before. And we may safely conclude that without this noteworthy program they might never have realized a similar dignity of person. Not only to the individual himself, but also to the community, a tremendous service is rendered. The student becomes a trained and useful citizen who is well qualified for his task in filling the needs of democratic nations for highly skilled workers and craftsmen. The Organization for Rehabilitation Through

Training is the point 4 program of Jewish life.

The growth and mobility of the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training throughout the world reflects the comparable migrations of the Jewish people during the past 74 years. The organization first began its work in teaching skills to the persecuted Jewish victims in Russia. From that time onward, its growth and activity were constant and finally culminated in the rehabilitation work for the sufferers under nazism. The boundaries were extended to North Africa as a result of World War II, and since that time, to the further rehabilitation of Iron Curtain refugees. Invaluable support is being afforded the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training by the numerous local chapters in this country. At a recent biennial convention in New York City attended by 305 delegates and 361 alternates who represented 25,427 members it was reported by the national president that there had been a 78 percent increase in the women's chapter units.

It is with a feeling of profound assurance, then, that I note the intensely valuable contribution that the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training is making for better understanding and neighborliness among the nations of the world. Let us hope that not only will this organization continue its consistently expanding and excellent service to humanity, but it will serve as a worthy inspiration to other groups and organizations that may pattern their own activities or future programs in somewhat similar fashion. Regardless of the extent and quantity of legislation we may pass seeking to foster international good will and understanding, the role played by this type of organization must be fully appreciated as an essential and decisive supplement to such legislation.

Another Minnesota Community Urges Parity-Price Support for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, community after community in my State of Minnesota is becoming articulate in support of fair play for the farmers of this Nation.

The latest group of businessmen and civic leaders to appeal for a fair-price-support program for farmers is from Badger, Minn. It is especially gratifying to me since I have been advocating 100 percent for basic farm crops for the last 20 years.

The appeal by the Badger Community Club, which was published in the March 11, 1954, issue of the Badger Enterprise, follows:

PARITY FOR FARMERS

Being the State of Minnesota is a majority agricultural State, the businessmen of the village of Badger feel that it is most imperative that we work side by side with those attempting to maintain a farm program which will enrich and develop the agricultural activities wherever they are a major industry or source of livelihood.

In view of the above conclusion, we the following businessmen of this city resolve that we go on record condemning any effort on the part of any Congressman, the Department of Agriculture, or any agency for attempting to disrupt the stabilization program, affecting all farm commodities.

We further resolve that Congress shall not only maintain 90 percent of parity, but shall try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities. We do not favor any tendency toward flexibility of price support, but urge Congress to maintain a production-control program which is necessary in order to have stabilized price support.

We further resolve to condemn any form of prosperity based on war and bloodshed, but favor genuinely sane and sound economic program, particularly for the producer, which shall be based on industry, security, and individual initiative.

We further urge all business groups in other cities of this State as well as those of other agricultural States to go on record favoring similar resolutions.

H. R. Staehnke, Manager, Badger Co-op Elevator; John Trangsrud, Manager, Roseau County Co-op Association; I. B. Setran, hardware and implements; Earl Bessler, Grocer, Red Owl Agency; H. L. Manthei, Manager, Farmer Union Oil Co.; Lloyd C. Bernstrom, Barber; Iver Iverson, Merchant, Hartz Agency; John Hanson, Jeweler; W. O. Jensen, Proprietor, Standard Garage; Robert Glenn, Scotty's; N. B. Gustafson, Banker; P. L. Ballard, Ballard Motor Co.; Mildred M. Peterson, Variety Store; M. E. Halvorson, Proprietor, Halvorson's Department Store; Earl M. Erickson, carpentry and building; Phillip A. Erickson, Merchant; Eleanor Larson, Gamble Store; William Yates, Bill's Texaco Service; B. J. Borgen, International Harvester Dealer; John Sjoberg, Badger Seed House; Carl B. Carlson, Manager, Northland Grain Co.; O. W. Olson, Olson Auto Parts; Dell E. Johnson, Manager, Row Lumber Co.; Olaf W. Gustafson, Manager, North Star Creamery Association; Andrew M. Shontz, Publisher, the Badger Enterprise; Joseph A. Storvik, Badger Seed House.

Report on Southeast Asia and the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 3, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, last fall four members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs—Hon. MARGUERITE STITT CHURCH, Illinois; Hon. E. ROSS ADAIR, Indiana; Hon. CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, Wisconsin; and myself as chairman—flew more than 30,000 miles in the Far East and southeast Asia. We visited 14 countries and dependencies to make a firsthand assessment of American policies, programs, and problems.

We took every opportunity to meet and talk with our officials, local officials, and private citizens, both Americans and local. It was a hard trip, but, I believe, a fruitful one.

Since our return, we have been engaged in writing a report of our findings. That report has now been prepared and submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In it we have studiously tried to be objective and candid. We have no desire to be sensational. Nor do we believe that any constructive purpose will be served by dealing in rosy generalities.

It is our belief that the Members of the House may find the report helpful in formulating their judgments on the complexities of the Asian scene, and I am including the conclusions herewith. We hope that in addition many Members will find time to read the more detailed observations on each country, or at least the recommendations we make at the end of each country study.

CONCLUSIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

The study mission returned from its Asian trip firmly convinced that a free Asia is vital to the security of the free world and, therefore, to the security of the United States. The Communist danger cannot be overestimated. Delay and indecision operate to the advantage of the Communists.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE FAR EAST

As in other areas of the world, the Communists in the Far East have shifted their tactics to exploit the weaknesses of their opponents at the same time that they remain rigidly loyal to their objective of bringing this area within the Communist orbit. The study mission had its own views on this matter confirmed in the course of a conversation with one of the highest British officials in Asia. He observed to the study mission that the Communists are embarking upon the third round in their drive to capture this area. The first round immediately after World War II involved a period of respectability in which they promoted united fronts and sought to take power through coalition governments. Beginning about 1948 they felt strong enough to embark upon the second round which consisted of armed uprisings and attempts to seize by force the Governments of this area, as exemplified in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Indochina, Korea, and the Huks in the Philippines. They failed in part because they revealed their real plans and alientated much of the local population.

It is evident now that the third round has begun—a shift back to conciliation and a peace offensive as their principal tactical weapons rather than reliance upon armed uprisings and physical violence. Their failure to win by violence alone, plus involvement in the Korean war, has caused them to revert, not only in Asia but around the world, to their former tactics of respectability in a united front. The danger is that now this technique may find a more ready response among war-weary people. Timed to coincide with talks, settlements, truce, and conferences, it may more easily enable the Communists to gain by peace what they have not been able to win by war and violence.

The daily preoccupation of governments and peoples with their immediate tasks, together with the constant variation in Communist techniques of attack, has obscured the larger Communist strategy that is unfolding in Asia. The Communists already control China. From that deep and rich base they can move north to strike ultimately at Japan. Korea was a step in that direction. The cessation of Korean hostilities represents no abandonment of their plans. They are also advancing south to secure the

rich resources of south Asia. Should they succeed in this continental pincer movement, the manpower of China, plus the industrial capacity of north Asia, plus the agricultural and raw material resources of south Asia, would create a most formidable power element roving against the free world.

Asian leaders with whom the study mission spoke left no doubt that they now understand the nature and dangers of Communist aggression and the menace posed by Communist China. They are confident they could cope with their local Communists were it not for outside aid in the form of funds, propaganda, and even sabotage from Communist China. But living as they do under the long shadow of this menace, they have to exercise caution and restraint. They are not encouraged to do otherwise in the absence of a clear and firm policy by the United States and the free world. So long as this uncertainty and the resulting irresolution exist, Asian leaders cannot be expected to stand up against Communist China. And the longer it takes the United States and the free world to fix their policy and set their course of action, the more difficult it becomes to convince the Asian peoples of the sincerity and steadfastness of purpose of the free world.

The immediate threat to Asia is from mainland China, the Asian puppet of the Soviets. By virtue of its location, size, and manpower, Communist China intrudes itself into every phase of Asian issues. It is to this grim reality that our policy and actions must be directed. Some leaders believe the threat is so serious that they advocate vigorous preparation for an attempt to destroy the Communist regime by military action even though they recognize the terrible cost and the possibility of unleashing other problems almost as great as those that now exist. Others who do not go so far agree that we cannot wait for the slow process of time to effect changes in the character of Chinese communism. In the dynamic atmosphere of the present world such a policy is tantamount to abandonment. Neither is it reasonable to expect the Chinese people to rise up against a ruthless police state regime that controls a heavy military establishment.

The most feasible course open to us is to carry on a constant and simultaneous combination of pressures from within and without in order to intensify the internal problems of the Chinese Communist regime and to give encouragement to those outside. Our tactics must be as numerous, varied, and flexible as those of the Communists. Such a campaign requires imagination in its conception and ingenuity in its execution. Like a military operation, the cold war involves harassment, withdrawals, and feints, as well as forward thrusts. The mobility necessary to carry out this policy will require cooperation among our allies abroad and understanding by those of us at home who may easily mistake a diversionary move as a sign of appeasement.

RECOGNITION AND ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA

At the same time, the United States must steadfastly refuse to recognize the Communist regime in China and must resist its admission to the United Nations.

The study mission was unable to discover any benefit that recognition could bring to us or to any other nation in the free world. This is not a matter of speculation. What benefits have been gained by any of the countries that have recognized Communist China?

There are solid grounds for opposing Communist China's admission to the United Nations and other international organizations:

1. Legally, such admission would make a mockery of the U. N. Charter itself, which restricts admission to "peace-loving" nations. Communist China cannot qualify for admission until it proves it has changed its character and objectives by supporting the U. N. against aggression, instead of supporting aggression against the U. N. It cannot change its character and objectives until it ceases to be Communist. And the more the world accepts it the less reason there is for it to shed its communism.

2. Politically, admission to the U. N. would be a smashing victory for world communism and a smashing defeat for the forces of freedom. It would give the Communist dictatorship in China legitimacy and respectability, enormously increase its prestige, influence, and power. It would give Communists control of Chinese embassies and consulates in scores of countries, including some which have never recognized the Soviet Union. Every consulate would become a center of Communist espionage, sabotage, and propaganda. This would be especially disastrous in southeast Asia, where the free peoples are already fighting a life-and-death struggle to halt Communist advances and subversion.

3. Morally, it would be an equally devastating defeat for the free world. Admission would not be mere acceptance of a powerful band of gangsters on the basis of expediency or so-called realism; rather, it would be abandonment of 450 million people to Communist enslavement. It would be regarded by all as an attempt to buy peace for ourselves by sacrificing our own moral principles and other peoples' freedom. If anyone imagines the peoples of Asia will resist a Communist China which the Western World embraces, he is deceiving no one but himself. History proves that there is no peace in appeasement.

If we are to defeat the avowed purpose of armed communism to conquer the world, the first step is to prevent its gaining any more victories—territorial, military, economic, diplomatic. Free Asia will crumble once it believes the Communists are winning. Recognition by the United States or admission to the United Nations would mean to Asia, as it should mean to us, that the Communists have already won.

PACIFIC PACT

The study mission noted a gradual recognition by many of the governments that collective security offered the best hope for survival. Much of this changing perception stems from the collective action taken in Korea. The United States has mutual security pacts with the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Korea. The study mission believes these are significant elements in the defense of the region. The question is whether conditions are favorable for broadening these bilateral arrangements into a regional pact. In this connection the study mission offers these observations:

1. The initiative for such a pact must come from the Asian nations themselves. But such initiative is not likely to come unless these nations feel confident that the United States will view it with favor and will support it.

2. Relations between Japan and the other free nations, notably Korea and Australia, have not yet reached a degree of cordiality sufficient to favor broadening the present bilateral agreements.

3. Any such pact is meaningless without the inclusion of Nationalist China. Yet to include Nationalist China must take into account the legitimate aspiration of the National Government of China to return to the mainland. It must also take into account the desire of the Republic of Korea to unite all of Korea into a single nation.

In line with previous expressions by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the study mission believes that a Pacific pact is a desirable objective toward which United States policy should be directed.

ASIAN NATIONALISM

Time is rapidly running out in Asia when constructive policies and measures can be undertaken. However much we may believe we are winning psychological battles, the Communists are gaining control of more territory and more people. Ignorance or apathy on our part is almost as useful a weapon for the Communists as is their own guile.

The study mission has returned from this area with a deep conviction that the free world must deal intelligently, decisively, and rapidly with a complex situation. The peoples in Asia want to develop self-government in a peaceful and neighborly world. Nationalism is the lingua franca of Asia. The Communists have long recognized this. Let they use it only to destroy the newly won independence of these peoples. If the programs of the free world are to succeed, the first requisite is that we use Asian nationalism in fact as the Communists do in name. Outside assistance, including American aid, must be presented and managed in a way which will make unmistakably clear that its purpose is to strengthen, not undermine, their national independence. In that approach we in the free world have not been too successful.

The moment is quickly approaching when the rising tide of communism could engulf Asia. This is not the time for panicky action any more than it is for wishful thinking. Neither will exorcise the threat to Asia. The first step is to recognize the danger, then plot our policy and resolutely follow it. Such a course requires that the executive branch reveal to the people the unpleasant facts, restrained only by considerations of security. The study mission is following its own advice by speaking out with as much candor as it can on this subject. To do otherwise would defeat the very purpose for which the trip was made.

ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

There is a popular assumption that appropriations of money are the solution for our problems. Money is a measure of our interest, not a yardstick of our success. If money alone could do the job, our problems in Asia would long since have disappeared. Its conversion into constructive programs and action is the real test.

Since 1945 the United States has given more than $6 billion in economic and technical assistance to countries in this area. About $5 billion has been for various kinds of emergency relief, most of it immediately after the war. Since 1950 more than $1 billion has been, or is being, spent for programs of ecnomic and technical assistance.

The "impact" phase of economic assistance is nearing its conclusion in most countries. In view of the limited funds and the chronic difficulty in securing suitable personnel, emphasis should be on technical assistance projects and not commodity programs, except where the military situation may require some commodity support. The projects ought to be only those that build upon the basic strength of the country rather than spreading the funds over an array of projects, however useful, that must be started from scratch. The study mission believes that concentration on fewer and more significant projects will better serve both the immediate and the long-range needs of the countries and, at the same time, offer a more convincing demonstration of the benefits to be derived from technical assistance.

Technical assistance is by its very concept a personalized program. The fact that it has not yet proved possible to recruit and to retain dequate numbers of first-rate personnel is one of the strongest arguments in favor of its sharper, and more limited focus.

Historically, Asian governments have seldom been benevolent governments. The Communists have capitalized on the popular hostility towards government by working with the people. It cannot be denied that

in many cases they have gained support among of popularce by appearing to serve its interests. In contrast, the United States, not operating a fifth column, has of necessity worked with governments, and thus has been the recipient of some of the odium, suspicion, and lack of understanding that prevail.

The technical assistance program is reaching a point in experience where it is necessary to reexamine many of the assumptions on which it was initiated and to reappraise results in terms other than economic. Too little attention has been given to the effect of economic and technical assistance on the political and social life of the recipient country. The consequences of the aid program in these fields may be more significant than in the economic field. For example, the program was billed as a "grassroots" approach. Yet our missions must operate through the established government agencies. In the underdeveloped countries the gap between the grassroots and the governments has always been wide. Is the effect of our aid widening the gap? If it is, what are the implications? The study mission saw some projects that were poorly conceived and badly executed, but it also saw evidence that some basic projects were bringing to peoples not only immediate improvements but were gaining respect and appreciation for the United States.

The study mission suggests that each of the geographical subcommittees of the Committee on Foreign Affairs give more atttention to a study of our economic and technical assistance programs in this broader context.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

The nations of Southeast Asia and the Pacific are either under attack or stand in imminent danger of attack. All of them are victims of Communist subversion. They have no alternative but to divert their limited resources to the support of a military establishment. This is their only hope for survival. Their continuance outside the Communist orbit is as important for our national security as it is essential for theirs. The study mission recognizes the necessity for continued military assistance in proportion to the urgency of the need and the capacity to use it effectively.

In the one area engaged in open conflict at the moment, Indochina, the study mission believes it imperative that the maximum use be made of Vietnamese forces. Their effectiveness is contingent upon the training that they receive. No less important is the building up of their conviction that they are fighting for their own national salvation. Thus far these have been slow. The study mission believes that American and French authorities should vigorously explore means by which their military training, political consciousness, and morale building can be accelerated. The splendid showing made by South Korean troops is indicative of what can be accomplished by well-trained troops fighting in defense of their own country.

POLITICAL EVOLUTION

The Asian nations have left their authoritarian past and are groping to find an acceptable political alternative. Without exception they have borrowed liberally from the vocabulary of western democracies. But the new governments have not yet been able to give to these words the same content that they have in the Western World. It is doubtful if they ever will—certainly not in the foreseeable future. Democratic practice as we understand it requires a high sense of public responsibility and the acceptance of rules and values different from those that are the heritage of the Asian nations. In most of those countries parties are little more than cliques clustered around a few leaders, who, however worthy their motives, have had no experience in relating policies to popular support. Nor have they had to think through the complexities of the basic issues that confront their countries. The prevailing tensions and pressures do not provide the occasion for reflective thought and convincing argument. Expediency is the more acceptable method by which to gain and hold power.

Political parties and organizations have not yet established firm roots among the populace. For this reason it is open to debate to what extent the leaders speak for the people whom they profess to represent. Many of them are western oriented—lawyers, civil servants, and members of a small urban elite—who are not too well informed about their own country however articulate and influential they may be.

The absence of private capital imposes upon the governments the obligation of supplying capital, thus encouraging the growth of a heavy bureaucracy that will become more firmly entrenched as the economy develops. There is the ever-present danger that this group will manipulate the machinery of government according to its own predilections and stifle, not necessarily by design as much as by force of circumstances, the local initiative and expressions that we in the West regard as part of the democratic process.

To the illiterate masses the operation of democratic machinery represents confusion. In the democratic process opposition performs a valuable service. In the Orient the idea of a loyal opposition is neither understood nor respected. It has no constructive function. To be in the opposition is generally regarded not as evidence of political courage but as evidence of weakness. Against the unfamiliar pattern of democracy, the Communists provide an alternative which is more intelligible to Asians. It is not the ideology of communism that is attractive to them. It is the discipline, organization, program, and action that are more in accord with their tradition. The danger is that the confusion attendant upon the development of the parliamentary system will offer an unfavorable contrast to the rigidity and apparent efficiency of communism.

For this reason, the study mission was particularly pleased with the conduct of the Philippine elections. It is the best illustration of the orderly transfer of power in that part of the world. It is not to be expected, however, that the other nations will soon emulate the Philippine experience. The Asian nations must work out their own political pattern in the light of their own background and experience. The western concept of democracy will be modified by local innovations, adaptations, and circumstances. Part of our responsibility will be an understanding of this diversity rather than its castigation, and a willingness to work with it toward the solution of common problems.

SUMMARY

The study mission believes that the United States must recognize frankly that it is the security—even the survival—of the free world that is threatened in Asia. We do not believe, in the light of our information and analysis, that a third world war is the most immediate danger in that part of the world. The first stage in the Communist program is always to try to subvert the weak and divide the strong. Therefore, it is the unending series of local actions in Asia, including violence and subversion, and the constant attempts to sow dissension among our allies in Europe and elsewhere, to which American policies must be directed with intelligence, vigor, and determination if we are to prevent the gradual chipping away of the free world.

We Must Help the People of Israel in the Struggle for Their Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the annual United Jewish Appeal is now in progress. This year the United Jewish Appeal is trying to raise some $120 million to distribute among its component organizations. The bulk of the fund is dedicated to help Israel achieve the basis necessary for its survival. Additional millions are devoted to aid distressed men, women, and children in Israel, in Moslem lands, and in Central and Western Europe, as well as to help settle new immigrants expected to arrive in this country under the new Refugee Relief Act and to aid thousands of immigrants already in the United States to become financially independent and useful citizens in their new homes.

The UJA is a voluntary organization dedicated to humanitarian purposes. It aids the people of Israel in building new agricultural settlements; in transforming waste land into productive acreage by irrigating it; it helps build a homeland for thousands of victims of the persecution of totalitarianism and fanaticism. UJA's objective is to help these people strike roots in Israel and to live in peace with their neighbors in Israel.

But, in addition to the purely humanitarian grounds, there is another reason for our interest in helping UJA. The establishment of Israel has added a new representative republic to the family of nations.

In recent years the world has seen totalitarianism score many, many victories and suppress the aspirations for freedom of millions of people. In this struggle between ideologies, Israel forms a new democratic outpost in an area where there is little recognition of what human rights are and what freedom means. It is important for us in the United States, and for all freedom-loving nations, that Israel survive and grow strong. The United States and the nations of Western Europe have a vital interest in the Near East. This further intensifies our concern over the development of Israel.

In its 6 years of independence Israel has made great forward strides. Governor Adlai Stevenson, who recently visited Israel, observed that the achievement of the new nation has exceeded his expectations. "More human and material progress," he stated, "is concentrated in tiny Israel than in the rest of the Middle East put together."

It should be a matter of pride to the United Jewish Appeal that it played a major role in Israel's settlement and development. The funds contributed by the UJA have made possible the movement to Israel of 723,000 refugees, there-

by helping double the population of that country, creating hundreds of new agricultural settlements, some of which were carved out of wilderness, and reclaiming 600,000 acres of waste land which lay fallow for 2,000 years.

But, while the efforts of the people of Israel, with the help of freedom loving people from everywhere, particularly in the United States, have helped create and sustain the new nation, the struggle for Israel's survival is not yet finished. Freedom and progress, which are an integral part of the growth of Israel, are not indigenous to the area surrounding that small and remarkable nation. Its frontiers are not yet safe and the aspirations of its people for peace have yet to be realized.

The people of Israel have forged to their goal of a self-sufficient modern democratic state. But their great achievements must go forward if their full fruits are to be gained.

The United Jewish Appeal deserves the help of all freedom loving people. In the words of the Prophet, "The children of strangers shall build up thy walls." In 1954 the people of Israel must not be left without friends, and, God willing, we will justify their faith.

Who Was Fired and Why

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appeared in the United States News & World Report, for March 12, on the subject of security risks, those who were fired, and the reasons therefor.

Under the Eisenhower security program, based on 7 months of investigations, it appears that there were 2,429 security risks in 39 Federal agencies. All resigned or were fired. The charges against 422 of these individuals indicated subversive activities or associations; 198 indicated sexual perversion; 611 indicate conviction for felonies or misdemeanors; 1,424 indicate untrustworthiness, drunkenness, mental instability, or possible exposure to blackmail.

Mr. Speaker, that is the record. I shall not set out the various departments where these security risks were found, but the article referred to sets out this information in detail. The article in question follows:

WHO WAS FIRED AND WHY—IN 2,429 SEPARATIONS, 422 SUBVERSIVE SUSPECTS

The Eisenhower administration's own story of its spy hunt in Washington is now being told.

Official figures, given in detail for the first time, show 2,429 security risks fired, or resigned, in 7 months of a new, tougher security plan.

Altogether, 165,000 civilian workers have been given the once-over. Another 26,000 cases are still under study.

A new set of figures is being offered to try to clear up this question: Exactly how many subversives have been removed from the Federal payroll under the Eisenhower security program?

The official answer given by the Eisenhower administration through Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, boils down to this:

In all, 2,429 Federal workers were fired, or allowed to resign during investigation, in the first 7 months of the Eisenhower security program. Nobody knows how many were actual subversives. But all 2,429 were security risks as defined by a law passed with an overwhelming majority by Congress in August 1950, and never fully applied until the Eisenhower program began in May 1953.

The story of efforts to clean out security risks among Government workers, as given by Mr. Young to congressional committees, is the one that follows.

Payroll separations from May 28, 1953, through December 31, 1953, in which security questions figured, included 1,074 cases where the employee was fired and 1,355 cases where the employee resigned.

These 2,429 cases resulted from investigations of around 165,000 civilian Federal workers in sensitive jobs where national security might be involved. That is the number of workers scanned by the security spotlight, out of a total of about 2.4 million workers, in 68 Federal agencies.

Another group of 26,000 cases was still under investigation at the time this latest summary was prepared. Cases of military personnel are not included.

An analysis of the charges involved in the payroll separations was presented by Mr. Young.

Subversives or possible subversives were indicated in a total of 422 cases at most. In these 422 cases, information turned up indicating that the Federal worker had been linked with subversive activities or associations or had refused to testify before a congressional committee on charges of alleged disloyalty or other misconduct.

With the information at hand, Mr. Young could not say how many of the 422 workers had been fired, or how many had resigned. Thus he had no proof, when questioned, that any of the 422 workers with this type of information in their files had been fired solely because they were found to be subversive. Mr. Young could only say that, in 422 cases, information about subversive ties "sufficiently derogatory so you would take it seriously" had been found.

Perverts, sex deviates, were indicated in 198 of the 2,429 cases. Here again, Mr. Young had no conclusive data for Congress that 198 sex perverts had been found in sensitive jobs. All he could state was that department heads of the Federal agencies had certified to him that 198 of their employees who had been fired or who had resigned were charged with sexual perversion.

The State Department, with 117 security separations, 5 percent of the total, reported 49 cases involving perversion charges—25 percent of all such cases. The Central Intelligence Agency, with 48 separations, reported 31 perversion cases; Foreign Operations Administration, 15; Health, Education, and Welfare, 12. The remaining 91 perversion cases were reported by 21 other Federal agencies.

Lawbreakers, workers whose records showed a conviction at some time for a felony or misdemeanor, were involved in 611 cases. While a misdemeanor can be something as unimportant as a ticket for illegal parking, in some jurisdictions, the general rule in the Federal security program has been to count as a misdemeanor only such law infringements as resulted in a substantial fine of some kind.

Drunks, persons who made some important misrepresentations, those with mental disorders not satisfactorily cured, and those who might be open to blackmail figured in 1,424 of the cases.

Where risks worked is shown by the chart on this page. Out of a total of 68 Federal agencies reporting to the Civil Service Commission on security programs, 29 reported no payroll separations involving security questions in the period from May 1953 through December 1953.

The 39 agencies that did report security firings and resignations included all the larger and more important Federal departments and commissions. Each agency conducted its own security surveys, and made its own determinations of how individuals should be listed, within the framework of a White House order instituting the security plan.

Veterans' Administration apparently found the greatest number of security risks. It reported 302 separations where security questions were involved, including 45 cases of alleged subversive activities or associations.

Post Office Department was next, with 284 security separations. It listed only 4 cases involving subversive charges.

The Navy Department, with 235 security cases, reported 12 cases of possible subversives, and 222 in the general category covered by untrustworthiness, drunkenness, and other personal-behavior criteria.

The Army had 219 security separations among its civilian workers during the 7 months covered by the report. It found 28 where subversive actions or associations were involved, 86 where objectionable behavior was charged.

The Air Force reported 189 security cases—25 in the subversive category and 157 in the behavior group.

Foreign Operations Administration, with 183 separations, counted 16 with subversive material and 161 with charges of objectionable personal behavior.

Justice Department listed 156 security cases, with 41 in the subversive group and 119 in the behavior group.

General Services Administration certified 150 security separations, but only 9 were in the subversive class, 72 in the objectionable-behavior class.

State Department showed 117 security separations, with 43 in the subversive group, 31 in the untrustworthy-behavior group.

Interior Department, with the same total of 117 separations, classed 72 in the subversive category and 46 in the objectionable-behavior category.

That's the latest report in the continuing debate over the Eisenhower security program. It is the administration's own measure of its effort to remove from the Federal payroll not only the disloyal, but also anyone who might work against the Government, intentionally or otherwise.

Say It Isn't So—Depression, Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, "It can't be," said Karl Marx. "It will never be," said Lenin. "It is inconceivable," said Joe Stalin "We did not invent it," says Georgia Malenkov. But apparently it exists in the Soviet world exactly as we have experienced it in the Western World. The big "it" is the economic crisis known as depression.

Word out of Russia indicates a crisis in food production with a proposal to con-

script farm labor. In China some 200 million folks are admittedly hungry. Czechoslovak resistance to Soviet tyranny is growing, and farmers are opposing the communization of their farms. Hungary is being tapped of its farm produce to help feed Russia. Similar problems are present in marginal farm producing countries like Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland.

For some reason the Russians are discovering economic problems arise when crops are bad, when the weather is poor, when people grow tired of working without seeing the fruit of their labor, when the proletariat realizes that its work is somehow being diverted into nonusable merchandise at the expense of the laborer, when folks just plain will not work for the tyranny known as the state.

All the economic theorizing, all the Marxian dialectic, all the catchwords of the revolution will not till an acre of ground or turn out a respectable low-priced winter overcoat. One day a sharp realization will strike the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain, and they will find it impossible to distinguish between slavery under a czar and slavery under a commissar. When they make this fundamental discovery, commissars may well go the way of the czars.

H. R. 7839

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the current issue of the CIO News:

CIO CALLS HOUSING BILL PITEOUSLY INADEQUATE

(By Eugene A. Kelley)

Rejection of the administration's "piteously inadequate" housing program was urged by CIO Vice President James G. Thimmes before the Senate Banking Committee last week.

Thimmes, vice president of the CIO Steelworkers and chairman of the CIO housing committee, called for a positive program that would provide housing and bolster the Nation's economy.

"The addition of 400,000 to 500,000 housing units to the anticipated annual rate, while far short of the need and the achievable goal, would involve four to five billion dollars of added investment in housing and would lead to a restoration of full employment and high level production," Thimmes said.

He called it a "goal so worthwhile and so clearly attainable if bold measures are taken that the Nation cannot afford to forego this opportunity."

Administration aims, Thimmes charged, are set too low and fail to provide housing for those groups most in need of it and least able to buy it. To meet the needs of millions of moderate-income families, he said, new housing must be made available at a monthly cost of $40 to $90—taking into account the impact of higher taxes on the upper portion of the $2,500 to $6,000 group. For those in the $2,500 to $5,000 range, Thimmes said housing costs, including utilities and maintenance, must be reduced to $40 to $75.

Thimmes asked the committee for an all-out resumption of the public-housing program on a vastly expanded scale.

"Public housing is cheaper than slums," he reminded, "urban decay, disease, and human blight caused by substandard housing conditions—and it is cheaper by far than the cost of idle factories and idle men."

Thimmes declared that the administration was aware of the shortcomings of its own program. Its own estimate of the stimulus its housing bill would provide leaves the Nation with the annual total of new housing starts 10 percent below the 1953 achievement, almost 13 percent below the 1952 starts and 40 percent under 1950's record production.

He said that CIO still believes 2 million new homes a year should be built to meet current needs.

"A million new homes is not enough," said Thimmes, "not only because it will not achieve new housing; it is doubly inadequate because the level of new home construction is a vital factor in determining whether this Nation is prosperous or not; whether employment will grow or recede; and whether the great building industry will carry the Nation forward in the face of recessionary forces and play its full part in counteracting them."

About 65 delegates from State and city CIO councils heard Thimmes testify. The day before they took part in a CIO housing conference led by Ben Fischer, CIO housing director. Speakers included Representative John Edelman, of the CIO textile workers; Robert Oliver, assistant to CIO president, Walter P. Reuther; and Dr. William L. C. Wheaton, professor of city planning at the University of Pennsylvania.

Wheaton, who serves as consultant to the National Housing Conference, backed the CIO demand for 2 million new homes a year and cited his survey which shows a substantially higher need over the next 15 years. If the United States does not achieve that level of new home construction, we will never be able to clear slums and eliminate substandard housing, Wheaton warned.

"Indeed," he continued, "at present levels of construction our present substandard units will never be replaced. We will have more substandard housing in 1970 than we had in 1950.

"Even if we build 2 million units a year and rehabilitate 400,000 additional units each year, 5 million American families will still be using homes which were substandard in 1950 when 1970 arrives."

South America-North America Versus Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, the French proverb, "To know all is to forgive all," is a useful and very adaptable epigram. It often conceals causes for distrust and occasionally smooths a thorny diplomtic path. Certainly it goes a long way toward explaining the historic differences in the development of relations between the Republics of South and North America and the corresponding relationships which have developed on the European Continent.

At Caracas, Venezuela, the recent Conference of the Americas emphasized the factors uniting the Western Hemisphere despite differences of national interest among those present. A strong common front against growing Communist agitation was established. The consent of all the governments affected was achieved in terms of defense, and a feeling of mutual good will was engendered by the release of a Peruvian political leader from his enforced sanctuary in the Colombian Embassy at Lima after 5 years of protection.

A conference of this kind is difficult to find in the records of Europe. No real effort was made to consolidate the forces of western, central, or eastern Europe in those years when such attempts were feasible. It was only after centuries of bitterness and war that the statesmen of the Continent even considered such ideas as unification for economic purposes. The system of alliances was as far as Europe ever developed in its diplomatic thinking. There is much more ahead for the Americas if we are to achieve the great destiny apparently dawning for the Western World. We have at least charted new directions for this achievement.

Canada Operates Its Post Office Department on a Pay-As-You-Go Basis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith the following Post Office Department release concerning the long-term Canadian policy of operating its postal department on a pay-as-you-go basis:

Canada will continue to operate its postal service on a pay-as-you-go basis with the actual users of the mails paying the costs.

This long-term Canadian policy was reemphasized recently when the Canadian Parliament approved higher rates for first-class mail by amendment to the Canada Post Office Act.

Effective April 1, 1954, Canadian letter rates will be raised from 4 cents to 5 cents for the first ounce and from 2 cents to 3 cents for additional ounces. Post card rates will also go up 1 cent, from 3 cents to 4 cents on the same date.

These rate increases are being made to meet anticipated higher operating costs in the year ahead and despite the fact Canadian postal operations have shown a surplus of $13,200,000 in the past 2 years.

Canadian postal revenues are generally slightly in excess of expenditures. In the 21-year period (1933–53) Canadian postal operations have shown a surplus in all but 2 years, 1939 and 1951.

The United States Post Office Department, in the similar 21-year period from 1933 to 1953, has shown a deficit in all but the 3 war years of 1943, 1944, and 1945. Since

World War II this accumulated United States postal deficit totals more than $4 billion and is costing United States taxpayers more than $100 million for interest alone on this huge sum.

The startling financial contrast between the costs to the taxpayers for postal service in these two neighboring countries during the past 5 years is highlighted by figures released today, without comment, by Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield.

The financial operations of the Canadian postal system for the years 1949–53 have produced a surplus of $16.8 million. Itemized by years the results were:

[In millions of dollars]

Year ended Mar. 31—	Revenue	Expenditures	Surplus
1953	129.4	122.9	6.5
1952	122.3	115.6	6.7
1951	105.6	106.9	−(1.3)
1950	101.3	99.4	1.9
1949	96.0	93.0	3.0

The United States Post Office Department's fiscal record for the past 5 years shows an accumulated deficit during this period of $3,120,000,000. The yearly breakdown follows:

[In millions of dollars]

Year ended June 30—	Revenue	Expenditures	Deficit
1953	$2,097.0	$2,760.0	$663.0
1952	1,952.8	2,679.8	727.0
1951	1,781.6	2,333.1	551.5
1950	1,683.4	2,272.9	589.5
1949	1,577.7	2,169.2	591.5

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, the concern of the Eisenhower administration and the 83d Congress for the small-business man is evidenced by the creation of the Small Business Administration last July. SBA is the first peacetime independent Government agency created solely to advise, assist, and protect all small-business enterprises.

A prime objective of SBA is to provide maximum assistance to small-business concerns in their own communities. Toward this end, the agency's 31 field offices work in close cooperation with State and local groups such as trade associations and community development organizations.

SBA offers three major types of assistance to small firms:

First. Business loans: Any small business that meets certain commonsense credit requirements may apply for an SBA loan. First, however, the businessman should apply to his bank for a loan. If the bank cannot make the loan, the businessman should then call on the nearest SBA field office for advice and guidance before preparing a formal application for a SBA loan. The loan program of SBA went into effect October 1, 1953 and as of March 15 the SBA has authorized 110 loans totaling $6,679,400.

Second. Contract assistance: SBA helps small firms to obtain a fair share of orders and contracts from both public and private buyers and in increased volume of subcontracts from large prime contractors. Here, too, the businessman who is interested in prime contract and subcontract assistance should visit the SBA field office which serves his area. From August 1, 1953, through January 31, 1954, the SBA procured 278 contracts amounting to $16,376,651.

Third. Management and technical assistance: Frequently, owners and managers of small companies are skilled in 1 or 2 phases of business operation but lack the rounded management experience so essential to success. To assist them in overcoming this disadvantage, SBA publishes three series of helpful management and technical publications and provides assistance to individual small firms which have specific problems.

In addition to these major services, SBA field offices advise and assist small-business concerns in numerous other ways. For example, the field offices make available to small business information on Government-owned and other patents which are a source of new product ideas, and reference sets of packaging and packing specifications most commonly needed by small firms.

Address of Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, at Massachusetts State CIO Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. McCARTHY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK at the Massachusetts State CIO convention that took place in Boston, Mass., December 5, 1953:

President Belanger, invited guests, and delegates to the convention, you have had a wonderful convention, composed of delegates representing State and Nation, an organization that stands for the noblest ideals of Americanism.

You have heard Senator JOHN KENNEDY and Senator WAYNE MORSE and other speakers discuss the broken promises, the confusion, and the inaction by commission and by postponement of the present Republican administration.

You are aware that no promise except the give-away of our offshore-oil resources has been kept, the giving to four States what the Supreme Court on more than one occasion has said belonged to the 48 States of the Union.

You are well aware, and certainly your women folks are, of the Republican broken promise of lower living costs and the present result—the consumer paying more, the farmer receiving less.

You and I favor the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and of the substitution for it of a fair law in the field of labor-management for the purposes of settling differences or disputes that may exist or arise from time to time. I think, like myself, you are convinced that the Republicans will not keep the promises they made to make fair and equitable amendments to this law. I warn you to be on your guard against harmful amendments.

You are also well aware of the deliberate disturbance to our economic system with the resultant uncertainty and even fear of employment and security among both workers and businessmen, and in the field of business, particularly the average or independent businessman. While I have my doubts, like you, I sincerely hope conditions will not get worse and will improve.

The present situation is mainly the result of the deliberate policies of the Republican administration in its attempt to try and carry out their promise of a hard dollar. In this slogan of the hard dollar was conveyed the promise that the people would be able to buy more with their dollars in terms of goods and services. The carrying out of this slogan and promise meant that the Republicans would have to bring about the increase of interest rates and the contraction of bank credit, resulting in deflation and a recession in business. You will remember that they did put such policies into effect, the results—unemployment, recession in business, fear, and uncertainty existing in the minds of our people.

Like myself, you will remember that the Republicans in the past used to scare the people by charging that under the Democrats they had a 55-cent dollar. Using this charge as a criterion, it is very evident that under the Republicans, we now have a 48-cent dollar.

I have a sneaking idea after Secretary Humphrey, Mr. Burgess, and others who could only act with the consent and approval of President Eisenhower, had brought about unemployment to the extent of about 5 million workers, that they would then start and step up a campaign, with the support of a considerable part of the press, that to avoid further recession and probably depression, labor would be unpatriotic if it would not reduce its pay and increase its weekly hours of labor.

You know of the powerful antilabor forces in the past who opposed you in every piece of progressive legislation. You well know that such forces exist today.

These matters, and the broken promises and the failures of the present Republican administration, have been ably discussed by previous speakers.

Today I am going to discuss something I think should be and is of great importance to you and to other Americans, whether or not one is a member of organized labor. As I go along in my remarks, I hope and I am sure you will get their significance, particularly in the light of the state of mind and the conditions of today.

Very few persons remember that I was chairman of a special committee in 1934 that investigated communism, nazism, fascism, and bigotry in the United States.

My special committee made its report in February of 1935 and recommended what is now known as the Smith Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and other legislation, all of which have become law.

In those days I was laughed and scoffed at for warning the American people of potential world danger of communism and nazism, and of the probable danger from fascist-minded persons in our midst. In our report made nearly 19 years ago, we made a finding that communism was an international conspiracy and that the Communist Party of the United States was a part of that conspiracy.

As a result of our hearings an aroused public opinion was developed that forced Hitler to order the German Bund (Nazi organization) in the United States to be disbanded.

In 1931, 1932, 1933, in the dark period of despair under the leadership of former President Hoover and the Republican Party there were 250,000 persons who were either actual Communist card-bearing members, or who for all practical purposes were members of the Communist Party of the United States. The Communists had infiltrated everywhere, hiding their evil minds and purposes just as they did in later years.

But as of January 20, 1953, under the forward-looking and humane leadership of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and of Harry H. Truman and the Democratic Party, the card-bearing members of the Communist Party in the United States, and those directly affiliated with them, was less than 30,000. In my opinion one Communist in America is 1 too many, but the fact remains that in the days of the Republican depression, the Communist Party in America was many times stronger than it was under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. The blind, hopeless, inept Republican leadership produced one result—despair in the minds of tens of thousands of Americans. The courageous leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman produced another result—hope and confidence.

Communism breeds on widespread starvation, on the unrestricted exploitations of human beings. It was under Franklin D. Roosevelt that nazism, another type of totalitarianism, and of world conquest and enslavement was stopped, and Hitler and what he stood for defeated.

It was under Harry S. Truman that communism has been stopped in its vicious efforts to conquer the world and enslave all peoples.

It was under a Democratic Congress that the Smith-McCormack law and the McCormack Foreign Agents Registration Act were passed and signed by Democratic Presidents.

It was under Harry S. Truman and his appointees that the Communist leaders have been indicted and convicted. These facts cannot be disputed.

Furthermore, the policies of the Truman administration in combatting communism throughout the world are being followed by the present administration.

But the leadership is different.

Under former President Truman we had courage and decision. Everyone knew that Harry S. Truman made his own decisions.

Under President Eisenhower we have indecision and confusion. I am sorry to say that our position in the field of foreign affairs has considerably worsened since January 20 of this year, since January 20, 1953.

The existing indecision and confusion has had its effect upon nations friendly to us. This leadership has brought uncertainly and to a regrettable extent, confusion, fear, and even disunity among our own people. When we witness the party in control of our Government declaring political war on a low level, we know that such leadership is the kind that produces disunity. Above all, unity is vital in the world today for the best interests of our country.

It seems to me that many Republican leaders proceed upon the assumption that the Republican Party has a monopoly on patriotism. In the national unity of our country they are proceeding on dangerous ground and if certain Republican leaders forget it, let me remind them that every true American, without regard to political party, opposes communism and all other un-American movements or activities including some within our own country who favor a dictatorship, providing the dictator is their dictator. In other words, a dictatorship of the right.

Responsible leadership in the world today is one that seeks unity and strength—not disunity and weakness.

When the special committee of which I was chairman also vigorously investigated bigotted movements in the United States, we exposed and broke up the Silver Shirts and other bigotted organizations whose un-American movement and activities were based upon religious hate.

We also investigated a group of wealthy persons (and this was of vital importance) who, in their opposition to and hatred of Franklin D. Roosevelt, conspired to subvert our Government to a dictatorship along Fascist lines and to have their own dictator.

As we well remember, that was what certain interests in Germany thought when they supported Hitler and conspired with him to take over the Government of Germany. We well know the results. This particular group in America in 1934 approached officers assigned to national youth camps. In particular, they approached the late Gen. Smedley Butler to form and head up a veterans' organization with a fine-sounding American constitution and bylaws, but the hidden purpose of which was to overthrow the Government and establish their dictatorship.

Fantastic, yes; but a fact.

So was Hitler in Germany considered crazy and his movement fantastic until he received the support of certain powerful interests who thought they would have in him their own dictator and their own man. Smedley Butler was a great American. He was visited on a number of occasions by representatives of this group. He at once detected the purposes of the conspirators. Their names and who they were are a matter of record in the hearings of my special committee.

The late Gen. Smedley Butler led them on, letting those who approached him think he was receptive to their plans, doing so to get all information possible and then to expose them. I heard of the fact he had been approached by representatives of this group of wealthy men in New York City. Upon my request, he appeared before my special committee, testified, exposed them, and through public opinion the plot blew up.

We found this same group spreading hatred among our people, hatred of Franklin D. Roosevelt and what he stood for, and making contacts with bigoted movements to have them become a part of their plot. That was only 20 years ago.

Why do I mention it now?

Unfortunately, we find bigotry on the increase. Underneath the surface there is too much hatred existing and being generated in the minds of our people. We find men in responsible positions—mainly for political reasons—trying to inflame the minds of our people with fear and with hatred.

We know like 20 years ago there are some among us with their great wealth who are possessed of the minds of a dictator and who do not believe in a government of, for, and by the people. They believe in a political oligarchy headed by a dictator.

It is when our people are divided—when fear and hatred exist—that persons of this type can and will move in.

Certain powerful financial interests whose combined wealth in 1933 and 1934 was hundreds of millions of dollars attempted to impose a dictatorship upon our people only 20 years ago. They were thwarted then because of that great American, the late Gen. Smedley Butler, and of my special committee, in exposing the plot.

But the next time such persons might not approach a Smedley Butler. They may approach someone who will play their game in creating fear, distrust, confusion, and hatred among our people, and then move in with their vast wealth in an effort to subvert our Government into a dictatorship. Of course, they would do so with the intention that the dictator would be their man, but in their hatred and in their quest for power they are incapable of looking ahead far enough to realize that, like Hitler in Germany, if successful, he might not be their man.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, while you and I and other Americans combat communism, let us also be on our guard against any other subversive movement. As Americans, let us all go forward in our fight against communism, but let us also fight any other subversive movement, and this includes the bigot and the hatemongers.

And lest we forget, there are hatemongers occupying prominent positions in governmental, in financial, in business, and in the public world, as well as some in the field of dissemination of news and molding of public opinion, and one of their special hates is organized labor.

H. R. 7839

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article by Harry C. Bates, chairman of AFL Housing Committee, in the March 1954 number of the American Federationist:

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HOUSING PROGRAM—IT BEARS LITTLE RELATION TO THE NATION'S NEEDS

(By Harry C. Bates, chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee)

People who wouldn't think of trying to drive a model A car on today's superspeed highways are trying to meet the housing requirements of the 1950's with a 1920 level of housing production. It just can't be done.

To realize this you have only to look at the changes we have had in this country since the mid-1920's. Since 1923 our population has increased by nearly 50 millions. Employment has risen by about 15 millions, while total national production has more than quadrupled.

But housing activity has barely expanded at all. For the year 1923–27, inclusive, new housing starts averaged 872,000. During the past 3 years they have averaged only 1,100,000 and in 1954 the most optimistic forecasts are for 1 million.

The fact is that due to the low level of housing production since the depression and the near-stoppage of residential construction during World War II, the Nation has a tremendous backlog of housing needs. Yet housing requirements will expand rapidly in the years immediately ahead. It is now estimated that our present population of about 161 millions will increase to approximately 175 millions by 1960. We may have a still more rapid increase in population—and in housing needs—after 1960 as the World War II war babies marry and begin to have children.

The A. F. of L. Housing Committee estimated last August that this all adds up to a need for new housing construction of at least 2 million units a year until 1960. After 1960 we will have to step up this rate of housing production even more. Incidentally, the A. F. of L. estimate of housing needs has gained general acceptance, and even the real estate and home builders' organizations, which have fought every effective measure for expanding housing construction volume, have begun to acknowledge a much greater housing need than they have ever conceded before.

In the face of the Nation's need for a housing output of 2 million units a year, the administration has come up with a set of proposals which it claims would make

possible the achievement of a goal of 1 million housing units a year. This program, largely based on recommendations the President received from a special advisory committee he appointed last summer, was revealed in a special housing message the President sent to Congress. It has since been incorporated in identical bills (S. 2938 and H. R. 7839) introduced by Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART, of Indiana, and Congressman JESSE P. WOLCOTT, of Michigan, chairmen, respectively of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees.

It is clear that the administration's housing program bears little relation to housing needs. Indeed, the President's message setting forth his housing program gives no indication of the extent of housing requirements. The President did not mention total housing needs nor did he single out the groups in the population having the most urgent need for housing. Neither did he evince any recognition of the important role that housing must play in bolstering the economy and restoring full employment.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor accurately summed up the administration's housing proposals when it said:

"Well-intended as it might be, the administration's housing program outlined in the President's housing message does not provide the drive necessary to assure expansion of housing activity or to direct where such expansion is needed most."

The administration's housing program would rely primarily on rehabilitation and remodeling of old, rundown dwellings. These halfway measures are glorified and dressed up as an urban renewal program, but the fancy title cannot conceal the fact that the Eisenhower proposals amount to little more than a piecemeal patch-up and fix-up campaign.

This is a backward-looking, negative approach. We will not clear our slums nor provide decent homes for the one-third of our families who are ill-housed nor meet the housing needs of our rapidly growing population by simply fixing up our existing supply of houses. Some houses can be saved from deterioration and made habitable for a few more years, but not many.

The administration's so-called urban renewal program stems largely from recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Housing. That Committee's overenthusiastic acceptance of rehabilitation as the best means of meeting the Nation's housing needs disregards the excellent advice the Committee received from Jack M. Siegel and C. William Brooks, two of the Committee's expert consultants. After examining in detail the failures in practical experience of the rehabilitation approach, these two authorities warned the Committee, prior to the formulation of its recommendations, that "minimum rehabilitation in blighted areas may tend to perpetuate rather than eliminate slums." But the Committee refused to heed their warning and plumped enthusiastically for the rehabilitation panacea.

The emphasis on continued use of existing housing is seen in a particularly dangerous form in the President's proposal for equalization of financial terms (minimum down payment requirement and maximum amortization period) for Government-insured mortgages on new and existing housing. The inevitable consequence will be to inflate the prices of existing houses to far more than their actual value. With old houses selling at a premium, new residential construction will be discouraged while purchasers and renters of existing houses will have to defray increased costs.

The net results will be fewer houses built and higher costs for homeowners and tenants. At the same time, real-estate brokers and mortgage-lending institutions will reap windfall profits in financial transactions involving old houses.

President Eisenhower has recommended a program of Federal financial assistance for so-called low-cost private housing. This suggestion has received perhaps more attention than any of the administration's other proposals. Although the President did not reveal the details of this program in his special message, they are spelled out in the administration-sponsored bills, introduced by Senator CAPEHART and Congressman WOLCOTT.

As set forth in these bills, the FHA could insure 100-percent loans for a maximum amortization period of 40 years for houses costing no more than $7,000 a unit. These houses would be occupied only by families displaced by slum clearance and other Government projects. It is this scheme which is being sold as the answer to public housing.

There is not the slightest reason to believe that this program will ever make housing available to even hundreds of low-income families. Yet there is need for decent housing for hundreds of thousands of such families.

In the first place, it is inconceivable that any appreciable number of houses will be built in cities where families are now being displaced by slum clearance projects at the specified maximum cost of $7,000. In most large cities it costs more than $7,000 today to built even an extremely small two-bedroom house. But even if $7,000 houses were to be built, the Federal Housing Administration estimates that they would involve a monthly housing cost of $62.90, about twice as much as low-income families can afford.

Relying almost entirely on this untired and probably unworkable program to meet the urgent housing needs of low-income families, the President grudging proposed only a token 35,000-unit program for low-rent public housing. Diehard opponents of public housing have apparently been unwilling to permit even that pitifully small amount to be authorized and, to appease them, the administration-sponsored bill does not even mention public housing. Yet in the test of actual experience, the low-rent public housing program has made good homes available to hundreds of thousands of low-income families at rents they can afford in communities throughout the Nation. It is the only program which can provide decent homes for families in the lowest income brackets.

The administration is also insensitive to the faiure of private builders to construct homes within the means of middle-income families. Instead of developing a realistic approach to this problem of bringing the cost of good housing down to a level that ordinary families can afford, the administration's bill simply tinkers with the financing terms for Government-insured housing and changes slightly the secondary market mechanism which permits mortgage lending institutions to sell such mortgages to the Government.

The administration proposes to reduce the downpayment for luxury housing, thereby discouraging the building of more moderate-priced houses, and permit higher interest rates and longer amortization periods for almost all Government-insured housing. The net result would be to increase greatly the ultimate cost of the house to the purchaser and to make fewer, rather than more, houses available to moderate-income families.

The administration's program also ignores the need of home buyers for protection against structural defects in the house they buy. They also need some sort of help to permit them to hold on to their homes if they are forced to delay their payments for a temporary period.

The existing Federal programs of guarantees and insurance protect builders and bankers against loss on their investment, but they do nothing to protect the consumer. He has no recourse if the house turns out to be structurally defective. If unforeseen circumstances such as illness or unemployment force him to postpone payment, he can lose the house and the life savings he may have invested in it. But while concentrating on new ways to entice speculative builders and mortgage lenders into building high-priced houses, the administration has failed to suggest—indeed has specifically rejected—proposals for protection of the consumer.

Thus on every important count the administration's proposals constitute an entirely inadequate program to meet the Nation's housing needs. Encouragement of ill- advised, ineffective and uneconomical "rehabilitation" of old houses and tinkering with already over-generous financial incentive to builders and bankers are not the way to meet the Nation's ever-growing housing requirements—especially for the low- and middle-income families whose need for decent homes is most urgent.

At its meeting last month, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor recommended the following as minimum steps which should be taken to meet the Nation's most pressing housing requirements:

1. Construction of at least 600,000 units of low-rent public housing in the next 3 years.

2. An urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, rebuilding, and replanning of metropolitan areas to meet modern requirements.

3. Government assistance for middle-income housing, especially through long-term, low-cost loans for cooperative and nonprofit housing and encouragement of construction of housing for rent.

4. Protection for home buyers under federally assisted programs, including a requirement of a mandatory builder's warranty against structural defects.

But labor and other prohousing forces must realize that even the excellent programs we have advocated in the past may not be entirely attuned to today's housing needs. As the executive council said in its report to the A. F. of L. convention last September:

"Labor must also recognize that new times and new conditions have created new needs in housing as in all other parts of our economy."

As these new needs develop, the housing committee of the A. F. of L. will consider every workable suggestion for meeting them. We intend to appraise every proposal for housing action by two tests:

1. Will the suggested action help to bring good housing within the financial reach of every group in the population?

2. Will the proposed program help to sustain a high level of housing construction so that housing can play its full role in maintaining economic prosperity?

The administration's proposals are inadequate because they fail to pass either of these tests. Only the bold and comprehensive approach the American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated will assure that the needed 2 million houses a year will be built.

New Jersey Loses a Notable Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, Samuel Shellabarger, world-famous novelist, died last week. His death is not only a great loss to the country but particularly

to Princeton, N. J., which claimed him as a most distinguished citizen.

While Mr. Shellabarger wisely chose New Jersey as a residence in his later days, he spent part of his youth in Washington, D. C. An editorial in the Washington Evening Star March 25, 1954, attests to the widespread recognition of his talent and the sorrow felt at his passing. I submit the editorial for the RECORD:

SAMUEL SHELLABARGER

Samuel Shellabarger, best-selling novelist, came by his vocation naturally. Among his ancestors were the Schellenberger brothers who helped to lay the foundations of Swiss liberty at the meadow of Gruth in the canton of Uri in 1306. The tradition of freedom as a living force descended to him particularly through the grandfather whose name he bore—an Ohio Representative in Congress who was responsible for much liberal legislation following the War Between the States.

"Little Samuel" was present at the deathbed of "the Judge" as a child of eight and never forgot the solemnity of the occasion. His own parents already were deceased, and he was left to be brought up by his grandmother and other women relatives in a house filled with books and pictures at 812 Seventeeth Street Northwest. He attended the Sidwell Friends School and the school of Robert Lee Preston on Eighteenth Street and likewise had private tutors, but the educational advantages which later proved most helpful to him were those directly provided by the women members of his family. They read him the romatic classics and made them important to him as elements of his own life. When he went to Princeton, he took all the literary prizes available.

But Mr. Shellabarger's creative writing did not begin until 1923 when he took his wife, son, and two daughters to Europe to do historical research on the scene. The biographies of Chevalier Bayard and the Earl of Chesterfield which he produced were scholarly works, but they attracted very few readers. When their author tried to be popular he soon developed a numerous following. After experimenting under several pseudonyms, he wrote and signed with his own name Captain From Castile, in 1945. It had qualities quickly recognized, and its success opened the doors to Prince of Foxes, 1947; The King's Cavalier, 1950; and Lord Vanity, 1953. Oldtime Washingtonians, enjoying all these achievements, found additional pleasure in remembering the little boy at Sidwells' and Mr. Preston's whose childhood dreams of romance had yielded such worthy results.

House Concurrent Resolution 58

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I em including a statement by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky on the subject of my House Concurrent Resolution No. 58. The information contained in Dr. Dobriansky's statement is material in which all Members of this body should be interested:

THREE OF A KIND: ON HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 58

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

Toward the close of the first session of the present Congress—on July 15, 1953 to be exact—a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs conducted hearings on House Concurrent Resolution 58 which favors the extension of diplomatic relations with the republics of Ukraine and Byelorussian (White Ruthenia), the two largest non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. On the basis of these open hearings and the cogent and well-documented arguments that were presented in support of the measure—which is sponsored by the Honorable LAWRENCE H. SMITH, of Wisconsin—the special subcommittee under the able chairmanship of the Honorable FRANCES P. BOLTON voted unanimously in favor of the resolution. A careful reading and evaluation of the various authoritative testimonies submitted in behalf of House Concurrent Resolution 58 will enable one to appreciate the compelling reasons for this unanimous approval and the desirability, not to say the virtual necessity, of the passage of the resolution by the full committee in the second session commencing in January.[1]

Naturally, as on all issues of crucial import to the security interests of our country, cold objectivity and a dispassionate inquiry into the accessible facts must constantly serve as our guides of active thought if the ideas and opinions advanced on any particular question are to be intelligently assessed and prudently acted upon. Hollow assertions and mere expressions of unfounded judgment can never endure the rigorous test of objective criticism. On this specific issue, involving American diplomatic representation in the capitals of Kiev and Minsk, the Bolton committee liberally availed itself of considerable factual material on which to rest is favorable decision. Indeed, it can be fairly stated that every conceivable argument delivered in opposition to the resolution was squarely and adequately answered by the expert proponents of the bill who appeared as witnesses at the hearing. From the viewpoint of an objective treatment of the numerous points considered, it appears that there is no theoretic ground left for further rational opposition to this unique resolution.

Now aside from the pure, objective aspects of the matter, there developed a most illuminating alinement of forces on the political level which cannot but be of absorbing interest to our legislators, executive members, and political observers generally. Congressional consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 58 served to crystallize on this plane two distinct tendencies of thought, sentiment, and motivation that are clearly reflected in this alinement of groups and individuals who display their interest in east European affairs, in particular the Soviet Union, from radically different premises of understanding and moral valuation. On the one hand, placing themselves in support of the resolution are such American organizations as the Polish American Congress,[2] the Slovak League of America. The White Ruthenian Congress Committee, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and others of Armenian, Georgian, Rumanian, and Baltic background. On the other hand, one finds a strange alliance of a few fellow-traveling Ukrainians, a motley combination of Russian emigre groups, and the Kennan loyalists in the Department of State opposing the passage of this resolution.

To anyone conversant with the subject of Russian Communist imperialism, this political alinement scarcely comes as a surprise or as an event of statistical coincidence. Represented by the national organizations cited above, Americans of non-Russian ancestry—be it Polish, Lithuanian, Slovak, or Ukrainian—maintain an informative interest in the developments occurring in the various Moscow-dominated countries of Eastern Europe, including the national republics in the Soviet Union, with the primary view of factually reinforcing the sound formulation of our own foreign policy adapted to the maximum protection of American security in the current struggle with Russian Communist imperialism. On the basis of their intimate knowledge of East European history, which for centuries has been marked by the dark impress of autocratic Russian imperialism under various ideological guises, they share the essential view that in order to deter the feverish Russian Communist program of consolidation within the present Soviet Empire and to prevent the formation of this requisite base for world conquest, a forthright policy of liberation, pitched to a universalized American Declaration of Independence, one that would inflame the patriotic heart of every Pole, Balt, Ukranian, etc., with the hope of national freedom and independence from the foreign domination of Moscow, is indispensable at this time. This policy of being for something as well as against significantly points in the humanitarian direction of providing a historic opportunity—one they've never had before—for the long enslaved masses of the 92 million Russian nation to begin to enjoy the fruits of the elimination of the costly burdens of empire by concentrating on the development of democratic institutions and the improvement of their economic lot.

Thus, it is no wonder that groups and individuals of this easily supported conviction are urging the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 58. The resolution symbolizes a keen and moral American interest in the subjugated condition and aspirations of the two largest non-Russian nations in the East European sector of the Soviet Union, one of these, namely, Ukraine, being also the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain. Those few opposing the resolution do not, however, view it in this light. As we shall carefully note below, although for different causes, they represent on this and cognate issues—three of a kind, in what one nationally known political analyst has aptly characterized as the "Russia first movement" in this country.[3]

1. THE REPUGNANT SECT OF FELLOW-TRAVELING UKRAINIANS

Needless to say, in the political realm one meets with diverse species of humans. The satellite and captive nations of Eastern Europe, including the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union, have their small crop of quislings who provide the native window-dressing for imperialist Moscow rule in their nominally independent governments. We ourselves are constantly endangered by the infiltration of traitorous individuals into sensitive areas with the consuming purpose of betraying their native land to the foreign domination of Moscow. Whatever the cause or reason of origin, this human species is simply repugnant to the millions who are bound by patriotic devotion to the cultural values of their national existence and being. In the eyes of every patriotic Georgian, Stalin is properly deemed as the great quisling of his native country, Georgia.

Ukraine, of course, is not beyond the pale of this general affliction. It also possesses its share of quislings, those who currently work in behalf of Communist Moscow and those thoroughly Russified types — generically known as Gulays—who operate with imperialist Russian emigree groups opposing Russian communism but at the same time aspiring to preserve its original empire, now in the guise of the Soviet Union. In both instances, the spirit of patriotic devotion and natural love of country are nonexistent. For both cases there exist a small number of Ukrainians, residing even in this country, who are sympathetically expressive of these unsavory tendencies. It is from one of these sources that opposition to the House concurrent resolution was expressed.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

The facts that objection is raised by a group which can draw only our disrespect and ill-esteem, especially in the light of the tremendous human sacrifices borne by the heroic patriots of Ukraine in their unyielding resistance to a philosophy and power completely alien to their native soil and culture, furnishes additional evidence of the American self-interest reflected in the Smith resolution. The Russian Communist overlords themselves appear to be disturbed over growing American interest in the non-Rusian nations of the Soviet Union. Just recently Moscow has determined the prohibition of the export of all major newspapers and magazines published in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union. More than 50 publications issuing from 15 of the 16 constituent Soviet republics are to be kept from the outside world.[4] Only those emanating from Russia itself, i. e., the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, are permitted to be exported. This measure is obviously in the nature of Russian Communist imperialism. And the basic truth of this phenomenon has nowhere been stated as vividly and honestly as in the classic work of this century's greatest Russian philosopher, Nicholas Berdyaev: "Bolshevism is the third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism, its first appearance being the Muscovite czardom and its second the Petrine Empire."[5]

2. THE RUSSIA FIRST ANTICOMMUNIST CABAL

The second of this unholy trinity in kind which voiced its opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 58 is what has precisely come to be called the "Russian first anti-Communist cabal, operating in this country as well as in Europe. It is made up of the Permanent Conference of Six Russian Anti-Communist Organizations, consisting of a relatively small number of Russian emigrés that range in political complexion from the Marxist Menshevik Pole to the reactionary monarchist one. Although in the title of this amorphous conference it is indicated that they are anti-Communist, in the sense of being against the present regime in Moscow, the only point of attraction bringing them together on the more important level of being for something is the preservation of the territorial framework of the Russian Empire and further Russian domination over the majority of the non-Russian nations in the present version of the empire, the Soviet Union. For surely the League of Struggle for Russian Freedom, made up of "democratic" Marxists, have little in common from a technical ideological viewpoint with the Russian NTS which one disinterested study discloses to be anti-Semitic and Fascist in character.[6]

In the course of the open discussions last July on House Concurrent Resolution 58, this multicolored group circulated under rather clandestine circumstances a statement entitled "Goodwill and Communist Tactics." This statement of opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 58 was deposited in a number of offices on Capitol Hill with the sole reference of its source given in the name of the above conference. As to the nature and type of the six Russian organizations referred to, one had to glean this information from a list published in a Russian organ in New York which in its anti-Communist efforts is likewise dedicated to the "one and indivisible Russia (empire)" idea.[7] In addition to the two mentioned, the others are similarly of alien character. It now appears understandable as to why more specific designations were omitted in the memorandum.

Again, as one would expect, no direct arguments of objective worth are advanced in this statement to justify the opposition of this group to House Concurrent Resolution 58. In fact it appears that they do not, nor care to, understand the objectives and content of the resolution. For example, item 1 in the statement reads: "Why is there the desire to limit diplomatic relations to only these two Soviet republics and not include the other 14? One already begins to suspect the purpose of this move." Concerning the first part of this particular statement, the simple fact is that the legal framework of the resolution is the representation of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations. None of the remaining 14 is so represented. Moreover, the reader should not be misled by this question into thinking that this imperialist Russian emigree group is honestly concerned about the diplomatic status of the other non-Russian republics. For if it were, it would side with those of Baltic, Georgian, Armenian, and other non-Russian backgrounds in support of the resolution, practically covering at least two of these non-Russian republics.

To appreciate with some degree of light humor the underlined part of this given statement, one has to read the entire memorandum for its somewhat ludicrous play on innuendo and false suggestion. In essence, with the evident purpose of capitalizing on the relative unfamiliarity of many Americans with the multi-national realities in the U. S. S. R., it attempts to convey the impression that House Concurrent Resolution 58 is the product of a Communist plot exploiting the goodwill of benign Americans. Hence the title, "Goodwill and Communist Tactics." It sounds silly, but the first two paragraphs set the unmistakable pitch of the entire memorandum by dwelling on ways and means of Communist infiltration. "Communists can still work in many fields with a great deal of success," it is stated. Then in the third paragraph, with reference to House Concurrent Resolution 58, we read, "Recently a typical case was observed in Washington which represents not a direct Communist move, but is certainly a move whereby all advantages will finally accrue to the Communists." The obvious suggestion here is that House Concurrent Resolution 58 is an indirect Communist move and that our goodwilled legislators supporting it have been shamelessly duped—as one outstanding political writer on communism humorously put it—by the sinister MVD in Moscow. This statement in itself reveals all three.

In addition to that provided above, the first can be further illustrated by their use of the old imperialist term "peoples of Russia," as though the Soviet Union were identical with Russia which actually is only one segment of the former. The second on slander is viewed in their free use of such terms as "willing tools of communism" and their absurd statement (which the Canadian Government would relish) that "Nearly all so-called Ukrainian homes in towns and villages of western Canada are Communist centers and are really Communist homes." Factual distortion, which abounds in this statement, is best exemplified by quoting this misleading statement that "we know from long experience that all people in Soviet Russia suffer in exactly the same way from Communist evildoing." One need only consult the Senate hearings on the Genocide Convention of January–February 1952 to observe upon whom Soviet Russian genocide has been perpetrated. Not even an iota of evidence can be furnished with regard to the Russian nation, but an abundance of evidence exists in respect to the captive non-Russian nations throughout the Soviet Russian Empire.

In short, the opposition of this group to House Concurrent Resolution 58 is founded on the hope that no intimate contact be established between our country and Ukraine and Byelorussia for fear that a deepened interest in these two large non-Russian nations may eventually result in our support of their aspirations for national independence and self-government. This would undermine their empire objective, despite the fact that it exists as one of America's most formidable weapons against Russian Communist imperialism. Russians of the stature and integrity personified by Berdyaev have long recognized the course of imperialism in Russian politics and its negation of the truth that no nation can really be free if it dominates and tyrannizes other nations. For the task of eliminating this curse and building the foundations for the future freedom of the Russian nation, they have urged, in the spirit of the last testimony of the late Russian Christian scholar, George Fedotov, that "for this great task the Russian intelligentsia in exile should prepare itself right now—instead of chasing after the phantom eagles of empire."[8]

3. THE KENNAN LOYALISTS

In terms of numbers and influence the groups mentioned here are politically unimportant in this country as well as abroad. By nature they are not even American. They are considered here for the purpose of demonstrating how on a given issue certain Americans can, by virtue of inculcated misconceptions and erroneous premises of moral understanding, find themselves channeled into avenues of unfortunate ideologic association with as strange a political array as the one shown above. Thus, making up the third component of this three of a kind is the Kennan following which still occupies important posts in the State Department.

As was brought out in the hearing on House Concurrent Resolution 58, the letter to the Honorable ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, ostensibly setting forth the position of the Department of State in opposition to the resolution, was an almost verbatim duplication of the one sent in reply to an inquiry on the same issue by the Honorable H. ALEXANDER SMITH more than a year ago when the Department was under the complete reign of the Kennan containment group. The many miscalculations and errors of judgment of this particular group in the determination and execution of American foreign policy are well known to close students and observers of the subject. Their poor judgment is reflected also in the position taken in behalf of the Department on House Concurrent Resolution 58. When one considers the dominant premises of thought and the ruling conceptions of this group, it is not difficult to understand why.

First, it is an established fact that the "Russian experts" of this group, brought up on "great" Russian literature and history which were generally as heavily censored under the imperialist Russian czars as now under the more imperialist Russian Communists, have virtually little understanding and warm appreciation of the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. One need only read the literary output of Mr. Kennan which consistently maintains the interchangeability of Russia and the Soviet Union, as though the latter were a nation rather than a prison of nations, to be duly impressed by this fact. His conception of these non-Russian nations may be gleaned from the following classic statement: "An American who wishes his influence to be beneficial in that part of the world would do well to impress on any friends he may have from the Iron Curtain countries the folly of a continuation * * * of these dreary and profitless manipulations with so-called national boundaries and with the naive loyalties of bewildered linguistic groups which have passed for statesmanship in that area in the past."[9] Nations with histories extending back centuries before Christ and graced with many peaceful eras of national independence and self-government, are for him merely bewildered linguistic groups. Moreover, it would seem that in the eyes of this expert any non-Russian area that falls

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prey to imperialist Russian aggression becomes necessarily an integral economic part of Russia. In his view, "* * * the Ukraine is economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States." The phenomenon of economic colonialism, which is scarcely experienced by the State of Pennsylvania, appears to be of no consideration to Mr. Kennan.

Second, it is also important to observe the basic orientation of this group to international problems. Justice, moral order, and fundamental inalienable rights of nations and peoples appear to carry only conventional, nominal meaning for these people. As Mr. Kennan puts it "* * * I see the most serious fault of our past policy formulation to lie in something that I might call the legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems."[30] In another place he emphatically states that "The tendency to achieve our foreign policy objectives by inducing other governments to sign up to professions of high moral and legal principle appears to have a great and enduring vitality in our diplomatic practice * * *. I think we have grounds to question its soundness and suitability."[31] Philosophically, the alternative approach suggested here is scarcely different from the pragmatic materialistic and sheer businesslike approach pursued by the Russian Communists.

Since last July there have been indications of a change of attitude in the State Department toward House Concurrent Resolution 58. A real change naturally requires the repudiation of such ill-founded views as have prevailed among the Kennan loyalists. It is sincerely hoped that this change will crystallize in the second session of Congress, assuming the form of a departmental support of the resolution. In this event, the three of a kind will probably continue, but not to the embarrassment of Americans who by conviction and passion look to foreign policy negotiations which are founded on accurate knowledge, truth, moral law, and perennial principles of individual, national, and international order.

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[1] Hearing, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Special Subcommittee on H. Con. Res. 58, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1953.

[2] Full statement reproduced in the Ukrainian Bulletin, September 1–15, 1953, vol. VI, Nos. 17–18.

[3] Americus, "The Russia First Movement in the United States," the Ukrainian Quarterly, summer 1953, vol. IX, No. 3.

[4] The New York Times, Saturday, October 31, 1953, p. 3.

[5] "The Origin of Russian Communism," p. 120.

[6] "NTS—The Russian Solidarist Movement," Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, December 10, 1951, Washington, D. C.

[7] Novoye Russkoye Solov, August 2, 10, 1953.

[8] "The Fate of Empires," the Russian Review, April 1953.

[9] "America and the Russian Future," Foreign Affairs, XXIX, No. 3, April 1951.

[30] American Diplomacy, 1900–1950, p. 95.

[31] Ibid., p. 46.

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Appendix

Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated January 2, 1954, addressed to me by Mr. James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, dealing with the question of public power. I think it is one of the most comprehensive and finest letters written on this subject in recent times.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 2, 1954.

DEAR SENATOR LANGER: Attempts are being made both within and without the Government to bring about drastic changes in public-power policies, which have existed over a long period of many years. I am referring to the false propaganda of the private electric-utility companies and to certain revisions which the Secretary of the Interior is making in administering congressional statutes which have to do with the generation, transmission, distribution, and sale of electric power. I am also referring to certain policy language which was written into a House Appropriations Committee conference report last year.

The recent drastic change in the administration of congressional statutes relating to public power has been debated during the last few months by hundreds of thousands of farmers all over the United States. The question which has been raised at hundreds of co-op and farm organization meetings, and recently at a national electric-power conference, held in Denver, Colo., has been whether or not the Interior Department revisions of long-established congressional policy would destroy the preference rights of rural-electric cooperatives and public bodies.

The preference right was recently described in House of Representatives debate as discrimination against private power companies. The preference right is not discriminatory, it is merely an assertion that the people of the United States, as represented by rural electric cooperatives and public and quasi-public bodies should have an opportunity to use electric power generated at a natural site which is owned by them. The preference right is an owner's right; it is merely an affirmation of an inherent right of every citizen.

Undoubtedly attempts will be made during the second session of Congress to take away the so-called preference right and to turn over to private groups sites which are owned by all the people. Attempts will also be made to turn over projects already built which have been financed by self-liquidating loans authorized by Congress. We urge you to use your great influence to thwart such attempts. We believe that not only farmers and city dwellers but the Nation, as a whole, benefits from cheap electric power made possible by Federal agencies, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Southwestern Power Administration and others. We also urge you to do whatever you can to make possible the authorization of new public power projects on such natural sites, as Niagara Falls and Hells Canyon.

The building of new projects, the firming-up of hydropower by the building of steam plants is absolutely necessary. Power consumption on American farms has been doubling every 4 years. Power demands in cities and for defense purposes has been increasing at a terrific rate. There are presently about one-half million farms which do not share in the benefits which ensue from electricity; there are other farms which will need constantly increasing amounts of electricity, by the addition of electrical machinery and electrical appliances on the farm and in the home.

In many projects, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, defense needs are taking a higher and higher proportion of power which is needed by city and farm dwellers. This gap may be partially filled by the building of steam plants and transmission lines. These projects should be authorized by the Congress. There is reason to believe that the private utilities will not build these additional facilities unless they are subsidized heavily. It is our understanding that at the present time, tax accelerated, depreciation certificate approvals will result in a loss of about $3 billion to the Federal Treasury, during a 5-year period.

We see no reason why the Federal Government should hand over billions and billions in tax subsidies to the private utilities when cooperatives, municipalities and others would gladly pay all costs of producing and distributing electricity in public power installations. It should be emphasized that every cent which is authorized by the Congress for the building of hydroelectric power dams, generating facilities, transmission lines and other distribution facilities is repaid to the Federal Treasury with interest. Although a part of the expense of building a dam is usually allocated to navigation or flood control or recreational purposes in many instances a large part of the power revenues are diverted to the cost of irrigating arid lands.

We feel strongly that Congress has an obligation to permit contracts to be carried out which it previously authorized. I am referring to contracts entered into by the Southwestern Power Administration and several generating and transmission cooperatives. It seems to me that abrogation of these contracts by means of cutting off the continuing funds which had been previously, legally authorized, by the Congress constitutes, if not an act of bad faith, a serious precedent which will undermine confidence of cooperatives in the Congress.

I feel strongly that the program of rural electrification would not have been nearly so successful or perhaps not even possible without the assistance of rural electric cooperatives. Rural electric cooperatives have made possible the tremendous increase in farm production and they have made possible the economically feasible production of electric power necessary for industrial production and for national defense. Members of rural electric cooperatives have been in the vanguard of those urging the creation of public power programs such as Tennessee Valley, Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and many others. They have worked for many years to make our great public power program a success. Without their cooperation and their faith in an expanding economy few of these projects would have come into being. Certainly millions of American farms would not now share in the benefits of the program.

I urge you to use your influence to block the Niagara Falls bill passed by the House which would turn over the electric power potential of that publicly owned site to five private power companies. I urge you to use your influence to bring about the passage of the Roosevelt-Lehman bill which would safeguard the right of the people in that area in regard to the use of power at the lowest possible cost. I urge you to use your influence to repair the damage which was done last year by withholding continuing funds for the Southwestern Power Administration and finally, I urge you to support our public power policy which had its inception during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt and which has been in a large part responsible for satisfying the industrial, agricultural, and military needs of the Nation.

Sincerely,

JAMES G. PATTON,
President, National Farmers Union.

France and the EDC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, a group of journalists from countries which are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization recently visited Baltimore city as guests of the Sun papers, which invited some newspapermen from France to give their opinions on the project for a European Defense Community. Their views were printed in the Baltimore Sun of March 20.

The comments of these reporters are very interesting, and I call them to the attention of every Member of the Senate. It would be much more pleasant to have these writers for French newspapers reassure us that France will soon ratify the EDC treaty; but since that is not the situation, it seems to be extremely important for us to try to learn and to understand the views of the French people.

Accordingly, I ask unanimous consent that the article giving the views of these newsmen be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANCE AND THE EDC

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—For most of this week, a group of newspapermen from the NATO countries has been visiting in Baltimore as

guests of the Sunpapers. At the request of the Sun, the four members of this party who are from France have kindly consented to express their opinions on the project for a European Defense Community. These are printed below, together with a note of introduction by the four.)

Our esteemed confrére the Sun has kindly requested that the four French members of the party of journalists from the NATO countries currently visiting the United States for 3 weeks should express their opinions on the treaty of the European Defense Community. This is currently a preoccupation of the French people, and, as we have been able to learn in the course of the days since we have been here, is of interest also to the people of this country. We are very sensible of the honor which the Sun thus confers upon us and are most appreciative. We are happy, also, to take his opportunity to thank the people of Baltimore for the warm welcome which they have given to us since our arrival here. This sympathetic welcome has been appreciated as well by all the members of the mission, who represent all the NATO countries, and we are certain that it will contribute greatly to the mutual understanding of the peoples involved.

THE FOUR.

(By J. P. Detourbet, journalist, of Nancy (Lorraine))

It is in complete independence of spirit that I venture to give my opinions on the European Defense Community. I must make it clear immediately that this opinion is entirely personal and that it concerns only myself. I think however that it reflects rather faithfully that of the majority of my compatriots in Lorraine, the region in eastern France of which I am a native. To tell the truth, the problem of EDC, so serious for the future of Europe and of the world, does not excite French public opinion quite so much as it seems to excite that of the United States. One must recognize in this a consequence of the fact that France has, at present, serious preoccupations of an economic character, and especially the heavy burden of the war in Indochina, where our sons are still the only ones who are dying in the field. Before thinking of the European community, France must so manage her domestic economy as to provide more well-being for her people and also bring the fighting in Indochina under control.

Speaking generally, French public opinion, so far as the EDC is concerned, is not favorable to it in its present form. The people of Lorraine, for example, can see only that the treaty, as it has been developed, does leave a possibility for Germany's regaining some military power. We people of Lorraine still have too vividly in our memory the terrible sufferings that the men from across the Rhine have imposed on our population throughout history. The Huns long ago undertook to annihilate them, and more recently, since 1870, our region has had to serve repeatedly as the rampart of liberty. One can understand then why we should not be in the least willing that Germany should be able one day to renew her attempts to impose her strength. We consider that the EDC gives it that possibility, partly because of the size of the forces that she would contribute, and partly because this treaty would commit the contracting parties to be allied for 50 years. Who can say what vicissitudes the world will know during so long a period? Certainly no one, and it is that precisely which frightens us.

All this is not to say that we are unconcerned about the defense of Europe. Very much to the contrary, France is is prepared to assume, yet again, her share of this responsibility; but it is our concern that this defense effort should take full account of our interests, and that does not seem always to be understood.

French public opinion was affected (and it was a reaction normal for the Latin temperament) by the declaration of Secretary John Foster Dulles on his way to Berlin that the defense of Europe will come into being in spite of everything, by which he gave us to understand that his country required a rapid decision by the European nations on the defense organization for this part of world. France respects the concern of the Americans for this proposal, but she wishes also that her voice should be heard. She is then ready to associate herself with the EDC to the extent that all the other countries composing this new Europe (with the exception, of course, of Germany, which we consider as a secondary signatory) are prepared to give evidence of their serious concern for the proposal.

Then, too, there is another factor which ought not to be forgotten too quickly, namely, that the treaty of peace with Germany has not yet been signed. It seems somewhat paradoxical that we should sign a treaty of defense with a country with which we are still at war.

In short, when the guaranties that are asked are given to our country, then our people will wholeheartedly associate themselves with a project that they know to be desirable for the maintenance of liberty.

(By Georges Altschuler, of the newspaper Combat, Paris)

My newspaper, Combat, was for 4 years the flag carrier of an important resistance movement. Today, it remains independent of all political parties, but supports readily all movements for social and economic progress. We are not particularly favorable to the European Defense Community. For a reason which appears essential to our eyes: We think, as do many Frenchmen, men of politics as well as simple, thinking citizens, that to wish to achieve an integrated European army is, as we say in France, to "place the plow before the oxen." Which is to say (speaking in a country where everything is modernized as in the United States) to create the European army now is like trying to build a house by beginning with the roof.

As a matter of fact, we think that a unified Europe, to which we are strongly attached, should be envisaged as an economic and political as well as a military force. Countries as different as are France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg cannot successfully collaborate except as they are able to achieve a community of economic and political interests. It goes without saying that such a community, once recognized as viable, but only at that moment, should possess an army which would permit it if the need arose to defend its interests.

However, the military problem is being placed first. To us this is regrettable. But the problem must be resolved. I have a conviction that it will be, and in an affirmative manner, for, contrary to what is supposed in the United States, a majority of our parliamentarians have committed themselves as favoring the EDC. But one should not criticize too much the hesitations of the French: They struggle with numerous difficulties, among which that of Indochina is not the least. And one should not forget that my compatriots remain still suspicious (they have not some reasons for being so?) of Germany, all the more so if Germany should receive, we think somewhat too soon, the attributes of military power.

In all the non-Communist French political parties, the question of ratifying the EDC arouses strong emotions and profound divisions; the Socialists do not understand why Great Britain remains unwilling to associate herself closely with the defense community; the ex-Gaullists do not understand why the Atlantic pact should have a life of only 20 years, whereas the EDC treaty is to commit its signatories for 50 years; the radicals are disturbed over the possible renaissance of a German military force; most of the parties of the center are anxious to make sure that the French economic interests in the Saar are protected. But all will be finally swayed by the necessity of creating a unified Europe.

Upon my arrival in the United States, someone in Washington said to us that the Americans are an impatient people. This impatience is a valuable quality: it hastened the assistance thanks to which my country was freed. But perhaps it is appropriate, in all objectivity, to recall that after so much destruction and death the construction of peace is properly in the forefront of our preoccupations. Americans, after the Korean war, may contradict me on this point. But, after all, impatience is not the same thing as precipitate action.

(By Michel Bousson, of the staff of Echo-Liberté, Lyon, independent Catholic Journal)

It is most probable that the French Parliament will not ratify the project for a European defense community, at any rate in its present form. Here, briefly, are the reasons:

Most of our people fear above everything else a close and definitive connection with Germany. Though in fact six partners are foreseen for the ERC, the future of this community would depend essentially on the Franco-German relationship. Italy, a nation not heavily industrialized, and the nations of Benelux, with their relatively small populations, would submit necessarily to the strongest attraction. Most certainly it would be Germany, completely modernized and reconstructed, a Germany which, unlike our country, is not compelled to fight an exhausting war in Indochina, a Germany which, unlike us, has no responsibilities in Africa and in the world, that would gradually achieve the preponderant power in Europe. We have, we French, suffered too much at her hands to accept this, the more so since we know her desire to reconquer at any price the provinces which she has lost in the East.

Does she, moreover, truly and sincerely desire the unification of Europe? M. Adenauer, certainly. But in the heart of his own government he encounters a most violent opposition to the internationalization of the Saar.

The situation would be wholly different if Great Britain were participating in the projected community. She could provide a factor of equilibrium that many Frenchmen judge to be indispensable. To be sure, guarantees are being studied in London and also in Washington, but they appear insufficient (at least so far as one knows). The Atlantic pact is envisioned for 20 years, the European Defense Community for 50. Who can say what would be the will of the United States in 1970? Already Great Britain and the United States are reluctant to station their troops in Europe for the indefinite future, and that is understandable. But to rearm Germany and to allow her a free hand in Europe without the presence of a real Anglo-Saxon counterforce appears to many Frenchmen to be a folly.

We know that the Americans are impatient; they remind us of the Soviet danger, and we are not unaware of it. But to combine 7 years afterward with a country which has ravaged ours constitutes a turnabout the urgent necessity of which the French find it extremely difficult to accept. What would the American citizen say if he were invited to serve under a Japanese general?

Hence it is necessary to be patient. All Frenchmen accept and would like to see the unification of Europe, and it is a Frenchman who suggested it. But it is a true Europe, a whole Europe, that it is first necessary to organize. That will come about. The operation has already begun with the economic integration of the coal and steel industries.

But this is not a journey to be taken by an express train. We are not an impatient people. And not even the United States of America was built in a day.

(By Pol L. C. Chaumette, of L'Ardennais, a provincial journal that is left-center Republican in politics)

The opinion that I should like to summarize in a few lines is that of numerous inhabitants of the northeastern part of France, inhabitants of those frontier departments which are justly called "the eastern marches."

The department of the Ardennes, which I represent here, has seen, since 1870, three occupations, of which the last was certainly the most tragic.

It is through the Ardennes that the German armored division in May 1940 invaded France through the Sedan Gap, while the German Air Force bombarded, on the evacuation routes, the women, the old men, and the children who were in flight after abandoning everything they possessed.

For 4 years the Germans reigned as absolute masters in this entire forbidden country, from which the workers were deported to the factories of the Reich, while the farmers found themselves compelled to cultivate their own lands under the orders and for the account of a German agricultural director.

Thousands of Ardennois patriots were arrested by the Gestapo, deported to the "camps of death," or shot where they were without trial (150 in a single day at Revin, a small town of 8,000 inhabitants).

And it is likewise in the direction of the Ardennes that the troops of Von Runstedt launched his final offensive in December 1944 at Bastogne.

Recollections so tragic cannot be effaced in a few years from the memories of those who were the victims, and the prospect of a German rearmament under whatever form it might take is looked upon as a menace to that peace which we so ardently desire.

There are many among us who are working for the unification of Europe, and notably for that economic organization of Europe which is indispensable to the Renaissance of the nations damaged by the war.

We are aware of the danger which Bolshevik Russia poses for the entire free world.

But we cannot overlook, even so, the danger, which is implicit even in the bosom of a European community, of German divisions composed of soldiers standing in the uniform of the Hitler Youth and commanded by officers who were up to the last day of the war the accomplices of that dictator who bled our unhappy country.

Nostalgia Over Florida

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Bob Addie, of the Washington Post-Times-Herald, with reference to nostalgia occasioned on leaving Florida. I commend it to the reading of Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAKELAND, March 29.—Getaway day in Florida always brings a touch of nostalgia as you pack away one more spring training in the dusty book of memories. It seems like only yesterday that you were blinking in the bright sun of Orlando on your first day and looking perhaps smugly at the headlines from the North which told of new snowstorms and cold waves.

There are so many points you revisit during the season—hidden, little villages, dozing in the warm sun off the beaten track of the tourists. You think of the little town of Parrish and the country store run by the old Englishman, Mr. Grimes, who came to Florida after World War I, but never quite lost his cockney accent.

You remember talking to him in 1946 and bringing alive places he had known as a young man in his native England.

Or perhaps you drop in on the German restaurant in Groveland run by Otto Reck, of Bremerhaven. He was a marine engineer who passed through Groveland one day and decided to settle there.

There's the memory of a visit to Tarpon Springs, the Greek settlement of sponge-divers and the colorful waterfront, as different and yet as amazingly alike as a New England fishing village where the tales still abound of men who have gone down with their ships.

There's St. Petersburg on a hot, spring day with ramps instead of curbstones leading off the sidewalks to the streets in deference to the elderly inhabitants who have come to wrest a moment's peace from the hard battle with life. There are the oldsters sitting on the benches in St. Pete, nodding away like the palms that rustle their fronds delicately and in excited whispers like some giggling girls preparing for their first prom.

There are the white-haired fans who go daily to Al Lang Field in St. Pete to watch the Cardinals or the Yankees play.

Always looking down the telescope of years to the days of Cap Anson and King Kelly and Dan Brouthers and Willie Keeler and John McGraw.

Even the Cobbs and the Speakers and the Ruths are too recent for them. They shuffle along, bird-like and bright-eyed, watching the unchanging scene of young men always playing baseball. The names are different but the grace and the power are there as always.

There's the John Ringling Hotel in Sarasota, headquarters for the circus. When you walk through the lobby you are apt to see a petite young lady doing a hand-stand on the bobbing head of a muscular acrobat.

There's the glamor of Tampa's Spanish quarter, Ybor City, with the many excellent restaurants and such exotic dishes as pompano, stone crabs, arroz con polo, Spanish bean soup, and hot shrimp with garlic sauce served on giant shells.

There is the dazzling sweep of Tampa Bay going across the Davis Causeway and the ferry boat ride to St. Pete with the gulls forming an escort and dive-bombing for peanuts and popcorn. There are the silent, brooking nights and the perfume of orange blossoms along Tamiami Trail.

There is the rich, black earth along Canal Point on the way to West Palm Beach and then Palm Beach with its magnificent homes and the spray of the sea and the muted thunder of the ocean at night. There are the boats which come in from deep-sea fishing with an occasional one flying the flag of victory for a sailfish captured in a long struggle.

There is the ranch section of Florida only 18 miles from Orlando—a little town called Kissimmee, which appears to have been lifted bodily out of Texas. There is a stuffed horse standing in front of Makinson's hardware store where you can buy a saddle for as much as $1,500. There are cowboys and cowgirls hanging around the drugstore on Saturday nights and staring at the passers-by who stare at them—young, lean people, with the rain and the wind and the sun in their faces.

This, then, is Florida, the warehouse of baseball dreams—State of many moods and changes—a Joseph dressed in many colors. It is always difficult to say goodbye.

BOB ADDIE.

Caught Off First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Mary's (Pa.) Daily Press of March 26:

CAUGHT OFF FIRST

One of the cardinal sins of baseball is to be caught off first.

That is just what the Republicans have done in Washington in allowing the McCarthy-Army controversy balloon into an ever increasing snowball that has but one objective in mind, closing down quizzing on Commies.

Republican Senators have allowed themselves to be drawn into an argument to the point where their better judgment has been cast aside in their desire to see one of their own number horsewhipped, MCCARTHY in this instance

Many Senators who should have remained on the sidelines in this whole affair have allowed themselves to be drawn into the vortex of a storm and have been quoted as saying while they do not object to Senator MCCARTHY's objectives they find fault with his methods.

Why, we wonder, when 1 witness before a congressional committee hides behind the fifth amendment 214 times and another 186 times, do they expect Mr. MCCARTHY or any other questioner to deluge such witnesses with perfumed notes? or speak to them in subdued tones?

Down at Penn State University hard by the main highway that passes through that delightful Centre County town is an immense building given over to the study of wind currents and how they affect plane speeds, fuselages, build and general contour.

The last 2 weeks in Washington have borne witness to a word of mouth tunnel argument that by far exceeds anything machines have developed at State college.

And that is all it amounts to—sound and fury—while the major objective of the McCarthy committee, investigation of subversive activities in America—withers on the vine, maybe to be forgotten forever, as a mail bag correspondent says today, if MCCARTHY is silenced, no man in Washington will have the courage to raise his voice against the insidious influences of the Reddish movement in America.

It will then be up to newspapers and magazines, radio and television to carry on the battle against the elements who would destroy us, but none can ever hope to meet the sublime courage Senator MCCARTHY has displayed in his warfare.

When fellow Senators like RALPH FLANDERS of Vermont can go out on a limb and state MCCARTHY is out to rip the Republican Party in two, then this country has come to a pretty low state.

Mr. FLANDERS had his hour in the sun, but he did nothing to advance the battle against communism.

Too bad so many GOP lawmakers have allowed themselves to become pawns in the war against JOE MCCARTHY, whose prime interest in life is preservation of the American way of life.

He may have been rough on some of those who have been in the witness stand before him, but did you ever hear a district attorney quizzing some of his witnesses as he represent the Commonwealth of which he is a legal part?

National Immigration Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution of the City Council of Philadelphia:

Resolution memorializing the United States Congress with respect to the modification of the provisions of the National Immigration Act

Whereas on December 24, 1952, the new Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 became effective; and

Whereas the plan to codify and consolidate the immigration and naturalization laws presented our lawgivers with an excellent opportunity to remove from our laws pertaining to this important field various features generally felt to be inconsistent with our democratic tradition and to enact a truly modern immigration and naturalization law; and

Whereas the said 1952 National Immigration Act does make an important contribution to human relations within the United States by eliminating all racial barriers in naturalization proceedings; and

Whereas the new law has unfortunately missed the opportunity to remove discrimination among would-be emigrants to the United States by asserting, in effect, through the quotas established therein, that immigrants from northern Europe are more desirable to the United States than immigrants from southern and eastern Europe; and

Whereas the 1952 National Immigration Act violates the American ideal of complete equality of all citizens before the law by providing special tests and penalties for naturalized citizens which do not apply to native-born citizens; and

Whereas both the Republican and Democratic Parties, in the election campaign of 1952, felt impelled to call for a revision of the 1952 National Immigration Act, since the new enactment has been generally described as a "racist, discriminatory, and retrogressive measure," and there is every evidence of concerted belief that the law should be rewritten and a law presented to strike an "intelligent, unbigoted balance between the immigration welfare of America and the prayerful hopes of the unhappy and the oppressed"; and

Whereas although it is necessary and proper that our immigration laws contain provisions to prevent the entry into our country of persons who might engage in espionage and other subversive activities, they should not be used as a device for erecting an iron curtain around our shores and excluding many people who might well contribute greatly to the strengthening of our country: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That the Congress of the United States is hereby memorialized to revise the 1952 National Immigration Act, and to provide a modern and democratic immigration system. *Resolved*, That a certified copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Presiding Officers of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, to the two Senators from Pennsylvania, and to the Members of the House of Representatives from Philadelphia.

JAMES A. FINNEGAN,
President of City Council.

Tariffs on Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein a very interesting, instructive, and enlightening letter forwarded by the management of the M. T. Stevens & Sons Co., textile industry in the town of North Andover, Mass., my congressional district, to the employees of that concern.

I wish to call this to the attention of each and every Member of the Congress in view of the fact that this letter is not only short but is a very sincere and truthful answer to the importation of wool textiles into the United States from Great Britan, France, Italy, Japan, and other countries.

The textile industry here in the United States has been one that is having difficulties over the years due, I assume, primarily to the importation from foreign countries of textiles at much lower wage scales than we have here in the United States.

We in the Congress should do our utmost to maintain our domestic industries at a high level in order to retain employment in these industries rather than reduce the tariff on these goods for the sake of having kind and friendly relations with other countries.

The letter follows:

STEVENS MILLS,
M. T. STEVENS & SONS CO.,
North Andover, Mass., March 17, 1954.

To All Those Who Work With Us:

Your job is in danger. Imports of wool textiles are going up. They set a 30-year record in 1952 and loom still higher in 1953. Yet in the United States many thousands of wool textile workers are laid off and others are working only part time.

Imported goods are made by workers whose wages are much less than yours. The United States tariff is supposed to make up for the wage gap but it fails. That is why some imported cloth can be sold here—duty paid—for less than the cost of making it in the United States.

You are competing with Great Britain where mill pay averages about 42 cents an hour. Italy and France also ship wool goods here. Italian textile workers average about 80 cents and the French about 43 cents per hour. Japan is aiming at this market. Mill wages there are about 14 cents per hour.

Yet some people want to cut United States tariffs still more. They don't care about this mill or your job. They say you can learn a different line of work and try to find a job someplace else. There is a plan to cut United States tariffs 5 percent each year for 3 years. That could mean the end of this plant and your job.

But Congress has to pass on this plan, so you can do something to help save your job. Write your Senators and Congressman. Tell them imports are hurting you. Tell them you want higher, not lower, tariffs. Be sure to ask them whether they will vote to protect your job. If you don't receive a straight answer, write and ask again. Write now. Get your family and friends to write, too.

STEVENS MILLS.

Surplus Labor in Baltimore

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the administration has been telling us that what we are now experiencing is not a depression, but a "rolling readjustment," a "minor contraction." Call it what you will, but when unemployment strikes a family, and especially prolonged unemployment, to that family it is a depression.

Metropolitan Baltimore, one of the Nation's most diversified industrial centers, is the home of some 2,100 manufacturing enterprises. Baltimore has the world's largest copper refinery; one of the largest sugar refineries; the largest plant in the world engaged exclusively in manufacturing stainless steel; the world's second largest steel plant; the largest maker of portable electric tools; the largest maker of crown bottle caps and closues; the largest superphosphate plant; is the largest producer of venetian blinds, weather instruments, porcelain insulators; has the largest meat-packing plant on the Atlantic seaboard, in addition to many other industrial and consumer products.

Of the 280 separate industries listed for Maryland in the Census of Manufacturers, 249 are represented in the Baltimore area.

This diversity has been a stabilizing factor in various ways, easing the impact of unemployment during periods of business recession and providing a labor pool of widely varying skills.

Yet, with all these advantages, Baltimore has shifted from a balanced labor supply status, to the surplus labor category. The Army has announced the closing of the Baltimore Signal Depot, which will mean 2,600 employees will be looking for work. The two large ship building and repair yards have laid off thousands of worker and are facing the possibility of closing down completely, within the next few months, unless additional work is received and that very soon. Representatives of the aircraft workers in Baltimore met with the Maryland delegation last week to discuss the

decline of the aircraft industry in Maryland. One of the railroads has laid off about 2,300 workers in the metropolitan Baltimore area; representatives of the VEW-CIO have informed the Maryland delegation that a contract from the Navy Department has been taken from Baltimore and given to a California firm, which will mean the laying off of about 1,500 workers, to mention but a few instances.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert the following article from the March 20 issue of the Baltimore Sun:

CITY IN SURPLUS LABOR CATEGORY—SHIFTED FROM BALANCE SUPPLY STATUS IN UNITED STATES REPORT

Baltimore has been reclassified from a balanced labor supply rating to a moderate labor surplus classification, the Labor Department reported yesterday.

Its Bureau of Employment Security, which rates industrial areas to show employment conditions, moved 40 major labor market areas to classifications of greater worker "surpluses."

COMMENT ON BALTIMORE

Baltimore was among them. It was in the balanced labor supply category in January. Its new listing is based on March conditions.

Discussing individual areas the Bureau made this comment about Baltimore:

Layoffs—heaviest in construction, trade, food—hit most industry groups. Recent unemployment increases also reflect longer term factory declines centered in durable goods, particularly shipbuilding.

OTHERS IN CATEGORY

The Employment Security Bureau said unemployment in the Nation, largely confined in early winter to a few selected industries, still was rising in March and was spreading to a "wide range of industries."

Among the 40 major labor market areas reclassified to a greater degree of worker surplus, 30, including Baltimore, were advanced from a balanced labor supply category to one of moderate labor surplus and nine were shifted from the moderate to the substantial labor surplus classification.

With Baltimore in the first group were Harrisburg and York, Pa., and Hampton-Newport News-Warwick, Va.

Other major areas shifted from a balanced supply to moderate surplus rating were:

San Diego, Calif.; Bridgeport, Stamford-Norwalk, and Waterbury, Conn.; Miami, Fla.; Macon, Ga.; Aurora and Rockford, Ill.; Indianapolis; Des Moines, Iowa; Kalamazoo, Lansing, and Saginaw, Mich.; Omaha, Nebr.; Buffalo and Syracuse, N. Y.; Charlotte, N. C.; Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Lorain-Elyria, and Youngstown, Ohio; Allentown-Bethlehem, Pa.; Aiken-Augusta, S. C.-Ga., and Houston, Tex.

NO SHORTAGE AREA LEFT

Hartford, Conn., which had been the only labor shortage area in the country in January, was classed as having a balanced labor supply in March.

The nine new areas added to the "substantial" labor surplus group—meaning at least 6 percent of available workers were jobless—were Charleston, W. Va.; Portland, Oreg.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis.; Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.; Paterson, N. J.; Racine, Wis.; San Antonio, Tex., and Wheeling-Steubenville, W. Va.-Ohio.

Five major areas had been added to the substantial labor-surplus group in a special February classification, including Detroit and Battle Creek, Mich.; Toledo, Ohio; South Bend, Ind., and the Davenport-Rock Island-Moline area in Iowa and Illinois.

TWENTY HAVE BALANCED SUPPLY

This brought to 34 the number of major areas with a substantial labor surplus. Only 20 of the 149 areas surveyed have a balanced labor supply.

The bureau keeps a separate list of smaller labor-market areas having a substantial labor surplus. Twelve areas added to this list in March were:

Bay City, Monroe, and Port Huron, Mich.; Biddeford, Maine; Bluefield and Clarksburg, W. Va.; Kittanning-Ford City and Williamsport, Pa.; Michigan City-La Porte, Ind.; North Adams, Mass.; Radford-Pulaski, Va.; and Waynesville, N. C.

Areas with substantial labor surpluses are eligible under a Government program to receive special consideration in the award of Government work.

CAUTIOUS NOTE OF OPTIMISM

The Employment Security Bureau said it might revise its labor area classification system because so many areas are in the substantial labor surplus category, in which joblessness ranges from 6 to 20 percent.

It said virtually all the 149 major job areas surveyed had "adversely affected employment conditions" between mid-January and mid-March.

The bureau had a cautious note of optimism. It said that employment, while still declining, was doing so at a slower rate in the auto, farm machinery, aircraft, and household appliance manufacturing fields. These are the industries hit earliest and hardest by the winter's unemployment.

NEW CLAIMS DROP

In a separate report, the bureau said joblessness among workers insured for unemployment compensation declined by 12,500 during the week ended March 6, as compared to the previous week. This brought the total down to 2,200,600. During the week ended March 13, new claims for unemployment insurance totaled 310,600, which was 8,200 less than the new claims filed a week earlier.

Mr. Speaker, when such a condition exists in Baltimore, it is not difficult to imagine what conditions must be like in many other areas, which do not have the advantages that Baltimore enjoys. As a matter of fact, 175 areas have reported a labor surplus.

And in addition to the unemployment situation, the decline in the workweek, must also be taken into consideration. The shortened workweek with its corresponding reduction in the paychecks, is also having its effect on our economy.

The President has stated that the administration has plans for combatting the recession. I believe this is the time to put them into action, before the country is faced with another devastating depression and I strongly urge the administration to review the situation without further delay and take immediate steps to prevent a further recession.

Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following discourse on juvenile delinquency by Judge Anthony A. Filipiak, of the Juvenile Court of Lake County, Ind., sets out excellent thoughts concerning this social problem which confronts our Nation today:

THE NEVER-ENDING PROBLEM

Juvenile delinquency in its various forms has been a problem confronting the family and civic authorities for generations. Since human nature is so manifestly imperfect, we will never eliminate this problem from society. However, we can cope with it more successfully as we gain insight, knowledge and experience in dealing with predelinquent and delinquent children and parents.

In our times, this vexing problem has been one of emotional intensity rather than of proving a disproportional growth which would be inconsistent with the natural increase of population.

True, in these days of moral retreats into dark corners of selfishness and indifference, we have witnessed staggering outbursts of juvenile vandalism in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, and other large American cities.

THE SITUATION IN LAKE COUNTY

However, this does not hold true in our own Lake County, Ind., where the delinquency of minors is not increasing to any noticeable extent and is, thanks to mindful and prompt cooperation of our law-enforcement agencies, school authorities, and many civic and welfare groups, under constant control of the juvenile court's probation department.

Of course, this statement is not intended to minimse the juvenile delinquency problem in our communities, nor to dispense with the great need of social awareness and civic responsibilities inherent in the well-being and the future of our children.

I simply wish to state, that, having a vitally important duty to perform, we are all working in unity—your juvenile court staff, and yourself, as a public servant, as an individual citizen, or as a member of a civic-minded group.

THE MIGRATORY INFLUX

In the past few years, we were faced with an increasingly exasperating influx of southern migration to our industrial centers. The average citizen is not aware of the problem created by this incessant infiltration of our communities by the sharecroppers and other elements which were brought up in utter poverty and ignorance springing from lower standards of education, and whose concepts of morality is practically nil.

These newcomers find it hard and, too often, incomprehensible to cope with the complexities of our modes of living, and to keep up with our average families as far as the awareness of home and community responsibilities are concerned.

They pose quite a problem for the juvenile court, for school authorities, for welfare and civic agencies, and are the responsibility of all civic-minded citizens.

They urgently need to be helped in their readjustment to industrial way of living by our schools, welfare, civic, community, and church groups, in order to uplift their moral standards, and such does require much time, patience, and understanding.

I venture to say that at present, we have several thousands of these newcomers among us and their number is steadily increasing.

It's fortunate, in view of these facts, that we do not have more delinquencies in our midst.

GLOOMIER PICTURE FOR THE COUNTRY

A far darker picture is being presented for the country at large—the FBI statistics disclose a general increase in juvenile delinquency and stress the supposition that among the present day teen-agers we are

harboring about 15 percent of the future criminals. In conjunction with these foreboding statements—the findings and recommendations of Senator ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON's committee investigating juvenile delinquency in our land are yet to be published.

Nevertheless, these symptoms, diagnosed from facts, figures, and conjectures, are not of a desperate nature, and it is to be hoped, that the United States Senate committee will at least start a new trend in combating and preventing the ills of our young generations.

HOME LIFE AND ENVIRONMENT

Let us face the basic truth—that delinquency usually begins at home.

The first requisite of a child is the provision of the necessities of life, and equally important—love and affection. In its very nature, a child needs to be loved, protected, and convinced that it is wanted in the family, that it belongs to and is accepted wholeheartedly by its immediate environment, which would be conducive to normal development—physical, moral, and spiritual.

Broken homes, homes with an atmosphere of ignorance, poverty, and indifference—families where both husband and wife are working full time, and the so-called upper strata families were parents are so busy professionally or socially that they have no time left for sincere and devoted interest in their children—are the primary causes of juvenile delinquency. They are the sum total blunders rooted in ignorance of the basic need of every child. And that need, as already stated, is love and affection.

Left to a soulless loneliness at home, a child seeks diversion outside of its family, becomes belligerent for not being wanted at home, and tries to cover up with toughness the feeling of not belonging.

Such child, be it a boy or a girl, exerts through its acquired aggressiveness bad influence on its companies, who perhaps do come from good homes and are well adjusted in their behavior.

OTHER CAUSES AND COMPLICATIONS

A very important and critical factor in this particular problem of bad influences, can be blamed neither on parents nor on schools.

It falls into the mostly uncontrolled time a child spends between leaving home and reaching school and vice versa.

It's the time when most juvenile friendships are formed, when exchange of ideas takes place and when attitudes toward environment are formulated.

The parents should be especially wary of these in-between-the-home-and-school times and see with what friends and acquaintances their child is associating.

Of course, it's not always as simple as all that.

Other ramifications come into destructive play. Poverty at home. Bitterness between parents, their quarrels, and their use of angry and obscene words. Drunkenness of one or both of the parents. Neglect and abandonment. Lack of parental discipline. Lack of religion at home, etc.

During the Korean conflict too many of our teen-age boys, feeling the uncertainty about their future precipitated by the fear of entering the Armed Forces and eventual front-line action, gave vent to their emotional instability. Pampered by sympathetic parents and given freedom to "look for thrills while it's time," such predraft boys, looking for newer and bigger thrills, went wild in many cities and committed acts of vandalisms and other delinquencies on a scale heretofore unheard of.

Volumes could be written on this subject, and even they would not explain the whole problem. For it is as complex as the human nature itself.

True, youthful energies must find an outlet. And we should provide them with proper playgrounds, gymnasiums, etc., where, under a professional supervision, the children could find a useful channel for their superabundant vitality, and thus stay out of mischief.

But the basic truth is one: that a child it not born bad. It's the attitude of parents, their measure of love and affection or lack of it, the home atmosphere and environmental influences that mold young character, behavior pattern, and attitude toward life in general.

CRITICISM NOT WARRANTED

Oftentimes, our press, not acquainted with perplexing complexities of juvenile delinquency, comes out in a candor of ignorance and criticizes our basic laws concerning the corrective and preventive measures for our misguided, wayward, neglected, and unhappy children.

These critics forget the good results attained in 95 percent of our juvenile cases and gleefully point out the 5 percent of children who could not be readjusted for lack of proper facilities. Yet, out of 1,510 juvenile cases, we had 1,440 satisfactory readjustments in 1953.

The editors, who express only individual ideas, not necessarily their own, but of their publishers, too often fail to understand that a delinquent child is invariably hurt in some way, is inwardly unhappy, confused, lonely, and in greater need of commiserating guidance than of mere punishment. Failing to understand that, the newspapers are prone to criticize us for supposed leniency.

The purpose and basic principle of the Indiana Juvenile Court Act of 1945 are thus defined: "The purpose of this act is to secure for each child within its provisions such care, guidance, and control, preferably in his own home, as will serve the child's welfare and the best interest of the State; and when such child is removed from his own family, to secure for him custody, care, and discipline as nearly as possible equivalent to that which should have been given by his parents" (Burns' Statutes, 9–3201).

This principle, proclaimed by the Indiana General Assembly in 1945, points clearly to the primary importance of detention homes for such children who cannot receive proper care and guidance within their families, even under the supervision and help of the probation department.

FAILURE OF PRESENT SYSTEMS

According to a statement made by a former State probation department (now known as the department of correction) official, and based on Federal statistics, corrective institutions dedicated to the readjustments and rehabilitation of delinquent children, indicate nearly 80 percent failures. In other words, about 80 percent children released from correctional institutions as readjusted and rehabilitated, soon revert to their old patterns of misbehavior, and society is not gaining the objective it paid for in taxes, which amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Children committed to correctional institutions are usually treated collectively, without much insight into their individual problems, and at times they are even treated as potential criminals.

There the children do not get the love and affection so necessary for their mental and spiritual development, and invariably fall into bad company. I am convinced that no matter how bad a boy or girl is that we have sent from Lake County to a correctional institution—he or she will invariably meet someone who is worse.

On the other hand, 5 years on the bench of the Lake County Juvenile Court convinced me thoroughly that at least 90 percent of those incorrigibles who have been committed to correctional institutions for want of a better placement could be rehabilitated and readjusted within a few months of professional diagnosis, care, and instructions in a modern and properly staffed detention home.

Juvenile delinquency should be considered and treated not as a crime wave of irresponsible youths, but as a social illness, the cause of which should be treated with professional approach, proper treatment, kind and sympathetic attitude, and not with vengeful punishment.

Physical and mental health of delinquents should be of primary concern.

We can cite from our records many instances where a medical elimination of even a minor but chronic ailment or a physical defect was sufficient to change the behavior pattern of a child and start him or her on the way to complete readjustment.

Hoping that these thoughts and notes on juvenile delinquency will be subjected on your part to serious discussions, constructive criticism, and deep consideration, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ANTHONY A. FILIPIAK,
Judge.

Conquer and Divide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. HESS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Western Hills Press, of Cheviot, Ohio, dated March 26, 1954:

CONQUER AND DIVIDE—OLD HOAX REVIVED TO DEFEAT TAX PROGRAM

The Eisenhower tax program—keystone of the whole Administration program for national stability and world security—is being subjected to attacks reminiscent of the New Deal and Fair Deal eras when the formula for political success was "divide and conquer."

Behind the smoke-screen of such well remembered phrases as "Economic Security," "Wall Street," "Big Business," those in power pursued their secret plan "to tax and tax and to elect and to elect." The formula worked like a charm for years. In fact, its devotees cultivated the illusion that they had solved the enigma of perpetual motion while their foes despaired in the frequently expressed thought that "the people will never shoot Santa Claus."

But there came a day when a majority realized "there is nothing for nothing" and, because there were not enough economic royalists, Wall Streeters and Big Business tycoons to do the job, they were filling a very considerable part of Santa's pack themselves. Now the perpetrators of the hoax as tax-grabbers are trying to use the same old gag with "reverse English" in their newly assumed role of tax-cutters. We predict their latest effort to "divide and conquer" by angling the class appeal to their present ends will not work.

Although corporations do not stand to receive a reduction in income tax rates, which will continue to amount to 52 percent on profits over $25,000 under the proposed tax revision program, much has been made of big business profits in the current renewal of the class warfare campaign wherein business and industry are portrayed as exploiters of the masses, workers and producers alike.

To accept the plain implications of these charges is to accept the basic contention of communism and to deny the philosophy of private enterprise and the system of capitalism on which the American economy is established. Having heard some of these charges aired by supposedly responsible spokesmen for political and labor interests, we checked on several of America's industrial

giants and found they were much more effective as tax producers and collectors for Uncle Sam than as profit producers for their shareholders.

For instance, General Motors, with net income of $10,116,000,000, distributed its 1953 revenue dollars as follows: 52.75 cents to suppliers; 27.5 cents to payroll; 1.75 cents to depreciation and obsolescence; 2.25 cents to reserve; 3.5 cents to shareholders, and 12.25 cents (almost 4 times the amount of dividends) for Federal, State, and local taxes.

And General Electric, with $3,128,127,000 in sales, paid out 44.5 cents of each sales dollar to suppliers; 36.7 cents to payroll; 1.4 cents for reserves; 3.9 cents to shareholders, and 13.5 cents (better than fourfold the dividend rate) in direct taxes. Of course, neither of the above breakdowns takes into account the untold indirect taxes paid by every industry nor the additional taxes paid by shareholders in the form of income taxes on profits previously taxed as corporate earnings.

American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and its subsidiaries, which form the Bell System, paid better than 18 percent of its $4,416,729,614 operating revenue in direct taxes with $459,087,308 going to the Federal Government as taxes on income and $339,583,846 in other taxes.

This is exclusive of $670 million in excise taxes paid by customers and collected by the system for the Government, which brings the total direct taxes paid and collected to $1,490,000,000, or, as the annual report points out, to an average of more than $3 per telephone per month. And, in America, you don't have to be an economic royalist to have telephone service and the dubious privilege of paying approximately $36 per year as your share of that billion and a half dollar tax load.

The A. T. & T. report adds one further significant fact in any consideration of the economic royalists who control this big business through Wall Street. Regarding the owners of this mammoth communications system that of necessity must be big to serve a big country growing bigger, the report states, "About 140,000 new members joined the nationwide family of A. T. & T. shareholders in 1953. Some 95,000 transferred their shares to others. The net increase in share owners was therefore 45,000 and the total number at the end of the year was 1,265,000.

As to the holdings of these Wall Street magnates, the report adds, "nearly half of our owners hold 10 shares or less. The largest single group—about 100,000—holds exactly 10 shares each, and the next largest group holds 2 shares each. No individual owns as much as one-fortieth of 1 percent of the stock, and the average number of shares held by individuals is 28. Approximately 200,000 of our share owners are employees of the Bell System. Some 47,000 trustees, corporations, and other organizations own A. T. & T. stock, including insurance companies, schools, churches, and many other institutions which hold their stock for the benefit of millions of people."

The above offers an aspect of the economic royalists, big business, and Wall Streeters which those who would divide and conquer fail to mention. May their numbers increase and their taxes decline, for, unless their kind multiply, the $12,000 of invested capital needed to provide each new job in industry will not be forthcoming and unless their taxes decline the hidden levies we—all of us—pay in every product we buy will continue to maintain the higher prices that discourage the demands which also creates the jobs that are needed for a continuing prosperity.

President Eisenhower has said he aspires to be the President of all the people. His tax program proves his sincerity, revealing both an insight into the economic workings of the American system and the courage to champion what he must have known was a politically unpopular course. Such leadership merits popular understanding and support.

A Marked Awakening

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, Federal employee representatives in Pennsylvania have directed my attention to an important new nonpartisan effort that is being made to improve employee relations in Government.

They have spoken highly of the Federal employee interest program, which was started at the United States Civil Service Commission on recommendation of two esteemed colleagues in the House of Representatives, Congressman HAROLD C. HAGEN, Republican, of Minnesota, and Congressman JOEL T. BROYHILL, Democrat, of Virginia.

They explain to me that the employee program, as devised and conducted by Mr. Harold J. Miller, has set up liaison between the Commission and the many organizations of Federal and postal employees, and useful and helpful informational materials have been produced, at no extra Government cost, with the purpose of improving the public service by creating better understanding of the Government and its employees.

The employee spokesmen have suggested that it would be helpful if information about this program and the results it has obtained were to be published in the Appendix of the RECORD, and, under unanimous consent, I am doing so.

Following is an excerpt from a column from the February 1954 issue of the Federal Employee News, written by Mr. Thomas J. Ward, national director of the Federal Employees Association for National Defense, and the text of a talk given by Mr. Miller to members of the National Association of Federal Career Employees:

AN "OUTSTANDING" RATING

(By Thomas J. Ward)

As one of the founders of the Federal Employees for National Defense, your national director was aware of the faith in civil service, and I was also conversant with the fear and anxiety very evident recently, creeping into the minds of our members, as to what has become of civil service, so to speak.

There seems to be a marked awakening in the civil service setup, as is very evident by the action taken by the new employee interest program as handled by Harold J. Miller. We have obtained more real information from this source in the past month than came during the past 2 years. Apparently someone has been sitting on the information that should have reached the Federal employees.

Take today's mail for example. The Federal employees program sent valuable information relative to civil service, retirement system, annual and sick leave, veterans preference, reduction in force, and other valuable material. Regardless of whether Hal Miller did or did not conceive the idea of this commendable program, he certainly rates "outstanding" as to the manner in which he operates this program.

HUMAN RELATIONS AND EMPLOYEE-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION: KEY TO IMPROVEMENT OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL SERVICE SYSTEM

(By Hal J. Miller)

One idealistic proposal for improving the important supervisory relationships which are necessary in a large industrial or governmental organization is to admonish both employees and management to work by the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule.

For 2,000 years these great and simple truths of the Christian faith have moved the hearts of men. They have enriched modern civilization. Nations that have observed their precepts have learned to live in peace with other countries. There is no better guide to good human relations. Where these Christian teachings have been ignored, chaos and distrust and hatreds have developed.

Unfortunately, application of the Golden Rule, not only to the complex governmental and industrial relationships, is much more than a mere matter of admonishment. Yet, bromidic as it may sound and idealistic as it certainly is, it is self-evident that the application of these great truths by which we live to our workaday relationships is a key to improved public and business administration.

The problem, then, is to evolve policies and techniques and methods through which greater cooperation between management and employees can be achieved. That was the challenge when the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission assigned the writer to develop a program to improve liaison and information between the Commission and the organizations of the 2,300,000 people in the Federal service.

It is evidence of the sincere nonpartisan desire of our national leaders to improve the already powerful American public service, that this civil-service project was recommended by Republican, Democratic, and Independent Members of the Senate and House.

The project provided an opportunity to put into practice ideas that we had developed during many years in the field of civil service and as public relations and labor adviser in union, industry, and trade association fields.

The result was the creation of the Federal employee interest program. Through it, the groundwork has been laid for improved informational and employee-relations programs throughout the Federal service. This has been accomplished with the full cooperation of the leaders and representatives of some 150 unions and associations serving Federal and postal employees, with the advice of most of the top personnel directors in Federal agencies and departments, and with the counsel and assistance of literally hundreds of individual Government employees. Many useful ideas were advanced by the editors and columnists specializing in civil service.

Initial recommendations of the Federal employee interest program, outlined in my preliminary report, Human Relations in Government, included many suggestions from these varied sources. Some of them have already been put to use, such as the civil service fact sheets. The initial report is already in use in courses in human relations for supervisory personnel. Some of the recommendations may not be applicable to Government at this time, but others merit further careful study for long-range plans to strengthen the American public service.

No techniques or practices will be utilized that add to governmental costs. In fact, the proposals, in many instances, present ways of cutting administrative expenses.

The immediate benefit of the program was that for the first time in history, definite liaison was established between all organizations of Federal employees and the Civil Service Commission. This created two-way benefits. Not only has it been possible to provide these groups and their members with information about their Government and jobs to which they are entitled; in addition, it has been possible to obtain from employees constructive recommendations as to how the American Government and the civil service can be strengthened and improved.

The program has recorded basic ideas from which can be developed positive action programs to improve public appreciation of the Government and its employees. And it has also laid down specific proposals whereby employee relations can be improved throughout government by adapting enlightening human relations techniques of business and industry to public administration, from the top management echelons down through the supervisory levels to the newest employee.

Much is expected of the employee-interest program. Already its preliminary findings are being used in several agencies and departments to improve their information and employee relations. Other agencies and departments have specifically requested that they be supplied with the final recommendations of the program, to be applied to their operations. Federal officials and employees are proud of their part in developing the program, and the congressional leaders who advocated its creation are justifiably proud of its accomplishments.

The employee organizations, without dissent, are cooperating in the program. They are using the new informational media developed in the program, such as fact sheets, in their publications, and for direct distribution to individual employees.

The program has devised ways and means of better informing the public and employees about their Government without adding to administrative costs.

The study shows that this has been done, through the program, and can be done on a tremendously expanded scale, without increasing information on employee relations expenses.

How, you may ask, is this possible?

It is possible because, as new informational media have been created, such as television, and as employee relations techniques have been improved, in many instances, administrative practices have not kept pace.

To keep the picture in perspective, it must be pointed out, that in some instances, government is well ahead of private business and industry in its personnel practices. For example, the guides, developed by the Civil Service Commission, to evaluate the adequacy of personnel programs, have been adapted by private management consulting firms to their work in private industry.

By applying modern information and human relations practices to public and business administration, all relationships between management and employees can be improved.

A great American industrialist reasons that "attitudes in industry and labor relations can provide a key to the realization of the more abundant life and greater human happiness." And improved human relations can be a key to an organization's success.

Government can learn much from United States industry about how to improve employee-management relations. Essential attitudes, he says, are:

"Honesty and integrity in dealing, together. The attitude of square shooting is indispensable to good human relations. Just plain honesty—telling the truth and asking for the truth in return—must be absolutely grounded in human relations. Fair dealing can evoke fairness in return. Integrity brings out integrity in others."

The employee interest program is founded on the theory that when less and less time is spent in getting ulcers over labor relations, more and more time can be spent opening up brandnew avenues of cooperation that are good for all. As expressed by the industrial leader quoted previously:

"A lot more can be done about keeping employees informed—informed of the philosophy, economics, and worthwhile contributions to society, behind their work and enterprise.

"People feel better when they believe in the things they are doing. People take satisfaction in helping their neighbors build a better community.

"Man craves a sense of participation and belonging—belonging to a good family, a good neighborhood and a good community. He takes pride in belonging to a good company, or an effective government agency or department.

"The greatest progress ahead will be in the realm of the human spirit and human relations. In our labor relations, we must keep close to people—to individuals in a time when modern man, the jittery master of his own fate in this atomic age, must retain confidence and rekindle faith in himself."

Through this philosophy and the techniques of the employee interest program, much real progress can be made in improving the human relations of the American civil-service system and its postal service.

And the result will be increased productivity and efficiency through increased employee satisfaction and pride in his job.

One Hundred and Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, liberty-loving people everywhere join in congratulating Greeks on their 133d anniversary of independence. The average American youth has associated Greece with the glories of art and culture. Greek mythology is apt to be a required reading in high school. Every person of Hellenic origin can be justly proud of this contribution even though he did not participate in it.

What will make modern Greeks live forever in history will be their stopping the extension of communism on its very doorstep. Greeks throughout the world gave their blood and treasure in this effort of a small sovereign nation to remain sovereign. It was America's high privilege to assist. We were blessed at that time with the courage to act that was Harry S. Truman's. He had advisers equally endowed and as strongly anti-Red, like General Marshall and Dean Acheson.

The people who read our history and that of present-day Greece are going to find it unbelievable that men of mean accomplishments set out to stigmatize these great American figures, for political profit and personal aggrandizement. If it were not so tragic it could be laughable that anybody believed these men soft on Communists or fronts for traitors. Men and women of Greek origin know the facts and cannot fall prey to demagoguery. They have lived intimately through the glorious cooperation of both nations. You of Hellenic roots can well be proud of your ancient ancestors who contributed so much to art and culture. But some of us rank human liberty a more prized possession than any art treasure. So to that degree modern Greeks should have a wider niche in world history than those who dominated world culture in the centuries before Christ.

Public Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the intent of the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives to kill the low-rent public housing program is appallingly clear in the majority vote of the Appropriations Committee on the independent offices appropriation bill and of the Banking and Currency Committee on the Housing Act of 1954. The Appropriations Committee has decreed that when existing contracts have been honored the public-housing program is dead. The Democratic members of the Banking and Currency Committee, on which it is my privilege to serve, unsuccessfully tried to save the program in the Housing Act of 1954 by returning it to the basic provisions of the Housing Act of 1949, which approved 135,000 units a year over a 6-year period. That program was the result of many years of bipartisan study of our Nation's housing needs. The National Housing Conference recommended nearly 10 years ago that the Nation required a low-rent public-housing program of some 150,000 homes a year for a period of 10 years. While the need for low-rent public housing has steadily increased, Congress has consistently reduced the number of units under the Housing Act, finally to a mere 20,000 homes for this year.

The adverse committee action comes at a time when it is more necessary than ever to have a reasonable housing program under way. The administration promised in the campaign "better housing for those Americans who are now forced to live in slums and substandard dwellings." This pledge cannot be carried out unless the public-housing program is continued on an adequate scale. It is futile to propose slum rehabilitation and renovation without providing for the displaced families of low income. In view of the enormity of the problem, the administration's recommendation of 35,000 units a year for 4 years falls far below a realistic level. Now, the Appropriations Committee seeks to slash the number even more drastically before terminating the program completely.

The friends of public housing have had to fight each year to keep the pro-

gram going, and I am confident that they will rise up and fight once more. I wish to commend the Newark Evening News for its alertness in calling attention to the decision of the House committees. The News' editorial of March 29 on the housing crisis suggests that the public express their support of public housing to their representatives in the Congress. As the editorial declares, the need for public housing is great and urgent and I trust that all groups concerned with the public welfare throughout the country will follow the lead of the vigilant Newark Citizens' Housing Committee in sounding the alarm.

The editorial follows:

HOUSING CRISIS

The anti-public-housing wrecking crew is back on the job in Congress. The Wolcott-Capehart omnibus housing bill being introduced there carries no specific authorization for continued construction of low-rent housing. Instead, the House Appropriations Committee is reporting out a recommendation that 20,000 new units be allowed for the fiscal year starting July 1, this amount to be taken from a suspended backlog of 35,000 units already under contract.

This time it is not the Truman administration which is being defied by a recalcitrant Republican House leadership. It is President Eisenhower, who has asked for the enactment of an entirely reasonable and well-thought-out program of 35,000 new units for each of the next 4 years.

The need for public housing to supply homes for low-income families, something which private enterprise cannot do under present-day conditions, is great and urgent. An alarm already has been sounded locally by the Newark Citizens' Housing Committee, which has pointed out in a resolution for New Jersey's Washington legislators that the Eisenhower recommendation of 35,000 units a year is small in comparison to the need. What the country should have, said the Newark group, is 100,000 units a year.

The Senate has always been more responsive than the House to the realities of the housing crisis. It may well hold out for the Eisenhower housing recommendations. Public support indicated now would help.

Something To Keep in Mind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney (Pa.) Spirit of March 26, 1954:

SOMETHING TO KEEP IN MIND

Henry A. Wallace, the former Vice President and Secretary of Agriculture, who also ran for the Presidency on the Progressive ticket, was never regarded as a conservative in matters affecting farming or anything else. So a speech he made a short time ago before a Des Moines farm meeting should be seriously considered by those who still approve rigid price supports and ever-increasing surpluses.

Mr. Wallace unequivocally endorsed a flexible support program—which, significantly is urged by Secretary Benson. And he said that if the surpluses the Government buys with the tax money of us all continue to grow, the time will come when the American people will rise up in indignation. Farmers had better keep that in mind.

The goal must be to move as much as possible of our farm production into the kitchens of consumers—and as little as possible into bulging warhouses. In working toward that goal, it is likely that agriculture will find that its most potent ally is retailing—the system of competitive mass distribution which has outdone the world in bridging the gap between the farm and factory and the homes of America.

Outstanding Service of Democratic Leader in the United States Senate, Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson, Commended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Longview (Tex.) Sunday News-Journal for March 28, 1954, contains a front-page editorial entitled "Why an Opponent?" This editorial was doubtless written by Mr. Carl Estes, the owner and publisher of this newspaper. Incidentally, if there should be a national contest in the United States to select the outstanding individuals who have contributed the most to the economic and social progress of the cities in which they live, Carl Estes would be one of the winners. He has achieved for Longview, Tex., proportionately what Amon G. Carter has achieved for Fort Worth, Tex., and that is saying a lot. In the 30 years that I have traveled over the United States in public life it is my considered opinion that these two gentlemen have done more for their respective cities than any other persons within my acquaintance.

It is appropriately pointed out in this editorial the qualities of leadership possessed by Senator JOHNSON. I personally have known Senator JOHNSON all of his life; in fact, I was a desk mate of his father in the Texas Legislature in the early twenties, when the Senator was just a small boy. I know that everything said about him in this editorial is justified.

In the 25 years that I have had the honor and privilege of serving the people in the First Congressional District of Texas I have naturally learned a few things about Members of Congress, having served with more than 2,500 during that time. I am convinced that although it is absolutely necessary for a Member to have the good will and support of his constituents in order to be a Member of the United States Congress, yet it is equally important that he have the good will and support of his colleagues in order for him to render the maximum service for his constituents. Actually a Member has two constituencies. One is the people who make it possible for him to be elected and serve, and the other is his colleagues in the body of the Congress that he serves, who make it possible for him to be successful as a representative of the people in his district or State.

LYNDON JOHNSON has the unusual ability of getting along with people. This is due to the fact that he is absolutely sincere, honest, and trustworthy. He is always working in the public interest—on the side of the people—and is always on the alert and anxious to do something in the interest of the general welfare.

After all the discussion—sometimes lasting for weeks—in the United States Senate, when the roll is called on the pending question, Senator JOHNSON has always voted on the side that he believed was in the interest of our country and the people.

The editorial is so well written it is difficult for me to add a new thought. I certainly approve of everything that is said in the editorial. It is as follows:

WHY AN OPPONENT?

Every so often Texas produces a statesman of such stature that he towers above the crowd. Like the cream in a fresh bottle of milk, he possesses those inherent qualities which just naturally cause him to rise to the top.

Texas today has one of those leaders occupying the highest office which a political party not in power can bestow, and we think that he is the cream of the cream.

LYNDON JOHNSON'S selection by the Democratic Members of the Senate as their leader was a fine and merited tribute to those qualities of outstanding leadership which became so well known to his colleagues before he was halfway through his first term in the Senate.

In our book, by any yardstick you want to use, LYNDON JOHNSON is the best United States Senator Texas ever produced. He has shown an astounding capacity for hard work and a keenness of insight into problems of government—and their solutions—which is unmatched by anyone in our time.

His leadership has been of such a high order that it has transcended mere party lines and has become a really vital factor in implementing those phases of the administration's program which have been good for the Nation as a whole. LYNDON JOHNSON is not one of those "my party, right or wrong" men and he never has been. He is about as near to a nonpartisan leader in his thinking and in his fight for honest, progressive, and efficient government as any of us in Texas have observed in the last half century.

Senator JOHNSON has stayed aloof from intraparty fights without dodging issues and has maintained good relations with all elements of the Democratic Party. That is why, after the bitter, internecine struggle within the party at the national convention and later during the campaign, the Democratic Members of the Senate turned to LYNDON JOHNSON as their leader.

Senator JOHNSON has accomplished things as Democratic leader which have bordered on the impossible. To those of us who saw the bitterness of the struggle among the 3 or 4 factions at the 1952 convention in Chicago's stockyards, it seems impossible that anybody in 2 years or 2 decades could have unified the party. The liberal elements led by men like Minnesota's HUBERT HUMPHREY and the conservatives of DICK RUSSELL'S political persuasion seemed as far apart as the poles. Yet in almost as little time as it takes to write about it, LYNDON JOHNSON as Senate Democratic leader actually had those two men working together on a farm measure which the Minnesotan had drafted.

Senator JOHNSON'S selection as Democratic leader was accomplished when Senator RUSSELL went to work in his behalf. The Georgian, one of the wisest and ablest men in the Senate, knew the Texan's qualifications:

His keenness of mind, his singleness of purpose in fighting for those things which will make America strong and vigorous, and his tremendous capacity for work. The faith of Senator RUSSELL in our senior Senator from Texas has been further accentuated by the fact that such other Democratic powers in the Chamber as Senator SYMINGTON, of Missouri, Senator BYRD, of Virginia, and others, are agreed that he is doing a masterful job of bringing all elements of the party back together.

Senator JOHNSON, in addition to supporting those phases of the administration's program which he believes best serve the interests of the Nation as a whole, has also spent these last 6 years in working and fighting for other constructive programs. His efforts to get America ready to battle her enemies by strengthening the Air Force to 70 groups antedate even his Senate service, and here again he showed that party lines are subordinate to the Nation's welfare. He was a member of the Armed Services Committee of the House in those days, and when he believed the Democratic President wrong in holding out for a smaller air arm he did not hesitate to lock horns with the Chief Executive.

His speech last Sunday over a statewide network on the oil-depletion tax has drawn warm praise from all the right-thinking elements of the oil industry who have told him that his views simply make sense. And his efforts in behalf of a sound agricultural program for the Nation's farmers and ranchers have brought praise from the rural elements of the State's economy.

We don't think there's a man in Texas who can beat LYNDON JOHNSON today, tomorrow, or next summer, whether they're running for money, marbles, or chalk. He has simply done too good a job at everything he has undertaken, and he has served the people of the State and the Nation far too well to be removed from office.

We think he is due a big vote of confidence from the people of Texas, and we believe that end can best be accomplished by his having no opposition. If there is still any opposition lingering around when summer arrives and the chips go down, we think it should just quietly withdraw from the race and go fishing or something. As we see it, there is no use in drawing our senior Senator away from his duties and making him go through the motions of running a race that he will win hands down, anyway.

Every Christian labors to live in such a manner that, at the end of the journey, he will deserve a "Well done, thou good and faithful servant" from the Master. And in the Navy, which LYNDON JOHNSON served so long and so ably, the highest tribute which can be earned by an officer, a man, or a ship's company is a "Well done" from the skipper.

We think LYNDON JOHNSON rates a hearty "Well done" from the people of Texas.

Salute to Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the people of Greece have in recent days celebrated the 133d anniversary of their modern independence. They observed this event proudly, as befits the nation in which the principles of political democracy were born, and with confidence in the future. Peace loving as the Greek people are, they are nevertheless ready and willing to defend their freedom and their independence against any threat.

I deem it a privilege to address a salute to the brave people of Greece on this occasion in behalf of all of the people of the Second District of Pennsylvania.

We can remember vividly the anxious days after World War II when Greece was under armed attack from the Communist aggressors and was fighting for its survival as a free and independent nation. We look back proudly on America's response to that crisis—the promulgation of the Truman doctrine which paved the way for America supplies to go to Greece to help stop the aggressive threat and beat back the aggressors. We heard her plea for help and we responded in the best traditions of freedom.

But American guns alone did not do the trick. Guns do not fire themselves. It took brave men—Greek men—to man those guns under fire, to stand firm against the aggressors, and to win through to a marvelous victory.

In Greece we have an ally which understands the meaning of freedom, which recognizes the danger of Communist aggression, and which is on our side—on the side of decency and freedom—because it is the side of righteousness.

It is an ally with deep faith in the ultimate victory of free men over the forces of slavery and imperialism.

It is indeed a happy occasion to salute such a fine friend and partner in the free world on the anniversary of Greek independence.

Housing in Philadelphia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to include in the RECORD a statement of my good friend, Mr. Joseph T. Kelly, president of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, concerning the housing situation in the city of Philadelphia:

Philadelphia's housing problem is still serious. There is a continuing shortage of decent housing at low and moderate rentals, and new housing for sale at less than $10,000 is virtually nonexistent. Actually, the present median sales price of new housing is estimated at $11,500.

A shocking amount of substandard housing is still with us. The 1950 census reported 72,000 dwelling units out of a total of 600,000 in serious disrepair; thousands of families lacking or sharing sanitary facilities; 40,000 dwellings without central heat. Not reported are the additional thousands of houses that are undesirable because of neighborhood blight, including crowding of structures on the land, proximity of industry, lack of open space, and traffic dangers.

Crowding and doubling up are still serious problems. According to the 1950 census there were 47,855 married couples without their own households, and in 56,405 dwelling units there was more than 1 person per room.

Crowding is most frequent in old substandard areas where it results from the dividing of single-family houses into from 3 to 8 apartments, frequently without the installation of additional sanitary facilities. In one census tract of 8 city blocks, to take an example, the number of dwelling units more than doubled in 20 years, although not a single new structure was built during that period. More than one-third of all families have less than one room per person; and 72 percent of the families lived in dilapidated structures or lacked sanitary facilities. The rental income from this area increased 82 percent from 1940 to 1950.

What is being built: Newly built housing is excessive in price and the quantity is small. This holds particularly for rental housing. As stated above, the median price for new single-family houses is in the neighborhood of $11,500 in the city, somewhat higher in the suburbs where two-thirds of all new housing is being built. Little rental housing has been built in the last few years. What has been provided was mostly of the luxury type with rentals of one-bedroom units starting at $80, and two-bedroom units at $90, frequently not including utilities.

Private residential construction, Philadelphia, 1951 to 1953:

Single-family houses: 1951, 5,675; 1952, 5,206; 1953, 3,671.

Rental type: 1951, 724; 1952, 609; 1953, 1,584.

The only new apartments at moderate rentals, other than public housing, were built in 1952 by the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority. Even with the aid of a State construction grant, rents in the 174 unit development range from $55 for efficiency units to $81.50 for 3-bedroom units, exclusive of utilities.

The nearly 4,000 apartments created each year in Philadelphia through conversion of existing structures are mostly small, expensive, and unsuitable for families with children.

The Philadelphia Housing Authority has under construction 3,800 public housing units as against an estimated need for 20,000 units. For these 3,800 units the Housing Authority has 8,500 applications on file, and additional ones are made at the rate of 700 per month. Inquiries run at the rate of 1,500 a month, or 18,000 per year. Obviously, the housing authority can place only a fraction of the eligible applicants now on file, much less the eligible families that are being added each day. Moreover, there are at present no solutions to the housing problems of the thousands of families who would like to live in public housing but are not eligible. Though their incomes are too high for public housing, they cannot afford the high rentals of decent private housing or the down payments and carrying charges required for buying a house.

Rental housing (aside from luxury-type and center city apartments) is concentrated in the substandard housing areas of the city. Moderately priced single-family houses of standard quality and available for rent have all but disappeared from the market.

Demolitions of dwellings in 1953 reduced the housing supply by 1,094 units. Most of the razing resulted from slum clearance activities of the redevelopment and housing authorities. There will be further reductions in the number of dwelling units in 1954 because in addition to the demolition of houses for slum clearance and other public improvements, the Housing Authority is planning to eliminate more than 1,300 temporary war and veterans units.

THE CITY'S PROGRAM

Philadelphia's city administration is well aware of the serious problem and is dedicated to a large-scale attack on slums and a posi-

tive program to provide good housing for everyone. The mayor recently appointed a housing coordinator whose function it is to coordinate the activities of the various agencies dealing with parts of the basic problem, and to prepare a master plan to attack and solve the social disintegration which springs from inadequate shelter. The housing coordinator took office on January 1. The administration of the city's regulatory powers relating to housing is now carried out by a single city department. A new housing code is pending in city council to replace a code adopted in 1915. But while the city policy is up-to-date, the opposition in Philadelphia against good standards is also strong. The very organizations whose national boards are recommending good codes and enforcement of minimum standards as the solution to the problem of slums and blight, are locally trying their very best to prevent any improvement in the standards. Though they all pay lip service to the desirability of a housing code, they are opposed to numerous particulars. As a matter of fact, if the amendments they suggest were adopted, Philadelphia's code would in many respects be weaker than the one in force for 40 years, which is unquestionably outmoded and not in keeping with present-day standards.

The plans for redevelopment and other public improvements depend to no small degree on solutions to the relocation problem of displaced families. Aside from public housing (for which usually only one-third of the displaced are eligible) there is virtually no suitable moderately priced decent housing available. Enforcement of the provision of the housing code will result in more dislocation and accentuate the relocation need. Especially pressing are the housing needs of Philadelphia's rapidly growing Negro population for whom next to nothing is being built (aside from public housing). An increasing number of Negro families live in substandard housing; dislocation by either redevelopment or code enforcement will affect them more than other groups.

WHAT WE NEED

The Philadelphia CIO believes that existing Federal programs are entirely inadequate and will not result in the housing which our low- and middle-income families need. Much-needed public housing is being built in Philadelphia, but unless the Federal program is restored to the level authorized in the Housing Act of 1949, the majority of low-income families living in substandard housing will remain where they are now—in the slums—and redevelopment and city renewal will be virtually impossible.

Private housing construction has hardly kept pace with the increase in the number of families; it has not started making a dent in the replacement need; there has not been enough to provide for the overcrowded and doubled-up families. We need a level of construction high enough to provide for all these needs or at least twice as many units annually as have been built in recent years.

This level cannot be achieved as long as the majority of families—those with incomes under $5,000—cannot afford to buy or rent what is being built. A no-downpayment house-purchasing program limited to families displaced by slum clearance and to houses costing less than $8,000, will not begin to meet the purpose. Neither will flexible interest rates that are flexible in an upward direction.

We need a liberalized long-term mortgage program that will enable the $3,000 to $5,000 income group to enter the market. We also need a program that, for once, will produce rental housing for the thousands of families in the same income bracket who, for one reason or another, cannot or do not want to buy, who are not eligible for public housing, and who have been the truly forgotten people in all housing programs of the past.

Demagoguery and Tax Exemption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I have too much personal regard and respect for our colleagues across the aisle to impugn their patriotism or to believe that they would willingly mislead our citizenry on matters of great public concern. It must also be taken into account that this is an election year when both sides will be striving for advantage. On the matter of taxes and the politics that will be revealed in the interchange on that subject, however, I am inclined to accept the verdict handed down by Raymond Moley and Henry Hazlitt as set forth in their articles appearing in the current issue of Newsweek magazine. Their reasoning, to which I subscribe, certainly brushes the Democratic arguments on tax exemptions with the pigment of demagoguery, and I invite your attention to the following statements:

A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD FRAUD

(By Raymond Moley)

Here, Mr. President, is your issue. Taxes mean more to all of us than anything else that fills the headlines, except the danger of foreign war. They are infinitely more important than the relative veracity of a Senator or a Secretary of the Army, or a bad dentist, or an evasive general. This issue touches the intimate concerns of every American, and the proper distribution of the tax burden goes to the marrow of what America should mean now and forever.

Messrs. SAM RAYBURN and JERE COOPER on the air and other Democrats in the House debate have chosen to raise the grimy flag of class hatred. In the true tradition of H. S. T., it is "the rich against the poor." • • • The House vote clearly indicated that when the lines are drawn the Republican Party can stand united and can count on a few essential votes from Texas, North Carolina, New Mexico, and Arkansas.

The Rayburn-Cooper thesis is that the Eisenhower proposals offer "special benefits for the few," and that they are based upon the theory that by giving benefits to the rich something will "trickle down" to the poor. Senator GEORGE was less explicit than his colleagues, but his plan would implement their demagoguery.

Henry Hazlitt, in his article in this issue, clearly makes the case that the taxing system has already become a class levy, and that so much wealth has already "trickled down" that little is left in the upper brackets to carry the cost of Government. I merely add that the Tax Foundation says that if all individual incomes above $10,000 were to be confiscated by a tax of 100 percent, the additional revenue acquired would be only $4.7 billion. That would be enough to run the Federal Government something less than 4 weeks in the coming fiscal year. There is relatively little left up there.

Hazlitt also makes the point that the George proposals to raise the exemptions would relieve from four to eight million Americans of all Federal income taxes. Thus we create a society in which some support others. This involves a concept abhorrent to free men. If these people are now relieved, nothing short of a war will ever tax them again.

Senator GEORGE says that he favors raising the exemptions because (a) it will compel Congress to cut expenditures and (b) an economic recession is upon us. Never yet has a deficit cured spending. The bigger the deficit, the more you hear that "this little bit won't make much difference."

I am willing to venture the prediction, based upon the astonishing building figures of the F. W. Dodge Corp., which I have carefully examined, that no real business downturn is in sight.

There remains the inference that stock ownership is the special privilege of the well-to-do. Over the 30-odd years since income-tax figures have been available, stock ownership has moved steadily from the higher to lower income-tax brackets. The Brookings Institution shows 1.65 million families earning less than $5,000 a year own stock. There are also the millions who own property in insurance or savings or bonds whose interests are backed by stock ownership.

The Eisenhower proposal to end double taxation on dividends is aimed at those people in the lower brackets whose savings are involved, not the richer stockowners. For it would limit deductions of income from dividends to only $50 the first year and $100 later. It would also give a credit of only 5 percent on income from dividends. This would be a real help to a taxpayer in the lower brackets. But the exemptions proposed by GEORGE might well save considerably more for a person in the higher range, particularly if they enabled him to fall within a lower bracket. It is the Democrats, not Eisenhower, therefore, who propose the largest saving to the big taxpayer.

Here is where the President can draw the battle lines. A strong offense against the demagogues is in order and can prevail.

FOR WHOM THE TAX BELL TOLLS

(By Henry Hazlitt)

Elsewhere in this issue Raymond Moley deals with the political implications of the Democrats' attack on the administration tax program. I shall confine myself here to their proposals for raising personal income-tax exemptions.

President Eisenhower, in his courageous and statesmanlike TV talk, had no difficulty in exposing the transparently demagogic character of these proposals. Even a $100 increase in the personal income-tax exemptions would mean 4 million fewer taxable returns than the present total of about 47 million and a loss of $2.4 billion in annual revenues. A $200 increase in the exemption, as proposed by Senator GEORGE, would mean a loss of 7.6 million such returns and a loss of $4.5 billion in annual revenues.

Let us pass over for a moment what this would mean in terms of deficits and inflation and concentrate on its demagogic implications. Even the present personal income tax has become a class tax, particularly so far as rate progression is concerned. The Democratic proposals would make it more of a class tax than ever. To relieve 4 million to 8 million more people of the necessity of paying an income tax is to relieve that many voters of any concern about governmental extravagance and to foster in them the illusion that "the other fellow" is paying the bill.

If taxes are to be reduced any further at this time, the real place where the reduction ought to begin is precisely where no one in public life has had the courage to suggest—from the top. Personal income-tax rates for this calendar year run up to 91 percent. Yet if the Government were willing to lose as much as $2.5 billion revenues a year in some other way than by increasing exemptions by $100, it could eliminate all tax progression beyond the rate of 34 percent (which now applies to net-income brackets between $8,000 and $10,000) and lose no more than that.

The present steeply progressive income-tax rates are a reflection chiefly of envy and vindictiveness. They represent a desire to punish success rather than to maximize Government revenue. The workers of this country are being cruelly deceived when they are led to think that the rich are paying most of the taxes because of these confiscatory rates. Of the $31 billion that the personal income tax yields, only about $1 billion comes from the rates above 50 percent. Only $3 billion, or one-tenth, comes from the rates above 30 percent. In fact, if there were no tax progression at all, and the income tax never rose higher than the 20-percent rate that now applies only to the net income-tax brackets below $2,000, the total maximum revenue loss would amount to less than $5.4 billion.

It is a safe presumption, indeed, that the upper-bracket income-tax rates are already far above the rates of maximum return. If the rates were cut to a maximum of 50 percent, the income tax would within a few years—if not, indeed, even in the first year—yield more revenue from net incomes above $18,000, not less.

But the worst harm done by these rates is not that they reduce Government revenue, serious as this is. The worst harm is that they discourage the most productive people from producing and earning what they would otherwise produce and earn. They deprive the Nation of this production and of the new enterprises that would otherwise be launched. These confiscatory rates siphon off the cream of the very funds that would otherwise go into new investment—the new investment that not only creates new jobs but in the past has created the marvelous machines, factories, and technological advances that have multiplied the productivity and wages of the American worker beyond those of the workers of any other country or any other period in history.

It is hard for most of us to put aside our envy when the question is raised of lowering the tax rate on some income bracket higher than our own. But it is all of us who are losing income by these confiscatory rates, and, therefore, never send to know for whom the high-tax bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

Reds Had Trouble Before

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Beverly Hills (Calif.) Daily News Life of March 23, 1954:

REDS HAD TROUBLE BEFORE

If two experiences with unrecognized Communist regimes are any guide, the Chinese Reds may well be clumsy about using the forthcoming conference with them at Geneva as an entering wedge for diplomatic recognition by the United States. One of these experiences came in December 1929, when differences between Russia and China, especially over the Chinese Eastern Railway threatened to grow from border hostilities into full-fledged war.

China appealed to the signatories of the Kellogg-Briand antiwar treaty, to which Russia had subscribed, to mediate. So the United States and France, the two instigators of the treaty, asked Moscow to settle its dispute with China in the spirit of the treaty.

The Russians replied that our mediation was a pressure act, and that they were astonished that we should give them advice while we did not entertain official relations with them. Secretary of State Simpson thereupon called the incident closed, and Moscow had to wait 4 more years before getting diplomatic recognition from Washington.

In 1950 the U. N. General Assembly invited the Chinese Communists to come before it to substantiate their charge that the United States had committed aggression in Formosa. A nine-man Chinese delegation appeared in November, but refused to discuss the Korean War officially on the ground that the war had been listed by the U. N. Security Council as due to Chinese Communist aggression.

As the Chinese delegation departed it called the U. N. cease-fire plan for Korea nothing but a trickery and a plot. Its bellicose attitude did nothing to make certain nations happy for having granted diplomatic recognition to Red China, nor other nations unhappy for having withheld recognition.

Election-Year Pity and Bleeding Hearts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Seattle Times is an independent newspaper in my congressional district which has penetrated the smokescreen thrown up concerning the administration's revenue-revision bill. I offer a thought-provoking editorial from the Times of March 24, 1954. The editorial, I think, speaks for itself:

ELECTION-YEAR PITY AND BLEEDING HEARTS

In the view of the Washington (D. C.) News, the solicitous concern of congressional Democrats for the little fellow's pocketbook in this vote-getting year is more than a little incongruous and out of character. The News published an ironic comment on this subject following a television appearance by that bleeding-heart trio—Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, and Representatives RAYBURN, of Texas, and COOPER, of Kentucky, all Democrats—in behalf of the Democratic effort to increase income-tax exemptions.

During the 20 years of the Democratic regime, when all three of these legislators were in posts of congressional leadership, the News recalled that many new taxes were imposed and many tax rates boosted, but there were only two tax reductions. The tax reductions came when excise taxes were permitted to lapse temporarily after the Second World War and when the Republican Congress in 1948 cut income-tax rates over former President Truman's veto.

In the same 20 years, however, the national debt rose from $20 billion to nearly $260 billion. Direct tax collections from individual citizens went up from $427 million to more than $30 billion—70 times as much. Tax collections from corporations went up from $630 million to more than $21 billion—35 times as much. Sales taxes on things everybody buys went up from $454 million to $9 billion—20 times as much.

And, meanwhile, this was happening to the little fellow on whom GEORGE, RAYBURN, and company now are showing so much election-year pity: If he was a married man with 2 children when the Democrats took over in 1933 and had a net income of $5,000, he was paying $68 in Federal income tax. But in 1952, when the Democratic regime was ending, the same man paid $461, nearly 7 times as much.

In addition, he was paying the Government 10 times as much tax on his liquor, 50 percent more on his beer, 25 percent more on cigarettes, more than 3 times as much tax on his automobile, twice as much on gasoline, and twice as much on his radio. He was paying taxes on many things which were untaxed in 1933. And the value of his dollar was cut in half.

But if, in an election year, the Democrats are full of compassion for the little fellow, they are not showing much concern for his children and grandchildren.

"So long," the News concluded, "as the Government continues to run on a deficit basis, nothing is surer than death and taxes except more taxes. And, just as sure as SAM RAYBURN is a Texas politician, the little fellow's children and grandchildren will pay them."

The Washington News has marshaled an impressive array of facts to substantiate its dim view of the Democratic program.

Solano County Bids for Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. CONDON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. CONDON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the availability and desirability of a site for the Air Force Academy located in Solano County, Calif. The site is a mile away from Travis Air Base, the largest Air Force base on the Pacific coast. The climate is perfect, the proximity to other educational institutions is immediate, and of all the sites proposed for the Academy in the State of California, I can think of none that is more appropriate.

Since the academy should be located on one or the other of the coasts, I feel that these remarks of Mr. Rodriguez are particularly timely in view of the legislative situation now before Congress:

SOLANO COUNTY BIDS FOR AIR FORCE ACADEMY

(By Felix Rodriguez, editor, Vacaville Reporter)

Sometime before adjournment this summer, Congress is going to appropriate funds and make the selection of a site for an Academy, the Air Force's answer to the Army's West Point and the Navy's Annapolis.

The enormity of the project can be foreseen in the estimates of cost ranging all the way to $200 million. It is impossible to estimate its value in terms of national prestige and future economic benefits for the surrounding areas.

Final site selection is in the hands of a committee to be selected by the Secretary of the Air Force. The Department has sent out preliminary survey parties to inspect sites over the past 2 years, but evidently the final selection is still several weeks distant. Localities claiming ideal sites have spent thousands of dollars advertising their possibilities. It has come to our attention that some are ideal, and we do not hesitate to add that we feel confident the Air Force

will decide on merits of the proposed sites alone.

It seems Solano County has been slow in realising its own potentialities as a possibility for the Academy site. But now a wide pitch in that direction is being made. We are merely echoing the praise in the most talked about subject in this country today. No one will argue its advantages and ideal location, particularly its air potential. We have the site which we think is second to none in the United States.

This week, at a total expense to date of some $500, the county board of supervisors rushed some wet-ink copies of brochures to Air Force and congressional representatives for their consideration. We expect a thorough inspection of the proposed site will be made within the next few weeks.

First off, Solano County is a familiar name in the Federal Government. The county has a major base for each of the three military branches of Government—Travis Air Force Base, the largest of its kind in the world; Benicia Arsenal, the largest ordnance depot in the West, and Mare Island Naval Shipyard, one of the West's largest Government shipyards.

The regard held for these installations in Solano County by the Government is evident in the amount of funds appropriated annually. Even in peacetime the end of increased building construction at Travis is nowhere in sight.

We contend, without reservations, that the site proposed in Solano County meets all the criteria and prerequisites as set forth by the Air Force. In brief, we will show that the site has all the advantages of being a part of the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan bay area. No more could be asked of the transportation facilities—rail, air, highway, and water. Water, power, sewage, and drainage facilities are made to order. Availability of land, labor, and weather conditions have all passed the highest tests satisfactorily. There is the proximity of cultural, educational, and recreational facilities. These conditions offer a challenge but they cannot be mentioned in detail in the limited space here.

And we are not gambling that any of our claims will be disproved. Here are the requirements and the bases of our claims to meet them:

Location of site relative to population centers: The site proposed is northeast and adjacent to Travis Air Force Base and consists of 22,000 acres of flat land. The nearest major installation, public or private other than Travis, is more than 20 miles away. Within a radius of 50 miles is a population of more than 2 million people, including the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, and Vallejo in the bay area and Sacramento inland.

Transportation facilities: Air transportation, convenient for training or travel is readily accessible at the three nearby Air Force bases—Travis, Mather Field, and McClellan near Sacramento. United States Highway No. 40 within 5 miles of the site. There is a hard-surface road from Vacaville directly to the site, via Elmira. The transcontinental mainline of the Southern Pacific forms the north-south boundary of the site, while the Sacramento Northern Railroad, primarily a freight train, runs across the site. Ocean travel is nearby and the Sacramento River forms the east boundary.

Availability of power, water, sewage, and drainage facilities: The city of Vallejo has a transmission water line running through the site and can make an adequate supply of water available. Water will pose no problem. Construction of the Solano project (Monticello Dam) is now under way, to be completed by 1958 (before the Academy). Solano County has first priority for all the water in the reservoir, which is at the northern end of the county. The proposed cost is $47 million. In addition to the promise of making a veritable garden out of all the irrigable lands, the project will supply all the water needed by municipalities and military installations. For power, the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has three lines running through the site. There are 2 gas lines running through the site from 1 of the greatest natural gas fields in the world, less than 20 miles away.

Sewage facilities would be no problem at the site, just as it is not a problem at Travis.

There is natural drainage, with several streams carrying the rainwater to nearby Sacramento River.

Engineering: The flatland is being used for sheep grazing; therefore, there would be no grading problems. The only structures are several small farm buildings. The Air Force could start from scratch in development. If more land is needed there are several thousand of additional acres there of the same type.

Climatic conditions: No more proof should be required than the fact that the Government thinks highly of the weather at Travis. There is no end to what can be written about the excellent weather conditions prevailing here.

Availability of housing, cultural, recreational, and recreational facilities in nearby population centers: Let's compare our site to West Point and Anapolis, each also about 50 miles from metropolitan centers. It would not take a stretch of the imagination to foresee a football stadium filled with several thousands of spectators, in the order of Stanford farm.

The housing problem could quickly be solved, as there is plenty of room for expansion in all the nearby communities. These problems have arisen before and have been quickly solved.

As for cultural and educational facilities, the nearby campuses of the University of California at Berkeley and also at Davis are two leading institutions of learning. Also near by are Stanford, San Francisco State College and Sacramento State College and some of the West's leading libraries.

In recreation it will suffice to say that the site is in the heart of California's scenic playland—snow, mountains, rivers, lakes, golf courses, campsites, fishing, and swimming resorts. There are theaters, operas, symphony concerts, and art exhibits.

The site itself is surrounded by rolling hills, mountains, rivers, and some of the State's richest agricultural land.

Profit and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Culver City (Calif.) Evening Star-News of March 22, 1954:

PROFIT AND TAXES

The fight in Congress over how to spread taxes shows how politics breeds demagogs. Any student of economics knows that most taxes, no matter how levied, come out of the funds of the consumer in the final analysis because taxes increase the cost of doing business.

The Federal income-tax law was passed back in 1913 by a Republican Congress after much argument over fixing a percentage limit on the amount that could be collected. Those favoring no limit won because nobody at that time could see any need for a graduated high tax rate.

The graduated income tax was first suggested by Karl Marx, the early European Communist, as a means of confiscating private property by the Government. Left-wing socialists who got into Congress in the early days of the New Deal shot the rates up with that Communist idea in mind.

But under our free-enterprise system the high rates on corporations' earnings did not work out that way. Under our competitive system high taxes on profits are passed along to the consumer in higher prices.

American corporations reported net profits of $17.1 billion in 1952 after paying income taxes amounting to 22.6 billions. Stockholders received 9.1 billion in dividends on which they paid another income tax after the corporations had been taxed on the profits. The remaining 8 billion was plowed back for new equipment to provide more sales. More could have been plowed back had it not been for high taxes.

Corporate net profits after taxes are 3 times as large as in 1939 but the amount per dollar of sales dropped from 4.1 cents that year to 3.4 cents in 1952 because of the tremendous increase in volume of sales. Corporate income taxes in 1940 took 2 cents of every dollar but in 1952 they took 4½ cents and wholesale and retail prices increased because of this increase in taxes and other costs also due largely to high taxes.

Wages are paid out of sales, not profits, and they increased $73 billion during the postwar years 1946–52. During the same period profits increased only $3.2 billion, a small fraction of the increase in wages and taxes. If all dividends last year had been used to increase wages it would have amounted to less than 5 percent of the aggregate corporate payrolls.

Corporation profits in 1952 amounted to $17.1 billion on gross sales of about $500 billion. The trend of net profits was upward in the postwar years, but turned downward in 1951 and 1952 due to competition in softer markets and sharply increased income taxes to finance defense expenditures.

There are millions of stockholders in corporations in all walks of life and insurance companies, investment trusts, and banks invest your savings in corporate securities. So indirectly most Americans are partners in corporations through insurance, pension funds, and savings accounts.

Remember these significant facts when you hear about Members of Congress raving and ranting over soaking big business with higher taxes and reducing them for the smaller taxpayers who in the final analysis have to pay their share of the high taxes on business enterprise through increased prices necessary because of these higher taxes.

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago I called upon the Eisenhower administration to clarify or withdraw the so-called massive retaliation declaration of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles which presumably set out a brand new foreign policy for the United States. Since then,

a lot of things have happened in this field, most of it to the good.

As Dulles originally outlined the idea back in January, we were no longer going to take on localized aggressions but would retaliate with massive force at times and places of our choosing and with weapons of our choice. This was taken to mean that a new Korea would result in American atom bombing of Peiping, and a new attack on Iran would be followed by American atom bombing of Moscow. Either step, of course, would mean an instant start of world war III.

Many of us in Congress were deeply disturbed over the implications of this policy but we received no clarification. Since I called for clarification or withdrawal of the declaration, on the grounds that as it then stood it threatened an atomic Pearl Harbor over the cities of America, discussion of the issue has gradually come out into the open.

Adlai Stevenson's speech in Miami and Vice Persident NIXON's reply, a debate in the New York Times magazine section between Senate Majority Leader WILLIAM KNOWLAND, of California, and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, comments by President Eisenhower and by Dulles at press conferences, and testimony on Capitol Hill by our top military leaders were all addressed to this issue.

And on the anvil of public discussion the issue has now been hammered out so thoroughly that it is now clear that what we have is no bold new program representing a sharp break with past policy but rather the same kind of patient, long-range, careful foreign policy program we have had before—but with some new and rather meaningless slogans attached to it.

At least that is my analysis of the many diverse and somewhat confusing statements of the administration's leaders. For they now admit—at least their military spokesmen insist—that we are not depending solely on atomic weapons to deter aggression, that we are not either going to sit by and allow little aggressions to go unchecked or else turn them into atomic world wars, that we have not adopted any revolutionary new policies but have merely taken a new look at the previous policies and find they are still pretty sound.

It seems to me that if the administration would just curb a bit the overzealous operations of its advertising-expert phrases-coiners and give us more facts and less sloganeering, it could save itself a lot of embarrassment and save us a lot of confusion on administration policies.

Foreign policy is not sold to the American people like toothpaste or costume jewelry. Advertising gimmicks, slick slogans, do not answer the people's serious-minded questions on these important issues. We want facts.

If Secretary Dulles had not tried to dress up a routine foreign policy speech into something terrific, implying revolutionary Republican changes in program, he would not have scared our allies half to death and raised the storm of concern here in the United States over the implications of what he appeared to be saying.

But I am glad the clarification has finally been made, and that we are not in fact putting our whole defense effort into a power to retaliate with atomic warfare. After all, it is conceivable that if our foreign policy fails to keep the free world united, we could be so badly hurt by a surprise attack that would wipe out much of our defense strength in a few blinding minutes of atomic destruction.

Important as it is to keep on developing our atomic and hydrogen weapons, we know the Russians are also making progress in this field, too. Our goal must be to prevent the arms race from exploding into worldwide atomic annihilation. That takes patience, fortitude, courage—and complete honesty with the public.

Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton, Wash.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, this administration's efforts to get the most defense for the taxpayer's dollar are meeting with fullest accord and cooperation as far as the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton, Wash., is concerned.

Last summer, the Secretary of the Navy announced that the modernization of the Midway-class carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, was assigned to the Bremerton yard. Before the *Franklin D. Roosevelt* arrived in Puget Sound, the planning section of the yard came up with a design which will result in a savings of $700,000 on this one job. Now, in appreciation of the assignment entrusted to them, the employees of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, mindful of previous records established by them in production, safety, and economy, have joined with management in a joint program to set a performance record on the carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* which will justify the decision of the Secretary and the Bureau of Ships of the Department of the Navy.

For the edification of the Appropriations Committee and other members of the House who are economy conscious, I offer the following:

A PLEDGE

Ever cognizant of the admirable gains the Navy has already achieved in the diligent pursuance of its economy program and desirous of helping effect further such economies, it is resolved that the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard herewith pledges its manpower and its facilities to the attainment of a record-breaking conversion job in the forthcoming modernization of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*.

Today a recognized "lead yard" in carrier conversions, Puget Sound Naval Shipyard attained this leadership by virtue of superior workmanship in the modernization of the *Essex*, *Kearsarge*, *Yorktown*, and *Hancock*. The *Franklin D. Roosevelt* will profit immeasurably through this wealth of accumulated conversion know-how.

Insuring the progressive gains anticipated in the *Franklin D. Roosevelt* modernization will be the excellent employee-management relationship which exists in the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, and which has fostered and contributed so much to the setting of new production records.

Fully recognizing the high savings potential, the practicing of cost consciousness, and the close adherence to its precepts will characterize the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard's modernization of the *Franklin D. Roosevelt* from the very start.

Signifying their fellow employees' all-out support of the foregoing pledge are these representatives of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard's major employee organizations: Fred K. Hicks, president, Masters' and Foremens' Association; J. F. Mills, president, National Association of Naval Technical Supervisors; Harold L. Mason, president, Naval Civilian Administrators' Association; Bruce Lauris, president, Bremerton Metal Trades Council; R. "Mike" Miles, president, Puget Sound Naval Shipyard Supervisors' Association.

Postal Salary Increase Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD a statement I have submitted for the consideration of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I sincerely hope that the committee will give favorable consideration to the bill of Congressman WITHROW providing for the long-awaited and sorely needed postal salary increase:

STATEMENT OF HON. VERA BUCHANAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE, IN SUPPORT OF POSTAL SALARY INCREASE LEGISLATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the postal workers of my district, along with their fellow employees all over the country, are acutely in need of an adequate pay raise and I request your favorable consideration of the bills H. R. 2344 and H. R. 2297 granting them an $800 increase.

It does not seem to me that there can be doubt in anyone's mind as to the great need for this salary increase. I have received letters from a great number of postal employees in my district telling me of the struggle they are facing in an attempt to maintain a decent living standard on their present inadequate salaries. Statistics establish that the starting salary of postal workers has risen 70.5 percent since 1939 while the cost of living has risen 95.6 percent for the same period. These figures alone are enough to demonstrate the clear necessity for remedial legislation.

I submit that it is a grave reflection on our Government that many employees of our Post Office Department, one of the largest businesses in the world, are forced to supplement their inadequate salaries with outside work in order to meet the increasing cost of living today. There is no reason why postal workers should not be paid adequate incomes.

I respectfully urge the members of this committee to take action as soon as possible

to approve this long-overdue salary increase and provide the postal workers with a decent American wage. To accomplish this I earnestly recommend favorable consideration and acceptance of the Withrow-Rhodes bills providing an $800 minimum increase for postal employees.

I wish to thank you for giving me this opportunity to present my views on this important legislation.

McCarthy's Foes Duped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial by David Lawrence which appeared in the Washington Evening Star, Monday March 29, 1954.

The editorial follows:

MCCARTHY'S FOES ARE DUPED—ATTACKERS OF HIS METHODS SHOULD TAKE CARE TO REMEMBER OTHER HEARINGS AND OTHER METHODS OF THE PAST

What, really, is back of the fight being waged so furiously nowadays against Senator MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin? The motives and purposes of those who are conducting the attack are not easily discerned. This is because many well-meaning legislators and numerous other Americans wholly disconnected from the political scene are being duped into attaching an exaggerated importance to personalities while failing to examine the real issues underlying the controversy over communistic influence in America.

The well-organized effort to destroy the man who has been in the forefront of the battle against Communists in Government and communistic influence in the making of American foreign policy cannot be explained away as simply a justified reaction or protest against the methods of a United States Senator growing out of his brusque manner of handling witnesses or his flair for getting his name in the headlines.

All such objections put together cannot explain it, because most of them are in direct conflict with what was being said by some of the same groups and their spokesmen when similar methods were used in congressional hearings in the past and when various chairmen of investigating committees of Congress, equally brusque, had the limelight during the last 50 years.

It was Felix Frankfurter, now a Supreme Court Justice but then a professor of law and sometimes referred to as the senior saint of liberalism, who derided the objections of conservatives to what they regarded as violations of privacy by congressional committee investigations. In an article contributed to the New Republic a liberal magazine, on May 21, 1924, he wrote:

"The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt or names 'dragged through the mud,' as it is called * * * critics, who have nothing to say for the astonishing corruption and corrupting soil which have been brought to light, seek to divert attention and shackle the future by suggesting restrictions in the procedure of future congressional investigations."

Much has been said lately about how the cross-examination of Brigadier General Zwicker by Senator MCCARTHY delivered a body blow at the morale of the Army—as if this was the basic reason for the intensity of the more recent criticism of the methods of congressional committees.

But some of the same critics, notably Adlai Stevenson and most of the Democrats in Congress, were strangely silent about Army morale, and, in fact, there was wide applause from the liberals both here and abroad, when President Truman, after the Red Chinese intervened in Korea, refused to accept the unanimous advice of his own joint Chiefs of Staff as well as the Far Eastern Commander, General MacArthur, to use air power against the enemy's bases in Manchuria. Mr. Truman yielded to the objections of the left-wing politicians in the Labor Government in London. Nothing hurts an army's morale more than to be ordered to fight with its hands tied behind its back.

Where, moreover, were the defenders of the army morale when General Van Fleet charged and a congressional committee later reported that an adequate supply of ammunition had been withheld from our troops during the fighting in Korea? To this day the culpability of the Army's officials in Washington for this scandal has never been fully investigated.

Where also were the present-day defenders of Army morale, and the critics of methods and procedures in Government when General MacArthur—a veteran of two world wars and the Korean war, who wears a breastful of decorations for distinguished service and heroism—was browbeaten and humiliated before the whole world as President Truman summarily dismissed him from active duty? This General was not even granted the courtesy of a summons to Washington or a hearing to present his side of the case or an opportunity to face his accusers, inside or outside the Army, before being dishonorably ejected from all his commands with a blunt telegram that was broadcast by radio before the General himself received it. No castigation of Truman methods came from the liberals then.

Certainly Senator MCCARTHY made a mistake when he lost his temper at a hearing and blurted out his condemnation of the Army general who he thought was being an evasive and uncooperative witness. But certainly no American lives were lost as a consequence of this outburst of opinion, while the casualties of the Truman methods run well into the thousands, as the bereaved relatives of many American citizens can testify.

General Zwicker has been widely defended as merely carrying out orders when he failed to register any protest against giving a certificate of honor to an Army major who in sworn testimony, available to the Army previously through the FBI, had been known as an active Communist. Will it be contended now by the same critics that the Allies were wrong when, after the Nuremberg trials, they decreed the execution of the Nazi generals who claimed that all they did was to carry out orders given them by their superiors? Are American Army generals nowadays not permitted to express their views at all to their superiors?

If concern for the morale of the Army was truly uppermost, why did it take the form of a sudden decision in the Office of the Secretary of the Army to issue a document attempting to smear staff members of a Senate subcommittee which had been investigating the Army for several weeks before? Are these the Army's methods of defending itself before Congress?

Naturally, the persons on the Senate subcommittee who were attacked fought back and now the Republicans have on their hands a mess which some of the Democrats want investigated thoroughly, but in the end it will be revealed that some of the Truman holdovers had a large part in flinging the Army document into the fray.

The drive to get MCCARTHY is actually a drive to get the whole Eisenhower administration by gradual steps. The first step is to kill off the Communist issue on which the Roosevelt-Truman record of 20 years is very vulnerable, and the second is to demoralize the Republican Party in Congress and force upon the country various inflationary measures and an unbalanced budget. When economic chaos results, the attempt will be made to bring about a system of State-owned and State-controlled industry and to establish the totalitarian concept of a rubber-stamp Congress subservient to White House dictation. Those are the underlying objectives of the spectacular struggle by which, under the guise of the MCCARTHY issue, the radicals and the confiscationists hope to gain control of the Government of the United States in all its branches.

Jewish Youth Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, from March 19 to 26, 1954, more than 350 Jewish youth and young adult councils in the United States observed Jewish Youth Week under the sponsorship of the National Jewish Youth Conference. The theme of this year's celebration was "Jewish Youth—Celebrating the Jewish Community Center Centennial" in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Jewish centers in the United States.

President Eisenhower and many other prominent Americans issued special messages commemorating the event which have appeared in newspapers throughout the United States.

The President's message and a news release on the celebration follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1954.

To the National Jewish Youth Conference:

I am happy to learn that the National Jewish Youth Conference will observe Jewish Youth Week in the United States beginning March 19, and that this year's observance will include the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Young Men's Hebrew Association in Baltimore.

This celebration would seem to provide an especially appropriate occasion for stressing the benefits which the YMHA's and the YWHA's have brought to the young Jewish people of America. I am sure that these organizations have contributed much to the Nation's continuing efforts to build a happier, healthier American citizenry.

To all who are cooperating in the observance of Jewish Youth Week, I send my warmest greetings.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

EISENHOWER AND NIXON LAUD CENTERS IN JEWISH YOUTH WEEK MESSAGES

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Dwight D. Eisenhower this week asserted that Jewish community centers and YM-YWHA's "have contributed much to the Nation's continuing efforts to build a happier, healthier American citizenry."

The President made the assertion in a message to the National Jewish Youth Conference, nationwide youth body sponsored by the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), on the occasion of Jewish Youth Week, March 19-26. The week is conducted annually by the conference to focus attention on the achievements of youth. The theme of

this year's observance is Jewish youth—celebrating the Jewish community center centennial.

In another message, Vice President RICHARD NIXON said, "It is certain that the YMHA's throughout the country have made a very real and lasting contribution to the development of young men of Jewish faith as intelligent, responsible, and forward-looking citizens of this great interfaith community of ours, the United States of America."

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN wrote, "One of the surest guaranties of the maintenance of democratic principles is the maintenance of religion and the continued religious education of the young. Young men and young women trained in the traditions of the church, the cathedral, or the synagogue will never accept bigotry as a proper guide of human conduct.

"Jewish young people have willingly accepted their responsibility in the development of a democratic American Jewish community. They have worked toward establishing a creative and united American Jewish community."

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey said, "With its more than 350 Jewish youth and young adult councils, the conference has helped young people to exemplify in their lives the precepts of the great body of law inherited in the Torah. We must never forget that the principles of justice and freedom on which our free Republic was founded are derived from the laws and ideals handed down to us in the Holy Scriptures."

Other Jewish Youth Week messages were received from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Abba Eban, Israel's Ambassador to the United States.

Back to the Profs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD an editorial from the March 25 edition of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, entitled "Back to the Profs":

The appointment of Dean Arthur Larson, of the University of Pittsburgh Law School, as Under Secretary of Labor suggests that Republicans didn't really mean all those unkind things they have said about professors in government. From the time President Franklin D. Roosevelt called on three college professors—Raymond Moley, Rexford D. Tugwell, and Adolph A. Berle, Jr.—to help him write speeches, "brain trusters" have been the target of GOP campaign oratory.

But President Eisenhower, early in his Presidential career, provided evidence that his party appreciates academic advice too. Last fall he summoned President Kevin McCann, of Defiance College (Ohio), to the White House to help him with speeches. Now, in nominating Dean Larson for the Labor Department post, Ike is showing an inclination to rely on a "brain truster" in a more specialized field. Pitt's dean is an expert on workmen's compensation, having written a two-volume treatise that is a standard text on this subject.

As Dean Larson moves to Washington, it is a sign that even in a businessman's administration, the impractical professors are not vanishing from the bureaucratic scene. We congratulate the pedagogs on their durability and helpfulness and the new administration for recognizing it.

Gov. "Bob" Meyner: A Brief Biography

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, herewith I append a short biographical sketch of Gov. Robert B. Meyner, of New Jersey, the country lawyer, who is conducting the affairs of his high office with such marked success. The biography as given is taken from New Jersey State Democrat, a publication issued in Newark, N. J.:

GOV. ROBERT B. MEYNER: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY LAWYER FROM PHILLIPSBURG

TRENTON.—Gov. Robert B. Meyner, former State senator of Warren County, Democratic Governor, has been described as a modern Cato of the New Jersey Senate. In the opinion of many Democrats the title was justifiably earned. For his was the first voice raised in the halls of the State senate demanding that crime and corruption be destroyed in New Jersey.

In 1951 Meyner introduced a senate resolution creating a State crime commission to investigate the breakdown of law enforcement in the State.

Because it was sponsored by a Democrat—and embarrassing to the majority party—the resolution was lost in the windy caves of the GOP caucus. It was not until many months later that an aroused public opinion forced the Republican administration to conduct its own investigation of racket ridden Bergen County.

But Democrats recall that, just as Cato the Elder warned the Roman senators against their ancient enemy, Carthage, it was Bob Meyner who first drew public attention in the senate to what he describes as the appalling mess in Bergen—and other counties under GOP control.

Not yet 45, the personable Phillipsburg lawyer and war veteran represents the new brand of leadership developed in the Democratic Party in recent years. Able, intelligent, a forceful and dynamic speaker, Meyner was an articulate spokesman for the party as senate minority leader in 1950 and permanent chairman of the Democratic State Convention in 1951.

"No one," according to an editorial in one of the Warren County newspapers, "has been a more vociferous, more faithful, and more energetic guardian of the public interests. * * * His voice has been lifted time and again in defense of minority interests, and it has not been a timid voice nor a small one.

"Indeed, to the GOP majority, one can't help feeling at times it must have been an extremely exasperating one."

It was no surprise to Democrats, therefore, when the Republican Party, foreseeing correctly that Meyner would be gubernatorial timber this year, unlimbered its heaviest artillery to defeat him for reelection to the Senate in 1951 by a scant 61 votes.

Bob Meyner (pronounced Miner) was born in Easton, Pa., July 3, 1908, son of Sophie and the late Gustave H. Meyner, a loom fixer in the silk industry. At an early age Bob moved with his family across the river to Phillipsburg, where he was educated in the public and high schools. He helped to defray family expenses by working as a newsboy, grocery clerk, apprentice coremaker, and silk weaver. For a time the family moved to Paterson but returned to Phillipsburg in time for young Bob to earn his high-school diploma.

After his graduation from Lafayette College and Columbia University Law School, Meyner lived in Hudson County for 3 years while studying law in the firm of J. Emil Walscheid and Milton Rosenkrantz. He studied Democratic politics, too, cutting his political teeth by making speeches from sound trucks at street corners meetings and at high-school rallies.

In 1936 he returned to practice law in Phillipsburg, where he still lives with his 70-year-old mother in the rambling house built by his grandfather. His father died 3 years ago.

In 1941, at the age of 32, Meyner tried his political wings as a candidate for the senate from Warren County. He lost by 50 votes. He served as Warren County counsel in the following year before entering naval service.

During the war he commanded naval gun crews on merchant vessels in North Atlantic convoys and earned a number of ribbons in 3 years of active duty. His regard for the enlisted man is demonstrated by the fact that he represented at least 20 servicemen as defense counsel in courts martial. He is now a lieutenant commander, Reserve.

Warren voters elected him to a 4-year term in the Senate in 1947. In addition to introducing his crime resolution, Meyner distinguished himself in the Senate by persuading his Democratic colleagues to follow his leadership in 1950 by refusing to vote for the administration's appropriations bill.

Meyner felt, and his colleagues agreed with him, that the bill failed to provide sufficient funds for education. He also opposed the administration's move to divert almost $20 million in highway funds under the guise of presenting a balanced budget

Returning to his law practice in 1951, Meyner set up a vigorous working schedule, starting with breakfast at 6:30 in the morning. Usually office hours end at 6:30 p. m., but he doesn't stop at the end of a 12-hour day. He is in great demand as a speaker, and his interest in civic groups, service clubs, and the like keep him busy through the evening hours.

He is a charter member of the Phillipsburg Rotary, member of Odd Fellows, Elks, Eagles, president of the Phillipsburg Civic Association and former national councilor of the Phillipsburg Chamber of Commerce. He is also a member of Columbia University Club of New York, Lafayette College Alumni Association, Columbia University Alumni Association and Pomfret Club of Easton. He is also president of the Phillipsburg Veterans of World War II and a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Meyner qualified as a counselor at law of the New Jersey Bar in 1937 and was admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court in 1940. He is a member of the Warren County, Hudson County, New Jersey State, and American Bar Association, past chairman of the Junior Section of the State Bar Association, past State chairman of the Junior Section of the American Bar Association, and former trustee of the State Bar Association.

He was alternate delegate to the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in 1948 and alternate delegate at large to the 1952 convention in Chicago.

When he announced his intention to run as Democratic candidate for Governor, Meyner listed six principal issues which he intends to use in the campaign. They include elimination of crime and corruption, an equitable tax system, essential State school aid, full use of highway funds for highway purposes, elimination of the caucus and lessening of use of authorities.

Bob Meyner is still convinced that every young lawyer ought to serve in public life. He believes, with Adlai Stevenson, that "in its highest and truest sense, politics is leadership. And leadership is a time-consuming, and energy-consuming job—a job that is open to all citizens."

This is the young man the voters elected and who was inaugurated January 19, 1954.

Reduced Appropriations for TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, many of us were concerned over the substantial reduction made in the TVA appropriations by the House Appropriations Committee, and also the restrictions and limitations written or attempted to be written into the House bill.

In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Worst Attack Yet," published in the Chattanooga Times of March 27, 1954; also an editorial entitled "Crippling the TVA," published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 30, 1954. These editorials contain an excellent description of the issues.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chattanooga Times of March 27, 1954]

WORST ATTACK YET

The burdensome restrictions on the Tennessee Valley Authority written into an omnibus bill by the House Appropriations Committee represent a high point in destructive attacks upon the agency. Never before have such provisions, which follow the line of the private utility lobbyists eager to hamstring TVA at any cost, received committee approval. But then, never before have the foes of TVA been so completely in the legislative saddle.

This appropriations bill, as it affects TVA, is loaded down with suggestions of direct legislation affecting policy. That will no doubt be the chief point of attack by friends of TVA. An appropriations committee has no business recommending direct policy legislation, and Congress would do well to kill the items on TVA which constitute such recommendations.

If enacted, the bill would destroy the operational efficiency and the financial integrity of the TVA program of power production and distribution at the lowest possible cost to the consumer. The aim here is not to serve the user of the electricity, who also is the owner of the system, but to serve the interests of the private power companies, who can't stand measurement of their rates by the TVA yardstick.

The private utilities can't for the moment get at the rich market now served by TVA but they are willing to stop at nothing to make TVA consumers pay higher rates as an opening wedge to destruction of the valley program as it was conceived and as it has developed. Ultimately, they would like to see a ceiling put on TVA's growth within the valley so that the region must purchase power from them—and at their price. When that happens, the savings and the advantages of low-cost power go out the window.

The committee measure would levy an interest charge on all funds appropriated for TVA power facilities. This would be a senseless burden upon the users of TVA power, who are already repaying the Government every cent spent for power facilities, in addition to a net return on the total power investment. TVA power rates now reflect the cost of producing and distributing energy; to require them to do more would destroy their effectiveness as a yardstick for power costs. That, of course, is precisely what the private utilities want.

Elimination of TVA's right to remain the sole supplier of power within the valley area would destroy its ability to forecast accurately the needs of the region and its efficiency as a power grid. It would inject competition into the picture where competition would be wasteful. Every private power company is a monopoly within its service area; TVA is no more. It would be both costly and inefficient to permit construction of power-production facilities in the valley, but not integrated into the TVA system. Private companies would not allow it, and their only objective in demanding it for the TVA region is to hamper TVA's operations.

The agreement by which TVA sets the retail rates for power is for the consumers' protection. It prevents short-sighted or greedy local governments from saddling power consumers with the burden of financing other governmental costs, however necessary. To remove the stipulation would destroy the even level of power costs over the valley and impair the purpose of the TVA Act to make the consumers the beneficiaries of the low power production costs.

Most of these provisions have been advanced before by TVA's enemies, but never before have they carried the weight of an appropriations committee approval. It will not be easy for the friends of the agency in Congress to forestall their passage, but we can expect the most vigorous fight in many years on the floor if amendments are permitted to the bill.

There is one factor in the valley's favor. The opponents have been so greedy, so wantonly destructive in their attack that they have become the natural opponents of all reasonable men. In the commonsense of the Congressmen from all parts of the country and in their devotion to justice lie the best chances for defeating the provisions.

[From the Washington Post and Times-Herald of March 30, 1954]

CRIPPLING THE TVA

The House Appropriations Committee has proposed a program for the Tennessee Valley Authority which would slowly put it out of business as an effective regional enterprise. In the first place, the committee lopped off $38 million of the $141 million appropriation recommended by President Eisenhower. This is a heavy blow in view of the fact that the President already had refused a TVA request for $85 million to build new power facilities. In the second place, the committee wrote into the appropriation bill, which the House now is considering, a series of riders that would do more damage than the denial of funds.

The bill would abrogate the agency's authority to control resale rates on the power it generates. This would permit co-ops and communities buying power from TVA to vie with one another in establishing retail rates, or to pay for various community services by charging high electric rates, or to subsidize certain enterprises with low rates at the expense of the individual consumer. Anther rider on the appropriation bill would require TVA to pay interest to the Government on money invested in power facilities. TVA could pay this, as it is ahead of schedule in repaying money advanced by the Treasury. But if it paid interest charges—interest on money to purchase property which the Government owns now and will own after the agency pays back the money—TVA would have less money for new transmission lines and other necessary development. Finally, the bill would require the agency to return to the Treasury money it has on hand to cover depreciation of plant and equipment. This would be an invitation to inefficiency.

TVA is an agency which the people of this country have come to support with pride and enthusiasm. During World War II, it proved its worth many times over. Even today there is a shortage of electric power in many parts of the country, and nearly every electric system is busily engaged in expanding plant capacity. It would be shortsighted in the extreme to cripple TVA at a time when it is an important supplier of power for atomic plants. Congress would not think of making a direct attack on the agency. It should not permit an indirect attack—and by the infamous method of legislation by appropriation—such as that engineered by critics of TVA on the House Appropriations Committee. The House at least ought to eliminate these legislative riders in the appropriation bill.

The February Facts Forum Public Opinion Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the results of the last Facts Forum public opinion poll.

There being no objection, the results of the poll were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The results of the February Facts Forum public opinion poll were announced today by its president, Robert H. Dedman, who explained that the percentage shown is the vote "yes" and the difference between 100 percent and the percentage shown represents the percentage voting "no."

	Percent yes
Does treaty law cut across the rights of the people given by the Bill of Rights	76
Should the salary of Congressmen be raised to $25,000	43
Has the United States lost the Korean war	53
Should the voting age be lowered to include 18-year-olds	36
Has Mrs. Roosevelt done more good than harm	36
Should the national debt limit be raised	15
Does the Bricker amendment conflict with the U. N. Charter	54
Should the butter bought with taxpayers' money be sold to other nations	47
Should the Federal Government be in the housing business	23
Are we underrating Soviet advancement by political and economic means	77
Are the nonfriends of anti-Communists endangering free enterprise	75
Should news reporters' pay be increased 50 percent	34
Will Facts Forum survive the Daily Worker and other enemy attacks	96
Should the United States agree to outlaw super bombs	12
Should Hawaii be given a dominion status instead of statehood	50
Do you favor a Republican over a Democrat for your next Congressman	70

Service Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Army-Navy-Air Force Register of March 20, 1954:

SERVICE LEGISLATION

Although the 2d session of the 83d Congress began more than 2½ months ago, urgent legislation for improving the lot of personnel serving in the Armed Forces has moved so slowly that it may be difficult to complete hearings and debate on some important matters before adjournment, tentatively scheduled for July or early August.

Legislation of great importance to career officers, warrant officers and enlisted personnel is before Congress, and a number of other proposals for making the military service more attractive are under study by officials of the Department of Defense. All should be given approval by the Congress before adjournment.

Among the bills in the final stage of congressional action are the Air Force Academy bill, now before a conference committee of the Senate and House. The officers' limitation bill, which passed the House, is under study by the Senate Armed Services Committee and hearings are scheduled to begin next week. Hearings on the warrant officers bill to revise existing laws applicable to these officers have been completed by the Arends subcommittee and action by the full committee is expected next week. Both the Senate and House Appropriations Committees are at work on the 1955 fiscal year defense budget estimates, which total about $37.5 billions.

New legislation for future consideration having to do with the Nation's manpower reserves presently under study by the Office of Defense Mobilization and the National Security Training Commission, must be prepared and submitted to the President by April 1, 1954. Should the President approve, the National Security Council will determine not only the future roles of the Reserve components but also whether to ask Congress for legislation that will inaugurate some system of universal military training.

Another subject which needs the early approval of the administration is an upward readjustment of present military pay and allowances. It has been learned that Secretary of Defense Wilson and his assistants have been studying this question, which includes several proposals for making a service career more attractive. To this end, Mr. Wilson has called upon the 1948 Hook Commission to review the 1949 military pay schedules in the light of current cost-of-living conditions, which are now about 13 percent higher than when the Career Compensation Act became law in 1949.

Defense Department officials also have before them the recommendations of the Womble committee which reported last December on many of the problems confronting career officers and men. That committee urged that some relief be provided military personnel by increasing service pay. The Womble committee was convinced such action would do much to stem the tendency of armed services personnel leaving the service for more lucrative pay in private industry.

The administration and Congress should give due consideration to fringe benefits which have been whittled away in recent years. They should start building the military career for the future. This should be a year of action in rebuilding service morale. Pay raises merit immediate consideration equal to that accorded other major legislative proposals now in the final stages of congressional action.

The time for remedial action is now.

The Merits of Statehood for Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, Mr. George H. Lehleitner, of Bay St. Louis, Miss., has sent me a copy of an open letter dealing with the merits of statehood for Hawaii, which he has addressed to members of the Mississippi State Legislature. I assume his letter is addressed to the Mississippi State Legislature because of the attitude it may have taken in opposition to statehood for Hawaii.

The letter is a well-reasoned and logical one, and Mr. Lehleitner's conclusions are amply supported by a wealth of factual material and statistical comparisons which he submits. I approve of both the tone and the content of his letter, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BAY ST. LOUIS, MISS., *March 16, 1954.*

To the honorables the Members of the Mississippi State Legislature:

Ever since passage of your resolution condemning statehood for Hawaii I have asked myself: "In what form can I present factual information on Hawaii to my fellow Mississippians in order that they might pass mature judgment upon the islands' fitness for statehood?" Merely rebutting such charges as "Communist hotbed," etc., would obviously be negativistic and insufficient; people, quite properly, want to know not so much what Hawaiians are not, but rather, what they are. Not merely what they are against as much as what they are for.

That a majority are of oriental or Polynesian ancestry is true; that they are, as a consequence, inferior citizens, does not follow. Only recently we were witness to the melancholy spectacle of 21 young Americans—natural-born citizens all—deserting to the enemy, and our national crime statistics give mute testimony that the possession of American citizenship, by more accident of birth, will not in itself guarantee us good citizens. We must, then, search beyond this point.

In any such appraisal, it is essential that recognizable benchmarks be established against which Hawaii's performances may be measured. Because most of us have never been to Hawaii, whereas we do enjoy a familiarity with our own State and Nation, and their accomplishments, I propose to use these as benchmarks. In so doing, I am mindful that comparisons are invariably odious. These, then, are submitted in all humility, in the hope that they will serve their intended purpose: to show my fellow Mississippians that Hawaii, by every reasonable standard, is indeed a fit partner for our sisterhood of States.

Because education is the true bedrock upon which good citizenship must be built it seems proper that the first table deal with this subject:

TABLE I.—*Public elementary and secondary education*

	Pupils Enrolled		Ratio	Average number days school in session	Average number days attended per pupil enrolled
	Elementary	Secondary			
United States of America	19,404,603	5,706,734	1 to 3.4	177.9	157.9
Mississippi	446,683	80,757	1 to 5.5	172.5	136.6
Hawaii	65,074	24,746	1 to 2.6	171.7	163.3

	Teachers with less than 4 years of college preparation [1]		Average annual salaries, classroom teachers		Annual expenditure per pupil enrolled
	Total	Percent	1950	[1] 1953	
United States of America	265,764	24.2	$3,010	$3,605	$206.83
Mississippi	6,040	36.5	1,416	1,741	79.69
Hawaii	840	19.9	3,508	4,178	214.82

[1] NEA estimate for 1953; all other data is for 1950.

Sources: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education; National Education Association, Research Division; Territory of Hawaii, Department of Public Instruction.

Attention is particularly invited to the fact that the ratio of Hawaii's children enrolled in high school considerably exceeds the national average and is more than double our own. Nor do these statistics provide the full measure of Hawaii's accomplishments in the field of education. Her compulsory education laws, for example, predate those of 47 mainland States.

Yet another index of good citizenship is a community's crime ratio. The Federal Bureau of Investigation provides the following interesting comparison:

TABLE II.—*Urban crime rates*

[Offenses known per 100,000 inhabitants]

	Murder and manslaughter	Robbery	Aggravated assault
United States of America	5.05	59.6	81.1
Mississippi	13.05	18.9	86.2
Hawaii	3.68	13.9	15.3

Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1952, vol. XXIII, No. 2.

Somewhat allied to the foregoing, as added evidence of good citizenship, is the following study:

TABLE III.—*Number of deaths from motor-vehicle accidents*

[Rate per 100,000 population]

United States	Mississippi	Hawaii
21.3	24.1	13.4

Source: U. S. Public Health Service; 1950 annual report, Vital Statistics of the United States.

Hawaii's record is all the more phenomenal by reason of its density of population, combined with its extremely high ratio of automobile ownership.

What are health standards in Hawaii? Public health authorities and sociologists, alike, are agreed that two of the most accurate measures of a community's progress in this direction are these: (a) Its death rate from tuberculosis; and, (b) infant mortality statistics.

Throughout the world those causes of death march hand in hand with malnutrition, substandard housing, poor sanitation, inadequate public knowledge, and, perhaps most important of all, from the lack of adequate medical facilities.

TABLE IV.—*Survey of vital statistics*

	Percent of live births occurring in hospitals	Infant deaths per 1,000 live births	Deaths from tuberculosis per 100,000 population	Death rate (all causes) per 1,000 population
United States of America	88.0	29.2	26.3	9.6
Mississippi	45.9	36.7	29.1	9.5
Hawaii	97.1	23.8	15.0	5.9

Source: U. S. Public Health Service annual report, "Vital Statistics of the United States, 1950."

Again, the foregoing statistics, impressive as they are, cannot tell the complete story of Hawaii's progressiveness in public health, nor give one the feel of the deep social consciousness of Hawaii's people; only a studious visit could do that. Then one would encounter such accomplishments as these: the islands are completely rabies-free—this scourge was inoculated and quarantined out of existence years ago. Similarly, malaria, diphtheria, and a host of other diseases common to sections of our mainland were obliterated.

Too, while the visitor to Hawaii is much impressed with its fine facilities for the control and treatment of mankind's afflictions, it is her application of the Golden Rule which leaves the most indelible impression. The sole qualification for admission to Hawaii's healing institutions is that one be sick; the country of his antecedents and the color of one's skin neither helps nor hinders. It is, perhaps, of interest to note here that in the 55 years Hawaii has been under the American flag, the islands have been completely free of major racial disturbances. Somehow, even we southern visitors leave the islands wtih the impression that our Lord would be pleased with what He would find in Hawaii.

How do Hawaiians discharge their obligations as citizens at the polls? How intense is their interest in representative government? And how well qualified is the citizenry to use its ballot with discrimination?

I know I need not labor the point that the answers to these and related questions are tremendously important when weighing the matter of Hawaii's readiness for statehood. For the ballot, intelligently used by the preponderant part of a community's citizenry, is freeman's sword and shield against oppression. Used unwisely—or by too few—it remains a sword, but can easily become one turned against its possessors.

TABLE V.—*Exercise of franchise*

	Median school years completed, persons 21 years of age [1]	Citizens of voting age [1]	Votes cast, 1952 presidential election [2]	Percent of citizens of voting age balloting
United States of America	12.1	94,974,460	[3] 61,551,978	64.8
Mississippi	9.4	1,204,791	[4] 285,532	23.7
Hawaii	12.2	189,616	[4] 130,345	68.7

[1] Bureau of the Census; 1950 United States Census.
[2] In evaluating the above, it should be borne in mind that the national vote was by far the heaviest ever recorded due to unusually keen interest in the presidential campaign. In the case of Hawaii, however, no such magnetic attraction existed—for Hawaiians cannot vote for presidential electors; instead, the Hawaiian vote is that which was cast for her voteless Delegate to Congress. Viewed in this light, the intensity of interest in representative government displayed by Hawaii's citizens is most remarkable. An average of 87 percent of her registered voters regularly vote.
[3] New York Herald Tribune: 1954 Information Please Almanac.
[4] U. S. Senate; Statehood for Hawaii, hearings, 83d Cong.

Also, in justice to Mississippi, I desire to point out that our voters frequently show greater interest in local elections. In August 1951, for example, 390,579 votes were cast in our gubernatorial primary; this was 32.4 percent of our citizens of voting age.

The fact that Hawaiians must pay the same Federal taxes as do Mississippians is, I believe, too well known to justify detailed statistical amplification here. I should like to point out in passing, however, that in fiscal 1952, Mississippians paid Uncle Sam, in Federal taxes, $139,819,296, or $64 per capita. In the same year Hawaiians paid Federal taxes of $134,995,730, or $272 per capita. Thus Hawaii, with 0.3 percent of our Nation's population, contributes virtually as much into our Federal Treasury, for the maintenance of the Union, as does Mississippi, with 1.4 percent of the country's population.

In return, we Mississippians are represented in Congress with 8 votes. Hawaiians have one voteless Delegate. And the irony of this unwholesome situation is this: Mississippians are spearheading the effort to deny our Hawaiian citizens their just entitlement as American freemen.

There is a yet more poignant comparison in the relative sacrifices these two American communities placed on freedom's altar in the Korean war. Mississippi, with a population more than 4 times as large as that of Hawaii suffered 438 killed and missing; Hawaii lost 434 of her sons.

I hasten to add that this disparity doesn't apply only to Mississippi. For Hawaii, with 0.3 percent of the Nation's population, suffered 1.6 percent of America's battle death casualties in Korea. The explanation lies largely in the fact that at the outbreak of the Korean war troops were needed urgently; Hawaii—and Hawaiian troops—were geographically closer to Korea.

To the best of my knowledge no Hawaiian has complained of that disproportionate sacrifice; it was made proudly in our common battle against communism. What all Hawaiians bitterly resent, however, in the face of this latest evidence of their patriotism, are the cruel slanders some mainland Americans are guilty of when they call Hawaii a hot-bed of communism, and level unsupported charge of disloyalty.

It seems to me no thinking person will require any further evidence of the solid loyalty of our Hawaiian citizenry than this: More than 22,000 of Hawaii's young men—selected at random from all walks of life, and representative of all racial groups—wore America's uniforms with honor in the Korean war. Not one case of desertion to the Communist enemy occurred.

In the light of the foregoing you can appreciate why Hawaiians are both angered and embittered over Senator EASTLAND'S recent charge that: "The admission of Hawaii to statehood would place on the floor of the Senate two Senators who, if not Communists, would be subject to influence from Moscow." (U. S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1954.)

The charge is unfounded, and, it appears to me, our senior Senator does himself a grave injustice when he claims to the contrary.

Anyone versed in the fundamental principles of communism, and its history, knows that this cancerous growth develops most readily in the minds of those who live in areas plagued with widespread poverty, ignorance, oppression, and despair. Certainly none of these conditions prevail in Hawaii, where field hands on cane and pineapple plantations earn $10.16 per day. This wage makes them the highest paid agricultural workers in the world and they know it.

Is it reasonable to assume that such people as these would embrace communism? If so, may God help America. For what hope could there then be that other sections of the United States, or of the world—less developed culturally and economically than is Hawaii—could long survive the Red menace?

The truth is that neither the ILWU, Hawaii's biggest labor union, nor its management antithesis, the big five, controls Hawaii. (May I respectfully point out that control could hardly be exercised by both, as you aver in your concurrent resolution?)

Instead, Hawaii is dominated by the only group which should be in control; its people. And out of an intimate knowledge of them, which dates back to my World War II service and extends through three postwar visits to the islands, may I assure you, my fellow Mississippians, that no more patriotic, heroic, progressive and capable Americans reside anywhere? The full citizenship of statehood is a reward they have richly earned in an apprenticeship of 56 long years.

Just as each of our present States, when admitted, added its own measure of strength and greatness to the whole, so too, will Hawaii. It is my earnest hope that these pages have enabled you, in part, to see why this should be so.

Yours very sincerely,

GEO. H. LEHLEITNER.

Business in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three excellent editorials from the Lafayette (Ind.) Journal-Courier on the subject of Business in America. I think every Member of this body should read these fine editorials. I congratulate the Lafayette Journal-Courier for publishing such wonderfully constructive editorials.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEARS UNFOUNDED

The year 1954 will be a good year. It can and will be an excellent year for those who will go all out to make it so.

Such is the conclusion of those whose judgment and foresight have been proved right before. Many fears are unfounded.

There are some who would have us believe that the unemployment situation is getting out of hand and that soon we'll be back to breadlines and soup kitchens.

It's true that there are more unemployed than a year ago, when, however, we had the highest employment on record. Today there are roughly 3 million unemployed, with practically all of them protected by unemployment insurance. However, nearly 60 million are employed, and that figure is 95.2 percent of last year's total. There are less unemployed now than in 1949–50, and nobody was much concerned then. The then administration described the times as prosperous. Also, back in 1939, which was considered a good business year, there were 3 times as many unemployed as now, and the total labor force was much smaller.

There are some who hold the fear that, with current unemployment, and with virtual elimination of overtime, there won't be enough income to maintain a high sales volume.

What are the facts? Department of Commerce figures for the most recent month put personal income at the rate of $284.7 billion a year, while a year ago the figure was $280.6 billion. Despite the slight recession, unions are asking for—and receiving—modest increases in their pay contracts. Individual savings were $18 billion last year, and recent reports show this total growing. Not to be forgotten is that taxes are lower for both individuals and corporations.

The business is here for those who make the effort to get it. As stated, 1954 can be an excellent year for those who will go all out to make it so.

SPECTACULAR BUILDING BOOM

A phenomenal increase in construction makes it appear that a business upturn has started and that the period of readjustment which began when fighting stopped in Korea is now at an end.

In the words of one commentator, something dynamic is happening to the American economy.

This new optimism is based on the latest statistics on construction, which indicate a sensational and unprecedented building boom. The report is issued by the F. W. Dodge Corp., construction news and marketing specialists. This nationwide organization is relied on by the Government and by many industries for the authoritative compilation of construction permits throughout the United States. It operates the most extensive reporting service of its kind in the world.

The latest Dodge report shows the combined figures for January and February to be the highest in all history. America's purchasing power is being increased by more than $1 billion in only 2 months.

Contracts awarded for future construction projects in the 37 Eastern States set an all-time high for any February in Dodge's 63-year history. The gross figure was $1,211,260,000, which is 7 percent above the previous February high set in 1951, and 20 percent ahead of February 1953. The total also was 6 percent greater than in January, contrary to the usual tendency to drop off slightly in February.

Combined with the surprisingly strong January contract awards, an alltime high was set for January–February, being 9 percent ahead of the previous high for these 2 months, set in 1951, and 13 percent greater than the first 2 months of 1953, which started a recordbreaking year. The figures also set an alltime January–February high in all three major classifications: Nonresidential, residential, and public works and utilities.

There is further assurance in the report because it shows good balance, with only the usual percentage of very large, single engineering projects.

It is of great significance that the report deals with future construction, not past projects. Further, it must be borne in mind that the report cites actual projects which are in the first stages of construction, or are about to get underway.

Individual 2-month 1954 award totals, compared with the like period in 1953, were: Nonresidential, $941,789,000, up 21 percent; residential, $971,255,000, up 11 percent; heavy engineering, $460,203,000, up 5 percent.

The total for the 2 months exceeds $2.3 billion, which is a substantial increase over 1953. When the multiplying factor of four is used, as is customary in estimating purchasing power, the resulting figure for the 2 months is over $9 billion. Compared to last year, this is more than a 10-percent gain.

While the Dodge figures cover 37 eastern States, experience reveals that the trend is similar for the other 11 States. A spectacular nationwide boom thus is indicated.

New evidence is provided that an expanding economy cannot be interrupted very long in its upward swing. These figures do not take into account the expansion that is coming in highway construction.

All this activity is reflected locally in several ways. Work is under way in the city on a junior high school building, and on a major business structure. A few days ago a bond issue in excess of $10 million was sold at Purdue University for a new adult education building and work continues on other major university projects. Residential building continues at a high level in both cities.

As weather improves, high employment of labor and a heavy demand for materials are indicated in one of the Nation's basic industries. Businesses engaged in furnishing homes and in equipping plants, buildings, and offices will naturally benefit too. The boom will be reflected in all other fields.

The construction figures give every reason for confidence and optimism. As the boom gains momentum, all causes for the jitters will have been removed.

MORE FANCY THAN FACT

A distinct pickup in business is reported by the Wall Street Journal for the first 2 weeks of March.

The report is based on checks with 280 businessmen and bankers from coast to coast. It is admitted that the upturn from the winter's low point has not been felt in all sectors of business. Nevertheless, it is declared that March, the telltale month, looks good. In some cases sales records are broken.

This survey supports other studies by competent observers. Firms making aggressive and determined efforts to sell are meeting with success. The business is there for those who go after it.

A note of optimism was sounded by Harlow H. Curtice, president of General Motors, in a Chicago interview. He held there is no depression in view unless "prophets of doubt" implant the seeds of fear in the public's mind. Mr. Curtice said further he is optimistic as to the country's long-range economic future. He gave credit to the Washington administration for "many constructive steps taken to restore a free economy."

As evidence of General Motors' confidence in the future, Curtice cited the corporation's $1 billion expansion program for 1954–55. This program, he explained, brings total expansion for the firm since the end of World War II to $3 billion. These expenditures were mentioned as indicating GM's view of confidence in the immediate future and faith in our country.

Fears of the timid are not being borne out by sales records. The claim that people aren't buying because they are afraid of the future is being refuted. Department-store sales, which are very sensitive to changed conditions, were down precisely 1 percent from January 1 to February 20, according to the Federad Reserve Board. The national figure was 2 percent better than for the same period in 1952—and who heard complaints then about business being bad? Estimates from what generally are regarded as competent sources hold that March business will be fully as good as a year ago, with big gains indicated in some fields.

Individual experiences explode the claim in some quarters that the economy is on a toboggan slide. J. C. Penney Co. sales for February showed a decline of but 2.19 percent over the same month a year ago. Sales for the first 2 months of the year were down only 2.8 percent from last year.

On the other hand, the Jewell Tea Co. reported sales for the 4 weeks ending February 27 up 12.3 percent over the same period a year ago. Cattle prices set a new high this week for the year. Stock prices have been soaring. A phenomenal building boom is indicated for 1954. Savings are high.

There is much more of fancy than fact in recession fears. Those who have the courage, foresight, and enterprise to go out and attract business are cashing in.

The business is there for those who work for it instead of lamenting.

One Hundred and Thirty-third Anniversary of Greek Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram addressed to me by Rt. Rev. James A. Coucouzes, vicar-general of the New England Diocese of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, embodying a resolution by more than 2,000 Greek Americans, commem-

orating the 133d anniversary of Greek independence.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., *March 29, 1954.*

The Honorable LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
Senator from Massachusetts,
Washington, D. C.:

I have the honor to submit for your kind consideration the following resolution adopted by a gathering of over 2,000 Greek Americans commemorating the 133d anniversary of the independence of their motherland:

"Whereas the island of Cyprus is inhabited in proportion of 82 percent by people of Hellenic language and Greek Orthodox faith; and

"Whereas the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people, Greeks and Moslems alike, have publicly and solemnly proclaimed their wish to be united to the kingdom of Greece in a plebiscite held as recently as 1950; and

"Whereas it is the avowed policy of the people and the Government of the United States to assist all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence to achieve the fullest possible measure of political self-assertion and self-determination; and

"Whereas the ideals of freedom and independence are universal and should be consistently and diligently promoted on a universal scale: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of New England in Boston, Mass., and the American people of Hellenic ancestry, gathered at the John Hancock Hall of Boston for the celebration of the 133d anniversary of Greek Independence Day—

"1. That the legitimate aspirations of the Cypriot people, calling for the union of their native island to the kingdom of Greece be acknowledged and be acted upon accordingly;

"2. That the Government of the United States deploy every effort, consistent with the liberal and democratic tradition of this country in order to assist the people of Cyprus in their struggle for their inalienable rights of self-determination;

"3. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Congress and the Secretary of State of the United States."

Resolved at Boston this 28th day of March 1954.

Rt. Rev. JAMES A. COUCOUZES,
Vicar-General of the New England Diocese of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America.

Immigration Policy and the Refugee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, Mr. Arthur Greenleigh, executive director of United Service for New Americans, delivered at the recent annual meeting of that organization an address entitled "Immigration Policy and the Refugee."

This report by Mr. Greenleigh, one of the most distinguished and expert professionals in the field, should be widely read by all who are interested in the great problems of migration and immigration.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Greenleigh's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In May 1939 the conscience of the civilized world was shocked by the incident of the steamship *St. Louis*. Many of you will remember that incident. Almost 1,000 frightened and harried Jewish men, women, and children, fleeing from Nazi persecution, had obtained visas for Cuba and had embarked on the *St. Louis* for Habana. And then, just before the *St. Louis* arrived, the visas were canceled and these escapees were refused permission to land. Despite every effort and inducement, the Cuban Government remained adamant.

Fearful of returning to the arms of the Gestapo in Germany, these tragic victims made frantic appeals for asylum to one country after another in the Western Hemisphere, but all—including the United States—coldly turned their backs. The ship had to return to Europe with its precious cargo.

Finally, the Joint Distribution Committee, after tremendous effort, was able to persuade France, Belgium, Netherlands, and Great Britain each to take a portion, but only after guaranties of full maintenance costs were made. Return to Germany was averted. But when the Nazis later overran the Continent, most of this group were deported and later killed.

Some may remember, too, the experience at the Evian Conference, called a few months earlier by President Roosevelt, when it became evident that hundreds of thousands of Jews and other Nazi victims would be exterminated unless governments lowered their immigration barriers and permitted even temporary asylum for some.

And you will recall that of the 30 governments represented, not one was willing to make concessions, not even the United States. The sole exception was the little Dominican Republic. Had that conference not been a failure, many of the 6 million Jews and countless others exterminated by Hitler, would still be alive.

We have since fought a war in the name of freedom and democracy. Our country has since become the leader of the free world. But have our immigration policies changed to reflect our broadened international responsibilities, our foreign policy interests, our domestic needs, our democratic principles, our humanitarian ideals? Could our policies today accommodate the desperate appeals such as emanated from the *St. Louis* or from the Evian Conference?

Unfortunately, our immigration policies have moved in exactly the opposite direction. They reflect an isolationist xenophobia, a fear and distrust of the very aliens who, as immigrants, have made our country so strong. They reflect the age of the great fear. They are excluding valuable potential Americans and at the same time driving a wedge between us and the other free nations of the world. Our current immigration policies stem, not from the "thinking" part of our population but from the "hating" segment, from the noisy, bigoted, irresponsible propaganda of those who would have international anarchy instead of international order and cooperation.

Are there any logical reasons for our restrictive immigration policy? Have immigrants endangered our national security? Has the immigrant population become an immigrant problem? Neither history nor recent events justify our current negative attitude. Our history proves that the immigrants have been a distinct benefit to America economically, culturally, and politically. They have built our railroads, planted our vineyards, produced our steel, cut our timber, manned our factories. They have been scientific discoverers and inventors, industrialists and pioneers.

The immigrants—Catholic, Protestant, and Jew—have been responsible for much of the expansion of our country, our national strength and our very security. And the more recent immigrants, those who escaped from Hitler and from the aftermath of World War II, we know from personal experience have been as great an asset.

It is 20 years since the resettlement program, as we know it today, was begun by one of our predecessors, the National Coordinating Committee. In that time, more than 300,000 Jewish refugees have been helped to find sanctuary in our country and to become fully functioning, contributing, integrated, and loyal citizens in one or another of the 48 States. We know it has not been easy for the battered, uprooted newcomer, nor for you in the local communities, who had a vital part in this undertaking.

But while there were many individual problems of adjustment, there has been no refugee problem in our country. With your help and guidance, the newcomers became willing workers, learned our language and our bewildering ways; they have been contributing to the progress of our country on the farms and in the factories, in the sciences and in the arts, and in every other field of endeavor.

In business and in industry, many have brought to the United States new ideas or have improved on old ones—creating jobs for thousands of Americans. Many, too, have distinguished themselves on the battlefield, knowing better than we for what they fight. Having experienced the evils of fascism or communism, the new American has an acute appreciation of our democracy and a passionate devotion to it.

And yet our immigration policy is based on just the opposite belief—on the erroneous belief that they and the millions who preceded them have been a liability to our country, and are endangering its safety. Could a greater libel exist?

We really have some strange contradictions in our national thinking. One that confused me recently was the controversy a few days ago over the Mexican wetback bill. It is ironic that those Congressmen who have stubbornly opposed a decent immigration policy, fearing that a dangerous alien might get past our Government's most complex and intensive screening procedures, were the very ones who last week supported a bill admitting hundreds of thousands of Mexican wetbacks for cheap labor and with no security screening.

If that manpower is really needed, would it not make more sense to admit field labor from Italy or Greece who would be carefully screened, who would settle down, remain permanently, raise their families, and increase consumer demand? Might not such a move meet both our domestic and our foreign policy needs instead of antagonizing an important neighboring nation as the wetback bill has done?

Not only is a reasonable immigration policy important to the United States, but it is important to the whole free world. We have seen how one country after another follows our example whether good or bad—when we become more restrictive, other nations do the same; when we become more liberal, others follow. For humanitarian reasons and for selfish ones, the tide must be reversed.

As the U. N. high commissioner for refugees told you last night, the refugee problem is far from solved. There are not only millions uprooted and homeless who come within the technical U. N. definition of "refugee" but there are millions more who are migrants.

Far from diminishing, the numbers of dispossessed have increased. They are the victims of rising nationalism and of totalitarian regimes, of racial, economic, and religious persecutions, of changing political boundaries, each taking its toll by the millions, and each adding to the vicious circle—the areas of tension creating refugees, and conversely, the very presence of large numbers of refugees creating areas of tension.

Never in the history of the modern world have there been so many dispossessed in so many countries. Their solutions require governmental and intergovernmental action, but such action can only follow from an aroused and informed public opinion, such as President Eisenhower started to articulate, but has not as yet followed through.

While you here are interested in the general problem, most of you in this audience are more immediately concerned with the Jewish aspects. Contrary to much misconception, the problem of Jewish migrants is still most acute. In Western Europe, it involves tens of thousands. Exactly how many, no one knows. The number changes as national and international events change. They are in Germany and in Austria, in France, and in Belgium, in Netherlands, and in Italy, in Greece, and in Sweden.

Some in Germany and Austria are waiting for restitution or indemnification claims to be satisfied for the years spent in concentration camps. They need these funds to make a new start. They fear emigration to a new country penniless. Others, tired of being uprooted and being rebuffed by one country after another, are trying to eke out a precarious existence. They are waiting to see whether they will be able to remain in these two countries after the allied armies are withdrawn.

In countries of Western Europe where Jewish refugees have had temporary asylum, many have reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are not wanted, that they cannot rebuild their lives, that they have no security, that they must again migrate. Most cannot keep a job unless they are citizens, and citizenship is practically unattainable.

For instance, in one country of Western Europe which I recently visited, tens of thousands of alien Jews are in that dilemma. Some have lived in that country for 10, 15, 20 years. They have been permitted to work only when citizens have been unavailable. When a citizen is available, the alien is dismissed.

They try desperately year after year to obtain the necessary citizenship. But there are certain prerequisites. They must have been resident in that country for at least 10 years. An investigation by the equivalent of our Attorney General's office, must satisfy the Government that the family can be assimilated. Not only must their loyalty be established, but if any foreign language is spoken in the home, or if any member of the family had ever belonged to a Zionist organization, their application is rejected. If the family passes this initial screening, the Attorney General's office recommends their naturalization to the lower house of the national parliament, which, in turn, makes a specific recommendation to the upper chamber. Then, if the upper chamber is in favor, it passes a decree granting the citizenship. At this point a fee of several hundred dollars must be paid.

Approximately 10,000 qualified Jews each year apply in the country just described, but less than 300 receive citizenship. For most, permission to remain is given for 6 months at a time and when they apply for renewal, they must satisfy the Government that every effort was made in the interim to emigrate to another country.

This situation is not unique. In most of Western Europe, the Jew suffers from some variation of the same theme. He knows if he is not a citizen he is not wanted and citizenship is usually denied him. He is the first to feel the political and economic tensions.

Throughout free Europe, a great struggle is going on for the loyalties of freemen. A new force of neutralism has evolved. The mass of Jews, as Jews, cannot be neutral between communism and democracy. They join the forces of democracy in every struggle. And as the ideological struggle becomes more intense, the position of the Jew in Europe becomes more precarious.

The situation in North Africa must also be mentioned. As the struggle for national independence becomes more intense, the hundreds of thousands of Jews in these Moslem countries are endangered. They are sitting on a volcano that will erupt at any time. Jews would like to flee, but where?

These facts you won't find in published reports. But in first-hand observations I made just a few months ago, I was appalled at what I learned in country after country from local leaders and from emigration experts.

Of course, not all is now a matter of life or death as it has been in the past. But it is serious. Some kind of security is needed—opportunity to resettle, to work, to belong, to put down roots. I by no means believe that the United States should admit all. The valiant State of Israel is doing what it can. Canada, Australia, Latin America are accommodating some. But more opportunity must be developed. The Jews in these countries of Europe and in North Africa are worried. They feel they are again being caught up in frightening events. They remember too vividly what occurred during Hitler, during the war and just after.

I am worried, too. I can't forget my impressions when I was first sent to Europe. It was the middle of 1944. I arrived a few days after our American armies took Rome. I was there for the Joint Distribution Committee. I talked with Jewish families who had survived by hiding for years with an Italian family or in a convent or monastery. I talked with others the day they escaped from Nazi concentration camps. I talked with Jewish children in a DP camp on the Adriatic who had just arrived from Yugoslavia, where their hands had been amputated by the Nazis. I talked with orphans looking for parents they would never find, with fathers looking for children; with wives looking for husbands they did not know were dead. Almost no family was left intact.

I talked with Jews in France just after Paris was liberated, Jews who had been hiding from the Gestapo with false identity cards, Jews bitter about their French neighbors who had betrayed them to the Fascist police.

In France, too, I talked with many among the thousands of orphans in the various Jewish institutions, who had been hidden with Christian families as their parents were being deported, never to return.

And in Germany, immediately after VE Day, I talked with Jewish survivors who were little more than walking skeletons. I saw them in Bergen Belsen and in Dachau and in the hastily thrown together DP camps. And later, I talked with many as they were desperately trying to find countries in which they could resettle and rebuild their shattered lives.

The survivors were grateful to the Allies for their deliverance, but bitter over the heartlessness of nation after nation who had refused them asylum. The record is clear. The lessons are there for all to see. And yet today, rigidity and inflexibility in immigration laws and regulations of country after country has increased, despite all the efforts of UNRRA, of the International Refugee Organization, and of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees when these were operating, and the more recent efforts of the High Commissioner for Refugees, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and the International Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations Interested in Migration.

The barriers must be lowered, the trend reversed. More concerted action is necessary. Stronger representations have to be made to governments. Immigration laws must be simplified and made more humane. The interests of migrants must be better protected. This is not a problem only of Jews; it is a problem of the whole civilized world. The Jewish aspect differs only in degree.

Substantial numbers of Jews have been migrants during most of the past 2,000 years. Throughout Jewish history the need to migrate because of religious, political, or economic persecution has played a major role in the life and destiny of our people. The search for religious and political freedom, for security, for equality of opportunity has been a motivating force. Too often have we been confused by a mirage, only to have to move on again.

Until there is real and permanent peace in the world, until genuine tolerance becomes universal, until the brotherhood of man is a reality instead of an empty pious phrase, Jews will continue to be scapegoats in one part of the world or another, with the inevitable uprooting, flight, and migration.

Until that day comes, the most effective program for Jewish migration should be developed. More opportunities for permanent resettlement should be sought. Closer relationships with governments should be fostered. A more favorable climate of opinion should be stimulated. Long range, comprehensive planning should be undertaken, taking into consideration mass as well as individual needs.

The problem is worldwide—its solutions obviously international. An important and historic step has now been taken. The recent decision to create one unified national and international Jewish migration agency brings these objectives closer.

The best features of the program of United Services, of HIAS, and of JDC can be utilized. More efficient and flexible service to the migrant and to the Jewish community can be developed. More rapid and complete integration of the migrant into the life of the welcoming community can be facilitated.

Much has happened to Jews in the past 20 years. Much has been done to resolve their problems. Much has been achieved. More has to be done in the future. New opportunities are at hand. The success and effectiveness of the unified program will require the continued cooperation as well as the support of Jewish communities everywhere.

The combined energies, skills, resourcefulness, and determination will find new ways. The total concern of Jews everywhere will add new forces. The continued leadership of those dedicated individuals whose foresight and courage has brought about this necessary unification insures its strength and its integrity.

American Jewry can well be proud of the role it has played in the development of the constructive programs of rescue, rehabilitation, and integration on behalf of the disadvantaged men and women to whom America held out a welcoming hand. I am grateful for the privilege I have had of being a part of such a vital and historic undertaking.

And since this is in all likelihood the last annual meeting in which we will be together as United Service, I want personally to express my deepest appreciation to those men and women throughout the United States, who have given devoted service in our common cause. I want to take this opportunity, too, to thank my colleagues and friends in the other national and international voluntary and governmental organization for their cooperation in our mutual endeavors.

I want especially to pay tribute to our devoted officers and board for their inspiration and their dedication to the task. And to my coworkers on the staff—my sincere appreciation for their splendid cooperation and invaluable teamwork.

To all of you—my warmest thanks.

Address by Carmine G. De Sapio, Democratic National Committeeman for the State of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following short address given by the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio, Democratic national committeeman for the State of New York at the opening of the annual forum and lecture series of the National Democratic Club at 233 Madison Avenue, New York City, on March 18, 1954.

Commissioner De Sapio points out, in his usual clear and concise style, the opportunty faced by the Democratic Party this year:

Charlie Jacobsen and the National Democratic Club are to be congratulated for once again instituting this annual lecture and forum series. This kind of program has become an institution for our club, and contributes much to bringing about a greater understanding by Democrats of the problems of our day and the political issues which make tomorrow's history. I particularly want to congratulate my very good friend, Walter Lynch, for undertaking the chairmanship of this important effort, and for his characteristic wisdom in having Steve Mitchell open this year's forum series for us.

Our party faces a great opportunity this year, and with opportunity, of course, comes responsibility. The people of the country look to us for leadership because they are discouraged and disappointed with the Republican record of empty promises and malperformance. The disillusionment and the dismay of the American people portends a change in political allegiance; but we Democrats do not want a change merely for the sake of a change. We want the people to understand our program, to accept our policies, and to mandate us definitely and decisively to restore the Government of the United States to the people; and thereby to regain the confidence, faith, and trust of the American public in their elected officers.

Government of the people is a common and much abused phrase. But to Democrats it has a very literal meaning; it means government for all of the people and not for the special, chosen few. It means government that places public interest above partisan welfare and government that recognizes that the primary responsibility of those in office is dedication to the best interests of the people.

We will win the Congress this year and here in New York State we will, I am confident, elect our candidate for Governor. But it is important that in so doing we also win the support of the people for the Democratic program. It is imperative that the philosophy of the New Deal, and the principle that Government must always be a source of increased service to everyone, must have the understanding and the active backing of every single citizen.

It is a little disheartening, in these trying days, to observe the opportunism and the political hypocrisy which is practiced by those who would gain votes at all costs. Even insofar as the basic world issue is concerned—the issue of fighting communism—we find politics as usual to be the directing factor behind some partisans. I submit, my friends, that any one who claims to have a personal monopoly on hatred for communism is a demagogue and a fraud. Every decent American is repelled both by the doctrine of communism and the evil which is represented by Soviet aggression. Communism is a scourge and a disease and its cure does not lie in the ranting of those who represent themselves to be alone in the crusade for its abolition. There are those who would have us forget that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the brilliant directorship of J. Edgar Hoover, forcefully and effectively fights communism and Communists every day. There are those who would have us forget that 96 Members of the United States Senate and an entire House of Representatives, made up of men and women of both political faiths, stand ready to enact laws and to fight, if necessary, to protect our heritage as a free democracy.

There are those who would erase from our minds the knowledge that tens of thousands of our teachers in schools all over the country every day teach our young people the meaning of freedom and the ugliness of totalitarianism. Yes; there are even those who would pretend that they constitute a 1- or 2-man bulwark against the Communist invasion by the church, trying to have us forget that the ministers of all denominations have dedicated their lives to the teaching of brotherhood and godliness and everything that is anathema to communism.

Even on this issue of fighting communism, the Republican Party stands divided against itself. Even on this one basic issue, the Republican Party is lacking in vision and in leadership. How then can the people continue to look with confidence to the Republican Party for sound judgment and acumen on more controversial, but almost equally important, issues such as unemployment, housing, public health, and education.

And here in our own State, the people have witnessed the sorry spectacle of the bubble of ardently proclaimed morality bursting in the face of the Republican leadership, leaving a sticky coat of revelation which no amount of whitewash can camouflage. How can the people look to leadership from a State administration which, after 12 years in office, now sanctimoniously talks of a code of ethics on the one hand, and is steeped in shocking scandal on the other? How can the people look with hope to the kind of government which makes millionaires of a privileged circle of political cohorts, and increases rents and subway fares for everyone else?

It is time that the people of New York State enjoyed the benefits of government by democratic process rather than government by investigation, commission, and smokescreen. Each time that an issue arises—one which concerns the welfare and bread-and-butter interests of the people—a new diversion, a new device for confusing the people is instituted. We need more constructive programing and fewer destructive investigations. We need more progressive planning and fewer protective commissions. We need more intelligent governing and less doubletalking and doubledealing. In short, what we expect and what we need from our public officials is leadership—sound, thoughtful, genuine leadership.

Yes; we have the opportunity this year—we have the opportunity not only for winning the election but also for revitalizing and giving new meaning to what we as Democrats understand and cherish as government of the people. We know that the people will vote for our party and for our candidates this year; but that is only half of what we must seek to achieve. We must see to it that the people are informed—fully informed—as to the complete facts and the unvarnished truth. Because when they understand the issues, they will not only restore the Democratic Party to public trust, but will also support us, all the way, in our program for achieving peace, security, and a future of hope and happiness.

Thank you.

Farmers Welfare Should Be Everybody's Problem and Concern

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, we cannot separate the farm problem from the rest of our economy.

Any action we take that lessens the opportunity of the farmer to remain prosperous, in the end, affects the prosperity of all of us.

I think a letter which appeared in the Mahnomen Pioneer at Mahnomen, Minn., and signed by the businessmen of Bejou, Minn., gives food for thought to those who would cut the price support program out from under the farmer in the name of economy. It supports my position of the last 20 years that farmers are entitled to 100 percent parity for basic farm produce and certainly nothing less than 95 percent parity.

The letter and signatures follow:

BEJOU, MINN., *March 16, 1954.*

To the EDITOR:

We, the undersigned business personnel of Bejou, Minn., live in a community located in a vicinity such that our welfare is almost solely dependent upon the farming industry. The farms are small and a large number of them, which results in trade from many families. However, the problem of these small farms has become gradually harder in later years. They have not only been faced with the high cost of living, but the essentials required by them to make their living have been steadily increasing in price while there has been no increase, other than a few short-lived spells, in the commodities they produce to sell.

Our present administration seems to have so far failed to solve this farm problem and instead has come out with proposed action that would at present make things much more difficult for these small farms. We feel that as long as prices continue to rise or stay at present levels, that farm commodities must also remain in a category high enough to withstand these levels.

We urge your support in opposing any drop in farm parities so long as other high prices continue to prevail.

Lloyd Gunderson, Truck Line; Herb Bendickson, Service Station; Ben Stall and Ray Johnson, Tavern Operators; Gave Villebrun, Painter; B. J. Bendickson, Manager, Municipal Liquor Store; Clifton I. Huset, Agent, Soo Line; Vernon Aakhus, Manager, Farmers Cooperative Elevator; Art Winter, Anchor Cafe; A. Hallstrom, Merchant,

Albert Sweep, Service Station and Garage; Wilbert Black, Hay Dealer; Joseph A. Leines, Carpenter; Leo E. Thibodeau, Cafe; J. P. Farrell, Insurance and Real Estate; Tremel & London, Land Clearing and Road Building; Andrew Osenga, Merchant; Tyler Clauson, Carpenter.

The British Commonwealth Has Not Learned the American Lesson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY CORDON
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The British Commonwealth Has Not Learned the American Lesson," written by Sir Norman Angell and published in the April 1954 issue of the Reader's Digest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH HAS NOT LEARNED THE AMERICAN LESSON

(By Sir Norman Angell)

The territories of the British Commonwealth (excluding in this discussion the Asian Dominions) embrace a much larger area and contain greater resources, human and material, than does the United States. Why, then, is the Commonwealth less powerful than the United States in the influence it exercises in the world and, for the most part, less successful in improving the standard of living of its peoples?

The explanation is that the 48 States of the Union make a firmly integrated political unit. The absence of tariffs between the States and the existence of a common monetary system make possible the vast market necessary for the large-scale mass production of consumer goods that fosters a high living standard. And an industry so equipped can readily be adapted to the production of military materiel on a similar great scale.

By contrast, the British Commonwealth is so little a political unit that it has not even a government. There is a Government of Canada, another of Australia, another of New Zealand, another of South Africa, another of Britain. But there is no government of the Commonwealth, no common tariff and monetary system. Australia, in order to develop its own textile industry, puts a tariff on textiles, to the impoverishment of the British industry. When the Australian pound falls below the value of the British pound, purchase of British goods is restricted in order to sustain the Australian currency, thus adding to the economic burdens of Britain. Canada is not even within the sterling area, but on a dollar basis.

THE ADVANTAGES OF UNION

In its early years the United States, under the Articles of Confederation, which tried to satisfy the demands of each State for economic independence, went through most of the difficulties the Commonwealth is now encountering. But in 1789, after a decade of economic disorder and crisis, each of the States agreed to limit its independence sufficiently to create a real Union. This was something which the British Empire, in its evolution into Commonwealth, has failed to do. True, there are occasional conferences between Commonwealth governments, but this does not make a union in the North American sense.

That such a union of commonwealth countries should be created is of obvious interest to all Americans. A worldwide British Union would reduce the need for American aid to Europe and add greatly to the defensive strength of the West. Russia makes no secret of her hopes that she may use the considerable Communist parties of France, Germany, and Italy to paralyze the effectiveness of any alliance among those countries as an instrument of resistance to Russian expansion. The British Parliament, in contrast to those of France and Italy, does not include a single Communist; and in the politics of the overseas dominions communism plays no real role.

Yet, curiously, American opinion seems averse to the dominions' doing what the 48 American States have done in forming a union. The attitude seems to be prompted by the assumption that the dominions still have colonial status and are not really free; that complete independence for all who desire it is in the American tradition and is both the prerequisite and guaranty of a peaceful world.

These assumptions ignore present-day facts.

INDEPENDENCE INVITES AGGRESSION

Take the point of independence as the road to peace. The nations that went to war in 1914 and again in 1939 were all completely independent and sovereign. Not one was the victim of imperialist oppression. They went to war not because they lacked independence but because each had clung to it so tenaciously as to make impossible any effective cooperation for common defense, anything resembling that international community we are now so laboriously trying to set up.

Russia's present cold war—perhaps the most serious threat that Christendom has ever faced—is not the war of a colonial or oppressed people "rightly struggling to be free." It has not been provoked by the presence of an alien government, or foreign troops on Russian soil. Nevertheless, the slogans which figure most prominently in Soviet propaganda are concerned with the "rights of national independence" threatened by "warmongering imperialists." We thus have the astonishing spectacle of an imperialist power which in a few years has swept away the independence of half a score of satellites exploiting the very ideals it aims to destroy.

The explanation is not difficult. The Communists are aware of the intense emotion, as well as the intellectual confusion, inspired by such a word as "independence." The calculation is, of course, that if this emotion prevents the nations of Western Europe from surrendering sufficient independence to form a workable defensive alliance, then Russia will never have to meet anything as strong as herself, and will be able to apply what Churchill has called the simple and deadly plan of one by one—to achieve what she has already done with Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and China, and hopes to do with Indochina, Indonesia, Burma, and, ultimately, India and Africa.

Obviously, one means of meeting that threat is for the nations of the British Commonwealth, which encircle the globe, to form a closer union, nearer to the pattern set by the United States, and reversing the tendency toward separateness which has been so strong in the British Commonwealth for the past century.

That American opinion should sometimes be hostile to such a policy is explained in part by a failure to appreciate how greatly the British Empire has been transformed over the past 100 years. On many occasions when lecturing to American audiences, I have been asked such questions as, "When is Britain going to give Canada her freedom?" Yet it is nearly 30 years since an imperial conference declared that each Dominion is "an autonomous community, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of domestic or foreign affairs." The statute governing their relationship even recognizes their right of secession from the Commonwealth.

PARTNERSHIP FOSTERS STRENGTH

It is all to the good that the Dominions should have secured their independence, for the government of one people by another is a hateful relationship. The right alternative to that relationship is not for both to be independent. It is for both to form a partnership. But a partnership in which the parties are completely independent is a mere contradiction in terms. Right and freedom, whether of men or of nations, are incapable of defense without surrender of minor freedoms in order to preserve greater ones.

The Commonwealth nations have so many ties of sentiment and history that it should be readily possible for them to apply the lessons of unification provided by American history. In any case it is time we asked what is to follow the dissolution of the British Empire. We have too readily assumed that the dissolution of any imperial authority must automatically be followed by conditions more favorable to freedom, peace, and welfare. History does not confirm such a conclusion. When the Roman Empire fell, it was not followed by something better, but by the Dark Ages. When, in our own days, the Austrian Empire dissolved and the constituent states became independent, the result was that, in due course, most of them were swallowed up by Moscow.

The history of the United States itself has demonstrated that there are cases in which the preservation of unity is of greater value than the satisfaction of even a justifiable claim to independence. The Confederacy based its claim for independence on the very terms of the Declaration of Independence, and more than one American historian has written that if ever there was a good case for self-determination the South possessed it. Lincoln denied the claim, though denial involved a devastating war. Yet history has fully justified Lincoln. For if the American Union had broken up, there could not have been in the First World War, nor in the Second, nor in the present cold war, the American contributions to the defense of the West, without which western civilization would have been overwhelmed.

If on such grounds we may justify America's maintenance of political unity, we may well consider another fact of recent history. If there had been no British Empire in 1940 after the fall of France, no Gibraltar (now demanded by Franco), no Malta, no troops in Egypt to meet Rommel and defend the Suez Canal (in the Egypt which now demands complete evacuation of British troops from the Canal zone)—if dissolution of the Empire to that extent had already taken place in 1940, it is as certain as anything can be in military affairs that Britain would have had to follow France in surrender to Hitler. The roads to Africa, to India, to union with his Japanese ally would have been open. This would not have made easier the subsequent task of the United States.

In dissolving political unions or authorities, timing and conditions are of the essence. It may be right and desirable that the white man should withdraw his authority altogether from, say, Africa. But it should be done under such conditions that withdrawal would not mean simply handing the African Continent over to Moscow, adding a further vast reservoir of human material to that already available in China for the purposes of world communism.

The free world cannot afford to regard possibilities such as these with indifference.

The Methods of Inquiry by Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, within recent days Mr. Arthur Krock, the distinguished author, has published in the New York Times a series of two thoughtful articles on the subject of congressional investigations. In the articles Mr. Krock has tackled the thorny problem of reconciling the right of Congress to inquire and to know, with the basic rights of American citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of March 25, 1954]

THE METHODS OF INQUIRY BY CONGRESS—I

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 24.—On the frequent occasions when the constitutional rights of citizens have been infringed by congressional investigators, protests in the name of law and common decency have had the same end product. Current procedures of inquiry have undergone partial reform, the voters have retired or reelected the conspicuous offenders (according to whether the results they got impressed the public as useful), the courts have left the problem to Congress for solution, and in due course the excesses have been repeated by congressional groups.

In recognition of this history and its causes former Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania, wrote in Family Quarrels (Baker, Voorhis & Co., 1931):

"Since it is now clear to me that the Supreme Court is not going to curb legislative inquiries, it follows that I can hold out to [witnesses] no guaranty of consideration or fair treatment except such as might result from a code of procedure which [the House and the Senate] might impose upon themselves or from the good manners which may be developed by the individual committeemen."

"In due time," wrote Pepper, as with infinite patience the American people evolve a constitutional government, "even Senators elected by popular vote will * * * realize that it is possible to stand firmly for the privileges of the Senate and yet to do it with convincing dignity." Some Senators have done this and still do. But the exceptions are many and recurrent. And only a few days ago the Republican Senate leadership far from providing a guaranty of consideration and fair treatment by asking the Senate to impose on itself a code to assure it further postponement, Pepper's vision of a better day by leaving the entire problem to the Republicans who control the Senate committee.

GRISWOLD AND TYDINGS

Despite this discouraging history the idea of a general code for House and Senate inquiries, to be imposed by the membership of each on committees of inquiry, refuses to stay dead. Tonight, at Mount Holyoke College, Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School offered a 7-point code of practice for adoption and enforcement by the House and the Senate. He said the mere fact of being a Member of Congress did not bestow power of inquiry or make a member any sort of magistrate. The power, he said, "is solely attributable to the collective body." And two of his most interesting proposals were that (a) witnesses should be protected from television and any other recording form but a stenographic transcript and (b) congressional inquiries with the basic purpose of exposing people or developing evidence for criminal prosecutions are improper, and the courts, when properly invoked, should hold them to be beyond legislative power.

This latter view is the pivot of an impressive memorandum on the problem that was furnished this correspondent by former Senator Tydings, of Maryland. A summary follows:

No question exists of the right of Congressional committees to investigate anything either branch authorizes. The Constitution, however, confers no authority on them to nullify any of its guaranties. The question, therefore, is: Are the procedures, manners and subjects of some current investigations unconstitutional?

Public Law 759 (year 1950) provides an illustration. This makes it a felony for any person who advocates or belongs to groups dedicated to violent overthrow of the Government to accept paid Government employment.

On John Smith, who is such an employee, a Government agency has evidence tending to show that he is a Communist. That fact brings him before the McCarthy committee, which undertakes to swear him and ask him to disclose whether he is a Communist.

Under the fifth amendment he cannot be compelled to be a witness against himself. But that alone is not the point. If John Smith is in fact about to be accused of being a Communist, in his case a felony, he can claim the protection of the constitutional clause which provides that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment and indictment of a grand jury.

WHAT SMITH CAN SAY

John Smith can properly say: "I have never been and am not now a Communist. But the point I raise here is to challenge the committee's authority to make the kind of investigation it is making. That is the business of a grand jury where, if you or any other person have sufficient facts, I can be indicted and thereafter tried. In no place in the fifth amendment or elsewhere in the Constitution does it say that the privileges conferred on citizens apply in all cases except investigations and inquiries by congressional committees.

"Even before a grand jury I cannot be compelled to testify against myself; and even if one indicts me I have other protections not present in this committee hearing. Hence I respectfully challenge your jurisdiction, state that you are taking from me my constitutional guaranties, and on that point, not on the point of self-incrimination, decline to answer your questions."

Senator Tydings believes the courts should uphold such a position and thus help to solve the problem symbolized by MCCARTHY.

[From the New York Times of March 26, 1954]

THE METHODS OF INQUIRY BY CONGRESS—II

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 25.—In his Phi Beta Kappa speech at Mount Holyoke College, referred to in this space today, Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School said of legislative inquiries:

"They clearly have a proper place in our governmental structure, but this does not mean that they should not be properly conducted and under proper safeguards and procedures. Nor does it mean that, when not properly conducted, they may not violate our basic and fundamental conceptions of due process, so firmly rooted in Magna Carta."

Asserting that "some recent legislative investigations have been clear violations of due process," Dean Griswold cited as one reason these go uncurbed is that the courts have not sole responsibility for the conduct of the American Government and said that the basic responsibility was in the House and Senate themselves. That is the practical and the political fact, generally avoided up to now by the full memberships of these branches. But the courts from time to time have redressed complaints of citizens that they were subjected to procedures in violation of due process and the law of the land.

Also in this space today a brief summary was given of a proposition by former Senator Tydings, of Maryland, envisaging a court check on such excesses. When, he said, a congressional committee invaded the function reserved by the Constitution to grand juries—and he more than implied the McCarthy subcommittee had attempted this—the witness concerned should make that the base of his challenge of the committee's jurisdiction in refusing to answer. Then, if the committee attempted compulsion, the issue would go to the courts where, Tydings thought, the challenge would be sustained.

ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES

This has not happened often, but *Kilbourn* v. *Thompson* (1880) is an instance. The principles announced and applied by the Supreme Court in this case were:

Neither branch of Congress has "a general power of making inquiry into the private affairs of the citizen"; their power is limited to inquiries in which they have legislative jurisdiction and intent; when the subject matter is one where relief and redress can be had only in the courts, its disposition must be left to the courts; and the congressional resolution or order initiating the inquiry is the basis for determining that point.

The Supreme Court held that the resolution in question contained no suggestion of contemplated legislation and also that the House exceeded its authority and assumed that of the judiciary when it demanded certain testimony of Kilbourn, as trustee of the bankrupt firm of Jay Cooke & Co., and imprisoned him for refusing to produce it.

In *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* (1926) Justice Van Devanter reviewed these findings and those in three other cases dealing with congressional inquiry powers. They had been advanced as justification for the refusal of Mally S. Daugherty, brother of the Attorney General under Harding, to comply with a Senate committee subpena of the books and papers of an Ohio bank of which this brother was president. The committee was investigating the Department of Justice under Harry M. Daugherty. The Supreme Court held that the object of the subpena was to obtain information for legislative purposes and therefore compliance was within the Senate committee's power to require, with punishment the alternative.

LIMITATION AND RELIEF

"We must assume for present purposes," said the Court, "that neither House will be disposed to assert the power beyond its proper bounds or without due regard to the rights of witnesses. But * * * if * * * disregarded the [previous] decisions point to admissible measures of relief. And it is a necessary deduction * * * that a witness rightfully may refuse to answer where the bounds of the power are exceeded or the questions are not pertinent to the matter under inquiry."

In this background there is plenty of encouragement for legal tests of the jurisdictions and procedures of congressional committees. But the difficulties are these: The abuses come first; they are attended by

wide-spread publicity; and the courts wisely and properly give the fullest latitude to the contention of Congress, a coordinate Government branch, that the information it seeks is for the purpose of guiding contemplated legislation.

Moreover, experience has demonstrated, as the courts have said, that "information which is volunteered is not always accurate or complete and some means of compulsion are essential to obtain what is needed. * * * To await the slow process of indictment and prosecution for a misdemeanor might prove quite ineffectual and necessary legislation be obstructed."

In April 1924, when civil rights protests were mounting against the treatment of witnesses by Senator Walsh, of Montana, in the Teapot Dome scandals, Justice Brandeis told this correspondent he objected to any curtailment of the inquiry because results could be obtained only by complete freedom of examination and pursuit of the facts.

Address by David M. Proctor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by David M. Proctor at the annual conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers last September in Washington, D. C.:

TAXES—MUNICIPAL AND FEDERAL

Communism and economic collapse are the two sobering threats pointing their fingers straight at the heart of America. I shall discuss the latter only. The approach will not be an indictment—only a plea; we are not reviewing the past but anxiously looking toward the future fate of the cities and America. We shall neither invade the realm of partisanship nor penetrate the thicket of controversial issues.

At the last annual conference of NIMLO, Mr. Thomas N. Biddison, solicitor of the city of Baltimore, then president of our organization, recommended that a survey be made of intergovernmental relationships, conflicts and existing sources of revenue and that a committee be appointed to make a study and a report on this subject of transcendent importance.

Last March, the President of the United States called a conference of municipal officers to offer suggestions for the proposed Commission on Governmental Functions and Fiscal Resources, and invited, among others, representatives of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers to participate. At the conference, NIMLO recommended that the scope of study of financial resources include an appraisal of the value and adequacy of the sources now used by each level of government to raise the revenue needed to meet the cost of performing the powers, jurisdictions, functions, and services of each level of government. It pointed out that most of the American cities are attempting to wade in financial waters well over their head.

The latter statement is worthy of elaboration because the cities with a total population of nearly 100 million persons, have the primary responsibility of maintaining a high level of industrial productivity and good standards of living conditions. If they fail for any reason, the cost and loss will be national. Hindering, delaying, or obstructing cities in their normal operations will penalize them and America to an extent impossible of calculation. Eight hundred cities with a membership in the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers have a population of 80 million persons. The current threat to the financial soundness and economic stability of city governments therefore presents a problem of real magnitude.

Viscount James Bryce, in the American Commonwealth, stated, at least impliedly, that America's experiment in democracy might fail through official corruption in the large cities. That fear has been largely dissipated. While major cities are the favored field of criminal activities of the underworld, standards of official conduct among municipal authorities have attained a high level.

There is, however, a new menace confronting the cities and their future fate. It is the backbreaking impact of Federal taxes upon municipal services and facilities. Last year, Kansas City, Mo., collected in local taxes from all sources for all purposes approximately $27 million to finance all of its activities. During the same period, the taxpayers of Kansas City sent to the Federal Treasury more than $250 million in income taxes not including inheritance, excise, and countless hidden taxes. This record, as to ratio, is doubtless typical of all the cities.

In contemplating the destiny of the American cities, breathtaking statistics are in order. On September 3, 1953, the Census Bureau reported that American cities last year took in more, spent more, and borrowed more than ever before. The report was based on surveys of 481 cities, each with a population of more than 25,000. These cities account for about 80 percent of the Nation's city government revenue and expenditures. The cities studied, with a total population of more than 62 million, took in $6,582 million last year, an 8.8 percent increase over 1951. They spent $6,718 million, 7.9 percent more than the previous year. If State, county, and school taxes paid by the taxpayers of these cities were added, the total outlay would amount to more than $20 billion. It has been estimated if all the farmlands of the United States were sold at their assessed valuation and the proceeds applied to our national debt, it would be reduced only 50 percent. If the assessed valuation of all the real property in New York City is $14 billion, it is a little more than one-fourth of the amount expended by the Federal Government in foreign aid since 1945. The figures are not the disease but symptoms of a condition, both challenging and alarming. They might be more accurately described as road signs, warning us of the abyss of bankruptcy not far ahead.

The directors of municipal law departments, though laymen in the field of finance, have no voice in the molding of local policies. But in recent years they have burned midnight oil pondering the legality of proposed new sources of local revenue to finance the barest needs of proposed needs of municipal operations in ever expanding areas with constantly growing population. The device of the withholding tax has siphoned off the cream and has left to city officials only the skimmed milk of the taxpayer's capacity or willingness to contribute without protest any increase in the cost of local government.

How will the cities solve the problem of providing adequate funds for police and fire protection, health facilities, schools, sewer construction, offstreet parking, and other indispensable services? Several makeshift measures have been suggested and some adopted without promise of success. It cannot be accomplished by an increase in local taxes because the bedraggled public in most cities would successfully oppose and defeat any proposed increase in local levies.

More liberal Federal grants to city governments would, at most, be a temporary alleviation and not a permanent solution. Federal grants emanate from the pockets of the local taxpayers—they are part of their own money returned from the Federal Treasury for local use. They are not incubated in a Government mint.

The gap cannot be bridged by local bond issues. Municipal bonds, when sold, provide immediate funds for public projects but simultaneously create a solemn obligation of additional debt, resulting in the necessity for increased taxes to meet interest and amortization payments.

The President's proposed commission on governmental relationships and fiscal resources is constructive and will undoubtedly result in the elimination of many duplicating and overlapping revenue sources which will be helpful to the municipalities. But this relief alone will not enable cities to make ends meet.

Federal grants for public housing will miss the mark as a source of relief. There are Federal taxes on incomes of persons eligible under the law for tenancy in public housing. If such persons, though in the lower brackets of income, could obtain some relief from the payment of Federal income taxes they could, and probably would, channel the savings, though small, into the rental of private housing that produces tax revenue for the cities.

Likewise, deficit spending imposes a heavy toll on the finance of the cities. Inflation, the handmaiden of deficit spending, has produced havoc with municipal budgets. Inflation, and its spiral of rising costs, makes carefully prepared budgets little more than mingled guess and hope; bond issues for projects to be constructed over a period of years have fallen short of meeting the actual cost although estimates therefor at the time the bonds were authorized were meticulously prepared. These inevitable errors in estimates force city officials, hat in hand, to go back to the people for authority to issue supplemental bonds to complete the programs.

In the United States, with its vast resources and ability to provide funds through taxation to meet all necessary governmental costs and commitments, there is no justification for perennial Federal deficits. If a philanthropist practiced frequent and prolonged overdrafts at his banks, his career in charity would terminate because he would doubtless be committed for mental treatment.

Those of us who were acquainted with the structure of our Federal Government and its activities prior to World War I find it almost impossible to believe the expansion and multiple activities found today; no reference to administrations, past or present, is intended. The complicated structure of the Federal Government presents the picture of an amiable and well-meaning monster, sprawling and frustrated, with tentacles reaching into nearly every part of the earth, land, sea, and air, and groaning under the everincreasing burden of heavy domestic commitments.

Through the years the Government has accumulated a national debt of $272 billion. It is a lien on every drop of American sweat. This mountain, reaching skyward, is casting ominous shadows on the fiscal structure of every city and all other political subdivisions. It instills a fear among investors and gives pause to venture capital, thus delaying, if not preventing, private local improvements that would be added to the tax rolls.

No attempt is here made to fix the responsibility. Perhaps officials and taxpayers of the cities should share the blame. Too many well-meaning persons, with their heads among the stars, have failed to keep their feet on the ground in practical realities involved in government finance. They have failed to realize that the rules of arithmetic are not subject to amendment; that payday is as inexorable as the law of gravity; that a day of reckoning is as certain as death and ofttimes with a dirge of finality. Through the years they have hoped against hope, and

their occasional anxious moments intermingled with a feeling that the resources of the United States are inexhaustible. This is a delusion. American resources are vast but limited. Mr. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, recently stated that there is no person or nation with unlimited credit. We have the example of England. A generation ago the British Empire sat, in matters of finance, at the head of the table in the family of nations. The Bank of England was synonymous with Gibraltar. Her Navy cruised the seven seas unmolested and her merchant marine found profitable anchorage in every port. Today England is struggling in the writhing coils of bankruptcy and socialism tinged with communism.

The United States has no insurance against financial disaster or economic collapse. Our policy of helping other nations in time of stress has not evolved a reciprocal arrangement. What nation, or group of nations, would heed appeals if our ship of state, without compass or anchor, foundered on the rocks of financial wreckage? Even our world leadership would crumble and linger only in remorseful memory.

Some say we should not count the cost in providing national defense against foreign aggression. But economic stability and national defense against foreign foes are interwoven—in fact they are inseparable. Sound finance is not competitive with adequate national defense. On the contrary, it reinforces and sustains. The United States cannot continue to enjoy security and adequate national defense unless it remains in a state of solvency, buttressed by economic stability and sound finance.

Natural anxiety, at times reaching the tempo of hysteria, over the atom bomb, should not blind the American people to the specter of bankruptcy, with its tragic effects. Congress, in carrying out the main purposes of our Constitution of providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty, has the power to levy and collect taxes. But in the foreseeable future there will be no justification for congressional appropriations for military purposes that would inevitably plunge the Nation into the tragic disaster of bankruptcy.

Views here expressed are not original. Senators BYRD and Taft, Messrs. Herbert Hoover and Barney Baruch, and other patriots of the highest standing, have repeatedly sounded a warning. Even Grover Cleveland, a pioneer conservative in the appropriation and use of Federal funds, gave us warning in the immortal statement:

"Though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people."

This wise counsel no doubt was based on the fear that some day a third of the people might give up their liberties for Government relief; that two-thirds of them would lose their property in providing it. Thus, both groups would wind up with neither liberty, property nor relief.

Federal taxes must be lowered, deficit spending abandoned, and the national debt reduced. There is no alternative—no miracles in the offing. The problem poses a herculean task. The technique of approach, of course, should avoid action so drastic or precipitate that it would disrupt all proper governmental functions. The present administration, in good faith, has promised, and is striving, to reduce this menacing threat to our economy, and our hard-won liberties, if you please. However, alone, it will not be able to achieve the objective. No other group at the helm would possess the wizardry to cut the Gordian knot. The President must have the full cooperation of Congress, the officials of all cities and other political subdivisions and the taxpayers themselves, in an all-out drive extending perhaps over a period of years, to extricate us from the bog and place the Government again upon the solid ground of a normal and healthy economy.

This national campaign should be launched now. Analyzing and screening all proposals for Federal expenditures is imperative. Those without merit should be discarded despite protests. Others even with merit should be postponed until we have set our house in order. Only the projects and programs that fit into a master plan of national defense and the general welfare of the country should be considered. If the exigencies of the Nation's acute financial crisis call for curtailing foreign aid and cutting the cost of domestic operations by the Government, no substitute remedy would be available to Congress in its appropriations though it would be at the risk of being labeled isolationists and reactionaries.

The personnel of the law departments of the cities, both officially and as citizens, should gird their loins to meet the challenge to their patriotism and put forth every effort in the proposed campaign to save the cities and America. In World Wars I and II, America achieved victories through the cooperation of our Government, the Armed Forces, and civilians who contributed their bit through multiple services and sacrifices. In the same fashion, if we would save our country from economic collapse and perpetuate the blessings of liberty, we must mobilize the same forces and all available resources for the fight to victory.

The trend of flippant, if not reckless, spending by the Government at all levels must yield to the acute necessity of homespun economy—the basic ingredient that elevated the United States to world leadership. Economy, not parsimony, built this Nation. Economy, and not prodigal spending, will perpetuate it. The law departments and the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers have an opportunity for patriotic service, and I am sure they will genuinely rally to a determined support of a cause in which the future of America is at stake. One of the rewards that should lure and inspire is, if our Nation remains sane, strong, and solvent, no foreign enemy will ever conquer and enslave America.

Letters from Puerto Rico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, I have received many hundreds of letters from Puerto Rico concerning the unfortunate incident which occurred here on March 1. I presume that many of my colleagues have also received numerous letters expressing the sentiments of the people of Puerto Rico.

Amongst the letters which have come to me are many from citizens of very tender age living in both urban and rural parts of the island. Merely as a sample of the letters which have come from children of school age, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I am including a portion of the letters from schoolchildren in the little town of Naranjito, P. R., in order that these young voices may speak out on how they feel about this matter. To include all of the letters from schoolchildren in Naranjito, alone, would occupy many printed pages:

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

The Puerto Ricans are very proud of their American citizenship. We have prayed for the prompt recovery of the wounded Congressmen. When we grow up we will be good citizens. Puerto Ricans have felt very bad about the attack by Puerto Rican fanatics. We will never separate from the United States. The island of Puerto Rico feel very unhappy about the wounded Congressmen.

WILFREDO FIGUEROA,
Elementary School of Naranjito.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

The Puerto Ricans are very much against those fanatics. We hope this will not happen again. We are proud of our American citizenship. The Puerto Ricans hope that the wounded Congressmen will recover soon. The island of Puerto Rico feels very unhappy about them. We do not want to separate from the United States. I hope you read this letter to the wounded.

MIGUEL ANGEL MORALES,
Student, Sixth Grade I
(Teacher: Mrs. Rafaela Cabranes Morales).

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, the students of sixth grade, are disgusted about what those fanatics did. We are very ashamed. We are praying to God that the injured recover promptly. We are proud of our American citizenship. Being an American citizen is very important. We trust that this never happens again.

CARMEN HILDA SANTIAGO,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

All Puerto Ricans are ashamed of the recent events. All Puerto Rico is against what happened. Puerto Rico is very proud of being American citizens and we never want to be separated from them. We are praying to God for the persons injured by those fanatics. We never expected that such a thing should occur in Congress. We trust that this may never happen again.

Very truly yours,
MARÍA ANTONIA PADILLA,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

Puerto Rico is very unhappy because of the actions of those four Nationalists who went there. Those four Nationalists are crazy. We trust that this does not occur again. Let God be willing that the injured recover. We are proud of our American citizenship.

LYDIA ISABEL ORTÍZ,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

All of Puerto Rico is very unhappy because of the bad news. Those men are fanatics. We trust that such a thing will never happen again. All Puerto Ricans hope that the injured will recover promptly. We are all proud of our American citizenship. Being an American citizen is very important. When we are grown we are going to be good American citizens.

CARMEN RIVERA,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We have prayed to God that those who were injured will recover soon. The Puerto Ricans are proud of being American citizens. Those men were some fanatics. We live very contentedly in our country with the help of the United States. I hope that with your help this will reach the injured Congressmen.

CARMEN LUZ ORTEGA,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 17, 1954.*

The Puerto Ricans are very proud of being American citizens and never want to be separated from that great American Nation. We are very sad because of what those fanatics did. We have prayed to God for the recovery of the injured. All of the people of Puerto Rico are very unhappy. When we are grown we are going to be good American citizens. We will fight for the sincere union of Puerto Rico and the United States.

ANA ESTHER FERNANDEZ,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

Puerto Rico is very unhappy over the actions of those four Puerto Rican fanatics. The major part of the people of Puerto Rico know how to behave. We wish to be American citizens. We are very embarrassed over that shooting. We never thought such a thing would happen. We do not want to be separated from that great Nation. We trust that the injured may be fully recovered soon.

ELBA IRIS VAZQUEZ,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We the students of sixth grade, have regret what those crazy fanatics did. Puerto Rico is very sad. We are proud of being good citizens. We hope that the Congressmen are soon well and that it does not happen again.

RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 17, 1954.*

We write this letter to you to tell you that we do not agree with the attitude of a group of Puerto Rican Nationalists toward Members of Congress.

We hope that the wounded Congressmen recover soon.

STUDENTS, FIFTH GRADE,
Urban Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We are very unhappy about the events. They are fanatics. We trust that the injured ones will soon recover. We are all praying for their health. We do not agree with those fanatics. We Puerto Ricans are very proud of being American citizens. We do not wish to be separated from the American Nation because we are very contended with our union.

MARGARITA TAÑON,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

The Puerto Ricans are very proud of being American citizens. We are unhappy over what those Puerto Rican fanatics did. All of the towns are unhappy because of the action of those Puerto Rican fanatics. We should never become separated from the United States. When we the children become adults we will be good American citizens.

JOSÉ E. NIEVES,
Naranjito Elementary School Student.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We are disgusted over the actions of those fanatics. Those fanatics do not represent the Puerto Ricans. We hope that everyone who was injured is back again. We are all very proud of being American citizens. We have never thought of being parted from the United States. The students of our school when we are grown are going to be good citizens, American citizens. We pray for the health of all the wounded. We trust that such a thing never occurs again.

JOSÉ ANTONIO TAÑÁN,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

The children of Puerto Rico are ashamed of the action of those fanatics. Here everybody feels proud of being an American citizen and we never at any moment wanted to be parted from the American nation. We trust that the injured improve quickly. We trust that this never occurs again. When we are grown we will be good American citizens and loyal Puerto Ricans.

MARÍA ANTONIA TAÑON,
Naranjito Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We citizens of Puerto Rico are very happy of the well-being of our men. We are very unhappy because of what those fanatics did. We have prayed to God for the health of our people. All of the people of Puerto Rico are very unhappy. When we are grown we are going to be good American citizens. We will fight for the sincere union of Puerto Rico and the United States.

VICTOR FEBUR.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

Puerto Rico is very unhappy because of those lunatics. The students of the elementary school are unhappy. We are ashamed of what happened. The Puerto Ricans are very proud of being American citizens. At no time do we wish to be separated from the United States. We hope that such a thing never occurs again.

ANA CELIA RIVERA,
Elementary School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, citizens of Puerto Rico, feel very embarrassed over what happened. I hope that the wounded are better. We were very sad the day we heard the news on the radio. All the Puerto Ricans are very proud of their American citizenship. We hope this does not happen again. The Puerto Ricans are against the nationalists.

MARÍA TERESA CINTRÓN,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, students of the sixth grade, feel very unhappy over the attack made by those mad people. The people from Puerto Rico are good American citizens. When we grow up we will be good American citizens. I hope this does not occur again. The Puerto Ricans are very proud of their American citizenship.

WILLIAM NIEVES,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, students of the elementary school in Naranjito, sixth grade, feel very sad. The Puerto Ricans are very pround of their American citizenship. We hope that the wounded Congressmen recuperate soon.

ALFREDO MORALES, Jr.,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, the students of the sixth grade, feel very bad because a group of mad Puerto Ricans attacked the Capitol of the United States. We hope that those terrorists do not repeat such a thing. We never thought that a thing like this would occur. We hope that the wounded Congressmen recover soon. Puerto Rico is very proud of its American citizenship.

MARGARITA MORALES,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

I write to you from Naranjito to express my regret over the incident which occurred on March 1 at the House of Representatives. We all repudiate such act committed by four mad nationalists. I hope that the wounded Congressmen will recover soon. The four nationalists shooters do not represent the feelings of the rest of the Puerto Ricans. All Puerto Ricans are very proud of belonging to the great American Nation. I hope you can give this letter to the wounded Congressmen.

ANTOLIN RODRIGUEZ, Jr.,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 18, 1954.*

We, American citizens, are very unhappy over the conduct of a few fanatics. We regret very much the attack by the nationalists. We never thought those fanatics would attack the United States. The Puerto Ricans are very proud of their American citizenship. We pray for the prompt recovery of the Congressmen.

ANA MARÍA NIEVES,
Student, Sixth Grade.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I regret the criminal attack committed against some Congressmen. The people of Puerto Rico are very proud of being American citizens.

Sincere desires for a prompt recovery of those high men who were attacked.

BETTY MORALES.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I repudiate the attack against the Congressmen, and 2 million peace-loving people repudiate it also.

Hoping that the injured Congressmen recover promptly and that our relations continue as friendly as always.

STUDENTS OF THE 10TH GRADE.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I am very sorry of the criminal attack that some Puerto Rican did against some American Congressmen, but you may be sure that we do not approve this action.

I pray for their prompt recovery.

Respectfully yours,

ELISONIA ALEJANDRO.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 3, 1954.*

I deplore the criminal attack perpetrated against some Congressmen. I pray for their prompt recovery.

This attack does not express the feeling of the people of Puerto Rico. We are proud of being American citizens.

STUDENTS, *Naranjito, P. R.*

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

We condemn energetically the criminal transgression occurred in that House.

We pray for the prompt recovery of the gentlemen wounded, and sincerely hope that another attack of this nature shall not be repeated.

JOSÉ LUIS ROSADO RODRIGUEZ,
Guillermo Esteves School.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 3, 1954.*

I wish to express my indignation at the attempt to take the lives of Members of the House of Representatives. The people of Puerto Rico are peace loving.

We feel proud of being American citizens.

Sincere wishes for a prompt recovery of those valuable men who were attacked.

STUDENT OF FOURTH YEAR,
Naranjito, P. R.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 3, 1954.*

I wish to express my indignation at the attempt to take the lives of Members of the House of Representatives.

I feel very sorry with this incident and I pray for the prompt recovery of the Congressmen who were injured.

CARMEN C. FIGUEROA,
Student, Naranjito, P. R.

GUILLERMO ESTEVES SCHOOL,
Naranjito, P. R., March 4, 1954.

As an American citizen I deplore the criminal attack perpetrated against some Congressmen of the United States. This act does

not express the feelings of the American citizen and Puerto Rico.

I hope that these fanatics will be punished and I pray God for the health of the Congressmen who were injured.

TERESA ORTEGA,
Student of Fourth Grade,
Naranjito, P. R.

GUILLERMO ESTEVES SCHOOL,
Naranjito, P. R., March 4, 1954.

I repudiate the criminal attack against the Congressmen of the United States. Hoping this act does not change anything in our relations.

Sincere wishes for a prompt recovery of those valuable men who were attacked.

This act does not express the feelings of the people of Puerto Rico.

LUZ MARÍA ORTÍZ,
Student of Fourth Year.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I repudiate the act of 3 or 4 people of my Island of Puerto Rico.

I hope that this act does not change anything in our relations, I pray for a prompt recovery of the Congressmen who were injured by the Nationalists.

ANA ELBA PADILLA,
Esc. Guillermo Esteves,
Naranjito, P. R.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 3, 1954.*

We, the peace-loving people of Puerto Rico, reject the recent attack upon the Members of the House of Representatives. You and all the gentlemen of the American Congress can rest assure that such criminal action is not the feeling of the Puerto Ricans.

We are believers of democracy and peace between all races all over the world.

With my best wishes for a prompt recovery of the Congressmen wounded.

ANDRÉS CÁTALA.

GUILLERMO ESTEVES SCHOOL,
Naranjito, P. R., March 3, 1954.

We the people of this island feel shame over the filthy act of those who without any respect attacked the honorable Members of the House of Representatives.

They ought to be proud of being American citizens with all the accompanying privileges.

I sincerely wish for a quick recovery of those Representatives who were injured.

HERMENGILDO TORRES.

NARANJITO P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

After knowing that those Puerto Ricans shot the Congressmen of United States we feel sorry.

We, the Puerto Ricans do not approve of those persons that shot those Congressmen.

The people of this little island will continue being good citizens of the United States.

ELOÍNA SANTOS.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I deplore the criminal attack perpetrated against some Congressmen. That act is not an expression of the feelings of the people of Puerto Rico.

I pray for the prompt recovery of the Congressmen who were injured.

ISOLINA RODRÍGUEZ.

NARANJITO, P. R., *March 4, 1954.*

I wish to express my indignation at the attempt to take the lives of Members of the House of Representatives. I pray for their prompt recovery.

This event does not express feelings of all the people of Puerto Rico. We are proud of being Americans.

CARLOS ROSADO.

NARANJITO, *P. R., March 3, 1954.*

I deplore the criminal attack perpetrated against some Congressmen. I pray for their prompt recovery.

This attack does not express the feeling of the people of Puerto Rico. We are peace-loving people.

ALICIA COLÓN,
Student of 12th Grade.

Speech of Luther O. Griffith Before Huntington Rifle and Pistol Club

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILL E. NEAL

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, in view of the excellent manner in which the interests of forestry, conservation, and sportsmen are covered, I should like to call attention to a speech made by Luther O. Griffith at the annual meeting of the Huntington Rifle and Pistol Club. Major Griffith, in adition to being a member of the Huntington Rifle and Pistol Club, is affiliated with the Mountain State Big Game Hunters Association, the Sportsman's Club of America, the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association, the Outdoor Writers Association of America, Inc., and the West Virginia Forest Council.

I believe the following article will be of much interest to the readers of the RECORD:

I am very proud to be a member of such a splendid group as this and I want to discuss with you, briefly, the general land ownership pattern of this country in which you, as sportsmen, should be very much interested. I believe this to be just as important to sportsmen, purely from a sports standpoint, as I believe it to be to the country as a whole, from a free enterprise standpoint. However, you are far more than a mere sportsmen's organization—you are actually part of our national defense system. This Nation has always won its wars by the superior individual marksmanship of its soldiers.

As you know, I make my living from the forests of the Appalachian territory, principally Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. I believe in private ownership of forest lands and the wise management of these lands. I am a thorough believer in conservation and by that I mean the real definition of conservation, which is "wise use." Without use there can be no conservation of forests, as the ways of nature can not be changed. Trees grow to maturity, die, fall, and rot, if they are not harvested.

It is for that reason that I disapprove of attempts to lock up vast areas of forest land in huge public parks wherein nothing is harvested, but where trees grow to maturity and die, where game may multiply unmolested except by predators until it reaches the population point at which park rangers or special deputies must kill off the excess game to prevent mass starvation. Yet, certain sportsmen's organizations will cry to high heaven, if for example, any move is made to restore to the United States Forest Service, where it could be managed for all the benefits of the forest, any portion of that vast 800,000 acres of Olympic National Park in the State of Washington. The opposition to change in the boundaries of that park does not arise among the local people of the Olympic Peninsula, but from armchair preservationists and others, hundreds or even thousands of miles away. It arises from persons whose employment and entire social and economic life does not depend upon the conservation of the resources of the Olympic Peninsula.

I mention the United States Forest Service in connection with the Olympic National Park because it was national-forest land from which the park was created. However, it is my firm belief that if areas of forest land are to remain in public ownership, the better course would be to place them in State forests where the local people—those who are most affected by the conservation of those areas—will have a more direct voice in the policies that govern them.

Here in our State of West Virginia, we have one national forest, a number of State forests and parks, and the bulk of our forest acreage (90 percent) in private ownership. We have ample recreational opportunities, our State forests are managed for timber production, watershed protection, recreation, and hunting and fishing. Through a program of conservation, we the people of West Virginia are developing and using our forests for all the benefits they can produce. It is true that this has not always been the case. In the past, we cut our forests without much thought to the future, we slaughtered our game, and we burned both forest and game in devastating fires. But that was before the need for conservation was understood. Today, as a result of conservation being preached and practiced we can see concrete evidence of its results. For example, our State deer herd that had dwindled almost to the vanishing point several decades ago, produced for the guns of hunters in 1953 a total of 19,844 bucks and does for the annual harvest. If these forests had been locked up in Federal parks there would have been no hunting, and no timber industry, either, in West Virginia, just as there is none in the Olympic National Park, and if anyone tried to do to us what was done to those sportsmen and lumbermen who would have benefited by this park remaining a national forest, we as West Virginians would have let out a yell. As a matter of fact, the park is visited by a mere handful of people each year because of the very heavy annual rainfall in this section, which makes it extremely uncomfortable to be in these old-growth forests most of the time. So when we eastern sportsmen lend our support for park enlargement in the West, I wonder if we really know what we are doing.

As a sportsman, I am keenly aware, as possibly some of you are, that I am essentially a free rider when I go hunting or fishing. Of course, I buy my license and I pay my share of the taxes; but I must remember that when I go to the field with my rod or gun, I am getting more than my share. The burden of taxation for the support of the national forests is borne by 160 million persons, the burden of the State forest is borne by the entire population of the State, and the burden of the private land on which I may hunt or fish is borne by some kindly individual who does not protest my entering his private holding.

As hunters and anglers, I believe that we, through some of the organizations that represent us, constitute a special interest group. While we are excellent sportsmen in the field, we fail to be good sportsmen in the economic considerations of land management. We have a tendency to see and to support only those measures that we are told will result in better hunting and fishing—and we are very often misguided in these programs. We

fail to see the objectives of the total conservation picture and to keep abreast of the conservation progress that is being made on well-managed lands, especially those in private ownership. We fail to sense the dangers to our economy and to the American way of life in the Federal ownership of lands that should be in private taxpaying hands. We forget that 25 percent of the land in the United States is now in Federal ownership, and that in the 10 Western States the Federal Government owns 54 percent of all the land. The use of the products of these lands—the timber, grass, water, recreation, and game—by private enterprise is subject to the whims of Government. From a land-ownership standpoint one might say that the 10 Western States are more than halfway on the road to socialism, and that the country as a whole has reached the quarter-way mark. Most of the sportsmen of America derive their livelihood from private enterprise, not from Government enterprise, yet they let their spokesmen misconstrue the word "conservation" in their attempts to perpetuate or to enlarge on socialistic control of natural resources.

If we face up to realities, if we look beyond the sight of our gun or beyond the swirl of a hooked game fish for a moment, we will realize that the possibilities of true conservation (which means wise use, prevention of decay, loss, injury, or waste) lie in the wise management of resources by what is known as enlightened private enterprise.

The best large-scale examples of good forest management today are found on private lands, where management has come to realize that judicious use of the ax and saw will produce continuous harvests of timber, where roads and trails are built as needed, where timber salvage follows promptly the onslaughts of insects and diseases—where these things are done because they make good economic sense—without having to stand idly by while representations are made to the Congress for appropriations to finance the work.

But what about game? I have been talking about timber production only. Wise forest management for timber production also helps produce game, and the roads and trails necessary to timber management make it accessible to the hunter and aid in its protection from fire. In the Pacific Northwest, a recent study by the Industrial Forestry Association reveals that one big game animal was harvested for every 415 acres of industrial forest land, while on the national forest lands the harvest was one big game animal to 1,990 acres. In the past season in West Virginia the average harvest was one white-tailed deer to 672 acres; and, as you know, the bulk of the hunting in this State is on privately owned taxpaying land.

In West Virginia we are faced with the threat of the oak wilt—a disease that is fatal to both the red and the white oaks. The oaks are West Virginia's most important trees, both for timber and game production. I do not know what would be the approach to the study and control of this disease if all our forest land in the State were in public forests and parks. I do know, however, that a forest industry committee is studying causes and control methods and is spending a great deal of its own money in doing this. On the other hand, mature and over-mature spruce and fir on some of the public lands in the West is falling victim to beetle epidemics and deteriorating at a rate exceeding the growth.

To sum up, I believe the sportsmen should interest themselves in studying the land ownership pattern of this country and to lend their support to people in industry who want to keep this country a free enterprise country, instead of seeing it go down the road to socialism or communism, like practically every other country in the world has done.

Forest Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, conservation of our natural resources is rapidly becoming a matter of vital concern to our Nation. It took several generations to awaken ourselves to the fact that we, through indiscriminate use, could destroy the vast resources of nature.

Not the least among the problems of conservation, is that concerning timber stands. Sections of the country have experienced a depletion of timber to such an extent that it has become practically nonexistent in what once were great lumber producing areas.

I am happy to state that California has long been a leader in timber conservation. In the northern portion of my congressional district—Humboldt, Del Norte, and Mendocino Counties in particular—are located some of the finest stands of timber in the United States. Logging operations there are on a rapid increase but on a controlled basis to sustain the yield.

Experts on the subject have determined that properly managed, a sustained yield can be maintained indefinitely in this area, even in the fir woods which do not have the natural selfperpetuation of the giant redwoods.

As a member of the California State Legislature I actively participated in the furtherance of forest conservation. My interest in the subject is still intense. Conservation practices in the lumber producing areas of northern California are paying off now and for the future. In recognition of the proponents of conservation and what it means to us, I would like to include with my remarks the following editorial from the March 24 issue of the Eureka (Calif.) Humboldt-Standard:

FUTURE OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY

When the first woodsmen of early days arrived in this region and found the great stands of redwood and fir, readily accessible and awaiting harvest, undoubtedly they must have felt that the timber supply was inexhaustible. In those days, of course, logging and lumber manufacturing operations were relatively crude and extremely laborious, dependent largely upon manpower and the oxen, and relatively slight inroads were made on the forests in the initial period of the local industry, confined chiefly to the more accessible stands.

As time went on, and as machinery was introduced into the industry, no doubt a few lumbermen who had seen similar great stands of timber reduced to a nonexistent status, in Maine, in the Great Lakes region, and other areas, began to voice fears that the local timber resources might also be entirely denuded in not too many years. However, even until comparatively recent years logging was confined to the redwood stands and the great fir woods were left virtually untouched up until the period of World War II when the value of these stands suddenly became recognized, to create an entirely new phase of the local industry.

In later years there has developed increasing apprehension on the part of a great many persons, relative to the future of the forest and, indeed, of the lumber industry itself in the entire northwestern California area, particularly in view of the unprecedented increase in logging and lumbering operations in the period following World War II. This anxiety is emphasized by the experience resulting from some operations in Washington and Oregon, where once-great timber stands have been entirely denuded, resulting in a shift of activity from those sectors to the northern California field.

Thus, there is good reason for the question—how long can we reasonably expect our Humboldt timber resources to last, and what will happen should the last merchantable timber be cut?

Some interesting answers to this question were voiced here last Monday by Waldron Hyatt, resident manager of the Hammond Lumber Co. in Humboldt County, speaking before the Eureka Rotary Club. And the answers, moreover, should serve to quiet some of the apprehension and anxiety over the local timber outlook, at least if some of the recommendations submitted at the same time are followed.

As to the present status of the timber supply, Hyatt pointed out that 85 percent of the county's land is in forest growth, with privately owned forest lands totalling something over 1,294,000 acres, with an additional 45,000 acres in the Nation's forests owned by the Federal Government.

However, the speaker made it quite apparent that existing stands and acreages do not constitute the sole factor in the equation. Rather, the factor which will determine how long our timber may last will depend in large measure upon the conservation and reforestation program which, at long last, now appears to be well underway. Attention was directed toward the strides that have been made in this new program in the form of better logging methods, greater utilization of timber and less waste in either woods or mills, the tree-farm projects instituted by several large companies and the organization of the county's new forestry department, all important considerations in connection with any long-range view.

As a result of this program, provided it is fostered and maintained, Hyatt voiced the opinion that the 1,740,000 acres of commercial forest land in Humboldt County, if properly managed, can give a continuous yield for an indefinite time to come, although he warned at the same time that the problem rests in the laps of the citizens of the local area who should support conservation measures.

Hyatt also noted that nearly 50 years ago the experts estimated the forest supply at less than 30 years. But the 30-year estimate, as we know, has come and gone, and still Humboldt County's lumber industry today is greater than at any time in its century-old history. As to the future, he asserted that 75 percent of Humboldt's privately owned timber, properly managed, can yield a harvest of one billion board feet per year, indefinitely—and that, as a result, the future promises well.

As a proponent of conservation in all its forms and as a practical woodsman and lumberman, Hyatt certainly has qualified himself as a figure in the industry who knows whereof he speaks, on the basis of experience and of close association with the immediate and long-range problems of the industry. Undoubtedly his definitive analysis of the situation and the outlook will be greeted with both interest and gratification on the part of all concerned—and who, indeed, isn't concerned with this vital and basic pillar of Humboldt economy?

Penalizing Old Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, from time to time in the past I have called attention to the unjustifiable hardships caused by certain provisions in our social-security system. Thus far the inequities have not been corrected. Beginning today, I propose to introduce into the RECORD a series of letters that have been pouring in on me from elderly people in all parts of the country, which highlight the shortcomings of the system from the standpoint of those who are, or should be, at its receiving end.

Many of these elderly people feel outraged and betrayed by our so-called old-age and survivors insurance program. They have been encouraged to believe that they were buying genuine insurance with their social-security taxes. But when the time comes to receive benefits, they find them hedged about with so many niggling conditions that the term "insurance" is preposterous. Social security is not and never was insurance in the legal and accepted meaning of the term, but most people do not find it out until they are too old to do anything about it.

As the act now operates, it rewards many of those who are old and rich and penalizes those who are old and poor. It provides an often unneeded windfall of benefits to persons living comfortably on retirement incomes, and does so partly at the expense of less fortunate old people, who must continue to work to live; and, who while they work, continue to pay taxes to the social-security system. Moreover, the law now imposes a wholly unrealistic and inflexible wage ceiling on elderly workers regardless of the size of their benefits, with the result that, the greater the need to supplement their benefits, the less they are permitted to earn without loss of benefits.

One of the major sources of confusion and irritation stems from the fact that the program began as a retirement system, with benefits payable only to those who withdrew from the labor market. But the name was later changed to old-age and survivors' insurance system thus leading the public to suppose that they were buying genuine annuities with their social security tax dollars.

Mr. Speaker, the people who have actually studied the old age and survivors program have no illusions about it. Why should the public be deluded about it?

Last year, for example, Dr. Eveline Burns, former Director of Research of the National Resources Planning Board and professor of social work at the New York School of Social Work, published some articles in the magazine Canadian Welfare, which set the picture very clearly in focus.

Dr. Burns raised the question as to whether social security is insurance, and concluded that—

> In most countries with extensive and highly developed social security systems, social insurance has become an institution to which the word "insurance" can be applied only at the risk of serious distortion of the language. An understanding of the difficult problems of public policy arising out of attempts to eliminate individual or family insecurity may be obscured by keeping the emphasis on insurance and persisting in an effort to adapt current social insurance programs to an analogy which is no longer appropriate, if indeed, it ever was.

Dr. Burns has reached the conclusion that—

> Abandonment of the insurance analogy is inevitable. For the experience of all countries has shown that the answers given by a strict application of the insurance theory are inadequate, and irrelevant to the major problems, and that their apparent finality is an illusion. Social purpose has either forced such drastic modifications of the "insurance" element in social insurance as to make retention of the word not merely unjustified but misleading; or it has led to the creation of other instruments, side by side with a restricted insurance scheme, to carry out the public will more effectively.
>
> Nor should this conclusion dismay us. Once we are prepared to accept the instrument which happens to be called social insurance for which it is; namely as a means of using Government to guarantee predictable, nondiscretionary cash payments to some or all members of the community, we are more likely to appreciate the real nature of economic and social issues and conflicts that arise.
>
> We shall be facing, instead of evading, the central issues of public policy.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Burns has accurately pinpointed the problems which are created when we use the illusory terminology of "insurance" to describe and justify a program and policy that has very little in common with private insurance, and that will have even less in common with it, as time goes on.

But this is not merely a matter of using unfortunate words with inaccurate connotations to describe a huge tax-supported Government program. At the receiving end of the program are millions of old people who have been deluded by this terminology and who are demanding that the program either do what it seems to promise to do, or that it be modified, to treat everyone with equity and justice.

Among the major inequities in the program is the wage ceiling provision, which shackles the elderly to penury, and penalizes them, through loss of benefits, if they are under the necessity, or have the initiative and capacity to continue at productive work. The cumulative anxiety and hardship caused by the wage ceiling and certain other provisions in the law can no longer be ignored by the Congress. The letters which I propose to introduce in the RECORD are only a sample of the resentment which the program is generating.

The first of these letters follows:

> BATAVIA, N. Y., *February 16, 1954.*
>
> Congressman OSTERTAG.
>
> DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I read an article in the Daily News where you had introduced a bill where social security pensioners could earn more money and still draw social security benefits. The present law allows a person to earn $75 per month regardless of other income such as rents, interest, securities and what have you. But the poor laborer who has to continue work loses his benefits if he earns a dime over $75.
>
> Now I am near 71 years young, my wife is 72. She unfortunately fell, crushing her right wrist, resulting in loss of 25 percent use of that arm. In the spring of 1952 she applied for employment at the hospital. The superintendent told her she would not be able to do the work with that arm but if I will do the work and donate it to her, it would be all right. We needed the money with hospital bills, X-ray, doctors and many other bills and we accepted the offer. I did my work earning $50 or under as my share, also did her work keeping under the $50 limit. Then in September 1952 the limit was raised to $75 and we had to keep strict books not to go over $75. Then in August 1953 the revenue man said it was wrong and we will have to lose social security benefits and pay that money back.
>
> Now we have always been honest and earned an honest living. When the revenue man disqualified us, it takes the bread right out of our mouths. We supposed we were entitled to work for each other. We have a son 44 years old who has never earned a dime in his life, whom we have kept, doctored and assumed all his expenses because of his disability, which puts a burden on us but he is our son.
>
> Last November I had to have an emergency operation. So from November 24 to the present time I have not had social security nor have I had work. Not a cent coming in. No reserve. Tough. The social security office tells us social security will be withheld nearly 2 years before we can again draw it. Our social security was light. I received $53 per month, my wife, of course, received half or $26.50. That was raised slightly in September 1952. Still starvation, with three living on it. I am,
>
> Yours truly,
>
> ——— ———.

Mr. Speaker, it is inconceivable to me that Congress meant to penalize our old people in this way, and I earnestly hope that this body will act to correct such inequities as this case highlights before it is too late.

Protest Against Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolutions filed by Representative Augustus G. Means, House of Representatives, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts:

Resolutions memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to protest the entry of the Communist government of China into the United Nations

Whereas there are forces at work attempting to bring about the entry of the government of Communist China into membership in the United Nations, despite universal disapproval by the people of this Commonwealth and Nation; and

Whereas the world was shocked by the recent revelations of freed prisoners of war of the atrocities perpetrated upon captives during the Korean war by the military forces under the influence of these mad Reds from the Orient; and

Whereas the Communist government of China has violated and continues to violate the very spirit and purpose of the United Nations by showing absolute unwillingness to abide by the principles upon which the United Nations was founded and by failing to give proper regard to human rights and obligations; and

Whereas the admission of Red China into the United Nations would gravely weaken the respect in which such body is now held by the people of the world; and

Whereas the Committee for One Million, headed by the Honorable Warren R. Austin, former chief of the United States delegation to the United Nations, reports that its campaign to obtain signatures to a petition to protest the entry of Red China into the United Nations is graced by such illustrious names as former President Herbert Hoover, Gen. George C. Marshall, Adm. Chester Nimitz, Senator Hubert Humphrey, former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, Senator Irving Ives, and Gen. James Van Fleet; and

Whereas the Veterans' Organizations of the Commonwealth have announced that their membership would take active measures to register their protest to the entry of Red China into the United Nations: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to firmly oppose the admission of the Government of Communist China into the United Nations; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the State secretary to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of Representatives, March 10, 1954, adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,
Clerk.

Senate, March 16, 1954, adopted in concurrence.

IRVING N. HAYDEN,
Clerk.

International Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a beautiful poem entitled "International Holiday" dedicated to St. Patrick's Day and in commemoration of St. Patrick, written by James Kerrigan, of Charlestown, Mass.

The poem follows:

INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY

The Ireland of the Irish looms
Less Irish with each passing year;
Now Boston and New York assumes
The character of Ballymere,
Or Cork, or Sligo, with a lame
Resemblance to them by the way;
And this is all part of the game
When people mark St. Patrick's Day.

The Ireland of the Irish comes
With Spanish Shamrocks from Capri,
And Nova Scotian fifes and drums,
Not with a brogue from Innisfree;
The fact is, any Celt who'd try it
Would be suspected of the worst,
Such as inciting folk to riot;
Thank God the others start it first.

—*James Kerrigan.*

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper editorials:

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal of March 16, 1954]

ACTION ON THE SEAWAY

Action on the St. Lawrence seaway bill ought to be taken this week by the House Rules Committee now that Representatives CLIFFORD DAVIS and GEORGE FALLON are able to resume their activities. Both were wounded during the recent shooting attack by Puerto Rican fanatics and both are members of the Public Works Committee which acted favorably on the pending measure.

There have been some predictions made that the seaway bill would get bottled up in the Rules Committee. If that should happen we hope that it will not result from action, or lack of it, by any Rules Committee member from this section. And it will not happen if committee members really have the welfare of the Nation at heart.

If the Rules Committee should attempt to bottle up the bill, then the whole House should take the required action to get it out on the floor where every Member will have the right to vote and so express his views. To bottle a bill up in the Rules Committee is to defeat the democratic processes of the Congress.

All of the mid-South members of the Public Works Committee voted favorably for the seaway bill when it was acted upon by that group, and their position ought to set the pace for other delegations from the lower Mississippi Valley when the time for an actual floor vote arrives, as it inevitably will.

The opposition which some House Members from Mississippi and Louisiana have expressed in the past does not now serve the best interest of their States or of the lower valley. The seaway bill simply shouldn't be considered from a sectional standpoint for it is no more a sectional matter than are the flood-control and navigational needs of the lower Mississippi Valley which the seaway's proponents have consistently and generously supported. Those needs, by the way, are just as much the responsibility of Members from upland districts as they are of Members whose districts are subject to flooding.

The point of national interest as it is involved in the seaway brings to mind something Maj. Gen. B. L. Robinson pointed out during his recent address in Memphis to the National Society of Industrial Realtors. Said he:

"The St. Lawrence seaway will be one of the greatest resource-development undertakings in history, ranking, in my opinion, with continental projects like the Panama Canal. It will yield important amounts of power; but its main significance will be in the field of navigation.

"Once this seaway is joined to our present developments on the Great Lakes, and once the likes are linked to the Mississippi by the modernization of a 16-foot bottleneck in Illinois—the Calumet-Sag Channel—the consequences will be far-reaching. The East, the West, the Midwest, the South, and, in fact, the entire Nation will derive new industrial and commercial opportunities, and the economy of many areas will doubtless be transformed."

That applies just as much to the lower Mississippi Valley as it does to the areas whose immediate progress is pegged to the seaway's construction.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer of March 4, 1954]

LAST-DITCH TRICKERY

The enemy can be most dangerous at the very point of defeat. Classic instances of this were provided by Germany and Japan near the close of World War II—the Nazis with their guided missiles, rockets and advanced jets, and the Japanese by Baka bombs and kamikaze assault.

A similar situation is now developing in Washington. Foes of the St. Lawrence seaway, realizing they are in for defeat when the issue comes to a final vote within a fortnight or two, are resorting to a number of ham-stringing tactics.

Mr. N. R. Danielian, the man who has pushed hardest for the seaway over the years, put his finger on these latest attacks in a letter to Representative Charles A. Halleck, Republican of Indiana, floor leader of the House.

Several Congressmen, Danielian said, are backing amendments that would cripple the Dondero seaway bill now pending.

One, the so-called Brownson amendment, would make the Government turn to private underwriting sources to finance this country's share of the project.

This would have the effect, argues Danielian, of giving private investors and bankers the power to "veto the carrying out of an established governmental policy."

Per se this would halt any efforts to participate jointly with Canada in the project, because it would be impossible to assure Canada that money needed for our part of the work would be available.

A second proposal would substitute yearly appropriations by Congress to cover building costs rather than financing through Treasury bond issues. Again Canada could not possibly accept such an inconsistent plan. The Senate previously recognized the fallacy of such an idea by killing a similar suggestion by Senator RUSSELL B. LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana.

Others in Congress want to draw up a firm agreement with Canada on toll rates before we start construction. Aside from being entirely unbusinesslike (since we can't predict prices 6 years hence), this is only another disguised attempt to force Canada into going ahead alone.

As Dr. Danielian points out, the only major consideration now left is that we do gain a voice and control in the coming seaway. By tricky amendments the diehards hope to stop even this, since the seaway itself is beyond stopping.

We are confident most Members of the House will not be deceived at this late stage. A few will continue to play out their pretense at protecting regional interests. But the seaway cannot be decided on what is good or bad for Cleveland or New York, for coal or hydroelectric power, for railroads or shipping. National interest is the only criterion.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of March 11, 1954]

HOUSE STALLING SEAWAY ACTION

Time, which daily becomes a more vital element in the question of United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway, has never been of much importance to the House Rules Committee.

The seaway bill is awaiting action in that committee—waiting for a rule, which amounts to permission for the House to take up the matter. The current excuse for committee inaction is that Representative FALLON, Republican of Maryland, a seaway opponent, wants to be present to fight against the bill when the committee takes action. Fallon is one of the Congressmen

who was unfortunately shot down by Puerto Rican fanatics.

The committee must not wait long. Quick House action is essential, for each passing day brings new Canadian determination to get on with the job—the United States cooperating or not. Canada is determined and committed to the seaway and is even becoming reluctant to include us.

The arguments which won Senate support for the seaway and the 23 to 6 approval of the House Public Works Committee decisively call for favorable and quick action by the House.

The seaway is going to be built. Nothing Congress does can stop it. The question this last year has been: Will we allow it to be built without our participation? Will we allow one of our longest water borders to be developed without retaining an equal voice in that development?

Will we lack the vision that has helped in so many past instances to make America grow—the vision to take full advantage of our resources? Only with such vision is it possible to continue our economic and industrial development.

[From the Denver Post of March 4, 1954]

A SEAWAY IS SURE

The relationship between economics, politics and freight rates is never simple. One might expect that the prospect for lower freight rates, as a result of the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, would be universally pleasing to this part of the country, which is so remote that transportation charges are an important consideration in almost all lines of business.

However, while wheat growers, for example, believe the establishment of ocean ports on the Great Lakes would help their export business, sugar beet growers fear that they would have to take less for their crops if Cuban sugar could be laid down in the Chicago market by freighters which had been loaded in Habana.

The beet industry foresees that raw Cuban sugar might be refined in Great Lakes ports if the seaway goes through and Cuban sugar might undersell beet sugar in markets which the beet industry has long supplied.

Thus, opposition to seemingly remote projects can show up in unexpected quarters whenever there is any threat of upsetting long-established patterns of trade, based on freight differentials.

The importance of the beet industry in this part of the country needs no demonstration. More important, however, is the strategic importance of the industry to the country as a whole. No country could fight a war and feed its military personnel and its workers without sugar.

The beet industry has made significant contributions in national strength in two world wars.

It is because of the strategic position of the beet industry that we believe it need not fear crippling competition even though the St. Lawrence seaway is constructed.

Protection of the beet industry through the quota system on sugar has become a part of Government policy. Democratic administrations, which were antiprotectionist in theory, gave birth to the quota system because they recognized that a going sugar industry would always be essential in time of national emergency.

New devices to keep the domestic industry going will be found, we feel sure, if the present quota system does not offer adequate protection after the seaway is a reality.

The seaway proposal, recommended by President Eisenhower and every other President since Woodrow Wilson, has been approved by the Senate, it will come before the House in the near future. Whether the House approves it or not, the seaway will be built by Canada alone if not by Canada and the United States as a joint effort. There is no way the beet industry can stop it.

Self-interest requires United States participation so we will have a voice in the operation of the project and the fixing of its tolls.

[From the Kalamazoo Gazette of March 8, 1954]

DELAY ON THE SEAWAY BILL

The Senate passed the St. Lawrence seaway bill January 20. The House Public Works Committee approved the measure February 3. Shortly after, Representative HALLECK, majority leader of the House, predicted the early passage of the bill. House Minority Leader RAYBURN had already made a similarly confident prediction.

The House Rules Committee, however, has delayed its hearings on the bill; and Representative DONDERO, of Michigan, who is leading the seaway forces, has been pressing for action that will bring the bill to the floor.

Representative DONDERO fears that further delay will play into the hands of the opposition; and, apparently, there is a strong opposition.

It looks, in fact, as if the backers of this legislation would have to roll up their sleeves for some strenuous shoving and hauling as the Detroit Free Press puts it.

Never before has the seaway bill gotten so close to final enactment, as it is now.

But this may be a good time to recall those old adages about counting chickens before the eggs are hatched and many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.

It would be a pity if, through overconfidence or delay, the American people should lose this opportunity to share in the building of the seaway. It may be the last chance we shall have.

A Poor Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to call attention to the following editorial from the Point Pleasant Register for March 27, 1954, which I think sets forth in a very realistic manner some facts relative to our tariff problem:

A POOR EXCHANGE

Suspension of all import duties by the United States, says the Randall Commission, might result in an annual increase in the value on imports to the extent of eight hundred million to a billion dollars a year.

The cost? Two hundred thousand American jobs.

The Commission bases its estimates on the fact that the total value of our imports in 1951 was $10 billion, of which $6 billion came in duty free. Removing tariffs from the remainder of the trade, the Commission estimates, would result in a minimum increase of 8 percent and a maximum increase of 17 percent.

The 200,000-job loss, the Commission says, would be softened somewhat by new job opportunities opened up by the stimulation of two-way foreign trade.

The Commission, of course, doesn't know to what extent tariff removal would stimulate imports. And it doesn't know how many Americans would be forced into idleness. Taking its estimates at face value, however, what gain is there in this increased movement of goods when it means that Americans by the thousands are to be driven from the jobs for which they are fitted?

What the Commission doesn't say is that the loss of these jobs also would mean the closing of thousands of small American industrial plants. What it doesn't say is that the blow would be struck at the great small-industry structure of this country—glasshouses and potteries, foundries, shoe factories, machine shops, tool plants; in short, all the great skilled, handcraft trades. What would we do were a world catastrophe to come along and close the doors to our imports of these vital articles?

What the Commission doesn't say, is that in the struggle of these displaced men to find employment, in the efforts of their employers to stay in business and meet the competition, the wage structure of the land and the living standard of the people would be forced down toward the foreign level. And what is the remedy proposed? Subsidies, compensation for displacement, special-training courses for other employment—all the trappings of relief.

American industry and American workmen want none of this. All they ask is an equalizing tariff—one that will give them an equal break, no more, on the home market with imported products produced by cheap labor in low-living-standard lands.

Further Endorsements of Sullivan Good Stamp Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD two communications I have received endorsing my bill, H. R. 7870, to use some of our vast stocks of Government-owned surplus foods to supplement the inadequate diets of those unfortunate people in the United States who are in actual want.

H. R. 7870 is not intended to be a solution for the surplus food problem or for our unrealistic and inadequate level of grants to people on public assistance, or dependent entirely upon hard-pressed private charities. In its favor, however, I can say that it will materially contribute to the welfare of the needy, while at the same time putting to humane use foodstuffs now piling up in warehouses of one sort or another, instead of being put into the stomachs of the undernourished—the hungry.

One of these letters is from M. Leo Bohanon, executive director of the Urban League of St. Louis, Inc., a member of the Greater St. Louis Community Chest and the Social Planning Council of St. Louis, and an affiliate of the National Urban League.

The other is from Adeline A. Ruenzi, president of the Service Club for the Blind, Inc., an organization in which the blind themselves take the leading role in promoting the causes of the blind and aiding the sightless. Miss Ruenzi, her two vice presidents, the secretary, legal counsel, and all the members of the

board of directors and the advisory board of this organization are identified by the organization as being blind. A civic roster of honorary officers and directors of this organization includes many outstanding St. Louis citizens. But the active leadership of the organization is composed, as I said, almost entirely of blind persons.

The two letters I refer to are as follows:

THE URBAN LEAGUE OF ST. LOUIS, INC.,
St. Louis, Mo., March 12, 1954.

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Thank you very much for sharing with me the proposed House bill H. R. 7870, which provides for the distribution of surplus foods to needy persons.

I heartily agree with and endorse the substance of your bill. I think it would be shortsighted for this Nation to permit surplus foods to go unused with the possibility of spoilage when there are so many needy citizens who could use it.

I wish to commend you for your forthright interest in the needs of the little people of our country.

Sincerely yours,

LEO BOHANON,
Executive Director.

SERVICE CLUB FOR THE BLIND, INC.,
St. Louis, Mo., March 15, 1954.

Mrs. JOHN B. SULLIVAN,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: It has always been my opinion that the needy should have the benefit of any surplus food commodities. As we have so many in our country who are unable to buy their staple foods, it seems only fair and proper that they should be the recipients.

Since the welfare agencies deal with and have the necessary data on those who are in need of assistance it seems the only solution for distribution. The private organizations could be of great value, too, as many are helped through them and no other.

Sincerely,

ADELINE A. RUENZI,
President.

American Legion's Objections to H. R. 7839

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a letter from the director of the national legislative commission of the American Legion in opposition to certain provisions of H. R. 7839, the Housing Act of 1954, which we are scheduled to consider on the House floor, possibly beginning tomorrow.

I think the American Legion and all veterans organizations are concerned over provisions of this act affecting interest rates on Veterans' Administration loans and provisions affecting veterans preference in obtaining housing.

Personally, I fully subscribe to the position taken by the American Legion, which is outlined in the analysis of sections 201 and 201 (1) of H. R. 7839, which follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1954.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PRICE: As you know, the bill H. R. 7839, commonly referred to as the Housing Act of 1954, was reported out by the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 26, 1954, and is scheduled to come up for debate on the floor of the House on March 31, 1954.

The American Legion strongly opposes certain provisions of this bill, namely sections 201 and 201 (1) having to do with fixing interest rates on Veterans' Administration mortgages, and section 901, which has to do with veterans' preference in obtaining war housing.

Under sections 201 and 201 (1) the President would be given power to fix interest rates from time to time, but not in excess of 2½ percent above the annual yield of marketable obligations of the United States having a maturity date of 15 years or more.

Attached please find a memorandum showing the American Legion's objections to this method of fixing the interest rates on veterans' mortgages.

The American Legion also objects to the provisions of section 901 of the bill on the ground they fail to give veterans the same preferences in the purchase of war housing as are contained in the present laws. I attach a separate statement giving our objections in further detail.

Appreciating your interest in the protection of qualified veterans I know these objections will receive your serious consideration. I respectfully request that when H. R. 7839 comes up for consideration in the House you vote to strike sections 201, 201 (1) and 901 from the bill.

Thanking you for your favorable consideration of this request, and with kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

WHY THE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSES SECTIONS 201 AND 201 (1) OF H. R. 7839

INTEREST RATES ON VA MORTGAGES

1. We believe in the maintenance of a separate housing program for veterans under the sole jurisdiction of the VA; we want the present policy continued.

2. The power to regulate interest rates should remain in Congress.

3. We submit that the phrase contained in section 201 "the President is hereby authorized, without regard to any other provision of law" is too broad and that only specific authority should be granted, not only to the President, but to any other Government official who may be concerned.

4. These sections are bound to result in an increase in the interest rate, now fixed at 4½ percent in keeping with the provisions of Public Law 101 of the 83d Congress.

5. The proposed method of fixing interest rates would result in discrimination between veteran home purchasers, due to the fact the rates would vary from time to time, during the same year, depending on the average yield of marketable obligations of the United States.

6. This method of fixing interest is not practical from the standpoint of the veteran-mortgagor or the builder.

7. There is nothing to stop the rate from being increased to 6 percent any time the yield on Government obligations goes to 3½ percent.

8. The big-money interests will not be satisfied until they get the rate on veterans' mortgages up to 6 percent. They are not interested in the veteran as such.

9. The VA advises that the average loan to a veteran in 1953 was $9,480, with a typical maturity of 30 years, and that had the interest rate in 1953 been 5¼ percent rather than 4 and 4½ percent (as it actually was), the veteran would have had to pay an increase in interest of $70.72 for the first year, and $932.83 additional interest over the period of his mortgage. At 5½ percent, 5¾ percent, or 6 percent the amount of interest will, of course, increase accordingly.

10. When the original Servicemen's Readjustment Act (Public Law 346, 78th Cong.) was written, a ceiling was placed on the interest rate on these mortgages in order that there might not be a prohibitive rate charged those who had served in the Armed Forces and for whom the legislation was intended to give some assistance in reestablishing themselves on a sound economic basis. Sections 201 and 201 (1) violate this principle in every respect.

11. Sections 201 and 201 (1) abridge the principle of veterans' preference, and should be stricken from the bill.

WHY THE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSES SECTION 901 OF H. R. 7839

DISPOSAL OF PERMANENT WAR HOUSING WITHOUT REGARD TO VETERANS' PREFERENCE HOUSING LAWS

1. Under the provisions of section 901 (g) (new), the Administrator would be authorized to dispose of any permanent war housing without regard to the preferences, contained in subsections (b) and (c) of the present law (Public Law 475 of the 81st Cong., p. 26).

2. Said subsection (b) of the present law states that preferences in the purchase of any dwelling designed for occupancy by not more than four families and offered for separate sale, shall be granted to veterans over other purchasers for such period as the Administrator may determine and in the following order:

"(1) A veteran who occupies a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold and who intends to continue to occupy such unit;

"(2) A nonveteran who occupies a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold and who intends to continue to occupy such unit;

"(3) A veteran who intends to occupy a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold."

Subsection (c) of the present law grants first preference to groups of veterans organized on a mutual ownership or cooperative basis, etc., where a housing project is to be disposed of.

3. No such preferences are contained in section 901.

4. Section 901 would open wide the door for the the elimination of veterans' preference in the disposal of permanent war housing.

5. It has been the experience of American Legion representatives that many officials of the Housing and Home Finance Agency have absolutely no regard for veterans.

6. While we have confidence in the present Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, there are too many employed in that Agency who feel that preference in the sale of surplus housing to veterans should be eliminated, and we fear those who would actually be responsible for the administration of the law would use this authority to gain their personal desires to deprive veterans of their rights to purchase surplus war housing.

7. We contend that veterans' preference has never hindered the sale of these properties, or worked a hardship on the Housing Agency.

8. Stripped of its legal phraseology, section 901 is nothing more or less than a bold at-

tempt to knock out veterans' preference in the purchase of defense housing.

9. Current economic conditions do not warrant a weakening of the preference laws granted veterans in the field of housing.

10. Section 901 abridges the principle of veterans' reference, and should be stricken from the bill, H. R. 7839.

Small Business: America's Biggest Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. HILL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the April 1954 issue of Nation's Business:

SMALL BUSINESS: AMERICA'S BIGGEST BUSINESS—A MANUFACTURER INTERVIEWS WENDELL B. BARNES, HEAD OF UNITED STATES SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. Barnes practiced law and operated small businesses in Oklahoma before joining SBA. A. C. Grant heads the Atlantic Manufacturing Co., of Hamburg, Pa. His firm, founded in 1946, assembles generator sets.)

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Barnes, will you tell me exactly what the Small Business Administration is?

Mr. BARNES. It is an independent agency created under the Small Business Act of 1953. The law was passed in late July.

Purpose of the agency is described in the preamble to the act, which says the essence of the American economic system of private enterprise is free competition. The preservation and expansion of such competition is basic not only to the economic well-being but to the security of this Nation. It is the declared policy of the Congress that the Government should aid, counsel, assist, and protect, insofar as is possible, the interest of small business concerns in order to preserve free competitive enterprise and to insure that a fair proportion of the total purchases and contracts for supplies and services for the Government be placed with small business enterprises.

The agency is small, as Government agencies go. We have about 500 employees. Roughly a third are in the Washington office.

Mr. GRANT. How do you define small business?

Mr. BARNES. Generally speaking a small business is one that is independently owned and does not dominate in its field. We use a definition that says that any business that has fewer than 100 employees is small and one that has more than 1,000 is large.

In between those limits we use different categories depending on actual statiscal studies we have made based on census data.

If a company does not dominate a field, we feel free to go beyond the definition.

With regard to procurement assistance, we are using the same criteria as the Armed Services—that is, any firm is regarded as small that has 500 or fewer employees, including affiliates.

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Barnes, as Small Business Administrator who are your immediate superiors?

Mr. BARNES. This is an independent agency. My immediate superior is the White House. We have a Loan Policy Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, and myself as Chairman. That Board, however, makes policies only in connection with our lending activities. It has nothing to do with our other activities.

Mr. GRANT. Specifically what is it you do to help small companies?

Mr. BARNES. Our aim is to provide help in three areas that are of major concern to small operators: One, of course, is to help obtain a fair share of Government contracts; two, we assist in getting adequate capital and credit; also, we help in obtaining competent management, technical and production counsel.

Let's stick first to the subject of Government contracts. In addition to helping small firms get direct Government contracts, we can help them get subcontracts from other prime contractors.

From August 1, 1953, to March 1, 1954, SBA field personnel made 1,368 visits to prime contractors and received 3,084 requests from them for small subcontractors. We made 2,283 visits to small firms to obtain first-hand information on equipment capable of doing specified subcontract work, and 5,626 referrals of small-business men to holders of prime contracts.

Mr. GRANT. I notice one thing; you said you made calls to small businesses. Couldn't a small-business man help himself if he would register his facilities with the local SBA office?

Mr. BARNES. Absolutely. We maintain a record of firms which desire either contracts or subcontracts from the Government prime contractors. Those firms are classified and indexed so it is easy to find who they are, what machinery and equipment they have and the special services they can offer. It is to the advantage of each businessman to come to our nearest field office and record there the information about his business that will cause these referrals to come to him.

Mr. GRANT. Do you have a complete list of small businesses or have you just started to compile the list?

Mr. BARNES. It's not a complete list by any means. I suppose it would cover roughly 10 percent of the businesses of the country that would be classified as small manufacturers. But it is the start of what could be a nationwide survey and inventory of businesses.

Mr. GRANT. When different Government agencies are considering a program they usually call in big business. Does anyone from your office attend these meetings to know what's going on so small business can keep abreast of things? Or do we have to take just what's left over?

Mr. BARNES. Many Government agencies ask us to sit in on the decisions as they affect small business. We have representation on practically all of the interagency and industry committees set up by such other departments as the Department of Commerce, the Office of Defense Mobilization——

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Barnes, I'd like to interrupt a minute. You say "as they affect small business." Isn't it true that many times things that affect big business will also affect small business? Recently I heard a news program which said tax considerations are given to certain critical businesses to expand their facilities. They can write their equipment off in a short time. Do you think that special tax consideration was given to big business before it was determined if small business had the needed facilities?

Mr. BARNES. The tax amortization plan embodies certain mobilization goals. Those have been carefully thought out and we have a representative who sits in on decisions on those matters. As a matter of fact, almost daily we represent small-business men who are taking part in that program and it may be that there are instances where tax amortizations are granted to large companies while our small businesses are available. But I don't know of any offhand and we try to watch that carefully.

Mr. GRANT. We built an addition to our facilities when we got a Government contract so that we would not jeopardize our commercial and export business. We spent quite a bit of money. Aren't we eligible for tax amortization on the contract, inasmuch as nothing is being put through the new building except Government work?

Mr. BARNES. You are if you come within the limitations of the program. I am not prepared to say offhand whether you do or not. There are certain goals, as you know, and you have to fit within those. Have you applied for tax amortization?

Mr. GRANT. No, we haven't.

Mr. BARNES. I'll be glad to have someone look into it with you.

I know that you as well as most other small-business men must have been pleased to hear the President's recommendation to Congress. He touched on the subject that comes No. 1 in the order of importance to the owners of most small businesses, and that is, the effect of tax laws on your business. This involves the amount of your earnings which you are able to retail for future growth and expansion.

We feel that the President's proposal, if acted upon favorably by Congress, will provide a stimulant to you and others. Isn't that your feeling?

Mr. GRANT. Yes. Very much so.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Grant, we talked a moment ago about Government contracts. I'd like to tell you how the action of this agency benefits the taxpayer, as well as the small-business man and his employees. In one case, the taxpayers were saved $1,300 when a certificate of competency, which we helped the operator get, led to acceptance of the low bid made by a small-business concern.

Mr. GRANT. You spoke of certificate of competency. What is that, Mr. Barnes? And what is the procedure for getting one?

Mr. BARNES. Being low bidder on a Government contract is not always enough. A Government contracting officer can question the ability—technical and financial—of a company to fulfill a contract it seeks. In such a case the contract might go to a higher bidder.

It's our intent to save Government money whenever possible. So upon application by a company whose ability to fulfill a contract has been questioned, we have specialists analyze the applicant's plant, equipment, and financial situation. On the basis of these findings a certificate of competency can be issued.

Since last August 1 certificates of competency have resulted in Government savings of more than $77,000.

In one example, wherein $1,300 was saved, the Army Ordnance contracting officer was about to disqualify the company.

The small-business man applied to SBA for a certificate of competency. In the meantime, the contracting officer delayed making the award, pending investigation. An industrial specialist of SBA's Philadelphia regional office visited the company along with a financial specialist, to determine productive and financial capabilities.

After review by SBA's regional director in Philadelphia, the specialist's reports were forwarded to Washington along with the regional director's recommendations. We decided that the company did have the productive and financial resources to complete the contract. A certificate of competency was granted and the small firm was awarded the contract.

As a result, the firm and its 20 employees received approximately $82,000 of Government business, and the Government was saved some money. We think that's something the taxpayers are interested in.

Mr. GRANT. It certainly is.

Mr. BARNES. I think you might be interested in some other types of inquiries that come to us.

Mr. GRANT. Yes. I'd like to hear about them.

Mr. BARNES. We are called on for all types of service. In general we try to act as the representative of small business on all matters pertaining to the Government.

We get requests for help in financial matters, Government procurement, rapid tax amortization, help in getting scarce materials, locating machine tools—all types of problems.

We frequently find that we can be of most help by not giving an actual loan. For instance, here's the case of a World War II veteran, a veterinarian, who had established a successful practice after the war. He built and equipped a veterinary hospital in 1952, obtaining a mortgage on the real estate and buying considerable equipment on instalments. His earnings enabled him to meet his fixed obligations until he was recalled to the service in 1953. Although the hospital was leased to another operator, total income was reduced to a point which strained the owner's ability to continue monthly installments and also retire the accounts payable. He therefore sought an SBA loan to consolidate all his debts.

Upon exploring the details of the indebtedness we arranged with the local mortgagee of the real property for a moratorium on the mortgage payments. Also all the obligations on the equipment were consolidated, with our assistance, into a bank loan, which is within the veteran's ability to repay. In this case we gave badly needed help—at no cost to the Government. The example is repeated many times in various ways.

For instance, from my home town of Tulsa, Okla., an acquaintance—a young man—came to see me. He was manufacturing rural fire engines. A number of farmers in an area could buy one of these trucks and thus not only provide safety for their property but also get reduced fire insurance rates.

He had developed his business to the point where he needed additional capital. He wanted a loan. However, we're working with the banks of the country; we're not competing with them. We believe that we should act only when local credit is not available. In his case I was able to refer him to a bank which was pleased to make the loan. When last heard from he was expanding his business and, I hope, selling more rural fire trucks.

Mr. GRANT. Talking about loans, do you use only Government funds in making money available to small businesses?

Mr. BARNES. The funds that we ourselves lend are Government funds. But we also participate with banks which in turn use their funds for part of the loans. At present most of our loans are of that type.

The figure as of March 1 was 37 direct SBA loans approved, totaling about $2,200,000, and 46 bank-SBA participation loans approved, totaling about $3,430,000. The average size loan has been $66,500.

The money we use was appropriated by Congress and placed in a revolving fund in the Treasury. When we use any of those funds we are required to pay interest to the Government, and the interest we charge on loans offsets the interest that we pay.

The revolving fund, of course, is not depleted. The money all comes back, and is available again for lending. The interest charged, it is hoped, will offset any losses. I want to emphasize that the lending function of this agency is only one-third of our activities.

Mr. GRANT. I imagine that your regional offices have to deal with some pretty unusual cases sometimes.

Mr. BARNES. That's right. We frequently confer with people whom we do not feel qualify or need or deserve our help. Here's a letter we recently received. I don't mean to make light of this man's suggestion. But I do feel that it is amusing enough so that he would not mind if I told you about it:

"GENTLEMEN: I have been told that there is good money to be made in conducting and managing the so-called lonesome-heart clubs and other organizations of this kind, and there are some points I should like to clear up.

"First, do you have information—in bulletin form or printed literature—pertaining to this endeavor; second, must one be licensed; third, what cooperation with the post office is required, if any?

"I would appreciate receiving any information and help that you can give me in this matter."

This one stumped us. We finally decided that the business of lonely hearts was so widespread that we'd better classify it as big business.

Fortunately very little of the time of our employees has to be taken up with such trivial matters. Our task is to help businessmen in the ways I've told you about and that's what we try to do.

Mr. GRANT. How does SBA differ from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Small Defense Plants Administration?

Mr. BARNES. The Small Defense Plants Administration was created to help primarily those concerns that were engaged in defense work during the Korean war period. Between 300,000 and 400,000 firms were eligible for assistance. SDPA could not make loans, but was limited to recommending them.

We differ because no such limitation is placed on our activity. We are able to help or to represent all the small-business concerns in the country. Some 4,000,000 units fall into a classification of small business.

As for the RFC, we are limited in our loans under the present law to $150,000 maximum for any one borrower. The RFC had no such limitation. We may participate with other lending institutions, such as banks, in loans greater than $150,000, but our share may not exceed that amount.

Mr. GRANT. What is the limitation on the amount of money you have to lend?

Mr. BARNES. Congress appropriated $55,000,000 for the revolving fund. We have earmarked $5,000,000 of that for disaster loans.

Mr. GRANT. I've never used the loan facilities of SBA but it's always nice to know where you can get money if you can qualify for it.

Mr. BARNES. Of course, in many instances, we help a businessman get a loan and no Government funds are involved at all. For instance, one small company was unable to get a bank loan because of $25,000 in outstanding notes. Our financial advisers showed the proprietor how he could issue company stock in place of notes. The company thereupon was able to obtain its bank loan without further difficulty.

Mr. GRANT. Are the men in your regional offices highly specialized? For example, if I go into an office with a finance problem do the have specialists in that?

Mr. BARNES. Yes; we have financial specialists in all our regional offices. Our men have been selected for qualities that will enable them to bring the maximum amount of service to businessmen. These men have all had business experience. Their assignments are to work in their particular fields. But most of them are equipped to deal with various problems even outside those fields.

Mr. GRANT. What are some of the backgrounds, for example?

Mr. BARNES. Don I. Williams, regional director in Cleveland, was formerly general sales manager of a match manufacturing company, advancing through the ranks to the top sales position. C. I. Moyer, regional director in Kansas City, has been a Kansas banker. He's also a law graduate. He was chairman of the board of the Douglas County State Bank, Lawrence, Kans., and a trustee and chairman of the finance committee of Kiwanis International.

Mr. GRANT. You're talking about the regional directors, Mr. Barnes. But when I go into the office in Philadelphia I find a whole office full of men. I may not even talk with the regional director. To the businessman seeking information or advice, it's important that these other men—the men he actually deals with—be highly qualified too.

Mr. BARNES. Of course it is. And we have men there who by their own experience can reassure you that you're talking with businessmen who know your problems.

Our regional director in Philadelphia is William H. Harman, a former vice president of a locomotive works.

He was also president of a machine tool manufacturing firm and an engineering consultant. He is well known among businessmen in the Philadelphia area.

In his office are men like Joseph Dellert, associate regional director, who has had wide experience with other government agencies and has been an industrial specialist. In addition he has held many responsible engineering jobs with private industry. He is a graduate electrical engineer. Earl R. Smith is production specialist in the Philadelphia regional office. In private industry he has been management engineer and a superintendent of production. He studied engineering and management at the University of Minnesota. George A. Wilson is an expert in lending procedures. Rayson E. Roche is financial specialist. He has had long service with private banking organizations.

There are plenty of others, all of whom have had the right kind of experience and training to qualify them for the jobs they've been assigned. This, I think, will serve as good example of the kind of men who staff our offices.

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Barnes, when a businessman is interested in getting help, does he have to go through anyone else or can he come directly to an SBA office?

Mr. BARNES. He absolutely does not have to go through anyone else. This agency is set up to deal with businessmen and I can't emphasize too strongly that we do not intend to tolerate any influence peddlers. That's why we established offices near their homes—so they could come in and talk with us directly, or write to us and we'll answer directly. We have no influence for sale.

Mr. GRANT. As a small-business man, it's certainly gratifying to know your feelings in this matter. Mr. Barnes, you mentioned loan applications. Last fall I attended a congressional hearing, and the length of time it took to get a loan was brought out. Actually the field office can make a loan in a very short time, can't it? Or does it have to come to Washington for approval?

Mr. BARNES. Certain types of loans—disaster loans, for example—the field offices are set up to handle at that level. These involve small sums. However, the other type loans, the applications having first been processed, come to Washington for final approval.

Mr. GRANT. The application has to go through the regional office first?

Mr. BARNES. It does. That is, a regional office or a branch office. Then we have loan examiners here who review material collected in the field. That is an essential procedure because there must be compliance with laws and loan policies. It is not a time-consuming opertion. It's a matter of a few days before a loan has been acted upon by the loan examiner in Washington and then by an impartial loan-review committee. Next the loan-review committee recommends to the administrator the action to be taken.

The loan-review committee is careful to determine first that the applicant has gone to his own bank and to private sources of money; second, it must be determined whether the bank is willing to participate in a loan with us. Only if all that fails do we consider making the loan ourselves.

Mr. GRANT. Pardon me, Mr. Barnes. Are you talking about a short-term loan or a long-term loan, or both?

Mr. BARNES. Both. However, it's when you get into the longer term loans that businessmen need outside help.

Mr. GRANT. What steps must a businessman take to get a loan from you?

Mr. BARNES. He need only provide us with facts on which we can base judgment as to whether the loan is sound.

Mr. GRANT. Can't a person save time by writing to a regional office first?

Mr. BARNES. Yes. In fact, he can start with his own local bank. Most of the banks have information regarding our loans and he can find out about an SBA loan right in his own town.

He should go to his bank and discuss the credit he needs and try to obtain the loan there. If the bank is unable to advance the credit, he should inquire if the bank would participate in a loan with us. Finally he should assemble information that a borrower has to provide to any lender. If he has all that information and brings it to our field office he can get a rapid answer.

Most of the time consumed in our loan program is taken up by the borrower himself in assembling the credit data necessary to support the loan he seeks.

We have done everything we can to streamline procedure. And as our people work longer under our procedures, we feel that we can take additional shortcuts with safety. We're trying to eliminate redtape and at the same time preserve all the essentials of a sound lending program.

Mr. GRANT. I think the loan program is a good one. One of the toughest problems of the small businessman is financial growing pains. He can have a good business but he can't get the money to operate it. I think your feeling is the same as mine—that is, that small business is the backbone of America.

Mr. BARNES. Well, I'd like to say this: We're not fighting big business. We are representing small business and helping to build up small business. In many cases we can count on big business to assist us in bringing additional help and support for small business. For instance, in subcontracting, big business can do much to spread the work among small contractors. And many managers of big business establishments realize and understand that success depends on the number of small firms—that is, reliable, able small firms—with which they can associate and with whom they can deal to get supplies and materials.

A good example was shown during the war when a few of the major aircraft companies—5 or 6 of them—were able to produce aircraft at the rate of 100,000 a year. An unheard of, undreamed of figure. Anyone who knows anything about it at all understands, and certainly those companies would be the first to say, it wasn't those 5 or 6 companies by themselves that did the job. It was the 7,000 subcontractors and suppliers who provided materials and parts that went into the final assembly.

I'm sure that in your own business you use suppliers in producing your final product. And I'm sure that you'd say it's the excellence of your suppliers that contributes to the success you have had in your business.

Mr. GRANT. That's right. Now I'd like to ask what consideration will SBA give to small business operating in areas of labor surplus?

Mr. BARNES. We have been studying the problem of labor surplus areas and realize the importance of this general subject, which is a situation that has occurred, we feel, by reason of the end of the Korean war.

With the ending of the war and the ending of an inflationary spiral—a condition that had existed for a number of years—the purchasing and procurement plans of the Defense Department have been readjusted. This period of readjustment, we feel, is temporary.

Nonetheless, there is a problem and we've got to recognize it. We're not going to put our heads in the sand. We're going to find what can be done about it. In most cases the businessman will, by his own ingenuity, find the fields and the activities that will restore the business balance and revitalize his business.

Of course, there are many favorable aspects in the picture. The largest baby crop in history is going to produce more purchasers for practically all types of goods, services, and materials.

To the alert businessman and alert advertiser, here is a ready-made market—if he can find out what this new large segment of the population will buy. It might be all-day suckers or marbles at present. But next year it will be bobby-sox; and the year after, perhaps scooters and sports roadsters. There is ample opportunity for the man who is able to recognize and seize opportunities.

But the areas of stress and strain are the ones in which the larger activities have ceased or where economic changes have taken place. We can't, for instance, revitalize an industry that has priced itself out of existence. That's not a Government function. We can't take action to stave off business failure where a man has been unwise in his investment and in the activities which he has selected for his factory or shop.

We can have information available as to what other people in other areas have found to be good investments and good activities. In specific labor areas these are some of the things we have done:

In a bulletin to all SBA field representatives, I have reemphasized the importance of the SBA program of making available information on defense contracts and thereby increasing the number of defense contracts placed in labor surplus areas, and pledge support of SBA to small firms seeking tax write-offs for defense plants located in labor surplus areas.

I have ordered specifically that: 1. Priority be given to applications for loans from small business in critical areas. 2. SBA stand ready to advise and counsel small business concerns that file for rapid tax amortization benefits.

I have also ordered SBA representatives in the various procurement centers of the armed services to make available to the regional and branch offices of SBA bid sets, prints, and specifications when available, on all procurement under joint determination as well as all other procurement opportunities that can be produced in labor surplus areas.

Beyond that, we can encourage factories in labor surplus areas to get their names on Government bidders' lists so that they may receive information on contract opportunities.

We can, if need be, send our production specialists in to look over their plants and see if we can make suggestions that would make their operation more economic and profitable.

Mr. GRANT. You just spoke of procurement under joint determination. What do you mean by that?

Mr. BARNES. Joint determination is our name for action we take, jointly with the military or other Government purchasing agency, to earmark certain proposed procurements exclusively for small business.

Here is the way this program works: We have procurement specialists in the major purchasing offices of the military. There, in cooperation with the military procurement specialists, proposed procurements are screened. We attempt to get all or a part of those found suitable for award to small firms earmarked exclusively for competition among small firms under our joint determination program. So far we have earmarked about $143 million worth of contracts for small business.

We sometimes go much farther than that to help a small firm get a Government contract. It sometimes happens that the small firm is low bidder, but the procurement official raises a question as to his competency. In such cases we can issue the certificate of competency we spoke of earlier.

We're working on something else that will interest you too. We're making management extension courses available through the cooperation of colleges and universities.

Our thinking behind this is that out of the 306,000 businesses which go out of existence in this country every year, roughly 40 percent fail or cease to exist because of lack of managerial ability, and failure to make proper decisions. Many of those business units could be saved.

Therefore, we have been working with colleges and universities, many of whom are already in this field, to bring extension courses to the businessman's home town so that he can have a current review of the subjects that are of importance to him.

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Barnes, its been a pleasure to talk with you here in Washington. Stop in at Hamburg and see us, won't you?

Mr. BARNES. Thank you for coming, Mr. Grant. I hope that you'll come to see me again and call on us if we can ever be of further assistance to you in your business.

1. SMALL BUSINESS: WHAT IT IS

Standards for defining small business can be as elusive as flights of mallards over a misty marsh. No scientific standards exist. However, there are same serviceable definitions.

The United States Department of Commerce coined one of them 3 years ago when, after studying 452 industries, it concluded that—in manufacturing—number of employees is the most reliable test of size. It decided that any company with 100 employees or fewer was small, and any with 2,500 was large. It added that, in liquors and electrical appliances, for example, a firm with 1,000 employees is small.

This definition has some deficiencies. A steel company, for example, with 1 percent of the country's steel capacity shows assets of $157 million and a payroll of 16,500 workers. An automobile maker with around 4 percent of total car sales is capitalized at $195 million and employs 27,000 workers. In their own industries, both these corporations are small business. They would be immense in apparel, brick, cutlery, dental supplies and on down the list from machine tools to textiles and woodworking.

Obviously a more precise measurement was needed and, in the Small Business Act of 1953, Congress tried to provide it: "* * * a small business concern shall be deemed to be one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operations."

The Pentagon, in awarding defense contracts, observes this definition but augments it by setting 500 or fewer employees as an additional dividing line between small and large.

The Small Business Administration also uses the 500 employee figure in its efforts to help small manufacturing plants obtain defense contracts and to determine whether or not a concern is eligible for a loan.

For all other purposes, however, SBA defines a manufacturing concern as small if it has 100 or fewer employees and large if it has 1,000 or more. Plants with average employment between these figures are either small or large depending on the nature of the industry involved and its employment pattern. Hence establishments with 250 or fewer employees are small in textile bags, canning and preserving (except fish), pickles and sauces, wood office furniture, scientific instruments, lead pencils and

crayons. Organizations with 500 or fewer employees are small in explosives, salt, storage batteries, insulated wire and cable, watches and clocks, footwear (except rubber), and machine tools. Companies with 1,000 or fewer are considered small in medicinal chemicals, soap and glycerin, motors and generators, radios and related products, and photographic equipment.

Since, in some manufacturing lines, employment fluctuates in the course of a year, SBA's measurements of size also take into account a concern's average employment for the preceding year.

Except in manufacturing—and nearly all mining—annual sales volume is the most dependable measure of size. In wholesale trade, for example, economists have long agreed that a volume of $2 million a year or below stamps a firm as small. SBA from the first adopted this as one standard of small size. It did not suffice, however, to cover all wholesale trade. The SBA soon found that it had also to regard as small any establishment with annual sales of $5 million or below in coal and coke (yards), coffee, tea, spices, cotton, general lines in drugs, groceries, hardware, electrical, and drygoods, farm-dairy machinery and equipment, electrical appliances and equipment, general merchandise, grain, meat and meat products, nonferrous metals and metal work, piece goods, converters, household refrigerator equipment, tires and tubes, tobacco leaf, and mohair wool.

Where a wholesale enterprise also engages in manufacturing, it cannot be designated as small unless, in both sides of its activity, it conforms to SBA definitions.

In retail and service trades, the SBA defines as small, companies whose sales total $300,000 or less, except for lumber yards and dealers in farm equipment and building materials. For them the figure is $500,000, or less. For department stores and dealers in new and used motor vehicles, the dividing line is $1 million.

Although these figures in sales volume and employment serve as useful guides to the SBA and other United States agencies when it comes to government relations with small business, they do not cover all the gradations of smallness in the retail field.

The National Retail Dry Goods Association, for example, has 7,000 members, 2,000 of them—comprising the topmost layer among United States department store and specialty shops—with annual sales per unit ranging from $2 million to $20 million and in a few instances even to $200 million. The association's other 5,000 members, even though classified in its smaller stores division, form the next to the highest bracket in United States retailing with the yearly gross per establishment ranging from $150,000 to $2 million.

Actually, for an estimated two-thirds of United States retail merchants, annual average sales run below $55,000. This is also the ceiling for about 70 percent of the firms in the service category: eating and drinking places, laundries, barber and repair shops, and so on.

Adding to all these complications is the fact that every section has some operation which is big by regional or local standards even if, nationally, it is toward the bottom of the scale.

Hence any answer to the question "what is small business?" must include, in addition to the usual yardsticks, such other characteristics as these:

The typical small business is independently controlled. It is both job and investment for its principals. Its funds come from the proprietor or partners, often with help from relatives or friends. In two-thirds of all American business started with an original investment of less than $50,000, the money comes from the owner's personal savings.

For its financing, small business depends primarily upon commercial and bank credit. Its growth results from plow-back of earnings. It has direct contacts between owner, employees, customers. It has close ties with the community, its churches, schools, and other organizations, economic, civic, social, fraternal, cultural. Its market tends to be limited in geographic scope.

2. SMALL BUSINESS: ITS PROBLEMS

An analysis of small-business problems faces the danger of overemphasis. Problems usually are identified only as they reach proportions which prompt the man who faces them to complain. Thousands of businessmen continue day after day facing problems, solving them as a matter of course, and proceeding to the next job at hand.

Even those who are hurt today, once they get help, will not complain tomorrow. Nor does any businessman constantly face and find insurmountable all the problems listed here.

However, research shows that the problems which affect small business most frequently and seriously are primarily three: The need for better skills; the need for money; the need for tax relief.

Big business has elevated the function of management to the status of the learned professions. Like law or medicine this requires a great deal of training both for and on the job. It also requires a high degree of specialization.

This is probably one reason why recent graduates of business training schools have expressed increasing interest in making connections with large companies.

Small business demands even more training than big business—but of a different sort. Required here are general, rather than specific skills. The small-business man must be versatile. He may, for example, have to prepare a sales campaign, hire a foreman, repair a machine, pack a rush order, assist the bookkeeper with the annual audit, soothe a dissatisfied customer, negotiate with the union or the bank—all tasks which specialized personnel handles for big business.

This does not mean that the small business executive is expected to become a universal genius and stump the experts in every field. It does mean that, unless he acquires a working knowledge in the fundamentals of modern management, whether in quality control or record keeping or store layout, he puts himself at a disadvantage.

Unlike the big business, the small concern can seldom call on outside experts to meet an immediate but temporary need.

However, the alert small operator does not have to operate by intuition or cut-and-try methods. The country abounds in how-to manuals and books on every phase of management. Many of them provide standard tests against which the businessman can measure his own performance. Even when such volumes are written with the big company in mind, they have value since the small firm must cope with essentially the same problems. The difference is in degree, not in kind.

Help will be found in the publications of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the 4,000 local chambers of commerce, the 12,000 trade associations, and other organizations. The handbooks and studies of the Small Business Administration, the United States Department of Commerce, the articles in trade and technical journals and business magazines are also rich sources of helpful information.

Or, if he prefers the spoken to the written word, he may seek—and obtain—help from his local chamber of commerce, his trade association and his suppliers.

Just how generally the small businessman takes advantage of these opportunities for instruction is another matter. A survey of small businessmen conducted in the mid-1940's revealed that only 1 out of 12 mentioned the possibility of his own shortcomings as a factor handicapping his company's progress; and, when colleges and universities set up special extension courses tailored to the requirements of small businessmen, they found that the businessman frequently enrolled a subordinate in the course but did not take it himself.

Indications that this attitude is changing today are encouraging the Small Business Administration in cooperation with various educational institutions to set up new courses for small-business men.

The fact remains that the necessity of being if not expert at least adept in many complex fields may be the number one small-business problem.

Serious, too, is the problem of money.

Despite the liberalization of credit policies the past quarter of a century as banks, insurance, and finance companies have gone beyond accounts receivable to loans on warehouse receipts and customer installment pledges, the small-business man often has trouble in borrowing for a year or more. Unlike big business which can readily tap public investment funds, small business must rely basically on its credit when it needs money, and loans on this basis are usually for short terms.

This explains why the Small Business Administration can expect to be besieged by requests for long term loans; why there has been such an upsurge of interest in regional financing groups typified by the Development Credit Corp. of Maine. This is in essence, a credit pool with a stock of some $600,000 subscribed to by 39 banks, trust, and insurance companies as well as by individuals. Some 14 months after its formation it had granted loans to 20 small-business undertakings, employing from 3 to 525 people, and including textile, shoe, food processing plants, machine shops, and a maker of baseball bats. It also provides production and marketing guidance as do most of the 60-odd similar organizations around the country.

However, even when private and public lending agencies grant loans for working capital up to 10 years, these are no genuine substitute for equity capital, notably the outside investment of savings in business enterprise. Obtaining this kind of money is a real problem for small business. The depression did much to impair the traditional American willingness to risk. Private investors, for a whole generation, have been searching for safety through big name stocks and Government bonds. High taxes from 1940 forward have drastically depleted the amount of venture capital nationally available, some of which could have gravitated toward small business. Hence, when small business attempts to attract outside investment, it faces severe handicaps. To begin with, it is comparatively obscure; as a small business, even though it may be 25 years old, its future is usually held to be at best uncertain and at worst hazardous. It generally requires sums up to $500,000.

But the major investment houses regard as unprofitable the handling of any security issue less than $2 million although a few will, upon occasion, take on a $1 million offering.

To be sure, if a small firm today seeks to float a security issue not exceeding $300,000, it has only to file the appropriate papers, including a financial statement with the SEC under short-form regulation A and wait some 10 business days for the SEC to inspect and clear. The firm is therefore exempt from the more legalistic, and complicated process of SEC registration for amounts above $300,000, which lasts from a month to half a year and calls for the most meticulous details of both the firm's operations and the sale of its offering. A bill now in Congress would increase this to $500,000.

Nevertheless, the expenses involved for, say, a $300,000 offering are formidable, while a security dealer willing to act as agent can promise only that he will do his best. Commissions and related charges run to 25 percent of the total for $75,000; shares in an unknown concern are considered highly speculative and entail particularly vigorous

selling efforts. Legal, accountancy and other fees, together with outlays for preparing the prospectus, printing, advertising, incidentals, amount to another $25,000. Thus, it may cost a small business $100,000 to try to raise $300,000. Furthermore, the business will be fortunate, even if it is a long established firm, if it can dispose of two-thirds of the issue to outside investors; new ventures often have to be content with one-third.

As a result, the small business with a fine record and brilliant prospects, along with the innovator of a new process or product, finds access to the capital market difficult. It is this financial void, together with the difficulty of small business encounters in arranging for long-term loans, that is fostering the demand for Government backing of capital banks for small-business financing. They would be chartered by the Federal Reserve System, given a special set of rules under which financial institutions and individuals within a community or region could buy stock. The capital banks would be empowered both to make long-term loans to small business and to purchase its security issues.

Pending establishment of this mechanism or some other new social invention which would do for the financing needs of small business what installment purchasing has done for the buying needs of the consumer—the small firm must depend on whatever profits it can keep after taxes to meet its money problems.

This brings it face to face with the problem of taxation—and the Federal tax structure has hardly favored small business.

The excess-profits tax, now rescinded, and the normal tax, which will remain essentially in effect, have restricted small business expansion. Together they have not only curtailed the amount of capital that could be retained from earnings but also made it tougher to acquire outside financing of every kind on a satisfactory basis.

The United States Treasury's position, up to this year, on depreciation allowances has been a further handicap. It ignored the fact that, with taxes draining up to 70 percent of a small firm's earnings, every extra dollar permitted on depreciation of a machine tool or store fixture could mean a recouping of 70 cents of added capital to replace obsolete equipment, develop new lines. And the limitation of the loss carry-back to a single year was often damaging to the small firm recovering from a bad period.

Various administration measures portend at least the beginnings of tax relief for small business in most of these and other areas. At the moment, however, some small companies object strenuously to the Mills plan for accelerating tax payments. It stipulates that a corporation has to pay 45 percent of 1953 tax in each of the first 2 quarters of 1954, and the remainder in 1955. Although the administration has urged that in the autumn of 1955 a start be made toward a pay-as-you-go tax procedure, the intervening period of transition can force the small company, with scanty reserves, to borrow to meet levies for both the current and previous year.

3. SMALL BUSINESS: ITS STRENGTH

In one basic sense, small business is the biggest business in America. It accounts for 96 percent of our 4,212,000 enterprises (excluding farms and professional offices) and for nearly half the value of all goods and services.

The bulk of small business, about 63 percent, is found among our 1,864,000 retail and 740,000 service establishments. The remaining 37 percent is distributed among the 38,000 firms in mining and quarrying; the 434,000 in construction, the 338,000 in manufacturing, and the 186,000 in transportation, communication and public utilities.

The whole structure of the American economy is based upon the existence of both big business and small business and a mutually favorable climate for operation. Huge automobile manufacturers are successful and continue to grow because thousands of dealers—small-business men—sell cars to people who want and need them. Giant oil companies develop and produce petroleum products that can only be distributed through widely dispersed small business outlets. A steel corporation employing thousands of workmen produces sheet steel for autos sold by independent car dealers, steel beams used by an independent building contractor, and tin plate that is made into cans, filled by a packing house, sold to a wholesaler, then to a retailer and finally to the consumer.

Yet some observers believe that small business has just about reached the summit of its importance in American economy and is destined for a long, slow slide downward. These observers compare the gradual 10-percent drop in small manufacturing sales from early 1951 through the last quarter of 1953 to the gains for big manufacturing in the same period and describe them as typical of a long-term trend for every sector of small business. They say that if 1954 should bring even a 5- to 6-percent drop in overall economic activity, sharper competition would combine with revenue losses to force an unusually high number of small firms to the wall.

Such forecasts ignore the staying power of small business throughout the history of our economic evolution as well as the recent upsurge of new ideas and activities designed to maintain and even enlarge the role of small business.

The ability of small business to do much more than merely survive has persisted in the face of the vast changes of the past 100 years as the Nation was being transformed from a mainly agricultural society to the world's most highly industrialized economy.

In 1854 there were an estimated 310,000 small-business firms out of a population of 26,500,000. Today there are 4 million small-business firms out of a population of about 162 million. Thus, while population has increased more than 6 times, the number of small-business firms has increased nearly 13 times.

During the past 50 years, the number of business units of all sizes has increased 2½ times while population has about doubled. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 21 business concerns per 1,000 of population; today there are 25. Since World War II business firms has increased by 35 percent as against a 14-percent growth in population.

Frequently certain competitive disadvantages have loomed large in the thinking of men in small business. Yet, to overcome them, small business often has mobilized its forces effectively to pare costs, to sell more energetically, to form buying pools or to insist on a greater share of defense contracts. Recently the new public awareness of the connection between small business and economic freedom has been attested by the establishment of the Small Business Administration, the first full-fledged Government agency concerned with self-help for all small firms.

Small-business executives show a growing realization of the need to educate themselves in modern management methods. There are also signs of a more conscious desire to have their voices heard in national economic policy.

Despite depression, or recession, the underlying pattern of our economic development has enabled small and big business to flourish side by side because the economy as a whole has continued expanding. To keep it expanding is the primary economic objective to which the present administration is committed.

4. SMALL BUSINESS: ITS FAILURES

The mortality rate of small business is high. Management shortcomings in one form or another cause most business failures. Yet mortality figures are deceptive.

Two million small businesses were started between 1947 and 1952, and only 125,000 of these remained at the end of the period. But only about 4 percent of these discontinuances could properly be described as business failures due to such factors as bankruptcy, foreclosure, withdrawal with unpaid obligations, or involvement in court actions such as receivership.

On the other hand, almost 40 percent of small business discontinuances actually involve simply a change of ownership. Furthermore, the proprietor of a small business might retire and find no successor. In that case liquidation could not be ascribed to insolvency. A fireplace contractor might return for a year to his old craft as a bricklayer when times are slack. Records in this area are fragmentary, obscure, and complicated by informal settlements with creditors.

But for cases of actual failure, specific information on the reasons is available. Although poor management is the major cause, external factors play a large part.

A calamity, like the depression of 1929–39, does sweep under thousands of firms—not all of them small—that otherwise could have prospered or at least kept going. Even the 1949 dip claimed its casualties. The shutdown of a mine or mill on which local employment mainly depends, or a materials shortage during a war, a decline in a region's population, and the deterioration of a neighborhood can lead to failure. So, too, can changes in technology, in fashions, or in sports.

Nevertheless, a 1953 Dun & Bradstreet survey into the causes of business failure discloses that—

1. Fifty and three-tenths percent resulted from incompetence. That category included basic miscalculations of market for the product made, merchandise carried, bad choice of location, and uncertain estimates of overhead.

2. Sixteen and eight-tenths percent resulted from unbalanced experience. Under that heading Dun & Bradstreet included failures due to the operators not being well-rounded in finance, purchasing, production, promotion, and related functions.

3. Eleven and three-tenths percent resulted from lack of managerial skill in handling pivotal operations such as work flow in the plant, display in the store, inventories, customer credits, or labor relations.

4. Eleven percent resulted from lack of experience in a particular line. This factor predominated in such cases as the shift of a manufacturer from compacts to TV set components, or a retailer from electrical appliances to carpeting, or a contractor from ranch houses to office buildings.

Only 4.9 percent of these failures are explained by neglect; 3.5 percent are due to fraud; 1.3 percent to disaster, and 0.9 percent to reasons unknown.

The study seems to point also to the fact that the first 5 years are the hardest. A little more than 58 percent of the failures were in business 5 years or less; 26.7 percent between 6 and 10 years; and 14.8 percent 10 years or more.

Although it is rarely a sole reason for failure, a major contributing reason for the death of small business is a lack of long-term financing. This is worth looking at, because competitive ability in the days ahead often will depend upon access to enough capital to buy goods in quantity, to install new equipment to improve the product or reduce costs, to enlarge the sales force, or to develop new lines.

A third supplementary reason for small business failure, though not often a decisive one, is the way the United States tax structure, until now, has hurt the small firm. Under the excess-profits tax, for example, a new small business became subject to the 82-percent levy as soon as earnings passed the $25,000 mark. By contrast, a corpora-

tion with $1 million in earnings might (under some circumstances) be subject only to the 52-percent rate. Even with the repeal of EPT, however, the regular corporate tax will continue to siphon off as much as half of all profits.

Small business has to rely upon its own capital accumulations if it is to expand or hold its own. Spokesmen for small business urge that it be granted higher exemptions under a new graduated-tax procedure based on differentials in size.

Whatever the outcome of proposals to aid small business, the study of its failures has brought agreement that managerial efficiency, financing, taxation are inseparably linked and will dominate both private and Government action on small-business problems.

5. SMALL BUSINESS: ITS ENVIRONMENT

The new buyers' market is forcing the small-business executive to face up to the most intense competition he has known in years. Today's keener rivalry is not only between firms in the same field, but between whole industries and trades.

Aluminum competes with steel, and both compete with plastics.

Coal struggles for the market against oil, the movies versus TV, the automobile versus home freezers, and every one of these versus every other.

Competition between industries and trades always has existed, just as the consumer always has had to decide what portion of income he could spend on particular goods and services. But there are three profound differences between any other previous period and our own:

1. Never before has there been such a variety and profusion of alternative commodities on which to spend money, nor such an intensity in the way each bids for a larger share of the consumer's dollar.

2. Never before has there been such a vast number of people with money left over after paying for necessities, such as food, shelter, and clothing. Economists call it discretionary spending power, and report that the amount now available to 24 million families in the middle-income group ($3,000 to $5,000 a year, after taxes) is 4½ times greater than in 1940.

3. Never before has there been such widespread competition between whole trades and industries * * * a condition which has been blurred by World War II and the sellers' market of the past 8 years, but is now coming into clear focus.

This new form of the contest for business puts far less emphasis on price differences for the same grade of product than it does for such other factors as design, color, styling, packaging, novelty, or quality. Price remains important, but its importance has been dwindling during the past 30 years.

To some extent, this has been due to pressures exerted by firms within an industry or trade to standardize quotations per ton, or markups per garment, for example, to maintain price conformity. Far more fundamentally, however, the lessening significance of price as a factor in competition results from our modern technology and our methods of production and distribution. They have combined to create an underlying uniformity of costs which, in turn, fosters uniformity in prices in whatever we make and sell, from cars to candy bars.

In mining and manufacturing, for example, labor costs are essentially fixed by collective-bargaining contracts which are becoming increasingly national or regional in scope. Even when hourly rates differ between areas, the practice of paying the prevailing scale tends to equalize wages within a particular locality whether in bauxite or textiles. The same thing is true, but less evenly, for personnel in retail and wholesale trades and commercial service.

Furthermore, excise and social security taxes are everywhere identical. Standard railroad rates, set on a national or regional basis, are reflected in the prices of copper, bulldozers, frozen shrimp, and everything else. When a milling company buys wheat, the price spread is limited by the parity program for agriculture. Similarly inflexible are outlays for electric light and power, water supply, or telecommunications.

Control over costs, and thus over prices, has been continually narrowed by the very way we have organized our economy in response to new machines, new methods, and new mentalities. This explains why emphasis has been steadily shifting away from price competition toward product improvement, better merchandising, and other efficiency areas where there is more room for maneuvering.

In other areas such as food, prices retain more of their traditional sway. Yet even here, the proprietor of many a neighborhood grocery can testify that delivery service or the stocking of specialty items can offset lower price lures.

Only when small business fully grasps the nature of this new competition, where price is no longer the sole ruler of the market, can it ready itself for an active role in the next phase of our economic revolution. That phase is a more conscious cooperation within an industry in the face of increasing competition between industries.

In the days ahead, producers and distributors alike will find that their real selling problem does not grow from rivalry with their respective opposite numbers. Success will depend instead on how well all members of their economic section can work together to maintain or increase their share of the consumer's dollar against the persuasions of other industry alinements.

Big business sometimes does make small business overdependent upon it. Yet auto and other dealers have successfully organized to protest what they feel is arbitrary action by a manufacturer. And, though a large manufacturer occasionally decides to make itself a part previously supplied by a vendor, countless jobs remain for small firms to perform. The aviation industry, for example, includes 60,000 subcontractors. A single electrical company has 17,000.

Quite as important is the nearly $3 billion big business spends in 1 year on research.

This keeps opening up new frontiers of opportunity for small business, whether in manufacturing, merchandising, or service.

From 1954 forward, profits will go increasingly to the industry or trade lineup which best stimulates participation of every business firm with a stake in the success of a particular commodity.

In the recent past some executives of both small and big business, in the same economic sphere, have been aware that their aims and activities are interlocking. For some others this idea has been only a club-car platitude.

However, in today's economic environment of a buyers' market within the framework of the new competition, many more small and big businesses will be discovering how interdependent they actually are.

6. SMALL BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT

Three hundred and ninety bills to aid small business were introduced in Congress between 1933 and 1944. In the course of the 81st Congress, 46 others were proposed. A single month of the 82d brought 13 more.

This is not a recent trend.

Congressional concern with small business dates back to the Antitrust Act of 1890. The Clayton Act of 1914 also sought to prohibit combinations to control the market. In the same year the Federal Trade Commission was set up with a deceptively simple mandate—stop unfair competition. This was also the avowed objective of the Robinson-Patman Act (1936) designed to put all buyers of a commodity on an equal footing, and of the Miller-Tydings Act (1937) to prescribe resale prices of trade-marked goods. The McGuire (Fair Trade) Act of 1952 carried this doctrine even further.

Practically, these laws were antibigness in purpose rather than prosmallness—a kind of indirection that was changed by the act establishing the Small Business Administration some 15 months ago. This organization is unique for three reasons:

1. It is the first Government agency created by Congress to assist small business in peacetime as well as in war or other national emergency.

2. It is the first Government agency whose jurisdiction covers all 4 million small-business establishments. The Small War Plants Corporation (World War II) and the Small Defense Plants Corporation (Korea) confined their activities respectively to some 280,000 and some 300,000 small industrial concerns.

3. It has been given a comparatively meager appropriation, in view of the omnibus nature of its assignment. Congress granted SBA a revolving fund of $275 million. Of this, $100 million is earmarked for helping small plants on Government contracts.

Another $25 million is reserved for disaster loans and $150 million for regular business loans up to a maximum of $150,000 and 10 years. For fiscal 1954 Congress authorized only $55 million for the latter two operations. Since disaster loans will take about $5 million—unless floods, tornadoes, and sandstorms suddenly abate—only $50 million remains for loans of the ordinary commercial type.

By contrast, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, whose small-business lending functions the SBA inherited, lent more than $100 million a year for the 11.9 percent of its borrowers in the small, or under $100,000, class.

Despite such limitations, Wendell B. Barnes, Administrator, is confident that SBA will be not only a source of direct aid to small business but will teach it to help itself. In his view, SBA's major contribution over the long run will be to stimulate community programs that can fuse private resources—educational and financial institutions, trade associations, chambers of commerce—into a grassroots movement to strengthen small business. He also declares that no Government agency should attempt to underwrite incompetence, or to guarantee success for anybody, since the right of entry into business always implies the risk of exit.

Mr. Barnes is an energetic 44-year-old lawyer-businessman who grew up in Oklahoma.

"Look at it this way," he says. "We'll always have to have the big integrated corporations for automobiles, planes, ships, railroad equipment, heavy goods. But, at the same time, we have to provide more equal opportunity to start a small business or to succeed in an existing one. Otherwise, we're just kidding ourselves when we talk about competitive enterprise.

"The small businessman," he continues, "is a builder, and one of our best incubators of new ideas. He's a friend of freedom—every kind, economic and political. Hitler in Germany knocked off the small-business men first. He knew that when he got rid of them he could easily fit the big combines and cartels into the totalitarian state. But the state could never dominate 4 million small-business men who are used to risking their property and security every day—they would never let it come into existence, in the first place. They are our best insurance against getting that kind of government here."

Although the SBA cannot supply equity capital, it can make loans when the applicant meets credit tests of good character, proven ability to conduct his business and can provide reasonable security. Under SBA rules, no applicant can get financial assistance unless he first proves that his own bank

has refused him either because his request exceeds its legal limit or violates its customary practices. He has to demonstrate also that he cannot raise money through sale or mortgage of assets not directly needed in his business.

No SBA loan in any form is available to recreational or amusement enterprises, to a distillery, liquor store, brewery or bar, to proprietors of racetracks, or of gambling places, or for investment or speculative purposes. Excluded also are newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, and all other media of communication—Congress didn't want any organization dealing in news or opinion to be beholden to the Government lest this pave the way to a kept press.

The 71 financial specialists in SBA's 32 regional offices display considerable ingenuity in counseling small firms on how to obtain financing. A cosmetics manufacturer who required $100,000 for working capital was steered to several insurance companies, one of which accommodated him. An SBA representative analyzed the setup of a small printing firm that needed $5,000, and pointed out that, by assigning a new contract, together with some equipment, it could successfully reapply to the local bank, which it did.

Only when such other alternatives have been exhausted does the SBA act. Sometimes it participates with a bank by taking a portion of the loan. It prefers, however, its deferred participation plan under which the bank provides the entire sum but arranges with SBA to buy up to 90 percent of the loan, on demand, at any time. As a last resort, there is the direct loan by which SBA assumes the entire risk.

Out of 431 business loan applications between October 1953 and February 1954 the SBA approved 12.8 percent, or 55 (23 direct, 32 participiation), while 91 were declined or withdrawn. Those O. K.'d ranged from $2,500 to the statutory top of $150,000 (the average to date is $66,500) and went typically to a greenhouse, a veterinary establishment, a sawmill. On the procurement front, they were granted to small plants producing tractors for the Marine Corps, parts for a Navy rocket launcher, litter racks for the Army Medical Corps, sheet metal for Air Force planes. In the civilian area SBA loans are helping small firms to smelt aluminum scrap, produce wheat flour and livestock feed, construct a grain elevator, reassemble a used coal-washing plant.

In its loans, as in its other functions, the SBA regards itself as champion and counselor for small business. It is exploring with banks, private investment groups, and insurance companies various proposals to adapt their lending policies more flexibly to small business needs. It is pushing the idea of the credit development corporation, as a local or regional capital pool in which shares are jointly held by banks, business enterprises, individuals. It maintains watchful liaison with procurement centers in Washington, D. C., and 34 other cities to attract to small business its legitimate share of contract awards. It advises small plants on joining their forces for public bids and private subcontracts. Together with the State governments, it is compiling a national inventory of small business facilities for defense purposes.

In addition it speeded decontrol of nickel on behalf of some 3,800 small concerns in electroplating houseware, surgical supplies, automotive parts. Its trouble-shooting production experts recently showed a Florida machine shop how to catch up with its late deliveries of army shells by improving drop-forge operations.

To help the small-business man help himself the SBA releases a constant flow of management guidance pamphlets, booklets, manuals. They cover pricing policy on government bids, materials controls, employee relations, new opportunities in radioisotopes, and the way advertising agencies can serve small business.

It has also arranged with the University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee) and four other educational institutions to cosponsor courses for small-business men. The usual course will run 2 hours a night each week for 2 months. Attendance will be limited to about 25 businessmen who have been previously canvassed on what studies they prefer. Professors and other experts in accounting, merchandising, finance, taxation, production, engineering and related subjects will lecture and conduct discussions.

Meantime, further aid to small business is pending from other government sources.

The Senate has passed, without objection, and sent to the House a bill introduced by Senator CAPEHART (Republican, Indiana) to exempt stock offerings of less than $500,000 from SEC registration rules.

Other administration proposals could, if adopted, bring such benefits as:

1. Increases in plow-back capital from funds derived by scaling up depreciation allowances.

2. Step-by-step easement, over the next 3 years, of double taxation on dividend income, thus making more risk capital available to the smaller concern.

3. Wider latitude for the small-business executive to decide what earnings he can retain for expansion.

4. Extension of loss carryback from 1 to 2 years to enable the new business to offset early losses against subsequent profits.

In the days ahead, as in the past, the political popularity of small business will continue to influence, in considerable degree, its economic well-being.

Small Business Administration has 32 field offices:

REGIONAL OFFICES

Atlanta, Ga.: 50 Seventh Street NE.
Boston, Mass.: 40 Broad Street.
Chicago, Ill.: 226 West Jackson Boulevard.
Cleveland, Ohio: 1783 East 11th Street.
Dallas, Tex.: 1114 Commerce Street.
Denver, Colo.: New Customhouse, 19th and Stout.
Kansas City, Mo.: Federal Office Building, 911 Walnut Street.
Los Angeles, Calif.: 117 West Ninth Street.
Minneapolis, Minn.: 220 Minnesota Federal Building.
New York, N. Y.: 2 Park Avenue.
Philadelphia, Pa.: 1015 Chestnut Street.
Richmond, Va.: Southern States Building, Seventh and Main.
San Francisco, Calif.: 870 Market Street.
Seattle, Wash.: 905 Second Avenue.

BRANCH OFFICES

Baltimore, Md.: Calvert Building, Fayette and St. Paul Streets.
Birmingham, Ala.: 206 Social Security Building, 3d Avenue and 23d Street.
Buffalo, N. Y.: United States Post Office Building, 121 Ellicott Street.
Cincinnati, Ohio: 230 East Ninth Street.
Davenport, Iowa: 215 Main Street.
Detroit, Mich.: Federal Building, 231 West Lafayette Boulevard.
Helena, Mont.: 416 Power Block, Last Chance Gulch.
Houston, Tex.: Federal Office Building, Fannin and Franklin Streets.
Indianapolis, Ind.: 521 Federal Building.
Madison, Wis.: 105 Monona Avenue.
Nashville, Tenn.: United States Courthouse.
New Orleans, La.: 333 St. Charles Street.
Oklahoma City, Okla.: 114 North Broadway.
Omaha, Nebr.: Federal Office Building, 15th and Dodge Streets.
Phoenix, Ariz.: Ellis Building.
Pittsburgh, Pa.: 717 Liberty Avenue.
Portland, Oreg.: Old United States Courthouse, 520 Southwest Morrison Street.
St. Louis, Mo.: New Federal Building, 1114 Market Street.

John H. Miller, Representing the Association of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, et al., Testifies on H. R. 8356, a Bill To Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, continuing its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services, today heard testimony from Mr. John H. Miller, vice president and actuary of the Monarch Life Insurance Co. Mr. Miller spoke on behalf of the Bureau of Accident and Health Underwriters, the Health and Accident Underwriters Conference, and the Association of Casualty and Surety Companies. These organizations are voluntary associations whose combined membership consists of over 300 insurance companies, including life, accident, and health insurance companies, and casualty, fire, and fraternal organizations.

Mr. Miller's statement follows:

I am John H. Miller, vice president and actuary, Monarch Life Insurance Co. I am appearing on behalf of the Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, the Bureau of Accident and Health Underwriters, and the Health and Accident Underwriters Conference, voluntary associations whose combined membership consists of over 300 insurance companies. The members include life, accident, and health only, casualty, fire, and fraternal organizations issuing health and accident insurance on both a group and individual basis. I should preface my remarks with the statement that I cannot speak for all of the members of these associations. There has not been time since the release of the bill for discussions aimed at reaching a consensus. My remarks today reflect the views of a representative group of insurance executives who have been able to get together to discuss the bill and agree upon this statement. We hope that it represents the center of gravity of the members of the three associations.

The administration's health program deals with important aspects of the sickness and accident costs of the entire Nation. Its primary emphasis is on the provision of services and facilities for treatment of illness or injuries. The program includes proposals for diagnostic centers and for specialized institutions to meet the specific needs of our chronically ill and aged citizens, the provision of medical facilities for rural areas, programs for the rehabilitation of disabled persons, promotion of public health measures at the local level, and a study of improved income-tax treatment of medical expenses. We strong favor the objectives of the program in general.

I would like to comment on the highlights of the program from an insurance viewpoint. Insurance is concerned with providing a means of easing the financial burden of medical services, rather than with providing the

services themselves. We are pleased that this program places major reliance on voluntary insurance as the most effective means of distributing the costs of sickness and accident. Insurance men are the first to recognize, however, that insurance does not reach every segment of our population. Insurance is beyond the reach of those of our citizens who do not have the purse to pay insurance premiums; their needs we believe must be handled by assistance at the local level. The services of voluntary insurance have been less in demand in rural areas than in urban areas, in part because medical facilities have been less easily available in some country districts.

Insurance companies are continually studying the problem of providing more complete protection to a larger portion of the aged population and how to distinguish between those health care costs of the aged which can be insured and those which cannot. Insurance among the aged is gaining in volume as companies are extending, or removing, the age limits and with the growing practice of continuing group insurance protection on retired persons. We must recognize however that other means must be used if the community is to help bear those costs to which insurance does not apply.

A result of adopting the voluntary approach is the necessity of recognizing the areas which insurance cannot reach. With this there must be acceptance, at least to some extent, of the use of subsidies in those areas. We believe that any such subsidies should be applied directly and openly and should not be obscured. Furthermore, we strongly believe that they should be administered at the local level in proper perspective to the services available and to prevailing cost patterns, which vary from State to State, as well as between communities in the same State.

As insurance men we are well aware of the implications of the decision to place primary reliance upon voluntary insurance provided on a self-supporting basis. Most important is the necessity to expand as far as possible the areas in which insurance is effective and to minimize the areas which insurance does not reach. Tremendous progress has already been made in that direction. Currently, there are about 100 million Americans with some form of insurance against hospital expense, or nearly 3 out of every 5 persons in the United States. Over 75 million have surgical expense insurance and nearly 40 million have insurance policies providing protection against medical expenses. Last year, through voluntary insurance of all types, our citizens received about one and three-quarter billion dollars of benefits for hospital, surgical and medical expense. In addition, insurance companies alone paid over one-half billion dollars in income benefits for loss of time due to disability, a basic and essential protection against the economic costs of sickness and accident.

More significant, however, than the current extent and quality of coverage is the record of rapid growth and development in both respects, for we are concerned with reaching goals, more than with looking back over the road we have traveled. At the end of 1941, for example, there were slightly more than 16 million persons in the entire population with hospital expense coverage. Today, that figure has multiplied more than sixfold. Fewer than 7 million persons in 1941 had surgical expense coverage. That figure has been multiplied more than tenfold. Medical expense coverage, practically unknown before World War II, already covers about 40 million citizens. With this growth in numbers protected, there has also been an improvement in the quality and adequacy of the coverage, which I will comment upon later.

Another very important implication of the reliance on voluntary insurance, of which we are keenly aware, is the need for insurers to merit the confidence of the insuring public. Sickness and accident insurance in the past has been characterized by a constant improvement in the coverage offered and in the service provided. Recent developments have made insurance men even more than normally aware of the progress which still remains to be made, and responsible insurers are seriously concerned with and are intensively studying criticisms voiced by the public. To some extent those criticisms point to areas where performance can and will be further improved. To some extent they indicate some lack of understanding of what insurance properly can and should do. That very lack of understanding shows a need of an improved public informational program by accident and sickness insurers to advise the public how to make the most effective use of insurance facilities in preparing to meet the costs of accident and sickness.

Despite the tremendous progress in recent years in bringing better insurance to more people, it is only natural that there has been some impatience with the rate of growth. Perhaps you will recall the following pertinent observation in the testimony of one witness who appeared before this committee last October:

"The only unhealthy aspect of the situation is the tendency of some people to see in progress only signs of incompletion. Those who think that if a thing is good, it should be provided now to everyone, do not understand the basic truth that human progress must needs be unending."

The voluntary insurers, while increasing the number of policyholders, have also improved the quality and adequacy of their benefits. During the past decade such improvement has been made more difficult by the rising level of medical care costs due to inflation. Average benefits, however, have increased at a more rapid rate than have the costs against which insurance is provided, so that there has been an effective improvement in the protection afforded. Also, limits of payment have been increased and the scope of available coverage broadened.

Grace periods are now common in accident and sickness policies; time limits on defenses or incontestable provisions after 3 years are provided in most policies currently issued; and the number and type of restrictions and exclusions have been materially reduced.

Furthermore, methods of bringing insurance services to more people have been and are being developed. Group insurance has been extended to smaller employer units, and more small employers with only 10—or in some cases even fewer—employees are purchasing accident and sickness insurance as part of their employee benefit plans. In rural areas voluntary insurance is being actively distributed through such groups as consumer and marketing cooperatives, and other farm organizations. This is in addition to the successful efforts of insurers to sell individual policies to self-employed persons and others who are not members of any group. In 1952 there were 22 million persons covered for hospital benefits under individual policies, to mention only one type of benefit.

Insurance policy provisions have been liberalized and underwriting techniques improved in an effort to offer better accident and sickness coverage to an ever-increasing number of persons. Insurance on risks with some physical or medical impairment has long been offered subject to the exclusion of a particular disease or risk to which the individual may be unusually susceptible. In more recent years, increasing experimentation has been carried on by several companies in insuring the impaired risks without these special restrictions, but subject to appropriate extra premiums—following the practice now well established in the life insurance business.

As the pattern of medical care has changed in the past decade, voluntary insurers have developed benefits to meet changing needs. The recent experimentation with and development of major medical expense insurance holds great significance. In its short history more than a million persons already enjoy protection under this new type of coverage, and the present rate of growth is remarkable.

How will the reinsurance proposal affect this type of experimentation and development? The principles of reinsurance, as it has been known and employed, are the same as the principles of insurance. The difference is that reinsurance provides a broader base by pooling the resources of two or more companies. Reinsurance as a financial device is most commonly employed when the amount of potential loss on any one risk is very large.

Reinsurance, therefore, does not provide a means of making insurable what would otherwise be an uninsurable risk. It does not add to the aggregate resources of the insurers. It does not help to sell insurance nor does it reduce the cost of insurance. If our citizens are not to labor under a misunderstanding, it is essential for them to realize that reinsurance is not a panacea, and that it does not provide additional funds to finance the cost of medical care. As has been made clear in the presentation of the program, voluntary insurance cannot relieve the community of the burden of providing medical care to the indigent nor is it helpful to those who presently cannot qualify for it, and reinsurance does not enhance the power of insurance in these areas. The reinsurance facilities have been proposed with the purpose of extending the frontiers of insurance effectiveness. The rapid development of accident and sickness insurance has, however, been accomplished with little use of the already extensive reinsurance facilities available to the insurers, and we see no evidence that progress would have been augmented had reinsurance been used to a greater extent. The underwriting, or risk bearing, capacity of the companies in this business is very large.

It should be explained that the technique of developing new benefits or new methods of distribution requires not only working capital which, in this business, is adequate, but also time for testing. The advances which I have noted have been made by offering a benefit experimentally and then observing the results and making necessary corrections in rates or underwriting methods. Obviously, the operation of a new plan must be observed for a reasonable period of time before conclusions can be drawn and another step taken. For these reasons, the companies which have contributed most to this evolutionary process in the development of accident and sickness insurance have generally made little or no use of those reinsurance facilities which have been and are available.

These considerations raise the question as to the extent to which this new type of reinsurance would be employed by the insurance companies. From discussions with a number of company officers, it appears that some have not been able to envisage their use of a reinsurance facility of this type, while others find it difficult to appraise the bill without a more definite idea as to the precise conditions to be prescribed by regulation, the level of reinsurance premiums and the many other details that are not spelled out in the bill.

As mentioned, we are very much in favor of the overall objectives of the proposed health program. We do feel constrained, however, to present to you this summary of our analysis of the reinsurance bill, which is a part of the total program, and to raise these questions which we feel should be carefully considered by this committee.

Among the principles expressed or implied in the bill are:

1. Participation in its operation is to be on a voluntary basis;

2. Reinsurance is to be offered only when not obtainable from private sources;

3. The recognition and use of State insurance supervision in the administration of the reinsurance.

While these principles appear to be implicit in the bill, it is not entirely clear that the provisions are so drawn as to assure their use. With respect to the third principle mentioned, we wish to point out that the insurance companies have in the past supported supervision by the several States and we wish to reaffirm the belief that the business should be supervised in this manner.

The reinsurance proposal presents a new concept of far-reaching importance. In the 19 days since its introduction, insurance people have been able only to consider its general objectives, and to speculate on its possible use and effectiveness. A number of them have expressed concern on matters such as the subsidy inherent in paying expenses over the early years, the granting of extremely broad discretionary power to the Administrator, the seemingly complex problems of administration, and what is regarded as putting the Government into business despite the principle frequently expressed by administration spokesmen of taking the Government out of business. There has not been an opportunity for the public to become informed concerning this measure which, of course, is intended for its benefit and welfare, nor for the public to give any expression of its opinion. We therefore urge that these considerations warrant the most careful study of the measure with adequate time for evaluation of its many implications and of alternative means of accomplishing the worthy objectives.

Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following column which appeared in more than 2,000 weekly newspapers throughout the country. Mr. Harder is the president of the National Federation of Independent Business, which is so well represented in Washington by its vice president, George J. Burger:

WASHINGTON AND SMALL BUSINESS

(By C. Wilson Harder)

Whenever the subject of money or credit arises, many profess these subjects are clothed in great mystery.

Yet both money and credit are a basic commodity even more basic than corn, wheat, hogs, iron, or any other commodity, because few individuals, no business, no farm, can long operate without access to money and credit.

This is a basic concept which has long plagued this Nation. In early United States history President Andrew Jackson recognized the problem when he scuttled the chartered but privately owned Bank of the United States by placing Federal funds in various State banks to bolster failing local economies.

Problem is again approached by pending bills in Congress, known as Capehart bill in Senate, Multer bill in House.

Under present laws a bank cannot operate branches in more than 1 State; or operate nonbanking business enterprises.

But under a loophole in present law, holding companies own controlling interest in banking institutions and evade that law.

The proposed legislation would stop this.

The proposed law would also make bank-holding corporations subject to the same regulation as independent banks which requires permission from appropriate Federal or State authority to acquire another bank, either as a branch or as a merger.

Independent banks are also prohibited from acquiring branches across State lines. The proposed new law would place the same regulation in force on bank-holding companies. There are several points to bear in mind during coming debates.

One is the subject of fairness. Limitations imposed on independent banks should undoubtedly prevail for all.

There is also need for strong independent local banks to insure local economic health by serving with an understanding of community needs at the grassroots level. This point will be discussed later, as most important phase of this issue is this.

Concentration of money and credit in a few hands now under way by way of bank-holding corporation system can, unless stopped, dominate entire American scene, economically and politically.

With corporations owning vast banking resources, as well as nonbanking business operations, there is great temptation to use power of amassed cash and credit to knock out independent competition to holding corporation-owned firms.

In addition, all banks hold as a substantial part of their assets Government securities. Therefore, 2 or 3 bank-holding corporations could own majority interest in United States Government.

In addition these few corporations holding bulk of United States cash and credit, could, through cartel agreements, set up international controls over the world.

Many historians claim that without the House of Rothschild, no nation in Europe would have been able to carry on the long bloody years of the Napoleonic wars. And today in America, a few vast holding corporations have already acquired more power than the Rothschilds ever held. That is the crux of issue now before Congress.

National Wildlife Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a resolution adopted by the National Wildlife Federation in convention at Chicago on March 11, 12, and 13, 1954. The resolution calling for passage of legislation to provide for the allocation of the $13½ million accumulated surplus in the Pittman-Robertson Federal-aid fund for aid to State wildlife restoration projects follows:

RESOLUTION 6—THE PITTMAN-ROBERTSON SURPLUS FUND

Be it resolved by the National Wildlife Federation in annual meeting at Chicago March 11, 12, and 13, 1954, That we reiterate our former action in supporting the purposes of the Angell bill, H. R. 7746, or the identical Price bill, H. R. 8194, which provide for the allocation of the $13½ million accumulated surplus in the Pittman-Robertson Federal-aid fund for aid to State wildlife restoration projects, and urge the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee to hold hearings on the bill.

Missouri's Active Senators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, we in Missouri are very proud of our representation in the United States Senate. We have two good, outstanding Senators, THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., and W. STUART SYMINGTON. Our St. Louis Post-Dispatch, one of our country's leading newspapers, paid splendid tribute to these two Senators in an article entitled "Missouri's Active Senators," by Raymond P. Brandt, in their issue of Sunday, March 28, 1954. I believe other Members of Congress would be interested in reading this very fine article.

Also, on this same date the St. Louis Post-Dispatch had an editorial entitled "Thanks Are Due Senator HENNINGS," followed by an article in the Mirror of Public Opinion entitled "Flagrant, Misleading, Irrelevant."

Under unanimous consent, I insert these three articles in the RECORD:

MISSOURI'S ACTIVE SENATORS—SYMINGTON AND HENNINGS GAINING INFLUENCE RAPIDLY—BOTH HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEY ARE NOT AFRAID OF SENATOR MCCARTHY; THEY HAVE IMPORTANT COMMITTEE POSTS; HENNINGS ONE OF MODERATES; SYMINGTON BELONGS TO LEADERSHIP GROUP, MENTIONED FOR PRESIDENCY

(By Raymond P. Brandt)

WASHINGTON, March 27.—With Democratic Senators THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., and STUART SYMINGTON taking effective part in committee investigations and floor debates, Missouri is regaining the political prestige it had in the Senate in the twenties when James A. Reed and Harry B. Hawes were front-page news and in the thirties when Bennett Champ Clark and Harry S. Truman were making important headlines.

Few freshman Senators in recent years have risen so fast as the two comparatively young Missourians. Both were given highly coveted committee assignments and both have sought greater responsibilities beyond routine duties. As a result, they have been rewarded by the Democratic leadership and are marked for positions of greater influence.

Both have demonstrated they are not afraid of Republican Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, and his unscrupulous methods. Their defiance has not been matched on the Republican side. Among the Democrats only former Senator William Benton, of Connecticut, and Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas, have been more outspoken against MCCARTHY and McCarthyism.

Their encounters with the Wisconsin Republican stemmed from their committee assignments. As a member of Privileges and Elections Subcommittee of the Rules and

Administration Committee, HENNINGS participated actively in the senatorial investigation, which exposed MCCARTHY's intervention in Maryland against former Democratic Senator Millard Tydings, and in the proceedings brought by Benton in an attempt to expel MCCARTHY from the Senate for alleged improper acts as a Senator and stock market operations. In the last named investigation, HENNINGS was chairman of the subcommittee which reported its findings to the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department for appropriate action. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Republican, has announced the Department of Justice found no actionable grounds in the report. Internal Revenue is prohibited by law from disclosing whether investigations are being made against any taxpayer so the status of the MCCARTHY tax case cannot be ascertained.

HENNINGS added to his reputation this week, when as the minority member of the Privileges and Elections Subcommittee, he successfully led the floor fight for Democratic Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ, of New Mexico, against whom Patrick J. Hurley, the defeated Republican candidate in the 1952 election, had brought charges of election frauds. HENNINGS had complete Democratic support and won over 5 Republicans and Independent WAYNE MORSE of Oregon to attain a 53–36 victory.

SYMINGTON is presently in the limelight because of his membership on the Permanent Investigating Subcommittee of the Government's Operations Committee, the so-called MCCARTHY committee. He has been a spokesman for the minority in demanding that MCCARTHY step aside as chairman of the subcommittee while the McCarthy-Cohn-Schine-Stevens-Adams investigation proceeds and has announced that he will ask that the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which he is a member, conduct its own investigation of MCCARTHY and the Army, if the subcommittee lets MCCARTHY cross-examine witnesses or falls down on the job. He, JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas, and HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington, walked out of the subcommittee last July because of MCCARTHY's dictatorial methods, and he was largely responsible for laying down the conditions, which MCCARTHY accepted, for their return.

The two Missourians have done some of their most effective work, however, in going beyond their immediate subcommittee assignments.

HENNINGS, as a junior member of the Judiciary Committee, was not assigned to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Changes that made the preliminary study of the Bricker amendment to restrict the President's authority to negotiate treaties and executive agreements. Nevertheless, as a member of the full committee, he was largely instrumental in defeating the substitute proposed by Democratic Senator WALTER F. GEORGE of Georgia, which had the support of many Democrats. Many competent observers believe that if it had not been for HENNINGS' shrewd floor tactics, the George substitute would have got the required two-thirds majority vote. As it was, the roll call was 60 to 31. A change of 1 vote would have meant passage of a measure opposed by President Eisenhower and State Secretary Dulles.

SYMINGTON was in Europe at the time and some of GEORGE's supporters thought he might cast the deciding vote on reconsideration of the substitute. Reached by overseas telephone at Madrid, Spain, SYMINGTON told the Post-Dispatch that he would have voted against the George proposal. This announcement has stopped, temporarily at least, southern Democratic plans to reconsider the earlier vote.

In opposing the George substitute, HENNINGS was up against one of his party's elder statesmen, whose influence extends to conservative Republicans. His training in the circuit court in St. Louis and his 6 years' service on the House on the Foreign Affairs Committee enabled him to combine complicated legal arguments with broad understanding of foreign policy. Also, by adroit questioning of Majority Leader WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND he was able to get it on the record that Eisenhower was against the GEORGE or any other amendment that would curtail the traditional Presidential powers in conducting international affairs.

Although HENNINGS cast aside partisan politics and fought Democrats as well as Republicans in the constitutional amendment fight, he received no word of acknowledgment of his services from President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles. The only official Republican recognition of his outstanding performance came from Herman Phleger, the legal adviser of the State Department, who wrote that he had come to HENNINGS' office to congratulate him "for your magnificent efforts in defeating the various proposals." At that time HENNINGS had gone to St. Louis. The letter added:

"I think that this fight was one of the great ones in our country's history, and your name will be associated with it as the most effective opponent to these unwise proposals."

Symington attracted nationwide attention last year by his aggressive fight against the Eisenhower administration's cut of $5 billion from the Air Force budget in disregard of the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He labored under a great handicap because he is not a member of the Appropriations Committee. As a member of the Armed Services Committee he was allowed to sit with the Appropriations Committee hearing the defense budget witnesses but was not permitted to question the witnesses directly. He was forced to put questions through Democratic members of the committee, notably LISTER HILL, of Alabama, and BURNET R. MAYBANK, of South Carolina.

Symington and his friends gave Defense Secretary Wilson and the other civilian witnesses a hard going over but the administration forces won—last year. Symington lost a battle but he did not lose the war. This year the administration has restored the $5 billion to the Air Force and, while it has not fully met the Missourian's viewpoint, it has gone a long way toward it.

What Symington will do about the defense budget this year remains to be seen. Last month he and Republican STYLES BRIDGES, chairman of the Appropriations Committeee, made a brief military inspection tour in Western Europe to inform themselves on defense spending, but neither will discuss what he intends to do when the budget hearings get under way.

In their senatorial work, the two Missourians are following tradition of Senators Reed and Hawes in the twenties when the Democrats were in the minority. This comparison is more apt than with Senators Clark and Truman, who had the advantage of a Democratic administration.

Reed was the investigator and orator, while Hawes, as a Representative and later as Senator, was an effective worker in committees. Reed left no constructive legislation while Hawes opened the way for freedom of the Philippines, among other achievements. As a Representative, Hawes took the lead in the impeachment of former Federal Judge George W. English, and in the House and Senate was the sponsor of much conservation legislation.

In the present Senate, the two Missourians belong to different groups. Hennings, the senior, is allied with the moderates, such as FULBRIGHT; MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma; HILL and JOHN W. SPARKMAN, of Alabama; and MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana. In general these Senators follow a Jeffersonian-Wilsonian political philosophy, with strong emphasis on the Bill of Rights. They are not Rooseveltians, such as PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois; THEODORE GREEN, of Rhode Island; HUBERT HUMPHREY, of Minnesota; HERBERT H. LEHMAN, of New York; JAMES E. MURRAY, of Montana, and HARLEY M. KILGORE.

SYMINGTON is in what has been called the leadership group, which is headed by RICHARD B. RUSSELL, of Georgia, and operates through LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas and EARLE C. CLEMENTS, of Kentucky. JOHNSON is minority leader and CLEMENTS is chairman of the Senatorial campaign committee. It is interesting that HENNINGS, as secretary of the Democratic conference, which includes all Democratic Senators, is ex officio a member of the much smaller and more influential Democratic policy committee, while SYMINGTON is chairman of the finance subcommittee of the campaign committee.

The leadership group is predominantly Southern, partly because of the large block of Southern Members and partly because these Members are senior in service. Its outlook is more one of practical politics rather than political philosophy. Also intermingled is presidential politics, with RUSSELL, JOHNSON, and SYMINGTON frequently mentioned as 1956 White House nominees.

SYMINGTON is in this speculation because of his almost meteor-like rise in Washington, where his services were: Chairman of the War Surplus Property Board, Assistant Secretary of War, first Secretary for Air, Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and Administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Next to former Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, his name ranks high at present as a 1956 possibility—talk which he tries to minimize. RUSSELL and JOHNSON, however, have senatorial primaries this year and many believe that after they jump this hurdle, they will figure more prominently in the 1956 preelection maneuvering. It is a political axiom that a man shouldn't be a candidate for two offices at the same time.

The blossoming careers of the two Missourians points up the recent historical fact that Missouri Democrats have made a bigger impression on the Senate than Missouri Republicans, who for the most part were of the ultraconservative type. These Republican Senators were Selden P. Spencer, of St. Louis, elected in 1918, to succeed Democratic William J. Stone, and reelected in 1920; George H. Williams, of St. Louis, appointed to fill out Spencer's unexpired term when Spencer died in 1925, and defeated by Hawes in 1926; Roscoe C. Patterson of Springfield, elected in 1928 to succeed Reed, who did not seek reelection; Forrest C. Donnell, of St. Louis, elected in 1944 to the seat held by Clark; and James P. Kem, of Kansas City, elected in 1946 to succeed Democratic Frank P. Briggs, of Macon, who had been appointed to fill out the term of Truman, who resigned on becoming Vice President.

HENNINGS is 50 years old and SYMINGTON is 52. Their political futures cannot be accurately predicted, but their brief service in the Senate has brought increased attention to Missouri and Missouri politics.

THANKS ARE DUE SENATOR HENNINGS

With little doubt, the most important vote in Congress last week was the 53-to-36 roll-call by which the Senate rejected the move of the KNOWLAND-FERGUSON leadership to unseat Senator CHAVEZ. The move to oust the veteran Senator from New Mexico was so patently partisan that it did not recruit a single Democratic vote, and lost seven Republican votes.

A strong factor in the outcome must have been the dissenting report that Senator HENNINGS, of Missouri, wrote and filed as the minority member of the Rules Committee's special elections subcommittee which investigated the charges against Senator

CHAVEZ's reelection in 1952. The Washington Post describes the Hennings report as blistering and blistering it is, as our readers can find out for themselves from the extracts in today's Mirror of Public Opinion.

The Republican members of the subcommittee—Senators BARRETT, of Wyoming and POTTER, of Michigan—are, so many citizens will believe, under obligation to answer Senator HENNINGS' condemnation of the majority's motives, methods, and conclusions. For the Missourian charges his colleagues with flagrant omissions from and misquotations of the law, with misstatements of fact, with misconstructions of law, with substitution of innuendo for fact. This is too much to charge off to election-year politics. Senators BARRETT and POTTER owe themselves a rebuttal.

A most dangerous precedent would have been set if the move to unseat had been successful. For his almost solitary work, done under severe handicaps, Senator HENNINGS deserves the gratitude of the entire country.

"FLAGRANT, MISLEADING, IRRELEVANT"

(In minority report, Senator HENNINGS blasts work of subcommittee which demanded ouster of Senator CHAVEZ in election contest; Missourian says investigators harassed voters, discredited Senate, not Mr. CHAVEZ; upper House later rejected ouster.)

(From the minority views of Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., as member of the United States Senate Committee on Rules and Administration)

The failure of the subcommittee to conduct its work in an objective and nonpartisan manner and the apparent intent from the start to disfranchise the voters of New Mexico and to deprive a duly elected United States Senator of his seat will be made abundantly clear in this report.

Senator DENNIS CHAVEZ emerges as a man of unblemished character and unquestioned integrity. No fraud or corruption in any way attributable to Senator CHAVEZ or to any person responsible to him has been found—nor has it even been suggested.

Historically it is of interest that in no case out of all the precedents in United States Senate election contests has a Senate committee ever recommended that a duly elected United States Senator be deprived of his office because of allegations that election officials of a State have failed to comply fully with the State's election code, absent any showing of fraud or corruption by the Senator so elected.

No legal or moral basis exists for the attempt made to declare vacant the seat occupied by Senator CHAVEZ. The recommendations of the majority report, if adopted, would establish a precedent that does violence to justice.

Although prior to the afternoon of March 11, I had never seen the majority report, nor had I signed it, my name appears at the end of the conclusions showing me as a dissenting member of the committee. In all modesty, I acknowledged the compliment implicit in the assumption that, of course, I would dissent from this remarkable document.

NOTHING IMPARTIAL HERE

When a subcommittee is charged with the investigation of an election of a United States Senator both of the major political parties should be represented throughout the investigation and the preparation of the report. But in this case, the minority was excluded entirely from normal participation.

Furthermore, only after repeated insistence did the minority member have the benefit of counsel and then only for a period of some 3 months. Counsel for the minority, Myron G. Ehrlich, during his entire stay in New Mexico, was refused access to all files, documents, papers, and information necessary to performance of his duty.

The minority member, knowing his distinguished colleagues of the majority to be men of sound judgment, finds it difficult to believe that they wrote any part of the majority report. The minority member does assure the Senate, however, that he has prepared his own report, and accepts full responsibility for it.

The minority member states affirmatively and emphatically that even the most unfavorable construction that might be placed upon any of the facts claimed to have been developed as a result of the investigation fails to show that any official committed fraud for the benefit of Senator CHAVEZ or to the detriment of General Hurley.

Nor is there any evidence that Senator CHAVEZ' total vote was in any way increased as a result of General Hurley's total vote diminished.

As is the case in most, if not all, the States in the Union, certain election officials did not provide, as required by State law, all of the paraphernalia of the election such as booths, indelible pencils, pens, and so forth.

Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, the contestant, was the unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate in New Mexico in 1946, again in 1948, and thereafter in 1952. He had ample opportunity prior to the election in 1952 to file a mandamus suit to compel the election officials to correct the practices about which he now complains.

It must be remembered that on November 4, 1952, the people of New Mexico elected Republican electors for President, a Republican Governor, a Democratic Senator, and two Democratic Members of the House of Representatives. In none, save the senatorial election, has there been any protest.

Following the general election of November 4, 1952, the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted an extensive investigation into alleged fraud and irregularity in New Mexico. Following this investigation no evidence was presented to any attorney or grand jury.

THIRTEEN MONTHS AND $200,000

The chief counsel for the subcommittee held frequent press conferences. He told the press that many instances of flagrant law violation and fraud had been discovered by the subcommittee staff. However, when pressed by the attorney general of the State, the chief counsel failed to produce any evidence.

The investigation by the subcommittee in this case has required over 13 months, and more than $200,000 of the taxpayers' money has been spent in an attempt to establish the truth of General Hurley's allegations. Expenses involved in the New Mexico investigation totaled more than twice the amount of money ever before expended in any election contest in the history of the United States Senate.

At the outset it was agreed that Bernalillo County, the largest county in the State, comprising approximately 25 percent of the total voting population, was to be investigated and its votes were to be recounted as a pilot. The plain fact is that the recount in Bernalillo County was never completed under the rules promulgated by the Senate subcommittee.

The chief counsel and his staff engaged in sporadic forays throughout the length and breadth of the State and employed techniques and procedures reflecting discredit on the United States Senate. Their unwarranted assumptions of authority were an affront to the peace and dignity of the State of New Mexico and its people.

Except for Bernalillo County, which was first to be investigated, the chief counsel and his staff made their investigation only in those counties were Senator CHAVEZ made his strongest showing. They left undisturbed the counties in which General Hurley showed his greatest strength.

BASIS FOR MAJORITY REPORT

Only 56 voters testified before the Senate subcommittee and their testimony was not competent to impeach their votes. Furthermore, only 19 voters testified they had voted for a candidate for the United States Senate in the 1952 election. Their testimony indicated a net difference of one vote. No other testimony was ever given before the Senate subcommittee.

I find that the majority report is based on:

(1) Flagrant omissions from and misquotations of the New Mexico Election Code.

(2) Misstatements of facts.

(3) Misconstructions of law.

(4) Use of innuendo in place of fact.

(5) Specious reasoning and illogical conclusions.

(6) Disproportionate emphasis and distortion of inconsequential details in support of unwarranted generalizations.

Standard Railroad Labor Organizations Support H. R. 7840, Amending Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Systems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, with great care and, after thoughtful consideration, the 23 standard railroad brotherhoods formulated a program for amending the railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance systems. H. R. —— represents the proposed amendments. Many companion bills have been introduced in both the House and Senate.

Hearings have been completed by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and the bill now awaits the action of that committee.

As part of my remarks I include an article appearing in the issue of March 20, 1954, of Labor, a newspaper published at Washington, D. C., in the interest of labor in general, and of railroad labor in particular. The article is by Alfred M. Green. It sets forth in some detail the status of the legislation as revealed at the hearings held by the committee. It reads as follows:

BOARD BACKS RAIL UNIONS ON PENSION GAINS—TWO SUPPORT BILL—CARRIER STAND PUNCTURED

(By Alfred M. Green)

The united program of standard railroad labor organizations for improved benefits under the railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance systems got strong support this week from members of the Railroad Retirement Board in testimony before the House Interstate Commerce Committee.

The Board administers both systems, and 2 of its 3 members approved all but 1 feature of the bill introduced by the committee chairman, Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, with the support of all 23 standard railroad unions, both operating and nonoperating.

Hearings on a companion bill were held by the Senate Labor Committee last month. That committee is expected to act on the measure soon.

RAILROADS SHED TEARS

As the House hearings neared their wind-up, representatives of the Association of American Railroads also testified. They voiced opposition to the program, raising the

usual cry of poverty. But they were given a rough time by members of the committee who asked pointed questions.

Horace W. Harper, labor member of the Retirement Board, played a large part in presenting the Board's views. He was singled out to answer many of the Congressmen's questions.

All three Board members presented their views in written statements. Chairman Raymond J. Kelly joined with Harper in agreeing that both retirement and unemployment insurance benefits should be raised. Kelly differed only on the formula for determining unemployment benefits.

RAIL MEMBER OPPOSED

The carrier member, P. C. Squire, opposed increasing the taxable salary base to $350 a month from $300, and also argued that the unemployment insurance benefits are already "too generous."

The benefit formula proposed by Kelly would provide increases in all brackets, but it omitted the proviso in the union-backed bill that benefits should be not lower than one-half of the pay rate last received by the jobless worker, up to a maximum of $40 a week.

Kelly argued that this provision would complicate the administration of the program and estimated the added cost at $700,000 a year.

RAILMEN NOT CHEATS

Harper took strong issue with that. He said that a single question on the application blank, asking the worker's last pay rate, is all that would be necessary.

"I can't see anything confusing about that," he said. "Railroad men are not cheats. And if they were, it would be a simple matter to verify their statements.

"I think this talk about a great increase in costs is just fighting a windmill. If the end is desirable, administration costs should not stand in the way unless they can be shown to be exorbitant."

As to the desirability of higher benefits, he called attention to the fact that the formula advanced by Kelly, an Eisenhower appointee, would not conform to the administration's position as set forth by President Eisenhower in two messages to Congress. As previous witnesses had stressed, the President has urged States to increase their unemployment insurance benefits to the level of half of the worker's wage.

Harper pointed out that under the "base year" factor in the present formula, which would be retained by Kelly, sickness of a worker as much as a year and a half before he became unemployed might slash his benefits. In extreme cases, a man earning $100 a week or more might get unemployment benefits as low as $15 a week.

He also explained that the railroads have been paying only one-half of 1 percent of covered payrolls for the unemployment-insurance fund ever since 1948 and that that rate is likely to continue for several years even if the benefits are raised.

Meanwhile, he said, employers in other industries, covered by the State systems, are paying an average of 1.8 percent.

FANTASTIC, SAYS AAR

First witness for the carriers was R. L. Ettenger, Jr., assistant vice president of the Association of American Railroads. In a lengthy statement, he declared it was fantastic to suggest that the roads should be asked to pay more taxes in order to improve benefits for their employees. Instead, he said, the benefits should be lowered.

Several committee members pounced on him with critical questions. Congressman JOHN W. HESELTON, Republican, of Massachusetts, for instance, reviewed the various proposed benefits. When Ettenger commented that it took them (the unions) 17 years to think up all this, HESELTON replied:

"It may be these things should have been done 17 years ago."

On Ettenger's talk about the carriers' poverty, HESELTON declared: "It is my impression that the railroads have had very satisfactory earnings in recent years."

In answer to a question by Congressman JOHN BELL WILLIAMS, Democrat, of Mississippi, Ettenger admitted that even his high estimates of the cost of the improvement program would amount to less than 1 percent of the roads' operating expenses.

Chairman WOLVERTON referred to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance amendment of 1948, which cut the payroll taxes paid by the railroads from 3 percent to one-half of 1 percent. Through a rapid series of questions he got the witness to compute the resulting savings to the carriers at $664 million since 1948.

"Why are you so concerned at this time," he went on, "over the burden on the railroads of $26 million a year?" That was the figure used by Ettenger as the cost of the unemployment system improvements.

SEES NO INJUSTICE

"Aren't you crowding the mourners' bench a little bit?" WOLVERTON asked.

He then brought out that the present taxes paid by the roads are far from enough to meet current costs of the system, and commented, "The railroads are getting a pretty good break!"

The hearings ended after testimony by AAR vice president J. Carter Fort, who charged that there is "no semblance of justification" for the bill and pictured present benefits for railroaders as "way out of line" in comparison with those under Social Security.

He voiced the fear that the carriers might be put out of business entirely by bungling regulation, but committee members appeared little convinced.

Middle East Instability

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Joseph G. Harrison, of the Christian Science Monitor, appeared in the March 1954 issue of Middle Eastern Affairs. It is an important contribution to a difficult and harassing problem. I commend it to the attention of our State Department:

MIDDLE EAST INSTABILITY

(By Joseph G. Harrison)

The Middle East differs in at least one important respect from the other major problem areas of the world today. The Middle East is, above all, an area of disintegration and deterioration, a region where economic conditions, the social structure, and political life are, to a noticeable degree, rotting away, with no conspicuous new growth to take their place. It is therefore an area which presents special and particularly difficult problems to any international agency, such as the United Nations, or to any foreign government, such as that of the United States, which wishes to extend aid.

This is not to say that the Middle East is the only part of the world in which there are deteriorating social, political, or economic conditions. All areas and subdivisions of areas, however rich and stable, are continually subject to changes which could be classified as disintegration, in at least a limited sense. Indeed, such change is often defended as an inevitable concomitant of growth and improvement and is compared to the old skin which a snake sloughs off in order to don the new.

In the Middle East, however, evidence indicates that the degree of disintegration is now outrunning that of reform and regrowth and that the problems which call for an immediate solution are therefore multiplying and intensifying. What, in the main, is the evidence to support this assessment of middle eastern conditions?

As with other regions, the Middle East can be accurately judged only through comparison with world conditions as a whole. Its economic and social status, its attitude toward that status, and its success or lack of success in doing something to improve that status can be weighed intelligently only when fitted into the international complex in which the Middle East, whether it wishes to or not, is now forced to move and to compete.

Prior to World War I the nations of the Middle East were, in the main, little influenced in their thinking by the larger trends occurring outside their borders. It is true, of course, that in such cities as Cairo, Bagdad, and Beirut a smattering of western culture and a tincture of western thinking had been introduced and were already beginning to affect an extremely limited, albeit influential, portion of the population. In general, however, the Middle East was still largely immune to those ideas and developments which were causing such marked change in so many other parts of the world. During the period between World War I and World War II, the process of Western penetration into the Middle East accelerated. The British mandate in Palestine, the increased number of British officials in Egypt, the French mandate in Syria, the rapid expansion of Western oil operations, each played an important part in this process. But it was not until the years of the Second World War and those which followed that the major penetration of new ideas into middle eastern thinking began. Once begun, it moved rapidly.

For the first time in many centuries a major stirring was finally under way among the middle eastern masses. Shouted at by aspiring politicians who preached a species of immature nationalism-cum-xenophobia, stirred by religious leaders who made their listeners aware of the very things they were railing against, and influenced by the distorted accounts of events both within their own countries and abroad heard over village radio sets, the average worker and peasant became both more aware of the world in which he lived and more discontented with things as he found or conceived them. Like the tens of millions of inhabitants of other poor and backward lands—in southeast Asia, in portions of Africa, in certain parts of Europe and even in Latin America—the Arab thus became aware that he was suffering from conditions against which he felt more and more impelled to rebel, but with which he had no idea how to cope. When a nation or a group of nations reaches such a state of thought there is patently but one answer, reform—drastic, thorough, intensive reform. And it is here that the Arab-speaking world of the Middle East has shown its greatest weakness, for as yet it has been unable to generate those forces of reform which alone can remold the region's economic, social, and political life, which alone can lay the basis for progress and stability, and which alone can ensure peaceful development.

For several years now, the West has looked hard and hopefully for signs of such national and regional rejuvenation. It was at first hoped that the shock of losing the Palestinian war would jar the Arab world into an intelligent stock-taking of its (present) fundamental weakness. Great stress was laid upon the succession of dictatorships in Syria, and the rise of the military junta in Egypt headed by ex- and now again—President Mohammed Naguib. Finally, the West

timidly offered economic assistance in the form of point 4, a Jordan Valley Authority and various reclamation projects, in the belief that the Arabs might be cajoled into accepting needed assistance. Unfortunately, none of these hopes has as yet borne much fruit. Far from drawing a constructive lesson from their defeat at the hands of Israel, the Arab nations drew ever more tightly about them the tatters of those very policies which made their defeat inevitable. Instead of recognizing that their concept of their own strength and ability had been proven wrong by the collapse of their numerically superior forces before the small army of Israel, they retreated into the classic refuge of the person unwilling to face reality—they blamed others for their defeat, in this case the United States and Great Britain.

Nor, so far as the new regimes in Syria and Egypt, have western hopes been realized, although a small beginning may prove to have been made in the latter country. The recent unsettling events in both lands—the overthrow of President Adib Shishakly in Syria, and the attempt of the military clique to divest itself of President Naguib in Egypt—are clear indications that deep currents of unrest are still at work in those countries. Both developments are the result of an almost total lack of political maturity and of the delusion that somehow things will be better if only there is a sudden violent upheaval to clear the air.

If political stability is a requisite for national progress in this highly complicated and uneasy period of world history, there is not a single Arabic-speaking nation of the Middle East which can be said to possess that requisite. In Lebanon the never-settled disagreement between Christian and Moslem over who should be dominant has, within the past 12 months, taken on new depth and urgency. Convinced that they are now in a majority, the Moslem leaders have been calling for a new census, a move which the Christian leaders have branded as an attack upon the very ideals and foundations of the country.

In Syria, the overthrow of Shishakly has only confirmed what firsthand observers have recently reported—that the country is in a state of political turmoil and that no pattern of progress has yet appeared. With one dictator after another appearing on the scene, Syria still seems to be a long way from either democracy or stability.

In the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan the problems are no less than they are elsewhere in the Arab world of the Middle East, although they have received somewhat less publicity. The major difficulty revolves around the sudden amalgamation at the end of the Palestinian war of two disparate populations—the backward Transjordanians and the more advanced Palestine Arabs. Following the assassination of King Abdullah in the summer of 1951, the Palestinian Arabs have shown themselves increasingly discontent with the role they have been allowed to play in the kingdom. This discontent has been aggravated by Jordan's desperate financial situation, for the country manages to keep afloat economically largely through British subsidies.

Outwardly, for the moment at least, Iraq would seem to be one of the more stable of the Arab nations of the Middle East. It appears thus, however, only by contrast with its neighbors. Devoid of any but the semblance of true democracy, with one of the most poverty-stricken populations in the world, bitterly xenophobic, penetrated to some extent by Communist propaganda, Iraq has had more than its share of postwar violence. Furthermore, the present government's policy of limited cooperation with the West has brought down upon it the violent condemnation of several fellow members in the Arab League. In the past such condemnation of one Arab country by another has resulted in a marked increase in internal unrest.

Politically, Egypt seems to be wavering between progress and retrogression. The great hope aroused by the overthrow of King Farouk and the rise of Naguib has been somewhat dampened by the attempt to remove the latter. While there can be little doubt but that the deposition of the King and the elimination of the perennial Wafd government have contributed to greater political morality, there are many who fear that Egypt is now drifting slowly but surely into a form of military dictatorship, which may appear on the surface to be efficient, but which will do little to train the country for true democracy.

But it is in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that, in some ways, the greatest Western disappointment is felt. It had been supposed that under the late King Ibn Saud great progress was being made in modernizing that ancient and fascinating land. It appears, however, that this was more propaganda than fact, for Saudi Arabia is now known to be in grave financial difficulties despite the tremendous revenue derived from oil production. In addition, the new King Saud ibn Abdul Aziz is reportedly under the influence of anti-Western advisers. Thus, what was once considered one of the few bright spots in the Arab world now shows itself in a somewhat tarnished state.

Unfavorable as the political situation can be shown to be, that of the Middle in the realm of economies is even worse. Plain, downright, unrelieved and, for the foreseeable future, hopeless poverty is the lot of the vast majority of the citizens of all the Arab countries. With food production lagging behind the growth of population, an actual deterioration in the standard of living is now taking place. Furthermore, few alternate sources of livelihood are being developed for those peasants who, in increasing number, are flocking to city and town. This economic situation inevitably results in deteriorating social conditions, which in turn result in less and less political stability.

While it takes no great degree of insight to recognize that the Middle East today is an area in which a former way of life is falling apart without a satisfactory substitute having yet made its appearance, it is more difficult to draw positive conclusions as to the cause of this deterioration. Perhaps all that can be said in a limited amount of space is that it has become abundantly apparent that the intellectual foundations of Arab life have been found almost wholly wanting in this period of grave crisis. Faced with the necessity of quickly and decisively evolving a new social, economic, and political pattern, the educated classes in the Middle East have so far shown themselves almost totally inadequate to the task. Accustomed to believe that their way of life was inherently superior to that of any other religious or racial group, they have been unable to grasp the fact that this way of life has failed them, that instead of enlightening them it has blinded them, that it has closed their perception to the recognition of those faults which have brought their various countries to their present sad state of instability and poverty. Refusing to acknowledge where they themselves have failed, they have fallen into the pitfall of blaming others, in this case the West. This is doubly unfortunate since it is from the West that they must, in the end, accept the material help, the skilled know-how, the intellectual guidance, which alone can solve their problems.

Those who have lived for any time in the Middle East have come away amazed at the lengths to which the Arabic-speaking peoples carry the vice of self-deception. How often has the pragmatic westerner noted with astonishment some Arab friend of his blandly assume that some action is done merely because he has announced that he intended to do it. A classic example of this occurred in connection with the Arab-Jewish war for Palestine. No one who followed that conflict can forget the fantastic statements of purpose given out by supposedly hardheaded Arab leaders. Indeed, one of the worst offenders in this matter was Azzam Pasha, secretary general of the Arab League, who asserted that the Arab slaughter of the Jews would be one of the greatest massacres of history. Having said this, many an influential and responsible Arab leader more than half assumed that the job was thereby done, and was astonished beyond measure to find that, instead of allowing themselves to be massacred, the Jews had decisively whipped the Arab armies sent against them by six different Arabic-speaking states.

Is it illogical to deduce from such facts that there can be little hope for improvement in the Middle East until there has occurred a fundamental change in Arab thinking? Can the Arab better his lot in any effective and permanent manner before he has taken stock of his past mistakes, admitted them, and formed an intelligent resolution to correct them? Would it be unreasonable to assume that the Middle East will continue to deteriorate until such time as the Arab forces himself or is forced by the pressure of events to adopt those modern methods of thinking and acting which, however imperfect, have yet given the world whatever measure of progress it has made during the past century?

What the Arab must have, first and foremost, is a realistic appreciation of the task before him. This must, in turn, be followed by a lasting resolve to introduce reforms sufficient to alter decisively the centuries-old economic pattern under which his lands have grown progressively poorer. Yet just here is the stumbling block. Having so long and so vehemently kindled the flames of patriotic self-satisfaction, the Arab has so far found it virtually impossible to replace this with sober self-analysis.

To this psychological difficulty there is added the practical rub that the social structure in the Middle East is of a sort which makes reformation particularly difficult. In rough terms, the population of a majority of the middle-eastern countries is divided into three categories. At the top are the wealthy landowners and major officeholders. As a group they are bitterly opposed to all social, political, and economic reform, since such reform can only be at their expense. Following them is another small group, the students, petty officials, and urban shopkeepers. Volatile, discontented, and usually highly nationalistic, they afford the major support for reform, without, however, having evolved any practical or workable means of achieving that reform. Thus their influence tends to disrupt rather than to renovate the national structure. At the bottom of the heap is that 80 to 95 percent of the population, depending upon the country, composed of poverty-stricken peasants and urban workers. Almost entirely uneducated, physically unwell, stunned by centuries of drudgery, these masses set the tone for life throughout the Middle East. Until drastic steps are taken to change their lot, there can be neither political stability nor economic progress. Only now just awakening to the inequities and inequalities of their position in life, the masses have not yet begun to move decisively. When they do, the result can be tragic, not only for the Middle East but for the whole of the free world, if their demands for equality and justice are not guided into constructive channels.

With such conditions prevailing, it is not easy to understand why Washington and London appear so anxious to incorporate the Middle East into the overall defense pattern of the West. Do the State Department and the Foreign Office believe that the dispatch of tanks and planes can lay the basis for a

successful middle-eastern defense against any Soviet aggression, when the whole mode of life in that region makes any serious military effort out of the question? If there are serious doubts as to how well France and Italy might fight in the event of an East-West war, how much greater must be the doubts in regard to the Middle East. Indeed, would it not be best for the West to discount totally in advance any effective Arabic military assistance, rather than to create the dangerous illusion that one has gained a military ally merely by sending him materiel?

With so dark a picture of the Middle East before him, one might well ask what possibility is there for the West of taking effective action to improve the situation. For the moment, at least, the answer would seem to be that there is very little of a spectacular nature which can be undertaken. Indeed, one of the lessons which the United States, with its ebullient self-confidence, is being forced to learn during these difficult postwar years is that there are some situations which can be mended only slowly, painstakingly and delicately. That in the Middle East is certainly one of those.

It is extremely doubtful if, within the foreseeable future, any major change in the middle eastern situation can be wrought by the West. With the Arab world showing no disposition to recognize the facts of life in regard to Israel, with public opinion still inclined to lay the whole blame for the establishment of that state upon the United States and Great Britain, and with local political leaders ready to employ xenophobia whenever their petty positions seem jeopardized, it is clear that the West must move with the utmost delicacy in its efforts to help the Arab populations help themselves.

One possible method might be to insist that any military assistance given the region be matched by an equal amount of economic aid. Thus, for instance, if Egypt asks for $100 million worth of military equipment, such equipment should be given only if at the same time Egypt is prepared to put to practical use an equal amount of economic help. If Cairo objects that this is an infringement of sovereignty, it would be possible to point out that there is adequate precedent for such an arrangement. One recent example is the military assistance pact recently signed between Spain and the United States, in which a sizable portion of American aid will go for the rehabilitation of Spanish railways. This has both a military and an economic justification.

Any program which merely pours in armament without corresponding economic assistance will weaken the area rather than strengthen it. To send arms will encourage the expansion of Arab military forces; this, in turn, will be an increased drain upon an already stumbling economy. Thus, paradoxically, one can argue that the shipment of munitions to the Middle East could actually weaken that area. This is particularly true if the Arabs were tempted to use those arms for a "second round" against Israel.

Indeed, anything likely to heighten intransigeance on either side of the Arab-Israeli quarrel can only redound to the benefit of those who seek to profit from chaos in that part of the world. If the Arabs believe that they can eventually amass sufficient strength to destroy the State of Israel, or if the Israelis become sufficiently concerned over Arab talk of reprisals, it is difficult to see how renewed fighting can be avoided.

If the Middle East is to be defended, it must be defended by the great Western powers, not by the local inhabitants, however difficult this may be. For if one thing is certain, it is that no people will go to war and fight effectively unless their heart is in it. And it would be unparalleled naivete on the part of Washington to believe that the Arab population of the Middle East is either able or willing to resist aggression in behalf of the West. Before any such sanguine hopes can be entertained, the Middle East must be made a region which its inhabitant feel is worth defending. This will only come when they are given a concrete and at least partially satisfying stake in the area's future. This they do not have, and to imagine that any amount of military aid can compensate for this could be a fatal mistake.

When the Middle East is finally on the road to economic, social and political reform, it will then be early enough to think about incorporating the area into the defensive system of the free world. But in the Middle East, as elsewhere, first things come first. To neglect those first things is inexcusable.

Catholic Charities Stadium Festival at Worcester

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, central Massachusetts is fortunate indeed this year in securing the participation of two outstanding musical organizations of the armed services—the United States Air Force Band and the nationally famous United States Naval Aviation Cadet Choir—in the annual stadium festival sponsored by Catholic Charities of the diocese of Worcester. These two musical groups will appear on June 20 at Holy Cross Stadium at Worcester through the splendid cooperation of Maj. Gen. S. Smith, Director of the USAF Information Services; and Vice Adm. J. D. Price, chief of naval air training, United States Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Fla.

While Massachusetts has already been honored with an appearance of the Naval Aviation Cadet Choir which took part in the Boston Post Music Festival last year, June 20 will mark the first time that the United States Air Force Band has an engagement in the central Massachusetts area.

Not too long ago, the Very Reverend David C. Sullivan, director of Catholic Charities for the Worcester diocese, was in touch with me about his plans for his annual stadium festival and I was pleased to join with my good friend and colleague, the Honorable HAROLD D. DONOHUE, of Worcester, in obtaining the participation of these armed services musical units in this year's program. Last year, some 30,000 people enjoyed at the stadium festival such great artists as Arthur Fiedler conducting the Boston Pops Orchestra, Leroy Anderson, Mary Ford, Les Paul, and Julius LaRosa. Music lovers in the Worcester area have another musical treat in store for them this year with the appearance of the Naval Aviation Cadet Choir and the United States Air Force Band with its featured Singing Sergeants.

All proceeds from the stadium festival are used for the charitable works in Worcester County under the direction of Catholic Charities, diocese of Worcester. These funds are expended on a nonsectarian basis, as was evidenced by the care which Catholic Charities provided for over 1,200 families who were made homeless during the Worcester tornado of June 9, 1953. At that time, Catholic Charities expended approximately one-quarter of a million dollars for these unfortunate victims of the tornado. The appearance of these two great musical organizations of our armed services will add tremendous prestige to the stadium festival this year.

NAVAL AVIATION CADET CHOIR

The nationally famous Naval Aviation Cadet Choir from the Annapolis of the Air, Pensacola, Fla., is made up of nearly 60 future Navy pilots. The Capella choir is under the direction of Ensign E. H. Coleman, United States Navy.

The young singing Navy cadets are in the first stages of Navy flight training at the Annapolis of the Air. Many of the choir members are engaged in 15 weeks of ground training at the Naval School of Preflight. Others have completed their preflight training and have entered basic-flight, where they fly the Navy's training plane, the SNJ "Texan." Still others may be preparing to make their first landings aboard the Navy training carrier cruising in the Gulf of Mexico. Regardless of the cadet's status in the training command today, his ultimate goal is to win the gold wings of a naval aviator and fly with the fleet.

A volunteer group, the Naval Aviation Cadet Choir has been heard and enjoyed by public, radio, and television audiences numbering in the millions, and on each occasion the audience has sensed the esprit de corps of naval aviation reflected through the cadets' mastery of song.

Thousands witnessed their performance at the Boston Post Music Festival in 1953, and television and radio audiences have thrilled to their performances on such shows as Ed Sullivan's Toast of the Town and the Arthur Godfrey show.

Their widely varied repertoire of religious, folk, and popular songs has won the hearts of their listeners and achieved international acclaim on many occasions.

The choir was originally organized to sing during divine services each Sunday at the Naval Air Station chapel. Today the choir continues this important weekly appearance, but their fame has spread through the years from coast to coast.

One of the amazing things about the choir is the constant turnover of singers. As a group completes basic flight training and leaves the Pensacola area, their places must be filled by newcomers to the training program. That the choir continues its high standards is a credit to the capable direction of Ensign Coleman, for of the 60 cadets singing at Pensacola now, nearly 35 will not be with the group 6 months from now, and within 1 year, the choir is completely new.

Student pilots volunteer to sing with the choir, and give up many off-duty hours to practice. None of the members are granted any special privileges, and must keep their grades above average. Should a choir member drop behind in the program, he is immediately dropped

from the choir, for his training as a naval officer and Navy pilot are naturally the primary objective.

Performances away from Pensacola are coordinated with scheduled training flights of the multiengine flight training program. Therefore the engagements are met at no expense to the Navy and coordinated also with recruiting officers to interest young men in naval aviation.

UNITED STATES AIR FORCE BAND

During World War II when we thought somewhat less of expense and of economy than we did of victory and morale, no one questioned the need for the Air Force Band. Today, the need is just as great, or greater. Today the band is part of the tradition of the Air Force. It is an exemplar of discipline and precision. Its contribution to morale is beyond measure. In an age of psychology and psychological warfare, it employs one of the oldest of the arts—music—to strengthen the youngest of the military services. The language of music is universal but the United States Air Force Band speaks to the heart of America in words Americans understand, and by which they are inspired.

First organized in June 1942, the Army Air Force Band as it was then called, grew slowly. In March 1944, the present conductor, Col. George S. Howard, took charge and began to show what could be done with a symphonic band. Most military and concert bands followed the same pattern and played the standard type arrangements found in the standard band repertoire. Colonel Howard believed that the full potentialities of the symphonic band had not been realized and that previous attempts made in this connection merely scratched the surface. It was wartime, and some of the finest musicians in the country were available for the band, but those chosen for the band were chosen solely because they met the band's requirements. They must be able to play "long hair" or "jazz" music with equal facility. They must lose their identities in an aggregation that could play any type of music with the highest professional standard. It was, moreover, an aggregation that had to be able to resolve itself into a 100-piece marching band, a 90-piece symphony orchestra, an 85-piece symphonic band, or a 25-voice glee club.

After 2 months of rehearsal, the first great Army Air Force Band went on a tour of 6 cities in eastern Canada. Then it was ready for a tour of wartime Britain, extended, as the Nazi Army was was forced back, into France. Everywhere the band met with the warmest reception by the civilian audiences before whom it played, by the critics who were astonished by it, but—most importantly—by the Americans in uniform, to whom it spoke of home.

The end of the war in 1945 saw the demobilization of the Army Air Force Band. The Air Force itself dropped from 273 combat groups at the peak, in January 1945, to 2 effective groups in December 1946. Rapid demobilization of personnel reduced the 100-man band to a group of 3 men. The band had to rebuild, as the Air Force itself had to rebuild. Great credit is due to the military planners who included the band in the plans for the new autonomous service that came into existence, by act of the Congress, on September 18, 1947. But great credit goes, too, to the band that phoenixlike could reconstitute itself so quickly.

By the time the new Air Force came into existence, the Air Force Band was ready—thanks to the perseverance of its former conductor, who had given up an important position in civilian life to return to the Air Force. Within a period of 2 years, Colonel—then Major—Howard not only succeeded in forming an aggregation that was the equal of that of World War II, but one that actually surpassed it. It was one well worthy to represent the Air Force, and the United States, in tours of Europe and North Africa in the summers of 1950, 1951, and 1953. Stadiums built by Hitler were filled beyond the dreams of Hitler, not with totalitarian hordes but with cheering, music-hungry multitudes. In Berlin, the United States Air Force Band played to an audience of 130,000 people in the Olympic stadium, while an additional 50,000 were turned away due to lack of space.

High praise from high officials has consistently followed the United States Air Force Band. For instance, the President of Ireland said:

> America has no idea how much the music of the United States Air Force Band has played in creating a better understanding between our two countries.

But the finest tribute of all was that of a Communist in Trieste who yelled at the end of a number: "That's marvelous, you swine."

Mr. Speaker, the United States Air Force Band, through the medium of its music, has helped to create a better understanding among the people of the world, by giving them an accurate insight into American culture. On the air, its music has penetrated the Iron Curtain. Thus, it is performing a most useful service at home and abroad. It is an organization of the service it represents, and an effective emissary of the Nation that supports it.

There is a moral, however, to what I have been saying. The Air Force Band has met with success because it is an outstanding band. The Air Force that maintains it must always be outstanding. It must be the best, most effective Air Force in all the world. If it is, we need have no fear of the future, nor need we be frightened by the airpower build-up of any aggressor nation.

An Air Force is not merely bases, planes and men. It is adequate bases, adequate planes, the finest planes, and the best trained men. It is something more too: It is the people who support it, whose confidence and affection it merits, and its links with the people. The United States Air Force Band is one of the strongest links there can be between its parent organization, the United States Air Force, and the people of the United States.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that this modest tribute to the United States Air Force Band and the Naval Aviation Cadet Choir expresses not merely my own, but the feeling of my colleagues about these two outstanding musical organizations which are part of the finest tradition of the armed strength and purpose of America.

Worcester and all of central Massachusetts, I know, will give these boys a wonderful welcome when they come to Holy Cross Stadium on June 20. Both Congressman DONOHUE and myself look forward, with anticipation to their visit to the Heart of the Commonwealth and Monsignor Sullivan is to be congratulated for his choice of these two musical groups as the featured artists for his annual Stadium Festival this year.

Stop Driving Our Best Soldiers Out of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include in our RECORD the following article which appeared in This Week magazine, March 28, 1954, by Col. Oliver G. Haywood, Jr., as told to Marguerite Higgins:

STOP DRIVING OUR BEST SOLDIERS OUT OF SERVICE

I have recently resigned my commission in the United States Air Force because I believe this Nation is imposing conditions of second-class citizenship on its professional military force.

My resignation was not prompted by any feeling of personal hardship. It was one individual's protest against policies which I consider a threat to the safety of every American. Now that my lips are no longer sealed by military regulations, I am free to speak of these policies of expediency, indifference, and discriminatory legislation which are making military careers less and less attractive at a time when our Nation most needs top-caliber leadership.

It is my deep conviction that if present trends continue our country will enter any future conflict with a second-class Army, Navy, and Air Force, regardless of how many billions we pour into defense. And may God protect the Nation. The Armed Forces will not be able to.

My resignation from the military—an act by which I chose to forfeit all retirement pay and other benefits—follows 22 years of service. It was a hard decision, for my military service has been interesting and varied. I graduated from West Point in 1936. I have known the life of a line officer, having served as a company and battalion commander. I have soldiered in places as far apart as Germany and Bikini. In the scientific line, I have had tours of duty working on atomic-energy problems at the Los Alamos Laboratories and in the Manhattan engineer project.

I resigned not because I was personally dissatisfied but, as I wrote in my letter of resignation, because, "As a senior officer I must impose on able and patriotic subordinates conditions of second-class citizenship. * * * The degradation of military status must lead to a decline in the quality of our Military Establishment."

SERVICE CAREERS FALLING OFF

I believe that to remain in such a career merely helps to conceal a condition more

dangerous to the future security of our Nation than any number of Russian bombs. This is the declining attractiveness of the military career—a situation which is causing trained officers and men to leave the service and forcing young men to refuse service careers.

I intend to document here some ways in which this Nation has whittled away at military careers. But I'd like to emphasize that no single example is in itself decisive. Each example is important only as a development in a general trend. Soldiers are aware that as times change certain traditional advantages may be taken away.

But if the services are to represent careers that will attract and hold capable young men instead of mediocrities, the loss of certain benefits should be compensated by the creation of some new ones. The last 20 years have certainly seen a substantial increase in the standard of living of the civilian population. But for the military—and this is provable statistically or any way you want—the last two decades have seen all the major advantages of military service reduced or eliminated.

Let's take the question of retirements. It is a good example of the way Congress has repeatedly welshed on its agreements with the military. When I came into the service, one of the advantages of a military career was the promise that officers could retire with a pension after 30 years' service, enlisted men after 20. Recently Congress began a series of changes in retirement regulations that were so bewildering that it has become impossible to plan for the future.

For instance, Congress decided 2 years ago that no officer could draw retirement pay even after 30 years' service unless he had also reached his sixtieth birthday. Under this provision a man like General Lucius D. Clay, former military governor of Germany who retired at 52 years of age, would have left the service without benefit of pension.

There were a number of exceptions to this ruling. One exception provided that a 30-year man could retire with full pay even if he was still under 60 years of age—providing he had proved himself an incompetent officer. In other words, if an officer does his work poorly enough to be judged incompetent he receives retirement pay for life. It is only those who do their work well who are released with nothing.

NO CHOICE

In my letter of resignation I observed that loyalty should go down as well as up, and it's an important principle to me. The soldier has no choice but to live up to his end of the contract with Uncle Sam. Why should Uncle Sam be entitled to break his promises once the soldier is committed to a military career?

In civilian life a man can quit or go to court if his boss violates his contract. In the military there have been periods when you couldn't even resign your commission. My own resignation was "in process" exactly 1 year. At the time I submitted it military authorities were not accepting resignations of regular officers except in hardship cases. After many months and a change of policy my resignation was accepted. But I know several officers whose resignations have been summarily rejected. For these men military life has become involuntary servitude of indefinite duration.

Congress has over past years been making frequent assaults on so-called "fringe benefits"—commissaries, post exchanges, dependent medical care, etc.—which in effect formed part of military pay. Because military pay has always been low in comparison with civilian salaries, the Nation traditionally has tried to bridge part of the difference by providing essentials such as staple foods, drugs, etc., at virtually cost prices.

ITS OWN COMMUNITY

Also because soldiers are frequently transferred from area to area—and this is particularly true of combat pilots in such vital duties as the Strategic Air Command—officers and men rarely have opportunity to adjust to the community around them. In fact, communities have been known to be mighty hostile to a sudden influx of military personnel. So the military tries to create on its military posts its own community—its own clubs, doctors, food stores, theaters, etc.

Let's take the fate of the commissaries—food stores which primarily benefit married enlisted men. Yielding to lobbying by retail-store associations, Congress passed legislation intended to close down the majority of these stores. By so yielding to the pressure of the retailers the Congress made plain its willingness to aid civilian merchants at the expense of individuals in the military service.

Since I entered the service, this congressional attitude has taken many forms. The post exchanges—which have always been operated without expense to the taxpayer—have become of little value because outside pressure has reduced the variety and quantity of goods available. In line with this trend the quality of military housing has declined; retired pay for the physically handicapped has been reduced; recreational and social facilities on military bases have been curtailed; and dependent medical care has been made uncertain.

The impact of all of this is clearer if you look closely at military salaries. A second lieutenant graduating from West Point receives $338.58 a month, including all allowances. This is a little more than base pay of an able-bodied deckhand. An Air Force captain with 8 years' experience, including Korea jets, draws $593.25 a month. An airline pilot with 8 years' seniority averages over $1,000.

The take-home pay of an Air Force major general is less, dollar for dollar, than it was 30 years ago. Let me repeat, in dollars—with no adjustment for the way dollars have shrunk to a fraction of their former value. Income taxes and lowering of flight pay have taken away far more of the general's salary than has been provided by infrequent pay raises.

In fact, if you adjust for the cost-of-living index, the modern-day Air Force general has less than a third of the purchasing power possessed by his counterpart of 30 years ago. And he has no expense account. Is such a statement true for the top leadership of any other profession?

ARBITRARY CHANGES

There is an interesting test of congressional attitude when you compare Uncle Sam's treatment of his soldier employee and civilian employee. Concerning the very vital matter of pay, civil-service employees back in 1951 were granted a 10-percent increase, with retroactive features. A year later Congress gave the military an increase averaging 5 percent and with no retroactive provisions. Thus the benefits granted the civilians averaged just about double those granted the men in uniform.

Sudden arbitrary changes in regulations can hurt officers and their families in ways that would probably surprise civilians not accustomed to the hazards of a profession which as part of its duty must move long distances from post to post. (In my 17 years as an officer my family moved 11 times.) Consider the impact of the recent ruling reducing from 12,000 to 9,000 pounds the amount of household furniture a senior officer and his family could transport at Government expense. Nine thousand pounds constitutes four rooms of furniture, and not even that if you include a refrigerator, a home freezer, or a piano.

Look what happened to the military personnel in Japan who were on duty in 1950, the year the war in Korea exploded. All the families had traveled to the Orient under the old regulations permitting the transfer of 12,000 pounds of furniture. Then in 1952, when many of the officers were fighting for their lives and ours in Korea, the weight allowances were arbitrarily reduced. On transfer back to the United States these officers had to sell their excess goods locally or bring them back at their own expense, in either case at a substantial loss.

This business of always getting the short end of the stick is probably most irritating when it results from the indifference of your own military leadership or of the Defense Department. I am thinking of an incident in my last 2 years of service when I was Chief of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research.

MATTER OF POLICY

I selected three young officers to go to Belgium for some scientific work. There was transport available to take their families, and housing was available at their destination. But my requests for orders for their families were denied. Now it is my firm belief that individuals are entitled to dignified and considerate treatment even though they are in the uniform of their country. I, like many others in the service, like to assist my wife in the complicated business of breaking up one home and moving to the next. So I offered to delay the orders of the three officers until their families could go with them. But the Pentagon said it was a matter of policy that families could not travel as units. The husband went first and the family followed after—often long after. Why? We could never figure it out. For in the same period State Department and other Government officials were having no difficulty traveling to overseas posts with their families.

Because of prolonged overseas assignments without families, the divorce rate in the Strategic Air Command recently shot up to a record of one breakup in every three marriages. Surely there is enough separation of military families in war and cold war without inflicting it on them unnecessarily and in peacetime.

I hope that in outlining some of the grievances of the military I have not sounded petulant or one-sided. I certainly have no personal ax to grind, as I could not go back into the regular service even if I wanted to. But it is my belief that the justified problems of a military career have not been clearly placed before the American public, and that this is one reason the grievances remain. What it all comes down to is this: a profession either attracts competent people by offering a respected and worthwhile life or an attractive salary, or the promise of great reward to the successful few who reach the top. Today the military offers none of these advantages.

ARMY OF EXPERTS

Just what is the role of the professional soldier? As distinguished from the man who obtains a commission during an emergency or for a specific assignment, the professional or regular military man devotes the prime of his life and skill to preparing for the day of crisis. Today the breadth of knowledge these professionals must possess is unprecedented. They must be experts in science, management, procurement, public relations, budgets, atomic energy, jet engines, psychological warfare, etc.

As we learned during the occupation of both Germany and Japan, today's officers must know not only military strategy but must understand economics, the structure of government and political theory. Remember that one of our greatest soldiers, Gen. George S. Patton, was relieved of his command in Germany not because of a military blunder but because in a thoughtless moment he commented that, "This Nazi thing—it's just like a Democratic-Republican election fight." General Patton stubbed his toe on political theory.

The importance of America's corps of regulars was pointed up in World War II. In that era just over 11,000 Regular Army offi-

cers developed a ground force that successfully fought the Germans and the Japanese on many fronts. This small nucleus of professionals trained, administered, supplied and deployed a mammoth army that eventually totaled 930,000 officers and 12 million men.

Although public ignorance and national apathy are partly responsible for the state of affairs in the professional Military Establishment, Congress obviously cannot escape a large share of the blame. The open hostility of Congress to the regular-officer personnel has been expressed in speeches, press releases and in legislation such as I have described. There have been many instances when discriminatory legislation was voted into law without reference to the congressional committee that the Congress itself had set up for the purpose. Congressional hostility in itself would have been enough to make me desire to leave the service.

Although the congressional speechmakers invariably mention the so-called "brass"—that is, the generals and the admirals—much of the discriminatory legislation hits hardest at the young officers and enlisted men. A rider in the 1952 appropriations bill was announced to the press and public as slowing down the promotions of the "military brass."

BLAMED THE PENTAGON

The rider was so ill-conceived and poorly worded as to have little effect on senior officers, but it made a drastic impact on promotion opportunities of young officers. Several thousand Navy lieutenants would have had to be demoted if the next session of Congress had not taken prompt action to correct the more glaring errors in the original wording. But the Congressman who authored this "rider" was not at all embarrassed by his error. He blamed the Pentagon. He felt the Pentagon should have told him how to word his rider so that it would hurt only the "brass," as he had intended.

Now, as this Nation faces new crises, what are the overall effects of a policy of constantly whittling away at the military profession?

Here are some statistics that help to tell the tale.

Resignations of cadets at West Point reached 109 in 1952 and 95 in 1953, with many youngsters frankly stating that they were leaving because of better career opportunities in civilian life.

The Air Force is having difficulty retaining its skilled technicians. These airmen, who are expensively trained and invaluable in the jet age, are turning down offers of reenlistment at the rate of 200,000 a year.

Another spectacular example of young Americans' attitudes toward professional military careers is afforded by the Navy's Holloway Plan. Under the plan the Navy provides financial assistance and naval training to selected college students in return for the pledge by these students to serve for 2 years after graduation as Reserve officers. After the 2 years of Reserve training are over, the students are offered commissions in the Regular Navy. A year ago the first group of 800 Holloway Plan officers completed their required 2 years. Nearly 90 percent rejected careers as Regular officers in the Navy.

The question before Congress and the people, as I see it, is whether this is the time to subtract additional prerogatives and prestige from the Regular military establishments, or whether the time has come to make military careers more attractive than ever.

Can we risk the kind of military establishment that for want of better, must take in a large proportion of mediocrities?

Does America want its military leadership of tomorrow to come from the bargain basement?

Marine Band in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, last year, central Massachusetts was privileged to hear the world-famous United States Marine Band when it gave concerts in Worcester and Gardner. The latter community, which is in my district, gave the Marine Band one of the most stirring ovations it had ever received in any city, according to a report given me by Lt. Col. William F. Santelmann, the leader, upon the band's return to Washington after a tour of New England. Gardner gave the band a typical warmhearted Massachusetts welcome, and, under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD news accounts of the band's appearance at Gardner, as treated by the Gardner News. I am profoundly thankful to the band for appearing in my great district and pleased no end with the enthusiastic reception accorded by the people for its splendid performance.

The material follows:

[From the Gardner News of October 3, 1953]

CAPACITY AUDIENCES GREET FAMOUS MARINE CORPS BAND IN FIRST VISIT TO CITY—AFTERNOON, EVENING PROGRAMS THOROUGHLY ENJOYED—MUSIC OF HIGH ORDER—LIONS CLUB SPONSORS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL EVENT—ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION

Gardner, which has always had a soft spot in its community heart for bands and band music, turned out in force yesterday afternoon and last night to hear one of the world's greatest, the United States Marine Corps Band when that organization made its first visit to the city under the auspices of the Lions' Club.

Capacity audiences greeted the 50-man organization and its veteran leader, Lt. Col. William F. Santelmann, in afternoon and evening concerts at Pearson Auditorium at the high school.

The daylight program, given over to youngsters, featured several numbers written especially for children of school age which were played as a band member gave a running narration of the story of the score. An explanation of the band's composition and its instruments by Lieutenant Colonel Santelmann was another highlight.

Last night's music was completely and thoroughly adult and, in the opinion of the 1,000 who filled the hall, one of the finest and most stirring programs ever heard in this city.

Opening with Beethoven's moving overture Egmont, Colonel Santelmann and his musicians presented a wide variety of music ranging from Wagner to Richard Rodgers and presented it in masterly fashion.

Lieutenant Colonel Santelmann's conducting contributed in no small measure to the success of the program and the enthusiastic reception it was given. Granted that his bandsmen, Marine Corps specialists, are handpicked to play with one of the world's great musical organizations, the concert was one that demanded and was given intelligent, sure, and discerning direction.

The band was especially generous with its encores, using standard Sousa and Alexander marches and popular selections to soften the impact of Wagner and Berlioz. The audience loved it.

TWO SOLOISTS

There were two soloists, Bramwell Smith, young Canadian-born trumpeter who already ranks with the masters in his field, and Claude Pedicord, formerly harpist with the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra.

Both are artists of exceptional and outstanding ability. To most Gardnerites, the late Walter Smith represented the ultimate in trumpeting, but Sergeant Smith's presentation of Neapolitan Fantasy, one of his own compositions, was above the Boston Smith's level, sheer enjoyment from the opening note to the last.

Sergeant Pedicord, an Air Force veteran of World War II who joined the band in 1949, played the difficult and exacting Choral and Variations, by Charles Marie Widor, French composer with a surety and an artistry that were unusual even in an artist of his background and caliber.

A solid 20-man brass section which accented several march selections and an octet which sang the Marine Hymn without which no Marine gathering is a success, were other facets of the program.

The audience was very enthusiastic. That fact plus the generosity with which Lieutenant Colonel Santelmann responded to it ran the program to very nearly 2½ hours. But there wasn't an unenjoyable moment.

Financially, the band's appearance was a huge success, and the Lions Club has a very substantial sum for the Gardner High and Junior High School bands and its own welfare fund. Following the concert, a buffet supper was served at the Colonial Hotel for club members and their wives and visiting marines.

Emile A. Richards, president of the Lions, was general chairman of the committee on arrangements. Tickets were handled by Maj. Gordon Vincent, U. S. M. C. R., former City Solicitor Gould H. Coleman, Henry M. Gates, Albert Griffin, and Joseph Vincent.

The souvenir program was arranged by William Begun, Philip A. Bjurling, Samuel Garbose, Albert Griffin, Thomas Horrigan, Jr., Ernest L. Kendall, Forrest J. Knight, Leonard Knitzer, President Richards, Herbert Rose, Roland St. Hilaire, Philip Smith, and Lloyd Winick.

The stage arrangements were handled by Director Henry Gates of the high school band and the boys of his organization. Maj. Vincent was in charge of publicity and directed the corps of Marine Reserve women from Worchester who with high school band members served as ushers.

Club officers are President Richards; Ralph Gates, first vice president; Forrest J. Knight, second vice president; Major Vincent, third vice president; Thomas Horrigan, tail twister; Lloyd Winick, lion tamer; Frank H. Schneider, Perley Washburn, Leonard Knitzer, and William Begun, directors.

On hand from the Worchester Marine Reserve unit to assist were M. Sgts. R. J. Alasevich and M. B. Doolittle, T. Sgt. C. B. Galkowski, S. Sgts. F. C. Carlton, B. F. Maher, E. J. Bardy, and R. W. Pratt, Sgts. T. W. Snyder, R. W. Millette, and D. E. Alasevich, Corp. C. G. Richter, and Navy Corpsman M. E. Kaloostian.

Members of the Women's Marine unit who were usherettes were S. Sgt. Jean Chambers, Corp. Loretta Maynard, Pvts. 1st class Nancy Foley, Barbara Foley, Dorothy Erickson, Gertrude King, and Phyllis Martella, and Pvts. Jean Byrnes, Elizabeth Sullivan, Mary Sullivan, and Jacqueline Saucier, Lt. Marjorie McKinnon, an aide to Governor Herter, was in charge of the group.

[From the Gardner News of October 3, 1953]

CONCERT WILL CLEAR NEARLY $2,000 FOR LIONS

An incomplete casting of accounts by Treasurer Roy Berkenstock and Secretary Joseph Vincent of the Lions Club indicates

the organization will clear at least $2,000 on its completely successful presentation of the Marine Corps Band Thursday night.

The money will be used to purchase instruments for the high school and junior high-school bands and to finance the club's defective vision fund.

Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, was a big help to the club in booking the band. Ordinarily, the organization does not appear in communities this size, but the Clinton Congressman helped turn the trick.

The concert pleased two individuals mightily. It fulfilled an ambition of years standing for President Emile A. Richards, who for years has managed the Heywood-Wakefield Band and it afforded Lt. Col. William Santelmann, the band director, a chance to play before what he termed one of the most appreciative audiences of his 30-year career.

President's Program Ignored as GOP Flounders in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial from the Brooklyn Eagle of March 26, 1954, is most apropos. I suggest that our Republican colleagues read it each time they vote to cripple TVA, or to kill public housing, or to boost interest rates:

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM IGNORED AS GOP FLOUNDERS IN POLITICS

President Eisenhower warned the Republican Party some months ago that its hope of continued public support and political success was dependent upon its record of performance. This warning seems to have been forgotten as Congress continues to be preoccupied with controversy and political warfare, and the President's program is forgotten.

With greater gentleness than the situation justifies, President Eisenhower at this week's press conference reminded Congress of its neglected duty. A crying need, the President said, is action on his legislative program. Its adoption, he added, would insure greater prosperity and happiness for all of us, a distribution of inescapable burdens, and a stronger America.

The President might have added with truth that the Republican candidates for Congress next November will have little basis for an appeal to the voters unless they swing quickly into action and establish a record of creditable accomplishments.

The President has presented a sound and progressive program. It has received but scant consideration, however, as all interest has centered in the McCarthy story and in the business of fence mending at home. With little achieved and Republican leadership a negligible factor, especially in the Senate, Members are talking about going home by late June.

Unless there is an immediate recognition of their responsibilities, they will go home emptyhanded and will labor under the disadvantage of a record of ineptitude and neglect. As it stands at present, the record holds little prospect of assuming worthwhile aspects.

As of now, the issue of taxation is not settled and there is doubt that the President's success in the House will be repeated in the Senate. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska faces a dark future and the farm program, trade agreements, Taft-Hartley law revision, housing, St. Lawrence seaway, foreign aid, presidential nominations, manifold appropriations for defense, and other items are awaiting action.

It was inevitable that the fued between Senator MCCARTHY and his chief counsel, Roy Cohn, on the one side, and Army Secretary Stevens on the other, should prove diverting. It has brought about the intervention of the President in behalf of men whom he trusts and has produced a sharp division within the Republican Party and also within the Nation. But it should not have caused the work of Congress to grind to a halt.

Up to now there has been little to indicate that Republican leaders and other Members of Congress are aware that success in the November elections depends on the party record in the field of legislative accomplishment. President Eisenhower has reminded the Republican Members of Congress that "all of the leadership is agreed" upon his program. It is time the leadership and the rank and file got behind it.

Underpaid Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a resolution sent to me by the Boston City Council to which was attached a clipping from the Boston Post of Monday, March 22, 1954. I am in complete agreement with its contents, and I do hope that my colleagues will remember this resolution when the time comes to vote on a pay raise for postal workers:

CITY OF BOSTON.

Whereas the uniformed carriers of the United States Postal Service, as well as the postal clerks and the mail handlers, have not had their salaries increased to keep pace with the rising cost of living during the past decade; and

Whereas as the Boston Post so well pointed out in an editorial this morning, the postal carriers and the other post office workers are underpaid, and as the editorial further points out, "their income is $791 a year behind the spendable income that they had in 1939. More than one-half of the postal carriers and clerks cannot live on their present salary"; and

Whereas the editorial continues to point out "that the volume of mail has gone up about 33 percent in 5 years while the personnel handling the mail has risen only 9 percent": Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Boston City Council, in meeting assembled, memorialize Congress, particularly the House committee, to study the bill to provide postal workers with wage increases, the Boston City Council being in favor of such increases, and the early passage of the bill by the Congress.

In city council, March 22, 1954. Adopted.

Attest:

W. J. MALLOY, *City Clerk*.

UNDERPAID POSTAL WORKERS

Did you ever meet your letter carrier when he was off duty and out of uniform, and wonder why he seemed tired, shabby, and threadbare? Wonder no longer. He and the other post-office workers are underpaid.

Their income is $791 a year behind the spendable income they had in 1939. More than half of the letter carriers and postal clerks cannot live on their present salaries. Almost half of them have to take extra jobs in addition to their postal work. Over a third of them try to make ends meet with the wages brought in by a wife who works.

The volume of mail has gone up about 33 percent in 5 years, but the personnel handling the mail has risen only 9 percent. In short, they are doing more work for the same old deficient wages.

A House committee is now studying a bill to provide them with a wage increase. They will see all these statistics and hear all the arguments. But the citizens of the land, who see their letter carrier every day, plodding his route, know the story better than anyone.

President Eisenhower's Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the housing program recommended by President Eisenhower in his housing message of January 24, 1954, should have the approval of this House.

In that message he requested 35,000 new public units for the next fiscal year and an inclusive aggregate of 140,000 for the ensuing 4 fiscal years as part of a balanced housing program.

The President's housing program is reasonable and conservative. The housing situation in cities will be seriously harmed unless the recommendations of the President are written into law. We owe it to our President to support him in his endeavor to improve the living conditions of those of our people who dwell in our cities.

The need is apparent. It is also clear that private builders are not attracted to this type of development or the need would not be as great as it is. It is true that much has been done to improve the housing conditions in our cities, but it is equally true that much remains to be done. The Congress should give its wholehearted support to the President's housing program.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

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Appendix

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and Parkway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, editors of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, Justice William O. Douglas, and a group of nature lovers have now completed their 185-mile hike from Cumberland to Washington, along the historic Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. This long trek along the towpath of the canal was the result of a challenge by Justice Douglas, accepted by the editors of the Post; and the purpose was to explore the merits or demerits of a parkway along the canal, a project which I originated and sponsored years ago. The hardy hikers have now returned to Washington.

In today's Post the editors give a report to their readers. They believe in a parkway; but as a result of their observations, they have certain suggestions which should be given serious consideration by everyone interested in a parkway.

The Department of Interior and the State of Maryland, which must share the responsibility for completion of the project, will want to review carefully the report by the editors of the Post.

In connection with this matter, I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial from today's Washington Post and Times-Herald printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

C. & O. CANAL: A REPORT

It is time for an accounting to our readers of our observations during the trek from Cumberland to Washington with Justice Douglas. We went into the hike with one firm conviction: that the scenery, historical setting, and tonic qualities of the lovely Potomac Valley ought to be made available to more people. We approved the suggestion of a parkway as a means of opening the valley to pleasure seekers. Some 180 miles (most of it on foot) and numerous blisters and strained tendons later, we retain the conviction that the valley ought to be opened up. We believe, however, that a compromise is possible which will preserve large areas in their natural state and still make possible a parkway along some beautiful parts of the valley.

In one important respect we have changed our minds. The 1950 plan of the National Park Service, which we had discussed previously, called for a parkway along the towpath, and in some places along the bed, of the old Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Apart from the desirability of leaving some areas in their natural state, this would be a much bigger undertaking than we had supposed. The amount of fill required to make the canal bed usable would be enormous; and the cost of maintenance might be prohibitive, as indicated by the fact that many parts of the towpath recently have been under water.

We also believe that many semiwilderness stretches along the old canal ought not to be disturbed. These are the habitats of deer, fox, raccoon, and birds without number. It would be a shame to invade, say, the glen above Cresaptown, where the old drill marks are still visible; the magnificent 3,000-foot tunnel near Paw Paw, which remains a monument to the architectural and engineering genius of 110 years ago; the Roundtop Mountain area above Hancock; the stretch along the Catoctins above Point of Rocks; and, of course, the restored canal between Seneca and Washington, which ought to be left untouched. Camping areas, pure water supplies and access roads at intervals would serve to make these attractions more available.

At the same time, there are a number of scenic sectors where a parkway would do little harm and would be an attraction for persons who do not have the stamina for long hikes. This is true of stretches where the reservation is wide, as well as those where the canal is paralleled by railroads. Existing roads, such as Maryland Route 51 and River Road, would form the nucleus for a parkway in some areas. In others a parkway could be built along the top of the bluff to give beautiful panoramas without disturbing the canal and towpath preserve.

Obviously, it will not be possible to satisfy everyone. Some persons in the Cumberland area look for a highway as an alternate to the mountainous U. S. 40. Others look for economic benefits from tourist traffic along a parkway. Many others in more easterly counties want no parkway at all. Even if no parkway were built it probably would be impossible to restore some sections of the canal. There is a large washout above Harpers Ferry; the canal has lost its seal in some areas and there are limestone sinks in others; in many places the lockhouses are dilapidated and the locks are crumbling. Other sectors would be relatively easy to restore through the use of water from springs, and some of the old buildings and locks could be repaired. Particular attention ought to be given the preservation of the fine aqueducts at Licking Creek, Monocacy, and Seneca.

In view of the above considerations we propose that:

1. The Park Service plan be substantially modified to avoid encroachment on the best of the natural areas, to preserve as much as possible of the towpath and canal bed and to shorten distances where the river meanders. Recently the Park Service has shown interest in a walking parkway for hikers, equestrians, and bicyclists. But the need is for both types of parkway, to serve the desires of Sunday afternoon pleasure seekers as well as more hardy outdoorsmen.

2. Stress be placed on developing picnic grounds as well as access roads into the natural areas. The canal itself ought to be restored as a canoeway where feasible. Special attention should be given to historic sites, including access from a canal parkway to such spots as the Antietam Battlefield.

3. Inducements be given local communities to clean up the parts of the canal preserve and river front now polluted and littered with trash—notably the unsightly stretches around Hancock and Brunswick.

4. The possibility be investigated of obtaining matching funds from Maryland for access roads. Both a walking trail and a parkway should spur tourist trade and should bring motels, hostels, and stores.

Finally, we urge our readers to investigate for themselves the wonderful potential of this scenic attraction—with its respite from daily concerns—so close to the Nation's Capitol. We think it is possible to develop this resource so that it will serve as a boon to hikers as well as to those whose enjoyment of nature must be limited to a leisurely drive in an automobile.

What the United Nations Means to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, our Ambassador to the United Nations, the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., has just completed a year's work in that position. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD his statement entitled "What the United Nations Means to the United States."

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS MEANS TO THE UNITED STATES

(Text of statement by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States representative to the United Nations, January 28, 1954)

I am glad to have this opportunity to discuss the question "What the United Nations Means to the United States."

In seeking the answer to this question we must look at the U. N. with the utmost objectivity. We must scrutinize its purposes, its achievements, its shortcomings, its utility, and its future promise. The times are far too serious for self-delusion. We must see this thing as it is—and coolly appraise its value. We must ask ourselves the great question: Is it good for America?

In bluntest terms, the United Nations is an international device whose primary purpose is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" by developing enough strength to deter aggression and if, in spite of the United Nations, it should occur, to repel it.

It was created by a charter, which was ratified by the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 in 1945 at the close of the bloodiest war in history. It was invited to establish itself in the United States by a unanimous vote of the United States Congress and has its headquarters in New York City.

To promote peace, the charter created a Security Council of 11 members, which has the power, subject to the veto of any 1 of its 5 permanent members, in case of aggression to issue action orders which are legally binding on all United Nations members.

It also set up a General Assembly, which cannot issue orders but has power to debate and to recommend. In the General Assembly each of the 60 member nations has 1 vote, regardless of size.

When the United Nations was founded it was assumed that the great Allies of World War II would stay together to keep peace. But the Soviet Union became hostile to the free world and, by its abuse of the veto, caused the Security Council to become less and less active, with the result that the General Assembly has become the busy place. (A veto-proof method has at last been evolved for bringing a collective defense program into being by recommendations passed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. When, as, and if aggression occurs in the future we will no longer be paralyzed by the Communist abuse of the veto.)

This growth of the General Assembly is in many ways a sound development because a solid foundation for peace actually depends on two things: (1) The existence of common practical interests; and (2) the existence of a common sense of justice, which means a common sense of right and wrong and a common view of the relation of the individual to his government.

Until both of these things exist, those who insist on schemes for world union or world Government do more harm than good because, like someone feeding fried potatoes to a new-born baby, they are trying to ram something down the throat of the world which it cannot digest. If any one of the 13 Colonies, at the time of the American Revolution, had had a view of life as different from the rest of the world as the view of the Soviet Union is different from the free world today, there would have been no United States. The American revolutionists, unlike the people of the world today, all had the same general thoughts about the nature of man.

In the modern world there is already a growing knowledge that countries have many common practical interests. But the growth of a common sense of justice seems to come more slowly—and, as any effective scheme for world order depends on such a sense of justice, the essential first step is a world forum where issues can be debated and put to a vote, and where world public opinion can develop. The General Assembly is thus a place where they talk and vote—just as they do in any democratic assemblage—because it is by talking and voting that you sometimes avert war, and it is by talking and voting that you build a world sense of right and wrong.

The 60 member nations of the United Nations are a sizeable majority of the world's nations and of the world's population. The General Assembly is, therefore, the indispensable first step—the necessary foundation for any future world order which mankind may wish to build. It is as far as we can go now. But we should go this far.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is a place where—

Public opinion is developed—and public opinion makes things happen in spite of Iron Curtains.

We can see what the Communists are doing in the war of ideas and sometimes in other ways. Without it we could not see nearly as much.

You can get authoritative reactions quickly on the state of opinion in almost any part of the world, which it would take days, if not weeks, to get otherwise.

Americans can see how their American public servants are conducting the American side of the cold war. It therefore enables us to correct our mistakes more quickly and with greater sureness than we could do otherwise.

The free world gets consolidated. Being free, the non-Communist nations naturally tend to go their own way and to drift apart. But sooner or later some Communist spokesman will make some statement that is so monstrous that you can almost see the free nations getting together before your very eyes. This more than counterbalances whatever advantages the Communists may get out of their propaganda.

We have developed valuable allies—certainly not as many as we should have liked. But, equally certain, whatever allies we have are welcome and are that much clear gain.

Six of the member nations are peoples who were under alien control when the charter was signed. Of the 800 million people in the free world who were depedent 10 years ago, some 600 million—or three-fourths—have won full independence since 1945. The newly independent countries which belong to the United Nations include India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Israel.

Representatives of nations can meet without formality to settle disputes. Those who want to divide and rule are impeded, for this is a hard game to play when the entire free world is looking on.

The threat of war in Iran in 1946, due to pressure of Russian troops, was moderated and gradually extinguished.

The initiative was taken, with substantial American backing, to prevent Communist encroachment on Greece in 1947.

Open warfare over Kashmir between India and Pakistan was stopped.

The advent of Israel into the family of nations was determined and an end put to a bloody war in the Holy Land, although the situation is still dangerous.

Working with the Netherlands and the Indonesians, full independence was given to the 76 million people inhabiting Indonesia.

Part of the free world was organized to repel the bloody aggression in Korea, which threatened the whole free world—and not only Asia.

The Kremlin has a real headache in the United Nations. They cannot control the United Nations; they cannot break it up; they do not dare leave it.

WHAT IT IS NOT

The United Nations is not a world government. It cannot impose a tax of any kind. It cannot draft a single soldier—from any country for service in Korea or elsewhere. Its charter specifically prohibits its intervention in domestic matters (art. 2, par. 7). Your representative at the United Nations is called Ambassador by act of Congress—for the simple reason that he represents a sovereign state and not a political subdivision. It would, of course, be a manifest absurdity to give the large and small states each one vote in a body which had the powers of a government.

It is not a heavy burden on the United States taxpayer—16 cents per citizen in year 11 of the atomic age. This is less than half of what is spent for the sanitation of the city of New York, or one-fourteenth of what is spent for cigarettes. The amount spent—according to the New York Times figures—by the United Nations, foreign delegations, and secretariat members living in New York, far exceeds our annual contribution to the United Nations and the specialized agencies—and the American contribution was reduced both in percentage and in actual dollars at the last session of the General Assembly.

It does not threaten the destruction of our Constitution because, as the Supreme Court has said, "the treatymaking power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids." There is only one organ of the United Nations which can take action which is legally binding. That is the Security Council, and there the United States is completely protected by the veto. None of the other things the United Nations can do are anything but recommendatory.

It is not a nest of Communist spies, because there is nothing to spy on in the United Nations—which is why the Soviets haven't even filled their quota of employees. No United States citizen employed by the United Nations has ever been prosecuted for espionage. Every United States citizen employed there will within a few months have been screened in accordance with a Civil Service Commission-FBI plan.

With so many good Americans to choose from there is no justification whatever for employing a single American in the United Nations who is a Communist.

It is not a snare which dragged the United States into the Korean war. The United States took the initiative in getting the United Nations to take action against the Communist aggressor in Korea.

It is certainly not a device which has had an unbroken record of successes. Far from it. It did not prevent the Communist victory in China. Neither did the United States. Communist successes in other parts of the world have taken place in spite of the United Nations. Yet it not only survives but actually functions helpfully, though imperfectly, in spite of the fact that the Communist bloc is in a cold war with the rest of the world.

ITS FUTURE

The need for the United Nations is sure to grow as rapidly as science progresses. Today, none of the 60 nations comprising the United Nations is able to maintain itself alone—except for the Soviet Union, which does it by harsh slave labor. The United States cannot exist without supplies far in excess of what we produce here. If we were denied as few as 20 essential materials we would be completely crippled economically. The whole of North America, with guided missiles and atomic weapons, can be crippled militarily. Maybe it was possible to get along without a place like the United Nations in the days when the 4½-day boat to Europe was the quickest way to travel across the seas—although even in those days we got into two World Wars. But a place like the United Nations is as necessary now in international politics as an airport in international travel.

It is perhaps because of this need that the United Nations, with all its faults, has been able, more than any other body in modern history, to organize peace and security—in spite of the great threats to peace and security at large in the world.

This is, undoubtedly, why war would be inevitable if the United Nations disappeared.

If war came in spite of the United Nations, it would then be the indispensable instrument for repelling the aggression—which is probably one reason why the Communists don't leave it.

This explains why men of good will throughout the world would be straining every nerve to create even the imperfect device which we have now if the United Nations did not exist.

Therefore, there is a need for the United Nations—a need as real as the yearning of mankind no longer to send its sons off to slaughter.

Three questions have been raised in the United States with regard to the United Nations, and satisfactory answers must be given.

One concerns the loyalty of United States personnel on the payroll, and, as I have said, within a few months every American employed there will have been screened in accordance with the Civil Service Commission-FBI plan.

The second is that the Soviets used the United Nations to fight their cold war battles whereas the United States did not. This situation does not exist in the United Nations today. We follow the policy of actively using the United Nations as the one great world forum for international presentation and rebuttal. At the last session of the General Assembly we used it as a place in which the big truth could be used to demolish the big lie. To give a few examples, Dr. Charles Mayo, of the Mayo Clinic, who

was an American delegate, made a smashing demonstration of the diabolical falsity of the Communist charge that the United States has been using germ warfare in Korea. Other delegates focused the spotlight of world attention on forced labor behind the Iron Curtain and on treatment of World War II prisoners of war. I presented the dreadful story of Communist atrocities in Korea which so moved the General Assembly that it adopted a condemnatory resolution. In addition to these specific topics, we have adopted the practice of always answering a Communist speaker immediately so that no news story goes out of the United Nations to the world public consisting only of the Communist side. In that news story there is always something from the side of the free world.

In November the President came to the conclusion that, if the legislature of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution asking for complete independence, he would be glad to do all in his power to see that Puerto Rico got it. The President chose the United Nations as the place at which that announcement should be made. When it was made, it created great goodwill for the United States among Latin American countries and also in countries in Asia and Africa, where the colonial question is a matter of active interest.

The third question asks whether it is true that the United States has given an undue proportion of manpower to the Korean war, and that the other members of the United Nations have put in too little.

There is no doubt that the contribution of the United States to the war in Korea was of overriding importance and was in fact utterly indispensable. In combat manpower alone the contribution of the United States was far larger than that of any one country except the Republic of Korea—and it is the United States which trained and equipped the Republic of Korea Army.

It is also true that the other United Nations members put up the equivalent of two divisions. Two United States divisions at World War II figures cost $600 million a year. The cost today is probably greater, but is a secret. If, therefore, the United States had had to furnish these two divisions, the added dollar cost would have been at least $600 million. When you compare that with our annual contribution of $25 million, you can see that on a financial basis alone the United Nations is not a bad deal.

Carrying the fiscal argument still further, remember that the most expert studies indicate that after every last bill has been paid, World War II will have cost us $1,300,000,000,000—which again makes our $25 million contribution to the United Nations seem smaller.

Of course, money is not the only—and not even the most important—consideration. If the United States had had to supply two more divisions, there would have been that many more American casualties, that many more tragedies in American homes, which were instead suffered in homes of other countries whose brave men answered the call.

There is no doubt, in my mind, that if United States officials at that time had not required States having valuable manpower to reimburse us in dollars for the supplies which we provided them, we might well have had perhaps as much as three more divisions. But, naturally, nations not having mechanized equipment, not having shipping, and not having dollars were unable to undertake to supply equipment, shipping, and dollars which they did not possess. This had the effect of reducing the foreign troop contribution. This, of course, was a reversal of the policy of World War II. It is a situation which will not be repeated.

CONCLUSION

Many persons had the idea at the end of World War II that the United Nations would be an automatic peace producer—that a few gifted lawyers scattered around the world would draft a charter, that this charter would be ratified by the nations, that a handsome building would be erected, and that then the world would have an automatic device for peace.

The truth is that there is no automatic device for peace. If the United Nations is as automatic as a burglar alarm, it is doing well. But what happens after the bell rings is up to the members, and you will get results solely in proportion as you contribute. In the grim struggle for peace, the payments which must be made are not merely in money; they are chiefly in the service of men. In the face of something as critical as an impending war nothing less than human muscle, human hearts, and human service will do the job.

Rather than draft a charter and then look for troops, it might have been more logical at the time for the nations to have earmarked the troops and then drafted the charter. But history is not always logical and we do progress.

In the struggle for peace, as in every other human endeavor, the success of the struggle depends directly on how hard you work, how deeply you sacrifice, how sincerely you care, how much in the service of your sons you are willing to put in. No amount of diplomatic nicety and verbal courtesy can alter this fact, and the future of the United Nations is bound up in it.

The United Nations is a place where the nations of the world may take whatever collective action they are at any given moment capable of taking. Such a place is a vital necessity.

While the need for the United Nations is as strong and as steady as the human yearning for peace, its future success depends entirely on the extent to which its members support it. It is up to them. They can drop it impatiently and destroy it because it has not brought the millenium or they can kill it by failure to support it, or, like the Wright brothers, with their first airplane in 1903, they can perfect it and transform it into something which will make future generations forever grateful that we in the 1950's had the patience and the foresight to make this beginning.

For Americans the United Nations is not only a place to promote peace; it is the greatest single place in which to develop partners who, valuing their own freedom, will fight to defend it whenever it is attacked, and thus, on a basis of mutual respect, help us in our struggle to survive. For a nation like the United States, which has most of the world's wealth and only 6 percent of the world's population, the conclusion must be obvious that we cannot have too many partners to help us carry the load of combat.

The United Nations is primitive; it is evolutionary; it has not brought—and will not bring—the millenium. But it is useful; its cost is small; it is an intelligent first step; its stands between us and international anarchy. It thus stands between us and world war III or the extinction of human freedom—or both.

The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, 1954, I introduced a bill, H. R. 8087, to eliminate farm tractor fuel, benzol, benzine, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes from the manufacturer's excise tax on gasoline. I was pleased indeed when the Senate Committee on Finance and the Congress itself adopted an amendment to the excise tax reduction bill of 1954 containing all the provisions of my bill.

In my opinion, the above amendment is one of the most important points in the new excise tax law. It removes the manufacturer's tax on tractor fuel, benzine, benzol, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes and makes it unnecessary for the users of these materials to pay the tax and then follow tedious procedure to secure the refund of the tax paid when these fuels are used for nonhighway purposes.

In other words, my bill, H. R. 8087, now a part of the new Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954, eliminates a cumbersome and needless administrative process required by the previous tax laws. I commend and congratulate the Senate Committee on Finance and Congress for incorporating this amendment.

Hawaii Is Contiguous to Mainland of United States in Truest Sense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is contiguous to the mainland of the United States in the true meaning of the word.

Webster's New International Dictionary gives this definition of contiguity:

1. State of being contiguous, intimate association of relation; nearness; proximity.

The same volume contains this definition of contiguous:

1. In actual contact; touching; also, near though not in contact; neighboring; adjoining.

What appears to be a difference in meaning is merely a shade of the overall picture which strengthens the position of Hawaii in its desire to enter upon its rightful status in the United States. The Hawaiian Islands fulfill every test of contiguity except the mere physical indication of contact.

Modern communication and transportation facilities have wiped out any drawback previously faced for this reason as fully explored in the two congressional reports on the statehood bills. March 3, 1953, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives declared in its report:

The argument that the half million American citizens living in Hawaii should forever be denied full participation in the Government to which they have made and will continue to make such great contributions because the area happens to be geographically noncontiguous to any State of the United States has no basis either in present-day or historical precedent.

Factually, in the light of modern-day communication and transportation, Hawaii is far closer to Washington than were New York and Boston at the time the pattern of our national growth was formed by the Founding Fathers.

Historically, the issue was thoroughly debated by Daniel Webster and other Members of the 31st Congress in 1850 and found to be no bar to the 55th and 56th Congresses in incorporating Hawaii into the United States as an integral part thereof.

More important, the people of Hawaii have proved to the committee, and the world, that noncontiguity in a geographical sense, has been no bar to the development of a typically American society, with American ideals and traditions, in an extremely rich and fertile area.

Almost a year later the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs detailed an identical stand in its report on its bill calling for Hawaiian statehood with these words:

The argument that Hawaii should forever be denied statehood because their islands are not physically contiguous by land to the continental United States is in our judgment fallacious. It should play no part in consideration of this measure. Hawaii has for many decades been completely incorporated within the American system in every respect despite its lack of land contiguity. It is within the American judicial, customs, and internal revenue systems. Its churches, fraternities, veterans' and other organizations; its business groups and banking systems are closely linked with their counterparts on the mainland. In terms of modern communication and transportation Hawaii is today far closer to Washington than were many of the Original Thirteen States when the Constitution was adopted. In short, Hawaii is an integral part of the American scene.

With modern methods of transportation and communication—air, sea, radio, and telephone—the argument that Hawaii is noncontiguous is purely a technical one. Hawaii is, in fact, contiguous to the mainland for all practical purposes. The committee believes that the Union of States that is the United States is more than a mere geographical arrangement. It is a Union that comes of a common loyalty and a common purpose. In this respect, Hawaii is in fact contiguous.

Mr. Speaker, the noncontiguity argument has failed time and time again in our history to block the acceptance of Territories as States, notably when similar opposition was expressed against the admittance of Western Territories such as California.

In those days the western portion of the country could be reached only after tortuous days by covered wagons or sailing ships. This problem has faded entirely today. Tomorrow, with jetplanes and atomic propulsion of seagoing vessels, the islands will be closer to the mainland than New York is to San Francisco.

The shortsightedness of opposing Hawaiian statehood on this flimsy subject of contiguity can be readily understood if one would try to imagine how this Nation's growth would have been retarded had the East refused to accept the citizens of the Western Territories into full statehood because their land area extended beyond the Mississippi River or the Rocky Mountains. Certainly these two natural elements were greated obstacles in our earlier history to contact between the East and the West than the Pacific is today between the mainland and Hawaii.

Behind this front of contiguity there also lurks the shadow of homogeneity. It is said that contiguity is so important because the islands are not homogeneous to the United States.

The very history of the annexation and incorporation of Hawaii belies that insinuation. Its falsity is attested by the record and pattern of everyday life in this American Territory.

Hawaii has its chamber of commerce, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, and almost countless other civic organizations; it has its Elks, Eagles, Moose, and branches of almost every other national American fraternal order; its American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and other patriotic organizations; its free public schools with standards surpassing those of many States; libraries and all manner of educational opportunities; its Federal-aid highways, cars galore, hotdog stands, motion-picture houses, and popcorn; its baseball and football teams, with world champions in boxing, swimming, and other sports; its Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and other American celebrations, and child imitators of Hopalong Cassidy and the G-men; in fact, practically every other manifestation of a community life that is in the fullest and best sense American. It has its politics with Democrats and Republicans, but without voting national representation. It has its vigorous drive against Communism and its hope for peace and freedom from alien aggression.

The man who knows the Pacific better than any leader in American life on the mainland today—Gen. Douglas MacArthur—fully answered all doubts on the question of contiguity when he said:

Hawaii to all intents and purposes is a part of the Pacific coast from the standpoint of national defense; Hawaii cannot be considered (separate) * * * from the Pacific coast in the defense of the Pacific * * * therefore, statehood or anything which tends to impress the islands of Hawaii into our system is a beneficial contribution to the defense posture of this country in the Pacific. I favor and support Hawaiian statehood for that reason.

Parity for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, a keen observer took a look a the farm situation last year and said that when farm prices go down, there will not be another farmers' march on Washington—the next one will be a businessmen's march.

There are indications that he was right. I have a copy of a resolution signed by 84 businessmen of Cut Bank, Mont. The signers, who represent a cross section of the businessmen of that northwestern Montana town, resolve that "Congress shall not only maintain 90 percent of parity but shall try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities."

More than a year ago I introduced a bill to fix farm-price supports at 100 percent of parity and make them applicable to a long list of agricultural products not previously covered. The Department of Agriculture reported unfavorably upon it.

The resolution from the businessmen of Cut Bank, Mont., follows:

PARITY FOR THE FARMERS

Being as the State of Montana is a majority agricultural State, the undersigned businessmen of this city feel that it is most imperative that we work side by side with those attempting to maintain a farm program which will enrich and develop the agricultural activities wherever they are a major industry or source of livelihood. In view of the above conclusion, we, the following businessmen of this city, resolve: that we go on record opposing any effort on the part of any Congressman, the Department of Agriculture, or any agency for attempting to disrupt the stabilization program, effecting all farm commodities.

We further resolve that Congress not only maintain 90 percent of parity, but shall try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities. We do not favor any tendency toward flexibility of price supports, but urge Congress to maintain a production control program, which is necessary in order to have stabilized price support.

We further resolve to condemn any form of prosperity based on war and bloodshed, but favor genuinely sane and sound economic program, particularly for the producer, which shall be based on industry, security, and individual initiative.

We further urge all business groups in other cities of this State as well as those of other agricultural States to go on record favoring similar resolutions.

N. J. Kemmer, Minneapolis-Moline; D. X. Smith, Auto Dealer; J. W. Stack, Contractor; C. H. Abraham, Plumbing and Heating Contracting; Carl Nelson, H. Earl Clack Co.; George H. Platt, CPA; R. L. Ross, Insurance; C. R. McShane, Hardware; Walter E. Peoples, Hardware; C. E. Larson, Clothing; Paul Arndt, Drugs; Bruce A. Safley, Monarch Lumber Co.; A. J. Myrhow, Cut Bank Jeweler. Orin E. Knutson, Radio Shop; John R. Price, Service Station; E. Evenson, Glacier Motor Co.; Wayne's Standard Service; Alton W. Hanson, Garage; Carl S. Brandvold, Music Store and Rental Property; Seymour M. Dobson, Radiator and Glass; J. D. Woon, Oil Field Lumber; John W. Platt, Body Shop. Cordious McCree, Mack's Key Shop; Tony Mitch, Rieder and Co.; George Meister, Army Store; George Motarie, George's Barber Shop; Ralph E. Getter, Getter Trucking; E. C. Clapper, Auto Dealer; S. B. Hoge, Fashion Cleaners; M. P. Schwingel, Cut Bank Motors; Florence Ingram, Florence Beauty Shop. R. M. Hatch, AppianCenter; Julia Thorpe, Wagon Wheel Cafe; C. H. King, Smokehouse Barber Shop; W. B. Stephenson, Cut Bank Meats; John L. Fry, Sporting Goods; E. J. Meyers, Ladies Clothing; W. E. Freed, Car Dealer; Robert C. Warren, Service Station; Wilbur Werner, Lawyer. E. O. Boyle, Accountant; R. S. Lovanes, Furniture Store; H. H. Bell, Bell Chevrolet Co.; J. R. Moreen, Moreen-Murphy Motors; Tom's Union Service; A. H. Kirsch, International Elevator Co.; J. W. Hoyt, Valley Motor Suply Co.; J. P. Neil, Electric Construction; C. J. O'Neil, O'Neil Plumbing and Heating; A. P. Kovatch, Tire and Repair Shop. Evan C. Essex, Dodd's Wholesalers; Kathryn N. Baker, Duncan's; Frank Richter, Cut Bank Shoe Repairing; George N. McCabe, Oil Operator; William Bolton, Bill's Barber

Shop; E. P. Skabo, Glacier Distributors; Quality Cleaners and Laundry; Paul A. Wolk, Accountant G. E. Chambers, Abstractor; Mary R. Blomstrom, Real Estate and Insurance. G. O. Blomstrom, Glacier Gift and Floral; E. A. Burgin, Burgin's Cafe; L. P. Ebert, Garage Owner; W. E. Larson, Grocer; Paul Shelby, Standard Oil Agent; F. A. Daley, Insurance and Real Estate; K. Clarkson, Kenny's Motor Service; C. E. Peterson, Greeley Elevator; F. Armstrong, Pioneer Distributors Texaco Products; H. H. Schaefer, Gamble Store, Furniture Mart, Furniture Exchange; H. W. Willis, Federal Bakery; Harold B. Dye, Insurance and Real Estate; Farmers Trading Co., Inc.; Anderson Implement Co., Inc.; N. O. Johnson, Farmers Union GTA; Ralph Chase, Cut Bank Sheet Metal; Ralph Morris, Sand and Gravel Dealer; H. E. Deming, Farmers Union Co-op Association; Ed J. Fauque, Frenchy's Trucking for Sand and Gravel; Munt and O'Day, Mimeo Shop; Joseph J. Johnson, Rieder Hotel; Frank C. Leech, Glacier Hotel; Thelma Lee Parker, Parker Rooms; Clara Posey, Rose Room.

The Gold Standard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALT HORAN
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include some very interesting testimony presented to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency by my very able constituent, Frank Lilly, of Spokane.

Mr. Lilly's observations are very readable and worth reading:

Gentlemen of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, in this statement I wish, first of all, to emphasize, by means of a simple visual demonstration, what I consider the greatest present threat to the peace and happiness of the people of this country—not any foreign ideology, not any foreign army or navy, not Russia's bombs or air fleet but the inherent and inseparable danger that lies in our own irredeemable debt-based paper currency.

I have here a 5-foot "short snorter" of the paper currencies of 11 different foreign countries. These currencies, which I believe were originated in good faith by their respective governments, were at one time worth over $2,000 in terms of the United States dollar. Today they are worth less than $3.

I now show you a $1 United States gold coin issued over a hundred years ago in 1853, which could be disposed of in any other country in the world for not less than $3 and up to $15.

Money used to be a simple thing—simple as the coins in one's pocket or certificates issued against gold, and therefore convertible into gold on demand. Time was when, as the United States Constitution provides, money was reckoned in honest weight and fineness of gold and silver. Today money is reckoned in anything or even nothing—a crazy quilt of monetized butter, guns, unmentionables, I O U's and U O Me's.

Paper currency money management, here and abroad by (often well intentioned) politically minded higher-ups in banking, commercial and government circles, had blundered most of the world into a sticky mess of devalued and debased currencies, arbitrarily frozen funds with varying and discriminatory rates, import rates, export rates, gifts of money disguised as loans, regulations and restriction of currency movements, quotas, political preference credits and bureaucratic red tape, controls, inflation, and debt. Incidentally, few people know, and still fewer people care, how much this country, or any other country, owes, yet United States I O U paper currency and public debt have increased over 600 percent since gold was nationalized some 20 years ago.

A city urchin on a summer vacation in the country was unimpressed when the social worker explained how the little chicks broke out of their shells. He demanded to know, How did they get into the shells in the first place?

Let us, therefore, consider how we got into the present money muddle. Actually, it started at about the turn of the century with the trade and tariff wars that culminated in the First World War and came to a head in 1931 when Great Britain and its satellite countries abandoned the gold standard and fell back on managed paper currencies. The recent war did not create the muddle but it did, of course, profoundly aggravate it.

It is worth noting that Great Britain might have avoided the disastrous path of inconvertible paper currency that has in the past invariably led to economic disaster. There were certain alternatives, one of which would have been to have given gold, in the early twenties, a higher measure of value in its monetary system instead of stubbornly trying to maintain a price equivalent to only $20.67 an ounce; for experience had shown, as far back as 1914, that a price of $20.67 was unrealistic and too low. In other words, the price of gold should have been permitted to keep pace with the world of industry and trade.

Our Federal Reserve System, created in 1913, was designed to provide additional currency in periods of crisis by temporarily utilizing commercial credits. Since it happened that I made most of the statistical research studies in connection with this legislation for one of the proponents and authors of the original Federal Reserve Act, I am in position to say that it was never intended that irredeemable Federal Reserve notes should take the place of gold-backed currency.

Under the Federal Reserve System as it is operated today, with debts converted into currency, the banks, following their natural self-interest and encouraged by politically minded Government officials, and to create too much currency whenever a boom is in progress.

When, later, depression threatens because there is too much paper currency of too little value in purchasing power, the Government has, in the past, increased the national debt and the paper currency supply by creating new giveaway programs of foreign aid whereby business has been stimulated through purchases made by these foreign countries with credits we have given them. Nice business if you are on the receiving end. Reminds one of the rich Idaho prospector who liked so well to play poker that he staked the other players and they, with the stakes he gave them, usually won his own money.

The basic idea of the Bretton Woods plan was to establish a sort of "Federal Reserve System for the world" which would create paper currency out of debts and thus eliminate the international gold standard by substituting a muddled system of 49 different currencies for the old simple plan whereby, if a nation bought more goods than it sold, it paid the difference in gold. Under the old system, gold operated without fear or favor and with the impassivity of all natural laws.

The Bretton Woods plan changed that, however, for the International Monetary Fund and International Bank which were evolved from it were empowered to control and stabilize both currencies and gold, something which has proven to be impossible. Despite every effort and the leadership of political-minded monetary experts, widespread devaluations of currencies have occurred. As of today, the true market values for all but a few of the world's currencies are lower than the official rates, thus compounding a confusion of the muddled monetary situation, and every country in the world has, either by devaluation or exchange regulations, increased the price of gold. The average price increase for the 10 leading nations (since the First World War) has been 485 percent, or the equivalent of $120.87 an ounce. This compares with an increase of only 69 percent in the United States, which was made 20 years ago back in 1934.

The monetary world of today, like Gaul of Caesar's time, is divided into three parts: (1) The British pound sterling bloc of countries with a population of approximately 1,300,000,000; (2) the Russian ruble bloc with a population of nearly 900 million people; and (3) the United States dollar group with a population of only about 250,000,000.

It is understandable and natural that both the British and the Russians are trying in every way to dominate industry and trade within their own large population spheres; and also endeavoring to extend those spheres, a difficult and complicated process involving, primarily, control of numerous currencies. The fact that Russia has been able to extend its sphere of influence tremendously, without, as Governor Dewey has pointed out, "the firing of a single shot or the loss of a single soldier," after revaluing its ruble in terms of gold, gives food for serious thought.

The fundamental and primary causes of shooting wars lie in the economic stresses that, in turn, result from paper-currency wars which disregard the fact that money must be inherently sound and not subject to man's mismanagement. The time-honored gold standard is the only monetary system that has ever provided the world an honest and practicable money. Why not, then, restore it, at least in our own country, and keep the promise made by President Roosevelt and the more recent pledge of the 1952 Republican platform.

Ownership of gold is power, and when the people of this country meekly surrendered their gold, along with their right to convert currency into gold, they lost their power and most of their economic freedom. It is sheer mockery to speak of a free nation when the citizens of that nation are not permitted to own gold and freely convert their government's paper currency into gold. Such a right is inherent in citizenship and important because this right of conversion gives the citizenry the power to limit the inflation and heavy taxes that inevitably follow wasteful government spending.

Gold means freedom; debt-based paper currency means slavery because the debtor becomes a slave to his creditor and vice versa, a truth as basic for nations as for individuals. Honest money is a matter that involves much more than the importance of gold in our economy. When we have no standard for money except debt, how can we expect a sound standard of morals?

History has proved over and over that govments must be extremely careful to include gold in their monetary systems. The privilege of a government to issue money involves a near sacred responsibility on its part to maintain insofar as possible the purchasing and debt-paying power of that maney. Experience has shown that this can be done only by and with gold working at a proper measure of value.

Today we are faced with the fact that the United States is going to become either a

managed socialist state governed by arbitrary and dictatorial regulations, or a representative democracy with a full measure of economic liberty founded upon a sound monetary system. If we are to avoid socialism, we must immediately put a stop to our Government's monopoly of gold; we must restore the right of a citizen to own gold. Only in this way can the people of this country recover their right to freedow from bureaucratic money management and price fixing.

It is not too much to say that what President Eisenhower and Congress now do about gold will determine the future form of our Government, whether a socialist state or a representative democracy. Time is of the essence.

FRANK LILLY,
Research Statistician.
SPOKANE, WASH., *March 30, 1954.*

From Every Reasonable Standpoint the St. Lawrence Seaway Is Utter Foolishness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appearing in the March 6, 1954, issue of the Philadelphia (Pa.) News clearly reveals the irreparable harm to eastern seaports from Maine to Virginia that will result from construction of the St. Lawrence seaway.

The editorial follows:

SEAWAY UTTER FOOLISHNESS

Irreparable harm to the eastern seaports, from Maine to Virginia, that can result from the St. Lawrence seaway construction was emphasized by the North Atlantic Ports Conference, which met here yesterday, in communications sent to each of the congressional delegations from the Middle Atlantic States.

The conference, in stressing the fact that the seaway would strike a severe economic blow to each of the port cities, was justified in calling upon the Members of Congress to follow the example of previous sessions and forget about the proposed "white elephant."

The recent discussions regarding the necessity for a 40-foot channel in the Delaware River if the port of Philadelphia is to survive merely highlighted the fact that the St. Lawrence seaway channel is to be only 27 feet. With such a depth, virtually no modern American vessel could negotiate it. The expenditure would be solely for the benefit of foreign commerce.

In addition, it would put a burden on the other ports to maintain their facilities on a year-round basis, in order to be able to handle the St. Lawrence traffic when the seaway would be closed for 5 months because of its freeze-up. This would mean that many of these ports, including Philadelphia, would show a loss for the year, inasmuch as their business would be reduced materially during the remaining 7 months in which the seaway would be operating. With 5 months' inactivity, it would be impossible for the seaway to become self-liquidating.

Furthermore, the canal system could be vulnerable to enemy attack in the event of war, inasmuch as it could not be defended. Any ships caught in the seaway under such circumstances would be total losses at a time when shipping bottoms would be among the most vital needs.

The proposed cost of $100 million is strictly theoretical and actually would be much higher. For only a small percentage of that sum, spent in Philadelphia, the Delaware could be dredged to its required depth and opened to all water traffic the entire year, contributing to the economic prosperity of this area. From every reasonable standpoint, the seaway is utter foolishness.

Middle East Cooperation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement prepared by me on the formation of the America-Israel Society.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

The America-Israel Society has recently been formed by a group of distinguished Americans for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the people of the United States and Israel through cooperation and interchange in cultural activities.

Governor McKeldin, of Maryland, is the president of the society and Mr. F. Joseph Donohue, former President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, is chairman of the board of governors. Founders include many leaders in the fields of religion, government, business, literature, and the arts.

The reasons for the formation of this nonsectarian, nonpolitical society were well summarized by Mr. Donohue on the occasion of the opening of its national headquarters in the Willard Hotel. Mr. Donohue said:

"The America-Israel Society has been brought into being by a group of American leaders of all faiths and in many lines of endeavor who believe that there is need for a nonsectarian, nonpolitical, all-inclusive American organization to work for the fullest interchange of ideas and cultural materials between the oldest and the youngest of the world's present-day democracies.

"Our two countries are bound together by a similar historic experience and by a common devotion to democracy. Both nations uphold three great and basic principles—individual morality, social justice, and universal peace.

"We hope that the society will help Americans to a fuller appreciation of the culture of Israel, and encourage the people of that nation to a better understanding of America and its way of life. The society will seek to interpret the spiritual tradition and democratic heritage that bind the two nations together and to give added meaning to the unity of purpose that characterizes freedom-loving peoples.

"Friendship between the peoples of the two countries is firmly based in their common traditions, pioneering experience, and democratic aspirations. Now that Israel is firmly established and is engaged in molding its democratic way of life, it is more important than ever to promote increased understanding and cultural exchange on a permanent basis. For Americans there will be a rewarding experience in reviving the roots of an ancient culture in which our own civilization is founded."

Immigration to Hawaii Subject to Same Limitations as Immigration to States—Charge That Statehood Would Open Floodgates to Alien Hordes False—Same United States Laws Apply to Alien Communists and Naturalization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, assertions that the floodgates would be opened to admit a horde of aliens into the mainland of the United States if Hawaii were granted statehood are unsupported by fact. They are based on gross misrepresentation of the immigration and naturalization laws governing Hawaii. They are illogical and represent the immoderate opinions of prejudiced minds.

Basically the Hawaiian Islands are covered under exactly the same immigration and naturalization laws that prevail in the 48 States. Since these islands became American Territory by annexation in 1898, they have served as this country's western frontier and outpost for protection of our country and the enforcement of Federal law. The immigration station in Honolulu has served in many respects as an Ellis Island. Hawaii has been and is, therefore, a guardian against invasion by undesirable aliens, not a hole in the dike.

The truth of the matter is that the alien population in Hawaii is decreasing. Census Bureau records show that in 1900 the number of persons living on the islands totaled 154,001. At that time 64,221 were citizens and 89,780 were aliens. The last census in 1950 showed that the population had increased to 499,794. In that 50-year period the number of United States citizens increased to 433,324 while the aliens dropped to 66,470.

Actually the few aliens remaining in Hawaii today are divided mainly into two groups, the elder Japanese and the Filipino nationals. An accurate examination of the Japanese element reveals that their average age is well past 60 years. They are remnants of the original immigrants to Hawaii prior to its annexation to this country and have well-established homes in Hawaii that they are not going to give up. They have not become citizens because this opportunity has been refused them all these years until Congress recently moved the racial restrictions from our naturalization law. However, their desire to become citizens and share the responsibilities and privileges of our country, despite the legal barriers to citizenship then in existence, was made clear by their record during the World War II. Their sons are full-fledged Americans and many made brilliant military records on the field of battle.

The Filipinos who came to Hawaii following the establishment of American sovereignty over their home country at

the turn of the century were free to travel to the States also and many of them did. The enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie law in 1934 prevented further immigration to Hawaii until a serious labor shortage arose when they could be admitted under special restrictions. During this entire period only one group of 6,000 workers came in under this provision, now repealed, to become well-established residents of Hawaii and in many instances American citizens.

Up until 1946 the Filipinos were considered American nationals. Then the granting of independence to the Philippines changed the status of the Filipino in Hawaii to that of Philippine nationals. They are allowed to become United States citizens through naturalization but at present are restricted to Hawaiian residence. There would be no change in the naturalization laws when Hawaii becomes a State, and the likelihood that many of the Filipinos would give up their residence in Hawaii is extremely remote. Certainly they do not constitute a "horde" and if there are among them any "undesirable aliens" they are subject to deportation from Hawaii as readily as they are from the States. Exactly the same laws apply and if these are inadequate to deal with the situation they can and should be changed, whether or not Hawaii is a State, in view of Hawaii's great military importance.

It should be apparent from the foregoing that any attempt to represent the admission of Hawaii to the Union as a State as opening the gates of the country to the influx of alien Communists cannot possibly be supported by the fact. There is no truth whatsoever to this charge.

Aliens who are not admissible to the mainland of the United States are likewise barred from entry into Hawaii where Federal laws pertaining to customs, naturalization and immigration apply with equal force as at any other port of entry.

Any Communist attempt at infiltration, therefore, is now and will always be exposed just as it is done in any of the 48 States. The same laws apply to this problem in Hawaii as they do in the rest of the county and the vigilance of both Federal and local officials there to the necessity of meeting it vigorously and effectively is well established.

Ignorance of the true facts has also brought some sincere persons to accept the statement that there are many known Communists in the Hawaiian Islands who will be allowed to travel to the United States mainland if statehood is granted to Hawaii.

Here are the facts—the known Communists in Hawaii are American citizens. They can travel now anywhere in the United States, there being no travel restrictions on American citizens between the States or the States and the Territories. Three of the seven persons recently convicted of criminal conspiracy under the Smith Act in Honolulu were United States citizens who were born on the mainland. The other four held citizenship due to their birth in the islands.

Hawaii has the same deportation law for alien Communists as they have in the 48 States. And the responsibility for enforcement of that law by Federal officials is the same today as it will be when Hawaii becomes a State.

Paul Crouch, a witness before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, was quoted as saying statehood would make it easier to smuggle spies and saboteurs into the United States. Mr. Crouch immediately branded the story as misleading. He said in his explanation:

> I had been testifying in executive session on legislative steps Congress should take to weaken the grip of communism in Hawaii, regardless of whether Hawaii becomes a State soon or not.
>
> Then I turned to additional legislation, I believe should be enacted if the Territory becomes a State to prevent weakening of United States security by permitting hundreds of self-advertised subversive aliens from coming to the mainland and through the establishment of a border patrol to prevent entry of Soviet espionage and sabotage through Hawaii.

Mr. Crouch completely fails to substantiate his allegation that there are hundreds of self-advertised subversive aliens who would be permitted entry to the mainland if Hawaii becomes a State. And, moreover, he does not offer this as an argument against statehood, but in support of his contention that laws against invasion of the country by subversives at every point on the border of the country should be strengthened.

In correcting the distored interpretation given his testimony Mr. Crouch was fully aware that enemy aliens are now barred from Hawaii as they are from the mainland and that statehood would not change this status in any particular.

Elmer E. Poston, in charge of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service in Hawaii, scoffed at the charge that Hawaii as a State might offer an opening for enemy spies and saboteurs. He pointed out that it would be much "easier and cheaper" for spies and saboteurs to come into the United States over the Canadian or Mexican borders or they could come to the United States as diplomats from the Iron Curtain countries.

The record shows, therefor, that the allegation that Hawaiian statehood would result in an influx of aliens or Communists is superficial and not supported by the facts when the truth is that admission of Hawaii to the Union would strengthen its fight against communism. By making Hawaii an equal partner in the National Government the force of its effort to combat Communist influence both locally and in the national field would be greatly encouraged and strengthened.

The misunderstanding that has arisen over this problem also has been fostered in the economic phase of the debate on Hawaiian statehood.

It has been alleged that if we—the United States—take the cheap oriental laborers in the cane fields and pineapple plantations of Hawaii and make them full and free citizens of the United States, we cannot keep them away from this country.

First of all the majority of those working in the canefields and sugar industry of Hawaii are American citizens. They can travel to the mainland now just as a citizen living in the voteless District of Columbia can go where he pleases. And, under the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act the race barrier was removed and all permanent residents of Hawaii are now eligible for naturalization and many of them are becoming citizens. They, too, will be allowed to travel freely, whether Hawaii is a State or a Territory, but only if they pass the tests required for all who seek citizenship, no matter where they apply.

Also, there is grave doubt in the minds of those who know the Hawaiian situation intimately that any considerable number of those employed in the island industries would want to move to the mainland.

Official labor statistics show that the so-called cheap labor is paid $10.19 a day on the sugar plantations—the highest regular daily agriculture wage in the world.

In 1952 the agriculture scale in Florida was $6.98; Louisiana, $4.37, and Puerto Rico, $2.99 a day.

No fairminded or honest person can overlook the obvious truth that these unwarranted fears and smears directed at the patriotic and highly cultured American citizens residing in Hawaii are not based on actual fact. They are mere campaign talk of partisan manufacture.

Federal Support of the Anthracite Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolution No. 4 of 1954, adopted by the West Hazleton Borough Council in my congressional district:

Resolved, That the West Hazleton Borough Council recommend to the United States Senators from Pennsylvania and the Congressman from the 11th Pennsylvania District that they initiate measures in the Congress and Senate to provide for support of the anthracite industry by the Federal Government.

For years the Federal Government has supported farm production and prices by subsidies and purchase of surplus commodities. During past years millions of dollars have been spent to aid the farmer; many of those millions represented taxes paid by the people of the anthracite regions.

At the present time, production of hard coal has declined to an alarming level. Thousands of miners are out of work and hundreds of mining operations are shut down.

The national administration has promised to step in if and when the Nation's economy shows signs of trouble. Those signs are already flashing an alarm throughout the anthracite region.

The people of the Pennsylvania coal fields do not seek handouts or subsidies, but they want a chance to work. Our Congressmen must take the initiative to seek Federal buying of surplus coal stocks to keep the miners working. Buying of coal by the Federal Government would be a far better business

proposition than the buying of surplus farm products has been. Such purchases would not force the price up to the consumer; second, coal can be stockpiled without spoilage or deterioration such as potatoes or butter are subject to; third, it would serve a twofold purpose for national defense—by making available large stocks of coal ready when needed; by keeping operative many mines which might be abandoned now only to be needed in time of emergency, and prevent lack of skilled miners.

It is also recommended that the Congressmen representing West Hazelton and the anthracite field be urged to pursue such a project with at least the same amount of fervor and persistence with which the representatives from farming States have managed to secure and retain Federal support for their production needs.

Adopted this 22d day of January 1954.

ANTHONY SIEPIETOWSKI,
President of Council.

Approved by me this 1st day of February 1954.

LEO KUBITSKY,
Burgess.

Attest:

CLAUDE R. BRIOR,
Secretary of Council.

Fostering Student Exchanges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 17, 1954, concerning the program for exchange of students, and one from the New York Times of March 28, 1954, on the same subject.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 17, 1954]

NOT ECONOMY

The Fulbright exchange of teachers and students between the United States and other countries has been one of the most effective and economical features of our overseas information and good will program. It has cost very little—about $15 million a year, since most of the cost is met with foreign currencies acquired by sale of surplus American Government property abroad and similar sources.

Over the years, this educational exchange has made thousands of fast friends for the United States in 70 free-world countries. In addition it has given many scores of thousands of people abroad a greater knowledge and a happier impression of the United States.

It would be a blunder of great magnitude if this Fulbright student exchange were allowed to lapse or even to be reduced in scope. Yet that is what will happen if the so-called economy cut made by the House of Representatives is sustained in the Senate. The House slashed the allotment for educational exchange from $15 million to $9 million.

Such a cut would mean the total elimination of exchanges in 46 countries and would knock out the leader training program for all 70 countries. This latter was especially valuable, for it brings leaders of thought to this country for extended periods—people who on their return can interpret America to great numbers of their countrymen.

In addition, this reduction in funds would eliminate the teacher-exchange with all countries, since that is more costly than the student exchange. Yet it probably is worth much more, for indirectly it reaches a large number of young people of college age.

It is not an economy to wreck the Fulbright program. It is simple short-sightedness. This is an economical means of making friends for America in 70 nations. It has proved its usefulness. The machinery for operating the exchange is established, and it would be a waste of money to let it fall apart.

The Soviet Union is spending many, many times more money than we are for telling its story in all parts of the world. We cannot afford to stop telling our story, especially by the international exchange of teachers, students, and leaders of thought.

[From the New York Times of March 28, 1954]

FOSTERING STUDENT EXCHANGES—VALUE OF THE PROGRAM IS STRESSED IN PROTESTING PROPOSED CUTS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writers of the following letter are members of the department of sociology and anthropology of the Ohio State University.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The proposed cuts in our overseas educational program are bound to constitute another link in the unfortunate chain of disappointments the free world has experienced in regard to America's leadership.

As a nation catapulted into moral and intellectual world preeminence it is our duty to do everything we can to promote that knowledge and good will among peoples which underlie the great cooperative task of improving the human condition. Above all, we must make it possible for others to get to know us and for ourselves to know these others.

CENTER OF IDEAS

American knowledge and skill are now the envy of the world, and we should be happy that, at least for the time being, the people of the world look to America—as they once did to Rome—as a target of hopes and aspirations. We disregard this spirit at our own loss and peril. It is we who lose by weakening international associations, and there will be others to offer a helping hand where we withdraw it.

Certainly our prestige and popularity have diminished in recent years, but this need not be fatal so long as we do not take measures which further increase our alienation from the rest of mankind and further frustrate our friends who are so eager to learn from us. From the standpoint of America's position in the world today we should be increasing our exchange programs, not cutting them down; we should be opening ever wider the channels of intellectual association, not closing them. We should be proud that America is looked upon as the center of ideas and skills in the modern world.

All our elaborate military programs will mean nothing unless we can count on the understanding of our allies and the neutrally inclined nations who need our support. For the latter a sudden reduction in student and scholarly exchange facilities is likely to be interpreted as another gesture by America of disdain for the rest of the world and, even worse, of disdain for scholarship. It may very well have an adverse effect on the development of skills so urgently needed in their national improvement programs.

FRIENDSHIP WITH LEADERS

Americans often find it difficult to comprehend the importance attached to ideas by other people, and of the leadership that intellectuals have in other countries, particularly the underdeveloped nations. It is these people—the men of ideas and intellectual leadership—whose friendship we must retain if we are not to increase our dangerous alienation from the marginal and neutral territories of the world.

For several years the undersigned have done research on American foreign relations in Japan, Germany, and in this country. We have been particularly interested in the images of America held by foreign exchange students during and after their stay here. Our experiences have convinced us that there is no substitute for direct acquaintance with another country if one wants to gain political maturity. Direct acquaintance does not guarantee love, but it goes a long way toward realism and more rational thought about the world—about one's own as well as other nations. A person who has a realistic insight into the strengths and weaknesses of countries is a better worker for a more humane world than one with romantic ideas, even in case they should be more favorable.

The most important function of exchange programs, therefore—whether the exchangees be foreigners or Americans—seems to us to lie in their contribution to the knowledge about the world we live in. We believe we have reached a point in world history where, if we marshal the intelligence we have accumulated, study abroad can be made a useful tool of international understanding. Although facilitation of travel does not guarantee this effect, decreased facilities certainly diminish its chances. Our exchange programs, therefore, should be extended; we lament and protest their proposed cut as a tragic historical error.

JOHN W. BENNETT.
HERBERT PASSIN.
KURT H. WOLFF.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *March 23, 1954.*

Funds for Agriculture Census

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent editorial which appeared in the Spokesman Review, of Spokane, Wash. The Spokesman Review is one of the leading newspapers in eastern Washington. Its editorial policy is conservative. It does not make a practice of supporting projects involving the expenditure of tax funds unless the projects are of extreme importance.

In this editorial the Spokesman Review urges Congress to appropriate the funds required to finance a full census on agriculture, as authorized for the fall of 1954. The cost of the census is estimated at about $23 million. Eighteen million dollars of this will be needed in fiscal 1955, and about $5 million thereafter. I hope all Senators will have an opportunity to read this editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGRICULTURE CENSUS FILLS REAL NEED

One of the items of governmental activity under congressional scrutiny now is the census of agriculture, which has been authorized but for which necessary funds have not been appropriated.

The census of agriculture is taken at 5-year intervals. It provides detailed information on a county-by-county basis covering farm production by crops, farm population, livestock population and distribution and many other kinds of basic data.

The census of agriculture is the foundation upon which many greatly ramified activities are based. Many of these are outside the realm of agriculture. Crop estimates, livestock production forecasts and estimates of consumption of manufactured goods are but three out of scores of activities that depend upon basic county-by-county census data. These particular services, and many others, are of more value to the business community and to the consumer than to the farmer.

The midpoint of the 1950's is a time of unusual change in most lines of business as well as in agriculture. This would be a poor time to abandon the census of agriculture. It is to be hoped that Congress will implement the authorization for the census with enough funds to permit it to be taken.

A Long-Range Agricultural Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Thomas J. Hitch, president of the Tennessee Farm Bureau Federation, in which Mr. Hitch sets forth the ideas and views of the Federation in regard to a long-range agricultural program.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TENNESSEE FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Columbia, Tenn., March 26, 1954.

Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER,
United States Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR ESTES: In the very near future, you will no doubt be considering changes in farm-program legislation, particularly as it pertains to price supports and adjustments. It is my desire to present to you the views of the Tennessee Farm Bureau on some of these matters before they come up for consideration.

In my letter to you yesterday, I set out the procedure which we in farm bureau had used in discussing and developing resolutions and recommendations which we felt would be in the best interest of an improved farm program for agriculture and help farmers attain the highest possible net income for their labors. I will, therefore, deal directly in this letter with some specific recommendations.

We recognize that a farm program must be one which will serve and protect agriculture and at the same time be in the interest of the general public and our overall economy. We believe that in the long run, the basic principles incorporated in the Agricultural Act of 1949 would more nearly serve this end. We know that one of the most basic principles involved in the success of any price-support program is our ability to control production. Further, our price-support program must be one which does not serve to hold an umbrella over the foreign producer as has been our experience in the past few years. The present situation in agriculture with declining prices, a wide disparity between the cost of the things the farmer buys and the price which he receives for his products, plus the effect of the accumulation of tremendous surpluses, makes us sensitive to the need for immediate relief as well as a program of long-run stability, which would prevent the recurrence of today's situation in agriculture. With these beliefs, we recommend the following specific changes in present agricultural legislation:

(1) Application of the Agricultural Act of 1949 and its principles of variable price supports.

(2) Amend the act of 1949 to provide for mandatory 90-percent price supports the first year marketing quotas are in effect following a year in which quotas were not in effect for that commodity. This would permit producers of a given commodity to keep supplies in line with demand and retain 90-percent price supports.

(3) Permit modernized parity formula to become effective at the end of 1955, with an amendment to the act of 1949 providing that no parity price be reduced more than 5 percent in any 1 year because of the change to the modernized formula.

(4) Provide producers the opportunity to decide when quotas are to be applied rather than left to the discretion and authority of the Secretary of Agriculture.

(5) Provide county committees more authority in making program adjustments locally.

(6) Provide and encourage means for CCC and other funds to be used to move surplus stocks, wherever sound and possible, in channels of trade throughout the world, before these stocks become the property of the Government.

(7) Request the Secretary of Agriculture to publish lists of crops which may be grown on diverted acres so as not to further add to the burden of surpluses of other crops.

(8) Encourage the use of diverted acres for soil building crops and practices to assure soil conservation and the storing of fertility in the "soil fertility bank."

As a necessary prerequisite to the success of these recommendations, particularly the application of the variable principles of the act of 1949, we favor setting aside sufficient quantities of accumulated commodity stocks to permit variable price supports an opportunity to succeed. These set-aside stocks must be blocked off in computation of price-support levels if the act of 1949 is to succeed in giving farmers a reasonable price support during their period of adjustment of supply to demand.

Our attention has been called in various ways to proposals and other suggestions which we do not believe would be to the best interest of farmers and in keeping with their desires as expressed in adopted resolutions. For this reason, we oppose changes in present legislation which would—

(1) Lower the percentage supply of cotton to 102 as the beginning percentage for lowering the level of support below 90 percent.

(2) Lowering the percent carryover in cotton from 30 to 20 percent in computing normal supplies.

I appreciate the opportunity of presenting to you the views of our membership in these matters of agricultural legislation. We appreciate your interest and sincerity in your efforts to promote legislation to the welfare, not only of agriculture, but the Nation as a whole. We hope, upon study of these matters, that you will give our recommendations every consideration and support.

Yours truly,

TOM J. HITCH,
President.

Defense and Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert in the RECORD two articles written by Mr. Leslie Gould, which appeared in the New York Journal American within the last few days. The articles are as follows:

WATCH TARIFF HOT POTATO: DEFENSE, WAGES INVOLVED

(By Leslie Gould)

WASHINGTON, March 22.—The United States Tariff Commission has before it a "hot potato"—probably its hottest. This is a request by American watchmaking companies for an increase in tariffs on jeweled Swiss watches and movements. Everything is wrapped up in this case—from national security to protection of higher paid United States labor.

The Commission must by statute make its recommendation by the end of May to President Eisenhower. Under the Reciprocal Trade Act, he alone makes the final decision.

Two years ago the Commission, by a 4-to-2 vote, recommended a 50-percent increase in the tariff on 17-jewel movements—by far the major watch import. President Truman rejected the recommendation. The then President rejected his Tariff Commission's contention Swiss watch imports were a serious threat to the United States watchmaking industry.

That all depends on whether you are looking chiefly at company profits, or at what is happening to the market, to employment in the industry and to the need for this precision industry in a pushbutton, atomic war.

Before going into that, here is the statistical background.

The present tariff averages $2.10 on the 17- and less-jeweled movements, set in 1936. Prior to that the tariff had been $3.75, set in 1930 by the Smoot-Hawley Act. There has been no change since 1936, and the present request is to restore the tariff to $3.75.

When the $3.75 tariff was made, a Swiss 17-jewel movement cost around $2. By 1936 the Swiss cost had gone to about $2.25 to $2.50. An American movement cost around $4.50 to $4.75. So the $2.10 tariff provided protection.

Since then, the cost of a Swiss movement has gone to around $4, plus the $2.10 tariff, but American costs have risen to $10.50, so there is no protection in the tariff.

Labor represents 80 percent of the cost of a watch. Girls, who do practically all the watch assembly, got 50 cents an hour prewar. Today they are paid $1.60 to $1.70 an hour and it is precision work.

Toolmakers—and they are the real skilled craftsmen in the industry—got $1 an hour in 1939, but today they are paid $3.25. Part of this increase has been offset by improved machine tools, reflected in the fact that while wages are up 225 to 240 percent, movements have risen only 121 to 133 percent.

SWISS IMPORTS RISING

The story of what is happening to the United States watch market is best told in the figures on American production of 17-jewel and above movements and Swiss imports. From 1936 to 1940, American production averaged 1,600,000 and imports 2,500,000. In the next 4 years—the 1941 to 1945 war years—United States companies made on the

average 1,561,000 while imports from Switzerland jumped to 6,244,000.

After the war, American production went from 1,678,000 in 1946 to 3,000,000 in 1951—the peak year. Swiss imports went from 7,927,000 in 1946 down to 5,700,000 in 1949 and have been rising steadily since, reaching 8,600,000 last year against American production of 2,300,000.

So, for every American-made 17-jewel and above watch, 3.7 Swiss are sold in the United States.

BIG WATCH IMPORTS THREATEN OUR DEFENSE INDUSTRY

(By Leslie Gould)

WASHINGTON, March 23.—The United States and the rest of the world are threatened with a pushbutton, atomic war. The fact that State Department blundering, treachery, and a soft attitude toward communism and Russia are responsible for losing the peace is beside the point.

The important thing now is to be prepared and not be caught as in 1941. For there won't be the time to prepare. Also by being prepared, such a catastrophe as world war III may be avoided.

This preparedness includes keeping in a state of readiness certain key industries. This means not only having the necessary plants and tools, but a force of trained, skilled workers ready to take on the war assignment.

One of these is the precision-watchmaking industry, which currently is facing further contraction if not extinction, due to foreign competition.

An atom bomb, a guided missile, a rocket is no better than the timing device—the fuse—in its nose. If the bomb goes off too soon or too late, its effectiveness is reduced—maybe lost.

SUPPLIES ONLY 20 PERCENT

Today the American watchmaking industry supplies only about 20 percent of all watches sold here, against about 40 percent prewar. In the last 2 years employment in the industry has dropped 24 percent.

This is a precision industry, with labor representing about 80 percent of the cost. Machines have been developed to make the parts so they are interchangeable, and the same machines can and do produce the parts for bomb-timing devices. The assembly is chiefly hand, with workers fitting parts that are hardly visible to the eye—no bigger than a comma.

If the present trend continues, because of the cheaper labor costs in Switzerland, the United States will be increasingly dependent on that tiny country for its timing devices.

Switzerland has always been neutral and like Sweden has supplied both sides in war. It does a big trade with the Communists now. In the event of war, it would be easy for Russia to pinch off that supply source. Then the United States might be in a serious, if not desperate, position.

BRITISH BUILT UP INDUSTRY

Interestingly, Britain some time ago recognized this weakness and took steps in 1945 to protect her watch industry. From 370,000 watches of all kinds produced in 1947, England this year will turn out around 2,750,000. Smith & Co., a leading British maker, had 4,000 employees in 1940. Today there are 40,000.

The present United States tariff is around $2.10 on jeweled movements, and when it was reduced to that figure from $3.75 in 1936, the cost of a Swiss movement was around $2.50 and an American $4.75. Today the Swiss cost is $6.10, including the $2.10 tariff, against $10.50 for the competing American. So, American companies can't compete.

Hawaii Grateful for Recognition Given by Texans to Great War Record of Japanese-Americans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON

DELEGATE FROM HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, Hawaii is grateful that her plea for statehood has emphasized the loyalty and sacrifice of the Japanese-American veterans who made such a remarkable record in World War II and the unusually heavy sacrifices made by troops from Hawaii in the Korean conflict.

We are happy that the bond that exists between the fighting men of the islands and the soldiers of Texas is being recognized. Much of what is said and written on the subject may be familiar to some, but in this era of haste and turmoil its significance may have been missed. Because Japan was our enemy in the war that started with the attack on Pearl Harbor, some bear a resentment that blinds their eyes to the unassailable evidence that Hawaii instilled the principles of freedom and love for America so strongly in the hearts of their citizens of Japanese descent that the island soldier-patriots set an example of sacrifice and courage that drew the admiration of military men the world around.

Senator PRICE DANIEL, of Texas, recently said:

I have served with the citizens of Hawaii in the Armed Forces, and was stationed for a short time in the islands at Honolulu. I am acquainted with the gallant manner in which men from Hawaii served in all branches of the Armed Forces, and especially with the record of those who served with many men from my own State in the Italian campaigns.

In World War II the 442d Regimental Combat Team, composed of 2,600 Americans of Japanese ancestry, helped write into the annals of American history one of the greatest records of heroism. Gen. Mark W. Clark has pointed out that the 442d was the most decorated unit in the entire military history of the United States.

Moreover, I am fully aware of the fact that the civilian population of Hawaii gave its complete and wholehearted wartime cooperation, as Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz has testified, and oversubscribed its war bond quota.

In the more recent Korean war a substantial percentage of soldiers from Hawaii, both Caucasian and non-Caucasian, were in the 24th and 25th Divisions in Japan when the outbreak occurred. They were the first divisions committed to action in Korea. The 24th Division was soon afterward strengthened by the Fifth Regimental Combat Team from Hawaii.

I say all this in order that it may be clear that I have a high regard and sincere respect for the people of Hawaii. I am certain that the great majority of them are patriotic and loyal American citizens.

His mention of the tie that binds Texas to Hawaii by the service record of the 442d will rekindle the feeling of brotherhood between the citizen soldiers of this State and Hawaii, and make appropriate a slight review of what happened at Fort Worth on October 18, 1950, and the events that led up to it. It may help to sharpen the memories of those in other parts of this great Nation. For this I am indebted to Mike M. Masaoka, one of those who participated in the ceremony in which members of the 442d Combat Team were made honorary citizens of Texas. Under date of March 24 he wrote me:

In response to your inquiry regarding the conferring of honorary citizenship by the State of Texas on the men of the 442d Regimental Combat Team, may I say that this was done on two separate occasions.

The first time was following the rescue of the Lost Texas Battalion in the Vosges Mountains of northeastern France around the first week in November 1944. During World War II I was in charge of public relations for the 442d and remember that we were told by newspapermen attached to the 36th Texas Division that the then Governor of Texas had issued such a proclamation, naming all members of the combat team honorary Texans. I believe that the Stars and Stripes, official Army newspaper, also carried the story.

The second time was during the 25th annual reunion of the 36th Division Association in Fort Worth, Tex., on October 28, 1950, which was the 6th anniversary of the rescue of the 1st Battalion of the 141st Alamo Regiment of the 36th Texas Division, the so-called Lost Battalion, by the 442d Combat Team in France.

On that occasion Brig. Gen. William H. Martin, president of the 36th Division Association and adjutant general of the State of Texas, in the name of Gov. Allen Shivers, confirmed the action of an earlier Governor conferring honorary Texas citizenship on the men of the 442d by reading a proclamation once again designating all 442d veterans as honorary citizens of Texas.

At the Fort Worth reunion Wilson Makabe, a double-amputee veteran of the 442d, and I were present and received individual white 10-gallon hats as symbols of the honorary citizenship that had been conferred upon all members of the 442d Japanese American Combat Team.

Trusting that this information will be useful in illustrating the esteem in which the members of the 442d are held by the people of Texas, I am,

Sincerely,

MIKE M. MASAOKA,
Washington Representative, Japanese American Citizens League.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

It was this, the 442d Combat Team, that in October 1944 rescued the Lost Battalion of Texas in the foothills of the Vosges Mountains near Bruyeres, France, after several other attempts had failed. Many thousands of words have been written about that heroic victory. The motion picture, Go for Broke, took its theme from the battle. Hawaii is proud of this record.

All fair-minded Americans now join in recognizing that these Americans of Japanese descent showed in this action, beyond any doubt, that they were made of the stuff that has sustained this country throughout its history of privation and sacrifice on the battlefield.

One of the most notable phases of this record is that the Japanese American Team suffered more casualties than the number of men they rescued. It was a heavy military price, but a lesson in loyalty and devotion to duty that matches any in our history.

It would only be fair to add that about two-thirds of the 442d was composed

of Japanese Americans from Hawaii who volunteered for service. It is also appropriate to point out the fact that not a single case of sabotage by a citizen of Hawaii was reported during the war, despite the presence there of many persons of the Japanese race, both citizens and others.

Americans of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii constitute about a third of the whole. They are not in the majority. Yet the evidence shows that whatever their relative numerical position may be, they are, in fact, good American citizens that all of us are proud of. This point needs to be made so that any questions or doubts that are raised in the statehood debate about the character of Hawaii's people, and particularly those of the Japanese race, may be resolved completely and finally in Hawaii's favor.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF

HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8583) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COTTON. I want to make sure, after all of this discussion, of the ruling of the Chair on the question raised by the gentleman from Virginia. Was the ruling of the Chair to take out all those provisions starting on page 29, running clear through and including the first provision on the top of page 31?

The CHAIRMAN. All of those have been stricken out.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. I think the attention of the House should be called to one fact. There has been a great deal of criticism about the Appropriations Committee legislating on appropriation bills. Undoubtedly some of it is justified, and perhaps it is well we have been denied a rule. But I think everyone in this House should understand that because of the lack of a rule this bill has been stripped in the last few minutes of provisions that have been in this law for a long time; provisions restricting public housing to American citizens; provisions subjecting expenditures to the scrutiny of the Office of the Comptroller General; provisions to keep their books open to the authorities in the various communities, and provisions that no housing units constructed shall be occupied by Communists. I am rather amazed that this action should have been advocated by any Member of this House.

Henry S. Beers, Vice President of Aetna Life Insurance Co., Testified This Morning on H. R. 8356, a Bill to Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, continuing its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services, today heard testimony from Mr. Henry S. Beers, vice president of the Aetna Life Insurance Co., Hartford, Conn. Mr. Beers spoke on behalf of the American Life Convention and Life Insurance Association of America.

Mr. Beers' statement follows:

My name is Henry S. Beers. I am a vice president of the Aetna Life Insurance Co. I appear before you on behalf of the American Life Convention and the Life Insurance Association of America, 2 life insurance company associations whose combined membership consists of 245 life insurance companies. These companies, in addition to providing life insurance for the American public, underwrite approximately 40 percent of the individual policies of health insurance, and approximately 80 percent of the group health insurance in this country. These totals are exclusive of the voluntary hospital, surgical, and medical prepayment plan coverage in Blue Cross, Blue Shield, and similar organizations. The insurance companies and these other prepayment plans together cover 100 million or more persons in this country with some form of voluntary health insurance.

When I appeared before this committee on October 13, 1953, I presented a series of charts assembled by the Health Insurance Council which showed the tremendous growth of voluntary accident and health insurance in this country. I also stated that, simultaneously with the rapid spread of each line of coverage, the benefits offered had been continuously improved in an endeavor better to meet the public's desire for more adequate protection.

Other insurance witnesses at the October 13 hearing described what many persons, with reason, believe the most important development in the health-insurance field in the last 20 years, namely the introduction of major medical insurance. This coverage meets the need for protection against the high medical costs incident to major disease. In discussing H. R. 8356 today, I will not review the facts presented to you last fall, but I do want to emphasize again the rapid expansion of all forms of voluntary health insurance that has taken place in this country, the improvements in coverage that are steadily being made and our strong belief that this trend will continue. In fact this trend has acquired an irresistible momentum.

The preamble of H. R. 8356 states "that it is the purpose of this act to encourage and stimulate private initiative in making good and comprehensive health services generally accessible on reasonable terms, through adequate health service prepayment plans, to the maximum number of people."

The life-insurance business is in accord with the principle that voluntary health benefit prepayment plans should be encouraged. It looks with favor on constructive methods for stimulating private initiative in achieving this objective. H. R. 8356 is offered as a method of providing an incentive in this direction through Government action. The overall objective of developing the broadest possible health-insurance coverage is one which can be achieved only through continuing progress in a number of different areas, through the combined activities of all concerned including the insuring public, the medical professions and institutions, and the competitive activities of the many insurance companies and other organizations offering prepayment plans. This bill deals with one possible method for the stimulation of these plans.

H. R. 8356 is not offered as a panacea and it is important not to expect too much of it. It must be recognized that although a great majority of the American people are insurable and ought to insure themselves through prepaid voluntary health plans, there will always be uninsurable groups of individuals. The indigent, for example, cannot provide for themselves through voluntary prepaid plans. They are and always have been a social responsibility and health care for them must be provided by public assistance. As people grow older the incidence of illness and disease increases, the availability of adequate home care decreases, and the corresponding cost of the usual prepaid hospital and medical care may be beyond the ability of some of them to pay for the protection. Nevertheless, progress is being made in extending voluntary coverage to this group.

Thus, it is important that we recognize that H. R. 8356 will not provide health care for some individuals who are already physically impaired, or those who cannot pay their share of the cost of a voluntary prepayment plan. The objective of the bill is to encourage voluntary insurers to extend further health insurance coverage to those who are insurable and desire to purchase health insurance. The bill contemplates that this purpose might be accomplished by making a form of reinsurance available where needed to stimulate the establishment and maintenance of voluntary prepayment plans, or to stimulate experimentation with new types of benefit or areas of coverage.

This reinsurance proposal is new. Although its outline is given in the bill, much of the detail is left to subsequent administrative action. There are many sound principles included in this bill, some of which I will discuss because we consider them important to maintain:

(1) The prepaid medical care the bill seeks to stimulate would be provided through nongovernmental agencies. This reliance on private voluntary agencies is in keeping with the view, which we share, that providing medical care or medical care benefits to those who are insurable and able to pay for health-insurance protection, is not a proper function of Government.

(2) The reinsurance system proposed would be voluntary. No individual would be compelled to buy health insurance, nor would any health insurance carrier by compelled to purchase reinsurance, or otherwise submit to any of the regulations issued by the Government in carrying out the purposes of the act.

(3) The plan contemplates no Federal subsidy, except the payment by the Government of administrative expenses during the first 5 years and the temporary provision of $25 million of initial capital. Any plan subsidizing benefit payments could not be free from Government control of the distribution of medical care.

(4) The reinsurance would be available to both insurance companies and nonprofit prepayment health service plans.

(5) The plan would operate within the framework of State supervision of the insurance business and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to utilize the State insurance departments. We believe that the greatest care should be exercised to assure that the State insurance departments be utilized to the maximum extent and that there be no encroachment by Federal agencies upon the system of the State supervision of insurance.

(6) The reinsurance would cover only abnormal losses sustained by a health-insurance carrier. It also employs the so-called coinsurance principle, whereby a part of abnormal losses would always have to be borne by the reinsured health-insurance carrier. This gives carriers an incentive to offer only financially sound insurance protection.

Although this new reinsurance plan includes these principles, there are many uncertainties about it which make it difficult to appraise. It is equally difficult, at this time, to predict the extent to which insurance companies and other organizations will be able to use this reinsurance plan.

The bill in its present form is but a broad outline of the plan. It necessarily delegates to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare the responsibility for "filling in" a number of highly important details of the reinsurance plan. The usefulness of the plan, and whether it does good or does harm, will depend on these final determinations. The Secretary is authorized to prescribe the terms which must be met for a health insurance carrier and its plan to qualify for reinsurance. This includes benefits to be provided and terms of the insurance. These go to the very fundamentals of underwriting voluntary health insurance, and without a knowledge of what the Secretary will prescribe in these respects, it is impossible to evaluate the plan, predict the extent of its use, or gage its effects.

The standards prescribed in the bill for fixing the reinsurance premium rates are necessarily indefinite. The premiums are to be such as to make the reinsurance plan self-sustaining and, at the same time, promote the objectives of the bill. The final determination of the reinsurance premium rates, however, will have a very great bearing on whether the plan will be successful. If the premium rates are too high, that will discourage use of the plan. If too low, that will result in the rapid dissipation of the $25 million capital appropriated by the Government. To the extent such losses are not later repaid from premium income, a pattern for Government subsidies would be established. We are opposed in principle to the Government subsidizing prepaid medical care plans.

Even if the reinsurance premium rates are neither too high nor too low on the average, they might be discriminatory. That would have the result of favoring some plans and impeding other plans for reasons other than their inherent merit. This would tend to defeat the objectives of the legislation.

The administration is to be commended for its approach to this problem. Its plan includes many sound insurance principles. It attempts to carry forward some of the thinking in your committee that Government reinsurance might help spread voluntary health insurance. It merits careful study in the hope that it may accomplish its intended purpose. However, since the plan is new and so many important details are yet unknown and, therefore, many uncertainties remain unresolved, we are not in a position to go on record in favor of the bill at this time.

We have considered the question of whether it would be desirable to amend the bill to include many of the conditions, which, under the present wording of the bill, are left to regulation. Were the bill amended to cover the important details of the plan, it would be easier to obtain an appraisal from insurance companies and other organizations entitled to participate. But it is our conclusion that a bill incorporating standards, eligibility, premium rates, and other details we have mentioned, would result in inflexibility. Reinsurance could not be readily adjusted to the many types of coverage, or the changes which are constantly occurring with respect to such coverages. It is our feeling that the plan will be workable only in the event the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has the authority provided in the bill and exercises it wisely.

The life-insurance business assures your committee of its continued cooperation in connection with the proposed legislation. We feel that more study of the proposal is indicated. We are eager to do anything we can to help spread sound voluntary health insurance to the people of this country.

Improving the Employment Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 8586 in order to help alleviate the situation with respect to unemployment which exists throughout the country, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia, part of which I represent, where many persons have been terminated from their jobs in the various military installations and commercial enterprises. This bill would authorize the appointment of a Public Works Administrator who would be empowered to receive applications from States, Territories, and so forth, for Federal assistance in projects of construction, alteration, expansion, or repair of public facilities and public improvements. And right now seems to be a good time to legislate in this direction. This would not be a handout, as some individuals seem to think the old WPA was, but would be authorization for needed public improvements.

I understand the Census Bureau has recently compiled figures which show that unemployment in February rose by 584,000 to a total of 3,671,000, and that the Labor Department reports the number of persons claiming unemployment insurance rose to 2,211,300 in the last week of February, a new peak for this year. The Labor Department has also reported that the number of persons filing initial claims—notices of unemployment—rose 10 percent in the first week of March.

We have a large percentage of these individuals in Philadelphia. Cutbacks in production and job terminations are really hitting our people hard. The lines are long at the unemployment offices; I have taken time to observe the great number of those who find it necessary to collect unemployment insurance to help tide them over. The employment offices are besieged daily by these people, who are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their homes and provide for their families.

This administration has seen fit to reduce forces in our Military Establishments, and I have protested the unusual and what appears to me unnecessary cutbacks in my particular section. It would seem there is undue discrimination against the Delaware Valley with its large industrial area, and I do not believe the savings that may be realized from such changes are justified. The security of this country demands adequate military facilities, and I believe they should be maintained for our protection and to ease the economic distress now being felt. And some legislation, like the bill I have just introduced, authorizing public works with Federal and local assistance will aid the unemployment situation and certainly bolster the morale of our people.

Congress Should Guard Carefully in the Public Interest the Broad Powers Given to Interstate Authorities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Delaware River Port Authority, in May of 1954, authorized a special committee of its members to make a study of high-speed transit for south Jersey. However, nothing has been done by the committee or the authority itself to advance this much needed facility.

About the same time as the special committee was appointed the authority gave notice of an intention to raise the toll charges on the Camden-Philadelphia Bridge, which is under its operation. One of the reasons advanced by the authority was to provide a high-speed transit system for south Jersey. The toll charge for a passenger automobile was raised 25 percent, from 20 to 25 cents per crossing. Opposition was entered against this increase with the Secretary of the Army, in whom authority had been placed by Congress to determine whether tolls were just and reasonable. That matter has been awaiting a decision, by the Secretary of the Army, for almost a year. In the meantime the authority has been collecting the increased tolls. The higher rate of toll has brought to the authority the sum of $6,080,670 between June 20, 1953, and February 28, 1954. The old tolls would have brought in $4,915,606. Thus, there was a clear gain of $1,165,064 as a result of the increased tolls.

Notwithstanding this increase, which has become a part of an already large surplus of several million dollars, nothing has been done to carry out the declared intention of the authority to provide a rapid-transit system for south Jersey.

This disregard of the public interest, it seems, is characteristic of authorities such as the Delaware River Port Authority. It is observable elsewhere the same as in the Delaware River area. Why is it? Once the unusual powers and authorities are given, these authorities assume a degree of arrogance toward the public that is surprising. All of this indicates that while authorities are created for the public good, yet, they at times fail greatly to fulfill their intended mission. What can be done about it by the public? "Nothing," is the answer after the powers have been once given. All of this indicates that with the experience thus gained, Congress, in cases where approval is hereafter given to compacts between States, would be justified in adding limitations that would more surely protect the rights of the people.

The Courier-Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., has made a valiant effort to awaken in the membership of the Delaware River Port Authority a realization of the duty they owe to the public. As part of my remarks, I include the following editorial of that newspaper, appearing in the issue of Monday, March 19, 1954. It reads as follows:

PA SHOULD START AT ONCE ON SPEED-LINE SURVEY

In May of last year the Delaware River Port Authority authorized a special committee of its members to undertake a survey of all aspects of the problems relating to a high-speed transit system for south Jersey.

In June of last year, the port authority put into effect a 25-percent increase in Camden Bridge tolls, contending this was necessary before any action could be taken on the speed lines as well as to finance construction of the new bridge at Gloucester City.

Nothing further has been done about the transit survey.

This month, both Edward C. McAuliffe, chairman of the authority, and Joseph K. Costello, its executive director, have explained that the survey is waiting on final determination by Army Secretary Stevens of whether the toll increase shall be allowed in the face of the protests made against it.

If the higher tolls are approved, McAuliffe said, "we will proceed immediately with the study of high-speed extension," which he agrees would be extremely advantageous to all south Jersey communities and their people.

But if Stevens' decision should be against the higher tolls, according to McAuliffe, the authority might consider itself financially unable to undertake the speed-line project. And in any event, he asserts, "good business dictates" that not even the survey be undertaken till Stevens makes his decision, one way or the other.

Secretary Stevens doubtless would have ruled on the new bridge tolls before now had it not been for his imbroglio with Senator MCCARTHY, which is necessarily occupying most of his time and attention. Even so, the ruling may be made soon.

Much as the Courier-Post hates to say so, it is also highly likely that the ruling will be favorable to the port authority and will sanction the bridge toll increase.

That was the recommendation made to Stevens by Examiner Mohundro, who conducted public hearings on the increase. It is extremely rare for a Secretary to reverse his examiner in such a case, and would be still rarer for Mohundro to be reversed. He has a record extending over many years of never being reversed in similar cases.

The authority thus is playing it unnecessarily safe in refusing even to start its speed line survey pending Stevens' decision. Congressman WOLVERTON now has shown how ridiculously conservative the authority is being.

Taking the port authority's own figures for toll collections since it put the higher rates in effect last June 20, WOLVERTON shows that total collections from then until February 28 of this year were $6,080,670.

If the old tolls had been in effect during this period, the authority would have taken in only $4,915,606 in the same time.

It has netted an extra $1,165,064 because of the increased tolls during this period of slightly more than 8 months.

That would be enough—several times over—to finance the rapid transit survey it has authorized, especially since this survey will cover ground that for the most part has been pretty thoroughly explored in previous studies.

"Now that the port authority has more than sufficient funds to get the high-speed transportation survey underway," WOLVERTON asks, "What more does it need? Why should it wait any longer for a decision from Secretary Stevens when it has more than $1 million to finance such a survey?

"Is the port authority going to wait until Secretary Stevens announces a decision, then tell the public high-speed transportation is economically unfeasible, and use those extra nickels—the entire $1 million worth—for something else?

"South Jersey residents, civic and industrial leaders, and its political leaders all plead for high-speed transportation to fight traffic congestion which is strangling efforts of the area to keep up with the tremendous growth of the Delaware Valley. Why can't the port authority hear these appeals and do something immediately?"

As WOLVERTON says, "The need for the transit lines is growing by the minute. It is extremely urgent.. The Greater Camden Merchants Association and the Camden County Mayors Association are two organizations that within the last few days have demanded immediate action on it."

What answers can the port authority give to WOLVERTON'S questions, except to agree they are unanswerable, and start at once on the transit survey which it authorized 10 long months ago?

Army Contradictions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to bring to the attention of the Members of this House a most timely and pertinent editorial which appeared in the March 24 edition of the News-Tribune, of Waltham, Mass.

This excellent editorial presents a number of questions to the high officials of the Defense Department, which I am sure, deserve the serious consideration of Congress, and warrants our keen interest.

It is most disturbing to me, to say the least, and I know it has the same effect on all Members, to find so many signs of lowering morale among our military personnel. It is a very grave problem that is of vital concern not only to the Defense Department but to the Congress in meeting our responsibilities in adequately providing for national defense. A military unit is no better than the spirit that exists among its members and the morale of their families, despite whatever powerful war weapons they may possess.

Assurances to military personnel as well as their families that their medical needs will be fully and humanely provided for is a major factor in the maintenance of high spirit and morale. There is real and serious doubt that the current proposal to close Murphy General Hospital in Waltham, and other such facilities throughout the country, is a wise and practical economy. That is why I have urged the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee to initiate immediate investigative action by the appointment of a hospital survey subcommittee. I earnestly hope that in his wisdom he sees fit to do so in the near future and when he does he will instruct the committee to get the answers to the patriotic questions propounded in the public interest by the News-Tribune.

The editorial follows:

ARMY CONTRADICTIONS

The Department of Defense should be asking itself a number of vital questions before it goes through with the closing and disposal of Murphy Army Hospital.

Does the Army feel there is a relationship between its dependency care program and the enlistment or reenlistment of desirable personnel?

Is the world situation so harmonious that the Army can scrap a fully equipped, well-manned facility?

Does the Pentagon feel it will be able to justify making such an efficient unit expendable surplus if United States forces become involved in another police action and it then costs three times as much to create a new one?

Is the Pentagon prepared to defend itself for a sharp decline in Armed Forces morale when it becomes apparent the Army is shirking its responsibilities to the family of uniformed personnel?

Does this mean that the Army disagrees with President Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense Wilson as to the responsibility of the Government for medical and dental care now given dependents of those taken out of civilian life?

Or are these highest authorities in the land contradicting their own positions by giving approval to fiscal 1954–55 appropriations which make such an economy move necessary?

The answers to most of these questions are fairly obvious, containing as they do elements which make a strong case for maintenance of Murphy Hospital as a military installation. Closing means dislocation and disappointment for more than a thousand persons right away, followed by inconvenience and severe financial blows to hundreds of others who would be using its services in the months ahead.

The current issue of the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal, long spokesman for the armed services, carries a lead article which begins with this sentence: "The weight of the White House has been thrown into the campaign to raise attractiveness of military service."

A pay raise and the assurance of medical and dental care for dependents were recommendations relayed to President Eisenhower by Secretary Wilson, the article says. Mr. Eisenhower then brought up the desirability of such action in both his state of the Union and budget messages.

There is much more to the agitation for raising the attractiveness of a military career, other points having to do with education, loan, and widows' pension benefits. It can sometimes cost a serviceman as much as $5,000 in lost benefits to remain in uniform, declares the Journal report.

From Chairman DEWEY SHORT, of the House Armed Services Committee, came this observation: "We are playing with dynamite" by handicapping the services in efforts to attract and retain outstanding career personnel.

Here, then, is an apparent contradiction. On the one hand are these apparently sincere acknowledgments of a need to bolster service morale to keep military strength high; on the other is a disregard for responsibility to dependent kin which can do nothing but damage morale.

Congressman DONOHUE has urged a full-dress investigation with public hearings of what he terms "false and dangerous economy" involved in the Army decision. Senator SALTONSTALL and Congressman PHILBIN have joined in the protest. Certainly the contradictions must be explored and the actual justification, if any, for the closing order brought to light.

Military dependents hereabouts have a right to know who made Murphy Hospital expendable and why.

Ambush in Scorpion Pass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial entitled "Whitewash for a Murderous Ambush," which appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 25, 1954. This should be of general interest and it is certainly food for thought:

AMBUSH IN SCORPION PASS

The failure of the Mixed Armistice Commission to condemn Jordan for the attack on an Israeli bus on the Beersheba Road last week, in which 11 persons were killed, is a shocking development that may have the gravest consequences. One immediate result has been the withdrawal of Israeli from the armistice group.

The five-man commission investigating the murderous attack was unable to reach a decision on the case because the United Nations member, United States Navy Comdr. E. H. Hutchison, refused to cast a tie-breaking vote on a motion of censure against Jordan.

Commander Hutchison insisted that the evidence pointing to Jordanian responsibility for the outrage was "far from conclusive" and that the possibility exists that Israelis themselves were involved in the crime.

He stated that tracks had been found, "perhaps connected with the crime," but that they had been lost about 6 miles from the Jordan border. He objected also that the testimony given by the four survivors of the massacre left doubt as to whether all of the gunmen were Arabs.

As a clincher, he pointed out that the names of three men supplied by the Israeli Government as connected with the killings were turned over to the commander of Jordan's Arab Legion and that he was informed there were no such people.

As basis for his refusal to find Jordan responsible, this is amazingly flimsy stuff. The bus, carrying passengers from Elath to Beersheba, was ambushed in military fashion in the narrow Scorpion Pass, about 12 miles from the border. Men described by the four survivors as uniformed Arabs armed with machineguns shot the driver to death and then methodically riddled men, women, and children with bullets, after which they disappeared in the direction of Jordan.

How any fair-minded person could consider this attack as anything but another of the reprisal raids that have bloodied the sands on both sides of the border for many months or that, under the circumstances, it could have been engineered by anyone but the Jordanians, escapes comprehension. Commander Hutchison's scruple that Israelis themselves may have murdered their own people is a thing of horror, unworthy of a further thought.

What the Armistice Commission has done, because of the U. N. representative's lamentable indecision, is to reduce its usefulness to low ebb. It has already proved itself powerless to prevent onslaughts from either side of the border. It now evades the duty of fixing responsibility for the crime.

Israel should carry the case direct to the United Nations Security Council to seek there the action that failed in the Armistice Commission, and to press for steps directed at peace between Israel and the Arab States in place of the present dangerous and increasing tension.

Israel has tried repeatedly to negotiate with Jordan. A subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that recently returned from a study mission to the Near East has reported to Congress that the Arabs continue to deny the existence of any justification for Israel as a sovereign state.

The Israelis have found in their dealings with the Arabs that they are determined to destroy Israel and drive its people into the sea. The Arab States carry on their conflict in the meantime with border attacks, with economic boycotts, and with refusal to participate in any meetings with Israel.

The fabric of the armistice agreement has worn threadbare. New and effective action by the United Nations is required to bring the Arabs and Israelis together, to terminate the Arab boycott, to settle boundary disputes, to prevent violation of agreed-to borders, and to put an end to murderous attacks on women and children such as that which made Scorpion Pass run with the blood of innocents.

Low-Rent Public Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, as the congressional representative of a heavily populated district in the center of Philadelphia the provisions of the present housing bill are of vital interest to me. Like most large cities, Philadelphia suffers from a lack of adequate housing facilities for its low-income bracket citizens. My constituents are mainly from this group.

One of the biggest and most urgent problems facing us today is the overcrowded conditions prevalent among these people. It has been shown that such inhuman conditions are directly related to the high crime rate with which all of us are concerned. Juvenile delinquency flourishes in poverty-stricken areas. The full, well-rounded development of our growing children is hindered by unsavory living facilities. Do not these youngsters, the citizens and voters of the coming years, have a right to expect decent housing, adequate facilities, and a respectable neighborhood?

The demand for low-rent housing far exceeds the foreseeable supply. To argue that housing projects should be undertaken by private companies is senseless. New housing in Philadelphia averages $11,500. This figure puts these houses out of reach of most of my constituents. While local housing projects, under State or city grants, are helpful, they, too, rent or sell for prices which are too high for low-income families. In addition, few of them make adequate provision for large families and the result of crowding several people into a room, as is common now, would defeat the purpose of such an undertaking. We must have a provision for at least 35,000 housing units if this situation is to be remedied.

The public housing program carries with it the promise of a future for many of today's youths. Without it we may expect even more slums, greater crime rates, and increasing despair and decadence.

Slum clearance projects and low-rent public housing units will afford low-income families an opportunity to live rather than merely exist. It is within our jurisdiction to provide these things. Furthermore, in my opinion, it is our duty to see that they are provided.

The New York City Dock Strike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. RAY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, I introduced in the House today a resolution calling for the appointment of a nine-member special House committee to investigate the paralyzing New York City dock strike, with some industrial production seriously handicapped as far west as the Mississippi River.

I ask that the special committee determine the extent, if any, in which the strike or its continuance is related to delays or inaction on the part of the National Labor Relations Board.

Also, to determine why an injunction issued by the United States District Court of the Southern District of New York, March 4, 1954, has not been complied with or enforced.

The special committee should also inquire into the reasons public authorities have not provided adequate protection for persons and property during the strike.

If we are ever to correct waterfront conditions that have degenerated into outright violence, in defiance of law and order, we must act now.

What we have here is a small group of individuals whose past records bar them from obtaining licenses to work on the docks, plotting the tactics that have all but wrecked the greatest gateway to the Nation's vital commerce.

Thousands are out of work; many others have been injured; property has been destroyed. Police and other law-enforcement officials have displayed an unwillingness or inability to maintain law and order, or protect life and property that is being endangered by a small group of willful men whose records reveal their dependence on violence.

There are orderly processes for settling such disputes as have arisen on the New York waterfront. The courts and the NLRB have already entered the deliberations.

As a nation we are on the threshold of a long-delayed economic expansion, free from the restrictions of war and the terror of industrial strife.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that a special committee of Congress begin its investigations of the New York dock strike at once—and that it determine wherein the due processes of law have been weakened or neglected to the point where a few disgruntled union leaders are able to stand in defiance of proper legal procedures.

It is the function of the local enforcement agencies to clean up local conditions, such as those existing on the New York City waterfront. When the forces of law and order, however, are defied as a result of clean-up attempts, then it becomes the business of the Congress to determine where the sinews of our economic security are in need of strengthening.

Challenge of Abundance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in other lands nations are struggling with the problem of hunger and want because of a scarcity of food and other essentials of life. In the United States we face the challenge of abundance. We have great surpluses of food, clothing, household equipment, automobiles, TV sets, and other products that should insure good living to all of our citizens.

Because we have so much of these good things people are being compelled to go without. For great productive effort workers are rewarded with unemployment and reduced purchasing power. Farmers who have produced food in great quantity must now accept a lower standard of living. It does not make much sense.

Even more puzzling are the remedies which are being offered. Some of the Nation's top businessmen, who advise the President, caution him against any hasty Government action to do something about the economic decline and the plight of almost 4 million jobless American families. Farmers and small businessmen have also felt the impact of what Eisenhower's advisers call a healthy adjustment. George Humphrey, Eisenhower's Secretary of the Treasury, refused to view the rising unemployment figures with any great show of concern. Humphrey contended before a Senate committee that 4 million unemployed was a relatively low figure. Nothing to be alarmed about.

Any suggestion that would put adequate purchasing power in the hands of the average citizen seems to frighten our so-called best brains. Proposals of Democratic Members of Congress to launch a public-works program, to raise pensions and social security benefits, or to raise income-tax exemptions are frowned upon by GOP leaders.

TEXTILE SITUATION

Many families in Berks County, the district I am privileged to represent, are among the victims of abundance, surpluses, and unemployment. There are many hosiery and textile mills in my district. The industry there, as elsewhere, seems to be in a bad way. There seem to be more factories, more men and more machines in the Nation than are needed to satisfy demands. In this field, too, we hear strange and weird proposals to solve the problem.

It has been suggested that the wages of working people be cut. It has also been suggested that the workweek be lengthened and that extra shifts of women be permitted to work. Just how this would help solve the problem of jobs and surpluses is difficult to understand. Just plain horse sense tells us that it would only make the situation worse.

Since the report of Governor Fine's committee on the textile situation was made I have contacted a number of Congressmen from southern industrial districts. I have learned that southern workers are also hit with unemployment and they, too, are being asked to accept lower wages. In one Alabama district unemployment has reached 9 percent. Food supplies are being sent in for relief of destitute families. A Representative from North Carolina tells me of growing unemployment and part-time work that has hit the hosiery and textile centers of his State.

It is about time for the average citizen to speak up and tell the soothsayers that the Hoover solution will not work today anymore than it did a generation ago.

Salary Increase for Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution passed at the general meeting of the Greater Boston CIO, Massachusetts, on March 25, 1954:

GOVERNMENT AND CIVIC EMPLOYEES ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, CIO,
Boston, Mass.

RESOLUTION URGING CONGRESS TO SPEED ACTION IN GRANTING AN $800 SALARY INCREASE TO POSTAL WORKERS

Whereas the postal department is one of the most vital agencies of the Federal Government and the administration has a duty and an obligation to keep it operating at a high level of efficiency; and

Whereas a recent report of the advisory council to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, a group made up of outstanding citizens, showed that the employees of the post office are turning to other lines of employment due to inadequate salaries in the service; and

Whereas the most effective way to guarantee continuing efficiency and high productivity in the post office is by taking active steps to bolster morale among the rank and file; and

Whereas there is general agreement that the best way to accomplish this end is by granting an upward salary revision to all postal workers: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Greater Boston CIO Industrial Council, at its regular monthly March meeting, does hereby go on record as strongly recommending that the present session of Congress grant an $800 permanent pay increase to all postal workers and by so doing guarantee efficient operation of our all-important communications system; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to all Congressmen in this area, as well as to Senators KENNEDY and SALTONSTALL.

Financial Engineering, by Former United States Senator Elmer Thomas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 27, 1954

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for over 40 years the Honorable Elmer Thomas, who now resides at 1661 Crescent Place NW., Washington, D. C., was a legislator. He served in the State Senate of Oklahoma from 1907–20; as Congressman from Oklahoma from 1923–27; and as United States Senator from Oklahoma from 1927–51. While he was in the United States Senate he was a recognized authority on money and financial systems. He has recently completed a book on Financial Engineering. It has 231 pages and a fine index. It is a book that everyone interested in our American Government, and particularly the financial affairs of our Government—and especially the problems of money and regulating its value—should read and consider. The cover, under the heading of "Financial Engineering," indicates the subjects covered. It is as follows:

FINANCIAL ENGINEERING

To managers of our money—the President, Members of Congress, and Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Greetings:

Under this plain robe I am a book.

I come to you uninvited and possibly unwelcomed but, in the best of faith, I dare to present myself in the form of a petition pleading for a properly regulated dollar.

The importance of my petition is based upon the premise that—

1. The value of the dollar controls the price level;
2. The price level controls income;
3. Income controls prosperity; and
4. The administration controls the factors which, in turn, control the dollar value hence, the administration influences if not controls prices, income, and prosperity.

To accomplish the desired objective—a properly valued dollar—the cooperation of the legislative and administrative branches must be a reality for the following reasons:

(a) The dollar cannot be regulated until the volume of money in circulation is under control;

(b) The volume of money cannot be controlled, effectively, until the budget is balanced;

(c) The budget may not be balanced until the threat of war is abated hence, every proper effort should be made to abate the threat of war to the end that

(d) The budget may be balanced, and

(e) The dollar may be regulated to that point of value which will best promote the general welfare.

Considering the present status of our economy—the foregoing is my agenda.

Mr. Speaker, the contents of the book include such interesting subjects as Evolution of Money; Money Defined; Importance of Money; Origin and Development of the Dollar; Principles Controlling Purchasing Power of Money; Yardstick for Money; The Price Level; Increasing Price of Gold Increases Prices; Value of Gold in Terms of Property May Be Controlled; Banks Are Mints for Creating Credit Money; Inflation and Deflation; Money Management; Who Should Control Money; Steps Yet To Be Taken; Financial Barometer; and Definition of Monetary Terms.

Need of Citizens' Organizations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting article from the Citizen, published every week by the Citizen Publishing Co.:

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND

Th responsibilities of citizenship, at the local level, fall upon each of us with greater and more sustained force today than ever before. They are more numerous, more varied, and broader. They are also more urgent in character.

The reasons are, to a large extent, simply mathematical. The mathematics of population increase, and, more significantly, of population shifts have brought about a rapid concentartion of people in urban areas all over the country.

Throughout most of the Nation's history, the population of the United States was predominantly rural; and, of the part that was urban, the bulk resided in small towns.

The day of a predominantly rural, small-town America has passed. Today about three-fifths of the American people are urban residents. This change has come about in the last three decades.

SHIFT TO SUBURBS

The shift has not merely been one from rural to city living, however. At the same time another has been taking place—from city to suburban living. The greatest expansion in urban population has been in the growth of suburban areas.

Thirty years ago a comparatively small part of the population lived in suburbs. At that time the city limits stopped at the end of the streetcar line, and beyond that one was quickly in the open countryside.

Since then, due to the influence of the automobile, more and more people have moved to the suburbs. In the 1940 census the suburban population was about half as much as the urban population. Today about 5 persons live in the suburbs for every 7 living within city limits.

This population shift, taking place in a relatively short time, has created a growing number of sprawling urban complexes all over the United States. It has also created many new problems for citizens. They are problems of adequate highways and streets, schools and hospitals, parks and playgrounds, water and sewerage facilities, and many others which directly affect the comfort and well-being of every urban area resident.

URBAN DECAY

Inside the corporate limits of cities, a grave problem has arisen from this shift—the problem of urban decay, of deteriorating property and tax values, of slums and crime and juvenile delinquency which thrive on excessive concentration of population in declining neighborhoods.

As a consequence, cities have got to be rebuilt in large part, or else decreasing tax structures, pitted against rising costs of police, fire, and health protection, and greater school needs, will place many American cities in a hopeless position.

As a consequence also, greater attention must be given to the largely new problems of suburban living.

The answers to these problems lie in large measure in the development of more and better organizations of citizens. In an urban complex, the ability of a citizen, acting individually, to understand the problems of his locality, much less cope with them, is sharply reduced.

Only by combining their voices and their influence with respect to community problems can citizens today make themselves really effective. Citizens' organizations of various kinds have successfully dealt with problems in many localities. But many more of them are needed, and the need is urgent, because population grows apace, and urban areas increase in size, and steadily our community problems mount in number and scope.

O. Z.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newspaper editorials:

[From the Decatur (Ill.) Review of March 12, 1954]

DON'T HAMSTRING SEAWAY PARTICIPATION

A Senate-passed St. Lawrence seaway bill is moving toward a showdown in the United States House but the chances of its approval are only a little better than 50-50.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Association, the pro-seaway lobby, claims it has 195 votes now while the anti-seaway group may have as many as 130 votes. That leaves more than 100 Representatives who haven't made up their minds.

The issue, however, is clear. It is simply a matter of whether the United States is going to join the construction, ownership, control, and operation of a great international waterway on a great river that serves as a United States boundary, or allow Canada to do the job alone.

The President, the Cabinet, the National Security Council, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have called for the seaway as a good defense measure.

In addition the seaway will expand the transportation facilities of the United States. It will not involve a new tax burden but will be on a self-liquidating basis.

While the seaway supporters are using these arguments to win more votes, they also will have to see that the measure isn't crippled by amendments.

This danger is a real one, and at least three amendments already have been proposed. One amendment would tie the construction to an annual congressional appropriation. Another would limit the Federal investment in the proposed seaway agency. The third would require an agreement on tolls before any money is spent.

Crippling amendments can hamstring United States participation in construction of the seaway. Canada is ready to proceed alone. It is now or never if the United States is to join in this project.

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of March 13, 1954]

FIGHT NOT ENDED

The fight for the modified St. Lawrence seaway bill passed by the Senate in January has not yet ended. To the surprise of a number of observers, the House Committee on Public Works reported the bill favorably by a comfortable margin, but it has yet to pass the House.

The bill is scheduled to reach the House floor next week and should command as large a majority as it received in the Senate. In the Senate, both North Carolina Senators opposed the measure. The House delegation from this State is expected to be divided and it is to be hoped that most of them will favor the measure. This seaway, which has been approved by every President since Harding, is in the public interest and will serve the country as a whole. The chief objections come from ports and railroads, whose interest should not be placed above those of the country as a whole.

[From the Lorain (Ohio) Journal and Times-Herald of March 16, 1954]

EVERYONE OUT OF STEP BUT BRICKER ON SEAWAY PLAN

Ohioans are getting on the St. Lawrence seaway bandwagon. State officials and citizens are voicing their approval of this project which will bring immense development to the Great Lakes region.

Apparently nearly everyone in the State now realizes the importance and value of the project with the exception of Senator JOHN BRICKER. In spite of the almost universal approval of the Buckeye State, BRICKER is still offering the same objections which have been heard for years. It would seem that BRICKER is either out of touch with the opinions of the people he is supposed to represent or is in too close touch with the railroad lobby.

Gov. Frank J. Lausche said yesterday that he has long favored development of the St.

Lawrence seaway and announced plans for a committee to study its effect on Ohio.

State Auditor James A. Rhodes, Republican candidate for governor, has also expressed his approval of the seaway. He urged the Ohio Legislative Service Commission to consider legislation for the "proper development" of the State as it relates to the St. Lawrence seaway.

These suggestions tie in directly with the effort now being made in Lorain for harbor improvement. It can be anticipated that Lorain will become a world port after the seaway's completion, providing harbor facilities are adequate to handle the ocean vessels which will ply the lakes.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which is an excellent analysis of the proposal of the Postmaster General on the subject of postal rates from the Chicago Daily Drovers Journal of Tuesday, March 30, 1954:

BUREAUCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP?

Postmaster General Summerfield is credited with current advocacy of steps to place postal ratemaking in his hands or under his control—subject, presumably, to some check which, in the course of events, might or might not prove to be effective. The idea is not new. Legislative measures toward that end were presented in the first session of the present Congress. The thought in part, we believe, is to speed up ratemaking and to do away with the tortuous hearings and long deliberations by Congress under the present system of determining rates.

How would such a scheme work out? Perhaps what has already transpired may throw a little light on the possibilities: The good Postmaster General had not been in office 6 months before he came up with a demand, embodied in his proposed legislation, for an increase of 300 percent in a rate affecting some publications, thus quadrupling the rate already in effect. He would have had the increase take place October 1, which, allowing time for high-pressuring the measure through Congress, would have meant in about 2 months. The poposal was little noticed or publicized because its effect industrywise would not have been universal or, indeed, too widespread. Nevertheless, for some publications, the provision virtually meant extinction. Their publishers made all speed to Washington so to testify before the Postal Committee of the House and to do what they could to defend themselves against a proposal which to them was nothing less than arbitrary and capricious.

We emphasize that not for 1 minute do we think that the Postmaster General or the administration he speaks for had any design against the publishers and the publications referred to or any desire to put them out of business. Although there was a notable absence of concern as to the proposal's effect, no ulterior motives have been ascribed or even hinted. We doubt the existence of any other objective than that of the whole measure—primarily the political end of decreasing taxpayers' costs by putting the burden on those who directly or indirectly ultimately pay the postage charges.

The House committee in amending the bills has offered the stricken publishers referred to some, although not complete or wholly satisfactory, relief. But suppose the ratemaking power at that time had been vested entirely in the Post Office Department. To whom could these publishers have turned? Or suppose Congress had previously yielded the ratemaking power to the Post Office Department but had retained the right of veto within a limited period, say 60 days, and suppose Congress had adjourned as it had after the end of July. Who then would there have been to hear the pleas of these publishers or to protect them?

In both instances provision would undoubtedly have been made for the holding of hearings by the Department on the rates proposed. If it elected to hold hearings, it would be incumbent upon it to serve in them, as plaintiff, judge and jury. The present way with the functions of judge and jury vested in the elected representatives of the people, is the American way.

It comes to mind that in America we regard a man as innocent until he has been proved guilty. To make law, unless vetoed by the legislative branch, the edicts of departments or subsidiary boards or commissions of the executive branch of Government, could easily in practical application smack of principles diametrically opposed to our concepts of justice.

With the Post Office Department in control of rates we would be concerned, and deeply, with whom the next Postmaster General might be and with whom might follow in that capacity in succeeding years. We would be gravely concerned with what the objectives of each of such incumbents might be and under what concepts each might administer the Department. We would be concerned with the freedom of the press and with continuance of the right of the people to be informed. The power to tax is the power to destroy. Postal charges have with good reason been likened to taxes. Postal rates can be used to destroy unless we adhere strictly to the system of governmental checks and balances which have nurtured survival thus far.

What if it does take time to hear those concerned with postal rates? Why should they not be heard by their elected representatives? Why not hear those concerned more than anyone else because they would have to pay the bill? What if deliberation is necessary to ascertain the desire of the people as to postal policies? Those are processes of representative Government. They are in contrast to the methods of bureaucracy or dictatorship.

We subscribe heartily to the belief that all postal rates should be set by Congress. We shudder at the thought of Congress surrendering its postage ratemaking power to anyone. The proposals to do so are unthinkable and are repugnant to the principles of freedom and democracy.

How One Farmer Feels About Parity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there is considerable agitation among the farmers—pro and con—regarding Secretary Benson's reduction of the parity price of dairy products from 90 to 75 percent. One farmer has written me a most interesting letter setting forth his personal views and under leave to extend my remarks, I am including a copy of his letter:

JANESVILLE, WIS., *March 28, 1954.*

Hon. LAWRENCE SMITH,
Congress of the United States.

DEAR MR. SMITH: I am enclosing a copy of a letter to President Eisenhower which is self-explanatory. I am not a little concerned for fear the President may not back the Secretary of Agriculture in his farm program. It would be fatal to have Benson leave the Government service under the present circumstances. It would set the pattern for a permanently controlled agriculture.

From a political side it would have been a happier solution to have lowered the support of dairy products by degrees but contrary to all the criticism, it would have cost the dairy industry a tremendous price. It would be like cutting off the dog's tail an inch at the time. The dog would keep more of his tail for a longer time but the pain would not be worth it.

With the Government support program at the bottom, the trade is free to function normally and if some plan is devised to get the Government out of the cold storage business I predict that we will have higher prices at the farm.

As long as there is any chance that the Government support lever may be lowered at the whim of a department head, the trade will back away from taking any risk. And by the same token, as long as the Government is the highest bidder it is also the only buyer and there is no incentive on the part of the trade or the industry to put forth any effort to advertise or promote the sale of the product.

About 3 weeks ago one of the largest manufacturers of 93-score butter in southern Wisconsin spent an hour griping to me because he had several cars loaded with butter sold to the Government and they were slow in sending him shipping orders.

I asked him why not try and find a market somewhere else and his reply verbatum, "Why should we spend our money for a sales force? We can sell to the Government by using the telephone."

All the top-grade butter is in storage off the market and farmers are spending their money through the American Dairy Association trying to sell the low-grade stuff. What a lot of foolishness.

I have before me a chart showing parity level of milk prices paid to farmers in the last 10 years and do you know that the 1950 average was 88 percent.

Why did not some politicians capitalize on that one? You did not hear much about that, did you?

So the Secretary drops the support to 75 percent. A drop of 13 parity points. I hope he sticks to his guns. The only thing he can do that would be better would be to take all the surplus in Government hands off our neck and then get out of the dairy business entirely. Then perhaps we who are in the dairy business would get busy and do some promotion and merchandising and sell the stuff. After all, there are 60 million people employed at high wages in this country and I am satisfied that if we would train a few experts we could develop some foreign trade for dairy products, not only for ourselves but for the benefit of some other countries in the free world who have small amounts of surplus dairy products to sell. If we are the leading Nation of the world, let's get out and lead instead of sitting on our collective asses trying to figure marketing quotas and acreage allotments for the millions of farms and scores of crops that we produce. But I repeat, we will have to train some experts for that job. You cannot have a lot of millionaire playboys in the foreign service and expect them to get results at cocktail parties.

Laurie, I want to thank you for sending me a summary of the answers to the questionnaire you sent out. The results are interesting. They show some confusion in the thinking of every one. You must take into consideration also that a box-holder address takes in a lot of people who are not farmers in this area.

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Dilemmas of American Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following extraordinary analysis by Anne O'Hare McCormick from a recent issue of the New York Times:

The question in Indochina is not whether the French will be able to hang on to their strong point at Dienbienphu. It is not even whether, with increased aid from the United States, they can eventually win that costly and exhausting war. The French chief of staff, General Ely, has been discussing the military aspects of the situation in extremely candid talks with the President, Admiral Radford, and other top officials in Washington. On the basis of these discussions Secretary of State Dulles declared recently that he does not believe the Communist forces will succeed in their unrelenting effort to dominate Southeast Asia. He coupled this prediction with a pledge of our willingness to give the French all the military supplies they need to continue the fight.

It is clear as print that the Communists launched their powerful offensive recently with the object of gaining a smashing victory on the eve of the Geneva conference. The Communist game is to intensify the pressure to make France more amenable at Geneva.

The big question, therefore, is how the Indochina affair will affect the whole East-West struggle. The war itself is and has been for a long time at a critical stage. Many in France have given it up as hopeless and many more do not see why they should go on pouring out blood and treasure for territory they believe is lost to France anyway.

AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

As to American fears that American troops may be pulled into the fray as the result of our stepped-up aid in the form of aircraft and technicians, the French leaders profess not to desire American manpower. They are cool even to the suggestion that Americans help them train a Vietnamese Army. Likewise, they reject proposals for internationalizing the war or—on the issue of the Communist invasion of Laos—referring it to the United Nations. Politicians in Paris insist that the contest is as international as the fight in Korea; the generals' view is that any measures to bring in outside forces at present would complicate the French position.

The reason that Indochina is thrust into the foreground just now, however, is that it is an international issue of the utmost importance, politically and militarily. We are witnessing the prolog to the Geneva Conference. Reports that Canada is seriously considering recognizing Communist China, following Sir Gladwyn Jebb's proposal that it might be admitted into the United Nations, are qualified by conditions: "If Peiping adopts a conciliatory attitude at Geneva," "when that nation is purged of aggression." But both statements sound as if the British Commonwealth is moving toward a unified attitude on China or is combining in an endeavor to exert public pressure to soften the attitude of the United States.

Just why the statements are timed to indicate that the Western Powers are in the mood to make concessions at Geneva is a mystery. The whole purpose of the meeting is to find out what concessions Peiping is prepared to make. Is Communist China ready to stop furnishing military supplies to keep the Vietminh rebels in the field? Is she willing to make peace in Korea? What proof can she offer the nations that have been invaded that they are secure from future aggression? In other words, even if for reasons of her own, or Russia's, she is disposed to be conciliatory, what guaranty can she give that she will fulfill her promises?

MR. DULLES' POSITION

No one can forecast the future, or predict what will happen when and if the conditions change that prevent American recognition of the Peiping regime and its admission into the United Nations. Diplomatic recognition should not be regarded as a mark of approval or a reward of merit. Still less, however, should it be conferred as a reward of banditry or a prize for lawlessness. Moreover, if Great Britain's recognition had been recognized by Peiping, if it had even resulted in any advantage for British residents of China, one would not wonder so much at Canada's willingness to invite the same rebuff.

Perhaps Mr. Dulles is puzzled by these pre-Geneva maneuvers. At present, he says, he sees no evidence that the Chinese Communists are in anything but an aggressive, militaristic, and expansionist mood. Even if they should come in the guise of doves the conference is sure to be a hard test of his diplomacy. In present circumstances it is politically impossible for the representative of the United States to take the position on China that Anthony Eden or Lester B. Pearson can expound in the assurance that their respective countries are largely behind them. A powerful part of Congress is already suspicious of Geneva and Mr. Dulles goes to the conference reined in, so to speak, by American public opinion.

If, in addition, he cannot count on a solid front with the other Western Powers, if France is waiting to decide on the European Defense Community until she sounds out the Communist attitude on a negotiated peace in Indochina, his role will be doubly difficult. Many vital issues hang on this first full-dress confrontation of the Communist and the democratic powers. It is unlikely that any issue will be brought nearer solution, but this does not make the dilemmas of American leadership less harsh and hazardous.

We Are Ignoring Our Best Military Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the problem of morale in the armed services today is gaining the attention of many of the leaders of the administration who are beginning to realize the expense, in dollars and experience, of the 10-year policy of cutting benefits previously enjoyed by servicemen and their families. An excellent editorial on this subject has appeared in the April 1954 issue of the Air Force magazine:

WE ARE IGNORING OUR BEST MILITARY ASSET

This Nation has never accustomed itself to a professional military force. Indeed, we boast of the fact, as if it were a cornerstone of democracy.

We still like to think about arousing a military force after the danger is upon us, and about sending the boys back home, even before the danger is over, as we did in World War II.

Our fetish for springing to arms in an emergency has prevented us from clearly thinking out our national-defense problem. And, if the springing has each time proved costly in life and treasure, we have been thus far willing to pay the price. It has seemed preferable to a large standing force.

Now the new weapons of war are fast eliminating our choice in the matter. We will barely have time to spring to our air-raid shelters in the age of atomic destruction.

Whether we like it or not, security under arms is the order of the day and, as our leaders have told us, may continue for decades or even a century. It is high time we became more mature about the men we hire to defend us.

The history of German military success against the French in World War II clearly reveals the overwhelming superiority of the quasi-professional force when arrayed against the quasi-amateur force. Germany did not conquer France with superiority of manpower, in numbers; Germany conquered by virtue of the superior capability of its military force, even when outnumbered.

We Americans take pride in having the best of everything, but we have not demonstrated our pride in achieving and maintaining the world's best Military Establishment.

The test is not in wartime, when patriotism runs high. The real test is before us today, when we are called upon to support a large professional military force within our peacetime social structure.

Our support has been shabby, at best. As a nation, we have not let our military people feel that their efforts are appreciated. We go through the motions, but true respect is lacking. We look down upon military service as a career.

We cannot expect men of the necessary caliber to enter the military on a voluntary basis until their neighbors, all of us, look upon the bearing of arms as an honorable occupation, with the prestige which it deserves. We cannot expect to retain men of the right type in the military service unless the bearing of arms becomes, in fact, an honorable occupation.

The inability of the services to retain experienced and qualified men is the greatest single weakness in our military structure. The record is shocking. The Strategic Air Command, the nation's key military unit, lost some 5,000 officers and 25,000 airmen through voluntary discharges during the last year. Due to the high turnover rate, fully 85 percent of the men in some of SAC's most important job categories are apprentices. Yet we expect this organization to be in a constant state of combat readiness.

The services themselves must share part of the blame for the steady flow of highly skilled men from military life. But our share—the public's share—is a heavy one.

This outlet of 25,000 airmen from the Strategic Air Command represents an estimated loss of some $50 million in formal training time which the taxpayer has provided for these men, without considering the cost of training the men to take their places. It has been estimated that the abnormal turnover of people in the Air Force alone is costing the taxpayer more than $2 billion this year.

Every serious study of the turnover rate reflects lack of support for the military man on the part of the civilian community.

It is merely basic economics to realize that the best military capability can be procured for the least money by a military establishment which at least has a backbone of professional character. It can be shown that the best way and the cheapest way to defend our country is with a professional or quasi-professional military force. This, of course, goes against the national grain. It runs headlong into the old theory that each must do his bit and, in the end, must do it whether he likes it or not and whether or not he can be made into a capable military man. If the military service were actually attractive, if there were some competition to get into it, this situation would not prevail.

A respectable military force can be obtained only if it is believed that the military worker is worthy of his hire.

The one way to get men without regard for their market worth is to draft them, and they will leave military employment at the first opportunity. The one way to keep them in military service is to give them a package which adds up to reasonable incentive and reasonable security. The package may not parallel civilian life in monetary gain, but the total should compare with civilian experience. The package may consist of direct pay, fringe benefits, and security for the long pull. It must include the respect and prestige of the civilian community.

As a nation, we will be in the military business for a long time to come. In the tradition of America, we deserve the best military force in the world. With the complexity of new weapons, we can no longer get the best with a quasi-amateur force, especially short-term enlistees. And, in the long run, a quasi-professional military force is the most economical of all security forces.

Civilian understanding and support of the military man is an essential ingredient of our military posture. Such support is, in the last analysis, our finest military asset—part and parcel of our national security.

Public Power and Cooperatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I present here a petition of a great number of citizens of North Dakota, who are concerned with the future of public power questions:

In order to preserve the democratic principles upon which our country was founded, we are extremely interested in all legislation which affects the common people who, after all, are the backbone of our democracy. For this reason we urge that you put forth every effort to safeguard our public power program.

The Department of Interior, Missouri Basin marketing criteria, and the failure of Congress during the first session of this administration to authorize needed funds and projects, are now seriously threatening our public power program. We also urge that you vote against legislation which would increase interest rates on loans to rural electric cooperatives.

Since we are interested in the welfare of all common people, we ask that you use your efforts to restore funds for the Southwest Power Administration continuing fund and to authorize funds for the building of the Minnesota powerline, the Fulton steam plant of Tennessee, and funds for steam plants in other areas. Since a preference clause favoring co-ops is absolutely essential to the life of REA, we ask that this clause be applied and adhered to in the distribution and sale of Federal power in all areas.

We want and need an expanded REA and RTA program, since a representative of your Agriculture Department informed us that as yet only 91 percent of the farmers are served with electricity, and the percent of farmers we know with the telephone service is much smaller. We urge that sufficient funds be appropriated for the administration of existing programs, and in particular that this include funds to cover the cost of auditing co-op books. Supervision of the accounting and business practices of the co-ops should be a Federal responsibility.

Finally, we urge that you take a definite stand against giving away public power program to private industry. Multipurpose projects such as Hells Canyon and Niagara Falls are needed for agriculture, for industry, and defense of our Nation and should definitely be developed as a public-power program.

Mrs. Aime Senechal, Willow City; Harry Stead, Westhope; Tony Sigih, Kenmare; Theodore Monsen, Bergen; Clarence Haugen, Ryder; Victor Peterson, Peter Sambor, Minot; Olav Overwold, Velva; Oscar J. Kaastad, Norma; John Holm, Rugby; Mrs. Howard Johnson, Howard O. Johnson, Sharon; Mrs. Alfred Harstad, Wolseth; Roy Eman, Kramer; Conrad Helseth, Carpio; Herman Streich, Maxbass; Bernhael Wold, Berthold; Miss Eileen Kjetlien, Tunbridge; Halcor Norheim, Carrington; Mrs. John Oss, John Oss, Lansford; Frank Deck, Jr., Harvey; D. A. Schmaltz, Silva; Mrs. William Job, Tunbridge; Fred Kroft, Karlsruhe; Mrs. Stanley Laskowski, Mrs. Arthur C. Olson, Minot; all of North Dakota.

Bipartisan Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "What's Happened to the Bipartisan Foreign Policy?"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THE BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY?

Still waiting for answers from the administration are urgent questions about the strange New Look in America's world strategy—questions which were raised by a band of six Democrats on the Senate floor. Their challenge of recent changes in foreign policy and defense strategy was initiated by Senator GORE, of Tennessee, who said, among other things: "If this policy has a real meaning, it is a threat to convert local aggression into a world war."

He was referring, of course, to the Dulles instant atomic retaliation threat, the administration's increased emphasis on strategic airpower and the projected slashes in Army strength which have been offered in one package labeled "the New Look."

The underlying reason for the minority's congressional interrogation of the administration was stated by Senator GORE thusly:

"These basic policy decisions were taken, so far as I am advised, with dangerous disregard for the value of consultation with congressional leaders of both political parties. I may say that I did not expect to be consulted. I do not enjoy membership on either the Foreign Relations Committee or the Armed Services Committee; however, in the spirit of bipartisanship, in which I genuinely believe, it would seem that the Democratic leadership of the House and Senate, and the ranking minority members of these two committees, should have been consulted. I call attention to this error of omission in no partisan sense, but out of my desire to see bipartisanship preserved in the field of international affairs. Only in this way, and only in this spirit, can dengerous shoals be avoided."

Although the administration still pays lip service to the dictum that politics ceases at the water's edge, it takes a peculiarly Republican view of what constitutes bipartisanship. Welcoming Democratic support but not Democratic advice, it seems to feel that it has done enough for collaboration in the foreign relations field if it makes an occasional empty gesture in that direction, like the President's briefing of Democratic leaders on his new program 2 days before he formally presented it to Congress.

The bipartisan method was brought into this area of self-government at the outset of World War II as the one available means of taking the highly sensitive foreign affairs issues out of politics under conditions that still permitted the two-party process to function. It was only through such means that we were able to present a united front to the world and obtain majority agreement in Congress on measures vital to national survival, in good time to meet great emergencies.

Treaties become operative only if they receive the advice and consent of the Senate given by a two-thirds vote, and that vote cannot be obtained unless there is bipartisan support for the treaty. The execution of our foreign policy requires the appropriation of large sums of money, which is available only when Congress appropriates it, and that means there must be firm support from both major parties.

Finally, and most important, a bipartisan foreign policy is essential to assure continuity of United States foreign policy. We need a free world that will hold together, and that calls for steady American leadership based on consistent policies. When the administration moves alone in this area, it may or may not be taking a consistent line, but it certainly is moving without the one great safeguard we have against abrupt and extreme departures from our established foreign policy.

Denied the opportunity of fulfilling its obligations under the bipartisan procedure, the opposition must take its requests for clarification and additional information to the Senate floor or other public forums.

Inevitably, the bringing of collective judgment to bear on a foreign-policy decision is limited, delayed, and diffused, when the administration bars the minority from participation, and compels it to wait until it can air its doubts or misgivings on the floors of Congress. Worst of all, such scuttling of the bipartisan approach defers that important test until after the decision has been put into effect.

Military strategy and foreign policy are inseparable. A change in policy so all-embracing as the administration's shift to the instant-retaliation concept would never have been made without counsel from the minority under any realistic interpretation

of what is involved in a genuine bipartisan foreign policy.

It is a somber irony that this blow at the bipartisan foundations of American foreign policy should come in the administration of a President who was nominated and elected as a champion of bipartisanship, particularly in the foreign affairs field. It is more than a little curious that this reversal should come in the administration of a Secretary of State who was one of the architects of the bipartisan foreign policy in the days when the Republicans were the minority.

Before he became Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles declared that the bipartisan foreign policy was essential to the survival of the United States. That was true when we were in the midst of World War II, and it's no less true now. Administration pronouncements that we are converting from a wartime to a peacetime economy cannot disguise the fact that the world threat from aggressive Soviet communism as not diminishing. Isolationism is as deadly as it ever was, if not more so. Relaxation can be as dangerous as appeasement, or even more dangerous.

Secretary Dulles' present conduct cannot be explained by any lack of knowledge of the value of bipartisan collaboration in foreign affairs, for he has done probably as much thinking on this subject as anyone else. If the administration has any desire to right the balance, all it has to do is to refer to conditions and rules for a successful bipartisan foreign policy which Mr. Dulles himself has laid down in times past. He became an authority in these matters as a result of his long and intimate participation in bipartisan policymaking under the recent Democratic administration. He and other responsible Republican leaders such as the late Senator Vandenberg, Governor Dewey, and Sherman Cooper had large roles in this field. Republicans were consulted in the first stages of policy deliberation, they were represented at major conferences, they were given important assignments and missions, they held Cabinet posts, and they rendered distinguished service.

On September 16, 1952, Mr. Dulles gave what was regarded as a Republican guide on bipartisan manners in the event the next administration was Republican. In that speech he cited the need for a code of ethics, including these four rules:

Neither party should use confidential information against the other.

The opposition should not be considered bound by the action of a bipartisan delegation to the United Nations, since our delegates at all times act in accordance with the instructions of the President, transmitted by the Secretary of State.

Credits and debits should be shared where there has been a genuine sharing of responsibility.

Opposition members who cooperate with the administration in some matters should be free to criticize in other matters or where their advice is not taken.

In addition to authoring that admirable code, Mr. Dulles also has set forth accurately the essential conditions for real cooperation on foreign policy, to wit:

The primary responsibility for bipartisanship rests on the administration in power. Without an invitation from the administration to participate, the opposition cannot move.

Invitations to participate must go to loyal members of the opposition, leaders trusted by the party membership.

Only men qualified by training and experience to take a constructive part in formulation of foreign policy should be selected to represent the opposition.

Opposition representatives must be included in the early deliberations on foreign policies; they must not be left out until the end.

Applying the Dulles tests, we find:

Administration initiative to put any portion of its foreign policy on a bipartisan basis? None.

Administration invitations to the opposition to designate loyal members competent for the task of formulating foreign policy? None.

Use of confidential information by high administration officials in efforts to discredit the opposition? Widespread and frantic.

Sharing of debits and credits where there has been a genuine sharing of responsibility? Nothing like that since the change in administrations.

Where will it end? The direction is plainly visible when you contrast the gains that were made under the bipartisan policy with the deterioration that has set in since that policy was jettisoned a little more than a year ago.

America rebuilt its military might and took the lead in promoting a free world rally under the bipartisan policy. Interim aid to Italy and France turned back the Communist tide. The European recovery program enabled the countries of Europe to organize their economies on a sound basis. The North Atlantic Treaty gave these countries a sense of collective security necessary for political and economic progress. The mutual security program made it possible for them to rearm. Local aggression was put down by measures of local retaliation, as in Iran, as in Greece, the Berlin airlift, the defense of South Korea. Point 4 technical aid released latent productive forces and raised windows around the world.

That was a program which combined measures for revival and stabilization of the free world with measures for military security against communism; a program that avoided both isolationism and military extremism—a balanced program that was made possible by a coalition of Democrats and Republicans in the world's foremost democratic state.

With the change in administrations there was an instant shift to retrenchment and disengagement, with pressure on our allies to do more while we were cutting back, and with a growing tendency toward lone-wolf American action. There was less consultation with allies and a hardening of attitude toward neutrals. Point 4 disappeared and technical assistance was combined with military diplomacy. The goals of NATO were reduced, and the time interval for the creation of NATO's military forces was stretched out.

One of the particular achievements of the bipartisan foreign policy was that it erected a stout barrier against isolationists and extremists.

It was recognized from the beginning that Eisenhower would have a difficult time restraining the go-it-alone element, owing to the concentration of isolationists and adventurers in the Old Guard wing of his party. For a year the administration foreign policy has shown less and less of the Eisenhower features, and more and more the aspect of policies associated with Hoover, MacArthur, and the late Senator Taft. With the bipartisan protection removed, it is difficult to see how the administration can keep from being overwhelmed by the party extremists.

The key question on Capitol Hill today is this: Does the administration now lack the will or the desire, or both, to put into effect a real bipartisan policy? Has partisan desire to make political capital of foreign policy generated pressures on the administration which make it impossible to maintain the American accord at the water's edge?

Time for a stand grows short, for it was never more evident that real bipartisan cooperation in America's world policies is essential to the security of the United States.

"The President Can Declare War Without Congress"—Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, we are getting new light on the Bricker amendment, but not until after the measure was killed in the Senate by one vote.

The sponsors of that amendment were afraid of what Dulles now says—that "the President has power to enter war without consulting Congress." He adds the usual assurance clause by saying:

Of course the President would not necessarily go to war without getting constitutional approval from Congress.

It means, however, that the President could go to war without the approval of Congress.

We have had cases before of this kind, where the President did not consult Congress for constitutional authority, and that is exactly what the Bricker amendment was seeking to prevent. If Mr. Dulles had presented these views to the Senate when the bill was under debate, or before the debate, there would be little question about the approval of the measure by Congress. He was perfectly silent on this interpretation until after the measure had been killed. With the Bricker amendment out of the way, the Secretary of State now deems it advisable for him to say what common honesty required him to say when it was before the Senate.

He implies that this President would not use that power, but he wants him to have it—in case, I suppose, that an unruly Congress might be opposed to going to war. In other words, he wants to permit any President to shove us into war without the consent of the people. He supports unequivocally the Dean Acheson policy of the Korean war. There is not a dime's worth of difference between Acheson and Dulles, only Dulles can back up quicker and take a new course just the opposite of what he has been advocating, and do it with more finesse than Acheson.

The press has carried the news that there are any number of executive agreements now outstanding, of which the general public knows nothing. While the President has said that there will be no secret agreements, the facts as reported are that there are many agreements made with foreign countries during this administration that have not been made public.

It would seem that this situation is the very reason why the President fought so bitterly against the passage of the Bricker amendment. What is said in campaigns seem to mean very little to some candidates. I can remember the news in the press that candidate Eisenhower said at many places that he would retain the 90 percent of parity formula. Now he says he will reduce the support prices and give the farmers more money. Unless the farmers are on the English gratuity list, I do not see how the reduc-

tion of support prices will do what the President says it would do.

Congress is making some cuts in foreign spending, and is to be congratulated for it. These cuts mostly concern foreign aid, and do not jeopardize our national defense, and the concern of Congress for the United States is gradually returning. Three years ago we had only 12 Members of the House who fought against the appropriation of these billions to scatter throughout the world, but as of today, there are 128 Members of the House who are alert to the asininity of this spree in foreign spending. When the Senate approved the Charter of the United Nations only two Senators of the United States voted "No." Now almost two-thirds of the Senate wants to undo what they have already done. We are nearer to genuine concern over own own country than we have been for several years. The majority—almost two-thirds of the Members of the Senate—want to prevent any treaty with a foreign power from abrogating the Constitution and laws of the United States, and I think this majority represents the public opinion of the Nation.

In the coming elections the voters are going to ask many candidates where they stand on this issue. They are going to ask one question above all others, and that is, "Are you in favor of permitting any treaty with a foreign power, or with agents of foreign powers, to override the Constitution and laws of the United States?"

The "one-worlders" have had their day, almost unmolested, on the promise that if they were followed we would have world peace. That promise has not materialized and it is becoming more evident every day to millions of the citizens of the United States that this great Government, founded by the people for themselves, is a doctrine of government that can never merge with that of countries which believe that the people exist for the Government.

The National Science Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1954

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call attention to the following article by Lawrence P. Lessing carried in the March 1954 issue of Scientific American magazine. Scarcely 3 years old, the National Science Foundation has done a splendid job, and under serious limitations.

THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION TAKES STOCK

(By Lawrence P. Lessing)

The National Science Foundation is rarely noticed by Washington correspondents. This newest and smallest arm of the United States Government has a staff of 113, a current budget of $8 million, and makeshift offices in the old Cosmos Club—a once fashionable but now decadent structure at 1520 H Street NW. On Washington's scale of values the NSF is about as "piddling" as a Government agency can be—for all its great importance to the future of the Nation.

Considering the central role of science in modern life, and grudging and Spartan support given to this agency, belatedly set up to see that basic science is adequately promoted in the United States, is not easy to understand. Despite the tremendous contributions of scientists to the winning of World War II, it took 5 years after the war to get through Congress an act establishing the Foundation. The act, as passed in 1950, put an unheard-of limit of $15 million a year on the new agency's activities. Before the NSF could be born, the outbreak of the Korean war, focusing Washington's attention on appropriations for military hardware, almost killed it in the womb. The NSF got a scant $225,000 for its first year. Its budgets of $3.5 million, $4.7 million, and $8 million for the succeeding fiscal years have been less than half the amounts asked for and a smaller fraction of the actual needs for basic research.

In the closing days of the 1953 session Congress erased the $15 million limitation, and the NSF enters its fourth year in a better position. The executive budget calls for $14 million for the fiscal year 1954–55; how much Congress will actually allow remains to be seen. Whether the infant will be given the nourishment necessary to enable it to grow in a healthy manner is up to the National Legislature.

Though Congress passed a reasonably lucid law giving birth to the NSF, and some Members have given it intelligent support, most Congressmen have had to be constantly reminded or reconvinced of its purposes. It is not an agency for the development or engineering of new weapons; the military has budgets for this running to some $1.5 billion this year. It is specifically enjoined from supporting nuclear research; the Atomic Energy Commission is spending more than $265 million on that. It cannot build laboratories or carry on any research of its own, as is done in the National Bureau of Standards and in the Department of Agriculture to the tune of some $50 million a year. Nor is the NSF aimed at finding a cancer cure or a better way to make fuels or a preventive for the common cold. If it were designed for any or all of these things, it would have less difficulty getting funds. Ironically the huge sums given for military and other applied research have been the chief obstacle to obtaining adequate support for basic research.

The NSF Act declares the Foundation's prime purpose to be "to develop and encourage the pursuit of a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences." In other words, the NSF is created to promote the increase of that pool of basic knowledge from which the whole United States technology must eventually draw sustenance. Any great new advances in industry, agriculture, medicine, or even weaponry in the coming decades can come only from this source. That is a paradox of the impractical activity known as basic research.

A paradox which people not engaged in basic science find even harder to grasp is that in this age of the apparent supremacy of science, fundamental scientific work in the United States is actually in a state of declining support. College incomes and endowments, once the major support of basic science, are down 40 percent from prewar days. Private foundation subsidies are drying up; for example, the Rockefeller Foundation, which almost alone financed the generation of scientists who performed so brilliantly in the last decade, has diverted most of its curtailed funds to emergency measures to raise agricultural and living standards abroad. Meanwhile, the costs of basic research have risen sharply, not only in terms of equipment and manpower but also because of the new necessity for team research.

These were among the reasons that impelled Vannevar Bush and the scientists associated in the wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development to urge after the war a great, unprecedented national effort to extend and deepen United States basic research. After 3 years of trying to find itself and to examine the problem, the NSF now, at least, has some information and some modest progress to report.

The foundation's active life dates from the 1951 appointment of Alan T. Waterman, former physics teacher at Yale University, as its director. Waterman, a thoughtful, able administrator, had been head of the Navy's well-run Office of Naval Research and before that a top staff member of the OSRD. The problems confronting him in the NSF were quite different from those of the military agencies. On one hand he had to parry political back stabbings by established departments which inevitably took a fearful view of a new agency. On the other he had to quiet the fears of some scientists and universities that the NSF would grow into a bureaucratic colossus over science.

These fears have been largely dispelled by Waterman's tactful administration and by the operations of the NSF's main ruling body, the National Science Board. This unpaid panel of 24 eminent scientists, educators, and businessmen, appointed by the President, is now headed by the noted telephone executive and former president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Chester I. Barnard. It represents a sufficiently broad, devoted cross section of regions and interests to hold a balance. It has been meeting about every 6 weeks, passing on all NSF business, with an attendance record of over 80 percent.

The NSF has had to formulate its policies from scratch, for earlier agencies, devoted to supervising military or other applied research, offered few useful precedents. The NSF has four main functional areas: fact-finding, granting of funds for basic research and fellowships, dissemination of information and, most important, advising the President and Congress on matters of scientific import.

The largest accomplishment to date is in the first area. By fact-finding surveys the NSF has been plotting the dimensions of its problem, developing heretofore unavailable data on United States research. Some of the findings are presented in the charts with this article. Since 1940 Federal expenditures for research of all types have increased twentyfold: from $97 million in 1940 to some $2.2 billion last year. Nearly all the increase went to applied research and engineering, prompted mainly by wartime needs. This imbalance continues. Of last year's $2.2 billion, less than $125 million was spent for anything resembling fundamental research. When the $2.2 billion is broken down in other ways; even more remarkable imbalances appear. The physical sciences got nearly 95 percent of the total; the biological sciences got less than 5 percent, and the social sciences received the remaining tiny fraction, most of that merely for statistical research.

The NSF began a series of detailed studies on the status of knowledge in the various sciences. It has completed the first, on certain fields in biology. It found the life sciences, though meagerly supported, in a state of ferment and nascent growth. Because the approaches of biologists are shifting, it has been necessary to classify the various life sciences in a new, more logical way. The sections into which they are now divided are: developmental, environmental, genetic, micro, molecular, psycho, regulatory, and systematic biology.

The most active biological areas needing support were found to be molecular, regula-

tory, and systematic biology. The first has to do with important molecules such as proteins and related substances in living tissue, particularly those involved in central life processes. The second has to do with the mechanisms by which life processes are controlled or regulated: studies of these have resulted in such applications as the use of insulin in diabetes and vitamin B_{12} in pernicious anemia. The third area—the description and classification of living species—is now being affected by so many accumulating discoveries and new techniques as to need thorough updating.

To make a start toward remedying the neglect of the biological sciences, as soon as research money became available to it (in 1952) the NSF gave most of the funds to that field. It distributed $763,000 for biological work in a number of institutions. One of the grants, for example, as $50,000 for 5 years to University of California geneticists for studying polygenetic variability in poultry; another was $41,000 to the Johns Hopkins University for a 3-year study of antibody reactions. In 1953 a big part of the NSF's funds again went to biology, but its budget was large enough to make substantial grants in the physical and mathematical sciences also.

Surveys like those in the biological sciences already mentioned are now being made in the fields of physiology, psychology, and applied mathematics. The NSF makes a grant to a scientific society in each specific field to carry out the survey. It plans to go through all the neglected sciences in the same way. By periodically repeating the survey of each field, it will keep a running inventory of the progress and lags in the various disciplines. Psychology, now in a period of chaotic growth and widespread application, will almost certainly show a lack of research on fundamentals, particularly in the psychiatric division. The mathematical survey already shows that applied mathematicians must have a deeper grounding in pure mathematics for future growth. Given this commanding view of the sciences, never before obtainable, the NSF will then do something about their needs.

The Foundation now has four major divisions: the biological sciences, including medical research; the mathematical, physical, and engineering sciences; scientific personnel and education; and program analysis, or factfinding.

Ultimately what the Foundation can do to promote basic research will be limited not by money but by men. The total number of persons in the United States capable of doing important original research in science (men and women with doctorates in science) today does not exceed some 35,000. Even if it had unlimited funds, the NSF could not use fruitfully more than about twice its present allowance of research funds in the next few years, according to its estimates. But in part this is due to the fact that people who might be doing basic research have been drawn into applied research. NSF surveys show that of the $338 million in Federal research funds going to universities and nonprofit institutions in fiscal 1953, 4 out of every 5 dollars is for applied research and development, including the building of laboratories. Many scientists have been pulled by this big magnet into short-range, shortsighted work on practical problems.

This subversion of the universities, which by tradition are the fountainheads of long-range, fundamental science, has so frightened many scientists and educators that the NSF is launching an exhaustive study of its effects on the standards, aims, and operations of United States higher education. For this study it has assembled a committee headed by Chester Barnard and including Vannevar Bush, President Harold Dodds, of Princeton University, J. A. Stratton, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other leading figures. When its report is in later this year, the NSF will have a key diagnosis of science's present deficiencies.

In its grants to workers in universities the NSF has been troubled by a wartime hangover. In order to get military research done swiftly the OSRD used a no-gain-no-loss contract which compensated universities for all costs, including overhead. The NSF, in contrast, has adopted the policy of giving funds as direct grants to reputable investigators, with a minimum of strings attached and no allowance for overhead. Its Board feels that, as a matter of principle, basic research, which should be a central function of universities, should not be made to pay for their general maintenance and housekeeping. Many college business offices do not like this arrangement, and some have resisted it. It is a policy that probably will be argued further.

In the training of new scientists the NSF has had to limit itself to graduate fellowships. It gave some 550 last year, ranging in size from $1,400 to $3,400 a year. The Foundation believes that to carry out its mission fully it will need to finance undergraduate scholarships also and even promote science in the secondary schools, where the heart of the problem lies [see A Crisis in Science Teaching, by Fletcher G. Watson; Scientific American, February]. The NSF-supported Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training forecasts that in the 5-year period ending in 1957 the number of bachelor of science graduates will decline 30 percent from the previous 5 years, falling to a rate of 66,800 per year. This decline will be followed by a fall in science doctorates—from a peak of 5,400 per year.

The NSF has other activities. It maintains a national register of scientific and technical personnel, underwrote some 10 scientific symposia and a number of smaller conferences in the past year, helped pay the traveling expenses of some 50 United States scientists to attend important foreign scientific meetings. It advised Congress on bills having to do with the complex subject of weather control, i. e., rainmaking. It set up for President Eisenhower a Committee on Minerals Research which is now investigating all known means of minerals exploration in order to advise on future research in this critical field. It also, when consulated about the matter, vigorously advised the President to liberalize travel restrictions on foreign scientists seeking visas to attend United States scientific conferences. At least 50 percent of all foreign scientists trying to enter the United States meet serious difficulties or delays, and some international societies have refused to schedule meetings in the United States. The Foundation pointed out that the situation is inimical not only to the international traditions of science but also to scientific progress in the United States.

At the request of the National Academy of Sciences, the Foundation is preparing for participation by the United States in the Third Geophysical Year in 1957–58. In 1882 and again in 1932 many nations banded together to make a large series of important measurements simultaneously in many parts of the world to check such scientific constants as the speed of light, the positions of stars, and so on. This time the measurements will be much more elaborate, with batteries of new instruments. So far 28 countries are behind the effort. If the United States is to participate, the NSF will have to obtain from Congress this year about a $10 million supplementary appropriation.

So far the NSF has spent a total of some $5 million on nearly 500 grants for research and a slightly larger amount on research fellowships. The research supported ranges from important work on steroids, enzymes, radio astronomy, evolution, coals, probability, antibiotics, atomic masses, and the metabolism of leaves down to projects on coal-ball flora and the biochemistry and nutrition of the bat—samples distributed over the whole fructifying range of knowledge that is basic science. But the NSF has been able to support only about half of the worthy projects proposed to it, and last year for lack of funds it had to turn away two-thirds of the 2,000 qualified young applicants for its graduate fellowships. The names of those turned away were put on an honorable mention list and circulated to institutions which might consider them for fellowship grants. But undoubtedly many of these promising persons were lost to science.

At the moment the Foundation is in danger of being overloaded with political freight as a result of the new administration's pressure for economy. Some people in the Budget Bureau and in Congress believe it would save money to concentrate all Federal activities in basic science under the NSF. The new budget transfers some $3 million for basic research from the Department of Defense to the NSF, and there is pressure to do likewise with basic research financed by the Atomic Energy Commission. The danger is that there may be a net constriction of the total available for basic science and injury to some programs. Some basic research is so closely associated with other work of a department that it should remain under that department's supervision. In basic science, unlike applied research, some duplication of effort is necessary. That is how science has grown in the past, and continues to grow.

In a Reith lecture for the British Broadcasting Corp. last fall J. Robert Oppenheimer observed: "We regard it as proper and just that the patronage of science by society is in large measure based on the increased power which knowledge gives. If we are anxious that the power so given and so obtained be used with wisdom and with love of humanity, that is an anxiety we share with almost everyone. But we also know how little of the deep new knowledge which has altered the face of the world, which has changed—and increasingly and evermore profoundly must change—man's views of the world, resulted from a quest for practical ends or an interest in exercising the power that knowledge gives. For most of us, in most of those moments when we were most free of corruption, it has been the beauty of the world of nature and the strange and compelling harmony of its order that has sustained, inspirited, and led us. That also is as it should be. And if the forms in which society provides and exercises its patronage of science leave these incentives strong and secure, new knowledge will never stop as long as there are men."

The Upper Limits Regulation by the Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, during the hearings on S. 2548, Mr. Lyle F. Watts, formerly Chief Forester, expressed concern over the effect of H. R. 6787 and S. 2548 on the upper limits regulation by the Forest Service.

When the Forest Service first began to issue grazing permits the policy was laid down that there should be benefit

for the greatest number of users rather than encouragement of large outfits. This wise and beneficial policy received judicial approval in *Light* v. *U. S.* (220 U. S. 523). As an example of this historic policy of permitting as many users as could be accommodated consistent with sound conservation practice, I quote from a letter written by Chief Forester Harry S. Graves in 1918 to District Forester Frank Pooler at Albuquerque, N. Mex.:

The grazing policy of the Forest Service is essentially in the interest of the small man. That policy must be carried out in practice.

That was the policy in 1918, that is the policy today. I hope that will continue to be the policy of the Forest Service in the future.

In carrying out a grazing policy for the primary interest of the small man the Forest Service has established maximum size limits. These vary in different areas but they are designed to prevent the publicly owned grazing resources from being monopolized by one individual.

Under section 2 suppose a permittee is grazing the maximum number of cattle permitted by the local regulations and he makes the range improvements described in the section. Will he thereby be permitted to graze more stock than the local upper limits allow? If so, what happens when the lease is transferred? Section 3 prohibits any reduction in the number of permitted livestock solely on the basis that the permit is being transferred. If a permit is transferred to a permittee who is already grazing the maximum does this mean that the upper limits are to be disregarded? If so, the maximum size regulation is destroyed for any practical use. The bill should definitely state that it is not intended to abolish the upper limit regulations.

A similar expression of concern has recently appeared in a thoughful editorial in the Denver Post. The editorial follows:

NEW ERA IN RANCHING

Ever since the national forests were established, the Government has tried to spread the benefits of cheap grazing permits among as many ranchers as possible.

The Aiken-Thye-Hope bill, which has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House, would upset that time-tested policy. It would tend to concentrate forest grazing rights in the hands of fewer but larger and wealthier stockmen.

It is a rich man's bill, advocated by the few big operators who control the policies of such organizations as the American National Cattlemen's Association.

To promote family-size ranch operations, the United States Forest Service has always had a limit on the total number of cattle or sheep one stockman could graze on a national forest.

If "X" national forest is capable of providing grazing at cheap Government rates for 2,500 cattle and if the limit per rancher is set at 100 head, at least 25 stockmen can share in the bargain-rate grass.

Jones, who has a permit for 100 cattle, might be willing to buy the ranch of Smith, who also has a permit for 100 head, if in that way he could add Smith's permit to his own and thus have cheap grass for 200 cattle.

Such consolidation of ranches and grazing permits has been prevented in the past by the Forest Service rule limiting the number of cattle that one operator may graze on the forest.

Under the Aiken-Thye-Hope bill the forest service is given no right to enforce existing limits. The omission is glaring and obvious. The bill sets up only one legal qualification for those who would become permittees—the applicant for grazing privileges must own a ranch of the type which by "customary practice" has had a forest permit in the past.

The Aiken-Thye-Hope bill would in numerous instances require the forest service to transfer Smith's permit to Jones if Jones bought Smith's property.

Nor is there anything in the bill to prevent a wealthy rancher or corporation from buying all the ranches having grazing privileges in "X" National Forest and thereby acquiring exclusive forage rights in that particular area.

Most economists believe it is in the public interest to keep the ranch business of the West in the hands of family-size operators. The forests now provide forage for some 18,000 ranchers, each of whom is an owner, an entrepreneur, in his own right.

The Aiken-Thye-Hope bill would tend to make fewer and larger operations. It would tend to increase the number of wage-earning ranch workers and decrease the number of owner-workers. In view of the loud concern frequently expressed in Washington on behalf of "small business," it is surprising to find so many Congressmen willing to vote for a bill which would promote big ranching.

The A-Bomb and the H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

REMARKS IN PART OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN BEFORE THE MOOSE CONVENTION, MARLBORO, MASS., MARCH 28, 1954

Speaking at the Moose Convention at Marlboro today, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, of Clinton, deplored the current tendency to arouse hysteria over the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

"No one under any cricumstances should minimize the terribly devastating power of these new weapons," said PHILBIN. "The H-bomb is even more deadly than its predecessor and capable of tremendous destruction, as the recent explosion in the Pacific clearly demonstrated. But the American people and the world will have to live with the reality of these awful new weapons. Nothing can be gained by spreading terror among the people.

"It is the responsibility of our leadership to set up available defenses which are improving all the time, to increase our own supply of these weapons, and most important of all, press for international action to outlaw them.

"If it were not for the refusal of the Soviet to agree to international inspection and proper control of the wartime use of these materials there would be no question about barring their use in warfare.

"Another fact is abundantly clear—that we have a distinct lead so far as the H-bomb and a great many other critical weapons are concerned. We have a much larger supply of these weapons than any other nation and the airpower to deliver them. This fact is a great deterrent to war and a spur to peaceful negotiations.

"This is no time for hysteria. With courage and calmness, let us continue to build our own strength and move as rapidly as we can to outlaw all such terrible weapons before they destroy civilization."

PHILBIN asserted that domestic economic questions were coming to the fore and that the Government should promptly grapple with the problems of unemployment and recession.

"I am a confirmed optimist about the future of America," said the Congressman, "and I am an optimist about the prospects for peace. We have a great destiny ahead of us with unlimited opportunities for our people.

"But we cannot afford to ignore the plain signs before us at the present that recessionary forces are at work throughout the country and that our leadership must now act to check them.

"Full-time, high-standard employment of our citizens must be our constant goal, and if the right political climate is provided in Washington, our great free-enterprise system will enable us to realize it."

PHILBIN complimented the Moose organization for its civic and patriotic contributions which he declared were more essential than ever in order to nurture the spirit of loyalty to American institutions, in a time when violent revolutionary movements are spreading in the world.

France Eases Wage Earner's Tax Burden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KIT CLARDY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker, today's news dispatches tell us that France has just reduced her income-tax burden tremendously. The article in question tells us that about half the French wage earners will be entirely relieved of paying income taxes and that many thousands of others will pay no more than $12 per year. The corporate tax rate is being increased from 34 to 36 percent, but other relief is granted in other directions.

With this Nation's taxpayers compelled to pay at rates that sometimes exceed 90 percent and with corporations saddled with taxes nearly 50 percent higher than those in France, is it not about time we begin reappraising our policy of funneling billions of dollars into the treasuries of these foreign nations so they may be able to reduce their own taxes? Does it not make us look a trifle silly to be handing France a billion dollars this year taken from our own taxpayers' pockets while they excuse a large percent of their taxpayers from paying any tax at all. The article reads:

FRANCE EASES WAGE EARNER'S TAX BURDEN

PARIS, March 30.—France today embarked on a new tax system. It was an effort to ease the burden on wage earners, transfer some of it to corporations, make tax dodging more difficult, and stimulate business activity.

Experts estimated the new law would wipe out income tax for about half the wage earners in France and cut taxes for thousands to about $12 a year.

The new bill, approved 320 to 283 by the National Assembly, follows announcement of a similar tax-cut program for West Germany.

Under the new law, a Frenchman with a wife and 1 child earning $3,000 a year would pay $82.50 tax. In the United States, a family in similar circumstances would pay $205.

The system provides that the first 220,000 francs ($629) of each wage earner's annual income is tax-free. Formerly the exemption was 180,000 francs ($542).

In the case of childless married couples, the exemption is raised to 440,000 francs ($1,258). Few French families earn more. Additionally, parents are given exemptions for each child.

In the business field, the new law raises corporation taxes from 34 to 36 percent.

Tax dodgers previously suffered comparatively little penalty if caught. Under the new law the rate is boosted for those found declaring small incomes while showing obvious benefits of high ones—this is in addition to penalties assessed for false returns.

Pay Adjustment Necessary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Army-Navy-Air Force Register of March 20, 1954:

PAY ADJUSTMENT NECESSARY

On March 6, 1954, President Eisenhower signed into law the Federal employees retirement benefits bill (S. 2175). Under the provisions of this legislation, Members of Congress and employees of the legislative branch by contributing a percentage of their monthly salaries become eligible for retirement annuities upon reaching certain prescribed ages. Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, who voted against the final conference report on the bill, told the Senate that by boosting retirement benefits of Congressmen and those of the legislative employees, Congress legislated them a bonus of approximately $7,500 each.

There is now in process another proposal which will raise the pay of all civilian Federal employees. Only recently, the President of the American Federation of Labor strongly advocated a salary increase of at least $800 per annum for every civilian Federal employee.

But what of the Nation's defenders and their dependents. Too long, they have suffered from inadequate pay and allowances commensurate with present-day costs of living. Recommendations for urgently needed pay increases for officers and enlisted men, made by former Secretary of Defense Lovett in 1952, have been given little consideration by the present administration, although Defense Secretary Wilson some weeks ago said he would not stand idly by should Congress proceed to legislate for an increase in pay for civilian employees.

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message in January, said that pay alone would not have the effect of solving the problems of service men. Rather, he advocated better housing and improved medical care for the dependents of members of the Armed Forces.

While this is known as campaign year for Members of the Senate and House, we have not heard of any Congressman who would oppose a reasonable pay and allowance increase for the officers and men of the uniformed services. Those who have first-hand knowledge of service problems are convinced that an overall pay and allowance increase of 8 percent for all servicemen having dependents would not only be fair treatment but would also be a dominating factor in raising their morale.

The members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are the military heads of the three armed services, have referred repeatedly to the loss of trained officers by the resignation route and the low percentage of reenlistments among key noncommissioned officers and petty officers. Surely, Congress should not adjourn this coming summer without authorizing a reasonable increase in the pay and allowances of the members of the Armed Forces.

Defense officials should act quickly on this vital subject.

Mrs. Cordell Hull

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday last a great and gracious lady was laid to rest in a crypt of the National Cathedral, an honor in death reserved for the Nation's most distinguished. The simple ceremony of solemn dignity brought to a closing the unique life of selfless service and devotion which Mrs. Cordell Hull rendered to the Nation and the world in her role as helpmeet and inspiration of one of our greatest Americans.

Next to the devoted members of her own eminent family of Virginians, I would say that Mrs. Rose Frances Witz Hull is mourned most deeply by the citizens of the Fourth District of Tennessee and the State of Tennessee to whom she was best known and by whom she was loved and admired from the day upon which she became the bride of the statesman who was destined later to show the way to a free and peaceful world.

But the passing of Mrs. Hull has likewise brought sadness and a deep feeling of loss to crowned heads and statesmen throughout the world, personages who knew her and came within the orbit of her gifted and charming individuality.

In the truest and highest sense and meaning, Mrs. Hull exemplified the especial connotations associated with "wife, helpmeet, companion, inspiration."

From the day of her marriage to Cordell Hull, she exerted to the utmost her fine intelligence, graciousness, interest, and warmth of personality to become a buffer for her rising husband and as a protection for him in order that the resources of his great mind and unselfish aspirations not be dissipated in unimportant labors.

And yet, at all times her heart and his were freely open to those from all walks and stations of life who through friendship, sentimental ties or common purpose and interest sought the company of Judge Cordell Hull.

Rose Frances Witz Hull was born, 1 of 8 children, in Staunton, Va.—where she died—on September 8, 1874. She was educated at Mary Baldwin Seminary, now Mary Baldwin College, in Staunton, and from her Alma Mater in 1939 she received the only public accolade which she accepted of the many which were proffered her—the Algernon Sidney Sullivan Award for distinguished citizenship.

She and Mr. Hull were married on November 24, 1917, and during the remainder of his tenure of his service as Congressman and Senator they journeyed to Tennessee for the annual congressional recesses and lived among friends who loved them most.

Among the people of Tennessee, as among the illustrious personages of high Government stations of ours and other nations, Mrs. Hull was esteemed and beloved. Mrs. Hull was ever, in Washington, Tennessee or distant capitals of the world, an individual of complete naturalness and versatility, of innate warmth and sympathy.

In the years when Cordell Hull was serving his Nation as Secretary of State, her watchful care and protection were even more pronounced and through her care she conserved the energies and dynamic enterprise of this world statesman. When retirement for health was demanded of Mr. Hull, she accompanied him into the seclusion which was dictated by his declining health, and in her unselfish devotion continued to meet the exigencies of life and duty.

The great former Secretary of State, in his winter years, has been deprived of the companion and helpmeet of his heart and life and to him the deep and sincere sympathy of all is freely extended. May the inspiration which she gave him, the loving companionship which existed between them, form cherished memories which will comfort Tennessee's most distinguished living and beloved son, Judge Cordell Hull.

Comptroller General Lindsay Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. J. CARNAHAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. CARNAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I express appreciation to a great American citizen and a devoted public servant, Comptroller General Lindsay Warren. Mr. Warren has requested that he be retired from his position, for physical disability, effective April 30, 1954. His retirement from this most important post means that the Government is no longer to have the services of one whose independent and nonpartisan efficiency it will be difficult to replace.

In tribute to one of our most devoted and efficient public servants, I include herewith the Comptroller General's own statement regarding the General Accounting Office and his retirement:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, March 31, 1954.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have today requested of the President that I be retired for physical disability as of April 30, 1954. Against the advice of eminent doctors I have carried on for over a year under much physical difficulty. The doctors now tell me that unless I retire at once my life will be shortened. I will have served 13 years and 6 months of my 15-year term, which I had hoped to finish so that I could have brought the great program now being carried out by the General Accounting Office to its fullest fruition.

I took office as Comptroller General on November 1, 1940. The General Accounting Office was in a chaotic state. There had been no Comptroller General since 1936, except for a period of a little over a year. Relations with the executive departments and agencies and with the Congress were at low ebb. In fact, several attempts to abolish the Office had been defeated only by a close margin. The Office was faced with an unprecedented job of auditing defense expenditures. The morale of the employees read zero.

Immediate steps were taken to diagnose the problem and to administer appropriate remedies, sometimes drastic. As a result of continual attacks on the trouble areas and a constant awareness of the need to meet the demands for improved service at the lowest possible cost to the taxpayers, I believe that today the General Accounting Office is an efficient and hard-hitting agency of which the Congress, the President, and the American people can be justly proud. We have earned and gained the confidence of all three. I am proud there has never been a breath of scandal concerning the work of the Office and its employees. I have always insisted that we keep a watchful eye for opportunities to bring about greater effectiveness in the internal operations of the Office. Constant surveys have been made of our work. New procedures have been adopted to simplify and modernize operations. I have just completed a reorganization of the entire Office. There is not an operating division that has not been changed in many respects and for the better. In this way I have found it possible to reduce our personnel from a peak of 14,904 in April 1946 to 5,890 at the present time, a record I challenge any Government agency to meet under similar circumstances. It is my opinion that the merit system prevails in the General Accounting Office more than in any other agency. Our employees are dedicated to the public service and consider it a privilege and honor to work for the General Accounting Office.

The General Accounting Office is one of the few agencies that not only pays its way, but makes a substantial contribution to the Treasury each year. Collections from 1941 to date total $915 million, most of which had been illegally or otherwise improperly paid out. This amount is twice the cost of running the Office during the same period, and it is a fair statement to say that little, if any, of the amount collected would have ever been recovered except for the work of the General Accounting Office. Prior to 1941 collections were negligible. This year, as in many past years, the Office will again come in asking for a reduced appropriation.

It has been a source of great satisfaction to me that Congress, particularly in the last 8 years, has strongly supported the Office. Our reports showing illegal expenditures and wasteful practices have always been upheld after hearings by committees of Congress. In our work we have never pulled a punch regardless of who might be affected.

The past decade has seen some of the most significant developments in financial management in the history of our Government. The General Accounting Office has been one of the leaders in bringing about these developments.

In 1945 Congress enacted the Government Corporation Control Act, which placed 101 Government corporations under budgetary and auditing controls. Since then the General Accounting Office has sent to Congress nearly 200 reports of audits of the Government corporations containing numerous recommendations for better management, improved financial control, and return on the Government's investments. Many of our recommendations have been adopted, saving millions of dollars.

The joint accounting program, inaugurated in 1947 by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director, Bureau of the Budget, and myself, has achieved outstanding success in improving accounting, budgeting, financial reporting, and auditing throughout the Government. Its continuance is vitally necessary. The prime purpose of this program is to make the books of the Government speak the truth, including full disclosure of the cost of Government operations. That means full disclosure for the President, full disclosure for the Congress, and full disclosure, if you please, for the taxpayer. The adoption by the General Accounting Office of comprehensive and other on-the-site audits of the departments and agencies has produced broader coverage, more effective results, less paper work, and a greatly reduced flow of documents into Washington.

The concepts of the joint accounting program and of the comprehensive audit were unanimously adopted by the Congress in the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 and the Post Office Department Financial Control Act of 1950. Revisions of procedures and improvements in the budgeting, accounting, and auditing fields have had a far-reaching effect. I do not want to give the impression that all is perfect. However, I believe firmly that the foundations for better control of Federal funds have been laid.

The General Accounting Office was established by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. That act brought into existence an audit and investigative agency in the legislative branch. For the first time Congress had the means of securing information concerning the financial transactions of our Government from a completely nonpolitical agent, independent of the executive branch. Through the years that vital independence has not gone unchallenged. There have been several abortive attempts to destroy the Office. They have come not only from within the Government but from the outside. Those attempts were rejected by the Congress. As late as 1950 an ill-conceived attack was launched from outside the Government. The action of Congress in repelling this last assault spoke for itself. Not a single voice or a single vote was mustered in support of the proposal.

Motivated by dislike of restraint or adherence to discarded theories, new attempts are already being made to water down legislative control of public funds and destroy the effectiveness of the General Accounting Office. If the Congress is to retain its own means of securing impartial and factual data on Federal financial transactions, its means for insuring that appropriated funds are spent only in accordance with the laws it passes, and its primary weapon for preventing unbridled and unchecked spending, then the Congress must be ever alert to and adamant against attempts to weaken or destroy the powers of the General Accounting Office or to affect its independent status.

The General Accounting Office is your agency. To be worth its salt it must continue always to be independent, nonpartisan, and nonpolitical. To be effective, it must always have your wholehearted support and your vigilant safeguarding of its functions and powers. I have no doubt that it will.

I personally appreciate the many friendships and courtesies shown me by Members of the Congress during my 30 years of public service in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

LINDSAY C. WARREN,
Comptroller General of the United States.

A Broad View of the National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, over 80 years ago Members of Congress, who had sufficient vision to see that this country was a growing nation, and that it contained certain outstanding features which should be preserved for posterity, established Yellowstone National Park.

From that park has grown our great system of national parks, monuments, and reservations whose fundamental purpose prescribed by law is to preserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.

In 1916, when our national park system was established by law, from the records available, less than 500,000 visitors entered our national parks. In 1953, over 46 million people visited our national parks. This tremendous increase of use should be a warning to everyone interested in our national parks that if we are to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations, more and more money must be provided to take care of the ever increasing flow of visitors so as to preserve unimpaired these great national assets.

I would like to include with my remarks the following statement as prepared by the American Automobile Association in which they take a broad view of the national parks:

A BROAD VIEW OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

The American Automobile Association has for many years been concerned with the progress and problems of the national parks. The affiliated clubs of the association campaigned to open the parks to automobile traffic. That came to pass in 1916. Since then they have encouraged and promoted travel to these great recreational areas. Members of AAA clubs very likely comprise the largest bloc of park users. With a sense of public responsibility, as well as in the interest of its members, the association now considers the parks in broad perspective, with their perplexities of this day and their needs of the future.

The relationship of parks to people has changed to a remarkable degree. It has been a reflection of our modern American times. When Congress first established the parks, they were largely inaccessible, except by pack horse and mountain trail. We learn from the record books that less than 500,000 visitors entered the parks in 1917. Of course, that was the twilight of the horse-and-buggy era and the dawn of the motoring age. Anybody going from one

coast to another traveled behind the iron horse on rails.

It was then only 14 years after the first rugged adventurers had succeeded in crossing the continent by car. It was impossible to foresee a network of highways spanning distances, or the existence of 43 million private passenger cars, in a ratio of 1 to every 4 Americans. The impact of this on the national parks? The most remote of them is within reach of us all. Those who live in the heavily populated East, for example, can swing through the major parks of the West during the course of a 3 or 4 week vacation trip. And 96 percent of all park visitors arrive by car.

Little wonder that the visitor count, only half a million in 1917, rose to 3 million in 1930 and 21 million in 1941. Since then, the upsurge in use has been accelerated; for 1953 the total was 46 million, and 50 million entries will be counted within another year or two.

Is this trend healthy? The American Automobile Association believes that it is. For one thing, a visit to a national park is an inspirational experience. These regions are the visible essence of our national heritage. They preserve the natural grandeur of the land and translate legends of history, from the first settlement down to the beginnings of flight, into tangible and credible substance. It is difficult, if at all possible, for anyone to come away from a national park without a richer sense of being and a deeper wisdom of the American way.

The parks play another important role in our scheme of things. The host of park visitors is a large part of the great vacation movement of our times. Travel is now a multibillion dollar business, and is considered among the major dollar-earning industries in most of the States. Thus the national parks, as well as preserving the glories of nature and history for this generation and generations to come, comprise a significant force in the economy of scores of communities, the States, and the Nation as a whole.

In considering problems of land use, there frequently are two viewpoints in direct conflict. One of them: "Conserve the parks, unblemished and untrod." The other: "Develop the park lands for commercial uses." There is, however, a third viewpoint, and a middle ground. The parks should be seen and understood by all; the view without the viewer is the same as no view. But we should preserve and protect nature's finest outposts from invasion and destruction. In commercial terms, the parks, as parks, already are of the utmost significance for the travel they generate.

The American Automobile Association has been distressed at the failure of park development to keep pace with the steady increase in use. Our clubs want expansion of facilities in the Everglades National Park, completion of the Stevens Canyon Road in Mount Rainier, and the fulfillment of other projects within the park system.

Even short of these, needed as they are to fill the pattern of our travel and recreation, there is strong evidence that present facilities, already overburdened and outmoded, are not being properly maintained. To the contrary, they are being allowed to deteriorate. Allowing this trend to continue would not only inconvenience millions of visitors and jeopardize their safety, but would result in lasting and irreparable damage.

Recently the AAA asked a representative group of its affiliated clubs to express some of their views on the national parks. First, no matter in which section of the country, they stressed the high degree of park use by their members. They emphasized the economic importance of the parks to communities and States. From Washington State, this typical summary: "Visitors who come specifically to see our two great parks, Mount Rainier and Olympic, spend millions of dollars annually, and more each year. Since all this travel must pass through a considerable portion of the State, they surely contribute their share all along the line. If these parks did not exist as tourist objectives, the tourist business in this area would be at least 50 percent less."

The particular importance of the automobile in this connection is indicated from Arizona: "Not long ago most Grand Canyon visitors came by train. They had little contact with the State economy. Meals, accommodations, and all arrangements were handled by the railroad and by firms with headquarters in Chicago. Now, the majority, coming by automobile, patronize local establishments and help pay State gas taxes."

Our clubs are concerned over the deficiencies within the parks. They consider these to be the most acute:

Many roads and trails are poor, old and unsafe, in need of immediate attention and replacement. Protective log barriers at danger spots have been allowed to deteriorate, while bridges are often narrow and antiquated. The Tioga Pass road in Yosemite National Park, one of the most popular scenic stretches in the country, was built for another era and is unfit for this one.

Campgrounds are inadequate to handle the great visitor influx.

There are not enough accommodations, and a particular shortage of modern type accommodations. Many of the existing facilities have been outmoded for two decades, and there is a dearth of motel style operation. Provision of accommodations is a partnership between the Government and private concessioners operating within the parks. The Government is responsible for providing basic elements such as roads, public utilities and sewerage, the concessioners for installing overnight lodgings. Expansion of accommodations in relation to increased use has been negligible, and during the summer peak a great many park visitors have been obliged to sleep in their cars.

There is inadequate personnel and a lack of supervision to prevent destruction and defacement of park property. Vandalism has become widespread and notorious. The manager of the Louisville Automobile Club cites this incident during a recent tour of the Petrified Forest:

"As I recall, they handed you a slip when you came into the area saying that 374,000 visitors were there last year and if each of them carried off a little chip of petrified wood, there would not be much left in a few years for future generations to observe. Yet, as we walked over the Mather Trail, there was no evidence of ranger supervision; I observed a young man with his wife and child parked just off the road—he was sitting astride one of these blocks of petrified wood chiseling off a souvenir. I thought he was at the same time inscribing a testament of neglect, for which we are all responsible."

The National Park System includes 180 units of natural and historic importance, occupying more than 22 million acres. The visitor count of 46 million is more than double the last pre-war figure. The National Park Service manages these lands and serves these visitors with about 2,575 permanent positions and about 2,900 temporary four-month summer positions, or a total of about 3,360 in the field. This represents a decline since 1941 of 24 percent.

On personnel, there is this typical statement, made by the East Tennessee Automobile Club in regard to Great Smoky Mountain National Park:

"The present budget of our park is about double the 1941 budget. But the hourly wage of a mechanic was then 60 cents, now it is $2.06. Common labor, then 35 cents, is now $1.00. Other wages have increased in like proportions. Instead of a 44 or 48 hour week, we now have a 40 hour week. Though the budget is double, actually it would not be enough to handle even 1941 traffic.

"Housing facilities for the rangers are inadequate. This tends to lower the morale, or at least it would mine, if my family were forced to live in some of the homes the rangers' families live in."

We cannot help but observe that no single group of employees is more worthy of praise for a job well done than the national park personnel. Under difficult conditions, they have served the public needs in a manner that reflects great credit on themselves, their Service and the Government they represent.

There is a strong tie between the affiliated AAA clubs and national parks in their regions. Their feelings are summarized in this statement by the Carolina Motor Club:

"We are proud of our close relations with the national parks in this area. We are very close and friendly with the officials of these Federal lands. We have done a great deal to publicize them as tourist attractions that play a rising part in the economy of our State."

The affiliated clubs and the American Automobile Association try to take the broad view of the national parks. With all Americans we share a pride in the parks. We appreciate the constructive and sound legislation on the parks enacted by Congress over the years, and the fact that this now is one segment of a large and complex legislative problem. In the same sense, the Department of the Interior, which has managed the park lands with dedicated judgment, has other, interwoven considerations.

Nevertheless, the American Automobile Association affirms the need of a new awareness of the plight of the national parks, and urges thorough study and action to protect these treasured natural and historic resources from the dangers of lasting damage.

United Kingdom Indebtedness to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this Congress is confronted with financial problems that stagger the imagination. There is an increasing demand by the people to cut expenditures, balance the budget and reduce taxes. In all countries but our own these objectives have been obtained. We see no way of this chaos and confusion at this moment. Within a few weeks this body will have for consideration another so-called foreign-aid program.

Mr. Speaker, in view of our own financial situation it might be well to consider just what the American taxpayer has done for Great Britain since World War I, and I am inserting at this point a statement prepared for me by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress touching on this matter.

The statement follows:

WHAT THE UNITED KINGDOM OWES THE UNITED STATES

World War I indebtedness (as of July 1, 1953)

Principal	$3,477,000,000.00
Due and unpaid	891,000,000.00
Interest	3,262,859,301.93
Total	7,630,859,301.93
Repayments:	
Principal funded debt	232,000,000.00
Principal unfunded debt	202,181,641.56
Interest funded debt	1,232,775,999.07
Interest unfunded debt	357,896,657.11
Total	2,024,854,297.74
Indebtedness	7,630,859,301.93
Repaid	2,024,854,297.74
Balance	5,606,005,004.19

LEND-LEASE AID

Under the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941, periodic reports concerning lend-lease operations had to be submitted to Congress by the President.

According to the 32d Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations (82d Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 227), cumulative total of such defense aid to the British Empire for the period ending March 31, 1951, was:

Ordnance and ordnance stores	$3,066,973,487.93
Aircraft and aeronautical material	6,422,011,811.45
Tanks and other vehicles	3,803,943,205.45
Vessels and other watercraft	5,494,126,139.39
Miscellaneous military equipment	2,164,293,371.34
Facilities and equipment	367,837,212.45
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	9,440,506,697.91
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	425,404,741.03
Services and expenses	425,714,539.20
Total	31,610,813,206.16

REVERSE LEND-LEASE AID

Reverse mutual aid ended largely on September 1, 1945, when the British Empire began paying cash or transmitted requisitions for war-supporting end-items on a reimbursable basis. The cumulative total of such reverse aid received by the United States as of June 30, 1949, was:

Ordnance and ordnance stores	$117,913,403.18
Aircraft and aeronautical material	450,479,590.59
Tanks and other vehicles	97,774,454.48
Vessels and other watercraft	219,453,451.26
Miscellaneous military equipment	1,314,423,424.49
Facilities and equipment	1,556,203,883.20
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	1,876,612,638.62
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	193,278,393.88
Services and expenses	925,933,920.70
Total	6,752,073,165.40

During the war all British Empire (except Canada) lend-lease was credited to the account of the United Kingdom. Only after the lend-lease settlement agreements were signed by the separate British areas did the United States assess the official total of lend-lease aid granted to Great Britain. For the period July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1953, the cumulative total was $28,942,344,000.

FOREIGN GRANTS AND CREDITS, PERIOD JULY 1, 1940 THROUGH JUNE 30, 1953

Grants—credits

American Red Cross	$16,207,000
Mutual security:	
Economic and technical assistance	2,910,928,000
Military aid	97,687,000
Relief and rehabilitation	8,369,000
Total	3,033,191,000

No repayments requested on grants.

	Net authorizations	Balance owing
Mutual Security loans	$384,800,000	$384,800,000
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	300,000,000	
British loan	3,750,000,000	3,660,441,000
Lend-lease settlement	62,770,000	62,770,000
Credit offsets to grants	562,447,000	538,363,000
Surplus property	60,000,000	48,313,000
Total	5,210,017,000	4,694,687,000

Balance outstanding on July 1, 1953	$4,694,687,000
Principal repaid by July 1, 1953	515,330,000
Total loans and credits	5,210,017,000

RECAPITULATION

Status as of July 1, 1953

World War I aid	$5,606,005,004.19
Lend-Lease	28,942,344,000.00
Grants	3,033,191,000.00
Loans	4,694,687,000.00
Total	42,276,227,004.19

Living Denial of Communist Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Living Denial of Communist Propaganda," which appeared in the March 23, 1954, issue of the Hopkins County Times, Madisonville, Ky.

All of us, regardless of our situation in life or where we may reside, must face the issue of communism, not only in the United States but everywhere in this now small world of ours, and especially in the Latin American countries. Recently, due to the 10th Inter-American Conference at Caracas, our attention was focused in particular on Communist infiltration in our Latin American neighbor countries. While the United States resolution for joint action to stop Communist infiltration in the hemisphere was adopted, same was not an easily won victory.

Through the press we have recently been informed that a depression has hit Russia—this in spite of the fact that Moscow is still predicting a great depression in the free world. It is even said that Russia is forcing her satellite countries to contribute food to the millions of hungry people in the Communist empire. Depressions in Russia have, of course, occurred before, but if the difference in the standards of living in the free world and the standards of living in Russia can be brought to the attention of the enslaved people residing in the latter country, we will have accomplished one more step forward. Certain signs of unrest in the satellite countries have been evidenced of late—even rioting in instances. So, as pointed out by the Hopkins County Times in Madisonville, Ky., the more we can as individuals or businesses provide our Latin American neighbors with a living denial of Communist propaganda, the further along we will have gotten toward our final goal.

I include at this point in the RECORD the editorial:

LIVING DENIAL OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Officials of Sears, Roebuck and Company recently announced the company will open another Latin-American store in Bogotá, Colombia, this summer. It will be the twenty-fifth Latin-American store established in a 12-year expansion program by the company.

The important thing about this program, however, is not limited to any one concern or its success. The important thing is that Sears, Roebuck is providing Latin-Americans with a living denial of Communist propaganda in that area.

The company now boasts a Latin-American business volume of almost $80,000,000. A more interesting statistic though, is the fact that Sears purchases about eighty percent of all goods sold in the area from Latin-American countries.

Moreover, Sears' investment in Latin-American countries has reached a figure totaling more than $25 million. And, of its 5,723 employees, only 79 are Americans.

Even the Communists will have a hard time demagoging about the Yankee imperialism of this company. And, as Latin-Americans get an idea of what companies like Sears have to offer the poor man, there should be a general recognition of the value of the existence of American business concerns in Latin-America.

This company and American diplomats should make every effort to publicize this example in Latin-America, in an effort to counter Communist propaganda, which consistently tells Latin-Americans that American businesses come to their countries only to exploit the people and take away their natural resources.

Cash Payments Into the United States Treasury by the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the TVA Act provide for the repayment into the Treasury of the United States funds appropriated for power facilities—this over a 40-year period.

Repayments are being made annually into the Treasury by the TVA—up-to-date and according to schedule.

To date, the TVA has turned back into the Treasury a total of $79,598,165.57 from power operations and a total of $36,072,500 on redemption of bonds—a grand total of $115,670,665.57 repaid by the TVA into the United States Treasury.

This information should be of interest to the Members of the Congress and the public generally. I ask therefore, Mr. Speaker, that a statement of TVA repayments into the Treasury be reproduced in the RECORD.

The statement follows:

Repayments of U. S. Treasury funds from revenues of the Tennessee Valley Authority, total to Jan. 15, 1954

PAYMENTS TO GENERAL FUND OF U. S. TREASURY

Year of payment:	Power proceeds and other proceeds, total
1945	$12, 597, 743. 81
1946	10, 336, 264. 01
1947	3, 000, 000. 00
1948	5, 036, 325. 61
1949	4, 174, 462. 00
1950	3, 000, 000. 00
1951	15, 047, 124. 61
1952	4, 229, 268. 07
1953	22, 176, 976. 78
Total	79, 598, 165. 57

REDEMPTION OF BONDS SOLD TO U. S. TREASURY AND RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Year:	
1943	$2, 000, 000. 00
1945	3, 000, 000. 00
1946	1, 572, 500. 00
1947	2, 000, 000. 00
1948	2, 500, 000. 00
1949	5, 000, 000. 00
1950	5, 000, 000. 00
1951	5, 000, 000. 00
1952	5, 000, 000. 00
1953	5, 000, 000. 00
Total	36, 072, 500. 00

Payments for power	79, 598, 165. 57
Redemption of bonds	36, 072, 500. 00
Total repayments by TVA	$115, 670, 665. 57

Case of the "Lost" Textile Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to enclose a letter that I have received from the American Tariff League, Inc., enclosing a reprint of the Case of the Lost Textile Workers, which appeared in the issue of Business Week of March 6, 1954:

THE AMERICAN TARIFF LEAGUE, INC.,
New York, N. Y. March 24, 1954.

We are sending the enclosed Business Week reprint of the Case of the Lost Textile Workers to all Congressmen and Senators because what happened to the unemployed in one industry in New England could happen to workers in any American industry, in any community, when cheap-labor imports force American producers to cut back production or shut down.

Unemployment in these textile mills may not be due entirely to import competition, but the resultant inability of the unemployed to find jobs in export or growth industries is a foretaste of what will happen to workers if they lose their jobs in the industries marked for destruction under the trade not aid drive.

The advocates of freer trade are claiming that the mass production, export or growth industries would absorb these jobless. The lost textile workers are finding the claim an illusion.

Additional pools of unemployment, like those in New England, will only aggravate the current downtrend, and we shall find that we have indeed imported depression.

The league believes we should: (1) through proper tariffs, prevent injury to American industries, and thereby maintain jobs; and (2) whenever injury does occur, use the tariff as a remedial tool to restore hurt industries and the jobs of their workers.

When a New England textile mill closes its doors, what happens to the uprooted workers? That's a big question throughout New England today, and one that—so far—has never been adequately answered.

Unemployment figures tell only part of the story. That is clear in Lawrence, Mass., where many more textile jobs have been wiped out in recent years than are shown by jobless data and figures on expanded employment in other industries. (Business Week, Dec. 19, 1953, p. 72.) What happened to the rest?

TRACKING THEM DOWN

The bureau of business and economic research of Northeastern University, in Boston, is trying to find out in a survey of displaced workers in Lawrence—part of a broad study launched about a year ago that's now beginning to show some interesting results.

Under the direction of William H. Miernyk, the bureau has so far interviewed 756 workers from 3 liquidated mills in 3 cities—a woolen mill in New Hampshire, a cotton mill in Fall River, Mass., and a cotton mill in Lowell, Mass. After it winds up the survey in Lawrence, it plans to canvass displaced workers from 2 other Massachusetts mills and 1 in Rhode Island. When completed, the survey will show what happened to 2,000 laidoff textile workers.

THE GENERAL PICTURE

First findings, which later case studies probably will confirm, show:

Most of those laid off were still in the labor force, either employed or actively seeking employment, though a few of the displaced workers—mostly young married women or very old workers—dropped out within a year.

More men than women had been reemployed, and workers over 45 years of age were having a particularly hard time finding new jobs. Among the job seekers, 80 percent were drawing unemployment compensation when interviewed.

Most of those with new jobs were in other textile mills, in nonmanufacturing work, or in established, relatively static nongrowth industries; comparatively few had found their way into newer, expanding growth industries—machinery, electronics, and the like.

The majority of the reemployed were earning less than before, and many had been downgraded—from skilled to semiskilled, or from semiskilled to unskilled classifications.

Most told interviewers they were unhappy in new jobs, in part because of the lower pay and rating, but also because they had lost seniority and saw little opportunity for advancement.

SHATTERED ILLUSION

According to Miernyk, these findings exploded a myth that has gained currency among New England businessmen and many economists in the last few years: that growth industries, particularly electronics, have been taking up a lot of the textile slack in employment. That's not the way it looks, Miernyk says, commenting:

"In view of the recent public statements that New England will gain by the * * * diversification of industry, we feel that these findings are timely. * * * Statements by persons in important positions have created the cruel illusion that new jobs are to be provided for the displaced textile workers."

Diversification helps, but new industries evidently are filling jobs with newcomers in the labor market instead of with displaced textile workers, according to the bureau's findings. Of the first 756 workers checked, only 5 percent found jobs in growth industries.

VARIATIONS

Along with these general conclusions each of the first mills surveyed turned up some interesting sidelights.

In Fall River, the cotton-mill management gave workers advance notice of the coming shutdown, and urged them to seek new jobs; but of 850 workers—not all of whom were contacted by bureau interviewers—only 19 found jobs before they were finally laid off. Many later wound up with new textile employment. Half of those displaced were idle less than 5 weeks after their layoffs, and 65 percent less than 10 weeks.

In Lowell, younger male workers found new jobs, but those over 45 years of age still were largely unemployed after a year; women in all age groups were having a harder time getting new jobs than men were.

In New Hampshire, the woolen mill closed in a one-factory town with a population of 1,500, miles away from any fair-sized city. The mill closing idled 200 workers. A leather-products firm moved into the mill building, and reemployed part of the textile jobless. But 2 years after the shutdown, almost a third of the 200 laid off in the woolen mill were still out of work. For the other two-thirds, who got jobs, the average period of unemployment was about 5 months. Some 30 percent of them got textile jobs elsewhere, some as far as 64 miles from home; 50 percent took jobs in the leather-products company—accepting downgrading and less pay; and 20 percent got a variety of other jobs.

WHAT HAPPENS TO JOBLESS WORKERS IN THREE TYPICAL MILLS?

Seven hundred and fifty-six were thrown out of work. A year later these were: Unemployed, 304; in other textile mills, 176; in nongrowth manufacturing industries, 120; in nonmanufacturing jobs, 90; in growth industries (except apparel), 36; in apparel industries, 30.

Growth manufacturing industries (except apparel): Fabricated metals, nonelectrical machinery, electrical machinery (including electronics), chemicals.

Nongrowth manufacturing industries: Leather and leather products, furniture, paper and paper products, printing, rubber, food and food products, jewelry, transportation equipment.

Water by the Carload

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MYRON V. GEORGE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Chanute (Kans.) Tribune of March 26, 1954:

WATER BY THE CARLOAD

A number of railroads in Kansas are enjoying a new type of freight business they never had anticipated. They are hauling water by the tankcar to an increasing number of towns in the eastern part of the State. Just plain, ordinary, drinking water. And the prospects are the volume of this traffic will increase.

These tankcars of water show the extremities to which these communities have been driven. They supply an index to the heavy expense they have had to assume to keep themselves from being completely depopulated overnight. And they place a new light on the big-dam-little-dam debate.

There is a roughly oval area of more than 100 miles across in Kansas where the groundwater supply is negligible and where water for public systems must be obtained from streams or artificial lakes. It is also an area, unfortunately, across which the State's most treacherous rivers flow.

In a period of no more than 3 years there has been demonstrated as never before the devastating consequences of precipitation extremes in this region.

Had there been a properly located series of big dams, the floods of 1951 would have been greatly minimized if they could not have been completely prevented. Were those dams in existence in 1954, the railroads would not be receiving a penny in revenue from drinking water as freight.

Farm ponds, dammed gullies, and contour farming may have a value in preventing floods. Just how much is a matter on which engineers are still unable to agree. But such minor control works, in whatever number they may be built, are of no good whatsoever in meeting the other and probably even more serious aspect of the water-control problem.

To counter the consequences of sustained dry periods there must be big dams. They alone can store the overbountiful harvests for the years of famine.

The Physically Handicapped

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, recently the physically handicapped group of Fayette County, Pa., of which Mr. Thomas Suchevits, a disabled veteran, is the president, sponsored a contest for students on the employment of the physically handicapped. The contest created wide interest and enjoyed the participation of Federal, State, civic, and veterans' groups. Miss Mary Louise Raffle, of McClellandtown, Pa., a student at German Township High School, was awarded first place in the essay contest. Miss Raffle wrote a very fine essay, which follows:

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED: COMPETENT, DEPENDABLE WORKERS

Often the test of courage is not to die but to live. A handicapped person can vouch for the soundness of these words. In ancient Greece it was the custom for the physically defective to be abandoned on a barren hillside and left to starve for fear of disfavor by the gods. In still other societies they became social outcasts, subjects of ridicule and scorn. Today the disabled are rehabilitated, each to have his own distinctive step in the ladder of life.

The physically handicapped person has to fight two battles, himself versus his own mind and himself versus the outside world. The handicapped has to overcome mental depression, a feeling of defeatism, and convince himself he can compete against hostile forces. The danger of becoming crippled mentally is so great that without positive thinking and the courage to accept his impairment the disabled is down and out before the bell rings for the first round.

Once he gains physical and mental stability, the handicapped is ready to test his abilities in free competition. Now the paramount question is, "Will the door of opportunity be opened to him?" History has proved that a handicap is not a detriment to success. Despite being so crippled by polio that he could not stand alone, Franklin D. Roosevelt rose to the Presidency. Through one of the bleakest periods in history, he led the United States and other free nations of the world from the desolation of Pearl Harbor, on through D-day, with eventual victory to follow. In his first inaugural address, Roosevelt said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." He, above all else, realized personally the full meaning of his statement. Once a very athletic man, Franklin Roosevelt did not despair because of his impediment; he achieved immortality despite it. What an indomitable spirit he must have had to triumph over his affliction.

John Milton, the great English poet, wrote his most famous epic, Paradise Lost, after losing his sight. In his sonnet concerning his blindness, he remarked, "God doth not need either man's work or His own gifts. Who best bear his mild yoke, they serve Him best."

Athletically speaking, a handicap is a penalty placed on a superior contestant, in order that an inferior contestant stands an equal opportunity to win. Records have proved that these men and women are superior in having a lower accident rate, a lower absenteeism record, a higher production rate in quality as well as quantity, and change jobs less frequently than the average workers.

"Service to a just cause rewards the worker with more real happiness and satisfaction than any other venture of life." The handicapped realize that a man's vocational environment tends to shape much of his character. No wonder their resolution is so great. Why deny them the pursuit of their happiness?

It is necessary as never before for the United States to maintain a worldwide defense network, and to expand its industrial might to the greatest possible degree, in an almost superhuman effort to combat, communism and halt its parasitic growth. In our physically impaired, we have a reservoir of virtually untapped manpower whose potentialities are overwhelming. For you, the employer, to hire the handicapped is a patriotic duty, in the sense, that it would release an able-bodied man for those positions in industry requiring an abundance of physical stamina.

On the part of some employers there is the misconception that the employment of disabled personnel will automatically be followed by an increase in the cost of workmen's compensation. This is not the case. Judging by their safety records alone, they are far better risks than the average worker.

As an employer, be prepared to get the surprise of your life upon hiring the handicapped. Liabilities? Never. These men and women will be one of your biggest assets. Their versatility of talent takes many an unusual twist. In the assembly of aircraft, midgets are used to crawl into places normally inaccessible. Physical defects may be marked off as negligible, for it is the positive characteristics of men that produce the best results.

Possessed with the ability to offset physical losses and defects by transmitting the use of our skills, which are primarily mental, to other portions of our bodies, we are able to readjust ourselves to new vocations where these capabilities may be further developed. Through the media of placement tests, a man's faculties may be determined. Hence he can be placed in an occupation fitting his particular talents. Naturally physical requirements must be considered; often times jobs can be broken down in order to be fulfilled to the greatest possible degree by impaired workers.

This is America. This is the land where a partially deaf inventor named Thomas Alva Edison brought forth the electric light bulb and the talking machine; across which a courageous Helen Keller, though blind and deaf, traveled thousands of miles to give hope to those similarly afflicted; where some of the most brilliant satires depicting this Nation were written, despite failing eyesight, by James Thurber; and in which a young Michigan veteran named CHARLES POTTER, irregardless of the loss of 2 legs in world War II, was elected to the House of Representatives and, in 1952, to the United States Senate. But these are only the successes. What of the failures, those, who because no one would give them a break vanished into obscurity as a result of their impairment?

Would you speak of courage, of fortitude, of an inner strength? A physically handicapped person understands these qualities for they are retained within him, an unchangeable part of his personal makeup.

Man was created with an ideal, a purpose in mind. He was not meant to spend his too few years in a stagnation of idleness, to become a nonentity. Conscientious, dedicated employees, the handicapped deserve the privilege of living an existence expanded to the fullness of its growth. To them, to hold a job, to advance, to reach the apex of their dreams is, as to all Americans, worth life itself. But as long as being handicapped means to be thrust off into a corner, ignored as a misfit and to be spoken of in tones of hypocritical pity, they can never expect to travel this enlightened path. It is time we realized that only in extending to every man an equal opportunity can we expect to become truly democratic. To serve mankind, though only to raise him a few steps above his previous level is a prerogative which can be executed by all. Let us prove to the handicapped, through employing them, that we recognize their tenacity of purpose, their infinite possibilities and that we ourselves are capable of a worthwhile service to our fellow men. "By many hands the work of God is done."

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a resident of Albany, N. Y., with respect to the unfair wage ceiling in the Social Security Act. How long must the elderly wait before we correct this injustice?

The letter follows:

ALBANY, N. Y., *March 23, 1954.*
Congressman H. OSTERTAG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I read with interest your proposal to remove wage-earning restrictions on social-security beneficiaries, and wish to thank you for your interest in the matter.

I am one of those who, at 65, must work harder than ever in my life to support my family. I have been paying into social security since its inception and cannot make

matters a little easier for myself because of the present restrictions on earnings.

I think we should all be on the same basis when it relates to pensions. As I understand it, civil-service employees are not restricted as to earnings when they retire, and in many cases, these people and others, such as corporation employees who retire on a pension, take on another position subject to social security and work for 1½ years and then draw 2 pensions.

I hope your efforts are successful, as the present law is very unfair.

The Child, the Family, the Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address by Dean Kenneth D. Johnson, of the New York School of Social Work, of Columbia University, at Cleveland, Ohio, on March 2, 1954:

Nearly a million of them—actually, 933,881—Johnsons are listed in the social security files. Patronymically speaking, that fact naturally interests me. However, these bulging files of the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance (OASI), currently housed in Baltimore, carry much more significance than a listing of surnames currently running upward of 130 million.

Here you have literally acres of visible evidence of the big change in our political, economic, and social life—a change that was thrust upon us with catapultic force. It is well to remember this when we are confronted with many of the obvious and inevitable shortcomings, abuses, and soft spots which are revealed in the less than two decades of so cataclysmic a change.

Furthermore, of even greater significance is the fact that this and other related proposals—once characterized as New Deal and Fair Deal—hold a top priority as "constructive and positive steps" in the social-security program so clearly enunciated by President Eisenhower in his special message to the Congress just a few weeks ago. Listen to his own words:

"The human problems of individual citizens are a proper and important concern of our Government. One such problem that faces every individual is the provision of economic security for his family in the event of his death.

"To help individuals provide for that security—to reduce both the fear and incidence of destitution to the minimum—to promote the confidence of every individual in the future—these are proper aims of all levels of government, including the Federal Government."

To one who has no partisan political affiliation it is indeed refreshing to witness that for what is truly humane and just there is no restrictive party boundary. Maybe that is one of the biggest compensations for choosing for President a man without registered party designation until after his nomination.

To return to the big change, and reflecting on the program you have planned for this annual institute, I am reminded of the State report filed by Ohio at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections held in Washington, D. C., back in 1901.

"The past year has been an unusually quiet one" was that report's initial sentence, adding that there has been no session of the legislature. Then it went on with big news. "Progress is being made in the custodial care of adult idiots"—and expressing pride over the fact that 1,068 acres of farmland had been purchased to care for "some 30 to 40 boys, men in years most of them." And that was the principal news of social welfare in the sovereign State of Ohio just over 50 years ago, and on the very eve of the establishment of your world renowned juvenile court here in Cuyahoga County under the leadership of men like the late Newton D. Baker and other socially minded citizens.

Those were the days when a very detailed study and research entitled "Family Desertion" revealed that out of 172 working women deserted by their husbands, the occupation of 60 of these women was listed as washing, the while only 1 woman engaged in passementerie work was deserted—exactly the same number as for the occupation of fortune teller. Washing was indeed a hazardous occupation with more than a calculated risk to permanence of marriage at the turn of the century—69 women (out of less than 200) so occupied prior to their marriage were deserted by their husbands within 3 to 5 years. I am certain Betty Furness is wholly unaware of the great social contribution she is making in her irresistible TV pleas to our housewives to be sure to purchase one of those modern mammoth snow-white electrical laundromats with its companion drier that washes, rinses, dries, irons—yes, even lays the clothes clean and fresh in your bureau drawers and on the shelves of your linen closet.

Talk about social progress—what about this?

Many years ago, an eastern bishop, paying a visit to a small denominational college in the West, was entertained in primitive style and, spreading culture, pontificated thusly:

"The millennium cannot be very far off. All inventions that can be made have been made."

The president mildly objected. "I do think," he said, "that within the next 50 years men will be able to fly like birds."

The bishop was outraged. "For that," he declaimed, "you will surely roast in Gehenna. Flight is reserved solely for the angels."

The bishop's name was Wright. He had two small sons at home, named Orville and Wilbur.

Because I believe so strongly that "the family represents the type of social organization which is indispensable to the effective training of human beings for the responsibilities of life" I am constantly reminded of the tremendous progress we have made by recalling incidents and practices which were commonly accepted in the past—sometimes, not too distant past.

Remember the Vandue—that barbarous and tragic New England custom of about 150 years ago? One of its best portrayals is found in Tomorrow the Harvest (Viola Paradise) where the unmarried Dorcas Willett in an unprecedented act of humanity stunned all present at a sale of paupers with her: "I will take the Widow Sawyer and her children." We don't sell human beings anymore.

Move along a hundred years or more—right into our 20th century and listen to Florence Kelley (National Consumers League) tell us about the teamster who was doing a perfectly good job providing for his wife and children. Then came the sad day when he was thrown from his team and killed. Within a very short time three of the children were taken by the authorities from the teamster's widow and boarded out "for hire" to another widow whom the city had to support.

The obvious shortsightedness and stupidity—to say nothing of the human tragedy—of such actions have given us the present humane system of aid to dependent children with this as a basic principle:

The mother is the best guardian of her children.

When the choice must be made as to whether the mother is to be the homemaker or the breadwinner of her family, the decision shall be made in favor of the homemaker.

What more graphic and compelling picture of what it means to have permanence, solidarity, and strength in a family can we cite than that given us by Mrs. Leona Bruckner in her recently published Triumph of Love. Some of her roots we find in this very city of Cleveland. Here it was while visiting her parents' home she came to know George Kruger and his Possibilities Unlimited. (What a creative and fascinating title. In view of what has happened here may I suggest it as an appropriate alias for your city of Cleveland.) That motto:

"It is not what you have lost; it's what you have left that counts."

How simple; yet how powerful. And what a contrast with the quote from Dante carved over the gate to the cemetery in my native town:

"All hope, abandon, ye who enter here."

The Bruckners—Hy and Lee—tell us what it means to keep the family together and under circumstances that challenged each of them to an almost heartless degree. (Cite briefly the story of their armless son.)

Here we see how much modern skills and techniques can help—in counseling, guiding, treating—how far we have come and the promise there is for greater achievement when sensitivity and intelligence are combined in counseling, guiding, helping, healing, and building.

Unusual and trying as are the facts in the Bruckner household, I offer it to you as one example of what is the true meaning of family life in 1954—yes; in any year. Certainly when love triumphs in the home you can be certain that the family will strengthen its influence in society.

Judge Eastman and those associated with him in your local juvenile court would be the first to testify to this. They have daily contact with scores of the many more than a million boys and girls who get tangled up with the law each year.

This is not good news—but here it is: The increase in children who are in trouble is at a faster rate than is the increase in our child population.

When I use the phrase "in trouble," remember I translate that to mean in need of help. Were we to believe that this increase would continue unabated the final result would be obvious and give credence to the hopeless prediction of Bernard Berenson that "man's last gesture may be a wordless yawn."

Your activity in a Federation such as this is the best proof that you do not subscribe to such a belief: Your association in an effort such as this also is evidence of your determination to remove the causes of misery, maladjustment, and emotional disturbance which are so closely related to this rising tide of children in trouble. Be sure to remember that very often their behavior—no matter how destructive and horrifying—reflects the kind of human behavior these youngsters have witnessed and experienced since their earliest recollection. I know of no clearer mirror of what goes on in a home than the speech and conduct of most children in their early school years. That is why the teacher—especially in the elementary grades, holds such a strategic observation post in helping to spot the symptoms of trouble at the earliest stage—when such trouble is most easily remedied.

When children—through absolutely no choice of their own—are placed in surroundings where there is either a minimum or complete absence of emotional stability; no understanding and effective discipline; no evidence of love; social rejection; lack of opportunity even to try to do something;

very often insufficient food, clothing, and living quarters—with several or all of these you have the certain ingredients of the inevitable human anguish, destruction, and tragedy. Short of a miracle, you can expect nothing else—and yet the record reveals miraculous changes because there are such people as you who believe in the dignity of human beings, in counseling and guiding, in reformation, rehabilitation, correction, prevention—yes, in helping and healing, and building.

You are aware that very often the indifference of society is fully as damaging as its open hostility as far as these youngsters are concerned. Hence your concern for their needs expressed by your active participation in programs designed for their good—your financial support of those programs, your understanding of the need for such programs and your recognition and appreciation of their beneficial results—these are the ingredients of a positive and constructive contribution to a problem which if left without adequate remedial care has the potential for destroying society.

Ever so often we hear some one emphasizing the need for more physical punishment. I must admit that this rather primitive plea is heard less often than it was some years ago. Truly I think of it as seeking an easy out—something like the fellow whose ever ready solution for every ill is: "There ought to be a law."

Did you note what a storm of protest the reverend canon of St. John's Cathedral in New York provoked a few days ago when he announced that a boy in the Cathedral choir was to receive two whacks on the seat of his pants with a certain-sized paddle for each infraction of the rules. The poor, misguided canon soon learned what a terrible error was his in seeking to install in the Cathedral a parental practice which was once a part of the rural woodshed—a practice that is as foreign to the Cathedral as is the woodshed.

No—physical punishment is not the answer—certainly it is not the cure. Some of us have reason to affirm that punishment, be it physical or custodial, is not the deterrent it is intended to be. Remember that in the immortal letter Charles Dickens wrote on capital punishment (1846) he reported that an inquiry conducted by an English clergyman revealed that out of 167 persons under sentence of death, there were only 3 who had not been spectators of executions.

It is my opinion that in this respect human beings have not changed very much be they children or adults.

Furthermore, what kind of ethic, morality, and culture would be ours were we to admit that we were decent, law abiding citizens only because of our fear of punishment were we otherwise?

What we seek to apply by way of a cure for these social ills is diagnosis and treatment. Because we have made so many stimulating and revealing advances in our development of skills, techniques, and understanding of what to do with and for people in trouble—particularly with our boys and girls—we know that help based on correction and prevention is the help that is needed and is the help that society must provide if it is to survive. Once we have committed ourselves to this approach of helping, treating, and building, we are on our way to the attainment of that very purpose which binds us together in a federation such as this.

That commitment, to a varying degree, has been made in every State of the Union during the past 55 years in terms of our children who are brought into court. It is an integral part of our law and basic to our thinking and planning in the whole field of human relations. As our good friend Judge John Warren Hill has so aptly expressed it: "Our purpose is not mere reclamation. We want to build character."

One of our principal difficulties is, and I know most of you here this morning have encountered this; How can we get all our best-intentioned people to take up the slack between what they actually do and what they should do? I agree with Agnes Meyer when she describes this lag as "never being a greater threat to humanity than in this revolutionary era of accelerated change." I am sure that statistical reports would inform us that never before have our people given more generously than they do today to help the lame, the halt, and the blind. So also I am sure that it is increasingly difficult to obtain the necessary financial support support for the recruitment, selection, education, and training of the men and women we must depend upon to improve and strengthen the effectiveness and expansion of all activities dedicated to human welfare—be they public or private.

Proud as we justly have reason to be with all the scientific gains we have made let us never forget that it is the human use of human beings by which we can measure our real progress. These changes—and I need not enumerate them—do pile up their human victims as we are confronted with additional problems of displacement and maladjustment. Hence it is that we must support every effort that holds reasonable hope for developing the knowledge and the skill to learn the causes so as to prevent this human waste and suffering and not be content only with its alleviation.

Related to these changes which characterize our "competitive technological society" we run smack into other changes in our mores and our mode of living—changes which continue to have a tremendous impact on the child—the family—and the community. Familiar examples are such as these:

1. Ours is now a cash and not a goods economy. The take home pay at the end of the week is the sole source of family support for the great majority of our citizens. Shut it off and there is immediate trouble—and the very kind of trouble that has an intimate relation to the subject concerning us at this institute.

2. We are now primarily dwellers in urban or suburban communities—there is more crowding—more congestion. The shift of population from the rural areas has been steady and continuous during the past 100 years. Even a current trend to settle in suburbs has failed to provide too much extra living space.

3. More people are living to be older people than ever before in our history. With our life expectancy rising from 49 years in 1900 to close to 70 years today problems have arisen with which we have failed to catch up. Look at our insistence to stick to an arbitrary retirement age that is demonstrably out-dated and a denial of even a minimum regard for human dignity.

These are but a few of the socio-economic changes which have an all too familiar ring and need only to be listed to remind us of their significance.

I want to call your attention to another change—perhaps much more intangible and to some much less perceptible than those we have cited—yet, in my opinion it is more insidious, dangerous, and traumatic in its resultant corrosive effect—especially on our young people.

I refer specifically to what may be characterized as the currently increasing ethical and moral darkness in high places. You may counter with the immediate retort: "Ah, but we have always had corruption—that's nothing new." I am not talking about common garden variety corruption which unfortunately too often has been more or less taken for granted as an accepted incident to public office. The damaging effect on our young people of the crime and corruption of men and women in public positions of trust and responsibility is in no sense to be minimized. It is often irreparable. Would that those responsible could foresee this damage!

That is not what I am emphasizing.

As bad as that is, what I see in the making is much worse. Unless immediate steps are taken to stamp it out I really do fear that the accumulation of suspicion, disillusion, disbelief, discord, bitterness, and fear will produce an overwhelming and destructive result.

What am I talking about?

Go back to January of this year with me—read the President's message to Congress on the state of the Union. If not there, certainly in some other equally important Presidential statement you will find mention of the fact—by way of an alleged achievement—that during the past year 2,200 employees of our Federal Government have been removed from the payroll because they were "security risks"—purposely leaving you with the impression that these fellow citizens are disloyal, subversive, yes, traitors. There could have been no other purpose intended. That figure of 2,200 has been repeated again and again—and by those whom we should have every reason to believe and respect.

You and I know that the President personally did not make this count. Someone in whom he thought he had reason to put his confidence supplied him with that (2,200) figure. Thus this 2,200 became official from the highest authority in the land.

What do subsequent breakdowns reveal? Please note that these breakdowns have been most reluctantly produced. The latest release revealed that, included in over 1,000 cases—nearly half of the official 2,200—there were the names of hundreds of men and women who had retired, resigned, transferred, been released because of reduction in force for reasons of economy—and actually only about 40 who were tagged disloyal. If the remaining number to be broken down reveals similar facts we will finally learn that what was definitely intended to stand out as a total of 2,200 disloyal and subversive Government employees will melt away to less than 100 alleged disloyal employees. (I emphasize alleged because I have seen no record of any adequate trial or hearing in the case of a single one of these citizens.) That's it—less than 4 percent. True.

What a horrible travesty. What a denial of decency. What an assault on justice.

Do you mean to say that such shameless shenanigans do not have a deteriorating effect on our young men and women—an effect that reverberates inside the family and throughout the community? I see it so clearly as a slowly developing gangrenous growth—capable of producing fatal consequences—as it flecks off its scales and exudes its poison.

Add to that the picture of men in the highest of public offices—so blinded by the heat of partisan passions—publicly and repeatedly declaring that affiliation with one of our major political parties is tantamount to being a traitor. To witness the high command of the party in power countenancing and supporting a nationwide senatorial speaking tour with 20 years of treason as the theme song is again the very same kind of corrosive and degrading darkness in high places—a darkness that is bound to be a blight and a blow to the kind of healthy, constructive, and clean conditions a federation like this is striving to achieve for the child, the family, the community.

This is not a political discussion. Personally, I am free from any partisan political designation or affiliation—just the same as the President was until after his nomination in 1952. What I see in all this sordid and sorry business of misrepresentation, demagogery, and deception—and time does not

permit further elaboration—is the sowing of seeds of disunity and division which are bound to bring for the harvest a whirlwind of tragic and bitter—yes, even fatal—proportions.

Here is where I see a most dangerous counterdestructive force today in terms of advancing better and more wholesome standards for the child, the family, the community. Because the actual power to eradicate this destructive force is in your hands and in the hands of millions of your fellow citizens throughout our beloved country, I urge that you act to combat this dirty business, act resolutely, decisively, and immediately.

Please do not shove this aside with: "Oh, that's politics" or with the indifference of a Gallio, who "cared for none of those things." Often the results of apathy and inaction may be as harmful as those arising from active resistance to what is decent and just.

You could not expect to, and you certainly would not deserve to attain the goal you have set for the great work that is yours in this federation, had you not determined that this kind of association requires not only the capacity to dream and to believe that those dreams can and will come true; it also requires an overabundant supply of courage, yes, intrepidity of character, which can best be measured by the amount of corundum in your cells. You need more and more of that.

Yours is indeed a most important effort. What you have come to hear and discuss today is so closely related to what may or may not be the better tomorrow. Let me assure you I have plenty of faith and belief that it will be a better tomorrow, and my principal reason for having that deep and abiding faith and belief is what I see here in Cleveland today, and what I know is present in thousands of our cities, towns, and villages from coast to coast, devoted men and women unselfishly and seriously doing all within their power to create, maintain, and support that which is for the best interests of the child, the family, the community.

Here is where we find "obedience to the unenforcible," and that, my friends, is a most powerful and effective human force. Keep increasing the intensity and power of that force, and you will really remove mountains, along with mountebanks.

Finally, and maybe this is all I should have said to you this morning:

If you stand very still in the heart of a wood, you will hear many wonderful things—the snap of a twig, and the wind in the trees, and the whir of invisible wings. If you stand very still in the turmoil of life, and you wait for the voice from within, you'll be led down the quiet ways of visions and peace in a mad world of chaos and din. If you stand very still and you hold to your faith, you will get all the help that you ask; you will draw from the silence the things that you need: Hope and courage and strength for your task.

Question of the Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, after the votes in Congress on the tax bill, the Chavez election, who, among the most liberal, will dare say that the Democrats are supporting Ike?

Aid for Vets of World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following, which I delivered before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee this morning, urging approval of H. R. 4596:

Their ranks are thinning every day. Many of the veterans who served in World War I have since joined their comrades who died at Belleau Wood and in the Argonne Forest.

Some of the survivors are 62 years of age and older. The rest are nearing retirement age.

And they wonder—sometimes bitterly—why their country has passed them by.

A grateful nation has provided well for the veterans of the Spanish-American War, the veterans of World War II, and the veterans of Korea.

These veterans benefit from generous pensions and from the comprehensive advantages granted to them by the GI bill of rights.

Why have the men and women of 1917–18 been ignored?

Why have they not been given the same consideration as their comrades of 1898, the 1940's, and the 1950's.

They were the only veterans to endure a war and a depression.

As I recall, they were the only ones to be exposed to the ravages of poison gas.

They were the only veterans in our history to fight in the mud and filth of trench warfare, which undermined their health in many unseen ways.

And they came home to take up the burden of the most unsettled and wide-swinging economic cycle that we have ever experienced as a nation.

Some of them became the "lost generation" of the 1920's and never found their footing again in civilian life.

In every city and hamlet you can see them—heroes once, harmless drifters now.

The more fortunate majority—those of their comrades who married and settled down and brought up families—where are they today?

Many of them receive no compensation of any kind for their past military service.

They are the ones in my neighborhood who have lost their jobs in the closed mills, and who are finding it almost impossible to get any other kind of employment. Because of their age.

Not much is being said about this in any discussion of business and employment. It is almost as if we were ashamed to mention this discrimination, as we should be.

In economic America men and women are being denied employment—not because they are honest, reliable, and experienced—but simply because they are 58, 60, or 62.

That this is a loss to American industry itself, and to the Nation as a whole, cannot be challenged.

The signs read: "No room for older displaced workers."

Even efficient management in our private enterprise system, can be blind, and short-sighted, at times. I do not say that they are without conscience, because this would not be admissible as economic evidence.

But what of those veterans of 1917–18 who are working?

The slight, the feeling of injustice done toward them, remains.

Pensions—given to veterans of other wars—in all fairness should be extended to cover the veterans of World War I without examination as to means, or disability.

There is ample precedent for this in our national policy toward veterans, that goes far back to wars of long ago.

Concerning one criticism of the bill under consideration I would like to point out that it was never intended to apply to a veteran with 1 day's service, but only to those who had served at least 30 days before November 11, 1918, or were discharged for disability incurred in service and in line of duty, even though they did not serve the minimum required.

One day's service is not enough to qualify a man or a woman for the honors and privileges inuring to veterans.

Aside from this, I would like to emphasize that the initial outlay would be the largest, declining steadily in each succeeding year. Less than 600,000 would be eligible for pension benefits for the first year, and the number would dip sharply as time rapidly decimates their ranks.

The cost, of course, cannot be glossed over.

But I suggest that the veterans of World War I did not count the cost when they offered their lives in defense of freedoms.

The financial cost can be offset, by a reduction in foreign aid, for instance.

Because the time has come when we must consider the needs of our own people. There is the problem of national security as well as international pump priming.

Even if we had to maintain some taxes to provide for these pensions of $100 a month to those 62 and older I am sure that most people would agree that we owe this much to the veterans of World War I.

They also served and we cannot default on our debt to these old soldiers.

Their entitlement to a pension at 62 is a right—and an implied promise to them because of their service—that we cannot violate without forfeiting part of our national honor.

Economy is no justification for running out on our obligations to the veterans of World War I.

H. R. 4596 is a test of this Nation's sincerity toward those who served it so well.

Spread the Burden

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Dunkirk (N. Y.) Evening Observer under date of March 23, 1954.

This editorial expresses sound tax philosophy; therefore, I am inserting it for the benefit of those who believe in our free-enterprise system:

SPREAD THE BURDEN

While taxes are rightly based on the ability to pay it is still a fact that everyone benefits from government and should pay some portion, however small, of the costs.

Every increase in the amount of personal exemption decreases the number of taxpayers and concentrates the load more heavily upon the few.

There is a certain allure about the plan to soak the rich, but even with enlarged

exemptions there will remain millions of taxpayers who are not rich. Why increase their proportion of the burden?

With unemployment rising there is a certain need right now for investment in the tools of production. To increase the load on those who might invest is a disservice to the unemployed whose plight can only be remedied by the expansion of industry. However minute the contribution may be, let everyone be aware they are part of government, a beneficiary of government, and therefore justly assessable for some part of its cost.

Democratic Support for President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed surprising to find that the Republican members of the Appropriations Committee, and the Republican members of the Banking and Currency Committee, to a man, have been opposing President Eisenhower's program on the vitally important matter of housing. On the floor of the House in voting on the appropriation bill, the Republicans have been almost unanimous in attacking and voting against the President's program.

With this House about to consider the housing bill, it is most apropos to call attention to the following editorials which appeared in the March 29, 1954, edition of the Brooklyn Eagle and the March 31, 1954, edition of the New York Times:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of March 29, 1954]

WHY IKE MUST SEEK DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT

The hope of anything resembling a worthwhile housing program rests upon the strength of an extraordinary political alliance—President Eisenhower, who is abandoned so consistently by his own partisans in times of need, and Democratic forces in Congress.

President Eisenhower asked Congress in January to continue the public-housing program at a reasonable level. He advocated approval of a 4-year construction program at the rate of 35,000 units a year. This was recognized as an extremely moderate program, far short of meeting the demand for adequate housing accommodations. The House Appropriations Committee has responded by cutting the program to an estimated 35,000 units and ending it in 2 years.

From its very inception, even when the housing problem was most acute and millions of Americans were suffering extreme hardship through lack of adequate facilities, public housing has been fought by formidable interests in Congress. If the recommendations of the Appropriations Committee are adopted, these interests, which stand to profit from stringent conditions in housing, will have scored a triumph.

President Eisenhower is compelled by the repudiation of his program in committee to make his stand on the floor, where he must place his reliance on Democratic support. With this help and that of his large personal influence, which was exerted effectively in behalf of the tax-reform bill, he may win out.

His general position is one of fundamental weakness, however, when he cannot confidently call upon his own party for the adoption of a program which its leaders have approved.

[From the New York Times of March 31, 1954]

CONGRESS AND PUBLIC HOUSING

To those who have seen at firsthand the fine accomplishments wrought in our large cities by slum-clearance public housing it is discouraging to see the opposition, even to the point of animus, voiced against such housing in Congress, and especially in the House. One would expect House Members, being close to the people, to be aware of the importance of clean, decent housing in strengthening our democracy, in creating more wholesome conditions in which to rear children, in improving the moral climate. One would expect the House membership to be more sympathetic toward people of low income struggling to live with some dignity.

The large cities, and especially New York, are a special problem in housing. High land costs and other handicaps make home ownership out of the question for thousands of families. The House won't be helping these families, in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, by encouraging private enterprise on a $7,000 house. Nor can these families build little cottages for themselves after supper and on weekends, as so many do-it-yourself families do, all over the country, and more power to them.

We, in the large cities, are fighting a tough battle against slums, and in New York it seems at times to be a losing battle. Our New York problem is intensified by migration from the South and from Puerto Rico, and we do our best to make a home for new arrivals, as this gateway city has always done. A good argument could be made for special Federal aid, simply because New York is a focal point of such migration.

There is a city problem, just as there is a farm problem. One big city problem is the overcrowded, unwholesome slum, and we cannot believe that the Republicans will be so foolish politically, so shortsighted democratically, so lacking in human feeling as to abandon, or virtually destroy, public housing as a policy, this year, next year, or in the foreseeable future. Private enterprise cannot build at a rental these people can pay. A housing program that ignored these low-income families, and discriminated against the critical needs of the large cities, would be a bitter disappointment.

House Divided

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, after reading a most interesting and timely editorial in the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican newspaper, I present it to the House for serious consideration.

Only a few short months ago the American people nationwide voted in support of President Eisenhower and his recommended program.

Now the gentlemen on the Democratic side of the House should support the program, not by mere speeches for the benefit of Eisenhower supporters in their districts but by actually voting for this real American program.

The editorial follows:

HOUSE DIVIDED

Unless the Republicans in Congress get behind the administration's program they risk the chance of handing power back to the Democrats.

When the voters of the country ended the 20-year Democratic rule in Washington it was regarded as evidence they were tired of confusion and wanted accomplishment. The Republicans came into power with a chance to look good by showing what they could do. They give disturbing indications now of being in the process of fumbling that chance. The 83d Congress needs to get behind the President's program and push it through.

The President needed Democratic help to defeat the George proposal on the Bricker amendment. His recommendation against higher personal income tax exemption barely carried the House. The Senate went against the administration by lowering excise taxes, a move calculated to throw the budget further out of balance. Now a House committee has repudiated another part of the President's program by cutting his public housing proposal.

Quite apart from the merits or demerits of this proposal, it forms part of a pattern of close shaves or defeats to show a disturbing lack of support by Republican legislators for a Republican President on such items in the Eisenhower program as aren't still sidetracked in committee. With elections coming up Republican Senators and Representatives should be alert to avoid the possibility of becoming vulnerable to a "do-nothing" label such as Harry Truman once before pasted on a Republican body.

The Public Housing Program Should Be Continued in the National Interest and Welfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I regret very much and wish to raise my voice against the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee today, designed to abruptly terminate our pledged public-housing program.

I have consistently supported a reasonable public-housing program, because it is undeniably in the best national interest, and unquestionably a major deterrent against any American acceptance of Communist propaganda.

In the past 20 years, as a result of the original Housing Act, we have seen some of the most squalid sections of our large cities transformed into ideal neighborhoods, where families of very modest means, formerly poorly housed, have been able to find and afford livable, clean, decent dwellings of healthful surroundings. I very earnestly think it is only practical economic wisdom, not to mention our patriotic duty, to continue a program that has proved of such fundamental value to American welfare.

The President himself has recognized the vital need of continuing to improve the family living standards of our people and publicly recommended the housing program be maintained.

Former Congressman Albert Cole, now Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator, and an open opponent of public housing when he was in this House, recently testified before the Appropriations Committee as follows:

If we are to have a workable, across-the-board attack on urban slums and blight, we must continue a moderate program of federally supported low-rent public housing.

Mr. Speaker, the responsible representatives of this administration recommended 35,000 public-housing units per year for 4 years as a bare minimum. The failure of the majority here to accept even their own administration's recommendation is a severe blow, not only to thousands of American families seeking a decent place to live for themselves and their children, but also to the efforts of our cities to provide normal housing accommodations for low-income and middle-income citizens. We cannot clear the city slum areas without providing other dwellings for those who live there; such action is obviously a most heartless contradiction of purpose. We cannot tear down the roofs from over people's heads and then tell them there is no other place to go but out under the sky. They must be assisted in relocating themselves in other and better living places. We all agree that slum areas, as known breeding places of crime and disease, must be eliminated, but relocation is the key problem in slum clearance. Public housing is absolutely essential in providing that relocation and it therefore seems but simple commonsense to continue, and I hope expand, that program proven so beneficial to so many American families at so comparatively little cost, especially when measured against the foreign financial subsidies so generously granted. I hope very strongly that the majority here will reconsider this issue and in the very near future we will have another opportunity to help our own American people by giving them a chance to bring up their families in decent homes in healthful neighborhoods through the continuation of public housing.

Urges Dulles Take New Look at Arabs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following column which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of March 28, 1954, stresses some important facts to which our State Department should give heed. It was written by Ray Tucker:

URGES DULLES TAKE NEW LOOK AT ARABS

Palace revolutions, military coups d'etat, and political assassinations among the Arab States in the Middle East have led Israel's diplomatic spokesmen here to urge Secretary John Foster Dulles to take another and a new look at our anti-Moscow defense preparations in this sector of the worldwide battlefront.

Tel Aviv has not forwarded a formal note of protest against our tentative plan to rearm the Arab nations, especially Iraq. But handsome Ambassador Abba Eban, who speaks more precise English than Churchill (he is an Oxford graduate), has analyzed the new situation in private talks at the State Department. He has compiled a list of 14 violent changes of government in the Arabian area since World War II.

Ambassador Eban was moved to make these representations at this time by the fact that the Eisenhower administration is considering a military alliance with Iraq, to supplement and strengthen our recent agreement with Pakistan. Lying between Turkey and western Pakistan, our two most sturdy allies in this sector of the anti-Russian containment wall, Iraq's border represents the weakest and most vulnerable area in Middle East geography.

HOW ISRAEL REGARDS IRAQ

With Jordan and Egypt, Iraq is regarded by Israel's statesmen as the new nation's most implacable enemy. Iraq has recently urged Jordan leaders not to confer with Tel Aviv representatives to settle differences, although the get-together was proposed by the United Nations. Iraq opposed any U. N. try at terminating the Egyptian blockade against Israel-bound vessels through the Suez Canal.

Therefore, in view of Iraq's attitude, Israel now seeks to prevent any American military commitment to the hostile country, pending a New Look and revision of our anti-Russian strategy in the Middle East. In the Palestine War of 1948, Ambassador Eban recalls, an Iraqi invasion force of 18,000 men, with 100 tanks, was routed by two Israeli combat units, or about 10,000 troops.

American arms forwarded to member states of the Arab League (this does not include Turkey or Pakistan) will not be used against Russia, according to the Israel representative to Dulles. Ambassador Eban, reciting the recent political turbulence in Cairo, Damascus and other Biblical cities, insists that they will be employed in military, political, palace and tribal feuds, and possibly in renewed attacks on Israel.

The Arab-Israel dispute, in Tel Aviv's opinion, cannot be solved so long as the United States treats the Arabian states as preferred people, and relies on them to hold the line against Russia. It cannot be solved by U. N. or Anglo-American intervention. It can be settled, according to this viewpoint, only if the Arabs become convinced that Israel is a going and permanent concern and agree to a roundtable disposition of all difficulties.

BUBBLING, GO-GETTING OPTIMIST

Washington's misunderstanding of the Middle East problem and conditions in the opinion of many experienced observers, was demonstrated in the Eric Johnston episode. For some strange reason, Hollywood's movie czar was chosen by our State Department to try to persuade Israel and Jordan to agree on a TVA treatment of the waters of the River Jordan. It was a most inept selection, for it antagonized the Arabs.

But Johnston is a bubbling, go-getting optimist. A few weeks ago he made speeches and wrote a magazine article in which he forecast eventual agreement on joint use of the water from the Jordan.

His magazine effusion was published in the very week that Egypt and Syria threw out their rulers, and Israeli-Arabian affairs approached a new crisis. Its publication coincided with killings and uprisings in the area he hoped to pacify with his TVA program. He was supposed to resume negotiations last week, but his trip to the boiling Middle East has been postponed indefinitely. And as State's dismay over the Cairo and Damascus upsets suggests, Dulles was as ignorant of the real state of affairs as Johnston.

It is no wonder that Dulles is giving serious consideration to Ambassador Eban's suggestion of a New Look at our anti-Kremlin strategy in the Middle East.

Communist Intervention in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a statement which I made on the Mutual Newsreel program on March 29. This statement, regarding recent events in Italy, was rebroadcast to Italy over the Voice of America. On the same subject, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Bridgeport Post of March 30.

The statement and editorial follow:

The newest Communist attack on Ambassador Clare Luce is the most vicious and untruthful yet unleashed. It is part of the stepped-up offensive by the Kremlin to discredit Mrs. Luce and the West.

The Soviets have ordered their new Ambassador, Bogomolov, to incite the removal of the American Ambassador regardless of what methods are used.

Bogomolov, oddly enough, has used the issue of Mrs. Luce's interference in Italy's internal problems to arouse 35 left-wing extremists to demand her ouster in the Italian Senate.

This action by the Russian Ambassador is serious meddling in internal affairs of Italy, against the best interest of Italy.

The fact that the Kremlin is concentrating its high-powered energies to discredit Mrs. Luce is a great testimonial to the effective work she is performing in Italy on behalf of freedom and against communism.

The Communists have misrepresented and deliberately distorted Mrs. Luce's remarks made in Washington last January to further discredit her by publicizing an untrue and unfavorable version of her views on Italy.

Lies of the Kremlin will not fool the Italian people. Our traditional friendship with Italy will not only be maintained, but further strengthened through the untiring and effective efforts of Ambassador Luce.

Italians are great judges of people. They know instinctively a friend—they are quick to spot a potential foe.

The Italian people are well aware that the Communists are interested only in furthering the cause of communism in Italy; that Ambassador Luce has at heart the interest of Italy and the well-being of its people.

[From the Bridgeport Post of March 30, 1954]

AFFAIRS IN ITALY

When Ambassador Bogomolov, Moscow's new envoy to Rome, revealed to friends that he regarded his first task on arriving in Italy would be "to send Clare Booth Luce back to America," he wasn't fooling. His first formal move in that direction was revealed a few days ago when a group of Communist deputies in the Italian Senate circulated a petition to have Mrs. Luce declared persona non grata. The adoption of any such resolution by the Italian Government would result automatically in Mrs. Luce's recall by her own country, such being the custom in international affairs.

Actually all this is highly flattering to Mrs. Luce, being confirmation from headquarters, so to speak, of the fact that Mrs. Luce is a most effective and convincing exponent of the American way of life as opposed to the Soviet idea. But we hardly needed to wait for the Russians to tell us that for the fact was being widely reported from various sources in Italy. The Italians appear to have taken Mrs. Luce to their heart

including some Italians who at first were a little offended—or pretended to be—at the idea of having a woman delegated as Ambassador to Rome.

Meantime, Mrs. Luce for her own part is reported to have taken the step of asking President Eisenhower to send Vice President NIXON on a good-will tour of Italy. It would be a most effective move and Mrs. Luce, with her background of experience in public relations, knows how the Italian people would appreciate the compliment.

Vice President NIXON is one of the most popular men in American public life and his agreeable personality is a great asset. Beyond that, of course, is the fact that he is second only to the President in the stature of his office, and the man most likely to be nominated for President next time, if Eisenhower does not care to run again.

His visit to Italy, under the circumstances, would be a double knockout—a knockout in the theatrical sense, achieved by that successful playwright, Clare Boothe Luce, and a knockout in the prize-ring sense, sustained by Bogomolov.

I Was the Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Hon. GORDON H. SCHERER, which appeared in the American Legion magazine for April 1954:

I WAS THE TARGET

(By GORDON H. SCHERER, Representative, First Congressional District, Ohio; member of House Committee on Un-American Activities)

When I was elected to Congress in November 1952, I was naturally thrilled by the responsibility of my post, by the dignity and prestige it presumably carried. A year later, I can only smile a bit wryly over that first reaction. I could not guess that soon after reaching Washington I would be reviled, ridiculed, and insulted from coast to coast.

I am not the only victim of this kind of abuse, of course. My fate is shared by all members of the several House and Senate committees investigating the ravages of the Communist conspiracy within our gates, even as it was the fate of our predecessors, beginning with the much maligned Texan, MARTIN DIES, 15 years ago. Legislators may probe garden variety crimes or scandals with relative impunity, but when they venture to tackle the Kremlin's little gremlins, they have need for strong nerves and tough hides.

In accepting a place on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, under Chairman HAROLD VELDE, I had neither misgivings nor forebodings. Our boys were dying under Communist fire in Korea. The mischief wrought by Soviet agents and spies was no longer a matter of generalized surmise—enough of it had been exposed in detail to alarm the American people. To help dislodge these internal enemies seemed to me a task any patriotic American could undertake proudly, earnestly, and with a clear conscience.

Alas for my innocence. I failed to foresee that in joining this committee I made myself at once a target for organized slander, regardless of how I might conduct myself. Before I had met all my colleagues on the committee, and before it had held its first meeting under the new Republican chairman, I was being plastered with sticky epithets by expert mud-gunners all over the country.

Old hands on the committee seemed remarkably calm under the onslaughts, at least outwardly. I would get used to it, they consoled me; besides, I had neither seen nor heard "nothin' yet." But KIT CLARDY and I, the two freshman members, were angry and bewildered. Ignorant of the higher liberal dialects, we could not at first figure out wherein we had sinned. But CLARDY, being smarter than I, came up with a key to the riddle.

"I get it, GORDON," he said; "you and I are guilty by association."

The passing months proved his point to the hilt. The mere fact of consenting to serve on a committee distasteful to Communists and their fellow-travelers, I discovered, made a Congressman a reprobate by definition. Not only their own slips and faults but the accumulated debits of all their predecessors would be held against them ruthlessly and forever, while their accomplishments would be slurred over or denied.

A lawyer by trade and in politics as an avocation, I had served two terms on the city council of my native Cincinnati. I had headed up the Republican committee in Robert Taft's home district in the critical 1950 senatorial campaign. Some years earlier I had been on the staff of the local prosecuting attorney's office. I mention this background only to suggest that I was not entirely unfamiliar with the rugged give and take of political life.

Not until I joined the struggle against red sedition, however, had anyone impugned my patriotism, honesty, and sheer human decency. Thereafter I had to accustom myself to being called—to my face, in print, and on the air—a witch-hunter and character assassin, an inquisitor, and fascist, to cite the more fashionable labels. I had become one of the group of congressional investigators being smeared in chorus as smearers of innocents and enemies of the Bill of Rights.

What is more, I had to learn to "take it" with a forced smile, frequently from gentry whom I knew from ample records at my disposal to be agents and stooges of the Moscow Kremlin. A year earlier I would not have thought myself capable of the patience and restraint in the face of vicious and unfair attacks in which I am now so well schooled.

The fact is that this committee, like others in Congress doing their plain duty of inquiring into Communist subversion of American life, have been pretty much intimidated by the continuous vilification. Its chairmen and members know from bitter experience that a large part of the press and the public would give insulting witnesses the benefit of every doubt as against the official interrogators.

In the interests of their vital job, therefore, they keep a tight rein on their tempers and give unruly witnesses far more leeway than any less battered and vulnerable committee would allow. They bend backward like acrobats to avoid giving a handle to criticism. For the most part they sit meekly under a barrage of invective and innuendo which would be unthinkable in any other kind of investigation or in the law courts.

Had I, as a young prosecutor, handled suspected pickpockets and dope peddlers as gingerly as Congressmen handle suspects in Communist skulduggery endangering the security of our Nation, I would have been fired for inefficiency.

No self-respecting justice of the peace would tolerate for a minute the sort of browbeating my colleagues and I have been subjected to for hours on end as members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Critics like to compare the committee's hearings—unfavorably, of course—with proceedings in ordinary courts. Yet any witness or lawyer who dared bait a judge as contemptuously as we are regularly baited from the witness box would quickly find himself in a comfortable jail.

The typical hostile witness summoned before this committee arrives with a battery of lawyers and a lot of chips on his shoulder. He brings a prepared statement—handed out in advance to reporters—assailing the honesty, competence, and sanity of the committee. It is couched in the most abusive language he can muster. Though talkative beyond control in denouncing the committee individually and collectively, he maintains a stoic silence on the things which happen to interest Congress and the Nation. Not infrequently it takes a bitter wrangle to extract even routine information on his birthplace or current employment.

As often as not, especially in sessions held outside of Washington, this obstreperous witness is backed by eager beaver comrades deployed through the audience. When we sat in New York last May, a reporter from the New York Herald Tribune gave a fair picture of this claque: "The group that laughed derisively during the testimony of the several 'friendly' witnesses, snickered at the faux pas of the committeemen, and roundly applauded the hostile witnesses."

The most flamboyant of these claques showed up before my time, in 1947, for the questioning of Hollywood people. A vivid summary of its shenanigans was recently provided by Morrie Ryskind, a movie writer who appeared as a friendly witness.

It was an occasion, he recalls, "when hundreds of movie stars, directors, producers, and writers formed the famous Committee for the First Amendment; contributed thousands of dollars to buy newspaper space and radio time to denounce the infamous inquisition of the House Un-American Activities Committee; and sent to Washington a galaxy-studded plane, containing at least a billion dollars' worth of movie flesh, to beard the legislators in their den.

"Led by Mr. and Mrs. Humphrey Bogart and reinforced at the Capital by Senators Claude Pepper and Glen Taylor, the cinema intellectuals marched en masse into a famous Washington hotel, threw a cocktail party for the press, posed for pictures, and thundered 'J'accuse' at the witch hunters. It was an awe-inspiring spectacle that rose to a fitting climax when the eminent authority on civil liberties, Mr. Danny Kaye, made an impassioned defense of the first amendment—which, it turned out, he had unfortunately confused with the 18th amendment. They tell me Mr. Kaye was never funnier." (Human Events, Aug. 26, 1953.)

This three-ring circus was then universally blamed upon our long-suffering congressional committee, not the gilded claque which staged it. Except for the scale, the techniques for frustrating investigations of communism have changed but little. After the 10 unfriendly movie witnesses went to prison for contempt of Congress, the 1st amendment was discreetly dropped in favor of the fifth, the one that contains the provision safeguarding witnesses against self-incrimination.

The American people should know that the House Committee on Un-American Activities does not summon people for questioning by drawing names out of a hat. In all but a few cases these men and women are known to the committee—on the basis of its own researches, reports by Government agencies, the testimony of others—as Communists or collaborators with Communists. Where doubt on this score is strong, they are heard in closed sessions. An open hearing is then held only after the evidence has been studied and found to justify one, or when the witness himself requests it.

Although executive hearings are designed primarily to shield the innocent, they have been decried as star-chamber proceedings. Public sessions, on the other hand, are decried no less shrilly as publicity stunts. It's a case of damned if you do and damned if you don't.

Let there be no mistake on one point: the number of genuine innocents called by the committee, certainly in the period of my incumbency, has been remarkably small. When compared with the innocents caught in the judicial process in normal criminal investigations, indeed, the percentage approaches zero. Besides, if investigators, whether in Congress or in a district attorney's office, could separate the innocent from the guilty with absolute certainty in advance, they would have no reason to investigate. The whole process of probing involves not only the identification of those who are culpable, but also the exoneration of those who are not.

The American people should also know that a witness before a congressional committee is not entitled in law to counsel. Nevertheless, committees looking into red infiltration and sedition permit a witness to have lawyers of his own choice sit beside him during the questioning. He is allowed to consult with his counsel before answering a question—something never allowed in courts of law. Moreover, many times we find a witness abusing this privilege by inquiring of his counsel whether or not he should answer the question at all.

On the whole, and I speak as a practicing lawyer, persons interrogated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities enjoy more rights and wider protections than they would in a courtroom. Judges, moreover, would never permit witnesses to invoke the fifth amendment to cover refusal to give information as often or as arbitrarily as do suspected Communists testifying to Congress. Those who profess to be opposed to the committee's methods are usually pulling the public's leg. In truth they are scared of the committee's objectives.

After a year of it, I can attest that Congressmen looking into the operations of Moscow's fifth columns here are more sinned against than sinning. Theirs is the real "ordeal by slander." I have seen plenty of "hysteria," but without exception the hysterics have been Communists and their sympathizers rather than Congressmen. Compared to committees probing conventional crimes and corruptions, ours is a paragon of fair play. Witnesses and their counsel, to put it bluntly, get away with more mischief calculated to hog-tie the proceedings and defeat the purposes of Congress. If Mr. VELDE or any of us treated witnesses as roughly as Senator KEFAUVER or the late Senator TOBEY did in their day on TV, we would reap abusive editorials rather than posies.

More than 15 years of expert propaganda against the committee has given the country a distorted picture of its work. The nonsense about "inquisitions" and "witch hunts" and "unfair methods" has been repeated so often and so vehemently that it has registered, as is the way with big lies. The stereotype of a bullying committee madly hunting innocents—created by those who have a vested interest in covering up past or present subversion—has been accepted uncritically by too many Americans who ought to know better.

If the public—and in particular more editorial writers, columnists, and commentators—could read the full transcripts of the hearings, there would be no need for this article. They would recognize the absurdity of that stereotype. The best I can do here is to pick a few morsels, almost at random, from the committee records of the last 2 years. To appreciate their full flavor, however, one must imagine the sound and sight effects—the sneers, the sarcastic taunts, the mocking gestures, the unfriendly audiences.

The sheer gall of some of the witnesses is breathtaking. Consider Ben Margolis, a Los Angeles lawyer, for example. He opened his sworn testimony with this wallop: "I wonder if you would permit the reading of a voluntary statement by a witness who has no intention of becoming one of your stool-pigeons." He worked up from this snide introduction. "If you stand on your knees before this committee," he explained at one point, "you can talk all you want; if you stand one your feet, you are shut up."

Though Mr. Margolis stood on his feet and stepped on our toes, he was not shut up—the committee tried and failed to dam the flood of his vituperation. Finally the exasperated chairman remarked that he was getting a little weary of this "contemptuous attitude." To which Mr. Margolis blandly responded: "I have nothing but contempt for this committee and I will show it as long as I am here."

Another witness at the same set of hearings also began the familiar baiting early. Asked to identify himself, he said sarcastically, "My name is Edwin Miller MAX. I would assume that you would know that much." Later he interrupted himself to remark, "I wish Mr. JACKSON [Representative from California] would stop leaning against the flag; it looks discourteous and it shows a lack of interest." After a lot more of this needling, a committee member suggested that Congress "is entitled to a show of, if not respect, at least common decency and common courtesy." "Under penalty of what?" the belligerent Max shot back, adding that he showed courtesy enough by not leaving the room while testifying.

PAT KEARNEY and I sat as a subcommittee in Albany, N. Y. A State employee, David Rappaport, announced his "lack of esteem" for the committee and his belief "this is an outrageous proceeding." Evidently he did not consider it outrageous that his wife, along with others, was distributing a scurrilous pamphlet during the hearings, in which we were described as monsters who "would crush all those who disagree with them."

In Hollywood, with Mr. VELDE in the chair, screenwriter Edwin Huebsch took the stand wearing a large button inscribed "Fire VELDE," then informed another Congressman that he did not regard VELDE "qualified to conduct an impartial hearing."

In response to a simple request for his birthplace, an alleged Communist said, "Middletown, Conn.—one of the birthplaces of the Bill of Rights which this committee is trying to destroy." J. Allen Frankel, who had been identified as a Communist by three witnesses, treated the committee to a lecture equating their body with the Spanish Inquisition, the New England witch hunts of 1692, and Hitler in our own era.

A physician, Alexander E. Pennes, informed the Congressmen that they represented "the biggest hoax that has ever been perpetrated on the American people. * * * You want to destroy the American Constitution, and I am here to defend it." In Detroit a witness reprimanded the committee counsel, Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., for his pronunciation of the word "Negro." Mr. Tavenner tried hard to pronounce it more suitably for the witness, but couldn't quite make the grade and was again bawled out by him.

William B. Esterman, an attorney who had appeared for an array of Communists, called to the stand himself, began by objecting to the seating arrangements. Then he demanded a larger table. Asked whether he was aware of the testimony of another witness, he replied, "I have read a lot of your pornograhpic literature. * * *"

Not content with having invoked the Bill of Rights, Dr. Jacob S. Druckman also claimed the privilege of concealment as a doctor. His logic was at least unique: "I claim that there is an immunity of all citizens, and perhaps best known by the medical profession, from the virus and the poison and the evil intents that this committee wishes to foist and propagate into the minds of citizens. * * * As a member of the medical profession we have a very keen nose for the odor of disease." When Congressman DOYLE denied being diseased, Dr. Druckman wisecracked: "We found many patients with tuberculosis who have the same attitude."

Confronting one James Watts in the course of an inquiry into infiltration of labor unions, a committee member had the fortitude to express an opinion. "I haven't much confidence in your judgment on anything," Mr. Watts told him off. After which he went on to charge that every member of the committee was anti-Negro. At the same hearings witness, Paul Boatin, declared that a union man before this committee * * * doesn't have much of an opportunity. Followed this exchange:

"Question. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

"Mr. BOATIN. You are not going to trap me.

"Question. Trap you by asking if you are a member of the Communist Party?

"Mr. BOATIN. You want to restrict the freedom of speech."

Asked to identify his photograph and signature in connection with a dubious passport, William H. Glenn only deigned to say: "I am skeptical of this committee, the same as the previous witness. * * * You haven't been investigating lynching, the murder of the Negro people * * *." Had Mr. Glenn made certain false statements for the purpose of deceiving the State Department as to the use he was making of the passport? This netted another nonsequitur: "I think you are deceiving the American people by not investigating the lynching that has taken place and is taking place."

Libby Burke, a dancer, was being questioned about alleged contacts with certain atomic scientists. She reacted with a confused lecture on her rights. Said Congressman JACKSON, "If you object you have only to say you are not and never have been a Communist." "I don't want your bribery in that form," the lady replied, and resumed her tirade. "If I seem enraged, I am enraged," she paused to explain.

Jay Gorney, a Hollywood song writer, having refused to answer the vital questions, demanded permission to sing a song instead. The committee counsel remarked that this would be rather unusual. Oh, no, Gorney sneered, others have done so—"They have sung long songs—trained pigeons I call them. * * *And they have done quite a little singing."

A standard gambit of the balky witnesses is to smear previous witnesses of whom they disapprove, especially former Communists cooperating with the Government. Thus John Walcott Porter, asked if he were acquainted with a certain person, answered that he assumed counsel was referring to one of the stool pigeons or informers in the stable maintained by this committee. Coleman A. Young, in Detroit, took the same tack: "If your information comes from stool-pigeons and paid informers, you might have any kind of information." Grover Johnson, in Los Angeles, referring to his identification under oath as a Communist, laid down the law to Congress: "I refuse to affirm or deny the statement of anyone whom I consider a stool pigeon."

Faced with charges against him by former comrades, Paul Perlin self-righteously expressed "an abhorrence of stool-pigeons"; more explicitly: "Such people should be surrounded by contempt, hatred, and should die unlamented and be left to rot." Reproved by Mr. JACKSON, this witness sneered: "I doubt your veracity, with a capital doubt and a capital veracity." And for Mr. DOYLE

he had a special bouquet: "The very fact that you are hostile to me is one of the highest compliments that could be paid me."

This kind of thing could be quoted for hundreds of pages. The committee is subjected to brawling lectures, unresponsive and evasive answers, slurring asides, and sarcasm without limit. An actor well known for tough-guy roles surpassed himself in toughness to the committee members. Professors whose relations with traitorous activities are under examination drag in allusions to academic freedom. But all of them—actors, teachers, writers, trade unionists—clam up when the substance of the inquiry, their role in the Kremlin's fifth columns, is mentioned.

I have been impressed, in listening to recalcitrant witnesses and reading transcripts of earlier years, with the repetition of certain key words, slogans, arguments. The insults are standardized, the contempt is calculated. One after another these witnesses and sometimes their lawyers hurl the same muddy epithets. Physicians, questioned, all invoke the Hippocratic oath along with the fifth amendment. Educators all invoke academic freedom. Ministers with fellow-traveling records all cloak themselves with sanctimonious references to freedom of religion.

I cannot escape the conclusion that the strategy for frustrating and discrediting the committee derives from a single source—that somewhere there is a brain trust or high command. The patterns of conduct and even the phraseology are far too slickly standardized to be explained as coincidence.

But my real dismay is not with the Communists and their friends, engaged in protecting themselves and their cause. I have learned to bend under the storms of their invective, to discount their hysterical outbursts. What dismays me is the fact that a large portion of the public swallows their Communist distortions and blandly echoes the Red billingsgate.

Having sat for weeks and months at the target end of systematic defamation, it is ironical and disheartening to read editorials and hear radio spells accusing us of "badgering" witnesses and using "unfair methods." In too many cases the balky Communists are treated as heroes bravely "defying" a lot of villainous Congressmen. Consider the feelings of our committee members, after having been roundly insulted by some fifth-amendment character, when they confront headlines slanted in the character's favor.

The hearings held with benefit of television, of course, have operated to undo some of the mischief. No unprejudiced viewer could fail to contrast the restraint of the committee under the most trying circumstances with the conduct of "unfriendly" witnesses. Indeed, the committee has received numerous letters from citizens complaining that we are too meek and too tender with the self-evident Communists. But since we believe in the American system of fair play, we prefer to err in that direction.

Paul Shipman Andrews, an attorney who represented a hostile witness, had the good grace to declare at the end of the hearing: "I have been deeply impressed with the fairness shown by this committee in its entire action here; and my client has repeatedly stated to me in private conference, that he, too, was deeply impressed with the same thing." But Mr. Andrews, unhappily, is the exception.

At least one sympathetic journalist, Eugene Lyons, touched my heart with a published plea for "a wee bit of understanding and fellow-feeling for the investigators." Members of the congressional committees exploring the Communist conspiracy, being human, make mistakes. But they are in an enterprise of the highest importance to the country, in accordance with the duty imposed upon them by the entire Congress.

As Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, recently stated: "How many espionage agents, how many subversive Government employees, might still be engaged in their nefarious work had it not been for Senate and House committees courageously flushing these enemies out from the darkness so necessary to the enemies' success."

The one certainty, in commonsense, is that the nefarious work of the enemies goes on, that for every spy ring broken up, a few remain, that for every concealed Kremlin creature exposed, dozens or scores remain to be exposed. The need is not for know-nothing abuse of the investigating committees but for greater public understanding of their difficult and often painful job.

Surpluses and Storage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on March 25, 1954, entitled "Surpluses and Storage," by Josephine Ripley:

SURPLUSES AND STORAGE

(By Josephine Ripley)

WASHINGTON.—The administration's farm problem centers on two immediate and urgent questions:

What to do with the enormous grain surpluses already in hand? And where to store the new crops coming in?

Until some of the present stocks are moved out, there is comparatively little storage space for new harvests, which in prospect look bigger than ever.

The problem of storage is one of the most serious on the whole farm front at the moment. With no place to store incoming crops, they become ineligible for price support. Under such conditions the farmer has little choice but to market his crop for whatever it will bring.

Any general dumping of surpluses in this way would break the price and probably break the whole price support system with it.

It would make little difference, in that event, what kind of price-support system the Government happened to have, flexible or rigid. With crops flowing, uncontrolled, into the market, there could be no guaranty of any stated price-support level.

Something of this kind is already happening. The market price of a number of crops is even now less than the guaranteed 90 percent of parity,-and has been for some months. The only way in which the Government could make good on such a guaranty would be to keep every bushel of surplus grain off the market. Since farmers are free to market their own grain, if they wish to sell it at the current market price, and since some are unable to find the necessary storage to qualify for a price-support loan, there is always some overflow into the general market and some price fluctuation.

This year the storage situation appears more critical than ever. Bins are already stuffed to capacity in many parts of the country with the crops of other years.

Authorities anticipate a shortage that will leave some 150 million to 250 million bushels of grain with no place to go but to market.

This prospect has stimulated a determined Government drive for the building of more storage facilities. Generous loans for storage building are being made available to farmers. The Government is ready to pay storage fees to the farmer for any Government grain stored on his land. Special tax amortization incentives also are offered on such building projects.

Commercial storage houses are being encouraged to expand capacity through Government guaranties of a certain stated amount of storage. The Commodity Credit Corporation—the Government agency which takes over and stores the price-supported grains which it will soon be receiving from farmers—has just now bought additional storage space for 100 million bushels more.

Under these conditions, it is hardly good news to the Government that this year's crop looks like the biggest ever. This year's supplies of feed, food, and oilseed crops will be some 300 million to 500 million bushels larger than last year, as agricultural authorities figure, even with the 25 million acres taken out of corn, wheat, and cotton combined. This acreage reduction was imposed as a prerequisite for continued high support rates.

The explanation lies in the fact that acres taken out of these crops are being planted to other grains, particularly barley and oats which rate price support at 80 percent of parity. Thus, while farmers will be growing less of some price-supported grains, they will be growing more of others. And it all has to be stored.

The situation could change radically, however, in the event of any widespread crop failures or a general worsening of the drought situation. Also, the crop estimates so far are necessarily only mathematical. "Much depends on the weather, of course," the agricultural experts said, "but with average yields on the acres farmers are expected to plant, we must be prepared for total supplies well above those of last year."

Naturally, the whole problem would be largely solved if some method for disposing of present surpluses could be found. Actually, it is probably the only real answer. This would not only clear out storage bins so badly needed for new crops, but would put the price-support program back on a normal, operative basis.

The President's proposal to count the present surpluses, or a major part of them, out of crop and price-support calculations, in order to get the support program back in balance, is but a temporary expedient. Some method of really disposing of them must be found. With these heavy surpluses moved out of the way, the farm problem would be nearer solution.

Let's Listen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following column of Victor Riesel, which appeared in the Washington Post-Times-Herald of March 30, 1954, is deserving of our attention:

INSIDE LABOR

(By Victor Riesel)

CLOAK AND DAGGER

Two men have been making the rounds of the FBI, congressional investigating committees and even the White House, under a cloak of what they hoped would be secrecy, in an effort to sink a dagger into one of the most effective anti-Communist operations ever launched across the globe.

These men are so highly placed that they could, at least for a while, get to the topmost security officials in the land, and even to President Eisenhower.

They sought an investigation of the AFL's free trade union committee, which is guided by AFL President George Meany, AFL Vice Presidents Matt Woll and Dave Dubinsky, and a husky, blond legendary figure by the name of Jay Lovestone.

Since some Congressmen are considering such a probe, I want to put on record—out of firsthand knowledge—the fact that this AFL committee has helped deliver arms to our allies. It has saved the lives of American boys. It has fought the Communist oriental opium rings. It has checkmated the Soviet's worldwide labor network.

It has been the only force fighting neutralism inside labor the world over—especially in Asia. One of its men, with whom I've worked closely, traveled deep into the wilds of India and the jungles of Indonesia to make friends for capitalist America, and deneutralize some Socialists and partisan Communists. There he contracted an Asiatic disease which cannot be diagnosed. Though one of the great masters of music and its history, this man has given up all, including his health, to fight for his land. And for less than a good United States stenographer's salary. His name is Harry Goldberg. I pay public tribute to him now.

In Rome last summer I literally had to shanghai Harry to the beach for relaxation, so constantly was he working on the Sarragat Socialists in an effort to swing them into supporting a pro-United States Cabinet. Goldberg, living in constant danger of Communist assault, met 11 times in 1 week with Sarragat's party to win support for Prime Minister Sceiba, the friend of the United States.

A colleague of Goldberg, a fighting Irishman by the name of Dick Deverall, is stationed by the AFL's international committee in Tokyo. I have seen copies if the pamphlets his office is smuggling into the Sovietized Chinese mainland. Printed, of course, in Chinese on onionskin paper, one is labeled "Stalin versus Sun Yat-sen, the Truth About Life in Communist China." On the flap is the legend: "Published by the Free Trade Union Committee, AFL."

The AFL also has its people in Guatemala. The Federation's Latin American expert, Serafino Romualdi, was the first to warn of Soviet infiltration there. Through this column and through the International Free Trade Union News, Romualdi revealed years ago that the Communists were seizing control of labor in the Caribbean.

I've seen the AFL representatives work in France and in Germany, where they supplied such items as paper and typewriters to anti-Communist unionists to match the huge supplies of the sovieteering labor organizations. I could run through land after land showing how the AFL committee is fighting all totalitarianism. Even Tito's—to the point where Tito and his commissars went out of their way recently to denounce the AFL, in general, and Jay Lovestone, in particular.

The total boys hate Lovestone, the AFL committee's secretary. Some 25 years ago Jay Lovestone spat in the eye of Joe Stalin and has fought him ever since. The point of the proposed investigations now being sought in Washington is to disclose that Lovestone led the United States Communists in the 1920's. He did. He broke. He fought. Under his direction, the AFL free trade union committee has been helpful to every Government agency concerned with the security of the United States.

On September 30, 1939, Lovestone wrote:

"Time and again we have pointed out that the various Communist parties of the world are not political parties in the sense one speaks of such organizations in Western Europe and America.

"For some time we have stressed that the Communist parties have become mere agencies of the Russian foreign affairs department and the GPU. We have repeatedly underscored that, without exception, all sections of the Communist International have become, like the Russian Communist Party, police parties."

Lovestone then added, "After years of membership in such an organization, the individual mind becomes warped, the duespayer becomes politically sterile * * *." Then Lovestone added, "Today the Stalin parties are no longer merely agencies of the Russian Foreign Office," but are military weapons of the Russians and Nazis.

That was 14 years ago. Not enough people listened. Let's listen now.

Eisenhower Halts Further Cuts in Life Insurance Values

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 4, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious penalties of deficit financing by the Federal Government is pointed out in a recent statement published by the Life Insurance Policyholders Protective Association.

This release calls the attention of the 88 million life-insurance policyholders in the United States to the fact that inflation, caused by Government deficits, has robbed them of one-half of the purchasing value of their life insurance and savings.

It adds the warning that opponents of President Eisenhower's tax bill now propose more Government deficits, which will cause more inflation and a still further cut in the value of life insurance.

The full statement follows:

Inflation, caused by Government deficits, has robbed you of one-half the purchasing value of your life insurance and savings. Opponents of President Eisenhower's tax bill now propose more Government deficits, which will cause more inflation and a still further cut in the value of your life insurance.

These opponents claim that the bill favors the rich at the expense of the poor. This is false—utterly false. It is political bunkum issued for political purposes because this is an election year.

THE EISENHOWER TAX BILL

The Eisenhower tax bill increases corporation tax rates from 47 percent to 52 percent, which raises an additional revenue of $1,200 million. About one-half of this additional revenue is used to reduce personal income taxes—and this reduction is largely for persons with a monthly income of less than $400. It gives higher exemptions for such things as dependent children, working mothers, medical expenses, interest on installment purchases, and a tax deduction of up to $20 per month for elderly retired workers.

The bill also exempts the first $50 of corporation dividends from personal income taxes, plus a tax deduction of 5 percent of the amount of dividends over $50 which a taxpayer receives. Although this is only about a $10 to $25 tax saving for most taxpayers, in the aggregate it is important because of the many millions of shareholders in America's large and small corporations. For example, the telephone company alone has nearly 1,800,000 individual shareholders.

NEW ENTERPRISES CREATE NEW JOBS

However, the most important effect of this provision is that it will encourage investment in new enterprises and thus create new jobs. This character of risk investment is now almost nonexistent.

In addition to facing the normal risk that the new business may lose money and thus endanger his investment, an investor must now consider the fact that even if the business prospers, the present system of double taxation on both corporation profits and corporation dividends may take as much as 95 percent of the profits, thus leaving practically nothing for the investor.

Consequently, investors are refusing to put money into new enterprises. Instead they—particularly the large investors—are purchasing State and municipal bonds which gives them an assured income entirely free from Federal, State, and local taxes.

But our population is steadily increasing. It is estimated that 6 million new jobs must be created by 1960 to keep our population employed. Since a new business requires an average investment of about $12,000 for every worker who will be employed, we are headed straight for widespread unemployment and depression unless we do something to encourage investment in private enterprise.

FURTHER DEPRECIATION IN THE VALUE OF THE AMERICAN DOLLAR

As against the sound and equitable provisions of the Eisenhower tax bill, what do its opponents propose? They propose that the Eisenhower partial relief for the double taxation of corporation dividends be entirely eliminated, and in its place the exemption in personal income taxes be increased from its present $600 to $700. This would mean an annual revenue loss of $2,500 million.

Although the Eisenhower administration has slashed Government spending, it has likewise cut personal and consumer taxes in two other Eisenhower tax bills. One bill reduced personal income taxes by 10 percent, which resulted in a loss of $3,000 million in Government revenue. The other bill reduces excise, or consumer sales, taxes by $950 million.

A further loss in revenue of $2,500 million—by the suggested $100 increase in personal exemptions—would force the Government into colossal deficit financing or borrowing—with corresponding inflation and a corresponding reduction in the purchasing value of the American dollar.

To the extent that taxpayers might make a tax saving, it would be offset by higher living costs, and beneficiaries of their life insurance (their wives and children) would likewise suffer through a further cut in the purchasing value of their life insurance.

What About the Farmer and the Farm Surpluses?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, the 17 counties and more than 400,000 people in southwest Missouri, which I have the honor to represent, is one of the greatest dairy and poultry districts in the United States.

Without boasting, my district will compare most favorably with the best dairy districts in Minnesota, Wisconsin, New York, Vermont, or any other dairy State. Milk is pretty much our life blood.

During the past month I have received many letters from farmers all over my district, whose problem has been aggravated not only by an unprecedented and devastating drought, but also by the order of the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Benson, to cut parity payments on dairy products from 90 to 75 percent.

Naturally, all of us, regardless of politics, want to do the thing that is best for not only our dairy farmers, but all the American people.

If we are to have peace, we cannot maintain prices based upon a wartime economy. Certainly we should stop the spilling of American blood and further deficit financing, adding to the national debt, and continuing the vicious spiral of inflation. All of us want to restore the purchasing power of the dollar, to establish a balanced budget, and reduce the onerous burden of taxation.

This sacrifice or willingness to cooperate should not be cut out of the hides of our farmers. Agriculture is the basic industry of this Nation, and there cannot be a sound or permanent prosperity unless the farmer is prosperous.

For the several past months, and especially during this month of March, I have received many letters from my constituents. They are willing to make a reasonable adjustment and contribute their just share to a sound and stable economy.

Obviously, it is unwise, unjust, and unsound to reduce parity payments to the farmers for the things he sells, unless we likewise reduce the costs of implements and goods he is forced to buy. There would be no objection to reducing parity payments for the raw products of the farm, if we at the same time reduce the costs of the finished manufactured products which the farmer must purchase from the factory.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, if we are to have a reduction in parity payments for perishable products, like dairy and poultry products, this reduction should be a gradual and not a radical one.

There is little that I or any other Member of Congress can do to change the executive order of the Secretary of Agriculture—perfectly legal—but we can and should enact a farm program that will reduce, if necessary, parity payment by not more than 5 percent in any 1 marketing year. In other words, if there must be a reduction in parity payments for some farm products, it should be not from 90 percent to 75 percent, but from 90 percent to not less than 85 percent. At the same time, the Congress should see to it that wages of all our workers are not increased, but should be reduced proportionately. The workers on the farm, in our factories, and in our Government should be treated fairly and equally. No one class should receive preferential treatment, and it should be made clear and unmistakable that the workers in Government and industry cannot be sustained without a sound, stable, and progressive agriculture.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on Thursday, March 25, 1954.

This article, by Josephine Ripley, gives a rather clear picture of a most difficult problem, and I would like to hear the reaction of all people who read it. So many of my own constituents have written me about this knotty problem that I cannot answer them individually, but I am glad to take advantage of this opportunity to answer their correspondence and to seek further information and enlightenment upon one of the most perplexing problems which now confronts the American people.

The article follows:

WHAT ABOUT THE FARMER AND THE FARM SURPLUSES?

(By Josephine Ripley)

WASHINGTON.—Key to the Nation's troublesome farm problem lies in salesmanship.

This salesmanship is needed, first, in disposing of the present oppressive farm surpluses and, second, in opening up new and broader markets both at home and abroad for the country's expanded farm output.

On this one point of salesmanship, at least, there seems to be general agreement despite the stormy controversy over the issue of price support.

For unless the administration is able to unload the present record-breaking, price-breaking farm surpluses now overflowing into ships, airplane hangars, horse barns, tool sheds, hen houses, and other emergency storage facilities, no support program of any kind can be expected to work effectively.

Nor is it possible to bypass these surpluses indefinitely by sealing them off in a frozen reserve, as the administration proposes.

As long as they exist, these enormous stores of farm commodities constitute a threat to the market and tend to depress prices. After all, they are still there.

Salesmen are already on the job. Trade missions overseas are aggressively seeking out new markets and new methods of disposing of these surpluses in connection with American overseas programs.

STOCKS MOVED OUT

The administration is pushing ahead with plans for moving stocks out of storage into markets at home.

Second to the necessity for disposing of these mountainous surpluses is the need to check the rapidly rising costs of the price-support program.

If Congress doesn't act to do it, taxpayers may eventually demand it, in the opinion of administration leaders.

Costs are soaring at what is regarded as an alarming rate. Congress has been asked to boost the borrowing authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation to $8,500,000,000—an alltime high—to cover this year's commitments.

That is nearly twice the sum allocated for the program 4 years ago. And even now may not be sufficient if this year brings another avalanche of crop surpluses, Congress is warned.

Since these rising costs are due to the Government purchase of surplus production over the past 2 years, the problem of cost control would seem to depend to a large extent on what can be done to prevent the accumulation of such overwhelming surpluses.

All seem agreed that the ideal and eventual solution is the development of wider markets to absorb them. On the question of immediate steps, however, there are two widely divided schools of thought.

The administration's proposal is to shift from high, fixed supports at a set 90 percent of parity to a support system which could be adjusted between 75 and 90 percent of parity. This, it is said, would remove some of the incentive for overproduction.

HIGH SUPPORTS DEFENDED

Opponents protest that any change in the price-support level would endanger the farm economy, and that high price supports are more necessary to the farmer than ever in this emergency.

The administration, on the other hand, sees no safety for the farmer in continuation of a support system which is already breaking under the strain of the surplus it is helping to create.

These mountainous surpluses are even now enforcing the very "flexibility" in price supports which is so bitterly fought by opponents of the administration's program.

Few of the commodities guaranteed 90 percent of parity in the law are actually selling at that figure in the market.

Wheat has been fluctuating for months between 77 and 83 percent of parity, corn has been ranging from 76 to 70 percent of parity, cotton has been down in recent months to 87 and 89 percent of parity, and dairy products have been selling at around 87 percent of parity.

Yet the Government has invested nearly $7 billion in price-support operations.

Failure to hold the price line is due mainly to lack of sufficient storage facilities. When surplus grain cannot be stored it becomes ineligible for price support, goes into the market, and depresses prices.

The storage problem is acute. It may be even more critical next year. Without adequate storage facilities surpluses overflow into the market. Should 1954 bring another tidal crop wave, the already weakened price-support structure would be seriously threatened. Under extreme conditions it might collapse entirely.

Yet overproduction continues under the impetus of a price-support system which is encouraging the very emergency which threatens to engulf it.

The Government now owns nearly half a million bushels of surplus wheat, with another 549,000,000 bushels (an alltime record) now under price support—enough to make 260 loaves of bread for every person in the country.

It has in hand and under loan more than 8 million bales of cotton—enough per person to make 22 shirts or 18 house dresses.

It has enough corn—400 million bushels in hand and another 300 million under loan—to provide each family of four with pork and pork products for more than 4 months.

It owns 522 million pounds of dried milk, or the equivalent of 2,088,000,000 quarts—enough to provide every American with nearly 13 quarts.

It has enough surplus butter on hand to give each family 10½ weeks' supply, enough cheese to last that same family for 11 weeks, and enough vegetable oils to furnish its equivalent in margarine for 10 months.

This not only represents a tremendous investment in these surpluses, but a storage cost of half a million dollars a day.

COSTS OF PROGRAM ESTIMATED

There is much confusion over price-support costs. From 1932 to 1953 direct price support has cost the country $1,110,000,000, or about $50 million a year.

This is considered by many farm economists as a comparatively small cost for the stabilization of the farm economy from the depth of its depression days to the present.

That cost figure is challenged frequently, however, by those who state that the cost of price support should also include other types of price support, such as the subsidies under the International Wheat Agreement,

the Sugar Act, crop insurance, acreage-allotment payments, etc.

That total, including the additional programs, comes to $7,510,400,000 over the 21-year span.

Still another figure frequently brought into the picture is that of $16,214,700,000. This represents the total cost of the overall farm program, and includes all types of price support, plus the cost of soil conservation, rural electrification programs, research and marketing services, special wartime programs, and all the varied services for agriculture which correspond to the similar services for business and industry within the Department of Commerce.

But, generally speaking, the cost of farm price support is related to the first figure.

The whole price-support program is now being subjected to misinterpretation and misunderstanding by reason of its increasing costliness.

This is causing great concern among farm leaders within the administration and in Congress, where the issue is not over price support itself but simply over the system under which it should be operated.

Price support is considered as the farmer's minimum wage, his unemployment insurance. It is to him what import tariffs are to American business—a price protection. It corresponds to the various Government subsidies which are afforded certain types of essential services.

FARMER'S WELL-BEING VITAL

No production in the country is considered more important to the well-being and economic strength of the Nation than that of the farm. Should farm production fail for any reason, or be cut off, the country would be on the brink of starvation within a very short time, in the opinion of agricultural authorities.

It was food, along with weapons, which helped to win the war. Today's overproduction goes back to that time. It was then that farm production was stepped up to wartime dimensions at the request of the Government. Price supports were hiked to a fixed 90 percent of parity to furnish the added production incentive. Similar incentives were held out to industry.

So that farmers would not be caught suddenly at the war's end with price-breaking surpluses, it was provided that the high, fixed rate of support would extend 2 years beyond that date, giving farmers time for the necessary production adjustments.

The expected postwar surpluses did not develop. Instead, demand for farm products increased, if anything. With Europe on the brink of starvation, every bushel of grain that could be spared was rushed overseas.

Under these conditions Congress extended the high-parity incentives. Later, when surpluses finally began to appear, the Korean war broke out and the high support rate was again extended.

It is due to terminate at the end of this year, when a system of flexible price supports, varying from 75 to 90 percent, is due to become effective under the law, unless Congress moves to perpetuate the 90 percent scale.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson, official "babysitter" for these Humpty Dumpty surpluses, says it is time that wartime production incentives were withdrawn.

President Eisenhower has placed before Congress a program designed to accomplish the needed readjustment which corresponds, in its way, to the inventory adjustments now being made all along the line as demand once more assumes more normal peacetime dimensions.

Unfortunately, this adjustment comes at a time when farm income is on the decline, and when farm issues are bound to be confused by the imminence of a congressional election.

Farmers, heavily hit in the pocketbook by the rising cost of farm operation, have taken billion-dollar cuts in income for the past 2 years. Their income last year, in terms of purchasing power, was lower than in any year since 1940.

It has skidded down from the all-time postwar high of $16,744,000,000 in 1927 to $12,800,000,000, or an average of $882 a person. This compares with nonfarm income of $1,898 a person and represents a drop on $23 from 1952 for the farmer, an increase of $56 for the city dweller.

Farmers themselves, many of them at least, realize that some change has to be made eventually. They are uneasy over the problem of surpluses, yet apprehensive of any sudden shift in the price-support system.

"Do it gradually," is their plea. The President's program embodies that gradualism.

It would cushion the effect of price-support adjustments by drawing off the major part of the present surpluses in a $2,500,000,000 frozen reserve. This would eliminate these surpluses from price-support computations and justify support rates on the following year's crop not far from present levels.

The President also proposes a shift to the modernized parity formula for all crops. It is now applied only to some.

In proposing that the new formula apply to all crops, the President would put the effective date forward to 1956 and ease it into operation thereafter, with no more than a 5-percent parity change to be made in any one year.

FLEXIBLE SUPPORTS ENDORSED

But the issue on which the farm program will be fought is that of supports. Farm organizations are ranged in opinion from one extreme to the other.

The American Farm Bureau Federation backs the administration's program wholeheartedly. The National Farmer's Union opposes any change in the present system of high, fixed supports. The National Grange takes a sort of middle ground, going along with the major part of the administration's plan, but urging gradualism in any approach, and proposing that wheat and cotton be handled on a two-price system.

Both Democrats and Republicans have endorsed flexible price supports in the past. Former President Truman in 1948 told Congress that "many shifts in production will have to be made, and flexible price supports will help us to make them in an orderly manner."

Congress embodied them in the long-range farm legislation framed in 1948–49, even though superimposing the high support rate temporarily.

The decision now before the legislators is a crucial one affecting not only farmers but to some extent the whole country.

Any serious farm recession, due either to a continuation of or change from the present system of price support would have an effect on national security, with possible repercussions throughout the free world where American economic strength is a stabilizing factor and a bulwark against communism.

Ideals and Goals of Citizenship Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 5, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the incidence of voting in Presidential and congressional elections, active participation in our representative Government at the local, State, and Federal levels, awareness of current issues and devotion to the traditional American principles of free institutions are nowadays often evidences of the success or failure of the education of our youth to undertake the responsibilities of citizenship. Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, the destinguished president of Brooklyn College, has delivered a provocative and erudite address on the principles underlying American education for citizenship which is appended hereto as of interest to every Member:

IDEALS AND GOALS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

(By Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College)

A social history of the United States during the past 50 years could be written by tracing the development through that period of the replies made to the question: What are the goals of citizenship education? If there is anything certain today about the eventual centennial meeting of this organization, it is that the answer to the same question will still be eagerly sought 50 years from now in the perspective of the speed of social change that can be confidently expected to result from the predictable impact of science and technology.

It is easy to demonstrate the folly of a good deal of contemporary diagnosis and prescription. To teach our students a mass of descriptive information about contemporary social and economic problems is to overlook the certainty that the details will be obsolete with the disposal of this year's agenda of the local legislature or of the next world diplomatic conference called to develop an institutional framework for the settlement of emerging social and political problems. On the other hand, to attempt to develop "better" citizenship by teaching "more" American history is to overlook the established fact that New York City, which has had a worse case of Communist infiltration than any other American community, also had a more rigorous high-school requirement of "American history." There is no doubt that the quality of the addresses delivered on Lincoln's (and Jefferson's) birthday would be improved considerably if the orators had an approximately correct idea of Lincoln's part in strengthening the economic role of the Federal Government and of Jefferson's deep conviction that freedom is anchored in dispersed controls, but what—as a current example of the type of citizenship that gives the theme of our fiftieth anniversary meeting a special urgency—is the relationship between vandalism in our schools or parks and the academic information about American history that has been absorbed by the youngsters who are engaged in such juvenile delinquency?

The core of our questions about the quality of citizenship is not found in the presence or absence of information—either about current or about historical questions. The chief problem of citizenship in the United States—and in other free countries—is rooted in our loss of the sense of values, and of the related qualitative priorities in individual and community objectives through the confusion of political means with social ends—and this holds for American editorial writers who confuse the quality of citizenship with the rising or declining percentage of voters who participate in elections, and it holds for collectivists—deep red or pale pink—who confuse the welfare of the state with the well-being of the community. Clearly, a citizen who votes may exactly represent the type of "give-me" participation of the selfish pressure groups, which lacks all of the essential qualities of good citizenship rooted in the sharing of responsibilities, and even a superficial study of the interrelated problem of means and ends will serve to make it clear that a Stalinist's means are precisely the methods through which human beings are unfitted to the ends (values) which the Communist society is presumably designed to achieve.

If the purpose of good and intelligent citizenship is to evoke—and not to discourage—a spirit of sharing responsibilities, then clearly a good deal of present educational and public discussion is concerned with symptoms and not with causes. Perhaps we can draw the real question into focus more sharply if we restate our question, What are the goals of citizenship education? more directly as follows: How can education make men and women more fit for the responsibilities of free and democratic society?

In this formulation we can direct ourselves to a number of specific questions: What is free society? What is democratic society? Is "free" just a synonym for "democratic"—or is there, at least in the American tradition, an area of overlapping and an area of possible conflict? What does "fit" mean in this context? And what is the role of formal education when contrasted with all other formative—that is to say, educative—influences which, in the form of family, church, press, television, and advertising, all contribute to the total education of our youth?

Some of these questions are concerned with the intellectual content of our education in the formal, narrow sense of the term, and others are related to values, habits and attitudes which are to a large extent determined—for better or for worse—by the total formative influence of our society, or education in the larger sense.

What do we teach about "freedom"? In my experience I seem to find a tendency to use the words, "free" and "democratic," almost interchangeably—as if they were synonyms—and there seems also to be some decline in the frequency of the use of "freedom" and a corresponding temptation to teach that there is no problem of a democratic society that "cannot be cured by more democracy." Is this true to the peculiar tradition of our American form of free society? Wasn't the American Constitution deliberately amended through the Bill of Rights because we desired to make it clear that there was a possible conflict between "freedom" and "democracy," and that there was a strategic group of rights in the definition of which we would not accept majority opinion and on which Congress—in the words of the first amendment—"shall make no law"? Is not the possible abuse of majoritarian democracy precisely the reason why Thomas Jefferson rejected its extension to every aspect of the commonwealth as "democratic despotism"?

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The weakness of the exclusively economic view of freedom is best illustrated by a glance at our difficulties in selling the American way to such a country as modern India. When we diagnose the needs of India, we speak of her need for free markets, capital investment, industrialization, higher material productivity—and we take the moral presuppositions of such a prescription for granted. From the standpoint of millions of Indians, the moral presuppositions are the real problem. If you believe in the spiritual virtue of material and physical renunciation—and specifically if you believe in accordance with the teachings of the Hindu classic, the Bhagavad Gita, that freedom is the absence of desire, then the whole philosophy of recasting Indian motivation on the model of the psychological assumptions of a modern American advertising agency will appear to be directly subversive of a classical Indian conception of freedom itself. To the traditional Hindu view a reduction of material wants will make all the concern about free markets, industrialization, and even sanitation, essentially irrelevant busy work which restricts freedom because it limits the higher range of choice which is the spiritual core of his deepest faith.

It is not necessary to accept the view that freedom is the absence of desire to recognize that our frequently one-sided advocacy of an exclusively economic view of freedom weakens us in our competition with the Soviets for the soul of Asia. The Russians, too, speak of the good things of life. They bring science and technology, and they advocate industrialization. But they do not challenge the basic traditional moral views while they conceal their philosophical materialism in a floodtide of invective about the hypocritical spiritual pretense of bourgeois society. In these matters we would strengthen ourselves—at home and abroad—if we refreshed our memory concerning the role that renunciation of material wants has played as a part of the American tradition of freedom. If a free society is characterized by the presence of responsible choice—and this is perhaps the best short definition of our traditional view—this choice includes the opinion exercised by, say Henry David Thoreau, who contributed some of the best pages on freedom written on this continent. You may remember the famous story about his invention of an improved type of graphite with which he could make pencils more quickly—and more cheaply. His friends said, "You are going to be wealthy." But Thoreau replied that he would be able to devote fewer hours to earning his living—and that this would leave more time for important things. It was a typical Thoreau conclusion, and citizens who make the Thoreau choice are not in any sense of the term subversive of free society but they rather strengthen its fiber by enriching our perspective as to the dominant economism.

Freedom is not a byproduct of the conveyor belt and the advertising business. A society characterized by the presence of choice is rooted in a moral theory of the nature of man of which some of our present economic institutions are themselves byproducts, although—as the history of freedom makes abundantly clear—they were not essential to the birth of freedom and they are not essential conditions for its preservation or its growth. Materialism—whether philosophically explicit or implicit—is poison to a free society, and the fact that we are aware of its role in Soviet ideology or propaganda does not diminish our responsibility to define it properly in its American version. Purely economic views of the nature of man on the part of some of our conservatives can be as subversive of freedom as the optimistic theories about the nature of man advocated—or implicitly assumed—by some of our liberals. And good citizenship education in a free society should give a high priority to the clarification of these crucial philosophic issues.

Apart from the clarification of the philosophical presuppositions of a free society, how shall we define men and women fit for the responsibilities of free democratic society? Here I can only suggest the direction of our interest—and I wish to stress primarily the aspects which we in our profession are least likely to assess at their appropriate value. There is likely to be wide appreciation of the dangers to freedom—and to democracy—that are implicit in a strong conformitarian tendency in current patriotism, and of the related weakness of a parochial type of patriotism that is reluctant to accept the political implications of the new science and technology that have worldwide implications for the stability of all political and social institutions. A teacher of the social studies is less likely to stress the conformitarian implications of some aspects of contemporary society that are usually regarded by liberals as unqualified assets. But the drive for democracy, for equality, and for the higher standards of living that are implicit in the advancing command of nature that we owe to the physical sciences, are all forces that press toward conformity if appropriately designed institutional safeguards are not introduced to protect the basic liberal interest in individuality and in diversity of opinion.

John Stuart Mill, whose essay, On Liberty, is rarely quoted in this context, has proved to be prophetic as to some of the strongest current forces that tend to restrict freedom and that are themselves a logical outgrowth of aspects of free society of which liberals are customarily unqualified admirers. In speaking of the necessary conditions of human development, he emphasizes—following Wilhelm von Humboldt—two essential conditions: Freedom and a variety of situations. Speaking of the latter, he says (in 1859):

"The second of these two conditions is in this country every day diminishing. The circumstances which surround different classes and individuals, and shape their characters, are daily becoming more assimilated. Formerly, different ranks, different neighborhoods, different trades and professions, lived in what might be called different worlds; at present to a great degree in the same. Comparatively speaking, they now read the same things, listen to the same things, see the same things, go to the same places, have their hopes and fears directed to the same objects, have the same rights and liberties, and the same means of asserting them. Great as are the differences of position which remain, they are nothing to those which have ceased. And the assimilation is still proceeding. All the political changes of the age promote it, since they all tend to raise the low and to lower the high. Every extension of education promotes it, because education brings people under common influences, and gives them access to the general stock of facts and sentiments. Improvements in the means of communication promote it, by bringing the inhabitants of distant places into personal contact, and keeping up a rapid flow of changes of residence between one place and another. The increase of commerce and manufactures promotes it, by diffusing more widely the advantages of easy circumstances, and opening all objects of ambition, even the highest, to general competition, whereby the desire of rising becomes no longer the character of a particular class, but of all classes. A more powerful agency than even all these, in bringing about a general similarity among mankind, is the complete establishment, in this and other free countries, of the ascendancy of public opinion in the state. As the various social eminences which enabled persons entrenched on them to disregard the opinion of the multitude, gradually become leveled, as the very idea of resisting the will of the public, when it is positively known that they have a will, disappears more and more from the minds of practical politicians, there ceases to be any social support for nonconformity—any substantive power in society, which, itself opposed to the ascendancy of numbers, is interested in taking under its protection opinions and tendencies at variance with those of the public."

Here John Stuart Mill is already—and, in my judgment, correctly—saying that the modern drive toward conformity springs from the passion for equality, for democracy, for science and technology, and for higher standards of living. Mill could hardly have foreseen the rigors of modern totalitarianism but he would not have made the mistake of assuming that Karl Marx or Adolf Hitler were the originators of the modern heresy of regarding freedom as a curse or as a bourgeois prejudice. Here again the stress falls for a teacher on a proper grasp of the philosophical justification of a free society and its reliance for strength and for enrichment upon diversity of opinion, of values, and of situation. If this confirms what we have come to describe in the contemporary jargon as the menace to freedom that is related to

the growth in numbers of the "other directed," it also redirects our attention to the vital importance of the "inner directed" personality, deeply and intellectually committed to the values of a free society. We all know that not all forms of religious expression are so committed, but we also know that almost every character that has served to articulate the history of free society—from Lincoln to Gandhi—has sought and found its strength in the solitude of religious commitment.

We can foresee a lively future for the study of the spiritual and moral resources that are essential to the fitness of men and women for the responsibilities of a free society. And, contrary to some of the contemporary fads of psychology which seem to teach that maturity and adjustment can be found in security, we are more likely to discover that the maturity that is compatible with the responsibilities of a free society is anchored in a man's ability to cope with unavoidable insecurities. A free man—if he himself faces the facts of his situation—will live in a tension or polarity of values in which equality or liberty, justice or love, freedom or security, and many other objectives sacred to a civilized community, are seen to qualify one another in the sense that each of them, if pressed to its logical extreme, will destroy the others.

So far—in this hasty survey of a wide range of ideas—I have spoken of the intellectual content of citizenship education. Anyone familiar with the present teen-age generation knows that there is another angle directly related to the word "responsibility" in our theme question. The typical city school budget for broken windows or the vandalism in our public parks tells the story in sharp and gory detail. The other day one of our New York City park officials proposed that educational officials might find it fruitful to consider including a period of required civic service in the school program of all high-school students. He was not thinking of saving funds on his park service budget, but he was concerned with the educational importance of the idea, and although his proposal was not as novel as he seemed to imagine—a version of this suggestion was proposed in my annual report more than a dozen years ago—I rejoice in the recognition of its crucial importance.

For a variety of reasons that have nothing to do with formal education—the advancing minimum age at which the young people leave school, the disappearance of the old family chores, the organization of adult employment, the impersonal and cash-nexus character of urban life, and so on—the traditional and gradual introduction of teenagers to the adult responsibilities of work has diminished or disappeared, and with it there has been a weakening of the sense of belonging. It is possible to conceive of a youth service as a part of high school education in which every student would be required to perform a stated number of hours of civic service in the parks, in playgrounds, in nursery schools, and so on. This would call for a reorganization of our schools as well as of our public service departments. It might well call for a different category of civic service teachers or counselors, and it would mean a vigorous recasting of our traditional type of citizenship education. But it would introduce a modern equivalent for some types of education for responsibility that have gradually disappeared from the normal life of the community and the absence of which is painfully felt in contemporary experience with our young. Such shared work experience in essential community services would lay a foundation of that sense of belonging which is so easy to discuss and so difficult to establish in the impersonal social relations of the modern community. The suggestion will undoubtedly be dismissed as anti-intellectual in character but in view of the context of the rest of these remarks, I am willing to run the hazard. Nothing is fundamentally more subtly anti-intellectual than a purely verbal education for citizenship in which a huge vocabulary is acquired together with the illusion that the student has learned to solve the problems because he has acquired a new vocabulary with which to describe them.

To summarize these big and bold ideas about the most urgent subject in modern education, I might repeat that I think we have sinned in the past by placing too much stress on information, about the present and about the past. We have been too much concerned with covering everything, and we have overlooked or underemphasized the philosophical assumptions and commitments that are the intellectual defense in depth of a free society. To get a fresh start we might well return to a searching question with which Brandeis was in the habit of testing proposals for social or economic reform: "What type of men does it breed?" Or, more positively, "the test of any social order is the type of men it produces."

We should not ask, "What are the goals of citizenship eduction?" Things fall into focus much more suggestively—and the role of the community is illuminated, as well as the function of formal education—if we ask. "How can we get men and women more fit for the responsibilities of free and democratic society?"

Public Opinion Hits High Spots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, country editors, like their city brothers, try to keep their fingers on the pulse of the Nation. Their views make news when they are collected, digested, and published. During the past week, a survey of a cross section of the Nation's country editors points to a most interesting series of opinions.

On their list of the most important questions before Congress, the big five were:

First. Balance the budget.

Second. Reduce taxes after balancing the budget.

Third. Work out a satisfactory farm program.

Fourth. Cut Government spending and waste.

Fifth. Strengthen the Nation's defenses.

These conclusions point to the emphasis on domestic problems with a deemphasis upon the major issues of foreign affairs. Big city editors devote a great deal of their attention to problems in the field of foreign aid, the European Defense Community, NATO, the United Nations, and our foreign policy. Significant reaction to this difference of viewpoint came in response to questions dealing with the proposal to share our atomic knowledge with our allies. Many a country editor replied, "How can we be sure who our allies will be tomorrow morning?"

Congress will take a good look at these opinions. They are worth remembering.

An American Leader in Industry and Public Life Looks at the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 9, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended is an address by the Honorable J. D. Zellerbach, alternate United States delegate to the Eighth General Assembly of the United Nations and president of the Crown Zellerbach Corp., delivered at a luncheon sponsored by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the World Trade Association, and the Association for the United Nations, Northern California Chapter, at the Farmont Hotel in San Francisco on February 24, 1954:

Since most of you who are here today were in San Francisco when the United Nations was born, I know the subject of my talk will be of particular interest to you. You will recall that the U. N. was created by a charter which was drawn up at the Opera House in 1945. It actually became effective on October 24, 1945, when the necessary majority of the countries which signed the charter in San Francisco had formally confirmed their ratification with the State Department in Washington. Subsequently, the charter was ratified by the United States Senate, by a vote of 89 to 2. By unanimous vote of Congress, the new organization was invited to establish itself in the United States, and its headquarters were set up in New York City.

The purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in its charter, are to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, and to promote international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian fields. All 60 members of the U. N. have pledged themselves to solution of their disputes by peaceful means.

The U. N. functions through six principal bodies—the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat or administrative staff. Originally, the most important body of the U. N. was considered to be the Security Council, whose specific responsibility is to keep the peace. It has 11 members, 5 of which are permanent and 6 of which are chosen for 2-year terms by the General Assembly. The 5 permanent members are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and, as you know, each of these 5 has the power of veto. Because of its abuse of this veto power, however, the Soviet Union has rendered the Security Council almost completely ineffective, with the result that many problems which might otherwise be handled by the Security Council are now considered in the General Assembly, where there is no veto.

So much for background. Now I shall try to show why it is important that we support the United Nations, if only from the standpoint of our own self-interest, and why businessmen particularly should take an active interest in the work of this organization which in one way or another influences the lives of all of us.

I imagine some of you have often thought of the United Nations as an international town hall where much talk takes place and few conclusions are reached. While I admit it is not difficult to get this impression from daily press reports, as a result of my recent service in the United States delegation to the

U. N., I can give you firsthand assurance that the importance of the United Nations goes far beyond the words it produces.

When I was appointed an alternate delegate to the eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I went to New York with considerable enthusiasm over my assignment. After the session opened, the speechmaking began, and by the time delegates from most of the 60 nations had addressed the Assembly, I confess that I was pretty tired of listening to speeches. This is not to say that many of the addresses were not important statements of Government foreign policy. Secretary Dulles' speech in particular was a clear exposition of the foreign policy of the Eisenhower administration and was considered a great state document. It set the tone for the whole session and resulted in increased support of our position on controversial questions such as Korea. After the speechmaking, committees were set up to consider various problems on the agenda, and it was then that my work really began. I was assigned to the Economic and Finance Committee on which were represented all of the 60 member countries. The principal subject for consideration by this committee was the economic development of underdeveloped countries, a problem of tremendous magnitude and urgent importance, not only for the people of these areas but for everyone genuinely concerned with world progress and peace. I think that one of the really rewarding experiences at the U. N. was that of getting first-hand accounts and impressions of the difficulties faced by these people. After spending hours each day sitting and talking with them, in committee, in the lounges, and in the dining rooms, you come to appreciate their point of view, even if you can't agree with it. While it was my job in the committee to make perfectly clear the position of the United States with regard to further financial assistance to foreign countries, I am convinced that through our debates, discussions, and informal conversations, we succeeded in advancing international understanding, and that if the various nations came to know one another's problems even a little better, this was worth all of our effort.

My work on this Economic and Finance Committee and the discussions and debates during the rest of the session of the General Assembly more than offset the feeling of frustration I had acquired during the initial speechmaking period of the session. I began to see that one of the most important functions of the United Nations Organization is to provide not only a forum where disputes and differences of opinion between nations can be brought out in the open, discussed, argued, in many cases settled, and occasionally forgotten—but it also serves as a kind of international Hyde Park, where any delegate can let off steam and relieve the pressures built up in the government he represents. Listening to Vishinsky talk for hours on end was a very tedious experience, but what we must realize is that the very nature of the U. N. Organization forces the Russians to participate in these debates and gives the free nations an opportunity to anticipate their moves.

Furthermore, and of even greater importance, the procedures for discussion and debate make it possible for the United States and other free nations to show up Russian propaganda charges, such as their accusations about germ warfare in Korea, for the shallow and ridiculous libels they are.

Another thing which became very apparent to me is that the United Nations is really a headache to the Soviets. They cannot control it nor can they break it up—neither dare they leave it. It is, therefore, one of the most effective instruments for frustrating any aggressive intentions the Russians may have.

As a member of the United States delegation, I was also able to obtain a better understanding of the work being done by the specialized agencies of the U. N. Many of us, while aware of these specialized agencies, are not at all sure that they serve valuable or even useful purposes. We read of the disappointments and failures of the U. N. but hear little of the constructive work accomplished—for instance, by the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNESCO, the International Bank and Monetary Fund, and the International Children's Emergency Fund, which has made possible supplementary feeding for 11 million children, the testing of 59 million children for tuberculosis, and the feeding of 3½ million children and mothers among refugees and drought victims in many countries. The activities of these specialized agencies are going on the year-round all over the world, helping improve the conditions of life for people everywhere.

A specialized activity of the U. N. which is doing a particularly effective job at relatively little cost is the technical assistance program. This activity, with more than 1,500 experts of over 60 different nationalities, helps people all over the world to help themselves—draining swamps, irrigating deserts, eradicating disease, and increasing food supplies in underdeveloped areas. This program has nothing to do with handouts, though many casually dismiss it as a do-gooder activity.

The constructive activities of the technical-assistance program are indirectly of great importance to the United States. We do not live in a world alone and apart from the primitive and backward areas; our long-run welfare depends upon the friendships we build. If we now extend a helping hand by providing experts and contributing the large part of the cost of the technical-assistance program, it is not because we are do-gooders and philanthropists; it is rather because it is necessary that we make a long-term investment in building future relationships which will redound to our own advantage. In our own businesses, we do long-range planning and we make investments today that will not come to fruition for decades. In my company, for example, we are planting trees today to be harvested 60 or 70 years from now. We call that good business policy, and in the broader international realm it is also good business policy to initiate, to protect, nourish, and bring constructive projects to fruition. We do not sell plumbing supplies where there is no sanitation. We do not sell automobiles where there are no roads. We do not sell agricultural equipment where there is no knowledge of its benefits. Technical assistance must be thought of as it is: As an insect-control and drainage program in Honduras; as engineering consultation on a dam in Lebanon; as advice on the development of an agricultural school in Ethiopia; as the drilling of deepwater wells in Iran; as the education of Indians on the use and benefits of fertilizer on wornout land. It is hundreds of technicians from abroad absorbing our methods, philosophy, and friendship, and it is hundreds of our technicians in the field demonstrating American know-how. I emphasize that this is not a one-way street; this is a joint venture whose costs and benefits are shared by the recipients and ourselves in the present generation. And we are creating the conditions for mutual friendship, respect, and intercourse for future generations. Finally, I would point out that many of the raw materials which are of the utmost importance to us today come from the undeveloped areas of South America, Asia, and Africa; hence it is to our own interests to foster the development of those areas.

By developing close working relationships with friends and allies, we can more surely rely on them to assure us a supply of the strategic materials we need to maintain ourselves as the strongest nation on earth. Without these raw materials, our costs would rise, our standard of living would fall, and some production would possibly not go on at all. Yet we have a penchant for talking—and sometimes acting—as if we were a self-sufficient nation. And here, I am not thinking of such things as coffee and sugar. Rather, I am thinking of the cobalt and columbium from Africa, without which we would not have today's jet engines; the nickel, of which we have virtualy none and without which we could not process fissionable materials to make nuclear weapons, not to speak of our requirements for the steel and chemicals industries; the iron ore we bring from Canada and South America, and the tungsten and chromite from the Far East to blend with the iron ore. I am thinking of the fact that of the 13 pounds of manganese required for each ton of steel, we produce here only one-half pound. Sixty percent of our bauxite comes from abroad to be processed into aluminum. Large proportions of our copper, lead, and zinc come from abroad. We are dependent upon Africa for industrial diamonds which are required for our various machining industries. We import the greater proportion of the wool we use. A nation whose international dependence has caused it to stockpile some $7 billion of scarce materials can ill afford to blind itself to business and international realities. Others, of course, look to us for wheat and cotton and autos and machinery. This mutual interdependence between ourselves and other countries of the free world illustrates the need for supporting an international forum like the U. N.—support which from every hard, business point of view is to our advantage.

In this connection, we must bear in mind that the U. N. is no push-button organization; it is a large body of people speaking many different languages and representing different ideologies and concepts of life, and it cannot be expected to function with the efficiency of a well-managed factory or business concern. As businessmen, we often have to exercise great patience to accomplish some of the things we consider most important in our affairs.

Our labor negotiations sometimes consume weeks of discussion before settlement of even minor issues begins to take shape. Industry associations give us an opportunity to get together and discuss our mutual problems, and although I am sure all of us have felt at some stage of an association conference that its principal accomplishment was talk and—shall I say—entertainment, nevertheless we usually wind up the final session by deciding that meetings such as these are constructive. Even if we do no more than meet and become acquainted with out people in our industry, such a meeting is worth while—and I think the same reasoning can be applied to conferences such as those held under the auspices of the U. N., where the people present represent nations rather than business organizations.

Our own Congress offers a good example of the functioning of the U. N. Matters of great importance are considered here—debated at length—sometimes for years before final action. Why, then, should we expect immediate resolution of the world's difficulties by the U. N., which, after all, is attempting to deal with the most complex problems facing mankind? The United States took from 1776 to the Civil War to work out its basic Government philosophy. Viewed from this standpoint, I think we can concede that the U. N., a body representing 60 sovereign nations, has made real progress—that it

functions as well as might be expected in a world of tension and conflict.

Now, I would like to turn to a brief discussion of some of the common misconceptions about the United Nations, which unfortunately have created an atmosphere of suspicion in the minds of a great many people in this country. Contrary to what some people would have us think, the U. N. is not a world government in any sense of the word. It cannot impose a tax of any kind on anyone. It has no power to draft a soldier of any member nation for any purpose whatever. Delegates to the United Nations represent sovereign states and not political subdivisions, and it is, therefore, absurd to think of a 60-nation body of this kind acting as a world government when each nation, regardless of size, wealth, or other influence, has 1 vote.

Another thing I want to emphasize is that the United Nations is not a threat to our Constitution because, as the Supreme Court has held, "the treatymaking power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids." There is only one organ of the United Nations that can take action which is legally binding, and that is the Security Council, on which the United States is protected by the veto in every crucial respect. Every other action taken by the U. N. can be only in the nature of a recommendation. Of course, we give great weight to such recommendations, but our compliance with them is voluntary, not compulsory.

Another question I hear very often is, What has the United Nations accomplished? With an uneasy armistice in Korea, with full-scale fighting in Indochina, and conflicts in other parts of the world, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that these conditions exist because of the ineffectiveness of the U. N. My answer to that is that these conflicts represent but a minor skirmish as compared to a world war III in which we might now be engaged were it not for the existence of the United Nations. To name a few specific accomplishments in the interests of world peace, you will remember that it was U. N. action which, in 1946, resulted in the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran. In 1947 with substantial American backing, the U. N. helped to prevent Communist encroachment in Greece. Open warfare over Kashmir between India and Pakistan was stopped under U. N. auspices, and it has prevented further violence in this area. Working with the Netherlands and Indonesia, the United Nations was instrumental in ending a bitter colonial war and bringing about the granting of full independence to the 76 million people inhabiting Indonesia. With regard to Korea, let us not forget that it was the United States that took the initiative, and rightly, in getting the U. N. to take action against the Communist aggression in Korea. This is contrary to the propaganda line which you hear so often to the effect that the United Nations was a snare which dragged the United States into the Korean war.

Viewing the subject as a businessman and in the light of my tour of duty as a member of the United States delegation, I am thoroughly convinced that in our own interest it is imperative not only that we continue to support and participate fully in the United Nations, but that as individuals we become better informed on the activities of the U. N. so that we can encourage the support of others. In spite of all the talk, all the speeches, all the Russian invective, and all the absurd propaganda, the fact remains that the United Nations is serving to forestall and perhaps prevent another world war. How much better that these 60 nations are thrashing out their problems with words rather than with bullets. It seems to me our objective should be to keep them talking.

The Tidelands Victory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, only too often the unsung heroes outnumber the honored few.

So it has been in the almost endless fight to have the sovereignty of the individual States recognized in the so-called tidelands case.

There were many individuals who performed outstanding service in this fight.

Many spirited Americans, in and out of the Congress, founght a valiant fight and refused to be shoved off course until their objective had been achieved.

The honor roll is long, and the list includes the names of men from each of the several States in the Union and from all sections in the Nation.

In Louisiana the outstanding authority on the subject and undoubtedly the most indefatigable fighter for the cause has been Judge Leander H. Perez, of St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes.

Even those who might disagree with Judge Perez on his politics and his strong and embedded philosophy of constitutional government do not deny his resourcefulness, his intellect, and his tenacity in any battle in which he chooses to engage. It is of the highest compliment that his enemies respect him as an adversary well worth the mettle of anyone who dares cross his path. Here is a fighter. Here is a man worthy of any foe. Here is a champion worthy of the cause he espouses.

It is little wonder that the Plaquemines Gazette, the official publication of Plaquemines Parish, in Louisiana, has chosen to pay homage editorially to Judge Perez as an aftermath of the United States Supreme Court decision which upheld the tidelands' legislation passed by the Congress and giving to the States legal recognition and right to that which was already morally and rightfully theirs by tradition and the basic treaties of the land.

In paying tribute to Judge Perez the light which shines on the many others who contributed so much in this fight is not dimmed, but sparkles all the brighter because of the attention generated by this accolade to Judge Perez.

All Louisiana is proud of the fight which Judge Perez has made.

All America should be thankful for the role he played in the fight.

Here is the editorial in the Plaquemines Gazette:

THE TIDELANDS VICTORY

When the Supreme Court upheld the tidelands law Monday by rejecting the lawsuits of Alabama and Rhode Island that challenged offshore legislation passed at the last session of Congress, the decision far transcended that of the monetary value of the resources of the States' submerged lands, which is very substantial. The decision upheld again the sovereignty of the individual States, which is, in essence, the sovereignty of the people of the State.

By such a decision the United States, not only gave assurances to the individual American that his individual liberty is respected, but demonstrated, by example, to the entire world that in America's democratic form of government the rights of the smaller States will not be jeopardized in favor of the greater powers.

It is not within our domain to delve into the technicalities of the law or the many facets of the tidelands issue, for to quote our own Judge Perez, "There are as many prospects in the tidelands as in the land area of the State of Louisiana."

A CHAMPION WAS NEEDED

Suffice to say that the tidelands have been an issue for many years. There have been temporary setbacks and victorious decisions during these years. Many times, especially during the Truman administration, with its socialistic philosophy and trend toward nationalism, the right of Louisiana and other coastal States were not only threatened, but appeared doomed. Only strong convictions in the individual liberties of our people could have motivated the long uphill battle. Louisiana needed a champion of the people's rights. We needed a man of vision, great courage, and tested acumen. Fortunately, Plaquemines Parish had the man for the task—a true champion of the people's rights. That man, of course, is Judge Leander H. Perez.

It has been recognized by leading Members of Congress concerned with the preservation of our States' rights and property rights secured by the Constitution that Judge Perez kept up the fight for the recognition of State ownership of the tidelands when practically all others had given up hopes during the Truman administration tidelands grab.

LOUISIANA'S BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED

Judge Peres, with the assistance of a couple of Congressmen, had the necessary proceedings taken under an old act of Congress to establish officially the entire Louisiana coastline from which our State's 3-league boundary extends.

As matters now stand, with the recent Supreme Court decision upholding last year's State tidelands law, recognizing State ownership, and officially defining our State coastline, our boundary is now definitely established. We can now consider both our State tidelands ownership and our State boundary definitely marked.

PEOPLE'S BENEFITS FAR-REACHING

This is not only a victory for the oil and gas interests but is considerably more far-reaching. It extends to the thousands engaged in fishing, sand and gravel and shell fields, and many other occupations that come from the development of the submerged lands of the State. It is a great benefit to all the people of the State.

We are filled with a great pride for the part that Plaquemines Parish, through Judge Perez, has taken in achieving such a significant victory.

The President's Revenue Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON CANFIELD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present the following two editorials from news-

papers in my district concerning the President's tax program:

[From the Paterson Morning Call of March 29, 1954]

THE PRESIDENT'S REVENUE PROGRAM

The Eisenhower administration's omnibus revenue bill, which includes the first major overhaul of the Nation's tax machinery in a half century, is now in the Senate after having squeaked through the House in a tight 210–204 vote. There will now be protracted committee hearings, then debate and finally reference to the House again for last-minute compromise and reconciliation.

We'll be hearing a lot more about this income measure before it is finally enacted into law. The Democrats will see to that in a year which will cast the political fate of the lower House. But we don't think the people will be fooled by election-year arithmetic, and we do believe the Senate, like the House before it, will decline to undo the progress made under the Eisenhower administration to bring the budget under control.

Although the President's program will mean a $2.3 billion loss of income, a piece of which will go to every taxpayer, the Democrats are pushing for deeper cuts in personal incomes. They are yelling that this is a "rich man's" tax bill. Their new-found compassion for the man who isn't "rich" provides some grim irony, which stands out in this quick summation of 20 years of Democratic leadership of the National Government:

In the two decades during which the New and Fair Deals held power the direct tax collections from individual citizens went from $427 million to more than $30 billion, or 70 times as much. Tax collections from corporations leaped from $630 million to more than $21 billion, or 35 times as much. The number of new taxes invented and the number which were boosted almost defy accurate count, but we do know that during that same period there were only two tax reductions (1) when the excess-profits tax was allowed to lapse after World War II and (2) when the Republican Congress of 1948 cut income rates over President Truman's veto. And the stark fact is that when the Democrats took over in 1933 the man with two children and a net income of $5,000 was paying $62 in income taxes, whereas in 1952, at the end of the great era of deficit financing, he was paying $461.

No amount of political hoopla will change that record. Nor should it be allowed to interfere with the carefully reasoned Eisenhower program, which represents the most courageous and the most intelligent program for solvent security we have seen in 20 years.

[From the Passaic Herald-News of March 19, 1954]

UNPOPULAR, BUT SOUND

The House of Representative acted wisely yesterday in defeating the attempt to increase the personal income tax exemption, even though it may have disappointed several million taxpayers. The last-minute switch in sentiment may have been politically inspired, but the result was good.

Many persons naturally feel that that tax is best which touches them not at all. But in a democracy such as ours, where each citizen has a duty to share in the support of his Government, the best tax policy is one which requires a contribution from all. Only if all pay a share will all realize how onerous taxes are and have an interest in keeping them down.

This is why President Eisenhower stood firmly against an attempt to chop off several million taxpayers by increasing personal exemptions in the Federal income tax. In his address Tuesday night, the President said:

"I think this is wrong. I am for everybody paying his fair share.

"When the time comes to cut income taxes still more (than the 10 percent cut as of January 1 this year), let's cut them. But I do not believe that the way to do it is to excuse millions of taxpayers from paying any income tax at all."

The spirit of equitable and sound tax policies in the new omnibus tax bill before Congress would have been violated by raising exemptions rather than lowering tax rates. Of course, the administration does not mean it is for any additional tax cuts at this time, when it is already faced with a budget deficit of more than $3 billion. But if lower taxes are in order, the President's point is that it is best to reduce the tax liability of everyone, not eliminate it for some.

The political fight is not over yet. While Senator GEORGE and other leading tax authorities in Congress may have decided to agree with the President on his tax philosophy, there is still a hard-fought election ahead this fall and lower taxes is an obvious campaign issue. That's why Representative REED's idea of another 10 percent cut in Federal income taxes next January has a lot of appeal. It gets around the objection to increasing exemptions. It is going to be a real problem for the administration, which has been hoping to balance the budget.

Reds Back Puerto Rico's Terrorists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, the real and ominous import of the March 1 terrorist attack on Members of the House is forcefully stated in an editorial in the April 3 Saturday Evening Post.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the editorial entitled "Reds Back Puerto Rico's Terrorists":

The American people awoke to a new menace on March 1, when 5 Congressmen were shot in the House of Representatives by Puerto Rican fanatics. "My God, this is real," cried a Pennsylvania Congressman as the bullets whined past him. It was real, all right. People were being shot by violent revolutionists—not in some remote, quaint country, but right here in the United States.

There is full proof that the Communist Party of the United States and its brother conspirator, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, have cooperated with the Nationalists for many years. They supported the 1950 antidemocratic revolt in Puerto Rico, including the attempt to assassinate Gov. Luis Muñoz-Marín. Obviously the motive of the outrage in the House of Representatives was not to further the cause of independence, which we have offered the Puerto Ricans and which they do not want. Perhaps the motive was to weaken American prestige at the Caracas Conference. Certainly assassination and bloody revolution in Puerto Rico are exactly what the Communists want.

On October 30, 1950, the tiny Nationalist minority began a revolt in Puerto Rico. They attacked Governor Muñoz-Marín in his mansion; they attacked police stations; they burned much of the town of Jayuya. More than 30 people were killed. On November 1, in Washington, they tried to assassinate President Truman. On that same day—but before the attempt on Truman's life—the American Communist Party came out in support of the revolt. It said that "Puerto Rican Nationalists were * * * renewing their battles against Washington's puppet government." It recalled that its former favorite Congressman, Vito Marcantonio, had introduced a bill in the House for Puerto Rican independence.

When the Puerto Rican Nationalists extended their violence from Puerto Rico to Washington and tried to assassinte President Truman the Communist Party of the United States became cautious. The next day, November 2, it widely disseminated a statement declaring it was shocked by this attempt. But it did not express one word of shock at the attempt to assassinate Governor Muñoz-Marín.

The following day, November 3, the Communist Party declared: "Washington, and its puppet regime in San Juan, is using the attempted terrorist action in Washington to justify a new series of police actions * * * against labor, Nationalists, and Communists." It denounced alleged "arbitrary arrests of labor leaders, Nationalist and Communist patriots."

The Communist Party went further. It issued an inflammatory statement by the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, saying: "The armed struggle now going on in Puerto Rico shows the bankruptcy of Yankee imperialism and the colonial government of Muñoz-Marín in the very nerve center of the American military base for imperialist aggression. A courageous sector of Puerto Ricans is carrying on since October 30 an armed struggle for independence. The uprising of October 30 was an act of self-defense against continuous government persecution. The Nationalists have acted heroically. * * * The Yankee imperialist government is determined to perpetuate imperialism in Puerto Rico. It is the only one responsible for bloodshed in the island * * *."

New York is by far the largest Puerto Rican city in the world. It has 450,000 Puerto Ricans, about one-fifth of the number in Puerto Rico itself. The Communist Party has organized special Communist fronts composed of Puerto Ricans in New York, Chicago, the Gary, Ind., steel region, and elsewhere. Both in the home island and in this country, the Communists try to organize Puerto Ricans against the United States, just as they organize Guatemala, Indochina, Iran, and so on. And the results can be as bloody here as there.

Only the day before the shooting in Congress, a leading clergyman exposed his magnificent ignorance by asserting that communism in the United States is "more smoke than fire." But there was more fire than smoke from those pistols in the hands of a fanatic group that has been manipulated by the Communists, as has now been clearly established.

One of the Kremlin's chief weapons is the delusion of many intellectuals that the Communist Party here is harmless. This blindness, this self-deceptive optimism delights the Communist quislings, who are confidently looking forward to the day when they run the country. Unless we have enough character to take necessary defensive action against the Communist conspiracy abroad and at home, the time will come when the American people—those that survive—will have reason to say, "My God, this is real."

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Appendix

Interest Rates on Veterans' Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters:

THE AMERICAN LEGION,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1954.

Re H. R. 7839, Housing Act of 1954.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROGERS: As you know the bill, H. R. 7839, commonly referred to as the Housing Act of 1954 was reported out by the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 28, 1954, and is scheduled to come up for debate on the floor of the House on March 31, 1954.

The American Legion strongly opposes certain provisions of this bill, namely sections 201 and 201 (1) having to do with fixing interest rates on Veterans' Administration mortgages, and section 901, which has to do with veterans' preference in obtaining war housing.

Under sections 201 and 201 (1) the President would be given power to fix interest rates from time to time, but not in excess of 2½ percent above the annual yield of marketable obligations of the United States having a maturity date of 15 years or more.

Attached please find a memorandum showing the American Legion's objections to this method of fixing the interest rates on veterans' mortgages.

The American Legion also objects to the provisions of section 901 of the bill on the ground they fail to give veterans the same preferences in the purchase of war housing as are contained in the present laws. I attach a separate statement giving our objections in further detail.

Appreciating your interest in the protection of qualified veterans I know these objections will receive your serious consideration. I respectfully request that when H. R. 7839 comes up for consideration in the House you vote to strike sections 201, 201 (1), and 901 from the bill.

Thanking you for your favorable consideration of this request, and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MILES D. KENNEDY,
Director.

WHY THE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSES SECTIONS 201 AND 201 (1) OF H. R. 7839

INTEREST RATES ON VA MORTGAGES

1. We believe in the maintenance of a separate housing program for veterans under the sole jurisdiction of the VA; we want the present policy continued.

2. The power to regulate interest rates should remain in Congress.

3. We submit that the phrase contained in section 201 "• • • the President is hereby authorized, without regard to any other provision of law • • •" is too broad and that only specific authority should be granted, not only to the President, but to any other Government official who may be concerned.

4. These sections are bound to result in an increase in the interest rate, now fixed at 4½ percent in keeping with the provisions of Public Law 101 of the 83d Congress.

5. The proposed method of fixing interest rates would result in discrimination between veteran home purchasers, due to the fact the rates would vary from time to time, during the same year, depending on the average yield of marketable obligations of the United States.

6. This method of fixing interest is not practical from the standpoint of the veteran-mortgagor or the builder.

7. There is nothing to stop the rate from being increased to 6 percent any time the yield on Government obligations goes to 3½ percent.

8. The big-money interests will not be satisfied until they get the rate on veterans' mortgages up to 6 percent. They are not interested in the veteran as such.

9. The VA advises that the average loan to a veteran in 1953 was $9,480, with a typical maturity of 20 years, and that had the interest rate in 1953 been 5¼ percent rather than 4 and 4½ percent (as it actually was), the veteran would have had to pay an increase in interest of $70.72 for the first year, and $932.83 additional interest over the period of his mortgage. At 5½ percent, 5¾ percent, or 6 percent the amount of interest will, of course, increase accordingly.

10. When the original Servicemen's Readjustment Act (Public Law 346, 78th Cong.) was written, a ceiling was placed on the interest rate on these mortgages in order that there might not be a prohibitive rate charged those who had served in the Armed Forces and for whom the legislation was intended to give some assistance in reestablishing themselves on a sound economic basis. Sections 201 and 201 (1) violate this principle in every respect.

11. Sections 201 and 201 (1) abridge the principle of veterans' preference, and should be stricken from the bill.

WHY THE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSES SECTION 901 OF H. R. 7839

DISPOSAL OF PERMANENT WAR HOUSING WITHOUT REGARD TO VETERANS' PREFERENCE HOUSING LAWS

1. Under the provisions of section 901 (g) (new), the Administrator would be authorized to dispose of any permanent war housing without regard to the preferences contained in subsections (b) and (c) of the present law (Public Law 475 of the 81st Cong., p. 26).

2. Said subsection (b) of the present law states that preferences in the purchase of any dwelling designed for occupancy by not more than four families and offered for separate sale, shall be granted to veterans over other purchasers for such period as the Administrator may determine and in the following order: "(1) A veteran who occupies a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold and who intends to continue to occupy such unit; (2) a nonveteran who occupies a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold and who intends to continue to occupy such unit; (3) a veteran who intends to occupy a unit in the dwelling structure to be sold."

Subsection (c) of the present law grants first preference to groups of veterans organized on a mutual ownership or cooperative basis, etc., where a housing project is to be disposed of.

3. No such preferences are contained in section 901.

4. Section 901 would open wide the door for the elimination of veterans' preference in the disposal of permanent war housing.

5. It has been the experience of American Legion representatives that many officials of the Housing and Home Finance Agency have absolutely no regard for veterans.

6. While we have confidence in the present Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, there are too many employed in that Agency who feel that preference in the sale of surplus housing to veterans should be eliminated, and we fear those who would actually be responsible for the administration of the law would use this authority to gain their personal desires to deprive veterans of their rights to purchase surplus war housing.

7. We contend that veterans' preference has never hindered the sale of these properties, or worked a hardship on the Housing Agency.

8. Stripped of its legal phraseology, section 901 is nothing more or less than a bold attempt to knock out veterans' preference in the purchase of defense housing.

9. Current economic conditions do not warrant a weakening of the preference laws granted veterans in the field of housing.

10. Section 901 abridges the principle of veterans' preference, and should be stricken from the bill, H. R. 7839.

AMVETS,
Washington, D. C., March 30, 1954.

Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Chairman, Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: AMVETS earnestly solicits your support to strike title II from H. R. 7839, a bill entitled the "Housing Amendment of 1954," which we understand will be considered on the floor of the House of Representatives on Wednesday of this week.

This bill, as presently reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee, radically alters the power of Congress to exercise control over the operation of the GI loan program. By vesting in the Executive, and/or his subordinate, the authority and power to establish maximum interest rates, maximum downpayments, maximum maturities, and maximum fees and charges, the bill completely departs from the traditional congressional control of this program.

In our opinion, the establishment of a so-called committee to study and recommend action to the President on flexible interest rates, is a direct step toward lifting the present GI ceiling of 4½ percent which was established by the Congress after long and careful study. Granting the President the authority to raise downpayments on mortgage loans places this particular segment of the American economy in an excepted adverse position as compared to the remainder of the economy. The placing of power to establish loan maturities in the Executive repeals authority Congress has long assumed and maintained. By giving the Executive the authority to regulate maximum fees and charges, the Congress would repeal its pres-

ent authority under section 504 of the Housing Act of 1950.

In our opinion, none of this divesting of legislative control is desirable. History is replete with examples of the fallacies of such action.

In addition to the matters mentioned, H. R. 7839 would also repeal the preference granted to veterans in the disposal of certain public-housing properties. All in all, the bill gives the Congress less power, the Executive more power, and smacks of a general about-face of congressional determination to protect many favorable housing benefits presently available to veterans. We are compelled to question the wisdom of such a proposal.

AMVETS believe that title II of H. R. 7839, as well as the public-housing veterans' preference feature, should be stricken from the bill on the floor of the House. To this end, we request your support in order that such action might be taken.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY J. MAHADY,
National Commander.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., March 29, 1954.

Hon. WILLIAM H. AYRES,
Chairman, Housing Subcommittee,
House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. AYRES: The Veterans of Foreign Wars is opposed to certain provisions of H. R. 7839, the Housing Act of 1954. Our objections are specifically directed to provisions of section 201, relating to interest rates, and section 901, relating to veterans preference in the purchase of certain war housing.

Section 201 delegates to the executive branch of the Government authority to establish interest rates on FHA and VA loans at a level not exceeding the average market yield on long-term Government bonds, plus 2½ percent. It is significant to note that this section would authorize an increase of three-fourths of 1 percent over the present interest rate on the basis of the average yield of Government bonds on February 1 of this year. During fiscal year 1953 the Veterans' Administration guaranteed approximately 319,000 home loans. The average amount of these loans was $9,480 and the average term was 20 years. An increase of three-fourths of 1 percent in the present rate, when applied to last year's average loan, would result in total increased payments of $932.83. This increase, when applied to the total number of loans made last year, would result in total increased charges to our Nation's veterans of approximately $295 million. If conditions should develop so as to justify such an increase in the future, we believe Congress can promptly act so as to meet such changed condition.

Section 901 reduces the preference accorded veterans under existing law in the purchase of housing built by the Government in World War II as a part of the war effort. This housing was nearly all built in the years 1940 to 1943, so that which is unsold has been retained by the Government for a period of 11 to 14 years. Under existing regulations the Administrator advertises for a period of 30 days an offer to sell at a fixed price to veterans under the preference provisions and if at the end of 30 days no sale has been made, the property can then be offered to the public and sold on a bid basis. We see no reason why this 30 day delay occasioned by veterans' preference provisions should suddenly become so important in the sale of property which the Government has held for such a long period of time. Nearly all of this housing that has been sold in the past has been purchased by veterans under the preference provisions and we strongly urge the continuance of the preferences as provided by existing law.

Your support in amending the bill on the floor in accordance with these views will be appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

OMAR B. KETCHUM,
Director.

(Copy to Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS.)

What the American Flag Means To Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, recently the Disabled American Veterans sponsored a nationwide essay contest among students, the topic of which was What the American Flag Means to Me. There were thousands of entries from all sections of the United States. The judges selected the top 12 essays. One of these 12 was written by Miss Peyton Abbitt, a 12-year-old seventh-grade student of Appomattox, Va.

Miss Abbitt's essay was highly commended by the committee making the selection. I would like to point out that she has been blind since early childhood but she is very active in school affairs at Appomattox where she attends clasess at the public high school. She is well advanced in her school work, keeps herself fully informed on current events, participates actively in Sunday school and church work and in my opinion is one of the most intelligent students for her age in our community.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I hereby include Peyton Abbitt's essay.

The essay follows:

WHAT THE AMERICAN FLAG MEANS TO ME

(By Peyton Abbitt)

I learned the pledge of allegiance to the flag before I started to school, so I have always been interested in its meaning.

Our American flag is not just a piece of cloth with a design on it but a symbol of our Nation's fine qualities. It stands for peace, freedom and democracy for all our Nation's inhabitants. It stands for the blood shed on the battlefields for our independence.

The rights, privileges and freedom for which it stands go back to over 5,000 years of work, war, failure and prosperity of men all over the world for the freedom we enjoy in America today.

The colors in the flag have a genuine meaning also. The red stands for courage, bravery and perseverance. Blue is for truth, freedom and loyalty to our Nation. The white represents purity and peace.

Our flag tells the story of our country's growth from a group of 13 States, to our present 48. It tells of the struggles for the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. It is the proof that a nation can and will prosper if the people love God, cherish peace and respect their fellow-citizens.

Men have fought and died for our flag and that for which it stands and we shall continue to do so for many years to come, in order to maintain our rights and ideals. But we should realize that it is worth our every effort to preserve our high standard of living.

Whenever you see our flag, you should remember that it is to remind you of our Nation's history in war, peace, weakness and prosperity and that our country is what it is today, only because of its fine people and their wonderful devotion and work.

Though the design may change from time to time, our flag will always bear the same meaning, and tell the same wonderful story of our wonderful America, only with a little more grace and grandness added as the years go by.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, during the debate with reference to appropriations for TVA, quite a bit of information, as well as misinformation, has been brought out. Some have made charges that some Members of this body want to wreck TVA, and some who have defended the $38 million reduction below the budget request have been charged with wanting to strangle it to death.

I think I am safe in saying that probably no Member in this House wants to destroy TVA and no Member in this House wants to strangle it to the point where it cannot adequately fulfill the purpose contemplated when the Congress set up this quasi independent organization in the Tennessee Valley for the purpose largely of flood control which has later developed into the important business of generating electric power. I am willing to agree that every one appreciates the great contribution it has made even though it has been subsidized constantly by the taxpayers of the Federal Government generally. I think most will agree that up to date it has been a splendid investment, has generally been well managed and has made a tremendous contribution during past wars and through the electric power it has generated it has made a great contribution to national defense in that most of its power generated during wartime has been used by the Government and a great deal of its electrical energy has contributed to the development of all the atomic bombs.

The act setting up the Tennessee Valley Authority, of course, at that time confined its operations almost exclusively to the Tennessee Valley. Some of the objection on the part of many Members is the constant attempt to extend its operation far beyond the Tennessee Valley, 100 miles or more, in some instances. Some of the objection offered in this debate is raised due to the fact that industrial and business organizations throughout the valley are given a much lower power rate thereby encouraging industries to leave other sections of the country and locate in or near the Tennessee Valley in order to take the opportunity of reducing their cost of operation at

the expense of the taxpayers all over the Nation where business organizations are compelled to include as a part of the cost of their operations the rate they have to pay for borrowing money while the Tennessee Valley Authority pays no interest on the money borrowed from the Government for the building and extension of their power output in the Tennessee Valley.

They naturally feel that when they have paid their taxes and paid their interest on borrowed capital that they shouldn't be taxed in addition for the money borrowed from the Government which is loaned to the Tennessee Valley Authority to build and extend their powerplants without any interest being paid. This is one of the debatable questions that has come up in the consideration of this legislation today.

Another question is raised by the amendment offered by Congressman BAKER to write back into this bill today $38 million which was requested by the Bureau of the Budget and the President. The President, through his Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Mr. Dodge, recommended to the Congress a total appropriation of new money to TVA of approximately $142 million. The Committee on Appropriations has reduced this sum by $38 million. The President apparently feels, after going over this matter with his Director of the Bureau of the Budget, that the total sum requested is necessary to do the job properly the next year by the TVA.

Since the Government, during the coming year, will probably purchase 50 percent of the electric energy generated by the entire TVA I feel that this question should be resolved by the approval of the amendment of Congressman BAKER, of Tennessee, restoring the $38 million to the budget. Time may prove that they may very well get along without it and again the months ahead may prove that this $38 million is necessary. At any rate, this organization is controlled by the President and the Congress and if we appropriate a little too much in this instance I cannot see where the Government would lose as the excess would carry over into the coming year.

I think the best answer to those who charge that the Members of Congress are trying to strangle TVA is the fact that even without writing the $38 million back into the appropriation bill the TVA will have in cash to operate this tremendous utility beginning the first of next July $309 million. Of course, this operation is so large that it may need all of this money. In fact, the committee estimates that at the end of fiscal year 1955 if the $38 million is not restored by the pending amendment, TVA would have left over unspent $46 million and perhaps more. On the other hand, those who favor writing this amount back into the bill claim that unless it is done that the fund balance for operation and expansion would be whittled down to about $3 million which they contend is an insufficient balance to operate this great public utility.

I would rather be on the safe side in this particular instance and restore to the bill the $38 million reduction made by the committee.

Mrs. Josefina Guerrero: A Great Lady Needs Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, over the past few days, I have received copies of an editorial that appeared in the March issue of Columbia, the official publication of the Knights of Columbus. These copies have been sent by people who have been impressed by the extremely human and moving story of Mrs. Josefina Guerrero. One could not read the account of her deeds without sensing that she, indeed, is a very wonderful person. The Congress can reward her activity and take cognizance of what she has done not only for this Nation but for mankind generally. Our distinguished colleague from Louisiana, Hon. JAMES H. MORRISON, has introduced a bill, H. R. 2412, granting her citizenship. This resolution, among the thousands granting such a privilege that have been filed in this session, ought to have a very special preference. In this way, we can bespeak the gratitude of our country to one who has held out the helping hand of friendship, service, and sacrifice to our servicemen and our citizens. I commend the editorial to the membership of the House and, under unanimous consent, insert it in the RECORD, as follows:

A GREAT LADY NEEDS YOUR HELP

You wouldn't believe the things that can happen to good people when no one is looking. Take Mrs. Josefina Guerrero, for example. The name may not ring any bell with you, but thousands of American soldiers, who served in the Pacific area during World War II, remember her kindly as Joey. The immediately interesting fact, however, is that Mrs. Guerrero is in danger of being bounced out of the United States by the operation of one of those technical gimmicks in our immigration laws. The legal whereases and semicolons sometimes work in our favor, as on the rare occasions when they make it possible for us to return a reluctant nogoodski to his unreceptive native shores. But sometimes they work against good people, such as Joey, whom they were never intended to harm. Consider Mrs. Guerrero's background and judge for yourself.

She assisted thousands of American soldiers during the occupation of the Philippines by the Japanese and during the struggle for the liberation of the islands. Unfortunately, he contracted leprosy while a prisoner of the Japanese at the Santo Tomas internment camp—a calamity which did not prevent her from carrying on her hazardous missions in behalf of the United States forces. After the war, it was necessary for her to leave her husband and her young daughter and enter the leper colony at Novaliches in the Philippines.

Refusing to let the pain of that separation get her down, Mrs. Guerrero became the "little grandmother" of the colony, "adopted" 11 children confined there and, by the brightness of her own great courage, dispelled the gloom and hopelessness that darkened the place.

By a special dispensation under our immigration laws, granted in recognition of her outstanding war service, Mrs. Guerrero was admitted to the United States in 1948 for treatment at the leprosarium at Carville, La., which is operated under the auspices of the United States Marines and staffed by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

When she arrived at Honolulu aboard an Army transport July 4, 1948, she received an ovation. In an interview at that time, she said: "Suffering is a very good school for the mind and heart. It molds character and bestows patience and tolerance. It doesn't affect my good humor. It is something I can offer to God, Who has given me so much."

That gives an idea of the quality of Mrs. Guerrero. But the fact that she was awarded the Medal of Freedom with Silver Palms, the highest award that the United States Government can give a civilian for battle service, has not relieved her from facing periodic deportation hearings since the expiration of her visa August 20, 1951.

The granting to Mrs. Guerrero of permanent residence in the United States so that she may have further needed treatment for her affliction hangs on the passing by Congress of a bill designated as H. R. 2412. There is no big battle about it, but so many bills get into the hopper during a session of Congress that "Joey" could be lost in the rush—and with nobody meaning any harm.

A short note from you to your Congressmen and Senators—or even a cutting of this piece in an envelope—would help remind them of H. R. 2412 and its importance to Mrs. Josefina Guerrero. We don't think anyone is against the idea of "Joey" staying with us as long as she wants to or needs to. We have given hospitality to less deserving people.

What's Good for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELIZABETH KEE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, the President's message on foreign trade policy presents a serious question that merits the consideration of every Member of Congress. If you will remember, before the Honorable Charles E. Wilson was confirmed as Secretary of Defense, he was asked about his investments in companies producing materials to be purchased by the Department. As evidence of his patriotism and devotion to his country, Mr. Wilson disposed of these stocks which he and members of his family were holding.

Now Congress is confronted with a parallel situation. While Mr. Clarence B. Randall has not been given Cabinet status, he has nevertheless been chiefly responsible for the contents of the message which the President sent to Congress on Tuesday of this week. His decisions in the matter of foreign policy are as important to the people of West Virginia and other States whose economy is affected by foreign trade as are the decisions of the Secretary of Commerce and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Randall's decisions may, in fact, be as important to the security of the country as are those of the Secretary of Defense, for they affect the state of readiness of the coal and railroad industries, both vital in an emergency program.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that my colleagues will agree that Mr. Randall should volunteer the information whether he is a

stockholder in any of the international oil companies or other concerns which stand to profit by the extension of free trade. Perhaps the other business appointees on his commission would volunteer the same information. If it is determined that they happen to have shares in such companies or industries, then perhaps they would volunteer to sell such holdings, after which the report would then be disregarded and these gentlemen could proceed with a new study.

Let me say that I am grateful to Mr. Randall and his associates for their time and efforts, and that I am only suggesting the course that the administration itself made popular in the selection of Cabinet members and their immediate aides. Our foreign trade position is of sufficient importance to require the same close scrutiny of individuals making official recommendations, for I can assure you that there are thousands of men, women, and children in my district who at this very moment do not have enough to eat as a result of the policy which permits unrestricted imports of residual oil to take the place of domestically produced coal in United States fuel markets.

It is logical that only persons entirely disinterested from a personal point of view be permitted to speak for this Nation on all important issues. We have seen in recent months how American citizens paid to represent the Venezuelan chambers of commerce have been induced to speak out against curbs on excessive residual oil imports. And we all remember the Ways and Means Committee hearings last year when representatives of international oil companies actually tried to make members believe that their operations were not creating hardship in the coal regions. Because of human frailties that would lead some of our respected citizens to the conclusion that what is good for Standard Oil is good for America, I think that full information on all officials involved in the formulation of our foreign policy should be made available at this time.

Msgr. Egisto Tozzi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, in furtherance of good relations between the United States and Italy, Msgr. Egisto Tozzi, of south San Francisco, raised funds and built a school in Italy for which service he was recently decorated by the Italian Government with the Star of Italian Solidarity. This decoration was presented by Baron Filippo Muzi Falconi, consul general of Italy in San Francisco. His speech of award and Monsignor Tozzi's reply are as follows:

Baron Filippo Muzi Falconi:

In recognition of his fruitful efforts to promote a better understanding and closer association between our two countries, Monsignor Tozzi, an earnest champion of very good Italian cause, has created this beautiful, modern, up-to-the-minute school, which is an honor to south San Francisco, as it was thrqugh his enthusiasm and energy that this church was built. His activities in the founding of schools has not been limited to this part of the world alone, however, for it is through his initiative and contribution that a fund was created for the erection of a school in Rome. This school was built and finally dedicated just about a year ago, with the name of Monsignor Tozzi School.

It will be remembered that Monsignor Tozzi was personally delegated by the archbishop of San Francisco, a few years back, to accompany to San Francisco the beloved remains of Bishop Hanna all the way from Rome, and, to complete the distinctions with which he has been honored, I may mention the very great privilege which was given him, as secretary to Cardinal Dolci, to take part in the conclave in Rome for the election of Pope Pius XII.

Msgr. Egisto Tozzi's reply:

Mr. Toastmaster, Rev. Fathers, Hon. Congressman ARTHUR J. YOUNGER, Honorable Italian Consul General, Baron Muzzi Falconi, honorable judges, honorable assemblymen, honorable district attorney, honorable city officials, ladies and gentlemen, I thank Baron Muzzi-Falconi, the consul general of Italy, for his very kind words in my regard, and I am very grateful and proud for this honor which the Italian Government has seen fit to bestow upon me. However, I hasten to say, if I considered this distinction as a strictly personal affair, I would say that I hardly deserve it. But, I think it is more proper to consider this star as an official recognition of the long and invaluable labor of all the Italian clergy in California.

Perhaps you will say that now I am assuming too much; that I have no right of supposing that I can be the representative of the Italian clergy in California. Well, I am basing my claim on the simple and sufficiently modest ground of seniority. After all, had I followed a military career I would be now, in view of my length of service, a 3 or 4 star general; so there is nothing incongruous in having 1 star superimposed to my monsignor's insignia.

The Italian clergy in California—I might say all over the world, but let us stay in our own territory. The Italian clergy in California have indeed a proud record.

Going back to Father Kino, of the Jesuit order, first explorer of California who according to that great historian Professor Bolton was the greatest missionary who ever set foot on the North American continent.

California was not yet a State of the Union, when other Italian Jesuit Fathers—from the Piedmont province—came here—in 1849. You know their magnificent achievements in Santa Clara County, in San Francisco and elsewhere. There were also a few Franciscans and a few diocesan priests. I am speaking of the early days—the second half of the last century, roughly speaking. Later came the Salesians, as parish priests and missionaries. In my own time in California—and that goes back to 1908 there have been about a score of diocesan priests—from Italy—working in various parishes where the Italian element was predominant.

You realize, I am sure, how valuable has been the work of these priests in the spiritual field and also in keeping alive Italian traditions and affection for the mother country, but perhaps you do not know how these labors have often been amidst many difficulties and hardships and sacrifices and heartbreaks. Things are much better now, I am glad to say.

At any rate you know this much: Your Italian priests have labored without receiving, indeed without desiring, any public recognition. Among the immediate group that was the object of their care, they gained respect and some measure of praise and gratitude, but on the whole, and in general, they have been among the unsung hewers of wood and drawers of waters. Financiers, business and professional men, artists and scientists, political figures, if excelling in their field—I am speaking now, not only of those of our national origin, but of all in general have become the object of public recognition and even acclaim; the priests have gone about their work quietly, humbly, trusting to God for their reward.

I accept then this star with deep gratification if it is in behalf of my colleagues and coworkers. I am proud of it, if it sheds not merely a little glow on myself, but if its rays are spread all around and bring into deserved historical relief the devoted work of the Italian clergy for the church, for America, and for the country of our origin.

We, the priests from Italy—and I may affirm this for all Italo-Americans—we feel deeply our loyalty to the United States of America, but we feel, too, a solidarity with the people of Italy; a solidarity of faith, a solidarity of traditions and of spiritual ideals. And may God grant that as there has been in the past—except for that grievous interval full of heart-rending regrets for all of us—may God grant that there shall always be also a political solidarity between Italy and America.

Again, thanks for this symbolical star—the pinning of it on my breast is like a mother's kiss on the forehead—symbol of love profound and enduring.

Social Security Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDMUND P. RADWAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. RADWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I want to insert in the RECORD the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK STATE YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUBS NATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, ITHACA, N. Y., MARCH 20, 1954

Whereas under present law, a recipient of social-security benefits can earn through his own labor no more than $75 per month without loss of benefits; and

Whereas there is no limitation upon other income a social-security recipient may receive; and

Whereas there should be no distinction between income received through the fruits of an individual's own labor and income received from the fruits of investments; and

Whereas a recipient of social-security benefits has actually paid for and earned his pension; and

Whereas legislation in the form of H. R. 4683 has been introduced by Congressman EDMUND P. RADWAN, representing the 41st Congressional District of New York, which would repeal this so-called work clause and which would permit a recipient of social security to earn as much money as he can without the loss of his social-security benefits; and

Whereas said legislation is now pending in the Congress of the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Association of New York State Young Republican Clubs, Inc.,

goes on record as supporting H. R. 4683, introduced by Representatives EDMUND P. RADWAN, Republican, of Buffalo, N. Y., as well as other similar legislation eliminating and repealing the work clause in our present social-security law.

Junius Parker Fishburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith an editorial from the Thursday, March 25, 1954, issue of the Roanoke World-News, concerning the late Junius P. Fishburn, one of Virginia's noblest sons, who died in Emergency Hospital during a visit to the Nation's Capital on March 24, 1954:

JUNIUS PARKER FISHBURN

It is with considerable emotion and a sense of irreplaceable loss that we record today the passing of the man who began his newspaper career as reporter and editor of this paper and went on to become both president and publisher.

Junius Parker Fishburn was no ordinary newspaper owner. He believed in knowing his business from the ground up. Not only did he dedicate these publications to the public service but he devoted a large portion of his life to that service. He gave of his time and talent to an amazing number of organizations and causes. In fact, he gave so much that his associates often urged him to draw the line. He found it hard to do. There was always something else which needed his help.

From his youth he had a deep-seated faith in people and was convinced that, given the facts and the proper encouragement, they would do the right thing. It was almost a passion with him that all sides of every question should be aired and that we should always lean over backward if necessary to let the other fellow have his say. That to him was the essence of democracy. He insisted upon people's right to know and to say what they had to say.

No man can head a large news gathering and publishing agency long without stamping upon it his personality, his ideals, his convictions, and his aspirations. We like to think that the World-News has reflected these things with a fair degree of faithfulness.

Shortly after World War II he outlined to us what he would like his native city to be. He detailed its shortcomings, its needs, and its possibilities. Then he helped work out a program which was published daily for several years. He was convinced that if these things were hammered home at the risk of monotony the people would respond. We are proud to say that he lived to see nearly all of those things accomplished because Roanoke citizens became convinced they needed doing.

In his politics he believed in keeping an open mind and prided himself on being quite often more liberal than his subordinates. The World-News and the Roanoke Times progressed from moderate party leanings to strict independence under that aegis because he felt absolute freedom of expression was essential to intellectual honesty.

It was inevitable that a man of Mr. Fishburn's many facets should become identified with other business. He served with distinction on boards of the Norfolk & Western Railway, the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., and the First National Exchange Bank. He headed the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, the Virginia Historic Highway Association, and was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond and vice president of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

One of his greatest loves was the American Red Cross which he served as director for several years. He provided sound counsel on the VPI and Hollins College boards. He had a talent for tackling and putting over big money-raising jobs. Typical of these were his church and the recent Roanoke Hospital development fund. For the latter he headed the special-gifts division and because of his insistence to considerable degree a new Burrell Memorial Hospital for Negroes is rising today, as well as the huge addition to Memorial and Crippled Children's Hospital.

Through the example of his father, he became an ardent advocate of city parks and playgrounds with result that he helped more than double Roanoke's park acreage within the past quarter century.

Music and flowers were the two consuming recreational passions of his life. His record library was monumental. He was a long-time member of the national and local rose societies and a devoted raiser of iris with result that his gardens remain a showplace.

We shall miss his counsel, but we feel he would want no other tribute than a resolve herewith that we shall try earnestly to continue his policies, uphold his ideals, and serve the public in the interest of truth which keeps men free.

M. C. A.

Address of Charles H. Silver, President of Beth Israel Hospital, at the Dedication of the Nathan D. Perlman Place Which Has Been Named in Honor of the Late Justice Perlman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address by Mr. Charles H. Silver, a distinguished and respected citizen of New York, paying tribute to the memory of a very old friend of mine, Hon. Nathan D. Perlman, who among other things served four terms in this House:

We have foregathered here to honor the memory of a fine American, a distinguished son of our great city, who dedicated the major portion of his adult life to serving his fellowmen. The naming of this thoroughfare for him has an unusual significance for he gave so much of his time, energy, and fine talents to the institution which faces what is now to be known as Nathan D. Perlman Place.

The passing of Nathan Perlman was a great loss to Beth Israel Hospital. It was more of a loss to the city of New York which he was serving at the time of his death. And, my friends, for me personally it meant the tearing away of a tried and true friend, an unselfish coworker, modest, self-effacing, but nevertheless a great force for good in the affairs of the institution of which I have the honor to be president.

He was my good right arm. His advice was invaluable, and his sole thought was the interest and welfare of Beth Israel, a voluntary institution serving all without regard to their ability to pay. After a long and difficult day on the bench, he would come to Beth Israel and give us the benefit of his excellent judgment and advance suggestions and ideas that proved so helpful to us.

Nathan Perlman was a humanitarian in the finest sense of that word. He loved people and he wanted them to be happy. He knew how much poverty and sickness took its toll, especially among the underprivileged. To him the outstanding problem was the welfare of the thousands of New Yorkers who needed a helping hand, and he felt that Beth Israel Hospital was one of the institutions through which this assistance could be given effectively in the matter of health.

I am impelled to tell you on this occasion of his last days for it was in Beth Israel Hospital that he entered upon his eternal sleep. For me this is a sad but tender memory. Plans had been completed to lay the cornerstone for the clinic which had been named for me, and he told a very good friend of mine that he looked forward to speaking at the ceremonies. On such an occasion, which marked the greatest honor that has ever been conferred on me, nothing would have made me happier than to have Nathan Perlman present. Unfortunately, his illness became critical and he lay on a bed of sickness unable to be with us. But I know and shall always feel that Nathan Perlman was with us in spirit on that day.

I have dwelt at length on my association with Nathan Perlman because I know of my personal knowledge of his many kindly deeds, of his deep understanding of human nature, his compassionate viewpoint, his belief in the ultimate goodness of things, and of his philosophy of life. He had a host of friends because people just naturally gravitated to him. As a judge on the bench he was obliged to make difficult decisions which might affect the future course of the lives of men and women, but he had a very keen sense of justice and fair dealing.

Most of us I am sure are familiar with his long career as a public servant. For 41 years, he served his fellow citizens in many capacities. In 1911, he began his career as a Deputy Attorney General; this was followed by three terms in the State assembly, and later he was a Member of the House of Representatives for several terms. In 1935 he was appointed a city magistrate and a year later was elevated to justice of the court of special sessions, a post which he held at the time of his passing.

This is a record of which his family and friends may well be proud. As a legislator, he was identified with the enactment of much progressive legislation, particularly in behalf of labor; as a judge he won the respect of the members of the bar who appeared before the tribunal which he graced.

It seems to me that one of the greatest tributes paid to him was his appointment to the Mayor's Committee on Unity. For Nathan Perlman was essentially a man who sought unity and understanding between the people of all races and strains. He knew that all problems would be easier to solve if they were approached on all sides in a spirit of willing and cooperative compromise.

And so his friends—who were legion—and a great many of whom have come here today, know that this symbol, this sign which bears his name, represents an honor not from any particular institution, organized group, or movement, but from the great city of New York whose people he served with loyalty and competence. The fact that it is now the name of a thoroughfare where he was an active worker for over a quarter of a century, gives added meaning to this action by the City Council of New York. I want to express my thanks to Councilman Weissberger

who introduced the bill and Majority Leader Joseph T. Sharkey for his cooperation in having the measure adopted by the council.

The younger men who are coming into public life may well take a good example from the life of Nathan Perlman. They should realize that those values which he established as a human being and as a public servant are the values that make for decent living, sympathetic understanding of the needs of our less fortunate people, and a desire to look upon public office as a public trust. We miss Nathan Perlman and all of us at Beth Israel shall forever cherish his memory. He left behind the finest heritage to his family—a good name—and to the people where he worked and strived and succeeded, a record of many good deeds. I am proud to be here with you to honor him. He was my friend. Thank you.

Text of Strauss H-Blast Statement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of the H-blast statement issued by Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission:

The President has authorized me to make available those portions of my report of yesterday to him, the publication of which would not compromise information vital to our national security.

I have just returned from the Pacific proving grounds of the Atomic Energy Commission where I witnessed the second part of a test series of thermonuclear weapons. I will describe it as well as I am able, but perhaps before doing so it would be appropriate to begin with a short summary of the historical background.

We detected the test of an atomic weapon, or device, by the Russians in August of 1949. Realizing that our leadership was therefore challenged and that our sole possession of the weapon which had been a major deterrent to aggression had been canceled, it became clear that our superiority would thereafter be only relative and dependent upon a quantitative lead—that is to say, upon our posession of greater numbers of atomic weapons so long as that could be maintained. There was, however, the alternative of a qualitative lead if we could make a weapon of greater force—greater than the fission weapons by a degree of magnitude comparable to the difference betwen fission bombs and conventional bombs. A theoretical method of accomplishing this was known to our scientists.

WORK BEGUN IN 1950

In January 1950, the President directed the Atomic Energy Commission to undertake the necessary steps to see if this weapon, variously called the hydrogen bomb, the fusion bomb, and the thermonuclear bomb, could in fact be made. As you know, thanks to the ingenuity of those scientists and engineers who devoted themselves to the project, the feasibility of the fusion reaction was demonstrated and a prototype was tested at Eniwetok in November 1952.

This test produced the largest man-made explosion ever witnessed to that date, and from that point we moved into refinement of design and other development. In August of last year the Russians also tested a weapon or device of a yield well beyond the range of regular fission weapons and which derived a part of its force from the fusion of light elements. There is good reason to believe that they had begun work on this weapon substantially before we did.

The present series of tests has been long in the planning. It is conducted jointly by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense. A task force composed of the three armed services and a scientific staff representing the Commission was established last year in accordance with the procedure successfully followed in preceding tests outside our continental limits. The Navy, Air Force, and Army have successively supplied the command for the task forces.

MARCH SHOTS SUCCESSFUL

Early this January men and supplies began to move out to the proving grounds for this series. The first shot took place on its scheduled date of March 1, and the second on March 26. Both were successful. No test is made without a definite purpose and a careful determination that it is directed toward an end result of major importance to our military strength and readiness. The results which the scientists at Los Alamos and Livermore had hoped to obtain from these two tests were fully realized, and enormous potential has been added to our military posture by what we have learned.

It should also be noted that the testing of weapons is important likewise in order to be fully aware of the possible, future, aggressive ability of an enemy for we now fully know that we possess no monopoly of capability in this awesome field.

Now as to this specific test series. The first shot has been variously described as "devastating," "out of control," and with other exaggerated and mistaken characterizations. I would not wish to minimize it. It was a very large blast, but at no time was the testing out of control. The misapprehension seems to have arisen due to two facts. First, that the yield was about double that of the calculated estimate—a margin of error not incompatible with a totally new weapon. (The range of guesses on the first A-bomb covered a relatively far wider spectrum.) Second, because of the results of the "fall-out."

FALL-OUT STAGED IN OCEAN

When a large explosion occurs on or within a certain distance of the ground, an amount of earth or water or whatever is beneath the center of the explosion is sucked up into the air. The heavy particles fall out quickly. The lighter ones are borne away in the direction of the wind until they, too, settle out. If the explosion is a nuclear one, many of these particles are radioactive as are the vaporized parts of the weapon itself.

For this reason the Atomic Energy Commission has conducted the tests of its larger weapons away from the mainland so that the fall-out would occur in the ocean where it would be quickly dissipated both by dilution and by rapid decay of most of the radioactivity which is of short duration. The Marshall Islands were selected for the site of the first large-scale tests—Operation Crossroads—for reasons which will be apparent from the maps which I shall show you. The late Adm. W. H. P. Blandy, under whom I had the privilege of serving, selected the Bikini site.

The Marshall Islands during the months of February, March, and April are usually favored by winds which would blow away from any inhabited atolls. The two atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok were chosen as the base for these operations. Each of these atolls is a large necklace of coral reef surrounding a lagoon two to three hundreds of square miles in area, and at various points on the reef like beads on a string appear a multitude of little islands, some a few score acres in extent—others no more than sandspits. It is these small uninhabited treeless sandbars which are used for the experiments. As a matter of fact, the task force dredged up enough sand and coral to build one of these so-called islands to have it where it was wanted most advantageously for shot No. 1. The impression that an entire atoll or even large islands have been destroyed in these tests is erroneous. It would be more accurate to say a large sandspit or reef.

WINDS CAREFULLY STUDIED

Before the shot takes place, there is a careful survey of the winds at all elevations up to many thousands of feet. This survey is conducted by weather stations on islands and on fleet units at widely separated points. Contrary to general belief, winds do not blow in only one direction at a given time and place. At various heights above the earth, winds are found to be blowing frequently in opposite directions and at greatly varying speeds. An atomic cloud is therefore sheared by these winds as it rises through them. The meteorologists attempt to forecast the wind direction for the optimum condition and the task force commander thereupon decides on the basis of the weather reports when the test shall be made. The weather forecast is necessarily long range because a warning area must be searched for shipping and the search which is carried out both visually and by radar in P2V Navy planes requires a day or more to complete.

The "warning area" is an area surrounding the proving grounds within which it is determined that a hazard to shipping or aviation exists. We have established many such areas as have other governments. This map shows such areas off the Pacific coast at Point Magu, and off the Hawaiian Islands. Here is a large guided-missile area from Florida across the Bahamas. Here is one maintained by Great Britain off Australia. Including our continental warning areas, we have established a total of 447 such warning and/or danger areas. This particular warning area was first established in 1947. The United Nations were advised and appropriate notices were carried then and subsequently in marine and aeration navigational manuals.

STILL ACCIDENTS OCCUR

Despite such notices there are many instances where accidents or near accidents have resulted from inadvertent trespass in such warning areas. The very size of them makes it impossible to fence or police them. For the day of shot No. 1, the meteorologists had predicted a wind condition which should have carried the fallout to the north of the the group of small atolls lying to the east of Bikini. The survey aircraft carefully searched the area and reported no shipping. The shot was fired. The wind failed to follow the predictions but shifted south of that line and the little islands of Rongelap, Rongerik, and Uterik were in the path of the fallout. A Japanese fishing trawler, the *Fortunate Dragon*, appears to have been missed by the search but, based on a statement attributed to her skipper, to the effect that he saw the flash of the explosion and heard the concussion 6 minutes later, it must have been well within the danger area. The 23 crew members on the ship, 28 American personnel manning weather stations on the little islands, and the 236 natives on these islands were therefore within the area of the fallout. The supposition that the actual blast of the bomb extended over such enormous areas is of course entirely incorrect.

The task-force commander promptly evacuated all the people from these islands. They were taken to Kwajalein where we maintained a naval establishment and there placed under continuous and competent medical supervision. I visited them there last week. Since that time it has been determined that our weather personnel could be returned to duty, but are still being kept

on Kwajalein for the benefit of further observation. None of the 28 weather personnel have burns. The 236 natives also appeared to me to be well and happy. The exceptions were 2 sick cases among them, 1 an aged man in advanced stages of diabetes, the other a very old woman with crippling arthritis. Neither of these cases have any connection with the tests. Today, a full month after the event, the medical staff on Kwajalein have advised us that they anticipate no illness, barring, of course, disease which might be hereafter contracted. One child has been born in the group, and others are expected.

CAN'T EXAMINE JAPANESE

The situation with respect to the 23 Japanese fishermen is less certain due to the fact that our people have not yet been permitted by the Japanese authorities to make a proper clinical examination. It is interesting to note, however, that the reports which have recently come through to us indicate that the blood count of these men is comparable to that of our weather-station personnel. Skin lesions are said to be already healing. The men are under continual observation by Japanese physicians, and we are represented in Japan by Dr. Morton, of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, and Mr. Eisenbud, of the Atomic Energy Commission.

With respect to the stories concerning widespread contamination of tuna and other fish as the result of the tests, the facts do not confirm them. The only contaminated fish discovered were those in the open hold of the Japanese trawler. Commissioner Crawford, of the United States Food and Drug Administration, has advised us: "Our inspectors found no instance of radioactivity in any shipments of fish from Pacific waters. Inspections were undertaken as a purely precautionary measure. * * * There is no occasion here for public apprehension about this type of contamination." I should perhaps note that in the waters around Bikini and Eniwetok at certain seasons of the year almost all fish caught are normally poisonous as a result of feeding on certain seasonally prevalent micro-organisms, and the natives and our task force personnel do not eat them at such times.

INDEMNITY ASSURANCE

In the matter of indemnifying the Japanese, our Government has informed the Japanese Government that it is prepared to agree to reimbursement for such financial assistance as the Japanese Government and our Embassy in Tokyo, jointly, may find necessary as an interim measure to give to the persons involved for current medical care and family relief, including wages.

With respect to the apprehension that fallout radioactivity would move toward Japan on the Japanese Current, I can state that any radioactivity falling into the test area would become harmless within a few miles after being picked up by these currents which move slowly—less than 1 mile per hour—and would be completely undetectable within 500 miles or less.

With respect to a story which received some currency last week to the effect that there is danger of a fallout of radioactive material in the United States, it should be noted that after every test we have had, and the Russian tests as well, there is a small increase in natural "background" radiation in some localities within the continental United States, but, currently, it is less than that observed after some of the previous continental and overseas tests, and far below the levels which could be harmful in any way to human beings, animals, or crops. It will decrease rapidly after the tests until the radiation level has returned approximately to the normal background.

MILITARY CAPABILITY UP

A recent comment which I have been shown has suggested that the incident involving the fallout on inhabited areas was actually a planned part of the operation. I do not wish to comment on this other than to characterize it as utterly false, irresponsible, and gravely unjust to the men engaged in this patriotic service.

Finally, I would say that one important result of these hydrogen bomb developments has been the enhancement of our military capability to the point where we should soon be more free to increase our emphasis on the peaceful uses of atomic power—at home and abroad. It will be a tremendous satisfaction to those who have participated in this program that it has hastened that day.

What America Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include this essay by Darrel Lane, son of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene L. Lane, 1516 South Pleasant Street, Independence, Mo., an eighth-grade student at junior high School. Mr. Lane was one of the first-place winners in the American essay contest sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. His essay was entitled "What America Means to Me." This was published recently in the Independence Examiner, of Independence, Mo., March 29 1954. The essay follows:

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

The topic, What America Means to Me, immediately brings to mind two distinct lines of thought, heritage, and future.

As for our heritage, what American boy does not thrill to the stories of our heroic forefathers? The wonderful display of courage and defiance at the Boston Tea Party, the shot heard around the world at Concord, and brilliant and immortal Battle of Bunker Hill, or the miseries and heartbreaking days at Valley Forge. Finally, victory was theirs. Thus began the most wonderful land on earth in which to be born.

From the original Declaration of Independence to the final acceptance of our wonderful Constitution, the founders of our beloved Republic showed deep insight into our present and future problems.

To this day I sincerely believe that there are very few of our ancestors' hopes and dreams that have not been fulfilled. It would be a proud day for General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Adams, Hancock, or Franklin to be able to see and travel the width and length of our great and glorious Nation. We should be forever proud that in less than 200 years since their time, that we have never for an instant let their dreams die.

To be called an American is a tonic to a human that can never be matched by anything whether it be material or spiritual.

We have no dreams of world conquest. We have only brotherly love for all beings of this planet. But nevertheless it is sorrowful to think that all the people of this great world in which we live, cannot share our wonderful heritage and future. We as a whole are a peace-loving people, but we have never been known to dodge a conflict no matter what the odds, if we felt there was the slightest infringement on our rights to live as free men and women. We have and will resist all efforts to wrest away any part of the great freedoms and protections set up for us by our ancestors. We have established ourselves now and forever to be defenders of the common rights of all men regardless of race, creed, or color.

Our future is boundless and there is no limit to the fruits of earnest effort in our beloved America.

America has become the home of the greatest inventive genius on earth. When the most learned scientists, writers, humanitarians, and workmen of the world now say, "home," they mean all our immense country.

For an honest American there are no geographical boundaries, no passports to carry in our country.

We are a freedom-loving people and as long as our forefather's blood runs in our veins there will always be free America. By free America we mean individual freedoms for every man, woman, and child of our ever-increasing population. We have the right to think, work, and worship as we each desire. Where on earth can you find the religious freedoms that are enjoyed without censorship, except in our country! Your father may be Protestant, Jew, or Catholic but you as an individual are allowed to worship as you please. If you are the type of person that feels you need no church, but have a belief of your own, you are free in that respect also.

There are no limits to the chances for education in our country. This great opportunity is left up to the individual after he is of mature enough age to judge for himself. If the poor or more unfortunate has the earnest desire to educate himself he will always find willing and helping hands to assist him.

Our modern cities and wonderful farms, our wonderful transportation systems and great recreational centers, will remain forever as monuments to the courage and fortitude of our forebears.

By no measure of thought could any fortunate inhabitant of this great country languish in his endeavors to perpetuate the trials and tribulations of the present day defenders of this great republic.

Sometimes it may seem that men and women are called by our leaders for an unnecessary or a supreme sacrifice. If anyone ever for a minute should entertain such thought, he has only to ask any individual of the millions who have been called on to do so. They will tell you that for an American there is no question. We do not believe in needless sacrifice, but there is no limit to what we will do to preserve the most revered of all rights of common men, that is personal freedom.

We are not a foolish nation as history will bear out. We do not insist that everyone else believe as we do. We never, at any time, have used our great power to usurp another nation.

We would rather be considered as protectors of all freedom-loving people. It can never be said that we have ever bypassed any opportunity to help a weaker nation, if they are worthy of help.

To be called an American should in itself be satisfaction enough to make up for any hardship or effort ever offered by any of us Americans.

Statement Stating Purposes of H. R. 5605

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JEFFREY P. HILLELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. HILLELSON. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 5605 is a bill that I have introduced after much study and many conferences with

members of the staff of Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, a subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. Also, I have consulted with authorities in different Government agencies concerning the merit and wisdom of this bill.

This bill amends the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to provide that transfers of real property from certain Government corporations to other Government agencies shall not operate to remove such real property from local tax rolls providing the property has before the transfer been on local tax rolls.

In many cases where real estate has been owned by Government corporations and subject to local taxes authorized by the Federal Government to be paid by the corporation, this tax revenue to the local taxing agencies has been lost or terminated when this real property has been transferred to another Federal agency which is not authorized to pay such taxes. It has long been established that Federal property is not subject to State and local taxation without the consent of the Federal Government. However, for many years the Federal Government has given this consent under certain circumstances and, in particular, with respect to real property owned by Government corporations created by Congress. Many hundreds of war plants were established and operated under the corporate form and were authorized to pay State and local taxes on their real property to the same extent as private industry is required to pay taxes on similar real property. In most cases this afforded local taxing authorities much needed assistance in their tax problems.

At the end of World War II, the corporations owning these properties began to dispose of them either by sale, transfer to other Federal agencies, or to the War Assets Corporation or its successor, the General Services Administration, as excess or for handling under the Industrial Reserve Act. In an effort to take care of the tax situation the War Assets Corporation, in regulations promulgated under the Surplus Property Act of 1944, made certain provisions for the payment by the disposal agency of taxes due for periods after assumption of responsibility for surplus real property. Appropriations made to carry out the Surplus Property Act of 1944—Public Law 785 and 862, 80th Congress, 1st and 2d sessions—provide for payment of amounts in lieu of taxes on real property declared surplus by Government-owned corporations under that act.

This authority was continued by section 210 (a) (9) of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949—Public Law 152, 81st Congress, 1st session—as amended by the act of September 5, 1940—Sixty-fourth Statutes at Large, page 581—and applied to real property declared surplus by Government corporations, pursuant to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, where legal title to such real property remains in any such Government corporation. Under the War Assets Administration regulations referred to and the similar provision in the Federal Property and Administrative Act of 1949, it was the policy of the General Services Administration and the War Assets Administration to leave title to real property declared to them as surplus in the name of the Corporation until sold or assigned for use by an agency of the Government.

This provision, until recently, prevented loss of taxes to local taxing authorities—in those cases of Government corporation real estate subject to taxes being declared surplus—until title passed from the corporation. If title passed to private ownership, local finances were not upset because of discontinuance of payment of real-estate taxes by the Government corporation. However, on July 15, 1952, the United States Court of Claims, in the case of the Board of County Commissioners of Sedgwick County, State of Kansas, against the United States announced a decision which in most cases renders the cited provision ineffective. The case involved a claim by the county of Sedgwick for taxes assessed against real property record title to which was held in the name of Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but which had been declared surplus to War Assets Administration under the Surplus Property Act of 1944. The decision states that, while no change in the tax status of the property—from a taxable one when the property was under Reconstruction Finance Corporation supervision—was effected by the declaration of surplus alone, the acceptance of accountability therefor by War Assets Administration removed the property from taxable status. On the basis of this decision and one applied later in a specific case by the Comptroller General of the United States, payment of taxes has been and will be suspended in a good many cases that will work a real hardship on local communities. A recent partial canvass of the situation by the General Services Administration showed that 62 cases in 23 States and 50 congressional districts have occurred within the last 5 years in which local communities lost over $2,500,000 in taxes, that they had been receiving from Federal corporations, because the property had been transferred to Federal agencies not authorized by law to pay the taxes.

Typical is the case in my own Missouri Fourth District where the RFC several years ago purchased property which now houses the Bendix Corp. This real property since has been transferred to the Navy, pursuant to Public Law 364, 80th Congress. I have been informed that this amounts to a loss in annual taxes of approximately $191,000 to both Jackson County and Kansas City, Mo. This, of course, would be remedied under this proposed bill.

A complete summary of this bill is as follows:

First. Provides that when taxable real property that has been on the local tax rolls is transferred by a Government corporation to other Government agencies it shall remain subject to taxation regardless of subsequent transfers to other Federal agencies while it is leased for commercial purposes; and in certain other cases, payments in lieu of taxes shall be made.

Second. The Government is authorized to pay these local taxes on payments in lieu thereof on real property described in this act. Payments in lieu of taxes shall equal the amount which would be payable as real property taxes if the real property were privately owned, less certain appropriate deductions.

Third. That any Government corporation created after the effective date of this title their real property will be subject to taxation by local taxing authorities to the same extent as other real property unless specifically provided otherwise.

Fourth. Provides that the effective date of this bill will be as of January 1, 1954, and that the date of June 22, 1948, shall be the date which will exclude from the provisions of the proposed legislation any real property owned and disposed of by Government corporations prior to that date.

Fifth. The Government will not be subject to penalties or penalty interest on these properties. The real property mentioned in this bill will not be subject to any lien, foreclosure, garnishment, or other proceedings because of nonpayment or failure to make timely payment of taxes on real property. This provision was included to protect the United States Government from paying such penalties which in many cases are common in many taxing authorities. This is necessary so that if Congress should be negligent or tardy in appropriating sufficient funds to take care of the taxes that the Government corporations or Federal agencies would not be penalized for being 1 to 4 or 5 months late as it is not always possible to have appropriation bills passed by certain dates in order to make prompt payment to taxing authorities.

Sixth. No payments in lieu of taxes shall be made with respect to real property which is taxable under other local laws, real property used or held for purposes for which property under private ownership would be exempt from taxation, or real property used or held primarily for services to the local public, such as defense installations, courthouses, post offices, and so forth.

Seventh. This act shall expire as of December 31, 1956, unless renewed by Congress. The reason for this expiration date is that it is hoped that this problem of local taxes on Federal property will be included as a subject of study, investigation, and recommendations by the proposed Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, I have received copy of a resolution passed by the Nottoway County (Va.) Farmers Union

regarding the rural electrification program and public power program of this administration, and in accordance with the unanimous consent that I have been granted, I desire it to be included along with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Whereas the Rural Electrification Administration and the farmer-owned electric cooperatives have served the best interest of the farmers of this country; and

Whereas an adequate supply of electric power is in the interest of the entire country; and

Where about 93 percent of the farms of the country have been supplied with electric power through the electric cooperatives and the power policies of the Government during the past 15 years: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nottoway County Farmers Union, representing 140 farm families of Nottoway County, goes on record as supporting the REA and our present system of farmer-owned electric cooperatives and urges that the necessary safeguards be provided by the Congress to prevent the executive branch of government from turning the farmer-owned cooperatives over to the commercial power interests; Be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman WATKINS M. ABBITT, Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, Senator HARRY F. BYRD, to the newspaper, and to the State Farmers Union.

The above resolution was adopted March 11, 1954.

G. F. JONES,
President.
C. E. ELLIOTT,
Secretary.

Agricultural Surplus

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have today presented to the Congress a joint resolution providing that all agricultural products accumulated by the Federal Government prior to January 1, 1954, be declared to be surplus war material and either stockpiled as is other war surplus material or disposed of under the same rules and regulations as all other war surplus.

I submit to you that a grateful nation has completely forgotten one of the most important producers of wartime materials—the farmer—and has failed to treat his wartime product on the same basis as other products produced for war.

I submit that this Nation is forgetting that, under the strain of wartime production, the one thing that had top priority in importance was food.

Because it was asked to do so, because high subsidies were paid for such production, because it was a patriotic duty, American agriculture tightened tugs that had never been tightened before and turned that production to the Nation on the same basis and for the same cause that producers of guns, tanks, planes, trucks, and ammunition produced.

In the case of all other war production, valued in excess of $50 billion, it has been treated as war material. That which could be stockpiled has been stockpiled; that which could not be stockpiled is being disposed of as war surplus. According to recent news reports, some $2 billion worth has been disposed of in Korea for a few cents on the original dollar invested.

What has been done with the agricultural products produced for war? It is being handled as any peacetime food surplus might be handled. It has been taken over by the Commodity Credit Corporation and is being fed into the market as rapidly as it can be disposed of, principally on the domestic market, to glut the market and beat down the price of similar food products which are now being produced on a peacetime basis.

Farm prices cannot maintain stability, farm economy cannot revert to normal, so long as this war surplus material is held as a constant club over normal production of foodstuffs.

In considering the status of wartime production for defense purposes, it should be remembered that huge subsidies were paid to industry, labor, and agriculture to stimulate production.

Industry, which was engaged in regular peacetime production for civilian use and consumption, entered into contracts with the Federal Government, providing that products sold to the Government for wartime use would not be resold on the American market in competition with production for nonmilitary purposes. Such companies as General Motors, Ford Motor Co., Willys-Overland, and others incorporated such provisions in their wartime production contracts. Those cars, trucks, jeeps, and so forth, are not now and were not, after World War II, disposed of as war surplus in America. Following World War II, millions of dollars worth of such material were abandoned, junked, and war-surplussed in foreign countries at a fraction of their cost. The same thing is true today, only probably on a smaller scale.

What is the situation with regard to agricultural products, produced for war?

Farmers of America could not, of course, sit down around a conference table and contract with the Government that the result of their production would not be thrown on the market in competition with their peacetime production. They could not regulate that production as readily as industry could. They produced for war and the stockpile of their production is now being used by the Federal Government to glut their peacetime production market.

Let us take a look at the record.

During World War II, food production was given priority over military service. Any youth who was engaged in farming was automatically deferred from military service. During the Korean war, any youth who could prove that he was necessary for farm production was deferred at the discretion of the local draft board. Why? Because agricultural production was considered more essential than military service.

High bonuses were paid by the Federal Government for the production of foodstuffs and certain agricultural products needed in war material. Every effort was made to stimulate agriculture's production.

It was a national policy. Agricultural production was considered more necessary than any other production. That national policy continued up to and including the 1953 crop. Under the Agricultural Adjustment Act—through which means agricultural production was stimulated for war purposes—the Secretary of Agriculture was required to reduce farm acreages when crop reserves reached a certain peak, unless in his judgment national security demanded continuance of such production. On the basis that such an emergency existed, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan refused to declare such acreage reduction on the 1953 crop, thereby determining, as a national policy, that wartime production of agricultural products should be continued through the 1953 crop year.

I have heard it repeated many times that in so doing, Secretary Brannan was just making it tough for the Republicans. I do not feel, however, that an obligation established by the administration then in power or by the Federal Government can be sloughed off that lightly. This was a quasi-contract which is just as binding as the contract made with industrial firms.

I feel that the agricultural surplus created under the stress of war is identical with the other $50 billion surplus of war materials on hand at the present time. I feel that it is the obligation of the Federal Government to declare it such and treat it exactly the same.

Since crop production is something that cannot be turned on and off like a spigot and since the 1953 crop was produced under wartime emergency—so declared by the Secretary of Agriculture—and actually in the process of production when the armistice came in Korea in July—that 1953 crop should be included in the war surplus declaration.

I feel that all storable agricultural products should be placed in a war surplus military food stockpile. Nonstorable products should be disposed of on foreign markets in the same manner as other war surplus materials are disposed of.

I hope the American public will realize that the agricultural producer is in no different position, with respect to his wartime production, than the industrial producer. The surplus of war foods and war materials are in identically the same position. If it is proper to charge off one product to the cost of war, it is proper to charge off the other.

Certainly, this surplus war production dare not be used now as a lash across the back of agriculture and this bountiful production for defense be used to glut the domestic market and threaten the economic well-being of a peacetime economy, by holding it in competition with the normal peacetime commercial production.

To follow such a procedure can only bankrupt agriculture which, after all, is the foundation of the economic structure of the Nation.

If it is right that the war-produced products of industry and labor should be declared war surplus and stockpiled, then it is right that the war-produced products of agriculture be treated in the same manner.

Civilian Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, during World War II, I was a major on the Queens Division staff of the New York City Patrol Corps, which was an auxiliary of the New York Police Department under the supervision of civil defense. In the course of this service I became acquainted with the work of civil defense units and the fact that many citizens failed to appreciate the responsibility which attaches to such organizations. Recent events which indicate the enormity of the power of the atomic and hydrogen bombs should awaken in every citizen his responsibility in civilian defense. An excellent article by Felix Morley appears in the April issue of Nation's Business:

THE STATE OF THE NATION
(By Felix Morley)

If an atom or hydrogen bomb should be dropped on an American city, the devastated community would not be expected to confront the emergency unaided. Every part of the Union would pour out its resources to aid the afflicted member. Nobody in Oklahoma, for instance, would grumble if the State legislature levied a special tax to help pay for reconstruction in New York.

This can be asserted with confidence not merely from a general knowledge of one's own people, but also because the entire civil defense organization is based on the Federal idea. That is, it assumes that while the locality has the first responsibility for meeting an unexpected disaster it can also rely implicitly on the unity of the whole. This is the basic theory of the Federal Civil Defense Act, under which the great majority of the States have now made mutual-aid agreements with each other. These agreements provide for a standardization of procedures and equipment, giving substance to the familiar motto on the great seal of the United States: "E Pluribus Unum—one out of many."

This decentralized method of meeting a national problem is traditional with Americans, and is so natural to most of us that comment ought to be superfluous. Yet it should be realized that European officials stationed in Washington find our civil defense setup extraordinary. They cannot understand why it is not all directed by a big central agency empowered to tell the mayors of every city just how they should prepare for the possible emergency.

Many of these Europeans think that there is absolutely no military threat to the United States from Russia. They regard the air-raid drills, special road signs, and all the rest of it as silly. But if we anticipate an attack, they say, why not plan the defense with customary American efficiency? Why all this cumbersome business of interstate agreements to achieve what might be accomplished by a single directive from the Nation's Capital?

I have myself recently heard these very questions asked several times by foreigners in Washington. And they are natural questions. Anybody brought up under a unitary government, where the localities have little or no power to direct their affairs, can be excused for not understanding the American system of home rule. What is disconcerting is not that Europeans ask these questions, but that Americans in answering them seem increasingly to assert that our Federal system is out of date. "It was designed for the 18th century," they say apologetically, "and should be revised for the atomic age."

This growing tendency to sell the Federal Republic short is for two fundamental reasons downright stupid. In the first place, there is absolutely no reason to expect more efficiency from a central authority than from the cooperative approach to local problems. Whether the issue be the curriculum of a school or the disposal of sewage, whether it be a rarefied intellectual or a pressingly physical problem, the neighborhood can usually find a far better solution than the dictate of any distant bureaucrat. It may be tiresome, as in the case of civil defense, to link the desirable local planning into a consistent national pattern. But when that linkage is made, the resultant chain binds the parts firmly together, providing a flexibility in unity which no overall stamp can hope to rival.

In the second place, nothing could be more misleading than the belief that there is something modern and streamlined in centralized dictatorship, something archaic and "horse and buggy" in the theory of federal union. All of the dead and forgotten civilizations, from those of Tyre and Nineveh to those of the Incas and the Aztecs, had bureaucratic governments. In all of them the localities were thoroughly deprived of power and existed merely to obey tyrannical directives. It passes belief to find so many people thinking today that there is something liberal or progressive in going back to that primitive system of centralized rule, of which Soviet Russia is the most distinguished modern example.

By the same token, there is nothing old-fashioned in the 18th-century American revolt in behalf of home rule. Indeed, to read the Declaration of Independence today is to be impressed by the timeliness of its indictment of poor old George III, who, after all, only attempted to govern America the way the Roman Emperors had governed Britain 15 centuries earlier. "He," wrote the signers of the Declaration, "has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance." That same complaint was the very kernel of the case against the New Deal.

A few lines further on, in the Declaration of Independence, occurs another complaint which is of at least equal applicability today. To quote:

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation."

In all the Senate speeches on the Bricker-George amendment there was none better summarizing its basic purpose than those few words from 1776. The whole struggle to insure that treaty law shall not override the Constitution was thus anticipated by Thomas Jefferson. And, like every other issue that confronts the Republic today, a formula for meeting it was then devised for those whom the Founding Fathers called posterity. Today we are that "posterity."

The formula is so simple and effective as to make our neglect of it seem scandalous. It was merely to keep in the localities the governmental power needed to run those localities as their people deem best. To the National Government, on the other hand, were entrusted such powers as would be necessary to make the Nation strong. And this Nation became strong—stronger than any other in history—by faithful adherence to that constitutional formula.

"One out of many" is the national motto. It does not mean that the one replaces or usurps the many. It does not mean that the United States has become a single united state in which every American should take orders from Washington, as they were forced to do from London 200 years ago. To appreciate that this Republic is still Federal, not unitary, one should study the mottoes not only of the Central Government but of all the States as well. Translating from the Latin, or Greek, those of the first six States in alphabetical order prove the point. These mottoes are:

Alabama: We dare to defend our rights; Arizona: God creates wealth; Arkansas: Let the people rule; California: I have found it; Colorado: Nothing without Providence; Connecticut: We who transplanted still sustains.

In the slogans of these 6 States, as of all the 42 others, there is great variety, but nowhere any trace of slavish dependence, for safety, security or satisfaction, on any centralized political authority. There is, in these telling expressions of State's rights, a clear and vibrant religious faith. There is a strong belief in the ability of the individual to work out his own destiny. There is a conviction that men should be citizens, not subjects. But there is no suggestion that Americans are or should be merely the childish, dependent nephews and nieces of a benevolent Uncle Sam.

"Eureka" is the motto on the seal of California—"I have found it." There are those in California today, as in every other State, who would erase this proud Greek work. They would say, in substitution, that the Bureau of Mines should find the gold; that the Bureau of Reclamation should extract it; that the Bureau of Currency should turn it into depreciated dollars; that the Bureau of Social Security should then distribute it under some Townsend plan. That is the Socialist way of life and many Americans today, in all but name, are Socialists.

But it is not the American way of handling civil defense, which of course, implies a much greater task than orderly preparation to meet a possible enemy attack. Civil defense, properly understood, means citizenship protection of our institutions against all hazards—from natural ignorance to unnatural depravity.

In every case home rule will meet those problems best. It will put butter on the table, instead of storing it by thousands of tons in Government warehouses the way the Roman Emperors stored grain when Rome was in its decadence.

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today, a letter from a resident of Duncan, Okla., pointing up one of the most serious inequities in our social-security program. My correspondent cannot live on his social-security benefits, but neither can he supplement his earnings with them, although he has been told by his Government that this is an insurance program to help him in his old age.

He correctly says:

Should any insurance company, who might be carrying an annuity policy in my favor decide, when the policy matured, that due to my earnings I did not need the annuity payments and then suspend or reduce same, they would promptly be faced by legal action.

How long will the Government of the United States do with impunity what it prohibits its citizens and corporations from doing, under penalty of the law?

My correspondent's letter follows:

DUNCAN, OKLA., *January 10, 1953.*

Hon. REPRESENTATIVE OSTERTAG,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I was agreeably surprised to read in the daily papers a few days ago that there are at least two Congressmen who recognize the injustice which is being perpetrated upon a large number of self-employed persons, of whom I am one.

My position is that Congress has violated the sanctity of a contract, to which I am a party, without my consent, and it is a well-established principle of law that no valid contract can be altered or amended without the consent of both contracting parties.

When the social-security system was first inaugurated I was brought into it without any action on my part, nor any opportunity on my part to decline.

Since the inception of the plan I have paid my premiums by payroll deductions until April 1947, when it became necessary for me to retire under a retirement plan operated by my employers.

At that time my contract matured, and from that time until January 1951 I received the benefits to which I was entitled. I engaged in business promptly thereafter as a self-employed person and earned a satisfactory profit, as self-employed persons were not covered by the then existing statute. I continued to receive my social-security benefits until the new act.

The new act extended the coverage to include self-employed persons, and my benefits were suspended until such time as I definitely retire or reach the age of 75, and to add insult to injury, I was then required to resume payments.

This action by Congress was one that definitely changed the contract without my consent. If this were a pension based upon need and supported out of the Federal Treasury, it is possible that Congress would have been within its moral rights, but it has been repeatedly stated that the plan is entirely self-supporting, and this is evidenced by the fact that there is a surplus in the amount of some $15 billion, all of which has been borrowed and spent by the Government, and if and when it is ever repaid, it will have to be done through congressional appropriations, and included in the tax bill of the public, and I will then be in the position of being taxed to raise the money necessary for the payment to me of any benefits which have been or may hereafter be paid to me.

As stated above, I have been required since January 1951 to resume my payments, and as I have sufficient credits to entitle me to the maximum payment of some $80 or $85, I do not increase the payments which I may later secure by reason of these continued payments on a contract which matured in 1947.

Should any insurance company who might be carrying an annuity policy in my favor decide, when the policy matured, that due to my earnings I did not need the annuity payments and then suspend or reduce same, they would promptly be faced by legal action.

There are many people who actually retire and have large incomes from stocks, bonds, and other investments who receive the benefits simply because they have no earned income, while people in my position who wish to increase their assets, or who need an earned income to enable them to live on a plane equal to that of the past, are penalized by having money due them, for which they have paid, withheld, and required to continue to make payments for which they receive no increased benefits whatever, and probably will not live long enough to receive any benefits whatever.

There has been much fuzzy thinking in the building up of the social-security system, and I am glad to know that there are at least two who recognize the injustice done to self-employed persons.

I can live without these benefits, but am angry and disgusted that my Government should take from me what is morally mine and for which I have paid considerable sums of money.

Respectfully yours,

C. V. STINCHCUM.

Tomorrow's Cost of Today's Ill Housed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. THYE
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent article entitled "Tomorrow's Cost of Today's Ill Housed," written by Malvina Lindsay and published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOMORROW'S COST OF TODAY'S ILL HOUSED

(By Malvina Lindsay)

On a sightseers' bus in Rome, one is likely to be struck by a contradiction in attitude of the guide-lecturer. He may speak derisively in pointing out most reminders of Mussolini. But pride creeps into his voice when he gestures toward a large modern apartment project that the late dictator sponsored for slum dwellers.

Small wonder this, in a country in which nearly one-fourth of a million families live in garrets, warehouses, cellars, caves. Small wonder that in Naples, famous for its slums, there is such passionate turning to nostrums of the extreme political right and left.

In France, that other European country where social and political unrest are now a critical concern of the Western World, about one-half of the population is ill housed. A spectacular political crusade is developing out of the efforts of a former Capuchin monk, the Abbe Pierre, to find a roof for every Frenchman.

"The ills of French housing are sapping the strength of a key nation of the Western World," Blair Clarke wrote recently from Paris in the New York Times magazine. He told how the chief areas of crime and Communist strength in that city coincided with those having the worst housing.

In the face of these old-world object lessons in the moral and ideological cost of slums, committees of the House of Representatives are attempting to scuttle even the President's modest public housing program. This provides for the building of 35,000 units a year for 4 years, a far less ambitious enterprise than was pioneered by the late Senator Taft in 1948 in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, which included 500,000 public units over a period of 5 years.

But, it will be objected, surely the United States is not to be compared in housing problems to France or Italy. Consider the endless suburban acres here of bright roofed ranch houses, of landscaped garden apartments, of neat white cottages with blue shutters. Think of all the people buying little places in the country.

Nevertheless, the slum blight has been spreading in American cities especially during the last decade, as Government buildings, commercial projects, and parking lots have crowded out low-income families. For many of these displaced, no other housing has been available. They have had to crowd in with other families—meaning more persons under one roof, more in one room, more children reared under conditions where they witness drunkenness, prostitution, crime.

Many cities now are trying to renew or redevelop their slum areas. Pending housing legislation is designed to encourage this. But always the question arises: Where are the displaced to go?

"Let 'em save their money and start buying homes," says the rugged individualist. But where will the downpayments come from? Families in the lowest income brackets, the ones for whom public housing primarily is intended, live from day to day financially.

What is more they are seldom prepared by background or capability to take over such responsibilities as maintenance and management, even if they could move into homes on a nothing down basis. Often their rehabilitation in rental public housing is a long, slow process requiring patient, understanding supervision.

Yet, public housing projects have demonstrated the fallacy of the "coal in the bathtub" cliche. Families generally try to live up to their better surroundings. Usually they are carefully selected for such projects. But even in those occasional emergencies when they have been provided better shelter without selection, frequently persons of questionable background have responded to their new environment with changed living habits.

The displaced and the homeless may seem relatively small in this country, but they are the creators of overcrowded slums, a canker on national life that can only be checked if caught early enough. Moreover, the slum clearance and redevelopment projects planned in many places cannot go on unless ways are found to house the displaced.

While many States and local communities are trying within their means to handle this problem, they have generally proved unable to do the job alone. Meanwhile the entire Nation is exposed to the germs of delinquency, crime, and of social rebellion, that find breeding ground in slum areas.

Tribute to Indiana by a Former Canadian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, as a matter of genuine Hoosier pride and to keep Senators advised as to what great people we are in Indiana, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from a young woman who has adopted our State as her residence, although she comes from our northern neighbor, Canada, and is living temporarily in North Carolina.

Seriously, her letter is a tribute not only to Indiana but to all America, and it merits, I believe, serious and careful reading by every Member of the Senate.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST CAROLINA COLLEGE,
Greenville, N. C., March 26, 1954.
Senator HOMER E. CAPEHART,
Indiana.

DEAR SENATOR CAPEHART: This letter will probably be one of those unusual ones that I imagine Senators do receive.

You will probably wonder, first, why in the world a resident of North Carolina should write to you. Well, here is the story.

Six years ago I entered the State of Indiana as a foreign student from Canada. I attended Indiana University where I met some of the finest people in the world—foreigners, Americans, and especially Indiana Hoosiers. When folks ask me now where my home is, I say "Indiana."

There I learned what the real America is like. There I learned what real Americans are like. There I learned why Americans—the colonial vintage breed or the fresh-off-the-boat immigrant kind are so darn proud of being Americans. They live democracy. And they let others live it, too.

It has been my privilege to know and work closely with young, middle age, and older people from all over the world. Where? In Bloomington, Ind. Where people who had heard the word "democracy" thousands of times in their homelands, but did not know what it really meant, had a chance to live democracy, appreciate the real thing, and desire it for their country and their people.

Students, teachers, and other visiting leaders from other countries have told me many times that now that they had really seen democracy in action, that is what they want for Burma, Iran, Indonesia, Japan, Iraq, India, Ceylon, Egypt, Korea, Turkey, Norway, Germany, Mexico, Brazil, and all the other Latin American countries; yes, and China, too.

One young teacher from Burma who was in the United States to study American education said this: "I have heard the word 'democracy' all my life. I have heard the word 'communism' all my life. Neither of them meant anything to me. All the books and pamphlets and radio speeches could not help me to know what these words really meant. I have been in the United States for 3 months. I have had this priceless opportunity to live democracy with the American people. I have visited American teachers—and children teaching and learning about democracy—and living it, too, in their classrooms. That is what I want for my country, Burma. That is what I want for my people. That is what I want for Burma's children."

Senator CAPEHART, help to spread this wonderful living democracy throughout the world. Give the exchange programs appropriations their full requirements. I and many others in this grand land—especially the far-seeing Hoosiers—would give their best-loved possession to see this great program continued in its entirety. Don't let the slow thinkers in Washington set this wonderful land and its fine people back a hundred years. The cutting of those appropriations would do just that. Fight for democracy, Senator.

Respectfully yours,
(Miss) VERA A. MAC KAY.

Cost of the Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GUY M. GILLETTE
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, the current issue of the Wallace Farmer and Iowa Homestead, published at Des Moines, Iowa, carries an editorial dealing with the cost of the farm program, and an exchange of letters between the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, and the editor. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BENSON OBJECTS TO EDITORIAL—SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE SAYS FIGURES USED IN PAPER ARE VASTLY DIFFERENT FROM FACTS

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson in the following letter comments unfavorably on the editorial How To Hurt Farmers in the March 6 issue of Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead. His letter follows in full:

"DEAR MR. MURPHY: It is not often I take issue with editorials or other published material regardless of whether they misrepresent the fact or draw faulty conclusions.

"But the editorial in your February 20 issue entitled 'How To Hurt Farmers' is so far from the truth that I thought you might be interested in learning the actual facts. Therefore, I am enclosing two basic sets of charts.

"Contrary to your implication, the $16 billion figure I presented to the Senate Agriculture Committee was never offered as the total cost of price-support operations. As you can see from the enclosed table, it was labeled 'Cost of agricultural and related programs.' Then on the second page there was a functional classification.

"This summary presented the cost of programs primarily for stabilization of prices and farm income as roughly $7.5 billion.

"The committee was subsequently supplied with a detailed breakdown of this $7.5 figure, as you can see from the second group of enclosed tables. The figures are vastly different from those used in your editorial.

"I am sure they will establish that it is not I who is attempting to mislead the farmer and the public.

"You probably also realize that while the $7.5 billion cost of actual price stabilization activities since 1932 is quite large, my principal concern is with the prospective future costs if the program is not changed. I believe these might well dwarf the past figures and lead to a complete breakdown of price support operations.

"Sincerely yours,
"EZRA T. BENSON,
Secretary."

This is the editorial Benson didn't like:

"Did our farm programs actually cost the Nation over $16 billion?" writes a farm subscriber. "I see by the newspapers that Secretary Benson said that the other day. Was it really that much?"

Eastern newspapers picked up the Secretary's statement and made a good deal of it. The Wall Street Journal remarked: "Both the President and his Secretary of Agriculture know that the farm program is economically foolish and morally indefensible."

Farm State Senators, led by Senator THYE, of Minnesota, asked the Department of Agriculture for more definite figures on the cost of farm programs.

When these figures were submitted, it turned out that Secretary Benson had been talking about the cost of all the work of USDA, including research, education, REA, credit and everything else.

Expenditures for support of farm products were a different matter. At Senator THYE's request, a detailed breakdown was furnished Congress.

Here are some of the items, covering the period from 1933 through 1953:

Corn (loss)	$70,910,347
Wheat (loss)	95,127,450
Cotton (profit)	268,219,477
Butter (loss)	46,743,225

The impression given by the eastern press is that losses on corn and wheat have run into billions. Actually losses, for both crops, add up to 166 millions for 20 years. Is this too much to pay for securing the Nation against grain shortages and helping to stabilize farm income?

If gains are balanced against losses for price supports on all the basic commodities, the loss for 20 years comes out at 20.7 millions. Not 16 billions.

For all price-support activities, the total loss comes to $1,100 million in 20 years. That is almost exactly the size of the subsidies given to business in 1 year, 1952.

Farmers should note that most of the criticism directed at farm programs has hit at corn, wheat, cotton, and other basics. Yet on these, the net loss for 20 years has been 20 million, or about 1 million per year. That's less than one modern bomber costs.

It is hard for the truth to catch up with the original scare story.

BUT FACTS ARE AGAINST HIM—FIGURES USED BY WALLACE'S FARMER AND IOWA HOMESTEAD TAKEN FROM BENSON'S OWN REPORT

Following is the reply sent by Donald R. Murphy, editor of Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead, to the letter from Secretary Benson.

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY: We are always glad to hear from one of our readers, and particularly when that reader is you.

"I hope you read other editorials in Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead with the same interest you gave to the editorial, How To Hurt Farmers.

"Pay particular attention to what we say about the dairy surplus problem. Food stamps, plus production payments, will get that food into use.

"The farm program is hurt whenever surpluses like these pile up and are kept away from consumers who need the food.

"In regard to your letter, I am happy to learn that you have never offered the $16 billion figure as the total cost of price-support operations.

"Unfortunately, a good part of the daily press misunderstood you on this. And as a result, many consumers were given the impression 16 billions had been spent for price supports.

"One reason for this misunderstanding may have been your statement: 'How far are we prepared to go in making additional billions of dollars available primarily for the support of a few selected farm commodities?' And another reason may have been the difficulty of sorting out the different items in the charts you submitted.

"Senator YOUNG, Republican, of North Dakota, pointed out: 'There have been many statements and a lot of bad publicity on the cost of these agricultural price-support programs.'

"Senator THYE, Republican, of Minnesota, commented: 'The taxpayer, reading a statement like that put out by the Department of Agriculture * * * indicating that this program has cost more than $16 billion, is going to rise up and denounce it and wish to destroy it. That is the reason I wanted a complete explanation.'

"You say, Mr. Secretary, that the correct figures on price-support costs are 'vastly different from those used in your editorial.'

"On the contrary, the figures used in the editorial are exactly those you gave to the Senate Committee on Agriculture at the request of Senator THYE. I am enclosing a photostatic copy of the original table.

"If you will look on pages 69 and 70 of the hearing of the Committee on Agriculture, dated January 18 and 19, 1954, you will find the figures I used. Quotations in this letter from you and Senators THYE and YOUNG are also taken from those hearings.

"Our editorial said that the loss on corn over 20 years added up to $70,910,347. Your table says the loss on corn was $70,910,347.

"Our editorial said the 20-year net loss on basic commodities was $20.7 million. Your table says the net loss was $20,720,931.

"Our editorial says the total loss for price-support activities in 20 years was $1,100,000,000. Your table says the loss was $1,110,136,889.

"The $7.5 billion figure quoted in your letter is listed in your own table (p. 19 of the hearings) as 'programs primarily for stabilization of prices and farm income' and includes everything from crop insurance to ACP checks. But the $1.1 billion figure, also in the same table, is listed as the cost of price support programs.'

"In other words, the figures I used were taken directly from an official USDA report submitted by you to the Senate Committee on Agriculture.

"May I add that I share your concern about the future of the farm program.

"I think you took a sensible step in reversing your position of a year ago on storage and in planning to buy many more bins for the ever-normal granary.

"But I feel that you still underestimate our need for reserves of feed grain. Every wind that comes from the southwest these days brings dirt with it from the old Dust Bowl. Moisture supplies are short.

"It is quite possible that everybody may soon regard our reserves of corn and wheat as a blessing rather than as a curse. Farmers already feel that way.

"Very sincerely,

"DONALD R. MURPHY,
"Editor, Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead."

Historic Meeting With German Parliamentarians at Fredericksburg, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a few weeks ago a very significant event took place in the historic town of Fredericksburg, Tex. Four leaders of the democratic forces in Germany were honored at a meeting conducted by the leaders of that community.

There could be no more fitting place in the United States for this event that Fredericksburg, Tex. Fredericksburg is a town whose history stretches back more than 100 years. It was founded by Germans who left their home in the old country, in a search for the opportunities available in America.

For well over a century, Fredericksburg has prospered. Its people have made fine citizens—hard working, loyal, and patriotic. Meanwhile, they have retained some of the culture and all of the sterling virtues of their Germanic ancestors.

I believe this was truly a dramatic occasion. The leaders of democracy in Germany met with those who have prospered and flourished under democracy in the United States. It is an event that should be recorded for posterity.

I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a narrative summary of the occasion which was prepared for me by a distinguished citizen of Fredericksburg, Arthur H. Kowert, president of the Texas Press Association, and a resolution presented to the German parliamentarians by some of the leading people in the area.

There being no objection, the resolution and summary were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Conrad Adenauer, Chancellor, German Republic, his representatives, Carlo Schmid, Fritz Erler, Guenter Klein, Willy Brandt, and the citizenship of Germany:

Having you as our guests on this occasion affords us the opportunity to express our admiration and appreciation for the citizenship of Germany and of your courageous, intelligent and patriotic leader, Conrad Adenauer, and his assistants, in leading the German people out of a situation of utter darkness and confusion back into the light and good order.

In the consideration of our regard for your citizens and leaders, we well remember the terrible suffering your people endured towards the end and following the close of World War II. Many of us have read—a few of us have seen—the unbelievably terrifying conditions that prevailed in your country shortly preceding and immediately following the collapse of your armies. To a limited degree only, are we able to comprehend the effect your people's situation in having your railroads—their stations, roadbeds, and cars—your wharves, including your ships, your factories, and homes by the thousands—even a great many churches—bombed into rubble, smithereens and ashes. We realize only with limited comprehension the terrible pressure of despondency generated by the death of over 3 million servicemen and a million civilians, with an added million and a half of your servicemen missing in action, with war cripples all about you—all piled upon the total loss of your physical properties. On top of these horrifying burdens, we know there were among your people, enemy soldiers and irresponsible hangers-on, many of whom were more cruel and treacherous than beasts. We can well understand how cold, hunger, confusion, and anarchy must have prevailed throughout the length and breadth of your land. To these calamities must be added countless other irritating and depressing factors. To overcome these conditions was a herculean task, capable only of accomplishment by a strongest, most courageous and determined people.

Your survival and your accomplishments to date, establish your citizenship and leadership as a people extraordinary, which has won your nation the respect and admiration of the whole world—former friends and foes alike.

Normally, state dictatorships spring from such wholesale economic and political chaos as that from which your people have so recently emerged. You are deserving of the heartiest congratulations for creating a new government which recognizes and guarantees the dignity and rights of the individual citizen. With the Communist hordes among and all about you by the millions, without the assurance of any worthwhile help from without, with every German citizen's life constantly at stake every minute of the day, your people were yet able to say "no" to every Communist threat and bribe. Such an outstanding record of a people's courage has yet to be equaled by any nation on earth. In the hearts of liberty-loving people throughout the world, that record will always be recognized and stand as your highest rating.

As partners of our people in the fight to keep the entire world from being subjected to Communistic slavery, the people of the United States today hold you in highest regard and respect and are proud and will day after day and year after year, be prouder than ever to recognize you as our friends.

This message we hope you will deliver to the President of your Republic as an assurance that your American blood-cousins and equally all other Americans who know of your great accomplishments, will from here on out always cherish the German people as partners of the citizenship of the United States, in promoting and encouraging—in the everlasting struggle among mankind—a progressive recognition by the governments of the world—that the poor and the weak are justly entitled to equality before the law with the rich and strong.

May your people continue to prosper and move on and on to greater and even greater accomplishments.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM SCHROEDER,
Mayor of Fredericksburg.
WILLIAM PETMECKY,
Manager, Fredericksburg, Chamber of Commerce.
VICTOR H. SAGEBIEL,
County Judge, Gillespie County.
ALFRED PETSCH,
A citizen.
C. M. GEORGE,
President, Chamber of Commerce.

From: Arthur H. Kowert, Fredericksburg, Tex.

To: Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Washington, D. C.

Subject: Narrative report on visit and program honoring four German parliamentarians: Dr. Carlo Schmid, Fritz Erler, Dr. Guenter Klein, Dr. William Brandt. Nimitz Hotel, Fredericksburg, Tex., Thursday, March 18, 1954.

The group arrived from San Antonio in transportation furnished by Randolph AFB. They were accompanied by Peter Hooper, Jr., foreign service officer, United States Department of State. Lt. Col. Herbert Saabye, Jr., of Randolph AFB, was the escorting officer.

A brief reception was held prior to the banquet to provide for pictures by visiting news photographers, interviews by visiting reporters, and a few minutes relaxation for the distinguished visitors.

After the 150 guests had entered the Nimitz ballroom the distinguished visitors and their entourage entered the hall and were seated at the head table.

Arthur Kowert served as toastmaster for the program. The Reverend Otto Lindenberg, of the Holy Ghost Lutheran Church, gave the invocation in the German language.

Following the meal, Mayor William Schroeder, of Fredericksburg, gave the address of welcome in which he expressed the pleasure of his city and its people in having this distinguished group of visitors in this 108-year-old city that was founded by German immigrants. Many of the early customs and the German language, he said, are still followed. "We are proud of the great work the Government of Western Germany has done in rebuilding their country and we wish them continued success in their endeavors."

Kowert then introduced Gillespie County Judge Victor Sagebiel, Mrs. Paul Wakefield, and Lt. Col. Herbert Saabye, Jr.

The distinguished Germans were then introduced by Kowert, who annduced them singly, and following each one's introduction gave a brief biographical sketch of each from information supplied by the United States Department of State.

Brig. Gen. Paul Wakefield, of Austin, State selective service director, and personal representative of Gov. Allen Shivers, then brought greetings and a message from the State's chief executive.

At the conclusion of his address General Wakefield presented each of the visiting dignitaries with a copy of the Texas Declaration of Independence and a Texas flag, sent by Governor Shivers.

Kowert then read the telegraphic message of Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON:

"I hope you will express to the people of Fredericksburg my deep sense of pleasure on

this occasion, which I believe is historic. This meeting symbolizes the deep bond that will always exist between the leaders of freedom in Germany and the descendants of Germans in America who have made such a tremendous contribution to the culture and civilization of Texas and our Nation. My best wishes to the people of Gillespie County and to Carlo Schmid, Fritz Erler, Willy Brandt, and Guenter Klein. They will be able to bring back to their people a full report on the fortunes of their splendid kinsmen who are scattered throughout the communities of Texas and America to the benefit of our State and our country."

Mr. Hooper, of the State Department, was then introduced by Kowert, who said: "There once was a time when our people felt that they were concerned with no more of the world than that which was in the confines of Gillespie County. Times have changed, however, and we know now that we are vitally concerned, not only with that which goes on in Gillespie County, the State and Nation, but that which transpires in Germany, France, Denmark, England, China, Japan, Russia, and throughout the world.

"Our great Government has a separate department whose principal concern it is to tend to these relations and today, for the first time I can remember, we have an official representative of the United States Department of State in our midst: Mr. Hooper."

Mr. Hooper expressed gratification for the fine reception given the visiting dignitaries and the program being presented in their honor. He also told of the great value of the student exchange plan and the visits of men such as those who were with us.

William Petmecky, manager of the Fredericksburg Chamber of Commerce, then presented a brief résumé of the history of Fredericksburg and Gillespie County.

Kowert then introduced Dr. Carlo Schmid, who spoke in the German language, with his remarks being translated and summarized in English by Mr. Hooper, of the State Department.

In essence, Dr. Schmid made the following remarks:

He praised the cordiality with which his group had been received in the United States and was warm in his praise of Fredericksburg whose forbears came from his country, and where he found warm welcomes in his mother tongue.

He said he was proud to know that descendants of the immigrants of Germany were good Americans and he asked them to be that in every measure of loyalty to their great Government of the United States, which he declared to be the hope of the entire free world.

He told of the gratitude his people feel toward the United States for helping them recover from the tragedies of war and from being engulfed by communism which has enslaved the greater portion of Europe.

"If enmity of the American people in World War II had been with the bitterness of most of those who seek to destroy the last vestige of free people, you would not have saved our children from starvation. To our dying days we will remember you and be grateful for your Marshal plan which did more to fight communism than bullets could have done.

"Before the echoes of the last cannon shots had stopped reverberating after the war, our people took up tools to work the land, to rebuild from the rubble, and to again become a nation self-sustaining and deserving of respect of respectful nations."

Schmid said their problems were increased with the influx of 40 million refugees from Communist controlled countries. He said their plight was great and though it had been said, "why bother with them," he asked how we would have felt when an emaciated mother came for succor, with her child in her arms already breathing its final gasps.

You will never know what your food means to our people. How we appreciated the CARE and individual packages.

Schmid said his people would never submit to the division of his nation or the partial conquest of communism. "We have learned the life of freemen and have dedicated ourselves to live that way. Your splendid interchange of students has done much to help us and we know the democratic way of life will be the accepted mode of living in our nation."

Dr. William Brandt then spoke in the English language. He spoke of the tragedy of "Berlin, an island in a red sea." "I was in Berlin," he said, "and close to Mayor Reuter when the Americans under General Clay lent us a helping hand. Long will we remember this help."

"When the day comes," Brandt continued, "that the peoples of our two countries fully realize that liberty and freedom from aggression is their common goal, I am sure they will join hands and strive together, and, if necessary, fight side by side, to keep alive these ideals of liberty and hope for all mankind.

"Long live the people of Fredericksburg, long live the people of Texas, and long live the people of the great United States of America."

The toastmaster then recognized Col. Alfred Petsch, who had prepared a resolution, addressed to Chancellor Adenauer, the four distinguished visitors, and the citizens of Germany, signed by the mayor of Fredericksburg and county judge of Gillespie County.

Appreciations were then expressed to Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the Department of State, Gov. Allen Shivers, Brig. Gen. Paul Wakefield, radio station KNAF for the amplifying system and sound recordings, Randolph Field AFB, and all those who assisted.

Kowert then closed the meeting by addressing himself to the visiting dignitaries and saying:

"We are happy that you have been with us and hope that through your visit here, in our State, and throughout the Nation you have become inculcated with the knowledge of the greatness of our land—which stems from its people, such as are assembled with you here today.

"We appreciate your being here, too, so that you could see for yourself that the same traits that have been evident in the remarkable recovery program and progress in your land, are the very same characteristics that throughout 106 years have prevailed in the people of our community.

"Fundamental traits of honesty, the ability to recover from hardships, integrity, peace, community well-being, and a firm and all-encompassing belief and faith in God, are among those traits that have made our community what it is today, and will be the reasons it shall endure.

"We are glad that you could be here and carry these self-evident truths home with you.

"Our very best wishes to you and God's blessings upon you as you journey through our land, on your way home, and in your continued labors in your homeland."

The luncheon, which started at 12:45 p. m., concluded at 3 p. m. The group of distinguished visitors were then escorted to the Pioneer Memorial Museum, housed in a replica of the first house of worship built by the pioneers in 1846. The group remained at the museum for approximately 30 minutes prior to returning to San Antonio.

List of those attending dinner honoring German Parliamentarians, Nimitz Hotel, Fredericksburg, Tex., March 18, 1954.

Those from Fredericksburg: Rev. and Mrs. Lewis Petmecky; Ben. H. Hoenig; Alex Frantzen; Mr. and Mrs. M. L. Bogisch; T. Wright Neal; Mr. and Mrs. Jim Burleson; E. L. Walter; Dr. and Mrs. L. L. Keyser; Walter Knoche; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Petsch; Joe Molberg; Raymond Kneese; Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Heinen; Rev. J. Garner; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Mathisen; Henry J. Schmidt; R. L. Kott; Calvin Bierschwale; Mr. and Mrs. William Petmecky; Mr. and Mrs. William Schroeder; Charles M. George; Werner Moehr; Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Kowert; Eddie Land; Felix Maier; Mr. and Mrs. J. Frank Kendall; Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Wilke; Emil Dietrich, county commissioner, precinct 1; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Stein; Mr. and Mrs. Tyrus Cox; Rev. Otto Lindenberg; B. L. Klostermann; Postmaster R. W. Klingelhoefer; Sheriff Hugo Klaerner; Rev. G. A. Poehlmann; Superintendent Fred Thompson; Mrs. William Dietel; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Jordan; Rev. Gus Sager; Carl Vorauer; Mr. and Mrs. Bill Nettle; Ernst Stehling; Rev. George W. Ricker; Miss Margaret Keidel; Miss Mathilde Keidel; Mrs. Erna Heinen; Mr. and Mrs. Felix Pfiester, county commissioner, precinct 3; Norbert Fritz; Dr. J. Hardin Perry; Rev. Murray Johnson; Dr. and Mrs. L. W. Feller; Mr. and Mrs. Dan Hoerster; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Neffendorf; Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Fricke; Harvey Stein; Mr. and Mrs. Erwin Kraus; C. O. Balser; A. G. Davidson; R. M. Krausse; Mrs. Annie Blum; Victor Dittmar; District Clerk E. L. Schmidt; County Clerk Felix Scherer; Mrs. W. H Schaefer; Oliver Kowert; Mr. and Mrs. Alex Mittendorf; H. C. Meurer; County Judge Victor H. Sagebiel; Helmuth Behrend; Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Cameron; Jarvis Wieser; Dr. Dor. W. Brown; Rev. Paul Leonhard, Stonewall; Otto Schumann, Albert; Adolph Stieler, Fritz Stieler, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Faltin, Comfort; Mr. and Mrs. Buck Hood, Austin, Tex., representing Austin American; Grady Hill, San Angelo, representing San Angelo Standard-Times.

News releases were wired to Associated Press, with special coverage being given Austin American and San Antonio Express by William Petmecky and Art Kowert. Photos mailed out by bus Friday afternoon.

Central committee planning banquet and reception: Arthur H. Kowert; William Petmecky, manager, chamber of commerce; Calvin Bierschwale, president, Gillespie County Fair Association; Mayor William Schroeder; C. M. George, president, chamber of commerce.

Other special assistance given: Eddie Land; Alfred Petsch, who conceived idea and wrote resolution; Henry Schmidt, manager of Nimitz Hotel; Almon Kirchhoff, secretary, chamber of commerce.

Ladies who assisted at museum: Dr. J. Hardin Perry, president, Gillespie County Historical Society; Mrs. Annie Blum; Mrs. H. Weige Lewis; Mrs. W. H. Schaefer; Miss Adah Peden. All addresses of above: Fredericksburg, Tex.

Farmers and the State Department: Disposal of Surplus Agricultural Commodities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on March 22 I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Farmers and the State Department," which was published in the April 1954 issue of the Farm Journal. The State Department has examined this editorial, and I have received a letter from Mr. Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State. I should like to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the letter which he

wrote to me in response to the editorial which was printed in the Appendix of the RECORD on March 22. I think it will clarify a much-confused question.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 31, 1954.

Hon. EDWARD J. THYE,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR THYE: I note that on March 22 you called to the attention of the Congress an editorial from the April 1954 Farm Journal entitled "Farmers and the State Department." I think you will be interested in knowing the facts concerning the State Department's position toward the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities, and I am therefore commenting at some length on the statements made in the editorial.

The editorial states that under State Department pressure Germany bought $3 million worth of cotton elsewhere than in the United States. This is untrue. Here are the facts: On December 30, 1953, the Department was notified by the Foreign Operations Administration that after preliminary negotiations the Federal Republic of Germany had submitted a formal application for $3 million worth of cotton under section 550 of the Mutual Security Act of 1953. The Department immediately examined the German presentation for conformity with the caution in section 550 that "the President shall take special precaution to safeguard against the substitution or displacement of usual marketings of the United States or friendly countries." As a result of this examination, the Department on January 18 called to the attention of the Foreign Operations Administration certain points requiring clarification to assure compliance with this expression of congressional intent. On January 29, the Department notified the Foreign Operations Administration that it no longer had any reservations concerning the proposed transaction. A purchase authorization was issued by the Foreign Operations Administration on February 5.

The editorial goes on to say that a transaction with Italy involving $15 million worth of American cotton went through only after months of State Department resistance. Again the record is clear. On December 28, 1953, the Foreign Operations Administration notified the Department that a formal application for the cotton had been received. The Department immediately examined the matter, and, on December 31, 1953, informed the representatives of three countries that might potentially be affected, namely, Egypt, Pakistan, and Turkey. The reactions of these countries were received on January 12, January 15, and January 19, 1954. One of the countries registered a protest, but the Department informed the Foreign Operations Administration that it saw no reason to withdraw its concurrence in the proposed sale as the result of this protest. The Department's concurrence on the transaction was given to the Foreign Operations Administration on January 15, and the Department has had no further dealings with the Foreign Operations Administration on this case.

The editorial states that "when a deal had been set up for a large sale of apples to Britain, the State Department blocked it completely." This statement is completely at variance with the facts. Despite repeated representations on the part of the United States regarding import restrictions on apples, the British Government steadfastly has declined to apply for apples under section 550. On December 3, 1953, Mr. Thorneycroft, president of the Board of Trade, stated in the House of Commons that "It is necessary to use to the best advantage our limited dollar resources, including the assistance being granted to this country by the United States under the Mutual Security Act. In deciding what imports we can afford from the dollar area, the main general consideration is how far such imports are essential, or of material benefit, to the United Kingdom economy. It has been decided that we cannot afford imports of apples from North America during the forthcoming winter. Representations on this subject have been received from several trading organizations." You will note the British intention not to import apples from Canada, either, despite their close political and economic ties.

The editorial states that "advocates to trying the two-price system may be sure that State Department objections kept mention of it out of the President's agricultural message." As a matter of fact, representatives of the Department of State informed representatives of the Department of Agriculture during interagency discussion of two-price systems that export sales under a properly drawn two-price system could be defended as not constituting dumping. They said that such a system would be less objectionable than the present price support program when viewed solely as to its effects on our foreign relations. Obviously many factors in addition to its effects on our foreign relations must be taken into account in determining what agricultural program would be most advantageous to the United States. It was these other factors which led the executive branch to recommend a program which does not include a two-price system for wheat or various other commodities for which such a system had been considered.

The editorial contains a paragraph devoted to agricultural reporting and the appointment of agricultural attachés which is factual as far as it goes but can be misleading unless additional facts are taken into account.

Presumably the editorial uses the expression "agricultural attachés" to cover all foreign service employees who handle agricultural problems. Only in the larger foreign service establishments, however, is it good management to have officers working solely in this field. Elsewhere, in smaller posts such as consulates or embassies in small countries, general economic officers must be prepared to deal interchangeably with commercial, financial, labor, and agricultural problems.

It is true that agricultural attachés are responsible to chiefs of missions and to the Department, as are all other attachés—petroleum, commercial, labor, and treasury. This centralization of authority obviously helps the United States to speak with one voice in its dealings with other countries. Any implication that the present arrangement divorces the agricultural attachés from contact with the Department of Agriculture, however, is unwarranted. Officials in that Department can and do communicate directly with foreign service employees engaged in agricultural work. Furthermore, the Department of Agriculture has representatives in all examining panels of the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, in the Appointments and Assignments Board of the Board of the Foreign Service, and in the selection boards, wherever any agricultural interest is involved. Thus the Department of Agriculture has a voice in the appointment, assignment, and advancement not only of employees primarily engaged in agricultural work but of other foreign service economic personnel as well.

It also is true that pouches containing agricultural reports come first to the mail room of the Department of State and that these reports are reproduced by the Department. Distribution is simultaneous within the Department itself and to all other interested agencies of the Government. (Few reports are of interest only to one agency.) As a matter of fact, however, officers dealing with agricultural matters in most posts follow the practice of mailing carbon copies of their reports directly to the Department of Agriculture for its advance information.

The editorial refers to the Department's alleged "policy against vigorous efforts to sell surpluses abroad." In general, the Department does not have views on this subject which are separate from the views of the administration as a whole. The Department is very much aware of the problem faced by the Government as a result of the accumulation of large stocks of agricultural products and is bending every effort to cooperate with other Government departments, and with private trade, in seeking effective and lasting solutions to this most vexing problem. The Department is particularly concerned, of course, over the aspect of the problem which is covered in the following quotation from the Economic Report of the President: "To the extent that foreign disposal is undertaken, it should be carried out so as to augment, rather than displace, the normal volumes of world trade in our surplus commodities. The magnitude of our surplus problem could lead to practices harmful to the economies of other friendly nations—a result that must be scrupulously avoided in the interest of the entire free world economy."

We think it important that the Government avoid injury to the interests of other exporting nations which might be so severe as to set off a price war, in which governments compete in subsidization of exports, with harmful consequences to market prices both at home and abroad, and, consequently, to the welfare of farmers everywhere. Under proper safeguards, foreign disposal of agricultural products can play a significant role in solving the problem of agricultural surpluses. It must be coupled with measures in the domestic field such as those proposed by the President and the Secretary of Agriculture if lasting solutions are to be found.

Sincerely yours,

THRUSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

Historical Outline of Development of Fredericksburg, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a historical outline of the development of Fredericksburg, Tex., prepared by William Petmecky, a leading citizen of Gillespie County, for the recent visit of German parliamentarians to that area.

There being no objection, the outline was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fredericksburg was founded on May 8, 1846. It was the second of two colonies established through efforts of a group of German noblemen, organized at the Mainzer-Adelsverein, which had been founded on April 20, 1842, at Biebrich on the Rhine.

Leader of the immigration to Texas was Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels. He founded our sister city of New Braunfels in 1845 and

with the illustrious John O. Meusebach, made plans for the founding of Fredericksburg in the following year.

One hundred and twenty colonists arrived at Fredericksburg on the evening of May 8. They were tired and weary from their overland trip from New Braunfels, many having walked the nearly 90 miles through the wildness. They had followed the two-wheeled, oxen-drawn carts which hauled their worldly possessions to their new home. Their first act on arrival was to kneel in prayer of thankfulness and to ask God's blessing on their new home.

Hardships of the frontier and a terrible illness, cholera, beset them. Many of their number died and the survivors were too weak to build coffins so the bodies were wrapped in sailcloth, a cart drove from house to house daily for bodies to be buried in the old Vereins Cemetery. There are many unmarked graves there in that hallowed ground but our grateful community erected a monument to their memory during the observance of our centennial in 1946.

First public building of Fredericksburg was a community church, octogan-shaped, nicknamed "Die Kaffeemuehle," because of its unique shape. It served as a church for all creeds, as schoolhouse and public meeting house. It was removed after 50 years because it stood in the center of the main highway, but in all reverence was rebuilt in exact replica in 1936 during the centennial of the State of Texas and the 90th anniversary of Fredericksburg.

Many of the colonists were tradesmen and artisans but the majority were farmers and the area soon prospered from their industry and thrift. The first allotment of lands followed customs of the fatherland of residing in the town and farming land on the outskirts. Blocked into 10-acre tracts, a large area of land near Fredericksburg is still mapped in that manner as a monument to their plans.

Gillespie County was organized in 1848. Early courthouses were not as substantial as now and the first one burned. With it were lost the earliest records of the county's organization and land grants. School districts were organized and education took great forward strides. Fort Martin Scott was built near the town by the United States Government as a protection against marauding Indian tribes.

Civil War brought dark clouds to Fredericksburg as to our entire Nation. Torn between loyalty to Nation and State, many suffered, brother fought against brother and great tragedy befell the community; not alone from warring armies but renegade bands who roamed the countryside in the name of the military and wrought havoc and destruction and brought great sorrow to many.

But the will to live cannot be downed. The community recovered and prospered again. Schools were built throughout the county, church steeples arose in the rural wilderness, and energy and thrift of the German farmer brought additional new frontiers under the plow.

Fredericksburg and Gillespie County have a large home ownership. More than 85 percent of rural and urban residents own their land. Most business firms are quartered in their own buildings.

People of the county have one of the most enviable State and county tax records to be found with approximately 99 percent of their current taxes paid annually.

Peaceful and law-abiding, there is little need for courts, the jail is almost always empty, and there has never been a death penalty assessed for crime in the county. We have no millionaires, but neither do we have any paupers.

The county produces many cattle, sheep, and goats. Virtually every rural family is self-subsistent. They have a few cows, a small herd of sheep and goats, hogs for the family larder, and poultry for eggs for the family's need and a few to sell for "pin money." A small vegetable garden is invariably found to supply the family table.

Gillespie County has the oldest county fair in Texas, founded in 1881 and operated each year except during the two world wars. It will mark the 66th anniversary this year in August.

This fair has helped in promoting and furthering better livestock and farming. A 12-year-old local youth received the world record price of $21,000 for his steer at a State livestock show in 1951. Typical of our people, he bought a farm and implements to work the land with the money he obtained. This year again, a Gillespie County bred steer won the grand championship of the Houston fat-stock show and brought his youthful exhibitor the sum of $12,500. Twenty-three of the first 75 steers placed at the San Antonio livestock exposition this year came from the Gillespie County ranches.

Principal crops on our farms are oats, wheat, sorghums, and peanuts. A great deal of the field crops are processed for feeding to livestock. The peanuts are processed for oil and other manufactured products as peanut butter and candy. An oil mill here consumes a large percentage of the peanut crop.

Fruit is being produced in increasing quantities with the section ideally suited for peaches and grapes. A winery utilizes a great part of the grape crop. Poultry and eggs are being produced on an ever-increasing scale.

Modern stores and business places are found with many fine services in machine shops, woodworking, and metal shops available. Outstanding medical services are provided in two splendid, privately owned and operated hospitals. Good substantial banks head the financial structure of the area.

Our community has always stood ready to answer its obligations. Calls from the Government for materials and men have always found ready response, charity drives have always reached their goal. The city provided a native son, the illustrious Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, who led the Pacific Fleet in World War II. His home still stands a block from this hotel, well preserved and occupied by members of his mother's family.

If these walls could reecho the distant past, they would reecho the foot falls of the admiral when he was a boy on the very spot on which we stand. The old hotel that stood here, and of which these walls were a part, was built in the shape of a ship and there on those decks the future leader was to learn a love for the sea from the tales of his grandfather, Charles Nimitz, a retired merchant seaman.

Fredericksburg provided the first Texas officer to die in World War I, the gallant Lt. Louis Jordan.

We are proud to have furnished many statesmen, including the late Emil Sauer, consul-general in the Foreign Service, who was our envoy to your great country for many years.

We are also very proud that the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON, senior United Senator of Texas, whom you met in Washington and who so graciously arranged your trip here, is a native son and a resident of our country, living in a beautiful country home on the Pedernales River.

The people of Fredericksburg have always loved song. Annual singing festivals are held here in which many choirs participate. All of them sing in the German language, transact their minutes in the language learned at their mother's knee. And it may truly be said of these festivals, "Wo Mann Singt Da Lass Dich Nieder, Den Boese Menschen Haben Keine Lieder."

These festivals are also held on large scale in this area when scores of choirs gather annually for the Gebirgs Saengerfest. Good bands and orchestras have always thrived here and gay dances bring folks from far and wide.

Another of the traditions of the homeland are the Schuetzenfests or marksmen's tourneys. They are held annually in the county and on vitually every Sunday from spring through fall for individual clubs which number from 20 to 100 members.

The community also has a most unique celebration, the Easter Fires of Fredericksburg. On the night before Easter great fires flare from the hills surrounding our city. The Easter rabbit is up there, the legend says, cooking eggs in giant kettles. He derives his dye from wild flowers the bunnies gather. The story is told in pageant in the valley below. Indian war fires are said to have scared children in the community and a pioneer mother is said to have invented the story. It may stem from stories of the Fatherland where old wood is burned to clear the way for spring and fairies are said to dance on the hills. But regardless of the origin, the story has become endeared to our citizens and for over 100 years the huge fires have burned on the hilltops on the night before Easter in perpetuation of this folklore.

Fredericksburg has built substantially. Good roads radiate in all directions. A fine courthouse holds the county records, a large new city hall serves the municipality and a splendid Federal building houses the post office. All are comparatively new and modern. Splendid churches with towering spires serve many faiths and creeds. German services are still conducted in some of them at designated hours. Good schools with splendid curriculums serve our city and county. In addition to our large public-school system, there is a large Catholic parochial school here. Other fine schools are in our rural communities.

Fredericksburg is a city of happy homes. Many of them are still the ones the pioneers built in which one may find walls 2 and 3 feet thick. Others are modest homes and many are modern and among the finest. Most of them are well kept, have nice flower gardens and lawns and are tree shaded.

In closing, let me say that it is 108 years since Fredericksburg was founded. We believe it is safe to say that the Founding Father's dreams of a substantial community were realized. Their agricultural pursuits, business plans, good schools and churches, and above all, a community of happy, Christian homes, has become a reality.

We face the future with confidence. Our well being is based primarily on farming and ranching. In recent years we have learned to save our soils that washed downstream for a century. Great strides have been made in this direction. Appropriately, we began the second century with better plans than the first for our land, for the Gillespie County Soil Conservation District was voted in the same month we celebrated the centennial of our city in 1946.

Our great goal for the future is the conservation and proper use of water. Dams, both large and small, in our streams will help bring this section into bloom and prosperity never before thought of. This is a long-range program but is our great objective for the future, and one for which our generation will earn the undying gratitude of generations to come.

To you, our distinguished visitors, we express the hope that your brief visit today may not be so short that you will not remember us for long but that Fredericksburg, with its commendable customs preserved and fostered, may remain warm in your heart, and that upon leaving us, you will feel to us as we express to you very sincerely, "Gott Leite Eure Wege," and a most friendly, "Auf Wiedersehen."

Reduction of Price Supports for Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Watertown Daily Times, an outstanding newspaper in the northern section of my State, and one which has always been a defender of the interests of the dairy farmer in New York, has published an editorial sharply critical of the attitude and actions of Secretary Benson with regard to support prices for dairy products. It specifically criticizes a recent speech Secretary Benson made before a group of farmers assembled under the sponsorship of Cornell University.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Watertown Times of March 25 be published in the Appendix of the RECORD. I should state for the RECORD that the Watertown Times is a Republican newspaper, although a very objective one.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECRETARY BENSON AT CORNELL

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson attempted to defend his action which will cut the dairy parity program from 90 to 75 percent on April 1 when he spoke yesterday at the farm and home conference at Cornell. He added nothing new to the facts, but he emphasized that he and his associates in the Department of Agriculture are directing the parity cut because of the dairy surplus.

He demonstrated again that as far as his Department is concerned, it is acting on the theory that the surpluses are more important than the producers. Therefore, it is better policy to attempt to lick the surplus problem than it is to be concerned with the loss in income which dairymen will suffer. Heretofore, dairymen have been more important in the eyes of the Department than the milk products that they supply. Heretofore, the emphasis has been on farm income. When a cut of 40 cents a hundred out of an income of $3.60 per hundred is invoked, it is clear evidence that the Department is not concerned with the producer. He has been victimized by his response over the last 10 years to produce more. Now because he has produced more, he arbitrarily is being forced to suffer sharply.

There is something which does not ring exactly right in the remarks by Secretary Benson when he told his audience of 2,000 that they could overcome the hardship imposed by the support cut by realistic pricing and more aggressive selling. He was supposed to be talking to farmers, not milk dealers. Since when has the farmer had anything to do about the pricing of his milk? He receives his money based on the utilization of the milk, 45 days after he has sent it to the milk plant. He is one of the few who are paid after the product has been used, as compared with most of the sellers in the Nation who are paid upon the delivery of their products.

How can the farmer sell more aggressively his dairy products? He is not a distributor. He doesn't peddle the milk to the consumer; he does not sell the butter in the store or the cheese in the market place. The spread between what he receives and what the consumer pays for dairy products goes to the dealer. If Secretary Benson is serious in believing that more milk should be sold to more consumers, he has picked out the wrong person when he says that the farmer must do that job.

There is no question but what Secretary Benson believes that people should drink more milk. He said in his speech that the American people consumed 12 percent less fluid milk and cream per person than they did in 1945. He pointed out in New York State "Fluid milk per person has dropped 17 percent." If the dealer fails to sell the milk and cheese to more and more consumers, it is the dealer to whom Secretary Benson should direct his remarks, not the producer.

One of the answers to the dairy problem is in increasing milk consumption, but consumers certainly aren't encouraged to drink more. They pay the same price for 1 quart they do for 10 quarts. The consumer finds that his milk price is greater today than it was in 1945, while the farmer's share of that milk price, percentagewise, is smaller than it was in 1945. One of the reasons that milk consumption is down 17 percent in New York State is that the milk price to the consumer is so high. Certainly the population expansion and the number of children is greater now than it was in 1945. This increased number of children should have offered an opportunity for greater milk consumption.

Secretary Benson should concentrate on the 55 percent spread in the price of a quart of milk. Reduce this and the consumer will benefit. Any reduction in price to the producer is not passed on to the consumer. Rather it becomes added to the spread.

Military Losses—Budget Doesn't Show These Costs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Diego Union of March 19, 1954:

MILITARY LOSSES—BUDGET DOESN'T SHOW THESE COSTS

An item which doesn't show up in the military budget reports now being reviewed by Congress is nonetheless costly to the United States Government.

The intangible, which is very real, is the cost of training new men and officers to replace those being lost daily by the Armed Forces because of failure to reenlist.

How much does this cost a year? It's anyone's guess. But the figures would be high. Who can estimate the loss in military efficiency when there is a 60 percent turnover in service personnel? Who can place a price on the damage to military security suffered by the resignation of trained and capable men?

We do have estimates that the Government has an investment of about $50,000 in a jet pilot. And the training given a skilled enlisted man is valued at an average of $14,000.

On a financial basis alone, we can't afford to jeopardize the career military services.

But we are doing just this.

The turning point in a man's decision whether to make the military a career usually comes after his first enlistment. In the Navy only 12 percent are reenlisting. In the Army, even among the top grades of enlisted men, where career service is more appealing, the enlistment rate has dropped to 24.3 percent.

The figures are so alarming they no longer can be ignored. It is imperative that Congress look into the entire matter this year.

The problem is not of recent origin. San Diego Representative WILSON says that with enlistments from early phases of the Korean war expiring rapidly this year, the necessity of making the armed services more attractive is greater than before.

The Bureau of the Budget now is studying a Defense Department proposal to make dependent medical care a right, not a hit or miss privilege. This would be one important step in bolstering military morale. It is important for a man to know his family is cared for when he is away.

Congress also should schedule hearings soon on restoring many fringe benefits lost since 1944 and on too-long neglected military pay raises.

These are matters which we cannot afford to delay.

Hearst Highway Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced H. R. 8686, which represents an effort to draft definite legislation containing the essential features of the Hearst highway plan.

Certainly it is high time to take bold effective action to get America out of the traffic jam. Administration proposals have been rightly labeled "too little and too late" by the Hearst newspapers, which, I feel, are performing a most valuable public service both in dramatically pointing out our serious highway deficiencies and following through by suggesting a plan to alleviate them.

The bill is a first draft, and is no doubt far from perfect, but it does provide a basis for study and hearings. It is my thought that it should also be introduced in the Senate, perhaps perfected there, and then substituted for the House bill (H. R. 8127) pending in the Senate.

I recognize the validity of the arguments of those who oppose a linkage between highway appropriations and gasoline or automobile excise taxes. I do, however, feel all can agree that so long as such taxes are collected they should not be diverted to general governmental purposes while our highways fall apart. These taxes are of course not a proper measure of the Federal interest in an adequate highway system. National defense, and in this connection, the possible need for fast mass evacuations of large cities, makes Federal attention to our highways urgently mandatory, and this will certainly remain true irrespective of any particular taxes. It should, of course, be emphasized that receipts from such taxes are the minimum that should be appropriated for highways, not the maximum. This too is my understanding of the Hearst proposal.

To be a little more specific, the bill would set aside, in a special fund in the Treasury, all the proceeds of the taxes imposed and collected on gasoline, diesel oil, lubricating oil, tires and tubes, automobiles, and accessories through 1959, and would require that the amounts so set aside be used only for highway construction and maintenance. Appropriations would be made directly from the special fund.

Section 2 of the bill authorizes appropriations from the fund to carry out the Federal-Aid Road Act and related laws during a period of 5 fiscal years beginning with the fiscal year 1956. The amount to be appropriated for this purpose in any fiscal year, when added to amounts made available from other sources, would be equal at least to the total amount collected during the preceding calendar year as receipts from the taxes on gasoline, diesel oil, and lubricating oil. The apportionment of amounts so appropriated would be on substantially the same basis—both as to types of expenditures and as to the applicable matching formula—as the apportionment of the corresponding amounts appropriated under the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952 and under H. R. 8127.

Section 3 of the bill authorizes an additional appropriation for the national system of interstate highways. The amount to be appropriated for this purpose in any fiscal year, when added to amounts made available from other sources, would be equal at least to the total amount collected during the preceding calendar year as receipts from the taxes on automobiles, tires and tubes, and accessories. The apportionment of amounts so appropriated would be made without any requirement of matching of funds by States, but otherwise would be on substantially the same basis as the apportionment of amounts appropriated for the national system of interstate highways pursuant to H. R. 8127.

The bill would establish a floor for highway appropriations by setting aside the proceeds of certain taxes, most of which are related to highway use; it is definitely not intended to exclude or diminish the need for the appropriation of additional money to supplement the amounts so set aside. It is intended that during the operative period of the bill, the taxes involved shall not be diverted to other than highway uses.

New Look at the H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Defense has announced that the results of the recent H-bomb tests are unbelievable. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission has stated that hydrogen bombs are being produced which can put any city in the world out of commission. We can delay no longer in facing the threat to civilization posed by the H-bomb developments. We must find a way to prevent the outbreak of another major war, which would surely employ atomic and hydrogen weapons, and to hasten the day of peacetime uses of this gigantic energy. In this connection, I wish to call attention to the following timely and thoughtful editorial, New Look at the H-bomb, appearing in the April 3 issue of America:

NEW LOOK AT THE H-BOMB

Prime Minister Churchill thus addressed himself to a hushed House of Commons on March 23:

"Let me assure the House that there is nothing in the whole world of affairs that dominates our thoughts more than the group of stupendous problems and perils comprised in the sphere of atomic and hydrogen development."

The unpredicted power of the March 1 hydrogen bomb—said to be 600 times that of the Hiroshima horror. The irradiated Japanese 80 miles from the explosion. The atomic tuna. The AEC's extension of the test zone in the Pacific to a diameter of 900 miles. The rumor that H-ash fell on Japan, 1,600 miles away. The reflection that the bomb could have contained cobalt and killed everything wherever erratic winds might carry its "death dust." The rumors that uranium or plutonium is no longer needed to trigger an H-bomb. Does any American dispute the priority the Prime Minister gave to atomic-hydrogen developments?

No doubt the President, personally, is just as concerned. But are the Department of State and the Congress? Has State devised an alternative to the outmoded Baruch proposals? What has happened to the report of the five-man State Department panel on disarmament headed by J. Robert Oppenheimer?

The Senate last year passed the Flanders resolution on disarmament only after provisions for a "comprehensive study" had been cut out of it by what Senator FLANDERS described as "the lower echelons of the State Department." Congress gives no hint of taking up the President's February 17 request for absolutely essential revision of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. Dozens of legislators know that "things have gone about as far as they can go"—and not only in Kansas City. In a prophetic moment some time before he died, Brien McMahon called upon the U. N. to drop everything and concentrate on preventing a hydrogen-bomb race. Last fall Senator WILEY proposed that the incoming Congress do likewise. Instead we got the Bricker business. And now—well, it is time a bipartisan group arose to demand immediate and thoroughgoing action.

Much can be done at once to move this overriding problem into the central position it so clamantly requires. The Arends resolution (H. Con. Res. 132), companion of the Flanders, was not voted on by the House last year. If the Congress would approve some such request for a proper Government agency to make intensive efforts to solve the scientific and technical problems involved in eliminating weapons of mass destruction, the State Department might reconstitute the Disarmament Panel into a larger high-level group of experts adequate to the task.

The first part of the President's request for revision of the 1946 act dealing with secrecy provisions should be acted on at once and separately. Otherwise prolonged wrangling over the part dealing with private industrial uses of atomic energy will postpone indefinitely even the partial lifting of the atomic curtain.

Finally, is it realistic to pursue at this time negotiations on the pooling of atomic material for peaceful uses? This has only an indirect bearing on actual disarmament, the hope being that distrust will be dissipated by cooperative action in nonexplosive fields. In his memorable address to the U. N. December 8 the President spoke first of our readiness to enter into private diplomatic discussions and of our being prepared to carry a new conception into them. Only afterward did he propose the international atom bank.

The hydrogen-powered giants he then pictured as glowering at each other across a trembling world are increasing their power so swiftly that they may soon themselves begin to tremble. The trust foreseen as a byproduct of limited cooperation may soon give way to desperate fear reactions. It is safer to begin at once the direct approach to atomic-hydrogen disarmament by diplomatic negotiations. As soon, that is, as the United States has its new conception to offer.

Disabled World War I Veterans Should Not Be Forgotten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is nearly 36 years since the armistice was signed in 1918 terminating the First World War for the 4,744,000 young Americans who served in that conflict. Today the average age of the khaki-clad veterans of 1917–18 is 59.4 years with 416,950 of the remaining 3,311,000 veterans drawing disability pension benefits from the Veterans' Administration.

Early in the 83d Congress I introduced H. R. 3601, a bill designed to grant an increase of from $12 to $15 monthly for World War I veterans suffering from non-service-connected disabilities. Under the existing law a World War I veteran who is permanently and totally disabled is eligible for a monthly pension of $63; after he has been in receipt of the pension for 10 consecutive years it is increased to $75 or upon reaching the age of 65.

H. R. 3601 provides that the present monthly pension benefit of $63 be increased to $75; and the present monthly benefit of $75 be increased to $90. The legislation was the subject of hearings on March 31, 1954, before the Subcommittee on Compensation and Pensions of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs. During the course of the hearings I had the privilege of testifying on behalf of my bill H. R. 3601, and following is my statement on the subject:

Mr. Chairman, on March 2, 1953, I introduced H. R. 3601, which is now before this subcommittee.

This bill provides that the monthly rates of pension payable to veterans of World War I under any public laws administered by the Veterans' Administration shall be $75 monthly except where an otherwise eligible person shall have been rated permanent and total and in receipt of pension for a continuous period of 10 years or reaches the age of 65 years, the amount of pension shall be $90 monthly.

It is nearly 36 years since the end of World War I and, being quite frank, at the

moment the veteran of that conflict appears to be the forgotten veteran of this Nation. For the past 20 years very little mention has he received nor has he been accorded much consideration from a legislative standpoint.

Those who served in World War I are advancing in age, which is supported by the fact that the average age of World War I veterans on the rolls of the Veterans' Administration is 59.4 years, as of June 30, 1953.

All those on the rolls have physical disabilities which reduce their life expectancy below average, so it can readily be seen that there is little time left for the Nation to fulfill its obligation to this rapidly dwindling group of forgotten men.

At the close of the last fiscal year there were 416,950 disabled World War I veterans receiving a meager pension under what is termed part 3 benefits from the Veterans' Administration. Of this number, 267,000 were permanently and totally disabled, 37,250 have been permanently and totally disabled for a period of 10 years, with the remaining 112,700 being permanently and totally disabled at age 65 or over.

When you take into consideration that as of June 30, 1953, there were 3,311,000 veterans of World War I, out of a total of 4,744,000 and that their average age is 59.4 years as well as the fact that they are dying at the rate of 206 daily, it is significant that such a small percentage of World War I veterans are drawing a pitifully inadequate pension.

My bill will establish the pension rate for permanent total disability at $75 monthly unless the veteran shall have ben rated permanent and total and in receipt of pension for a continuous period of 10 years, or have reached the age of 65 years, in which case the pension is increased to $90 monthly. This constitutes an increase of $12 over the present rate of $63 and an increase of $15 over the present $75 monthly for those receiving the pension for a continuous period of 10 years, or who have reached the age of 65 years.

On the basis of 416,950 World War I veterans receiving non-service-connected benefits as of June 30, 1953, the increase provided by my bill will cost only $5,452,860 monthly. This amount will be added to the existing monthly cost of non-service-connected benefits.

Keeping in mind that 23,317 of the group drawing non-service-connected benefits died during the last fiscal year, it is apparent that the cost of my bill will likely be reduced through the anual death rate which is mounting each year. At any rate, the cost of the proposed increase is relatively small when compared with the benefit it affords to eligible World War I veterans and to the Nation as a whole.

Attention should also be directed to the strict income limitations—$1,400 per annum if a single person, and $2,700 per annum if a married person or one with minor children—which gives assurance that the pension money will be channeled into the economic stream of the Nation. It will be spent for the necessities of life and will include the family physician, the landlord, and the grocer. These pension funds will also aid in preserving the self-respect and the pardonable pride of veterans who served their country with honor and who have a natural reluctance against becoming objects of public charity in their twilight years.

In theory, Congress has always considered the pension rate as an adjunct to income rather than as supporting income but many veterans of World War I, because of advanced age and disability, have no other income to support them.

The modest increase proposed in my bill, H. R. 3601, while not adequate in my opinion for the veterans of World War I, will be however, some evidence that the Nation has not forgotten the sacrifices they made.

In asking you to approve H. R. 3601, let me plead that we as a Nation not celebrate the 36th aniversary of the Armistice of 1918 this fall, with a conscience burdened by the tragic plight of these aging veterans.

The President's Trade Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in the New York Times of March 31 appeared an editorial entitled "The President's Trade Policy." I have read with a great deal of interest the President's message on the Randall Commission report. The editorial brings out in a very effective way some of the high spots of the President's message.

In view of the importance of the subject, I believe the editorial is well worth our study, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S TRADE POLICY

In a major statement of foreign economic policy President Eisenhower yesterday presented to Congress a specific legislative program which, if he fights for it, could become one of the important achievements of his administration.

We say this not because the proposals themselvse represent any drastic move toward a liberalized foreign trade and investment policy. In fact, in many respects they do not go far enough. On the whole, they follow the moderate recommendations of the Randall Commission reported to the Nation list January. But if the President really goes down the line for the program he outlined yesterday, and if he succeeds in getting enough members of his own party to join most of the Democrats in support of it, he will have set a tone for our foreign economic relations that could do incalculable good for years to come.

The difficulty of the President's position in this respect is that many of the most influential Republicans, particularly in the House, are trade-restrictionists and high-tariff advocates, traditionally opposed to the liberalized (if limited) trade and tariff program that he is supporting. Therefore, it will be absolutely necessary for the President to fight and fight hard if he expects to get anything through Congress beyond a simple extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which expires in June.

The President put his program in a nutshell when he described it as having four interrelated parts: "Aid, which we wish to curtail; investment, which we wish to encourage, convertibility, which we wish to facilitate, and trade, which we wish to expand." These parts are closely interlocked: "As we curtail our aid we must help to close the dollar gap by expanding our foreign investment and trade. This expansion will be facilitated by a return to convertibility of foreign currencies. The return by our friends abroad to convertibility will be encouraged if our trade policy leads them to expect expansion of our foreign trade and investment."

At the heart of this structure is American trade policy: "If we fail in our trade policy, we may fail in all." In order to cut our foreign aid program and yet not cut off the rest of the free world from ourselves, "the solution is a higher level of two-way trade." This is as important for us as it is for our allies. We sometimes forget that "over 4 million American workers depend on international trade for their employment" and that "one-third of our wheat, 40 percent of our cotton and rice and one-fourth of our tobacco and soybeans have been exported" in recent years. Furthermore, if we are interested—as of course we are—in encouraging our allies to hold their trade with Iron Curtain countries to strictly nonstrategic goods, we cannot at the same time shut our own trading doors in their very face.

With all this in mind the President endorses the conservative proposals of the Randall Commission for a permissive gradual reduction in tariffs under the reciprocal trade program, which would be extended for at least 3 years. He urges liberalization of the Buy American laws, pointing out that as a general rule it is "improper policy, unbusinesslike procedure and unfair to the taxpayer for the Government to pay a premium on its purchases." He proposes concrete steps toward simplification of customs administration and procedure, and asks the Senate to pass the House-endorsed bill for improvement of the customs-valuation provisions of present law. What the President does not do (nor did the Randall Commission) is to ask modification of the crippling peril-point and escape-clause procedures, which have helped give so much substance to the complaint of foreign exporters that one of their greatest handicaps in trading with the United States is the uncertainty of our tariff policies.

It is easy to make much of the fact that the Randall recommendations were approved by a split vote of the commission. Certainly they were; but we think it significant that in every case the majority in favor was overwhelming. So far, then, from the battle being lost before it has started, we think the President has a fair chance to obtain a good deal of the program. But we repeat that he will have to fight for it. His message to Congress must be only the opening gun.

Underconsumption of Milk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER E. CAPEHART
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, one of our fine Indiana farm newspapers, the Farmer's Exchange, published a brief but interesting editorial on page 1 of its March 26 edition. Senators should not be misled by the title. The caption reads: "Speaking of Drinking."

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEAKING OF DRINKING

Coffee, a product of South America, in all likelihood will remain sensationally high in price for several years to come. Some economists predict that it will remain so for decades.

Tea, a product of Asia, continues high in price with no reduction in sight.

Cocoa, a product of Latin America and Africa, is continuing to rise in price.

Milk, a nourishing product of American farms, is plentiful and items derived from milk are in great surplus. And the price of milk is steadily falling.

The time has come for the dairy people to sell more milk and for the rest of us to wake up to facts as they are. Medical men state that there must be an increase of from 30 to 60 percent in milk consumption in American homes before minimum standards of health are achieved. A doubling of milk consumption would put the Nation on the road to fairly good health.

As a matter of fact there is no real milk surplus—the problem lies in underconsumption which produces unbalanced diets and an unbalanced dairy industry.

Until the public (you and you and you) does its part, there is little sense in passing more laws or in "writing the Congressman."

The remedy lies close by—in your kitchen. What do you plan to do about it?

The Profit-Sharing Movement in America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, over the past few years we have experienced a considerable growth in the profit-sharing movement in America. More and more employers and employees are coming to the realization that the philosophy of profit sharing is of material assistance to them in resolving their differences and solving their common problems.

With the development of the idea of profit sharing has come many of the results we are all striving to attain. In plant after plant more and more of the advantages have become apparent. Employers report an increase in production since the installation of profit-sharing plans. Machines which supposedly were producing as much as they could have somehow turned out more goods. The increase was not overnight, but it can definitely be traced to the establishment of the profit-sharing plan. This means higher profits and, in turn, more profit sharing.

Other employers report an improvement in the relationship between management and labor. Where formerly they had groups eyeing each other with suspicion and distrust, they now have an atmosphere of cooperation, understanding, and an honest desire to work together. Employees appreciate the problems of management a little better and management has learned a little more about the employees' viewpoint. They realize that in such teamwork both sides gain. The change may not always be so pronounced, but there is no denying that in the firms where profit sharing has been adopted there has, to a lesser or greater degree, been an improvement in employer-employee relationships.

Benefits to the employee under profit-sharing plans are obvious. Profit sharing is not advocated as a substitute for good wages but as something over and above a good living wage. Profits thus paid can provide the basis for benefits for the later years when the earning power of the employee declines or he has reached retirement. In the meantime, it gives the employee a sense of recognition as a part of the business—a partner in the venture when he can clearly see the relationship between the way he does his job and the figures on the profit-and-loss statement at the end of the year.

There are other benefits from profit sharing which I could mention. It is true that all the benefits do not always flow from the adoption of a profit-sharing plan. Our economic system has given this country the highest standard of living the world has ever known. Our aim must be to preserve and strengthen that system and project it from those who would destroy it. The profit-sharing idea will not of itself achieve all of this but it will help. The experience of profit-sharing industries shows that it helps develop an atmosphere of cooperation and better understanding which are essential ingredients to a solution of our problems.

The bill I introduced today, which is identical to that introduced by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KERSTEN], is designed to encourage the further development of profit sharing by providing certain tax benefits to employers and employees who adopt profit-sharing plans which are either qualified for tax purposes or which cover a specified percentage of employees. I believe the beneficial effects of this legislation will more than offset whatever loss of revenue may be occasioned by it.

The President's Trade Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following two editorials from the Baltimore Sun and the Christian Science Monitor. They point out the hard fight still ahead if any progress is to be made on the President's trade program:

[From the Baltimore Sun]

THE PRESIDENT'S GOOD START ON FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

With his special message to Congress the President has made a brave start—but only a start—on the reform of foreign economic policy. That is to say, his arguments for liberalized trade are sound; but it will not be enough to let the matter rest with this single statement, admirable as it is.

So far as reason is concerned, the President has everything on his side. In our economic relations with the rest of the world, trade, not aid is the proper goal. But if trade is to be substituted for aid, foreign producers must have greater access to the American market. Tariffs that are prohibitive and tariffs that are highly restrictive should be brought down to a point where they give foreign producers a chance to compete in our market. Customs procedures that stack the cards against importers ought to be reformed.

Nor is the case for liberalizing our trade policy based solely on the idea of substituting trade for aid. American agriculture and a large segment of American industry must have large and expanding foreign markets for their economic health and this is possible only if we in turn provide large and expanding markets for the people who would buy the products of our farms and factories.

There is a diplomatic point, too. Americans don't like to see other countries trade with Russia. They don't even like to see trade with Russia that is based on nonstrategic goods. But if the American market is so largely denied to these other countries, we have no moral right to object when they turn elsewhere to sell their goods.

The arguments, as we say, are unassailable. But the President's excellent statement of them is not enough because, in foreign economic policy, arguments based wholly on the national interest are not necessarily controlling. The President's own party is historically restrictionist in foreign trade. And even in the case of the Democrats, though they favor a liberal foreign trade policy in principle, they tend to be restrictionist whenever a liberal general policy comes into conflict with a local or specific interest. Democrats talk low tariff but have a disconcerting way of acting high tariff when directly affected.

So the President cannot merely rest on his general statement. His message admirably expresses the national interest. Now he and his administration have to find ways of convincing the individuals who make up the House and the Senate that a policy favoring the national interest has priority over their individual and particular prejudices.

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

A HIGHER LEVEL OF TRADE

President Eisenhower's message on foreign-economic policy opens a battle for one of the major sections of his legislative program. It is a battle in which his chief foes are members of his own party intrenched in key bastions of congressional power. It is a battle in which he must look to Democrats for decisive support.

Mr. Eisenhower has prepared carefully during the last year for this contest. The first step was to temporize by asking simply for a 1-year renewal of the Trade Agreements Act. A second was to organize the Randall Commission to study the whole field of foreign-economic policy. Ten of the 17 members of this Commission were Members of Congress, and its studies form the basis of the recommendations the President is now submitting.

The Commission obtained a large degree of unanimity on its major proposals—14–3. To get this agreement concessions had to be made. Many advocates of a freer-trade policy feel that the program has been too much watered down to achieve any marked success in developing the higher level of two-way trade which the President considers essential. He himself says that "no sudden, sharp, or widespread adjustments within the economy would be involved."

But political observers believe that if Mr. Eisenhower can win this program—under present conditions—he will have scored a vital victory. And if the United States course can be set plainly—though very mildly—toward freer trade by a Republican administration in a period of slow business, hopes for the future will be brighter. For general improvement of world trade other nations will also have to lower barriers. But the United States should lead.

The President in his message spoke of freer trade as a means of closing the dollar gap. This is running at present around $2 billion

a year. That measures the amount by which other countries fail to sell enough goods to the United States to pay for goods they get from it.

Protectionists declare that it is not necessary to let in more foreign goods to close the gap; that payments can be balanced on a lower level. But that means abandoning export markets American farm and factory products badly need. That course leads to fewer goods, lower living standards.

In general, a higher level of trade benefits every nation concerned. A few industries vital to national defense have special grounds for asking protection. Also some hardship cases may appear. But these can be cared for under the escape-clause and peril-point provisions of the legislation Mr. Eisenhower urges.

This is not just a tariff program, not just a foreign-trade program; it is a rounded foreign-economic policy. It can greatly aid the solidarity of the free world by offering other nations alternatives to the trade with which the Kremlin is seeking to win friends. The United States would benefit if other nations made their currencies convertible and if aid could be cut down. Those benefits can be facilitated by expanding trade and investment.

Trade appears to be the most feasible starting point, and the Randall-Eisenhower program a most reasonable plan for expanding trade. Moderate as is this program, the President will have to battle vigorously to win it. We hope he takes the case to the people—where it should have strong support.

The St. Lawrence Seaway Project Would Be National Suicide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, if the St. Lawrence seaway is approved by Congress, we might as well proceed to sink the American merchant fleet at once, says the Troy (N. Y.) Times-Record in an editorial in the March 19, 1954, issue. The editorial follows:

NATIONAL SUICIDE

A new sense of reasonableness, or shall we say broadmindedness, has come over the supporters of the St. Lawrence seaway project. Once advocated frankly by those whooping it up for the seaway as serving of their sectional interests, it is now advanced in all unselfishness by them because its building would be in the cause of vital national interest.

Of course, the welfare of our vast merchant marine fleets and industries and their prosperity and preservation is of no national concern. The building of the seaway project would practically scuttle the American merchant marine upon which the taxpayers have spent close to $19 billion in the last 25 years.

Reports on our maritime interests are that they are already in serious plight, without adding the St. Lawrence seaway to their troubles. One-third of the personnel employed by the privately operated and owned American merchant fleet 2 years ago is on the beach today.

The building of the seaway would not help the American merchant fleet in its troubles; only add to them. It would turn over to foreign flag vessels the great bulk of foreign trade that originates or is destined for the Middle West. The reason? Because only 2 percent of American-flag, oceangoing, privately owned vessels could use the proposed 27-foot seaway fully loaded.

If the St. Lawrence seaway is approved by Congress, we might as well proceed to sink the American merchant fleet at once.

National interest? The St. Lawrence seaway project would be national suicide.

Keep the Churches Out of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the U. S. News & World Report of April 2, 1954:

KEEP THE CHURCHES OUT OF POLITICS

(By David Lawrence)

Christianity is the dominant religion of America, but the basic principle of our constitutional system is to keep church and state separate.

Lately some of the national church organizations have begun to meddle in politics. If the trend is not arrested it can only lead to a loss of faith in churches and in clergymen who profess to teach Christianity.

It has become commonplace to pick up the Monday morning newspapers and read sermons vehemently attacking persons who are conspicuous in the political polemics of our day. The press associations eagerly transmit to newspapers from coast to coast the invectives of partisan spleen that come from the pulpits. Some clergymen seem more interested in making headlines than in making Christians obedient to Christian principles in their everyday life.

It is a truism of our times that politics would be cleaner and the controversies in governmental affairs which cause so much emotional furore would be dissolved if men who became protagonists would surrender themselves to the will of God and be guided in paths of truth and human love.

For the decay in present-day morals and the deterioration of moral principle in governments throughout the world is perhaps due to the fact that many clergymen have been grossly negligent in their devotion to spiritual tasks. They have been diverted from their real duty. They have not fulfilled their true mission. They have become controversialists themselves—infected by the poison of pride and egotism.

Soon laymen in America will be asking each other: "Are you attending a pro-McCarthy or anti-McCarthy church these days?" Soon other laymen will be asking: "Is yours a Republican or Democratic Party pulpit?"

How much faith, how much confidence can there be in any clergy which allows itself to become an integral part of the factional strife of the political world?

As citizens, clergymen may express themselves on anything they please. But in speaking for Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish Churches they ought not to intrude in politics or take sides on political questions—that is, if they expect to retain the confidence of their congregations.

A case in point is the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, which has just issued a statement demanding that Congress adopt certain rules and regulations, which the National Council would prescribe, with reference to the handling of congressional investigations. The phraseology of the document is copied in large part from the language of political spokesmen who are making partisan use of such proposals. Granted that there is need for such reforms, why does the National Council feel that laymen are incompetent to fight that battle and that the prestige of such a big church organization must be dragged into the mire of partisan politics? For the conduct of congressional inquiries is a political football these days.

This manifesto declares that congressional committees are usurping "powers not granted to Congress by the Constitution and failing to concentrate on the primary task of collecting information for the purposes of new legislation." Yet nowhere in all the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States has Congress been told that the Constitution requires its investigating committees to limit themselves to collecting information for new legislation. Would the Teapot Dome scandal or the perjury by Alger Hiss or the many cases of corruption by individuals in Government have been uncovered if there had not been constitutional authority for such probes by the legislative branch of the Government and its committees?

The manifesto, moreover, still clings to the illusion that, when persons suspected of Communist affiliations or connections have been investigated by congressional committees, this is merely an attempt to castigate them for their personal economic and political beliefs, and not for their possible relationship to the Communist conspiracy. The FBI and the various United States district attorneys have been confronted in the courts with the same line of defense by Communists who have been convicted of participating in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by violence.

All these pronouncements by national church organizations can have only one object and purpose—to use the dignity and spiritual power of the church as an agency to draw church members into a political force which shall mobilize public opinion on a question of governmental procedures.

Is it advisable for large church organizations, as such, to enter the political field? Wouldn't it be better if they taught us more about Christian philosophy and inspired us by their example to settle the conflicts within everyday America by reason instead of by emotion, by truth instead of by slander, by the governing rules of a God-given conscience?

This is the time of all times for clergymen to teach Christianity and not become sinners themselves in the unmoral precincts of present-day politics.

Welcome WQED

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, tonight at 8 o'clock WQED, metropolitan Pittsburgh's educational television station, goes on the air for the first time. In connection with the dedication program marking this historic occasion, I should like to include in the RECORD the following editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of April 1, 1954, entitled Welcome WQED:

WELCOME WQED

Three years of volunteer effort in the public interest will bear fruit when Pittsburgh's educational television station WQED goes on the air at 8 p. m. today. All indications are that the station, offering instruction for young and old alike, will become a great cultural asset to this area.

It is a tribute to the leadership of WQED that it is one of the first three noncommercial educational stations to qualify for an award of $10,000 from the Emerson $100,000 educational television grant.

WQED is dedicated exclusively to the public service. It will, we are confident, merit wide public support. Thousands of appreciative viewers will be watching channel 13 with interest.

Who's Who Among American Friends of Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following very interesting article from the well-known publication, The Polish American Journal for March 27, 1954, regarding the contributions of my distinguished friend and colleague Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN:

WHO'S WHO AMONG AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE POLAND

The work of Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, Democrat, of Clinton, Mass., in behalf of a free Poland has earned the praise of Polish American organizations throughout the country and especially in Massachusetts because he was among the first Members of Congress to warn the country against Soviet designs on Poland. In fact, the legal President of Poland August Zaleski, in messages to this country, had this to say about Representative PHILBIN:

"The activities on behalf of Poland of the Honorable PHILIP J. PHILBIN are highly appreciated by Poles in exile and I wish you would assure him of our gratitude for his most useful work."

The Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn in impressive ceremonies conducted at Sea Cliff, Long Island, on July 12, 1952, presented Congressman PHILBIN with a scroll of honor and medal in recognition of his work for the liberation of Poland, the first such award ever made by this patriotic Polish-American organization to an American citizen of non-Polish extraction.

The Polish American Congress has endorsed Congressman PHILBIN's work in the Congress for the Polish people. Its president, Charles Rozmarek, writes: "This is to express again the appreciation of the Polish American Congress for your truly American defense of the just cause of Poland * * *" and again, "I want you to know that we are very grateful to you for your friendly attitude."

By formal vote, the Worcester County Association of Polish American Citizens' Clubs sent this message to Congressman PHILBIN: "A motion was passed to have this letter written to you thanking you for the wonderful work you have done in Congress for the people of your district, and for the sympathy you have shown for the freedom and independence of Poland."

Dr. Karol Smolczynski, president of the Western Massachusetts Branch of the Polish American Congress, writes: "You know we are grateful to you for your efforts in behalf of Poland" and "If we could only organize a group of Congressmen who hold, about the Polish question, similar views to yours, it would be a very effective way of accomplishing some results."

The Polish American Citizen's Club of Clinton writes: "Your continuous stand for the liberation of Poland touches the heart of every American citizen of Polish descent not only in this country but in the entire state."

These are but a few of the touching tributes which are among the cherished possessions of Congressman PHILBIN and which have served as a great source of inspiration to him down through the years in his efforts in behalf of a free Poland.

HELPED UNDERGROUND

Congressman PHILBIN's activities in behalf of Poland have been many and varied. During the war, as a member of the House Committee on Armed Services, he held extended conferences with high Army officials in pressing for effective help to the members of the heroic Polish underground. In addition, he sought revision of the immigration laws to permit the admission of members of the free Polish Army, serving with American forces in Europe, to the United States without regard to quota restrictions.

In early 1946, he publicly called upon the State Department to insist upon the withdrawal of Russian troops in Poland. The then Secretary of State, Gov. James F. Byrnes, advised the Congressman that it is understood that the number of Soviet troops in Poland has been substantially reduced. Subsequent events proved the wisdom and need for Congressman PHILBIN's demand and he again took the initiative to press the cause of free Poland by organizing a group of his colleagues in the House to focus public attention on the Polish cause.

In this connection, the Reverend A. R. Skoniecki, executive secretary of the coordinating committee of American-Polish Association in the East, wrote Congressman PHILBIN:

"Your initiative to build up a group of your colleagues is not only welcome but an extremely important and necessary task. I sincerely hope that under the present conditions, many of your colleagues will share your views and realize the responsibility resting upon every Member of the United States Congress to defend our country and our way of life."

The American-Polish Associations of the East conducted a huge rally at the City Center in New York in May 1945, at which Congressman PHILBIN was one of the principal speakers. Few voices at that time were raised in the Congress or elsewhere in behalf of Poland, but Congressman PHILBIN was in the vanguard of those public officials who sought freedom for the Polish people because he was among the very first to recognize and denounce communistic infiltration in all parts of the world. His speech on lend-lease in the House in the early forties was the first public attack on the Soviet as an ally and subsequent events only served to bear out the Congressman's warning of the time, which unfortunately went unheeded.

ASKS JUSTICE FOR POLAND

Congressman PHILBIN has met again the test for friendship to the Polish cause, but he anticipated even some of the objectives of Polish-American groups when, again in 1945, he introduced legislation in the Congress demanding justice for Poland. The preamble of his resolution, even in those early years, sums up the righteousness of the Polish cause: "Whereas throughout centuries of struggle and sacrifice the people of Poland have established their unmistakable place in the family of nations and have demonstrated their capacity for self-government; and whereas Poland was one of our most faithful allies in the great conflict just ended and fought courageously and gallantly to preserve ideals of democracy and liberty; and whereas conditions developing in Poland today, in the judgment of many, are threatening the sovereignty, self-determination, and autonomy of the Polish nation; and whereas these conditions reflected in the United States and elsewhere bring into controversy the war aims of the United Nations and may possibly constitute infringement and denial of the basic freedoms for which the war was waged, thereby endangering permanent peace."

The resolution then called upon the Congress to extend "deepest sympathy to the Polish nation and people for the hardships, trials, and sufferings they are sustaining; and, mindful of our desire to promote freedom and self-determination among all the nations of the earth, both great and small, the Congress pledges its assistance and good offices to the Polish cause and to the cause of all other nations desiring and seeking freedom; and express the hope that the accredited diplomatic representatives of the United States may urge the justice of the Polish cause upon the United Nations and may move as speedily as possible to arrange for the negotiation of permanent treaties of peace, which will insure autonomy, freedom, and democratic institutions to Poland and all other nations aspiring to these basic rights."

This legislation was the outgrowth of previous efforts by Congressman PHILBIN to assist Poland. On May 3, 1944, in addressing the House in commemoration of the signing of the Polish Constitution, he introduced a concurrent resolution calling for a tribute from Congress of sympathy, friendship, and support to the Polish people "to the end that the territorial integrity and political independence of their nation may be preserved and maintained."

DENOUNCES YALTA

Congressman PHILBIN's voice in the Congress has been raised many times in his fight for Polish freedom. His denunciation of the Yalta pact early in 1945 was widely publicized in the American press and attracted a great deal of editorial comment in Polish-lanuguage newspapers throughout the country. A significant portion of his address states, "It would seem very clear that there is in some places here and abroad the belief, desire, and hope that previous settlements of the Polish question and other related Baltic and Balkan questions heretofore arrived at by unilateral action or in informal conferences between some of the leaders of the United Nations would, after original protests, be ultimately accepted and approved by the people of the United States. The theory underlying this view is that, if long enough continued, our Nation will forget or overlook these gross and indefensible violations of the Atlantic Charter and our own cherished principles of freedom and justice. Be that as it may, so far as I am concerned as a Member of Congress, I am not prepared and will not be prepared at any time to forget or overlook these injustices.

"The irregular and ill-advised action on Poland by our Government and our allies has provoked the deepest resentment and bitterness among millions of decent, liberty-loving American citizens and this resentment and bitterness is not confined to those of Polish blood but is burning in the heart of every American citizen who loves liberty and believes in and stands for the principles of self-determination and the Atlantic Charter for which precious American blood has been so lavishly spilled all over the world.

"What could be more destructive of our professed war aims than for this great, free, and powerful Nation to join with the other

nations in turning over the Polish people to an undemocratic and ruthless regime against their will, and without their consent and without action by the United States Senate whose approval of foreign treaties is required by the Constitution?

"Yalta is a repudiation of the basic principles of freedom and self-determination. It is a cruel betrayal of one of our most loyal allies in the war. It is a calloused, unpardonable abandonment of the so-called four freedoms which were alleged, as we were so often and so positively assured when our boys were being sent off to slaughter and death in all corners of the earth, to be the aims for which they were fighting, bleeding, and dying—our hope for a brave new world of peace and plenty.

"Poland is entitled to her freedom. Poland is entitled to reestablish and maintain her own government. Poland is entitled to her own territories and her own possessions, and Poland is entitled to her brithright as a free nation. Nothing less than that will ever satisfy the spirit of fearless devotion to liberty that animates the Polish people, and nothing less than full political, social, economic, and ideological protection for Poland as an independent and sovereign nation can or will be recognized by the American people."

Congressman PHILBIN's interest and work in the Congress in the Polish cause and other great questions of the hour has earned him the solid and convincing support of his district. First elected in 1942 by the slim margin of little more than 700 votes, he has had little trouble in holding the Third District seat, winning his sixth term in Congress in November 1952, by a thumping margin of more than 56,000 votes when he outdistanced other Democratic contenders and carried some central Massachusetts communities, strongly Republican, by running far ahead of the Eisenhower sweep.

POLITICS HIS CAREER

The Philbin formula for success is a simple one: hard work, painstaking effort to help all constituents who come to him with their problems, and independent fearless thinking and voting on national issues coming before the Congress. The Congressman is a career figure in politics. He cut his political teeth as secretary to the late Senator David I. Walsh of his hometown of Clinton and later served as campaign manager in the Senator's overwhelming victories in 1934 and 1940. In addition, he conducted a successful law practice in Boston and Clinton prior to his congressional service.

Congressman PHILBIN was born in Clinton, educated in local schools, at Harvard College where he was a well-known football star, and Columbia University where he took his law degree. Prior to gaining elective office, he held several advisory and high-ranking legal positions in the State and Federal Governments.

PHILBIN's record in Congress has been an enviable one. Singlehanded, he fought the powerful Veterans' Administration in 1945 with an exposé of conditions in veterans' hospitals and the administrative services which rocked that agency from top to bottom. Following four separate investigations by House and Senate committees into the Philbin charges, the result was a change in the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and sweeping improvements.

PHILBIN has apparently remarkable ability in recognizing public issues and taking positive action long before specific problems come to a head. Typically illustrative was his demand in February 1947 for a congressional investigation into rising prices. The Clinton solon, however, had even anticipated himself, for, as early as November 1943, he sought a more realistic approach to the problem of spiraling prices by moving to establish a fixed relationship between wages and cost of living price indexes, a formula that was adopted a few years later in several labor-management contracts.

A vigorous member of the House Committee on Armed Services, PHILBIN foresaw present world troubles and was the first Member of Congress to introduce legislation to build up real striking power in the Air Force, warning as far back as 1948 that continued Russian aggression made it imperative for the United States to secure air supremacy. Shortly after the Korean crisis, he was named chairman of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Tanks and his outstanding work in this vital group earned him the title of troubleshooter for the committee. The Philbin subcommittee was the first of nine expediting subcommittees to render a top-secret report to the President, bristling with facts and urging an accelerated tank program which was immediately instituted as a result of his report.

OUR TRUE FRIEND

Congressman ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI, Democrat, of Jersey City, N. J., summed up his colleague's record in behalf of a free Poland in these words:

"Congressman PHILBIN is one of the greatest, the most outstanding, and most sincere friends Poland and Polonia ever had in the United States Congress."

United We Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on Sunday, March 14, to attend the Everyman's Bible Class annual interfaith rally, held in the Rivoli Theater, Rutherford, N. J. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald and president of the World Christian Endeavor Union, gave the principal address, which 1,600 persons came through a driving rain to hear. Dr. Poling is also chaplain of the interfaith shrine known as the Chapel of Four Chaplains. The rally this year stressed the unity symbolized by the four chaplains who went down with the troopship *Dorchester* in the North Atlantic in the year 1943. It was very fitting that Dr. Poling should be the speaker, as his son was one of the four chaplains who gave away their lifejackets and went down praying, locked arm in arm. You will recall that one of these chaplains, John P. Washington, was a Catholic priest; another, Alexander D. Goode, was a Jewish rabbi; and two, George Lansing Fox and Clark V. Poling, were Protestant ministers. Their association in death, as together they chose to sacrifice life in order that others might live, have become a supremely fitting symbol of the fundamental unity of those who serve the one God and work together to preserve the principles of true freedom.

Interfaith Day is not at all to promote the idea that Catholics, Protestants, or Jews should change their faith. Indeed, it emphasizes the strength of our personal religious attachments. But it recognizes that we hold so much in common that to fight each other is foolish, and to cooperate in fighting the common enemies of freedom is sane, sensible, and thoroughly American. This unity in diversity is basic to our national foundations. It is typically American. The contrary spirit of bigotry has manifested itself at times even in this land, but it has not spread far nor lasted long. Our enemies would like to divide us. Interfaith programs, like that at Rutherford, emphasize our essential unity as citizens and our willingness to work together for a better Nation and a better world.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Dr. Poling's address entitled "United We Stand":

UNITED WE STAND

(By Dr. Daniel A. Poling)

Roger McAdam, honored president, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, I count it a distinct privilege to be here today and to have my part with you in this all-American service. I heard a story in Lexington day before yesterday that is appropos of something, at any rate. A small boy had refused to eat his prunes. Finally, before he retired, his mother sought again to persuade him and said eat just 3, and he said not 1. And she said well something very terrible may happen to you if you are disobedient and do not eat your prunes. But he went to bed without eating them and during the night an appalling electrical storm developed over the community, and the thunder rolled and the lightning splashed and the great elm tree directly in front of the house was stricken to its heart and fell with the crash and the house became alive as you may imagine and the parents hurried into the small boy's room and he was not there. He was gone from the place and they searched the house and they found him in the kitchen with the refrigerator door wide open and he was feeding himself prunes and they heard him say what a fuss to make over three prunes. There is something more than the fuss involved in what we see here today. There is a good deal of commotion and men and women have gathered from distant places beyond this community and the faiths and the races are represented. But there is something more than the fuss involved because united we stand and divided we fall. It is as simple and it is as profound as that. The four chaplains are symbolic of American unity.

The families of these four chaplains have come to know each other well. They have much in common. The three faiths they represent are the faiths of Americans—all Americans, and the symbolism is the symbolism of Americans all. In Philadelphia the interfaith memorial is not a theology. It is not a doctrine; it is a symbol, and the three orders that stand upon the revolving electrically controlled platform are symbolic of this unity, without which we perish. Each order stands in its integrity. Each order, when in position, completely fills the chancel arch, and you see no question of any other order there that they stand upon one platform. They are symbolic of today's Christian tradition and faith. The faith that brings us in our worship to one God. The great discovery of World War II and the great achievement was American unity. Unity won the war. All colors and all faiths and all races and all economic conditions running together, working together, striving together, fighting together, and sometimes dying together. Now there is a defeatism among us that suggests that we did not win the war.

I flew from Amsterdam to London sometime ago with a young pilot, a British lad, who had flown with RAF and who is now flying commercially with KLM, the Dutch. And after we were well over the North Sea,

he came back and knelt by my chair in the middle aisle and talked. He was a disillusioned and embittered lad. Presently he said, "The only decent thing that Hitler ever said, do you remember, in 1940 he said it, he said then no nation will win the war, and he was right, sir. We've all lost the war.

And I waited a minute and then I replied, Captain, I understand. I do understand that there is a difference. War in itself never wins anything because war is negative and destructive. At the best and most war can only burn away and make new occasions possible. Perhaps war may open the door to opportunity. I understand, captain, that there is a difference. There is a difference, and if we had lost as the enemy lost, you would not be flying free, as you fly, and I would not be here as I'm here. There is a difference and that difference is significant to this gathering; and if we had lost, as the enemy lost, there would be no everyman's class, and there would be no fraternal gathering and there would be no high dying, in which we remember the four chaplains and what they stood for when they stood together on the deck of the *Dorchester*. There is a difference.

What we won in the war and all we won is what we still have—the chance, the fighting chance to win the peace, and that, men and women, is everything. We won the chance, the fighting chance, to win the peace. These beloved dead have not died in vain unless and until we live in vain. They who finished the work that they were in and traveled on, who keep the rendezvous with the beloved dead, they, they have not died in vain. I say again, unless we to whom they pass the torch fail to keep it on high, unless we to whom they left the work unfinished fail to travel on and to complete the task we are in.

Unity won for us the chance, the fighting chance, to win the peace, but there is something for us that is tremendously vital right now. We cannot win the peace unless we stand united, unless we live united, unless we serve united. I had the privilege shortly after the cease fire was signed on the deck of the Missouri to preside at an interfaith meeting in Philadelphia. The religion and life group is made up of women of the three faiths. Mrs. Poling, nearly 19 years ago, organized the first group, and that night there were three speakers, and they had given me the honor of introducing the three speakers.

The first speaker was a Jew—a lieutenant commander from the Pacific. He was now completing his law course at the University of Pennsylvania. He spoke with great eloquence. The second speaker was a chaplain of my faith, who had been wounded on Utah Beach. He was completing his recovery at Valley Forge Hospital, Phoenixville. He was on crutches. The third speaker was delayed. He was a Catholic from Villanova who had late passes, and he came and stood in the rear of the long hall while the chaplain concluded his remarks. Then he hurried down to the platform. Somewhat to my confusion, he brushed by my extended hand; but when I turned I saw that it was a reunion, that the chaplain was standing again, leaning on his crutch and smiling, and they greeted each other. Then I presented the young man. He did not make an eloquent speech. He was shy and defeated, but he made a speech that I cannot forget. He said, "The last time I saw my chaplain he was looking down at me, and I was lying on a stretcher on Utah Beach. He lifted me to the stretcher. A little later he helped lift me into an ambulance, and a little later he got his. And now we meet here tonight." He went on, and he finished in words that I think I shall not forget ever. He said: "In those days, men and women, we were not Catholic, we were not Jews, we were not Protestants; we were just Americans, and we were scared." He said in those days we did not ask are there Jews on the left and Catholics on the right and Protestants in retard; we were just Americans. He said: "Men and women, we must be like that now. Unity is not uniformity. We were mined in our loyalties as we were. Loyal, each to the loyalty in himself, even as the chaplains were." But there is a unity that transcends our differences, a unity under the flag that sends us forth in the tasks of the difficult peace to remember what they offered in their time, which was their high hour.

And it is within the genius of American unity that it strengthens every worthy individual and group loyalty, strengthens without prejudice, but enables us to go within the length of our common agreement as American citizens.

Do you realize, as I've come to realize, that it is more difficult for us to live together in the peace, with the petty annoyances, with the everyday difficulties, more difficult for us to live together in the peace than it was for our sons to die together in the war? But we cannot be worthy of them unless we learn the lesson and strive on, strive on as Abraham Lincoln admonished the people in his time. Strive on to finish, to finish the work we are in. Unity, I say, is not uniformity. Uniformity is sterile; uniformity does not have propagating power, but unity is dynamic. Unity does have propagating power, and it can only be achieved where there is cause worthy of the achievement.

American freedom is worthy of American unity. Here is the cause worth while. Here is the cause to which in this service we could dedicate and we would rededicate ourselves. What is the price of this unity? Well, knowledge is the price of this unity. We must know what it is all about, and there is not time to develop that thing but there is something else. Preparedness is the price of this unity—whole preparedness, spiritual preparedness, and physical preparedness. I am reminded sometimes that we forget that practical emphasis. This freedom is worthy of our living best. This freedom is worthy of every price that must be paid to strengthen it and to maintain it. Right now there are among us those who would speak out against it. False voices raised. Negative emphases that are laid, but there is something more. There is a resolute enemy boring from within and striking from without. May I suggest to you today that the irreconcilable difference between communism and American freedom is the difference between faith and denial. That is the irreconcilable difference. We have on our coin "In God we trust," and from the beginning, religious faith and freedom have risen side by side from the North American Continent. They are twins. They are identical twins. One could not have survived without the other. "In God we trust" must be something more than words on the coin. I am afraid that we have been exploiting the dollar and failing to get across the significance of the four words on the coin. The founding fathers and mothers, and we sang about them a little while ago, the founding fathers and mothers had a tremendous fight. The Pilgrims and Puritans in New England, the Dutch and Jews as they came to Manhattan, the Swedes and the Quakers as they moved up the Delaware, the Catholics as they took over Maryland and gave freedom of worship, the arduous Cavaliers in Virginia, the Scotch Irish in the Carolinas, and all the others who have come to these shores; these converging strains that have moved in to make the central tide of American freedom and American liberty. My father used to say that he was Scotch and Irish and English and Welsh, and he proved it too because he said I get my stubbornness from the English and my conservatism from the Scotch and my suggestion of melody (he was a great tenor, a great voice), my suggestion of melody from the Welsh and my extreme modesty from the Irish. And we are like that, as we have been like that.

Religion makes the difference. Faith makes us strong. Faith of our fathers living still, in spite of dungeon, fire, and sword. But the first and major tenant of communism is atheism—is the great denial. There came into my hands some time ago the revised edition of the Communist decalogue, which has been rewritten within the past year and is being widely circulated now behind the Iron Curtain and behind the bamboo curtain, too. The International Society of Christian Endeavor is taking the decalogue, this atheistic decalogue, and having it prepared for distribution to the young people with the answer to the decalogue. Now the tenth commandment of this decalogue is, know ye not that communism and atheism are one, know ye not that you cannot be a true Communist unless you are a sincere atheist. I say that there is the irreconcilable difference. These two can never be reconciled. In the end one must give and go. You can have rival ideologies, and you can have antagonism in the converging and always associated differing economic systems, but these two things cannot exist finally side by side in the same world. Do I mean, therefore, that all-out-shooting world war III is inevitable? I do not. But ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. Listen fellow Americans.

In the end communism will destroy itself. Communism has at its heart the seed of its own death. It will die of its own hand, and you see the evidences now. The strengthening underground in Czechoslovakia and Poland and Bulgaria, the rising tides of opposition with them behind the Iron Curtains and all the curtains. The liquidations again and again and yet again; but it takes time. It takes time for a seed to germinate. It takes time for the seed to come to the heart of its fulfillment, and we are buying time today, and we must buy the time, buy the time with preparedness. Buy the time with our emphasis upon American unity. Buy the time with gatherings like this. Buy the time by making the United States of America strong and stronger and strongest. Thus we buy the time.

Strength. Comprehensive strength is the answer and the only answer to this stark evil in the world. I was in Berlin when the air lift was instituted. There were those who argued against it. They said it would bring the terrible enemy into Berlin. But strength was the answer. There were days when the fog hung about my neck like a collar, but I heard the great ships rolling in, rolling in, rolling in, and the blockade was lifted. Strength is the answer, and the strength of this Nation is our unity, all races, and all faiths, and all colors working together. In God we trust, but demonstrating our trust with that unity, which the chaplains demonstrated, the chaplains who stood on the deck of the Dorchester. Faith in God that comes alive in deeds, in your community and in my community, and in our homes, a brotherhood that is real and vital and dynamic.

Oh, God grant it. But as we remember those who counted life itself not too dear and offering to lay upon the altars of freedom, God grant that we shall do something more than sing about it, something more than speak about it, something more than offer God's service, even though we offer it with supreme eloquence. Something more, everyday service for America, and may I offer as I close my talk today the tribute of my heart. I wrote the words in North Africa. I wrote the words when I was with troops there in 1943, and I bring them now to men of all religions and men of all the services.

I bring them to all fathers and mothers who have stood bereft. I bring them now as my offering to the beloved dead:

"On distant isles, on desert sands,
Beneath the sweeping tides
They sleep thereon and troubled sleep
Their hard-won rest abides.
They do not rise to greet the dawn.
Nor heed the battle call,
For they have finished with the fight,
These who have given all.
They lived; they loved.
Their time was youth, and youth they gave to time.
Now they have won eternity, these warriors, yours and mine.
Weep not for them nor for their cause.
We have sons who faltered not.
Weep only for ourselves who failed,
Who vowed the vow for God,
Weep for ourselves but vow again.
Pledge in these children's blood
To keep the faith, to win the peace,
To make the world at last a brotherhood.
And God bless you everyone."

Export-Import Bank Development Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared on Export-Import Bank development loans.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR SMATHERS

The message which the President sent to the Congress yesterday regarding this administration's trade policies included many statements in which we find almost unanimous agreement.

We indorse wholeheartedly, the President's assertions that "if we fail in our trade policy, we may fail in all. Our domestic employment, our standard of living, our security, and the solidarity of the free world—all are involved.

"For our own economic growth we must have continuously expanding world markets; for our security we require that our allies become economically strong. Expanding trade is the only adequate solution for these two pressing problems confronting our country."

The words of the President apply peculiarly to our situation with regard to Latin America. While agreeing with the President in his basic statements, it would be encouraging if we felt they would be translated into positive action to bolster trade among the nations of the Western Hemisphere in aggressive program of mutual trade and other actions required to achieve hemispheric solidarity.

Many words have been spoken during the past year about the desirability of bolstering trade practices with regard to the other nations in the Americas. It is not my purpose at this time to belabor an old theme, but to suggest one positive move, one statement of policy, which will serve to reemphasize our trade ties with Latin America and to strengthen the economy base of the entire Western Hemisphere. As has been said so often, action and not words are needed in this field.

We have talked here previously about the encouraging report made recently by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, brother of the President who headed a special Latin America mission and who reported in detail the weaknesses and the needs in our Latin America policy.

Basic in the framework of our inter-America program has been the operations of the Export-Import Bank.

On March 1, 1954, at Caracas, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles touched on this subject in remarks at the opening day's session of the 10th Inter-American Conference. Secretary Dulles said:

"There are some development projects which may not be suitable for or attractive to private capital, domestic or foreign. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which most of us here participated in establishing and to which the United States has made important capital contributions, is the primary instrument through which the free trade world can cooperate in the public financing of economic development.

"We have also in the United States in the public financing field the Export-Import Bank, a national institution of my own Government. One important function of this institution will continue to be that of affording export credits either through direct loans or guaranties.

"There has been speculation as to whether this bank has withdrawn from the field of economic development. I am glad to be able to clarify this matter. The Export-Import Bank will consider on their merits applications for financing of development projects which are not being made by the International Bank and which are in our common interest, are economically sound, are within the capacity of the prospective borrower to repay and within the prudent loaning capacity of the bank."

On March 16, a committee of the Senate, of which the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is chairman, as a result of a field study trip to South America, made a detailed report to the Senate, and made the following observations and recommendations:

"A continuing need for the Export-Import Bank and International Bank was expressed, with more emphasis on aid to private enterprise.

"The activities of both of these banks have contributed immeasurably to the progress and development of Latin America. Much that has been accomplished, particularly in the fields of electric power and highways would have been long delayed without aid from these institutions. There was a feeling that the activities of these banks are compatible, one with the other, and both have their proper spheres of activity. It was urged that the Export-Import Bank as a United States institution, can do more for bilateral trade between Latin America and the United States than the International Bank, and therefore its activity should be expanded rather than curtailed. It was further urged that the Export-Import Bank reexamine its policy of too often requiring government guaranties, as this has a tendency to induce governmental interference in private enterprise. More loans to proviate enterprise, as opposed to governmental projects, were recommended."

Subsequently, the Senate committee's recommendations included the following.

"We should expand the activities of the Export-Import Bank. However, in most instances, its loans should be made to private enterprise rather than directly to governments."

Mr. President, all of these words were most encouraging. The entire picture with regard to our good-neighbor program appeared to brighten as a result of all the things which were being said. Typical of comments on this program is the editorial from the Tampa Daily Times of March 12, 1954:

"DULLES' CONFERENCE TACTICS WIN FRIENDS FOR THE WEST

"Secretary Dulles appears to be making substantial progress toward improving relations between the United States and Latin American nations.

"He has been singularly successful with his anti-Communist doctrine, which in effect is a hemispheric declaration of independence and of cooperation, one nation with another, to make it extremely difficult for Moscow to capture a Western Hemisphere nation either by infiltration or by revolution.

"The second half of the Dulles' one-two punch at communism was his invitation to all Latin American nations to send delegates to an economic conference to be held in Washington later this year.

"These are dynamic steps in the face of creeping communism which have been designed to minimize the threat of infiltration. Both are moves which strike in favor of free enterprise and liberty.

"With his invitation to attend the economic conference, Secretary Dulles extended a warm hand of friendship and economic understanding. He persuasively told the conference that 'the United States will not continue to be satisfied merely with good political relations in this hemisphere. We also want good economic relations. We shall seek them on a basis of mutual respect for the economic and social as well as the political beliefs of each other. That is the pledge I give you.'

"Mr. Dulles went further. He reminded his Latin American listeners that he was not offended by the economic complaints directed against the United States at the conference, but added that solutions to economic problems are not as simple to solve as they appear.

"The Secretary of State emphasized that the United States believes in a free-enterprise economy with primary responsibility on private effort and that it would continue to depend upon individual effort and private capital for its economic development.

"The Dulles proposals at this 10th Inter-American Conference amount to a blueprint for Western Hemispheric solidarity in the years ahead. They amount also to a restatement of basic American policy, brought to date and molded to meet the complications of communism in the latter half of the 20th century."

But what has actually happened? Has the policy of this administration been revised to encourage the Export-Import Bank to expand its program, to include development loans, and thus to strengthen the Latin American economy and tighten the ties which bind us to these good neighbors?

My information is that this is not the case. From what I can learn, development loans are still on the taboo list at the Export-Import Bank.

Whether there is a change of policy in the making, I cannot say, but I think it is clear from the record that the policy has been to oppose such loans.

My concern regarding this subject led me to direct some studies be made of this question and I think the results of the studies are interesting as well as revealing.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK DEVELOPMENT LOANS

On page 10 of the Export-Import Bank's 17th semiannual report to Congress for July–December 1953, there are listed in table 1 the new credit authorizations made during that period. There were 11 of these authorizations totaling $171.9 million. Of this total, $100 million were accounted for by a credit to the Government of France to enable that country to receive immediately the dollar proceeds of offshore military procurement contracts concluded by the Department of

Defense with the French Government for military supplies and materials to be delivered and paid for at later dates, and $60 million by a credit to the Bank of Japan to finance the purchase and export of United States cotton. Four credit authorizations amounting to $5.3 million provided increases in credits established in previous periods. One credit in the amount of $2.5 million assisted in financing the production in Peru of high-grade iron ore regarded as an essential material for the United States steel industry. The remaining 4 authorizations amounting to $4.1 million are classed as exporter credits. Thus not a single new development loan was made by the Export-Import Bank during this 6-month period.

The 16th report of the bank for the preceding 6-month period beginning January 1, 1953, shows that 9 new credits were authorized for a total of over $387 million. Of this amount, only 1 small credit of $2.5 million to a Brazilian company can be classed as a development loan. Thus, in the calendar year 1953, less than one-half of 1 percent of the $560 million of bank credits was a development loan. In comparison, more than 26 percent of the $596 million of bank credits authorized during 1952, or $158.5 million, were development loans.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF DEVELOPMENT LOANS

Export-Import Bank development loans might best be defined as loans which have two clear and distinct impacts on United States export trade—the first when the United States capital goods financed by the bank are shipped and the second when they are installed, result in increased productive capacity, and thus add to the trade base of a United States trading partner.

Any credit made by the Export-Import Bank requires that the funds be spent in this country. Therefore, all Export-Import Bank loans have a direct impact in increasing United States exports. The real question arises when it comes to secondary impact on United States trade. That is, in order to obtain maximum long-run effects the bank attempts to confine itself to financing the export of capital items which, when installed abroad, will increase the productive capacity of foreign nations and build up the trading base for the future. This is, perhaps, an even more lasting and important effect on United States trade than the direct impact and is outstandingly an advantage of the development loan.

Another advantage of development loans is the fact that each such credit directly assists many United States exporters. Where a particular American exporter seeks financing from the bank to aid him in making a given sale abroad, the benefit of the loan is less widely spread throughout our business community than in the case of a development loan. The latter form almost invariably involves financing a wide range of purchases from many United States suppliers in contrast to a single purchase from a given United States manufacturer who is aided by an exporter credit.

Since development loans finance complete projects, they are not ordinarily authorized until project planning is so far advanced that there is reasonable certainty that construction will be completed successfully. At such a stage, utilization of the credit and hence purchase of United States goods by the borrower are quite well assured. Exporter credits, on the other hand, do not give such assurance since the United States seller still may lose the order at the last moment to a foreign competitor.

Short-term credits to assist United States exports, unless carefully limited, may in effect permit making tomorrow's sales today without provision for the sales of day after tomorrow. This is to say that if a country's ability to service international debts is fully utilized to cover its purchases now of all the goods, nonessential as well as essential, which it can import, future purchases must necessarily be curtailed until at least a part of the debt has been repaid. In this connection most dedvelopment loans have a distinct advantage, since the projects which they finance ordinarily are selected with the purpose of improving the productive capacity and the foreign exchange earning ability of the borrower's country. In this way the ability to service foreign debt is increased so that the country is enabled to import at a higher rate than before.

Action which would prevent the bank from making long-term credits would have as one effect an increase of government interference in and ownership of business in foreign countries. Certain types of equipment and projects by their nature require extended credit terms if repayment is to be related to direct earnings or to general economic benefits. If long-term credits cannot be provided by the bank, the only borrower who is in a position to handle shorter terms in such cases would be the foreign government. Thus, if a credit sale of such items as power equipment is to be made by the United States supplier, the buyer of the equipment almost has to be a government or government agency. On the other hand, if sufficiently long terms can be given by the bank, foreign private firms can reasonably undertake to borrow.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that it is only in the case of development loans that bank credits can advance the political interests of the United States at the same time that our foreign trade aims are fully supported. The political impact abroad of credits sought by individual American exporters is slight indeed when compared with the impact of a large development credit for a purpose consistent with our foreign policy and utilizing to the fullest extent American engineering and managerial skills and methods.

THE DEVELOPMENT LOAN AS A VEHICLE FOR THE EXPORTATION OF BOTH PRIVATE CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY

The fact need hardly be labored that private capital, domestic or foreign, does not find particularly attractive an area lacking basic facilities such as transportation, communications, and power. It need hardly be argued that the creation of such basic facilities is essential to the growth of the national income of underdeveloped areas and essential, therefore, to making them good customers of the United States, as well as favorable locations for the investment of United States private capital.

This statement would not be complete without reference to the role the Bank has played in introducing United States engineering firms and the know-how that they carry into the underdeveloped areas of the world. United States engineering firms introduced into Latin America and other underdeveloped areas have been reemployed again and again for other projects in these areas, even where Eximbank financing has not been involved. They have, through the transfer of their know-how and through the training of technicians in the foreign countries, improved the climate of those countries for the investment of private United States capital. That this transfer of know-how is fairly effective may be illustrated by reference to the experience in the case of the Volta Redonda steel mill in Brazil and of the Chilean steel mill. When the former was inaugurated it had 100 highly specialized Americans on its payroll. Today, although its capacity has been doubled, only 13 remain. The jobs of the others are competently performed by Brazilians. The Chilean steel mill had a staff of 110 American specialists; today it has only 80, although its capacity has been increased by 25 percent. Within a few years it is expected that qualified Chileans will be trained to replace the remaining 80 specialists. Incidentally, the American management firm employed by the Chilean steel mill is now engaged in the operation of other projects in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America.

EXAMPLES OF DEVELOPMENT LOANS IN LATIN AMERICA

Three examples of development loans together with their effects are outlined below to show the secondary impact on United States trade from this type of lending.

1. Brazilian steel: The Bank's first industrial development loan

In June of 1940 Brazil had approached the Bank for a credit to assist in financing the construction of an integrated steel plant in that country. Although it had many of the raw materials for industrial development, Brazil depended principally upon the export of its agricultural products to earn the exchange to purchase abroad a minimum of finished goods. It had several small steel mills, the largest of which was European owned and controlled. Annual imports of structural steel and rails from the United States totaled only about 300,000 tons.

In 1939 a leading steel company from the United States had prepared a report as to the feasibility of constructing a mill in Brazil and had made recommendations regarding locations and original capacity of such a plant. Private capital from the United States did not respond to the invitation of the Brazilian Government to construct such facilities. A group of Brazilians which included both private financiers and Government officials was organized to proceed with the plan with the full support of the Brazilian Government. The equivalent of $25 million of stock of the new company was to be offered first to the public in Brazil with any unsubscribed shares to be purchased by the Government. A loan of $20 million was requested from the Export-Import Bank to assist in financing the acquisition of technical services and equipment from the United States. The Bank retained engineers recommended by steel companies in the United States to advise it on the technical aspects of the proposal.

It was concluded that the loan requested would result in advantages to both Brazil and the United States. Aside from the immediate export of technical services and equipment, the new steel mill would permit Brazil to devote valuable resources to the common defense and would make a basic contribution to the development of that country. All experience supported the premise that the best customers of the United States were the industrialized nations and that as a country developed in all fields of industry and agriculture it increased the total of its purchases from the United States.

A loan of $20 million to Companhia Siderurgica Nacional (National Steel Co.) was authorized in October of 1940 subject to completion of local financing and construction plans.

Repayment of the loan was to be guaranteed by Banco de Brasil. An engineering company experienced in the design of steel mills in the United States was engaged to supervise the design, construction, and initial operations of the plant. The contract with the Export-Import Bank was signed in May of 1941. It was anticipated in Brazil that the mill would commence operations in 1943. Demands of the defense effort and subsequently of the war prevented completion of the plant until 1946 and increased the cost above the original estimates. The credit was increased to $25 million in December 1941, and the bank extended a second loan of $20 million in 1943. The contribution of additional funds in Brazil reached the equivalent of $130 million, a part of which was used for further purchases in the United States.

The credit for the Brazilian steel mill was the first extended by the bank to assist in financing an industrial development abroad. Its authorization was accepted in Brazil and throughout Latin America as tangible evidence of an intention to cooperate in the field of economic development as well as in the defense effort. In an address before the Latin-American lecture series in Washington in November of 1940, Mr. Warren Lee Pierson, then president of the Export-Import Bank, referred to the former dependence of those countries upon European capital and markets as producing the "psychology of a colony rather than a nation," and said further:

"Everyone must admit that our greatest markets are the most highly industrialized nations, but I was pleased to read recently the following editorial in a newspaper in Pittsburgh, one of our most important steel centers.

"Commenting upon the Export-Import Bank loan of $20 million for a Brazilian steel mill, the Pittsburgh Press said:

"'If Brazil's dependence on us for steel is reduced, her dependence on Europe for steel will be reduced even more, and her balance of trade will increase likewise.

"'Future development of our trade with South America lies not along the line of further concessions to exploit natural resources, but in helping other American countries to build-up stable, independent economies. As their standards of living rise, they will become progressively better markets for a wider variety of our goods'."

Since the opening of the plant in 1946 new industries designed to operate with steel produced by this plant have been created in Brazil by the investment of private funds. It was reported in 1950 that 28 new companies had been established and that the operations of 56 existing companies had been expanded. Furthermore, as Brazilian industrial development progressed, imports of steel from the United States had by 1951 increased in volume by more than one-third.

2. Colombia's Saldaña irrigation project

With development loans first established in July 1943 and later increased to a total of $14.5 million, Colombia has been successfully carrying forward its plan to improve agricultural production in the Saldaña River area. Unable in 1943 to feed her people adequately from domestic production of foodstuffs, Colombia was forced to import food. Good land was available, but required irrigation.

These loans from the Export-Import Bank to the Caja de Credito Agrario, Industrio y Minero, have made possible a marked improvement in agricultural production. After extensive soil surveys and drainage-system engineering, diversion dams, canal-intake structures, and miles of irrigation canals have been constructed. Now lands formerly used only for grazing are being worked by owners who once were tenants, and are producing rice, fruit, sesame, and other agricultural products under intensive cultivation for local use.

Not only did these credits finance the sale of United States equipment, materials, and services for construction of the irrigation works which otherwise might not have been undertaken for many years. The works thus financed have aided Colombian authorities in bringing about a marked improvement in the social and economic position of the people living in the area so that they are now able to own their own farms.

The productivity of the area has increased sharply. Within 18 months after construction of the first stage of the project was completed, the gross yield of the region almost equaled the entire amount of the credit. Here the secondary effect of the bank's development loans is strikingly illustrated, for these farmers, now economically strong for the first time, are spending large sums for the equipment which they now require. Thus United States suppliers of harvesters, trucks, milling machinery, storage bins, and a wide range of other equipment now find in the Saldaña Valley an active dollar market which was not in existence before the bank's loans were made.

3. Cuban Electric Co. development

The Cuban Electric Co. is one of the most important subsidiaries of the American & Foreign Power Co., Inc., and supplies electric service for most of Cuba, including Havana and other principal communities.

The Export-Import Bank extended a credit of $12 million to Cuban Electric in March 1951, and has just authorized an increase in the loan to $24 million. These funds constitute a minor part of the financing needed by the company to provide for increases in power capacity. The major part of the financing is from the company's earnings and from private investors in Cuba. The bank's funds will finance a portion of the company's purchases of materials, generating equipment, and services in the United States.

Cuba has been heavily dependent on one product—sugar. For this reason the Cuban Government has undertaken a program to stimulate the development of other activities, especially in manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. New ventures of this sort require a dependable supply of electric power of which there have been serious shortages in Cuba in recent years. Accordingly, the Cuban Government has urged the Cuban Electric Co., sole large power producer, to provide adequate capacity for the growth of the country.

Availability of adequate electric power throughout the island is basic to its economic growth and diversification. Adequate power is expected to facilitate the expansion of industry generally and to result in the installation of many labor-saving devices in food processing, dairying, manufacturing, and mining. Thus, although the immediate effect of the bank's loans to Cuban Electric will be to assist in financing the export of more than $24 million of United States goods and services, the ultimate effect undoubtedly will be very much greater. As a consequence of the provision of adequate supplies of power, the demand in Cuba during ensuing years for the wide variety of American products will be greatly stimulated. Thus the resulting export business that will be done without recourse to public financing will be many times larger than the bank credits for development which will have made it possible.

Address by Brig Gen. Paul L. Wakefield, in Welcoming German Parliamentarians to Fredericksburg, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a notable address delivered recently by Brig. Gen. Paul L. Wakefield, director of selective service in Texas, at Fredericksburg, Tex., where he was acting as personal representative of Gov. Allan Shivers.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF BRIG. GEN. PAUL L. WAKEFIELD, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF GOV. ALLAN SHIVERS, AT FREDERICKSBURG, TEX., THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1954, ON THE OCCASION OF A WELCOME TO WEST GERMAN POLITICAL LEADERS BY THE PEOPLE OF THE FREDERICKSBURG COMMUNITY

Gov. Allan Shivers, busy with a special session of the legislature, has asked me to express to our distinguished guests and the people of Fredericksburg his regret that affairs of state have prevented his coming here to offer the hospitality of all Texas.

The Governor has asked me to express our State's welcome for him and to aid the people of Fredericksburg in making our honorable visitors feel at home among our people of German ancestry. Anyone who has ever sat down to a fine family dinner in this community knows that no one can improve upon the fine feeling of hospitality one enjoys in this city of old German culture.

Mr. Schmidt, Mr. Erler, Mr. Brandt, and Mr. Klein, on behalf of the Governor of our State, I welcome you, not only to Fredericksburg, but also to the entire State of Texas. Gentlemen, I salute you and your country. Your republic has been an example before the world during the years since World War II. When the war was over, your nation was at a standstill. Today, it ranks third in the exports of the world, its steel production is almost back to the high of the war, and your Government, is, I understand, able to reduce taxes to encourage the consumption of goods by your people.

This is an example before the world, not only because it is typical of the industry and frugality of the German people; it is also a lesson how best to fight international communism. A prosperous people is not likely to be ensnared in the web of Russia. Communism cannot reign where there is progress and well-being.

I do not consider myself an expert on the people of Germany, but I do know there is much to admire in the character of people of German culture and heritage who live in Texas. I think it was particularly wise of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON, who has served both Democratic and Republican administrations well in their defense and foreign-policy efforts, to arrange that our distinguished guests see a model Texas community whose people possess the German heritage. Fredericksburg is a good example. But there are also others: New Braunfels, Seguin, Yorktown, La Grange, and Lockhart, to name some of them.

The chief thing that always impresses one about Fredericksburg and other Texas towns of German culture is the lack of economic depression when everybody else seems to be having one. Our citizens of German extraction seem to know how to get along and be prosperous when other folks are not having too good a time of it financially. Our Texans of German ancentry are a frugal people—and yet nobody knows better than they, in my opinion, how to best benefit by the pleasures of life. They have the gift of knowing how to get together and enjoy one another's society instead of spending a lot of money on the commercial pleasures of our day. For a good time, a fine meal, the pleasures of conversation, and human society, I don't know of a better way than to be invited to some of the fine old family and community reunions of Fredericksburg and our other German communities.

Another thing that always impresses me about our citizens of German extraction is the success with which they preserve the culture of their old national home, at the same time becoming full and public-spirited citizens of their new country—America. Our Texans of German ancestry, indeed, have followed the precepts and advice of the

leader who brought their ancestors here in 1844 and 1845. That leader, Prince Carl, of Soims-Braunfels, with whom the name of New Braunfels is associated, spoke to German immigrants who came to settle in Texas in these words:

"Leave your country with the firm resolution that you will always remain worthy of her name, and that you will, even though far off, be faithful to your country's ideals.

"Remain faithful to this resolution, faithful to the traits of your country, even though you changed your home. Observe the divine commandments and follow the laws of men; fear God and love your neighbor—then you will profit; the blessing of God will reward your troubles, worries, and work, and crown you with success."

One has only to live here in Texas as a fellow citizen among the descendants of those to whom these words were spoken to know how well they have heeded these words. There is something of Germany about them and just as much of America. They have contributed much to the American measure of freedom.

Not many communities can point to a son of as illustrious rank as can Fredericksburg, for instance. From here comes Adm. Chester Nimitz, one of the greatest of our naval leaders, whose name is a hallmark in the councils of the free world.

If our honored guests have the time while they're here in Texas, I should like to suggest they visit the original settlement of the original German immigrants to this State. To get there, you get in a car and head for Port Lavaca. There, follow Highway No. 316 for about 15 miles past Magnolia Beach. You'll come to a sign where a road turns to the right. The sign reads, "Indianola."

There comes a feeling that this place is a shrine when you drive through the sweet wisteria and mountain laurel. The deeper you go into this ghost town, the more reverent your feelings grow. As you move among the crumbling walls and old cisterns, you feel the presence of these old German settlers who sacrificed to build a new home in a new land. You fancy you hear their sentences passed on the cattle rustlers and the thunder of the cattle's hooves as they pass through the busy port.

You move down the beach where the waves dash themselves on the sand. You look for something that will take you back to the past—maybe a bottle with barnacles growing on it because of its years in the water—maybe an old dish, blown away in the storm of 1875, which reminds one of a spotless German kitchen of another time.

If our distinguished guests should go on this pilgrimage, they should not leave before they have visited the old Indianola cemetery, where there are graves dating back to 1845. They won't be sorry for the time spent there—and neither will any Texan who takes the trouble to go.

A United Western Policy in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in the New York Times of March 31 appears a very interesting and pertinent discussion under the heading "For a United Western Policy in Asia." The article was written by Anne O'Hare McCormick, and in it she comments in a very able and thoughtful way, on the recent speech of the Secretary of State Foster Dulles on far eastern problems. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A UNITED WESTERN POLICY IN ASIA
(By Anne O'Hare McCormick)

It is quite possible that the main issues of the Geneva Conference will be decided before the actual sessions begin. The speech made by Secretary of State Dulles to the Overseas Press Club was a clear statement of the United States position on the questions to be discussed with Communist China. Foreign diplomats at once interrogated the State Department on what specific measures the Secretary had in mind when he spoke of united action in Indochina. Some of them doubt the wisdom of announcing fixed attitudes in advance of the meeting. There is general agreement, however, that Mr. Dulles' pronouncement set a definite framework for Geneva, and that its effect might well make the prologue to the parleys—the weeks of nervous consultations between now and then—more conclusive than the Conference itself.

The Secretary went further than any official spokesman has gone yet in committing the United States to the defense of Indochina. His speech was the result of a fortnight of anxious study and discussion, and represents a decision of the administration to assume the calculated risks inherent in the situation.

There is no disposition in the White House, the National Security Council, or the State Department to minimize these risks, but in the best-informed circles of the Government the dangers of the alternative course seem greater. They are convinced that the fate of non-Communist Asia hangs on the outcome of the battle in Vietnam. Giving up the fight there for nothing but promises from Peiping would be tantamount to permitting the Communists to extend their rule over the rest of the continent without firing a shot.

UNMENTIONED BUT IMPORTANT

Many reasons entered into this decision, of which one of the most important was not mentioned. This is that the independent nations of a region that is vast, populous and fluid beyond the conception of the West are watching the course of the European powers, and particularly of the United States, with painful intentness. They still constitute a great part of the Pacific world, but they are militarily weak, both separately and in combination. They have the will but not the power to resist Communist aggression, and even the will would not sustain them long if they thought the United States resistance to Communist expansion was weakening.

These wavering states are swayed by proofs of strength. Most of them have little choice but to go along with the victor in the struggle for Southeast Asia, and their choice will be inevitably affected by its outcome. Our role, too, is determined by the fact that this region contains millions of people who can be saved or lost to the free world by our example. Less important, but of vital strategic consequence, is the further fact that these people control the rice bowl and richest mineral deposits of Asia.

In his report on his survey of the Far East, Vice President NIXON is said to have placed most emphasis on this aspect of the situation. His observations convinced him that the American attitude toward Communist China is the chief factor in the contest for the rest of Asia. There is a moral revulsion in this country against the admission of an active aggressor into the United Nations, but aside from that the administration believes that exclusion from that body injuries the prestige of the Peiping regime throughout Asia and is therefore a valuable weapon in the cold war.

ADVANCE NOTICE TO FRANCE

Among other reasons for Mr. Dulles' declaration of policy, as unmistakable in its warning as it was purposely vague regarding the details of carrying it out, was to give advance notice to the French that the United States would not again trade "promise for performance" in the Geneva conference, but that we are prepared to risk war to help them to victory in Indochina. He asserted, in effect, that we would rather fight it out on the battlefield than recognize or make other concessions to Peiping.

Senator KNOWLAND, the Republican floor leader, hails this as a "flexible policy," but it will be surprising if it is considered flexible in London and Paris. First reactions from Paris indicate that political leaders who thought that the United States might recognize Communist China in exchange for peace in Vietnam are bitterly disappointed. But also there are signs that the heroic stand of the French and Vietnamese forces at Dienbienphu increases the number of Frenchmen who hold that victory is not impossible. If the French continue to withstand the siege, if enemy losses mount by the thousands, Dienbienphu may convince France that the need to bargain with the Chinese Communists at Geneva is not as imperative as it seemed a few weeks ago.

This, among other things, is what the administration is working for. Mr. Dulles is playing for very high stakes—no less than a new united policy of the Western Powers toward Asia that will have the backing of American public opinion. He has not spelled out what he means by "united action," but Washington and London wonder if his reference to the Monroe Doctrine implies an enlarged Pacific Pact designed to make the independence of all the non-Communist states in the Pacific the concern of the western powers. The problem there, of course, is to insure that Asia understands that "independence" is the key word.

Air Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in last Sunday's edition of the New York Herald Tribune, written by Ansel E. Talbert, aviation editor, entitled "Toward an Air Merchant Marine."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

American and British defense officials are now putting their weight behind proposals to develop a real transoceanic merchant marine of the air. That both nations could utilize such a service in a military emergency was shown by the hastily improvised Berlin and Korean airlifts.

The Department of Defense has told the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington that its planners anticipate "an additional airlift requirement of significant proportions in the event of (sudden) mobilization." Its representatives asserted they do not consider present overseas air-cargo service provided by

United States-flag lines adequate to meet future military requirements.

THE BRITISH VIEW

In Britain, Alan Lennox-Boyd, Minister of Transportation and Civil Aviation, informed the House of Commons that he regards the field of transoceanic air freight "a most vital one" from the standpoint of Britain's future military and civil requirements.

There is agreement on both sides of the Atlantic that purchase and operation by civil air transport groups of more long-range aircraft designed for cargo carrying, "which can be converted expeditiously to military use," definitely is in the interest of national defense.

Sentiment appears to be growing in Congress for legislation to make newly designed military cargo planes available to civilian purchasers, and to assist in the financing of such sales. Representative CARL HINSHAW, Republican, of California, a congressional expert on aviation policy matters, favors increasing Defense Department production of advanced model cargo planes so that some become available to civil air transport.

NEW PLANE TESTED

The Air Force has just begun flight testing its new turbine-propeller (turbo-prop) powered YC-124-B Globemaster, a development of the largest existing cargo transport.

The YC-124-B carries a payload of 64,000 pounds, but its designers believe that future improvement of turbo-prop engines—jet turbines geared to turn a propeller—will make available enough power for airplanes 4 or 5 times as large.

The existing commercial market for such aircraft cannot support design and development costs of these tremendous merchant ships of the skies. Whether the United States gets them depends on whether the military services are prepared to sponsor necessary investments.

TWO SCHEDULED LINES

At present two United States airlines operate scheduled air freight service across the Atlantic in aircraft devoted exclusively to air cargo—Pan American World Airways and Trans-World Airlines. Although both are primarily passenger lines, their figures for cargo tonnage carried have been increasing steadily. In addition to flying all-cargo planes, both carry varying amounts of air cargo on passenger flights, on a space-available basis.

On the other side, KLM Royal Dutch Airlines is the only company operating all-freight service between Europe and North America. Sabena Belgian Airlines has announced it will soon start such service with cargo-fitted DC-6's; Scandinavian Airlines is considering resuming the cargo service it suspended last year.

Both the CAB and the British Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation at present are considering certificating independent all-freight airlines for trans-oceanic cargo carrying, although the proposal is arousing considerable controversy in both nations. A few weeks ago a CAB examiner recommended the certification of Seaboard & Western Airlines, formerly operating on a nonscheduled basis, for regular trans-Atlantic freight operations. The British gave Airwork, Ltd., a similar "irregular" operator, its approval.

FAR EAST LINE

More recently, a CAB examiner recommended that Transocean Air Lines, the world's largest operator of charter service, be allowed to fly freight between the Pacific coast and the Far East for the next 5 years, but on an "irregular" basis without specific daily schedules.

The scheduled airlines of Britain and the United States now are fighting all these proposals for giving independent companies the right to institute all-freight trans-oceanic flights. The United States Defense Department is steering clear of the controversy; its spokesmen stress that they do not support any individual carrier or group or class of carriers. All they want is more airlift capacity.

Britain's Mr. Lennox-Boyd takes a different view. He told the House of Commons: "I regard the field of freight primarily as the function of independent airways."

Parcel-Post Size and Weight Limitations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM C. COLE
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS,
Washington, D. C., February 27, 1954.

Mr. ROWLAND JONES, Jr.,
Chairman, National Committee on Parcel-Post Size and Weight Limitations, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JONES: Several members of our board of directors have handed me copies of your recent letter to them in which you comment upon my statement at the hearing before the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, with regard to the matter of parcel-post size and weight limitations. They have suggested that I reply directly to you.

The purpose of my appearance before the subcommittee was to set forth the position of the railroads, as summarized in the following paragraph taken from page 3 of my prepared statement:

"The railroads' position, stated concisely, is that there is no possible justification for the Government operating a business, be it the business of transporting freight or be it any other business, when such Government operation is in competition with private enterprise which is already in the field and fully capable of providing the public with the necessary service. That segment of the public affected by the enactment of Public Law 199 is already served by one or more carriers ready and able to furnish the transportation required. Placing the Government in the role of competitor with those carriers is at odds with what has been termed the American competitive enterprise system. Government competition with private business can in no way serve the general public interest. For this reason we believe that any proposal to increase the business operations of the Government at the expense of privately owned and operated companies should be rejected."

In view of your recent representations to Congressman SHORT, chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, I am surprised to note your reference to "nebulous theories of free enterprise." You will recall that on March 27, 1953, in your capacity as president of the American Retail Federation, you wrote Congressman Short with respect to the competition between Armed Forces exchange stores and individual merchants, members of your federation. In that letter you stated:

"On this occasion I wish also to reiterate the fact that the retail industry believes in the historic principle that the Government should not compete in private business."

It seems to me that as a matter of principle the unfair competition of which you complained, i. e., between armed services exchanges and retail merchants, is exactly the same as the competition to which we are opposed, i. e., between the Post Office Department and the Railway Express Agency or other private forms of transportation.

In your letter to members of our board you say, or imply, that the railroads would be better off financially if the larger packages which were diverted to express by the operation of Public Law 199 had continued to move in parcel post service. I cannot agree with your conclusion, which I believe to be at variance with the facts.

It is interesting and significant, in this connection, to examine the actual financial results to the railroads from the transportation of mail and express, before and after the enactment of the law and the resulting diversion of shipments to express. Public Law 199 became effective January 1, 1952. During 1951 large and heavy packages could be, and were, shipped by parcel post. In the year 1952, as a result of the enactment of this law, many of those packages which theretofore could move by parcel post could no longer be moved in that service, and in large measure were diverted to express service. Did this change have a favorable financial effect on the railroads, or was the effect unfavorable? In 1952, after the enactment of the law, the financial results of the operations of express service were $45 million more favorable to the railroads than they were in 1951, before the law became effective and before the diversion of certain parcel post packages. Moreover, this favorable change with respect to the express business was not offset by a correspondingly unfavorable change with respect to mail service. Considering both the express service and the mail service together, the financial results in 1952 were more favorable to the railroads by $45 million than they had been in 1951. While there were moderate rate increases affecting to some extent the 1952 express figures, the principal reason for the improvement was the enactment of Public Law 199.

In view of these facts it is plain that your suggestion that Public Law 199 is injurious rather than helpful to the railroads does not rest on any solid foundation.

There is another feature of your letter to our directors that seems to reflect a further misunderstanding of the facts. You say that the Railway Express Agency has been able to capture only about one-fifth of the business which was barred from the parcel post by Public Law 199. You will recall, I am sure, that Mr. A. L. Hammell, president of the Railway Express Agency, in his appearance before the House Subcommittee on Postal Operations, testified that the increase in parcels carried in express service in 1952 over those carried in 1951 amounted to approximately 57 percent of the number of parcels which the Post Office Department had said were affected by the size and weight limitations of Public Law 199. Of the remaining 43 percent, a substantial portion was also held to the rails, either through freight forwarders, l. c. l. freight, or repackaged parcel post.

You refer to the fact that many members of your committee are substantial customers of the railroads, and indicate your concern because those members, as shippers, must bear the burden of the losses which you think the railroads are sustaining as a result of Public Law 199. What I have already said affords, I think, a complete answer on this point and amply supports our view that the financial position of the railroads is favorably affected by the law.

We fully appreciate that the Post Office Department renders services which are essential to the public welfare. However, a line must be drawn between those services which can properly be performed as governmental postal services and those transportation services which should be left to private enterprise. We think that Public Law 199 seeks to draw such a line. The Government should not engage in the general transporta-

tion of freight or express under the guise of performing postal services.

I have brought your letter to the attention of our board of directors, which met in Washington yesterday. My statement before the committee had been submitted to all members of the board at the time it was made. This reply to your letter was read to the board yesterday and I am authorized to say that both my statement and this reply have their unanimous approval.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM T. FARICY.

Communist Influence in Industrial Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, there has been a tendency in some quarters to minimize and scoff at the inroads that Communist infiltration has made into every aspect of our national life. I have for some time been conducting legislative hearings into Communist domination of our labor organizations, and the results of those hearings established beyond question that the Communist conspiracy poses a real and present threat to the security of this Nation. Against this background, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a condensation of the remarks of Albert S. Epstein on How To Curb Communist Influence in Industrial Relations, before the annual meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association in Washington, D. C., in December 1953.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONDENSATION OF REMARKS BY ALBERT S. EPSTEIN BEFORE IRRA ANNUAL MEETING, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 28, 1953

The presence of Communists in unions is not a matter of chance. It is part of a deliberate program, emanating from the Kremlin, to use organizations as transmission belts for the international Communist organization.

Although Communists aim to subvert organizations of every type and description, including the Government and the Armed Forces, they view the trade unions as the largest and most vital field for their activity. They have varied the strategy and tactics used in their effort to influence or dominate the industrial scene, but they have never lost sight of their goal, which is to serve their masters in Moscow.

A close student of the Communist conspiracy, A. Rossi, has summed it up in his book A Communist Party in Action (Yale University Press, 1949):

"When the Communist wing of a trade-union gains control over its organization, the union becomes a tool, a repetition in miniature of the Communist Party. Henceforth it will be an element in the party's mobilization plan, and will be expected to contribute, at whatever cost, to the party's conquest of power. Communist Party discipline takes the place of policy laid down by the federation or confederation to which the union belongs, and this discipline relates not to the normal business of a trade-union but to a political struggle whose aims and methods are dictated from Moscow. In reality there is no such thing as Communist trade-unionism; there are merely Communists who work for the party inside the trade-unions. And, once it is taken over by the Communists, a trade-union ceases to be a trade-union, for all that it may retain the charter and outward appearance of a trade-union."

The brazenness with which the UE proceeds in placing Communists on its payroll is illustrated by the employment of Carl Aldo Marzani as educational director after serving a jail sentence in connection with his clandestine Communist activities in various strategic Government agencies, including high echelon service in the State Department.

Currently the UE nationally has relegated its collective bargaining to a subordinate position. The Communist apparatus has more important tasks to perform. Julius Emspak was held in contempt of Congress because of his refusal to answer questions concerning his Communist affiliations and activities, which have been well established in sworn testimony. Locals of the UE are being solicited for funds to meet these expenses. The UE News devotes most of its columns to propaganda in behalf of Communists in trouble with the courts and Immigration Service.

This is part of the open pro-Communist activities of the UE. As to the secret, underground operations of Communists in dominated unions, we must rely upon scattered evidence that comes to light from time to time. It is also known that the convicted atom spy, David Greenglass, was an organizer for the UE and that his wife did clerical work for two locals of the UE. But, even more important is the testimony before Congressional committees that the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians was conceived in Moscow, precisely for the purpose of infiltrating agents into secret defense projects.

It is well to recall that during the Stalin-Hitler pact, the then Communist controlled National Maritime Union interfered with the effort to man allied ships and was responsible for the sinking of many allied vessels. Skeptics can check with the head of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Omar Becu who was in this country at that time arranging for crews to sail allied vessels. The use of Communist seamen for couriers and other espionage activities was described vividly by Jan Valtin in Out of the Night.

If we bear in mind the cunning of the Communist conspiracy, which has operated with increasing success for more than three decades and is likely to be with us for the rest of our lives, we shall not so readily join in belittling the damage that Communist-dominated unions are doing and can do to the United States. Not only are they not out, but they are not even down. They still win elections against bona fide labor unions, both in the A. F. of L. and CIO. Witness the election results in the Philadelphia Westinghouse plant, where the UE received over 5,000 votes against a combined vote of 1,500 for the IUE–CIO and IAM–AFL. Note how they succeeded in capturing the French and Italian trade-union movement immediately after World War II. In this country, Communist efforts to infiltrate the American labor movement have taken as many forms.

In addition to the UE, the Communists still control the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; the Fur and Leatherworkers Union, the American Communications Association; the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers Union. They also wield influence in the United Packing House Workers Union, and local 600 of the UAW–CIO.

Some months ago, on the basis of lists of wage settlements and representation elections, as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Bureau of National Affairs, I estimated that the collective bargaining of almost half a million workers was dominated by Communists. Their influence is considerably less than during their honeymoon with John L. Lewis and his successor. But what is important to note is that the welcome though belated expulsion from the CIO did not destroy them. It removed Communist-dominated unions from the jurisdiction of the CIO but not of the United States. Moreover, we must not overlook Communist infiltration of A. F. of L. and CIO locals which they may influence without controlling.

The American Federation of Labor has always understood the character of this monstrous organization. The president of the AFL has recently described it in these words:

"It has to be approached from an overall standpoint. To my way of thinking, the Communist pary is not a political party, it's not just political opposition. It's a criminal conspiracy against the Government and should be treated as such. I think we lean over a little too far backwards perhaps at times." No informed person can question the accuracy of Mr. Meany's definition. There was a time when the Communists openly proclaimed their purposes in controlling trade unions. Here is what the top international Communist in the trade union field, A. Losovsky, said:

"Lenin viewed and valued the trade unions as a school for the education of the masses for throwing the masses into action. For him the trade unions were of value only if they were imbued with the Communist spirit. * * * To saturate the unions with a Communist ideology, to make them into a machine for the prosecution of the Communist line, to subordinate them to the influence of the Communist Party, to control them, to draw into the revolutionary movement, through them, tens of millions of toilers, to educate the masses—this was Lenin's air throughout his policy."

A contemporary account of the subversion of the NLRB in the thirties is to be found in the New Leader of September 28, 1940. Describing the role of NLRB member Edwin S. Smith, it wrote:

"He has consistently favored the interests of the Communist wing of the CIO both administratively and in his decisions on cases involving Stalinist-controlled unions that have come up before the Board; and he has aided the Communist Party use of the NLRB as a source of jobs for its patronage machine and to put Communist Party stooges in key positions within the Board. His most notorious decision was the one in the case of the longshoremen of the Pacific coast, in which he helped to hand over to Harry Bridges, notorious leader of the Communist-dominated International Longshore and Warehousemen's union, control of the members of the AFL unions in the northern Pacific ports."

According to David J. Saposs, in testimony before the Jenner committee, on June 4, 1953, Nathan Witt (repeatedly exposed as a Communist agent), "as secretary of the board, was undoubtedly the most influential person in the conduct of the affairs of the board."

The power of Harry Bridges in San Francisco and Hawaii is to be traced directly to Communist control of the NLRB in the early years.

Communist behavior in industrial relations cannot be understood in isolation. It must be examined as an interlocking subversion and viewed in relation to the grand strategy of world communism. The Communist conspiracy is an international evil. It is evil, incorporated.

They have a particular fondness for labor organizations because of their mass char-

acter and strategic importance in their struggle for power. Hearings before congressional committees show that the Communist-dominated unions were used for infiltrating the atomic installations and radar laboratories.

Are we to wait until the Communists have captured the unions in this country as they have in France and Italy before we take action? Are we to continue to bestow Government blessing, through the NLRB elections, upon Communist-dominated unions? It is clear now that Congress erred in the past in not passing stronger legislation against Communist control of unions.

The power of Congress to pass such a law was upheld by Supreme Court Justice Jackson in the concurring portion of his opinion in *American Communications Association v. Douds* (May 8, 1950):

"Congress has conferred upon labor unions important rights and powers in matters that affect industry, transport, communications, and commerce. And Congress has not denied any union full self-government nor prohibited any union from choosing Communist officers. It seeks to protect the union from doing so unknowingly. And if members deliberately choose to put the union in the hands of Communist officers, Congress withdraws the privileges it has conferred on the assumption that they will be devoted to the welfare of their members. It would be strange, indeed, if it were constitutionally powerless to protect these delegated functions from abuse and misappropriation to the service of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Our Constitution is not a covenant of nonresistance toward organized efforts at disruption and betrayal, either of labor or of the country."

I would like to recommend that the American trade unions sponsor a clearinghouse for information on Communist trade-union policies and individual Communists and fellow travelers. Our industrial-relations schools ought to consider the development of special courses on Communist influence in industrial relations. The NLRB ought to have a special division on fighting Communist domination of unions. The Department of Labor should establish an office to deal exclusively with this continuing problem of Communist infiltration. This is a task for labor, management, the schools, and the whole Government. Surely, on this momentous problem we can all unite in a common effort to defeat the greatest evil of our time—communism.

Bureaucracy or Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of the Members of the House the timely and analytical editorial from the March 30 issue of the Omaha Daily Journal-Stockman. It was sent to me by my good friend Phil Moore, who has charge of the destinies of that good publication. For decades it has been an almost indispensable medium of information to the thousands who engage in the livestock, grain, and related industries. Its concern as to the impairment of its service by reason of postal rate changes is deep and sincere.

The editorial is as follows:

BUREAUCRACY OR DICTATORSHIP

Postmaster General Summerfield is credited with current advocacy of steps to place postal ratemaking in his hands or under his control—subject, presumably, to some check which, in the course of events, might or might not prove to be effective. The idea is not new. Legislative measures toward that end were presented in the first session of the present Congress. The thought in part, we believe, is to speed up ratemaking and to do away with the tortuous hearings and long deliberations by Congress under the present system of determining rates.

How would such a scheme work out? Perhaps what has already transpired may throw a little light on the possibilities: The good Postmaster General had not been in office 6 months before he came up with a demand, embodied in his proposed legislation, for an increase of 300 percent in a rate affecting some publications, thus quadrupling the rate already in effect. He would have had the increase take place October 1 which, allowing time for high-pressuring the measure through Congress would have meant in about 2 months. The proposal was little noticed or publicized because its effect industrywise would not have been universal or, indeed, too widecpread. Nevertheless, for some publications, the provision virtually meant extinction. Their publishers made all speed to Washington so to testify before the postal committee of the House and to do what they could to defend themselves against a proposal which to them was nothing less than arbitrary and capricious.

We emphasize that not for 1 minute do we think that the Postmaster General or the administration he speaks for had any design against the publishers and the publications referred to or any desire to put them out of business. Although there was a notable absence of concern as to the proposal's effect, no ulterior motives have been ascribed or even hinted. We doubt the existence of any other objective than that of the whole measure—primarily the political end of decreasing taxpayers' costs by putting the burden on those who directly or indirectly ultimately pay the postage charges.

The House committee in amending the bills has offered the stricken publishers referred to some, although not completely or wholly satisfactory, relief. But suppose the ratemaking power at that time had been vested entirely in the Post Office Department. To whom could these publishers have turned? Or suppose Congress had previously yielded the ratemaking power to the Post Office Department but had retained the right of veto within a limited period, say 60 days, and suppose Congress had adjourned as it had after the end of July. Who then would there have been to hear the plea of these publishers or to protect them?

In both instances provision would undoubtedly have been made for the holding of hearings by the Department on the rates proposed. If it elected to hold hearings, it would be incumbent upon it to serve in them as plaintiff, judge, and jury. The present way with the functions of judge and jury vested in the elected representatives of the people is the American way.

It comes to mind that in America we regard a man as innocent until he has been proved guilty. To make law, unless vetoed by the legislative branch, the edicts of departments or subsidiary boards or commissions of the executive branch of Government, could easily in practical application smack of principles diametrically opposed to our concepts of justice.

With the Post Office Department in control of rates we would be concerned, and deeply, with who the next Postmaster General might be and with who might follow in that capacity in succeeding years. We would be gravely concerned with what the objectives of each of such incumbents might be and under what concepts each might administer the Department. We would be concerned with the freedom of the press and with continuance of the right of the people to be informed. The power to tax is the power to destroy. Postal charges have with good reason been likened to taxes. Postal rates can be used to destroy unless we adhere strictly to the system of governmental checks and balances which has nurtured survival thus far.

What if it does take time to hear those concerned with postal rates? Why should they not be heard by their elected representatives? Why not hear those concerned more than anyone else because they would have to pay the bill? What if deliberation is necessary to ascertain the desire of the people as to postal policies? Those are processes of representative government. They are in contrast to the methods of bureaucracy or dictatorship.

We subscribe heartily to the belief that all postal rates should be set by Congress. We shudder at the thought of Congress surrendering its postage ratemaking power to anyone. The proposals to do so are unthinkable and are repugnant to the principles of freedom and democracy.

Resolution of the United States Flag Committee Endorsing the Addition of the Phrase "Under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to include in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the United States Flag Committee at their regular meeting March 3, 1954, endorsing a measure I have introduced to amend the pledge of allegiance to the flag by adding the phrase "under God" after the word "Nation." This endorsement is one of a number I have received from patriotic, religious, and service organizations, and together they indicate the widespread support for this measure among the American people.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the fundamental basis of our Government is the recognition that all lawful authority stems from Almighty God and the recognition of all inalienable rights of each individual man, which government is instituted to protect; and

Whereas our forefathers in framing the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution based the foundation of our Government on a humble reliance on God and His guidance; and

Whereas the Honorable LOUIS C. RABAUT, Representative of the 14th District of Michigan, and the Honorable HOMER FERGUSON, Senator from Michigan, have introduced House Resolution 243 and Senate Resolution 126, respectively, which calls for an amendment to the pledge of allegience to our flag. This would insert the words "under God" after the word "Nation"; and

Whereas we recognize the spiritual origins and traditions of our country as our real bulwark against atheistic communism; and

Whereas only under God will our beloved country continue to be a citadel of freedom: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers and members of the United States Flag Committee express their endorsement of the proposed legislation and earnestly petition the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation during the present session of Congress.

National Interest Must Govern Our Trade Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 22, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include a very timely and most sensible article entitled "Free Trade and a Free America" which appeared in the March 22, 1954, issue of the New York Daily News.

This editorial graphically points out the vital need of reasonably considering American self-interest, and particularly our national security interest, in any dangerously idealistic tariff reduction proposals.

The editorial follows:

FREE TRADE AND A FREE AMERICA

We're hearing a good deal nowadays about how the United States has inherited Great Britain's 18th and 19th century world position, and therefore should do as Britain did in those times by dropping virtually all tariffs on imported goods.

It sounds nice and idealistic and generous—free trade with all the world, no barriers to commerce so far as this country is concerned, and so on.

This pleasant theory is bumping just now against a cold and unpleasant fact.

WATCHES, TARIFFS, PRECISION INSTRUMENTS

The fact is that United States watchmakers—Elgin, Hamilton, Waltham, etc.—are steadily being forced to give ground before the competition of Swiss watchmakers, because United States tariffs on Swiss watches and watch movements are very low.

That might not be unbearable if the domestic watchmakers and their employees were the only sufferers. But the further fact is that the watch industry can and does convert in time of war to production of precision instruments and parts which are indispensable to the war effort and which no other industry can take to turning out in a hurry.

Most important of such wartime products of the watch industry are assorted fuses and timing mechanisms which go into bombs and other missiles, and without which these devices would be useless. And it takes years to train a craftsman to make such things.

If our watchmakers should be driven out of business by retention of the present low tariffs—or, faster, by abolition of these tariffs as desired by extreme free traders—we'd be dependent on Swiss watchmakers, chiefly, for the above-mentioned precision goods.

What if Switzerland then were surrounded or captured by the enemy in our next war? Our freedom itself might follow the American watch industry down the drain.

The American watch companies are now begging the United States Tariff Commission for an increase in duties, to give them a fair break against the Swiss. We hope they get it.

Whether they get it or not, this incident highlights, we think, the danger of blind, hurried, and over-idealistic tariff reduction.

Sure, foreign trade is fine, and the fewer obstacles to it the better—generally speaking. But specifically, as we trim tariffs, let's first be sure in every case that the trim will do us more good than harm, instead of the other way around.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAT SUTTON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

The House, in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8583) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. SUTTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

(Mr. SUTTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SUTTON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment which has been offered here is a slap right in the face of the veteran.

We have a moral obligation of the Congress of the United States to the veterans and this has to do with service-connected dental disabilities. What is being done here is this. There are certain groups in this country who have been trying for years to put this exact amendment into Veterans' Administration appropriation bills.

When the bill came up I made the point of order against it, because I felt that the Congress was not living up to its obligation to the veterans of this country. This rider was placed on the appropriation bill last year with the effect that 247,000 veterans all nearly declared eligible for treatment were denied treatment. This rider completely cut out Spanish-American War veterans, and disabled veterans training under Public Law 16. Its sponsors said last year this was not their intention, yet they seek this year to perpetuate the injustice by extending the provision for another year.

Let me tell you what the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS] will do. Any soldier who had his jaw shot out in service, if he did not go to the Veterans' Administration within 1 year and trouble developed after 1 year—in fact only 1 year and 1 day—he would not be entitled to have dental care. That is what the gentleman from California is doing; and I thought he was a friend of the veterans.

It is time that we stopped listening to those who would like to tear down the defenders of this country because of some political pressures. I think we should carry out the obligation that we owe to these men. I hope that this amendment will be defeated. This is a moral obligation that we have to the veterans. It is an obligation that we agreed to pay several years ago. This is no time to legislate on this bill. This is a matter for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to be studying. It is my information from the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE] that it is under study now. I hope the amendment will be defeated. In fact the Veterans' Affairs Committee has reported out two bills in attempt to repair the damage done by a rider similar to this one which was placed on last year's appropriation bill. If changes are needed let the Veterans' Affairs Committee make them.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SUTTON. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I will say to the gentleman that it is under study at the present time. The committee has had some difficulty in finding a way out of the dilemma that would be at all equitable. Some cases undoubtedly were cared for under former regulations of the Veterans' Administration. It is hard to know just how far to go. We have been studying the matter.

Mr. SUTTON. Does not the lady believe that we cannot legislate this at this time without further study?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Of course, I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, in legislating on an appropriations bill, as the gentleman knows. I will say that I think the committee has tried harder this year to take care of the veterans, perhaps than they did last year. I think they have made more of a study, and they have gone along, I understand, with the recommendations of the Veterans' Administration. In that I think they are in the clear this year.

Mr. SUTTON. I hope the amendment is defeated.

The Late James J. Crawford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the death on Tuesday of this week of my dear friend, former State Senator James J. Crawford, who represented the Williamsburgh area of my district in the New York State Senate for many years.

Senator Crawford was 82 years old at the time of his death. He was born in Manhattan, but moved to Brooklyn during his childhood and lived in our borough throughout his long life. He was a successful businessman and an able leader in the political sphere. In his business career he was president and treasurer of the Supreme Products Co., a well-known flavoring extracts firm with plants and offices in Brooklyn and Manhattan. He was also a member of the board of directors of the Williamsburgh branch of the Bank of Manhattan, and was chairman of the board of the United Industrial Loan Bank. He served for a number of years as president of

the Williamsburgh Manufacturers and Merchants Association.

His political career began in 1928, when he was first elected to the State senate. He served continuously in that post until the end of 1952, when he retired from public office. During the period when the Democrats were in control of the State senate, he served as majority chairman and later as chairman of minority for finance. He represented the people of his district most ably in the State legislature, where he was assigned to the committees on banks, agriculture, excise, and finance.

Senator Crawford is survived by his wife, Anna, three sons and two daughters, and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

To his widow, his children, and to other members of the family, I wish to extend my condolences and my deepest sympathy in their hour of great bereavement. Those of us who knew Senator Crawford intimately and were privileged to work with him closely will always miss him. We shall remember him for his friendship, his confidence, and his untiring efforts on behalf of the people he so ably represented.

May his family be consoled by the thought that he leaves behind a fine and honorable name and a great record of faithful and devoted service to his family, his district, and the State of New York.

A Swelled Head Quickly Reduced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Chicago Tribune of March 20, captioned "The Cure That Failed," for a few moments caused me to think quite well of myself. The first three sentences are as follows:

The Committee for Economic Development, a businessmen's organization, issued a report Monday declaring it to be essential that the Government adopt deficit financing whenever a serious recession in business develops. The committee says that to get out of a bad slump the Treasury should try not to raise enough revenue to pay for what it spends. Rather, it should reduce the income as the outgo mounts.

The Chicago Committee for Economic Development was of the opinion that, to balance the National budget, instead of soaking the people with additional taxes—for the Government has no other income—we should cut Federal appropriations.

Reading that paragraph for the third time, it came to my mind that several times on the floor of the House, and many, many times in letters to the home folks when they complained about high taxes—though some in the same letter asked for additional appropriations for one thing or another—I, and I capitalize the "I," had suggested that the true remedy was a reduction in governmental expenses.

Many times it has been my privilege to call attention to specific items, not only of extravagance, but of obvious waste, not only in the executive departments, but in the housekeeping of the Congress itself.

The all-too-often answer that came to me from some of my colleagues, and from some executive agencies, when it was suggested that this, that, or the other item of expenditure be avoided, was a frown or scowl, an expression of pain or disgust, a few left-handed compliments, downright plain rebuke or a suggestion that in some way I might practice a little more economy myself. The latter I have always tried to do, even though some of those who were personally adversely affected by the economy move did not appear overly happy.

When, as chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations, I suggested that, when Congress was not in session, the commitee members should curtail some of their traveling, not only in this country, but abroad, the committee members—shall I write, "retaliated"; perhaps I should say, "responded"—by cutting off my authority as committee chairman to appoint special three-man subcommittees, and arrogated to themselves as members of subcommittees the authority to go when, where, and for any purpose they deemed advisable, to make investigations and hold hearings. Two of them have now spent 66 days abroad at taxpayers' expense.

Individuals and groups, inside and outside Government, think there should be economy—retrenchment—but usually in fields other than their own.

I still think that the way toward balancing the budget, toward reducing taxes, and sometime, I hope, making a payment on the national debt, is to cut down the expenditures of both the executive and the legislative departments. Just talking about it, promising it as each election approaches, so far hasn't done very much good.

This being an election year, if the people will get hot enough under the collar—if I may use that expression—to get after their Congressmen on this issue, there is still time before adjournment to get some worthwhile reductions in Federal expenditures.

Traitor to America or Not

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from a recent issue of the Chelsea Record, Chelsea, Mass.:

YOU ARE OR YOU AREN'T

Let us suppose that you are asked a simple, direct question, which can be answered with a simple, direct "Yes" or "No."

The question is this: "Are you a Communist?"

If you are not, and if you are a loyal American, your answer would be a resounding "No."

But suppose you say, "I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me. I invoke the fifth amendment."

Are you a Red traitor to America, or are you not? It's as simple as that. If you are not, why shouldn't you say so?

By Executive order, President Eisenhower has directed that any Government employee who invokes the fifth amendment before a congressional investigating committee runs the risk of losing his job. It would seem that Ike wants the Communist question answered by a straight "Yes" or "No."

A Great, Humane Vision Becomes a Concrete Reality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, in my home city of Worcester, Mass., the other day, Friday, March 26, high church dignitaries, our distinguished governor, and other leading officials, together with great throngs of people from throughout the State, assembled at the dedication exercises of the new St. Vincent Hospital, one of the finest ever built in New England.

What makes the new St. Vincent Hospital a model for New England, and indeed for the whole country, is its ultramodern resources. The most advanced scientific equipment of every kind and description is within its walls, of course. However, more than that, it is pioneering in some increasingly urgent fields of human health and welfare. Predominantly in this respect, there is a 50-bed psychiatric unit alone, as well as an outpatient psychiatric clinic, which is an essential part of the most modern preventive treatment of mental illnesses.

Every time a new hospital comes into being, whatever its sponsorship, it adds to the sum total of the community's health and welfare. The immense contributions that the new St. Vincent Hospital will make to Worcester and surrounding communities is obvious.

The dedication exercises provided an opportunity, which was welcomed, for Worcester and its citizens of every faith to pay tribute to the vision of the church leaders and laymen, to the consecrated lives of the staffs and Catholic Sisters of Providence, who will serve there, and to all whose sacrifices and generosity in contributing however modestly made the dream of this great hospital into a concrete reality.

On the occasion of the dedication, the Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D. D., archbishop of Boston, delivered a most inspiring address, which I would now like to include here. The address, which appeared in the Friday, March 26, 1954, issue of the Worcester (Mass.) Evening Gazette, follows:

It is an official privilege for me, as metropolitan of the archdiocese of Boston, to come

here this afternoon for the historic ceremonies of the dedication of St. Vincent Hospital.

But what means most to me, for reasons which all will understand, is the personal happiness I derive from being present for the completion of a work which I have watched with affectionate prayers through the 4 years since it began.

During the time since he left Boston and came to Worcester as the first bishop of this flourishing diocese, Bishop Wright has frequently confided in me the permanent hopes and the passing problems of the Sisters of Providence for the building which so rejoices all Worcester today. I have therefore associated myself by prayer and warm personal interest with every aspect of this work, and I am doubly happy to bespeak this afternoon the joyful satisfaction of us all in the completion of the construction program.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

St. Vincent Hospital is a religious institution. It is staffed by the Sisters of Providence, a beloved community of devout women banded together to do those spiritual and corporal works of mercy which are the practical expression of the principles of the Gospel. As such a religious hospital, St. Vincent's stands in the hallowed tradition of the first hospitals of the Western World. The Christian religion has been linked with the healing of the sick since its earliest beginnings, and to care for the sick Christianity brought a new dynamic and direction.

The dynamic added by Christianity to the development of hospitals was the inspiration and the requirements of the life of virtue, above all the virtue of compassion. Even the pagans had recognized the beauty of compassion, but Christianity made it obligatory, a condition of salvation, together with the other moral virtues of the devout life.

The new direction which Christianity gave to the care of the sick was that it enlisted all types and conditions of people in the coordinated effort of caring for the ill. Bishops became the patrons of this organized effort and the founders of great hospitals. Priests added solicitude for the physical well-being of the sick to their proper pastoral zeal for the spiritual well-being of all. Devout women began early in the history of Christianity the work which continues to find its expression in the typical ministry by which the Sisters of Providence, their nurses and their volunteers, serve the sick here in our part of the world.

HISTORY OF HOSPITALS

And so historians consider it probably that the first hospital in western Europe, corresponding to hospitals as we know them, was established by Fabiola, a Christian saint, and was staffed by her friends under the encouragement and blessing of the bishops.

We know that at the Council of Nicea, held in 325, all bishops of the Catholic world were placed under the obligation of establishing hospitals for the organized care of the sick. Particularly in eastern Christendom, the response to this high religious duty was prompt and magnificent. In the West the development of organized hospitals came more slowly. But when finally Christianity became the religion of the western tribes and nations, hospitals promptly flourished as the expression of the Christian idea that the love of God finds its best expression in the loving care of our brethren and that our own salvation depends in great part on what we do for our neighbor.

The history of hospitals from that day to this has been bound up with religion in many more ways than our generation may suppose. On the positive and constructive side, religion has remained in all great hospitals what it obviously is in hospitals like St. Vincent: the greatest source of inspiration, strength, and support. In negative terms, the decline of religious inspiration has had disastrous consequences to medicine, as well as to the condition of mankind, wherever it has been the unfortunate fact.

GERMAN EXAMPLE

Dr. Henry Beecher, of Harvard University and the Massachusetts General Hospital, makes this point effectively when he links the absence of spirituality in the relief of suffering to the appalling moral disintegration of medicine in certain areas of the modern world. Dr. Beecher asserts that the incredible barbarism of which Nazi medical men proved capable, men of incomparable scientific skill and enviable professional standing, confirms the need for spirituality in medicine, as in all science, if these medical scientists were guilty and of which they made clinics and hospitals the centers of guilt, and he then observes that these crimes were due not to lack of civilization or of scientific sense but to a lack of spirituality in the scientific civilization and the medical tradition of modern Germany.

The religious hospitals of Germany suffered serious persecution and heartbreaking discrimination from the German state, but these proved to be blessings because they placed the hospitals of the church outside the corrupting influence of an antireligious and nonspiritual regime. Thus was confirmed negatively, as it were, what hospital history teaches positively: The religious influence and spiritual emphasis in the organized care of the sick is good not only for religion but also for science.

A religious hospital like St. Vincent does more than merely perpetuate an ancient and holy witness to the need for God in all our efforts to solve what seem like purely human and scientific problems. Our hospitals also act in a manner and spirit consistent with the most strict requirements, scientific and professional, of the modern hospital world. Your new St. Vincent Hospital is a dramatic proof of this. We would hardly expect it to be otherwise, knowing as we do the genius of your architect, the spirit of your bishop, and the magnificent work of the corporation members, representing every creed, class, and vocation, with which he has surrounded himself and the sisters in planning the new hospital.

PRAISE FOR SISTERS

Neither does it come as a surprise to us who know the Sisters of Providence, as I have come to know them through their establishment in Boston of a headquarters for the special study of advanced nursing, medical, and hospital administration techniques. I am particularly happy to be able to report here in Worcester today the wonderful impression that the Sisters of Providence have made through their Boston house of studies in the various schools and hospitals where they are presently pursuing courses designed to add further renown to their already established excellence as teachers of nurses and as guardians of the sick in the Worcester community served by St. Vincent Hospital.

As we return thanks to God and express our congratulations to the entire Worcester community on the completion of the new St. Vincent Hospital, I should like to make one final observation about the part we may expect religious hospitals to play in shaping the mind of the future. The prospects for the future of civil society are strongly colored by statism, socialism, and secularism. There is no question of imputing fault or lamenting trends in making this observation. I am concerned merely with stating certain facts with which all of us are familiar and about which almost all are concerned.

These facts add up to a very sobering proposition: private initiative, private responsibility, action, independent of the state on every level, will all survive only if men and organizations retain sufficient self-consciousness and autonomy to resist the tendency of organized civil society to absorb all things to itself.

SYMBOL OF FREEDOM

I do not intend to remind you that this tendency is resisted by responsible leaders in the state itself, statesmen who recognize that the way of statism and socialism is the way of slavery and means the death of political freedom as well as of religious faith. It is also resisted by great newspapers, by enlightened teachers and by millions of ordinary citizens who are anxious to retain their birthrights.

We can assure all who love freedom that they will find in Catholic hospitals allies determined to resist any trend toward totalitarianism and collectivism in social and medical service. The religious hospitals resist such trends, as do religious and other private schools in the world of education, and by their resistance they make a mighty contribution to the political well-being of the community as a byproduct, so to speak, of the religious and spiritual work that they primarily intend.

And so, the new St. Vincent Hospital is a symbol of love of freedom almost as much as it is a symbol of loving faith. It is a civic service in the strictest sense of the word, just as it is a spiritual and scientific triumph. In dedicating it, as we now do, to the glory of God and the good of men, we are performing an act of patriotism as well as piety, and contributing to the strength of America as well as the prestige of the church and the benefit of the healing professions.

I beg one and all to show that they appreciate these truths by generosity to the hospital in helping it reduce its debt and do its humane and Godlike work. You have the best of hospitals; give it the best of help.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, Representing the American Federation of Labor, Testifies on H. R. 7700, a Bill To Amend the Public Health Service Act To Provide Mortgage Loan Insurance for Hospitals and Medical Facilities Used in Connection With Voluntary Prepayment Health Plans

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, during his appearance before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce today to present testimony on H. R. 8356, Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of social insurance activities of the American Federation of Labor, also took this opportunity to comment on H. R. 7700, a bill pending before this committee which would amend the Public Health Service Act to provide mortgage loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with voluntary prepayment health plans. This bill would provide insurance of loans to enable groups of doctors or nonprofit foundations or organizations to raise private capital with which to build medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other medical facilities, which would be linked

with voluntary prepayment health plans and with groups of doctors providing comprehensive care.

Mr. Cruikshank's statement on H. R. 7700 is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, we are also much interested in H. R. 7700 which you introduced on February 3. You may recall that when I appeared before your committee on February 5 in connection with H. R. 7341, I called your attention to the fact that every example of a successful comprehensive health service plan points to the importance of financial assistance in meeting the heavy capital outlays that are necessary for providing facilities for such plans. We know of a number of areas today where comprehensive health service plans are about to get underway, that where the lack of means for financing the necessary facilities, constitutes a real barrier. We believe that this bill, by creating a medical facilities mortgage insurance fund, would go a long way toward meeting this vital need.

While supporting this bill in principle, we should like to offer the following comments with respect to some of its specific provisions and suggest certain changes in some of the definitions:

1. Section 702 (g) defines "group practice prepayment health service plans." This is a critical part of a very important definition, since every program obtaining insured loans must devote 60 percent of its facilities to services coming within this description. We feel that it is important that this definition should not, in any way, exclude comprehensive programs set up by lay groups, such as cooperatives, citizens groups, labor unions, industries, etc., and who engage individual physicians or a group of physicians to provide services to subscribers. There may be in this definition the implication that the physicians group must already be in existence before the plan can be established. We suggest that this ambiguity be removed.

It appears also that this definition does not recognize the right of a medical staff of an existing hospital to form itself into a group or to function as a group, to provide services into a prepayment plan. We suggest that the wording be changed so as clearly to permit this kind of development which has frequently proved practical in past experience.

Section 702 (h) defines "health service association" as a nonprofit organization which undertakes to provide prepaid medical and surgical services to subscribers to contracts with "groups of physicians, partnerships of physicians, or with other associations of physicians." We suggest that the word "physicians" be instered before "groups of physicians" so as to permit a lay organization to enter into contract with individual physicians.

Section 702 (i) defines "health service contract" to cover either "medical care contract" or "hospital service contract" in terms which appear to us as too rigid. A hospital service contract is one "to furnish bed and board in general or special hospitals," while a medical service contract covers "obstetrical, anesthesia, diagnostic, and endoscopic services which are directly related to any medical, surgical, or obstetrical services and any supplies incidental to such care." This definition does not conform with existing practices, which are not uniform throughout the country. In practice, most hospitals currently furnish much more than bed and board and provide many of the services defined as within the province of medical service contracts. We suggest that legislation with the objective stated in this measure should not interfere with present practice, in a manner to force changes which appear to conform solely to one particular school of thought on this controversial subject.

We suggest that one further safeguard should be incorporated in the bill, namely, to provide that lay individuals or lay organizations cannot interfere with the practice of medicine as well as engage in the practice of medicine. It has always been our view that while the economic and managerial aspects of health service plans should be under a type of control in which consumer and other lay organizations can appropriately participate, the distinctly medical aspects of any such plans should be kept strictly within the hands of qualified professional medical persons.

Mr. Chairman, with these suggested changes which we feel in no way affect the major purposes of H. R. 7700, we urge the early adoption of this proposal.

Again on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, I wish to thank the chairman and the other members of the committee for this opportunity of presenting our views.

Farmers Gaining Support for 90 Percent Parity Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the text of a full-page advertisement which appeared in the February 25 issue of the Lake Park (Minn.) Journal in my congressional district in Minnesota.

This is the second such advertisement which has appeared recently in my area in which the businesmen of the community make a strong plea for 90 percent parity for farmers.

I also note that an increasing number of businessmen's groups are writing me, urging 90 percent parity price supports. It pleases me to get this fine support for my longtime fight for nothing less than 90 percent parity. However, my aim has been and still is 100 percent parity for basic farm products.

This attitude on the part of businessmen is significant. They know that their prosperity and the prosperity of everyone in America depends upon the solvency of the farmer. If the farmer is forced into a depression, we will all suffer a depression. I think we ought to seriously consider the views of these businessmen who are warning us to guarantee the farmer a price which will enable him to stay in business, and to live on the farm with his family.

The Lake Park Journal advertisement is as follows:

PARITY FOR THE FARMER

The welfare of our rural centers and our agricultural communities go hand in hand. We are interdependent. We will not long remain thriving and healthy if half the community is prosperous and the other half is suffering a slump.

For this reason we view as serious the continuing farm-price slump of the past year and prediction from Federal Reserve bank authorities that farmers may suffer another 10 percent cut in cash income in 1954.

All of us should work together with farmers to maintain an agricultural program which will enable our family system to continue to function and which will keep our food productive capacity strong.

We believe that it is important for all people to understand that a strong farm price support system which will assure us plentiful food at pair prices is in the best long-run interest of all of us, farmers, businessmen, and townspeople alike.

We realize that any program to deliberately lower farm prices and farm income would be dangerous to our rural communities and we urge that any such proposals be vigorously opposed.

We therefore recommend that Congress maintain a strong farm support program with a price floor at or near full parity on all major farm production.

Al Grierson, Grierson Chevrolet Co.; Fay Hamilton, Grocery Store; Bob Palmer, Lake Park Hotel; Tory Olsen, Fashion Cleaners; Kenneth Cregan, Cregan's Bar; Dan Halliday, Lake Park Liquor Store; Gordon Martinson, Martinson Cafe; Florence Ellertson, Beauty Shop; M. A. Rogness, State Bank of Lake Park; Bob & Irv's, Standard Station; Art Friese, Friese Implement; Harry Fuglie, Creamery Oil Department; Vigen & Sons, Hardware Store; M. O. Hviding, Independent Oil Co.; S. W. Winjum, Hardware Store; A. J. Haugen, Lake Park Produce; Sanford Lunder, Garage and Car Sales; Jordahl's Store, Grocery Store; Albert Palin, Recreation Parlor; Lake Park Cooperative Creamery; Harry Wiecks, Barber Shop; Stanley Olson, Flo-Mor Cafe; Thorvald Tweed, Tweed's Cafe; E. P. Schulstad, Standard Oil Agent; R. C. Bakken, Big 5 Gas Agent; Winberg & Knutson Garage; Aldric Johnson, Plumber; Elmer Hoeschen, DHIA; C. B. Knudson, Wilcox Lumber Co.; R. F. Bergeson, Insurance Agent; Elmer Rogness, Lake Park Hardware; Ed Struble.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. PAT SUTTON
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8583) making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. SUTTON].

Mr. SUTTON. Mr. Chairman, the reason I seek this additional time is to make a brief statement. We from Tennessee have used most of the time today. In the 6 years I have had the honor of being a Member of this body the Tennessee Valley Authority has always been quite controversial. The bill we have had under discussion yesterday and today has not only been controversial from the TVA standpoint but also from the standpoint of housing and veterans as well.

I would like to say before we close debate on this, Mr. Chairman, that during the time I have been here and as controversial as this bill has been, I do not think we have ever had a Chairman who has been more fair than the Chairman who is presiding at this time. It is my opinion that LOUIS GRAHAM has been as efficient a Chairman as we have ever had.

National Guard Necessary for Our National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DEWEY SHORT
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following address which I delivered before the National Guard Association of the United States at its 75th annual convention in San Diego, Calif., on October 21, 1953:

Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate the honor which you have bestowed upon me by asking me to address the 75th jubilee of the founding of the National Guard Association of the United States.

And it is most fitting that your jubilee should be held in a beautiful city with a historical background ethnologically akin to the genesis of the National Guard of the United States. For the Spanish setting of San Diego coincides with the Spanish background of the first militia ever formed in America. I think it is most intriguing to recall that the first and oldest militia in America was formed in Puerto Rico in 1510, and was commanded by Ponce de Leon. It was the forerunner of the Puerto Rican Guard and I understand today it is designated the 295th Infantry.

There are few military organizations in the world that can claim a tradition as rich in history and accomplishments as that of the National Guard of the United States.

There is something particularly attractive about the National Guard which appeals to my own theory of maintaining our national security on the basis of quality, and not quantity, insofar as human beings are concerned.

The National Guard has been, for practical purposes, a volunteer organization ever since the founding of this Nation and its response in times of war and national emergency accentuate, in my opinion, the desirability of maintaining voluntary military organizations to the greatest possible extent.

This Nation can never hope to cope with the hordes of Asia and Russia on the basis of manpower, but freemen in a free society, choosing their own destiny, have always in the past and will always in the future achieve what sometimes appears to be the impossible. On the basis of manpower alone we could not have won the Revolutionary War, but we won it, based almost entirely upon an army of volunteers. No nation should have been able to have mobilized as rapidly as we did in World War I and transport its troops 3,000 miles across a submarine-infested ocean to achieve a great victory, but we did, thanks to Gen. Peyton C. March. And no nation should have dared to have hoped that it could cross swords with a highly efficient, well equipped, magnificently trained German army and beat them on their own ground, but we did. The seizure of islands in the Pacific, coupled with unbelievable naval victories should not have occurred against a fanatic Japanese empire, but it did. And all this was accomplished by a determined nation, a free nation, a nation that was willing to fight to preserve the peace of the world. Much of this amazing history can be attributed to the volunteer National Guard system—the dual system of a National Guard of the several States and a National Guard of the United States.

It did not surprise me to learn that Major von Rundstedt (later Field Marshal von Rundstedt) said after World War I that the German Supreme Command had noted 8 Amedican divisions as superior or excellent in that war and 6 of them were National Guard divisions. Nor was I surprised to learn that in World War II more than 400,000 men entered the Federal service through the National Guard system, comprising 18 combat divisions and many other separate units. More than 75,000 enlisted members of the National Guard became commissioned officers through the Officer Candidate Schools during World War II.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, no one here tonight who is a member of this great component of the Armed Forces of the United States need ever take a back seat to any other component of our Armed Forces or anyone elses armed forces.

But I am sure that it would be redundant for me to repeat your many accomplishments. They are so self-evident that I am amazed at times that it becomes necessary, not frequently, but on occasion, to remind others of what your have done in the past and what you are capable of doing in the future.

Tonight I would like to discuss with you the national-security picture as it appears to me. There are so many facets to this whole matter that I hardly know where to begin.

I think we will all agree that national security is not confined solely to the possession of weapons of war and manpower. National security to me is a combination of factors, all of which must be considered in analyzing our ability to remain as a free people. The basis of our national security concerns economic, social, military, and spiritual factors.

Most of us will agree that a sound economy is fundamental in a capitalistic form of government. If our dollars and our credit are worthless or are depreciated to such an extent that the financial stability of the Nation borders on collapse, then our national security is not only jeopardized, but, in the nature of things, must fall. We must never lose sight of the fact that financial chaos within this country could result in a bloodless victory for communism—and a bloodless victory to the conqueror is of much greater value than a bloody victory with its resultant destruction of units of production.

There are those in high offices who ridicule the objective of a balanced budget. Their theory is that unlimited production of weapons of war will keep this country secure. But in adopting this theory they overlook entirely the very nature of our form of economic life. We could produce more planes, more guns, more tanks, and more ships and still these same voices would cry that is not enough. But each of these items are costly and are becoming even more costly as the technical advances in warfare become more complex. And weapons of war in the hands of a bankrupt nation will achieve nothing, for at that point the insidious parasites who bore from within will have destroyed the nation. We are today enjoying a tremendous prosperity, but to a considerable extent it is based upon war orders. That prosperity can be expanded by increasing our production of war weapons. But that means 1 of 2 things: Higher taxes or increased debt. And higher taxes reduces further the purchasing ability of the American people and, in effect, lowers our standard of living. It prevents expansion—expansion which must take place in a nation that by 1975 may attain a population of 220 million persons.

If we increase our debt the carrying charges alone will soon be absorbing major portions of our tax revenues, and that can only lead to inflation, the further cheapening of the dollar, and eventually financial chaos.

So, while it is popular to raise the hue and cry of more planes, more tanks, more guns, and more ships, cooler heads must prevail if we are to maintain our national integrity. The economic factor of our national security must be ever present in all of our considerations.

And this economic factor also must be considered in connection with what I call the sociological factor. The American people enjoy the highest standard of living of any nation in the world. They have earned this standard of living and they are entitled to the benefits that flow from it. There is a contentment that prevails among the American people which is not to be found in any other part of the world. There is the pride of possession; and the satisfaction of educational opportunity; the bountiful supply of good and healthy food, and the security that comes with the knowledge of available medical care. And, in spite of those who continuously attempt to incite class hatred, we are a heterogeneous group, fast becoming a homogenous group of people who have only one thought in mind, the preservation of America. This is an important factor in our national security for it is the keystone of the American will to win. We are not a complacent people but I am sure we are a contented people. We are hard to rile but once angered we leave no stone unturned. It is this factor of devotion to our Nation that permitted us to put 13 million men and women in uniform in World War II. It was this heritage that led to the magnificent stand on the Anzio beachhead. It was the same spirit of the flag of the Revolution with its warning, "Do not tread on me," that raised the sunken battleships at Pearl Harbor, and fathered the outstanding courage displayed on the shores of Iwo Jima and Omaha beach. If I may pass on one word of warning to the Politburo in Moscow, it is this: "Never underestimate the American people."

The military factor in our national security is more apparent and perhaps more easily observed. It involves not only our ability to withstand military aggression, but also our capacity to retaliate with devastating effect should any nation attack us or our allies.

The task of defending the Nation, and at the same time aiding our allies in the far-flung corners of the world, is not an easy one. To do the job adequately is, in fact, the greatest single undertaking any nation ever attempted. The Department of Defense operates the most tremendous business in the world—spending more money than the 19 largest corporations in the United States. It employs nearly 5 million men and women, in and out of uniform.

Now, what do we have to show for this stupendous undertaking?

Well, perhaps the proof of the pudding is in the eating. We have, temporarily at least, stopped the rush of Communist imperialism in Korea. We have the Russians on the defensive, in East Germany, for the first time since World War II. The situation in Indochina is fluid, but there is hope for victory in that area. Iran has weathered a political typhoon that might have otherwise had disastrous results for the free world.

In Europe the free nations have, in many instances, raised their levels of production well above the prewar years.

There is still a tendency in that area, however, to look upon the United States as a self-generating mint—from which flows a never-ending supply of dollars. Considerable progress has been made in the NATO defense program—but the disease of virus imperialism communism still appears, sometimes in epidemic proportions, and this insidious parasite must, in my opinion, be eradicated by the people themselves, if Western Europe is ever to enjoy the peace it so desperately desires.

Certainly no one can ever say that the United States has failed to do its utmost in its efforts to restore freedom and harmony in Europe. But in providing aid for Europe, military and otherwise, we have also encouraged an attitude of "Let Uncle Sam do it." It is an attitude that must change—for I am convinced that the American people are going to insist, more and more, that our well-meaning allies develop a stronger philosophy of "self-help" and that we curtail our philosophy of "we'll do it for you."

These aid programs, that start out as temporary emergency measures, have developed a permanence that we cannot afford. In fact, they remind me of a little girl trying to make a necklace, sitting on the porch stringing beads, but having forgotten to tie a knot in the string. We need a knot in the string between here and Europe.

On the other hand, we must not assume that these aid programs are purely altruistic on our part. In this small world we have no frontiers; we have no insurmountable barriers—the defense of Europe, Iceland, Formosa, Japan, Okinawa, England, France, Greece, and Turkey—is also a defense of the United States.

We have started the machinery of self-help—now it is up to our allies to keep that machinery operating. Our problems are mutual—but exhaustion of our own resources will not enhance our own security.

And, in considering this military factor that is a part of our national security—we must not overlook our natural resources. We have, in two World Wars, seriously depleted some of our most strategic materials. We drained off billions of barrels of oil—so that today we must import oil to meet our daily requirements; we cut huge gaps in our forests; and we have dug out of the ground most of our lead, copper, and iron ore.

Not even dollars can replace these indispensable raw materials. They were a part of our American heritage that was sacrificed in two World Wars and may be completely exhausted should another war be our fate. They are basic materials of fundamental importance to a producing nation. Elimination of these raw materials from among our natural resources would convert us to a have-not nation, and the history of the world has amply demonstrated that a have-not nation cannot exist for any period of time.

To compensate for some of our badly needed strategic materials we have instituted a stockpiling program. It has been successful in some areas, but it is still inadequate in the overall picture. I think it is time for this Nation to reexamine its stockpiling program with a view toward increasing our supply of strategic materials on a quid pro quo basis from those nations who receive assistance from us. We are looked upon by our allies as the arsenal of democracy, but even an American arsenal must have raw materials. The argument against exchanging aid for strategic materials in the past has been that the nations that need our assistance must also sell their strategic raw materials in order to acquire dollars. But when one observes that the production indices of our allies are in most instances far above the indices of 1939, then I think it is time for us to engage in a self-help program of our own by augmenting our stockpile of strategic materials in exchange for our finished products and dollars.

Now, there is another side of the military factor I would like to discuss with you for a few moments which I consider to be a most serious situation. It concerns the morale of our Armed Forces.

I have said in the past—and I am sure that I will again say in the future—that this Nation has been most fortunate in its military leaders. In the 1930's we had an Army of only 165,000 men, but out of that Army we produced men like Eisenhower, Wainwright, Ridgway, MacArthur, Patton, Collins, Arnold, Hodges, Twining, Bradley, Kenney, Vandenberg, and a host of others. Out of a small prewar Navy and an even smaller Marine Corps, we had the good fortune to find men like Nimitz, King, Vandegrift, Cates, Shepherd, Sherman, Fitch, Radford, Fechteler, Halsey, Connally, and others. With men like these, I cannot help but feel that a divine providence held our hands in the twenties and thirties. Certainly the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps at that time was not a field in which one could expect rapid advancement. It could only have been due to an extreme devotion to this Nation and a prophetic insight of things to come that led such men to continue their military careers, for promotion in those days, as I am sure many of you here tonight vividly recall, was a very slow, painful, and evolutionary process. The pay was low, but there were certain perquisites, and there was prestige and dignity attached to the words "officer" and "noncommissioned officer." But today I am very worried about the future of our Armed Forces, for I greatly fear that through a constant whittling away of minor benefits and through the development of an inexplicable philosophy possessed by some people in this country, we are going to attract as the future leaders of our Armed Forces men of mediocre ability. It is this trend toward mediocrity which alarms me. We are not getting young men to enter our Armed Forces today of the caliber and in sufficient quantity to give us the type of leaders that were developed prior to the outbreak of World War II, and we are not getting these young men because Congress and, to some extent, the people are making the military career less and less attractive.

Pay is not the most important item in this problem by any stretch of the imagination. Actually, the pay of our service personnel is fairly consistent with that received in industry for comparable responsibility. So I do not think that pay is the answer. But I do think that fair play and a restoration of the dignity and prestige once enjoyed by officers and noncommissioned officers is the answer.

In the last Appropriations Act the Congress adopted a legislative rider aimed at closing commissaries located in the United States if there were commercial facilities available. Now, this may not seem like a very important matter, but if you could read the mail that comes into my office every day about this one subject I think you would appreciate more and more the importance of these commissaries to service personnel. The savings are not great, but in some cases, and particularly for the junior officers and enlisted men with families, it may make the difference between a reasonable standard of living and a low standard of living.

Then there is the question of the limitation on weight allowances for the shipment of household effects. This seriously affects the officer with a large family who, succumbing to the higher standard-of-living requirements of our time, has acquired a freezer and perhaps a television set. And woe to the man in the military service who is musically inclined and has been foolish enough to purchase a piano, for he will pay for the shipment of that piano many times over its original cost before he is through.

Now, the shipment of household effects involves a considerable sum of money, and some people in the past have abused the privilege of shipping their household effects at Government expense, but that does not justify a wholesale limitation which results in many families digging into their own pockets every time there is a change of station. And even if this limitation is removed, I can assure you, although most of you need no such assurance, that every time an officer or an enlisted man is transferred from one station to the next with his family there are expenses involved for which there is no reimbursement from the Government. There are new draperies to buy, perhaps a bucket of paint and a new screen door; there are always food products that must be purchased and many other little items which are necessary when moving into a new home. Perhaps it is time for us to recognize the financial loss involved when a family moves in the military services and provide a flat allowance in addition to the shipment of household effects.

Then there is the question of the retirement of Regular officers. There was a time before Korea when a Regular officer, after 30 years of service, could apply for retirement and could move with his wife to the beautiful climate of California or to the green hills of the Ozarks. And many an officer with his eye on that 30-year retirement privilege started buying a home in the location where he planned to settle down, only to be faced with a legislative rider which precluded his voluntary retirement. There was justification for this action when the war in Korea started, for it did not seem to make sense to involuntarily recall a Reserve officer or a National Guard unit, and at the same time permit Regular officers to retire. But for the life of me I can see no justification for continuing this restriction in the last appropriation act. Yet it is there, modified to some extent, but still a restriction and one which every young man, eyeing the possibility of making the armed services his career, has noted and has noted well.

Finally, there is the needling habit which many people in public life, as well as those in private life, are apt to engage in when they lose their tempers. I am speaking now of the popular pastime of berating the brass. Every time a mistake is made by our Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps someone is bound to apply the epithet "the brass." You would think from some of the letters I receive, and some of the articles I have read, that every general is a tyrant, a martinet, and of Prussian ancestry. There are probably a few who possess these characteristics, but I think it is time that the American people were told about some of their generals. I think it is time that the newspaper editors, radio commentators, and Members of Congress, call the roll of the general officers in our Armed Forces to ascertain what sacrifices they have made in this latest war for freedom. When that roll is called they may realize that war strikes home in many high places.

The war in Korea is a very personal conflict for General Van Fleet, whose son is missing in action, as it is for Lt. Gen. Field Harris, of the Marine Corps, whose son is also missing in action. Vice Adm. Roscoe Good and Maj. Gen. James A. Stuart, of the Marine Corps, know the true sacrifice of war for their sons were killed in action in Korea, as were the sons of Maj. Gen. Charles White, Brig. Gen. Robert Strong, Brig. Gen. Rupert E. Starr, and Brig. Gen. Don Faith, of the Army, and Brig. Gen. E. W. Chamberlain, of the Air Force. And war is a living hell for Maj. Gen. Clarence Martin and Maj. Gen. Earl W. Barnes, whose sons are missing in action in Korea. These are just some of the names of "the brass" whose sons have been lost in Korea. There are many others whose sons have been grievously wounded, including the son of the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Thomas; and the

son of Maj. Gen. Lewis Hershey, Director of Selective Service, and many others.

And if the roll were called of the sons of officers now serving in the Armed Forces, the percentage of those who engaged in combat in Korea would be astoundingly high. And of even greater significance would be the appalling casualty percentage among these sons of Regular officers. And I am sure the same would be true for many National Guard officers whose sons have served in Korea.

These are the sacrifices that have been made by senior officers who some would call the brass. These are men who are leading your sons; they know far better than many of us the horrors of war, the nostalgia of lonely nights in camp, the inevitable regimentation that is a part of military life; they know that no pie was ever baked by an Army cook can compare with mother's pie. In short, they are well aware of all of the big and little things that make up a soldier's life. So tonight I would like to pay tribute to the brass, big and little alike, for having saved our necks twice so far in this century. I would like to say thank you for bringing two world wars to a successful conclusion with a minimum loss of life. I would like to congratulate the Air Force for the Berlin Airlift, and the Navy for its successful evacuation of our forces at Hungnam. I want to thank the Marines for being ready when the Korean fire call came, so that they were able to mount and launch the most complex amphibious operation in history in the brief space of 40 days at Inchon. I would like to say thank you to the Army for the thousands of jobs it does every day, jobs that are done well and without fanfare—for the control of floods that might otherwise sweep away homes and cities; for its magnificent performance in Korea, for the rapid way in which it brings a boy home to see his dying mother or father; for the method by which it can locate out of a million and a half names, one man and have a message to him in a short period of time; and countless other undertakings—some small and personal—others tremendous and of worldwide importance.

And all of this is possible because we have officers and noncommissioned officers who are daily making sacrifices that this Nation may live in freedom. I would just like to suggest tonight, that instead of criticizing our armed services every time they make a mistake that once in a while we sit back and think of the things the Armed Forces do well, things for which they are never thanked.

That brings me to the final factor of our national security. The spiritual factor. I do not intend to preach a sermon on the value of religion so far as our national security is concerned, but I think that very often it is overlooked. We are a Christian Nation with a Christian background and a Christian heritage. We have placed our faith in God from the time the first white man set foot on this continent. And surely it must have been a strong belief in right, justice, and God that led the founders of our Nation to place their names on a document that would have led to their individual hanging had the Revolution been unsuccessful. In those days when we had nothing, we trusted in God and won. And on December 8, 1941, with a good portion of the Pacific fleet smouldering in Pearl Harbor, it was only a Nation with a firm belief in God and the righteousness of its cause that brought about the fastest expansion of a national war effort ever witnessed in the history of mankind.

So in considering our national security I would suggest that we never overlook the fact that so long as our people place their trust in the Almighty and so long as they pursue a course dictated by the Golden Rule, then this Nation will possess the strongest weapon ever bestowed upon man. Notwithstanding the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb, guided missiles, fleets of aircraft, or masses of tanks, no weapon will ever attain the effectiveness of a determined people who have placed their faith in the hands of the Almighty.

These are the factors then that I consider to be the basis for our national security. Without them we could not long exist as a free Nation; with them, we cannot fail.

Messrs. Cruikshank and Biemiller, Representing the American Federation of Labor, Testify on H. R. 8356, a Bill To Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, continuing its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services, today heard testimony from Messrs. Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of social insurance activities of the American Federation of Labor, and Andrew J. Biemiller, member of the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor. Both gentlemen are eminently qualified to speak on this bill. Mr. Cruikshank has been director of social insurance activities of the A. F. of L. since 1945, except for a 2-year leave of absence, when he served as director of labor activities for the Economic Cooperation Administration. Mr. Biemiller was a very active member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He was particularly interested in public health matters.

The text of the statement presented by Mr. Cruikshank follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, my name is Nelson H. Cruikshank and I am director of social insurance activities for the American Federation of Labor. My office is located at the AFL Building, 901 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D. C. I am accompanied by my colleague, Mr. Andrew J. Biemiller, a member of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Biemiller has been given the responsibility on the part of the A. F. of L. for legislation in the field of social insurance.

We deeply appreciate the opportunity of presenting to this committee our views on the two measures which you now have under consideration, both of which were introduced by the chairman of this committee.

On January 15 of this year, your committee afforded me the privilege of presenting the views of the American Federation of Labor in connection with this committee's survey of general health problems. At that time, I listed what appeared to us as a number of major needs in the health field. I will not take up the time of this committee by repeating the analysis which I presented at that time. For your convenience in reference, however, I should like to summarize the major needs as they appear to an organization which represents a very large number of the people who are recipients of medical care and services. These needs fall in two general groups. The first are the needs of working people, which we observe from our experience in this field. We believe they are not different from the needs of the general population.

1. Preventive care: A constructive, progressive medical care program is one which seeks to improve and to maintain the health of those who are served by it, rather than to merely patch up and repair their disabilities after they have reached an advanced stage. Every system or program of medical care should be tested by the attention which it pays to this vital aspect of the total national health problem.

2. Access to facilities and personnel: The principle of free choice should be realistic in its application. It should include the choice of the method or type of medical care to be selected and it should, if it is to be meaningful, include access to the best hospitals and health service centers.

3. Comprehensive protection: Medical care without detriment to its quality cannot be fragmentized. Its component parts must be integrated into a comprehensive continuous whole. Diagnosis cannot be arbitrarily separated from treatment and surgery cannot be isolated from preoperative and postoperative care. Care inside of the hospital cannot be provided as a thing entirely apart from care in the home, office, or clinic. Anything short of a comprehensive, unified health program is to that extent an inadequate program.

4. Full family coverage: This is likewise an essential criterion of adequacy. Many of the plans in existence today cover only the wage earner himself and exclude his wife and children. The contribution which such plans make toward the solution of his health problems is very small, even if these plans were adequate in all other respects—which they are not—for the medical expenses of the worker himself are but a small part of the total family medical bill.

5. Budgeting for full prepayment: A satisfactory health program should, at the very least, provide a means of making possible the full prepayment of the costs of the services offered. The application of the social-insurance principle also requires that the rate of payment bears some direct relationship to the income of the persons covered.

6. Improvement in quality of medical care: The medical profession itself today is aware of the necessity of rooting out some of the evils that have been associated with particular types of practice. Fee splitting, unnecessary surgical operations, and the overcrowding of hospitals, are aggravated in some instances rather than alleviated by the prevailing type of commercial-indemnity-type insurance coverage. The need is for positive incentives to the great majority of ethically minded physicians and surgeons to provide through group practice and other means now available the highest type and quality of medical care and service. The general public needs assistance in discovering and utilizing the better types of medical care.

There is a second group of needs which are of a community nature. Among the most urgent of these are the following:

1. Care for the chronically ill and the indigent aged.
2. Expansion of local public health units.
3. Aid to medical education.
4. Expansion of hospitals, health centers, and other physical facilities.

We are aware that this committee has made recommendations in some of these areas. For example, the adoption by the House of your recommendation with respect to the broadening of the Hill-Burton hos-

pital survey and construction program, contained in H. R. 7341, will help meet the problem of plant facility, providing, of course, that additional appropriations are made to carry out the program on a scale commensurate with the need.

We are also aware that the major bill you now have under consideration, H. R. 8356, does not address itself to a number of these areas of need. However, since it is put forward as the major proposal of the administration in the field of health and has been publicized as having been developed in response to the promise made by the President that the health needs of the people of this country will be fully taken into account in the progressive and dynamic program which he is presenting to the Congress, it is only proper that this bill be evaluated in the light of these major needs.

As we study this measure our hopes are raised by the worthy purposes expressed. We note the reference to "adequate service prepayment plans" to be made "generally accessible on reasonable terms * * * to the maximum number of people." We further note the purpose as being "to stimulate the establishment and maintenance of adequate prepayment plans in areas and with respect to services and classes of persons for which they are needed." However, as we analyze the proposed implementation of these very worthy objectives we are deeply disappointed. We find nothing in this measure which will effectively motivate private insurance carriers to extend their offered types of protection in a manner that is adequate to achieve these objectives. The principle of reinsurance may make it possible for commercial insurance companies to extend their limited type of protection to meet some of these needs, but we find nothing that effectively encourages them to do so.

It may be that for some of the nonprofit organizations, such as Blue Cross, the removal of a portion of the risk involved in extending protection to new areas may result in some actual extension of such protection. If this should, in fact, prove to be the case, it should be recognized that it is because these nonprofit organizations, by definition, are motivated by different incentives than are the commercial carriers.

It is precisely, at this point, that what appears to us as one of the major fallacies on which this bill has been developed becomes apparent. It is a truism among businessmen that they are not in business for their health. It should be equally apparent that insurance companies are not in business for other people's health. This is not offered as a criticism of private business enterprise. It appears to us that the proposals of this bill, so far as they relate to the insurance carriers, are predicated on the assumption, that these carriers are chafing at the bit awaiting the removal of the barriers to permit them to rush into the high-risk areas in order that they may fulfill their mission of meeting the health needs of the country. This, we submit, is a false assumption. The commercial insurance companies are in business for profit, though they will incidentally meet part of the health needs of the country in the course of their profit-making, so long as competitive conditions maintain. If a limited reinsurance provision were all that was required to release the assumed pent-up social purpose of insurance carriers, it seems likely that the insurance companies themselves would have developed such arrangements in this field, as indeed, they have done with respect to many other types of insurance. The fact seems quite clear that commercial insurance companies will continue to offer their useful but limited and generally inadequate type of protection in the areas of service where profits are readily attainable. Without some additional incentives and motivations, they will not move into the high-risk areas, simply in order to meet a social need. It is at this point that this bill is mainly deficient. We can find nothing in it that provides a positive incentive for the commercial insurance companies to meet these major social objectives. That is why we have come to the conclusion that this bill is long on its aspirations and goals but timorous and hesitating in its implementations.

For example, there is included in the statement of purpose of this bill the following language: "To stimulate the establishment and maintenance of adequate prepayment plans in areas, and with respect to services and classes of persons, for which they are needed." Contrast this with the following statements presented by the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare when he appeared before this committee on March 24:

"While we believe this program holds great promise for the American people, I want to mention three limitations.

"First, it can help only those who can and are willing to include health-insurance premiums as a necessary part of the family budget, and those who are covered by insurance plans maintained by their employers in whole or in part."

The significant phrase to us here is "those who can and are willing to include health-insurance premiums as a necessary part of the family budget."

In presenting and explaining the background charts to your committee, the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Dr. Keefer, pointed out that "in more than 40 percent of the families, expenses incurred for medical care ranged from 5 to over 100 percent of family income in the given 12 months." How many of the people in this 40 percent are those who cannot budget for medical care? We submit that the very heart of the Nation's most critical health problem today is precisely for those who cannot, or even those who will not, include health-insurance premiums as a necessary part of the family budget. Our concern, of course, is primarily with those who cannot. But on the authority of the administration representatives this program does not attempt to meet that problem.

Consider this, if you will, in the light of the facts presented in another one of the charts explained by Dr. Keefer. This was chart F, entitled "Family income groups—distribution of hospitalization insurance." This chart showed that there were 6 million people in families with an income of under $2,000 having some type of hospitalization insurance. This represented 25 percent of the families in this income group. Leaving aside for the moment the very important question of adequacy for this limited protection, it seems to us that the significant fact here is that 75 percent of the families of this income group were without any such protection. Moving up into the next income bracket, we find that 49 percent of persons in families with an income between $2,000 and $4,000 were also without any hospitalization insurance. Certainly, among the 75 percent of families in the lowest income group and the 49 percent in the next lowest group having no hospitalization insurance, there is a large proportion, if not, indeed, all of them, who come into the category of those referred to by the Assistant Secretary as those who cannot include health-insurance premiums as a necessary part of the family budget.

One of the most striking statistics was presented by Dr. Keefer in his chart C, which showed that of the national annual total of personal medical expenditures of $9.4 billion, only $1.6 billion, or 17 percent, was covered by insurance. While the growth of the number of individual memberships and policies over the years 1939 to 1952 as presented in his chart A is impressive, the growth in actual protection as revealed on his chart C is meager indeed. In fact, chart A is misnamed. It shows the increase in insurance participation—not in insurance protection.

With reference to the factual data that was presented by Secretary Hobby and her assistants, we would like to express our appreciation and admiration for the graphic way in which the health needs of the country were portrayed. The needs as they were analyzed and set forth will provide a major contribution to public education in the field of health needs. However, they appear to us as presenting singular non sequitur in that they graphically portray real needs, but needs which cannot be met by the proposals contained in the bill they were designed to support. In fact, they constitute one of the most conclusive presentations of the need for national health insurance ever to come to our attention.

We look in vain in this bill for some general encouragement for preventive care. Where is there any improvement in the accessibility to facilities and personnel? What provision is there in this bill for comprehensive protection or for full family coverage? Where is there in the bill any protection for the patient against the practice of fee splitting or unnecessary surgery, or to assure him that the insurance which he buys will, indeed, cover the full cost of his medical bills? What provision is there for the improvement of the quality of care through the encouragement of group practice?

This bill was introduced by your chairman on the 11th of this month. On the 3d of March the social-security committee of the American Federation of Labor met and discussed the broad principles of this proposal. It was agreed by our committee that the principle of reinsurance in the general field of social insurance had a great deal to commend itself. It was also the opinion of our committee that the merits of the forthcoming proposal could in large part be measured by the standards which were to be included in the program with respect to the type of protection made available under the plans to be reinsured. When the bill was introduced on the 11th of the month, therefore, we were especially interested in section 303, which prescribes the terms and conditions governing the approval for reinsurance of health service prepayment plans. We find listed here eight criteria which we agree are the standards by which a good health insurance program should be measured. However, we find no specifications for the application of these standards. This vital question is left unresolved as the bill simply proposes to give the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare authority to apply these standards in such a way as she determines will promote the purposes of the bill.

In considering this section H. R. 8356, we respectfully suggest this committee adopt the approach of H. R. 6949 which was also introduced by Chairman WOLVERTON. Section 5 of this measure incorporates specific standards applicable to plans eligible for reinsurance. Most of these, we feel, would contribute to the improvement of the adequacy of the protection afforded the insured individual.

It appears to us that H. R. 8356 contains a major inner contradiction in that it places two responsibilities on the Secretary: (1) To meet important social objectives, and (2) to operate a sound reinsurance system. It seems to us that the reinsurance system can only be kept on a sound actuarial basis if the insurance is granted under conditions that make the social objectives unobtainable. Or if the social objectives are to be achieved, it can only be done by operating the reinsurance program at a consistent loss which would then convert the reinsurance program into a poorly disguised subsidy. Now we are not against a Government subsidy in this field, but we feel that if a program of subsidies to meet health needs is under-

taken, it should be done directly and openly.

In fact, bills which, in our opinion, more realistically approach the needs as outlined in the Secretary's testimony have been introduced by a group of distinguished Senators and Congressmen, who are all incidentally of the majority party. In fact, this measure, when first introduced, had as a cosponsor in the House, the present Vice President of the United States. I refer to Senate bill 1153 and H. R. 3562, 3586, and 4128, introduced by Senators IVES and FLANDERS and by Representatives JAVITS, HALE, and SCOTT. The American Federation of Labor has never specifically endorsed this measure but it has by convention action noted the forward steps it represents in approaching the problem of providing adequate health insurance for the entire population.

This measure, in contrast to H. R. 8356, accepts the assumption that a public subsidy to voluntary insurance plans is the appropriate method for bringing most of the population under the coverage of such plans. The following specific constructive provisions of this measure commend themselves to all concerned with basic health needs:

1. It offers a nationwide scheme of insurance as a means of financing medical services.

2. The public charity principle involving a means test for lower-income individuals and families is entirely excluded.

3. It provides that in order to qualify for Federal-State aid, the plans or a combination of plans, purchasable by a family, must offer comprehensive services, that is, at least hospitalization and the services of family physicians as well as specialists.

4. The membership charges in such plans cannot be flat rate, but must be based on a percentage of a subscribers income (up to $5,000).

5. The majority of the governing board of every acceptable plan must represent those receiving medical care and services.

It appears to us that this bill represents a more realistic and straightforward approach to the needs than does H. R. 8356.

We note, however, that title II of H. R. 8356 contains provisions which authorize the Secretary to conduct studies and collect information concerning the organizational, actuarial, operational, and other problems of health service prepayment plans and their carriers. This title provides that the information would be made available to the public and to sponsors of health service and prepayment plans without charge. Such information which can only be collected and evaluated adequately by a Government agency would be very useful to us as we continue to develop through collective bargaining agreements providing protection for wage earners. It would be particularly helpful to us as we continue to move into the newer area of providing direct service plans for wage earners and the members of their families.

New Neighbors in Old Neighborhoods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is an address by Charles Abrams, distinguished housing and community planning consultant, to the meeting of the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, at the Hotel Martinique, in New York City, on October 8, 1953:

NEW NEIGHBORS IN OLD NEIGHBORHOODS

A recent issue of the Reader's Digest carried an article by Columnist Robert C. Ruark explaining why he gave up New York for a more leisurely life in Spain (Robert C. Ruark, Good-Bye, New York, Reader's Digest, November 1953, pp. 11–13). Ruark was troubled by the pressure of two deadlines—his daily column for the Scripps-Howard papers, and a physical disorder that threatened to take him in 3 years. He escaped both deadlines by leaving for Barcelona.

The article, which took a short swipe at big cities, was titled by the author with a nostalgic "Good-Bye, New York." But Reader's Digest advertisement called it I'm Through With New York—presumably on the assumption that this irrelevant title would sell more magazines. Hating New York has become the vogue, particularly among some small-town dwellers and suburbanites who cannot stand the big city's pace or compete with its talents.

To many people, New York City is the Nation's great slum, the seat of the Wall Street capitalist, the conspiring Communist, the knife-carrying Italian, the dirty or lazy Negro, and the money-mad Jew. Currently, the Puerto Rican has joined the quarry; in a recent best seller by two Broadway columnists, he too has come in for his share of the accustomed libel.

Capitalizing on the hate of the big city is not new. As far back as the turn of the century, the Central Railroad of New Jersey publicized the advantages of suburban life by urging the city dweller to put as many leagues as possible between his home and the tenderloin, in order to escape from contaminating sights and influences of the metropolis and its undesirable elements.

Yet New York City today is more than a teeming, traffic snarled, planless metropolis or a target for the fears and frustrations of the outdweller; it is also the great social frontier of your poor, your huddled masses. It still absorbs millions from the hinterlands, imparting to them, with the dust and odor of city life, the flavors of civilization, freedom and opportunity, and remaking the newcomers into better candidates for the better life.

In a nation tending more and more toward homogeneity, and today more sensitive than ever to the pressures of social status, New York continues to offer free haven to all, without the restrictive devices and harassments which have characterized many towns and suburbs burgeoning throughout the country.

This is the role of New York. This role it must continue to play if the city is to remain the spiritual seat of the United Nations; if tolerance for diversity is to continue the hallmark of the American system.

But we would be shunning our full responsibilities if we ignored the growing hardships of those arriving and living in New York City, and the forces which impel others to leave it.

NEW ERA, NEW FACES

One of the great changes now occurring is the exodus of hundreds of thousands of the city's inhabitants who came here from Europe some years ago, or their children; and the influx of hundreds of thousands of newcomers from the South and Puerto Rico. Many people view these new migrations as no different from those of the past. Others—among them many enlightened civic groups—consider it dangerous even to talk about the situation. But failure to explore it only encourages gossip, false rumor, and resentment; and official housing policy, instead of helping to ease the problem, tends to aggravate it.

Today's migrations are caused in the main by two factors. First, New York, like other cities, has become more and more industrialized, while rural areas have been less and less able to support their growing populations. Second, the cutailment of immigation in the 1920's precipitated a shortage of semiskilled and menial labor formerly supplied by European immigrants; at the same time, economic expansion intensified the demand for such labor.

As American white workers left the farms to take up new employment opportunities in the cities, four other groups (in addition to the small pool of European labor admitted under reduced quotas and some white disprivileged rural workers) moved in to fill the gaps in the labor market: Southern Negroes whose migrations since emancipation have been checked by white foreign immigration; Mexicans who were either solicited by the United States to cross the border, or who came here illegally; a small number of Bahamians and others from nearby foreign possessions admitted temporarily under contract during planting and harvest seasons; and Puerto Ricans who, as American citizens, were free to move to cities or farms without restraint.

Most of these new migrants, unlike those in earlier streams, were easily identifiable because of their color, even though the shade of skin varied among them.

Of the four groups the Negroes, considering their numbers, made the best adjustment. The best was not always good, but it was ameliorated by their knowledge of English, by a strong Negro leadership asserting their rights, and by already well-established Negro settlements which gave them entry to urban neighborhoods. Between 1940 and 1947 no less than 2.7 million Negroes—more than the entire population of Puerto Rico—moved between contiguous States, while 1.87 million moved between nonbordering States.

The Mexicans, who settled mostly in the West and Southwest, were handicapped by the temporary nature of agricultural employment, by language and color barriers, housing shortages, and the refusal of cities to accept responsibility for schooling and the social upkeep between jobs. Many illegal entrants were corralled and sent back; others recrossed the border voluntarily—a half million during the depression years alone. But the inflow continues as freely as ever. Between 1942 and 1947 the Federal Government itself brought in 219,500 Mexicans. In 1950, the known wetback traffic was 10 times as great as the net Puerto Rican in-migration. In 1952, 1.5 million Mexicans came in, and it is authoritatively estimated that from 1 to 10 times as many escape periodic corralling as are caught.

Despite substandard conditions on their native island, only about 570,000 Puerto Ricans have been able to settle in the United States. Compared with the mass movements of other groups, this is hardly a major influx. But the intense concentration of Puerto Ricans in New York City—estimated at 72,000 new arrivals in 1953 and about 50,000 annually thereafter—has highlighted the situation, giving rise to the so-called Puerto Rican problem.

LOOKING BACK

We have had similar problems in the past. Although this Nation was settled by all the stocks of the human species, each new wave of immigrants has faced the hostility of the older, more settled groups.

The Irish, who came in large numbers early in the 19th century, were despised as tools of a "foreign potentate." They were called unassimilable and congenital drunkards. It Massachusetts, Irish inmates of State institutions died without benefit of last rites until the 1860's, when priests were permitted to enter. Help-wanted ads often read, "No Irish need apply."

The German immigrants were derided as "damned lopeared Dutchmen," carousing shamelessly at Sabbath picnics and beergarden parties. An official report concerning the Slovaks said, "Their demand for water

is but very limited, for the use of the outer body as well as the inner." There were the "ignorant Finns," and the "groveling Polanders." A few thousand Icelanders were accused of "crowding out the native-born American" and "demoralizing the community at large." The Russians were charged with "living like pigs in hovels." Throughout the West, the American who married a foreigner "lost caste" and "disgraced his family."

No sooner had we gotten over our fear and hatred of the Irish, Germans, Bohemians, Poles, and Scandinavians, than we turned against the newest entrant—the 19th century Russian Jew. An 1894 issue of Harper's New Monthly magazine described this newcomer "as distinct a type as * * * the Negro or the Chinaman, 'distinguishable' not merely by face and form * * * but in certain peculiarities of dress to which he clings as pertinaciously as does the Apache to his blanket or the Mexican to his sombrero." Certainly, it was thought, such a creature could never assimilate, for he "wears a curious curl that hangs down in front of each ear, sometimes to his chin * * * his coat of black cloth or alpaca is modeled after that in which Dundreary is usually portrayed, reaching down to his ankles, and assisting to give him the long, lean, hungry look of the Shylock type."

Thereafter there was outcry against "the sweepings of Italian cities" who "carry on their feuds and strike down American policemen"; "who waylay and murder their employers." How were such misfits, with "no concept of 'nation'," to mix with the present stock, it was asked.

Political oppression accompanied some of these migrations, for the hymn of hate was sung long before the Battle Hymn of the Republic. The ink had hardly dried on the Bill of Rights when the Alien and Sedition Acts authorized the deportation of dangerous aliens. Before the Civil War, anti-Catholic sentiment culminated in the Know-Nothing Party which claimed 100 congressional seats. A few years later, the American Protective Association inveighed against Slavic, Italian, and other competitive labor from Eastern and southern Europe. The year 1915 spawned the KKK, which preached white supremacy, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and nativism. In 1924, estimates of Klan membership ran as high as 6 million. It elected a Senator in Texas and influenced politics in Arkansas, Connecticut, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia, and Oregon.

Yet despite tensions and political oppression, the immigrants who poured into the big cities outlived the old antagonisms. Their ultimate acceptance represents one of the most dramatic victories over bigotry in human history. Americans learned to work together in the same factories, support the same unions, put their strength behind common causes. They have weathered many crises without veering into the dangerous waters of totalitarianism. No other country in the world can boast similar unity with diversity.

Initial hostility had to be overcome by each new group, and the Puerto Ricans, considering their virtual concentration in a single city, have made remarkable progress. The principal question confronting Puerto Ricans today is whether opportunities throughout the country can be opened up for them as they have been for other incoming groups before them. This question is considerably complicated by certain features of American and Puerto Rican policy and by the current housing situation which is impeding the free movement of the islanders.

FARMERS DISCOURAGED

The Puerto Rican migration is composed of two streams of labor—one rural and seasonal, the other urban. Although about 40 percent of the employed population on the island is engaged in agriculture, only about 12,500 Puerto Rican farm workers were recently under contract in the United States, and only about 3,000 newcomers were in farm work on their own. The bulk of the migration has been from urban areas in Puerto Rico.

The failure of the United States mainland to draw off more of the island's surplus farm population is due to a number of causes. One of the most important is the fact that many agricultural employers prefer Mexican and Jamaican labor, rather than Puerto Rican, since the latter, being citizens, cannot be forced to go back.

"One big advantage in using these alien laborers," explains one employer of large numbers of migratory workers, "is that there is no social or economic problem during the slack seasons. These men return to Mexico during such periods."

The president of the Florida growers' group told the Secretary of Agriculture, "The vast difference between the Bahama Islands labor and the domestic, including Puerto Ricans, is that labor transported from the Bahama Islands can be diverted and sent home if it does not work, which cannot be done in the instance of labor from domestic United States or Puerto Rico."

Puerto Rican citizens, it is felt, might venture into the nearby cities, after completing their contracted work on American farms, seeking jobs there, and presenting a social problem which those cities are unwilling to shoulder.

The Puerto Rican government seems equally anxious not to invite problems. Its bureau of employment and migration is instructed "to regulate the flow of migration so that migrants may go only to the places where their services are needed or (where they will not) * * * dislocate American workers who are already in the areas to which they migrate."

The Puerto Rican government feels that this procedure protects its people against predatory farmers and agents. But this cautious policy, coupled with the restrictive practices of the United States Employment Service and some employers, makes the Puerto Rican farmworker a residual competitor for farm labor—subordinating him not only to other American citizens but also to illegal Mexican labor.

These limitations of opportunity have prevented a much-needed permanent outflow of Puerto Ricans to farm areas throughout the United States mainland and have retarded the assimilation of Puerto Ricans into other communities. Overcrowding on the island is being eased not by a permanent rural migration which could be gradually absorbed into the economy of the mainland, but mostly by an urban migration intensely concentrated toward New York City, where 80 percent of the Puerto Rican arrivals have settled.

Theoretically, of course, the Puerto Rican is free to move where he pleases. But foreign-speaking or insecure immigrants naturally gravitate toward areas where others of their group already live or where they are welcome; and the Puerto Rican government, fearful of southern discrimination and northern resentments, usually sends islanders from its employment offices to cities outside of New York only in response to specific requests from the United States Employment Service or an employer. Thus, the Puerto Rican assumes a residual role in the urban labor market as he has in the rural; the urban stream from the island remains concentrated largely in New York City, and only about 1 in 5 go to other parts of the country. An undetermined number of others are forced back to the island every year.

The major problem, therefore, is not the need for birth control on the island or the presence of too many Puerto Ricans in the United States. The problem is how to make America's opportunities accessible to these citizens on a parity with other citizens—particularly now, when their labor is needed throughout the country.

NEW APPROACH NEEDED

In short, the sea that separates Puerto Ricans from the mainland has not diluted their rights as Americans. They should be treated as part of the American labor force, enjoy equal participation in industrial employment, and at least equality with, if not preference over, alien labor in agriculture. This requires forthright and courageous action by the Federal and Puerto Rican Governments, and by local administrative and voluntary agencies.

The Puerto Rican government should assert the rights of Puerto Ricans as American citizens to compete for whatever jobs are available without subordination to other citizen labor.

The United States Employment Service should encourage the hiring of Puerto Ricans throughout the country.

A national survey of labor opportunities should be undertaken jointly by the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Carefully trained, English-speaking migration leaders should be chosen to guide groups of settlers to new areas of opportunity.

Airlines from Puerto Rico to a greater number of cities outside New York should be opened at reasonable rates to encourage more migration and more widespread urban settlement.

New settlements of Puerto Ricans should include both men and women. At present, when workers are requested, there is no provision for stable community life.

Race relations agencies in the various cities should be alerted to their responsibilities as Puerto Ricans come to take jobs, and help dissipate prejudice against newcomers. Effective educational guidance programs should be launched for prospective arrivals. A strong Puerto Rican leadership that can stand on its own feet should be developed to assert the Puerto Rican's rights, as the Negro has been asserting his.

ABOVE ALL, OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

All of these measures can do little, however, unless the Federal Government recognizes that housing of minorities and migrants is the most pressing phase of the Nation's housing problem. A comprehensive program must be launched, with careful provision for schooling, child care, and community integration. This should be supplemented by State housing programs and by better local enforcement of housing laws.

An independent, unbiased study of problems affecting minorities, conducted by a committee of citizens appointed by the President, would also help. Such a study would highlight, among other facts, the sharp differences between the situation today and immigration into the big cities during the 19th century when the frontier was open, land was available to those who could make no adjustment in the cities, and building material was cheap or virtually free. In New York City, open land was plentiful on which to build. New tenements, even though substandard, nevertheless provided housing at rents the immigrants could afford. Even in the period between 1900 and the 1920's, when housing conditions for immigrants were bad, they were hardly comparable to those encountered by the Puerto Rican newcomers today.

Not only is the islander forced into many of the slums built 60 years ago; he is paying up to $60 monthly per room in these hovels where thousands of babies are bitten by rats. The proposal to limit maximum occupancy of dwellings, in the absence of a program to provide alternative housing would only mean more evictions and would speed remigration to the island instead of accelerating assimilation here. The city's slum-clearance program is forcing thousands from

homes, while evictions in the name of urban redevelopment also intensify the overcrowding.

New York's billion-dollar housing program—city, State, and Federal—though larger than those of any other city in the world is designed mainly to replace substandard dwellings and has added little to the overall supply of homes.

Years ago the migrant could come to the city, establish himself, rise in the social and economic scale, and then move—to a better home in town, to a suburb, or to another city. In the 25 years before the end of World War II, no less than 75 percent of the new home developments were built in sections peripheral to urban areas. Suburbs increased their population by 35.5 percent. Within 10 years, well over 9 million additional residents moved into fringe communities and nearly half the recent national population rise has taken place in the outskirts of cities.

It is in these suburbs that racial restrictive covenants and racial zoning ordinances have thrived. Under the present Federal Housing Administration policy, entire cities composed of single-class or single-religion enclaves are being built near the larger centers. Some of these new communities use political, police, and administrative pressures to keep undesirables out. The all-white suburb has made it difficult for citizens of dark complexion or minority religious or ethnic grouping to escape from the pressures of cities and to improve their living conditions. This intensifies overcrowding within the cities and impedes the freedom of movement which is essential to integration.

These restrictions have brought about Negro ghettoes, Jewish ghettoes, and other confining areas at all economic levels, with little or no social mixture between the groups. There are some cities in the United States, such as Dearborn, Mich., where the mayor has openly boasted that his greatest achievement was keeping Negroes out.

If the neighborhoods of the United States are to be divided into areas for the elite and the unwanted, the fundamental pattern of American democracy is in danger. In this sense, the Puerto Rican problem is not the Puerto Rican's alone, but the problem of all minorities.

We must challenge and break the blockade in order to preserve the values fundamental to the American way—the right to live where one pleases and to seek opportunity wherever it may be.

Health-Insurance Policyholders Complain of Treatment Received in Cancellation of Policies

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the hearings that have been held by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce with reference to unfair practices in connection with health-insurance policies have revealed conditions that demand a legislative remedy. Thousands of letters have been received by the committee and each day brings additional ones.

A tremendously important service has been rendered by the many newspapers throughout the country in which have appeared an exposé of these conditions that adversely affect many holders of health policies and call upon their readers to write the committee.

Labor, a newspaper published at Washington, D. C., in its issue of March 27, 1954, devotes first-page space to an article by Michael Marsh that details the interest of that paper in correcting the conditions complained of and makes reference to the work of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in this respect. The article reads as follows:

HEALTH INSURANCE POLICYHOLDERS BARE FLAGRANT GYPPING—HOUSE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LAUDS EXPOSÉ BY LABOR—WOLVERTON ALSO THANKS READERS FOR SENDING IN FACTS ON EXPERIENCES

(By Michael Marsh)

How good is your health insurance? Will you wake up one morning to find that you have been "gypped" by tricky clauses, stalling on claims, lying salesmen, or a company that can't be sued in your State?

If you own an individual or family health policy, those are real possibilities, judging by the response to a recent item in which Labor invited readers to tell their experiences with private health-insurance policies.

Almost a hundred readers have now written in the details of their own disillusioning experiences. Most of these have been turned over to Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey, chairman of the House Interstate Commerce Committee, which is studying the health insurance companies.

WOLVERTON VOICES THANKS

On behalf of the committee, WOLVERTON conveyed his thanks to each Labor reader who took the trouble to write. The letters—many of them enclosing canceled policies—should be of real help, he indicated.

"I want to congratulate Labor and its readers on their fine efforts to help the committee get information in this important field of insurance," WOLVERTON said.

Any cases which seem to show false and misleading advertising claims by the companies will probably be forwarded by the committee to the Federal Trade Commission, for detailed investigation and possible legal action.

Taken together, the letters show an appalling picture of how some health-insurance companies—particularly those operating in States with weak regulatory laws—fail to provide the protection which buyers of their policies have been led to expect.

CANCELLATION DODGE

The most common dodge reported is to cancel the policy immediately after the first claim for benefits is submitted. The claim itself, often a small one, is paid. But then—just when the policyholder is apt to need health protection most—the company drops his policy, or tries to sell him a new one with limited coverage or with much higher premiums.

Such cancellations are fully legal owing to a clause in nearly all policies saying they may be canceled at the company's option. However, that doesn't make it any more agreeable to the policyholders, who are left without coverage when they need it most.

W. M. Huntsinger, of Grand Rapids, Mich., for example, wrote: "My hospital claim was partially paid by the insurance company, which immediately canceled my policy after I had paid premiums for 10 years."

George C. Leifer, of Bucyrus, Ohio, also held a policy for 10 years, paying in $498.15 and collecting only $30.95. Then the policy was abruptly canceled.

P. J. Densch, of Aurora, Ill., told how he "paid a total premium over an 11-year period of $649 and received $92.98 in benefits and then was told that I wasn't wanted any longer. Now I am too old to get other insurance. How and why is a company allowed to operate in this manner?"

Mrs. Wayne Campbell, of Enid, Okla., wrote: "When they paid my hospital expense they canceled the policy and would not give a reason, only saying they never gave out any reasons."

Ray C. Jefferson, of Battle Creek, Mich., reported the insurance agent told him the cancellation clause was just a formality when he signed up for a renewal policy in 1950. But that didn't stop the company from canceling the policy in 1953, even though Jefferson had paid premiums since 1919.

ONE CLAIM, THEN CANCELED

S. A. Davenport, of Grantsville, Utah, told how his policy—carried since 1932—was canceled February 15, 1954, after payment of "the one and only claim I ever made."

Cancellation of policies, however, is far from the worst thing that can happen to the helpless buyer of health insurance. Some companies, for example, stall and refuse to pay claims.

C. R. Moran, of Riverside, Calif., wrote of one case where the policyholder had to have an operation. The company claimed the patient was not insured with them, though the patient had a policy in his possession and also official receipts for all premiums paid up to date.

Mrs. Iva J. Crimmins, of Ramsey, Ill., waited until she got better before she filled out the claim forms regarding her illness last September. The company promptly rejected her claim because proofs were not submitted in the time required. That is, the proofs were submitted about a month late.

RUTHLESS ATTITUDE

Mrs. Oretha Allen of Phoenix, Ariz., had a fall which required kidney surgery. The health insurance company refused to pay, claiming she must have had a kidney condition before taking out the policy. "My surgeons," wrote Mrs. Allen, "were very irritated, stating that I couldn't have lived if the condition had existed prior to obtaining the policy." But still the company would not pay, and canceled the policy. Other policyholders recounted similar experiences.

T. P. Powers, of Stockton, Calif., told how he had sent in a claim after being hospitalized for leg infection. The company didn't even reply, except later to cancel his policy, though he had paid in for 5 or 6 years.

Alton C. Videan, of Burt, Mich., was laid up for 6 months, 4 years after taking out a health insurance policy. "The insurance company sent their representative to see me. He claimed the company had the right to cancel the policy any time they saw fit and refund the money paid in. I received a refund of about $230, instead of receiving * * * $600," as the policy provided. Frank C. Ryan, of Long Beach, Calif., had a similar experience.

TAKE MONEY, BUT WON'T PAY

Herbert Elliott, of Vincennes, Ind., developed heart trouble. But "when I sent in my claim the insurance company first denied I had a sickness rider attached to the policy. But after I turned it over to a lawyer, the company paid the first claim" and then cancelled the sickness part of the policy. "It is all right to take money, but when it comes to paying out, that is another matter," Elliott concluded.

George C. Chatterton, of Clinton, Iowa, said his insurance company collected premiums right along on him and his wife. But when his wife put in a claim, the company said she was overage, and refused to pay her.

Mrs. Kenneth H. Bateman, of Centralia, Ill., ran into another type of disappointment. Her policy listed a long variety of operations

for which sizable surgeon's fees would be reimbursed. Down at the bottom was a little item saying that any operation not otherwise specified would be reimbursed at $5. When she had an expensive operation, the company paid her $5.

FOOLED BY AGENTS

False claims by agents also lead policy holders astray. Mrs. Martha Pyrtle of Granite City, Ill., for example recounted how the agent told her husband and herself that the expensive policy he was selling would pay for ordinary doctor's bills as well as hospital and surgical expenses.

But when Mrs. Pyrtle had to go to the doctor and filed a claim for his bill, the company wrote back that the policy didn't cover those bills. Mrs. Mary Hammond of Shreveport, La., and Mrs. Jacqueline Rancourt of Gresham, Oreg., reported like experiences. Some agents also reportedly refuse to let the buyers read the policy beforehand.

VITAL REFORMS NEEDED

Still another difficulty arises with companies that do all their business by mail, and which therefore need not be registered in your State. If you try to force such a company to pay a claim, you cannot sue it in your State's courts. Three readers reported coming up against that legal roadblock.

Altogether, health insurance buyers can profit by the example of these readers. They should use great care about any policy they purchase. They should be sure to read it carefully beforehand.

But the safest way to insure one's health, according to authorities, is with a group policy or insurance fund—such as many industries now have in their union contracts.

As things now stand, few individual policy holders can feel safe in their health insurance unless drastic legislative reforms are made. Will Congress act to require these reforms?

Does the Addition of the Phrase "Under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag Endanger the First Amendment?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and to include extraneous matter, I am pleased to place in the RECORD some clippings from the Jewish News, a weekly review of Jewish events, ably published and edited by Philip Slomovitz in Detroit, Mich.

In the March 5, 1954, issue of the Jewish News there appeared an article by Mr. Slomovitz dealing with a bill I have introduced to amend the pledge of allegiance to the flag to include the phrase "under God." Mr. Slomovitz's article pointed out what are apparently believed by some to be conflicts between the measure I have introduced and traditional American principles of church-state relationships as embodied in the letter and spirit of the first amendment to the Constitution. His article dealt at length with a study entitled "The Influence of Sectarianism, Nonsectarianism, and Secularism Upon the Public Schools of Detroit and the University of Michigan, 1837–1900," prepared as a doctoral dissertation by Dr. Norman Drachler, of Detroit, in 1951.

Because of the highly important nature of this problem, I took some pains in formulating a reply to the article, and the pertinent portions of my reply have been published in full by Mr. Slomovitz in a subsequent issue. He is to be complimented for his devotion to the principle of free discussion and I wish to thank him for his sincere consideration of my point of view.

Mr. Slomovitz's article and the published portion of my reply follow:

PURELY COMMENTARY: PROPOSAL TO ADD "UNDER GOD" PHRASE TO PLEDGE TO THE FLAG RAISES QUESTION OF CONFLICT WITH FIRST AMENDMENT—ISSUE TRACED TO EARLY DAYS OF MICHIGAN HISTORY

(By Philip Slomovitz)

Three Michigan Members of Congress, Senator HOMER FERGUSON and Representatives CHARLES G. OAKMAN and LOUIS C. RABAUT, are sponsoring identical resolutions to amend the pledge of allegiance to our flag to include the words "under God."

The proposed legislation would modify the pledge to read as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible under God, with liberty and justice for all.

Senator FERGUSON has expressed the view that such legislation would give meaning and action to the spiritual defense of our Nation. Pointing out that the words "In God we trust" are inscribed over the door of the Senate Chamber in Washington, Michigan's senior Senator stated that "those words must have a real meaning in the heart of every American," and added:

"Our Nation was founded on a fundamental belief in God and the first and most important reason for the existence of our Government is to protect the God-given rights of our citizens. Communism, on the contrary, rejects the very existence of God.

"Spiritual values are every bit as important to the defense and safety of our Nation as military and economic values. America must be defended by spiritual values which exist in the hearts and souls of the American people."

Congressman RABAUT, who first introduced his bill to add the words "under God" on April 20, 1953, recalled that Abraham Lincoln used the words under God in his Gettysburg address. He told the United States House of Representatives:

"You may argue from dawn to dusk about different political, economic, and social systems, but the fundamental issue which is the unbridgeable gap between America and Communist Russia is belief in Almighty God.

"From the root of atheism stems the evil weed of communism and its branches of materialism and political dictatorship. Unless we are willing to affirm our belief in the existence of God and his creator-creature relation to man, we drop man himself to the significance of a grain of sand and open the flood gates to tyranny and oppression.

"This country was founded on theistic beliefs, on belief in the worthwhileness of the individual human being which in turn depends solely and completely on the identity of man as the creature and son of God. The fraudulent claims of the Communists to the role of champions of social, economic, and political reform is given the lie by their very own atheist materialist concept of life and their denunciation of religion, the bond between God and man, as the opium of the people.

"It is, therefore, most proper that in our salute to the flag, the patriotic standard around which we rally as Americans, we state the real meaning of that flag. From their earliest childhood our children must know the real meaning of America. Children and Americans of all ages must know that this is one nation which under God means liberty and justic for all."

Congressman OAKMAN, in a message to his constituents, asserts, "We profess our faith in a Supreme Being on our coins marked 'In God we trust.' It seems more appropriate to me to recognize the Deity in our spiritual dedication to the flag, the symbol of our God-given freedom. Our belief in God highlights one of the fundamental differences between us and the Communists."

THE TRADITION ON COINS

There is an interesting tradition backing up these beliefs. On May 18, 1908, Congress approved this statute:

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the motto 'In God we trust,' heretofore inscribed on certain denominations of the gold and silver coins of the United States of America, shall hereafter be inscribed upon all such gold and silver coins of said denominations as heretofore."

Nevertheless, there may be valid arguments against the proposed measures on the ground that it may conflict with the first amendment which provides the guaranty that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

MR. JUSTICE JACKSON'S VIEW

A strong opinion exists that it is contrary to our constitutional guaranties for Congress to legislate on religious questions.

In his famous opinion on the question of release time for Bible studies in our schools, in the McCollum case, United States Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson expressed this view:

"The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion—except for the sect that can win political power. The same epithetical jurisprudence used by the Court today to beat down those who oppose pressuring children into some religion can devise as good epithets tomorrow against those who object to pressuring them into a favored religion."

THE MICHIGAN TRADITION: DR. NORMAN DRACHLER'S STUDY

In view of the fact that all the sponsors of the bills to effect changes in the pledge to the flag are from Michigan, our legislators undoubtedly will be interested in the background of our own State's traditional policies favoring separation of church and state and the original aim of the framers of our State constitution to eliminate from it all references to the Deity.

A comprehensive study, entitled "The Influence of Sectarianism, Nonsectarianism, and Secularism Upon the Public Schools of Detroit and the University of Michigan, 1837–1900," formed the dissertation for his degree of doctor of philosophy, earned from the U. of M. by Dr. Norman Drachler, of Detroit, in 1951. This study outlines in detail the various debates on the question of secularism in the schools and enlightens us on the battles that marked the framing of Michigan's constitution. Religious liberty guaranties were incorporated in the State document in 1835.

Dr. Drachler relates that a delegate to the State constitutional convention proposed an invitation to clergymen, "alternately one from each denomination," to open convention sessions. But an opponent of the proposal insisted that the mere presence of clergymen would exert sectarian influence upon the delegates. The resolution calling for prayers at the convention was defeated. But of far greater importance was the proposal to include in the constitution recognition of a Supreme Being and a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments. The resolution was rejected. Dr. Drachler, in his thorough review and study, quotes the following striking "denunciation

of the move to give the State a theistic nature by a delegate, Willard":

"Sir, I protest against the adoption of such an article into our constitution. I protest against it because it is anti-Republican, anti-Democratic, anti-Liberal, anti-do-as-you-would-be-done-by, anti-the-will-of-the-people. I do verily believe that nine-tenths of the people of Michigan do not wish to proscribe a fellow being on account of his religious or irreligious belief; and I do know that a very large majority of my constituents do not wish it. * * *

"I go the whole hog for having every free white male citizen of the age of 21 years, who shall have resided in the State a certain stipulated length of time, a voter, and every voter eligible to any office the people may think proper to bestow upon him, whether he believe in 1 God, 20 Gods, or no God. * * *

"Suppose a man's head is so thick and brainless (if you choose to call it so) that no evidence can be beaten into it which is sufficiently strong to convince him of the existence of an uncaused first cause—of an unorganized, yet intelligent, immaterial Being, who existed from all eternity, in nothing, on nothing, and who did nothing until about 6,000 years ago, at which time He created not only this vast globe and all that it inhabits, but also myriads of worlds and living creatures. Suppose, I say, a man's head is so thick and brainless that he cannot comprehend nor believe in such an existence, and has the moral courage and honesty to acknowledge it when interrogated, shall he be debarred from testifying in courts of justice, and from holding an office of profit and trust, which his equally thickheaded and skeptical neighbors may wish to bestow upon him? Forbid it justice. Forbid it ye free-born sons of Michigan. Palsied be the tongue of him who shall advocate such doctrine, and perish the hand that shall put a vote in the ballot box in favor of him who shall do so. Mistake me not. I would equally imprecate him who should attempt to deprive the most credulous fanatic that ever disgraced human nature, of the least of his inalienable rights and privileges. No, sir, let us have no proscriptive laws, either in favor or against religion, unless we mean to make liars and hypocrites of our posterity. Let religion stand or fall without the proscriptive intolerance of law. If it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; but if it be of man, it will surely come to naught. * * * In the name of mental liberty—in the name of unborn millions of our posterity—in the name of all that is near and dear to us, the liberty of conscience, I protest against the resolution."

At the convention of 1850, we learn from Dr. Drachler, ministers of religion were invited to open daily sessions with prayers, but the delegates personally paid for these services.

At the convention of 1867, an attempt was made to have the Convention Preamble embody recognition of the Almighty and acknowledge "the Lord Jesus Christ, who is author of Christianity and has revealed God to man." The objection was raised that this was sectarian. Delegate Nind called it a concept contrary to other faiths and that "this would not be the case with the Hebrews, the Unitarians, not saying anything about the atheists whom some gentlemen may consider as outlaws."

While the terms Almighty God and Sovereign Ruler were accepted, the words "Christian government" and "Lord Jesus Christ" were omitted from the state document.

Commenting on the changing attitudes between conventions and at subsequent sessions, Dr. Drachler makes this interesting point:

"A glance back at the conventions of 1835 and 1850 reveals that separation of church and state was more clearcut in those days."

But this is true of the country at large. The Founding Fathers of this Republic, especially Jefferson and Madison, were deeply concerned that there should be no legislation respecting the establishment of religion. But there have been changes in our own time. The study of the Bible is being introduced in many States, with a similar move on foot in Michigan. There are new mores and new trends—all in a direction that may be interpreted as leading away from the first amendment.

It will be interesting to watch developments in Washington. Are there traditionalists who will share the view of the framers of Michigan's first constitution and the opinions of Jefferson and Madison who will object to the proposals of Michigan's senior Senator and his two associates in the House of Representatives? Their bills raise a most interesting issue.

CONGRESSMAN RABAUT DEFENDS IDEA OF "UNDER GOD" PHRASE IN FLAG'S PLEDGE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—In a lengthy letter in which he expresses his views on the Jewish News commentator's recent article dealing with Dr. Norman Drachler's study of the Influence of Sectarianism on Public Schools, and the commentator's review of the subject, Representative LOUIS RABAUT, of Michigan's 14th Congressional District, makes the following observations:)

My first reaction to such claim is to think of one of the most glorious documents in American history, the Declaration of Independence. In four distinct places in that document there are references to the Supreme Being: "Nature's God," the "Creator of Men," the "Supreme Judge of the World," and "Divine Providence." We fought a war to make the independence thus declared a fact and it was a constitutional convention born of that struggle which wrote the Constitution.

Your article poses the question whether traditionalists who share certain views of Madison and Jefferson and the views of some of the delegates to Michigan's early constitutional conventions will object to the "under God" addition to the pledge.

It seems apparent that Dr. Drachler's conclusions as to the attitude of the framers of Michigan's early constitutions, which may well not have been the attitude of the people of these days, is not shared by the people of Michigan today. The present constitution of our State reads: "We, the people of the State of Michigan, grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of freedom * * * etc." I think it hardly could be said that this religious connotation, which appears in the constitutions of other States as well, has endangered the security of the first amendment, in Michigan or elsewhere.

Further, two prominent commentators on the Constitution of the United States shed valuable light on whether the writers of that great document shared the views of the Michigan framers, as reported by Dr. Drachler.

Story, in Commentaries on the Constitution (1883), section 1874, discussing the "no establishment" clause of the first amendment, says, "Any attempt to level all religions and to make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation."

Likewise, Cooley, in Principles of Constitutional Law, 224–225, 3d edition (1898), said of the same clause, "It was never intended by the Constitution that the Government should be prohibited from recognizing religion where it might be done without drawing any invidious distinctions between different religious beliefs, organizations, or sects."

Your article sets out some of the language of Mr. Justice Jackson in the so-called *McCollum Case* (333 U. S. 203 (1948)), in which the Supreme Court applied the principles of the case of *Everson* v. *Board of Education* (330 U. S. 1) to a "released time" program of religious instruction in Illinois public schools.

In a dissenting opinion in that case, Mr. Justice Reed took exception to the extended meaning of the "no establishment" clause as pronounced in the Everson case, and applied in the McCollum case. He pointed out, at pages 253–254, that "the Congress of the United States has a Chaplain for each House who daily invokes divine blessing and guidance for the proceedings. The Armed Forces have commissioned chaplains from early days. They conduct public services in accordance with the liturgical requirements of their respective faiths, ashore and afloat, employing for the purpose property belonging to the United States and dedicated to the services of religion. Under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 eligible veterans may receive training at Government expense for the ministry in denominational schools. The schools in the District of Columbia have opening exercises which include a reading from the Bible without note or comment, and the Lord's Prayer."

The facts set out in Justice Reed's dissent would indicate that, even at the moment the majority of the Court were accepting and applying such broad implications of the "no establishment" clause, actual conditions belied their secularistic import.

A more recent Supreme Court case, *Zorach* v. *Clauson* (343 U. S. 306 (1952)), would seem to more accurately reflect the true meaning of the first amendment and the intention of its writers. Speaking for the majority of the Court, Mr. Justice Douglas said: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being. We guarantee the freedom to worship as one chooses. We make room for as wide a variety of beliefs and creeds as the spiritual needs of man deem necessary. We sponsor an attitude on the part of Government that shows no partiality to any one group and that lets each flourish according to the zeal of its adherents and the appeal of its dogma. When the State encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accomodates the public service to their spiritual needs. To hold that it may not would be to find in the Constitution a requirement that the Government show a callous indifference to religious groups. That would be preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe. Government may not finance religious groups nor undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian education nor use secular institutions to force one or some religion on any person. But we find no constitutional requirement which makes it necessary for Government to be hostile to religion and to throw its weight against efforts to widen the effective scope of religious influence."

This language is, I think, explicit with regard to the relation of the proposed addition to the pledge of allegiance to the first amendment. To deem this addition barred by the first amendment would be to find the Federal Government "hostile to religion" and throwing "its weight against efforts to widen the effective scope of religious influence."

"We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," as Justice Douglas has said, and the only effect of the proposed addition is to give expression to that fact in the words we use to salute the symbol of our Republic. There are no questions of church-state relations involved in this proposal and only a strained secularistic interpretation of the first amendment can raise any question as to its constitutional propriety.

Modified Ultimatum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an excellent editorial appearing in the Boston Post of Thursday, April 1, 1954:

MODIFIED ULTIMATUM

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, has left no doubt about American policy and its application to the conference at Geneva. The ambiguity is what he means by united action and the serious risks attendant upon such action.

There is implicit in this matter of ambiguous statement the question of whether Secretary Dulles means that if the Chinese Reds behave themselves, comply with this new policy statement, they will then be given diplomatic recognition and admission to U. N. If he does mean that, then the policy he has enunciated loses its force and effect.

It is useful to reduce what Dulles said in his major policy speech to its essentials. He held out to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia the hope for not only independence within the French Union but complete independence, declaring that United States as a former colony observes the independence move with close attention and sympathy. This is direct answer to the spirit of phony nationalism whipped up by Communist propagandists in southeast Asia.

In his documentation of American foreign policy he made an accusation that Communist military assistance to Ho Chi Minh, the Indochinese Communist leader, is of exactly the same nature as Communist assistance to the North Koreans. The Indochinese provide the cannonfodder and the Soviet Union provides the cannon.

For the first time, no words were minced about American concern about Indochina as a crossroads of sea and air routes of strategic importance to prevent Communist domination of all the western Pacific from New Zealand to the northernmost Japanese possessions.

President Eisenhower's observation that a Korean armistice would be a fraud if it released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere became a footnote to Dulles' charge that the Communists have evaded the direct use of forces but have stepped up support of aggression. Imposition upon Southeast Asia of the Communist political system by any means is a grave threat to the whole community of free nations and should be met by united action, said Dulles.

"But these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

The foregoing references to united action and serious risks are the only areas in which Secretary Dulles could possibly be ambiguous. What does he mean by united action and what does he mean by serious risks?

If this is resolute and grimly determined talk, then American policy has shaken off its lethargic acceptance of drifting on a tide which was running strongly in favor of the Soviet Union.

The reasons for this statement of policy were given in full detail by Secretary Dulles, as well as the reasons why United States does not recognize the Chinese Red regime and does not consent to its acceptance within United Nations.

Here are the reasons given by Secretary Dulles:

The Chinese Red regime has been viciously hostile to the United States.

Recognition would give increasing prestige and influence to a regime that actively attacks our vital interests.

United Nations has voted that the Chinese Red regime is guilty of aggression and the U. N. Charter limits membership to peace-loving states.

Chinese Communists' warlike intentions are being demonstrated in Indochina.

World order would not be served by bringing into United Nations a convicted aggressor which continues to use force.

American policy is opposed to any encouragement of the liquidation of Nationalist Chinese on Formosa.

The Soviet Union has never kept an agreement or promise, beginning with the Litvinov agreement in 1933 down through Yalta and Potsdam and the Korean armistice which, Dulles charges, has been violated 40 times.

On the basis of these facts, Dulles declares, it is now the policy of the United States not to exchange United States performance of its obligations for Communist promises.

Finally, Dulles said, we shall not be disposed to give Communist China what it wants from us merely to buy promises of future good behavior, because the Communists continue to burrow and tunnel to advance their positions against the citadels of freedom.

Dulles has closed the door to compromise by this statement of American policy. The Soviet Union and the Red Chinese will have to make a reversal of their aggressive policy an accomplished fact before the United States grants anything. This is as close to an ultimatum as American diplomatic expression can come at this time and under these circumstances. It is a guarded statement, but has the tone of a modified ultimatum.

Father Daniel A. Lord, S. J., on Cancer: "Just Ignore It"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am anxious to include in the RECORD an inspiring article which appeared in the Detroit News of March 30, 1954.

Under the flyer "Death Hath No Sting," the article tells the deeply moving and heartwarming story of a man who has been told that he is a victim of incurable lung cancer. To most of us men of little faith this would be shockingly disconcerting news. But to one who believes, as does Father Lord, that death is not the end of life but the beginning, it is the signal to better organize one's life and fill one's remaining days with even greater accomplishment.

For a man of Father Lord's already superlative attainments, this is an exalted goal. His priestly life has been largely devoted to writing a torrent of religious pamphlets, conducting retreats and other religious exercises and, the production and staging of shows and musical pageants. His magnificent talents with the written and spoken word have truly been devoted "to the greater glory of God."

With these talents, through a busy and eventful life, Father Lord has given inspiration to his fellow men. With a courage born of burning faith, he has calmly accepted the will of his Maker and, dedicating his remaining days to even greater accomplishments for the honor and glory of God, his very life becomes our inspiration.

The article from the Detroit News follows:

DEATH HATH NO STING—FATHER LORD HAS ANSWER TO CANCER: "IGNORE IT"

(By William W. Lutz)

It is not difficult to talk of dying when you believe that death is not the end of life but the beginning.

With such a faith a man is not shocked by the word, "cancer," nor does he tremble inwardly at the idea his days are numbered.

The faith that made him a priest let Father Daniel A. Lord accept the news as "only mildly interesting." A busy man, he had only one question, "How long have I?"

HE'S NOT AFRAID

At the University of Detroit, where today he is editing a film of his musical pageant, Light Up the Land, Father Lord spoke freely about a subject which he says America has erroneously turned into a bogey.

He has not found cancer a frightening experience. He is mildly amused by the idea that it has provided a warning as to the time he has left; given him the chance to better organize his life and fill his remaining days with greater accomplishment.

For others who one day might hear the words, "You have an incurable cancer," Father Lord has a word of advice, "Just ignore it."

NEVER SMOKED

Numerous inquirers have asked him whether he has been a heavy smoker, he said. Actually, though he was the son of a Chicago tobacco merchant, he has never smoked.

"I suppose this quirk might be explained by the old saw about the shoemaker's son who always went barefoot," he said.

Feeling no physical discomfort other than an occasional shortness of breath, Father Lord has been able to resume the full schedule that was interrupted last month when cancer was found, after he has gone to a St. Louis hospital for a physical checkup.

PRODUCTION FILMED

Although he has produced shows and musical pageants since 1920, the University of Detroit production, Light Up the Land, produced in 1952, was the first to be filmed.

He wrote the words and music for this show and City of Freedom, which attracted 150,000 spectators at the University of Detroit Stadium during Detroit's 250th birthday celebration.

His present task is to fill in narration for Light Up the Land, a spectacle that tells the stody of education.

TO VISIT TORONTO

From Detroit he will travel to Toronto where a pageant marking the Marian Year will be presented in October. He also will give a Lenten retreat at Notre Dame University and preside at Tre Ore services in Boston.

"This is the most pleasant ailment that I could have," he said. "It has not interfered with my work.

"Doctors tell me their worst fear about cancer is the psychological collapse of many of its victims. As soon as they are given the word, no matter how fit they may feel at the moment, they take to their beds."

KEEP WORKING

"My advice is to keep working as long as it is possible. That death is reported inevitable should not bring the world to a stand-

still. Consider the advantage in knowing when you are departing."

His faith in the future lets Father Lord speak lightly of his ailment.

"You've read obituaries about people who died after a long illness," he said. "I'm in that category."

Then, budgeting his time to meet the new urgency, he ordered sandwiches and coffee brought into the University of Detroit film-cutting room.

"The doctors say they won't start worrying until I begin losing weight," he said.

Uphill Fight for Reciprocal Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me so to do, I present to your attention and that of my distinguished colleagues an article about reciprocal trade appearing in the Evening Star newspaper, Washington, D. C., on March 31, 1954, entitled "Uphill Fight for Reciprocal Trade."

In this connection, I make the observation that since the President of the United States has, in his official message on this subject, given to us his recommendation in connection therewith, it appears to me as very essential that we, as legislators, learn to know the substance of every pertinent material and worthwhile recommendation on this subject.

I, therefore, present said article:

UPHILL FIGHT FOR RECIPROCAL TRADE—EISENHOWER FACES POWERFUL PROTECTIONIST FORCES IN GOP, BUT DEMOCRATS ARE ON HIS SIDE

(By Doris Fleeson)

President Eisenhower has sent a fine, sweetly reasoned message calling on Congress to liberalize our international trade relations. The message follows the line of the Randall Commission report and sets forth, as it did, the case for peace through trade.

Some time later the President will settle for an extension of the present Reciprocal Trade Act for 1 or 2 years—if he is lucky.

He may be unlucky since trade circles report that Representative RICHARD SIMPSON, a leading protectionist, will soon introduce a clean new tariff bill scratching the back of practically every industry in the country. If he pushes it—and he probably will—the President may have to sacrifice reciprocal trade extension in order to kill it.

This is the prospect emerging from a series of conferences here about the trade program.

The President saw both sides—literally and figuratively. He received a committee, including powerful Republican supporters of his candidacy, which argued the Randall Commission's case. He passed on those arguments to a conference of Republican congressional leaders and they made it perfectly clear to him that powerful forces in Congress, including some of them, were arrayed against such a program.

It was then up to the President. Personally, he had made his choice. He is a convert to liberal trade and he said so. Politically, however, it was clear that if he wished to put over his trade program, he would have to give it a very high order of legislative priority, then work hard to keep it there and pass it.

Such a struggle would entail using every weapon at the President's command, both the carrot of patronage plus the dinner napkin and the stick of White House disapproval and denial of favors. Since the opposition to more liberal trade centers in the Republican Party, Eisenhower's most punishing blows would necessarily fall on Republicans.

If Eisenhower has it in him to make such a fight, it has not yet been evident. On the contrary, he seems to have the idea that there is something improper about his using his power to give and to withhold benefits so as to strengthen his GOP supporters and weaken the party faction which usually votes against him. Thus Senator MCCARTHY does better in the way of patronage than Senator DUFF, though the President privately berates the former and praises the latter.

The President did not demand priority for trade legislation. He has instead entrusted it to his deputy assistant, Major General Persons, who has made a career of getting along with Congress. General Persons has assigned it to his aide, Gerald Morgan, who owes his White House place to a successful tour as legislative counsel to the House.

Neither the general nor Morgan have any special views on trade except they are of course loyal to the President. The zeal they lack is possessed in good measure by Clarence Randall, the steel magnate who headed the President's commission, but Mr. Randall is a political novice.

Senator MILLIKIN, a member of the commission and a skillful operator, decoyed Randall up the garden path while the report was in the making, repeatedly inducing him to make compromises and in the end reverting to the normal MILLIKIN protectionist philosophy. The President's message will make good ammunition but nobody with a good aim will be around to fire it.

Reciprocal trade is a Democratic issue, the brain child of Cordell Hull. Democrats on the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees may be expected to vote for the President. That their support is apparently not wanted for a real battle is evidenced by the fact that the President has not conferred on the subject with any one of them or their leaders.

Dr. E. G. Claiborn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, on this day, Dr. E. G. Claiborn, of Camdenton, Mo., has completed 58 years as a practicing physician. I take this opportunity on the floor of the House of the United States Congress to pay tribute to Dr. Claiborn and his noble work as a physician. We can acquire inspiration from meditation upon his life and achievements of great service to the people he has so well served in south-central Missouri.

Dr. Claiborn was born in Pulaski County, near Crocker, the son of Mr. and Mrs. D. A. Claiborn. In addition to attending the rural schools of the community, he attended the institute at Old Linn Creek and, after teaching school 1 year, the Union School in Camden County, he entered the Missouri Medical College at St. Louis, Mo., which is now known as the Washington University. He graduated from this school March 24, 1896, and only a few days later he opened his first office.

He opened his office at Decaturville, April 1, 1896. Since that time has continued his practice in Camden County. For the first 37 years his office was at Decaturville, but in 1933 he moved his office and home to Camdenton, where he still answers all calls, both day and night.

The medical profession has been, and is, honored by Dr. Claiborn's outstanding and faithful service, and the thousands of people he has administered to are grateful to him. His record of service in life and his host of friends will forever bear witness as a monument to this great man far more permanent than marble.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

H. Theodore Sorg, President of the New Jersey Blue Cross Plan, Testifies on H. R. 8356, a Bill To Provide Limited Federal Reinsurance of Voluntary Prepayment Health Plans, and H. R. 7700, a Bill To Provide Mortgage Loan Insurance for Hospitals and Medical Facilities Used in Connection With Such Voluntary Prepayment Health Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, continuing its hearings on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services, today heard testimony from Mr. H. Theodore Sorg, president of the New Jersey Blue Cross Plan. Mr. Sorg incorporated the New Jersey plan 22 years ago. At that time, it was among the very first of such organizations. He is also counsel for the Blue Shield Commission of New Jersey.

Mr. Sorg also took this opportunity to comment on H. R. 7700, a bill pending before this committee which would amend the Public Health Service Act to provide mortgage loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with voluntary prepayment health plans.

Mr. Sorg's statement on these two bills follows:

H. R. 8356 is a bill to provide limited Federal reinsurance of voluntary prepayment health plans.

H. R. 7700 is a bill to provide mortgage-loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with such voluntary prepayment health plans.

The first purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate that these two bills, neither alone nor in conjunction with each other, will achieve the overall objective of the national health program as stated by the President in his special health message to Congress on January 19, 1954, namely, that the means for achieving good health should be accessible to all, regardless of a person's location, occupation, age, race, creed, or financial status.

The second purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate how these two bills as part of and in conjunction with a wider program, can be made to completely achieve the President's purpose, within the limits of the appropriations contemplated in these bills, and without additional burden on the presently already overloaded Federal budget.

H. R. 8356, by its very terms, purports to apply only as a reinsurance program for voluntary health organizations that enroll persons on a prepaid premium basis. Therefore it does not, and cannot include or apply to about 40 percent of the national population not presently covered by any such insurance, most of whom probably could not afford to pay the premium rate. Consequently H. R. 8356 does not even touch the problem of those who, by reason of occupation, age, or financial status are presently uninsurable risks.

It would seem to be a case of putting the cart before the horse if we approach the President's national health program by attempting to reinsure those who now already can afford prepayment for health services and completely ignore those who either cannot pay or who, because of circumstances beyond their control, would have to be charged a prohibitive insurance rate.

Moreover, it is incredible that the first approach to achieving the President's health program should be in the direction of reinsurance, for which there not only has been no real demand, but for which actually there is no evidence of immediate need.

Some 90 million persons of our population already carry prepayment health insurance protection. Some 60 milion carry none. If, for the time being, we stop worring about those who have protection and think in the direction of those who have none, several things will be accomplished: (1) There can and will be, for the first time in American history, a national prepayment health program applicable to the entire population; (2) the present cost for those already insured can be substantially reduced, or benefits can be extended to areas not presently included; and (3) the President's program will have been achieved in full.

The 60 million of our population presently not insured include the totally indigent, the medically indigent, the unemployed, the overage group (which is ever increasing in number), the chronically ill, the cases of communicable diseases, and the many thousands of cases involving mental and nervous disorders in which the degree of illness does not require compulsory confinement in State institutions. To this category of risks may be added cases contemplated by the President's health program, such as those which involve solely diagnostic service, services in doctors offices and in homes, and the tremendous area of preventive medicine and hygiene, the possibilities of which have been demonstrated but not exhausted by the commendable efforts of the Public Health Service with the cooperation of the medical profession. This vast field not only is outside the scope of ordinary health insurance and also beyond the capacity of free hospital care, but actually is also beyond reach of private charity or even of huge charitable foundations.

It is fairly obvious that such a health program cannot be achieved through any reinsurance program dependent upon reinsurance premiums from the primary carriers. The services contemplated for that portion of the population not presently insured are not primarily insurable under any reasonably sound insurance program, and, in the absence of the premiums supplied by such primary insurance, there is no basis for reinsurance. The comprehensive health program contemplated by the President cannot, therefore, be achieved under H. R. 8356, neither alone nor in conjunction with the mortgage-loan program under H. R. 7700. In fact, if H. R. 7700 becomes effective under presently existing circumstances, H. R. 7700 could have the effect of aggravating the already difficult conditions under which hospitals are functioning.

Hospitals presently are faced with the necessity of dealing as best they can with all the above-enumerated noninsured groups. Because of insufficient income from those groups, and because of insufficient contribution by communities and community chests and other charitable sources, the hospitals are continually confronted by mounting operating deficits. Those deficits do not arise primarily from lack of facilities to care for a sufficiently large group; rather they are caused by the fact that the noninsurable group which is cared for cannot and does not meet the cost of required care. In absence of other adequate source from which to secure payment for this noninsurable group, an excessive payment must be claimed from those who are able to pay for their care, or who carry prepayment health coverage. Increased hospital facilities, without adequate return, simply will add to the deficits. If, on top of such increased operating deficit, there is to be added the cost of carrying charges and amortization of mortgage loans, as contemplated by H. R. 7700, it might well result in eventual ownership of all such hospitals by the Government, as a result of mortgage-foreclosure proceedings.

The situation might be further aggravated by the fact that in dealing with hospital administrations one naturally is dealing with human nature. Someone has said that no Government can print money fast enough to keep up with what some institutions would be willing to spend for new locations, new buildings, and new equipment. A degree of rivalry enters into the picture. A hospital administration with an institution of 1930 vintage, may be inspired with ideas of absolute necessity for immediate expansion when such administration sees a competitor hospital with a 1954 model. Ready money always causes a spending itch, and a new look can prove dangerously costly. If the net result of H. R. 7700 should increase the burden of the overall problem of the hospitals, without developing income for the noninsurable group, then no progress has been made. Until a completely integrated program is developed, which will supply an adequate and equitable income to the hospitals for the presently noninsured groups, it would seem preferable to continue the present Government policy of making outright grants to hospitals in clearly necessitous cases.

But the principal purpose in appearing here today is to suggest how the program to provide for the 60 million uninsured can be made effective and, in a practical manner, achieve the high goal set by the President. Implicit in every constructive criticism should be the obligation to point a better way. It is in the spirit of emphasis on the positive approach that the following suggestions are submitted, in the hope that they may be received in like spirit, regardless of their eventual fate.

It should be possible and practical to use H. R. 8356 and H. R. 7700 as the nucleus of further extended legislation which can carry into effect the entire program pro-

posed by the President without entailing governmental appropriation from existing Federal revenues beyond the extent contemplated by these two bills. Such legislation also would make reasonably certain the repayment of moneys contemplated to be advanced on mortgage loans under H. R. 7700.

It is suggested that the cost of developing the President's health program could be met by a national sales tax, possibly a fraction of 1 percent, strictly and exclusively limited in scope to the national-health program. Under no circumstances should such a sales tax be expanded to shift the present income-tax load or to provide funds for Federal budget purposes which properly should be raised through the present tax program.

Whatever objection there may be to utilizing a sales tax as a means of revenue for ordinary governmental operations, those objections cannot be fairly and validly maintained when the sole and exclusive purpose of such tax is to make available means for providing adequate care for the totally indigent, the medically indigent, the unemployed, the overage group, the chronic ill, and other groups outside the class of insurable risks. The responsibility of caring for persons in these designated areas is a social responsibility that should be borne and shared by the entire population, regardless of financial status. In fact, it is possible that the widow's mite would be contributed more cheerfully than the share of the more opulent.

The relatively minute portion contributed to such sales tax by any one individual in the groups constituting the immediate beneficiaries of the program supported by the tax would be the best possible investment made by such individual. The small tax paid by an individual would mean hundreds of dollars available to that individual in benefits from the total contributions. For once, and uniquely, the widely distributed and relatively light individual burden of the tax would be in direct inverse ratio to the benefits derived. The poor and needy, who contributed least, would benefit most, which is as it should be. In relation to its cost, the contribution to national health could be overwhelming. Such sales-tax proposal is not intended to provide coverage for those presently insurable and able to pay. Moreover, since, in fact, if not in amount, it would constitute prepayment for the coverage, it would remove the stigma that sometimes attaches when a needy individual is forced to accept necessary medical or hospital care on a charity basis. It would not only lift the entire health program to a self-sustaining prepayment level, but would accomplish it without loss of dignity on the part of the individual beneficiary. Such a program might best accomplish its purpose through utilization of already existing facilities of the voluntary nonprofit health organizations, on a cost-plus basis, with absolutely free choice of physician on part of the individual, and without regimentation of the medical profession. It could end once and for all any insistence upon socialized medicine as the panacea for the national-health program. Nor should it require too much emphasis to demonstrate that removal of the burden of free care from the hospitals would enable those hospitals to expand their facilities to meet the increased demand by utilizing the mortgage-loan program of H. R. 7700, with every reasonable assurance of sufficient increased income to permit repayment of the loan.

Naturally all of us are acutely conscious of and sensitive to the present demand for reduction in income taxes. There is also the temporary period of adjustment in employment. But there is no inconsistency in the proposal of a sales tax with any program of general income-tax adjustment. The two programs present entirely separate and distinct problems. It should not be overlooked that the Blue Cross program, which today is accepted as though it had always existed, actually had its inception in the year 1932—the very low of the depression years. The very fact that at the present time there is an unemployment problem has accentuated the immediate and urgent need for a stable national health program. Even a superficial survey of the areas in which the unemployment is most acute will disclose the steady increase in demand for free medical and hospital care. A national sales tax, if strictly confined to the national health program, could be so small, percentagewise, that it should not result in hardship. Needless to say, it is not contemplated that such program would shift to the National Government the present responsibility of the several States for maintenance of State institutions.

I shall not here attempt to detail the expanded legislative program inherent in this proposal, except to point out that by avoiding the creation of duplicate governmental facilities, and by utilization of existing voluntary nonprofit health programs, the operation of the health program can be kept at minimum cost.

But, aside from any consideration of cost, such a program will make this country for all of us a better place in which to live.

Public Works Program Could Relieve Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, at the risk of being smeared as a "prophet of doom and gloom," I should like to call attention to the unemployment problem.

I fully realize we are not in a depression of the size and scope of the one in effect in the early thirties. I also realize that smear tactics will not lessen the gloom or fear in the households of the laid-off coal workers of my district; in the households of the rail workers, steelworkers, and other plant workers who have lost their jobs; these tactics will not lessen the gloom on the dairy farms, where, with the stroke of a pen and the wagging of a tongue, the Department of Agriculture, in a grim April Fool Day gesture, cut back dairy prices by 15 percent.

I am made vividly aware of the fear and gloom as I read my mail, or when I read newspaper accounts of the ever-increasing relief load in Chicago and other urban sections of my State.

I am not only aware of conditions, Mr. Speaker, but I am aware that this administration and the leadership of the Congress have it within their power to provide some relief. It is our obligation to do so. It is more than our obligation to do so, it is our duty, not only from the humanitarian viewpoint, but because the Congress has already gone on record that we take such action.

I was a freshman Member during the 79th Congress. The events and issues of that Congress are quite naturally indelibly stamped in my memory. Many of us were fearful that the aftermath of World War II would be serious economic dislocation. So we enacted what was known as the Full Employment Act of 1946. We provided a program of advance planning of local public works projects. The idea in back of that provision was to have a backlog of useful projects which could be started in the event of serious economic dislocation.

Fortunately the immediate postwar years did not bring that serious dislocation.

Let me state parenthetically, Mr. Speaker, that this is pretty good proof we cannot talk ourselves into a depression. There was a great deal of talk in 1945 and 1946 about a forthcoming depression, but all that talk did not bring it about; just as 1929, 1930, 1931, and 1932 "prosperity" talk did not retard a depression.

Getting back to the subject, the immediate postwar years did not bring a serious economic dislocation. Early 1949, however, saw a recession. It was halted, and the upswing had started by June 1949. So the need did not exist to activate a public-works program, as was envisaged in the Full Employment Act of 1946.

Now the need exists. A bill to set up such a program has been introduced by our colleague the Honorable AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, who has drafted H. R. 8250. This establishes a Public Works Administration to start a $6½ billion Federal-local works program.

Has any action been taken on this bill? Is any action contemplated?

The answer to both questions is negative, but I urge the committee and the leadership to take action on this bill.

Thanks to the foresight of the 79th Congress there is available a number of projects already approved, upon which plans have been completed. These projects could be started almost immediately.

The Housing and Home Finance Agency, through its Administrator, the Honorable Albert Cole, has furnished me with a list of all projects approved under the advance planning program that are located in the State of Illinois.

There are 177 projects throughout the State upon which plans have been completed. These are projects ready to go as soon as funds are available.

What type projects are they? Run down the list, and we find such things as sewer facilities, sanitarium, water facilities, bridges, school facilities, and so forth. These things are solid, worthwhile additions to the natural wealth of our country. They are not leafraking nor boondoggling.

Eleven of these approved projects are located in my congressional district. Approval of the Kelley bill—or the principle of the bill under Republican sponsorship—would provide funds for building some or all of these projects. They are with their estimated cost:

St. Clair County, sewer facilities, $981,623.

St. Clair County, sewer facilities, $1,379,375.

Alorton, sewer facilities, $529,000.

Swansea, sewer facilities, $109,000.
Lebanon, sewer facilities, $125,000.
Worden, sewer facilities, $128,055.
Edwardsville, institutional buildings, $278,480.
Edwardsville, courthouse improvements $170,300.
East St. Louis, sewer facilities, $4,463,286.
Old Marissa, sewer facilities, $29,000.
East St. Louis, school facilities, $500,000.

H. R. 4303

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement which I delivered before the House Commjttee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries today in support of H. R. 4303, a bill to further encourage the distribution of fishery products, and for other purposes:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS J. LANE, DEMOCRAT, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES, APRIL 2, 1954, FAVORING H. R. 4303

FISHING INDUSTRY RUDDERLESS AND DRIFTING DANGEROUSLY

Men who look ahead say that we may, eventually, have to depend upon the oceans as the major source of our food supply.

Men who live in the present comparing that prediction with the rundown condition of the commercial fishing industry of the United States today, wonder how we can be so improvident.

Men and ships are idle.

Investments are being lost.

Insurance rates are confiscatory.

Markets are declining under the pressure of imports from other nations.

The whole industry is in the doldrums.

And the economy of New England is being dealt a second major blow.

We have research, conservation, and price-supports to help the farmers on a large scale but only a pennypinching attitude by the Federal Government toward the threadbare textile industry, the floundering fishing industry, and other segments of our national economy.

The seaports of Newburyport and Gloucester, and the self-reliant people that they bred, were once famous around the world, but now the ships and nets are idle, and the crews are trying to find part-time jobs on land.

There are several reasons for the hard times that have hit this primary industry, not the least of which is the indifference of the Federal Government toward this essential occupation.

When the industry petitioned the Tariff Commission for relief its plea for support against the invasion of foreign boatloads of fish, was rejected.

Prices nosedived.

As a result, the American fishing industry is threatened with extinction because it cannot cope with prices that are below costs and with vanishing markets.

In the interest of national security we cannot afford to stand on the sidelines and watch this industry disappear.

We ask only a minimum of help to avert a major calamity.

Under the terms of H. R. 4303, only $3 million shall be diverted from funds under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture to move the surplus of fish products by encouraging consumption through relief channels in other words, making this food that is so rich in energy, available to those who are in need.

A small part of these funds shall be set aside to promote educational, technological, and research programs that will create greater demand and diversified markets for fishing products of domestic origin.

I want to call this committee's attention to the fact that some of our essential fishing ports are one-industry communities where shore establishments rise or fall like the tide—dependent upon the success or failure of the fishing fleets and the men who man them.

As with one-industry, textile cities, or mining communities, the Federal Government cannot forever shrug off responsibility.

It has a clear-cut duty to answer the S O S and come to their assistance before they are lost.

With just a little help.

Tax Relief Sure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, heretofore granted, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Jamestown (N. Y.) Post-Journal.

As further tax relief follows, the present unemployment will disappear. I shall do all in my power to bring about further personal income-tax relief.

The editorial follows:

TAX RELIEF SURE

The way to nearly a billion dollars in urgently needed Federal tax relief was cleared by the unexpectedly prompt agreement by the Senate and House conferees on the bill introduced by Chairman DANIEL A. REED, of the Ways and Means Committee. That final passage in Congress will be followed by the signature of President Eisenhower is a foregone conclusion.

As finally approved in conference, the measure will give the taxpayers $80 million more in tax relief than provided in the House bill. That will be welcomed by the people who have been waiting 20 years to get some consideration in the heavy burden of taxation piled on by the free-spending and wasteful New Deal and Fair Deal.

That the substantial cut in excise taxes will have a real stimulating effect on business is taken for granted by economists, as well as by Members of Congress. It could not be otherwise, with tax cuts on important items from 20 to 10 percent, and a drop in the levy on major household appliances from 10 to 5 percent. Included in the decrease are taxes on transportation tickets, telephone and telegraph rates, sporting goods, and many other items.

Fortunately for the people, more substantial tax relief is on the way. For yet to be considered in the Senate is the House-approved bill of Representative REED embracing the most comprehensive revision of the revenue laws in 80 years. That measure, if approved by the Senate, as there is every indication it will be, will bring reductions close to $1,400,000,000 the first year, and possibly twice that amount when the provisions become fully effective. That saving is to be welcomed. Even so, it does not go far enough in such matters as, for instance, the double taxation on dividends. But it does make a start toward the ultimate elimination of a form of taxation that is utterly indefensible.

Break in Pattern of History Called Vital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal of April 1, 1954:

BREAK IN PATTERN OF HISTORY CALLED VITAL—MARK ETHRIDGE SAYS THAT'S THE ONLY WAY TO REACH PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF WORLD PROBLEMS

LEXINGTON, KY., March 31.—In order to reach a peaceful solution to the world's international situation, "we must break the pattern of history," Mark Ethridge said at today's chapel services at the College of the Bible. He spoke on America's Postwar and Present Foreign Policy.

He told his audience that "Russia still intends to take as much of the world as she can get."

"In order to reach a peaceful solution, we shall have to break the chain of history. From Athens and Sparta down to the present, it too frequently happens that when two powers oppose each other in dominance, war has come."

Ethridge expressed optimism that this chain of history can be broken.

INTELLIGENCE CALLED GOOD

The speaker, publisher of the Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times, was introduced by John Humbert, president of the student body.

He said that when the London conference broke down it became apparent that wartime cooperation was at an end.

Speaking of post-World War II sentiment, he said, "It was hard for Americans to believe that we were being pushed around as much as we really were.

"Our intelligence about Russia is better than popularly believed—thank the Lord."

He said official Washington knew that Russia was planning for the eastern Mediterranean area and we moved just in time. Russia was apparently in a position to move in swiftly, but she didn't, thus indicating that she was not yet ready to fight.

The Louisville publisher sees former Secretary of State Dean Acheson as author of both the Marshall plan and the Truman doctrine.

OUTLINED PLAN IN SPEECH

He pointed out that the former Secretary of State had outlined the Marshall plan in a speech in Mississippi a month before the then Secretary of State Marshall first mentioned it.

"I think that history will show Korea was Russia's big mistake," Ethridge said.

He added that he doubted if former President Truman and Acheson could have concluded the Korean war. "Probably new faces and new approaches were necessary there."

He predicted that another stalemate, like that of Korea, may develop in Indochina.

HAS FRIGHTENED OUR FRIENDS

In speaking of the New Look he said it had frightened our friends more than our enemies. He listed two reasons for the New Look—first, a need to reduce the military budget, and second, new emphasis on air power.

He sees in Secretary of State Dulles' speech of Monday an attempt to modify the New Look and calm the fears of our allies.

He stated that the New Look applies only to the military. "The political situation remains the same. The death of Stalin has made no difference. The concessions that have been made chiefly within Russia was to consolidate positions there."

Water Under Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MYRON V. GEORGE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Pittsburg (Kans.) Headlight of March 29, 1954:

WATER UNDER KANSAS

The water question is by no means a question below No. 1 in Kansas. The lack of water in the rivers that cities have dammed or in lakes that have been made to hold water for them is not the only disturbing subject in the water situation. Everyone knows that when the water disappears from the Neosho and the Marais des Cygnes or other rivers that furnish water for numerous cities, conditions become serious. Just now a dozen towns in Kansas are shipping in their water or bringing it in in long pipe lines. This involves surface water.

The State Geological Survey has devoted attention to the water table, to underground stocks and to so-called underground rivers in Kansas. The survey points out that there is a misconception about the Kansas water supply. The theory that Kansas ground water comes from the Rocky mountains is not sound. The survey says that practically the only ground water in Kansas with a source outside of Kansas is the water obtained from deep wells in southeastern Kansas. Pittsburg's water supply, it is pointed out comes from the Ozark region and flows down slanting rock layers.

"The water table in almost all parts of the State has dropped considerably in the past year and a half," a survey bulletin says, "and many Kansans are wondering if there are any such things as 'wells that never go dry.' Underground fresh water supplies, like the water that can be retained at the surface, depend on rain and snowfall." Concerning the water question, J. M. Jewett of the survey says:

Geologists of the Federal and State geological surveys at the University of Kansas recently pointed out a few misconceptions about Kansas ground water conditions. Some of these ideas are misleading to the extent that they may cause some persons to believe that somewhere deep in the ground there is usable water even if there is no local precipitation to replenish reservoirs. In dispelling one of these notions, it can be stated that underground rivers, in the sense of sizable streams of water moving in underground channels, do not exist in Kansas.

Also the theory that ground water comes from the Rocky Mountains is not tenable. Almost the only ground water in Kansas that has a source outside the State is the water tapped by deep wells in southeastern Kansas. Water in these deep aquifers first enters porous outcropping rocks in the Ozark region and slowly moves down the slanting rock layers that underlie Pittsburg and other localities in this part of the State.

[redacted]

a living wage, then that which he produces would cost a great deal more than it does today.

We have had the protective tariff for the steel industry; we have subsidized shipping and many other businesses; but until the past few years, we have not, in any measure, made it possible for the farmer to receive just remuneration for his labors.

With this little outline, I want to talk largely at this time to people engaged in farming and those who do business with farmers.

I am speaking specifically of the critical problem of farm surpluses. We have heard a lot about parity and price supports for farm products. The subject is being seriously discussed all over the United States. The American consumer, under great strain, is having to carry a heavy taxload produced from the loss incurred from farm surpluses. This loss, of course, has occurred because our good tax dollars have been put into farm surpluses. Surpluses are nothing new. Except in occasional years of nationwide drought, we have always had them. With our vast areas of new and rich agricultural land, we were bound to produce surpluses, and those surpluses always produced distress to agriculture. The difference is in the way in which they have recently been handled.

Formerly, and up until the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, nothing was done by the Government to relieve the distress arising out of the production of surplus farm commodities. [redacted]

[redacted] scale of price support. Sliding from where to where? Sliding from parity to below parity? From equality to inequality? From justice to injustice? What is the purpose of this proposed sliding scale? Plainly the purpose is to penalize the farmer for having raised too much and to force him to produce less. For instance, he produced too much wheat, so he will be compelled to sell at a loss and, presumably, he will not produce so much. Simple, is it not? Looks as if it should work, but it will not—and I will tell you why. It is returning, in part, to conditions that prevailed when there was no price support, and this is the way that worked out. The cheaper the product, the more the farmer had to produce. The farmer's production cost is fixed. There are taxes, the interest on his investment, the cost of his help, and depreciation on his equipment.

What happened, for instance, when the price of corn went down? The farmer planted more corn. Then corn went lower. Why did he do this? Because he could not help it. The cheaper the product, the more he had to raise to meet his operating and living expense.

Our economy is all tied together. A good illustration of this is a conversation I overheard between two Congressmen. A New York Member asked, "How long do you think we people of the East will pay subsidies to you farmers?" In a flash, a Member from Georgia replied, "As long as we pay you a protective

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cities prosperous and raising the standard of living of their thousands of people while paying subsidies on everything they wore from the caps on their heads to the shoes on their feet. There was a time when the farmer even thought he might be getting the benefit of a protective tariff, but when prices of farm products fell below the paper tariff written on the statute books in Washington, it was time to wake up. The farmer is awake, and apparently is going to stay awake.

Why all this turmoil about controls, as if they were something new. Let me suggest that if this Congress enacts a sliding support price and farm prices slide down with it—as they are sure to do—not only farmers but a lot of others will be in distress.

What is protective tariff but control? What is a minimum wage but control? What are established railroad rates but control? At this very time, we are controlling the production of oil; and if you can control oil, you can control anything. Controls are an essential part of modern civilization.

You probably have heard it suggested how fine it would be if the farmer would just go back to the law of supply and demand—when he bought the necessities on an artificial, protected market and sold the products of his labor on a world-competitive market. Why, that is what we had during the 150 years before we had a farm program. That was the time when steak could be bought for 10 cents and a dozen eggs for a dime. That period is sometimes spoken of as the Gay Nineties. Gay for some—but not

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but it must be a program based on justice.

The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, 1954, I introduced a bill, H. R. 8087, to eliminate farm-tractor fuel, benzol, benzine, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes from the manufacturer's excise tax on gasoline. I was pleased indeed when the Senate Committee on Finance and the Congress itself adopted an amendment to the excise tax reduction bill of 1954 containing all the provisions of my bill.

In my opinion, the above amendment is one of the most important points in the new excise tax law. It removes the manufacturer's tax on tractor fuel, benzine, benzol, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes and makes it unnecessary for the users of these materials to pay the tax and then follow tedious procedure to secure the refund of the tax paid when these fuels are used for nonhighway purposes.

When these class B fuels are used for the propulsion of a motor vehicle, motorboat, or airplane, this amendment does not repeal the tax but transfers it from the manufacturers' level to the retail dealers' level.

In other words, my bill, H. R. 8087, now a part of the new Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954, eliminates a cumbersome and needless administrative process required by the previous tax laws. I commend and congratulate the Senate Committee on Finance and Congress for incorporating this amendment.

The Consumer Has First Claim on the Billion-Dollar Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal of Sunday, March 28, 1954:

THE CONSUMER HAS FIRST CLAIM ON THE BILLION-DOLLAR TAX CUT

Federal excise taxes (which means sales taxes) on a number of goods and services will be lower beginning next Thursday. How many will be lower depends on the adjustment of differences between House and Senate bills. The former carries an estimated $912 million in cuts, the other around a billion.

The uncertainty on this point is not so great as the answer to another question. After all, the Senate leadership reflects the administration view, and the President and the Secretary of the Treasury frankly have hoped for few cuts or none at all. Those which came about were largely the product of Democratic pressures. Therefore the Senate conferees can't be expected to fight very hard for the larger total of reductions.

The other and more pertinent question is how much of the tax reduction will be a saving to the consumer, putting more spending money into his pocket, encouraging him to buy more. In his human way he is very likely to set up a large howl and retreat into a shell of resistance and resentment unless the tax saving is passed on to him in lower prices. We shouldn't blame him a bit, either, if business makes tax reduction an excuse for raising prices, making the customer's gross cost the same as before.

The drive to cut these excise taxes was pressed in two directions. One was plainly political. The Republicans had made tax reduction one of their chief claims for votes in 1952. When their fiscal policy after victory turned to postponement of lower taxes, the Democrats naturally chose to hold GOP feet to the fire.

However, there was also an argument for turning tax reduction into a weapon against recession. This had respectable support from nonpolitical economists and business observers. Consumers having to pay fewer taxes would have more money to spend. The argument was passed both as to excise taxes and to personal income taxes. Thus if reduction of taxes on sales is turned to a

He predicted that another stalemate, like that of Korea, may develop in Indochina.

HAS FRIGHTENED OUR FRIENDS

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"The water table in almost all parts of the State has dropped considerably in the past year and a half," a survey bulletin says, "and many Kansans are wondering if there are any such things as 'wells that never go dry.' Underground fresh water supplies, like the water that can be retained at the surface, depend on rain and snowfall." Concerning the water question, J. M. Jewett of the survey says:

Geologists of the Federal and State geological surveys at the University of Kansas recently pointed out a few misconceptions about Kansas ground water conditions. Some of these ideas are misleading to the extent that they may cause some persons to believe that somewhere deep in the ground there is usable water even if there is no local precipitation to replenish reservoirs. In dispelling one of these notions, it can be stated that underground rivers, in the sense of sizable streams of water moving in underground channels, do not exist in Kansas.

Also the theory that ground water comes from the Rocky Mountains is not tenable. Almost the only ground water in Kansas that has a source outside the State is the water tapped by deep wells in southeastern Kansas. Water in these deep aquifers first enters porous outcropping rocks in the Ozark region and slowly moves down the slanting rock layers that underlie Pittsburg and other localities in this part of the State.

In most parts of Kansas the water that can be taken from rocks above the zone of salt water is replenished by rainfall or other precipitation within the area.

It is as important, especially in times of drought, to keep a check on water levels in wells as it is to estimate and conserve the supply of water in surface reservoirs. For in many places normally good aquifers are being depleted or are in danger of being depleted.

The Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE S. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, in the beginning of my talk to you today, my friends, I want to call to your attention just a few fundamentals that will be included in this speech. But, at the outset, I would like to be specific. There can be no compromise with privation, starvation, lack of education, and poverty. It is true that much has been done in the past years by the Democratic Party to improve the lot of our farmers; but, even until this day, the point has not been reached when the farmer receives benefits from his labors equal to those of other laborers. For instance, a farmer's day is not 8 hours. Many days, a farmer's day is 16 and 20 hours. Were he paid for the time he works in terms of a living wage, then that which he produces would cost a great deal more than it does today.

We have had the protective tariff for the steel industry; we have subsidized shipping and many other businesses; but until the past few years, we have not, in any measure, made it possible for the farmer to receive just remuneration for his labors.

With this little outline, I want to talk largely at this time to people engaged in farming and those who do business with farmers.

I am speaking specifically of the critical problem of farm surpluses. We have heard a lot about parity and price supports for farm products. The subject is being seriously discussed all over the United States. The American consumer, under great strain, is having to carry a heavy taxload produced from the loss incurred from farm surpluses. This loss, of course, has occurred because our good tax dollars have been put into farm surpluses. Surpluses are nothing new. Except in occasional years of nationwide drought, we have always had them. With our vast areas of new and rich agricultural land, we were bound to produce surpluses, and those surpluses always produced distress to agriculture. The difference is in the way in which they have recently been handled.

Formerly, and up until the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, nothing was done by the Government to relieve the distress arising out of the production of surplus farm commodities. Prices were left to seek their own level on the markets. To be sure, we had a protective tariff on meat and grain and various other farm products, but since we produced a surplus to be sold abroad, the protective tariff did not protect. The net selling price of the surplus determined the price of the entire product. The American farmer got for his products just what they would bring on the market of Liverpool, England, or Hamburg, Germany, less the cost of putting them there. The price of wheat in Chicago was determined by the price in Liverpool, England, and the price in Chicago determined the price to every farmer in the United States. In other words, through the years the farmers of this Nation bought their necessities on a highly protected market, and sold on the open markets of the world. It was not fair and just and it nearly broke our farmers' backs, but they endured it, partly through patience and partly through ignorance. But in the early thirties, the time came when we could endure no longer, patience was at the breaking point, and the farmers of the Nation were on the verge of revolting.

It was out of this situation that, for the first time in the history of this Nation, an effective, good-faith effort was made to right the wrongs of agriculture—to give the farmers and their families an even break with other segments of society. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 was passed and later the price-support legislation, which seeks to give parity of reward to farmers.

We hear a lot of talk about a sliding scale of price support. Sliding from where to where? Sliding from parity to below parity? From equality to inequality? From justice to injustice? What is the purpose of this proposed sliding scale? Plainly the purpose is to penalize the farmer for having raised too much and to force him to produce less. For instance, he produced too much wheat, so he will be compelled to sell at a loss and, presumably, he will not produce so much. Simple, is it not? Looks as if it should work, but it will not—and I will tell you why. It is returning, in part, to conditions that prevailed when there was no price support, and this is the way that worked out. The cheaper the product, the more the farmer had to produce. The farmer's production cost is fixed. There are taxes, the interest on his investment, the cost of his help, and depreciation on his equipment.

What happened, for instance, when the price of corn went down? The farmer planted more corn. Then corn went lower. Why did he do this? Because he could not help it. The cheaper the product, the more he had to raise to meet his operating and living expense.

Our economy is all tied together. A good illustration of this is a conversation I overheard between two Congressmen. A New York Member asked, "How long do you think we people of the East will pay subsidies to you farmers?" In a flash, a Member from Georgia replied, "As long as we pay you a protective tariff and a minimum wage." There you have it in a nutshell. This price support at parity is based on simple justice.

Now we come to the heart of the problem, which is, "What shall we do about the surpluses?" Plainly, where there are price supports, there must be controls of production. Having established controls, we must also see to it that the American people have opportunity to earn enough money to buy the food and clothing that they need. That will go a long way toward consuming the present surpluses and preventing others. There is plenty of work that needs to be done in this country—roads, dams, soil conservation, a thousand things. City dwellers need houses, sewers, schools, and playgrounds. This Nation needs a national conservation program—conservation of human values and conservation of material resources.

The subsidy question concerns everyone in this Nation. Farmers have paid subsidies ever since the First Congress put a protective tariff on iron for the benefit of ironworkers in the State of Pennsylvania some 150 years ago. I am told that the first subsidy paid by the American people was embodied in that law. Others have followed. Farmers have borne this tariff and have, in this way, helped to build railroads, ships, wharves, to dredge rivers and harbors and to subsidize other industries. Then, too, farmers furnished food and clothing at ruinous prices. They are not sorry for the part they played in making big cities prosperous and raising the standard of living of their thousands of people while paying subsidies on everything they wore from the caps on their heads to the shoes on their feet. There was a time when the farmer even thought he might be getting the benefit of a protective tariff, but when prices of farm products fell below the paper tariff written on the statute books in Washington, it was time to wake up. The farmer is awake, and apparently is going to stay awake.

Why all this turmoil about controls, as if they were something new. Let me suggest that if this Congress enacts a sliding support price and farm prices slide down with it—as they are sure to do—not only farmers but a lot of others will be in distress.

What is protective tariff but control? What is a minimum wage but control? What are established railroad rates but control? At this very time, we are controlling the production of oil; and if you can control oil, you can control anything. Controls are an essential part of modern civilization.

You probably have heard it suggested how fine it would be if the farmer would just go back to the law of supply and demand—when he bought the necessities on an artificial, protected market and sold the products of his labor on a world-competitive market. Why, that is what we had during the 150 years before we had a farm program. That was the time when steak could be bought for 10 cents and a dozen eggs for a dime. That period is sometimes spoken of as the Gay Nineties. Gay for some—but not for the farmer. Let me remind you that was the period of the uprising of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist Party, which nation-shaking movements did not arise out of conditions of gaiety. But we do not need to go back to the last century. About 20 years ago, hogs sold for $1.75 per hundred pounds. Think of it, a 400-pound hog for $7. You might hear some talk about the farmer being coddled and spoiled. Did you know that other segments of society have collected $40 in subsidy to $1 paid to agriculture? They do not seem to be afraid of being spoiled.

The farmer is a laboring man, engaged in business, and his wage is determined by the price of his product. His whole family helps him, and they work long hours. What was the result of these conditions when there was no price supports? It broke nearly every farmer in the land, it closed factories and mines, crippled the merchant, put the professional man on short rations; and if it had not been stopped by governmental controls, it would have broken every bank in the land. No one profited but the lawyer, who was expert in bankruptcy proceedings. Do we want a repetition of this condition? No, we do not. And it will not happen, because the farmers will not let it happen. The farmer has achieved practically an equal status with the rest of the American people, and he will not, and should not, be content with less. He is going to demand economical equality. This Nation may need a new farm program—but it must be a program based on justice.

The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, 1954, I introduced a bill, H. R. 8087, to eliminate farm-tractor fuel, benzol, benzine, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes from the manufacturer's excise tax on gasoline. I was pleased indeed when the Senate Committee on Finance and the Congress itself adopted an amendment to the excise tax reduction bill of 1954 containing all the provisions of my bill.

In my opinion, the above amendment is one of the most important points in the new excise tax law. It removes the manufacturer's tax on tractor fuel, benzine, benzol, naphtha, and other gasoline substitutes and makes it unnecessary for the users of these materials to pay the tax and then follow tedious procedure to secure the refund of the tax paid when these fuels are used for nonhighway purposes.

When these class B fuels are used for the propulsion of a motor vehicle, motorboat, or airplane, this amendment does not repeal the tax but transfers it from the manufacturers' level to the retail dealers' level.

In other words, my bill, H. R. 8087, now a part of the new Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954, eliminates a cumbersome and needless administrative process required by the previous tax laws. I commend and congratulate the Senate Committee on Finance and Congress for incorporating this amendment.

The Consumer Has First Claim on the Billion-Dollar Tax Cut

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal of Sunday, March 28, 1954:

THE CONSUMER HAS FIRST CLAIM ON THE BILLION-DOLLAR TAX CUT

Federal excise taxes (which means sales taxes) on a number of goods and services will be lower beginning next Thursday. How many will be lower depends on the adjustment of differences between House and Senate bills. The former carries an estimated $912 million in cuts, the other around a billion.

The uncertainty on this point is not so great as the answer to another question. After all, the Senate leadership reflects the administration view, and the President and the Secretary of the Treasury frankly have hoped for few cuts or none at all. Those which came about were largely the product of Democratic pressures. Therefore the Senate conferees can't be expected to fight very hard for the larger total of reductions.

The other and more pertinent question is how much of the tax reduction will be a saving to the consumer, putting more spending money into his pocket, encouraging him to buy more. In his human way he is very likely to set up a large howl and retreat into a shell of resistance and resentment unless the tax saving is passed on to him in lower prices. We shouldn't blame him a bit, either, if business makes tax reduction an excuse for raising prices, making the customer's gross cost the same as before.

The drive to cut these excise taxes was pressed in two directions. One was plainly political. The Republicans had made tax reduction one of their chief claims for votes in 1952. When their fiscal policy after victory turned to postponement of lower taxes, the Democrats naturally chose to hold GOP feet to the fire.

However, there was also an argument for turning tax reduction into a weapon against recession. This had respectable support from nonpolitical economists and business observers. Consumers having to pay fewer taxes would have more money to spend. The argument was passed both as to excise taxes and to personal income taxes. Thus if reduction of taxes on sales is turned to a

greater profit for the seller, much of the theory is lost. The consumer is likely to conclude that if he is not to be helped, the Government might as well have the money as the dealer.

At that, the Eisenhower administration has won as much as it has lost in the tax-cutting fight. The President's appeal prevailed in both houses as to keeping for at least another year the heavy Federal taxes on automobiles, trucks, gasoline and auto parts, on liquor, beer, wine, and cigarettes. Even some Democrats concluded that members of their party were carrying the pressure for cuts too far.

A number of cuts proposed principally by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois (himself a professional economist who believes in the spending money theory) were beaten back. A Douglas amendment to cut in half the tax on household appliances was carried, but it looks to have a questionable future in the process of Senate-House conference.

As it is, the tax reductions on which both houses already have agreed are the obvious ones. There will be less to pay on toilet articles, jewelry, luggage, and furs; on telephone bills and travel tickets; on admissions to entertainment. These are the articles of the public's daily experiences. It was practically certain from the start that if the administration was to save the bulk of excise taxes for another year, concessions would have to be made on the popular and familiar items. But the concessions were made for the consumer's sake, for the sake of popular attitude. The consumer is going to feel let down by everybody unless he gets the benefit. And there may be none of the sales boom that the tax-cutters argued for.

The Atomic Energy Plant in the Portsmouth, Ohio, Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT T. SECREST
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I had occasion to write a letter containing full information on the power supply for the atomic-energy plant in the Portsmouth, Ohio, area.

Since this reply is complete and of general interest to many Members, I feel obligated to insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the information and use of the House.

Under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include the following letter of March 18, 1954, to the Honorable David McK. Ferguson, of Cambridge, Ohio:

MARCH 18, 1954.

Hon. DAVID MCK. FERGUSON,
Cambridge, Ohio.

DEAR DAVE: I received your letter which, I note, you gave to the paper for publication, and I am anxious to reply with complete facts in order that you and those who read your letter may have full information concerning the atomic-energy plant in the Portsmouth area. The Atomic Energy Commission selected this site in Ohio after considering possible sites in Kentucky and West Virginia.

I think it will be helpful to an understanding of the problem if I point out that (1) the Atomic Energy Commission buys no coal from anyone, and (2) the Atomic Energy Commission uses no coal. The only thing it buys is electric power.

The plant at Portsmouth will use something over 2 million kilowatts of electricity. No one power company could possibly supply that amount. Consequently, 15 separate power companies in the Ohio Valley area formed a new corporation known as the Ohio Valley Electric Co., in order that they might construct facilities for the purpose of furnishing power for the atomic-energy plant. The question then arose where to build the powerplant. The Atomic Energy Commission said that they did not want to depend upon one plant for their power because, if it were bombed, they would be helpless. Therefore, the company agreed to build two powerplants of about equal capacity at a safe distance from the atomic-energy plant itself and reasonably close to large deposits of coal. One powerplant was located at Gallipolis, about 50 miles up the Ohio River from the area of the atomic-energy plant. The other was located at Madison, Ind., 200 miles down the river on the other side of the atomic-energy plant. If one should be bombed out in a war, the other would continue to supply over 1 million kilowatts of electricity to the plant.

The story you read concerning Congressman HAND'S remarks completely misled you on one basic fact. The powerplant in Ohio will not use one ton of Kentucky coal. The coal for both plants will be purchased by the Ohio Valley Electric Co., a strictly private company owned by the 15 power companies that set up the corporation. This company advertised for bids to furnish coal at each of the plants. The bids were not made by tons of coal, but by heat units in the coal itself.

Let us first deal with the one and only powerplant located in Ohio, some 3 miles from Gallipolis. While the companies bidding are paid in heat units, the powerplant at Gallipolis will have to have delivery of 52,000 tons of coal in November of this year and by December 1955 will have to have 260,000 tons of coal each month.

The company advertised for bids, and only two companies, as far as I can learn, made a bid. Certainly no company in my district made a bid, although it is more than possible some of the companies with large holdings in my district may ultimately supply coal to this plant. Apparently no one company was in a position to fulfill the complete order because it was divided between two companies—the Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co., which will furnish one-half of the coal, and the other half will be furnished by the North American Coal Co. The coal furnished by the Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Co. will come from Marshall County, W. Va., of which Moundsville is the county seat. The North American Coal Co. owns three big mines at Powhatan Point, right at the north edge of my district on the Ohio River. The coal they supply will be mined primarily in southern Belmont County. Both companies will ship all their coal direct to the Gallipolis plant in barges that will move down the Ohio River. The distance from the Powhatan Point mines to Gallipolis is 169 water-miles. From Powhatan Point to the second powerplant at Madison, Ind., is a distance of 446 water-miles.

Because of the distance down the river, the coal for the Madison, Ind., plant will be furnished either from coalfields in southern Indiana or from coalfields along the Green River in Kentucky.

There are two locks on the Green River. The first was built in 1835 and the second was built in 1895. The Federal Government has been responsible for navigation on this river since 1909 when the two locks were taken over. The depth of these locks and the river channel is 5.5 feet. When the power company agreed to furnish power to the Atomic Energy Commission from the Madison plant, they told the Commission that the power would cost a certain figure if they had to get their coal from the Indiana coalfields. They stated that it would be at a cheaper rate if they could get their coal from the area along the Green River. Consequently, the Atomic Energy Commission and the power company studied the question of how they could get the cheapest coal.

All coal for the powerplant in Indiana was to be supplied by the Southern Coal Co., Inc., of Chicago, Ill., and the Sinclair Coal Co., of Chicago, Ill., who had the low bids. These two suppliers told the Atomic Energy Commission and the power company that if they built 1 new lock to take the place of the 2 already on the Green River and did some dredging, the depth of the river could be raised from 5.5 feet to 9 feet permitting the use of the much larger Ohio River barges for the transportation of the coal. The power company told the Atomic Energy Commission that they would be able to reduce the power bill for the next 15 years by more than $22 million, if the coal companies supplying them coal could get the coal from the Green River coalfields.

The Atomic Energy Commission figured that if the Government spent $14 million to deepen the channel on the Green River, permitting use of this coal instead of Indiana coal, they would still save over $8,500,000 in the price they would have to pay for power during the 15-year period.

This proposition was submitted to President Eisenhower, who apparently agreed with it 100 percent, because he included it in his budget and asked that Congress appropriate money to deepen the Green River channel. The Atomic Energy Commission also wrote a letter to the Army engineers setting forth the facts and urging Congress to grant money for the Green River improvement. The Appropriations Committee of the House, including Congressman HAND, apparently agreed with the President and the Atomic Energy Commission because they did include an appropriation of $5 million to start the work.

The Madison, Ind., plant is about 90 miles below Cincinnati and there was never any intention of supplying coal to this plant except from Kentucky or Indiana. For the powerplant located in Ohio there was never any intention of bringing coal from Kentucky. Half the coal for this plant will come from Ohio and half from West Virginia. The half from West Virginia will be supplied by the Pittsburgh Coal Co. which is what we know in Ohio as the Hanna Coal Co. The Hanna Coal Co. owns great blocks of coal in my district and it is conceivable that they will draw upon this coal as a future source of supply for the Gallipolis powerplant.

There is no disputing my statement, to which you refer in your letter, that we have 26 billion tons of coal under the 7 counties of the 15th District and I am interested, as are all our people, in the best utilization of this coal. By far the best utilization is to get new factories in our district that will use this coal or power made from our coal.

For example, the Union Carbide built three large plants below Marietta in our district. They built their own power plant which today is using over 3,000 tons of Noble County coal each day. When the full capacity is reached, they will use 6,000 tons of Noble County coal each day. By using our coal in this manner we furnish employment to miners who dig it, to those who transport it, to those who work in the power plant, and to some 2,000 people who will be employed at the Union Carbide plant when it is in full operation. The coal is mined in our district, used in our district and its sole benefit stays in our district. This is the way we can use

I hope for hundreds of years, the coal that God has given us.

Let me give you another example. The Philo power plant uses about 6,000 tons of coal per day. At Beverly there is another power plant that is using now about 3,000 tons of coal per day and expects to use when the project is fully completed about 6,000 tons per day. These two power plants will use 12,000 tons of coal per day, all of which is mined principally around Cumberland and eastern Morgan County. Many men work to produce this coal, hundreds work in the power plants making the power and the new industries in our district, such as Vanadium, use the power in their factories giving employment to our people. I would rather see one new factory using a thousand tons of our coal at home than I would see 2,000 tons of our coal sent to Detroit because it would give us at least 10 times as much employment to the people whom I represent.

My district is my life and you may rest assured that during every waking hour of my day it has my attention and that I will always fight for anything to help it and against anything which, in my opinion, will harm it.

Since your letter to me was published, I am sure many people have on their minds the question you asked me concerning the Atomic Energy Commission setup in the Ohio Valley. In order that they might have the facts I will publish this letter as I am sure you would want me to do.

Sincerely,

ROBERT T. SECREST.

Deploring the Continued Weakening of America's Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress who can remember the tragic experience of our country in World War I and World War II, and the heavy losses and delays in the war effort which we suffered as a result of an inadequate merchant marine at the start of both world conflicts, should join in deploring the mounting evidence of continued weakening of America's merchant marine today.

Our dependence on foreign shipping grows greater day by day, and as that dependence grows our country returns blindly to the same state of maritime unpreparedness with which we entered World War I and World War II.

It is hard to understand such blindness, with an administration in Washington that is headed by a man who saw at first hand, during the bitter days of the battle of the Atlantic, the tremendous importance of a strong merchant marine in supporting a war effort.

Few commentators have been more friendly to this administration than Mr. Raymond Moley, whose weekly column appears in Newsweek magazine, yet Mr. Moley's column of April 5, 1954, is a strongly worded reminder to the administration—and to Congress as well—on this matter.

Mr. Moley's article on this subject follows:

OUR MERCHANT MARINE

(By Raymond Moley)

The other day in an office high above New York's Battery, a man who has spent his life in shipping paused in our conversation and swung his swivel chair toward a window which looks out over the harbor. Several ships and tugboats were churning up thin, white wakes on the dark water far below. After a few moments he said: "Of course, this has happened before. But how silly can we get?"

He was referring to recent developments concerning an American enterprise of which those ships are a part—the merchant marine. Like others aware of the importance to this country of a strong merchant marine, he regards as unwise, if not absurd, the absence of any provision for new construction of private and passenger ships in the President's 1955 budget. He had in mind, too, the alarming recommendations of the Randall report touching upon our merchant fleet.

The cruel lessons of two world wars should have made indelibly clear the wisdom of maintaining a merchant fleet second to none. For in both wars, the United States and her allies experienced the harrowing situation inherent in the absence of adequate merchant shipping and felt the price in time, lives, and money. "Battles might be won or lost," Churchill wrote, "* * * but dominating all our power to carry on the war, or even keep ourselves alive, lay our mastery of the ocean routes and the free approach and entry to our ports." And the United States merchant marine, built up at a cost of some $16 billion, was essential to victory in both Europe and the Pacific.

Yet today, while the Soviet threat is recognized, while a vast defense establishment is maintained, and while we bolster the free world with tremendous quantities of aid, our merchant marine is fast becoming obsolete in the face of a healthy resurgence of foreign shipbuilding. Within 10 years, 80 percent of our cargo and passenger ships will have seen their day. For defense purposes an inadequacy of more than 200 vessels exists at present.

Britain leads the way in new ship construction. Destitute a few years ago, Germany, Japan, and Italy are close behind. We lag in seventh place. And not a single private cargo or passenger ship is on the ways or is scheduled for construction in 1955. In war we have sunk the enemy. In peace we have scuttled ourselves.

Our mearchant-marine policy, however, as set forth in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 and the Long-Range Shipping Act of 1952, aims at the maintenance of a merchant fleet in peacetime which assures the benefits of national security, stable commercial operations, and a continuity of trade development and promotion benefiting American industry. Provisions of these acts for building-differential subsidies make possible a wise program on a year-to-year basis.

The Randall report, on the other hand, urges that the United States consider the availability of foreign vessels and the importance to foreign nations of dollar earnings for shipping services in determining our active fleet requirements. Such a recommendation is both unrealistic and dangerous. In the event of a war, we cannot expect foreign nations to make merchantmen available to us. The contrary would be true, as it has been in the past.

As for the report's recommendation that we amend legislation stipulating that 50 percent of United States foreign-aid cargoes be shipped by American-flag vessels, it should be said that no foreign nation would think of giving our ships a chance at more than a small fraction of their exports. Already our merchant marine has slipped to the point where it carries only 28 percent of our imports and exports. Our actions are double-barreled. We build up foreign merchant fleets by direct financial aid. Then we make it possible for foreign shipping to carry the huge majority of our trade.

Subsidies in accordance with our shipping acts, which, incidentally, are the only Government subsidies that are subject to recapture, plus a sound shipbuilding program can correct the unfortunate and inauspicious state of our maritime affairs.

Mr. Dulles Seems To Show Us a One-Way Road Downhill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal of March 31, 1954:

MR. DULLES SEEMS TO SHOW US A ONE-WAY ROAD DOWNHILL

Reading and rereading Mr. Dulles' speech to the Overseas Press Club does not make its meaning any clearer. Nor does it cast much light on the "new" foreign policy the Secretary seems at such pains to elucidate.

Of Mr. Dulles' deep concern with the French predicament in Indochina and the decisive battle now being fought, there can be no doubt. But our allies there and elsewhere will ask themselves in vain just precisely what he plans to do about it, and when. The talk carried a clear intimation that we are discounting the Geneva conference as a possible source of solution. For in his anxiety to reassure the diehards in Congress and to stifle the deadly word "appeasement," Mr. Dulles, in advance, forbids the use of two important bargaining tools. We shall not, he says, agree even to a limited, de facto recognition of the Chinese Government. And we shall not agree even to remain neutral if the question of China's admission to the United Nations is presented.

Thus, while sternly warning the world we are not going to be trapped into appeasement at Geneva, we appease at home the most irrational of our foreign-policy critics. For it is irrational to behave as though a nation of 400 million doesn't exist and hasn't a government. It is also irrational to cut ourselves off from all chance of communicating with them, from observing their movements and informing ourselves of their strength and weakness. This is all that recognition in the formal sense implies, and it is the reason why nations just as realistic as we but of longer experience in the world of diplomacy, encourage and maintain recognition even under hostile circumstances.

But since we rule out bargaining at Geneva, what alternative is offered? Mr. Dulles, it appears, is going to reaffirm our determination to retaliate massively against aggression, at places and by means of free-world choosing. Unfortunately the free world is not at all sure that we know, or that it knows, what we are talking about, and the reservations to a policy seemingly so laden with danger are many and positive. "But," says Mr. Dulles, "the imposition on southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally by whatever means, would be a grave threat to the whole free community. The

United States feels that that possibility should not be passively accepted, but should be met by united action. This might involve serious risks. But these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

There are several ambiguities in this paragraph. First those three words "by whatever means." There is more than a possibility that in the next few years some parts of southeast Asia may elect to ally themselves with the Communist world. Will they then incur united action or retaliation? In that case who will be the aggressor, the Communists who will have won an advantage by nonmilitary means or we, who will seek to annul their victory by force?

Again, what is meant by united action, unless Mr. Dulles is speaking of action through the United Nations on the pattern of Korea? His colleague, Vice President NIXON, has, however, implicitly denounced Korea-type action and the little wars that would nibble us to death, as being typical of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy we have now abandoned. If by united action Mr. Dulles means that a frightened and reluctant alliance must agree to commit itself in advance into following us wherever we lead, his experience here at home ought to give him an inkling of what the answer might be. The country is as deeply divided by this strange policy which seems to promise us more for less, with an implication of desperate alternatives, as our allies are.

Perhaps it is not by accident that we are just now testing in the Pacific weapons of so appalling a destructiveness that even their creators are drawing back. This, our strategists may be meaning to say to China or Russia, is what you may get if you provoke us. This is what we mean by massive retaliation.

But Mr. Dulles and his advisers surely are not unaware of the anger and the fear even the testing of these monsters has provoked among people we hope to keep on our side. We ourselves have not yet fully assessed the contamination of food supplies that our tests have brought about, but we may be sure that Communist propaganda will magnify the results many times over, to people desperately dependent on the thousands of poisoned fish now floating in the poisoned waters.

Even without Communists to exaggerate it, our demonstration of the naked force at our disposal carries with it an uncomfortable suggestion of coercion. Coupled with a seeming refusal to consult our allies, to talk to our potential enemies, we seem to be giving the world the alternative to play the game our way—or else. We do, it is true, give the nations a free choice to play with us or against us. But in a world where such weapons are to be used freely when we decide, what advantage is there to being with us? Recklessness in the threat of force, arrogance in the display of force—these seem to be important components of Mr. Dulles' new policy. And inevitably they strike fear and anger, rather than instilling confidence and respect.

More Careermen—Less Expenditures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Army, Navy, Air Force Journal of March 27, 1954:

MORE CAREERMEN—LESS EXPENDITURES

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, as shown by his testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee, will place principal reliance upon the "more defense for less money" argument to secure congressional backing for the forthcoming slate of legislation to improve career incentives.

In taking this tack, Mr. Wilson is on sound ground: attracting good men and keeping them in the service will most definitely save money and provide stronger defenses. It will cut down the shameful turn-over in personnel, which necessitates huge training programs to fit men for their jobs, only to see them return to civilian life as soon as they legally can do so. In a matter of only a year or so a good program of career incentives would raise the percentage of trained and experienced men so that the overall efficiency of the Armed Forces would be vastly increased and costs lowered.

Furthermore, it is an argument which Mr. Wilson, with his vast experience in industry, is well qualified to expound authoritatively. Properly presented, it is an argument which appeals particularly to the men in Congress, committed as they are to a program of economy and efficiency.

It is encouraging that Mr. Wilson has neglected no opportunity to put the benefits of the program before Congress and the White House. The same applies to his Assistant Secretary, Dr. John A. Hannah, who has worked so diligently to further the program, and to the Secretaries of the military departments.

Certainly, the outlook for constructive action is better now than at any time since the new administration came into power.

The Big Lie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, for more than a decade the Democrats have used "Hoover Depression" as a slogan to scare the American people. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial that appears in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post. Should not this old Democratic slogan now be called the "Obsession of 1954," which is the suggestion in this timely editorial?

CAN THAT "HOOVER DEPRESSION" FRAUD BE DUG UP AGAIN?

Back in the campaign of 1848, Abraham Lincoln, then a member of Congress and a Whig, advised the Democrats of his day to get themselves a new issue. They had been riding the coattails of Andy Jackson, he observed, for 24 years.

Right now, it looks as if the leftwing Democrats of today have broken that century-old record. Their current speeches dwell lovingly on what they call the depression of 1929.

It is not accurate, in any case, to talk about the depression of 1929. What happened in 1929 was a stock-market panic, with a collapse of paper values and paper profits. A lot of people had been speculating in common stocks on a shoestring. Otherwise, 1929 was a good year.

In 1930, the total unemployed rose to 4,340,000, and hit 5,560,000 in 1941, after 8 years of the New Deal. The situation developed into a real business depression in 1931, with 8 million idle, but again that was roughly the same as in 1940.

The really rough years were 1932, under Mr. Hoover, and 1933, under Mr. Roosevelt, each showing more than 12 million jobless. But in both 1934 and 1935, indubitably F. D. R. years, unemployment was over 11 million, and in 1936 there were 10,600,000 out of work.

A slight recovery showed its timid face in 1937, with unemployment down to 7,700,000. At once the economic swamis in the White House ran up warning signals, and applied their nostrums, to such superb effect that in 1938 the number of jobless went back to 10,390,000, greater than in any year except the disaster years of 1932 and 1933. Even in 1939, the record shows 9,480,000 looking for work. From then on, the war accounted for a steady drop toward the scarcity of labor which began in 1942.

At the time, the 50 percent increase in unemployment which took place in 1938 could clearly not be blamed on Mr. Hoover, out of office then for 5 years. The slump was hastily baptized a recession—not a depression, at all—and imputed to the nefarious machinations of economic royalists and princes of privilege.

For the Democrats, a depression in 1929 became a recession in 1938. Now let us find a new term for their latest gallop with the old warhorse. We propose the obsession of 1954.

Rhode Island Has a Nominee for the Italian Good Will Tour

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, men in public life tend to become callous to critics, particularly newspaper critics, because we know for a fact that it is impossible to please everyone. It is always a pleasant surprise when one of us finds a word of praise in the editorial columns of our hometown newspaper.

Under unanimous consent, I am inserting in the RECORD one of the finest editorials I have ever read. This editorial appeared in my hometown newspaper, the Providence Journal, on April 1, 1954. It is honest; it is factual; and it contains an excellent recommendation for action by the President. It is a glowing tribute to a great young American, whose career, to use the words of the editorial, "is in itself the symbol of America and the realization of what is called the great American dream."

I subscribe wholeheartedly to the Providence Journal's recommendation, and I hope that affirmative action is taken on it.

The editorial follows:

RHODE ISLAND HAS A NOMINEE FOR THE ITALIAN GOOD WILL TOUR

President Eisenhower is weighing the request of Ambassador Clare Booth Luce that Vice President NIXON be sent to Italy for a

short good-will tour as a counter to Communist propaganda.

The idea of a good-will tour by an American official to Italy under present circumstances may be useful. But why Vice President NIXON when there is a man available who, by all the tests we can think of, would be a natural for the important assignment?

We mean United States Senator JOHN O. PASTORE, of Rhode Island.

His special qualifications for such a mission are many and directly pertinent to the nature of the task.

Senator PASTORE is the first American of Italian descent to sit in the United States Senate, and by the system of political ranking recognized in this country, he holds the highest national office ever attained by a man of his people in the United States.

He speaks Italian quite fluently, and if he is as eloquent in the language of his fathers as he is in English his effectiveness as an orator presenting the case for the United States in the Italian language to a people who love oratory needs no further laboring.

The parents of Senator PASTORE were both born in Italy, a fact that would make his visit as a representative American personal to millions of Italians and tie in Italy and the United States with a solid kinship of ancestry and pride.

The career of Senator PASTORE is in itself the symbol of American and the realization of what is called the great American dream. If there is one democratic virtue of freedom that the Communists can never hope to match, it is the virtue of opportunity open to the industrious, the talented, and the willing, without regard to race, creed, or color.

Should further recommendation be required, it will be recalled that Senator PASTORE took a leading part in the struggle to liberalize the rigid McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act, a fact that would not go unnoticed in Italy, where there was, and still is, deep interest in the law.

Here is the opportunity for President Eisenhower to appeal to the deepest instinct of the Italian people—their pride—by assigning a man of Italian blood as a representative American, speaking for America, and testifying to the superiority of the American way over the Communist.

The credentials of Senator PASTORE are further strengthened by his record as a sound internationalist, who believes with the President that the United States must be a responsible world leader and who has upheld the President's hand on issues of importance in the foreign field.

The fact that the President had appointed a representative from the opposition party would be a symbol that American politics stops at the water's edge and that on fundamentals in foreign affairs, especially with respect to the Communist international conspiracy, the American people are unified.

For these reasons, we suggest that the selection of Senator PASTORE by President Eisenhower for this extraordinary Italian assignment seems, on the face of it, a natural.

TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following copy of a letter which was addressed to the President by Mr. C. H. Jackson, manager, Chamber of Commerce, Florence, Ala.:

FLORENCE, ALA.,
February 19, 1954.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: During the fall of 1952 in the closing days of the national campaign, you made a speech in Memphis, Tenn. An influential citizen of Florence, Hon. Edward A. O'Neal, introduced you upon this occasion. In the course of your speech you referred to TVA and stated that in the event of your election TVA would be maintained at its maximum efficiency. This statement, together with Mr. O'Neal's open support of your campaign, undoubtedly resulted in your receiving many votes in the Tennessee Valley that would otherwise have gone to your opponent.

Since being inaugurated as President of the United States, considerable concern was aroused by a statement attributed to you in which you refer to TVA as "creeping socialism." This concern is now approaching downright alarm by current reports that you will not reappoint Hon. Gordon Clapp as Chairman of the TVA Board of Directors. This alarm is felt by the board of directors of our chamber of commerce, who in their official meeting have instructed me to write you in behalf of Mr. Clapp's reappointment.

Frankly, we do not know whether Mr. Clapp is a Democrat or a Republican. We do know that TVA is supposed to be nonpartisan and has been so conducted in the past. We likewise know that Mr. Clapp is an efficient administrator of TVA who rose from the ranks to his present position. We have serious doubts that you will find anyone who is as well qualified and would operate TVA as efficiently and impartially for the good of the entire Nation as does Mr. Clapp.

We earnestly hope, therefore, that you will not permit partisan politics to be injected into the appointment of TVA Directors and that you will find it within your good judgment to reappoint Mr. Clapp to his present position.

Respectfully yours,
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
C. H. JACKSON, *Manager.*

Tribute to Mrs. Cordell Hull

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BURR P. HARRISON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial appearing in the News-Leader, a daily newspaper published at Staunton, Va., issue of March 30, 1954.

Mrs. Cordell Hull, the subject, died on a visit to Staunton, her native city. As the editorial points out, she retained throughout her eminently useful life a deep and active affection for, and interest in, her home community. Mrs. Hull manifested this affection and interest by many unselfish acts of civic service which won for her the respect, admiration, and love of Staunton.

Her former neighbors and friends in Staunton join Mr. Hull and other members of the family in sincere mourning at the passing of this distinguished, yet modest and unassuming, daughter of Virginia.

The editorial follows:

A WASHINGTON TRIBUTE TO MRS. HULL

Mrs. Cordell Hull's love of her native city of Staunton and her contribution to the life of the community through her successful efforts in support of the movement to secure the Army's Woodrow Wilson General Hospital during World War II, and for the restoration of the Wilson birthplace, are well known here. Perhaps not so well known is her large contribution to the life of the Nation as the helpmeet of her husband during the trying years when he was Secretary of State. Of this the Washington Post says some things which will be of interest to all in this community who knew and admired the gracious and lovely Staunton woman who played such an important part in the national and international scene. Says the Post:

"For 37 years, until her death Friday, Rose Frances Hull merged her own life in the life of her distinguished husband, Secretary of State throughout the turbulent first decade of the Roosevelt administration. No public man has had, or could have had, a more devoted helpmeet. Only Cordell Hull himself can know how much she was the source of his strength and the sharer of his burdens. But a Nation grateful for the services he has rendered to it will share his sorrow in a loss which must seem to take away a vital element of his own life.

"Mrs. Hull was almost always with her husband when he made his diplomatic journeys—and no Secretary of State before him had ever traveled so widely. She assumed a major portion of his diplomatic duties when they were at home—the formal calls, the attendance at receptions, teas, and numerous official functions. She was beloved by the ladies of the press, a faithful attendant at press luncheons and a generous helper to those in search of a story or a touch of colorful, corroborative detail.

"When Mr. Hull retired in 1944, she claimed him for her exclusive own, helping him with his mail, caring for his health, cherishing the privacy that came as a reward for long years of public life. It was commonly believed that Mrs. Hull imposed a veto upon consideration of her husband for the Presidency in 1940. 'My husband isn't even a prospective candidate..' she declared vehemently. She wanted the autumn of his life to be spent in peace. It must be a solace to Cordell Hull that they spent it together."

Let's Have No Appeasement of the Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's New York Times states that President Eisenhower has made it plain that this Government is deeply committed to united action against any Communist effort to overrun southeast Asia. The Times goes on to say that the President "underwrote every word uttered by his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in proclaiming that policy in a speech 2 nights ago."

I congratulate the President upon the forthright and courageous position he is taking in proclaiming to the world, in effect, that America is prepared now to

stand or fall in unity with other freedom-loving peoples for the preservation of justice and liberty. As a Democrat, I shall unhesitatingly support any course of action dedicated to the ultimate destruction of communism, and to the consummation of justice and right in international affairs. The world has tried appeasement, but appeasement of dictators only invites war and whets the insatiable appetites of unprincipled leaders who dictate the inhuman policies of aggressor nations. We have learned the lesson that the doctrine of appeasement only permits the aggressor to choose his own time and place in which to strike. The time has come when we must say with firmness that, although we want peace, we are no longer willing to stand idly by and see the destruction of liberty anywhere in order to gain it. Peace through appeasement is an illusion. Every foot of ground yielded now will have to be regained later with blood; each link that is welded in the chain which enslaves humankind in other lands can only redound to our own sorrow and will ultimately bind us only to be severed with the sword. We must say to the world that, if a showdown must come, we, of this generation, are willing to stand the test rather than shift the burden to those who will come after us.

America was not made great by men and women who flinched in the face of duty or danger; but, rather, it became great because our illustrious forebears met the challenges of their day face to face, unwilling to foist the perils upon their children's children. We can do no less for our own. If force must be met, let us meet that force with greater force. If freedom must perish from the earth, let the victory be a Pyrrhic victory for those whose greed for gain has utterly blinded them to the whisperings of liberty which emanate from the souls of God-fearing men everywhere. Let us not count the cost to ourselves; to hesitate is to exact a greater price later. With determination to uphold the rights of free peoples, with steadfast faith in an Almighty God who governs the destinies of nations and who will not see His people perish, let us stand up and be counted.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appeared earlier this week in one of the great newspapers of this country, the Charleston Gazette, of Charleston, W. Va. I commend the reading of this editorial to my colleagues, and I, with all my heart, subscribe to the last paragraph in particular:

The Communists have now been put on unmistakable notice—the United States, Democrat or Republican, will offer no appeasement.

The editorial follows:

NO APPEASEMENT

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made sense last night when, in a major policy address, he said:

"Sometimes it is necessary to take risks to win peace just as it is necesary in war to take risks to win victory. The chances for peace are usually bettered by letting a potential aggressor know in advance where his aggression could lead him."

What the Secretary was leading up to was his outline of the two main United States objectives in the forthcoming Geneva Conference:

1. A united and independent Korea, from which Communist China will have withdrawn its army of invasion.

2. An end to the Indochina conflict and with it a cessation of military aid by Red China to the rebel forces in Indochina.

Mr. Dulles also made it clear that the United States will refuse recognition of Red China.

The Secretary's pronouncement had the advance approval of President Eisenhower and this certainly should make it clear to the aggression-minded Communists that the United States has no intentions of following a policy of appeasement.

A "get tough" policy, as this appears to be, naturally must be taken with certain risks but as Mr. Dulles pointed out "these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now, if we dare not be resolute today."

History is filled with lessons teaching us that peace cannot be won by appeasing a bully. We need go no further back than Adolph Hitler to see the truth of this. Hitler bulldozed and threatened his way through much of Europe and, with the help of Chamberlain's appeasement policy, seized enough countries and materials of war to launch World War II.

If the free nations had stood up against Hitler from the start and made it plain that there would be no appeasement, the world might very well have escaped that terrible carnage.

Unless we stand firmly Russia and its partner, Red China, will follow the Hitler technique of picking off one small country at a time until they control southeast Asia and with it the resources and manpower and strategic bases to launch their war of world domination.

We do not want that; the world could not survive with it.

Harry Truman put the first great barrier in the way of the Communist plans when he acted swiftly and decisively in committing our troops to resist the Red aggression in South Korea.

Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower are making a strong and commendable followup in their present stand.

The Communists have now been put on unmistakable notice—the United States, Democrat or Republican, will offer no appeasement.

We Have a Now-or-Never Chance in the Far Wilds of Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal:

WE HAVE A NOW-OR-NEVER CHANCE IN THE FAR WILDS OF ASIA

On June 13, 1940, a desperate cry came ringing across the seas to America. It was the voice of Paul Reynaud, Premier of France. From the storied city of Tours, whence his Government had fled before the iron tread of Hitler's armies, Reynaud made a last desperate appeal to America.

He recognized our sympathy for the plight of his people. Yet "it is one thing to approve and another thing to act," he reminded us. "It is necessary that clouds of war planes from across the Atlantic come to crush the evil force that dominates Europe."

America did not have "the clouds of planes" at that breathless moment in history. We will never know whether such help could have saved France from the last ditch of defeat.

Now another crisis has arisen in French affairs, this time in Indochina. Again France is asking for American planes, and this time we have them at our command. The situation is less dramatic than in June 1940, but it may be even more vital to the future peace and security of our free world.

The 8-year war in Indochina has at last reached a climax. The reason is the approach of the Geneva meeting on April 26, when France, Britain, and America will sit down for the first time at a table with the Red government of China. Moscow and Peiping will undoubtedly choose that moment to offer France a deal for getting out of Indochina.

The deal will not be to America's best interest. It will involve giving up a strategic area of Asia to a "people's government" that will, in a matter of weeks or months, become just another Communist government. Yet the offer is bound to prove tempting to France; just how tempting will depend on the events of the next 4 weeks.

If France could win a heartening victory before Geneva over the Viet Minh, there is a good chance that she will hold out against the Red blandishments. If, on the other hand, the French defenders should be wiped out by the enemy in the besieged fortress of Dien Bien Phu, France will be ready to give up Indochina on almost any terms.

The Reds have chosen Dien Bien Phu for the acid test. The French have gladly accepted it as such, hoping at last to draw the guerrillas out of the jungle and give them a heavy licking.

Raymond Aron, writing in Le Figaro, has stated the French position clearly. There are two alternatives. Either America and Britain must recognize that Indochina is indispensable to our western defense, and be willing to give what it takes to hold it, or they must rate Indochina as expendable and let the French get out of an impossible position there. "I have no doubt," he writes, "that the Americans and British will choose the first part of the alternative, but I am just as sure that they will reject its consequences."

That is exactly what we have done. We have admitted our personal stake in Indochina, to the tune of nearly $500 million a year in money and weapons. Yet we have not faced the danger that our aid may be too little and too late. We are at the very point of finding out at Dien Bien Phu.

The French are not asking for American troops in Indochina. They do not want them, even as trainers of native forces. What they beg for now is plenty of planes and bombs to knock hell out of the enemy clogged around the fortress in the wilds. This is the great opportunity, or the ultimate disaster.

Many hundreds of planes are within flying distance of Indochina at American bases in the Pacific. Now is the time to use them. Surely we prefer to give our equipment, expensive as it is, with another nation to provide the manpower. That is the best bargain we can get in fighting the forces of communism.

America is bitter over the loss of China to the Reds. It will have reason for greater bitterness if we lose all of Southeast Asia, with half a billion people. Yet our Government hesitates, held back mainly by political doubts.

We should slam in everything we can get hold of to win that battle in the far-off Asian plains, and do it at once. Time, tide, and the Communists will not wait.

The Program at Pennhurst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, the problem of the mentally retarded in our population is attracting increasing attention, and this is a development we all welcome. This is a big problem. There is need of more and better facilities throughout the country to provide adequate care for these unfortunates, and there is the matter of trained personnel and qualified management.

An example of what can be done to better the lot of the mentally retarded who require institutional care is amply illustrated by the program being consummated at Pennhurst, in Spring City, Pa. I think it is well to cross State lines and learn as much as we can in this important area of institutional care. What has been achieved at Pennhurst, under the direction of William C. Phillips, superintendent, is of interest not only to Pennsylvania and West Virginia, but also to the country at large.

There are some 3,525 "students" at Pennhurst. About 300 of them are capable of absorbing formal education and attending school daily. Hundreds more learn gardening, carpentry, housekeeping, weaving and other crafts, and occupational therapy. It is noteworthy that, under Superintendent Phillips' regime, fear has been banished, locked doors have been outlawed, and two jail cells are no more.

The viewpoint, philosophy, and experience as evidenced by Superintendent Phillips in dealing with mental defectives are something which should be spread outside the confines of Pennsylvania. As a West Virginian, I am glad to be able to bring this encouraging story to the membership of the House. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I desire to include in the Appendix of the RECORD by a column entitled "Across the Desk," by the editor of the Inter-Borough Press of Spring City, Pa., which presents in detail the forward-looking program being effectuated at Pennhurst:

ACROSS THE DESK

For my New Year's column, I would like to give you a report on Pennhurst State School, where fear, locked doors, and mistreatment of patients are things of the past.

It is doubtful that many of you realize the scope of Pennhurst, even though its population of 3,525 patients and 495 staff personnel is equal to the population of Royersford. And the school population is growing at the rate of 40 a month.

In a sense, Pennhurst State School is a big business.

The school's physical plant and payroll are equally impressive. There are 89 buildings scattered over 1,400 hilltop acres and $3,250,000 in State funds pouring into the institution annually. Of this amount, $350,000 in annual payroll goes to staff personnel and employees living in Chester County and $300,000 in Montgomery County.

The school maintains a fine dairy, piggery, chickery, truck gardens, and shops for plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, mattress making, shoemaking, printing, sewing and mending.

There is a 310-bed hospital with 6 resident doctors, 1 parttime doctor, and 34 registered nurses. There is a 4-chair barber shop and a beauty parlor operated by 2 beauticians.

But far more important than the physical plant is the transformation that has come over Pennhurst in the past 5 years under the capable direction of William A. Phillips, superintendent.

Phillips arrived at Pennhurst in 1948 when the school was operating under a cloud of patient mistreatment and abuse. There were 46 escapees, compared with 3 at present. There were locked wards and ugly stories of patient abuse by attendant help.

The superintendent's first steps were to fire 23 department heads, unlock the "jail" wards and replace fear with sympathetic treatment and understanding care.

Today, there are no delinquents at Pennhurst. One medical doctor, a psychiatrist, is assigned to handle all disciplinary cases. If a child is uncontrollable, he is sent to the Huntingdon Training School.

Attendants are selected not only for their capabilities, but on the basis of their motherly or fatherly attitudes.

If a patient deteriorates after commitment to the school, he is returned to his home for a brief period and then sent to Pennhurst again in an attempt to adjust him to his new surroundings.

The number of escapes has been reduced remarkably. When roll is called each evening at 6, attendants mark absentees and if the missing patients have not appeared by 7 p. m., a teletype message is sent out over the State police network. Often the missing patients have not escaped but merely wandered away.

There are three classes of patients—ranging downward in intelligence from moron to imbecile to idiot. In the moron class, about 290 are educable and attend school regularly. Others are in occupational therapy, learning to do mending, weaving, housekeeping, and the like.

Ages of the patients range from 6 months to 80 years but they are all children and treated as such.

Superintendent Phillips estimates that there are 15,000 "children" who should be in institutions but are now living with their parents in Pennsylvania homes. More and more parents are beginning to realize it. That is the big reason for the swelling enrollment at Pennhurst and at the other two State schools of its kind in Pennsylvania.

Their care is just as important as the care of normal children. A visit to Pennhurst will convince you that the Commonwealth is caring well for its wards.

Isolation at Geneva?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion with regard to the procedures adopted whereby Red China will be permitted to participate in the forthcoming Geneva conference. Concern and consternation is rampant amongst many of our citizens because of their feeling that this constitutes a recognition of Communist China and attendance at the Geneva conference will result in an agreement or secret commitment on the part of the United States to raise only token objection to the desires of some of our Allies to have Red China admitted into the United Nations.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I hereby include the article by George Sokolsky entitled "Isolation at Geneva?"

ISOLATION AT GENEVA?

(By George Sokolsky)

Just as the war in Korea became a conflict with Red China, so the Indochina war is a conflict with Red China. Therefore, at the Geneva conference, Red China will speak for these countries; the Peking radio already claims that Red China will speak for the whole of Asia. This, of course, is a geographical exaggeration. Nevertheless, the United States will at Geneva face a formidable antagonist who will demand full recognition as a member of the United Nations as a minimum basis for future discussions.

There will be no other issue at Geneva until the question of recognition is settled, and in this the United States stands utterly alone. To Great Britain recognition offers hope for the vast China trade, which could mean a restoration of an Asiatic economic empire; also, the British are anxious to force upon India an irrevocable east or west decision.

To France, such a recognition could mean that the Indochina war would be settled by a truce or a peace. To Soviet Russia it would mean the fulfillment of the conquest of China and the satisfaction of the wishes of the second most important member of the Soviet universal state. To the United States it can only mean the end of an adventure in international leadership that failed.

As the situation has developed, Formosa is not at this moment the issue. The leading powers are not considering Formosa's sensibilities or Chiang Kai-shek's future. The issue at Geneva will be how far the United States will go to resist recognition of Red China by the United Nations with a seat on the Security Council.

If the United States is adamant, threatening to use the veto or even to withdraw from the United Nations on the ground that no nation can fight its way into it, the conference will break up. If the United States adopts the view that it cannot resist its friends or a majority of the principal powers, the conference will be reduced to cutting the United States down to size in international affairs. Great Britain will then emerge as the leader of the Western European nations and the United States will be isolated.

The pattern is clear, but how to salvage anything is not so clear. Too many errors of judgment led up to this climactic conference, and those errors cannot be erased.

Practicality in time of war developed into almost abject compromise and appeasement. At Geneva, the last step may be taken—the recognition of Red China as the successor state to Nationalist China, our ally in World War II.

The new isolationism is not so repugnant to a people who are weary of constant diplomatic defeats at great cost. Never since the days of the America First movement have Americans generally been so apathetic about foreign affairs or so antagonistic to foreign countries. No European or Asiatic nation is today popular among the American people, unless it be Turkey. The pendulum is swinging away from nearly 20 years of excessive emphasis on foreign affairs.

The danger, of course, is war, but this our people do not recognize. The hellbombs go off and then are only curiosities, such as fireworks displays were at the beginning of

the 20th century. The failure of Civil Defense to arouse our people to the dangers of a war of extermination is only another evidence of their apathy on the entire subject of a prospective war.

All this Geneva will in some manner influence. The gathering of states could have been held at the United Nations in New York, but the decision has been to hold this conference, as so many others, outside the United Nations. It is essentially a European conference, although Asiatics will be present, in which the American delegation will have to stand alone, if there is courage left to fight it out. There may not be such courage left, particularly on the principle that a nation must not shoot its way into the United Nations.

Criticism of Trinity River Project Authorization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks, I desire to include an editorial from the March 28 issue of the Eureka (Calif.) Humboldt Times.

The editorial is very timely in that it deals with the question of validity surrounding authorization of the Trinity River diversion project, as a division of the Central Valley project. One of the last acts of the former Secretary of the Interior was to authorize the multimillion Trinity River project as a unit of the CVP, with a finding of feasibility.

The people in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties have long protested this authorization on the basis that local water needs, for the present and foreseeable future, were not given ample consideration. They feel, in effect, that an issue vital to the north coastal sector of California is being argued in a remote court—denying regional, affected interests the right of counsel.

I have continuously protested the authorization by the former Interior Secretary. I am in complete agreement with the report of the Appropriations Committee in denying funds for the Trinity division on the basis that the project was not authorized by legislation, no construction funds have been previously appropriated, and the cost far exceeds that specified in the policy for limiting secretarial authorizations.

The committee report assures protection of local requirements; and the editorial referred to above, entitled "Court Without Counsel," is as follows:

COURT WITHOUT COUNSEL

Fresno, in the San Joaquin Valley of California is quite a long way from Trinity County—much farther, at any rate, than are numerous points in northern California. Which would infer that matters relating to Trinity County might be discussed nearer at home, either within the county itself or at some nearby point.

This is a thought that comes to mind as a result of recent news stories from Fresno to the effect that current efforts to divert the waters of the Trinity River to points in central California are now concentrated in and around Fresno, where a group of proponents of the diversion move assembled to renew demands to Congress that the diversion project be approved and integrated into the Central Valley water and irrigation program.

At any rate, there is no question that a concentrated effort is shaping up to gain congressional approval of the controversial diversion program involving the Trinity and that efforts, likewise, are being made to enlist the full support of all valley counties and communities in the renewed campaign.

And, equally apparent, is the obvious fact that the north-coast country, including Humboldt County, is to be entirely ignored in the discussions and excluded from sessions aimed at forcing the diversion program in Congress. And again equally apparent is the fact that this bypassing of north-coast interests follows out a pattern that has been in evidence from the outset of the move to take the Trinity water to points far distant from its source and flow in northwestern California.

This, indeed, has been one of the principal points of criticism raised by local interests and among the chief objections that have been voiced from the north-coast region. When, for example, the project was first proposed, people of this region were the last to learn of it, notwithstanding the fact that the Trinity flows through part of Humboldt County in its course to join the Klamath River, with its final outlet at the mouth of the Klamath in Del Norte County. Again, there appeared to have been a studied effort to exclude local spokesmen from sessions during the last few years in which hurried efforts were made to force the issue. Finally, the project was presented to Congress by reclamation authorities, under the last national administration, as an accomplished fact, but without the concurrence either of all interests concerned—including the north-coast counties—or the State of California itself. And now this pattern again becomes apparent in view of the Fresno session, with local interests not even extended the courtesy of an invitation to appear.

This arbitrary action on the part of diversion proponents was brought to the attention of Congress not long ago by Congressman HUBERT B. SCUDDER, of this district, who pointed out that there was serious doubt as to the validity of the previous action taken by the House of Representatives, in approving the plan in principle, in view of the lack of concurrence by the State of California. Moreover, Mr. SCUDDER pointed out that the reclamation people actually usurped the prerogatives of Congress in even approving the program without prior congressional investigation, and cited this action as a reason why Congress should place a curb on the reclamation authorities in the matter of committing public funds without prior congressional study and approval.

At the Fresno sessions there was a considerable showing made as to the need of the Central Valley area for more water. Nor does anyone dispute that obvious fact. But there are additional facts also to be considered, including the relative requirements of the northwestern region and the availability of other sources accessible to the valley people, including the untapped Feather River and its tributaries. But these facts evidently are being ignored in the new campaign to divert the Trinity waters, with attention focused entirely on that demand.

Reviewing the entire issue over the Trinity, there is no question that the high-handed action by proponents and the contemptuous treatment of critics have accounted for much of the bitterness aroused in the north coast region. What the critics are asking, in the main, is that the proposed project be examined and reviewed from every angle and viewpoint, in order to make sure that all concerned have an opportunity to interpose opinions, and by the same token, that all regional interests are protected in the matter of their own needs and requirements. But it begins to become apparent again that this opportunity and this reassurance are to be denied.

What it sums up to, in effect, is that an issue vital to every sector of northern California is being argued in a remote court wherein affected regional interests are denied the right to counsel or representation.

An Assumption That Should Be Checked Before It Gains Further Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, while all of us watch with axiety the course of events in Indochina, where we hope to see communism held at bay, we should not overlook the course of events in France, where the major responsibility for this task should lie.

It is abundantly evident, Mr. Speaker, that the French are anxious to terminate the war as early as possible and are ready to make great concessions to the Reds in order to extricate themselves from it.

The United States is, of course, bearing the major financial burden of the war in Indochina, aggregating now some 80 percent of the cost, or well over a billion dollars, in the last year. If the war were terminated, it would, or should, remove a heavy burden from the backs of the taxpayers of the United States.

The French, however, have different plans. An article in the influential Paris newspaper, Le Monde, for the week of March 19, suggests that, if the war in Indochina could only be stopped, all or part of those wonderful American dollars could then be diverted to metropolitan France itself. Mr. Speaker, the French Government is already relying on American aid to meet its normal domestic budgetary requirements, while its assembly considers further tax cuts for the French people.

In all candor, let us not encourage our friends in France to think that it will be to their financial advantage to quit the Indochina war against the Reds so that they can enjoy more American aid at home. To let any such impression gain currency would be no service to the cause of Western unity; on the contrary, it would be the greatest disservice both to a free France, and above all, to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, the pertinent excerpt from the article in Le Monde follows:

It has been said that the [ending] of the war in Indochina would only free 136 billion francs, which could then be transferred to the defense of France itself. That is correct. But, without giving any weight to the hypothesis of the ratification of EDC, the ending of hostilities would probably permit the transfer to metropolitan France of a part of the American aid. The end of [military] operations would thus not be without financial profit.

The Crusade for Truth in Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent article by Mr. Daniel J. Murphy, Director, Bureau of Antideceptive Practices, Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. Murphy is one of my constituents from Chelsea, Mass. He has been associated with the Federal Trade Commission for a good many years and does possess an excellent knowledge gained from his study and valuable experience with the problems in this department of our Government.

The article follows:

[From the Trade Practice Bulletin]

THE CRUSADE FOR TRUTH IN ADVERTISING [1]

(By Dan Murphy)

On Thursday, March 5, 1885, a full-page testimonial appeared in the Washington Post purporting to be a facsimile reproduction of a handwritten Presidential proclamation endorsing a certain brand of whisky. This purported endorsement stated that Duffy's Pure Malt Whisky is "The purest whisky known in all Christendom. The use of any other would be dangerous. I may add criminal either as a beverage or for medicinal use." It then recommended this whisky as a "positive cure for consumption and other wasting diseases in their early stages * * *." The endorsement was, in all probability, a 100 percent distillation of Mr. Duffy's imagination.

A casual examination of the newspapers and magazines published before the turn of the century will disclose an amazing array of advertisements not only in dubious taste, as the one mentioned above, but patently fraudulent. The almost universal concern for one's physical well-being made the patent-medicine field particularly verdant and it was the excesses committed in this realm that gave initial impetus to the wheels of reform.

In a message to Congress on June 21, 1911, President Taft made the following statement:

"Fraudulent misrepresentations of the curative value of nostrums not only operate to defraud purchasers but are a distinct menace to the public health. There are none so credulous as sufferers from disease. The need is urgent for legislation which will prevent the raising of false hopes of speedy cures of serious ailments by misstatements of facts as to worthless mixtures on which the sick will rely while their diseases progress unchecked."

When, on September 26, 1914, the Federal Trade Commission Act was approved, section 5, the principal substantive provision of the act, gave the Commission authority to prevent the use of unfair competition in commerce. This was construed by the Commission to include false advertising.

The first two formal cases decided by the Commission in 1916 involved false advertising. The first formal case involving false advertising of a drug was decided in 1918. One of the first cases to be judicially reviewed under this statute involved a false advertisement of food. The court affirmed the Commission's order to cease and desist and declared that such was the congressional intent, stating in part that—

"The Commissioners are to stop all those trade practices that have a capacity or tendency to injure competitors directly or through deception of purchasers, quite irrespective of whether the specific practices in question have yet been denounced in common-law cases."

While in 1919 the Commission was circumscribed in its authority to determine what constituted an unfair method of competition by the decision in the Gratz case, and 10 years later was limited in its power to decide whether a proceeding was in the public interest, the Klesner case, the coup de grace was delivered in 1931 by the Supreme Court in the Raladam decision.

In the case of the *Federal Trade Commission* v. *Raladam*, a false and misleading advertising charge directed against the manufacturers of Marmola, an alleged obesity cure, failed because it was not supported by proof of injury to competitors. Marmola was advertised as a scientific product developed by years of research. Evidence introduced in the course of hearings before the Commission disclosed that the important ingredient in the preparation was desiccated thyroid, allegedly dangerous unless administered under competent medical supervision. Despite the presence of public interest and proof of the charge, the court said:

"It is obvious that the word 'competition' (in sec. 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act) imports of the existence of present or potential competitors, and the unfair methods must be such as injuriously affect or tend thus to affect the business of these competitors."

The cumulative effect of these decisions was to turn back the clock and leave the consumer once again, for the most part, unprotected against false and misleading advertising.

The Commission being an organization of dedicated public servants, however, continued to make bricks without the benefit of judicial straw and, within a few years, their efforts were rewarded when the Supreme Court in the Algoma case reappraised the Commission's function.

In the instant case the respondents were representing yellow pine as California white pine. The Commission found that such a practice was deceptive but the lower court decided to the contrary. The Supreme Court, however, in sustaining the Commission's appeal, ruled that the findings of the Commission as to the facts, if supported by testimony, shall be conclusive. It also held that the public is entitled to its choice even though dictated by caprice, fashion, or gross ignorance.

In the Keppel case (1934), the previously erected hurdle making the determination of unfair methods of competition a matter for judicial pronouncement was lowered if not in effect pushed aside by the Supreme Court. The Gratz case to all intents and purposes was overruled.

A defective elixir of sulfanilamide which claimed 73 lives was the vis major in removing the barrier of the Raladam case. Despite strong opposition from vested interests, Congress in 1938 passed the Wheeler-Lea amendment to the Federal Trade Commission Act.

The amendment enlarged section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act to provide that in addition to unfair methods of competition, unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce were unlawful. A new section, 12, was added declaring specifically that the false advertisement of food, drugs, devices and cosmetics is unlawful and a deceptive act or practice within the meaning of section 5. It is in this category that the Commission was given vital injunctive powers, enabling it to act promptly with respect to those products or devices which are potentially dangerous to health.

Thus, the consuming public was restored to at least an equal position before the law as the merchant or manufacturer injured by unfair or dishonest competitors.

The Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives in House Report No. 1613, 75th Congress, 1st session, in discussing amendments of the Federal Trade Commission Act proposed by the Wheeler-Lea Act, among other things stated:

"We cannot ignore the evils and abuses of advertising; the imposition upon the unsuspecting; and the downright criminality of preying upon the sick as well as the consuming public through fraudulent, false or subtle misleading advertisements. * * * Among the more obvious needs of the Federal Trade Commission Act are those giving more effective control of advertisements affecting the public health and fraudulent impositions as to its food and medicinal supplies."

The Wheeler-Lea amendment also effected an important procedural change in the Federal Trade Commission Act. Formerly, it was necessary for the Commission to seek judicial confirmation of its cease and desist orders. By virtue of the amendment, the orders now become self-executory if not appealed within 60 days of their issuance.

That branch of the Federal Trade Commission which is particularly concerned with the investigation and trial of all matters involving unfair and deceptive acts and practices, the bulk of which constitutes false and misleading advertising, is the Bureau of Antideceptive Practices. Since the establishment of the Commission, this Bureau has passed through many metamorphoses, but its basic concept and function, like water finding its own level, remains unchanged.

Complaints are brought to the attention of the Commission and indirectly to the Bureau of Antideceptive Practices by members of the public or consumers, by competitors and through the means of a continuous survey of advertising media. Several hundred thousands of radio and television continuities, magazines, newspapers, etc., are examined annually in the course of this survey.

Briefly, the Bureau of Antideceptive Practices may follow one of two well-defined courses of action in the handling of a given matter.

If an offender voluntarily agrees to discontinue the unfair or deceptive practice in question, he may be accorded an opportunity to enter into an agreement, called a stipulation, to cease and desist. The mechanics of this informal process are handled by the Bureau of Industry Cooperation, to whom the case is referred after investigation for precessing and disposition.

If the opportunity to stipulate is not deemed expedient by the Commission, as in cases of deliberate fraud or where the product is potentially dangerous, formal complaint is usually issued.

The complaint is served upon the respondent by registered mail and contains a fair statement of the charges. The respondent may be represented by counsel or answer in his own behalf. After the formal answer has been filed, hearings are held at which the testimony of witnesses is taken under oath before an officer called a hearing examiner. The customary rules of evidence are applicable and the respondent is accorded all the rights of a party to litigation in court. The decision of the hearing examiner is designated as an initial decision.

The case ultimately comes before the Commission for its approval upon the record. If the charges in the complaint have not been sustained by the evidence, the complaint will be dismissed. If sustained, however, the Commission will make its findings as to the facts and issue its order to cease

[1] These statements are personal expressions of the writer and not official statements of the Commission.

and desist. The respondent, of course, has the right of appeal from the initial decision of the hearing examiner and the right of appeal from the Commission's order to the Circuit Court of Appeals, or finally to the Supreme Court.

The purpose of advertising—to sell goods, like the objective of the Bureau of Anti-deceptive Practices—to foster truth in advertising, is elemental. The media and the scope of the former is, however, constantly increasing to keep pace with the marvelous world in which we live. Consequently, the administrative task of the Bureau is concomitantly increasing. Considering the enormity of the assignment, much has been accomplished, but much still remains to be done. For the most part, the patently fraudulent tactics of the early days have all but disappeared from the commercial scene.

Protagonists of the Commission most frequently point to the creditable services rendered the consuming public. All but the most prejudiced, however, will admit that such benefits have redounded to the business community as well through the maintenance of fair competition.

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from an elderly correspondent in Seattle, Wash., expressing his sense of dismay and betrayal at the discovery that his old-age insurance is not insurance after all:

I thought (foolishly, I suppose) that even the Congress of the United States could not annul a contract already complete and fulfilled in every detail. I thought (foolishly, I suppose) the Constitution of the United States would not recognize a new law that was retroactive and that would hurt a good citizen and deprive him of what he was lawfully entitled to—

My correspondent writes.

How long is Congress going to continue to hurt the good citizens of the United States, Mr. Speaker, by deluding them about this program? If we are going to continue to call it insurance, it must operate as insurance, and not be hedged about with fine-print loopholes. If it is not going to operate like insurance, we should not use that illusory term.

My correspondent's letter follows:

SEATTLE, WASH.

Representative HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: After reading an article in the Reader's Digest and seeing your name given as author of a bill dealing with social security, I thought that you might like to know my particular case under the present social-security law.

I am 68 years old. I am a machinist by trade and have made my contribution, or in other words, I have paid my taxes under the law since it was first enacted. I have not missed even one quarter. In 1950 I became eligible for my pension. This fitted in with my physical condition perfectly, for I had undergone 2 coronary heart attacks, and my doctor advised me to work only about 4 hours per day. I therefore gave up my job, and upon the advice of the social-security adviser started in a small business of my own, which consisted chiefly of services which I rendered. For a few months I received my pension, this supplemented my earnings and allowed me to live normally. Then the law was changed and I was no longer entitled to a pension, but was burdened with another tax in addition to my regular income tax. This compelled me to work longer hours in order to live, for you must understand that I have a home and a wife to support. My wife, although several years younger than I, is not able to work away from home.

I understand that if I had property, or bonds, or income from bank deposits, I would be able to secure my pension, but because I have only two hands to depend on I am penalized and discriminated against.

I have worked continuously for 52 years, raised a family of 2. My daughter is a graduate of the University of Washington, my son of the high school; both are married. I was promised by the President of the United States that when I had completed my part of the social-security law I was then entitled to my pension, and laboring under the impression that I was secure in my pension, I failed to make any other provision for my old age. I thought (foolishly, I suppose) that even the Congress of the United States could not annul a contract already complete and fulfilled in every detail. I thought (foolishly, I suppose) the Constitution of the United States would not recognize a new law that was retroactive and that would hurt a good citizen and deprive him of what he was lawfully entitled to, for I had completed my part of the social-security-law requirements before the new law was enacted.

I have stated my case to you thinking that in the months to come when the social-security law is to be reconsidered and amended that it might throw a little light on the inequities of the law and help to make the new law a blessing to all good citizens when they reach the age of partial retirement.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES H. EDWARDS.

P. S.—If you will give me the name of those on the committee appointed to study social security I will send them a copy of this letter.

Republicans Planning Political Choice for TVA Chairmanship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News:

TVA AND POLITICS

One of the Government's most successful enterprises has been the Tennessee Valley Authority. This great power undertaking was a boon to national defense in World War II, and now is a key operation in the development of atomic energy. It has been a stimulant of vast impact on the economic life of the area it serves.

A major reason for TVA's efficiency has been its freedom from politics.

For years, Scripps-Howard newspapers opposed the persistent efforts of former Senator Kenneth McKellar to lay political hands on the TVA. And the TVA did not become a victim of the spoils system.

Now, it seems possible that fight may have to be fought again.

This time, Republican politicians in Tennessee are promoting a political candidate for the chairmanship of the TVA. Their candidate is Harry Carbaugh, former vice chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee.

The TVA laws specifically forbid the appointment of TVA officials on a political basis.

President Eisenhower has promised to see that the TVA is "operated at maximum efficiency." Mr. Carbaugh's candidacy does not lend itself to that purpose.

Federal Internal Revenue Collections for the Fiscal Year 1953 by States Compared With Grants-in-Aid to State and Local Governments, and Federal-Aid Payments Direct to Individuals Within the States Other Than Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Federal internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1953, by States, compared with reported grants-in-aid to State and local governments, and Federal aid payments direct to individuals within the States other than loans

[Compiled from original Treasury Department reports by Paul O. Peters]

State	Internal revenue collection 1953	Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals	Percent of collection
Alabama	$398,572,402	$95,111,903	23.86
Arizona	165,840,697	31,984,728	19.29
Arkansas	162,118,030	72,607,475	44.78
California	5,287,729,417	339,650,484	6.42
Colorado	681,289,581	70,895,930	10.41
Connecticut	1,228,088,551	32,353,562	2.63
Delaware	845,322,825	7,589,011	.89
Florida	657,863,268	86,973,619	13.22
Georgia	708,213,686	123,157,799	17.39
Idaho	117,604,461	29,022,780	25.53
Illinois	5,878,353,501	168,272,713	2.86
Indiana	1,630,727,456	74,671,797	4.57
Iowa	536,325,871	74,603,240	13.91
Kansas	534,957,361	64,592,242	12.07
Kentucky	1,314,056,491	76,330,677	5.81
Louisiana	540,751,062	137,479,083	25.42
Maine	177,777,857	21,867,614	12.30
Maryland	1,941,422,478	106,452,630	5.43
Massachusetts	1,913,610,801	110,029,561	5.71
Michigan	5,670,122,580	130,200,129	2.29
Minnesota	1,040,300,944	85,166,048	8.19
Mississippi	142,325,433	71,604,720	50.31
Missouri	1,856,156,915	139,636,101	7.52
Montana	122,724,817	32,150,325	26.20
Nebraska	409,329,046	42,842,332	10.46
Nevada	79,262,324	13,163,653	16.61
New Hampshire	122,726,653	12,395,552	10.10
New Jersey	2,023,700,986	65,232,559	3.22
New Mexico	112,791,705	34,008,594	30.15
New York	12,996,197,025	286,076,374	2.20
North Carolina	1,611,536,349	94,716,720	5.88
North Dakota	71,401,340	30,871,714	43.24
Ohio	4,849,079,829	137,944,136	2.84
Oklahoma	656,009,053	103,313,662	15.75
Oregon	472,892,053	56,184,633	11.88
Pennsylvania	5,160,536,946	163,279,726	3.16
Rhode Island	298,664,677	18,692,333	6.32
South Carolina	266,782,453	64,347,578	24.12

Footnotes at end of table.

Federal internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1953, by States, compared with reported grants-in-aid to State and local governments, and Federal aid payments direct to individuals within the States other than loans—Continued

State	Internal revenue collection 1953	Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals	Percent of collection
South Dakota	$76,804,908	$31,235,606	40.67
Tennessee	520,956,821	95,531,067	18.33
Texas	2,272,857,627	227,899,606	10.03
Utah	152,390,785	32,518,286	21.34
Vermont	75,151,680	11,604,344	15.44
Virginia	1,124,430,915	65,059,459	5.80
Washington [2]	851,617,325	97,643,322	11.46
West Virginia	301,745,274	46,523,355	15.42
Wisconsin	1,407,284,417	76,596,571	5.44
Wyoming	63,790,618	23,464,184	36.78
Hawaii	136,318,686	26,718,876	19.60

[1] Report for Maryland includes revenue collections from Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.
[2] Report for Washington includes revenue collections from Alaska. Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals for 1953 in Alaska totaled $11,317,467.

Total collections cleared by collectors of internal revenue, fiscal 1953	$70,117,917,819
Total grants-in-aid to State and local units plus checks to individuals within the States, fiscal 1953	$4,053,941,794
Percent of revenue collections returned	5.78
Percent of national income collected, 1953	23.19

Percentage of grants-in-aid and payments to individuals for the last 4 years

	Collections	Returned	Percent
Fiscal 1950	$38,967,131,768	$5,518,879,345	14.16
Fiscal 1951	51,487,378,963	4,850,097,620	9.42
Fiscal 1952	65,009,585,560	4,241,158,202	6.52
Fiscal 1953	70,117,917,819	4,053,941,794	5.78

Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals apparently are getting less and less each year, but our foreign-aid programs and military commitments are taking more and more of the tax revenues.

We hope the American people understand what is happening to their tax revenues.

Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I submit one letter to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. This letter is typical of many received in expression of certain inequalities in the social-security law:

ALEXANDRIA, IND., *February 20, 1954.*
Hon. JOHN V. BEAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am writing in regards to social security.

I have been covered by social security for about 8 years and draw $57 a month. Out of that I pay the following month end bills: Gas, $20; electricity, $5; garbage, $1.50; and water, $3.

My taxes on my home is $75. Insurance $70, doctor bills and clothing and miscellaneous and upkeep of my home about $100. Making a total of $600 which leaves me $84 to live on.

I have paid in three times as much in social security as some who are drawing $85 a month. I do not think they are drawing too much, but I think some of us have been discriminated against. They belonged a year and a half, and I have been covered 8 years.

I didn't turn my telephone bill in as it is considered a luxury. If this wouldn't be asking too much of you, would you be kind enough to read this before the House of Representatives?

Thanking you in advance, I remain,
Respectfully yours,

TONY ZINK.

What Farmers Are Thinking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters and resolutions:

LADYSMITH MILK PRODUCERS'
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Ladysmith, Wis., March 29, 1954.
Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'KONSKI: We, the membership of the Ladysmith Milk Producers' Cooperative Association, handling the milk products from 3,000 farmers in 8 counties, urge your active support of bill H. R. 8368. We feel that this amendment to the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937 can do much to eliminate present ills of our dairy industry.

Sincerely,

N. E. FABRICIUS,
General Manger.

LADYSMITH MILK PRODUCERS'
COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,
Ladysmith, Wis., March 29, 1954.
Representative ALVIN O'KONSKI.

DEAR SIR: The following thesis was introduced as a resolution at the annual meeting of the Ladysmith Milk Producers' Cooperative Association held at Ladysmith, Wis., on March 20. The resolution was adopted unanimously. You will note that the recommendations deal only with long-range reforms needed in our industry.

This association markets the products for roughly 3,000 farmers. The reason for writing this resolution in a thesis form was to give background material and reasons for such a resolution.

"Resolution 1

"It is obvious to this group of farmers, representing cooperatives of all types in Rusk, Sawyer, Price, Ashland, Polk, Eau Claire, Washburn, and Taylor Counties that to solve the problems of the dairy industry we must either sell more dairy products or produce less milk.

"Obviously the cut suffered in support prices is designed to cut production. We want to call to the attention of our Senators and Representatives that, in our opinion, there are three classes of dairy farmers. We have the small 4-to-5 cow farmers, who sell poor-grade gathered cream, that use dairying only as a supplementary income. We have the really professional dairymen of the Middle West who milk 20 to 30 cows and makes his entire income from dairying. This dairyman is obviously very efficient in the production of milk, for he has sold his production for $3.20 to $3.60 per hundredweight during 1951, 1952, and 1953. We have a third class of producers, the somewhat larger farmer inside of the various milk sheds. This farmer is apparently very inefficient, for he calls for a hearing each year and presents testimony proving that he needs more and more money for the production of class I milk for fluid use. He evidently has to have from $6 to $7 for the production of hundredweight of milk.

"How will the cut in supports affect each of these classes of farmers? In our humble opinion, it will not affect the 4-to-5 cow farmer producing low-grade gathered cream, for he uses this cream check only as supplementary income. The big producer inside of the milk shed has already indicated that he will ask for higher class I prices so as to escape the effect of support-price reductions. So, in all probability, the only farmer we will eliminate by the recent drop in support prices will be our most efficient producer of milk, our 20-to-30 cow farmer from the Midwest. This 20-to-30 cow farmer who makes his entire living from milk had no choice but to increase his production to stay in business when supports were lowered. Consequently we submit that lower supports will increase production to a certain point and will then eliminate our most efficient producer of milk and animal protein.

"It is the opinion of this group that to eliminate this surplus situation we will have to sell more milk as fluid and more milk fat as butter. We can expect increasing sales of cheese as a result of more sales effort, better packaging, and better quality. It will, however, never solve our problems. It is doubtful if evaporated milk sales can be greatly increased since the introduction of the consumer package of nonfat. Ice-cream sales will continue to increase, but will only be a small factor in eliminating surpluses.

"Since we have lost 47 pints annually of fluid milk consumption per person, it would seem this branch of our industry has done a poor sales job in view of the many beautiful things we can say about a quart of milk. This is particularly serious since this branch of our industry was never faced with a serious competitive situation as was butter as a result of widespread introduction of yellow oleomargarine.

"Consequently, we submit that if any branch of the industry has priced itself out of the market it has been the market milk business. To rectify this situation we feel the following should be given consideration:

"1. Lower class I prices under Federal order. Certainly order prices should be so set up as to fully reflect changes in support prices. Pricing orders resulting in over a 20-percent surplus should certainly be subject to serious revision.

"2. Monopolistic labor control of costs of delivery in certain markets have become important pricing factors. We feel that the Taft-Hartley law should be strengthened.

"3. Public health regulations in existence in many markets affecting the free movement of milk from one market to another are certainly not consistent with our American way of doing business.

"4. Industrywide promotion of 3-1 concentrated milk of USPH quality can lower freight costs, spoilage, package costs, delivery costs, and shrinkage, and can, at the same time, give the housewife a superior-flavor quality milk. Permission to sell such a product without public health obstructions could greatly reduce the price of the quart of milk in many markets.

"There is little question in the minds of most people in our industry that butter consumption can be greatly expanded by getting only fine quality of butter to the consumer. To do this the following suggestions are submitted for consideration:

"1. Increased funds for Pure Food and Drug, making possible increased activity toward elimination of butter from poor-quality

gathered cream, whey, cream, and market milk returns.

"2. Revision of our present support program so the Government will buy 89-score butter to be immediately processed into butter oil. Our present program puts good butter into cold storage and makes poor butter the butter of commerce. Research on such pure fat hydrogenation can greatly affect melting points and could possibly gain many new customers for pure butterfat.

"3. Consumer grade labeling of butter should be given more widespread consideration.

"4. A Federal law preventing the use of yellow color in oleomargarine would solve our butter-surplus problem very quickly. It is now obvious that we can never stop the unscrupulous person selling oleomargarine in the guise of butter in any other manner than by color protection."

"Resolution 2

"Be it resolved, That the purchase of oleomargarine and low-grade butter by the Army and Navy be investigated by our Senators and Representatives. It is the opinion of these assembled farmers, that since the Government owns large holdings of fine quality butter, that the Army and Navy should use only butter and butter of fine quality 93 score or better.

"Our reason for bringing up the matter of quality is that some Army people have indicated that the soldiers prefer oleomargarine. Possibly this is due to the fact that the Army and Navy buy only very poor quality butter.

"The Army and Navy is only supposed to buy butter 90 score or better. This is, of course, a ridiculous situation. Certainly our soldiers should have at least a 92 score product and preferably a 93 score product. The Army and Navy set very high standards on all other food products and then purchase butter of a very low score.

"As previously stated the Army and Navy are supposed to buy butter of 90 score or better. Such butter is inspected by the Veterinary Corps. If they say the butter scores 90 or above the Quartermaster Corps has to accept the product.

"A good example of what happens applies to an order of butter last summer. A large order of butter was shipped to Norfolk, Va., last summer for 64.4 cents. This printed product was shipped in fiber export cases, double strapped, to this destination from the Middle West. It costs 1.1 cents to pack this product for export. Freight to Norfolk from the Middle West is 1.75 cents. Consequently, this butter was purchased for 61.5 cents figuring no profit for the packer. At that time 90 score butter was 63 cents in Chicago. Consequently, it is obvious that the Navy did not get 90 score butter, but instead were furnished 89 score butter that was selling on the market at that time for 58 cents. This would, of course, permit the packer to make a profit of at least 3 cents per pound. This sort of a practice has been going on for years. It would seem that such a practice would deserve careful investigation."

Sincerely,

N. E. FABRICIUS,
General Manager.

Gas Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, the natural gas consumers of this country are being threatened by an attempt to change the Federal Power Commission's historic method of fixing rates charged by those gas transmission companies which produce all or part of their own gas. If successful, the companies seeking this drastic policy change will impose a burden of billions of dollars more than otherwise would be possible on the gas users.

The rate policy which has been established over many years by the Federal Power Commission permits these gas-owning transmission companies to include in their rates only the actual cost to them of the gas they produce. This cost invariably is only a small fraction of what transmission companies pay for gas they purchase elsewhere to supplement their supplies. The Federal Power Commission does not regulate the rates of companies whose sole business is the production of gas. Their prices are determined by the laws of supply and demand and are known as prevailing market or fair field prices.

Now, one of the large transmission companies—Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Co.—has asked the Federal Power Commission to change the time-tested rate-making policy by permitting it to use the prevailing market price for that portion of its gas it owns and produces, rather than what that gas actually costs to produce.

The disturbing thing about this attempt to boost gas rates is the report in newspapers that the Federal Power Commission is on the verge of acquiescing to this demand which, according to the Commission's own staff, would add billons of dollars to the value of gas produced by transmission companies at the expense of consumers.

Panhandle has left no doubt about what a change in the rate policy would cost its consumers. In its annual report for 1953, Panhandle points out that its stockholders would profit substantially from the change. It says the difference between what it is allowed to charge for its own gas and what it wants to charge is about 13 cents per thousand cubic feet. The report says that Panhandle Eastern owns gas reserves amounting to 3½ trillion cubic feet.

This would mean that if the rate policy were changed, Panhandle's gas alone would immediately increase in value by $445 million. It is estimated that in my own State of Michigan, which is one of several served by Panhandle, natural-gas users would be forced to pay $3,250,000 a year more on their utility bills. About half of this, I am told, would be paid by the gas consumers in Detroit.

Actually, the increase could amount to a great deal more if the prevailing market price increased, a not unlikely possibility. And I have cited an example of only one transmission company. There are others. Once the rate policy is changed, the precedent would be established and the floodgates would burst.

On the face of it, Panhandle's request might seem fair, that it be permitted to charge for its gas what it must pay for gas on the open market. But the truth is, there is no equity in the proposal because of the fact that Panhandle's customers already have borne the cost of producing the gas in the company's reserves. The cost of drilling wells, even if they proved to be dry, and every other operational cost has gone into the rates charged by Panhandle. In other words, the consumers have paid for producing that gas once. Should they be asked to pay for it many times over again?

I would like to point out one more thing. The Federal Power Commission's philosophy of rates has been upheld in every court in this land, including the United States Supreme Court. Certainly it is a just philosophy.

Therefore, I have introduced H. R. 8605 which, simply stated, would freeze into law the established method of determining rate charges by transmission companies maintaining their own gas reserves. This bill, which is identical to one introduced in the Senate by Senator FERGUSON, affords the gas-consuming public protection against sudden and arbitrary increases in gas rates.

I have accordingly asked Chairman Jerome K. Kuykendall, of the Federal Power Commission, to postpone a decision in the Panhandle case until consideration has been given to my bill.

Communist Rule of Italian Town Overthrown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the March 30 New Haven Register.

A great service has been rendered by these New Haveners from Castellammare in their plea for a united stand against communism. The faith and trust held in them by their former countrymen is truly indicative of the fact that Italian-Americans here can go a long way in pointing out the dangers of communism and its tyrannical rule over a peace-loving nation such as Italy.

The Italian population here should be encouraged to continue similar appeals, for through their efforts, and those of the anti-Communist Scelba government, communism in Italy will be shown for what it really is and therefore lose its potential. The article follows:

COMMUNIST RULE OF ITALIAN TOWN OVERTHROWN—NOTE TO CASTELLAMMARE FROM ITALO-AMERICANS KNOCKS OUT REDS

Sixteen New Haven residents of Italian descent are credited with helping defeat a Communist government, entrenched in power for 8 years in the Italian seacoast town of Castellammare di Spabia, in elections Sunday.

All natives of Castellammare, the New Haveners sent a plea to their home town urging voters to down the Red government.

The letter, printed on the eve of the election on the front page of the newspaper, Rinascita d'Italya, stated: "All Italo-Americans, particularly the former sons and daughters of Castellammare, urge voters to

unite in a solid front against communism. Vote for democracy and save Italy."

Pasquale Gargiulo, secretary of the Circolo P. Badoglio, Inc., 206 Wallace Street, an American-Italian social club, was the originator of the letter, which was airmailed March 20 to Castellammare. The Castellammare newspaper correspondent sent it to several Italian newspapers, including the Rinascita, and a New York Italian language newspaper.

SIX THOUSAND FROM TOWN HERE

"There are 6,000 or 7,000 people in New Haven from Castellammare," said Gargiulo. "I think they all feel the same way as us about the Communists. They're no good."

Gargiulo is typical of the residents who signed the letter. Sixty-five years old, he left Castellammare for America in 1912. He was behind the Badoglio, Inc., participation in 1948 in the "letters-for-freedom" campaign which flooded Italy with appeals from American-Italians for democracy and played a part in turning back the Reds during that election.

In 1950, Gargiulo was dismayed to find on a visit to his native Castellammare that the government was not only Communist, but the people, his former neighbors and friends, were confused by Red propaganda.

PLENTY OF ARGUMENTS

"I was always getting into argumenta," said Gargiulo. "One fellow tried to tell me that everything in America was slavery. I was always arguing with them. I decided I'd help when the time came."

The time came a few weeks ago when Gargiulo sat down and laboriously composed his letter, then carried it around the neighborhood near his home, 33 Franklin Street, for signatures. He found more than he needed but, if he'd had time, would have signed up many more.

Those who signed, besides Gargiulo, are Germe Gemearo, Frank and Charles Santanello, Frank Santoro, Frank and Angelo Apuzzo, Frank Arcangelo, Vincenzo Cotticelli, Anna Gargiulo, James Limauro, Cadello Ferrara, Angelo Fiore, Vincent and Joseph Esposito and Tommaso Cuomo.

"They all wanted me to take it to other people, but I didn't have time," said Gargiulo. "But I guess it worked out anyway."

Hammond Vindicator Serves and Serves Well for 62 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. MORRISON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, the Hammond Vindicator, which is one of the finest weekly publications in America, having served my hometown of Hammond, La., known throughout the United States as the strawberry center of the world, celebrates its 62d anniversary today.

George Campbell, present owner, typifies a truly great when it comes to publishing a weekly newspaper in America. The Hammond Vindicator is known for its uniqueness in having on its masthead—Hammond, Louisiana, the Fastest Growing City in Louisiana—Come to Hammond, a Delightful Place to Live—Land of Sunshine, Moonshine, and Flowers, with a motto "Let the fur fly."

This weekly not only enjoys a large circulation in and around Louisiana, but is distributed to many parts of the United States and to subscribers in various foreign countries where people who have become accustomed to reading this newsy weekly desire to keep up from week to week with its varied and newsy columns.

I have known George Campbell all of my life. Aside from being a splendid newspaperman, he has contributed a great deal to the large and phenomenal growth of Hammond. I attended the public schools in Hammond at the same time when his two daughters, Mildred and Zuma, both popular and most attractive, were enrolled. I can recall many happy occasions that we enjoyed during those school years. Unfortunately, one daughter, Zuma, passed away a few years ago, leaving a world of friends with deep grief and sympathy. His other daughter, Mildred, beautiful and talented, contributes a great deal to the publication of this paper and is happily married to one of my good friends, Ken Furbos, who likewise enjoys a world of friends.

In the April 2, 1954, edition, the following tells the story of this newspaper's 62 years of service:

With this issue the Hammond Vindicator enters upon its 62d year, having last week completed 61 years. This is a long span of years for a newspaper to weather the storms, tribulations, and trying ordeals. Few weekly papers attain such an age, especially under two editors or owners. The late James B. Adams operated the Southern Vindicator during his years of activity. The present owners changed the name to the Hammond Vindicator, in order to make the paper of a more local nature. It would be interesting to publish the names of firms going out of business since the Vindicator was first established. It is probable that no less than 300 have ceased to exist. Going up and down Thomas Street and lateral streets, offhand I could name 50 without any effort. Two firms have existed during the life of this newspaper. As senior business establishment the Thomas Funeral Home is 1st, with the Vindicator 2d. * * * In entering our 62d year, we wish to express sincere thanks to merchants and other businesses for their generous advertising. Likewise, we wish to thank subscribers who have remained loyal to us, some enrolled when the first paper was printed in Hammond. Others have been readers for 30, 40, and even 50 years. Without such support we could not have weathered the storms of journalism. The Vindicator has steadily grown, from a 4-page paper to its present size, from 12 to 18 pages weekly. We start another year with the same vigor that has characterized our efforts—a newsy weekly, devoid of scandals, and publishing what we consider constructive articles. Thanks to all as we make our bow to volume 62, No. 1.

The Housing Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of emotion has been generated on the entire subject of housing. What we sometimes have forgotten is the fact that no one is seeking to force Federal housing upon any community which does not need or want it.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft led a movement some years ago to sponsor a housing bill. He did so because he was convinced that there are marginal income groups for whom adequate private housing is not available.

The number of privately built dwelling units under construction is a source of great satisfaction to all of us. A Federal program designed to assist the relatively small number of people without sufficient means to obtain good housing will in no way constitute a threat to private enterprise. On the contrary, it will serve to prevent new slum area from deteriorating community values. On the positive side, the adoption of the program will encourage and stimulate the progress of urban redevelopment which our model communities throughout the country are seeking conscientiously to foster today.

Mr. Acheson Offers Little

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I call attention to the following editorial appearing in the March 30 edition of the Washington Evening Star:

MR. ACHESON OFFERS LITTLE

In these troubled times, when few men would pretend to know the answers to all of the problems which beset us, Dean Acheson has come forward with considerably less than might have been expected of him.

Breaking a year of self-imposed silence, the former Secretary of State has written an article for the New York Times attacking the doctrine of massive retaliation which was put forward by Mr. Dulles last January.

It is not surprising that Mr. Acheson should dissent from what Mr. Dulles described as the decision "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate, instantly, by means and at places of our choosing." There are others who share his doubts as to the effectiveness of this policy in deterring Communist aggression.

It is surprising, however, to find Mr. Acheson denouncing unidentified persons (presumably Republicans) who, he says, would wreck our alliances because they distrust individual countries with whom we are allied. One would think that Mr. Acheson had suffered enough from this kind of attack during his own term of office. It is also surprising, and disappointing, to find him implying that our leaders (presumably Republican leaders) have been following the politically expedient course of encouraging tax cuts. Mr. Acheson must know that the major resistance against dangerous tax cuts has come from the President and his official family. He must also know that the heavy pressure for greater tax cuts has come from the Democrats in Congress.

The Acheson attack on the Dulles pronouncement was not concerned primarily, however, with small-time politics. His real

point of disagreement was concerned with fundamental policy. And it was in this respect that his observations were most disappointing.

Mr. Acheson says that neither the United States nor any coalition including the United States would meet any aggression by precipitating world war III. "Strategic atom bombing," he concludes, "is not our first but our last resort, reserved for the dread occasion when we must meet an all-out attack with the full attendant horrors of atomic war."

Mr. Acheson does not seek to sidestep the implications of this statement. He agrees that as an alternative we may have to meet piecemeal or creeping aggression with conventional warfare—in other words, that we must be prepared, at a cost which he concedes will be very great, to fight new Korean wars in still unknown theaters of conflict.

There is something to be said for the view that we cannot rely exclusively on any policy of massive retaliation in all circumstances, and no one in the Eisenhower administration has ever advocated such a course. We may have to fight brushfire wars again in one part or another of the world. But certainly we do not have to adopt Mr. Acheson's concept of an appropriate national policy—a policy which would notify our enemies that we will not undertake a strategic atomic attack against them unless and until they have made an all-out atomic attack upon us. To do this would be largely to nullify the deterrent effect of our atomic and hydrogen weapons. And it might very well serve, as Mr. Dulles said in his January address, to tempt the enemy to attack in places where his [manpower] superiority was decisive.

It sounds, in short, like the pronouncement which Mr. Acheson gave in January 1950, in which he excluded Korea from our defense perimeter, and which resulted in the accusation, perhaps unjust, that he had invited the Communist aggression of the following June.

The Big Secret of Pearl Harbor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the Members of Congress and the public will be interested in a new publication shedding additional light on the Pearl Harbor disaster. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the U. S. News & World Report of April 2, 1954:

THE BIG SECRET OF PEARL HARBOR

Was the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, actually invited to throw the United States into World War II?

Did highest officials in Washington know when and where the Japanese were to strike before that strike came? Why were Army and Navy commanders at the great naval base in Hawaii denied the decoded Japanese messages that warned of impending attack there?

Did President Franklin D. Roosevelt deliberately draw Japan to this attack?

The big secret of Pearl Harbor is wrapped up in those and related questions.

Investigations of the past, under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, have thrown most of the blame on the Army and Navy commanders in Hawaii at the time of the attack—Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short and Adm. Husband E. Kimmel.

Now a new explanation is offered for this great disaster to American arms. This explanation is given by Rear Adm. Robert A. Theobald, Retired, in his book, The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor. The book, in full text, begins on page 48 of this magazine.

Admiral Theobald was in Pearl Harbor, commanding a flotilla of destroyers, when the Japanese attack hit. He was chosen by Admiral Kimmel as his counsel in the investigations that followed. Admiral Theobald has made an exhaustive study of the evidence and explored the official records, military, and diplomatic. His conclusion, after years of study, is this:

That President Roosevelt, convinced the United States should enter the war, pressed Japan to the point where war was her only course, and encouraged Japan to open it with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

That Gen. George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, and Adm. Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, must have been under orders not to inform Hawaii of the impending danger.

That this denial of information produced surprise at Pearl Harbor.

In corroborative forewords, Admiral Kimmel lends his endorsement to the book, and Adm. William F. Halsey, wartime commander of the Third Fleet, refers to Admiral Kimmel and General Short as "our outstanding military martyrs."

Dissent from blaming only the Hawaiian commanders also was registered in 1946 by Republican Senators HOMER FERGUSON, of Michigan, and Owen Brewster, of Maine, who sat on the committee that conducted the principal investigation for a Democratic-controlled Congress. They insisted that evidence pointed to responsibility higher up—in Washington.

Official documents are drawn upon heavily by Admiral Theobald to support his thesis. He builds his record on intercepted Japanese secret messages, known to top officials in Washington but never relayed to commanders in Pearl Harbor.

To begin his story, Admiral Theobald goes back to 1940. At that time, Nazi Germany had conquered Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway. Great Great Britain's plight was desperate. Japan, already fighting in China, invaded French Indochina and allied with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to form the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. The weight of United States opinion was against the Axis, and President Roosevelt openly supported the Allies. But the United States was militarily unprepared and mentally unready for war.

President Roosevelt began building up the country's Armed Forces. While United States armed strength grew at home, United States commitments spread abroad. United States shipped war material to Great Britain, traded American destroyers to Britain for military bases abroad. Early in 1941, United States began lend-lease aid to Britain. When Russia was invaded by Germany, this aid was extended to the Kremlin. American destroyers, convoying supplies, dropped depth bombs at German submarines.

These actions, Admiral Theobald maintains, were part of President Roosevelt's design to draw the United States into the war.

"There is every reason to believe," his book says, "that when France was overcome President Roosevelt became convinced the United States must fight beside Great Britain, while the latter was still an active belligerent, or later sustain the fight alone, as the last democratic stronghold in a Nazi world."

But Germany, fearful of adding the United States to her fighting foes, avoided open warfare. Much of American opinion remained isolationist, antiwar. How could the country be made to fight?

PRESSURE ON JAPAN

To achieve his goal, says Admiral Theobald, President Roosevelt turned to the Pacific, began baiting Japan. The United States stopped shipments to Japan of airplane fuel, scrap metal, machinery, and machine tools. Aid was given to China. In July 1941 Japanese assets were frozen and virtually all United States trade with Japan was cut off.

Then came the historic shipboard conference of President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill off Newfoundland in August 1941. This was the meeting that produced the Atlantic Charter. But Admiral Theobald insists that it produced more than that. He asserts that in this meeting President Roosevelt made commitments that amounted to a military alliance, virtually pledged that the United States eventually would get into the war.

After that meeting United States relations with Japan deteriorated rapidly. In October the Japanese Cabinet resigned and Gen. Hideki Tojo became Premier.

War clouds, all could see, were darkening over the Pacific.

JAPAN'S CODE SOLVED

But all this time something was going on behind the scenes that pointed toward war more plainly than anything done by diplomats. The United States had broken Japan's secret "purple" code. Messages exchanged between Tokyo and the Japanese Embassy in Washington were being read by United States military leaders—and the President. They nicknamed this decoding operation "Magic." Machines for the decoding were sent to the Philippines, even given to the British. But none was sent to Hawaii.

From these messages United States officials knew that the Japanese consulate in Hawaii was reporting to Tokyo all movements of United States ships in the Hawaiian area. Then, in September 1941, came a significant new order from Tokyo. The Honolulu consulate was to report the exact location of every ship in the harbor. By November, location reports were required twice weekly, even if there were no new ship movements.

Meanwhile, United States naval strength in the Pacific was being whittled steadily. Ships were shifted to the Atlantic. Those ships left in the Pacific were ordered held in harbor at Honolulu. This was done against the advice of the Pacific Commander in Chief, Adm. James O. Richardson, and contrary to standard naval strategy in times of danger. When Admiral Richardson protested, warning of the danger of a surprise attack there, he was relieved of command. Admiral Kimmel took his place. The fleet remained in port—like sitting ducks.

Back in Washington, where talks with a special Japanese Ambassador were getting nowhere, decoded diplomatic messages gave more ominous clues. Japan's Ambassador Extraordinary, Saburu Kurusu, was told by Tokyo "the time is indeed getting short." He was first ordered to complete his negotiations by November 25, then given until November 29 at the latest. "After that, things are automatically going to happen," Tokyo's message warned.

JAPAN'S FLEET SAILS

On November 26, Secretary of State Cordell Hull handed the Japanese a strong note that proved to be the last diplomatic straw. Although the Japanese pretended to keep the negotiations alive, top United States officials knew better. A message was intercepted telling Kurusu that the note's terms were unacceptable and that the negotiations will be de facto ruptured. He was ordered not to give that impression, however, but to keep the talks going. The Japanese, their war plans already afoot—their fleet at sea en route toward Pearl Harbor—were stalling for time.

In the ensuing 10 days before Pearl Harbor, warnings multiplied. Intercepted mes-

sages ordered Japanese consulates to destroy their codes and secret papers—nearly always the last act before war breaks out.

All this was known in Washington, but not in Pearl Harbor. Of all the "magic" messages intercepted in Washington, investigations showed that only a very few were sent on to Hawaii.

Then came the final tipoff: the formal Japanese reply to the November 26 note. It began coming in by secret code on December 6 and was promptly decoded. Shown the bulk of the reply that evening, President Roosevelt said, "This means war."

What followed has been the subject of much speculation and investigation. No warning was sent that night to United States bases in the Pacific. When General Marshall saw the reply next morning, December 7, and noted that it was timed for delivery to the White House at 1 p. m. Washington time on that day, he decided it was time to act. The Japanese were notorious for synchronizing their war declarations with their attacks.

LATE WARNING

General Marshall sent, on that fateful Sunday, a warning to all Pacific commanders. But the warning was not started on its way until nearly noon, it was sent by radio relays instead of telephone, the relays were slow, and the message arrived too late—6 hours after the Japanese attack.

All this was brought out in the numerous Pearl Harbor investigations—eight of them in all. Investigators agreed that, with the warnings received in Washington, United States forces should have been on the alert in Pearl Harbor. But Admiral Theobald disagrees with the investigators' conclusions in this:

The investigators attributed the lack of preparedness to error.

Admiral Theobald attributes it to design. He says that President Roosevelt planned it that way.

"Diplomatically," he concludes, "President Roosevelt's strategy of forcing Japan to war by unremitting and ever-increasing diplomatic pressure, and by simultaneously holding our fleet in Hawaii as an invitation to a surprise attack, was a complete success. Militarily, our ship and personnel losses mark December 7, 1941, as the day of tragic defeat."

The losses were: 4,575 Americans killed or wounded, 18 ships sunk or damaged, 177 airplanes lost.

Investigations of the disaster began at once. The blame, at first, was put entirely on Admiral Kimmel and General Short. Although never court-martialed, they were relieved from duty. Both soon retired from the service. General Short died in 1949. Admiral Kimmel lives in retirement in New London, Conn.

Progressive investigations shifted more responsibility to Washington. The last one, in 1946 by a joint congressional committee, produced a report that held the War and Navy Departments jointly to blame, along with the Hawaiian commanders. This committee was dominated by Democrats. The majority report held President Roosevelt blameless.

One member of the committee, Representative Frank B. Keefe, Republican, of Wisconsin, complained, however: "This investigation has not brought to light all the facts about Pearl Harbor. We have been denied much vital information. * * * I further conclude that secret diplomacy was at the root of the tragedy."

Republican Senators Brewster and FERGUSON filed a dissenting report that, for the first time, put some of the blame on President Roosevelt. They said he "must bear a responsibility commensurate with his powers and duties." They also included in their criticism Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, General Marshall, Adm. Harold R. Stark and Maj. Gen. Leonard T. Gerow, as well as Admiral Kimmel and General Short.

"The high authorities in Washington seemed to be acting upon some long-range plan which was never disclosed to Congress or to the American people," said their minority report.

Now Admiral Theobald says there was a plan—and that it was President Roosevelt's.

Six Anxious, Jobless Months, but What Have They Proved?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL D. PERKINS
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Louisville Courier-Journal:

SIX ANXIOUS, JOBLESS MONTHS, BUT WHAT HAVE THEY PROVED?

In early October of last year, Senator McCARTHY dashed dramatically back from his honeymoon to look into a situation which, he said, "has all the earmarks of extremely dangerous espionage—if it develops it may envelop the entire Signal Corps."

This was the start of the series of one-man hearings involving personnel at the Signal Corps laboratories at Fort Monmouth. A month earlier, apparently in terror of the proposed investigation, Army security aides had suspended 31 civilian employees without charges other than that of being suspected security risks. Although the law setting up security procedures promises each accused person a hearing within 30 days, these people were given no hearings. Instead, they were summoned to private inquisitions conducted by Senator McCARTHY and his counsel, Roy Cohn, after which the press was briefed as to hair-raising confessions of revelations made by the accused.

It is a matter of record that not one of these revelations was true. No prominent scientist was ever flown from Germany to testify that the Russians knew all about Fort Monmouth—Senator McCARTHY said he had sent an investigator to bring the man back. No witness collapsed in terror and promised to tell all about the spy ring set up by Julius Rosenberg. A man did collapse; but it was because the ordeal of an interview with McCARTHY and Cohn came 2 days after his mother's burial and after 30 days of suspension without pay on charges that the Senator seemed to know all about but that the witness had never seen.

All this happened last year. In December, 3 months after their suspension, these workers were finally promised hearings before an Army board and a final decision in their cases. Senator McCARTHY dropped the hearings in December, observing merely that he hadn't expected to prove anything about espionage—that wasn't his job. He did, however, hint darkly that the Army board which would hear the cases had a record of softness and that he intended to investigate the board. The hearings, therefore, were indefinitely postponed.

It is now 5 months since the Senator opened his investigation. In all that time not one person at Fort Monmouth has ever been charged with espionage or with Communist affiliations. Not one of the suspended persons refused to answer questions or sought the protection of the fifth amendment. But the New York Times says this week that of the original 31, 21 are still under suspension without pay. None of their cases has ever been decided, none of them has been given the hearings that are their legal right. And one of the few reinstated has just been suspended again, the charge this time being one of "nonopposition to Communist membership" in an American Veterans Committee chapter in 1947. Since the legal principle of double jeopardy doesn't apply to the unfortunates caught in security investigations, this man must now make his third defense against this tenuous charge.

The rest of the suspended employees, charged with nothing, guilty of nothing, have received no pay for months. They cannot look elsewhere for work with this cloud hanging over them. They are objects of charity to friends and relatives, objects of pity or suspicion to neighbors and fellow workers. And they are horrible examples to any promising young scientist who might have been tempted to work for the Government.

They are also horrible examples of the cowardice and evasiveness which has marked the Army's dealings with Senator McCARTHY right up to the Zwicker incident. The Army is at last fighting back, but it is doing so on the narrow issue of personalities and privileges. In the Fort Monmouth scandal it had and still has an issue of principle at stake about which nothing has been done and apparently nothing will be done until the more publicized case of Private Schine has been aired. The personal suffering inflicted on all these employees is a lasting reproach to Secretaries Stevens and Wilson. But even more important is the blow to morale and to the concept of dignity in the service of one's country. As long as Fort Mohmouth-type injustices are tolerated by the Department of Defense, every scientist and technical man who values his peace of mind and his children's security will make every effort to get out or stay out of Government service.

Spotlight on Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have had the privilege of representing a portion of the State of Oregon in the United States Congress for some 16 years. Being a native-born Oregonian of pioneer parents, I am proud of this great State. It is one of the most entrancing and progressive States of the Union. We are proud of the record of achievement made by the citizens of Oregon and the part they have played in the maintenance of liberty and progressive legislation in our Nation.

A most interesting and factual discussion of Oregon, entitled "Spotlight on Portland," appeared in the February 1954 issue of the Electrical Workers' Journal which I include in the extension of these remarks:

SPOTLIGHT ON PORTLAND

There once was a song written about Oregon. It goes like this:

"There'll be apples on each branch in Oregon
There'll be meadows filled with golden grain
There'll be room to spare for all in Oregon
And plenty of sunshine and rain."

That expresses part of what Oregon is. There's more. It's big and open and free. It has ocean and mountains and orchards and gardens and forests. Those who live

there argue among themselves about what is greatest and best about the State they love, its glorious Mount Hood, its Bonneville Dam, its Cascade Mountains, its 2,000-foot deep Crater Lake of unbelievable blue, its Multnomah Falls, its rivers and rodeos, roses and rain—yes. Oregonians are even proud of their rain. And why shouldn't they be when it has given Oregon the reputation for being the greenest State in the 48, all 97,000 square miles of it, except of course for about 600 miles of shinning lakes and silver rivers. Yes, Oregonians boast about their "webfeet" and glory in the knowledge that the winters of dark skies and dismal rains are compensated for in lush green meadows, abundant crops, mountain streams filled with fish, grass and ferns and ivy that never wither and holly and hydrangeas and roses that can be matched nowhere in the world.

Then there's something else about Oregon, an indefinable something that we want to tell you about before we review for you certain facts about the State and about the city of Portland and our people there, whom we are proud to salute this month.

Let's put it this way. Each of our States has something that inspires patriotism and provincial pride. With Texas, it's sheer size. Massachusetts and Virginia have history and tradition. New York has its millions of people, and California its climate and Iowa its corn. Utah has religion and Florida oranges and its moon over Miami, and so on. In Oregon, the natives can't settle on one thing to be proud of—in fact their feeling is different from a feeling of pride—it's more like a warm affection. Mount Hood is never anything but "our mountain"—everything in Oregon belongs to every Oregonian, and no matter where he goes or how many years he stays, he still belongs to it.

So, with that for background, we'll try to give you a word picture of the State. It is bounded in the north by the State of Washington, on the east by Idaho, on the south by California and Nevada and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. Our ninth State in size, it is 395 by 295 miles in extent with the Columbia River on its northern line and the Snake River on the east. According to the 1950 census figures, 1,521,341 persons live within Oregon's borders, giving it rank of 32d.

It is interesting to know how Oregon got its name. The great river now called Columbia, was once called by the Indians, the Ouragon. It was derived from oragan, meaning a birchbark dish. The word as it is now spelled, first appeared in Jonathan Carver's book, Travels in Interior Parts of America, published in 1778. The word remained unfamiliar to the general public, however, until 1817 when William Cullen Bryant popularized it in his famous poem, Thanatopsis—

"Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save its own dashings."

The river was known for a long time as the Oregon, and gradually the whole vast Northwest Territory, of which the river, now known as the Columbia, was the most prominent geographical feature, became known as the Oregon Territory. Out of the Territory States were created until only one was left to bear the name.

There were many early explorers along the coast of what is now the State of Oregon, the earliest being Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, who made the voyage up from Mexico in 1542 as far north as 44°. Approximately the same latitude was reached in 1579 by Sir Francis Drake in the *Golden Hind*, looking for a northern passage to England.

Nearly two centuries elapsed before further discoveries of importance were made. The Spaniards, Perez, Haceta, and Bodega all sailed along the Oregon coast in the years 1774 and 1775, and in his second voyage Haceta made notes of a great river in the northern region.

In 1778 Capt. James Cook explored waters in the region of Oregon and 10 years later he was followed by another Englishman, Capt. John Meares. His naval expedition was for the sole purpose of searching for the river Haceta had reported in 1775. Captain Meares sailed to and entered the broad mouth of the present Columbia River, but he decided that it was nothing more than a big bay and he departed after naming the entrance Deception Bay and the high land jutting out above it Cape Disappointment.

It was an American sea captain, Robert Gray, of Boston, who finally verified the existence of the legendary giant river of the West. In his ship the *Columbia*, Gray entered the river on May 11, 1792, and sailed several miles upstream and he named the river Columbia after his ship, the first one ever to anchor in its inland waters. Five months later an English naval officer, Lt. William R. Broughton, explored the river for a hundred miles, sighted and named Mount Hood.

Into the vast wilderness known as the Northwest Territory President Jefferson sent an expedition headed by Lewis and Clark. They sailed up the Missouri River on May 14, 1804, and reached the headwaters of the Columbia the following year.

The accounts of their expedition, the first to be made by white men across the Oregon country, aroused wide interest, particularly in the vast opportunities in fur trading which the great Northwest opened to the world.

The first fur-trading post in the Columbia River region was established by members of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Co., at Astoria (named for him) in 1811. Astoria was taken by the British in 1813 and restored in 1818. The southern frontier with Spain was settled in 1819.

For the next three decades, the history of Oregon is concerned with the British fur traders and the American immigrants who came over the Oregon Trail seeking homes and fortunes in a fresh new country. The Hudson's Bay Company absorbed its rival, the North West Company, in 1821, securing virtual monopoly of the trade in the Oregon region. The company sent to the Columbia River as its governor west of the Rockies, Dr. John McLoughlin. He ruled the vast territory wisely and well for 22 years and he has come to be known affectionately as the Father of Oregon.

Although it was against the company's interests, McLoughlin encouraged families to settle in the Willamette Valley. The first settlers, of whom there were quite a number by the year 1835, were chiefly French. In 1834 came the Methodist missionaries, Jason and Daniel Lee, to the valley and later more missionaries and they did much to encourage settlers to come there and stay.

Life in the Oregon country was crude and there was danger from Indians but there was plenty of raw material to hew out a village and fertile soil waiting to be tilled.

For years there was no government save that of the Hudson Bay Company, which finally forced Dr. McLoughlin to resign because of his efforts to aid settling of the territory.

Attempts to form an organized government in Oregon go back to about 1836. When Jason Lee returned East in 1838, he carried a paper signed by the settlers petitioning Congress for Oregon's entrance into the Union.

In May 1843 a provisional government was established and on February 14, 1859, Oregon was admitted as a State.

Direct impetus to the settling of the State of Oregon was given by discovery of gold in southern Oregon in 1815 and in eastern Oregon in 1861.

With the completion of the Union Pacific to Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869 and construction of a connecting line to Portland in the early eighties, a new era of population growth and economic expansion began for Oregon. Homesteads sprang up in even the more isolated section and eastern plains and ranges were utilized for large-scale production of wheat and livestock. Industries for processing the product of farm and forest grew up, and steamship commerce raced to keep pace with the railroad. A ship called the *Sally Brown*, sailing from Portland to Liverpool in 1868, carried the first full cargo of Oregon wheat ever to be exported. Since that day Portland has come a long way—to become one of the most important wheat-shipping ports in the world.

From 1870 to the turn of the century, Oregon's population increased from 91,000 to 414,000.

Oregon has come a long way, and her future is very bright. When her census figure was taken in 1950, population had increased by nearly 40 percent since 1940—a remarkable gain, considering that the national average was 14½ percent.

Commercially, the Oregon of today is noted for its vast agricultural resources (there are 59,802 farms—19,754,257 acres). Its principal crops are wheat, corn, hay, berries, sugar beets, potatoes, bulbs, and nursery products, and fruit. Other major farm industries are cattle and dairying, sheep and hogs, and poultry.

Oregon has vast fishing interests—especially in salmon. The Columbia River is the world's most famous salmon stream. In 1950, the salmon pack was valued at $6,643,000.

Oregon is out in front in forestry products also, with 29,662,000 acres chiefly in fir, pine, hemlock, cedar, and spruce. Approximately 8 billion board-feet of lumber are produced in Oregon yearly.

Considering Oregon manufacturingwise, normal annual output exceeds $1,500,000,000 with principal products—lumber, plywood, furniture, pulp and paper, canned goods, textiles, dairy items, flour and cereals, machinery, and castings.

Considerable mining is undertaken in Oregon and it is one of the few States having commercial deposits of mercury and chromite.

No story about Oregon could be complete without mention of that giant of power production, Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River with its rated capacity of 518,400 kilowatts.

Education has certainly been fostered and encouraged by the State of Oregon. The first school in the Oregon country was opened in 1832 and conducted for the halfbreed children of the Hudson's Bay Co. trappers. Its teacher was John Ball, a Dartmouth graduate. Today in Oregon there are 1,025 public elementary schools, 230 high schools, and 23 universities and colleges, including 8 maintained by the State.

That Oregon's education system is efficient is perhaps proved best by certain records for illiteracy. By the year 1930 only one other State in the Union (Iowa) had a lower percentage of illiteracy with respect to the total population.

That's all the material we have room for on the Beaver State of Oregon. Now we are anxious to tell you about the largest city in Oregon and of all our large cities the one farthest west, the beautiful "City of Roses," Portland.

It may surprise many of our readers to know that if a certain coin tossed 109 years ago had turned up tails instead of heads that you might now be reading a spotlight story on Boston, Oreg., instead of Portland.

Here's how it came about. The site of the city of Portland was established by a claim granted to Asa J. Lovejoy and William Overton in the year 1844. A year later Overton sold his half of the claim to Francis Pettygrove for $50. The first house built in the city was a crude log cabin at the foot of what is now Washington Street.

In 1845 a man named Thomas Brown was employed by Lovejoy and Pettygrove to sur-

vey their claim and a portion was plotted as a townsite. The site was eight blocks long from north to south and two blocks wide from east to west, with lots 50 by 100 feet and streets 60 feet wide.

The name for the new town was decided at a dinner party attended by Mr. and Mrs. Lovejoy and Mr. and Mrs. Pettygrove. Pettygrove was from Portland, Maine, while Lovejoy was from Boston. Both were holding out for a new city of the same name on the west coast and they decided to toss a coin. Pettygrove won and Portland was christened.

The new town grew rapidly. Stores and industries sprang up overnight. Some of the firsts will interest our Portland members who read this story.

Dr. Ralph Wilcox was the town's first physician. The first church in Portland was built in 1850 at Second and Taylor Streets—Methodist denomination. In that same year Portland's first paper, the Weekly Oregonian was issued. A year previous Portland had built a post office.

Portland's first ship was the *Star of Oregon* built on Swan Island in 1841.

In 1851, a free school was opened with 20 pupils. In that same year the city was incorporated and Hugh D. O'Bryant, a native of Georgia was elected mayor.

The city records even carry the accounts of the first persons arrested in Portland after the city's incorporation. One of the first was one O. Travailiott, "for riding at a furious rate through the streets of the city of Portland to endanger life and property." He should ride through Portland now and observe the elaborate traffic light system set up for the safety of the residents of the city. It is fast becoming one of the safest traffic cities in the Nation though the citizens sometimes rail at the long caution lights which they refer to as "forever amber."

The first brick building in Portland was erected in 1853 by W. S. Ladd, a young man from Vermont who was twice elected mayor of Portland. This building still stands at 412 Southwest Front Avenue, occupied by wholesale meat and produce merchants.

The Oregon gold rush brought lively years to Portland. In 1864, the salmon industry began to spurt ahead.

Like so many of our cities in the early days, the tragedy of fire struck Portland. Hers occurred in 1872 and destroyed a large part of the city. But like the mythical Phoenix, she arose from the ashes and built again, stronger and more beautiful than before.

In 1883 the final railroad line was completed between Portland and the Eastern States, and smoking oil and sputtering gas lights were replaced by electric arc and incandescent lamps.

Street lighting by electricity came to Portland in 1885, following incorporation the preceding year of the United States Electric Power & Light Co. with P. F. Morey as president. In June of 1889 the Willamette Falls Electric Co. sent electricity to Portland over the first long distance transmission line in the United States. In the year 1898, two other small companies joined P. F. Morey and incorporated as the Portland General Electric Co.

In 1891, Portland annexed the towns of East Portland and Albina, a merger adding 20,000 to the city's population.

The great Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland in 1905 brought 3 million visitors to the city and really introduced Portland to the world.

Today Portland stands as a leader of the great Northwest. It is one of the chief distributing points in the United States. Manufacturingwise, Portland is quite an industrial center. It has 1,297 separate manufacturing establishments producing everything from oil burners to bathing suits, with a myriad of items in between.

The whole Nation payed homage to Portland's record in shipbuilding during the war, when over 1,200 major vessels were built in the 6 shipyards there.

Today, the population of Portland stands at 373,628 while the metropolitan area has more than 705,000 inhabitants.

There are many sites of interest in Portland and we want to describe them for you briefly, but first there are a few more outstanding things about the city that we want every reader to know.

First, it has frequently been referred to as the Athens of the West, because of concerted and conscientious efforts to foster education and culture and the arts within the confines of her borders.

Oregon is the only State in our Republic that ever appointed an official commissioner of literature and for years it has been recognized as the music center of the Pacific Northwest. Portland's list of writers, playwrights, artists, musicians, is quite imposing.

Portland is a clean and beautiful city. It is known as the City of Roses for it grows roses of size and color and variety hard to match in any corner of the world. Roses are still found blooming in Oregon's gardens at Christmas time. Its annual rose festival with its gorgeous floats has attracted visitors from all over the world since 1889. It is a must for everyone who comes to Oregon in June. In the fall, the Pacific International Livestock Exposition is an event of unusual interest to visitors.

Portland grows other beautiful things besides roses. Lyle Watts, Chief of the United States Forest Service, once made a study and issued a statement that more evergreen trees grow in Portland than in any other city in the world. Visitors to Portland are impressed by the beautiful alpine firs which stand guard around the majestic heights of Mount Hood. Visitors like to just stand and gaze at this snow-capped glory, which snows, incidentally, help to feed the springs for Portland's water supply—water so pure that it may be used undistilled in batteries and laboratories.

But there are many more sights for the visitor to see besides Mount Hood. We'll sketch some of them briefly:

St. John's lofty suspension bridge with its Gothic spires makes one think of a cathedral. It has been listed by bridge experts as one of the seven most beautiful bridges in the world. It spans the Willamette River (and, don't forget, Portlanders call it Willámette and spot "furriners" instantly when they casually refer to it as the Willamétte). Returning from St. John's along the eastern river bluffs is a lovely drive. You pass the University of Portland and get a fine view of Swan Island, the river, and the city.

Those who like history must visit the Oregon Historical Society Museum, and for those interested in art the Portland Art Museum is a must.

The Forestry Building is interesting. It is the world's largest log cabin. Each of its 54-foot columns contains enough lumber to build a 5-room house. Exhibits explain all phases of lumbering.

Horticulturists will not want to miss Portland's colorful international rose test gardens and her sunken rose gardens.

There are many gardens and parks to visit, and some beautiful churches—425 of them.

Short trips out of Portland will bring a visitor to many interesting and beautiful scenic spots. Multnomah Falls, second highest waterfall in the United States, is one of them.

Bonneville Dam is an unusual point of interest, just 42 miles east of Portland. This is a symbol of industrial growth in the Pacific Northwest. An item of popular interest at Bonneville are the fish ladders. Each year nearly a million salmon and other fish climb some 60 feet in easy stages. They are on their way to spawn and to die.

There is more we could say of Portland—the ladies will be interested in knowing that the department store in Portland is Meier & Frank. Portlanders buy about $45 million worth of merchandise there yearly. Some retail statisticians claim that no other store in America has so large a share of its community's retail trade. Like Mount Hood, Meier & Frank to Portlanders is "our store." There are many good restaurants. Some gourmets say that Henry Thiele has the best German pancakes and lentil soup in the United States, while others sing the praises of Huber's hot ham and hot turkey sandwiches, and the Bohemian Restaurant's famous cheesecake. At the Old Country Kitchen there is a constant contest on. If you can eat a certain sized steak with all the trimmings (it's huge) you may have it free. (Only a dozen or so people have ever been able to perform the task successfully.)

But we must hurry on to one of the most important parts of our Portland story—our local unions there. First of all, we want to pay tribute to Oregon and to Portland for an outstanding labor record. Oregon was the first State in the Union to make Labor Day a legal holiday, preceding national action by 7 years. It set up the first enforceable wage-and-hour law in the United States and set the pattern for the other States.

Oregon was the second State in the 48 to legalize and oversee an apprenticeship training program.

Oregon's records show it was a pioneer for prevention of child labor and promotion of fair employment practices.

No small part of organized labor's success in Portland and throughout the State of Oregon has been due to our own IBEW locals there. We have four; local union 48 is our inside local in Portland. It was chartered April 15, 1914. It is a large local with nearly 1,600 members. The local has several large offices in a central location. As the pictures on these pages will show—there is plenty of electrical construction work around Portland, and local union 48 is getting it. It is a local that spurns no job. Its members have 95 percent of the house wiring in Portland. A particularly interesting job visited was the electrical installation of the Fred Myers general store (of which there are 16 in the city). This particular job called for intricate wiring of all kinds from showcase lighting and air conditioning to escalator installation.

The extensive marine wiring being done by local union No. 48 was very interesting also. We were impressed as we always are, with the ability and know-how of our electrical workers on the job, of their pride in their work and of the ease with which they perform their intricate tasks. We watched a man do a difficult testing job in the shipyard. All the while he worked, he whistled Because with many trills and never missed a note.

Local 49 is the youngest of our Portland locals. It was chartered 6 years ago this month, February 25, 1948, with approximately 200 members. Today it has about 1,400 members in 4 units—Electronics, which also includes appliance, radio, and TV repair; Motor Shop and Industrial Maintenance; Electrical Manufacturing; and Radio and Television Broadcasting. Pictured for you here on these pages are men of local union No. 49 at work on representative jobs in the various divisions.

When we visited Portland, a new television station KOIN-TV had just gone on the air and our members were extremely busy there ironing out the bugs of all the complicated operations that make up radio and TV broadcasting.

On each visit to various cities where our people are employed, we are always deeply impressed with their interest in their work and their general know-how. In Portland, we met members of local union No. 49 who had built a transmitter and special equipment for use for Conelrad. Station KOIN is a powerful station in the Portland area with other stations monitoring it. Under the system and with the equipment perfected by our members, in case of an attack, every operation connected with Conelrad can be done automatically with the flipping of a single switch. This insures perfect coordination.

Another point of extreme interest to us in working with local union No. 49, in Portland, was the contrast in the work of our members there. In one shop we found our people working on massive motors weighing tons, in another a few blocks away they were working on mechanisms so small that three magnifying glasses had to be used to see the parts and so delicate that the men cannot get a haircut at the noon hour and the girls can't wear perfume because even a bit of hair or an acid fume could interfere with the delicate mechanism. We hope to bring you more about this in a later issue and also a story about the manufacture of aluminum and the part our members of local union No. 49 play in the Reynolds-Metals story. At the present time space permits only a cursory outline of a portion of our members' work.

Our oldest and largest local in Portland is local No. 125, our utility local. It was chartered October 11, 1900, and it numbers more than 3,500 members. This old, well-established, and respected local has things "pretty well sewed up," as far as all utilities go in Portland and vicinity. Approximately 900 of its members work for the Portland General Electric Co., about 600 for the Pacific Power & Light Co., 550 for West Coast Telephone Co., and about 700 are with the Bonneville Power Administration. The remainder are in miscellaneous groups—PUD's, REA, and smaller utility companies, the Portland Traction Co., fire alarm, etc. In a utility story to be carried in a later issue of our journal we will enlarge on the work of Local Union, No. 125. The local occupies attractive modern offices in the center of town.

One of the most interesting among many interesting observations of Local Union, No. 125, men at work was a visit to the Bonneville Power dispatching office. Here, in the nerve center of the Northwest, is a stock market for power. It is bought and sold at the flick of a switch. Here are men behind the scenes dispensing power where it is needed, when it is needed. Colored pins and lights and lines on the schematic diagrams which line the walls show every aspect of the Columbia River Power System at all times. It is interesting and inspiring.

The fourth local in Portland is No. 799, the railroad union. It was chartered February 1, 1942. Today it has some 315 members, a sizable group for a railroad local. These members are engaged in every type of electrical work on the trains of Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific, and in all the Pullman shops of the various terminals. Here, again, we were proud of the ability and know-how of our members and their pride in their work. We are planning a railroad story for a coming issue of our journal and will try to bring you more about our railroad members in the various cities we have visited at that time.

There is much more we could say of Portland and our members if space would permit. We'd like to give you impressions and sketches about the people, the wonderful, friendly, honest, sincere people of Portland, but time is running out.

There are native sons and daughters we should like to give full accounts of. The former mayor of Portland, Dorothy McCullough Lee, would make a whole story herself. This lady ran for office on the promise that she would abolish gambling and clean up crime in the city of Portland. She was elected and had the distinction of ruling over more people than any other woman mayor in America. And she kept her campaign promise. She cleaned up Portland to the satisfaction of its honest citizens and to the chagrin of the unsavory elements of the city who didn't think she could or would do it. They dubbed her "Dotty Do-Good," "No-Sin Lee" and "Mrs. Airwick," but everybody had to admit that the lady did a job.

There are certain aspects of Portland and its people that you have to feel and which are difficult to tell about. This city and its citizens seem to have struck a happy medium. They are conservative in many respects and yet their record labor-wise and in progressive steps and legislation is one of the best. Portland people are fair. In general they don't jump to conclusions. Sometimes writers try to ascribe certain qualities to the people of certain areas—one or two words that in general describe the beter part of the population. If we were to narrow down our observations on the people of Portland, we'd say honesty, fairness, and good judgment pretty well summed them up.

Now no IBEW story on Portland would be complete without a mention of the fact that it is International Secretary J. Scott Milne's hometown. He began his union career with initiation into local union 125 more than 35 years ago and served that local as its business manager for many years.

As we close our "Spotlight on Portland" story we acknowledge with thanks the kind help of the officers and members of our Portland locals, many of their employers, and Miss Margaret Sullivan, of the Portland Chamber of Commerce. We especially wish to thank H. H. Harrison, business manager of local union 48, Charles D. Hoffman, business manager of local union 49, and Roy Renoud, assistant business agent, W. L. Vinson, business manager of local union 125, and Robert Taylor and Tom Nichols, assistant business agents, and Charles R. Piersee, president of local union 799. Without the help of all these members in aiding us to assemble material and pictures for our story it never could have been written and we are grateful.

Ground Breaking of San Antonio Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, ground was broken for San Antonio Dam on March 18, 1954. This project which is located near Claremont, Calif., in my district, is an important link in providing flood-control protection for the people of southern California.

I wish to place in the RECORD at this point the dedication speech of Mr. Robert J. Bernard, who is managing director of Claremont College. Mr. Bernard, in his remarks, has given an excellent report on the background of this new dam.

The speech follows:

MEN AND MOUNTAINS

Mayor Nesbit, Colonel Rutherford, Colonel Frye, officials and guests, this is a day for which this valley has long worked and waited, and we heartily rejoice that our waiting is over.

This great undertaking is another illustration of the fact that we are either the victims of nature or master of events. We are repeating the age-old struggle of man's conquest of nature. Some of the greatest monuments of antiquity in Egypt and in Rome testify to that struggle. Without fire and the enormous force of waterpower, we would have no steam plants and powerhouses, but the devastating combination of fire and flood uncontrolled can destroy entire communities. Even in 1938 the record shows that we lost 6 people and nearly 2 millions in property damage—and that was only a fraction of what a real flood can do to us.

It is well to remind ourselves as to why this particular San Antonio project has been undertaken. This canyon best tells its own story of how it threatens our valley. At the mouth of the canyon we have one of the largest cones resulting from floods to be found anywhere in the West. An air view shows how enormous is this deposit. The larger such a deposit is, the more impossible it becomes to predict in what direction a great flood will flow. Such a deposit has been accumulated over the centuries and we are only now dealing with it in adequate terms. Even during the last 50 years the record of this canyon with its destruction of transcontinental railroads and bridges, of transcontinental highways and other lines of communication, has proved a serious menace. You can't block the traffic of 4,000 freight cars a day and 435 passenger cars without serious disruption, especially in wartime.

Because of the enormous importance of defense industry and transportation, Congress has voted, and two Presidents have approved, a series of appropriations for this project as one that is essential to the national defense. The first appropriation was made when no new flood projects were being approved. If this undertaking was valid at that time, it is twice as valid now, with the increase of defense industry such as Convair and the enormous growth in population and in subdivisions. Our 4 Claremont institutions alone, for example, show an increase in assets from $12 million in 1942 to $32 million today, including a new college, and all of them are directly in the path of floods. Our entire valley increases in vulnerability as it grows and by the time this dam is completed in 1956 we will need it even more urgently than now, and we will need the channels, too.

No one can view the future of this whole region without realizing that great developments are before us and we want to make secure that future just as we are doing today. It is far better to have a debris basin at the mouth of the canyon than to have to collect the mud and debris from orange groves, factories, homes, and highways. The protection that this dam and its channels will provide covers 57,000 acres and 5 cities. In the national interest it guarantees uninterrupted communications on railroads which carry more than one-half of the rail traffic that enters and leaves the Los Angeles area. The cost, including the necessary channels, is cheap in comparison with the threat and the damage to lives and property.

As to cost, it is traditional that there should be a division of responsibility for flood control between the region and the Federal Government. That southern California is doing its part generously is proven by the fact that a series of bond issues in Los Angeles County alone totals many millions of dollars, in addition to the flood-control measure of $179 million voted a year ago by the people. As one of the heaviest taxpaying areas in the Nation, we can rest

assured that no outside area is being taxed to pay the bill for this canyon project.

In addition, of course, to flood control, this dam is a great water-conservation project. Although not a storage reservoir, it will enable us to impound water for underground percolation which all too easily at times of peak flow is wasted into the sea, and the sea doesn't need it.

We always regret that in any public project of this kind there is any injury to private owners, but we believe that we have and are undoubtedly following methods of fair dealing which are employed whenever the public interest traverses a private interest. This is an inherent part of the American system of fair play.

This dam represents one of the great functions of Government. We are profoundly grateful to our Government officials and engineers and to private interests alike for their generous support of this undertaking. Such gratitude extends to the whole range of public officials, including two Presidents, our Vice President, our Senators and Congressmen, the Army engineers, the State water resources board, the county supervisors and flood-control officials, our local governments, newspapers, chambers of commerce, and a host of trustees and individuals. If I were to speak of persons directly involved, I could not refrain from mentioning especially Vice President Nixon, Senator Knowland, Congressmen Hillings and Sheppard, C. A. Griffith, and Colonel Hedger. And this is only a beginning. We want especially to express our confidence in the Army engineers under Colonel Frye and in their contractors on the job.

I am sure we have observed that such a project knows no county or city boundary lines. We all have joined in meeting a common need, and today we celebrate a common step forward. It is just another evidence of the fact that there is vastly more that unites us as communities than separates us. We use common transportation and highways, we draw from a common water supply; and although the engineers say that there are underground dikes, what is a mere dike between friends? The beauty of Euclid Avenue is almost as much the possession of Pomona and Claremont as it is of Upland, Ontario, and Chino.

We have just had the heartening word that an appropriation of two and a half million dollars for 1954–55 is now before the House of Representatives, with the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee of the House. We are glad that a continuing contract has been awarded and signed, and we believe there is nothing now to impede our progress toward the realization of this important undertaking in the national as well as the local interest.

These mountains are an enormous asset to all of us who live under Old Baldy. But men and mountains must work together—and henceforth they will.

Vital Need for Governmental Fish Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, with the effective help and cooperation of the Honorable WALTER NORBLAD, of Oregon, acting chairman of the Subcommittee on Fisheries of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, a hearing on H. R. 7641 and companion bills providing for research on fish was held today, at which serveral representatives of the Massachusetts fishing industry were heard.

I hope that the full membership of the House will soon have the opportunity to pass upon this legislation because it is urgently required to save our fishing industries, not only in Massachusetts, but in other parts of the country as well.

In the first place, I must wholeheartedly commend and thank my able and distinguished colleagues, Congressmen BATES, LANE, and O'NEILL, for their foresight and zeal in pressing this vital subject matter to the attention of the members of the subcommittee and the Congress.

Time was when the fishing grounds off the New England coast were virtually alive with edible fish. In those days, it was relatively easy for fishermen, individually, or in fleets, to visit fishing grounds, not too far from the shore, and return with a large catch. The supply of fish was plentiful and there was no problem presented to the industry of possible scarcity of supply. However, for one reason or another, because of the changes in ocean currents, climatic conditions, the migration of many kinds of fish, and the exhaustion of the fishing banks, the former plentiful supplies of fish have now been greatly reduced.

This situation presents a grave threat, not only to the fishing industry, but to the consumers of America. Many people derive their livelihood from this great business. A very large number of people depend upon fish as a source of basic food, not only palatable, but a basic source of nutrients and vitamins recommended by dietary experts as essential parts of a well-balanced diet. Thus, in the depletion of historic fishing banks and sources, the Nation is confronted, not only with economic debilitation and loss of business revenue, decrease of employment in the fishing industry, but also is faced with the prospect of decreasing supplies of necessary and very essential foodstuffs.

It is believed that only through the research facilities provided by this bill, which are designed to look into all phases of current fishing shortages, that appropriate solutions and remedies can be found to ameliorate existing alarming conditions.

The cost to the American taxpayer is almost negligible, so to speak, the money provided for research coming from available and unused funds. H. R. 7641 and companion bills seek an annual allocation of section 32 import funds for intensive research to insure adequate supplies of fish now and for the future, experimentation on new uses for fish and seafoods, and more extensive use of various species of fish not now used in the fish marketing programs.

We all know that the Department of Agriculture is not spending all of the section 32 funds presently received on imported food products. All that this bill seeks is a transfer of a portion of these funds to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service for research vitally needed to maintain our commercial fish industries.

The money sought is actually a very small amount, as compared with the total sum provided by the Congress for research in the field and, if measured by the results that could be achieved in forestalling the loss of vital fish supplies and rehabilitating an industry that is threatened with serious dislocation.

The Fisheries Subcommittee heard today testimony from a distinguished group of witnesses from Massachusetts, who are vitally interested in this legislation and who are all experts in their field.

They included Mr. Thomas A. Fulham, vice president of Fulham Bros., Inc., treasurer of the Boston Fish Market Corp., chairman of the board of advisers, panel 5, International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission, and a member of the Massachusetts Board of Natural Resources; Francis W. Sargent, director of the Division of Marine Fisheries, Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources, and International Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission; John Kaylor, secretary-treasurer of the New England Fisheries Technologists; and Thomas D. Rice, executive secretary, Massachusetts Fisheries Association, secretary of the Federated Fishing Boats of New England and New York, Inc., and a member of the advisory board, Boston Port Authority Commission.

I would like to join my conscientious, capable, and discerning colleagues, Congressmen BATES, LANE, O'NEILL, and others, who are aligned with them in this matter, in urging the favorable consideration of this bill. I hope that our Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will be disposed, after having fully considered all the important aspects of the question, to report this bill unanimously so that it can be speedily adopted by the Congress and appropriate relief can be rendered, not only to the fishing industry and its workers, but to the consumers of America and to the great cause of conserving our great natural resources for the benefit and use of our people.

An Achievement of Spiritual Leadership and Inspiring Community Response

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, March 26, 1954, in my home city of Worcester, Mass., the deep-hearted vision and persevering spiritual purpose of our great and zealous Catholic diocesan director, His Excellency John Wright, bishop of Worcester, to comfort and heal the sick, became a living, inspiring reality with the opening of the new St. Vincent Hospital.

Thousands of local and surrounding area residents came to view and marvel

at this most modern of hospital structures built for and devoted to the truest objectives of religion and medical science, the saving of souls and the saving of lives.

This wonderful institute of health contains the finest medical equipment and facilities available in the world. It is constructed in accord with the most advanced principles of modern hospital architecture. It will serve to adequately meet a great and expanding need. Above all it will prove of immeasurable comfort and benefit to the sick of every race and creed, especially those unable to help themselves.

We, of Worcester and central Massachusetts, are very proud of our new St. Vincent Hospital which will be a long-enduring monument to the inspiring spiritual and civic leadership of Bishop Wright, so unselfishly supported by the most capable Sisters of Providence, and our generous-hearted people of all faiths. I know we will all join in continuing to extend fervent prayers and good wishes to insure the healthful success for which this new hospital is so obviously destined.

A very timely editorial appeared in the March 28, 1954, issue of the Worcester Sunday Telegram outlining the background of the old hospital and describing the modern features of the new. I should like to include the article at this point:

A NEW HOSPITAL FOR WORCESTER

The church has been an outstanding builder of hospitals in western civilization for a very real reason. The whole emphasis of our Judeo-Christian religious tradition is upon gentleness and kindness and love, and this embraces ministry to the sick especially. So the Christian church, from the beginning of modern medicine, has faithfully accepted an important share of responsibility for providing the facilities needed to heal and cure.

And no faith has been more diligent and consecrated in this than the Catholic Church, which is now opening the great new St. Vincent Hospital here in Worcester, one of the finest in New England.

Every time a new hospital comes into being, whatever its sponsorship, it adds to the sum total of the community's health and security. St. Vincent began its first modest contribution to Worcester's welfare more than 60 years ago, and was already caring for some 200 patients when the present 400-bed structure was begun. But its new potential is not to be measured just in statistics, nor in the grandeur of its architecture.

MODEL FOR NEW ENGLAND

What makes the new St. Vincent Hospital a model for New England, and indeed for the Nation, is its ultramodern resources. The most advanced scientific equipment of every kind is there, of course; but more than that, it is pioneering in some increasingly urgent fields of human health and welfare. These include particularly the areas of mental illness and alcoholism, which we are just beginning to understand sufficiently to employ effective treatment. There is a 50-bed psychiatric unit alone, and an outpatient psychiatric clinic which is an essential part of the new preventive treatment of mental illnesses.

Needless to say, the surgical, pediatric, polio, eye and ear, X-ray, and other facilities of every kind will be the best available anywhere.

So this is a major step in an impressive betterment and expansion of hospital resources in central Massachusetts since the war. Memorial Hospital completed a new 75-bed addition and other accommodations in 1948, opened a two-story maternity wing in 1951, then a new emergency ward in 1953, and continues to plan further expansion and renovation. Hahnemann Hospital moved into its new nurses' home last month, and is now building a million-dollar wing. City Hospital trustees are now preparing an elaborate modernization program for the near future. Fairlawn has a new recent addition operating, and has other modernizing in the planning stage.

IN NEARBY TOWNS

And just beyond Worcester's boundaries are the Holden Hospital with its fine new addition; the $850,000 hospital underway at Webster for the community that includes Dudley and Oxford; the excellent modern hospital at Athol; the new wing at Clinton Hospital; and so on.

The immense contribution that the new St. Vincent Hospital makes to these collective facilities in the area is obvious. And this weekend it is to the vision of these church leaders and laymen, to the consecrated lives of the staffs and Sisters of Providence who will serve there, to the sacrifice and generosity of all who have contributed however modestly, that Worcester and its citizens of every faith pay tribute.

Rural Electrification Program in the Tar Heel State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday evening, March 30, in the Crystal Room of the Willard Hotel, members of the North Carolina congressional delegation were entertained at dinner by the Tar Heel Electric Membership Association. At this meeting officials of the association gave to the members of our delegation a progress report worthy of the attention of every Member of both Houses of Congress. Splendid speeches were delivered by Mr. Alton P. Wall, president of the association, and by Mr. J. A. Ward, vice president, and by Mr. C. L. Ballance, member, North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority and president of the Lumbee River Electric Membership Corporation. Mr. William T. Crisp, executive manager and general counsel of the association, presented in a very fine and impressive manner graphs and charts showing the progress which has been achieved in the rural areas of North Carolina and emphasizing the potential expansion of rural electrification in our great State. All of the North Carolina electric membership corporations were well represented at the meeting, which was attended by approximately 200 people.

Mr. Gwyn B. Price, chairman of the North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority, and many other distinguished North Carolinians attended this very important meeting.

Mr. Speaker, while all of us were very favorably impressed with the magnificent progress which has been achieved, there was one thing about the meeting which I am certain greatly impressed all Members of Congress who attended, and that was the fact that those in charge of this great program in North Carolina realized that it was Congress that made this great program possible. It was the foresight and vision of the administration in office at the time the program was inaugurated and the determination of Members of both Houses of Congress to bring to the rural areas of our Nation the God-given blessings of electric light and power that have resulted in such magnificent achievements as those reported Tuesday night. Too often State and local leaders have tried to leave the impression upon the farmers of the Nation that they themselves have been responsible for the initiation, the continuation, and the prosecution of this great nationwide program. Actually Members of Congress who initiated the program and have fought for it through the years and have appropriated the money to finance and to carry on the activities of the Rural Electrification Administration have been given too little credit, while others outside of Congress have claimed credit for themselves. The first rural electrification program was made possible by legislation which was drafted by or under the direction of the minority leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, of Texas, who was at that time chairman of the great committee which prepared and presented the legislation which brought the Rural Electrification Administration into existence. Many of us here were fighting for REA long before some of these newcomers ever knew anything at all about the program and its purposes.

Many of those who are now the fighting friends of REA seem to have forgotten where REA was born. It was born of necessity, and it was born right here in the city of Washington and in the Halls of Congress, and here in both Houses of Congress you will find REA's best friends.

I was delighted last Tuesday night to hear the speakers from my State refer to the great partnership between Members of Congress and the farmers of the Nation who are today enjoying the blessings of electric light and power which have been brought into homes and farms through the REA. Congress said, "Let there be light in the rural areas of America," and tonight there is light in the rural homes of our Nation. Frankly, I do not believe that any Member of Congress would vote to turn off the lights in the farm homes of America, and yet there are those who in the early days embraced this program with many misgivings. I am delighted to know that 94 percent of rural North Carolinians have the benefit of electricity. Our job is not over. We must light all the rural homes of North Carolina which can possibly be reached in a manner compatible with the purposes and programs we have initiated.

Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment, commend, and congratulate those who have been in charge of the rural electrification program in the Tarheel State. My friend, Gwyn B. Price, has been a real champion and an able and a com-

petent leader, and he is held in high esteem, not only in the rural areas of our State but in every city, village, and town. The Federal Government, the taxpayers of America, have a great investment in the rural-electrification program, but that investment will pay great dividends in the days ahead. Think of the great increase in the tax revenues of the several States and the Nation. Think of the potential market that is being provided for the articles of industry. I shall not burden the RECORD by attempting to enumerate the many labor-saving devices and sanitary improvements which have been made possible by this far-sighted program. Best of all, we have made rural homes of America healthier and happier places in which to live, and we have provided a market which industry had not hereto enjoyed. The expansion of the use of industrial articles in the rural areas of America justifies the support of every Member of Congress who lives in industrial areas of our country. This, Mr. Speaker, is not a give-away program. This is a program that will pay its way, return benefits, and justify itself.

Mr. Speaker, here is our inventory, and I am grateful to those who brought it to us last Tuesday night:

AN INVENTORY

To take inventory in a program as vast and as complicated as Tarheel rural electrification is to gain a new perspective on both people and things. On January 1, 1954, there were 154,000 farm family consumers of cooperative electricity in North Carolina. They represented some 600,000 individual North Carolinians. In addition, North Carolina's 32 electric membership corporations were serving electricity to some 14,000 other-type members—churches, schools, little stores, rural industries, etc.—Bringing the total connected consumers to 168,000.

Nearly 40,000 miles of line had been erected to serve them the three-hundred-million-odd kilowatt-hours of power which they used in 1953. How are farm families putting those kilowatt hours to use? Surveys indicate some of the ways: In late 1953 there were approximately 126,000 refrigerators, 120,000 washing machines, 50,000 water systems, 51,000 electric ranges, 33,000 water heaters, and 21,000 home freezers working for these consumers. In addition, electric-farming equipment and literally millions of electric traffic items, such as radios, irons, fans, etc., were in use. And a newcomer—television—was fast finding its way into rural homes in every section of the State.

These surveys also reveal that rural people will substantially increase their use of all these items in the months ahead. It is estimated that North Carolina's cooperative customers have already invested over $200 million in electric appliances and equipment, and are increasing this investment at the rate of twenty to twenty-five million dollars yearly.

Today over 94 percent of rural North Carolinians have electricity. Putting the electricity to full use, however, is really just beginning.

In North Carolina, as throughout America, rural electrification could not have been accomplished—as it cannot now be preserved and maintained—except through a partnership program. Through the North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority, whose chairman for over 12 years has been Gwyn B. Price, Tarheel farmers have gained invaluable assistance not only in securing electric service, but in resolving particular problems and procuring adequate financing from REA.

From the Rural Electrification Administration our farm people have received technical aid and virtually 100 percent of their financing cooperative consumers have kept good faith with this partnership. On January 1, 1954, they had received $71,590,263 in construction loans. They had repaid nearly $10 million of these funds, of which over $2 million represented payments in advance. They had also paid the United States Treasury, nearly $5 million in interest, thus bringing to their Federal Government a handsome return on the funds invested in their program. Moreover, each electric membership corporation was either up to date or ahead of schedule in making its principal and interest payments.

In 1954, some 18 years since their program began, the partners which have been responsible for Tarheel rural electrification may take great pride in an inventory of their program. Its assets, in terms of present electric operations alone, qualify it as a multimillion dollar business, operating healthily in the black. Its assets in terms of human resources, however, qualify it as one of the truly great enterprises of 20th century Americans.

Housing Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the bill, H. R. 7839, referred to as the Housing Act of 1954, is a measure designed to aid in the improvement of housing, the elimination and prevention of slums, and to promote the efforts of our people to acquire good homes, and to assist our communities to develop wholesome neighborhoods in which to live.

The report of the committee indicates that the bill in its provisions seeks to carry out the recommendations that were the outgrowth of an intensive study by the Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs However, it does not seem to me that the bill as reported by the committee either accepts or adopts all the important policies recommended by President Eisenhower in his housing message to Congress on January 25 of this year. The failure of the bill to do so, as reported to the House, and, the failure of amendments to be adopted that would in large measure have accomplished the full intent of the President left no other reasonable course to pursue than to move to recommit the bill to the committee for amendment. However, as this motion failed, the bill was left without the full acceptance of all of the President's recommendations. This was most disappointing and very regrettable. The adoption of amendments offered to make the bill comply with President Eisenhower's declared policies would have provided a much better bill had they been adopted.

Some of the amendments that were offered were as follows:

First. To maintain traditional veterans' housing preferences;

Second. To provide a realistic workable mortgage market;

Third. To fix interest rates on veterans' mortgages not to exceed the present 4½ percent rate;

Fourth. To authorize 35,000 units of low-rent public housing in the fiscal years 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1958, as recommended by the President;

Fifth. To require builders of FHA and Veterans' Administration houses to give the home buyer a warranty against defective construction.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

I am of the opinion that it was unjust to deprive veterans of the full benefits or preferences in Housing that have been established. There should be no curtailment of veterans' preferences. The wartime service performed by veterans has rightfully earned for them the preference that has been accorded to them. Furthermore he is entitled to this preference because his lengthy absence from home and civilian pursuits placed him at a decided disadvantage in obtaining adequate housing. Thus, in my opinion, it was a mistake for the bill to curtail in the slightest degree veteran preferences and to do so justified the amendment to reestablish such.

MORTGAGE FINANCING

It is my opinion that it is highly important to provide an adequate and readily available supply of mortgage financing. This is an absolute necessity if there is to be a high and sustained volume of homebuilding. Restrictive requirements must not be so restrictive as to have the effect of deterring mortgage lending instead of sustaining it.

The National Association of Homebuilders expressed the opinion that the provisions of title III if adopted as reported "will prove unworkable and possibly do more to depress than to assist the mortgage market. Its terms go far beyond those reasonably necessary to prevent excessive use and, in effect, amount to a complete denial of the facility to the very users for whom it is intended."

This reasoning which seems reasonable likewise calls for amendment.

INTEREST RATES

Section 201 as submitted was in a form highly objectionable to our veterans' organizations. When the original Servicemen's Readjustment Act, 78th Congress, was written great consideration was given by the proponents of the same, in cooperation with representatives of the lending industry, the Treasury Department, and the Veterans' Administration, in the setting up by Congress of the present method of determining interest rates, and a ceiling was placed on the interest rate to be charged on Veterans' Administration loan guaranty mortgages so that there might not be a prohibitive interest rate charged to those who had served in the Armed Forces and to whom the legislation was intended to give assistance in reestablishing themselves on a sound economic basis. It was inserted in the law to protect the veteran homebuyer from excessive interest payments.

In July 1953 the rate was permitted to be increased to 4½ percent. There is some fear that the present bill could make possible an increase of this rate. Therefore, the provisions of section 201 are objected to by veterans' organizations and the desire expressed that the power to regulate interest rates should remain in Congress. With this viewpoint I am in entire accord.

LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING

The President in his housing message recognized the necessity of a continuation of a low-rent public housing program. He urged that 35,000 units be provided in fiscal year 1955 and during each of the following 3 years. Administrator Albert M. Cole indicated that such a program was essential for the rehousing of many displaced families. While 35,000 units for the next 3 years, in the opinion of some, is not entirely sufficient to house families displaced by slum clearance, urban renewal, or for other public purposes, it would at least have been very helpful.

Amendments to the bill to provide at least 35,000 units for each of the next 4 years is amply justified and should be made a part of this legislation before it is finally adopted. And to that end my wholehearted support is pledged. There is nothing more necessary to improve the standard of living of our people than for them to have good, decent homes in which to live. It is the duty of Congress to do all within its power to provide such and in so doing support President Eisenhower in this endeavor.

WARRANTY AGAINST DEFECTIVE CONSTRUCTION

The buyer of a house, built with Federal assistance, should be given a warranty by the builder that the house has been built according to the plans and specifications on which the Federal assistance was based.

The failure in the past to require such a warranty has resulted in many improperly constructed houses. And when the defects have become apparent there was nothing the homeowner could do about it as he had no warranty. To require such a warranty is not a reflection upon the many honest builders who have done a good job in constructing houses under Federal assistance. In fact, providing a buyer with a warranty is a common practice in many other lines of industry. When a person buys a home, he is, as a rule, making a lifetime investment and he is entitled to have reasonable protection.

CONCLUSION

It is my hope, that although all of the above amendments were not adopted by the House, and, failure to do so, justified a recommittal of the bill to the committee for further consideration. Yet it can be expected that the bill will be so improved in the Senate, and be returned to the House in better form. Because it is my hope and expectation that such will be the result, I have felt justified in finally voting for the bill. This, together with the many good features in the bill that were worthy of adoption, justified a vote for its passage.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

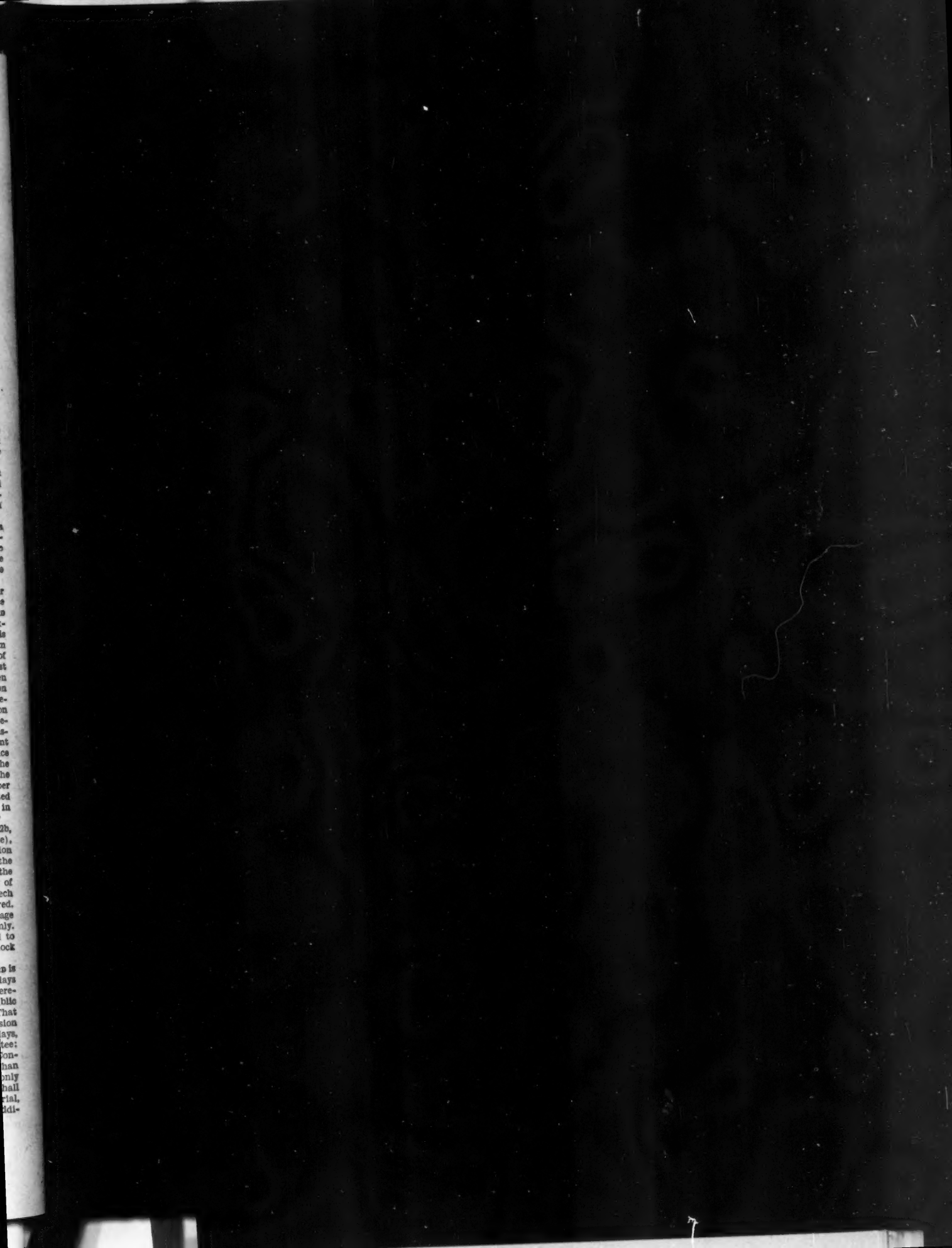

Appendix

Address by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, at Dedication of Monument of Gen. George W. Goethals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on March 31 I had the honor of delivering an address at ceremonies in the Panama Canal Zone dedicating a monument to Gen. George Washington Goethals, the engineer who built the Panama Canal.

I was particularly happy to observe the cordial and cooperative relationship which exists between the Governments of the United States and of Panama as they work side by side in the Canal Zone and in the Republic of Panama. There have been many examples of this cooperation—not only in the building of the canal itself, but also in such things as the work of Dr. Gorgas, with the assistance of Panamanian scientists, in eradicating yellow fever and controlling malaria, the prompt and efficient action taken by the Panamanian authorities on Pearl Harbor Day to round up potential spies in the Republic, and the collaboration of United States and Panamanian technicians in carrying on the point 4 program. We have additional present proof of the cordial and cooperative relationships between our two countries in the friendly spirit of the talks which are now being carried on. I am confident that these talks will be fruitful in conclusions beneficial to both the countries.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to have a fine visit with the President and Vice President of the Republic of Panama, and to meet other distinguished citizens.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my remarks at the dedication of the memorial to General Goethals be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PANAMA CANAL IN WORLD AFFAIRS

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the dedication of a monument to Maj. Gen. George Washington Goethals, Panama Canal Zone, March 31, 1954)

It is indeed a high honor for me to join you this afternoon in paying this just tribute to Maj. Gen. George Washington Goethals.

And it is an equally great pleasure for me to return to Panama and to the Canal Zone, even for a few days. I recall my previous visit a number of years ago with much enjoyment, and I hope to return many times more in the future. I am deeply appreciative of the gracious hospitality which has been extended to me.

This monument which we dedicate here today to General Goethals is a splendid thing, but actually, Goethals' greatest monument is the one he built himself—the Panama Canal. I don't think I shall ever cease to be struck with wonder whenever I see its locks and cuts. And I still remember, with a tingle of excitement, how, when I was a young man, my imagination was fired by the birth of the Republic of Panama and the feats of the canal builders. Like people the world over, I eagerly followed the progress of construction and thrilled when news of the first commercial transit flashed round the world on August 15, 1914.

And for 50 years I have followed with equal interest the growth and development of the Republic of Panama. It has made a praiseworthy contribution to the cause of human freedom, and I am particularly proud of the close friendship which has developed between the people of the United States and the people of Panama.

We tend to take the canal for granted these days; it works so smoothly and unobtrusively to speed the world's commerce that sometimes we think of it as having always been here.

This in itself is a tribute to the canal's designers, builders, and operators. There is no other large engineering project so well planned that 40 years later the original equipment and design can scarcely be improved.

HISTORY OF THE CANAL

The 50 years in which the canal has been in operation is but a fraction of the time that it was dreamed of, planned, talked about, and worked on before Goethals came along to build it. That goes back, not 40 years but more than 400.

When Columbus set out on his first voyage of discovery he was looking for an all-water route to the Far East. He did not find it, of course, and it presently became apparent that such a route did not exist north of the Straits of Magellan.

As a result, King Charles V of Spain in 1523 made the first move toward building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. There is no need here to repeat in detail all the ins and outs of the project over the next 380 years—the intrigues, the devotion, and self-sacrifice of the princes and presidents, the conquistadores and engineers of two hemispheres.

We come down to 1907. The Republic of Panama had achieved its independence. Work on the canal had been taken over from the French by the United States and was proceeding under the direction of the Isthmian Canal Commission. It was not proceeding, however, to the satisfaction of President Theodore Roosevelt.

GOETHALS' CONTRIBUTION

Goethals at this time was a major on the General Staff of the United States Army. He had already had a distinguished career.

Upon graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1880 at the age of 22, he served for 5 years in the Regular Army and was at various times an instructor at the Military Academy. During the nineties he was in charge of engineering works on the Tennessee River and assistant to the Chief of Engineers. Later he designed and built the fortifications at Narragansett Bay in New England.

When Roosevelt wanted to energize work on the canal, he promoted Goethals to lieutenant colonel and put him in charge. Shortly thereafter the President abolished the Isthmanian Canal Commission as an executive body and gave Goethals supreme authority.

Within 7 years after Goethals became undisputed boss of the project, the job was done. Goethals himself would be the first to say it was a team job. I want to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Panama Canal oldtimers, who can be justly proud of their employer, and of the support they gave him. In honoring him, we also honor them, and I am glad to see so many of them here today. As their beloved colonel himself put it: "No commander in the world ever had a more faithful force than that which worked with me in building the Panama Canal."

Goethals stayed in Panama, to become the first civil governor of the Canal Zone, and a major general. After serving in World War I, he retired to private life, and died in 1928 at the age of 69.

So it came about that in 1914, more than 400 years after Columbus began his search, the route to the Far East that he was looking for was opened to traffic.

I mention this history merely to emphasize the compelling need which the statesmen and builders of four centuries felt for such a route. But even so, the need was greater than they knew.

In 1901, the Isthmian Canal Commission reported an estimate that 11 million net vessel-tons of traffic would pass through the canal in 1924.

In 1912, as the canal was nearing completion, the Commission took another look, and increased this estimate to 17 million net vessel-tons of traffic in the year 1925.

But by the time 1925 came around, traffic through the canal amounted to 23 million tons, measured on a slightly, but not significantly, different basis.

And in the fiscal year 1953, total traffic was more than 43 million tons. More than 10,000 ships passed through the Canal that year.

BENEFITS OF CANAL

The benefits flowing from the construction of the Panama Canal cannot be measured in statistic, impressive as those statistic are in terms of tonnages, shortened distances, and fewer sailing days. The Panama Canal is not only an economic, but also a social and political, influence of the first magnitude. It has developed new trade routes, brought previously isolated areas within the radius of great world markets, and proved a great stimulus in the development of agriculture, manufacturing, and mining in many new areas.

From its inception, it has been an international project, and it has a significance in world affairs which is so great that it is sometimes lost sight of. Its strategic military value alone is of the utmost importance and is so obvious that it requires no elaboration from me.

The more challenging aspect of the Canal is the contribution it has made, and will continue to make, to the peacetime development of the world. This has long been

recognized. The seal of the Canal Zone bears the motto, "The Land Divided; the World United."

And in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 it is written:

"The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable."

I suggest that these words have had a great bearing on the Canal's success. They are at the bottom of the unifying force it has exerted to draw peoples and nations closer together.

It has, in short, played an important part in making the world a smaller place. As we gather here this afternoon to do honor to the man who gave the canal to the world, let us examine some of the implications of this process of world shrinkage which he did so much to advance.

THE COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE AMERICANS

For one thing, it has made the unity of like-minded nations more important than ever. In Caracas recently, 17 American Republics met this challenge when they plainly stated that communism, being directed by a foreign power, itself constituted intervention in the affairs of this hemisphere.

This statement is a logical extension of the principle that we would consider any attempt on the part of other nations to extend their system to the new world as dangerous to our peace and safety. It is also a logical extension of the Rio Treaty which said that an attack against any American state would be considered as an attack against all American states.

The Caracas resolution, in fact, is really nothing more than an application of these long-accepted principles to present-day facts. It is a recognition that imperialism in the form of satellite states is still with us; that our defenses against aggression are not adequate to cope with subversion.

The enormity of the Communist threat is brought home to us when we reflect that since the end of World War II, communism has conquered 800 million people, most of them by the techniques of subversion. This shows how vigilant we must be to protect our own liberties from this threat.

Our alertness is increasing, as is demonstrated by our action in Caracas.

THE CHALLENGE OF POVERTY

This is one way in which we have met the challenge of the smaller world which Goethals left us. But communism is not the only challenge of this world. There is also the challenge of poverty.

In considering the role of the Panama Canal in world affairs, we need to remember that trade in itself does not create wealth. On the contrary, wealth creates trade.

If, in this world neighborhood of ours, the rich get richer while the poor get poorer, there will come a time when the poor have nothing left to sell and no money with which to buy. Then, indeed, the traffic of this canal would vanish and it would stand as a monument, not to the genius and vision of man, but to his folly.

I am certain we need have no fear of that ever happening. I do think, however, that we cannot afford to take world trade for granted; that we need always keep our eyes on the bases for that trade—on the wealth and productive capacity which underlie it.

The problem, basically, is to develop new sources of wealth and production, and I am glad to say that in the last few years we have begun to devote more concerted, realistic attention to this matter. There are a number of things that can be done, but I want to mention only two.

First, through such public agencies as the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and through the fuller use of private capital resources, there can be brought about basic economic improvements in underdeveloped countries. There is ample room for both public and private capital. Some projects are more appropriate for one, some for the other.

In certain instances, public credit may have to be used for such fundamental improvements as, for example, transportation and power facilities, before the field will be sufficiently attractive for private capital. In other instances, the incentives to private investment may be found in actions to guard against expropriation, or to reduce controls, or to end discriminatry taxation.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Second, through cooperative programs of technical assistance, the accumulated know-how of the more developed countries can be shared with the less developed countries. As you in Panama are well aware, this sharing process has been going on for a long time as one of the byproducts of normal international commerce. And in this, too, the canal has played a role.

But to rely on private trade to spread technical knowledge in so indirect a manner is too slow and too haphazard, and does not always produce the best results.

I am proud of the part the United States has played in a more rational, methodical development of technical assistance through its own point 4 program, as well as through the multilateral programs of the United Nations and the organization of American States.

All of these programs are small; they have to be a accomplish their purpose. And all of them are long range; they cannot produce results overnight.

But all of them, taken together over a period of years, can accomplish near miracles; and, indeed, in some places in Latin America where they have been operating for 10 or 12 years, they have accomplished near miracles.

It is appropriate that the technical assistance program should have had its inception in the Western Hemisphere among not only our closest, but also our best, neighbors. And it has been in operation in this Hemisphere long enough to produce dramatic results of the kind which are rarely seen elsewhere in the world.

You have seen some of them yourselves in Panama—in rice cultivation, for example—and I hope that you will see more, in increasing members, in the not too distant future.

In all of these programs—whether technical assistance or development loans or private investment—one of the objectives should be not only to develop more efficiently existing sources of wealth, but also to provide new sources, so that an entire country is no longer overly dependent on a single product or a single activity.

This overindependence has been one of the basic economic problems of many Western Hemisphere countries. It is oil and iron ore in Venezuela, coffee in Colombia and Brazil, silver and other nonferrous metals in Peru, copper in Chile, and so on. In Panama, I think it has sometimes been this canal itself.

BASES OF NEW WORLD UNITY

Geography made Panama the land link between two continents. Goethals made it the water link between two hemispheres.

Over more than 400 years, the Panama Canal has been at the center of great events. It has caused much history, and its influence is not yet finished. It has been one of the means of bringing many different peoples more closely together. As these peoples have gotten to know each other better, they have come to like and to understand each other better.

For all of their differences—in background, language, religion, and culture—they have discovered that they want basically the same things from life—peace, security, and a chance to live their own lives in their own ways. It is these common goals which are at the bottom of hemispheric unity.

It is well, also, to recall the fundamental principles on which this unity has been developed:

1. The principle of nonintervention. We stay out of each other's internal affairs and expect others to do likewise. What a contrast to Eastern Europe where the minutest details are arranged to suit the Kremlin's whims.

2. The principle of the sovereign equality of free and independent states. There are no satellites here in the new world.

3. The principle of consultation. Being agreed on our common purpose, we reach agreement on our common course of action through open discussion and debate.

4. The principle of individual liberty and of the dignity of the human being. The state exists for the people; the people are not used as the pawns of the state.

This is a kind of unity which Communists do not and cannot understand; for it is the voluntary unity of free men joined together with a common purpose.

International communism then, is diametrically opposed to those great ideals that undergird the Inter-American system. They openly flout the principles of sovereign equality and nonintervention. They sneer at consultation. And they grind in the dust those individual liberties which we hold dear.

No one who is a true supporter of Pan Americanism could ever embrace a doctrine as alien and as dangerous as international communism.

Even though we do not always think alike in the new world, we stand together when we are faced with a common danger. It is in this spirit that we continue to build free world unity. And as we do so, we humbly acknowledge our debt to George Washington Goethals, the great builder who gave meaning to the motto, "The Land Divided; the World United."

Communism in Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, the issue of communism in the Government of the United States is very much before us just now. In Washington there seems to be a great deal of confusion and a beclouding of the issue.

To the people back home in my State of Kansas the issue is much simpler—perhaps they can better comprehend the issue from that distance and it can be answered with a simple, "Yes" or "No."

Two distinguished newspapers from the ranks of the small but independent group clearly express their thinking on the fifth amendment and congressional investigating committees in an editorial published in the Pittsburg Headlight, of Pittsburg, Kans.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOT A RISK BUT CERTAINTY

"Let us suppose that you are asked a simple, direct question—which can be answered with a simple direct 'Yes' or 'No.'

"The question is this: 'Are you a Communist?'

"If you are not—and if you are a loyal American—your answer would be a resounding 'No.'

"But suppose you say, 'I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might incriminate me. I invoke the fifth amendment.'

"Are you a Red traitor to America, or are you not? It's as simple as that. If you are not, why shouldn't you say so?

"By Executive order, President Eisenhower has directed that any Government employee who invokes the fifth amendment before a congressional investigating committee runs the risk of losing his job. It would seem that Ike wants the Communist question answered by a straight 'Yes' or 'No.'

"Which ought to be sufficient. Anyone whose conscience is clear should have no trouble in answering." (El Dorado Times.)

That is as plain as can be. A fellow who runs behind the fifth amendment when he is asked whether he is a Communist is a Red. And it happens that men by the score and some women as well have run behind the fifth amendment when asked whether or not they have engaged in espionage or other forms of treason to the Government of the United States. Such persons are traitors.

But getting them treated as such and dealt with as such has been a task with unhappy results. To a considerable extent the misfortunes have been due to the attitude of many high officials who do not seem to see treason in rushing for the protection of the fifth amendment. How any American citizen, truly having the interest of America at heart, can have any patience whatsoever with a witness who runs for cover on the question of his loyalty to the United States is hard to understand.

The Executive order mentioned by the Times should be enough. We hope it is enough. We hope that the Government employee who will not say that he has not engaged in espionage and that he is not a Communist will not merely run the risk of losing his job. We hope he loses it. There should be no risk. It should be a certainty. And his loss of a job will be in the interest of the Government which pays his salary.

The Merchant Marine: Vital in Peace or War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 24, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, in 1936 Congress established a national policy of fostering the development and encouraging the maintenance of a merchant marine adequate to serve both our peacetime and wartime needs. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Legion both have taken a stand in support of a merchant marine sufficient to carry a significant portion of our foreign commerce and to back up our Armed Forces in time of national emergency.

Our annual exports and imports amount to well over 200 million tons. The imports include large quantities of raw materials, many of which are obtainable only from foreign sources. These raw materials help to supply the daily needs of mills and factories throughout the United States. In turn, our exports consist mainly of commodities which have been produced by American industry and agriculture. It stands without question that the regular, uninterrupted flow of foreign commerce is essential to our economy. An adequate merchant marine provides fast, dependable ocean transportation and insures the smooth passage of our foreign commerce.

Recent trends in American shipping have become a source of concern among those who recognize the importance of our maritime establishment. Reports indicate that as of 1951 approximately 46 percent of our foreign trade was carried in American-flag ships, with 54 percent moving in foreign ships. By 1953 the amount being transported in vessels of the United States had dropped to 26 percent, with 74 percent being carried in ships of foreign registry. It is evident that the merchant marine is not keeping pace with the rest of our vigorous economy. In fact, the merchant marine appears to be slipping behind, a trend contrary to nearly every other major sector of an expanding economy.

Besides posing a threat to the smooth flow of American commerce, the decline of the merchant marine can be translated into terms of unemployment. The American Merchant Marine Institute recently announced that approximately 30 percent of American seamen had become unemployed in the past several years due to this decline. Cutbacks of this proportion clearly are causes for sober reflection.

Shipbuilding and ship repair also are important parts of our economy. Shipyards in all parts of the country employ many thousands of workers. Moreover, the shipbuilding and ship-repair industry contributes to the maintenance of employment everywhere. Every State furnishes material or equipment for the the industry. For example, my own State, California, supplies steel, machinery, red lead, glassware, asbestos, wool, cement, insulating material, and hard and soft woods in important quantities. A sharp decline in the shipbuilding and ship repair industry will certainly be felt throughout the economy.

If the ship operation and shipbuilding industries are important to the national welfare in peacetime, it follows that they are inestimably more so when war strikes. Supplying defense industries with vital raw materials assumes even greater importance under wartime conditions. Defense requirements demand increased quantities of strategic raw materials, many of which must be imported. Supply lines to our fighting forces and our allies must be maintained. During such periods of emergency, the survival of our Nation depends in large part on the merchant marine—the fourth arm of defense.

It is evident that the American merchant marine plays an important role in our peacetime economy, and that it serves as a vital link in our chain of defense during wartime. Prudence compels us to maintain a place high among the world's maritime powers. We cannot permit ships flying the American standard to be driven from the sea lanes of commerce. It is our interest and our duty to keep them afloat. I think it would be false economy and reckless policy to allow our merchant marine to deteriorate. It must be kept modern, adequate, and dependable.

Blindness Prevails

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Tablet of Brooklyn, N. Y., March 20, 1954:

BLINDNESS PREVAILS

On Tuesday of last week Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont, delivered an address in Congress. It dealt with a number of subjects. One of them was Senator MCCARTHY, who was appraised as having in the past, made a contribution to exposing communism and Communists. However, the speaker added, today the Senator from Wisconsin's methods are not good, he has attacked the Army, he is injuring unity, he aims to split the Republican Party.

The speech contained far more than this. As a matter of fact the Senator's criticism of the Wisconsin legislator was a minor part of the address. Another part of his speech was far more important, for Senator FLANDERS spoke warmingly of the impressive victories abroad by communism and his words could be interpreted even as reflecting on President Eisenhower and the present administration. Note the following passages from his address:

"When he (Senator MCCARTHY) and we look outward, what do we see? We see defeat in Korea, and the Iron Curtain moved down to the truce line by force of arms, in defiance of the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We find the same aggression pursued in Indochina, with our country assigned to play the part of a supporter of colonialism, and persuaded to enter into negotiations which are foredoomed to parallel, to a greater or less extent, the foreordained conclusion of the Korean truce.

"In Europe we see Italy ready to fall into Communist hands. We find France irresolute, palsied in thought and action, with her Communists well organized and sure of their ground. Saddest of all, we see Great Britain nibbling at the drugged bait of trade profits, which benumbed her judgments when Japan moved into Manchuria and Mussolini moved into Ethiopia. Then followed, in logical sequence, the fall of the Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in the Second World War.

"Let us look to the south. In Latin America there are sturdy strong points of freedom. But there are likewise, alas, spreading infections of communism. Whole countries are being taken over. Other countries, not yet captured, are undergoing relentless infiltration.

"There is little need to spotlight the other trouble spots in Asia and Africa. If this massive advance is not stemmed, our future place in the world is clearly foreordained. The Iron Curtain, now protecting Communist countries, will be drawn about the United States and Canada, the last remnants of the free world. This will not need to be accomplished by defeating us militarily. It will result from the capture of the rest of the world by infiltration and subversion. We will be left with no place to trade and no place to go except as we are permitted to trade and to go by the Communist masters of the world."

Those were Senator FLANDERS' words. Yet no paper, to our knowledge, featured the dynamic remarks, although David Lawrence carried them in his syndicated column on Monday. No headlines heralded them, no editorials discussed them, in fact few newspapers even printed them. Most papers sensationalized the criticism of Senator MCCARTHY and totally ignored the more important parts of the address.

The same journalistic policy prevailed last Sunday. Vice President NIXON, a night previously, delivered an informing address as the spokesman of the administration. He asserted that President Eisenhower and his administration recognized the danger of Communist infiltration in the United States; that they will never consider it, in the unhappy phrase of former President Truman, a red herring, nor in the equally unhappy phrase of Adlai E. Stevenson, as chasing phantoms; that President Eisenhower and his administration recognized the right and responsibility of congressional committees to investigate in the field; that President Eisenhower and his administration will never tolerate disloyalty any place we find it, and will not, when they discover disloyalty, adopt the attitude of former Secretary of State Acheson, who stated that he would never turn his back on his good friend, Alger Hiss.

Vice President NIXON also described and upheld the New Look in our Nation's defense and he presented a very illuminating picture of the situation, whether or not one agrees with him on every point. In his speech, Mr. NIXON criticized "reckless talk" and "questionable methods" of some legislators in fighting the Red menace but they, he added, had hitherto done good work in fighting the greatest peril to our civilization. He mentioned no names. Direct questions were asked of Mr. Stevenson: Did he oppose the armistice in Korea? Did he believe the United States should continue to liquidate its sons in every corner of the earth while the Soviet did not sacrifice a man? What foreign policy did he recommend?

These were pointed questions and replies to Mr. Stevenson's challenging address. But what happened? The same papers which had omitted the meat of Senator FLANDERS' address concentrated with great headlines and vituperative editorials on the brief section of the address which seemingly criticised Senator MCCARTHY and overlooked the other and more important parts of the Vice President's discourse.

Mr. NIXON must have been disagreeably surprised. He endeavored to appease the outcry for MCCARTHY's life but found in a large measure that the forces of hate, as represented by the New York Times were dissatisfied. They would have no halfway measures. No part of the speech interested the Times editorially save the reference to the Wisconsin Senator and this was totally unsatisfactory, for Mr. NIXON was not sufficiently drastic for its mood. It demanded its pound of flesh. Blind hate is, apparently, the policy on this subject and the opinion is becoming widespread, even among people who are not favorable to Senator MCCARTHY, that destruction of an anti-Communist is more important than opposing Red revolutionists or pinks who would put our Nation at the mercy of internal spies working for the Kremlin.

FHA, Called Mad Spending of Taxpayers' Money and Socialism by Republicans in 1934, Actually Built Millions of American Homes and Paid Off United States Treasury With Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article titled "Growth of FHA," which appeared in the April 5, 1954, issue of Trainman News, the official newspaper of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen:

GROWTH OF FHA

Some 20 years ago the Federal Housing Administration's Government-insured home-loan program was blasted on the floor of Congress as "socializing industry" and "mad spending of the taxpayers' money."

This program, part of the National Housing Act of 1934, provided that the Federal Government insure home loans made by private lenders.

The other day the FHA handed the Treasury Department a check for $16.5 million. This was final payment on a total of $65.5 million which the Treasury had advanced FHA since the loan program was set up in 1934. In addition, the Treasury has received over $20 million in interest.

In the intervening 20 years FHA insured mortgages for 4.1 million new dwelling units and 15 million loans for home improvements. Altogether $3.1 billion in home and improvement loans have been insured by FHA.

Today FHA's loan-insurance program is self-sustaining. It's hard to find anyone opposed to its operations.

At the recent hearing before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, on the proposed Housing Act of 1954, Representative ABRAHAM MULTER, Democrat, of New York, asked John Reilly, a top official of the American Bankers Association: "Is the FHA program a welfare or a subsidy?"

"No, sir," he replied, "I don't so regard it. I think it is a sound insurance program." This was the same sentiment expressed by William A. Clarke, president of the Mortgage Bankers Association and Carrol M. Shanks, president of Prudential Insurance Co.

These attitudes are all the more impressive when one reviews the fight in the early 1930's to secure an adequate program to insure housing credit.

In 1932, for example, Representative Clyde Williams, of Missouri, said that such action was unnecessary "because there is now an overbuilt condition. There are thousands of homes vacant now throughout the country and there is little or no real necessity for an extensive building program at this time."

This was in the depths of the depression.

The National Housing Act of 1934 was advanced to stimulate activity in the construction industry and relieve unemployment. In debating the loan and mortgage provisions of the act, these remarks were made on the floor of Congress:

"Creating debts will only give us a worse condition and a worse status."

"I do not know how much further you are going with your program of socializing industry. Do you really intend to upset the social order?"

"Mr. Chairman, we have already sounded the death knell of building and loan associations in the United States."

Today there are over 5,000 such associations thriving throughout the country with assets over $20 billion.

In 1934, however, Congress was faced with this critical picture. Residential building had fallen to one-tenth of 1 percent of its 1929 total. The National Housing Act was passed.

The first FHA-insured loan went to an Indianapolis, Ind., homeowner who borrowed $125 to paint his house and fix his roof.

FHA is only one of several Government-insured home loan programs. In addition, there is the veterans' loan guaranty program, insurance of deposits of mutual savings banks and savings and loans associations and the Farmers' Home Administration.

All told, Federal credit aids today make possible over one-half of the value of new residential construction.

Government aids to housing have come a long way in 20 years.

A Critical Situation in the Philippines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, on March 25 I called to the attention of the House a very critical situation in the Philippines.

I pointed out at that time that perhaps 200,000 Filipinos faced starvation on the island of Mindanao, by reason of infestations of rats which have destroyed crops and threaten infection from whatever diseases the rats may carry.

I am sure every Member of the House will be glad to know that the present Government of the Philippines, under the able leadership of President Magsaysay, has moved forward to combat this threat to a large segment of their people. Also, the UNICEF has approved an allocation of $98,000 for food.

I am advised, Mr. Speaker, that 126,000 mothers and children will benefit from the UNICEF 90-day feeding program.

Mr. Speaker, I again call upon our Government to carefully survey the conditions existing in this friendly country and that if needed, surplus foods which now are a concern to us, be allocated to these worthy but unfortunate people.

I served as a combat war correspondent in the Philippines during its liberation in World War II. I know of the great strength of these people—their loyalty and their devotion to the cause of the free world.

We have spent billions in arms and ammunition to fight communism in the Far East. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that food to hungry people is a greater weapon

against a godless foe than the most powerful weapon we may have.

Let us not forget those who just a few short years ago fought side by side with us with such valor against an enemy who had attacked our Nation. Let us not neglect those who would, I am sure, once more become a strong ally against the enslavement of the free world.

Under unanimous consent, I include the following letter addressed to me from Emilio Abello of the Embassy of the Philippines, together with a press release:

EMBASSY OF THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, March 29, 1954.

The Honorable FRANK T. BOW,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN BOW: I wish to thank you for the statement you made in the House of Representatives on March 25 regarding the rat infestation in the Philippines. The damage caused by the rodents has been so serious that it has caused the President of the Philippines to proclaim a state of public calamity in the stricken areas. The Pilippine Government is doing its best to meet the emergency. The first law passed by the newly elected Congress of the Philippines sets aside an additional appropriation of $1 million for the extermination of the pest. But the infestation has continued to spread and the situation is causing a great deal of concern to my Government.

It is therefore gratifying to note such messages as the one you delivered in the House expressing concern over the misfortune that Filipinos in the provinces affected have suffered.

I am availing myself of this opportunity to send you a copy of a press release from the Philippine Mission to the United Nations under date of March 10, 1954, regarding the assistance that the UNICEF Executive Board of Directors has approved in order to help mothers and children in the stricken areas. The press release also includes a statement made by a representative of the Philippine Government before the Executive Board of the UNICEF indicating the extent of the damage. Needless to state, the assistance given to the Philippines by the UNICEF would be inadequate to solve our problem. So, it is with a deep sense of gratification that I have seen that you have called attention to it and have indicated a solution.

Sincerely yours,

EMILIO ABELLO,
Minister Plenipotentiary,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

PRESS RELEASE—PHILIPPINE MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MARCH 10, 1954

The UNICEF Executive Board yesterday unanimously approved an allocation of $98,000 for the provisions of 500 tons of rice, 500,000 pounds of skim-milk powder, and 3 million fish-liver-oil capsules for emergency feeding in the rat-infested provinces of Mindanao Island in the Philippines. A total of 126,000 mothers and children will benefit from the UNICEF assistance under a 90-day feeding program.

This is the first time in the history of UNICEF that an allocation has been made to succor sufferers from a crop failure caused by extensive rat infestation.

The destruction caused by the rats in Mindanao is so serious that President Ramon Magsaysay has proclaimed a state of public calamity in the stricken areas.

More than 80,000 hectares of farmland in 4 provinces are affected. In Cotabato Province, which is the hardest hit, 90 percent of the standing crop of rice, corn, and sweetpotatoes and other tubers has been destroyed.

In an all-out effort to bring the situation under the control, President Magsaysay has mobilized all the Government agencies concerned and appealed to all voluntary associations to help in the campaign.

The first law enacted by the newly elected national legislature provides for an additional appropriation of $1 million to be used in the control and eradication of the rats. The air and chemical warfare units of the armed forces of the Philippines as well as the ROTC trainees have been pressed into service. Fire, tractors with disc harrows, and various poisons and chemicals are being used.

Additional information concerning the infestation is contained in the following statement made yesterday by the Philippine representative before the UNICEF Executive Board:

"STATEMENT ON THE EMERGENCY IN MINDANAO BY MR. NARCISO G. REYES (PHILIPPINES) BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND EXECUTIVE BOARD, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 9, 1954

"The recommendation put forward by the Executive Director is for an allocation to the Philippines.

"Normally, I would not feel called upon to intervene in the consideration of an allocation to my country before the Executive Board has made its decision.

"However, this is an emergency allocation, and the emergency is of a rather unusual kind.

"If I am not mistaken, this is the first time in the history of UNICEF that the Executive Board and the Program Committee have had to deal with an emergency of this nature. The immediate problem is crop failure affecting some 45,000 families, including more than 160,000 mothers and children. But the situation is unprecedented in UNICEF annals because it has been brought about by a rat infestation.

"I am well aware, Mr. Chairman, that in emergency cases the Executive Board as a rule concerns itself—and rightly so—more with effects than with causes. Ordinarily, it does not make fine distinctions between disasters caused by what are sometimes described as acts of God—like an earthquake or a volcanic eruption—and calamities in which the human element has somewhat greater play—as in the sickness and devastation caused by war, or the occurrence of floods in areas where preventive and control measures might, under certain circumstances, prove to be practicable.

"But a rat infestation of this magnitude in our day is not an ordinary catastrophe. This being the case, the Board is entitled to additional information concerning the Philippine situation.

"The scene of the emergency which is the subject of the Executive Director's recommendation is Mindanao, the southernmost island of the Philippine archipelago. It is the principal undeveloped island in the Philippines, and since we obtained our independence in 1946 migration from the relatively more crowded northern islands has been encouraged by the government as one of the means for facilitating land reform measures and at the same time accelerating the development of Mindanao's own virgin territories.

"The rat infestation has taken place mainly in what may be described as frontier settlements, where the communications, sanitary facilities, and the system of public health controls which exist in the older communities in the north are not yet fully established.

"Evidence points to the fact that the rat infestation started in the marshes and jungles adjacent to the agricultural settlements in Cotabato province. During the past 3 years, the rather self-reliant farmers in that area, without any substantial assistance from the Central Government had been able to keep the rats in check. Some kind of balance had been maintained. The rats subsisted mainly on a type of succulent grass and other foods which were abundant in the marshes, were kept from increasing abnormally in numbers by their natural enemies, and only occasionally made forays into the settlements.

"Last fall, however, this balance appeared to have been upset and the rats began to descend en masse into the farms, thus posing an increasingly grave problem of control and eradication. Some 80 thousand hectares of farmland in four provinces are now affected. In Cotabato alone, which is the hardest hit, 90 percent of the crops of rice, corn, and sweet potatoes and other tubers have been eaten up by the rats, as a result of which a total of 350 thousand persons are suffering from hunger.

"Hunger, of course, is only the most immediate and acute feature of the situation. There is, in addition, a great danger of infection from whatever diseases the rats may carry, and a public-health problem of major proportions is in the making.

"The economic and social effects are no less serious. In the center of the stricken areas, homesteads have been deserted, school enrollment has declined by as much as 50 percent, commerce has languished, and the economic life of entire communities has been paralyzed.

"An idea of the extent of the infestation at the main focal point may be obtained from the estimate that in the Ligussan marshes covering 50,000 hectares of land in Cotabato, more than half a billion rats are entrenched, indicating a 'density'—if I may use the word—of some 10,000 rats to the hectare.

"These marshes are within easy rat-commuting distance from the phenomenally fertile Ala and Koronadal Valleys, which had been expected in 3 to 5 years to produce enough rice to place the Philippines securely, for the first time in its modern history, in the category of surplus rice-producing countries.

"This is the situation which has moved the Philippine Government to proclaim a state of public calamity in the affected provinces.

"The first law enacted by the newly elected legislature provides, as noted in the Executive Director's recommendation, for an additional appropriation of $1 million to be used in bringing the infestation under control. The President of the Philippines has mobilized all the Government agencies concerned and appealed to all voluntary associations to help in the campaign.

"The air and chemical warfare units of the Armed Forces of the Philippines as well as the ROTC trainees have been pressed into service. Fire, tractors with disc harrows, and various poisons and chemicals are being used. So far, they have not proved to be completely adequate, and the Government is redoubling its efforts to find a solution.

"I hope that this explanatory statement may serve as a footnote to the Executive Director's recommendation and thus be of some assistance to the Executive Board at this stage."

President's Recommendations on Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. O. C. FISHER
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in order that different viewpoints on the subject

of foreign trade may be presented, I include the following statement made by a constituent of mine, Mr. O. R. Strackbein:

PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON FOREIGN TRADE

Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture and Labor on Import-Export Policy, today made the following comment on President Eisenhower's recommendations to Congress on tariffs and foreign trade policy.

The nationwide committee is composed of some 50 organizations composed of industries and agricultural enterprises and labor groups which are suffering from or threatened by cheap imports from low-wage nations, made possible by present low United States tariff structures.

Mr. Strackbein's statement follows:

"The President's message to Congress on foreign economic policy is no better and no worse than the original Randall Commission report, which in great part it would carry out. It ignores completely the minority views presented by members of the Ways and Means and Finance Committees.

"The President approved the principal recommendations made by the Randall Commisson on the subject of tariffs and trade, all of which would aggravate the unemployment and distress already being felt by many industries and farm areas throughout the country. These included a 3-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act that expires June 12 of this year; three successive 5-percent reductions in our present tariff over a 3-year period; reduction of all rates that are higher than 50 percent to a 50-percent level and a 50-percent cut in duties on all items that are not now imported or are imported in negligible quantity.

"To the tens of thousands of workers who are already out of work in scores of communities because of unfair import competition, the message offers a dismal diet, namely, the empty dinner pail and the dole. Disappointment will be keen and bitter.

"If the recommendations are not headed off they will do more damage to our economy at this time than a thousand prophets of gloom. The numerous industries that face growing import competition with no reliable remedy at hand will not embark upon programs of plant expansion, plant renewal and and other activities that will increase employment. They will in fact not be able to hold their own.

"It may be possible to bail out a few industries by dipping into the Treasury; but the line will get too long if no better remedy is provided.

"To base our economy on the hope of 'continuously expanding world markets,' as the Randall recommendation puts it, is to build on a foundation of sand. The very first rift on our economic front in 1952–1953 came from the decline in exports of farm commodities—a drop of fully 25 percent in some of our leading farm exports. Yet this happened at a time when our defense and foreign aid programs were in full bloom. Just what would it take to bolster these 'continuous expanding world markets'?

"Employment in production and servicing of export goods is exaggerated in the message by nearly 50 percent. This is all the worse, since only 45 percent of our imports are dutiable, and therefore only 45 percent of our export employment should be counted. Thus, the 4 million employees attributed to export activities falls to about 1,275,000.

"Against this may be set at least 15 million employees engaged directly or indirectly in the production and servicing of domestic products that are exposed to import competition.

"Obviously, the Randall recommendations went off the track because they were based on estimates made by staff experts who, blinded by the mysticism of free trade, grossly underestimated the number of employees who would be affected by adoption of free trade. This was placed at 200,000. A larger number than that has already been laid off because of imports.

"With one recommendation we heartily agree. It is said that GATT, the illegitimate offspring of our diplomacy, be brought before Congress for a going over.

"The message by-passes completely the vast differences in wages between America and most other nations, and the fact that productivity in many industries in those nations is now equal or close to our own. The low foreign wage scales, of course, make possible the unfair import competition which is driving many American producers out of the market, and which, if not offset by a fair tariff, will ultimately mean the collapse of our present wage levels and high standard of living."

He Fought a Winning Battle for Air Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "He Fought a Winning Battle for Air Power," which appeared in the April 3, 1954, issue of the Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky.

This editorial very ably sets forth the fact that Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg fought to bring the Air Force into being, fought to defend it from its enemies, and, having finally established it in an unchallengeable position, died:

Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg deserves his country's gratitude and will receive an honored place in our military history.

The editorial is as follows:

HE FOUGHT A WINNING BATTLE FOR AIR POWER

Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, the handsome, brilliant, dashing Air Force Chief of Staff, was dedicated to his service with a passionate, tireless devotion. From his boyhood, flight fascinated him. From the day he entered West Point the air consumed his interests, his energies and eventually his life. He fought to bring the Air Force into being, fought to defend it from its enemies and, having finally established it in an unchallengeable position, he died.

Hoyt Vandenberg was one of the hard, bright young men whose ribbons, charm, and intelligence persuaded a bedazzled Congress to free the postwar airmen from control of the Army. He was only 49 when he assumed leadership of the independent Air Force from the aging "Tooey" Spaatz, and to the older veterans of the Joint Chiefs of Staff he must have looked remarkably like the sky-gazing young glamour-lads of the Air Force recruiting posters. Many of his Pentagon seniors regarded him, at first, with amusement, an emotion that quickly gave way to amazement, respect and occasionally to a fine dislike. For though Hoyt Vandenberg had a fine appreciation for public relations, and launched a program of public relations which swept the country and Congress into the Air Force camp, he had a complete disdain for personal relations. He had no patience with error or weakness. His enemies called him arrogant. Even his friends found him rather humorless.

Yet no one disputed the brilliance with which he guided the fledgling Air Force through its first stormy, critical years. In the famous battle of the B–36 he took on and defeated both Army and Navy and won for his massive bombers a priority of appropriations that the Air Force still enjoys. He resisted the embrace of zealots as strenuously as the attacks of service enemies. He soon sensed the danger in the exaggerated claims of the victory through air power fanatics around Alexander Seversky, and was careful to disclaim omnipotence for his planes. He was distressed to find the Air Force the darling of the China-first lobby, the advocates of "go it alone," and the more rabid isolationists. He spoke out with courage against General MacArthur's plan to bomb the Manchurian sanctuary, pointing out that if the bombing attack failed, as well it might, the resulting conflict might spread into a world war that could last for 30 years.

Hoyt Vandenberg saw the airplane as a way to keep the peace, as well as a means of winning the war. In his last, and typically successful effort to get more money from Congress for the Air Force, he pointed to the triple value of air power—as a deterrent, as protection, as retaliation. Yet in his last interviews he foresaw the day when nuclear weapons and guided missiles would make piloted planes unnecessary and impractical. Until that day, he emphasized, this country would need an Air Force of tremendous power. And for his part in giving his country such an air force General Vandenberg deserves his country's gratitude as well as an honored place in our military history.

A Watchdog Retires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT C. BONNER
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times-Herald of Monday, April 5, 1954:

A WATCHDOG RETIRES

The job from which Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren will retire on April 30 is that of watchdog over United States expenditures. In that role during the last 13½ years he had saved the taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. Since 1941 the General Accounting Office has collected $915 million, most of which had been illegally or improperly paid out, a sum equal to twice the cost of running the GAO during the same period. Still more important are Mr. Warren's contributions to efficient governmental organization and preventive measures against illegal spending.

Mr. Warren, a former Congressman from North Carolina, has been generally recognized as a tough Comptroller General, and he sometimes has been criticized for hampering executive plans. Yet he has not been inflexible. His creed has been to strive to be right; to be fair in his dealings with all individuals and agencies; and then to let the chips fall where they may. His outstanding service in holding expenditures to the purpose for which funds have been appropriated by Congress has been generally recognized by Republicans and Democrats alike. In fighting waste, loose spending, and disregard of the law he has hewed close to the line without carrying the independence of the GAO to extremes. On the con-

trary, he has repeatedly stressed the advantages of cooperation between his office and the executive branch in working out better procedures and organization.

In 1945 Mr. Warren had much to do with enactment of the Government Corporations Control Act, which brought many sprawling corporate structures under budgetary and accounting controls. After the war he worked with the Treasury and the Budget Bureau for improvement of accounting methods throughout the Government. The result of these efforts was the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 and the Post Office Department Financial Control Act of the same year. While at times Mr. Warren became a controversial figure, he never forgot that he was an agent of Congress in seeing that funds are properly spent.

One other index to the quality of his public service is the fact that, with all the improvement in the service rendered by the GAO, he trimmed its personnel from 14,906 in 1946 to 5,890 at present. Congress was sufficiently impressed by his work that it last year granted him the privilege of retiring without loss of pay—along with many glowing tributes. Mr. Warren has richly earned his retirement. We wish for him many years of rest and a full measure of satisfaction for work well done.

TVA's Use of Coal Rising Sharply

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remark in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled, "TVA's Use of Coal Rising Sharply," which appeared in the March 23, 1954, issue of the Madisonville Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

TVA'S USE OF COAL RISING SHARPLY

The increasing use of coal by the Tennessee Valley Authority is one of the gratifying angles of the hard-pressed coal industry. The fact that TVA's use of coal is rising sharply is of particular interest in our western Kentucky coal field, which is a major supplier of TVA's fuel.

According to Coal Age, TVA burned 6,500,000 tons of coal in 1953, will purchase 11 million tons in 1954 and in 1956 will require from 18 million to 20 million tons. The rising coal burn will be for additional units for 5 large steam plants now under construction, all of which are scheduled for completion in 1956.

To provide additional power for the needs of the region, TVA is relying on steam plants and is planning practically no hydroelectric construction. The coal-buying record of the big producer is given by Coal Age as follows:

"Since 1950, when TVA began large-scale coal buying for its steam plants, the agency has contracted for almost 50 million tons of coal at a cost of about $200 million, some $50 million of which will go for transportation, mostly by rail. Officials estimate their coal contracts will provide work for 10,000 miners for more than a year on a 5-day basis."

In 1953 mines in western Kentucky were the agency's principal suppliers, providing more than 3 million tons. Tennessee mines were second, with 2,400,000 tons, followed by southern Illinois mines, with 900,000 tons. Small quantities were shipped from Alabama, eastern Kentucky, and Indiana.

Hopkins County mines have provided—and are still providing—a big coal tonnage for TVA. The big power agency is a close buyer which insists upon a price which is nothing to brag about, as coal prices go, but the running time provided the mines means additional job opportunity for miners and the circulation of additional payroll money in the community. These considerations are important at any time, of course, but particularly so in slack times like the present.

Stalin's Tar-Baby Trick

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KIT CLARDY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Speaker the current news about the situation in Indochina disturbs all of us. The Communist pattern of involving us in first one conflict and then another seems pretty clear. I am apprehensive that we may be brought into another Korea if we do not recognize what the signs mean.

In that connection I have taken from my files a letter to the editor published in the Chicago Tribune on July 7, 1950, and written by Hamilton Long. This letter points up what I have been thinking and saying for a long time—that we are letting the Communists call the turn. We are letting them involve us in first one conflict and then another.

The letter to the editor reads:

STALIN'S TAR-BABY TRICK

CHICAGO, July 4.—An imaginary conversation in the Kremlin regarding Korea:

"STALIN. What about the military situations, General, now that Truman is sending United States forces?

"The GENERAL. Everything is going according to our plan. South Koreans are melting like butter against a hot knife before our—pardon me, North Korea's—tanks and planes. After the planned vigorous fighting for a while, we'll draw the Americans deeper and deeper into the northern area, make it harder for them to withdraw. The more territory they win, the more they are stuck. Our toughest battle-trained North China fighters are moving into North Korea ready to fight as "Koreans"; and we'll take advantage of Truman's Formosa move—interfering in China's civil war—to have China openly intervene in Korea. Then we would have the Americans fighting China—perfect. Truman took our bait—hook, line, and sinker. Everything's fine.

"STALIN. Good. Molotov, why are you smiling like the cat that swallowed the mouse?

"MOLOTOV. You know the fable of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby. Well, our tar baby trick is working better than we expected. France up to her elbows in tar, hitting our tar baby in Indochina. Britain likewise in Malaya, more deeply involved daily. And now Uncle Sucker Sam falls for this trick in Korea. How will he ever get out?

"The GENERAL. Even better than Greece, where we had hoped to get American troops involved, but Truman couldn't get the American people to swallow that big a dose at first; so he had to get them to this point in Korea by easy stages.

"MOLOTOV. No hurry about all this. We've got time to burn. The slower we go, the longer we drag out this bleeding process for America the better. Let's get them deeply committed in Korea first. Then we can surprise America's childish 'statesmen' with the second act in the play in Greece, and show them how hollow their 'victory' there was. What fools they be.

"STALIN. Tell me, Beria, has our Korean 'crisis' helped out our boys in Washington?

"BERIA. Yes; Truman and Tydings took advantage of it to call off the investigation of our boys. The people are so excited by the fighting they've not even noticed this. Such children—from toy to toy.

"STALIN. Good. Keep Truman off that hot spot. Now what about Iran?

"The GENERAL. Everything is all set for a nice civil war there, with not a Russian involved openly.

"MOLOTOV. Then will the British howl about their oil, and Sucker Sam will rush in headlong—he already has a military mission there and is sending lots of arms—just as we planned. Then we'll have his right arm stuck in the tar baby in Iran, his left arm stuck in Korea, his left foot stuck in Greece, and his right foot maybe in Tibet or Hong Kong. After that he won't have anything to hit the tar baby with but his head. Just like Brer Rabbit. [Loud guffaws.]

"The GENERAL. And then—we make our real move, per our plan. America will be a pushover then.

"STALIN. Fine. Never forget our plan: Bleed America white, internally and externally. Get her more and more overextended militarily, as in Kora, more and more involved in backing British and French colonialism in southeast Asia and Africa. Gut America morally, economically, militarily. Sap her strength until she is a hollow shell. Then we'll crack that shell."

HAMILTON LONG.

Value of Dollar Drops Under Republican Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial which appeared in the April 2, 1954, issue of the AFL News-Reporter, an official publication of the American Federation of Labor. The editorial, entitled "Well?" follows:

WELL?

"The first thing we need in a stable economy is stable money"—Candidate Dwight Eisenhower at political rally in Rock Island, Ill., September 17, 1952.

"We want to preserve the value of your money."—Candidate Eisenhower at political rally in Saginaw, Mich., October 1, 1952.

"One of the great programs in the Republican platform is this: To stabilize your dollar."—Candidate Eisenhower at political rally in Spokane, Wash., October 6, 1952.

"The purchasing value of the dollar in January 1954 was 54.3 cents, representing a decrease of 2 percent under a year ago. In January 1953, the dollar was valued at 55.4 cents."—News release of National Industrial Conference Board, a research bureau of business, labor, government, and university groups.

Results of Questionnaire Mailed to First Congressional District of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, February 27, I mailed 36,000 questionnaires to my congressional district. This is the fifth annual questionnaire of this kind that I have distributed. I have used rural directories for each of the 12 counties and city directories for each of 7 cities of my district. I used the telephone directories for the other 60 cities and towns.

The following statement was printed on the questionnaire:

FEBRUARY 27, 1954.

DEAR FRIEND: The following questions are based primarily on the budget report, economic report, President Eisenhower's message to the 2d session of the 83d Congress on the state of the Union, and his special messages to Congress. I am sending this questionnaire to every fifth householder of the First Iowa District—both town and country—and to all who have ordered farm bulletins in the past 2 years and to the parents of all babies born in the First Iowa District in the past 2 years. In order to help us tabulate the returns, please check your answers but do not add any comments on this side. Use the back of the sheet for your comments if you wish. Your individual opinions will be kept strictly confidential.

I am also distributing yellow sample copies to other persons for their information regarding the poll we are taking in the First Iowa District. These yellow copies will not be tabulated but replies to them will be highly valued by me.

This questionnaire gives First Iowa District householders the opportunity to join together without regard to party affiliation in stating their views on the issues covered in the questionnaire. I plan to summarize and present to Congress the returns received during the next 4 weeks. Undoubtedly Congress will consider this summary as the prevailing view of the First Iowa Congressional District on these issues. Later on I will send a copy of my report to each person to whom questionnaires and sample copies have been mailed. I hope my report will be of interest.

We have received up to and including March 29, a total of 4,111 replies, which are included in this tabulation. The return of 11.36 is considered a good percentage rate for this type of poll.

The occupations listed by those replying were as follows:

Farmer	861
Labor	1,003
Business	388
Professional	658
White collar	610
Miscellaneous	591

Yellow sample copies were distributed freely and we received over 3,400 sample-copy replies, which are not included in our tabulation.

Both yellow and white ballots brought us hundreds of good discussions of many issues of special interest and these discussions are of utmost value to us.

(There is included on the next page, the tabulation based on occupations as listed.)

Questionnaire—Tabulation of total vote

	Total vote	Yes	No	Percentage Yes	Percentage No
1. Do you approve sending further financial aid, American arms and ammunition and noncombat American technicians to service airplanes for the French in Indochina?	3,977	2,666	1,311	67.04	32.96
2. Do you favor American troops taking active part in the war in Indochina if need to prevent defeat of the French and the surrender of Indochina to the Communists?	3,897	1,511	2,386	38.77	61.23
3. Do you favor resumption of American trade with Communist China in nonstrategic materials?	3,951	1,066	2,885	26.92	73.02
4. Do you favor blockading Communist China?	3,530	2,007	1,523	52.40	47.60
5. Do you favor resumption of American trade with Russia in nonstrategic materials?	3,953	1,330	2,623	33.65	66.35
6. Do you favor keeping American combat troops in Korea?	3,913	2,328	1,585	59.49	40.51
7. Do you approve further strengthening of the European Defense Community by sending more American troops?	3,880	1,703	2,177	43.89	56.11
8. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in the world as a whole to the United Nations?	3,721	1,888	1,833	50.74	49.26
9. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in the Pacific to a security system similar to NATO?	3,487	2,372	1,115	68.02	31.92
10. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in Europe to a United European Community including France and Germany?	3,628	2,684	944	73.98	26.02
11. Do you favor a constitutional amendment making treaties of no force and effect if they deny or abridge any right enumerated in the United States Constitution?	3,600	2,308	1,292	64.70	35.30
12. Do you favor authorizing the development and use of atomic energy by private enterprise within our own country?	3,986	3,562	424	89.36	10.64
13. Do you approve letting our key allies have access "under appropriate security safeguards" to a limited amount of secret data bearing upon the use of atomic weapons?	3,945	1,932	2,013	48.97	51.03
14. Do you favor reducing President Eisenhower's national defense budget for 1955?	3,892	1,247	2,645	32.04	67.96
15. Do you favor further reduction of taxes before balancing the budget?	3,966	1,123	2,843	28.32	71.68
16. Do you favor reduction of Federal debt before reduction of Federal taxes?	3,893	2,726	1,167	70.02	29.98
17. Do you favor increasing the Federal debt limit?	3,890	716	3,174	18.41	81.59
18. Do you favor return to the States of all Federal gasoline and oil tax revenues for highway construction purposes without Federal dictation?	3,931	2,551	1,380	64.89	35.11
19. Do you favor reduction of Federal taxes on gasoline and oil?	3,918	2,035	1,883	51.94	48.06
20. Do you favor repeal of all Federal taxes on gasoline and oil?	3,859	1,004	2,855	26.02	73.98
21. Do you favor support levels for agriculture at 90 percent of parity if such support requires the imposition of marketing allocations, acreage allotments and price controls of agricultural products so supported?	3,815	1,261	2,554	33.06	66.95
22. Do you approve "insulating" farm surpluses from normal channels of trade?	3,570	1,099	2,471	30.78	69.22
23. Do you approve of food stamps for distribution of surplus Government food to needy citizens within our own country?	4,018	3,549	469	88.33	11.67
24. Should Congress authorize and appropriate funds for developing small upstream watershed projects including soil conservation, reforestation, terracing, and construction of small check-dams as a part of the flood prevention program?	3,944	3,371	573	85.47	14.53
25. Do you approve extending social-security old-age insurance to all groups of workers not presently covered by social-security insurance or some equivalent plan?	3,972	3,072	900	77.34	22.66
26. Do you approve permitting a social-security old-age insurance beneficiary to earn more than $75 a month without losing his benefits?	3,929	3,063	866	77.96	22.04
27. Do you favor old-age insurance payments of at least $45 a month to all persons 65 and over regardless of need or prior eligibility?	3,956	1,471	2,485	37.18	62.82
28. Do you approve imposing Federal social-security taxes against everybody under 65 with income?	3,899	2,536	1,363	65.04	34.96
29. Do you approve levying the social-security tax on all wages or income up to $4,200 per year? (The present tax is collected on the first $3,600 of income.)	3,775	2,279	1,496	60.37	39.63
30. Do you favor limited Government reinsurance service to encourage nonprofit voluntary health insurance organizations?	3,726	2,156	1,570	57.86	42.14
31. Do you approve Federal assistance in the construction of nonprofit hospitals?	3,934	2,806	1,128	71.33	28.67
32. Do you favor Federal grants-in-aid to encourage the States to make surveys of their medical care needs and to take greater responsibility for medical care programs?	3,814	2,398	1,416	62.87	37.13
33. Do you favor loans and grants-in-aid to cities for slum clearance and redevelopment?	3,904	2,858	1,046	73.21	26.79
34. Do you approve the Federal insurance of long-term home loans for low-income families?	3,974	3,610	364	90.84	9.16
35. Do you think that the Taft-Hartley Act is fairer to all parties than the old Wagner Act?	3,468	2,842	626	81.95	18.05
36. Do you think that employers should have the right to talk freely to their employees about all labor-management matters?	4,021	3,880	141	96.49	3.51
37. Do you think that the regulation or control of labor relations and activities in labor disputes within a State should be made by local or State law rather than Federal law?	3,805	1,829	1,976	48.07	51.93
38. Do you think workers should have the right to vote in an election supervised by a Government agency?	3,671	3,374	297	91.91	9.09
39. Do you approve the present Taft-Hartley Act prohibition of secondary boycotts? (A secondary boycott is a boycott by a party not directly involved in a labor-management dispute.)	3,618	2,454	1,164	67.83	32.17
40. Do you favor making the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley law apply to company executives the same as to officials of labor unions?	3,750	3,540	210	94.40	5.60
41. Do you think management of money in welfare funds of labor unions should be regulated by law as insurance funds are regulated?	3,903	3,631	272	93.03	6.97
42. Do you favor free Government treatment of a veteran for disability either where there is doubt that his condition was incurred in or aggravated by his service, or where there is doubt of his ability to pay?	3,897	2,395	1,502	66.01	33.99
43. Do you favor direct United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway?	3,627	3,079	549	81.43	18.57
44. Do you approve statehood for Hawaii?	3,781	3,142	639	83.10	16.90
45. Do you favor reciprocal trade agreements regardless of competition of foreign products with domestic products	3,563	1,943	1,620	54.53	45.47
46. Please check the 6 issues you think most important today:					
(a) Government spending		(1) 2,746			
(b) Debt of Federal Government		1,960			
(c) Taxation		(2) 2,554			
(d) Farm price support policy		(5) 2,027			
(e) United States foreign trade policies		1,630			
(f) Control of communism in America		(3) 2,544			
(g) Labor policies		1,300			
(h) Defense and war preparedness		(4) 2,444			
(i) American foreign policy		(6) 2,012			
(j) Atomic energy policies		1,699			
(k) Limitation of President's treatymaking power		636			
(l) Corruption in Government		2,006			

Total vote of the questionnaire by occupations

	Farmer		Labor		Business		Professional		White collar		Miscellaneous	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you approve sending further financial aid, American arms and ammunition and noncombat American technicians to service airplanes for the French in Indochina?	519	300	630	348	242	132	497	140	432	160	340	222
2. Do you favor American troops taking active part in the war in Indochina if needed to prevent defeat of the French and the surrender of Indochina to the Communists?	296	547	431	531	113	260	206	352	223	365	222	331
3. Do you favor resumption of American trade with Communist China in nonstrategic materials?	285	522	221	748	94	287	189	443	138	467	139	418
4. Do you favor blockading Communist China?	375	403	569	381	188	174	263	359	324	258	288	248
5. Do you favor resumption of American trade with Russia in nonstrategic materials?	324	403	284	689	104	275	248	387	190	405	180	374
6. Do you favor keeping American combat troops in Korea?	455	359	576	382	195	176	441	187	349	233	302	248
7. Do you approve further strengthening of the European Defense Community by sending more American troops?	324	479	463	488	137	228	282	342	273	316	224	324
8. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in the world as a whole to the United Nations?	397	359	431	473	164	190	355	266	274	300	267	245
9. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in the Pacific to a security system similar to NATO?	444	240	565	276	210	126	447	154	379	167	327	182
10. Do you approve tying our foreign policy in Europe to a United European Community including France and Germany?	556	182	627	244	252	94	471	129	410	157	368	138
11. Do you favor a constitutional amendment making treaties of no force and effect if they deny or abridge any right enumerated in the United States Constitution?	464	272	535	343	242	104	412	195	387	179	328	199
12. Do you favor authorizing the development and use of atomic energy by private enterprise within our own country?	744	89	854	116	341	37	595	50	541	52	487	80
13. Do you approve letting our key allies have access "under appropriate security safeguards" to a limited amount of secret data bearing upon the use of atomic weapons?	368	455	391	567	179	196	407	228	312	283	275	284
14. Do you favor reducing President Eisenhower's national-defense budget for 1955?	278	519	280	664	156	211	178	456	169	425	186	370
15. Do you favor further reduction of taxes before balancing the budget?	216	618	312	647	125	248	137	497	165	440	168	393
16. Do you favor reduction of Federal debt before reduction of Federal taxes?	575	235	648	293	248	125	454	176	416	175	385	163
17. Do you favor increasing the Federal debt limit?	123	686	172	791	69	299	137	481	111	470	104	447
18. Do you favor return to the States of all Federal gasoline and oil tax revenues for highway construction purposes without Federal dictation?	618	209	889	367	263	109	342	282	371	223	308	190
19. Do you favor reduction of Federal taxes on gasoline and oil?	442	374	533	433	192	177	275	351	314	272	279	276
20. Do you favor repeal of all Federal taxes on gasoline and oil?	244	560	241	702	111	260	116	507	155	425	137	401
21. Do you favor support levels for agriculture at 90 percent of parity if such support requires the imposition of marketing allocations, acreage allotments, and price controls of agricultural products so supported?	335	488	340	584	99	265	165	431	158	421	164	365
22. Do you approve "insulating" farm surpluses from normal channels of trade?	280	457	265	610	92	250	151	423	155	391	156	340
23. Do you approve of food stamps for distribution of surplus Government food to needy citizens within our own country?	754	87	893	93	320	37	547	54	428	79	507	69
24. Should Congress authorize and appropriate funds for developing small upstream watershed projects including soil conservation, reforestation, terracing, and construction of small check-dams as a part of the flood-preservation program?	701	135	824	137	306	66	549	82	529	60	462	93
25. Do you approve extending social security old-age insurance to all groups of workers not presently covered by social security insurance or some equivalent plan?	564	276	825	157	284	90	473	152	485	105	441	119
26. Do you approve permitting a social security old-age insurance beneficiary to earn more than $75 a month without losing his benefits?	505	341	844	144	314	66	559	82	406	96	435	137
27. Do you favor old-age insurance payments of at least $45 a month to all persons 65 and over regardless of need or prior eligibility?	250	578	446	517	136	243	183	442	240	358	216	347
28. Do you approve imposing Federal social security taxes against everybody under 65 with income?	575	433	738	219	256	118	371	254	426	155	370	184
29. Do you approve levying the social security tax on all wages or income up to $4,200 per year? (The present tax is collected on the first $3,600 of income.)	463	324	641	328	196	179	382	246	245	238	352	181
30. Do you favor limited Government reinsurance service to encourage nonprofit voluntary health insurance organizations?	460	303	575	336	157	204	339	253	314	236	291	218
31. Do you approve Federal assistance in the construction of nonprofit hospitals?	598	216	720	246	231	145	434	197	426	166	397	158
32. Do you favor Federal grants-in-aid to encourage the States to make surveys of their medical care needs and to take greater responsibility for medical care programs?	470	314	657	293	197	163	387	230	346	230	341	186
33. Do you favor loans and grants-in-aid to cities for slum clearance and redevelopment?	577	227	753	221	222	143	456	174	448	135	400	146
34. Do you approve the Federal insurance of long-term home loans for low-income families?	758	72	931	51	311	61	577	68	542	53	491	89
35. Do you think that the Taft-Hartley Act is fairer to all parties than the old Wagner Act?	588	92	552	206	328	24	510	61	478	67	386	86
36. Do you think that employers should have the right to talk freely to their employees about all labor-management matters?	619	26	930	51	377	8	617	13	579	21	549	22
37. Do you think that the regulation or control of labor relations and activities in labor disputes within a State should be made by local or State law rather than Federal law?	458	321	807	861	211	155	234	380	268	293	261	206
38. Do you think workers should have the right to vote in an election supervised by a Government agency?	700	58	851	82	328	23	539	40	509	42	447	52
39. Do you approve the present Taft-Hartley Act prohibition of secondary boycotts? (A secondary boycott is a boycott by a party not directly involved in a labor-management dispute.)	600	213	463	431	277	79	480	118	409	150	325	173
40. Do you favor making the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley law apply to company executives the same as to officials of labor unions?	709	36	893	53	347	14	575	41	548	24	468	42
41. Do you think management of money in welfare funds of labor unions should be regulated by law as insurance funds are regulated?	745	44	864	111	360	12	599	38	561	29	502	38
42. Do you favor free Government treatment of a veteran for disability either where there is doubt that his condition was incurred in or aggravated by his service, or where there is doubt of his ability to pay?	475	335	663	288	207	150	312	313	306	216	352	191
43. Do you favor direct United States participation in the St. Lawrence seaway?	638	108	715	109	284	60	506	53	463	87	423	72
44. Do you approve statehood for Hawaii?	611	161	783	144	298	58	523	103	470	103	457	79
45. Do you favor reciprocal trade agreements regardless of competition of foreign products with domestic products?	339	378	422	455	189	162	399	194	322	225	272	206
46. Please check the 6 issues you think most important today:												
(a) Government spending	(2) 584		(2) 608		(1) 309		(2) 421		(1) 423		(2) 401	
(b) Debt of Federal Government	429		(6) 450		(5) 192		294		(6) 305		(6) 299	
(c) Taxation	(4) 522		(4) 599		(2) 288		(4) 308		(2) 401		(4) 346	
(d) Farm price support policy	(1) 606		398		156		(5) 341		250		276	
(e) United States foreign trade policies	377		296		142		(6) 333		238		253	
(f) Control of communism in America	(3) 549		(1) 636		(3) 242		310		(3) 396		(1) 411	
(g) Labor policies	240		332		136		223		188		190	
(h) Defense and war preparedness	(6) 444		(3) 606		(4) 201		(3) 420		(4) 395		(3) 378	
(i) American foreign policy	385		303		(5) 192		(1) 487		(5) 366		279	
(j) Atomic energy policies	303		400		149		329		257		252	
(k) Limitation of President's treatymaking power	109		139		66		86		86		109	
(l) Corruption in government	(5) 466		(5) 507		189		241		290		(5) 313	

MY DUTY AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS

Mr. Speaker, each year I have received several inquiries regarding the purpose and use made of my questionnaire. The source and substance of the questionnaire grew out of my analysis of the President's reports and messages to Congress and I developed my method of distribution of it after consultation with Dr. George Gallup. The purpose of the questionnaire is best described in the words of Edmund Burke, 18th century British statesman, as follows:

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a Representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs—and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own.

But a representative's unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure—no, nor from the law and the Constitution. They are a trust from providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

No Time for Political Mudslinging

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following article appeared in the New York Times magazine of April 4. Its author, Allan Nevins, is De Witt Clinton professor of American history at Columbia University and is a Pulitzer prize winner.

Let us remember that there are more important issues at stake than personal or party victory.

The article follows:

NO TIME FOR POLITICAL MUDSLINGING—A HISTORIAN PLEADS FOR REASON, NOT RANT, IN THE FORTHCOMING CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN; OTHERWISE, WE PLACE OURSELVES IN MORAL DANGER

(By Allan Nevins)

Shakespeare in Coriolanus presents a group of servants talking morosely about the peace between the Roman and the Volscians. "This peace," grumbles one, "is nothing but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers." A cynical comrade assents. "Aye," he says bitterly, "and it makes men hate one another." Whereupon a third servant adds a sharp comment on human nature: "Reason: because they then less need one another."

Our political campaigns are pageantry, and because American life is rather poor in pageantry many voters look forward to them eagerly. They are also an outlet for surplus emotion, and since we always have emotional steam to blow off, they are a healthy safety valve. This year we began early. The speeches by President Eisenhower and ex-President Truman, the southern addresses by Adlai E. Stevenson, the reply by Vice President Nixon and the utterances of various Cabinet members, all were an orchestral announcement that the curtain is about to go up on the congressional battle.

For 6 months we shall have a lively spectacle of attack and counterattack, designed ostensibly to test the question whether the people want Democrats or Republicans to rule Capitol Hill. Actually, it will test a much larger question than that. It will test the vision and temper of Americans as they fact the problems of the postwar world. It will determine whether the cynicism of the servants in "Coriolanus" has due jurisdiction in modern America as in ancient Rome.

The initial omens are far from happy. Usually our political campaigns begin moderately and rise in the last weeks to a crescendo ot shrill rhetoric. This year, however, some of the initial speeches have had an acrid violence that has appalled sober onlookers and made them tremble for national unity. Republicans point at Mr. Truman, saying: "He began it." Democrats point to Governor Dewey's speech in Hartford and that of Attorney General Brownell in Chicago, saying: "Not so—they began it." At any rate, we began badly.

As everyone knows, the atmosphere of our campaigns is seldom Olympian and the arguments used in them often lack the highest intellectual touch; but until lately they have been improving. The campaign of 1884 was waged on points of scandal, both sides throwing private dirt for pretended reasons of public virtue. The campaign of 1896 roused excitement to the fever point, as Bryanites shouted "Plutocrats" and Republicans answered "Anarchists." In 1923, with the struggle of wets versus drys out in front and the religious question in the background, passions mounted again.

Some of the old congressional campaigns, emphasizing justice of the peace localism, have been shabby enough. But since the great depression and the rise of Hitler awakened Americans to the fact that the world was full of grimly serious challenges to the basic values of life, more realism and more vision have come into our party battle. We had supposed that we were above the cheap level of Harrison's log cabins and Van Buren's silver spoons, and beyond the slang-whanging of Blaine's bloody shirt and Ben Tillman's calls to the wool-hat boys.

For at least two good reasons we should be beyond it. The first is that the world is just as serious a place nowadays as John Bunyan thought it to be, with Apollyon and the archangels locked in just as deadly combat. On the decisions we are going to make in the next 10 or 20 years rests the fate of the Nation. We have got to think hard and think fast to make the right decisions. We have no time for fuzzy name calling. The second main reason is that either the plane of education and thoughtfulness has risen in the last generation, or we have spent enormous sums on education in vain. Our population ought to be a good deal harder to satisfy politically than it was in the old days of easy promises and wholesale pugnacity.

Hence the shock of hearing one Senator accuse a great party of treason and declare that a recent Administration had "permitted traitors to bring us close to military defeat." When we hear another Senator say that the opposition over the last 20 years "has deliberately and knowingly allowed Communists to take any position in the Government they desired" we feel that the clock is being turned back. Mr. Sherman Adams called the Democrats sadists. Scott McLeod declared that they had harbored "drunks, perverts, and Communists." Another leader spoke of trading the lifeblood of American youth" to save dollars. Retaliation for such language is naturally instant and fierce. If such billingsgate is heard now, what will assail our ears next October?

The launching of so intemperate a campaign calls for remedies which the Government, the press, and the public should stand ready to supply. The most obvious danger is that of irreparable national division in the face of foreign peril.

Everyone who understands American politics knows that our two great parties do not really differ markedly from one another. Each has a cross-section of the whole American population. Usually the isues between Democrats and Republicans are less grave than the internal issues between different wings of the same party. The Eisenhower wing and the McCarthy wing of the Republican Party, for example, are further apart than are the Eisenhower Republicans and the Stevenson Democrats. The maintenance of this substantial likeness of our two parties, each a huge composite body, is fundamental to the health of our heterogeneous democracy at all times. When the parties attack each other viciously they really attack themselves.

Campaign charges which impute to the opposition stupidity, extravagance, deceit, corruption, and lust for power are forgettable and forgivable. They are part of the smoke and dust of the political battle and quickly settle when the field is won. Particularly do they sink into rapid oblivion when they are attached to individuals or small groups. But accusation of treason, sadism, and blood selling, hurled by responsible leaders of one party at the whole body of the opposing organization, are a different matter. They cut deep into the tissues of national life. They smack of the implacable temper, the rejection of moderation and compromise, which in a country like Spain have divided parties by unbridgeable gulfs and made democratic processes unworkable. They threaten us with something entirely new in American history, or new since 1865—a fierce hostility between temporary majority and temporary minority which will completely cripple the strength of the Nation.

We cannot afford to be thus crippled. For the first time in our history we have now to live with a consciousness of frustration and a sense of abiding insecurity. That novel fact poses before the American people a grim test of nerve. Always in the past our problems, however difficult, seemed soluble. Today we can see no end of the cold war. We cannot resolve the Russo-American tensions in f954 as we so swiftly and healthfully resolved the Anglo-American tensions in the Treaty of Washington in 1871. We must accept the necessity, perhaps for generations, of armed vigilance. So long as that situation endures, the problems of world leadership will remain numerous and desperate. Ahead of us will loom a series of emergency measures akin to those of the recent past: the Marshall plan, NATO, EDC, and all the rest. We can deal constructively with them only by an amicable alliance of the two great parties and a pooling of the brains of their best leaders.

A second danger in this inflammatory type of campaign is that it will give our worst demagogs just the opportunity they crave. Every period of insecurity breeds demagogs, anyway. Their stock in trade is the credulity of simple people harried by fear, and the excitability of ignorant folk ridden by prejudice. When England was frightened long ago by talk of Popish plots the demagog Titus Oates reared his head. When France walked in fear of Prussian invasion the demagog Boulanger almost gained control of the republic. Every demagog from Cleon to McCarthy has used popular fears to undermine popular liberties. In what Mr. Eisenhower so well calls an age of danger, invasions of civil rights, that in a quieter time might be brief and exceptional, may easily tend to become common and permanent.

And this brings us to the third and greatest danger in a campaign of violence and in-

tolerance: the moral and spiritual danger. It was this at which Shakespeare was glancing in Coriolanus. The most searching question in the impending campaign does not refer to this or that measure. The choice to be made by the country, if we judge by most of the specific issues now being debated, either are of no tremendous import or, if important, are not partican choices: action will have to be taken by a bipartisan coalition.

The most searching question refers to the level of discussion. The people will have to choose between a campaign, on the one hand, of hate, fear, suspicion, and meanness, and, on the other hand, of generosity, courage, optimism, and justice. It is of the utmost importance to our moral and spiritual health that we choose the latter.

If we stoop to a malignant, intolerant campaign now, we turn our back on a proud record in recent crises. In the last 20 years the Nation has shared with the world a series of experiences which have aroused its deepest emotions and challenged its highest capacities. It has had in that period to deal with the most terrible economic depression in history; with an epochal set of social and governmental reforms; with the greatest and costliest of all wars; with an effort to organize world peace on a collective basis; with a "cold war" that imposed a peculiarly heavy strain on our endurance; and with the sudden explosion of the Korean conflict.

These events have tried our character even more than our institutions and resources. They have pesented a seemingly endless array of demands upon our energy, fortitude, and capacity for sacrifice.

The tremendous pressures of this era of upheaval have given one national election after another an exaltation, arising out of a sense of great destinies to be served, which has cast a haze of grandeur about the party struggle. In 1932 the main question did not concern the personalities of Hoover and Roosevelt, the adequacy or inadequacy of relief, or the conduct of banking. The irresistible urge which lifted Roosevelt to victory was the feeling of the mass of Americans that the time had come for drastic changes and bold adventures.

The old system, though not outworn, needed renovation. A new spirit, a more courageous management of national energies by the Government a keener social conscience, were needed. The movement had qualities of passion and dedication. Americans wished to slough off materialistic preoccupations and enter on an era which, with more fraternalism and more planning, would yield national satisfactions previously missed.

Much the same emotional sweep guided the campaign of 1936. And then, in 1940 and 1944, the United States was suddenly called upon to face world responsibilities too long denied. In the midst of the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign the startling decision to trade destroyers for bases symbolized the abrupt change in the national outlook. The main issue was not whether Republicans or Democrats would deal the more efficiently with the still-undefeated depression, the crescent debt and the adjustment of blueprint reforms to practical facts. Instead, the issue was what the United States was what the United States would do about the totalitarian assault on world liberty.

Four years later, with victory in sight, thoughtful citizens were already beginning to cherish the hope of a world structure which would secure its fruits—which would save them from turning, as in 1918, into apples of Sodom. The winning of the war, the winning of the peace: These twin aims raised the election of 1944 to an elevated level.

Again, in the campaign of 1952, the United States was in the fortunate position of having two candidates for the Presidency who in character and intellect were both worthy of the unalloyed esteem of honest voters. They dealt with constructive programs, not with destructive attacks on each other. Mr. Stevenson repeatedly took occasion to say that he, too, liked Ike. When the people placed Mr. Eisenhower in the presidential chair it was with a feeling that they were maintaining the promise of American civilization to the whole world.

We cannot let excited politicians carry us now to a lower level of thought and action without suffering great moral damage. The collapse will seem all the worse because of the exaltations of the recent past. After every great previous war—the Revolution, the Civil War, the First World War—the United States relapsed for a time into greed, demagogery, and social ill-will. Reconstruction after Lincoln and Hardingism after Wilson wrote some of our darkest pages.

Now sensitive citizens, listening to the raucous voices of this spring, have said with sinking hearts: "Is it coming again?" Once more, they asked, are we to be given over to reaction, to hate, suspicions, false accusations, and smears? If so, that American idealism which now means so much to the whole world will be degraded and sullied.

If these are the dangers of intolerant and violent campaigning, what are the best means of checking the evil tendency? A large responsibility lies with the public and the press. Politicians would not indulge in these diatribes if they did not expect audiences to respond to them, and partisan newspapers to echo them. They are appealing to a political immaturity which, we hope, no longer exists on any large scale.

It is for crowds in the first instance, and for the press in the second, to demonstrate that they want reason, not rant, and that vicious epithets hurt the user because they lower him in the public esteem. We have ample precedent for such a demonstration. In the past the Ben Butlers and Jerry Simpsons, the Tillmans, and Bilbos, by their very extravagance of language, raised up an opposition of adamant strength.

For the second great agency in checking the evil, we must turn to the high leaders of both parties. They have a responsibility which they cannot evade. Both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson, fortunately, have raised their voices against passion in no uncertain way. In his message on the State of the Union, the President urged Americans to foresake "the fatal materialism that plagues our age," and to remember that first allegiance is "to the kingdom of the spirit."

In a press conference early in February he said that the times are too serious for men to indulge in extreme partisanship; that Republicans must remember that Democratic support is needed for large parts of the administration program. Mr. Stevenson has pointedly rebuked campaign rancor, abusiveness, and hysteria. "Nothing we do with arms or aid," he said recently, "will avail us long if America's moral image is one of confusion and cowardice, hysteria, and fear. * * * We are calm, confident Americans united by the vast majesty of freedom in its most solemn crisis."

These are heartening voices; but unfortunately speech is not enough. Particularly should the President, who is armed in this area with so much more power than Mr. Stevenson, translate words into acts. That he has been reluctant to do so is all too evident. In the press conference just mentioned, he said that he knew no way of stopping extreme partisan statements "except among members of his own executive family."

But this, assuredly, is too limited a view both of his functions and of his duty. A great deal of Presidential history shows that our Chief Executive has means of bringing pressures to bear on even the most recalcitrant men. He has a power of life or death over measures which Members of Congress wish passed; he has control over bits of patronage which they prize. If they can do him injury at the polls, he can do them still greater damage there. He can always appeal over the heads of noisy, violent politicians to the sane opinion of the country, and the more ringing his appeal the stronger is likely to be the public response.

A President, moreover, has special means of shifting the emphasis of a campaign from abusive charges to valid issues. As Grover Cleveland, the two Roosevelts, and Woodrow Wilson repeatedly showed, the White House can use a variety of means—the special message, the interview, the speech, the letter—to dramatize a subject on which it desires to fix the eyes of the Nation.

Mr. Eisenhower has repeatedly said that he wishes to see the coming campaign fought, not on the stale, empty issue of communism in Government (on which all true Americans are agreed), but on the substantial issues raised by his administration program. These issues, if not always of tremendous importance, do need the illumination of careful debate. Public power, national finances, foreign trade, labor policy, agricultural policy, the work of the great Federal commissions, all require discussion. The more the President focuses attention on them by an imaginative use of his vast control over the public mind, the less room will remain for what Al Smith called venom and applesauce.

By friendly cooperation, and by the use not merely of words but of acts, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson can raise the level of the impending campaign and purify the spirit in which it is conducted. Already we have a clear choice between the voices of meanness and hysteria on one side, the voices of equanimity and reason on the other. At bottom, these voices express two divergent concepts of the character of the American people. Which is the correct concept? We have all recent American history to answer that question; the history of a nation which, with all its faults and blunders has splendidly risen to the height of the greatest occasions of modern times. Appeals to malice and meanness may raise a momentary clamor and gain some transient and ignoble triumphs; but appeals to idealism and truth achieve victories which are perdurable.

Why the Nation Needs Better Rivers and Harbors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, of all the great natural resources with which a divine creator has endowed mankind, water is one of the most plentiful and most beneficial.

Water slakes man's thirst. Water causes his gardens to grow. Water is a vast reservoir for the storage of food fish. Water is the generator of enormous quantities of low-cost hydroelectric energy.

One of the greatest and most beneficial attributes of water is that it has provided men, since the beginning of civilization, with his lowest cost highways for the transportation of goods and persons.

The progress of mankind from savagery to higher civilization has been closely associated with the development and use of waterways for transportation.

When boats were small and frail the first civilizations grew up in the river valleys, the Nile and Euphrates. As boats became larger and sturdier, these vessels moved out onto the inland seas and it was on these inlands seas, such as the Mediterranean, that the civilizations of Rome, Athens, and Carthage developed.

Later, as boats became bigger and bigger civilization moved out onto the greater oceans and the great cities of the world developed where there were ocean ports.

Good ports are as essential to the development of the Nation as factories, railroads, or highways. This is so because water still provides mankind with his lowest cost highways for the movement of bulk freight. We must have these ports, deeper, wider, and better ones, to accommodate the ever increasing size of the ships that use them.

Better harbors, like better highways, pay their own way by improving transportation and lessening its cost.

The Marine News, New York City, N. Y., of which Mr. George H. Palmer is editor and publisher, has been rendering a great public service to the Nation by running a series of advertisements in a number of the Nation's leading newspapers calling attention to the advantages and benefits that have come from harbor and river navigation improvements.

Appended to these remarks, under unanimous consent to extend these remarks, I include the text of some of these advertisements of the Marine News on Know Your Waterways. The text of these Marine News advertisements follow:

LOS ANGELES-LONG BEACH HARBORS

Richard Henry Dana, in his classic book Two Years Before the Mast, describes San Pedro Bay, now site of the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, as the most lonely and desolate spot on the California coastline. He wrote that the little village of Los Angeles was almost 30 miles from the coast and that it was only a scattering of crude adobe houses.

Today, there are more than 10,000 industries in Los Angeles County, with more than 93,000 establishments employing approximately 1,250,000 persons with an annual payroll of almost $3,500,000,000.

The growth and prosperity of the Los Angeles metropolitan area has followed the comparatively recent development of the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach. We know of no more striking examples of what can be accomplished through harbor and channel development than what has been done at Los Angeles and Long Beach, Calif., and Houston, Tex.

The harbors and channels of America are still largely unimproved. There are many other sites where development can bring about similar results, aiding industry, commerce, and the general welfare over wide areas. All that is needed is vision, initiative, resourcefulness, and cooperation.

DISTRIBUTION—CIVIC DEVELOPMENT—DEFENSE

Distribution is one of the critical problems of the Nation. Low cost transportation is an essential in its solution. Bulk materials, agricultural and certain manufactured products move at lowest cost by water. This is made possible through river and harbor development and improvement. No other Federal expenditure contributes more to the welfare of the people and to the building of the Nation than that for waterway development. Only a small part of the public understands the vital part played by waterways in national defense. The value of waterways to the Nation during World War II is beyond estimate. The growth of America, its industrial supremacy, the high living standards of its people are due largely to the development of the Nation's unparalleled natural waterways. There are few areas which have not been benefited by harbor and channel improvements; few which cannot be further benefited by continuing waterway development and expansion.

WATERWAYS OF TOMORROW

European nations, with but a fraction of the wealth of America, develop their waterways to the ultimate. Owing to necessity for economy they learned long ago that no other method of transportation can even approach the low cost of moving certain materials and products over waterways.

The proposed New Orleans Tidewater Canal, the authorized Sacramento Deep Water Ship Canal, the Cross-Florida Canal, the Red River Lateral Canal, and the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway will make the Federal waterway system of much greater value to the Nation. Some of America's great rivers have hardly felt the touch of improvement, the Arkansas, White, Red, and Snake among them. Others are only partly developed. The United States, with an area of about 3 million square miles, has only 5 of the 20 great ship canals of the world. Ten of the remaining 15 are in European countries whose total area is only about 500,000 square miles.

The United States has yet far to go in the development of its inland and intracoastal waterways before their potential benefits are even approached.

LITTLE-KNOWN FACTS

Most of the public has no conception of the value of the Nation's harbors and channels. Every important city in the Nation, many vital industries, every navy, shipbuilding, and ship-repair yard is located on an improved harbor or channel. A great part of America's commerce and all of its defense is vitally linked to waterways. Through transshipment, waterways are indispensable to other methods of transportation necessary for commerce and defense. Improved harbors and channels properly maintained are vital to the Nation—but few Americans realize it.

STRANGE ECONOMY

It is indeed an anomaly that, while multibillions are being spent for national defense a vital part of that defense, the improvement of the Nation's harbors and channels, is being all but eliminated in the name of economy. The Civil Functions Appropriations Act, 1954, approved on July 27 last totaled $440,093,600. Of that amount only $3,144,000, a little less than three-fourths of 1 percent, is provided for only 8 harbor and channel improvements throughout the Nation.

Is it economical, or even safe, to all but abandon harbor and channel development during real war, cold war, threats of war, or during a defense buildup period? With the world outlook as it is, when then can this important work go forward, when will its potential benefits become available to the Nation and the people. On November 4 last, the President said: "It was up to the party in power to carry out a sensible program of progress that the American public will approve." Is it part of a sensible program of progress to all but eliminate development which has and will continue to mean so much to the Nation? Who can even estimate the vital value of past waterway development; who can estimate the greater benefits yet to come?

Even at this late day there is no waterway connecting New York Bay with the Delaware River. Even though authorized in 1942 there is yet no canal across northern Florida connecting the Atlantic and Gulf Intracoastal Waterways. These completed links would provide a sheltered channel from the Mexican border to Massachusetts Bay. Four of the Nation's principal Navy yards and all commercial shipyards on the Atlantic and gulf coasts would be connected. The great industrial eastern and gulf seaboards, with their hinterlands, would be tremendously benefited. Such a sheltered waterway might prove downright vital in a troubled future.

Many Great Lakes harbors are not yet fully developed for greater benefits. And this incomparable waterway system is still not adequately connected with the improved Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi River systems. The Calumet-Sag Channel improvement, authorized by Congress in 1945, still lies dormant despite the pleas of many competent authorities whose assurances of its value are indisputable. The completed project would not only bring great local benefits but also would be helpful to all the great valley.

Many worthwhile projects have been reported on favorably and recommended but yet await authorization by Congress: among them the Hudson River Channel between New York and Albany, the Delaware from Philadelphia to Trenton, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, the Tidewater Ship Channel from New Orleans to the gulf. Important authorized projects in California, Oregon, and Washington are only partly completed or remain untouched, the Sacramento Deep Water and Columbia River Channels among them.

Harbor and channel improvements suffer from lack of drama. As most of the work is beneath the surface it is not visible nor in the public eye. Only a few know about the benefits; the public is almost wholly ignorant of them. Consequently, they lack both the official and public support that their worth merits. The improvements made so far helped to make America great and strong. Continuing development will help carry the Nation on to further greatness and strength.

Mississippi: Ballots for Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the New York Times for April 4, 1954:

MISSISSIPPI: BALLOTS FOR BUSINESS—A UNIQUE PLAN TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMY IS PAYING OFF FOR GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

The rags to riches role of the South in the climb to industrial and economic importance since World War II is familiar to almost everyone by now. And the rising popularity of an old gal who has been in the compromising role of a wallflower for nearly a century tures the romantic fancy of all but a few, who, rightly or wrongly, foresee their decline in her rise.

Not all of the reasons for this uphill climb of the South to stardom in the drama of progress are apparent to the spectators beyond the footlights.

True, almost everybody admits that the rising mistress of 968,000 square miles and 50 million people offers a well-stocked dowry of timber, fuel, power, minerals, and vegetables, a surplus of good labor, and a climate unsurpassed for living, working, and playing.

But little do they comprehend one of the basic attractions which is encouraging more and more suitors to take up residence in the land of cotton. The South's earnest courtship of industry has introduced a new note of sincerity which can't be overlooked by the manufacturer who knows he is needed and wanted.

This has been demonstrated most conclusively in Mississippi, where the obstacles were great and the prospects poor less than two decades ago.

HOSPITALITY AT WORK

For today Mississippi is setting a new pace in attracting a diversified industry through the age-old custom of the ballot box. The old Magnolia State is rapidly proving her right to the new title "Hospitality State" by the simple expedient of putting words into action through ballots for business.

The controversial aspects of Mississippi's approach to the universal need for new business have been cussed and discussed at length from Maine to California. Both proponents and opponents are legion, and often equally vehement in expressing their convictions. But there is no madness in Mississippi's methods.

Dependent almost entirely upon cotton and timber until the early thirties, a few pioneering leaders decided something must be done to provide employment and augment a lopsided economy.

Cotton from the rich fields of the Delta was sent to eastern textile mills to be spun and woven into cloth for garments made elsewhere and sold back to the planter at a substantial profit. Plentiful softwoods were shipped away to be converted into paper, hardwoods were turned into furniture, and so on down through the long list of raw materials found at home.

Thus at the mercy of outside markets to take up their raw materials, town after town began to feel the financial pinch. Columbia, in the pine hills of south Mississippi, felt the squeeze most acutely when a big lumber mill was forced to close.

AN IDEA IS BORN

The owner of the mill, Hugh White, currently serving his second term as Governor, and a handful of business and civic leaders decided to act. They first contacted a shirt manufacturer with a proposal that he locate a plant in their town. He agreed provided they furnished him a building.

The next step was the bank where they signed notes sufficient to cover cost of construction. The plant went up, the new tenant moved in, and thus was born the infant of Mississippi's present program of "balancing agriculture with industry."

In 1936 Lumberman White entered the Governor's office on a platform to industrialize the State through legislation permitting the issuance of full faith and credit bonds for industrial sites and buildings by municipalities, supervisors' districts or other political subdivisions of the State. His legislature adopted the measure which until this day is known as BAWI.

Thus fortified, Mississippians set forth to seek new plants. One of the first was a shipbuilding corporation at Pascagoula. A tire and rubber company followed at Natchez. Soon a paper mill had located, then a woolen mill, and various other garment operations.

To date citizens of more than 100 communities have gone to the polls to ballot for business. The need for two-thirds of the qualified voters to participate, and a majority necessary for passage has not substantially hampered the plan, since the ratio in favor of industrial bonds to date has been a substantial 21 to 1.

RESPECT INDUSTRY

The 2 million people of the State believe, almost to a man, that there is little wrong economically with their State that payrolls and new markets won't cure. In sharing this strong conviction they have developed a healthy respect for the industry or business which will help them balance an agricultural economy.

Mississippians, therefore, have welcomed industry not only with their enthusiasm and cooperative attitude but with their votes of confidence in bond issues, these amortized by the tenant in the form of rentals over periods not exceeding 25 years.

Manufacturers have in turn responded to the friendly attitude which assures them better production and community backing. In many cases such industries have doubled, tripled, or even quadrupled the capacity of their plants.

The friendly attitude of the people is one of the most important and frequently mentioned factors given by officials of new companies for locating in the State, other considerations being equal.

One in particular, International Paper Co., allowed Natchez citizens to vote bonds for a site for a new $20 million rayon pulp plant, then tactfully turned the offer down with a statement to the effect that they were merely interested in an expression from the people.

As a result of this mutual understanding between Government and industry, Mississippi today shares the profits derived from payrolls and markets created by a long list of name industries which are turning out everything from ammonia to zippers, from boilers to wallboard.

Even by ignoring the important factor of public attitude, Mississippi offers an appeal more potent than her pleasant southern drawl or sunny clime.

Lying squarely in the heart of the deep South, midway between Atlanta and Dallas, Mississippi is the gateway to the rapidly growing markets of the Southeast, Southwest, and the Latin countries beyond the blue waters of its gulf shores.

CENTER OF MARKET

A $10 billion market lies within a radius of 200 miles of her boundaries, with unexcelled air, rail, highway, and gulf and river transportation available to serve it.

Untapped new stands of timber, both soft and hard woods, are at the fingertips of would-be users. Steel from the blast furnaces of Birmingham already is serving a host of Mississippi plants; oil from newfound fields within and without the State is helping lubricate the wheels of progress, and a vast store of other minerals, and agricultural products, awaits the processor with vision.

Natural gas in abundance from the unquenchable reservoirs of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas guarantees an uninterrupted fuel supply. Mississippi is tied in with the world's largest reserves of clean, economical natural gas.

Anticipating the commercial and residential demand for power, Mississippi's two business-managed utilities and the Tennessee Valley Authority have steadily developed and expanded the State's electric power supply since 1923. These substantial investments in Mississippi's future have resulted in the establishment of five modern and efficient steam-electric generating stations in Mississippi with a capacity of 3 billion kilowatthours of electricity, far in excess of current consumption.

Despite the tremendous progress of Mississippi within the last 20 years, industry has only scratched the surface of her raw materials, manpower, and available markets.

ABUNDANT LABOR

Little more than 100,000 of her 2 million citizens are employed in manufacturing, and farm mechanization is daily releasing a surplus of adaptable labor for work in industry.

The vigorous, healthy, growing South, with an appetite for the new products of industry and a pocketbook to match, can be reached overnight from any point in Mississippi. And for those with an eye on South American markets the ports of the gulf coast and New Orleans offer an inviting opportunity for expansion.

The agriculture of the South, improved through scientific planning and research, has increased the demands for fertilizers, insecticides, and mechanical equipment. And the presence of petroleum and other minerals, together with plentiful supplies of water and natural gas, have attracted the attention of the chemical world.

But, above all, Mississippi offers 47,716 square miles in which to breathe and expand, in which to work and play, and grow and prosper with a native-born people who recognize the fact that America has prospered and will continue to grow under a system of free enterprise.

Financial Management of the Post Office Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, on May 7, 1953, a Subcommittee on Postal Operations, of which I have the honor to be chairman, and composed of Congressman WITHROW, of Wisconsin; Congressman GROSS, of Iowa; Congressman BONIN, of Pennsylvania; Congressman BROYHILL, of Virginia; Congressman JARMAN, of Oklahoma; Congressman DOWDY, of Texas; Congressman BOLAND, of Massachusetts; and Congressman REAMS, of Ohio, issued a report covering the financial management of the Post Office Department.

This report was developed by the Comptroller General at the request of the committee and with the full cooperation of the Postmaster General. I have just received a report from the Postmaster General outlining improvements that have been made in the internal audit and accounting operations of the postal service in 36 areas in which recommendations for improvements were made.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to direct the attention of the Members of the House to this project, which in my judgment, is an outstanding example of results that have been obtained by cooperation between a legislative committee and the departments and agencies concerned with problems in the same area of responsibility. I wish to commend the Comptroller General for the discerning and constructive recommendations covering the auditing and accounting of the postal service which were made in his report. In my judgment, also, the

Postmaster General is entitled to an expression of commendation and appreciation for the prompt, effective, and cooperative manner in which he has brought about desirable changes.

Mr. Speaker, right from the start our committee has been impressed with the ability of Postmaster General Summerfield in the management of the postal service. This service, which has been termed one of the largest businesses in the world, has been experiencing a complete rejuvenation in all of its activities.

Mr. Speaker, the recommendations of the Comptroller General, and the action of the Postmaster General to which I have referred, follow:

1. Consolidate responsibility for all financial management functions under direction of one official at the top level of management. An industrial-type controllership function is being established in a newly organized Bureau of the Controller to replace the former Bureau of Accounts whose functions were limited to compliance accounting. This new Bureau has been organized to include (1) all postal budetary activities, (2) all accounting activities, (3) an internal audit function, (4) a systems and procedures function, and (5) a cost analysis function.

2. Establish an internal audit organization to report to the highest authority in the department consistent with good administration: A Division of Internal Audit has been established with the Director reporting directly to the Controller. Job classification sheets have been prepared and cleared with the Civil Service Commission for recruiting professionally trained auditors for carrying out this function. To date, two professional-type internal auditors have ben hired to lay the groundwork for carrying out this program. The staffing for this Division will proceed at an eccelerated rate.

3. Concentrate accounting activities at those points where operations are controlled: Regional controllerships are being established to furnish financial and accounting assistance to the new regional managers under the decentralization plan. In addition, the accounting organizational setup in large post offices is being revised so that local management will be furnished with timely and meaningful financial control information. Many other individual projects are proceeding along this line, including the installation of a standard cost system at the Mail Equipment Shop; the installation of a cost system for determining the effectiveness of motor vehicle shop operations; and a cost system for controlling labor expenditures on major operations at large post offices.

4. Design and install an integrated accounting system which will serve management: The accounting system of the Post Office Department is being drastically reorganized with the primary objective of developing a system whereby management at all levels of operation will be furnished with meaningful and timely information to serve as another tool for controlling operations. The theme of the progressive controllership program now under way is "service to management."

5. Develop work-measurement standards: Projects are under way or have been installed in various areas which incorporate the standard unit measurement approach in comparing results achieved with results planned. For instance, the various cost department managers at the Mail Equipment Shop are currently being furnished with daily production reports which show the production achieved by each individual under their supervision with a predetermined production standard. This permits management to immediately detect subnormal operations and to take corrective action on a current basis. The utilization of this principle will undoubtedly result in achieving more savings throughout the postal service than perhaps any other single step.

6. Require all personnel performing accounting operations to meet civil-service standards for accounting positions: Arrangements have been made with the Civil Service Commission with regard to the establishment of job classification sheets for the new accounting and auditing positions in the postal service. To date, approximately 30 professional-type accountants have been hired under the new program, of which over one-half are certified public accountants.

7. Recruit a professional accountant of proven ability to plan and direct the accounting-improvement program: A contract has been entered into with the certified public accounting firm of Alexander Grant & Co., of Chicago, to advise and assist in the accounting-improvement program within the postal service. This firm has assigned its executive partner, along with several top-flight systems accountants, to the post-office project.

8. Develop a list of projects to be completed to achieve the ultimate objective: A project list has been prepared consisting of approximately 150 individual projects. For the most part these projects incorporate the recommendations made by the Congress, the General Accounting Office, the Hoover Commission, and others who have reviewed the accounting and financial operation of the postal service.

9. Transfer to regional offices all financial functions presently performed by post offices which are not associated with their primary responsibilities: Many projects are underway which will result in the transfer of accounting and related financial functions from post offices to the regional controllers' offices. Among these are the supply of accountable paper, the preparation of rural carriers' payroll, the elimination of cash remittance units, and the regionalization of the indemnity paying function, and many others.

10. Coordinate all internal audit functions: The Division of Internal Audit has been established with the responsibility of prescribing the internal audit activities throughout the postal service. This Division will maintain close liaison with the Inspection Service to insure that standard audit procedures are extended to all field areas.

11. Reduce the number of officials authorized to incur obligations and make expenditures: Under the regional decentralization plan now in process, it is planned that disbursements pertaining to individual post offices will be made at the regional level. In many instances, this will eliminate the disbursement function at the post office level and will simplify the accounting and reporting procedures. In addition, it is believed that allotment controls for small offices can be maintained on an overall regional basis, thus requiring specific allotment and disbursement authority to be performed at only the largest post offices.

12. Reduce the number of allotment accounts: The classification of accounts is being revised with the overall objective of reducing the number of allotment accounts while increasing the number of expense classifications. In other words, the objective here will be to secure operating control information in detail, yet minimize the clerical procedures involved in guarding against overexpenditure of allotted funds.

13. Center in one office the final authority to grant allowances to the field: Study is being directed to formulate procedures for granting allowances to field offices from the new regional management offices. For the most part, it is believed that allowances can be granted in total from Washington to the management regions.

14. Eliminate from budget and appropriation processes disbursements which do not represent expenses: The 1955 budget was formulated so that money orders over 1 year old could be paid out of the liability account rather than through appropriation by Congress. Provision was also made for paying claims out of revenues and for handling revenues and expenses pertaining to the sale of stamped envelopes through a revolving fund.

15. Develop standards to guide the granting of allowances to the field: Many projects are now underway which will provide guidelines for granting specific allowances for carrying out certain volumes of work. For example, studies are being made to determine the cost per mile of operating various types of vehicles. From these studies, standard unit cost figures will be derived which will, in turn, be used to grant allowances to the field for this type of activity.

16. Deposit receipts at the earliest stage to avoid repetitive counting: The direct-to-bank deposit plant has been installed in approximately one-half of the country and the balance will be accomplished this year. Under this plan, postmasters send their remittances directly to designated depositary banks which count the funds and notify the Post Office Department as to amounts received from individual postmasters. This has eliminated the repetitive counting of cash previously performed in the central accounting office remittance units, and the annual savings to the Department under this plan should be in excess of $2½ million.

17. Consolidate all cash accounts: Effective January 1, 1954, cash accounts were consolidated and all postmasters are now reporting on one consolidated cash account form. This step has been very favorably received by postal employees throughout the country.

18. Eliminate trust funds: The retention of receipts in trust fund accounts at post offices has been eliminated; all post office receipts are now considered part of postal funds and are submitted to the depositaries in accordance with regular procedures.

19. Establish accounting control over all stocks of accountable paper: With few exceptions, accounting control has been established over accountable paper stock. Further developments in this respect will be considered in other areas of work now under consideration.

20. Simplify control procedures over income transactions not involving valuable paper accountability: A punch-card control procedure has been established for auditing revenues from postage meters. Considerable progress has also been made in simplifying the procedures for controlling second-class mail revenues. Arrangements have been made whereby box rents can now be paid for 1 year in advance; formerly, such rents could only be collected one quarter in advance.

21. Simplify paper work: Substantial progress has been made in the area of simplifying and reducing the amount of accounting and related paper work in post offices. All new procedures are now being geared to the concept of simplifying this phase of postmasters' activities as much as possible thus permitting postal employees in the field to devote full time to their major function of handling the mail. The basic trend to accomplish this objective is to centralize, insofar as possible, all types of disbursements now paid and accounted for by individual postmasters, thus relieving them of that responsibility.

22. Consolidate reports: Effective January 1, 1954, the reports for all types of postal business were consolidated into one account form. In many instances, this reduced the number of reports from 4 to 1 for each reporting period.

23. Eliminate formal accounting by district post offices: As was pointed out previously, one of our primary objectives is to

eliminate the accounting work now performed in post offices, especially small offices. To this end, certain projects are now under way, such as centralization of disbursements, centralization of the function of maintaining postal savings depositors' accounts, and various others. Practically all accounting in small post offices will be eliminated under this plan.

24. Establish a pay lag: A survey has been made of other governmental agencies, and it was found that such agencies have a 7-to-13-day pay lag. Accordingly, the Post Office Department will, in the near future, confer with employee organizations regarding a plan whereby postal employees will be paid approximately 10 days after the end of each pay period.

25. Centralize payroll operations of small post offices in regional accounting offices: This recommendation was discussed previously. It is being carried out.

26. Discontinue preparation of certain earning statements: Plans are now being developed for eliminating earning statements for departmental employees. In addition, at the time field payrolls are centralized to regional points for preparation, it will be determined whether annual-rate employees should be issued earning statements. The fluctuation in hourly rate employees' pay necessitates the issuance of earning statements in many cases.

27. Eliminate duplication of retirement records: A preliminary study has been made of this matter, and it is believed that the retirement records now maintained in Washington should be decentralized to the regional accounting offices. This will soon be accomplished.

28. Discontinue payment of salaries in cash: Payments to departmental employees and mail-equipment shop employees are now being made by check; heretofore, such salary payments were made in cash.

29. Centralize departmental payroll operations: All payroll and leave functions for departmental employees have been transferred to the Bureau of the Controller. Effort is now being applied to mechanize this operation.

30. Delegate authority to effect automatic promotions: Study is now being made of the practicability of delegating authority to effect automatic promotions for rural carriers to field offices which prepare and disburse rural-carrier payrolls. It is believed that this change can be made in the very near future.

31. Review the need for the Postal Savings System: Due to the large amount of money now on deposit with the Postal Savings System, in excess of $2 billion, it appears inadvisable at this time to discontinue the Postal Savings System entirely. However, steps are being taken to simplify the procedures for handling depositors' accounts by centralizing this function to the regional accounting offices.

32. Simplify procedures for maintaining depositors' accounts: A plan is now under consideration which would eliminate the maintenance of depositors' accounts at the post-office level. The proposed system would incorporate the use of a punch-card form of postal savings certificate. At the point of issuance, the punch-card certificate form would be prepared in duplicate; the original would be given to the depositor as evidence of the deposit and the duplicate would subsequently be forwarded to the regional accounting office where a file of outstanding duplicate audit cards would be maintained. The redemption of a certificate would be performed in a manner comparable to the cashing of a money order; no account records would be maintained for depositors at the post-office level. The paid certificates would be submitted to the regional accounting office where they would be matched with the audit file of outstanding cards. Under this system, one central file in each region would contain an individual record of each outstanding certificate. It is believed that the proposed system can be installed by July 1, 1954.

33. Prescribe standards for establishment of depositary post offices: Under the plan outlined above relative to the discontinuance of the maintenance of depositors' accounts at the post-office level, the recordkeeping at all post offices handling postal savings business would be reduced to a minimum. At December 31, 1953, there was a total of 7,111 depositary post offices in comparison with 7,215 such offices at June 30, 1950.

34. Destroy old certificates: Approximately 100 million old paid certificates which were in storage at the old Post Office in Washington have been destroyed. In addition, the Department is seeking to secure legislation which would bar all claims on certificates 6 years after the date the Department's records indicate the certificates were paid. Such legislation would permit the eventual destruction of approximately 350 million old paid certificates which are now in storage at Asheville, N. C.

35. Adopt an aggressive program for the enactment or repeal of legislation to improve financial administration: Study is being made of the legislation needed to improve the financial administration of the Post Office Department. Various recommendations have been forwarded to the Congress with regard to individual projects.

36. Adopt a biweekly pay period: The Post Office Department is supporting, with amendments, a bill presently before Congress for the adoption of a biweekly pay period.

The Real Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT B. WARBURTON
OF DELAWARE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WARBURTON. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the March 26 issue of U. S. News & World Report:

THE REAL ISSUE

(By David Lawrence)

The real issue before the American people today must not be obscured or beclouded by extraneous controversies that fill the headlines nowadays.

The real issue is not whether a Senator, provoked by the noncooperation of a witness, loses his temper and makes extreme statements while trying to investigate the red tape which bestowed on Communists certificates of honor from the United States Army.

The real issue is not whether a member of a congressional committee staff asked the Army to give another staff member, who had been drafted, passes for weekends so that he could complete his reports for the Senate subcommittee. Nor is the real issue whether staff members of a Senate committee or civilian officials of the Army used improper pressure in connection with the episode.

The time has come to differentiate between the pretty disputes of the hour and fundamental issues.

The real issue confronting the Nation today is whether the savings of the American people shall be confiscated by unscrupulous politicians who abstractly denounce the philosophy of communism and then concretely accept its doctrines of organized thievery.

For the Communist propaganda is aimed at the destruction of the capitalist system—the system of free enterprise—the system of private savings invested in the industries and businesses of America.

Whoever hides behind the front of so-called liberalism and votes to destroy the system of private enterprise through tax laws that penalize the successful and the thrifty is paying homage to the doctrine of national socialism—the precusor of communism.

The Communists have long aimed to pit class against class, to sow suspicions between employers and the workers, and to make every businessman appear as an exploiter of his fellow man.

Coincidentally, this same line is pursued by the left wing in America which, with labor-union support, has captured the Democratic Party's leadership.

Listen, some nights, to the regular broadcasts by commentators sponsored by the funds of labor unions and you will hear the language of class war, designed to divide America and to spread hate and to make it appear that the men who have had the genius to create jobs in this country are the enemies of the workers.

The real issue that means more to America than the petty squabbles of the day came to a head last week in the House of Representatives. Only by the narrow margin of 6 votes out of 414 was America saved from proposals that would have prevented an incentive system of taxation from being adopted and that would instead have demoralized the capitalistic system by discouraging future investment in American enterprises.

A handful of Democrats voted with an almost solid Republican membership to reject the political conspiracy which would have forced the unbalancing of the budget by many billions of dollars.

The solvency of America is as essential to our life as the preservation of the free-enterprise system. Those who would destroy the system of private capital and investment will continue to use these political strategems to dupe the Democratic leadership and a few timid Republicans in schemes that mean a raid on the Treasury and a breakdown of the integrity of the dollar, leading almost certainly to public bankruptcy.

The vote by almost the entire membership of the Democratic Party in the House last week for unsound proposals is regrettable. Must it be said hereafter that only the Republican Party is dedicated to the task of preserving private capitalism?

Will it be charged on the stump now that, in addition to softness toward Communists in the last 20 years, various spokesmen for the Democratic Party openly espouse class warfare as a means to a partisan end?

Surely the great party of Jefferson and Jackson and Wilson has never before succumbed so completely to the redistribution-of-wealth fakery of the demagog which, if adopted, can only result in a wide distribution of poverty.

The real issue is whether the Democratic Party in Congress is going to embrace the Communist philosophy of anticapitalism. The test will come when the tax bill is before the Senate and in countless other proposals before Congress that seek to make the state master the individual and ultimately to confiscate the savings of the thrifty.

For the real issue is whether little by little the Government shall impose a philosophy that destroys the economic system by a steady process of creeping socialism and Communist poison, or whether we shall have prudent fiscal policies and incentive taxation to keep America the most powerful industrial nation in the world, with the highest standard of living known to man.

Let the extraneous issues be dealt with, of course, but let them not befog or draw a red herring across the real issue—the preservation of private initiative against the confiscationists who are the twin brothers of the Communists.

Bay Study Project Needs Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remark in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to submit an editorial from the San Jose Mercury of March 29, 1954, which points up pressing need for a comprehensive study of the San Francisco Bay area:

BAY STUDY PROJECT NEEDS SUPPORT

Santa Clara County, the bay area, and, in fact, the State of California, stand to lose one of the most-needed projects unless immediate and vigorous action is taken. That is the overall survey for San Francisco Bay development, including transportation, navigation, salinity, and flood control and the feasibility of conserving, by use of solid-fill barriers, multimillions of acre-feet of fresh water now flowing into the sea.

A central factor in the study would be construction of a scale model of the bay for scientific study of structural effect on currents, silting, and other problems.

The survey not only has the unanimous approval of the regional Army engineers, but of the Army Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, highest Army engineering authority, which held hearings in San Francisco last January.

It has the approval of the State, which has an appropriation of $250,000 for a bay-barrier study to be integrated with the Federal study.

It has the endorsement by resolution adopted in January of the California Water Project Authority.

It is urged by the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors and other county boards in the area.

Yet on March 11 the House Appropriations Committee rejected an application for a $50,000 appropriation to permit the Army engineers to start work on what eventually will be a $2,500,000 project.

The committee said it rejected the request because "definite information as to the scope of the survey and the probable ultimate costs were not available to the committee at the time of the hearings."

Those hearings were held in Washington at the very time the Army Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors was holding its hearings in San Francisco and, naturally, could not be in Washington at the same time. No person from the West participated in the hearings.

The committee had, and has, abundant information available to it upon the scope and ultimate costs of the project. In fact, the Army engineers have spent $80,000 getting that information. If, through an oversight, that data was not before the committee at the time of its hearings, it should now be brought to its attention with strong urging that it reconsider.

The Senate committee has not yet taken final action and no factor should be overlooked to insure favorable results there. Also, early this month, Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER, of Gilroy, introduced a bill in the House calling for a $250,000 appropriation for the survey, so the situation is far from hopeless.

It will, however, require immediate and positive additional backing. This should come by resolutions, letters, and telegrams from the State legislature, boards of supervisors, city councils, farm, labor, and other groups and individuals vitally interested in Bay area development and particularly in conservation of the vast water supply now being wasted. These should be sent to Senators WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND and THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Senate Office Building, and from Santa Clara, San Benito, and Santa Cruz Counties, to Representative CHARLES S. GUBSER, House Office Building, Washington, D. C. They will know how best to make them count.

A Poor Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to call attention to an editorial which appeared in the Wheeling Intelligencer, Wheeling, W. Va., March 22, 1954.

This article shows the thinking and the reaction of the people of my State to our present trade policies as administered under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. It is also a protest against the President's recommendations based on the report of the Randall Commission to expand this program by granting further concessions to foreign nations.

The editorial follows:

A POOR EXCHANGE

Suspension of all import duties by the United States, says the Randall Commission, might result in an annual increase in the value of imports to the extent of $800 million to $1 billion, $800 million a year.

The cost? Two hundred thousand American jobs.

The Commission bases its estimates on the fact that the total value of our imports in 1951 was $10 billion, of which $6 billion came in duty free. Removing tariffs from the remainder of the trade, the Commission estimate, would result in a minimum increase of 8 percent and a maximum increase of 17 percent.

The 200,000 job loss, the Commission says, would be softened somewhat by new job opportunities opened up by the stimulation of two-way foreign trade.

The Commission, of course, doesn't know to what extent tariff removal would stimulate imports. And its doesn't know how many Americans would be forced into idleness. Taking its estimates at face value, however, what gain is there in this increased movement of goods when it means that Americans by the thousands are to be driven from the jobs for which they are fitted?

What the Commission doesn't say is that the loss of these jobs also would mean the closing of thousands of small American industrial plants. What it doesn't say is that the blow would be struck at the great small industry structure of this country—glass houses and potteries, foundries, shoe factories, machine shops, tool plants; in short, all the great skilled, handcraft trades. What would we do were a world catastrophy to come along and close the doors of our imports of these vital articles?

What the Commission doesn't say, is that in the struggle of these displaced men to find employment, in the efforts of their employers to stay in business and meet the competition, the wage structure of the land and the living standards of the people would be forced down toward the foreign level. And what is the remedy proposed? Subsidies, compensation for displacement, special training courses for other employment—all the trappings of relief.

American industry and American workmen want none of this. All they ask is an equalizing tariff—one that will give them an equal break, no more, on the home market with imported products produced by cheap labor in low living-standard lands.

Air Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GORDON H. SCHERER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an open letter to the United States Senate by Hamilton A. Long, of New York City, with reference to the air defense of this country:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES: AN A/H BOMB PEARL HARBOR NOW THREATENS US DAILY — WHY LEAVE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VIRTUALLY DEFENSELESS, AS NOW, UNNECESSARILY?

1. Russia undoubtedly now has 100 percent air defense against our trans-Arctic bombers; and we can have it, too—against hers. Ours are now powerless to attack Russia effectively, in the face of her reasonable use of now-available air-defense methods, techniques. (See my article, as a World War II Air Force major, in the Freeman, March 26, 1951, The B–36 Is a Tanker, reprinted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 5, 1953, p. A3414.) As Gen. George F. Kenney stated last September, publicly, the United States of America has the capability of 100 percent air defense, adding that any claim to the contrary is a "defeatist" attitude (inexcusably). This involves a defense-in-depth system of airborne radar patrol operating from the Polar region south to the United States of America and of fighter bases from mid-Alaska-Canada southward. The vast distances involved allow hours upon hours for detection-interception-attack, which (Air Force history proves) spells doom for any unescorted bomber(s), and they would necessarily be unescorted. Yet our military leaders have so grossly neglected air defense that the United States of America is now wide open to mass attacks by Russia's bombers any day—with no possibility of more than 15 minutes' advance warning, as stated last week by Civil Defense Chief Val Peterson. This is air-defense bankruptcy. No talk of future defense, of plans for it later, can hide this: Our military leaders are guilty—now—for this ghastly plight of the United States of America today.

2. The A/H-bomb threat is so acute today that the needed air-defense system must be created on a top-priority emergency basis—overriding all else. Speed is essential. General Kenney says it can be created, will work—and military facts bear him out. Then put him in command, under MacArthur as overall chief (over Army, Navy, Air Force coordination), reviving their successful wartime teamwork, and the job will be done, quickly. It can be done. Any doubts in any quarter, whether in the new Sprague report or elsewhere, must be dismissed, resolved in favor of our going into effective action the American way. Doubts are based on misleading information from officials

blameworthy for our present plight. Our very existence is at stake daily. Since when did Americans let doubters set the pace?

3. One need: Convert the otherwise useless B-36's into airborne radar-patrol planes; also bring home immediately all fighter units from abroad to be part of the air defense system. They are useless abroad anyway, partly for the following reasons: (a) Russia can seize Europe any day she likes and our generals know it—admit it privately (see testimony of General Bradley, for example, admitting it publicly—reported June 14, 1953; his talk of Russia's being deterred by fear of our bombers being poppycock—the Kremlin knows the facts); (b) the United States of America is powerless to land an army in Europe against Russia's atomic bombs, as Generals Bradley and Collins admitted in testimony in the 1949 B–36 hearings before the House Armed Services Committee, pages 521, 525, 555; so our troops there are hostages to the Kremlin; (c) Russia's overwhelming air supremacy over Europe is impregnable—over all Eurasia; (d) the Kremlin's myriad local Communist traitors would sabotage all airfields, on the Kremlin's signal, so as to make them useless—our fighters could not fight there in war; (e) Britain (Japan, too) is indefensible against Russia's V-2's alone, so British cannot fight—in the face of threatened extinction by V–2's and A/H bombs—as foreshadowed by Churchill's gloomy warning, in Parliament last Tuesday, of H-bomb implications; they would not consent to our planes based there fighting and can veto it—like other countries where we have bases; (f) talk of arming Germany and Japan effectively against Russia is as childish as would be talk of Russia's arming Mexico and Cuba against us; (g) Korea and Indochina are mere quicksand traps prepared for us by the Kremlin; so get out, stay out. Hence the good sense in bringing our fighters home anyway—imperatively for home defense.

4. The Kremlin knows these facts, as do military leaders here and abroad. The American people are entitled to the full truth—no secrets involved; so they can the better force effective action in getting adequate air defense, quickly, surely. A pre-Pearl Harbor investigation by a special Senate committee is the crying need—to spotlight the facts and pave the way for sound action. It must be public. Nothing less will suffice. Let the chips, politically, fall where they may; the higher-placed the culprits, the more culpable.

5. This "open letter" method is used here because previous urgings by me, in testimony before congressional committees, has been unavailing (for instance, House Foreign Affairs and Senate Appropriations Subcommittees, last June); likewise private discussions with various Members of Congress—as well as attempts to get leading magazines to publish the truth. There seems to be almost a conspiracy of silence and it must end; the people must be told the full truth. This is the minimum obligation of public servants, public trustees. Russia knows all the facts to which I refer, which I'll detail for a committee's benefit.

6. Identification: I am the author of House Document 213 (83d Cong.): Permit Communist-Conspirators To Be Teachers?—distributed, for example, to some 50,000 New York City teachers recently; also author of the exposure of the Communist-conspiracy's activities in the 1950 booklet: America's Tragedy—Today; a longtime fighter against its activities and the evil aims of the Kremlin, especially to get the United States of America overextended militarily abroad which is the easiest and most fatal mistake possible in military science. As a United States veteran of both world wars, I've made a specialist of myself regarding airpower, defense.

HAMILTON A. LONG.

NEW YORK, *March 25, 1954.*

Bonneville Power Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members of Congress to a resolution recently adopted by Cowlitz County Pomona Grange, No. 7, in my State of Washington, and also to an editorial published on March 4, 1954, by the Longview Daily News, of Longview, Wash., both opposing present moves toward increasing wholesale rates charged by the Bonneville Power Administration:

COWLITZ COUNTY POMONA GRANGE, NO. 7.

A RESOLUTION OPPOSING ANY INCREASE IN BONNEVILLE POWER RATES

Whereas the Interior Department is contemplating an increase in Bonneville power rates; and

Whereas according to the report for 1953, Bonneville made a net gain of more than $9½ million; and

Whereas an unwarrantable increase would deal a serious blow to the industrial development of the Northwest, which has already suffered severe setbacks due to the unfriendly and unrealistic attitude of the Interior Department: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Cowlitz Pomona Grange, No. 7, go on record opposing any increase in Bonneville rates; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the congressional delegation from the State of Washington; to the master of the Washington State Grange; and to the Secretary of the Interior; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of the editorial entitled "Bonneville Wholesale Rate Is Matter of Vital Public Concern" in the March 4 issue of the Longview Daily News be enclosed with each resolution.

Adopted by Cowlitz Pomona Grange, March 6.

M. L. KAYSER,
Master.
MABEL C. BECK,
Secretary.

BONNEVILLE WHOLESALE RATE IS MATTER OF VITAL PUBLIC CONCERN

The Interior Department has gotten around to talking openly about the long-rumored possible increase in Bonneville power rates. This is a matter of pocketbook concern to every individual in the Northwest, since an increase in the wholesale rate that Bonneville charges would certainly be reflected in higher household electricity bills.

Perhaps more important is the effect such an increase would have on the industrial potential of the Northwest. Cheap electric power is about the only industrial advantage the Northwest enjoys. Our transportation, raw materials, and labor costs are generally higher than in other parts of the country.

Under Secretary of the Interior Ralph Tudor said this week that a study of Bonneville rates is being made and a $5 increase, from $17.50 to $22.50 per kilowatt year, may be forthcoming.

The Bonneville Act provides that rates are to be reexamined every 5 years and this is a year for reexamination.

It is generally agreed that sometime in the future the wholesale rate will have to be increased when new hydroelectric dams are completed. This is because the new dams—McNary, Chief Joseph, and The Dalles—were much more expensive to build than the original Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams. The higher the cost of a dam, the more must be charged for electricity it generates in order to pay off the cost. This high cost item is one of the main objectives to a high Hells Canyon Dam.

But until these new dams are in production, what reason is there for increasing the wholesale rate? Bonneville in fiscal 1953 showed a profit of $9,567,000.

The Washington Public Utility Districts' Association, analyzing this situation, believes that eastern interests are trying deliberately to take away the power advantage of the Northwest by "artificial and arbitrary increases in wholesale rates now simply by changing the ground rules." There are eight ways in which this could be done:

(1) Charge a larger share of construction costs to power. This is already being done in the case of McNary Dam unless the Federal Power Commission changes it recent ruling. The FPC wants to charge nearly the whole cost of McNary, including the expensive locks for navigation and fishways, to power users and very little to navigation and fishing.

(2) Shorten the payout period. A cut from 50 to 40 years in the time a major project is to be paid out has been suggested.

(3) Charge higher interest rates for power projects. An increase of only one-half of 1 percent could increase the cost of electric power 7 percent. No increase in the rate on the money loaned for construction of the dams is believed justified for the reason that the Government can borrow money at 2 percent and it is charging interest on Bonneville at the rate of 2½ percent and Grand Coulee at 3⅛ percent.

(4) Abolish the interest component. Power from Coulee Dam must pay that part of irrigation investment in the Columbia Basin project that is beyond the ability of water users to pay. It amounts to an estimated $400 million over the next 63 years. However, some $80 million of relief was to have been provided by crediting back the interest on the Grand Coulee power investment. The Under Secretary of the Interior recommended that this be abolished and, if it is, that result would be a 4-percent increase in the cost of Coulee power.

(5) Eliminate credit for downstream benefits. Large multiplepurpose projects aid downstream projects. It has been the historic Federal policy to credit new projects with the benefits they provide for dams further downstream, even though those dams have not yet been built. If this were done, power costs could be increased an estimated 3 percent.

(6) Absorb private utility steam costs during low-water years through Federal power charges to all consumers. If this were done, power users in Washington State would have to pay the high steam costs of Oregon's private utilities during periods when Bonneville could not supply Oregon utilities' full needs. It is pointed out that private companies already enjoy lower Federal power rates than most PUD's because they can use their steam plants to carry peak loads. Last year private companies paid an average of 2.23 mills for Bonneville power, while the PUD's paid about 3 mills.

(7) Charge ad valorem property taxes to Federal projects. This would certainly be unreasonable unless States were allowed also to tax other Federal property, including post offices, national forests, etc.

(8) Charge Federal power a gross revenue tax. This has actually been proposed by a special tax policy committee of the Edison Electric Institute, spokesmen for private electric companies.

The PUD association estimates that if all eight of these methods of raising Bonneville's rates were adopted, the cost of industrial power might be increased as much as 35 or 40 percent next year and be doubled by 1960. This not only would keep new industries

from coming into the area, but it certainly would force existing industries, including the Reynolds Metals Co., to close down.

Bonneville power rates are very much an item of public concern, and the forces of aroused public opinion need to be mustered to prevent these rates form being tampered with to the detriment of the Northwest.

In the Interest of National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, those of us who recognize the importance of the work of the National Board for Rifle Practice, and the essentiality of continuing that work, will find much of interest in the following article:

[From the American Rifleman of April 1954]

IN THE INTEREST OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Late in March or early in April the Armed Services Subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees are holding hearings on the Department of Defense budget for the fiscal year of 1955. One important item in the budget is the amount of money for the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. An adequate appropriation is vital to the program conducted by the National Board to improve the marksmanship of the young men who may be liable to serve in defense of the country. The significance of the hearings and their outcome might be better appreciated by a review of events for the past few years.

NO ISSUES BEING MADE

On February 1, 1954, it became necessary for the Office of the Director of Civilian Marksmanship, which conducts the program formulated by the National Board, to stop entirely the issue of 22-caliber ammunition and target supplies to junior rifle clubs. This cessation means that no issue of ammunition or target supplies is being made to civilian rifle clubs, either junior or senior.

The curtailment of issues to civilian rifle clubs has been gradual over the past 2 years.

In August 1952 the issue of 30-caliber ammunition to schools and senior rifle clubs was cut to one-fourth of the maximum allowance. At the same time the free issue of 22-caliber ammunition to schools was halted. In December 1952 the issue of 30-caliber ammunition to clubs already affiliated with the Director of Civilian Marksmanship was halted. However, senior clubs newly enrolling in the DCM program continued to receive one-fourth of the maximum allowable issue for a period of 1 year. In June 1953 even this limited issue of 30-caliber ammunition to senior clubs was stopped entirely.

FUNDS NOT AVAILABLE

The issue of expendable supplies, such as targets, cleaning materials, etc., to civilian rifle clubs, both junior and senior, for use in marksmanship training and DCM qualification firing, has ceased also because there are no funds available to the National Board for the Office of the Director of Civilian Marksmanship for the purchase of these supplies.

The sum of money appropriated has been diminishing annually, and since the war has included practically nothing for the procurement of new ammunition. Even so, the Director of Civilian Marksmanship was able to continue issuing .30 caliber ammunition to clubs from surplus stocks. From VJ-day until the beginning of the Korean war in 1950, the Army Ordnance Department from time to time transferred large supplies of surplus .30 caliber ammunition to the DCM. It was this ammunition which was issued to civilian clubs until June 1953, when the supply was exhausted.

PAST ISSUES FROM SURPLUS

The appropriation of $100,000 voted by Congress for the fiscal years 1953 and 1954 has not permitted a purchase of issue materials. The $100,000 appropriation is barely sufficient to cover the administrative costs of the Office of Director of Civilian Marksmanship. The only issues made by the DCM since July 1, 1953, have been targets and, up to February 1, 1954, a limited amount of .22 caliber ammunition. The cost of these issues was $9,148. The value of expendable materials issued to civilian rifle clubs in the past, mostly from surplus, is as follows: Fiscal year 1950, $550,912; fiscal year 1951, $585,392; fiscal year 1952, $619,052; fiscal year 1953, $194,783.

No expendable items, including .22 and .30 caliber ammunition, ammunition components, cleaning and preserving materials, and target materials are presently available for free issue by the DCM.

ACCOUNTABLE MATERIALS

The cessation of issues in no way affects the materials which are now in the hands of the clubs on loan and for which they must make an annual accounting to the DCM. These include .30 caliber and .22 caliber rifles, accessories and appendages, target frames, etc. These will be allowed to remain in the hands of clubs presently holding them under the same conditions as in the past.

It should be noted that .30 caliber ammunition, .22 caliber ammunition, targets, target frames, and some Springfield rifle parts may be purchased by civilian rifle clubs and individual NRA members from the DCM.

TWO MILLION FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS NEEDED

There are two and a half times as many clubs today as there were in 1940. Allowing for increased costs of materials and increased salaries of employees, it is estimated that $2,500,000 would be required today to conduct the same program of aid to rifle clubs that in 1940 cost $645,656. This is a far cry from the $100,000 actually included in the budget for the national board during the past 2 years.

To resume issues of ammunition and target material to civilian clubs requires a larger appropriation for the national board by Congress. Until a larger portion of this $2,500,000 is made available annually by Congress, it will be impossible for the Director of Civilian Marksmanship to resume the issues of ammunition and target material which are essential if clubs are to assist in the training of civilians in marksmanship as a part of the national defense structure.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR THE PROMOTION OF RIFLE PRACTICE

Hon. John Slezak, Under Secretary of the Army, president.

Col. Charles G. Rau, United States Army, executive officer (also Director of Civilian Marksmanship).

(To be appointed) Assistant Chief of Staff, G–3, board chairman, Department of the Army, Army General Staff.

Birg. Gen. E. J. O'Neill, United States Army, Army General Staff (Office, Assistant Chief of Staff, G–4).

Col. Charles P. Stone, General Staff, United States Army, Army General Staff (O. & T. Division, O. A. Co. of S, G–3).

Brig. Gen. John H. Hinrichs, United States Army, Office of Chief of Ordnance.

Mr. Robert D. King, Office of Assistant Secretary of the Army (Financial Management).

Brig. Gen. S. G. Conley, United States Army, Headquarters, Army Field Forces.

Capt. Lloyd M. Mustin, United States Navy, Department of the Navy.

Maj. Gen. Norris B. Harbold, United States Air Force, Department of the Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Thomas A. Wornham, United States Marine Corps, United States Marine Corps.

Capt. Leon H. Morine, United States Coast Guard, United States Coast Guard.

Maj. Gen. Earle M. Jones, United States National Guard, Armed Forces Reserve (NGUS).

Col. C. M. Boyer, United States Army Reserve, retired, Armed Forces Reserve (ROA).

Maj. Gen. Merritt A. Edson, United States Marine Corps, retired, National Rifle Association.

Rear. Adm. M. C. Mumma, United States Navy, retired, National Rifle Association.

Mr. Carl E. Kastner, National Rifle Association.

Col. Joel D. Griffing, United States Army, Selective Service System.

Col. Francis W. Parker, Jr., United States Army Reserve, retired, country at large.

Mr. Henry N. Marah, country at large.

Mr. Irvine C. Porter, country at large.

Mr. T. R. Barnes, country at large.

Mr. C. A. Brown, country at large.

The National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice is a statutory board whose function is to recommend to the Secretary of the Army ways and means for improving the marksmanship of able-bodied young Americans with the service rifle.

It was created originally by act of Congress in 1903. Its status and functions were reiterated in section 113 of the National Defense Act of 1916. This basic law was further defined and supplemented by the act of June 7, 1924 (43 Stat. 510), which reads as follows:

"Promotion of rifle practice:

"Hereafter the Secretary of War shall, within the limits of appropriations made from time to time by Congress and in accordance with reasonable rules and regulations approved by him upon the recommendations of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, authorize and provide for—

"(a) Construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges and their accessories and appliances;

"(b) Instruction of able-bodied citizens of the United States in marksmanship and, in connection therewith, the employment of necessary instructors;

"(c) Promotion of practice in the use of rifled arms, the maintenance and management of matches or competitions in the use of such arms, and the issuance in connection therewith of the necessary arms, ammunition, targets, and other necessary supplies and appliances, and the award to competitors of trophies, prizes, badges and other insignia;

"(d) Sale to members of the National Rifle Association, at costs to the Government, and issue to clubs organized, for practice with rifled arms, under the direction of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, of arms, ammunition, targets, and other supplies and appliances necessary for target practice;

"(e) Maintenance of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice, including provision for the necessary expenses thereof and of its members;

"(f) Procurement of necessary materials, supplies, appliances, trophies, prizes, badges, and other insignia, clerical and other services, and labor;

"(g) Transportation of employees, instructors, and civilians to give or undergo instruction or to assist or engage in practice in the use of rifled arms, and the transportation and subsistence, or commutations in lieu of subsistence of members of teams

especially authorized by the Secretary of War to participate in matches or competitions in the use of rifled arms, making a full report of all things done hereunder annually to Congress."

The executive officer of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice is also the director of civilian marksmanship. The office of the director of civilian marksmanship is a permanent office and is the executive agency for the national board. It is an approving office only, maintaining records of the clubs holding service rifles and range equipment on loan from the DCM with which to conduct training and fire the annual service rifle qualification courses that are required of those who hold such equipment.

Clubs are not automatically enrolled with the DCM when they are chartered by the NRA. They must enroll themselves with the DCM to be eligible for the equipment, if any, which is available to them. Complete instructions for enrolling clubs with the DCM will be furnished to club secretaries requesting it.

It should be noted that the DCM itself does not sell or loan rifles, ammunition, or target materials. The DCM approves the sale or loan of these materials to those clubs which are eligible for them. The materials are sent to the clubs by United States Army Ordnance field agencies after approval has been given by the DCM and the club has satisfied the requirements for them.

A Fantasy, But Too True

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Evening Tribune, San Diego, Calif., March 22, 1954:

A FANTASY, BUT TOO TRUE

Mr. Schlimpf, employment manager of the Imaginary Corp., painted an entrancing picture as he urged Joe Doakes to take a job with the firm.

"I admit," he began, "that the pay is higher in some other places, but—. Look at all the special advantages. We'll provide you a home at a special rental rate. You can take a pension after not too long with us." He listed a long string of inducements and wound up, "Imaginary is one of the country's most respected firms. When you say you work for it, your neighbors will put you on a par with the clergymen and lawyers and such."

A short few years after Joe took the job, Schlimpf spoke up again: "I have to tell you that the board of directors has made some changes. Those special privileges and that rent deal, they're out. You'll have to serve half as long again to get the pension, and this and that and the other that I promised—well, they're all canceled."

Joe let out a roar that could be heard from Tallahassee to Tillamook. Then he hired a lawyer and went to court, sore at all this and because folks were showing him less esteem—perhaps considering him a sap. The judge listened and then told Imaginary Corp. to make good on its pledges or pay Joe substantial damages.

That's just what would happen in such a case in civilian life. But that's how members of the United States Armed Forces are being treated and they have no remedy in court. Congress equals the board of directors. The promises broken are the reduced "fringe benefits." (That term should be dropped. "Fringe" suggests something unessential and fit to be trimmed. These benefits are important and clipping any of them hurts severely.)

Servicemen can't sue. They can quit career service. Those who might become lifelong members of the Armed Forces can stay out when they see the treatment given those who went in. The United States needs a strong, enthusiastic defense force. The way to get and keep it is to treat its members well and live up to the pledges made and implied. It's beneath the decency and dignity of the Nation to act like that Imaginary Corp. Give the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force their full, deserved benefits.

Protection Home Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note that the American paint and varnish industry, through their national trade association, has again protested the imposition of quota controls on imports of tung oil.

The Secretary of Agriculture has recently requested the President to invoke such controls for the protection of the American industry and in order that the Commodity Credit Corporation may avoid having to take over practically all of the current domestic tung crop, which is now going under CCC loans at an accelerated rate, due to the fact that oil from Argentina has been coming into this country in sufficient supply to fill demands at prices just under the present support price on the American oil.

This action on the part of the paint and varnish industry is surprising if, indeed, it does not come with poor grace in view of the fact that according to the statistics of the American Paint Journal and the Bureau of Labor Statistics—using the years 1947 to 1949 as a base period with an index number of 100—the price index of prepared paint as late as last December was 112.7 as compared to 94.8 for tung oil.

Also it is interesting to note that the manufacturers of paints and varnishes enjoy protection from imports by way of tariffs on foreign manufactured paints and varnishes as follows:

Colors, paints—including enamel paints—pigments, and stains bear import duties ranging from 12½ to 25 percent ad valorem.

Duties on varnishes range from 10 percent ad valorem to $1.10 per gallon plus 12½ percent ad valorem.

Mr. Speaker, I do not begrudge the great American paint and varnish industry the protection from foreign competition they now enjoy. They must have needed it to have obtained that protection. As one who is greatly interested in another American industry, I am indeed glad to see them have it.

On the other hand, and in the same spirit, in view of the statistics I have just set forth, I cannot understand why the American paint and varnish industry seems to be unwilling to adopt a little of the spirit of "live and let live," and why they seek to block the struggling little American tung industry, which I represent, from obtaining the just protection to which it is entitled. Certainly, it is possible that a continuation of such selfish policy on the part of those American industries enjoying governmental protection against foreign imports could result in the loss of their own protection. There is already much concern over the comparative protection against foreign importations enjoyed by industry over agriculture.

Two Stars Over the House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take particular pleasure in calling the attention of the House to an editorial on statehood which appeared in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of April 2:

TWO STARS OVER THE HOUSE

Senate passage by vote of 57 to 28 of the Alaska and Hawaii statehood bill accomplished even more, so far as the Upper Chamber is concerned, than the Eisenhower administration had promised. The administration had pledged itself to immediate statehood for Hawaii but had left Alaska for later.

Thanks to the wise leadership shown by Senator ANDERSON, of New Mexico, the two Territories were joined in the legislation. The rightness of this course has now been vindicated so far as the Senate is concerned.

If the Eisenhower administration will put its full weight and prestige behind the legislation in the House, there ought to be a very good chance indeed of its passage.

The House has historically been more friendly to statehood for the two Territories than the Senate. Statehood bills for both Territories have been enacted by the Lower Chamber in preceding years. In the Senate the legislation has usually been bottled up in a hostile committee and even when reported out has never been brought to a vote.

The House has passed the Hawaii bill but the Alaska bill has been bottled up in the Rules Committee for 10 months.

Forcing the two bills together in the House—presumably through joint conference—was one of the primary aims of Senator ANDERSON'S strategy.

The administration is, in fact, on its mettle, so to speak, to see that the measure does no less well in the House than it has done in the Senate. The legislation was successful in the upper Chamber although the administration is in the minority there, 47 to 48, with one independent, MORSE of Oregon. In the House the Republicans have 219 Members to 215 Democrats and 1 Independent.

Admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union would be an accomplishment of historic magnitude for the administration over which Mr. Eisenhower presides. It would be a demonstration of purpose and strength. It would contribute to the country's unity

and bulwark the national defenses in a time of exceptional need.

The benefits that would flow from successful passage of this legislation through the House are such as to invite the administration's utmost efforts in it behalf.

Commentator Sees Plot Afoot To Have United States Renounce Defense of Poland and Other Iron Curtain Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, it has frequently been said that some of our most valuable potential allies are the subjugated people of the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain. If we do not recognize that fact, you can be sure that the Communists do.

There has recently been circulated in this country what appears to be a well-organized plan to attempt to convince the people of the United States that the policy of liberation of countries behind the Iron Curtain should be disavowed and that it would be in our interest to permit the peoples of these countries, despite their wishes, to remain in the sphere of Soviet control.

Nothing could be more dangerous to our own interests, and therefore, under leave to extend, I include the thought-provoking comments recently made by Mr. John M. Kreutz, a news commentator on the Polish program of radio station WJLB in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. Kreutz has frequently distinguished himself by his timely warnings of the Communist peril to this country. The following are his comments:

With regard to the Polish question, there are new angles to be noticed. It is apparent now that just as in the Orient Soviet Russia looks upon recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations as criterions of its victory, so in Europe recognition of the fact that Poland and other satellite countries are in the sphere of their influence, and theirs only, is to be the yardstick of the Soviet might and its control of the world at this time.

In view of this, it is not surprising that, quite suddenly, we are faced with a powerful and, it seems, organized campaign in the American press and other literary media, in which the Polish question is again sharply debated, seemingly in an unbiased manner yet following the same line of reasoning, namely, that Poland does not need freedom; that it never has had any real freedom; that under the present Soviet occupation Poland finds a solution of its future, as well as its economic and geographic and political problems, and that the United States should not burden itself with the Polish question because Poland does not lie in the sphere of its interests.

And there is the crux of the matter—a concentrated drive to convince the United States that the policy of liberation of the countries behind the Iron Curtain and any promises of freedom to Poland on the basis of international morality are nonsensical and not in the interest of America.

How is this campaign being waged? Well, first of all, a certain Mr. Sharp, who claims he is of Polish birth and is a university professor, wrote a pseudohistorical book about Poland and her place in world affairs, in which he endeavors to prove that Poland was never in a position, geographic or economic, to be free, and it is nonsensical, therefore, to worry about her liberation or independence.

Following in his footsteps, there appear seemingly independent American publicists, who, in their reviews of the book and articles, eagerly agree with its author in his conclusion that there is no reason why the United States of America should defend the cause of Poland. For instance, a Mr. Neal who, we are told, is a visiting lecturer in political science at the University of Michigan, in an article, which appeared in the Detroit Free Press Sunday, March 28, reviews Mr. Sharp's book, allegedly criticizes it, but quotes all the incidents which tend to show that the idea of Poland's independence is politically unreasonable as far as the United States is concerned.

What's more, Mr. Neal, on his own, reminds the readers of such "gloriously romantic" foolhardiness of the Poles as the charge of mounted Polish lancers against the Nazi tanks. He also claims that even Marshall Pilsudski himself once used the phrase "a nation of idiots."

Further, Mr. Neal asks the question: "What is the purpose of the United States foreign policy in seeking independence for Poland?" and argues the point with inverted logic that since the Monroe Doctrine prohibits others from meddling in Latin America, how can the United States meddle in the affairs of Poland and other Soviet satellite countries.

This cleverly written article, which certainly is derogative to the Polish cause, reveals the purpose of a campaign to defame Poland by denying her the inherent right to national independence.

If that is not sufficiently indicative that this campaign must have been carefully planned and put into operation, then let us also review a series of articles written by F. Kuh, a correspondent who was allowed to spend 10 days in Poland and upon his return wrote a series of articles for an American syndicate.

Enticingly titled "Poland Uncensored," these widely reprinted article repeat in a naive way a great number of statements produced by the Polish Communist propaganda mills, as for instance the statement that "absence of civil liberties or freedom is not felt by the Poles too strongly as they always were under the rule of Russian, Austrian, German, or Polish tyrants." And so once again, why should our American foreign policy demand freedom for Poland, since Poland never had it?

Such statements are voiced by apparently recognized American correspondents and political writers. And yet, since these articles are coming from purportedly various and unrelated sources but are printed almost simultaneously in different newspapers and publications widely scattered throughout the country, the singularity of purpose is amazing. The purpose, in my opinion, is: Denial to Poland of its right to freedom and independence and obliteration of those rights in the minds of American people, thus forcing on American foreign policy the renunciation of our responsibility to defend Poland.

Consequently, it seems that we are faced with a purposeful plot directed against the present American policy in Europe and its base, and so against the principle of the policy of liberation of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Just as in the case of China, a similar campaign is directed to influence Washington to recognize the Peiping regime and to force the change in the American policy in favor of the Communist aims.

This sort of campaign reminds me only too clearly of the methods used some time ago by certain elements in the Institute of Pacific Relations for the sellout of China to be Reds. Therefore, it is so much easier now for us to understand and uncover the plot, and to alert the American opinion of the dangers therein.

The Ordeal of Dr. Wirt—Twenty Years Ago This Month the Gary Educator Went Before Inquisitors Because He Reported Communist Trend in New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, the name of Dr. William A. Wirt strikes a familiar note in the minds of many of us. Twenty years ago this month, Dr. Wirt appeared before a congressional committee, and the widely disputed testimony which he then offered has, with the passage of time, made this a most notable case. I believe the article by Charles Collins, which appeared in the April 4 issue of the Chicago Sunday Tribune, is most informative and will serve to refresh our memories.

The article is as follows:

THE ORDEAL OF DR. WIRT—TWENTY YEARS AGO THIS MONTH THE GARY EDUCATOR WENT BEFORE INQUISITORS BECAUSE HE REPORTED COMMUNIST TREND IN NEW DEAL

(By Charles Collins)

In April 1934 a distinguished and creative educator of the Middle West went to the National Capital on a fateful errand.

He was William A. Wirt, doctor of pedagogy, superintendent of schools at Gary, Ind. The occasion of his visit, now viewed in the perspective of 20 years, raised him to heroic stature as the forerunner of an era of awakening resistance to mischievous changes in the political structure of this Republic.

He had been summoned to Washington by a congressional committee to give testimony concerning his announced belief that sinister powers within the New Deal were delaying recovery from the depression and subverting constitutional procedures. Informal talks with officeholders of the Roosevelt regime had caused him to sense an undercurrent of totalitarian purpose, a pattern of communistic thinking and behavior.

Dr. Wirt's examination by this committee, composed of 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans, became an inquisition. He was denied the aid of formal counsel. James A. Reed, former Senator from Missouri, whom he had retained, was permitted to sit with him only as a friendly adviser without privilege of cross-examination or calling witnesses in rebuttal.

His freedom of narration was pinioned with technical restraints and scorched by sneering comments. The intention of the chairman, Alfred L. Bullwinkle, Democrat, of North Carolina, and his two Democratic associates, John J. O'Connor, of New York, and William W. Arnold, of Illinois, was evident through the hearings: To deride him as an irresponsible busybody and expose him as a total liar. Immediately afterward, a torrent of mendacious gossip was poured upon him by people to whom the atmosphere of the New Deal seemed a beneficent climate of utopian achievement. A national gale of mocking laughter, to which a large portion of the American press contributed, accompanied Dr. Wirt on his homeward trip.

Two days after the disclosure of Wirt's suspicions, however, the Chicago Tribune said in an editorial:

"The remarks on the ultimate possibilities of the New Deal ascribed to unnamed members of the brain trust by William Wirt are too significant to be ignored either in Congress or the Nation. * * * It is no news that in the present regime in Washington there are men who think the American order has proved to be a failure and would have us accept a revolutionary substitution as soon as politically practicable."

The cliques in Government bureaus against whose revolutionary purposes he had spoken discredited Dr. Wirt with push-button swiftness. Moreover, they later sidetracked the first confession of Whittaker Chambers.

Four years afterward, Chambers went to Adolf Berle, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of security, with detailed information on Communist cells in Government departments. Berle promptly reported the incident to President Roosevelt, who answered him with sarcastic laughter. Chambers heard nothing about the effect of his revelations until 9 years had passed and the sensational case of Alger Hiss was opened. Then a murmur was heard in every corner of the Nation:

"Remember Dr. Wirt? Perhaps he was clairvoyant."

Dr. Wirt's original remarks on underground trends in Washington had emphasized, unfortunately for him, a small, informal dinner party in an old house at McLean, Va., suburban to the capital. He had been invited there as guest of honor. Six others were present:

Alice Barrows, the hostess, a former assistant of Wirt's in school administration, then employed in the Federal Bureau of Education; Hildegarde Kneeland, an economist in the Department of Agriculture; Mary Taylor, assistant to the counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Authority; Laurence Todd, then Washington correspondent for a labor news agency, soon to become correspondent for Tass, the Soviet news agency; David C. Coyle, an engineering and designing adviser for the Public Works Administration, and Robert W. Bruere of the advisory board of the Cotton Textile Code Authority.

Dr. Wirt had not described this assembly of minor figures on New Deal payrolls as a meeting of formidable conspirators, but hasty readers of newspapers had assumed that such was his intention. But he had quoted remarks heard at the dinner which, when bellowed by angry Congressmen, became a national sensation. He had said:

"In Washington a group of theoretically trained young men, sincere but inexperienced, wields great influence. This group is guiding the country to the left, toward what it calls a planned economy, but which, in reality, is the road to communism.

"I was told they believe that, by thwarting our then evident recovery (from the depression), they would be able to prolong the country's destitution until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate business and industry."

He had quoted a member of the dinner party as saying:

"We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution."

That paragraph concerning the President caused millions of Roosevelt idolaters to seethe with indignation and to scream for retaliation. In effect, they shouted until the welkin rang:

"Lese majesty. Sacrilege. The Great White Father has been insulted.

Rhetorical comparisons associating Roosevelt with leaders of the Bolshevist revolution in Russia were then prevalent in pseudo-intellectual and fellow-traveler circles. Wirt testified that he had heard similar remarks at other gatherings in Washington before the suburban dinner party that touched him off. His quotation was an echo from leftist cocktail hour chatter. As a thunderbolt, it was slightly second-hand.

Nevertheless, among Democratic statesmen, jowls became red and eyes fiery. To soothe their embarrassment, a scapegoat was required, and so the investigating committee, overruling able opposition from its two Republican members, Harold McGugin, of Kansas, and Frederick L. Lehlback, of New Jersey, proceeded to place the man who had published the affront in that role.

The other members of the dinner party were summoned to tell their side of the story. They were also required to report before the meeting to the chairman, Bulwinkle—a name that might have been invented by Charles Dickens—for instructions on the time and place of the hearing, and how to get there. Bulwinkle explained later that he wanted to be sure they would not go astray in the corridors of the New House Office Building.

Were they also rehearsed or instructed about their testimony? The question arose at the time. It was pertinent then; it remains so. "Of course not," they answered in happy chorus, one and all, including Bulwinkle, of North Carolina.

Nevertheless, they testified with unanimity that at the dinner they had heard nothing like Dr. Wirt's account of it. In fact, they said they had heard only Dr. Wirt himself, talking, talking, talking, from 7 to 11 p. m., about economic theories of finance, and that they had been greatly bored by him. They added feline remarks about breach of hospitality and that commandment which warns, "Thou shalt not bear false witness."

In his testimony, Dr. Wirt mentioned Todd, the journalist of Soviet coloration, and Miss Kneeland, a zealot for labor unions, as the only backtalkers, with Miss Taylor in acquiescence. He agreed that the three others had avoided debate, and that he had talked with his usual volubility, perhaps too much.

Thus Dr. Wirt was pilloried by the witnesses he had named. Thus he was placed on public view as a questionable character, perhaps a case for a psychiatrist.

But he had foreseen and foretold the course that the investigation would take. He had prepared notes for his method of answering in this hostile situation. Whenever possible, he would deviate from direct answering to remarks on larger aspects of the subject.

So he managed to bring into his testimony the names of six men whom he suspected of being leaders in a widespread conspiracy to change the Government of the United States into a socialistic dictatorship that would absorb free enterprise into a planned economy. He named and gave his reasons for naming:

Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Rexford Gug Tugwell, Wallace's chief assistant; Milburn L. Wilson, of the Department of the Interior; Robert Kohn, of the Public Works Administration; Frederic C. Howe, of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; and Henry T. Rainey, Speaker of the House.

He challenged the committee to summon these men for examination of their political theories and careers in Government service. The chairman ignored this demand.

Then Dr. Wirt returned to Gary and resumed the work to which he had dedicated his life. It was a new technique in education from the kindergarten through high school, nationally famous under three titles: the platoon school, the duplicate school, and the work study play school. The first title is in most common use.

Dr. Wirt had come to Gary in 1907 after teaching and executive experience in smaller communities—Redkey (his birthplace), Greencastle (his college town), and Bluffton, all in Indiana. He remained there as superintendent of schools until his death, aged 64, 4 years after his courageous adventure in Washington. He was fondly admired in many thousands of Gary families. He was in constant demand as a speaker at meetings of patriotic societies.

The hatred of the political elements whose motives he had questioned pursued him through the last years of his life. Occasionally the radio hookup for a public address would fail when he came to the microphone. A suit for damages of $400,000 was filed against him by Rose Scheiderman, a leader of union labor movements among women, because he had mentioned her by the nickname, "Rose of Anarchy." (This suit never came to trial.)

A teachers' union in the Gary schools manifested vexatious opposition to aspects of his pedagogy. Political hostility to his tenure of appointment was stirred up among the steel mill workers. A Federal investigator from Chicago appeared in Gary to demand a copy of the school budget. He returned the documents after 10 days without comment or explanation of his purpose.

Strains and tensions from such attempts at reprisal, added to his dynamic devotion to his professional duties, slowly wore down his health but not his valiant spirit. A heart condition crept upon him and ended his brilliant career on March 11, 1938. His widow continues his tradition, with which she was associated before and during their marriage, as supervisor of auditoriums and dramatics.

In 1940, John J. O'Connor, former Congressman from New York and participant in the Wirt hearing, made public apology for his share in the inquisition. He issued a statement for distribution by the Associated Press under the title "Confession Is Good for the Soul," in which he said:

"The procedural motion, which I personally presented, limited the hearings to an examination of Dr. Wirt under oath to bring out the names and the exact statements of his informants. He was not allowed to have counsel crossexamined witnesses, nor was he called in rebuttal after they had presented their well staged denials.

"I use the phrase 'well staged' advisedly, because 6 of them met and rehearsed their denials of what they had told Dr. Wirt.

"I took a leading part as prosecutor and inquisitor. What a tossing around Wirt did get. Members of the House who then took the New Deal as a cult denounced and excoriated the doctor on the floor and in the press. Little did we know that most of the happenings which Dr. Wirt said the plotters had predicted would come to pass.

"Many times, privately, I have apologized for my part in turning the thumbscrews, and I take this occasion to do so publicly. May Dr. Wirt's honest, patriotic soul rest in peace. His was the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

In 1939, the Gary school board dedicated an impressive new building to his memory and gave it his name. Today, in this school, students often pause in the main corridor to gaze at a portrait of the founder, handsomely framed, and to read the memorial tablet below it. The inscription, written by Herbert S. Jones, Dr. Wirt's successor, bears eloquent testimony to his character and achievements:

"William A. Wirt, Friend of Children and Master Teacher;

"Idealist with power to transform ideals into accomplishments; dreamer of a child world and builder of a school where children make a world for themselves; advocate of work, study, and play, each in its place and

each for every child; creator of a system of adult education to improve the day's work and to enrich the day's leisure; believer in all forms of art as ennobling influences in the formation of character. The world is richer for his life and childhood for generations will be blessed by his teaching."

Recognition is dawning for the forerunner whose utterances were lost in the New Deal wilderness 20 years ago. To observe the anniversary, a resolution to name a street after Dr. Wirt has been brought to the attention of the Gary City Council.

Thoughts on the H-Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL E. NEAL
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the lead editorial from the Grafton Sentinel, Grafton, W. Va., for Friday, April 2, 1954. I think Editor Monte F. Bourjaily has made a very factual, practical presentation. The editorial follows:

THOUGHTS ON THE H-BOMB

All who saw the destruction the hydrogen bomb wrought say it's unbelievable. It would "take out" the metropolitan area of New York, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission says.

Suppose the madmen in the Kremlin should decide it's now or never. Suppose they sneak a hydrogen bomb attack as their last chance of winning and ruling the world.

They would figure that the quickest way to knock us out would be to obliterate Washington and the American line of command by wiping out all officialdom.

One hydrogen bomb can do that now.

Washington would be snuffed out without a trace.

The Commander in Chief, the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all the headquarters personnel of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard, the Atomic Energy Commission, the State Department, the Treasury, all the other departments and agencies, the Congress, all would go.

Such a possibility would appeal to the diabolic rule-or-ruin cunning of the would-be world conquerors.

Suppose the bomb finds its target.

Do we have duplicate defense plans hidden away and a skeleton staff that is safely dispersed and can act immediately to organize the counterblow that will retaliate in kind?

Are men and war plans out of the prime danger zone who could act to safeguard the Nation in the face of the paralysis of Government?

Who will command? We can trust our military in the field to instant action. But this is a civilian government. Who will they look to for orders and supplies?

The hydrogen bomb compels such questions. It compels that agonizing reappraisal not alone of our alliances but of our domestic preparations.

The law of succession stops with 13 people—Vice President, Speaker, President pro tempore of the Senate, and the 10 Cabinet members. It should go on through the Federal Establishment and even the State governors, to make sure proper authority is provided for the crisis.

There are enough retired former Chiefs of Staff to reconstitute a new Joint Chiefs. Provision should be made either for their immediately resuming office, or others in the field taking office, to give the military authorized direction.

Every necessary function of Government to wage war should be duplicated with skeleton staffs completely familiar with all details who can take over should their superiors be destroyed.

This Nation and the free world which looks to it for leadership must be assured that no single obliterating bomb or a number of such bombs can destroy our ability to retaliate, to destroy, and to send to perdition those who would launch the sneak attack that would set the world on fire.

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the wage ceiling in the Social Security Act imposes not one but two inequities upon people who thought they would benefit under this program. Those who are obliged to continue at work must not only forfeit their benefits, but are obliged to continue to contribute their social-security taxes to the program, although they do not receive one cent in added benefits for these contributions when they finally retire. Congress ought, in my judgment, to eliminate one or the other of these inequities, and preferably both.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in Jackson Heights, N. Y., which accurately reflects, I believe, the sense of dismay and resentment caused by these provisions in the act. How long are we going to allow them to remain?

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N. Y.,
February 3, 1953.

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Under date of January 27, you wrote to Mr. John J. Reardon of Jackson Heights Post, 298, American Legion, and sent him enclosed with your letter, a copy of the bill H. R. 1406.

I operate from the same office as Mr. Reardon and I am writing this letter because I think from the way the bill reads, as I interpret it, I am personally seriously affected by the law passed a year ago.

Up to that time, I had been paying into social security for about 10 years and under the old law, no matter what my earnings were, I was entitled to collect monthly payments and so was my wife who was also over 65.

Early in 1952 when I was advised of the change in the law and had already received a couple of months payments, I found it necessary, and was so advised by the administrator in my area since I live at 309 West 103d Street, Manhattan, that I return the payments which were made to me and that all checks thereafter would stop, if I thought I could earn an average of $75 a month in the year 1952.

I thought then, and I think now, although I have returned the payments in 1952 which had been made to me, that this was an unfair law to pass after I had turned 65 merely because a real-estate broker was to be included in social security so that not only did payments stop in January 1952, but I now find myself with a notice from the social-security office that I am to make a report on my earnings for 1952 and will be advised, based on these earnings, what contribution I should make to the social-security fund. I think this is not only unreasonable, so far as I am concerned or anyone else over 65, prior to the passage of the new act and have asked a nephew of mine, who is an attorney, to check into the question whether such a law can be construed as retroactive and in violation of my rights.

However, I want to congratulate you in having pointed out in your bill, as you state in your letter, "The ceiling imposed on 65-to-75-year-old beneficiaries is so patently unfair in my judgment as to require action as soon as possible."

I shall be very grateful if you would kindly keep me posted and advise me if there is anything else I can do to bring about a change to clear the atmosphere.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL S. TOBACK.

Rightwing Papers Need Rightwing Writers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article that appeared in Human Events for March 17. The article has considerable merit and the writer puts his finger on a very important subject:

RIGHTWING PAPERS NEED RIGHTWING WRITERS
(By Handicapper)

A few weeks ago Drew Pearson, in a confidential aside to his public, mentioned a conversation with President Eisenhower at the Paris GHQ of NATO in 1952. "I had the temerity to point out," wrote Pearson, "that his chief problem as President would be with the isolationist wing of the Republican Party, the China lobby, and one of its chief spokesmen, Senator MCCARTHY."

A politician wiser to the tricks of the trade than Mr. Eisenhower was at that time might have suspected what Pearson was trying to convey; namely, that unless Eisenhower and his administration played second fiddle to the Fair Deal Democrats, Eisenhower could expect a steady drumfire from liberal columnists, pink Washington correspondents, and eggheaded commentators. Pearson reported that the Ike of 1952 listened carefully, but it was obvious from the questions he asked that he did not understand that phase of the problem ahead of him. Today, of course, he certainly should understand it.

Indeed he should. Even since Eisenhower was sworn into office—rather, ever since his nomination—the general has been relentlessly pursued by a group of Fair Deal reporters and commentators whose objective is to sucker the President into statements and acts which will divide the Republican Party and thereby make straight the way for Adlai Stevenson, or some other crypto-liberal Messiah, to march into the White House. Those who read the efforts of Pearson, les freres Alsop, Tom Stokes, Marquis Childs, or Roscoe Drummond, not to mention the works

of several White House reporters, realize that the campaign is on.

But the astounding aspect of this well-oiled anti-GOP and anti-Eisenhower propaganda drive is that it is made possible by conservative and Republican newspaper publishers and sponsors of radio and television broadcasts, who worked like crazy to get Truman out of the White House and Eisenhower in. Millions of readers and listeners throughout the United States are assailed daily by skillful if often pompous Fair Deal propaganda paid for by rich and presumably anti-Fair Deal sponsors.

This battle goes back to the 1952 Eisenhower campaign, when, on the basis of some irresponsible statements about DICK NIXON'S private finances, the Fair Deal commentators attempted to blow the GOP campaign out of the water before it had more than cleared the breakwater. It has persisted with endless variations through the President's press conferences and up and down the congressional committee hearing rooms, from one dubious crisis to the next, until it would seem that the education of Dwight Eisenhower ought to be complete.

Invariably, or almost invariably, the boys palm off their propaganda as if their purpose was to save Eisenhower from bad advice by isolationists and other wicked goldbrick salesmen. Attorney General Brownell's revelations of Harry Dexter White's real identity was described by Marquis Childs as "a two-edged sword." He feared that many who were behind Mr. Eisenhower in the campaign last year believed he would end the divisiveness and distrust. It seems the exposure of a Red spy in the Truman fold was a form of—you guessed it—McCarthyism. Tom Stokes allowed how the White affair indicated that the GOP's dirty political slip was showing.

To Roscoe Drummond, the squabble between Secretary of the Army Stevens and JOE MCCARTHY represents the peak of irresponsibility, although he doesn't say just how. Even a Fair Dealer can hardly have forgotten the Pearl Harbor investigations, the hearings to probe the firing of MacArthur, or even the Truman committee to ride herd on the armed services during World War II. The irresponsibility, therefore, would appear to consist in JOE MCCARTHY'S rhetoric, and not in the right of Congress to ask questions of brigadier generals. The irresponsibility of the gentlemen of the press who represented the Army as surrendering to MCCARTHY is something which has to be left to the consciences of our gullible press lords. They bought it.

It was largely in Republican, or crypto-Republican, newspapers that the Alsop brothers launched their time bomb against Dr. Clarence Manion, of Notre Dame, who had agreed to serve as Chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Dr. Manion's views are mainly those of Eisenhower's 1952 campaign contributors, not to mention the speechmakers and the Republican platform. To the Alsops, Dr. Manion was a professional orator before extreme rightwing Republican audiences. For extreme rightwing read anti-Fair Deal. Nevertheless, out went Dr. Manion, apparently for sponsoring the sorely needed Bricker amendment. For once the column cabal appeared to have allies inside the stockade.

Also, according to Pearson, it is necessary to save the President from the China lobby—meaning those who stand behind our firm ally, Chiang Kai-shek, as opposed to the diplomats who still plot an Asiatic Munich. In plugging the familiar anti-Chiang line, Pearson managed to touch up at least four Senators and to accuse Mr. Eisenhower of repudiating his Secretary of State in behalf of the China lobby. The President's adherence to the firm American policy toward China seemed disappointing to Pearson. He reported (April 25, 1953) that he had earlier tipped off the President to the inequities of the China lobby's pet Senators, but the President, then new in politics, expressed incredulity that United States Senators would accept campaign expenses from the China lobby. It could be, of course, that Mr. Eisenhower was not so new in politics as to regard Pearson as the best available tutor in the art.

Of course "McCarthyism" is the catalytic agent by meant of which the Fair Deal press crowd hopes to encompass the fall of Eisenhower and the defeat of the Republican administration. Every presidential press conference must postpone important news while the little group of Fair Deal troublemakers goes through the routine of leading the President into trouble. Up to now he has managed to cakewalk over the mined field with considerable skill.

But if he expresses the view that congressional committees should not use rough language to Army officers, or that it would be unfair to say that all Democrats are traitors, the newspapers (including "right-wing" newspapers) can be relied on to report next day that Eisenhower has rebuked MCCARTHY, or "showed his displeasure" with MCCARTHY, or indicated that next week he will give MCCARTHY the business. It seems that (Stewart Alsop) "McCarthyism and its twin, McLeodism, are reducing all but the bravest American foreign representatives to timid automatons."

Therefore it is the duty of the Fair Deal propagandists to push MCCARTHY down the President's throat until he decides to be "master of his own house"—meaning an instrument of the Fair Dealers in their campaign to smash the GOP. "Disinterested journalists" in Washington even go so far as to make the daily MCCARTHY story out of whole cloth. Thus somebody mouse-trapped MCCARTHY into snapping at Secretary of Defense Wilson by misrepresenting what Wilson had said about Communists in the Army. Actually what Wilson said was largely an endorsement of MCCARTHY'S efforts.

In the same package with the fiction that, on account of "McCarthyism," American writers live in such fear and trepidation that they never know whether the Book of the Month Club is going to take their next book, the left-of-center columnists include this one: That congressional investigations are ruining our reputation abroad. "The effects of McCarthyism is spreading doubt and distrust of America in Europe cannot be disputed" (Marquis Childs).

Mr. Brownell's re-exposure of the late Harry Dexter White, also according to Mr. Childs, was calculated to cause Europeans to feel that we lacked "political maturity and sobriety." Walter Lippmann and Mrs. Roosevelt have beaten their breasts mournfully over the destruction of American prestige by MCCARTHY and his ilk. Lippmann hysterically urged the President to go out and challenge MCCARTHY on the ground that otherwise MCCARTHY will "go on until he is master of the party." In other words, "Let's you and him fight!"

On this matter of who is responsible for the alleged loss of America's good name abroad and the terror that walketh at noonday in Grub Street, we have some interesting recent testimony. After one of the Senator's hearings, a former Communist, Peter A. Gragis, who had been employed in the plant of the Federal Telecommunications Laboratory at Nutley, N. J., said, according to the New York Times (March 11), that "he was certain that other former Communists would also come forward to tell their stories if they were not deterred by stories that Senator MCCARTHY would 'abuse and crucify' them. Mr. Gragis said a false picture had been painted by 'left-wing and Communist newspapers' and even by 'respectable newspapers.' In the latter group he named the New York Herald Tribune, Newsday (Long Island) and the Washington Post."

If respectability consists in printing distorted accounts of congressional investigations, thereby deterring reformed Communists from coming forward to aid in thwarting the Red conspiracy in our midst, then lead us to the Penny Dreadfuls! Senator MCCARTHY'S manners in public may not be as suave as those of some of his hoity-toity critics, but, like the geese of the Capitoline, he is doing his best to warn the Republic of its danger. Somehow or other the painted embarrassment of our columnar friends in the face of the supposed disapproval of refined and "neutralist" Europe will have to be endured. So will the stunned dread of intellectuals who would rather leave a Communist cell in the Army undisturbed than hear sharp words addressed to a general—unless, of course, the gentral happened to be Douglas MacArthur.

The left-wing purpose of inflating "McCarthyism" beyond any semblance of reality is to discredit and eventually destroy the investigatory powers of Congress. If MCCARTHY should go under, the boys would promptly set up JENNER in the next alley, and so on down the line until the last man with the guts to challenge the NKVD operatives in our midst had been disposed of. Just how this transparent Kremlin objective is transferred to the intellectuals and egg-headed columnists who are not Communists—and to the rich publishers, also not Communists, who pay the Fair Deal columnists—is the mystery of the present time.

If the conservative, "extreme right-wing" Tories who own most of the newspapers or advertise their wares on the radio want to "give both sides" by sponsoring Fair Deal columnists, well and good. These journalists are capable and persuasive men who have some popular following. Nobody wants to see them begging for bread.

But is it unreasonable to expect the newspapers actually to give both sides? They might expose their customers also to the enlightening influence of David Lawrence, Raymond Moley, George Sokolsky, Frank R. Kent, and a few others who can still write the news without first asking themselves, "Would F. D. R. like it?" Many newspapers publish these conservative commentators, but I have an idea that statistics will prove that even Mrs. Roosevelt has more "outlets," and in conservative newspapers, too, than any of the "extreme rightists" just mentioned!

Really, the moderate conservative American press needs to get on to itself. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed," except on loaded alfalfa. Something needs to be done to persuade conservatives that it isn't smart to spend 20 years trying to get a Republican administration and then pay New Deal columnists to get the Democrats and left-wingers back in again.

Political Fate of Those Who Voted For and Against Labor-Management Bills

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, following is what might be said to be the political death rate or at least the political fate of those in the House and Senate who voted for and against the Taft-Hartley Act, the Wood bill, and the Case bill. To

put it another way, the continuity and longevity of the lifeline of those Members of the House and Senate who voted for law and order in labor-management relations is encouraging.

It will be of special interest to the new Members of Congress, especially the 156 Members of the House who have not voted on such legislation. They will have an opportunity to vote on the Taft-Hartley amendments soon. They will be interested to know what happened to those who preceded them who recorded their votes on such legislation.

An article which appeared in U. S. News & World Report on March 19, 1954, follows:

DO UNIONS SWING ELECTIONS?—LABOR SUPPORT FOUND NO GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

Voting against unions may not be such a big political risk as sometimes advertised. A survey of postwar rollcalls shows:

More Members of Congress who voted "antiunion" are still around Washington than those who voted "prounion."

As a result, this question is being raised: Are unions getting a god return from the big money spent on politics?

Evidence now is being produced to show that the power of labor leaders to swing elections is not as great as sometimes claimed. Election returns of recent years, when viewed against the voting records of Members of Congress, indicate that American voters tend to be rather independent of voting pressures from organized labor.

Analysis of these election returns leads to the conclusion that, more often than not, it is politically safe to vote against labor leaders on legislation pending in Congress. What is shown is that more Senators and Representatives have been defeated for public office after voting for union-supported measures than after voting against such measures.

This analysis is contained in a study prepared by a private group and now being circulated among some members of Congress. The study is entitled, "What Happened To Members of Congress Who Voted on Labor Issues?" It covers the voting records of all Members of the Senate and House of Representatives on three major pieces of labor legislation that were before Congress in 1946, 1947, and 1949. The report shows how Members of Congress have fared at the polls since voting on these labor bills.

LABOR'S INFLUENCE

The study proves to the satisfaction of those who made it that labor leaders "do not possess the power to remove elected representatives who oppose their will." It further indicates to those who made the study that elections usually are decided on issues other than those stressed by labor groups.

Contrary to the belief of many politicians, influence of unions does not necessarily follow a geographic pattern, the report also indicates. Prolabor Senators and Congressmen are not always sure of victory even in highly industrialized areas. Conversely, a Member of Congress with a voting record that labor considers 100-percent antiunion finds himself winning handily in the same kind of industrial areas.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft's reelection in 1950 is an example. Union leaders considered Senator Taft to be labor's No. 1 enemy and went all out to beat him that year. Yet he won easily and showed majorities in his State's industrial cities. The situation in Pennsylvania also is cited. Voters of that industrial State defeated two Senators who, in 1946, consistently supported the union line.

VOTERS' REACTIONS

The report cites an example in Illinois. A Senator from Illinois who voted against the union leaders was defeated in 1948, while another Senator who sometimes voted with labor and sometimes against it was defeated in 1950. In Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, since 1946, the voters have returned all Senators who consistently opposed the labor line, the report notes.

Rocky Mountain States were once represented by a bloc of Senators with prounion voting records, but the report cites a swing away from labor in Idaho, Utah, and Arizona. Nevada, on the other hand, has two Senators who voted with labor consistently on the three issues used as a test, while a prolabor Representative was defeated in 1952.

Changes in some Southern States also are noted in the report. A Tennessee Senator who voted against labor leaders has been replaced by one who voted prolabor in House and Senate. The other Senator from Tennessee, the report states, sometimes favored, sometimes opposed labor's viewpoint, but he was replaced by a former House Member with a similar voting record.

As further indication that votes on labor questions do not necessarily determine the success or failure of a candidate, the report points to results in Georgia. Here two Congressmen who voted against the labor line were defeated in 1946, but were replaced by men who since then have voted against union leaders. Another example is given: A district in South Carolina has changed Representatives from time to time, but all have voted against the union leaders since 1946.

Sentiment in Congress at present, as revealed in votes of those recorded earlier on labor measures, is shown to be predominantly opposed to the views of the labor leaders. In the present Senate 78 of the 90 Members have taken a stand on labor bills, either by votes in the Senate or by their votes in the House before moving to the other Chamber. The breakdown shows that 45 of these Senators voted consistently against bills advocated by unions, 9 had a varied voting record, and 24 consistently lined up with the unions.

Of the 435 Members of the present House, 279 are shown to have voted on labor bills. Of these, 141 have voted consistently against unions, 84 have voted with union leaders, and 54 have been "inconsistent." The report puts a Member of Congress in the "inconsistent" column if he failed to take a position on any of the bills or if he voted with labor leaders on some and against them on others.

The study of voting records used for its first test a labor bill introduced in 1946 by FRANCIS CASE, of South Dakota. He then was a Representative, now is a Senator. The Case bill restricted union activities, was passed by Congress and vetoed by President Truman. In the House the vote on sustaining the veto was used as a test, and in the Senate the test vote was on passage of the bill.

Enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 provided two more tests for those who made the study. Votes in the Senate and House on overriding a Presidential veto were used. The remaining tests were on legislation in 1949. In that year the Senate blocked a move to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act by adopting a substitute measure offered by Senator Taft. In the House a major test came on a bill introduced by Democrat JOHN S. WOOD, a Representative from Georgia. His bill, a substitute for a repeal measure, was adopted but later returned to committee. This latter vote is used as a test in the study. Union leaders wanted the bill recommitted as a means of killing it. Out of it all no changes were made in Taft-Hartley in 1949.

FIFTY-TWO SENATORS VOTED ANTILABOR IN 1949; STILL IN OFFICE; 38

The 1949 votes provided the latest big tests in Congress on labor legislation.

In the Senate the Taft bill—opposed by labor—passed by a vote of 51 to 42, with 34 Republicans and 17 Democrats supporting it. Two other Senators were paired, one in favor of the bill, the other against. The study includes those who expressed themselves for or against the bills in pairs, as well as those who actually were registered as voting.

Of the 52 who declared themselves against the labor leaders on the Taft bill, 38 are shown to be still in the Senate. Six were defeated for reelection or for other public offices. One went to a State court post, 2 retired, and 5 died in office.

Voting against the bill, and backing labor's position, were 8 Republicans and 35 Democrats. Of these, 25 still are Senators, and 12 have been defeated for public office. Two were appointed or elected to other offices, 1 retired, and 3 died in office.

On a percentage basis, the report finds that 73 percent of the Senators who voted against the labor leaders remain in the Senate, compared with 58 percent of those who voted for the labor viewpoint. Twelve percent of the antilabor group have been defeated while 28 percent of the prolabor Senators lost at the polls.

The House test in 1949 came on the Wood bill. Labor won the test by a score of 212 to 209, when the bill was returned to committee, where it died. On that test, 18 Republicans, 193 Democrats and an American Labor Party member voted to support the union leaders. Four others were paired for recommittal. These 216 prolabor votes divide up like this: 118 still are in the House, 65 were defeated, 10 went to other offices, 12 retired, and 11 died in office.

On record against the labor leaders in this move were 150 Republicans and 63 Democrats. Of these, 149 still are in the House, while 12 met defeat. Eleven went to other offices, 30 retired, and 11 died in office.

The report scores it this way: 55 percent of the prolabor members are still in the House, against 70 percent who opposed the labor leaders on this recommittal move. Thirty percent of the prolabor members met defeat, compared with 6 percent opposed to the labor position.

Of the six major tests listed in the report, a House vote in 1947 was the only one where the antilabor group subsequently suffered a higher ratio of defeats at the pools than did the prolabor group.

What happened to those who had the courage to vote their own convictions and oppose the dictates of the PAC

SENATE

	Defeated at polls		Now in Senate	
	With PAC	Against PAC	With PAC	Against PAC
Passage of Case bill (1946)	16	15	11	22
Override Taft-Hartley veto (1947)	8	17	14	35
Passage of Labor-Management Relations Act (1949)	12	6	25	38

HOUSE

	Defeated at polls		Now in House	
	With PAC	Against PAC	With PAC	Against PAC
Override Case bill veto (1946)	51	58	51	113
Override Taft-Hartley veto (1947)	19	81	41	160
Recommit Wood bill (1949)	65	12	118	149

NOTE.—The remaining Members were appointed or elected to another office, retired, or died in office.

1946 Senate—Recapitulation of vote on passage of Case bill

[Passed May 25, 1947, 40 to 20]

	Yea—Against labor bosses		Nay—With labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Total Members
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	
Total vote cast	32	17	4	[1] 23	36	[1] 42		6	
Declared pairs	3	7		2	3	9			
Total declared positions	35	24	4	[1] 27	39	[1] 51		6	96
Now in Senate	12	10	3	8	15	18		1	
Appointed or elected to another office	1	1		1	1	2			
Defeated	9	6	1	[1] 15	10	[1] 21		3	
Retired	7	3		2	7	5			
Died in office	6	4		1	6	5		2	
Total	35	24	4	[1] 27	39	[1] 51		6	
Defeated and reelected				[2] 1		[2] 1			
Vote cast in House by Members now in Senate	6	5	2	6	8	11			

[1] Includes LaFollette (Progressive).
[2] Mitchell of Washington was appointed to the U. S. Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Wallgren and served from Jan. 10, 1945, until his resignation Dec. 25, 1946. He was an unsuccessful candidate for election to the U. S. Senate in 1946; elected to 81st Cong.; not a candidate for renomination in 1952; unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Washington in 1952.

1947 Senate—Recapitulation of vote to override veto of Taft-Hartley

[Overridden June 23, 1947, 68 to 25]

	Yea—Against labor bosses		Nay—With labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Total Members
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	
Total vote cast	48	20	3	22	51	42		1	
Declared pairs				2		2			
Total declared positions	48	20	3	24	51	44		1	96
Now in Senate	24	11	3	11	27	22			
Appointed or elected to another office	1	1		2	1	3			
Defeated	13	4		8	13	12			
Retired	4	3		2	4	5			
Died in office	6	1		1	6	2		1	
Total	48	20	3	24	51	44		1	
Defeated and reelected	2				2				
Vote cast in House by Members now in Senate	7	5		5	7	10			

1949 Senate—Passage of Labor-Management Relations Act

[Passed June 30, 1949, 51 to 42]

	Yea—Against labor bosses		Nay—With labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Vacancies [1]	Total Members
	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats		
Total vote cast	34	17	7	35	41	52				
Declared pairs		1	1		1	1				
Total declared positions	34	18	8	35	42	53			1	96
Now in Senate	24	14	5	20	29	34				
Appointed or elected to another office	1			2	1	2				
Defeated	5	1	2	10	7	11				
Retired		2		1		3				
Died in office	4	1	1	2	5	3				
Total	34	18	8	35	42	53			1	
Defeated and reelected				1						

WOOD BILL

	Against recommittal		For recommittal		Total	
	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats
Vote cast in House by Members now in Senate	5			7	5	7

[1] Wagner of New York resigned June 28, 1949.

1946 House—Recapitulation of vote to override President's veto of Case bill

[Defeated June 11, 1946, 255 to 135]

	Yea—Against labor bosses		Nay—With labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Vacancies [1]	Total Members
	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats		
Total vote cast	159	96	16	[2] 119	175	[2] 215	12	18	3	
Declared pairs	5	3	1	3	6	6				
Total declared positions	164	99	17	[2] 122	181	[2] 221	12	18	3	435
Now in House	75	38	6	45	81	83	5	7		
Appointed or elected to another office	11	8	2	11	13	19	1	1		
Defeated	34	24	5	[2] 46	39	[2] 70	3	4		
Retired	31	22	1	9	32	31	3	6		
Died in office	13	7	3	11	16	18				
Total	164	99	17	[2] 122	181	[2] 221	12	18		
Defeated and reelected	7	2	1	14	8	16		1		

[1] New Mexico at large, Pennsylvania 30, and Virginia 5. [2] Includes Marcantonio (American Labor Party).

NOTE.—25 Members were defeated for an elective office and subsequently elected to such an office. They are shown in the detailed listing which follows immediately under the following States: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

1947 House—Recapitulation of vote to override veto of Taft-Hartley

[Overridden June 20, 1947, 331 to 83]

	Yea—Against labor bosses		Nay—With labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Vacancies [1]	Total Members
	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats	Republicans	Democrats		
Total vote cast	225	106	11	[2] 72	236	[2] 178	4	7	4	
Declared pairs	3	1		2	3	3				
Total declared positions	228	107	11	[2] 74	239	[2] 181	4	7	4	435
Now in House	103	62	4	37	107	99	2	3		
Appointed or elected to another office	15	8		8	15	16				
Defeated	69	12	4	[2] 15	73	[2] 27	1	1		
Retired	29	19		5	29	24	1	2		
Died in office	12	6	3	9	15	15		1		
Total	228	107	11	[2] 74	239	[2] 181	4	7		
Defeated and reelected	13	2	1		14	2				

[1] Maryland 3, Michigan 11, Pennsylvania 8, and Washington 3.
[2] Includes Marcantonio (American Labor Party).

NOTE.—16 Members were defeated for an elective office and subsequently elected to such an office. They are shown in the detailed listing which follows immediately under the following States: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah and Wisconsin.

1949 House—Recapitulation of vote to recommit Wood bill

[Agreed to May 4, 1949, 212 to 209]

	Yea—with labor bosses		Nay—against labor bosses		Total		Absent or general pair inconsistently		Vacancies [1]	Total Members
	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat		
Total vote cast	18	[2] 194	147	62	165	[2] 256		4	2	
Declared pairs	3	1	3	1	6	2				
Total declared positions	21	[2] 195	150	63	171	[2] 258		4	2	435
Now in House	14	104	104	45	118	149		1		
Appointed or elected to another office		10	10	1	10	11				
Defeated	2	[2] 63	8	4	10	[2] 67		2		
Retired	2	10	21	9	23	19				
Died in office	3	8	7	4	10	12		1		
Total	21	[2] 195	150	63	171	[2] 258		4		
Defeated and reelected		17				17				

[1] New York 20 and Pennsylvania 22.
[2] Includes Marcantonio (American Labor Party).

NOTE.—17 Members were defeated for an elective office and subsequently elected to such an office. They are shown in the detailed listing which follows immediately under the following States: California, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Should United States Import More?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Should United States Import More?" written by me and published in the Foreign Policy Monthly Bulletin of March 15, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD UNITED STATES IMPORT MORE?

(By Hon. GEORGE W. MALONE, of Nevada)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Senator MALONE, Republican, of Nevada, the only industrial engineer ever elected to the Senate, has long been interested in problems of foreign trade. He is a member of the Senate Committees on Finance and on Interior and Insular Affairs.)

The United States should continue to import all of the more than 200,000 listed commodities and materials from foreign countries that are needed to supplement our own production.

Approximately 100,000 such commodities and materials are economically produced in this Nation, and supplemental imports of such materials should be on the basis of fair and reasonable competition, with the flexible duty or tariff making up the difference between the wage-standard of living here and that in the chief competitive nation abroad.

Quantities of more than 100,000 such materials are being imported from foreign nations without any such duty or tariff, on the assumption that such products do not unduly displace the products of our workers and investors.

GIVE CASH TO BUY

The mistake of the economic one-worlders is to believe that you can force profitable foreign trade between two manufacturing and processing areas such as the United States and the European countries. To do that through foreign aid or through tariff or duty concessions reminds me of two barbers in the same block trying to make a living by shaving each other—when one quits furnishing the eating money the deal is off.

Article I, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States provides that "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect * * * duties, imposts, and excises [tariffs or import fees] * * *; to regulate commerce with foreign nations."

The Congress transferred that constitutional responsibility to the executive branch through the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act, which has been extended from time to time and now expires on June 12, 1954.

The executive branch then, through the State Department, proceeded to inject a political factor in making agreements with foreign nations to lower tariffs and duties on selected commodities, with little or no reference to the difference in the cost of the domestic and foreign product due to the difference in the wage standard of living here and in the country with which such agreements are made.

TAKE PROFIT OUT OF SWEATSHOP LABOR

This procedure by the State Deparment threw out of gear the whole economic principle on the basis of which duties and tariffs had heretofore been regulated by Congress. This basis was fair and reasonable competition—which took the profit out of sweatshop labor.

Under the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act the State Department has proceeded for more than two decades to remake the industrial map of the United States in their own image—the Secretary of State deciding which of the thousands of industries that had grown up in this Nation, in competition on the same basis of wages and taxes, should be preserved and which should be sacrificed on the altar of the one economic world.

For more than 150 years the people of this Nation proceeded to develop the whole country in competition with each other, on approximately the same basis of wages and taxes paid and other factors in proportion, since the duties and tariffs regulated by Congress on the basis of fair and reasonable competition made up the difference in wages and taxes here and abroad.

PRIVATE CAPITAL DISCOURAGED

Now after two decades of the political manipulation of duties and tariffs by the State Department and with the threat of further such manipulation by that body under the 1934 Recriprocal Tariff Act always present, private capital cannot be secured for such industrial investments without an investigation of all foreign nations to determine their ability to compete through the use of thier sweatshop labor in direct competition with American workers and investors.

Let the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act expire one June 12. The regulation of foreign trade would then immediately revert to the Tariff Commission, which is an agent of Congress and which is directed to recommend duties and tariffs based on fair and reasonable competition. This simply takes the profit out of the foreign sweatshop labor and protects the wage-standard of living of the American worker and the American investor. Such a principle does not stop imports but brings them in on the basis of American wages and taxes.

The trade agreements already made remain in full force and effect after the act expires until and unless the President serves 6 months' notice of cancellation upon the country with which such trade agreement is made.

The history of such agreements is that foreign countries with which they are made have never kept the spirit of the agreements but have defeated them through the exercise of quotas, specifications, and manipulation of their currency values in terms of the dollar, including exchange and trade permits.

The trade agreements concluded under the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act have proved a one-way street to divide the markets—the basis of our national income—with the nations which have low-wage living standards.

Our increased foreign trade, over the 4.5 to 5.5 percent of normal trade, has consisted of exports of cash and national defense goods camouflaged as foreign trade.

Our chief export is cash.

The Bryson Bill: H. R. 1227

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD H. POFF
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I quote herewith a letter in the nature of a petition signed by a number of earnest and conscientious constituents vitally interested in the sobriety of our Nation, which petition, I call to the particular attention of Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee:

APRIL 2, 1954.

Representative RICHARD H. POFF,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. POFF: Please ask the chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to grant a hearing on the Bryson bill (H. R. 1227), and please vote for it.

Please present this petition to the House of Representatives and have a note made of it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Serena Lee Board, Mrs. Idella C. Hawkins, Mrs. Marguerite E. Dillon, Mrs. Lydia M. Sink, Hillie L. Viar, Albert S. Viar, Mrs. C. F. Worley, Mrs. J. C. Petitt, Mrs. E. C. Page, Mrs. G. E. Akers, Mrs. H. V. Mims, Mrs. C. W. Adams, Mrs. A. C. Boyd, Mrs. Thos. H. Lambdon, Mrs. Leah Vaughan, Mrs. G. W. Custer, G. W. Custer.

Address by Hon. Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, Before the Airline Medical Examiners Association's Annual Banquet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, on Saturday, March 27, the senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] delivered an address at the annual banquet of the Airline Medical Examiners Association. This association is composed of doctors who carry a great share of the responsibility for safety of passengers in civil aviation. They examine pilots to insure that they meet the physical standards set by the Civil Aeronautics Association.

The senior Senator from Washington has been interested in civil aviation throughout his congressional service. He is especially well-informed on all aspects of aviation as his remarks to the Airline Medical Examiners Association demonstrate. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON, OF WASHINGTON, BEFORE THE AIRLINE MEDICAL EXAMINERS ASSOCIATION ANNUAL BANQUET, SATURDAY, MARCH 27

It is a very real pleasure and privilege to attend this anual meeting of your association—particularly this one because it represents the 25th aniversary of unified action in this comparatively new field of medicine. It also is the seventh annual observance of your formal organization—the formal organization of men primarily interested in civil aviation medicine.

Furthermore, we are just ending the 50th year of powered flight. Your 25th anniversary celebration, however, does not cover the

entire span of medical influence and support of aviation.

For many years have had had a deep interest in aviation and in the development of gear for high-altitude flying. I know, therefore, that the hand of the psysiologist, the physicist, and the men in the clinic has been ever present since man got the notion that he too should make like the birds.

There are over 2,000 members in your association. Though too few people know it, we the flying public, depend upon you for our personal safety as well as the preservation of our property. This is a responsibility that, I am sure, none of you take lightly.

It is largely through your efforts that aviation has been made safe and by the same token will be made safer in the future. You have not attained your safety records by daydreaming or by wishful thinking—but by the sound application of the principles of medicine to this unique field.

I think that one of the highest tributes that can be paid to you as physicians is the fact that, while treating your individual patient and advising him of safety practices, you are at the same time providing for the public safety—for which individual pilots are collectively responsible.

I am not trained in the field of medicine. I do know, however, that you are often deprived of one of your major sources of therapy. Many, times you cannot encourage the pilot, who is your patient, to continue in his chosen vocation.

In those cases you are called upon to weigh the public welfare against the welfare of the individual. In these cases you must exercise the greatest of professional skill in diverting your patient's energies and channeling them to where both the individual and the public interest will be served.

You cannot take this responsibility lightly. You cannot perform it unless you have the proper working tools. You cannot discharge it until you have acquired the experience to properly evaluate the needs and interests of everyone concerned.

These days of international turmoil have dictated that our Nation maintain a strong and every-ready Defense Establishment. Of necessity, therefore, the military has a great responsibility in aviation and a parallel responsibility in military avaiation medicne. Yet, if you take inventory, you will find that the military looks to civilian aviation medicine to develop standards and criteria which will be of assistance to an already hard-pressed, though excellent defense organization. In short, civil aviation medicine is a laboratory, from which comes information and practices, as vital to the military as to civil aviation needs.

One of the great privileges of our democracy is that of constant self-examination. By this process, we determine whether our methods are sound, whether they are in step with progress and changing conditions, whether our results are what we have a right to expect, and whether improvements can be made.

We are in the age of jet propulsion. Soon the jet liner will be on our airways. The demands on pilots who man these giants will be infinitely greater than those of the old DC-3 workhorse, or even our presentday stratocruisers and connies.

The front office of the Boeing stratoliner soon will be as outmoded as the old joy-stick and rudder-bar assembly.

Are you in medicine prepared, first to prescribe, and then to assess, the physical and other human requirements that will be needed for safe performance? Do you know how to advice the passengers on intercontinental flights and on transportation of the aged and infirm? What measures are you taking to be sure that horse-and-buggy methods are not applied to the jet age of flight?

There are questions that I know concern you. They are questions the answers to which you must help us find.

I have been following with great interest the question of pilot aging. I know this problem is causing you great concern. I, of coure, am aware of the recommendation of General Doolittle's airport commission—the recommendation that your association be invited to participate in a study of pilot aging and allied problems. Such a study could could be extended to include most any medical project designed to add to safety in air transit and to the protection of lives and property.

One authority has defined the airplane flight as beginning with the packing of the suitcase. The flight ends when the passenger unpacks his bags at the end of the trip.

This is another way of saying that you in aviation medicine must discover and analyze all factors that might influence the well-being of pilots and passengers—from the time they leave home until they return. Your sphere of influence is great and your responsibilities certainly cannot be regarded as few.

Fred Lee, to my left, has been in aviation for many more years than he cares to remember. He is to be congratulated on his leadership in the establishment of a commission for the study of Federal medical responsibility. Such a study is needed to detemine the proper role of Government in this field. There are some who feel that the Federal Government should not intervene in the physical standards for civil aviation. There are others who would make the standards so restrictive that even Superman could not qualify.

I was surprised to learn that the physical standards in civil aviation have not changed materially since the beginning of Federal regulation of aviation in 1926. There is room here to wonder again about horse and buggy methods.

Our requirements must be made workable; they must be sensible; they must be acceptable to those who are to be governed by them; they must be adequate to our needs and they must not work undue hardship on those who must comply.

In the public interest, once the proper retirement age for aging pilots has been agreed upon, the standards of physical fitness by which retirement is granted must be determined. The same applies to standards of physical fitness for younger pilots.

When this is done, there must be a means of implementing these decisions. There must be a program for educating the public, the pilots, and you as physicians, in the application of the standards of the performance.

Additional legislation may be required. It may be necessary to provide more elaborate working tools and facilities for training specialists in civil-aviation medicine. Certainly, we do not want to send boys out to do a man's job.

As I said earlier, General Doolittle has recommended that the problem of pilot aging be thoroughly studied. If we take that recommendation seriously and pursue it to its logical conclusions, we will not be sending boys, but well-trained aviation medical specialists, investigators, and examiners—to do a man's job.

Aviation has developed so rapidly that many of us find it difficult to realize that at the beginning of World War II, biplanes with fabric wings were still taking off from the air carriers of our Navy. Today we are flying jets capable of astounding speed, attaining high altitudes and with unexpectedly great range.

Civil operations have shown equally spectacular advances. Clearly our engineers have not been lacking in imagination. Facilities, funds, and planning were essential for such development.

Parallel programs to provide for the medical support of civil aviation were neglected. No useful purpose is served in inquiring why we have lacked imagination or effectiveness, or both, in the development of this important field of aviation. Rather, today, we should devote effort, attention—yes, and money—to overcoming this discrepancy.

The civilian flight surgeon has areas of responsibility which are now commonly recognized. These include: (a) Evaluation of the physical fitness of airmen, (b) maintenance of physical fitness of airmen, (c) advising of passenger fitness for air travel, (d) instruction of both airmen and passengers on the medical aspects (and stresses) of flight, (e) community aviation problems.

As the arts and sciences of aviation medicine advance, both the scope and the degree of medical responsibility will increase. Far greater support will be necessary in overcoming the problems which arise with each new record in altitude and speed.

The military already faces the problem—in an emergency—of getting a pilot safely to earth from 50,000 feet. We will soon have a parallel but slightly different problem in civil aviation—to get the passengers and airmen down safely without special equipment.

The science and art of medicine develops at the bedside, as well as in the university and teaching hospital. Both are essential.

I congratulate you on the progress that you are making in providing aviation medical education and training for civilian physicians. Such systematic training will enable you to render increasingly more important service to the community and to national air commerce.

It's a big job and we need strong support. It will require the useful development and judicious utilization of the capacity of professional men. It is a task that cannot be accomplished by a few geniuses—either in the sciences or the medical arts. The principal support must come from the average aviation medical physician, since experience has shown us that it is to the average physician that we owe the health and well-being of Americans today.

Now, let's look at your work from a pilot's point of view.

One of the Nation's most vital resources is the skill and talents of its pilots, both military and commercial. This was proven in Korean air battles where American planes were manned by veterans of World War II. Many of these men were called back into the air because of the lack of pilots and the inability of the Air Force to attract young men to that career.

This vital national resource—the talents, skills, and know-how—has been labeled the only advantage we had over the Red Air Force.

It is evident that the age level of our military and civilian personnel is steadily increasing. It follows that this association is dealing more and more with the problems of physical conditions brought on by age. Many claim that present regulations are completely outmoded—are not attuned to problems brought on by the increasing age level of our pilot reserve.

Fatigue limits and physical standards presently prevailing are based on antiquated studies, outdated insurance mortality rates, and other statistics which sadly need to be updated.

Many of you flew here to this convention. I, too, am a frequent air traveler. Many of you will leave here by air and return to your homes. I could bring 100 pilots into this room and put them to a blackboard and each one could list over 100 reasons, exclusive of the medical field, as to why your plane would not reach your return destination. Their reasons could be supported by statistics equally as reliable as many of the medical statistics which are applied to individual pilots.

Prominent among the problems of age is the coronary case.

Yet, in all the records of the CAB dealing with the analysis of accidents in our com-

mercial air transportation systems, domestic and international, there is not one case which lists physical failure as the cause of the accident. A large portion of the findings are termed "pilot error." This could and probably does imply that the chain of circumstances may or may not have involved some degree of physical failure or fatigue effect.

The Congress has always given full consideration to safety in its actions on any aviation legislation. We in Congress are continually running into an intangible called calculated risk.

Every plane that goes aloft carries an unknow degree of calculated risk, in design, performance, human judgment, weather hazards, structural strength, and even down to controversial fore and aft seating arguments. In the human element, you gentlemen are most vitally responsible.

In this field it appears that you are far more conservative than others concerned with calculated risks in other components of a flight. We have 4 engines, surplus structural protection, and provisions for 2 pilots, both of whom must be well trained and checked in their operation and judgment. There have been numerous instances of failure of 2 engines during a flight, but never any case of 2 physical failures.

In preserving and protecting and keeping available the vital resource of pilots' skills and talents, it is possible that some attention should be given to equity of calculated risk in mechanical and physical components. Pilots argue that one very well might outweigh the other and that this equity robs the Nation of a portion of its advantage in pilot know-how and skill.

One airline pilot, the $30-a-year client (two $15 physical exams a year) as he is referred to in the trade, has mentioned to me that as recent as 5 years ago, what is now called heart attack, was known as acute indigestion. It was the pilot's point that by merely changing the name of this ailment the Nation has been deprived of many competent and able pilots.

The present regulations by which you are bound, largely because you have permitted the legal profession and other laymen to establish standards under which you work, has in the opinion of pilots, changed the profession of an aero medical doctor from that of a doctor to a detective. As the present regulations stand, a pilot is automatically grounded for what a few years ago was termed acute indigestion. Now it's labeled heart attack.

We must remember that this $30-a-year client is, also, an $18,000- to $20,000-a-year pilot with family and responsibility. If he submits himself, and truthfully states his case, he is finished in his career.

Under the regulations and standards of today this pilot will do everything in his power to cover up his experience with the acute indigestion. He, in fact, challenges you to prove that he has had coronary. This is only natural.

It may be interesting to note some of the changes in insurance rates. Many companies now insure pilots at no extra premium over that of a nonflier. Again an instance of the medical standards being outmoded.

Studies of fatigue factors, which provide the basis for much of today's safety standards, were made back in 1934—when we were operating low, slow-flying equipment. Today's high altitude, pressurized equipment, including jet transportation, still operate under those prehistoric standards.

You, in the medical profession, have the job of raising and modernizing today's medical standards. You must provide the Congress with up-to-date information which will enable us to legislate in the best interest of passengers, pilots, and the national defense.

In closing, I want to pay my respects to Dr. Stovall. As Chief of the CAA's Medical Division he has been out in front plugging for greater recognition of the importance of your work. His efforts are paying dividends. Too, I want to thank our good friend, Joel Fisher, for the work he has been doing in your behalf.

It's a pleasure to be with you—thanks so much for your invitation.

Protection of American Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Way I See It," written by Glenn Lee, and published in the Tri-City (Wash.) Herald of March 29, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The laboring man is getting sold down the river, says Senator MALONE, from Nevada.

Senator MALONE has long been a student and an ardent and tireless worker for protection of American labor and American industry against foreign imports. MALONE says that the Republicans have no foreign-trade policy.

MALONE has been a critic of what our foreign-trade activity has consisted of for many years under the Democrats. From reading of MALONE'S actions in the Senate from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I can see that he thinks there haven't been any changes made under the new Republican administration.

The State Department has made a bunch of suckers out of us by getting into an organization called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Out of all these nations—about 50 to 60 of them—the good old United States of America and Uncle Sam has but one vote. In the meantime our American workers and our American industries are taxed, and taxed, so our money can be sent overseas to be poured down ratholes.

What kind of ratholes? Well we are building up the industrial strength and productive powers of foreign countries with our taxes so they can produce goods cheaply and in abundance to sell them to buyers in this country at low prices.

What is the result? In the long run—and it won't be too long either—more and more laboring people in this country will find themselves out of work. More and more plants and factories will fold up and close their doors.

What is the answer? How are we going to stop this? Shall we sell ourselves and our future to this "one world" or "worldwide" trade control and commit suicide, or shall we wake up and stop it?

Senator MALONE says to stop it first of all by laying on tariffs to protect American labor and then get the Chief Executive and the State Department out of the business of making these entangling international trade agreements to our detriment.

We recognized Russia officially as a nation in 1933 and economically Russia has been spreading communism with growing power and results in this country.

Senator MALONE says that the economic approach to communism in this country was spearheaded by the Harry Dexter White crowd in our Government.

We have heard a lot about Harry Dexter White in the past months. He has been put in the same class along with Alger Hiss.

MALONE ended up his speech in the Senate by saying that if the Congress would stand on its own feet, and act as it should, by running all matters pertaining to foreign trade, that he thinks the Republicans would soon have a foreign trade policy that would protect our country economically.

In my opinion, MALONE is 100 percent right.

The New Role of Industry in the Atomic Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ALLEN FREAR, JR.
OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from an address entitled "The New Role of Industry in the Atomic Age," which was delivered by Gen. Leslie R. Groves before a joint meeting of the Engineering Societies in Wilmington, Del., on February 23.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEW ROLE OF INDUSTRY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

(Address by Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, USA retired; vice president, Remington Rand, Inc., before the Delaware State Engineering Society at Wilmington, Del., on February 23, 1954)

Gentlemen, there are several reasons why I really feel at home here tonight—I am among engineers, in whose profession I spent so much of my lifetime; I am only a few miles from Fort DuPont, where I once served many years with the 1st United States Engineers; I am, geographically speaking, almost in the heart of the du Pont Co., with which I worked so closely during the wartime years when it performed such amazing service to our country; and what is most important of all, I am among many old and valued friends.

The subject of my talk tonight—The New Role of Industry in the Atomic Age—presupposes two facts: First, that there is an atomic age; and, second, that industry has a role in it. It does not deal with the advantages industry will derive from atomic developments, but rather with the responsibilities industry must shoulder as a result of atomic developments.

I don't see how anyone can fail to admit the first of these. When the first atom bomb was exploded in 1945, we all realized that it was not only a history-making event, but that it could materially change the history of the world. Events since that date have proved that our anticipations were not exaggerated.

It is the second point that I wish to discuss tonight. What is the role of industry in this historic period of entrance into a new age?

When we speak of the atomic age, we mean the age of great scientific development, which we symbolize by the development of atomic energy. It includes the great advances of chemistry, physics, and the other sciences in our industrial life. It includes synthetic fibers, antibiotics, and electronics.

Let me review briefly some of the changes which have resulted from the tremendous

electronic developments of the last few years. In some of these, elctronic applications to business machines, my own company, has played a leading part.

One of the most important changes in the economic side of our existence is the need of increased controls—both in the management of business and in the production of materials and services which is the primary responsibility of business management. * * *

Among the important new tools we have developed are electronic computers, or data handling devices. Within the past 5 years research and development of these new tools of business have brought them out of the experimental phase into the stage of production on what may be now regarded as an assembly line basis. * * *

I think it would be worthwhile to take a moment of your time to describe exactly what these new machines actually do. * * *

An "electronic brain"—or an electronic computing system as we prefer to call it—is a device that receives information, and instructions as to what to do with it; stores this information and the instructions in a memory device; automatically processes the information through various arithmetical steps, according to the instructions it has received; and finally, prints the results.

These are the four major steps—receiving, storing, processing, and printing—that make up practically every kind of electronic computing device in existence.

The total process is no different from older computing methods. Its great value lies in the fact that it can do these things infinitely faster than any human or manual method, or any other method previously devised.

* * * * *

A hundred years ago business and industry moved at a pace that did not require electronic speed in assembling and computing data. But today the management of a large business must know daily what is happening—how many items are being made, how many are being sold, which ones are in demand and which ones are not in demand. * * *

Why should we spend so much money and time in constant research and development to make things work faster? Would it be better to slow down business—rather than to build machines to keep up with and to increase the present-day pace? Are we engaged in a senseless speed-up, like a dog chasing its own tail?

I don't think we are. This answer is based on conditions over which we do not have much control. I refer to world conditions. Fortunately, we have a kind of Government and a way of life in this country through which we have developed the highest living standards in the world—and we are surrounded by men and governments that dislike our way of life primarily because it glaringly reflects their own inadequacy.

Our great advantage lies in two things: We have maintained the freedom of the individual, and kept alive his initiative; and we have created within this framework of freedom the most highly productive economy the world has ever known. * * *

The day we begin to lose this advantage, our enemies will close in like devouring wolves destroying their weakened leader. * * *

Much of our progress has been due to the continued and unflagging effort of our engineers and technicians. * * * It is the kind of effort that has created the electronic-computing devices, in which this Nation leads the world, and that has devised the various uses of atomic energy, in which we also lead the world—at least as far as we know. * * *

Before our entry into World War II, research into atomic energy had been what we call pure, or fundamental research. It had no definite foreseeable goal or objective, except to learn about the atom. Few people had any idea about what might be done with an atom after it was split. * * * A few scientists had vaguely regarded the split atom as a potential weapon of war. But as we entered the war, the vague notion became a hard, cold necessity. It was evident to some that the Nation which first produced an atom bomb might well win the war. * * *

We began to marshal our forces in this effort to accomplish something that had been only a wild figment of scientific imagination a few years before—and we succeeded.

When we exploded the first atomic bomb at Alamogordo, N. Mex., in the summer of 1945, we created the weapon that brought World War II to a sudden and successful end and ushered in a new age.

Today—less than a decade after that explosion—we are confronted with bombs that make the first blast in New Mexico—and the second at Hiroshima, Japan—seem antiquated.

* * * * *

Today we face the hydrogen bomb, reputed to be 50 times as powerful—the equivalent of 1 million tons of TNT.

For those of you who had some experience with the old standard half-pound TNT blocks used by the Army engineers, the total explosive power of a hydrogen bomb would be equivalent to 4 billion such blocks. * * *

One of the most difficult of the problems that face us is a problem of psychology. We must reshape our thinking—and I mean both military and civilian thinking. The decisive battlefield of the next world war—if there is one—may not be in Europe or in Asia. It may be in the United States.

* * * * *

The war of the future will be one of great distances, with guided missiles and weapons that will have virtually no limit as to ranges—and without the necessity of human hands to guide those missiles once they are launched.

They will strike at the homeland—not at the front lines. Their goal will be the obliteration of industrial centers, destruction of the morale of our people—and thus the destruction of our capacity and our will to fight.

Make no mistake about this—if an atomic war strikes us tomorrow, there will be no noncombatants. From one side of the country to the other, we will be exposed to attack. I do not say this in the spirit of alarm—because I believe that the enemy is just as vulnerable as we are, and perhaps more so. * * *

We can take certain steps that will mitigate against the likelihood of a knockout blow. But to do this, we must direct our thinking toward global strategy—and away from antiquated concepts of infantry operations and wars of position, of Maginot Lines, of 1917 western fronts, and of Korea. We must regard our industrial organization and our Military Establishment as partners in a joint enterprise.

* * * * *

In order to survive in this global struggle, we must develop the internal resources of the Nation, speeding up our industrial capacity as well as providing the new weapons which will strengthen our military capacity.

Few thinking Americans have had any doubt as to the need for the United States maintaining her position in this race—although some who have called themselves Americans have sought by every device possible to obstruct or vitiate this effort.

The new tools of industry, and the progress we make in the use of such tools—both in peacetime industry and in building the sinews of national security—will be deciding factors in this worldwide race for supremacy, upon the outcome of which may well hang the fate of civilization as we have known it.

The continued improvement of our economic and industrial production must run parallel with improvement in our military equipment. One cannot survive without the other.

We are in an all-out struggle for survival—and in this total war—whether you want to call it "hot" or "cold"—the machines and methods that speed up business are as vital as the plants that turns out bombs.

This country has survived the tensions of the cold war for one reason only: We are still ahead of Russia in the race for the development and production of atomic weapons. As long as we have the power to destroy Russia if she strikes at us—she will not strike. Once we lose that power, we are lost. * * *

It is a joint task in which all forces must join hands—the men behind the guns, the men behind the tools, and the men behind the desks. * * * Each of us is a cog in the American system—the American economic machine; the research engineer, who designs the product; the manufacturer who makes it; the businessman who buys and sells it; the soldier who defends our right to pursue the way of life that we have come to know as American. * * *

And now I should like to discuss a particular phase of this dual responsibility which in my opinion is as critical as any problem we face today. From a military sense, the dispersal of American industry became necessary on August 6, 1945—when we exploded the first atom bomb over Hiroshima, Japan.

That explosion made it possible—through the natural development of such a weapon—for a nation to win a war in a few hours. And it also made it necessary for our country to take those steps which would mitigate against an enemy striking at us in such a way that our defensive strength could be destroyed with a single blow.

* * * * *

We are faced with new dangers today; dangers that did not exist or were not so great in the preatomic age. First is the possibility of terrible destruction to our people and to our industrial capacity by atomic bombing, by the clandestine introduction into the United States of atomic devices or by sabotage in all of its various forms. Second is the constantly growing intricacy of our industrial life. And third are the cumulative effects of the softening influences of the last 40 years upon our people.

There is no need to reiterate the possible destruction which could be inflicted by an atomic attack. The same is generally true of the effects of the clandestine introduction of atomic devices once the truth is realized that they can be introduced without too much chance of detection.

In the past we have not suffered appreciably from attempts at sabotage. We will not suffer from them too greatly in the future provided we are a united people and that we do not have among us too many who are anxious for the overthrow of our existing form of Government. * * *

As to stamina, today's Americans are simply not used to hard physical labor or discomfort. * * * This means that in time of war there will be an even greater percentage of our people who will not have the will to keep on fighting and stuggling when the going gets tough. * * * The American people have not been really tested against the discouragement of war since our war between the States. * * * Our industrial mobilization plans as well as our operational plans must not ignore these facts.

What will our people do if a portion of the country is suddenly destroyed? * * * We must be prepared in our planning for possible vast destruction with little or no warning in a large number of vital productive centers.

The national defense is a military problem, but it is also a civilian problem, and under our form of government always will be.

Our military doctrine today is apparently the doctrine of terrible retribution. We plan on forces capable of striking back at the possible enemy with such effectiveness that he will not dare attack us.

With our national philosophy, we will wait for the enemy to strike first at us. He will aim at key points—the bottlenecks of products vital to our fighting power. We have done everything we could as a nation in recent years to add to the effectiveness of such an action against us. Every time a big manufacturing plant is increased in size, instead of being duplicated at a distance, we injure our own military strength, for it increases our vulnerability to a knockout punch. Let us remember that even the greatest defensive fighters can be beaten by an aggressive opponent.

We must therefore be prepared to maintain our productive economy, no matter what punishment comes our way. We must possess the ability to continue or resume promptly the production of all essential items. If a lipstick factory is destroyed we will survive, although it may hurt the morale of our feminine population. But if a factory producing vital military equipment is destroyed, we cannot afford to wait for the building and equipping of a new plant, and the training of personnel to operate it.

* * * * *

One of the important things we can do is to disperse our industries and our centers of population so that there will be no key points of vulnerability. We had an illuminating experience recently when the General Motors plant at Livonia, Ohio, manufacturing an essential automobile part burned down—and a considerable portion of the automobile manufacturing industry in this country was crippled until the lost resource could be replaced.

There are few important military items which are not produced in large factories. Few of these are isolated to the degree that one bomb would be required for each factory. Our goal should be to make it impossible for a single well-placed enemy bomb to destroy more than 10 percent of the production of a single military item.

* * * * *

We can develop means for defense which we know will help protect us—including civilian support of military defense, and dispersement of industries to reduce the possibility and the effects of a sneak attack such as we experienced at Pearl Harbor—we can either take these measures sanely and soberly and sure in our conviction that we can do the job; or we can remain like sitting ducks in a pond, waiting for the hunter to shoot.

Our problem—I prefer to call it our responsibility—will require the kind of spirit that we like to think of as the pioneer spirit of our forefathers, who created our country and made possible the strength and freedom and productive power we have today.

I do not think we have to destroy the kind of life we have in order to survive. I think that if we take these problems in time—looking at the situation calmly, and without panic; realistically, and without fear—we can establish a defense that will be invulnerable to attack, and the power of reprisal that will make attack virtually suicide for the aggressor.

* * * * *

But unless there is some generally accepted principle of dispersion—unless cities as well as industry discourage the building of huge plants which can be "sitting duck" targets for the enemy—this concentration will take place, and we will pay the penalty for our neglect if a knockout blow is struck against us.

I have emphasized this idea of dispersion, but the principle of preparedness, of course, is not confined to dispersion alone. * * * If our industries are dispersed, we need new methods of controlling the farflung reaches of each industrial empire. Plants in Dallas, Tex., and Phoenix, Ariz., and Cheyenne, Wyo., and in Sioux City and San Francisco, will need to be integrated with management—perhaps in Detroit, or Chicago, or New York, or Cincinnati.

This integration is being made possible by such things as the "giant brains" and smaller electronic systems, such as Remington Rand's electronic "flight plan storage system" which the Civil Aeronautics Administration has installed at its evaluation center in Indianapolis.

And so as we move down the corridor of changing times—into the age of the atom—we find that business and industry can march hand in hand with the military men. The developments which are being made in business and industry are useful not only in the forward progress of the world at peace, but are essential in preventing any single power in that world from destroying or enslaving the rest of the world.

This should be our dual goal—to move forward in the peacetime conquest of the material resources of nature and the highest development of mankind; and at the same time to make ourselves so invulnerable to attack by the new and terrible weapons of the atomic age, that no nation will risk self-annihilation by attacking us.

The 100th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republican Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. MALONE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Again the Candles Burn at Ripon," published in the Tulsa Tribune of March 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AGAIN THE CANDLES BURN AT RIPON

(By Richard Lloyd Jones)

Ripon, Wis., is a typical mid-American community of 6,000 people. Tonight Ripon is host to distinguished Americans. The Vice President is scheduled to make an address. And Mr. Leonard Hall, the chairman of the National Republican Committee, is to speak. Pageantry will recall the days of Republican Party virility. In Ripon, 100 years ago, the Republican Party was born.

One hundred years ago Ripon was a small community. To accommodate its educational needs it had a one-room schoolhouse, following the New England pattern that school house sheltered every town meeting.

One hundred years ago there gathered in that small schoolhouse 53 citizens who were deeply concerned about their country. Fifty-three Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Democrats. The United States was threatened with disunity. With or without slavery these concerned citizens gathered to insist, with Andrew Jackson, "The Union must and shall be preserved."

These 53 Free-Soilers, Whigs, and Democrats who had been political opposites in their thinking were resolute in their common cause to preserve the Union. They declared the need of the hour was a new party, a party that would unite the common cause of Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Democrats.

They proclaimed their bond. Small, with a cause that was mighty, they called themselves the Republican Party.

The little schoolhouse at Ripon still stands. At that schoolhouse Republicans of national note will join with local Republicans tonight to ignite a freedom flame. A torchlight procession will march through the streets of Ripon tonight. Every house in Ripon will have a candle at the window and the torchbearers will light those candles in token of the spirit that brought the little patriots together in the schoolhouse 100 years ago.

The people propose to keep this freedom flame burning as long as freedom lasts in this Republic.

Fifty-three men with the burning zeal of patriots organized the Republican Party 100 years ago. Now the freedom flame is conceived and promoted by the women of America. Mrs. Joseph Farrington, former president of the National Federation of Republican Women, launched the idea of the torchlight parade and the dramatic reenactment of the first Republican meeting 100 years ago. The women today are working with the same zeal as inspired the patriotic men 100 years ago.

The people of Ripon plan to erect a marble shelter in which this freedom flame shall burn protected from wind and weather that might snuff it out. It is a picturesque symbol. May it spread the fires of freedom today as the little band of patriots did 100 years ago.

That little group of farmers, not a name known beyond the county lines, broadcast the challenge, "Whether the broad national policy our fathers established, cherished, and maintained is to be permitted to descend to our sons."

They "*Resolved*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must be preserved."

These resolutions are as pertinent today as when they were promulgated 100 years ago. By both our major parties, the Republicans and Democrats alike, there has been a bipartisan assault upon the sovereignty of the several States. The Confederacy was totally right on the question of State's rights, totally wrong on the question of slavery. Human rights exceed State's rights. So the issue, the Confederacy, dominated by slaveowners, seceded.

The Republican Party then was the champion of State's rights. And today it can revitalize itself, as it much needs to do, if it again obeys the Constitution of the United States by returning to the States their sovereign rights. These rights have been taken away. Political lawlessness.

Article X of the Constitution specifically says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

In the little town of Ripon the Republican Party began to protect the Constitution.

We have been repudiating the constitutional law of the land for so many years now that men who once were alert to human rights and freedoms have grown so indifferent to them that they accept the loss of them. Politicians have sought preferment by organizing and conducting pressure groups that raid the Federal Treasury and multiply the tax burdens on the people. They establish a socialistic state. In that all freedoms are lost.

When these 53 Ripon farmers gathered, as, Minute Men of old, to reaffirm their fear, our country was in danger. Today our country is in danger. Our politicians of both parties have repudiated the Constitution which protects us. Because we have repudiated our Constitution and messed in the affairs of other peoples we are threatened without as well as within. And we cuss whoever tries to protect us.

We, the people, elected a Republican administration believing it would perform as Ripon Republicans did a hundred years ago. But this Republican administration has resisted the constitutional reinforcements that we need to safeguard our freedoms from foreign legislation made by secret treaties.

From within we have already apprehended and convicted enough subversive operators to establish the alarming fact that we have enemies here at home.

The picket on duty in military service is charged with the responsibility of revealing the presence of the enemy.

As Wisconsin produced the Ripon men a hundred years ago, Wisconsin today has produced a United States Senator, JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, who, on picket duty, has revealed the dangers that should cause every loyal American alarm. And what does he get for his vigilant sentry service?

The Democratic Party holds him up as a menace. It was during the 20 years of Democratic Party rule that all these subversives were protected, if not encouraged, in their seditious operations. The people elected a Republican administration because they wanted a President who would adopt the methods of MCCARTHY and apprehend the treacheries here at home. It is a long road from Ripon in 1854 to Washington in 1954, where some Republicans attempt to repudiate the sentinel for doing his duty.

The Whigs failed the people just as the Republican Party is doing now. The candle lights at Ripon signal the rebirth of an American spirit that is not going to be snuffed out by the high winds of the One Worlders, the Socialists, or the Commie sympathizers.

In 1854 the 53 farmers who met at Ripon did not talk of a third party. They talked of a second party, a real party, an American party. And they got it. The candle lights at Ripon are beacon lights across the prairies. They signal determination. They do not want the Republican Party to die. They want it to live. And if it is to live and last it has got to have consecration. It has got to be the great collective JOE MCCARTHY. That or a new Republican Party will displace it as the Republicans displaced the Whigs when resolute patriotism assembled in the little candle-lit schoolhouse at Ripon 100 years ago.

America Is Catching Its Breath, Not Gasping for Air

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 30, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Warner & Swasey Precision Tool Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, in an ad that originally appeared in the American Machinist calls attention to a very important matter relating to the so-called recession. This ad points out that there is nothing the matter with business that new markets will not cure. It goes on to say:

And new markets are here, waiting to be tapped by better values—more for the buyer's money—as the whole history of America proves. (Aren't there many things you'd buy for your home or business if the value were sufficiently increased? Multiply that by a 160 million.) Prices can come down and values go up from new machines efficiently used. But 55 percent of America's machines are old, outmoded, obsolete. Modernize machines and you'll modernize values again. Then increased sales always follow.

A Good Suggestion on Dairy Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "A Good Suggestion on Dairy Supports," published in the Des Moines Register of April 1, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GOOD SUGGESTION ON DAIRY SUPPORTS

Senators GEORGE AIKEN, Republican, of Vermont, and CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, two of the best-informed men in the Senate on agricultural affairs, have made a proposal for dairy price support that sounds a good deal more sensible than anything tried to date.

They suggest that the Government support the price of fluid milk directly, instead of only mnufactured products such as butter and dried milk which have been piling up in surplus. This would encourage the shift in milk utilization toward fluid milk which has been going on for some time. It also would encourage the development of whole milk marketing and step up the trend toward more flexible milk manufacturing plants, especially in the Midwest.

One of the main things wrong with the dairy price-support program of recent years has been that it tended to freeze dairy production, dairy manufacturing and milk distribution into the old patterns. Consumer demand plainly is growing for fresh milk, ice cream, and other whole milk products.

Aiken and Anderson suggest that price supports should be tied directly to prices of dairy feeds. We are not clear just what the Senators mean by this. But if it means putting price support for milk at the same percentage of parity as feed grains, we think it would be a mistake. There is no magic and no fairness in the parity formula. The parity scale does not necessarily have the same relation to the most economic price for individual dairy products as it does for grain.

The Secretary of Agriculture should be free to make adjustments in dairy-product supports according to the demand and supply situation—as well as long-run technological changes.

Since milk prices in most big city markets are supported at fixed levels by legal controls over supply, we assume that the Senators are talking about supporting prices in smaller places and in rural areas. We surmise, also, that they hope to get some change in administrative formulas for milk pricing—putting less emphasis on butterfat prices, for instance.

Whatever the details of their proposal, we believe they are on the right track to emphasize support for the dairy products which are in growing demand and to de-emphasize it for the products which do not have much of a future. Probably the most effective way to accomplish the Senators' purpose would be to make direct payments to producers on milk. Raising the price of milk to consumers right now would only lower consumption and divert still more milk into butter, cheese, and other manufactured products.

The new, lower price supports for manufactured dairy products are going into effect today. This would be a good time for Secretary of Agriculture Benson to revise the program in line with the Aiken-Anderson proposals.

Conditions in American Watchmaking Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph entitled "Proving the Point." It sets out that the cost of a 17-jewel watch in Switzerland is $6.10, including the tariff now applicable to that item, and the cost in the United States is $10.50. I hope my colleagues will read this editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROVING THE POINT

The American watchmaking industry has an appeal before the United States Tariff Commission which proves a point the Hearst newspapers have been making for a long time about the relationship between protection tariffs and American prosperity.

Our point is, that if a tariff does not make up the difference between what it costs in America to produce a certain article and the cost of production in a foreign country, the foreign article will drive the American article out of the market.

One result of that, among many others, is that the American workman and craftsmen who make the article here will be out of jobs.

The blunt meaning of that is that when we import a foreign article and sell it in America cheaper than we can make it here, we have actually imported unemployment.

Here is the way the American watchmaking industry proves that point.

The major foreign source of watch-movements is Switzerland, and the current tariff rate on imported Swiss watch-movements is $2.10.

The cost in Switzerland of making a 17-jewel watch-movement currently is $4, making its total cost on the American market $6.10.

However, the present cost of making a 17-jewel watch-movement in America is $10.50, so obviously the protective tariff in these circumstances is not protective at all.

How does that affect production and employment in America?

Just this way. Last year there were 2,300,000 17-jewel watch-movements made in America, and 8,600,000 Swiss watch-movements were sold in America.

With American production going down every year and Swiss production going up,

there are progressively fewer jobs for American watchmakers.

It is true that watchmaking is not one of our biggest industries, but it is an important industry requiring precision craftsmen indispensable to vital war industries; and if they are not trained by the watch-industry in peacetime they will not be available when they are vitally needed in a national emergency.

But aside from that, what is happening in the watchmaking industry is symptomatic of what is happening in other productive fields, our very biggest and most important among them.

When fewer jobs in America is the consequence of importing foreign goods made cheaply enough to outsell competing American products, it is not just the merchandise we import but our own unemployment as well.

In fact, unemployment is our chief import under these conditions, and we ignore that fact at our great peril.

United States Secrets: Too Hot To Print?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, last week's edition of U. S. News & World Report includes an advance publication of a book entitled "The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor," by Rear Adm. Robert A. Theobald, United States Navy, retired. I am not in a position to state whether or not this portrayal of an infamous era of our history is accurate in fact or merely an informed interpretation of a series of incidents and actions. However, one point seems to be quite certain, the people of America are entitled to the undiluted truth, and I therefore ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD another article from U. S. News & World Report, issue of March 26, 1954, entitled "United States Secrets: Too Hot To Print?" which asserts that "the last complete set of diplomatic papers of this Government to be published cover the year 1936—18 years ago."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SECRETS: TOO HOT TO PRINT?—PAPERS ON RECENT FOREIGN POLICY JUST PILE UP

Official records of wartime deals are still under wraps, despite Republican promises to get them into the open.

Senators, asking why, find diplomatic files incomplete, military files still secret, other records scattered.

The complete story of what happened at Yalta, Potsdam, elsewhere, will not be told in detail in time for the 1954 campaign.

Are the American people ever to learn the secrets of the secret diplomacy that led up to World War II? Is light to be turned on the full story of Yalta, of Potsdam, and events of moves that preceded the loss of China to communism?

The last complete set of diplomatic papers of this Government to be published cover the year 1936—18 years ago. Since then, two wars have been fought, many conferences held.

Republicans in 1952 campaign speeches told voters that they would bring to light the record of secret diplomacy from early New Deal days to date. At the moment, however, the House of Representatives has just voted to deny funds for printing diplomatic papers of the past, and to cut off the salaries of those who compile these papers.

A question is being raised as to whether this latest action is part of a concerted effort to cover up something. There are hints that unpublished papers might reveal things that Republicans in high office, or their friends, do not want revealed because of their part in the history of the period. There are hints, too, that the delay is designed to keep the history of the past from figuring in congressional campaigns of 1954.

Actually, investigation shows that the House denial of funds for printing the diplomatic records is almost sure to be overruled by the Senate, and the publications program will go forward as now scheduled. But investigation also indicates that this present publications schedule will fall behind a timetable promised to the Senate a year ago.

This means another wait for the public before it gets an official, fully documented and nonpartisan story of the events preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor that landed the United States in World War II. They will have to wait, too, for the inside story—as told by official documents and not somebody's recollections—of the decisions that led to the fall of China.

Here is the story of efforts to pry out the secrets on these and other great events, as that story has developed up to now.

A year ago, a group of Republican Senators needled the State Department to speed up publication of the diplomatic documents on World War II. They got a promise of full cooperation.

Referring to papers on secret wartime conferences, such as those at Yalta and Potsdam, a top State Department official wrote a Senator that the documents should be ready for publication within a year. This was written on May 21, 1953.

This was taken to mean that Congress and the public were at last to get, not later than summer 1954, the real story of what happened behind the scenes in World War II, and what the reasoning was that led to decisions that set the stage for successive postwar crises and disaster such as the fall of Czechoslovakia, the Berlin airlift, the fall of China and eventually the Korean war.

It now appears, however, that the original timetable for spilling the war's big secrets is not to be kept. The situation on the Yalta papers illustrates what is happening.

At mid-March, 9 years after Yalta, the State Department still did not have the Defense Department's permission to see and sift the documents on the Yalta Conference that are held by the Army and by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Importance of the military records of Yalta, in giving the full story of that fateful meeting, is emphasized in the Yalta memoirs written by the late Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., who attended the conference as Secretary of State.

Mr. Stettinius pointed out in his book that no single official record of the diplomatic discussions was made at Yalta, nor was there any stenotypist recording every word. Instead, each delegation kept its own minutes of the diplomatic sessions.

Charles E. Bohlen, then an assistant to the Secretary of State, had the double task of making the United States notes on the main sessions, while interpreting the Russians' remarks for President Roosevelt.

By contrast, military missions at Yalta were far more methodical in recording their discussions, which were separate from the diplomats'. Each military delegation had a representative taking notes, and they cleared their versions with each other and with all participants. So there is a complete record of the joint military-planning sessions.

In addition, the United States military notes include records of discussions with President Roosevelt and his two advisers—W. Averell Harriman and Harry L. Hopkins—who were charged with finding out Russia's price for entering the war against Japan. These discussions eventually culminated in the supersecret agreement giving Russia the Kurile Islands, military control of Manchuria, and other concessions that enabled Russia to help the Chinese Communists win out over Nationalist Chinese forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

Without the military records, thus, the State Department cannot compile a complete story on Yalta. Yet, up to now, the Department's historians have not been given access to those documents. Nor does the Department have access to the original notes and documents that formed the basis of Mr. Stettinius' book, and which are now held by the Stettinius estate.

If and when access to the military documents is given, time will be required before they can be meshed with the State Department's records. Then there will still remain the problem of final editing, final "clearance" from the military, from the British Government, and possibly from various individuals who figured in the Yalta dealings.

The prospect, as a result, is that the Yalta papers will not be printed and available to Congress until the end of this year or sometime in 1955—"too late for the 1954 elections and too early for 1956," according to one Republican observer.

The same prospect holds true for the full, official story of Potsdam. At mid-March, the State Department had asked, but not received, permission to delve into the military records of that important conference, where Russia again obtained concessions in return for promises that were never kept.

While files have been closed to the public's gaze on all these important conferences, a great number of personal memoirs have appeared on the same subject matter.

Prominent military commanders of World War II who have written their views of the "inside story" include President Eisenhower, who wrote his book while still a general; Adm. William D. Leahy; Adm. Ernest J. King; Gen. H. H. Arnold of the Air Force.

James F. Byrnes, now Governor of South Carolina, attended the Yalta Conference as a presidential adviser and has written his memoirs about the war. Sir Winston Churchill also has written his memoirs. Forty filing cases of Harry L. Hopkin's documents provided the basis for a book by Robert E. Sherwood. President Roosevelt's state papers are a source of documents on the World War II period. Herbert Feis, a top-level State Department adviser, has written a book on that period. Former President Harry S. Truman took many filing cases of documents with him when he left the White House and is using them, to write his memoirs.

This flow of private memoirs is taken by some people to mean that virtually all of the big secrets of wartime diplomacy have been told. But others insist that the wealth of private notes only indicates the great amount of official material waiting to be tapped.

The official backstage stories have been piling up for a long time and publication of them has tended recently to lag further and further behind events. Some speed-up, in baring the record, now is coming—but not fast enough to suit certain Republican Senators and not as fast as was promised a year ago.

PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS: A STORY OF DELAY

1861: Abraham Lincoln started publishing the "Foreign Relations" series of diplomatic documents to provide a basic record

of United States foreign policy. He included all communications with foreign governments in the previous year.

Through early 1900's, other Presidents followed Lincoln's lead. Published records of United States diplomacy were only 1 to 2 years behind events.

By 1920, with World War I, diplomacy became more important—and politically potent. Published records fell 7 years behind events.

By 1930, "Foreign Relations" volumes were dealing with events that had occurred 12 years earlier.

By 1933, the lag in publishing records increased to 15 years.

Now public records are 18 years, and 2 wars behind events. In 1954, State Department is publishing the diplomatic documents of 1936 and 1937.

Revere Beach, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include herein a portion of my statement before the House Committee on Public Works this morning favoring the Revere Beach, Mass., erosion project:

EROSION CONTROL FOR REVERE BEACH, MASS., AWAITS ONLY CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL

(Statement of Hon. THOMAS J. LANE, of Massachusetts, before the House Committee on Public Works, Monday, April 5, 1954)

As far back as May 17, 1951, the Secretary of the Army, in a report to the House Committee on Public Works, favored this project with an estimated participation by the United States to the extent of $337,000, or one-third of the first cost.

Eight months before that, the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army recommended it after a technical survey.

On April 26, 1951, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget advised that there would be no objection to the submission of this report by the Secretary of the Army.

The Metropolitan District Commission of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts stated on August 18, 1950, that "You may be sure that we are entirely satisfied with (the reports on Revere Beach, Nantasket Beach, and Lynn-Nahant Beach, Mass.) and hope that authorization will be forthcoming without undue delay."

The State of Massachusetts will comply with the conditions that:

It will adopt the aforementioned plan of protection and improvement.

That it will submit for approval by the Chief of Engineers' detailed plans and specifications and arrangements for prosecuting the entire work prior to the commencement of such work.

That it will provide all necessary lands, easements, and rights-of-way for accomplishment of the work.

Satisfactory assurances are on record that it will maintain the protective and improvement measures during the usual life thereof as may be required to serve their intended purpose.

That it will hold and save the United States free from all claims for damages that may arise either before, during, or after prosecution of the work.

That it will assure protection against water pollution that would otherwise endanger the health of bathers.

That public ownership of the beaches and their use for the public only, will be maintained.

I believe that the House Committee on Public Works should be informed that Revere is the biggest, best, and most popular beach north of Boston, and this statement takes in all the United States eastern coastline above that metropolis. As a recreational attraction it ranks close behind Coney Island, Atlantic City, and the more expensive resorts on the Atlantic side of Florida.

It is only 5½ miles northeast of the port of Boston. The shore is publicly owned, comprising the Metropolitan District Commission Revere Beach Reservation for a length of 3 miles. The daily attendance during the summer season is estimated at 150,000 to 200,000. Sunday and holiday attendance rises close to the 500,000 mark.

I am not going to rehash the technical details that clearly justify this project.

I believe that the recommendations of the Corps of Engineers, the Beach Erosion Board, the views of the Bureau of the Budget, and of the Secretary of the Army, give Federal endorsement to this proposal.

The case for erosion control at Revere Beach in Massachusetts, is presented at length in House Document No. 146, 1st session of the 81st Congress. I have heard no substantial opposition to it.

Therefore, it seems reasonable to ask this committee for its inclusion in the omnibus river and harbor bill that will be presented to the Congress for approval.

Tribute to Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, an editorial from the Baltimore Sunday Sun of April 4, 1954, paying a well-deserved tribute to a great general and a man of vision in the field of aeronautics, Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, whose untimely death occurred last Friday.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOYT S. VANDENBERG

In the three decades during which Hoyt S. Vandenberg served his country as an air officer, the air branch of the Armed Forces grew from a stepchild of the Army, capable of fighting with what now seem popguns and firecrackers, to a great air army in its own right, ready to deliver the mightiest weapons ever devised by man.

Throughout its growth, the air branch has had to struggle for what it considered its rightful place. First there was General Mitchell, courtmartialed in life, then honored posthumously because he turned out to have been right. Then there were his successors, General Arnold among them, who even during World War II could not relinquish their efforts to get what the Air Force needed to perform its proper role.

At last, in the years of World War II before the summer of 1945, the Air Force achieved independence, in balance with the other services. If the great bombs had not come along, the balance might have been accepted as normal, and the old argument of air versus land and sea might have died down.

But the great bombs raised a question still undecided today: with these bombs, is an immensely powerful Air Force not the single, overriding national strategic necessity? General Vandenberg thought it was, though not to the extreme of wanting too-weak land or sea forces; and as Air Chief of Staff during the immediate postwar years he argued eloquently for such an air arm. He did not get all he asked, but that the United States stands today where it does as an air power is to a great extent due to General Vandenberg's intensity of belief.

His death deprives the country of a fine soldier to whom it owes a tremendous and continuing debt of gratitude.

Tito's Secret Alliance With Moscow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with grave concern that I place in the RECORD an article from the Freeman of January 11, 1954. At a later date, I hope to insert subsequent writings on this subject Tito's Secret Alliance With Moscow, from the same magazine.

When I opposed aid to Yugoslavia in the past, it was because I felt the Yugoslav dictator, Marshal Tito, was not sincere in his break with the Kremlin and I did not feel that military expediency justified giving to him over $1 billion in military and economic aid. I especially object to the giving of jet planes and the latest weapons of war. During the debate on the floor, I expressed the hope, for the sake of the free world, that I might be wrong even while I knew my convictions were well founded.

Bogdan Raditsa's articles from the Freeman are indeed interesting:

TITO'S SECRET ALLIANCE WITH MOSCOW—THE INSIDE STORY

(By Bogdan Raditsa)

On August 26, 1953, I arrived in Trieste, determined to confirm or refute a sensational series of reports: Was Marshal Tito rejoining the Kremlin? Was Yugoslavia's Communist dictator, in whom the West had invested $500 million, conspiring with Moscow to betray the free world?

I had first heard the rumors in America, and I had now spent 2 months at the long frontiers of Yugoslavia, gathering facts and documents, meeting old friends, interrogating diplomats and intelligence experts. Trieste was the last stop on a long journey. Here, as I waited for the two men from Yugoslavia who would bring me the keys to the puzzle, I reviewed the events which had led me to this rendezvous.

In 1948 Joseph Stalin and his chief aid, Andrei Zhdanov, had read Tito out of the world Communist movement. In desperation, Tito had turned for help to America and England, but called himself a "true" Communist all the while. When Stalin died, things changed in Moscow. Georgi Malenkov—Zhdanov's old enemy—became Soviet Premier. The popular Marshal Zhukov, whom Stalin had banished to a provincial garrison, became Vice Minister of Defense. Within a few months Stalin's Georgian comrade, the dread police chief, Lavrenti Beria, was purged. Malenkov also quickly rewrote the official history of the Soviet Communist

Party so that it contained only slight references to Stalin, who had actually made that history for almost 30 years.

As these events unfolded in Moscow, it was only natural for me, as a former colleague of Tito's, to wonder how the Yugoslav dictator would react. I soon found out. On June 14 Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia announced they were resuming diplomatic relations. A few days later, gunboats of the Soviet Fleet were traveling down the Danube through Yugoslavia for the first time in 5 years. Before the summer was over, Kremlin satellites Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, and Rumania had also decided to resume relations with Tito. Meanwhile, Yugoslav newspapers began to criticize pro-American influences, and to print sharp attacks on American foreign policy, race relations, labor unions, art, movies, and women.

When factory and mine workers in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, many of them former Communists, revolted against the Kremlin in June, I watched for Tito's reaction. For a while, Belgrade issued noncommital, ambiguous statements. But careful observers could tell that the Yugoslav Communists were not pleased. Finally, Tito's official biographer and chief propagandist, Vladimir Dedijer, wrote a long article in the Communist organ Borba. He said that the German and Czech uprisings had been incited by shady Americans, that they increased the danger of war, and were aimed to restore feudal reactionary classes to power. The Dedijer article was a direct playback of the Moscow line.

By the time this startling comment appeared, I was making investigations along the Yugoslav frontier. It did not surprise me when Tito received the new Soviet Ambassador cordially, or when his central committee sent good wishes to the Russian Communist Party on its 50th anniversary. Nor was I surprised when Tito told a British newsman that Red China belonged in the United Nations, and that Yugoslavia would never join the Atlantic pact but desired "normal and even, to a certain extent, friendly relations with the U. S. S. R." I no longer doubted that Tito was strongly considering a new alliance with Russia. The real question was: How far had he gone?

AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS TELL OF PACT

The documents that answered that question were brought to me from Belgrade by men whom I knew personally; I can vouch for their unimpeachable integrity and sound political judgment. The documents themselves are the detailed reports of two secret anti-Communists who are high in Tito's regime. One of them is a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party; the other is a prominent official at the central headquarters of U. D. B. A., Tito's secret police. Although each report was written independently of the other, the two tally on all essential points. Other sources confirmed many details in both reports. The authenticity of both documents has been verified to me personally by one of the most respected intelligence services in Europe.

This is the story these documents tell: Tito and Malenkov, after many preliminary overtures, definitely agreed during the middle of July to work toward a resumption of the old Moscow-Belgrade partnership. The numerous frictions which led to the original break are to be eliminated by a joint Yugoslav-Soviet commission. The details of Yugoslavia's future political strategy remain to be worked out, but the present plan calls for concealing the new Tito-Malenkov alliance. Under this scheme Tito will be permitted to make occasional criticisms of Moscow and thus will be able to continue receiving American aid. He can serve Malenkov by disrupting the NATO alliance and by independently playing up to non-Communist radicals in Europe and Asia.

So far as can be determined, the initiative for the new alliance came from Tito, but Moscow was quick to respond. About a month after Stalin's death, a Yugoslav Foreign Office official named Josipovic went to Moscow and attempted to offer Tito's proposals for a rapprochement to top Soviet leaders. Josipovic never got to see the top leaders, but was carefully interviewed by officials of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Malenkov's response soon followed. Early in May, the Soviet military attaché in Albania came to Belgrade in a Yugoslav train, accompanied by two Russian civilians. He stayed in Belgrade 4 days in civilian clothes, residing at the headquarters of the Belgrade Municipal Communist Party. After getting in touch with important Yugoslav generals, he went on to Moscow. Later that month, four high officers of the Soviet Communist Party (all specialists in Soviet relations with foreign Communist parties) came to Belgrade and conferred with Tito's Minister of the Interior, Alexander Rankovic.

Negotiations were stalled for several weeks as the workers' revolts in the satellite states shook the Kremlin. But late in June, after Beria had fallen, Tito made a new report to his Politburo on the many feelers that had been put out by him and by the Soviets since Stalin's death. The Politburo urged pressing the negotiations further, and Malenkov was quick to pick up the thread.

On July 4, 1953, Tito was at his summer home in Bled, near Ljubljana, when a special plane arrived at his headquarters from Belgrade. In the plane, bearing urgent news, was Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, a former partisan general who now bosses Yugoslavia's economy. His arrival prompted hasty conferences in which Tito, Rankovic, Edvard Kardelj, and Milovan Djilas—the top leaders of the Government—all took part. Several times in the next 3 days Vukmanovic-Tempo flew back and forth between Ljubljana and Belgrade. On July 6 he was in Ljubljana for the last time, dressed in the partisan uniform which he had not worn for several years, and accompanied by Alexander Knez ("Sava"), a member of a secret branch of the UDBA, who lived in Moscow before the war.

Vukmanovic-Tempo and Knez left by plane for Moscow. They arrived there on July 8 and spent 3 days conferring with high Soviet officials. They returned to Ljubljana on July 11. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and army general staff met immediately to discuss Vukmanovic-Tempo's report. On July 18 Belgrade announced the lifting of all restrictions on Soviet officials in Yugoslavia; the next day, Moscow lifted the prohibitions on Tito's men in Soviet Russia. It is quite likely that these announcements signaled the formal assent of both parties to the new secret pact, although perhaps the word was passed informally. In any case, a few days later, a special Yugoslav delegation of 12 left for Moscow, to work out with Soviet officials the many details of the new alliance. One member of the delegation has been positively identified as a general who participated in top-secret deliberations on Balkan defense with the general staffs of Greece and Turkey.

It is easy to understand why the Kremlin wants Tito back: Yugoslavia, whether an open or concealed ally, represents a priceless strategic asset for the Communist movement. Tito can do even more for Malenkov as a secret ally. Through the Balkan Pact with Greece and Turkey, his men can give the Kremlin the military blueprints of the West. Posing as an "independent Communist" or as an "ultraradical Socialist," Tito has exerted an influence on radicals throughout the world whom the Kremlin could not reach. Milovan Djilas reported to a secret meeting of Yugoslav youth leaders late in July that Malenkov was "highly appreciative" in particular of the way the Titoists had swung so many Asian Socialists toward "neutralism" and anti-Americanism. In addition to these factors, the Soviets doubtless appreciate the psychological boost the return of Tito would provide for other satellite leaders, shaken by revolts since Stalin's death.

WHY TITO IS REJOINING THE KREMLIN

Tito's motives in the new deal are a little harder to understand. Why has he decided to risk a seemingly profitable alliance with the West, to return to the Kremlin which treated him so shabbily 5 years ago? The reports of our informants indicate three major reasons for Tito's decision:

1. Malenkov is not Stalin: All the Yugoslavs who have written on the Tito-Stalin split have emphasized Stalin's arrogant, overbearing personality; "he treated us like children," is the theme that runs through their discussions of the break. But the same commentators invariably point out that Stalin treated his Russian subordinates in the same way, humiliating Malenkov and Molotov on countless occasions. The strong element of personal rancor in the Moscow-Belgrade break was removed with Stalin's death. (Zhdanov, Tito's other foe, died in 1948.)

Malenkov's policy shifts did the rest. As early as May of this year, members of the Yugoslav Central Committee were informed by the Politburo that Malenkov's policies were considered "new, positive, and constructive." A circular letter laying down that line was issued on June 15 and read in all Communist Party cells and army political committees. Later, Milovan Djilas told high UDBA officials that Malenkov had praised the Titoists for resisting Stalin's excesses, and for "never betraying the basic principles of Leninism and remaining consistent Communists." At about the same time, at a meeting of the Communist organization of the Yugoslav General Staff, Gen. Otmar Kreacic hailed Malenkov's reversal of old Stalinist policies in the satellite countries.

One of the major points on which Malenkov has reversed Stalin's policies—the Yugoslavs believe—is the Communist strategy toward the Socialist parties. Where Stalin concentrated on attacking the Socialists, Malenkov believes in converting and confusing them. The Yugoslav Communists regarded Stalin's policy as tactically stupid; after their excommunication, they consciously wooed Socialists everywhere. Now, in his July report to UDBA officials, Djilas said that Malenkov recognized Tito's superior wisdom on this question:

"It is thanks to our policies, not Stalin's, that the Socialist parties of Asia have so strongly resisted the capitalists, especially America, and have been so friendly to the Chinese Communists * * * We have shown that an independent Communist party like ours can do much more for the cause of world Communism than a satellite party obviously directed by a commission of Russian Communists. Russia now understands this.

2. Tito believes the West cannot win: The Yugoslavs regard the stalemate in Korea, the growth of Red China as a military power, the growing disintegration of France and Italy, the ill feeling between Britain and America as signs that the Western World is undergoing a severe crisis. Yugoslav generals believe that France can never win in Indochina; talks with leaders of the British Labor Party, Clement Attlee and Aneurin Bevan, have convinced Tito that Britain will not follow Eisenhower in an aggressive, anti-Kremlin policy. After the Korean armistice was signed, a Politburo member told a group of high army officers:

"The war in Korea has proved that American political leaders and generals are in utter disagreement * * * that America did not dare to use Chiang Kai-shek against the Chinese Communists * * * that America was forced to spend $15 for every dollar China spent. The war has shown that nothing can be done in Asia without the Soviet Union and China, which are the two main

powers in Asia and have the respect of the Asian peoples. From the Communist point of view, the war was harmful because it tended to unify the capitalist powers; for that reason, it was necessary to stop it. The Soviet Union showed great wisdom in the termination of the war."

Even disregarding Tito's dedication to Communist ideals, he has little to gain—in the long run—from his alliance with the West. Should the West come to terms with Malenkov, neither side would be too interested in propping up his regime, either politically or economically. Should there be war, Yugoslavia could not long resist the Soviet Army, and the West would hardly be inclined to restore Tito's dictatorship after liberation. More likely than either of these eventualities, in Tito's eyes, is a steady growth of Communist power in Western Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, which might outflank a Western-oriented Tito and would reduce his bargaining power with both sides.

THE EAGER GENERALS

3. Tito's army prefers Soviet Russia: For Yugoslav military men, Communist or non-Communist, Russia has always been the traditional ally. Moreover, a large part of Tito's officer corps was trained in Russia and views Soviet strategy and tactics as models for modern warfare. Admiration for men like Marshal Zhukov has always been high. The Montenegrin generals are an especially strong pro-Russian element. Both Vukmanovic-Tempo and the head of the Yugoslav General Staff, Gen. Peko Dapchevich, are Montenegrins; both visited the United States this year and came back to Yugoslavia most impressed. Last spring Dapchevich told a meeting of the Communist organization of the General Staff that rabid American capitalists, despite their talks of peace, were ready to unloose a genocidal war against Russia and her satellites at the slightest provocation; in such a war, he said, he could never rally the Yugoslav Army against Russia. Dapchevich went on to criticize American military leaders, contemputuously comparing them to Nazi generals, and adding: "The only difference is that Hitler's generals knew how to fight." He pointed to the aid Russia was now giving the satellite armies, and urged a new Yugoslav-Russian alliance.

Dapchevich was not the only military leader offering such counsel. Once Malenkov had made it clear that he was allying himself with Soviet generals like Zhukov, the pro-Russian sentiments of Yugoslav military men were given full rein. Even after Josipovic's mission to Moscow in April seemed to have failed, the generals continued to press Tito for an accord with the Kremlin. When, a little later, the Politburo formally polled the generals on overall Yugoslav policy, 65 percent condemned Tito's collaboration with the west, and urged a return to Moscow's fold.

As a matter of fact ,the eagerness of the generals was felt to be a handicap by the Yugoslav Communists in the early stages of negotiations with Moscow. Some party leaders even suggested throwing the army off the scent. If Malenkov knew how eager the army was, the party leaders reasoned, he would demand all sorts of internal concessions from Tito's regime and this might eventually lead to outright Soviet control of Yugoslavia. And if Tito refused these concessions and somehow word of the negotians got out to the west, he and his party leaders might find themselves completely isolated.

No such deception of the Yugoslav generals was necessary. With Beria's defeat both Malenkov and Tito were ready for the final agreement, consummated by Vukmanovic-Tempo in Moscow.

These were the three main reasons for Tito's return to the Kremlin camp. But the signs of the new Moscow-Belgrade alliance were evident in scores of lesser actions reported by our informants. Among these developments are:

Item: Scores of former members of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who sided with Stalin against Tito in 1948, have been released from prison and restored to good jobs.

Item: Former pro-Stalin Yugoslav leaders, who fled for their lives to the Cominform countries in 1948, have now returned to Yugoslavia.

Item: The anti-Tito school which the Kremlin ran in Budapest for 5 years was disbanded at the end of June.

Item: The flow of anti-Tito propaganda which had been pouring into Yugoslavia from Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary has ceased.

Item: The Yugoslav Communist Party has decided to purge some 50,000 members, whom it described in a circular letter at the end of the summer as "vacillating elements who have succumbed to the influences of the West and nourish illusions toward the capitalist countries."

Item: Tito stubbornly refuses to enter NATO and to permit the United States to establish bases in Yugoslavia.

By the time Andrei Vishinsky dined with members of the Yugoslav U. N. delegation in October, the Yugoslav people were convinced that Tito had achieved his goal of rapprochement with Moscow. They felt this despite elaborate precautions taken by Tito's security apparatus to conceal the new link. The change in the atmosphere of Yugoslavia was apparent to all the discerning Yugoslavs to whom I spoke in the course of my 2 months' investigation. Every one of the Yugoslavs who crossed the Austrian, Greek, or Italian borders to speak with me had the same comment, for example, on Tito's agitation on Trieste: "It is Moscow's work." Even the small group who doubted that Tito has already signed a pact with Moscow have no doubt that he has tried to do so, and say it is only a matter of time before a final agreement is reached.

Many in the West were skeptical in April 1939, when Soviet Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky described the long history of negotiations between Stalin and Hitler, who had seemed mortal foes for many years. This skepticism was dashed on August 23, 1939, when Molotov and Ribbentrop publicly signed the Nazi-Soviet pact. And, in the present case, Tito and Malenkov are both Communists.

Raising the American Workingman's Standard of Living

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an introduction to a study by Williford I. King on the subject of Raising the American Workingman's Scale of Living, a subject which should claim the attention of everyone in this country. The Honorable Samuel B. Pettengill, a former Member of Congress, writes an interesting preface to this study.

I am including the article at this point in the RECORD.

RAISING THE WORKINGMAN'S SCALE OF LIVING

(A revealing study by Dr. Williford I. King, professor of economics, New York University)

INTRODUCTION

(By Samuel B. Pettengill)

What has made the American clock tick? This article gives the answer. It is easy to read. The chart on this page can be grasped by a schoolchild. It shows who the real friend of the workingman is—it is the man who furnished ever newer and better tools, research, invention, and engineering.

Take time to read this article. It is written by an honest man. It is the work of a highly skilled mind that has devoted itself for a lifetime to the study of the wealth and income of the people of the United States.

In brief compass, it shows how we can have jobs, a rising scale of living—and remain freemen. It shows that a busybody government is the worst enemy of the workingman. It taxes away—and largely wastes—the money that should go into new and better tools.

Here are a few of Dr. King's assembled facts which should deeply concern every American:

In 90 years—1849 to 1939—the investment in tools per factory worker increased 9 times, from $557 to $5,080. But in 1939 it was $1,072 less per worker than in 1929.

These better tools so raised output per worker that working hours were cut almost in half, yet the buying power of hourly wages increased 4 times, resulting in the greatest rise in the scale of living the world has ever known. (This took place after Karl Marx said private capitalism had failed and must be replaced by state capitalism—dictatorship.)

So much for the past.

How can the scale of living of workingmen be raised from here on?

By continuing to expand output per worker—which requires still better tools and more highly skilled men; which calls for new capital; which requires men who save.

But men can and will save only if the Government does not tax their savings away, and does not prevent them from earning a fair return.

Dr. King's studies prove that after taxes, raw materials and other expenses of production are paid for, the worker gets a nearly constant share out of every dollar of output.

From this mathematically demonstrated fact, it is clear that the only way for labor to get increasing real wages is to cooperate with capital and management for increased production.

The great gains of the past came—as they must in the future—from producing bigger and bigger pies with larger slices for all to share.

Fishing and Juvenile Delinquency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, one of the alarming things which confront us today is the great increase in juvenile delinquency. An authority on this subject is Seattle's well-known and highly respected Judge William G. Long, of superior court.

The Sport Fishing Institute asked Judge Long, who comes from my home town of Stevensville, Mont., for a direct

statement on our youngsters and our outdoors.

His statement, as printed in the April 1954 issue of the Sport Fishing Institute Bulletin, gives one of the reasons why a lot of us are doing our best to preserve the recreational resources of our public domain. Judge Long's statement:

JUVENILE FISHING

I have been juvenile court judge in King County, Wash., for over 20 years, and during that time I have handled some 45,000 juvenile cases. As a result of that experience I have come to the conclusion that most youngsters go wrong simply because they do not have anything else to do. City kids do not have the chores to do that most of us had when we were growing up. It is more difficult for them to get out into the hills and on the waters and in the mountains. Paved streets and alleys are not very wholesome places in which youngsters can give vent to their abundant energies and their hunger for adventure. Many of them turn to stealing cars and burglary for their outlets.

It has also been my observation, however, that these same kids respond naturally when given an opportunity to hike and fish and climb, and I can not recall a single case, in 20 years, of serious juvenile conduct involving a youngster whose hobby and recreation outlet was fishing.

WILLIAM G. LONG,
Judge, Superior Court,
Seattle, Wash.

Dr. David B. Allman, of the American Medical Association, Testifies on H. R. 8356, a Bill To Improve the Public Health by Encouraging More Extensive Use of the Voluntary Prepayment Method in the Provision of Personal Health Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce today heard testimony from Dr. David B. Allman, speaking for the American Medical Association, on H. R. 8356, a bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal-health services. Dr. Allman is a member of the board of trustees and the chairman of the committee on legislation of the American Medical Association. He also is a practicing physician in Atlantic City, N. J. The text of Dr. Allman's statement to the committee is as follows:

I am Dr. David B. Allman, of Atlantic City, N. J., where I am engaged in the practice of medicine. I am a member of the board of trustees and the chairman of the committee on legislation of the American Medical Association. I am appearing here today as a representative of that association concerning H. R. 8356, 83d Congress.

We are grateful to the committee for permitting us to delay our appearance on this bill until after the joint meeting of our committee on legislation and the executive committee of the board of trustees which was held in Chicago last Wednesday, March 31. Our organization has now formulated a position on the bill which I shall present today.

Inasmuch as you have been conducting hearings on this measure for some time it is unnecessary in our statement to review the bill in any detail. I should like to state at the outset, however, that the American Medical Association is in complete accord with the principal purpose of the bill, which is to promote the best possible medical care on reasonable terms. It is reassuring to the medical profession to find that the official position of the Government is one of trust and confidence in the ability of private initiative to solve existing problems in the field of medical care. As was stated before this committee last January, our association has for many years adhered to a policy which parallels the above referred to purpose of this bill. We are also in agreement that the most feasible method of accomplishing this result for most of the people is through voluntary health insurance.

The association, however, seriously doubts whether the mechanism suggested in H. R. 8356 is essential and whether it will, in fact, accomplish the desired results.

In determining its essentiality we believe that it is necessary to give full and complete consideration to the tremendous strides which voluntary health insurance has made in this country and the simultaneous improvement in benefits provided to meet the desire of the public for more adequate protection. The expansion of coverage and the improvement of benefits to cushion the economic shock of hospital, surgical, and medical expenses, has been phenomenal during the past few years. Inasmuch as complete statistical data outlining this expansion and growth have been made available to your committee by previous witnesses, I shall not repeat these figures at this time. I understand you have also been briefed on the progress and prospects of the newest area of health insurance—"major medical expenses" coverage which is designed to provide protection against the unpredictable, the unexpected, illness, acute or chronic, the financial impact of which would seriously disrupt the family budget.

It is our belief that the figures which have been presented hold real promise for still greater progress in health-insurance coverage. This fact plus the demonstrated ability of the industry to meet the needs and demands of the public indicates to us that it is unnecessary for the Federal Government to enter the field. The public interest will be served best and continued progress of health insurance protected by preserving the freedom and competitive features of the present method of operation.

It must also be emphasized that there is a limit to the number of insurable people in this country, and a limit to what can be accomplished by insurance. If any effort to solve the economic problems of medical care, it is essential to consider two groups of individuals: (1) Those who are able to pay the normal costs of medical care, and (2) those who are indigent. Most of the American people fall within the first group and have access to the many forms of health insurance now offered. Some of these have elected to carry their risk either because of their financial ability to do so or because they are not convinced of the wisdom or necessity of purchasing protection against medical expenses in advance. As the desirability of insuring against medical expenses is more generally accepted and as the improvement and development of new types of coverage evolve, it is reasonable to expect that the maximum number of insurables will be covered.

The other group—the indigent—poses distinctly different problems. These individuals do not have the funds with which to purchase insurance and are dependent, in some measure, on outside assistance for the basic necessities of life. The American Medical Association believes that if the medical care problems of this group cannot be solved by the individuals or their families, the responsibility should be assumed by the local and State government.

As an association we have been greatly concerned with the individuals in this category and are making efforts to aid in the solution of this very difficult problem. Through our council on medical service we have undertaken a series of studies of the organization and operation of State and local indigent medical care plans which are effective in meeting the need. Fifteen such studies have been made to date and five more will be completed this summer. These reports are being published in the Journal of the association and distributed to all State and county medical societies. Thorugh this method and through the establishment of suggested criteria for such plans medical societies have been stimulated to organize an adequate program or improve an existing one.

Recognizing that the medical profession is only one of a number of parties concerned in the total health care picture of the indigent a permanent study group comprised of representatives of the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, the American Dental Association, the American Public Health Association, and the American Public Welfare Association has been established. Two immediate projects being undertaken by this study group are:

(1) Preparation of a basic statement on the total problem of health care for the indigent.

(2) A series of joint field studies by staff personnel of the various agencies represented so as to consider the problems, operations, and services of all groups concerned with providing medical, hospital and related services to the indigent.

Finally, the association is considering the establishment of a field service to assist State and county medical societies in developing programs in this field. As a pilot project along this line, the field staff spent 5 weeks in one State during the summer of 1953 to help collect basic data and information which might lead to a formal State organization and to adequate financing for an indigent medical care program.

We hope that expanded efforts by private agencies and an awakening by State and local governments to their responsibilities to the indigent will lead to a solution to the problem. It is not clear, however, how persons in the indigent group will be assisted by the provisions of the bill under consideration, without some form of Federal subsidization paid through the insurance companies. We believe this would be objectionable.

As physicians, we have a real interest in this bill; nevertheless, we do not feel qualified to comment authoritatively on its technical insurance and reinsurance aspects. We have, therefore, in considering the bill, met with representatives of the insurance industry and have studied carefully their testimony before this committee during the past week. We have noted the reluctance and in some instances the expressed fear with which these insurance authorities have viewed the proposal.

We were impressed by the comments of Mr. Edwin J. Faulkner when he said, in testifying before your committee on March 26:

"Government reinsurance of health insurance plans would introduce no magic into the field of financing health care costs. Reinsurance can distribute risks among insurers just as insurance distributes them among policyholders, but no matter how far this distribution is carried, it must be sound to succeed. Reinsurance does not increase the ability of the insurer to sell protection to

the unwilling buyer. Reinsurance does not reduce the cost of insurance. Reinsurance does not make insurance available to any class of risk or geographic area not now within the capabilities of voluntary insurers to reach."

Another statement by Mr. John H. Miller on behalf of 3 health and accident insurance associations with over 300 member companies stated, in part:

"Reinsurance, therefore, does not provide a means of making insurable what would otherwise be an uninsurable risk. It does not add to the aggregate resources of the insurers. It does not help to sell insurance nor does it reduce the cost of insurance. If our citizens are not to labor under a misunderstanding, it is essential for them to realize that reinsurance is not a panacea, and that it does not provide additional funds to finance the cost of medical care. As has been made clear in the presentation of the program, voluntary insurance cannot relieve the community of the burden of providing medical care to the indigent nor is it helpful to those who presently cannot qualify for it, and reinsurance does not enhance the power of insurance in these areas. The reinsurance facilities have been proposed with the purpose of extending the frontiers of insurance effectiveness. The rapid development of accident and sickness insurance has, however, been accomplished with little use of the already extensive reinsurance facilities available to the insurers, and we see no evidence that progress would have been augmented had reinsurance been used to a greater extent. The underwriting, or risk bearing, capacity of the companies in this business is very large."

These and other expressions of opinions from the insurance industry plus our analysis of the bill have led us to the conclusion that a Federal reinsurance system such as proposed by the bill could not be expected to achieve the objectives set forth in this legislation. In addition, the measure as drawn would place extensive regulatory power in the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The concentration and delegation of such potential power and control over a vital branch of American industry in a department of the executive branch of the Government without clear and convincing evidence of need is extremely difficult to justify.

Let me reiterate that we believe the sponsors of this proposal are deserving of commendation in attempting to spread voluntary health insurance through private initiative. Nevertheless it is the belief of the American Medical Association that the bill will not fulfill its intended purpose and may, in fact, inhibit the satisfactory progress which is now being made by voluntary insurance companies. For these reasons it is the recommendation of the association that this bill should not be reported favorably by this committee.

In conclusion, let me express my appreciation for myself and for the American Medical Association in permitting an expression of our views on this bill.

Communists Violate Truce in Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, how much longer will the people of the United States tolerate the unconscionable conduct of the Red masters in the Kremlin? A very insecure armistice prevails in Korea and Maj. Gen. J. K. Lacey of the United Nations to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission has just reported as follows:

The Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers side has violated the armistice agreement by the introduction of reinforcing combat aircraft into North Korea at the airfields listed below: Pyong-ni, Taechon, Tyongyang, Uiju, Sinuiju, Wonsan, Saamcham, Sunan.

The Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers side has violated the armistice agreement by the introduction of reinforcing combat material into North Korea by road and rail along the routes in the vicinity of, but by-passing, the three following authorized ports of entry: Sinuiju, Chongjin, Manpo.

The Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers side has violated the armistice agreement by the introduction of reinforcing combat material into North Korea via railroad complexes entering North Korea from Manchuria at places other than ports of entry enumerated in the armistice agreement as follows: Sakchu, Saji-dong.

Request that you dispatch three mobile inspection teams to the above-listed locations and their vicinities for the purpose of conducting special observations, inspections and investigations.

Mr. Speaker, I am also including at ths point an article that appeared in the U. S. News & World Report for February 26. This article is from Seoul, Korea, and the reporter indicates that the Communists are bringing in guns and warplanes contrary to the armistice agreement. How long must we tolerate this kind of situation? The article follows:

REDS CHEAT, BRING IN GUNS AND WARPLANES

SEOUL, KOREA.—A Communist buildup of military strength in North Korea is going on at this time in violation of truce terms.

New Russian-made planes are being smuggled in. Airfields that Americans destroyed at heavy cost are back in commission again. Arms supplies have been secretly augmented. Troop reinforcements are suspected.

Truce terms bar this buildup. A Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission is supposed to police the truce.

Actually, as frequently happens in dealings with Communists, the United States has been outfoxed. The commission is composed of two Communist members, two non-Communists. As a result, it is tied in its vote and impotent.

Formal complaint of Communist truce violations has just been filed by United States Maj. Gen. J. K. Lacey, senior U. N. member of the Joint Military Armistice Commission. He names the places where the violations are occurring. This complaint is getting the brushoff from the supervisory commission.

The map on this page shows what is going on. There are five places through which everything entering North Korea is supposed to pass. Neutral inspection teams are at these gates to guard against Communist imports in violation of truce terms. The Communists, United States officials complain, ignore the gates—they go over the fence.

General Lacey's complaint gives only a hint of all that actually has gone on in Korea. According to United Nations observers, truce violations began the day that fighting stopped last July, when large numbers of Red planes were spotted flying into North Korea. More planes were noted entering last October in crates. U. N. inspectors have seen big shipments crossing the border defiantly near the inspection gates. "Reconstruction supplies" said the Communists.

One previous protest was tried. It did no good. Violations continued.

When the truce began, there was hardly an airfield in all North Korea left usable after United States air attacks. Now General Lacey names nine in operation. U. N. observers say the Communists are building a line of steel and concrete across North Korea.

If Korean peace talks fail and fighting flares again, the Communists are going to be stronger than before. They are using the truce for a buildup.

More Pay for Congress and for Federal Judges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, this morning, in the air, returning from my usual weekend meetings and conferences with constituents in Connecticut, I read today's Hartford Courant. It was a pleasant and genuine surprise to read one of the editorials which caught my eye immediately on turning to the usual thought-provoking editorial page. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include it and recommend this editorial to the committees in both Houses having the report and a possible bill for consideration and early action:

MORE PAY FOR CONGRESS AND FOR FEDERAL JUDGES

Lost in the legislative logjam in Congress is a report. It recommends the salaries of Representatives, Senators, and United States district judges be raised from the present $15,000 to $27,500, with corresponding increases for other United States judges. This report, made by a commission of laymen set up earlier by the 83d Congress, was unanimous. And the reasons set forth are convincing.

It has been forgotten that, following a recommendation of the Hoover Commission, salaries in the executive department were raised in 1949. The Hoover Commission also recommended that the salaries of the judicial and legislative branches of the Federal Government be raised. But nothing was done. The result is that pay for these key posts in the national life is inadequate to the responsibilities involved, in a day when a fearfully complex world piles on ever heavier responsibilities. The pay lags far behind for comparable talent and effort in private industry. That, unforunately, will always happen. What is not right is that the average Congressman has to spend, out of his own pocket, some $3,000 more than his salary. And, in the words of the report, "Federal judges have been forced to use up savings accumulated prior to becoming judges, and the widows of some Federal judges have been left destitute."

This kind of thing means that there is increasing pressure to fill the top posts in the judiciary and the legislature with men rich enough to afford the luxury of serving the public. That is not the American way of doing things. Congress, which has an obvious self-interest, may be expected not to neglect this report. It shouldn't. It should

note instead that the full amount of the recommended increases will cost $7.5 million a year. That is one one-hundredth of 1 percent of the Federal budget. Democracies are notoriously niggardly toward their public servants. But this is a kind of penny-pinching the Nation cannot afford.

Presidential Mission Not Appropriate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT P. MORANO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following news story from the Bridgeport Post pertaining to a discussion on "Communism in Italy," broadcast over station WNAB, Bridgeport, April 3.

I wish to call attention to a particularly pertinent point brought out in the discussion—the opinion of Fairfield University Prof. John Norman that Vice President NIXON should not now be sent to Italy.

Ambassador Luce is charged with the responsibility of representing the United States in Italy. That she is performing this mission effectively and with great credit to her Government is evidenced by the Communist agitation against her.

Her influence and prestige, increasing daily, should not be minimized by the untimely arrival of a Presidential emissary, whose appearance could very well serve as a signal for increased Communist activity against the free world.

The news story follows:

Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce was praised for her achievements in Italy by Professors John Norman and John A. Meaney on the program Fairfield University Interprets the News, over WNAB last night. The topic was "Communism in Italy." The two professors cited the current abusive campaign of the Italian Communists against Mrs. Luce as proof of her success in advancing the interests of the free world in Italy.

Dr. Norman, professor of history and government, summed up the measures he believed should be taken to combat the Red menace in Italy as follows: "(1) Premier Scelba should continue his present program to deprive Communists of government printing and building facilities; (2) he should push forward economic reforms; (3) the Italian Government should ratify the European Defense Community Treaty as soon as possible; (4) the government should illegalize political strikes called by Communists to advance the interests of the Soviet Union rather than those of Italy or the Italian workers; (5) Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce, who has been representing American interests in Italy very effectively, as evidenced by the constant Communist agitation against her, should continue to put to full use her authority to deny American offshore procurement contracts to Italian firms whose trade unions are Communist-dominated; (6) the United States should implement its promises to Italy regarding Trieste; (7) the United States should continue its economic and military aid to Italy; and (8) Vice President NIXON, in view of Ambassador Luce's proven effectiveness, should not be sent to Italy now, for this would only result in harmful protest strikes or agitation, and might prompt Italians to interpret his visit as a reflection on Ambassador Luce's ability."

Professor Meaney, who was program moderator, explained wherein lay the dangers of communism by noting that it is more than a philosophy. "It is a religion with dogmas and morals of its own. That is the reason for its antagonism to any other form of religion and for its peculiar lack of morality and trustworthiness as we know them." The Fairfield professor emphasized that the three foes of communism "are private property and its twin defenses: the state and religion." He added that "the Communist believes these can and must be swept aside by violence and worldwide revolution, for there can be no peace for him until the whole world joins the revolution. Hence, hate and classwarfare must be intensified, private property must be seized, forms of democratic governments must be overthrown and all religions rooted out in order that the dictatorship of the proletariat be substituted."

Student panelists, who outlined the background for the program, were Arthur Bennet and Thomas Connors, both sophomores. Mr. Bennet pointed out that the Italian constitution was a compromise between Christian and Socialist ideas which persist in Italian politics to this day. He reminded listeners that the Communist Party in Italy is the largest one west of the Iron Curtain. He attributed the extent of its success in Italy to its "effective resistance" to nazism and fascism. He also underscored the complexity of Italian politics by remarking the fact that the present Christian Democratic government was supported by two anticlerical parties—the Liberals and the Social Democrats.

Mr. Connors described Italy's economic plight as due largely to lack of resources, overpopulation, unemployment, underemployment, and an unfavorable balance of trade. He observed that "Take-home pay averages only $50 monthly. Taxes take 27 percent of income. To add to this, the Red-led unions, one of which has 3½ million members, have staged a series of 24 hour general strikes." Mr. Connors stated that many of those who voted Communist were simply "stomach Communists" who were registering protest ballots against economic conditions.

Communism Is the Religion of Failures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an advertisement that recently appeared in U. S. News & World Report for February 26. The advertisement was inserted by the Warner & Swasey Co., precision-tool machinery, of Cleveland, Ohio. These pungent and pertinent advertisements have appeared from time to time, and the Warner & Swasey Co. should be complimented for this very effective bit of advertising.

The advertisement follows:

COMMUNISM IS THE RELIGION OF FAILURES

Don't think the danger of communism in this country is past. Men and women who are failures will always try to tear you down to their level, and communism promises them the chance. They label themselves; here's who they are:

Politicians who promote Government ownership of the means of production—the never-failing opening wedge of the Communist state.

Those who urge us not to antagonize Russia and her satellites, supporters, and friends, but to get along with them (which means giving in to them).

The greedy who say the state should educate and feed them, guarantee them security without obligation.

The price of these noble-sounding ideas is loss of liberty bit by bit. And that is how communism always enters.

America rewards with self-respect those who work.

Communism rewards with petty power the failures who destroy. Watch for them.

Rural Communities Depend for Their Existence on the Prosperity of the Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, all over America thousands of rural communities wherein reside the vast majority of our people, depend for their very existence upon the prosperity and well-being of agriculture.

The contribution made to America by the farmers, smalltown merchants and industries, and all those others who live and work in rural America, is beyond calculation. When we take action here that deprives the farmer of his fair share of the national income, we hurt not only the farmer but all these other thousands who depend upon the farmer for their livelihood.

It has been my special effort for 20 years to demand and fight for 100-percent parity for farm products. Therefore, I am very pleased to get the support of the business people of Gonvick in our campaign to get fair, decent prices for farm products.

The people of these communities are fully aware of the dependence of the community upon the farmer as evidenced by the following telegram I received from the Gonvick, Minn., Community Club, urging 100 percent parity for the farmer:

GONVICK, MINN., *March 23, 1954.*
Congressman HAROLD HAGEN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

The Gonvick Community Club at its regular meeting held Thursday, March 18, passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That we go on record as favoring no less than 100 percent parity for the basic farm commodities. This is essential, because there must be provided adequate price and income protection to the producer if we are to reach the goal of agricultural equality with the rest of the economy. We do not favor the present proposed flexible price-support system. We urge continuation of production control and continuation of the soil-conservation program."

THE GONVICK COMMUNITY CLUB,
WM. MCCRADY, *President.*
CHESTER WELT, *Secretary.*

The Crisis in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, for over a year now the situation in Indochina has been deteriorating. In the separate reports of the two special study missions to that area—in which I participated—members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs endeavored to draw attention to that fact. We went even further, by listing a number of recommendations intended to strengthen the hand of the native Vietnamese and French forces in this conflict. We outlined specific proposals for increasing the power and the effectiveness of the loyal troops fighting the Communist rebels.

I have watched the very slow progress made in that direction with growing dismay. The situation in Indochina has been calling for prompt and energetic action, lest the local conflict there should spread to extremely large proportions. But such action has not been forthcoming.

Presently, by admission of the top spokesmen of the administration, the situation in Indochina is critical. Direct involvement of Red China may be very close at hand. If this should occur, the entire Southeast Asia and even South Pacific will be endangered.

What has this present administration done to prevent such an occurrence, to avert the loss of Indochina and of the entire Southeast Asia to the Communists, and to prevent the outbreak of a second Korea? The men who have criticized the past administration for the loss of China, and for allegedly allowing Korea to become so indefensible so as to invite Red aggression—what have these men done to avert the possible loss of Indochina?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish at this point to call to the attention of my colleagues in this body the following editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal of April 3, 1954. The editorial is entitled "Loudmouthed Critics of China's Loss Do Not Help on Indochina." It merits our serious thought.

Mr. Speaker, it is my earnest hope that adequate steps will be taken to prevent further deterioration of the situation in Indochina. Some of the recommendations and observations mentioned in the reports of the two study missions to that area should be given some consideration. For example, the struggle in Indochina is an international issue. Therefore, as such it should be brought before the United Nations to mobilize opinion in southeast Asia and the rest of the world against Communist aggression. Further, the administration should have long ago insisted on French political and military reforms in Indochina. Without such reforms, the Vietnamese natives have little incentive to fight and defeat the Reds. To many natives, the issues are not clearly drawn in this conflict. If they receive full independence, this aspect of the situation will be changed: they will be fighting for their country.

The above-mentioned editorial follows:

LOUDMOUTHED CRITICS OF CHINA'S LOSS DON'T HELP ON INDOCHINA

Who, 5 years from now, will be to blame for the loss of Indochina—if it is lost? Who, in the pattern of the last few years, will be called before congressional committees, blasted in political speeches, and labeled "traitor" because of new Communist gains in Asia?

Some leading Republican speakers contend that China went Communist because we failed to help enough. They claim that China was "sold out" by a handful of State Department "traitors."

Some political speakers contend that the Korean war started because we failed to help enough and let the Communists believe we would allow Korea to be plucked. It is ironic that many of those who make the charge voted against Korean aid before the war started.

Now those critics have their own administration and have organizational control of Congress. The threat today is not to China or Korea but Indochina. Our ally, France, is hunting for a way to get out of Indochina honorably. The chances are that if France withdraws, Indochina will go Communist one way or another. That would open the gateway to the rubber and rice treasures of southeast Asia.

What are we doing to help? We carry the money burden of the war. We send planes and supplies. But it is obvious these things aren't enough. The decision must be made now whether to let Indochina fall or increase efforts to save it. Secretary Dulles, with the President's backing, said this the other night:

"The United States feels that that possibility (the loss of Indochina and southeast Asia) should not be passively accepted, but should be met by united action. This might involve serious risks. But these risks are far less than those that will face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

Can we increase our own military help? The men who say we "lost" China and who love to roll the concept of "massive retaliation" around their tongues put their foot down there. They opposed plans to help train Indochinese soldiers. They rebelled against sending technicians to aid the French, and demanded that they come home soon. They keep asking for promises that we will send no troops or pilots.

The plain fact is that the crowd that is loudest in its shouts of blame over the loss of China has tried to tie the administration's hands to the point where hardly any decision about Indochina is possible. But if Indochina is lost, these politicians—who have nothing to offer now—will be the noisiest and most irresponsible of all the critics.

Concessions or Appeasement: Administration Eases Embargo on Strategic Goods to Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of this morning, April 5. The article titled "United States To Ease Soviet Trade Embargo as Peace Gesture, Stassen Reveals," follows:

STRATEGIC GOODS LIST REEXAMINED—UNITED STATES TO EASE SOVIET TRADE EMBARGO AS PEACE GESTURE, STASSEN REVEALS

Foreign Operations Administrator Harold Stassen said yesterday the administration had agreed to ease its embargo of strategic goods to Russia in the hope such a policy would encourage world peace.

Stassen recently returned from a series of secret talks with French and British Cabinet members aimed at revising the list of goods which should be kept out of Soviet hands.

He said the reason for this revision was the administration's conviction that raising heavy trade barriers around the Soviet would create further world "tensions."

"The path of world peace may well be an economic road," Stassen said.

The British and French Governments are known to have favored such a loosening of East-West trade for some time. Stassen said that during the recent conferences "both sides made certain concessions."

Speaking on the American Broadcasting Co.'s television show, "At Issue," Stassen said that with the revision in trade this country will end its policy of watchfulness in determining what goods may or may not be helpful to Russia in building up a potential war machine.

He said the free world has made remarkable economic progress in recent years while Russia has been having its economic difficulties.

If we can convince Russia that her hopes that this Nation's economic system will collapse are in vain and persuade her she can improve her system by peaceful trading with the West, such an exchange will encourage world peace, Stassen said.

Lynn-Nahant Beach, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include herein the following portion of my statement before the House Committee on Public Works this morning favoring the Lynn-Nahant Beach erosion project of Massachusetts:

EXCERPT FROM STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN THOMAS J. LANE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1954.

SECURE LYNN-NAHANT BEACH, MASS., AGAINST EROSION

Do not be misled by the word beach, which conjures up thoughts of pleasant loafing in the summertime.

The restless Atlantic is constantly nibbling at our land frontier, and during northeast storms its power and its fury are destructive.

Beaches are used for other purposes, such as the ones on the Normandy coast, and on every island where our men fought their way to landings throughout the Pacific.

Confining ourselves to the day in and day out erosion, it may be best to start off with a comment from the Bureau of the Budget, which, in a letter of April 26, 1951, addressed to the Secretary of the Army stated: "It

therefore appears that the project (Lynn-Nahant Beach) is economically justified and that the proposed Federal participation to the extent of one-third of the construction cost meets the requirement of Public Law 727, 79th Congress. On this basis, I am authorized by the Director of the Budget to advise you that there would be no objection to the submission of the report to Congress."

The one referred to in the report is also detailed in Document No. 134 of the House of Representatives, 82d Congress, 1st session. This is a continuous beach comprising King's Beach Reservation in the town of Swampscott, Lynn Shore Reservation in the city of Lynn, and Nahant Beach parkway in the town of Nahant, all in Essex County, Mass. The beach is 7½ miles north of the main entrance channel to Boston Harbor and 9 miles northeast of the city of Boston.

Lynn-Nahant Beach is paralleled for its entire length by excellent public highways which are separated from the beach proper by public walks and promenades. The only road to Nahant traverses the tombolo. The drive along the Lynn and Swampscott sections is part of a State highway route. The entire area is connected by excellent roads to all sections of the towns and to the principal traffic arteries of metropolitan Boston. Free public parking is provided for the entire length of the beach by parking areas and roadside parking. All parts of the beach are open without charge to the public. The mainland area is developed as a very fine park with concrete promenades and lawns in back of the seawall and at a level partially below that of the highway. The tombolo area is developed as a picnic area with free fireplaces, playgrounds, and bathing facilities. The bathhouse has accommodations for 3,000 people, with a charge of 25 cents being made for its use. Daily attendance at the beach in season averages 10,000 people with maximum attendance being 15,000 people. The usability of the beach is not impaired by water pollution that would endanger the health of bathers.

One benefit of this project would be to save the $14,000 that has to be spent every year to repair direct damages caused by erosion.

Another benefit, in terms of increased patronage of the beach, and of increased valuation of private property due to improvement of the beach, is evaluated at $27,720. Bear in mind that all property subject to damage is publicly owned, comprising the Metropolitan District Commission's reservation and the Nahant Road. While protection from storm and wave attack will increase its value, its public ownership will be retained and no return on the increased value can be realized. Hence no benefit is evaluated for this item, even though it leads to indirect benefits.

The inundation of the Nahant tombolo results in the complete isolation of the town of Nahant, population over 1,800. If the dunes are allowed to be lost, storm waves will roll over the tombolo and sweep the beach materials into Lynn Harbor. The material could be periodically reclaimed by hydraulic dredging, but such a project would be of considerable cost and would probably not provide as satisfactory a beach as presently exists. Materials washed into the harbor would also shoal the channel of the Federal project which is adjacent to the tombolo. The isolation of the entire town of Nahant at any time creates serious problems of public welfare, since any emergency aid and relief required by a public disaster cannot be given by neighboring communities. The inundation of the single road for a short period can cause the loss of life of sick or injured persons who require emergency treatment in the major metropolitan hospitals. Should such isolation occur during a war period, national security would be imperiled, since access to major coast defense positions would be cut off. Intangible benefits of this type derived from the maintenance of the tombolo, while not susceptible to direct evaluation, are real and important benefits.

The average annual carrying charge is estimated to be $28,000. The average annual benefits which have been evaluated are $41,770. The ratio of benefits to cost is 1.5 to 1.

The total annual benefits to accrue from the project, evaluated and nonevaluated, are deemed to have a much greater ratio to the annual estimated carrying charges for the work than the factual ratio of 1.5 to 1.

Federal participation in the amount of one-third of the first cost is estimated at $154,670. Average annual benefits are estimated at $41,770 of which $37,300 is general and public in character, and $4,470 is to privately owned property. The Federal Government's share of the average annual carrying charges of $28,000 is $6,690. Responsible local interests, among other conditions, agree to assure maintenance of the improvements during their useful life.

For the foregoing reasons and because the insurance cost of this project is relatively small, I ask that the erosion control program for the Lynn-Nahant Beach area be approved and included in the omnibus river and harbor bill.

Life Magazine Misrepresents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including a statement made by Mr. Talbot Peterson, chairman of the Republican Party of Outagamie County, Wis. It is a reply to an article contained in the March 29 issue of Life magazine derrogatory to Senator McCARTHY.

Mr. Speaker, the letter by Mr. Talbot Peterson debunks the Life article and sets the record straight as to who the individuals were and their misrepresentation is clearly obvious. The statement by Mr. Peterson follows:

REPUBLICAN PARTY OF
OUTAGAMIE COUNTY, WIS.,
April 3, 1954.

Subject: Letter to editor, Life, March 29.

To all district chairmen, State headquarters, all county chairmen, all Wisconsin Members of Congress, Senators McCARTHY, WILEY.

The March 29 issue of Life magazine carried a letter to the editor on page 4 over 12 signatures and with an Appleton dateline. The letter read as follows:

"Reading McCARTHY and a Besieged Army (Life, March 8), we are wondering just whom you contacted in sampling opinions about McCARTHY's hometown support. Support of McCARTHY means endorsement of nazism and other equally odious political philosophies. This is an indictment we Appleton Republicans bitterly resent. The rest of the country may be worried about McCARTHY, but think of us. We have to put up with him for the next 5 years."

The letter was signed as follows: E. Groden, Jr., D. E. Warner, G. Kennington, H. A. Vanden Blumer, J. Krabbe, M. A. Potratz, L. Witeck, E. P. O'Brien, C. W. Foster, W. Sell, R. A. Bennett, W. W. Towne.

Needless to say this letter caused an explosion in the Republican Party of McCARTHY's home county. All of us wanted to know who these Appleton Republicans were, and I am sure you will be most interested also. Several groups set out to locate these people, and after one week of effort the following information can be reported.

1. Only one name appeared in the Appleton phone book—R. A. Bennett, who is a good friend of McCARTHY's and had nothing to do with the letter.

2. Only one other name appeared in the city directory—Joann Krabbe.

3. None of them are members of the Republican Party in either Outagamie County, or any county near Outagamie.

4. After days of work, the following was discovered about each person:

Eugene Groden, Jr., 25, Cambridge, Mass., is a sales trainee for Kimberly Clark in Neenah. He attended Tufts College and will shortly be assigned a sales position after his 3 months' training is over.

Donald E. Warner, 24, Belmont, Mass., same as above; also attended Tufts College.

E. Patrick O'Brien, 24, Carthage, Ill., same as above; attended Northwestern University.

C. W. Foster, 31, Hamline University, home address unknown, same as above.

Robert A. Bennett, 21, New York, same as above; attended Williams College.

William W. Towne, 25, Milwaukee, Wis., same as above; attended Marquette University.

Garth S. Kennington, 116 South Pierce Avenue, Appleton, assistant biology professor, Lawrence College. Attended University of Chicago.

Harvey A. Vanden Bloomer (name misspelled on letter) works in sales promotion center, Kimberly Clark Corp.; lives outside of Outagamie County on Highway 41.

Joann Krabbe, 1403-North Superior Street, Appleton; receptionist in sales promotion center, Kimberly Clark Corp.

Martin A. Potratz, route 3, Neenah, utility man; sales promotion center, Kimberly Clark.

Wallace Sell, 857 Hunt Street, Neenah, engineer, control room; sales promotion center, Kimberly Clark.

Mrs. Joseph (Leslie) Witeck, 330 Elm Street, Menasha, head cook; sales promotion center, Kimberly Clark.

In addition:

1. Only two are bona fide residents of Appleton.

2. Five of them are not even voters in Wisconsin.

3. None are Republicans as such, none have taken part in any Republican meetings.

4. Towne and Bennett already have been assigned to the New York sales office of Kimberly Clark and are there now.

5. Foster has left and has been assigned to Minneapolis.

6. Warner has also been assigned elsewhere.

7. Groden was the force behind this effort and lives (during his training period) at the same address as Kennington.

8. On April 2, Mrs. Witech was interviewed, and said she partially agreed with the letter she signed. She said she "didn't think about it too much at the time" when Groden asked her to sign. "I think a lot of the time we need someone like that (McCARTHY). There are two sides to every question," she said. Asked if she would sign the letter again she said, "Well, I don't know."

There you have the story of the 12 Appleton Republicans.

Organized by a man from Cambridge, Mass., who is here for 3 months. Spread all over the pages of a national publication, to make

readers in New York, Texas, etc., think that Appleton Republicans aren't for McCarthy. Carried the idea that all supports of McCarthy are Nazi supporters.

Because of the attention given to McCarthy's hometown, and because of the reporting of the anti-anti-Communist press about activities here, you may receive from time to time reports like this on what actually is going on here, and who actually said what. We had a sample of Life's reporting in their March 8 issue about Appleton.

I trust you found this interesting, and remain,

Sincerely,

TALBOT PETERSON,
Chairman.

P. S.—Despite what you hear we still are for JOE MCCARTHY in Outagamie.

The First Line of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article at the request of Pres. Grayson Kirk, of Columbia University, of which I am happy to be an alumnus:

THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

At his news conference on October 21, 1953, President Eisenhower spoke feelingly on the subject of citizenship responsibility. His comments were prompted by the shocking decision of several American veterans of the Korean war to espouse the Communist cause. It was the President's view that American soldiers were being asked to fight communism without an adequate education in the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Youth has often demonstrated an exasperating ineptitude for political affairs. Sometimes the consequences are harmless. Sometimes they can be tragic, affecting the destinies of nations.

A tragic case in point is the Central American nation, Guatemala, which is now completely under the yoke of communism. In large measure, Guatemala's plight stems from the misguided efforts of youthful groups in that unfortunate country to effect political reforms in 1944. Because of youth's gullibility, the Communists were able to seize control of the Government and commence the economic warfare under which the country is presently reeling.

In Europe and in Asia, of course, youth-led uprisings, riots, and demonstrations have occurred far to frequently. For a current example we need only glance in the direction of Iran where university hotheads, as one news report expressed it, have recently engaged in violent demonstrations against the Government.

What has happened so often in the Old World is now beginning to happen in the Western Hemisphere. The pattern now established in Guatemala may well be repeated in other Latin-American countries with dire economic and political repercussions throughout the New World. And youth can again be the agent.

It would be easy to offer a pat explanation in the case of Guatemala. Youth is active politically, since youth is permitted to vote at 18. (And youth also votes at 18 in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Uruguay, in Honduras, Salvador, and the Dominican Republic.) But such an explanation overlooks the important fact that many Latin Americans have attained full majority at 18, even to the extent of assuming responsibilities in business and industry.

The real explanation, of course, is to be found in the political immaturity of youth. Lacking knowledge and understanding of the political facts of life, youth cannot possibly act with intelligence in political affairs. The price of such ignorance, as Guatemala has learned, can be terribly high.

The tragedy of Guatemala emphasizes the tremendous importance of a trained and alert citizenry. It is a sobering reminder to the United States that this country has no great cause for rejoicing, not when a veteran of the Korean war can be duped by Communist propaganda.

The need for nationwide training in the responsibilities of citizenship must be considered urgent. It will, in fact, become critical if, as now seems likely, 18-year-olds in this country are allowed to vote in the near future.

Since World War II, interest in the youth suffrage question in the United States has been mounting steadily. Some major developments:

Georgia, since 1943, has permitted 18-year-olds to vote.

A hearing to consider a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age was held in 1943, following Georgia's action, although nothing developed from this. During 1953, no less than eight new bills were introduced in the House and Senate, and another hearing appears imminent.

Both major political parties have endorsed the principle of youth suffrage. President Eisenhower has stated his belief that, "if a man is old enough to fight, he is old enough to vote."

No one, of course, can predict at this point whether 18-year-olds in other States besides Georgia will soon be enfranchised. It requires no crystal ball, however, to predict that the Nation will be ill-prepared if some 6,500,000 new voters suddenly begin to exercise this franchise—unless definite steps are taken now.

The public schools have already made major strides in this direction, thanks to the citizenship education project which was launched 4 years ago by Teachers College, Columbia University, with funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation, of New York. This project received the strong endorsement of President Eisenhower, then head of Columbia. This has been a great step in the right direction—but there is a missing link. The colleges and universities have not been alert to meet this new challenge to train a youth electorate. Yet obviously, they must share the responsibility for equipping youth to handle what one authority has called "the most dangerous weapon that can be placed in the hands of any man"—the ballot.

Preparation for citizenship is, after all, a major function of our colleges.

It is not enough, however, for the colleges and universities to turn out "average" citizens. On them rests the heavy responsibility for training exceptional citizens, many of whom will become the leaders of tomorrow.

But the colleges ought to be doing even more than this. They could—and should—be training young citizens who could go out today into the communities of the Nation and provide inspiration and leadership for other youth groups.

There appears to be in the making a model program for such training. It is perhaps no coincidence that this program is to be found at Columbia University, which pioneered the citizenship education project.

This time it is Columbia College, the undergraduate liberal arts college for men, which is breaking new ground. Throughout its 200 years of existence, this institution has sought to develop well-rounded citizens capable of assuming useful roles in society.

Columbia College is now in the process of developing a new kind of citizenship training program. Through a reorganization of its extra-curricular activities and social program, the college expects to help all its students to develop a vital sense of both civic and social responsibilities. It plans to build a "capitol" building for this purpose to be known as "citizenship center." It intends to offer the students continuous opportunities not only to study about citizenship but to practice it daily.

The whole program will stress politics and government, and students will even be encouraged to work directly with political parties.

The college believes so strongly in this type of training that it plans to include citizenship training among the requirements leading to the bachelor's degree, and to list this requirement in the college catalog.

Here, then, is a possible pattern for citizenship training programs in other American colleges. Columbia College has already indicated its eagerness to share its experiences with other colleges.

Certain it is that there is no time to be lost in providing such training in our colleges, and in extending present programs in the public schools. The shadow of world communism is lengthening, and there is barely time to strengthen what, after, is our first line of defense: our citizen army.

This is the challenge of youth suffrage. If the franchise is to be extended to 18-year-olds, there must be basic training in politics and in government—just as surely as there must be basic training in the military services.

Housing Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7839) to aid in the provision and improvement of housing, the elimination and prevention of slums, and the conservation and development of urban communities.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, as far as I have been able to ascertain, no one is very happy about the proposed Housing Act of 1954. It is the unwanted offspring of a shotgun marriage. The shotgun is the administration's realization that we are in a recession and that there is a real danger of a depression.

The result has been a housing program which is not calculated to bring decent housing within the financial means of a large segment of our population in the low- and middle-income brackets, where the need is greatest. The sole purpose of the program is to ward off an immediate depression by furnishing Government financing and guaranties to the continuing building of homes in a price range beyond the reach of a majority of our people.

The unfortunate part is that many who temporarily find solution to their housing problems by acquiring homes on

the easy terms provided must eventually lose them with any material increase in unemployment and diminution of family income. No matter how low the initial payment and how extended the mortgage period, the controlling factors are the purchase price and the rate of interest. Moreover, most of the new constructions in the large urban centers are in the suburban areas, far from places of employment, and usually requiring the use of private automobiles in going to and from work. The factor of transportation under normal conditions is entirely overlooked.

ESCAPE TO THE SUBURBS

If our large urban centers are to be saved, decent housing within financial means and in wholesome environments must be made available reasonably near the site of employment and of interest. The escape to the suburbs is attended among other things with, first, a great and unwarranted increase in transportation costs; second, a lengthening of the workday if the hours of going to and from work are taken into account; and, third, a serious congestion of local transportation facilities during the peak hours, for which our transportation engineers can find no solution under present conditions. The proposed housing bill will contribute to the subarban migration. It will make available more homes within an impractical price range, not in urban centers but miles away in the suburbs, and the necessities of an acute housing shortage in the urban area itself will compel their use and occupancy even though with present inconvenience and the certainty of ultimate disaster.

DEBATE TOO LIMITED

I regret that we have but 3 hours of general debate on what well may prove to be the most important measure to come before the 83d Congress. Most of the heat and passion that have entered into our housing debates have resulted from misunderstanding. More time for debate might help to clear up some of the misunderstanding.

Beginning on March 2 our committee, Banking and Currency, held many days of public hearings. These are contained in a volume of 889 pages, which came from the printers far too late for any Member of this body to examine with any particularity. I doubt if any member of the committee has had time to refresh his memory by reading the full transcript at it appears in the printed form.

In the time allotted me it, of course, will be impossible to review the testimony of the many witnesses.

Able, experienced, and well-informed as is our distinguished chairman it is plain that in the limited time he allotted to himself, having in mind that there was only an hour and a half for all the debate on his side, he could not hope entirely to cover the testimony in a book of 889 pages. At best he could skim over the high spots.

Suffice to say that not one of the many witnesses appearing before our committee showed any burning desire to take unto himself the credit of being the father of this legislative child of a shotgun marriage. Even Mr. Cole frankly said he was experimenting and hoped for the best. Others went along with some features, had grave doubts about others.

THAT UGLY WORD DEPRESSION

Henry DuLaurence, chairman of the legislative committee of the National Apartment Owners Association, brought in the ugly and in some quarters the forbidden word of depression. He said—page 782 of the printed hearings—that the bill unless substantially modified offered a sure method for creating a financial depression. Those are Mr. DuLaurence's words, Mr. Chairman, not mine. Again on page 772 of the hearings he said that an ill-conceived plan could throw us into a serious depression. Again, Mr. Chairman, Mr. DuLaurence's words, not mine. Mr. DuLaurence continued:

> Every serious depression in this country has occurred when there was a recession in industry coupled with a recession in real estate. The depressions of the 1840's, 1870's, 1890's, and 1930's are examples of this economic phenomenon. In each case the real estate recession has followed an excessive building of houses. * * *
>
> Recently we have had some questionable repercussions in business, plus a large housing construction program and I think that we should recognize the fact that we may be in a vulnerable spot if we espouse and permit a forced increase in the construction of housing.

MR. SHANKS TALKS FRANKLY

Certainly one of the most interesting and intelligently outspoken witnesses supporting in the main the ideas of the bill was Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Co. of America. While I did not necessarily agree in some of his conclusions I felt that his personal presence made a valuable contribution to the public hearings on the pending bill. He presented the thinking not only of his own company, the second largest I believe in the life insurance field, but also that of an association of 243 companies holding approximately 98 percent of all life insurance company assets in the United States.

A grand total of about $17 billion of life insurance money is invested in real estate securities. In the 7 years from 1947 to 1953 the life companies of the Nation increased holdings of mortgages on 1 to 4 family residences from $2.6 billion to $13.1 billion, a net increase of $10.5 billion. At the end of 1953 they hold 20.1 percent of the total outstanding mortgage debt on 1 to 4 family residences. They are the largest and most important investors in Government insured and guaranteed mortgages. They hold $6 billion of FHA mortgages, $3.6 billion of VA mortgages. In addition they hold close to $3.4 in mortgages on multifamily units.

SIMILARITY TO DEPRESSION ERA

Mr. Chairman, I should emphasize at this point the significance of the $17 billion figure. That is the figure representing the total investment at this time of the life insurance companies in real estate securities. When I heard Mr. Shanks give the figure I instantly recalled that the same $17 billion figure had bobbed up tragically in the real estate washout in the early thirties.

It was the approximate total of the investments of the American people in the real estate bonds that covered my own city of Chicago and other urban centers with magnificent hotels, sky-piercing office buildings and palatial apartment houses, erected at a time of high construction costs, most of them after a reasonable tenant demand in that high-priced bracket had been exceeded, and all of them dependent on the permanent continuance of inflation to insure the meeting of maintenance costs and mortgage commitments.

When the time of accounting came the $17-billion investment of the savings of the American people was washed down the drain. Most of the original purchasers of those real estate bonds went brokenhearted to the graves of paupers. I know only too well the sufferings of these good men and women for it was given to me to lead them in a long, hard and at times seemingly hopeless fight to salvage for them from bankruptcy reorganizations some mite of comfort, some crumbs at least for their sustenance. To that labor of love I gave several years of the prime of my life, striving without pay or material interest of any nature and without regret entwining myself with debts which the remainder of my life has been given to liquidating.

I make mention of this personal background merely to explain why I am so concerned when I see signs so similar, trends so identical, as those that were apparent in the late twenties.

Since the washout of the bondholders in the era I have mentioneu there has been no financing by the sale of real estate bonds. The largest source of financing has come from insurance funds.

WHY MR. SHANKS IS APPREHENSIVE

Mr. Shanks did not go as far as Mr. DuLaurence did later in the hearings. He did say on page 473 of the hearings:

> We are apprehensive about some of the broad philosophy that runs through the bill. We would like to see in the bill a recognition that regardless of a desire to stabilize the housing industry at a high level the number of housing starts each year must bear a relationship to such basic forces as the rate of family formation, the need for replacement of clearly substandard housing, and the willingness to buy.

In my questioning of Mr. Shanks he enlarged on this phase. Beginning on page 495 of the hearings:

> Mr. O'HARA. I may not agree with you in all of your suggestions but I do agree with you in this—the necessity of giving a stability to real estate, having in mind our experiences in the late twenties and the early thirties.
>
> Mr. SHANKS. Right.
>
> Mr. O'HARA. Where there was a boom, and the bankers wanted to put out their money and sell real estate bonds and everybody wanted to make money, they overbuilt.
>
> Mr. SHANKS. They sure did.
>
> Mr. O'HARA. At a time of excessive prices, and then the equities were all washed out. Everybody was washed out. Now, of course, you want to avoid a repetition of that, do you not?
>
> Mr. SHANKS. We do, indeed.
>
> Mr. O'HARA. And you can see a definite danger, if our construction goes on moti-

vated by a desire on the part of builders to make money, or even on the part of politicians to contribute to warding off a recession. It can have its repercussions, which can be bad. Is that your thought?

Mr. SHANKS. That is correct. I don't object to people making money, but if you go right on regardless of the market demand, then you get a situation where eventually it is not taken up, and the sad thing is that the price and the market value of all the existing housing is destroyed in the process.

WHAT IF DEPRESSION COMES

Mr. Chairman, I have emphasized the fact that there is a similarity in many respects to the building situation at the present time to that prevailing in the pre-depression period. I also have pointed out that the investment of the bondholders in the twenties and thirties reached about the same total as the present investment of the life insurance companies in real estate securities. The bondholders unfortunately did not have the benefits of Government guaranties. The insurance investments are better protected. Nevertheless it is a large amount of money that is involved.

What will happen if the recession deepens into a depression? The answer to that question is of interest to us here in the Congress, certainly of tremendous concern to the American people. Therefore, I think it is proper that I should give the answer of the president of the Prudential Insurance Co., the representative of an association of 243 life insurance companies.

I am reading from page 497 of the printed hearings:

Mr. O'HARA. * * * what are you doing to protect yourselves if the real estate market should drop badly, and the people who are renting are unable to pay the rentals, and therefore the equity holders can't hold on because the rents coming in do not meet the mortgage commitments, and we get a bad situation? What precautions are you taking for your protection?

Mr. SHANKS. We are in so much more sound shape with regard to those—I am speaking now of the insurance companies generally, not of my company only—than they were at the beginning of the 1930's, that there is no comparison.

In those days you had short, 5-year mortgages, and you had a second mortgage, and a third mortgage top of it. And those things were falling due. And when they came due, sometimes they wouldn't be renewed, and when they were, it was at a big cost to the borrower. A lot of them were put out at inflated valuations, which shouldn't have gone that high, and as a consequence the whole thing went down like a house of cards.

Today they are all long mortgages, all amortized each month, and all a person has to do to stay in his house is to continue his monthly payments. A second mortgage is almost nonexistent. It is practically out of the picture.

The valuation situation is much more carefully watched by the companies than it was, and I would say that while, of course, if you have a depression—anything approaching an economic depression—sure you will have a lot of foreclosures, but we would do just as we did then, we would work out the loan with the borrower, and keep him in the house and try to work it out, and generally it works out.

Furthermore, we hold more Government securities, and more readily salable securities than at that time, and generally I think the companies are on a more conservative reserve basis than at that time.

I can assure you that the life-insurance companies of the United States are in very fine shape and we would have to have a depression or a recession, or whatever you call it, away over and above and beyond anything we have ever known, including the thirties, before we would get into too much trouble.

Mr. Chairman, I hope I have made it plain that the sole purpose of the pending legislation is to ward off a depression. If my colleagues who are not members of the committee will take the time to read with studious attention the 889 pages of the printed report that fact will be as plain to them as daylight itself.

If the measure could accomplish that objective, it would merit support. The danger is that the program proposed in the bill actually may contribute to bringing on the depression. At least that is the fear outspokenly voiced by Mr. DuLaurence. Mr. Shank's apprehension is that real estate stability will be toppled over if we build merely for temporary stimulation and not to meet legitimate and existing demands. Other witnesses testified along the same line.

LOWER PRICED HOMES NEEDED

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, says that we have already overbuilt in the high-priced field. Monsignor O'Grady knows the housing situation in the large cities of the United States as well as any man living. He has been in the fight for decent housing for all the American people since 1932. I am reading from his testimony on page 642 of the printed hearings:

I have always, of course, liked to regard housing as a part of an allover dynamic economy, and I, of course, was surprised when I got in the outskirts of Cincinnati yesterday. I find a considerable vacancy in this high-income, high-priced housing, and, of course, I find that the supply of houses in the downtown area is gradually contracting and population of the downtown area declined, and this is characteristic of many other American cities, I am quite sure—contracted until about 1950, and it has been growing ever since, and the housing supply is being reduced downtown all the time.

ACTUAL HOUSING NEEDS

It has been pointed out that recent housing production serves primarily families in the upper income groups. The urgent need is for homes for low- and middle-income groups. Here are the actual figures of what is needed annually:

Five hundred and twenty thousand homes for people who can afford monthly rentals of not to exceed $30 a month;

Three hundred and eighty thousand homes for families able to pay from $30 to $50 a month;

Three hundred thousand homes for those in the group able to pay from $50 to $75 a month.

Construction volume for the last 3 years is 20 percent below the peak of 1.4 million units built in 1950. The 1950 census showed 15 million substandard homes. At the present time 10 million homes must be replaced, 4.6 million homes must be rehabilitated. By 1955 we will need 2.05 million units a year, by 1965 an annual total requirements of 2.4 million units.

These are homes, Mr. Chairman, that must be produced within the financial means of the people who are to occupy them. It is nonsense to pretend that we are meeting the demand by concentrating on homes which are available only to those in the higher income groups.

HOUSING ACT OF 1949

It is unfortunate that in the first session of the 83d Congress the Appropriations Committee invaded the jurisdiction of the Banking and Currency Committee. It is the province of the Appropriations Committee to provide for the appropriation of money, not to legislate as to the manner of its use.

The Housing Act of 1949 laid the foundation of a sound well-rounded program. The provisions for public housing and for research were among its strongest features. Both have been wrecked, the research part in its entirety.

Of the present members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, 14 served on the committee in the 81st Congress when under the chairmanship of the brilliant and beloved gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE] the Housing Act of 1949 was written. Three of the members of that committee have since died, one has been elevated to the other body as the junior Senator from Oklahoma, some have gone to other committees, others have left the Congress. The late distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUCHANAN] was one of the stellar figures in winning the historic battle for the enactment of this constructive housing legislation, marking one of the outstanding achievements of the 81st Congress. I was moved, as were others who had worked with and who loved Frank Buchanan, when yesterday his widow, now the distinguished gentlewoman from Pennsylvania, in an address to the House carried on the fight as Frank would have done.

WRECK OF RESEARCH PROVISION

It was my privilege to serve on the committee when the Housing Act of 1949 was being drafted and in humble measure to participate in the debate when the measure reached the floor of the House. I was especially thrilled by the promise held forth by the provision in the act for a research division aimed at finding the ultimate answer to the perplexing question of how to bring decent housing within the financial means of everyone. This envisioned long-range study and planning. It would explore every possibility of new types of construction, use of new materials, methods of financing, all of the factors entering into the problem.

The responsibility for wrecking the work of research, which is absolutely necessary if any real and lasting progress is to be made in bringing homes within everyone's reach, lies with the Appropriations Committee.

I am reading from the hearings of our committee on March 3, 1954, when the Honorable Albert M. Cole, Housing and Home Finance Administrator, was on the stand, commencing on page 131:

Mr. O'HARA. * * * I thought one of the strongest features of our Housing Act of the 81st Congress was that providing for the Research Department. That is that from that laboratory of study, we might look forward,

perhaps, to new plans of construction, new plans of financing, that would bring the American home within the reasonable financial means of all of our people.

Now, as I understand it, not through your desires, certainly not through the desires of this committee, but through the Appropriations Committee, that has been killed.

Mr. COLE. That is right, we are liquidating it.

Mr. O'HARA. Now, are you using your influence with the President, and with the Administration, to have the efficiency of the Research Department restored?

Mr. COLE. Mr. O'HARA——

Mr. O'HARA. Don't answer if I am embarrassing you, because I do not wish to do that.

PROPER SPHERE FOR PROGRAM

Mr. COLE. That isn't it at all. I think there is a proper sphere for a program of research in the Government, particularly housing. I want to say to you that I recommended the continuation of the research program last year, when I appeared before the House Appropriations Committee, and the other committees; in the wisdom of Congress it was eliminated, and we are liquidating, and it will be completely liquidated, so far as that program is concerned, this year.

I cannot say to you that we have not proposed in this bill new authorization, because the authorization is there. I do not think there is more than this committee can do.

Now, I do not believe that Congress intends for us to close our eyes, and not attempt to do what we can toward a proper program toward the investigation and research in housing. Therefore, it seems that we can do certain things to accomplish those objectives.

There is a great deal of controversy about research in the Housing and Home Finance Agency. I am not now ready to recommend that anything further be done about it unless I see that there is some possibility of a desire on the part of Congress and the people involved in it to get behind it. I am just sort of left in that position.

Mr. O'HARA. But you are frank in telling us that you are reaching out for the answer, that you, yourself, are studying the problem, and I suppose you would welcome any help that could be given you in your study?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Let me say this: As I view the great objection on the part of those who have objected to research in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, it is divided into two phases. Statistical research, perhaps, most people agree that it is right and proper for the agency to conduct. Some people, however, had considerable doubt about the Housing and Home Finance Agency, as such, conducting experimental research into laboratory programs. They felt that it could be done more efficiently and better through the Bureau of Standards and through other means.

This has not been resolved, and our Advisory Committee did nothing about it, and unless we would find some strength behind such a drive, or such a program, we are just sitting, for the present, except to continue our study and examination to determine what might be done.

Mr. O'HARA. Well, you are somewhat in a quandary, then, are you not? Because no provision is made for research, and yet you are required to pursue research?

Mr. COLE. Having been in Congress, I realize what happens sometimes with the authorizations which we have approved here in this committee, and then find, to our utter amazement, that the people who hold the purse strings do not agree.

You are right, we are in a quandary. We have authorization for a research director, and no research.

Mr. O'HARA. You will recall, Mr. Cole, that in the first session, when the Appropriations Committee had in its gracious generosity taken our jurisdiction away from us—and, I might say, of course, with the aid of the Rules Committee—you were quoted by your former Republican colleagues on the floor as being against public housing. We, on our side, believe you meant exactly what you said, and the President meant exactly what he said, and we voted our faith in you and in the President, and we were a little surprised and disappointed that some of our Republican colleagues didn't put the same faith in you and in the President that we did, and we are glad that you did prove up, and that the President did, too.

AGE CLOSES THE DOOR

Mr. Chairman, I think this is an appropriate place to mention that we have a growing population of oldsters in our United States of America. They reach 62 if they are Chicago policemen, 65 if school teachers, usually around 65 if in industry, then they are let go more or less to drift for themselves on pensions inadequate to meet rising cost of living, sort of orphans in the storms of age.

I am sure that if the high priests of appropriations had not strangled the research work this department would have come up with at least some hope for the housing of this numerous and worthy group. As it is, there is difficulty in a man of 50 getting favorable consideration for a home loan because the consideration in making the mortgage is not the value of the property but the number of years of employment expectancy of the mortgage. The man of 65 is a dead duck.

I am now reading from page 767 of the printed Hearings on the day we had on the stand Alexander Summer, past president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and member of the President's Advisory Board on Housing:

Mr. DEANE. You don't take into consideration the age of the borrower in the loans that you recommend?

Mr. SUMMER. Naturally if it is a man who is 65 years old, and he is the sole earner in the family, I don't think FHA is justified in its underwriting department to recommend guaranteeing that loan. I agree with him.

Mr. O'HARA. Will the gentleman yield for one question? What will you do with a man over 65? Take him out and shoot him? Answer the question please.

Mr. SUMMER. I will answer your question. * * * That is why we have recommended the enforcement of codes, sir.

MOBILE HOMES RESIDENTS

Late at the public hearings of our committee came witnesses to advocate the inclusion of mobile homes in the housing program. In executive session I voted to do just that because here was a start in doing something for a very considerable segment of our people who are overlooked entirely in our housing legislation.

I was interested to learn that mobile homes furnish the housing source for over 2 million American families, that it is the most satisfactory low-cost housing which private enterprise has been able to produce, that the cost of a completely furnished 2-bedroom unit with all modern conveniences is from $4 to $5 thousand, and the average rental of moorage space in a mobile home park is $25 a month. Many oldsters, as well as others, live comfortably in mobile homes and within the means of their pensions.

I am satisfied that there are many other practical innovations in housing that could be expected from a research laboratory such as was provided in the Housing Act of 1949 and which the Appropriations Committee chopped into bits. The challenge to private industry is to produce homes within the means of people who cannot afford the present product, which is selling only because there is no other place to turn. Wrecking the research department was not a smart move.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Unfortunately, public housing has become highly controversial. I am sure that much of the opposition, and all of the bitterness, would disappear if there were greater familiarity with the actual conditions and perhaps a little more tolerance on both sides.

These factors—among others perhaps more important but so often mentioned—should be considered: First, a great strain has been put upon the large urban centers by in-migration occasioned by the diminution of agricultural employment and the need for industrial workers; second, the deterioration of residential properties which unless replaced rapidly extend present slum areas; and, third, the complete inability to tear down old dilapidated and even dangerous buildings unless public housing is available to help take care of displaced families while reconstructions are underway.

The Housing Act of 1949 made wise and proper provision for a public-housing program calculated to fit into the overall picture. I have never had occasion to regret the small part I was privileged as a member of the committee to contribute to its enactment.

VIEWS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

I trust that when we are voting on an amendment to add a public housing provision to this bill the Republican Members will not run way even from their own President. In order that they cannot plead ignorance of the expressed desires of the administration I am now reading from Mr. Cole's testimony, beginning on page 134 of the printed hearings:

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Cole, what is your own attitude with regard to public housing?

Mr. COLE. My own attitude toward public housing is expressed in the statement. I think, Mr. O'HARA, that when the Federal Government proposes a plan to eliminate slums, either by slum-clearance programs or by rehabilitation, or the enforcement of occupancy codes—the overcrowding code, for instance, where we go into an area and through the use of the tools of the Federal Government we set up such a program, it is my judgment that the Federal Government has a responsibility to help those people in those areas who are not able to help themselves.

I think it is a social problem that we must face, frankly. You can either face it or walk away from it. I do not think we can walk away from it. There are people in those slums who cannot find a place to live by reason of their low income, and I mean low income. Those people, then, are removed from their homes by action implemented by the Federal Government. Therefore, it is my judgment that in those areas we have a responsibility to help them obtain homes.

I do not see, in the present law sufficient assistance for those people. I do not recognize that the only way in which you can re-

house people cleared by slums is through public housing, and I have felt in the past that many people who supported public housing said that that was the only way that you could rehouse people in the slum areas. I do not agree with that. I think many people living in the slum areas—my judgment is half the people living in the slum areas can find decent housing if they can pay for it, in low-priced housing. But there are a great number of those people who cannot do so.

Therefore, I am recommending that while we are testing this program, while we are attempting to do it through other means, I am not willing to say that we just walk away from the problem and forget it.

SLUM REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Mr. Chairman, I cannot take the time of the committee to discuss the content of title IV. I hope that if the bill should be enacted the slum rehabilitation program will work out as well as the planners expect. I do call attention to section 101 (a) appearing on page 160 of the bill. I am sure our states' rights zealots will find in this a mouthful. As I read section 101 (a) a Federal Administrator could dictate to a mayor and the city council of any city in the United States desiring to get into the program. He could tell the mayor and the city council the exact kind of housing, zoning, building, and other local laws, codes, and regulations he demanded. I wonder if the Congress wishes to go that far in placing municipal government under the Federal power.

SECTION 201 OBJECTIONABLE

Mr. Chairman, I have spoken at great length and I must hurry on. It is so difficult in short time to say all that one should on the mass of testimony in an 889-page book. I cannot close, however, without reference to section 201. I think the arguments of the spokesmen for the veterans' organizations are unanswerable. I read from them as follows:

Wilbur C. Daniel, chairman, national economic commission, American Legion:

The American Legion is unalterably opposed to section 201 because it would unquestionably result in an increase in the interest rate.

A. M. Downer, assistant legislative officer, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States:

If the Congress is to delegate authority as contemplated by section 201, it will establish in some person or group of persons an authority that will be a contant lure to investors who continually seek to increase the earnings on their invested capital. It seems certain that a person or group of persons with such broad authority would be subjected to more pressure by such forces than would the Congress of the United States.

Charles E. Foster, assistant national director of legislation, Disabled American Veterans:

We have the utmost confidence in the elected representatives of the people serving in the Congress of the United States and deplore the delegation of authority by Congress to officials in the executive branch of the Government to tamper with the interest rate on GI home loans.

Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America:

In accordance with the convention-approved resolution on housing, I respectfully request that you modify the President's authority to adjust interest rates on FHA- and VA-insured mortgages, and to fix in the bill the rate for VA mortgages at a maximum of 4 percent, and the maximum for FHA mortgages at 4½ percent.

I must similarly request that the Veterans' Administration retain its power to establish the limits on fees and charges for VA-aided residential-mortgage loans. Likewise, the weakening of the veterans' preference provisions for admission to low-rent housing as provided in section 501 should be changed.

AMENDMENTS SHOULD CARRY

My position as regards H. R. 7839 is well stated in the minority report of which I am one of 13 signers. It is my deep hope that the amendments to be offered in conformance with the views of the minority will find favor and adoption.

PUERTO RICO DIGNIFIED

I now address myself to a part of the bill of which I am in entire agreement. H. R. 7839 is the first major bill that has accorded Puerto Rico the dignity of specific designation as a commonwealth. In the bill "State" is defined to include the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the Territories and possessions of the United States.

I am reading from the statement of the Honorable A. FERNÓS-ISERN, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, commencing on page 849 of the hearings:

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Chairman, in the first place I thank the committee for this opportunity to present my views on this bill, really only on one particular aspect of it.

In general, of course, I would say that Puerto Rico is one of the areas where laws like this have shown their worth. The work done in Puerto Rico has been splendid. But I am addressing myself this morning to just one particular aspect of the bill. I refer to H. R. 7839, page 87, where the word "State" is defined, to include the several States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories and possessions of the United States.

Since the 25th of July 1952, Puerto Rico has been organized as a commonwealth, and there has been a question raised as to whether laws that make reference to Territories and possessions apply or do not apply to Puerto Rico, since the commonwealth status is recognized as something by itself.

As to laws that were in effect in Puerto Rico before July 25, 1952, I think there would be little question that unless they are inconsistent with the law that created the commonwealth they would continue to apply. However, that matter has not been solved as yet, and is under study.

As to laws passed after July 25, 1952, the question seems to be much more important. The implication would seem to be that unless the Commonwealth was also included the idea that Territories and possessions only were mentioned might be interpreted as meaning that Puerto Rico was excluded.

This matter also is being studied as to some laws that have been passed, and which carry the language in the way it is in this bill.

Therefore, since we are so anxious to make sure that the law would apply to Puerto Rico, I wish to express our interest in having Puerto Rico expressly included.

It has been suggested that, by making some statement in the report, this question could be taken care of. But this would lead into another matter. The implication then might be that Commonwealth is no different from Territory and possession. This would have, I think, a bad effect in many ways—psychologically, it would have a bad effect in Puerto Rico, and it might have in other directions.

I wish to state to the committee that last fall I was honored by being appointed as alternate delegate to the U. N. to take up the question of the change of status in Puerto Rico, and we had some debates there in the various bodies of the U. N., until the matter came up to the General Assembly, and as a result of our efforts there the General Assembly passed a very complimentary resolution to the United States for the good work done in Puerto Rico, full recognition of the fact that Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth and has self-government, so that it is not included any more in the Territories and possessions, which are subject to report to the U. N. by the United States under the charter.

So I believe that it is in the public interest that this recognition of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico could be made whenever possible, so that we may give full credit to the United States for the good deeds that it has always done for Puerto Rico.

I would also state that there are some that still find fault with the present status of Puerto Rico, and one of their arguments is that the Commonwealth status is nothing else but a disguised status of colonialism.

I want also to add a few words of thanks to the distinguished member of this committee who brought this matter to my attention, and who has given a great deal of thought and time to this matter, Mr. O'HARA.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

The Dangers to Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on March 15 the able gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] addressed the House upon a subject of great importance to the American people, namely, the usurpation by the Supreme Court of legislative functions. He pointed out a course of conduct which the Supreme Court has followed in recent years of amending and changing the laws through the medium of judicial decisions.

He further pointed out that such a course of conduct is destructive of the system of checks and balances upon which our Government was founded.

The speech of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] has attracted widespread attention and commendation, and under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert herewith an editorial which appeared in the Natchez (Miss.) Democrat under date of March 21, 1954:

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAMS ON THE DANGERS TO LIBERTY

Fourth District Representative JOHN BELL WILLIAMS has sounded a five-bell alarm against a subtle danger to our constitutional processes—the tendency of the United States Supreme Court, prodded by the Justice Department, to invade the field of legislation and make law by judicial fiat.

In an address before the House of Representatives, Mr. WILLIAMS analyzes the basic structure of our Government—the system of checks and balances between the three branches of Government at the national level and the separation of powers between the central and State governments. Then he points out that a former President—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—reduced, by his Court-packing bill and other insidious attacks, the Court to the position of an agency of the executive branch, rather than as a separate branch of the Government, with its own powers derived from the Constitution and unassailable by the President.

From that time forth the Supreme Court steadily lost prestige. The great decisions, invalidating NRA and AAA as perversions of the Constitution, no longer issued. More and more, the Court tended to become an instrument for the extension of Central Government's powers into fields undreamed of by the Founding Fathers and specifically denied by them to the Government.

Today the Supreme Court stands on the brink of an interpretation of the fourteenth amendment that may alter the course of United States history and social life. Looking at the liberal character of most members of the Court, one is inclined to guess that it will rule against segregation in public schools, despite the fact that public-school education is a function of the States exercising a power reserved to them by the tenth amendment. If such a decision is made, the Court will reverse, as Mr. WILLIAMS observes, the position of the Supreme Court in this matter for half a century.

However, it is not the content of the ruling that concerns our Congressman so much as it is the increasing amount of evidence that the Court is no longer concerned primarily with the law as law. It is concerned with remolding that law to fit what it and the groups exerting tremendous pressures on the Court believe to be the best political philosophy for our times. Without knowing it, Chief Justice Warren may have been speaking of the Court majority the other day when he said in effect that the Constitution should not be allowed to stand as a barrier in the path of progress.

Certainly other people in positions of high authority have echoed the same sentiments and have even presumed to instruct the Court as to the political line to follow. Mr. Williams cites a brief filed by the Justice Department during the Truman administration. The brief states, in part: "What we seek is not justice under the law as it is. What we seek is justice to which the law, in its making, should conform."

That fairly well sums up the liberal philosophy which would make the Court an agency of political progress and turn the United States from a nation of laws into a nation of men.

The South will weather an adverse decision in the antisegregation cases now before the Court, but neither it nor the Nation will survive as a representative democracy, conforming always to the law as the chief means of perpetuating individual liberty, if the Supreme Court, the last refuge of freedom, accepts the philosophy that the law should conform.

Our Parks in Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY A. D'EWART
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. D'EWART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial and article from the New York Times, having to do with the necessity for adequate support of the national park system:

OUR PARKS IN PERIL

The first of a five-part series on the condition of our national parks appears in the Times today. Describing Grand Canyon, one of the best known of the parks, this article reveals how facilities, maintenance, personnel, and appropriations are totally inadequate to take care of the ever-increasing number of visitors, which last year rose to more than 800,000 persons in this 1 area alone. Future articles will deal with Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the Great Smokies, and in all of them, as well as in many of the 170 or more other sites administered by the National Park Service, the story is substantially the same.

Yet to take care of these great natural and historic preserves and the record 50 million people who are expected to visit them this year the administration asked for only about $28.5 million in the 1954–55 budget—$5 million less than Congress granted for the previous 12 months—and the House Appropriations Committee has just recommended a cut of nearly 10 percent in the budget figure. We cannot have our parks and eat them, too. We cannot maintain this remarkable system for the benefit of the American people and yet refuse to grant it the funds necessary to preserve it from present deterioration and future ruin.

Accommodations for visitors are inadequate; roads and bridges are inadequate; number of personnel is inadequate; and so are their housing facilities, not to mention their salaries; means of protecting the parks from the outrageous vandalism of so-called tourists are inadequate; income from low or nonexistent fees for use of the parks is inadequate. In fact, just about everything concerning the parks is inadequate except their magnificent scenic or historic values and the devotion of the men and women of the National Park Service, whose morale remains, on the whole, unshaken, despite the shabby treatment sometimes accorded them.

The national park system is one of our country's unique and irreplaceable assets. If we are unable to find the funds to take care of this asset, either through enlarged appropriations or increased fees, then we ought to consider protecting it—perhaps by limiting the number of visitors to the more popular parks or by closing some of the parks altogether—until the day when administration and Congress can see their way clear to giving the parks their due.

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK HURT BY FUND CUT AS POPULARITY RISES

(By Gladwin Hill)

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK, ARIZ., April 4.—The Grand Canyon, in which several billion years of the earth's history stand in unique and majestic display, is a breath-taking manifestation of the hand of creation.

But Grand Canyon National Park, the man-made facility to which people flock from all over the world to see the canyon, stands at present as more of an ironic monument to false economy and bemused stewardship on the part of the people's representatives and employees in Washington.

The visitor arriving at Grand Canyon Village, the park's center on the south rim of the canyon, finds himself in a pleasant setting of pine trees and rustic buildings.

If all he wants to do is take a quick look at the canyon and depart, his experience may be quite pleasing and satisfying.

But if he asks any more of this national institution—meals, accommodations and other amenities that are logical and expectable at such a focal point of international interest—he may be severely disappointed.

There are two well-run hotels, the El Tovar and the Bright Angel Lodge, a cabin camp, and camping grounds. Among them, there are a restaurant, a coffee shop, and a cafeteria.

But the village is 60 miles from the nearest sizable town, Williams, Ariz., due south. And, aside from the camp ground, the park facilities will house at most 1,300 overnight visitors. The eating facilities will accommodate no more than 650 people at a time.

Yet during several months of the year, any day may bring 7,000 visitors to this center Some 836,000 people visited the 1,000-square-mile park—one of the top-ranking attractions in the whole national-park system—last year, and 85 percent of them came to this south rim center.

The result of the gaping disparity between attendance and facilities is that for the last couple of years the National Park Service, questioning departing visitors, has found as many as 500 a night leaving the park for lack of accommodations.

Many of them, perhaps, are better off doing so. In the cabin camp, if there had been room, they would have found superannuated bungalows that no mainhighway motel would dare offer these days. And the camp cafeteria, which represents about 25 percent of the South Rim's restaurant capacity, while purveying palatable meals is dreary, antiquated and quite inadequate.

VILLAGE REFLECTS NEGLECT

Turning to the facilities of the Park Service itself, one finds even more astonishing evidences of inadequacy and neglect.

Grand Canyon Village has a permanent year-around population of 1,000 and a summer population of 2,000—all of them, by Federal regulation, either Government or private park-facility workers or their dependents.

For them there are two schools, a pleasant community building, and a good hospital unit. But that about sums up the favorable side of the picture.

Overall, the Park Service has here a plant comprising more than 200 structures with a replacement value of about $2 million, which is rapidly deteriorating for lack of maintenance.

While some of the Park Service personnel have agreeable modern homes, others are housed in buildings patched up from Civilian Conservation Corps days. One ranger with two children, for whom only a two-room house was available, had to put up a tent beside it to help house his family. A priceless natural history collection of international repute is housed in an inflammable abandoned school building. Many of the structures, which are regularly subject to climatic rigors, have not been painted for years.

Aside from special appropriations for road building, the Government, in recent years, has been putting into the park little more money that it has derived from the park.

COST OF OPERATION UP SHARPLY

Last year, funds forwarded to Washington including $220,000 in car tolls and around $125,000 in concessioners' royalties and miscellaneous collections, totaled $345,000. Appropriations back to the Park for operating and maintenance expenses totaled only $339,493.

Just before World War II the Park's annual budget figure was $143,220, supplemented by the free services of about 600 Civilian Conservation Corps personnel.

For the current fiscal year, with this free manpower eliminated, and with the costs of all goods, and services doubled or tripled over the prewar level, the appropriation was $363,559—less than 45 cents per visitor.

It was divided as follows:

Management	$167,009
Forestry and fire control	9,276
Maintenance and rehabilitation:	
Roads and trails	103,550
Buildings and utilities (rehabilitation portion: $10,500)	70,224
Construction (earmarked for North Rim campground)	13,500

In addition to this budget, there was a $239,763 appropriation earmarked for road construction. This, however, did little more than dent the accumulated highway deficiencies of many years. About 92 percent of last year's park visitors came by car and some of the entering roads still are narrow and, in places hazardous.

The park has 165 miles of primary roads, 93 miles of secondary roads, and 315 miles of trails. Surveys have indicated a current need for $1,500,000 in new road construction and $5 million in highway reconstruction.

During World War II, according to Dr. Harold C. Bryant, park superintendent for the last 15 years, appropriations for rehabilitation work on the park plant were virtually suspended. Since the war, a nominal effort has been made to catch up. But the current allocation of $10,500 for rehabilitation represents the last increment of only $80,000 provided for this since the war.

ONLY 50 PERMANENT AIDES

The park service administers its 1,000 square miles and its 836,000 visitors a year with a permanent year-round staff of only 50 persons, including engineers, artisans, laborers, and stenographers. Fifty more are employed temporarily in the summer.

The permanent staff includes only 12 rangers (whose starting pay in the service is $3,410 a year) and 2 naturalists.

In the summer, part of the staff has to be allocated to the canyon's north rim, a separate facility 200 miles by circuitous highway from the south rim center. The north rim accounts for about 15 percent of the annual total of park visitors. This segment of the park is fairly adequate, Grand Canyon Lodge and adjacent facilities having proved sufficient, to date, for the tourist traffic.

The park-ranger staff is so scant that at present the south rim entrance station is not manned after 6 o'clock at night. Any visitor who wants to cheat the Federal Government out of $1 can do it by arriving and departing after that hour.

Dr. Bryant says there has been no appreciable staff morale problem. But he acknowledges that things like tent-housing, a generally deteriorating plant, and skimpy budgets do not do much toward stimulating enthusiasm.

DIRECTOR 25 YEARS WITH SERVICE

Just retiring after 25 years in the National Park Service, Dr. Bryant, a graduate zoologist, can discuss the park's status candidly. He is able to speak dispassionately about its shortcomings, because the situation is in no wise peculiar to Grand Canyon. Similar conditions in all the national parks were noted with concern by the Director of the National Park Service, Conrad L. Wirth, in his last annual report.

The situation is attributable, in part, to the vast increase in travel generally—and to the national parks in particular—since the war. Twice as many people visited Grand Canyon last year as in 1941.

Yet the last major expansion in tourist accommodations was the construction of Bright Angel Lodge, with a maximum capacity of 350, in 1937. Until then, there had just been El Tovar, a 50-year-old structure with 80 rooms, in which, at a pinch, a maximum of 250 people can be bedded.

The camp, with a capacity of 700, is a motley aggregation of small cabins, most of them 10 or 20 years old. An exception to this is a score of plumbingless, war-surplus, prefabricated plywood Dallas-huts, hastily set up for such purposes as housing groups of visiting foreign students, for the furtherance of international goodwill.

In the adjoining woods there is trailer and camping space for another 700 persons. Rationing of overnight housing has not been invoked and would not help much, because the problem of protracted visits has not arisen.

All overnight accommodations and eating facilities at the South Rim are owned by the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway, which began development in the area more than a decade before it was made a national park in 1919. (North Rim facilities are owned and operated by the Union Pacific Railroad.)

The South Rim's facilities are operated for the Santa Fe by its long-time collaborator, the Fred Harvey Co., the organization with which the National Park Service has contracts for the service. The Harvey Co. has the principal concession privileges in the park, purveying almost everything from newspapers to mule rides. All its operations and charges are subject to close Government regulation. Dr. Bryant says it is "probably the best concessioner in the whole park system."

RISE IN AUTO TRAVEL A FACTOR

However, the split between ownership and operation has complicated the postwar problem of expanding facilities to handle the doubled park travel.

The Santa Fe, which has invested about $3 million in park facilities—almost half of it in public utilities—has seen its share of traffic to the park dwindle over the years from very near 100 percent to less than 10 percent as the result of increasing auto travel. Consequently its incentive to invest money is minimal. (Nonetheless, as recently as 4 years ago the railroad laid out $160,000 in improvements to the cabin camp.)

On the other hand, the Harvey company, which is in a position to profit the most from increased travel, up to now has been a management concern rather than a property owner and investor.

Efforts are in progress, in conjunction with negotiations between the Park Service and the Harvey interests for renewal of the latter's 20-year contract, to devise an arrangement under which the Santa Fe would bow out except for its train service. The railroad would turn the tourist facilities over to the Harvey company, and certain utilities (chiefly the power and water system) to the Government. The power eventually will be provided from the Arizona Public Service Co.

This change would put Harvey in a position to be sponsor of large-scale improvements in public accommodations. The Park Service has in mind, as a condition of any new contract, an initial investment of $1,500,000 in improvements by the contractor to be devoted primarily to the development of new multiple lodge units and a completely new cabin camp on a new site. This presumably would be followed in later years by additional capital outlays.

Meanwhile, the Harvey company is proceeding with plans for completely remodeling the old, antiquated cafeteria.

MORE UNITED STATES MONEY HELD VITAL

Adequate Federal appropriations are essential to park development because private investment is geared to Federal provision of items like roads and utilities. Construction of the new cabin camp, for instance, depends on the installation by the Park Service of water and sewers.

The new camp is one feature of a Government "master plan" for coordinated Federal and private development of the park. The plan was first drafted around 1930 and has been constantly revised and kept up to date.

But like some other Federal master plans, it has remained largely in the realm of theory because of nonmaterializing appropriations.

The Parks Service, in its efforts to get its appropriations onto a realistic post-war basis, has come up against Federal budget procedures which tend to hold a department's allowance for the current fiscal year inexorably down to what it was the preceding one.

In the case of Grand Canyon National Park, the 1953–54 budget allotment actually was almost $11,000 less than for the preceding year. The 1953–54 fiscal year will end on June 30.

Everybody, a nongovernmental observer on the scene commented, favors this and other national parks in principle. Earnest congressional investigating groups come and go, and, in departing, promise a new deal. But when it comes to the legislative authorization of the needed funds, there's a dull thud and the same old starvation appropriation comes out.

Votes to cut park funds are not as likely to redound against a legislator as some other economies, and road-building appropriations are politically safer to authorize than funds for painting buildings one isn't familiar with.

Grand Canyon Park has a special problem, in that its water has to be pumped from springs 3,200 feet down the vertical side of the mile-deep canyon—an engineering feat of no mean proportion. Use of the fresh water supply is so near its capacity that sewage is treated for reuse in boilers and other impersonal purposes. The most promising further recourse seems to be to siphon water over from the north rim, where precipitation is much greater.

If the water supply is not augmented, it is conceivable that limitations will have to be put on travel to the park so people won't go thirsty. Park people are hopeful that this urgency may help spotlight the inadequacy of current expenditures.

Aside from this, the future of the park would seem to be dependent on a reversal of what one critic has called a policy of "billions for defense, but only a few cents for recreation."

Executive Secretary A. E. Lyon, of Railway Labor Executives' Association, Answers Railroad Executives Who Oppose Standard Brotherhood Bill To Improve Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Benefits

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has finished taking testimony for and against the bill prepared and introduced on behalf of the 23 standard railroad brotherhoods to improve railroad retirement and unemployment benefits. An interesting and informative article by Alfred M. Green gives a summary of the closing statements by way of rebuttal by the opposing parties. I include it as part of my remarks. It reads as follows:

COMMITTEES DUE TO ACT SOON ON PENSION PROGRAM—CARRIER ARGUMENTS ARE BLASTED BY LYON FOR ALL RAIL UNIONS

(By Alfred M. Green)

With hearings completed and rebuttal arguments filed, action by committees of Congress was awaited as Labor went to press on the union-supported program for improving benefits under the railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance systems.

The House Interstate Commerce Committee prepared to act in a few days. An identical measure is before the Senate Labor Committee, but faced temporary delay as the committee worked on Taft-Hartley Act amendments.

All of the standard railroad labor organizations, both operating and nonoperating, are backing the program, which calls for boosting some benefits; also for correction of inequities and increased unemployment benefits.

CITES CARRIER MISSTATEMENTS

Carrier arguments against the changes were ripped apart point by point in a rebuttal statement presented to the House committee this week by Executive Secretary A. E. Lyon, of the Railway Labor Executives' Association. He charged witnesses for the Association of American Railroads with repeated misstatements of facts in their testimony.

Lyon pointed out that the opposition to the measure backed by the railroad unions was based entirely on the increased cost to the railroads due to boosting the taxable wages from $300 to $350 a month. But the carrier witnesses, he said, ignored the fact that as much as half of this cost would be offset by lowered taxes on their profits.

He cited Interstate Commerce Commission figures to show how this works. Although profits before taxes of class 1 roads dropped $141 million in the 12-month period ending last January, compared with the previous year, the profits after taxes fell only $30 million.

CITES SUPPLEMENTAL PLANS

In answer to the AAR claim that the railroads are unwilling or unable to pay a part of the cost of improved benefits, Lyon cited the fact that a large number of roads already have supplemental pension systems to which they contribute a percentage of wages paid beyond the railroad-retirement maximum of $300 a month.

There were such supplemental plans in operation on 53 carriers when the Railroad Retirement Board made a study of them 5 years ago, Lyon said. These roads would make a saving on such plans to offset most of the cost of the proposed increases.

He also pointed out that 75 percent of eligible employees join such supplemental plans, although they are entirely optional.

"It would seem that Mr. Fort (vice president of the AAR) was wrong twice. He was wrong when he suggested that the employees are unwilling to contribute more to get higher benefits. He was wrong again when he contended that the railroad companies are unwilling to contribute on a higher base than $300 a month," Lyon declared.

The carriers' contention that they're put at a disadvantage by the 6½ percent contribution rate they pay for railroad retirement, compared with the 2 percent rate for social security, came in for criticism as not telling the full story.

"Anyone who reads the newspapers knows that private pension plans and supplemental plans, separate from and in addition to the social security system, are now the rule rather than the exception," Lyon said.

He quoted a United States Chamber of Commerce study of such programs to show that the average cost of such plans to the companies in the public utility field is 5.9 percent of payrolls. Added to the 2 percent for social security, this would give a total of 7.9 percent, which is considerably higher than the cost of railroad retirement to the carriers.

Turning to the unemployment insurance features of the bill, Lyon charged that the carrier figures on costs were even more inflated than the figures they cited on retirement. The railroads used a figure of $26 million a year, but Lyon showed how the added cost for unemployment insurance would be no more than $2¼ million.

He also called attention to the huge savings the railroads have had in recent years due to the lowering of the contribution rate for jobless insurance from 3 percent of covered payrolls to one-half of 1 percent.

PRESIDENT ASKED IMPROVEMENT

Although "it is generally recognized that the State systems," which cover workers in other industries, are inadequate, he said, the carrier witnesses devoted much of their testimony to contrasting railroad-unemployment insurance to the State systems.

"Nc one has seriously advocated that the railroad system should only match the average of the State systems," Lyon pointed out, and "the President has very pointedly recommended material improvements in the State systems."

"The standard railroad labor organizations, representing practically all of the railroad employees of this country, reaffirm their united support of all provisions of the bill," he concluded.

"It is reasonable, moderate, and needed revision of the railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance systems, and we respectfully urge the committee to take favorable and prompt action on it."

Wiretapping for the Protection of Our National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement reflecting my views for supporting legislation providing for wiretapping for the protection of our national security:

MAKE WIRETAPPING EVIDENCE ADMISSIBLE FOR DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST SPIES, SABOTEURS, AND TRAITORS

Imagine the frustration of the FBI, the Attorney General, and the intelligence agencies of the Department of Defense to know of spies and traitors in our country and be unable to introduce the evidence on hand that would surely convict them.

A most important bill is coming up in the United States House of Representatives this week to untie the restrictions that handicap those Federal agencies that have the responsibility of protecting our national security.

It will "authorize the admission into evidence in certain criminal proceedings of information intercepted in national security investigations" in order to defend the United States against treason, espionage, sabotage, sedition, and seditious conspiracy.

It will shock many people to know that we have clear and conclusive evidence against Communists and their agents which cannot be introduced under present laws to establish their guilt.

We are a Nation governed by laws.

To accuse is not enough.

There must be proof beyond reasonable doubt.

But when we have proof—obtained by wiretapping—that cannot be presented as evidence, then we are courting disaster.

No one denies the right of our society to protect itself against criminals. When that criminal, which is the international conspiracy called communism, is working in clever secrecy to destroy our form of government and murder those freedoms that give life to 160 million Americans, then we must have laws that will enable us to ferret out these silent, secret destroyers and bring them to the bar of justice.

The proposed law will be confined to the protection of our national security. It will not invade the privacy of law abiding citizens; it will not permit wiretapping evidence to be introduced in the prosecution of other crimes; and it will not permit the introduction of such evidence to confuse, embarrass, or pressure any person because of any indiscretion, unpopular opinion, or the inherent right of nonconformity and dissent.

It is directed clearly and solely against those who plot and plan and work to overthrow our Government by force and violence.

Do not underestimate the enemy.

Although he may not have many agents or dupes in this country, those who have wormed their way into sensitive positions have already done much damage to our security.

He has succeeded in hypnotising a few gullible Americans into committing the most hideous of all crimes—treason.

If, God forbid, this enemy had a large supply of hydrogen bombs and a massive long-range airfleet to deliver them, he would not hesitate one moment to attack us without warning and destroy us completely in a single day or night.

Even now, it may be possible for single agents to smuggle deadly bombs into this country.

To cope with this boring from within, we must give our Federal security agencies those powers, under law to apprehend these wreckers and present the evidence that will take them out of circulation.

Communism has conquered other nations by subversion.

To combat this threat we must be able to expose and prosecute Communists and traitors by the hard-to-get evidence that is sometimes obtained only by wiretapping, because the enemy is so expert in camouflaging his secret operations.

Up to now Communists have been using our laws and our freedoms to get away with murder.

This loophole must be closed by an act of Congress.

Untie the hands of the FBI and related agencies.

Make intercepted messages in matters endangering our national security admissible as evidence so that we can prosecute and convict known spies and traitors.

There will be no civilian defense of any kind until this first step is taken to permit the roundup of all those who conspire and engage in the plot to exterminate the Government of the United States and chain its people in slavery.

I freely and confidently predict that the United States House of Representatives this week will vote overwhelmingly to authorise wiretapping evidence for the protection of our national security.

Three Groups Now Probing Health Insurance Abuses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the health inquiry that is being conducted by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has developed many interesting and important facts. Not only has the information developed

by the committee brought us face to face with the problem of cost of medical and hospital treatment and the necessity to do something about it, in behalf of the average citizen, but it has also brought to light unfair and deceptive practices relating particularly to cancellation of health policies when the subscriber is in greatest need of such protection. The treatment in some cases has been pathetic and demands solution.

The newspaper Labor, published in the city of Washington, D. C., has been carrying a series of articles on the subject that have revealed these conditions in a most appealing manner. I include, as part of my remarks, an article written by Michael Marsh, entitled "What's Being Done To End Health Insurance Gyps?" that appeared in the April 3, 1954, issue of this paper. It reads as follows:

WHAT'S BEING DONE TO END HEALTH INSURANCE GYPS?

(By Michael Marsh)

What's being done to clean up abuses in health and accident insurance? To answer that question, a Labor representative this week surveyed the three groups in Washington that have recently been looking into health insurance.

These three groups are the House Interstate Commerce Committee, under Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON, Republican, of New Jersey; the Federal Trade Commission; and the Senate Judiciary Committee, under Senator WILLIAM LANGER, Republican, of North Dakota. Here's what these groups have done and are aiming to do:

1. The House committee has before it President Eisenhower's proposal for a $25 million Federal health and accident reinsurance fund. This proposal is designed to encourage private insurance companies to write more liberal policies offering better coverage against the "catastrophic" type of illness.

As an encouragement, the re-insurance bill provides that a Government fund would pay back to approved private companies up to 75 percent of any excessive losses they sustained as a result of issuing more liberal policies.

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE?

At hearings on the bill, the United States Chamber of Commerce denounced this idea as leading toward "socialized medicine," even though private insurance executives had a big hand in drafting the proposal. That showed to what fantastic lengths the chamber is carrying the socialism scare.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby testified for the bill. She admitted it will help only those who can afford to pay for private health insurance, and may not do much for the aged or chronically ill.

On the other hand, the re-insurance bill, inadequate as it is, may help clean up some of the current "gyps" in this field. First, the companies that use the Federal re-insurance would presumably have to offer more liberal payments and coverage. Second, they would presumably have to meet a set of Federal standards as to honesty and fairness. Third, the public would presumably learn which companies met those qualifications, and which didn't.

WOLVERTON CITES LETTERS TO LABOR

A fight over this bill is shaping up within the House committee. Particularly important is the question of whether specific standards of liberality, honesty, and fairness shall be required of companies benefiting from the Federal reinsurance fund. Some members have claimed the public just isn't interested.

Chairman WOLVERTON vigorously denied this. The day he got the large stack of letters from readers of Labor on this subject, he promptly took them into the committee room, as proof of public interest.

"What these letterwriters want," he pointed out to the other committee members, "is more comprehensive health insurance coverage under a noncancellable policy." And later he pressed an administration spokesman as to whether the reinsurance bill shouldn't be limited only to noncancellable policies.

The spokesman, an assistant to Mrs. Hobby, hedged on this. "Certainly though," he admitted, "no insurance policy should be canceled just because a policyholder becomes ill." That's just what happens with many cancelable policies, however, as readers of Labor have found out.

ELIMINATE THE FINE PRINT

At present, the administration bill sets up no specific standards. Another committee member, Congressman HOMER THORNBERRY, Democrat, of Texas, pointing this out, said: "I think we will have to write something into this bill to state definitely that its purpose is to have more comprehensive policies, eliminate the fine print, and so forth. There's little point in this bill unless it assures results."

2. A second approach is vigorous enforcement of present laws against health insurance "gyps." Progress in doing that may result from a big study of health insurance advertising now underway at the Federal Trade Commission.

Commission officials—including Alex Akerman, its executive director; Robert Parrish, its secretary; and Robert Sills, attorney in charge of the health insurance study—told a representative of Labor that they have already received over 3,000 individual complaints of health insurance abuses.

FTC PROBE EYES ADS

The Commission, however, can only proceed against false and misleading advertising that is not regulated by individual States. The reason for this is that Congress in 1945 passed a law declaring the States should regulate insurance, with Federal laws against gypping to apply only where there were no State laws.

The insurance lobby pushed this measure through Congress after the Supreme Court had ruled in 1944 that Congress had the constitutional power to regulate insurance.

So the authority to act against insurance gyps now rests chiefly in the hands of the insurance commissioners in each of the 48 States. Sills emphasized that each State has a law requiring insurance agents to register. And if the agent has lied about a policy, the State insurance commissioner can revoke his license.

CHECKUP OF LETTERS PROMISED

Moreover, said Sills, each State is supposed to check the claim-payments record of all the insurance companies registered in that State. If a claim hasn't been paid which should be, the policyholder should notify his State insurance commissioner.

Since most of the complaints sent to Labor or to Congressman WOLVERTON will probably be forwarded to Sills, he was asked what he planned to do with them.

"They will all be analyzed, and that analysis will be very useful," he said. "Furthermore, in cases that seem to indicate possible lawbreaking we shall certainly not sit on them.

"If the FTC has no authority, we shall write to the person complaining and ask his permission to forward the complaint to his State insurance commissioner. That's the least a taxpayer can expect of us."

But will the State insurance commission really act? That's not sure. The National Association of Insurance Commissioners, however, has reportedly scheduled an April meeting in Chicago to spark up a little action.

As to the FTC investigation of health-insurance ads, Sills and Akerman indicated it's a monumental task. Over 800 companies now sell health and accident insurance, and the FTC is collecting copies of every single bit of advertising—in newspapers and magazines, over radio and television, or through the mails—used by every one of those companies last year.

Then that advertising will be compared with the actual provisions of the companies' policies, to see if the ads are truthful. This will undoubtedly take a number of months, Akerman indicated.

MAIL-ORDER PROBE BY SENATE

Will all this lead to any action? Akerman was asked. "You can be sure that it will," he replied. "The commission is certainly not going to ignore anything the public is so aroused about as this."

3. A third agency has also been probing into health-insurance gyps. That is the Senate Judiciary Committee under Senator LANGER. This investigation, however, has been limited to mail-order health insurance, which represents no more than 3 percent of the whole business.

Altogether, it's clear that health-insurance reform is in the air. But whether it will come about is still uncertain.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

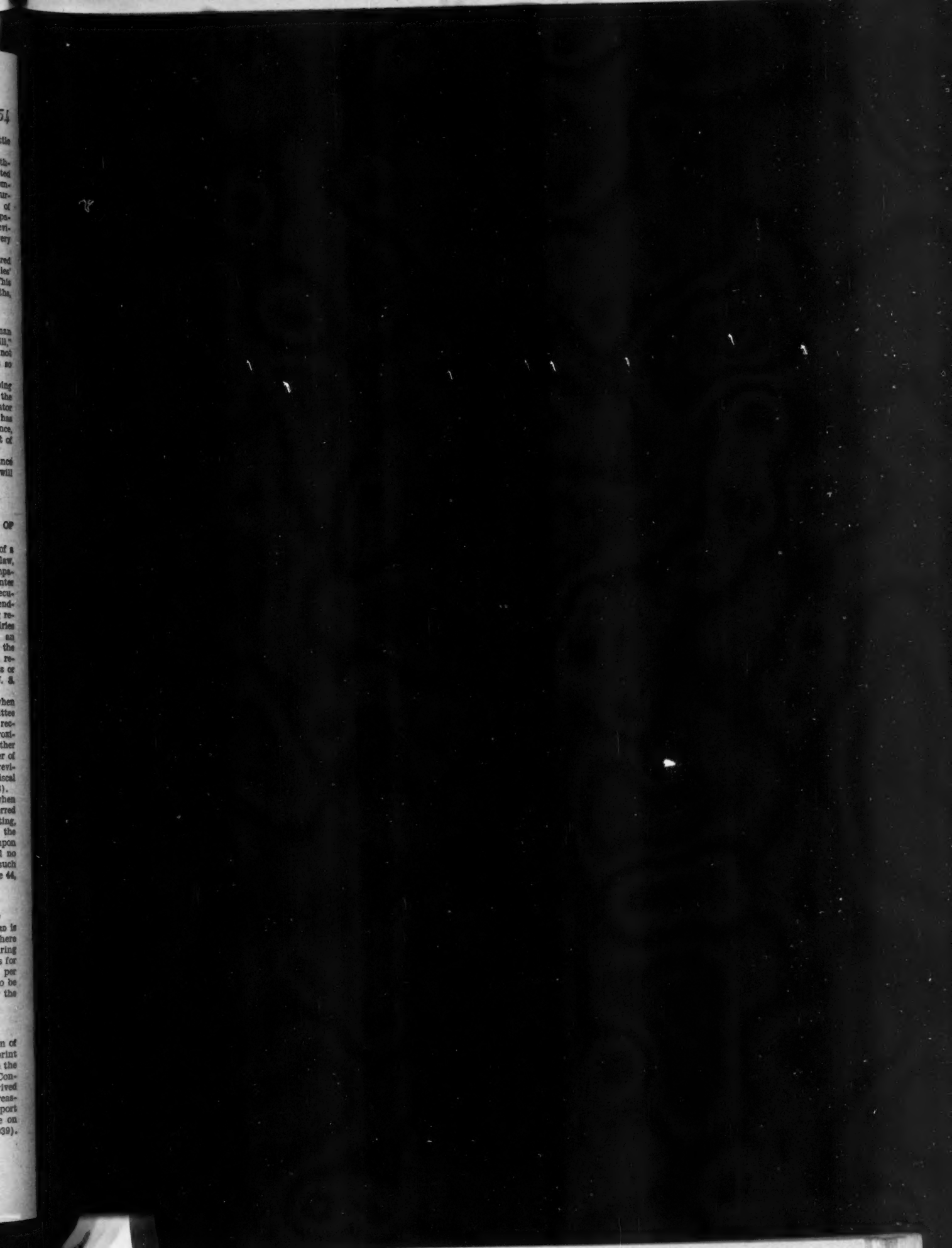

Appendix

Address by the President of the American Road Builders' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Robert M. Reindollar, president of the American Road Builders' Association, delivered at the 30th annual convention of the Association of Highway Officials of the North Atlantic States, at Washington, D. C., on March 10, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY ROBERT M. REINDOLLAR, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN ROAD BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION

This is an appropriate time to review the development of our highway system and motor-vehicle transportation in relation to needs as they exist today.

We are bombarded on all sides with cries of alarm over the inadequacy of our roads, accompanied by sounds of despair that we can't afford the improvements that we know we must have. Numerous current proposals for relieving traffic congestion, financing new expressways, and correcting road deficiencies reflect an intense national interest in more efficient highway transportation.

Let us review briefly the development of highway transportation. It started in America with the stagecoach and Conestoga wagon over poorly drained, muddy and rutted roads. Those early vehicles were often bogged down in mud.

The first toll road in the United States was constructed in Virginia—the Little River Turnpike. It was built in 1786 from Alexandria on the Potomac to Snigger's Gap, across the mountains east of Winchester.

With increasing transportation requirements, Pennsylvania, in 1792, gave permission to the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Co. to build a road between these two cities, a distance of 62 miles.

Connecticut, Maryland, and Tennessee followed the road building example, and other States fell in line.

The first section of the National Pike was started in 1808. Construction was stopped during the War of 1812 and it was not until 1818 that the first stagecoach made the trip over this improved road from Baltimore, through Frederick, Hagerstown, and Cumberland to get on the national road and continue over the mountains to the Ohio River.

In 1830, the first railroad was placed in operation between Baltimore and Ellicott Mills, a distance of 13 miles, by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co.

By 1850 there were more than 9,000 miles of track in the United States and the stagecoach and Conestoga freight companies saw their trade transferred to the railroads. It was not until 1869, however, that the railroads joined up to give continuous rail travel across the country. The Union Pacific went westward from Omaha and the Central Pacific came eastward from San Francisco, making a junction at Ogden, Utah, in May of that year.

Within 15 years after this juncture, 6 companies were operating a network of tracks over much of the West. Trains had taken over the big job of hauling freight and passengers and highways were permitted to fall into almost complete disrepair.

It remained for a new kind of transportation to start a good roads movement. This was stimulated by the League of American Wheelman, organized in 1880 by cycle clubs all over the country, and, incidentally, the forerunner of the American Road Builders' Association.

The passage of the State aid road law in New Jersey in 1891 started the first modern road movement, other States following in rapid succession.

The first gasoline automobile was driven down the streets of Springfield, Mass., by Charles and Frank Duryea, in 1892, and soon thereafter other passenger cars began to appear.

Mass production of automobiles was started by Henry Ford when he put the famous Model T on the market in 1908.

In this period, State highway departments were being organized throughout the country. One of the first acts of the Department of Maryland, organized in 1908, was to provide for the acquisition of turnpikes to meet the demands for free roads created by the advent of the automobile. These were purchased in Maryland during the period between 1910 and 1915. Other States were doing the same.

The Bureau of Public Roads was created in 1916. At that time there were 3,400,000 passenger cars and 250,000 trucks operating over the highways in the United States, and the development of a 7-percent system of all-weather highways was considered to be adequate.

With the breakdown of railroad transportation during World War I, the trucking movement was given a real boost but they practically destroyed the highways over which they operated.

During the twenties the road-building boom got underway and trucks and buses started to supplant branch-line railroads in rural communities. However, few properly estimated the rapid advance automotive transportation was to make and consequently many serious mistakes in planning were made. This contributed to some degree to the condition we have today. This, of course, has been accentuated by the fact that there was a lull in highway construction during the period of World War II. In that period our road plant suffered serious deterioration.

During the past few years additional funds have been provided for highway construction but the purchasing power of the dollar has decreased to such an extent that adequate progress is not being made. Despite the fact that we spent about $3¼ billion in new road construction in 1953 and an additional $2¼ billion on maintenance, administration, debt service, highway police, and associated matters, there has only been spotty improvement in the general traffic picture. We are continuing to add new motor vehicles at the rate of 1½ million a year and the demand for safer and swifter highway transportation is constantly mounting. This year there will be operating over our highways in excess of 10 million trucks and buses and 45 million automobiles, making a total of 55 million vehicles. This is an increase from the 31 million vehicles we had in 1945—an added 24 million in a period of 8 years.

Although we are approaching the saturation point of automobiles in relation to population, the population increased from 140 million in 1945 to 160 million in 1953, a total of 20 million in 8 years. It is continuing to increase at the rate of 7,000 per day or 2½ million annually.

Last year more than 6 million new automobiles came off the assembly lines and only 3 million cars in operation were scrapped.

The increase in automobiles will continue. This means that in another 15 years we can expect to have in excess of 80 million vehicles operating over our highways. The mileage of operation by these vehicles is increasing proportionately to a larger degree than the number of vehicles operating. Last year our motor vehicles traveled over a half trillion miles as compared to 300 billion miles in 1940.

Traffic congestion is fearful now and if rapid advancement in highway construction is not immediately instituted, by 1970 we will have complete chaos. Our economy, social system, and national defense are more than ever dependent on efficient street and highway movement.

Trucks are now carrying 77 percent of the Nation's total freight tonnage.

A survey of 22 States indicates that approximately one-third of all trucks are owned by farmers, whose use of them is reflected in statistics from the Nation's major livestock and produce markets.

The Automobile Manufacturers Association recently estimated that the economic waste due to inadequate highways exceeds $3 billion a year. Last year an estimated 9½ million highway accidents took a toll of 38,300 deaths and 1,350,000 personal injuries at an economic loss of $3,950,000,000. This is a depressing, costly toll in lives, manpower, and dollars. We cannot afford to let this upward trend go on unchecked.

There are 3,322,000 miles of roads in the United States classified as follows: Primary, 358,000 miles; Secondary and Local, 2,645,000 miles; and Urban, 319,000 miles. Of the 3,003,000 miles of rural roads only 1,617,000 miles are surfaced. The Federal-aid systems comprise 673,000 miles. This mileage, which makes up 20 percent of the total miles of roads, carries 80 percent of all traffic. Approximately 438,000 miles of the systems are not up to desired standards.

The interstate system, adopted by the Bureau of Public Roads and the several State highway departments, consists of 37,800 miles, representing a little over 1 percent of the Nation's total mileage but estimated to carry 20 percent of the total traffic.

This system is 76 percent deficient in paving and design and other requirements to meet adopted standards.

There is a 60 to 70 percent deficiency in the Primary and Secondary Systems to meet accepted design standards. The American Association of State Highway Officials estimates that it will cost $35 billion to bring the Federal-aid system up to desirable standards. This estimate does not include State highways that are not in the Federal-Aid

system, nor does it include county and township roads or local city streets.

In recent testimony before a congressional committee, the president of AASHO stated that the deficiencies on the Federal-aid systems, in terms of dollars, amounted to $29,200 million on January 1, 1950, and that this had increased to $32 billion by January 1, 1952, and to the $35 billion mark by November 1, 1953. This despite the fact that $3,600 million had been expended on the Federal-aid systems alone for new construction during the same period and that the total expenditure for construction on all highways had amounted to $7,761 million. Obviously we are slipping behind.

If we consider the cost of making desirable improvements in all of the Nation's miles of highways, a conservative estimate would place it in excess of $50 billion. Figures like these indicate the extent of the task confronting us.

The American Road Builders' Association has recommended to Congress that a thorough investigation be carried out of the entire national network of highways, including the Federal-aid system of interstate, primary, secondary, and urban highways, together with a concurrent study of ways and means for financing the correction of deficiencies.

We are firmly convinced that a realistic 10-year program providing for a stipulated annual expenditure for new highway construction is a goal to be sought.

States are turning to self-liquidating toll roads for part of the answer.

The first modern toll highway, embracing a limited-access design for free and uninterrupted movement of traffic, was completed in Pennsylvania in 1940 just prior to World War II. It was 160 miles in length. Construction costs were met by means of a Federal grant plus the sale of bonds to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

After the war ended, the Maine Turnpike Authority in 1945 financed the construction of a toll road extending from the New Hampshire State line northward to the city of Portland. This was the first modern toll road to be financed by private capital solely upon its own merits and within the limits of its own resources.

In 1948, legislation was enacted creating the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, a plan of financing was developed, and construction of the roadway from the Delaware Memorial Bridge to the George Washington Bridge for a distance of 118 miles was accomplished in the record time of 22 months.

Today 812 miles of modern toll highways, constructed at a cost of $683 million, are being operated in 10 States: Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania.

An additional 1,092 miles to cost $1,535,000,000 are under construction at the present time including toll roads in the two additional States of Ohio and West Virginia. Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina, Nebraska, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin have either appointed authorities, or are in the legislative process of doing so, for the purpose of studying turnpike projects. Projects authorized or planned embrace another 8,361 miles and it will require an additional sum of 9 billions of dollars to construct them.

Although most of the toll roads that have been built up to the present time have not reflected any particular overall planning from an interstate or interregional point of view, the impetus of this work is demanding such consideration.

The President's Economic Report, transmitted to Congress on January 28, lays great stress on the importance of adequate planning of public works.

On the subject of toll roads, the President plainly laid down the administration's policy as forcing the fullest possible use of this method of highway finance. Declaring that toll roads have come to be widely accepted the President said a part of the Nation's highway needs can be met by this method of finance without straining State budgets. Following Federal participation in the toll road movement, President Eisenhower said, "The Government should encourage studies of the economic feasibility of toll roads projects together with the engineering surveys by making advances available to the States for those purposes." To further accelerate the rate of development, the Chief Executive said, "It seems likely that, by lifting legal impediments to immediate possession fo rights-of-way and pushing engineering plans even before projects are authorized, it would became feasible for States or their respective authorities to commence a considerable volume of construction of toll roads within a year.

There can be no argument with the fact that existing toll facilities are meeting a desperate need. There will be a greater demand for such facilities. Traffic engineers have generally underestimated the willingness of highway users to patronize these new high type facilities despite the fact that the generally accepted toll charge of 1 to 1.5 cents per mile is equivalent to a gasoline tax of from 15 to 22 cents per gallon.

It is evident that the American public is willing to pay for this type of free-moving facility and realizes there are certain economies in its use, despite the imposition of tolls, as compared to the type free roads provided under present methods of financing.

They also realize this method of financing will provide the facility in the shortest possible period of time.

The general highway transportation dilemma is further exemplified in the President's economic report which states: "It has been estimated that an annual expenditure of $3½ billion would be required for 10 years to eliminate the existing backlog for federally aided systems and another one to two billion dollars for other roads and streets. In the meantime, many roads now adequate would need to be improved as traffic increased, or rebuilt because of normal wear, adding over $1½ billion of construction annually, while maintenance costs would average another $1.7 billion. Thus the total annual expenditure required to provide an adequate road system within a decade is apparently over $8 billion, which compares with a current outlay of about $5 billion.

Federal aid for the construction of free roads will most likely be increased. This is evidenced by passage in the House of the McGregor bill authorizing $800 million annually for Federal aid for 1956 and 1957, an increase over the current $575 million, and by the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator FRANCIS CASE, of South Dakota, chairman of the Subcommittee on Roads, to authorize an annual appropriation of $910 million. These are for funds to be expended, on a matching basis with the States, for improvement of the interstate, primary, secondary, and urban Federal-aid systems.

The Case bill provides for a toll-road study. Representatives of the American Road Builders' Association, in appearing before the Senate Committee, recommended that this proposed study be expanded to include a complete financial study at all levels of government in connection with the highway program to establish the feasibility of a 10-year program on an adequate basis to correct the deficiencies in the highway plant.

May I interpose a word of caution. Toll roads are not a panacea for the Nation's highway ills. The principle of sound toll-road financing can be applied only in areas where traffic density is such that it will support the type of highway design embodied under this principle. Each project must be subject to comprehensive engineering studies in order to assure the inclusion of only those projects which are economically sound.

The pendulum of public opinion will swing back, when an adequate system of roads is provided, and there will be a demand to make them free highways as was done when such roads were constructed 50 years ago.

We should see that provisions to this end are embodied in legislation for their financing so that they must become free of tolls as the bonds for their construction are retired.

May I close with a brief reference to the association of which I have the honor to be president: The American Road Builders' Association is a private citizens' organization whose membership includes all classes of men interested in good roads, engineers of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, administrators and engineers of State highway departments, county road engineers, members of consulting engineering corporations, equipment manufacturers, contractors, educators and private citizens.

It is composed of several units, namely, contractors, county and local roads, educational, manufacturers, materials and supplies, municipal and airport, and Pan American divisions.

Each division elects its own officers and directors and functions under bylaws consistent with those of the parent organization.

Every member of the "at large" group and every division is a full-fledged member of ARBA with equal rights and privileges. Membership-at-large embraces highway officials and engineers who are presented through formal affiliation by their respective State highway departments.

Advice To Shun Ruinous Piecemeal War Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Walter Trohan entitled "Shun Ruinous Piecemeal War Plan, United States Told," published in the Chicago Tribune of March 31, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHUN RUINOUS PIECEMEAL WAR PLAN, UNITED STATES TOLD

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, March 30.—Senator MALONE, Republican, of Nevada, tonight called upon Congress and the Nation to ponder a solemn warning to America not to follow the policy of defense by piecemeal dissipation of strength which resulted in the downfall of ancient Greece.

The Nevada Senator urged study of a speech by Lieutenant General Wedemeyer given last night in West Palm Beach almost at the same time that State Secretary Dulles was expounding his plea for united action to meet the Communist threat in Indochina and other parts of southeast Asia. Wedemeyer was American commander in China during World War II. He warned against the

loss of China and predicted the Korean war in a report repressed by the Truman administration State Department.

NEGLECTED BY PRESS

MALONE emphasized that the Wedemeyer speech was neglected by the press while Dulles' call for "united action" was widely broadcast by the press and radio. The Chicago Tribune was almost alone in carrying any report on the Wedemeyer speech, MALONE said, but this report did not include what he termed "its memorable passages."

In an interview, MALONE said he is having the Wedemeyer speech placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where it can be studied by every Member of Congress as one of the most memorable and significant comparisons of our time.

Wedemeyer spoke at the Everglades Club in Palm Beach as Dulles was speaking before the Overseas Press Club in New York City. Wedemeyer cautioned against the course of American foreign policy.

PARALLEL WITH ATHENS

MALONE declared that the most significant portion of the Wedemeyer speech drew a parallel between American foreign policy as developed by former President Truman and former State Secretary Acheson and the policy of ancient Athens. Wedemeyer said Athens was so weakened by fighting away from home that she could not protect herself in her most critical hour.

In his speech, Wedemeyer said:

"I can recall no more accurate description of the Truman-Acheson policy than that contained in a statement made 300 years before Christ by Demosthenes. I quote:

"'Shame on you, Athenians, for not wishing to understand that in war one must not allow oneself to be at the command of events but to forestall them. You Athenians are the strongest of all the Greeks, in ships, cavalry, infantry, and revenue, and you do not make the best of them.'"

HITS NEW DEAL POLICY

"'You likewise, if you hear that Philip has attacked the Chaeronea, send help there; if he is at Thermopylae, you run there, and if he turns aside, you follow him to right or left as if you were acting on his orders. Never a fixed plan—never any precautions—you wait for bad news before you act.'

"Such was the policy under the New Deal. We now recognize the danger of pursuing a foreign policy of containment which surrenders the initiative to the Soviet Union and her satellites and permits them to destroy our men and our resources at times and under conditions of their own choosing."

MALONE said the parallel from history, drawn by Wedemeyer, offers a great lesson.

"Athens fell because the Greek Fleet was defeated first at Syracuse," MALONE said. "Syracuse was as far from Athens in those days as southeast Asia is from us today. Athens had also spread her resources in the other direction to protect Asia Minor as we are protecting Europe.

FLEET WANDERS AWAY

"Instead of remaining at home, the Greek fleet wandered far away to Syracuse. It was destroyed in the harbor of Syracuse by the Syracusans, who paved the way for the triumphs, first of Philip and Alexander the Great of Macedon and later for Rome.

"Out of 110 ships the Athenians lost 50. The Athenian Army besieging Syracuse went to pieces in attempting to retreat across Sicily. When the news reached Greece many of her dependencies revolted, the Peloponnesian war broke out anew, and Athens had no strength left to hold her own.

"America must not follow the path of ancient Athens. It must never forget that defense begins at home."

NEW LOOK POLICY

MALONE quoted Wedemeyer as saying:

"As I interpret the New Look, it provides for the full use of all appropriate resources in a carefully coordinated plan. This new look of our forces involves certain calculated risks but serves notice—unmistakable notice—to our potential enemies, to neutral powers, and to friends alike, that we Americans do not intend to permit the Soviet Union to weaken and finally destroy us through economic and military attrition.

"In my judgment, we have already seized the initiative in the political, economic, and psychological fields. Through dynamic action in these three fields we Americans are regaining the initiative. I feel confident that if we continue to assess realistically the strength, capabilities, and designs of the enemy, and shape our policies accordingly, we will be successful.

"Our modern and highly mobile military forces are available to support our policies. The Red leaders will pause therefore before undertaking any steps that would bring about a world conflagration. This is entirely different from the diffuse situation which Demosthenes 2,000 years ago called to the attention of his fellow Athenians, a situation in which we also found ourselves in the days of Truman and Acheson.

"At last clear direction is now being given to our efforts to defend our country and to strengthen the ramparts of freedom throughout the world, and, finally, importantly, to give real hope to those behind the Iron Curtain who yearn for liberty."

Address by Lt. Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. MALONE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Lt. Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, delivered before the Republican executive committee of Palm Beach County, Everglades Club, Palm Beach, Fla., on March 29, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is a real privilege to join this wonderful gathering of fellow Americans. The change from the coldly impersonal environment of concrete and steel in New York City to the warm hospitality and beauty of Palm Beach is a satisfying experience. Here in this vacation land we have a fuller appreciation of our rich natural heritage as well as our capacity to enjoy healthy sports in open and free competition.

Millions of Americans attend or view on their television sets the great athletic events staged throughout the country. One of the most colorful and dramatic is the football game held in Florida at the Orange Bowl. There are many striking resemblances between those exciting games in the famous bowls and the drama-packed situation that now exists in our Nation's Capital. Accordingly, it occurred to me that Washington should be added to the list of famous bowls. We might call it the Punch Bowl on the Potomac. The great contest in this Punch Bowl is spiked by national and international flavors and is of absorbing interest to millions of spectators at home and abroad. At present there seems to be some confusion among those on the Republican team. Perhaps they don't understand the signals of our fine Republican quarterback because of the din and confusion created by the opposing team and its supporters. We Americans have always considered our great athletic contests a symbol of the finest traditions in sportsmanship which is woven through the entire fabric of our national life. We proudly acclaim the American concept of fair play. We applaud a clean, hard-fought battle whether on the football field or in the political arena, but at all times we expect the victors and the losers to conduct themselves in such manner as to merit our respect and admiration.

I propose to submit a few observations concerning the aspiring New Deal-Fair Deal standard bearer, the defeated Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Stevenson. In a recent talk in Miami, he confused the national and international issues by presenting a distorted picture of the activities in the Punch Bowl in Washington. In an entertaining manner he characteristically quipped and punned while attacking the Republican Party and the inspiring leader of our team, the President of the United States. If his purpose were only to entertain his listeners, he should carefully omit references that involve such serious matters as military security and the integrity and honor of our country. If, however, his intention were to evaluate objectively the momentous events occurring at home and abroad, he had indeed a grave responsibility—yes, a sacred obligation to present the facts regardless of his personal opinions.

There are widely divergent views concerning the various problems that confront us. This is understandable and, in any form of society, highly desirable. The ability to reach logical and sound conclusions is predicated upon knowledge of facts, not just half or three-quarters, but all of the facts. We must insure that every citizen has complete information upon which to base opinions as well as the opportunity to express views unreservedly. Hence, while I respect Mr. Stevenson's right to express his views and to criticize the Republican Party and its leaders, nevertheless the way in which he did so has caused me to question his objectivity and his sincerity.

Having expressed my personal reaction and disappointment in Mr. Stevenson, I should like to address myself to three very important issues which he developed in his Miami address: First, the obligation to provide information to the American people; Second, bipartisan policies; third, the New Look relating to national defense.

In connection with the first point, Mr. Stevenson stated and I quote—"The processes of democracy demand at least that people's vision be clear, that they be told the truth and that they respect one another." He continued—"At least we are entitled to the facts and the truth unadorned." Certainly every Republican agrees. Could it be that Mr. Stevenson is now repudiating those Democratic leaders who withheld vital information for a period of 20 years—information concerning traitors in our Government, information about the far-reaching commitments made with the Soviet Union and other foreign powers, information vital to informed judgments about national affairs? Let me illustrate, if I may, from personal experience. During and immediately after World War II decisions were ordinarily reached through executive agreements. At that time the New Deal-Fair Deal made many new deals but not always fair deals, when it committed this country to the almost indiscriminate distribution of our manpower, money and materials all over the world. I suggested then to certain leaders that the

American people, or at least our representatives in Congress should be informed of these commitments. Of course you all know that this would be in keeping with the Constitution. However, I was told that it was not feasible to tell either the American people or the Congress concerning these vital developments because the information might leak out and embarrass the other countries. My reply was that I would rather risk embarrassing the foreign nations than to commit the American people without their knowledge or consent.

I should like to ask you a few questions:

First, do you think that you and I, if fully provided with all the facts, would have approved the emasculation of our own military forces immediately after World War II, while permitting the Soviet Union to retain its tremendous military power? Second, would we have yielded to the Communists the complete domination of Central Europe, and permitted the intimidation of Western European of Middle Eastern countries? Third, would we have sold out a faithful and traditional ally, the Republic of China to the Communists? Of course the answer is overwhelmingly no. May I relate some other instances? Let us go back to 1941. I believe the American people have never been told all of the facts leading up to and resulting in Pearl Harbor. And don't forget this blot on American justice: The two military commanders, Admiral Kimmel and General Short, were held responsible for that terrible tragedy and were relieved of their commands virtually in disgrace. Although they begged for and were entitled to a courts-martial hearing, nevertheless they were denied the opportunity of clearing their good names and fine records. We learned about Mr. Truman's decision to go into the Korean war after the fact. Congress was readily available in the Capitol and could have been convened within a few hours at the President's request. But no, in keeping with the pattern of secrecy established by his predecessor at Teheran and Yalta. Mr. Truman chose to ignore the Constitutional powers of Congress to declare war. He, and Mr. Acheson, made the fateful decision. Regardless of whether it was the proper decision or not, I still maintain that our Chief Executive must respect and follow the processes of government provided for in our Constitution. If Congress had been informed of the situation in Korea, I feel certain it would have approved realistic action against the Communist aggression. However, I feel equally certain that Cngress would have insisted upon two things: First, a victory in the American tradition; Second, our Allies do their proportionate share.

In contrast to the New Deal-Fair Deal record, what is the Republican Party doing to keep the American people informed? The President, at his weekly press conferences, has impressed everyone with his sincerity and willingness to give frank and complete answers to questions concerning national and international issues. The Secretary of State in nationwide broadcasts provides the American people with timely and comprehensive appraisals of policies under consideration or in process of negotiation. As I travel in various parts of the country, I note that people in all walks of life, have confidence in the top men we now have in Washington. Our leaders are not infallible and some of us do not always agree with their decisions. Nevertheless all of us can feel now that we can share their difficult problems. All Americans, Republicans and Democrats, can now form intelligent judgments and express purposeful views.

We now come to the second point: bipartisan policy. May I again quote Mr. Stevenson: "Twenty years of bipartisan effort," he said, "highly intelligent and highly successful, has been called 20 years of treason under the auspices of the Republican National Committee."

Let us examine this. During and after World War II, I observed closely the operation of the New Deal-Fair Deal bipartisan policy. I talked to the late Senator Vandenberg about it. Here is how it normally worked: Plans and policies were discussed with 1 or 2 carefully selected Republican Members of Congress. Some information was revealed to these few Republicans, but only after the policy had been adopted. Bipartisanship was a farce. However, it proved to be an effective slogan to stop debate about the administration's foreign policies. It was the clear intent of our very wise Founding Fathers that every issue of national or international importance should be vigorously discussed by elected representatives. Obviously only in this way can the advantages or disadvantages of proposals be clearly revealed to the American people. But intelligent debate is impossible in the absence of full information. As I have pointed out, under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, neither Congress nor the people had access to this information. Debate was therefore futile, conjectural, and even frivolous. Let us always remember that the Democratic Party marched triumphantly in its retreat from victory, under the slogan, "Bipartisan Foreign Policy." And this was the highly intelligent and highly successful policy Mr. Stevenson had the audacity to defend.

Now let us take a look at the New Look. What did Mr. Stevenson have to say about this? Just listen: "At all events, without the benefit of bipartisanship the administration has recently unveiled this New Look." He continued: "It has been presented to us as a program of more for our money, a bigger bang for a buck, national security in the large economy size." We must not permit Mr. Stevenson or anyone else to forget that it was under Democratic administrations that we were drawn into and decisively won two world wars, and yet in each instance, we ignominiously lost the peace?

With reference to Mr. Stevenson's charge that "the New Look was unveiled without benefit of bipartisanship," let us examine the record. Responsible military leaders explained the New Look carefully to congressional committees including of course Democratic members. Furthermore, the Secretary of State at press conferences and in a nationwide broadcast pointed up the intent of the New Look in our military policy. How can Mr. Stevenson possibly make such unsupported statements?

May I explain a few fundamentals that are basic to an understanding of our global situation? An adversary or opponent who is on the offensive, who is attacking, has the initiative. This applies in the boxing ring, on the football field, in the political arena, and on the field of battle—and in the field of international relations. American foreign policy traditionally rejects the role of aggressor. Symbolically our military organization is called the Department of Defense, not the Department of War. Our military forces are organized and deployed to defend our own country and to discharge our proportionate responsibilities in the mutual defense of free nations. American foreign policies, which are now being clearly enunciated since the Republican Party came into power, are defensive in concept and are, I insist, in the American tradition.

All of us recall, immediately after World War II, the friendly attitude, the respect, and admiration of our Government leaders and of many others toward our wartime allies, including the Soviet Union. We had won a great victory and looked forward to peace—an era of prosperity, cultural attainment, and international amity. There was trust in our hearts and confidence in our friendly approach—our allies ostensibly shared our objectives, namely, an honorable peace and justice for victors and vanquished alike. It was in such an atmosphere that the United Nations was born.

Gradually, and in many instances belatedly, we became aware of the sinister purposes of the Soviet Union and her satellites. And as has so often been the case in the history of our country, the American people recognized the danger and were prepared to move realistically against Communism well in advance of their political leaders in Washington.

The New Deal-Fair Deal administration adopted a policy of appeasement to combat Stalin's program of gobbling up defenseless nations of enslaving millions. The Kremlin masters blatantly violated treaties, agreements, and the Charter of the United Nations, whenever it suited their purpose. Appeasement didn't work, so Mr. Truman and Acheson tried the policy of containment. This I am sure amused the leaders in the Kremlin. The Reds still retained the initiative. They could set off explosive powder kegs in China, Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, Tibet, India, Iran, Greece, Austria, Germany, and Finland.

I can recall no more accurate description of the Truman-Acheson policy than that contained in a statement made 300 years before Christ by Demosthenes. Here is what Demosthenes said:

"Shame on you Athenians • • • for not wishing to understand that in war one must not allow oneself to be at the command of events, but to forestall them. You Athenians are the strongest of all the Greeks, in ships, cavalry, infantry, and revenue, and you do not make the best of them.

"Likewise, if you hear that Philip has attacked the Chaeronea, you send help there, if he is at Thermophlae, you run there, and if he turns aside you follow him, to right or left, as if you were acting on his orders. Never a fixed plan, never any precautions • • • you wait for bad news before you act."

Such was the policy under the New Deal. The American people now recognize the danger of policies which surrender the initiative to the Soviet Union and her satellites. As I interpret the New Look, it provides for the full use of all appropriate means in a carefully prepared plan for retaliatory action. Any plan or policy—for example, the appeasement or containment policy of the previous administration—involves calculated risks. However, the New Look explains clearly to our potential enemies, to neutral powers, and to friends alike, that we Americans do not intend any longer to permit the Soviet Union to weaken and finally destroy us through economic and military attrition. In my judgment, we are gaining the initiative in the political, economic, and psychological fields. To gain the initiative now in a military sense we would have to launch offensives—and make aggressive use of our Army, Navy, and Air Force. This would mean war, and no sane person wants war. We should only use our military forces as instruments of national policy when all other means fail, and when we are attacked. The New Look means that our responsible civilian and military leaders will continue to assess the military strength, the capabilities, and designs of potential enemies. Then we will shape our policies and security forces accordingly. The modern and highly mobile striking forces, equipped with ultradestructive weapons, under the New Look concept, could and would deliver paralyzing counterblows against any nation that might stupidly attack us. This is entirely different from the diffuse situation which Demosthenes, 2,000 years ago, called to the attention of his fellow Athenians, a situation in which we also found ourselves in the days of Truman and Acheson. At last clear direction is now being given to our efforts to defend not only our country but to strengthen the ramparts of freedom throughout the world, and finally and importantly to give real hope to those behind the Iron Curtain who yearn for liberty.

Let us examine the New Look more specifically. It does not present radically new concepts insofar as military force is concerned. As science increases the destructive power of weapons as well as their speed and radii of operations, the composition of our forces will undergo change, also tactics and techniques will change. This is common sense. Greater emphasis is appropriately being placed upon air power. However, there is no indication whatever that we are relying exclusively on one weapon, or one military service. We are not violating any doctrines or principles of war. We are not attacking any nation; nor are we undertaking steps that would justify attack by another nation. On the other hand, sensibly, we are preparing to launch a massive destructive offensive against any nation that attacks us. I cannot emphasize too strongly how important it is that the Communist leaders, and also the unfortunate people whom they have enslaved, should know of the tremendous retaliatory power that the United States and allies have in the hydrogen and atom bombs.

Judging from Mr. Stevenson's criticisms of the present administration's defensive plans, he would be content that we continue, in fact, increase our budgetary deficits and run the risk of destroying our American system through a breakdown of our free economy. Or perhaps he would have us dissipate our strength by maintaining military forces at several points around the Soviet periphery, prepared to put out brush fires but not available nor properly deployed to destroy the real instigators of tyranny. Does anyone think for a moment that the North Koreans had the production facilities or even the desire to wage a war against their own people, the South Koreans? Does anyone think that the rebels in Indochina have the industrial know-how or capacity to equip and maintain an army fighting in the field? It is time for all of us to recognize that the Soviet Union is inspiring and supporting these various wars while enjoying complete immunity itself. The New Look takes all of these very important factors, as well as the implications of new weapons, into consideration. It serves notice, wisely and in the rugged American tradition, that we recognize that the Soviet Union is precipitating these dangerous incidents which could lead to a world war. It announces unmistakably that we do not intend to be drawn into military actions at times and places of their choosing, but that we do intend to take the action we deem appropriate to protect our own interests. It proclaims our determination also to assist in the protection of those of our allies that are prepared to do their share in the collective security of free nations.

I have concentrated on problems related to our national security for many years. I still think the New Look brings realism to our military and economic planning.

May I briefly summarize:

In the first place Mr. Stevenson charged the Republicans with denying vital information to the American people. I believe his statement is proven incorrect. I would like to interpret Mr. Stevenson's dialogue against arbitrary government as a change of heart in the leadership of his party that for so many years indulged in government by secret Executive fiat.

The second point, bipartisanship. Mr. Stevenson claimed 20 years of highly intelligent and highly successful bipartisanship. I maintain it was only successful in serving primarily the interests of other countries, and especially the Soviet Union.

And the third point, the New Look. Mr. Stevenson stated that he didn't presume to understand the full implications of the New Look. With this I am in hearty accord. But he did recognize the political implications, as becomes a defeated political candidate talking about the handicraft of his successful opponent. As a former military man, I find in the New Look concept of defense an application of the sound principle of war, economy of force. This economy includes manpower, dollars, and materials. I feel certain that the New Look will make more remote the tragic procession of flag draped coffins which were moot evidence of the Korean war—a war that the military was not permitted to win and which the diplomats failed to settle.

The basic and divisive problems of the atomic age pose great dangers to our civilized world. Never has our Nation or any other nation faced such a challenge. If the naked truth be told, no magic formula has yet been found in Washington or abroad to reconcile the hearts of men, to put human values in their proper perspective.

But we Americans do have an inner strength which has its genesis in the Constitution and our noble heritage. We have had singular opportunities for a good life, in freedom under a government of the peoples choice and controlled by the people. We all, Republicans and Democrats alike, want to keep it that way.

We have lived through good times and bad; we have known days of prolonged peace and have suffered the hardships and tragedies of war. But never have we been a frightened or demoralized people. Never before the New Deal-Fair Deal administrations have we appeased an enemy. There is no need today to change the course of our ship of state. Our Republican leaders assisted by able members of the opposition, have chartered a safe course toward the harbor of peace—of decency in all human relationships. Retaining our faith in America—our faith in God—we shall fulfill our destiny.

Depression of 1929

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, John J. Dreesen, publisher and editor of the East Chicago Globe, East Chicago, Ind., sets out in an editorial in his newspaper facts which refresh the memory of people in 1954 of events which happened a quarter of a century ago. Everybody hopes that our economic history does not repeat itself.

The editorial follows:

THE GLOBE TROTTER

(By John Dreesen)

We do not profess to be economic experts, nor do we know all of the answers in affairs governmental. Yet, after 61 years on this earth, many of which we spent in affairs both public and political, we have formed some forthright opinions which we at least, regard as sincere and honest. We hope you will consider them in the same light.

Back in 1928 when the Republicans were at the height of their political career in America, Calvin Coolidge was President and the political goose hung high. The national debt had been reduced to about 16 billions of dollars, manufacturers and retailers prices were zooming skyward and the industrial average on the big board of the New York Stock Exchange crossed the 300 mark. Big money in America was on the march and nothing could stop it. Prosperity was everywhere. It appeared to everyone that this prosperity could go on forever. There was only one apparent weakness in the national economic structure. In spite of the gains made by capital and Wall Street and the economies which were injected into the governmental structure because of Coolidge's policies of strict New-England-type penny-pinching methods, unemployment was gaining and when it came time for Calvin Coolidge to announce himself as a possible candidate to succeed himself for another term in the White House, this smart "country boy" said: "I do not choose to run."

Keep in mind these factors:

1. Wall Street was in control of the White House.

2. Governmental expenditures were being reduced.

3. The industrial average on the big board of the New York Stock Exchange had crossed the magic "300 mark."

4. Unemployment was increasing.

5. Coolidge said: "I do not choose to run."

So, Coolidge did not run. He was followed by another handpicked candidate of the controlling group of the Republican Party, one Herbert Hoover. But, Hoover had two strikes upon him when he assumed office. He was soon to inherit all of the evils which cannot be avoided when one pursues the course chosen by Coolidge and his advisers.

Then came the big crash * * * the days when the stock market shot downward through that magic "300 mark" like a streak of lightning, and America's worst panic was on.

Now, let's look at the present picture. Let's compare it with the days when the Republicans were last in power. Let's see if there is any similarity in the general political and economical picture. This is the picture today:

1. Wall Street is once again in control of the White House.

2. Governmental expenditures are being reduced.

3. The industrial average on the big board of the New York Stock Exchange has once again crossed that magic "300 mark."

4. Unemployment is increasing.

5. And, last but not least, 2 weeks ago President Eisenhower told reporters, "I do not choose to run for a second term," or words to that effect.

Does Ike see what lies before us just as Coolidge undoubtedly did back in 1928, or are all of these factors just pure coincidence?

I will let you be the judge of that. In closing, I want to say that we are not necessarily anti-Republican, we are just anti-depression and antipanic. And we hope the present Republican administration will not continue to make the same mistakes that the last one in power made.

The American people do not deserve that kind of treatment.

Building New Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times-Herald of April 6, 1954, entitled "Building New Schools," calling attention to the continuing need for an ade-

quate program of Federal aid to education:

BUILDING NEW SCHOOLS

"Youth—our greatest resource—is being seriously neglected in a vital respect," President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message last January. "The Nation as a whole is not preparing teachers or building schools fast enough to keep up with the increase in our population." The inescapable fact, moreover, is that this neglect is becoming more and more acute. The postwar birthrate will send school enrollments skyrocketing in the years immediately ahead. Expenditures for schooling have lagged far behind the growing need. And in point of fact the States and municipalities lack the financial resources to meet this need. The only practicable remedy lies in a program of Federal aid to education.

The United States Office of Education issued a report recently estimating the total new school construction need at the present time at 312,000 classrooms. The cost of meeting this need would be about $10.6 billion. But according to the report, local school districts, with all the State aid now available, could raise no more than 5.9 billions of this amount, leaving a deficit of 4.7 billions.

In an address delivered Saturday to the National Science Teachers Association, Agnes E. Meyer sharply criticized the administration for failing to take any constructive action to meet this condition. "Since 1951," she points out, "the States and localities appropriated more than a billion dollars every year and last year they spent the huge sum of $2 billion on school construction. Many localities have reached the limit of their taxing ability." Whatever differences of opinion may exist about a general program of Federal aid to education, there is strong sentiment among Republicans and Democrats alike for helping to finance urgently needed school construction along the lines of the Cooper and McClellan bills.

This widespread support for school construction is made the stronger, as Mrs. Meyer observed, because, "if the recession should become more acute, no public-works program could be economically more sound nor more generally beneficial than Federal aid for the construction of public-school buildings." It would be dangerous folly to put off this program until a White House conference on education, projected for 1956, can survey the situation. It is a situation already starkly clear—and desperate.

The Presidio of San Francisco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. CONDON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. CONDON. Mr. Speaker, I am incorporating in my remarks a resolution received from the County Supervisors Association of California which is dated February 5, 1954.

In this resolution the supervisors association calls attention to the plight of the city and county of San Francisco in having the Presidio of San Francisco utilize such a large area in a very crowded community. They want some or all of this land returned to the tax rolls or to be available for development.

I have previously pointed out the advantages of moving the Presidio of San Francisco and the headquarters of the Sixth Army over to Camp Stoneman, which is located in my district, at Pittsburg, Calif. There is adequate land at Camp Stoneman and the Sixth Army Headquarters could function effectively in that area. Pittsburg, Calif., is a short commuting distance from San Francisco and it offers many advantages for a permanent army installation. I am hopeful that the Department of Defense will pay heed to those San Franciscans who are desirous of seeing the Army headquarters removed out of their community and to those of us who would welcome it at Camp Stoneman. There follows the resolution of the California Supervisors Association:

Whereas the members of a constituent body of the County Supervisors Association of California, i. e., the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco, have on several occasions urged the relinquishment of federally owned land, including sizable holdings located in the Presidio and Fort Funston, not now or to be in the foreseeable future needed for national defense or other Federal purposes; and

Whereas the repeated demands that federally owned surplus land be released for private developments as residential areas and for other private uses are predicated on the basically sound premise that both local and Federal governments would derive substantial benefits therefrom including operational savings, sales price revenues, additional tax receipts, purchasing power of private property ownership, and curtailment of population shifts; and

Whereas said action of the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco is consonant with and supplementary to the long-standing and vigorously supported programs sponsored by the County Supervisors Association of California, looking to the authorization for payment to local governmental subdivisions by the Federal Government in lieu of taxes on federally owned real property, and to the relinquishment of such property as is not required for Federal purposes: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the County Supervisors Association of California in convention regularly assembled, That the Congress of the United States and interested Federal agencies be and they are hereby memorialized to take immediate action which will assure early relinquishment of Federal real property not utilized or necessary for purposes of the National Government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to each of the State of California delegates in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States and to the National Association of County Officials, with the urgent request that they lend their wholehearted support to the program herein endorsed.

WM. R. MACDOUGALL,
General Manager.

Ol' Man Atchafalaya?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, in the April 16, 1954, issue of Collier's magazine, on pages 56 and 57, under the title "Ol' Man Atchafalaya?" there appears an article relating to the threatened diversion of the Mississippi River. For the sake of the record it is necessary to point out that this article contains a serious error resulting in a major distortion of the river diversion problem.

In the first paragraph of this article discussing the possibility of the change of course of the Mississippi, the article states:

If that came about, Ol' Man River would leave the great port of New Orleans high and dry. The sleepy little town of Morgan City—population 9,759—about 125 air miles west of New Orleans, conceivably would then arise from a devastating flood to become the biggest southern port in the United States.

Not only is there no shred of evidence or authority to indicate that Morgan City would "arise from a devastating flood to become the biggest southern port in the United States," but the uncontroverted evidence in the Fisk report and the testimony of all experts shows clearly that there would not be a Morgan City in existence after such a catastrophe. The Louisiana State Department of Public Works has published a map, based on the best enginering studies, which shows that in the event of a Mississippi diversion more than four and a half million acres of valuable industrial, residential, and agricultural land would be permanently destroyed not merely flooded.

The issue, therefore, is not merely that of abandoning New Orleans in favor of a greater Morgan City. Rather the problem is one of permanent destruction of a tremendous and highly developed area.

Furthermore, the presentation in this article is wholly inadequate in that it fails to even mention the dangerous and costly dislocation upriver from Baton Rouge which would ensue in the event of a diversion. Experts are of the opinion that such a change would throw out of balance the entire flood-control system as far up as Vicksburg at a tremendous cost and at great danger to many communities along the way.

The article from Collier's follows:

OL' MAN ATCHAFALAYA?

(By Bern Keating)

Unless something is done during the next 20 years or so, the Mississippi River will leave its course some 320 miles upstream from the Gulf of Mexico, and flow off into a little-known river called the Atchafalaya (a-chaf-ah-lie-a). If that came about, Ol' Man River would leave the great port of New Orleans high and dry. The sleepy little town of Morgan City (population 9,759)—about 125 air miles west of New Orleans—conceivably would then arise from a devastating flood to become the biggest southern port in the United States.

According to the United States Army's Corps of Engineers, in charge of Mississippi flood control, the Atchafalaya's threat is not only real, it is growing greater every year.

Today about 23 percent of the Mississippi's waters run into the Atchafalaya by way of a short branch known as Old River. The percentage is constantly rising. When the Atchafalaya has stolen 40 percent of the Mississippi's flow, it will be too late to stop it. Brig. Gen. John R. Hardin, president of the Mississippi River Commission and division engineer for the Army at Vicksburg, figures that the slow theft will be accomplished by the mid-1970's, unless a major flood speeds the process into sudden catas-

trophe. But the engineers have a plan to arrest the process within 10 years.

The Mississippi's levee system cannot adequately handle the river's periodic major floods. When they occur, the levees can be counted on to hold in check only about half of the Mississippi's raging waters. The other half has to be shifted elsewhere. Under present conditions, the Mississippi during major rampage is drained off at three points: into Lake Pontchartrain, north of New Orleans; into the newly constructed Morganza Floodway, just above Baton Rouge; and into the Atchafalaya itself.

But the Atchafalaya poses a problem. It must be kept open to drain off the Mississippi's floodwaters. Yet while it is open, it is kidnaping the Mississippi. Ideally, what is needed is a system which would do two things: hold the kidnaping process in check during the Mississippi's normal flow; and let the Atchafalaya take about half the Mississippi's waters during a flood. The engineers' plan would accomplish both these objects.

They propose to build sluice gates at the point where the Mississippi flows into the branch that leads into the Atchafalaya. The gates could be opened and shut like colossal faucets. With this system the Atchafalaya could be opened just enough to handle floodwaters, or closed just enough to keep the bigger river in its place during normal flow. The Mississippi would stay where people are used to seeing it.

Work on the vital sluice gates has not begun yet. Only the model for them exists. But the engineers have asked Congress to authorize eight to ten million dollars as a first installment on the project.

If the job is not undertaken soon, the River Commission and the engineers fear that someday folks will find the Mississippi has dwindled to a trickle from a point a little above Baton Rouge all the way to New Orleans. Folks up north will then be steaming down the Atchafalaya to way down yonder in Morgan City. And nobody will want to sing about that.

Iowa Foremost in Nation in Livestock Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, the eminence of Iowa as the breadbasket of the Nation and the agricultural center of the world has been further substantiated by a study of livestock production researched by Bernard F. Nowack, assistant director of the Iowa Development Commission.

The State of Iowa leads the Nation in the production of meat animals, slaughter of meat animals by packers, livestock on farms, meat animals marketed, and farm income from sale of meat animals, the commission reports.

In farm income from the sale of meat animals in 1950, Iowa led the Nation with $1,423,800,000, with Illinois second, having $785,557,000. Texas ranked third, Indiana fourth, and California fifth.

In 1952, cash receipts from livestock sales in Iowa totaled $1,513,635,000, followed by Illinois, with $880,272,000; Nebraska, Texas, and Kansas ranking in that order.

Iowa led the Nation in both number and liveweight of livestock slaughtered in 1950, with 13.8 million head constituting 4.3 billion pounds. Illinois was second, with 11 million head, and 3 billion pounds, followed by California and Texas which placed third and fourth respectively.

In the total of livestock on farms during 1950, Iowa was foremost throughout the country, with 19,460,000 cattle and calves, hogs, sheep and lambs, followed by Texas with 18,165,000; Illinois was third, and California placed fourth.

The liveweight and number of livestock marketed in 1950 shows Iowa first again, with 20.6 million head and 6.9 billion pounds. Illinois ranked second, with 10.6 million head and 3.7 billion pounds; Indiana was third, Texas placed fourth, and California, fifth.

In 1952, total livestock marketings disclosed Iowa's continued supremacy, with 7.2 billion pounds, followed by Illinois with 4 billion pounds. Texas, Nebraska, and Kansas followed Iowa's leadership in that order.

In 1950, the Hawkeye State ranked first among States in meat-animal production with 6.4 billion pounds recorded by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. Illinois ranked second, with 3.3 billion pounds, followed by Texas and California.

In 1952, Iowa maintained its leadership in production of meat animals, with 6.4 billion pounds, with Illinois second, having 3.6 billion pounds; Nebraska, third; Texas, fourth, and Kansas, fifth.

The Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK SMALL, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, Maryland was recently honored by Supreme Court Justice Douglas, who, in company with other lovers of nature, hiked the towpath along the old Chesapeake & Ohio Canal from Cumberland to Washington.

The resultant publicity from this walking tour has renewed interest in one of our State's most beautiful areas, and convinced many of the great benefits of a parkway along the canal.

The evening before Justice Douglas and his friends began hiking they were hospitably entertained in Cumberland and on that occasion the Honorable William C. Walsh made some appropriate remarks.

Mr. Walsh, a former attorney general of Maryland and former member of the Maryland Court of Appeals, explains many of the reasons a parkway would be desirable. This project is one which has been sponsored for many years by our distinguished junior Senator, the Honorable J. GLENN BEALL, and its construction will be due in great part to the work Senator BEALL did while a Member of the House of Representatives.

The remarks of Judge Walsh follow:

THE CHESAPEAKE & OHIO CANAL HIKE OF JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS IN COOPERATION WITH ROBERT ESTABROOK AND MERLO PUSEY OF THE WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES-HERALD

(Remarks of William C. Walsh at prehike dinner, Cumberland County Club, March 19, 1954)

This occasion is almost as historic as the one at Great Falls near Washington on July 4, 1828, when President John Quincy Adams turned the first spadeful of earth for the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. The chief difference is that President Adams was inaugurating the building of the canal, while the present hiking venture sponsored a century and a quarter later by Justice Douglas and Robert Estabrook and Merlo Pusey of the Washington Post and Times-Herald marks what we hope will be the substitution of a scenic parkway for the now abandoned canal.

The present proposed parkway from Cumberland to Hancock, and perhaps eventually to the Nation's Capital, will open this historic route to millions of Americans who would otherwise never see it, and our chief task tonight is to endeavor to persuade Justice Douglas that the parkway will not destroy the natural wilderness he loves so much, and will prove a benefit rather than a loss. Some years ago I had the pleasure of arguing a case in the Supreme Court, and I regret to say that I was unable to persuade Justice Douglas that my cause was right, but being by nature an optimist, I am willing to try again, and as I really think this is a stronger cause than I had before I am at least hopeful of the result. Since this is really a case of salesmanship rather than argument, we are following the time-honored custom of wining and dining our prospect, and here's hoping we make the sale.

The chief local authority on anecdotes regarding the canal was the late Buck Dreyer, a former county treasurer, whose grandfather helped to build it and then went into the boat building business which was also the trade later followed by his father. According to Buck, the canal was largely built by Irish and German immigrants and the feeling between the two groups was so strong that it was necessary to work them in separate crews. Despite this, Buck said that they always got into fights each payday, and he though the fact that whisky then sold for 60 cents a gallon had something to do with the fights. As a matter of fact, the canal company encountered numerous financial difficulties both during the building of the canal and afterwards, and as a boy I was told that on many occasions the wages of the workers were paid largely in whisky, with perhaps a little cash thrown in. At any rate, there seems to be little doubt that the building of the canal was quite an adventure.

Buck is also authority for the statement that the presence of black bass on the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies was due to the canal. It seems that after the B. & O. reached Wheeling, W. Va., about the water 1850, an engineer named Shriver caught 20 small mouthed bass in the Ohio River, he kept the fish in a bucket in the tender of the locomotive until he reached Cumberland, and then dumped them in the canal basin and from there they spread through the other waters of this area. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this account but it makes a pretty good fish story. Buck also said the mules who pulled the boats organized the first effective 6-hour day in the United States. It seems that the mules worked on 6-hour shifts, and according to Buck at the end of each 6-hour period the mules which were working came to an absolute stop and neither blows, kicks, nor other forms of persuasion could indice them

to go another step, so that it was necessary to hitch up another set of mules, who in turn stopped at the end of the next 6-hour period. There are other tales of the canal but these are suffice to give some idea of the local color which surrounds it at this western terminus.

As you all know, the Department of the Interior recommended several years ago that the parkway be built. Legislation to that effect, initiated by Senator BEALL when he was a Member of the House, has been passed by Congress, and the Maryland Legislature has also passed legislation, sponsored by State Senator Kimble, authorizing the acquisition of the necessary additional rights-of-way between Cumberland and Hancock. Justice Douglas, of course, is a member of the judiciary, and under our constitutional separation of the powers of government, I am sure he has no desire to interfere with the legislative branch, except in cases where that branch exceeds its authority. I also doubt that the legislation just mentioned constitutes any excess of authority or offends any constitutional principle. However, we do not want to raise any question of authority, but rather we hope to persuade Justice Douglas of the merits of the whole proposal.

Time does not permit a discussion of all the many reasons for the parkway, but there is one I particularly wish to mention tonight. It is based on the fact that the proposed water-level road will eliminate the five mountains which we now have to go over on Route 40 between here and Hancock. There is a great deal of travel by local residents and by hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of motorists, between Cumberland and Baltimore, over Route 40, and the five mountains which have to be crossed between here and Hancock constitute something of a driving hazard even in good weather, and when the snow and ice is on them in the wintertime they are so dangerous that few like to travel over them. The parkway between here and Hancock will enable motorists to avoid these mountains in bad weather and will thus decrease motor-vehicle accidents, and greatly facilitate travel between Cumberland and Baltimore, even if the parkway is not eventually extended to Washington.

We are living in an age of transportation. The Indian trails, roads for horse-drawn vehicles, and the narrow twisting early motor roads have given way to modern, wide, and high-speed boulevards over which hundreds of millions of motorists are constantly traveling. I am not at all certain that this modern speed-up in transportation is an unmixed blessing, but certainly it is here, and its progress and further development can no more be stopped than could the waves of the ocean by King Canute. And since these increased facilities of transportation are with us, it is certainly advisable to reduce to the extent possible the carnage which results from motor-vehicle accidents. This decrease in accidents by eliminating the hazards of mountain driving between here and Hancock is largely a utilitarian argument, but it seems to me to be a sound one, and I believe such a decrease in motor-vehicle accidents would in itself justify the building of the parkway. There are many other reasons for it, such as opening this historic and scenic area to the public, the sorely needed economic benefits which it would bring to this community, and various other advantages which would flow from the parkway, but to me the elimination of the hazardous driving between here and Hancock is perhaps the soundest argument of all.

Nor do I believe that this 100-foot parkway through the 50-odd miles of almost total wilderness which exists along the Potomac from here to Hancock would drive away much wildlife, unduly disturb the birds, frighten the fish, or destroy the woods or the flowers and other vegetation of the fields, and I am confident that there will still remain after the parkway is built vast areas along the route untouched by man where those who wish to do so can commune with nature and with nature's God.

Actually the construction of the parkway will make these areas available to millions, where now only Justice Douglas, his newspaper and other associates from Washington, and perhaps a few similar renowned travelers have the hardihood to visit them. When Judge Henderson and I were boys, which is a good many years ago, I think the judge, who is a great lover of the outdoors and a hiker in his own right, tried to navigate the canal from here to Washington in a canoe. I do not know how far he got but so far as I can recall that was the last expedition to traverse the canal route, other than by canal boats, that was undertaken until the present safari was organized by our distinguished guest. I am certain that had the parkway been in existence during this period many millions of people would have been able to enjoy the pleasures of the route, and I appeal to Justice Douglas to join with the rest of us in opening up this historic area to the millions who will traverse and enjoy it if the parkway is built.

I might add, that Senator BEALL has assured me that the justice will be invited to attend the opening of the parkway when it is built, and I personally hope he will be asked to dedicate it to the future pleasure and enjoyment of the people of America.

Lt. Col. Thomas E. Rhodes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, on April 1, 1954, my constituent, Lt. Col. Thomas E. Rhodes, was retired from the Army. Colonel Rhodes has rendered long and faithful service to the Government and the people of this Republic. For 14 years he was in the civilian service in the Department of Justice and for 13 years he has served in the Army attached to the Judge Advocate General's Corps. In both he leaves behind an outstanding record of achievement.

As evidence of the extraordinary service which he rendered while in the Army of the United States, I include as a part of my remarks a letter under date of March 31, 1954, from the Judge Advocate General, Maj. Gen. Eugene M. Caffey, which he directed to Colonel Rhodes on the occasion of his retirement. The letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,
OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1954.

Lt. Col. THOMAS E. RHODES, JAGC,
Judge Advocate General's Office, Department of the Army, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COLONEL RHODES: On the occasion of your retirement from the Army, I extend to you the cordial good wishes of all of the officers of the Corps.

Your service with the Judge Advocate General's Corps has been characterized by that extreme zeal and attention to duty which is emblematic of the outstanding Army officer. One product of your contribution to the Corps has been the high praise accorded you by Members of Congress who have seen and appreciated the superior quality of your work and that of your Division. Your successful handling for many years of the complicated and important business of the Legislative Claims Division of the Army has earned for you the admiration and respect of key personnel of the Government.

Successive Judge Advocates General have noted that your talent for intensive research, your careful draftsmanship, and your reasoned opinions have always produced finished products of the highest order. Your work stands as a monument to you and reflects great credit upon the Corps and the Army.

I take great pleasure in commending you for your record of achievement with and for the Army. Your friends are sorry to see you leave, and the Corps will miss your services.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE M. CAFFEY,
Major General, United States Army,
The Judge Advocate General.

The Great North Island Team

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much about unification and integration of the various branches of the armed services. I am happy to report an outstanding example of unification within the Navy itself, as it exists at the huge North Island Naval Air Station at San Diego, Calif. At North Island, Navy personnel and civilian workers cooperate in their daily tasks with an unusually effective teamwork that results in better defense per dollar. An enlightening and factual article on this spirit of teamwork appeared recently in the official publication of the station, the North Islander, in its issue of April 2, 1954:

THE GREAT NORTH ISLAND TEAM
CIVILIAN WORKERS INSTRUCT, WORK WITH NAVY PERSONNEL

The great North Island team of the civilian employee and the Navy man has consistently placed this station in the forefront of all aviation facilities in the Navy Establishment. The close liaison and teamwork enjoyed by the Navy personnel with his civilian coworker has resulted in many improved techniques and advantages to both groups.

In a majority of the station's many departments, the Navy man and the civilian employee work side by side in bettering the services and facilities of this station. Their close teamwork has resulted in many improved developments in techniques and procedures.

Citing the Repair and Ground Check Division of O&R as an outstanding example of this cooperation and harmony, the North Islander staff believes that it more graphically emphasizes this spirit of teamwork.

Repair and Ground Check Division personel, some 480 military and 430 civilian employees, modify salvage and repair aircraft and aircraft equipment. While working side by side, the civilian employee is constantly improving the military man's techniques that will result in quicker and better maintenance work afloat. But, in teaching, the civilian worker also learns the many advanced techniques and procedures

of carrier repair and maintenance from his fellow military worker.

Working together and learning together, the civilian-military team has increased the efficiency and production of this division to an unprecedented point. Throughout the Division's relatively brief history, the combined talents of civilian and military workmen have brought about many innovations in production and improved working techniques.

Unit and shop supervisors are unanimous in their praise for the production and harmony of the "team" and take justifiable pride in the Division's reputation.

NAVY MEN LEARN ORDNANCE AND REPAIR TRICKS TO QUICK AIRCRAFT REPAIRS

Only the predominant "white hat" distinguishes the military worker from the civilian worker in Ordnance and Repair's Repair and Ground Division—then only in some areas is that distinction noticeable as in many shops and jobs of the Division the wearing of the hat is not required.

Working side by side with civilian experts, the Navy man learns the many tricks and latest invocations of aircraft repair and equipment maintenance. Working techniques that will enable him to perform better work when transferred to the forces afloat.

Aside from the close working harmony between the civilian and military worker in the Division, all personnel enjoy group recreational activities in leisure hours, ranging from the traditional Navy Acey-Duecy game to the equally traditional "bull session" over coffee and lunch.

Mutual respect and mutual interests have developed the two groups into an unbeatable team—a team that has brought Navy-wide recognition to the quality of this station's work and services.

The interlocking aspects of their daily work bring the varied backgrounds and training into common practices on the job. Backgrounds of technical skills as well as practical experience is shared and mutually blended into the common knowledge of both workers. This overlapping of skills and background blends into improved production techniques and increased output.

In recent years, this skillful blending of military and civilian talents has been evidenced in the many prototyped developments achieved by Ordnance and Repair and this Division.

Heading the Repair and Ground Check Division is Lt. Comdr. E. A. Forcier, who relieved Lt. Comdr. Tony Di Cerchio this week. Under his supervision, the Division expects to expand their services and bring even more credit to the great North Island team—the civilian and military worker.

Too Much Cake Will Spoil Taste for Bread

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an editorial from the Knoxville (Iowa) Express, one of the best edited newspapers in Iowa, published by the Casey brothers. This paper has long been a stalwart Democratic newspaper, but fair and frank and honest in its editorial expressions. I hope that all Members of the House will read this editorial which sets forth the fact that the Government cannot continue forever to give everybody everything that is asked. A giveaway program will just not work forever. The editorial is entitled "Too Much Cake Will Spoil Taste for Bread":

TOO MUCH CAKE WILL SPOIL TASTE FOR BREAD

The first sign that a nation is entering a period of deterioration is when the people begin to depend on the government for everything. The willingness to do for themselves has been an American tradition, but of late years we have seen the Nation, the State, the community look to the Government to help in everything. And the Government is to blame for this spirit of decay in many ways. The offer of security is a fraud for the very fact that the Government has nothing but what it has already taken away from you or is going to take away from you, and a good deal of what has been taken away from you has been wasted before a share is given back. No nation, no man, no group of men can promise you security. There is no security in this world except what you provide for yourself, and the Government is making this less possible as each decade passes through exorbitant taxation, vicious inheritance taxes and other threats to individual freedom. Woodrow Wilson once stated that he would not trust his destiny to any man or group of men in this world, and perhaps he had social security in his mind at the time. This Government of ours cannot honestly offer security under any name, but this Government should offer opportunity to every one of its citizens without restraint from unions, closed shops and intimidation from groups, political or otherwise. Food, housing, and clothing are the 3 essential things of life, and the Government should see to it that all 3 should be available to every citizen at minimum cost. Beyond these three things all others can be considered luxuries of ordinary life, and no government should prevent by tariffs, taxation or exploitation anything that would keep them reasonable in price. If taxation is necessary for government let the taxes be placed on things other than the three essentials. If any man wants something beyond these three things let him pay the price, but let him enjoy the privilege of the right of choice, to take it or leave it as he desires. A great segment of the population of this country will arrange its own security if the Government was willing to repudiate its theory that the people should be responsible to the Government instead of the Government being responsible to the people.

Federal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD L. JACKSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials, from the Los Angeles Herald-Express and the San Bernardino Daily Sun:

[From the Los Angeles Herald-Express of February 22, 1954]

FEDERAL SALARY INCREASES

The Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries has recommended to President Eisenhower and to the Congress that there be a readjustment of congressional and judicial salaries to correct inequities of long standing, a readjustment which, if adopted, would cost the taxpayers $4,527,302 a year for Members of Congress, and $2,961,491 a year for Federal judges.

In these days of billion-dollar expenditures on the part of Government, the cost of the contemplated salary readjustment does not seem excessive. Actually, we know that many fine citizens who would be of inestimable value to the Nation if they were in Congress or Senate feel that they cannot afford to hold office.

After all, we want top brains in Government—and the cost of salaries and adequate remuneration would be small compared to what they would save us in the long run.

[From the San Bernardino Daily Sun of March 19, 1954]

BETTER COMPENSATION

A number of Congressmen have been rather reluctant to go along with the proposed pay increase for themselves, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and all the Federal judiciary.

They point out that this is a rather poor time—what with the administration espousing an economy program—to vote themselves more money.

However, the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries, made up of representatives from agriculture, labor, and business and the professions, has offered some potent arguments for a pay boost.

The report it issued notes that adjustments in compensation of Federal judges and Members of Congress have been made on the average once in 20 years. In other words, their compensation, in comparison to that in private industry and practice, has lagged behind the times.

There was an observation on the recommendations of the Hoover Commission. In line with the suggestions by the Hoover group, the compensation for other employees of the Federal Government has been adjusted upward five times since the last salary increase for Congressmen and members of the Federal judiciary. Although made 5 years ago, the Hoover recommendations for pay increases to Federal judges and Congressmen were not followed.

It perhaps should be pointed out that the duties of judges and Congressmen are incomparable more complex than they were 20 years ago. This is largely due to the tremendous expansion of the powers and jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

With that in mind, and also remembering that the Commission had a number of task forces study every phase of the problem, here are the proposed salaries for a fair and reasonable compensation for the principal offices in the judicial and legislative branches of the Federal Government:

Chief Justice of the United States, $40,000; Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, $39,500; Vice President, $40,000; Speaker of the House, $40,000; Members of Congress, $27,500; judges of the United States courts of appeals, $30,500; judges of the United States Court of Claims, $30,500; judges of the Tax Court of the United States, $27,500; judges of the Court of Military Appeals, $30,500; judges of the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, $30,500; judges of the United States Customs Court, $27,500; and judges of the United States district courts, $27,500.

Those would represent increases of $14,500 for the Supreme Court Justices, $13,000 for circuit judges, $12,500 for district judges, $12,500 for Congressmen. But take out the tax bite and the increases range from $7,755 for the Supreme Court Justices to $8,494 for the lawmakers.

What would the increase cost the taxpayer?

The report figures the gross annual amount of the raises for the Members of Congress would be $6,622,500. But they would pay taxes on that, making the net cost to the Government $4,527,302.

The net cost of the increases for the Justices and judges would be $2,981,491.

Broken down further, the increases would constitute one one-hundredth of 1 percent of the Federal budget.

In a sort of aside, the report also recommends consideration of pensions for the widows and dependents of the officials considered in the study. It also suggests the advisability of pensions for former Presidents and Vice Presidents and their surviving widows and dependents.

The Commission's points are well taken. It is particularly on the mark in its observation that even these increases would not enable the officials to maintain a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed before World War II by those persons in the same posts.

Speech Before the New Bern Rotary Club by J. Muse McCotter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM A. BARDEN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech made before the New Bern (N. C.) Rotary Club, March 30, 1954, by Mr. J. Muse McCotter, an outstanding farmer and cattle raiser in eastern North Carolina:

Mr. President, I am a farmer and I want to give you a brief sketch of some of the things agriculture has accomplished and what I foresee for its future.

I believe it was the archbishop of Canterbury who said, "God and the farmer are indispensable to life. Man cannot live without bread and he cannot live on bread alone."

Since Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden, man has faced the task of tilling the soil. He has been helped by sunshine and rain and hindered by weeds, insects, and rain. If it rains for 30 days or does not rain for 90 days, he is ruined. From the beginning he has planted in hope and harvested in fear.

In the early days of this country our farm population was probably 90 percent of the total. Then a farmer could produce little more than enough to feed and clothe himself and his family. Today the farm population is only about 15 percent of the total and we are burdened with surpluses which have depressed prices to where our farm products have the lowest purchasing power they have had in the last 12 or 15 years, and the farmer's share of the consumer's dollar has declined from 55 cents to 45 cents.

There began about 1940 what may be termed a technological revolution in agriculture. You will recall that this was about the time Hitler overran France, was pointing his guns at England, and threatening to overwhelm the Western World. Our Nation began feverishly to prepare for war. Agriculture's manpower was drastically drained by calls to the armed services, calls for men to construct and maintain military bases and calls for men to work in war plants. At the same time farmers were told to multiply production. They did not fail. In the words of Winston Churchill, "Never have so few produced so much for so many." They fed the armed services, the civilian population, and shipped millions of tons abroad to our allies. They did a king-size job.

Mules and manpower were and are continuing to be replaced with tractors and machinery. Seventy-five million acres formerly used to support those discarded mules have been put to turning out food and fiber. Between 1940 and 1952 the number of farm workers in the 13 Southern States declined by more than a million and total farm production increased almost a third.

Now, why has the farmer progressed so fast productionwise? Have we done it all on our own? No, sir; not by a long shot. Without the aid, cooperation, and teamwork of those who service and supply agriculture it would have been impossible. First, there is the banker. If he had not loaned us the money, we would have been stymied to start with. And the others on the team made available more efficient machinery, better fuels and oils, improved fertilizers, effective insecticides and weed killers, faster transportation, and dependable electric and phone service. And last but by no means least we have had the invaluable assistance of our research friends with their microscopes and long Latin words. They are the boys who spawn the new ideas which are tried, tested, and reduced to practical practice by our experiment stations before being recommended.

Let us enumerate just a few advancements given to agriculture by science in the last 15 or 20 years:

Hybrid corn was developed as a result of discoveries by those great European botanists, Charles Darwin and Gregor Mendel. It is the greatest forward step in production of the Nation's No. 1 crop since the Indian first put a dead fish under his hill of maize. Two hills may be grown now where only one grew before.

And we have improved disease-resistant varieties of many products which have been bred by our horticulturists in collaboration with our plant pathologists and agronomists. For example, wilt-resistant tobacco which came about as a result of some 40 years research. But when it came it really paid off by permitting the farmer who has only wilt-infected land to grow tobacco. Incidentally, we have the same problem as yet unsolved in potatoes. Much land in Beaufort, Pamlico, and Carteret Counties is no longer suitable for growing potatoes because of having become infected with this dread soil-born disease. We hope the problem will be solved shortly.

Also sulfa drugs and the antibiotics have turned out to be miracle drugs for livestock as well as humans. The mycins—aureomycin and terramycin—are available, and the injection of penicillin for certain livestock infections has become a common practice.

I believe that money spent for research, dollar for dollar, returns more value than money spent for any other purpose. I believe research is contributing more to our rising standard of living than any other single activity, not only in agriculture but in all other fields of useful endeavor. We should be appropriating more for research.

Now, you are probably wondering how this technical know-how reaches us farmers in cornfield language we can understand. Well, that function is in Paul Cox' and A. T. Jackson's bailiwick—the Extension Service. They are the pipelines between research and farming. They acquire, accumulate, and have on hand up-to-date information and bulletins from experiment stations, agricultural colleges, the State department of agriculture, and the United States Department of Agriculture. We depend on them for guidance in everything from production to marketing. They are missionaries who go out into the byways and hedges to preach progress, and Mr. Cox and Mr. Jackson are among those who are doing a good job at it. They and their colleagues have taught this generation of farmers that it is no longer profitable to believe more in the moon than in modern methods. They have shown us that it is not so smart to scoff at book farming.

About 1945, after several years of testing, experiment stations in the Southeast found that Ladino clover, originally imported from Italy, would produce tremendous yields of rich forage and recommended that it be planted in a mixture with tall Fescue, a grass that stays green all the year, for establishment of permanent pastures for livestock grazing.

Nearly two centuries ago George Washington said, "My countrymen have too little knowledge of the profits of grasslands." In eastern Carolina that statement is still true, but we are learning fast. Until Ladino and Fescue were introduced there had not been found a dependable forage crop adaptable to this section or to other areas in the Southeast with similar soil and climatic conditions. Results being attained from Ladino-Fescue are excellent and I predict that our recently acquired ability to produce more forage per acre than Texas and the Southwest will revolutionize the beef-cattle industry. I predict that the Southeast will eventually replace the Southwest as the No. 1 beef-producing area in the United States.

And it looks like eastern North Carolina is in what I would call a favored region within the Southeast. Even in Florida pastures are not very productive in the late summer months, but the belt from Savannah to Norfolk and extending 75 to 100 miles inland is a zone where almost year around grazing can be enjoyed. Of course, milder winters give better results. Let's hope they stay mild.

Certainly I do not recommend converting rich row croplands to pastures, but there is much land not now in use, or land whose fertility is too low, or does not drain well enough to be suitable for row crop farming, that when properly limed, properly fertilized and not overgrazed, in other words properly managed, will produce more cattle feed, more of what the professional agricultural worker calls total digestible nutrients, than can be had from the average acre of corn. And it will be done with less manpower.

This presents an opportunity to dilute some of the speculation in farming in our eastern counties. It gives the farmer another basket for dividing his eggs, thus building toward better-balanced farming and a sounder basis.

The immediate farm future is cloudy or I might say possibly stormy, but for the long pull I am optimistic. Recent potato prices adjusted to the new value of the dollar are probably the lowest they have ever been. Farmers in the State of Maine have been getting only about 40 cents per barrel bulk measure. But this can't last. Such low prices usually result in drastic production cuts and potato prices may shoot up sharply when the current surplus is worked off. However, farm prices in general are tied to employment. If unemployment increases farm prices will be further depressed. A man out of a job loses his ability to buy and thus consumption is curtailed. Prosperity in this country is dependent upon high production and high production must be supported by high consumption. We are all each others' customers. I shall not be able to buy your product unless you are able to buy mine.

Perhaps you do not realize it, but many of you here are large farmers. By that I mean that the success of your businesses depends upon the purchasing power of the farmers in the surrounding trading area, upon their ability to buy your goods and services.

Although those engaged in farming comprise only about 15 percent of the population, there are another 15 to 20 percent engaged in supplying and servicing agriculture. This adds up to about a third of the Nation. Can you imagine prosperity in this country

with one-third of its people in economic distress? That is why farm prosperity is so vital to national prosperity.

Now I repeat I am optimistic about the more distant future and I base that opinion primarily on the anticipated population growth. Should our population continue to increase at the present rate there will be 176 million people in the United States by 1960 and 200 million by 1976. Every day we are adding the population equivalent of a town the size of Tarboro, N. C., every month a city the size of Providence, R. I., and every year a State the size of Maryland. This calls for 20 to 30 percent higher agriculture production to maintain our present standard of living. I believe this will cure our surplus problems and I only pray that our ability to produce will keep pace with increased demands. We have been so bountifully blessed for so long that we forget to appreciate that we are a land of plenty in a world of want. Half the world has always been hungry.

However, it is estimated that between now and 1976 a third of this increased production will come from bringing new land into cultivation and the continuing release of land from the support of horses and mules. If this be true we must rely on improved efficiency and technology for the remaining two-thirds of this increased production. This is a big order but I am quite confident our research friends will show us how to stay well fed.

Don't Recognize Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial which appears in the April edition of the Town Journal. The editorial is written by Graham Patterson and it is entitled "Don't Recognize Red China."

As one who is unalterably opposed to recognition of Red China, I commend the reading of this article to my colleagues:

TALKING IT OVER—DON'T RECOGNIZE RED CHINA

As the United States, Britain, France, and other nations that fought in Korea prepare to meet with Russia and Red China at Geneva on April 26, there is a growing concern among Americans that the conference may open the doors to diplomatic recognition of the Peiping regime, and admission to the United Nations.

Such concern is not without foundation. The British, who were quick to recognize the Chinese Communist government, obviously would welcome our following suit, for it would free their hands in seeking increased trade with the Reds.

Last month Tito of Yugoslavia urged the democracies to recognize Communist China if for no other reason than to give the Peiping government the opportunity to prove it could function on its own, without the Kremlin's orders. The French, bogged down in Indochina and weary and disheartened after 8 costly years of fighting, might conceivably agree to recognition of Red China if it were demanded as the price of peace.

And what about our own State Department? Will its resistance eventually be worn down by the Reds' interminably long stalling tactics in the discussions over Korea and, in a desperate desire for some solution to the Korean problem, agree to recognize Mao Tse-tung and his gang of bandits as the legitimate rulers of China?

There is little doubt that most Americans are wholeheartedly and unalterably opposed to recognition of Red China, and its admission to the U. N. On its bloody record it does not belong in any society of civilized nations.

Yet the combination of obstinate Russian diplomacy and the Chinese Communists' mounting military threat in Indochina has squeezed the democracies into a position where they must against their will take cognizance of the Chinese Reds' existence as a key factor in any hoped-for peace in Asia.

The Big Four Ministers' meeting in Berlin in February accomplished little, but from the Communists' viewpoint it was a success. For, on the last day of the sessions, Molotov wrung an agreement from Secretary of State Dulles, British Foreign Secretary Eden, and French Foreign Minister Bidault to hold another conference in Geneva beginning April 26, in which meeting Red China is to take part. At the Berlin Conference Molotov made no effort to conceal the fact that one of his chief aims was to force the United States, Britain, and France into some kind of meeting with Red China. He had demanded a "Big Five" meeting, to include the Chinese Reds and deal with general world problems; so despite the fact the West agreed only to discuss Korea and Indochina, Molotov achieved his basic objective.

We can take some consolation from Mr. Dulles' emphasis that our willingness to meet with Red China to consider Korea and Indochina does not signify that we recognize the Communists as legal rulers of China, or their qualifications as suitable members of the U. N.

Nevertheless the Chinese Reds were quick to boast that this meant their acceptance as a major power.

From past experience we cannot hope for much success at Geneva in settling the issues of Korea and Indochina, but we must keep on trying for peaceful settlement as long as there is the slightest hope. And since the Chinese Communists are key factors in any such settlement we can hardly avoid meeting with them, distasteful as that may be.

What our statesmen must guard against vigilantly is any weakening under the relentless, nerve-wrecking, stalling tactics of the Reds, which they continued for 18 months at Panmunjom, winning one concession after another.

Every American despises the Chinese Communist regime for what it did to our boys in Korea, to the South Koreans, and to its own people. It is utterly inconceivable that we should recognize such a government.

GRAHAM PATTERSON,
Publisher, Town Journal.

The Housing Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, the failure of the Republican Members of the House to support the President's public housing program when they were given the opportunity to do so in the amendment offered by our distinguished Democratic colleague from Kentucky [Mr. SPENCE], and in the recommittal motion offered by another distinguished Democrat [Mr. BOLLING], both of which would have authorized 35,000 new public housing starts for the next 4 years, makes this Housing Act of 1954 in its present form little more than a house of cards. My vote for the bill on final passage, after voting for recommittal, was based on my sincere hope that the Senate will make the necessary corrections needed to make the final bill a real housing act rather than a house of cards act. Were it not for my conviction that the Members of the other body will have the courage and commonsense to rewrite the bill, and particularly to embody the President's minimum program of 35,000 housing units I most certainly would have voted against H. R. 7839. However, had the bill not gone through the House it is my considered judgment that the chances for any further legislation to authorize construction of public housing units would be nil—and the program would be delayed another year at least. For that reason, and in spite of the many defects in the bill, I voted to give the Senate a chance to write into it some of the needed changes.

Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to support the amendments which passed the House to protect the veterans' status under our housing programs. Certainly there could be no justification for the administration's proposal to open the door to raising interest rates on veterans' home purchase loans to 5 or even 6 percent, or any figure above the present 4½-percent rate. If the amendment offered by the distinguished Democrat from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] had not been accepted, I would not have inclined to let the bill out of the House. Similarly with the amendment to restore veterans' preferences in purchase of permanent war-housing units, offered by our Democratic colleague from Missouri [Mr. BOLLING], who has always fought to preserve veterans' rights; the administration proposal to eliminate this preference would have been rank injustice, particularly for the veterans of recent service in Korea who have not had opportunity to participate in such purchases. The House was well advised in eliminating these provisions, as well as that part of the proposed title II which would have given the President power to impose real estate credit controls.

However, H. R. 7839 as it passed the House is still far from a perfect bill. Particularly deplorable are the proposals to turn the Federal National Mortgage Association over to private investors, thus drying up the outlet for secondary mortgage sales and limiting the total amount of mortgage assistance which can be provided under the act; and the failure to protect the home buyer's interest by the Republican refusal to include a builder's warranty to the buyer, or to include any protection against mortgaging out, whereby the mortgagor can pocket any difference between actual costs of construction and the face value of the mortgage. Certainly we should continue to provide that this difference should go to reduce the amount of the mortgage rather than to fatten the profits of the mortgagor above and beyond his interest return.

In my opinion, however, Mr. Speaker, the most serious defect in the bill is its failure to provide for new public housing to replace temporary housing or units destroyed under slum clearance and redevelopment programs. In this connection I wish to cite a very serious situation in Lanham Act housing projects in San Francisco.

On February 9 of this year the Public Housing Administration issued orders to the San Francisco Housing Authority to accept no new tenants in 5 temporary housing projects there, and to move all present tenants out within 6 months. This order applied to 1,130 apartments housing about 7,500 tenants, all Negroes.

The situation created by this order is a perfect example of how little regard this Republican Congress has for the housing needs of low-income groups in this country. We all know that the Federal Government is now acting under congressional orders to dispose of temporary housing constructed under the Lanham Act and other war-housing measures. The ill-advised action of this House in attempting to put a permanent stop to development of permanent public-housing projects has caused at least a 2-year delay in the orderly development of new projects and has, through limitations on construction, held up actual construction of badly needed units for which plans had already been drawn. At the same time we are forcing tenants out of temporary housing projects with no place for them to go. From my own personal knowledge I can testify that there is no available housing in San Francisco within the income limitations of these 7,500 people. In spite of wild claims by public-housing opponents in the debate on the Public Housing Administration appropriation and on the Housing Act of 1954, no private building groups are constructing housing units which these people can afford to buy or rent—not in San Francisco anyhow, and I am sure that it is true throughout the country. Furthermore, they will not do so since there is no profit in it for them. The few public-housing projects now underway in San Francisco will be filled by tenants from a slum-clearance project and will not be available to meet the need of the families now under notice to get out of their present homes. Furthermore, in passing the Housing Act of 1954, this Republican House refused to strike out the provision repealing Public Law 243 of the 82d Congress. Public Law 243 permitted the FHA to make advance commitments for cooperative housing projects. This provision has been used in the main by minority groups, such as those Negro tenants being evicted in San Francisco, to make it possible for them to finance their own cooperative ventures where private investors refused to help them.

The only possible solution to the problem these people now face is to permit them to remain where they are until new space is made available for them to move into, and the only way such space can be made available is to continue and expand the public housing program. The 35,000 units per year recommended by the administration will be only a drop in the bucket in meeting the need, but at least that much should be authorized without delay. As it is, I am sure that under such an authorization the whole State of California would not get the 1130 units needed in San Francisco alone to take care of this one group.

This is an illustration of the failure of Congress and the administration to recognize the practical facts of the housing needs existing in every metropolitan area in the United States. It also spotlights the fatal weakness in the program now contained in the Housing Act of 1954—the failure to provide any practical relief for the very low-income groups who need help the most. A program written by investors and builders to fatten the profit percentage on housing construction cannot be expected to produce housing which the $2,000 to $5,000 income groups can buy or rent. An expanded public housing program with Federal support is the only answer to that need, and I shall continue to fight for such a program until the need is met.

Mr. Speaker, an article in the San Francisco Chronicle of March 21 describes the plight in which this large group of families in San Francisco has been placed. I ask that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following these remarks:

SAN FRANCISCO REJECTS HOUSING EVICTION ORDER

A Federal order that would close 5 war-housing projects here and force out 7,500 tenants—all Negroes—was protested yesterday by the San Francisco Housing Authority.

The local housing director, John Beard, said he thinks the Government's recent order is "just some sort of a bureaucratic mistake that the Public Housing Administration will correct" but added that his efforts to get that correction so far have failed.

"Frankly," Beard told the housing commissioners at their meeting yesterday morning, "We have just ignored the Government order. We refuse to take it seriously. We can't be put in the position of evicting tenants when we don't have any alternative locations available for them."

The Federal order, dated February 9, told the local housing authority to "freeze vacancies"—that is, to accept no new tenants—on February 26 and to notify all present tenants they would have to move out within 6 months.

The order applied to 601 apartments in 2 projects at Double Rock, 140 apartments in Sutter Court, 100 apartments in Caroline project and 289 apartments in Channel project.

But Beard said yesterday no notice of closing has or will be sent to the tenants.

"We've been moving 100 families a month out of the temporary housing," Beard said. "There is not enough replacement housing available for minority groups to speed that up much. Our policy of relocation has a long history of demonstrated effectiveness, and I think the Federal Government ought to modify its order to let us continue this policy."

The worst snarl in relocating families from abandoned temporary housing, Beard said, is the slowness of the Federal Government in parting with 2,351 temporary housing units that the local housing authority would like to take over for more permanent use.

At present, 5,103 units of temporary housing here are owned by the Federal Government. They are on federally owned or leased land and are merely administered by the San Francisco Housing Authority.

The authority wants Washington to give up 2,351 units and sell the underlying land to the authority. Those units would then be used for tenants moved out of other war housing.

LAND VALUE

Recently, the Federal policy of selling the land underlying temporary projects for the same amount originally paid by the Federal Government has been criticized in Congress. Much of this land has increased in value, the argument runs. Why should not the Federal Government profit from the increase in real estate values?

While the Public Housing Administration reviews its land-selling policies, San Francisco's request for the 2,351 war apartments is delayed.

How Imports Ruin Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of Marion C. McIver, vice president of Splicedwood Corp., for the Secretary of Commerce's lumber, plywood, and wood products industry conference, held at Washington, D. C., February 18, 1954:

The Business and Defense Services Administration has prepared an excellent statistical report on hardwood plywood imports. This report is the first detailed Government release on plywood imports. It supplies much needed official Government statistics on a grave problem. The report brings to light the astronomical increase in hardwood plywood imports in the year 1953. This report in combination with the Census Bureau report on market hardwood plywood shipments for 1953 reflect the loss in domestic production and the primary cause of such loss.

Table 1 shows the hardwood plywood imports by country of origin and the increases in 1953 over 1952, 1951, and 1950. This report in part discloses the following particularly pertinent facts:

Total imports of plywood in 1953 increased 159.2 percent over 1952, 201 percent over 1951, and 251 percent over 1950.

The figures on imports of plywood from the five major exporting countries reflect the following:

Japan, 1953 footage, 106,003,000 square feet; an increase of 511.3 percent over 1952, 720.1 percent over 1951, and 1,967.5 percent over 1950.

Canada, 1953 footage, 50,457,000 square feet; 11.6 percent less than 1952, 6.8 percent over 1951, and 0.8 percent over 1950.

Finland, 1953 footage, 32,189,000 square feet; 590 percent over 1952, 835.7 percent over 1951, and 2,360.9 percent over 1950.

France, 1953 footage, 7,996,000 square feet; 2,015.3 percent over 1952, 39,880 percent over 1951, and 14,130.3 percent over 1950.

Italy, 1953 footage, 6,663,000 square feet; 19,497.1 percent over 1952, 1,494 percent over 1951, and 5,957.3 percent over 1950.

Table 2 shows the changes in rate of duty, and when these are considered in light of the increase in imports, it is evident that the trade agreements contributed to the present situation.

Tables 3 and 5 show the imports by country of origin for the period prior to the tariff reductions and after. Two pertinent facts are disclosed by these tables; imports from all countries have increased, and the number

of countries exporting to the United States has increased. Table 9, world plywood production as estimated by the Food and Agriculture Organization, shows production for the world outside of the Iron Curtain, and the volume of potential exports to the United States, which amounts to several billion square feet per annum. Tables 3, 5, and 9 clearly establish that the damage which exists today may only be the beginning, unless our Government takes steps to curtail the unfair competition of foreign hardwood plywood.

Tables 4 and 6 give the average dollar values by country of origin on which duty was paid. Table 4 which covers the period 1950 through 1953 is especially significant. Examination of table 4 discloses an interesting phenomenon. In the years 1951, 1952, and 1953, when inflation was a matter of concern in European countries and Japan, we find the following facts relating to values of imports from the major exporting countries:

(Declared values are based on the domestic market price in the exporting country.)

Country	Declared value, 1951	Declared value, 1953	Change	Percent of change
Japan	$79.46	$65.40	−$14.06	−17.7
France	126.05	81.00	−45.05	−35.7
Italy	190.65	55.12	−135.53	−71.1
Finland	78.35	83.89	+5.54	+7.1
Canada	146.90	152.28	+4.19	+2.9

The weighted-average value for duty purposes declined from $120.86 in 1951 to $90.95 for 1953, a decline of $29.91, or 24.7 percent.

This phenomenon of a lower declared value in an inflationary spiral is not the result of selling lower grades of plywood. The quality of most foreign plywood has improved since World War II, due primarily to the United States foreign-aid programs. It is now more comparable to domestic hardwood plywood than before World War II. We believe that the answer is a favorable dollar-exchange arrangement the foreign-plywood producers have with their home governments which amounts to subsidies on plywood exports, plus favorable labor costs. These factors encourage and permit the foreign-plywood producers to deliver plywood in the United States at unfair competitive prices.

Market hardwood plywood shipments and imports for 1953

[M square feet, surface measure, veneer core]

	Shipments		Imports	Total	Percent of imports of total
	East of Rockies	Pacific coast			
1st quarter	186,037	[1] 21,042	36,947	244,026	15.1
2d quarter	179,346	[1] 26,689	61,082	258,117	23.3
3d quarter	145,708	15,800	63,813	225,321	28.4
4th quarter	140,687	17,300	61,165	218,152	28.1
Total	642,778	80,831	223,007	945,616	23.6

[1] ⅜-inch basis.

The significant figures in the above table are the domestic shipments in the third and fourth quarters. These show a drop of 72 million square feet for producers east of the Rockies and 14.6 million for producers on the Pacific coast—a total loss of 18.6 million square feet from shipments in the first and second quarters. Imports in the first and second quarters of 1953 showed an increase over the total for 1952 of 13 million square feet; this, added to the third and fourth quarter imports, amounts to a total increase of plywood imports of 137 million square feet in 1953 over 1952. This rise in imports accounts for our industry's loss of the 86.6 million square feet in the second half of 1953.

In the first quarter of 1953, the United States producers held their own in the market, but by the second quarter the unfair competitive prices of foreign plywoods had knocked 10 million square feet off domestic shipments; with the acceleration of imports in the second quarter, which continued to the third and fourth quarters, a precipitant drop in domestic shipments occurred in the third quarter and increased in the fourth quarter. The time for the imports to go from the port of entry to the market delayed the effect of the imports. This delay will not appear in 1954 as the imports have come in at the high rate for three full quarters.

What do we mean by unfair competitive prices? With Canada as the sole exception, we refer to United States delivered prices which are lower than the domestic producer's costs of production and a fair profit. Actually, in almost all cases the prices for imported plywoods are less than costs of a domestic producer of a comparable panel.

In the case of Japan, our Embassy in Tokyo states that the average cost of production of Lauan one-fourth-inch plywood is $48.34 per 1,000 square feet. The freight to the United States is now $4.75 to the west coast and $5.98 to the east coast. Duty is 20 percent. The labor cost in Japan to produce 1,000 square feet of plywood is $4.17. The plywood worker in Japan works 23.5 days, an average of 202.8 hours a month, for a wage of $23.20, or 11 cents an hour. The Commerce Department shows the average declared value of Japanese plywood in 1953 is $65.40. This includes shipments valued for less and for more—this figure is the mean. A domestic producer of one-fourth-inch gumwood stock panel—the lesser prices of the hardwood plywoods—has per 1,000 square feet of plywood manufactured a labor cost of $28.50, a veneer cost of $28, a glue cost of $6.20, for a total cost of $62.70, not including overhead, depreciation, cost of sales, etc., which would amount to $35.10. We thus have a total cost of $97.80 per 1,000 square feet to balance against a declared average value of $65.40, which, with duty and freight, would make a United States delivered price of $83.23, or $14.57 under our costs. The relation of labor cost per 1,000 square feet—the unit of measure for the industry—is $4.17 to $28.50, or 1 to 7 in favor of Japan.

A similar situation exists in regard to Finland. The legation at Helsinski reports the average cost to a Finnish producer for 1,000 square feet of birch plywood is $77. The Finnish cost of 3 plies of birch veneer is $28.50, including labor, per 1,000 square feet of plywood. The United States cost for face veneer only, one ply in panel, is at least $50 per 1,000 square feet, to which must be added cost of a back and core, which will exceed $40 per 1,000 square feet of plywood. The lay-up labor cost in Finland is $15.05 per 1,000 square feet for direct and indirect labor against $43 in the United States plant. The Department of Commerce reports an average declared value for Finnish plywood in 1953 of $83.89. This is the mean; some values were higher and others lower. The declared value of Finnish plywod is less than the cost of the veneers to the United States producer. The relation of labor cost per 1,000 square feet is $15.05 to $43, or 1 to 2¾ in favor of Finland.

An analysis of the costs and hourly wages obtained by our Foreign Service from Finland and Japan establishes that the comparative differences in labor productivity between the United States and Japan and Finland is very slight. Our labor is slightly more efficient. The Japs and Finns have the same equipment as we have and both have efficient work staffs. The labor productivity should remain stable. The usual contention that foreign wages are low because productivity is low will not stand up for foreign plywood. The problem is not the number of work hours per 1,000 square feet of plywood, but the amount of wages paid by the foreign producers for the hours worked to produce 1,000 square feet of plywood. The total labor cost is the determining factor.

A factor which has created some confusion in the minds of the Government officials is the contention that the imported plywoods do not compete in the same markets with domestic hardwood plywood. Such contentions are untrue, and are raised solely to confuse those not acquainted with the industry and its markets. Foreign plywoods compete with the domestic hardwood plywoods, across the board, in all markets and in all areas. The grades are substantially the same, the foreign A panel competes with the domestic A panel, the foreign B and BB, etc., panels compete with corresponding grades of a domestic producer. An exception is container grade, which is made for a particular use and the present grades of imported plywoods are for uses where the requirements are more exacting. Secondly, container grade can compete pricewise unless the foreign countries start shipping their lowest grades at dumping prices. This may come.

The evidence that foreign plywoods compete with the hardwood plywoods is established by the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census figures, which show a loss in market hardwood plywood shipments of 86 million square feet in the last 6 months of 1953.

The hardwood plywood industry has filed with the Treasury Department, anti-dumping-law complaints against Japanese and Finnish plywood. These complaints are supported by facts secured from our legation in Helsinki and our embassy in Tokyo. The legation in Helsinki shows that the average export price for Finnish plywood is from 7 to 15 percent less than the cost to the Finnish producer. The complaints have been on file for 3 months. On February 10, 1954, the Hardwood Plywood Institute's counsel, Robert N. Hawes, was advised by the Bureau of Customs that appraisement of Finnish plywood is currently suspended pending investigation of the value basis for duty purposes. The complaint on Japanese plywood is still under investigation. It would be extremely helpful if the Department of Commerce could advise the Bureau of Customs that the tremendous increase in plywood imports of Japan with a 17.7 percent decline in declared value in 1953 over 1951 warrant an investigation of the value basis used for appraisement of Japanese plywood.

The injury to the hardwood plywood industry is becoming more evident each day.

It is reported that 1 plant lost 75 percent of its normal production in the fourth quarter of 1953. Another reports the hours worked are down to the point where the take home pay is only $18 a week. Such pay is approximately one-half the weekly wage, has been determined by our minimum wage law to be the minimum requirement for a United States worker. The above are only examples of a situation that can and will spread, particularly in the smaller plants, unless corrective action is taken by our Government.

There are approximately 125 plants producing market hardwood plywood, exclusive of container grade. With the few exceptions these plants are small businesses located in small communities. A reduction in work week and layoffs create serious problems for these communities.

The hardwood plywood industry cannot compete with the unfair foreign prices. The solution to this problem is legislation which would either limit the quantity of plywood that may be imported—or provide a duty which would make the foreign plywood sell in the United States in competitive price range of the domestic product. The industry believes that the primary function of the Department of Commerce is to assist our industries to maintain a healthy and prosperous economy. It is therefore asked that the Department of Commerce lend its assistance to this industry to secure legislation to correct the unfair competition of foreign plywoods.

Bipartisanship in Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, I have read several times recently in news stories and in some of the columnists' reports that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles failed to consult any of us on the Democratic side on the important policy declaration contained in his speech a week ago last night in New York on the Indochina situation.

I have no idea who planted that story or why it was planted. But fairness and a regard for the necessary continuation of bipartisanship in our foreign policy impels me to say it is not a true report.

Mr. Dulles not only consulted Democrats—that is, those of us on the House Foreign Affairs Committee at least—in advance of his New York speech, but asked us for suggestions as to what he should say. He appeared in closed session with our committee and went over with the members his plans for this particular speech. Under those circumstances, I would certainly say that we were consulted and more than that, as I said, he asked us for suggestions as well.

Believe me, Mr. Speaker, I feel so deeply about the need for true bipartisanship in foreign policy that if I felt in this particular instance there was any basis for criticism of the Secretary for failure to consult the minority party and its representatives here on a matter of such far-reaching importance, I would certainly join in such criticism. But none is warranted in this case and I think it only fair for me to call that to the attention of the House and to correct the misstatements which have appeared in some of the newspapers.

Auto-Industry Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. J. CRUMPACKER, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include excerpts from several letters and telegrams I have received commenting on House Joint Resolution 484, which directs the Federal Trade Commission to conduct an investigation into competitive practices in the automotive industry.

Reaction to my proposal, particularly from automobile dealers throughout the country, has been generally favorable. The following comments, taken at random from my mail of the past week, are representative:

From George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business:

"We concur 100 percent • • • and have been pressing for a decade or more both with the Department of Justice and Federal Trade to explore the monopolistic actions of not alone the big motorcar manufacturers but also the four major rubber companies. You have our support in any such needed investigation."

From Louis Horvath, president of local 5, UAW-CIO, South Bend, Ind.:

"On behalf of our members I wish to congratulate you on your move to curb the production war between Ford and General Motors. Their selfish actions have already caused irreparable harm and may very well lead to ruin for all the independents."

From Don Farrant, past president of the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Used Car Dealers Association:

"Congratulations. Overproduction of new cars wrecking the new- and used-car industry and causing much unemployment."

From a Chevrolet dealer in Ohio:

"Congratulations on action regarding murderous competitive production race between Ford and GM. Have been concerned for retail dealers' future welfare in battle of giants. Further action by you • • • will certainly be applauded by retail dealers throughout the Nation."

From J. D. Hill, editor, Studebaker Weekly News, South Bend, Ind.:

"Your position against harmful tactics of Ford and General Motors is appreciated by all citizens of your district. Swift action is necessary to prevent further damage from these companies' rash disregard for our economic welfare."

From a Dearborn, Mich., car dealer:

"One Ford dealer has 400 cars in stock, one Buick dealer 200. Myself and 43 friends back you and demand investigation."

From an official of an independent automobile manufacturing concern:

"Congratulations • • • One of the reasons for failure of the independents to get a fair share of the market is because of sale of new units to used car dealers by GM and Ford dealers in desperate effort to reduce stock and absorb further forced production. These cars are then advertised and sold at severely cut prices by these so-called bootleggers thus depreciating the market.

"Harlow Curtice is quoted as saying that General Motors must have 48 percent of the passenger car business and Henry Ford as saying that Ford must have 35 percent. The accomplishment of these stated objectives which they can reach by sheer use of economic power will not leave room for any conceivable combinations of other companies. A squeezeout is indicated. More power to you."

From a Grand Rapids, Mich., automobile salesman:

"I applaud your inquiry into the monopolistic tendencies of Ford and General Motors. Your inquiry could well look into the following questions:

"(1) Has General Motors obeyed the spirit of the consent decrees of the Federal courts in refraining from dealer coercion in financing cars?

"(2) How do Ford blitz sales operate and have they tended to ruin dealers—particularly competitors of Ford and Chevrolet?

"(3) Why if no coercion is being used are Chevrolet dealers in Grand Rapids stocking over 100 cars apiece for total sales in 1 week of only 18 cars?"

From a Summit, N. J., businessman:

"Heartiest congratulations for your efforts to expose monopolistic conditions • • • in the automobile industry. It is my understanding that in a normal year the General Motors Corp. spends more money in advertising than is earned by all the independents combined. I know nothing about the antitrust laws but there is something fundamentally wrong with a system which is permitting GM and Ford to destroy their competitors by this means."

From a former car dealer in Highland Park, Ill.:

"No doubt you are sincere in asking for this investigation, but I was in the automobile business from 1934 to 1951 as a dealer for one of the independents, • • • and was canceled out because I would not spend a lot of money on a new building. • • • If there is such a thing as a battle for sales leadership, the public are the ones who will benefit by making better deals on a new or used car.

"I do not own a share of any automobile company, but I do believe in fair play; and if the independents are not aggressive enough or do not have enough know-how to meet competition, let them fall by the wayside. The sooner the better."

From a Flint, Mich., businessman:

"At the present rate, GM should kill off all competition in a few years. The remedy for this is in the hands of Congress. • • • You will have to hurry. It is later than you think."

From a Royal Oak, Mich., resident:

"I agree with you that Ford and GM are creating a monopoly. • • • When a person who has an independent-make car goes to a Big Three dealer to purchase a new car, they put down the trade-in value so that people will not buy an independent make of car for fear of not getting a full trade-in value. In other words, they monopolize the new-car industry by controlling the used-car market."

From an Elkhart, Ind., housewife:

"May I congratulate you. It is time someone questioned the all-out efforts of GM and Ford to control the vast automotive business. It is evident what they are trying to do. And they will do it if they are not stopped. They have the money and they are powerful. The independent cannot compete with their million-dollar TV shows of glittering personalities and lavish advertising in other ways. The automotive market is large enough for more than these two—that is for sure."

From a Ford dealer in Iowa:

"I cannot help but comment that the Ford dealers and Mr. Breech, executive vice president of Ford, would not seem to agree on

the Ford Co.'s policy. However, you are in an unenviable position. It is not possible to fight a corporation of such physical and monetary magnitude as the Ford Motor Co., particularly in view of the fact that they are able to employ the most skilled of legal advice in their defense."

From a resident of Ann Arbor, Mich.:

"For several months I have watched with apprehension the squeeze play on the Independent automobile manufacturers. I believe it is in the interest of the consumer that we have a competitive car manufacturing industry. Nearly all the improvements in the modern automobile have been pioneered by the independents. I firmly believe they offer more for the consumer's dollar.

"I have been an interested observer in the trials and tribulations of Kaiser Motors to establish themselves in the industry. I have heard many tales of efforts made to stop them.

"I believe an investigation of the merchandising practices of certain manufacturers is past due. I hope you meet with success in your endeavor."

From a Malvern, Pa., businessman:

"I wish to commend you for your statement published in yesterday's press which called attention to the destruction of smaller competitive businesses in the automotive industry by the battle of the giants—General Motors and Ford—for supremacy.

"This trend in business of overpowering size has been going on relentlessly for a long period of time. It is one which will, in my opinion, change our whole economy from one which is dynamic, competitive, and self-policing to one dominated by powerful giant units completely anathema to the American way of life which has made us so great and productive."

From a Salem, Mass., auto dealer:

"Your accusation of monopolist practices in the auto industry was to the point. Keep up the good work."

From a GM dealer in Fort Worth, Tex.:

"The automobile industry is in one helluva mess, and this condition has resulted in the fascists attitude of certain manufacturers who changed their former allotments to quota's for the dealers, regardless of the (local) demand. These manufacturers were working overtime to overproduce, and were forcing this overproduction down the throats of the dealers. The result is that many dealers are still trying to sell 1953 models, although 1954 models were introduced as far back as last October.

"The dealer's new car stocks are bulging, their used car lots are overflowing, and sales are slow. These people need a breathing spell of from three to four months to clean up this mess; and they can't do this and still keep the production lines busy at the factories."

From an auto dealer in Chicago, Ill.:

"I congratulate you for exposing how General Motors and Ford are driving other producers out of the business."

From an auto dealer in Mankato, Minn.:

"My 33 years as an automobile dealer gives some basis for the following observations. You are dealing with pretty big potatoes who never, never admit of any wrong, and you deserve a lot of credit and if possible all the helpful help you can get. The retailing end of this business was bankrupt prior to World War II because this tremendous business was controlled by hired men who with its tremendous economic power run it for the benefit of many stockholders who want their dividends but chisel the retail dealer to death when they buy the product their factory turns out. We retailers are on the road to bankruptcy again."

From a businessman in Hopkins, Minn.:

"I am glad to see that someone has the gumption to get up and face the facts of life in the automotive industry. The way matters now stand it won't be long before it will be just GM and Ford and that is very bad for our economy. * * * Ford is a huge feudal dynasty—which is an absolute authority unto itself."

From an auto dealer in Trenton, N. J.:

"I feel congratulations are due you for your interest in attempting to bring out in the open some of the monopolistic practices of the two major automobile manufacturers.

"This situation is having a very serious effect on our economy and, particularly, the great number of employees in the other automobile factories and the supplying manufacturers. Of course, all automobile dealers and their organizations are being seriously affected.

"The denials of overproduction and optimistic statements being issued by the top executives of General Motors and Ford Motor Co. are very shallow propaganda efforts indeed when measured against the facts existing all across the country; such as, numerous of their dealers still trying to unload a left-over supply of 1953 models which they could not sell at their cost price. In addition, since the 1954 models have come out, dealers are discounting them all the way from 10 percent to their entire gross profit of 24 percent. In every city and town there is an abundance of visual evidence regarding the overproduction of both General Motors and Ford lines in the great number of lots loaded with cars. Many of these new automobiles are in the hands of so-called bootleggers, used car lot operators.

"For further information I would suggest the April 5th issue of Automotive News which carries a number of stories relative to the situation, and a good article regarding your activities on the front page. It is the hypocritical statements of Mr. Curtis, of General Motors, and Mr. Breech, of Ford Motor Co., which have aroused my indignation today to the point that I am writing you this letter.

"My interest in this matter is that I have spent 39 years, the entire working period of my life, in the automobile business and feel that the present situation is the most difficult with which a dealer has ever been confronted. Our capital, despite our best efforts, is being dissipated month by month and there seems to be very little to do about it except to go out of business and conserve as much as possible."

An Unmitigated Lie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DANIEL A. REED
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., Thursday, April 1, an article entitled "Lindsay Warren's Successor" in which the author, Doris Fleeson, states:

President Eisenhower's own preference for Comptroller General of United States to succeed Lindsay Warren is Representative STERLING COLE, of New York, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

In a later paragraph of the article this false statement appears:

While most House Republicans are for their colleague, there is one important exception, Representative DAN REED, the tax-cutting chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee.

This statement by Doris Fleeson that I am opposed to the appointment of my friend, Hon. STERLING COLE, to the position of Comptroller General is a vicious lie. On the contrary, I endorsed my friend and colleague with all my heart knowing that in doing so I was recommending a man worthy and well qualified to render a great and valuable public service to his country.

I resent this attempt by the publication of a malicious lie to place me in a position of infidelity to a friend.

Address Delivered by Hon. Thomas P. White, Presiding Justice of the District Court of Appeal, Before the Annual Banquet of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, at the California Club, in Los Angeles, March 17, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address delivered by the Honorable Thomas P. White, presiding justice of the district court of appeal, before the annual banquet of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on March 17, 1954, in Los Angeles, Calif.:

This is March 17. Those words roll easily off the tongue of every Irishman. Visions of shamrock and green field grip his imagination, and his mind fastens upon the good deed and the kind word which in his experience have characterized the Irish.

From banquet tables in every part of the world tonight encomiums and commendations for the Irish fill the air.

But everyone knows that the spirit of these affairs is not the spirit of narrow race consciousness, nor of blood superiority. Dwelling at every table in this dining hall and inspiring the sentiments that flow from the lips of every diner is the spirit, not of a thundering military God urging the conquest of our fellowman. The spirit is the spirit of St. Patrick, the spirit of a saint, urging love and good fellowship for Irish and non-Irish alike.

It is characteristic of the Irish to be loyal—never to sacrifice principle for expediency. It is this spirit of loyalty that makes an Irishman feel so strongly the personal relationships he develops. An Irishman's loyalty preserves the tie that binds him to another soul even in the face of the most damaging revelations. It is said that the race is idealistic—if so, maybe this is to our credit, because you acnnot achieve an ideal unless you have one.

And what of the influence that Ireland and her sons have had in the foundation, development and progress of America?

Contemporaneously with the successful rebellion of the American colonies against England, the Irish struck for independence. England was in no position to quell the insurrection and acceded to the demand for legislative independence. This was the Irish Revolution of 1782. Save for allegiance to the British Crown, Ireland was an independent nation. This independence

lasted less than a score of years, when occurred the uprising of 1798. After this rebellion was put down, the great Prime Minister William Pitt resolved to put an end to the Irish Parliament and unite Ireland with England. The Act of Union was carried through the Irish Parliament by liberal use of bribes and went in to effect in January 1801. Thus we see that political, social and economic causes have combined to drive the Irish people in immense numbers to seek homes in other lands.

The notion prevails generally that the Irish took but little part in the settlement of this country; that the original American stock was comparatively free from Celtic elements. This, however, is a mistake. In the year 1623, only 3 years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, a company of 550 Irish men and women were transported to New England by some British merchants. The first definite settlement of Irish, a settlement which is known to have been founded by the Irish, was made at Logan, Pa., in 1699.

Deep feelings of patriotism and love of liberty have long characterized the Irish. Yes, the Irish have proved the genuineness of their patriotism and love of liberty on every battlefield in American history. Of no true Irishman can the cynical observation be made that "friendship is a myth and gratitude a lost art."

In the Revolutionary, Civil, Spanish-American, and World Wars, the Irish have not been wanting in their sacrifice or lacking in their exploits.

Around the cradle of our Nations liberty the sons and daughters of Erin played a conspicuous part. The rollcall of Irish names among the officers of the Revolutionary Army is a very long one. The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia alone furnished a half-dozen generals, among them "Mad Anthony" Wayne of Stony Point fame, and Commodore John Barry. Ireland also furnished statesmen; nine signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Irish birth or parentage. The first signer, John Hancock, was of Irish descent, his ancestors having come from County Down.

At Valley Forge, when the fortunes of the Revolutionary Army were at their lowest ebb, it was 20 Irish merchants of Philadelphia who saved the Revolution and American freedom by contributing $425,000 to Washington's military chest; of the 36 delegates who promulgated the Constitution, 6 were avowedly Irish.

It was on March 17, 1776, which, by the way, was the day of triumphant glory for America, that Washington paid a handsome tribute of respect to his Irish soldiers by making the countersign of the day "St. Patrick." It was on this day that the English troops had to march out of Boston and the army of Washington took possession. It will also be remembered that in the year 1775 Benjamin Franklin thanked Ireland for refusing to take part in the war against the American colonies. It is not generally known, but nevertheless a historical fact, that when the cause of this country was fluctuating after Benjamin Franklin had twice visited France with indifferent success; John Carroll, afterwards first Archbishop of Baltimore, the son of an Irishman, through his intercession with Pope Pius VI, succeeded in securing the assistance from France which, with Lafayette and 3,000 soldiers, gave strength, courage, and success to the American Army.

Gen. George Washington was elected a member of the Philadelphia Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on December 18, 1781. He was adopted as an Irishman and accepted the medal of the society with pleasure, being present at several meetings.

We cannot forget that it was Commodore John Barry, also an Irishman, who was approached during the Revolutionary War by Sir William Howe, the commander in chief of the British forces in America, who offered that daring Irishman $20,000 and the command of a British frigate if he would desert the service of the United States. Barry, remembering the violated treaty of Limerick and the massacres of Drogheda in his own native Wexford, tossed his handsome Irish head, and with Celtic fire flashing and snapping from his eyes, replied, "Never, did the value and command of the entire British fleet can seduce John Barry from the cause of his country, or its liberty." It was Commodore Barry to whom Washington addressed a letter, expressing the wish that suitable remembrance might always attend Barry's bravery.

It might also be interesting to note that the very site of the Federal Capitol recalls Ireland's connection with the establishment of this Government, for it was Daniel Carroll, an Irishman, cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who freely tendered his farm by the Potomac for that purpose.

When Washington was chosen President of the United States he was presented with a national address by the Irish. In reply Washington said: "I hope to see America among the foremost nations, an example of justice and liberty. Your fellow citizens will never forget the part you took in the accomplishment of their revolution, or the important assistance they secured from your nation."

In the War of 1812 Commodore Perry, who met the enemy on Lake Erie, came of North of Ireland stock. During the Civil War the march of the Confederate forces up the Shenandoah Valley threatened the security of the Capitol at Washington for three years, until the Irish General Phil Sheridan was called into action and turned a Union defeat into a remarkable victory at Cedar Creek and made secure the safety of Washington. It was this same little courageous general who led his army from Cedar Creek over to aid Grant on the Richmond front, where Grant was suffering tremendous losses. Sheridan routed Lee's forces, Grant took Richmond, and made the long overdue peace at Appomattox.

In that war, the 9th and 26th Massachusetts Volunteers were so distinctly Irish that they were permitted to carry the Irish flag beside the Stars and Stripes.

It was Archbishop John Hughes, of New York, an Irishman by birth, who was sent by President Lincoln to plead the cause of the Union abroad, and whose mission to Pope Pius IX secured the intercession necessary to prevent French interference in the War Between the States.

The contribution of the Irish in World War I needs no comment, other than to mention that when the old Irish 69th Regiment came back home and started from the Battery at New York, marching up Fifth Avenue, there were 644 gold stars upon their colors, and 2,857 wound stripes upon their regimental colors.

The military contribution of the Irish in the last two wars is too fresh in the minds of all of us to be recounted.

While they have been foremost upon the battlefields, in the Halls of Congress, and in other spheres of useful activities, the cultural leanings of the Irish have yielded, and continue to yield fruit. Back in the fifth century the barbarians from the north and east conquered the Roman Empire and spread disorder and havoc throughout civilized Europe. Law and order were gone, and governmental authority no longer existed. The Dark Ages had begun. Then commenced an era wherein force was the first and last rule of authority. The weak man pledged his support to the strong in return for physical protection. In turn, the strong man pledged his support to a stronger one in return for protection. Out of this came a long line of law and order by these private contracts, which in time became known as feudalism. During this period, while the best-willed men of Europe had time only to concern themselves with bread and safety, over in the Emerald Isle the Irish monks in their monasteries, dedicated to the ideal of a saint whose day we here celebrate, were working tirelessly preserving the wisdom and learning of previous centuries. Scholars all over the world recognize this debt of mankind to the Irish followers of St. Patrick.

When Ireland's patron saint died, Ireland was dotted with schools established by St. Patrick to give Christian direction to the Irish people, making them the most scholarly and cultured people of the early Middle Ages.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the field of letters and literature in our own country Irish names are found by scores.

But, above and beyond all these contributions to America, I might make bold to say that the coming of the Irish to our shores has enriched and ennobled the national character of America by the liberal infusion of the warm, Godfearing blood of the Celt. Communism and its allied philosophies have no place in the Irish heart. Indelibly imprinted on the Irish character is the realization that there are fixed moral values. The Irishman recognizes that the moral law is fixed and unchanging. That recognition of an Almighty God, of truth, honor, integrity, and moral law, does not change with the coming of tomorrow, accompanied by its changing conventions and conditions.

Like the Founding Fathers of our own Nation, the people of Eire have fearlessly written into their constitution the doctrines of Christ respecting the individual, the family and the state, by boldly asserting, as we have done, that our rights as individuals are inalienable only because we are endowed with them by our Creator, in Whose image and likeness we are created. That therefore, not only the mob, but the state itself, cannot take them from us.

In the Irish soul there is a fervent love of liberty and an equally fervent abhorrence of tyranny and oppression, in whatever form it may raise its ugly head. Through the years Ireland's sons and daughters have battled against the philosophy that would regiment the people and magnify the state. From the doctrine of the dignity of man and the natural law the Irish have never departed.

Crushed for years by the iron heel of oppression and despotism, the Irishman understands that when we have a regimentation of the people and a magnification of the state, we are a long, long way from what the martyred President Lincoln had in mind in that military cemetery at Gettysburg, when he prayed that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, might not perish from the earth.

As to Ireland's love for and loyalty to America, we need not offer our own protestations. Let us note the words of Lord Mountjoy in the British Parliament, and I quote: "You lost America by the Irish." And Lord Chatham, when he proclaimed in the British Parliament of 1775, and I quote: "The Irish are with the Americans to a man." Time has not impaired the vitality of those statements.

Yes, my friends, the Irish have done much for the cause of America, and while they love Ireland with a child's devotion to a tender mother, they love America with that kind of love which makes them ready to offer all they have on the altar of Freedom's sacrifice in any hour of national danger. Their love is tender and strong—tender as the love of son for mother—strong as the pillars of death—shrinking from no sacrifice, seeking no reward save country's honor and country's triumph.

Ireland's tree of loyalty to America and love of liberty never yielded in the history of our country to any blast; never did she bend before the storm; and she raises her

head today as graceful, as beautiful, as loaded with every flower of promise and fulfillment as in the day when the dying hand of Patrick waved its last benediction over her, and when with his fainting and dying voice he made his last prayer to God that Ireland might keep her faith until the end of time.

In unison with Irishmen throughout the United States tonight, we, the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, pray that the epitaph of Robert Emmet may soon be written and an undivided, liberty-loving Ireland take its place alongside America, both as nations under God, bulwarks of freedom and justice; and with that prayer we cry out, "May Almighty God ever save Ireland and bless the United States."

New Bridge Across the Mississippi at New Orleans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Governor of Louisiana, the mayor of the city of New Orleans, and the chairman of the Mississippi River Bridge Authority have expressed in letters to Secretary Stevens and General Sturgis their appreciation for the splendid cooperation of the Corps of Engineers in expediting the granting of a permit for a new bridge across the Mississippi River at New Orleans.

This bridge will be a remarkable engineering achievement.

At this point I would like to incorporate in the RECORD the letters above referred to:

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Baton Rouge, March 24, 1954.

Hon. ROBERT T. STEVENS,
The Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. STEVENS: This is to express my gratitude and pleasure to be able to work with such an outstanding district engineer as Col. Charles T. Tench, who is headquartered in New Orleans.

I am writing this letter so that you and the Corps of Engineers will know firsthand how grateful the people of Louisiana are for his untiring efforts and splendid cooperation in projects involving the portion of the State under his jurisdiction.

I am particularly pleased with the work of Colonel Tench in obtaining the necessary permits for a Mississippi River bridge at New Orleans. Colonel Tench did much to bring all factions together for the good of the city of New Orleans and the State of Louisiana.

He is an outstanding example of the intelligent leadership in the United States Corps of Engineers, and I take this means to commend him.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. KENNON,
Governor.

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS,
March 26, 1954.

Hon. ROBERT T. STEVENS,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SECRETARY STEVENS: The city of New Orleans wishes to be placed on record in connection with the issuance of our last bridge permit.

The work of the United States Corps of Engineers in obtaining permits for us to build a bridge over the Mississippi River at New Orleans was truly remarkable. As mayor or the city of New Orleans, I want to officially call to your attention that without the assistance and the full cooperation of that very able district engineer, Col. Charles T. Tench, there would have been costly delays.

Colonel Tench and his division superiors, Brig. Gen. John Hardin, and Maj. Gen. S. D. Sturgis, Jr., the Chief of Engineers, handled the Mississippi River bridge case in what I believe to be record time.

It is my pleasure to write you today to tell you of our high regard for these conscientious and extremely able Army officers.

Sincerely yours,

DELESSEPS S. MORRISON,
Mayor.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER BRIDGE AUTHORITY,
New Orleans, La., March 23, 1954.

Maj. Gen. S. D. STURGIS, Jr.,
United States Army, Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GENERAL STURGIS: I know of nothing that gives me greater pleasure than to write to you and tell you what a wonderful experience it has been to work with the United States Corps of Engineers for a Mississippi River bridge at New Orleans.

I cannot praise too highly your district engineer on duty in New Orleans, Col. Charles T. Tench. He worked long and hard assisting us tremendously in working out a compromise agreeable to all factions. We are all grateful to him.

All along the line in servicing the permit for the Mississippi River bridge, I have found the same wonderful and efficient cooperation. Brig. Gen. John Hardin at Vicksburg and your office certainly deserve the highest praise for the manner in which the permit was studied and expedited. You have the sincere thanks of the Mississippi River Bridge Authority and of our community and State.

We have made certain that in publicizing the bridge program and its progress that the United States Corps of Engineers is given full credit for its efforts. Without the expeditious assistance and guidance of you and your subordinates, there would have been delays that would run our costs up several millions of dollars.

You have my deepest appreciation, and with kindest personal regards,

Very sincerely,

NEVILLE LEVY,
Chairman.

United States-Latin Ties Periled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor, a distinguished and reliable newspaper, has published a revealing and interesting article from the pen of Robert M. Hallett. I recommend it for careful reading:

TWOFOLD REASONS: UNITED STATES-LATIN TIES PERILED

(By Robert M. Hallett)

CARACAS, VENEZUELA.—Is the United States losing Latin America?

This is the grave question underlying United States relations with the Republics to the south.

A number of Foreign Ministers and other highly placed Latin Americans with whom the writer talked during concluding sessions of the Inter-American Conference here bluntly warned that United States prestige in Latin America is rapidly dwindling.

One Brazilian went so far as to say that the United States "has reached its lowest ebb as a democratic leader of the hemisphere."

The main reasons, according to these Latin Americans, are twofold:

First, the United States faces economic problems with Latin America of "crisis proportions."

Second, Latin Americans who believe in democracy are increasingly disillusioned over the fact that while the United States is leading the free world against Soviet totalitarianism it even encourages dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere.

POLICIES OPPOSED

While this second ideological point is of extreme importance to many Latin Americans, there is not the unanimity about it (since many conference delegates represent countries controlled by dictators) that there is about economics.

For, despite political coloration, all Latin Americans talked to, without exception, sharply criticized United States economic policies toward their countries.

In fact, it might be said that United States relations with this part of the hemisphere will depend almost completely on how skillfully the United States is able to solve its economic relationships with its southern neighbors.

Latin requests for aid are not just a desire for handouts—although undoubtedly there are as many Latin Americans who would like something for nothing as you would find anywhere else.

LIVING STANDARDS

Various legitimately serious elements enter into economic relations with the United States:

1. They desire to improve their economic situation and raise the living standards of their people which they cannot accomplish without outside help.

2. They have seen billions of dollars of United States aid going elsewhere in the direction of military need, when they are unable to get relatively small amounts.

3. They claim to be subjected to considerable damaging economic pressures from American interests, which in some cases dominate and unbalance their economies.

4. They say they can't gear for production of their strategic materials, such as copper, tin, nitrate, managanese, oil, etc., to meet wartime needs of the United States and then be content to reduce their production and cut back their standard of living when the United States emergency is over.

Since they were speaking on such undiplomatic subjects as criticism of United States foreign policy, most of the Latin-American diplomats refused to be quoted.

Following are representative statements of various delegates which indicate how seriously they view present hemispheric relations:

"The United States in in danger of completely losing Latin-American support in world affairs."

"Unless the United States helps us with our economic problems, communism may be the gainer."

"Without worthwhile aid, Latin America may be forced to form a solid anti-United States bloc to wrest concessions from the United States. This might completely founder the inter-American system."

"The United States has to realize that while yesterday its boundary was the Rio

Grande, today, in economic matters at least, it is the Straits of Magellan."

"Future world battles will be between continents. We must place ourselves in a strong posture. We must go about the strengthening our economies and eliminating weaknesses."

All Latin American countries have been hard hit by inflation and falling world prices for their raw materials, on which their economies depend, at a time when their peoples are demanding richer lives. They are also gravely concerned at attempts in the United States Congress to restrict imports.

The United States, which depends heavily on Latin American raw materials in war and peace, they feel, has a responsibility in helping meet these economic and social challenges.

MARSHALL PLAN

President Eisenhower's appeal to Congress for a liberal international trade policy—including extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, modification of the Buy American Act, and an appeal for authority to revise tariff rates downward—offered some encouragement to Latin Americans. But this is only partially what the Latin Americans feel they need and should get from the United States.

Latin Americans would like some sort of Marshall plan to enable them to raise their economic levels and spread a better standard of living. However, realizing that the United States at present is unwilling or unable to do this, they also recommend: increased technical assistance, more private investments, and more liberalized policies on loans from the Export-Import Bank and other sources.

At the present Inter-American Conference here, the Latin Americans presented a united front on economic problems for the first time. They lined up behind demands for stabilized prices for their raw materials, for elimination of double taxation, and for guaranteed markets.

They realize, however, that the United States was not in a position at the recent hemispheric congress to formulate a clear economic policy, since the subject was still under study in Washington. Therefore, it was agreed that this discussion would largely be put over to an economic conference to be held in Rio in the last quarter of this year.

TEMPORIZING RAPPED

But this was only a grudging concession. The temper of Latin Americans was clearly evident in talks with them. They will not agree to continual temporizing with their problems.

One Latin American said "a very small part of the effort which the United States Government and American private religious and cultural organizations have put into Europe and Asia would help Latin America evolve toward standards of social, economic, and political development which are recognized as the minimum by the Declaration of Human Rights and other pronouncements of the United Nations and the Organization of American States."

A Brazilian delegate emphasizing the United States failure to take leadership at the Inter-American Conference on the matter of democracy, pointed out that tiny Uruguay actually represented the "voice of democracy" at the meeting.

The United States failed to take a forthright stand on human rights, abstaining from many amendments which would have defined these rights more explicitly. This "looked bad," he said.

"You are not impressing us as caring very much for democracy in the hemisphere," he said. "It looks to us as if the United States takes the necessary steps to protect its life and economic conditions and its position toward Russia. Democracy doesn't seem to mean anything any more."

Issues Before the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, on April 5, at the Lutheran Church of the Reformation in this city, my colleague, the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HENDRICKSON] addressed a college-student seminar sponsored by the American Baptist Convention.

In his address, my colleague presented the young people with several timely reminders of the issues before the American people today.

I ask unanimous consent that the address of my colleague be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, OF NEW JERSEY, BEFORE A SEMINAR OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

It is a real pleasure for me to be with you today, sharing the objectives of your visit, and contributing, I hope, to your broadening view of the vital issues before the Nation and the world.

If there is anything in the normal course of my duties that gives me more real pleasure than talking things over with a group of young people, I just don't know what it is.

As a matter of fact, my staff tends to jump down my throat a bit because of this liking of mine.

It seems that morning committee meetings usually conflict with the visits of our New Jersey high-school classes during various times of the year.

Chatting informally with the high-school groups usually wins out with me—at the expense of considerable searching on the part of the staffs of the various committees which are conducting the hearings.

It would, of course, be useless to talk to you about the critical issues before the country without discussing what the administration is doing about each of the problems.

In my judgment, the accomplishments which I believe have been achieved, in themselves represent these issues.

It is to continue these significant changes for good government that the Eisenhower administration must find itself concerned in the years ahead.

There is a new approach to national and international problems, an approach which seeks to unify the Nation in the preservation of the peace and in progress toward a better life for all.

Health, happiness, and prosperity, after all, represent that goal.

The actions taken by your Government—I am referring particularly to this administration—are details in the overall program to achieve well-being.

You who represent a great religious organization can especially appreciate the fact that the approach of the Eisenhower administration is based fundamentally upon integrity and honesty.

The Republican Party has been called upon to restore dignity, honor, and integrity to our National Government.

The platform of the Republican Party had spelled out in unmistakable language the pledge of our leaders.

I maintain that that platform pledge has been and is being adhered to faithfully.

I would discuss with you just a few of those issues which reflect a distinct change in governmental direction.

They are continuing issues because this administration must continue to redeem its pledges at face value.

The solution to what is probably the No. 1 problem of our age—the hydrogen bomb—is really to be found in the hearts of men.

I would discuss other issues of Government at this time, first in importance in my judgment, being the enactment of the Eisenhower legislative program.

It is a farsighted program—affecting every facet of our national life and having as its indisputable goal the well-being of the Nation as a whole.

The President's legislative program has been widely acclaimed by the majority of the American people.

We of the Congress face as our most critical issue its successful enactment.

I believe that before this session of Congress adjourns, a significant part of this enlightened program will have been born by legislative action.

I would next turn to the tremendous improvement of the moral climate of your Federal Government in little more than 1 year.

The platform of the Republican Party contained this statement:

"The Republican Party pledges to put an end to corruption, to oust the crooks and grafters, to administer tax laws fairly and impartially and to restore honest government to the people."

The Eisenhower administration is now giving our people the integrity in Government which was so sorely needed.

It is important to remind the people of this trend.

Cleanups and a return to morality usually are not half as exciting as the evil which went before.

Our newspapers would much prefer to find dirt under a new rug, ignoring the sweepup under the old rug.

President Eisenhower issued an Executive order which merged the so-called loyalty investigations of Government employees into a single security program.

This checks not only the loyalty but the suitability of these employees and applicants for Government positions.

Working on the theory that Government employment is a privilege and not a right, this new security check eliminates not only the disloyal but those whose character and morals make them unsuitable for Federal employment.

Scandals and disloyalty of any sort will not be tolerated by this administration.

This administration is acting quickly in cases of corruption.

The Attorney General has ordered grand jury investigations in many cases.

The Justice Department initiated a number of new policies to restore honesty to Government, among them:

(a) Halted the policy of the previous administration of dropping tax prosecutions on grounds of bad health.

(b) Ended the practice of accepting no-contest pleas, especially in tax cases.

(c) Barred private practice by Justice Department attorneys.

(d) Began strict enforcement of law making it a felony for any employee within 2 years after leaving Government service to act as counsel in prosecuting any claim against the United States involving any matter with which he was connected as a Federal employee.

(e) Ended secrecy in granting pardons, in clemency actions, and tax and claims settlements.

(f) Set up a central system to keep track of all prosecutions so none will get lost and expire under the statute of limitations, as happened under the previous Democratic administration.

President Eisenhower reversed the previous administration policy when he opened up for congressional inspection the Internal Revenue Service's files of income, excess profits, and other tax returns.

The Republican 83d Congress passed legislation to prevent leave pay abuses which occurred during the Truman administration when 215 top-level officials pocketed a total of $709,538 in cash for so-called accumulated leave.

This administration exposed a cash-for-leave scheme used in 1950 by certain employees in the Rent Stabilization Office.

Over 50 employees had been fired for bookkeeping purposes as of a certain day, given cash for up to 90 days' accumulated leave, rehired the next day on a temporary basis, and restored to the permanent payroll 30 days later.

The Comptroller General has ruled this practice illegal and officials responsible for the scheme were discharged.

In the aftermath of the previous administration a number of former top-tax officials and agents were indicted and/or convicted on a variety of charges including embezzlement, extortion, bribery, conspiring to defraud the Government by fixing income-tax returns.

This score over a 3-year period to clean up the Internal Revenue Bureau: 155 employees and former employees indicted, 60 convicted. Also, 107 employees were separated for personal misconduct unrelated to tax cases.

Much of this improvement in our moral climate cannot be measured in deeds and programs alone.

It is to be reflected in the kind of men who have been attracted to Federal service by the Eisenhower administration—men of integrity, without base motive; men who have sacrificed for the fulfillment of an ideal.

I am personally acquainted with many of these men; they are a living demonstration of how far we have progressed in our efforts to bring sanity and sanctity to our Federal establishment.

There have been—and still are—profound questions before the American people affecting the internal security of this Nation.

The platform of the Republican Party contains the following reference:

"There are no Communists in the Republican Party.

"We have always recognized communism to be a world conspiracy against freedom and religion.

"We never compromised with communism and we have fought to expose it and to eliminate it in Government and American life.

"A Republican President will appoint only persons of unquestioned loyalty.

"We will overhaul loyalty and security programs.

"In achieving these purposes a Republican President will cooperate with Congress.

"We pledge close coordination of our intelligence services for protecting our security.

"We pledge fair but vigorous enforcement of laws to safeguard our country from subversion and disloyalty."

We were all deeply concerned at the revelations of Communist infiltration in the Federal Government.

Investigations disclosed beyond a shadow of a doubt that there had existed a network of spies and traitors frequently in key positions.

Fellow-travelers turned up as American employees and officials in the United Nations.

This administration pledged the elimination of disloyal employees from the Government and the overhaul of an ineffective loyalty and security program.

This pledge has been carried out.

The 83d Congress has continued vigorous investigation of Communists and other subversives.

In the minds of some people, perhaps these investigations have been too vigorous in that tactics have been employed which can discredit the desirable end itself.

I have served for the past year and one half as a member of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate.

I firmly believe that a great deal of good has been accomplished by soundly conducted congressional investigations.

Therefore, it seems to me to be quite necessary for us to protect the dignity of those hearings.

One of the critical issues before the Senate, in my judgment, is the need for formulation of sound standards of procedure for the conduct of our committee hearings.

I can see no reason why our hearings should not be held in a courtroom atmosphere.

There is every reason to continue the proper investigative functions of the Congress in the field of internal security, and it is my opinion that the surest way to protect the integrity of this right of Congress is to convince the American people that when we go about doing the job, it is done in a completely fair way and that the rights of witnesses are continually protected.

The Republican policy committee of the Senate, of which I am a member, has recognized this right.

It has formulated seven standards of procedure designed to protect both the rights of congressional witnesses and the dignity of the Senate.

Events may prove that binding legislation may be necessary to curb congressional excesses in this area.

Your speaker, for one, is now studying such a possibility.

In any event, this grave procedural question is one of those issues with which we of the Congress must successfully grapple.

Furthermore, I maintain a strong personal belief that in matters of internal subversion, the executive branch—under the leadership of President Eisenhower—has proved its capabilities in maintaining our home bastions against subversive threat.

The junior Senator from New Jersey has every confidence that the Eisenhower administration will continue to measure up to its constitutional directive to keep its own house in order, with an able assist from a new and enlightened congressional investigative approach to the problems of internal security.

Now, to another critical issue before this Nation.

The platform of the Republican Party reminds the people that the New Deal party claimed prosperity, but the appearance of economic health was "created by war expenditures, waste and extravagance, planned emergencies, and war crises."

Despite the fact that we were faced with the task of transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, this administration took measures which greatly eased the pains of transition.

As a matter of fact, the past year was the most prosperous in the Nation's history.

The gross total of goods and services totaled $367 billion for the year, the highest on record and 5 percent over 1952.

Consumer purchases reached $230 billion, compared to $218 billion in 1952.

Private construction, other than residential, amounted to $11,700,000,000.

An average of 61,900,000 civilians were employed, the highest employment figure on record, and $284 billion in personal income was earned.

The step-by-step readjustment goes on.

Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, had this to say in an address before the Philadelphia Bulletin Forum on March 9:

"Let me say, first of all, that economic activity, taken in the aggregate, has declined since last July, and that unemployment has developed in different localities.

"The Nation, taken as a whole, nevertheless continues to enjoy a high degree of prosperity.

"The dollar value of the output of all goods and services is only 3 percent less than in the all-time record quarter of 1953.

"The decline of personal incomes has been even smaller.

"The volume of purchasing by consumers and by Government is close to recent peak levels.

"So, too, are the expenditures of business firms for new plant, machinery, and equipment.

"Businessmen, however, are no longer spending substantial sums on additions to their inventories.

"Indeed, business sales are now outrunning production.

"In the process, inventories are being brought onto better alignment with current sales and a foundation is being laid for a new economic advance."

President Eisenhower told his weekly press conference on March 24, that nothing had developed on the Nation's economic front that would call for a slam-bang emergency program, as he put it.

Mr. Eisenhower said there were many other matters constantly under consideration that would be helpful, but he and his advisers just did not believe this was the time to move on an emergency basis because the picture could easily be distorted.

I feel certain that the President, backed by the Republican 83d Congress will take any steps which are deemed necessary to combat a true recession.

We must plan and we must think ahead to all eventualities.

But anyone knows that a nation—no less than an individual—cannot think clearly when consumed by an irrational fear which makes little sense when taken in the context of the tremendous industrial potential which is America.

My young friends, less than 1½ years at the helm of Government is still but prelude to the sensible and far-sighted program which the Republican Party is presenting to the American people.

A world of enemies and superbombs is all about us, but confident of the integrity, the honesty, and a belief in the people and in Constitutional Government, the Nation under the leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower can go forward to an enlightened future.

For the first time in 20 years, the American people have the Federal Government back in their own hands—a Government which represents them—not a Government which would direct and regiment the American scene.

Human Events

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from Human Events, issue of March 31, 1954:

STASSEN RIDES AGAIN

Recently a big plane zoomed into the Washington Airport from Europe carrying some 50 persons represented as coming into the country under the administration law passed last year to admit 209,000 more immigrants. Harold Stassen, Director, Foreign

Operations Administration, was on hand to kiss the babies and give the big glad hand to the newcomers. The plane had been booked for New York, but was deteured to Washington at extra expense to the taxpayers, for official Washington wished to stage a propaganda show which would presumably stir up friendly political sentiment among minority nationalities.

Actually, the whole show was a phony because the persons in the plane were not refugees admitted under the Eisenhower-sponsored immigration law, but were regular immigrants admitted under a special provision of the old Displaced Persons Act of the Truman administration which runs to June of this year. Though the Eisenhower law has been in operation some 9 months, only a handful of genuine refugees from Europe have come in under it. There are several reasons for this: (1) Certain courageous officials of the State Department have insisted on a thoroughgoing application of the McCarran-Walter immigration law, which prohibits admission of Communists and criminals. It is reported that these officials uncovered three immigration rings trying to slip into the Nation many Communists and criminals under the Eisenhower law and stopped them cold. (2) The Eisenhower law provides that every refugee must have both a job and a place to live before being admitted. The growth of unemployment has thus automatically shut out refugees.

Robert E. Peary and the Discovery of the North Pole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE
OF MAINE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, today is the 45th anniversary of the discovery of the North Pole by Adm. Robert E. Peary. I ask unanimous consent that a brief statement concerning that historic event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR PAYNE

A brief 45 years ago today one of the longest continued adventure stories of the human race culminated in success. For several generations the bravest of our world's explorers had attempted to reach the North Pole. We need only mention the names Frobisher, Hudson, Franklin, Nordenskiold, Nansen, and Amundsen, among others, to indicate the valor of those who tried. The forces of Nature, Nature at its rawest and coldest and cruelest, had long held them all at bay, destroying wholly the most luckless.

Then on April 6, 1909, there was glorious victory. An indomitable spirit, an American and an adopted son of Maine, reached the North Pole. Robert Edwin Peary, together with Matt Henson and 4 Eskimos, reached the pole, where they remained for 30 hours, taking observations, and then returned safely to civilization. What an honor, after all the long decades of failure—honor to Peary, to the United States, and to Maine.

Though Admiral Peary was born at Cresson, Pa. (on May 6, 1856), his widowed mother returned to her native New England when he was 3 years of age, settling at Cape Elizabeth, not far from Portland. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1877, became a surveyor, then worked for the Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington, D. C., later joined the Corps of Civil Engineers of the Navy.

Admiral Peary's widow, who is now 90 years old, and who accompanied him on several of his expeditions, still lives in Maine with her family. His daughter, Marie Peary Stafford, known as the "Snowbaby" because she was born in Greenland during one of her family's Arctic expeditions, is a well known author and lecturer on the North.

One of the men who accompanied Peary on the 1909 expedition, Comdr. Donald B. MacMillan, who is a famed Arctic explorer in his own right and a holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor, is being honored today at a special convocation at Bowdoin College which both Peary and he attended.

Oddly enough, Peary's first major work for the United States Navy was in the Tropics, including the directorship of the Nicaragua ship canal survey. But by 1886, at age 30, he was studying and exploring parts of Greenland, reporting the results to geographers in 1887. In 1891 the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences put him in charge of a polar expedition. Other expeditions, some with limited objectives followed. In 1899 both feet were badly frozen and he lost 8 toes to the cruel cold.

Not until he was 52 years of age did this veteran of the Arctic wastes attempt his final and most successful exploration. By September 1908, his ship, the *Roosevelt*, had pushed to a record latitude of 82° 30' N. Supplies were moved by sled to Cape Columbia, 90 miles to the northwestward. From that cape, on March 1, 1909, the party of 6 white men, 1 Negro, 17 Eskimos, 188 dogs, and 19 sledges set out over sea ice for the Pole. From time to time the more worn-out sections were turned back leaving the best dogs and extra supplies for the leader. Near the 88th parallel Capt. Robert Bartlett turned back and Peary proceeded on to victory.

His return journey to Cape Columbia, utilizing forced marches and the igloos built during the northward journey, required 16 days. On September 5, 1909, the *Roosevelt* steamed into Indian Harbor, Labrador, and by cable the world learned that Robert E. Peary had succeeded where so many had failed. Rightly enough he received many honors, including the thanks of Congress; he lectured widely and wrote several books before his death in 1920.

On this anniversary, there may well be a lesson for us all in the fact that the high courage and adventure of exploration of a remote area of a brief 45 years ago has so soon become a commonplace occurrence for our aviators guarding our northern frontiers. This is of major interest in terms of global strategy, of the geopolitics of survival.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an editorial from the April 2 issue of the Milwaukee Journal entitled "Get Seaway Bill Up for Vote," which I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GET SEAWAY BILL UP FOR VOTE

Every passing day increases the threat to American participation in the St. Lawrence seaway. Each deliberate delay by the House Rules Committee helps give the threat strength.

Once more the Rules Committee has refused to act on the Wiley-Dondero bill already passed by the Senate—refusing to send it to the House floor for a vote. Several previous delays have been chalked up by seaway opponents in the Rules Committee. With each one they see improvement in their chances of killing off the measure completely. Representative NICHOLSON, Republican, of Massachusetts, announces happily that further delays are possible when the seaway comes up for discussion again after April 26.

Meanwhile the old arguments against the seaway are being drummed up to new intensity. Representative FALLON, Democrat, of Maryland, for instance, brought up the age-old cry that the project is socialistic. The Chamber of Commerce of Greater Philadelphia has put out a strong statement to the effect that the seaway would turn eastern ports into ghost cities. The chamber is trying to form a huge antiseaway bloc to get the bill killed.

The fact that the seaway will be built anyway by Canada, which for a time quieted some old opponents, seems to be forgotten again. It is American participation under any conditions that the opponents now fight.

President Eisenhower says he is strongly for the seaway. He has said, however, that he would not ask House leadership to expedite the seaway bill. That has given opponents courage. By not doing so he may kill chances of American participation in the seaway. He may be rejecting the only chance he has to get action on a major bill of his legislative program—one of the few major bills to have passed either House.

The House is ready to vote the seaway, observers are sure, if the matter comes to the floor. Only delay by hidebound members of the House Rules Committee keeps it from the floor. The President owes it to the seaway, to his program, and to his position as Republican leader to take a personal hand in the matter and give the House a chance to vote.

Judgment of a Fact Finder on What Is Best for American Woolen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a very interesting editorial that appeared in the column of the Evening Tribune of Lawrence, Mass., on Wednesday, March 31, 1954.

Mr. Sumner D. Charm, who recommended these suggestions is one who has been a labor and management consultant for a good many years, specializing in these various fields, as a teacher and professor at Northeastern University, Harvard College, and Carnegie Insitute. He has had a varied experience in these industrial problems. He will be remem-

bered as personnel director at the Ayer Mill of the American Woolen Co., at Lawrence, Mass. Later, in that same capacity, in the Wood Mill of the American Woolen Co., at Lawrence. Mr. Charm later was promoted to the position of chief personnel director supervising the employee-employer labor difficulties over both Ayer and Wood Mills of the American Woolen Co. Invited by the United States Government to accept the position of salary stabilization director for the New England area, he served with credit in that position at Boston until the agency was abolished. He then established his own business at the same location, as labor-consultant in Boston, and has conducted labor surveys for several cities and towns in Massachusetts and New England.

The editorial follows:

HOPEFUL, ENLIGHTENED STATEMENT

The most hopeful—and enlightened—statement on the pending reorganization of the American Woolen Co. comes from Sumner D. Charm, a management consultant. His words are hopeful because, as vice chairman of the company's factfinding committee, they will undoubtedly be listened to with respect by those who will make the decision as to the future of American Woolen. They are enlightened, not merely because they serve the understandable prejudice Greater Lawrence has in favor of the continued operation of American Woolen in this community, but because they make economic sense, which, as has been repeatedly declared, must be the yardstick and the criterion.

It makes sense, for instance, to say that the Wood mill could be adapted to a straight-line, flexible manufacturing setup, which, in the opinion of Mr. Charm, would produce a pleasant and unexpected result for management, to say nothing of what it would mean for Greater Lawrence textile workers. It makes even more sense, because it is in this direction that the future prosperity of American Woolen clearly lies, to say that the Ayer mill should be used as a research center. Since any theoretical, competitive differential which exists as between North and South would not influence the cost of research, and since Massachusetts is notably the focal point of research in this country, this suggestion commends itself as a most practical one. Management, considering it, will not fail to give weight to the fact that the Ayer mill, a valuable and still highly serviceable property, is already in being as an asset which could be readily converted to the use Mr. Charm proposes.

Another area in which Mr. Charm also makes sense is as regards the potentialities of lanolin, a byproduct of wool, which he aptly describes as the "oil well" of the woolen industry. We agree that lanolin, made the subject of extensive, thorough-going research, could be as useful (and ultimately as unrecognizable) as coal in its application to unserved needs of our economy. Mr. Charm indicates that the gamut would run from fertilizer to protein-plastics; it challenges the imagination to consider what miracles there are to be discovered between this near-point and far-point. There is sound, economic, industrial sense in this, too, and nothing visionary.

Remembering that Mr. Charm is a fact-finder, on specific assignment to help ascertain what is best for American Woolen—not for New England, not for Massachusetts, not for Lawrence, but for American Woolen—we were especially pleased—delighted is probably the better word—to hear him state his considered judgment on the prospects of American Woolen if it remains in New England and, presumably, if it carries out his plan for the Wood and Ayer mills. It is his considered judgment, based upon the firm conviction, founded upon extensive data and analysis, that woolen and worsted operations in New England can be not only as economical as those in Dixie, but more so.

Then he added, "This can be accomplished by American Woolen in just 2 years."

May his considered judgment prevail.

Yale Economist Urges Gold Standard Return as Means To Fight Inflation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, I include an article from the New Haven Register with reference to the comments of one of the greatest experts in the field of economics, Prof. O. Glenn Saxon, of Yale University.

Mr. Saxon is a man of wide and long experience in such subjects and speaks with clear authority on the gold standard. The article follows:

YALE ECONOMIST URGES GOLD STANDARD RETURN AS MEANS TO FIGHT INFLATION

O. Glenn Saxon, professor of economics at Yale University, last night urged an immediate return to the gold standard in the United States as a means of putting "the brakes on all inflationary forces," and of making the Government "keep the budget balanced, except in real emergencies."

The economist also attributed the "widespread acceptance of communism, fascism, and socialism throughout the world" to the almost universal abandonment of the gold standard.

He maintained that when governments started issuing paper dollars instead of gold dollars, which have a fixed monetary value, economic and social chaos became inevitable.

Savings and investments were wiped out as the purchasing power of paper money that could not be converted into gold declined, he said on the Yale Interprets the News program over WTIC, Hartford.

Professor Saxon, a former commissioner of finance and control in Connecticut, served as economic adviser to Republican presidential candidates Alfred M. Landon and Wendell Willkie.

After World War II about three-quarters of the people of the world "suffered losses of a minimum of 90 percent of the purchasing power of their moneys, debts, and fixed investments" because their nations had dropped the gold standard during the depression of the thirties, he said.

He added that "only a few nations of the world escaped with losses of less than 50 percent of the purchasing power of their moneys" after World War II.

Abandonment of the gold standard has enabled nations to repudiate their moneys for political purposes, thus destroying the value of all public and private debts as well as investments and savings, he pointed out.

The constant repudiation of the value of money throughout the world following the abandonment of the gold standard, "confirms the accuracy of Karl Marx's thesis that the surest way to destroy a free capitalistic society is to debauch its currency," Saxon continued.

He pointed out that "since 1933, when the United States abandoned the gold standard for the first time since 1879, our money supply has increased fivefold."

Since 1939, he added, our money supply has increased threefold while our production of goods and services has only doubled.

For this reason, he maintained, prices in this country have almost doubled since 1939. "In other words" he said, "the purchasing power of our paper dollars and of all our fixed investments and savings has been cut in half since 1939."

Saxon, in urging an immediate return to the gold standard in the United States, said that the United States gold stock, which since the war has grown to its highest level in history, "is ample to sustain a still greater money supply than at present."

He maintained, furthermore, that the United States should return to the gold standard whether or not the other countries of the world do so.

"Our return would encourage and help other nations to restore the gold standard," he insisted. "Some would do so at once, when they are assured that we are repudiating the system of politically managed paper money."

Washington and Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article by C. Wilson Harder, called to my attention by the National Federation of Independent Business.

This interesting weekly column is sponsored by this organization and appears in over 2,000 weekly newspapers throughout the Nation:

WASHINGTON AND SMALL BUSINESS

(By C. Wilson Harder)

There is the story going around that a freshly deceased man applying for admittance to the pearly gates was asked what he had done on earth. "Among other things," he replied, "I was once United States Secretary of Agriculture."

"Enter then," he was told, "You've had enough of Hades."

This probably illustrates what Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson felt when storm broke over decision to lower parity support on dairy products.

But Government already has close to $400 million invested in surplus dairy products, plus millions in other products.

Unfortunately, no Agriculture Secretary can attack the real roots of the farm problem.

One problem is due to destruction of United States tariff protection. In 1947 foodstuffs with value of $2¾ billion were imported. By 1951 food imports had doubled, reaching more than $5 billion, and was about same in 1952.

In meantime, exports of food dropped from $4 billion in 1947 to less than $3½ billion in 1952. Going back further Commerce Department figures show that until reciprocal trade treaties went into effect in the thirties, United States food exports equaled or exceeded food imports. From about 1935, until war, food imports exceeded exports, often by ratio of 3 to 1.

During war, food exports were much higher than imports, but since war, even with United States vast give-away programs, the Nation has been bringing in more food than it has shipped out, either as gifts, or legitimate business.

Figures also show United States per capita food consumption is at an alltime high, but

a lot of that consumption is accounted for by imported foreign food.

Another fallacy is parity. This is a scale whereby the price of certain food crops is presumably pegged to the price of what he must buy. This is akin to comparing codfish to jersey heifers.

The farmer must sell his products, subject to the vagaries of supply and demand. However, many of the things he must buy, such as petroleum, commercial fertilizers, are controlled by a few factors who fix prices unrelated to the law of supply and demand. He is in a nutcracker.

Pressure on one jaw is being exerted by the international clique of free traders. The other jaw is squeesed by monopoly minded farm suppliers who control production and prices of items farmers need.

Farm programs of past few years have been only opiates to ease pain of the squeeze.

But Government has not come to grips with the real farm problem of vital national concern.

And here's another example of the wrecking of America. Congressman LANE, of Massachusetts, claims textiles imported in 1952 would have furnished jobs for a full year for 5,000 more United States workers. But while wages in United States mills average $1.60 per hour, in England they average 40 to 45 cents per hour. While American worker is 1.5 percent more productive, greater productivity cannot overcome a 4-to-1 wage differential.

Without stronger tariff protection for the American businessman, worker, and farmer, only war or Government relief projects will stop climbing unemployment figures.

House Attitude Dangerous to Our Merchant Fleet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I certainly agree with a recent editorial from the Florida Times-Union in its opinion that Congress will be pinching the penny in the wrong place if it does not restore funds which are due and owing to shipping companies for construction for which the Government promised to pay a subsidy. In my opinion we are not providing an adequate shipbuilding program in this country. We should lose no time in getting one underway, not only as a help to domestic economy but primarily because of the paramount interest of the national defense in seeing that such concerns remain available and ready for quick, full mobilization in time of national defense emergencies. The editorial is as follows:

HOUSE ATTITUDE DANGEROUS TO OUR MERCHANT FLEET

The action of a House Appropriations subcommittee in deleting a $10 million appropriation for merchant marine subsidies appears both dishonorable and unreasonable. The amount represents payments long overdue to steamship companies, some going back to 1947. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 recognized the need for such payments and promised they would be made. The participating steamship companies have been acting in good faith and this should not be violated by the Government.

Our subsidization of a merchant fleet costs us very little compared to what we pay to support farm-product prices, for instance. The maritime subsidy system does not guarantee the operator a profit and is the only example of Government support where there is a financial return to the Government. In the first years of the program, ship lines received $87 million in Federal aid and returned $52 million to the Treasury. During the same 10 years, Washington spent—and didn't get back—nearly $68 million on cheddar cheese alone.

While frugality in the Capitol is to be applauded, Congress is undoubtedly pinching the penny in the wrong place, in this respect at least.

A Better and Broader Social-Security Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, on April 5 I appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means to speak certain of my thoughts on how to broaden and improve the effect of the old-age and survivors' insurance program, as proposed in H. R. 7199, better known in everyday parlance as a bill to amend the Social Security Act.

At that time I told the committee that for some while all of us, legislator and laborer, window washer and white-collar worker, have been aware that a change for the better is needed. This is certainly so if the benefits received by our senior citizens today and in the years to come under the program are to fall more closely in line with the realities of our present-day economic structure, and to reflect our concern for the requirements of ordinary day-to-day living.

I reminded the committee members that on January 13 of this year I had joined together with a number of my Democratic colleagues in endorsing what was conceived to be the minimum social insurance program which would meet the needs of the American people. It included the following seven recommendations:

First. The more than 10 million persons who are now without basic retirement and survivors' protection should be included in the social security insurance program.

Second. The Federal Government should continue to contribute to the States for old-age assistance payments to those persons outside the insurance system.

Third. The present $75 limitation on monthly earnings should be increased to $100.

Fourth. Benefits should be payable to workers who become permanently and totally disabled, with waiver of premiums.

Fifth. The monthly benefit payments should be increased because of higher living costs.

Sixth. The present base of $3,600 on which contributions are collected and benefits are paid should be increased to at least $4,800.

Seventh. We favor retaining the 2 percent contribution which went into effect January 1, 1954.

I feel that the bill H. R. 7199, under consideration by the committee, meets some of the recommendations made in our January 13 memorandum. On some other counts, it falls short.

Before considering particular aspects of this proposed legislation it is well to refresh our memories as to the nature and ultimate purpose of social-security legislation. The old-age and survivors insurance plan is intended to provide minimum protection against the economic hazards caused by wage loss resulting from retirement or death during retirement. Benefits in individual cases may greatly exceed actual contributions or may not equal the amounts paid in. This protection is unlike that provided by private annuity insurance which pays automatically upon the attainment of a specified age. Accordingly, the costs of social insurance protection are considerably lower than any other comparable plan.

Under H. R. 7199, if an individual's earnings for a full year of 12 months are not more than $1,000, no deductions from benefits are made because of such earnings. The bill should, in my considered judgment, be increased to a $1,200 maximum, computed on a yearly basis to provide the greatest effective flexibility.

The upshot of this is that an individual could, without losing benefits under the act, earn what he wished during any period of a given year, no matter how short the period, nor how large the amount, so long as his total earnings for that year did not exceed the $1,200 maximum.

As one of those who, since its beginning has consistently supported social-security legislation, has studied its worthwhileness, and has supported vigorously any proposed extension of coverage and improvements in benefits to meet shifting economic conditions, I feel the above suggested provision a necessary one, and have urged its inclusion in the bill under consideration.

H. R. 7199, as propounded, also amends the Internal Revenue Code to conform the provisions of the code to the change in earnings base from $3,600 to $4,200. What this means is that, for purposes of determining future benefits under the act, only the first $4,200 of an individual's salary will be taken into consideration as a basis for premium deductions and benefits.

My idea of it is that the maximum figure should be raised to $4,800.

Under today's inflated economy and sky-rocketing prices, the social-security dollar will not do the job it was originally meant to do; it does not afford the minimum protection which it was originally meant to provide. To meet this increased cost of living we must raise the maximum earnings base, in line of course, with the soundest fiscal policy and in keeping with the self-supporting character of the program.

Actually, to do this on the basis of comparative figures of 17 years ago, at

the inception year of this program, we could well raise the earnings base several thousand dollars above its present level.

Those who have in the past resisted this increase in the earnings base would be well advised, in the light of patent economic and cost of living considerations, to adopt a more realistic view toward its enactment on behalf of old-age insurance recipients.

It must be remembered that the duty of the employee to provide his honest day's work, steadily, through a lifetime of toil, and ever to look toward his own retirement security, is no less an exacting and binding one than the obligation of employer and Government, acting together, to help provide a decent, honorable standard of living for that employee. This, not only while he works, but for so long as he lives, and to provide for his widow and children.

Millions of Americans have a stake, direct and personal, in the social-security system. Yet, as we know, it is meant merely to augment, not to substitute for pensions, private savings, and insurance protection. It was meant, as has often been said, to provide a foundation upon which these forms of protection can be soundly built.

We also realize that in affairs of state and of personal life we must be just before being generous. But what greater justice can there be than a generosity toward our old folk and their families and loved ones which a liberal, intelligent and actuarially sound social-security program will provide.

Let us set out to buttress that foundation. Let us take care that in this Nation, upon which a kindly providence has lavished the richest treasures of the earth, none will lack adequate old-age protection or fail for want of assistance in the declining years of life.

A New Plan to Help Oldsters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 25, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to note that a practical means of helping oldsters to help themselves has been devised by at least one industrial concern, as described in a recent editorial from the Jacksonville Journal. I hope that other concerns may adopt similar or identical ways of handling this challenging problem. In the meantime, we in Congress should continue to try to find ways to help. One thing that Congress could do is to repeal the prohibitions against earned income in the social-security system. I and others have introduced legislation to accomplish this and it is hoped that favorable action by the entire Congress will not be delayed.

The editorial is as follows:

A NEW PLAN TO HELP OLDSTERS

A unique plan for part-time use of retired workers' talents is gaining a lot of attention.

The May issue of Pageant magazine describes how Curt C. Joa, president of a machinery manufacturing company, has developed his plan of operation. Joa has two plants, a big one in Wisconsin and a smaller one in Florida.

He is now using his Florida factory as a location for his experiment, under which retired workers are allowed to go back to work for 4 hours a day and supplement their small retirement incomes and acquired a feeling they are still of some use to somebody.

Workers are rotated between the two factories. When an oldster is shipped down to the Florida plant, a well-trained youngster will move into the Wisconsin plant. These youngsters are profiting from the experience of the older workers. They work a full day alongside the part-time workers, learning the tricks of the trade that the older men have acquired over the years.

Pay rates in the Florida plant for the part-time people are attractive. Machinists get $1.70 to $2 an hour, draftsmen from $2.50 to $3.50 an hour, not bad for part-time work.

Many people have wrung their hands over the plight of people tied to static retirement incomes during a period of soaring costs. But Joa has done more than wring his hands, he has set about doing something constructive.

Small wonder that his experiment has attracted attention of such organizations as labor unions, sociologists, medical specialists, and even the United States Department of Labor.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorials:

[From the Superior (Wis.) Telegram of March 24, 1954]

SEAWAY SENTIMENT ADVANCES

For more than 2 decades the St. Lawrence seaway project has been a topic of bitter controversy in and out of Congress. Through this span the arguments shifted, but they always added up to the same result: No action.

Just recently the project finally won Senate approval but predictions were made it would face heavy opposition in the House. Some observers said it will never get past the House Rules Committee.

But now the chairman of that committee has predicted the measure will be sent to the House for a vote. He went further, he said he was inclined to think the House will pass the bill.

This is most encouraging.

Unlike many perennial issues, the seaway project through the years has been fought pro and con along clearly discernible lines. From the start, the salt-water ports, many railroads, and the coal interests battled it. They feared it would hurt them, and said so plainly.

On the other side, the fresh-water lake ports of the Great Lakes and the whole expansive midwestern region argued honestly that it meant greater economic development for them.

The economies of transportation are not simple. The railroads fought the Panama Canal, too, because they thought it would ruin their transcontinental business. It did not. No one can say with conviction that the St. Lawrence seaway, opening the interior of America to large oceangoing vessels, will hurt the railroads or ports like Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

But evidently a good many Senators whose own areas are not directly affected by the seaway issue have become convinced that the national interest justifies upsetting traditional transportation patterns in America.

Undoubtedly they may have been influenced strongly, too, by the outside pressure from Canada. The Canadians, weary of waiting for the United States to make up its mind, announced in 1951 their intention to proceed alone with the project. Canada's parliament authorized construction, and this has already begun.

Canada under this plan would of course have chief control of seaway facilities. Inasmuch as these steps appeared to be more than mere bluff, American lawmakers began to realize that ship traffic important to America might before too long be moving through a waterway over which this country had no governing voice.

The St. Lawrence seaway has been held in the suspended state too long. It is to be hoped that the House Rules Committee realizes this and sends the Senate-approved bill to the House for an early and favorable vote.

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times of March 26, 1954]

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

The Standard-Times recently has published the basic arguments for and against the St. Lawrence seaway project, through statements by Congressman NICHOLSON, of this district, and Congressman DONDERO, Republican of Michigan.

Congressman NICHOLSON very ably stated the position of those who are against the project. He said it probably would cost the United States $1 billion, that it cannot be considered an aid to national defense because of vulnerability to attack, that it is socialistic in concept, that it will benefit special interests and will take business away from New England.

Congressman DONDERO, chairman of the Public Works Committee of the House and author of the House bill for United States participation in the waterway project, has offered the arguments in favor. He points out this country at present is being asked to spend $105 million, that the seaway cannot be built by private enterprise because it is an international waterway, that it will not harm, but will even benefit New England economy and that Canada is going to build it anyway.

As to vulnerability, DONDERO pointed out a bomb dropped on the ports of New York or Boston would cause equal, if not worse, tieups of water traffic.

The long-range view of the waterway project, which, in essence, takes into consideration both of these basic attitudes, was expressed by Senator KENNEDY. The Kennedy opinion, characterized by the absence of sectionalism, is founded on the reasoning that what benefits the country as a whole eventually will benefit each of its parts. This is a realistic recognition of the interlocking characteristics of our national economy.

Senator KENNEDY said New England had suffered by its failure to support benefits for other sections simply because it did not stand to gain directly by those benefits. And, he said, if those who think New England ports will be hit would use those ports to ship their goods (even now, New York does a large share of New England's port business), our ports would boom, seaway or no seaway.

Concluded KENNEDY, "Our participation is in the national interest and should not be defeated for sectional reasons."

A general support of this attitude by New Englanders, enabling the ultimate passage of the seaway legislation, would appear to

be in the best interests of the country and the New England six-State area. It would, moreover, be a rejection of the defeatist attitude which those from other sections of the United States have come to associate with New England. It is an opportunity to demonstrate that we can look beyond self, beyond the immediate hour and need.

[From the Utica (N. Y.) Press of March 26, 1954]

SEAWAY NEEDS HOUSE VOTE

Though the St. Lawrence seaway has met new delays in the House, a number of reports encourage the belief that it will be adopted at this session.

The House has never acted upon the seaway, though the issue has been before the Senate in one form or another for 30 years. The bill to authorize the United States to join Canada in building a 27-foot channel through the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence was the first major legislation passed by the Senate this year.

It was approved by the House Public Works Committee February 3 by a whopping vote of 23 to 6. It is now tied up in the Rules Committee, where action is necessary to get early House consideration. This committee was expected to report the bill out this week, but action was postponed until after April 1.

However, a poll of committee members shows that it has enough votes to be reported out. The chairman, Representative ALLEN, Republic, of Illinois, announced he supports the bill and believes the House will adopt it. Two former opponents of the bill changed their stand and announced full support.

Opponents, of course, take advantage of every delay. At this session, however, delays have seemed to work for the seaway, if changed positions are any indication.

After the return of Chairman ALLEN to the Capital April 1, two Congressmen wounded in the Puerto Rican Nationalists' outbreak March 1 who want to be heard will be ready to testify. It is hoped that speedy committee action will follow and that the House will complete action by passing the seaway bill.

[From the Kalamazoo Gazette of March 25, 1954]

ANOTHER DELAY

The Senate passed the seaway bill on January 20, and the House Public Works Committee reported the measure favorably on February 3. Since then, the legislation has met delay after delay.

The latest postponement appears to us inexcusable.

The Rules Committee had opened hearings on the bill, but has now put everything off until April 1. The reason? Chairman ALLEN is returning to his Illinois district to campaign for reelection.

If Mr. ALLEN'S constituents are sensible people and good Americans, as we assume they are, we wonder what they are going to think of him. We wonder if he isn't just a bit shortsighted. Possibly, he would get more votes by staying on the job, doing his duty, helping to keep the Eisenhower program rolling, building up a good Republican record, and, incidentally, speeding up the seaway bill.

That particular bill should be of special interest to the people of Illinois and to those who live in Mr. ALLEN'S northern Illinois district.

When Chairman ALLEN announced this latest delay, he remarked that several other members of the Rules Committee were absent, or would be during the next few days.

We are concerned about this delay because it gives more time for the opponents of the bill to rally their forces.

We see in it, too, a revealing symptom of a disease that always hits Congress in election years.

This year, there is manifest danger in absenteeism, in the wasting of time, and in a too early adjournment. Work left undone can seriously threaten Republican chances next November.

The American people expect results—substantial results—from this session of Congress.

Let's end the stalling and get on with the job.

Oppose Alaska Partition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the reaction in Alaska is apparently violent to the suggestion made April 4, 1954, by Gov. B. Frank Heintzleman that Alaska be partitioned with one part remaining in Territorial status and other becoming a State. From messages which I have already received, Alaskans appear to be set against any such proposal.

For example, Mike Walsh, of Nome, one of Alaska's most respected pioneer citizens and a member of the University of Alaska Board of Regents, has protested. Jame von der Heydt, formerly United States attorney for the second judicial division of Alaska, has joined Mr. Walsh in the protest. The Northwestern Alaska Chamber of Commerce in Nome through its president, Boyd C. Harwood, held a special meeting yesterday to protest this move to divide Alaska. It will be remembered that under Governor Heintzleman's proposal Nome would not be joined with the new State but would remain as part of the Territory. The Nome people do not like it. Even way down in Petersburg in southeastern Alaska, which would be in the new State, this divisive move is resented. Mr. and Mrs. Bue Hentze have wired me expressing their very strong feeling on the subject. And Bob McCombe has stated his views from Fairbanks—he is actually a resident of the Fortymile mining district—against commonwealth.

Mr. Speaker, I incorporate as part of my remarks the texts of their radiograms to me:

NOME.

E. L. BARTLETT,
Delegate to Congress From Alaska,
New House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Shocked Heintzleman mutilated bill. Unalterably opposed to same. Nome residents, irrespective of party, wiring President support bill as passed by Senate. Appreciate your efforts.

MIKE WALSH and JIM VON DER HEYDT.

NOME.

Hon. E. L. BARTLETT,
Delegate From Alaska,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

In a special meeting of the Northwestern Alaska Chamber of Commerce on April 5 at which local businessmen and heads of other organizations were present, it was unanimously agreed to protest any move to divide Alaska.

NORTHWESTERN ALASKA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
BOYD C. HARWOOD, *President.*

PETERSBURG.

Hon. E. L. BARTLETT,
Delegate, Territory of Alaska,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Governors plan politics preposterous. We for statehood or nothing.

Regards,

Mr. and Mrs. BUE HENTZE.

FAIRBANKS.

BOB BARTLETT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.:

Oppose commonwealth status by all means.

BOB MCCOMBE.

Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, USAF

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one more great leader was buried at Arlington National Cemetery yesterday afternoon. Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg was laid to rest close to the grave of another great air leader, Gen. Hap Arnold. More than most men, they helped to create the age in which they lived. They made it possible for airpower to be used as an instrument of national policy.

General Arnold retired shortly after the conclusion of World War II, at a time we thought peace had been established. It was General Vandenberg's task to rebuild for our present defense the powerful air arm so hastily dispersed in 1946. As the present Secretary of the Air Force said, he was a prime architect of the Air Force we have today.

By virtue of my committee assignment, it was my privilege to know and work rather intimately with these two great men. They were truly military statesmen whose influence will be felt and remembered for a long time.

Two statements relative to General Vandenberg follow:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE HAROLD E. TALBOTT

Although we all knew that General Vandenberg had been in ill health for some time, his death, nevertheless, came as a shock both to me personally and to the personnel of the Department of the Air Force. He was a great airman and an inspiring military leader. As a brilliant air strategist and one of the first Chiefs of Staff of the Air Force, he was a prime architect of today's powerful modern air arm. Both the military service and the Nation he served so well have lost a great champion and friend.

STATEMENT BY GEN. N. F. TWINING, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

Only those of us who worked closely with General Vandenberg were fully aware of the depth of his thinking, the careful balance of his judgment, and the soundness of his decisions. He had the vision to foresee the

rising significance of airpower in the modern world. It is most fortunate for the people of this Nation and of all the free nations that this man worked so hard, so long, and so successfully in the military profession. I have lost a true friend. The Nation has lost a great man.

Middle East Tensions Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the attention of the world is focused upon two critical areas that are in dispute, one Indochina and the other the Middle East. Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an address by Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, which was delivered in Washington on February 15, and in which he suggests a formula for peace in the Middle East. The remarks by Dr. Van Kirk are very pertinent and should be of great interest to all Members of the House who are concerned about tensions in the Middle East area:

The shadows of tension and disorder deepen in the Middle East. Whatever hopes there may have been that the partition of Palestine would create in this area conditions of political and economic stability, they have proved illusory. There has been an Arab-Israeli war, followed by an uneasy truce, and many years of futile negotiations looking toward a permanent settlement. The boundary lines fixed in the assembly chamber of the United Nations have been changed by the arbitrament of war. Along these unstable borders have occurred incidents of such violence as to shock the conscience of mankind. The lot of the Palestinian refugee has steadily worsened. Arab distrust of the U. N. and more particularly of the United States, has engendered thoroughout this entire area a mood of hostility and despair.

A REEXAMINATION OF UNITED STATES POLICY

There was a time when the United States had the confidence and goodwill of the Arab world. At that time we were believed to be a people bent upon securing the rights of all men in a world of peace and justice. But not today. Where once there was a high regard for the United States there is now a sullen contempt and a deep hatred that is positively alarming. The Soviet Union, ever eager to exploit to its own advantage conditions such as these, has increased its propaganda pressures to the point where peace and security in the Middle East are gravely menaced.

Keenly aware of the explosive potentials of this situation, and knowing full well that a new clash of arms in the Middle East could mean disaster for the American people, the United States appears to have undertaken a reexamination of its policies and procedures respecting this area. This reexamination, as I understand it, does not suggest a diminishing interest by the United States with respect to Israel or the Arab States. It does suggest, I believe, a determination that United States foreign policy respecting the Middle East shall be governed hereafter by considerations of "sympathetic and impartial friendship." These words, "sympathetic and impartial friendship" are not my words. They are the words of the President of the United States. Standing before a joint session of Congress, and with the eyes of millions of Americans focused upon him by the magic of television, the President, in his state of the Union message, said: "In the Middle East, where tensions and serious problems exist, we will show sympathetic and impartial friendship."

Earlier, in May 1953, Secretary Dulles had visited this area, the first such visit to that part of the world by an American Secretary of State. In the light of what we now know it would appear that one of the major purposes to be served by this visitation was that of creating an atmosphere of sympathetic and impartial friendship. Confirmation of this reorientation of American policy vis-a-vis the Middle East was provided by Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In an address before the American Friends of the Middle East (Jan. 29, 1954) he cautioned against a pro-Arab or pro-Israel approach to the baffling problems of this area. "Too many Americans," said Senator WILEY, "have made a great mistake in thinking of our middle eastern policies in pro-Arab or pro-Israel terms." "There is" he said, "no surer way to disaster than to try to take sides in such a situation."

All of which underscores the importance of the observation of the Subcommittee on the Near East and Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (July 24, 1953) that: "The United States does not wish to see the internal order and the independence of the countries of the Near East threatened by economic chaos, Communist penetration, or military hostilities. Disorder with a resultant possibility of the renewal of hostilities in this part of the world would threaten the security interests of the United States and the free world generally."

In President Eisenhower's policy of "sympathetic and impartial friendship" there is seen the kind of statesmanship required to safeguard for the free world the connecting bridge between the East and the West. It must be crystal clear to all who have eyes to see that there is not enough money in our National Treasury to buy security in the Middle East. Nor is security to be achieved by unilateral military assistance from the United States. As a matter of fact, American influence in this area can do little to achieve security if the feeling prevails which, rightly or wrongly, has prevailed throughout the Arab world, that Israel has been regarded by the United States with a special kind of political and economic affection. Nor could security in the Middle East be achieved if it were believed in Israel that the United States was playing favorites with the Arabs to the hurt of the Jews. To play political favorites in the Middle East is an exceedingly dangerous business, and one for which the American people have no taste whatsoever.

The reconciling influences suggested by a resolutely implemented policy of "sympathetic and impartial friendship" could make the difference between peace and war in the Middle East. Political decisions designed to resolve the tensions currently prevailing between Israel and the Arab States will prove abortive unless these decisions are imbued with the spirit of justice and mutuality. International disorder in this area can be moderated only in part by political pacts. The hatred from which that disorder is derived can be abated only as it is brought under the influence of the kind of policy proposed by the President of the United States. But more than words are required. The concept of "sympathetic and impartial friendship" must now be made manifest in the behavior of the American people.

ECONOMIC AID FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

What does such a concept mean for the United States in terms of economic aid for the Middle East? I refer here to governmental aid, not to the aid made available from private sources. The generous response of American Jewry to the needs of the Israeli people is unparalleled. Year after year, the Jews of the United States have contributed millions of dollars to strengthen the economy of Israel, and to provide food, shelter, and clothing for those pilgrims of the storm who had sought refuge in the homeland of their dreams. Could this record of sharing be matched by all people on every front of the world's need, many of the cares and anxieties of which mortals are possessed would tend to disappear.

When it comes to governmental aid, however, a policy of sympathetic and impartial friendship would seem to suggest that American dollars be allocated on a regional basis and in relations to established needs. It may be that in certain areas of the Middle East economic aid from the United States is more welcome than in other areas; that in one area conditions exist which offer greater promise of creative results than in other areas. These conditions cannot and should not be ignored. It must also be said that impartiality in economic aid cannot be achieved by an exercise in arithmetic. To say that 50 percent of such aid shall be given to one group, and 50 percent to another group, without regard to the numbers of people involved, or to the acuteness and urgency of the need which such aid is designed to meet, is to ignore the demands of justice. Human needs cannot be measured by a mathematical calculation arbitrarily determined to give the appearance of impartiality.

I would expect, therefore, that when the question of American economic aid to the Middle East comes before the Congress, decisions will be reached not with the view to a slide-rule balancing of political pressures on the home front, but with a view of establishing in this entire region a healthy and viable economy such as will enrich the lives of all without regard to national boundaries; an economy that will also have consequences of lasting benefit to the United States and the free world.

I would expect also that, whenever possible, American economic aid and technical assistance would be made available to the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations. The peoples of this area, striving for emancipation from the political and economic dominance of the West, are understandably suspicious of such aid when, as in the case of our point-4 program, this aid, rightly or wrongly, is believed to be related to American tactics in the cold war between East and West. If, however, the UN, with the full cooperation and encouragement of the United States, were to launch a more extensive program of economic and technical assistance in this area, a program that would be utterly free of implications of power politics, or of racial or cultural favoritism, or of consolidating the economic forces of one group to the disadvantage of other groups, a new day of promise might well dawn for Arabs and Israelis alike.

The U. N., in 1949, established an Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East under the direction of Mr. Gordon Clapp, chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority. For a variety of reasons, political and otherwise, little progress has been made in initiating, to say nothing of bringing to completion, the many projects of economic rehabilitation envisaged in the report of this Mission. Accordingly, the tendency has been to substitute, in this area, unilateral as over against multilateral aid. The results have been far from reassuring. It would seem to be the part of political wisdom, therefore, and in harmony with the concept of "sympathetic and impartial friendship," for the United States to channel a larger part of its economic aid and technical assistance for this area through the United Nations.

While the U. N., under its Charter, is precluded from interfering in matters deemed by member states to be of "domestic con-

cern,"' it will be recalled that the General Assembly has affirmed certain broad principles related to land reform. These principles are relevant to such issues as improving the lot of landless peasants, providing security of tenure, and preventing exorbitant rentals. If economic aid for the Middle East, through the U. N., were to be projected upon the background and in the spirit of the General Assembly's concerns for land reform, certain social gains might be achieved which would invalidate, at least in part, the oft-heard criticism that economic aid and technical assistance have the effect of making the rich richer, and the poor poorer. Economic cohesion in that part of the Middle East embracing Israel and the Arab States is not likely to be achieved by the unilateral action of the United States. But the U. N. can labor, with greater expectation of ultimate success, for a unified economy in this area through such projects as the developments of the Jordan River Valley.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST

What does the President's declaration of policy mean for the United States in terms of military assistance for the Middle East? It is doubtful that much of enduring value is achieved when the United States offers military assistance first to one, and then to another, and yet to another of the nations in this area. The jealousies and suspicions aroused by this fragmentary and hit-or-miss method of scattering guns and bayonets, first here, and then there, is likely to more than offset any gains that might be achieved by such methods. When Arabs resort to inflammatory demagoguery about pushing the Jews into the sea, it is little wonder that the Israeli Government should display anxiety whenever it is proposed that American arms be sent to the Arab world. Conversely, the Arabs, convinced that Israel will seek to expand its territory by aggressive tactics of one kind or another, are understandably alarmed when it is proposed that American arms be sent to that country. Whether or not these fears, on either the Israeli or the Arab side, are warranted, there they are, and no amount of political pontification to the contrary can remove them.

It seems clear, therefore, that until such time as the U. N. is prepared and able fully to discharge its charter commitments respecting collective security, the United States, despite past frustrations, should persist in its effort to achieve for the Middle East a mutual-defense pact which would guarantee the Arabs against Israeli aggression, and the Israelis against Arab aggression, and both Arabs and Israelis against Soviet aggression. Once the Arabs are convinced that the United States is not playing favorites in the Middle East, one of the major factors thus far blocking the way toward achieving a co-ordinated military strategy for this entire area will have been removed.

A REEXAMINATION OF UNITED STATES-UNITED NATIONS POLICY

What does the concept of sympathetic and impartial friendship, respecting the Middle East, mean for the United States in terms of our participation in the United Nations? It means that our Government will continue to press for a solution of the Israeli-Arab issues within the framework of the United Nations. When the U. N., with the vigorous support of the United States, partitioned Palestine, the world community assumed a moral obligation to promote in that crucial area such conditions of political and economic justice as would enhance the peace of mankind. If it is true, as stated by Secretary Dulles, that the Middle East is a bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa, then what transpires on that bridge is of vital concern not only to Arabs and Israelis and the American people, but to the peoples of the whole world.

I would expect, therefore, that in whatever ways may be open to it, the United States will seek, in and through the U. N., to discover areas of agreement which will ease existing tensions and prepare the way for a settlement acceptable to Israel and the Arab States. Such a settlement will require bold and imaginative decisions, and a determination to lay aside the pride and prejudice occasioned by 6 years of debate, in a persistent and dedicated search for an order of life in the Middle East that will benefit not only the peoples of this area, but free people everywhere.

During the past 6 years the U. N. has dealt with the Middle East in a piecemeal fashion. It partitioned Palestine. Then, in order to meet the problems related to the outbreak of hostilities, the U. N. set up the Palestine Conciliation Commisison. Therefore, there was established a Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. When it became evident that the problem of the Arab refugees would not be quickly solved, there was instituted a Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees. There has been some overlapping of the functions of these various commissions and agencies. Too often these bodies have operated within the limited framework of the specific responsibilities assigned to them and with too little effort to achieve a comprehensive coordination of policy and program. This situation could lead and, in fact, has led to much confusion and frustration. Not one of the many issues in dispute between Israel and the Arabs can be settled apart from an overall solution.

The relief problem is related to political issues. The military problem is related to boundary lines. These, in turn, are related to political considerations. The status of Jerusalem involves all of these factors, plus certain cultural and religious equations; and economic stability for Israel and the Arab States cannot be achieved apart from a trustworthy political settlement. Moreover, time marches on, and earth-shaking developments have taken place in the Middle East that could not possibly have been foreseen by the General Assembly in 1947. So the operations of the U. N. vis-a-vis this area tend to be circumscribed by decisions which, in certain respects, are no longer relevant to the dynamic and highly volatile issues by which peace is imperiled in 1954.

That is why it is so imperative that a fresh start be made by the U. N. to achieve peace and security in the Middle East. I suggest that the United States mission to the U. N. initiate conversations with representatives of the nations directly concerned, to determine whether or not the reexamination of American policy now under way, respecting the Middle East, points toward a possible reexamination of policy by the U. N. Once it were convincingly established that the United States is not playing favorites in that part of the world the U. N. might be in a more advantageous position to exercise its good offices in an effort to break the present deadlock. If the U. N. were to reexamine its policies respecting the Middle East in the spirit of "sympathetic and impartial friendship" it might then be possible to lift the Israeli-Arab dispute to the higher levels of reason and responsible statesmanship.

Were this to happen, a new and more promising approach might be made to such issues as the repatriation and resettlement of refugees, compensation for abandoned properties, the status of Jerusalem, and the fixing of boundary lines. The General Assembly could then engage in a process of searching interrogation respecting these controversial issues.

Is it in the interest of justice and fair play that such of the refugees as wish to do so shall be accorded the right to return to their former homes? If the answer was no, the General Assembly could reconsider its earlier recommendation that these refugees be accorded this right. If the answer was yes, the General Assembly could, and should reaffirm its recommendation in this respect.

Is it in the interest of justice and fair play that refugees be compensated for their abandoned properties? Since it is generally conceded that compensation should be paid, the General Assembly might consider the wisdom of creating a United Nations Claims Commission to facilitate such compensation.

Is it in the interest of justice and fair play that some form of international arrangement be negotiated that will vouchsafe to Jews, Muslims, and Christians the rights which are theirs respecting Jerusalem? If the answer was no, the U. N. could reconsider its recommendation respecting the internationalization of Jerusalem. If the answer was yes, the General Assembly could, and should say so and initiate a new effort toward this end.

Is it in the interest of justice and fair play that Israeli-Arab boundary lines fixed by war and its aftermath be invested with the moral sanction of the United Nations? If the answer was yes, the General Assembly could say so, and reconsider its earlier action respecting boundary lines. If the answer was no, the General Assembly could either reaffirm its earlier recommendations, or seek an acceptable compromise which would take into account the realities of the existing situation.

Moreover, when the General Assembly comes to grips with issues such as these, a representative of the Palestinian refugees should be accorded the right to participate in the debate. These refugees have a culture of their own, and a history, and a heritage, and it may be questioned whether their case can be put before the U. N. with sufficient urgency by anyone not of their own choosing.

I am convinced that, as things now stand, the U. N. will continue to experience frustration in the effort to resolve Israeli-Arab tensions. If, on the other hand, the United States mission to the U. N. were to request that body to undertake a reexamination of its recommendations respecting this area in the spirit of President Eisenhower's policy of "sympathetic and impartial friendship," an appreciable advance might be made toward the goal of peace and security in the Middle East.

I come now to two of the issues in which Christians have a special interest, and concerning which the National Council of Churches has spoken its mind; the problem of the Arab refugees and the status of Jerusalem.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCERN FOR REFUGEES

The Christian community of the entire world, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant, has been and is vitally interested in the 872,000 Palestinian refugees. And let it never be said that those Christians who have lifted their voices in behalf of these refugees are, or have ever been, unmindful of the needs of Jewish refugees. I recall with what unaminity the whole of Christendom manifested its concern for the many thousands of persecuted Jews who were transported to Buchenwald and other torture chambers by the Hitlers and the Goebbels. More recently, when vast numbers of Jews living in Soviet-dominated lands were singled out for persecution, and deported from the land of their fathers, Christians spoke out against the madness of this tyranny. The National Council of Churches characterized these purges as an offense to God, and called upon Christians everywhere to register their condemnation of these assaults upon the Jewish community. I myself represented the National Council of Churches in a gigantic rally in New York, sponsored jointly by 31 national Jewish organizations, and there lifted my voice in a common prayer to Almighty God that the hand of the oppressor might be stayed. Nor is there lacking a Christian concern for those Jewish refugees from Arab lands who, upon their arrival in Israel, were received with an outpouring of affection and generosity such as the world has seldom seen.

It is upon this background of the total concern of Christians for all refugees, of whatever race, religion, or nationality, that the interest manifested by the National Council of Churches for the Arab refugees can best be understood. It will be recalled that in May 1951, there was convened in Beirut, Lebanon, under the auspices of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, a Conference on Arab Refugee Problems. The 50 delegates, of whom I was one, were drawn from the Protestant and Orthodox churches of many countries. Prior to the convening of the conference, visits were made to some of the refugee camps. I visited a number of such camps in Jordan, all the way from the Old Jerusalem area to Amman. This was for me a pilgrimage of sorrow. Seldom have I been so deeply stirred. Nor were my emotions of Christian compassion in any measure diminished by the controversy then raging as to who was responsible for this human suffering.

I have listened to prolonged debates as to whose fault it was that these Palestinian refugees are now living in caves and makeshift camps in the desert. I have heard Israeli sympathizers say the plight of these refugees is directly attributable to Arab aggression and to the siren voice of Arab leaders bent upon feathering their own political nests. I have heard Arab sympathizers say the plight of these refugees resulted from fear-provoking incidents and campaigns of terror inspired by the Israelis for the purpose of forcing the Palestinian Arabs to leave their homes and their lands. I, for one, do not possess the knowledge that would be required to express an errorless judgment on this controversial issue.

In any event, and for whatever reasons, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees are at this very hour, 5½ years after they entered their camps and caves, enduring unspeakable deprivation. It is not in harmony with the New Testament concept of charity for Christians to stand knee deep in the tears of anguished refugees and there debate the pros and cons of the political circumstances related to their plight. Certainly I could not find it in my heart to do this. Nor could those churchmen who participated in the Beirut Conference. Here were suffering, want, and despair on a scale that taxed to the utmost every impulse of Christian mercy. As I traveled the Jericho Road, with mile upon mile of refugee camps on either side, I was reminded anew of the parable of the Good Samaritan and of the compassion and tenderness of heart manifested without regard to the circumstances related to the plight of the hapless wayfarer who had fallen among thieves.

It was in this spirit that the Beirut Conference, in its official statement, declared that any overall settlement of the many-sided Israeli-Arab dispute would "have to contain provision for the return of a certain number of refugees to their original homes." This statement, as previously indicated, was reminiscent of an action solemnly affirmed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on December 11, 1948. In this action the United Nations resolved "that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date." And Secretary Dulles, last June, in reporting to the American people on his visit to the Middle East, declared: "Some of these refugees could be settled in the area presently controlled by Israel." The general board of the National Council of Churches, on September 17, 1953, in a communication addressed to the members of the United States delegation to the Eighth General Assembly of the United Nations, associated itself, in principle, with this declaration of Mr. Dulles.

It is not now believed that all of the 872,000 Arab refugees could or would desire to be repatriated. But surely Christians have ample justification for believing, as the Beirut Conference observed, that "the greater proportion of the Palestinian refugees are the victims of a catastrophe for which they themselves are not responsible. A deep injustice has been inflicted upon them a measure of suffering they never deserved. To them is owned a debt of restitution by their fellow men, especially by those who in any way shared in the responsibility for their present plight." While recognizing the basic right of all refugees to their own homes and property, the churchmen assembled at Beirut said in utter frankness that many Palestinian refugees would have to settle in new homes. They petitioned the United Nations to increase and expand its program of relief and resettlement. They pleaded with Christians everywhere to join in a ministry of Good Samaritan mercy for the sake of the wayfaring refugees on the Jericho roads of the Middle East. I do not myself believe that the Arab refugee problem is insoluble. Given among the Israelis the spirit of reconciliation reminiscent of Isaiah, and among the Arabs the spirit of forbearance reflected in the Muslim and Christians faiths, this problem can be resolved.

THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM

With respect to the status of Jerusalem I can say that the existing situation occasions widespread concern among Christians everywhere. The city that in times past had been extolled as "Jerusalem the Golden" is not now a city of that kind. During my years of waiting to see Jerusalem I had not supposed that, when at last it would be given me to gaze upon the city where once my Lord was hailed with glad hosannas, I would see a city divided by barbed wire, and armed sentries who would escort me across a stretch of no man's land from Old Jerusalem to New Jerusalem.

In Old Jerusalem I sensed the tensions derived from the hatreds engendered by the Israeli-Arab war. I felt something of the mental and spiritual anguish endured by Jews in the knowledge that access to the Wailing Wall had been denied the sons and daughters of Israel. And in New Jerusalem I witnessed a military demonstration that continued for 2 hours, during which time there passed before my eyes all manner of military contingents, with marching soldiers and girls in army uniforms, standing alert beside guns mounted on giant tanks and battlewagons, while overhead I heard the throbbing engines of military aircraft zooming across the sky. As I saw these things I seemed to hear the ancient Hebrew prophet, Micah, saying:

"And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks;

"Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;

"But they shall sit every man under his vine and fig tree,

"And none shall make them afraid."

And I could hear my Lord saying: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall inherit the earth."

I am not now discussing the wisdom or the unwisdom of military demonstrations in Jerusalem or anywhere else. Certainly Israel was doing on this occasion what many other nations were then and are now doing. What I am saying is that with an Iron Curtain between Old and New Jerusalem, with mutterings of hatred heard along the way where once the Prince of Peace had walked, and with military preparations going forward within and without the Holy City, a situation is created that cannot but concern Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Following his return from the Middle East, Secretary Dulles said: "Jerusalem is divided into armed camps split between Israel and the Arab nation of Jordan. The atmosphere is heavy with hate. As I gazed on the Mount of Olives, I felt anew that Jerusalem is, above all, the holy place of the Christian, Moslem, and Jewish faiths. This has been repeatedly emphasized by the United Nations. This does not necessarily exclude some political status in Jerusalem for Israel and Jordan. But the world religious community has claims in Jerusalem which take precedence over the political claims of any particular nation."

The National Council of Churches supported the declaration of Mr. Dulles in which he underscored the stake of these three faiths in Jerusalem. In its letter of September 17, 1953, addressed to the United States delegation to the U. N., the General Board of the National Council of Churches recalled that the United States, in the past, had supported the recommendation of the General Assembly for the internationalization of Jerusalem. It was the view of the National Council of Churches that "the great majority of the people of our churches would like to see this recommendation put into effect." The United States delegation to the U. N. was then urged to take steps looking toward renewed discussion of this question by the General Assembly.

Action in support of the internationalization of Jerusalem had been taken at an earlier date by such church bodies as the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Near East Christian Council. The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, instituted by the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, in a memorandum submitted to the Lausanne meeting of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, affirmed the following:

"We do not presume to define the political mechanisms by which this international responsibility (related to the protection of holy places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine and free access thereto) shall be fulfilled.

"We do, however, express the strong conviction that artificial separation of historic religious sites from the community in which they are located, particularly in the Jerusalem area where such sites are numerous, would be an inadequate method of exercising international responsibility. Whatever plan is devised, it should reckon with the current life of the three faiths represented in the population as well as with the historic interest which a large part of the world professes. This will require, we believe, political arrangements wherein measures for the protection and worldwide use of the holy places are integrated with the guaranty of human rights and freedom for all inhabitants."

The substance of this memorandum was endorsed by the executive committee of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. At about the same time the then five presidents of the World Council of Churches (Dr. Marc Boegner, president of the Federation of Protestante; Dr. Erling Eidem, archbishop of Upsala; Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. S. Germanos, archbishop of Thyaterira; and Dr. John R. Mott, United States of America) addressed a letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem (April 1948), which said, in part:

"We desire that the land of our Lord's earthly ministry shall be a land where men can live in peace and quietness and where the status of the holy places shall be secured and access to them freely maintained.

"We desire to see the human rights and liberties of all men in Palestine guaranteed, and fully embodied in whatever settlement of provisions are eventually effective, and especially the right to worship God according to conscience, and to teach and preach the faith in which they believe."

I cite these actions to indicate how widespread is the concern of Christendom that

some form of political arrangement respecting Jerusalem shall be agreed to that will give form and substance to Secretary Dulles' affirmation that "the world religious community has claims in Jerusalem which take precedence over the political claims of any particular nation."

RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANS

If it is humanly possible to find a solution to the many problems at issue between Israel and the Arab States, it will be found in the spirit of a "sympathetic and impartial friendship" for all the peoples of the Middle East. Certain it is that vast numbers of Christians in this country would welcome a renewal of negotiations looking toward the achieving of a just and durable peace between the Israelis and the Arabs. The National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order, held in Cleveland, Ohio, in October 1953, at the call of the National Council of Churches, and attended by 380 delegates and 50 consultants drawn from 26 denominations, expressed the hope that the U. N., firmly supported by the United States, would be able to find ways to ease tensions in the Middle East and to move from the present stalemate to permanent peace. "Every effort must be continued," it was said, "to find agreement by negotiation, whether under the U. N. or by direct consultation by the governments immediately concerned."

But American Christians do not fully discharge the responsibilities laid upon them by the God of righteousness once they have called upon their government to use its good offices in the search for peace and justice in the Middle East. If it is right and proper that the United States shall reexamine its policy in the Middle East, and to do this in a spirit of sympathetic and impartial friendship, and if it is right and proper for Christians, as they did at the Cleveland conference, to petition the United Nations to bend every possible effort to achieve peace in this area, then it is also right and proper that Christians shall themselves undertake a reexamination of their own conclusions, and do this in the spirit of sympathetic and impartial friendship.

I suggest, therefore, that serious consideration be given to the feasibility of convening, under interdenominational auspices, a consultation of American Christian leaders, on the problems related to peace and security in the Middle East, particularly as these problems have to do with Israeli-Arab tensions. Included in this consultation would be churchmen, both lay and clerical, who might be expected to set forth varying views on the issues under discussion. The purpose would be to consider the momentous events that have transpired since the partition of Palestine in 1947; and, in the light of these events, interpreted in the perspective of the Christian gospel, to reach, if possible, a consensus of minds respecting these crucial problems. The success of such a consultation would depend upon the degree to which the participants recognized that the guilt for the circumstances of unrest and violence in and around Palestine is a shared guilt; that not all of the right is on one side, nor all of the wrong on the other side.

It is of little use for Christians in the United States to call upon the leaders of their Government, or for Christians elsewhere to petition the leaders of their respective governments, to lay aside the suspicions and ill will engendered by the clash of Israeli and Arab arms if they are not themselves prepared in their discussion of the Palestine question to manifest that spirit of Christian love and humility which is so essential to the healing of the nations.

Let us then, all of us, speak our minds with such persuasiveness as we can command, but let us do this in the knowledge that God's truth respecting a complex political situation cannot be fully and unerringly comprehended by mortals. Particularly is this true when the situation has to do with the restoration of peace and order in an area where the cross currents of nationalism, religious fervor, and world politics play upon human emotions with a fury that can scarcely be contained. Those Christians who support the religious and political presuppositions of Zionism, as well as those Christians who reject these presuppositions, can do no other than lift their prayers to Almighty God that law and order may be reestablished in the Holy Land, and in the troubled areas contiguous thereto. In this mood of prayer let them engage in a concerted search for peace in that area which is sacred to the memory of Christians, Muslims, and Jews.

But this search will fail of its purpose if sole reliance is placed upon political, economic, and military measures. The tensions that have made of the Middle East a breeding ground of hatred and despair cannot permanently be resolved short of the healing influences engendered in men's hearts and minds by the living God. We may have come to one of those moments in history when opposing forces can be brought into reconciliation only by the redemptive power of love, a love not of men, but of God; a love which is capable of rising above all considerations of revenge and retaliation.

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in Atlanta, Ga., pleading for revision of our Social Security Act to remove the iniquitious wage ceiling. The letter speaks for itself. When will we correct this injustice?

ATLANTA, GA., *April 3, 1953.*

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Congressman From New York,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In April 1950, after 35 years with 1 corporation, through compulsion I was retired at less than $100 per month annuity, employees' insurance, for which I paid my fixed share of premium, which they said would supplement my social security, the amounts having been established before the increased cost of living came about.

The Social Security Agency issued to me a certificate of insurance, a copy of which is hereto attached. I did not violate any of the conditions and it appeared to be permanent. Congress then amended the law, which nullified my certificate, taxed my annuity, discontinued my social-security payments, and brought a demand from the Social Security Bureau to reimburse them for $822 overpayment on account of change in law, of which I had no knowledge and never suspected it would change my insurance certificate, which was in full force and effect. They then required me to resume payment of social-security tax, all because I, by hard work, earned more than $75 per month, for support of my wife and self. I paid the maximum tax from effective date of bill, 1937, until retired.

I understand several bills have been introduced amending the present act.

In fairness, it should be retroactive, to relieve us of the reimbursement of so-called overpayment—pay from time of discontinuance of payments—and remove any ceiling as to earnings after 65 years.

One wonders if Congress realizes that "Nero fiddled while Rome burned."

We are too old to work and too young to die. Can't you do the necessary to correct this injustice, without further procrastination?

Your efforts will be duly appreciated.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM L. MCCALLEY, Jr.

Let's Unshackle the FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Reader's Digest:

LET'S UNSHACKLE THE FBI

(By Blake Clark)

The Government of the United States is seriously crippled in its efforts to protect us against enemies that are known to be operating within our gates.

Not long ago an FBI officer sat in a Federal courtroom and heard a foreign agent deny under oath that he had ever made telephone calls to a person who had admitted receiving them. The G-man had an unimpeachable witness to prove the spy was lying—a complete record of his telephone conversations. But the incriminating evidence could not be introduced in the court.

Why not?

The evidence was obtained by tapping the spy's telephone wires. No Federal court will admit evidence so obtained. More than this, under present rules of evidence, proof that any important clue originates from tapping automatically results in the case being thrown out of court.

The case of Judith Coplon is an appalling revelation of the technicalities which prevent our Government from moving against its mortal enemies. Miss Coplon, a Government employee, was actually arrested in the company of a Russian agent and with valuable United States secrets in her possession. Before she could pass them to the Russian, FBI officers seized the incriminating documents. In New York, the appeals court concluded, "guilt is plain," but the same court let her go. One of the reasons was that the Federal agents had listened in on her telephone conversations. Even though the Government swore that the evidence presented during trial was obtained independently of wire taps, the court upset the conviction of the known spy.

Communist conspirators shift party members so frequently that today 9 or 10 FBI men are needed to do the work formerly done by 1. The agency needs all the extra helpers that technology can supply. But the astonishing prohibition against the use of evidence obtained by wiretapping continually handcuffs our only Federal law-enforcement agency empowered to combat the serious crimes of espionage, sabotage, and kidnaping. Time after time the cruel dilemma forces them to show their hand prematurely, letting spies and criminals remain at large who otherwise would be brought to justice.

Almost every day the FBI has a desperate choice forced upon it: to listen in on a telephone conversation or to refrain from tapping the wires and run the risk that there will be a killing, or a kidnaping, or another job of espionage.

For instance, Government agents may be tipped off that child stealers are arranging a meeting. The officers listen in, hasten to the rendezvous, and stop the plotters before they can act.

Then an amazing thing happens. Instead of the Department of Justice prosecuting the guilty for conspiring to commit a crime, the criminals are allowed to go scot-free. It is conceivable that, had evidence in the Greenlease kidnaping case been obtained by wire tap, the child's murderers might be free today.

Again, suppose an FBI agent using a wire tap establishes the place of a metting of spies. The get-together may be arranged to take place in the middle of a park. Counterespionage men can set up long-range cameras and take photographs. But the negatives would be barred as evidence—they were obtained as the result of wire tapping.

The irony of this prohibition is heightened by the fact that evidence obtained by almost identical methods is accepted in every court in the land—Federal, State, and municipal. If an agent walks along the street with a small, concealed device so sensitive that it picks up conversation inside a house 20 yards away, the recording is admitted as legitimate evidence. He can hide a tape recorder in a meeting place, and the record held by the slender ribbon is received with approval. Officers working on one case rented a hotel room and mechanically took down conversations that were carried on three doors down the hall. The Supreme Court ruled that the playback was acceptable testimony. But an FBI man trying to rescue an abducted child hardly dares listen in on a criminal's wire for fear of destroying his case against the kidnaper.

Though banned in the Federal courts, wire tapping has been indispensable in many important non-Federal cases in New York State, where such evidence can legally be introduced. Secret listening has been the efficient means of breaking up basketball and football gambling rings, usury rackets, and waterfront protection gangs. It has exposed connections between gangsters and politicians.

By eavesdropping on a racketeer's phone, police picked up coded messages which turned out to be the daily payoff figures in a policy-numbers racket. This was a gigantic swindle, costing gullible hopefuls some $50 million a year. The racketeers operated in three States and did all their basic business by telephone. The winning number was taken from the closing figures of the Cincinnati Clearing House. Each day a bookie in New York telephoned the secretary of the clearing house, and dictated to him the series they wanted to win that day—the number on which they would have to pay out the least money. Tapping off the information was the only means of getting the necessary evidence to stop them. If it is legitimate to use wire tapping in such cases, how much more legitimate it is to use it in crimes of espionage, sabotage, and kidnaping.

Legal confusion over wire tapping began after an interpretation of a part of the Federal Communications Act of 1934. Section 605 was designed to protect citizens against invasion of their right to privacy in sending and receiving messages. "No person," it said, "* * * shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the * * * contents." The penalty was a $10,000 fine or 2 years in prison, or both.

Three years later, Federal officers, by the use of wire tapping, were able to capture a ring of smugglers. Hearing the case, the Supreme Court declared that the evidence gained could not be introduced because it violated section 605. The phrase "no person," the Court ruled, embraces Federal officers as well as everybody else.

When threats to our national security were imminent in 1940, President Roosevelt instructed Attorney General Robert Jackson to use wire tapping if necessary in cases of suspected espionage or sabotage.

Department of Justice lawyers took the position, which they still hold, that, according to the literal wording of section 605, wire tapping itself is not against the law; it is illegal only to divulge the message. Every Attorney General since Jackson has agreed with this interpretation. Since the Federal Government is an entity, a G-man is not guilty of divulging information when he passed it on to his superior.

But while the act and its interpretations hamstring the FBI, it completely fails to protect citizens against the unauthorized wiretapper. As the act is now interpreted, any blackmailer can listen in on a victim as long as he likes, if he does not divulge what he hears. Proving that he has disclosed it or used it for his own benefit may be very difficult. No one has ever been jailed for wiretapping.

In every large city, electrical experts, frequently former telephone-company employees, make a living by tapping phones. Jealous husbands hire wiretappers to listen in on their wives; women to eavesdrop on their men. Dishonest businessmen use them to get inside information on competitors, unions, and their own executives.

Maintaining a tap is so expensive, costing several hundred dollars a week, that the practice is limited. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice is opposed to all such unlicensed tapping. It fears that the development of less-expensive equipment may cause the evil to spread. No one wants the time to come when, as predicted in the chilling novel Nineteen Eighty-Four, we live in the deadly atmosphere where every sound we make is overheard and every movement scrutinized.

We will be safe from the unscrupulous wiretapper only with a law clearly stating who can and cannot listen in. Since the tapper is difficult to detect, penalties for possessing wiretap equipment may be necessary. To strengthen our protection against those who would destroy our country or kidnap our children we must permit the FBI to use evidence collected by wiretapping.

The men at Justice want to use the wiretap evidence already on file. They have a number of cases which they may want to reopen when the wiretap information in them becomes admissible evidence. These cases involve known criminals, known spies and enemy agents. It seems to them the height of illogicality to let spies and criminals go free when Government agents know they are guilty and can prove it—with reels of now-silent witnesses rendered mute by a mere technicality.

Some believe that before an FBI agent installs a wiretap he should have to go before a Federal judge, explain the case in detail and obtain a court order. These well-intentioned people want to make sure that the authorization is not abused.

They may not realize that strict precautions already exist within the Department. No FBI man ever taps a wire except on the personal sanction of the Attorney General. Since he is the highest law-enforcement officer in the land, he should have the sole authority in this matter.

We need legislation making it possible for the Attorney General to authorize wiretapping and make evidence thus obtained admissible in court. Only in this way will we protect our citizens' right of privacy. Only in this way will we protect our country against its internal enemies.

Foreign Economic Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, at the request of a constituent I include the following letter of a distinguished New Yorker, former chairman of United States Council, International Chamber of Commerce, which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on April 2, 1954.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

To the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE:

The free world is now experiencing a period of trying and fateful events—the war in Indochina—the peace yet to be won in Korea and the uncertainty as to what military, political, or social consequences the free nations of the world would experience if an economic setback should occur.

Many of these problems are remaining scars from World War II. Some are the products of our own indecision during the postwar period.

For many years our foreign economic policy has functioned on a crisis-to-crisis basis with a "just for now" concept of responsibility. We have moved from one form of emergency foreign-aid program to another, and from one agency to another. True, our basic motives have not been challenged. But lofty motives and financial grants have not proved a substitute for fundamental analysis and treatment. As a Nation, we have been remiss by not accompanying emergency efforts, such as the Marshall plan, with a comprehensive study looking to the establishment of a positive and coherent foreign economic policy. All of this is now on the road to correction.

Fortunately for our country, President Eisenhower lost no time in launching a program of action. Shortly after assuming office he appointed a Committee on Foreign Economic Policy consisting of 17 elected officials and private citizens under the chairmanship of a practical industrialist of nationally recognized achievement—Mr. Clarence Randall of Chicago.

After many months of study and debate, the Randall Commission's report was recently submitted to the President and made public. And now, based largely on the Randall Commission's findings, we have the President's message on foreign economic policy as submitted to Congress on March 30, 1954.

In my opinion, this message by President Eisenhower is one of the most constructive state papers of our time. It cuts through the curtain of confusion and apprehension which has been a most disturbing factor in our international relations. And of greater significance, it points the way to more complete and fuller American participation in international trade.

Accomplishments on the political front in recent months and years—notably NATO, the Schuman Coal and Steel Treaty, and the anti-Communist resolutions growing out of the Caracas Conference—indicate that the free nations can unite and follow a common path of action.

The President's foreign economic message is now squarely in the hands of Congress and I do not see how that body can fail to give it the affirmative action it requires. This is not only important to our economy and to our security but also to the military potential and solvency of Western nations. In the end, our success in dealing with foreign eco-

nomic problems may be the test of whether we are worthy of our heritage.

GEORGE A. SLOAN,
Former Chairman, United States Council, International Chamber of Commerce.

NEW YORK, *March 31, 1954.*

Expenditures by Government Employees in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said and written on the subject of expenditures by Government employees in Europe. I am in receipt of a copy of a letter sent to the editor of the Saturday Evening Post, wherein the writer resents the implication in a recent article appearing in that publication entitled "I Rode Uncle Sam's Gravy Train."

It appears to me that the writer of the letter to me very adequately expresses his views which perhaps have not been heretofore properly stated and for that reason I insert it in the RECORD, as I consider it very interesting reading.

The letter follows:

MARCH 16, 1955.

Letter to the EDITOR, SATURDAY EVENING POST.

DEAR SIR: Since when has the Post lacked material for their magazine in the result that the editor has published articles without checking into the facts? I am referring to the misleading and disgusting article called I Rode Uncle Sam's Gravy Train. By publishing this article, the Post has misled the United States public to believe that thousands of valiant Government employees are riding on the taxpayers back, living lavishly, and making fortunes in overseas commands.

Let a conscientious Government employee who has worked in Europe for the last 8 years (unfortunately not for ECA) go on record to give the true picture that applies to 99 percent of the Government employees in overseas commands and not to the minority 1 percent who "rode Uncle Sam's gravy train" like employees of ECA:

1. About 85 percent of the total Government employees employed in Europe are employed by the defense agencies, mainly the United States Army and Air Force. These employees do not receive plush luxury liners across the Atlantic but travel in military sea transportation and in most cases families do not accompany them but travel at a later date when the sponsor has obtained quarters—this ranges from 60 to 180 days later. If the employee travels by air he is normally wedged in military cargo planes and if lucky manages to sit in a bucket seat. There are a few Air Force passenger transport planes but their comfort (and that of military sea transportation) cannot be compared with that of commercial transatlantic luxury transportation.

2. The majority of employees are met at the port of entry not by private limousines but any available type of motor transportation ranging from buses to trailer-type trucks or jeeps, and transported to poor transit accommodations that could be tents, barracks, or poorly heated leased hotels that the local civilian population considers inadequate for tourist use. (I have also, as a civilian employee, traveled by boxcar from port of entry of Germany to Bremerhaven.)

3. After transit accommodations are secured, a mass orientation program is held and the employees are told what can be done and what cannot be done in the country in which they are to be employed for the next 18 months or 2 years. The employees are again reminded that forfeiture on their part to remain for the stipulated time will mean return transportation to the United States at the employee's expense and in many cases subject to reimbursement to the Government for initial transportation expenses for the employee and his dependents.

4. If the employee is lucky, within a short time he is given Government quarters, adequate but not lavish. He may, in the absence of available Government quarters, lease private quarters in nearby communities subject to the approval of the commanding officer and in such case, is authorized to spend a quarters allowance ranging from $500 to $2,500 per year depending on his grade and the country in which he is employed—these allowances are not automatic and the employee may not exceed the maximum allowance and will be reimbursed only for his actual expenditures for the quarters including light, heating, and utilities. However, when Government quarters become available, the employee must either accept such quarters or waive his quarters allowance. (NOTE: Overseas personnel fail to see how exceptions to standardized Government regulations were or are made for ECA personnel.) For instance, I rent a private room, share the shower and toilet facilities with 7 other bachelors, and although as a bachelor I am entitled to $1,500 per year for quarters allowance, my actual cost is $30 per month and that is all I am reimbursed by the Government.

5. Occasionally, more than often, the employee will be required to be placed on temporary additional duty in a locality other than his station of normal assignment, for which he is paid a travel allowance and for which he must make claim within a maximum amount (depending on the area of temporary duty) averaging $12 per day in Europe providing Government accommodations are not available in the area of temporary assignment. There are a few places in Europe today where $12 will cover additional expenses. Most of the time the employee is traveling on off-duty hours without additional pay. Any entertainment is at the expense of the individual and no filet mignons (or any food costs) are charged to the United States Government. It would be interesting to know how ECA finances their recreational and entertainment expenses.

6. As for leave, employees accrue from 13 to 20 days per year depending on their length of Federal service (this is standard leave accrual for all civil-service employees whether stationed in the United States or overseas). Employees are not permitted to take leave, however, for the first 90 days. The majority do use their leave sightseeing in the country in which employed, or adjacent countries, but at their own expense and not via the "gravy train" or at Government expense. I have seen Europe from Norway to Spain but on my own time and at my own expense. How the author of Gravy Train managed to see Europe in places where he was not assigned without sacrifice to leave or at his own expense is a mystery to conscientious Government employees.

7. Last, but not least, the United States public should be informed that most overseas positions are "excepted appointment" positions, which in short means that when the employee returns to the United States he is separated from the payrolls and has no civil-service security and loses out on permanent Government positions that were normally absorbed by personnel without previous Federal service. For the benefit of those who believe that Government overseas employees are exempt from income tax, rest assured that Government employees pay income taxes regardless of their tenure of duty in foreign countries and are subject to import tax for purchases made overseas, with the normal exemptions. The 85 percent defense personnel that I make reference to do not possess diplomatic passports.

This letter should not be construed as a complaint against overseas Federal employment. I, for one, have enjoyed my work and was happy for the opportunity the Government made possible for me to travel, broaden my experience and I feel that the responsibility entrusted to me in Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and French Morocco has been an education that can hardly be substituted in school classrooms.

The public should be made aware of these facts so that the morale will not be endangered of thousands of United States employees employed in the overseas defense commands for the national and mutual allied defense program and particularly for those employees like myself who are conscientiously combating communism day to day. Publications of stories such as United States Gravy Train are additional material for the communistic propaganda machine. If the author of Gravy Train had named this article I Rode the ECA Gravy Train maybe I would have read his article with interest rather than disgust.

The United States public can rest assured that no gravy train exists in the overseas command, at least not for Defense Agency personnel (85 percent), and if the Post will issue me the equal sum paid to Mr. Durence for his article I shall be happy to properly inform the United States public on what overseas personnel are doing in the interest of United States defense. I am shortly returning to the United States and have one regret—I am not a professional writer so that I too could capitalize by writing tales of my Government experience overseas.

Copies of this letter are being distributed as indicated below. Will the United States Representative of Connecticut, the Honorable Mr. CRETELLA please note—if possible it is requested that this information be published in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that the United States public may be made cognizant of true employment conditions for overseas employees in overseas commands.

Yours very truly,

D. C. DEMARTIN,
Overseas Civilian Employee
(Taxpayer).

The Pledge Should Be Kept

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, with the Alaska-Hawaii statehood bill now pending before the House, I believe the following editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of April 4, 1954, is most apropos:

THE PLEDGE SHOULD BE KEPT

The situation created by the decisive Senate approval of a bill to give statehood to Hawaii and Alaska is one that calls for the intervention of President Eisenhower if this cause is not to be lost in the House. The House approved a bill for Hawaii alone just a year ago by a vote of 274 to 138 and unless

the President exerts his influence in behalf of the Senate bill the whole issue will die for at least another year. It is "double or nothing" in so far as the Senate is concerned.

President Eisenhower should have no hesitancy in taking a hand in advancing the statehood bill. The good faith of his party and his administration are involved. Both parties in 1952 and for years before had pledged statehood to the two Territories. But after the election GOP leaders considered it politically wise to change position and promised early statehood only for Hawaii. The President followed their lead and in his 1954 state of the Union message remained completely silent on statehood for Alaska while eloquent in the cause of Hawaii. There has never been any mystery as to the reason for the coolness of the President and GOP leaders in Congress toward Alaskan statehood. There was the transparent desire to add two Hawaiian Senators to their delegation in the Senate, also to avoid the possibility of balancing the vote with two Democrats from Alaska.

Political partisanship has been carried far in dealing with the statehood issue and the final decision should be based upon merit and good faith. Both parties are pledged to statehood for both Territories and the pledge should be kept.

Overboard on Wiretaps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include an editorial Overboard on Wiretaps, appearing in the Washington Post of April 3, 1954:

OVERBOARD ON WIRETAPS

The wiretap bill that has come out of the House Judiciary Committee is a keen disappointment. It would authorize the FBI and the intelligence units of the Army, Navy, and Air Force to listen in on private telephone conversations and then to make use of evidence so obtained in criminal cases involving the national security. To be sure, the express written approval of the Attorney General would be required in each case in which the privacy of a telephone wire were to be invaded. But that safeguard seems to us wholly inadequate.

Representative KEATING'S original bill would have required a Federal court order in each authorization of wiretapping to legalize the use of evidence thus obtained. Last week he explained that he had changed his mind after a conference with Attorney General Brownell and Director Hoover of the FBI. A legislator is always free to alter his views, of course, but in this instance it is difficult to explain Mr. KEATING'S departure from the basically sound principle of requiring judicial approval for what in effect is search and seizure by telephone taps.

One effect of the changes ordered by the committee would be to authorize the use of wiretap evidence retroactively if the tap had been approved by the Attorney General. This would be especially unfortunate. Obviously every spy, saboteur, and subversive should be brought to justice, but we do not think it is necessary for the United States to use evidence that was illegal at the time it was obtained in order to safeguard American security. The country is not so close to the edge of calamity that it is necessary to cloud individual rights or resort to unfair methods in order to catch subversives.

When the bill reaches the floor, the House ought to substitute the original Keating version. It reflects the traditional American regard for personal rights by requiring permission from a Federal judge when it seems necessary to invade privacy to safeguard security. Such discretion should not be entrusted to the Attorney General, who heads the prosecuting arm of the Government. What is needed is a fine balance between the demands of liberty and security, and in the committee bill this balance has been upset.

Mr. President, the Unemployed Ask You . . . ?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

Mr. President, we are the people who live in cities and towns that have depended for their livelihood on . . . one industry.

New England is our home.

Where unemployment is serious and prolonged, and is now diagnosed as being "chronic."

Won't your administration lift one finger to help us . . . Mr. President?

Main Street is deceiving . . . if you judge it by the number of people and automobiles that are in motion.

We also have empty factories.

Idle workers.

Hard-pressed merchants.

The six-tiered red-brick mills, hugging the banks of the river, look old and silent.

They are.

"No Help Wanted."

For several years.

You have seen men fight . . . with unyielding courage . . . when they were able to come to grips with an "enemy" . . . in time of war.

Tell us . . . how can the thousands of unemployed in a small city . . . fight to support themselves, and their families, and win self-respect . . . when there are no jobs of any kind to arm them for the peacetime battle of life?

"For Sale."

These are the signs on the doors of closed factories.

Take this man here. His name? Amilcare Rocco. His only son was shot down over Germany in World War II. Amilcare has a wife . . . and a daughter in high school.

This man had worked for over 30 years in one textile mill of the Merrimack Valley. He is now 57.

"Too old" they say, even when he applies for jobs in other cities where production is holding up.

"Leave town. Move on. Search."

Easy enough to say to a young man, but wherever Amilcare goes, industry will consider him too old to start in on a new job.

Yes . . . too old to tear out his roots . . . and transplant himself.

Younger ones are doing it.

What happens to a mill city when thousands desert it? What happens to the homeowners who remain . . . to the teachers, firemen, policemen, shopowners, clerks, and professional people.

Higher taxes.

Bad bills.

"To let."

A building may get by with little maintenance, but human beings can't be "mothballed."

One of our greatest Presidents once said that Government should do for people what they are unable to do for themselves.

Even where there is no precedent to point the way.

Difficult problems demand forthright action.

Not the aimless shuttle of delegations, task-forces, clinical studies, reports, and inspiring statements.

Local governments are working to "hold the line" on one hand, while their industrial development committees try to woo new industries by offering every cooperation within their limited powers.

State governments are waking up to the problem.

While the Federal Government elects to do . . . nothing.

It is so concerned with "big issues" that it has no time to bother with the "the little people" of its own country, who live in distressed areas.

"Start at the top" is the new slogan, and help will trickle down . . . somewhere, somehow.

"Let nature take its course."

"Survival of the fittest."

Look at the relics in the West . . . mushroom mining communities that had their day. The rickety buildings managed to survive, but not a dog or cat inhabits their emptiness.

New England communities are not in this will-o'-the-wisp category. They were built by laborious work and child labor and production that was enormously profitable . . . to a few.

Absentee owners . . . who took out much but gave back too little in research, modernization, alert and understanding management. They are the ghosts whose mistakes still haunt us.

The Indian summer of New England is gone.

So is the winter . . . but not of our discontent.

Misguided Federal policies . . . that, in later days . . . siphoned resources from New England to build up other areas, have weakened us . . . and provoked us.

Now the wheel turns.

We demand recognition of our loss . . . and Federal assistance to bring growth industries here.

Assistance . . . not dependence.

For American independence had its beginnings here. We gave much . . . perhaps too much . . . by transfusion that made other regions of our country strong.

In our present plight, we cannot be expected to go on sacrificing for the Nation . . . and the world . . . without alternating help for ourselves.

"Business is good. The United States is prosperous. So many people are working. All the economic indicators predict that this may be the second-best year in our economic history," you are prompted to answer by those who give you expert counsel in the White House.

That may be true . . . for the Nation.

It does not, however, provide jobs and income and fulfillment for the thousands of long unemployed in the depressed mill cities of New England.

"Don't use that word 'depressed.' It might scare other people."

But the jobless men and women . . . don't they count?

Must they remain mute . . . waiting . . . for the 'trickle-down' to come?

Mills have closed. Mills are moving out.

We . . . the affected people . . . have done everything humanly possible on the local level to lift ourselves by our own boot-

straps . . . before we appealed to the Federal Government.

"But what can the Government at Washington do? We must think of the overall national interest, and avoid favoring any one section of the country" is the evasive answer we receive.

Ignoring the fact that sectionalism . . . for many years . . . has, and is, wangling special sectional benefits for other parts of the country, financed in part, by tax-revenues from New England.

On April 4, 1950 . . . as spokesman for the area of most critical unemployment in the United States . . . Congressman THOMAS J. LANE made an appeal to "Route United States Purchasing to Jobless Areas."

Sectional opposition blocked effective implementation of such a policy.

It blocked efforts to stockpile woolen-worsted goods. It opposed changes in the national law governing collective bargaining. It was adamant against any upward revision in the minimum wage, et cetera.

And the White House?

It promised help . . . and gave none.

Are the desperate problems of depressed one-industry communities to be written off as insignificant?

"Government must not interfere" comes the feeble echo from Washington.

But . . . we remember . . . the efforts to increase employment in other nations with our own money . . . to the tune of billions given outright.

When it comes to helping our own . . . that's a different story.

"But . . . what can the United States Government do?"

Plenty.

It can inaugurate a program of public works to stimulate employment in those communities classified as distress areas, as an emergency measure.

It can summon the best brains in the country . . . at once . . . to devise means of promoting revival in those communities that must make a transition in their economies. To attract new industries in place of the old ones that have died, or have moved away, to diversify.

A nation that can marshal the intelligence and the resources to develop the terrifying power of fission . . . and fusion . . . has no excuse for failing to help in solving much easier economic problems.

"Legislation . . . legislation . . . we must move through channels and that takes time" . . . come the thin, piping voices from Washington.

Four years have passed, and tens of thousands are still unemployed.

Delay . . . indecision . . . indifference . . . won't provide productive jobs for the unemployed that will enable them to earn the most precious reward of all . . . human dignity.

". . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights . . ."

The right . . . in 1954 . . . among other rights . . . of working for a living.

A job.

That is all.

In this land dedicated to freedom of opportunity.

"Don't rock the boat."

"Things may get back to normal."

Not forward to better days . . . for all.

The privileged . . . the pussyfooters . . . the people in comfortable circumstances . . . who never knew the gnawing insecurity of the jobless . . . are shocked by any suggestion of direct measures by Government to relieve unemployment.

"It is not the businesslike approach," they say.

Forgetting that human beings are the first and most important fact of life. Not inked-in figures on an economic chart.

Mr. President . . .

As the chosen leader of the greatest nation on earth, blessed with abundant know-how and means, you have tremendous power at your disposal.

Not to order, or command . . . but to suggest, advise, and ask.

American industry will spend billions of dollars this year, and next, and on . . . into the future. New plants. New equipment. Branching out . . . dispersing . . . to be near populous markets . . . avoiding the mistake of 'putting all their eggs in one basket' . . . of concentrating their production in any one State or one industrial community.

We are not asking for a dole.

Merely an opportunity to work, and produce, and provide for our families so that we will not have to face . . . the worry in their eyes.

And feel that in some way beyond our control . . . we have failed them.

We petition you, therefore, to initiate a program to help communities that are going through the trying experience of economic readjustment.

Contact every industry in the whole United States that is planning to . . . expand. Urge them to locate in labor-surplus areas, where trained workers are eager to join with them in productive teamwork. American industry has a duty to the Nation, as well as to itself. Blight . . . in any area . . . is a threat to the future of our free-enterprise system.

With the prestige of your high office . . . you can set in motion untapped reserves of ingenuity . . . and . . . cooperation.

In every crisis, our Nation has been blessed with Presidents who, because they never lost sight of the human element that is at the heart of every major problem . . . met the challenge of creative leadership.

You now occupy that position of . . . responsibility.

The time for dynamic and constructive action is long overdue, Mr. President.

Anxiously yours

THE UNEMPLOYED OF "DISTRESSED AREAS,"
Through Congressman THOMAS J. LANE.

Decreasing Highway Fatalities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, traffic fatalities in this country exceeded deaths incurred in the Korean fighting. Unfortunately the all-too-frequent occurrence of fatal automobile accidents in every community in our country has dulled our senses to the frightful cost in human lives that traffic is taking. I have dealt with this problem in House Resolution 45, which I introduced on January 5, 1953, and which calls for an investigation by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of automobile accident rates and fatalities, State laws regulating the operation of motor vehicles and motor carriers, automobile liability and insurance rates, and measures which the Federal Government should take in an effort to reduce automobile accidents, standardize laws and regulations, and improve safety. Appended is an article by the distinguished president of Markel Service, Inc., safety engineers, which offers some solution to cut the traffic death toll:

MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT: HOW TO CUT THE TRAFFIC DEATH TOLL

(By Irvin S. Markel as told to Oscar Schisgall)

There is a legislative program, I am convinced, by which we can save a great number, possibly half, of the 38,000 American lives lost annually in automobile crashes; and no time could be more appropriate than this to speak of it.

President Eisenhower has called a National Highway Safety Conference to begin in Washington this Wednesday, February 17. At this conference all 48 States will be represented; eminent men and women will discuss the problem of educating America in concepts of safe driving.

Surely it is important to speak of good roads, adequate lighting, uniform traffic signals, safety glass, and all the rest. A discussion of this kind is invaluable.

But talk alone will not save lives. To be truly effective, the delegates will have to insist on an action program.

AFTER THE SPEED PROBLEM

The first part of that program is one that there can't be any argument about. As long as 3 out of 10 automobile deaths are caused by speeders, speeding must be the first concern of the conference. It has the right—indeed, the obligation—to demand that the speed laws already on the books be rigidly enforced.

"If the 48 States really enforced their existing speed laws," a distinguished traffic engineer has told me, "this Nation could save 10,000 lives a year." And I agree with him. Not to enforce speed laws is a matter of criminal neglect. It is, in fact, mass homicide.

But having recognized this, the conference can—and I hope it will—go further. It can point to the only two areas of danger not now covered by adequate legislation. After working with the causes of automobile deaths for 26 years and helping to reduce them by more than 50 percent in one area of traffic, I am persuaded of this: Any traffic safety action program, to be really constructive must include legislation in every State of the Union on at least two major points.

The two laws we need are these:

1. The compulsory periodic inspection of all motor vehicles.

2. Limiting the issuance of drivers' licenses to those individuals who are completely qualified to drive and who have reached an age of moral responsibility.

Why do I believe that it is essential for every one of the 48 States to enact such laws?

The answer is that America's drivers do not recognize State boundaries. In their 45 million passenger cars and 9 million trucks they travel everywhere, going from State to State as casually as they go from street to street. In the tourist areas like Yellowstone National Park, or on any of the great cross-country highways, you are likely to see license plates from every corner of the land, and often from every single State.

When summer comes, 80 percent of all vacation travel in the United States, according to the American Automobile Association, is done by automobile.

Eleven percent of all traffic accidents, everywhere in the United States, involve drivers who have left their own States. In some regions the ratio is much higher. Last year in New Jersey 20.5 percent of all fatal automobile accidents involved out-of-State drivers. In Connecticut it was 18 percent.

Your State may have the best traffic laws in the world; yet this will mean little if your roads are cluttered with incompetent drivers from other States.

That is why I say safety legislation must be national in scope. The effectiveness of the two-point legislative program the conference would do well to demand—compulsory inspection of motor vehicles and the intelli-

gent issuance of licenses—is assured by the teachings of experience.

Such a program has drastically reduced the death rate and the accident rate in at least one case where it has been put into effect.

INSIDE STORY

As a director of Markel Service, Inc., I know the inside story of this decrease in accidents.

For 26 years Markel Service has studied and enforced high safety standards on all the 65,000 trucks insured by the American Fidelity & Casualty Co. It has operated under the precise action program I commend to the attention of the National Highway Safety Conference. It has insisted that all its insured vehicles be periodically inspected for mechanical defects; it has also insisted on maintaining high standards for drivers—and this includes, as far as habitual speeders go, the revocation of the right to drive.

The result? Year after year in the case of thousands of insured vehicles we watch, the accident frequency rate has been cut to less than half of the national rate.

There is no reason why similar results cannot be achieved on a nationwide scale by rigidly applying the same safety standards to all American cars and drivers.

Considering the fact that every sane citizen wants to reduce the number of traffic deaths, it is incredible that only 14 States now insist on the inspection of motor vehicles for mechanical defects. What can possibly be wrong with requiring cars to have such things as good brakes, good lights, strong kingpins on steering wheels?

ONE-THIRD CUT

Mr. Elliott Daniels, chief of the inspecting bureau of the State of New Jersey, reports that in 1937, before his state began inspecting cars, its automobile death total was 1,278. The following year, with compulsory inspection in force for the first time, the number of such deaths was reduced to 865—a cut of approximately one-third. And ever since, Mr. Daniels adds, New Jersey's fatality trend has been downward. He calls compulsory car inspection a primary safeguard against automobile acidents.

Massachusetts tried inspection on a voluntary basis in 1926, found it so effective that in 1929 laws were passed to make it mandatory. Since then the State have never relaxed the regulation. The only change it made—in 1935 was to insist on 2 inspections a year instead of 1. And Massachusetts has one of the best safety records in the country.

INSPECTION DID IT

Pennsylvania has kept its statistics on a percentage basis. In 1932, when it first began compulsory inspection of cars, 12 percent of all fatal accidents could be traced to mechanical defects. But by 1952 this fatality figure had been cut to 1.8 percent. This was accomplished by rigid inspection.

Finally, my own State of Virginia had 698 automobile deaths in 1931. We had no car inspection up to that year. But in 1933, our first full year of such precautions, we reduced fatalities to 569—saving 129 lives.

Can we ignore the fact that of the 5 States with the highest motor-vehicle death rates—South Carolina, Nevada, Kentucky, New Mexico, and Arizona—4 do not periodically inspect their automobiles? The fifth State, New Mexico, does provide for such inspections; but it offsets this advantage by indulging in another kind of recklessness. It grants its children driving licenses at 14.

WHAT AGE?

Here we hit a contested point: At what age is it safe to have a driving license?

Automobile insurance companies, having made actuarial studies of the risk involved, find themselves compelled to charge higher premium rates to families with teen-age drivers. There is also to be remembered the fact that the State with the lowest rates of automobile fatalities—Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and, technically not a State, the District of Columbia—do not issue a driver's license to anybody under the age of 16.

The simple truth is that children of 14 and 15—eligible to drive in 9 States—have not yet had time to learn what they should know about driving and traffic regulations. Courses in the subject are given at the high-school level, and at 14 most youngsters have just entered high school. Besides, one finds it hard to believe that a child of 14 has learned all there is to know about his responsibility to society.

Though minors may comprise a small portion of our more than 60 million licensed drivers, in 1952 some 800,000 boys and girls under 18 were involved in traffic accidents. Almost 2,000 of them were killed.

ABOVE AVERAGE

Mr. William H. Brewster, manager of the automobile division of the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters, has issued a report that is well worth study. It shows why insurance companies raise their premium rates in families with very young drivers. In fact, the National Bureau of Casualty Underwriters is much more conservative than I am; it lists all people under 25 in its lowest-age group. And it reports that their frequency of fatal accidents is 62.4 percent above the national average. In nonfatal accidents they are 37.1 percent above the national average.

In the State of New York the accident rate is even more astonishing.

This State made an independent study of young drivers in 1947, and results have not changed significantly since then.

In New York the youthful group had 97.9 percent more fatal accidents than the State's average; 65.3 percent more than average in nonfatal accidents.

And a few years ago, in 1948, the National Safety Council reported that though the youngest age group comprised only 20 percent of the Nation's drivers, they were involved in 11,400, or 31 percent, of the fatal auto accidents.

It's a sobering record. Many of the experts who have observed young drivers have formed the firm conviction that the minimum age limit should be raised. Commissioner MacDuff, of New York's bureau of motor vehicles, declares, "We feel that under the age of 16 no driver has attained the maturity and self-discipline he needs to be a safe risk on our roads."

Deputy Registrar Bonzagni, of Massachusetts' Motor Vehicle Bureau, not only supports this view; he adds that in his own State, which has never issued a license to anyone under 16, the public pressure today is to raise the age limit to 18. Over in Pennsylvania, the deputy commissioner for insurance, Luther Williams, his approved a new high-rate insurance premium to be applied to the youngest age group of drivers.

ANOTHER DANGER

But extreme youth is by no means the only danger to be considered in our licensing practices. Another is this:

We assume that a person who has once received a license to drive is thereafter qualified forever. All he need do is pay a small annual renewal fee to guarantee his right.

What of the drivers who develop physical defects as they grow older? Impaired eyesight, perhaps? Bad hearing? In defense of our own well-being all of us ought to be required to take periodic reexaminations—say every 5 years.

After all, licensing is a matter of life and death. We had better keep age limits and other considerations at the highest possible level.

There are some hazards to safe driving—weather, for instance, or the density of holiday traffic—about which the President's Conference can do little. But in recommending a legislative program such as I have outlined, it can do the Nation a great service.

INTERSTATE EFFORT

Admittedly such a program will require decisiveness throughout the country. Every State legislature will have to cooperate. But if we can eliminate a great portion of the 36,000 automobile deaths we suffer annually, if we can reduce that awesome number of 18 million drivers who had traffic accidents last year—almost 1 driver out of every 3—then it is surely worth an interstate effort.

What happens in the future is up to the legislatures of the 48 States. As a first step, the President's National Highway Safety Conference must call on them for action.

Low-Cost Public Housing and Slum Clearance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent address by the Honorable Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration. Mr. Slusser's speech deals with low-cost public housing and, in particular, with the approach to slum clearance by Kansas City, Mo.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On August 7, 1952, the Kansas City Star commented on the good news that a third low-rent public housing project had just been approved.

"Kansas City," said the Star, "is on the way toward conquering blight."

The truth of that statement stands before us today—Guinotte Manor. Kansas City is indeed on the way to a cleaner, safer, healthier city. Here is the milestone to prove it.

I extend my congratulations to your city government and to the Housing Authority of Kansas City for the alertness, the vigor, and the tenacity that translate vision into fact. Equally, I congratulate the people of Kansas City for providing the civic spirit that stares a problem in the eye and does something about it.

For me, this privilege of congratulating you was well worth the time and trouble to come here from Washington—it will compensate even for the prospects of going back.

Many of you may not realize that had it not been for fast and aggressive teamwork by your city officials and your housing authority, there would be no dedication ceremony here today. There would be no Guinotte Manor. And 454 Kansas City families would be going home tonight to miserable shacks—to the sickness, and despair, and danger of slum life. Instead, the teamwork succeeded, and the Guinotte Manor project survived a sharp curtailment in the Nation's low-rent housing program. The soundness of your planning, the urgency of your need, and the fact that your housing authority and your city were ready to go were the decisive factors. As a result, these 454 families have been given a lasting transfusion of hope for a healthier, safer, and more useful life.

I served as mayor of a large city for 10 years, and before that I had spent nearly as long in other city work. So, I can appre-

ciate the satisfaction and pride that Mayor Kemp and the city council must be feeling today. I am aware, too, that the unpaid, unselfish services of your Housing Commissioners are built into this project as surely as are the bricks, the steel, and the concrete. I say it is a magnificent—a thrilling—thing that in this day of preoccupation with material rewards, so many have given so freely of their time, their judgment, and their enthusiasm for an ideal. Your citizens, I am sure, are motivated not so much by the detailed advantages of slum clearance—such as would be revealed by studies of taxes versus municipal services—as by the basic desire to live in a clean, progressive city. You have watched with growing alarm the deterioration of this and other neighborhoods. The forces of decay were multiplying. Then, you acted. You here in Kansas City took the initiative through your elected officials and through your local housing authority. And the Federal Government extended a helping hand—and only a helping hand. It was, and is, your own undertaking. You took on a job—a long, hard job—and even with the fine start you've made here in Kansas City, you've hardly begun it.

Happily, I believe I can offer you more than congratulations. I also can give you a little cheer and comfort from the experiences of other towns trying to fight their way out of their slums. And I know whereof I speak. Last fall I went slumming—on one of the most prolonged slumming expeditions anybody ever undertook—30,000 miles plus of travel, and the farther I went the worse it got. I returned to Washington more than ever convinced that a slum is like a man who falls down and breaks a leg, is robbed while he's helpless, catches pneumonia while he's lying there, and tries to cheer himself up with a bottle of whiskey. In short, he is in bad shape. No single remedy is going to make a sprightly citizen out of him. It's the same way with a slum. Any of a number of disasters can strike the first blow, then troubles multiply—not just more of the same trouble, but new and different troubles. And each new affliction adds to the cost and diminishes the income of the diseased area.

I don't intend to discuss all the diseases or all the remedies—and some mighty strange magic potions that have been suggested. But I can say with solid assurance that low-rent public housing has proved a realistic and practical remedy for one of the slum ailments. This is the immediate care of families not now able to afford decent housing. I grant that it is not as desirable as a home of your own. I believe with President Eisenhower that needed progress can best be made by full and effective utilization of our competitive economy with its vast resources for building and financing homes for our people. However, until the gap between building costs and the incomes of the least able to pay is effectively bridged, public housing offers the cheapest practical solution for this phase of the fight on slums. At least, until other and better solutions can assure that the problem is met, a public housing program is vital. It is for this reason that the President has recommended 35,000 units of new public housing for each of the next 4 years. That is a compromise figure between what we need and what is feasible from the standpoint of sound Government fiscal policy.

Opponents have pointed out that low-rent public housing, such as Guinotte Manor, is a Government handout. In a very narrow sense they are right. A hand is extended and it holds money. But the hand holds comparatively little money, and it buys a great deal—a life filled with new hope for more than a million Americans and the rescue of large and important areas of our cities. The $40 million subsidy for public housing is hardly exorbitant. We spend more than ten times as much in subsidy for highways, nearly six times as much for rivers and harbor work, more than twice as much to help out on the school lunch program, and more than one and a half times as much for our few Indians. Expressed another way, a man making $4,000 paid only 11 cents in income tax this past March 15 for public housing. What the critics overlook is that the handout buys a bargain—in civic health, in the protection of our urban investment, and in the rescue of our fellow human beings.

From the standpoint of the city served—and I know that Kansas City is no exception—public housing is plain good business. I am well aware of the charges from certain quarters that public housing is creeping socialism. I am equally aware that for citizens to act in behalf of their cities is nothing more than an old-fashioned capitalistic custom. The institution of the American city goes back to the earliest colonial days. It is an integral part of our Republican system of government. And citizens are neither creeping nor socialistic when they try to prevent their cities from running down at the heels—particularly when there is no infringement on local initiative and local authority.

Nevertheless, we do join our critics in looking forward to the time when the job can be done adequately by private funds, just as it is now being done by contract with private firms. The important thing is that the fight on slums go forward by the best means we can muster—and the best means are not tomorrow's earnest hopes but today's available weapons. Public housing is such a weapon.

I have said that public housing—such as Guinotte Manor here—is good business not only from a human and civic standpoint but from a cold-blooded financial viewpoint. A recent study of all slums and blighted areas in the country showed they comprise one-fifth of our metropolitan areas. And into this one-fifth of our cities is packed a third of the urban population, a good third (35 percent) of the fires, nearly half of the major crimes (45 percent), an even half of the arrests, more than half (55 percent) of the juvenile delinquency, and 60 percent of the tuberculosis. Or, to total up this unhappy picture, slums account for 45 percent of city service costs—and pay just 6 percent of its real estate taxes.

I think that will answer the question of who has been paying the preponderant cost of the slums. The rest of the taxpayers. I wonder if that could be the creeping socialism. Personally, I say it's better to get these blighted areas back in shape—so that they cease to be ratholes down which city revenues are poured.

I would like to suggest to the Kansas City Star that a reporter be asigned to write a first birthday story on Guinotte Manor. I suggest that his article compare the income which the city will receive during the year from the housing project as contrasted to that received from the former slum property. I would recommend further that a comparative study be made of the cost in city services for the same area. I am confident the comparison will reveal the solid value of this project to your city—not simply in terms of social betterment but in terms of city revenue.

It is altogether likely that your experience will parallel that of Louisville, Ky. There, the slum property on which 6 housing projects now stand paid some $40,000 a year in taxes as slums. By contrast, after the projects were erected, payments to the city totaled more than twice as much. At the same time, fire calls were reduced by 90 percent, criminal and juvenile court cases dropped to a third, and requirements for dependent children fell off to less than 14 percent. The Louisville Courier-Journal summed up the story in these words: "The record shows that the public-housing projects, far from being a burden to city taxpayers, are one of the most profitable investments that taxpayers could ask."

I am confident that Guinotte Manor will return the same kind of benefits to Kansas City.

Another criticism we hear is that public housing depresses adjoining property values. I suppose that would be quite true if a project were to be located, say, in the middle of your Country Club Plaza. But it definitely is not true of projects in blighted areas. On the contrary, experience over the country has demonstrated beyond any doubt that the value of surrounding property increases. In studies of two cities on the west coast, for example, we found that in an area 12 blocks adjacent to one project, there was a 112-percent increase in assessed land values, while in the other city, land within a 1-mile radius of a project increased more in value proportionately than any other residential area in the city. But I shan't belabor the point; it should be obvious that improving the health, safety, appearance, and moral character of a neighborhood does not depress property values.

It is extremely important, however, to remember one thing about public housing; it is not the solution to slums. It is only part of the answer. Prevention of slum and blight cannot be accomplished with dynamite and a steam shovel, and a new construction job. Even as fine a job as Guinotte Manor here. The truth is that public housing is just one phase of the repair work necessary to rescue a neighborhood. There are other phases; construction of low-cost private housing, timely repairs of borderline homes, proper planning to avoid overcrowding, and above all—strict enforcement of laws designed to prevent the development of slums.

President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee completed a thorough and comprehensive study of slums and found that the Nation's cities have been sliding into slums—slowly, steadily. Over the country, too many city ordinances designed to halt the slide have been slowly, steadily ignored. The Committee said: "Slums do not just happen. They are the product of neglect by landlords, by tenants, and by all of us who make the communities in which slums exist. But above all else, they are the product of neglect by city governments." I say that this slow, steady slide into slums can be halted with the sand of determination. The same kind that is bringing Kansas City on the road back to civic health.

Legislation now before Congress calls for an all-out attack on the slum cancer eating into the Nation's $500 billion investment in urban real property. Eating faster every day. And this is why the legislation is no stopgap measure. It is a call to every slum-damaged city in the country to quit fooling around with half-way, half-hearted attempts. And to those cities able to demonstrate they really mean business and are tackling their own job as it should be tackled—cities determined to eliminate the causes of slums as well as their effects—to them the Federal Government would lend a strong hand.

I believe Kansas City has this kind of spirit. And Guinotte Manor here—rising from a site where a hundred years ago the old Guinotte homestead commanded a view of a young and vigorous settlement—will, like its namesake, look out on a vista of improving civic health and vitality.

The people who live here will be taking the first step to regain their birthright of a decent home of their own. And in saying this, I am voicing more than a pious hope. Our experience has shown that roughly one-fifth of all families who leave public housing are people who have graduated, economically, to the point where they can buy decent

homes in the private housing market. There are others who go into the decent rental market as well. In some cases, the proportion of graduates has been even higher. In Chicago, for example, three-fourths of the original tenants of the three oldest projects graduated into substantial private housing. It is this kind of regeneration and ambition that gives us, who are most concerned with the problem, the greatest satisfaction.

It is my conviction that public housing is not—and never should be—a substitute for private housing. God forbid that an apartment in a public-housing project should mark the goal of aspiration for any family. Instead, let us thing of public housing only as a first step out of the slough of despair—the first step up from the quicksand of a slum. Let the families who are rescued here regain the health and the capacity and the courage to build each his own castle. Let this be the first step up toward the heritage of all Americans.

Bill for the Creation of a New 11th Circuit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced H. R. 8727, a bill to provide for the creation of the 11th circuit. This legislation was introduced at the request of Chief Judge William Denman of the ninth circuit.

I wish to place in the RECORD at this point a resolution of the circuit judges of the Judicial Council of the Ninth Circuit which was adopted on March 31, 1954.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL OF THE 9TH CIRCUIT FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW 11TH CIRCUIT AND FOR THE CREATION OF ENOUGH JUDGES FOR THE 9TH AND 11TH CIRCUITS TO RELIEVE THE GROSS WRONG DONE TO ITS PRESENT THOUSAND AND CONSTANTLY INCREASING PARTIES LITIGANT

Whereas the long continued migration to the ninth circuit's States on the Pacific coast shown by the following table:

Population gain, continental United States

	Ninth circuit		United States less ninth circuit	
	Population	Percent gain	Percent gain	Population
1920	16, 575, 858	------	------	134, 121, 903
1940	11, 427, 000	------	------	120, 242, 176
10-year gain	5, 148, 759	45. 0	11. 5	13, 879, 327
1940	11, 427, 000	------	------	120, 242, 176
	----------	------	------	113, 071, 344
10-year gain	1, 723, 307	[1]17. 8	6. 3	7, 170, 832
1930	9, 703, 702	------	------	113, 071, 344
1920	6, 959, 195	------	------	98, 751, 425
10-year gain	2, 744, 507	39. 4	14. 5	14, 319, 919
1930	6, 959, 195	------	------	98, 751, 425
1910	5, 180, 180	------	------	86, 792, 086
10-year gain	1, 779, 015	34. 3	13. 8	11, 959, 339

[1] Depression decade, with fewer babies and less migration yet with a ninth circuit percentage higher than for any decade of the other circuits.

has reached the point where between 1940 and 1953 it was upward of 6,800,000 people, one of the largest migration increases in the recent history of the Western World; and

Whereas the Census Bureau states that the ninth circuit's population since then and now is increasing at even a higher rate; and

Whereas the Judicial Conference of the United States was created by Congress to advise it on the need of the Federal courts by the last paragraph of title 28, United States Code, section 331; and

Whereas on the 508 docketings in the Court of Appeals of the Ninth Circuit in the calendar year 1953, the Judicial Conference of the United States recommended to the Congress the creation of 2 additional permanent circuit judgeships and 1 temporary judgeship for that circuit which would raise its membership to 12 circuit judges; and

Whereas the docketings for the 6 months ending December 1, 1953, are 292, or at an annual rate of 584, requiring 13 permanent circuit judges; and

Whereas the cases pending on January 1, 1951, were 283 and on January 1, 1952, rose to 335 and on January 1, 1953, rose to 401 and on January 1, 1954, rose to 557; that is to say, this year began with enough cases ahead of them for a year's work for 12 judges, to which must be added at least the 508 docketings of 1953, or a total of work before the court for 1954 of 1,065 cases; and

Whereas, even with 12 judges for the whole year 1954, disposing of 45 cases each, or a total of 540 cases, there would be pending at the end of the year 525 cases; and

Whereas, but for the wrongful practice of adding to our court by taking district judges from their waiting litigants, these arrearages would have been considerably higher; and

Whereas, excluding the preferred habeas corpus, criminal, and NLRB cases, there are 401 cases pending, the great majority of which will not be decided for 2 years after docketing; of these, 192 are cases involving the United States and its agencies and 209 are those of private parties; and

Whereas the wrong done by such delays to the administration of the Government of the United States is obvious. In private cases such delays force the man, having judgment against a corporation for the loss of his leg and ability to earn a living, to settle on the terms of his prosperous opponent while a businessman having won below a suit against him for $100,000 still has his bank credit cut for that amount during appeal, likely to cause his bankruptcy; and

Whereas it will require 11 permanent circuit judges and a twelfth temporary circuit judgeship to clear these arrearages and keep current the work of the court; and

Whereas the 12 judgeships which the Judicial Conference advises Congress are necessary to serve the litigants of the present Ninth Circuit constitute too unwieldly a body to sit en banc and in sitting in divisions of three, with its scores of variations of participant judges, most likely to produce conflicting decisions; and

Whereas the litigants of the continuing population increase by migration and birth will soon require a 13th judge and soon thereafter a 14th judge; and

Whereas the docketings for the calendar year 1953 show the new 11th circuit will require 4 circuit judges and the 9th circuit 7 permanent judgeships and a temporary judgeship; and

Whereas there are now full accommodations of chambers in the 2 circuits for the judges of the 2 courts; and

Whereas unless the circuit is divided, the 2 judgeships recently created by Congress and the additional 3 new judgeships recommended by the judicial conference will require the heavy expense of constructing chambers totaling 15 rooms in the Post Office Building in San Francisco, plus the heavier expense of building or renting 15 offices for the postal officers who will have to be removed for the chambers for the 5 additional judges; and

Whereas unless the circuit is divided there will be the very large expense of constructing in the Post Office Building in San Francisco a new court room for the en banc sessions of 12 judges, shortly to be 13 judges and soon more judges; and

Whereas there are three circuit judges of the 9th circuit who, when appointed, were residents of the States of the 11th circuit, whose stations are now required to be in the States of the proposed 9th circuit, some of whom may desire to remain there: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Congress adopt the following legislation for the creation of such a new 11th circuit:

"A bill to provide for the creation of an Eleventh Judicial Circuit to be comprised of Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington, and for the circuit judges constituting the ninth and eleventh circuits

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That (a) section 41 of title 28, United States Code, as amended, is amended by striking out the word 'eleven' and inserting in lieu thereof the word 'twelve.'

"(b) Such section is further amended by striking out the portion thereof relating to the composition of the Ninth Judicial Circuit and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

" 'Ninth ..... Arizona, California, Nevada, Guam, Hawaii.'

"(c) Such section is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'Eleventh ..... Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington.'

"SEC. 2. Section 44 (a) of title 28, United States Code, as amended, is amended as to the ninth circuit by striking the word 'nine' and inserting the word 'eight' and by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'Eleventh ..... Four.'

"The first vacancy in the office of curcuit judge of the ninth circuit shall not be filled.

"SEC. 3. (a) Section 48 of title 28, United States Code, as amended, is amended by striking out the portion thereof relating to the Ninth Judicial Circuit and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

" 'Ninth ..... San Francisco, Los Angeles.'

"(b) Such section is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

" 'Eleventh ..... Portland, Seattle.'

"SEC. 4. Section 1294 (2) of title 28, United States Code, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

" '(2) From the District Court of Alaska or any division thereof, to the Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit.'

"SEC. 5. (a) Circuit judges who prior to their appointment resided in any of the States of the 11th circuit shall be members of the court of appeals for that circuit, provided that any such judge may choose, in order of his seniority, to become a member of the Court of Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit by giving notice in writing of such choice to the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts within 60 days after this bill is enacted; such seniority choice to cease when it would create more than 8 judgeships in the ninth circuit.

"(b) The circuit judges assigned by this section shall retain their relative seniority as determined by section 45 of title 28, United States Code.

"SEC. 6. Where before the effective date of this act any appeal or other proceeding has been filed with the Court of Appeals for the

Ninth Circuit as constituted before the effective date of this act—

"(1) if any hearing before said court has been held in any pending case, or the case has been submitted for decision, then further proceedings in respect of the case shall be had in the same manner and with the same effect as if this act had not been enacted; and

"(2) if no hearing before said court has been held in any pending case, and the case has not been submitted for decision, then the appeal, or other proceeding, together with the original papers, printed records, briefs filed, and record entries, duly certified, shall, by appropriate orders duly entered of record, be transferred to the court of appeals to which it would have gone had this act been in full force and effect at the time such appeal was taken or other proceeding commenced, and further proceedings in respect of the case shall be had in the same manner and with the same effect as if the appeal or other proceeding had been filed in said court.

"SEC. 7. This act shall take effect at once for the above notice of choice of section 5 (a), otherwise it shall take effect 60 days after the date of its enactment."

Dated March 31, 1954.

This is to certify that the circuit judges of the Judicial Council of the Ninth Circuit adopted the foregoing resolution at San Francisco, Calif., on March 31, 1954.

WILLIAM DENMAN,
Chief Judge, and Presiding Officer of the Council.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

New York Herald Tribune Editorial on Wiretapping Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, there is appended hereto an editorial from today's New York Herald Tribune on the wiretapping bill, H. R. 8649:

MR. BROWNELL'S WIRETAPS

On the subject of wiretapping, there are those who hold with the famous dissent by Justice Holmes that all of it is dirty business that ought not to be condoned. That, however, was said long ago in peaceful times that were relatively unconcerned about spies and national security. It is also an inescapable fact that wiretapping has been widely used for years as a valuable aid to catching criminals. Where careful safeguards have been provided against abuses, few or no real grounds for complaint have risen. Here in New York, where a police officer must first obtain authorization from a supreme court, the experience through a long test has been highly favorable.

While all this stands well established in most of the States, there is a significant difference in Federal operation. The act of wiretapping is in itself considered legal; the FBI does plenty of it. But such evidence is inadmissible in Federal courts, for reasons that are remote from ethics, morals, or Constitution, having originated in the Supreme Court's interpretation of the communications act. In any event, Attorney General Brownell wants this changed so that wiretap evidence may be presented in cases involving national security. This strikes us as justifiable.

The details of Mr. Brownell's proposal are, however, disturbing. What he wants of Congress is a law that the Attorney General shall have the sole power of decision when and where to tap a telephone. This is a sweeping grant that might lead to abuses by some future Attorney General. It is a lot of authority to give to one man. We should prefer the New York system, where a court order has to be obtained first. Doubtless Mr. Brownell has some good cases that he would like to bring out of storage, but the idea of legislation that reaches backward is repugnant. As for the future, a check on rashness—even so small as that of a court order—is a comforting assurance against possible excesses.

Address Delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture on Benson Day held in Logan, Utah, on Saturday, April 3, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A BRIGHTER DAY FOR DAIRYING

Nearly everyone who has been away likes to get back home. I am no exception. Although I have traveled many thousand miles in all directions, the biggest thrill comes when the train or plane heads toward this great country—this choice valley—my home.

Thus I was highly pleased and honored to receive your invitation to be here today to discuss the future of American agriculture with you farmers and your representatives from Utah, Idaho, and other nearby States.

It is not just the ties of home nor a geographical location that bind me to this area. It is not just the serenity that stems from the mountain tops through the valley—although anyone can use a good measure of this after a few months in Washington.

To me the Cache Valley is a great reservoir of spiritual as well as material blessings. I roamed this valley as a boy, as a student, as a farmer, as a county agent. It was in this community that I found my choice companion, my great support and inspiration, and the mother of my six children. It was in this area I learned to know God and His wonders. Here I first saw evidenced in the lives of my progenitors, neighbors, and associates the finest characteristics of mankind—integrity, courage, thrift, cooperation, and the value of good, hard work.

This is a heritage that one cannot forget. It is a source of continuing strength for coping successfully with problems as they arrive.

Viewed objectively, the present problems of agriculture seem small in comparison to those faced by our fathers and forefathers in converting this once desolate area into one of abundant agricultural production.

If God-fearing men could build this valley into a fertile area for dairying, sugar beets, grains, canning crops, beef feeding, lamb growing, and other products from the land, we of this generation must not back away from the realities of agriculture today. We dare not back away if the farmer is to reach his deserved and proper place in our national economy.

It seems highly significant, in retrospect, that our forefathers gloried in hard work while drawing liberally upon their prodigious spiritual reserves. They were not content to place their trust "in the arm of flesh." They sought to rely upon their cherished independence, their frugality and honest toil, nurtured by a kind providence to whose service they were dedicated. History records that the climate was tempered for their sakes and their humble, untiring efforts made "the desert to blossom as the rose."

Today, as never before, we need to rededicate and reconsecrate our lives. Unless the efforts of our hearts and hands are blessed by the God of this land, in vain do they labor who attempt to achieve sound and lasting prosperity. May I assure you that no one subscribes more fully to this principle than does our devoted President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. I have been thrilled to hear him repeatedly affirm with Gen. Douglas MacArthur that "it must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh."

The present problems of agriculture are not insurmountable. They are not problems of subduing a wilderness to meet the needs of a hungry nation. No, America is blessed with fertile soil—and the freedom to develop it.

People of other nations have many times faced the challenge of how to live with famine. Since the dawn of history, most of mankind has been hungry. Even in modern times we have seen starvation in many parts of the world.

A gracious providence has seen fit to spare us from this disaster and has instead blessed us with an abundance. Our challenge is to learn how to use that abundance to meet our needs.

It is to the lasting credit of American agriculture that we have been able to make adjustments not only to meet the needs of our own country but in times of crisis to fulfill the needs of a large part of the world without sacrificing our inherent freedom. Yes, farmers and ranchers can be justly proud of this record. I am proud of it. I am proud to be associated with our most honored and basic industry. I say to you that our farm people are the salt of the earth. God bless our solid people of the soil.

I am also proud that farmers, through increased efficiency, have contributed much to better living for all Americans. Farmers have welcomed and put into use the results of research that have brought sharp advances in our economic well-being. In 1953 the consumer could buy for 18 percent of his income the same food that in 1935-39 cost him 23.8 percent. This is a remarkable achievement.

But what has been the reward to the farmer? Financially he has been rewarded in reverse. Right now he receives 45 percent of the national food dollar as against a high of 54 percent in 1945. The farmer is not now receiving his fair share of the national income—to say nothing about a reward for outstanding work.

During the past year the decline in agricultural income has been held to about two points. In the 2 years before the present administration took office, the parity ratio plunged 16 points. That was in part what our predecessors called a fair deal.

We hear a lot of talk about the so-called merits of the present farm program. Let me ask you: What is so good about a program under which farm income has declined for 5 out of the past 6 years? What is so good about a program that gluts our markets with price-depressing surpluses? What is so good about a program that literally robs a farmer of some of his traditional markets and turns them over to less costly substitutes while Government regulation and control of his industry increases?

I frankly don't know. I think it should be obvious that the time has arrived for an agricultural adjustment. How can anyone rightfully say that the way out of our problems is to take a bigger dose of the same program that helped create these problems?

It is self-evident that a change for the better is needed. In some respects it is a welcome change. It is a change from a wartime to a peacetime economy. I know that you join with me in a prayer of thankfulness that under President Eisenhower's able leadership an end to the Korean war has been achieved; that our sons can now be behind a plow instead of behind a machinegun.

This is an achievement that will long be remembered. I hope history will also record that we were prepared to meet the economic challenge of peace; that we developed a farm program keyed to the preservation and strengthening of peace, rather than continuing one under which war would be needed to sweep away our surpluses.

Early this year the administration presented such a peacetime farm program to the Congress. It offered a one-package, sound plan to meet our most pressing problems and start us on the road to a stable and prosperous peacetime agriculture.

We spent a year in developing the program. Had we been interested in meeting only the needs directed by expediency, it could have been produced more rapidly. But that is not the way the administration wanted to do the job. We wanted to find out what kind of a long-range farm program was favored by the farmers themselves, by farm organizations, by farm educational leaders and by every segment of the industry. We were determined to develop a program that would be best for agriculture and fair to all of our people.

We were gratified to learn that an overwhelming majority wanted to meet the problems in the American tradition of free enterprise. They wanted a minimum of Government control. They wanted Government assistance in research, education and marketing. They wanted realistic price supports as floors to help stabilize income. But they did not want to be regimented into a program under which the best they could expect would be to sell their products at a rigid, artificial, Government-supported price level at the possible cost of a serious decline in agrarian initiative, resourcefulness and independence.

This was an important concerted survey. Not only did it help shape the ultimate program but it provided some of the answers to the professional friends of the farmer who measure their success on the political applause meter.

Also, instrumental in helping develop our program was the bipartisan National Agricultural Advisory Commission. Here again there was a high degree of agreement on practically every feature.

The result was a program centering around five interrelated points which I would like to review briefly:

First, greater flexibility: This would be achieved through adoption of flexible price supports and a modernized parity formula applicable to all commodities. These flexible supports will help bring about shifts to keep production more in line with consumer needs. Flexible supports will result in greater price equality. They encourage sound farm management practices and promote a prosperous, sound and free agriculture.

Second, increased domestic consumption: To accomplish this we are placing greater emphasis on agricultural marketing services, assisting the food industry with promotion programs, fostering more intensive research to develop new uses for farm products and to establish increased efficiency throughout the industry.

Third, increased foreign consumption: To achieve this goal and reverse the recent downtrend in exports we are sending foreign trade missions to Europe, Latin America, and the Far East; improving our service to foreign exporters; finding markets outside the normal trade channels through barter and acceptance of local currencies; seeking authority to dispose of $1 billion worth of surpluses over 3 years to help carry out the objectives of American foreign policy.

Fourth, emergency reserves: We are proposing to set aside up to $2½ billion worth of surplus stocks to implement the adjustment from the old program to the new. These reserves would be removed from regular market channels and held for emergency and relief purposes at home and broad.

Fifth, use of diverted acres: We are working on plans to see that acreage not needed for major crop production is shifted into new or soil-building crops. At present about 25 million acres are being taken out of production of wheat, corn, and cotton. To help ease this squeeze the Department of Agriculture is recommending a $55 million increase in the agricultural conservation program. This increase is being asked in the expectation that it probably will be necessary to impose limitations on the use of diverted acres. We want to help farmers care for lands being diverted from allotment crops and also assist them in making long-term adjustments in the interest of greater conservation.

The heart of this 5-point program is the flexibility of price supports as against our present unrealistic, high, rigid supports. As you probably have heard, this feature also is the most controversial.

Let us ask ourselves why.

I think it is largely a matter of what might be called word appeal. A 90-percent price support sounds better than 85 or 80 percent. It sounds as if farmers will receive more income. Whether they actually do or not is strictly another matter. The relatively favorable prices and incomes of the war and postwar period were not the result of price supports; inflation, wartime and postwar foreign-aid demands were responsible.

It is sometimes said that everything has its price. What I want to emphasize is that the price farmers pay for rigid 90-percent supports is much too high. Also, the merchandise is falsely labeled.

The price you pay for 90-percent supports includes loss of markets, severe acreage reduction and price-depressing surpluses. You also must pay in actual cash. Obviously, as a peacetime measure, these rigid supports are economically unsound and indefensible.

The Government now has more than $6½ billion tied up in price support operations. It is your Government. It is your money. And once you pay this price you turn around and find that you don't have 90 percent of parity after all.

Recent experience is that 90-percent supports on wheat return only about 83 percent of parity to the farmer. Ninety percent on corn yields only about 79 percent.

The truth is that farm income depends far more on general economic conditions than on the level of price supports. During the past 22 years the prices of supported and nonsupported commodities have moved in a similar manner. Actually the price of those commodities without supports has been relatively higher than those with supports.

Why should we encourage farmers to produce in the hope of receiving 90 percent of parity when actually they get considerably less? Such action is deceptive and only tends to perpetuate surpluses.

Under the flexible plan, price supports would be lowered when surpluses exist and thereby stimulate consumption and encourage a shift of production out of surplus crops and into those for which there is a more active consumer demand.

Too long have I worked for the welfare of agriculture to condemn it now to a long period of surplus production and a continuation of marketing that finds the Government as the principal buyer. Knowing many of you as fellow farmers and as fellow churchmen, I believe you would far rather receive full parity in the market place than some arbitrarily fixed percentage of parity in a Government warehouse. The purpose of production is consupmtion. Food must be moved into stomachs, not storage. Taxpayers should not be loaded with a Government storage bill of over half a million dollars a day.

Full parity in the market place is the goal of the Republican Party. It is my goal. If this goal is to be approached under existing conditions, we must have greater flexibility in our farm programs.

Now I would like to come to grips with one of agriculture's major problems. It is dairying—this State's largest industry.

Dairymen have seen better days. I am confident they will see them again. They represent an irreplaceable part of our national and agricultural life. Their products are vital to the national diet.

Dairying is a solid and dependable industry on which farm families have prospered through the years. Perhaps as much as any other agricultural enterprise, dairying is typical of the family-type farm—the backbone of American agriculture.

Like some other segments of agriculture, however, it is now suffering from production and marketing distortions. These distortions are very real. The time to make the necessary adjustments is now, before these dislocations become even more serious.

First we must decide what kind of a dairy industry we want. Do we want an industry built on a sound and permanent basis, standing on its own feet and selling its products in a firmly established market? Or do we want an industry depending on Government subsidy, suffering from artificial price stimulants and depending on the Government as its best customer?

The decision is clear. I do not want to have a part in establishing the dairy cow as a subsidized institution. I'm sure you don't either.

As a step toward cleaning up the problems of dairying, I recently came face to face with a decision on the level of Government price supports for the coming year. The choice was not easy to make. But it was a decision that had to be based on the long-term welfare of the industry and the terms of the law. When the facts were laid out, the duty of the Secretary of Agriculture was unmistakable.

Under the law the Secretary is authorized to fix dairy supports at such a level between 75 and 90 percent of parity as he might determine necessary to assure an adequate supply.

At the time the decision to reduce these supports from 90 to 75 percent was made, the Government had in storage more than 1 billion pounds of dairy products representing a whole milk equivalent of more than 8 billion pounds. Production, as measured by Government purchases, was running far above consumption. Government stocks were increasing daily, even in a period of seasonally low production.

Was there any question but that the 75-percent support level would yield adequate supplies during the marketing year? None in the least.

Was there any question but that a higher support would only make more severe the problems of the industry? Again the answer must be "No." Therefore, it was necessary to fix the support level at 75 percent. It is well to keep in mind, however, that this level may be moved up during the marketing year if conditions warrant.

On the surface this would appear to be a 15-point cut. Actually, it is not that much. Because of wider marketing margins last

year, butterfat supports reflected 87 percent of parity to producers and manufactured milk supports only 84 percent. Thus the drop in supports is only 12 and 9 points rather than 15.

A natural question at this point is: If 90-percent supports yielded only 87 and 84 percent of parity to producers, what assurance is there that 75-percent supports will not yield 72 and 69? The answer is this: As we interpret the law the full 75 percent must be reflected in the price to the farmer. We shall see that this is done.

In some places the argument is raised that under the administration's program changes in supports are supposed to be gradual. This is generally correct. But there is no such recommendation on dairy products.

Specifically, the gradual changes are recommended for basic commodities, which are storable and subject to production limitations. Dairy products are perishable—the only such commodity upon which price supports are mandatory. In addition, we have no controls on dairy production.

There also has been some discussion that it is unfair to set dairy supports at 75 percent while corn is supported at 90 percent and other feed grains at 85 percent. This is a factor but not as significant as might be assumed.

The feed grains make up only about 11 percent of the cost of producing milk. Much of this grain, of course, is homegrown, making the price factor even less important. In addition, the price of corn available in the open market is now about 79 percent of parity.

If the solution of the dairy problem lay in high and rigid price supports, there should be no problem. We have had the high supports and they have only made matters worse.

Fortunately, we do not have to look very far or hard to find the real trouble spot. This is a decline in consumption in the face of increased milk production and a decrease in exports.

Since 1945, the per capita consumption of fluid milk and cream in this country has dropped 12 percent, or 47 pounds. For the same period the consumption of butter fell from 10.8 pounds per person to 8.6 pounds, or the equivalent of 45 pounds of milk.

If we look back to 1940, the butter picture is even more alarming. Per capita consumption has been cut in half since that time.

The tragedy of this drastic loss of a market is that many consumers still want butter. They are hungry for it. The public is more sensitive on butter than on any other food. It takes only a mention in the press or on the radio of some probable plan to dispose of the 350 million pounds now in Government storage to start hundreds of letters pouring into my office.

I am happy to report that the Department expects to announce soon the details of a plan to put our huge stocks of butter and other dairy products into the hands of consumers at reduced prices. But this at best will be a poor substitute for a normal consumer market.

If in the past year we had reached the same level of per capita consumption of fluid milk and cream as in 1945, we would have used seven and a half billion more pounds. This would have been nearly equal to all the Government purchases of dairy products.

If the full dietary needs of our people were being met, we would actually not have enough dairy products to meet the demand.

What is the answer? You know it as well as I do.

We have a product that is the most nearly perfect of all foods for children, young people, and adults. We have a tremendous potential market. Our job is to get out and sell this market.

Let us advertise. Let us merchandise. Let us promote. The public must be vigorously educated to the value and necessity of dairy products.

Perhaps some will say—and rightly so—that like the horse and water you can lead a consumer to milk but you can't make him drink it. I heartily agree. However, our job is not to make him drink; our job is to make him thirsty—thirsty for milk. Once he is thirsty, he will do his own drinking.

The past year has seen a good start in this direction. But there must be a continuing effort. It takes time to reverse a trend in dietary habits.

The Department of Agriculture is already helping to meet this challenge. Just the past week we joined the dairy industry in a promotion program that will reach a peak during dairy month in June.

We also began a nationwide educational campaign to increase culling of low-producing dairy cattle. This culling has been below normal because of the high support prices and relatively low beef prices. Now with a strengthening of beef prices and a lowering of the dairy supports the culling should be stepped up measurably.

We expect to take additional action later on as the need develops. Right now we are looking for reduced prices of butter and cheese to stimulate consumption. We also expect that consumers will have to pay less for fluid milk in many marketing areas. This should result in greater sales.

Actually, milk is already a bargain, price wise. A research study at Ames, Iowa, shows that the value of a quart of milk is now 42 42 cents. It would cost 42 cents, in other words, for the same nutrients from other food sources. Since we buy milk at prices ranking from 23 to 26 cents, the bargain nature of milk is emphatically illustrated.

If butterfat, however, can't be disposed of at profitable prices without selling it to the Government, then let's change to producing things that consumers will buy.

The billions of pounds of milk represented by Government holdings of dairy products are costly to buy. They are costly to store, and sooner or later face spillage. In terms of our large and growing population, however, they represent little more than 2 or 3 additional glasses of milk a week per person.

I firmly believe the dairy industry can turn its present marketing problems into opportunities for growth and larger income. It can build up its markets and cut down the present surplus. It can also work for greater efficiency through research.

Too much reliance must not be put on price supports alone. The value of supports has been small indeed compared to the achievements of your own Cache Valley Breeding Association and the Cache Valley Dairy Association in improving the efficiency of dairymen. Through improved breeding, feeding and sanitation you have a per cow production nearly double the average for the Nation. Through a modern record-keeping system that enables herds to be culled properly, you have added to this efficiency. The benefits from efficient marketing also are well known.

These are factors of real progress—the type of progress that will help guide the dairy industry to a new level of prosperity. It is the type of progress that will build a stable, prosperous, and free agriculture, which is essential to the welfare of the entire Nation. It is the type of progress that will enable agriculture to share more abundantly in the broad program of this administration for a stronger America.

With the full support of such men as Senator WATKINS and Senator BENNETT and Congressmen STRINGFELLOW and DAWSON of this State, this program is moving forward. For the first time in many years economies are being made in the operation of the Government. Taxes are on the way down. Integrity, efficiency, and loyalty are once again becoming the watchword of those who work in government. Personal rights and liberties are being accorded full respect. At nearly every turn, progress is being made.

This is a choice land—choice above all others. You, and many others like you, blessed by the Almighty, have made and kept it so. It will continue to be a land of freedom and liberty so long as we are able to advance in the light of sound and enduring principles of right. To sacrifice such principles for momentary expediency—often selfishly motivated—is to endanger our noble heritage.

I pledge to you and to every farmer in America that I will never knowingly advocate or support any program or policy which I believe is not in the best interests of our farmers—regardless of political pressure.

I am confident, as we move forward, that we shall move forward together. Unitedly we may proclaim with Lincoln "that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Universities Serve the Nation's Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a very interesting address given by President James R. Killian, Jr., of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston on March 22, 1954, at the 33d annual Massachusetts Safety Council Conference. The address of President Killian covered three important fields. Without disregarding 2 of the 3 fields that President Killian discussed, his views in the field of military defense is of great importance and should be read and analyzed closely by every Member of Congress and as many of our citizens as is possible. In my opinion Dr. Killian is one of the greatest authorities in the field of science. His knowledge in this field is also accompanied by a profound knowledge of the military situation existing throughout the world.

The address follows:

UNIVERSITIES SERVE THE NATION'S SAFETY

(By James R. Killian, Jr.)

I join in this conference with enthusiasm because I share your conviction that the reduction of hazards to health and life is an essential and urgent activity requiring constant vigilance and an increasingly high competence and imagination. The growing technological complexity of our working and living environment requires more advanced and comprehensive safety measures as do the higher values we place on health and well-being. All citizens are indebted to you and your profession for your contributions to our physical and economic welfare.

Henry Locke has suggested that I talk to you today about the special responsibilities of education to protect us against hazards both physical and political. I accept his suggestion with alacrity because it permits me to speak to you authentically out of my own experience. I had not thought before of colleges and universities as accident-prevention agencies, but indeed they are. They perform a whole range of services which impinge upon our physical safety, but more

importantly they seek to reduce the highway hazards of the human spirit. In this period of bitterness and calumny we need safety engineers for the freedom and the unity of America.

I wish to deal with three comprehensive safety goals on which the universities of our community are now working; they may be figuratively described in your terms as (1) safety against external attack; (2) economic safety for our region; and (3) intellectual and moral safety.

Your invitation has led me to refresh my mind about the activities and responsibilities of my own institution in this field. An institute of technology today has a range of safety problems unknown even 20 years ago, and I suspect its case history is typical. Since World War II, my institution has employed a safety engineer for the first time. It has long benefitted from the advice of a prudent and alert safety committee, and we have established an occupational medical service available to all our departments and laboratories. To deal with problems arising out of research in the field of nuclear physics, we have established a radiological safety group as an advisory agency for all laboratories at MIT, using radioactive materials or generating radioactivity. We have sought, as a part of our own safety program, to throw new light on protection against all manner of radiation effects and the toxic effects of materials such as beryllium which once were misunderstood.

In its educational program, the institute also offers courses—such as the one in industrial health engineering given by our department of civil and sanitary engineering—which are directly concerned with problems of safety of one kind or another. Last summer our safety committee sponsored an impressive exhibit at the institute of safety equipment and safety procedures, which attracted wide interest among students and staff alike. In a conference at MIT last summer on modern highways, your president, Mr. Copell, along with others, provided important information on the subject of highway safety; next month we are sponsoring a symposium on health and hazards in industry, and this coming summer, a 3-day conference on fire protection engineering. Here it is pertinent to note that Horatio L. Bond, of the National Fire Protection Association, is president of our alumni association, and that many of our alumni find careers in this field and others relating to safety as, for example, my classmate, Allen Cobb, who has been president of the National Fire Protection Association.

I am led to the conclusion that an institute of technology might be called with considerable accuracy an institute of safety.

Much of our research has safety implications, some of it through creating new safety problems but most of it through providing new means to greater safety. One group of my associates, for example, has been giving a great deal of attention to the design of buildings to resist atomic explosion.

Some of this research is found in unexpected places going on in unexpected ways. In our research laboratory of electronics, for example, Dr. Clifford Witcher is doing some provocative research on electronic means for aiding the blind to walk alone safely. Dr. Witcher, who has been blind himself since childhood, has come up with what is essentially a portable "electric-eye," carried like a briefcase, that "looks at" the ground ahead of the walker to detect stepdowns, or sudden drops, which the blind pretty generally regard as the greatest hazards to their safe travel. We are working to perfect this detector, and progress is most encouraging.

Of course most of our research is in areas where you would expect to find it. Our metallurgical, structural, and mechanical engineers are concerned with the design of safer materials, with studying the resistance of structures to high impulse loads, and with uncovering the causes of many kinds of failures. Similarly, our aeronautical engineers are tackling many complex problems in the field of air safety, notably through better automatic controls, through studies of flutter in airplane structures, and through the applications of dynamic analysis and flight simulation to the laboratory study of performance of flying vehicles. In another area, members of the staff of our acoustics laboratory are seeking to formulate standards and methods for the control of noise that may have deleterious effects on people.

And now let me turn to the broader ways by which our universities serve, in a figurative sense, the larger safety goals of the Nation.

The first of these has to do with our military defense. This vast program impinges upon every aspect of our national life, including our universities, and particularly our universities here in New England. At the persent time, institutions of greater Boston have mobilized hundreds of scientists and other scholars who are working unselfishly, quietly, and patriotically to give the Nation stronger defenses at lower cost. In fact this area has become one of the Nation's largest and most important centers for defense research. The educational institutions of metropolitan Boston alone have been the major factor in the location here of Government electronics research facilities employing over 2,000 men and women. The research resources of these institutions helped also in attracting here the new Quartermaster Research Laboratory. During World War II my institution had the responsibility for one of the major scientific efforts of the war and for managing an expenditure of over $125 million for research.

A large and urgent defense project now operated by MIT, the Lincoln Laboratory, is a dramatic example of how educational institutions can provide emergency service to the Nation. It is also in the fullest sense of the word a major effort in the field of safety engineering, for the objective of the Laboratory is to assist in providing the Nation with a more effective defense against air attack. The Lincoln Laboratory among other things concerns itself with the design and development of experimental models of certain weapons primarily intended for the defense of Continental North America against air attack. The Laboratory is a part of a national effort that seeks to achieve technological advances which will strengthen our existing system of air defense, making the investment in guns and airplanes already made, more useful, and bringing about a better integration of the total military air defense system. The Lincoln program further holds the possibility of providing freedom to our country to extend its air defense in a meaningful and sound manner. The major expenses involved in our air defense are not in radar or in similar devices but in guns and airplanes. The problem is to increase the effectiveness of the guns and airplanes by providing devices and systems which will enable them to be more efficiently employed.

The problem of defense against atomic attack is perhaps the most complex problem in safety planning and engineering that any people has ever faced. No informed and competent scientist or member of the military who has considered the problem has concluded that a perfect defense is possible or probable. They have concluded that our present defense capabilities can be improved severalfold and that we have the technical resources to accomplish this. It is this improvement which the proponents of a strong continental defense advocate, not the building of a perfect system with all the astronomical numbers that this implies. Let no one be under the misapprehension that a perfect air defense is technically or economically feasible. Let it be equally clear that we are not helpless in greatly improving our defense. Indeed, in my judgment and that of many others, we can improve our continental safety in a way that may be profoundly important both to the maintenance of peace and to our security in the event of war. As the President has made clear, our Nation has adopted a policy leading to this kind of continental defense. This is a heartening development and means that we may be able to achieve a better relationship between offense and defense which have been out of balance.

The Lincoln Laboratory is but one example of a variety of great undertakings whereby universities are contributing to our safety and security in this great mobilization of brains. In a wholly different area they are conducting investigations designed to give us a better understanding of our enemy, her politics, her economy, and her strengths and vulnerability. The universities are making a contribution to the safety of the Nation that needs to be better known and better understood.

The second safety function of our universities is to strengthen our community and regional economy. I submit that in New England, in Massachusetts, and in metropolitan Boston, our universities are important partners of management and labor in maintaining a vigorous economy. Out of the universities are coming directly new products, new industries, new wealth. Through research, the universities are helping this region to replace lost industry by using advanced technology and know-how to create new industry. They also help existing industry achieve new products and new efficiency both in technology and in management. They are the sources of the raw material of ideas and they are stockpiles of information.

In my home city, Cambridge, Radcliffe, Harvard, and MIT together form the city's largest employer of people, with a total of nearly 14,000 on their payrolls. The combined annual payroll of these three institutions is more than $35 million. Their combined annual expenditures are $85 million. This past year they had under construction new facilities totaling $10 million. Much of the new money is drawn from outside the State. I estimate that two-thirds of the total capital resources of MIT were attracted from outside Massachusetts. To put it one way, our local institutions import money and men and export ideas. For example, the recently established National Science Foundation fellowships demonstrate the drawing power of our local institutions. These fellowships, awarded to young scientists all over the Nation, permit their recipients to study where they choose. More than 20 percent of them have elected to study in Greater Boston; and I am pleased that my own institution has drawn the largest number of any institution in the country.

As the forthcoming report of the Committee of New England recently points out, this region possesses at least 46 colleges and universities that furnish technical training and operate research laboratories. These institutions have been responsible, at least in part, for the location in New England of many new companies. As this report said, "During the last few years a whole new generation of research-based new enterprises has come into existence, frequently to exploit new scientific and engineering knowledge acquired during World War II. A large number of such companies have settled and grown near their spawning ground in Cambridge." This is one of the greatest concentrations of scientific, engineering, and research talent to be found in the world. In any terms, this concentration of research activity is a community, a State, a regional, and a national resource of the first magnitude.

Let me turn next to another recent report, A Survey of Industrial Opportunities in New England, by Arthur D. Little, Inc. "The high quality of research in New England," notes this report, "has concentrated an increasing number of new firms around its research centers. * * * One of the unique assets for the machinery industry in New England is the concentration of technological knowledge in universities and private research corporations * * * (university) and research laboratories in the Boston area are the hub of electronics developments."

And so these reports document my thesis. We have only to look at the new lexicon of corporate names in this area to see the impact of university scientific research and high technology: High Voltage Engineering Corp.; Tracerlab, Inc.; Photon, Inc.; Polaroid Corp.; National Research Corp.; Ultrasonic Corp.; Ionics, Inc.; and so on.

I come now to the third broad aspect of our national safety, the protection of our freedom, which, as Elihu Root once said, is the supreme treasure of our country.

Military strength and collective security are not enough to guarantee the safety of the Nation. The stamping out of subversion is not enough. These essential safety measures are but incidental to our central task of maintaining our national integrity, of protecting the coalition of ideas, concepts, and ideals which give our society its meaning, unity, and stability.

Progress, peaceful adjustment to change, an acceptance of dissent, a repugnance for regimentation and enforced conformity, a belief in the supreme importance of the free individual—these have been the shared convictions which have held our Nation together.

These shared convictions are the underpinning of our national loyalty. This loyalty comes not from fear, compulsion, or decree. It springs naturally from a sense of belonging, from a confidence and faith in one's country and one's self, from a love of place, from the proud identification of one's self with a great heritage and a noble cause. Our ultimate safety and stability rest upon this kind of free loyalty and upon a proud, self-confident, free commitment to our unifying philosophy.

Our schools have a crucial responsibility to safeguard our national integrity. They must exemplify our national ideals of equality, social justice, freedom, and individual dignity. They must cultivate and refine the moral idealism which is the cement of our society.

In exemplifying these national ideas, the universities must serve as the chief custodians of our national heritage. The Nation expects them to serve as a bureau of standards for our intellectual and spiritual weights and measures, rejecting what is superficial, trivial, and mediocre. They must provide a free market of ideas where error or subversion can be revealed and objectivity and truth can be confirmed. They constitute a laboratory where young minds may free themselves from the commonplace as they develop their individuality and as they experiment and search for truth. If the universities do their job well, they provide an habitual vision of greatness to guide and inspire both young and old.

To paraphrase John Buchan, it is the business of education to build quality into the Nation and to educate our people into a nobler life.

It should be clear to you by now that I feel deeply proud of our universities and that I have not been cowed by the wave of criticism recently directed at them. Too many educators have become defensive and self-conscious in the face of this criticism and attack.

I have no such self-conscious fears about my profession. There is no reason why universities and intellectuals should not be criticized so long as they are free to reply to the criticism. Other kinds of institutions and other groups in our country have been criticized; in our free democracy no one is immune.

It is the responsibility of the university and the scholar to combat and denounce unfair and ignorant criticism, to resist the pressures of stifling conformity, and to make clear the policies and goals of our universities. This I do with relish and happily with freedom. It is our still greater responsibility to protect and maintain inviolate the free and objective pursuit of truth which is the mission of the university. This mission is so deeply interwoven with our national safety, stability, and self-respect that it must be defended against every encroachment.

We might appropriately recall that the university as we know it is an invention of our western society. It is both the seed and the fruit of democracy. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans had any comparable institution, and historians have speculated on what might have been the influence on their societies had they possessed such agencies for perpetuating and increasing learning, for demonstrating the importance of freedom, and for providing a benign environment for their creative minds. Is it not possible that our great university system in America may provide our society with a bulwark for freedom and a resource for stability which have been available to few other societies and which may give us a higher degree of stability and a greater future?

If our universities are to perform these services to our society, they must remain free, else they lose their true character as universities. So long as they are free they can continue to stir young minds to new ideas, to new and exciting intellectual activity, to be fired with new and heightened enthusiasm and understanding. So long as they are free they will continue to pour out a stream of discoveries and new concepts to improve our health, better our environment, elevate our standard of living, strengthen our defense, and perpetuate American ideals. If they lose their freedom, they will be like Samson shorn of his hair.

Our New England universities have been outstanding because our scholars have been relatively free of improper interference of all kinds. They have not been harassed by discriminatory laws or by rampant anti-intellectualism. New England has provided a benign environment for higher education and as a result our institutions have attracted a group of world-famous scholars. It is unthinkable that New England would not continue to provide this kind of environment. We must not allow our institutions to find themselves at a disadvantage, vis-a-vis institutions in other regions, in attracting and holding first-rate minds. The key to the strength of our institutions has been their freedom and the understanding of the community that this freedom is essential.

Far more is involved here than protecting academic freedom. Academic freedom somehow has come to connote academic privilege, which it is not. What is involved is the formulation, explanation, and protection of those tested means by which a free society most effectively preserves its past, creates its future, and prepares its young people to be its citizens, its experts, and its leaders. We must make it clear that a voluntary association of free scholars pursuing truth freely wherever and however it may be found is the tested way of accomplishing this mission for our society. We must understand why a college cannot be managed like a corporation or an army or subjected to capricious or self-seeking external control and still be great.

It is the responsibility of our strong and stable institutions to demonstrate that this is true and to protest with courage and determination any distortion of their tested procedures.

It is the responsibility of our society to insist that our schools continue to be the sanctuary of the mind that is joyfully free so that they can continue to teach and perpetuate the freedom which is our Nation's supreme treasure. It is in the light of this responsibility that we can think of these institutions as one of the agencies most essential to the safety of our Nation, our democracy, and our individual dignity.

Accomplishments and Victories in Sports of Three High Schools in Connecticut's Third District

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, it is with great civic pride that I submit the following newspaper articles on the accomplishments and victories in sports of three high schools in Connecticut's Third District.

The James Hillhouse High School in New Haven has again captured the previous New England scholastic basketball championship for the fifth time. Coach Sam Bender, in recent years, has made his team one to reckon with. Besides the members of the entire squad, I offer my congratulations to Manager Fred Harris and principal of Hillhouse, Robert T. LeVine, for such a notable accomplishment.

I also pay tribute to the spectacular record of East Haven High School basketball team, having scored 29 straight victories this season. Coach Frank Crisafi and his brilliant leadership makes his team an ever-powerful threat in class B basketball. To Principal Carl Garvin, team members, managers, and all those contributing to the rabid interest and superiority of this great team, I wish to express my pride and continued best wishes for future success.

Scholastic hockey in New England cannot be mentioned without the sparkling record of the Hamden High School team, which succeeded in grabbing off the New England championship for the second time in 3 years. Hamden High School has assumed no small part in building highly spirited enthusiasm for hockey in the New Haven area. Coach Don McNeil, Manager Dave Greene, and Hamden Principal W. H. Moody all deserve acclaim along with the team members for their commendable efforts in the making of a championship organization. The articles follow:

BASKETBALL TEAM MET AT STATION BY LARGE CROWD—HALF HOLIDAY DECLARED AT FORMAL CELEBRATION—EASTIES ALSO HONORED

Tired but happy, members of the Hillhouse basketball team stepped off The Senator yesterday afternoon, and ran into one of the most tumultuous welcomes ever accorded a championship team here.

More than 2,000 fans gathered at Union Station to give verbal, and occasionally oscu-

latory, greetings to the gallant crew which won the New England scholastic basketball championship for the fifth time at the 3-day tournament held in the Boston Garden.

Brightly dessed drum majorettes, bandsmen, rangerettes, and cheerleaders vented youthful enthusiasm in a succession of school yells and songs and were joined by family groups, sportsmen, policemen, firemen, school and city officials.

PICTURES TAKEN

The team remained at the station only a short while to allow news photographers to get their shots and then was whisked in official city cars to the green where a more formal welcome awaited it.

There an even greater crowd heard Mayor Richard C. Lee extend the greetings of the city its government and his own warmest congratulations for a good job well done.

The mayor announced the closing of the high school tomorrow afternoon at 12:30 to give the school a half holiday in celebration. Although the news brought grateful cheers from the student body his official proclamation that today is to be V-day for New Haven was just as warmly received.

Others on the speaking program included William J. Clancy vice president of the board of education; Principal Robert LeVine; Coach Sam Bender; and team captain Harry Bosley who introduced each player, the team manager, trainer Ken Sweeten and hockey coach George Dorin who accompanied the champions on their victorious trek. School Superintendent Judson O'Brien acted as toastmaster.

TEAM PRAISED

Clancy, LeVine, and O'Brien lauded the students who made the trip for exemplary conduct while in Boston. Clancy paid tribute to the coach and team and Principal LeVine expressed his appreciation to teachers who acted as chaperones.

The Hillhouse principal followed Mayor Lee's example and said that no lessons need be prepared for Monday morning.

Coach Bender underplayed his part in the team's success by saying that he would be just another coach if he didn't have players such as those who made up this year's array.

The coach introduced Captain Bosley, who before presenting his teammates, said: "We needed Mr. Bender." He thanked Hillhouse and New Haven for their wonderful support which, he said, "is important in any sport."

Members of the team called upon to take a bow were: Al Badger, Gene Davins, Sal DiNicola, Bob Forbes, John Woods, Leon Nelson, Eli Watson, Joseph Gaetano, Mathew Amarante, Al Weiner, "Trickey Dick" McCullough, and Manager Fred Harris.

In closing, Mr. O'Brien paid tribute to the city departments for their cooperation in arranging the program.

Some 20 minutes after the New Haven welcome was adjourned, a crowd of nearly 500 was again at the railroad station when the East Haven champions of the COAO medium school division, returned from Boston after gaining its 29th straight victory of the season without a loss by beating Winchester, B champs of Massachusetts, in the preliminary game to the New England finals last Saturday.

While the welcome lacked the volume, it was nonetheless as jubilant as that which greeted Hillhouse. Members of the Bradford Manor Drum Corps of Momauguin seranaded their heroes, who, after a short wait, were taken to a chartered bus. Led by an escort of both the New Haven and East Haven Police Departments, they were whisked away to their homes.

It was announced last night that East Haven also will give the high school a half holiday and the school will close at noon. Immediately thereafter, a parade will form at the school and parade through the town and will be officially greeted by town executives at the Town Hall.

EAST HAVEN COMPLETES UNDEFEATED SEASON BEATING MASSACHUSETTS CHAMPS 72–60—YELLOWJACKETS HIT FOR 16 IN LAST QUARTER—MASSARI NETS 30 POINTS TO SPARK 29TH STRAIGHT BASKETBALL VICTORY

(By Frank Birmingham)

BOSTON.—East Haven High's undefeated basketball team wrote a brilliant chapter in a championship season by rallying in the last quarter for 16 points to rout Winchester High, eastern Massachusetts class B champions, 72–60.

The victory, sparked by the outstanding 30-point shooting of the fabulous Tony Massari, was East Haven's 29th straight this year and the 54th in 2 years as against 1 loss in the 1952 State championship finals by 1 point to Lyman Hall, of Wallingford.

Spectacular shooting marked the excellent exhibition of Frank Crisafi's club in tonight's game. East Haven connected on 26 of 52 shots for a red hot 50 percent. Winchester had 66 shots and 22 hoops for a creditable 33 percent.

TIED 10 TIMES

The game produced a rip-snorting battle. The score was tied 10 times over the route, and the lead changed hands 5 times as first one club, then the other would go ahead.

Red O'Mara shared one of the scoring honors for the victors with 18 points while Hank Heffernan and Paul Wisminiti were terrific in the bounding department. Boht Wisminiti and O'Mara fouled out, but their loss did not hurt the Easties, as Winchester tallied only one field goal in the final frame.

Other contributors to the victory were Hank Luzzi and Mike Paolillo, who started a big East Haven rally in the final quarter when the score was tied 60–60. East Haven's zone was penetrated often by Lou Farrel's sensational set shooting for 15 points. Center John Lynch, a rugged big and stocky pivot, tallied 15 points for Winchester on hoops from plays in close. Jim Wright shot in 12 for the losers.

O'Mara shot the Easties into the lead before the game had reached the 6-second mark with a running jump shot. He put in a foul try to put East Haven ahead 3–0. John Winch tallied a field goal on a rush shot from the pivot for the Sachems and Jim Wright tied the count at 3–3 with a foul shot.

Tony Massari connected on one of his patented one-handed jump push shots to put East Haven ahead, but Winchester tied it up at 5–5 on Lou Farrel's long set shot. Baskets by O'Mara, Massari on a jump shot and O'Mara on a lay-up gave the Easties a 9–5 lead. A one-handed jump and foul conversion by Winch cut the gap to 9–8.

O'Mara opened it up to 3 points again with a one-handed push, and then a foul shot by Winch and driving lay-up by Dave Pratt tied the score again at 11–11.

But then the Easties ripped off 10 points in a row to take a 21–11 lead before Winch scored again. Paul Wisminiti got 4 points on 2 hoops in the spurt, O'Mara put in 3 foul shots, Hank Heffernan scored once on a lay-up after he stole the ball at center court and Massari contributed 1 foul point in the "alley."

A jump push by Wright and lay-up by Pratt cut the gap at the end of the first period to 21–15, with East Haven in command. In the first quarter, East Haven scored 8 hoops in 13 shots and Winchester netted 6 for 21.

GREAT COMEBACK

The Eastern Massachusetts Class B champs showed great comeback abilities in the second quarter to deadlock the score 36–36, with about a minute to play before the half ended. With Farrell ringing the bell for 11 points in a 19-point surge Winchester gradaully cut East Haven's lead until Pratt tied it up 34–34 on a lay-up from in close with Farrell netting 4 points to finally overcome East Haven's big first period advantage. A one-handed push shot by Hank Luzzi put East Haven out front, but a long one-handed push shot from the corner by Wright tied it up again at 36–36.

Ted Sullivan dunked in a foul shot and Massari's one-handed jump shot gave the Yellowjackets a 39–36 edge, but just before the half ended, Wright's one-hander cut the deficit to 39–38 with East Haven leading by a single point. In the second period, East Haven collected 8 hoops in 10 shots, while Winchester found the range 9 times in 16 tries.

Winchester reversed East Haven's game-opening play by taking the tap to start the second half and scored in the first 5 seconds, to take the lead, 40–39, when Joe Bellino drove under the hoop for a fast lay-up. Massari tied it 40–40 from the foul line. O'Mara's beautiful under-handed lay-up put the Easties ahead, 42–40.

RALLY TO TIE

Then Winchester broke loose for a 45–42 lead as Pratt hit on a set shot, and Winch pivoted in the bucket for an accurate push shot and then added a foul shot. East Haven rallied for 3 points to tie the tally 45–45 on Paolillo's one-handed push and a foul shot by Massari.

The see-saw pattern continued as Winchester stormed into a 4-point lead on a push shot by Bellino and Wright's 2 foul shots. Massari cut the deficit to 2 points on a one-hander, but substitute Bill Ross restored Winchester's 4-point bulge on a neat one-hander. Then East Haven hit another hot streak to reel off 9 straight points and go ahead 56–51.

Heffernan started it with a foul shot, then Sullivan hit on a one-handed push and Wisminiti tied the count 51–51 on a foul try. Massari looped in 2 lay-up shots and a foul shot for a 5-point streak to build East Haven's lead to 56–51.

But the pesty Winchester quintet, again touched off by a long set shot by Farrel sliced the lead to 56–55 as the third quarter ended. After Farrel's 2-pointer, four conversions by Wright and Ross closed out the period with East Haven leading 56–55. Both clubs shot 6 for 16 in the third quarter, but with the score 56–54, East Haven suffered a big blow when Wisminiti, a leading rebounder, fouled out of the game.

EAST HAVEN	B	F	P	WINCHESTER	B	F	P
Massari, f	10	10	30	Pratt, f	4	0	8
Heffernan, f	2	1	5	Ross, f	1	1	3
O'Mara, f	6	6	18	Wright, f	3	6	12
Wisminiti, c	2	1	5	Lynch, c	4	5	13
Luzzi, g	1	0	2	Bellino, g	4	1	9
Sullivan, g	3	1	7	Farrell, g	6	3	15
Paolillo, g	2	1	5				
Total	26	19	72	Total	22	16	60

Score at half: East Haven, 39; Winchester, 38.

Nonscoring substitutes, East Haven—Bowden, Narracci. Winchester—Sevens, Gore.

HAMDEN WINS NEW ENGLAND HOCKEY—GREENIES TAKE SECOND TITLE AT PROVIDENCE—RON HENRY SCORES WINNING GOAL OVER NOTRE DAME, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

(By Warren Carlson)

PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 13.—Ron Henry rammed home the winning goal with 2 minutes and 31 seconds left in the final period to bring Hamden its second New England hockey championship in 3 years on a 3 to 2 victory before a crowd of 3,189 at the Rhode Island auditorium tonight.

Hamden led all the way until Notre Dame, New Hampshire champions from Berlin, who had pressed for two full periods without a score, wound up with a tremendous rush to score twice in the final session and knot the score at 2 all with less than 4 minutes to go.

Notre Dame, in the finals for the first time in 8 years it has participated in the tournament, made a tremendous effort to pull out

the victory and outshot Hamden in the final 12 minutes.

After the Greenies had scored their second goal at 1:35 of the final session when Al McMahon finished off a pass from Joe Barile at 1:35, which also was the second score of the night for the Hamden wing, Notre Dame came back to tally twice on goals by Ed Lessard and Al Brodeur to pull even at 8:05.

Notre Dame kept Hamden's big guns at bay in the opening stanza of the championship clash with defenseman Ray Blanchette playing a stellar game. Hamden got only four shots on Norm Arpin, New Hampshire's tall goalie and two of them came in the last 30 seconds after Blanchette was sent to the penalty box for tripping.

Hamden's first line of Ron Henry, Joe Barile and Al McMahon was carrying the attack as the second line which had accounted for six of Hamden's even goals thus far in the tournament failed to break loose against Notre Dame's close checking.

The New Hampshire champs were pressing all over the ice to keep the fast Hamden forwards from getting loose and throwing the puck into their opponents' end.

Notre Dame got only two shots on Hamden's Mike Santello as the Greenie defense stopped several sorties.

PENALTY HURTS

Notre Dame continued to outskate Hamden in the opening minutes of the second stanza but another penalty to defenseman Bob Fillion cost the New Hampshire titlists a goal when the Greenies put on the pressure after the first change of lines.

After Arpin had made several brilliant stops early in the session Notre Dame finally got its only break after Blanchette had been sent off for a checking penalty. Roland Villeneuve went in all alone and fired at point blank range but Santello neatly blocked the shot.

Hamden finally broke the scoreless deadlock at 9:41 of the second stanza when McMahon intercepted a pass at the blue line and when Blanchette fell down attempting to retrieve the puck, the Greenie winger rammed the puck past Arpin from 8 feet out.

Hamden went ahead 2 to 0 when the defense stole the puck from Blanchette and set up a 2-on-1 break with Joe Barile feeding McMahon for the goal at 1 minute and 35 seconds of the final period.

The Greenies failed to follow up their advantage and with Notre Dame shorthanded on a penalty against Blanchette they failed to get a shot.

The New Hampshire team came back to score the first goal at 7:31 when Ed Lessard finished off a play from Al Brodeur and Lou Effrati with a back-hander from 10 feet out.

Then with Hamden short-handed after Charlie Nelson was sent off the ice for tripping at 8:02. Brodeur rammed in the tying marker from almost the identical spot to the left of the cage with an assist from Effrati.

That was the end of Notre Dame's gallant efforts, however, as Barille passed to Henry for the winning marker at 9:29.

Hamden's New England champions and runner-up Notre Dame each placed three men on the all-tournament team named by sports writers covering the tournament.

Forwards Ron Henry and Howard (Butch) Ives and defenseman Jack Ferns were the Connecticut entry's representatives on the all-star sextet while Norm Arpin, goalie, Norm Blanchette defense, and Al Brodeur forward were Notre Dame's selections. Walpole's Bob DeMichele was the seventh choice as four forwards were even in the scribes' voting, and he was also named the tournament's most valuable player.

But Hamden wasn't to be denied the title which it had won for the first time in 1952, and the Green and Gold came on with a terrific surge in the last minutes that ended with Henry's goal.

Hamden supporters, eager to congratulate their heroes, leaped to the ice before the game was over as an offside penalty stopped the clock with 2 seconds to go, but it didn't make any difference.

The Greenies put their greatest effort into the final game and coach Don McNeil called the Berlin, N. H., club "The greatest hockey team I have faced in my 18 years of coaching."

It was a real team effort and there were no individual stars, although the work of the defense sparked by Jack Ferns was a major factor in the triumph.

Notre Dame's standout was defenseman Ray Blanchette who time after time stopped the Greenie sorties and the first line of Bob Fillion, Ed Lessard, and Al Brodeur played iron-man roles in keeping the New Hampshire team in the ball game.

While the previous games were mostly battles of the goal tenders, neither Hamden's Mike Santello nor Notre Dame's Norm Arpin were under heavy fire in the final. Santello had only eight stops while Arpin had to kick out 10.

LaSalle eked out a 2 to 1 victory over Walpole, Mass., in overtime in the consolation game when Jim Ford tallied on a pass from Dick Riley at 3:24 of the 6-minute sudden-death extra period.

The Rhode Island champions trailed 1–0 after Wally Duncan scored with 17 seconds remaining in the first period, but the game was knotted at 2:10 of the middle stanza when Hal McDonald soloed for LaSalle.

HAMDEN		NOTRE DAME
Santello	G	Arpin
Nelson	LD	Blanchette
Ferns	RD	Fillion
Henry	C	Lessard
McMahon	LW	Effrati
Barile	RW	Brodeur

Hamden spares: Stritto, Dietter, Stratton, Ferrie, McNamara, Batson, Ives, Sparico, Donlan.

Notre Dame spares: Deyette, Baillargeon, Drapeau, Caron, Villeneuve, Lacroix, Grenier, Leclerc.

Referees: Gus Rivers and Art Lessieur.

First period scoring: None. Penalty: Blanchette (tripping) 1:30.

Second period: 1, Hamden, McMahon, (unassisted) 9:41. Penalties: Fillion (checking in center zone) 1:30; Blanchette (checking in center zone) 1:30.

Third period: 2, Hamden, McMahon (Barile) 1:35, 3, Notre Dame, Lessard (Brodeur, Effrati) 7:31; 4, Notre Dame, Brodeur (Effrati) 8:05; 5, Hamden, Henry (Barile) 9:29.

Penalties: Blanchette (leg check) 1:30, Nelson (tripping) 1:30.

Current Federal Educational Activities and Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on March 19, 1954, my distinguished colleague, Hon. ARTHUR WINSTEAD, addressed the Mississippi Vocational Association's annual meeting in Jackson, Miss. Congressman WINSTEAD has had wide experience in the field of education prior to coming to Congress and is eminently qualified to speak on educational activities. The speech which he delivered on the aforementioned occasion contains a wealth of information, and, in my opinion, is of such significance that I feel it should be made available to the membership of the House. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am pleased to include this address:

CURRENT FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

(By ARTHUR WINSTEAD)

Mr. President, members of the Mississippi Vocational Association, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful beyond expression for your invitation which makes it possible for me to be a part of your meeting today. It is indeed a distinct honor and pleasure to be here. I sincerely feel that few men have ever possessed the personal and political friendship of any group equal to that which I have enjoyed from the educational people in Mississippi. Having spent 16 years in schoolwork, I believe I understand many of your problems and assure you that I appreciate the great service you are rendering.

Since being a Member of the Congress I have tried at all times to be alert to the needs of our vocational program, and have, as you know, supported legislation designed to carry this program forward. It is my present belief that the $29 million authorized should be appropriated, and that certainly no reduction should be made in the amount appropriated for this program last year.

In discussing with you current Federal activities and programs, I would like to point out that over the past 160 years Federal educational activities have increased in number and scope to the point that education has now become big business for the Federal Government. In one fiscal year alone (1950) the Government spent over $3.5 billion for widely diversified educational purposes. Figures for 1950–51 show a drop of $1 billion, to $2.5 billion, owing to a reduction in the number of veterans getting education under the old GI bill (Public Law 346). The new GI bill (Public Law 550, 82d Cong.) will not cost as much as the old one, but it will account for a large share of the Federal expenditures for education.

There is scarcely a department or agency of the Federal Government that does not have some type of education program in operation. Specifically, approximately 300 educational programs are currently being undertaken by the Federal Government. Some of the programs involve millions of citizens, others only a handful of specialists. So extensive are these programs taken in their aggregate that they directly or indirectly affect every citizen in the United States, its Territories and possessions, and many people of foreign lands.

In view of the number and the varying degree of impact these programs have on the country at large, it is neither possible nor would it contribute a great deal to treat each program separately. Rather, I believe it more important to point out a few of the major educational programs now underway and to examine some of the principal problems which exist with regard to their administration.

By far the largest portion of the Federal Government's educational activities is devoted to defense or war-incurred obligations. By the same token, the principal recipients of educational aid are veterans and Federal personnel—military and civilian. This situation is a far cry indeed from the original Federal aid concept of grants for the overall promotion of education within the States. It is a reflection of the troubled times in which we live; of a world teetering on the thin line between war and peace; of a world

strained and drawn taut by international tensions; of a world progressively dependent on complex technological and scientific skills to maintain and promote a high standard of living and to fight its wars.

Education is basic to technological and scientific advancement, as well as to cultural, economic and political growth. To the extent that education is promotional of specific aspects of the welfare and security of the people, to that extent has education been employed to subserve the purposes of the Federal agencies working toward these ends. That education has been "used" rather than promoted by the Federal agencies is well substantiated by the fact that only 1 percent of the $3.5 billion spent for education in fiscal 1950 was devoted to the over-all promotion of education. It is also well substantiated by more detailed examination of the purposes of the on-going programs and the groups directly affected by Federal educational activities.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Education for military personnel is offered through approximately 50 separate programs administered by the various branches of the military forces. The primary purposes to which these programs are geared are 2 in number: (1) to train military and civilian personnel in the many intricate technical tasks and other military activities needed to build and maintain a strong defense establishment in a world of modern warfare; and (2) to provide civilian-type education for military personnel on and off duty to enable them to continue their basic education and to fit themselves better for military and civilian life.

Many of the Military Establishment's personnel training schools, institutions, and programs are an integral part of the work of the agency operating them. For instance, the apprenticeship programs at Army ordnance stations, the Navy School of Photographic Interpretation, the Navy Staff Colleges, the Naval School of Aviation Medicine, and Air Force aircraft equipment maintenance schools are virtually inseparable from the purpose of the respective branches of the service. It is highly doubtful whether civilian institutions would be equipped or willing to provide equivalent training nor would it be particularly desirable for them to do so.

However, many of the military sponsored and financed educational programs are more general in nature and more similar to the curriculum offered in the regularly established secondary and elementary schools, trade schools, and colleegs and universities. The Army, Navy, and Air Force each operate large-scale offduty, nontechnical educational programs with courses ranging from the elementary to the college level. The name applied to the Air Force program—Operation Bootstrap—signifies well the intent of these programs—to help military personnel "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" through education. Specific program goals for the Army and, to a large extent, the other services are "to have all servicemen complete at least the fifth grade, to have all noncommissioned officers and key enlisted personnel complete at least the eighth grade, to have all officers on active duty complete at least 2 years of college, and to provide continuing educational opportunities for Army servicemen."[1] It is hard to escape from the fact that the Military Establishment has set for itself an ambitious program having objectives similar to the public school systems in the States.

The forerunner of these separate programs was the triservice Armed Forces Institute, established in 1946 as a permanent peacetime educational activity. The overriding purpose of the USAFI is to "provide common educational services and materials for military personnel * * * in order that they may have opportunities for instruction in subjects normally taught in civilian educational institutions."[2] At first, the USAFI offered 64 correspondence courses on the junior and senior college levels. Later, the program was extended to include hundreds of college and secondary school level courses made available in large measure by the extension divisions of participating colleges and universities and by the public schools. Since the creation of the USAFI, "an estimated 2,500,000 servicemen and servicewomen have been granted credit by civilian schools as a result of courses taken through the Institute."[3]

Some of the military training programs conducted at the secondary and college levels are specifically designed to increase the professional, scientific and technical service schools in order to prepare their personnel in the handling of highly specialized military jobs. The Army alone conducts 38 service schools offering hundreds of courses in such fields as electronics, intelligence, and languages, communications, logistics, photography, engineering and construction, office and personnel administration, and medical and dental laboratory training. Every one of the technical bureaus of the Navy operates service schools for enlisted men and officers, and the Air Force administers technical training schools, providing instruction in such areas as gunnery, aircraft maintenance and repair, administration, and activities relative to radar use and maintenance.

A particularly important aspect of military education are the officer training programs—the ROTC, NROTC, AFROTC—conducted in colleges and universities throughout the Nation and, in some instances, in the secondary schools. Many thousands of young men are enrolled in these programs, which add military courses to academic schedules.

Another phase of the farflung military education program is the direct operation of institutions at the undergraduate and graduate level for selected personnel. West Point and Annapolis train aspirants to officer positions. The Command and General Staff College of the Armed Forces, the Army and Navy War Colleges, the Armed Forces Staff College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the National War College, and the United States Air Force School of Aviation Medicine are just a few of the other institutions offering a wide range of courses for the benefit of military officers.

All in all, there is scarcely an area of education not included in these programs. Courses, including regular academic, high school and college work, social sciences, languages, economics, international relations, personnel administration and other phases of administration, the physical and technical sciences and trades, are made available to military personnel. The educational programs of the Armed Forces cost the taxpayers more than an estimated $250 million in fiscal 1950.

RESEARCH PROGRAMS

In 1950 the Federal Government spent more for research in college and universities than for any other single educational program, excepting veterans' education. Well over $100 million was spent for this purpose in fiscal 1950 and appropriations have been increased since that time. More than a dozen Federal agencies were engaged in research activities in 1950 in cooperation with nearly 200 colleges and universities. The Defense Department, the Department of Agriculture, and the Atomic Energy Commission contracts account for almost all the appropriations made for research purposes.

By far the largest share of Federal funds expended for research is for activities in the physical, biological, medical, engineering, and other technical sciences conducted under the auspices of the Defense Department. The contracts generally call for applied or development research, although some basic research is also authorized. For example, the Army, Navy, and Air Force each administer contractual research programs for the purpose of providing, respectively, for: (1) continuous advancement in Army equipment, weapons, and techniques; (2) "to plan, promote, initiate, and coordinate naval research in conjunction with the technical bureaus of the Department of the Navy";[4] and (3) to pursue basic and applied research and development in the field of aeronautics.

More recent studies of the scope of Federal research expenditures for research indicate that the 1950 figures have been nearly tripled during the 3-year national emergency. The National Science Foundation reports that the Government's research contracts during fiscal 1952 came to $341 million; 50 percent of this was contracted for by the Defense Department.[5] If time permitted I should like to go into this research problem at greater length. There are many who see a dangerous trend in the growing dependence of academic budget on research contracts. Another danger to be avoided is concentration on applied and developmental research at the expense of basic research. These are only two issues, and I invite you to look into the question more thoroughly if you are interested.

VETERANS' EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS PROGRAM

The most extensive educational program ever to be undertaken by the Federal Government—the veterans' educational benefits program—is a direct outgrowth of World War II obligations accruing to the Federal Government. The GI bill, which involved far larger Federal expenditures and many more people and which had a far greater impact on our educational system than any other Federal educational activity ever embarked on, was enacted not to promote education but to provide an encouragement for veterans to regain an interrupted or lost educational opportunity. It was, thus, one of the most far-reaching special purpose and special group pieces of education legislation ever to be enacted. "Cost to the Goverhment for subsistence, tuition, equipment (including tools), books and supplies, from the beginning of the training program to the end of July 1951 was $12,347,162,546."[6] Over 7½ million service men and women had enjoyed the benefits of the GI bill by June 30, 1951, and had enrolled in schools, colleges, trade schools, on farms and on the jobs throughout the Nation.

The GI bill is the only major Federal educational program which provides complete freedom as to choice of institution and curriculum. Largely because of this freedom and the scope of the undertaking, the GI bill was of vast benefit to the schools and colleges, to the millions of returning GI's and, consequently, to the Nation as a whole. Service men and women who would otherwise not have been able to complete their education, for financial reasons, were able to do so. Many students were able to qualify themselves educationally for better positions than they would otherwise have commanded. Veterans enrolled in all types of educational institutions—public schools, and colleges, privately supported institutions, trade schools, rich and poor, old and new, urban and rural institutions. There is scarcely a field of education or educational institution that has not been profoundly and beneficially affected by this program. Necessary and worthwhile as this legislation has been, it should be realized that our educational system has profited by the GI bill primarily because it involved so

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many millions of young people and so many hundreds of institutions and operated with a minimum of Federal controls and stipulations.

Last July a year ago the 82d Congress passed Public Law 550, popularly known, albeit somewhat erroneously, as the Korean GI bill. This new GI bill varies considerably from its predecessor, Public Law 346, in that it provides a fixed monthly benefit to each veteran from which he in turn must meet all or part of the cost of his education at an institution of his choice. In the case of a single veteran the benefit is $110 per month. Out of this he pays his tuition and his living expenses, supplementing this aid from his own funds. The new law applies to all veterans of service after June 27, 1950, regardless of whether or not they actually served in Korea.

The great difference between the education benefits of the two GI bills is that the new law reduces to a minimum the amount of contact between the institution and the Federal Government. Such legitimate contact as there is consists of a monthly report from the institution certifying that the veteran is actually enrolled and in good standing. The institution must be approved by the State or by a recognized accreditation agency. The temptation for the veteran and the institution to work together to defraud the Government as actually happened in some instances under Public Law 346 is removed by the fact that the money is coming out of the individual veteran's pocket. He cannot defraud the Government without defrauding himself.

One other program for veterans' education should be mentioned briefly. Under Public Law 16 of the 78th Congress a war-disabled veteran is entitled to training in order to restore his employability. A suitable program is prescribed for him by a trained counselor, and the period of training is determined by the individual's progress toward employability.

AID TO FEDERALLY AFFECTED AREAS

World War II and subsequent events relative to national defense witnessed the inauguration of another large-scale Federal program—Federal aid for schools in federally affected areas. During World War II military establishments and defense industries caused abnormal shifts in population, accompanied by extraordinary dislocations and problems for school systems. Millions of families had uprooted their homes to move to Army, Navy, and Air Force installations; others had gone to sites adjacent to defense industries. Because the influx of school population was so great, not only were school agencies unable to provide adequate space for the children, but they were unable to meet the operating expenses of the schools.[7] The Federal Government recognized that when its activities brought about such crises in education, it was obligated to give financial help to the impacted areas. This help was given first through the Lanham Act, passed in June 1940 and amended in 1941, providing funds for school construction and maintenance and operation.

With the increased tempo of defense activities resulting from the Korean conflict, the Federal Government has continued its program of aid to defense school districts through Public Law 815 and Public Law 874, enacted in September 1950, and presently before the Congress for renewal and amendment. Public Law 847 provides aid for maintenance and operation of schools in federally affected areas; Public Law 815 provides aid for construction of school buildings. Since the inception of the two programs the Government has spent $140 million under Public Law 874 and approximately $450 million for school construction aid under Public Law 815.

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It is obvious that without financial assistance as authorized in these two laws the local school districts would not have been able to provide elementary and secondary education for the children whose families had moved into federally affected areas.[8]

To a limited degree, then, education was promoted in certain geographical areas by this legislation. Consideration should be given, however, to the fact that there is scarcely a school district nor a State that does not have overcrowded schools—overcrowded because of a rapidly growing school population, a backlog of school construction, and normal shifts in the population. A nationwide and critical problem results from these developments, but legislation has, so far ,been limited to aid for a special group in specific geographical areas as a result of noneducational activities.

MISCELLANEOUS EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Although the lion's share of Federal funds for education is channeled into defense-related programs, many other special educational programs are also in operation. Several agencies of the Government promote or prepare materials for instruction in the schools such as the Civil Aeronautics Administration (Department of Commerce) in the field of aviation education or the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Department of Justice) in the field of citizenship.[9] Nearly every department and many agencies within the departments provide pre- or in-service personnel training ranging from the preparation of typist on-the-job to advanced college and graduate training. Some of the programs are conducted by the departments themselves and some under contract with civilian and Federal educational institutions; some are formal courses, some informal discussions. For instance, the Department of the Interior conducts a management training program which combines on-the-job training with tuition-free academic work at one of the District's local universities for which regular graduate credits are given.

Still another type of Government training is provided by the Department of Agriculture's Graduate School and the Graduate School of the National Bureau of Standards. These schools are open to all Government personnel and some non-Federal employees, and offer courses paralleling those of regularly established public or private educational institutions.

The Federal Government also is charged with the operation of an elementary and secondary school system for American Indians, for the natives of Guam and of the various Territories and possessions of the United States. Children residing on Federal reservations, in occupied areas abroad and on special Federal projects attend, for the most part, federally operated schools, as do the children of the District of Columbia. An intensive academic and vocational educational program is available to the inmates of Federal penal institutions. Also under Federal sponsorship is an overall program for the international exchange of persons who attend American civilian educational institutions, Federal schools, and who receive in-service training in some of the Federal agencies.

ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

As business administrators, I am sure that you are fully aware of the importance of good administration to the success of any program. Keeping the fundamental importance of sound administrative procedures at all levels of government in mind, let us examine the manner in which Federal educational activities are administered.

Some of the programs are administered by a single noneducational agency, some by two or more. Some of the programs are carried out in cooperation and in coordination with the United States Office of Education, most are not. Some of the programs are administered directly by the several agencies, a few through the State departments of education. Some of the programs are administered in cooperation with civilian educational institutions, some are carried out in federally operated projects. Some of the programs are the result of specific legislation, some have evolved from departmental regulations, orders, and practices.

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The consequence of this administrative confusion has been an overlapping of services, duplication of effort and jurisdictional disputes and conflicts. Educational programs are undertaken by a multiplicity of agencies—for the most part noneducational in nature. There is no focal point of administrative and fiscal responsibility, nor consistency in fiscal and administrative procedures for the Government's comprehensive educational activities. There is no overall Federal policy with regard to education with the result that policy is made in a piecemeal, spasmodic fashion by separate acts of Congress initiated by the various agencies as they desire statutory authority and appropriations for a specific program.

Has Federal control of education been eliminated by a diffusion among the several departments and agencies of the educational programs? This question is really the fundamental issue at hand. There is, generally, a nationwide realization that the Federal Government does have, and has had for a number of years, a stake in the education of the citizens. The problem is how best to translate this interest into action with the proper safeguards for maintaining State and local control over education. The success which has been achieved in this respect can best be determined by a close analysis of some of the salient facts bearing on the present method of administering Federal educational programs.

1. There is no agency leadership in education at the Federal level

So ardently have the American people and the Congress feared Federal control over education through a centralization of educational activities that a directly opposite course of action has been followed.

Comparing the magnitude of Federal expenditures for educational purposes and the number of Federal educational programs now being administered by Federal agencies with the duties and budget of the United States Office of Education—the only Federal agency specifically charged with responsibility for educational matters—it is evident that the United States Office plays only a minor role in the Federal educational scene. The principal duties of the Office are to provide assistance, stimulation, and information on educational matters to the local and State school authorities and to the public. In addition, the United States Office has also been given operating responsibility for a few programs within the past few years. It administers, through the State educational agencies, the below-college vocational educational program, certain aspects of the veterans' war surplus facilities program, and the funds appropriate for Federal support of the land-grant colleges. It has operating responsibilities with respect to the program of school assistance in federally affected areas under Public Laws 815 and 874, and it has been designated as claimant agency for education to certify education's needs for steel for school construction. For its regular programs, apart from the school-assistance program, the United States Office of Education had a budget of approximately $36 million in fiscal 1950.

On the other hand, "at least 14 departments or independent agencies of the Government are currently operating programs which impinge upon State or local school systems in matters concerned with elemen-

tary or secondary education."[10] Nearly 19 departments or agencies are engaged in activities relative to higher education, together with numerous of their subdivisions. It is not uncommon for 1 university to be dealing directly with as many as 25 separate Federal agencies at one time. This situation exists while the only Federal activity devoted solely to the promotion and welfare of higher educational institutions—the Division of Higher Education of the Office of Education—operated in fiscal 1953 on a budget of approximately $202,000.

In 1950 Federal funds available for educational purposes to the United States Office of Education were exceeded by five other Federal agencies—the Army, Navy, Air Force, Department of Agriculture, and the Veterans' Administration. The Army spent nearly twice as much on education as did the United States Office of Education, the Navy and Air Force both 3 times as much, the Department of Agriculture 5 times as much, and the Veterans' Administration nearly 80 times as much.

Not only has the Office of Education been left undeveloped as an operating agency, it has neither the resources nor the statutory power to exert real leadership in educational matters among the Federal agencies and to correlate or coordinate the 99 percent of the educational activities lying outside its sphere of responsibility. The establishment of the Office in a relatively submerged place in the governmental structure and the restrictions placed on it have served to limit its effectiveness and have rendered it virtually beyond the direct control of the people.

2. The current division of responsibility on the Federal level with regard to educational programs has not followed a pattern of sound administration

One of the basic tenets of public administration is that activities should be divided according to their major function. In general, educational programs have been assigned to various departments according to the group served rather than on the basis of their educational function. For example, the Veterans' Administration is responsible for the administration of the veterans' educational-benefits program; the Department of Agriculture for educational services relative to agriculture; and, the Public Health Service for educational programs concerned with medical and health training.

This separation of programs having to do with education has resulted in overlapping of administration and of functions at the Federal level. It has given rise to many unresolved administrative conflicts. For example, although the United States Department of Agriculture administers the school-lunch program, the Office of Education is responsible for providing information and advice on the nutritional and dietary aspect of school lunches. The Office of Education's function of administering the Smith-Hughes vocational educational program in many instances overlaps the Department of Agriculture's extension services program. As another example, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is responsible for administering the vocational rehabilitation program for civilians, whereas the Veterans Administration administers the veterans' vocational rehabilitation program.

3. The scattering of authority throughout the Government has had a significant impact on State educational agencies

If one agrees, as I am sure we all do, that control of education should remain at the State and local levels of government, then the State and local agencies should be strong enough to carry out their responsibility and should be responsive to the will of the people. In other words, we must build strength where the strength belongs.

However, many of the educational programs administered by noneducational Federal agencies are not channeled through the regularly established State departments of education. These agencies have a natural tendency to administer their programs through their counterparts at the State and local levels, or to deal directly with local school districts or even with individual schools. The school-lunch program was at first operated directly in conjunction with the individual school districts and even today negotiations are carried on between the Department of Agriculture and individual, nonpublic schools. Aid under Public Law 815 and Public Law 874 is channeled directly from Washington to the school districts. The Department of the Interior made contracts with over 1,100 individual school districts to provide educational facilities for Indian children. The Department of Agriculture's extension services are administered through the land-grant colleges. The Army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Department of Commerce and subagencies of Interior all operate programs—sometimes whole school systems—directly at the elementary and secondary level.

State educational agencies cannot be strengthened if they are not used. What is often overlooked is that until such time as concerted time and effort and adequate resources are given to building State agencies, Federal-aid programs must either carry with them relatively stringent controls to safeguard the taxpayers' money or the programs must bypass the State authorities.

4. Overlapping administration of educational programs at the Federal level tends to create confusion and overlapping at the State and local levels

"Divided authority on the Federal level has sometimes been mirrored in similar divided authority on the State level. Failure to coordinate adequately at all levels has resulted in confusion and failure to reap all the advantages at the operational level which might have been evident."[11] Many of the same overlaps, jurisdictional disputes, and intramural conflicts evident in the Federal Government are carried on at the local and State levels. For example:

"The 4-H Club program, sponsored by the USDA through its Extension Service and extending to local communities by way of the land-grant colleges, enrolls some 1,600,000 boys and girls. The club work of the Office of Education is closely associated with its vocational educational programs in high schools. It operates at the State level through the State boards for vocational education. Its 4 clubs, enrolling over 500,000 youths, are Future Farmers of America, Future Homemakers of America, New Farmers of America, and New Homemakers of America. On the adult level, the Extension Service operates through the county agents and home demonstration agents, dealing with individuals or groups largely through demonstrations or more informal meetings. The vocational education program is more involved with formal class instruction and associated individual farm or home projects. The vocational education program in agriculture operates in over 8,000 high schools and the Extension Service is in over 3,000 counties of the country."[12] Whereas in many instances, there exist close cooperative arrangements between the two programs, in other areas the programs are uncoordinated, duplicatory, and competitive. This, in turn, allows for waste of funds and manpower and produces administrative confusion locally.

Promotion of curriculum by the Federal Government is also plagued with overlapping administration at the Federal and local levels. The United States Office of Education furnishes assistance to the elementary and secondary schools in general matters of curriculum. The Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, and the Justice Department each carry on assistance in specialized curriculum areas. It is doubtful whether having four Federal agencies responsible for curriculum encourages initiative and well-balanced curricular planning on the part of State and local educational agencies. It is equally questionable whether the State and local agencies can administer their curricular activities efficiently if they must deal with four agencies of the Federal Government.

5. There is no consistent Federal policy with regard to educational programs

A large proportion of the current educational appropriations is allocated directly to the institutions concerned by Federal agencies, without the benefit of an objective formula taking need and geographical distribution into consideration. For example, Federal grants and contracts to institutions of higher education, which run into millions of dollars each year, carry no requirement as to institutional or geographical distribution. In fiscal 1950, universities and colleges located in Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, and California received approximately one-third of the total Federal funds expended for higher eucational purposes, excluding GI bill payments. In the absence of an objective criterion for distributing the funds, there is a very real problem that Federal funds may serve to make the rich institutions richer and the poor poorer.

A second aspect with regard to fiscal policy is that, currently, there is no way of determining the exact amount which the Federal Government spends on education. An Army Department statement regarding its educational activities stated in part that estimates were made, when possible, but the nature of some of the Army educational training activities is such that even approximate estimates are not possible.[13] Inconsistency in accounting and budgetary procedures as between the several agencies, the absence of specific legislative appropriations for some of the programs, and the failure to separate expenditures for education from expenditures for related departmental activities have beclouded the extent to which Federal tax dollars are spent for education. Neither the Congress nor the American people can retain control over Federal funds when such a situation exists.

Legislation is pending before the Congress to require all Federal agencies to report in some detail on their expenditures for educational purposes. If passed, this law would require such reports to be filed with the United States Commissioner of Education who would then transmit a digest of them to the Congress. Even though this would provide no control or coordination, it would serve to keep the Congress and the public on notice as to the extent of Federal educational activity.

6. Educational needs as a whole are not taken into consideration

Legislation providing assistance for special purposes, for particular groups and for specialized areas of education, and a separation of responsibility for educational programs has promoted a segmented educational system. Many of the special-purpose programs were the outgrowth of particular educational needs which were not being met by the States. Similarly, some of the educational activities embarked on by the Federal Government have served to stimulate State and local action in those areas. The fact that Federal support for the land-grant colleges is far outweighed by State, local, and private

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funds bears evidence to the success of Federal leadership in promoting State and local effort.

However, in the absence of an overall educational policy, educational programs currently in operation are largely undertaken to subserve the ultimate purposes of the agencies concerned rather than to promote education generally. That education as a whole has profited by many Federal programs in the field of education is far more an accidental and peripheral development than the result of concerted effort on the part of the Government. The likelihood that serious imblance in school curriculum and in emphasis in the higher educational fields may result from many of the current Federal activities is very real. For example, the funds appropriated for vocational education to the Office of Education account for nearly three-fourths of the budget of the office. On the State level, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States reports that there are 14 States in which the number of employees devoting full time to vocational education in State departments of education either equals or exceeds the number of full-time employees in all other aspects of education within these departments. While this should not be construed as an argument against Federal assistance for vocational education, nevertheless it points up the fact that the Federal Government has evinced more interest in specialized education than in the promotion of education in its entirety.

With regard to our institutions of higher education, the long-range effects of the multi-million-dollar technical research grants from the Federal Government cannot yet be fully evaluated. However, the situation points to the possibility that emphasis on technical research will eventually produce a serious imbalance in the college program which will be felt by the facilities, faculties, administration, and curriculum of the institutions. The question must be asked whether large-scale Federal support for certain areas of education will have the effect of bypassing the areas not so supported. The social sciences and humanities cannot hope, at the present time, to receive the financial support to provide the facilities and to maintain faculties of the caliber essential to compete for students with the amply supported physical sciences. This situation, removed as it is from the traditional objectives of our educational system, needs close attention and warrants the concern of all the citizens.

SUMMARY OF THE FOREGOING POINTS

In summary, the present system of administering Federal educational programs finds responsibility for education spread throughout the Government. There is no agency leadership at the Federal level, with the attendant, an inevitable result, of overlapping and competitive services. The State educational agencies are, on the whole, bypassed, thereby depriving them of the strength necessary effectively to control and promote their own educational systems. There is no overall Federal policy with regard to education with the result that the needs of education as a whole are often neglected in favor of special-group and special-purpose legislation.

FEDERAL CONTROL OF EDUCATION

These facts precipitate the age-old question of Federal control of education and methods by which it can be minimized. Even though more central administrative responsibility is badly needed, we would certainly oppose such a move should there appear to be a tendency to increase Federal control in our educational programs now being operated by State and local officials. We must never have Federal control in our school system.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Now, to turn to the program that is most vital to you—that is, the great program of vocational education, which has meant so much to the country as a whole since its initiation in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. As you know, a few weeks ago President Eisenhower sent over to us his proposed budget of fiscal year 1955, beginning next July 1. This comes to my office in the form of a book as thick as the Manhattan telephone directory, and with almost as much fine print in it, including numbers. Included in this budget are the present administration's proposals for the support of vocational education. As you know, under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, vocational education gets a permanent appropriation of approximately $7 million, and no special act of Congressis necessary each year to continue this amount. However, this is not true of the remainder of the Federal funds for vocational education which are appropriated under the George-Barden Act of 1946. Each year the Congress, in an annual appropriation act, must decide how much money will be allotted to the States under the George-Barden Act. This year we appropriated $18,673,000, of which $493,810.43 came to Mississippi, in addition to the Smith-Hughes money. The President's budget for 1955 proposes to cut this amount by approximately 6½ percent, so that unless Congress decides otherwise, the appropriation for next year will only be $17½ million, of which Mississippi will get $458,278.66, which gives Mississippi $35,531.77 less for fiscal 1955. Furthermore, the new budget not only proposes to cut funds for grants-in-aid for vocational education, but it has decided to reduce the funds needed to administer this program by $60,000. This will mean less frequent field service from the Office of Education, which administers the program at the Federal level and a correspondingly longer delay in getting action from Washington in response to your inquiries.

Should we be surprised at this when for the past year official and unofficial statements had been made indicating an unfriendly attitude both within the Government and outside of it toward vocational education. You might say that these attacks began last year just about this time when Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Oveta Culp Hobby sent over to the House Appropriations Committee a recommendation that vocational funds be cut, not 6½ percent but 25 percent, that is, from $18.7 million to $14 million. You might be interested to know that only a few weeks after making this request, Mrs. Hobby spoke to the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education when they met in Washington, and this is what she told them: "The importance of vocational education cannot be understimated or overemphasized. The success and accomplishment of American industries, skilled production in factories and on farms, are largely attributable to vocational education taught in high schools, colleges, and trade schools throughout the country. The philosophy of vocational education appeals to me because it develops private initiative and prepares people to obtain and hold jobs." However appealing it may have been to Secretary Hobby, vocational education certainly did not rank very high in her estimate when it came to making up a budget.

But this wasn't all. Even the House Appropriations Committee, at that time and presently still under the control of my colleagues of the Republican majority, realized that Mrs. Hobby's passion for economy had gone too far. In a great burst of generosity, the House Appropriations Committee increased her estimate from $14 million to $16 million, but it waved a warning finger as it did so. Here is what the report of the Committee said: "The committee is in agreement with the Bureau of the Budget and the Secretary (HEW) in their belief that this program (referring to vocational education) has matured to the point where 'its promotion and further development' should gradually be turned over to the States." When the annual appropriation bill for the Department of HEW came to the floor of the House, my colleague from North Carolina, Representative GRAHAM BARDEN, offered an amendment to increase the amount approved by the committee from $16 million to $18.7 million which had been recommended by President Truman. By a voice vote, this amendment was adopted.

Of course, it wasn't as simple as that. Just as it appeared that vocational education was going to be dealt a cut in Federal funds, the Washington headquarters of two national organizations in education got right to work on it. And here I should like to pay tribute to two southerners, M. D. Mobley, formerly State vocational director for Georgia, and now executive secretary of the American Vocational Association; and Jim McCaskill, formerly of Mississippi, and now director of the Federal Relations Division of the National Education Association. Both AVA and NEA worked hard to keep their membership informed and to make sure that we in Congress heard from the home folks on this issue. Believe me, it worked, and, if necessary, I think it will work again, because for those of my colleagues who don't know what vocational education means in their high schools, there is nothing that will let them know so quickly as a letter from back home.

But this does not explain why vocational education, which for almost 40 years has had more than willing support from the Congress and from the executive branch, should now be under fire. Let me read for you once again a part of the sentence I just read to you from the House Appropriations Committee report of last year. The committee felt that Federal support for vocational education had "matured to the point where its promotion and further development should gradually be turned over to the States." There is the nub of the whole dispute. The advocates of economy have decided that education is a good place to begin, but in order to sweeten the pill, they now claim that they are turning over to the States the Federal vocational program. Gentlemen, I should like to say to you that when I advocate States' rights, I think I know whereof I speak; but you don't find me advocating States' rights as sugar-coating on the economy bill. When I am for States' rights I say so; and when I am for economy I say so. But I do not say one when I mean the other. It should be quite obvious by now that there is a great deal of difference in the philosophy of States' rights as presently practiced by the Republican Party, and the traditional philosophy to which we of the South have long been dedicated.

As a matter of fact, the term has become so relative that when it is used we note well the application at the particular time in order to reach any conclusion as to what is meant or intended.

The Republicans apparently interpret States rights as meaning that the Federal Government should withdraw, or greatly restrict its operations, from such programs as REA, TVA, tubercular control, venereal disease control, vocational education, the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, farm support, soil conservation, forestry conservation, and many others. All of these programs have long been recognized as cooperative programs between the Federal Government and the States. Yet the Republicans believe that the test of States rights is met by shouldering greater and greater financial responsibilities on the States in

areas in which it has been traditional for the Federal Government to at least be a matching partner, on the basis that such a partnership contributes to the general welfare and is in the public interest.

As contrasted to that position they apparently are convinced that States rights does not include such fundamental things as the management of a State-school system, particularly with reference to the segregation of the races. They set up special commissions to make studies and conclusions with reference to the relationship between Federal and State governments on one hand, all with the claim of returning authority to the States, and through the Attorney General puts the administration on record as favoring the breakdown of segregation in the public-school system.

In other words, the things which we resented most in the New Deal and Fair Deal programs, such as the breaking down of segregation among the races and in the public schools, are being forced upon us by Executive orders and court decisions, even more than was the case under the former Democratic administrations.

Let me give you a couple more examples of what I call sugar coating. The Council of State Governments, in a memorandum prepared for a special committee of the Conference of State Governors, recommended discontinuance of Federal grants to the States for vocational education by June 30, 1955. The principal argument for this was the fact that Federal funds are only 20 percent of the total spent for vocational education. The council's memorandum said: "It seems clear that grants for this purpose can be discontinued without damaging the program or endangering its continued operation." Let us look at another and more general recommendation from a powerful policy forming group, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Last June, it called a national conference on Federal-State relations which unanimously adopted a resolution urging, in part, that the "Federal Government withdraw from the enterprise in which it now grants aid to State and local governments."

It is against the background of such statements as the above that we get a better understanding of why the present administration wishes to cut Federal funds for vocational education. I don't think we ought to question the integrity or the motives of those who preach this kind of economy. However, I would prefer that they come out in the open with their opposition for Federal support of vocational education instead of trying to mask it behind a concern for States' rights. After all, the vocational program is a State and local program. The Federal Government operates no vocational schools. Apart from a few State-operated vocational schools the program supported by combined Federal, State, and local action is a local operation. This is as it should be and as it has been since 1917. It is absurd to speak of returning vocational education to the States when it has been there all the time.

No, my friends, we can't afford at this time to listen to the honeyed words of those who wish to economize at the expense of more than 3 million boys and girls who are taking classes in their local high schools which will prepare them to be more useful citizens of the United States—classes which will make them better farmers, better homemakers, better merchants, better mechanics and artisans. It is all very well to say that Federal funds are less than 20 percent of the total amount spent for vocational education, but the $25 million spent by the Federal Government annually may very well mean the difference between a well-supported State and local program able to expand when and where there is a need for it, and a program barely able to hold its own and unable to expand when occasion demands.

Perhaps what is needed is a little education for some of my colleagues in the Congress. We need a few more men with the vision of Walter George, Hoke Smith, and Dudley Hughes, of Georgia, Dan Reed of New York, and Graham Barden, of North Carolina, the men who sponsored the basic legislation that underlies Federal support of vocational education. Senator GEORGE and Representatives BARDEN and REED are still in Congress where they hold key committee positions enabling them to sponsor this legislation. Also, I want to add that every member of the Mississippi delegation is 100 percent behind appropriations for vocational education. But we need help, and this means in the long run, that we and all other Members of Congress need proof from the local level that vocational education gives the Nation a better return on its $25 million than almost any other investment of Federal funds I can think of. The Federal Government spent approximately $79 million for vocational education in foreign countries last year, and only $25 million was spent in America. Yet, this administration wants to cut the appropriation $1 million for next year. What you have done and are doing here in Mississippi is proof enough for me. I hope that your counterparts in other States and Territories can and will do the same.

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[1] Quattlebaum, Charles A., Federal Educational Activities and Education Issues Before Congress; Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 35.
[2] Ibid., p. 35.
[3] Ibid., p. 46.
[4] Ibid., p. 65.
[5] Second Annual Report of the National Science Foundation, 1952; Washington, Government Printing Office, p. 6. The two annual reports of NSF summarize the whole problem of Federal sponsorship of research.
[6] House Select Committee To Investigate Educational, Training, and Loan Guaranty Programs Under the GI Bill; report dated February 14, 1952, p. 20.
[7] The U. S. Office of Education. Administration of Public Laws 874 and 815. First Report of the Commissioner of Education, June 30, 1951, p. 1.
[8] Ibid., p. 14.
[9] Allen, Hollis P., The Federal Government and Education, 1st edition; McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950, p. 4.
[10] Ibid., p. 227.
[11] Ibid., p. 233.
[12] Ibid., p. 229.
[13] Quattlebaum, Charles A., op. cit., p. 35.

Scorned Brannan Plan Reborn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension a part of a column written by Drew Pearson appearing in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of April 4, 1954, which could well be entitled "When the Shoe Is on the Other Foot."

It looks as if the Republicans are going to vindicate the judgment of former Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan.

As one who voted for the so-called Brannan plan, I derive considerable pleasure and comfort in the conversion of my Republican friends.

The matter referred to follows:

SCORNED BRANNAN PLAN REBORN
(By Drew Pearson)

Just 5 years ago this week—April 7, 1949—a new Agriculture Secretary named Brannan recommended to Congress certain changes in the price-support laws. Almost overnight the proposed changes became known as the Brannan plan, and the man who proposed them was called almost every name under the sun from wastrel to socialist.

Even Representative CLIFFORD HOPE, Republican, of Kansas, a sober, usually fair-minded man, distributed a pamphlet on the Brannan plan entitled "Fines and Jail Sentences for Farmers."

Well, that was 5 years ago. But on January 11, 1954, the first real move to adopt the Brannan plan was made. It was made not by a Democrat, but by President Eisenhower himself, who recommended that Congress change the price-support program for wool by adding the key and most controversial element of the Brannan plan: direct subsidy payments.

This meant, instead of the Government buying or lending money on a commodity and putting it in storage, the Government would let the farmer's price seek its natural level in the open market, but would pay the farmer direct the difference between his market price and his fair-support price.

Charlie Brannan's plan was so bitterly attacked it never had a real chance to pass Congress. In fact, even a bill to test out his plan on wool and two other commodities was turned down by the House of Representatives, 169 to 239.

BUSINESS AND BRANNAN

Despite this, Mr. Eisenhower, who attacked the Brannan plan all during his election campaign, recommended that it be put into effect for wool, and this has now been carried out. Moreover, Secretary Benson has been considering the principle of the Brannan plan for butter; namely, selling it at a cheaper price and letting the Government absorb the difference.

Even more amazing is the manner in which certain big businessmen are proposing that the Brannan plan be adopted for other commodities, especially cotton. The three biggest cotton manufacturers in the United States have now gone on record as favoring the essence of the Brannan plan, while the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute has drafted legislation to adopt it.

The big three of cotton textiles are C. A. Cannon, president of Cannon Mills; W. A. L. Sibley, president of Deering, Milliken & Co., and C. C. Hertwig, president of the Biff Manufacturing Co. These three make up the spinner representatives of Secretary Benson's Cotton Advisory Committee, and their recommendation to Benson is dated December 15, 1953. The key part of their document reads:

"At the present time we are piling up large stocks (of cotton) in warehouses, which should be moving into normal channels of trade. This being true, it is necessary that we look for an answer.

"We recommend a compensatory payment program."

The American Cotton Manufacturers Institute bill for putting the Brannan plan into effect on cotton is dated January 15, 1954, and has attached to it an explanation which concludes with the statement:

"The proposed compensatory payment plan could and should be put into effect for the 1954–55 crop."

NOTE.—Meanwhile, the man who had the reputation of being the most abused and boldest in the Truman Cabinet, Charlie

Brannan, has ben living quietly in Denver, where he has said little, but friends want him to run for governor of Colorado. It looks as if he would not.

Proportion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I wish to present for the attention of yourself and my other distinguished colleagues a feature article written by Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, in his State of the Nations front-page daily writing for March 30, 1954.

As you know, I am a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and, growing out of my longtime experiences as such committee member, and having participated in literally dozens and dozens of hearings before that important committee, which has such heavy responsibility under Public Law 601 as assigned to it by this great Congress, I wish to frankly state that I am sure it appears to me as very important that the matter of subversion be kept in true and accurate proportion.

So, I am glad to produce this article by Mr. Harsch for your attention, anticipating it will result in real interest and provoke considered patriotic thinking.

I was pleased last night to hear our distinguished President of the United States in his nationwide talk over radio give his appraisement of the matter of communism and subversion in Government and throughout our beloved Nation.

No doubt you will recall that on the floor of this House of Representatives, when the matter of appropriations of the money for the continued operations of the House Un-American Activities Committee for this year came up, I clearly and emphatically spoke against any reduction in said amount. Believing, as I do, that from the written record already submitted, released, and published, by administrative departments of Government that said record does not yet sufficiently segregate, analyze, or reflect the actual condition of what might be termed subversive in the judgment of the Government officials, nevertheless, I believe it imperative that there be continued vigilant, vigorous, and prompt and all necessary effort made to uncover and reveal to the sunlight of being exposed and revealed for what they truly are, those persons or groups of persons in our great Nation who in fact, in truth, and reality are engaged in subversive activities and programs.

For, Mr. Speaker, in using this term I do so, in connection with dictionary definition by Mr. Webster, which is substantially as follows: 'Act of subverting, or state of being subverted; overthrow; utter ruin; destruction."

And knowing that you and all my other distinguished colleagues and that millions of other people of our beloved Nation heard President Eisenhower appraise the matter of communism last evening, I believe that this article by Mr. Harsch in the Christian Science Monitor will be found timely and appropriate and will add clear thinking to the splendid words of the President:

STATE OF THE NATIONS: SUBVERSION IN PROPORTION

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—It may be politically premature but it is also, I think, important to try to extricate the issue of subversion in the United States from its emotional context and attempt to see it in something like true and factual proportions. Only when we can examine the subject dispassionately will we be able, I think, to approach in calmness the matter of what should be done about it without further disturbing the internal tranquillity of both the United States and the Republican Party.

In theory, but not in practice, emotionalism could be extracted from the issue. This happy state would be achieved if Democrats could admit officially and formally that the Truman administration was tardy in recognizing the condition in the early postwar period, and if the Republicans with equal formality would recognize that the problem is not one which belonged wholly to the past, cannot be solved now by exposing the omission of the past, and never will be removed from our midst as long as the United States of America and the Soviet Union are primary antagonists in a power contest which engulfs the world.

Needless to say, such a political neutralization of the subject will not take place at least in the visible future. Too many political fortunes have been staked on the partisanship of subversion to permit the two parties in the United States to agree to approach it in a spirit of non- or bi-partisanship. However, this condition, which is likely to be with us for some time, need not prevent the majority from attempting to adjust its perspective toward objectivity.

Such an effort must begin with a recognition that there is attempted Communist subversion in the United States today, that there has been such attempted subversion of a significant nature from the time the Soviet Union became a conscious world power, and that it will inevitably continue for many years to come.

Espionage and subversion are instruments of power politics. Those instruments have been employed from time immemorial by world powers. The only surprising thing about the discovery of Soviet agents in our midst is that so many Americans seem to have been surprised by it. Had they been more informed from school days about the behavior of power states they never would have been surprised. They would merely have been alert sooner.

The second important step toward objectivity is to appreciate that not even the most solemn treaty agreement would ever guarantee the abandonment by the Soviet Union of its use of spies and political agents in the United States.

The third important step is to recognize that the most dangerous spies and agents are not the ones who have been detected and exposed but the ones who are unknown and are not yet even suspect.

The final step toward objectivity and balance is to recognize that the dangerous ones today are to be found in the most unlikely and unsuspected places.

When the above steps have been taken it becomes possible to approach with some calmness the facts and figures which have emerged in the piecemeal disclosure of recent weeks of the record of the administration's security program.

According to Philip Young, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Eisenhower administration has separated 422 persons "whose files contained information indicating in various degrees subversive activities, subversive associations, or membership in subversive organizations."

This gives us the upper, maximum, limit to date of all persons found by the Republicans in Federal service who are suspect of subversive activities or tendencies. There is no proved evidence that even one of these was an actual subversive or Soviet agent. Whether Chief Justice Earl Warren is counted among the 422 is not known, but alleged subversive information was provided against him and is in his file. It is probable that many of the 422 are persons as loyal as the Chief Justice who have been the victims of malice or misunderstanding.

However, there undoubtedly are Soviet agents still working in the Government. The search for them is ceaseless. If counterintelligence is carried on effectively, new Soviet rings will be uncovered and broken from time to time. Republicans can no more make Government immune to such penetration in their day than could the Democrats.

We can afford to be thankful that the number subject to suspicion was not found to be more than 422. We must recognize that there are some real ones who have not been found because there is nothing suspicious in their files. The really surprising thing is that Soviet Russia, with its vast inherited experience in espionage and subversion, abetted by something less than early alertness on the part of the Truman administration, did not provide the Republicans with more than an outside limit of 422 possible suspects in a whole year of more than diligent search.

On balance it would seem that Moscow enjoyed less success in penetrating the United States Government than would be reasonably expectable. However, we have no way of knowing what Soviet rings are operating today while our attention is so largely devoted to the individuals and rings long since broken and exposed.

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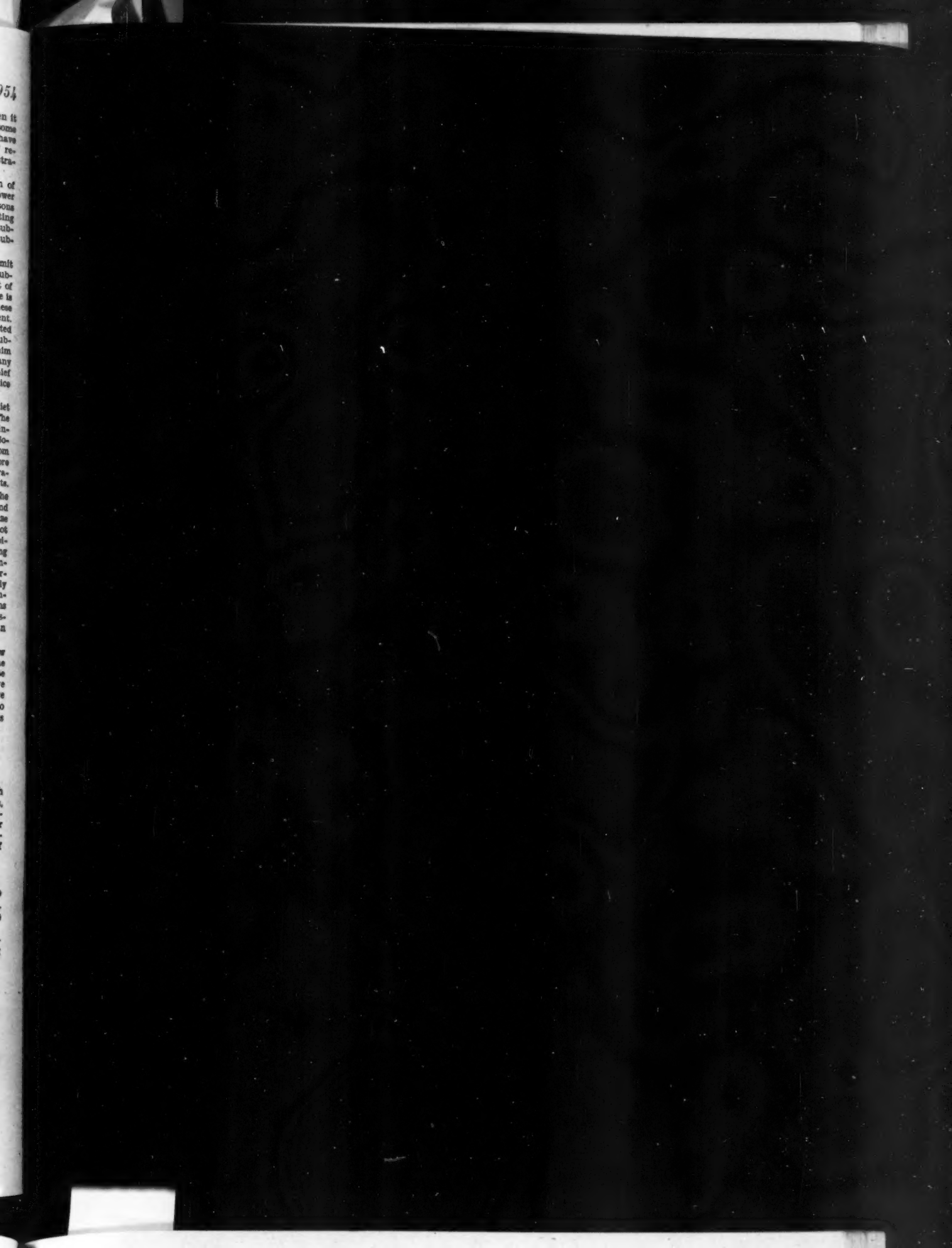

Appendix

The Outlook in the Television Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on the evening of April 6, Mr. Millard C. Faught, president, the Faught Co., Inc., New York City, gave an address before the annual banquet of the National Small-Business Men's Association in the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

It was unique and challenging in many respects, and so informational that I want to include it in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is worthy of reading and rereading, from the standpoint of the outlook in the television field, and I would suggest that the dispensers of gloom, those who view the future with alarm, refrain from reading it, because very little satisfaction can be garnered from this fine speech by any one who is a bit on the pessimistic side.

I have obtained from the Public Printer an estimate as to the probable cost of printing this address in the RECORD. I am informed that the cost will be $233.75.

I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the cost, the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR UNFINISHED ECONOMY: THE BEST INSURANCE AGAINST DEPRESSION

(Speech by Millard C. Faught, president, the Faught Co., Inc., New York City, before annual banquet, National Small-Business Men's Association, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.)

I have the general impression that after-dinner speeches in Washington are not an uncommon commodity. Whether any particular speech should be classed as Capitol goods or consumer goods depends, I suppose, on what kind of a return the audience gets on the time invested in listening. To cut down the risk in this case, let me offer you a brief prospectus—or maybe I should call this an opening commercial.

I hasten to say that I have very few statistics for you tonight. Of those that I do have, only one is carried beyond the decimal point. Also I have relatively little to view with alarm, and as near as I can determine my conclusions are nonpartisan. The only trouble is I can't seem to get them all smoothed down to where they are also noncontroversial. But the after-dinner speech experts say that's not such a good idea anyway—especially in Washington.

In any case, I take a very optimistic view of the future for all of us in this country, and tonight I would like to offer what seems to me to be some sound and encouraging reasons for such a view.

In doing so I shall not try and short-run forecasts of tomorrow's economic weather. Instead I would prefer to invite your attention to some signs and portents that could, and I believe will, bring about some welcome improvement in the general economic climate of our way of life.

But even in this I see no need of audience paralysis by podium reanalysis of such things as our invested capital, or harnessed horsepower, or the BLS index of the GNP. Instead, with your permission, I would prefer to talk in part at least about the ego of you. In other words, I suggest as my basic premise that the economic future of the United States is no longer likely to be limited or even principally determined, by our supply of raw materials, tools, factory space, technological know-how, and so forth.

It's not that these factors have lost any of their intrinsic or vital importance. And we must, of course, continue to use all of them wisely. However, I do suggest that we are now at a stage of technological, economic, and social advancement where our future is less conditioned by what we can do materially than by what we decide to do as a people in control of our own cultural destiny. To me that adds up to saying that we are alive in mighty exciting times.

Of course we can use these challenging opportunities merely to blow ourselves to bits, or yield them by default to exploitation by ideological idiots. But I don't think we will do anything like that. I just don't think a Nation that has produced its Washingtons and Jeffersons and Franklins and Lincolns and Edisons and now has 160 million free people is going to slump just when we get to the World Series in this little ball game called civilization.

At the risk of sounding like I might have been reading too many of my son's comic books—but actually using some circumstances that are already within the realm of reality—let me suggest how far we have pushed back the limits of technological can-do. If you are skeptical, you may, of course, laugh this off as Faught's fallacious forecast of the future. But let's just try some daring possibilities on for size. First let's see if we can agree on some premises:

1. The basic cause of war is empty stomachs—aided, unfortunately, by empty heads. But at least well-fed people are less likely to listen to empty-headed warmongers who urge them to die for even emptier slogans.

2. Empty stomachs in turn are caused by lack of food.

3. Lack of enough food in the world is caused, basically, not by lack of land, but by lack of water on billions of acres of potentially productive but now useless land.

4. The oceans are full of water, but the water is full of salt, plus all kinds of food, minerals, and a lot of other useful things. The main trouble is it is in the wrong place with respect to so much of the water-hungry land that could use it.

Well, so what are we waiting for? We already know how to take the salt and all the other valuable "impurities" out of sea water. To do this is expensive, but mainly because it requires a lot of power.

So we are now on the trail of quite a little source of power. We find that atoms are full of the stuff. Why not some day use atomic power to pump water out of the oceans, take the salt and whatnot out of it, and pump a few squillion gallons of it around where it's needed. The Texans will build us all the pipelines we need in a couple of weeks.

I think a few such projects would be worth a try just to make a damn fool out of Malenkov. It might even cost less than we are now spending to make damn fools out of humanity. I never saw an atom bomb, but I'll bet you could pump a lot of water with the energy in one.

Well, so much for world peace. If anybody here tonight has an in with the Atomic Energy Commission, I'd appreciate an introduction while I'm in Washington. I want to find out whether the stuff will kill Connecticut poison ivy. I've tried everything else.

Now some of you folks may think that I have my tongue in my cheek when I suggest such seemingly far-fetched future uses of atomic energy. Well, maybe I'm just naive, but I somehow suspect that history will prove we can do even more daring things with our present potentials of harnessed power and knowledge. I wonder if what I have suggested is really more visionary or impractical, in a comparative sort of way, than DeWitt Clinton's fantastic proposal of 150 years ago that, with scarcely more than men and hand shovels, a canal should be dug from Albany to Buffalo. The estimated cost? Even more fantastic—$5 million.

Today, with our modern earth movers, which are themselves just another of our taken-for-granted miracle gadgets, we could build the now obsolete Erie Canal in a matter of months. Yet in its time this mere ditch became the economic fulcrum on which pivoted the bulk of American destiny.

Said Archimedes, the great mathematician and technical philosopher, "Give me a lever long enough and a fulcrum strong enough and single-handed I can move the world." We do not yet have enough mechanical leverage or sheer power for that, but we have so much more than we are now using that perhaps it is more significant to heed again some words of Daniel Webster which so impressed John Adams that he declared they ought to be read at the end of every century, and indeed at the end of every year forever and ever." Said Webster, "Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered."

I wonder what Mr. Webster would advise us to do with the social, economic, and technical leverage at our disposal today? At the least I don't think he would spend much of today's exciting time fretting about the possible stagnation of a mature economy, or worrying fearfully about the possibly lessened chances of mankind living in prosperity simply because he had achieved some prospects of living in peace.

If one can struggle loose just a little from our depressing tendencies to sell our future short, even in the midst of the cascade of modern miracles, it then becomes difficult to control one's legitimate optimism.

Nor is it necessary, in assaying our prospects for progress, to rely on factors as egregious as atomic energy in order to justify a dynamic optimism. In the list of items that augur in favor of a social and economic future infinitely expanded from the present, I would give high precedence to several factors that have to do, not with technology or finance directly, but with people. Two of these factors for example are longevity and leisure time.

A century ago people worked at least 70 hours a week and were lucky to live 40 years.

Now that situation is happily reversed and still improving. What it means in effect is that because we now have bulldozers to dig Erie canals, and in other ways have applied some of Webster's "leverage of the mind" to the tasks and hazards of life, we now have achieved an "extra" lifetime in which to live, beyond the requirements of sustaining work.

It is scarcely surprising therefore that we have finally begun to appreciate the unlimited economics of consumption instead of setting our horizons by the heretofore severely limited economics of production alone. Now if we can just continue to resist the notion that there is some way to get something for nothing out of progress, then we should be able to make continually better bargains with the great windfall of human time-income that is now ours. And doubly fortunately, this growing income of time-for-living accrues to us by the day, by the week, by the year and by the lifetime. While it cannot be hoarded, this new time wealth can be most rewardingly and productively spent. And it may be relevant to observe that so far it isn't taxed.

I must admit however that I am somewhat depressed by our initial attitude toward our growing longevity. For centuries the folklore of mankind has reflected a wistful yearning to live forever. But, now that we have achieved a progressive circumstance where one out of every dozen of our population has lived past 65, are we joyous about it? No; the common denominator of reaction is, "What a problem." A more realistic and progressive response would be, "What a challenge."

Translated into the unemotional arithmetic of economics, we are now challenged to use our productive capacity to create enough goods and services so each of us can spend at least half of his full modern lifetime being primarily a consumer, not to mention that we are increasingly heavy consumers of goods and services even as we produce. Therefore whenever I hear some fresh bewailing of our excessive productive capacity or our feared lack of future markets, I am reminded of the benighted individual who once suggested that we close the Patent Office—because obviously everything conceivable had already been invented.

As near as I can determine, we are the first society in history who could afford the luxury of having some of our people worried about excess productive capacity while others are worried about the unlimited consumption capacities inherent in the leisure and longevity of a truly rising standard of living. If Malthus were alive today, he would probably be a schizophrenic.

The essence of our present-day economic and social challenge is no longer basically a question of how to increase production nor of where to find unsatisfied potential market demand. It is hardly surprising therefore that we are now much preoccupied with the mechanics and the arithmetic of distribution.

In this area there is some superficial evidence of progress. It is true that we have in recent times devised such marvels as self-service supermarkets, but in some it takes a lot of self to gain any net increase in service. We also have adapted the old gum-machine principle to a great variety of automatic merchandising. In addition we have flowers by wire, drive-in banks, theaters, and even churches. We have concentrated this and dehydrated that. And now we have practically everything but love packaged in an aerosol bomb or a plastic squeeze bottle.

However, the fact remains that you, the consumer, have still got to do a lot of moving of yourself from where you is to where you ain't in order to become a customer. Especially is that true of what we call spectator products—movies, plays, sports, and other entertainment or cultural commodities. These are all products which depend on the most difficult and expensive kind of marketing. Instead of moving the product to the customer, you must move the customer to the product. And you also have to provide huge and specialized customer accumulators at the point of sale.

In modern society there is probably nothing, for example, so economically obsolete in terms of its merchandising aspects as a sports stadium. Built of necessity on expensive centralized land, it exists as a vast saucer, ideal for catching rain, but costly and uncomfortable as an audience-accumulator, the sole remaining economic justification of which is that it has turnstiles which rotate only on the payment of money.

Yet, as is now common knowledge in nearly 28 million American homes, a television camera with a Zoomar lens can watch a ball game better than can a spectator in the best fixed seat in the stadium. What is more significant, television can also deliver the game complete with everything but hotdogs, to millions of fans in their homes or wherever they are. They need only to move far enough to turn on the set. Then they can go to bed if they wish. No traffic, no hard wooden seats, no hats in the way, no baby-sitter problems, no weary struggle home after the seventh inning or third quarter, no time lost except the actual duration of the game.

All of which, boiled down to its merchandising essence, is to say that television is an instantaneous electronic distribution system. But economically it has one piece missing, without which it cannot become an actual commercial distribution service. It cannot collect directly from the customer for the delivery services rendered. Thus to date television has been able to deliver only those program commodities for which the customer will indirectly pay by patronizing the products advertised by a sponsor. Seldom have the economic limitations of this arrangement been more cogently epitomized than by the baseball club owner who wailed, "The trouble with television is that we gotta give away our ball game to sell the sponsor's beer."

Here we have an ironic situation where television, which is a distribution system so miraculously efficient that it brooks no comparison, is economically harnessed so far only as an incidental adjunct of advertising, which is an assistant service to our standard distribution system, which is, at present, the most backward segment of our whole economy. It still costs at least 50 cents of the average retail dollar to get a finished product to the consumer.

Of course to deal in such analytical spades is to invite cries of heresy from some quarters. However, as I said at the outset, I am not here to view with alarm. As a matter of fact, my main problem these days is to convince some of my critics that I am not just a cockeyed optimist—because I think this whole situation is now so worse it is shortly going to get very much better. And I believe we will use TV itself to accomplish much of the therapy.

The specific reason for the situation I find myself in is that for several years I have been predicting that television will some day be utilized as one of the greatest natural marketing systems ever devised, and that we will use it to cure—rather than worsen as it now does—the marketing problems of many of the spectator commodities like movies and sports. The biggest step between theory and reality here was to devise a way to put some kind of a payment device on a television receiver so that it could not ony deliver a program product but collect for it on the receiving end. Only then does TV become a distribution system in the marketing sense and only then does it acquire some intrinsic economic roots of its own.

Technically this is all now possible. And, since the best fruit is always out on the end of the limb, I will edge out a bit further here tonight. I believe that within 3 years home box-office television will be a commercial reality and that within 5 years after its start it will have at least doubled the number of stations economically possible in this country. Moreover, I believe this will represent a net addition. Subscription TV service would not require separate channels, nor would we have to take away anything in the aggregate present telivision usage and service as an advertising medium in order to use it also as a pay-as-you-see distribution system. Indeed, as I shall indicate shortly, there is strong expectation that one net result would be to improve and expand the advertising usefulness of TV.

But be that as it may, I would like to re-emphasize my belief that the utilization of television as a versatile, economical, efficient and certainly much-needed new kind of distribution system will in itself become a whole new "industry" in our economy. I believe it will in time create new jobs running into thousands and new business activity running literally into the billions of dollars annually.

Not only because of its intrinsic importance but because it so well illustrates the vast potentials for expansion already within the scope of our unfinished economy, I would like to outline these bold expectations in some detail. If it will encourage your indulgence, I might add that even disbelievers find the prospects interesting. Perhaps I should also add that I do not personally regard this as a particularly daring prediction. From evidence already at hand I would call it more of a forecast of the inevitable.

In the first place, as I have indicated, the electronic gadgetry to provide television sets with a home box office is in a state of surprising perfection. The Zenith Radio Corp. has perfected not one but five varied systems of providing such service from a regular transmitter to a regular TV set. The required modifications are far less complicated or costly than is the addition of color to TV, and these subscription systems will also work with color TV. In addition to the Zenith systems, two other companies—the Skiatron Corp, in New York and the Telemeter Corp. in Hollywood—have demonstrated subscription television techniques.

In practice, the use of a subscription TV set would be simple. The viewer-customer would receive such service by doing any one of several things: (1) Drop coins into a decoder in his set in order to unscramble the program he wished to see (nonpaying viewers would see only a jumbled-up signal; or (2) he would insert a pre-purchased card into a slot to effect the unscrambling; or (3) he would order the program much like dialing a telephone request for any other deliverable service. The decoding information could be fed to his TV via his telephone, without interfering with the regular phone service. A highly flexible selection or combination of working systems are already available to provide subscription TV service when and if the FCC approves the service.

Fully 3 years ago Zenith tested one of its subscription systems, all of which are called Phonevision, in Chicago. For 90 days 300 families were able to buy and pay for regular theater-quality motion pictures delivered to their homes via Phonevision, at a charge of $1 per movie per family.

All of the films had had a previous theater run, all were 2 years old or older and represented a cross-section of films—good, bad, and indifferent. About a fourth of the test families had already seen them. Yet, in spite of these limiting circumstances, the test customers bought an average of 1.73 films per week. Normally they would have seen just about 1 of the same kind of movies every 2 weeks in the local theaters. Hence this new method of merchandising movies produced more than 3 new customers

for every 1 the same films could expect in theaters.

When the test was over, 100 percent of the test families said they would like to have such TV service permanently. More than 50,000 other Chicago families asked to participate in the test.

Since this initial test, the public has become increasingly familiar with the idea of "box office" television and has been increasingly queried on its willingness to pay for television programs that are too costly or otherwise impractical for advertisers to sponsor. There have been limited demonstrations of subscription telecasting in New York and in California, seeking public reaction. From close observation of these developments, I am personally of the opinion that the great majority of all people who have or will have television will also want subscription television service.

Now let's assume that yours and other home television sets are already equipped so that the public can become customers for pay-as-you-see television. What is likely to happen? Let's start first with the stations.

Instead of the 500 or fewer stations now likely to prove supportable by advertising revenue alone, well over 1,000 stations may come into being, thanks to the added revenue from the subscription programs. The hundreds of smaller cities and towns in particular will improve their chances of having television stations. The FCC has provided spectrum space for over 2,200 stations, but so far only about 350 are in existence, and less than a dozen applications have been made from the 500-odd allocations set aside for towns of 10,000 population or less. Nearly 50 permits to build stations have been returned unused, and at least one-third of the newer postwar stations are still losing money. The new stations in the so-called UHF band are having a particularly tough time, and a group of them have petitioned the FCC to authorize subscription use of TV as one of their main hopes of salvation.

But let's look at the potentials here from the point of view of your living room. What would the addition of subscription service change about your use of TV? Would you be deprived of anything you now receive without a direct program charge? I think not. On the contrary, for the reasons already mentioned, you will very probably be served by more stations and there will be more sponsored programs. With the present scarcity of stations and with all costs borne by advertisers, only a relatively few of America's thousands of companies can profitably use television to advertise. Half of TV's total income now comes from about 15 national advertisers.

I would estimate, from such things as family entertainment budgets and present consumer habits, that the average viewer family would buy not more than 1 premium program for every 10 sponsored shows seen as now. Yet the presence on TV of the high quality and unique subscription shows, plus their added economic support of television, would increase both the number of stations and the total audience. This would give the advertiser a 90-percent use of a far larger and more flexible advertising medium.

But would you then have to pay for some programs now brought to you by sponsors? Again I think the answer is no because the laws of economics are on your side here. No one can sell what someone else can give away, even if he has to send you the bill indirectly. If anything, with subscription income to share station costs, advertising rates on TV may well be lowered. In any case, the added coverage plus the presence of program competition from the paid shows may well induce the advertisers to offer more and better shows of their own. Competition is the greatest stimulant we have to improved service in a free market. It should do wonders for television programming, with the home viewer the chief beneficiary.

As things now stand, the home viewer is in danger of losing some of the programs he now prizes most on his home screen. Theater television has already removed most of the major prize fights and some of the best football games, such as those of Notre Dame. When the present contract for commercial TV sponsorship of the World Series expires in 1955, this crowning sports event may also disappear from home television.

If, on the other hand, subscription TV comes into widespread use, the home viewers at a price as low as 25 cents per game per set would soon be able to restore their chance to command home TV coverage of the series or any event, no matter how costly in the aggregate. As for the many other kinds of excellent and logical TV programs that are not now on television—the Broadway hits, the first-run Hollywood films, the Metropolitan Opera—there would no longer be any reason for their absence from the home screen, and in full color. Possibly of most importance, the public would for the first time have a direct choice in the whole matter of what it wants from television.

Hollywood cannot now release its costly fine-quality films to television because no sponsor can pay enough to offset their loss of theater revenue thereby. Yet subscription TV could, with only a fraction of present set owners watching—and at a fee averaging no more than family bus fare to the nearest movie house—return the entire cost of a "super colossal" film in a single night.

In New York the ancient, decrepit Metropolitan Opera House can no longer make ends meet, even when it plays to SRO crowds, nor can it find advertisers who feel they can afford to put the opera on TV. Yet if half the opera lovers in the United States had a chance to see a performance of Tristan and Isolde on box office TV just one night at $1 per head, they could burn down the old Met and build a new one.

Similarly, a single performance tonight of South Pacific on subscription TV at $1 per family per set—with only 2 sets out of 5 tuned in—would return a box office comparable to the entire 5-year run of this great show on Broadway at fancy box-office prices. Of course, there would still be thousands of people who would continue to prefer their theater in the theater. However, I believe that such a modernization of its merchandising would breathe fresh new life into the economics of the legitimate stage and lower the present 6-to-1 odds against a play becoming a financial success.

And speaking of such matters, you have no doubt heard of the disappointing results from network radio and TV benefit shows put on to raise money for worthy causes like the Red Cross. Everybody intends to give, as they watch, but they forget. Add a painless box office to collect while they watch and I believe we could raise such annual budgets in a single night.

And, since this is Washington, I might just casually observe that with subscription TV a nationwide service, the Republicans could telecast a Lincoln Day dinner from the White House at, say, $5 per set to faithful party members tuned in at home, and raise the whole campaign kitty in one meal. The trouble is, of course, from the GOP point of view, that come Jackson's birthday the Democrats might lower the TV table tab and collect still more. Such is technological progress.

It was obviously good judgment on the part of your hosts here tonight to confine me to a text, because I would be greatly tempted to give you several more chapters of what I think are sound arguments in favor of thus utilizing the fullest potentials of our new gadget, television. As a parting illustration, let me add that providing TV sets with a cash register seems to me to be a natural solution to the frustrating situation in educational television. I say "frustrating" because the FCC has set aside 244 of its allocations for educational television stations, acceding to the almost unanimous recognition that TV is the "greatest educational advance since the invention of printing." But after 2 years only 4 educational stations are on the air, with hopes for perhaps 20 more. The stumbling block is again economics. TV is costly, along with its versatility. But with an opportunity to collect tuition via subscription TV for a few outstanding programs each week, an educational station would have the funds to operate many more hours per week on a truly free public service basis, opening for all the public the storehouses of knowledge that now serve only those who can travel to a campus, library, or other cultural center.

This brings us back to the basic distribution problem of moving people to markets instead of the more desirable method of devising better ways to serve people where they are. It also relates to our initial mention of leisure and longevity as vital and dynamic factors in our economy. Television has shown us, to our astonishment, that somehow we had over a billion man-hours, woman-hours, and children-hours a week of spare time in our lives to devote to TV. And it must have been "spare" time because life still goes on in TV-equipped homes.

It is also interesting to note that if we add up all our older population, plus those who are ill or infirm, plus those households containing an infant at any given time, we easily have a relatively homebound audience that exceeds the average weekly audience who now go to movies. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that veteran movie executives like Samuel Goldwyn have repeatedly forecast that when television gets a home box office it will become a natural ally rather than the menace it now is to Hollywood. Nor does he share the anxious predictions of the theater owners that subscription television will destroy the movie houses by holding all audiences at home. It does not change human nature, which is stubbornly gregarious. Seeing even the best movies on television at home is not a substitute, especially among the young in heart, for "going out to the theater." In summary, it would be more than a touch ironic if television, which now alarms the movie industry with competition from its free films, were to provide so much future revenue from its fee films as to become the great salvation of the whole declining motion-picture industry. Yet again the difference is simply a matter of applying some "leverage of the mind" to our modern social and technological potentials. And if we have as yet only scratched the surface of what we can do with television, then what is the dimension of the progress to be made if we measure all of our modern miracles against the limits of our imagination, not in terms of what we have done but what we dare dream of doing with the knowledge at our disposal?

As you may imagine, to try to deal with this challenging subject of our unfinished economy in the brief space of an after-dinner speech is like trying to perform a cathedral concert on a piccolo. However, I can at least temper my inadequacy with the charity of brevity. Would that I had the perspective of Webster on an Archimedes to bring to hear on the unbelievable opportunities that confront us. However, I think that even the least visionary among us must conclude from the evidence on every side that this is no time for faint hearts or small hopes. The best is surely yet to come if we will keep going forward to meet it.

There's Communism Even in the Dictionary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Mr. W. W. Reid, which appeared in the Arkansas Methodist of March 25, 1954.

The comments by Mr. Reid, which are carried by one of the leading church papers in my State, are worthy of the thoughtful attention of all Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON A WIDE CIRCUIT
(By W. W. Reid)

THERE'S COMMUNISM EVEN IN THE DICTIONARY

Just how silly and ridiculous can we get? The other day some churchmen were editing a booklet of hymns. One of their selections had the line: "Praise to Thee for life communal." "Communal" was quickly changed to the less poetic "together." "There is danger that communal (which had definite Christian connotations centuries ago) might offend some sensitive people today."

An Easter prayer asked that Christ "be our fellow traveler along the Emmaus Road of life." A church dignitary wrote the publishing agency that his church could not use this service of worship "because the prayer has communistic overtones."

A school was planning to give a play, produced by a religious group, as a benefit performance to secure games equipment. But a church-related war veteran organization forced its withdrawal for containing communistic propaganda. The play was a dramatic effort to show the barrier that can arise among children when parents fail to teach tolerance of other nationalities and other faiths.

Not so long ago, a section of a 2,300-year-old Greek farce, Congress of Women, was deleted in a New York City performance, allegedly because the directors feared the play might be labeled communistic. Among the deletions was the satirical speech of Praxagora:

"The rule which I dare to enact and declare
Is that all shall be equal and equally share
All wealth and enjoyments, nor longer endure.

That one shall be rich, and another be poor,
That one shall have acres, far-stretching and wide,

And another not even enough to provide
Himself with a grave: that this as his call
Should have hundreds of servants, and that none at all.

All this I intend to correct and amend:
Now all of all blessings shall freely partake,
One life and one system for all men I make."

This, we note, was written 392 B. C.; done into English for the entertainment of (duped) Queen Victoria; exposed in A. D. 1954 as Communist propaganda.

We have certainly gotten ourselves into a strange psychological slough when we not only look under beds at night but turn over long-respected words by day, looking for the hammer and the sickle; when we have so lost our faith that we can't trust our fellow-citizens to grasp truth and eschew lies; when we are so uncertain of our economic system that we must fortify it (and ourselves) by sob-sister advertising; when we have so lost our sense of humor that we can't enjoy an ancient Greek comedy without discovering "Red intrigue" between the lines.

We fail to see that the very extremes to which we go "to counteract the communist threat to freedom" are themselves the greatest threats to our boasted freedom: veterans of the wars for freedom curtailing the freedoms of others; "investigators" asking questions in a way to arouse suspicion, fear and hate among brothers; teachers and clergy "for fear" withholding the question or the comment that sends men out in search of new truth, new ideas, new adventures.

We find ourselves in wholehearted agreement with Judge Learned Hand when he says: "Risk for risk, for myself I had rather to take my chance that some traitors escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that the community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of dissatisfaction; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."

Social Security Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. T. MILLET HAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, I feel that this editorial from the Newark (N. J.) Evening News of April 6, 1954, which points out that Representative ROBERT W. KEAN, of the 12th Congressional District in New Jersey, is recognized as the expert in Congress on social security by Republicans and Democrats alike, expresses views shared to some extent by all of us who are interested in improving and advancing the social-security program.

This social-security bill, strongly recommended by President Eisenhower and Mrs. Hobby, Secretary of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, embraces almost in entirety improvements and principles Congressman KEAN has advocated for many years.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the editorial in the RECORD.

SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES

Representative KEAN, of New Jersey, is recognized by his Republican and Democratic colleagues as the House's Member expert on social security. It is of moment that he wholeheartedly supports the bill (H. R. 7199) which would give effect to President Eisenhower's recommendations for liberalising the Social Security Act.

Hearings by the House Ways and Means Committee are in progress. To summarize the 6 main provisions, the bill extends old-age and survivors insurance coverage to 10½ million additional persons.

Increases benefits for those already retired by about $6 or $7 a month with somewhat larger increases for those retiring in the future.

Expands the maximum wage base on which contributions and benefits are computed from $3,600 to $4,200 a year.

Adds a waiver of premium to protect insurance rights of those who become permanently and totally disabled before reaching retirement age.

Exempts from the retirement test the first $1,000 of annual earnings and for amounts earned above that sum only 1 month's benefit is deducted for each additional $80 earned.

Eliminates low or no earning years up to a total of four in computing an individual's average wage upon which benefits are based.

These and other proposed changes are intended to rationalize the system in the light of economic conditions. To illustrate this need, the retirement test serves as an example. Currently a beneficiary receiving $120 a month in benefits for himself and wife, may not earn more than $75 a month, unless he is over 75, without forfeiting his old-age payment for that month, although he might earn nothing in ensuing months.

Under the proposed amendment fixing the limit of private earnings at $1,000 a year this beneficiary could take a job paying him $200 a month for a full 5 months with no loss of benefit. That is a lot more realistic than the present requirement which forces many insured aged couples to seek old-age assistance as supplementary aid.

Unfortunately, bills have been introduced by certain Members of Congress that, to quote Mr. KEAN, would "wreck the fundamental principles upon which the system has been built." He had reference to such proposals as blanketing into the system all aged, whether or not they have contributed, and ending Federal grants for old-age assistance. Mr. KEAN's firm stand against such politically inspired schemes is reassuring.

Editor Robert M. Stewart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I just simply like the way Robert M. Stewart, editor of the Westbank Herald, of New Orleans, writes.

There is something fascinating about the way the man expresses himself. It is down to earth, plain, simple, and yet persuasively effective and lasting. It is not going too far to say there is something of the William Allen White about him and his weekly community newspaper.

Certainly Editor Stewart proves that all the wisdom and all the readable editorials and opinions are not monopolized by the great metropolitan press.

There is still another fine country editor down my way, Clayton Rand from the Mississippi gulf coast and Robert Stewart is in privileged company when I join these two names together.

Here is the most recent column by Robert Stewart which so appealed to me that I could not pass over another day without bringing it to the attention of this body:

(By Robert M. Stewart)

When I die, as die we all must, I believe that I will, in my last breath, thank my Lord and God for my having been born and having died an American.

For this great country of ours has offered and continues to offer broad and endless opportunities in the field of wholesome living. This Nation, this city, and our community is a pleasant and joyous place in which to live. I look at my neighbors and my friends and see in them these things I feel. The quiet strength of unrestricted spiritual beliefs shine from their faces. The calm, accepted—almost matter-of-fact attitude—which they accept established personal liberties, that no man or official, from the President of the United States down to a supernumerary cop can take from us. I look at television, hear the radio, and read the press—all uncontrolled as the people are, and I read what I want, hear what I want, and see what I want. I look into the faces of my neighbors and my friends and they are faces without fear. This is the good life, I say.

When I hear of the complicated mess that represents communism, I look at the bright new refrigerator we have in a modern kitchen and think, none anywhere is made better. I have the best. I look at the washing machine and dryer that washes our clothes at the turn of a switch. I look into our pantry and see wholesome food of every imaginable description lined up on shelves in colorful patterns. I know my refrigerator is the best because appliance manufacturers spend millions a year in research to produce a better product than their competitors. For Americans are demanding people. They want quality and they get it. I know the washing machine is worth every dime I paid for it because it eliminates hours of drudgery. I know the food is good because of the highly competitive market created by food manufacturers themselves.

I look at the clothes my wife and children wear, and they are good clothes. They are comfortable, warm, and serviceable.

In our driveway is a car, a modest automobile by the standards of our neighbors. It is bright green, runs good, and gets us where we want to go.

I look at the neighborhood in which we live. It is a typical American group of homes. Brightly painted, neat lawns, and plenty of flowers. But best of all are the joyous shouts and sounds of many children at play. They are happy children, well fed, well clothed, and well housed.

The people living in this neighborhood are no different from people living in other neighborhoods. They are all working to give their children advantages that they themselves never had. Better educations and more stable lives. Teaching them moral precepts and imbuing into their hearts the rights of others. That's the American way.

It is good to watch a little Catholic girl riding a little Protestant boy on her bike. It is good to watch a little Italian boy playing Hopalong Cassidy with a little Jewish boy. For this is the Nation of Irish, English, Jews, Italians, and all of the other races of the world joined together in one mighty unison of freedom and equality.

I think of all the material things we possess, which raises our dignity and makes for the good life. I hear the church bells on Sunday and see my neighbors going to their church while I go to mine.

And I wonder how anyone, anywhere could fall for communistic hogwash. But here again, as in other ages and other times, is a tyrannical dictatorship based upon deceit, lies, and hypocrisy. A form of life that would quiet the churchbells and still the voices of little children at play. A godless tyranny based upon godless precepts which degrade people to the status of serfs. That recognizes nothing but the power of the state where people are herded, controlled, and regimented. That offers barbarism for civilization. That offers Marxism for God.

I am a poor man by the standards of this rich country. But I ask myself am I, indeed, poor? And the answer comes back that I am rich—rich beyond compare of the sultans and maharajahs of India. Rich in spiritual values and human values; rich, yes, so rich, when I look up at the bright blue sky of this spring day and know that my wife is free, my children are free and every man, woman, and child that lives in America is free. Yes, I am wealthy. Not in shining gold or silver coins. But rich in the heritage of a free land and a free people. And I know, as I listen to the heart throb of this great Nation, that it shall remain free.

Post Office Head Favors Fully Restoring Old Parcel Size and Weight Limits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Daily News-Record of Thursday, April 1, 1954:

POST OFFICE HEAD FAVORS FULLY RESTORING OLD PARCEL SIZE, WEIGHT LIMITS

(By Lloyd Schwartz)

WASHINGTON, March 31.—Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield today invited Congress to repeal Public Law 199 and fully restore the old parcel post size and weight limitations of 100 inches in length and girth combined and 70 pounds.

Mr. Summerfield took his stand, orally, at a news conference called to outline the Post Office Department's new plan to get on a pay-as-you-go self-sustaining basis.

Questioned by Fairchild News Service, Mr. Summerfield stated flatly that he would have absolutely no objection if Congress not only repeals Public Law 199 but also restores the old limits sought by distribution. He said the Department had studied the matter thoroughly and had decided that such a step could be handled efficiently and would cause no disruption of Department operations or procedures.

The Summerfield declaration went considerably further than retail representatives here had dared hope. It stemmed from a Department statement today merely endorsing the recommendation of the Advisory Council to the Senate Post Office Committee for repeal of Public Law 199 with uniform application of new, and unspecified, parcel-post size and weight limitations to all post offices.

The formal Summerfield statement said the Post Office "agreed generally" with this proposal and that the Department was convinced that there should be uniformity in the limits to and from all classes of post offices and to all zones.

However, pressed for an explanation as to whether the Department used such curious language and did not go all the way and advocate restoration of the old 100-inch and 70-pound limit, Mr. Summerfield said Congress was "jealous of its prerogatives." He indicated the Department had considered it best to let Congress decide just what the new limits ought to be, provided it accepted the fundamental principle of uniformity.

As a followup comment, he conceded that in view of the Department's conclusion that raising the size and weight limits should increase parcel-post revenue, it followed that the Department would not object to full restoration of the old rule as sought by retail merchants and others for many months.

It was the first time Mr. Summerfield had been smoked out on the issue.

Two Timely Editorials From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following very fine editorials from the Cleveland Plain Dealer. One, As Uncle Sam Quits Business, and the other on tax cuts:

AS UNCLE SAM QUITS BUSINESS

(By Walker S. Buel)

WASHINGTON, April 2.—This Republican administration is making a beginning on getting the Government out of business in competition with private enterprise—but there is a long, long road to go. In more than a hundred different general directions the Federal Government engages in scores and scores of detailed business and industrial activities, transportation, services, construction, maintenance, repair, and a variety of miscellaneous operations.

Representative FRANK C. OSMERS, Republican, of New Jersey, a member of the House Committee on Government Operations which for months has been surveying the scope of the problem, in an address last night at Newark emphasized that a reversal of the trend is possible and already has begun.

INTO PRIVATE HANDS

He noted that the Mississippi barge line, which he said has cost the taxpayers money for the past 30 years, recently has been sold and is now a taxpayer. The synthetic rubber plants, built during World War II, are to be sold this spring and will become taxpayers. Loans of the RFC are being sold to banks and insurance companies. Within the past 90 days, lumber and sawmill operations of the Army, Navy, and Air Force have been closed down, the Brooklyn naval clothing factory has been discontinued, and 17 of 60-odd scrap iron metal operations of the Defense Department have been closed, with others under close scrutiny.

"This is a beginning—a reversal of the trend—even though small by comparison with the list of over 101 types of Federal business activities," said OSMERS. "Get the Government out of all competitive activities and your taxes will start coming down faster."

He quoted estimates that Government-type enterprises could be sold for $27 billion or more, which could be applied to reduction of the national debt, with a saving of half a billions a year in interest. In private hands, he declared, the Government businesses would pay between one and two billion a year in Federal income taxes. Now

these largely tax-free enterprises compete with private industries which pay taxes.

BIG BUSINESS

The extent and range of Government business activities are enormous. The Government owns and operates immense areas of land. It is the largest insurer, the largest lender, the largest holder of grazing land, the largest owner of grain, the largest warehouse operator, the largest shipowner, the largest truck-fleet operator.

The armed services all roast and grind their own coffee—100 million pounds a year. Navy makes rope at a ropewalk established 120 years ago, although commercial rope is said to be cheaper. Navy makes paint. Army manufactures spectacles in St. Louis, and also in Korea, Japan, Okinawa, Honolulu, and Alaska.

Other of the many items include false teeth, wooden legs, rubber stamps, chain, ice cream, flags, rum, clothing, and wooden boxes. Government owns a railroad and a hotel at Panama. It owns so many tugboats that it said to be driving commercial tugs out of business. It has powerplants, laundries, broom shops, and typewriter repair shops. It operates financial agencies of all kinds in direct competition with taxpaying commercial and industrial banks and financial institutions.

There was a repercussion on the House floor this week from the Republican drive to get the Government out of business. The House by an almost strictly partyline vote of 154 to 121 refused to add $85 million for the Tennessee Valley Authority to $103,500,000 recommended by committee. Republicans mostly were against the increase and Democrats for it.

This followed long and bitter debate, in the course of which Representative RALPH W. GWINN, Republican, of New York, referred to TVA as "America's first, much-touted, great, Socialist-Communist experiment." Representative CLEVELAND M. BAILEY, Democrat, of West Virginia, tried to have the language expunged from the RECORD. But Speaker MARTIN ruled it did not reflect upon the membership of the House and was not unparliamentary. In effect, the Speaker ruled that it was impossible to libel a powerplant, even though it is Government-owned.

PORTER ON TAX CUTS: EXCISE LEVY WAS A PAINFUL NUISANCE—ITS PASSING SHOULD SPUR SALES

(By Philip W. Porter)

A cut in taxes is always a pleasure when it takes place, even though it has been well-advertised in advance. And the cut in Federal excise taxes last Thursday was a special pleasure, because it was instantly obvious and reduced a long-standing nuisance.

Actually most people will save more dough during the year by the 10-percent cut in income taxes, but that has not yet been enjoyed or even noticed because the total saving will not become apparent till next winter, when returns are filed and final accounting made. Meanwhile, withholding taxes on wages go on pretty much as usual.

But from now on, every time you make a phone call (particularly a long distance call), send a telegram, take a plane trip or a train ride, you're saving money. Every time you buy a light bulb, or a can of face powder, or shaving lotion, you're a few cents ahead. Your wife can repair her face more cheaply because lotions and cosmetics will be taxed less. She can treat herself to a new handbag and even buy you a traveling bag for a birthday present without feeling the tax collector sneering at her.

NOBODY WILL MOURN

Most of these taxes were put on in World War II, when a lot of money had to be raised in a hurry, from any and every source, but they hung on through deficit after deficit, and tended to become permanent. The Eisenhower administration is not going to make anyone sore by finally cutting them.

Of course, many of the items are still taxed at 10 percent, and any tax is a nuisance. But 10 percent is a great improvement over 15 percent to 25 percent.

How much difference the cut will make in buying remains to be seen, but it should certainly give a psychological lift to the shopper to see a lot of items coming down in price 2 weeks before Easter. It would be surprising indeed if the sale of luggage, jewelry, and fur coats is not stimulated at once; since the tax cut has been planned, people who intended to buy such goods naturally held off.

To me personally, the taxes on rail and plane tickets and long-distance phone calls were the most annoying. To clap an extra 15 bucks tax on every $100 spent on travel seemed outrageous. Obviously it encouraged vacationing folks who were spending their own, not the company's, money, to drive their cars. And it added enormously to the cost of doing business for firms whose salesmen or executives had to do a lot of traveling. Some small companies which might have a hard time squeezing out a profit this year will be given quite a lift by the reduction of these travel and phone taxes.

PHONE TAX WAS KILLER

The long-distance phone tax of 25 percent was a real killer. It assumed that long distance was some sort of silly luxury. Actually it is used almost continually for order taking and troubleshooting by most nationwide industries.

Cutting the household-appliance tax to 5 percent should also stimulate sales, which have slid off. And cutting the movie-admissions tax may save some neighborhood theaters from bankruptcy. They've been in real trouble.

A few demagogs have tried to make hay out of the reduction in the tax on fur coats. Only for the wealthy, they say. Boys, that's for the birds. Don't you know any working gals? If you do, you'll realize that all of them, at least in the North, where it's a matter of self-preservation, either have a fur coat or are trying to get one. Not minks, or even beavers. But furs, anyway. They had to pay that stiff tax on mouton lamb, too.

The best thing about these tax reductions—and the income-tax cuts, which you can rejoice about next January—is that the money you are saving is now yours, to spend or save, as you please. It's what the economists call disposable income. The Government hasn't got its fins on it, and can't spend it for redtape, aid to Europe, guns, butter subsidies, or new post offices. When they haven't got it, they can't spend it. Well, not without borrowing, and even that's getting less popular and out of fashion.

So give a muffled cheer and hope next year they'll hack all the 10-percent nuisance taxes down to zero. That'll be the day.

H. R. 7894

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following presentation of argument in behalf of H. R. 7894 by Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno before House Committee on Judiciary, Wednesday, April 7, 1954:

May it please the committee, the invitation extended to me to appear before this distinguished committee is indeed a great honor which I shall always cherish. Knowing of the great burdens to which you are subjected during these crucial times in living and writing the legislative history of America, it is my respectful wish that my presentation may be of some service to you in your deliberations on this most important bill presented by your able colleague Representative MARTIN DIES, of Texas.

The purpose of House bill 7894 is to outlaw the Communist Party of the United States, and all other organizations no matter how named, committed to the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. Of course, the enactment of this bill into law will be the means of taking legal cognizance of what now exists, for it is obvious that in morals, ideals, and American traditions, the Communist Party is already, in grim reality, an outlaw organization.

The American people saw, with horror, only 5 weeks ago, how armed emissaries of this very organization invaded the sacred halls of American democracy and poured a murderous fire upon you and your colleagues in the House of Representatives, leaving blood stains on the floor that has known the footsteps of American Presidents and immortal statesmen of this great Republic down through the years of our country's illustrious history. How much farther must the Communist Party go before our statute books proclaim its banishment from the American scene? In the judgment of the American people the Communist-inspired outrage of March 1 represents the ultimate in outlawry. It symbolizes, with factual, stark authenticity, the scorn and contempt for law on the part of international communism.

And the whole world of decency awaits the decision of the American Congress as to how the countless acts of infamy and treason on the part of the Communist Party during the last 30 years—acts which threaten the security of every American home—will at last be met.

The threat to our national security, the menace to our domestic tranquillity and the challenge to our peaceful future by the Communist Party have already been recognized by the Congress of the United States, by the courts of the United States, and by the good people of the United States. Knowing full well, then, that the Communist Party has but one purpose and that is to carry out the Moscow-laid plans for world revolution, which include the destruction, of which the attempted massacre of March 1, was but a fragment, of the entire American structure of government, why do we still assign to the Communist Party a legal status?

On September 30, 1950, the American Congress, after years of investigation, inquiry and direct observation, legislatively declared:

"There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development and its present practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is * * * to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a worldwide Communist organization.

"The Communist organization in the United States, pursuing its stated objectives, the recent successes of Communist methods in other countries, and the nature and control of the world Communist movement itself, present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the existence of free American institutions."

On June 5, 1951, the Supreme Court of the United States, speaking through the late Chief Justice Vinson, in the case of *Dennis v. United States*, said that the 11 top leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, the defendants in that case, intended:

"To overthrow the Government of the United States as speedily as the circum-

stances would permit. Their conspiracy to organize the Communist Party and to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence created a clear and present danger of an attempt to overthrow the Government by force and violence" (341 U. S. 494).

Supreme Court Justice Jackson, in the case of *American Communications Ass'n.* v. *Douds*, said:

"The goal of the Communist Party is to seize powers of government by and for a minority rather than to acquire power through the vote of a free electorate. Violent and undemocratic means are the calculated and indispensable methods to attain the Communist Party's goal. In not one of the countries it now dominates was the Communist Party chosen by a free or contestible election; in not one can it be evicted by any election. The international police state has crept over eastern Europe by deception, coercion, coup d'etat, terrorism, and assassination. The American Communist Party has copied the organizational structure and its leaders have been schooled in the same technique and from the same tutors" (70 Supt. Ct. 697).

With grave, official pronouncements of this kind, how is it that in the capital of the Nation, in New York City, and in practically every large city of the country, the Communist Party maintains headquarters in the objective development of its plans to overthrow the Government by force and violence? The New York Times on Sunday (March 14, 1954) carried a presumably momentous story from Caracas, Venezuela, the first paragraph of which read:

"CARACAS, VENEZUELA, March 15.—By a vote of 17 to 1, the 10th Inter-American Conference adopted today an anti-Communist resolution advocated by the United States. It was designed to serve as a warning to the Soviet Union to keep out of the affairs of the Western Hemisphere."

This news story strikes me as being solemn irony. Down in Venezuela we speak of keeping the Soviet Union out of the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, and here we have the Soviet Union operating on our very doorsteps. We tell the South American countries to ban the Communists, and here we permit them in the Armed Forces of the Nation. It is no wonder that on the following day, March 15, Ludwell Denny, Scripps-Howard foreign editor, wrote:

"The Communist menace in this hemisphere remains as big as before, despite the United States resolution passed by the Inter-American Conference at Caracas."

When the United States shows it means business by outrightly outlawing the Communist Party, then we can hope to be of some real influence in convincing South Americans that they should kill the Red snake operating in the paradise of their lush coffee plantations.

William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, has declared:

"When a Communist heads the Government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—the Government will not be a capitalist Government but a Soviet Government, and behind this Government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This simply means that every Communist headquarters in America is an advance post of the Red army. Every Communist between the Atlantic and the Pacific is a Soviet paratrooper already landed here. Why, then, is the Communist Party allowed not only to maintain these advance posts but to use our telegraph, telephone, and wireless facilities for the transmission of revolutionary plans? Why is this revolutionary organization permitted to transmit through the United States mails an 8-page communique every day, keeping its Bolsheviat members throughout the Nation informed on the newest objectives of the Kremlin?

If the situation were not so tragic, it would be sheerly ludicrous the way our Government services are generously placed at the disposal of these unwashed traitors. On August 31, 1950, the sheriff of Allegheny County, Pa., served a search and seizure warrant, issued at my behest, on the Communist Party headquarters in Pittsburgh. While we were examining the seditious material in those headquarters, the mailman, a postman of the United States, arrived with a letter from Moscow for Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party in that part of the United States, and the field general for the Communist forces in the whole country. The gray-clad mailman also delivered a large package from Moscow directed to James Dolsen, notorious international revolutionary and charter member of the Communist Party of the United States. Thus, the Communists use the facilities of the United States Government in their plans to destroy the United States Government. What a paradox. What an absurdity. What a disgrace.

Why has the Communist Party not been outlawed heretofore? The principal argument advanced against illegalization of this traitorous organization is that it is a political party. With all the earnestness at my command and with due respect to those who may intellectually disagree, I must in all candor say, nonetheless, that anyone who todays says that the Communist Party is a political party is either abysmally ignorant or culpably false. The Communist Party in the United States is an extension of the Soviet Foreign Office. It is not a political party.

As a private citizen I was on the witness stand for 31 days testifying against the Communist leaders Steve Nelson, James Dolsen, and Andrew Onda, the last-named person being the leader of the Soviet infiltration crew into the steel industry of the country. In preparing for the trial against this revolutionary trio, I examined every book, pamphlet, circular, periodical, note of correspondence and every item of equipment in the Communist headquarters of western Pennsylvania. In that meticulous search, study, and analysis, I did not find one document or one piece of paper which had to do with political parties as we understand political parties in America. In preparing for that trial I read 296 books and 242 documents taken from the headquarters. On every page of these books and documents I found either laudation of revolution, Leninism, Stalinism, and the whole Communist system, or insults, blasphemies, and scurrilities heaped on America, Americans, and the American way of life.

As an officer in the United States Navy, as President of the United States-Soviet Board of Forcible Repatriation, and as a judge at the International War Crimes Trials in Nuremberg, I had occasion, over a period of 5 years, to visit many Communist headquarters in various parts of Europe. The Communist headquarters in Pittsburgh could well have been a duplicate of any of the hammer-and-sickle headquarters in Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Prague, or Belgrade. In those four rooms located in the very heart of the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh I found not a book containing the Constitution of the United States, but copies of the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were as plentiful as pictures of Vladimir Lenin who, with beard bristling, stared metallically at me from scores of vantage points in the sovietized locale.

In addition to the Pittsburgh headquarters, I visited some 30 Communist headquarters in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts. In each one of them the walls proclaimed the Soviet empire, the Soviet flag, and the Soviet prophets; the shelves sagged with books on Soviet history and worldwide revolutionary propaganda; but nowhere did I find one American flag, one American history, or one American Constitution which the Communists are so eager to flourish when they appear in court charged with violating the laws of the land. In the Communist national headquarters in New York I offered to pay for an advertisement in the Daily Worker urging its subscribers to read the United States Constitution and an American history book at least once a year. The offer was, of course, refused.

The Communist Party is not a political party. The four books of the Communist Party which constitute their Koran, chart, program, and modus operandi contain not one appeal to the election polls in democratic fashion. The Communist Manifesto, which is the bloody shirt of revolution, is a panegyric to rebellion. Lenin's masterpiece, State and Revolution, is a fiery appeal to armed insurrection. The Foundations of Lenin by Joseph Stalin is a battle directive for overthrowing democratic institutions. The History of the Communist Party, as it itself proclaims, is not a history but a guide to action—that is, revolutionary action.

The argument has been advanced that outlawing the Communists will drive the Communists underground. This argument is as fallacious as the contention that the Communist Party is a political party. In point of fact, the Communist Party is underground now. The early followers of Christ, in the catacombs of ancient Rome, toiled with blood and drawn to build the pillars of Christendom supporting the cathedral of faith in the infinite and confidence in the brotherhood of man. The Communists today in the subterranean cells of perfidy are working blasphemously to tear those pillars down. And with that demolition they intend to raze the American home and all the freedom-loving institutions which have made America the great land of opportunity and the fulfillment of the dreams of your congressional predecessors, the Founding Fathers of our beloved country.

The most notorious Communist traitors that we have uncovered were all underground moles gnawing at the foundation walls of American democracy. Alger Hiss, who stole secret documents from the State Department and conspired with Soviet agents, was an underground Communist; William Remington, who betrayed the United States in the Commerce Department and War Production Board, was an underground Communist; Whittaker Chambers, who lugged brief cases bulgingly full of purloined Government secrets, was an underground Communist; Judith Coplon, who thieved classified material from the Department of Justice, was an underground Communist; Elizabeth Bentley whose revelations of the wholesale perfidies in the various Government departments shocked the Nation, was an underground Communist; Harry Dexter White, who represented Stalin in the Treasury Department of the United States and arranged the transfer to Soviet occupation forces in Germany of one quarter of a billion dollars filched from the pockets of the American people, was an underground Communist; Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Harry Gold, Henry Fuchs, and David Greenglass and all those monsters in perfidy who stole from our laboratories the scientific secrets which may some day lay our country open to the forked lightning of hell-splitting nuclear blasts, were underground Communists. Congressional investigations during the last 12 years have lifted the outer crust of the earth's surface in official Washington and exposed scores of Communist traitors, Soviet saboteurs, espionage agents, all plotting and working underground. Right here in the Capitol, on Senate and House committees, there were betrayers acting as counsel who, while apparently engaged in helping to erect legislative superstructure, were in fact underground sawing away at the very supports of the State.

The Communist Party in the United States has been underground for a long time. In March 1951, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, a constant defender of the security of our country, in an interview in the U. S. News & World Report, declared that most of the Communist Party activities were underground. And as late as March 1954, in the American Legion magazine he repeated that: "Almost all Communist Party activity is being carried on in a disguised manner. Many of the top leaders and most trusted members of the party have gone underground and the rank-and-file membership carry on party activities through Communist-front organizations and even through infiltrating legitimate organizations." Director Hoover then relates how Communists have fitted into parent-teacher associations, church, civic and similar groups in which one would not expect to find Communists.

Louis Budenz, who was a leading member of the Communist conspiracy for many years, emphasizes in his book, the Cry Is Peace, that the Communist Party has always been 95 percent underground, adding that it has the advantage, however, of legality of the open functioning of that part of its apparatus which runs newspapers, uses telephones, and has offices.

In March 1950, when I was presiding over the criminal courts in Allegheny County, Pa., I found a woman Communist on the grand jury. She could have had only one purpose and that was to corrupt American justice. I dismissed her, but the dismissal did not endure. The appellate court held that since it was not illegal to be a Communist, she should not be deprived of her right to sit on the grand jury. And herein lies the tragic contradiction. The courts juridically declare that the Communist Party has but one object and that is the violent dismantling of the whole American commonwealth, including courthouses, city halls, State legislatures, and the national Congress, yet, the Communists may continue to ply their traitorous work of destruction because they are still citizens.

From time to time we hear of some incredible miscarriage of justice where subversion is involved. How do we know that a Communist is not on the jury? The enactment into law of H. R. 7894 would keep Communists off the grand juries and petit juries, it would bar them from the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and Coast Guard, it would weed them out of the universities, colleges, and schools, it would exclude them from police and detective squads, it would lock them out of hospitals as doctors and nurses; in fact, it would keep them out of every decent American institution and activity except prison where they should be, like all other criminal conspirators, felons, and malfeasors.

As late as March 17 of this year, Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, promulgated a directive which provides that any person inducted into the armed services who fails to execute a loyalty certificate shall not be assigned to sensitive duties. While I served in both World Wars, I certainly cannot presume to speak expertly on military matters. Yet, I would say from general observation alone that there is no such thing as a nonsensitive post in the armed services. No part of the machinery of war can be tampered with, as no device on a dynamo can be damaged, without disastrous effects of some degree to the whole. And why should we hand a rifle, bayonet, grenade, or opportunity of sabotage to persons who refuse to declare their loyalty to the United States? It all sounds like fantastic nonsense in a topsy-turvy world.

It is not Secretary Wilson's fault, however, that he must issue directives that read as if penned by the hand of Lewis Carroll. Our present laws permit fifth amendment Communists not only to pull teeth but to sight the guns of our artillery. There was a time when our history books were stained with the names of but two traitors: Benedict Arnold and John Wilkes Booth. Now a card-index system is needed to catalog the Judases that would betray America into the hands of her enemies.

On August 24, 1953, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary shocked the Nation with its report that the following high-ranking officials had handled excavating tools in the Communist underground: An executive assistant to the President of the United States, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Director of Office of Special Political Affairs for the State Department of the United States, Secretary of the International Monetary Fund, head of Latin American Division of Office of Strategic Services for the United States, Secretary and a member of the United States National Labor Relations Board, chief counsel of the United States Senate Subcommittee on Civil Liberties, Chief of the Statistical Analysis Branch, United States War Production Board, United States Treasury Department Representative at meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow, Director of National Research Project of the United States Works Progress Administration, and the United States Treasury attaché in China.

With all this, opponents of this measure will still say that its passage would drive the Communists underground. How much deeper can they go? The enactment of the Dies bill into law would have the opposite effect—it would drag the burrowing betrayers out into the open where they can be seen in the light of day. All Communists headquarters, newspaper plants, publishing houses, and meeting places are the manhole covers which conceal the traitorous work underneath. The time has come to rip away the manholes from the black depths in which the subterranean traitors are digging and hammering at the very foundations of our country.

And, Mr. Chairman, the dignity of the United States demands that criminal prosecutions be based on reality of circumstance and not on diversionary incident. There have been numerous convictions of Communists for perjury when we know that the gravemen of their offense was clandestine plotting against our national security. Last week a jury here in Washington very properly convicted the Muscovite mole, Ben Gold, who as president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, has used his powerful union in the furtherance of the perfidious plans of the Communist Party of which he was a powerful leader. With the passage of the Dies bill, the membership in all Kremlin-directed unions will be emancipated from the domination of their sovietized commissars, and this would include the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union under the control of the Marx-Leninist Harry Bridges, who wields in his infamous grasp a meretricious control which could paralyze shipping in the Pacific and thus cripple our defenses in the farflung outposts of Hawaii and other oceanic bases.

To those who contend that the outlawry of the Communist Party would constitute an unconstitutional act I would pose the question: Why would such an act be unconstitutional? Is our Constitution so anemic in bodily strength, so deficient in reasoning, and so lacking in reserve that it does not possess the power to protect and perpetuate itself? W. E. Gladstone, the celebrated British statesman, described the United States Constitution as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Is this monumental charter, this blueprint of freedoms, which has built the greatest government that has ever lived in the tide of times, capable of guiding the American people in everything but its own self-preservation?

The goal of the Communist Party is clear, definite, precise, and admits of no equivocation, evasion, or subterfuge: it is to destroy the Constitution of the United States. As a judge in Allegheny County, I ordered one day the sequestration of certain subversive literature being distributed by the Communist Party. One of their leaders, Andrew Onda, came into court and asked for the return of the literature on the ground that the Constitution of the United States authorized him to disseminate propaganda, even though it advocated the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. My response was that the Constitution is not so fatuous as to invite its own destruction and I added that "The Constitution will not protect the hand that is trying to drive a sickle into its heart."

To those who raise the question of constitutionality, I would say: "Why can we not outlaw the Communist Party?" We have outlawed burglary, robbery, kidnaping, murder, arson. The Communist Party stands for what is more evil than all these heinous crimes because it foments bloody revolution. But it seeks to do more than that. The Communist Party seeks to assassinate the very soul of mankind. It would destroy religion, without which life is meaningless; it would shatter the standards of morality, without which there is no honor or shame. I need not recall to you, who are all intense students of this material, that Lenin said:

"We say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us, it is a fraud."

Under the broad police powers of our Government, Congress can take any action needed to preserve the State. The very preamble of the Constitution proclaims that its purpose is to "insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." Article IV, section 4, of the Constitution expressly provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." The Communist form of government, which is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the violent antithesis of a Republican form of government.

Chief Justice Vinson, speaking for the Supreme Court, said in the case of *Dennis* v. *United States*, from which I have already quoted:

"We reject any principle of governmental helplessness in the face of preparation for revolution, which principle, carried to its logical conclusion, must lead to anarchy. No one could conceive that it is not within the power of Congress to prohibit acts intended to overthrow the Government by force and violence."

Our greatest exponent of the United States Constitution, Chief Justice Marshall, declared in 1821:

"America has chosen to be, in many respects, and to many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes, her Government is complete; to all these objects, it is competent. It can, then, in effecting these objects, legitimately control all individuals or governments within the American territory" (*Cohen* v. *Virginia*, 6 Wheat. 264, 414).

James Madison, one of the architects of the Constitution, wrote:

"The right of a government to maintain its existence—self-preservation—is the most pervasive aspect of sovereignty." (Federalist, No. 41.)

Justice Field, speaking for the Supreme Court, in 1888, pointed out that: "To preserve its independence, and give security against foreign aggression and encroachment, is the highest duty of every nation, and to attain these ends nearly all other considerations are to be subordinated. It matters not in what form such aggression and encroachment come, whether from the foreign nation acting in its national character or from vast hordes of its people crowding

in upon us. The government, possessing the powers which are to be exercised for protection and security, is clothed with authority to determine the occasion on which the powers shall be called forth."

Justice Frankfurter, in a concurring opinion in the Dennis case, wrote in 1951:

"The most tragic experience in our history is a poignant reminder that the Nation's continued existence may be threatened from within. To protect itself from such threats, the Federal Government is invested with all those inherent and implied powers which, at the time of adopting the Constitution, were generally considered to belong to every government, as such, and as being essential to the exercise of its function.'" Justice Bradley in *Legal Tender* cases (13 Wall. 457, 554, 556).

Our Federal courts have made the clear and definite pronouncements that—

Congress can authorize employment of any appropriate means to serve a legitimate public end. *U. S.* v. *Martin* (136 F. 2d 388).

Congress, having decided upon a legitimate end to be attained and a policy adapted to its attainment, may choose the means for its accomplishment. *Egan* v. *U. S.* (137 F. 2d 369).

Every right created by, arising under, or dependent upon the Constitution may be protected and enforced by such means and in such manner as Congress may, in its discretion, deem best adapted to attain the object. *Hardyman* v. *Collins* (80 F. Supp. 501).

Congress has general authority to adopt legislation designed to promote welfare of the Nation and its people, similar to the police power of a State. *National Maritime Union of America* v. *Herzog* (78 F. Supp. 146).

"Civil liberties," as guaranteed by the Federal Constitution imply the existence of an organized society maintaining public order without which liberty itself would be lost in the excesses of unrestrained abuses. *Cox* v. *State of New Hampshire* (312 U. S. 569).

Chief Justice Vinson, speaking for the Supreme Court in 1947 in the case of *United States* v. *United Mine Workers* (330 U. S. 258, 306), asserted:

"In our complex society there is a great variety of limited loyalties, but the overriding loyalty of all is to our country and to the institutions under which a particular interest may be pursued."

If, because of that loyalty, a citizen may constitutionally be conscripted by the United States Government and shipped overseas to undergo military hardships and even the risk of losing his life, on what possible reasonable basis can it be argued that the Government does not have the right to pronounce as illegal the organization against which the conscripted soldier is to fight? We know, and it has been so congressionally and judicially recognized, that the Communist Party in the United States is but a detached segment of the international Communist organization, the only possible enemy against which military might must be arrayed today.

It is usually argued by those opposing the outlawry of the Communist Party that such legislation would encroach upon the free speech guaranteed in the first amendment. So long as the nobly proportioned glistening dome of this Capitol shall lift its crowning figure of freedom toward the skies, Congress will never pass any law encroaching upon the freedom of speech. And even if some holocaust would send that figure crashing to the ground and the dome itself should crumble into dust, the representatives of the people of the United States would still never deprive the people of their inherent and inalienable right to discuss their problems and the measures to be taken for their solution. But it would be arrant folly to say that Congress would take no action against those who would destroy the Capitol dome or criminally conspire to shatter freedom in the United States.

Discussing changes in government through methods prescribed by the Constitution is protected by the first amendment; advocating the forcible overthrow of Government by force and violence is not protected by the first amendment or any other part of the Constitution.

Chief Justice Vinson in the case of *Communications Association* v. *Douds* (339 U. S., 382), pointed out that under the first amendment one is permitted to believe what he will and he may advocate what he will "unless there is clear and present danger that a substantial public evil will result therefrom. It does not require that he be permitted to be the keeper of the arsenal."

And again in the Dennis case, where the very subject of the Communist Party was involved, the Supreme Court declared:

"Overthrow of the Government by force and violence is certainly a substantial enough interest for the Government to limit speech. Indeed, this is the ultimate value of any society, for if a society cannot protect its very structure from armed internal attack, it must follow that no subordinate value can be protected.

Propagandists of the Communist Party argue that while it can be conceded that the Government has the right to put down insurrection, it may not punish merely in anticipation of rebellion. But when is the Government to step in? Must it wait until the first bomb is thrown and the first Government building demolished? The Supreme Court answered this question in the Dennis case by stating that the Government does not need to "wait until the putsch is about to be executed, the plans have been laid, and the signal is waiting." Overthrowing a government involves an undertaking of such sanguinary magnitude that no legislative body could possibly acquit itself of having discharged its responsibility to the people if it waited until the overthrow was imminent before it acted. It is not up to the Government to gamble its safety against the success of the Communist Party's attempt to obtain the necessary equipment for a triumphant revolution.

The continued recognition of the Communist Party as a legal entity (linked with the fact that Communist bullets in Korea killed 25,000 Americans and wounded over 100,000 more) is wrong—wrong from the standpoint of law, morals, and elemental ethics in conduct between man and man. It cannot possibly be defended in the arena of responsibility to divine intelligence.

There are those who say that to outlaw the Communist Party is to infringe upon civil liberties. In the Pittsburgh Communist headquarters I found a telegram from William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, to Steve Nelson, district chairman of western Pennsylvania, urging him to take every action in his district to prevent the sending of guns and ammunition to Korea. To the extent that Communist sabotage impeded the sending of adequate ammunition and equipment to Korea, thus weakening the resistance of American troops against the onslaught of the Red Chinese and North Koreans, the Communist Party must share with the slayers the responsibility for our Korean dead.

I also found on Steve Nelson's desk the copy of a telegram from Steve Nelson to Gene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, pledging in Dennis' honor (because Dennis was just about to go to prison)—one traitor pledging himself to another traitor—that he, Steve Nelson, would place 25 Communists in the basic industries of western Pennsylvania. What did this mean except that he was assigning 25 saboteurs and espionage agents to vital tactical spots for the purpose of sabotage at the appropriate moment? And yet, this is what is called civil liberties.

When Steve Nelson returned to Pittsburgh, after having testified before a House committee here in Washington, one of his comrade Communists said to him: "We should get the machineguns and mow those b—— down." To this, Nelson replied: "Not yet, George, we are not ready for the machineguns yet."

Those of you who were in the House on that fateful March 1 when deadly bullets whistled through the Chamber may well wonder if the Communists have not decided that the day for the machineguns has arrived.

The whole pattern of our Government is based upon the fair and honorable proposition that any one persons's prerogatives terminate where another man's rights begin. This apparently is self-evident in all cases except where Communists are concerned. In my respectful judgment, the duty devolves upon Congress to make this governmental limitation noonday clear to the world by outlawing the Communist Party.

Basically it does not matter, nor is it any of our business, what Russians do and think within the confines of Russia. However, in the incredible state of affairs which obtains in America at the present time (with regard to protection for Communists), we are being compelled to devote much of our time, attention, and worry to a Russian enterprise which operates here under the name of the Communist Party of the United States. Therefore it is necessary to point out that the Bill of Rights which the Communists insist upon in the United States simply has no existence at all in Russia.

Andrei Vishinsky beats drums of confusion in the United Nations meetings, but in Russia he speaks with trumpet blasts which scatter all doubts as to his meaning. In his book, The Law of the Soviet State, he says:

"In our state naturally there can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on, for the foes of socialism. Every sort of attempt to utilize to the detriment of the state * * * those freedoms granted to the toilers must be classified as a counterrevolutionary crime."

In discussing the large Communist population in France and Italy some critics have been asking: Of what avail has it been to spend billions of dollars to win these two countries to the Atlantic defense of democracy when the Communists cast the largest single bloc of votes in their respective elections? My answer is that this vote would have been drastically curtailed if we had demonstrated by example, instead of by speech alone, that we really mean what we say about communism.

In the 1953 elections in Italy the Italian people were told by the Red propagandists that it is not true that the United States condemns communism. And in support of this argument they called attention to the fact that a former Vice President of the United States was the candidate of the Communists for the Presidency of the United States, that some of the highest officials in the United States Government have been Communist sympathizers, that the Communists maintain rendezvous in the heart of our large cities, that the Communists publish newspapers and send them through the mail, mostly at the expense of a Government subsidy. The wearisome story was told of how the Secretary of State of the United States, after Alger Hiss had been convicted of a crime which embraced Communist Party membership, declared that he would not turn his back on him. The people of Europe know, because the Communists see to it that they are kept informed, how Communists in America thrive in the professions, in the arts, in the entertainment fields, in business. The people of Europe know that Communists may serve on juries, enter the armed services of the Nation, and participate in the full life of America. How, then, can we expect European countries to exorcise Com-

munists when here in America they are protected, defended, and promoted?

It is generally assumed that the McCarran Act is a strong anti-Communist measure because its intention is to count and catalog the Communists. How will that registering, if and when it takes place, protect the people of the United States? The Communist Party will still be an active branch of the Soviet Foreign Office, it will still utilize our facilities for obtaining and transmitting vital defense information to the revolutionary planners in the Kremlin, it will still have the assistance and the cooperation of the Communist-controlled unions.

Although Senator PAT MCCARRAN is one of the Nation's most vigilant and redoubtable foes of communism, his bill was subjected to such hammering in the legislative processes that there entered into it a provision which practically nullified the intention of the measure. Section 4, subsection (f) reads in part:

"Neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of subsection (2) or subsection (c) of this section or of any other criminal statute."

This section, unless repealed or overridden by other legislation, perpetuates the Communist Party in the United States and guarantees sanctuary to its members. Section 5, also, permits and perpetuates to Communists the right to run for any Federal office within the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Speaking before the House Appropriations Committee in the early part of 1954, J. Edgar Hoover stated that the Communist Party "poses a major and dangerous threat to our national security." We are supposed to meet this dangerous threat by advancing with penholders and asking the Communists to write their names in a book.

The Communist Party should have been outlawed in 1936 when Congress made its first findings on the Red international conspiracy for world revolution. Had this been done, it is possible that World War II would have been averted because Hitler would never have attacked Poland without Stalin's assistance, and Stalin would never have dreamed in 1939 of taking a position which could mean some day challenging the might of America.

In 1933 the United States recognized Communist Russia under a specific compact in which the Soviet Union pledged itself "to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States." A year and a half later, representatives of the Communist Party of the United States met and conferred in Moscow with executives of the Communist International to discuss plans for undermining the Government of the United States. Our State Department protested but the Russian Government answered that it had no control over the Communist International. This arrogant and transparent falsehood, which amounted to a declared determination to support the American Communist Party in its plans to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence, should have been enough in itself to withdraw United States recognition of the Red regime and thus repair the tremendous damage of 1933.

But having signally blundered in 1933, 1935, and 1936, there was still time to derail the deadly Communist conspiracy in the United States. In 1938, Congressman MARTIN DIES introduced a resolution to investigate un-American activities. After 3 or 4 years of vigorous investigation he urged Congress in 1941 to outlaw the Communist Party. "So long as these organizations have a legal status in the United States," Mr. DIES reported to Congress, "it will be difficult for any agency of the Government to deal with them. We now know that they furnish the legal apparatus for the operation of saboteurs and the window dressing for espionage."

Had DIES' demands for the outlawry of the Communist Party been translated into congressional action, the monopoly of the atom and H-bombs would most promisingly still have been ours because all Communists, would, ipso facto, have been shut out of our scientific laboratories, testing grounds, all branches of the Army and Navy, and all departments of the Government.

But having neglected by 1941 to take the course of action so clearly marked out by the searing light of world events, there would still have been time to save America one of its greatest losses and sorrows, had the Communist Party been banned any time prior to the summer of 1950. It is now historically well established that our failure to take a resolute and stern stand against communism and Communists led the Soviet Politburo to the incorrect conclusion that we would not intervene in the Korean war. The outlawing of Russia's party in the United States would have supplied the masters of the Kremlin with the correct answer. That enlightening action would have frozen the aggressive forces on the north side of the 38th parallel, and the lives of 25,000 American youths would have been spared.

But there is still time to spare the blood of other American youth and the lifeblood of the world itself. Our scientists are yet working on further offensive and defensive weapons. They must be protected, at all costs, from Communist infiltration, Communist espionage, Communist influence, and Communist thievery. No sophistic argumentation, no high-flown dialectics, no spurious bleating about academic freedom and witch hunts must allow even the shadow of a Communist to fall within the confines of the last great chance to save America and the world of decency, peace, and good will to all mankind.

America entered the Korean conflict in the honoring of her commitment to oppose aggressive war. The charter of the United Nations, of which Russia is an original subscribing member, provides that international controversies shall henceforth be adjudicated by law and not by cannon; by reason and not by gunpowder. In violation of her own solemn obligation, Communist Russia armed North Korea and sent those forces blasting across the 38th parallel. The United States, with 25,000 sacred dead, and 15 other nations with their own grievous losses, stopped Russia in the illegal aggression. As already suggested the Communists in the United States lent every aid and comfort to the enemy. What American statesman, after seeing 1 of the 25,000 flag-draped caskets returning to the United States, can in conscience do other than lend his legislative, executive, and administrative effort toward outlawing the coslayers of the boy in that casket and the prospective slayers of other American boys?

In street cars and buses of American cities throughout the land there has appeared recently a pictorial placard showing a sobbing and bewildered little girl searching through the fragmented rubble and debris of a city brought to dust by an atomic blast. It is evident from the picture that no other life remains in the desert of ruin which surrounds her and it will only be a question of hours until this lone, heart-shattered survivor will join the caravan of the millions dead. The purpose of this doleful picture is to urge persons to join the Ground Observers Corps to watch the sky for invading planes. But it might be better first to drive from the skyscrapers the spies prepared to signal their confederates in the clouds.

The Communists of today are not only underground but they are in tall buildings, on hilltops, and in improvised towers waiting to flash signals to the black eagles from Moscow carrying in their talons the man-made earthquake for ultimate terror and ruin.

Malenkov and Molotov would not chance sending planes to America without accomplices here to give signals, fuel, and mechanical assistance to the invaders. The Kremlin needs a fifth engine to every four-engine plane as much as it needs a fifth column to every advancing infantry division. We have it in our power to demolish that fifth engine and to rout the fifth column.

The destruction of the engine of conspiracy and the jailing of the conspirators in the United States will enhearten and encourage every liberty-loving nation on the globe. The United States has spent and continues to spend many millions of dollars for Voice of America programs to convince the world of the evils and dangers of communism. The jailing of all Communists would do more good than all the Voice of America programs put together.

Vladimir Lenin, the first Communist dictator, urged his emissaries to "go among all classes of people as theoreticians, as propagandists, as agitators and as organizers." He exhorted them to the realization that their task was "to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect every grain of even rudimentary protest." If he could think today with his formaldehyde-soaked brain as he rests in his sumptuous mausoleum on Red Square, he would need to exult at the bountiful harvest seemingly resulting from the unholy seeds he sowed 40 years ago. Our national life is torn asunder because of discontent, unrest, confusion, and dismay.

American is pitted against American; groups are fighting each other not on the high plateau of policy but in the narrow defiles of misunderstanding, mistrust, and misconception of purpose. In a Nation morally united against the Red scourge threatening our very existence, the people do not know which way to turn, whom to believe, whom to follow, in whom to have confidence. There is or should be only one issue on this subject: How best to defeat the common foe. But there are a hundred different ideas, a thousand different plans, there are quarrels, skirmishes, and clashes in the alleys, byways, and bushes of minor contention, while the direct, headon, frontal attack which will surely destroy the foe is ignored.

There are literally myriads of proposals on how to fight communism, some of them already enacted into law. Some of the proposals require that Communists be registered; others, variously, that they be kept out of certain industries, that they be restricted to certain areas, that they be denied the use of the mails, that they be refused printing privileges, that they file affidavits, that they be denied rights of contract, that they take repeated loyalty oaths, that they not be allowed to vote, or hold office. If a hydra-headed, fire-breathing monster were moving on a village intent on destroying it and devouring its inhabitants, we would regard as rather puerile proposals by the town council that the way to avert the threatened disaster would be to tie the front legs of the beast or to bind his hind legs, or to shoot him in the left-front foot, or to twist his tail into a knot, or to trim his ears. It is obvious that there would be only one way to dispose of the homicidal behemoth and that would be to destroy him. How long will we tolerate the monster of communism which worries us by day and distresses us by night, which is eating out our substance, which attacks the highways of security, imperils the bridges of defense, and is shaking the very foundations of our society?

It is because of communism that American boys are being taken from the schoolrooms and sports field to be trained for mortal combat on distant battlefields. It is be-

cause of communism that America is being drained of her rich, natural resources to arm the world against the attack which threatens to destroy civilization itself. It is because of communism that fear casts a shadow on the American heart that has always known the light. It is because of communism that we stagger under a tax burden never known in the chronicles of the revenue collector. And yet we go on awarding respectability and confidence to the scheming scavenger traitors planning to reduce the United States to a quaking Poland, a police-state Czechoslovakia, a fear-drenched Hungary or an OGPU-ridden Albania, residence in any of which freedom-drained lands would to an American be living death.

Americans think clearly and logically. Why is there a fog in the rationalization of this subject? It is appallingly inconsistent, if not absurd, to spend irrecoverable blood and incomputable treasure in Europe and Asia to keep Communists presumably away from our borders and yet allow them on Main Street itself.

We contest them for a trench in the Eastern Hemisphere and then here assure them sanctuary, offices, telephones, telegraph service, couriers, and impedimenta of war.

We spend billions of dollars to teach other countries how to beware of Communists and yet here we permit them in the courthouses, the professions, the schools, the business marts, and on the stage and concert platform.

It is all so grotesque that I apprehend some day that the souls of our immortal patriots and martyred heroes in Statuary Hall will break out from their imprisoning bronze and marble and cry out, "Enough."

The outlawing of the Communist Party in the United States would destroy the fifth column here. Other countries, taking heart, would do likewise. Once the Communist Party in all non-Soviet countries is eliminated, the threat of a third world war will disappear.

A due regard for honesty in the affairs of men, which has never been lacking in the purpose of the American Commonwealth, dictates that we do this. The Communist Party has no place in this land of God, of law, of decency and respect for one's fellow man.

I respectfully recommend to this committee that in the name of all that we hold dear in this greatest of all lands that Congress enact into law House bill 7894, outlawing once and for all time that ungodly, un-American, traitorous, criminal organization, no matter what its name, but which today insults, derides, and degrades the deathless and glorious name of the United States by calling itself the Communist Party of the United States.

Upper Colorado River Storage Project and Participating Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget raising four questions on the upper Colorado River storage project and participating projects which the report of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget failed to answer:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1954.

The Honorable JOSEPH M. DODGE,
Director of the Bureau of the Budget,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DODGE: Your letter of March 18, 1954, to the Secretary of the Interior, regarding the Colorado River storage project and participating projects as proposed in the Secretary's supplemental report of December 10, 1953, was presented to the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on March 22, 1954. As one member of that committee, I am at a loss to understand certain of the recommendations in your report and would like to have an explanation from you in regard to the following particulars.

First, I am astonished that you would lend your high office to the invasion of the Dinosaur National Monument by approving the proposed Echo Park Reservoir and power project. Doubtless you are aware that this proposal would abdicate a policy that has existed for 82 years and has been strictly recognized and adhered to by every administration from the time of the creation of Yellowstone Park to the present day. It has been and still is the policy to protect and administer our national parks, monuments, and reservations for the fundamental purpose prescribed by law (title 16, sec. 1, U. S. Code): "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

In addition, the Water and Power Act of 1935 specifically denies any authority to build dams in national parks and monuments. Accordingly, it would appear abundantly clear that the law forbids the invasion of any national park or monument that would impair its fundamental purpose.

Furthermore, Under Secretary of the Interior Ralph Tudor testified at recent hearings on H. R. 4449, that there are at least four reservoir sites that might serve as alternatives to the Echo Park unit; namely (a) New Moab, (b) Dewey, (c) Gray Canyon, (low) and Desolation Canyon (high), and (d) Glen Canyon (high).

Mr. Tudor stated that he had concluded in favor of approving the Echo Park site on the ground (based on estimates furnished by the Bureau of Reclamation) that some 100,000 to 200,000 acre-feet of water would be saved due to lesser evaporation loss than any alternative. However, it was admitted at the hearings that certain of the figures used in arriving at this conclusion were in error, thus raising considerable question as to the validity of Mr. Tudor's conclusion.

In view of the policy established by law which has remained unbroken up to this time, and in the light of Mr. Tudor's testimony that there are alternative reservoir sites that would serve the basic requirements of holdover storage and make Echo Park unnecessary, how can you justify approving the invasion of the Dinosaur National Monument by the Bureau of Reclamation for a hydroelectric power development?

Second, your report not only fails to mention, but apparently entirely ignores, the very large hidden Federal subsidy that would be involved in the repayment program proposed by the Secretary of the Interior. Coupled therewith is the Department's proposal in which you concur, that the repayment period on irrigation investments be increased to 50 years.

As you know, existing reclamation law provides that the reimbursable costs of the irrigation features of reclamation projects are to be repaid without interest charges to the water users on the funds advanced, in annual installments over a period of 40 years, exclusive of a development period not to exceed 10 years in the case of project units for irrigation of new lands. The repayment period of irrigation reclamation projects has been progressively increased since the inception of the Federal reclamation law in 1902, from 10 years to 40 years under present law.

Although the water users pay no interest, the Federal Treasury must pay interest on funds borrowed to finance the construction of irrigation reclamation projects. These interest costs must be defrayed by taxes. Hence, the longer the repayment period, the greater the interest cost to be borne by the Federal Treasury and the taxpayers. Obviously, this interest cost constitutes a substantial Federal subsidy. Under present conditions, such interest cost and subsidy are increased materially because of the necessity of borrowing funds to pay the interest as it accrues. But the amount of the subsidy would be multiplied many times over by the postponement of repayment for 40 to 50 years of a major portion of the interest-free irrigation investment as contemplated by the Secretary's proposed repayment program.

The repayment program proposed by the Secretary of the Interior has been referred to as the "Colbran or modified Colbran formula." It is patterned upon, or similar to, that authorized by the Congress specifically for the Colbran project, Colorado (Public Law 445, 82d Cong., 2d sess., approved July 3, 1952). The special repayment provisions in that act are set up as exceptions to existing law. At the time the legislation was adopted, it was definitely understood that the repayment provisions therein were specifically for the Colbran project alone and not to be considered as establishing a precedent for other reclamation projects.

Doubtless you have been informed that none of the participating irrigation projects proposed for initial authorization of the upper Colorado River Basin development are financially feasible in themselves. The Department's report and testimony at the hearings reveal that the irrigation water users would be able to repay, in a period of 50 years, only about 15 percent of the irrigation investment as an average for all projects (the largest one, central Utah project, about 12 percent). The repayment program provides that the balance of the reimbursable irrigation costs, about 85 percent of the total, would be repaid from net power revenues of the storage units after the power facilities had been repaid with interest.

The Secretary's supplemental report estimates that repayment of the power costs of the initial 2 storage units would take 56 years, while Department witnesses testified at the hearings that it could be done in 44 years. The cost of the storage units allocated to irrigation would be deferred for repayment until after the power facilities' costs were repaid. Thus, the proposed repayment program, if adopted, would involve the postponement of repayment of about 85 percent of irrigation investment in participating projects, and about $100 million of the costs of the 2 proposed initial storage units, for a period of 40 to 50 years. As pointed out in the views submitted February 15, 1954, by the State of California on the Secretary's supplemental report, "It would appear that the Secretary's proposal * * * for repayment would in effect extend the development period, during which no repayment would be made on a major portion of the investment, to about 50 years."

Such a deferment in repayment would obviously greatly increase the interest costs to the Government on the funds borrowed, even though the capital investment was eventually repaid by the project beneficiaries. These interest costs would never be repaid from project revenues and would have to be repaid out of taxes.

In my opinion, and in the opinion of many others, the Colbran or modified Colbran formula is just another "gimmick" on a par with the device previously advocated by the Department of the Interior of using the interest component of power revenues to repay the capital costs of irrigation projects. The Bureau of the Budget has consistently declined to approve the use of the interest component for this purpose and has held that the interest charges collected in power revenues should be paid into the Federal Treasury as contemplated by the existing law.

As far as the Federal Treasury and the Nation's taxpayers are concerned, the interest costs that would have to be borne by the taxpayers would be the same under the proposed Colbran formula as under the previously advocated device of using the interest component. Both devices involve the same amount of hidden subsidy which would be huge even for the proposed initial phase of the upper basin development. Both have the purpose of creating the impression of project reimbursability and concealing the fact and amount of the hidden subsidy. Certainly, the amount of this subsidy should be fully revealed to the Congress and to the people before making a decision as to the justification for authorizing such undertakings.

In view of the foregoing, how can you, as Director of the Bureau of the Budget and one of the chief officers of the present administration responsible for a sound-money policy and program and for economy in Government, ignore the huge Federal subsidy that would be involved in the repayment plan proposed for the Colorado River storage project and participating projects, and fail to comment upon or point out the amount of such subsidy that would have to be borne by the Nation's taxpayers? And how can you justify your approval, indirectly at least, of the so-called Colbran formula for repayment of reclamation projects which, if authorized for the upper Colorado River Basin development, would constitute a drastic departure from existing reclamation law and would establish a new repayment policy for all future reclamation projects requiring a vast increase in Federal subsidy?

Third, your recommendation for financing the project through a separate revolving fund established in the Treasury, to be administered as set up in paragraph 8 of your report, appears to me to be essentially the same as the so-called basin account which has been previously advocated by the Department, but as yet, to my knowledge, has not been specifically authorized by the Congress. As you know, there are serious objections to the idea of a basin account. It would make possible the construction of projects regardless of economic merit, need or financial soundness, just so there were sufficient funds in the basin account from other sources to finance repayment (provided the project is located in the particular basin) even though there be no necessary relationship, physical or otherwise, to the previous developments in the basin. In effect, the creation and use of a basin account, in which surplus revenues would be accumulated and used with the idea of financing additional developments, would constitute advance authorization of future projects of unknown merit or economic justification.

How can you distinguish between the so-called basin account, which has been previously proposed but frowned upon, and the separate revolving fund in the Treasury, which you propose in your report for the upper Colorado River Basin project? Is it to be anticipated that the same type of special revolving fund and the same financial procedure will be recommended and applied to other future reclamation developments?

In conclusion, your report raises a question in regard to the economic justification of the participating projects proposed for initial development and requests a reexamination of the estimated economic benefits to be carried out jointly with the Department of Agriculture. I agree with you that such a reexamination and reappraisal of the benefits and their relation to costs should be made.

However, I wish to point out the fact that the benefit-cost ratio is not a proper or valid criterion for determining the economic justification of a reclamation project. Existing reclamation law prescribes that the feasibility of a project shall be determined by a showing of the ability to repay all reimbursable costs in the period prescribed by law. This has been the established basis of findings of feasibility of reclamation projects since the inception of the Federal reclamation program.

As you know, estimates of benefits are frequently in the realm of speculation and involve the judgment of the estimator to a large degree. Frequently, benefits of irrigation reclamation projects have been estimated which bear no reasonable relationship to the estimated repayment ability of the water users. In my opinion, the only reliable index of feasibility of a reclamation project is reimbursability, as required under law, and this long-time repayment policy of reclamation should be honored and preserved in connection with findings of feasibility.

In view of the provisions of existing reclamation law, how do you justify the use and apparent emphasis in your report of the so-called benefit-cost ratio as a basis for determining the economic justification of a reclamation project? Is it to be understood that you favor and approve the substitution of a benefit-cost ratio basis for economic justification in place of a finding of financial feasibility as now prescribed by law?

I would appreciate your answers to the foregoing questions with such explanation as you deem desirable. In view of the fact that the bill providing for the construction of the Colorado River storage project is now under active consideration by our committee, would you please forward your reply as soon as possible.

Sincerely.

Is America's Right to Antarctica To Be Lost by Default?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, recently, our colleague, Hon. THOR C. TOLLEFSON, made a very excellent speech on Antarctica and the interest of our country in that large continent by virtue of the explorations made there by Adm. Richard E. Byrd.

Of interest to all of us is the very fine discussion of this speech and Admiral Byrd's report which appears in the Editor's Notebook of the Austin American, of Austin, Tex., dated March 31, 1954. The editorial, entitled "By Default," is as follows:

BY DEFAULT

While Congress is squabbling over McCARTHY and carrying on jurisdictional disputes among so many investigating committees that they're working on one another, the United States is losing a continent, in the warning words quoted by Congressman THOR C. TOLLEFSON of Washington State.

Congressman TOLLEFSON made a speech to point out a report by Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd, polar explorer, in which Byrd said that the Russians are prowling more and more into Antarctica, "the world's seventh continent," and a land largely discovered and explored by the United States, and under the law of nations, which reasonably should be a possession or part of the United States.

Byrd said Russian naval crews and teams of scientists have been exploring the shorelines of Antarctica. One expedition returned to Moscow with 824 whales, 10,000 tons of whale oil, and with invaluable data and information about the resources of the frozen land.

"The Communists must have been pleased with what they saw," he observed, "for their fleet of whaling ships and Arctic-trained scientists have made the 30,000-mile round trip from Vladivostok several times since."

Admiral Byrd pointed out that unlike the North Pole country, Antarctica is a continent of 6 million square miles of land, almost as big as the United States and Europe combined. He recounts that in his discovery and explorations, he found vast supplies of coal and "evidence that invaluable deposits of oil, copper, silver, molybdenum, iron, gold, and even uranium lie beneath the age-old sheet of glacial ice overlying this land.

"This untapped reservoir of natural resources is vital to America's future. But perhaps as important is the strategic value of Antarctica. As any astute military planner now knows, the nation that controls Palmer Peninsula at the northern tip of the continent could strangle America's lifeline in case of another world war."

Congressman TOLLEFSON also cited Byrd's warning that "American sweat, money, and ingenuity have contributed greatly to the opening of Antarctica. We have explored more territory in the south polar region than all the other nations combined."

But he sizes up the present situation that Russia has more fully realized the value of this vast land; and that America "has been caught napping, and today, when we need it most, we are in danger of forfeiting our hard-won right to the forgotten continent."

Byrd said he plans another expedition to the south polar region in the early future, and expressed hope that his work there will strengthen America's right to the continent, and keep it safely in the hands of the free nations of the world.

Capt. Neville Levy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, one of New Orleans' finest and most thoroughly civic-minded citizens is Capt. Neville Levy, who is the head of the bridge authority charged with the responsibility of building the new bridge at New Orleans over the Mississippi River.

I would gild the lily to add to the comment of this editorial from the Westbank Herald, New Orleans' finest and most outstanding community newspaper.

Let the editorial speak for itself and speak for me in my regard for Neville Levy:

CAPT. NEVILLE LEVY

A review of the many men who participated in making the Mississippi River Bridge a reality include a host of legislators, city, parish, and State officials. The continued, steady growth of New Orleans and the west bank demanded that this link be established between the peoples of the east and west banks. The effort and coordination of the officials from various branches of the Government paved the way for the final achievement of the bridge. To these officials the people of the west bank owe a lasting debt of gratitude.

But in our opinion the accolades must go to the equally large number of civic leaders who worked devotedly and unselfishly, and who gave unstintingly of their time and energies, to fill this great community need. These men, without officials recognition or obligation, but with a sense of civic awareness devoted endless hours of hard work to the final achievement of this important project. The only reward these gentlemen may expect to receive is in knowing that their labors were dedicated to the public good; that their efforts will bring prosperity to our people and advancement and growth to the city of New Orleans and the entire west bank.

Special recognition must go to Capt. Neville Levy for his indefatigable efforts; complete dedication and unrelenting objective in the finalization of the Mississippi River Bridge project. His devotion to the cause of civic need is an inspiration to every citizen of Louisiana and will long serve as a yardstick of distinguished community service.

The Herald joins with our neighbors and friends of all the west-bank communities in saluting Capt. Neville Levy for his outstanding contribution to the general well-being and prosperity of all our people.

The Bimson Report and American Responsibility to the Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, on what sensible basis can we judge the planning of the Interior Department with regard to its own agencies?

Yesterday we voted for an appropriation bill providing additional millions for the operations of this Department, but I am sure that many of us voted for this bill with grave questions in our minds about present Department plans for discharging some important responsibilities of our Government.

A case in point, of vital concern to millions of Americans, is departmental planning for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

How can we evaluate that planning today, and what acceptance has it won among the Indian people, and among persons and organizations keenly interested in the American Indians?

Aside from testimony of Indian Bureau officials before congressional committees—which has been both qualified and cautious on most controversial issues—we have only been supplied one yardstick to measure current planning.

That yardstick is the Bimson report, otherwise known as the Survey Report on the Bureau of Indian Affairs, dated January 26, 1954, and printed by the Government Printing Office for the use of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

In Oklahoma it has come to be known as the notorious Bimson report and the infamous Bimson report.

Recently this report's major Oklahoma provision, calling for reorganization of area offices in Oklahoma, was submitted to the vote of more than 500 Indians gathered in one town in our State. Only 11 votes were cast in favor of the survey report's recommendation.

Civic clubs, chambers of commerce, the governor of our State, practically every tribal organization and thousands of our citizens have joined in denouncing this report's provisions.

The State director of public health in Oklahoma has stated in writing his objection to the report's proposal on Indian health.

I do not know of a single responsible Indian leader in Oklahoma who approves of these health recommendations.

In the face of these unfavorable reactions from an area most vitally affected, one would expect that this report's Oklahoma provisions would long ago have been consigned to the nearest waste basket.

This would appear reasonable, especially since the report itself points out that—

> Complaint is frequently heard that the Indians themselves do not have sufficient opportunity to participate at the time policy is being formulated; the States have voiced the same complaint.

Further, the report goes on to urge that—

> A continual and closer relationship should be developed with a responsible organization of the Indians and the State governments.

These are valid and praiseworthy observations in a report filled with many worthwhile comments—which unfortunately does not follow its own advice or adhere to its own statement of basic principles in some of its conclusions.

What is the Bimson report, anyway?

Who is responsible for it?

How much time was spent in its preparation, and how well qualified on Indian matters were most of its authors?

Who took part from Oklahoma—America's original Indian Territory, and home of more people of Indian blood than any other State?

How much attention is devoted to Oklahoma and its Indian problems in the 53 pages of this report?

If you are interested in the American Indian, I suggest that you read this report, and study it well.

I am preparing for the RECORD a detailed analysis of the Bimson report, along with a collection of comments on it from people with a lifelong concern for the Indian people.

It is my sincere hope that the Department of the Interior will think for a long time, and reflect carefully upon our country's traditional responsibility and the special problems of individual States, before this report is accepted as controlling our Indian policy.

Misguided Admiral

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the San Bernardino Daily Sun of April 1, 1954:

MISGUIDED ADMIRAL

The parents of the hundreds of young men who were trapped and killed when the battleship *Arizona* was sunk in the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor must feel that the knife of agony was given a cruel twist this week.

This, of course, is brought up by the very remarkable argument of Rear Adm. Robert A. Theobald that the late President Roosevelt forced Japan into the Pacific war, using the American Fleet in Hawaii as a lure.

Disgusting might be a better description of his remarks, because upon examination, they seem to be factually and morally incorrect.

Theobald's argument does not ring true no matter how it is studied. It does not hold up item by item, nor does it in the long view.

The admiral to the contrary, a study of State and Defense Department records will show the President did not order the withholding of information from the officers at Pearl Harbor of Japanese plans to attack the island outpost. He and the top officials in the Department of the Army certainly can be criticized severely for not being more specific and insistent in their warnings to the various Pacific commands, but then they probably thought they had some people with intelligence out there.

Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short and Adm. Husband E. Kimmel, the "martyrs" Theobald and Adm. William F. Halsey make so much over, were given a war warning when Government officials became aware that the Japanese were going to attack when the Washington talks failed to bring them what they demanded. It should have been more specific.

But President Roosevelt did not tell Kimmel to tie up virtually his entire fleet in the harbor and send most everybody out partying Saturday night. That is hardly the sensible way to treat a war warning. That was Kimmel's invitation, not Roosevelt's. The Navy, under Kimmel's command, rarely varied its routine in 1941, despite the worldwide conditions which obviously were leading the United States to war. The maps the Japanese pilots had were remarkably accurate. They were not drawn on December 6.

Short's command was so drowsy that a radio operator's warning that he heard planes approaching and Japanese voices chattering was disregarded. It was a way of life, a lackadaisical way. Short and his pineapple army were mired in peacetime pleasures. They were not prepared.

Sure, Kimmel and Short were scapegoats for all the general officers who refused to prepare for war, still played games. Badly needed bombers were knocked out on the ground in the Philippines just as they were at Hickam in Hawaii. But the plain fact

is that the two officers had spent their lives in the service of the country, training for the day when they would be called upon to help lead the defense of it. Their job was to make their men ready. This they obviously did not do. It is too bad they were drummed out of the service in disgrace. But the lives they lost were infinitely more important.

That the command in Hawaii was derelict and victim of rumor can be seen by the claim of Short and Kimmel that the Pearl Harbor attack was so effective because of sabotage. A subsequent FBI investigation failed to turn up one, that is one, instance of sabotage in the Hawaiian Islands during World War II.

Some criticism can be level on some of President, Roosevelt's actions and decisions before and during World War II. But he did not force Japan into war. He did not use the Pacific Fleet as a lure.

There must be an end some day to this hate-leaders-with-whom-you-disagree feeling that sweeps too many Americans along with it. Once it was Hoover and his depression. Now it is Roosevelt and his war. Both catastrophes encompassed virtually all nations. No one man was responsible for either. They were the result of many complex factors.

The admiral in coming up with his argument 12 years after Pearl Harbor adds nothing new to the debate except two unsupported opinions. On the other hand, he does the Nation a great disservice in giving support—from a seemingly responsible source—for the argument of the unrepentant Japanese. Roosevelt, not Tojo, they say, was the warmonger.

Theobald, if he will take the time to examine Japanese documents, will find that the military in Japan had debated many months whether to attack Russia or go south. The south faction won.

Then the so-called peace faction made a bid for time. The Kurusu-Nomura-Hull talks followed. They were to be fruitless because Japan would not return its conquests in China.

The economic sanctions against Japan followed its aggressions in Asia. The Dutch did not want to sell the Japanese the oil with which to invade the Dutch East Indies. The British wanted to keep the rubber supply away from the aggressors. The United States Government was slow in stopping the flow of scrap iron to Nippon; public opinion already had condemned the trade.

Theobald will find that the Japanese believed it was their destiny to line up the nations of Asia in their proper places—all under Japan, of course. It was to be Asia and the Pacific for the Japanese.

In his attempt to whitewash a comrade in arms, the admiral has delivered a sneak attack of his own.

A person is almost led to believe that it was done with the purpose of making this book a best seller.

Well, admiral, it will be in Japan.

Temple in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the preservation of our national parks and monuments as prescribed by law, to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations, is a matter which the people in all of the 48 States are vitally interested.

It is heartening to note that the Valley News, a newspaper of West Lebanon, N. H., published as its editorial an article by Dr. David Bradley, of Hanover, N. H., author and enthusiastic outdoorsman.

Unfortunately, in the press of our daily business, the interests of men like Dr. Bradley are largely ignored by the daily press, but these matters are of interest to every citizen of the United States.

The editorial follows:

[From the Valley News of April 1, 1954]

TEMPLE IN DANGER

At the time of giant economy giveaways—offshore oil, for example—the President's decision to build the Echo Park Dam and flood Dinosaur National Monument may seem but a trivial pourboire. We, who are the owners, however, should understand this decision for what it is: A threat to our national parks, in general, and an ill-advised project, in particular.

President Eisenhower is acting on the advice of Secretary of Interior McKay. Neither has ever seen this monument. The President is a busy man; so was Lincoln when he set aside Yosemite as our first park, "reserved to all the people."

Dam builders have recently been thrown out of Mammoth Caves, King's Canyon, Glacier Park, and Grand Canyon. They are back gunning for an easier target, one of the least known scenic areas, Dinosaur Monument.

Dinosaur lies in the northwestern corner of Colorado. Originally only 80 acres containing that fine quarry of fossil bones, the monument was enlarged in 1938 to 200,000 acres in order to include the marvelous canyon country at the confluence of the Yampa and Green Rivers.

We took a 6-day boat trip there last summer in rubber rafts and folbots—three generations of us, ages 9 to 75, and were astonished by the beauty of this monument. The Yampa and Green Rivers have been sculpturing deep meanders in lime and sandstone (the formations of Bryce and Zion) over the past 100 million years. Cottonwood and box elder groves are excellent for camping; beaches for swimming; trout and channel catfish, for Waltonians; and the fine, flowing rivers present everything from riffles and rock slaloms to booming rapids for those who want excitement in the small boats.

In its present state, Donsaur Monument is unique. As part of the upper Colorado Basin storage project, it would be just another stagnant water tank.

The question is not whether the upper Colorado River should be developed. It will be, and should be. The question is why should the sacrifice of a national-park unit come first on the list of more than 20 dams and reservoirs planned by the Bureau of Reclamation?

Only immediate necessity could justify such an action; only public ignorance and indifference would permit it.

I listened to 10 days of turbid hearings in Washington, hoping to get a folbot paddle in, and I am convinced that immediate necessity has not been demonstrated, for the following reasons:

1. Let us admit at once that Dinosaur Monument would make a fine water tank. So would Yosemite, Yellowstone, Grand Canyon. Fortunately, in this case, other dam sites are available, just upstream, outside the monument. Gen. U. S. Grant III, for 40 years a dam builder for the Army engineers, has shown that 2 dams nearby would serve the same purpose, cost $54 million less to build, and destroy nothing (except some well-laid eggs of mice and Reclamation men). These are not even alternative dams, as they have been described, for they are planned for phase 2 of the project.

2. The claim made by statesmen from Utah and Colorado that "if we don't have water, we die" is a good chamber-of-commerce slogan, but has no immediate significance. Echo Park Dam is not an irrigation dam (despite the assurances made by Reclamation people to the people of Utah and Colorado). Under questioning, Under Secretary of Interior Tudor reluctantly admitted that Echo Park Dam was only for storage and power.

Now, storage would be increased by 50 percent, General Grant showed, if the other two dams were built.

As for power, there is no immediate demand for it. The real purpose of this dam is to distribute the cost of future irrigation projects through the sale of electricity.

But even this proposal is unsound: Coal-steam generation is cheaper and Colorado has great wealth in coal. Moreover, to compete on the current market, Echo Park power would have to be sold at a loss.

Thus, as taxpayers, we are asked to build an uneconomic dam (costing more than twice as much as Boulder Dam) to sell power at a loss to pay for uneconomic irrigation projects, and to throw in a priceless national park unit as well.

Who would profit? A small proportion of the people of eastern Utah and western Colorado—States whose combined population just equals the number of people who visit Yosemite and Yellowstone each year.

We are not even asked. Quite apart from the arguments of conservationists, the Federal Power Commission, the Army engineers, the Geologic Survey, and McKay's own Advisory Committee on Conservation have raised serious doubts about the advisability of Echo Park Dam. Their reports are not available to the public.

Moreover, former Secretary of Interior Chapman, faced with this same project, first approved of it, then—after taking a second look—had the courage and integrity to reverse himself. He now writes (American Forests, February 1954) that Echo Park Dam absolutely is not necessary.

We should say, "No; not buy a dam site." And say it so the President and our Congressmen can hear it.

Echo Park and the canyons of the Yampa and Green are a cathedral that has been 100 million years in the building. Some time back, a man, imbued with more brotherly love than most of us, found money changers in His temple. He got angry and threw them out. Well, the money changers are not easily discouraged. The next few weeks may find them permanently ensconced in Dinosaur, and we, diverted by other concerns, short of one more irreplaceable temple.

Calumet-Sag Project Deserves High Priority by Federal Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, in the Calumet-Sag Channel project, calling for the deepening and widening of the Calumet-Sag Channel at Chicago, we have a public-works project that is abso-

lutely unique. No other project that is being studied at this time has behind it such unassailable economic logic or such an undeviating set of supporting facts.

Actually, the efficient and modern channel which is outlined in this project is one that should have been completed and put into operation many years ago. This channel was seen as absolutely essential long before Chicago became a great city. From the time of the activities of the early traders in the area, the ridge of land separating the Great Lakes from the Mississippi Waterway system was recognized as a barrier that must be breached if the natural flow of trade and commerce were not to be seriously impeded. In those years, Chicago was recognized as the focal point in the whole national order of trade and commerce. To realize the full potentials implicit in its location, Chicago had to become the core of the transportation system—rail, highway, water, and air that would be continental in scope and operation. No bottleneck of any sort could be tolerated at this heart of our transportation system. Yet, in spite of this, such a bottleneck did develop and continues to exist to this day in the antiquated and restrictive Calumet-Sag Channel.

To understand the present inadequate Calumet-Sag Channel we have only to look at its history and the inexplicable attitude of disinterest consistently shown by the Federal Government.

And this disinterest is very real, even if it is difficult to understand. Had the problem been left entirely to the Federal authorities, there would not be even the present inadequate channel with which we are now concerned. The city of Chicago, pressed by its needs for a system of sanitation that would divert sewage from Lake Michigan—source of the city's drinking water—dug the Calumet-Sag Channel to serve as a sewage canal, completing it in 1922 at a cost of over $14 million.

However, so pressing was the demand for a transportation link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi system of waterways, that freight-carrying barges immediately began to use the canal, despite its limitations and inadequacies, in order to handle freight that had to be moved.

As the years passed, the pressure continued upon those using this "apology" for a vital waterway link. In 1935, only a little more than 43,000 tons of freight was carried through the channel. But needs were so great that this tonnage began what, under the discouraging circumstances, can only be called a phenomenal rise. By 1938, tonnage carried had passed the half-million mark. By that time defense needs were pressing upon industry, and waterway transportation was becoming of even greater importance. Thus, by 1944, the tonnage carried passed the million-ton mark. By 1948, this tonnage had again doubled to pass the two-million mark. The year 1950 saw tonnage pass the three million figure and 1954 will see more than four million tons carried in this excuse for a canal. In considering a proper channel, United States Army engineers estimate that potential tonnage figures would be an immediate 18-million tons. Those who know the situation declare that this estimate is ultra-conservative.

Yet, against this background of obvious crying need, we see the blind Federal disinterest maintained year after year. We see the cold ignoring of the fact that here at Chicago we have the number one bottleneck in our whole national transportation system. And we see this Federal disinterest maintained in the face of the strongest possible complaints and entreaties from every segment of industry in the huge area served by Chicago.

This disinterest continued even in the face of the strongest supporting statements turned in by the United States Army engineers. And the record here is unequivocal, because these engineers have declared publicly that no single public works project under study has a sounder economic base. These engineers have reported that the project has a ratio of benefits to be derived against costs involved of 3 to 1—the highest ratio of any project of its kind under study by the Federal Government.

This endorsement of Cal-Sag was flatly stated by Maj. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis, Jr., Chief, United States Army engineers, at a meeting of the Chicago Engineering Society last year. At that time, General Sturgis stated that the Cal-Sag project was a must, citing the 3-to-1 ratio of benefits to be derived in relation to costs involved. In an editorial in the Chicago Tribune of January 30, 1954, General Sturgis was quoted as saying of the Cal-Sag project, "Every day that passes without carrying out the improvement is a day of opportunity lost and countless transportation dollars wasted."

So far we have been looking at the Cal-Sag Channel as merely a transportation bottleneck. Of course, even on this one score, the situation is of such national importance that immediate work on the project would be more than justified. However, Cal-Sag represents another kind of bottleneck of much graver importance than that of transportation. For Cal-Sag is the Nation's No. 1 industrial bottleneck and at the present time stands squarely athwart an industrial expansion that would call for a capital investment in the area of at least $1 billion.

The point to be stressed at this time is one that has constituted the industrial phenomenon of the past 3 decades. For, in that period we have witnessed the rise of the midcontinent area as the industrial empire of the Nation. Along the shores of the Great Lakes and along our magnificent system of inland waterways has arisen the greatest concentration of industrial might the world has ever seen. And Chicago has continued to dominate that concentration as its industrial capital, even as it has continued to function as the transportation center of America.

Nowhere in this constructive pattern of industrial expansion has there been a greater growth than that which has taken place in South Chicago and the Calumet area. Almost overnight, industrially speaking, we saw the rise of what has been called the billion-dollar mile at Calumet—a major expansion of steel mills, grain elevators, oil refineries, chemical plants, coal operations, subsidiary industries, and shipping.

This gigantic concentration of industrial might now seems doomed to tragic limitation, for, though there are present almost every condition conducive to another billion dollars of growth, the area, in its expansion, has now reached the constricting bottleneck of the Cal-Sag, for on either side of the channel lies 3,000 acres of idle land which constitutes the only area into which the Calumet industrial expansion can continue. But the 16 sad miles of the Cal-Sag's inefficiency and ineptitude lie squarely in the way, and as long as it continues to lie, ignored and slighted by those who should be taking forthright and constructive action, the logical industrial expansion cannot take place.

For Chicago alone, with its millions of workers and its critical industrial and commercial interests, this is stark tragedy. But the tragedy actually affects a wider area and many more millions of working people than this. The industrial expansion that awaits its opportunity to go forward at Calumet is of the utmost importance to the whole area served by Chicago from Superior and Duluth in the north to all the great industrial centers along the Mississippi Waterway system to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. All of these are component parts of the industrial empire served by Chicago, and of which Chicago is the heart and nerve center, and there at that heart lies this monument to shortsightedness and inept thinking—the dismal spectacle of the present Cal-Sag Channel.

This should have been corrected during World War II at the time that the Cal-Sag was the prime sore spot on our transportation system. At that time, with the strong endorsement of the United States Army engineers, the Cal-Sag project was placed before Congress. With the endorsement of the House Public Works Committee, Cal-Sag was authorized by Congress in 1946. But, apparently no one took the trouble to study this nationally critical project. No one demanded that funds be allocated to start construction on this must project. So Cal-Sag once more was forgotten, and continued to obstruct vital industrial expansion to hamper our defense efforts, and to cancel out the billion or more in capital expenditure that long since should have been translated into payrolls, figures of trade and bank balances, as well as tax revenues to the municipalities involved and to the National Government.

To look back over the shabby and sorry record of Cal-Sag is to be tempted to yield to disgust and resentment. Since this would get us nowhere, however, we must now look forward to wiping out that record of neglect with all its connotations of flagrant disregard of national needs. In that light, let us look at Cal-Sag and see what problems we face and how best they can be solved.

Probably no other project in the whole midcontinent area is backed by a more

concentrated demand or is accompanied by a more wholehearted desire for cooperation by all parties involved. Every civic group in Chicago has given its unqualified support to Cal-Sag. Every business interest, every major labor group, every segment of trade, commerce, and finance has given the Chicago Cal-Sag Committee its strongest pledge of unqualified support and full cooperation.

No more stinging indictment of Federal disregard of Cal-Sag exists than that which is shown by the present status of the Cal-Sag ownership, because this channel is still completely owned, together with all locks and installations and the land on either side of the channel, by the Sanitary District of Chicago. And the amazing part of the story is that the sanitary district has no reason for being in the navigation business, is acutely embarrassed by its position, and would gladly cooperate with any proper Federal agency in order to get out of the business.

This flagrant disregard on the part of the Federal Government is clearly shown in the present status of maintenance and operation on the Cal-Sag. The Cal-Sag Channel, dug and put into operation as a sewage canal, has become a navigational channel by virtue of economic necessity. On July 3, 1930, the Calumet-Sag Channel, by act of Congress, became a Federal waterway. But the official act was the only gesture made toward recognition of the Cal-Sag. And, although it then became a Federal waterway, not a single step has since been taken toward the assumption of Federal responsibility. The locks on Cal-Sag, as well as on the Chicago sanitary and ship canal, were left to the sanitary district for maintenance and operation—the only locks on any waterway outside Federal responsibility. Again and again, the sanitary district has sought to have the Federal Government take over its obvious responsibility. And, just as often, the Federal authorities have flatly refused to take over.

The sanitary district has made its position unmistakably clear. It is on record as being ready to turn over all locks and navigational installations. More than that, the district stands ready to cede to the Federal Government, without charge, all land needed in widening operations in conformity with the project as authorized by Congress.

The inference in all this is obvious. For some perverse reason, Cal-Sag has become a sort of stepchild of the Federal agencies and, we must admit, of the Congress of the United States. This cannot be allowed to continue. Something must be done about Cal-Sag. Something constructive must be done to wipe out this disgraceful blot on our transportation system and to remove its stultifying effects upon the growth and expansion of our No. 1 industrial area, our defense efforts, and our national prosperity.

Since Cal-Sag cuts squarely across a busy industrial area and the network of railroad and highway arteries fanning out from Chicago, the project is a major one. There are, for instance, many old railroad and highway bridges which must be reconstructed as the widening and deepening of the channel goes forward. However, we should note that to the great credit of the State of Illinois and Cook County, this work will not be as costly as it might have been. For, the State of Illinois and Cook County, in erecting new highway bridges during the past years, have taken into account the inevitable necessity of the Cal-Sag widening and have built their new bridges to conform to that necessity. Thus, in many instances, we find bridges already constructed, on which no money at all will have to be spent.

As to the other bridges, the Hobbs-Truman bill provides for Federal participation in the replacement of railroad bridges on Federal projects such as this. In 1952 an amendment to the Hobbs-Truman bill was enacted by Congress so that the Federal Government would participate in the replacement of highway bridges also on such projects. Inasmuch as the Cal-Sag project was authorized by Congress in 1946, some modification in the language of the 1952 amendment to the Hobbs-Truman bill will be necessary so that the Federal Government will participate in the replacement of highway bridges that are involved in the Cal-Sag project.

The estimated cost of the Cal-Sag project at current construction costs has been estimated at about $128 million. This cost would, of course, be spread over a period of about 10 years. In facing these figures, it would be well to bear in mind that we are considering a project that is absolutely vital to the rich and critical industrial area in which it lies. Furthermore, here is one project that, upon completion, would return huge revenues to the Federal Government in the form of added taxes. Beyond this, we should most certainly bear in mind the fact that the industrial expansion made possible by a new Cal-Sag would create many thousands of new jobs for the citizens of the area.

Let us look for a moment at this vital project in comparison with other Federal projects. For instance, we have spent many hundreds of millions of dollars in such areas as the Missouri Basin. Here, in the name of flood control and soil erosion, vast multipurpose projects have been constructed, are being constructed, and have their construction plans extended far into the future. In most of these, the bulk of the cost has been for public power. And not a single one of these projects has behind it the pressure of national economic necessity that marks Cal-Sag. And none of them offers even a faint hope of a minor fraction of the revenue returns that Cal-Sag so patently offers.

I am not raising this point in any attempt to question the economic validity of Missouri Basin projects but, rather, to stress again the shabby and unwarranted treatment accorded the Cal-Sag project. For here we have a project in a class by itself. It has behind it a far wider and more concentrated public demand than does any other project before Congress at the present time. Our whole vast industrial empire, stretching from the Great Lakes to the gulf, demands it from the standpoint of vital economic necessity and national defense. Our vast system of inland waterways, which this year will carry approximately 360 million tons of raw materials and basic industrial commodities, demands Cal-Sag as the missing link in the whole system. Our Great Lakes shipping, which will carry more than 200 million tons of essential freight this year, looks to Cal-Sag as its one possible link with the Mississippi waterway system.

In short, the Cal-Sag project has become a national "must." We cannot evade our responsibility in this case any longer. And the responsibility is both grave and wide, for we owe it to the whole public in this great area. We owe it to industry, to financial institutions, and to all the many communities involved. And, above, all, we owe it to labor, which looks to uninterrupted industrial expansion for continued employment and prosperity.

We owe that responsibility to our country because the Cal-Sag project is an imperative defense measure, as was proven during World War II, when our system of inland waterways rose magnificently to the occasion and contributed so immeasurably to our industrial productivity. We could not possibly owe a greater responsibility to any project than we now unavoidably owe to Cal-Sag on every single count.

I have every reason to believe that the Army Engineers Corps will give the Cal-Sag Channel a high priority on its list of essential projects in next year's budget, if we are not successful in having the $5 million written into the appropriation bill this year. Surely after spending in excess of $125 billion of the taxpayers' money in every nook and corner of the earth, it is certainly not asking too much of the administration to start construction on the Cal-Sag Channel, which will cost only approximately $125 million and bring back many benefits to the entire Nation. We are spending in excess of $500 million of American taxpayers' money on the Rhone River in France alone.

The time for thinking of the welfare of America and the American taxpayer is far overdue, and what could be better than the Cal-Sag Channel construction on which to start? I think a construction project such as the Cal-Sag Channel should be on the books and on the way as a most worthwhile project to absorb some of the shock of the transition period from a war economy to a peacetime economy.

Building New Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a timely editorial entitled "Building New Schools," which

appeared in yesterday morning's Washington Post and Times-Herald. The editorial comments on the challenging address delivered on last Saturday by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer to the National Science Teachers Association.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUILDING NEW SCHOOLS

"Youth—our greatest resource—is being seriously neglected in a vital respect," President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message last January. "The Nation as a whole is not preparing teachers or building schools fast enough to keep up with the increase in our population." The inescapable fact, moreover, is that this neglect is becoming more and more acute. The postwar birthrate will send school enrollments skyrocketing in the years immediately ahead. Expenditures for schooling have lagged far behind the growing need. And in point of fact the States and municipalities lack the financial resources to meet this need. The only practicable remedy lies in a program of Federal aid to education.

The United States Office of Education issued a report recently estimating the total new school construction need at the present time at 312,000 classrooms. The cost of meeting this need would be about $10.6 billion. But according to the report, local school districts, with all the State aid now available, could raise no more than $5.9 billion of this amount, leaving a deficit of $4.7 billion.

In an address delivered Saturday to the National Science Teachers Association, Agnes E. Meyer sharply criticized the administration for failing to take any constructive action to meet this condition. "Since 1951," she points out, "the States and localities appropriated more than a billion dollars every year and last year they spent the huge sum of $2 billion on school construction. Many localities have reached the limit of their taxing ability." Whatever differences of opinion may exist about a general program of Federal aid to education, there is strong sentiment among Republicans and Democrats alike for helping to finance urgently needed school construction along the lines of the Cooper and McClellan bills.

This widespread support for school construction is made the stronger, as Mrs. Meyer observed, because, if the recession should become more acute, no public works program could be economically more sound nor more generally beneficial than Federal aid for the construction of public school buildings. It would be dangerous folly to put off this program until a White House conference on education, projected for 1956, can survey the situation. It is a situation already starkly clear—and desperate.

Transfer of Baltimore Signal Depot Pennywise and Pound-Foolish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include two letters dated March 18 and March 22, which I sent to Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, protesting the transfer of the Baltimore Signal Depot, as well as an editorial which appeared in the Baltimore News-Post on Tuesday, April 6, 1954:

The material follows:

MARCH 18, 1954.

Hon. ROBERT T. STEVENS,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY STEVENS: I am very much concerned over the proposed deactivation of the Baltimore Signal Depot. The unemployment situation in the city of Baltimore has already reached a critical stage. The Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania Railroads have furloughed several thousand employees. The Bethlehem Sparrows Point Shipyard has announced that it may be forced to shut down its plant completely in October, a loss of 3,500 jobs. The Maryland Drydock Co. has been forced to let 3,000 employees go, 75 percent of its personnel. This disemployment has not only affected the workers directly involved, but has had a decidedly adverse effect on the merchants and businesses of Baltimore. To discontinue the Baltimore Signal Depot forcing some 2,500 additional employees into the labor market in a city which is already in a distressed-labor area appears to be in direct opposition to the statement recently made by President Eisenhower that cities and States in critical areas should receive preference in the expenditure of Federal funds.

Aside from the loss of jobs involved, I am sure that the depot's enviable record of accomplishments is alone justification for its continuance. Again, it does not seem feasible to transfer a facility which is so ideally located with respect to rail, air, and port transportation.

I am confident that the officials involved, when taking into consideration the many factors favoring the continuation of this facility will abandon the proposal to transfer the depot to another area.

If, on the other hand, despite the concrete evidence against taking such action, the Department of the Army directs the transfer of the depot, what provisions will be made for the more than 2,500 faithful employees left without jobs? Will these employees be transferred to the new installation, or will they be given preference at another Federal agency?

The courtesy of an early reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 22, 1954.

Hon. ROBERT T. STEVENS,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SECRETARY STEVENS: I am writing in reference to my letter of March 18 and to express my most strenuous opposition to the announcement that the Army is "closing out the Baltimore Signal Corps Depot."

Let me stress again just what effect such an action will have, not only on the employees directly involved, but on the merchants and businesses in the Baltimore area. On the same day the Army made this announcement, the Department of Labor classified Baltimore as a surplus labor area. Based on the information contained in my letter of March 18 with regard to the unemployment situation in Baltimore, I would call the present condition critical.

The Army predicated its decision to close out the Signal Corps depot as being in line with the policy to curtail expenses wherever possible. While it may look like an economy move from one point of view, it certainly is not economical to expend money to transfer a facility to another locality when such a move will not only deprive several thousand loyal employees of their livelihood, but will thrust an additional economic hardship on an area already so seriously affected. It seems to me that this is an example of being pennywise and pound foolish.

I respectfully request that this decision be reviewed immediately. I am confident, keeping in mind President Eisenhower's policy of expending Federal money in cities and States in critical areas, and when all the other pertinent factors are taken into consideration, that the Department of the Army will be justified in reversing its decision, thereby retaining the facility in Baltimore.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL.

SIGNAL DEPOT

Final decision on protests against announced closing of the Signal Corps Depot in Dundalk is reported near in Washington.

Now is the time for all Maryland's top officials and all other interested groups to storm the Army and the White House with intensified demands that the seemingly ill-advised plan be dropped.

This is a serious step the Army is proposing, for it will dislocate the lives of 2,700 employees and their families by destroying the work security of many of them, forcing many to dispose of homes they own or are buying and disrupting the schooling of their children.

It would prove a damaging, and apparently unwarranted, economic blow to the Baltimore and Baltimore County area, because it would mean removal of an annual payroll of near $11,500,000 and depot contracts with 800 business firms of the area which last year amounted to about $2 million.

All this could be borne were it shown clearly by the Army's statement that the proposed transfer of signal functions from Baltimore to Tobyhanna, Pa., and other corps installations is "in line with Army policy to curtail expenses wherever possible."

The statement does not reveal specifically where any curtailment of expenses will occur. It says merely that some of the workers at Dundalk will be transferred to Government work elsewhere and some will be dropped.

Governor McKeldin, Maryland's entire delegation in Congress, Mayor D'Alesandro, Acting Mayor Arthur B. Price and business and employees groups are putting up a strong fight against the transfer and they need solid support of citizens. A deluge of letters to the Army and the White House would help.

The Governor has summed up some of the arguments against the move.

He says that the work can be done more economically in Baltimore, where electric and aircraft factories supply parts and assistance is ready at hand.

Also, he said, probably an equivalent force of employees will be at work, ultimately, at Tobyhanna and that expensive construction for housing may be required.

Bernard Rose, head of the Dundalk Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, asserts that activities of Pennsylvania politicians had a role in the transfer plan. If so, we can see no reason why they should succeed, since Maryland's Governor aided materially toward nomination of President Eisenhower and Maryland voters supported him at the polls in much greater percentage than did Pennsylvania's.

There seems sound basis for the statement made by Representative SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL, of Maryland's Seventh District, to Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens:

"It seems to me that this is an example of being pennywise and pound foolish."

The Recent Tax Reduction by This Congress Was the Largest Tax Reduction Given to the American People by Any Congress in the History of Our Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BRADY GENTRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I include a letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., March 30, 1954.

Mr. ELBERT DAVIS,
Gladewater, Tex.

DEAR MR. DAVIS: I am in receipt of your kind letter in which you enclose a circular prepared by the CIO officials of your union, the United Steel Workers of America, copies of which were distributed to you and your fellow workers at the Lone Star Steel plant. Approximately 1,500 of these employees live in the congressional district which it is my great honor to represent. It is with regret that I learn from your letter that your long friendship for me has been affected by the attack on me in this circular by the bosses of the CIO because of my votes on tax-reduction measures.

I must say in the beginning that my regard for my oath of office and my concern for a sound financial system for our country would have permitted me to vote only as I did, even though under other circumstances I would have supported the proposed raise of $100 in the exemption.

Mr. Davis, I believe I have a proper regard for all the people who make up our great country. This includes the workingman and the little fellow, comprising at least 90 percent of our population, although I have never felt inclined to talk of our people as "little fellows" and "big fellows" and "rich men" and "poor men." I believe that laboring men and those who have not accumulated much of this world's goods are as good as anybody in our broad land. I have demonstrated that belief, both in political and private life. There are some who constantly speak of the little fellow but whose chief concern is not always for the little fellow at all. Their concern is for themselves. They constantly talk of the little fellow for what they hope to get from him—usually his vote.

Mr. Davis, I have, as your Congressman, worked earnestly and industriously for economy in your Government. I have done this because of my belief that lower taxes are vital to our country's welfare. I feel that our people cannot go on forever paying greater and greater taxes each year. Congress, however, is divided fairly evenly on this issue. Almost one-half the Members of the House of Representatives vote consistently for greater spending, never for less spending. They vote for all bills raising expenditures, against all bills that would lower expenditures. Their philosophy is the philosophy of spending. Their voting indicates that they have no fear of public debt, however great and disorderly; no dread of unbalanced budgets, however large and unwieldy. They seem to have no great concern for the unconscionable mortgage we are bequeathing to the children and grandchildren of this generation. Included among them are those whose voting receives the approval of the CIO bosses. If their philosophy had prevailed here throughout the last 15 months, your taxes could not and would not have been reduced at all. It is worthy of mention that the members of this spending group constituted the great majority of the 204 here who, after offering no objections to the $7 billion in tax reductions which more than exhausted all available revenue, then wanted to reduce taxes an additional $2 billion by raising the exemption $100 and finance this reduction on borrowed money, which would have increased the national debt. This spending group voted almost to a man against Texas having her tidelands restored to her, in which they were encouraged daily by the loud voice of the CIO.

So, Mr. Davis, what has happened? Over constant opposition we first reduced expenditures, which made tax reduction possible. Then we reduced your taxes $7,400,000,000. It was the greatest tax reduction by any Congress in history. Maybe you think you won't feel this particular tax reduction. Let me illustrate what it means to you and every other taxpayer in our country. It means, Mr. Davis, that if the next four Congresses have the same viewpoint as this one about taxes and spending, and will do as well regarding them as this Congress, then, just 8 years from now, everybody's taxes will be less than half what they were when Congress came here a year ago. It is my belief, however, that our first economies hereafter should be used to balance the budget, after which the lowering of taxes should be resumed.

Yes; we reduced taxes for everybody, both for the individual and for business. More than $4 billion of the tax reductions we gave were for the individual. Approximately $3 billion was for business. We gave all of our 54 million income taxpayers a 10 percent reduction. We also reduced many burdensome sales taxes, taxes that the individual has to pay every day of the year. We eliminated excess profits taxes and reduced some general taxes in the belief and hope that these reductions would stimulate business, keep labor employed, and give jobs to others now unemployed.

I would have liked very much to have given the increased exemption of $100. But, the motion to do that was not made until we already had reduced taxes $7 billion, the maximum most of us thought our budget could stand. If we also had given the increased exemption of $100, it would have meant a further reduction of taxes amounting to $2 billion, but on borrowed money that would have further unbalanced the budget and increased the national debt and on which interest would have had to be paid for generations.

Deficit financing, which always increases our public debt, is not good for you, Mr. Davis, it is not good for the CIO and it is not good for our country. While I would have voted for the $100 increased exemption if presented when we still had the money available and before the $7 billion in tax reductions were voted, I could not do so when it simply meant more borrowing. While I knew it would be good politics to vote for it, don't you believe that Congressmen here should have the courage of their convictions and not be playing "politics" when their country's best interest is involved?

Had I written this tax bill, I would not have included, at this time, the dividend provision to which the CIO objects. I enclose you a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 18 which, on page 3332, carries an extension of remarks by me. This was before the tax bill was voted on. In it I say the dividend clause should be eliminated, because we had already reduced taxes all that was justified by the state of our finances. The dividend clause, just as the raise in exemption, has merit and might well receive the early consideration of Congress, even should it be eliminated from the present bill because of the state of the budget.

Mr. Davis, I occasionally read the CIO News. It talks much about the little man and the big man. If "soaking" the rich would get the money to operate your Government, our problem here might be easier. Unfortunately, it would not get the money. If every penny of income of every American making $10,000 or more were confiscated outright, it would provide only $5 billion additional revenue yearly. That would not solve the financial problem of a country with a $65-billion yearly budget. Unfortunately, this means that the man of average means must pay taxes. It is well to remember, too, that for every man taken off the tax rolls an additional burden must be placed on those who are left.

It might be well to ask at this point just who fixed the present exemption at $600. This Congress did not do it. It simply fell heir to it, along with a record debt of $274 billion, the highest tax rate in history, the greatest unbalanced budget of all times, and $80 billion of outstanding contractual obligations for which there was no money to pay. Just remember, too, Mr. Davis, that those who have no responsibility in this matter of tax reduction can say they would have voted, had they been here, for any income-exemption increase, however large and however irresponsible. They might just as easily say they would have voted to raise it $1,000, or even $2,000, as to say they would raise it $100. It would be fine to raise the exemption high enough that nobody would have to pay taxes, but just think what would then happen to our country.

Now, regarding this CIO circular which I have before me. It is unfair. Why? Please read it again, Mr. Davis. Much of it is taken up with reference to diamond necklaces and fur coats. It doesn't tell you that in the excise-tax-reduction bill, along with the items of furs and jewelry, there were reductions in the tax on bus fares, train fares, telephones, long-distance telephone calls, telegrams, movie admissions, cosmetics, women's handbags, toilet articles, baseball, football, and basketball admissions, electric-light bulbs, and many other items. The fur item was a very small part of the bill, actually less than 2 percent. Had I had my way, I would not have put it in the bill. But it was in it, and it was either accept it or reject the whole bill, and thus deny relief of many tax reductions of great merit.

The CIO circular singles out a Congressman from an adjoining Texas district for great praise. I have both affection and respect for this gentleman. But, does the CIO tell you that he and I voted exactly alike on the excise-tax bill that contained the fur and jewelry items? They do not. Does the CIO circular condemn this gentleman for his vote on the excise-tax bill as it did me? It does not. Does the CIO circular tell you that no effort was made by anyone on the House floor, Democrat or Republican, to remove the fur and jewelry item from the tax bill? It does not. Does the CIO tell you that the vote in the House favoring the excise-tax bill was 411 to 3? It doesn't do that either.

Yes, Mr. Davis, the CIO bosses are not quite fair. They know that everybody in Congress, including the loyal supporters of the CIO, voted for the excise-tax reduction, just as I did. What the CIO bosses also know, and didn't tell you, is that the Congressman from the Third District of Texas follows his own convictions in his voting here. It is my concept of duty under my oath of office.

I wish you would tell the facts of this case to others among the workers at the steel plant. My strong belief that there should be economy in Government is in the interest of the people of America, including its workers. I do have, Mr. Davis, every

sympathy for what the demagogs so fondly call the little man. The little man, to me, is a big man but I don't go around talking about it all the time.

Again assuring you of my great regret that you have been influenced against me because of this circular, and with every kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

BRADY GENTRY,
Congressman, Third Texas District.

Address by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, Before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address which I delivered at the Fulfillment Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Washington on March 10.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN, OF NEW YORK, AT THE NAACP'S FULFILLMENT CONFERENCE LAUNCHING THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

It is a privilege for which I am grateful to participate in this Fulfillment Conference, and to speak to this assembly of representatives of many organizations gathered here under the leadership of the NAACP to measure progress already made, and to plan for progress still to be achieved.

We have come far, in the field of civil rights, during the past quarter of a century. We can well congratulate ourselves. But the distance yet to be traveled to reach only the goals we can clearly see—of equal rights under law—is a long mile compared to the short inch already covered.

The issue of civil rights is not a static thing. It is not something to be achieved or not to be achieved in the quiet fullness of time.

No, I recognize—we must all recognize—that the question of civil rights is full of a dynamic content. It quickens and pulsates with the forceful throb of life itself. It takes on new aspects with every passing month. It will not wait upon political developments. It will not stand still and wait upon our convenience, our dispositions, or our inclinations.

It will not still itself by contemplation of seemingly impassable obstacles. It will not be stayed by citations of so-called political practicalities.

The problems involved in the pregnant phrase, civil rights, involve human energy, human ambitions and human frustrations. The denial of civil rights involves fearful waste and destruction—the waste of our most precious national resource, manpower, and the destruction of our most vital substance—the lives of some of our people.

There is involved here the pent-up energies and aspirations of one-tenth of our population. This is a dynamic force which cannot be long dammed up by the crumbling walls of prejudice. Nor can it be restrained or turned aside by flimsy arrangements of sand and straw which present the appearance of constructive action but which lack the substance of effective performance.

This force can be channeled and directed into useful ways by constructive measures of action—by effective legislation—but it will not respond to makeshift measures designed to appease rather than to achieve.

At the heart of this issue is a moral question, one which cannot be denied. It is an idea which cannot be rebutted. That idea is the concept of the dignity of each human personality, and of the inalienable right of each human personality to fulfillment according to his individual merits and capacities.

That idea will not be turned aside by lingering prejudices based on race, creed, color, or national origin. It will not be halted by benign counsels of patience or comments upon past progress.

History has many times demonstrated the force of a moral idea. It is like a drop of water which, viewed by itself, seems to have no force at all. But in the form of rain or flood, it has a terrible, irresistible force. Place that drop of water in a crack and freeze it, and it will crack concrete. Make water into steam, and it will drive pistons. Let it drop through a distance, over a dam or a waterfall, onto the blades of a turbine, and it will generate enough electric power to light up an entire city.

The moral idea behind the civil rights movements has that kind of force—a force for good or a force for ill. We have it within our power to make it a force of one kind or another. But we cannot stop it from being a force.

The NAACP has long understood this truth, and has acted upon it. Under able and inspired leadership over a long period of years, the NAACP has given full scope to the moral content of the civil rights issue.

It has thus succeeded in gathering round this banner an impressive array of support from every walk and level of American life, representing not only those whose interests are involved, but also those whose consciences are involved. A sampling of this gathering of forces is, I know, represented here today.

The NAACP has not only furnished leadership for this moral crusade; it has also furnished sober counsel and wise insight for the practical approaches to the many phases of the problem. Thus in attacking segregation in the schools, the leadership of the NAACP wisely decided to make the first assault on the most vulnerable sector—the graduate schools and the schools of higher education. And after success was achieved in that, the way was open—the way is open for the sustained assault upon the evil of segregation in the rest of our school system.

But the NAACP has never become so engrossed in its practical concerns as to lose sight of its goals or to lose touch with its responsibilities to the Nation as a whole. The NAACP has consistently remained sensitive to the problems and issues which affect all of us as Americans, as well as of those which affect some Americans as members of so-called minorities.

In these and many other respects the NAACP has provided a distinguished and respected leadership not only for the Negro community in its proper aspirations, but also for the community as a whole in its vital needs and problems.

But all the credit for what has been accomplished in the field of civil rights cannot be claimed by any organization or any group of organizations. Surely it cannot be claimed by any public official or group of public officials. Nor should it be claimed by any political party.

No; the first credit goes to the people, in their thousands and millions, whose undimmed determination to break the fetters of prejudice and discrimination has furnished the vital force through which the progress of the past—such as it has been—has been achieved. And it is the people—you and I and the millions like us—who will achieve, as surely as day follows night—the great distance remaining yet to go.

When I include myself in this statement, I mean myself as an individual American citizen, as one who loves justice and hates discrimination, as one who knows the crippling, corroding power of discrimination upon both those who are discriminated against, and upon those who do the discriminating.

But I am also a Member of the United States Senate and, as such, I have a special concern with some of the practical problems involved in achieving the goals we all seek. I shall refer to some of them in a moment.

I would like you to know, however, that in regard to the civil rights issue, we who are in public life, who are called leaders, are frequently in the position of the man who was observed rushing down the street one day, running as fast as he could.

"Where are you going so fast?" someone asked him. "What is your hurry?"

"Oh," he answered, "I am trying to catch up with the crowd. I must follow them. You see, I am their leader."

So we, who have the responsibility of public leadership, must often strike a fast pace to keep us with those whom we are supposed to lead.

Now in the Congress—at this moment in the Senate—the Labor and Public Welfare Committee of which I am a member, is, as most of you know, considering fair employment practices legislation.

The legislation pending before us, S. 692, of which I am a cosponsor, provides for fair employment practices, for nondiscrimination in employment, and for the power of enforcement. The power of enforcement is vested in a commission, but the power of penalty for violating the law is vested in the courts, where it belongs.

The power of enforcement is the reminder that the law means what it says; its intent is neither punitive nor oppressive. It is simply the mark of sincerity.

Now this bill, S. 692, is already a compromise measure. It is a departure from what some of us would have preferred, and for which we fought for many years. But it is a good compromise, a fair compromise. It would be effective. Its passage would mark real progress which, in my judgment, is the test of its validity.

But there are those who will not compromise, who will not yield or bend. They say they are against a compulsory FEPC. They are against compulsion. They are against enforcement. They are, I believe, either deluded or insincere.

Then there are those who say they would accept less than S. 692 and that they would support, if there were no alternative, the Dirksen bill, S. 1, which is an educational bill, which would set up a commission to advocate nondiscrimination, but could not enforce its practice.

I say, and I believe with all my heart, that any such measure would constitute an illusion of progress, without any significant progress at all. Such a measure would lull many people into believing that something had been done, that an obligation had been discharged, that a responsibility had been met. It would appease some guilty consciences. It would provide a basis for a claim of accomplishments. But it would actually accomplish little, if anything. It would constitute running backward.

The fact is that feeble efforts at positive education through Federal admonition cannot keep pace with strong and effective negative education through State action.

The fact is that negative effective education in discrimination is taking place every

day throughout many parts of our country. State laws which sanction and enforce segregation and discrimination of various kinds provide a much more effective education in discrimination than a Federal commission, without enforcement powers, could provide in nondiscrimination.

Schoolchildren, millions of them, are being taught every day that discrimination is proper. Adult workers, millions of them, are being taught every day that discrimination is right. Thousands and thousands of human beings, members of minority groups—Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Mexicans, Italians, Poles, and Puerto Ricans, to name but a few—are learning every day that their race, creed, or national origin is an impassable barrier to their advancement, to the fulfillment of their legitimate ambitions, to the full use of their talents and capacities.

This kind of education is effective education, the most destructive and the most lasting that there is.

This kind of education must be overcome and counteracted. In its most vital sector, the sector of employment, it can be overcome, but only by fair-practices legislation, with enforcement powers.

The Nation suffers from discrimination, both morally and materially. It is, as a member of the President's Cabinet—a lady from Texas—said the other day, morally wrong and economically wasteful.

The Nation cannot endure this waste. It cannot bear this moral stigma. And those who suffer from this discrimination will not indefinitely endure it.

A way must be found. A way will be found to overcome this iniquity.

The filibuster, the legislative weapon which blocks effective fair-employment legislation and other civil-rights measures, must be set aside or broken. There must be Federal legislation on this subject, effective legislation, enforceable legislation.

We know that this is not only right but inevitable. With this knowledge and this assurance, let us renew the battle. Let us persist in it, without weariness or surrender, until we have prevailed.

The withered grey of the pastures must surely change into green. Let us not despair, for the vital truth of life, the force of right, will, in the end, overcome all obstacles.

New Hands for Strings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following article from the New York Times of Sunday, April 4:

NEW HANDS FOR STRINGS—MISSISSIPPI PILOT PLAN PRODUCES RESULTS

(By Howard Taubman)

In the past few years there has been widespread wailing over the decline in the study of stringed instruments in this country—and with good reason. Here is a story of a few determined people who have been doing something about it in, of all places, the State of Mississippi.

Two years ago, according to the findings of the University of Mississippi's extension division, there were 135 students in all the State's schools studying strings, and only 1 public school in the entire State had a full-time instructor for string players. As in a great many other places in the country the emphasis in school music was on bands.

E. F. Yerby, director of university extension, and A. G. Bowen, head of the department of extension music, saw for themselves what difficulties were encountered by Arthur Kreutz in setting up a symphony orchestra at the university in the fall of 1952. They also knew what efforts were required of William A. Hoppe, of Delta State Teachers College to keep an all-State orchestra going for 3 years, and he had to turn to teachers and adult performers all over the State to fortify the meager group of student instrumentalists he had at his disposal.

DIFFICULTIES

Mr. Yerby and Mr. Bowen made up their minds to do something about it. They worked out a pilot plan for three delta towns—Clarksdale, Greenwood, and Greenville—and they brought in a young man named Frank Crockett, hoping he would combine within his own personal ability as a performer, the gifts of a teacher, a capacity to sell his subject, and a profound belief in its importance.

There were, of course, gloomy predictions that string playing was a lost cause. There was even the whisper that fooling around with the fiddle, except for hill-billy music, was for sissies, and Mr. Crockett answered by giving his classes a vigorous workout in calisthenics before turning to the business of teaching music.

In a short time Mr. Crockett had 125 string students in classes of no more than 10. By Christmas he was able to use groups of selected students to give modest, public programs which were stimulating both to the players and the townspeople who heard them. By February 1953, the new string students met with the All-State Orchestra at the university, and an elementary ensemble, mostly from the delta towns, was formed. In April a small demonstration group of Mr. Crockett's students played before a regional meeting of the Music Educators National Conference in Chattanooga.

EXPANSION

The pilot plan was working. Clarksdale and Greenville hired full-time string instructors, and Greenwood brought in a part-time teacher. Mr. Yerby and Mr. Bowen decided to expand. They made Mr. Crockett coordinator of string instruction, and they hired three more young men filled with missionary zeal—Arnold Brown, Rodney Mercado, and Marvin Zoschke.

Working out of 11 towns in 4 sections of the State, these instructors have been teaching about 400 youngsters, most of them boys from the fourth grade up, since last September. Local school officials who were skeptical about the idea now accept it as an accomplished fact. University Extension, which reports that it has been subsidizing the project rather shakily because of its own limited resources, wishes it could expand its operation.

There has been encouragement for all hands from the kind words of visiting musicians. Anahid and Maro Ajemian paused in a concert tour to play for and with Mr. Brown's students at Biloxi. The New Music String Quartet, incidentally, recently spent a week or so at the university for the second year in a row, playing for and meeting with students and townsfolk.

LOCAL PARTICIPATION

Local adults have taken notice of the development. In Columbus the wife of a bank president saw to it that youngsters in an orphanage had string instruction made available to them under the plan. When the St. Louis Symphony visited a Mississippi town recently, a citizen saw to it every string student got a ticket to the concert, and for some it was the first experience of a full orchestra in the flesh. In Corinth Mr. Zoschke has branched out to take on a class of adults.

A little lad from a family of gulf coast shrimpers reported a tragedy—a broken string. His parents could not replace it, and the teacher paid for it. There is another tale, almost too good to be true, of a father who made it a point to hold the music in front of his son until he learned that such things as stands are available.

Mississippi may or may not produce great musicians, but if it helps to teach some of its boys and girls the joy of making their own music, it will have reason to be proud of its contribution to its people and to art.

The GOP Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD two excellent articles which appeared in the San Diego Union on March 21, 1954. On that date the San Diego Union, in a special 100th anniversary edition commemorating the founding of the Republican Party, printed two fine statements: One was written by the Speaker and the other article was written by our colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. HILLINGS].

The articles follow:

A VETERAN OF UNITED STATES POLITICS CITES CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

(By Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., Speaker of the House of Representatives)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., represents the Republican Party's bulwark of political experience in Congress. The 69-year-old MARTIN has been active in politics for 42 years (was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1912 and has represented Massachusetts' 14th District in Congress since 1924). He is the publisher of two newspapers in his home State (North Attleboro Evening Chronicle and Franklin Sentinel). He was named House minority leader of the 76th Congress and of each succeeding one except the 80th and 83d when he served as Speaker. He has served at various times as member and chairman of the Republican National Committee and was permanent chairman of the last four Republican National Conventions.)

The Republican Party was born 100 years ago to turn back the barbaric blight of human slavery.

The century of the Republican Party marks the century of America's greatest development and expansion—from a fragile and uncertain insular Republic to a position of world leadership for freedom, human welfare, domestic security, and ordered social progress under law.

Today we are still fighting slavery—the dark abomination of godless Communist materialism. That slavery, too, will be turned back to the rubbish heap of history by the proud and determined spirit of American freedom.

It is a point for history that during the last half century the Republican Party never had led America into war. The constructive achievements of peace are the real monuments to our party.

Through its first century of progress the Republican Party has become part of the very bone and sinew of American life, the only truly national vehicle of progressive representative government.

Our master plan is the Constitution of the United States of America. Our creed is simple, humble, universal, and unchang-

ing: under the American Constitution government is the servant, never the master of the people.

In a modern nation of 160 million people orderly government can function effectively only through our deeply rooted American two-party system. Splinter parties serve only to confuse and frustrate steady social progress. Bitter factionalism ever has been recognized as the historic destroyer of enlightened patriotism. Party responsibility and unity are the very essence of modern and effectively political organization.

The tasks before us today are too big and too challenging to permit of bickering and wrangling. In our party councils—in the precinct, ward, county, and State—every voice is heard. But when the decision finally is made on policy and platform, then it is the duty of all to close ranks and move forward with resolution and determination.

The American Republic lives by a bright but ancient faith—the faith that free men and women, guided by an all-wise and beneficent providence, can govern themselves in peace, security, and progress. Since its founding 100 years ago, the Republican Party has been the protector and defender of that bright faith—in war, in peace, in times of internal turmoil, and against the frightful machinations of the subversive traitor, the misguided spy, and the saboteur. Not even the pagan terror of godless communism could find hospitable footing in America against the ceaseless vigilance of our Republican defenders of freedom.

As we begin the second century of Republican Party history under the calm, devoted, and inspired leadership of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, we face the future with new confidence in our rich spiritual heritage, new confidence in our high moral purposes, and new confidence in our God-given resources of human talents, skills, and patriotic devotion.

So long as we Americans—each of us—gives thought, and time, and energy to strengthening and developing responsible constitutional government, America will continue free, strong, and full of hope.

A Congressional Newcomer Lauds Worker Incentive

(By Patrick J. Hillings, Member of Congress from California)

(Editor's Note.—Patrick Hillings, who represents California's 25th District in the House, typifies a growing number of Republicans in Congress today. He is young (31), a veteran (having served with the Army in the South Pacific during World War II), and a newcomer to national politics (he took his first elective office in 1950—as a Member of Congress). By training he is a lawyer. He graduated from USC Law School and went into private practice in Arcadia. He is a member of both the House Administration and Judiciary Committees as well as the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy.)

The opponents of the Republican Party today are raising two questions. One, Is the Republican Party the party of big business (and as such, is it opposed to the best interests of the American workingman)? The other, Is the Republican Party today divided and confused?

Many raising these questions, of course, are not interested in the correct answers. They are politicians who are anxious to get back into power and in doing so are attempting to discredit President Eisenhower and his Republican administration.

Let's look at the record.

Is the Republican Party the party of big business?

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Congress is about to continue the 52 percent tax on corporations while reducing excise taxes paid by individuals. Personal income taxes and a variety of other tax reductions, all of which are to the ultimate benefit of the individual citizens, will be approved.

My party today, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, holds that people as individuals and as members of the business community have the primary responsibility to provide prosperity. We believe it is the responsibility of Government to create the environment for private enterprise to do the job. We believe we can have real prosperity in peacetime in the United States only if we place our reliance on more jobs and more production by private enterprise.

This means that my party believes in the system of private enterprise or individual incentive. It does not mean that we are subservient to big business, big labor, or any other selfish interest group. We reject the idea that a huge bureaucratic government can actually create prosperity, but because we believe in the freedom of the individual, we intend to do everything possible through Government to inspire him to create prosperity through the encouragement of private enterprise.

This is very important because it marks the basic difference in philosophy between the Republican Party under the leadership of President Eisenhower and those politicians who feel that a socialistic system, where the government controls the economy of the government, should prevail.

The Eisenhower program provides for a variety of benefits to the workingmen of our country. The President recently directed messages to the Republican Congress urging legislation to broaden social-security benefits, provide more adequate housing, improve health standards, reduce taxes for the individual and to expand unemployment insurance, all of which will redound to the benefit of the workingman.

Is the Republican Party of today divided and confused?

A successful political party must prove to the Nation its ability to accept the responsibility of government. This means that a successful political party must be basically united on its objectives.

The Republican Party of today is basically united in its desire to enact into law the fundamental recommendations of President Eisenhower. I predict that a substantial portion of the Eisenhower program will become law before the present congressional session adjourns.

The philosophy of the Republican Party, however has never dictated that the Members of the Congress should be a rubber stamp for the Chief Executive.

Our party respects the right of any of its members to express his or her own views, even though at times they may not be in complete accord with those of the party leadership. Such an approach is a healthy one. It means that as long as the Republican Party is the majority party, our country need not fear dictatorship or thought control.

Tax Bill Would Speed Self-Pensioning Trusts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House, bills introduced by Representatives Thomas A. Jenkins, of Ohio, and Eugene J. Keogh, of New York, which bills while they have not attracted a great deal of attention because of their technical nature are nonetheless very important, in that they will encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by individuals. The self-employed and people working for companies which do not have a company pension plan are now put at a tax disadvantage, which inequity would be offset by the passage of the Jenkins or the Keogh bill.

Mr. Robert P. Vanderpoel, well-known and widely read financial editor of the Chicago Sun-Times, made some very pertinent remarks on this subject in his column of April 4. His column is as follows:

Tax Bills Would Speed Self-Pensioning Trusts

(By Robert P. Vanderpoel)

There are identical bills in Congress, one introduced by a Republican from Ohio, Representative Thomas A. Jenkins, and the other by a Democrat from New York, Representative Eugene J. Keogh, which have thus far attracted attention only in technical circles. However, they are of such importance that they should be understood by all.

Their purpose is "to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by individuals." To that end they would give tax relief to all workers not now covered by pension plans set up by their employers and to all self-employed individuals who would participate in voluntary pension plans under arrangements with banks, insurance companies, or trust institutions.

As it is, the individual employed by a corporation which has a pension plan either partly or entirely paid for by the company has a tax advantage. The funds credited to him in the pension fund contributed by the employer plus the earnings of the fund are tax free at the time the contribution is made. They are taxable at the time the pension is paid but presumably at such time the income of the recipient will be smaller and might be either entirely tax exempt or taxable at a lower rate.

Quite obviously the self-employed and those working with concerns that have no pension plan are thus put at a disadvantage. Their individual savings for old age are taxed at today's high rates and the earnings on such savings also are taxed at current rates.

WOULD CUT CURRENT TAX COST

The Jenkins-Keogh bills would allow individuals not now covered by a pension plan to exclude from gross income in the taxable year, the portion of income for such year paid into a restricted retirement fund or life insurance company as premium under a restricted retirement annuity contract. There would be a limit on the amount excludable of 10 percent of the taxpayer's net income, or $7,500, whichever is the lesser and a total lifetime limit of $150,000.

Other details of the bill need not be discussed here. In all likelihood they will be amended in any case before the bill is enacted into law. It seems to me the bill goes too far in the other direction, as employee contributions to pension funds under the present law are taxable as income in the year in which they are made. Possibly the legislation should provide that 50 percent of an individual's contribution toward a retirement fund should be tax free at the time made and certainly the income from the whole fund should be tax free until such time as it is distributed.

The legislation deserves the attention of Congress. It would encourage systematic saving for old age by many more people, generally regarded as a highly desirable development.

For the banks and life insurance companies the potentialities would be enormous. I suspect the insurance companies would be quick to set up the necessary machinery. Many banks, on the other hand, might be caught asleep at the switch. Whether they would set up accumulation type common trusts which individuals could join or arrange special trusts for employees of larger corporations and other trusts for the self-employed are technical matters deserving expert study.

Employers, too, should watch this legislation and consult with their bankers as to the best way they could cooperate for the benefit of their employees. Today's marvelous mechanical equipment should make an otherwise staggering bookkeeping chore economically feasible.

WHEN TO MAKE CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

In arguing against the likelihood of a business setback resulting from sharply decreased expenditures upon the part of industry for plant and equipment, one commentator remarked:

"There are many reasons why capital expenditures should be made in a readjustment period. It is an old business maxim that the time to improve your plant and equipment is when business is slack."

That is fine. The only trouble is that plant and equipment expenditures during the period when business was not slack reached by far the highest proportions in history.

In other words, industry was not waiting for the readjustment period to make its capital expenditures. It shot its wad.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUTH THOMPSON
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Miss THOMPSON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including a report which appeared in the New York Times regarding one phase of the activities undertaken by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:

MIGRANTS TRAINED IN RESETTLEMENT—EUROPEANS RECEIVE VOCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC TEACHING TO HELP IN ASSIMILATION

BRUSSELS, Belgium, March 23.—Educating migrants is a responsibility being undertaken by migration organizations in an enlightened effort to rid resettlement overseas of customary troubles.

The education consists of vocational, readaptation and linguistic training to make it easier for migrants to become assimilated in the immigrant countries. One such plan, called Operation Corcovado, is being carried out by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration jointly with CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere).

Operation Corcovado readapts already skilled migrants and trains the unskilled, turning both into artisans or farmers capable of performing their occupations as they are done in the country of destination.

CARE provides the tools and implements for training. These are called by the names by which they are known in the language of the country of destination. Soon afterward, conversational courses are held.

TWO CENTERS SET UP

The Intergovernmental Committee has two centers for this training, one near Cattolica, on Italy's Adriatic coast, the other in Greece. The committee pays trainees local labor rates. All prospective migrants have previously been screened, psychologically, medically, and politically.

Hugh Gibson, committee director, said here that a study had showed that Europe's 5 million surplus population could be shifted to the American continent and Australia by 1962. More workers are needed there, it is said, and a knowledge of the methods in vogue would be helpful.

To deal with its surplus population, the Netherlands Government after World War II, instituted an emigration plan incorporating an education-for-migrating program. It proved very successful. Only 2 percent of Dutch migrants who undertake the program return, while of those who do not take preparatory training, the proportion is 50 percent.

The Dutch estimate that every migrant costs the government $8,000. For the immigration country the same migrant represents working power valued at $100,000, the Dutch say.

The Intergovernmental Committee also undertakes agricultural surveys in immigrant countries. Paraguay has offered the committee 2,500,000 acres of land for immigrants. The committee has sent a commission of Dutch, Italian, German, and Greek experts to the area to study the soil. Brazil has 200 million acres of virgin arable land.

Such plans, however, require capital investment for roads and, in the committee's view, call for studies in conjunction with the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Founded to take over the work formerly carried on by the International Refugee Organization, the committee has resettled overseas 185,000 nationals of several countries since it started to operate February 1, 1952. It is supported by 24 countries.

Injustice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in Philadelphia concerning the wage ceiling in our social-security program. Like thousands if not millions of others, my correspondent feels dismayed and betrayed by this provision in the act. How long will Congress let it remain there?

My correspondent's letter follows:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *January 9, 1953.*
Representative OSTERTAG, OF NEW YORK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I read an article in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin under date of January 8, 1953, regarding the social security.

I congratulate you for your courage in taking this matter up for the good of the people.

I am 70 years of age and was collecting social security for 3 years when the Government discontinued it because I earn more than $50 and later $75 per month.

My complaint is—why was the Government permitted to make this change retroactive? When I joined this plan in the beginning we were promised we would collect at the age of 65 with no ifs, ands, or buts. Then a couple of years ago when they changed the law I feel that they should not have been permitted to make the change applying to those who had been paying for it for a number of years before. How do you feel about it?

Thanks very much for your interest.

Cordially yours,

THOMAS J. MULHOLLAND.

World Health Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, today is World Health Day, observed by the United States and 83 other member nations in the World Health Organization.

Its theme for 1954 is "The Nurse: Pioneer of Health," for it was 100 years ago that Florence Nightingale began her historic work in the field hospitals of the Crimean War. Her pioneering care of the wounded along the shores of the Black Sea dramatized new patterns of preventative and curative methods which are now standard over almost all the world.

But how times have changed in that 100 years. Remarkable scientific advances have both helped civilization and greatly compounded its problems. For today sickness and death at the other end of the earth are not months but only a few hours away from all of us.

We can erect national barriers against trade and even against people. But there are no effective barriers against disease. With the fantastic increase in the speed of transportation, tuberculosis in Greece and leprosy in the Pacific can touch us. Hoof-and-mouth disease and rinderpest halfway across the world may mean the same epidemics here. As an example of what is being done to safeguard us, the World Health Organization has established an international warning system through a worldwide chain of radio transmitters. Plague, cholera, smallpox or other dangerous diseases anywhere in the world are immediately reported to WHO. Facts and figures are at once put on the air. National health services of any nation, as well as ships at sea and aircraft, are warned in time to take effective action.

In our global struggle against communism, one of our principal endeavors is to keep the free world strong. Disease breeds poverty and poverty breeds further disease. International communism thrives on both. Greece, which only a few years ago survived a Red onslaught, had 2 million cases of malaria in 1942 and bought $1.3 million worth of quinine. Heavy DDT spraying by 1949 had cut the sickness figure one-fortieth at a total cost of $300,000—a million-dollar saving. In the former malaria ridden districts, the average gross income of

families has doubled and the area cultivated increased by 67 percent.

We have built this, the greatest Nation in the world, on the belief that all men are children of one Infinite Father, made of the very Essence of His Being. To us the individual is sacred, wherever and whatever he may be. Our duty in its largest sense is to Him.

Today let us emphasize the vital importance of the principal aim of the World Health Organization: To work for the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health. We join with the rest of the world in rejoicing that we have come so far, certain that together we can make man's life on earth an ever more beautiful experience.

Keep the Park Free

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial which appeared in the April 1 issue of the Waynesville Mountaineer, published in Waynesville, N. C. Mr. Curtis Russ, the able editor of this paper, has played a vital role in the development of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. In this editorial he continues his effort to keep this national park for all of the people:

KEEP THE PARK FREE

It seems to be a custom, almost every time the national budget is announced, that someone advocates placing an admission fee to the Smokies, in an effort to raise funds for development of the area.

This year ran true to form, when Carlos C. Campbell, of Knoxville, in an address before a civic club of that city, suggested that an admission fee of about 50 cents a car be charged. It has been roughly figured that such a fee would have brought in about $325,000 during the past year. Needless to say, that is a sizable sum of money and would have helped some towards attaining the development program which has been forgotten by appropriating Congressmen since 1940, or longer.

The principle which Mr. Campbell advocated the fee was with the understanding that all such funds collected would be spent on the park development program. But for some reason, Uncle Sam does not see fit to operate his park business on such a basis. All the money collected for fees would go into the general fund of the Nation, and maybe some would be spent on the park, and maybe not 1 cent more than is now being spent. Under such a system, the Smokies would suffer, inasmuch as the fee would be tacked on, and no guarantee of any additional benefits derived therefrom.

And certainly, if the civic leaders and those interested in the development of the park can't get additional funds, how could they be expected to change and reverse such a national practice of all admissions going into the general treasury?

The North Carolina Park Commission, and the similar organization of Tennessee, in joint sessions, have studied the matter from A to Z, time and time again, and have always come up with the same decision—"keep the Smokies free of admission fees."

Those two groups, after careful, and painstaking study should know the answer, because what group is more concerned with the development of the park?

We'll go along with them, again, and hope the Smokies never see the day of a ticket seller at her entrances.

The Constitution of the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, each year the Department of Illinois Division of the American Legion sponsors a statewide contest for high-school students. The Legion is very much interested in its subject, namely, The Constitution of the United States of America, or some subject pertaining thereto. The contest took place on March 19, 1954, at the Freeport High School, Freeport, Ill., and the winning oration was delivered by Robert B. Rosenberg, a student of Lindblom High School, of Chicago. There were approximately 25,000 students who competed in the contest. The prepared oration usually is from 10 to 12 minutes in duration. Then they deliver an extemporaneous address which runs from 4 to 6 minutes and is upon a subject, of which the boy is not informed until 6 minutes before he is to take the platform. I commend the reading of this address to my colleagues:

Abraham Lincoln, in his immortal Gettysburg address, said, "Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

That Nation began to grow and flourish soon after its founding. It began to expand in area, in population, in ideas. Finally, the people of that Nation seized upon a great idea, an idea so important that it was to shape the future of the entire world. This idea found the statement of its being in the Constitution of the United States of America.

Back in 1787, a group of men met in Independence Hall in Philadelphia for the purpose of amending the current form of government. Once assembled, these men found their task so great that they discarded the outmoded Articles of Confederation and drew up a new form of government. This new Government was formulated in the Constitution. Written into this Constitution was the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin, the financial genius of Alexander Hamilton, the mastery of Madison, the brilliance of Washington, of Jefferson, and of others too numerous to mention.

Then the document was delivered to the States for their approval. Nine of the new States in America accepted it, and it began to operate in 1789 as our Constitution. It went into effect in the troubled times of our Nation's infancy; it guided us through peaceful, prosperous generations; it led us through troubled, war-torn years; and then, as now, it towers above us as a pillar of strength and might.

Yes; this single document is accomplishing the momentous task of guiding a nation, not for just a short while but for decade upon decade. It does this simply by providing for all the necessities of existence in its contents.

First, it announces to all the world its aims. These are stated in the preamble to the Constitution, and declare the intention to establish a more perfect Union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Then the Constitution gets down to the actual business of fulfilling these aims:

Article I sets up a legislative, or lawmaking, body. It provides a bicameral system of government for us in which all people are represented by their votes for legislators.

In article II we have an executive department of government developed. The Constitution has specifically provided for the President's election by an electoral college.

Then in article III the judicial department of government is born. The Constitution provides us with one Supreme Court, but it allows us to form courts as need arises. Here in the first three articles of the Constitution we have our machinery of government set down for us.

Article V provides a means of amending the Constitution. Although there are four different methods we can use to amend this document, we have amended it only 22 times.

Finally, the Constitution protects us from oppression. In the first 10 amendments we have a Bill of Rights; yes, a Bill of Rights that is almost a part of the main body of the Constitution. Here we are provided with the freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, petition, and many other rights most of which are implied in the ninth amendment which states that "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

Article IV, the Constitution, pledges "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature (or of the Executive, when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

We are additionally protected by the Constitution's check-and-balance system. This system regulates the three departments of government, i. e., Congress can pass laws, the President can veto these laws, Congress can pass them over this veto, and the Supreme Court can declare them void.

By these means we have guaranteed all that our Nation stands for—those very ideas for which Americans down through the years have fought and died. A statement of government, protection from oppression, freedom—all these are given to us by the Constitution. Truly this is our Constitution, the people's Constitution.

Since it is ours, we must jealously guard it as one of our most prized possessions. We must love it and protect it. This, the people's Constitution, which is ours to defend.

The Constitution seems to have made all provisions for us. It has left nothing except its own life dependent upon the people. The people hold the life of the Constitution, and they must help it live. Yes; since the people form the United States of America, and since the Constitution is the basis of the United States, we, the people, can sustain or destroy the Constitution by sustaining or destroying ourselves.

First, we can use the Constitution itself to help us preserve it. We can keep the Constitution abreast of the times by amending it, as it has itself set down. We, through our organizations, can appeal to our State legislatures for amendments; or we can petition directly to our Congressmen for action. The legislators are elected by us, they act for us, so we must direct them in their course by letters and petitions.

But we must also be on guard against false amendments. Not all amendments are good for the Constitution, so it is our duty once again to inform our legislators as to our feelings. Then we must fight against the adoption of these proposed amendments for they can do as much harm as a proper amendment can do good. If we watch our Constitution and help it live and grow, we can keep it from becoming outmoded or outdated.

Next, as Americans we must live in the spirit of the Constitution. Since the Constitution represents, as Lincoln said, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," it can truly be said that the Constitution is dependent upon the people. Yes, dependent upon the people, for the people are the Constitution. If we live and fulfill the spirit of the law and of democracy, we will live the way of the Constitution.

Finally, we must defend the Constitution from all attacks. Since we are the Constitution, we must defend it as we would defend ourselves, as it defends us.

Our Constitution has suffered many attacks. Initially in 1789 it survived the bitter fight over its adoption between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists. The bloody drawnout Civil War almost destroyed it as that war almost destroyed our Nation. It sustained attacks from outside our boundaries: the War of 1812, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II.

But in all these attacks, Americans rose to the occasion, prepared to defend the Constitution even with their lives. Washington, Hamilton, and Madison devoted their lives to securing a strong foundation for the Constitution; Lincoln forfeited his so that the Constitution might live; Theodore Roosevelt strengthened its foundation by his devotion and diligence; Franklin Delano Roosevelt worked for it even at the moment of his death, and millions of unheralded Americans have died in Europe, in the Orient, and in America so that the Constitution might have a new birth of freedom.

Even now the Constitution is under attack. Alien doctrines in the world today are challenging its very foundation, and even within our shores men and women are seeking to destroy it, to replace it, and in so doing to destroy our lives in destroying the pattern by which we live.

The Constitution was born, it grew, expanded, flourished—because Americans built it upon a firm foundation and strengthened it with their lives. They died for it so that you and I might live under it. But we cannot be lax. We, too, must resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. We, too, must toil that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom. We, too, through eternal vigilance, must insure that the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Closing the United States-Mexico Border to Unescorted Minors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, House Joint Resolution 240, now before the Judiciary Committee, would close the Mexican border to unescorted minors. The purpose of this bill, which I introduced during the first session, is to cut off one of the principal sources of illegal narcotics of juveniles living in States along this border. The narcotic addiction of teen-agers in southern California has been termed "epidemic" and is attributable to the nearness of the Mexican border.

In support of House Joint Resolution 240, and to emphasize the seriousness of the situation it is designed to meet, I insert the following Joint Resolution 4 of the Legislature of the State of California:

Assembly Joint Resolution 4

Joint resolution relative to closing the United States-Mexico border to unescorted minors

Whereas citizens of the United States are permitted to visit and return from many towns across the Mexican border without restriction; and

Whereas a congressional committee has reported information that many minors are visiting these towns for the sole purpose of obtaining drugs, including marijuana and heroin; and

Whereas the increased use of narcotics by minors is becoming a serious problem in the United States; and

Whereas recently more and more sinister crimes have been committed by minors while under the influence of narcotics; and

Whereas restrictions on narcotic drugs under the laws of the United States are of little force and effect if minors have free access to the drugs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the State Department to take such measures as may be necessary to close the United States-Mexico border to all minors who are not accompanied by adults; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and to the Secretary of State of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from California.

The St. Lawrence Seaway Will Destroy the Nation's Railroads

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, if the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project is approved the railroads of the country will foot a good fraction of its cost even though they will lose thousands of tons of cargo to foreign flagships using the seaway.

The following editorial appearing in the March 22, 1954, issue of the Hutchinson (Kans.) News-Herald says that it is high time the Government quit using the railroads to support competitive common carriers.

The editorial follows:

FAIR PLAY

It's high time the Government quit using the railroads to support competitive common carriers. One of the foulest smelling, yet most overlooked corrupt Federal practices nowadays is the exploitation of the railroads for the benefit of highway, air, and waterway haulers. The railroads receive no Federal subsidization whatever.

But the railroads aren't complaining about that because that is as it should be. What they are complaining about is the fact they have to pay taxes for highway construction and repairs (making it nice for truck and bus operators), pay taxes for airport construction and for various other kinds of airline subsidization, and pay taxes for the maintenance of waterways. If the proposed St. Lawrence seaway project goes through, the railroads will foot a good fraction of that bill.

Washington should pause for a minute and switch its attention temporarily away from atom bombs, farm supports, and foreign diplomacy, giving some thought to a simple but essential item which must be preserved in order to keep America American. That item is fair play.

DALE P. BELL.

DODGE CITY.

Outrageous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill for the relief of Joseph DeLapa, of Akron, Ohio. I trust every Member will read the editorial printed below that appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal.

It is my hope that the Judiciary Committee will confirm the facts of this case as soon as possible. In the meanwhile, a stay of deportation must be given for Joseph DeLapa pending the time when the letter of the law recognizes his moral right to be unmolested as he lives and works in the city where he grew up and is respected:

OUTRAGEOUS

Glaring injustices have been perpetrated all too often by the Federal immigration law and its harsh enforcement.

None has been more outrageous than the threatened deportation of a law abiding Akron man who served 3 years in the Army during World War II.

Thirty-nine-year-old Joseph DeLapa was brought here from Italy by his mother when he was 4. He attended Akron schools, scarcely thought of himself as a foreigner.

Perhaps he should have sought citizenship as soon as he came of age, but there was some mixup over getting evidence as to his port entry and he let it go.

During the war, the Army took him to foreign lands and brought him back again. Then, after being discharged in California, he made the briefest sort of a visit across the border to Mexico—only 45 minutes.

Back in Akron, married, the father of a little girl, and holding a responsible job, DeLapa is facing deportation because of that innocent step across the border.

It seems that he lost his status as an alien who had entered the country legally and became one who had entered illegally when he made that one little excursion which is commonplace every day for thousands of Americans.

So now he is being told that he must leave and make a legal entry, if he wants to stay. Back to his native Italy? The lineup there of people who want to come to America is already infinitely long. He's thinking of going to far-off New Zealand which has an

unused quota for emigration to the United States. But he'd have to wait there a year.

His wife and daughter are American citizens. They don't have to leave, of course, but they are as vitally affected as is DeLapa. Shall they be forced to be exiles, or shall they stay here and go on relief?

The contradictions of a completely fouled-up law are one reason for DeLapa's plight.

One section of the law states that World War II veterans, even though unlawfully in the United States at the time of their induction, can naturalize. DeLapa was here lawfully. But another section states that no one can naturalize if there is a deportation proceeding pending against him.

If ever the introduction and passage of a special bill to permit an alien to stay in this country were justified, such is the case here.

But why should it be necessary to take to Congress the case of every person who gets caught in the tangle of an unfair and contradictory law?

Punitive Type of Legislation Should Be Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the March 1954 issue of United State Air Services:

PUNITIVE TYPE OF LEGISLATION SHOULD BE REPEALED

With the expiration of the Renegotiation Act of 1951 on December 31, 1953, military contracts and subcontracts written since the first of the year do not, as heretofore, have renegotiation clauses. However, the Renegotiation Board plans to go to Congress and request legislation retroactive to January 1, 1954, that would renew the authority given the Board in the 1951 law.

Members of the Board have support from the President and the three services in this effort and point out that the original legislation was passed without opposition in either branch of Congress. Enactment of similar legislation was lost in a last-minute jam in the Senate at the end of the first session of the 83d Congress.

Board members report that only $7 million have been spent in administrating this law and that more than $100 million in excessive profits have been recovered from military contractors. They assert that they will be busy for the next 4 or 5 years auditing the books of contractors for excessive earnings on war materials now in production and on other contracts signed before January 1, 1954. It is also anticipated that a much greater amount will be recovered and at considerably less expense.

Many trade associations and individual contractors dispute the reasoning of the renegotiation officials. Industry observers claim the funds reported "recovered" by the Renegotiation Board are not true savings, as most of such moneys would be returned to the Treasury as ordinary and excess-profits taxes. Many claim that the actual savings would be less than the true cost of administering the law if the expenses of the manufacturers were included. If the expense and cost of the time of the service officials handling this problem could be computed there would be little question that renegotiation is very expensive for the taxpayers.

Military contractors are also critical of renegotiation because of the time and paper work required. Records must be kept available for 5 years, and because of its importance the most competent accountants must be assigned to the problem. Contracts with renegotiation clauses do not have an appeal to banks and other private lending institutions, consequently most military contractors must deal with the complicated and involved system of Federal financing with its V loans, advance and progress payments, and so on, which vary with each military service.

Contractors and subcontractors who had less than $250,000 in annual military business are not subject to the provisions of the Renegotiation Act of 1951. Industry generally is hopeful that if any new renegotiation legislation is considered by Congress this minimum limit will be raised. Other requests to Congress will suggest that the law be amended to make it easier to appeal the decisions of the Board to the Tax Court of the United States and to make the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code mandatory as acceptable costs for computing profits.

Another amendment important to the aircraft industry that will be offered permits foreign subsidiaries to be excluded from the provisions of the act.

Aircraft and aircraft parts manufacturers, and naval ship builders, are not as pleased with the situation as other defense contractors, because the Vinson-Trammel Act automatically comes into effect with the expiration of the renegotiation law. This profit-limiting bill (12 percent on aircraft and 10 percent on naval vessels) was amended during the last part of World War II to allow profits to be averaged over 3 years and all other efforts to repeal or simplify have been in vain.

The fiscal uncertainties and the accounting confusion as a result of the operation of the Vinson-Trammell Act and the renegotiation laws have been two of the most frustrating problems confronting the aircraft industry.

Maj. Gen. Al Luedecke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the following article appearing the Washington Sunday Star for March 28 on Maj. Gen. Alvin R. Luedecke, AF, who is as fine an officer as the Services will ever have:

WEAPONS GROUP BIRD DOGS H-BLASTS

(By L. Edgar Prina)

While the Pacific air, sea, and coral are being rent by atomic and hydrogen explosions, a little-publicized but highly important organization, whose mission it is to help prepare United States forces for new-weapons warfare, hardly has time to raise its head to see what the noise is all about.

This is the Defense Department's Armed Forces special-weapons project, a nose-to-the-grindstone outfit which trained key officers of Joint Task Force 7 in many aspects of atomic weapons. JTF 7 is now at the Pacific proving grounds of the Atomic Energy Commission concluding a series of tests of all categories.

The AFSWP currently is grappling with literally hundreds of problems dumped in its lap by the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Its job is to keep America ahead in atomic weapons knowledge and technology.

Specific projects may not be discussed publicly for security reasons, but the AFSWP handles such requests from the armed services as designs for new size weapons—small A-bombs, shells, and the like—and the best method of loading, transporting and delivering them.

YOUTHFUL CHIEF

Chief of the Special Weapons project is a youthful Air Force major general—Alvin R. Luedecke—whose specially guarded headquarters are located in the lower recesses of the Pentagon. The 43-year-old, Texas-born general is a man of medium height and weight, whose full crop of black hair is just beginnig to show specks of gray. Although soft spoken, he is firm and direct, and associates say he has a superior talent for cutting through to the heart of the most complex problems.

During one of the rare interviews he has found time to grant, General Leudecke explained that AFSWP's responsibilities lay chiefly in these fields:

1. To insure that there are no gaps scientifically in our knowledge of weapons' effects. Information on weapons' effects must be provided all the services and the Federal Civil Defense Agency, which relies heavily on AFSWP for this vital data.

2. To determine when atomic tests are needed, and then to recommend them, outlining the urgency, probable cost and the technical feasibility of the proposed tests.

3. Technical training of military personnel, including instruction in the storage, handling, maintenance, and delivery of atomic weapons and orientation for key commanders and staff officers in the technical aspects of atomic warfare.

4. Logistic support to the services in fields relating to special weapons equipment.

The Pacific atomic tests, such as those now being conducted, are the responsibility of the AEC and the Armed Forces, of course, although AFSWP exercises technical direction of the military effects phases.

BIG NEVADA ROLE

The tests in which AFSWP plays a principal role, he said, are those made in the United States—usually at Yucca Flat, the AEC installation in the Nevada desert. Last year's series in Nevada, for instance, took more than 2 years to prepare.

"Approximately 100 different organizations—from the Government, universities, and private industrial corporations—participated in the effort to determine where we are, what we need, and how we can get it," General Luedecke said.

To carry out the tests, the AFSWP has a field organization directly responsible to the chief. It is located at Sandia Base, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Aside from the great value in furthering military knowledge and technology, the AFSWP-AEC tests are particularly helpful to the Federal Civil Defense Agency, which gets information on:

Effects of atomic weapons on conventional structures and utilities; effects on shelters and personnel; effects on materials other than military equipment; biological effects; general air blasts, radiation, and thermal effects; cratering and shock; shielding; decontamination and protective measures and radiation-detection instruments and techniques.

In speaking of atomic-hydrogen tests, the general pointed out that the scientific and enginering know-how developed in the brief lifetime of atomic weapons has not advanced to the stage where explosive reactions can be precisely predetermined.

It is General Luedecke's opinion the recent spectacular thermo-nuclear blast should in no way be considered to have been a "boner"

because it far exceeded the power predicted of it. (Some experts say the explosion was 3 or 4 times that anticipated.)

HARMONY PREVAILS

AFSWP is considered a model of interservice harmony and high performance. General Luedecke has two deputies, Rear Adm. Edward N. Parker, representing the Navy, and Brig. Gen. Legare K. Tarrant for the Army.

AFSWP has slightly more than 10,000 military and civilian personnel—many of whom are scientists, engineers, or technicians—on its payroll.

According to a Defense Department statement, the AFSWP came into being on January 1, 1947, "for the purpose of assuming certain residual functions of the wartime Manhattan Enginering District dealing with the military applications of atomic energy."

General Luedecke puts it more simply: "AFSWP was created to maintain a pool of competent personnel and scarce materials in the atomic energy field."

On the same day AFSWP was established, the AEC also was born, taking over the general functions of the Manhattan District.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended is an editorial from the April 3 issue of the New York Herald Tribune:

STEP TOWARD STATEHOOD

The passage of the Hawaii-Alaska statehood bill by the Senate is a notable step toward adding two stars to the flag. Despite the fact that the two territories were tied into one package, which tended to unite the foes of each, the Senate vote was gratifyingly decisive—57 to 28. No less decisive was the defeat of proposals to grant commonwealth status to Hawaii and Alaska, a plan which has merit applied to Puerto Rico, which sought such an arrangement, but which would be regarded with great hostility by the peoples of the two prospective States. The commonwealth idea was voted down, 60 to 24.

Unfortunately, the marriage of Hawaii and Alaska in a single bill will create problems in the House of Representatives, which has already voted for Hawaiian statehood, but has kept a similar measure on Alaska bottled up in committee. There are technical parliamentary difficulties ahead before the House can vote to bring its own action into line with that of the Senate, as well as considerable opposition among the Members. It would be a great hardship for Hawaii, in particular, if statehood is withheld because of the link with Alaska. Hawaiian statehood has now been approved by both houses and indorsed by the President; it would be a fact very shortly except for the political maneuvering in the Senate. Nevertheless, the strength of Senatorial sentiment for admitting both Territories should have its effect upon the House. In a matter of such concern as the granting of equal partnership in the Union, parliamentary technicalities should not be allowed to become an insuperable barrier. Given an opportunity to vote, it is reasonable to assume that the House will follow the Senate and grant both Hawaii and Alaska the privileges and obligations of statehood.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to wiretapping. I believe that it is a dirty business in any circumstance and constitutes an unwarranted invasion of the individual's right of privacy. Mr. Justice Holmes labeled it a dirty business and stated:

We have to choose, and for my part I think it a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the Government should play an ignoble part.

Subsequently the Congress enacted legislation prohibiting the admission of wiretap evidence.

Is there any real and urgent need for the Government of the United States to play an ignoble part? Are we in such dire danger that resort must be had to any means, no matter how reprehensible, to preserve our very existence? Are we in extremis so that the civil liberties of our people must be sacrificed to keep this great Republic from coming apart at the seams? The head of the present administration of the Government thinks otherwise. Let me quote from the text of President Eisenhower's address to the Nation on Multiplicity of Fears as recorded by the New York Times of Tuesday, April 6, 1954:

Now the next thing that we fear concerning which we are apprehensive is this idea of Communist infiltration into our own country—into our Government, into our schools, into our unions, into any of our facilities, any of our industries wherever they may be and wherever those Communists could damage us.

Now it would be completely false to minimize the danger of this penetration. It does exist. We know some of them are here. Yet let me give you now some of the counterbalancing factors.

First of all, this fear has been greatly exaggerated as to numbers. In our country today there are possibly some 25,000 doctrinal Communists. The FBI knows pretty well where they are.

But the headlines of the newspapers would sometimes have you think that every other person you meet is a Communist. Actually, 25,000 out of 160,000,000 people means about 1 out of 6,000. But they are dangerous. Now, our great defense against those people is the FBI.

The FBI has been doing for years in this line of work a magnificent job.

They are great bulwarks. And any one of you can notify them today about real, valid, suspicions you have—they will be on the job doing something about it. They are that kind.

So great is the story that they have to tell, that I'm not going to tell it—tell it tonight. Instead I've asked the Attorney General on next Friday night to come before you and give you a complete account of what the FBI has been doing about this.

Mr. Speaker, now you cannot have it both ways. Either the danger is extreme as the proponents of wiretapping would have us believe or our fears are greatly exaggerated and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is presently doing a great job in controlling the near 25,000 possible Communists out of 160 million people. I prefer to believe our President.

The committee in reporting out H. R. 8649, which would permit wiretap evidence to be admitted in Federal courts, which was obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on written approval by the Attorney General, stated:

The existence of wiretapping is denied by no one and that it creates a very serious problem is self-evident. No one denies that the practice of wiretapping invades an individual's privacy, but at the same time no one denies the right of society itself to be protected against criminals. The true solution to this problem appears to be a middle ground whereby the Government, through its law-enforcement agencies may properly operate to apprehend and convict those who violate its laws under a procedure which will protect the rights and privileges of its law-abiding citizens.

By this statement the proponents of wiretapping admit the seriousness of the problem created by the present existence of the practice and that the problem is self-evident. They then go on to advocate more of the same on the ground that society must be protected against criminals.

If more wiretapping is the solution to protect society from criminals, how effective is it as a weapon?

Enforcement officers seem to differ in their estimates of the value of wiretapping. District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey called it "one of the best methods available for uprooting certain types of crime." J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, termed it an archaic and inefficient practice which "has proved a definite handicap or barrier in the development of ethical, scientific, and sound investigative technique." He further stated in a press release of the Department of Justice, March 15, 1940, in opposition to a bill then pending in Congress which would have legalized wiretapping:

While I concede that the telephone tap is from time to time of limited value in the criminal investigative field, I frankly and sincerely believe that if a statute of this kind were enacted the abuses arising therefrom would far outweigh the value which might accrue to law enforcement as a whole.

No matter what safeguards are imposed, when a telephone is tapped, the monitoring of conversations cannot be restricted to those persons suspected of crime, but will inevitably invade the privacy of many innocent persons. The authorization of the Attorney General may specify the line to be tapped, but it cannot limit the subjects of conversation which are to be overheard, nor the person whose conversations will be publicized. Anyone speaking to the suspect over the tapped line will open his business to the ears of the law. Communications which are otherwise wrapped in privilege, as those between attorney and client, may be revealed to the listener.

Information secured by wiretapping, although irrelevant to the investigation of crime, can be used for blackmail, the oppression of persons having unpopular views, the exertion of political pressure by the administration which happens to be in power, or even for the benefit of

those employing Government agents after they leave the Federal service. The possession of so much information which can be thus misused will constitute a great temptation to, and a corrupting influence on, the law-enforcement officers themselves.

Mr. Speaker, if we enact this bill and make wiretapping even partially legal we will be setting the floodgates ajar and I doubt if they can then be held. Let me quote the things which prompted a Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, even under the prohibition of the present law, to recommend an investigation of wiretapping then being carried on:

Wiretapping, dictographing, and similar devices are especially dangerous at the present time, because of the recent resurgence of a spy system conducted by Government police. Persons who have committed no crime, but whose economic and political views and activities may be obnoxious to the present incumbents of law-enforcement offices, are being investigated and cataloged. If information gathered from such investigations is being obtained by wiretapping, dictographing, or other reprehensible methods, and if it is some day offered as evidence in a Federal criminal trial, the courts may have an opportunity to apply the principles of the Boyd case and of the Nardone case. But on the other hand, the information may perhaps never be offered in such a case, because the victims of wiretapping and similar methods may perhaps never be charged with a crime. In this event, the information may be used in extralegal controversies where the courts may have no opportunity to adjudicate the matter. Wiretapping and other unethical devices may lead to a variety of oppressions that may never reach the ears of the courts. They may, for example, have the effect of increasing the power of law-enforcement agencies to oppress factory employees who are under investigation, not for any criminal action, but only by reason of their views and activities in regard to labor unions and other economic movements; this is no fanciful case—such investigations are a fact today. In short, unauthorized and unlawful police objectives may be aided by wiretapping and dictographing practices, the extent of which we are not in a position to estimate without a careful inquiry into all the facts.

Finally, if we must have a law such as this, if we must take these risks, then let us at least afford our millions of innocent fellow citizens the protection of an impartial and unbiased opinion respecting the necessity of wiretapping in each specific case. This bill does not afford even such small protection as that. It provides that the department of the Government which desires to do the wiretapping shall first be required to obtain its own express written approval before doing so, that is, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a part of the Department of Justice, must seek the approval of the departmental Chief, the Attorney General. Mr. Speaker, this is no safeguard at all. The Founding Fathers in establishing this Republic protected us from oppression by one branch of the Government through a system of checks and balances on all branches. In this bill we must do no less. We must amend this bill and establish checks and balances by requiring that express written approval in each case be obtained from a completely separate and impartial branch, that is, from the courts of the United States.

School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I invite your attention to an editorial in the April 6 edition of the Washington Post and Times-Herald on the urgent need to set up a Federal school-construction program.

This is a program which we can no longer delay. As the editorial points out, the President eloquently expressed the problem from the standpoint of need in his state of the Union address in January.

As recently as April 4, in his nationwide address, the President spoke of a public construction program—and the willingness of his administration to adopt such a program—as a factor to prevent recession from becoming depression.

With the combination of need for schools and need for public construction to stimulate our economy, it is imperative that we enact a school construction program, such as is embodied in H. R. 7467, introduced by me, and by a companion bill in the other body, which has bipartisan sponsorship.

The editorial follows:

BUILDING NEW SCHOOLS

"Youth—our greatest resource—is being seriously neglected in a vital respect," President Eisenhower said in his state of the Union message last January. "The Nation as a whole is not preparing teachers or building schools fast enough to keep up with the increase in our population." The inescapable fact, moreover, is that this neglect is becoming more and more acute. The postwar birthrate will send school enrollments skyrocketing in the years immediately ahead. Expenditures for schooling have lagged far behind the growing need. And in point of fact the States and municipalities lack the financial resources to meet this need. The only practicable remedy lies in a program of Federal aid to education.

The United States Office of Education issued a report recently estimating the total new school construction need at the present time at 312,000 classrooms. The cost of meeting this need would be about $10.6 billion. But according to the report, local school districts, with all the State aid now available, could raise no more than $5.9 billion of this amount, leaving a deficit of $4.7 billion.

In an address delivered Saturday to the National Science Teachers Association, Agnes E. Meyer sharply criticized the administration for failing to take any constructive action to meet this condition. "Since 1951," she points out, "the States and localities appropriated more than a billion dollars every year and last year they spent the huge sum of $2 billion on school construction. Many localities have reached the limit of their taxing ability." Whatever differences of opinion may exist about a general program of Federal aid to education, there is strong sentiment among Republicans and Democrats alike for helping to finance urgently needed school construction along the lines of the Cooper and McClellan bills.

This widespread support for school construction is made the stronger, as Mrs. Meyer observed, because, "if the recession should become more acute, no public works program could be economically more sound nor more generally beneficial than Federal aid for the construction of public school buildings." It would be dangerous folly to put off this program until a White House conference on education, projected for 1956, can survey the situation. It is a situation already starkly clear—and desperate.

Public Housing Is Not Yet Dead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following editorial from the New York Times of April 6, 1954:

HOUSING AND THE SENATE

The fate of low-rent slum-clearance public housing now lies with the Senate, which in past years has, through its own affirmative action and its influence in conference, managed to its credit to keep this program alive.

The House, in rejecting President Eisenhower's request for authority to contract with local public-housing authorities for construction of 35,000 dwelling units a year for the next 4 years, showed itself either ignorant of or insensitive to the conditions in our large cities. The vote was 211 to 176, with 150 Republicans and 61 Democrats against the 4-year program, and 51 Republicans, 124 Democrats, and 1 Independent for it. This was the rollcall on a Democratic motion. Our Washington dispatch reported that the trouble appeared to be that neither side wanted the other to get credit for putting public-housing provisions into the bill, but the net result is that there is no assurance for a continuing program after present commitments are exhausted.

Senator MAYBANK, Democrat, of South Carolina, is taking up the fight, not only for restoring the 35,000 quota but also to reinstate the scope of the 1949 goal of 135,000 units a year. Party politics being what it is, we hope some strong Republican leadership will appear, to assure the rescue of the public-housing program. Public housing has a long record of bipartisan support. It is a principle that should be above narrow partisanship, yet we have little doubt that if the Republicans are looking to the November elections with any realism they should realize that the party that scuttles public housing will feel the effects of such callousness at the polls.

People who do not live in the largest cities simply cannot realize the conditions that develop from lack of living space. Whole families are living in single rooms and paying a high rent. The result is demoralizing, to children and adults alike. These families have no place to go. The housing shortage has greatly reduced turnover of apartments, and because there is no satisfactory margin of vacancy, as in the old days, it is impossible in New York to consider the total aban-

donment of rent control and the return of a free market. Private enterprise makes no claim to being able to supply accommodations for these thousands of families of low income, and any filtering-down process is not working fast enough to benefit them. The result is degradation of living standards to a point that shocks the conscience. If it is socialism to help these people, what is it if we don't help them?

Springfield Armory, Its 160th Anniversary—A Great Institution Dedicated to the National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Springfield Chamber of Commerce saluted the 160th anniversary of the establishment of the United States Arsenal at Springfield, Mass. It is well for us in this Congress today to reflect on the history and significance of this highly important small-arms industry operated by the Ordnance Department under the Department of Defense.

Mr. Speaker, the Springfield Armory is one of our oldest national institutions. It was in 1777, during the War of the Revolution, that General Knox recommended that "one or more laboratories and depots be erected far from the site of war." Buildings were rented in Springfield, Mass., and cartridges manufactured there. In 1789 President Washington visited Springfield and recommended it as the site for the establishment of the national armory for the fabrication of small arms. The Third Congress authorized its establishment by "An act to provide for the erecting and repairing of arsenals and magazines, and other purposes," which was approved on April 2, 1794. Thus was born the first manufacturing arsenal in this country.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the Springfield Armory is the history of small arms in America. In these days of atomic and hydrogen bombs and this era of terrifying technological and possible bacteriological warfare, we are prone to forget those improvements in military weapons that turned the tide of battle of past wars. The muskets and rifles manufactured at Springfield Armory have been the basic military weapons of our fighting forces from the Revolutionary War to the present date. The first muskets manufactured in 1795 at the arsenal were patterned after the French Charleville design. Minor changes were made through the years until 1842 when the flintlock gave way to the percussion type weapon. The first production rifle was made at the armory in 1855. In 1866, 11 years later, the breech loader was introduced and in 1892, the bolt action was adopted. Early in the 20th century the famous Springfield repeater rifle, the model 1903, was developed. This was one of the most significant developments in small arms for it gave to our forces a firepower that few could conceive. After World War I, designing efforts were concentrated on a semiautomatic rifle which resulted in the adoption of the Garand M–1 in 1937 as the official rifle of our Armed Forces. Just as the adoption of the bolt action repeating rifle in 1892 multiplied the rapidity of fire of the service rifle several times, so the advent of the Garand rifle, which reloads itself automatically each time the trigger is pulled, multiplied and increased the firepower of the American rifleman between 2 and 3 times over the firepower of the soldier equipped with the breech loader.

During the World War II emergency period, the Springfield Armory made over 3,500,000 M–1 rifles. Today, the armory is the small arms center of the United States Army. Here is the scene of technical information for the nationwide research and development program on small arms. Here highly trained designers work closely with scientists and inventors in industry—constantly improving and creating new individual arms and automatic weapons for our Armed Forces.

Following a tradition of over a century and a half, small arms craftsmen carry on the science of military gun making. Production engineers keep constantly abreast of modern manufacturing techniques. Since 1861, the heads of the armory have been Ordnance officers and all have contributed much to our national defense. Those who have labored in research and production have done likewise. I am proud of what they have done for this Nation. I point with pride to the history this great arsenal has helped to write in all the battles of this Nation from the Revolutionary War down to the present when the Armory made the 50-caliber aircraft machine guns that armed our planes in the air over Korea. I trust that the Department of Defense will never lose sight of the significance of the Springfield Armory and the great reservoir of skill and know-how of the men and women who man the plant. I congratulate the commanding officer of the armory, Col. William J. Crowe and all of his subordinates and the employees on the occasion of its 160th year.

Use Gasoline Tax for Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following Joint Resolution 2 of the Legislature of the State of California relative to using money, collected by Federal gasoline, diesel fuel, and lubricating oil taxes, upon Federal-aid primary highway systems:

Assembly Joint Resolution 2

Joint resolution relative to using money collected by Federal gasoline, diesel fuel, and lubricating oil taxes upon Federal-aid primary highway systems

Whereas the Federal Government imposes a 6-cent a gallon tax on lubricating oil, and a tax on gasoline and diesel fuel sold by the producer or importer thereof, which at the present amounts to 2 cents a gallon and effective April 1, 1954, will amount to 1½ cents a gallon; and

Whereas the ultimate burden of paying such taxes is on those who operate motor vehicles over the Nation's highways and who use lubricating oil to lubricate machinery; and

Whereas it is only just and equitable that the revenue derived from such taxes be used primarily for the benefit of those who make them possible: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to amend the Federal gasoline, diesel fuel, and lubricating oil tax acts so that all revenues collected thereunder shall be used solely for the construction, improvement, repair, and maintenance of Federal-aid highway systems throughout the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Our Dairy Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD a speech made recently by my distinguished colleague, JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, on our dairy problem.

While the great State of Mississippi is not known as a dairy State, I believe that my colleague has demonstrated the fact that he has a very good grasp of some of the problems confronting the dairy industry and dairy farmers. It is for this reason that I commend it to my colleagues for careful study and consideration.

Following is the text of the Honorable JAMIE L. WHITTEN'S speech:

OUR DAIRY PROBLEM

Cure for present problem in the dairy industry and in the farm program cannot come from reducing farm prices. Farm income in the United States last year averaged about $850 per person. Income of all others averaged over $1,800.

The dairy farmer operates in an American economy where labor and industry are protected to the point that the cost of just about everything the farmer buys is fixed. We live in a complex society of laws where, by minimum wage laws, by the granting of bargaining powers to labor unions, the granting of monopolies, the fixing of rates by the Government (13 to the railroads since

World War II), by protective tariffs, the Government has virtually fixed all handling costs on what the farmer buys and sells. Since 1945 cost paid by the consumer from the time the farm commodity leaves the farmers' hand until it reaches the consumer has gone up 83 percent, but the price received by the farmer is less than in 1945. That disparity is not quite as wide in dairy products, but it would be in the absence of price supports.

Today our health laws and health departments constantly increase the investment required for a farmer to engage in the dairy business. Whatever the benefits to the consumer, this narrows the farmer's net share of any price he received.

A floor under the basic raw materials is essential, else the high cost of these other services will push the farmer's share of the consumer dollar far below costs of production. Personally I believe in the price-support program for agriculture at firm levels, because I believe it necessary in order to assure a sufficient return to agriculture. As to the level of supports, certainly 90 percent of the comparative purchasing power the farmer had in 1909–1914 is not too high.

Many of the present problems are not so much the result of any fault in the law but are due to governmental policies. The whole farm price-support program is in serious trouble today. Why?

To understand the situation we must recognize several factors. First, the Federal Government urged farmers to increase production nearly every year from 1942 to 1952, in order to meet the demands of war and the postwar period. When the war was over agriculture was not paid $40 billion, in order to enable it to reconvert, as was industry, but to further help foreign countries the American farmer has had his production largely held off world markets. Such course is not required by law; in fact, it is contrary to the intent of the law.

The Commodity Credit Corporation today has full authority to sell these commodities at competitive prices in world trade. However, the Commodity Credit Corporation follows the general policy of not making such sales unless the commodity is needed to fill in where world supply is short. That is not the desire of many officers of the Corporation, but it is the practice followed at present because of our foreign policy.

We all realize the serious competitive problem which butter has today, but most folks don't realize that one of the major causes of the problem is the fact that the United States Government won't sell butter at competitive prices on the world market. Whatever the arguments for such foreign policy may be, it does not serve the farmer's individual farm interests. According to Members of Congress who have visited foreign countries, some individuals in our own State Department actually insist that the American farmer cut his production back to our domestic market permanently. Believe me, it is the voice of our State Department which is controlling in the present policy of largely limiting our farmers to the domestic market. Remember, a price-support system can't work where the farm commodity is purchased by the Government and then neither used nor offered for sale on world markets at competitive prices.

We all know that in order to have our firm price support we must hold our production in line with the market, domestic and foreign. You and I both know that in order for any farm program to last it must provide for the eventual use of the farm products supported.

We must see that the income of the farmer is maintained, however under present conditions we should study the present situation to see if we can set supports on a basis that would make it advantageous to the dairyman for the production to go into the particular dairy product for which there is the greater need or the best use. It might be well to study the possibility of setting up the price support program on the butter fat content of milk, or some other such basis, so the end product would not be in the form of butter in view of the present competitive situation of that commodity.

However, the need for protection on the total income received for the output of our dairies is so essential to the dairy farmer that pending working out of a better mechanical approach, and pending the time when the Government quits holding the dairy farmers production off world markets—which results in giving the market to farmers in foreign lands—present support levels should not be reduced.

In recent weeks I have repeatedly pointed out the need to return to American farmers their right to a fair share of world markets. I believe we are making progress.

I have recently introduced in the House of Representatives H. R. 8253 which would continue support prices at levels existing on January 1, 1954, on any agricultural commodity, so long as the surplus of such commodity is being held off world markets, for sale at competitive prices, by United States Government policy.

Again, may I say the cure to present farm ills cannot come from reducing income to the farmer. It must come from regaining the right to our share of foreign markets and the holding of production in line with the overall market, here and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, Congressman JAMIE L. WHITTEN, of Mississippi, is a member of the Agricultural Appropriations Subcommittee, and was chairman of that subcommittee under the Democrats. This group handles the appropriation for the Department including the price-support program.

More Pay for Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following joint resolution relative to increasing the pay of the armed services in order that all Members may acquaint themselves with the views of the legislature of the State of California on H. R. 1437, legislation introduced in Congress which would adjust the pay of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Assembly Joint Resolution 1

Joint resolution relative to increasing the pay of the armed services

Whereas it has come to the attention of the legislature of the State of California that the pay of the officers and enlisted personnel of the armed services of the United States of America is far behind the present cost of living and has lagged behind the pay of other groups of Government employees; and

Whereas a significant portion of the population of the Nation and of this State is service-connected and great hardship is being caused to the individuals concerned and their families and to the communities in which they reside by the existing pay status; and

Whereas the legislature of the State of California has been informed that legislation has been introduced in Congress, in the form of H. R. 1437, to adjust the pay of the Armed Forces of the United States and that an increase has been recommended by the Department of Defense: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress and the President of the United States are hereby urged and memorialized to enact legislation which will eliminate the great inequities in the pay and benefits provided for the personnel of the armed services of the United States of America, which inequities directly affect the morale and efficiency of the armed services and place great hardship upon a large number of families throughout the Nation; and that special attention be given to legislation increasing the pay of the armed services and protecting such other and further benefits as are extended to such persons; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be and he is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Hays Urges Protection for Pottery, Glass Workers, and Coal Miners

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a page 1 article from the Martins Ferry (Ohio) Times Leader of Thursday evening, March 25, which not only explains my stand on the tariff issue as it relates to my district but indicates some of the action I have taken to try to protect the pottery, glass workers, as well as the coal miners, all of whom are suffering from unfair import competition. I also include the letter I received from the White House dated April 2, which is self-explanatory.

Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned about the plight of these workers because of the import competition and the plight of the coal miners because of the import of residual oil which is taking their jobs away. I trust that the Congress and the executive department will protect these American workers and their American standard of living.

The article and letter follow:

HAYS URGES PRESIDENT TO INCREASE TARIFFS—FLUSHING LEGISLATOR SEEKS EISENHOWER AID TO ELIMINATE UNFAIR COMPETITION

WASHINGTON.—Representative WAYNE L. HAYS today wrote President Eisenhower a letter urging his support for assistance to the handmade glassware, pottery and china industries in eastern Ohio through higher tariffs on the products of foreign competitors.

HAYS pointed out that the Eastern Ohio industries are in a depressed condition with approximately 8,000 china and pottery workers jobless and an estimated one-third of the fine china and tableware workers idle, working part time or at reduced hours.

A recent survey of the handmade glassware industry showed, according to HAYS, that the major producers are operating at 50 to 70 percent of capacity and that hundreds of workers are unemployed.

HAYS attributed the difficulties of the industries to the lower-priced imports of foreign competitors.

"Spokesmen for the industries assert," he wrote, "that the conditions are chiefly due to large-scale imports. Total imports of decorated household china in 1953 were 4,400,000 dozen as compared with United States production of only 800,000 sets. Japan alone exported into the United States 3,300,000 dozen sets of household china.

"Production of United States handmade glassware in 1952 was valued at $4,200,000 in the country of origin, which means the impact of these imports was more than twice that amount in the United States market. The major cause of the difficulties for American producers in their efforts to compete with foreign producers is the great disparity in the United States and foreign wages. American China workers received $1.57 an hour approximately 10 times the average wage rate paid in Japan. The average rate paid to skilled workers in handmade glass in the United States is $1.65 per hour compared with 55 cents an hour in Great Britain and Germany, 30 cents in Italy, and 25 cents in Japan.

"Because of the high degree of hand work required in the industries any advantage of productivity enjoyed by American workers does not offset these wide differences in wage costs. It is encouraging that you have personally requested the United States Tariff Committee to prepare additional information on the handmade glassware industry.

"This information, I am informed is now being prepared. I am also informed that the tariff commission is arranging an investigation of tableware, kitchenware, and table and kitchen utensils requested under Senate resolution 253 of May 12, 1952.

"I respectfully urge that the fullest possible consideration be given the difficulties of these industries in the light of the additional information which will be made through the two investigations with the hope that it may be possible to grant relief from damaging foreign imports under the escape provisions of sections 6 and 7 of the Trade Agreement Extension Act of 1951."

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 2, 1954.

The Honorable WAYNE L. HAYS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAYS: The President has handed me your letter of March 24 regarding the condition of the domestic pottery, china, and handmade glassware industries.

The President has asked me to assure you that he will certainly give, as you urge, the most careful attention to whatever recommendations the Tariff Commission may make in the cases which you cite.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

GABRIEL HAUGE,
Administrative Assistant to the President.

Manufacturers Approve Salary Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, among the various organizations recommending a salary increase for judges and Members of Congress is the National Association of Manufacturers. I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following letter which I have received from H. C. McClellan, president of this association:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF MANUFACTURERS,
New York, N. Y., April 2, 1954.

Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MULTER: It occurs to me that you would be interested in a recent position adopted by our board of directors recommending an increase in salary for both Members of Congress and members of the Federal judiciary.

It is our hope that steps will be taken in this direction in the near future as it is the belief of members of our board that the present salaries are inadequate in view of the responsibilities that you and other Members of Congress and members of the Federal judiciary are called upon to exercise.

Sincerely yours,

H. C. MCCLELLAN, *President.*

Are We Really Gum-Chewing, Materialistic Barbarians?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective ways of combatting atheistic world communism is to prove to the world that there is a great deal more to the American way of life than its materialistic accomplishments.

If you read the press of many parts of Asia and Europe and other parts of the world, you find that Americans are often described as gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians. This myth is assiduously cultivated by the Communists who are spreading it around the world at the same time that the U. S. S. R. is making tremendous financial expenditures in the field of cultural affairs in this cold-war period. Soviet leaders spend great sums on their military forces. At the same time, their new propaganda techniques, based largely on skillfully organized personal contacts, are beginning to be evident everywhere. Many more students from non-Communist countries in Europe and Asia, by no means all of them party members, are being invited to study in the Soviet Union. Carefully indoctrinated groups of Russian and Chinese athletes, opera stars, actors, ballerinas, musicians, and acrobats are to be seen in increasingly large numbers beyond the Iron Curtain.

It is imperative that no time be lost in making known the cultural achievements of our own country. They are many and varied, with artistic standards as high or higher than similar programs in any other country in the world. Information and an honest appraisal of our cultural activities cannot be obtained or made as long as our official policy is largely concerned with artists who have been dead at least 20 years and with art that was produced mostly in foreign countries sometime during the past three or four thousand years.

The following editorial, from the newspaper Bayonne Facts, of Bayonne, N. J., of April 1, 1954, deals with one of the major and best-known proposals for strengthening this Nation's cultural offensive. This proposal, introduced by my distinguished colleague from New Jersey, Mr. CHARLES R. HOWELL, and others, deserves the attention of this body and of the Nation.

It should be pointed out that Congressman HOWELL has revised his measure several times to incorporate the many suggestions and recommendations made to him by the Nation's cultural leaders and the officials of the Federal Departments and Agencies who have reported on his bill. The only specific figure mentioned in the most recent version of his bill is an annual appropriation of $50,000. This is surely a ridiculously small item in the world's richest nation with an annual income of about $300 billions.

The Howell bill, H. R. 7185, would establish a national arts program as a war memorial and is modelled after the National Science Foundation Act and the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act. Some 5 Senators and 10 Members of this body from both of the major parties have joined Congressman HOWELL in sponsoring bills which are similar or related to his. Recently, also, some 54 Senators and more than 70 Representatives from both parties have introduced legislation which would authorize the creation of a Federal commission to formulate plans to honor Christopher Columbus on the 450th anniversary of his death. Upon introduction of this legislation the sponsors said that an opera house is very much needed in the Nation's Capital and would be a fine memorial to the great navigator. Clearly, then, the subject with which the Howell measure deals is of interest to both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The following editorial speaks for itself:

HOWELL FOR CULTURE AND ART

When a man seeking public office shows a strong aptitude for national culture he typifies an individual who is entitled for support in his bid for the post which he seeks.

The Democratic Party has found such a man in CHARLES ROBERT HOWELL, Member of Congress of the Fourth Congressional District—who is now seeking to become New Jersey's next United States Senator. Thinking in such channels as art, stamps him as a man of high distinction and the Democratic Party is indeed fortunate to have such a man in its ranks.

In an era of Communist-hunts and political backbiting it is rather difficult to think in terms of national cuture, but Representative HOWELL of Pennington has done it.

He's sponsored a bill (H. R. 452) referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, which would allow $20 million per year as a Federal grant to the arts—opera, drama, ballet, literature and poetry, photography, and TV, and painting and sculpture.

Complete support has been promised by unions and guilds within those realms, and it would seem public approval would help. It all comes under the heading of a national-theater program which would be administered by 15 leaders in the field of the arts, education, and public affairs.

The bill provides for scholarships and fellowships, an international exchange of artists. Those necessary to form the pivotal group of operation as musicians, artists, actors, and technicians would be placed on a yearly salary.

Let us hope the Congressman has not arrived too late to remind us that America, the richest land of all, has no national theater, no program or subsidy to foster its artists and develop its native culture. It is about time we were recognized for our singers, dancers, architects, and musicians as well as for our ability to build bigger things than anyone else. Each is important, but certainly one no more than the other.

Representative HOWELL has had a brilliant career in public life—and one of his feats as a lawmaker has been his authorship of the State's first fair employment practices legislation. This is another bit of evidence of his rational thinking for the public and its needs.

In 1949 Congressman HOWELL devised a questionnaire for his electorate in order to ascertain their opinions on domestic and foreign issues. The plan has proven successful and he still employs the practice.

On his entrance into politics he was a Republican—but influenced by the great humanitarian champion, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, he joined the Democratic ranks to champion and vote for bills that would benefit the little man.

A man of such philosophies and progressive thinking would be a big asset in Washington—and Facts at this early date proudly endorses the senatorial candidacy of CHARLES ROBERT HOWELL.

Iowa Foremost in Nation in Livestock Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Iowa Development Bulletin:

IOWA FOREMOST IN NATION IN LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

The eminence of Iowa as the breadbasket of the Nation and the agricultural center of the world, has been further substantiated by a study of livestock production researched by Bernard F. Nowack, assistant director of the Iowa Development Commission.

The State of Iowa leads the Nation in the production of meat animals, slaughter of meat animals by packers, livestock on farms, meat animals marketed, and farm income from sale of meat animals, the commission reports.

In farm income from the sale of meat animals in 1950, Iowa led the Nation with $1,423,800,000, with Illinois second, having $785,557,000. Texas ranked third, Indiana fourth, and California fifth.

In 1952, cash receipts from livestock sales in Iowa totaled $1,513,635,000, followed by Illinois, with $880,272,000, Nebraska, Texas, and Kansas ranking in that order.

Iowa led the Nation in both number and liveweight of livestock slaughtered in 1950, with 13.8 million head constituting 4.3 billion pounds. Illinois was second, with 11.0 million head and 3 billion pounds, followed by California and Texas which placed third and fourth respectively.

In the total of livestock on farms during 1950, Iowa was foremost throughout the country, with 19,460,000 cattle and calves, hogs, sheep, and lambs, followed by Texas with 18,165,000, Illinois was third, and California placed fourth.

The liveweight and number of livestock marketed in 1950 shows Iowa first again, with 20.6 million and head and 6.9 billion pounds. Illinois ranked second, with 10.6 million head and 3.7 billion pounds, Indiana was third, Texas placed fourth, and California fifth.

In 1952, total livestock marketings disclosed Iowa's continued supremacy, with 7.2 billion pounds, followed by Illinois with 4 billion pounds. Texas, Nebraska, and Kansas followed Iowa's leadership in that order.

In 1950, the Hawkeye State ranked first among States in meat animal production with 6.4 billion pounds recorded by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture. Illinois ranked second, with 3.3 billion pounds, followed by Texas and California.

In 1952, Iowa maintained its leadership in production of meat animals, with 6.4 billion pounds, with Illinois second, having 3.6 billion pounds, Nebraska third, Texas fourth, and Kansas fifth.

"Landlords Took the Renters," Says Herb Graffis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my good and longtime friend, Herb Graffis, is the conductor of a column in the Chicago Sun-Times that is must reading with almost everybody. One reason for the popularity of his column is that Herb Graffis reports and comments factually without exaggeration and with no unwarranted coloring. Therefore, the column of Herb Graffis in the Chicago Sun-Times of today, April 7, 1954, is of interest and of concern.

Mr. Speaker, I have been receiving many letters from Chicago complaining of unreasonable rent increases. Recently I extended my remarks to include the Voice of the People column in the Chicago Tribune, in which a number of subscribers complained bitterly of exorbitant rent increases. Mr. Graffis' column in today's Sun-Times confirms all that I have been hearing and which I have from time to time been bringing to the attention of this distinguished body. I extend my remarks to include Mr. Graffis' article:

RENTS UP; TENANTS DOWN AGAIN

(By Herb Graffis)

Unhappy tenants who forecast stiff increases in rent when rent controls were abolished now have the dubious satisfaction of saying, "I told you so."

Nature took its course. Landlords took the renters.

It is not going to ease the pain of the tenant to have the excise tax reduced on a new mink or diamonds for the wife. When he gets through paying the boost since the rent ceiling was removed, his spouse can look forward to next winter in the same old squirrel casing.

The tenant whose landlord isn't hiking the rent any more than 10 percent appears to be one of the lucky minority. And the landlord who isn't raising the rent on a reasonably desirable flat is practically being elevated to sainthood by his tenants and the amased neighbors.

People of average or a little better than average income have been crying in anguish at the 25 to 40 percent rent increases hitting them next month. They are the ones who are taking the worst beating. Higher priced small apartments to a considerable extent have been added to Chicago's housing facilities. Housing projects to take care of lower-income groups also have been made available.

But the middle group consisting of those who want to be independent, self-reliant and pay fairly for what they get haven't seen much construction in Chicago to give them a break.

Maybe the good moderate-priced flat for the middle-income group is a doomed proposition in Chicago. Talk to a half dozen representative real-estate men and you are bound to get the impression that the trends are toward expensive small flats or huge projects of the public or semipublic human warehouse type.

Apparently the middle-income group is supposed to go to the suburbs, become the worried parents of mortgages and try to get to work by public transportation that is modern only in its charges.

The loud and completely futile complaint of office workers in the Loop these days is about flat rent increases. The landlords have them by the small print. It could be that the landlords have an excuse for twisting now that no regulation restrain them. Maybe they were short-counted by rent control, but not enough to lose money. If these heavy rent increases aren't reflected in a lot of work improving apartments, all the renters can do is cry, "We was robbed."

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent by yourself and my other distinguished colleagues so to do, I am very proud indeed to present an original essay by Miss Gwendolyn Victoria Hilton, a high-school student at Huntington Park, Calif., in Los Angeles County, in the great 23d District, which I have the honor to represent this, my fourth term, in this great legislative body. Miss Hilton was the winner of the Voice of Democracy speech contest at Huntington Park High School, and while she did not win highest honors in the statewide contest sponsored by the California Junior Chamber of Commerce, she achieved such high ratings through her competitive public speaking with this magnificent paper, I Speak for Democracy, that I am very pleased to have received her authorization to have it included in our daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Just this morning I am informed that Miss Hilton was awarded first place in the Huntington Park Lions Club speaking contest for students. She resides

with her parents at 6222 Bissell, Huntington Park, Calif.

The essay follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Gwendolyn Victoria Hilton)

On the Statue of Liberty we read these words:

"Give me your tired, your poor; the wretched refuse of your teeming shore; your huddled masses, yearning to be free. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

If the Statue of Liberty could speak, she would have a great story to tell. She would tell of the millions whose hearts have thrilled at not only the symbol but at the very thought of liberty. Many an immigrant has been rendered speechless by emotion when he has been accepted as a citizen by this great land of ours, virtually without money and without price. Many have come poor, hungry, and tempest-tossed to the United States and here have found peace and wealth.

Why do so many people want to come to America? The all-inclusive answer is because of our American democracy. Other nations have kings, dictators, emperors, and monarchs of one kind or another, but America is governed by the people—"We, the people." Democracy as we, the people, know it means granting the individual the right to worship God in his own way. The right of free speeech and press. The right to hold and speak opinions without fear. The right to assemble and petition our Government for the redress of grievances, to challenge wrong with the surety of justice. The right of trial by an impartial jury—maintained innocent until proven guilty. The right to move freely about at home and abroad. The right to own property and to receive compensation for it whenever it must be taken for public use. The right to choose our own vocations and to bargain with our employers. The right to own a business and to operate it at a profit. The right to protection by the Government yet forever free from arbitrary government control. These are the things which people the world over are seeking but they are the birthright of every American. These are fruits of our democracy.

We have fought two wars to preserve these rights only to find that they can only be preserved as we individually preserve them. Many people are seemingly becoming confused by the conflicting theories of socialism, communism and the other isms. Any one of these would but lead to slavery and bondage.

While we think of our opportunities and rights let us also think of our duties and responsibilities in the upholding of these rights.

We love to read stories of the great men of our country. Many of them, like Abraham Lincoln, came from poor homes. Some of them came up from actual Negro slavery, like Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. Many came from immigrant parentage, like Eiddie Rickenbacker who is now president of one of our great airlines.

When we read success stories of men like these we say, "That's what makes America great." We are right, but that is not the whole story. Underneath the democratic freedoms which make possible the stories such as these lie the great Christian principles which undergird democracy. If America hopes to continue to be the land of freedom and opportunity we must not forsake the principles upon which it was established. We must keep up an unceasing warfare against all oppressions and injustices which eat away at the heart of our security.

The greatest contribution which America can make to the nations of the world is not in gold, silver, and material possessions, but in sharing the concepts of liberty and justice which we enjoy. A nation which recognizes values of human personalty as we do can life others by its ideals of freedom better than by military or financial assistance.

Nicholas Murray Butler, formerly president of Columbia University, said, "The future of this Nation, as the future of the world, is bound up with the hope of a true democracy which builds itself on liberty."

Address by American Ambassador Winthrop W. Aldrich at the Cardiff, Wales, Business Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by Hon. Winthrop W. Aldrich, American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, at the Cardiff Business Club on February 15, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

No man with the middle name of Williams could expect himself to be unmoved on crossing the border into this lovely country of Wales. I am more than happy to be here, and when I think of the many, many years of happy and fruitful association between your country and mine, I cannot think of myself as a visitor in a foreign country. I feel, rather, that I am a guest of a people who have contributed largely to the diversified cultures which have blended together to make up the United States.

I have always been proud of the Welsh strain in my own blood. Indeed, it is impossible for any American not to be aware of the Welsh heritage of his own country. From Bangor, Maine, to Lewistown, Mont., you will meet people whose names are Thomas and Catesby, Jenkins and Morgan and, of course, Jones. Indeed, if you do much traveling in the State of Pennsylvania, the number of Welsh names you encounter might make you think you were en route from Welshpool to Holyhead, rather than from, say, New York to Pittsburgh—Narberth, Bryn Mawr, St. Davids, Penllyn, Radnor, Cynwyd, and Bala.

Wales has, however, given infinitely more to the United States than the names of so many of its cities. Of the 56 representatives of the Colonies who signed the Declaration of Independence, it is claimed that no less than 18 were of Welsh descent. One of them, Francis Lewis, was born in Landaff, today a suburb of Cardiff. Certainly nothing could inspire in my countrymen warmer feelings toward Wales than the knowledge that the basic document which set forth the principles of the Republic received such substantial support from citizens of Welsh descent.

If Wales' contribution to the United States had ended there, we would have much to thank you for. But as you know it did not end when the infant United States came into being. Through the generations descendants of the men of Wales have distinguished themselves in every walk of life in America. The founder of one of my country's great universities, Elihu Yale, is buried in Wrexham. One of our most notable Chief Justices was Charles Evans Hughes, needless to say of Welsh descent. In our own day we can point to a titan of industry, Ben Fairless (born Williams) and a titan of labor, John L. Lewis.

It is not only in the fields of law and government and technology that the Welsh-American combination has been so successful. Your love of music and the drama has struck deep in America. I suppose there is no way accurately of gaging the influence of your arts on my country, yet it is significant that one of the most popular films ever shown in the United States was the lovely "How Green Was My Valley," while Emlyn Williams' "The Corn Is Green" is a perennial favorite. The tragic and untimely death in New York of the young Dylan Thomas aroused a most personal sense of loss in people throughout the country. We condole with you in his loss to Wales and the world.

It has been 10 years almost to the month since an American Ambassador to the Court of St. James last visited Cardiff and I trust that the hiatus will never again be so long. In that decade the most tremendous changes and upheavals have taken place. Whole countries have disappeared from the free world, and other new countries have come into being. One system whose ultimate aim was to enslave the world has been destroyed, while another with the same aim has grown powerful and menacing. Standing together the United Kingdom and the United States led the way to victory in the most devastating war the world has ever seen. The victory was won, and yet the fruits of peace we so confidently expected have in large part eluded us through the aggressive designs of our wartime ally, Russia.

When my predecessor John Winant was here in 1944, the focus of world opinion was on winning the war over the Axis. That focal point has now changed. We are not thinking in terms of war, but in terms of how to achieve a real and lasting peace. Our target is not a military one, but a broader one of breaking down the barriers of distrust and suspicion and hatred so that the peoples of the world can exist together in freedom and unity.

There are many approaches to this central problem. We must consider the question of security from aggression, or, to put it another way, of a collective pooling together of strength to deter aggression. This we are successfully working out through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and other regional security arrangements.

We must consider also our economic relationships and organize our combined resources and skills for the mutual benefit of all our peoples.

The citizens of Cardiff, from the time of Edward II's charter of 1324 and probably even earlier, have been traders. You know the importance of the free flow of trade, and you have seen how crippling and destructive artificial barriers to this flow can be. We and our allies are keenly aware of this problem, and in the news from my own country you have no doubt read about or heard about the constructive proposals made by the so-called Randall Commission and in the President's Economic Report to the Congress. As he succinctly said: "Sustained prosperity in an interdependent world is a task of all free nations, working together." I think we are making progress on that front, through private, governmental, and intergovernmental cooperation.

There is, however, yet a third way in which we can insure the maximum of cooperation among the liberty-loving peoples. That is through the exchange of persons, skills, and techniques. In this exchange, the results may not be so immediately apparent as they would be in the pooling of men and material for defense, and yet in the long run this association of peoples with peoples is of immense significance.

When I realize that—apart from the Welsh cultural heritage in America—there are today an estimated 300,000 people in the United States either born in Wales or with at least 1 Welsh-born parent, it seemed to me that you, of all people, would be especially concerned with, and interested in, the exchange programs.

In the persons of your emigrants, you have sent your skills and talents to my country, and I think that in terms of friendship, security and trade, reciprocal benefits have been returned. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said not long ago: "There is need, as never before, of cooperation between the free nations. Others recognize that. So do we. To maintain a cooperation of the free is a difficult and delicate process. Without mutual respect and friendship it would be impossible."

It is my belief that nothing accelerates this "mutual respect of friendship" like personal association. During the war, when so many hundreds of thousands of American troops were stationed in the United Kingdom, a tremendous tolerance and understanding between your people and mine was achieved. There were the unavoidable incidents which were bound to occur, and there were irritations occasioned by shortages, wartime nerves, and the annoyances which strange outlooks and customs are occasionally bound to arouse. Yet there was no difference in fundamentals. I venture to say that for every American who disliked Britain there were 10 who went home firm friends and admirers of the British. I also believe the ratio would be the same in regard to the British view of the American GIs.

Some people might attempt to rebut this by saying "Ah, but that was wartime, and things are different in wartime." But are they? Today there are more than 30,000 United States troops stationed in Great Britain. It has been axiomatic from the dawn of history that no nation likes having foreign troops on its soil. The vast majority of the British people, however, realize that our troops are here under the collective-security arrangements of NATO, at the direct invitation of the British Government, and with tolerance on both sides I think the arrangement has contributed incalculably to mutual understanding. I believe the nearest American installation to you is at Fairford, Gloucester, a long way from Cardiff.

But if you do see any of our servicemen, I hope you will have, or will make, the opportunity of talking with them. Apart from your naturally hospitable instincts, association with them should be mutually profitable in terms of understanding each other.

It is not feasible, of course, to attempt except in times of emergency, exchanges of persons on such a mass scale. Personally, I hope that travel will in time become so easy and so cheap that there will be a huge and constant flow back and forth across the oceans and airlanes of the world. But since this is not the present state of affairs, the best that can be done is for governments and private organizations and persons to cooperate in making the maximum use of the exchanges which can be arranged. It goes without saying that in this process, personal participation is the most effective method.

President Eisenhower said in his budget message of January 21, 1954:

"Through our information and exchange program we are attempting to achieve a clear understanding by others of our aims, objectives, and way of life, and a better understanding by us of the aspirations and cultures of other countries. Such mutual understanding increases our ability to exercise strong, sympathetic, and cooperative leadership in the mutual efforts of free peoples to achieve their common goals."

On the American governmental side, I think most of you are familiar with the tremendous benefits in the field of the humanities and sciences which have accrued from the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt exchange of persons programs. Here, in Wales, you had, and have, American students and teachers attending your universities and even teaching in your schools, and conversely Welsh teachers and students are now in America. Right now there is a lecturer from University College studying industrial relations in Chicago, and two health visitors for the Cardiff City Corp. doing advanced work in public-health nursing in New York State.

Other activities sponsored by my Government have included the productivity and technical assistance teams set up under the foreign-aid programs of my Government. As you may remember, the productivity team which went to America to look at our coal industry included two men from this region. In the report made on the team's return it was stated: "It was a great experience to travel thousands of miles and to find ourselves still among mining friends." I think this very well sums up the reaction of most travelers in either direction.

You have also, no doubt, heard of the NATO program for journalists which provides a 3-week trip to the United States, primarily to study defense and production activities. In addition, various governmental departments sponsor exchange of personnel with their British opposites.

On the British side, it is a source of pride to every American that last year the British Government established the Marshall scholarships, in honor of Gen. George C. Marshall, under which 12 American students each year will be invited to study at British universities. There are, of course, many other official British exchange of persons activities, and both our Governments have made possible the exchange of invaluable knowledge, perhaps particularly in the fields of research.

These Government programs are irreplaceable, but I am firmly convinced that while they form a useful nucleus, they should and must be supplemented in the fields of industry, commerce, education, and agriculture by the efforts of private enterprise and voluntary groups, working if necessary with appropriate Government agencies. The Rhodes scholarships, in terms of my own countrymen, have provided training for hundreds of American leaders in every walk of life, including Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT himself; the new American Minister to London, Mr. W. Walton Butterworth, who before coming here was our Ambassador to Sweden; and our Minister for Economic Affairs, Mr. Lincoln Gordon.

I spoke of our pride that the Marshall scholarships were established here to honor a man we consider one of the greatest of our generation. I am equally proud that American members and friends of the English-Speaking Union have recently set up a fund to honor King George VI, under which it is hoped that at least 50 students a year from the Commonwealth will be invited to study at American universities.

This is but one of the latest activities of the English-Speaking Union in its valiant work to strengthen relations between America and the countries of the Commonwealth, and I know that you in Cardiff will welcome and support the activities of the ESU branch now being organized.

There are other programs I should like to mention briefly. One is the scheme under which journalists are exchanged actually to work on newspapers in other countries, and another is the International Farm Youth exchange program, sponsored by the National 4–H Club Foundation and the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. Still others, both British and American, include the Rotary Foundation scholarships, the Leverhulme Research fellowships, the Nuffield Foundation grants in agriculture, and the Rockefeller Foundation fellowships.

A new and ambitious program, and one which gives me particular personal satisfaction as it honors my country's great leader, is embodied in the aims of the Eisenhower exchange fellowships. A group of prominent American citizens, aware of the President's deep conviction of the importance of the exchange principle, set up these fellowships as a gift for him on the occasion of his 63d birthday. The program will start this autumn with six Americans going abroad to study, and 14 students from other countries coming to America. Applicants will be chosen from the fields of greatest need in each country, including those of business, agriculture, engineering, and communications, and eventually the program hopes to handle 100 students a year.

When I was in Sheffield last year, I ran across another kind of exchange scheme which deeply impressed me. There it is written into the contracts between some Sheffield and United States firms doing business with each other that a certain number of executives of each firm must be exchanged each year. This is an idea which I believe could be widely expanded to our mutual benefit.

It has not been my intention merely to recite to you a catalog of the various exchange schemes. I have referred to them as an indication of what can be achieved by means of such exchanges—and because I believe that they provide a way in which the individual himself can contribute to easing the universal tensions that affect us.

As the world grows smaller through the continuing perfection of transportation and communications, so paradoxically its problems tend to seem vaster. Of what use is ease of communication if the communicating voices are speaking in anger and frustration? It is precisely here that the exchange programs augment scientific advances, and it is in this field that the people of Newport, Monmouthshire, and the people of Newport, R. I., or Newport News, Va., can help in reducing what may seem insuperable problems to a more manageable proportion.

There are so many ways in which the individual man or woman can assist in the exchange programs: through his club or organization; his school or college; his church, or his business. The primary ingredient for the success of any exchange scheme, however, is a belief in its importance. Leaving aside the considerations of knowledge and understanding, if any doubts as to the importance of these programs assail us, we could do worse than to ponder President Eisenhower's statement that "Unity among free nations is our only hope for survival."

That is of course a completely true statement, but there is no necessity for being dismayed by it. As I said earlier in this address, we are achieving that unity. It cannot be done overnight, and it cannot be done without immense effort and real sacrifice. We are, however, aware of the military and economic and personal elements involved, and in all these fields we are making real progress.

AFL Opposes Admission of Red China to United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, American labor, as much as any group in the country, realizes how great is the threat of communism to the freedom of all Americans. Labor recognizes that achieve-

ment of the Communist objective of world domination would mean the end of free labor and free trade unions and the destruction of all the rights of individual citizens.

American labor unions are an important factor in bringing these facts to millions of our people. It is heartening, indeed, to see the American Federation of Labor giving full support to the movement which opposes admitting Red China to the United Nations. The AFL knows that such admission would make possible new and stronger operations against the free world and the United States by the dictators in the Kremlin.

The following editorial from the AFL News-Reporter of April 2, 1954, is an important call to action for all American labor:

COMMITTEE FOR ONE MILLION

The Committee for One Million is circulating a petition strongly urging our Government not to recognize and to veto the admission to the Communist dictatorship of China into the U. N.

We appeal to every AFL member to sign this petition and to help get other liberty-loving citizens and good Americans to do likewise. This is particularly necessary today because of the forthcoming Geneva Conference at which the forces seeking to appease Communist aggression will maneuver to have our Government grant diplomatic recognition to the Mao Tse-tung quisling regime and to welcome this cat's-paw of Soviet imperialism into the U. N.

American labor believes in peace and freedom. We are unalterably opposed to bartering human values for business deals and profits.

Let every local union meeting, every State federation of labor, city central body, and every international affiliate of the AFL pitch in to help rally the American people against this move for helping the Communist warlords who tortured and murdered many thousands of our fellow citizens, and who are now gravely menancing world peace and freedom.

Let every member of the American Federation of Labor sign the petition of the Committee for One Million.

Housing Act of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN JARMAN
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, in voting against H. R. 7839, I should like to list two of the reasons why I feel this measure should go back to committee for further consideration.

First. It is my belief that too much authority is delegated to the executive branch of the Government under title II of the National Housing Act. From the foregoing, nothing should be inferred that the motives or abilities of our President are impugned. On the contrary, I know that he will carry out his job to the best of his considerable ability and for the good of the country. However, I believe that the bill should set up standards—standards designed to maintain our real estate credit properly with ready control in the hands of Congress. The President is not in a position personally to exercise the power and authority granted him by the bill, and since others will be exercising this power, Congress should determine the standards to be observed.

Second. By failing to provide a bridge to gap the 1-year period before there will be new mortgage portfolio accumulated in the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Government will, in effect, cause many builders to cease construction. There will be a time lag before FNMA will accumulate a base on which to operate the new 1-for-1 plan. Builders in areas presently dependent upon 1-for-1 as their sole source of advance commitments will have to shut down.

Congressman ROGERS, from Texas, introduced a most reasonable proposal which would have insured the maintenance and continuation during this next year of a high rate of home building in regions heretofore neglected by the big New York and New England insurance and investment firms. This amendment would have permitted FNMA to continue the 1-for-1 program—a program proven sound and one which has been the mainstay of the building industry, not only in my home State of Oklahoma, but in many other fast-growing States.

As passed by the House, the bill will in effect suspend operation of the 1-for-1 plan for an entire year until a new secondary market operation will form the basis for its operation. A small builder does not suspend operations for a year and then resume building. Before FNMA can operate the new plan, it must accumulate a portfolio of mortgages—it cannot sell mortgages it does not have. During that time the stability which the industry must enjoy will be badly shaken and many a builder will be forced to look for a hole card which just will not be there.

The condition of the building industry is one of the best barometers in measuring the economic stability of this country. A legislative measure dealing with this industry should contain necessary provisions to insure a healthy and prosperous atmosphere for the growth and maintenance of the construction industry. It is my belief that further consideration by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House is necessary before the Housing Act will accomplish these ends.

Dallas Paper Supports Policy Enunciated by Secretary of State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the forthright foreign-policy statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at the Overseas Writers' Club on March 29, marked an important milestone in the long, long struggle against the Communist world conspiracy. No longer can the issue between the Communist world and the free world be clouded by uncertainty as to the foreign policy of the United States. Mr. Dulles plainly pointed out the facts of Communist domination of the world conspiracy and the objectives and dangers of Communist China's operations in Asia. He further stated, in terms unmistakably clear, that we intend to oppose, not appease, the Communists in their aims for world conquest.

The following editorial from the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News of March 31, 1954, points up the importance of Mr. Dulles' statement:

THERE'S NEW LOOK IN DULLES POLICY

The Ameican public was reassured Monday night by John Foster Dulles on several points. We are not going to recognize Red China. We are not going to accept Red Red China, vice Nationalist China, in the United Nations. The administration knows communism enough to know it will not keep a promise adverse to its own interest. We do not propose to see Indochina gobbled up by the Red Chinese. On the whole, the State Department has its own new look.

These were the essential elements of a very forthright and not entirely diplomatic speech. Not diplomatic, that is, except insofar as war is an integral part of diplomacy and Dulles was not shrinking from war over Indochina.

Whether that last consideration is reassuring depends on whether your view is short run or long run. War in Indochina is unpalatable today to those who cannot see the stars beyond the cypress trees of Korea. But it is highly probable that war in Indochina is a necessity of the immediate future, lest we suffer too costly long-run results of the surrender of any more terrain to the Communists.

That we may consider intervention in Indochina an early necessity has been indicated in turn by the President's telegram to the heroic French defense, by the report of the congressional committee headed by WALTER JUDD, now by Dulles' Monday night speech.

The points stressed by the Secretary of State are not new. But he made them clearly and cogently. That Red China, an aggressor nation, has no rightful place in an organization for peace it has offended and attacked is soundly expressed. Indochina's right to protection as well as its value to the free world is worth stressing. But above all stands out from the record the grim fact that when you deal with Russia or Red China you trade performance for promise. It is gratifying that Eisenhower-Dulles will do that no more.

Massachusetts State Employees' Views With Respect to Social-Security Coverage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter I have received from Paul J. Walsh, president, Massachusetts State Employees Association, with enclosures, extending their views with re-

spect to legislation providing for the extension of social security:

MASSACHUSETTS STATE EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION,
Boston, Mass., April 5, 1954.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Federal legislation which would extend social security to public employees has been followed with considerable interest and concern by the Massachusetts State Employees Association which has a total of 19,000 members of the 30,000 Massachusetts State employees.

In April 1953, at the executive committee meeting of the Massachusetts State Employees Association, the following motion was adopted:

"Voted: To oppose the extension of social security to any position now covered by the Massachusetts State employees' retirement system and object to the use of social-security numbers for identification of State employees."

It further adopted the resolve voted by the delegates to the eighth annual conference of New England State employees' associations in convention assembled at Kennebunkport, Maine, September 9–11, 1953, that it be recorded as unalterably opposed to the extension of social security to public employees currently covered by existing retirement systems; and that the associations represented at this conference be requested to extend their best efforts in effecting such safeguards in the event that the proposed amendment is considered in Congress, and that copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of the congressional delegation of the States here represented, the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee in the 84th Congress of the United States of America, and that their active support of the principles stated herein be respectfully requested.

It further adopted the vote of the presidents of the New England State Employees Associations held on Friday, March 5, 1954, at Boston, Mass., urging their associations to contact their Congressmen and instruct them to protect their present retirement systems by employing the following safeguards:

1. Assurance that the members of State and local retirement systems shall know what they are voting on in the referendum.

2. Favorable vote of two-thirds of the eligible members, instead of two-thirds of those voting.

3. Addition of a date to make the exclusion provisions more effective.

4. Certain editorial changes so as to leave the question of definition of coverage group to State legislatures.

5. Inclusion of a statement of policy that it is the intent of Congress in permitting the coverage of members of State and local retirement systems by social security that the retirement rights of these individuals be not impaired or reduced thereby.

The Massachusetts State Employees Association agrees that public employees who are not covered by a retirement system should be permitted to acquire coverage under the Social Security System. We do not agree that social security can be applied to State employees who are members of retirement systems without causing major changes in the rights and benefits now provided and the basic objectives contained in the State retirement systems.

Very truly yours,

PAUL J. WALSH, *President.*

MASSACHUSETTS STATE EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION,
Boston, Mass.

To: Hon. DANIEL A. REED, chairman, and members of the House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, D. C.

Filed by: Paul J. Walsh, president, Massachusetts State Employees Association.

Subject: This memorandum summarizes the attitude of State and other public employees of the New England States regarding the proposed extension of Federal social security to public employees and their requests that any such legislation contain safeguards to prevent any detrimental changes to existing State and local retirement systems.

Massachusetts was the first State to adopt a general retirement system for its State employees, passing on Act in 1911, covering all employees in the direct service of the Commonwealth. During the past 43 years there has been a gradual extension of retirement coverage to other public employee groups and now we have probably the most comprehensive coverage of all States, with more than 140,000 members in the State and local contributory systems.

Employees of this State are confident the system will continue to exist and fulfill its role as an important and integral part of an enlightened personnel policy. They are committed to the maintenance of local retirement systems in the belief that the objectives of such systems, namely, to attract and retain competent personnel in the State service, to induce long career service, and to provide a systematic plan for the retirement of aged and incapacitated workers, cannot be achieved under the Social Security Act whose principal, if not exclusive, is social in character.

The Massachusetts State Employees Association joins with public employees throughout the country on the issue of social security. Over the years they have acquired valuable vested rights, equities, and expectancies under existing contributory retirement systems which could be jeopardized, impaired, or diminished if not properly safeguarded. They are in full accord with the policy of the National Conference on Public Employees Retirement Systems and with the insistence of the conference that any bill to amend section 218 (d) of the Social Security Act making OASI available to public employees include at least the following five points as minimum safeguards for existing State and local retirement systems:

1. Assurance that the members of State and local retirement systems shall know what they are voting on in the referendum.

2. Favorable vote of two-thirds of the eligible members instead of two-thirds of those voting.

3. Addition of a date to make the exclusion provisions more effective.

4. Certain editorial changes so as to leave the question of definition of coverage group to State legislatures.

5. Inclusion of a statement of policy that it is the intent of Congress in permitting the coverage of members of State and local retirement systems by social security that the retirement rights of these individuals be not impaired or reduced thereby.

It is appreciated by State and other public employees that H. R. 7199 contains a cutoff date (point No. 3) so that employees who on that date are in positions covered by a retirement system can be brought into OASI only through a referendum. H. R. 7199 also contains a statement (point No. 5) which indicates it is the policy of the Congress in providing coverage under OASI of employees under a State or local retirement system that the protection of the employees and beneficiaries who are under the retirement system will not be impaired as a result of coverage under OASI. This is a strong declaration of policy, but of course it does not have either the force or effect of law.

We take this opportunity to present to the committee the point of view of State employees, not only in Massachusetts, but also in the other 37 States which maintain separate retirement systems for State government workers. In their considered judgment further safeguards should be contained in any amendment to section 218 (d) so as to preserve valuable rights and benefits, and it is their policy to insist on the following three points:

1. STATEMENT OF PLAN TO BE VOTED UPON

There is general agreement that the bill should provide some assurance that the members of a State retirement system know what they are voting on in referendum. Therefore, the Massachusetts State Employees Association asks (a) that State officials be required to give notice through a comprehensive statement of the plan of coordination and its effect on the State retirement system and (b) that the ballot identify the plan of coordination announced in the previously given notice.

Massachusetts State employees should be furnished the full text of the plan of coordination at least 2 weeks in advance of balloting so they will understand what is contemplated by way of change. With this preliminary information they will be able to intelligently consider the plan. Massachusetts State employees also ask that they be furnished with a fair, concise summary of the plan announced in the preliminary notice as it will appear on the ballot.

The foregoing provisions relating to preliminary statement of purpose and plan are similar to those found in many State constitutions as they relate to petitions for initiative and referendum. The use of this procedure assures that the Massachusetts State employees understand the basic changes which are under consideration. If not adopted there is possibility of misunderstanding and a vote resulting in a choice which would not be in the best interests of Massachusetts State employees or the public that these employees serve.

2. FAVORABLE VOTE OF TWO-THIRDS OF THE ELIGIBLE MEMBERS

The use of referendum is generally accepted by State and employees as being in the democratic tradition. It is not alone sufficient to require that a referendum be held, it is absolutely necessary and essential that the bill require a favorable vote of two-thirds of the eligible voters.

Over the years members of the State employee retirement systems have acquired valuable rights, equities, and expectancies, and they are anxious to protect these interests. It is generally agreed that compensation paid in the public service is less than that paid for comparable positions in private industry, and as a result about the only real assets a State employee has, other than his earnings, is the savings accumulated in his retirement system and the assurance of a retirement allowance after long years of faithful service. They are in a different position than industrial workers who had little, if any, vested retirement or pension rights when they were taken into social security.

A two-thirds vote of those voting is not an adequate safeguard to assure a fair and equitable decision on a matter of such vital concern to public employees. They believe such a provision might result in only a small proportion of the total membership voting and wiping out basic rights and valuable benefits earned over the years by the other members of the system. A favorable vote of two-thirds of the eligible voters is similar to that found in constitutions and statutes specifying the required vote on serious and basic matters; it is a reasonable request and requirement, and should be granted by the Congress.

3. DEFINITION OF COVERAGE GROUP

It is generally agreed by Massachusetts State employees and those charged with administering retirement systems that any definition of coverage group as contained in the bill should be left to the States.

Thirty-eight States maintain retirement plans for State government workers. In addition, there are the numerous teacher and public employee retirement systems. Examination of the individual public employee systems throughout the country will reveal wide differences in what is considered a coverage group. There are all-inclusive State systems, including teachers and employees of political subdivisions on either a compulsory or elective basis. Some systems cover only particular groups of public employees. It would be almost impossible to draft a Federal law to cover all possible variations found in the different retirement laws and systems.

The Massachusetts State Employees Association recommends that the definition of coverage group be solved within each State according to the decisions of the individual State. Accustomed to appearing before their State legislatures in favor of or against proposals for changes in their systems, Massachusetts State employees appreciate the consideration extended to them over the years by the legislators and feel the legislators recognize the conditions peculiar to the State and the employees who are members of the retirement systems. Where there are public employees in retirement systems not subject to the legislature, the determination of coverage group should be by the governor. All other determinations of what is a coverage group should be left to the decision of the State legislature. If the decisions should be placed in hands of any other individual or group there is likelihood of much confusion and misunderstanding.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, we Massachusetts State employees take this opportunity to thank the committee for its kind consideration of the five points referred to in this statement, and the reasonable requests that the safeguards be incorporated in legislation, particularly (1) full information so members shall be informed of what they are voting on in any referendum, (2) favorable vote of two-thirds of the eligible voters, and (3) definition of coverage group to be decided at the State level.

The inclusion of these reasonable requirements will serve to preserve the valuable rights and interests that the Massachusetts State employees have in their State retirement system.

Attached are copies of resolutions petitioned to the Massachusetts Legislature by the Massachusetts State Employees Association memorializing Congress relative to the Federal Social Security Act adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature on March 16, 1954. The thoughts and sentiments expressed in the resolutions are representative of those of State employees generally throughout Massachusetts and the other New England States.

Resolution memorializing Congress relative to the Federal Social Security Act

Whereas the matter of extension of Federal social security to public employees in positions covered under existing retirement systems, State and local, through the amendment of section 218 (d) of the 1950 Social Security Act, has been proposed and is now under consideration by the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas the public employees now covered in existing retirement systems do definitely and unalterably oppose any detrimental change to their existing coverage and at the same time desire that provisions of some type be made to cover public employees not now covered in a retirement system: Therefore be it

Resolved, That any amendments to the existing Social Security Act should provide in detail the conditions under which any such extension to public employees should be permitted; and be it further

Resolved, That both active and retired members of such existing retirement systems shall be guaranteed any benefits enjoyed at the time of the enactment of such legislation without diminution or impairment; and be it further

Resolved, That in case of such extension or integration, the members shall be assured that the benefits of such combined plan are equal to or better than those of the existing retirement system; and be it further

Resolved, That such extension should be limited to those retirement systems in which at least two-thirds of the active members vote in the affirmative to accept a plan for coordinating their retirement system with the Federal social security program; and be it further

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing that no commonwealth or State having a retirement system shall be required to have its employees brought under the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, unless two-thirds of the members of the retirement system of such commonwealth or State approves of such action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the State secretary to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, March 10, 1954, adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, *Clerk.*

Senate, March 16, 1954, adopted, in concurrence.

IRVING N. HAYDEN, *Clerk.*

A true copy.
Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

National Sunday School Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the week of April 12 through 18 is being observed as National Sunday School Week. This is the 10th celebration of an annual event, a strictly nonsectarian event. It is a most significant week, and one to which Americans will want to give attention, for it stresses the importance of the role of the parents of this country in encouraging and supporting moral and spiritual training for their children. Is it any wonder that juvenile delinquency is increasing when it is estimated some 27 million children in the United States have no religious affiliation or training? How can we expect people to live by the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule, and the Judeo-Christian body of ethics on which our society was founded, if they have little knowledge of those lofty principles and teachings or even little exposure to them?

Just as it is of utmost importance that we take the Holy Bible as the guide of our daily lives, so is it vitally important that by example we show our youth the right way as against the wrong. Having these convictions, the Laymen's National Committee, sponsoring the all-faiths event, has chosen as its campaign slogan this year, "To build faith in our children, take them to Sunday school."

To Encourage Justifiable Civic Pride in Camden, N. J., the Courier-Post Has Initiated a Slum Rehabilitation and Renewal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, during all the years I have served in Congress I have been interested in promoting legislation that would make it possible to improve housing conditions for our people.

Even before I was a Member of Congress I interested myself in the subject. I remember at that time I made a personal inspection of living conditions in Camden, N. J. I was accompanied on that occasion by a representative of the Camden Courier, Frank H. Ryan, now editor of the Courier-Post. The conditions we found to exist in some portions of the city were unbelievable, but we could not doubt what our eyes saw. I shall never forget how the poor unfortunates who lived in these conditions of squalor came out of their hovels and unsanitary surroundings and begged that something be done to improve their living conditions.

What I saw and heard on the above occasions left an indelible impression upon my memory. It has lingered with me during all the intervening years. When I entered Congress I interested myself from the beginning in legislation that would enable the Federal Government to assist local communities in eliminating or otherwise improving these slum and otherwise rundown living condition.

Federal housing legislation which we have passed over a period of years has proven helpful to Camden, N. J., as well as to other cities and communities throughout the Nation. While there has been some utilization in the city of Camden of the different types of housing legislation provided by Congress, yet, it has not been to the extent that it should have been. Slum areas continue to exist that should have been eliminated a long time ago. It is only now, because of the activity of the Courier-Post newspaper of Camden, N. J., in removing these slum areas and thereby making the city one in which there would be justifiable pride, that any effort has been made to improve the conditions that have been so vividly brought to the attention of the citizens of Camden, N. J., through the columns of the Courier-Post.

It is a most worthy cause that has been undertaken by the Courier-Post and one that deserves the active participation of every segment of the city's citizenship.

I include as part of my remarks a front page editorial appearing in the Courier-Post newspaper, issue of April 5, 1954,

that forcibly and with reason sets forth the living conditions in Camden, N. J., that call for improvement. It reads as follows:

TOWARD A CITY INVINCIBLE—PROGRAM TO MAKE CAMDEN OUTSTANDING FOR PROGRESS REQUIRES THE COOPERATION OF ALL OF US

As a public service, to foster and encourage a justifiable civic pride in Camden, the Courier-Post has initiated a slum rehabilitation and renewal program designed to make this a healthier, better looking, and generally more progressive city.

If carried out in the spirit in which it was conceived, this program can make Camden New Jersey's outstanding city—in fact, the east coast's outstanding city.

That project is not in the least fantastic. It is entirely possible.

Skeptics may shrug the proposition off with the remark that Camden is "dead." Looking around the city it is not hard to find grounds for that opinion.

But although Camden may be dead in the sense meant, rigor mortis has not set in.

So says G. Yates Cook, housing rehabilitation director of the National Association of Home Builders, who paid a 3-day visit to Camden at the Courier-Post's request to give advice and counsel on the renewal program based on his rich experience in this field.

In other words, Cook means that while Camden has run down, as virtually every city of its age does, there is still time to revive it. However, there may not be too much time left. And the job is not one that can be left to a handful of people and City Hall. It is one in which every citizen must share.

Given the needed rejuvenation of neighborly spirit, cooperative effort and teamwork among property owners and residents alike, with adequate tools furnished by Government, the goal of this program can be attained. It cannot be attained otherwise.

Due to the urban blight that prevails in most American cities, there is a general trend, among those financially able, for their residents to pull up stakes and move to the suburbs. These citizens, or most of them, usually blame City Hall for the decline of the metropolis and the conditions that impel them to move out.

But that vague generalization, City Hall, is far from being the only culprit. The average citizen and industry also are at fault. Too often they fail to recognize that they, as well as public officials, must accept responsibilities that are a necessary accompaniment of the rights and privileges they enjoy.

For instance, we may berate "city hall" because the city's streets are dirty. In the first place, it is the average citizen whose lack of consideration for others, whose thoughtlessness and indifference are responsible for making the streets dirty. And the streets are dirty in every city that, like Camden, allows 24-hour parking. When "city hall" tries to do something about it, as Camden has, it funds its task made immeasurably harder by these 24-hour parkers who, despite warnings and fines, continue to obstruct the streets, as is currently true here.

Again, the average citizen may upbraid "city hall" when he sees garbage or trash flying out of an overloaded collection truck. Granted that the truck may be overloaded, in most cases the trash wouldn't fly out if it had been properly wrapped and tied by Mr. Average Citizen when he put it at his curb, as sanitary commonsense would advise and as a city ordinance specifically requires.

"City hall" is not an institution apart from the people or above them.

It is an institution of, by, and for the people. They all must share the responsibility with it of keeping the city solvent, vigorous, and alive. Where they do, the city progresses and goes forward. Where they fail, it is doomed to a ghost town's fate.

Every time you toss an empty cigarette package from your car or discard a piece of paper on the street you add to the woes of the department of street cleaning.

As Cook has said, Camden is no better and no worse than other cities in these respects. The aim is to make it better than most. This famous slum buster, author of the nationally renowned and phenomenally successful Baltimore plan for civic rehabilitation, has given valuable constructive criticism on conditions here and aid in formulating a plan of slum prevention and urban renewal.

"You must develop some way to systematically go in and do a thorough housecleaning on slums which have been developing for more than a century," Cook has told the city commission, which is enthusiastically backing the new program. "This is not a matter that can be solved solely through law enforcement. It is a matter for education."

"Until we get the raw sewage out the back alleys we'll never have enough health clinics," he says. "You must use psychology. If you can get a man to plant a flower in the backyard, he'll never throw garbage on top of it."

At Cook's suggestion, Mayor Brunner now has named a 28-member citizens' study committee which is to make a complete and detailed survey of conditions in the city coming under the rehabilitation and conservation program and submit its findings to the city commission within 90 days.

After this committee has made it report to Mayor Brunner and the other commissioners, it will dissolve.

Brunner has promised to follow its recommendations so far as possible.

Cook has recommended modernization of the city's health and building codes, and as a most important tool, which Camden does not now have, a city zoning law.

The ball has now been put in motion.

Let us all help keep it rolling.

The Courier-Post will try to do its part and as a public service offers its facilities and any advice it can give to organizations, businesses, or individuals wishing actively to participate.

The Stake in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star for April 5, 1954:

THE STAKE IN INDOCHINA

There are encouraging signs that the human-wave attacks of the Communist Viet Minh forces are not going to crack the heroic defense of Dien Bien Phu. At any rate, despite long days and nights of the fiercest kind of sustained assault, that beleaguered fortress still appears to be firmly in the hands of the gallant French Union troops, and reports indicate that the enemy, even though he can be expected to strike again in full fury, has suffered so many casualties that he has reason to doubt the wisdom of continuing the battle.

Militarily speaking, the battle itself does not involve a major strategic prize. Politically and psychologically, however, it is an event of great significance. For the Communists have gone all out in it as a prelude to the Geneva Conference scheduled to begin on April 26. Their main objective has been to seize Dien Bien Phu in time to give Peiping and Moscow an extra-special bargaining point at that conference. By the same token, they have been seeking, through this still unsuccessful bid for a prestige victory, to create enough distress and depression among the people of France to force the Laniel government into a program of appeasement abandoning Indochina.

But the defending forces have held fast in a way that promises not only to deny Dien Bien Phu to the Communists but also to inspire and lift up the morale of the French people to such an extent that there will be no disposition at Geneva to yield important ground to the Peiping-Moscow axis. More than that, these splendid troops, with their great skill and do-or-die courage, are demonstrating to the free world—not merely to France and the Associated States of Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam—that Indochina can be saved from being dragged behind the Iron Curtain if the will to save it does not weaken. They have set a shining example in that sense—an example that should stiffen the spine of anybody inclined to despair of stopping the Red tide in southeast Asia.

That tide, of course, may yet overrun Dien Bien Phu, and it is capable of engulfing the whole of Indochina. But it can be prevented from doing that. It can be stopped. It can be contained and rolled back. For it is far from being invincible, and if the free nations most concerned hold together against it with enough decisiveness and on time—not on a too-little-too-late basis—it can be walled off from southeast Asia. Secretary of State Dulles has not defined the united action he has advocated to guard against the danger, but there can be no doubt, as he has said, that the risks involved in such action, though they might be serious, "are far less than those that will face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

The French Union troops at Dien Bien Phu are displaying the type of resolution that is needed for the long pull. Without such resolution, the free world can hardly hope to save Indochina, and if Indochina falls, then in due course so will Burma, Thailand, and Malaya. And from there Peiping and Moscow would be in a position to dominate Indonesia and eventually Pakistan and India. What is at stake, therefore, is one of the greatest of the globe's strategic areas—an area of vital importance militarily, politically, and economically. To let the Communists win it would be to let them win one of the most portentous victories in history.

Results of Agricultural Poll, First Congressional District, Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently I conducted a poll among rural box holders on questions relating to the problems of the farmers within my congressional district. I am inserting herewith first the questions and answers of the farmers in Green and Rock counties and secondly the counties of Kenosha, Racine, and Walworth:

Results of agricultural poll in Green and Rock Counties

	Yes	No
1. Should large farm surpluses be sold at a loss?	868	379
2. Do you favor acreage allotments and controls?	292	741
3. Do you prefer to operate your farm in your own way?	877	103
4. Do you favor the present soil-conservation program?	486	528
5. Should conservation be handled by the farmer alone?	439	556
6. Do you favor a 90 percent parity program?	374	542
7. Do you favor a 100 percent parity program?	163	708
8. Do you disapprove of any parity program?	334	533
9. Do you approve of a rigid support program?	244	682
10. Do you favor a flexible support program?	523	394
11. Do you think the Commodity Credit Corporation is helping the farmers?	518	322
12. Is bank credit available as you need it?	830	132
13. Will good farm management insure a fair return?	818	159
14. Will rigid price supports create bigger farm surpluses?	750	238

Results of agricultural poll in Kenosha, Racine, and Walworth Counties

	Kenosha		Racine		Walworth	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Do you favor a price-support program	142	82	416	173	580	172
2. Do you think it should be 90 percent of parity	69	118	237	240	323	294
3. Do you think it should be 100 percent of parity	26	154	77	365	122	479
4. Do you think it should be 75 percent of parity	43	143	85	372	115	478
5. Are you for a flexible support program	123	85	250	274	385	276
6. Are you for a rigid support program	53	143	188	306	226	438
7. Do you think a rigid support program will create bigger farm surpluses?	142	64	319	208	407	261
8. Will good farm management insure a fair return on your investment?	166	38	392	129	522	152
9. Are you for Government acreage controls?	52	161	145	403	208	508
10. Are you for soil-conservation payments?	104	118	256	323	356	374
11. Do you think Benson's order reducing price supports will increase milk production?	98	112	292	237	377	335
12. Are you a member of a farm organization?	130	103	320	264	478	279

Mr. Speaker, the attitude of my farmers seems fairly well revealed in the above tabulations. The poll was most interesting and many of my constituents have written personal letters expressing their views in addition to indicating their answers to the questionnaires.

Death or Life Imprisonment for Dope Peddlers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 2, 1954, I introduced H. R. 8700 to increase drastically the criminal penalties imposed for the sale of narcotics to persons under 21 years of age.

This bill aims at the very heart of the whole treacherous narcotics problem. If we can set up a system of effective legal restraints which will check the rapidly increasing teen-age traffic, there is promise that we may be successful in stopping the traffic entirely. If there are no new recruits from the teen-age group, the narcotics menace will eventually die.

All of our experience proves that the imposition of more sever criminal penalties is the only effective solution of the narcotics problem. The average sentence given dope peddlers in our Federal courts recently has been imprisonment for 18 months.

Under existing law, the maximum penalty for the illegal import or sale of narcotic drugs is a fine of $2,000 and 5 years' imprisonment, for the first offense. For the second offense, the maximum penalty is a $2,000 fine and 10 years' imprisonment; and for the third offense, a $2,000 fine and 20 years' imprisonment.

My bill provides that in convictions involving the sale of narcotics to individuals under 21 years of age, the mandatory sentences shall be death or imprisonment for life.

The mandatory sentences of death or imprisonment for life will prove powerful deterrents to the flourishing teen-age narcotic traffic.

It is true that the apprehension of narcotics violators is primarily a local police problem. The fact remains, however, that only the Federal authority can control imports of and interstate traffic in illegal drugs. The whole problem, therefore, is one for joint action by Federal and local authorities.

Gangsters and racketeers have now built up their most lucrative syndicates in the illicit traffic of drugs. As the increased pressure of local law enforcement has driven these gangster organizations out of gambling and the operation of slot machines, the syndicates have turned more and more to the narcotics field.

We cannot deal with this problem by attempting to shroud the ugly facts in secrecy. Our young people are entitled to learn from the most reputable sources in Government the truth about this evil traffic. Today in our large cities, many youngsters first learn about drugs from other minors who are addicts or from the back-alley peddlers. This is the principal reason why so many minors are tempted to experiment with narcotics, being totally unaware of the tragic dangers involved and that they are taking the first fatal step toward self-destruction.

All scientific evidence demonstrates that drug addiction is extremely difficult to cure. The solution of the problem is not in public clinics and cures, although they are accomplishing wonders. To protect the welfare and save the lives of our minors, we must stop the traffic. The illegal sale of narcotics pays enormous profits to the lowest type of the criminal: the peddler who, in his greed for monetary gain, cares not for the wreckage of human lives. No penalty is too severe for a criminal of this character.

The terrible blight of world communism has aggravated the narcotics problem in the United States recently. During the last 3 or 4 years, Moscow has been systematically developing and encouraging opium-poppy production throughout the Orient. Communist-controlled areas in Asia now produce 40 times the amount of opium that is needed for the world's legitimate medicinal needs. Godless communism is the very seed from which this frightful traffic has spread to cover the whole world. Opium exports now are major items in the Kremlin's balance sheet of foreign trade.

On March 27, 1951, Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger, of the Treasury Narcotic Bureau, told the Senate Crime Committee:

> A disturbing matter now is that Chinese Communists have offered for sale 500 tons of opium on the world market.

That was the picture 3 years ago, when Moscow first launched her new world plan for systematically expanding the narcotics trade. Will world communism be duly cited before the United Nations for this shameful act of international gangsterism?

On Tuesday, January 19, 1954, Mr. Anslinger testified before a House Subcommittee on Appropriations that Red China was dumping 200 tons of raw opium into this country every year.

Notice this startling colloquy between Congressman CANFIELD, chairman of the subcommittee, and Mr. Anslinger:

> Mr. CANFIELD. Doctor Anslinger, I believe that I read somewhere recently, possibly in your book, a statement by you or by your collaborating author to the effect that opium and its derivatives have been used as a war weapon for centuries. Is that not true?
>
> Mr. ANSLINGER. That is true; yes, sir.
>
> Mr. CANFIELD. By one nation to weaken the resistance of another?
>
> Mr. ANSLINGER. That is a historical fact. In the Genocide Convention, about which there is so much controversy, you can find that narcotics have been covered where it is used to weaken or destroy populations.

Official trade reports from the Department of Commerce reveal that, during 1952, the Chinese Communists earned about $70 million from illicit drug traffic in the United States. Of this sum, about $30 million went to the Red coffers in Peiping, with the balance of $40 million being spent to sustain Communist activities in the United States and throughout Latin America.

Special trade missions of Chinese Communists have been sent to the United States in recent years to promote

the drug traffic: To develop new outlets, to improve and perfect smuggling routines at our principal ports, and to arrange the necessary black-market foreign-exchange transactions to funnel the drug profits to the Communist coffers in Moscow and Peiping. This whole operation has become known to our Narcotics Bureau as a special aspect of the cold war: Heroin warfare.

Mr. Speaker, the narcotic traffic is a vicious commercial racket which thrives on the slow murder of its victims. It is, therefore, a natural instrument of Communist policy in Moscow—for communism is death to all honor, and decency, and probity.

As recently as 1946, only 3 percent of the addicts admitted to the United States narcotic hospitals were teen-agers. But, by 1951, teen-agers made up 18 percent of all admissions to these same hospitals. That is from the testimoney of Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of the Narcotics Bureau in the Department of the Treasury. It tells the whole sordid and heartbreaking story.

In the 5 years prior to 1951, there were only 85 cases of teen-age narcotic addiction admitted to New York City hospitals. But, in 10 months of 1951, there were 340 teen-age admissions in these same hospitals.

During the entire year 1950, there were 252 juvenile commitments in New York City on narcotic charges. During the first 10 months of 1951, the teen-age narcotic commitments in New York City were 474—almost double the previous annual rate of teen-age commitments.

The youngster, once enslaved by the narcotics habit, must spend from $6 to $14 a day to supply his needs. This abnormal call for money gradually forces the addict into every avenue of crime.

And why does this teen-age traffic flourish? Let me answer in the testimony of Commissioner Anslinger:

> The main reason that narcotic trafficking and consequent addiction flourishes in certain districts is because the peddlers of narcotic drugs are lightly dealt with by the courts. In districts where these peddlers get heavy sentences you do not find much trafficking. We make 5,000 arrests in a year, and by the time we process the cases and start another campaign, the first violators are back in business. Nearly all these peddlers have had 2 or 3 convictions. If they would get a minimum of 5 years for the second offense, and 10 years for the third, conditions would be immeasurably improved.

One of the alarming aspects of this spreading traffic among minors is that, in time, each new addict will solicit and encourage an average of five acquaintances to travel down this hard path, from which, for many, there is no way back.

As the youngster's appetite grows, he needs more and more money to supply his daily needs. He often gets it by becoming a "pusher" for the dope ring—a commission agent paid a percentage on his sales to new users inveigled into the illicit market.

As one experienced police officer testified in the Washington hearings:

> The new addict will always try to make more addicts. I know a boy who even tried to make his father an addict, just to be sure he had another customer.

Thanks to the energetic and devoted work of Dr. Lois Lundell Higgins, director of the Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, my own State of Illinois has already launched an effective program to keep the dope peddler and the "pusher" off the streets.

No other American in recent years has done more than has Dr. Higgins in arousing the Nation to the spreading dangers of the narcotic traffic. She has, through lectures, testimony before congressional committees, and radio and television programs, made the entire Nation aware of the terrible social implications of the narcotic menace. The wholesale destruction of young lives by the use of drugs has been appreciably reduced through her persistent campaign of education. When all mothers and fathers are fully apprised and alerted, there will be real vigilance to prevent the increase of teen-age narcotic traffic.

I wish to take this occasion to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Higgins, and to commend her on her intelligent and devoted crusade to protect the young people of our Nation. I feel sure that every mother and father in the Nation will join me in offering thanks to God for her and other officials and citizens who are carrying on this vital work.

Dr. Higgins received her master's degree in social work and an honorary degree of LL. D. She had been a policewoman for 16 years, and was a social worker for 3 years prior to that. Dr. Higgins has made an average of 250 speeches on the dope menace every year since 1949. She has lectured in 50 cities throughout the country. She appeared before the Kefauver committee when it was considering the dope peril in 1950. She appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee subcommittee that was considering the Boggs bill, which subsequently passed the Congress. The Boggs law stiffened jail sentences for dope peddlers.

Dr. Higgins made such vigorous representations before the State Legislature at Springfield, Ill., that dope peddling was changed from a misdemeanor to a felony. When she became director of the Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, the State law provided penalties of less than 1 year for the the illicit sale of narcotics. Dr. Higgins was instrumental in changing that to 1 to 5 years for an ordinary sale of dope, and 1 year to life for selling to a minor. That was in 1951. In 1953, due principally to the efforts of Dr. Higgins, the Illinois law was changed to provide a penalty of 2 years to life for any sale of dope.

In her first few years as Director of the Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, Dr. Higgins was faced with the fact that Chicago had between 100 and 150 juvenile drug addicts each year. In Chicago juveniles are boys under 17 and girls under 18. The number of dope addicts between 18 and 21 was running at the rate of 2,000 to 3,000 a year. Dr. Higgins arranged to have all dope addicts brought to one court when arrested. Later, at her suggestion, the narcotics court was created by order of Chief Justice Scheffler, and it is the only court of its kind in the world.

The Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau was responsible for the reorganization of the Chicago police narcotics squad, as well as its procedure. From a 5-man squad, the dope detail has been increased to 40 men.

On this pressing and urgent narcotics problem among teen-agers, we know that we are dealing with ruthless gangsterism, both on the world level and in the dark alleys of our city slums. We must cope with this gangsterism realistically. We must fix the penalty to fit the crime. We must make it known in every phase of the narcotics racket the "crime does not pay."

If we will do that—vigorously, consistently, with real determination and purpose—we can protect our youngsters from this terrible blight. At the same time, we can weaken the arm of world-wrecking communism by drying up the greatest source of its bloody and immoral revenues.

If we are to protect our children—the future citizens of America—we must make the penalties for selling dope to them so drastic that there can be no doubt that we mean business.

The law, as it now stands, means little more to most violators than a slap on the wrist. It is time to stop heeding the bleeding hearts and sob sisters, and to solve this problem by enacting a strong law. With a penalty of at least life imprisonment facing this element of our society, the sales of dope to our children would soon cease.

Nuggets in the Sky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I have found many interesting and instructive articles in the Pegasus magazine of the Fairchild Engine & Airplane Corp. I think they are to be complimented for the high standard they have achieved. However, it is not my purpose to address myself to that subject at this time. I should like, rather, to call attention to the article Nuggets in the Sky, which appeared in the issue for March of this year. This article tells the story, and the problems, of the feeder airlines of this country.

I know that the feeder airline system has been most important in western Colorado and I recommend this article to those who have an interest in these small but dynamic enterprises:

NUGGETS IN THE SKY

(By Charles Jay)

Now, just take a look at the youngster. Only 8 years old and fitting around making

muscles like the big boys, already. And the king-sized brothers aren't sneering. For our figurative Shorty is a mighty good little pal who is proving himself as useful as a bung starter in an enthusiastic saloon debate. Forty-eight millions of dollars of income in 1 year isn't small change.

Our Shorty bears up under the dignified title, "Local Service Airlines." That designation was picked when the little guys themselves got tired of being labeled as "feeders" for the giant transcontinental airlines. There have been short-haul systems, sometimes a one-plane, one-pilot system, since the days when a short haul was a long trip.

The present transcontinental and transocean behemoths of the skies were Shorties themselves not too long ago. But the current flock of local service lines, regularly scheduled and carefully nurtured by a watchful Government, were little more than a surplus gleam in a war-weary pilot's eye until 1945. There are 14 local service airlines at work today. They are not to be confused with the charter, the nonsked, and the purely cargo outfits. Local service planes, all but a few of them DC–3's, haul passengers, mail, express and freight, just as do the big lines.

These newcomers in the airline business now have developed to the point where they work in and out of more than 330 cities and towns with a total population of 43,300,000.

And for 4,232,143 citizens of these United States living in 188 small cities and towns, the local service people provide the only regular, scheduled air transportation—a communication system which is recognized as a must for the sturdy economic development of a community today. It's got to the point where a town without an airport is as lonesome as black-eyed peas without sowbelly. That airport then begins to exhibit its real worth when a scheduled airline drops in for a permanent landing. The records prove it. Shorty went prospecting and found there is many a golden nugget left in the skies and the Nation's travelers await their wings impatiently.

Business of the local service lines has zoomed like the stock of a Canadian uranium mine; but this is sound business, not based on any war emergency, not depending on great governmental expenditures for defense. The possibilities for growth appear almost unlimited. And this new field of opportunity offers chances for a good return on venture capital.

There are, of course, problems to meet and some are of serious proportions. Shorty is carrying a man-sized load, but he is suffering the growing pains of any adolescent. Some of them are demanding a relatively quick cure. The man, or men, with guts, vision and determination to come up with that cure—and certainly it will be found—won't be worrying much about the price of tomorrow's breakfast.

Because a lot of people have casually come to take the local service lines for granted, and because not too many outside the business know the scope of the development, it is our purpose to take a look at the local service lines, what they have done and where they go from here.

The Civil Aeronautics Board officially regards the short-haul system as an experiment intended to "round out a sound air-transportation plan for domestic United States." The airlines themselves have been given temporary certificates since 1945. Most of them have been flying for 5 years or less. While the lines are strictly for short flights, that doesn't mean that any one of them may not have an extended, carefully blocked-out network of routes which may lace through 6 or 10 States.

At more than 140 points, by the most recent count, the lines make connections with the long service routes, an item which has proved mutually profitable. It also enables a citizen to ship himself, his letter, or a chunk of freight swiftly and all the way by air from Seattle or New York to Borger, Tex., if anybody wants to go there. You won't find Borger listed as a stop on American, TWA, or United, either.

For the record, here are the 14 segments of the network which if ever abandoned as an experiment would now find scores of towns and cities screaming to their Congressmen for good, quick help: Allegheny, Bonanza, Central, North Central, Frontier, Lake Central, Mohawk, Ozark, Piedmont, Pioneer, Southern, Southwest, Trans-Texas, West Coast.

The average hop on the local service lines ranges from 44.3 to 87.3 miles. One of the lines has 8 flights which are less than half an hour each, and 4 of these are so short it's hardly worth while hauling up the landing gear. But they are in a heavily traveled area, linking a series of important industrial centers, as well as making connections with several major trunk lines. It has reached the point where an executive can get down to Washington and see his Congressman as fast as he used to be able to get a telephone call through.

CAB's big experiment got off to a slow start in 1945, but it took only 4 years to hit what some of the customers back in the brush call serious money. The last of the 14 systems currently at work inaugurated service in 1950.

From just about the date the first A-bomb blew Hiroshima out of Japan, to the end of 1945, some 4,452 passengers bought local service airline tickets in the United States. They were flown 1,312,000 passenger miles. The fledglings in this year of birth flew 74,510 airmail ton-miles, 11,462 express ton-miles, and no freight.

Other operators had been getting ready as fast as planes could be found for civilian purposes, routes worked out and certificates O. K.'d by the CAB. They liked pie in the sky and were set to begin weaving the net which like a spider's web today covers 45 States. And enthusiastic business and professional men, in a hurry to get back to at least a semipeacetime economy, started pitching handsful of that green folding stuff into the airborne electric fan. Revenue passengers in 1946 totaled 25,118.

Then look what happened when Shorty really got his wings off the little 3,500-foot landing strips and whipped the DC–3's over the countryside. There were 235,585 revenue passengers in 1947 and by 1949 the figure had leaped to 683,811 and was still soaring. The total paid passengers list in 1952 had climbed steadily and swiftly to 1,736,388 and in 1953 topped the 2 million persons mark.

Records regarding other items are equally revealing. Airmail had skyrocketed to 893,057 ton-miles in 1952, while express ton mileage was 866,526, and freight ton mileage, only 25 in 1946, totaled 1,081,319.

These are the tell-tale facts racked up by 14 local service lines, flying a maximum of about 150 airplanes, faithfully carrying a top load of 24 passengers and a chunk of mail, express and all manner of freight.

Passenger revenues of the locals have jumped in proportion to the $23 million mark—actual passenger revenues in 1946 were $314,638 and in 1952, $19,171,798. Estimates for 1953 put it at $23,329,000.

As has been the history of all major transportation systems in this country, Government assistance has played a major part in the nourishment and growth of the local service lines. During these formative years, the mail pay and subsidy for the local service lads has increased from $1,558,614 in 1946 to more than $20 million in 1952 and $23,832,000 estimated in 1953. But, then, indicative of a trend in free enterprise, income from express and freight in the same period rose from $13,006 to $593,661. It all adds up to $42,587,500 operating revenue in 1952 and an estimated $48,350,000 in the year 1953.

If a business can produce such development in less than 8 years, who's to fix a ceiling on prospects from a potential 43 million customers?

Perhaps the most significant piece of statistics from the standpoint of private ownership can be found in the fact that the mail pay and subsidy comprised 80.71 percent of the total revenue in 1946 and this had been whittled downward steadily to 50.70 percent in 1952. In only two cases that year did the mail pay and subsidy exceed $2 million and five of the feeders made more money from passengers than from the Government.

Alot of the customers accustomed to riding a DC–6 or a Constellation who may be prone to sneer at the pokey little DC–3's unless they want to get to Cortez, Colo. fast—seem to forget that the big trunk lines had growing pains themselves only a few years ago and required more than a trifling bit of assistance from Washington before finally expanding into huge and profitable transcontinental and intercontinental systems.

Take the first two lines of the alphabetical list as a comparison: American for the trunks and Allegheny for the locals. As recently as 1936, American received $2,289,414 in mail revenue (from the Government) and this was 34.5 percent of the line's total income. Allegheny, which began flying in 1949, had mail pay of $1,944,820 in 1953—about $200,000 more than 50 percent of the entire revenue, and this in spite of inflation and lowered passenger fares. The 5 percent of total income received by American today indicates the pattern which may be anticipated.

These big systems which even now threaten to use jets and get a New Yorker to San Francisco in less time that it takes to get from his office to Idlewild Airport weren't always giants. They came up the hard way.

It is interesting to note the dollar relationship between the local service short haulers and the trunks. In 1952, the locals carried to the trunk lines passengers who then bought $19,150,590 worth of tickets for more distant places. The big jump in interairline traffic has come within the last 2 years, an item which would tend to prove you can't keep 'em down on the farm once they've learned to fly.

With these rosy records nailed up for public inspection, let's take a look at the problems worrying the locals. Some of them are those shared by all growing boys. The more serious apply only to the local service wingmen and these operators are searching desperately for the solution.

First in line, perhaps, is the Congress which keeps a vigilant eye on matters of interstate commerce, communication, and service and particularly on an industry which might well have a key function in national defense. No one would deny that the established airlines of 1941 were vital to the Nation in meeting the shock of war.

Congress, in the final sense, controls the funds for the subsidy and possibly, through expenditures for military airpower, the development of engines and planes, safety resources and requirements essential for a sound civilian industry.

The Congress created CAB and defined its powers which include, virtually, life and death authority over the airways.

It is the CAB, then, which under existing laws controls the mail subsidies for individual airlines.

Now, it seems scarcely necessary to say the biggest single ailment and worry of almost everybody but Robert R. Young is money. CAB and the local service lines have a mutual problem here. Seeking to move cautiously toward the building of the best airways system which can be devised, the Government agency still considers the short haulers an experiment, and continues to issue operating certificates on a temporary

basis of 3 to 7 years. The lines, of course, have in most cases become so essential to the communities they serve they could not be abandoned.

But anything involving large investments, such as aviation, created on a temporary certificate, has a tendency to make a banker head for the bushes. Few people with any really heavy cash are going to hurry up and dump it into a company whose certificate for existence expires next year and might not be renewed. Dr. Boothby's Queen of Sheba Snake Oil would be a better buy at six bits a bottle.

Without large investments, the locals can't improve their services and can't expand operations, both of which might help reduce costs and help them edge steadily away from the subsidy they would like to be able to drop sometime in the future.

A case in point is the search by all the locals for a new aircraft to replace the DC-3, a venerable and dependable trooper. Some of those concerned think the replacement is the major cure for many of Shorty's pains.

Testifying before a congressional committee looking into such matters, Donald W. Nyrop, former chairman of the CAB and now a counsel for the local service lines, said: "The only real answer to the local service problem is a new and more efficient airplane."

The DC-3 is considered too slow and costs too much to operate. Douglas doesn't build the plane any more and spare parts, sometimes hard to find, have tripled and quadrupled the cost in the last 2 years. This, of course, is because the surpluses from World War II have been used up and military requirements were stepped up heavily by the Korean war.

As recently as 1950, a feeder company could get a Pratt & Whitney engine cylinder for $17.50. In 1953, the same cylinder cost $60. Frontier Airlines, running from Montana south to the border, ran a check on cost of spares with startling results. Frontier used up an average of 240 cylinders a year and the annual cost from 1947 through 1950 was $4,200. The cost for the same number of cylinders in 1953 was $14,400, an increase of 343 percent. The cost of crankshafts went up as much as 533 percent.

Consensus seems to be that the local service lines would have to pay about $450,000 per plane for a modern aircraft, efficiently designed for the short-haul business.

At the moment, none of the small airlines are in any position to buy a raft of new planes at those prices without new private or Government aid.

And no manufacturer would want to tool up and turn out the dream aircraft without the guaranty of a substantial and continuing sale.

It's a sad deadlock everybody would like to see broken. But how? The local service lines have been trying to do better for themselves. In mid-1952, Pioneer Airlines tried to substitute the larger, faster Martin 202 for the DC-3. Pioneer would have needed more than twice its allotted mail pay to swing the deal. The CAB turned it down on the ground that the increased subsidy was not justified and held that the Martin 202 "was not designed to meet the economic or operational problems of a local air service system but was tailored to trunkline requirements."

As recently as May of 1952, the local service lines through a single spokesman were asking Congress to lay off interference until the little companies had a chance to work out their own equipment solution. This could change and there's a bill before Congress now to change it.

Over the last 10 years, a number of aircraft companies have tried to come up with plans for an airplane to fit the local service airline need. However, the economics of aircraft manufacture are such that tooling up for production isn't easy unless there is a market for enough planes to write off the cost of design and tooling and make it possible to sell the plane at some reasonable number of dollars. That market is higher than the 150 planes operated by the small lines, and that means a many-million dollar gamble. Looking back at millions lost building bigger transports just after World War II, the aircraft boys take two good looks and shudder.

One promising solution is the project of Fairchild and the Fokker people in Holland. Fokker now is building two prototypes of a local-service transport called the Friendship. With an eye across the Atlantic, they are being built to American standards and the instruments are American. American pilots have looked over the cockpit arrangements, so that there would be few problems in fitting ALPA pants into the seats and fastening ALPA eyes on the right instrument. Lower costs in Holland make the first cost somewhere in the reasonable range. Later, it might be built here if enough people want it. With several British planes going along, too, this is the only active project in sight today, and the only one with an American company looking over the shoulder.

Far more than the production of a new type of aircraft is wrapped up in the future of the local service lines, of course. Expansion of routes, the improvement of service, the all-important relationship between the companies and the cities they serve, are factors.

But adequate financial support and efficient operation with a properly designed aircraft are two key problems so entwined as to be inseparable.

Perhaps one new plane alone is not the answer to replacement of the DC-3. Might be the short lines need two types, one for the quickie 20-30-minute hops and another for the great big long trips of 150 to 200 miles.

Certainly the helicopter is going to enter the picture in the territory near the large cities. A commuter-type service to a downtown heliport would eliminate the time-consuming bus or taxi ride to the conventional airport, an annoying trip which works against local air service in some instances.

The Nation's high speed production capacity built for national defense—rather, that is, rebuilt after start of the Korean war—soon will level off. There will be materials, labor, plant capacity and, somewhere, financing for civilian use—and a readymade $65 million to $100 million market.

The challenge to, and opportunity for, ingenuity and courage is clear, and somebody is going to make a fast buck playing footsie with the locals.

Award by Times Square Club to Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. IRVING M. IVES
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, on March 28 the Times Square Club of New York City, an outstanding organization composed of Master Masons at present or formerly with the New York Times, conferred its fifth annual education award on Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell. Dr. Brownell's distinguished career in American education is widely known. Today, he is continuing his splendid work in the cause of education as United States Commissioner of Education, a post to which he was appointed by President Eisenhower.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of Commissioner Brownell's address delivered on this occasion, together with a message of greeting from Hon. Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York State, to Commissioner Brownell; the text of the remarks made by Theodore Fred Kuper in presenting Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell to the Times Square Club; and the text of remarks of Dr. Benjamin Fine in presenting the Times Square Club award to Dr. Brownell.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SAMUEL MILLER BROWNELL, COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., AT TIMES SQUARE CLUB, NO. 1034, FOLLOWING ACCEPTANCE OF AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO AMERICAN EDUCATION, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 28, 1954

These are days when we can very properly feel sober about the problems of education which confront this Nation. Rapidly increasing numbers of pupils are coming to the schools. They are pressing and will press for space and for competent instruction in added numbers now and as far ahead as we can predict. We see present shortages in buildings, and of prepared teachers. Sobering as the prospect is, we can also see it as a great challenge to the interest, ingenuity, and cooperative effort of lay citizens and educators.

Many have been emphasizing the problems, the shortcomings, and the criticisms of American education in order to rouse citizens of this Nation to greater action. I myself have done so, and I shall continue to do so because the security and well-being of the Nation requires that the citizens act promptly and effectively to improve education. But at the same time, I wonder if we do not neglect to point out an equally important part of the panorama.

We tend, I think, to be too often taken up with the shortcomings of education and to fail to see the strengths of our schools and colleges. Today, I should like to look at that part of the record. It will give us encouragement and hope as well as zest—I feel sure—to continue to fight the good fight for even better opportunities for the youth of our land in the days, months, and years ahead.

One of the most thrilling facts about education in America is the number of American youth who have school opportunities. Our schools and colleges, both public and independent, enroll almost 37 million students, almost a quarter of the total population. We spend for this education roughly between 8 and 9 billion dollars a year. The significance here lies, not so much in the numbers, as in the meaning which attaches to the numbers.

Sociological research shows that the best single way youth can upgrade his social status, the best chance that he has to achieve the promise of individual advancement is through education. The extent of educational opportunity is thus one measure of America's achievement in reaching the goal of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Another wonder and the glory of our educational achievement is that it has developed by and through the people's own efforts.

Education is the best single testimonial I know to the vision, the energy, and the unselfishness of the American citizen. For it

is the citizens who have made education what it is through their local boards and educational bodies, be they public, private, religious, or secular. Education has not been advanced by governmental fiat.

The remarkable diversity of the sources of support for our schools and colleges is another aspect of education which proves the strength of the often maligned democratic way. Consider some of the sources: Local, State, and Federal Government, religious groups, charitable organizations, individuals, foundations, and corporations. Consider also the sacrifices of parents who have supported their children in years of schooling beyond the time when the youth could have been self-supporting or contributing to family income.

Having in mind, then, the scope of the educational enterprise, the significance of education in terms of achieving the promise of our country, and the sources of its strength in citizen interest and diverse support, let us review briefly some of the educational developments, both qualitative and quantitative.

Between 1930 and 1953, we reduced the number of our one-room schools from 148,700 to 48,700. Likewise, through reorganization, the number of school districts has been reduced from 117,000 in 1939 to 68,452 in 1953.

American schools have greatly expanded their offerings to meet the increased and changed needs of larger student bodies. In certain areas, there has been much greater growth than in others. Schools have doubled their offerings in science. They have added courses in consumer education, in driver education, and in safety education. They have greatly developed offerings in the social sciences. There are increased enrollments also in vocational courses. And this change has not reduced the numbers preparing to enter college. The numbers enrolled in the arts and sciences have increased from approximately 550,000 to 1,200,000 in the past 20 years. Not everyone will agree that all such developments are sound, for many would insist on traditional disciplines for all, but the traditional disciplines are by no means disappearing. We should probably keep in mind that never in history has there been complete agreement as to what the specific goals of education should be. One part of our strength today lies in the very diversity of our purposes, and our cherished freedom to establish and maintain the kind of schools the citizens want.

Another evidence that American education has extended its usefulness is indicated by a glance at the level of schooling different age groups have achieved. Those over 65, for example, average 7.7 years of school completed. Those between 35 and 44, 9.9 years completed, and those between 20 and 24, 12.1 years. Such figures point to the increasing numbers in more recent years who have had more years in school.

Paralleling the extension of schooling which is giving larger numbers of citizens more years of education is the improvement in the standards of teacher preparation. In 1931, only 10 percent of the teachers in elementary schools held degrees. In 1953, 67 percent held college degrees. In 1931, again, 50 percent of the teachers in secondary schools held degrees. In 1953, the percentage had almost doubled to 96 percent. These statistics, interpreted realistically, point up the fact that the largest proportion of our teachers today are better prepared in the amounts and breadth of their education, to assume their responsibilities in the classroom. The preparation has its shortcoming in many instances. However, for the most part, it has been specifically designed to give teachers an understanding, not only of how their students learn most effectively and of the subject matter to be taught, but it has also included a liberal arts-citizenship education as well.

No wonder that with better standards of teaching the holding power of schools and colleges is increasing slowly but surely. This holding power means that more students are remaining in school and developing their abilities there rather than leaving school and college before their formal education is complete. Comparing 1925 and 1945 we find that the situation changed drastically. For each 1,000 fifth graders in 1945, 590 instead of 316, graduated from high school, 265 instead of 112 entered college, and 150 instead of 57 earned bachelor's or professional degrees.

As the numbers of students going to school and as the years students spend in school have increased there has been an impressive development of the arts in America. Those interested in the cultural impact of the schools note the greatly increased sales of drawing, painting, sculpture, and crafts materials, of musical instruments and of classical records, and the growing numbers of Americans supporting museums and symphonies and attending concerts and lectures, as having a close relationship to the inclusion of study in the arts in many schools. Those interested in science and technology, similarly, recognize the relationship between scientific and technological developments and the expanded study of science in the schools and colleges. And those interested in the preservation and defense of the American heritage and security note that three times within a generation the products of American schools have responded without hesitation to calls to defend the country. American youths have shown superior skill and adaptability in learning quickly how to produce and use complicated war machines.

One other significant factor affecting the strength and improvement of the educational system has been the steady and growing interest of lay citizens. Parent-teacher groups have doubled their membership during the last few years. The number of citizen committees working on educational problems with local school boards and administrators has grown from fewer than 1,000 in 1950 to more than 8,000 today. These groups have helped to raise faculty salaries, to improve service conditions, and to strengthen the bases of citizen interest in education. Teacher salaries, for example, while still inadequate in many places, have risen from a national average of $1,420 in 1930 to the present estimated average of $3,725. Citizen contributions to education are increasing, and these increases point to a recognition of the importance citizens attach to education. In 1953, for example, they spent $500 million more than the year before.

Looking over this panorama of progress as another school year draws to its close, we can take courage I think, by what we see. For the evidence shows that education in America is a growing, dynamic, immensely vital enterprise. It has shortcomings, to be sure; it faces serious challenges in the years ahead of us, as we all realize; but as we look ahead we can do so confidently, knowing that we are not starting from dead center. The roots of our educational strength are planted firmly in citizen concern and responsibility at the local and regional levels. They are nourished by our heritage of freedom for education to develop as necessary in response to the needs of our Republic. Who can question, with the evidence before us, the vigor of our educational system, and the promise it holds for an enlightened and humane tomorrow?

HON. THOMAS E. DEWEY, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, GREETING TO DR. SAMUEL MILLER BROWNELL

I am exceedingly pleased that you are to receive an award from the Times Square Club for outstanding services to American education. On behalf of the people of New York, I congratulate you and I also congratulate the club on its choice.

It is most fitting that your luminous labors in this sphere receive such public recognition. Since the day when you were appointed, at the age of 21, to be principal of the Demonstration High School at State Teachers College in Nebraska, your activities, ranging from Nebraska to our own Cornell University and from Harvard to California, have rendered your contribution to learning in the United States truly nationwide. The school surveys and other papers you have written have made a lasting impression.

There is no more important area in the public service of our country than that of education, to which you have dedicated your life, your energy, and your intellect. I am sure there is no man in the country better qualified than you for the high office to which President Eisenhower called you and which you have administered brilliantly and effectively. My very best personal wishes.

THOMAS E. DEWEY.

THEODORE FRED KUPER, COUNSEL, FASHION INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, PRESENTING DR. SAMUEL MILLER BROWNELL

Members and friends of the Time Square Club are here today, because, we believe that the bulwark of liberty is universal education.

He who wrote for us the Declaration of Independence, the Statute for Religious Freedom, and our Bill of Rights, firmly believed that our God-given right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, must be ever safeguarded by man's right to knowledge and his free use thereof.

Thomas Jefferson devoted the greater part of his life to the cause of public education.

We, too, must serve education, if we are to preserve our liberties against the forces of ignorance and despotism.

For that service, we look forward with confidence to constructive leadership from our National Office of Education, which the President of the United States has entrusted to one who has unbounded faith in public education, in our teachers, and in the schools and colleges of America.

In the spirit of that faith, we proudly present to you, Dr. Fine for our award, a distinguished American, a devoted teacher, an inspiring teacher of teachers, Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell.

PRESENTATION OF AWARD TO DR. SAMUEL MILLER BROWNELL BY DR. BENJAMIN FINE, EDUCATION EDITOR, NEW YORK TIMES, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION AWARD MEETING, TIMES SQUARE CLUB

Dr. Brownell, honored guests, ladies, and gentlemen, the Times Square Club has voted its fifth annual award to Dr. Brownell.

We assure you that all of us and our friends are more than gratified; indeed, we are inspired in presenting this award to you.

As I present it on behalf of the officers and members of our club, permit me to read the text to you and to all those assembled here:

"Because of his consistent devotion to the cause of education and his passionate belief of democratic principles of our country, the Times Square Club, No. 1034, National League of Masonic Clubs, presents its fifth annual award for outstanding service to American education to Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell, United States Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"For many years professor of educational administration in Yale Graduate School of Education, and president of New Haven State Teachers College, Dr. Brownell has had a distinguished career in American education.

"A native of Peru, Nebr., and a graduate of the University of Nebraska, the Commissioner holds advanced degrees from Yale University and honorary degrees from many

other institutions. His background and experience include active participation in educational affairs beyond the classroom.

"A life member of the National Education Association, Dr. Brownell has through his inspiring leadership, his talented mind, and his boundless courage been a valuable force for an improved educational program on all levels.

"Dr. Brownell exemplifies all that is best in the democratic way of life. He has dedicated his life to the cause of our youth and the welfare of citizens generally.

"He has given leadership to both private and public education. Deeply concerned with the problems of American education, Dr. Brownell has given tirelessly of himself in helping to provide America's children and youth with a sound, wholesome, democratic schooling.

"BENJAMIN FINE,
"Director of Education.
"NATHAN JACKSON,
"President.

"NEW YORK, *March 28, 1954.*"

A 20-Year History of Communism in New Deal Washington Down to Date

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, before the New Deal, communism was an underground, outlaw movement in the United States. Barred from the ballot by 18 State legislatures, the Stalinites were without legal standing. Their party was treated as the thing it was, a wrecking movement of godless outlaws and violent revolutionaries. Four Presidents faithfully had preserved the United States policy of nonrecognition of the lawless Communist Russia.

All this was changed by the New Deal. Early in 1933, soon after President Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, talk was heard of immediate recognition of the Moscow government. Before the year was out recognition had been accomplished.

Thenceforth, the outlaw breed of wreckers and despoilers of civilization were taken into the family of nations, offered a place at the council table of humanity and, in the United States, invited to become a part of government.

And precisely at this point began the most treacherous betrayal of America since the founding of the Republic.

Today, after 20 years of organized Communist penetration in America, we have some of the story in the public record, the story of Moscow's treacherous infiltration of every major department and agency of our own United States Government, both in Washington and throughout those States in which large Federal payrolls are controlled by the Washington bureaucrats.

On August 28, 1950, Lee Pressman, formerly an attorney in the Argricultural Adjustment Administration, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Under oath, he acknowledged that he had been a member of a Communist Party cell in Washington in 1934 and 1935. He named three coworkers in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the first of the New Deal recovery agencies, as collaborators in the Communist underground then operating within the Federal departments under the Roosevelt-Wallace-Tugwell program to reorganize the American economic and political system.

In the 16-year record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities there is no earlier date established for the launching of the Communist network within the structure of the American Government. The Communist cell in the State Department, which came to light in the Alger Hiss trial, began operations in 1938–39. The Marzani cell in the State Department did its work in 1940–43. The Judith Coplon ring in the Department of Justice was active in the years 1943–46. The Amerasia spy ring, which operated in both the State and Navy Departments as well as in the Office of Strategic Services, sent its secrets to Moscow in the years 1943–45. The atomic-energy spy ring did its work in 1942–46. Pressman's testimony was the first from a former Government employee who had been himself a member of the Moscow network in Washington during the first months of the New Deal, dating from March 4, 1933.

The three other Communist Party members who worked closely with him in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's Kremlin cell were named by Pressman in his testimony as first, Nathan Witt, who later became secretary of the National Labor Relations Board, and shaped our Federal labor policy for years; second, John J. Abt, who was chief of the legal section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in 1933, became assistant general counsel for Harry Hopkins' Works Progress Administration in 1935, and assistant to the Attorney General in 1937–38; and third, Charles Kramer, who left the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to become general counsel to the Senate Labor Committee, in which capacity he was, with Chairman Robert F. Wagner, of New York, one of the principal authors of the Wagner Act, which gave communsim a free hand in the American labor movement.

In a very real sense, Pressman's testimony forms the vital missing link in the Communist trail in New Deal Washington. The many-sided Moscow network which came to light in later years in all the major departments of the Government, was seeded originally in 1933 in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, when Henry A. Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture, with Rexford Guy Tugwell as Under Secretary and top administrator of the first-unconstitutional—incarnation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Pressman was first named as an influential kingpin of the Washington Communists in the early New Deal era, in the testimony of Whittaker Chambers, in August 1948. When the House Committee called him on that occasion, Pressman dismissed Chambers' charges as "the stale and lurid mouthings of a Republican exhibitionist." In the same manner, Alger Hiss had denied Chambers' accusations with unrestrained vehemence. Two years—and one presidential election—were to pass before the record would be completed by Pressman's frank admission—after the Communist aggression in Korea—that he had himself suggested Alger Hiss for appointment as general counsel for the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee in 1935, from which post Hiss had moved on to larger fields of public service in the State Department and the United Nations Preparatory Commission.

After leaving Federal service in 1936 Pressman became a national figure as general counsel for the CIO, at $19,000 a year. As legal guide and mentor to the late Sidney Hillman, Pressman was a moving force in the CIO Political Action Committee, which reelected Roosevelt for the third and fourth terms, put Henry Wallace in as Vice President and then Secretary of Commerce, and extended its stranglehold on Congress.

As long ago as December 1948, the House Commitee on Un-American Activities reported:

> Communist espionage has broken through the security forces of the United States Government and made off with secret information of both military and diplomatic plans, policies, and actions. This espionage system has been carefully developed over a period of more than 15 years, and it has been successful to a degree critical to the welfare and safety of the people of this Republic.

It is significant that the development period of this Communist network in Washington—more than 15 years, as of 1948—links perfectly with Pressman's testimony that his own Communist activity in AAA dated back to the very launching of AAA in 1933–34. Thus, there is now established in the printed public record an unbroken chain of organized Communist activity, at the direct expense of the United States taxpayers, within the very structure of our own Federal Establishment, continuously since the first days of the New Deal.

In the light of this public record, the New Deal now stands exposed as the spawning ground of organized communism within the structure of American Government. Under the protective shelter of the New Deal's alphabetical wonderland, communism ceased to be an outlaw, underground movement, to become an active, directing force in government.

Following official acceptance at the White House, communism gradually penetrated every department and agency of the executive branch. When Congress, in 1948, began to expose this Communist infiltration with unanswerable evidence, President Truman ridiculed the work of the Un-American Activities Committee with the flippant rejoinder "red herring." But this complacent tolerance of Kremlin-directed communism in Washington had been foretold in an earlier campaign utterance of President Truman, who had said of Stalin, at Eugene, Oreg., on June 11, 1948:

> I like old Joe. He's a decent fellow, but he's a prisoner of the Politburo.

Now it appears our own Harry is a prisoner of a politburo, American variety.

As a fellow prisoner with Old Joe, President Truman's acceptance of communism as a benign world power came more than 10 years after the House Committee on Un-American Activities had begun a systematic delineation of world Communist sabotage and espionage in the United States.

That committee was set up first by House Resolution No. 282 of the 75th Congress, May 26, 1938, and on January 3, 1945, was made a permanent standing committee of the House.

During its first 10 years, under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, the committee was the object of almost continuous bitter abuse and violent scorn from the White House. Congress was bombarded with petitions and requests to kill the Un-American Activities Committee. Since 1948, President Truman has sought to dismiss all charges of communism in Washington as only more red herring. Many of his administration leaders in Congress sought to whitewash it and ridicule the extent of its existence.

Yet this committee's files today hold more than 50,000 pages of testimony supported by literally tons of exhibits, tracing the growth of communism and its propaganda and political organization in the United States.

In 1939 the committee published the names of 10 international CIO unions then under complete domination and control of known Communists.

On October 30, 1939, the committee published the names, positions, and salaries of 563 Federal employees in Washington known to have been affiliated with an avowed Communist-front organization, the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Yet it was not until March 21, 1947—7 years later—that President Truman appointed the Loyalty Review Board, to check on Communists and fellow travelers in the Federal departments and bureaus.

That Board examined the records of more than 9,200 suspected security risks in the Government service. Only 4,575 of these cases finally were cleared for future Federal employment. In 691 cases the FBI investigation was suspended when the suspected employee left the Government service voluntarily.

Renewing its inquiry into Communist penetration of the labor movement, the committee on March 29, 1944, named 21 CIO organizations as Communist-controlled. Later the committee published a list of 160 educational, political, and propaganda organizations known to be Communist fronts. During the war the committee investigated Communist propaganda broadcasts at Government expense by the Office of Price Administration. This inquiry was abandoned when two subofficials in charge of OPA radio resigned their Federal posts. Later the committee put a stop to pro-Soviet propaganda then being broadcast at Federal expense by the Department of Agriculture. In 1947, Gerhart Eisler was exposed as the No. 1 agent of the Communist International in the United States. Convicted and sentenced to prison for passport fraud, Eisler jumped bail, escaped from the United States aboard the Polish freighter *Batory*, and soon became Stalin's chief propaganda agent in Berlin.

Such was the web and extent of Communist operations in the United States Government as disclosed up to May 1950, when the details of the celebrated Amerasia case was revealed to an unsuspecting American public, through a long-suppressed report of another committee of the House.

Shortly before midnight on Sunday, March 11, 1945, Federal agents entered the offices of the pro-Communist magazine Amerasia, 225 Fifth Avenue, New York. They seized some 1,700 secret documents stolen from the Department of State, War Department, Navy Department, Office of War Information, Federal Communications Commission, and the Office of Strategic Services. Security classifications on these documents ranged from "restricted" and "confidential" to "top secret."

The official report of the House Judiciary Committee on this raid, however, was not made public until May 22, 1950. In presenting the report on that date—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 22, 1950, page 7532—Chairman Sam Hobbs, of Alabama, explained that the original report had been filed with the Clerk of the House in a routine manner on October 23, 1946, during a recess of Congress. It had never been printed.

Over the period of 5 years and 2 months between the Amerasia raid in New York and publications of the Judiciary Committee's report, all the essential material in these 1,700 secret documents had been available to Moscow. During those 5 years the orbit of Stalin's overlordship had expanded from 170 million population in Russia to more than 800 million population in Europe and Asia, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, eastern Germany, Albania, the Baltic Proyinces, China, Manchuria, and North Korea. But during those critical 5 years of the cold war the American people never were told by President Truman that the most vital military and diplomatic secrets of the United States Government had been stolen by the Kremlin's spy ring in Washington.

Informed observers have expressed the conviction that this case—one of the weirdest in American political history—is the key to America's postwar diplomatic debacle in Asia. The suppression of the Amerasia evidence for 5 years served one great purpose; it sheltered and protected the proCommunist ring in the State Department until their treacherous work of national betrayal had been accomplished fully.

About 10 a. m. in the morning following the Amerasia raid in New York—March 12, 1945—some of the more important recovered documents were laid before Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan, head of the Office of Strategic Services, and Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, in Washington. General Donovan instantly demanded that the material be turned over to the district attorney for immediate grand jury proceedings, to be started that day, so that the Government officers involved or suspected might be subpenaed en mass, without opportunity to compare notes on their testimony.

But this plan did not go through. President Roosevelt, then in the last month of his life, directed that the case be turned over to the FBI for full investigation. All public discussion of the Amerasia material was to be avoided during the FBI investigation.

Thirteen weeks later, on May 29, 1945, the FBI report to the Attorney General recommended six arrests in the Amerasia case. But on May 31 the Attorney General hastily informed the FBI the whole case must be held in abeyance until the conclusion of the San Francisco conference then organizing the United Nations. Publication of the recovered Amerasia documents, it was contended officially, might embarrass the San Francisco conference, of which Alger Hiss had been named Secretary General. Owen Lattimore, unofficial State Department adviser on Asiatic affairs, had been a member of the Amerasia editorial board from 1937 to 1941.

On June 6, 1945, six persons in the Amerasia case were arrested by FBI agents on charges alleging conspiracy to violate the espionage laws. A few days later these charges were reduced to conspiracy to violate title 18 of the United States Code, having to do with the embezzlement and mutilation of Government documents.

The grand jury failed to return true bills against three of those arrested. But on August 10, 1945, true bills were returned against Phillip Jaffe, the Russian-born editor of Amerasia, Emanuel Larsen, a State Department officer, and Lt. Andrew Roth, of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

On October 2, Jaffe entered a plea of guilty and was fined $2,500.

On Saturday afternoon, November 2, a curious hour when Washington courts are not normally in session, Larsen entered a plea of guilty and was fined $500. This session of court lasted less than 15 minutes.

On February 13, 1946, the last remaining Amerasia indictement, against Lieutenant Roth, was quashed on motion of the Department of Justice.

The net of the Amerasia disclosures, therefore, was six arrests, three releases without indictment, one fine of $2,500, another fine of $500, and one indictment quashed. Somewhere high in the Government powerful forces had succeeded in smothering from national view and public discussion the whole shocking story of 1,700 secret documents stolen from the sensitive departments in Washington for reproduction in a Communist magazine in New York.

On August 24, 1953, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee released its report on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments. This report filled in many of the gaps in the story of the Communist conspiracy as revealed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Senate report exposed the core of the traitors who had been operating close to the seats of power during the years of the New Deal and the Fair Deal.

About a dozen individuals loyal to Moscow, dictated the policies of the United States in important and vital particulars. They were the advisers, the speechwriters, the experts, and the background men. Benedict Arnold was a patriot compared to Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Victor Perlo, Nathan G. Silvermaster, John J. Abt, Nathan Witt, Lee Pressman, Edwin S. Smith, Harold Glasser, Carl Aldo Marzani, V. Frank Coe, and Irving Kaplan.

As Lee Pressman had testified, these people got their foothold in the Department of Agriculture where they wrote the laws providing for the subsidies we are even now granting to wheat, cotton corn, etc. If we continue these laws we must spread the communistic ownership, finance, and control to all foods and fibers, for why should fruit and vegetables be left out of consideration for subsidies? From the Department of Agriculture, the traitors spread out into every area of the Government including even Congress. But let the record speak for itself. The Senate report lists 11 individuals who served on the staffs of six Senate committees and one House Committee. When questioned, 10 invoked the privileges of the Fifth amendment. On the executive side of Government the traitors commanded such positions as:

First. An executive assistant to the President of the United States.

Second. An Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Third. A United States Treasury Attaché in China.

Fourth. The Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs for the State Department.

Fifth. Secretary of the International Monetary Fund.

Sixth. A member of the National Labor Relations Board.

Seventh. Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board.

Eighth. Chief, Statistical Analysis Branch, War Production Board.

Ninth. Director, National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration.

Tenth. Treasury Department representative and adviser in Financial Control Division of the North African Economic Board in UNRRA and at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow.

Eleventh. Secretary General, United Nations Conference.

These people were responsible for the so-called Morgenthau plan which was intended to reduce Germany to an agrarian community and thereby guaranteeing the transcendence of Russia in Western Europe, for the first time since the hordes of Genghis Khan swept out from the East. These traitors made possible the Red conquest of China with the consequent accretion of 400 million more people to the Communist flag. They set up the organization of the United Nations and gave Russia the veto and permanent seat in the Security Council.

The Senate report shows that the Communists actually controlled the State Department, the Treasury Department, the National Labor Relations Board, the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services among others and had even a dominant voice in White House circles.

Testimony before the Senate Internal Subcommittee showed that Lauchlin Currie, an executive assistant to President Roosevelt, together with Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, were the men who pulled the necessary strings when a new field was to be infiltrated or protection from exposure was required. A significant portion of Elizabeth Bentley's testimony before the Senate subcommittee is as follows:

> We didn't have too much trouble [in moving these agents]. * * * Two of our best [avenues for placing people in positions] were Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie. * * * Whoever we had as an agent would automatically serve for putting someone else in. * * * Once we got one person in, he got others, and the whole process continued like that. * * * We trained our agents to make what good contacts they could here in Washington in order that should they need to get into a better job, they would have the contact ready.

The pattern of working together, in the committee's words, was this:

> They used each other's names for references on applications for Federal employment. They hired each other. They promoted each other. They raised each other's salaries. They transferred each other from bureau to bureau, from department to department, from congressional committee to congressional committee. They assigned each other to international commissions.

The story of the promotion of Harry Dexter White by President Truman to the International Monetary Fund is still fresh enough in everyone's mind so that no additional comment need be made here. One inference must be made, however, from the Harry Dexter White case. That is, that the whole story is not yet told and may never be told, because the New Deal Communist Socialists did not and do not want it to be told. As the Senate subcommittee put it:

> There is a mass of evidence and information on the hidden Communist conspiracy in Government which is still inaccessible to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to this subcommittee because persons who know the facts of this conspiracy are not cooperating.

To date only the highlights of these 17 years of treasonable betrayal in Washington have been sketched in the public record. Some day, when all the records may be examined, the whole frightful story of New Deal treachery, sabotage, and espionage will be unfolded for public appraisal.

That story will tell exactly how many Communists and fellow-travelers found employment in the Federal bureaus after 1933. It will tell who, in 1945, lifted the ban against enlisting avowed Communists in the United States military services, and why soon after we had as alleged by Browder over 13,000 Communists in the armed services.

But the evidence is now complete that the Communists have infiltrated one of the great political parties. This admission is reported in a recent review of the Un-American Activities Committee. The Honorable MARTIN DIES, former chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, was threatened by Mr. Roosevelt himself. At a conference between the President and Mr. DIES in 1938 at the White House the President warned Mr. DIES that the Democratic Party could not win if the Un-American Activities Committee investigated the Communists in the CIO. Such an investigation, said the President, would cause the CIO to turn against the party and, said he:

> Without their support the Democratic Party would be defeated.

Then after ridiculing DIES for seeing things under the beds the President said:

> There is nothing wrong with Communists. Some of the best friends I have got are Communists.

Perhaps the reason is not far to seek. A President who found Joe Stalin a decent fellow in 1948 hardly could be expected to become really indignant and incensed that a foreign power with a propaganda machine at least equal to that of the United States Marines, actually had penetrated every department of his own Government.

Finally Norman Thomas and Earl Browder have announced that the Socialists and the Communists have secured most of their program through the Democratic Party. They have virtually dissolved the Socialist and Communist Parties as separate units. They are now masters of the once-great Jeffersonian Democratic Party. Thomas and Browder write with satisfaction and say in effect that—

> Our work is done. We are satisfied. Our followers numbering about 900,000 are now in the New Deal Democratic Socialist-Communist Party—the party of the future.

Thus the Communist-Socialist revolution was brought about by Roosevelt and Truman. They did not overthrow our constitutionally limited form of government by force and violence, but in conjunction with the traitors they overthrew the Republic by adopting socialism and communism under the slogans of democracy and freedom.

The real challenge that the American people now face is not whether they shall be able to rout out, put in jail, or to expose Communists. It is true that the Socialists-Communists did great harm to the Nation by the laws they drafted or helped draft for a rubberstamp Congress to pass and the decisions they helped make in our foreign affairs and particularly in the conduct of war. What should really frighten us is that we are actually now appropriating billions of dollars to carry out the policies of the Communists and continue to allow their laws to remain on our statute books.

Communism as defined in Webster's International Dictionary is: "A system of social organization in which goods are held in common, the opposite of the system of private property."

The New Deal Communist's pet project, TVA, is a classic example of that definition. TVA is owned and operated by the United States Government; that is to say, TVA is a communal or public-owned property acquired by taking private property amounting to $1,788 million, mostly from the people of 41 States

for the alleged benefit of the people of 7 other States. Although many additional millions of dollars are poured into this project each year, the project is a failure. Significantly and as we could expect, it has failed to better the lot of the people it was intended to benefit. In addition to suffering a severe shortage of power the people of the State of Tennessee have incurred a serious decline in productivity. The United States Chamber of Commerce has compiled a study of the economic status of Tennessee in relation to the 10 Southeastern States. In 1930, before the advent of TVA, the population of Tennessee ranked fourth among the 10 States and in 1950 she still ranked fourth. But in 1933, just a year prior to operation of TVA, the receipts from farm marketing ranked Tennessee fifth, while in 1950 she dropped to eighth place. The retail sales payroll in 1935 put Tennessee in third place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth place. Retail sales in 1929 had Tennessee in second place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth. In value added by manufacture, Tennessee ranked third in 1933; fourth in 1947. In gross postal receipts she ranked third in 1933; down to fourth in 1951.

Since TVA began its monopolistic control of the State of Tennessee, the people not only lost the will and initiative to produce, but they have also lost the power to govern themselves and their resources. The rates at which electrical power can be sold is dictated by TVA. They may not buy power elsewhere as private companies are excluded from the TVA reservation. They are dependent on the Federal dole and must abide by any rules that Congress may promulgate. That is socialism-communism in these United States.

Another example of the New Deal Communist legislation is public housing. The Communists live in the public housing units and form their cells there to agitate for more communism. Here is what the Soviet constitution of 1936, as amended, has to say about public housing:

ART. 6. The land * * * and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are State property, that is, belong to the whole people.

Ever since 1933 when the United States got into the public housing business it has been alleged over and over again that if you improve the housing conditions of the people you improve their morals. That has never been proved, and actually the contrary is true. Judge Francis J. McCabe, of the Rhode Island juvenile court, has said:

Public housing projects don't wipe out juvenile and adult delinquency by eliminating slums. Delinquents are more plentiful in the projects because they move into the projects from scattered areas and thereby become more concentrated.

Judge McCabe's observations are borne out by statistics proved by the chief of police of Los Angeles. In that city police calls per thousand population in a privately owned project were 0.08 percent. In four big housing projects the calls per thousand were 13.75 percent. There was 96 percent more crime in permanent public housing projects in Los Angeles than in the slums themselves and more than 1,000 percent more crime in public housing projects than in the privately owned low-rent housing projects in the same city.

The people do not like such houses as is proved by the high vacancy rates in projects in eight localities scattered throughout the Nation.

Thus we find in the United States the consequences of communism in the areas adopting it, that we find in Russia, England, France, and other countries, viz, a paralysis of building houses for rent with private capital, a lowering of standards of living by taxpayers compelled to supply schools, streets, police, and other like services for the tax-exempt Government houses, and an alarming increase of juvenile crime and dishonesty peculiar to all communism.

The taking of private property without consent by political compulsion to make it public property for the benefit of special groups is antisocial and morally wrong. Moral qualities which reside in the individual alone certainly cannot be conveyed by force of government to another. So when government attempts to separate a man's house or property rights from him by force so as to convey it to another, nothing of moral value whatever can be conveyed. Violence against property rights of the one brings degradation to the other who takes the proceeds. Besides, it corrupts the government that acts as a go-between.

Public housing and TVA are only two examples of the New Deal Socialist-Communist legislation still on our statute books. Other such legislation provides for Government subsidies, controls and regimentation extending over more than 100 aspects of the Nation's economic life.

The principle of a constitutional government limited to the legal and moral functions of government has been embodied in several proposed constitutional amendments now pending before the House of Representatives and on which hearings will soon be scheduled. Every patriot of the Republic should interest himself in the disposition of these amendments and inform the Congress that the Nation supports the principle of these amendments.

A fundamental principle is involved in this battle against socialism. That principle is that individuals exercising all their natural rights and powers are the only true source of houses, food, power—the source of all moral improvement with God's help—and that government must be strictly limited to the protection of that source.

Either we believe that with all our hearts or we believe the exact opposite with all our hearts, that government is the source, the instrument of force over men by which it gets or takes from them houses, food, power, and so forth. Surely we are not going to fall down and worship again that old satanic concept that by the use of political power and compulsion we can bring about the good life of our people. Let us reject it utterly as the concept was rejected nearly 2,000 years ago.

Uniform Requirements for Admission To Practice in the Federal Courts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD an article by Mr. Homer D. Crotty, former president of the State Bar of California, in which he discusses the need for uniform requirements for admission to practice in the Federal courts. This article was printed in the February 1948 issue of the Bar Examiner, a publication of the National Conference of Bar Examiners. The article follows:

UNIFORM REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION TO PRACTICE IN THE FEDERAL COURTS

(By Homer D. Crotty, chairman, California committee of bar examiners, speaking at the Cleveland meeting of the National Conference of Bar Examiners)

The subject of this paper, Uniform Requirements for Admission to Practice in the Federal Courts, has been under consideration by committees of Federal judges for some years.

As there seems to be no place in this country, except possibly the Library of the Supreme Court of the United States, where the rules of the Federal district courts can be found together in one spot, it was necessary, therefore, to obtain the information from judges, district court clerks and lawyers. The rules for most of the Federal districts can be found in the volumes published from time to time in Pike & Fisher's Federal Rules Service, but this set does not include many of the rules in effect at the time the service was started. In several of the Federal districts there are no provisions on the subject at all. In one at least there is merely what one might call an oral tradition.

The result of the survey which I have made—and it is not an exhaustive one—discloses a very wide diversity in the rules for admission to practice, as well as in the procedures for admission. This naturally is to be expected. At the present time we have within the limits of the continental United States 84 Federal districts and 10 Federal circuits, or if you include the District of Columbia, 85 districts and 11 circuits. These districts vary from those containing the largest metropolitan populations to those in the wide open spaces of the West. In some districts the lawyers are numbered by the thousands and in others merely by the hundreds. It is impossible for a judge in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, or Los Angeles to know personally more than a small fraction of the lawyers who practice before him. It is easy, therefore, to understand the disparity of the Federal rules for admission.

What exactly does Federal practice encompass? A substantial number of the cases in the Federal district courts involve diversity of citizenship cases. There are, of course, the Federal specialties—bankruptcy, patent law, admiralty in maritime districts, Federal taxation, the ever-growing list of Federal crimes, and the cases arising from the expanding Federal administrative agencies. The Federal courts apply their Federal rules of civil procedure.

As a result of the survey, I have concluded that uniform rules for admission to practice in the Federal courts are desirable. I would like to develop certain views as to their content.

At the outset, an exception must be made of the rules for admission to practice in the District of Columbia. Inasmuch as this District has local as well as Federal jurisdiction, it has the equivalent of a State trial court and a Federal district court combined. Because of the lucrative field of Federal taxation, and the increased volume of work before Federal administrative agencies, the number of lawyers in the District of Columbia has been growing steadily for many years. The District of Columbia has its own bar, and I would venture to say a large percentage of its lawyers has never been admitted to practice in a State court. Of necessity, therefore, rules for admission in this District should be as separate and distinct as rules for admission to a State court. There is a definite need for investigation of the applicant's moral character as well as his legal ability, and the District maintains an active Committee on Admissions and Grievances to supervise both admissions and disciplinary proceedings.

My first suggestion for a uniform rule is that the applicant for admission must have been admitted to the highest court of the State in which the Federal district court is situated and that he must be in good standing at the time of his admission. This requirement of admission to the highest court of the State in which the Federal district court is situated is surprisingly enough an indispensable requirement of a relatively few Federal district courts. In practically every district, admission to the highest court of the State in which the Federal district is located, is sufficient, but in many of them, admission to the highest court of a sister State, admission to the district court in another Federal district, to a Federal circuit court, or to the United States Supreme Court is also sufficient. For example, the rule in Cleveland, in the District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, permits the admission of an attorney admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, or who, for not less than 1 year, has been admitted to practice in the highest court of any State, Territory, the District of Columbia, or an insular possession, or in the district court of the United States for any other district.[1]

In 1938 the United States Supreme Court decided the famous case of *Erie* v. *Tompkins*,[2] holding that in diversity of citizenship cases the Federal courts must apply the substantive laws of the State in which they sit. If the case of *Erie* v. *Tompkins* has any validity, it must appear that the applicant for admission to the Federal district court should be familiar with the substantive law of the State in which the district is located. I do not except from this requirement those who have been admitted to the United States Supreme Court. Admission there is not a substitute for knowledge of the applicable State laws.

Due to the alleged salubriousness of California's climate and for other reasons, a large number of eastern lawyers are attracted there, some of them perforce. We have heard in at least one case, that if a lawyer under investigation in an Eastern State would move to California charges against him would be dropped. We also have a number of attorneys, admitted to practice in other States but not in California, who are attempting to practice tax law, whatever that may be. It is impossible to believe that their services will be held to the preparation of income-tax returns, and they will not cross the line and engage in other forms of practice. The State bar, of course, is active in running these things down, but it is very difficult to police the situation. Then there are so-called labor consultants, some of whom are migratory birds who fly about the more promising cities without bothering to be admitted to practice in each new location where they settle. Why should such persons be admitted to the Federal district's bar when they are not admitted also in the State courts?

Why, indeed, should they be allowed to practice their so-called specialties under the protection of a Federal admission when doubtless much of it is considered unlawful practice in the State in which they are located?

My second suggestion for a uniform Federal rule is that there be no waiting period required between the time when an applicant has been admitted to the bar in his State court and the time when he is admitted to the bar of the Federal district court. In a number of districts the applicant is required to wait a year after his admission to the State court, in some others 2 or even 3 years. What reason is there for permitting a lawyer to practice in all of the courts of a State after his admission and not permitting him to practice in the lower Federal trial court? Suppose a young lawyer has a negligence action against one of our interstate railroads and the cause is removed to the Federal district court. Why should he be disqualified from continuing with his case there because sufficient time has not elapsed to permit his admission? This requirement savors of the practice of the American Federation of Musicians. I can think of no good reason why it is desirable.

I would not suggest any change in the 3-year waiting period for admission to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. This rule is hoary with age. Mr. Will Shafroth advised me that it was adopted by the Supreme Court of the United States on February 5, 1790.

My third suggestion is a negative one. I would recommend that no bar examination be required of prospective members of the Federal bar. The practice of the District Court for the Southern District of New York appears to me to be adequate in principle. In that district, the applicant must certify that he has read and is familiar with the Federal rules of civil procedure, the admiralty rules promulgated by the United States Supreme Court, and the general orders in bankruptcy adopted by the United States Supreme Court, and that he has read and is familiar with all the provisions of the Canons of Ethics of the New York State Bar Association and will adhere faithfully thereto.

The Federal district judges in nearly every district have a very heavy load of work and should not be required to take the time necessary to supervise bar examinations, whether by themselves or by a committee of lawyers. It is difficult to see why a Federal bar examination is required in Cincinnati but is not required in Cleveland. In the southern district of Ohio, for example, the committee of bar examiners is required to examine applicants as to the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, removal of causes from State courts, the Federal rules, as well as the rules of the local court. At St. Louis the examinations cover the Federal constitution, jurisdiction of the Federal courts, Federal practice and procedure, and removal of causes. Moreover, examinations are not required by the great majority of the Federal district courts. Far more desirable, I believe, is the requirement that the applicant should certify that he is familiar with the rules. In any case he has in the Federal courts, I am sure any practitioner must refresh himself on the rules as to which he may have become hazy.

A uniform rule, I believe, should permit a lawyer to be admitted to the district court pro hac vice, even though he has not been admitted in the State in which the Federal district is situated. Most of the Federal districts provide for such admission for a particular case, and this rule, I think, should be continued in the uniform rule. Not all of the districts, however, require that there should be a resident counsel associated with the nonresident attorney. This, it appears to me, is a desirable feature, for complaints have been made by the Federal judges that where nonresident attorneys appear in cases there is no way to get in touch with them quickly and that matters would be handled more expeditiously if a resident attorney be associated. In addition, the rules in most Federal districts require this now.

The uniform rules should permit Government attorneys engaged in the trial of cases to practice in the Federal distct court in which the matters are being heard, provided the United States attorney is authorized to accept service of papers in pending actions. There are also in these times numerous branch offices of different Government administrative agencies. In many cases, lawyers have been sent out from Washington who are not members of the bar of the State in which the branch office is located. Nevertheless, for the particular field in which the bureau is engaged, it seems to me that such Government lawyer during the term of his employment should be qualified to practice before the district courts notwithstanding the fact that he had not been admitted to the highest court of the State in which the district is located, provided, again, that the United States attorney is authorized to accept service in pending actions.

The point has been raised as to whether the uniform rules should require 2 years of college prelegal education and graduation from an accredited law school. In only one district that I know of, the eastern district of Tennessee, is there required a definite education prerequisite. This rule requires 3 years of college and 2 years of legal education, of which 1 must have been class instruction—a requirement higher than that provided for admission to the Tennessee Supreme Court. I do not believe that the Federal districts should insist on requirements for admission which in effect are higher than those required for admission to the highest court of the State in which the Federal court is located. Such a requirement would result in two grades of lawyers in the same community and seems to be undesirable.

I would also suggest that the applicant supply his fingerprints. This, I know, would be a radical innovation. My reason behind it comes from a case recently closed in California. A man calling himself Charles J. Edwards, Jr., filed an application with the California State Bar on the basis that he had been admitted prior to the adoption of the State bar act, and was therefore entitled to be admitted on payment of back dues and without a bar examination. A letter from the deputy clerk of the supreme court certified to the State bar that the court records showed Mr. Edwards had been admitted in California on September 16, 1926, on license from New York State, and in concluding, highly recommended Mr. Edwards to the State bar. After paying his back dues from 1927 to 1945, Edwards enrolled as a member of our State bar. Then he became acquainted with a lot of people in the Hollywood movie colony, who found him very affable and apparently quite a joiner. Among his forged membership cards were included those of the Knights of Columbus, the Communist Party, the B'nai B'rith, and the Ku Klux Klan. He was also a member of the American Bar Association. One of his friends prevailed upon one of our leading practitioners, of national reputation, to move his admission to the Federal court in the southern district of California. This was done and photographs of the ceremony were published in our newspapers. Then things caught up with Edwards. It was discovered first of all that he had assumed the name of a lawyer of good reputation who had

[1] General Rules, the U. S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio, effective June 1, 1941, rule 1.

[2] 304 U. S. 64, 82 L. Ed. 1188.

died many years before. The letter which he had obtained from the State supreme court was considerably altered by him. That was the letter upon which the State bar acted. Edwards, after the fraud was discovered, had his membership in the State bar canceled, and is now living in our State prison at San Quentin.

On the basis of this case, and on the basis of certain others where lawyers in California have been admitted and their criminal records had not been uncovered at the time of their admission, it seems desirable to recommend the fingerprinting of the applicant, at the time his application is made.

Uniform rules should also prescribe the procedure to be followed in admitting the applicant. I would suggest that the applicant himself should swear to his application, which would list his residence, his office, the fact of his admission to practice in the State courts, and state that he had never been suspended or disbarred from practice and is now a member in good standing of the bar of his State. The applicant should also certify that he has read and is reasonably familiar with the rules of Federal procedure, the general orders in bankruptcy, as well as the Canons of Ethics of the American Bar Association. His application should be sponsored by an attorney previously admitted to the district court, who should vouch for applicant's good moral character. With his application should be filed as an exhibit the certificate of the judge of the highest court of the State in which the Federal district court is located, certifying to applicant's admission to the bar of the State and to the fact that he is in good standing. It does not seem to me that any special rules relating to the publication of the application need be required.

Just how is this all to be accomplished? From time to time there have been introduced into Congress various bills relating to admission to practice in the Federal courts. None of these bills has ever been enacted into law. Inasmuch as the Supreme Court of the United States has been authorized by law[1] to make rules of civil and criminal practice and procedure for the district courts, it appears to me that the subject should be governed by new Supreme Court rules.

To recapitulate briefly, the new uniform Federal rules should require the applicant for admission to the Federal district court to be a resident of the State in which the district court is located. No waiting time and no examination should be required. Admission of lawyers *pro hac vice* should be permitted, provided resident counsel be named upon whom service of notices and other papers could be made. Government lawyers, during the term of their employment, should also be permitted to practice in the Federal courts even though they may not be admitted to the court of the State in which the district is located. An applicant should be sponsored by an attorney member of the Federal bar and should submit with his application a certificate from a judge of the highest court of the State as to applicant's admission there and as to his good standing. An applicant should also submit his fingerprints.

The adoption of uniform rules for admission to the Federal courts would eliminate the great disparity existing between the various Federal districts. This is not a plea for symmetry for its own sake. In many of the Federal districts the rules appears to me to require strengthening. In others the rules would be improved, I believe, if they were simplified. Lawyers are sometimes accused of having the most airtight union of them all. For the various State and Federal privileges we enjoy, we, as lawyers, should try to eliminate the petty restrictionist practices we are so free to condemn in other associations. The adoption by the Supreme Court of such uniform rules would bring credit upon the Federal courts and enhance their prestige.

[1] U. S. C. A., title 28, sec. 723 a (civil). U. S. C. A., title 18, sec. 687 (criminal).

The Missing U. N.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial by Mr. David Lawrence, which appeared in U. S. News & World Report for March 19. Mr. Lawrence points out that the United Nations organization cannot be used for collective security in a military sense and suggests that when the American people realize this fact, the better it will be for all of our people.

Mr. Speaker, he also points out in this editorial that in the forthcoming conference to revise the Charter of the United Nations that it would be foolish to amend the form of the charter and ignore the substance of it. Mr. Lawrence is also absolutely right when he says that there is no room in any collective security system for the faithless and the treasonable:

THE MISSING U. N.
(By David Lawrence)

How naive are the American people—or rather how naive are the speakers who think the public credulously accepts misleading statements about the true position of the United Nations in the world today?

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and a host of other well-meaning persons are going up and down the country in community after community telling the people to put their faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for the enforcement of world peace.

But the United Nations actually has failed so utterly to live up to its original purposes and to the solemn words of its charter that a statement of the truth would do far more toward building faith in any remodeled organization of the fture than pious claims which ignore the facts of international life.

Thus it was the Security Council of the United Nations which sent American troops into Korea in June 1950. Our troops engaged in that war by reason of an Executive agreement which was never submitted to either House of Congress for approval.

For more than 3 years the words "United Nations command" have been used in official documents and in reports to the United Nations. The fiction has meen maintained that an army subject to United Nations instructions was fighting in Korea. The American Government at the outset was designated as agent for the U. N., and never has the United Nations been omitted from the phraseology of all communications and reports bearing on the Korean war.

Yet when the conference between the United Nations command and the Communists at Panmunjom broke down recently and no political conference was arranged for—as stipulated by the armistice—the United Nations dropped out of the whole thing.

No armistice agreements or peace proposals have ever been submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations. Hence the unit which authorized the bloodshed had ceased to have a hand in endeavoring to consummate the peace agreement. The U. N. has abandoned in a practical sense the job of representing the more than 79,000 persons, including 31,500 Americans, who gave their lives in the fight against the Communist armies.

Today the United Nations has no part in calling the Geneva conference starting April 26. This meeting is an improvised substitute for the political conference which the armistice agreement asked in vain to be called not later than October 28, 1953.

The Geneva conference is really a group of principals in a war theoretically fought by the United Nations. Soviet Russia—having acknowledged that it sent arms and ammunition to the Communist Chinese Government, which was declared an aggressor by the United Nations Assembly—is not in any way being brought to book or punished for its violation of the Charter. Instead Russia now is given prestige as an inviting power at Geneva and, as such, invites the North Korean and Red Chinese Governments to participate. This is the hypocrisy of the hour.

Here, therefore, is a multipower conference outside the United Nations, owing no allegiance as a conference to the United Nations itself. When the meeting is over, the members of the U. N. who participated in the Geneva affair will, of course, file with the U. N. a report of what happened—a routine act without significance, as the die will have been cast anyway.

The facts about the failure of the U. N. have never been faced by any of the statesmen of the world except the late Senator Taft, who a year ago pointed out that, in setting up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to maintain the peace of Europe, several of the important members had bypassed the U. N. and that dependence must be placed hereafter on alliances of free nations for special purposes.

It is often argued that the U. N. is a handy forum—a debating society. It is, of course, an instrument for discussion through which moral force can be mobilized. But the sooner the apologists for the U. N. concede that the U. N. has failed as an enforcement body and that, in and of itself, the organization cannot be used for collective security in a military sense, the sooner will be dispelled the illusions being spread across this country about the nature of the United Nations.

Preparations are being made now to revise the Charter of the U. N. Morality cannot be legislated. To amend only the form and ignore the substance is to fail to meet the issue. There is no use revising the Charter until there is a moral code observed by the members. There can be no substitute for good faith and an allegiance to solemnly given pledges.

It is the character of some of the members rather than the phraseology of the Charter which needs revision. There is no room in any collective security system for the faithless and the treasonable. The U. N. will begin to thrive when it expels from its membership unmoral governments and establishes an alliance of nations that are truly free.

The First Recognition of Antarctica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have insert-

ed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from an article in the Boston Public Library quarterly entitled "The First Recognition of Antarctica." This article, which is based on the log of the Nantucket schooner *Huntress*, shows how far back in history goes the claim of the United States for discovery of a continent whose potential riches and strategic importance is only beginning to be recognized.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIRST RECOGNITION OF ANTARCTICA

(By Edouard A. Stackpole)

For centuries the continent of Antarctica was the subject of mystery. Capt. James Cook, of the British Navy, on his remarkable voyages of 1772–75, circumnavigated the great southern continent without sighting it, although he had reason to believe in its existence. "It is true, however," he wrote as of February 6, 1775, "that the greatest part of this southern continent (supposing there is one) must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so pestered with ice that the land is thereby inaccessible. The risque one runs in exploring a coast, in these unknown and icy seas, is so very great that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done; and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored."

The discovery of the Antarctic Continent has been credited to Adm. Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, and to Adm. Dumont D'Urville of the French Navy, both of whom approached the ice barrier of the new continent from different positions in January 1840. However, a few years ago American historians found that the real discovery probably occurred two decades earlier, when American sealers at the South Shetlands came upon a mountainous, snow-capped land to the south.

In 1940, Col. Lawrence Martin, the Chief of the Division of Maps in the Library of Congress, presented documentary evidence to prove that Capt. Nathaniel Brown Palmer, an American sealing master of Stonington, Conn., had sighted Antartica where its peninsula juts out toward the South Shetland Islands, 500 miles south of Cape Horn. The discovery was claimed to be as of November 1820, when Captain Palmer commanded the sloop *Hero*, one of the Stonington fleet of sealers. The section of the Antarctic Peninsula then sighted has been called by a number of geographers Palmer's Land, while the peninsula is now known as the Palmer Peninsula. The logbook of the *Hero* is in the Library of Congress.

On the basis of the log of the Nantucket schooner *Huntress*—found by the present writer beneath the pasted clippings of an old scripbook—a new claim is advanced here; namely that Christopher Burdick, captain of the *Huntress*, was the first man to recognize the continent of Antarctica.

Capt. Christopher Burdick sailed the 50-foot schooner *Huntress* out of Nantucket on August 4, 1820. Two weeks later he sighted Fayal in the Azores, and at 5 o'clock the next morning hove to off Pico. "Lowered away the boat and sint it on shore for vegetables. Tacking off and on for boats," he recorded. Continuing his voyage, he made the Cape Verdes on August 28, where he took a cargo of salt on board at the island of Boa Vista. His next passage was across the South Atlantic to the Falkland Islands; on the way (October 26) he spoke to the ship president, Captain Cottle, 73 days out from Nantucket, and "lowered away the boat and went on board."

On October 31, 1820, the *Huntress* arrived at the Falklands.

On November 22, 1820, he left the Falklands, heading for the South Shetlands, this time in company with the New Haven ship *Huron*, Captain Davis, and her shallop, or tender.

On December 8, Captain Burdick entered in his log:

"At 4 p. m. hauled our wind to beat up the harbor in co with ship *Huron* of New Haven and her shallop. Middle and latter part brisk winds. Stood in to Yanky Sound and went into harbor came two at 6 a. m. in 16 fathoms. Landlocked found five Stonington vessels here. So ends sea account."

The five Stonington craft were the fleet commanded by Capt. Benjamin Pendleton, consisting of the brig *Frederick*, Captain Pendleton; the brig *Hersilia*, Captain Sheffield; schooner *Hero*, Capt. Nathaniel Brown Palmer; schooner *Freegift*, Capt. Thomas Dundas; and schooner *Express*, Capt. Ephraim Williams. This was only a portion of the sealing craft at the South Shetlands at this time, as there were an equal number of ships from other American ports and probably as many more British sealers. The harbor where the fleet lay, Yankee Harbor, was on the southeast coast of Greenwich Island.

On February 12, 1821, Captain Burdick sailed "southward and westward." "Light Brezes and Calm, trying to get to the Southward," he entered the first day. Cruising along the southern coast of Friesland Island, he took his first officer, Mr. Coleman, off the bleak shore. The next day, sailing west alongshore, they found a rookery and collected 446 skins between them. Later that day he "stood to the southward." On the 15th of the month he continued south-southwest. His log book records the sighting of Antarctica:

"Begins with Light airs and variable with Calms pleasant wether at meridien Lat by obs. 63. * * * 17 S President Island Bearing North 3 Leagues mount Pisco SW b W dist 7 Leagues the Peak of Frezeland NE½ E 11 Leagues Deception Island NE by N 8 Leagues and a small Low Island SSW 6 Leagues to which I am bound and Land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a Continent. Later part fresh breze at North. At 6 P. M. came to anchor under Low island among a parcel of rocks Sent the Boat on shore She returned with 22 Seal So ends thes 24 hours."

The mere fact that Captain Burdick laconically announces sighting "land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a Continent" reveals that he had sa'led the *Huntress* to a position off Hoseason Island where it was easily possible for him to sight the black, rocky, and precipitous shore of the Antarctic Continent with its great, snowy mountain-plateau stretching for miles away.

The atmospheric conditions favored long-range observation and tended to shorten distances. Burdick mentions sighting Friesland Island more than 30 miles away to the northeast, but it is probable that the peak of Friesland was much further off, thus placing the continent of Antarctica—20 miles away—clearly in view. Furthermore, he continued his cruise south for several hours, anchoring at 6 p. m. at an island, some 20 miles from the continental shore across Der Gerlache Strait. He remained in the vicinity 2 days, going ashore on both sides of the island and getting sealskins. It was not until February 19 that he returned to Yankee Harbor.

Under these circumstances, it is fair to assume that the Nantucket sealer had no reason to doubt the existence of a continent across the channel from his anchorage. He not only had a long period in which to observe, but he gives bearings which enable one to trace his 5-day cruise. Most important of all is the record of the log itself: "Land from South to ESE which I suppose to be a continent."

On the following day Captain Burdick continued:

"Friday the 16: Begins with moderate Breezes at NE. Got all the men on shore to take seal drove up four hundred and nocked them down. The wind shifting in to the SW which making a bad harbor where [we] lay took 8 men on board and got under way and shifted her round on the NE side and anchored and at 8 p. m. we had got 400 skins on Board. So Ends these 24 hours.

"Saturday the 17: Begins with fresh breezes at NE and thick whether. Sent the Boat on shore * * * returned with 30 skins. It Blowing a hard gale right into the harbor we lay in hoisted in the Boat and got underway and Beat out after clearing the Land. Double ref'd the sail and stood to Northward. So ends with hard gale and thick snow.

"Sunday the 18: Made President Island bearing NE stood close in with it and tacked off to Southward at 4 p. m. more moderate wind canting to South, tacked and steered ENE at 8 made Deception Island. Middle and Latter part Light wind making the best of our way for Yanky habor.

"Wednesday the 28: Capt. Inott of the ship *Samuel* from Nantucket came into our harbor * * * brought me a package of letters."

Captain Burdick sailed for home on March 11, and arrived June 10.

The logbook entry in the cruise of the sloop *Hero*, which Colonel Martin believes substantiates Capt. Nathaniel Palmer's claim to the discovery of Antarctica, is as follows:

"FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1820.

"These 24 hours commences with fresh Breeses from SWest and Pleasant at 8 P. M. got over under the land found the sea filled with imense Ice Bergs at 12 hove Too under the Jib Laid off & on until morning—at 4 A. M. made sail in shore and discovered—a strait—Trending SSW & NNE—it was Literally filled with Ice and the shore inaccessible we thought it not Prudent to Venture in ice. Bore away to the Northerd & saw 2 small Islands and the shore every where Perpendiclular we stood across towards friesland [Friesland or Smith's or Livingston Island] Course NNW—the Latditude of the mouth of the strait was 63–45 S Ends with fine weather wind at SSW."

This island sighted by Palmer and thought by Martin to be Trinity Island is 40 miles from the nearest South Shetlands. The strait which he mentions as being filled with floating ice is claimed by Colonel Martin to be Orleans Channel, which lies between the continental mainland of Antarctica and Trinity Island; but it is evident that Captain Palmer did not sail into it. Although Colonel Martin thinks that "it is not clear whether it was the coast of the mainland or the shore of these islands that was considered to be perpendicular," the present writer believes that Palmer had the precipitous shores of Tower and Trinity Islands in mind.

H. R. Mill, the eminent British authority, writing in his the Siege of the South Pole, believes that Palmer actually saw the littoral around Anvers Island, as did, a decade later, Captain John Biscoe. Certain it is that Palmer's Land was for years attached to an island archipelago, as the many maps cited by William H. Hobbs indicate.

The subsequent voyagings of the *Hero* in January 1821 were uneventful. There is no record of a trip south along Palmer peninsula as far as Marguerite Bay. Captain Palmer is alleged to have made this important exploration, but the claim was made long afterward, and his log-book entries make no mention of the land.

J. N. Reynolds, in a congressional report of 1828, stated that Capt. Benjamin Pendleton "discovered a bay, clear of ice, into which he run for a great distance, but did not ascertain its full extent south." And Capt. Edmund Fanning, in his Voyages, published

first in 1833, credits Pendleton with the actual discovery of Antarctica, declaring that he sighted it first from the peak of Deception Island. According to Fanning, Captain Palmer was sent by Pendleton, who was in command of the Stonington fleet, to investigate the land. Unquestionably he was so dispatched, but his object was to hunt for seals; his log book on November 1820 reveals no suspicion that he had seen the great southern polar continent, if he did actually observe the land mass at all. He merely describes the discovery of a "strait." Fanning's account of the meeting between Captain Palmer and the Russian Vice-Admiral Thaddeus von Bellingshausen in January 1821, when the Russian explorer was in the South Shetlands, is disappointing. The translation of the Russian navigator's account does not contain the story of the American mariner; nor does it bear any resemblance to the elaborate version given by Captain Palmer's niece, Mrs. Richard Fanning Loper, in 1907, or to that of J. R. Spears a few years later. Palmer's joint voyage with Captain Powell, the British sealer, to the South Orkney's in 1821 is a much more conclusive exploration.

Dumont d'Urville, the French admiral, sighted and named the northeast end of Orleans Channel in 1838. Eduard Dallmann, on his voyage of 1874, merely gave it a cursory examination. Both were prevented from exploring the channel by the presence of the icefields and a heavy fog which shrouded the entire area constantly. The Belgian expedition of 1898–99 further explored the coast; and in 1912 the French Hydrographic Office brought out a map of the South Shetlands showing the results of Charcot's explorations in 1903–5 and 1908–9.

The British base their claim to the Palmer Peninsula, which they call Graham Land, on the voyage of Captain Biscoe, in the brig *Tula*, in 1831–32, as "communicated by Messrs Enderby in 1833." This was a truly magnificent Antarctic circumnavigation. But Biscoe did not even venture as close to the land as did the sealers. The British mariner refers to land sighted as "Palmer's Land," thus revealing a contact with sealers, and Mill states that "As a matter of historic justice, it seems to us that Powell's name of Palmer Land ought to be retained for the whole group of islands, and possible continental peninsula south of the South Shetlands."

Captain Burdick made two more voyages to the South Shetlands, and then sold the *Huntress* and purchased larger craft for the coasting trade between Nantucket and mainland ports.

Former Congressman Wood, of Idaho, Speaks Up Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I offer for the RECORD some of the impressions of our former colleague, the Honorable John T. Wood, of Idaho. I am happy to report that although Dr. Wood has undergone surgery recently, he is convalescing very well and is continuing to raise his voice in behalf of the preservation of this Republic.

Following is Dr. Wood's latest newsletter entitled:

WASHINGTON IMPRESSIONS

This newsletter is to consider the question propounded and discussed by an eminent social scientist from the University of Idaho: "How shall we attain world peace?"

As used by this writer, words are to have the meaning given them by Webster's Dictionary. The first step in Communist infiltration is the substitution of totalitarian meanings of such words as liberty, freedom, free ballot, constitution, republic, democracy, etc., for those formerly universally accepted.

In this search for world peace, we cannot fight with defective weapons, nor with those supplied by our enemies. Since the Communist's aim is to create confusion within our country through propaganda hostile to the cause of peace, we must create an atmosphere of clean, healthy Americanism at home.

Our search for world peace must begin within our own country. Certain abuses and inequities at home must be corrected before we can speak for peace with other countries.

The rest of this study will concern itself with a foreign policy.

The United States is a Christian country, so declared by our Supreme Court. Our endeavors to attain world peace must therefore be based upon the Christian religion. Our Prince of Peace has already given the basic principle. That principle is good will. Inasmuch as force plays no part in his principles, the use of force anywhere along the line will result in ultimate defeat of that which we seek.

America, under God, is a democracy within a republic. The people must rule. Hence there must be no roadblocks in the full and free expression of the people's will to rule; in other words, we must have absolutely free systems of communication. We have already partly lost this through hostile propaganda by alien minority groups. They must be recaptured by patriotic Americans—men of good will.

There are many other lesser domestic evils, but none which a return to Constitutional government, and a completely free system of communications would not tend to remedy, so that we could talk and work for peace without doubletalk.

If we wish to be a power for peace in the world, our foreign policy must be founded upon the immutable principles of the Prince of Peace.

Since the United Nations was fathered by force, and mothered by doubletalk, with usurpation of our national sovereignty its main purpose; and since one-third of its Charter is based upon the rule of force to be applied by the stronger nations against the weaker, we must recognize, in spite of propaganda to the contrary, this is not the way for a Christian nation to seek universal peace.

A revision of the charter of the United Nations is due in 1955. Let us revise it by getting out of it. Since based upon force, it was doomed to the same inevitable failure as were the other 149 similar attempts to gain peace through force which have dotted the pages of past history.

Our next step is the renunciation of the idea that we are a world messiah, with a divine mandate to dictate to other nations what kind of a government they shall have, and what their international relationships shall be. And this for two good reasons: (1) We do not have the good sense to fill such a role; (2) there are not enough of us.

Atomic warfare! Something must be done about it? Something was done about chemical warfare. Nations, by a simple agreement at the Geneva Convention, determined not to use it. It has not been used since. There is every reason to believe a similar agreement could be made and welcomed by the other powers. They are just as afraid of it as we.

We must stop making international mendicants of other peoples, which neither wins friendship nor peace.

We should cancel military compacts with other countries, and get our troops out of 50 other nations' backyards as soon as it can be done amicably.

Until such arrangements can be set up, we should—as Sir Winston says—"keep ourselves in a good military posture."

And, finally, we should refrain from sending internationalists to represent us in foreign countries. "Put none but Americans on guard."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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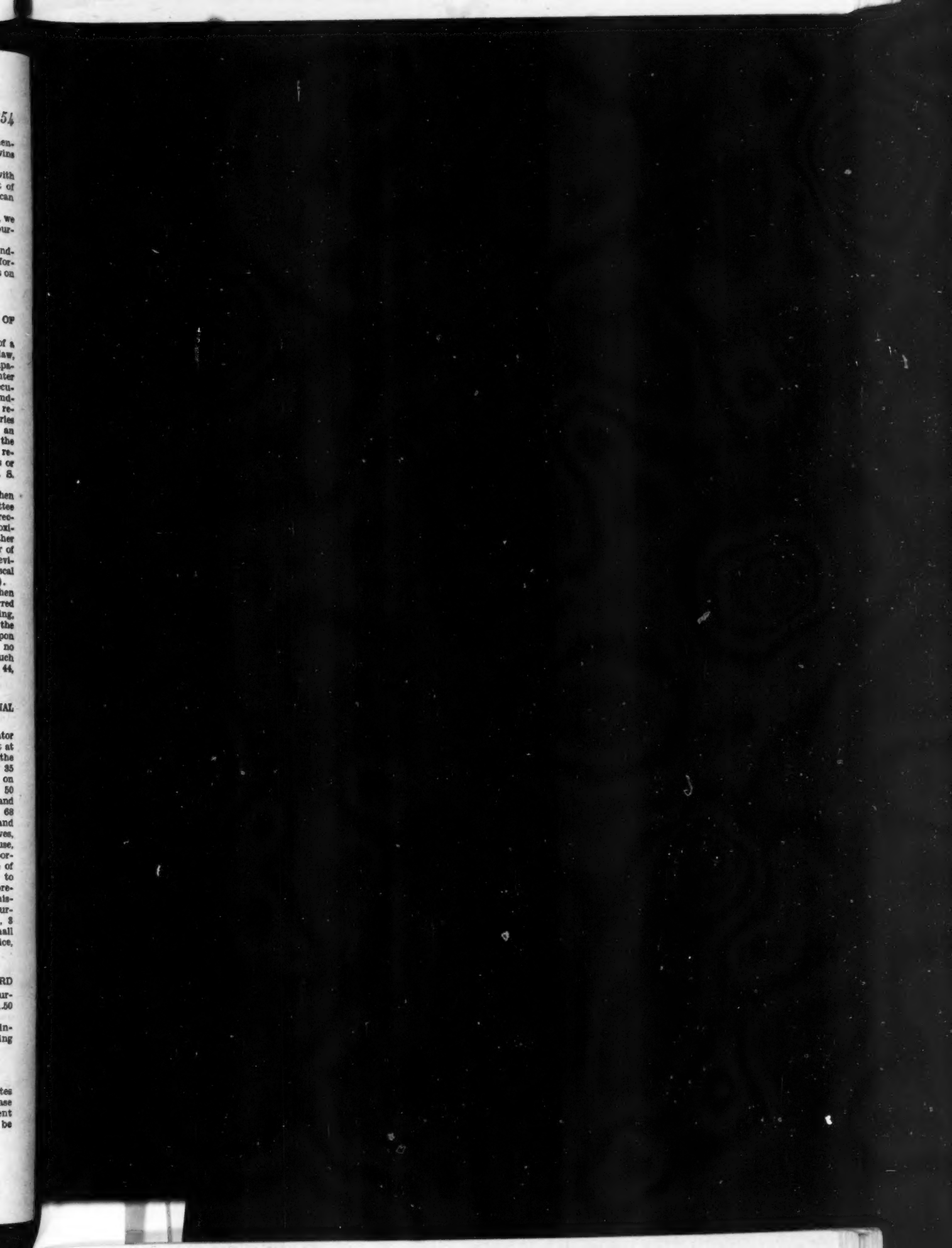

Appendix

The Universal Copyright Convention and the Domestic Copyright Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the testimony on the universal copyright convention and the domestic copyright bill, submitted by Phillips Temple, representing the American Library Association, before subcommittees of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, on April 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the testimony was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNIVERSAL COPYRIGHT CONVENTION AND S. 2559

(Testimony of Phillips Temple, representing the American Library Association, before Subcommittees of the Foreign Relations and Judiciary Committees, U. S. Senate, April 8, 1954)

My name is Phillips Temple. I am librarian at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., and chairman of the copyright subcommittee of the book acquisition committee of the American Library Association.

I am appearing in support of the Universal Copyright Convention and the related domestic copyright bill, S. 2559. The council of the American Library Association adopted the following resolution at its midwinter meeting in Chicago, Ill., on February 5, 1954:

"The American Library Association wholeheartedly supports the ratification of the Universal Copyright Convention now pending before the Senate. We believe that the effective and comprehensive protection here and abroad of the rights of authors and composers is a fundamental moral responsibility and express the hope that by the ratification of this convention the United States will at last take its proper place with other countries in the mutual granting of this protection."

The American Library Association includes among its 20,000 members a great majority of the professional librarians in the United States in all types of libraries: public, school and college, and specialized.

As indicated in the formal resolution I have just read, the American Library Association supports these measures because they are in the general public interest. Librarians have no personal economic interests at stake. We are, however, the professional custodians of the accumulated knowledge of mankind in the organized collections of books, periodicals and other materials represented in the libraries of this country.

These libraries are a principal means of making books and periodicals available to the people of the United States. In 1950, for example, public libraries alone charged out almost 390 million books and bound volumes of periodicals for home loans. This figure compares with an estimated production of about 600 million copies of new books and new editions sold by the United States book publishing industry in that year, including sales to libraries. If one takes into consideration the additional use of books on the premises of public libraries and the use of books in school, college, and specialized libraries, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the distribution of books through libraries is probably quantitatively at least as important a means of making books available to the American people as the commercial sale of books.

Those professionally and occupationally concerned with distribution of books—librarians, publishers, and booksellers—naturally have a great concern for the welfare of authors, the creators of works which we distribute. An author's copyright is a legal title to his intellectual creation. Without such a legal title, as the framers of our constitutional provisions on copyright clearly saw, the professional author has no means of livelihood as well as no means of protecting the integrity of his work. Thus copyright has a very practical as well as moral basis. It is in the interest of society by means of copyright to give the author something he can sell in order that the author may continue to produce in the interest of society itself.

It may be noted here that unlike titles to real estate and personal property which are perpetual, the author's title in the form of copyright is limited to a term of years, 56 years in this country, including renewal. After this limited term of years the work of the author becomes freely available to the public without royalties to the author or his heirs. It should also be noted that copyright protection in books and magazines provides a revenue to authors only with respect to the sale of copies. The reading of a single copy of a book by many individuals in a library or by successive classes of children in a school brings no additional revenue to the author holding the copyright or to the book publisher who has sold the copy. It is a tribute to the sense of broad public interest of authors and publishers that as a group they strongly endorse and support public libraries and do not attempt to secure additional revenue by sponsoring legislation to place a kind of additional royalty on the multiple readings of books in libraries and schools.

This convention and the related domestic legislation are designed to protect the title of American authors to their works in other countries. The method used is the only practical one—a reciprocal arrangement without formalities. As a country which now exports much more copyrighted material than we import, we have much to gain by such an arrangement. The members of the United States delegation which negotiated the convention at Geneva are to be congratulated on their accomplishments. The protection which foreign authors will receive in this country is a necessary and fair price—but a very small price—for the protection our authors, playwrights, songwriters, and composers will receive in the other signatory countries.

As librarians we have no special claim to competence in discussing the economics of this problem. It does seem to us, however, that there is a prima facie economic case in favor of the convention and that the burden of proof rests on those who would claim potential economic injury. We have felt that the groups having an economic interest in this problem in relation to books—and this is the only type of copyrighted material where any claim of potential economic damage can be made—should get together and agree on the basic economic facts. Our association in 1952 urged the American Book Publishers Council and the Book Manufacturers' Institute to join with us in seeking an agreed and objective statement on these economic facts. Though nothing came of this invitation directly, I believe it may have been 1 of the reasons why the 2 groups later made joint efforts to have this problem studied. We are glad to see that the book manufacturers have now concluded that their economic interests lie in supporting the convention; it is always gratifying to see a coincidence of public and private interest.

We have hoped that on further study the officials of the printing-trades unions would come to the same conclusion. But even if there were some slight potential economic disadvantages to members of the typographical unions through increasing imports of books in the English language by foreign authors, this could represent only a small fraction of the book business and an even smaller fraction of the rest of the printing industry in this country, which has grown to be the largest in the world without any protection from the manufacturing clause. Any slight increase in book imports would appear to be swallowed up in the growth of these industries and lost sight of even in the course of a single year. Beyond this, there would seem to be a clear and greater public interest in helping to place a somewhat firmer economic basis under the professions of authorship, playwriting, songwriting, and composing on which our educational, cultural, and even economic progress so greatly depends.

Ratification of the Universal Copyright Convention by the Senate and passage of S. 2559 by the Congress will result in ever-increasing benefits to the United States as a nation and to its citizens for decades to come.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "This Is No Fable," published in the Weekly Star-Farmer of Kansas City, Mo., for March 3, 1954; also an editorial entitled "Let's Look Where We Are Going," published in the Weekly Star-Farmer of March 31, 1954, both editorials dealing with farm-price supports.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Weekly Star-Farmer of March 3, 1954]

THIS IS NO FABLE

This is a story of eggs. Perhaps it has a moral in it. It might be of interest to the dairyman, although eggs and butter are not completely comparable. No good substitute has been developed for eggs. On the other hand, there is no substitute for milk, either.

Early in World War II when this country realized it needed lots of food and that farmers had to have a price that would pay the cost of production if additional food was to be produced, we began to guarantee 90 percent of parity on both perishable and storable crops. The perishable crops were covered by the Steagall amendment. This price support was to continue until 2 years after the close of the war, but when the war ended we were reluctant to drop it.

Eggs began to appear in surplus numbers in 1948 and Charles F. Brannan, then Secretary of Agriculture, started to purchase eggs on the market to bolster the price. He bought 28 million pounds of dried eggs. The next year, Government purchases jumped to 70 million pounds and in 1950 they went to 112 million pounds. In the spring of 1950, the support price was dropped to 75 percent of parity. This was around 28 cents a dozen here in the Middle West, where all the surplus eggs were being purchased. However, the Government couldn't buy eggs fast enough and the price at the farm dropped even lower than the 28 cents.

Finally, at the close of 1950, Secretary Brannan said that it was with reluctance that he was forced to announce there would be no support price on eggs in 1951. He had $115 million worth of eggs stored in caves, in storage houses, and anyplace else where room could be obtained. He couldn't even give them away.

At that time, someone in the Department of Agriculture predicted that with support prices gone, eggs would drop another 10 cents a dozen. The Doane Agricultural Service, of which True D. Morse, now Under Secretary of Agriculture, was president, advised otherwise. Prices in 1951, this service said, would be better than in 1950 without Government help.

The Doane prediction turned out to be true. Prices farmers received in 1950 averaged only 72 percent of parity. In 1951, they averaged 91.

When, in the spring of 1950, Secretary Brannan dropped price supports to 75 percent of parity, farmers bought 10 percent fewer baby chicks. These chicks made up the laying flocks in the winter and spring of 1951.

In 1952, poultry farmers had tough going again because of the egg-feed ratio, but still eggs brought 83 percent of parity. Egg prices were close to 100 percent of parity in 1953 and in January 1954 stood at 104.

This isn't the complete story. At the beginning of 1950, farm economists were pointing out that while the egg surplus in Government hands was large, on a per capita basis it didn't amount to much. Actually, if every person would consume 1 more egg a month, or 12 eggs a year, the surplus would disappear. By the end of 1950 when price supports were removed, this per capita surplus amounted to 17 eggs per person.

In 1949, the per capita consumption of eggs was 378. It moved up to 383 in 1950. By 1951 it was 395 and in 1952 was 407.

Consumption did rise to take care of the surplus of eggs.

Final figures are not available for 1953, but a late estimate gives per capita egg consumption at 397. This is down a little from the figure for 1952, but it should be explained that all eggs produced were consumed. There is no surplus. Virtually no eggs are in storage.

It is interesting to look back on egg consumption figures over the years and compare them with present day computations. Per capita consumption in 1910 was 289; in 1920, it was 295; 1930 saw a jump to 327, but throughout the thirties no gains were registered and consumption stood at 314 eggs per person in 1940. The big increases came through the war, and, what is most important, have been retained.

This egg story does indicate one thing for certain and that is there can be an expanding market for a farm product. It may indicate that on such a product as eggs the market will come nearer adjusting itself to demand, and create new demand, without Government price guaranties than with them.

The story does not indicate, of course, that egg prices always will be high. Yet it would seem to suggest that one way to get into trouble for sure is to have a price guaranty which produces a surplus the market won't take.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Weekly Star-Farmer of March 31, 1954]

LET'S LOOK WHERE WE ARE GOING

The article by Prof. O. R. Johnson, chairman of the department of agricultural economics, University of Missouri, carried in last week's issue of Weekly Star-Farmer, points to a factor which has not been given sufficient emphasis in the controversy over farm price supports. Actually, the issue mentioned often is ignored completely.

This issue is, just what is the function of a price-support program? Are Government price supports as now constituted, whether on a flexible basis or upon a fixed level, designed to protect farm prices against either disastrous or extreme plunges, while the farmer continues to look to the market as the main source of his income, or is it the function of the Government through price supports to establish farm income?

There is a vast difference here. It would help clear the atmosphere tremendously if this distinction were recognized, because those who are demanding higher and higher price guaranties are asking a price-support program to do something which it can't accomplish. That is guarantee 100-percent parity income. They would do better to offer an entirely new approach to the farm-income problem, and they should plainly state that farming, in their opinion, has finally reached the place where it can get its fair share of the national income only from the Government. It may be that this opinion can be justified. Certainly all comparative figures on farm and nonfarm income indicate that farmers do not get their per capita share.

The price support program as it was developed originally was planned to protect farmers against disastrous breaks in the market and at the same time help them adjust production to demand so that the market price would not reflect the burden of a surplus. It was still assumed that the farmer would sell his product to the consumer and get his income from the consumer. World War II brought a new concept, a price guarantee which would assure ample production. The guarantee theory has continued since the war and with it has come a growing surplus problem.

It is difficult to separate the farm program from politics, because, after all, the farm laws are written by Congress. Some people will be for a certain policy because it is administration supported; others will be against it for the same reason. But there is a large group sincerely believing in high fixed price supports as necessary to maintain farm income at 90 percent of parity or even at 100 percent. Their argument, extremely logical in purpose, is that 100 percent of parity is fair—that's what parity means—and that the economy of the entire Nation depends in a large measure upon the prosperity of the farmer. Therefore, it is up to the Government to maintain farm income at a certain level.

If this be the case, then we have moved from price supports to income guarantees. We should call it what it is. The Government, not the market, would be the source of all farm income. In fact, the Government would provide the only market. The implications are stupendous. We think everybody should be thinking about them. There is such a big difference in the paths that we might want to take.

National Amateur Hockey Championship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, all Montana is proud of the Great Falls Americans, who journeyed to Clinton, N. Y., to play the Comets in the 1954 national amateur senior hockey championship playoff. I should like to read, if I may, a portion of the sports comment by Mr. Ron Rice, in the Great Falls Tribune, to give Senators an idea as to how important this championship was. Mr. Rice says:

If you were a middleweight boxer who climbed into the ring, took off your robe, and then discovered you were about to battle for the heavyweight championship, your surprise would be equal to that of the Great Falls Americans when they found, after arriving in Clinton, N. Y., that they were going to meet the Comets in the 1954 national amateur senior hockey championship playoffs.

When the team left the Electric City it was under the impression that the United States intermediate amateur hockey championship was at stake as Clinton had won it for the last 3 years.

At Clinton the Yanks found out the intermediate league had folded and the Comets had moved up into senior play, but that made little difference to the Americans.

"They can't put more than six men on the ice at one time," was the comment of one of the Great Falls players, and he was right. The totals of the series prove that.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the various statements carried in the Great Falls (Mont.) Tribune relative to the great game played between the Great Falls Americans and the Clinton, N. Y., Comets for the national senior open championship.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICANS WIN NATIONAL HOCKEY TITLE—YANKS' RALLIES DEFEAT NEW YORKERS—JONES, ARISMAN CARRY ATTACK

CLINTON, N. Y.—A blistering attack paced by Steve Arisman and Harold Jones with three goals each, coupled with spectacular work by goalie Karl Sorokoski gave the Great Falls Americans an 8 to 7 win over the Clinton Comets Sunday afternoon to bring them the coveted National Senior Open championship of the Amateur Hockey Association of the United States.

A pair of unassisted goals in the third period by Arisman won the Americans the third game of the best of three series and the association trophy presented by Clinton arena manager Edward W. Stanley, a director of the AHA.

It was Arisman's hat trick-making score that set the stage for a jubilant 5-minute victory celebration by the triumphant Americans from Montana with Arisman, Jones, and Sorokoski drawing cheers and attention from their tumultuous teammates.

Miffed by an 8 to 9 shellacking in the second contest of the United States championships, the Americans staged a strategy conference prior to the contest, and it paid off to bring Great Falls its first national amateur championship. Determined not to let down their hometown fans, who contributed $3,200 to send the team to the playoffs, the Yanks carried the game to the three-time intermediate champion Comets.

Great Falls definitely was the aggressor in the championship-deciding contest, and only the amazing and spectacular ability of Comet goalie John Bourada kept the Clinton sextet in range as he fought off Yankee scoring attempts at a shot-a-minute pace, makingly 48 seemingly impossible saves while allowing only 8 to slip past.

For Arisman it was a sensational comeback after being carried unconscious from the ice in the Saturday night debacle when a Comet player broke a stick over his head.

Thrills with every play kept fans on the edge of their seats throughout the rough, hard-charging duel with the champions turning in a brilliant stick handling performance to win the senior title. When they went to Clinton they were under the impression they would play for the intermediate championship, one class lower than the senior.

Considered the underdog when the series opened it was practically a Cinderella win for the Americans who were forced to come from behind in both the contests they won to take the crown.

Clinton moved to the lead in the encounter at 4:18 when Dan Morgan came out of a melee in front of the Yanks' net to slip the puck past Sorokoski on an assist from Greg Batt.

Just prior to that Clinton lost the services of stellar forward Billy Breen, fired a shot from the side and was driven viciously into the boards by a Yank defenseman and knocked unconscious. After leaving the ice, his injuries were reported as loss of a tooth, six stitches to close a cut on his chin and a possible fractured jaw and wrist.

The Comets retaliated with Batt going the full length of the rink to score unassisted at 10:13 only to have Jones team up with Earl Ingarfield, who accounted for four assists for the Yanks, to tie the count again at 10:46.

Clinton moved ahead for the third time with Alf Menchini, George Steele, and Cliff Baldwin teaming up to form a scoring combination. Menchini hit at 13:20 but the Yanks bounced back, with Arisman tying the count on a pass from Ollie Dahl at 18:20 to end the period in a 3–3 deadlock.

The Americans came back strong in the second frame and their pass plays began to click as they moved ahead 5–3, with Jones scoring from Dick Lamoureaux and Earl Ingarfield at 6:42, followed by Frank Trodick from Cal Quam at 7:03.

Batt scored his second and final goal of the day at 18:40 to move the Comets to a 5–4 deficit at the end of the period.

Arisman pounded home his first unassisted score of the final period with just 14 seconds gone by and the Comets seemed demoralized as Howie Yanosik hit again at 8:37 on an assist from Ingarfield to send the Yankees ahead 7–3.

The Yankees continued their assault on Bourada in the Comet net but Batt wrested the puck from the eager Montanans and fired a pass to Baldwin to Steele to rejuvenate the Comets at 10:35 and they followed up again at 12:18 with Bob Lunny scoring on a pass from Bass, to make the score 7–6 for the Americans.

Clinton then was in striking distance and seemed destined to tie the contest again as Steele put a leading pass to Baldwin just a few feet in front of the net, but Sorokoski made a sensational diving save and Arisman picked up the rebound and bore down all alone on the surprised Bourada to complete the Americans' scoring at 16:43.

Clinton's final score came with only 8 seconds left with Thomson hitting from Steele and Batt.

Jimmy Johnson proved the Comets' outstanding defensive player while Sorokoski's prowess in the Americans' net gathered up 30 saves for the veteran goalkeeper.

Great Falls (8)	Pos.	Clinton (7)
Sorokoski	G	Bourada
Yanosik	D	Woodman
Ukrainetz	D	Jamieson
Colwell	C	Menchini
Arisman	W	Steele
Dahl	W	Baldwin

Spares: GF—Ingarfield, Lamoureaux, Jones, Naismith, Cook, Trodick, Haynes, McKay, Quam. C—Batt, Nardello, Breen, Burns, Morgan, Lunny, Johnson, Thomson.

First period: (1) C—Morgan (Batt) 4:18; (2) GF—Jones (unassisted) 9:28; C—Batt (unassisted) 10:13; (4) GF—Jones (Ingarfield) 10:46; (5) C—Menchini (Steele, Baldwin) 13:20, and (6) GF—Arisman (Dahl) 18:20. Penalties: GF—Arisman; C—Woodman.

Second period: (7) GF—Jones (Lamoureaux, Ingarfield) 6:42; (8) GF—Trodick (Quam) 7:03, and (9) C—Batt (Lunny) 18:40. Penalties: GF—Arisman, Ukrainetz; C—Johnson.

Third period: (10) GF—Arisman (unassisted) 00:14; (11) GF—Yanosik (Ingarfield) 8:37; (12) C—Steele (Batt, Baldwin) 10:35; (13) C—Lunny (Batt) 12:18; (14) GF—Arisman (unassisted) 16:43, and (15) C—Thomson (Steele, Batt) 19:53. Penalties: GF—Jones, Naismith; C—Jamieson.

Saves: GF—Sorososki 9-10-11—30; C—Bourada 21-16-11—43.

Officials: Jerry Kelly, Ottawa; Jim Sherman, Clinton.

A Homecoming—As It Looks From Here

(By Ron Rice)

If you were a middleweight boxer who climbed into the ring, took off your robe, and then discovered you were about to battle for the heavyweight championship, your surprise would be equal to that the Great Falls Americans when they found, after arriving in Clinton, N. Y., that they were going to meet the Comets in the 1954 national amateur senior hockey championship playoffs.

When the team left the Electric City, it was under the impression that the United States Intermediate Amateur Hockey championship was at stake, as Clinton had won it for the last 3 years.

At Clinton the Yanks found out the intermediate league had folded and the Comets had moved up into senior play—but that made little difference to the Americans.

"They can't put more than 6 men on the ice at one time," was the comment of one of the Great Falls players and he was right. The totals of the series prove that.

Great Falls came from behind in the first contest to win 11-9; took an 8-0 pasting in the second contest, and rallied back to win the championship 8-7 in the final game of the series bringing the Electric City its first national amateur sports crown.

The team is scheduled to arrive at municipal airport at noon today and a reception is being planned for the boys. Clarence Golder, an official of the Great Falls Hockey Club, said attempts are being made to set up a full-scale welcome for the club when it arrives by chartered plane.

Immediately following the championship contest, Ollie Dahl, coach of the national champs, said, "The Comets are the toughest team we have played all year—and the dirtiest in play we have ever faced. The Americans played their hearts out. They were out to win for the fans of Great Falls who made it possible for them to take part in the national playoffs. Everyone of the guys gave it everything he had."

The Americans are not only the best intermediate club in the Nation—they demonstrated that by taking two straight from the Grand Forks Redwings—but they are better than anything that could be offered in the senior loop.

Too much cannot be said of their fine play. One of the things about the competition was the top-notch performances turned in by Harold Jones and Les Colwell.

Hec Negrello and Bill Gibson informed the team that they couldn't go, on the day the team was scheduled to leave, so Colwell and Jones agreed to fill in. And fill in they did. Not as extra weight, but as sharp, flashing fire-power in the already strong Yank lineup.

When the citizens of Great Falls decided to back the Yanks national venture financially, they made no mistake. The players themselves saw to that. Both the team and the fans are to be congratulated.

Amendment to Section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act as Proposed by Attorney General, Relating to Fees of Agents, Attorneys, and Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, at the request of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., I have introduced an amendment to section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, relating to fees of agents, attorneys, and representatives. This proposed amendment was drawn in the Department of Justice.

In explanation of this bill, I am including as part of my remarks the letter, dated April 6, 1954, addressed to the Speaker of the House by the Attorney General, and this letter, following the regular procedure, has been transferred to me as chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The letter and the bill accompanying it read as follows:

Office of the Attorney General,
Washington, D. C., April 6, 1954.

The Speaker,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Speaker: I attach for your consideration a proposal to amend section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended (60 Stat. 54; 50 U. S. C. App. 20), relating to fees of agents, attorneys, and representatives.

Section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act now provides that no property or interest or proceeds shall be returned under the act, and no payment shall be made or judgment awarded in respect of any property or interest vested in or transferred to

the Alien Property Custodian, unless and until a schedule of fees to be paid to all agents, attorneys, or representatives for services in connection with such return, payment, or judgment has been furnished to and approved by the President, or his designee, or the court, as the case may be. The approval of the President, or his designee, may be given only after a determination "that the individual fees do not exceed fair compensation for the services rendered and that the aggregate of the fees does not exceed 10 percent of the value of such property or interest or proceeds or of such payment." This required examination into individual fees has proved to be an extremely onerous burden which serves no useful purpose. Experience has shown that the individual fees requested have been fair, and that claimants of substantial amounts do not require Government assistance or protection for they can secure independent opinions as to the reasonableness of their attorneys' fees. Furthermore, there would seem to be no compelling reason to accord to claimants under the Trading With the Enemy Act a protection which is not accorded to other claimants against the United States.

For these reasons I am proposing the amendment of section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act so as to eliminate the requirement that the President, or his designee, must determine that "the individual fees do not exceed fair compensation for the services rendered" in connection with claims for the return of property, interest, or proceeds pursuant to the act. The 10 percent ceiling on the aggregate of fees will not be affected by the amendment.

The early introduction of this proposal is earnestly requested.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that there is no objection to the submission of this recommendation.

Sincerely,

HERBERT BROWNELL, Jr.,
Attorney General.

A bill to further amend section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, relating to fees of agents, attorneys, and representatives

Be it enacted, etc., That section 20 of the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended (60 Stat. 54; 50 U. S. C. App. 20), is amended to read as follows:

"No property or interest or proceeds shall be returned under this act, nor shall any payment be made or judgment awarded in respect of any property or interest vested in or transferred to any officer or agency of the United States under this act unless satisfactory evidence is furnished to the President or such officer or agency as he may designate, or the court, as the case may be, that the aggregate of the fees to be paid to all agents, attorneys at law or in fact, or representatives, for services rendered in connection with such return or payment or judgment does not exceed 10 percent of the value of such property or interest or proceeds or of such payment. Any agent, attorney at law or in fact, or representative, believing that the aggregate of the fees should be in excess of such 10 percent may, in the case of any return of, or the making of any payment in respect of, such property or interest or proceeds by the President or such officer or agency as he may designate, petition the district court of the United States for the district in which he resides for an order authorizing fees in excess of 10 percent and shall name such officer or agency as respondent. The court hearing such petition or a court awarding any judgment in respect of any such property or interest or proceeds, as the case may be, shall approve an aggregate of fees in excess of 10 percent of the value of such property or interest or proceeds only upon a finding that there exist special circumstances of unusual hardship which require the payment of such excess. Any person accepting any fee in excess of an amount approved hereunder, or retaining for more than 30 days any portion of a fee, accepted prior to approval hereunder, in excess of the fee as approved, shall be guilty of a violation of this act."

Central Valley Project Water and Power Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak on the crisis that is confronting California's Central Valley, one of the most productive regions in the world.

BRIEF BACKGROUND

This vast oval-shaped valley covering 12 million acres with its fertile farms, growing cities and the many food-processing industries has rightly been called the heartland of California.

But Central Valley's life-giving rains do not fall at the right time or in the right places. Its people have lived largely by irrigation and electric power and its expanding population outran its supply of both. For many years the lack of storage and the unequal distribution of water cried out for a solution. The Sacramento River was pouring its wealth, often in destructive floods into the sea; at the same time the San Joaquin end of the great valley was suffering from constricting water shortage. Underground water tables sunk alarmingly, thousands of acres of farm land were abandoned, and many more threatened with the return of the desert.

In a monumental effort to alleviate this situation, California in 1931 launched the State water plan which included the big dams, powerplants, transmission lines, canals, and pumps designed to distribute the surplus waters and to serve the entire Central Valley. But unable to finance the project, the people through the State agency appealed to the Federal Government for assistance. In 1935 the Congress and the administration agreed to develop the valley as a Federal reclamation project.

In less than 20 years since California persuaded the Federal Government to undertake the Central Valley project, the Bureau of Reclamation has made tremendous strides in the development of a sound, far-reaching water conservation system. Constructed with interest-free money the project has provided 7½ million acre-feet of new water and close to a million kilowatts of new electric power. Under contract to irrigation districts, the water has been delivered to parched land and dying orchards hundreds of miles from its source at costs as low as $3.50 per acre-foot for class I, and $1.50 per acre-foot for class II water.

THE CRISIS: STATE PURCHASE VERSUS CONTINUED FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION

If California is to irrigate and produce annually the billion-dollar crops in competition with areas having all-year-round rainfall, it must have low-cost water. Under Federal operation through the use of power revenues, the cost of the project water has been reduced to a low competitive figure. At the same time the power generated at the various hydroelectric portions of the project has made possible pumping the water uphill and to its destination. And yet the sale of power, I am glad to say, has produced revenues sufficient to fully amortize construction and operating costs at 3 percent interest.

State acquisition and operation of the Central Valley project will not benefit the majority of the water and power users of the valley. On the contrary, it appears to be a device sought by large corporate farm interests and short-sighted private utilities. These farm interests believe that through State ownership they can completely nullify the provisions of reclamation law limiting land which may receive project water to 160 acres in one ownership or 320 acres for man and wife.

As in the proposal actually made for the Feather River project, the State plan would ultimately provide for sale of all publicly generated power at the bus bar. The State proposes to raise the price of power developed by the project so that it would be noncompetitive with private power sales. Thus, preference agencies including irrigation and public utility districts, cities, and cooperatives would be denied low-cost power which reclamation law now assures them.

This would result in rising pumping costs to irrigation districts and their farmer members. Likewise, the cost of electricity to cities, business, and domestic consumers would doubtless rise.

THE SOLUTION: CONTINUED FEDERAL OPERATION AND EXPANSION

The majority of those who need and use the Central Valley project for water strongly support continued Federal ownership and operations. Irrigation district representatives are fearful of having their water distribution systems bankrupted if the State floats revenue bonds to buy the project, causing them to be obligated to the banks for water upon which they depend for their livelihood. Many vividly recall the depression and accompanying financial troubles of the 1930's. They believe that should economic difficulties again arise the Federal Government, based on past experience, could be relied on to make downward adjustments in their payments.

Rather than State acquisition, I, too, support continued Federal ownership and operation of the Central Valley project—and more important—that this half completed project receive sufficient Federal funds for its immediate and continued expansion. To this end, funds should be provided at an early date for construction of a tunnel conduit to bring water from the Delta Mendota Canal into the central coast counties.

Other essential features are construction by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Trinity River diversion and upper Klamath development projects required to supply water and power to keep apace with the growing population. And to supplement the completed work and that just mentioned, I invite attention to the need for steam plants to firm up public generating facilities and for transmission lines at a sufficiently low voltage to bring public power to where people can use it.

NEW POWER POLICY A BACKWARD STEP

I look with misgiving at proposals to turn many of the great hydroelectric resources of this Nation over to the private power companies thus depriving the people of the benefits of feasible multiple-purpose development as is their right under reclamation law. Licenses to private utilities should not be a means to destroy or obstruct coordinated water and power development.

ECONOMIC STABILITY THREATENED

We must not jeopardize our economic future. The threat of growing unemployment, the threat of drought, the threat of a continued downward trend in our economy in the light of our constantly increasing population needs makes it imperative that additional supplies of low-cost water and power be assured.

I maintain that the successful water and power partnership must not be removed from the jurisdiction of reclamation law and that the most feasible and economical source for these additional supplies is through the continued Federal development of the Central Valley project.

The Old River Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Item of April 5, 1954, and a letter to a Louisianian written by Hon. Roy T. Sessums, director of the Department of Public Works of Louisiana:

THE OLD RIVER PROBLEM—LET'S HOPE FOR AN EARLY HEARING

There doesn't seem to be much chance now for a congressional hearing on the Old River control works proposal until after Congress takes its Easter vacation.

However, it is very important that this hearing be held as soon after that as possible.

The Old River project is no visionary plan, no someday idea for improving the future. If it were, perhaps it could wait.

Waiting too long to act on Old River, however, means sure disaster.

Expert engineers have warned that unless the Mississippi's diversion through Old River and down the Atchafalaya Basin is controlled within a few years, it could be too late.

Once Old River has captured 40 percent of the Mississippi's flow, they say the situation might well be out of control. And that could happen in about 10 years' time.

That could not only mean that the Mississippi's main currents would then be captured by Old River and the Atchafalaya. It could mean that New Orleans would eventually become solely a salt water port. It could mean that the vast trade and shipping interests of the entire Mississippi Valley would be crippled.

Authorization of the Army engineers' $46 million Old River control program during this session of Congress is vital.

It has been 4 years since Congress has considered an omnibus rivers, harbors, and flood-control bill.

Now that such a bill is in the works, and other projects are being considered for inclusion in it, the opportunity to get authorization for closing Old River and building a flood-control structure must not be missed.

We cannot afford to let another 4 years—or actually even another year—go by.

Michigan's Representative GEORGE A. DONDERO, who is chairman of the House Public Works Committee, has been absorbed in the prospects of the St. Lawrence seaway bill, which he strongly advocates.

And, since the seaway bill has been delayed until after Easter, DONDERO has indicated that the Old River hearings will also be postponed.

However, it is encouraging that DONDERO has expressed himself as in favor of the Old River project and has made it clear that he understands fully the consequences should the mighty Mississippi change its course.

New Orleans and the entire Mississippi Valley will continue to hope for the earliest possible consideration of the Old River problem.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
Baton Rouge, March 30, 1954.

Reference is made to your letter of March 26, relative to the construction of the Old River structure, together with a copy of your letter to Congressman HALE BOGGS.

Two questions are raised in your letter to Congressman BOGGS. One is, "Why couldn't a series of riprap sill dams be constructed across Old River to prevent the capture of the Mississippi River by the Atchafalaya River at a far less cost than the proposed structure?" The other is, "Why, after encouraging the development of the Atchafalaya River by dredging for a number of years, reverse themselves and propose the construction of an enormously expensive control structure to prevent its further development?"

Two sill dams were constructed in the Atchafalaya River. Sill dam No. 1 was constructed in 1888 at a location 500 feet below the mouth of Bayou des Glaises at the location of the present highway and railroad bridge. Sill dam No. 3 was constructed in 1889 at a location 1,750 feet downstream from sill dam No. 1. Sill dam No. 1 was removed in 1939 and sill dam No. 3 gradually deteriorated until it was no longer effective. The Atchafalaya River study, prepared by the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, Miss., concluded as follows as to the effect of the Sill dams. "There is no proof, either theoretical or in fact to indicate that the sill dams constructed in the Atchafalaya River has anything more than a minor effect in limiting the discharge of that stream. There is no reason that a similar construction at the present time would be effective."

A number of plans were considered before the present plan was selected as described in the following excerpt from Review Report on Mississippi River and Tributaries With Respect to Old River Control, February 2, 1954, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, Miss.:

"Several plans consisting of dams across the Atchafalaya River in conjunction with weirs, overflow dams, and notches, all of which required the construction of one or more locks for navigation, were considered. A series of low sill dams in the upper reaches of the Atchafalaya River constructed of stone or other nonerodible material which would distribute the fall in water surface over a long reach of river and thereby eliminate the necessity for a lock were also considered. Although these plans met a varying number of the requirements, disadvantages inherent in the structure were the high cost of initial construction and subsequent maintenance, the high velocities which would be created, a lack of means for regulating the flows needed to aid in the development of channels in the lower basin, and most important, the danger of failure during critical periods of flow. Studies indicate that the Atchafalaya River will continue to enlarge and deepen downstream from any structure built within its banks and the uncertainty incident to the protection of structures so located would make their construction, in the Atchafalaya River proper, undesirable. Also a means of friction control in Old River was considered by which the channel roughness would be increased by shingling with stone."

The upper Atchafalaya River and the lower Atchafalaya Floodway are integral parts of the Mississippi River and tributaries flood control plan. During the project flood the upper Atchafalaya River must discharge 650,000 cubic feet per second and the lower Atchafalaya River Floodway 1,500,000. The dredging program of the Corps of Engineers between 1932 and 1942 was for the purpose of rendering the Atchafalaya River capable of carrying these discharges. At the present time the upper Atchafalaya River is adequate in size, but the lower Atchafalaya River Floodway can accommodate only 1,150,000 cubic feet per second of the 1,500,000 cubic feet per second project flood without overtopping its levees. Under "Conclusions" the Atchafalaya River Study states:

"The heaviest deposit of silts has occurred between the upper end of Grand Lake and the lower end of the river levees. This has caused a marked deterioration in the discharge capacity of the floodway, as indicated by an increase in high-water elevations throughout the upper unleveed portion of the basin. Silt deposits tend to improve the main channel cross sections, but the increase in high-water elevations above Grand Lake shows this natural improvement is not sufficient to compensate for the deterioration in overbank flow conditions. Improvement dredging performed between 1932 and 1942 accomplished the purpose for which it was performed, but additional dredging is needed to arrest a trend toward higher flood flow lines in this reach. Improvement dredging is now needed in the Whiskey Bay Channel, its extension to upper Grand River, and in the Blind Tensas Bayou Channel. Improvement of the existing channel through this reach, however, would lower flood elevations between Krotz Springs and Atchafalaya, La., and cause further enlargement of the leveed channel above Whiskey Bay.

"If the Atchafalaya River is to be prevented from enlarging to such an extent that it captures the Mississippi River, improvement dredging in the lower basin should await, if possible, the commencement of control or regulating works. It is necessary, however, that the floodway be made capable of passing a discharge of at least 1 million cubic feet per second and, as soon as practicable, the 1,500,000 cubic feet per second required for the project flood, without overtopping the guide levees, which will probably make it mandatory that improve-

ment dredging be initiated above Grand Lake within the next 3 years."

It is, therefore, our opinion that the old river control structures must be built to prevent the capture of the Mississippi River by the Atchafalaya River and to gain the necessary control of the situation to allow for the necessary controlled enlargement of the Atchafalaya River.

Your concern over this serious flood-control problem is very much appreciated, and I hope that the information furnished herein will be of interest to you.

Yours very truly,

ROY T. SESSUMS, *Director.*

For a New Policy in the Middle East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to announce the formation of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, an organization that will have as its purpose to "conduct and direct public action, on behalf of the American Zionist movement, bearing upon relations with governmental authorities, with a view to maintaining and improving friendship and good will between the United States and Israel." This committee will be under the distinguished chairmanship of Mr. Louis Lipsky, and he will be assisted ably by Mr. I. L. Kenen as executive director and Mr. Paul S. Green as director of information.

As its first effort the new committee has issued a report calling for reevaluation of our recent foreign policy in the Middle East. I am happy to bring this report to the attention of the House in the hope that it will serve to clarify our thinking on the political situation in this vital area of the world:

FOR A NEW POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

American policy is faltering in the Middle East. The security situation in that crucial area is crumbling.

Unless there is an early and decisive change, the Arab States and Israel may drift into open warfare.

The State Department should undertake a searching review of our policy before it is too late.

THE MASSACRE AT SCORPION PASS

Tragic incidents follow one another in rapid succession.

The ambush and massacre of 11 Jews by a band of Jordanian Arabs on March 17 showed once again that the Arabs feel that they can carry on their aggression against Israel in any way they please without challenge. The Israel attack on a Jordanian village this week reflects the frustration and despair of a people under incessant siege and denied peace by their neighbors.

It is unrealistic to regard these incidents as isolated and unconnected. It is necessary to consider them in terms of cause and context. There is a master plan of aggression against Israel in which all members of the Arab League, in one way or another, are participating on signal. There is a series of threats, blockades, boycotts, and border raids which harass the life of the people of Israel. It is no exaggeration to say that all this may be the prelude to a general and undisguised onslaught by the Arab States against Israel's borders at a chosen moment.

FUSILLADE OF AGGRESSIONS

This is the picture:

Jordan rejects its obligations under the United Nations Armistice Agreement to meet with Israel when summoned by the United Nations Secretary General.

Egypt flouts the 1951 Security Council resolution and blocks the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel-bound ships, and may now be further encouraged by the Kremlin's cynical veto of the Security Council resolution.

Syria's threats and obstructions have hindered for months the hydroelectric development of the Jordan River. Syrian batteries have been raking Israel's fishing fleet on the Sea of Galilee.

The new King of Saudi Arabia suggests that 10 million Arabs be sacrificed, if necessary, to destroy Israel. Similar threats come from Iraq and Syria.

Three Israel citizens are imprisoned for many weeks when their plane is forced down in Bagdad, because Iraq regards itself as at war with Israel.

The border between Jordan and Israel is now a line of "blood and fire," as the Arabs threatened in 1948.

The situation has deteriorated. The United Nations armistice agreements which governed the relations between Israel and the Arab States for the past 5 years have virtually broken down because the Arabs, emboldened by the pursuit of their favor, are persuaded that they can intensify their warfare with impunity. And the United Nations itself has now become unable to meet Arab defiance. Its attempts to enforce the armistice agreements are being frustrated by the ominous vetoes of the Kremlin which is now brazenly courting the Arab League with characteristic disregard for United Nations purpose and principle.

Moreover, the internal upheavals within the Arab countries have increased the danger that Arab leaders may be tempted to embark on some desperate foreign venture such as a new assault on Israel to divert their people from their domestic conflicts.

Our State Department is, doubtless unwittingly, exacerbating this explosive situation by continuing to talk seriously of giving the Arab States arms—knowing that arms for one Arab State mean arms for all, that the use of arms cannot be controlled once an aggressor has them.

RECONSIDERATION OF POLICY CALLED FOR

The time has now come for a thorough review of American policy in the Middle East pursued during the past year. When Secretary Dulles assumed office, he proposed a new approach in the Middle East. It was called "impartiality." This program was sincere and well-intentioned. But the new approach was interpreted by Arab propagandists to mean that American policy had been too friendly to Israel in the past, and that the "impartiality" that was supposed to characterize American policy henceforth was in reality to be one of concessions to the Arabs. It was taken to mean that America was now ready to reverse its traditional policy toward Israel in return for the friendship of the Arab League. The scales, they thought, were now to be tipped in their favor.

And, as the State Department moved forward to establish the desired better relations with the Arab states, the price of their friendship rose from month to month. The Arabs insisted that friendship of the Arab States would have to mean unfriendliness to Israel.

The new approach has not worked. It has lost all its meaning. The State Department has come to be fearful of incurring the displeasure of the Arabs for any reason at all. "Impartiality," which has now become dogma, cannot prevail in a situation where the issues are complex, where each party to the controversy is not wholly right or wholly wrong. The impartial friend is tempted to pass over consideration of the issues on their merits, his sole objective being to win the friendship of one side. The new approach thus becomes at best neutralism and at worst a screen for favoritism.

OUR PRIMARY AIM MUST BE PEACE

In fact, the new approach has not won for us the friendship of the Arab States. It has increased tensions between Jews and Arabs to an alarming extent. It has, moreover, created a strong anti-American sentiment in most Arab States. It has distressed the cause of peace.

Now that the word peace has become taboo, lest the Arabs be offended, the reduction of tensions has become our limited goal and interest. The possible displeasure of the Arab League is now the acid test of any issue laid before the State Department. It has allowed itself to be deflected from its prime objective which was—and should continue to be—the peace which the people of the region so urgently need to develop their resources and skills, to raise their living standards, to make an adequate contribution to the security of the free world, and to defend their own freedom against any aggressor from the North.

For that peace in the Middle East, no arms are needed. During the past year the course adopted by the State Department has had costly repercussions. It has created a situation of deep disquiet which is neither war nor peace and which is losing the United States its friends, weakening its defense, heightening its sense of frustration in the Middle East, and lowering its prestige throughout the world.

Our Government should re-examine its policy in the Middle East without further delay. It should use its influence and prestige to fortify the armistice agreements. It should make clear to the Arab League that it will not tolerate blockades, boycotts, threats, and aggression. It should suspend contemplated arms shipments. It should seek to help all the peoples of the Middle East raise their living standards.

The so-called new approach should be replaced by a really new approach—a just deal in which peace in the Middle East shall be the cornerstone of American policy.

Air Pollution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill as an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code, providing for an accelerated depreciation to be taken for all devices, buildings, machinery, or equipment for the collection at the source of atmospheric pollutants and contaminants based on a period of 60 months.

For some time, in Philadelphia, we have experienced real inconveniences and annoyance from a carbonlike soot which blows in from the direction of the Delaware River.

The residents of my area are being very much disturbed and inconvenienced by the fact they cannot hang out their wash without it being discolored and in some instances ruined entirely, as in the case of nylon articles.

Sleeping with an open window is risky as the particles float in and interfere

with breathing, not to mention the insanitation of the soot. It is no easy matter to cleanse the articles affected by this oily soot and it is a matter of great concern to those who have to undergo the expense of cleaning the exterior of their homes.

It is my belief that this legislation will be an inducement to industrial plants or individuals to install equipment which will purify the polluted exhaust resulting from the plants' operations. In my own district and, I am sure, throughout the country, many people have suffered discomfort and material damage from sooty particles which settle on their property and on their bodies. Investigation has shown that these sooty particles are waste products from nearby factories. I hope that the tax reduction provided for under this bill will stimulate the erection of air pollution equipment by all offending parties.

I think that it is also pertinent to point out that the continued practice by industry of burning fuels which give off such annoying waste products is a real health menace. If the condition is not rectified, we may find a sizable percentage of the population in such districts afflicted with lung disorders, asthma, or allergies. It is imperative that steps be taken soon to correct the existing situation.

The Meaning of Bataan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is particularly fitting on this day that the Nation pay tribute to those gallant American and Filipino soldiers who fought so courageously against vastly superior totalitarian forces on the peninsula of Bataan. The beleaguered American-Philippine forces for 3 long months outnumbered, underequipped, lacking in munitions and other implements of war, harassed by disease and exhaustion, fought on against heavy odds and with courage and fortitude, bitterly contested every inch of the ground of Bataan. Such a sacrifice was necessary in order to give the democracies sufficient time to consolidate their forces in the United States, Australia, and elsewhere.

The heroes of Bataan had accomplished their mission, and to them must go a major part of the credit for the ultimate victory in 1945. The sacrifice at Bataan wrecked the timetable of the Japanese forces for more than 3 months, which but for it would have been sufficient time for the Japanese to overrun the rest of southeast Asia, the Pacific, and Australia. It was a dark day in the course of our struggle in the Pacific when Bataan fell. But during the last 12 years the word Bataan has become a word of honor and courage in our language and in the language of freedom the world over. Yes, Bataan was a military defeat but it was a victory of spirit—the spirit which moves men, regardless of color or creed, to unite in a common cause and fight to retain their freedom.

Mr. Speaker, Bataan should never have been and the blood that was shed and the treasures that were wasted then would not have been in vain if we had not allowed ourselves to be lulled into a false sense of security. We were engrossed in the pleasures that flow from our democratic way of life, never realizing that the liberties which we enjoy are ours only if we exercise the greatest of vigilance.

We saw the phenomenon in the period between the First and Second World Wars. It took the tragedy of Pearl Harbor and the bombing of Manila to jar us from our lethargy. It was then too late to win the initial victory of the war. We saw that phenomenon again after the Second World War and so came Korea. In it we saw a repetition of the tragedies that overtook us in 1941.

Mr. Speaker, it is the responsibility of the Congress to see that this does not happen again. Because today in this atomic and themonuclear age we face a threat not only to our liberties but to our survival as a nation, never before experienced in our history. The godless masters of the Kremlin in their quest for world domination respect only military strength and therefore our best hope of preventing a third world war, and to win it if it comes, is to maintain a strong Military Establishment. That is why Bataan should be a constant reminder to all of us that we must be prepared for any eventuality by fostering and maintaining a strong Army, an effective Navy and Air Force backed up by a strong and free economy. Bataan should also stand as a constant reminder of the need for strong allies to work with this Nation in maintaining a collective security for the free world. Our country's contribution to NATO, the Pacific pacts, and other security arrangements gives proof to the fact that the United States is increasingly aware of the need for collective security. We must continue to support these endeavors.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I should like to quote General Wainwright, the hero of Bataan:

> My men and I were victims of shortsightedness at home, of blind trust in the respectability of scheming aggressors. * * * The price of our unpreparedness * * * was staggering to the imagination. The price of our unpreparedness for a world war III would be death to millions of us and the disappearance from the earth of its greatest nation.

Facts on PMA Committee Reorganization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, in an attempt to further harass the Secretary of Agriculture, a very obvious distortion of the facts regarding certain changes in the operation of State and county PMA committees was recently made in this Chamber. It was charged that by placing all State and county PMA committees—names changed to Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees last November—on a when-actually-employed basis and having a county office manager in the few States that did not have them this administration was building and organizing a vast Republican political machine. Now, what are the facts?

On May 21, 1953, the Secretary of Agriculture appeared before the House Commitee on Government Operations in connection with Reorganization Plan No. 2 which was before the committee for hearings. At that time the Secretary explained in detail just what moves were made and why. Here are his words:

> A number of questions have been raised as to what would be done with respect to the farmer-committee system under the authority of Reorganization Plan No. 2. Comments have also been made with respect to PHA Memorandum No. 101, of March 20, 1953, relating to the PMA farmer committees. There have been some misunderstandings as to the effect of this memorandum upon administrative costs.
>
> My position on this subject was made a matter of public record several weeks ago when I appeared before the Subcommittee on Agriculture Appropriations of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. On that occasion I said:
>
> "You may be assured that I am aware of the splendid contribution PMA county and community committees have made to agriculture and that we intend to make the best possible use of these farmer-elected committees in administering farm programs.
>
> "I have recently revised the regulations governing PMA county and community committees. In the revised regulations, we made it abundantly clear that these committees will have local responsibility for the agricultural conservation program, the price-support programs, the marketing-quota programs, the sugar program, and such other programs as may be assigned by the Secretary or the Congress" (hearings, pt. III, p. 901).
>
> PMA memorandum No. 101 separates the policy-forming and policy-executing functions of the State and county committees. The policy-forming function will be vested in the State and county committees; the policy-executing function in State administrative officers and county office managers. The committees will operate on a part-time basis, while day-to-day operations will be carried on by the full-time administrative officers or office managers. State and county committees will retain full responsibility for administration of program operations in their respective areas, as they have in the past.
>
> This action was discussed with the chairmen of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees before the memorandum was issued. It has also been discussed, since that time, with many other Members of Congress and with farm organization leaders. The action has been favorably received by nearly everyone with whom we have discussed it.
>
> Memorandum 101 merely (1) gives formal recognition to the grassroots experience gained by State and county committees over the past 20 years; and (2) standardizes the entire administrative structure of the farmer-committee system. In the light of this experience, it was evident that better administration results if the policy-forming functions are vested in the committee and the policy-executing functions are delegated to a full-time administrative officer, hired by and responsible to the committee.

In 23 States the practice of using a full-time civil-service administrative officer was already in operation. In the remaining 25 States, there were 14 in which the State PMA chairman or other State committeeman performed full time the functions of administrative officer. In the other 11 States all members of the State PMA committees served full time. It will likewise be well to understand that 11 States had both a full-time administrative officer and a chairman of the State PMA committee serving full time.

In other words, the executive officer arrangement was already operative in 37 of the 48 States. Only the 11 remaining States were employing the full committee full time. Whereas 22 States previously were operating with more than 1 full-time administrative officer or assistant—there being 2 to 5 in each State, depending on the number of committee members where the entire committee was serving full time—all 48 States will now have only 1 full-time administrative officer hired by and responsible to the State PMA committee.

It is apparent from what I have said that this action does not in any sense weaken the farmer-committee system or attempt to replace the committees with Federal employees. The State and county committeemen will retain full responsibility for State and local administration. This move to separate the policy-forming and policy-executing functions are made solely in the interest of more efficient and more effective administration.

Perhaps it would be helpful if I indicated what the cost of the committee system has been and what effect the action taken under the memorandum 101 will have upon administrative costs. In the fiscal year 1952 the total salary costs for PMA county committeemen was $3,946,836. In addition, the total salaries for fiscal year 1952 for full-time committee office personnel, such as the office manager and clerks, was $19,625,937. This makes a total salary cost for both the county committeemen and full-time county office employees of $23,572,775.

Since in 87 percent of the counties the county committee has been serving only part time, and these county offices already had full-time office managers or chief clerks, the change will affect only 13 percent of the total. Rather than resulting in an increase in salary costs, we estimate that there will be an annual saving at the county level of approximately $500,000.

At the State level, as was mentioned above, there have been only 11 States in which all State committee members were employed full time. In these States the change will mean that the committee members will serve part time and day-to-day operations will be handled by an administrative officer. In 11 other States there was both a full-time administrative officer and a chairman of the State PMA committee serving full time. In these States the chairman will now serve part time. In the 14 States where the State chairman performed full time the functions of administrative officer, the chairman will serve part time, and a full-time administrative officer will be appointed. We estimate that the change at the State level will result in a saving of $125,000 annually.

In summary, this change is based on grassroots experience. It brings about the establishment of a uniform committee system throughout the country. Since many farmers were unable to serve full time at the expense of their farming operations, the change should result in better and stronger committees. We believe that it will result in savings as indicated and in more effective administration.

Mr. Speaker, that such a charge was made only for partisan political reasons can be attested to by the fact that the Congressman's research was so shallow that he was not even able to give the correct names of the agencies involved. Contrary to his statement, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service did not replace the Production and Marketing Administration, for there is no such agency in the Department of Agriculture and there never has been. The marketing activities carried on by PMA prior to last fall were transferred to the new Agricultural Marketing Service; the price support, acreage allotment and marketing quota programs were transferred to the Commodity Stabilization Service, which directs the activities of the State and county agricultural stabilization and conservation committees, which also carry out locally the agricultural conservation program for the Agrihence the name State and county agricultural stabilization and conservation committee.

Czechoslovak Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an address delivered at the Czechoslovak Society of American centennial banquet, Bellaire, Ohio, on March 28, 1954. This address was delivered by Mr. Joseph Martinek, historian of the Czechoslovak Society of America.

It was my privilege, Mr. Speaker, to be present at this banquet at the invitation of the president of the sponsoring lodge, Mr. Rudy Schiller, of Bellaire. It was an inspiring occasion as Mr. Martinek's address will attest:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, sisters, and brothers, it is a pleasure for me to be with you today, a real pleasure indeed to be with the most active group in the Czechoslovak Society of America.

You hold the honor to be the most successful unit of the CSA in recent years. Under the able leadership of Brother Rudy Schiller your eastern Ohio group not only went over the top with a bang in the last membership campaign but it oversubscribed its quota by 380 percent. This is a fine record and let me in the name of the executive committee of our society thank you for this achievement, congratulate you on your success and assure you that your efforts and your fine work are deeply and sincerely appreciated.

Your record in securing new insurance is the best and most appropriate way of celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Society of America which was founded on March 4, 1854, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., by 29 Czech pioneers of the American Midwest.

Our founding fathers had much wisdom and foresight in adopting the type and form of a fraternal benefit society for their original organization. These fraternal benefit societies, founded more than 100 years ago—our society is the only survivor of these pioneers—are a unique typically American kind of societies; you find their counterpart in no other country. Although they borrowed freely from the experience of the friendly societies of England of the 18th century, borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon experience as many other American institutions, they are a genuine product of American soil and environment. And we are proud indeed that, in spite of our seemingly strange and foreign-sounding name, the Czechoslovak Society of America today is the oldest unit of this great fraternalist movement, which has today 10 million members and plays a very important part in the national, social, and economic life of America.

I said that our name, Czechoslovak, has a seemingly strange sounding. But while it may sound strangely in some States, it is not so in the State of Ohio, where the first town, first school, and the first church were built by Reverend Heckevelder, a native of Moravia, now a central province of the Czechoslovak Republic. This pioneer leader and his group of Delaware and Onondaga Indians, converted by him to Christianity, settled down in Tuscarawas County in the early seventies of the 18th century. They all were members of the Moravian Church, which was founded in 1457 in Bohemia (another province of Czechoslovakia) and is known today as the oldest Protestant denomination in the world. They all were professing faith, based on the teachings of the great Czech religious reformer Jan Hus (John Huss). So you see why we of Czechoslovak ancestry feel quite at home in the great Buckeye State.

The Czechoslovak Society of America which is entering its second century in the atomic age is a precious heritage of the frontier days of this country. It was founded in the stagecoach era. It grew up with the country. It has today 47,000 members and $12 million in assets. It is a pioneer of the great fraternalist movement. It is the mother society of organizations of Americans of Czechoslovak origin, a group comprising 1 million persons. For a century it remained the leader of this group and was a great instrument of adjustment for Czech immigrants to our American way of life. Today one-half of our membership is composed of native-born sons and daughters of America and the CSA is considered to be most Americanized of all Czechoslovak societies in this country.

The CSA served well its members.

In the course of one century it paid out more than $30 million in benefits to its members and their families.

It served well the country.

Two of the founding fathers of the CSA Vaclav Pohl and Hynek Vodicka belonged to the group of the famous Forty-Eighters who fought for freedom and democracy in their homeland and participated in the Czech revolt against despotic and absolutist monarchy of Austria in 1848. Passionate love for freedom was a tradition with the society since its very inception and found expression not only in words but in deeds: during the Civil War one-fourth of the members of the original unit of the CSA joined the Army of the Union, and fought for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Members of our society fought for the country in all wars since. During the Second World War we had more than 3,600 members serving under the Stars and Stripes and the society waived—as the original lodge did during the Civil War—payment of their premiums, a patriotic service unique in the annuals of insurance institutions.

While ever ready to fight for our adopted country, the CSA did not forget the country of it founding fathers, wishing that it may share with us the blessings of liberty and democracy. We did our part in exporting and extending the American ideas of democracy and ideal of a freely elected government to the homeland in the heart of Europe. We participated in the movement for liberation of Czechoslovakia and were

overjoyed when, under the leadership of Thomas G. Masaryk and Edvard Benes, it became the most democratic country in Central Europe and in its form of government and its way of life was more similar than any other country in Central Europe to our United States of America, where its independence was proclaimed on October 18, 1918.

Unfortunately, the Czechoslovak democracy was overthrown and crushed, first by nazism and recently by communism. True to its tradition, the CSA opposed new slavery and took a firm and determined stand against both forms of totalitarianism.

Our convention, held in 1950, condemned the new totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia and in 1952 the CSA issued a clarion call for free elections in Czechoslovakia under the control of the United Nations—a demand voiced later by President Eisenhower in his great speech April 16, 1953.

Our appeal was broadcast behind the Iron Curtain and it was heard and responded to. On June 1, 1953, the Czech people of the city of Pilsen rose in revolt against the new tyranny and repeated this demand for free elections in face of the armed forces of the Communist regime. The American flag was raised on the occasion. This revolt in Pilsen immediately was followed by similar uprising in Moravská Ostrava, Brno Bratislava, and other Czechoslovakian towns and cities. It was this revolt of Czechoslovak democrats against the new tyranny that ignited a greater revolt of the East German workers 17 days later.

Czechoslovakia has a distinction that it was not only the last democracy in central Europe to fall victim to nazism, resisting Hitler to the last until it was "sold down the river" in Munich; not only that it resisted Moscow imperialism longer than several other countries in that part of Europe, but that it also was the first country behind the Iron Curtain to strike back at the aggressor.

This Czechoslovakian revolt against the Soviet tyranny which opened way for similar uprisings in other captive countries is of great importance to America.

It changed one aspect of the world situation. It definitely proved wrong the assumption that the power of a police state cannot be fought from within. It is true that this revolt was crushed and the first battle lost, but the struggle for liberation goes on and Moscow knows well that there is a time bomb in Czechoslovakia and other captive nations, ready to explode. That revolt tied the hands of Soviet rulers, forced them to postpone plans for new aggressions. Thus it delayed the danger of war. For the United States and the free world that revolt was worth several armed divisions. It was a valuable service rendered to the cause of world peace.

Now what can we do in order to help the people of Czechoslovakia in their determination to regain lost liberties, to strengthen their resistance and thus help tie up the hands of tyrannical regime? It seems to me that the least we can do is to support their demand for free elections, not only for the sake of people of Czechoslovakia but for our own sake and for the sake of our sons whom we want to spare the frightful experiences of a new war.

This is one way of cutting through the plans for new aggressions. This is one way of building up and strengthening the basis of resistance behind the Iron Curtain just as important to us as the military base in front of it.

It is highly important that the public opinion in this country be lined up for this demand. In their demagogy, the Moscow rulers, always are drawing a fine line between the American Government and the American people professing hate for the Government but "love" for the people. So let them know that not only the President of this country and its Government but the American people themselves fully support this demand for free elections behind the Iron Curtain, a just demand and the only way toward peaceful solution of troubles in that most troublesome part of the world.

The Free World, the United States of America, and India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

THE FREE WORLD, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND INDIA

(By Dorothy Norman)

The free world is interdependent, both in material terms and because of a common concept of government and individual freedom. As by far the two largest components of the free world, the United States (population 160 million) and India (population 370 million) have a specially significant community of interests. That the record establishes this beyond a doubt the following facts should show.

1. THE UNITED STATES AND INDIAN CONSTITUTIONS

Regarding the constitution of the Republic of India, a United States State Department Bulletin dated July 1953 records how especially those "sections covering the bill of rights draw heavily on United States constitutional theory."

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, of India, during his visit to this country, repeatedly stated how the framers of the Indian Constitution owed a debt to the framers of the United States Constitution. "It may interest you to know," he said, "that in drafting the constitution of the Republic of India we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution. The preamble of our constitution states that—

" 'We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens:

" 'Justice, social, economic, and political;

" 'Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship;

" 'Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

" 'Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

" 'In our constituent assembly do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this constitution.' "

"You will recognize in these words," he concluded, that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your Republic."

Madame Pandit, President of the Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, further has stressed the basic similarity between both the freedom movements of the United States and India, and their Constitutions. "Our leaders found many parallels between their struggle for freedom and yours," she has observed, "and were inspired by the example of Abraham Lincoln, the writings of Jefferson and Paine, and the great truths contained in the Declaration of Independence. The earnestness and sincerity of your pioneers helped us in the pursuit of a great ideal, just as your Constitution has influenced our legislators in the drafting of the constitution of the Indian Republic."

The Indian federal and state legislatures are elected on the basis of universal, adult franchise—without regard to color, race, creed, or sex.

In India's 1952 general elections to fill approximately 4,000 seats in state and federal legislatures—the first such elections to be held since the regaining of Indian independence in 1947—approximately 107 million Indians cast votes by secret ballot, and with full freedom for all parties. Commenting upon this occurrence, the aforementioned United States State Department Bulletin on India notes not only that "the people of India are intent on making democracy work," but that "if democracy succeeds in India, all of South Asia is buttressed; if it fails, the outlook in Asia will be very bleak indeed."

Although India is a young republic, underpinning its new democratic constitution is the basic democratic tradition of the Indian village—the Panchayat or Community Council rule. Thus, in the light of the above facts, and provided that internal economic conditions continue to improve, and no external causes undermine stability, there is every reason for India to continue to be the major bulwark of democracy in Asia.

2. THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND INDIAN ECONOMIES

A December 1952 United States State Department publication, Together We Are Strong, has this to say on the crucial subject of economic interdependence in the world today: "In no case is any of the free nations completely self-sufficient. The United States, with all its natural wealth and all the skill of its people, must look outside its own frontiers for many of its essential needs. * * * It is hard, however, for many Americans to realize the extent of our dependence upon our friends of the free world. We recognize their need for us, our aid and our strength, but our need for them is another matter. That need exists in normal times as well as in times of emergency."

According to a report by the International Development Advisory Board, headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller, and composed of outstanding business, labor, finance, agricultural, and other leaders: "Virtually all of our natural rubber, manganese (upon which the manufacture of steel depends), chromium, and tin, as well as a quarter of our zinc and copper and a third or more of our lead and aluminum, comes from aboard, mostly from the underdeveloped areas. This is also true of the largest part of our uranium ore."

From India in particular we import about 40 percent of our manganese, 80 percent of our high-grade mica, and a considerable quantity of castor oil (important for lubrication of high-speed aircraft), ilmenite (used for the manufacture of special quality pigments and paints), kyanite (for making refractories), chromite (a chromium ore), short-staple cotton, burlap, and shellac (the latter also of strategic value).

It is significant that in 1952 the United States imported sufficient manganese from India to make 54 million tons of steel—about half of our total annual production. In 1953 we imported manganese ore at about the same rate. Both manganese and several of the other commodities imported from India are of vital importance to us in the manufacture of strategic goods. For most of these commodities there are no adequate alternative sources of supply.

The Materials Policy Commission (the Paley Commission) recently has pointed out that, apart from being near to exhausting certain domestic raw material supplies, our demand for some of these materials will increase by 200 or 300 percent in the next few decades. The Commission, therefore, has emphasized the importance of developing additional sources of supply. Under its current 5-year plan, India proposes to increase

exports to the extent of 30 percent. This should make available to us some of the additional supplies we so urgently require.

The annual trade between the United States and India reflects the growing interdependence of the two countries. Before World War II this overall trade was valued at only about $200 million per annum. It now runs to roughly $700 million, having advanced from approximately 7 percent to 25 percent of India's total trade.

There have been spectacular increases in our major exports to India, notably cotton, machinery, gasoline, and allied products, as well as vehicles and certain minerals such as sulfur.

Nor is the interdependence of our economies restricted to trade alone. In the last 5 years about 25 American firms have started or expanded manufacturing activities in India. Foremost among these are the American Cyanamid Co., the Union Carbon & Carbide Co., the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., Otis Elevators, the Standard Vacuum Oil Co., and the California & Texas Oil Co. As soon as the oil refineries of the latter two companies are ready, together with another being built by the British Shell Co., India will produce practically all of the petroleum refined products that she requires. Much of the crude oil that will be needed in the future for these refineries well may be obtained in India itself as a result of drilling operations about to be undertaken by the Standard Vacuum Oil Co., in collaboration with the Government of India.

This last-named venture is the first instance of any western oil company entering into a direct partnership with a foreign government. It is significant that it should have been one of our own major oil companies that has broken this new ground with the Government of India.

Cargoes to and from India and the United States are carried in ships of both countries, and an Indian shipping company is a member of the North Atlantic Shipping Conference. Thus the merchant fleets of both India and the United States of America are engaged in the carrying of important and often strategic goods between the two countries.

The economic relationship between the United States and India could be even further strengthened in the mutual interest of both countries, as well as that of the entire free world.

India, which is by far the largest democracy on the other side of the globe from the United States of America, needs American skills, machinery, and mass-produced goods for its vast population of approximately 370 million.

With its rich deposits of coal and iron ore, India is an exporter of these commodities to other free countries. (It exports coal to Australia, Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma; iron ore to Japan.) Similarly, its tire industry, based largely on indigenous supplies of rubber, also exports its products to neighboring free countries. Thus, in addition to the direct community of economic interest that exists between the United States of America and India, the latter is playing an increasing role in helping to strengthen the economies of other countries in the free world.

In addition, India has substantial resources of fissionable material such as uranium and thorium, and, indeed, of the latter it is the richest known source in the world. It also has an Atomic Energy Commission, and soon will have in operation a full-fledged atomic reactor.

Finally, the economy of India, since it affects one-sixth of the total population of the world, is of intrinsic importance to the United States of America and to the stability of the free world. (The population of India, it must be remembered, exceeds the total population of the whole of the rest of Asia including the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East, excluding only Japan and the Communist world.)

It is for such reasons as these that our present Ambassador to India, George Allen, has stated "We attach the greatest importance to the efforts which India is making to develop its economy and improve the lot of its people. If those efforts succeed, it will encourage peoples throughout Asia and fortify faith in democratic methods everywhere. If they do not succeed, the very foundations of the Indian republic and of the Orient may be shaken."

It is because the United States is vividly aware of our community of interest with India that we have made available to it, for economic development, 3 allocations of $54 million, $45.4 million, and $89.1 million within the past 3 years; and that important private organizations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have been extending to it material and technical help.

Other United States assistance reaches India through the International Bank, which already has loaned $109.8 million for Indian development (including the first and only loan thus far made by the bank to a privately owned firm—$31.5 million to the Indian Iron & Steel Co., for expansion of its blast furnace and finished steel capacity).

Other United States funds have reached India through the U. N. Technical Assistance and Specialized Agency programs. In 1951 the United States loaned to India $190 million for the purchase of wheat. (By December 31, 1953, India already had paid the full $7 million interest due on this loan.)

The assistance we have been rendering India is helping the latter to complete its $4½ billion development plan, which represents the first phase of its own effort to consolidate its economic strength, and thus to maintain a continuing balance of forces on the vast land mass of Asia.

Referring to the relationships among the world's four major countries, one of India's influential and conservative journals, the Eastern Economist, recently commented: "These four large units together cover one-third of the land surface of the earth and contain about half of the world's population. Is it an accident that this list of 4 contains the 2 powerful nations—the U. S. S. R. and the United States of America—and the 2 most populous nations—China and India—and that they belong to the Communist and free worlds 2 by 2?"

The same publication also stated recently that the Communist world is deeply aware of the global significance of India. It quoted Lenin's pregnant remark that "for world communism the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta," adding, "• • • Lenin was a great geopolitician. Mao Tse-tung has fulfilled half of Lenin's dream; the Communists can be well pleased with this success. But without India their work is only half done."

Could there then be a greater gift to the Communist world than for the community of interest and the interdependence of the United States and India so willfully to be weakened that these two countries should be allowed to drift away from one another.

In China, by the time we became fully aware of what had been occurring, the Communits already had had 20 years in which to consolidate their armies and to establish their rule in certain key areas of the country. This put the free world at a great disadvantage.

In India there are not similar complications at the present moment. But, at times, it would seem that our manner of thinking and acting with reference to Asia as a whole may lead to our finding ourselves without the support of this immensely important country, and by sheer default. Thus, for us, the truth quite obviously lies in a converse proposition from the one contained in Lenin's dictum about the road for world communism lying through Calcutta. That proposition—to which we must give our most serious attention—is that "no road to stability, prosperity, and security in Asia—and thus in the free world—can bypass New Delhi."

It is because of the inescapable truth of this latter conclusion that, in the economic sphere, as in others, we must continue to cooperate with and assist India. We must enhance its capacity to maintain its indigenous and intrinsic democratic strength in so vast an area of Asia, thus providing the best and most tangible answer to the menace of communism, and counterbalancing the weight of Communist China in Asia.

3. COMMON ACTION IN THE U. N.

The results of voting at recent sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations show clearly that there is perhaps as wide a measure of agreement betwen the United States of America and India as can be expected of two independent, democratic, freedom-loving nations. There are bound to be occasions when free countries express different views though their final objectives may be similar. It is only the Soviet dominated countries which invariably cast their votes in a single bloc, manifesting complete totalitarian uniformity.

Madame Pandit, after the sixth session of the General Assembly, summed up the voting of the United States and India as follows: "In recent sessions of the U. N. General Assembly we voted as you did 38 times out of 51, abstaining 11 times and differing from you only twice."

In the seventh session of the General Assembly (1952–53), of the 36 resolutions which came to a vote, there was but 1 resolution on which the United States of America and India were in opposition.

In the eighth session, thus far, 14 resolutions have been brought to a vote, and the United States of America and India have differed in only 3 cases. These three resolutions were on the subject of Tunisia and Morocco, India taking a clear stand against colonialism, whereas the American view was that this issue, for the present, should be left to the French.

Though at times it has appeared on the surface that on the subject of Korea the differences between the United States of America and India were most marked, in fact the record shows close cooperation. First, in regard to naming the North Koreans as aggressors, India and the United States of America voted together along with the countries of the non-Communist world. Secondly, though India was not in a position to send its own military forces overseas, because of tensions on its own borders, and the relatively small size of its army, it did send a field ambulance unit from its armed services, including a section of paratroopers. It must be remembered that only 16 countries sent fighting men to Korea and that only 3 countries sent other personnel, of which India was 1—the only one in South Asia. As 41 countries, i. e., two-thirds of the United Nations made no response to the call for common effort in Korea, it is clearly not in consonance with the facts to regard India's noncombatant participation as a defection from the common effort of the United Nations.

Finally, in the crucial stages of bringing the Korean war to a standstill, India played a leading role side by side with the other countries of the free world. It was its resolution which, when altered somewhat at the request of the United States of America, though still objected to by the Communist countries, became the basis of the prisoner-of-war agreement, and thus of the long-awaited truce in Korea. As Henry Cabot Lodge, chief of the United States mission to the U. N. has stated, the proposal was "a splendid, sincere effort for peace." In the complicated part which India was called

upon to play as chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, it is understandable that there should have been some points of difference between it and the United States of America. On the whole, however, the Indian custodial force has been widely acclaimed for its cautious, patient, and wise handling of a most difficult situation. Just as we do, responsible Indians deplore the blaming of the U. N. command for the failure to implement fully the explanations to prisoners of war of both sides. It has been the Communist explainers and finally the prisoners themselves on both sides who have been primarily responsible for the frustration of the explanations, and of the head count and screening, which the Indian custodial force had hoped to undertake. In spite of these obstructions there can be no doubt that this operation has represented a significant step forward in the handling of international disputes, and that both the United States of America and India have played major roles in this achievement.

4. COMMON TRADITIONS, FACTS, AND ASPIRATIONS

India, like the United States, is a country of many races, colors, and creeds. For example, since the time of St. Thomas the Apostle (first century A. D.) India has had a flourishing Christian church.

In one state (Travancore-Cochin), the Prime Minister is a Christian, as are India's central health minister, the present president of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (corresponding roughly to our own CIO or A. F. of L.), as well as many other outstanding political and civic leaders. Thus there is respect and regard for India's population of 10 million Christians.

The Parsis and the Jews also, over the centuries, have functioned pacefully and with respect in India. Members of both communities have held leading positions in politics, the professions, in civil life and industry. India has the third largest Moslem population in tthe world (Indonesia having the largest, Pakistan the second largest). Cabinet ministers, governors, ambassadors, state ministers, supreme court judges, as well as other high dignitaries are drawn from among the Moslems in India.

In our own western, modern context—which is less bound by tradition than is India—we determine a man's position according to his merit and not his religion. This is true of India also.

Like the United States, India also has its social problems arising out of class stratification and an intermingling of races. The new Indian constitution has abolished untouchability. Behind this legal provision lies the immense prestige of Gandhi's work in this field.

India is a country in which peasants hold land on a vast scale. Private property is not only a reality, but an ideal. The superimposed encrustration of seniorial rights, vested by the British in a class of land-taxgatherers, largely has been abolished by the new India.

Perhaps 10 million families in India are now landless, agricultural laborers. This has stirred into action followers of Gandhi, who, led by Vinoba Bhave, have launched a voluntary movement throughout the country to give property in the form of land to these families. (About 2½ million acres already have been made available to them, so that no one in the rural areas, which comprise approximately 75 percent of the country, shall be without his own small farm.)

Even the leader of the Socialist Party of India (Wisconsin-educated Ph. D. Jaiprakash Narain, foremost political figure in the country after Nehru) publicly has announced that he has renounced Marxism (he always has been stanchly anti-Communist), and has declared himself a Gandhian Socialist, not a Marxist. (Gandhi's own thinking was uniformly and deeply both democratic and anti-imperialistic. Indian and other Communists have expressed anything but sympathy with his general attitude. Indeed, even the British, against whom he struggled nonviolently for the freedom of India, came eventually to regard him as their friend and as a strong bulwark of stability and orderly progress in India.)

It is Gandhian thinking that permeates the essential philosophy of Nehru, and it was Gandhi who nominated Nehru to be his successor. The content of the thinking of both these men is significantly like that of idealistic, humanistically inclined Americans. Thus, as might be expected, many of our own foremost thinkers have done much to mold the lives of these men, just as Indian thought in general, and the Gandhian tradition in particular, have influenced many of our outstanding philosophers, political, and intellectual leaders.

The American, Dr. Gardner Murphy, director of research at the Menninger Foundation, after conducting a recent study in India, has noted how many values the two nations have in common. He has stated, for example, how Indians have responded to the ideas of such liberals, humanitarians, and reformers as J. S. Mill, John Ruskin, and Henry Thoreau. He has observed how Indian as well as Western culture is open to new ideas and respects certain important democratic institutions—personal dignity in particular.

In a recent speech, India's Ambassador to the United States, G. L. Mehta, likewise has called attention to the interaction of thought in the two countries. "Conspicuous among the American thinkers whose writings" have been "followed with deep interest by the educated Indian," he has reminded us, are "Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, himself, was profoundly influenced by Hindu philosophy." "In the political sphere," he adds, "Jefferson, Paine, and Benjamin Franklin were widely hailed in India. Philosophers like William James and John Dewey, poets like Walt Whitman and Longfellow, humorists like Mark Twain, all formed part of the mental food of the Indian intelligentsia."

Referring to the influence of Thoreau on Gandhi, Ambassador Mehta notes, "during our national movement we derived inspiration from the early history of America's fight for independence and obtained the moral sympathy and support of many United States leaders of public opinion."

Finally, as Frederic Ives Carpenter has pointed out in his book Emerson and Asia: "Just as Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman—all shared the stimulus which the ancient East gave to the progressive thought of America, so closely related to the Emersonian tradition are the outstanding, creative contemporary Americans who have turned toward Hindu literature."

Thus in its basic attitudes, and in their manifestations both in domestic and international affairs, India's stand is in close harmony with that of the United States.

In brief then, as Madam Pandit has aptly said, "India's policy is pro-U. N., pro-free nations. We desire to maintain our constitutional secular democracy against any aggression upon our freedom and liberty from within or without our borders. We deplore the word 'neutralism' as applied to us in our situation. We are members of the U. N.; we stand with the United States for freedom, equality, orderly justice, and for a world at peace. * * * We stand * * * as an equal member of the family of nations, with other free and independent nations. We oppose every form of imperialism—whether economic or any other kind. Our experience over the years has naturally charted our antagonism to all kinds of totalitarianism—colonialism, or Communist aggression."

Thus, the community of interest between India and the United States is both deep and of great mutual advantage to the two countries. It would be not only foolhardy but even disastrous, therefore, to permit whatever minor differences, irritants, or difficulties that may arise—and that should be accepted within the framework of the democratic free world—to block understanding, cooperation, and effective action in behalf of the well-being of both countries, which together comprise one-third of the peoples of the free world.

The Rifle and the Atom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY J. LATHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I believe the Members of the House will be interested to read the following article pointing up the continued importance of an old weapon—the rifle:

RIFLEMAN MAY PLAY GREATEST ROLE EVER

(By John G. Norris)

Last week's top-level statements and debate on the hydrogen bomb served to completely overshadow some conferences here concerning an older weapon of war. The National Rifle Association held its 83d annual sessions along with those of the official National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. What little public interest there was centered on an exhibition of muzzle-loading guns, old Colt revolvers, and other collectors' items. Such antiquarianism, however, was only a social sideline to the real purpose of the meetings in which top Pentagon chiefs took part.

The presence of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, and Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., Commandant of the Marine Corps, did not reflect merely a personal interest in a key weapon of past wars. Rather, it was a deep conviction that the rifleman and his weapon will play an even more important role in the atomic age than in the past. This is the way many top military men reason:

The advent of atomic weapons has brought new tactics of land warfare calling for much greater dispersion of forces. This in turn places more reliance on the individual infantryman and his ability to handle his weapon.

The terrific destructive power of the new weapons is a tremendous check on their use. This has seemed to encourage more small wars like Korea and Indochina and guerrilla fighting as in Greece, Malaya, and the Philippines. Skill with small arms is an important factor in such combat.

A parallel development to the new super weapons has been in the airborne field. Big, new troop-carrying helicopters can make war more three dimensional than paratroopers. This may put Army Corps headquarters, communications centers, bridges, and depots in the front lines and put a premium on the shooting ability of radiomen, cooks, drivers, and clerks.

In case cities are smashed by H-bomb or A-bomb attacks, organized minutemen must be ready to combat saboteurs, looters, and a possible fifth column. Few of today's citizenry have the skill with a rifle that their forefathers had.

"This makes the man and his individual weapon a basic defense," argues Maj. Gen. Merritt A. Edson, retired Marine Corps Medal of Honor winner, who is executive director of the NRA. "Wars may be decided by the side whose men can use their rifles best."

General Ridgway stresses the key role of the infantryman in holding Western Europe in case of world war III and in finally winning any war. The man with a rifle has had to fight his way to settle past conflicts, and will again, despite all push-button war developments, he firmly believes.

General Shepherd declares that even if "mass atomic exchanges" come in a new war they will not settle it. "There will come a time after such exchanges when someone will surely conclude that the only way to end the destruction will be to seize the source of the enemy's atomic strength," he states. "There is where the infantryman comes back on the scene."

Chairman DEWEY SHORT, Republican, of Missouri, of the House Armed Services Committee agrees on the future key role of the infantryman. He points out how some simplest of weapons often are the most successful counterpart for complicated new ones. The Navy is countering new Russian developments in mines by building wooden minesweepers, and the Air Force is experimenting with nonmetallic, low-flying bombers to evade radar defense.

SHORT supports the military men who are asking for an expansion of funds for stepping up rifle practice in the United States. The NRA and National Board—a joint Pentagon agency—are cooperating in the program. Government funds no longer are spent in promoting the NRA's Camp Perry matches for the experts. Instead, the great effort has been to interest boys in marksmanship and give them a place to shoot at home. The emphasis now is turning to providing means for thousands of ex-servicemen to keep up their military developed skill with a rifle. At present, the Government is putting up the manificent sum of $100,000 to administer the program and lends surplus rifles to local shooting clubs. The latter pay for the ammunition and support the ranges. This program provides for training 3,500 senior and 4,000 junior shooters. The NRA is urging that the program be expanded to train 6,000 reservists and 15,000 teen-agers as a start toward universal marksmanship training. One hundred thousand dollars is less than half the cost of one bombsight or some spare parts on a destroyer engine. It's awfully cheap defense insurance and should be increased.

Representative Cole's Statement on H-Bomb Delay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of April 8, 1954:

REPRESENTATIVE COLE'S STATEMENT ON H-BOMB DELAY

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following is the text of a statement by Representative W. STERLING COLE, Republican, of upstate New York, chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, on the delay in developing a hydrogen bomb, which Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, charged last night was deliberately held up for 18 months.)

The possibility of developing a hydrogen bomb was actively explored by United States scientists as early as 1942. Such studies concerning the feasibility of a hydrogen weapon were conducted as part of the wartime atomic project, although they were subordinate to studies on the A-bomb since it was believed that the A-bomb could be developed more quickly and could, therefore, be used to hasten the end of the war.

At the end of World War II, there was a general slowdown in our entire military program, including atomic weapon development. This relaxation was due in large measure to a general belief that a lasting peace had been accomplished, that we would enjoy an atomic monopoly for some years, and that there would be international control of atomic weapons.

Consequently, no major consideration was given to the question of undertaking active development of an H-bomb, although a small research program on thermonuclear energy was continued.

This situation prevailed until September 23, 1949, when the Soviets exploded an atomic bomb years ahead of the date estimated by our experts. The Government promptly reviewed our atomic program in the light of the Soviet progress.

The initial impetus for this review was provided by a vigorous memorandum from a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, Lewis L. Strauss (now Chairman) to his fellow Commissioners. As a result, for the first time, major attention was directed to the question of developing a thermonuclear weapon.

After vigorous debate at the highest levels of the Government the situation that confronted the President was this: (1) A majority of the Atomic Energy Commission advised against proceeding with a large-scale and vigorous effort on development of the hydrogen bomb; (2) the General Advisory Committee also advised against so proceeding; (3) the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy favored proceeding; and (4) a special subcommittee of the National Security Council favored proceeding; the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense recording favorable votes.

On January 31, 1950, President Truman made his decision and issued an order to the Atomic Energy Commission to proceed with development of the hydrogen bomb.

As has been noted, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy took a leading part in urging the President to inaugurate a prompt and vigorous program on the development of hydrogen weapons, although some members expressed doubt as to the wisdom of so proceeding.

Between September 1949, and January 1950, the committee held several hearings in executive session on this question; its chairman, the late Senator Brien McMahon, addressed five separate letters to the President on behalf of the committee urging a major hydrogen effort; and on several occasions Senator McMahon personally expressed to the President the sense of the committee favoring prompt and vigorous action on thermonuclear weapons.

Some of the arguments against proceeding with an accelerated hydrogen program which were adduced during discussions prior to the President's decision were these:

1. There was doubt concerning the technical feasibility of such a weapon.

2. It was feared that building such weapons, should they prove feasible, would detract from the strength of our position in fission weapons.

3. Some questioned the military worth of large-yield thermonuclear devices.

4. It was feared that concentration of money and—more importantly—people, on this program would detract from the speed with which improvements in our fission bomb program could be made.

5. To many, the prospect of developing such potentially devastating weapons was morally repugnant.

6. Development would involve an expenditure of large sums of money.

Since the President's go-ahead order of January 31, 1950, our hydrogen program has been pushed with great vigor and great success. While it is true that there was considerable discussion between September 1949, and January 1950, concerning the need of developing the hydrogen bomb, this fact is not of itself sinister, nor does it imply that those who opposed the President's final decision were motivated by a desire to lessen our military strength.

At the same time, we know that there is no security system which can guarantee to be 100 percent effective against traitors. Therefore, we cannot exclude categorically the possibility that a person or persons in our program might have been motivated by interests other than those of the United States.

Bataan Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, today is Bataan Day—the 12th anniversary of that memorable epic when American and Filipino soldiers fought side by side for democracy and freedom. It is a historic day and it is significant to us in America because it points the way to our ultimate victory in the present struggle in which we are engaged against the godless ideology of communism.

The Filipino people were loyal to us because we promised them freedom. We set a fixed date for independence and when that day came we complied with our promise. Here is a pattern that can be followed and will make our struggle against a totalitarian government easier to win if our allies will only realize that in the relationship between peoples the Golden Rule is paramount.

Our junior Senator from Massachusetts, Senator KENNEDY, the other day made a brilliant address on the floor of the Senate on the question of Indochina that should be learned by heart by our people and by those who are fighting communism with us under the banner of democracy. It is of burning pertinency today and as we commemorate the heroism of American and Filipino soldiers who died together in Bataan, we must pledge to continue their fight for the cause of human decency and dignity.

Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent of the House, I insert in the RECORD an article by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, our former colleague, who has our admiration and abiding affection. He was one of those who fought in Bataan and we respect him for his war record and his loyalty to democratic ideals. He is now the Special and Personal Envoy of the President of the Philippines:

THROUGH THE DEPTHS TO THE STARS—BATAAN: TWELVE YEARS AFTER

(An interpretation by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, special and personal envoy of the President of the Philippines)

It is 12 years since that day of horror and frustration, when an American general was forced to sue for terms of surrender before an arrogant, victory-flushed, half-sated foe.

Today we look back on that day with the conviction that the immediate military importance of the fall of Bataan has been overshadowed by the ultimate, and present, significance which we attach to this occasion.

Today we are permitted to view this disaster in a different perspective. Today we, the fortunate ones, who were permitted to live through those heavy days of disaster and to see the victory which was even then being conceived—today, 12 years after, we accept Bataan as a necessary part of history; as indispensably the depth through which we are bound to pass on our journey to the star-speckled skies of freedom and national rebirth.

The enemy then saw Bataan as the end. To the enemy that scene in that fateful, fire-blasted corner of the peninsula, as the little white flags hung limp in the burning April sun, was the culmination of a successful military operation. It was, as the enemy saw it, the end of several things aside from the military campaign, the seal of a successful invasion. Most important, he saw it as the end of a reign of that freedom, that spirit of democracy, which the American people implanted in our country. Because he was successful, for the moment, in suppressing the power whose responsibility and self-accepted function was to help defend and preserve that freedom, he believed that freedom ended—dead—and saw the vindication of his dream of world conquest, the justification of his policy of aggression.

And, lest we be led to scoff at the enemy for his lack of vision, let us not forget that others, not listed with the enemy, also saw Bataan as the end of an era, the end of an influence, a turning point, retrograde, in our career as a people and as a nation.

The enemy was wrong when he saw Bataan as the culmination, as the end that meant his complete victory. The others were also wrong when they saw Bataan as the turn backward. For there were those in our country who in the dark days immediately after the surrender on Bataan saw in that surrender not an end, but a beginning.

Because those who saw this vision of a beginning were numbered not in the dozens, not in the hundreds, but in the millions; because they encompassed, truly, the whole people; and because among them and leading them and inspiring them were men of selfless honor, of rugged faith, of unshakable patriotism, we are able to see Bataan today in its true perspective: Not as a day of irretrievable disaster and ignominious defeat, but as a day of trial and suffering, from which our people were to march, through long years of hardship and struggle, to the shining reward of victory—through the depths to the stars.

For Bataan was more than just a beginning. It was a beginning that challenged. It was an occasion, an event, a day, if you will, that was in its mighty way a trumpet call to a people that could not surrender, could not yield when yielding would mean that freedom was forever lost. And that day, that trumpet call, has more than vindicated itself in the caliber of the men who led the rest of the people in answering it.

Many years were to pass before the people could rise, themselves, and summon to lead them in the campaigns of peace one of the men who so signally distinguished himself by his leadership in war. But the day of his emergence was inevitable. The time of the war demanded leadership. Ramon Magsaysay stood in the forefront of those who placed their lives on the board in the gamble with fate, with the nation itself as the stake. He was in the resistance movement and he personified the humble masses who refused to crook their knee to the invader and fought with all they had to the last.

The example, the inspiration, the indefatigable heroism which this man, the brightest star in that galaxy of resistance heroes whose careers began with Bataan, brought to bear on his conduct in the resistance, marked him as the natural rallying point for all our people when they were faced with another enemy—this time not an alien foe, but the enemy in our midst who had embraced an alien domination—and when the ever-threatening foe of honesty and good government gained power. Ramon Magsaysay brought to the battle against an alien ideology buttressed by illegal force, the same qualities of determination, of energy, and of unswerving patriotism with which he fought and struggled in the resistance. And when later the great call came, to lead the nation against the insidious enemy of internal corruption, he answered the call. And so today this man of the spirit of Bataan, who dared and defied successfully a world power, who successfully fought a segment of the latest world aggressor, is again leading the nation in the spirit that was born in travail and suffering in our country as it contemplated the disaster of Bataan 12 years ago today. That disaster which we now see rightly as no disaster, but as a test of our hearts and spirits and our souls—a test through which Magsaysay with the legions of unknown guerrillas, led us then, as he is leading us now, through another and yet graver test, in which we shall, under God, continue to defend and uphold those mighty principles of freedom which are our heritage from our ancestors.

I have referred to the Bataan which is our Bataan. Yet Bataan was not wholly ours. The Japanese artillery fire which searched those jungles made sure that the soil of that peninsula was plentifully watered with the blood not only of our Filipino soldiers but of our American brothers as well. Why did those men come 10,000 miles to fight and die beside our men in a time of peril? Why did the American people send their sons to this fate?

Every Filipino schoolboy has the answer to this: Because the American people, and the American Government—a Government that is responsive to its people—are and always shall be pledged to the safeguarding of democracy in the Philippines. Because America is committed to this task, by the pledged word of its leaders for more than 50 years back. Because America keeps its pledges. And more: because America knows that a mortal blow to democracy on Bataan, or anywhere in the Philippines, would be a mortal wound to democracy everywhere; that fredom, like peace, is indivisible; that when the bell tolls for a Filipino who fell in defense of freedom on Bataan, or in a nameless skirmish in any unmarked Philippine jungle, the same bell tolls a warning to freedom, even in Washington.

Today, 12 years after the first Bataan Day, America not less than the Philippines is faced with a new problem of aggression, with the prospect of new and more costly Bataans. The enemy now is different, yet the same; for he only carries on an improved pattern of the aggression of the last one. As in December 1941, so today, there is a perimeter of free nations who form the first line of defense for the free world whose unquestioned leader is America. We of the Philippines hold a sector of that perimeter, as we did in 1941, when the perimeter was violated and our sector overrun.

So today, as we contemplate the tragedy of Bataan 12 years ago, and the symbol of heroism and ultimate vindication which Bataan became; as we recall the tragedy of King and Lim, and Abad Santos and Jones, and the triumph of Chase and Eichelberger and MacArthur which that tragedy inspired; and as we glory in the inspired leadership of the Man of the Spirit of Bataan, Ramon Magsaysay, let us pray that the free world and its unquestioned leader see to it that the alliance of free, democratic, sovereign, and independent nations, remains unbroken, to see to it that there shall be no more Bataans.

To Restrain Hysterical Tendencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following timely and interesting article from the Christian Science Monitor, dated Wednesday, April 7, 1954:

MORE THAN FEAR IS NEEDED

Once in awhile mankind comes to the edge of an abyss so deep and wide that it almost recoils from even looking into the void. With something like this emotion the world today draws back from the capabilities of destruction shown to be inherent in the hydrogen bomb.

The United States, Britain, and France have made the right, the logical, and appropriate move in proposing that the Soviet Union join them in exploring again through the United Nations Disarmament Commission the possibilities of international control of arms, including atomic and conventional weapons.

These possibilities may be only very limited and remote, but the discussion of them can be profitable in several respects. Taking the most pessimistic view that the Communists have no intention of agreeing to any form of disarmament, the talks may yet reveal something as to the depth of Moscow's purported disposition to live in peaceful coexistence with the rest of the world.

But there is some ground for taking a more hopeful view than this. The recent Russian note about European security recognized that the employment of atomic and hydrogen weapons in a war would bring the peoples untold suffering, would mean wholesale slaughter of civilians and destruction of centers of industry, science, culture, and civilization.

For purposes of reaching an agreement it may be advantageous that the Soviets now have a hydrogen bomb, while western armies have developed something more closely approaching the land power of the Red army. The two sides have items which can be weighed in the same scales to give up or reduce rather than trying, as before, to equate or tally off atom bombs against ground forces. Each preferred that they give up what the other had.

Suppose negotiation eventually resulted in an agreement to outlaw the use of atomic or hydrogen bombs against centers of population. The chief reliance for observance of such a promise would be the maintenance of a situation in which neither side could expect to gain as much as it would lose by breaking its pledge.

Although the use of poison gas in warfare has been against international law since the 1920's, nations maintain stores of it in case of violation by an enemy. But two considerations tend to give weight to the renunciation. One is that neutral opinion would be strongly turned against a nation which so affronted the world's moral sense.

Another, which would be intensified with respect to the hydrogen or atomic bomb, is that few if any issues over which war could arise would be worth the enormous destruction, to the homeland as well as the enemy, which would result from unleashing chemical or atomic warfare. About the only issue of such dimensions would be survival itself; and the surest way to convince either the Russian or the American people that survival was at stake—and so to solidify their resistance—would be to seriously propose a nuclear attack on their cities.

What the world desires is a lessening of the tensions that make the use of atomic or hydrogen bombs even a possible contingency. If governments in the two world camps use even reasonable wisdom and regard for humanity at large there will be no dropping of nuclear explosives on living, teeming targets.

But to restrain the irrational, the ambitious, the hysterical tendencies in thought about such weapons calls for something more than fear and horror, something more affirmative than mere revulsion. It calls for calm analysis of the elements in the situation, patient exploration toward a meeting of minds among those who differ, and a confidence that reason and experience can bring forth answers which rashness and passion would dash away.

UNICO: Service Above Self

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last weekend it was my great privilege to serve as toastmaster at the banquet of the board of directors of UNICO national. It was an extremely gratifying task, for UNICO national is a very unusual, and very fine, organization. I should like to speak about it for a few minutes.

The annual board of directors' meeting, held last weekend in our Nation's Capital, brought to this city over 200 officers and delegates of UNICO chapters from all over the Nation. Thirty-seven chapters, located in 15 States from coast to coast, make up the UNICO national. Each chapter is composed of Americans of Italian ancestory who are the leaders in their communities. They include professional people—doctors, lawyers, teachers—as well as members of industry, of the business community, of the working people.

These men and women are bound by one common cause: the cause of service above self to their community, and to our Nation. They are all dedicated to service to others. It is their aim to help our Nation grow stronger and better, to promote active and enlightened citizenship, to encourage and foster true Americanism.

In the course of the 1954 annual meeting of the board of directors, the officers and delegates from UNICO chapters, and their guests were addressed by the Honorable Ugo Carusi, Deputy Director of the Foreign Operations Administration. In his inspiring address Mr. Carusi, who has rendered outstanding service to our country in various important Government positions, reviewed the problems and the accomplishments of our foreign operations, pointing out their value and contribution to our struggle against communism. His speech was welcomed with sincere enthusiasm and appreciation.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish at this point to commend to the attention of the membership of this body a speech of Prof. Hugo W. Senerchia, delivered some time ago to the northwest Jersey chapter of UNICO, explaining the purposes and objectives of UNICO.

This excellent and informative address merits careful consideration. While I am certain that many Members of Congress are familiar with UNICO, I am confident that they—as well as those who are not acquainted with this splendid organization—will appreciate Professor Senerchia's eloquent tribute to the founder and the members of this constructive movement dedicated to service above self:

UNICO

(A speech by Prof. Hugo W. Senerchia on September 17, 1952, to the northwest Jersey chapter, explaining UNICO)

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find one of the greatest supporters of the Boys Clubs of America.

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find it a leader in all community projects.

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find scholarship programs, summer camps for underprivileged boys, and other activities to guide our youth to become useful law-abiding citizens.

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find men who love their God, their home, and their country—an impregnable bulwark against all enemies of our way of life.

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find for the first time a group of Italian-Americans united in one great common cause to build a better America.

These are the facts to prove that Dr. Vastola's dream was not impractical. This very meeting tonight confirms the reality of that dream because it means you have accepted our invitation to join us in our work. Tonight you announce your dedication to the ideals and principles of UNICO. Tonight you give notice to your community that you have banded together, not for political purposes but to pool your financial, social, and moral forces to safeguard the best interests of your community under the banner of UNICO. But tonight you have also assumed a grave responsibility because it will be your duty to uphold the high standards of UNICO and to increase the respect for UNICO by your own actions. Many times indifference, friction, and discouragement will seem to paralyze your best efforts. In those dark moments when everything seems futile, do not listen to counsels of despair and surrender. Instead, listen to the vibrant voices of your fellow UNICANS throughout the country, urging you to be faithful to yourselves and to UNICO. Listen to those voices tell you that when you accepted the responsibilities of UNICO you also accepted the glorious opportunity to extend to greater areas the dream the immigrant had for his children, and in your fulfillment of that dream you will find inspiration, joy, and happiness in service to a new generation.

Tonight I wish to talk about a dream—not the dream of a starry-eyed visionary who burns with the desire to reform the world. No; the dream I want to talk about is the dream born in the mind of a very practical man—one who knew with firsthand experience what suffering, pain, and struggle means. It is the dream Dr. A. P. Vastola had 30 years ago in Waterbury, Conn.

Many years ago, the good doctor saw the Italian immigrant trudge home, weary and spent, after a long day tilling the farm under a hot sun. He saw the Italian immigrant gasping for fresh air after long hours in the damp bowels of the earth, digging coal for the insatiable needs of a growing metropolis. He saw the gnarled hands of the Italian immigrant lay down ties for the vast network of railroads sprawling across the country. He saw the Italian immigrant build schools, churches, factories, and skyscrapers—his pain-racked body bent under the weight of mortar and bricks. He saw the blood and sweat and tears of the Italian immigrant pour into the melting pot of America to make her the mightiest nation in the world.

He also saw the reward the Italian immigrant received for his labors. His reward was isolation from the rest of the city in the little Italys of America. It is true these ghettos were partly self-imposed as a sanctuary from the ridicule and painful embarrassment inevitably found in a land of strange customs. But they were also enforced by the misunderstanding, prejudice, and lack of sympathy on the part of self-styled superior Americans, and in these ghettos the Italian immigrant became the victim of economic and political exploitation. He concerned himself only with the economic needs of his family. It is not suprising, therefore, to find that he did not feel a personal responsibility toward a society which denied him any status other than that of an economic commodity.

Dr. Vastola did not see these things with a desire to awaken any resentments that go with the ghetto. He saw more than was seen by the eminent sociologists who said that because the immigrant was backward and showed unsocial tendencies, the scum of Europe should not be allowed to come to our shores anymore.

The doctor saw that life within these ghettos was not so drab and dull as the expert social workers thought. He saw the Italian immigrant play bocci and tre sette. He heard him sing beautiful Italian melodies, and dance la tarantella. He saw him praying to God and the saints with childlike devotion and joy in church and at religious festivals. More than this, he saw what sustained and encouraged the immigrant in his labors, pleasures, and sacrifices. He had a glimpse of the vision of the immigrant of a future day when his children would have the things he wanted but could not have—the day when his children would be respected and admired not for la pizza but because they had become leaders in business and the professions—he saw the day they would break through the economic and social barriers of the ghetto to enjoy the full rights and privileges and opportunities of the American citizen.

And when that day would come, Dr. Vastola saw that a new bright chapter would be written in the history of the Italian-American. He would be no longer concerned merely with the economic needs of his family. Having established his rightful place in society, he would become magnanimous toward the entire community. He would urgently feel the personal responsibility toward the betterment of his community. He would be disposed to obey that generous impulse found in every human heart to help those less fortunate than himself—victims of discrimination, poverty, and maladjustment. This was the vision the doctor shared with the immigrant.

But he also had his own dream—a dream to form an organization that would be different from the business, social, athletic, and mutual aid groups found in every city. It would be the only one of its kind because it would unite all Italian-Americans in the country in a national unity that would give greater and more effective expression to the newly developed social awareness and civic-mindedness. It would be different because it would not be nationalistic—the kind that resists the molding forces of our American way of life. No, it would be different because while it would admit that each strain in the melting pot will eventually be assimilated into a greater pattern of Americanism, it would also recognize that each element—

Italian, Irish, Jewish, and Negro—has the right to cultivate its own character and preserve its own culture in America. It would encourage and foster one ism—Americanism—and at the some time preserve the love for the land and the culture of our fathers. This organization would be different from others in that for the first time it would ask its members to make great sacrifices, not for any personal material gain, but simply for the happiness found in service to others. Because this organization would be different in so many ways from the usual type of club, Dr. Vastola would call it UNICO—unique—the only one of its kind in America—and its motto would be "Service Above Self."

This was the dream Dr. Vastola had. It was a daring and ambitious dream. It seemed so impractical. Admitting the commendable purposes of such an organization, how could our people unite harmoniously in a national effort when their wrangling and petty jealousies made local union impossible or difficult?

Could not such an organization preach eloquently about service above self, and yet be a mask to hide hypocrisy, personal aggrandizement, and political ambition?

But Dr. Vastola knew the character of the Italian people. He knew their idealism and their capabilities, and these could be utilized once they found a cause to which they could dedicate themselves.

The history of UNICO since 1922 has confirmed his faith in our people. The dream has become real. The UNICO banner is found as far north as Massachusetts and south in Florida, and straight across the country to California. In 30 years not a single member has deliberately and maliciously used UNICO for his own selfish purposes.

Wherever you find a UNICO chapter, you will find it is held in the highest esteem by the community because its members are honest, upright, and truly civic-minded citizens.

World Health Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BROOKS HAYS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, today is the sixth anniversary of the World Health Organization. This splendid international agency is rendering a notable service as evidenced by the following editorial tribute from the New York Times of April 7, 1954:

It is fitting that today, the sixth birthday of the World Health Organization, should be called World Health Day. It comes as a reminder of the monumental effort that WHO, in cooperation with the United Nation's Children's Fund and technical agencies, is making to combat disease and ignorance in backward areas of the world and to strengthen the public-health services in scores of countries. And it comes as a grim reminder to the more fortunate countries that today, nearly 10 years after the war, more than half the world is still tragically undernourished and vulnerable to the diseases that thrive under those conditions.

The accomplishments of WHO, in spite of limited funds and personnel, have written a great chapter of humanitarianism, skill, and hard work into international relations. More than 5 years ago it launched great mass campaigns: It sent malaria teams to demonstrate control techniques to India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand; it aided insect-control campaigns in Iran and Central America. With UNICEF's help it vaccinated some 13,500,000 youngsters and adults during 1952–53 alone in more than 30 countries, and it has fought and is fighting 25 other communicable diseases. More, it strives, through sanitation projects and maternal and child health centers, to build up native teams to carry on the work of the itinerant WHO teams. Its goal is quickly grasped, even in the most remote areas: to make life decent and livable.

The WHO deserves a "well done" for its effort. With adequate understanding, and funds, from supporting governments, and with the needed personnel, it can do even better. A great agency deserves a great response.

Tax Bills Would Speed Self-Pensioning Trusts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Robert P. Vanderpoel which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times of April 4, 1954:

TAX BILLS WOULD SPEED SELF-PENSIONING TRUSTS

(By Robert P. Vanderpoel)

There are identical bills in Congress, one introduced by a Republican from Ohio, Representative THOMAS A. JENKINS, and the other by a Democrat from New York, Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH, which have thus far attracted attention only in technical circles. However, they are of such importance that they should be understood by all.

Their purpose is "to encourage the establishment of voluntary pension plans by individuals." To that end they would give tax relief to all workers not now covered by pension plans set up by their employers and to all self-employed individuals who would participate in voluntary pension plans under arrangements with banks, insurance companies, or trust institutions.

As it is, the individual employed by a corporation which has a pension plan either partly or entirely paid for by the company has a tax advantage. The funds credited to him in the pension fund contributed by the employer, plus the earnings of the fund, are tax free at the time the contribution is made. They are taxable at the time the pension is paid but presumably at such time the income of the recipient will be smaller and might be either entirely tax exempt or taxable at a lower rate.

Quite obviously the self-employed and those working with concerns that have no pension plan are thus put at a disadvantage. Their individual savings for old-age are taxed at today's high rates and the earnings on such savings also are taxed at current rates.

WOULD CUT CURRENT TAX COST

The Jenkins-Keogh bills would allow individuals not now covered by a pension plan to exclude from gross income in the taxable year, the portion of income for such year paid into a restricted retirement fund or life insurance company as premium under a restricted retirement annuity contract. There would be a limit on the amount excludable of 10 percent of the taxpayer's net income, or $7,500, whichever is the lesser and a total lifetime limit of $150,000.

Other details of the bill need not be discussed here. In all likelihood they will be amended in any case before the bill is enacted into law. It seems to me the bill goes too far in the other direction, as employee contributions to pension funds under the present law are taxable as income in the year in which they are made. Possibly the legislation should provide that 50 percent of an individual's contribution toward a retirement fund should be tax free at the time made and certainly the income from the whole fund should be tax free until such time as it is distributed.

The legislation deserves the attention of Congress. It would encourage systematic saving for old-age by many more people, generally regarded as a highly desirable development.

For the banks and life insurance companies the potentialities would be enormous. I suspect the insurance companies would be quick to set up the necessary machinery. Many banks, on the other hand, might be caught asleep at the switch. Whether they would set up accumulation type common trusts which individuals could join or arrange special trusts for employees of larger corporations and other trusts for the self-employed are technical matters deserving expert study.

Employers, too, should watch this legislation and consult with their bankers as to the best way they could cooperate for the benefit of their employees. Today's marvelous mechanical equipment should make an otherwise staggering bookkeeping chore economically feasible.

The Wiretap Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of April 8, 1954:

THE WIRETAP BILL

The administration bill to permit the use of wiretap evidence in national security cases in the Federal courts has at least one serious weakness that we hope and believe the Congress will correct before the measure is finally approved.

This grave defect is the provision giving to the Attorney General alone the right to authorize the use of wiretapping in the search for admissible evidence by Federal law-enforcement and intelligence agencies. Wiretapping is at best a "dirty business," as Justice Holmes once said. It is an invasion of the right of privacy; and it seems to us that its use without adequate safeguards would come dangerously close to violating the spirit if not the letter of the fourth amendment guaranteeing the people against "unreasonable searches and seizures." Such safeguards we do not find in a bill that leaves the sole power of discretion in the hands of the Government's chief law-enforcement officer.

It seems to us that the problem has been quite satisfactorily resolved in New York State, where prior court approval is required whenever wiretapping is to be employed. In certain types of particularly heinous crime,

such as those envisaged in the pending bill, wiretap evidence may well be necessary to apprehend the guilty. But this form of crime detection is so open to abuse that the authorization of a court is a minimum safeguard. As a committee of the New York City Bar Association has said in urging such protection, "we believe that a sound [Federal] statute can be drawn, and should be enacted, authorizing certain wiretapping under adequate safeguards, including a prior court order." Kings County's District Attorney Miles F. McDonald has said that "I think prosecutors, myself included, can be overzealous" and that "the judge is a safeguard." Attorney General Brownell and the Congress would be well advised to take note of the New York experience, with which they are certainly familiar.

Untruths About Polio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS E. MORGAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include editorials from the Washington Daily News and the Pittsburgh Post Gazette regarding the polio vaccine which has been developed by Dr. Jonas E. Salk, a scientist at the University of Pittsburgh. Last Sunday night, ABC commentator Walter Winchell charged that tested samples of the so-called Salk vaccine contained live, not dead, virus. His broadcast caused great concern among the parents of the children who have already been inoculated with this vaccine. We have been assured by the United States Public Health Service, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and several pharmaceutical firms who are engaged in making the vaccine that it is as safe as modern scientific tests can make it. Public Health Service officials have stated that the vaccine goes through 9 tests in 3 different laboratories to make sure that it contains no live virus before it is released for inoculations. Dr. Salk has emphasized that "There is absolutely nothing to be concerned about. Nothing that contains a live virus is considered a satisfactory vaccine." These assurances should eliminate any future concern about the safety of this vaccine.

The editorials follow:

[From the Washington Daily News of April 7, 1954]

UNTRUTHS ABOUT POLIO

Within the next 2 weeks or so, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis hopes to begin inoculating 500,000 to 1,000,000 children with a polio vaccine developed at the University of Pittsburgh.

On the very eve of this undertaking, the most ambitious polio-fighting project in history, its success has been threatened by the hysterics of Walter Winchell.

He told a nationwide radio and TV audience that the vaccine "may be a killer." He said 7 of 10 sample batches of vaccine tested by the United States Public Health Service were found to contain live virus, presumably capable of causing infection after injection.

He insinuated that such vaccine is about to be given to American youngsters and that the National Foundation is trying to cover this up.

This is a perfect example of what happens when a saloon reporter gets out of his territory. You get a cockeyed story.

Of the many samples of this vaccine tested, the Foundation says, four were found to contain live virus. They were spoiled—and were rejected—because they weren't produced in strict accordance with the formula laid down by Dr. Jonas E. Salk, of the University of Pittsburgh, who developed the vaccine.

No vaccine found to contain live virus is released for public use. It is discarded—just as any batch of medicine, from penicillin to aspirin, is discarded if it is contaminated.

The tests of this polio vaccine are especially rigid. They were set up by a big committee of top-flight polio experts. They take about 5 weeks to complete.

They are performed on every single batch of the vaccine, and are done at three separate laboratories.

Dr. Salk has given the vaccine to himself, his wife, and their three children. And no serious reactions have occurred among the more than 7,500 children in the Pittsburgh district who have been inoculated.

Thus there is a great difference between the facts and the contemptible mouthings of Mr. Winchell—who could do with an injection of truth serum, with or without live virus.

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of April 6, 1954]

TRIPLE CHECK AND NO CHECK

Parents who might have been frightened by a Sunday night broadcast throwing doubt on the reliability of the polio vaccine with which their children have been, or soon will be, inoculated, would do well to consider the source of the broadcast.

Its perpetrator, Walter Winchell, is not noted for his own reliability. On the contrary, he is distinguished for a long career of washroom gossip, self-glorification, and journalistic vendettas of the basest sort.

Characteristically, Winchell had the polio-vaccine story wrong in more than one particular. In the first place, he said the polio vaccine is claimed to be a cure. That is patently false; it has never been described as anything but a possible preventative.

Again, he said that the Michigan State Medical Society has refused to approve use of the vaccine, developed by Dr. Jonas E. Salk, of the University of Pittsburgh. But the Associated Press, which enjoys a much better reputation for accuracy than Winchell, says the medical society has withheld recommendation of the vaccine for the time being, although the State Health Commission has declined to call off plans for a test to start later this month.

Finally, the commentator sought to convey an impression that the vaccine is a potential killer because a few batches of it have been found to contain live polio virus. What he didn't report—but should have unless he deliberately sought to panic thousands of parents—was that use of the "positive" vaccine is assiduously avoided.

Dr. Salk, the United States Public Health Service, and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis have all pointed out that the polio vaccine is triple checked to assure its absolute safety before its use is permitted. Only the killed-virus vaccine is used.

The difference between the vaccine used by Dr. Salk and a Winchell "scoop" is that while the former is checked thrice, the latter apparently is never checked once. If Winchell had exercised one-tenth of the care and integrity that goes into the production of the vaccine, he wouldn't have needlessly frightened parents or created doubts that could obstruct a great medical program. But if he had checked even once, he wouldn't have had a story, and he wouldn't have been Winchell.

After all these years, the public should know what to expect of him in the way of responsibility. What does continue to astonish and distress us, however, is the irresponsibility of the people who provide him with vast audiences.

The Old River Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I believe this editorial from the New Orleans Item bespeaks the sentiments of the people of Louisiana and should properly be brought to the attention of this body.

Here is the editorial:

THE OLD RIVER PROBLEM—LET'S HOPE FOR AN EARLY HEARING

There doesn't seem to be much chance now for a congressional hearing on the Old River control works proposal until later Congress takes its Easter vacation.

However, it is very important that this hearing be held as soon after that as possible.

The Old River project is no visionary plan, no "someday" idea for improving the future. If it were, perhaps it could wait.

Waiting too long to act on Old River, however, means sure disaster.

Expert engineers have warned that unless the Mississippi's diversion through Old River and down the Atchafalaya Basin is controlled within a few years, it could be to late.

Once Old River has captured 40 percent of the Mississippi's flow, they say, the situation might well be out of control. And that could happen in about 10 years' time.

That could not only mean that the Mississippi's main currents would then be captured by Old River and the Atchafalaya. It could mean that New Orleans would eventually become solely a salt-water port. It could mean that the vast trade and shipping interests of the entire Mississippi Valley would be crippled.

Authorization of the Army engineers' $46 million Old River control program during this session of Congress is vital.

It has been 4 years since Congress has considered an omnibus rivers, harbors, and flood-control bill.

Now that such a bill is in the works and other projects are being considered for inclusion in it, the opportunity to get authorization for closing Old River and building a flood-control structure must not be missed.

We cannot afford to let another 4 years—or actually even another year—go by.

Michigan's Representative GEORGE A. DONDERO, who is chairman of the House Public Works Committee, has been absorbed in the prospects of the St. Lawrence seaway bill, which he strongly advocates.

And, since the seaway bill has been delayed until after Easter, DONDERO has indicated that the Old River hearings will also be postponed.

However, it is encouraging that DONDERO has expressed himself as in favor of the Old River project and has made it clear that he understands fully the consequences should the mighty Mississippi change its course.

New Orleans and the entire Mississippi Valley will continue to hope for the earliest possible consideration of the Old River problem.

Judicial Review of Decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of H. R. 1994, a bill previously introduced by myself to provide for the review of certain decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals of the Veterans' Administration.

Nearly every Member of Congress has at times been shocked by some decision rendered by the Board of Veterans' Appeals. There have been many requests made by veterans and veterans organizations calling for the establishment of some appellate procedure whereby decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals could be made. There exists, at the present time, the right of review and appeal of decisions and actions of all boards, bureaus, and commissions of the Government—the decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals constitute the exception to this fundamental principle of right of access to the courts for judicial review.

There is no intent on my part to minimize or disparage in any way the tremendously fine and just decisions handed down by the Board of Veterans' Appeals in the great majority of cases. There should exist, however, a procedure whereby veterans who feel that their rights have been arbitrarily denied should be given an opportunity to have the cases reviewed and decided by the courts of our country. This Nation grants the right of access to the courts to criminals and even saboteurs and enemies of this Nation. Certainly we should not deny to the veterans of our country, the men who have fought in the defense of America the right to have their cases reviewed by the courts when and in those instances where the veteran feels that his just rights have been denied by action of an administrative board.

Judicial review should be extended to include decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals. The bill of my sponsorship would effect this much-needed relief and reform.

Copy of the bill follows:

H. R. 1994

A bill to provide for the review of certain decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals

Be it enacted, etc., That part II of Veterans' Regulation No. 2 (a), as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"XII. (a) There is hereby created in the Veterans' Administration an Administrator's Advisory Council (hereinafter referred to in this paragraph XII as the 'Council'), to be composed of a chairman and five other members appointed by the Administrator with the approval of the President. Of the 6 members, 1 shall be appointed from among the outstanding practicing physicians of the United States, 1 shall be appointed from among the outstanding practicing attorneys of the United States, and, of the remaining 4, 1 shall be appointed from among persons recommended by each of the following organizations: The American Legion, the American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS), the Disabled American Veterans, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. No person who has at any time served as a member of the Board of Veterans' Appeals, or who has served at any time during the preceding 12-month period as an officer or employee of the Veterans' Administration, shall be eligible for appointment as a member of the Council. The Administrator shall fix the compensation of the members of the Council in accordance with the provisions of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, but in no event shall any such member be compensated at a rate lower than the highest rate paid to any member of the Board of Veterans' Appeals.

"(b) The Administrator shall furnish such personnel, office space, equipment, and supplies as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Council.

"(c) Upon application by any person whose claim for any benefit under the laws and regulations administered by the Veterans' Administration has been disallowed, in whole or in part, by a decision of the Board of Veterans' Appeals, the Council shall have the functions of (1) reviewing such decision, and (2) advising the Administrator as to what action he should take with respect to such decision. In performing such functions, the Council shall apply the most equitable and liberal provisions of the laws and regulations administered by the Veterans' Administration; and, in cases relating to the service connection of disease or injury, the Council shall give especial consideration to the provisions of Public Law 361 of the 77th Congress.

"(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of law with respect to the finality of decisions of the Board of Veterans' Appeals, the Administrator may confirm, reverse, or modify any decision, or part thereof, of the Board of Veterans' Appeals which has been reviewed by the Council.

"(e) Application for review by the Council of any decision of the Board of Veterans' Appeals shall be filed within 1 year from (1) the date of mailing of notice of such decision, or (2) the date of enactment of this paragraph XII, whichever is the later."

SEC. 2. (a) If the action taken by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs with respect to any claim for benefits under the laws and regulations administered by the Veterans' Administration is contrary to the advice of a majority of the members of the Council created by the first section of this act, a suit on the claim may be commenced against the United States in the district court for the district wherein the plaintiff is resident; and jurisdiction is hereby conferred upon any such court, sitting without a jury, to hear and determine such suit. The liability of the United States with respect to any such claim shall be determined on the basis of the facts and evidence of record presented to the Council. The judgment or decree of any such court shall be final and shall not be subject to any further administrative review.

(b) No suit shall be allowed under this section unless the same shall have been commenced within 1 year after the date of the mailing of notice of the action taken by the Administrator contrary to the advice of a majority of the members of the Council. No other statute of limitations shall be applicable to suits commenced under this section.

(c) Those provisions of section 500 of the World War Veterans' Act of 1924, as amended (38 U. S. C., sec. 551), which relate to attorneys' fees, and the penalties prescribed in such section for violations of such provisions, shall be applicable with respect to suits commenced under this section.

Twenty Years of Experience With Our First Socialist-Communist Experiment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH W. GWINN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, we have had 20 years of experience with our first Socialist-Communist experiment—that much-touted TVA. As defined in Webster's International Dictionary, communism is "a system of social organization in which goods are held in common, the opposite of the system of private property."

TVA is owned and operated by the United States Government; that is to say, TVA is a communal or public-owned property acquired by taking private property amounting to $1.788 billion, mostly from the people of 41 States, for the alleged communal benefit of the people in parts of 7 other States.

Benefits growing out of such an immoral taking of private property are only alleged, never real. Such benefits never fail in the end to blight a people who accept them. The proof is already in Tennessee. It has suffered a reduction in production and commerce and, therefore, in well-being since the advent of TVA.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has compiled a study of what has happened to Tennessee with public power compared to 10 Southeastern States with private power. In 1930, before the advent of TVA, the population of Tennessee ranked fourth among the 10 States. In 1950 it still ranked fourth.

In 1933, just a year prior to operation of TVA, the receipts from farm marketing ranked Tennessee fifth, while in 1950 she dropped to eighth place.

The retail sales payroll in 1935 put Tennessee in third place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth place.

Retail sales in 1929 had Tennessee in second place; in 1948 she had dropped to fifth.

In value added by manufacture Tennessee ranked third in 1933; fourth in 1947. In gross postal receipts she ranked third in 1933; down to fourth in 1951.

In all the categories examined Tennessee has fallen behind in productivity. In only one area has Tennessee improved her rank among her neighboring States and that was in per capita income and per capita taxes paid. But the reason for that increase is not that Tennessee became more productive. Instead of producing and paying taxes, Tennessee has been an eater of taxes from the outside. One hundred and eight million dollars have gone done there from the outside to meet payrolls of 22,796 TVA employees, or nearly an average of $5,000 apiece plus the hundreds of millions in doles granted by the Federal Government. Without the Federal payroll and subsidies, Tennessee would not have enjoyed an increase in per capita income but would have suffered a serious decline. She is now a taxeater and not a growing tax producer. The most star-

tling failure of TVA is that it does not produce sufficient power for the people it is supposed to serve. So even if we grant—which we do not—that Government can produce power more cheaply than private enterprise yet what value is low-priced electricity when it cannot be had at any price? There just is not any that can be bought. All competition is dead. By the fall of 1954 the testimony shows that even less power will be available to the people. Cheap power at half cost is made possible by direct subsidies given to TVA by the people of Massachusetts, California, and the other States. Their money, viz. about $150 million a year, goes in at one end of the electric line and comes out at the other as electricity at half price.

The indirect subsidy is the complete exemption from local, State, and Federal taxation. Had TVA paid taxes at the same rate paid by private power companies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, such taxes would have amounted to about $80 million; resulting in a loss in operations of about $57 million. If TVA were required to pay interest on the appropriations granted it by Congress that loss would have been increased by another $24 million, which figure does not include the $10 million of normal return of amortization. Thus if TVA were run as an honest business enterprise, its books on June 30, 1953, would not show a credit balance of $19 million but a deficit of $91 million. Yet, even with that deficit representing a subsidy paid by the Nation's taxpayers, the TVA system cannot produce enough cheap power to satisfy the demands of the consumers it was designed to serve.

It is an interesting fact that there is no similar shortage of power in other parts of the country where private companies are the suppliers. The reason for this is that the private power companies, being run on sound and honest business principles, have anticipated the increased demand for electrical energy. At this time the private power companies are undertaking a $2.5 billion expansion program of their facilities.

The attempt of TVA to hide the red ink in its operations is utterly ridiculous. The original excuse for the law creating TVA, viz, to control floods and to aid navigation on the Tennessee River has turned out to be a joke and a fraud of extensive proportions. Instead of stopping floods it has actually permanently flooded 660,000 acres—an area as big as Rhode Island—out of a million acres it owns and controls. This great Tennessee River bottom according to Army engineers, would not seriously flood more than once in 500 years. The bottom lands did sustain some overflow in the spring as most river-bottom lands do. It benefited the land by leaving a fertile sediment. Crops thrived. Annual production was about $27 million. That is now all destroyed, and there is water, water everywhere. Those who put over this water, water everywhere pretended to be controlling floods while they were building power dams and controlling the people. Obviously, building a dam and then permanently filling the reservoir behind the dam leaves no place to hold floodwaters when and if they come.

Let us not dwell in detail on alleged improved navigation by deepening the Tennessee River, except to say that this was also a device to hide vast sums that should have been charged to cost of power.

There is another loss that is even more important than the millions of dollars that have been poured into this monumental failure. The people of Tennessee lost their political freedom when they became dependent on TVA. Their Governor is compelled to come to Washington, hat in hand, predicting dire consequences for his people if the dole is shut off. The people of Tennessee must live under whatever rules Congress promulgates and those rules affect not only the rates charged for power, but touch every aspect of the State's economy as has been pointed out. They have lost their productivity. They may not buy power elsewhere as private companies are excluded from the TVA reservation. In the words of Herbert Hoover:

> They have surrendered the control of their resources and energy to a Federal bureaucracy.

TVA cuts the price of power to a loss figure so as to buy the votes and support of its consumers in the rankest kind of political corruption. It exempts itself from taxation and by more political corruption forces its competitors to pay approximately 23 cents out of every dollar of the power bills paid by their customers to finance TVA deficits.

TVA would not have a Congress and a President or the protection of the armed services but for the fact that private power companies provide such services for them. That is socialism—communism in these United States.

The history of the legislation creating TVA in 1933 is an interesting study in the manner in which the Socialists are able to achieve their goals of Government-planned economy. During the 1920's the Public Utility League was organized by the Socialists. This organization divided the whole country into 7 areas of power production of which the area now controlled by TVA was 1. They presented their scheme to Senator Norris, of Nebraska, and he introduced it in Congress. Year after year it was defeated as an unconstitutional measure. Upon becoming convinced that a successful frontal attack to get the Government into the power-production business was impossible, the Socialists hit upon the scheme of disguising their real purpose. They labeled the proposal as a plan to control floods and preserve the Nation's natural resources, objectives more palatable to the advocates of constitutional Government.

Thus the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 was represented in its preamble as an act for flood control, aid to navigation, and preservation of natural resources. The body of the act provided for the sale of surplus power not necessary for the attainment of the purposes mentioned in the preamble. The production of power for sale to and use by the people in the Tennessee Valley was to be merely an incidental business. Yet today TVA is represented as the classic example of successful Government power production. Actually TVA is a classic example of the Nation being duped by the never-changing tactics of the social planners, only to be awakened to the perils of the Socialistic state after it has become an accomplished fact.

I am not moved to speak on this subject merely because of the deception used to foist TVA on the American people. I speak because the experiment has been unsuccessful, as all Socialistic schemes are unsuccessful. I speak not only with the profound conviction that welfare-state schemes are alien to the American philosophy of Government but also with the facts and knowledge gained during the 20 years of TVA's operation.

Abraham Lincoln said:

> If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it.

We know where we are, where we have been going, what we should do and how we should do it when it comes to TVA. We fight wars on the theory that socializing and communizing economy is wrong because it cuts production and brings misery and tyranny to the people. If we take up arms to defeat it abroad why do we tolerate it at home?

The President Should Not Be Surprised at Defeat of His Own Housing Bill—The President's Use of the Words "Creeping Socialism" Helped to Kill the Public Housing Measure Which He Advocated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, post mortems in politics are never considered to be worthwhile. Yet, in reflection, it seems appropriate to point out that the President should not be surprised at the recent defeat of his own proposed public housing bill.

When the President referred to the TVA as an example of creeping socialism—indeed a most unfortunate reference to one of the great and successful agencies of our Government—it seemingly became fashionable, for the time being, at least, to refer to other programs and activities of the Government in similar terms. Putting a tag or label of socialism on anything that may offend any segment of private interests or elements or reaction in our country has developed to an even greater extent following the example of the President.

So, Mr. Speaker, the President should not be surprised when members of his own party used his own words creeping socialism to wreck and defeat the President's public housing program.

Who Wants a Dictatorship?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, that a dictatorship might be in the making is indicated by a recent statement from David Lawrence which reads as follows:

SEPARATION OF POWERS THEORY—GROUP SIGNING AD ACCUSED OF URGING PRESIDENT TO ASSUME A VIRTUAL DICTATORSHIP OVER CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

(By David Lawrence)

Totalitarian concepts that could be the forerunner of a new form of fascism some day in America have begun to emerge in the pressures being directed at President Eisenhower to change the historic role of the Chief Executive and assume functions, called leadership, but which actually envisage a type of dictatorship.

The first public sign of this pressure appeared yesterday in a paid advertisement in a local newspaper which called upon President Eisenhower to ignore one of the basic constitutional rights of the Congress. It said, in part:

"We would like to see you forbid Government representatives to appear before McCARTHY's subcommittee until he gives ample and unmistakable proof that he will abide by fair and reasonable rules of procedure in the treatment of witnesses."

The 51 Americans who signed this statement are well-meaning, loyal, highly respectable persons who probably never gave a moment's thought to the constitutional implications of the petition which they were urged to sign. For, if the President of the United States is to set himself up as the judge of what is fair or reasonable about a congressional procedure, then the system of government as the people of the United States have known it since 1787 will have been completely undermined.

The American constitutional system provides that Congress is the coordinate branch of the Government, equal in power and authority, in its own sphere, with any other branch, and that the right of Congress to decide what shall be its own rules of procedure cannot be taken away by the executive branch of the Government.

There is not a single Supreme Court decision which immunizes employees of the executive branch of the Government from obeying a subpena to appear before committees of Congress. The same holds true for subpenas by the courts. By long-established custom the President himself has been held to be theoretically immune from the subpena power, but even this could be overturned by a Supreme Court decision in the future, or by a law of Congress.

If a President were to forbid at his pleasure the appearance of the officials of the executive departments and agencies before Congress, he could successfully deprive the legislative branch of the Government of the pertinent information it needs in formulating laws, especially appropriation bills. Thus, the whole system of checks and balances set up by the founding fathers would collapse.

Never before in the memory of this correspondent has there been a movement started in America urging the President to assume a virtual dictatorship over the conduct of the committees of Congress. If he may pass judgment on its own rules of procedure, he could also, by the same precedent, evaluate at his will the qualifications of the Members of Congress, or do anything else which hitherto has been strictly the prerogative of Congress. The road would be open to the Hitler or Stalin practice of purging the legislative by order of the Executive.

But the new totalitarianism in America is not confined entirely to an effort to make Congress the tool of the Executive, as was the case with the German Reichstag under Hitler. There is, for instance, a drive to insist on a conformity of thought on the part of persons employed by congressional committees. They must conform to the ideas of pressure groups who evidently seek the support of President Eisenhower in their present drive. The controversy over what Samuel P. Sears said publicly concerning Communists in Government, or his expressed beliefs that persons should not abuse the fifth amendment, or his political remarks in favor of a Republican candidate for Senator in the State of Wisconsin in 1952, makes it apparent that only those who conform to certain precepts would be permitted hereafter to serve their Government if the pressure groups have their way.

Since Mr. Sears, three-time president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, is considered ineligible by some of these groups to act as counsel for a congressional committee because of his political views expressed in 1952, or his expressed opposition toward Communist sympathizers in Government, or at Harvard Law School, then Justices William O. Douglas and Robert H. Jackson of the Supreme Court of the United States, who have made speeches off the bench dealing with the touchy subject of civil rights and Communists in Government, may have to consider disqualifying themselves hereafter from sitting in any cases involving the anti-Communist controversies of these emotional times.

This is the totalitarian trend of the hour. It is amazing that most of the outcries that would seek to punish a man like Mr. Sears for his past views are coming from the very faction which has been describing itself as liberal. These concepts of suppression of speech, and the imposition of conformity of thought are, of course, the extreme opposite of true liberalism.

Civil Aeronautics Board Subsidizes Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY R. SHEPPARD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, on March 3, the House of Representatives considered the matter of appropriations for the Civil Aeronautics Board for the fiscal year 1955, which included many millions of dollars to be paid in subsidies to various passenger-carrying airlines. A great many reasons were given by proponents of the measure passed as to why bountiful amounts of subsidy payments to various selected airlines would be in the public interest. It was explained that the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 was passed for the purpose of encouraging civil aviation in the United States and that if we are to have an airlift that is valuable to this country in time of war and otherwise we either have to purchase planes and maintain them in our Military Establishment, staff them, and so forth, and keep them in readiness for an airlift to Korea, or to any other place that the world situation may demand, or, we must have such planes available and in commerce at the service of the people of the United States and maintained primarily by private industry.

We have provided under the Civil Aeronautics Act that if the necessary civilian airlines require support in order to survive and stay in a healthy condition we have authorized and directed the Civil Aeronautics Board to pay that amount of money that is necessary to sustain them directly to the airlines. At the time the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed, the system it established was considered the most economical way to organize and maintain an airlift in the United States. Many examples of how well our civilian airlift has come to the aid of the military in time of emergency have been given. The participation of the civilian carriers in the Korean airlift has been high-lighted and strongly stressed as a major illustration of why subsidies to airlines are necessary—yes, indeed imperative. However, those who have most strongly propounded these arguments have failed to make mention that the airlines who participated to the largest degree in the Korean airlift were our own cargo airlines, who have never asked nor received one cent in subsidy payment from our Government.

What is the Civil Aeronautics Board doing to help foster the all-cargo airlines, this relatively new and extremely important segment of our air industry? I will tell you what they are doing.

I have investigated this matter in quite some detail and have found beyond question that the Civil Aeronautics Board has imposed every restriction, inhibition, and difficulty imaginable on these all-cargo carrying lines. They have made it as difficult for them to operate as is possible. The most recent example of this type of activity is their rejection on March 17 of the request of the Postmaster General that he be permitted to employ the services of the all-cargo airlines in his experiment for the carriage of ordinary surface mail by air. The Postmaster General gave many good and valid reasons why the services of these lines are needed by the Post Office Department. What were the reasons given by the three Board members who rejected the Postmaster General's request? Two members said it was not in the public interest; 1 of these and 1 other said, in effect, "These lines are not subsidized and are, therefore, not eligible to participate in any Post Office Department business."

I am confident that every Member of this Congress shares my deep interest in the welfare and development of a healthy and adequate civilian air industry in this country. When we appropriated public funds to continue the Civil Aeronautics Board and to assure the maintenance of an adequate air industry, we did so with every intention that these funds be administered impartially, fairly, and properly in order that they might inure to the public benefit in the

broadest possible sense. It was our intent to assure that all categories of our civilian air arm would remain strong and would continue to grow and develop in the service of this Nation. In direct contradiction to this intent of Congress, it clearly appears that the Civil Aeronautics Board has determined its own mission to be that of zealously fostering a complete and closely held monopoly of our air commerce, including Government business, in the major passenger carrying subsidized airlines.

I am confident that the Members of this Congress do not wish this situation to continue on. I will say that there is one thing certain, I intend to get to the bottom of this, and I am sure that there are many other Members of this House of Representatives who will wish to do likewise.

Reply by Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno to Argument Made by Simon W. Gerson of the Communist Party, April 7, 1954, Before House Committee on the Judiciary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MARTIN DIES
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statements by Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno to argument made by Simon W. Gerson of the Communist Party, April 7, 1954, before the House Committee on the Judiciary:

Justice MUSMANNO. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I listened with a great deal of interest to the statement made by Mr. Gerson of the Communist Party. Before I take up my presentation in behalf of House bill 7894, I would like to make some brief references to this remark. Eventually, after I have been supplied with the text of his statement, I would like to reply to it detailedly, in writing or in any other form that the committee might desire.

I would be glad to appear tomorrow, in the meantime having been supplied with the full text. I was not able to follow the speaker, because Mr. Gerson from time to time dropped his voice and therefore I was unable to grasp in detail the statements which he made.

Mr. GRAHAM. Do you have a copy of the full statement?

Justice MUSMANNO. No, I do not.

Mr. GRAHAM. We will be glad to give you one.

Justice MUSMANNO. But I did hear his last remarks which very properly I think provoked a remark from Mr. HYDE as to whether Mr. Gerson was speaking of the United States or Russia when he referred to "our country." I noted the simulated anger on the part of Mr. Gerson when it was suggested that possibly he was referring to Russia as his country. I would like to say to this committee, fully cognizant of the significance of my remarks, that no one can be a Communist and still refer to the United States of America as his country. Any one who is a Communist has allegiance to Russia, and the international Communist conspiracy, and therefore cannot be loyal to the United States of America.

He referred to the fact that there were 15,000 Communists who lost their lives in World War II. I do not doubt, members of the committee, that in the blanketing universality of the conscription law, many Communists and other undesirable citizens were drafted. But the test is not whether they served in World War II after Pearl Harbor; the test as to whether they are loyal to the cause of democracy is whether they enlisted in the allied cause before June 21, 1941, when Hitler then stabbed his partner Stalin in the back.

Had it not been for the two devils of Hitler and Stalin, who crucified Poland and precipitated World War II, we would not now have the crises, the troubles, the sorrows, which are threatening the very destruction of the United States and of the human race. It all goes back to that evil day when Communists were not enlisting in the Army to fight Hitler and Stalin. They were picketing the White House, crying out "The Yanks are not coming."

It was only after Hitler betrayed his brother bandit that the American Communists were willing to respond to the conscription law.

Another statement made by Mr. Gerson was that in 35 years there has not been one Communist convicted of treason.

Mr. Chairman, that is a play on semantics. There have been scores, if not hundreds, of Communists convicted of treasonable activities. I, myself, helped to convict Steve Nelson, the field general of the Communist Party of the United States. The Smith Act is listed in the United States Code under the general title of treason and sedition.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. McCulloch would like to ask you a question.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Mr. Justice, is it possible to convict anyone of treason in the United States when we are not at war with a foreign country?

Justice MUSMANNO. It is possible.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. It is possible to convict a man of treason?

Justice MUSMANNO. Yes, because treason is defined as making war on the United States and giving aid and comfort to the enemy. These convictions that I speak of were under sedition and espionage acts, and it is merely a play on words to say that no one has been convicted of treason. Of course, technically, they have not been tried under the precise clause of the Constitution, but they certainly have been convicted of treasonable activities. I regard Steve Nelson as a traitor in an unconscionable degree.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Mr. Chairman, might I pursue this?

I have no question or no fault with your general analogy. I am trying to get at a very technical matter before the subcommittee of this committee of which I am a member. We have a proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States to redefine treason. That very play on semantics and that very difficulty or the impossibility of trying and convicting a person for treason except in time of war is a question that is before our committee. That is the reason I wanted to pinpoint this thing.

I would like to ask the question again: In your opinion, Mr. Justice, is it possible to convict anyone in America of treason as defined by the Constitution when we are not at war?

Justice MUSMANNO. I would say that it is possible, but not necessary because we have enough statutes on the books in that regard to take care of those who are engaged in treasonable activities during a state of technical peace.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. What I am trying to get at is, is it in your opinion, Mr. Justice, possible to convict a person of the technical crime of treason as defined by our Constitution in time of peace.

Justice MUSMANNO. We know that Aaron Burr was tried on a charge of treason, and certainly we were not at war at that time.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Were the overt acts committed in time of war?

Justice MUSMANNO. No; it was after the Revolutionary War and yet he was brought to trial before Chief Justice Marshal and, of course, as Mr. MCCULLOCH knows, he was acquitted.

Mr. GRAHAM. That happened around the year 1804 or 1805.

Justice MUSMANNO. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MCCULLOCH. Do you know of any indictments for treason in recent years as defined by the Constitution?

Justice MUSMANNO. I would say I do not know of any such, Mr. MCCULLOCH.

Mr. Chairman, there was one remark which Mr. Gerson made which I just cannot help allow go unreferred to because it touches me deeply. As one, and this is true of every good American, who regards the name of Abraham Lincoln as one sacred to America, I resent his saying that Abraham Lincoln had Communists on his staff.

That statement is a contemptuous, pusillanimous falsehood, capable of falling only from the lips of one who takes his truth from Moscow, honor from Malenkov, and decency from the vilest ponds of deceit.

He quoted Justice Jackson, you may be sure, completely out of context, and then said that in these days, turmoil and crises, there should be no bill outlawing the Communist Party because this would curtail discussion, it would gag truth, it would prevent people from considering wholeheartedly and candidly the problems which are besetting the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, let me quote Justice Jackson on that subject. In his opinion in the Douds case, he was discussing what rights Communists and others have. They may discuss any subject. If they can, and now I am quoting, "persuade enough citizens, they may not only name new officials and inaugurate new policies, but, by amendment of the Constitution, they can abolish the Bill of Rights and set up an absolute government by legal methods. They are given liberties of speech, press, and assembly, to enable them to present to the people their proposals and propaganda for peaceful and lawful changes, however extreme. But instead of resting their case upon persuasion and any appeal inherent in their ideas and principles, the Communist Party adopts the techniques of a secret cabal—false names, forged passports, code messages, clandestine meetings. To these it adds occasional terroristic and threatening methods, such as picketing courts and juries, political strikes, and sabotage. This cabalism and terrorism is understandable in the light of what they want to accomplish and what they have to overcome."

Congress is not concerned with the individual who, outside the Communist Party, advocates a peaceful change, no matter what that change may be. There have not been lacking agitators and zealots urging even preposterous changes in our Government. Nor have these proposals been limited to the soap box or even political campaigns. In my book, proposed amendments to the Constitution, I list proposed amendments introduced in Congress which today must certainly seem grotesque. In 1893 Mr. Miller of Wisconsin, proposed the Constitution be amended to rename this country "The United States of the Earth." His resolution also declared that "the Army and Navy, including the Army and Navy schools of organized murder, are hereby abolished."

Another resolution provided that "the House and Senate shall vote by electricity."

One proposed amendment provided that the House of Representatives should have

exclusive power of legislation, the Senate to be abolished, not responsible to the Supreme Court, and that on petition of 5 percent of the qualified voters any bill passed by the House of Representatives could be subjected to a referendum and that a majority of all votes cast could veto the law. There have been over a score of amendments calling for repeal of the 15th amendment."

In the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, Harisiades versus the United States, Justice Jackson pinpoints the very matter that Mr. Gerson referred to:

"The claim is that in joining an organization advocating overthrow of government by force and violence the alien has merely exercised freedoms of speech, press, and assembly which that amendment guarantees to him. The assumption is that the first amendment allows Congress to make no distinction between elective processes and advocating change by force and violence, that freedom for the one includes freedom for the other, and that when teaching of violence is denied, so is freedom of speech. Our Constitution sought to leave no excuse for violent attack on the status quo by providing a legal alternative—attack by ballot. To arm all men for orderly change, the Constitution put in their hands a right to influence the electorate by press, speech, and assembly. This means freedom to advocate or promote communism by means of the ballot box, but it does not include the practice or incitement of violence."

FURTHER REPLY BY JUSTICE MICHAEL A. MUSMANNO TO SIMON W. GERSON OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON APRIL 8, 1954, BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

Justice MUSMANNO. Mr. Chairman, when Simon W. Gerson of the Communist Party spoke yesterday, I misunderstood him to say that 15,000 American Communists had died in World War II. Upon reading his statement last night I discovered that what he actually said was that 15,000 American Communists had served in the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II. At the time he was speaking, it occurred to me that he was exaggerating the number of Communists who had died, but I did not challenge his figures because I had no immediate access to statistics. I don't know how many of the 15,000 Communists were killed in war, nor do I know where Mr. Gerson got his figures that 15,000 Communists were in American uniform except to say that the Communist Party must hold a lengthening chain of control over every Communist, no matter where he goes. I do know this, however. During my 6 years' military service in World War II I ran across several American Communists—and to me they were a disgrace to the uniform.

The program of the Communist International, as testified to in the Dennis trial in New York, points out that Communists are not to refuse military service, because they must learn how to use guns in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of their own country. The function of a Communist in the army is thus stated to be:

"In its struggle against the imperialist system the proletariat strives to enlighten the proletarian and semiproletarian elements of the bourgeois army, and to draw it over to its side; to divert the soldiers' rifles from against the working class and to turn them against the ruling class. Work in the army plays a particularly important role, since only by the 'creation of a secret organization of revolutionists in the army' (Lenin) i. e., in the first place of Communist nuclei, together with the mass action of the working class, can imperialist war be combatted and the premises be created for the victory of the proletarian revolution." (U. S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, *U. S.* v. *Eugene Dennis et al.*, brief for the United States, p. 65.)

The imperative need for the passage of the Dies bill is demonstrated rather cogently in this very matter. John J. McCloy, at the time Assistant Secretary of War, testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee on an Army directive issued December 30, 1944, which read as follows:

"No action will be taken that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist Party unless there is a specific finding that the individual involved has a loyalty to the Communist Party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 22, 1954.)

Mr. Chairman, can you imagine a more distressing paradox than this: That an Army directive should seriously even consider that a Communist's loyalty could possibly not override his loyalty to the United States? It is because of this appalling misconception (due to colossal ignorance, indifference or otherwise) that the world is in such a sorry state with regard to the most frightful menace that has ever confronted civilization. For years Communists, fellow travelers, misguided liberals and professional intellectual academicians have been saying that communism is simply a philosophy, that the Communist Party in the United States is a political party, and that the Communists in China were simply agrarian reformers. As a consequence the air over one-fourth of the earth's surface is now contaminated by the Red flag of aggression, tyranny and inhumanity. The mistake has indeed been made, but there is no reason to perpetuate it. To go on calling the Communist Party in the United States a political party is an affront to the American people, a dishonor to every American family that has lost a son to Communist bullets, and an ever-increasing peril to the security of our Nation.

Louis Budenz, who as you know, was a member of the Communist conspiracy for many years, appeared as a witness in the case of *National Maritime Union of America* v. *Herzog* (78 Fed. Supp. 146, 175). His evidence is illuminating on the proposition as to whether the loyalty of a Communist to Russia overrides his loyalty to the United States:

"Question. Mr. Budenz, if a member of the Communist Party in this country receives an order from Moscow with regard to a certain situation, and the Government of this country, let us say the President of the United States, made an order pertaining to the same subject but the order was exactly the opposite of the Moscow order, can you state, from your knowledge of the Communist Party, what the object of the member, the Communist Party member in this country, would be as to which order he should or would have to follow?

"Answer. I can state from my knowledge and from my experience he would have no opportunity but to follow the order from Moscow."

Mr. Gerson yesterday spoke generally on all the bills which have been urged against the Communist Party. I am speaking here on the Dies bill. I recognize that some of the bills introduced could not pass the test of constitutionality, not especially because of what Mr. Gerson said, but for inherent defects observable at a glance by constitutional lawyers. However, to the extent that Mr. Gerson's remarks are directed against a bill which, outlawing the Communist Party, meets all constitutional tests—and I sincerely believe that the Dies bill does meet such tests—I must say that his argument is the typical Communist, pro-Russian, anti-American argument that one reads in the Daily Worker every day.

Mr. Gerson says that, from the standpoint of loyalty, the United States is his country. I hope it is. Why, then, was it necessary for him to devote so much of his argument apologizing for Russia, asserting that Russia has no aggressive intentions against the United States, that Russia is eager for peace, that Russia wants to end the cold war, etc.? What do these arguments have to do with whether a bill outlawing the Communist Party offends the Constitution of the United States?

Why was it necessary, in order to demonstrate opposition to a bill outlawing the Communist Party, to argue that the United States must give up air bases and military installations around the world? Would that benefit Simon W. Gerson as secretary of a political party in New York, if the Communist Party were, in truth, an American political party dedicated to the ideals of democracy?

Mr. Gerson presented here a document entitled "The American Way." Every page belies its title. It says that the Communist Party is based on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. What are these scientific principles? I quote again from Louis Budenz, testifying in the case of *United States* v. *Dennis et al.*:

"The Communist Party bases itself upon so-called scientific socialism, the theory and practice of so-called scientific socialism as appears in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, therefore as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin, who have specifically interpreted scientific socialism to mean that socialism can only be attained by the violent shattering of the capitalist state, and the setting up of a dictatorship of the proletariat by force and violence in place of that state." (U. S. Court of Appeals, 2d Circuit, supra, p. 23.)

Is that the American way?

Mr. Gerson says that "socialism (and of course when a Communist speaks of socialism he means communism) will come into existence only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it." How do the Communists define "majority"? Joseph Stalin, quoting Lenin, explained quite graphically what is meant by Communist "majority":

"In order to win the majority of the population to its side, the proletariat must first of all overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power and, secondly, it must introduce Soviet rule, smash to pieces the old state apparatus, and thus at one blow undermine the rule, authority, and influence of the bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeois compromisers in the ranks of the nonproletarian toiling masses."

That is the "majority" referred to in this miserable sheet that has the temerity and brazenry to carry the title: "The American Way."

In usual Communist propagandistic fashion, this contaminated rag advocates certain reforms. It calls for jobs, peace, democracy, homes, schools, and other so-called reforms. Listen to the master Communist speaking again. Joseph Stalin in his book, "Foundations of Leninism," says:

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

All these spurious claims for jobs, peace, and so on make up the usual mask behind which the diabolically grinning face of bloody revolution lurks.

Mr. Gerson handled the truth rather parsimoniously, not to say pusillanimously, yesterday. Not only did he malign the sacred memory of Abraham Lincoln, but he misused the words of one of our greatest Americans of today, the superb and brilliant jurist, Supreme Court Justice Jackson. Garson did not give you the citation from which he cited when he attributed to Justice Jackson the statement that "the rights of all Americans are tied up in one bundle with the rights of the Communists." The case in point was that of *Williamson* v. *United States* (184 Fed. 2d, 280), and it had to do with the

rights of Communists to bail. Justice Jackson very properly said that under convictions for violating the Smith Act, the defendants there involved were entitled to bail, as everyone in America is entitled to bail in accordance with the Constitution and the law of the land. But Mr. Gerson did not read to you the sentence which immediately preceded the quoted remark. Justice Jackson there said:

"The plea of admitted Communist leaders for liberties and rights here, which they deny to all persons wherever they have seized power, is so hypocritcal, that it can fairly be judged only with effort."

It was inevitable that Mr. Gerson would refer to Hitler's aggressions on the Communists in Germany, very gingerly, however, as all Communists do, avoiding any reference to the satanical alliance between Hitler and the Communist Stalin, the unholy alliance which eventually brought death to 20 million human beings. When Hitler attempted to outlaw the Communist Party in Germany, it was simply the case of one burglar shooting his companion burglar in order to avoid splitting the booty with him. And then, as a matter of fact, Hitler would never have attained power in the first place had it not been for Communist cooperation with the Nazis, all of which is revealed in the authoritative work on Hitler, "Der Fuehrer," by Konrad Heiden.

Mr. Gerson attacked fascism yesterday, but what does he mean by fascism? Leaving aside the conspiracy between communism and fascism to destroy the peace of the world in 1939, the Communists characterise everything truly American and antisubversive as Fascist. Among the institutions they list as Fascist are the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, various committees of Congress, the American press, and so on and on.

Mr. Gerson quoted from the book, Twilight of World Capitalism, by Wm. Z. Foster, but he failed to give you the dedication in that book which reads:

"To my great grandson, Joseph Manley Kolko, who will live in a Communist United States."

And, of course, you will recall that Foster said that the "Communist United States would be brought about through the instrumentality of the Red army." Foster looks upon the Soviet Union as his fatherland and the Red flag as his flag. In the Communist United States that he anticipates during the lifetime of Joseph Manley Kolko, he says that:

"The Soviet court system will be simple, speedy, and direct. The judges, chosen by the corresponding Soviets, will be responsible to them. The Supreme Court, instead of being dictatorial and virtually legislative, as in the United States, will be purely juridical and entirely under the control of the central executive committee. * * * The pest of lawyers will be abolished. The courts will be class courts, definitely warring against the class enemies."

Although Gerson argues for perpetual existence of the Communist Party in the United States on the theory that it is a political party, Foster very emphatically announces that in his "Communist United States" the Republican and Democratic Parties will be "liquidated." He says further that the Soviet government will "dissolve" such elements of our society as chambers of commerce, employers' associations, Rotary clubs, the YMCA, the Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, Knights of Columbus, etc.

Mr. Gerson has said that Communists do not advocate violence in the achievement of their objective. A a matter of fact they advocate nothing else. I quote again from Joseph Stalin in the book Problems of Leninism:

"Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeoise system be achieved without a violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the domination of the bourgeoisie, means 1 of 2 things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution."

Mr. Gerson quoted from a statement made by J. Edgar Hoover in January 1953, with regard to the objectives of the Communist Party. Mr. Gerson is rather proud of those objectives which include the recall of American troops from abroad; a 5-power pact, recognizing Communist China; the repeal of the Smith Act and the nullification of the Internal Security Act. A criminal demand for the crippling of a nation so that it may fall helplessly before the onslaught of a lawless power is no less reprehensible because of its barefacedness. Certainly Gerson would like to see all anti-Communist legislation repealed and China with its bloody hands brought into the United Nations, but the American Congress will not be impressed with such absurdities.

Mr. Gerson is no more impressive with his argument that because the Communist Party is small in numbers that it must be comparatively small in danger. Modern society has become so coinvolved and its various phases are so vitally interdependent that small groups located in strategic and sensitive plants can with bombs and other highly wide-spreading destructive weapons, paralyze the whole machinery of our economic and social life. It takes hundreds of men to build a bridge, but one man can destroy it. A thousand men may run a ship, but one auger can scuttle it. Scores of diplomats make up a conference but one Alger Hiss can betray a nation.

To devote any more time to Mr. Gerson's puerile observations would be to assume that they have intellectual ballast and some semblance of logical appeal. If he were capable of appreciating the vast patience of the American people, the boundless tolerance and openmindedness of American representatives in listening to any reasonable appeal, and what it has cost America in blood and treasure to rear a democracy devoted to the standards of the true dignity of man, he might have experienced some embarrassment in presenting propositions so utterly revolting to every tradition of American ideals.

Whether he does or does not have that appreciation I will not judge.

A Tribute to Senator Frank Carlson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an article from the Christian Herald magazine which pays well deserved tribute to the illustrious Senator from Kansas [FRANK CARLSON].

Senator CARLSON is an outstanding leader of our party in the Senate. In addition he is a fine churchman in these days when we need men with spiritual understanding.

He has served the people of his State with distinction, and in serving them he has contributed to the greater glory of the country as a whole.

The article entitled "Mr. Post Office," by Don Romero, as it appeared in the February 1954 issue of Christian Herald, follows:

MR. POST OFFICE

(By Don Romero)

When you stick the stamp on a letter to your Aunt Helen, you can thank your lucky stars for two gentlemen. One is Benjamin Franklin—who set in operation the system which carries your letter across the State or across the country at a fraction of the cost you would have to pay to have it delivered in any other way. The other gentleman is FRANK CARLSON, junior Senator from Kansas. In addition to being today's man behind the stamp, he is one of the most prominent in that growing coterie of statesmen in Washington who stand not only for Government integrity but for Christian integrity. Senator CARLSON, in fact, sees these two integrities—and rightly—as one and the same.

The entire philosophy of the Senator stems from that Christian motif which, he insists, has shaped our country from its beginning. Hence it's quite natural that in whatever he does as a statesman, whatever program he undertakes, his habit is to say, "Let's take a look at how this thing started—and why." This, more than anything else, underscores the procedure he is now following as "Mr. Post Office."

The current gossip around Washington is that Senator CARLSON has "bitten off a big piece." He has set out to improve our living standards and enhance our national enlightenment by actually saving us some money. As chairman of the Senate Postal and Civil Service Committee, he intends to achieve this objective by reducing the expense while increasing the effectiveness of what is probably the largest, costliest, and most inefficient educational medium in the world—the United States post office. How well he succeeds will affect just about every man, woman, and child in the country.

FRANK CARLSON is convinced that as a carrier of second-class mail, the post office is our greatest instrument of adult education. Today our postal service delivers 14,000 different newspapers and 11,000 magazines to approximately 40 million homes—which is about 85 percent of all the homes in the country. These periodicals provide us with a flow of information which is vital to our national security as a self-governing people. They reflect history as it is made and culture as it is broadened. Through these periodicals we Americans have learned how to operate a business, run a farm, administer our schools, improve ourselves so as to get better jobs, guard our health, raise our families, even paint a house or bake a cake. Through these periodicals we've been informed, entertained, and inspired—a medium of continuing education which would cost untold millions to duplicate in any other way.

"Yet today," says CARLSON, "this entire educational structure is being critically threatened. In an effort to reduce the postal deficit, now paid out of what I consider to be among our most wisely spent taxes, we have embarked on a frantic and seemingly endless series of increases in our postal rates—the only possible virtue of which can be to make the post office look good on the books. What is infinitely more critical, however, is that by placing an almost prohibitive burden on such large mail users as the publishers of periodicals, these postal increases are threatening to choke off at the very source the flow of information so vitally necessary to us. What we are actually seeking to do is to grow richer in dollars at the risk of growing poorer in sense."

In place of this penny wise and pound foolish trend, Senator CARLSON is proposing what he believes is a more practical and

farsighted solution. He intends, through an exhaustive survey which is now underway, to seek out and eradicate once and for all those horse-and-buggy procedures which have crippled the post office for generations and which have kept it operating at an exorbitant cost while rendering a minimum of service. "It is my confirmed belief," he says, "that by simply raising postal methods to the efficiency with which almost all modern business now operates, it will be possible for our post office to render far greater service at far less expense."

In tackling the post office—with its 500,000 employees, 41,000 branch offices, and 150 years of congressional apathy—the Senator has unquestionably bitten off a colossus. Yet his colleagues and opponents agree that CARLSON is one of those quiet, soft-spoken fellows who picks out a big job, approaches it with humility—and then makes a smashing success of it. FRANK is slow to get into a fight—but once he's in, he wins it.

Thirty years of quiet winning have now made this former Kansas farm boy one of the most influential men in the country. As a public servant CARLSON has distinguished himself in such important posts as a representative to the Kansas Legislature, a Congressman for 12 years, a governor for 4 and now a national Senator. Yet he considers his political work to be the lesser of his two careers. "I feel that my political loyalty is a far lesser loyalty than that which I owe to my God and my fellow man."

He became a Sunday-school superintendent at the age of 16, a job he held for almost 20 years. When he first came to Washington as a young Congressman he organized a Bible group which he led for 10 years and which is still known today as the Carlson Bible Class. He is now president of the International Council for Christian Leadership, and has been recently designated by the American Baptist Church as chairman of a program to raise some $8½ million for the construction of 300 new churches. And as one of President Eisenhower's closest friends and most trusted advisers, he is generally credited with having played an important behind-the-scenes role in the President's affiliation with a church.

Born in Concordia, Kans., in 1893, of Swedish parentage, FRANK CARLSON began life "about as far down the social ladder as a man can start." His father was an immigrant farm laborer; his mother, a domestic. When Charles Carlson arrived at Ellis Island in 1883 and made inquiries about this "wonderful land of opportunity" he was promptly told to "go West, young man." Taking the advice literally, he went as far West as his meager funds would carry him. "The only reason my father got off the train at Concordia," says the Senator, "was that he had only 12 cents left in his pocket." Charles and Anna Carlson met and married in Concordia in 1890, and together they built the small farm house in which FRANK was born.

Because he had always heard Swedish spoken in his home, FRANK started off to school at the age of six knowing only a few words in English. When his classmates cruelly taunted him for his awkward accent he fought back with his fists. "I gave and got a lot of good lickings," he says with a grin. Realizing, however, that to learn English quickly required the use of his head rather than his hands, he went to his father with his problem. "Why can't we speak English at home?" he asked. Charles Carlson thoughtfully looked at his son's latest black eye, and then slowly turned to his wife. "The boy is right, Anna. If we are to be Americans, then we should speak American."

CARLSON now says smilingly. "They did such a thorough job of speaking 'American' that my sister, who was only a year old at the time, never got a chance to learn a word of Swedish."

His early life was typical of that of a hard-working farm boy. He rose every morning at five, fed the stock, milked a dozen cows and then rode his bicycle 14 miles to get to school. When he later graduated from high school with excellent grades, his parents, at considerable financial sacrifice, sent him on to Concordia Business College and then to Kansas State College where he majored in agriculture.

FRANK'S religious education, however, began the day he was born. His earliest memories are of his father reading the Bible aloud to his family. Although his parents were originally Lutherans, when they found no congregation of that faith in Concordia they joined the Baptist Church. Every Sunday morning the Carlson family drove 20 miles to attend services. Charles Carlson was treasurer of his church for 30 years, and almost before he was out of short britches young FRANK became superintendent of the Sunday school.

After serving in the Army during the first World War, FRANK returned to Concordia, secured a bank loan and decided to "take a flier" at growing a new type of wheat which he believed would be more resistant to the extreme Kansas heat. He made such a success of his venture that within 1 year he was able to pay off the loan on what has since become a flourishing 500-acre stock farm.

FRANK was in his early thirties when—despite his every effort to resist the candidacy—he was nominated for the Kansas legislature. "I'm no politician," he told his sponsors. "I'm just a farmer—and I'd like to stick to my chores." His supporters quickly quieted his fears. "You're running against an extremely strong opponent—and you haven't got a chance. It's just that we have to put someone's name on the ballot. So stop worrying."

To everyone's amazement including his own, however, FRANK won by a landslide.

After serving for two terms, he refused another nomination, and eagerly returned to his farm. But he had barely resumed his "chores" when he was tapped for another important job. Alfred M. Landon, who was later to become Republican nominee for President, and who was then running for the governorship of Kansas, found that he was being falsely accused of being a "front man" for the Kansas oil interests. Realizing that the Kansas farmers would listen only to a man who was known and respected as a farmer, Landon conscripted CARLSON as his campaign manager. Fully convinced of Landon's integrity, CARLSON accepted the post, campaigned the State from one end to the other, and Landon was swept into office. But when, as a triumphant campaign manager, he was offered the choicest plums of patronage, he shook his head and smilingly told the new governor, "You don't want a man around here with mud on his shoes. A fellow like that belongs on a farm—and that's just where I'm going."

But once again FRANK'S chores had to wait. His friends nominated him for Congress. Again he turned his farm over to a manager, again he ran against an "invincible" opponent, and again he was avalanched into office—this time into a national post which he was destined to hold for the next 12 years. Distinguishing himself as a tax expert, Representative CARLSON was soon appointed as chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, which initiates all national tax legislation, and was later named to the Hoover Commission as a consultant on the reorganization of the executive branch of the Government.

After leaving Congress, CARLSON was twice elected to the governorship of Kansas as the State's first "farmer-executive" in 40 years. In his first campaign he ran on the platform that the State's age-old liquor issue should be settled by a popular referendum. "Although as a lifelong teetotaler I have always been personally opposed to drinking, I still felt that the issue should be determined by the will of the people." It was during CARLSON'S first administration that Kansas passed a bill repealing the dry law.

And it was while he was governor that he had one of his most memorable religious experiences. When Kansas State College erected an imposing new chapel, Governor CARLSON called upon his old friend and fellow Kansan, General Eisenhower—then president of Columbia University—to dedicate the new building. "The occasion," says CARLSON, "proved to be particularly meaningful, for it revealed something that we never fully realized about each other—that we were both dedicated to the same religious beliefs and feelings. When we walked away from the ceremonies, we found that without intending to we had somehow got off by ourselves. For fully half an hour we walked along silently, each of us deeply meditative. And then suddenly Mr. Eisenhower turned to me and with an effort to control the powerful emotion that gripped him, he said, 'FRANK, there are just no two ways about it. If we are to continue to grow as a world-leading Nation, there is one thing we will simply have to do—and that is to get back to the fundamental teachings of the great Man who walked the shore of Galilee'."

Despite his intense Americanism, Senator CARLSON has never lost his ancestral language. When he recently visited Sweden—both as President Eisenhower's personal emissary to King Gustave, and as president of the International Council for Christian Leadership—he delivered a series of addresses in fluent Swedish.

As a family man, he has been married since 1919 to the former Alice Frederickson of Concordia. They have a daughter, Eunice, and a foster son, Millard Ross, who was adopted at the age of 4.

At 60, CARLSON is still a dawn riser. Although he was once an avid golfer, his only current hobby is to take long early-morning walks, either through the rolling farmlands of Concordia or the silent, deserted streets of Washington. As a member of the ICCL, CARLSON and some 20 other Senators meet every Wednesday morning in the Vandenburg room of the Senate for study of the Bible. And as he has done ever since he was a child, CARLSON still prays daily.

Despite 30 years of hard-driving achievement, CARLSON has no intention of letting up on the throttle. Everything he has done to date has been merely a warm-up for what he now hopes will be his most lasting contribution—the reorganization of the United States Post Office. "We are in danger," says CARLSON, "of forgetting the basic concept on which this great institution was originally established. It was not created to make money, or even to be economically self-sustaining. In the words of Congress itself, the post office was created 'for the dissemination of useful knowledge for the good of the public, and to promote the communication of vital intelligence between its citizens.' As far back as 1775, our first postmaster, Benjamin Franklin, laid down the fundamental recommendation that 'if the necessary expense of this establishment should exceed the produce of it, the deficiency should be made good by the Continental treasurers.' I see no reason for deviating from that basic concept—for if as an instrument of national enlightenment the post office was valuable to this country 150 years ago, it is surely many times more valuable to us in this present day of complex and swiftly changing events."

The Senator's position is strongly substantiated by statistics. Every individual

over the age of 10, or about 120 million people in this country, buys an average of about 30 magazine copies a year—which means that 10 million magazine copies are sold in this country every day. No other country in the world has a comparable tool of communication.

Today we are spending about $3 billion a year for the maintenance of our Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, and nearly 6 billion on public-school education—the per capita cost of which amounts to approximately $6.60 for Commerce, $13 for Agriculture and $38.60 for educating our children. While the overall deficit of the post office is about $400 million a year, the directly chargeable additional cost of second-class mail is only about $60 million—or a per capita cost of less than 40 cents a year.

"Like the post office," says CARLSON, "our schools and Departments of Commerce and Agriculture are public services. But whereas they are individually useful to only certain sections of our society—the post office is vitally necessary to everyone of us. Since we are apparently willing to spend billions for what are essentially limited services, I certainly see no objection to a 40-cent tax which enables every American capable of reading to have access to the most constant, current, and comprehensive source of information ever made available in any place."

Senator CARLSON is of the firm belief that no further increases of postal rates should be enacted until his survey has been completed. To assist him in his study, he has appointed a 10-member advisory council composed of prominent industrial, civil and labor leaders. This council, in turn, has commissioned the National Industrial Conference Board to determine the effect of postal fees on our economy, and has also commisioned the National Educational Association to evaluate the cultural contributions of the postal system.

Although in operation for only a short time, the Carlson committee has already come up with some dramatic findings. It has revealed that much of the postal deficit is due to a flagrant waste of manpower and an appalling lack of modern equipment. "It is high time," says CARLSON, "that we took the main burden of mail delivery off the backs, legs, and feet of our postal employees." The efficient use of lift trucks, mechanical conveyors, sorting machines and canceling devices would go far toward abolishing the obsolete methods now in use. In every post office in the land one or more men stand behind windows using expensive manpower to do little more than sell 2- and 3-cent stamps. In place of this there should be modern stamp-vending machines, not only in post offices, but also in supermarkets, drugstores and wherever people find it convenient to shop. Mails that need to move fast should be carried by plane. Slower mails could be moved by trucks or even freight cars. New laws should be instituted so that railroads, trucking companies, ships and airlines might compete more freely in moving that type of mail for which each is best suited. And the use of envelopes in 3 or 4 standard sizes would reduce the huge job of cancellation.

Now under consideration by the Carlson committee is a plan to charge 5 cents an ounce for airmail which would include all first-class mail to be carried a distance of more than 400 miles. (Local first-class mail would remain at 3 cents an ounce.) Such air-expedited mail would produce an estimated increase in postal revenue of about $330 million. In short, by reducing the present charge for airmail and by speeding up the delivery of almost all first-class mail, it would be possible to cut the current deficit to an almost negligible amount.

"Because of the service the post office performs for all of us, in all its classes" say the Senator, "it is obvious that the quality of this service must be kept high and the cost low if the public interest is to be adequately protected. And to this end it is imperative that we thoroughly investigate and reorganize our present postal procedure, which should then be kept under constant surveillance so that it does not once again fall into chaos."

For FRANK CARLSON, this represents more than an opinion. For him, it represents a crusade.

Army Sergeant Survives Combat To Win the Medal of Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I present here the thrilling story of the gallantry in action of Sfc. Ola L. Mize, of 1218 Malone Street, Gadsden, Ala. For his valorous conduct, unflinching courage and conspicuous gallantry, Sergeant Mize was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. The story is best told in a Department of Defense release of April 7:

Sfc. Ola L. Mize, an Army infantryman from Gadsden, Ala., has been awarded the Medal of Honor for outstanding valor in a series of exploits during a bitter fight near Surang-ni, Korea, on June 10 and 11, 1953, Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens announced today.

The 22-year-old Alabaman, who is still serving in Korea with Company K of the 15th Infantry Regiment, 3d Infantry Division, was an assistant platoon sergeant with that company at the time of the action in which he personally accounted for more than 65 enemy casualties.

Company K was defending a strategically important outpost when the enemy launched a violent attack. In the face of the fierce assault, Sergeant Mize displayed supreme courage and skillful leadership in fighting off the numerically superior foe.

An eyewitness description of some of the Alabama Infantryman's heroic actions is provided by Pvt. Allan K. England of the 76th Engineer Dump Truck Company in the Far East, who was a member of Sergeant Mize's unit when the fight occurred. Private England's home is in Belington, W. Va.

"On the night of June 10, 1953, and the early morning hours of June 11, 1953, I was a member of Company K, 15th Infantry Regiment whose mission was to protect 'Outpost Harry.'

"At approximately 9:30 p. m. we were attacked by a large enemy force. Sergeant Mize, my assistant platoon sergeant, joined my position at about 10:15 p. m., after he had brought a wounded man in from a listening post.

"He was making a check of the platoon's positions, and finding that none of our weapons were functioning, he took up a position at the bunker entrance. Seeing the first of the enemy coming up the trench, he threw a grenade into their midst and slowed the initial attack.

"The enemy began attacking in waves, pouring into the trench. Sergeant Mize stood alone at the bunker entrance killing them with accurate carbine fire as they came. Two of the men in the bunker were reloading his expended ammunition clips and passing them to Sergeant Mize from the bunker. The enemy artillery barrage was very heavy all this time and within a 10-minute period Sergeant Mize was twice blown back into the bunker by the explosions, but each time he got up and continued to fight off the attackers.

"During this period there were times when he fought at pointblank range. Once as he was putting a fresh clip into his carbine, the enemy rushed his position. He reloaded just in time to stop them. One of the enemy fell at his feet, dropping a concussion grenade. The grenade exploded and knocked Sergeant Mize down for the third time. He was temporarily stunned, but immediately got up and continued to fight off the enemy, killing a great number of them.

"About midnight the ammunition supply in the bunker began to get low and we left for the platoon command post. When we left the bunker there were at least 40 of the enemy lying dead around and near the position that Sergeant Mize, singlehanded, had killed with his carbine and grenades. On the way to the platoon command post he killed about 5 more of the enemy.

"Upon reaching the platoon command post, he set up a barricade with his small group. The enemy soon began attacking the barricade in waves, but Sergeant Mize so effectively directed the fire of the small group that attack after attack was beaten off. He ran from man to man, passing out ammunition, encouraging us and directing the defense. At the barricade he personally killed 25 to 30 of the enemy, continuously exposing himself in order to fire and throw grenades into the attackers. It is my firm belief that during the time I was with him in the fight, Sergeant Mize killed at least 65 to 70 of the enemy."

Sergeant Mize's actions were highly instrumental in the successful defense of the outpost and the infliction of numerous casualties upon the foe.

The 70th Medal of Honor winner to be announced by the Army for the fighting in Korea, Sergeant Hize is the son of Mrs. Lulu W. Mize, of 1218 Malone Street, Gadsden. He was born in Marshall County, Ala., on August 28, 1931, and enlisted in the Regular Army at Gadsden on April 18, 1950. After training in the United States, he was assigned to the Far East Command in April 1953.

Details of the presentation ceremony will be announced later.

Text of the Medal of Honor citation follows:

"Sfc. (then Sgt.) Ola L. Mize, Infantry, United States Army, a member of Company K, 15th Infantry Regiment, 3d Infantry Division, distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and outstanding courage above and beyond the call of duty in action against the enemy near Surang-ni, Korea, on June 10-11, 1953. Company K was committed to the defense of 'Outpost Harry,' a strategically valuable position, when the enemy launched a heavy attack. Learning that a comrade on a friendly listening post had been wounded, he moved through the intense barrage, accompanied by a medical-aid man, and rescued the wounded soldier. On returning to the main position he established an effective defense system and inflicted heavy casualties against attacks from determined enemy assault forces which had penetrated into trenches within the outpost area. During his fearless actions he was blown down by artillery and grenade blasts three times, but each time he dauntlessly returned to his position, tenaciously fighting successfully repelling hostile attacks. When enemy onslaughts ceased, he took his few men and moved from bunker to bunker, firing through the apertures and throwing grenades at the foe, neutralizing their positions. When an enemy soldier stepped out behind a comrade, prepared to fire, Sergeant Mize killed him, saving the life of his fellow soldier. After

rejoining the platoon, moving from man to man, distributing ammunition and shouting words of encouragement, he observed a friendly machinegun position overrun. He immediately fought his way to the position, killing 10 of the enemy and dispersing the remainder. Fighting back to the command post, and finding several friendly wounded there, he took a position to protect them. Later, securing a radio, he directed friendly artillery fire upon the attacking enemy's routes of approach. At dawn he helped regroup for a counterattack which successfully drove the enemy from the outpost. Sergeant Mize's valorous conduct and unflinching courage reflect lasting glory upon himself and uphold the noble traditions of the military service."

Civil Aeronautics Board Forces National Shipping Authority To Disregard Competitive Bidding on Contracts and To Pay 20 Percent More for Services Required

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIR ENGLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, on March 1, 1954, the National Shipping Authority, Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce, issued invitations for bids to accomplish the rotation of approximately 440 crew members of Maritime-owned vessels in the Far East. American Airlines, Inc., Northwest Orient Airlines, Pan American World Airways, and United Air Lines, and the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., were among the 11 airlines solicited.

The bids were opened on March 8, 1954, and brought responses from only two carriers—Pan American World Airways and the Flying Tiger Line, Inc. The Flying Tiger Line, Inc., bid $34,900 per round trip for three trips from International Airport, San Francisco, Calif., to Haneda Airport, Tokyo, Japan. This bid was approximately $7,000 per trip lower than the bid submitted by Pan American World Airways, and was the low bid, and on March 12, 1954, the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., was awarded a contract by the United States of America, represented by the National Shipping Authority.

On March 17, 1954, the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board an application for authorization under section 416 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, to proceed with this contract. The application recited the fact that Tigers had entered into a contract with the National Shipping Authority to transport replacement crews to ships operated by the National Shipping Authority in the service of the Military Sea Transportation Service, Department of the Navy.

On March 19, 1954, the Chief of the Rates and Carrier Relations Division, Civil Aeronautics Board, requested the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., to amend its application to show the departure dates from San Francisco, the contract price and any information Flying Tigers might have concerning the bid of Pan American World Airways. The Flying Tiger Line did, on March 19, 1954, file an amendment to its application, setting forth the schedule of dates, the contract price and advising the Civil Aeronautics Board that it had been advised by the National Shipping Authority that Pan American World Airways had, in its bid, limited the dates on which flights could be made and that the dates proposed by Pan American differed from the schedule of dates required by the National Shipping Authority in order to meet its deadlines for transporting replacement crews to Tokyo. On March 19, 1954, Pan American World Airways, Inc., objected to the grant of authority to the Flying Tiger Line, Inc.

On March 24, 1954, Pan American World Airways wired the Civil Aeronautics Board that Pan American was ready, willing, and able to perform flights for the National Shipping Authority, on March 30, April 13, and April 27, and requested that the application of the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., for authority to fly flights on these dates be denied.

On March 26, 1954, by Order Serial E–8184, the Civil Aeronautics Board denied the application of the Flying Tiger Line, Inc., upon the sole ground that Pan American, an air carrier certificated to provide air transportation from the Orient to the United States had shown willingness and ability to perform the air transportation desired by National Shipping Authority at Pan American's established charter rate and that, therefore, grant of Tiger's application would be inconsistent with the Board's announced charter policy. The Civil Aeronautics Board held to this policy regardless of the fact that another United States Government agency, the National Shipping Authority, would thereby be forced to pay a more than 20 percent higher price for services it required.

The National Shipping Authority, with the necessity of maintaining its schedule in order that replacement crews would be at hand in Tokyo to meet the Navy schedule, immediately entered into a contract with Pan American World Airways to fly these three flights at Pan American's rates at a total additional cost to the Government of approximately $22,000 over the bid of the Flying Tiger Line, Inc.

The Board's charter policy is briefly as follows:

(a) Such charter trip or other special service may be performed if the consent in writing therefor of such other carrier or carriers designated to offer service between the points involved has been obtained and such consent has been filed with or mailed to the Board in a properly addressed envelope with postage thereon prepaid; or

(b) Where a specific authority to conduct the charter trip or special service has been granted by the Board upon a finding that the public interest so requires.

Section 401 (f) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended, reads in part as follows:

Any air carrier may make charter trips or perform any other special service, without regard to the points named in its certificate, under regulations prescribed by the Board.

It will be noted that this section of the statute provides that charter trips may be made without regard to points named in the carrier's certificate to be performed under regulations prescribed by the Board. The courts and the Civil Aeronautics Board have recognized that this is a statutory grant of authority; however, the Civil Aeronautics Board has, under the guise of regulation, attempted to deny entirely the statutory grant, for under this regulation no carrier may make a charter flight over the certificated international route of another carrier without its consent or without an exemption from the Board. Where carriers seek authorization from the Board, if the certificated carrier objects and indicates its willingness to carry the traffic, the Board automatically denies an exemption.

Except where specifically exempted by statute, contracts by Government departments and agencies are governed by those sections of the original revised statutes which require open and competitive bidding so that the contract can be let to the lowest competitive bidder. The effect of the Board's decision in this case is to override the statutory requirements of competitive bidding, as the lowest competent bidder is denied the right to carry out the contract by the Civil Aeronautics Board charter policy. In this instance, the National Shipping Authority, despite the fact that it had received a bid from an air carrier able and willing to perform the flights, was forced to accept the bid of Pan American World Airways at a price approximately $22,000 in excess of the Tiger bid, because the Civil Aeronautics Board in issuing regulations has deliberately chosen to ignore statutory-granted rights which were provided by the Congress to assure that economies could and would be effected wherever possible by the agencies of the Government in their operations and their contracts for goods and services.

I feel certain that the Congress has not been aware of this policy of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and, for this reason, I am calling this matter to the attention of the Congress at this time. This obvious circumvention of the will of Congress as expressed in the acts and statutes must not be permitted to continue.

Investigation of Communism and Communists in Executive Agencies of the Federal Government

SPEECH
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point. I want to speak about the gen-

tleman who is conducting or has until recently been conducting hearings involving Communists.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, apparently some Members of the group who insist that the investigation of communism and Communists in executive agencies of the Federal Government as carried on by the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin should cease, while many of this group have had a great deal to say—some have written much and all condemned any containment of the individual's thought, or expression, or supervision over either—have reversed themselves in their attitude toward what is called McCarthyism.

Instead of meeting fairly, squarely, and publicly, the issue of fact, if that is of the utmost importance, as to whether the Army or a Member of the other body has accurately stated the situation which arose in a committee of the Senate, they have directed their charges against the chairman of that committee, who was doing the job. They have put him on trial, though for what offense it is somewhat difficult to understand.

They now go so far as to insist that no one, no matter how patriotic, able, or qualified he might be, should present the issue to the committee, if that individual approved of the chairman's efforts or perhaps had ever heard of him.

Presumably, the attorney who appears before the committee for the Army will speak for the Army. Presumably, he thinks the Army is right.

This is the first time I ever heard of a party to an issue being deprived of the assistance of counsel just because that counsel thought he was representing a worthwhile cause.

An attempt to determine what the gentleman from Wisconsin was trying to do is not so difficult if we listen to the cries of those who object to his efforts. From the noise that has been made, from a glance at the source from which it comes, one might conclude that JOE, and I do not mean ex-President Truman's "good old Joe," was hitting the Communists, their friends, and supporters. Who else is squealing? And what about?

Meat the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, Meat the People program over the air and through the press is gaining nationwide support. When news of this program came to my attention, I wrote Elmer Carlson, sponsor of the program, as follows:

Mr. ELMER G. CARLSON,
Carlson Hybrid Corn Co.,
Audubon, Iowa

DEAR ELMER: Congratulations on your TV program Meat the People. I have read about it with a great deal of interest.

For many past years I have on several occasions suggested to cattle feeders and the meat industry people to publicize tasty, juicy, nourishing, corn-fed beef, the best food on earth. Now, I am sure the job you are doing will prove its value to everybody in the business.

Sincerely yours,

BEN F. JENSEN.

Mr. Speaker, far too few people appreciate the healthful, body-building food value of corn-fed beefsteak, pork, or poultry, to say nothing about its tenderness and delicious taste. There is no food so good or satisfying. The next time you order insist on corn-fed meat, then you will get the best for your money. We are today blessed with a small reserve of food, feed, and fiber in comparison to our bumper production of the past decade, and we must remember that a drought of a year or two could wipe it out and force the price of food, feed, and fiber up and up. We Americans should eat more meat in order to build sturdy bones and muscles, so necessary to keep us and our children healthy and strong.

The following items were taken from the Audubon News Guide, Audubon, Iowa:

The Meat the People program was conceived and sponsored by Elmer G. Carlson, president of the Carlson Hybrid Corn Co., Audubon, Iowa.

The program was introduced to the public on August 11, 1953, at a banquet in Omaha, Nebr. Invited guests were livestock raisers, feeders, farmers, meat packers, retailers, grain men, livestock commission men, bankers, businessmen, and representatives of the press.

The purpose of the banquet was to plan a program in which producer, processor, and retailer of meat could participate to encourage the consumption of more meat and thereby stabilize prices and consume our surplus feed grains.

Principal speakers were: R. C. Pollock, general manager of the National Livestock and Meat Board, Chicago; and Elmer G. Carlson.

The banquet was filmed and later televised on 11 TV stations in the Corn Belt. Full-page ads were released in big daily papers and farm magazines. A weekly radio program on 22 stations was inaugurated. The Carlson Hybrid Corn Co. paid the bills.

Letters pro and con streamed to Mr. Carlson's desk. A big movement had been launched that would help not only the farmer but also the city consumer, and it was destined to gain momentum until today the Meat the People program is a nationwide project. Its continued success will depend largely on the continued enthusiastic support of the people. Elmer Carlson welcomes this support.

STATEMENT OF ELMER CARLSON, AUDUBON, IOWA, AT HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OF THE 83D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, HELD AT DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER 16, 1953

MEAT THE PEOPLE

We are a meat-eating industrial nation. Less than 2 percent of us have all the meat we want to eat. Meat eating is very healthy, nonfattening and I imagine two-thirds of us are overweight or concerned about it. It is good for our agricultural economy to consume our feed-grain surpluses, and another nice thing is everybody—or at least 99 percent of the people—likes meat and thoroughly enjoy eating meat.

We can and will increase meat production instead of cutting back. I believe 5 percent a year, for anyway the next 5 years, which will give us 25 percent increase in meat consumption, is a good goal. The reason more meat is not being eaten today is because of lack of advertising the product. Much more should be done to make the people aware of the fine, nutritive, and health qualities of meat. More should be done in educating the people on proper preparations and handling of meat. Much research should be done on improving the efficiency of the production of meat, as on the horizon or already here are waste fats and tallows that are presently in big surpluses, yet have shown a big increase in meat production at considerable lower cost. The wider use of roughages and improved protein-rich legumes, ammoniated silages, and citrus pulp, and urea are also being successfully fed.

Advertising: Now, the farmer and feeder only spends 1 cent per head for cattle, one-fifth of a cent for hogs and sheep that go to slaughter. Much of this, on a nationwide program, must be spent necessarily for administration, overhead, travel, and so forth, and I'm sure it does not leave much for effective promotion of meat. This fund for promotion amounts to approximately 1 cent of every 20,000 cents of gross income or one two-hundredths of 1 percent. Yes, only 1 cent for $200. We at Carlson's in our hybrid seed-corn business, spend 3 to 4 percent or roughly, 600 to 800 times as much money in advertising and promotion of our hybrid corn. This is about average for our industry. Folks in the perfume business spend, the records indicate, up to 200 to 300 percent of the value of the product. I am sure there is less spent for meat than any other finished food commodity, or probably any other commodity that is ready for consumption. The retail grocer, according to a dozen newspapers I checked over—and I also called our local grocer—indicates 10 percent of their grocery ads was devoted to meat. But meats were 25 percent of grocery dollar sales in the rural areas, and 35 to 40 percent of the volume purchased in the cities. The meats generally carry a 10-percent higher markup than cereal products.

A real meat economy is the safest there is for our country, with the valuable health food that is thrown in for a bonus. It gives us a reserve in case of sudden military or world demand or widespread drought conditions, in which case it offers the opportunity of slaughtering excess meat animals and at the same time to rapidly build up grain surpluses.

It would give an evenness to our economy and would tend to level out the wide swings in the past that give ulcers and discontent to the ranchers, the farmers, and the bankers. It would give welcome relief and pleasure to our taxpayers and not expose us to the risk of destroying the present agricultural program which is merely an extension of the Biblical plan of several thousand years ago. About the only supplement we have added to that now is that we have refrigeration in this 20th century. A nation makes more and sounder progress with plenty than scarcity or unmanageable surpluses, and their inevitable dumping, which would surely and rapidly lose us valuable world neighbors, as we can well remember the Australian beef cargo and other countries who offered meats at below our level of prices. If we will keep progressive and competitive,

we will be sound and safe from meat imports at ruinous prices.

Better consumer relations are very necessary and important. We should outplan the slaphappy big radio commentators and news columnists (who are often name building for themselves or their sponsor). With larger volume, more efficient production, better advertising and merchandising, they cannot give trouble of any consequence. We must do more research and do a better job of pleasing our big-city consumers, as I can well imagine there are still many housewives who painfully remember the $1.25 to $1.50 per pound meat costs, still detouring that meat counter, and their eye being caught by a big flashy box of a few ounces of puffed cereal, or even the misnomer of pork and beans with a few tiny pieces of pork in the can.

This is a program I feel will offer the opportunity to serve agriculture in the broadest sense, in helping the producer, the feeder, the packer, the processor, and the retailer to give the consumer more and better meat at a reasonable profit for our share of the production costs.

I have sincerely appreciated your taking time to come here to help launch the Meat the People program, and I will always be interested in any suggestions on how to help "meat" the people.

McLean Sea-Land Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THURMOND CHATHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. CHATHAM. Mr. Speaker, because I am sure it will have a profound effect on the economy of the eastern seaboard of the United States, and because it may influence the entire transportation pattern of this country, I am making these statements for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On February 16, 1954, a plan was announced by Mr. Malcom P. McLean, president of McLean Trucking Co., of Winston-Salem, N. C., whereby a coordinated system of motor freight and Atlantic coast water shipping would be made available for the transportation of goods between the East and the South.

Known as McLean sea-land service, the new combination land and water transportation system is expected to be inaugurated the latter part of 1955. McLean Trucking Co. recently entered into a contract to acquire all the capital stock of S. C. Loveland Co., Inc., a steamship and tug-and-barge water carrier serving all points along the Atlantic coast, as the first step in the new plan. An application for approval of this transaction and the merger of these two companies has been filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission. Upon receipt of the Commission's approval, construction of four large trailer-transport ships will begin. These ships are a new type, and are now being especially designed for McLean sea-land service by the shipbuilding division of Bethlehem Steel Co.

The result of more than a year of research and investigation, McLean sea-land service will benefit the shipping public by providing the economies of lower-cost water transportation coupled with the flexibility of modern door-to-door motor freight service. Under the new plan, the extensive McLean conventional motor carrier land system will be coordinated with the sailing schedules of the four new trailer-transport ships.

Initially, the new ships are scheduled to call at 1 or 2 South Atlantic ports, probably Wilmington, N. C., or Charleston, S. C., and 2 North Atlantic ports, Providence, R. I., and 1 in the New York City area. More ports of call will be added as the service is expanded. Six round-trip sailings per week will be made between the southern and northern ports. These sailings will be coordinated with the present movement of motor-carrier traffic between the two areas of the Atlantic seaboard.

New dockside construction which will be required includes adjustable loading ramps, yard space for up to 1,000 trailers and other conventional truck-terminal facilities.

The new ships for use in McLean sea-land service will be 650 feet long and have a speed of up to 20 knots. The twin-screw, turbine-driven vessels are being designed to carry approximately 240 trailers. Each ship will have two enclosed trailer decks, additional space on an open top deck, and auxiliary space in the hold. The open top deck and the hold will be reached by ramps from the two enclosed decks.

Trailers at the docks will have direct access to the two enclosed ship decks through the stern. Land units will be driven on and off the ships over variable-height, doubledeck ramps installed on the shore. The two enclosed trailer decks on the ship may be loaded and unloaded simultaneously.

The McLean announcement of plans to build four large dry cargo ships, each to cost in excess of $5,500,000, is unprecedented in recent years. A survey has shown that not one dry cargo ship has been built for a private American account since 1948, and that not a single order for a privately owned ship of this type is on the books. In fact, in a recent newspaper article, Mr. Raymond Moley has written:

> Within the next 10 years, 80 percent of our cargo and passenger ships will be obsolete. Eventually they must be replaced. * * * Yet, of the 5,100,000 tons of ships launched in the world last year, only 528,307 carried the American flag. At this very moment, not one freight or passenger ship is on the ways in our shipyards.

Construction of the trailer-transport ships for the McLean sea-land service is expected to be accomplished with private capital. Nevertheless, the McLean project will be a material contribution to the Nation's security requirements. The Military Sea Transportation Service has requested funds to begin construction of a roll-on roll-off ship of a type long sought by the Army. The McLean sea-land ships will be particularly suited to military sea-transport requirements. In addition, building these vessels will help keep American shipyards in operation.

McLean sea-land service will also fill an important need for dry-freight water transportation between points along the eastern seaboard by helping to restore water service which formerly existed on the east coast. Considerable coastwise service was never resumed after conventional dry-cargo ships were taken from this trade for use overseas during World War II. Vessels operating in coastwise service were reduced in number from 490 in 1938 to only 196 in 1948. Some of the reasons this service has not been restored include lack of suitable vessels, high cost of cargo handling—including pilferage—delay in ports, inefficient port facilities, and lack of coordination with land carriers moving between ports and interior points. Difficulties such as these will be overcome with the new McLean sea-land service.

The average conventional coastwise vessel holds about 5,000 tons and has 5 hatches. McLean sea-land vessels will hold about 3,500 tons of net payload cargo. A 5,000-ton, 5-hatch ship must be loaded and unloaded through the hatches in sling loads. Complete loading and unloading by this conventional method consumes about 60 hours—2½ days. Complete loading and unloading of a McLean sea-land vessel will take only about 4 hours. This tremendous saving of time-in-port alone is an important factor in maintaining a low-cost water service.

By permitting fully loaded motor trailers to be driven directly on and off the ships, McLean sea-land service automatically eliminates the costly movement of individual carloads, truckloads, or fork-lift truckloads to dockside for additional handling to stow the cargo aboard a conventional ship. Dockside facilities in the new operation will be used only by the McLean sea-land service.

The sea-land port facilities will be strategically located for easy access to arterial highways serving interior points. In this way, much of the savings in water transportation service will be made available to producing and consuming points hundreds of miles from the coast. Port facilities have been engineered to permit rapid land consolidation and distribution of capacity shiploads of trailers without congestion. While similar in some ways to other successful applications of the same principle, such as those transporting loaded rail cars over water or land, McLean sea-land service is considered more practical and much more flexible.

The McLean coordinated system is designed to be of particular value to the motor-carrier industry, as well as to the shippers who use it. The interchange between motor carriers generally of trailers for sea-land routing will be encouraged by McLean Trucking Co. This policy will extend the benefits of lower cost, coordinated sea and land service to all shippers and localities along the eastern seaboard. It will help to reduce motor carrier operating costs which, in turn, will help to preserve present competitive relationships.

Operating personnel, and drivers particularly, will welcome the immediate and long-range improvements in working conditions. Many long 2-to-4-day runs of all-land units will be replaced by more desirable short runs under the new

McLean sea-land system. Drivers of motor-freight units will therefore enjoy better hours and have more free time to spend at home. Employment of drivers, because of expanded volume of business, is expected to increase materially during the first year of operation of the new service. The plan has received full endorsement from the executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Founded in 1934, McLean Trucking Co. today is the largest motor freight Class I common carrier headquartered in the South, and among the top 10 in the Nation. The company has over 2,000 employees, 1,800 pieces of land equipment, and 37 motor-freight terminals from Atlanta to Boston. Highway operations are presently conducted by this company in the District of Columbia and in the States of Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia. Terminals and offices are located in principal cities up and down the eastern seaboard, including the port cities of Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, Providence, and Wilmington, N. C.

As of December 31, 1953, McLean Trucking Co. had total assets of $11,614,894.66. Total facilities for the new sea-land operation will represent an investment of approximately $50 million. Of this sum, approximately $40 million will be required for the initial phase of the coordinated service.

McLean Trucking Co. will continue its conventional over-the-road motor-freight operations. The sea-land service will be in addition to, and coordinated with the present land operation. Conventional water-carrier operations performed by S. C. Loveland Co., Inc., will also be continued. In addition, other phases of coordinated motor-water service will be investigated and developed to the extent found practical.

Upon consummation of the McLean-Loveland merger, McLean Trucking Co. will offer eastern seaboard shippers the completely integrated and coordinated facilities of a modern motor-freight carrier, a conventional coastwise shipping service, and a combination of the two in its new sea-land service.

Thus, the McLean sea-land system will provide a much-needed stimulus to Atlantic coastwise shipping: It will help the shipping public by reducing the cost of distribution and consequently make it possible eventually to bring more goods to more people at less cost; it will make a tremendously important system available to national defense organizations for moving men and supplies in times of national emergency, and it will stimulate industrial and business growth in many sections of the eastern seaboard.

In my opinion, the McLean Trucking Co. is to be publicly commended for the vision, courage, and sound planning that have been displayed in the presentation of its sea-land system of transportation for the improvement of service to the public, to the Government, and to the country.

It is, indeed, another milestone on the path of progress that has here been contributed by a leading member of the great industry which helped make it possible for America to become the greatest industrial Nation on earth. The American system of free enterprise is far from dead.

I am more than proud that this great enterprise makes its home port in Winston-Salem, N. C., in my own Fifth Congressional District, and that another milestone in American progress is being started among our North Carolina homefolks.

Where Is the Street?—Where Is the House?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, cited below are some translated observations on the current theater in Moscow.

They are made by one who very recently witnessed what is described.

I pass them on to my colleagues as of possible interest. The observer is a friend of the West, now in this hemisphere:

Since October 1953 two very interesting plays have been on in Moscow theaters, both of them in marked satirical character deal with some aspects of official propaganda which were taboo as long as Stalin lived.

In addition to Bania, by Mayakowski, which had not been played for the last 15 years or so, owing to the sharp criticism of bureaucracy expressed in it, a new play has been shown at the Satyr's Theater practically without a break since last October. It's title is "Gdie eta ulitsa, gdie etot dom" (where is the street?—where is the house?).

The difficulties of the housing problem are not the only aspect of Soviet life that are made fun of in the play. Before the curtain rises a few actors come to the footlights to address the audience. One of them starts talking of the function of theater in the life of the country, of its aims and so on.

His voice is the very voice of the official propaganda, his vocabulary is that of Pravda and of all official speeches. "To attain these goals," he says, "the theater needs your cooperation. We need your criticism. Criticize everything, don't be afraid. The management." * * * (The Russian word for management "ruduvaditie" is the same which defines the function of the Communist Party in the direction of public affairs in the Soviet Union.)

At this point a little, shy-looking actor starts giving signs of uneasiness. The attention of his colleagues focuses on him and he explains that it is all very well with criticism but that it would be wiser to leave management alone.

They all agree, but the first speaker. Unshaken, he starts again from the beginning, talking of the theater's mission and invites criticism on the producers. Some more debate and new agreement by all that it is better to leave producers alone. Finally, everybody agrees that the public has the fullest freedom to criticize the theater's doorman.

The play is full of sketches in which the orthodox outlook on life or the attitude of the official intelligentsia to everybody's problems is sharply ridiculized. As when the hero (who is a truck driver with a record of 100,000 miles driven without major repairs) comes into the room where two very much decorated official writers are working since 1932 or 1935 to produce a literary essay on the central problem of the Soviet man. They cross-examine him, trying to find out what thought has been leading him in his efforts, which of the official motives has guided him, etc., and they hear that he has only been worrying about greasing properly his vehicle, keeping it in good order or the problems of bad roads. The ending brings again straight criticism of the official literary production of the past years.

The little love affair in the play ends in all simplicity and without any sign that the play is over. As the audience remain in their seats some of the actors come again to the limelight and ask how is it that they did not understand that that was all. "Did you want an official ending? All right, we'll give it to you."

And they produce a final scene inspired to the official cliche.

The two lovers meet under the rain. The man is tired from his efforts and wants to settle down in a normal life with the woman he loves. But love doesn't mean anything to her and all she wants is that he succeed in attaining 200 if not 300,000 miles without major repairs to his truck. He threatens to commit suicide but is reminded that his life belongs to the trade unions at least until his dues are up for payment again. Finally she leaves him.

The actor who has taken the initiative of arranging for this ending comes to the limelight again and asks how come that the applause was so limited. "Maybe you did not like this sort of an end? Nobody liked it and yet we had to put up with this kind of stuff for so many years. Now we will give you something different." And among general applause a simple human ending is performed.

Even more interesting than the play itself, are the reactions of the audience and the delight they show.

Republican Revolt Against Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, one of New Jersey's leading newspapers brings to our attention the report that at least one-quarter of all the houses in the State of New Jersey are in slum areas. Those of us fully aware of New Jersey's housing needs are nonetheless shocked when reminded by the Bergen Evening Record of the sad state of housing in many areas.

At the same time, I have been surprised and shocked by the unwillingness of so many of my Republican colleagues to follow their President's recommendations for a modest public housing program. This program, which would give at least small relief to the critical housing situation in many areas of my State, has been blocked in the House of Representatives by what the

Bergen Evening Record has called "a Republican revolt against the Republican leadership."

The Republican Party's negative position in this matter has, in the words of an editorial in the Bergen Evening Record, "been stated with memorable clarity." It is just possible, Mr. Speaker, that what this country needs, and in fact what President Eisenhower needs, is more Democrats in Congress to support the good parts of his legislative program.

The editorial in the Bergen Evening Record, Hackensack, N. J., of April 3, 1954, follows:

FIXING THE RADICALS

At least one-quarter of all the houses in New Jersey are in substandard or blighted—meaning slum—areas, a housing official told the annual conference of State and local health officials in Trenton the other day. Murray M. Bisgaier, executive secretary of the Association of Housing and Development Authorities of New Jersey, said at least 169,000 of the housing units in the State were built before 1890.

Two days later the Rules Committee of the House killed President Eisenhower's housing program. It had already been crippled by the Appropriations Committee. The President had projected public housing at the rate of 35,000 units a year for the next 4 years. Appropriations reduced that to 20,000 units this year, 15,000 the year after, and nothing from then on. Now even that dismal token is gone. On a rollcall ballot last night the House of Representatives rejected the program.

Mr. Eisenhower had set up a program modest enough, indeed, in acknowledgment that houses for low-income families haven't been built and can't be built by private enterprise under present conditions. The Senate, in which the teaching and influence of Mr. Taft are still alive, has been more responsive to people's needs and less responsive to lobbies in this field, and it may be expected at least to try to bring the program back to life. In the meantime it is worth noting that this revolt is a Republican revolt against Republican leadership; the party's position on housing has been stated with memorable clarity.

Orange Is Versatile Producer for Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Thomas R. Henry:

ORANGE IS VERSATILE PRODUCER FOR INDUSTRY—CITRUS FRUIT MAY SOMEDAY YIELD LUMBER FOR HOMES

(By Thomas R. Henry)

The golden orange is a chemical treasure chest.

From it can be made materials ranging from vitamins and sugar to synthetic lumber.

Molasses, vitamins, alcohol, oils, and candy now are being made from peel, seeds, and pulp which a few years ago went to waste, due to the researches of Federal and State chemists who are tearing the molecules to bits and remaking them closer to the heart's desire.

Some of the most revolutionary developments have come from the Florida State Agricultural Experiment Station during the past few years. There the scientists have been faced with a particularly pressing problem in making use of the residue of a rapidly increasing crop, by far the largest market for which is that for juices and concentrates.

Over half the fruit, the State chemists report, is peel, pulp, and seed. During a recent year when 48 million boxes of oranges and grapefruit were processed, many tons of refuse were left. It was a problem of disposal. The solution of that problem has potentialities which still are only partly explored.

PERFUME FROM ORANGES

A notable development has been the extraction of oils, largely from the peels of oranges, grapefruit, and tangerines. These oils have found a wide application in the manufacture of perfumes and toilet goods, beverages, confectionery, ice cream, soap, and drugs.

Another product now being obtained in considerable quantities is grain alcohol, since it has been found that the particular types of sugars present are especially adapted to the fermentation process. The resulting alcohol is identical with that produced from grain or cane molasses but, under Federal regulations, it can be used only for fortifying brandy. Being a fruit product, its use is prohibited for fortifying a grain product, whisky.

Production of oil from citrus seeds has grown from 45 to 500 tons in about 15 years. There is a potential yield of nearly 7,000 tons. The flavor of highly refined seed oil is quite similar to that of olive oil, for which it sometimes has been substituted. It is used in the manufacture of butter substitutes and, in some cases, of a high grade cooking fat.

LIQUID SUGAR

Highly complicated chemical processes have been developed for the production of orange sugar, chief value of which probably will be in the juice industry. Due to various reasons this sugar cannot be produced in solid form, like cane sugar, but only as a liquid. In this form, however, it is easier to handle by industry.

An important advance has been the isolation of pectins from the orange peel. These find their chief use in jams, jellies, and marmalade, but shortage of critical supplies in the candy industry has stimulated research to find new types which can be used to develop new kinds of confections.

Both peels and pulp are proving fertile sources for dyes and stains, especially for wood, and orange-dyed wools now are coming on the market. By processes which have not reached the profitable production stage, materials for all sorts of plastics can be extracted from the cannery waste, and wallboards have been produced experimentally. The house made from oranges, however, still is considered some distance away.

More Evidence of Indian Feeling on the Bimson Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Muskogee Daily Index of February 3, 1954, and two letters:

INDIAN MEETING VOTES DOWN PLAN TO MERGE OFFICES—ONLY 11 OF 500 FAVOR MUSKOGEE-ANADARKO OFFICE MERGER PLANS

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.—An estimated 500 Indians were told here Tuesday night if they don't stick together in their fight against a merger of Oklahoma Indian offices, they will lose another battle to the white man who has betrayed them in the past.

The plea came from Acee Blue Eagle, Pawnee, who joined other tribal leaders in protesting the consolidation of the Anadarko and Muskogee Indian Agencies.

The lone dissenter in the first 2 hours of a hearing was Harry J. W. Belvin, Choctaw chief, who said, "It's time we had a change."

"This time we're on the side of the Government," Belvin said in support of the proposed central office. He said it would "clear up maladministration on the east side," referring to the Muskogee Agency.

The Indians voted almost unanimously at the end of the 3-hour hearing to protest the proposed merger. Only 11 tribesmen, including Belvin, voted in favor of the merger.

The resolution urged Congress and the Department of Interior to make no changes in the present offices at Anadarko and Muskogee.

Supreme Court Justice N. B. Johnson, president of the Five Civilized Tribes Inter-Tribal Council, cautioned the group not to be fooled by the high-powered recommendations of the high-powered committee, which proposed the merger. He said it would give Oklahoma—a State with more Indians than any other—the short end of the deal.

Blue Eagle, of Tulsa, said Washington has broken treaties with the Indians from the beginning. In a plea for unity, he said, "The only reason Europeans were able to take this country from the Indians was because the tribes couldn't stick together."

He said consolidation would mean more displaced and dispossessed Indians.

A representative of the United States Indian Service was scheduled to be at the meeting in the Oklahoma County courthouse to explain consolidation plans.

War paint has been boiling among tribesmen since Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay announced plans to close the headquarters at Anadarko and Muskogee and combine them into a central office.

Spokesmen from both cities and the Five Civilized Tribes Inter-Tribal Council have pleaded the offices be left as they are.

MOUNTAIN VIEW, OKLA., *April 6, 1954.*

Congressman ED EDMONDSON,
House of Representatives,
Old House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Yesterday at the meeting of the Intertribal Council of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes at Anadarko, Okla., passed a resolution to indorse your resolution about the Indian hospotals. We want you to know that the Indians throughout the Indian country are happy and are grateful for your resolution.

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter that I received yesterday from Mr. Leonard A. Scheele, Secretary to Mrs. Hobby, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Also enclosed you will find a newspaper clipping which appeared in the Wichita Falls Record-News, Wichita Falls, Tex.

Please send me about two dozen copies of your resolution. I want people to know about your resolution.

May God bless you for your kindness for my people. With kindness in our hearts we want to thank you from the bottom of our hearts for all you are doing for the Indian people.

Most sincerely yours,
ROBERT GOOMBI,
Chairman, Intertribal Council of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY,
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., April 1, 1954.

Mr. ROBERT GOOMBI,
Chairman, Inter-Tribal Council of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes, Mountain View, Okla.

DEAR MR. GOOMBI: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of February 27, 1954, requesting information regarding plans for the closure of a number of Indian hospitals and the proposal to transfer operation of the hospitals from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior to the Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Any plans which may be under consideration for the closure of hospitals would, of course, be entirely within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Consequently this Department would not be in a position to advise you of any action being taken with reference to the Kiowa Hospital at Lawton, Okla.

As for the proposed transfer of the Indian hospitals to the Public Health Service, this Department in its report to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs raised the question as to whether any significant improvement in health services or conditions could be achieved simply by transferring this responsibility from one Federal agency to another. Our report did not recommend that the hospitals should be transferred to the Public Health Service.

I am sorry that we cannot answer your questions more conclusively, but I hope this information will help to clarify the position of our Department regarding the possible transfer of responsibility for the administration of Indian hospitals.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD A. SCHEELE,
Surgeon General.

A Legal Gyp?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a bill designed to correct one of the obvious and needless inequities in our social-security program. It would provide an overall escalation of benefits, amounting to 10 percent, for those who remain gainfully at work between the ages of 65 and 70, at which age the wage ceiling would be removed entirely.

Under the present law, the elderly individual who cannot retire on social-security benefits at age 65 because they are inadequate, is not only penalized—he is victimized by the program. He is required to continue to pay into the social security trust fund, but receives not 1 extra cent in benefits as a result of these added contributions. This is a treadmill operation which cannot be justified. I hope this Congress will act to correct it.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in my district who is faced with this situation. He has been working for 5 years since his 65th birthday and paying social-security taxes all of those years; but he will receive no added benefits for those taxes.

"It looks to me," he writes, "like a legal gyp."

It looks to many old folks like a legal gyp, Mr. Speaker, although I know that Congress did not and does not mean it to be so. We can and should act now to correct it.

My correspondent's letter follows:

BATAVIA, N. Y., *April 1, 1954.*

Hon. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: I listened with considerable interest last Sunday to your broadcast over WBTA and was quite surprised to hear you say that no increase would result from contributions made from wages since reaching age 65. I became 65 on June 25, 1949. Saw no reason to quit working as I needed the income and am still working: Payroll clerk at the Rowell factory. If I understood you correctly, it looks like a legal gyp. My weekly deduction on account of old-age tax would probably average about $1 a week. Next June I will have 5 years since I became 65. So I have had taken out a total of $300, money that I have earned and it has gone down the rathole. I have been led to believe, and on authority that I believed knew what they were talking about, that earnings after 65 would increase to some extent the monthly benefit after I retired.

My present plan is to quit work and take social security about next January 1. I suppose it is water over the dam, but I do hope your bill passes and gets approval of the President so other poor suckers will not get a similar deal. I also hope you will be able to get through the proposition of letting a man earn what he can after reaching age 70, although it will not help me too much as I am not in too good health.

Yours sincerely,

EDWARD S. DEAN.

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LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

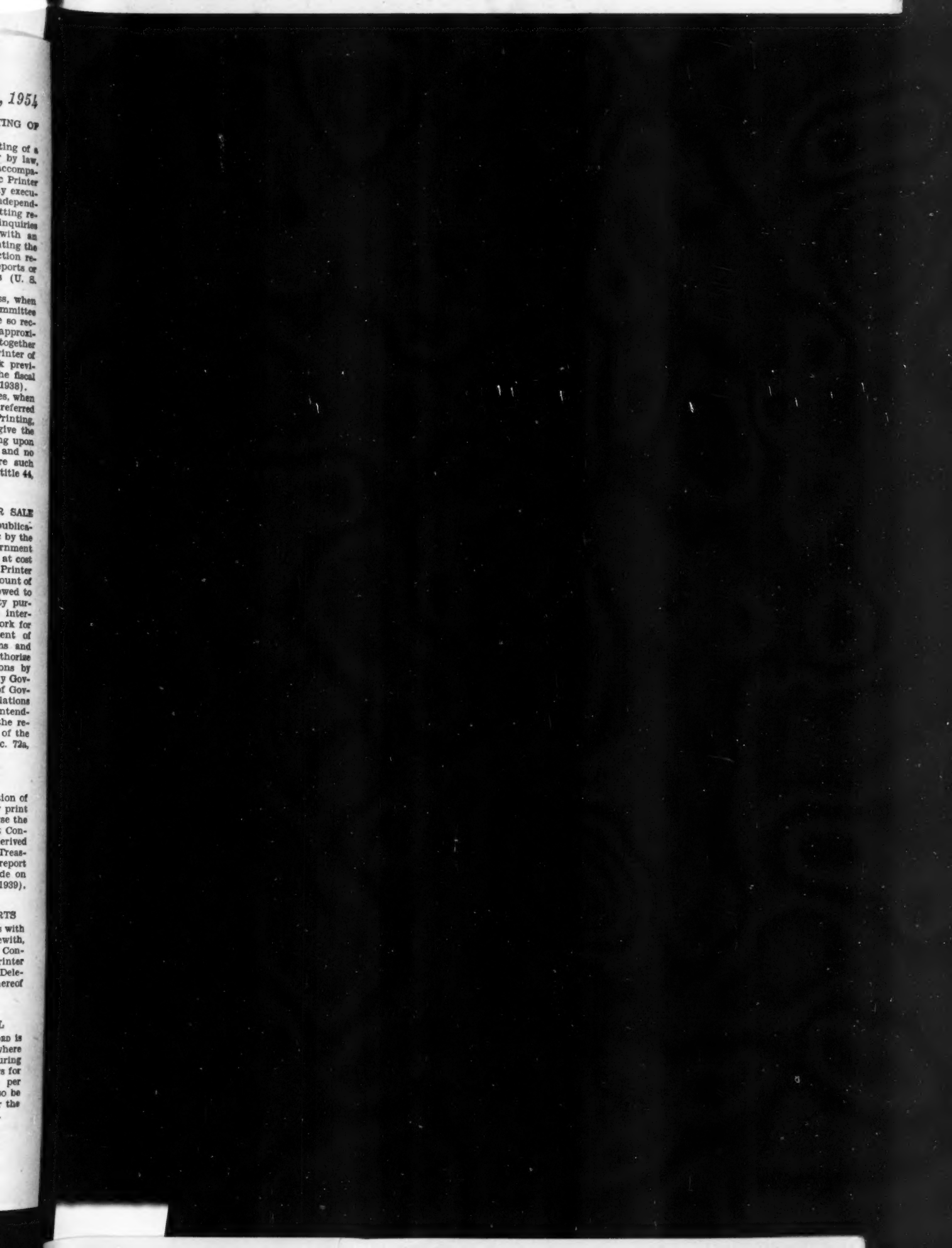

Appendix

The Great Lakes: The Artery to the Heart of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the eyes of the Nation will be on the House Rules Committee when it reconvenes after the Easter recess to take up the St. Lawrence seaway legislation.

I hope that the members of that committee will have an opportunity to study this issue between now and then, because they have it within their power either to advance or wreck the interests, not just of this generation but of all succeeding generations of Americans.

In connection with shipping on the Great Lakes, as such, I invite the committee's attention to a booklet published by the Lake Carriers' Association in Cleveland, Ohio, entitled "Great Lakes Shipping." It presents vital facts with regard to this great inland artery to the heartland of the North American Continent.

I am going to ask that certain excerpts from the forepart of the booklet be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. These excerpts demonstrate the significance of the Great Lakes to America—a significance which is not understood, unfortunately, in many other areas of our Nation. The excerpts point out that the connecting channels on the Great Lakes must be deepened, and this is wholly irrespective of whether the United States has the good sense to join with Canada in constructing the seaway or whether it has the bad sense and poor judgment to abstain from joining Canada.

I ask unanimous consent that the excerpts be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS ABOUT GREAT LAKES SHIPPING

During World War II, Great Lakes freighters carried 889 million tons of material. This was more than four times the amount carried by the ocean merchant marine.

The average lakes freighter can carry more than a third of a million bushels of wheat, the harvest of 22,000 acres of land.

The Great Lakes are the safest shipping lanes in the world. Almost all lake ships are equipped with radar, in addition to other safety devices such as radio-telephone, direction finder, and gyrocompass.

All of the waters of the Great Lakes are free and open to the vessels of the United States and Canada.

The sailing distance from Duluth, at the head of the lakes, to the eastern tip of Lake Ontario is 1,165 miles, about one-third the width of the American Continent.

The cost per ton-mile for shipping by lake is about fifteen one-hundredths of a cent. This is the lowest-cost system of bulk transportation in the world.

THE STORY OF THE LAKES VESSEL INDUSTRY

The shipping industry on the Great Lakes is the envy of the rest of the world, but its importance is too often taken for granted here at home.

It has grown up on the basis of free enterprise and private ownership, financing its own growth and requiring a minimum of Government regulation. Today it is one of America's greatest economic assets, a transportation system unmatched anywhere in the world for moving huge tonnages at lowest costs.

It carries 85 percent of all the iron ore used in the United States, plus tremendous quantities of coal, limestone, grain, and other commodities, a third of the way across the continent, at much less than the cost of any form of land transportation.

Without it, the price of your motor car, your washing machine, your refrigerator—even your daily bread—would be much higher.

Also, this industry is one of the strongest economic sinews of America's military strength. In a single year during World War II, it moved 183 million tons of vital commodities on the lakes, including 92 million tons of iron ore. In 1953 more than 215 million tons, including 95 million tons of ore, were carried.

Everyone in the United States is better off in one way or another because of the remarkable efficiency of the Great Lakes shipping industry.

THE LAKES AND CHANNELS

The five Great Lakes are Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario. Lake Superior is the largest body of fresh water in the world, and the lakes as a whole reach across half of the North American continent. Except for Lake Erie they are extremely deep as inland seas are measured.

As an accompanying map shows, the lakes are connected by channels, which are improved and maintained by the United States Government. One of these is the St. Marys River, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. Five locks, four built by the United States and one by Canada, bypass the most difficult passage in the river, Sault Ste. Marie (the Soo). The annual tonnage passing through the Soo locks is incredibly large. It is more than the tonnages of the Panama, Suez, and Manchester Canals and the River Rhine all put together.

Four hundred miles farther south, between Lakes Huron and Erie, is a chain of channels consisting of the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, and the Detroit River. Here vessels pass at the average rate of one every 17 minutes, day and night, during the 8-month shipping season.

The Welland Canal joins Lakes Erie and Ontario, locking vessels around the falls at Niagara. Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, British and other foreign vessels often make the trip through the seven locks of this canal on their way from the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence River to lake ports.

The connecting channels are the critical points of the Great Lakes waterway because they limit the depths to which vessels can load. Since the channels were cut to their present depths some years ago, many large vessels with extra capacity have joined the lakes fleet. These modern vessels cannot load to their full capacity because the channels are not deep enough.

This restriction on the carrying capacity of the fleet not only limits the iron and steel industry's ability to expand, but in a time of emergency might easily prove damaging to our national defense efforts. With the present fleet, the inadequate channel depths are reducing the tonnage moved by about a million tons a season. This unnecessary deficit may increase as larger vessels are added to the fleet.

Since shipping began on the lakes, about half a billion dollars has been spent by the United States and Canada on improving the channels. While this may sound like a large amount of money, it is actually much less than one one-hundredth of a cent per ton-mile on the cargoes moved. This expenditure has saved the public many times its cost, through lower shipping costs.

THE INDUSTRIAL MIDWEST

The industrial empire of America is definitely tied to the Great Lakes. When low-cost lakes transportation began to develop in the latter part of the last century, industrial progress in the Midwest followed on an undreamed-of scale.

Throughout the region, business thrived in the atmosphere of expansion. Workers from all parts of the world flocked to the ore ranges, the steel mills, the blast furnaces, the factories, and the related enterprises which sprang up in all lines of industry and commerce. By the turn of the century America's solid industrial strength was in its Midwest. Milwaukee, Chicago, Gary, Detroit, Toledo, Lorain, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Erie, Buffalo—these are today the great producing centers of the greatest manufacturing region the world has ever known, and each one is indebted to water transportation on the Great Lakes for a large part of its growth.

The Outlook for the Milk Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting editorial concerning the outlook of the milk industry in this country, published in the Dairymen's League News, of New York.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SLIM MARGIN

In a recent report of the Milk Industry Foundation, it was pointed out that if the 1950 per capita consumption of milk had continued in 1953, there would have been no surplus in the United States.

In other words, if the dairy industry had just held its own from 1950 on, without an increase in per capita consumption, today's political hassle over parity and surplus stocks would never have occurred. There would

have been no surplus for the Government to buy.

It might also be worthwhile to point out that had total production in 1953 remained the same as in 1950, and had per capita consumption also remained unchanged, there would have been a shortage of milk in 1953. Fortunately for the Nation's consumers, although not for the dairy farmers, production has been increasing steadily during the past few years.

How narrow is the margin between surplus and shortage?

The Government estimates it will have to purchase 6 percent of the Nation's total milk production this year, about the same percentage as last year. It seems to us that 6 percent is a mighty small margin of safety when the health of the Nation is concerned.

Perhaps what is needed now to put the debate over support purchases in proper perspective is to ask ourselves: Where will we be 10 years from now? Or even 5 years from now?

The Census Bureau reports that population in America is increasing at the rate of about 2½ million persons per year.

In 5 years that will mean 12½ new consumers competing for the Nation's food supply. In 10 years it will mean 25 million new mouths to be fed by a shrinking rather than a growing farm population. With these facts in mind, a 6-percent surplus of dairy products today seems like slim insurance for future needs.

Even in the short-range picture there is an element of risk involved in discouraging producers, not only of dairy products, but of other food commodities.

According to reports from the Southwest, one of the worst droughts in the history of the Nation seems to be shaping up. A creeping dryness throughout the southern half of the United States and record lows of ground water have been reported in many areas. In some cases, valuable topsoil is blowing away in greater quantities than in the dirty thirties.

What effect this will have on future food production, particularly grain (which will eventually affect milk production) has not been estimated. Nevertheless, it is something that the USDA and Congress should bear in mind when the question of production controls is considered.

Long range or short range, it's dangerous business to tamper with the Nation's breadbasket.

The Exiled President of Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY M. KILGORE
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I hold in my hand three articles, dated, respectively, March 13, 1954, March 22, 1954, and March 25, 1954, published in the Miami (Fla.) Herald, dealing with conditions which I think should be of interest to our investigating committees, at least, inasmuch as they deal with the question of the President of a nearby Republic, a refugee in this country, as opposed to the Communist question as well as the Fascist question. I think Senators will be interested in these articles, and I ask unanimous consent that all three of them be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Miami Herald of March 13, 1954]

EX-PRESIDENT FIRES BACK—PRIO BARES BALLOT CALLING BATISTA RED

Carlos Prio Socarras, former Cuban president, produced a Cuban ballot Friday listing President Fulgencio Batista as a candidate of the Communist Party in the 1940 presidential election.

"Who is a Communist?" Prio asked in answer to Batista's charges that the Russian embassy in Havana was a clearing house for Communist agents during the Prio regime.

Batista spoke of "Prio's complicity" which the Russian embassy in a speech to the armed forces commemorating the second anniversary of the March 10 revolution which returned him to power.

At his Miami home in exile, Prio declared Friday that Batista "is now trying to prove that he is an anti-Communist because his shaking Government needs United States' support."

"My ideals and my acts have always been democratic," Prio said. "Batista's statements concerning my international political activities are ridiculous.

"Let Batista explain why Juan Marinello, president of the Cuban Communist Party, traveled to Moscow with a Cuban passport after March 10, 1952.

"Let Batista say why he gave a Cuban passport to the Communist chief of the Americas, Fabio Grobart, so he could travel freely throughout Latin America?

"Let Batista say what secret agreements he has made with Communist-dominated Guatemala and why he holds monthly interviews with leaders of that Central American country."

Prio charged that it was not a mere coalition move that placed Batista as a candidate for president on the Communist Party ticket in 1940.

"After he was elected, Batista appointed several well-known Communists to high government posts," Prio said. "He named Marinello—then and now chief of the Cuban Communist Party—to a cabinet post.

[From the Miami Herald of March 22, 1954]

PRIO RECEIVING ROUGH HANDLING

(By Bob Considine)

Aren't we being a little rough on Carlos Prio Socarras, the exiled President of Cuba? He was our pal during his tenure in office, was royally received and decorated by President Truman on his visit to this country, and was in the course of bowing out of the picture down there—in accordance with the constitution—when Batista took over by force.

Last December 4, Prio arrested in Miami by a United States deputy marshal, charged with conspiring to ship arms out of the United States in violation of the 1939 Neutrality Act. He was taken into custody, fingerprinted, and protographed like a common criminal, and placed under heavy bond.

There can't be much question that Prio wants to see Batista unseated in Cuba. His candidate for the election that never came off was Carlos Hevia, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy who became an almost legendary figure in Cuban politics—in that foes as well as friends considered him clean as a hound's tooth.

We've got a lot of exiled leaders in this country, the free world's last great asylum for the politically oppressed. The Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Chinese, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, etc., all maintain headquarters here and work ceaselessly to change the conditions back home which forced them to flee.

They are welcome and often honored in this country. But Prio is given a hard time. He's questioned every time there's a raid on a Cuban gun cache in New York. He headed up only one Cuban political party. There are seven: Autentico, Ortodoxo, Democrata, Liberal, Union Revolucionaria, Progresista, and Accion Unitaria.

The Communists are negligible. Anyway, other Cubans in this country could conceivably be plotting to erase Batista—a very tough man to cancel, by the way. But only Prio gets called on the mat.

[From the Miami Herald of March 25, 1954]

CUBAN RED ORDERED TO MOSCOW

HAVANA.—Cuban Communist Leader Lazaro Pena has been ordered behind the Iron Curtain for fresh instruction from Moscow.

Pena left Havana by air early Saturday for Vienna, via Amsterdam, and presumably will continue to Moscow by rail.

Although the Communist leader is wanted by police on criminal sedition charges, no effort was made to prevent his departure. Only his wife saw him off at the airport.

It was Pena's sixth trip abroad on a Cuban passport in less than 20 months. As on previous occasions, his airline fare was paid in cash in Europe, behind the Iron Curtain, and his ticket sent here.

Informed sources said Pena's present trip is to explain the party's present position in Cuba to Cominform leaders and to learn the new party line on so-called aid to Guatemala.

In retirement since the party was outlawed earlier this year, Cuban Communist leaders came out from underground last week long enough to throw their weight behind a pro-Guatemala committee ostensibly formed by the University Students Federation.

Signers of a committee "proclamation" attacking the Caracas conference included Juan Marinello, former party president, and Flavio Bravo, its youth leader.

Other Communist signers included Candelaria Rodriguez, sent by the party behind the "Bamboo Curtain" in Korea to investigate germ warfare charges; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a former cabinet member; Vincente Gonzalez, who used the pseudonym of "Esmeril" to write in Hoy; Mirta Aguirre, also a staff member of the former Communist organ, opposition political leaders and so-called liberal elements.

Pena, former labor leader, is vice president and executive board member of the Cuban Communist Party. He is also head of its important politburo.

His last known trip to Moscow for political instruction was in June 1952, after Cuba and Soviet Russia broke relations. However, since that time he has visited Mexico, Switzerland, Austria, Argentina, and Chile, among other countries.

Pena is the first important Cuban Communist figure to go behind the Iron Curtain this year. Last Cuban Communist to leave for Europe for "orientation" were Joaquin Ordoqui, former congressman, and Edith Garcia Buchaca, leader of the party's women's affiliate.

Ordoqui and Garcia Buchaca also left by air for Vienna ostensibly to attend a peace conference. In Vienna they joined fellow-Communists Nicolas Guillen and Fidel Domenech.

Jesus Christ the Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE R. HOEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, Mr. James H. Hensley, Jr., of Asheville, N. C., has written a poem entitled "Jesus Christ the Man." In the interest of giving this poem wide circulation, he is desirous of having it inserted in the RECORD; and,

therefore, I request unanimous consent to have the poem printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poem was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JESUS CHRIST, THE MAN

Of all the men the world has known
Christ stands aloft and all alone
A sterling Saviour tried and true
Who died on the Cross for me and you
A man's man as you and I—who lived
And loved and who chose to die—upon the
Cross between two thieves—He died
Like a man while his mother grieves.

Christ carried our Cross and was crowned
With thorns—and on that sacred spot
That day was born—a new life for you and
Me—Christ shed His blood that we might
See—the victory of our Christ on Calvary.

The Virgin Mary prayed and cried—
For her Son who had died—upon the
Cross He bore alone—His love for her He
Did atone—Christ gave His life that we
Might live—learn to love and to forgive—
And lift our prayers to God above—and
Sing to Him our praise and love—for His
Son who was crucified on Calvary.

When they drove those nails into His flesh
He did not cry or even flinch—He was a man
Not immune to pain—He shed His blood—
but
Not in vain—for on that Cross a victory was
Won—that will ever live from sun to sun—
for
Our Christ who was crucified on Calvary.

The sun will fade away and the stars grow
dim
To sight—the moon will drip away in blood—
For God had shown His might—while on the
Cross
He bore alone—crucified by the rabble He
prayed
And groaned, "Forgive them Father—they
know not
What they do." He took their gall—and
bowed His
Head in a victory sleep—our Christ was dead.
They buried Him in a tomb of stone—and
God sent
His angels to bring Him home. No sacrifice
has ever
Been made—by any man in any decade—nor
will
There ever in the future be, a man like Christ
on Calvary.

Hells Canyon and Regional Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine speech by Gerald H. Robinson, a Portland, Oreg., attorney, with reference to Hells Canyon and regional development. The speech was reprinted in the Oregon Democrat.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HELLS CANYON AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(By Gerald H. Robinson)

Today, in the few minutes I have with you, I should like to suggest a few ideas about the importance of Hells Canyon in regional development. I will not have time to bombard you with many figures and dates—as you are probably relieved to learn—but I shall be pleased to fill in such details for those who care to ask questions after adjournment.

EXTRACTIVE ECONOMY FADING

I assume in this discussion that there is substantial agreement that it is not only desirable, but necessary, that the electric power potential of the Columbia River and its tributaries be fully developed. More power is necessary if the Northwest is to provide for a rapidly growing population, diversify its industry, and continue the high level of prosperity we have come to take for granted. Certainly our past reliance upon extractive enterprise almost exclusively—farming, lumbering, and fishing—must give way to more industry if we are to escape from perpetual serious seasonal unemployment, and an economy which intensifies each dip and rise in the national economic barometer.

Now, it is equally clear that new industry depends largely upon a plentiful supply of cheap electric power. Such power is available from the Columbia River, as from no other stream in the whole United States. Such power is the Northwest's unique advantage.

THE POWER-STARVED NORTHWEST

Where do we stand in power development today? The tremendous economic growth of the last decade, which was stimulated by the availability of plentiful cheap power, has sopped up excess energy and demand has more than caught up with supply. The economists predict that the demand will continue to increase, however, so if we are to keep pace with the spiral of industrialization that Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Hungry Horse, and other large-scale power dams started, we must see to it that new projects are begun and continued in an orderly way until full development is reached.

ONLY ONE-TENTH HARNESSED

Now, there are about 39 million kilowatts of electric power locked in the waters of the Columbia. To date, we have installed less than 4 million kilowatts, roughly one-tenth of the power potential. Of the amount of power provided in the year ending in June 1953, 57.5 percent came from Federal power projects like Bonneville Dam.

In order for us to take the full measure of available power from the Columbia, the Army Engineers estimate that we must construct enough high dams to store about 27 million acre-feet of water up in the mountains. The need for such a large quantity of storage exists because the amount of water in the Columbia and its tributaries varies dramatically through the year. In the spring, the melted snow floods the rivers' banks and flows to the sea partially unused. But in the fall, after all of the snowfields have yielded up their runoff, the Columbia suffers from low water, and generators at Bonneville and other low run-of-the-river dams stand idle.) Then we have brownouts and surcharges to pay for expensive steam power used by the utilities to keep up with their loads. The obvious cure for the flood-and-drought cycle of the Columbia is to store the spring flood waters behind high dams up in the mountains, and then, during the dry fall months, release this stored water and keep the generators turning at all of the dams downstream. Furthermore, the engineers' comprehensive survey indicates that we need this 27 million acre-feet of storage to control the Columbia, not only for power production, but also for flood control and navigation purposes.

THE UNDEVELOPED SNAKE

Now, the Snake River which flows through Hells Canyon, looms very large in both the power and the storage picture in the Columbia. In the Snake is to be found one-third of the power potential of the Columbia River system, as well as one-eighth of the hydropower potential of the entire country. So, you see, full development of the Snake River is very important if we are to do ourselves justice. What happens over there is of vital concern to us in Portland, because under the coordinated plan of development which was in effect until recently, all of the big power projects, and many of the small ones, were tied together into a regional power grid to serve all of us. It doesn't matter at which point power flows into this grid of transmission facilities, so long as all of it is fully energized to meet power needs all across the region.

HELLS CANYON—THE GREAT DAMSITE

The nub of the controversy over Hells Canyon is whether the Federal Government shall carry out the plans of the Army engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation and build a high dam there, or whether the Idaho Power Co. should be permitted to build three low dams, with only one-fourth as much storage as the proposed Federal high dam would have.

Naturally, the larger dam is very much more expensive than the proposed Idaho Power structures, and for that reason, the company will not, and probably cannot, build it. Anyway, part of the height of the Hells Canyon Dam would be due to its job of storing spring floodwaters to be released in the fall. The benefits of this stored water would be felt at Bonneville, McNary, The Dalles, and other dams downstream from Hells Canyon. It is natural that the Idaho Power Co. does not wish to invest expensive capital in works with storage capacity, navigation advantages, and flood-control features which would benefit the people of the region and not its big stockholders which are eastern insurance and investment houses. Such a policy may be sound business, and perhaps even good law—but I think you will agree that from the viewpoint of the full development of the people's heritage of natural resources, it is unwise public policy.

The essential foundation of the case for the high dam is that the superior sites from storage dams are few and far between, that they are the rightful property of all of the people—of the Nation as well as of the region—and they should be developed fully for the good of all of the people.

MYOPIA CAN KILL

This policy is not an affront to free enterprise. Like you, I conceive competition and progressive business to be a salutary feature of American life. But we must look beyond the immediate aspirations of a private power company which, incidentally, is a monopoly by law, and see what will best benefit free enterprise throughout the country. Myopic concentration upon the demands of selfish interests can kill free enterprise faster than any other economic poison known. Had we given the private power companies the right to despoil the best dam sites in the Northwest, we should not have had Bonneville, Coulee, McNary, or The Dalles. Instead we would have had less power, at high rates, and a conglomeration of unworkable dams cluttering our rivers. However, up to this crucial point, we chose to build projects in accordance with a comprehensive plan which locates high dams at their proper places, and low dams where they belong. The question is whether that plan should now be repudiated.

A BALANCE SHEET: PRO AND CON

Let us look at some of the essential data which you might be interested in. Let me present it as a balance sheet of advantages and disadvantages of the power company plan and the Federal high dam.

First of all, cost: The Federal dam is estimated to cost about $383 million. The major part of this expenditure is rembursa-

ble, that is, it is a loan by the Government to the people, to be paid back with interest from power revenues. This is the same self-liquidating formula used at Bonneville and the other Federal dams. The power company's dams are to cost, according to its estimates, $133 million. John Cotton, the famous hydraulic engineer who compared the projects in his now-famous report, claims that they will actually cost $340,865,300.

Next, power output: The point of comparison is firm power at load center. This is the power available all year around; the kind of power new industry would want and need. The high dam would produce a total of 1,461,000 kilowatts of firm power at load center. The low dams would produce only 835,400 kilowatts of such power. This is 60 percent advantage for the Federal plan.

Storage: Hells Canyon is a magnificent storage pit. The high dam could store an active pool of 3,800,000 acre-feet of water; the low dams would have only 1 million acre-feet of active storage. There is obviously a considerable disparity in power and flood-control benefits between the two proposals.

We have now seen how the high dam at Hells Canyon would benefit the region more than the low dams which the Idaho Power Co. wants to build. But granting the superiority of the high dam for the whole Northwest, what is its advantage for you and me in Portland?

To begin with, you will recall that most of the power from the Federal dams like Bonneville and Coulee is fed into a regionwide transmission grid. Thus, power produced in Idaho is indirectly helpful to customers in western Oregon, for we are all part of the same system. So, if Hells Canyon is built, the vast quantities of power from its generators would become a part of the Federal system and we would get our share of it. On the other hand, the Idaho Power Co. does not guarantee that any of its production facilities at the three small dams will be hooked up with the Northwest power circuit. In fact, the president of IPC testified at the Hells Canyon hearings now in progress before the Federal Power Commission that by 1961 all of the power from the entire IPC system, including the proposed projects, would be committed to IPC's customers and none would be left over for Portland or western Oregon.

IDAHO POWER CO. TOO HIGH COST

Now, even if some power were available to Portland from the Idaho Power Co.'s low dams, it would cost twice as much as the going rate for Federal power in the region. This admission again comes from the testimony of the president of Idaho Power Co. in the FPC hearings. (Transcript, p. 8601.) What good would 4- or 5-mill power do for a region which has geared its economy to the postage stamp Bonneville rate of 2 mills? No new industry would move to the Northwest or to Portland; we would be robbed of important electro-process industries like Electro-Met, Reynolds Metal, Pacific Carbide, and Pennsylvania Salt Co., which moved into the Portland area during the forties solely because of the availability of cheap power.

NEW JOBS ONLY THROUGH NEW POWER

We are currently in a period of serious unemployment and business slowdown. Oregon tops the Nation in the percent of its workers which are unemployed. One out of seven in the ranks of labor are looking for jobs. It is common knowledge that department store sales are down, bank clearings are down, and the building of homes is down. Everyone knows from his own experience, and those of his friends, that we are not in a mere seasonal downswing. It is far more serious. Something has to be done.

One of the best cures for our current business difficulties is to get more power on the line—more cheap power which will attract new industries, create new jobs, more payrolls, and more buying power.

So Hells Canyon has all of these meanings to Portland and to the region: More power at a cheap rate, flood control, navigation, and indirectly, reclamation. The proposed high dam is a key element in the development and control of the Columbia; it is a crucial issue for the future of the Northwest. Let us cast aside partisan loyalties and rally to the protection of our heritage.

A Commemorative Issue Long Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago, at the time of the Postmaster General's first appearance before our Subcommittee on Post Office Appropriations, on Tuesday, April 28, 1953, I had the privilege of suggesting the use of the Statue of Liberty on a commemorative stamp symbolizing the American way of life in the following words—pages 50 to 51, hearings, 1953:

COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS

Mr. SIEMINSKI (to Mr. Summerfield). "Some say that one cannot put one's finger on any one thing that defines America because we are such a fantastic nation. Nevertheless, I have not seen the Statue of Liberty on any stamp for a while. It is a symbol that has magnetized the world. If one can define an American tradition, one might consider that as a starter.

It is with great pleasure that I read in the April 4, 1954, issue of the New York Herald Tribune that the Postmaster has recognized the merit of the suggestion and has this day, April 8, issued such a stamp to be used on foreign airmail where it will speak eloquently of life in the land from which it came.

Congratulations, Mr. Postmaster General.

As an aside, for the benefit of the great people whom it is my privilege to represent in the 13th Congressional District of New Jersey, off which shore stands this magnificent Lady of Liberty, I might add, in modesty, I trust, Mr. Speaker, the following:

In 1951, in my maiden speech in the House, I defended appropriations for the Voice of America. As great as was the voice of Marco Polo out of the Orient years ago, I thought that the Voice of America was the greatest voice to come out of the West. In April 1953, as the hearings on page 50 of the postal appropriations disclose, I sensed that there was a move to damage the Voice of America, to put it out of the picture. Naturally concerned, I suggested an alternative in the hope that it could blanket the globe; it was the voice of liberty, on a stamp.

While I realize that mine was only one in thousands of requests for the dramatization of liberty on a stamp, I thought that in these challenging and fascinating times that it would be remiss of me not to advise my constituents, in this manner, that, when the roll was called, we, too, answered to our names, answered the call of liberty, as we have since the time of Peter Stuyvesant and the *Half Moon* in 1609; our recent answer being last year, as the hearings disclose.

Cited now under unanimous consent is the Herald Tribune story previously referred to:

EISENHOWER TO LAUNCH NEW STAMP

WASHINGTON, April 3.—The biggest sendoff ever given an American postage stamp is being set up for the new Liberty 8-center, designed to carry a message of faith and hope throughout the world.

President Eisenhower will launch the red, white, and blue stamp on a television program arranged for Thursday, starting at 12:15 p. m. He will be flanked by Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON, members of his Cabinet, and leaders of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths.

Across town, in the Shoreham Hotel, other Government officials, Members of Congress, and the top echelon of Washington's diplomatic corps, assembled for luncheon, will watch the telecast on a giant screen. Afterward they will participate in further ceremonies marking the stamp's debut.

POSTAL AMBASSADOR

Eight cents is now the standard letter rate to overseas destinations, and the new stamp will therefore have its greatest use on international mail. Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield estimates that 200 million of these stamps, which he calls a postal ambassador, will go into foreign lands every year.

Simple in design, the stamp is centered by the Statue of Liberty, printed in red. Around the head and the torch is a white halo, fading off into a blue background. The words "In God We Trust" appear above the statue. At the top is "U. S. Postage 8c" and across the bottom, in white-faced Gothic, is the spaced-out word: "Liberty."

The stamp claims a number of "firsts." It is the first of a regular issue to incorporate a religious tone, the first to carry the national motto of trust in God, the first low-price stamp of regular issue to rate more than one color, and the first to be introduced by a President.

The Post Office says it also is the first of a new series of ordinary stamps which will eventually replace the Presidential series, started in 1938 under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, an ardent stamp collector. That issue ran into 32 denominations, honoring as many deceased Presidents.

The Department said the new Liberty stamp was designed in response to thousands of requests by persons suggesting one or another combination of the liberty motif and the words "In God We Trust." The stamp will go on general sale here Friday and will be available at post offices throughout the country on the next day.

The Attack on F. D. R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the article written by Hugo Ernst, general president of the Hotel

and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, which appeared in their publication Catering Industry Employee for April 1954. I believe it to be an excellent article on one of our great Democratic Presidents and a factual presentation of today's problems.

The article follows:

THE ATTACK ON F. D. R.

(By Hugo Ernst)

Nine years ago this month—the date was April 12, 1945—the whole world was stunned into deep sorrow by a news flash out of Warm Springs, Ga.: Franklin Delano Roosevelt was dead.

At that news our Nation wept, and the world wept with us. People of every tongue, every color, every nation shared our grief. With us they turned to each other and said, "I feel as though I have lost a friend."

For F. D. R. had become the symbol and the patron of a most hopeful idea: that ordinary citizens in a democratic society could build together a productive, peaceful way of life marked by the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom to worship as one chooses, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

In pursuit of these ends he had rallied his own people with a practical program to lick the worst depression in history. He had shaped the grand alliance, which broke the menacing power of the Fascist Axis. And he had laid the foundation upon which was being constructed at San Francisco, the United Nations, even as he passed away.

FORGOTTEN MAN

It is no wonder that the people were plunged into sorrow at his death. And it is worth recording that there is no doubt that the deepest sense of loss was shared by the plain, ordinary people—the dirt farmers, the service workers like ourselves, the miners and factory hands, the neighborhood business and professional people—whom he had done so much to help with a program of social justice known to history as the New Deal.

The forgotten man selling apples on the corner found himself working again, with a union to protect his rights.

The family living in a slum could look forward to clean, decent quarters in a housing project.

The Negro citizen found a dignity never before known as the President himself led the fight against all forms of discrimination.

The farmer facing loss of his land found stable prices, electric power in his kitchen, his soil restored.

BUSINESS, TOO

The little-business man threatened by monopoly control found laws to protect him from being pushed to the wall.

And the big-business man as well—because the New Deal saved our economic system—found customers he had never known before, and a rate of profit beyond his wildest dreams.

Yet, look about us now.

NOW THE GHOULS

Nine short years, after F. D. R. was laid to rest at Hyde Park, what is happening? Powerful forces, controlled by those same "malefactors of great wealth" upon whom he heaped scorn when they sought to halt the reforms he wrought, have set themselves a ghoulish task:

Not only do they belittle his achievements, not only do they blacken his name, but they are even attempting to shroud the memory of his years under a monstrous mantle of treason.

The United Nations he did so much to launch is the target of the same "go-it-alone" crowd which backed the infamous America First movement. And the same hatemongers with the same Liberty League backers are spreading the same old rumors against his vision of world peace.

His leadership of the grand alliance which brought us victory and saved countless American lives is being assaulted with the charge that he sold out the peoples of the whole earth. As I write these words the papers announce a new book by a retired admiral who goes so far as to charge that he deliberately designed the disaster at Pearl Harbor.

IMMENSE GAINS

And his domestic program? What are they doing to that New Deal which came in the nick of time to rescue American free enterprise from destruction? Those immense achievements—collective bargaining for all workers who want it, stable farm prices for families on the land, pensions and security for our senior citizens, unemployment insurance, low-cost housing, cheap public power, protection for other people's money, civil rights and all the rest—every single one of these is now under steady attack in a Congress dedicated to the proposition that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country."

How many of us realize that this vast campaign to rewrite the life and times of F. D. R., to turn history upside down, to make us think that white is black, is more than an assault on the man who was our friend—that it is in fact an attack upon us who voted for the things he stood for?

Yet, that is exactly what this means.

OPERATION BRAINWASH

We are being given the full treatment, a mass application of brainwashing. We are being manipulated by the political hucksters, the slick public relations boys, who have set out to sell us the idea that we were wrong to support F. D. R. and the New Deal. They would have us believe that the voters who four times returned him to office were nothing but dupes, aiding and abetting a supercolossal subversion of the American way of life.

How else explain the lies, the distortions, the daily dosage on a thousand editorial pages? How else explain the free rein being given politicians to hammer us daily with fearsome tales of spies where there are no spies, of subversives writing farm and labor and housing bills of the 1930's, of creeping socialism in our TVA and social-security programs?

The sober truth is that those who are conducting this Operation Brainwash want to frighten us to the point where we will never again vote into office a Government pledged to put the people first.

Are we going to let them get away with it? Or are we capable of fighting back?

Have we the power, as voters and plain citizens, to strike from our limbs the chains being forged to bind us to the chariot wheels of these desperate men?

I think we have.

I think the labor movement itself—the whole labor movement—must carry a heavy responsibility for the battle, just as it formed the vigorous core of the militant ranks which won the victories for F. D. R. and his program.

But we must realize, each one of us, exactly what the stakes are if we are to carry out such victories again. We need to understand how much we will lose—indeed, are losing every day—should we fail.

We stand to lose the power to run our unions ourselves—for plans are already afoot to turn over to the States control over collective bargaining and our right to strike.

We stand to lose low-cost housing entirely—for in recent days even the shabby housing measure asked by Ike has been all but killed entirely.

We stand to lose our public power—for the administration has served notice it wants to turn our dams over to private utility companies.

We stand to lose federally supported jobless insurance and social security—for the chamber of commerce stands ready with bills to place these programs at the mercy of "States rights."

We stand to lose the United Nations, the chief obstacle to world war III—for already a campaign is well advanced to destroy the usefulness of that body.

We stand to lose all these and more—unless we are ready, willing, and able to rouse our neighbors and ourselves to the job ahead of electing this year, as we did again and again in F. D. R.'s time, a Congress which will put the people first.

Department of the Interior Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH

OF

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8680) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to rise and support the amendment offered by my colleague from Montana [Mr. METCALF]. I am of the opinion that the general public is not aware of the great army of duck hunters that exists in our land today. Not only do these people follow in the traditions of their forefathers by remaining skilled and proficient in the use of firearms, but they also are a great economic addition to the society in which we live.

The duck hunting population spends many, many millions of dollars on shotguns, shells, decoys, clothing, paint, rope, and a thousand-and-one other accessories that go along with the sportsmen in his field. Now, we hear much talk about a possible economic recession. In the first place, I do not believe that this is a serious threat, but at the same time I am of the opinion that the Congress of the United States should do everything within its power to continue to increase business incentives. Consequently, if this amendment is passed, the purpose of which is to provide additional duck-hunting areas, I believe that it will benefit the American business community 25 times greater than the actual amount that is requested for this particular program.

In the First Congressional District of New York we have some of the finest duck-hunting lands on the east coast. It was my privilege to present to the President of the United States two black duck, shot at Wainwright's Creek in Hampton Bays. The area between Smithtown and Montauk, Long Island, abounds with ponds and creeks. During the duck-hunting season these are filled to capacity. However, one grave drawback to this hunting is that the lands around these ponds and creeks are owned—in better than 95 percent of the cases—by private individuals. On the

great bays such as Shinnecock, Peconic, Moriches, and Gardiner's the broadbill—known also as bluebill or scaup—are hunted, along with occasional canvasback.

Here again the question of private ownership plays a part, as most of the points, spits of land, and islands are privately owned. The moneys that would be spent at this time, as I understand it, could conceivably be used to establish a public refuge in the area of the First Congressional District of New York for hunters of that area.

One other additional thought that should be called to the attention of the Congress and the Secretary of the Interior is that we advocate at this time an increase in the limit from 4 to 6. The present limit is unrealistic and the law is more often breached than not. We advocate this because we believe that there is an adequate duck population at this time to support an increase in the legal limit. We also would advocate an additional 6 days, or a total of 65 days. The additional days should preferably be added to the beginning of the season. The ideal period for the First Congressional District of New York would be from October 29 of this year to January 1, 1955.

Current Business Trends in Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Oregon Business Review of March 1954 entitled "Current Business Trends in Oregon." I strongly recommend that the Governor of my State read the article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT BUSINESS TRENDS IN OREGON

EMPLOYMENT

The Oregon State Unemployment Compensation Commission reports solid evidence of a spring upturn in employment—a reduction of initial unemployment compensation claims (indicating new layoffs). Nonagricultural employment in Oregon is estimated to have been 430,600 in mid-February 1954, which compares with a revised estimate of 432,800 in mid-January. During this month, lumber and wood products turned up slightly, the principal reductions being in food processing and retailing.

Although total nonagricultural employment declined 10,100 from February 1953 (when it was 440,700), the decline in the manufacture of nondurable goods was only 1,300 (from 32,900 to 31,600) and in nonmanufacturing only 1,200 (from 310,400 to 309,200). The bulk of the moderate decline was in the manufacturing of durable goods, which showed a drop of 7,600 (from 97,400 to 89,800)—6,400 of this was in logging and sawmill operations.

LUMBER

The position of the Pacific Northwest Douglas-fir lumber industry showed some improvement during February 1954. The rate of production increased over January but was below that of a year ago. However, in February 1954 orders ran considerably ahead of production, whereas in January, as well as in February 1953, production exceeded orders. The most recent data of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association follow (all figures in thousands of feet, board measure):

	February 1954	January 1954	February 1953
Average weekly production	199,235	183,333	211,686
Average weekly orders	215,754	193,636	208,671
Average weekly shipments	196,358	187,038	202,407
Unfilled orders, end of month	854,935	777,337	903,896
Lumber inventory, end of month	1,009,356	1,057,834	1,076,435

During the last week of February, Douglas-fir production was 7 percent below the same week in 1953, but western pine output was 3 percent greater than a year earlier.

DEPARTMENT-STORE SALES

Sales of Portland department stores continue to run substantially below 1953 levels. The percentage change in the dollar value of sales, compared with corresponding periods a year ago, are shown below along with similar figures for other Pacific coast cities.

	Week ending Mar. 13, 1954	4 weeks ending Mar. 13, 1954	Calendar year to Mar. 13, 1954
Portland	−13	−10	−10
Los Angeles	−10	−4	−4
San Francisco-Oakland	−10	−6	−5
Seattle	−7	−5	−6
United States	−8	−6	−3

MULTNOMAH COUNTY REAL-ESTATE TRANSACTIONS

During February 1954 there were 886 real-estate transactions amounting to $7,804,265 in Multnomah County. Of these, 668 involved residences, the sales price of which was $6,286,557,191 were vacant properties, $670,708, and 27 were business properties, $847,000. Additional figures are:

	February 1954	January 1954	February 1953
Number of sales	886	874	1,105
Value of sales	$7,804,265	$8,307,593	$8,648,508
Number of mortgages	900	836	1,009
Amount loaned	$6,239,173	$6,004,296	$7,867,667
Number of sheriff's deeds	1	3	3
Amount of sheriff's deeds	$7,300	$20,692	$4,958
Average residential sales price	$9,411	$9,047	$9,079

Libby Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 17, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important development projects in this Nation is going begging. I refer to the proposed Libby Dam in extreme northwestern Montana, which has been pigeonholed for the past year by the same administration which says this is a key dam.

Libby Dam, a $263 million multipurpose project authorized by Congress would span the Kootenai River, an important Columbia River tributary. Its powerplant would have an initial installed capacity at the site of 600,000 kilowatts and an ultimate installed capacity of 800,000 kilowatts of power badly needed in the Northwest. In addition, Libby Dam storage would provide for 540,000 kilowatts of continuous power at downstream plants and 720,000 kilowatts of firm power or dependable capacity. The dam would afford almost complete control of floods along Kootenai River, especially in the Kootenai Flats between Bonners Ferry, Idaho, and the Kootenay Lake, British Columbia, and would substantially reduce flood stages along the lower Columbia River. In addition, the project would provide recreation and conservation benefits.

Among administration leaders on record on the importance of this dam is Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay. At a hearing before the Senate Civil Functions Subcommittee last year Mr. McKay said:

I think the project at Libby is probably the most important project in the Northwest because it is a reasonable cost and it firms up the Columbia River upstream as well as the lower Columbia. At the present time, the only thing on the lower Columbia is Bonneville. The Snake River installation ultimately would firm up McNary and the Dalles but Libby would firm up all of them.

During Army civil-functions hearings conducted this year by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Col. William Whipple, executive officer to the Chief of Engineers for civil works, had this to say:

It would be very unfortunate to have such a wonderful potential site for development and not take the maximum advantage of it.

The people of the area favor the project.

About a month ago, I sent out a postcard questionnaire to determine the local sentiment in Lincoln County, Mont., the county in which this dam would be built, on whether the dam should be built now and, if so, where.

I sent out 4,100 questionnaires, 1 to each registered voter in the county. Thanks to excellent newspaper and radio cooperation, I received almost a 50-percent return. Here are the questions and the answers:

Do you favor construction of Libby Dam? Yes, 1,872; no, 161.

If so, which of these sites do you favor? River mile 217—15 miles upstream from Libby, recommended by the Corps of Engineers—1,580; river mile 204—2 miles from Libby—211; another site, 88.

Should we press for construction of Libby Dam now at any site instead of delaying construction until the site you prefer is accepted? Yes, 1,343; no, 431.

Now this project, a key unit in the Columbia River Basin in the words of

our Secretary of Interior, and one which has the overwhelming approval of the people of the area, has been in limbo for nearly a year.

On March 25, 1953, Assistant Secretary of State Thruston Morton transmitted to Army Secretary Robert Stevens a letter received that day from the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Flood Control.

In that letter the view was expressed "that the approval of the construction of this project by the International Joint Commission would not be in conformity with the President's program with respect to balancing the budget."

Mr. Morton relayed to Mr. Stevens the suggestion "that this Department advise the International Joint Commission before April 7, 1953, that the application to the Commission for its approval of the construction of the Libby Dam project is withdrawn and that the Commission is requested to take no further action with respect to the matter until it is requested to do so."

On April 8, 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles withdrew the United States application from the International Joint Commission.

IJC approval is needed for the project because the huge concrete dam would back up a reservoir 100 miles long, about 40 miles into Canada. The International Joint Commission was set up to handle international boundary water problems.

Withdrawal of that application left Libby Dam hanging in the air.

Recently I wrote the Secretary of State, reminding him that when he withdrew the application last year he indicated that the action was taken in order to examine certain domestic questions, such as selection of the axis for the dam, relocations, and related matters that could be dealt with in accordance with regularly established procedures, rather than intermingled with investigation of the international aspects of the case.

Late last year the Corps of Engineers recommended an axis for the dam and announced that the recommendation now places the Libby project in favorable position for its resubmission to the International Joint Commission. I also have copies of a detailed technical report titled "Impact of the Proposed Libby Dam Upon the Forest Economy of Lincoln County, Mont." This report on an investigation by the Corps of Engineers and the United States Forest Service contains recommendations on relocations and related matters and was published last August.

In my recent letter, I told Mr. Dulles that it was my impression that, with the recommendation of the axis and the relocation report, the project is ready for resubmission to the International Joint Commission.

Mr. Morton replied to that letter. He said:

No request for the resubmission to the International Joint Commission of an application relating to this project has been received from the Secretary of the Army. Consequently it has not been resubmitted to the International Joint Commission.

In other words, Mr. Morton now says it is up to the Secretary of the Army to start the ball rolling to get this application reinstated.

I relayed the contents of Mr. Morton's letter to Mr. Stevens, urging that the application be resubmitted to the Commission.

In closing, I am moved to comment that to date there is a vast gulf between this administration's preelection promises and performance.

During the campaign, the Republican candidate for President said at Seattle:

Certainly more upstream storage is needed—new dams to impound floodwaters and increase the continuous power output of existing dams. Power development in the Northwest must and will go forward. In this continuing program, the Federal Government will play its full part.

When he was seeking the office, our President said we need more upstream storage in the Northwest. The man who is his Secretary of the Interior says Libby Dam is "probably the most important project in the Northwest." Where is this key project? In a pigeonhole.

Roosevelt's Secret Agreement With Churchill on Atomic Bomb—Bricker Amendment Will Stop This Evil Practice

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, once again the American people have been shocked to learn of the secret agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt on the atomic bomb. This agreement was made in 1943, and Harry Truman says it is still in effect. Of course, it would be if he was President, and under it England could have vetoed our use of the bomb. Yet Congress would have had no word in the matter.

Mr. Speaker, here is further evidence that this Congress should approve the Bricker or George amendments and in the present session.

There may be countless secret agreements in the files of the executive departments, and the time has come to stop this evil, unconstitutional practice.

Mr. Speaker, I am including at this point an appropriate editorial on this subject as it appeared in the Evening Star on April 7:

SECRET AGREEMENT

Winston Churchill really stirred up a hornet's nest when he revealed in the House of Commons his secret atomic-bomb agreement of 1943 with Frankl'n D. Roosevelt.

Actually, the secret agreement was made public in 1952 with the publication of the private papers of the late Senator Vandenberg. Apparently, however, the revelation in the Vandenberg papers had been more or less forgotten. In any event, the announcement by Mr. Churchill has met with surprise, confusion, and controversy.

Former President Truman says the 1943 agreement is still in effect. The White House, using guarded language which suggests that there may be some new agreement, says "the 1943 agreement is not in effect at the present time." According to the Vandenberg papers and also according to Senator HICKENLOOPER, who at the time was chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, the agreement was canceled in 1948. Mr. Churchill says the late Senator McMahon, who sponsored our Atomic Energy Act, knew nothing of the agreement at the time. Mr. Truman says he renewed the agreement, with Canada included, in 1945. A British Foreign Office spokesman says the British gave their consent to our use of the A-bomb against Japan. What would Mr. Truman have done, it may be wondered, if they had refused to consent? Would thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of American soldiers have been sacrificed in a nonatomic invasion of Japan's homeland?

Perhaps one should not unduly belabor the wartime aspects of this agreement. We needed Britain's help and Britain needed ours. But what earthly excuse could there have been for the fourth provision—a provision presumably extended by Mr. Truman in 1945?

This provides that any "postwar advantages (as a result of the atomic program) of any industrial or commercial character shall be dealt with as between the United States and Great Britain on terms to be specified by the President of the United States to the Prime Minister of Great Britain."

In this clause there are green pastures for the Bricker amendment advocates. By what possible claim of authority could the President, in 1943, pretend to say how the postwar advantages of the atomic program should be divided between ourselves and Great Britain? How could Mr. Truman pretend, in 1945, to renew this agreement, which he says is in effect today? And if the White House announcement means that a similar agreement is now in effect, from what source does President Eisenhower derive his authority?

It ought to be made clear that the fruits of our atomic program are not the private property of the President, to be divided with our allies as he may see fit to divide them. They have been purchased with billions of dollars of tax money, and the people, through their Representatives in Congress, should have some say as to their disposition.

Increase in Parcel-Post Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by Deschutes County Pomona Grange, No. 25, of Bend, Oreg., dealing with the subject of parcel-post rates. The resolution is signed by Robert Anderson, master, and Helen H. Brown, secretary.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Whereas parcel-post rates have been arbitrarily increased 36 percent by the ICC; the ICC was authorized by Congress to make such increases and the people have had very little to say in opposition to such increases; and

"Whereas Senator CARLSON of Kansas and Senator JOHNSTON of South Carolina have introduced Senate bill 588, which would remove the jurisdiction of the ICC in relation to parcel-post rates and return this authority to the Congress: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That Multnomah County Pomona Grange, in session this 19th day of November 1953, hereby go on record as strongly opposed to ICC being authorized to increase parcel-post rates, and we favor the passage of Senate bill 588; be it further

"*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to the executive committee of the State grange and to all Pomona granges in the State of Oregon, urging such granges to pass this resolution and forward it to our delegation in Congress.

"LOIS HUDDLESTON,
"Secretary.
"P. D. PARKHURST,
"Master."

This resolution adopted by Deschutes County Pomona Grange, No. 25, in session February 13, 1954, at Pine Forest Hall.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Master.
HELEN H. BROWN,
Secretary.

Agricultural Extension and Research

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert a letter received from Dr. M. T. Harrington, chancellor, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College System, College Station, Tex., relative to appropriations for the fiscal year of 1955 for agricultural extension and research.

Dr. Harrington's letter is accompanied by a statement which I shall also insert, and I hope that the Members of this body will see fit to appropriate sufficient moneys to continue this worthwhile program:

TEXAS AGRICULTURAL AND
MECHANICAL COLLEGE SYSTEM,
College Station, Tex., April 1, 1954.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN TEAGUE: In the budget now before the Congress, additional funds are indicated for agricultural extension and research. If the total $13 million is allowed, this would mean about $350,000 added for agricultural extension and $190,000 added for agricultural research in Texas.

During the last several months, farm and ranch leaders in Texas were asked to review the total agricultural program in the State, and to give us the benefit of their thinking in terms of needs. Our intent is to use the increases, if granted, in the areas where the farmers and ranchmen stated they need more information and help.

In agricultural extension there are four main areas indicated:

1. The development of farm- and home-management programs which would emphasize the business-management side of the farm or ranch operation. With limited production opportunities, it is necessary that full advantage be taken of all possibilities for improving farm income.

2. Make a start toward providing county home-demonstration agents in the 77 counties presently without the services of a home-demonstration agent.

3. Provide additional assistance in subject matter training.

4. Adjust salaries where definite merit is indicated so that we will not continue losing our most productive personnel. Not more than 20 percent would be used for this purpose.

In agricultural research the needs are also very outstanding. Any increases in appropriated moneys will be used in connection with the solution of problems relating to:

1. Drought, including (a) water conservation and irrigation, (b) soil and water management, (c) farm and ranch emergency credits, (d) feed production and reserves.

2. Marketing and distribution of agricultural products.

3. Control of livestock and poultry diseases and parasites.

4. Increased efficiency in production of livestock and crops.

5. Control of plant diseases and insects.

6. Improvement of farm and ranch management.

We appreciate the interest you have shown in the agricultural development of Texas and thought you would like to know how the proposed appropriation would affect these programs.

Very truly yours,
M. T. HARRINGTON, *Chancellor.*

STATEMENT REGARDING USE OF INCREASED EXTENSION FUNDS IN 1954, TEXAS

Assuming that the funds will be appropriated by the Congress as requested, on the basis indicated for allotting funds, Texas should receive approximately $350,000. The purpose of this statement is to set out a proposal for the use of these funds.

1. SALARY ADJUSTMENTS

In view of the necessity for adjusting salaries of present personnel in order to maintain the services of qualified individuals, it is expected that 20 percent, or $70,000, will be needed. It is suggested that as a basis for distributing funds, the following would be considered in adjusting salaries: (a) The productive work of the employee, (b) the potential productive capacity of the individual, (c) professional improvement, (d) whether or not the salary of an individual is in line with other positions of similar responsibility and capacity.

Too often the training and experience of valuable employees is lost to the extension organization and people of the State because of a more favorable salary offered by other employment. As indicated above, it is expected that these funds will be used to make adjustments that are deserved.

2. EXPANSION OF PRESENT PROGRAM

(a) Farm and home management: It is expected that 60 percent, or a total of $210,000, would be needed to initiate a plan in counties of providing a more adequate technical information service in agriculture and home economics. The limitation on funds would make it necessary to restrict this type of program to approximately 20 counties selected according to type of farming areas which would serve as the beginning point for expanding these needed services. Emphasis would be given to the development of a farm business approach which would provide a satisfactory income as well as living conditions for the farm family.

Experience to date in Texas and other States has shown that the application of technical know-how can and does result in a more productive and profitable farming operation. In a period of declining farm profits, it is more essential that farmers and homemakers make the best use of production opportunities.

3. INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COUNTY HOME DEMONSTRATION AGENTS: TEN PERCENT OR $35,000

This would provide approximately 12 positions for counties presently without the services of a county home-demonstration agent.

Seventy-seven Texas counties do not have the services of a county home-demonstration agent. Since extension responsibility includes agriculture and home economics, the services of county home-demonstration agents must be considered an integral part of the county extension unit. Additional funds as well as trained personnel will be required to staff all counties.

4. ADDITIONAL STAFF ASSISTANCE IN CERTAIN SUBJECT MATTER AREAS: TEN PERCENT OR $35,000

Among these are marketing of agricultural products, consumer education and farm and home management. Range management from the ranch business approach is another area in which additional assistance is needed.

Further assistance in marketing of agricultural products is recognized as a primary need. Experience has shown that adequate information on marketing processes will do much to meet the needs in the area of marketing and consumer education.

The Threat of Reaction—Address to Convention of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Pittsburgh, April 8, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include herewith an address I delivered at the 1954 convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

President McDevitt, officers, distinguished guests, delegates, ladies, and gentlemen, when a Member of Congress, or any other public official, is invited to speak before a labor convention, he naturally ponders over the question as to what subject is most suitable for the occasion.

If I, as an example, was not in sympathy with your legislative program, and if my record as a public official was one which you did not approve, I would then pick a safe and unexplosive subject, say something like the atomic or hydrogen bomb. But, as a Member of Congress, and as one who believes in your great cause of making America and the world a better place to live in, and as one who shares your background as a worker and labor unionist, in fact, as one of you, I had to decide what message of importance I should bring to you in the brief moments I appear before you.

What, if any, danger confronts us as labor unionists and as free American citizens? True it is that a new age is upon us, the atomic age, an age of miracles. Anything can happen anytime. Anything, including the destruction of our civilization, as another speaker told you.

I must say that the danger, as I see it, lies in our own apathy—in the apathy of the average citizen, as a government, guided by master minds of big-business monopoly,

seeks to turn back the tide of human progress to satisfy their own blind greed.

I know that many of you are aroused as many other citizens are because of rising unemployment and falling living standards. But to what extent are you and the average citizen aroused and in what numbers? I am afraid that it is far from enough. Furthermore to be aroused or to be against something is not enough. We need to do something about it—and to understand why we are against and what we are for. And much more than that, we should do what we can to the best of our ability.

When we do that we are making democracy work—and work effectively. It is the answer to reaction which would destroy our social gains—and if you please—the answer to the challenge of abundance and the threat of atomic war.

For a moment let's now take a look at your Government and the advisors and the speechwriters in the White House who are directing the course of Government—a course which has a far-reaching effect on the lives of us all. What is their answer to the challenge of abundance? It is to say that we are living too good, we are living beyond our means, and we must readjust ourselves in this period of what they call a rolling readjustment. So their answer is to tear down living standards of the average citizen. They tell us that anything like a program to provide decent homes for our people, or full employment, security, and adequate retirement pensions for all is something evil—something that will destroy our freedom—indeed they say it's collectivism, something akin to communism.

Only a few days ago one of the spokesmen for big business reaction, speaking in my city of Reading, warned the people against what he called creeping collectivism. He said that the danger of this evil was that people were embracing it without really knowing what it is. And he went on to explain some of its symptoms. He mentioned public power and the demand of the people for government to do something for them, and, if you please, last but not least, he said another symptom of the collectivism evil was resistance to wage cuts—resistance to adjustment.

And, believe me, he pretty well expressed the thinking of all the so-called crusaders who want to show us how a sound business administration can run your Government.

Why, you may wonder, this opposition to every social reform? Why this fear of abundance? Let me tell you that it is really a fear of the people, a fear of democracy, a fear of security for the average citizen, whether it be the security of an adequate retirement pension or of job security in union membership.

Fortunately not all businessmen are in accord with those who now call the tune in Washington. There are many who take the broader view. They are not afraid of the future. Many of them share our fears, particularly small-business men who see the danger of growing monopoly power.

Big business doesn't like security for you. They like you to be dependent upon it. With such influence over the people they can extend their economic and political power. They can adjust you as they wish, and as they believe is the duty of those who possess, as they believe, the superior brains and know-how. They like you to be apathetic. They thrive on indifference and confusion of the people—confusion which is deliberately spread by their propagandists. When you hear such phrases as big Government, creeping collectivism, bureaucracy, States' rights, this is a Republic not a democracy, national bankruptcy, and the like, you should know that it is the voice of reaction seeking to confound and confuse and frighten you so you will keep your mind off the real issues.

The fear of big Government is fear of the people. The issues of States versus the Federal Government is generally the issue of special privilege against the people. Big Government meant decent housing, social security, minimum wages, and the like. States rights, as an example, gives oil monopolies the people's wealth in oil reserves and, as you know, it gives monopoly and antilabor interests the rights to shackle and destroy organizations that speak for the common man.

Let us return again to the Eisenhower administration and take a look behind the scenes. What is the objective? There is, of course, disagreement in the administration. But the dominant voices are in the Cabinet and among the President's advisers in the White House. Their major objective is to curtail the economy. They say that unemployment is not serious. It's nothing to be alarmed about. They even say that it's a necessary and a healthy situation. Actually they really want it. Even before they took over you heard them express the need for a float of unemployment. That they said it would give them a choice in hiring workers—it would make workers more productive, more responsible. It was even said that the way to get a full day's work out of a man was to threaten his children with starvation.

It seems that these people are having their way so far as the float of unemployment is concerned. It satisfies another great desire for, in a situation like today, weak unions can be destroyed, and strong unions weakened.

Those of us who demand action for a public-works program and who point to growing unemployment are denounced as philosophers of doom. They who have inspired and promoted the recession trend to gain advantage and concentrate their economic power over the national life, seek to put the blame for it on those who urge action to promote employment and prosperity.

Public reaction against administration policies is rising, but some of the big men in Washington have no intention to retreat. Big business interests see their chance now to gain certain economic advantages to strengthen their economic position and concentrate their economic power. It is now or never with them. They even envision the possibility of a change in control of Congress, so they want prompt action on legislation which they seek. And even if Congress changes, the executive branch will still be theirs for 2 more years. So special interests want to grab the vast public domains, water resources, and great natural wealth in oil, timber, and minerals, and do it now. They seek to cripple Federal regulation, which has been designed to protect the public against gigantic trusts and monopolies. They are planning tax programs for their own selfish advantage. As Congressman PATMAN told Congress a few days ago, "Big financial interests which seek to tear down economic and social gains of the last 20 years need a little depression to weaken the farmers, labor, and the little-business man." Big business wants to accomplish all it can before any effective change takes place in the Government at Washington.

It is an enterprising program. If successful, it will result in the greatest legal steal and concentration of economic power in all history. Since politics is a reflection of conflicting economic interests, this trend could be very serious and lead us toward a corporate state and totalitarianism.

Do you remember the campaign song of 2 years ago, "Don't Let Them Take It Away"? How true those words, which said, "They promise you the sky, they promise you the earth, but what is a Republican promise worth?"

They are really taking it away. And they are doing it legally—sort of an honest type of stealing on a wholesale basis. You just can't pinpoint it as corruption—and besides corruption is not an evil to be exposed if you are on the side of privilege and against the people.

Do you remember the Republican protest against the fairybook story of Robin Hood? They said it was Communist propaganda because Robin Hood stole from the rich to feed the poor. Well, now they are playing Robin Hood in reverse.

They said we were spending too much for welfare programs and that it was driving the Nation to bankruptcy—just, as they say, what the Kremlin wanted. But all the welfare programs combined, and they include public housing, health, education, public assistance and aid to the blind, cost approximately one-half of what we pay for interest on the national debt. Since the Eisenhower administration has been in power they have cut appropriations for welfare and increased the cost of interest—robbing the little people in order to benefit the few.

The AFL is aware of the situation. And they are really doing something about it. That's why Jim McDevitt is leaving the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—leaving to lead the greatest crusade in American labor history. The objective is not only to arouse you, but to inform you—and to make you conscious of what labor political action means to you and your family—to America—and to a free world.

When the American people are properly informed they will respond with the right action. When you recognize the seriousness of the challenge which faces us, you will respond to the call for service and sacrifice. For on the success of such efforts hangs the hopes and dreams of all mankind for a world of peace and continuous human progress.

Hells Canyon Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 9, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Jordan Farm Bureau Center with reference to Hells Canyon Dam, signed by Mrs. Sylvia Studnick, secretary.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JORDAN FARM BUREAU CENTER RESOLUTION RE HELLS CANYON DAM

Whereas the people of the Northwest experienced a power shortage in 1952–53; and

Whereas continued development of the Northwest is dependent upon adequate electric power; and

Whereas the power from this proposed dam is very important for the cheap production of phosphate fertilizer in the Northwest; and

Whereas a power shortage is expected to develop in the near future unless hydroelectric power production is stepped up: Therefore be it

Resolved by Jordan Farm Bureau Center, That we respectfully request our Congressmen to do their utmost in Congress to see that funds are appropriated and that Hells Canyon Dam is authorized.

Mrs. SYLVIA STUDNIK,
Secretary.

Appendix

Cancer and the 1954 Cancer Crusade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 3, 1954, I had the pleasure of introducing Dr. Beatty H. Dimit, of Indiana, Pa., who is the chairman of the 1954 cancer crusade in Pennsylvania, at a dinner opening the cancer crusade in Cambria County.

Dr. Dimit is not only the head of the Pennsylvania State Grange but is also chairman of the health committee of the National Grange. He is one of the real crusaders for the elimination of cancer in this country. I am sure that his address will be of great interest to everyone in eliminating this dreadful scourge from mankind.

My introduction of Dr. Dimit and Dr. Dimit's remarks follow:

Congressman SAYLOR (presiding officer). Right now I want to introduce Dr. Beatty H. Dimit, of Indiana, Pa., who is 1954 cancer crusade chairman. Dr. Dimit, you have a very special reason for taking this active part in the 1954 cancer crusade. Does this have anything to do with the fact that you are master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, an organization that has more than 81,000 members in the rural areas of the State, and that you are also health chairman of the National Grange which has almost 1 million members?

Dr. DIMIT. Yes, Mr. SAYLOR, that is one of the reasons, but my interest in rural people and their problems, including health goes back much farther. I was farm born and raised, owned and operated a farm in Butler County; I graduated in agriculture from the Pennsylvania State College; was one of the first county agents in Pennsylvania; taught vocational agriculture and have always worked with farmers while pursuing my teaching in the fields of chemistry and nutrition. Farming traditionally is regarded as the most healthful occupation in the country, and generally it is. By personal experience, however, I know that our most dreaded disease, cancer, strikes on the farm just as well as in the city. Further, while watching the United States Air Force Band in Jaffa Mosque, Altoona, last Wednesday night, during the concert with which they assisted our statewide kickoff, and while listening to their wonderful music, my thought wandered to the boys who went to Korea and were among the 25,000 Americans killed in the 3-year period preceding the armistice on July 27, 1953. While contrasting the young men in the band, all vibrant with youth, life, and hope, with those struck down in Korea, my mind suddenly reverted to the vicious killer against which we are launching this crusade. With horror, I realized that cancer, in the same 3-year period, had killed 650,000 Americans, more than 25 times as many as lost their lives in the war in Korea.

The feeling of horror was intensified by the knowledge that if the present rate continues, this dread disease, cancer, will kill 23 million of us Americans now living, that it will invade 1 out of every 2 of our homes, that it will cause 1 out of every 7 deaths, and will afflict 1 out of every 5 of us. This horrible, vicious and unrelenting killer must be conquered, for cancer is a killer which is no respecter of persons, which strikes down men and women alike, which each year causes the death of more children under the age of 15 than any other disease. It is a killer which creeps into every other one of our American homes, lays hold of its unsuspecting victim, and causes untold suffering as it stretches out its loathesome tentacles and saps the life from body and mind.

Despite these gruesome facts, we launch this crusade as a crusade of hope, one to which victory is assured. As I look around at this assembly of workers, I am reminded that more than 60,000 workers in Pennsylvania alone have united and are uniting with countless other thousands of citizens, in the good old American way, to form a great voluntary organization, the American Cancer Society. With volunteers and members in every State and county throughout the length and breadth of our Nation, this truly Christian and typical American organization is carrying out a program which challenges us and brings hope to every family or individual afflicted with cancer. This program involves a three-pronged attack on this dread disease which has the unenviable distinction of being the second biggest killer.

The first line of defense, and also of assault, in this campaign against cancer is by education. Through leaflets, news articles, bulletins, films, radio, television, posters, and group discussions such as this panel on cancer prepared for and being used by our 756 Grange units in Pennsylvania, a year-round program is being carried out to dispel ignorance and superstition as to the nature and possibility of curing cancer. The seven danger signs must become known to everyone. The absolute necessity of immediate and prompt treatment at the first sign or suspicion of cancer are two phases of our program which should be stressed by every solicitor when you visit each home in your district.

But this educational effort is not confined to the laymen alone. A portion of our contributions is used by the American Cancer Society to keep doctors, dentists, nurses, and all health officials fully and promptly informed as to the most recent advances in the detection, cure, and treatment of cancer. As a specific example, not only are the latest methods in surgery, radium, and X-ray applications given by specialists in clinics and medical schools, but recently through color television operations can be demonstrated by the most renowned cancer surgeons to groups of doctors in all sections of the Nation. So effective are these televised operations that not only do the doctors clearly see the new techniques but can even note the change in color of the blood as the operation is in progress. Through this and other tested procedures, it is hoped that every doctor's office eventually may become a cancer detection center.

The second part of the society's cancer elimination program is research to discover the basic cause of cancer and a widely applicable and easily applied cure for this vicious disease. At the recent national cancer meeting in St. Louis, it was our privilege to hear of and see the various lines of research underway and the results to date. The wide scope and fundamental character of this united research attack on cancer is evident when we tell you that not only medical doctors but chemists, biologists, physicists, nutritionists, X-ray experts, atomic scientists, all are cooperating in this crucial research for which about $5 million of our crusade funds will be allocated. Charts, photographs, and living persons were presented to show the progress being made and to demonstrate cures.

As an example, we were shown X-ray photographs of a man whose pelvic bone had been attacked by cancer. This was followed by pictures of a machine that could generate 2 million volts to produce deep penetrating rays that were focused on the diseased bone. A picture of the patient strapped in the special chair designed to rotate in such a manner as to keep the rays pinpointed on the diseased area was shown. This was followed by a second X-ray photograph showing the healed bone. Then the cured patient, a man now operating his own restaurant in San Francisco, walked onto the stage, living proof that cancer research can result in the cure of cancer.

A second line of research that succeeded in curing cancer was demonstrated by the presence and testimony of a man from Massachusetts. This man had been afflicted with a most painful and widespread cancer of the skin. Deep, penetrating X-rays could not be used since they would injure the underlying tissues. Accordingly, the research workers used a flood of beta rays which could penetrate only a fraction of a millimeter, but was effective in destroying the cancerous tissue without injury to the underlying cells.

But of all the cures demonstrated, the most impressive was that of Ed Ried, of Covington County, Ala. Ed, a fellow farmer and member of another farm organization, was saved from death by the insistence of his wife who had read of the seven danger signs of cancer and persuaded her husband to consult his doctor. Examination revealed cancer that required immediate and severe surgery. During his long recovery in the hospital, Ed determined if his life were spared he would devote time and effort to helping others to learn the facts about cancer and the possibility of cancer being cured when treated in time. True to this resolve, Ed and his wife during the last 10 years have traveled over their county and State crusading against cancer. He erected a neon sign on the courthouse of Covington County which proclaims night and day, "cancer can be cured." Now he is known as Mr. Cancer of Andulusia and has saved thousands, including his own wife by insisting upon prompt treatment at the first sign or suspicion of cancer.

Similar research projects are being conducted right here in Pennsylvania. The University of Pittsburgh, the Pennsylvania State University, the Institute of Cancer Re-

search at Fox Chase, as well as many of our leading hospitals are pressing the battle against cancer through intensive research.

The third major line of attack on the cancer problem is the wonderful service program to help those now suffering from cancer. Detection centers, clinics, free surgical dressings, sickroom supplies and sedatives, home visiting-nurse care, transportation to and from treatment centers, and many other services for the medically indigent are available from American Cancer Society units thorughout the State. After viewing the wonderful cancer parade this afternoon, I know Cambria County has an active unit. However, since I am better acquainted with the work of the local unit in my home county of Indiana, I shall use it to illustrate the working of a local unit. Indiana County has been blessed for many years with a unit of active devoted medical and lay volunteers. Formerly those afflicted were transported to Pittsburgh for treatment. More recently, a detection center has been established in the Indiana Theater Building. Here, doctors from our county medical association give free examinations to any showing evidence or suspicion of this steadily increasing disease. Even more recently through funds contributed by the Cancer Society and other civic organizations equipment has been intalled in our local hospital so that now patients with cancer can receive treatment by the latest improved methods. In addition, hundreds of women in small groups throughout the county prepare cancer dressings and as their hands ply the busy needles, they learn the facts about cancer. Thus, service and education are joined in the program at the local level.

As we stated earlier, this entire program of the American Cancer Society is supported by voluntary contributions, made in the American way, by millions of free Americans who are thankful that they can take part in this wonderful cooperative effort to strike back at man's cruelist enemy, cancer. Once each year—in April, which has been designated as Cancer Control Month by action of the Congress of the United States, by Presidential proclamation, and by a proclamation issued by Gov. John S. Fine of our Commonwealth—the American Cancer Society conducts its combined fund-raising and educational drive. This year, the Pennsylvania division of the American Cancer Society needs $1½ million as its share of the national goal of at least $25 million.

The need for this life-saving program is urgent—it is vital. Six thousand persons in Pennsylvania were cured of cancer through last year's campaign. Twelve thousand Pennsylvanians with cancer can be saved this year if we reach them in time. I am sure each of you desire to have a part in this life-and-death struggle. You can do so by enlisting now in the 1954 Cancer Crusade. But when you enlist as a crusader against this dreaded killer, a killer which last year struck down 17,000 persons in Pennsylvania alone, which kills 620 persons in our Nation every day, a killer which during the hour we have been enjoying this fine dinner has snuffed out the life of 26 persons—enlist more than your dollars. Alert every individual and home you contact to the seven danger signals that indicate the stealthy approach of the assassin, cancer. Explain the program and leave a copy of the life-saving leaflets supplied you. Nothing can take the place of personal solicitation. Remember that even now, despite our limited knowledge of the nature of this dead disease, 1 out of every 3 cases of cancer can be cured if treated in time. As a cancer crusader, keep the red sword, the emblem of our cancer society, ever unsheathed. Like the crusaders of old, be ever on guard. Keep your sword point up. It is a sword of hope. And may God in his mercy be with us and crown this crusade with success.

Small Business Act Needs Improvement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, we are all deeply concerned about the recent decline in economic activity. Industrial giants are so far proving able to ride out the storm, but the position of small-business men deserves our particular attention. Many small-business men are experiencing considerable difficulty, and their decline in profits has not always been offset by repeal of the excess-profits tax, as in the case of many of the very large corporations. According to Dun & Bradstreet, there were in the United States 16 percent more commercial failures in 1953 than in 1952. The increase in failures has been accelerated since the latter half of last year. During the first 10 weeks of this year, business failures—averaging more than 220 per week—have exceeded the 1952 figures for the corresponding period by 43 percent and the 1953 figures by 30 percent.

Earnings of small corporations with less than a million dollars in assets have also declined in 1953 as compared with previous years and were, during fiscal 1953, 80 percent of what they had been during the average for the 3-year period of 1947–49.

Government aid to small business has also been far less than adequate. Military prime contracts in some instances go primarily to large businesses, while small business is more directly affected by even slight drops in the general market. Thus, in aircraft the 100 largest contractors were awarded 68 percent of the contracts during fiscal 1953 as compared with 63 percent during the previous year.

We must bear in mind, however, that even though it is well understood that small and large enterprises grow together, the unhampered growth and development of small business is a necessary condition for a prosperous economy, and it is important that we strive to help small-business men in order to assure to them opportunities for stability and growth.

The friends of small-business men must rally to the support of a strong and independent Small Business Administration. I stress the word independent because it is easy to submerge the activities of an agency set up to protect and promote small business interests by putting it under the direction of large and long-established Government departments. The history of Government efforts to aid small concerns indicates very clearly the advisability of completely independent status for the agency whose function is to promote the interests of the small firm.

Long-term credit for growing small businesses must be improved. The bulk of the legitimate credit needs of small business have been adequately taken care of by the private banking institutions of the Nation. It would be impossible for our high level economy to function if this were not the case. However, in numerous instances, businessmen have been unable to expand their operations to the extent that they desire because of the lack of long-term capital on terms which make it feasible for them to use it.

Experts have indicated that a major factor contributing to the collapse of many small firms has been their inability to obtain long-term credit. For all practical purposes, the organized security markets are closed to them. The initial costs of floating a small stock or bond issue are usually prohibitive. Then too, the localized nature of most small businesses makes it necessary as a rule for such securities to provide a higher return if they are to be sold.

Strengthening the principal Government agency that supplies credit to small enterprises, which banks are unable to do, would be in the interests of a vigorous competitive economy.

The current tight economic condition is fraught with danger to the small-business man, and it is up to the Small Business Administration to aid directly or to help loosen credit terms in order to give small business a chance for survival and an opportunity to flourish.

In order to help small-business men I am introducing a bill amending the Small Business Act of 1953.

Briefly, the amendment provides for the following changes in the Small Business Act of 1953:

First. It would set up a Small Business Administration—due to expire in June 1955—on a permanent basis.

Second. It would raise the limit on a Small Business Administration loan from $150,000 to $500,000 and control the interest rates that are to be charged on Government-guaranteed loans.

Third. It would authorize the agency to make loans to States and municipalities; right now it can mete out financial aid to businesses only.

Fourth. It would abolish the Loan Policy Board which at present establishes the lending policy of the Small Business Administration. The three members of the Board are the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and the Secretaries of Commerce and Treasury. The amendment would make the Small Business Administration a completely independent agency.

The need for action in this area is urgent. The enactment of the proposed amendment will contribute toward economic stability and prosperity.

Irrigation Builds the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANTONIO M. FERNANDEZ
OF NEW MEXICO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, on page 4349 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

of April 5, during general debate on the Interior Department appropriation bill for fiscal year 1955, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN], the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, was asked if he knew of the estimates made of the amount of tax revenues the Federal Treasury received from areas developed by reclamation projects. The information, which was not immediately available during the debate, has been culled from volume I, pages 152–153, of A Water Policy for the American People, the report of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission, dated December 11, 1950, and I am glad to put it in the record for the information of the House.

This Commission was composed of both easterners and westerners, who put the stamp of their approval on the estimates of Federal income tax payments from reclamation project areas made by the Bureau of Reclamation. Further, the Commission emphasized the market for nonwestern products created by reclamation developments. The members of the Commission were Morris L. Cooke, of Pennsylvania, chairman; Gilbert F. White, of Pennsylvania, vice chairman; Paul S. Burgess, of Arizona; Samuel B. Morris, of California; Lewis Webster Jones, of Arkansas; Leland Olds, of New York; and Roland R. Renne, of Montana.

Under leave to extend my remarks, there are inserted excerpts from the Commission's most valuable report, the facts in which are well authenticated. Of course, since 1949, the total figures of Federal income tax revenues paid by the seven selected projects since 1916 have been increased to more than half a billion dollars.

The excerpts are as follows:

IRRIGATION BUILDS THE WEST

Had it not been for the big and little reclamation projects, the West as we know it today would not exist, for impounded water alone makes possible not only agriculture, but the very life of the people in this vast semiarid region. The building of regional and national economies, enhancing social values and improving living conditions for people, is the primary if not the only reason for the investment of public funds in water resources projects.

Careful estimates have been made by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Federal individual income taxes paid from the project areas of seven selected, mature reclamation projects, whose combined construction costs through March 1949 totaled about $168 million. The results are shown in the following table:

TABLE 2.—*Total individual income-tax revenues from 7 Federal reclamation projects*

Project area	1949	Total since 1916
Salt River project area, Arizona	$24, 643, 000	$164, 229, 000
Yuma project area, Arizona-California	2, 500, 000	17, 242, 000
Boise project area, Idaho	9, 465, 000	56, 568, 000
Yakima project area, Washington	19, 257, 000	130, 480, 000
Shoshone project, Wyoming	260, 000	2, 629, 000
Sun River project area, Montana	368, 000	2, 917, 000
Lower Yellowstone project area, Montana, North Dakota	433, 000	3, 887, 000
Total	56, 926, 000	383, 952, 000

Source: Bureau of Reclamation.

As will be seen from table 2, individual Federal income-tax revenues have already amounted to over twice the investment in these projects. These taxes in 1949 amounted to $52 per acre, and total taxes paid since 1916 to over $350 per acre. This does not include corporation, excise, and other Federal taxes collected in these areas.

These tax figures are not presented as a measure of the extent to which Federal investment in irrigation has been repaid. Nor has the Commission overlooked the fact that other types of investment besides irrigation share the responsibility for the contribution of such areas to Federal taxes, and that investment of the same total in some other undertakings might have had the same effect. The figures are relevant here because they indicate the economic importance of irrigated areas in particular States, an importance which could hardly have existed without reclamation of arid lands.

Besides such tax returns, the increase in trade between the reclamation areas and the other parts of the Nation reflect their economic importance. Most of the commodities exported from irrigation-project areas are agricultural products, and the imports are nonwestern, manufactured goods. On the basis of data collected from certain projects, it has been estimated that total shipments from Eastern and Midwestern States to all western Federal reclamation areas in 1948 amounted to about $1.7 billion. The Salt River Valley project area of Arizona shipped out about 25,000 carloads of agricultural products in 1949 valued at $73 million and received over 50,000 carloads valued in excess of $188 million. Most of the commodities shipped in were manufactured goods from eastern and midwestern markets, and consisted of automobiles, trucks, tractors and other farm equipment, refrigerators, sewing machines, dry goods, and furniture.

The Commission recognizes that Federal reclamation projects have had much to do with the development of the West. Extensive and substantial farm and business communities have been built. Populations have been augmented. Important markets have been developed for their agricultural commodities, and reclamation areas have provided markets for many manufactured goods from other sections of the country. These considerations must be a factor in future decisions as to the part which expansion of irrigation should play in river-basin programs.

The Fry Report Is Unfair to Postal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, ever since my election to Congress, I have urged the need for a pay increase for our hard-working postal employees.

The administration has offered the so-called Fry report as a basis for action in this field. I already have told the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service that I consider this proposal utterly inadequate, and commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 18, 1954, and which agrees with my conclusion with respect to the recommendations of the Fry report:

HUMAN TERMS

Usually the pay increases received by postal employees have been stopgap measures that never quite fill the bill.

So Congress is considering wage-increase legislation for post-office employees. To that end the Post Office Department engaged an independent management firm to make a salary study and proposed pay-adjustment plan. This is known as the Fry report and appears to have the indorsement of Postmaster General Summerfield.

But it doesn't have the indorsement of the rank and file of postal employees, according to Clarence Seeliger, legislative chairman of local 28 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

The basic objection to the Fry conclusions seems to be that while they would grant increases up to $5,200 to higher-paid officials, most post-office employees would receive raises of less than $100 a year.

But post-office clerks find their spendable income today is $781 below that of 1939. Three out of four have seen their debts increase.

They cannot strike and they cannot appeal directly to the public they serve. And it's interesting to observe that while in the last 5 years the volume of mail increased 33 percent, the Department had to pay for only 9 percent more work hours. The boys and girls must have pitched in on the load.

We're all for economy, and for the most thorough kind of review of the situation. But locally we're also mindful of the tremendous increase in mail load.

Somehow we have a feeling that Congress ought to consult more than the conclusions of a management-consultant firm. They should have a look at this in human terms—and not so much at higher-paid officials as at the men and women who handle the mail and tote those bags.

Alaskan Potentials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, in the April 7 issue of the Christian Science Monitor there appeared a letter written by Mr. Victor Fischer, executive secretary of the Leagues of Alaskan Cities, of Anchorage, Alaska. I take pleasure in having Mr. Fischer's communication inserted in the RECORD:

ALASKAN POTENTIALS

To the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

An Alaskan, whose letter you recently published, resorts to 1950 United States census data to demonstrate that Alaska is not ready for statehood. Her figures are completely out of date.

Here are some of the statements in that letter with current as well as correct information:

"Total population of Alaska—128,643 (1950)." According to the United States Bureau of the Census, as of July 1952, the total was 182,000; the population now stands well over 200,000.

"Alaska has one city over 10,000 population—Anchorage." Population in 1950 was 11,060. Today Anchorage has 23,500 people.

"The 1950 urban population was 34,262 persons, or 26.6 percent of the total population." Fifty thousand people live in and within 3 miles of the city of Anchorage today. The Fairbanks area boasts about 25,000.

Your letter writer ends with a plea to wait a few years so Alaska can stabilize after its boom.

This is an odd argument. As can be seen from population statistics, thousands have come to Alaska recently. Why should they have to go back to the States before we get statehood? Why should people who desire to make a permanent home in Alaska be forced to leave because we do not have statehood?

For nothing short of statehood will give Alaska the full opportunity to achieve the development foreshadowed by its tremendous potentials and most of its young and vital people. We have seen time and again that when a Territory becomes a State it bursts forth into bloom.

Lacking statehood, we find it difficult to obtain financial backing for our development. We find that the Federal Government, with its faraway bureau headquarters, takes little interest in Alaska and its future.

And we also find that Americans—United States citizens—do not cherish giving up the right to vote for President, to elect the Senators and Representatives who govern them. They do not want to live as second-class citizens with taxation without representation. (Nor do we wish to be third-class citizens—without taxation and without representation—as we would become under commonwealth status.)

VICTOR FISCHER.

ANCHORAGE, ALASKA.

Feeding the Near East Fires

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY W. WIER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article from the American Jewish World of April 2, 1954, entitled "Feeding the Near East Fires."

The article is as follows:

FEEDING THE NEAR EAST FIRES

The entire armistice system between Israel and the Arab States, under the supervision of a U. N. commission, is on the verge of a complete breakdown. The busload of Israeli civilians, massacred by machine guns on a desert road, stands out in its brutality. It is but one of the almost daily attacks to which Israel is exposed.

The crucial problem, however, is more than the establishment of responsibility for such individual acts of violence. The Western Powers and the U. N. must once and for all face the basic cause which precipitates these growing incidents if the Near East is not to explode into a full-scale war in which none but the Communists will gain.

The basic solution to the problem can be found only in the acceptance by the Arabs of the reality of the Israeli State and of mutual cooperation and good will. Israel has time and again offered such good will by repeated requests for a peace conference with the Arab nations, but the Arab States, as the New York Herald Tribune points out, have refused to take "any serious steps that might contribute to peace and stability. Jordan, for example, which has the longest common frontier with Israel, refuses to confer with her neighbor, although U. N. Secretary General Hammarskjold has attempted to convoke such a conference to deal with border problems. Egypt has resisted U. N. attempts to open the Suez Canal to Israeli traffic, although guaranties for the free use of the canal are written into international law. Indeed, Egypt has also blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba, an interference with seaborne commerce that is only tolerable in international law when a state of war exists."

This continued breach on the part of the Arabs of the spirit and the letter of the armistice has been intensified and encouraged by the present policy of the State Department. Under the guise of neutrality, which is but another term for playing ball with the Arab politicians—uncertain as their positions in their own countries may be—the State Department, which rushed to apply economic sanctions against Israel before the U. N. had a chance to consider the Jordan River Dam controversy, becomes exceedingly cautious and patient when charges are brought against any Arab country.

Not only that, but in this highly critical and explosive moment the State Department insists on arming the Arab states, and Iraq—which did more than any other Arab nation to aid the Nazis, to persecute its Jewish inhabitants, and to avoid an armistice accord with Israel—has been selected by Secretary of State Dulles as the first Arab League member to receive free American munitions.

Iraq was the pioneer in armed aggression against Israel. After the combined Arab League assault on Israel was defeated, the Arab aggressors, with the solitary exception of Iraq, signed armistice agreements containing pledges of nonaggression.

Iraqi Prime Minister Fadhil al Jamali is one of the most violent exponents of renewed warfare against Israel. These are his actual official statements: "We have only temporarily lost the first round of the Palestine war. * * * Whoever called for peace with Israel would be guilty of high treason and should be hanged. * * * The destruction of Israel will be achieved only by a strengthening of Arab states."

At this critical period, while an Arab military unit invaded Israel to ambush a bus in the Negev and as Syrian artillery fired on Israel fishermen on Lake Tiberias, United States officials met with military attachés of the Iraqi Embassy to discuss the shipment of additional arms. One has to be blind or extremely prejudiced not to realize that American military aid to Iraq, at this time, apart from its disturbing effects in the region, would be interpreted in the Arab world as American condonation of all the Iraqi policies of anti-Jewish terrorism, of inveterate hostility to Israel, and even of Iraq's expansionist designs on its Arab neighbors.

Under existing conditions, any proposal by our Government to send arms to the Arab states—even though they may be merely token shipments—could serve only to fortify the Arab states in the belief that they may continue their unremitting warfare against Israel without any rebuke or challenge from the western powers.

The Arabs will intensify incidents such as at Scorpion Pass. Israel will retaliate, as it did near Bethlehem. The Near East will be plunged into a new and fatal struggle which will bring irreparable harm to American interests and to the hope of the free world.

Justice to the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in Garden City, N. Y. He is 71 years old. He looks to this Congress to make his remaining years easier, not harder, through the removal of the wage-ceiling provision in the Social Security Act. Is anybody listening?

GARDEN CITY, N. Y., *March 25, 1954.*

Representative HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I write to congratulate and commend you upon the interest you are showing in the welfare of those over 65. Am over 71, and experience how tough it is to make enough to live on. Those over 70 should not be subject to any wage ceiling.

Thanking you for your good work, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM F. SEITZ.

Ideological Aspects of the Macedonian Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing a speech delivered by Dr. Kurt Von Schuscnhnigg, former Chancellor of Austria and now professor at St. Louis University and a constituent of mine, at a banquet given in his honor by the church congregations and the local Macedonian Political Organizations on December 20, 1953, in the Banquet Hall of the King Edward Hotel in Toronto, Canada:

In Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi" you will find the following truism: "War talk by men who have been in a war is always interesting; whereas moon talk by a poet who has not been on the moon is likely to be dull."

This is not going to be a war talk; Macedonia is not the moon, and I am certainly anything but a poet.

But still I am afraid my distinguished audience is in for a rather dull listening experience.

It might, indeed, be quite a daring adventure for a stranger to discuss, in the Christmas atmosphere of Toronto, matters dear to your heart and solidly established in your mind; even more daring is—out of deplorable necessity—it is done not in your own Bulgarian tongue, but in English, Missouri style, and to make things worse, with an Austrian accent.

But after all—and this gives me some comfort—we all have learned a great deal during these last breathtaking decades of our lifetime. Sometimes the most unexpected things happen. Who would have thought that one of the possible ways from the Danube to the Vardar River is a detour which runs along the line Mississippi-Lake Erie-Lake Ontario?

Amazingly enough, this detour did us some good in improving the mutual understanding of our historic problems.

Luckily enough, we eventually found out that they were pretty closely related. And sure enough we are mighty interested in a constructive and peaceful solution. Perhaps you wonder what an old Austrian who takes pride to work and live in the New World might have to say to his Macedonian friends in a similar situation, in discussing the ideological aspects of the Macedonian question.

It could be simply summed up in a well-known Bible quotation:

"Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." (Joel II: 28.)

Of course, you know, vision of the future has to rest on solid factual knowledge of the past; on impassionate and correct appraisal of the present, and on respect for the right order of values; for all practical purposes it must be substantiated by the three magic elements, indispensable for any kind of human achievement; willpower, hard work, and faith.

The Macedonian struggle for basic human rights started more than 60 years ago and reached its first climax with the spectacular insurrection of 1903. Since then, despite Murzsteg and Raval, diplomatic meetings, and carefully concocted formulas, the geographical center of the Balkan peninsula remained the bone of contention, directly as far as the southeastern European states, indirectly as far as their sponsors were concerned.

Eventually with the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) confirmed by the Paris treaties of 1919 and again in 1945, Macedonia was, and has remained since then, partitioned. Partitions never did work in history if they were opposed by a firmly established ideology of national unification.

There is a possibility to divide zones of interest, geographic regions, colonial districts, but not organized, self-conscious national communities, at least not in the long run.

That is what the Polish, the Italian, the Greek examples, and as a matter of fact, the development of southeastern Europe contributed to political experience and wisdom.

Everybody in Canada and America knows what he was told by many Europeans: the trouble over there originated with unrestricted rivalry of too many political nations and ethnic nationalities.

It is but a venerable commonplace to call this the historic burden and the old-age disease of Europe.

Very slowly European nations apparently try to withdraw from their former bellicose plurality and pay at least lip service to some unity on a higher supernational level.

But this process of integration calls peremptorily for acceptable national borderlines, acceptable to those who are supposed to form the member units of a future large-scale European commonwealth.

Are the Macedonians a nation of their own?

This basic question cannot be answered by a dictate nor in the ambiguous language of shifting political expediency. A nation is not exclusively, not even in first line, a community of blood and language. It is far more a historic than a biological entity. It is for this principal reason that Macedonian and Austrian reasoning moves along the same lines in the same general direction.

"To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present, one and the same program to carry out in the future, these are the essential conditions which make up a people; the existence of a nation is a daily plebiscite."

This is the famous definition, coined by the French author, Ernest Renen (x 1892, Paris), which fits exactly the needs of our time and our particular problem.

The people of Macedonia were never given a chance to manifest their national will in a free plebiscite. And yet there is to my knowledge no national evidence expressed in popular vote like that registered by the Macedonian people in an uninterrupted sequence of sometimes noisy reminders, since the days of the Berlin Congress in 1878; if this whole display of national vitality time and again exploded in a frightening outcry of desperate violence, then because the Macedonians alone, among all the other southeastern European people, at first under the Turkish rule, were forgotten by the great powers until World War I, then deprived of their autonomous rights by the successor states after World War I, were again eventually, under some scanty disguise, assimilated within the Yugoslav brand of a people's democracy, after World War II.

The mere existence of these strong Macedonian organizations in the New World, the proud record of your gallant and heroic fighters against all kind of national suppression in the past, the buoyant life of your cultural tradition, this all gives plenty of evidence for the unbroken dynamics of a genuine national spirit. Thus among the ideological aspects of the Macedonian question the hitherto frustrated drive toward international recognition of an aboriginal and autonomous national existence is the strongest component.

It is implemented by an unbroken faith, which is the exact opposite from idolatry as well as from iconoclastic trends; both common features of a modern quasireligious sociopolitical doctrine in its "commiforms" as well as in its autonomous nationalist version. History taught us that the strongest tie that bound the overwhelming majority of Macedonians together had always been their religion; on the other hand that the deliberate destruction of their autonomous church organization, and the ban of their Bulgarian rights, was used as deadly weapons against their national claims and as a means to obliterate the indisputable language of ethnic statistics.

Though Christianity is divided, we all have in common the same basic faith; we believe in the same law of God; we share the same ethical standards, and this is what matters in our case. That is why, irrespective of the language we speak, and the creed we owe our loyalty and allegiance to, we believe in a world of freemen, and abhor any kind of slavery or dictate. This means a world where men, humbly believe in their being created as brethren, not to be classified by some superman and his infallible machine as comrades or outcasts.

Human brotherhood, as defective as it sometimes may be because of our own faults, is always a concept based on rights with corresponding duties. Comradeship is always a privilege and promotion based on efficiency and blind subservience.

A world of freeman presupposes free nations; and here the circle closes. There are no chances to escape the dilemma. In this view the Macedonian question is only one angle in the shady overall picture of present-day divided Europe.

In order to recognize that a down to earth approval of the Macedonian question and a reasonable solution is by no means impossible, it is always helpful to remember the fluctuating efforts made in this direction in more recent times.

In 1947 Yugoslavia and Bulgaria decided in a meeting of their respective heads of the state, the creation of a southern Slavic federal union with united Macedonia as one of the union republics.

Pravda for the first time (January 28, 1948) condemned explicitly the idea of a Balkan union of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as an imperialistic and nationalist deviation from the correct line of Marxism. Consequently one day later (January 29), Georgi Dimitroff, then Bulgarian Prime Minister, publicly complied with the new instructions from Moscow, and on February 2, before the congress of the Bulgarian Patriotic Front (the Communist-controlled party alliance) once more dropped the idea of any Balkan union, though this had been originally a Russian sponsored project which only 1 year before, in 1947, had led to the Dimitroff-Tito agreement of Bled in an occasion of a personal meeting of the two Communist leaders.

The Cominform in a convention at Bucharest, on June 27, 1948, accused and condemned Tito and Yugoslavia of nonconformism. Yugoslavia, in control of the better part of Macedonia territory, broke away from the front of orthodox Stalinist communism and started to go her own way.

The central committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on July 23, 1948, took issue with a Yugoslav project to establish an autonomous Macedonia, they contended, will not materialize unless Yugoslavia remains loyal to the Socialist International.

The deputy-chairman of the Yugoslav Skupshtina, Dimitri Vlahoff, answered in an open letter, September 29, to Georgi Dimitroff: "It was Bulgaria which has violated the agreement of Bled from 1947. In the Bulgarian part of Macedonia, as he stated, there were living 240,000 Macedonians, 6,000 Moslems, and 4,500 Bulgarians. At Bled it was agreed upon to unite Bulgaria and Yugoslav Macedonia in a united Macedonian People's Republic. Instead, the Bulgarian Government established a regime of terror in Macedonia."

The Bulgarian Prime Minister, Georgi Dimitroff, once more referred to the Macedonian question at a Communist Party convention on December 21: "Bulgaria, convinced that Macedonia would become united and a free nation within a Slavonic Balkan federation, was prepared fully to cooperate within such a federation; but the preparatory work was sabotaged by the imperialistic chauvinists of the Yugoslav Communist Party, headed by Tito."

On December 29, 1948, the Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Edward Kardelj, answered in the Belgrad Skupshtina:

"It is not Yugoslavia's fault that the project of a Yugoslav union failed. The obstacles were certain Bulgarian leaders who had drawn their inspiration from resuscitated "greater Bulgarian dreams."

Mora Pijade, member of the Yugoslav Politburo, accused the Greek and Bulgarian Communist Parties March 7, 1949, of abusing the Macedonian question for their petty intrigues at the expense of Yugoslavia. Originally, as early as 1944–45, a federal union between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had been envisaged comprising an idealistic solution of the Macedonian problem. Now Bulgarian is anxious to vilify and undermine such a solution because she wants to obfuscate the fact that the Macedonians in Yugoslavia enjoy the same rights and freedoms as the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

Just which were these rights and freedoms was not elaborated on in these polemics.

The central committee of the Greek Communist Party denounced as preposterous lies all reports and assertions that the Yugoslav Communist Party ever had advocated a federal Balkan union and a Macedonian independence.

The central committee of the Macedonian Communist Party issued a statement which ran:

"The proposition for a united Macedonia within the framework of a Balkan union is the product of imperialism brought forward in order to destroy Yugoslavia and the Macedonian unity within the Yugoslav federation. Therefore, although in favor of the principle of a united Macedonia, the proposition, as it stands, has to be condemned emphatically. The problem involved will once find its adequate solution but only in the due course of a greater war of liberation."

The former Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister and secretary general of the Communist Party, Traichko Kostoff, was brought to trial in Sofia, December 15, 1949, sentenced to death, and executed as an active agent of the British Secret Service, a close cooperator of the spy and traitor, Joseph Broz Tito, an anti-Soviet and imperialistic tool, who had acted for the union of Bulgarian Macedonia with Yugoslavia.

The Bulgarian Prime Minister, Georgi Dimitroff, died in U. S. S. R. in July 1949. His

successor, Vassil Kolarov, died in January 1951.

On April 28, 1950, Tito once more gave the reasons why a federation of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was out of the question.

On May 17, 1950, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, E. Kardlej, discussed the Greek-Yugoslav relations, thus far normalized, but the question of minority rights of the Macedonians in Greece are still to be settled in a satisfactory manner.

There are a few sidelights which offer an eloquent illustration of the recent treatment of the Macedonian question on the part of their present political lords and immediately interested neighbors. The conclusions are easily to be drawn:

1. A united Macedonia within a Balkan union is a basically sound and feasible concept.

2. The partition of 1913, peace of Bucharest, virtually upheld in 1919 and 1945, did not offer a final answer to the age-old unsettled problem.

3. A realistic approach will consider any future settlement as a matter which, for all practical purpose, concerns primarily Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, with Greece participating in some amicable frontier rectifications. This involves that the meanwhile altered ethnic character of certain districts, due to forced population exchanges, should be recognized as definitive in order to facilitate a fair settlement and to avoid further entanglements if even at the price of certain sacrifices.

4. There shall be no definite settlements as long as communism rules in this part of the old Continent, because: The kaleidoscopic survey may serve as an eloquent illustration of the very subordinate part if the Macedonian question is assigned in the overall concept of present southeastern European politics. We might easily draw several practical conclusions:

(a) A united and independent Macedonia as an equal member state of a Balkan federation is basically sound and a feasible goal.

(b) The immediately interested neighbors of Macedonia obviously, at least in principle, have acknowledged that the partition of 1913, which was upheld in 1919 and 1945, did not offer a final satisfactory answer.

(c) Any solution requires time and is certainly not yet around the corner, just as little as the other questions concerning the fate of the whole central, eastern, and southeastern Europe are expected to find a solution in the near future. But such a statement includes the firm conviction that the present map of Europe is a provisional one, subject to change in one course of peaceful evolution.

(d) The Macedonian problem calls for a genuine federal solution which contradicts any Communist regime. Notwithstanding their formal federal constitution, communism is based on centralization, group dictatorship, and uniformity.

Cold Facts on an Icebound Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I should like to include an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer, Sunday, March 28, 1954.

The photograph referred to and captioned "The St. Lawrence Iceway," was taken in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River, January 1954, and graphically depicts the icebound condition of the river for about 5 months of every year. I wish it were possible to have this photograph reproduced for the benefit of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

COLD FACTS ON AN ICEBOUND SEAWAY

Do you see what we see in the space to the right of this editorial? It is not the moon. It is the St. Lawrence seaway.

The photograph was taken in January of this year, in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River. With a final vote coming shortly in the House of Representatives on the seaway project, it is a good time to publish this picture and a good time for Congressmen to study it—before they vote.

The vast crust of ice shown here makes one think of the glacial period of American history. As far as one can see there is ice, and more ice. What is more, the "St. Lawrence iceway" is frozen over 5 months out of every year. Even supporters of the seaway project don't deny that. They can't.

This is a good picture to study in the light of the extravagant claims made for the St. Lawrence seaway. For example, we are told it is essential for national defense. This photo suggests that for 5 months out of 12, anyway, the seaway would be an obstacle and not an asset to national defense.

Ships simply could not get through. Meantime, if port facilities elsewhere, other marine terminals, were harmed through loss of summer business to the seaway—they, in turn, would be that much less equipped and able to take over the whole defense job in winter.

Of course, if we could persuade the enemy to send a fleet up the St. Lawrence just before freezing time—then we'd have him trapped. He'd be frozen in for 5 months.

Alas, an enemy might not be so obliging. Instead, he might decide to attack just when the seaway was frozen over and was as useless as the St. Lawrence is shown to be in this photograph.

We are also told that the seaway would provide an efficient and inexpensive route for bringing Labrador ore to middle-western steel mills. If a route frozen over nearly half a year is an efficient route, would the seaway backers call a railroad efficient if its roadbed were out of commission 5 months out of 12?

We are told, further, that the seaway would be self-liquidating. If this means that, after 5 months, nature will take care of defrosting the project and melting the ice—that's true. But if it is meant to suggest that the seaway would pay for itself, all the signs point to the contrary.

True, this first seaway bill calls for only $150 million. But that's to get Uncle Sam hooked to the project. Even that would not complete a 27-foot channel, and it is no secret that less than 4 percent of United States-flag ships now afloat could use a 27-foot channel.

This means that as soon as Uncle Sam was committed to the seaway the ball would be started rolling to finish it. And the lowest estimates for a 35-foot channel run past the $2 billion mark—and nobody even pretends that the seaway would be self-liquidating on that basis.

Instead, the seaway would then be shown up for what it is—a costly boondoggle. We are glad that Senators MARTIN and DUFF are still fighting this waste of taxpayers' funds.

Some will say: What happens if we do not go in on the seaway project? The answer is that Canada has said she will go it alone. If that is what she wants to do, well and good. Some will say, then, that she will charge tolls. Suppose she does. If United States ships pay them, the cost will be put where it belongs, and not on the back of the American taxpayer.

So we suggest taking yet another look at this picture. Ask yourselves—and we address this especially to Members of Congress before they vote—whether at a time of economy, and when a mere $8,400,000 has not yet been found to keep the Delaware River dredged—this country should saddle itself with a New Deal boondoggle which even the New Deal could not put over.

Don't Carve Up Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, a prominent Alaskan has spoken up vigorously against the proposal made recently by Governor Heintzleman, of Alaska, that only part of Alaska be granted statehood. This protest is but one of countless numbers from Alaskans who are overwhelmingly opposed to a plan which would deprive the State of Alaska of many areas rich in natural resources and would deny the enjoyment of full citizenship to so many deserving residents. Under leave to extend my remarks I should like to quote here a recent news release containing the views of Dr. Ernest N. Patty, president of the University of Alaska at College, a short distance from Fairbanks. Fairbanks and College are within the boundaries of the State as proposed, but Dr. Patty recognizes, as does the vast majority of Alaskans, that the division suggested would be extremely harmful. The press release regarding Dr. Patty's views follows:

"Don't carve up Alaska as a compromise on statehood," Dr. Ernest N. Patty, president of the University of Alaska, urged today.

He added that these remote areas, such as the Alaska Peninsula and the drainage areas north and south of the Brooks Range in the Arctic, are our great potential areas for petroleum.

The former dean of the University of Alaska School of Mines and noted mining engineer said there is good reason to expect the marine sediments which underlie these areas contain commercial oil sands, and, if this is true, they would enrich the proposed new State of Alaska. In the meantime they are sparsely settled and their administration by the State would not be expensive.

President Patty said Senator BUTLER and his committee have written a practical and workable statehood bill. The Senate has just passed this bill by a substantial majority, and if the House Members are as well informed there is no reason why they should not follow the Senate on this vital question.

The mining authority added that "the Senate bill is generous to the proposed new State and sets up proper safeguards. I have carefully studied the Senate bill and heartily endorse it. I am confident most Alaskans feel the same way."

March 16 the University of Alaska board of regents backed early statehood for Alaska and so informed the Congress and President of the United States.

The End of a Praiseworthy Judicial Career

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. HART
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. HART. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article which recently appeared in the Hudson Dispatch, published in Union City, N. J., which relates to Hon. August Ziegener, whose eminent career as a judge in the State of New Jersey recently came to a close.

Judge Ziegener was appointed district court judge by former Governor Larson. Later, in 1944, he was made a common please judge by former Governor Edge. After a new constitution took effect in New Jersey and the name of this tribunal was changed to "county court," Judge Ziegener was reappointed by former Governor Driscoll on April 1, 1949.

He occupied other public offices not of a judicial nature during his long career.

Whether as judge or other public official or as a member of the bar in Hudson County, Judge Ziegener has always been highly respected and beloved not only by those with whom he was associated politically, but almost universally by those who were opposed to him as a member of the opposite party. He has been a president of the Hudson County Bar Association, as is related in the attached article. The regard and affection for Judge Ziegener has increased with the passing of the years and the lawyers who have appered before him—and they are legion—all regret that solely because of the years to which he has attained, he was not reappointed to the high judicial office which he has adorned by his integrity, his learning and his humaneness.

The article follows:

Some years ago an editorial appeared in these pages. It began, "There is no member of the country bench more respected than Judge August Ziegener."

The subject of that tribute will be stepping down from his post as county court judge today. A common pleas judge since 1944 and county court judge since 1949, Judge Ziegener will be leaving the bench but not the practice of law.

LAWYER 50 YEARS

"Augue" Ziegener has been a lawyer for more that half a century. It has been a career filled with interesting cases and varied appointments. But, like so many men who come to the end of one phase of their career, the 73-year-old jurist seemed reluctant to speak about things of the past when interviewed in his chambers yesterday.

"It isn't that I want to restrict you," he explained to an interviewer. "It's just that I can't go into those things at this time. There are so many things that happened over those years they defy recall."

White-haired now but still steady-eyed and active, August Ziegener began his law career with his admittance to the State bar in June of 1901. He did not have to settle in Jersey City, his present home, since he had moved there at an early age from his birthplace in Hoboken.

In 1928 his appointment to county and State organizations began when he was named chief deputy of bureau of elections. Many years earlier he had served as a member of Jersey City Board of Health having been appointed to that post by Mayor Mark Fagan.

FIRST NAMED D. LARSON

On March 1 of the following year he was appointed district court judge by former Governor Morgan Larson. He served in that capacity until March 1, 1934, when he was succeeded by Jersey City Commissioner Frank H. Eggers.

Later in the same year he was appointed deputy superintendent of elections under John Ferguson, a post he held until July 1940, when he was appointed counsel to the commissioner of registration.

Two years later he was named a member of Hudson County Board of Taxation by former Gov. Charles Edison and served as president of that body.

In 1944, Ziegener was made a common pleas judge by Gov. Walter E. Edge. The name of this office was later changed to county court judge and Ziegener was awarded reappointment by Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll on April 1, 1949.

Leaning back in the leather chair installed in his chambers at the courthouse, Ziegener tried to recall incidents from his career as trial judge and defense attorney.

"So many things, so many things," he mused. "Why I defended more than 40 persons accused of murder. Isn't that right, John?" he asked John Barry, a court room sergeant at arms, for corroboration.

LIFELONG REPUBLICAN

"Then there were the political fights I've engaged in as a lifelong Republican," he continued. "The one that stands out in my memory is that State Republican committee fight in 1938."

Ziegener explained that he and Mrs. Jennie C. Smith, of North Bergen, created a schism in the party by seeking to offset the party leadership of Charles F. Stoebling, then superintendent of elections.

On the face of the returns, Stoebling and Mrs. Daisy Douglas were elected to the State committee by margins of close to 1,000 votes each. A recount, however, cut these margins to little more than 100 votes each and Ziegener and Mrs. Smith went to the circuit court. Later Judge Thomas Brown nullified the election.

"Oh, I've been in lots of fights," he added. "I was a candidate for city commissioner in 1921. I was on a fusion ticket with Walter Gorman, John Cahill, Arthur O'Toole and—let's see—oh yes, George Vickers. They've all since passed away.

HEADED HUDSON BAR UNIT

Ziegener has also kept active in civic and social organizations throughout the county as the picture-filled walls of his chambers attest. In 1937, he was president of Hudson County Bar Association. That organization played host to him on the occasion of his 50th year at the bar in 1951.

He is also a member of Eagle Lodge, F. & A. M., a former president of Hudson County Past Masters' Association, and a lifelong member of Scottish Rite, Valley of Jersey. He was coroneted as a 33d degree Mason in Chicago last year.

He is particularly happy of the fact that he is the only honorary life member of Jersey City Lodge of Elks and that he drew up the articles of incorporation of Hudson County Press Club in 1927.

He also mentions with pride the plaque honoring members of the bar who served in World War II which hangs in the rotunda of the courthouse. He was chairman of the committee which arranged for its installation.

Ziegener makes his home with his wife, the former Anna Brostelman, at 59 Reservoir Avenue. They have one child, a daughter, Miss Geraldine Ziegener, who is a nonpracticing attorney employed by National City Bank of New York. A son, August, Jr., is deceased.

The judge was asked if he would pursue the same career again if he had the chance and whether he would recommend it to the young men of this generation. It was a question he anawered without hesitation.

"The law is a wonderful profession," he said. "I would recommend it without hesitation. And if I had to do it over again this is the job I would choose."

Judge Ziegener declared that as a lawyer and judge he has always followed the principles carved on the facade of Hudson Courthouse, which reads "Justice seeks no praise and fears no blame," and "To delay Justice is to deny Justice."

The retiring jurist stated that he will continue to abide by these princip'es during the remainder of his career in law and throughout the rest of his life.

The Constitution—Dignity of Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I want to publicly congratulate a young man from my district, Bill Holton, 1841 Spring Avenue, Granite City, Ill., who has earned a 1-year scholarship to the University of Illinois as the reward for winning third place in the annual oration contest conducted by the American Legion in Illinois.

This contest is supervised by the Americanism commission of the Legion. Contestants must speak on the Constitution, or on a subject which has a bearing upon this great document. This year's contest was conducted at the Freeport High School on March 19. More than 25,000 students competed. Each contestant spoke from 10 to 12 minutes from his prepared remarks, and then from 4 to 6 minutes extemporaneously. The contestants were not informed of the extemporaneous feature until just 6 minutes before they were scheduled to speak.

I include Bill Holton's splendid speech, which shows a most mature approach to the real meaning of our way of life, as a part of my remarks:

THE CONSTITUTION—THE DIGNITY OF MAN

(By Bill Holton)

Near one of our most modern villages there stood a house. There was something about the house that made it antique and reminiscent of a bygone era. Its dark roof and its gray drab shingles gave a look that bordered on the sinister and it filled everyone with an irrepressible feeling of gloom and dismay. There was nothing radiant or beautiful about its black ebony shutters, nor could anything be said for the gray wood on the pillars that upheld its porch. Several of the citizens of that community wished to destroy this eyesore because it was a disgrace to the community. But there were others who wished to keep the house; for although antique to them, it represented a symbol. It was a symbol of all their dreams and desires. Thus one day several citizens decided to destroy the house, and so it was torn down. But those who wished to keep the house set about with hammer and nails and rebuilt the house piece by piece. Once again it radiated its irrepressible gloom.

Just as some of those citizens refused to remove the ugly blot from their community, so some of the citizens of our great country are hoping and praying that the Justices of our Supreme Court will find that segregation in the public schools of America is constitutional. This issue revolved around the fourteenth amendment to our Constitution and is to be decided before the Supreme Court. The Court's final decision will affect 20 States and the District of Columbia where segregation is now practiced.

Prejudice is not new to our Nation. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 had its own form of prejudice. That is, our founding fathers greatly mistrusted the common man. Now true, there were such men as the Washingtons, the Franklins, and the Madisons who had great confidence in the common man. But there were also the Roger Shermans who said that "The people should have as little to do as may be about the Government," and the John Jays who stated that "Those who own the country ought to govern it." They were all for Republican form of government and of necessity adopted the doctrine of popular sovereignty. But they had no great confidence in the political capacity of the common man, and they feared that the tyranny of the majority might be as oppressors as in the rule of kings.

Thus in constructing our Federal Constitution our Founding Fathers were imminently successful in finding many ingenious devices for moderating and delaying the will of the people. For example, the Senators of the United States Congress were not to be elected by the people, but rather by State legislatures. The Members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen by the qualified voters in the States. Since the State legislatures set the voting standards and the legislatures were controlled by the aristocrats, they loaded the dice in favor of the aristocracy. Similarly, the President was not to be chosen by the people, but by a "college of electors" which in turn were to be chosen by State legislatures.

Only with the passing of time did the idea of popular sovereignty come into its own. Only in time did the barriers which our Founding Fathers constructed crumble with the passing of such measures as the 17th and 19th amendments providing for popular election of Senators and woman suffrage. All these measures were brought about by the passing of time, and this fact should be kept in mind. Yes, my friends, our Founding Fathers were human. In the Constitutional Convention there was much debate from May to September 1787. There was diverse opinions. The situation was a healthy one, and the opinions of all were reflected in the final document of our Constitution. As the years went by that document took on new meaning and gave a greater dignity to man. Now once again our Constitution is to be interpreted and its interpretation will give a greater dignity to man.

The issue of segregation is a crucial one. Statistics, the fact and figures, seem to prove that segregation has failed to provide the Negro with an adequate education. The United States Bureau of Census tells that only 1 out of every 2 Negroes will go as far as the fifth grade. Only 1 out of every 8 will reach the eighth grade, and only 1 Negro child out of every 10 will graduate from high school. South Carolina, a typical southern State, spends $154 yearly, educating each white child, but only $79 are spent on each Negro. Thus, we see that by a set of facts and figures we can condemn segregation.

But prejudice is not based on fact; rather, it is based on personal belief motivated by the forces of greed and self-gain. It is ugly, foul, and hate-breeding. It ignores the facts in the light of personal beliefs, and you cannot destroy prejudice by a mere set of facts and figures. Thus, when we try to break down the barrier of segregation, we run into statements such as that of Georgia's Gov. Herman Talmadge who warned of strife and bloodshed, if race mixing were forced in the South. South Carolina's Gov. James Byrnes has declared, "Should the Supreme Court decide against our case, we will face a serious problem. Of only one thing can we be certain. South Carolina will not now or for years to come mix white and colored children in its schools."

Thus we see that we can tear down the barrier of segregation, just as those citizens tore down the house, but we cannot destroy the hate or the prejudice that accompanies it. For those who favor segregation, like those who rebuilt the house, will rebuild the barrier of segregation. For example, the Governors of four States have threatened to close the public schooling system if the Supreme Court rules against them. Gerrymandering of school districts is also talked of. Thus we see that the barriers of segregation can be rebuilt.

How, then, can we destroy this prejudice? We must leave this prejudice to be destroyed as only prejudice can be destroyed, by the passing of time. For as only in time did mistrust for the common man disappear, so time will destroy the prejudice against the Negro. Only in time can the forces of enlightenment and education eat away the barrier of prejudice.

In the meantime, the Negro in waging a brilliant court battle is beginning to get some results. South Carolina has authorized a $176 million outlay for the building of new schools. Negroes will get two-thirds of this. Mississippi is spending $100 million to bring the Negro schooling system up to par. Virginia has launched a 4-year program totaling $756 million. Georgia began in 1951 a bond-issuing campaign totaling $140 million. North Carolina has voted $50 million to supplement local school construction funds, and is considering another $50 million. At last southerners are waking up to the fact that the Negro needs adequate education.

Therefore, when the Supreme Court reaches a final decision it will indeed be a momentous one. If segregation is abolished, we might see the fiery cross burn again and the white camellia would bloom afresh. To tell those who favor segregation that it should be abolished would be comparable to telling our Founding Fathers that the backwoods men in coonskin caps were capable of running our Government. No; we must leave it to time to eat away the barrier of prejudice. Only then can the 14th amendment take on its full meaning. Only then can America be called a land of equal opportunity for all.

The citizens of that nearby community let the house stand. Within a matter of years it fell. The forces of nature, the wind and rain, had shorn away its shingled body, and the armies of termites had eaten away its wooden heart. Just as those citizens let the house stand, so we must expose this prejudice to the forces of time, and bit by bit it will be eaten away. Then our Constitution will take on a new and greater meaning, and in a deeper sense shall promote the dignity of man.

The Decision for a Lifetime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD A. PATTEN
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the article entitled "The Decision for a Lifetime," prepared by Barbara Votaw, of Tucson, Ariz., for the American Legion national oratorical contest. Upon presentation, it was so well received that I felt it should be made available to others to read.

The article follows:

THE DECISION FOR A LIFETIME

Today I would like to tell you a story of men—two groups of men in fact. One group numbers a happy, determined, proud 21,774. The other group, a pitiful, destitute, lonely 21. Remember these figures, because they represent more vividly than the voices of thousands of speakers, the basic differences between communism and democracy.

The first group were the men who served in the armies of North Korea and Red China. During these years they lived under the Communist regime. They had been indoctrinated to the evils of democracy, the cruelty of the Wall Street warmongers, and general coming collapse of democracy. For years they had been trained and equipped and prepared for the coming clash between the two philosophies. And yet, when the opportunity came to these men, even after the most brief contact with our way of life, even with the din of Communist propaganda ringing in their ears, even with the threats of reprisals, of torture, or of death, these 21,000 men chose to cast off their yoke of slavery and to stand erect as freemen. This is the story then of those 21,000 men who only 50 days ago vigorously denounced their former way of life and eagerly accepted our democratic system.

But what of the other group, this pitiful band of twenty-one? They too chose a new way of life, for they were 21 American soldiers who rejected the Government of the United States and joined hands with the Communist forces. These were the men who renounced the country in which they were born, the land in which they were raised.

The consequences of their decision bore bitter fruit on January 28 of this year. On that day these 21 men left our free world to make their way into an entirely different way of life, screened from us forever by its curtain of prison-like iron.

If by some miracle we could talk to these men, as they exist behind this barrier, what would we say?

I, for one, would choose to remind them of those things which they have lost. I would request each man to compare carefully the life he led in America with his existence now, under communism. I would say, "Are you still able to go to a public hall on a Friday afternoon, lean back in your seat, and listen to a discussion of national and current affairs? On election days, is your ballot influenced by a threat of bullets? Do you ever enjoy a quiet evening by a warm hearth reading any book you choose, or do you only spend your nights reading the Communist manifesto in the shadows of the Kremlin? Remember the spread of publications on the newsstand, stacks of magazines, newspapers, and comics? How many newspapers can you read besides Pravda? Do you still go to church on Sunday mornings and have the opportunity to worship any god you please? Have you thought of the the future a child born to you would face?

"America, though, is more than a Nation with free religion, press, and speech. Think of all the other things you have given up. Instead of holding a hot dog in your hands and watching the Dodgers try again in the Series, what will you be doing? Has Malenkov's picture replaced that of Marilyn Monroe? Can you top off a hamburger snack with some apple pie at a drive-in?

"Yes, I would say that you have turned your back on the entire way of life of a freeman. Are you certain now that the decision you made 50 days ago was the right one?"

And then I would have nothing more to say to them. I, myself, am thankful to be here today and to be able to enjoy the rights and freedoms our Government assures us as American citizens.

It's pretty easy to get up in front of a group like this and discuss the rights and freedoms we Americans can enjoy. It's pretty easy to get up and say, "I have a right to speak my mind, I have a right to assemble, I have a right, I have a right." We have heard hundreds of these speeches, all of them good, all of them sincere. However, while we have heard many speeches on the right of free speech, how many have we heard on the responsibility of free speech? Although we have heard many speeches on the right to assemble, how many speeches have we heard on the responsibility to assemble?

Yes, the cold, hard, cruel fact is that too many of us are concerned with our rights as American citizens, but find distasteful any discussion of our duties as American citizens. So my plea today is for us to accept the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy. That responsibilities are not light, they are not easy. But if we shirk them, if we turn our back and let the other fellow carry our load, as sure as day follows night, our rights and our freedoms will disappear and democracy will succumb either to internal forces or external aggression.

What then can be done to avoid this threat? First should be our determination to be well informed and participating citizens. What will this require? It will require us to be as educated as possible. We must study our history and our Constitution. We must keep abreast of current problems facing our world, our Nation, and our community. We must learn to distinguish propaganda from fact and be ready constantly to detect the big lie of men such as Adolf Hitler. And finally, as enlightened and participating citizens, we must of necessity, assume our share of the responsibility of choosing our officials. In my community, 6 weeks ago, in the primary election for councilmen, a magnificent 7 percent of the registered voters came to the polls. If ever we Americans would realize that voting is a responsibility, as well as a privilege, on that day, the threat of government by pressure, corruption, or collusion will disappear.

However, as Americans, we have not only ourselves to consider. You may now have a family. I am now a part of a family. Our younger brother or sister, a nephew, or a granddaughter, or a child of your own, how are they to learn of being a citizen? The family itself is the institution that teaches a child security and responsibility. If this is not learned the young person may never find the enjoyment of knowing that he or she is a part of a people working together.

From a child's birth it is a citizen of this country. These new-born babies must grow up knowing a loyalty to their country. They must be given an education which develops their mnds to their fullest capacity. They must learn to keep their minds open and to be honest with themselves. This is our responsibility. Thus we can assure a new, but secure generation of good citizens for our country.

By now it should be obvious that being a citizen in a democracy is not an easy job. But it is the most important job each of us will ever have. Democracy is a kind of a wheel. And each of us are spokes in that wheel. The failure of any one of us to shoulder his share in keeping this wheel moving weakens the efforts of all Americans and democracy itself. How much easier it is to live as those 21 men will live—men who under communism will be told what to read, told what to listen to, told what to think. As for me, I chose to shoulder my share in democracy and rather than turn my back on the country of my birth, I pledge, and I ask you join with me in pledging, that this Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from this earth.

Break Milk Market Monopolies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Wisconsin Agriculturalist and Farmer magazine:

BREAK MILK MARKET MONOPOLIES

THE PROBLEM

Wisconsin milk was very popular during, and for some years after, World War II. "We want milk," was the cry of cities in the East and South.

So the milk transports roared through the night, carrying the precious milk cargo to distant points. Everybody was happy. They needed the milk and Wisconsin plants made good money selling to them.

And those prices were good. In fact, those class I prices are still mighty high. But Wisconsin gets a pretty small slice of the business.

The reason is that local health ordinances act to keep milk out from the Midwest. And Federal orders have the same effect.

Take the health ordinances. One city says that no milk may be sold except from farms inspected by local milk inspectors. And the inspectors are prohibited from working more than 40 miles from city hall.

Local health ordinances are used in dozens of ways to keep out milk from Midwest areas. Monopoly is the result.

What about marketing agreements? They have kept class I fluid prices too high. The result has been to increase milk output in city milkshed areas.

Last year there were 49 Federal market agreements in force. And 44 percent of the milk coming into these markets was surplus. Excess that could not be sold as fluid milk.

That's the problem: milksheds building up huge surpluses because of monopoly prices; distant producers forced out of those same markets.

THE SOLUTION

The Andresen bill will clean up the sorry milk-marketing mess. It strikes at the root of the problem.

The United States Public Health Service would set up uniform sanitation standards. These would take the place of the hodgepodge of local milk regulations. Notice section (b) below.

Section (c) of bill 8368 has the teeth. It would wipe out all Federal market orders where local restrictions prevent the free movement of approved milk.

The bill is short, simple and would be brutally effective in wiping out milk monopolies in the eastern and southern cities where they now exist.

TIME TO FIGHT

Bill 8368 will have a tough time. Dairymen in the East and South will fight it tooth and nail. So will many cities where a small clique wants to stay in control of things.

Every last farmer in the Midwest should back the bill. He must demand a fair break in selling his products. There should be no trade barriers in the United States.

There may be internal warfare between dairy groups. We had hoped to avoid that. But the Midwest may need to appeal to city consumers for help.

In the long run the passage of bill 8368 may be much more important than the present fight over lower or higher Government supports for milk.

Self help starts with free markets.

The Statehood Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I offer for the RECORD an editorial from the April 5, 1954, issue of the Los Angeles Daily News in support of immediate statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. The editorial follows:

STATEHOOD FAR FROM REALITY

Only the most vigorous kind of action by President Eisenhower can force the House to follow the Senate in approving statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and thus assure passage of the legislation in this session of Congress. It would be a great pity if the President permitted party politics to stand between him and political justice.

The President's original recommendation was for Hawaiian statehood only, but a group of Democrats in the Senate put up a courageous and successful fight against politics in both parties to win approval for Alaskan statehood, too.

Republican leaders in the House are opposed to Alaskan statehood on the presumption that its elected Federal Representatives will be Democrats, whereas Hawaii will elect Republicans.

This is shabby politics indeed, especially since it overlooks the real political fact that the Republicans would still be the only immediate political beneficiaries if statehood were granted to both Territories.

This arises from the fact that Hawaii, which adopted a constitution in 1950 in anticipation of statehood, would be able to elect its 2 Senators and 2 Representatives this fall for service in the next Congress.

Since a constitution already has been adopted, congressional approval—prerequisite for full statehood—could quickly be granted, assuring a Republican advantage if it is assumed Hawaii will send Republicans to Congress.

The Democrats in the Senate were entirely selfless in seeking Alaskan statehood, since Alaska has not yet drafted a constitution. To do this Alaska must elect delegates to a constitutional convention, draft the document, ratify it by referendum, and submit it to Congress.

With this as a prerequisite for full statehood, Alaska could not send a delegation to Congress before 1956—and then at the earliest—even though the Congress were to approve statehood legislation at this time.

In view of this, the House should join the Senate in conferring upon the Territories the approval of statehood, for the gain to democracy and the strengthening of our security should be the only considerations, not the petty political speculation over how the peo-

ple of Hawaii and Alaska will vote once they become our fellow and equal citizens.

We hope that President Eisenhower will have the vision to see that it would be one of the most notable achievements of his administration if two more proud stars were added to the American flag which has been so long and so faithfully served by the people of both Territories.

Defense Department Catalog Program Lags

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRIS ELLSWORTH
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include herewith a letter, addressed to the Honorable Roger M. Kyes, Deputy Secretary of Defense, written by Paul L. Monahan, concerning the cataloging program of the Department of Defense. During the early years of my service in Congress I was a member of the House Naval Affairs Committee and at that time became somewhat familiar with the cataloging problem. Ever since leaving that committee I have had an active interest and have followed carefully developments in hearings and legislation. I would observe that few important problems of Government have been the subject of so much attention and so much expenditure with such a minimum of achievement.

During the previous administration this program became mired down because of indecision, lack of authority and inadequate planning, repeated conferences, discussions and hearings at which Members of Congress were assured that real progress was being made. The Military Establishment has been long on its assurances and short on accomplishments in connection with the cataloging program.

There is no indication that the cataloging program has been gotten out of its rut. This is an unfortunate fact in connection with a problem which properly solved would result in savings running into several billion dollars annually and at the same time produce substantial efficiencies and enhance the effectiveness of our armed services.

The following letter points up some of the glaring deficiencies as of this date. The Congress by legislation laid down a specific program to be executed by the Defense Department. The explicit terms and directives of this law in several instances are being distorted or utterly ignored.

The time has arrived when those in the position of responsibility for this program discontinue taking these reassurances of those under them in the working level and dig deeply into the administrative operation and produce some results.

The letter follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 26, 1954.*
Hon. ROGER M. KYES,
Deputy Secretary of Defense,
The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. KYES: On January 9 I addressed a letter to you in connection with the operation of the programs under the Cataloging and Standardization Act of 1952. On February 4 a reply was made by Assistant Secretary C. S. Thomas who suggested that I read the transcript of the hearings held recently by Congressman R. WALTER RIEHLMAN, inferring that I would find that satisfactory progress is being made.

Again I am calling your attention to this matter because it is obvious from reading the transcript mentioned above that the provisions of Public Law 436, the Cataloging and Standardization Act, are being ignored and, by his own testimony, it is apparent that Mr. Thomas does not understand what is taking place.

According to the recent astonishing testimony of those responsible for the cataloging program, only 120,000 items have been identified with approved descriptions and another lot of 410,000 items have been identiged in what is called Operation Desperate, the Cross Reference Project; 710,000 other item descriptions on hand are to be either revised or canceled. In 1951 at a previous hearing before the Holifield subcommittee, Adm. Morton L. Ring testified that: "As of May 18, 1951, 1,286,369 item identifications had been submitted to the Munitions Board Cataloging Agency * * *." In February 1952 Admiral Ring, in testimony before the Hébert subcommittee, stated that: "By June 1952, or 6 months earlier, we will have identified 2½ million items." Now, according to Mr. Thomas and his assistants, it is estimated that about 2 million items will be identified by 1956, and that it will be 1960 before these new numbers are used on all Defense Department supplies. Since the standardization of supplies is not being accomplished at the same time as cataloging (although it could be), many of the item descriptions and numbers will necessarily have to be changed at a later date when an effective standardization program is developed.

It appears from the above that certainly no progress has been made. It is difficult to understand the complacency of those responsible, especially in view of the fact that the operation was transferred to the Defense Department over 7 years ago and that up to 1952 it had cost the military departments more than $100 million. This, it will be remembered, is the program which is supposed to save from four to five billion dollars annually.

In spite of the concurrences of the experts from industry who were brought in to study these programs, it is quite evident that something is basically wrong with both the methods employed as well as the administration of the programs. In the first place, it appears as though operations are conducted in a manner that will please each of the nearly independent bureaus and services. This is especially true in the defunct standardization program and is also very evident in the plans for conversion in the cataloging program. It is further evidenced by the compilation of duplicating spare-parts catalogs for the same end items by the various agencies.

Evidently the Congress is not aware of the fact that Public Law 436 is being ignored in two important respects which nullify this mandate. In the first place, the law, in section 4a, requires the compilation of catalogs and not 5-by-8-inch cards for each item. Congress, in this section of the bill, recognized that only catalogs would bring similar items together in a single listing which would point out where standardization could be accomplished and that only catalogs would prevent each bureau and service from having items varied just enough from each other to prevent consolidated purchasing and cross servicing which insures the continuation of the 14 separate supply systems within the Military Establishment. Secondly, this same section of the law sets up a standard for a minimum item description which means what it says. Some people in the Pentagon tried to get this section of the bill changed while it was under consideration by the Congress and both the House and Senate refused to alter it. Since then the catalog people have succeeded in obtaining an incorrect interpretation that performance data was ridiculous and should not be required. They cited a can of peas and a hammer as examples of items for which performance data would be absurd and knowingly hid the obvious fact from a subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services that the item name frequently conveys in itself "performance data" making it unnecessary where it does for any additional information of this particular nature. It was intended that performance data would describe, where necessary, ratings such as speed, power, capacity, etc., where such performance data marks the difference between otherwise similar items.

Throughout the testimony great stress is given by each of those testifying before Mr. Riehlman's committee to the necessity for distributing each item description on a separate 5-by-8-inch card instead of in catalogs. Those testifying state that in catalog form a given service would have spread before it items in which they had no interest. This would be true only if those compiling the catalogs developed them that way. There is no reason, for instance, for a single catalog containing all military uniforms; separate ones could very easily be prepared for the outer clothing of each service. On the other hand, a single document covering all underclothing, which should contain many common items, could be utilized to considerable advantage.

A final argument in favor of single-catalog documents, as required by law, is unwittingly contained in Colonel DeLucas' testimony in which he says: "The way this world is going and the way weapons are coming out, we find that the employment of weapons is a joint operation and if you are going to integrate combat missions or theaters we better have logistics systems that are compatible, that can be coordinated or joined as needed, responsive to mutual support, and merged with the national economy."

Again, Mr. Kyes, I urge you to look into th matter personally or obtain the services of some capable management experts who will not be misled by those now in charge. The potential savings in money and men's lives are too great to let these programs fall short of their goals.

Sincerely,

PAUL L. MONAHAN.

Florida Forest Service Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a very interesting forestry bulletin which has been prepared by the industrial department of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co. This great railroad company serves the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Florida, the district that I have the honor to represent. One of the fine public services of this railroad has been to promote the conservation of our forestry resources.

On January 22 of this year the Seaboard sponsored a forestry demonstra-

tion at Starke, in Bradford County, Fla., which is in my district. There were many hundreds of farmers present at this meeting, and there were others in responsible places of leadership in the State who were present to note some of the modern methods of forestry management. I should like to pay special tribute to Mr. Warren T. White, assistant vice president of the Seaboard, who is in charge of the industrial department, and is particularly concerned with the forestry conservation program, and to his able assistant, Mr. Robert N. Hoskins, industrial forester of the Seaboard, who organized the great program that I personally enjoyed on January 22 of this year.

Listed below are the Florida Forest Service facts which appeared in the forestry bulletin:

FLORIDA FOREST SERVICE FACTS

Forestry is a big business enterprise for Floridians. This vast industry ranks second only to tourism as the State's biggest source of income, now bringing in more than $310 million annually. Over 60 percent of Florida's land acreage—23 million acres—is forest land. Several hundred thousand workers and their families depend on the woods for their living. Thousands and thousands of tourists enjoy the hunting and fishing provided by the conservative use of the State's woodlands.

There are 788 wood-using plants dependent upon Florida's 23 million acres of commercial timberland for a source of raw material. Latest figures (1951) show this use of Florida's forests by the wood-using industries: 592,779,000 board-feet went to 684 sawmills, 78,741,000 board-feet went to 33 veneer plants, 1,446,100 cords went to 8 pulp mills, 1,710,000 posts were manufactured, 1,179,000 ties went for railroad tracks, 402,900 cords for fuel wood, 514,600 pieces were used for piling, 14 million trees were worked for gum naval stores, 25,500 cords were used for cooperage, and 21,600 cords for miscellaneous purposes.

The potentialities of this important industry could easily be doubled or tripled through adequate protection and reasonable forest management practices.

The Florida Forest Service was organized in 1928 and its organized forest fire-protection program has kept pace with the steady demand for forest products. In the past 5 years the amount of land under protection has doubled and now covers almost 14 million acres of the State's 20 million acres of privately owned timberland.

More than 150 lookout towers are located over timberland under protection. Supplementing tower fire detection, the Florida Forest Service owns and operates 2 airplanes and has under contract 7 others for aerial patrol of Florida woodlands on hazardous day. Tower and plane fire detection are closely linked to a fleet of modern fire-fighting equipment by an efficient two-way radio communications system.

Statistics accurately illustrate the contrast between protected and unprotected timberland. For the past several years less than 2 percent of the timberland under protection has been damaged by fire; but more than 50 percent of the timberland not under protection is burned over each year. Six million acres of timberland remain unprotected in Florida.

The constant drain on Florida's woodlands by wood-using industries demanding raw material requires full utilization of all woodland acreage. Before this can come about, 3,500,000 acres of barren or understocked acres need to be planted. To help achieve this objective the Florida Forest Service operates 2 pine-seedling nurseries, 1 at Olustee, near Lake City, and the other at Munson, near Pensacola, producing seedlings at cost for landowners. The combined production of the 2 nurseries this year is 50 million seedling; however, the demand exceeds the supply by a large margin. Several industries have nurseries of their own, producing seedlings of their own needs and for free distribution to landowners. These nurseries produced last planting season 25 million seedlings.

Florida's up-and-coming forestry program is making great strides in forestry research. The last legislature voted the record amount of $2,376,000 for the operation of the Florida Forest Service for the next 2 years, $100,000 of which was set aside for forestry research. Florida is the only State making a direct appropriation for research to be carried on by the United States Forest Service, with two forestry research projects now in operation.

The Chipola Experimental Forest was allotted $20,000 annually for research, which in the years to come should mean the elimination of about 3 million acres of worthless scrub oak replaced with valuable pine.

Research on the development of the super pine tree and improved gum farming methods is being conducted at the United States Forest Service Experimental Station at Olustee. The State legislature appropriated $30,000 annually to help finance this work and specified that some of the money would be used to finance experimental work in south Florida.

The backbone of Florida's forests is the versatile pine tree. Tremendous possibilities are also forecast for various tropical trees, such as African mahogany and native mahogany, which has almost disappeared from the Florida Keys. These and others are being experimented with in the South Florida Tropical Forestry project. Trees imported from all over the world are being tested in an effort to find tropical timber trees that will thrive in South Florida's climate.

Florida has three State forests—Blackwater River State Forest, Pine Log State Forest, and Cary State Forest, which total almost 200,000 acres of timberland operated under model forest management practices. Blackwater River, through annual selective timber cutting sales, is now on self-sustaining basis, paying all its operational expenses. Pine Log and Cary are being built up to the same level. In the years to come these State forests will be on a firm money-making basis for Florida.

A farm forestry program is operated by the Florida Forest Service to help woodland owners to manage and operate on a continual basis and realize good profits from their timberland. Under this program trained foresters are available to any landowner upon request for 3 days' advice and assistance in marking, estimating, and marketing timber, seedling planting, forest fire control, and gum farming.

Woodland owners of tomorrow are receiving a sound education in forestry at the Florida Forest Service's annual Forestry Training Camp held each summer at Camp O'Leno State Park near High Springs, which is the oldest of its type in the United States. Several hundred Future Farmers of America, selected for their interests and accomplishments in forestry, receive practical instruction in the latest forestry methods, ranging from courses in fire fighting, gum farming, marking, estimating, and marketing timber, forest insects and diseases to tree identification.

Reducing the great damage done by wildfires can be accomplished only by a public well informed of the danger and waste from forest fires. To reduce wildfire occurrence, the Florida Forest Service conducts an unceasing forest fire prevention campaign. Movies, forestry demonstrations, news, and feature stories, magazine articles, radio programs, spot announcements, and speeches are all geared toward the common goal of making Floridians aware of the vital role forestry plays in Florida's economy.

Kurusu's Death: Footnote to History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Kurusu's Death: Footnote to History," which appeared in the April 9, 1954, issue of the Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky.

The editorial is as follows:

KURUSU'S DEATH: FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

The death of Saburo Kurusu just 2 days before the Philippines observe this 12th anniversary of the fall of Bataan as a national holiday is a timely reminder of two things. One is the historic idiocy of those Roosevelt haters who still, like retired Rear Admiral Theobald and Columnist David Lawrence, cherish the claim that F. D. R. practically invited the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. The other is the fact that the Filipinos and the other peoples of Asia, contrary to Mr. Kurusu's claim, never welcomed Japan's proposed hegemony over them—a hegemony blocked only by American interference—but instead fought to the end against it.

Mr. Kurusu, it will be remembered, was the Japanese peace envoy who arrived in Washington on November 15, 1941, as the historic screen for plans already made by the Japanese Navy to attack Pearl Harbor. An able envoy, well know and well liked in this country, he claimed until his dying day that he had no advance knowledge of the sneak attack, that he was only doing his diplomatic best to avert the onrushing war.

This could be perfectly true; there was no need and probably no inclination on the part of Japan's war lords to brief their diplomats on their war plans. But it was also true that on the day Mr. Kurusu arrived in Washington the Japanese Diet held a crisis meeting, and that the Japanese press jingoistically implored the Government to live up to its title of war cabinet.

It was also true that Mr. Kurusu brought to Washington not a plan for peace but a proposal that the United States stage a Far East Munich. Japan already had huge armies in China and Indochina. The Diet had been convened to sanction an all-out attack on Thailand, on Burma, on Siberia, on Singapore, on the Dutch East Indies, or, as press dispatches of the time related, wherever it was decided to strike. Mr Kurusu's job was to get the green light from the United States, to offer us peace only if we abandoned our treaty rights and interests in the Orient, sold China and the rest of Asia down the river, and, in addition, agreed to furnish the Japanese with the raw materials necessary for the conduct of such a great war.

The answer was, and had to be, "No." When all this became obvious as early as November 25, Washington put all our forces in the Pacific on a war alert. What happened after that is history: The United States, with its allies, defeated the attempt of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis to conquer the world. There may be some Americans so blinded with undying hatred for the late F. D. R. that they would have welcomed such a conquest, with the United States appeasing the conquerors instead of defeating them. But we doubt it.

In 1942, after his return to Japan, Mr. Kurusu sought to exonerate Japan of any responsibility for the conflict. His major premise was that the United States had failed to recognize the hand of manifest destiny in Asia, whose peoples, he claimed,

had reacted with sympathetic approval to Japan's plans for a protective hegemony over them. At the time he spoke the Chinese had been shedding their blood for more than 5 years in a valiant effort to register their disapproval, and thousands of Filipinos had helped a handful of Americans make Bataan a symbol of valor. In Indochina, too, it is worth recalling, the appeasing surrender of the Vichyite French to Japan's demands had sparked a native anti-Japanese uprising that was to furnish the nucleus, from 1946 to 1954, of the anti-French independence movement so quickly bandwagoned by the Communists.

The Filipinos, celebrating Bataan Day in commemoration of the dark but glorious days when American and Filipino soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder, claim that they fought for freedom and democracy. Mr. Kurusu and other rewriters of history to the contrary, we think the Filipinos are dead right.

Public Housing in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VERA BUCHANAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the RECORD the following editorial which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of April 8, 1954, entitled "Public Housing in Danger":

PUBLIC HOUSING IN DANGER

The 4-year public housing program which the Eisenhower administration had described as vital to urban redevelopment and the public welfare has been overwhelmingly rejected by the House of Representatives. On a Democratically sponsored motion to authorize construction of the 140,000 units the President had called for, Mr. Eisenhower was deserted by his own party, as 150 Republicans opposed the motion and only 48 supported it. The House even turned down a proposal by Republican Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey, to give the administration the green light for half of its program—70,000 new units in 2 years. It is to the credit of Pittsburgh Congressmen that all of them—Republicans CORBETT and FULTON and Democrats BUCHANAN and EBERHARTER—backed the President on the 211–176-vote showdown.

Even though the House passed that part of the housing bill which empowers the President to increase the period for payment of mortgages and reduce the downpayment requirements on federally insured home loans, the emasculation of the public housing section of the measure hits at the heart of the slum-clearance plans of cities. The elimination of downpayments and the extension of the mortgage period to 40 years on $7,600 homes, as provided in 1 section of the bill, will do very little to aid slum clearance. A house built for $7,600 today could hardly be very substantial to begin with, to say nothing of an anticipated life expectancy of 40 years.

All that the administration will have in a public housing program if the House version of the housing bill becomes law is authority to construct from 33,000 to 35,000 dwelling units in fiscal 1955. The Government had already committed itself on these in 1953, and Comptroller General Lindsay Warren ruled last week that a parliamentary move in the House aimed at killing this authorization could not apply to commitments already made.

If the administration program is to be rescued, it will have to be done in the upper Chamber, where Democratic Senator BURNET R. MAYBANK has already announced that he will seek to include in the Senate bill the 140,000 units the President wants. To get Senate approval of its program and then House agreement on the change, the administration will have to exert itself far more than it did in the House where Speaker MARTIN and Majority Leader HALLECK did not even push for the full 4-year plan.

Republicans Gain With Statehood Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following column by Jay G. Hayden, Washington correspondent for the Detroit News, which appeared in the April 9 issue of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

FATEFUL DECISION
(By Jay G. Hayden)

WASHINGTON, April 8.—Passage by the Senate, 57 to 28, of a bill providing statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska suddenly has confronted President Eisenhower with what may prove the most fateful decision of his administration.

By the flick of a finger, as it appears today, the President can coin that measure into law; with the effect of adding 2 States to the Union, 2 stars to the American flag and, most vital politically, 2 Senators and 2 Representatives, all Republicans, in the Congress convening next January.

By accepting Alaska, along with Hawaii which he long has favored, Mr. Eisenhower also would provide the Nation with its biggest State—almost twice the size of Texas—and one which in the long run might produce more millionaires than the oil-rich Lone Star Commonwealth.

On the latter point, Senator GUY CORDON, Republican, of Oregon, who probably knows more about both Alaska and Hawaii than any other Senator, said:

"Factually, a better case, immediately, can be made for Hawaii than for Alaska. Potentially, a better case can be made for Alaska than for Hawaii.

"The potentialities in Alaska are enormous. They are beyond our conception at this time. How long it will take to develop them no one knows. But this we do know: statehood, when it comes to Alaska, will accelerate the development of these potentialities. The history of every State, after attainment of statehood, is proof of this fact."

The crucial circumstance politically is that, by the wholly unexpected two-thirds vote of the Senate in favor of statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska, the House leadership and President Eisenhower have been confronted with an entirely changed situation.

Whereas the assumption heretofore had been that injection of Alaska into the statehood bill would end any chance of getting Hawaii admitted, it is agreed by all hands now that Hawaii's case is hopeless without admission of Alaska at the same time. In the opinion of most competent congressional observers that state of affairs holds not only for this session but for all time to come: That neither of these Territories ever will gain statehood without the other.

The House already has passed Hawaiian statehood, and a bill before it for admission of Alaska, while reported favorably by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, has been blockaded for nearly a year in the Rules Committee. Only a continuing refusal of the latter body to permit the House as a whole to vote can prevent passage of the combined statehood bill.

The issue now lies unmistakably in President Eisenhower's lap. A mere word from him will be enough to insure action by the House.

There is a further circumstance, very much in the minds of Republican political field generals, that the President's legislative program right now is greatly in need of some spectacular uplift. And there is nothing in sight that would do it so much good as to put the double statehood bill through quickly and decisively.

The political advantage for the Republicans lies in the fact that while Hawaii has executed all the preliminaries required of it for statehood, Alaska still has a long road to go. Specifically, Hawaii, if admitted this year, will elect its first two Members of both the Senate and House next November. Judged by past Hawaiian voting that group will be solidly Republican.

Alaska, traditionally as Democratic as Hawaii is Republican, has to draft a constitution and get it approved both by popular vote at home and by the Congress in Washington before actually exercising the functions of statehood. How long that process will take nobody is sure; but certainly it will not permit election of the two Senators and one Member of the House, to which Alaska would be entitled, before 1956.

Affecting the election in 1956, Hawaii would have 4 presidential electors, as against 3 for Alaska, assuming that Alaska qualifies for statehood in time to participate in the next presidential election.

Frequently mentioned in the Senate debate was a series of Gallup polls showing a strong trend of American voters in favor of statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska, with the latter running ahead. Here is the record:

HAWAII

In 1946: 60 percent for statehood, 19 percent opposed, 21 percent no opinion.
In 1950: 71 percent for, 12 percent opposed, 17 percent no opinion.
In 1952: 69 percent for, 11 percent opposed, 20 percent no opinion.
In 1953: 72 percent for, 14 percent opposed, 14 percent no opinion.

ALASKA

In 1949: 68 percent for, 7 percent opposed, 25 percent no opinion.
In 1950: 81 percent for, 8 percent opposed, 11 percent no opinion.
In 1952: 76 percent for, 8 percent opposed, 16 percent no opinion.
In 1953: 78 percent for, 10 percent opposed, 12 percent no opinion.

The Birth of Henderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include herewith a story entitled "The Birth of Henderson," written by the late Susan Starling Towles, which appeared in the April 6, 1954, issue of the Henderson Gleaner, of Henderson, Ky.

Throughout the United States we have a great number of small, progressive cities. These small cities have helped to make the United States great, and they have always arisen to every emergency. It is very fitting from time to time to pay our respects to our small cities.

On April 6, 1954, Henderson, Ky., one of the great small cities in this country, celebrated its 157th birthday. This beautiful city overlooking the Ohio River is the county seat of Henderson County, Ky., and was named in memory of Richard Henderson, the president of the Transylvania Co., which established Henderson, Ky. Daniel Boone was an agent of this company. Today Henderson County produces more corn than any other one of the 120 counties of Kentucky; produces over 2 million barrels of oil each year; the city owns its own utilities, has industrial plants producing plastics, hosiery, furniture, dresses, toys, chemicals, fertilizers. In its beautiful natural surroundings Henderson has developed a large number of imposing churches of all denominations, beautiful homes, and nice schools. A civic-minded business leader, Hecht S. Lackey, is the mayor of this progressive city.

The story follows:

THE BIRTH OF HENDERSON: THE TRANSYLVANIA CO.

Among the early movements into the western wilderness, that of the Transylvania Co. is significant with its bold adventure, its tragedies, and its achievements that left their mark on American history.

The story in brief is that Daniel Boone, returning from a hunt over the mountains, brought to Col. Richard Henderson a request to secure the settlement of the beautiful meadowland of Kentucky. Henderson organized what is known as the Transylvania Co., of 9 men, legally as the Richard Henderson & Co., and became its president with William Johnston as secretary, Nathaniel Hart—a most important member—James Hogg, a Scotchman of diplomacy, ancestor of 2 recent ambassadors, Col. John Williams, David and Thomas Hart, Leonard Henley Bullock, and Capt. John Luttrell. The efforts of Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and Daniel Boone brought the Over Hill Indians to the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, on the Watauga River in east Tennessee. There in almost an island—with a vague tract drained on the south by the Cumberland—Boone had been sent ahead with 30 axmen to cut the wilderness road, sometimes called Boone Trail, to the Kentucky. The treaty being finished, Colonel Henderson followed on with 40 men on horseback and great ox wagons loaded with supplies for the settlement. He sent William Cooke on along the murder-haunted trail to let the anxious Boone know he was coming.

FOUNDED BOONESBOROUGH

The first fort of Kentucy was planned by Henderson and called Boonesborough for their agent, Daniel Boone. April 1, 1775, these men had reached this chosen spot at Sycamore Shoals on the Kentucky River. Henderson soon called for representatives from the four little settlements south of the Kentucky. The 23d of May 1775, the chosen representatives of the colony, rifles in hand, rode up and held at Boonesborough the first representative assembly west of the Alleghenies.

The fort was unfinished so the assembly was held under a magnificent elm, so beautiful that Henderson said it was a proof of the existence of God. Nine laws were passed, all brief and important but two were notable, one presented by the Reverend John Blythe against Sabbath breaking and profane and vain swearing, and one to preserve the breed of horses, by Boone showed the trend of the Kentucky mind. The following Sunday there was held by the Reverend John Blythe of the Church of England, the first recorded Christian service west of the mountains. Both assembly and service were held under the Boonesborough Elm now adopted by the Kentucky legislature as the typical tree of the State.

The Continental Congress was in session. In 1775 James Hogg was sent on an "embassy" to ask that Kentucky be made the 14th original colony. But the answer was that they were going too fast. They were, for it was not until the next year, 1776, that they issued the Declaration of Independence. So they were easily bereft of their lands by the powerful colonies adjacent to Kentucky and Tennessee. But Virginia granted them 200,000 acres of land because "the Commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage therefrom by increasing its inhabitants and establishing a barrier against the Indians." The "very great expense in making the purchase" is also given as a reason for some compensation.

They took away the eastern settled lands of the fort, its beginning of the government, religion and commerce and gave a tract in what was then the Far West, on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Green River.

The company next built Fort Nashboro, on the Cumberland, a replica of which has been built by the DAR of Tennessee. There they established the force of "the Cumberland Compact." This was the nucleus of Nashville.

A THIRD TOWN

North Carolina soon followed the example of Virginia, took over their lands and granted them 200,000 acres. Henderson and all of the original members were at length dead without reward for their work, except James Hogg and John Williams who with the heirs of the others constituted the Transylvania Co. Among them the lovely Amelia Johnston, the only woman member was represented by her husband, Walter Alves. They determined to found a third town, naming it for their president, Henderson, dead 12 years before. Sending Gen. Samuel Hopkins, a distinguished Revolutionary officer and Capt. Thomas Allin to lay off a town in the Virginia Grant on the Ohio. They did a fine piece of city planning and by April 6, 1797, layed off 28 100-foot wide streets, with the Ohio River Street 200 feet wide, commanding a magnificent view of the great river. There was a central park, now Transylvania Park, where stands the Doric-columned courthouse, the river front of 2¼ miles was also given the people.

Here came the Transylvanians to settle on their broad plantations; here came Virginians and Carolina people to make homes of culture and refinement about the county. Among them in 1810 came John James Audubon rowing down the Ohio from Louisville in a great skiff bringing with him wife and baby.

Henderson still bears many of its earlier features of conservativeness. Now and then it does an unusual thing—it rivalled the earliest cities in municipal ownership, produced the second millionaire in the United States, an eloquent bar, founded Mothers Day in 1887, had fine teachers from early times, among them Elizabeth Blackwell who became the first woman doctor; it organized the first Audubon Society in Kentucky, and has a park area of unusual proportion to its population, is proud of the Audubon Memorial State Park and the only Audubon Museum, with its valuable collection.

Founded on the high bluffs called "Red Banks" it enjoys the name of "the floodless city of the Ohio," and the reputation of being the most beautiful of Kentucky's many beautiful little cities.

State of the Nations: Wanted—"Orchestration"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in the following column, which appeared in the April 9 Christian Science Monitor, Joseph C. Harsch very tactfully brings out the fact that if the Government of the United States has a coherent foreign and defense policy both Congress and our allies have not been let in on the secret:

STATE OF THE NATIONS: WANTED—"ORCHESTRATION"

(By Joseph C. Harsch)

WASHINGTON.—Several recent items in the news from Washington disclosed, I submit, the one essential ingredient still missing from the Eisenhower administration—the ingredient which is needed to make it appear to be a finished machine of government with a clear sense of purposeful direction.

The series of items ran as follows:

March 31: Rear Admiral Strauss, Chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, announced that as a result of recent H-bomb tests at Bikini the United States is now in sight of and satisfaction of our military requirements in atomic weapons.

April 3: The United States joins Britain and France in a call for new U. N. talks on disarmament and atomic-energy control.

April 5: President Eisenhower says the H-bomb is not going to be used by our initiative.

April 5: Secretary of State Dulles says that Communist China has come awfully close to a degree of intervention in Indochina which would call for retaliation by the United States.

April 6: The State Department proposed to other countries interested in Indochina united action to prevent further Communist advances in southeast Asia.

April 7: Congress hums with reports that the administration is considering intervention in Indochina with United States ground troops if that step becomes necessary. It is learned that Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, favors using carrier-plane strikes against Communist forces in Indochina from two United States aircraft carriers now standing off the Indochina coast.

April 7: Admiral Strauss discloses a program for greatly increased production of atomic weapons, including hydrogen bombs, and says this will permit reduced spending for other defense weapons.

April 8: London and Paris reject any idea of united action in advance of the Geneva Conference. Mr. Dulles then considers a quick trip to those capitals to persuade them to go along with his purposes. Meanwhile, Senator KNOWLAND threatens to cut off military aid to our allies if they continue to resist the Dulles idea.

This is not orchestration. If H-bombs are to be used, as the President says, only if they are first used against the United States, then how does the production of more H-bombs to the point of satisfaction

of our military requirements reduce the need for other and more conventional weapons?

If the American lead in H-bombs were the answer to United States military problems, why then does Admiral Radford propose using carrier planes in the Indochinese war, and why does anyone contemplate even remotely the possibility of using United States ground troops in Indochina?

If, on the other hand, carrier planes and ground troops are the only available answer to the military problem in Indochina, does it make sense for the spokesman of the administration in the Senate, the majority leader, to be threatening to cut off the military-aid funds from Britain and France which are used to buy planes, guns, and tanks? Plainly, allies who have been deprived of such funds for building such weapons are not going to feel more inclined to use what they have of such weapons in Indochina, particularly when they disagree with Mr. Dulles over the existence of a new crisis in that situation.

The news items listed here do not add up to clear consistency in reason or in logic. They do not represent a purposeful sense of direction springing from an agreed estimate of the world situation and an agreed method for solving it. The President, the Secretary of State, the top military adviser, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the chosen political leader in the Senate, are not speaking the same language, expressing the same concept of policy, pointing in the same direction.

This is not providing the harmonious orchestration which was promised when the new team in Washington finished its shakedown cruise and got the American ship of state under way.

The condition has baffled and frustrated allies of the United States as much as it is baffling and disturbing the Congress. The first 2 days of the week witnessed a debate in the Senate in which men from both parties pleaded anxiously and eagerly for leadership, guidance, and the facts of the situation. If there is a true crisis calling for an emergency act of bipartisan firmness, every Member of the Senate is ready to provide it. But is the need of the times for calmness as the President continues to emphasize, or is there an emergency crisis as Mr. Dulles says? And if there is a crisis, can it be met by the additional capacity for thermonuclear weapons requested by Admiral Strauss, or must it be met by American pilots flying preatomic bombs against Asiatics in Indochina, and perhaps after that by American GI's going in as well?

No Clear Evidence of Business Improvement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE L. HAYS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the April issue of the monthly letter of the National City Bank of New York opens with the following paragraph:

The month of March has brought no clear evidence of business improvement and, although the opinion seems to be spreading that the worst of the decline is over, this is a matter of faith rather than of statistical demonstration.

It continues, Mr. Speaker, by saying:

Some figures, such as unemployment insurance claims and production statistics, point to a levelling off or only moderate decline. Others, such as retail trade reports, have been disappointing. * * * Inventory liquidation is proceeding in orderly fashion, but stocks are still a problem in numerous lines, particularly steel and automobiles.

Mr. Speaker, this seems to indicate to me that even the conservative business people of the United States are not at all positive that the many stories emanating from Washington that the country is in wonderful shape are necessarily true. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the administration and the Congress should keep their finger very closely on the economic pulse of the Nation because now that the critical month has been shifted from March to the fall, obviously the early optimists were wrong. As I have repeatedly said, Mr. Speaker, we should not let this thing get ahead of us.

Political Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. HALEY
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as election time is approaching and most of the statesmen present will be back in their home districts renewing and strengthening their contacts with the constituents, I would like to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following timely editorial by O. A. Brice which appeared in the Lake Wales News, Lake Wales, Fla., on April 8, 1954. Mr. Brice is one of our foremost editorial writers and an astute political analyst as well as an experienced observer and commentator on practical business economics and current affairs.

I believe that the message contained in his editorial is a down-to-earth yardstick by which we all will be measured at the polls; therefore, it is submitted for whatever value it may be to you in the conduct of your campaign:

OVER IN MY CORNER
(By O. A. Brice)

About every so often we find ourselves in the midst of a political campaign and it is then we hear preached from the housetops every sort of a promise that can be designed to bring the exponent a few votes.

I always enjoy political campaigns. Maybe because you hear so much phony talk and you wonder why the average voter can become so gullible as to believe some of it.

Perhaps it's because I have never been interested in a political appointment that I never permit some of the campaigners to influence my thinking very much. As a result I suppose if a checkup was made I have probably supported three times more losers for office than I have ever picked winners.

That never worries me much however, even though friends bring around the crow quite occasionally and demand that my diet be on that bird.

It has always seemed to me that the office for which a candidate is running or the party ticket he assumed as his standard bearer, should make very little difference, to a voter, if we ever expect to have the best of Government at the least price. So I just look them over, attempt to appraise their motives, size up their backers and try to reach a conclusion as to whether I think they are honest in their promises, and then vote.

If I hit, I naturally pride myself on the winner; if I lose I don't cry for I know there will always be another election and the opportunity will again avail itself of doing something for the fellow I think can best serve the majority of citizens.

I presume if I wanted a political appointment or had some particular ax to grind, I might be swayed by some of this campaign talk, and be willing to overlook some of the inferior qualities I think I see in those asking for votes.

As it is, I end each campaign with the inward satisfaction that I have given my support to the candidate whom I believe is best qualified. If he losses I understand that the American way provides for the majority to rule, so I accept the verdict without tears or a desire for revenge.

I always try to be tolerant for the fellow who doesn't figure quite the way I think. He may want a job which comes out of politics; he may have some selfish motive he thinks the candidate can appease, or he may be sincere in the qualifications of his man, so if he cares to foist upon his acquaintances his influence in favor of the fellow he thinks will give him all this, it's O. K. with me.

After the battle and the smoke has cleared away there is a lot of satisfaction in just sitting back and seeing what happens. If promises are made good, and I have lost, I rejoice with my opponent in the fact that he won and will at least receive the thrill of victory, but a good many times I have noticed he was only used as a method for the office seeker to get elected and that political bedfellows are soon forgotten after the final tally of votes.

There is always one sure thing so far as I am concerned—I never propose to sever a friendship over politics. The other fellow has the same right to make his choice as I exercise, and my friendships are valued on too high a plane to be influenced by that which some campaigner may promise he will do.

Any similarity to persons or events are hereby denied, but a political campaign which is now under way seems to make the following poem most timely. It was written by the late Dale Wimbrow, editor of a nearby newspaper, who always expressed his dislike for the impostor, whether he was found in politics or private life.

It is entitled "1954 Model If" with apologies to Rudyard Kipling's If, and it reads:

If you can say one thing and mean another, make promises you know you cannot keep; if you can kiss a babe and charm a mother, and make your voters laugh and make 'em weep; if you can talk hours without ending, and yet for all your talk not say a thing; be not too affable, nor too unbending, with rich or poor or commoner or king; if you can be a liberal today, sir, conservative tomorrow—be it meet—give answers that mean either yea or nay, sir; know when to pose as reckless, when discreet; if you can be austere and yet quite mellow, and court the mass, nor yet offend the few; if you can be an independent fellow, and yet to party lines must closely hew; if you can champion everything of virtue with phrases not too clear, nor too dense, and trim your sails so righteous men won't hurt you, and yet give vice no cause to take offense; if you espouse strict governmental savings, nor yet give up your slice of local pork; if you can

shift from blandishment to raving; be everything and naught—and make it work; if you can wink at graft and yet decry it; if you can promise voters everything and then oppose the tax with which to buy it; if you can coo and shout and sing; if you can swear you have no ambition and seek no office underneath the sun; then you'll make a darn good politician, and what's more, you'll be elected, son.

Papa Knows Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the two columns which follow appeared side by side in today's Washington Post. Perhaps the Eisenhower administration has forgotten that in a democracy it is the people who govern and that to govern the people must be informed of the facts. The papa-knows-best attitude just possibly may be good enough in a business corporation or in a military command. I doubt that even that is so. However, it is certain that it is not good enough in the Government of the United States of America.

The columns follow:

H-BOMB SECRECY—WHO'S AFRAID OF WHOM?

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Thus far the American people have been getting nothing but a delayed, diluted, timid accounting of what the hydrogen bomb means as a weapon of war and as an instrument of devastation.

There's a reason—a bad reason.

The reason is that there are too many high-placed officials in Washington who are afraid—afraid of the American people. Afraid that the American public will scare, will panic. They conclude, therefore, that the public would rather be shielded from the hydrogen facts than be free to face the facts.

It is appropriate that the President should counsel the country to shun fear and to confront an uncertain world with a faith and a poise equal to the times.

But wouldn't it be a good idea for some of the President's own associates to take the President's advice—and act on it?

To believe that the Nation must be shielded from knowledge is one of the best ways of undermining the functioning of a healthy democracy.

Here are some of the facts which compel the conclusion that there is too much shielding and altogether too widespread a papa-knows-best disposition to treat the American people like children who are afraid of a dark room—or a dark world:

The innocent, carefully censored, mildly informative film picturing some of the effects of the first hydrogen bomb dropped in the Marshall Islands in the Pasific in November 1952, was held back from public showing for a year and a half by the Defense Department. Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, contended that it would cause public hysteria, and the Army and Navy were afraid it would give the people wrong ideas about the role of the Army and Navy in a hydrogen world.

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson recently responded to a press conference question on the value of giving the public a fuller knowledge of the consequences of the H-bomb with these words: "You oughtn't to scare people so they can't sleep nights." Note that Wilson did not say that fuller information would impair security. His objection was that fuller information might scare the public.

New York Herald Tribune columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop have reported that the Atomic Energy Commission refused to clear one of their magazine articles dealing with the atomic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States though the material was drawn from public, unclassified material. The official view was that any such discussion was just too sensitive.

Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson said frankly last week: "We are just plain unprepared for defense in an atomic era."

If Peterson is to succeed in turning unpreparedness into preparedness for atomic defense, if Admiral Radford is to get a public opinion which will understand the real role of Army and Navy in atomic-hydrogen war, if the Government is to get support for what needs to be done to avert calamity in Indochina—then the administration will have to trust the people with the facts.

My impression is that the American public is not afraid to face the facts and that some administration officials had better be afraid to face the people if they don't deal more openly with the facts.

MATTER OF FACT

(By Joseph and Stewart Alsop)

WHAT IS A SECRET?

One of these reporters has just finished a telephone conversation with an old acquaintance, an able official in the middle ranks of the Government. The conversation was about as follows:

"REPORTER. How about lunch Monday?

"OFFICIAL. Sorry, can't make it.

"REPORTER. How about Thursday or Friday?

"OFFICIAL (after embarrassed pause). Look, frankly, I think I'd better not have lunch with you at all just now.

"REPORTER (after another embarrassed pause). Oh, * * * is it 162?

"OFFICIAL. That's right. One-six-two.

"REPORTER. Oh."

This cryptic exchange may seem of less than world-shaking significance. Then it may be worth reporting all the same, since it relates to a subject which is not without genuine national importance. This is the downright neurotic obsession with secrecy for its own sake in the American Government.

The story goes back to last summer, when the Eisenhower administration embarked on a reexamination of the national situation. This New Look went forward in the lurid light of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, tested in August. Finally, the conclusion was reached that the danger to the Nation was now absolute, and it was therefore decided that the national security must have absolute priority over all other considerations.

This decision was approved by the National Security Council, at a meeting early last October, and officially embodied in a policy paper known as NSC–162. It seemed to these reporters a positive duty to report this basic national decision, involving a bold facingup to realities. There was nothing secret, after all, about the Soviet hydrogen bomb, or the danger to this country's survival of which it is a symbol. So the decision and its background were sympathetically described in this space. Immediately thereafter, all hell broke loose. Robert Cutler, able Secretary of the National Security Council, was said to be tearing out large tufts of ill-spared hair in his rage, and other members of the Council were almost equally angry. Highly placed friends passed on stern warnings and admonitions. Less highly placed officials, known to be acquainted with these reporters, became the objects of beady-eyed suspicion and harassment. Thus the perhaps excessive caution of the official quoted above is at least understandable.

The uproar, it appeared, was caused by the heinous sin of publishing the number of the paper. The number seemed so unimportant at the time that these reporters cannot even remember where they heard it. Even now, its terrible significance remains unexplained. One official, asked what information it would convey to a potential enemy, puzzled for a moment and replied that "a Russian spy who got hold of the NSC files would know which paper to look for first."

Even he had to admit, with a smile, that this danger seemed a trifle remote. In fact, the number of the paper can hardly have been the whole cause of the uproar. Many officials love secrets just because they are secrets—this is the adult version of the childish, "I gotta see-crut you don't know, so ha-ha." More over, since the National Security Council became the center of power in the executive branch of the Government, reducing the Cabinet to a shadow, anything to do with the NSC is supposed to be "see-crut." "What goes on in the NSC," one official has remarked testily, "is nobody's damn business."

If this is true, then the American Government is nobody's damn business, since the NSC is the American Government as far as the great life-and-death issues are concerned. No one denies, of course, that there are genuine Government secrets, which should be closely held. Indeed, in the old days, before Chairman Lewis Strauss introduced his policy of censorship-by-indirection, it was comforting for a reporter to know that the Atomic Energy Commission would give him sensible guidance in the atomic field—these reporters have cheerfully suppressed a number of columns at the AEC's request.

But what is a genuine secret? Should it really be a secret that the leaders of the Government, after long study of all the facts, have concluded that the danger to national survival is so grave that national security must have an absolute priority? Are the broad, basic reasons for this decision genuine secrets?

There are those who say that they are—that the American people would "get hysterical" if they knew the truth, and that such grim knowledge should be confined to "responsible officials." Those who believe this need to be reminded that in our free society not even august members of the NSC are real masters of the Government. The real masters are the American people, and therefore when the people are kept in ignorance disaster is sure.

For the rest, since it seems mysteriously to cause so much trouble, these reporters publicly promise—cross our hearts and hope to die—never again to identify an NSC paper by number. But we really cannot promise to pretend that the National Security Council, and the great issues with which it concerns itself, do not exist.

The Beginning of Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the awful power of the hydrogen bomb and other manmade weapons of destruction may yet prompt the acceptance of inter-

national law and morality in the world, and perhaps in our time.

If the devastating power of such weapons becomes known to the people of the world, perhaps this will produce a worldwide fear. And, in the words of the chaplain of the New Jersey Senate, "This fear may be the beginning of wisdom, if it causes us to turn to God."

I include the following brief news article from the Bergen Evening Record, Hackensack, N. J., of April 6, 1954:

SENATE CHAPLAIN SEES BOMB BRINGING A RETURN TO GOD—FEAR MAY BRING WORLD TO WISDOM, REVEREND RAVER SAYS AT OPENING OF JERSEY SESSION

TRENTON, April 6.—The chaplain of the New Jersey Senate thinks fear of the hydrogen bomb may lead the world to the beginnings of wisdom.

FRIGHTENED PEOPLE

The Reverend Neal Raver said in his prayer at the beginning of the senate session yesterday.

"We are a frightened people. We are frightened of others and we are fearful of the power for destruction that we hold in our hands.

"This fear may be the beginnings of wisdom, if it causes us to turn to God."

Raver later told a reporter: "Our fear of the hydrogen bomb might become our salvation, in a way, if we get frightened enough."

Raver is minister of the Kemble Methodist Church at Woodbury.

Only One Man Needs To Move His Foot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Courier-Journal for Sunday, April 4, calling for the admission of Alaska and Hawaii into the Union as States:

Justice and propriety call for the admission of both Alaska and Hawaii to statehood. The Senate, recognizing this, reversed its 1952 denial of statehood for Alaska, and at last has approved statehood for both Territories by a vote of 57 to 28.

Both Territories could be admitted this year if only the House concurred in the Senate's decision. But Republican odds in the House are against the double bill (GOP leaders there are still determined to welcome only Republican Hawaii, leave Democratic Alaska out in the cold). In these circumstances it is quite true, as New Mexico's Senator ANDERSON says in urging President Eisenhower to take a stand that all he's got to do is take his foot off Alaska, and this bill will pass.

In February the President said he didn't believe Alaska was ready for statehood yet—despite the fact that both major parties have in the past urged statehood for Alaska as well as for Hawaii. We hope he will take a leaf from Senator CLEMENTS' book and reconsider.

Back in 1952 Senator CLEMENTS helped to defeat statehood for Alaska, agreeing with a one-vote majority of the Senate that Alaska wasn't ready. Last fall he visited Alaska and changed his mind. The bipartisan nature of his decision is indicated by the fact that this week's vote found him in company with Senator COOPER and both of Indiana's Republican Senators; the total vote in favor of admitting both Alaska and Hawaii included 33 Republicans, 23 Democrats, and an Independent.

The President might also consider some expert military testimony offered as long ago as 1950. At that time all of our leading military authorities urged the admission of Alaska for the solid reason that it would improve the conditions of defense and security in Alaska. And among those authorities were at least two for whom President Eisenhower has high regard: Gen. George Marshall, then Secretary of Defense, and Gen. Omar Bradley, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We think they were right then, and that the President would be right today to say he agrees with them.

Slovak Federation Group Opposes Trade With Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a letter I have received from Mr. John C. Sedlacek, of East St. Louis, Ill., chairman of the Southern Illinois Slovak Federation. Mr. Sedlacek's letter follows:

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS SLOVAK FEDERATION,
East St. Louis, Ill., April 8, 1954.

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The recent agreement of the present administration with Britain and France on increased sales of goods to Communist nations in Europe, should not be allowed to prevail.

Before the United States or any other country can afford to trade with Russia or any of its satellites, the whole sorry subject of slave labor and censorship should be threshed out.

Slave labor is so common in Russia and satellite countries that many of the victims have reached a point where they hardly recognize it for what it is and doubt that any other system is possible. It need not be under lash and gun, either, but forced upon men and women by the basic urge for self-preservation, the need for sustenance and shelter.

Freedom of information is equally important, especially to Americans and even to the British and the French. They wish to keep informed and will keep informed at all costs. Without a free press, without free communications, without assurance that people may exchange views or even petition their government for redress of grievances, there is no freedom.

Expanded trade with Russia or any of its satellites until those conditions are brought out into the open and remedied, is out of the question. Any American statesman (Stassen) who dares to suggest trade with Russia and satellites, until such a time as there is an agreement on nonaggression and disarmament, should be ousted immediately.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN C. SEDLACEK.

Added Up, the New Look Equals the Old Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the great American newsgathering and reporting profession continues to perform its vital service in a democracy with remarkable talent and integrity.

I call special attention today to the fine work in this field of Mr. Eric Sevareid, of the Columbia Broadcasting System. I commend his perceptive news analyses to the attention of all Americans.

It seems impossible to hoodwink such a perceptive newsman as Eric Sevareid. In a recent broadcast he went to the heart of America's military-political foreign policy with a few well-chosen words.

I include a transcript of his CBS news analysis of Thursday night, April 8, 1954, at 11:10 o'clock, in the RECORD:

America's military-political foreign policy, as identified in the official phrase "massive retaliation" has caused considerable anxiety among our allies and considerable confusion in Congress and people. It has not been clear, at least to many of us, whether we would meet a small and limited aggression with the big, nuclear weapons directed at Russia or China itself, whether that could be the meaning of massive retaliation or the phrase deterrent force. These phrases have been coupled with much talk to the effect that we would not again be pinned down in smaller wars, like Korea, not be nibbled away, not rush around any more to put out so-called brush fires.

In the last few days, a certain amount of clarification has been introduced into the whole, confused discussion; this second look at the New Look defense policy has gradually revealed that there is nothing very new in it save for a degree of structural change in the Military Establishment, designed to replace a certain amount of foot soldiery with a certain amount of the smaller, tactical atomic weapons. On the much higher level of world military strategy as distinct from this level of tactics, clarification has also been afforded. For one thing, the President this week stated flatly that the H-bomb is not going to be used by us until and unless it should be used against us. This means that that immense weapon stands as a deterrent to an enemy, all right; but not as a deterrent to his making a small or a big war against us; only as a deterrent to his using that weapon.

Yesterday Secretary of State Dulles went much further, so it seems to me, in an extemporaneous sentence at a Republican women's conference, a sentence overlooked by the press. Speaking of the nuclear weapons in general, he said that the United States would retaliate instantly in the event of any overt aggression against us or our allies in terms of atomic weapons. If I read that correctly, we would use these weapons, in any form, only if they were used against us or our allies; if so, that would seem to strip the phrase massive retaliation of any new meaning at all; of course we would use such weapons if used against us or our allies, but that has been true of our policy intent for years past.

This also seems to strip all meaning from Vice President NIXON'S recent television statement that, rather than be nibbled to

death in little wars we would rely on our massive, mobile retaliatory power which he said we could use against the major source of aggression. If there is any other kind of massive retaliatory power besides our nuclear weapons power, I do not know what it is. If there is any other major source of aggression besides China and Russia themselves, I do not know what it is. Indochina is a little war; it is backed by Russia and China; we are intervening in that war; but there is not the slightest evidence that we intend to make a nuclear weapons attack on China or Russia; indeed, Mr. Dulles has just said, in effect, that we won't.

What does it come down to, then, in terms of Indochina? Probably a naval blockade afainst China if she intervenes more openly and blatantly, and probably providing we get support from our doubtful allies. Whether China intervenes more or not, it probably means more American supplies, then American naval and airpower if things get worse, and then, in case of desperation, American soldiers if the country will support that move. In other words, a process very much like that of our involvement in Korea, with no more simple, inexpensive, or magical methods to win and get out than we had in Korea. Future events, of course, may add it all up quite differently; but on the basis of present premises, the new arithmetic still adds up to the old sums.

"I Feel That the Student Exchange Program Is One of Our Greatest Weapons Against Communism"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRAZIER REAMS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. REAMS. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following letter and an editorial from the Colorado Daily from Miss Annette Cossitt, who is a resident of Toledo, Ohio, and a student at the University of Colorado. I am pleased to be able to bring such a mature and thoughtful study of the value of our foreign-student exchange program to the attention of my colleagues:

MARCH 29, 1954.

Hon. FRAZIER REAMS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. REAMS: Our campus is up in arms right now about the bill before the Senate to cut appropriations in the foreign student exchange program, and I for one am one of those who is especially upset. I realize that the bill was already passed in the House, and I have no idea how you feel about this. No matter how you feel personally about this, I want you to know how I and many others feel about the bill—perhaps you can let others know about this, too.

I feel that the student exchange program is one of our greatest weapons against communism. These students who come over here grow to love and understand the United States, and are the best ambassadors we could ever hope to have. They carry influence in their countries because they have to be very intelligent to come to this country in the first place.

I have many friends among the foreign students on our campus and have talked to them about the United States and how they feel about it. They are the greatest boosters we could ever have. As a very personal example, this last year we had a girl from Yugoslavia living in our house. She has now gone back to her country, and I know she won't be able to say enough about the United States—in fact, she's coming back here to live.

As everyone knows one of the greatest causes of prejudice and fear is ignorance. How can we want to keep our students ignorant of the peoples and customs of these countries and them of us and ours? If we hope to ever achieve anything even remotely resembling peace, we must get rid of fears and prejudice. I firmly believe this, and I kind of suppose you do, too.

I am enclosing an article from the front page of our paper today. It is concerning the action on our campus and will help you to understand just what it is that is going on here.

All of us would so appreciate anything that you and anyone else might be able to do.

Most sincerely yours,

ANNETTE COSSITT.

Ezra Taft Benson, a Great American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, I have availed myself of every opportunity to indicate my wholehearted support of the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, who is distinguishing himself as Secretary of Agriculture. It so happens that his agricultural policies coincide pretty largely with the thinking of the fine farmers in my congressional district. Aside from that fact, however, I have a warm admiration for his great courage in promoting his program in the face of vigorous and ofttimes unreasonable opposition.

The following editorial taken from the issue of the New York Times of March 30 further emphasizes the Secretary's splendid qualities and is a heartening commentary on fidelity to duty which we so rarely find in public life today:

PORTRAIT ON TELEVISION

If there were those who had vaguely expected something exciting in the way of news to come out of Sunday night's radio-television interview of Secretary of Agriculture Benson, they must have found that half hour an unremunerative one. But to many others who listened we have an idea that, even though the interviewee didn't produce any white rabbits, it must have been a rewarding experience. Why? Because, we think, they must have come away with the feeling that here, in this key Government post, so fraught with controversy and misunderstanding, is a man with the equipment needed for the job.

The questions thrown at the Secretary were not as informed as they might have been, and no holds were barred at any time. In the face of the former consideration, Mr. Benson's patience and politeness never faltered; in the face of the latter, he never dodged a question and never asked quarter. He was equally at home whether he was dealing with a question concerning the economics of agriculture or whether he was drawing upon his own lifetime experience as a farmer to explain how a given problem applied at the farm level.

And if you think this man who has been wrestling more or less thanklessly for more than a year now with one of the most difficult tasks inherited by the present administration is discouraged by the size of that problem or by the criticism of those with a vested interest in opposing his program for getting agriculture back on its tracks, you could not be more mistaken. He is not discouraged, because he knows (as does every sound economist) that the answer to agricultural overproduction is not going to be found in a policy based on the Alice-in-Wonderland concept that it doesn't exist—that the answer lies in increasing consumption. As for the criticism, that doesn't seem to worry Mr. Benson unduly either. He has found the American farmer, he says, a reasonable and openminded human being who is frequently well ahead of the professional critics. Given the basic facts in a situation, he can usually be depended upon to choose the right course.

Some Foreign Trade Policies Are Creating Prosperity Abroad and Poverty at Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, this week in Port of Spain, Trinidad, a United States delegation headed by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs is participating in the trade promotion conference for the Caribbean. The announced purpose of the conference is to explore ways and means of stimulating the trade of that area internally and with other trading nations of the world.

Such meetings are in the public interest providing that the public interest is uppermost in the minds of our delegates and providing also that they keep in mind that they are without portfolio as far as formulating laws and treaties are concerned. Since Congress relinquished the power to regulate foreign commerce—a power granted by the Constitution—there has been a tendency on the part of all too many representatives of the executive department to make glowing promises that many times actually proved inimical to the welfare of this country. The result was that irresponsible commitments by these groups were in some cases eventually accepted as the foundation for our foreign trade policies, to the detriment of American industry and labor.

In every conference in which our delegates have participated, it has been obvious that representatives from other countries have never deviated from their appointed course—of advocating and insisting upon policies that will be most helpful to their respective countries and peoples. The United States, in attempting to buy world friendship wherever necessary, has been alone in following a principle of trade expansion at any cost regardless of the harm it may inflict upon the domestic welfare.

In reading a current article by the Consul General of Venezuela in New York, I was impressed by his persuasive attempts to convince the American peo-

ple that there should be no limit upon the amount of oil imported into the United States from Venezuela. The article appears in an oil magazine—at least 90 percent of whose advertising in this particular issue is paid for by companies with foreign interests—published and primarily circulated in this country. It is a good article, and certainly no diplomat is to be criticized for attempting to win favor for his own nation. He even goes so far as to tell the coal industry what its basic trouble is, concluding with the premise that residual oil imports—which amount to 32 million tons in bituminous coal equivalent last year—should be ignored and that—

A displacement of coal miners should be anticipated in some sections of the country, just as there will be another displacement of workers, in the oilfields, when atomic fuels become plentiful and more efficient than oil.

Mr. Speaker, despite his resort to fallacious reasoning, the consul general is to be congratulated by his people for attempting to propagandize the citizenry of the United States in order that his own country might better prosper. The article points up the contrast in attitudes of representatives of other countries and those of our own. Who in our State Department or elsewhere in our Government outside of Capitol Hill has dared to take such a bold stand against tariffs and quotas in behalf of United States products? No one. In the case of our diplomats it is always the opposite approach: to ask this country to sacrifice more and more in order that foreign nations might prosper at our expense.

Trade restrictions are primarily designed for the protection of home industry and labor. Other countries utilize them whenever necessary. The report published last month by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, following a lengthy study in Latin American countries, is evidence of how trade restrictions are employed by our friends in those countries.

At a later date I shall apprise the Congress of some of the findings that the Senate committee has published in regard to trade restrictions in all the leading countries of Latin America. Today, however, I shall confine my references to Venezuela, whose consul general insists that the United States should continue to accept shipment after shipment of foreign residual oil regardless of the damage that it inflicts upon the domestic coal industry. Following are direct quotations from the Senate committee report:

VENEZUELA

Venezuelan Government policy has constantly favored industrialization as a means of lessening the nation's dependence upon petroleum. This policy has resulted in the establishment of a number of new industries in recent years, fostered by high import duties. The Venezuelans feel that such protection is necessary because of the country's extremely high-cost economy. * * * Among some of the industries that are protected by the Venezuelan tariff are: Textiles, wearing apparel, rubber tires, fats and oils, confectionery, paints, metal furniture, crackers, canned fish, tomato products, and powdered milk. * * * Import duties produce the third largest revenue return to the Venezuelan Government. In reality, the import duties substitute, to a certain extent, for direct taxes, since the administrative collecting system in the interior of the country is imperfect. Consequently, it is more convenient to concentrate the collection of revenues in the ports of the country. * * * Import licenses are used as a protective device to assist local agriculture and industry. Thus licenses for some products are issued on the condition that the importer purchase locally a certain percentage of the same product imported.

As I have suggested earlier, Venezuela is not to be condemned for employing trade restrictions to protect her high-cost economy. On the contrary, she is to be commended for establishing foreign policy that assists in promoting prosperity for her people. My attention was recently called to a newspaper article pointing out that Americans employed in Caracas pay rents as high as $400 or $500 a month for homes in some of the luxurious suburban areas. It states further that $60 to $70 per week is not unusual as a food bill for an average family in Caracas.

To the people in my district of Pennsylvania, and in other stricken coal-producing areas of this country, newspaper stories such as these are highly ironic and most distasteful, for it is at the expense of our miners, railroaders, and other American citizens in these regions that the good people in Venezuela are able to enjoy such fantastically high standards of living. I only wish that the families of my district were able to spend as much as $65 a month on foodstuffs. As for rents, many of our landlords have given up hope of collecting a single dollar until such a time as sensible trade policies are adopted and our people can go back to work.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that our delegates at Port au Spain will be mindful of these conditions, and of conditions in Venezuela as well, when trade extension considerations are undertaken at the conference table. I also trust that Members of Congress will refer to this material—and to the other Latin American trade policies to which I will refer at a later date—when the Trade Agreements Act and related matters are brought to the House floor for consideration.

It is not a get-tough policy that I am recommending in regard to our foreign commerce. I merely insist upon a get-truthful program that will enable the American people to see for themselves how the scales of international trade are tipped so heavily against us; when these facts are understood, our citizens will rise in protest against the prevailing inequities responsible for mounting unemployment in my district and in other coal-producing States.

Statehood Precedent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial supporting passage of the combined Alaska-Hawaii statehood bill which appeared in the Mason City Globe-Gazette, Mason City, Iowa, for March 30. The editorial follows:

STATEHOOD PRECEDENT

The current proposal to admit Hawaii and Alaska to statehood at the same time isn't anything new in American history. In the past they've come in singly, in pairs and even in clusters.

The first State added after the original 13 was Vermont, in 1791, followed by Kentucky a year later, Tennessee in 1796, Ohio in 1803, and Louisiana in 1812.

Maine and Missouri posed the most vexing problem due to the mounting North-South rivalry. Maine was antislave, Missouri was considered proslave. The result was the famed Missouri compromise of 1820.

The greatest group entry occurred in 1889 and involved the Dakotas, Montana and Washington. New Mexico and Arizona were bracketed for statehood in 1912.

So Congress would have to find some other excuse for violating the unequivocal pledge of both parties.

Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Nation lost a great and farsighted military leader in the death of Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg. His record of achievements will be difficult to surpass. His dedication to the Air Force will forever be a guide to those who seek to follow in his footsteps.

As an extension of my remarks I include editorials from the Grand Rapids Herald, the Grand Rapids Press, and the Holland Evening Sentinel:

[From the Grand Rapids Press]

GEN. HOYT S. VANDENBERG

The death of Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg was not unexpected, since it generally had been known for many months that he was suffering from cancer. But the news of his death Friday is no less saddening; for only 2 years ago, at the age of 54 and with almost 30 years of military service behind him, Hoyt Vandenberg still was one of the most youthful appearing men on the public scene. And he certainly was one of the most popular military leaders of our time.

Grand Rapids people always had a special respect and affection for him, partly because he was the nephew of the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg and partly because it was the late Senator William Alden Smith of Grand Rapids who obtained for him his appointment to the United States military academy.

But General Vandenberg did not trade on his name or associations. He didn't have to. He was a brilliant, natural leader and he grew up with the Air Force. His outstanding record as an airman made him the logical choice to succeed Gen. Carl Spaatz as the Nation's second Air Force Chief of Staff. And as such he was greatly responsible for the development and expansion of our fighting air arm.

We have no doubt that if General Vandenberg had lived and continued in good health he would have been an extremely valuable adviser to the military establishment, for

his views always could be accepted as those of an authority rather than of a politician. Honor, respect, and affection were his in all the years he served, and they will continue to be accorded his name as long as members of this generation survive and men fly American planes.

[From the Grand Rapids Herald]

"GENERAL VAN"

Grand Rapids always watched the career of Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg with special interest. In a sense he was "a Grand Rapids boy." Today this community, with the whole Nation and the entire free world, mourns his untimely death at 55.

As a youth of 18, General Vandenberg came here to live with the family of his uncle, the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, and was appointed to the United States Military Academy from this State.

General Vandenberg left his imprint on the pattern of our national defense as one of those who saw most clearly the prime importance of air power.

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., in his introduction to "The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg," related that the young officer used to stop off on cross-country flights to talk with his uncle, "arguing that the airplane would be a dominant factor in any future wars," and later in Washington they had long conversations about air power. Arthur Vandenberg, Jr., recalled "many conversations in which the then junior officer in the Air Force argued heatedly against my father's belief that the oceans were 'moats' protecting America from foreign wars," and finally:

"If I tried to single out any one thing to show how my father was conditioned to the change he made during the war, I would choose his devoted relationship with Hoyt."

Senator Vandenberg's change of viewpoint had far-reaching effect, as the world now knows. "General Van" did his work well then, as in World War II and later as Chief of Staff of the Air Force.

Cancer and death have brought a great loss to the Nation.

[From the Holland Sentinel]

GEN. HOYT S. VANDENBERG

The first thought upon the death of Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg was that we have lost another Vandenberg, and one of the youngest to become a four-star general in American history in 1947 at the age of 48. According to the record, early the next year he became the second Chief of Staff of the independent Air Force. He is said to have shouldered the responsibilities of that post and of membership on the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff for 5 critical years, including 3 Korean war years during which he sparked a rapid Air Force expansion.

He flew 25 combat missions in World War II, about all he could, before he was told to stop. In 1950 he cracked the "balanced force" concept under which the Army, Navy, and Air Force had shared evenly in the military budget. The Joint Chiefs agreed to hold the Army and Navy at their planned strengths and to boost the Air Force by 50 percent.

He was a nephew of the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, a prewar isolationist whose views changed completely during the war. Senator Vandenberg's son, Arthur, Jr., has written that Hoyt's influence was a No. 1 factor in the Senator's abandonment of isolationism.

Vandenberg was born in Milwaukee, Wis., moving to Lowell, Mass., with his parents at the age of 7. He entered West Point from Michigan, as he had established a residence with his Uncle Arthur, then Grand Rapids Herald publisher.

We have lost another Vandenberg and another air general who believed that the best defense is a crushing defense.

New Golden Horde

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, as an indication of the alarm of our people in the position our country and our people are in with reference to Indochina and southeast Asia, I include in my remarks an editorial entitled "New Golden Horde," appearing in the Boston Post of April 9, 1954.

This newspaper, which wields great influence in New England, and particularly in greater Boston, vigorously supported President Eisenhower in the 1952 elections.

The editorial follows:

NEW GOLDEN HORDE

It is impossible to procrastinate very much longer. Someone has got to formulate a positive American policy on Indochina. If the President cannot make up his mind, and if John Foster Dulles cannot resolve the American diplomatic dilemma, then the Congress must.

The administration is getting a bad case of strabismus from trying to keep one eye on the elections 7 months away and one eye on the looming threat of war. To date, the principal and popularly hailed achievement of the Eisenhower administration has been the cease-fire arrangement in Korea. Open intervention in Indochina would cancel that out as a political advantage.

President Eisenhower says a Red victory in Indochina would be a disaster. That is not exactly a profound conclusion. It has been rather plain for several weeks, even to such a rudimentary strategist as a high-school cadet, that if Indochina falls into Red hands from any cause or combination of causes, it would be disastrous.

It is also rather plain that all the threats of massive retaliation, positive action, unified action, and stepped-up military assistance haven't deterred the Red aggression in Indochina. Indeed, John Foster Dulles no longer pretends that there is no Red aggression there. He admits it, and threatens war.

The French do not want to fight any longer for Indochina. They will not give the Associated States independence either. But they will make a shameful deal with Moscow. The Indians are clamoring for the right to absorb Portuguese and French possessions on the subcontinent—the easier to turn them over to the Reds when they fall upon India.

The Congress had better buckle down now to dealing with this world crisis. The administration hasn't the stomach for it. That means putting an end to playing politics with peril.

There used to be a popular bugaboo called the Yellow Peril. In general, it was the thesis that the yellow-skinned people would unite, arm themselves in their teeming millions and crush the West. The Chinese Reds, aided by their despotic oriental pals in the Kremlin, are very close to raising the yak-tailed standards of the Golden Horde of Genghis Khan once again. They have been making much of late about enshrining the body of Genghis Khan in Mongolia.

Once Red Chinese hegemony is established over all of Asia, the Yellow Peril will be a reality. It is the fashion now to temporize and mince words concerning our situation in Asia in order to avoid giving offense to the few friends we have left there.

Some stark facts must be faced. The native populations of Asia flock to a winner. The winner is taking the shape of the Red Chinese, as bloodthirsty a band of butchers as ever rode in the Golden Horde.

St. Lawrence Iceway Is Not the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial taken from the March 22, 1954, issue of the Santa Ana (Calif.) Register states very frankly that the St. Lawrence seaway is not the answer to the Nation's access to Canadian ore but that taconite is our country's assurance of always having its own iron-ore supply. The editorial follows:

ST. LAWRENCE ICEWAY NOT THE ANSWER

Taconite, a magic word in the steel industry, is this country's assurance of always having its own iron-ore supply. Why spend money on a St. Lawrence Waterway, at a time when we're trying to balance the budget and not raise the debt ceiling, to help develop Canada's ore when we have an inexhaustible supply in our own backyard, which as yet is relatively untouched—enough for a thousand years. It is a matter of record that, so far, better than $500 million has been invested in the development of the taconite-ore fields and that an additional $500 million or more will be invested in the very near future. This huge investment, incidentally, is private capital, and not Government funds. If private companies spend money on this scale you can bet your boots that there are billions of tons of ore available. The investment in taconite is already more than twice as large as that in Canadian ore, and a waterway is not involved.

If we are so distrustful of Canada that we cannot allow her to build the waterway alone, when she is anxious to do so, certainly it would not be good policy to depend on her for ore in time of emergency.

Certainly it would benefit the Midwest more to develop its own ores than to have a piece of a waterway that ends in Toledo.

We do not, however, subscribe to the propaganda that builds up our ore problems far beyond credence. According to Republic Steel Corp.'s chief metallurgist, Earle C. Smith, speaking before the Cleveland Society of Security Analysts, the American steel industry could operate 500 years on domestic ores, ore lying within 3,000 feet of the surface, of a quality superior to those commonly used in England and most European countries.

Remember when it is said that we need the waterway for defense, it is simply meant that six steel companies that have invested in Labrador ore, want the waterway to bring in their own particular ore from Canada, at a better competitive advantage. Defense, indeed. They have said they will bring in the ore whether the waterway is built or not—and certainly if Canada builds the waterway it will be there for their use.

To put the Labrador ore in proper perspective, it is planned to produce 10 million tons annually by 1957 or 1958, as compared with the some 120 million tons we now use annually.

The answer would thus plainly seem to be, not Canadian ore via the St. Lawrence iceway but, taconite for the steel furnaces of America.

More Western Goods for Russia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension of remarks observations appearing in the U. S. News & World Reports, in its issue of April 9, 1954, on the recent decision in which our country participated and agreed to permit more trade with the Soviet or Communist bloc.

As we know from Administrator Harold Stassen the reason, or excuse, is that it is a peace gesture, meaning, of course, on our part to the world killers of today, the Communists.

And the very next day we are informed of the warlike actions in Indochina and southeastern Asia of the Red Chinese, inspired and backed by the Soviet Communist Union.

On one hand warlike actions by the other side directed at the United States and the free world. On the other hand a peace gesture by our country and other countries of the free world toward the Soviet Union which will give to the Soviet Union great benefits in trade and probably be considered by them as a sign of fear and weakness on our part.

Assuming this action was justified, which I do not admit, was the timing on our part right?

There are many persons who feel if anything of this kind was to be entered into that it should have been left for the coming Geneva Conference; that it might well have constituted a trading point for Secretary Dulles and our representatives at that conference.

To me, it seems to be a noticeable and strange inconsistency for a peace gesture to be given to the Communists at a time when they are engaged in war actions—not mere gestures—toward the United States and the remaining free countries of the world.

This calls for considerable explanation on the part of the present administration, which will have difficulty in satisfying the great majority of our people.

I also include in my remarks a news item that recently appeared in the press quoting Administrator Stassen on the reason for the present administration's agreement with other countries. As stated in the news item, "to ease its embargo of strategic goods to Russia in the hope such a policy would encourage world peace."

The articles follow:

[From the U. S. News & World Report of April 9, 1954]

MORE WESTERN GOODS FOR RUSSIA—UNITED STATES LOWERS BARRIERS UNDER ALLIED PRESSURE

LONDON—The Eisenhower administration is yielding to Prime Minister Churchill and continental leads who insist on more trade with the Russian bloc.

The list of goods classed strategic and withheld from the Reds is to be shortened, probably one-third.

As a result, Western Europe will sell Eastern Europe more ships, machine tools, industrial machinery and metals. Once across the frontier, there is no way to keep such goods from going to China. The prospect is anything but pleasing to United States defense officials.

This hands, in advance, to the Communist foreign ministers—Molotov of Russia and Chou En-lai of Red China—one of the chief concessions they hoped to win in the meeting that begins in Geneva on April 26. Some United States authorities believe the West has dropped a trump card that might have been played for concessions on Korea and Indochina.

Pressure for more trade with the East has been building up here and in other European capitals since Korean truce talks started. After the truce was set, pressure threatened to blow off controls imposed on East-West trade.

Communists have been denied not only Western weapons and supplies for atomic work, but also many metals, some machine tools, heavy industrial machinery, precision bearings, ships and many other things needed for their industry and over-all strength. Now they will get more of these types of goods.

Reasons for British insistence are complex. Industrial capacity in Britain is growing, bidding for wider markets. The dollar market becomes less inviting, because of the United States recession. United States aid is being cut. Traditional markets in Eastern Europe, though small, are considered something of an offset. Also, fear of global war is subsiding.

Loosening of controls on East-West trade really began months ago. Britain got the consent of allied countries to build fishing trawlers for Russia. Denmark agreed to build tankers and refrigerator ships. At times, because of shipments to the Reds, the United States threatened to cut off aid to some Western nations, but never did so.

United States officials conceded that the control list might be too long.

Meanwhile Russian officials talked of buying half a billion dollars of British goods per year. Russian gold was shipped to London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Geneva to show the Reds meant business.

British businessmen, invited to Moscow, got orders valued at more than 60 millions. But more that four-fifths of the goods ordered are classed as strategic until the control list is officially redrawn. Similar Russian deals with other nations hinge also on relaxing controls.

Thus the Kremlin built up pressure.

At last, on February 25, in a statement to Parliament, Sir Winston made looser controls a must. A meeting of the group administering controls, with representatives from 15 nations, had been set for Paris on April 23. The United States decided a preliminary agreement should be sought with the British and French.

Stalling until after Geneva was considered, according to United States officials, but the Allies couldn't be stalled.

The big cave-in came last week after Harold Stassen, Foreign Operations Administrator, flew here from Washington. Word of concessions leaked to the press.

Back in Washington, Mr. Stassen announced an agreement on principles by which trade could be expanded without risking the movement of strategic materials to Russia and its satellites. This merely means fewer things henceforth will be deemed strategic.

Mr. Stassen said his talks were successful and satisfactory. He has a promise that remaining controls will be policed more carefully. Trade in military and atomic items is still to be banned. Outwardly, controls on trade with Red China remain tight; relaxation applies only to shipments to East Europe, and the official line is to minimize the danger of transshipment.

The theory prevails, in the Eisenhower administration, that the cold war will go on for years, that only minimum controls will stand the test of time, and that Western Europe needs more trade.

Even the United States, according to this idea, should trade more with the Reds in peaceful goods, such as foods.

But this view is not unanimous. United States military men are astounded at the thought of ending controls on a third of the present strategic list. They think even minor concessions should have been saved for Geneva.

[From the Washington Post and Times-Herald]

STRATEGIC GOODS LIST REEXAMINED—UNITED STATES TO EASE SOVIET TRADE EMBARGO AS PEACE GESTURE, STASSEN REVEALS

Foreign Operations Director Harold Stassen said yesterday the administration had agreed to ease its embargo of strategic goods to Russia in the hopes such a policy would encourage world peace.

Stassen recently returned from a series of secret talks with French and British Cabinet members aimed at revising the list of goods which should be kept out of Soviet hands.

He said the reason for this revision was the administration's conviction that raising heavy trade barriers around the Soviet would create further world tensions.

"The path to world peace may well be an economic road," Stassen said.

The British and French Governments are known to have favored such a loosening of East-West trade for some time. Stassen said that during the recent conferences both sides made certain concessions.

Speaking on the American Broadcasting Co.'s television show, At Issue, Stassen said the revision in trade policy does not mean this country will end its policy of watchfulness in determining what goods may or may not be helpful to Russia in building up a potential war machine.

He said the free world has made remarkable economic progress in recent years while Russia has been having its economic difficulties.

If we can convince Russia that her hopes that this Nation's economic system will collapse are in vain and persuade her she can improve her system by peaceful trading with the West, such an exchange will encourage world peace, Stassen said.

North Dakotans Protest Alcoholic Beverage Advertising

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter from Grafton, N. Dak.:

GRAFTON, N. DAK.

Hon. USHER L. BURDICK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We, the undersigned, are desirous to see action on the Bryson bill. Will you please present this petition to the House and have a note made of it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD? The alcoholic beverage advertising enters our homes with its dangerous,

misleading propaganda and we feel that for the good of our country it should be stopped.

Thank you.

EMMA E. GORDER.
BENJ. GORDER.
MRS. CHAS. D. ADAMSEN.
Pastor DALE G. VANDERPOEL.
MRS. WM. GORDER.
WM. GORDER.

Blue Shield Plan for Medical Treatment Shows Good Progress in Hawaii

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON
DELEGATE FROM HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the Blue Shield plan for medical care has been widely accepted in the Territory of Hawaii according to Dr. L. Howard Schriver, president of the Blue Shield Commission. Under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Dr. Schriver on the subject as further evidence of the generally high standards achieved by the people of the Territory.

The letter follows:

BLUE SHIELD MEDICAL CARE PLANS,
Chicago, Ill., March 29, 1954.

The Honorable JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON,
Delegate of Territory of Hawaii,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FARRINGTON: A representative of the Hawaii Medical Service Association (HMSA), the Blue Shield pan for Hawaii, offering medical, surgical, and hospital service benefits on a prepayment basis, will soon be attending the 1954 national annual conference of Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans, April 4–8, 1954, in New York City. Executives and directors of the 84 Blue Cross and 77 Blue Shields plans of the United States, Canada and Hawaii will review the year's progress and reset their goals of offering the public the greatest possible protection against the financial hazards of hospital and medical care.

Therefore, it seems appropriate that we send you this time a brief report of current progress in the Territory of Hawaii and in the Nation as a whole:

1. At the close of 1953, Blue Shield enrollment was more than 29 million, 19.5 percent of United States and 12.4 percent of Canadian population. HMSA is the Blue Shield plan in Hawaii and has an enrollment of 73,549 members which represents 15.5 percent of the total population in the Territory.

2. During 1953, Blue Shield plans paid physicians $254,428,546 which was 81 percent of income. HMSA paid out $1,731,395 for doctor and hospital services to its members which represents 83.2 percent of the total dues income.

We are sure that you share our pride in the achievements of HMSA in Hawaii. During our national conference, your representative from Hawaii will join delegates from the other States in studying methods of improving still further the scope and effectiveness of Blue Shield operations in all areas, and will return home with new ideas and techniques for raising the plan to an even higher level of effectiveness in its role as vital public service to the people of the Territory of Hawaii.

Sincerely yours,

L. HOWARD SCHRIVER, M. D.,
President, Blue Shield Commission.

The Danger Within

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune, dated April 11, Sunday, entitled "The Danger Within":

THE DANGER WITHIN

Last week, the Eisenhower administration gave a convincing demonstration of how the Government is moving against the danger of Communist infiltration, fairly, legally, and effectively. In separate statements, the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Attorney General placed the problem of Red infiltration in perspective—a very real threat, but one which is being met without either complacency or hysteria.

President Eisenhower gave the key to his administration's approach to this problem on Monday, when, without minimizing the danger, he pointed out the folly of exaggerating the number of Communists in this country, and hailed the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in coping with them. On Thursday, Mr. Charles E. Wilson explained the new Defense Department directive for dealing with Communists and security risks within the Armed Forces—an extension of the similar policy which is already being enforced in other areas of Government. Friday, Mr. Herbert Brownell, Jr., placed the whole question of the interaction of executive and legislative agencies in focus with an account of the work of the FBI and the Justice Department, coupled with recommendations for new legislation.

"The policy of the administration, within the framework of our Constitution and our laws," said Mr. Brownell, "is to strike the Communists at every opportunity—to hit them where it hurts most." He presented impressive evidence of the efficiency of the FBI in obtaining information and of the Justice Department and the courts in prosecuting offenders under existing laws. With these weapons, and the regulatory powers of executive agencies, the defenses of the United States against infiltration have reached a point where the Attorney General could give assurance that, "so far as is humanly possible this country is protected against further loss from Government sources of secret defense information to our enemies."

Weak points still exist—not in the will of the administration to combat communism—but in the laws themselves. Mr. Brownell proposed a number of new statutory provisions—a law to stiffen the protection of defense plants against potential spies and espionage agents; another to guard against Communist control of unions in vital industries; power to grant immunity against self-incrimination, to combat abuses of the fifth amendment; use of wiretap evidence in security cases; more severe penalties for crimes involving disloyalty and revisions in the statute of limitations as applied to espionage cases. These measures will be debated in Congress, in the exercise of its proper legislative function of providing the Government with lawful and constitutional means to overcome any threat to the national security.

The main points of Mr. Brownell's broadcast are, that the administration is acting energetically against Communists within the limits of its authority, and is keeping Congress informed of the need for new or amended laws. He showed—and the whole record of the administration bears him out—that there is no justification for spreading fear or resorting to extralegal pressures to combat a peril which is being overcome by procedures that are "basically fair in accordance with the traditional American conception of due process of law." Communism in America, in other words, is a dangerous growth on the body politic that is being treated by experts. It does not require the services of witch doctors to scare the patient into fits.

Republican Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Speaker, during the campaign of the last election the Republican candidate for President of the United States and all of the Republican campaigners and candidates informed and promised all career civil-service employees that their employment or positions would be protected and secure under a Republican administration. Within a short period after the Republican inauguration and the President's appointments of new Cabinet officials, as well as other major appointments, the Republican executives of the present administration complained that they should be entitled to fire so-called policy-making civil-service employees who were holding policymaking positions, and to replace them with persons in harmony and agreement with the policies of the Republican program. Many people believed such requests to be reasonable, so the Republicans immediately discharged many supervisors and persons of years of service in Government employment who had made a career of such work, and replaced them with Republican appointees whose major policy would be to serve the interests of the Republican Party.

Now that was only the beginning of the destruction of the civil-service program. Since that time the Republican Postmaster General, the Honorable Arthur E. Summerfield, has permitted or authorized the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for investigations by post-office inspectors seeking cause and excuses to remove Democratic postmasters at the request of the Republican committees and political machine organizations in almost every State in the country. I am wondering what the postmasters have to do with policymaking under the present administration.

In Columbia, Mo., which is one of the major cities of the district I have the honor of serving, the postmaster, Allen W. Sapp, has been arbitrarily dismissed or removed as postmaster by the Postmaster General. Allen Sapp has served as postmaster of Columbia for more than 19 years. He is an honorable man, a fine Christian gentleman, with exemplary character and highest qualifications. His record in office for honesty, efficiency, and ability has never and is not now questioned, but he is a Democrat, and the Republican politicians and

Republican State committee decided they wanted to appoint a prominent Republican as postmaster of Columbia. So they requested the National Republican Committee to ask the Postmaster General to start investigations. They and the post-office inspectors investigated over a long period of time and could not find any real honest or sound complaint against Allen Sapp, but the pressure from the Republican powers on the throne was so great that they finally charged that Allen Sapp did not stay on the job a full 8-hour period every day, ignoring the fact that on the average he spent more than 8 hours a day in his office. They also charged that he engaged in outside activities in that he had made a few private or personal loans. All of which was petty and frivolous. Nevertheless, he has been dismissed and discharged as postmaster, and also denied a hearing. It is a shame that a fine man like Allen W. Sapp can be so treated by the Post Office Department, which he has so loyally served.

There's Still Korea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of April 12, 1954:

THERE'S STILL KOREA

In all the excitement over Indochina most Americans are likely to forget that the Geneva Conference was called primarily for settlement of the Korean war.

You may remember that war—it isn't over yet. More than 100,000 American troops are still in Korea under the guns of an enemy that has been building up strength from the day the shooting stopped, last July.

When that uneasy armistice began, there was scarcely an airfield in North Korea left usable after our final air assaults. Now there are nine in operation and more being rushed as fast as enslaved Koreans and Chinese can do the job.

That isn't all. New Russian-made planes are being moved up. Weapons, including artillery pieces, are being smuggled in. Other supplies are being shipped across the border openly, and actual troop reinforcements are suspected.

All this, of course, is in flagrant defiance of the armistice terms, but we can do nothing about it. By its composition the truce team which is supposed to police the armistice is useless. Though theoretically neutral, it is made up of two Communist member nations—Poland and Czechoslovakia—and plus Switzerland and Sweden. The Poles and Czechs have sided with the Reds without exception when violations are charged. Occasionally the Swiss and Swedes have upheld Communist claims. At best, disputes can result only in an impotent two-to-two tie.

As a result, there have been no official inspections of what's going on in North Korea in response to more than 40 complaints from our side. The Communists have become so bold and unhampered, they no longer bother to conceal their buildup.

Meanwhile Communist radio propaganda from Peiping, aping the Dulles approach is bearing down on the line that the whole Communist bloc of nations including Russia has a stake in North Korea and any settlement at Geneva must take that in consideration.

Thus Peiping serves notice there is no intention of giving up North Korea and there'll be no unification except on Red terms.

The uselessness of the Geneva talks on Korea has been evident to ROK President Syngman Rhee from the outset. Better than most western statesmen, he understands the Communist foe, and he acts on his convictions. He has not budged in his determination to stay away from Geneva. He is particularly adamant against any package deal that would couple Korea with an Indochina sell-out. He can hardly be dealt out.

Whatever else happens at Geneva, we can be certain that the other war in Asia will be with us for a long time to come.

Tariffs Bear Watching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the question of tariffs is one of the most important matters to be acted upon by the 83d Congress. There are valid reasons advanced for tariff changes to promote international trade and relieve the United States of part of the foreign-aid burden. There are, however, many considerations on the other side of the picture. In California, particularly, many producers of speciality crops would be faced with economic disaster if they were forced to compete directly with the inferior products produced in countries where the farm standard of living is barely above poverty. I wish to bring to the attention of all the Members of Congress the following editorial on the subject printed in the Sacramento Bee on April 8, 1954:

TARIFFS BEAR WATCHING

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's special message to Congress, in which he requested broader powers to cut tariffs and promote foreign trade, should serve to put California Congressmen on guard against moves which could deal severe blows to the State's economy.

The President stated his program would bolster the security and economic growth of America and its allies. He said we must have continuously expanding world markets, and to strengthen our allies, must correct the trade imbalance which prevents nations from selling to us enough goods to pay for American products they wish to buy.

That is where the tariff cutting would enter the picture.

California's economy is particularly vulnerable to foreign competition. Its farmers cannot compete with the cheap labor, low cost of production products from Europe and South America. With low tariffs the Nation's markets would be flooded with wines, grains, fruits, nuts, olive oil, beef, wool, and mutton from abroad.

This State's farmers are working high-priced land with costly machinery and are paying the workers far more than the European average. Tariff protection is vital to them.

Some of this country's manufacturers could not compete with low-cost goods from abroad. These would be forced to cut wages and thus drive down the standard of living.

Injudicious lowering of import duties could be far more costly to many Americans than has been the foreign-aid program which Eisenhower hopes to curtail.

Congress should insist production costs abroad be considered in setting tariffs and that they be fixed at a level to protect American workers and farmers.

Division of Waters of Waterton and Belly Rivers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the Waterton and Belly Rivers rise in Glacier National Park and flow north into the Canadian Province of Alberta.

Division of the waters of these streams among the United States, Montana, and Canada is now before the International Joint Commission, set up by a 1909 treaty to handle international boundary water disputes.

The question came before the Commission on January 12, 1948. Canada submitted a proposal for dividing the waters in April 1952. The first United States proposal was submitted in October of that year.

In October of 1953 a special engineering committee was appointed to study the Canadian proposal. This committee reported to the Commission at a meeting here last week.

At that same meeting, Montana's attorney general, Mr. Arnold H. Olsen, representing the State water conservation board, objected to the Canadian proposal as wholly unacceptable to Montana in the light of the engineering report. He then resubmitted the United States proposal.

Mr. Olsen said the Canadian proposal would permit irrigation of a maximum of 40,000 acres in Montana with no firm flow, whereas under the United States proposal a firm flow of water would be guaranteed, irrigating a minimum of 84,000 acres.

The Canadians have been delaying solution of this problem for years by insisting on discussing first, the water requirements arising out of existing projects—all existing projects are in Canada—and, second, their claim that the only practical use for this water is in Canada.

Thus, they never get around to talking about apportionment of the water because discussions bog down on the first two points.

When we propose an apportionment, they say we cannot discuss apportionment until we have disposed of the first two points. When we insist, they say the answer to the first two points is: No water for Montana.

While they are holding us at arm's length on this question, they apparently are getting everything they want in the St. Lawrence seaway.

There are many examples of our willingness to cooperate with our Canadian neighbors. The other body has passed and sent to the House a bill to provide for joint development of the St. Lawrence seaway. The people of Montana are willing to work with Canada in an attempt to solve mutual problems. But cooperation should not stop at the headwaters of the St. Lawrence. A good neighbor is one who assumes his just obligations as well as his privileges. Canada should indicate its realization of this fact.

An Interview With a Farm Woman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEON H. GAVIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Punxsutawny Spirit:

Recently we talked to a farm woman from the north end of the county, a college graduate, incidentally, on the subject of the Eisenhower administration. "Do you think the President and the administration are doing a job, and do you think his popularity is waning?" "Farm income," she replied, "has been reduced, and naturally we farmers do not like that, but we realize that there must be a period of readjustment if we are ever to get back to a sane relationship between the taxpayer and the taxspender. The President has lopped $12,500,000,000 off the last Truman budget and has effected scores of economies that are reflected in reduced spending and some unemployment. But all of us have to realize that we can't live forever in the dizzy, crazy haze of prolific spending that has marked the Government's operation in the past 20 years or more. The inflation that besets us now is due to an utter disregard of the thrift that contributed so much toward making America what it was when the individual spent his money instead of handing it over to the Government to throw away. I know that's old stuff and has been repeated thousands of times, but I believe it sincerely." "And Eisenhower's popularity on the farm?" we asked. "It's growing," she answered, "and not so much because of what the President has done as because of what he is. We farm people take our religion very seriously. We're church goers, and we are in the great majority a people who pray. And it is the religious qualities so evident in Mr. Eisenhower, his resort to prayer and his frequent appeals for divine guidance that appeal to those of us who hope we have the same qualities. We figure, or at least I do, that a man of his convictions will make few mistakes, because he's putting his trust where it belongs. Times may get worse before they get better, but I feel sure that whatever happens, Dwight Eisenhower's popularity will grow among farm people the Nation over." We wanted to know if we could quote her. "You can use my words," she answered, "if you can remember them, but I wouldn't want you to use my name. My husband is still a Democrat."

Secretary Dulles' Clear Line of Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of April 6, 1954:

SECRETARY DULLES' CLEAR LINE OF POLICY
(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, April 5.—Two European wars within a quarter century, in which the United States ultimately became a participant, the loss of China to the Communists, and the military stalemate in Korea produced two theories which have been widely accepted. One is that, if Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler respectively had been given in advance good reason to believe the United States would enter the wars they began, they would never have begun them. The second theory is that, if a nation furnishes a putative aggressor with an explicit intimation that it has excluded from its line of military security certain areas he is known to covet, he will take that as notice he can invade these areas with impunity.

Secretary of State Dulles is following a clear line of foreign policy which implies full acceptance of both theories and a determination to forestall the consequences which are broadly attributed to the disregard of one or the other by the Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman administrations. In every speech and statement, the latest today to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, he has (a) warned the principal Communist powers that further aggression, including the imposition of their system of government on other nations, will bring instant retaliation at time and places of the free world's own choosing, and he has (b) left the principal Communist powers to guess when, where, and how the retaliation will come and by what means the united action of the free world will be attained.

Today he fortified this consistent policy approach to the dangers to the non-Communist world by telling the Communist Chinese they are "coming awfully close" to direct aggression in Indochina. And he pointedly reminded them of this statement he made last September: "If the Chinese sent their Red armies [there], it would be apt to produce action which might not be confined to Indochina."

PRIOR MISCALCULATIONS

The indiscriminate attacks on our shipping by Kaiserist Germany led directly to the entrance of the United States in World War I. But by that time the Germans felt obliged to employ desperate measures to clinch the victory over Great Britain and France before the unprepared United States could attain a military posture sufficient to turn the scale. It was their second mistake about this Nation: In 1916–17 the Germans underestimated its power and its unity potential after having miscalculated, in 1914, the durability of its isolationist tradition.

Hitler may have been more nearly right in 1939, for his errors of forecast seemed more soundly based. With many in this country he did not anticipate the uncomprosing line the Roosevelt administration suddenly adopted toward the Japan it had been supplying with scrap iron and petroleum. And there is evidence that he did not expect the Japanese reaction would be the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor that inevitably put the United States into the war.

Secretary Dulles, with the steady support of President Eisenhower, is obviously concentrating on an effort to prevent this history from repeating itself. The global war he is striving to avert may come, whether because authoritarian regimes cannot survive save through continuing aggression or because Soviet Russia, or the Communist Chinese, or both, will decide that the United States is bluffing. But the latter miscalculation or underestimation is the only one the Secretary's statements have left any room for in the Kremlin or at Peiping. Dulles has made it as certain as he can that, if a Communist power initiates world war III, it cannot do so on the forecasting errors made by the Kaiser and Hitler.

THE NEW GROUND OF POLICY

So far as aggression in Western Europe, and to some degree in the Middle East, is concerned, President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles are building on the foundation laid by President Truman and all his Secretaries of State. These formulated the Greek-Turkish aid bill, the Marshall plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty, and these inspired the North Atlantic military organization which garrisons Western Europe against aggression. With respect to this area the Eisenhower administration is merely emphasizing and strengthening collective security and the advance notice to potential aggressors which, according to the first-stated theory above, would have averted World War I and World War II. It is in the Far East where this administration is reversing past United States policy by expanding the first theory to that quarter of the world and applying the second: Don't let a putative aggressor assume immunity anywhere in the free world.

The justification offered for this second theory is largely a speech made by Dean Acheson when a Secretary of State. In this speech he drew a line in the Far East which, he said, the United States would defend by force as the boundary of its zone of national security. From this line South Korea was excluded, and the argument is that this exclusion, which in the circumstances seemed pointed, encouraged the Communists to attack South Korea in the belief the United States would not forcefully intervene.

Daily and almost hourly Secretary Dulles is taking the opposite course, meanwhile declining to announce specific military means and measures—a position which diplomatic and military experience thoroughly sustains.

Judge Shields, at 92, Takes a Look Into the Future and Likes Picture He Sees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, there is, in my congressional district in California, a man who might be referred to as a grand old man. That name would fit him except for the fact that he is not an old man, even at the age of 92.

His respect for the present and his optimism for the future are not overshadowed by reverence for the past. His many years of service to his country, his active participation in the development of the greatest Nation in history, qualify

him as an expert on the affairs of the world.

He is Judge Peter J. Shields, of Sacramento, who retired after serving almost 50 years as judge of the superior court of Sacramento. He is still active now, daily advising young lawyers and comparatively young judges at his office. His comments based on 92 years of experience were reported recently in the Sacramento Bee, and I wish to bring those comments to the attention of every Member of Congress:

JUDGE SHIELDS, AT 92, TAKES A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE AND LIKES PICTURE HE SEES—JURIST SAYS RUSS WILL FAIL IF WAR CAN BE DELAYED

(Peter J. Shields, who spent nearly 50 years as a judge of the superior court of Sacramento County before his retirement in October 1949, will be 92 years of age tomorrow. Following a custom of several years standing, a Bee reporter asked him to express his views on the occasion. This is his reply:)

(By Peter J. Shields)

I am genuinely glad to see you although you ask me questions, which like those of children, are hard to answer.

Only history can tell the meaning of the things we have done or what kind of a future we are making.

I was born less than 36 years after the death of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. I was 3 years old when Lincoln died. I was born near to great history. The 92 years during which I have lived have been probably the most productive the world has known.

What was done during these great years is now history; don't ask me to restate or reappraise them. What you want to know is what a man of my age thinks of the future. In the present mad tangle of the world that involves more space than you can give me. If we are to have an atomic war there will be no future. I would like to tell you of greater things but the times seem to demand a more serious consideration.

WORLD DISTURBED

All about us the world is disturbed and threatening. Don't ask me to clarify these conditions. If war can be postponed, Russia will fail. As the inevitable freedoms gather about her she will be unable to continue her tyrannies to deny God's law that men were born to freedom. I like to think that the complicated and explosive conditions in Asia are but the labor pains of an unhappy people on their way to emancipation. For ourselves this is a time for steadiness, for a united determination that our institutions must not be impaired or compromised. Our country was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal. It had no precedent, it was born of a new ideal which it had taken 10,000 years to suggest to man's imagination.

Our fathers dared to found a nation upon these truths and we embarked upon what Woodrow Wilson said was not so much an experiment in politics as it was a spiritual adventure. Contrary to the predictions of the Old World our enterprise prospered until at the end of a short century and a half we have risen to the leadership of the world. We know that it was our freedoms and the spiritual aims they generated which have led us there. Continued devotion to those principles will carry us through the difficult days ahead.

I like the New World which is rising about me while lacking nothing of almost reverence for the people of my parents' generation. I saw them clearing the land, making homes upon it; rearing their children to religious tolerance, to a sense of racial equality, to hard work and integrity. They were working for an ease, a comfort, a culture which they were never permitted to share. The modern world rests upon the foundations they laid. It is a fitting memorial to their toil and sacrifice.

LIKES RAPID CHANGES

I like the rapid changes which are occurring about us. They keep us from stagnation, they keep our society fresh and young and adventurous. They compel the frequent social adjustments which bring Government up to the moment. They keep a man of 92 looking ahead in anticipation rather than backward to a day upon which the book is closed.

I think it is time that old men should cease to distrust the youth by which they are surrounded. The young people whom I meet fascinate me. I think that there has never been a time when the youth of a country has been so well prepared for the duties ahead of them. I like their courage which has not been dimmed by failure; I like their rebellion against the outgrown conditions of the past. I feel that they are being well prepared for their impending responsibilities.

NOT WELL TRAINED

But there are masses of our young people who have not been so well trained. Youths, no longer born to the discipline of the open country, are now largely reared in villages or in our large cities. They have not been trained to the interests about them, their parents are both employed, they have no work to do. Meeting on the sidewalks with nothing to do, they are ripe for the vulgar seductions of misconduct and crime.

We do not seem to have learned how to save these boys, not alone from crime, but from the limitations of an uninspired life. I recall the words of an eminent clergyman. In speaking to a company of women, he said: "A man is the product of his experiences. From his infancy everything he sees, tastes, touches, smells, every person he meets, journey he takes, or book he reads leaves its impression upon him. Day by day these things enter into him and in time they become his life." These words should be printed in letters of fire for the attention of parents and the public who have so much to say about what youth is seeing, tasting, and touching.

A few years ago when at my mountain camp, I saw across the canyon, 2 boys about 16 or 17 years, aimlessly looking about. At the end of the second day they ventured over to where I was engaged in working about the camp. When asked if they had been enjoying their visit to the mountains they answered that they had not, that it was lonesome, that there was nothing interesting about, that there was nothing to do.

This nothing to do lies at the base of much of the misconduct and crime of a regrettable number of our young people. Fascinating interests lies all around them but because things have not been explained to them they do not see them. Lacking interest in other things they find it in crime.

I took these boys in hand and quickly pointed out matters of surpassing interest. I explained the trees to them and told them how they grew in zones according to elevation; at the top of the mountains were the hemlocks which, like the eagle, like to live among the snows. I pointed out the pathway of an ancient glacier which was active millions of years ago and explained that the rock and soil upon which they were standing was its terminal moraine.

EXPLAINS STREAMS

I told them that the little stream they had just crossed had its source a short distance away in a stream no larger than a common pencil. I told them how it would be fed and increased until as a great river it would pour its waters into the sea to be taken up by ocean currents and distributed over the seaways of the world.

As I finished the boys were stunned at the interests which lay before them. I am sure they will never forget that half hour of wonder.

Interests, like these which I pointed out to the boys, abound in everything; on a farm, on a city street, in great factories, in the quiet of a desert. Above all, the boys should be taught the worth of a noble life and the measureless satisfactions of purposeful living.

There are no vacuums in nature. When the eyes of youth are opened to these things they will see about them a world like a vast museum and will never feel it necessary to resort to delinquency in order to find something to do. Youth must be trained for life. It is an axiom of experience in the army that if a soldier is placed in the front lines without training as to how to protect himself he will survive but a short time. It is so in civil life. If a youth has failed to prepare himself for some service or occupation, he will find none.

When I was near 20 years old I went to a dancing party which is about the top of the ambition of a youth of that age. Lincoln Steffens arrived just as I was about to enter the dancing room. At a sacrifice which only youth can appreciate, I sat with him in the cloakroom as he talked of what he was reading and thinking and about the things which later made him famous.

Later, when I entered the dancing room, a youth whose charm I envied was surrounded by a number of the most attractive girls. He was a master of easy and indifferent conversation and could dance with a matchless grace. He had no thought for the future. His future seemed far away.

Later, when Steffens was famous and the pretty girls had married someone else, this boy could find no employment. After years of unsuccessful effort he died in the county hospital of a nearby county.

CANNOT PLAY HOOKY

Won't you tell youth that they can't play hooky with life? If they don't study they won't know their lesson; if they don't prepare for some place in life there is no place for them.

One of the sad memories of a man who has lived long is of the many youths, some of great promise, who failed because they had not taken the trouble to prepare for what, in many cases, would have been an easy success.

If all of the youth of our country developed themselves to their highest efficiency there would be a very visible improvement in our society and America would know another golden age.

May I ask you to again say to the people, who during my long life have so generously aided me, that I hold them in grateful remembrance.

Secretary Benson Comes Home To Present a Major Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Herald Journal, Logan, Utah, April 1, 1954, by Ray Nelson, entitled "Secretary Benson Comes Home To Present a Major Address":

SECRETARY BENSON COMES HOME TO PRESENT A MAJOR ADDRESS

Commendation goes to Lawrence B. Caine and his associates of Cache Valley Breeding Association, who are responsible for the Logan appearance this Saturday of Secretary Ezra Taft Benson.

Mr. Benson is a busy man these days—what with the job of reducing dairy supports, selling butter surpluses, absorbing the verbal blows of many farm groups, and getting ready for general conference.

Yet, Mr. Caine was able to interest Secretary Benson in coming to Cache Valley, and presenting a major address on farm policy. Plans have been in the making for months; the breeding association received wholehearted cooperation from such organizations as Utah and Idaho and Wyoming Farm Bureau Federations, numerous farm cooperatives, Utah State Agricultural College, and the extension services of Utah and neighboring States.

So, on Saturday, April 3, Secretary Benson will be in Logan. He is scheduled to speak at 1:45 p. m., in the college fieldhouse.

We understand that wire services, radio, and television networks are planning to cover the address, since it is described as an important one.

Senator WALLACE F. BENNETT, of Utah, will introduce the Secretary to what is expected to be an overflow crowd. Welcome to the noted Government and church official will be expressed by President Henry Aldous Dixon of the college.

No stranger to Cache Valley is Ezra Taft Benson, and Cache Valley is familiar territory to him.

He was born in Whitney, Franklin County—just a couple of miles south of Preston—in 1899. He is nearly 55 years old.

His parents were George T. and Sarah Dunkley Benson, who were among the early settlers of southern Idaho. Elder Benson grew up on a farm, and operated one in Idaho from 1923 to 1930.

He sought education: attended Oneida Stake Academy at Preston, and Utah State Agricultural College for 3 years.

In 1921, he was called to serve an LDS mission to Britain. Upon his return he continued his education at Brigham Young University, from which he was graduated with honors in 1926, receiving a scholarship to Iowa State College at Ames. He received his master's degree in agricultural economics from Iowa State in 1927, and 10 years later did graduate work at University of California.

In 1929 he was county agent at Preston. The next year he was extension economist and marketing specialist, University of Idaho extension division.

Taking an interest in co-ops as an agency of farm welfare, he was instrumental in organization of the Idaho Cooperative Council, and served as its secretary from 1933 to 1938. In the spring of 1939, he was appointed executive secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, a federation of 4,600 co-op groups.

Then his church sought his services full time. On October 7, 1943, he became a member of the Council of Twelve, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

He was granted leave of absence from the council when nominated as Secretary of Agriculture November 24, 1952, by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Secretary Benson admittedly has the hottest spot in the Eisenhower cabinet.

His avowed policy (and that of his Chief) is to reduce the farmers' dependence on Government, to cut supports and controls.

He believes that production and consumption of farm products should be governed largely by supply and demand.

He warns farm families about the dangers of increasing Government regulations, about possible socialism, about the virtues of self-dependence and freedom.

He meets tough opposition from many quarters, and no doubt he winces when blamed for decreases in farm income and prosperity.

He receives considerable praise from other quarters, and is given a pretty good chance of winning his battle.

His staunch adherence to a philosophy which he believes to be basically good for the farmers and the Nation gains him admiration from nearly every segment of American life.

One Man Against the Country—Bricker Amendment Should Be Passed To Prevent Illegal Executive Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including two editorials from the Wall Street Journal apropos of the disclosures last week that the late President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill had concluded an agreement which would have permitted the British a veto power over the use of the atomic bomb. The two editorials are set out at this point:

THE VETO OVER THE BOMB

Prime Minister Churchill's disclosure of a secret agreement with Mr. Roosevelt about the use of the atom bomb caused an uproar in Commons which, we daresay, will find an even louder echo on this side of the water. But for a different reason.

The Prime Minister and Mr. Attlee engaged in some bitter debate about whose fault it was that the secret pact signed at Quebec in 1943 was allowed to lapse. Both were in agreement that the pact was advantageous to Britain, for it gave Britain an equal voice in the war use of the bomb. The McMahon Act of 1946, which restricted exchange of American atomic information with foreign powers, canceled the agreement which only a few men knew anything about.

Sir Winston blamed Mr. Attlee, who was Prime Minister at the time the McMahon Act was adopted, with failure to confront the United States Government with the secret agreement in order to prevent passage of the law Sir Winston also said that the late Senator McMahon had told him that if he had known of the secret agreement the law he proposed would not have been submitted.

Let it be said at once that the McMahon Act now needs changing, for it denies to our allies information the aggressor possesses. Once that is said, it would be well to examine the full impact of the secret agreement between Sir Winston and Mr. Roosevelt. The document pledged that neither the United States nor Britain would ever use the bomb against one another which, considering our mutual interests, need hardly be said. It pledged also that neither would ever divulge any information to third parties without mutual consent, a sensible arrangement in any partnership of allies.

But in the agreement was another pledge, and it was the ending of this one that Sir Winston was so bitter about in his accusations that Mr. Attlee had thrown away a great advantage for Britain.

This pledge was that neither Britain nor the United States would use the bomb against a third nation without the consent of the other.

What that means is that Britain had a veto power over the use of a weapon we were soon to possess and which Britain was not to have for some time. It was an unwarranted gift of power to a foreign country, however friendly, and it passed to the Prime Minister of Great Britain a right of determination over what weapons this Nation might or might not use, even in case of attack. Consultation with allies on the use of weapons is one thing, but the requirement of consent is quite another.

Let us suppose that this secret agreement were still in force. While it had to do only with atomic weapons when Sir Winston and Mr. Roosevelt signed it, surely now the hydrogen bomb would come within the areas it covered. But our New Look in military matters places the greatest emphasis on the hydrogen and atom bombs. And our New Look in foreign policy places an even greater emphasis on our ability to deliver these weapons, as Mr. Dulles has said, in instant retaliation and at times and places of our own choosing.

Thus if this agreement were in effect and we were to observe its power of veto over the use of the new weapons, we would at the same time be acknowledging a veto power by Britain over our foreign policy. For a policy based upon the power of weapons we are powerless to use without Britain's by-your-leave is no policy at all.

It is unthinkable that the United States Senate would ever have ratified a treaty containing this veto power over weapons and over strategy, for in the debate the full import would have quickly come to the surface. But when agreements are made between two men the dangers aren't always apparent. And the hard fact is that this secret agreement for some years gave Britain as much authority in the use of a powerful weapon as the Congress of the United States possessed.

THE SECRET MISUNDERSTANDING

The White House has said that the secret Roosevelt-Churchill agreement of 1943 giving Britain a veto over our use of the atom bomb is no longer in effect.

The British Government and Mr. Attlee, leader of the Labor Party, agree with the White House.

But Mr. Truman disagrees. He says that in his opinion the secret pact stands. He renewed the agreement with the Prime Minister of Britain and the Prime Minister of Canada in 1945.

The former President differs also in his interpretation of the commitments contained in the pact. In his comment he said that "we weren't sharing any secrets with the British; they were sharing theirs with us." But the pact called for "complete interchange of information and ideas" developed in the joint search for the bomb.

Here is a clear case of the dangers of Executive agreements made in secret between the heads of states. Not only can they lead to misunderstandings in what they mean among allies, but often they do not mean the same thing to those who succeed the men who made the agreements.

The trouble is that powerful men acting alone frequently make mistakes even when they are trying their best. The judgment of one man may be as good as that of many men, but the best proof is to test his judgment against that of many men. That test was lacking in many of the secret agreements which have become known since the end of World War II, when the heads of great states settled great issues in penciled memoranda.

Mr. Truman put his finger on the reason for the trouble when he said: "There was no secret about it to the people who were entitled to know about it." It is easier to do things if only a few know about them.

We think all the American people were entitled to know about a pact which gave another nation a veto over the use of a weapon we might have needed for survival. But they did not know about it.

Such agreements, affecting as this one did, a nation's use of weapons and conduct of foreign affairs, ought never be the subject of one man's decision.

They ought to be decided by debate in the United States Senate and in the form of a treaty which spells out just what the commitments are and how long they are to last.

And the way to prevent the use of executive agreements in place of treaties is to amend the United States Constitution, as 60 Senators voted so recently to do.

That would at least guarantee that all the people are entitled to know what commitments this Nation is undertaking. And it will prevent secret understandings becoming secret misunderstandings.

Warning on Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER H. JUDD
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of April 7, 1954:

WARNING ON INDOCHINA

Under pressure of Communist China—now knocking at the doors of the U. N. for admission to that agency as a "peace-loving" nation—the State Department is consulting with various interested governments concerning the issuance of a joint warning against further Communist aggression in Indochina. Each of these governments has a vital interest in that area. France is fighting Communist aggression in Indochina. The United States has a defensive alliance with the Philippines. Britain has a rich stake in nearby Malaya. The security of the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand would be directly threatened if Indochina should fall into Communist hands.

There is no counterpart of NATO in southeast Asia to hold aggressive communism in check. Efforts to create a defensive alliance comparable to NATO in that part of the world have failed, partly because the situation has been complicated by the factor of colonialism, partly because some of the nations most directly threatened—Indonesia, for example—have been unwilling to enter an alliance of this kind. As a result the militant Communists have had pretty much of a free hand. They have been permitted to deal separately and individually with their intended victims. They have been able to exploit the issue of colonialism. They have taken full advantage of the confusion resulting from the glaring difference of opinion prevailing among the democratic powers concerning the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, even at the very moment when Chinese armies are still camped on Korean soil and Chinese arms are supporting a new war in Indochina.

For an effective defense of southeast Asia there are a number of prerequisites. One is an assurance by France of genuine self-government to the Indochinese people, for the purpose of enlisting their full effort in this vital struggle. Another is a firm and united notice to the Peiping Government that it has no chance whatever of admission to the United Nations so long as it continues its aggressive tactics. A third is an intensification, rather than a relaxation, of the present embargo on trade with Communist China so long as Communist China arms the Vietminh rebels. A fourth is a clear warning, modeled on the notice already given in the case of Korea, that in the event of direct intervention by the Red Chinese Army in Indochina it may not be possible to limit hostilities to that area. A declaration on the part of the democratic powers which embodied these points might well provide new hope of saving southeast Asia.

Delta-Mendota Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, recent action by the House of Representatives on the Interior Department budget may endanger a California sport and commercial industry conservatively valued at $10 million a year.

The acceptance of the House Appropriations Committee's deletion of $208,997 programed for facilities to screen fish entering the Delta-Mendota Canal of the Central Valley's project is a prime example of false economy, an example of the rush to cut appropriations indiscriminately without regard to future effect or past expenditures.

For years the Bureau of Reclamation, in cooperation with the Fish and Wildlife Service, has been working on the problem of saving the fish which spawn in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. The area is the most important spawning ground for striped bass and shad on the Pacific coast. It is a major spawning ground for king salmon. The Interior Department estimates the annual value to sportsmen and to commercial fisheries is $10 million.

The danger to these fish resources lies in the fact that the Delta-Mendota Canal draws a major part of the water out of the area where the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers join and sends it, through pumps raising the level 200 feet, into the San Joaquin Valley for irrigation.

The fish, of course, cannot pass through these pumps, but their natural instincts draw them toward the canal which will carry the major flow of the river. For years experts have been trying to solve the problem—and they were on the threshold of a solution when the committee cut their funds.

Of the $208,997 requested, some $135,000 was to be used for initial construction of the fish screen developed after years of research and study. So far nearly $500,000 has been spent to help prevent the loss of sport and commercial fishing on the Pacific coast. The State of California and private utilities in the area have been cooperating in the solution of the problem. It was all but solved when a so-called economy group, apparently advocating reduction of Federal expenditures in spite of the effect on the Nation, blocked appropriation which would have put the solution into operation.

Richard Croker, a nationally known fish expert and head of the California Department of Fish and Game's Marine Fisheries Bureau, has outlined the results of failing to protect fish in the Delta-Mendota Canal at Tracy, Calif. He reported:

Unless some way can be found to finance the design and installation of the screen at Tracy, literally millions of salmon and striped bass will be killed annually. In fact, it is likey that the runs of these two valuable species will be destroyed. This, of course, would be a blow to the hundreds of thousands of people who depend on these fish for their livelihood and recreation.

After years of research, the final fish screen—a sort a venetian blind stood on end—was developed. Federal fish experts expected the screen to be installed at far less than the estimated cost. If the economy bloc has its way, however, there may be no fish screen—and in the near future no striped bass, salmon, and shad on the Pacific coast.

Revision of Atomic Energy Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article which will appear in the April 17 issue of America, national Catholic weekly, on revision of Atomic Energy Act:

REVISION OF ATOMIC ENERGY ACT

Exactly 2 months ago the President asked Congress to revise the rigid secrecy rules in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. Allied cooperation was suffering, he said, because "under present law, we cannot give them (our allies) tactical information essential to their effective participation with us."

Four weeks later, the whole world, Great Britain perhaps most of all, was shocked when Japanese fishermen revealed the power of the March 1 H-bomb. The free-world alliance was shaken by heated charges that the United States was not consulting its members on atomic policies that might involve them in catastrophe. Even then Congress might have checked the chain reaction of criticism by amending the security sections of the act. But the President was not given power to provide the British Government with means to meet the criticism. After being forced to admit that he did not enjoy the confidence of his great ally, Prime Minister Churchill was, on April 5, subjected to public humiliation. This pillorying of our best friend in Britain should not have happened. The responsibility rests, not on Mr. Attlee or Mr. Eisenhower, or Sir Winston Churchill, but on Congress. So does responsibility for the danger that the whole NATO setup will fall apart. Congress was warned on March 29 by Representative MICHAEL A.

FEIGHAN that "the exchange of military information with our allies, who are profoundly perturbed about the place of hydrogen weapons in Allied strategy, requires immediate action." On April 3 he introduced H. R. 8701 to amend the secrecy provisions of the 1946 act. Some shreds of allied unity could still be saved by adopting it.

The Pattern of Liquidation of Federal Power Facilities

SPEECH
OF
HON. DON MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8680) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Chairman, it would require the adoption of at least a score of amendments to make the Department of Interior appropriations bill adequate to the needs of the Pacific Northwest.

One tragic effect of this bill is to freeze development of our great Bonneville Power Administration, to prevent it from extending service to any area that the private power companies want to take over some time in the future, and to advance the ultimate liquidation of all Federal power facilities.

This bill will increase power shortages in the Northwest, and the end result, if these policies are continued, will be to deliver domination of electricity supply to private power companies in our area and several others in the Nation.

It is completely clear, in view of the Republican determination to block needed generating and transmission appropriations, that it would be futile to offer the needed amendments.

The administration cut the Bonneville appropriations request below our area's needs. Now the subcommittee has eliminated—in the Northwest area—a considerable portion of the items which the Budget Bureau cleared, including the McNary-Walla Walla transmission facility, the McNary-LaGrande transmission line, the Dalles area service, the Bellingham substation, and the main stem transmission facility. This latter was delayed to put it on the same schedule as the completion of dams which were delayed last year. And it has been done in spite of the fact that McNary generators are installed and there is need already for a transmission facility there.

Mr. Chairman, the inadequate civil functions bill, which was passed sometime ago without needed power starts, was cut from the same pattern as this bill—a pattern which Herbert Hoover prescribed a year ago at Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Hoover gave a step-by-step plan, in a nationwide broadcast, for halting power-facility construction and preparing to turn existing facilities over to the private power companies. To be completely clear, he said:

The objective of the whole proceeding should be to get the Federal Government out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible.

The Interior appropriation bill, drafted in accordance with Mr. Hoover's plan and his objective, ought to be returned to the committee with instructions to change its objective completely.

The new objectives should be abundant power for the economic development of the Northwest and every other region of this Nation.

The new objective should include all the facilities recommended by President Eisenhower, Hells Canyon Dam and several others in the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Reclamation. It should include enough dams so, if a defense emergency arises, there will be abundant power for necessary electrochemical plants, another Hanford and Oak Ridge and similar projects if those are necessary.

In the present situation in this House, it is useless to talk of such realistic objectives. We can only hope that the Senate will restore the most essential of these appropriations—and that the people will restore to a majority next November the party which does not sell America short and deliberately plan for shortages and scarcity.

I probably should not close without expressing gratitude for the $3 million added in this bill to the appropriation for the Columbia Basin reclamation project. It is at least $1 million less than needed, but after a diet of crumbs, a piece of crust is received gratefully. Even so, I sincerely hope the Senate will see fit to increase the Columbia Basin project appropriation to a more adequate total.

What the Record Shows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIVER P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal of forgetfulness of the recent history of tax legislation in this country. A recent editorial in the Warren (Ohio) Tribune Chronicle has pointed up this fact and outlined the high points of the past 25 years of taxation which should make interesting reading for all and give cause for thought to many.

The editorial follows:

WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

With the Democrats continuing their drive to increase personal income tax exemptions "to help the little fellow," an effort which was beaten in the House but which still has to be passed by the Senate, it might be well to examine the record of both the Republicans and Democrats so far as giving tax aid to the "little fellow."

In signing the excise tax reduction, President Eisenhower pointed out that in 1 year of his administration taxes had been cut by $7.4 billion.

That's the largest tax reduction ever achieved by any administration since the founding of the Republic.

But let's look back into the record on this matter of personal income tax exemptions.

Right now it is $1,200 for a husband and wife, $600 for a single person, and $600 for each dependent.

In early World War I days the income-tax exemption was $2,000 for a married couple and $1,000 for a single person. When the Republicans came to power in 1921 they quickly raised the exemption to $2,500 and $1,000 and to $400 for each dependent for the first time.

At the end of 3 successive Republican administrations the exemption was raised to $3,500 and $1,500.

In 1933, when President Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress took over in Washington the exemption was reduced to $2,500 and $1,000.

During the years 1944 to 1947, with the Democrats in control of Congress and the White House, the exemption was slashed to an all-time low of $1,000 for a married couple and $500 for a single person and $500 for each dependent.

In 1948, when the Republicans took control of Congress, under the leadership of Senator Taft, exemptions were raised and income tax rates were cut by 20 to 30 percent. This removed 7,400,000 persons in low-income brackets from the tax bills. The record shows President Truman vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto.

In 1950, with the Democrats in control, exemptions were reduced and tax rates increased.

That's the record of the two parties since the income tax became law. On the question of which is the "party of the people," the Labor Forecast and Review, published in Columbus, recently made this significant comment:

"This being a congressional election year, any issue which would cause discomfort to the political opposition is allowable.

"The Democrats, who in the entire tenure in national office in the 20th century, always raised taxes, never reduced them, all of a sudden have become tax-reduction conscious.

"The little fellow, the poor working stiff, is the object of copious sympathy by Democratic Party stalwarts. It is really laughable to anyone who has paid any attention to the United States history in the last 40 years.

"Starting with Woodrow Wilson back in 1913, Federal taxes, while the Democrats were in national office, have always been increased. The country has been manipulated by three wars and still Democratic Party spokesmen state they represent the political party that is for the workingman. And the really amusing fact is that the Republicans let them get away with it.

"If Republican Party strategists could only see that all they have to do is to tag the Democratic Party as the party of war and very high and higher taxes, they could keep them out of national office for at least the next 12 years."

Dr. William A. Wirt, Educator, Patriot, Victim of "Smear Bund"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED E. BUSBEY
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, April 10, 1954, was the 20th anniversary of one of the most disgraceful instances of character assassination that was planned

and executed in this country during the past half century.

Smear techniques and character assassinations are the tools of those who seek to discredit and destroy anyone who attempts to inform the public of operations and plans which are of a secret, questionable, or treasonable nature.

Of course, it is well known that if any one attacks or attempts to expose the Communist conspiracy, he will be the victim of an attack by the Communists that will be characterized by all the bitterness and venom of which they are capable. They are experts in the use of smears and character assassinations. That is to be expected. But the surprising and shameful contributions to these unwarranted and baseless attacks are those made by the well-known "bleeding-hearts"—persons who could not in anyway be considered Communists, but who have so often supported these attacks by their own bitter diatribes.

In the past the most accursed epithets that the Communists could think of to apply to one who opposed their ideologies were "Fascist" or "Trotskyite." Lately, these appellations have been largely discarded by the Communists, and the word "McCarthyism" has been substituted. However, the use of these designations has now become so widespread that they are often applied by many in a loose and careless manner, with utter disregard of their origin and meaning.

Irrespective of the amount of publicity devoted to the pros and cons of the controversial matters that have surrounded and engulfed the foes of communism, no one has been subjected to such devastating smears and character assassinations as those which were heaped upon the graying, scholarly head of Dr. William A. Wirt of Gary, Ind., 20 years ago this month.

Saturday, April 10, marked the 20th anniversary of the blackest day in the history of congressional investigations. If the Members of this dignified body are not familiar with all the facts surrounding the occurrences that ended with the destruction and the death of Dr. Wirt, I should like to recount them briefly. I am confident you will find them not only interesting, but enlightening. I am also sure you will agree with me that, in fairness, justice, or by any other yardstick you may choose as a measuring standard, the congressional investigations of today are vast improvements over the Dr. Wirt investigation.

In the fall of 1933, Dr. Wirt attended a dinner at the home of a woman who was employed at the Department of the Interior. There were seven persons present, including Dr. Wirt and the hostess. Based on conversations held at that dinner, Dr. Wirt wrote and circulated a limited number of manuscripts, or memoranda.

On March 23, 1934, one James Rand, Jr., Chairman of the Committee of the Nation, appeared before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. He spoke against a proposed bill for Federal control of the stock exchange and charged that "brain-trusters" were seeking to thwart business recovery so that they could push the Nation into communism. In support of his argument, he read a part of Dr. Wirt's manuscript.

To keep the record absolutely clear, I desire to insert at this point that part of Dr. Wirt's memorandum which was read by Mr. Rand:

PLAN OF REVOLUTIONISTS

The fundamental trouble with the "brain trusters" is that they start with a false assumption. They insist that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln must first be destroyed and then on the ruins they will reconstruct an America after their own pattern. They do not know that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln has been the "new deal" and that during the 18th and 19th centuries we have been making great social progress. The common man is getting his place in the sun. Why try to put him back into the Dark Ages?

Last summer I asked some of the individuals in this group what their concrete plan was for bringing on the proposed overthrow of the established American social order.

I was told that they believed that by thwarting our then evident recovery they would be able to prolong the country's destitution until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate industry and commerce. I was told that of course commercial banks could not make long-time capital loans and that they would be able to destroy, by propaganda, the other institutions that had been making our capital loans. Then we can push Uncle Sam into the position where he must make these capital loans. And, of course, when Uncle Sam becomes our financier he must also follow his money with control and management.

ROOSEVELT ONLY THE KERENSKY

The most surprising statement made to me was the following: "We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution."

When I asked why the President would not see through this scheme, they replied: "We are on the inside. We can control the avenues of influence. We can make the President believe that he is making decisions for himself." They said, "A leader must appear to be a strong man of action. He must make decisions and many times make them quickly, whether good or bad. Soon he will feel a superhuman flow of power from the flow of the decisions themselves—good or bad. Eventually he can easily be displaced because of his bad decisions. With Mr. Roosevelt's background we do not expect him to see this revolution through." They said that (portion of manuscript deleted). Such individuals can be induced to kindle the fires of revolution. But strong men must take their place when the country is once engulfed in flames.

I asked how they would explain to the American people why their plans for retarding the recovery were not restoring recovery. "Oh," they said, "that would be easy." All that they would need to do would be to point the finger of scorn at the traitorous opposition. These traitors in the imaginary war against the depression would be made the goats. And the American people would agree that they, the brain trusters, had been too lenient and in the future they, the brain trusters, should be more firm in dealing with the opposition.

Thus they, the brain trusters, would soon be able to use the police power of the Government and crack down on the opposition with a big stick. In the meantime, they would extend the gloved hand and keep the big stick in the background.

POWER OF PROPAGANDA

I was frankly told that I underestimated the power of propaganda. That since the World War propaganda had been developed into a science. That they could make the newspapers and magazines beg for mercy by threatening to take away much of their advertising by a measure to compel only the unvarnished truth in advertising. That they could make the financiers be good by showing up at public investigations the crooks in the game. And that the power of public investigation in their own hands alone would make the cold chills run up and down the spines of the other business leaders and politicians—honest men as well as crooks.

They were sure that they could depend upon the psychology of empty stomachs, and they would keep them empty. The masses would soon agree that anything should be done rather than nothing. Any escape from present miseries would be welcomed even thought it should turn out to be another misery.

They were sure that the leaders of industry and labor could be kept quiet by the hope of getting their own share of the Government doles in the form of loans and contracts for material and labor, provided they were subservient.

They were sure that colleges and schools could be kept in line by the hope of Federal aid until the many New Dealers in the schools and colleges had control of them.

They were sure that their propaganda could inflame the masses against the old social order and the honest men as well as the crooks that represent that order—communism.

I asked what they would do when the Government could no longer dole out relief in the grand manner. By that time, it was answered, the oft-repeated exhortation to industry and commerce to make jobs out of confidence and to produce goods and pay wages out of psychology, together with their other propaganda, would have won the people to the idea that the only way out was for Government itself to operate industry and commerce.

They were certain that they did not want to operate agriculture for a long time. But the farmers could be won by doles to support Government operation of industry and commerce. Farmers would be delighted to get their hands in the public trough for once in the history of the country. The farmers would be one with the masses—united for a redistribution of the wealth of the other fellow. All that they would need to do with the opposition would be to ask, "Well, what is your plan?"

Mr. Speaker, 3 days later, House Resolution 317 was introduced, calling for an investigation of Dr. Wirt's statement. It took but 3 days for the House to pass the resolution which created a select committee, composed of 5 members, authorized and directed to summon Dr. Wirt and "to require him to reveal the source of statements he has made to the effect that the United States is in the process 'of a deliberately planned revolution,' and to the effect that certain officials or employees of the Government are attempting to thwart the program of national recovery in the United States."

Hearings were held by this committee on April 10 and 17, 1934. On the first day, former Senator James A. Reed, a Democrat from Missouri, appeared to act as counsel for Dr. Wirt, but Senator Reed was advised by the chairman of the Select Committee that he could "not appear in this committee as counsel." On

each succeeding issue, the votes of the committee were on strict party lines: 3 Democrats, 2 Republicans. The campaign to ridicule Dr. Wirt and his charges began as soon as he left the witness stand. The chairman told Dr. Wirt that he could turn in his expense account and go home to Gary.

On April 17, 1934, Miss Alice Barrows was the first witness. Miss Barrows was Dr. Wirt's private secretary when he was employed by the New York City school system about 40 years ago. Miss Barrows became an employee of the Federal Bureau of Education in 1917, and she was the hostess at the famous dinner party attended by Dr. Wirt in 1933. The sum and substance of her testimony was a complete denial of everything to which Dr. Wirt had testified. She was outspoken and positive in contradicting his testimony.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I desire to add a little background of Alice Barrows. During her employment by the Government, she was a member of the Washington branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and was a member of the national committee of that officially branded Communist-front organization. She was a member of the executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—an organization that merged with the International Labor Defense to form the Civil Rights Congress. All three have been officially labeled as Communist fronts. She was a sponsor of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America which was held on June 7, 1939, and which established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. She was a member of the provisional committee of the Washington Committee for Democrat Rights, sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, a member of the League of Women Shoppers, and a sponsor of the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army.

After her retirement from the Federal service, Miss Barrows' activities reflected an even deeper Red hue. She became the director of public relations of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. After that school closed, she became the director of activities of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. In addition, she was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace—an outfit so subversive and blatant that it was called "a sounding board of Communist propaganda" by the then Secretary of State. Miss Barrows was a sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace of the phony peace campaign, and was head of the Arts, Sciencies, and Professions Division of the National Wallace for President Committee.

The true character of this person who played such a prominent part in the character assassination of Dr. Wirt was brought to light on June 23, 1953, when she appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. When asked if she had been a member of the Communist Party for the past 34 years, she hurriedly sought refuge in the fifth amendment. She invoked the same personal privilege when questioned about her numerous Communist-front affiliations.

Alice Barrows is one of the 305 individuals whose names I released last week as having invoked the fifth amendment in appearances before congressional committees during the calendar year 1953.

So much for Alice Barrows, whose testimony was deemed by a select committee of the House of Representatives in 1934 to be more credible than that of Dr. Wirt, a recognized authority on educational systems, a patriot, and a great American.

One by one, the other five witnesses were called: Hildegarde Kneeland, an employee of the Department of Agriculture; Robert W. Bruere, Chairman of the Cotton Textile National Industrial Relations Board; David Cushman Coyle, of the Public Works Administration; Mary Taylor, of the Department of Agriculture; and Laurence Todd, of Tass, the official press agency of the Soviet government.

For comment on the testimony of these witnesses, I will later refer to a statement that was made by one of the Democrat members of that select committee. The majority report upheld the strange finding that, at a dinner lasting approximately 4 hours, no one had been able to edge in a word during a monologue which was supposedly conducted by Dr. Wirt.

Mr. Speaker, there remains no doubt that there was a concerted effort to smear and discredit Dr. Wirt. The chairman of the select committee charged that Dr. Wirt had been arrested during World War I for pro-German activities. Five days later, the chairman had to apologize to Dr. Wirt publicly for having made the absurd charge. Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes implied that Dr. Wirt was disgruntled because of his inability to get a PWA loan for a real-estate development between Gary and Michigan City, Ind. Mr. W. U. Cotingham, former city engineer of Gary, informed Secretary Ickes that Dr. Wirt was in no way connected with the project. Ickes promptly dropped the subject.

A few days after the hearings, a Government agent appeard in Gary, showed his credentials, and demand a copy of the Gary school budget. Ten days later, the agent's office in Chicago mailed the copy back. Almost 4 years after Dr. Wirt was brought before the congressional committee, he passed to his reward, with shouts of indignation from the smear bund still ringing in his ears.

That, Mr. Speaker, is what was done to one of America's outstanding educators and patriots by a Democrat-controlled executive branch, a Democrat-controlled Congress, and a Democrat-controlled investigating committee. Did you hear any of the bleeding hearts protesting against such unjust treatment of a witness by a congressional investigating committee?

Where were all the people who make up the Americans for Democratic action, the fellow travelers, the parlor pinks, the self-styled liberals, and, yes; the out-and-out Communists, Mr. Speaker? I will tell you where they were. They were in the grandstand, jeering and trying to make sure that one of our great Americans was thrown to the lions as were the Christians in the Colosseum in Rome during the days of Nero. Did you hear anyone from the American Civil Liberties Union crying to the high heavens for fair play and justice, Mr. Speaker? You did not.

But these are the same people, Mr. Speaker, who today are determined in their efforts to misrepresent, to misquote, to smear, and to do everything in their power to discredit and to blacken the character of any patriotic Member of Congress who dares to expose the extent to which the Communists infiltrated our Federal Government when the Democrats were in control of the executive branch and the Congress. This, despite the fact that the Communists are largely responsible for the present world predicament. What a price any patriot must pay today when he stands for all things good and patriotic and fights those elements that are seeking to destroy us.

Six years after Dr. Wirt's appearance, a press release was issued by John J. O'Connor, former Member of the House from New York and a member of the select committee that heard Dr. Wirt. The statement by Mr. O'Connor is entitled "Confession Is Good for the Soul." I am inserting it at this point; it speaks for itself:

On the sixth anniversary of the purging of Dr. William A. Wirt before a congressional special committee of which I was an active member, I desire to relieve my conscience of a matter which has long burdened it.

A recent article by the distinguished columnist, Mr. George Rothwell Brown, again reminds me of the obligation.

Dr. Wirt was one of the world's recognized educators. He had devised what was known as the Gary plan of education, developed while he held the position of superintendent of schools of Gary, Ind., after recognized service in other high educational offices.

In March 1934 a memorandum he had prepared was read before a congressional committee in hearings on the original bill to create the SEC.

In that statement Dr. Wirt asserted that there was a deliberately conceived plot among some of the New Deal leftists to overthrow the established social order and substitute a planned economy in our country.

Some of his informants had boasted that President Roosevelt would be "the Kerensky of the coming American revolution." Some of those whom Dr. Wirt named were members of the then Brain Trust and some still survive close to the throne. They were accustomed to meet at the Barrows home in Virginia, usually six of them, at least, and Dr. Wirt was their guest.

Dr. Wirt had been personally told by some of the plotters that by deliberately thwarting recovery they could accomplish their purposes, one of which was that the Government take over and operate most of our industries.

By the use of propaganda, they said, they would discredit and eventually end all private lending agencies and cause the Government to become the sole financing agency, with its consequent control over the operations of the borrowers.

They planned to control advertising through restrictions as to truth in advertising and thereby force the newspapers to bend their knees.

Their strongest weapon, so they told Dr. Wirt, would be the empty stomach, which they would keep empty.

Immediately there was a furore in the House of Representatives over such "lese

majesty." Almost overnight a special committee of the House was created to put on the grill this prominent citizen who dared to expose such a plot. In advance of his voluntary appearance, Dr. Wirt was threatened with jail if he did not appear and satisfactorily tell the whole truth.

On that committee I was the Democratic member second to the chairman in rank. The committee immediately met and discussed rules as to how to handle Dr. Wirt and to prevent the minority Republican members from converting the hearings into an investigation of the truth of the charges.

The procedural motion, which I personally presented, limited the hearings to an examination of Dr. Wirt under oath to bring out the names and the exact statements of his informants. Over the protests of the minority members, any examination of other persons, connected in any way with said activities, was precluded.

The committee held two public hearings in the large caucus room of the Old House Office Building, beginning April 10, 1934. Hundreds of newspapermen and photographers attended while Dr. Wirt stood at the bar to repeat his story and give the sources of his information.

While he named names and quoted his informants, I took a leading part as prosecutor and inquisitor. In my early, rubber-stamp support of the New Deal, I was quite severe with the distinguished doctor, going so far as to oppose the appearance of the distinguished ex-Senator James A. Reed as the doctor's counsel. This courtesy, denied to Dr. Wirt, had been sometimes extended to witnesses before congressional committees. Dr. Wirt, however, was not allowed to have his counsel cross-examine witnesses, nor was he called in rebuttal after they had presented their well-staged denials. I use the words "well staged" advisedly because it was known that at least six of them met and rehearsed their denials of what they had told Dr. Wirt.

Requests of the minority to call other New Dealers high in the administration were voted down. The minority declared in their report to the House that Dr. Wirt's six informants obviously typify and reflect the views of their superiors and that Secretary Wallace, Rex Tugwell, Jerome Frank, Frederick Howe, Secretary Ickes, and Donald Richberg should have been called and made to tell which way the New Deal was headed.

What a tossing around Dr. Wirt did get. Members of the House, who then took the New Deal as a cult, denounced and excoriated the doctor on the floor of the House and in the press. He was completely dishonored and purged and retired—some thought—into the oblivion which the New Dealers shaped for him.

The pack got the smell of blood and tracked down the prey. A great job was done.

Little did we know that most of the happenings which Dr. Wirt said the plotters had predicted would come to pass. Most of them came true even before Dr. Wirt's untimely and regretable death.

Or, maybe, in our hearts we knew the plot was not idle gossip and we lunged at the discloser to appease our consciences.

Many times privately have I apologized for my part in turning the thumbscrews, and I take this occasion to do so publicly.

May Dr. Wirt's honest, patriotic soul rest in peace.

His was the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Mr. Speaker, were Dr. Wirt's statements true or false?

Columnist Mark Sullivan's column of April 18, 1934, quotes Donald Richberg, counsel for the National Recovery Administration, as follows:

The long-discussed revolution is actually under way in the United States. There is no need to prophesy. It is here. It is in process. In many other countries, there have been revolutions since the World War—each one with surprisingly little bloodshed, but with a tremendous exercise of forces and oppressive power. The violent overthrow of parliaments and rulers is nothing new, but the peaceful transition of all departments of government from one fundamental concept of a political economic system of government to another is different.

Mr. Speaker, let us look briefly at a partial list of New Deal employees who have been identified for what they really are.

Alger Hiss served in a top position in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the Department of Agriculture from 1933 to 1935. Today he is in prison, and is considered by many to be a modern Benedict Arnold.

Lee Pressman, often accused of, and who finally admitted his membership in the Communist conspiracy, served in the same organization with Hiss from 1933 to 1935.

John J. Abt, champion of the Communist Party in legal proceedings, served with this group in the same agency from 1933 to 1935.

And, Mr. Speaker, who do you think was the special attorney in the office of the general counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, sometimes referred to as the AAA, from July 1, 1933, to January 1, 1934, when the above characters, as well as others of their ilk, were employed there? None other than the individual who, in my opinion, is trying harder than anyone else to cause dissension in the Republican Party, and who aspired to be President of the United States in 1952, Adlai Stevenson.

Mr. Speaker, part of the revolution of which Dr. Wirt warned was taking place right under Adlai Stevenson's nose. In spite of Dr. Wirt's warnings, Mr. Stevenson did not have perspicacity enough to recognize it. Even today, 20 years later, he seems to be just as blind to the dangers of communism as he was then.

Other individuals who have been exposed in recent years are men like Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. Alleged to be one of the top Communist bigwigs in the United States, Sivermaster served in the Resettlement Administration, Maritime Labor Board, Farm Security Administration, Treasury Department, and War Assets Administration from 1935 to 1947. He is extremely devoted to one particular section of our Constitution—the fifth amendment.

To name a few of a long list, there were such men as William Remington, Harry Dexter White, William Ludwig Ullman, Victor Perlo, Donald Niven Wheeler, Charles Kramer, Harry Magdoff, and a host of others.

Twenty years have passed since Dr. Wirt disclosed the plans of the brain trusters and new dealers to remake our form of Government. The howls and cries of derision that arose over his testimony have ceased, but his prophetic words are still alive. History, the unfailing recorder of events, is proving that Dr. Wirt was right, and that his traducers were wrong.

Mr. Speaker, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, carried his cross to Calvary as the people cried out, "Crucify! Crucify!" The ignominy which Dr. Wirt endured through the activities of the "smear bund" sent him to his grave brokenhearted many years before the time he normally would have died.

The people, as a whole, have been sitting back and refusing to challenge the individuals and groups that are doing everything they can to discredit the Congress and its duly constituted investigating committees. The Members of Congress have been altogether too complacent. Every red-blooded American must fight back with all his might. We cannot let them divide us in their efforts to conquer us, nor divert us from our purpose to protect our country and its citizens against all enemies, both from within and without.

Glory Gore, the Opportunist

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, included in my remarks is an editorial from the Whitewater (Wis.) Register for April 1, 1954. The editor of the Whitewater Register obviously knows Mr. Gore well. The editorial follows:

GLORY GORE, THE OPPORTUNIST

I picked the worst week in the year to park in a hospital in Madison. It was the week Editor Gore chose to prove the grassroots at Sauk City are quack. But being in an ulcerous mood, it is not too late to express my personal feelings about Glory Gore, the opportunist.

He must have known, after 6 months of consideration, that legal technicalities would make the recall ineffective. Then why did he do it? Gore is a headline hunter who has squatted in the short shadow of the Capital Times for too long.

Why wait 6 months, Gore? Did it look as though McCARTHY was licked and this was the logical time for the small dogs to close in for a bite at the carcass?

JOE's enemies have accused him of grabbing the Communist issue to get headlines. I see a similarity there, Gore. If I wanted to sell my newspaper to get into the small daily field, this would be a swell way to get ballyhoo and a good price.

I'm interested in the names of the "200 editors I've talked to." Don't number me among them.

Your inaccuracies are a little revolting. Just which fairway on the golf course did you let JOE shoot through. Ah, yes; I know him well.

If the Milwaukee Journal estimated the crowd at 500 and the Capital Times at 600, how many people were there? You have to be accurate, Gore, because JOE is supposed to be the reverse.

You have handed yourself to the enemy on a silver platter. Even a wee little editor with cataracts on both eyes can see that everything is being done to split the Republican Party wide open. And you, Gore, have given them the big break.

I wish you luck on the signatures, and a recall election would suit me just fine.

E. S. C.

Stay Out of Another World War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, everyone who ever read history knows that the Nation which continually engages in war will destroy itself.

Since 1917, we have been in three World Wars. None was fought either in our homeland or to defend ourselves from attack. Each time, before our men fought, they had to travel more than 3,000 miles from home. Each time we have been given a different reason for going to war. In 1917, the excuse was that we must make the world safe for democracy.

The next time after, for months, sending surreptitiously, under cover, in violation of every international law, submarines to fight Germany; provoking Japan into the Pearl Harbor attack, we went into a war which was to end all wars.

Then, in June of 1950, having surrendered to United Nations our right to declare war, President Truman put us into world war III. That war, we were told, was to contain communism. But, strange as it may seem, while sending our young men to freeze, to fight, to suffer, and to die in Korea, the White House and our Federal Government had long been playing around with, wining and dining Communists, giving them jobs at the taxpayers' expense. Some still speak and write to protect them, smear all who would expose Communists.

World War I cost us 364,800 casualties; 126,000 dead. World War II gave us casualties of 1,049,741; our dead 389,769; and left us with a national debt of $262,571,665,797.

The Korean war gave us 144,173 casualties; 25,604 dead; and left us with a national debt of $272,516,821,439. And do not forget that just one little item these wars have left us is an annual interest charge of something over $6 billion, a debt owing the veterans each year more than $7 billion. That is but a partial payment on what we owe them.

As late as March 13 of this year, Vice President NIXON, speaking for President Eisenhower, said in effect that, to continue fighting throughout the world, wherever other nations might be in trouble, would ruin us. He said that we were not strong enough to fight the world. A truism. He said we would not fall into the Communist trap of being drawn, and I quote, "into little wars all over the world." He said, and I quote:

> Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression at times and places that we chose.

But today, April 8, 1954, the President's statements and those of others high in the administration indicate the likelihood of going into world war IV in Indochina on the theory, and it is an absurd one, that our national existence depends upon maintaining one particular form of government in Indochina, other forms of government in adjacent nations.

Who wants war? Certainly not the people. Who, then? Only the greedy, ambitious individuals who can make a profit out of war or who seek the spotlight on the stage of world politics. Figure it out for yourself and name those who are responsible for war.

Certainly, you have no son, no daughter, no husband, that you want sent to war. Certainly, those who are responsible for our involvement in war are not the ones who do the fighting.

Who makes the policy which gets us into war? Who makes the policy which fails to keep us out of war? Certainly not the so-called isolationists—certainly not the so-called nationalists. Who? You answer.

Parity Supports for Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD H. REES
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to me by the House, I am including a resolution approved by the Ottumwa Farmers Union local of Ottumwa, Kans., in support of 100 percent price supports:

Whereas severe declines in farm income have always been followed in the past by general business recession and sometimes depression. We appear to be entering such a period at the present time. A fair and equal share of the national income for agriculture is necessary for the good of the general economy of the Nation. It is fair, just, economically sound, and for the best interests of all our population to endeavor to keep agriculture prosperous; and

Whereas parity means equality. We do not think that 75 to 90 percent of parity is fair, just, or economically sound. We do not think that it would help to relieve overproduction, as it would force us to produce more, at the lower prices which we would receive, in order to meet our expenses. We feel that 100 percent of parity prices for all the things produced on family farms would be fair, economically sound, and for the best interests of all the people as a whole: Therefore be it

Resolved, That Ottumwa Farmers Union, Local, No. 2250, meeting March 4, 1954, goes on record as favoring 100-percent parity-price supports on all items produced on family farms, not only on so-called basic crops, but livestock, dairy, and poultry products as well. We think that instead of storing large amounts of perishable products, it would be better to let them seek their own price level on the open market and pay the producer the difference between that price and 100-percent parity by direct payment. We also think that food is one of the best and cheapest weapons, whereby we can fight communism. We therefore feel that it would be economically sound and morally right, to use some of our surplus food, to help feed people in countries where food is in very short supply, thereby gaining their friendship and helping to keep them from communism. We also think that 100-percent parity-support prices should only be available to family-size farms and not paid to business or professional men who are raising livestock or other products as a sideline, or to the so-called factory type farms; be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Congressman, Edward H. Rees; to Senator Andrew Schoeppel; Senator Frank Carlson; to the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson; to the local newspapers, and to the State Farmers Union paper.

MELVIN L. WEBSTER,
President.
HOMER HATCH,
Secretary.
CECIL J. O'CONNOR,
Legislative Director.

Communist Daily Worker Supports Movement to Unseat Senator Joe McCarthy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am including an article that appeared in the Tablet Easter number for April 10 on the highly emotional campaign to unseat Senator JOE MCCARTHY. I commend it to the attention of all Members:

RED KIT INDICATES WAYS TO DESTROY SENATOR MCCARTHY—COMMUNISTS SUGGEST DRIVE TO UNSEAT HIM, REOPENING OF BENSON'S CHARGES—LAUD THE ANTI-ANTI-REDS—URGE PROPAGANDISTS TO PLUG DENIAL THAT COMMUNISM IS REALLY A CONSPIRACY

An instruction kit for those who have joined the MCCARTHY must go campaign was issued this week by the Communist Party.

The kit was published as an insert in the Daily Worker, which advertised it as "four full pages on Senator JOE (Low Blow) MCCARTHY, his record and what you can do about him." Additional information for those seeking to help the Communist cause by opposing the Senator may be obtained, according to the Communist organ, by writing to the Sunday Worker, 35 East 12th Street, New York City.

Copies of the instruction kit are available at the same address at $4 a thousand.

The first page is devoted to material for use in the move to oust Senator MCCARTHY from his Senate seat.

OFFERS GROUNDS FOR ATTACK

It suggests he be attacked on the grounds that he is engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the Constitution, that he has violated his oath as a Senator, that he is in a deliberate plot to destroy the fifth amendment, and that McCarthyism demands conformity to its pro-war labor-hating, anti-Semitic views, and charges all others with treason.

Among those whom the Communist Party organ quotes as supporting its MCCARTHY-must-go drive are the New York Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, ex-President Harry S. Truman, Mrs. Agnes Meyer (MCCARTHY is our No. 1 Fascist), former Assistant Secretary of State Edward W. Barrett (he is a political hoodlum), Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Gov. Robert Meyner of New Jersey and the New York Herald Tribune.

Page 2 cites charges from which it says Senator MCCARTHY fled. It concludes by say-

ing that the Wisconsin Senator uses the Communist menace racket to cover up his dirty deals and his anti-American plottings.

Quoted on the page are Rev. G. B. Ford, pastor of Corpus Christi church, Manhattan (Senator McCarthy is a vicious demagog); Commonweal, a Catholic magazine (the voice of McCarthy * * * is a poisoned and fearful thing); Episcopal Bishop Horace W. B. Donegan, of New York, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, George Meany, American Federation of Labor president, and Carl Stellato, president of the Ford local 600, United Automobile Workers (Senator McCarthy is trying to Hitlerize America).

COMPARED WITH LABOR LEADER

On the third page are two topics recommended for the campaign. One is titled "Worst Record on Labor" and the other "Let's Look at the War Record." The first gives Senator McCarthy's sordid score while he has been saving us from communism. The second charges him with being a goldbrick who faked injuries and contrasts his war record with that of Robert Thompson, convicted Communist top leader now in prison.

Quoted on the same page are Joseph B. Keenan, secretary of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L. (I'm not worried about communism. The great danger in this country is not communism but fascism); Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union of America; Walter Reuther, president of the CIO; and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

The last page is devoted to the big lie tactic of Senator McCarthy. The big lie is that the United States faces a Communist menace, a lie which the Communist Party denies. The party urges propagandists in the attack on the Wisconsin Senator to keep plugging that there is absolutely no such thing as a conspiracy or the menace of which Fascist McCarthy shrieks every day.

McCarthyite fascism, the information kit declares, "has never exposed a spy, as the conservative columnist, Walter Lippmann, notes. This is because he is not looking for spies at all, but for Americans whose ideas are liberal, progressive, and Marxist."

LAYS DOWN EIGHT POINTS

The Communist Party offers eight points for its collaborators under the heading of "what you can do to help America against McCarthyism":

1. Demand that the Senate take the Schine-Cohn case out of the hands of Senator McCarthy's subcommittee.

2. Insist that the Senate reopen "the probe of McCarthy's weird financial deals which he refused to answer when Senator Benson charged him with deceit. Tell this to your Senators."

(Full-page advertisements urging the revival of former Senator Benton's charges against Senator McCarthy appeared in the New York Times and Herald Tribune on Wednesday of this week.—Editor.)

3. Refuse to let any Red scare tactic rob you of your rights to say what you please. * * * Defend the rights of all Americans under the fifth amendment.

4. Stand up for the rights of all Americans, Communists as well as non-Communists, to say what they think without fear of punishment for subversion or disloyalty.

5. Urge the abolition of the viciously un-American Committee on Un-American Activities and all such groups, like the Senate Committee on Internal Security.

6. Urge the repeal of all thought control laws like the Smith Act, the McCarran Internal Security Act, and the McCarran-Walter Act.

7. Urge the end of the cold war, and its replacement with a policy of peaceful negotiation. East-West trade, and the outlawing of all atomic and H-bomb war!

8. McCarthyism hates peace. Every move to ease the world tension is a blow against prowar McCarthyism. Join with your neighbors in urging a peace policy in Washington, with reduced armaments, lower taxes, more schools, and a real anti-depression program.

The Utica Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I am including an article from the Wall Street Journal of February 18, 1954, which tells the inspiring story of how an individual community met an unemployment crisis:

RETOOLED WORKERS: HOW A TEXTILE TOWN LICKED UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS—COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM HELPS UTICA, N. Y., LICK AN UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS—ELECTRONICS AND MACHINERY

(By Ellis Haller)

UTICA, N. Y.—When the Navy let General Electric Co. lift the secrecy wraps from its powerful new airborne search radar early this week, the news hit folks in this Mohawk Valley city with a double wallop.

First, the radar units are coming from a spanking new $15 million GE plant that opened its doors only a year ago. Today this light military electronics factory provides jobs for 2,700 persons.

Second, the intricate radar devices are being assembled largely by former textile workers who had either lost their jobs or were threatened with layoffs as Utica's once-dominant spinning, weaving, and knitting mills shut down.

GHOST TOWN THREAT

These former textile mill employees were retrained for new jobs in an unusual community action program, born of desperation when the city appeared destined to become an industrial ghost town. The retraining scheme, still in progress, has abruptly reversed the decline. It is credited with helping local plants expand and with attracting some new and diversified industries.

What's happened here offers encouragement for depressed cities in New England and elsewhere whose main economic prop has been knocked away, or looks shaky.

GE, with two smaller factories in Utica besides its new electronics plant, isn't the only company that's benefiting from the pool of freshly trained workers. Other major concerns have been attracted to the community and are drawing on the trainees to fill jobs as machine-tool operators, electronics technicians, or precision-tool workers.

TOOLS, TURBINES, FISHING TACKLE

Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co., for example, has 2,200 workers making power tools for industrial use in a modern half-million-square-foot factory building. Bendix Aviation Corp. hires 1,850 people to make electronic devices and transportation equipment. Utica Drop Forge & Tool Co., a 59-year-old Utica firm, has added 3 new plants since 1951 and now keeps 2,200 workers busy manufacturing hand tool and forged jet-turbine blades.

A score of smaller concerns have come to the city, many of them occupying space in abandoned textile mills. They, along with established local enterprises, make or distribute metal products, farm equipment, paper specialties, forgings and castings, air-conditioning machinery, springs and axles, electrical parts, fishing tackle, auto equipment, tools, and cutlery.

The effect on local business has been heartening. Average weekly wages in the area have risen from $53.01 in 1949 to $69.25 in 1953. This is a gain of 30 percent, compared with a statewide average increase of 18 percent for the same period. Bank deposits and retail sales have gained. Merchants are modernizing stores. A hotel chain is considering building a new hotel. The city has a new airport with regular service to New York and other eastern cities.

EIGHTY-ONE HUNDRED STILL SEEK WORK

The picture isn't all rosy, of course. Utica still has empty, obsolete textile mills with little appeal for present-day employers. It needs more new housing to replace bad slum areas. It is tagged as a labor-surplus area, with an estimated 8,100 people seeking work out of a total labor force of 130,000. Meanwhile, newcomers in the managerial group talk of a dire need for better restaurants, quality retail shops, more entertainment facilities.

The gradual shift to diversified industry doesn't mean the city has said goodby to textile firms. Some, like Oneita Knitting Mills, Fort Schuyler Knitting Co., Augusta Knitting Co., and Flagg-Utica Corp. are operating successfully. Skenandoa Rayon Corp., a subsidiary of Beaunit Mills, modernized its plant in 1952 and has reopened. Wilhen Manufacturing Co., makers of Peter Pan brassieres, opened a factory with 120 employees a year ago, and just announced it is doubling that force. But many other big concerns—notably Utica-Mohawk Mills, A. D. Juilliard & Co., Inc., and Globe Mills division of American Woolen Co., have deserted the city.

THE BAD OLD DAYS

What's the background behind Utica's industrial renaissance?

To get the whole picture, you have to go back to the days when Utica was practically a one-industry town. Then, the city had more than 15,000 textile jobs. Wages weren't high and the plants were outmoded. But at least a good share of the working population was kept busy. World War II contracts for cloth and garments sustained textile activity. Then, in 1946, business began tapering off and one mill after another shut down or curtailed employment.

From December 1947 to December 1953, textile jobs fell from 10,200 to 3,000, according to State employment division figures. Retail sales lagged, welfare rolls were swollen, and youngsters were leaving town because there were no jobs for them.

Things looked gloomy in the spring of 1952. "We were licked, we admit it," comments former mayor Vincent Corrou, now executive secretary of the Utica Chamber of Commerce. This group finally called on the State labor department to help set up a program to meet the job crisis.

ADAPTING NIMBLE FINGERS

State Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi mapped an educational campaign for local retraining of textile hands so they could qualify for jobs in the electronics, metal-working and tool-making fields. The whole setup was based on the assumption that nimble-fingered textile employees had skills that could be adapted to other occupations. There were two big questions: Would the workers agree to go back to school; and even if they did, would retraining work out for older men and women whose whole working lives had been spent in one occupation?

Walter Matt, president of West End Brewing Co., who doubles as chamber of commerce president, appointed an action committee to tackle the problem. Among its two-dozen members were such representative citizens as fishing-tackle-maker Richard Balch, president of Horrocks-Ibbotson Co.;

advertising man Arthur Cotins; men's wear retailer James Capps, president of Wicks & Greenman; newspaper publisher J. David Hogue; labor organizer Anthony Giglio, district business manager of the AFL's International Association of Machinists; and knifemaker A. Edward Allen, of Utica Cutlery Co.

TRAINING SCHOOL SETUP

This committee arranged for the establishment of training courses in the local public school system, in Utica College of Syracuse University, and in the Mohawk Valley Technical Institute, a local trade school. Companies like Bendix and Chicago Pneumatic Tool contributed machines and instructors. GE just lining up workers for its new electronics plant, rented part of a vacant textile mill and gave courses on its own.

Everybody pitched in to make the venture a community effort. Doctors of the Oneida County Medical Society provided a free medical examination (they figured its normal worth was more than $100) for every job applicant. A special Rotary Club committee headed by Charles Hall, president of Oneida National Bank, arranged loans to cover tuition for the 42-week electronics course taught at Utica College and the Technical Institute. The chamber of commerce printed and distributed folders sparking a Johnny-Get-Ahead campaign to encourage workers to take machine-tool training.

What's the upshot? So far, 1,036 people have taken courses in such subjects as machine-tool operation, electronics, blueprint reading, typing, and precision measurement. But the effect on total employment has been far broader than those figures indicate. Some plants were delaying the staffing of whole departments waiting for a bottleneck to be broken in the supply of machine-tool operators and electronic technicians. Now that they have the skilled key workers, they've been able to add assemblers and rank-and-file employees.

Employers are happy over the results. Guy J. Coffey, president of Chicago Pneumatic Tool, claims workers have become proficient in their new skills "sooner than we thought they would. These folks were willing to learn, and we were willing to help train them."

Says a General Electric executive, "This is the first city in which GE has ever tried to train electronic technicians. It's worked out fine."

"Our entire gear-cutting section was staffed with ex-textile workers," says Donald McGrath, general manager of the Utica division of Bendix. "In addition, this is one of the few plants in the country hiring women for instrument assembly. Half of our departments are staffed with former textile workers; for finger dexterity, they were just what we needed."

OFFER: WORKERS TRAINED TO AN EMPLOYER'S NEEDS

UTICA, N. Y.—"Just move your plant here—we'll train your workers to order."

That's the sweeping offer Utica is dangling before industrial concerns in an effort to bring to new businesses here. The Utica Community Action Committee, a group of community leaders dedicated to boosting employment, says the city's trade schools and colleges will adapt their courses to tailor-make employees to any desired specification.

Does the system work? Herman Konig, manager of General Electric Co.'s big French Road plant says, "We had to bring in only 400 engineers and technical people out of the 2,700 employees at this plant. The others were recruited locally and trained from scratch."

One hazard: The action committee had to set up a special arbitration group to decide who'd get which workers, when it found some employers were raiding trade schools for recruits even before they'd finished their courses.

Analysis of Bill Amending Immigration and Nationality Act, McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, Public Law 414, 82d Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, appended is an analysis of the bill introduced in the House today by six Republican Members of this body, Representatives CRETELLA, FINO, FRELINGHUYSEN, MORANO, SCOTT, and myself:

Short title: "Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1954."

TITLE I

This title follows recommendations of President Eisenhower as contained in his April 6, 1953, letter to Senator ARTHUR V. WATKINS proposing a Senate inquiry into the operations of the McCarran-Walter Act.

Section 101: Amends sections 212 (a) (15) and 241 (a) (8) of Public Law 414 with respect to standards for determining whether aliens are or are likely to become public charges. The provision which gives controlling effect to the opinion of the consul or of immigration officials, without adequate supporting evidence, is eliminated.

Section 102: Amends subsections (27) and (29) of section 212 (a) of Public Law 414 with respect to standards for determining whether immigrants would engage in subversive activities. The consul and immigration officials would no longer be vested with the authority, without restraint, to determine by their own mental processes the probability of future proscribed conduct.

Section 103: Amends section 287 (a) (1) of Public Law 414 with respect to power of officers and employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to interrogate without warrant persons believed to be aliens as to their right to be or remain in this country. Strengthens the term "believed" by requiring "with probable cause," thus preventing improper interrogation of citizens.

Section 104: Repeals sections 352, 353 and 354 of Public Law 414, which provide for loss of nationality by naturalized citizens because of residence abroad. This amendment thus eliminates the stigma of "second class citizenship." Section 104 of the bill also repeals sections 350 and 355 of Public Law 414 which provide for loss of citizenship by native-born citizens because of residence abroad. The principle that native-born citizens will lose their American nationality by residence abroad was introduced to our nationality laws for the first time by Public Law 414. To permit that principle to remain in our law, while repealing the corresponding provision as to naturalized citizens, would discriminate against the native-born citizen.

Section 105: Amends sections 101 (2) (37), 212 (a) (28) (D), 241 (a) (6) (D) and 313 (a) (3) of Public Law 414 by broadening restrictions contained in that act with respect to persons who have advocated a totalitarian dictatorship or have belonged to totalitarian organizations. Nazis and Fascists would, as a result, be barred from the United States without the necessity of proving, as Public Law 414 now requires, that they have advocated, or belonged to organizations which advocated, the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States. This closes the loophole in Public Law 414 that now permits Nazis and Fascists to enter the United States and to become naturalized.

Section 106: By amending section 244 (a) (1) (2) (3) (4) and (5) of Public Law 414 eliminates the standards of "exceptional and extremely unusual hardship" in granting suspension of deportation, substituting the term "serious hardship."

Sections 107 and 108: By repealing section 3 (c) of the Displaced Persons Act and amending section 201 (e) of Public Law 414 eliminates provision requiring future mortgaging of quotas.

Section 109: By amending sections 202 (a) (5) and 202 (e) and repealing section 202 (b), (c) and (d) of Public Law 414, eliminates quota provisions in the present act which discriminate against Asiatic and colonial peoples. The amendment will restore the law as it existed prior to Public Law 414, by which colonial peoples came under the quota of their mother country. Public Law 414 establishes a quota determined by race for Asiatic peoples no matter in what country of the world they are born, while the quota for non-Asiatics is determined simply by birth within quota area. The amendment extends the latter provision to persons of an Asiatic race and thus removes the stigma of racial discrimination.

TITLE II

This title corrects certain administrative deficiencies that have become generally apparent since the beginning of enforcement of Public Law 414.

Section 201: By amending section 101 (a) (6) of Public Law 414, restored preexamination (an administrative procedure adopted in 1935 which permitted an alien in the United States to become a permanent resident by obtaining his immigration visa in Canada instead of being required to make the long and expensive journey to his country of origin for that purpose).

Section 202: By amending section 212 (9) and (10) permits entry of an alien who has received a pardon for a crime.

Section 203: Amends section 212 (c) of Public Law 414 to restore the law as it existed, and operated satisfactorily, from 1917 to 1952. The result would be to give the Attorney General discretionary power to admit an alien who is returning to an unrelinquished American residence of at least 7 years, with no requirement that the alien was originally admitted to this country for permanent residence.

Section 204: Repeals section 235 (c) of Public Law 414 which permits exclusion without a hearing.

Section 205: Repeals section 241 (d) of Public Law 414, the retroactive provision which makes an alien deportable for conduct prior to December 24, 1952, even though that conduct was not a ground of deportation before Public Law 414 came into effect.

Section 206: Amends section 245 of Public Law 414 which permits the Attorney General to adjust the status of an alien temporarily here to that of an alien admitted for permanent residence. The amendment softens the unnecessarily rigorous requirements which an alien must now meet.

Section 207: (a) Permits judicial review in exclusion and deportation cases. (b) Establishes a statute of limitations whereby no alien may be deported by reason of conduct occurring more than 10 years prior to the institution of deportation proceedings.

Section 208: Repeals section 360 (a) of Public Law 414 and substitutes a provision granting judicial review for a person claiming American citizenship who has been denied such right.

Section 209: Amends section 360 (c) of Public Law 414 by broadening provision for judicial review of final determination by Attorney General in refusing entry to persons issued certificate of identity as claimants of American citizenship under section 360 (b).

Section 210: Establishes a Board of Visa Appeals in State Department to review questions involving the denying of visas and the

application or meaning of State Department regulations applying to immigration.

TITLE III

Section 301: Provides for the pooling of unused quotas and their allocation the next succeeding fiscal year to those on waiting lists of quotas 7,000 and under (includes Italian, Greek, Dutch, Austrian, and Eastern European quotas). Quotas are to be determined on the basis of the 1950 census instead of the 1920 census as is now the practice.

Debt-Free Indiana Is Attracting More New Industry Than Any Other State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN V. BEAMER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a tearsheet from the March 1954 issue of Dun's Review and Modern Industry. This article has the tone of an advertisement and it well might be one. Every Hoosier is proud of his State of Indiana, and the principles for which it stands. It also should be added that the people of Indiana are opposed to those who would change the form of our constitutional Government to one of socialism, or communism, or any of the other "isms." We endorse good Americanism.

The article follows:

DEBT-FREE INDIANA IS ATTRACTING MORE NEW INDUSTRY PER CAPITA THAN ANY OTHER STATE

Why is Indiana up 297 percent since 1939 in dollar value added to goods by manufacture? States ranking first and second in total value added by manufacturing are outranked per capita by Indiana by 38 and 26 percent. (Bureau of Census, 1950.)

Why does Indiana lead its neighbor States in new-plant value per capita—by 8, 12, 38, 110, and 127 percent? (F. W. Dodge Corp., New York construction specialists.)

Why did Indiana industry soar 29 percent from 1939 to 1947—then 31 percent from 1948 to 1953—to a total of 10,500 industries today?

Why does Indiana outrank 46 States in percentage of employees engaged in durable goods manufacture—81 percent over United States average? Why are United States ratios topped by Indiana by 193 percent in percentage of population engaged in motor vehicle equipment manufacture, by 152 percent in primary metal industries, by 87 percent in nonelectrical machinery, by 34 percent in fabricated metal industries, by 29 percent in electrical machinery and equipment?

Why is Indiana growing 59 percent faster than United States (July 1, 1950, to July 1, 1952)? Today's Indiana population: 4,300,000 (60 percent urban, 40 percent rural).

Why does Indiana rank third in United States in steel production (and have world's largest steel plant); why first in United States in musical instruments, gasoline pumps, refrigerators; third in motor vehicles and parts; fifth in rubber; first in building limestone (three-fourths of United States total); why do we have world's largest oil refinery and cement plant; why so strong in wood veneers, furniture, meatpacking, farm machinery, drugs, rail cars and equipment, bottles, jars, machine shop and foundry, canning, hosiery, clothing, Fiberglas, electronics, jet engines, etc.?

Why is Indiana blessed with such diversity—enough to fill most components needs here?

No State debt: Constitution forbids. Pay as you go. Surplus: $80 million.

No nuisance or penalty tax: No net income, use, retail sales, corporate or manufacturer's tax. Only a gross income tax (one-fourth of 1 percent on gross receipts from sales for processing, resale, etc., not in interstate or foreign commerce; 1 percent on all other receipts derived in Indiana except receipts from sales to ultimate consumer, taxable at only one-half of 1 percent; no tax on receipts from sales of goods in interstate or foreign commerce).

Third lowest unemployment tax in United States. Averages seven-tenths of 1 percent—only half United States average of 1.4 percent.

Lower cost government—both State and local—than in neighboring States. (Source: Wisconsin Department of Taxation).

Good labor—97 percent native, 99.2 percent literate. Responsible, adaptable; 30 percent fewer Government workers per capita than nationally. Most Indiana counties have more resident factory workers than factory jobs.

Good labor relations: Enviable strike and lockout records. First in United States with State labor-management charter.

Low labor costs: United States median weekly wage of manufacturing employees under unemployment compensation is 7 percent higher than in Indiana. And Michigan-Illinois-Ohio average is 8 percent higher than in Indiana. (Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, 2d quarter, 1952). Families earning under $2,000 a year are 16 percent less prevalent in Indiana than nationally; from $2,000 to $6,000, 10 percent more prevalent; over $6,000, 10 percent less prevalent. Families earning under $6,000 are 5 percent more prevalent in Indiana than in Michigan-Illinois-Ohio; over $6,000, 28 percent less prevalent.

Plenty of firm power: No Indiana plant or prospect ever was lost for want of power. Cost: often as low as one-half of 1 percent of total production cost. Over 3 million horsepower a year (10 percent over per capita United States average) plus another 1½-million horsepower for emergency (through interconnected transmission system). Increases kept well ahead of anticipated needs. Only 2 percent hydro- or oil-generated—98 percent by coal, most of which is Indiana's own coal.

Raw materials: Low-cost coal (6th in United States, 100 rail and truck mines, enough for 2,000 years at present rate, 20–30 million tons year). Limestone (building and agriculture). Natural gas (billion cubic feet per year). Clay for brick and tile (clay center of the world). White clay (rich in aluminum). Petroleum (plus more from 1,000-mile pipeline from Southwest). Water (43 inches of rain per year). Sand, gravel, wood, etc.

Closest to all markets: Indiana offers industrial towns and cities closest to exact United States population center—mileage minimum from market maximum.

Two hundred and fifty-eight towns and cities over 1,000; 5 over 100,000; 14, 25,000–100,000; 22, 10,000–25,000; 217, 1,000–10,000.

Excellent transportation—23 railroads (2.95 percent of total United States rail miles with only 1.22 percent of United States area—142 percent more than our square-mile quota); 9 airlines; 200 airports; 300 motor freight lines; shipping to Mississippi River by Ohio River and Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal; Lake Michigan, etc. Literally the Crossroads of the Nation.

Nation's finest highways: No other State has both so many highway miles per area and so high a percent permanently paved (twice as many miles as neighboring States—per driver and per square mile)—and all paid for.

Living in Indiana is easy, worth while, and fun. Fine housing, modest rent. Good transportation to work. Good climate (winter average 31°, summer average 76°, mean 53°). Over 1,000 lakes, streams (5th in United States in fishing licenses). Good hunting, conservation, 13 famous State parks, 14 State forests. Excellent public park, playground, swimming pool programs. Winter sports. Resorts, mineral springs. Finest municipal golf courses in United States.

Superb public schools (1st State in United States to provide constitutionally for public education); fine teacher salary, tenure, retirement policies; 19 colleges, universities. Art schools, galleries. Nationally known symphony orchestras; 250 public libraries; rich in artists, writers, etc.

Citizens for 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of Monday, April 12:

CITIZENS FOR 1954

President Eisenhower over the weekend received the leaders of the Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee. An outgrowth of the citizens group largely composed of younger elements, independents and amateurs which was so effective in the Presidential elections of 1952, the present organization has an important role to play. Its budget is a comparatively modest $500,000, a sum which should be speedily raised.

The citizens congressional committee has worked out its strategy so as to cause as little dissension as possible within Republican ranks. It will not enter into the primaries; it will not support a Democrat in any case; it will be active only in those races where it is called on to help. On the positive side, the group will seek to translate into voting strength the immense popularity of the President, winning over independents and Democrats to vote for Congressmen who will support Mr. Eisenhower's domestic and foreign policies.

There is no question of the need for independent support. Certainly the President himself is aware of it. Mr. Eisenhower ran ahead of the congressional candidates in 1952, while Democrats won in some 45 districts by a majority so slight, less than 5 percent, that there is reason to believe they can be put in the Republican column. They can be put there, that is, if the President's strength with the voters is transferred to the Republican congressional candidate. This the citizens group will endeavor in key instances to do.

It need hardly be added that the efforts of such a group will be rewarded in proportion as this session of the Congress produces in its remaining months a program which makes sense to the younger voters and to independents. Such a program is the basis for the success which the Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee can expect to win. To pass it is the immediate and paramount order of business.

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Appendix

Public Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the speech by Charles E. Slusser, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, which follows, deserves the attention of both the friends and enemies of public housing. One need not agree with all that Commissioner Slusser says to recognize the good sense and fairness of the tone of his remarks.

SPEECH BY CHARLES E. SLUSSER, COMMISSIONER, PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGIONAL COUNCIL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS, FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1954, MORNING SESSION, HOTEL NEW YORKER, NEW YORK

As you may have read in the papers lately, there is quite a housing project underway in Washington these days. Congress has been working on the President's housing bill—perhaps I should say, "working it over." And the question has been how many bundles of shingles should be ordered for the public housing roof. There has been a major difference of opinion on this. Some of our legislators are afraid that if we get enough shingles, we'll get the shingling habit—and that's dangerous. Some, even, would be pleased to permit us no shingles at all—because some day shingles will be cheap enough for the poorest slum dwellers to buy their own.

All of this arguing down in Washington convinces me that we who appreciate the function of public housing have failed to present our case as strongly as those who are trying to scuttle the program.

There's an old story about a countryman who went to a county fair and listened to a side-show artist imitate the squeal of a little pig. A large crowd applauded the performance, but the countryman thought it a poor imitation of the real thing. So, the next day he came back and offered to out perform the side-show artist. He opened his mouth and pretended to squeal, but the squeal was really produced by pinching a real little pig concealed behind him. The crowd was not impressed. The crowd preferred the side-show artist's cleverly delivered performance.

I think we who believe in public housing can profit by the moral of that story. Like the countryman, we have a genuine product for which there is no substitute at this time. It has demonstrated its effectiveness. We also have a bright promise that in 4 years we may have something better. I say, "bright promise," because we all look forward to the day when private industry can build decent housing—at a price the poorest families can pay.

Albert M. Cole, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, pointed out recently: "We are losing the battle of the slums." I agree with him—and I've seen enough of slums to last a lifetime. And now, when the battle is joined, there are those who would have us throw away the best single weapon we have. And why? Because in a very few more years, conditions may be brought about that will give us a better weapon. This reasoning is about as disconcerting—to those fighting slums—as it would be to a soldier if in the middle of battle you took his gun away from him and told him to be of good cheer—an improved model is being designed—and if it can be produced at a profit, he'll be sure to get one. I am confident that the victims of slum conditions feel much the same.

How is it that such wide differences of opinion could develop? Where is the seat of the trouble? Frankly, I don't see this country as one divided between heroes and villains. I'm sure that the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Home Builders are not baring their fangs and twitching their tails at the prospect of depriving our poorest of decent homes. And I'm equally confident that friends of public housing are not trying to sneak a camel into the private housing tent. I think the real villain of this not-so-comic opera is blind partisanship. Neither viewpoint has been presented dispassionately. Each has tried the smear technique with the result that neither the enemies nor the friends of public housing have convinced the American people of the facts in the case. I think this can be done, and I am going to try to do it. And the very first point I want to make is this: I believe that the basic intent on both sides is the public welfare.

I say this because I have been a real estate man, and I know the profession holds a deep faith in the workability and desirability of our free enterprise system. They believe—and rightly in my opinion—that no other system of government can produce so much and offer the same freedom and happiness to the individual. So it is quite understandable that they look with suspicion and resentment on the Government's activities in peacetime housing. They view it as a threat to private enterprise. They view it, at best, as a lion cub that should be picked up by the nape of the neck and thrown out now before it's too late. Certainly, their concern with safeguarding our American system is a good motive, but—I think they are unduly alarmed.

I think they can place full confidence in President Eisenhower's assurance in his housing message in which he said: "We believe that needed progress can best be met by full and effective utilization of our competitive economy with its vast resources for building and financing homes for our people." Believing this, the President nevertheless recognized the practical necessity for 140,000 units of public housing during the next 4 years. By that time, it is expected that our competitive economy can handle the job without help. There is nothing in this recommendation to excite any alarm. Yet, there has been an uproar. Fear, suspicion, greed, and do-goodism have become so many smoke pots that they have obscured the problem—with the result that like-minded people have been clinging together in a fog. It has produced an acute schizophrenia, known as "us guys" and "them guys." And human nature being what it is, people become twice as indignant when they have found somebody who agrees with them.

No wonder the public is confused.

It bears all this clamor and reasons that the loudest shouting must come from the greatest number. Then the next question becomes: "Who is causing all this rumpus?—and let's get rid of them." That is just about what has happened to public housing. Its friends have been out-shouted.

The facts, however, warrant a good, hard look at whether this Nation—trying to clean up its city slums—can afford to yield the best available weapon we now have for the fight on slums. Can we afford to weaken our present offensive in the hope of being able to launch a more desirable one, when and if, private housing can carry the entire load? Can not this transition—this desirable transition—be accomplished without losing more ground to slums in the meantime? Can't we keep our one principal weapon until we get another and test it?

You all know that the President appointed a 23-man committee headed by Albert M. Cole, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, to make a thorough study of the entire housing problem last year. The committee explored the principal alternatives offered as substitutes for low-rent public housing and came to the conclusion that public housing should be continued. The President agreed and urged continuing the program at a rate of 35,000 units—"until other new programs have been fully tested and by actual performance have shown their success." In other words, the present administration—whose championship of our competitive economy cannot be doubted—urges the retention of the public housing weapon until it can be replaced by others that will do the job. The important thing here is that this recommendation is entirely consistent with a political philosophy that seeks maximum opportunity for private enterprise. It is consistent because it is an instrument for a specific and limited purpose— and only for so long as no proven substitute is available.

I have seen listed point by point the arguments against public housing. I have seen these in multicolored brochures—with dramatic typography and art work. They are written by experts in the use of disarmingly informal, down-to-earth English. You know the kind: "brief, concise, easy to read." Now, there is one thing these booklets have in common; they take an extremely dim view of federally aided low-rent public housing. In fact, these brochures are inclined to favor any other plan under any other name—just so long as the Federal Government does not itself undertake to build housing. They make such an open and shut case for the problem, it is a wonder the President's Advisory Committee found it desirable to make so long and so careful a study. It could be, however, the committee was not convinced by these "brief, concise, and easy to read" brochures. At least, the committee concluded that public housing still fills an important need.

This fear on the part of private builders and real estate men that federally aided public housing is creeping socialism is groundless. The late Senator Bob Taft was no Socialist, creeping or otherwise; yet he was well enough informed on the legitimate function of public housing to be one of its most earnest supporters. By the same token, I know personally two presidents of real-estate boards, both one-time vigorous opponents, who have—after an objective appraisal of the program—become public-

housing advocates. Like others who have studied the problem carefully, they realize there is no danger of the Federal Government edging over into territory being served properly by private enterprise. I underline that word "properly." It means decent, livable housing. It does not mean slum shacks that distill human misery into profits for slum landlords.

Let me make a strong point here. The people living in Federal public housing are those people who are making on the average just under $2,000 a year. We often are subject to criticism for allowing people making incomes twice that amount and more to live in our projects. These people are not living in Federal public housing. They may be in defense housing which was created for defense and war workers and which is largely temporary in nature. They may be in private enterprise housing projects or in city and State projects. But they are not in Federal public housing.

Even in the territory which you represent, where higher incomes permit higher admission limits, the higest income admission limit is $3,000. The average for the territory of our New York field office which you represent is $2,800. The average for the whole country, as I have said, is below $2,000, which is still lower.

One of the principal reasons we are confident there is no overlapping of interests is the requirement that there be a 20-percent differential in rents between federally aided public housing and the cheapest of proper private housing. This spread in rents is a no-man's land quite wide enough to guarantee against encroachment on legitimate private enterprise. It also is wide enough to provide private enterprise with the fullest opportunity to develop more modest homes and rents than it now furnishes. It is the strongest kind of challenge to private builders to produce cheaper—yet adequate—housing. Far from setting up a battleline between public housing and private housing, the Federal Government is inviting—urging—private builders to advance into this no-man's land. It is offering the assurance that with each advance, public housing will pull back, always leaving the 20-percent rent gap for safety and as a further incentive to private enterprise.

Let me give you a concrete example of how painstaking are the Government's efforts to avoid competition with private builders and renters. A housing authority of this area called on three reputable realtors to get the lowest prices for standard private dwelling units having 1, 2, 3, or more bedrooms. These were tabulated and the lowest figures for a substantial supply were accepted. The same was done with rentals for these categories, and the lowest rents were tabulated for units in substantial supply. Then the newspaper classified ads were studied to find the lowest sales and rentals, and inspections of the physical property were made to determine its adequacy. From this body of statistics, minimums were chosen—the lowest of the low prices or rents for each of the categories in which a substantial supply existed. With this for a standard, the housing authority rents were set at not less than 20 percent lower, and in most cases more. These rents were set as the public-housing maximums. Any family whose total gross income—including that of all members of the family—exceeded five times these maximum rents would be ineligible for tenancy in the public-housing project. It should be obvious even to our most prejudiced critics that with the resulting income limit set so low, these families could not conceivably be provided decent housing in the private market. In short, public housing will not accept potential customers for private housing that is fit to live in. Is that creeping socialism?

You who are friends of public housing should make these facts known—not simply back and forth to each other, but to people who don't understand this safeguard to our competitive economy. And in your spare time, it would be an excellent idea to argue the point with others whose judgment has been warped by groundless fears.

And while you're at it, you might also point out to these Don Quixotes whose lances are leveled at imaginary fears—this unappreciated fact. Public housing has marked the first step up from slums for hundreds of families. Our figures show that one out of every five families that graduate from public housing goes out to buy a new home. In other words, by building confidence and selfrespect in public housing tenants, we are making new customers for private industry. And remember: these families have been rescued from the despair, the sickness, and demoralization of slum life. We should refute with all our energy that unjustified criticism that public housing is intended as the end of the road for low-income American families. The average family now living in public housing has been a resident for less than 4 years, and a heartening number of graduates are able to take the final step to decent housing of their own.

In arguing the case for public housing, we must be careful to avoid considering it as an end in itself. It is only a means to an end—nor is it the only means to that end. As you well know, President Eisenhower called for a broad attack and a strong attack against blight—by every means that could be employed. Moreover, he wanted to be sure it was pressed forward with enough vigor to make it succeed. That is why the administration program has put up safeguards against half-heartedness on the part of communities. A workable plan must be presented and approved before Federal aid will be forthcoming—and the binding force of that plan must be a guaranty of steadfast determination to see the job through. Communities must take the lead—not simply organize for a handout—and once under way, there can be no stopping. Any less serious effort will fail.

In short, we are engaging a common enemy—slums. We are engaging them in mortal battle with all the force we can muster. Public housing is our right arm.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8779) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

(Mr. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, this amendment to a large extent is precisely the one I sponsored in the full Committee on Appropriations. It was defeated in the full committee. I think now as I did then that it is a justifiable amendment.

As the gentleman from Texas earlier said, we have just been marking up the Department of Defense appropriation bill. We had under consideration the request for approximately $1,200,000,000 for research for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. All three panels of that subcommittee had listened for some time to the Research and Development people for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

As a layman I can say without any fear of contradiction that when you deal with research money and the projects involved you are dealing with a nebulous program. The witnesses who come before a committee on research cannot always pinpoint what path they are going to tread tomorrow and the results which will accrue. I suspect the same problems we have in the Army, Navy, and Air Force research take place in the research programs for agriculture. It is my feeling that this program, if approved as recommended by the President, will fundamentally and in the long run benefit the consumer as much as the farmer.

I know there will be some who will say that we cannot pinpoint precisely the areas where this additional $2 million will go, but I have done some checking, consulting with some of the members of this particular subcommittee, and believe there are individual projects which are worthwhile. I have a list in my hand of some of the areas where some of this additional $2 million will be expended.

For example, they informed me that it will result in an expanded research program for the control of diseases and pests of fruits and vegetables and other crops. This will result in increased yields and improved quality. There is some money anticipated to increase research on insecticide studies. There is a list here which I think will show that the benefit will accrue not only to the farmer but also to the consumer.

Let me say in conclusion that I approve of the action taken by the subcommittee on the Soil Conservation Service and other programs, but I think this additional $2 million is justified for research.

Justin Miller: Eminent Jurist, Great Broadcaster, and Outstanding Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEROY JOHNSON
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a very interesting speech made by Arthur B. Church, president of stations KMBC—AM–TV—Kansas City, Mo., upon the retirement of Justin Miller as chairman of the board and general counsel of the Na-

tional Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters on March 31, 1954, in the grand ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C.

Justin Miller's record is a typical American success story. He was born in the quaint Crescent City, Calif., where he began his schooling. He later went to Stanford University, receiving a bachelor of arts degree in 1911, and a doctor of jurisprudence degree in 1914. He taught in various colleges, worked in a large law office in San Francisco, and practiced law in the small city of Hanford, Calif., as well as in Fresno and San Francisco. He served as district attorney of King's County. Later he became a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States. He had many varied experiences, which need not be enumerated here. He became a member of the United States Court of Appeals, Washington, D. C., in 1937, and made a great record as a member of that court. He resigned to accept the position of president of the National Broadcasters in 1945.

I am one of those who believes that one of the marks of a real successful man is one who has had a happy, harmonious and productive family life. In other words, the most important contract which a man makes is the one which "for better or for worse" unites him with the lady who has consented to be his life's companion. Judge and Mrs. Miller are an ideal couple. They have had a very happy married life. Each has had a career which is outstanding. Mrs. Miller is an author in her own right, and has produced some very excellent books. Their children had the privilege and the pleasure of being the offspring of a model couple. In my book, there is no success that is greater than a successful family life.

Naturally, Californians are interested that their State can and has produced such a man.

When Judge Miller was asked to become the head of the broadcasters of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, he started upon a new career. Like every other opportunity that was presented to him during his varied experience in the law, he proved to be equally successful as a broadcaster.

I wish that our boys growing into manhood could read the life of Justin Miller. It would furnish inspiration to many a struggling young student who is trying to train himself for his chosen vocation. Not only is he a professional man in three separate vocations, that of the law, teacher and broadcaster, but also as a personality. He is outstanding. He is a true Christian gentleman.

At the testimonial dinner, Arthur B. Church, the president of stations KMBC—AM-TV—Kansas City, Mo., delivered a very interesting speech in which he eulogized and analyzed the character and accomplishments of Judge Justin Miller.

I enclose this very interesting address, and I hope that every Member of the Congress may read it, as it throws interesting light upon a man who has had a remarkable and interesting career. It illustrates what the freedom and opportunity which the American system offers to its people is capable of producing.

The address follows:

A pioneer broadcaster from the Southwest, en route to tonight's occasion, was heard to say to his train seat mate: "How foolish can we get? Here we are, letting ourselves be jostled across a great distance just to buy a swell guy a dinner—and probably he won't even be hungry."

I, too, flew here from Kansas City especially to honor this swell guy—as our old friend, the hired hand, aptly spoke of the man we have come to honor. And I must admit that I, too, haven't been nearly as hungry tonight as on many other nights over the years when I was banqueting with my broadcaster friends.

Harold Hough and Arthur Church are only two of many pioneers and hundreds of other broadcasters who came here tonight because they wouldn't miss this very special occasion, an opportunity honor this swell guy—our great industry leader for nearly a decade—whose integrity, whose accomplishments for us, with us, we desire to acknowledge together on the eve of his retirement as active chairman of the NARTB.

Now, please listen carefully and see if you remember the man, the time, and the place for the following words which helped write history for all of us:

"Perhaps a few of us are tempted to squirm guiltily, and admit every charge which the cynics, the satirists, and the rival media gaily toss our way, rather than stand up and toss them back again.

"Where the lawyers, journalists, or physicians would rise in angered protest and swarm down upon an overreaching Government agency, we are inclined to acquiesce. After all—to a considerable extent—we are still a heterogeneous aggregation of individuals, while other professional groups enjoy the confidence and stability which come from centuries of tradition and cooperative action.

"But all this makes it even more important that we come of age professionally. By thinking and acting as professional people do, we come sooner to the maturity which must be achieved. It is not necessary to wait for centuries to pass in order to obtain such professional consciousness and capacity. It was not necessary to wait centuries for the scientific development and exploitation of the basic discoveries which made broadcasting possible. There are plenty of broadcasters who are, as individuals, professionally mature, and capable of expanding the professional side of our development, just as quickly and convincingly as was done by the physical scientists. It is time to act. We have deliberated long enough. If the draft of standards which is submitted to you is not a fairly balanced product, lgt us put it quickly into shape and into operation. I have full faith and confidense that you will do so."

To my mind, those words point to what might be termed a self-portrait of the man we honor this evening. Broadcaster Justin Miller left a lifetime position as a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit after having served there 8 years as an associate justice, to take up a new challenge in a vital and growing profession.

Let us try to imagine, if we can, this great man's mental conflict while trying to reach a decision on such a dramatic and complete change in the manner of his living. The situation is one of the most dramatic of any of which I have personal knowledge. You wonder what I mean when I use the term "of which I have personal knowledge"? It happened that Judge Miller met with our industry committee in my office in Kansas City. I did not meet Judge Miller then—I was at my cabin in the mountains of Colorado. I hadn't even then met Judge Miller, but I knew what was transpiring.

My imagination pictured a scholarly man meeting with a group of practical broadcasters, the committee chosen by our industry board to find a man of sufficient stature to properly and effectively lead American broadcasters at a time when our problems had become numerous and highly complex.

Judge Miller must have experienced as great an admixture of feelings as any man can experience in this life as he met with the industry committee, and later, when alone in the quiet of night he pondered his own immediate destiny and the destiny of all people in our Nation whose lives are so constantly and so vitally affected by this great communications medium we know as broadcasting.

Again let your imagination soar with mine for a minute. Think of this man lying in his bed, after that meeting, peering into the night; then getting up and pacing the hotel room floor as he must have done. A scholar who had reached maturity in the practice of law, in teaching the law, and in serving his fellow man as a distinguished jurist. Yes, a philosopher as well as a scholar, a citizen of full social consciousness, a man whose comprehension and vision were so fully developed that he could foresee the terrible task that would be his if he accepted this new responsibility.

Shortly after our industry committee's meeting with Judge Miller, I was very interested to learn of their quick and unanimous decision in finding the right man to lead the National Association of Broadcasters as its president. Later I had the pleasure of meeting him and talking with him. During our conversation I sensed that this learned man reflected no regret in having left the profession in which he had reached full maturity and had attained such a distinguished position. Rather, he exuded youthful enthusiasm in facing up to the challenge of leading the Nation's broadcasters toward solutions of their many serious problems.

Most of us well remember some of the more pressing problems President Miller encountered when he came to the association as president on October 1, 1945. How many men could have stood up for the industry as he did during those trying first months and years in his tenure of office? How well we remember The Blue Book—the fears we broadcasters had as we came to understand the implications of that—is popular the right adjective?—document.

The head of a famous music union was again flexing his muscles and making unusual and painful demands upon the industry that had done so much to support musicians. Legislation was introduced which, if enacted into law, would have placed onerous controls on the broadcasting industry. Then—to complicate to a maximum the already overwhelming problems of a young but great industry—commercial television came aborning.

If President Justin Miller was dismayed with this welter of acute problems and with the coincident differences among members of the industry, the acrimonies that developed, the resulting criticism, claims and counterclaims—our great leader did not show dismay. Rather, into this vineyard of confusion which personified the industry of that hour, Judge Miller walked with a calm and almost benign manner, bringing to those whom he led a renewed sense of dignity, of citizenship, and of professional status.

As you have heard from Judge Laws, he was peculiarly gifted by character, by training, and by background to bring to the broadcasters of that day what the broad-

casters of that day needed most: firm, courageous leadership devoted to unbending principle.

The character of Justin Miller's administration, first as president and later as chairman of the board and general counsel, is reflected, I believe, in some of the titles of various addresses he made during his tenure of office and published by the association. You recall them: Textbooks and TV; The Profession of Radio Farm Broadcasting; Radio Broadcasting—a Profession; Municipalities and Radio Broadcasting; Attacks on Freedom of Communication; Broadcasting and Better Business; and Benjamin Franklin and Radio Broadcasting.

Benjamin Franklin has been one of my great heroes. It seems to me, especially appropriate to further illustrate the temper of Justin Miller's leadership by quoting briefly from that latter address made November 1, 1946, at Franklin and Marshall College, on the occasion that Judge Miller was awarded an honorary degree of doctor of laws. I like very much what I now quote from that address:

"Radio broadcasting is only a quarter century old, but it has become already a great American institution. It permeates every phase of our daily lives. It affects the closest relationships of our national life. It will become increasingly an agency to be conjured with in international affairs. Those who control this great institution and those who are affected by it must be dispassionately objective concerning its operation. We must be tolerant of many points of view, of other people and of other nations; so many different people, with different opinions to deal with."

And he went on, speaking of radio broadcasting in the manner he imagined Benjamin Franklin might have addressed the august group to whom he was speaking:

"It astonishes me, sir, to find radio broadcasting approaching so near to perfection as it does. May it always be a blessing to our people; a means of preserving that which our forefathers wrought for us. May it please God, that the American system of broadcasting shall help, long, to prevent the despotism which comes only when people become so corrupted as to need despotic government."

Now I wish to remark on one of the greatest demonstrations of teamwork which I have ever witnessed. Of course, I am thinking of President Harold Fellows and Chairman Justin Miller. Again the element of timing and its importance are evidenced. These two great men associated with them other hard-working, exceptionally loyal and capable men. Yes, over the years, our association headquarters has been in good hands.

In 1949, district 14 of the National Association of Broadcasters presented to Judge Miller a gold wrist watch, which I believe you will find he still wears. On its back was inscribed: "To Justin Miller, president, NAB, from a grateful district 14."

Later, in making the presentation, Hugh Terry, KLZ, Denver—then district 14 director—said to Judge Miller that the district first considered the inscription "Our kind of a guy," but it seems Hugh and his compatriots decided that perhaps the judge was a bit too distinguished and too austere to address in such casual terms. The judge himself responded to Hugh that as much as he appreciated the gift itself and the sentiment behind it, he would have been even happier had the inscription read, "Our kind of a guy."

Justin Miller has walked with honor and integrity among the broadcasters; he has served them with justice and in good faith; he has exemplified the kind of leadership to which all of us should aspire; he has cast a long shadow of influence on a great and growing industry. He has our gratitude, our affection, and our good wishes.

We salute him here tonight, as friend, counselor, executive—and champion of a new profession.

Judge Miller, you are "our kind of a guy."

Transocean Air Lines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, a few years ago and shortly after World War II a small group of men led by Mr. Orvis Nelson, most of them veterans of the wartime airlift over the Pacific, joined together in an enterprise centered at the airfield in Oakland, Calif., to form Transocean Air Lines. Their purpose was to fly passengers and cargo in surplus military planes then available to them from any point in the world to any other point.

Over the years this is what they have done. They have grown to be the largest contract carrier in the world.

I recently received a copy of a letter addressed to the Civil Aeronautics Board by the port attorney for the port of Oakland, which operates the airbase on which Transocean has its principal offices. The letter indicates that Transocean is again expanding its services and proposes now to give a more regular service between Oakland, Calif., and points in the Orient via Honolulu, Wake Island, and Guam. The proposed service will provide a needed service from the communities on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay to the Far East, a service which is not now adequately or satisfactorily supplied to them. I hope the new endeavor is as successful a one as the operations of Transocean Air Lines in the past have been.

The letter to which I referred reads as follows:

MARCH 26, 1954.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD,
Washington, D. C.
(Attention Docket Section.)

Re Transpacific Certificate Renewal Case, Docket No. 5031 et al.

GENTLEMEN: The Board of Port Commissioners of the City of Oakland has received and considered the recommended decision of Examiner Thomas L. Wrenn in the above entitled matter, dated March 19, 1954. This letter is intended to state the position of Oakland Municipal Airport with reference to the recommended decision, in lieu of the filing of exceptions to the decision and a brief in support thereof.

The city of Oakland owns, and through its board of port commissioners operates the Oakland Municipal Airport. It intervened in these proceedings and participated in the hearing for the purpose of supporting the application of Transocean Air Lines for a certificate of public convenience and necessity to engage in the scheduled transportation of passengers and cargo between Oakland, Calif., and points in the Orient via Honolulu, Wake Island, and Guam. The proceeding was deemed to be one of paramount importance to the city by reason of the fact that Transocean has its principal base and executive offices at Oakland Municipal Airport and is the airport's largest tenant and employer. In fact, it is the fourth largest employer in the area. It now offers direct service to and from Oakland Municipal Airport and applied in this case for authority to furnish direct scheduled service between Oakland, Hawaii, and points in the Far East. We cannot agree with the examiner's finding (p. 179) that the service provided by Pan American and United to and from San Francisco Airport is adequate and satisfactory service for Oakland and its adjoining communities on the mainland side of San Francisco Bay. As we have shown in numerous matters before the Civil Aeronautics Board, the area served by Oakland Municipal Airport is more populous than the area served by San Francisco Airport and more readily accessible to its users. Even if the examiner's recommended decision is adopted by the Board, Oakland still will not have any scheduled service to and from Hawaii and the Orient, although it will receive direct service of a type more satisfactory than presently provided.

While the recommended decision does not give Transocean all that it asks for, we heartily endorse the examiner's recommendation that Transocean be given a certificate to engage in air transportation of persons and property on an irregular basis between the coterminals Oakland and Burbank, Calif., and the Territory of Hawaii, points in the Pacific west of Hawaii, and points in the Orient, encompassed in this proceeding, for a period of 5 years from the date of approval by the Board. If approved by the Board, Transocean's operations would be placed upon a sounder legal and economic basis and the carrier would be given a fixed area of operation. We believe that Transocean has performed an outstanding public service as an irregular carrier and in the face of severe handicaps, while operating under nothing more than a letter of registration issued by the Board. The recommended decision would give Transocean an opportunity during a 5-year period to prove its usefulness to the air transportation industry which, in time, could conceivably result in full certification as a scheduled carrier.

The city of Oakland therefore strongly recommends that the Civil Aeronautics Board approve and adopt as its own the recommended decision of the examiner in this proceeding insofar as Transocean Air Lines is concerned.

Leave to argue this case before the Civil Aeronautics Board is respectfully requested.

Copies of this letter have been served upon all parties.

Respectfully yours,
J. KERWIN ROONEY,
Port Attorney.

Justice To the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the hardship worked on elderly people by the harsh and arbitrary wage ceiling in our Social Security Act is immeasurable. I am convinced that if the Members of this and the other body realized what this provision is doing to the welfare and morale of our senior citizens, we would abolish it forthwith. The wage ceiling is presently $75 a month—and that is the ceiling regardless of whether

an individual receives a benefit of $25 a month or $85 a month. It may be an administrative convenience to write the law in this way, but its effect on human beings is monstrous.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today the following letter from a correspondent in Sherrill, N. Y., describing exactly how this provision victimizes the elderly:

SHERRILL, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: In looking over my papers, I find a letter from you of January 28, 1953, in regard to a bill you put in about this $75 a month restriction under 75. Here it is all this time and nothing done. It is just a crime that it is as it is. I know a man 74 years old and his benefit is not near enough for them to live decent. He is active and he took on a little janitor job to help out, and in order to keep under the $75 per month there is four times a year when there is an extra payday in the month and he has to work a week for nothing and they have to go without the extra money that they need so much. If they can't do any more, they should allow $100 per month, and it would help a lot of such people. Please do something if possible at once.

Thank you very much.

ARTHUR VIRGIL.

William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Says Let Ike and Dulles Reveal Their Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to call attention to the following statement by a national leader of great prominence:

EDITOR'S REPORT—LET IKE AND DULLES REVEAL THEIR PLANS

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

I have been harping in this space for the past few weeks on the subject of a freer and fuller flow of information from the administration to the people.

I had in mind particularly more on-the-spot, accurate information via trained newspapermen on the subject of the H-bomb explosions.

Most of the reaction I got to these columns—in letters and phone calls, some from people on the very highest levels—agreed with this viewpoint.

Now I am back again today on the same subject, but on a different facet of it.

I maintain that it is about time that President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles tell the people of the United States more of what is in their minds and what they see in store for this country in relation to the war in Indochina.

The American people will run any risk and make any sacrifice if they are convinced it is vital to their own or their children's preservation as a free people.

They will—as they have in the past—follow their leaders whenever they understand the purpose and goal of the steps contemplated or taken for their protection.

They will confront communism with steadfast determination if they believe their leaders will scorn appeasement and face the enemy, behind American humanitarian principles with victory as their goal.

But they will grow resentful and may even balk if they are handed any "Papa knows best" treatment and kept in the dark as to the direction in which the national policy is leading them.

Unless President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles want to repeat the mistakes of ex-President Truman and ex-Secretary Acheson, and encourage the bitterness and misunderstanding that accompanied the latter's tragic adventure into Korea, the time has come to put the cards on the table about Indochina.

Now I must say that both the President and the Secretary of State have tried in recent weeks to convey a sense of alarm and urgency about the deterioration of the French military position.

They have stressed the strategic importance of Indochina and the value of its Rice Bowl and the raw materials of southeast Asia to the anti-Communist world.

But, I say respectfully to them both that that isn't enough if the trend of the Secretary's recent remarks about the area is carried to its logical conclusion.

It will be a terrible thing if we are led blindly into a shooting war in Indochina on the Korean pattern.

I strongly doubt that the American people will accept a return engagement of what Mr. Truman called a police action and what Dean Acheson palmed off under the magic formula of "resisting aggression."

Does this mean that the American people will refuse to approve tough and risky decision which might lead to a showdown with expanding communism?

It does not. It means merely that the people will follow our leaders in their calculated risks only if the administration takes them into its confidence.

CONDITIONAL SUPPORT

Communism has advanced far enough on its global march and I believe the American people will strongly support President Eisenhower in any energetic steps he may take to halt its expansion.

But not if it means committing American fighting men to a shooting war which does not bring to battle a single Russian soldier.

Not if it means a U. N. police action which allows our allies to sit on the sidelines second-guessing American leadership while making only token contributions to the joint effort.

Not if it forces our soldiers, sailors, and airmen to wage war under conditions that favor the enemy and neutralize our advantages in materiel and mobility and deny us potential victory.

Not if it means merely pulling the irons out of the fire for an allied colonial power and turning our back on the strong independence movements which should be our natural allies in Asia.

General MacArthur, in his famous homecoming speech to the Congress just 3 years ago this week, tried to point out to our leaders that our destiny in Asia lay with the ordinary people and not with the discredited colonial powers.

ASIA NEGLECTED

But the liberal theories of Dean Acheson held sway with President Truman, which meant that European interests were paramount and Asian questions were neglected.

The liberals are today hailing the findings of Adlai Stevenson, who took a quickie tour of Asia, and Chester Bowles, who spent just a little more time in India. But they poured scorn on General MacArthur when he told them the same thing.

There is no reason for Americans to get discouraged in this immense global grapple with the atheistic materialism of communism.

We have the greatest resources not only in the material sphere but in the spiritual sphere as well.

What is lacking thus far is a principle, a moral position, that will bring our intentions into focus and make our actions understandable to the world.

But first of all we—the American people—must understand what we are doing and whither we are drifting.

The most challenging task facing President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles is to bring this understanding about.

All that is needed is confidence in the American people and their willingness to shoulder any sacrifice when they know what it is all about.

We've done it before and we'll do it again but, pray God—no more Koreas.

Farm Bureau Policy Relating to the St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation:

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., March 3, 1954.

Hon. CHARLES G. OAKMAN,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OAKMAN: Pursuant to your request in our discussion yesterday, I am summarizing the development of farm bureau policy relating to the St. Lawrence seaway.

On several occasions the 1952 or 1953 policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the testimony of President Allan B. Kline supporting such policy, has been quoted in debate or discussion of the St. Lawrence seaway, with particular reference to the fact that financing of the project by revenue bonds was recommended.

In this connection it should be noted that our 1952 and 1953 resolutions were based upon consideration of the historical seaway proposal, including the construction of the dams and powerplants heretofore associated with the seaway.

At the time our delegate body met in December 1953 to develop our policies for 1954, a wholly new situation had developed. The Federal Power Commission had approved the New York-Ontario application for the construction and development of the power project historically associated with the seaway. Canada had indicated its intention to procede with the seaway on its own if necessary. The issue was no longer whether or not the seaway should be built, but rather, whether or not the United States should join with Canada in a joint development and administration of the project. The proposal under consideration by the Congress was the Wiley-Dondero bill for a strictly navigation project of relatively small cost and scope as compared with proposals before the Congress in previous years.

Our resolutions committee and House of delegates, meeting in December 1953, gave consideration to the major and significant changes in the character of the proposal under consideration by the Congress. In view of the changed circumstances the reference to revenue financing was dropped from our

resolution. Our current policy reads as follows:

"We strongly favor the enactment of legislation to provide for the participation of the United States with Canada in the joint construction and operation of the St. Lawrence seaway. The project should be built and operated on a self-liquidating basis."

The fact that many Senators and Congressmen, who in the past have had reservations with respect to the St. Lawrence seaway, are now supporting the Wiley-Dondero bill, would appear to be an indication that they too have recognized that the present proposal is fundamentally different than proposals considered by previous Congresses.

Very sincerely,

MATT TRIGGS,
Assistant Legislative Director.

"Ten Virgins—Five Were Wise, Five Were Foolish"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT C. BYRD
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying to know that the United States and Canada are proceeding with the construction of a new radar fence across the far north to forewarn all of North America against the approach of enemy aircraft. It is said that the new barrier will signal an attack via the polar cap well in advance of its detection by radar stations presently operating.

In planning for the next war, we must keep in mind that the real opponents will be America and Russia. With the advent of atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, and guided missiles, the final decision will be reached in the air. Polar flights will be the new element in aerial war if the struggle comes. The best route to the United States for the long-range Red bomber is over the polar cap, and this enemy route to the heart of America is inadequately defended.

It is a matter of consequence that most of the great industrial areas of Russia, the United States, and Europe are north of the 40th parallel. These vital centers are all within 2,800 miles from the top of the world. From the Russian Arctic island—Franz Josef Land—the Russians can look down upon the majority of the great industrial cities of this Nation. From this strategic Russian base it is only about 3,750 miles to Hartford, 3,800 miles to Chicago, 3,850 miles to Detroit, and 4,000 miles to Pittsburgh. Contrary to general opinion, flying conditions are favorable over the polar cap. From Red air bases in the Polar region, atomic assaults can be launched against America's war industry in the Northwest and in critical industrial areas of the East.

Several years ago the Kremlin served notice that it was determined to build air supremacy. When World War II ended, the Russians took an unknown number of German scientists, technicians, and industrialists into Russia. Great German industrial plants were dismantled and shipped to Russia. A few British and American scientists traitorously gave atomic and engineering secrets to Russia, and today Russia has achieved her goal of air supremacy and she is still building.

In the meantime, what has been our program? Our program for aircraft procurement is at best a stop-and-go policy. No traffic light, blinking red and green, was ever busier regulating the flow of traffic than are those who flash the stop-and-go signal for our aircraft procurement. I am told that in 1944 the American aircraft industry produced 96,000 military planes; in March of that year, 9,100 military planes rolled off production lines. The end of the war struck the aircraft industry like an earthquake. The Air Force shrank from 243 combat groups to 2. The Navy retired all but 11 of its 100 carriers. B–29's in various stages of assembly were reportedly crushed by road roller and sold as scrap. By mid-1946, aircraft production had been cut to 66 planes a month.

At the same time, Russia, fully alert to the potency of airpower, had thrown production and expansion of the Red Air Force into high gear. Frantic strides were made to turn the lagging Red Air Force into the largest and most powerful in the world.

Finally, the 80th Congress, alarmed at the miniature Air Force we then possessed and alert to the growing Red Air Force threat, voted funds for a 70-group Air Force. But the President impounded $735 million of the funds and gave as his reason, according to the Forrestal diary, that 48 groups were quite sufficient.

It was not until North Korean Red forces crossed into South Korea that our policy toward the size of the Air Force changed. We wanted planes. The stop-light was off, and the green light was on.

During the past session of Congress, an economy wave again possessed our leaders, and it struck the most vital appropriations for our defense—those for the air arm. The red light was not on, but the green light was off and the caution light burning.

This lack of clear concept for an airpower program has inflicted gross injustice upon the aircraft industry, it has been unfair to the taxpayers, and it has all but wrecked our national security.

Drastic drops, followed by sudden enormous expansions in our air procurement program, totally disrupt efficient production methods. The cost in dollars of this nonsensical hesitant program is among its lesser evils. This stop-and-go program has caused us to yield American air supremacy; without American air supremacy, we are toying with our national destiny. It matters not that we possess atomic bombs stacked like stove wood all the way from New York to San Francisco. If we lack sufficient airpower to deliver them, they are useless.

The free world faces the menacing spectacle of a third of humanity—an enslaved third—being rapidly armed with the deadliest of weapons and controlled by the most ruthless, godless leadership imaginable. The sinister nature of this Red threat is not sufficiently recognized. It is real; it is immediate; it is inescapable.

In a decade we have passed from the world's most secure Nation to a position of insecurity. All the while we have poured out blood and treasure. We have sought peace, but vainly. We have long been dreamers, but now we must be realists.

If the United States will build sufficient airpower to cover the advance of its sea and land forces, sufficient to defend its industrial areas and population centers from aerial attack, sufficient to destroy enemy mnufacturing centers deep in the heart of Russia—then, and only then, our worry about allies will be ended. They will come to us for support and protection. We shall not have to bargain for them with dollars as we, in the past, have endeavored so desperately to do. Largely because of our giveaway programs we have lost the respect of our foreign friends. But friendship cannot be bought nor can communism be stopped by a money transfusion into defunct empires. America must prepare while there is yet time, lest, like the five virgins, she be found wanting at the critical hour.

The Job of the Health Department in the Improvement of Substandard Housing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the Members of the House who voted against the low-rent public-housing program to the following extracts from a speech entitled "The Job of the Health Department in the Improvement of Substandard Housing," made by Mr. Murray M. Bisgaier, executive secretary of the New Jersey Association of Housing and Redevelopment Authorities. Mr. Bisgaier shows the close relationship between health and housing and how the battle against blight must be won if we are to have healthy communities.

Mr. Bisgaier's remarks follow:

THE JOB OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF SUBSTANDARD HOUSING

(By Murray M. Bisgaier, executive secretary, New Jersey Association of Housing and Redevelopment Authorities, at the 43d annual conference, State and local health officials of New Jersey, March 26, 1954, Trenton, N. J.)

The responsibilities of Government are not static; they must respond to the changing needs of people; they must meet problems that require official action and guidance to be solved.

The eradication of slums and blight and the stimulation of housing supply for families of all income groups have in our time become, by Federal and State laws and by judicial decisions, recognized as matters of public interest that affect the health, welfare, and economy of our citizens.

* * * * *

In the latest housing survey undertaken in 1950, by the United States Bureau of the Census, a basketfull of facts were offered about what has become "the shame of our cities"—blighted, decayed slums. The Census pamphlets reveal only cold figures; we know that there are many human-interest stories behind each digit, intense health problems backing up every decimal point, and the "three D's" (disease, delinquency, and decay) in the shadow of percentages.

We are informed by statistics that the State of New Jersey has almost 250,000 substandard dwelling units out of a total supply of 1½ million dwelling units. The figure is more meaningful when thought of as 250,000 families, or some 875,000 people, or 87,000 children under the age of 5.

Homes which are dilapidated and deficient in basic sanitary facilities do not, unfortunately, comprise total blight. For we must supplement the picture with 34,000 overcrowded houses; 169,000 units built before 1890, and generally obsolete; the many residences which are located in a sea of blighting factors, such as traffic hazards and congestion, railroads, commercial and industrial nuisances, and deficient playground and utility and school systems.

A conservative estimate might be that 25 percent of the State's housing supply is substandard or in blighted neighborhoods. Framed in more revealing terms, these units placed side by side would form a tottering line extending from the sands of Atlantic City to the hills of San Francisco.

Bypassing the obvious implications of these conditions to cities, socially and economically, and to experts in the fields of health and welfare, I should like to catalog the limited action taken thus far by New Jersey municipalities in the nationwide urban redevelopment program.

The slum clearance provisions of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, generally known as title I, permits New Jersey cities to request a combined grant aggregating $50 million. As of January 1954 only $12.7 million or 25 percent of the permitted grant was accepted. New Jersey contains 566 municipalities, yet only 15 cities in all are reported to have instituted redevelopment programs. Thus, the mass of communities of this State, in the face of blight and decomposition, have not acted to take advantage of the financial arrangements of title I. This evidence is baffling when one realizes that the reclamation of old, builtup sections is the sole economic frontier open to many finance-starved municipalities.

The urban redevelopment program of the Federal Government is not, as is so often misunderstood, a demolition program solely. It is simultaneously designed to stimulate desirable patterns of community living and growth through the rehabilitation and conservation of properties and neighborhoods which lend themselves to reclamation and renewal. It is specifically a tool to prevent deterioration to the point at which only demolition may be the solution.

The immensity of this problem is clearly exhibited by billions of dollars worth of slum and blighted properties that siphon off 45 percent of city budgets while returning only 6 percent of real estate revenue; if blight is not contained and arrested, substandard sections will become an even greater financial burden, as tax collections are reduced, property valuation drops and the tax load is shifted to the better areas.

It is interesting to note that our Congress has recognized the laxity of municipalities in creating adequate health standards for housing and has conditioned the availability of grants upon the efforts of the locality to promulgate and enforce sound codes and programs.

Although benefits could be compounded by community rebuilding, the title I program as currently composed is not meant to eradicate all slums throughout the country. For example, the total acreage involved in all clearance projects throughout the Nation amounts to approximately 4,600 acres. It is ventured that this total acreage would not be sufficient for clearing all slums within this one State. This evaluation is given only as an illustration of the immensity of the problem and the need for a more extensive and intensive redevelopment program in line with realities.

* * * * *

Today we are not thinking so much in terms of physical housing, but the hygiene of housing, which encompasses the provision and promotion of adequate standards for dwelling facilities, maintenance, and occupancy. The American Public Health Association has prepared a proposed housing ordinance as a guide to assist communities in the broader hygiene of housing. It would appear important for the State department of health to undertake such a study for New Jersey in cooperation with municipalities ultimately incorporating minimum housing requirements in the State sanitary code or in specific legislation.

The American Public Health Association recommends that the following matters be included in a housing ordinance establishing sound minimum standards:

Basic equipment and facilities.

Light, ventilation, and heating.

Safe and sanitary maintenance of parts of dwellings.

Space, use, and location requirements.

Rooming houses.

Designation of unfit dwellings and legal procedure for condemnation.

Responsibilities of owners and occupants.

The standards necessary for the hygiene of housing can be part of an overall building code or can be separate and distinct. In either event the health official and the building official could coordinate their individual responsibilities and operate as members of a team with common aims.

There is no doubt that every dwelling unit should have cold and hot running water, lavatory facilities, bathtub or shower, rubbish and garbage storage facilities, and proper maintenance of these facilities. It is elementary that cleanliness is essential to health, and these are significant domestic services.

Proper light and ventilation are vital to health. Experiments have shown that the tuberculosis bacillus in the sputum of a badly coughing patient stays active and alive for several months in a dark room. It remains active for several weeks only in a dimly lighted room, for 2 days in a well-lighted room, and 2 hours in a sunny room, and only 15 minutes when exposed to direct sunlight and sunshine. It has been found, on the basis of independent surveys, that blighted properties comprise about 20 percent of a city's residential area but account for 60 percent of the tuberculosis cause. This is a clear instance in which prevention or alleviation could probably be achieved through sound housing standards and practices.

Overcrowding and lack of proper space standards for occupancy affect the spread of communicable diseases. Here again available studies show that slums account for 50 percent of the communicable-disease cases as compared to their 33 percent proportion of the population. Again, a lucid illustration that housing and health are strongly intertwined.

We could continue unmasking many health facets; there is the question of whether a housing ordinance should require that all windows in a building and exit doors be properly screened in an area subject to insects during certain parts of the year. Insects are recognized carriers of disease and every physical means for their exclusion should be required as part of sound housing provisions.

It might prove valuable for health officials to study the Tenement House Act to discover whether proper controls exist to foster this concept of the hygiene of housing.

It would not be exaggeration to state that at least 90 percent of the municipalities in New Jersey have taken no affirmative action regarding a housing ordinance or the elimination of slums and blighted buildings. Here then is a clear field for alert health officials, to assert leadership, and to assume the initiative in aiding their communities and carrying out a greatly needed municipal function.

The State sanitary code empowers a public health council to embrace any matter affecting public health or related to the preservation and improvement of public health and the prevention of diseases. The general powers of municipalities and counties specifically permit public bodies to regulate and control the construction, erection, alteration and repair of buildings and structures of every kind within their jurisdiction. Statutes of the State provide for sufficient enforcement powers and controls for public officials to take an affirmative stand and to develop a program prohibiting the occupancy of buildings which have so deteriorated that demolition or closing are necessary. There is no authorization to require that buildings in need of facilities be rehabilitated or improved by their owners in accordance with corrective standards as determined by the municipality. Properties located on the fringe of slums can also be safeguarded from the onslaught of blight with existing legal vehicles.

The Current Inquiry Into FHA Insured Loan Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL F. SCHENCK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. SCHENCK. Mr. Speaker, almost 2 years ago to the day—on May 13, 1952—I stood on the floor of this House to warn against possible abuses of Federal housing laws. Today, there appear in the morning papers articles revealing the scandals in the Federal Housing Administration. Federal Housing Administrator Albert Cole told of how many builders using sharp practices in getting Government guaranteed loans have made more than $75 million by so-called mortgaging out. It is a relatively simple scheme, but yet one which has been used very profitably by fly-by-night builders at the expense of the legitimate building industry. "Mortgaging out" is the process of obtaining a Government approved loan far in excess of the actual cost of building. Administrator Cole pointed out that in one deal a builder obtained an $8 million loan for a housing project which cost only about $4 million and then pocketed the other $4 million as an immediate profit. If that loan is defaulted, the taxpayers are going to have to foot the bill.

As I said, I warned against this practice in a speech from the floor of the House. I then had specific projects in mind, namely, the building of two 1,000-unit housing projects at Wright Patterson Air Force Base, where it appeared

the builders were attempting to "mortgage out." These projects now have been completed. I now call on Housing Administrator Cole to include those same projects in his investigation. It is time for a final accounting. It is time to see just exactly how the certificates for these projects were approved.

Mr. Cole, a former Member of the House, and also a then member of the Banking and Currency Committee, which considers housing legislation, is to be congratulated for cleaning up the apparent mess in the housing administration. He is to be doubly congratulated for bringing facts to the full light of day for the public to see and in not trying to hide or whitewash the scandals. I am confident that Mr. Cole and Attorney General Brownell will take all civil and criminal actions necessary to clean up the mess.

Mr. Cole's description of the scandals in the Housing Administration has made my long fight agai st the practice of "mortgaging out" all the more valid.

Such civil and criminal action as is appropriate must be taken. I would like to point out also that there might well be a question of perjury involved if misstatements have ben made on applications for certificates for loans in cases where "mortgaging out" is involved. It is there that unscrupulous builders might be trapped, just as we sometimes use the perjury statutes to drive known Communists out of government and into the penitentiary.

For years, through the Democratic administrations of President Roosevelt and Truman, Federal officials have kept their eyes closed to the practices of "mortgaging out" despite repeated warnings from this Congressman and many of my colleagues. It took a former Congressman, concerned over this practice, to finally bring the true facts to light.

Again, I plead that the investigation be made as thorough as possible. Excess profits should be reclaimed through civil suits. If the laws of perjury or other criminal statutes are involved, then those who broke the laws should be prosecuted in the criminal courts to the fullest extent possible.

Radford May Get His Way and Use Carrier Planes Against Indochina Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by the distinguished feature writer Robert L. Riggs, of the Courier-Journal Washington bureau, entitled "Radford May Get His Way and Use Carrier Planes Against Indochina Reds," which appeared in the April 11, 1954, issue of the Courier-Journal of Louisville, Ky.

The article is as follows:

RADFORD MAY GET HIS WAY AND USE CARRIER PLANES AGAINST INDOCHINA REDS

(By Robert L. Riggs)

WASHINGTON, April 10.—A tug of war between the executive branch of the Government and Congress is the normal state of affairs in Washington. But the one carried on this week had the unusual feature of each side's trying to force leadership upon the other.

Most of those Senate speeches about Indochina were part of a planned Democratic campaign to force President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles to tell the country how far they want it to participate in the fighting there.

Behind the scenes, Dulles was exerting every influence he has with Senators to induce them to put through Congress a resolution expressing approval in advance for whatever action Eisenhower may deem necessary in Indochina.

All this after-you-sir skirmishing is, of course, highly political on each side. The Democrats, still sore and bleeding from two election defeats brought on by Truman's war in Korea, are determined that the apparently inevitable American participation in the Indochina conflict shall be labeled "Ike's war."

WHAT REPUBLICANS WANT

The Republicans, remembering all too well their 1952 slogan that "Asiatics should do the fighting in Asia," would like to have the President pushed by Congress into whatever action he is going to have to take, rather than have him assume the lead.

A part of their strategy, the Democrats are insisting that the President come personally before the two Houses of Congress and reveal to their members and to the country what policy he wants to pursue toward Indochina.

Once he has revealed his policy, say the Democratic leaders, Eisenhower can be sure of the unwavering support of most of the members of political opposition.

In making that promise, however, the Democrats well know they have scraped the Republican administration in one of its sorest spots. For it is far from having a policy toward Indochina.

In fact, there are almost as many differences of opinion over what to do as there are people considering the subject.

The top-ranking military leaders are sharply divided over what course of action to take.

There are strongly conflicting viewpoints within the State Department.

The Pentagon, in addition to its divisions within itself, is in conflict with the majority view in the State Department.

In such a situation, the person with the most vigorous views and a willingness to fight for them is likely to prevail. For that reason, there is every cause to believe that Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is likely to induce both Eisenhower and Dulles to follow his ideas, reluctant though they seem to do so.

A disciple of the Douglas MacArthur hot pursuit school of thought, Radford is advocating vigorously that United States Navy aircraft carriers send their planes against the Communists who are besieging the French at Dien Bien Phu.

Radford has been calling insistently for immediate use of the carriers we already have in the waters near Indochina.

The firepower which one of our carriers could deliver is greater than that which can be produced by all the land-based planes now available to the French forces at Dien Bien Phu.

SHARP DISAGREEMENT

If our participation could be confined to air strikes from carriers, it is agreed that would be the easiest, simplest and most convenient military intervention in history. But in both Pentagon and State Department, there is a sharp disagreement with Radford.

All three of the Chiefs of Staff who serve under Radford oppose his plan. When Senators asked the chairman how he accounted for that situation, Radford replied he had spent more time in the Far East than any of the trio, and hence understood the situation better.

The prevailing view in the State Department, however, coincides with the opposition expressed by the three chiefs. That view is that just as soon as one ensign flying a carrier plane has to bail out over Indochina, we are as much committed to ground war there with the troops of Red China as we would have been had we sent in two divisions of marines.

The struggle between the legislative and executive branches to force each other out in front on the Indochina issue began last Saturday at a meeting of congressional leaders which heard both Radford and Dulles.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED

It was then that Dulles proposed that the Congress pass a resolution which would, in effect, give blank-check approval to whatever action Dulles and Eisenhower may take in Indochina.

Such a push by Congress would require strong support from Democratic Members. Hence, JOHN MCCORMACK, assistant Democratic leader of the House, obviously spoke the sentiments of many of his party when he told Dulles he was surprised that he would look to the party of treason to take the lead in a foreign-policy problem which may involve a shooting war.

State Department officials take the position that it isn't reasonable for the Democrats to throw at them accusations made against the minority party by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. The "20 years of treason" charge is, of course, MCCARTHY'S, and Democrats usually can be persuaded by the State Department Republicans that, after all, the Wisconsin Senator has said just as tough things about them.

But Dulles and his lieutenants are not having so easy a time shrugging off the treason charges made against Democrats by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

THAT'S DIFFERENT

Senators who are willing to concede that the President has no control over MCCARTHY have yet to be convinced that an administration which expects Democrats to fight its battles on foreign policy should permit a Cabinet member to go as far as Brownell has gone.

They didn't get complete satisfaction on that score at the conference with Dulles. But they got their message across that they don't expect a flank attack from the Attorney General while they are giving assistance to the Secretary of State.

What the Democratic Senators still want to learn from Dulles is why the sudden desire to take crisis action in Indochina. With the rainy season almost upon that region, there seems little likelihood that the military situation will change greatly within the next few weeks.

Certainly, they have received no information that indicates the French and their Vietnam allies would be driven out of the area even if Dien Brien Phu fell.

The suspicion is that the crisis atmosphere is being generated by Admiral Radford, who is known to believe that we are several weeks late in moving into Indochina with military intervention.

DEMOCRATS REMEMBER

But they remember the things Eisenhower and Dulles said during the 1952 campaign about ending the Korean fighting. They feel that their party would still control the Senate had not they lost some

seats in 1950 and 1952 on the issue of "Truman's war" in Korea.

They remember the campaign by which EVERETT DIRKSEN, one of the most influential Republicans in the Senate, unseated Democratic Senate leader Scott Lucas in Illinois in 1950. They remember DIRKSEN'S speeches about "Truman sending your sons home from Korea in boxes."

They contend Eisenhower has every bit of authority he needs right now to take any kind of action that is required in Indochina. They insist that he display the same amount of leadership and the same willingness to assume responsibility that Harry S. Truman displayed in the summer of 1950.

A Defense of the Good Name of a Fine Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, it has for some time now become the custom of second-rate writers, who have little ability or originality, to depend upon sensationalism, slander, and libel to help them sell their books to the guileless public. Knowing that our laws prevent libel and slander of living persons, they have resorted to attacks, sometimes upon deceased persons and sometimes upon municipalities or communities, knowing that they can thus evade punishment under the law. Washington and other large cities of this country have had experiences with this type of books only recently. It is unfortunate that there is no effective law under which the publication and circulation of this kind of book can be stopped.

Mr. Speaker, I call this to your attention because of the recent publication of a book regarding the execution of an American private for alleged cowardice during World War II. I shall make no further reference to the title or author in order not to give him any undeserved publicity, which is what he obviously most desires.

In the book he makes entirely untruthful and ridiculous statements regarding conditions existing in the cities of Detroit and Hamtramck, Mich., clearly for purposes of sensationalism.

He evidently was never in either of these cities, does not know what he is talking about, or what is more probable, has no respect for truth and veracity. These filthy lies make one wonder how much of the rest of the book is truth and how much is unreliable fiction.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say that both Detroit and Hamtramck, Mich., have enviable records in the State and country for respectability, cleanliness, and for abiding by the laws of the country.

The city of Hamtramck, particularly, has had a number of national awards for cleanliness. It has one of the best ratios of homeowners in the country. The record of relatively small occurrence of crime in both cities compares very favorably with other similar municipalities. Our Michigan liquor laws are some of the most stringent in the country and are scrupulously observed by both cities.

I am happy to make this clear on the record in order to correct any confused ideas which an unsuspecting person might get upon reading this tripe which is passed for literature.

The Democrats and Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL B. DAGUE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, it is understood that political gymnastics are not necessarily the exclusive province of either party, and we are all guilty of shifting our position on occasion, particularly when we feel called upon to respond to pressure from back home.

On the subject of taxes, however, our colleagues from across the aisle have displayed unusual dexterity in reversing themselves, and their current pleas for the little fellow are at considerable variance with their seeming indifference to his plight during that period when the New Dealers were following the philosophy of tax and spend and elect.

May I commend to your attention the following editorial from the Coatesville (Pa.) Record for April 8, 1954, which emphasizes the Democratic transition from statesmanship to politics in an election year:

THE DEMOCRATS AND TAXES

The New York World-Telegram had some fun recently with the Democrats who have been insisting that Federal taxes be reduced even more than the Eisenhower administration has proposed.

Commenting on three great champions (1954) of the little fellow who went on radio and television to belittle President Eisenhower's tax-reduction program, the paper said editorially:

"This bleeding heart trio—Senator GEORGE, of Georgia, and Representatives RAYBURN, of Texas, and COOPER, of Tennessee—were Members of Congress throughout the 20 years when the Democrats were running Washington. * * *

"In the 20 years the Democrats were in power, there were many, many new taxes imposed, and many, many tax rates boosted. But there were only two tax reductions: (1) When the excess-profits tax was permitted to lapse temporarily after World War II, and (2) when a Republican Congress cut income-tax rates in 1948 over the veto of President Truman."

The paper points out that during the 20 years of Messrs. GEORGE, RAYBURN, COOPER and company, the national debt skyrocketed from $20 billion to nearly $260 billion; direct tax collections on individuals went from $427 million to more than $30 billion, and tax collections from corporations from $630 million to more than $21 billion.

The editorial continues:

"While all this was going on, what was happening to the little fellow on whom GEORGE, RAYBURN and company now are showering so much election-year pity?

"Well, if he was a married man with 2 children when the Democrats took over in 1933 and had a net income of $5,000, he was paying $68 in Federal income tax. But in 1952, when the Democrats' rule ended, the same man paid $461, nearly 7 times as much.

"In addition, he was paying the Federal Government nearly 10 times as much tax on his liquor, 50 percent more on his beer, 25 percent more on cigarettes, more than 3 times as much on his auto, twice as much on gasoline, twice as much on radio. And he was paying more Federal sales taxes on a host of things which were untaxed in 1933. * * *

"The fact remains that now, with a Republican administration in office, the Democrats for the first time are advocating reductions in the income tax. Now, in an election year as they scramble to get back in power, they suddenly are full of compassion for the little fellow. But not, apparently, for the little fellow's children and grandchildren."

Strange people, the Democrats. Right now they are acting more like politicians than patriots.

The Tragic Deterioration of Our Great Smoky Park

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE A. SHUFORD
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. SHUFORD. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Mr. Walter Adams, editor of the Asheville Times in Asheville, N. C., so ably presents the plight of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, that I feel it should be inserted in the RECORD at this time for the benefit of the people who are interested in preserving the natural beauty of our country:

THE TRAGIC DETERIORATION OF OUR GREAT SMOKY PARK

The tragic plight of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the result of hopelessly inadequate funds for proper maintenance and development for many years, has never been deplored and publicized so much as now. That is true not only in North Carolina and Tennessee, which have very special interests—as well as tremendous investments—in this park, but by national park enthusiasts and conservationists throughout the country.

Although Great Smoky has perhaps suffered more from such neglect than any other park in the national system, all of them are in much the same fix and are deteriorating rapidly. Many leading newspapers and magazines all over the land are calling this situation to the public's attention and putting pressure on Congress to do something big about it, and soon.

With the 1954 park season just getting started Great Smoky, which attracts more visitors than any other park in America, today is like a man waiting for an avalanche with only a small shovel to dig himself out. In 1941, the park had 1,310,101 visitors. Last year the total was 2,322,152. Yet, this year the park will have fewer man-hours per week of employment in management and protection services than it had in 1941. Park officials say it would take at least $3 million in construction funds to restore Great Smoky's operations plant to its 1941 status.

The New York Times is currently publishing a series of articles presenting in detail the dilemma now facing each of our national

parks. Last Tuesday's article dealt with the crisis in Great Smoky. The hard core of the problem in this park, the article said, is simply this:

"Its annual budget allotments must be spread so thin to meet the necessary expansion of facilities that public services have become inadequate. The park's basic operations plant, including roads, trails, bridges, ranger stations, and inpark quarters, in large measure has reached the point of deterioration where maintenance funds no longer have realistic meaning."

In summing up Great Smoky's situation the article quoted a veteran park official as follows:

"We believe that Congress should speak out firmly and either appropriate sufficient funds to give really adequate park services or else draw the line and declare just what services should be curtailed or what sections of the park be closed down.

"Congress should realize that we are not the ones who can stand at the park entrance and tell the taxpaying visitors what services we will or won't give them.

"We should have direction in this matter from Congress, and until we get it in clear terms we can only spread the budget thin to meet the needs of all visitors. But frankly, we're spreading it so thin now that both the visitors and the country's national parks are losing out all the time."

Everybody in the the country, including Congress, apparently believes in a first-class national park system as a principle. Congressional investigating committees visit the parks at regular intervals and generally head back for Washington promising a new deal for national parks. But when the time comes to vote appropriations the picture changes suddenly and completely. Votes to cut park funds are not as likely to kick back on Members of Congress as most other projects. Result: the same old starvation appropriation for national parks comes out.

The salvation and future of the entire park system depends on a reversal of this absurd policy. Great Smoky, and all of the other national parks today, are, in effect, monuments to false economy and bad stewardship on the part of the people's representatives in Washington.

Crime Used as Draft Dodge, Says Judge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS M. MACHROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, I insert herewith an article which appeared in the April 11, 1954, issue of the Chicago American. Judge Thomas E. Kluczynski, a distinguished jurist and brother of one of our esteemed colleagues, is considered a national authority on juvenile matters and very ably discusses an important problem now facing the American people.

CRIME USED AS DRAFT DODGE, SAYS JUDGE

Chicago youths have deliberately committed felonies to get out of military service, a Cook County judge charged yesterday.

Judge Thomas E. Kluczynski, formerly chief justice in criminal court, assailed the actions of many boys in the annual report of family court as submitted to the county board.

In the foreword to the report Judge Kluczynski wrote that while sitting in criminal court from September 1951 to September 1952, he noticed so many boys under 21 years who were committing felonies and were happy to be apprehended and plead guilty, knowing they probably would get probation.

NO THOUGHT OF FUTURE

He then commented:

"After a study of these cases it became clear to me that most of these youths were endeavoring to get a record or conviction for a felony so they would be rejected for service in the Armed Forces.

"Little did they realize the consequences of being adjudicated a felon and thereafter depriving themselves of any position or profession requiring good moral character. All they were interested in was getting out of the responsibility and duty of protecting their Government and the society in which they were raised."

In connection with his service in family court, which he started in September 1952, Judge Kluczynski said he was cognizant of how little youths nowadays "understand or feel their obligations to society for all that our democratic form of life has given them."

From October 1, 1952, to September 30, 1953, the report of the family-court judge shows, there was a total of 12,241 complaints against juveniles at Chicago police stations.

This compared with 11,604 the previous year, 11,085 in 1951, and 7,889 in 1950.

From October 2, 1952, to September 30, 1953, there were 1,442 cases under the classification of auto theft. This included larceny of autos, riding in a stolen car and knowing it was stolen and tampering with autos.

BOY TELLS CAUSES

The total for such crimes in the previous year was 1,119.

Judge Kluczynski pointed out that it was difficult to understand how these car thieves came to court full of contrition, but when they were released 1 out of every 5 was returned to court for the same offense.

Judge Kluczynski included in his annual report a statement of a boy in the senior class at Glenwood School for Boys. Asked what caused the troubles of teen-agers today the boy replied:

"First of all, the world situation has a lot to do with the actions of youngsters. There is too much uncertainty in the world.

"With wars and rumors of wars, teen-agers feel they are not getting an even break. They feel they don't have the opportunities their fathers had.

"More and more of them feel it is becoming increasingly difficult to stay in college without being drafted. Consequently, an 'I don't care' attitude has started among teen-agers.

"Another reason for so much unrest in youth today lies directly on the parents' shoulders. Many boys get into serious trouble because their parents fail to set up for them a consistent morally wholesome code of values.

"Too many youths today are taking examples from the older generation. Youths and everyone are living quick and dying quick. Teen-age crime is being speeded up by our pace of living."

Balanced Budget Still Essential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial of the New York Daily News of Monday, April 12, advocating further Federal economies and enactment of H. R. 2 or its constitutional amendment companion, House Joint Resolution 23, to command balanced budgets:

One of President Eisenhower's campaign promises was that, if elected, he would do his best to get the Government out of activities which are properly those of private industry or private business.

He was elected, and his administration is trying to make good on that promise. The Government is pulling out of the synthetic rubber business, declining to go into power projects which private enterprise can handle, and so on.

That's fine. However, it's a job that is only well begun. There is still a long way to go before "creeping socialism" is halted in this country and forced to retreat.

So we're hoping that the administration and its supporters in Congress will pay very careful attention to a couple of reports released today by the Committee on Federal Tax Policy; chairman, former Under Secretary of the Treasury Roswell Magill.

The aim of these brief, clearly written documents is to pinpoint various ways in which the administration can save money if it has the political courage to do so.

For one thing, the Magill group urges that the Government get out of the lending business. It's in that field now to the extent of having authority to lend a total of $62 billion to asorted agencies, industries, businesses and individuals.

Spending on the Government's numerous electric power facilities is estimated at $623 million for fiscal year 1955, beginning next July 1. The Magill committee advises that this unfair (because tax-free) competition with private power companies be curtailed as fast as possible and eventually abandoned.

These Government finance experts don't see, either, why Uncle Sam should be in the housing business as deeply as he is, and would like to see him save some substantial dough by getting all or most of the way out of it.

We haven't room here to mention all the other economies the Magill committee suggests. When the suggestions are all put together, they add up to a possible cut of $8 billion a year in Federal spending—though admittedly not all these savings would show up in the first year.

Again, we recommend these studies to the White House and Congress. And again we'll make bold to inquire: If Government economy and a balanced budget are really desired by some of our congressional preachers of economy, what's the matter with getting behind Representative FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.'S, Republican, New York, resolution whereby Congress would flatly command the Government to spend no more in any peacetime year than it takes in? That's a true economy measure if there ever was one.

Outlaw the Communist Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER E. MERROW
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire at its special session, 1954:

Whereas the Communist Party presents a threat to the Government of the United States and to this State; and

Whereas there are now pending before the Congress of the United States bills which would outlaw the Communist Party: Now therefore

Resolved by the house of representatives, That the Members of the delegation in Congress from this State are hereby requested to give their active support to legislation which would outlaw the Communist Party in the United States and in this State; further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to each Member of our delegation in Congress.

NORMAN A. McMEEKIN,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
RAYMOND H. CHASE,
Representative from Dover.
ROBERT L. STARK,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Special session, 1954.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8779) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES].

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I commend very warmly the action of the subcommittee for the independence of thought which it has shown by making its own decisions and recommendations after long and careful study over many weeks—decisions and recommendations which were agreed in by the full committee. I think it is true that all too often, we, in the House feel we are tied to budget recommendations and that there is something sacred about them—that we cannot depart from them. Actually, they are nothing more than recommendations. The decisions in these matters is ours in the House of Representatives. That is the law. It is our responsibility to decide how much money is to be spent for each of the many governmental activities.

Obviously, research and extension are most desirable activities. There is no disposition on the part of any thinking person today to cripple them. We recognize their value, but I think we should recognize also the fact that the committee already has recommended that they be given more in this bill than they have ever received before. I think very probably they have been given as much as they can properly and intelligently spend.

By wisely adjusting the funds that are carried in the total appropriation, the committee has made it possible without increasing the total appropriation to provide for very important—and I think essential—activities like forestry. Certainly no one questions the value of the forestry programs. The committee has increased the school-lunch programs that certainly comes home to every one of us. It has strengthened the insect and disease control programs. All of these are very, very important, and all of them would have been hurt seriously and in some cases eliminated had this subcommittee not wisely and courageously taken the decision that it has. Mr. Chairman, I say we should not now add to the staggering burden of debt that this Nation carries without sounder and stronger justification than I think has been presented.

Now I want to go further and spell out the forestry problem in detail. Mr. Chairman, on several occasions in the past I have addressed the Congress concerning forestry. On some of those occasions I stressed the need of forest products for war purposes, and upon others I spoke of the need to build up our timber resources, whether it be for war or peace. I consider the proper use and development of our natural resources one of the best investments which this country can possibly make. For this reason my speech today has a particular significance because I was both shocked and surprised to learn that the budget as presented to the committee eliminated two important forest development activities and reduces a third which is also vital to the welfare of the United States. I refer to the items which permit the Forest Service to cooperate with the States in tree planting and forest management, which the Department of Agriculture sought to eliminate, and the reduction proposed in the item for cooperation in forest protection.. The committee in its wisdom has restored those cuts to the level of the previous year and I commend this action most highly.

This very month, in fact, this very day, many of our State foresters are fighting forest fires, planting trees, and helping small woodland owners put their properties under management. As the swift seasons roll, the activity in these forestry jobs in the northern States will increase.

During the past winter the forest fire problem has been a widespread and serious one. In my own State of Florida many fires have been out of control and new ones still are breaking out and spreading. During January, February, and March we experienced one of the worst fire periods that Florida has ever recorded. I have learned that the same situation obtained in Texas where in the first 2 months of this year the Texas Forest Service lost as much in burned forest as it did in the entire year of 1953. The most alarming situation, however, seems to be in Kentucky and West Virginia which already have had many forest fires and the States have run low in funds to provide for fire-fighting emergenices.

For 3 years the drought has caused an increasing dryness of our forests. This has resulted in a heavier burden on the protection forces. I am told that this drought may continue through 1955. As you know most States appropriate their fire funds for the biennium. The bad fire seasons just past have drained available funds alarmingly. There is every reason to believe that if the currently difficult situation continues many States will be unable to find the funds to overcome the emergency. Where will the fires next break out of control? That will depend upon weather conditions and upon how thinly we are forced to spread our fire-fighting forces. We are still in a drought cycle in the East and we may expect a continuation of the dangerous fire weather of the past three seasons. By "we" I mean the Federal and State governments in a pattern of cooperation and partnership that has grown steadily for over 40 years.

Why were these forestry items eliminated or cut in the administration's budget? Do those who have taken upon themselves the responsibility to propose these eliminations and cuts realize that they are dealing with functions which are provided by laws dating back to the Weeks Act of 1911 and the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924? In fact, in the Clarke-McNary Act the Secretary of Agriculture is, and I quote, "authorized and directed, under such conditions as he may determine to be fair and equitable in each State, to cooperate with appropriate officials of each State, and through them with private and other agencies therein, in the protection of timbered and forest-producing lands from fire."

As early as 1911, when the Weeks Act was passed, Connecticut, Maryland, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Vermont, and Wisconsin became partners with the Federal Government in forest protection. By 1924, with the added stimulus of the Clarke-McNary Act, the number of States cooperating rose to 28. Now it is 43, with only the 5 States which have minor timberland not in the program.

Cooperative agreements have been drawn up making the States and the Federal Government partners for each of the three functions—protection, tree planting, and management. These agreements, many of them dated in 1911 and now in force for over 40 years, are not to be taken lightly. They are the basis for an annual plan of work and a budget saying just what each party will do. In all fairness, however, no partnership of such long standing can be broken off without due consideration of the consequences.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee I am most concerned with every item in the budget and those provided for by the Congress which was omitted from the budget. My first impression concerning the elimination and cuts of these forestry items was that it must have been an error. Later, however, I was shocked to learn that without consulting the Congress the Department of Agriculture took the matter direct to the Governors.

This letter, which went out early in the year, stated, and I quote:

Aside from the effect of reducing Federal expenditures, this policy of withdrawing the Federal Government from such activities is sound in itself.

The letter makes a plea for economy in order to cut out $1½ million in these forestry activities with the States. And yet the budget for the Department recommended many increases, one of $8 million. Such inconsistency encourages us to question the Department's judgment. Did the Department consult with any of us about the soundness of this policy of withdrawing the Federal Government from cooperation and partnership with the States? Surely it did not consult with me or the members of the agricultural subcommittee with whom I have talked, or with any of the State Foresters who could have advised it. I received a letter from the State Forester of Florida, who is greatly concerned, gentlemen, about the future of the Federal part of this Federal-State partnership and at the same time he is fighting forest fires in all parts of the State. With no feeling of unfriendliness toward our many tourists from other States whom we welcome wholeheartedly, I would like to point out that at this time, however, many of the fires in my State are accidentally caused by our out-of-State visitors. So you see that in my State as well as in other States these problems are not just of local origin. And yet the letter from the Department of Agriculture calls these problems local in character. I wonder what the reaction to that label "local in character" would have been not so long ago when the State Forester of Virginia and a gallant crew fought forest fires for days and nights along a 10-mile front on Virginia's southwestern boundary to keep fire from crossing over into his State.

For the record I would like to point out that eight former Secretaries of Agriculture, dating back to 1924 and the passage of the Clarke-McNary Act, were all heartily in favor of a Federal-State partnership in forestry. Not all of these former Secretaries of Agriculture were Democrats, and right here I would like to point out that these forestry activities are some of the best nonpartisan functions that I know of. A forest fire respects no State line and a well-planted tree will grow regardless of who planted it. Some of our greatest conservationists were and are Republicans—Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, Representative John Wingate Weeks, of Massachusetts, Representative John Davenport Clarke, of New York, and Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon.

Most of you will remember that for several years prior to World War II there was a joint committee of the Congress studying the need for forestry. This joint committee visited many parts of the United States, held open hearings, and took a great deal of testimony by people who were familiar with both the problems and the opportunities in forestry. In its report the joint committee stressed the value of these cooperative forestry programs and the need for increasing them. See recommendations Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of Forest Lands of the United States, Senate Document No. 32, 77th Congress, 1st session, March 24, 1941.

Most of us remember clearly that in 1949 when the Congress considered the amplification of the Clarke-McNary Act, there were 28 different bills introduced and that 27 Congressmen made personal appearances before the legislative committee and, in addition, 58 Congressmen filed statements in favor of this cooperative State-Federal forestry partnership. I mention this to indicate the popularity of these activities, not only to the people in the States but to their chosen representatives in Congress.

The present popularity of this partnership has evolved over the past 40 years in which Congress has painstakingly perfected these cooperative programs, and many important changes over the years have been made, with the result that greater effectiveness and efficiency have been achieved for every dollar expended. Some of these improvements include the changing over from direct-line Federal responsibility to the State-Federal partnership; the changing from duplicate bookkeeping to a single budget and plan with the reimbursement-type financing; and the coordination of these cooperative programs with other strictly State or Federal activities.

Congress should be proud that our State partners think so much of these cooperative programs that they are putting up more than three times as much money as the Federal Government. This is surely stretching the Federal dollar to the utmost. This successful cooperative partnership has been a good financial investment for the Federal Government and surely not one to be abandoned impulsively at this time.

I am wondering if those responsible for the proposed eliminations and reductions in these forestry activities in the budget considered whether or not all or most of the States could or would go forward in forest protection, tree planting, and management if the Federal partner dropped out. How can the State find new money before July 1? Only 14 States have legislatures meeting this year. I understand that the State foresters made an urgent request to the Bureau of the Budget for a cost-of-living increase of $2 million. They had had no increase in Federal funds since 1950, and the cost of fighting forest fires, like everything else, has gone up. The fire truck that cost $1,760 in 1950 now costs $2,128. In the cooperative management program, for example, many projects will be abandoned if no Federal money is available after July 1, 1954, when the new fiscal year starts. How many projects I have no way of estimating but I would like to know, and I think the Congress has the right to know. What will happen to our tree-planting program without the Federal partnership? Of course, some States will go right on growing and planting a lot of trees, but the annual report of the tree-planting program indicates that 26 States are lagging and planting only 4 percent of the national total. If anyone has a workable plan to show us how to get better protection, more trees, and more technical assistance with less Federal participation, while more people than ever are using the woods and dependent upon them for forest products, water, and recreation, let him present his plan to Congress and I am sure it will be thoroughly studied.

The only indication I can find of some such plan is the inference in Department's letter to the Governors that research and education will do the job. I am heartily in favor of both research and education. A review of my previous speeches to the Congress will show that I was active in the expansion of research facilities. In fact, in my district the Forest Service is doing some remarkable research work in forestry and I am proud of it. Also, I think our educational efforts should be greatly increased. With just research to discover new methods and education to tell people about them, however, the third leg of the stool is missing, and the stool will fall of its own weight. Of what value would be such a program in forestry without adequate provision for protection, planting, and technical assistance. This is especially true in a field as technical as forestry. If any landowner thinks that by a trip to an experiment station or by reading a bulletin he can protect, develop, and manage a woodland, he is in for a bit of disappointment. In fact, the woodland he might mismanage could be ruined beyond repair for 50 years. If it were that easy there would not be over 4,000 students taking the 4-year forestry courses in our well-developed and accredited 25 forestry colleges throughout the Nation.

I submit that we need national programs in forestry just as we need Federal roads. The citizen of New York City in many ways, such as in the purchase of a newspaper, is affected by the situation in our forest lands in Louisiana and Oregon; the delta farmer in Mississippi is vitally concerned with the condition of the forest cover on the mountains in Montana and Wyoming, the source of the water in the Mississippi River. The Nation needs well managed forests in time of both peace and war. If there is any idea of cutting out these forestry programs now, putting them on the shelf, and reviving them as public works programs in the event of a depression, do not be misled by such folly. Admittedly these are excellent programs in a depression. They provide a lot of useful and beneficial work, but these activities cannot be turned off and on like spigots of water. If we destroy efficient firefighting organizations, we must remember that they cannot be rebuilt and trained overnight. If we shut down the tree nurseries, it will take several years to expand them again because, as indicated by World War II curtailment, several years are needed to get soil in condition, to secure seed, and to grow seedlings. If the technical foresters handling the cooperative management program and providing the on-the-ground service needed are discharged by the elimination of Federal funds, we will lose many years of valuable experience even if at some later date we hire replacements.

In these days of our concern with the appropriation and expenditure of billions of dollars, the small amount involved

here, $1½ million dollars, may give some people the idea that we are dealing with trivia. In case such an erroneous impression is made, let me correct it immediately. These cooperative forestry activities are dealing with 427 million acres of State and private forestry land. They are striving to give all of this land protection, although in spite of steady progress we still have 58 million acres which lie outside the boundaries of organized protection units. Also, I should add that where we do have organized protection units, the forces are spread so thinly that tremendous losses have occurred in the past and might occur at any time in the future.

If anyone thinks that I am unduly alarmed, he should remember the fire disasters in Maine in 1948 and in Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, and New Hampshire in 1952 and 1953. When the next forest fire disaster hits, gentlemen, wherever it may occur, we should be certain that the best organization and equipment are at hand to meet the emergency. We should not find ourselves empty handed with the excuse that the policy had been changed. As long as the Clarke-McNary Law of 1924 and the Cooperative Management Act of 1950 are in force the Congress directs the Secretary of Agriculture to join forces with the States in protection, planting, and managing the forests. No commander can delegate his responsibility.

There is still a big job to be done in these forestry programs. In 1950 the total estimate of the job to be done in fire protection exceeded $48 million. The latest figures available show that expenditures of all States have now reached $37 million including Federal funds. The additional $11 million is needed for the expansion of organizations to unprotected areas and for bolstering forces wherever they are weak. I do not believe that Congress should agree to curtail the Federal participation.

We have just begun large scale tree planting in this country. Our annual report shows that we are now planting at the rate of 715,000 acres per year. If anyone should feel complacent, however, let me remind him that we have more than 60 million acres of idle forest land which should be producing wealth for both the people and the Nation. At our present increased rate of planting it will take us 75 years to do the job. I do not think that Congress believes that we should wait 75 years to do this job and put these idle acres of forest land to work.

In the field of technical forestry assistance let me remind the Congress, as I have done before, that we have 4¼ million small woodland owners. These small woodland owners need technical forestry assistance on the ground. The only practical, time-tested way of helping them is to send a forester to work with them and get them started. You cannot just give them a bulletin; it simply will not work. The bulletin will create their interest and be helpful, but the technical forester is needed to get the landowner started in the right direction. I believe that Congress would wish to continue its encouragement to the State foresters to make these technical foresters available to woodland owners.

In conclusion, I ask the Members of this Congress to consider the opportunities in the cooperative partnership of the States and the Federal Government in forest protection, tree planting, and management. These activities must be continued; in fact, they should be expanded. Under no circumstances can we permit their elimination or curtailment.

I am happy that after due deliberation the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Agriculture recommended that these forestry items be restored in the budget. Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN and Mr. WHITTEN and other members of this committee are to be congratulated for their judgment and I urge you to accept their recommendations. Your decision to restore the cuts in forestry will enable our Nation to continue our time-tested partnership with the States in the development of our forests.

Foreign-Trade Losses

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to insert in the RECORD a most outstanding article which appeared in the April issue of the Progressive Farmer. It was written by our distinguished colleague from Mississippi, Hon. FRANK E. SMITH, who is an authority on the subject of foreign trade.

The article follows:

WAKE UP SOUTHERN FARMERS, FOREIGN-TRADE LOSSES HURT YOU

(By FRANK E. SMITH, Member of Congress, Third Mississippi District)

Historically, southern farmers have depended upon foreign markets to absorb a major share of their crops. Down through the years, southerners have led the fight for expanded foreign trade. The issue is not, however, sectional. An important part of all American farm production must be sold abroad to provide adequate returns to the American producer. As an example, agricultural exports from this country in 1951 represented the production of an area equal to all the farmland in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In normal export years, more than 45 million acres are required to produce the cotton and wheat needed for our export market.

A major share of these farm exports consists of crops raised mainly in the South—cotton, tobacco, and rice, in particular. Wheat is the chief crop outside the South which accounts for a large slice of exports. Even wheat production is rapidly expanding in the South today. Soybeans, lard, oranges, and apples are other southern commodities interested in an export market.

Export markets are not an economic accident. Perhaps no portion of the national market place is so much subject to the influence and control of Government policy through tariffs, quotas, and international monetary policy. In the most part, southern farmers in the past have been quick to react against governmental policies and programs which restrict foreign trade and otherwise impede the free flow of commerce through world markets. The famous Nullification Act of South Carolina was an instrument which John C. Calhoun used to dramatize the southern protest against the Tariff of Abominations more than 120 years ago. Southern farmers through the years have recognized high tariffs as an instrument to reduce the market for their products while increasing the price of goods they must buy domestically.

In addition to the immediate export market, progressive farmers realize that expanding foreign trade is one of the most effective ways of promoting continued high employment in industrial areas. This is still the major market for American farmers.

Since the end of World War II, a major portion of our agricultural export market has been subsidized by economic-aid programs which our Government has carried on as part of its general anti-Communist effort. Today economic aid is being eliminated, with virtually all foreign-aid funds going into direct military assistance. The result is evident in the decline of American commodity exports during the past year—at a level averaging about 40 percent. Cotton exports have dropped more than 50 percent.

The reciprocal trade program pioneered by Cordell Hull has been allowed to continue but with restrictive amendments designed to block its basic purpose—agreements for the reduction of tariffs on a basis of reciprocity between nations. In 1953 the Congress extended the reciprocal trade law only after President Eisenhower had promised that no tariff reductions would be negotiated under the authority granted in the program. Strangulation of the reciprocal trade program is a symptom of other trade barriers which have been allowed to grow unchecked. More rigid interpretations have been given to the "Buy American" law. It is virtually impossible for foreign firms to bid on Government contracts unless they can meet a 25-percent differential in addition to the normal tariff protection accorded domestic bidders. This law also penalizes American taxpayers something like one-half billion dollars each year in extra, added costs for Government purchases.

Archaic customs regulations have been allowed to grow even more cumbersome and burdensome with redtape. These further discourage development of a healthy import business. Little encouragement has been given private business to invest abroad as a means of increasing the dollar supply available to other countries to buy our products.

All of these developments have been allowed to grow without any clarion call of protest from the American farmer. Yet he is the one who is feeling the results directly in his pocketbook. The southern tobacco and cotton grower has been very inarticulate while protective policies designed to benefit small pressure groups have helped bring about losses of millions of dollars to southern farmers through reduced prices. Southerners seem to have totally forgotten the bitter lessons of the past.

As a result of this loss of our export markets, huge wheat and cotton surpluses have been piled up. These surpluses have made necessary acreage controls on these crops in 1954. The diverted acreage will in most cases be used to produce other crops which will contribute to new surpluses. Is this the most sensible policy for the United States to follow? There are still millions of potential customers for food and clothing throughout the world.

The various new barriers against expanding foreign trade established in the past few years have come into being largely because they have been overlooked or misunderstood by the American farmer—who has the most to lose from them. Farmers have unthinkingly accepted legislation to virtually bar the

import of cheese from Europe. This has been for the real benefit of only a few hundred cheese processors, and to the disadvantage of hundreds of thousands of farmers. Other special protective devices have been set up for many small fragmentary producer groups at the expense of the major part of our farm population.

Tariff barriers are not purely a one-sided affair. Many other countries within our normal circle of customers are among the grave offenders. There can be no universal reduction, however, unless we take affirmative leadership in pushing for reduction through effective use of programs like the reciprocal trade agreements.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will come up for extension again in this session of Congress. The extension, without crippling amendments, can be made only with a hard fight. Unless farmers take the lead in arousing congressional opinion, they are likely to receive another blow in the pocketbook. Any single concession of Congress to the protectionist idea will, in the long run, prove costly to agriculture.

The trade issue is, however, bigger by far than a matter of economic benefits to the American farmer. It must be resolved successfully if our overall foreign trade policy is to succeed in the effort to keep the free world mobilized and unified against Communist aggression. Soviet rulers have made it clear that one of the basic tenets of Soviet policy will be to stir up dissension in the free world through trade rivalry. The Communists have already made great progress along that line.

The current disputes over trade with Communist countries are proof. The issue will become even more acute as countries like Japan attempt to establish a self-sufficient economy without American subsidy. The Japanese have traditionally had a large export market in Asia. American policy today is to deny this market where it benefits Communist China or other areas dominated by Soviet Russia. If we deny this traditional trade to Japan, we must either offer them the opportunity for American markets or pay for the difference out of our pockets.

The situation in Japan is typical of that of many other countries that we are working to keep outside the Soviet orbit. Only if these nations are able to earn their own way through competitive business under a free enterprise market can we expect to reduce the cost of American security. Until that reduction in cost comes, the American people can expect to be faced with high military expenditures, high taxes, and unbalanced budgets.

The crucial decision as to whether effective American leadership will be provided in the battle to eliminate world trade barriers must actually be made by the Congress this year. President Eisenhower's Commission to study the trade issue has made its report. The southern farmer who has more at stake in this fight than any citizen from any other American group should make his position clear.

A Poison in Our Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial entitled "A Poison in Our Affairs," which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 8, 1954, speaks volumes:

A POISON IN OUR AFFAIRS

Many who heard and saw Senator McCARTHY's reply to Edward R. Murrow on their TV sets Tuesday evening felt themselves almost physically in the presence of something so hostile to our normal freedoms of thought and debate as to constitute a far greater peril than any from which McCARTHY's efforts have ever in fact preserved us.

The Senator did not attempt to reply to the Murrow criticisms; instead, he turned to crush the man who had criticized and disagreed with him under an insinuation that the critic is a Communist, has acted from pro-Communist motives, and in the service of Communist conspiracy, is the "leader of the jackal pack." But it is not the charge alone which was appalling. It was the fact that it was delivered without any substantiation whatever; it was built up by a skillful process of outrageous insinuation, emotional juxtapositions, frequently obvious misrepresentations, and what, in some cases, would seem to have been simple fabrication, as in the unsupported statement that the H-bomb was held up for 18 months, which is something of which no one, not even the President of the United States, had ever heard before.

The entire effort was a demonstration of why McCarthyism has seemed to so many so dangerous a poison in our affairs. These are the means whereby the Senator has terrorized men in high places and low, including the now frightened and fumbling Senators and their committees; these are the means whereby he "proves" his reckless charges and tramples over the rights and dignity of everyone, whether Communist or not, whose victimization will serve his interests. These are the concepts of reason, fairness, and justice which he has introduced into the sufficiently difficult problem of dealing with the real (as opposed to the imaginary) dangers of domestic communism. After that vivid demonstration it was not surprising that the President should declare without hesitation that Mr. Murrow was his friend.

Congressman Doyle Urges Colleagues To Encourage Citizens To Exercise Voting Privilege and Responsibility in Coming Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLYDE DOYLE
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I make these few extemporaneous remarks about the privilege and duty of participation in American voting processes, and the danger to our beloved Nation if the majority of American citizens do not perform that duty. We as Congressmen can render a fine service in this regard.

Just so long as the majority of the American adulthood become informed and stay well informed, about the affairs of our Nation and in their respective local communities "from the grassroots up," just that long, will our great Nation be strengthening its sinews from day to day. Mr. Speaker, only so long as an increasing majority of the American people participate in shaping their own destiny and the destiny of this Nation by exercising their choice of men and measures at the ballot box, only that long will our constitutional form of government endure. For, it appears as clear as crystal to me that the secret of strength to our American way of life and living is that the clear thinking, patriotic, humble folks of our beloved Nation shall participate individually in making our democracy work at the grassroots of American citizenship.

It is self-evident, therefore, that the voting habits of Americans must be conscientiously shaped by Americans so as to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship. And this very American citizenship assumes the obligation to register for voting and then to actually vote in local, State, and National elections. We Americans must stop being careless in this regard. We must stop being slothful about this voting business. We must systematically work to destroy the citizen apathy toward our election processes which apathy, if extended very much more, will permanently weaken the very foundations of our American constitutional way of life. Truly a minority of the American people must never be charged with the responsibility of determining the destiny of America.

So, I vigorously urge that you and I as United States Congressmen, do our dead-level best to systematically and very determinedly urge every possible qualified person to register to vote—and then to vote at primary elections in their respective States and then later at the November general election.

Looking back at the 1952 elections the record indicates that only 1 out of 2 persons of voting age took time to cast a ballot for President of the United States, while in 1940 nearly 2 voters out of every 3 voted in said election.

I do not now have the time to give statistics. In fact, that is not the purpose of these informal comments. If there is a higher privilege in our American citizenship than the right to vote in a free election, what is it? And, where is there a higher obligation of American citizenship than to vote in our free elections? Is it not a fact that upon our American right to vote at free elections the very foundation of our system of self-government exists?

Mr. Speaker, in these few words I again urge every Member of this great legislative body to be more diligent than ever, in encouraging and informing our electorate, regardless of political party, of the privilege and duty of the American free vote.

In closing, I incorporate a letter, dated March 26, 1954, from the Library of Congress on this subect. Some day later I hope to make further comment, including the matter of making sure that Americans abroad in the military or civilian service also vote. All States should make it so they can do so. There is need of fundamental correction of some of our State election laws in this connection.

The letter follows:

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C., March 26, 1954.

To Hon. CLYDE DOYLE.

From James A. Mitcham, Government Division.

Subject: Selected data relating to voting participation.

The basic data on voting participation in the presidential and congressional elections are contained in table 1. Herein is shown by State the percentage of the potential voters that participated in the elections of 1940 through 1952. We were unable to include the data for the 1938 congressional elections, since there has been no reliable estimate published of the voting potential in 1938. The Bureau of the Census voting population estimates for the intercensal years are not available prior to 1940.

Table 2, based upon the data in table 1, shows the percentage increase or decrease in voting participation in the congressional elections and the presidential elections. As a general conclusion, it can be readily seen that voting participation in congressional elections falls considerably below that of the presidential elections not only for the United States but also in every State.

The 1952 voting percentage, although the highest of those for the years shown, only exceeds the 1944 average by 2.8 percent. However, the improvement from 1948 low of 52.1 percent was more than 10 percent.

That the increase-decrease span in voting participation shows little relationship to regions is apparent from the data presented in table 2. Changes in voting percentages for the years 1940–1944 ranged from a +15.2 percent increase in Maine to a decrease of −5.7 in Oregon. While the overall decrease in voting from 1944 to 1948 presidential election was a −7.6 percent, the State of Nebraska showed a decrease of −17 percent. North Carolina, one of 8 States to show increased voting for 1948, had a +4.9 percent average. In 1952 every State showed an increased vote over that of 1948. Oregon, which had the greatest decrease in 1944, also had the greatest increase (+20.2 percent) in 1952. Colorado with +0.2 percent had the smallest increase in 1952 over 1948. Of the many important reasons for the 1952 upsurge in voting are the population increases and the concerted drives by numerous organizations to "get out the vote."

Congressional election voting changes show that Kentucky had the highest increase from 1942 to 1946, or +15.2 percent, and fell to the bottom with a −9.2 percent in the period 1946 to 1950. North Dakota was lowest in the period 1942–46 with −7.9 percent and Oregon was highest in the period 1946–50 with +16.5 percent.

In all the elections, it is interesting to note that the States of the South—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—have shown steady increases in voter participation despite the fact that none of these States have had more than 50 percent voter participation since 1940.

Table 3 shows the extent of participation in the 1950 to 1954 national elections in 25 foreign countries. It is significant that in comparison with these countries, the United States ranks 21st in percent of the electorate that voted. One observation should be made that the election laws in all these countries are not uniform. As a consequence the comparability of voting averages in some countries with the United States might be open to question. Furthermore, it would not be valid to compare the voting percentage of any country with that of a single State of the United States.

The publication we have attached entitled, "You Can Vote," summarizes the election laws in the States. The table taken from the NEA Journal presents this same information in a more concise form. Insofar as we know, there are now no Federal laws relating to special privileges for voting by members of the Armed Forces at home or abroad. Such legislation was pased in 1944, as an emergency measure during World War II.

Population figures for the age group 18 to 20 years are not available for any years except the decennial census. Therefore, we have not included this very limited data in our analysis.

For general information on the subject of the importance of voting we have attached a selection of articles. Your attention is called to a survey made by Representative JACOB K. JAVITS which shows the analysis of response to the question, "Why don't you always vote?" put to a selected group of persons in 1950.

The Nation and Louisiana Are Proud of Hon. Frank Abrams, Hon. Monroe Rathbone, and Hon. Eugene Holman, All Top Officials of the Standard Oil Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES H. MORRISON
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, for many years one of the world's largest oil refineries, located in Baton Rouge, La., and owned by the Standard Oil Co., has been a remarkable contributing factor in the growth and progress of this great Nation.

Naturally, all of this did not happen by accident. It took years and years, by most competent officials, of planning, industry, vision, know-how, and hard work to accomplish these achievements that this successful organization should justly be proud of.

This great organization not only has played a substantial part in our Nation's peacetime development, but it has also been one of the most important and vital parts of our Nation's defense. Huge supplies of aviation gasoline, lubricants, and gasoline together with hundreds of byproducts supplied our Armed Forces with these essential military supplies that brought victory in World War II.

The Louisiana refinery, especially, produced a tremendous amount of aviation gasoline and synthetic rubber that was so vital and desperately needed during World War II.

All of this did not come about by accident. These able, sincere, and hard-working officials did a magnificent job. Louisiana is particularly proud of three of these individuals; namely, Hon. Frank W. Abrams, Hon. Monroe J. Rathbone, and Hon. Eugene Holman. Both Mr. Holman and Mr. Rathbone resided in Louisiana and spent many years of their lives working there. Quite naturally Louisiana feels proud of their accomplishments. Perhaps their careers are best described in the March edition of the magazine Lamp, in the following article entitled "Changes on the Jersey Board":

CHANGES ON THE JERSEY BOARD

Two Jersey officers and directors who had spent their entire working careers in the company's service retired last December 31. They were Frank W. Abrams and Orville Harden. At the same time, Frank W. Pierce, who because of ill health had resigned his directorship early last year, also retired from the company's service.

The departure of Chairman Abrams and Vice President Harden, both of whom had been members of the board's executive committee, brought about a number of directorial changes.

To take the chairman's post, the board elected former President Eugene Holman, who is continuing as the company's chief executive and as chairman of the executive committee. The new president (and vice chairman of the executive committee) is M. J. Rathbone, who has been a member of the board since 1949.

To fill the remaining vacancy on its five-man executive committee, the board elected Vice President Chester Smith. It also elected to be a vice president Lloyd W. Elliott, a director of the company since 1951.

Peter T. Lamont and Howard W. Page, two Jersey executives with long company service, were elected to the board, which thus continues to have a membership of 14.

FRANK W. ABRAMS

People with fixed ideas about business executives are sometimes surprised on encountering Mr. Abrams for the first time. What surprises them may be his self-deprecating speech and demeanor; or his gently ironic sense of humor; or his obviously genuine interest in individual human beings, just as persons, regardless of their place in the scheme of things. He conforms to no stereotype.

Frank W. Abrams' 42 years with Jersey spanned almost the entire modern history of the company. Just out of Syracuse, the young engineer went to work as a draftsman at the Eagle works in Jersey City, some 6 months after the physical dissolution, by court order, of the old Standard Oil Co. Thereafter he and the reorganized company, in a sense, grew up together.

Mr. Abrams became, in turn, plant engineer, assistant superintendent, superintendent, and manager of the Eagle Works; general manager of New Jersey refineries; a director of the operating company (now Esso Standard Oil), then its president; finally a director of the parent company. During those years, as the company grew, diversified its interests, broadened its horizons, modernized its policies as well as its plants, Frank Abrams was growing too. He read voraciously, learned daily from all the people he dealt with, widened his outlook far beyond the immediate concerns of a manufacturing expert.

He was elected to the Jersey board in 1940. As its chairman from 1946 until this year, he exercised a progressive, farsighted kind of business leadership, one especially concerned with human values and one remote from the concept of the soulless corporation. In the truest sense of the word, he practiced business statesmanship.

As chairman of the board, he was called on for the first time in his life to do considerable public speaking. This he had always dreaded; nevertheless, he not only spoke so effectively that he became in great demand but grew to enjoy it. "I felt about speeches the way a kid does about the school bully," he told an associate. "Once I found I could lick him, I couldn't wait for another chance to take him on."

Though his direct association with Jersey Standard is at an end, Mr. Abrams has no intention of being idle. He is a member of Herbert Hoover's task force on civil service and public personnel policy, a director and chairman of the executive committee of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, a trustee and member of the executive committee of the Ford Foundation, a trustee of Syracuse University; and to these, among

other undertakings, he intends to give his time and talent.

He expects also to spend much time at his well-loved place on Peconic Bay at Mattituck, Long Island. There, working in his garden, he has always found a happy antidote for the business pressures which once made him declare, half seriously, "What I really ought to be called is vice president in charge of bellyaches."

Last December 17, Mr. Abrams stood on the stage of the Center Theater in Rockefeller Center and talked for a while to 2,400 New York employees of Jersey, Esso, and other affiliates. He made, that morning, a typical Abrams address—chatty, nostalgic, modest, witty, and thoughtful. It was his informal valedictory to the people with whom he had been working. The standing ovation which followed it was one measure of the friendship, admiration, and respect he had won throughout the company.

MONROE J. RATHBONE

Baton Rouge, La., regards Mr. Rathbone—it knows him better as "Mr. Jack"—with a special affection. Though the newly elected president of Jersey Standard was born in Parkersburg, W. Va., his first job was at the Baton Rouge refinery, and he worked there for 23 years, filling, finally, the top position in what was then the Louisiana Standard Oil Co. When his demonstrated ability brought him, 10 years ago, a summons to New York to be president of Esso Standard Oil, with which the Louisiana company was being merged, Baton Rouge saw him off with pride but also with confidence that this good friend, no matter how far he might go, would always in a sense belong to the community in which he had been so memorable a leader.

The confidence was certainly not misplaced. To Jack Rathbone, Baton Rouge has long been, and still is, home. On the Amite River, about 25 miles from the city, he owns 28 acres of wood and farm land. This is his favorite retreat, and doubtless always will be.

Mr. Rathbone is a tall, spare man whose bearing catches the eye. His features, clear-cut with a touch of sharpness, suggest a firm and decisive temperament. The suggestion is not misleading, yet Mr. Rathbone speaks softly and laughs readily, with a slight diffidence of manner that puts people quickly at ease with him. His lively sense of humor is as responsive to jokes on himself as to any other kind.

He has an intensely logical mind, analytical and retentive. In reaching a decision, he likes to "add up the pluses and minuses." He assimilates an immense amount of detail on business problems, yet in such orderly fashion that the detail never obscures his view of the central issues. His associates find that, when he has read or heard a summary or analysis, the first question he asks is likely to be a searching one, penetrating to the core of the matter at hand. He is frequently called on to represent the company in testimony before congressional committees, where he is an impressive witness by reason of his command of the pertinent facts and his ability to make lucid explanations of their significance.

He habitually takes on a terrific personal workload. A number of years ago, during negotiations over the disposition of some Government-owned plants at Baton Rouge, he made a series of trips alone to Washington to discuss the terms with Government officials. A Government representative later remarked that Mr. Rathbone was one of the few businessmen who came to such meetings unaccompanied by one, two or a platoon of associates, advisers or technical experts. What the Government man didn't know was that, during his return journeys, Mr. Rathbone had also been writing long-hand drafts of contracts between his company and the Government.

Most boys dream of what they want to be when they grow up, but few, for one reason or another, realize the dream. Jack Rathbone did, though the dream was modest—far more modest than reality. He just wanted to work in one of the Jersey company's refineries. It was a natural ambition, because has father was an employee—and for 12 years the manager—of the old Jersey refinery at Parkersburg.

The young man was graduated from Lehigh University with a degree in chemical engineering in 1921, and obtained a job as a draftsman at Baton Rouge. His subsequent years there were a progression not only of growing responsibilities but of increasing familiarity with the major functions of an oil company.

For example, 10 years in a variety of technical posts gave him an intimate knowledge of how a refinery works. When, in 1931, he was named general superintendent, he began to learn more about oil production and transportation, because crude-oil procurement, both long and short range, was a vital phase of the refinery's business. Then in 1936, on becoming president of Louisiana Standard, he was actively concerned for the first time with marketing operations. This broad experience prepared him to take the presidency of Esso Standard, where he served from 1944 until his election to the Jersey board of directors in 1949.

Mr. Rathbone has always been an innovator, a man who changes things and leaves them better then he found them. While president of the Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce, he supervised a complete reorganization of that body. The undertaking, in ordinary circumstances, might have been unexceptional. It was done, though, at a critical time for the community. Baton Rouge, formerly a small, quiet city best known as the seat of the State government and university, had begun to have a strongly industrial character, and to suffer the growing pains associated with a business and population boom. An effective chamber of commerce was a valuable community asset; Jack Rathbone made this possible, and is remembered for it.

On one of his earliest jobs in the refinery, he was chosen to represent his group in dealings of the refinery union with the management. From this may have sprung his great interest in labor matters. At any rate, the fact that he once sat across the table from management certainly is an element in the unique regard which rank-and-file employees have always had for him.

Beyond that, he is known to employees at all levels as a man of scrupulous fairness, willing to give any point of view an honest hearing, big enough to change his mind, determined to let no personal feeling affect his judgment of where the company's interest lies.

EUGENE HOLMAN

The new chairman of the Jersey Standard board of directors is a familiar figure in the company's affairs. Mr. Holman has been a board member since 1940, became a vice president in 1942, and was president of the company from 1944 until this year. His vigorous personality and his immense first-hand knowledge of the oil business are among Jersey's great intangible assets.

During his decade in the president's chair the company met a long series of emergencies, large and small, resulting from the war and from the economic and political disorders which followed. In such times especially, a company with worldwide interests can benefit from the kind of strong, informed leadership which Mr. Holman has exercised. Under the rearranged assignments of directors, which took effect at the beginning of this year, Mr. Holman remains chairman of the board's executive committee—of which Mr. Rathbone is now vice chairman—and the company's chief executive.

Eugene Holman is a big man physically, who looks, and is, an outdoor type. He is devoted to hunting—big game, preferably. He began his career as a geologist—by popular definition, a man prepared to tramp, climb, ride, paddle, fly or crawl almost anywhere on earth—and he is still happy whenever he can leave the city behind for a while and take off to find out for himself what's going on in the world of oil.

Mr. Holman was born and spent his boyhood on the big plains and under the big skies of west Texas. He wanted an occupation which wouldn't put an end to his life in the open, and went to Simmons College—now Hardin-Simmons University—with the idea of becoming an engineer. A faculty member, however, interested him in geology, and after he was graduated he went on to the University of Texas for a master's degree in petroleum geology in 1917.

His connection with Jersey began when he went to work for Humble Oil & Refining Co. at a job offered him by his friend Wallace E. Pratt, then Humble's chief geologist and later a Jersey Standard director. Humble promptly sent Holman off to north Texas into the midst of an oil boom.

Later assignments took him to Louisiana and Arkansas. He was promoted to be a division superintendent and, in 1926, succeeded Mr. Pratt as chief geologist. Three years later, Jersey Vice President E. J. Sadler asked Holman to come east as his assistant. This began his increasingly great absorption with foreign-oil production, especially in Latin America. He was a principal in the consolidation of Venezuelan properties which brought the present Creole Petroleum Corp. into being, and served as president of Creole until elected to the Jersey board.

Mr. Holman has never lost the fresh enthusiasm for his business which was generated in him when he was a young geologist. A veteran Canadian bush pilot, who has flown Mr. Holman on hunting trips as well as on business, likes to tell about flying him for the first time to the far northern oil field at Norman Wells. "Gene," the pilot recalls, "could hardly wait to get there. He knew I'd been to the Wells, and he kept asking me questions I couldn't answer. He'd say, for instance, 'Is the oil sweet?' As if I'd put the stuff in my mouth. But when we got there, that's the first thing Gene Holman did. He said it was sweet, too."

Dairymen Have Three Choices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues here in Congress an editorial which appeared in the April 10, 1954, issue of Hoard's Dairyman. Hoard's Dairyman is a national farm magazine published in Fort Atkinson, Wis., and is one of the strong voices of the dairy farmer. I recommend that you read this article and would appreciate having your comments after giving it consideration.

DAIRYMEN HAVE THREE CHOICES

Now that the period of wishful thinking appears to be over in this dairy business, perhaps we can start scratching gravel and come up with a realistic dairy program. Too many

people for too long have been wearing rose-colored glasses, hoping that the dairy surplus would melt away in the sun of some future bright day.

In our travels around the country and from our Washington report, we gather that most dairy farmers, dairy leaders, farm leaders, Government officials, and Congressmen are now ready to admit the realities of our time. The picture, bluntly, shows that during the past 2 months, we produced milk at an annual rate of 130 billion pounds. Last year we produced an all-time record of 121½ billion pounds. We consumed 116 billion pounds, and of that only 109 billion pounds went into civilian use.

The United States Department of Agriculture prediction is that we will produce 124 billion pounds this year. Remember, however, that the prediction last year at this time was only 118 billion pounds. That estimate was off 3½ billion pounds. We think this year's estimate is just as far off, unless there is a widespread drought. In that event, the estimate may be nearly correct. In any event, there may be a gap of from 8 to 21 billion pounds of surplus rolling down the valley this year. This does not include the surplus carryover from last year.

In our opinion, any hope that lowered parity price supports are going to help the situation materially is, again, wishful thinking. They may slow down the rate of increased production; but we see no prospect of decreasing production, and have little hope that the decreased retail prices are going to stimulate a great increase in sales, although modest increases should be expected.

With our eyes wide open to the facts, let's look frankly to the alternatives open to dairymen. We believe there are three courses:

1. Remove all price supports and let prices fall where they will to clear the market. This would tend to squeeze out farmers with low producing cows and high costs of milk production. For many reasons, which we have enumerated in these columns before, we cannot endorse such a proposal.

2. Adopt the subsidy payments plan through which farmers would receive direct payments from the Government. These payments would make up the difference between the low free market price and a given percentage of parity. As previously reported in these columns, this proposal has 1 major advantage and 2 very serious shortcomings.

3. Endorse an amended version of the National Milk Producers Federation plan. As previously reported here, the federation would set up a dairy stabilization board, made up of dairy farmers. The board would support the price of all milk going into domestic consumption by buying up the surplus. Any loss incurred in disposing of the surplus outside of domestic channels would be financed by a stabilization fee levied against all milk marketed.

Although we endorse the original proposal in principle, we must admit that it has two shortcomings. It does not provide a specific incentive to produce for a market rather than dump on a market. The second shortcoming is that the stabilization fee idea is not too palatable to many dairymen, nor does it attract enthusiastic congressional support.

In the light of the foregoing, in early March we proposed to several dairy leaders that the federation proposal be amended to accomplish the same objective without the levy of astabilization fee. We offered for debate a market and surplus proposal that would return dairy farmers the same price as the federation proposal. It would work in this way:

Let us assume that we have a domestic market for 115 billion pounds of milk at the 90 percent of parity price level. Further, let us assume that we will produce 128 billion pounds this year.

The Dairy Stabilization Board would guarantee dairy farmers a minimum of 90 percent of parity for all milk sold for domestic human consumption. We will refer to this milk as market milk. All surplus milk would be paid for at not to exceed the actual disposal price on foreign markets, in industry, or for feeds, etc.

The proposal would appear like this to a dairy farmer in his operations:

During the past 3 years, John Doe has marketed an average of 25,000 pounds of milk during May. His market this May would be 90 percent of this average, or 22,500 pounds. (Market of 90 percent is determined by dividing total production of 128 billion pounds into the available market of 115 billion pounds.) For this milk he would be assured of $4.27 per hundred, if this were the 90 percent of parity figure. Any surplus he placed on the market would bring the going surplus price realized by the Dairy Stabilization Board. Let us assume this is $2 per hundred and that he sent 2,000 pounds of surplus to market. Here is his return for May:

22,500 pounds at $4.27	$960.75
2,000 pounds at $2	40.00
Total	1,000.75

At 75 percent of parity price supports, as scheduled for April 1, the average national price would be about $3.55. The same amount of milk at this price in May would return—24,500 pounds at $3.55=$869.75.

Please appreciate that this is a very brief outline. Many modifications and refinements will be desirable. For example, special provisions should apply to drought areas. The question we raise at this time is whether or not the principle is sound. If so, the dairy industry has a principle or base upon which it can build an effective program that:

1. Is not subject to political manipulation by any political party.

2. Prices dairy products to the consumer at a fair price level consistent with other industrial and consumer prices.

3. Shares the burden of a surplus equitably among all producers on the basis of recent production history.

4. Does not limit production but provides an incentive to produce for the real market and not for market-wrecking surpluses.

5. Is self-financing. Original Government revolving fund could be paid back through a small percentage deduction on all surplus funds handled.

6. Does not limit market expansion. Sales promotion through the American Dairy Association would increase the market percentage. Efficient producers can increase their market by greater production if they so desire, but inefficient producers should be discouraged by the surplus price.

We readily admit the proposal has at least one shortcoming. Anyone who wishes to start dairying must either begin on an established dairy farm with a market or produce largely at a surplus price for the first year or so until a market is established. Admittedly, this shortcoming is also an asset in that it gives the present dairy farmer and industry some insulation from the great milk production potential or 25 to 30 million diverted acres. It serves to prevent the dumping of surplus corn, cotton, and wheat land on an already flooded dairy market.

We are not going to carry this proposal to Congress. It is offered simply as a constructive suggestion for consideration by our readers. Think it over, test it, and debate it. If you think it has merit, tell your dairy and farm organization officers, and write your Representatives and Senators in Congress. If you do not approve it, tell them that, too. These people are your elected Representatives. Through them you should make your opinions and convictions known. Every voice of good judgment is a nail in the construction of a platform on which may be built a more prosperous dairy future.

Why Don't They Take Off Their Hats and Stay a While?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Republican administration has been in power less than a year and one-half, but already a number of top officials who came in with President Eisenhower have packed their luggage and called the moving van. Speaking in all sincerity, I hope that the prestige of Government service has not declined so much that able men prefer their positions in private industry.

Perhaps there are other reasons. But, in the words of the New Brunswick (N. J.) Daily Homes News:

It would be unfortunate if the Kyes and Dodge resignations should initiate an exodus from Washington before they have really demonstrated what sort of contribution they can make.

In the words of the newspaper Trentonian, Trenton, N. J.:

This thing of accepting a position in Washington, remaining for a relatively short period of time, and then returning to private business is an annoying trend.

I include the following two editorials:

[From the Daily Home News, New Brunswick, N. J., of April 8, 1954]

BUSINESS EXODUS COULD HURT THE ADMINISTRATION

When Roger Kyes resigned as Deputy Secretary of Defense, it could have occasioned no surprise. He said when he took the job he would stay only a year.

So far as is known, this was not so with Budget Director Joseph M. Dodge, who also has just resigned, effective April 15. Dodge has felt the pull of private business, and is responding.

The loss to the administration is not small. Dodge is a real financial wizard. He may not be indispensable, but he will be hard to replace. The balanced budget he hoped to achieve is still fairly far from achievement. He leaves the administration's financial program before it has even reached midcourse.

There are many businessmen in this Government. It would be unfortunate if the Kyes and Dodge resignations should initiate an exodus from Washington before they have really demonstrated what sort of contribution they can make.

[From the Trentonian, Trenton, N. J., of April 5, 1954]

MAYBE IT'S THE CLIMATE

Has the "run-out powder" become the latest addiction in Washington?

If so, why?

These questions are troubling those who have noted a rash of resignations of top administration officials recently.

For instance, Joseph M. Dodge resigned as Budget Director as of April 15.

Roger Kyes, Deputy Defense Secretary, quit on March 6 to return to his executive post with General Motors.

John F. Kane, special assistant to Secretary of the Army Stevens, quit on March 5.

These are not all. There were several others—enough to make us wonder why President Eisenhower seems unable to hold his administrative forces intact.

We'll readily concede that in most cases good reason was given for quitting. But we also point out that this thing of accepting a position in Washington, remaining for a relatively short period of time, and then returning to private busines is an annoying trend.

Can it be that governmental service is worth while only insofar as it enhances one's standing in the business world? Or is it that we cannot retain able men in public service because they must, in the words of Adlai Stevenson, "run the risk of being branded as 'subversive,' 'undesirable,' as 'security risks'?"

Whatever the answers, it certainly is apparent that the climate in Washington no longer agrees with many who hitched a ride there during the great Democratic exodus of 1952.

The Arab States: Syria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, the third in a series of eight articles on the Arab States, is deserving of our colleagues' attention. It appeared in the March 29, 1954, edition of Congress Weekly, official publication of the American Jewish Congress.

THE ARAB STATES: SYRIA

(By Sh. Yin'am)

The state of Syria was created only after the First World War, following the destruction of the Turkish-Ottoman empire; during the four centuries of Ottoman rule Syria had never formed an administrative or political unit. The creation and existence, the shape and fate of that new Syrian State were a disputed issue and a cause of protracted conflict from the very moment the Turkish forces evacuated, and the Allied forces entered, its territory in 1917–18.

In their wartime agreements with the Hashemite Sherifs of Mecca, leading to the participation in the war of Arab units from the Arabian desert (not from Syria or any other Arab country outside the Arabian peninsula) the British had promised the creation of an independent Arab State, under the Sherifs of Mecca, to include most of what today is Syria. At the same time, secret Anglo-French wartime agreements had provided (a) for the establishment of a direct French administration or tutelage over the coastal area "west of the Damascus and Aleppo Provinces," i. e., the Lebanon; and (b) for the constitution of a French zone of influence over the independent Arab area referred to above (as well as over northern Iraq—a clause that was to cause much headache to the British and finally to be abrogated).

When Allied forces entered Damascus in September 1918, they included an Arab contingent under Prince Faisal, the son of Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, with whom the British had signed their wartime agreement. Syrian nationalists rallied to him, and an Arab administration was set up provisionally under Allied military supervision. These nationalists (it is disputed to what degree Prince Faisal went along with their extreme demands) rejected the notion that their independent state should be under French influence; moreover, they claimed the coastal territory, the Lebanon, as well as the whole of Palestine (including Transjordan) as belonging to the Syrian-Arab state to be set up.

While the Allied powers confirmed the French mandate over what is now Syria and Lebanon, an Arab National Conference in 1920 proclaimed Faisal as King of (Greater) Syria, including the Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. (The fact that this happened under de facto British military caused the friction between the British and the French in the Near East that was to persist and to bedevil near-eastern politics to the very end, i. e., to the final withdrawal of French political influence from the area in 1945–46.) A clash between the French forces and the Syrian Arabs was inevitable; it ended in April 1920 with the defeat of the Arabs and the expulsion of Faisal from Damascus. He fled to British-held Transjordan and was later, in 1921, given the throne of Iraq, occupied now by his grandson, Faisal II.

The Syrian national movement was engaged, therefore, from its very first steps in a twofold struggle. In addition to its struggle for political independence and against the French mandate, similar to that of Egyptian and Iraqi nationalists against the British, it never recognized the frontiers of Syria as shaped by the French mandate and by Anglo-French agreements, but strove for the creation of a greater Syria that was to include Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. The French have never ceased to believe—and strong evidence supports that belief—that British interests and policies tended to encourage that Arab struggle against France, and more particularly, the idea of greater Syria. That idea remained linked with the aspirations of the Hashemite dynasty ruling in Iraq and Transjordan; it was especially the late King Abdullah, of Transjordan, who never ceased to scheme for the realization of a greater Syria with himself as king. While this Hashemite-Jordanian version of the greater Syria scheme died with King Abdullah's assassination in 1951, a Syrian version of the same idea, envisaging the politicians and officers of Damascus rather than the Hashemite princes as the dominating force in the new union, is always at the back of the mind of every Syrian statesman.

During the first years of their rule, in the 1920's, the French divided the territory under their mandate into several semiseparate units; Lebanon; the states of Damascus and Aleppo; the autonomous regions of Alexandretta (in the northwest, populated by Turks and Arabs), Latakia (south of Alexandretta, populated by the religious-national minority of the Alawites) and the Mountain of the Druzes (Jebel ad-Druz, in the southeast, populated by the religious-national Druse minority). The national movement fought against this division of Syria. They succeeded partly: the states of Damascus and Aleppo were soon united to form the Republic of Syria, and the Alawite and Druze regions were, after protracted struggles, fully incorporated in that republic, with their partial autonomy and special minority privileges abrogated. The Province of Alexandretta, however, was ceded—after years of gradual concesalons to Turkey and a final plebiscite—to Turkey in 1939. But no independent Syrian Government has ever recognized that cession; the demand for the return of Alexandretta (now regarded by Turkey as finally and irrevocably Turkish, and called Hatay) is being raised from time to time, and this fact has bedevilled Turko-Syrian relations ever since.

The Lebanon's separate independence, too, has crystallized into an irrevocable fact. Although Syrian extremists might harbor designs on the Lebanon, that country's independence has been guaranteed even by the Arab League and any Syrian attempt to tamper with it would be a major act of aggression both against an allied state and a jealously guarded status quo. Needless to say, the neighboring countries of Transjordan and Palestine—now the Kingdom of Jordan (incorporating the Arab part of Palestine) and Israel—have also crystallized into political entities by themselves, no longer open to Syrian schemes for unification.

It should be noted, however, that antagonism to Israel, shared by Syria on general grounds of Arab nationalism, is further stressed, in the Syrian case, by this tradition of the Syrian political mind, according to which Palestine should have been part of the Greater Syrian State. Syria's participation in the Arab struggle against the emergence of Israel was therefore active and enthusiastic.

The volunteer armies that led the first stage of that struggle, in the first 4 months of 1948, were based on Syrian territory, facilities, personnel and training, and Syria's official military resources were fully mobilized in May 1948 for the invasion of Israel. Despite the armistice concluded in 1949, hostility to Israel and talk of the future war of revenge are, of all the Arab countries, most rife in Syria where they are kept alive by deliberate attempts on the part of the government to focus public attention on this problem of foreign policy and prestige rather than on Syria's internal troubles.

As to its geographical limits, the Syrian state settled down to considerably less than was envisaged by the founders of its national movement in 1918–19. Even in its present boundaries, Syria is one of the less homogeneous Arab States. Of its 3 million inhabitants, about one-third are members of minority groups: 300,000 Alawites, 200,000 Kurds, 75,000 Druzes, 400,000 Christians (including 100,000 Armenians), etc. Some of these minorities are concentrated in compact blocs in certain areas—a fact that makes them more conscious of their separate national-religious identity and less amenable to complete assimilation and absorption within the Arab-Muslim minority.

Syria's Jewish population, concentrated mainly in Aleppo and Damascus, had been dwindling for decades (in Aleppo, for instance, there were an estimated 35,000 Jews in 1910, 17,000 in 1940, 11,000 in 1947; in Damascus—11,000 in 1943, 2,500 in 1947). The Jewish community of about 25,000 still existing when the Arab-Israel war began in 1948, has in the meantime been almost liquidated; no more than 2,500 to 3,000 Jews are estimated to live in Syria today. While officially the Government of Syria distinguishes between Israel and Zionists—the enemy—on the one hand, and the loyal Syrian citizens of the Jewish faith, on the other hand, Syria's Jews seem to live under considerable pressure and conditions approaching persecution.

The Syrian Nationalists' struggle for independence was close to success in 1936, when a French government drafted a treaty providing (similar to the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936) for Syrian independence and a Franco-Syrian alliance granting military privileges to France. This treaty, however, was never ratified by France's changing governments and was soon overshadowed by growing dangers of world war. In 1941, British and Free French forces liberated Syria from Vichy-French domination, and the Free French leaders proclaimed the abolition of the mandate and the independence of Syria—a treaty to be signed to determine Franco-Syrian relations. In 1943, elections were held and the government passed into the hands of the Nationalists, who immediately abolished all clauses in the Syrian Constitution granting special privileges to France. They made it clear that they regarded their independence as complete and unconditional and that they were unwilling to sign any treaty that would grant privileges or military rights to France. Over the question of such a treaty, and especially the maintenance of French troops in Syria, there developed in 1945 the last

Franco-Syrian crisis; it was resolved, after British intervention in Syria's favor, by the complete evacuation of Syria.

While Syria thus attained independence later than Iraq and Egypt, its independence is, thanks to British support against France, not restricted by any treaty granting Western Powers privileges or the right to maintain military establishments. Although several cabinet crises developed in Syria over some leaders' wishes to join Western alliances (and also to strengthen relations with Iraq—wishes often interpreted as aiming at ultimate union with that country under its Hashemite kings), Syria maintains, in general, a strictly neutralist attitude in world affairs. Her aversion against any link with the great powers goes so far that Syria is today the only near eastern country that rejects the United States technical aid under the point 4 program.

The Syrian people, however, did not enjoy the blessings of that complete independence won in 1943–45. Within 2 or 3 years, the Nationalist politicians under President Shukri Quwwatli were discredited as corrupt and their regime as maladministration. After 2 years of constant crises, a military coup d'etat, led by Col. Husni Za'im in March 1949, put an end to the parliamentary-nationalist regime and established a military dictatorship. Za'im was overthrown and killed in August 1949, by a rival officers' junta, which reestablished, under its own supervision, a parliamentary regime under a new constitution and a different group of politicians. This officers' junta was overthrown, in turn, by a new group of army officers led by Col. Adib Shishakly, in December 1949. Colonel Shishakly tried for 2 years to cooperate with the parliamentary leaders and parties, while himself remaining in the background; new crises caused him, however, to abolish the parliamentary regime in November 1951 and to assume full dictatorial powers.

Shishakly's dictatorial regime held out the promise of far-reaching agrarian and social reforms. During the more than 4 years of Shishakly's rule, however, very few actual measures in this direction were taken. His regime was fully occupied maintaining its power, abolishing and outlawing the old parties, and purging the army of potential nuclei of rival officers' juntas. A never-ending series of uprisings—actual or fictitious—followed by continual purges, punctuated Shishakly's 4-year rule. In spite of that, Shishakly saw fit to reintroduce, in the summer and fall of 1953, the appearances of a constitutional and parliamentary regime. He had a new constitution drafted and endorsed by a plebiscite, with himself as president, in July 1953; elections for a new parliament were held in October, resulting in a chamber consisting entirely of supporters of Shishakly (almost all completely new faces in Syrian public life). Political parties and civil freedoms, however, did not reappear, and Syria remained in fact a military dictatorship.

In February 1954, Shishakly was swept out of power by a new coup d'etat, Syria's fifth (not counting the unsuccessful ones), engineered by a rival group of officers in alliance with the old, ousted politicians. Shishakly himself escaped to Saudi Arabia, his parliament was dissolved, and his constitution abolished. Hashem Atassi, whom Shishakly had ousted as president in 1951, was reinstated, and a civilian-coalition government formed. Elections are planned for April–May 1954.

The new government bears strong resemblance to the political makeup of Sami Hinnawi's rule which lasted 4 months during August–December 1949. The new regime may well bring about certain changes in Syria's foreign policies, too—a greater pro-Iraqui attitude, for instance. It is not clear thus far whether the officers' corps has really withdrawn to the barracks and left the political scene to the parliamentarians, as announced, or what exactly is the character and composition of Syria's new military rulers. It is obvious, however, that Syria has not yet attained political stability and that further convulsions and upheavals may be expected.

American Guild of Organists Approves Music Center in Nation's Capital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the church and synagogue are the major expressions of our national life that set our Nation apart from the atheistic communism and the totalitarian forces of the world.

The New York Times of April 12 reporting on the results of a recent world-wide survey concludes that "man's faith in God does not, on the whole, appear to have suffered any crippling blow in the last two decades as a result of the horrors of war, the discoveries of science, the encroachments of materialism or the political and ideological conflicts of the current era."

Church and synagogue leaders agree, according to the Times, that organized religion in the United States has never been healthier. They base their estimates of the spiritual situation on five major factors:

Fifty-nine percent of the Nation's population claims a religious affiliation—the highest proportion ever reported.

Other conclusions: A record year in church and synagogue construction is in prospect for 1954. Seminaries are, for the most part, operating at full capacity. All of the large religious bodies are in sound financial position. A growing interest on the part of laymen in religious instruction and the day-to-day work of church and synagogue.

Reliable estimates place the number of Protestants in the United States at 54,229,963; Roman Catholics at 30,425,015, and Jews at 5 million—a record total.

This is an immensely heartening picture in one of the most difficult periods our Nation has ever faced, and one of great good cheer at this Easter season.

One of our country's greatest cultural organizations is the American Guild of Organists whose 14,000 members consist largely of organists and choir leaders in our churches. Music under the skilled direction of members of the American Guild of Organists has played a major role in the growth of our church membership and in making possible the kind of report which the Times has made. The purpose of this nonprofit educational institution is the development of high standards in organ and choral music in our churches and elsewhere. This it has done admirably.

A number of my colleagues and I have sponsored in this Congress similar or related bills to establish a national arts program. My own bill, H. R. 7185, recognizes the important contribution which, and I quote the language of my bill, "the choirs and other art groups of the churches and synagogues" are making to the cultural and artistic side of our lives.

It is my considered belief that a national arts program should be concerned not only with the arts but with the artist—the living artist. When the concern is with art alone, there is a very strong tendency to be interested only in what is conventionally accepted as art. This generally means in practice concern with the art of the past. It has been estimated that American museums devote from 75 to 80 percent or more of their funds to the art of other countries and earlier centuries. The great art traditions of the Renaissance and the great churches of the Middle Ages were not built in that way. They were created by thousands of artists who were given an opportunity to work, by the church, by the government, and by private citizens, by patrons who believed in a living art.

The Washington Evening Star of October 31, 1953, reported on an interview with the Reverend Lowell P. Beveridge, assistant rector of St. Alban's Church in Washington, D. C. The Reverend Lowell Beveridge believes, as I do, that music should be built into the whole program of Christian education. He said:

> I keep saying to my students that we as a Nation are musically illiterate. We spend a lot of money on music, but it is not a part of us. If one fraction of the money, time, and energy were spent on teaching people the rudiments of singing, it would be a tremendous thing for our churches. The thing that produced Bach was a culture in which music was built into the very fabric of education. Of course, Bach was a genius; but he also was a natural consequence of that culture.

The churches cannot produce a superior culture alone. My fine-arts bill would assist them by extending the help of the Federal Government to them and to other institutions to the end that the fine arts would be built into the fabric of our education. I am proud and happy to have the support of the American Guild of Organists in the building of a great cathedral of music in the Nation's Capital. A letter which I have just received from President S. Lewis Elmer, of the American Guild of Organists, speaks for itself. The text of the letter follows:

AMERICAN GUILD OF ORGANISTS,
New York, N. Y., April 12, 1954.

The Honorable CHARLES R. HOWELL,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The proposal to create a great music center in the city of Washington, D. C., the Capital of our country, is a project which appeals strongly to millions of our citizens, a constantly increasing number of whom enjoy and appreciate music which is an important factor in binding all our people more closely together.

The American Guild of Organists, a nonprofit educational institution, chartered in 1896 by the board of regents of the University of the State of New York, has a mem-

bership of 14,000 in every State, Hawaii, Alaska, and the Canal Zone, and has for its purpose the development of high standards in organ and choral music.

May we recommend that as an important part of the musical equipment of the proposed music center, there be included a truly magnificent organ, comparable to the finest instruments in similar auditoriums in Europe and Great Britain.

The American Guild of Organists is a member of the National Music Council, and wishes to be included in the national organizations, which have indicated interest in the proposed music center.

Respectfully yours,

AMERICAN GUILD OF ORGANISTS,
S. LEWIS ELMER,
National President.

"Let Our Friends Get This Straight, the Time Will Soon Come, if Indeed It Has Not Already Arrived, To Inform America That the Presence of American Military Personnel in These Islands Is Intolerable if Our Policies No Longer March Together," Says Britain's Aneurin Bevan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of Members of Congress an article appearing in the April 9, 1954, issue of the London Daily Mirror under the byline of former British Minister of Labor Aneurin Bevan.

With Secretary of States Dulles confronted by hecklers bearing signs urging him to go home upon his arrival in London this week, and with abundant evidence that representatives of the British Government will drive the hardest possible deal for any possible support given to the United States at the forthcoming Geneva meeting, I feel the following article should be given the widest possible reading:

(By the Right Honorable Aneurin Bevan)

The hydrogen-bomb diplomacy of the United States is moving with reckless speed. No one on this side appears to be able to check it.

Its latest phase is an attempt to involve Britain in the Indochinese war. American spokesmen have said that war can be prevented by telling nations how far they can go in safety.

"If," they say, "a nation is toying with the idea of committing an act of aggression it is wise to let it know that aggression will be met by the full force of collective resistance. Then it will think again and probably not start it."

SOME SENSE

There is some sense in that. At any rate it has the merit of clarity.

But the same reasoning must be applied in our relations with the United States. We should let her know in the clearest possible terms that we are not prepared to be dragged into military action in Indochina.

It would be an act of the purest friendship to tell her so at once. It would be the reverse of friendliness to allow her to believe that military intervention might be supported by the British people.

Our people are aware that this war might never have started—or at least it might have ended long ago—if France had adopted the same policy in Indochina that we employed in India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon.

When will colonial empires learn the lesson of the world we live in?

If self-government is denied to a people clamoring for it, then the fight for independence will grow into a revolutionary struggle.

PROGRESSIVE

Democratic and semisocialist constitutions are now taking root in many parts of southeast Asia because Britain readily, and Holland less readily, conceded such claims to independence.

Communism was held back, not by threat of military action, but by the adoption of wise and progressive policies.

France was too weak and unself-confident at home to make wise concessions abroad, and a hundred thousand Frenchmen have paid the price for it. She is further off from victory now than she was at the start of the fighting.

It is not enough to say that she would have defeated her rebels if they had not been helped by China. There are at least two answers to that.

One is that even so she would have held off independence only for a decade.

The other is that it is as reasonable for China to help a friend struggling on her doorstep as it was for France to send troops across the Atlantic to help the United States win her freedom from Great Britain.

SAME TERMS

There were Tories in Britain then who described the behavior of France in much the same terms that are now being applied to China.

It does not seem to be realized that the people of Indochina would have remained independent of Chinese assistance if France had conceded their right to govern themselves.

France and the United States between them drove the Indochinese into the arms of revolutionary China. Now they bitterly complain of the situation they themselves created.

A THREAT

So we are being asked to help them pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

The American foreign secretary put the issue as he sees it in the following way:

"The imposition on southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, by whatever means, would be a grave threat to the whole free community. The United States feels that that possibility should not be passively accepted but should be met by united action."

If we accept this, the third and this time the last World War would be upon us.

Until now the policy of the United States has been expressed in more limited terms.

They have told China that if she sends troops into Indochina they will regard it as an act of aggression. This puts China at a serious disadvantage.

SUPPORT

The United States has been pouring money, materials, and technical assistance into Indochina. In these, the United States of America is overwhelmingly rich. China on the other hand is rich only in men.

Apparently it is aggression to send men, but not aggression to send material aid. It is possible to defend this distinction technically, but not morally.

Now, however, Mr. Dulles carries the issue far beyond this point. He asks us to join with the United States of America in defeating the spread of communism in southeast Asia by whatever means it seeks to establish itself.

It is not aggression we are now asked to resist but communism as such. And communism, apparently, is whatever the United States of America likes to think it is.

PERILOUS

Here, indeed, is ideological war trembling perilously on the edge of open general war. And we are asked to join in it wherever it takes us.

It is necessary to say with all the emphasis at our command that this attitude of the United States Government is the greatest menace to peace we are now able to see in the world.

It seeks to commit us to policies that must lead directly to war.

American bases were not established in Britain in order to form part of a holy crusade against communism. They were permitted because we thought, rightly or wrongly, that they were necessary to deter Russia from invading Western Europe and to help meet that situation should it occur.

Once, during the Korean war, Mr. Attlee flew to Washington on a most momentous mission. He went to tell President Truman that we could not agree to carrying the war, by atom bomb or otherwise, into the Chinese mainland.

The time will soon come if, indeed, it has not already arrived to inform America that the presence of American military personnel in these islands is intolerable if our policies no longer march together.

House Concurrent Resolution 58

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include this excellent letter of support for the passage of House Concurrent Resolution No. 58. Written by Dr. Omelan Antonovych, chairman of the Ukrainian Association of Washington, D. C., this letter sets forth many convincing reasons for the early consideration of this important resolution by the Foreign Affairs Committee. It was passed unanimously by the subcommittee under the chairmanship of the Honorable FRANCES BOLTON, and its full passage by the House is well justified by conditions within the Soviet Union and our relations to this entity of nations.

THE UKRAINIAN ASSOCIATION
OF WASHINGTON, D. C.,
Arlington, Va., April 10, 1954.

The Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. FEIGHAN: In behalf of the Ukrainian Association of Washington, D. C., I wish to take this opportunity to express our great appreciation for your efforts as a leading supporter of House Concurrent Resolution 58, favoring the extension of diplomatic relations with the republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia. We are of the opinion that the passage of this resolution would play an extremely important role in the psychological warfare efforts of the Western World directed against Soviet communism.

I also wish to express at this time some thoughts which, in our belief, might be helpful in your further efforts toward the adop-

tion of Resolution 58. For your consideration we present the following salient points:

1. The Soviet rulers have always attempted and are still attempting to prove that the Western World (including the United States) has only colonial designs upon Ukraine and Byelorussia. In support of this thesis they constantly reiterate that Western powers come to Ukraine only to take over the land and enslave the people e. g., the German occupation of 1918; the hostile attitude of the Allies toward the newly formed Ukrainian Government in 1918–19 (incidentally this attitude on the part of the Allies was instrumental in pushing the reawakening masses right into the arms of bolshevism); the occupation of Ukraine by Germany during the Second World War.

Soviet propaganda continually reminds the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people, who have experienced German occupation on two occasions, that the threat of such an occupation still exists. This time, however, according to Soviet propaganda, the threat emanates directly from the United States or some other power specifically delegated to do that job on behalf of the United States. The Soviets are able to instill fear in certain segments of the population by these threats of imminent disaster inasmuch as the people, being completely isolated from the West, are unable to make fine distinctions between the nations of the West all of whom are dubbed by the Kremlin masters as "capitalistic imperialists."

In order to overcome such fears and suspicions on the part of the people of Ukraine and Byelorussia, more than mere words is now required. The establishment of diplomatic relations with these two nations will provide the best means of proving to their peoples that the United States has no hostile designs but, on the contrary, is willing to accept them as worthy of recognition by the leading power of the democratic world.

2. Soviet propaganda contrasts conditions in the "enslaved capitalist world" with those within their own union which they claim to be composed of separate and sovereign nations all of which have equal rights (including the right of secession under article 17 of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R.). Soviet propaganda claims that under their system there are no backward peoples or nations. They are especially diligent in emphasizing the importance of Ukraine and Byelorussia as nations which have made most significant progress under Soviet conditions (the fervent repetition of this theme is probably dictated by the continued leanings of the peoples of these two nations toward the West and democracy). This motive was an integral part of Beria's speech at the 19th party congress in October 1952 wherein he expressed the political and economic importance of Ukraine. The course then initiated has not been changed by the Kremlin and continues to the present day, to wit:

(a) L. H. Melnikov was removed from the position of secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (a position of virtual dictator of Ukraine) in June 1953 for his policy of russification.

(b) The celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty has as its objective proving to the people of Ukraine that the only unhampered path for their full development lies in union with Russia. In this connection the Ukrainians are now in 1954 being spuriously offered a coequal place with the Russians in sharing the might and power of the Soviet Union.

(c) The recent Kremlin move of ceding the Crimea to the Ukrainian S. S. R. is undoubtedly intended to prove the good faith of the Soviet masters toward Ukraine.

Such powerful moves and arguments, advanced by the Kremlin in order to keep Ukraine satisfied and thus separated from the West, require immediate and powerful counteraction on the part of the West and the United States in particular. No more powerful argument could be forthcoming than acceptance of Ukraine and Byelorussia into the comity of nations. By such an act the West would discontinue its treatment of them as second-rate vassals of Russia. Full recognition with an exchange of envoys is the only possible answer to this acute problem.

3. Any possible allegation that the exchange of envoys between the United States and Ukraine and Byelorussia could be interpreted as a desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the U. S. S. R. is not only absurd, but clearly contrary to accepted rules of international law. Leaving aside the purely incidental fact that it is Russia's system which is based on interference in the affairs of other nations through the Comintern, Cominform, and by other devious methods, it is a fact that the United States have already granted Ukraine and Byelorussia de jure recognition by voting affirmatively for their admission to membership in the United Nations in 1945.

Again, in conclusion, we would like to express our appreciation for your efforts in behalf of the Ukrainian nation which we believe can, if given the opportunity, play a much more important role in the anti-Communist struggle.

Sincerely yours,

OMELAN ANTONOVYCH,
Chairman, Ukrainian Association of Washington, D. C.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I hope very much that when the final vote is taken tomorrow on the amendment now pending, which would provide for an increase in the appropriation of agricultural research, that the amendment will be adopted and approved. This amendment is compatible with the views of the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, farm leaders, and farmers throughout the Nation. It is also supported by those who are responsible for conducting the much-needed research and demonstrations on both the production and utilization of agricultural commodities and all related research and services. Those in charge of the program in the State of North Carolina have done and are doing a magnificent and very worthwhile job, and, as I have heretofore pointed out, North Carolina has more than matched all Federal appropriations for agricultural research and education and is now anxious to embark on an expanding program.

The fact that some States are not ready, able, and willing to go forward with an expanded program certainly should not prevent an expansion of the programs in the States which are now well prepared and eager to carry on and to expand these great activities of Government.

Someone said in the debate yesterday that many States were not prepared to expand programs or to profitably spend additional funds. The question was asked how would the additional funds be spent. I take great pleasure in advising Members of this House concerning the agricultural research program in the State of North Carolina.

We have numerous experiment stations engaged in various types of essential agricultural research, all dealing with vital problems of agriculture. Sixteen branch experiment stations are located in strategic parts of our great State. In some of these stations, extensive study is made of a single commodity, such as tobacco, peanuts, peaches, apples, and so forth, while others deal with a combination of commodities, such as small grains, field crops, cotton, dairy cattle, and beef cattle, and forage crops, which are the principal commodities studied in one station, while a combination of vegetables, bulbs, flowers, and small fruits are studied at another. Still another station combines the study of beef cattle, sheep, burley tobacco, and forage crops.

Federal grant appropriations to the State experiment stations are, I understand, apportioned by a formula which takes into account rural and farm population. For each additional $1 million appropriated as a grant to the States for agricultural research, my own State of North Carolina would receive $31,120 directly for use on projects selected by the experiment station. In addition, the State would participate actively in the regional research program, undertaking a reasonable share of responsibility for projects of regional significance selected jointly by the experiment stations of the southern region and financed in part by the 25 percent grant, which I understand is reserved to support regional research projects.

While the officials in charge of the program in North Carolina have always attempted to allocate the available funds to insure maximum return in service to all the major segments of the State's agriculture, they are of the opinion that at present the following fields are those which need additional strengthening, through the medium of additional funds, in the immediate future:

First. Mechanization and improvement in the labor efficiency in production, harvesting and curing tobacco.

Second. Animal diseases and parasites.

Third. Marketing of farm products, with special emphasis on dairy products, livestock, poultry, and grain.

Fourth. Supplemental irrigation.

Fifth. Home economics.

Sixth. Soil microbiology.

Seventh. Ornamental horticulture.

Eighth. Forage crops production and preservation.

Ninth. Additional support and improvement in field facilities for projects in such fields as chemical weed control, crop stands, poultry diseases, nematode control. control of field crop insects, farm management, and management of pesticide residues which have been initiated under personnel employed on "nickels-for-know-how funds."

Tenth. Plant and animal genetics.

I urge my colleagues to consider very carefully the importance of the votes that will be taken in this House tomorrow.

Special Privilege Seekers and Their Puppets Cause the People Great Loss and Suffering

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT CROSSER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. CROSSER. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, throughout the country there was dinned into the ears of the people, the political slogan: "Time for a change." Unfortunately, many honest folks yielded to the suggestion, and we have had the change. What a change. We cannot take time to discuss even briefly all the harmful effects resulting from that change.

Among those most harmful to the people are the many measures which have given to special privilege seekers great portions of the people's heritage—that is, the natural resources necessary for the support of the people.

During the last administration, a bill to limit the Federal Power Commission's authority to regulate the price of gas received only two majority in the House, and was then vetoed by President Truman. The same kind of bill, making even a worse surrender to the gas interests, was passed early during this Congress and signed by President Eisenhower. The people will surely pay for this. In metropolitan Cleveland, for example, 72 percent of the population use gas for heating their homes. You may be sure that local distributors will find it necessary sooner or later to increase the retail price of gas in order to meet the outrageous charges by those who monopolize the gas fields.

The worst of all the giveaway laws of the present administration is, however, the measure which gave to the States control of all the tidal oil lands. Millions of acres of such oil lands were included in the giveaway measures.

During the last administration I made a speech against a bill which would limit the Federal Power Commission's authority to require reasonable rates for the purchasers of gas. President Truman vetoed the bill. Early in this present Congress, two bills of the same general kind were passed by Congress and were signed by President Eisenhower. One of these bills gives away the oil lands, and the other takes away from the Federal Power Commission, real power to assure by regulation fair prices to the people. We who fought the passage of the bills warned that the States would let the oil companies have the oil for a trifle. Well, what has happened to the oil lands handed to the States by this administration's giveaway law?

The State of Florida has leased to the Coastal Petroleum Co. oil lands reaching from Marko Island to Apalachicola. More than 4 million acres of oil lands have been leased to that 1 company, which must pay only 1 cent an acre a year to the State under the lease. This deal will enable the company to accumulate fabulous amounts of wealth representing no effort by the company in the way of mental or physical labor. A desperate effort is also being made to have the Government grant to private interests, a monopoly of the valuable waterpower which belongs to the people.

Everyone remembers also, I am sure, the glowing promise of tax reduction which accompanied the wailing slogan: "Time for a change." Now what have they done to carry out that promise? Well, when the subject came before the House recently the administration spokesmen proposed a reduction in taxes heretofore paid on incomes received as dividends. The Democratic members of the committee showed that, if individual exemptions were increased from $600 to $700, it would result in taking 7 million people off the income-tax list altogether. Those 7 million people would then pay no tax at all, and the increase of exemptions from $600 to $700 would cause $2,300,000,000 to remain in the hands of the 7 million taxpayers. With this $2,300,000,000 the 7 million taxpayers could then buy goods which they now cannot purchase. That would increase the business of the retail merchants. The retail merchants could then buy more from the producers and manufacturers, and cause the re-employment by producers and manufacturers of many people who have been out of work.

This reasonable and fair way of helping the small-income people was turned down by the administration forces in the House who were assisted by a few half-hearted members of the minority party. Now, my friends, there has already been pointed out enough to show the great harm caused by listening to the cheap slogan: "Time for a change."

There was substantially no unemployment 2 years ago. Today, however, there are 5 million people who are not employed and you know what that means to the families of these 5 million persons.

To conclude my discussion, let me say in all earnestness, that after a lifetime study of political science and political economy, I am convinced that today our people are faced by more powerful forces of special privilege than has ever before existed in our country, and they have received for a mere trifle enormous values as a result of the present administration's handing them our natural resources.

Monopoly takes from the people the benefits which are their birthrights, and denies to millions and millions all but a bare existence.

My friends, great duty's call is loud and clear to all who understand the cause of the unjust distribution of wealth. They must perform their solemn duty to use the talent entrusted to them by the Master, by opposing in every way the special-privilege crowd and the evil system which impoverishes millions of people and causes untold misery. The true law of life, the law of the ever-existing perfect government, demands that there be no surrender by the earnest supporters of the right to the self-seeking special-privilege crowd and their actors. There must be no surrender of the God-given rights of the people to the special-privilege seekers. Those who earnestly work to uphold the right will not be turned from their duty by any yearning desire for either material wealth or empty titles. The still small voice will guide upholders of right in their earnest effort to end forever the unjust and cruel system of special privilege which has plagued the world throughout the ages.

The duty of every right-thinking person is well illustrated in the lines from the Bridge Builder, which I quote as follows:

An old man, going a lone highway,
Came, at the evening, cold and gray,
To a chasm, vast, and deep, and wide,
Through which was flowing a sullen tide.
The old man crossed in the twilight dim;
The sullen stream had no fears for him;
But he turned, when safe on the other side,
And built a bridge to span the tide.
"Old man," said a fellow pilgrim, near,
You are wasting strength with building here;
Your journey will end with the ending day;
You never again must pass this way;
You have crossed the chasm, deep and wide,
Why build you the bridge at the eventide?"

The builder lifted his old gray head:
"Good friend, in the path I have come," he said,
"There followeth after me today
A youth, whose feet must pass this way.
This chasm, that has been naught to me,
To that fairhaired youth may a pitfall be.
He, too, must cross in the twilight dim;
Good friend, I am building the bridge for him."

A Salute to the Frozen-Food Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, as acting chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, I want to join in commending the frozen food industry on this its 25th anniversary.

It was in 1929 that the frozen food industry was founded and pioneered by Birds Eye. It is interesting to note that fishery products have played a most important part in the growth of this great frozen food industry.

Until commercial freezing was developed, the great sources of the oceans were only available to those who lived on its coasts. With the exception of canned or cured fish, the peoples of the inland States rarely had an opportunity to enjoy fillets from New England, shrimp from the gulf or halibut from the Northwest.

In 1922 the consumption of frozen fish and shellfish was about 75 million pounds, or two-thirds of a pound per capita; last year the total was over 500 million pounds, over 3 pounds per capita, a five-fold increase in just over 30 years.

Several years ago one company made rather exhaustive analyses of fish proteins to compare them with various meats preparatory to packing a fish babyfood. The results showed fish to be on a par with meats in all essential amino acids and to rival any foods in digestibility. Raw oysters are supposed to be the quickest digested of all protein foods. It has been traditional that fish is a brain food—an old wives tale perhaps, but like witch-doctors' herbs there usually turns up some scientific reason for such a superstition. Fish not only has proteins, but contains fat, minerals and vitamins. There are over 49 varieties of frozen seafood on the market. One can have an enormous range of choice. He can pay as little as 20 cents to well over $1 a pound for the scarcer varieties. In recent years fillets have had the play, selling from 20 to 59 cents a pound and no waste.

Frozen fishery products are especially adapted for every type of cookery, whether they are prepared by the famous chefs at our leading hotels and restaurants, or by a hurried housewife who may be employed during the day and must prepare a quick meal with limited facilities in her kitchen with precooked products. Frozen fishery products are suitable for a variety of courses; for an appetizer—shrimp; for soup—oyster stew; for the main course—salmon steak, or a lobster salad, just to cite a few samples. In order to provide this variety and this increase in quantity there has been much ado in the industry. Today there are more month-to-month changes than in the past 30 years. A fishing boat is now a $250,000 unit. It is a factory afloat with radar, asdic, loran, fathometer, ship-to-shore telephone and even a few of the amenities. Catching is expedited by underwater scanning and quality is protected by refrigeration.

Now within a matter of months the industry is producing a new product or rather an old product in a new dress. Fillets are being brought to the housewife in a form more readily used than ever before—this refers to fish sticks. The fillets are frozen in blocks and then cut into uniform pieces shaped like a rather large finger of about 1 ounce each. They are then breaded and deep-fat fried, again frozen in consumer packages and are ready for the oven and then the table. They can well be called 3–D fish. Perhaps 4–D would be a better name. Einstein says the fourth dimension is time; our fourth dimension can be timesaving in the kitchen.

Fish sticks already cooked are an ideal consumer product, but the concept is equally good from the institutional point of view. Sticks, or larger pieecs of perhaps 4 ounces, are cut and breaded and packed in 5 or 10 pound packages ready for the kitchens of hotels, restaurants, and institutions. They are not only ready for instant use, but the cost is predetermined for the user, and there is absolutely no waste.

Frozen breaded shrimp is another example of the industry's success in developing prepared products, which by saving the housewife preparation time have created many new customers for fishery products. Frozen tuna pie is another new one which appears destined for a big future.

Yes, the fishing industry has shown great leadership in the development of frozen fishery products and it is justly proud of its contribution to the overall growth of the entire frozen food industry.

Last evening, the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, paid tribute to this industry in an address, at the Hotel Statler, to those who had assembled to celebrate its 25th anniversary. His remarks reflected the importance of frozen foods on the economy of our Nation. The Secretary said:

In keeping with the best traditions of this Nation's free-enterprise system, the pioneering and development of frozen foods by Birds Eye in 1929 marked the birth of an entirely new American industry.

Despite the economic turmoil that beclouded horizons at that time, the industry took firm root. Since then it has flourished with vitality and has contributed immeasurably towards improving the health and welfare of United States citizens.

Its progress is marked with milestones of history-making food developments that have resulted in making available to the peoples of this land vast quantities of nutritious high quality quick-frozen foods, including fruits, vegetables, fish, poultry, and juices which have furthered the advancement of our standards of living.

It therefore gives me great pleasure, on the occasion of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the frozen food industry, to invite agriculture and industry, consumers, and homemakers, to join me in saluting the frozen food industry, which has contributed so much to our American way of life.

In God We Trust—The 8-Cent Statue of Liberty Stamp

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD a letter I have received from Ernest A. Kehr, stamp news editor of the New York Herald Tribune.

The occasion for Mr. Kehr's letter was the issuance of the new 8-cent postage stamp depicting the Statue of Liberty and bearing the words, "In God We Trust." Mr. Kehr's letter thanks me for my support in this project. He has reference to a bill which I introduced last year to provide that the motto "In God We Trust" be used as a cancellation mark on United States mail.

The new 8-cent stamp is, of course, a step in the direction of proclaiming our national belief in these inspirational words and it is my hope that the almost universally favorable reception of the new stamp will point the way to the adoption of the measure I have introduced. Use of the motto as a cancellation mark would give it a wider distribution and bring it more constantly to the attention of all our people.

For his successful advocacy of the new stamp, Mr. Kehr has been presented with the $100 Christopher award for May. Father James Keller, founder and director of the Christophers has said that this work exemplifies the good which individuals can accomplish in the spirit of the Christopher movement by being mindful of Christ in their daily tasks.

This is a well-deserved award and Mr. Kehr has my congratulations.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
New York, April 8, 1954.

LOUIS RABAUT,
Member of Congress,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RABAUT: You may recall that about a year ago you helped in the campaign to get In God We Trust placed on United States postage stamps.

This has come to pass, and as a small thank you for your support and cooperation, I'm sending you this envelope which has the stamp postmarked on this day of issue.

Most sincerely,

ERNEST A. KEHR,
Stamp News Editor.

Indebtedness of France to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following statement outlining the indebtedness of France to the United States, as prepared for me by the Library of Congress:

What France owes the United States

World War I indebtedness (as of July 1, 1953):	
Principal	$2,629,081,531.41
Due and unpaid	1,234,568,468.59
Interest	1,417,135,801.87
Total	5,280,785,801.87
Repayments:	
Principal funded debts	161,350,000.00
Principal unfunded debts	64,689,588.18
Interest funded debts	38,650,000.00
Interest unfunded debts	221,386,302.82
Total	486,075,891.00
Indebtedness	5,280,785,801.87
Repayments	486,075,891.00
Balance	4,794,709,910.87

Lend-lease aid

(Cumulatively Mar. 11, 1941–Mar. 31, 1951)

Ordnance and ordnance stores	$285,016,673.18
Aircraft and aeronautical material	342,729,816.64
Tanks and other vehicles	428,632,124.56
Vessels and other watercraft	294,704,237.67
Miscellaneous military equipment	651,920,447.84
Facilities and equipment	2,348,159.75
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	1,106,518,741.82
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	61,061,053.76
Services and expenses	97,005,215.80
Total	3,269,936,471.02

Reverse lend-lease aid (as of June 30, 1949):	
Miscellaneous military equipment	72,132,115.38
Facilities and equipment	201,674,487.02
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	136,959,069.04
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	4,988,920.92
Services and expenses	452,026,652.34
Total	867,781,244.70

Final assessment of total lend-lease aid for period March 11, 1941, through June 30, 1953 was $2,986,012,000.

Foreign grants and credits

(Period July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1953)

Grants:	
American Red Cross	$9,595,000
Interim aid	311,388,000
Mutual Security:	
Economic	2,534,052,000
Military aid	54,952,000
UNRRA	3,061,000
Post-UNRRA	60,000
Technical Assistance	34,000
Technical assistance	34,000
Total	2,913,141,000

No repayments requested on grants.

Credits	Net authorizations	Balance owing
Export-Import Bank loans	$147,865,000	$52,210,000
Defense materials procurement	3,342,000	2,912,000
Mutual Security loans	95,600,000	95,600,000
Maritime Administration (ships)	65,222,000	40,435,000
Surplus property	144,072,000	123,673,000
Total	456,101,000	314,829,000

Recapitulation

(Status as of July 1, 1953)

World War I aid	$4,794,709,910.87
Lend-lease	2,986,012,000.00
Grants	2,913,141,000.00
Loans	2,052,754,000.00
Total	12,746,616,910.87

Pan-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THURMOND CHATHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. CHATHAM. Mr. Speaker, once again on this historic occasion I want to express my friendship for our neighbors to the south and to say that our alliance in the free world stands out as the strongest bulwark against the forces of darkness and evil. I also wish to express my gratitude and admiration for the work of the Reverend Joseph F. Thorning, who day by day works incessantly toward cementing the bonds of good will between our own United States of America and our pan-American neighbors.

Lethal Genocide Convention Destroys Individual Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Genocide Convention passed by the United Nations is a fine-sounding document, but like other conventions adopted by that organization, it has an ulterior purpose.

The dictionary defines genocide as the systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group of people. Very few people in this world can be found who would not be in favor of putting a stop to this barbarous practice, but in framing this convention the United Nations used this great appeal as an instrument to shield its real purpose.

In defining genocide the United Nations has gone beyond all past understanding of its meaning, and under the terms as this organization interprets it, if anyone, anywhere, even makes a statement reflecting upon any group or a member of any group which has the effect of injuring their feelings, then a crime has been committed, and the persons or persons making the statement are ipso facto guilty of the crime of genocide. Knowing full well that such a law could not be enforced in the United States, the United Nations has made elaborate preparations to implement it.

First of all, the interpretation of this law, and trials conducted under it, are not entrusted to the courts of this or any other country, but come under the jurisdiction of a court of its own which the United Nations has set up—an International Court of Justice which has civil and criminal jurisdiction.

For several years now, lawyers have been working on the construction of this code, and under it a person charged with the offense of genocide is tried wherever the United Nations may decide. The alleged offender can be taken out of this country, if here is where he uttered the statements that hurt the feeling of some group or a member of a group, and sent to any country the United Nations deems proper, for trial.

When he is tried—and it may be for his life—he does not have the protection of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, but he is subject to the United Nations code of law and its constitution.

In order to get around the provisions of our Constitution in regard to free speech, a free press, and free religion, and deny the citizens of this country that protection, the Genocide Convention and the Covenant of Human Rights boldly attempt to redefine these landmarks of liberty, and a new definition of free speech, a free press, and free religion appear. It flatly denies the terms of our Constitution which guarantee these fundamental rights to the people of this country, and sets up conditions that were not even thought of or discussed in our Constitutional Convention. The effect of this new definition of these three basic rights actually is to set aside the provisions of our own Constitution.

Why is it necessary to abrogate our own Constitution in any particular if the only purpose of the convention is to put a stop to the crime of genocide? Does any provision of our Constitution favor this crime? No, sir; not a single provision.

Why cannot our own courts be trusted to handle the crime of genocide? No, sir; they cannot be trusted; hence the United Nations builds a court of its own, in defiance of the protection given by United States courts to every person charged with crime.

Every move made by the United Nations in framing its various conventions are of the same character as this genocide convention. The covenant of human rights is another example. It sounds well, on the face of it, but immediately it attacks the Constitution of the United States. The very charter of the United Nations does the same thing. The United Nations is not an organization to preserve peace, but a sinister attempt to form a world government, with a house and senate, a judicial system, a tax system and a police system.

UNESCO is another attempt to destroy the United States. In that agency patriotism is attacked, and instead of building love of country, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization directly attempts to eradicate it. Children are taught that reverence for the great men of our past tends to build a strong national spirit and that conflicts with the United Nations design to build a strong reverence for a world government.

Nothing the United Nations has yet proposed in any field seems willing to accept our Constitution and way of life as it is and to proceed constitutionally. Every move made is a move to abrogate, or redefine, or amend our Constitution. The purpose behind this drive is to prepare the United States for entry into a world government—and under our Constitution this cannot be done. The sovereignty of the United States is squarely and firmly based upon the Constitution, and unless it can be abrogated our great Republic cannot be taken into this spurious world government.

Ours is the only Government in the world that unqualifiedly exists for the people. The people built it. It was done by them. It was done for them. Most foreign countries have the opposite view. There the people exist for the government. How in the world can true, loyal Americans believe that a Government

like ours could mix with governments of opposite views, and present a mongrel world government that does not believe in our Constitution?

The avowed purpose of the United Nations was to bring peace to the world. It had a great appeal to all classes, because in this country the people do not want war. But time has revealed the fact that the United Nations is more concerned with changing the Constitution of the United States than it is with world peace. We would need no organization of this character to obtain peace if it were not for Russia. Russia and her satellites are the only ones indulging in aggression, yet Russia is a member of the organization which professes peace, but is actually spreading war. Russia holds a powerful position in the United Nations, for the military head of that organization has always been a Russian citizen, and always will be, for a secret agreement made in London between Molotov and Alger Hiss provides that the Russians should hold that office permanently. Russia is recognized by this country and maintains a cesspool of Communists right here in this great Capital City. She can speak her ism with impunity. She gets all the privileges of the United Nations, yet her daily action is absolutely against what the United Nations was avowedly organized for.

Under the United Nations and under the recognition of our Government, Russia has a powerful position of advantage from which to carry on her cold war and cause us to expend ourselves until we are resourceless. That is the doctrine put forward by Karl Marx, and the Russians follow that course not only gladly, but thoroughly and consistently.

Russia's only hope to overrun the United States is to do it by intrigue and the spread of communism among our own people, and through our recognition of her and her position in the United Nations this process is going forward, to the everlasting satisfaction of the Soviets.

How long it will take the American people to rise up in their might and demand our withdrawal from this communistic enterprise I do not know. But they are becoming more enlightened as the days pass.

Our only fear for the security of the future is the fear that our own people will fall victims to this Russian world propaganda.

Thailand Sets an Example: Others Should Follow Her Example

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, our hats should be tipped to brave little Thailand. Though she lives on the borders of the Communist menace, she dares to make her voice felt. Surely she sets an example of courage, determination, and forthrightness that other nations can well follow. Those who live in the shadow of the Peiping-Moscow menace know full well the terrible consequences that follow when the aggression succeeds. And yet it takes a stout heart to stand up to a bully and tell him that you will resist his advances if he tries to foist his unwanted attention on you. This Thailand has done. In unmistakable words, she has dared to offend the might of the Kremlin and the brutal power of Red China. Freedom-loving people everywhere will take heart at this display of courage. It has been noted in the press—and I present it for the RECORD—an editorial from the Washington Star of Sunday, April 11, 1954:

THAILAND'S EXAMPLE

Thailand has set a fine example of resoluteness in unqualifiedly announcing its readiness to join in arrangements for a united front against Communist aggression in southeast Asia. Should Indochina fall, this little country—which is very rich in courage as well as in rice, natural rubber, and tin concentrates—would be next in line for Red conquest directed by the Peiping-Moscow axis. But it does not propose to resign itself to that threat with a passive or do-nothing policy. Instead, it agrees with our own Government's view—as advocated by Secretary of State Dulles—that there should be concerted defensive action by all the nations principally concerned.

Actually, of course, as the first of these countries to respond affirmatively to the Dulles proposal, Thailand has not done anything particularly surprising. It has merely acted in keeping with its stouthearted national character—a character that has expressed itself throughout the postwar years in policies firmly dedicated to the maintenance of its independence against the Peiping-Moscow menace. Thus, besides having sent troops and planes to fight under the U. N. command in Korea, and besides having voted forthrightly in the General Assembly to brand the Chinese Communists as aggressors, it has been among the first and strictest of all free lands in banning trade with them. And now, with typical firmness, it has made clear its resolve to do its full share in any united effort to stop the Red tide from further advances in Asia—a stand that should help to stiffen the spines of waverers elsewhere in the non-Soviet world.

Research Results in Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DOUGLAS R. STRINGFELLOW
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the House is today considering the agricultural appropriation bill, I believe it very appropriate that the Secretary of Agriculture's speech given at a dinner in honor of the 25th anniversary celebration of the founding of the frozen food industry, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., on April 13, 1954, be included in the RECORD. Secretary Benson's speech very ably portrays the great need for funds for continuation of research in order that we might find additional markets for our agricultural products.

The speech follows:

RESEARCH RESULTS IN PROGRESS

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson at a dinner in honor of the 25th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Frozen Food Industry, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., April 13, 1954)

The story of frozen foods couldn't have happened anywhere but in America. The same spirit and ingenuity which conquered a wilderness in our pioneer days have pushed back the frontiers of scientific research, creating a new and thriving frozen food industry.

In the short space of 25 years, this rapidly expanding enterprise has grown from a single plant to a booming industry which includes 1,400 processors and 235,000 retail outlets doing $1.2 billion worth of business in 1953.

What began as an idea in one man's mind is today a nationwide operation which has created thousands of new jobs and is a part of the daily living of more than three-fourths of our 162 million people.

This did not just happen. It required vision. It took plenty of hard work, risk, capital, and research. Perhaps more than anything else, it demanded confidence in our future—a genuine belief in what has been called the Great American Dream.

I wonder if even Clarence Birdseye, the father of frozen foods, could have foreseen the development of this great industry as it exists today.

One hundred and fifty thousand new jobs which sprang from a single idea.

The creation of new industries and the expansion of others to process, package, transport, store, display, and merchandise the more than 4 billion pounds of frozen foods which will move into consumption during 1954.

The elimination of waste and the saving of the millions of woman-hours in the kitchens of America which these nutritious, ready-to-cook foods have made possible.

By far the most spectacular achievements of this new industry have been in the field of agriculture. Quick-frozen citrus juices have revolutionized the marketing of oranges. New varieties of peas and other vegetables especially adapted to the quick-freezing process have been developed. The broiler industry has mushroomed, with more than 300 million pounds of quick-frozen poultry now sold each year. Foods which were considered rare delicacies only a few years ago are almost commonplace today.

The seasonal market for so many perishable commodities has given way to year-around markets for products in essentially fresh form. The regional product has become available nationally. These factors have given real stability to prices of so many highly perishable foods which traditionally sold for a song when the markets were glutted at harvest time.

I am proud of the role which the United States Department of Agriculture has played in the field of research in helping to make possible the phenomenal growth of the frozen-food industry. As early as 1904 and 1905, scientists in the Department were conducting experiments with frozen fruits. Our first published bulletin on this subject was dated 1907.

Through the years such problems as those of packaging and better preservation of frozen foods were under continuous study by scientists of the Department. Four regional research laboratories were set up during the mid-thirties. The western laboratory adopted a program of research in frozen foods as a major activity.

It was here that we began the development of the now widely used dip-coating method for protectively packaging frozen food.

Processing, transportation, distribution, and storage of frozen foods were the subjects of further studies by Department scien-

tists, working in close cooperation with representatives of the frozen food industry. This pooling of resources by Government and industry is the finest tradition of American research. The effectiveness of this teamwork is demonstrated in the great forward progress of the frozen food industry during the last quarter of a century.

Perhaps our outstanding achievement came in 1944 when the basic process for commercial production of frozen concentrated orange juice was developed at Winter Haven, Fla., as a result of cooperative research by the Department of Agriculture and the Florida Citrus Commission. Industrial engineers designed suitable processing equipment and a great industry was born.

During the 1946 season, a quarter of a million gallons of frozen concentrated orange juice were processed. The 1953–54 pack is estimated at 61 million gallons.

Today more than one-fourth of the families in our Nation use orange juice concentrates—a product unknown just a decade ago. The same processes which brought about this development are now being applied to other crops—grapefruit, lemons, pineapples, grapes, apples, and tomatoes.

I am thoroughly convinced that most of agriculture's present problems can be met through increased research and education and improved marketing methods. In line with that, we have requested additional funds to carry forward the Department's activities in these fields during the next fiscal year. The very fact that industry is spending some $2 billion a year on research and development indicates the importance of this type of work.

Today our regional laboratories are working in cooperation with industry on several projects which hold great possibilities for farmers, for processors, and for consumers. Powdered fruit and vegetable juices are among the items which may play an important part in tomorrow's food business.

Encouraging progress has been made in preserving fruits and vegetables in solid form through dehydrofreezing and dehydrocanning. In these processes the product is partially dried, prior to canning or freezing. Fruits and vegetables processed in this way can be quickly reconstituted for table use by immersion in water.

Other experiments with eggs and potatoes indicate that economical and effective methods of processing may soon end the seasonal gluts and shortages which have subjected these two important products to such wide price fluctuations.

Today the greatest possibilities and also the most urgent need for research and improved marketing methods are in connection with the processing and distribution of dairy products. I need not remind you that your Government today owns some 1.3 billion pounds of butter, cheese and dried milk, acquired at a cost of approximately $500 million. If the American people were drinking as much milk as they were a few years ago there would be no surplus of dairy products. Even then, consumption would not be high enough to meet the full dietary needs of our people.

Good, wholesome milk is one of the great food bargains of today. At the same time, I realize that the present system of distribution is costly and often wasteful. The price spread between the dairy barn and the consumer's kitchen is too great to encourage consumption of milk on the scale that is required for the well-being of our people. This condition is a challenge to the scientists and industries of America. It is one which they will meet.

Today we are seeking improved methods of converting whole milk into a stable, palatable form. Good, nutritious whole milk concentrates or powder could well do for the dairy industry what frozen concentrates have done for the orange grower.

A few moments ago I mentioned the Great American Dream.

Let's do a little dreaming now. When I was born, in 1899, the automobile had just been invented. Did anyone—except a few dreamers—believe it would transform our lives, our industry, our standard of living, the very face of the countryside?

The airplane had yet to get itself successfully off the ground under its own power in 1899. Did anyone—except a few dreamers—believe such a machine in a single lifetime could lift us to such great new heights of success and give us such power to broaden our lives?

The men and women who pioneered the automobile, the aviation and—yes—the frozen food industries were not inflexible in their thoughts. There's one thing I don't believe in freezing. That's the minds and imaginations of human beings.

In recent days we've been deeply disturbed with the news of the H-bomb. We were likewise disturbed with the news of the atom bomb. But just last week in the Department of Agriculture we had an exhibit showing the peaceful applications of atomic energy to agriculture. If atomic energy can help us speed up our knowledge of plant breeding, of fertilizer application, why can't it do much more? Can't we make the desert bloom through irrigation? By desalting seawater and transporting it by cheap atomic power to coastal cities, we can then retain for agricultiral purposes the inland waters those cities now require. Won't that merely produce more surpluses, you ask? Not necessarily. Why not new plants, new products to add to our standard of living—just as the rubber tree and the soybean have done? Aren't frozen foods new products? Plastics? Automobiles? Airplanes?

Let's not be reactionary. The reactionaries are those with inflexible minds who always want the status quo. They are opposed to freedom to progress.

It was the desire for freedom that established this Nation. It was the freedom to dream, to think, to take action without government interference that gave us our present standard of living. But we haven't gone nearly far enough. And much of the world lags behind us.

Let's not freeze our dreams.

I am convinced that your great, expanding industry in the years ahead will continue to dream and to do.

I congratulate you on your achievements and wish you Godspeed for the future.

Our American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent address by Hon. Robert Murray, Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, which was delivered by him on March 25, 1954, at New Orleans. It deals with an important subject, our American merchant marine:

It is a real privilege to take part in this fifth annual session of Tulane's Institute of Foreign Transportation and Port Operations.

Studying the program for this year's proceedings, I was much impressed by its scope and the practical, down-to-earth approach which the institute has adopted. I know, too, from the caliber of your speakers that the subject matter under discussion will be handled authoritatively and constructively.

The broad objective of this institute appeals very strongly to me. I agree that the advancement of our maritime commerce depends to a large degree on improved transportation performance. The two are inseparable. I can also assure you that the Department of Commerce places a high priority on the initiative and efforts of private management in achieving better performance.

Actually, there is a three-way responsibility and duty involved in safeguarding the future of our merchant marine and shipping industry. Government, private management, and labor must join forces if we are to provide the ships, the skills, and the shipbuilding facilities that are required for the commercial and defense needs of our Nation.

Today the American merchant fleet and shipyards are beset with a number of difficult problems. They can be solved, but not without diligent, cooperative effort. Our maritime difficulties can be traced primarily to the dislocations growing out of World War II and the inevitable adjustments to more normal—or at least cold-war—commercial pursuits.

Principal among the problems facing the privately owned merchant fleet are the high operating costs of United States-flag vessels compared with foreign competitors, the decline in traffic, especially United States foreign-aid shipments, and the approaching block obsolescence of most of the operating fleet. These problems are directly related to the lack of orders for new ships in American shipyards. It is only through a financially sound merchant marine that an assured demand for new ships will develop.

Whether or not the American merchant marine can maintain its place in world competition depends to a great extent on the efforts of management and labor themselves. It must be realized that while the Government can aid the merchant marine, it cannot take the place of industry's own efforts. Management and labor can work together to assist the industry in increasing efficiency of vessel and port operations. They also can obtain better utilization of labor by reducing overtime labor costs and unproductive labor to the lowest possible levels.

Without question our national security requires a certain minimum of shipbuilding activity at all times. Otherwise the shipyard facilities and special skills will be insufficient to expand adequately in case of an emergency.

During the past year no orders were placed in United States shipyards for large oceangoing merchant ships of any types. A steady flow of new ships from the Nation's shipyards, built to meet the demands of a privately owned merchant marine is essential to a stable shipbuilding industry.

A program is being designed to help the maritime industry reach this goal. That is a primary reason why the Department of Commerce now proposes to ask Congress for substantial funds to aid private industry in the construction of new vessels.

Let me chart, at least a portion of the new course on which we propose to embark. It is aimed at three danger spots in the maritime picture. The first source of danger I have already mentioned—the threatened slack period in the construction of large oceangoing merchant ships.

A member of the Maritime Board is going to address your Friday banquet session. Consequently, I will deal only very briefly with the means by which the Department of Commerce, through its Maritime Administration, proposes to meet the immediate problems of merchant shipbuilding.

Our first proposal calls for the construction of four combination vessels planned by Grace Lines and Moore-McCormack Lines, as required by currently effective operating

differential subsidy contracts. Request for funds is limited to the estimated costs of the construction subsidy and national-defense features. We expect these operators to finance the cost of the vessels, over and above the subsidy and cost of national-defense features, through their own resources or by borrowing from private sources, with the possibility of the mortgages being guaranteed by the Government.

If accepted and carried through, this proposal will add 4 new ships of modern design to our merchant marine, replacing passenger-cargo vessels that are more than 20 years old.

This upgrades our merchant fleet and offers a significant contribution to the national defense.

Another phase of the current proposals has to do with our reserve fleet. The 10-knot speed of these 1,500 World War II Liberty ships raises a serious question about their actual defense value under present wartime potentials. These ships did a magnificent job in World War II and they served well in the Korean campaign.

But each passing year underscores the growing liability inherent in outmoded vessel design and propulsion systems. Today these slow ships comprise about 75 percent of the United States defense stockpile of shipping. The military potential of these ships decreases steadily with growing obsolescence.

Our next proposal seeks to deal with this dilemma. It would request funds to permit the conversion of four Liberty ships in the reserve fleet which would provide the basis for developing a full-scale war program in harmony with the mobilization workloads planned for the shipbuilding and repairing industry under war conditions.

The proposed conversion would add a 25-foot bow extension for greater speed and install experimental repowering. One ship would be equipped with a steam turbine, another with a geared diesel, a third with a diesel-electric drive. Consideration is also being given to equipping a fourth vessel with a revolutionary powerplant as yet untried in an American ship—the gas turbine. The proposed powerplants are to furnish about 6,000 shaft-horsepower and thus drive these experimental ships at a minimum of 15 knots sea speed.

There is another important phase of the conversion program. In 1950 a survey of United States ocean shipping by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology pointed out that the greatest potential shipping reserve for use in time of emergency lay in reducing the time required to load and unload ships in port. Despite its importance, only limited sums have gone into research on this problem.

To fill this gap we now plan to install and test the most modern developments in cargo-handling gear on these four experimental ships.

If these experimental efforts on the part of the Government to increase cargo-handling efficiency prove out, maximum beneficial effects would be realized only if such innovations were put into widespread operation through the cooperative efforts of labor and management.

Our third proposal is a tanker trade-in program designed to encourage the construction of new, modern tanker tonnage and place good used tankers in the reserve fleet. Here again the program rests primarily upon defense needs. Recent studies of petroleum requirements for the United States and the free world indicate that one of the most serious risks to the national security under extreme emergency would stem from a prospective shortage of tankers.

These studies also conclude that since there is no reasonable likelihood that normal commercial activity will be able to provide the tanker tonnage necessary in the initial phases of full mobilization, the Government should take the initiative in the creation and maintenance of a reserve of usable tankers to serve military and essential civilian needs in any future crisis.

A bill passed by the Senate in July 1953 and a companion bill now on the House Calendar provide for creating a tanker reserve and promoting the construction of tankers in line with commercial and national defense needs. Both bills seek the fullest possible use of private resources and would commit Government funds only to acquire reserve tankers and assure special defense features in new replacement tankers.

In essence, the present proposal of the Department of Commerce, based on the assumption of favorable action by the Congress, would permit Government purchase of 40 tankers at least 10 years of age. These trade-ins would be contingent upon the purchase by private owners of 20 large, high-speed tankers incorporating national defense features.

In addition to the trade-and-build program, the Secretary of the Navy has requested Congress to permit the Navy to enter into time charters with private operators for 20 new tankers to be constructed privately after congressional approval is granted.

For a year now we have been analyzing the whole maritime problem, working closely with people who have a large stake in the shipping business. Because of the importance of the merchant marine to our domestic economy and national defense, it is important that any steps taken be based on a full knowledge of the facts. With that in mind, and with the full cooperation of the Department of Defense, we have concluded a study of the maritime situation, which we are now reviewing with other agencies.

The report is divided into five principal sections and you will see that it is a pretty thorough study.

The first section deals with the number and types of merchant ships in the fleet and compares what we have with what we need for commerce and national defense. Both the active and reserve fleets have been included and the national defense aspects of our requirements were worked out in cooperation with the Department of Defense.

This is the first time in consideration of the merchant-marine problems that the Department has been provided with definitive information indicating the fleet and shipyard requirements of military planning.

The second section discusses our shipyards and shipbuilding activities needed under emergency conditions and during peacetime. The number of ships which should be built to maintain a peacetime nucleus of shipyard facilities has been studied. These needs, in turn, were correlated with the new ship requirements of the active merchant fleet.

Obviously in addition to ships and shipyards we must have men to build and operate them. So, in the third section, looking beyond the impersonal facilities we examined the manpower needs of our merchant fleet and shipyards. The critical problem in this area is the maintenance of sufficient skilled persons to permit adequate expansion of the labor force in case of national emergency.

The fourth section of the report gave careful consideration to current problems facing the maritime industry. The financial condition of the industry was examined, including questions of industry earnings, net worth and capital structure. Other problems which were given close attention were the cost disadvantages of United States operators in the overseas trades, fluctuations in overseas traffic, intensity of foreign competition, extent of shipping aids provided by foreign governments to their own fleets, and finally, the problems of block obsolescence and vessel replacement.

The last section is the really important part of the report because here all the previous considerations have been balanced against each other in analyzing the effectiveness of present policies and shipping aids, and providing guidance for sound policies in the future. This, of course, embraces analysis of construction and operating subsidies, tax benefits and their ramifications, mortgage aid and insurance, trade-in allowances, and United States cargo preference provisions, such as the 50–50 requirements of foreign-aid legislation.

These efforts of the Department could provide the foundation for the necessary cooperation on the part of Government, private industry, and labor to launch an overall program designed to build merchant ships and maintain a maritime industry adequate for the commercial and defense needs of our Nation. This problem is big enough, complex enough, and serious enough that it demands and requires the best efforts of all of us. Nothing less is good enough.

Postage Stamp Reflects Spiritual Character of National Traditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial which appeared in the Sunday Star of Washington, D. C., on April 11, 1954, entitled "A Religious Stamp."

This editorial deals with the recent issuance by the Post Office Department of a new 8-cent stamp depicting the Statue of Liberty and inscribed with the words "In God We Trust." As the editorial points out, the new stamp "is definitely an expression of the whole American people." It voices the devotion of the American people to religion and freedom and is symbolic of the spiritual values that are an integral part of our way of life and system of government. Placed on mail to be sent abroad, it will help to dispel the materialistic concept of the peoples of the world concerning our country's motives and purposes in this period of international tension and misunderstanding.

The Post Office Department is to be complimented on the issuance of this stamp and I hope it witnesses the adoption of a policy with regard to new issues which will make our postage stamps true symbols of the history and traditions of our Nation.

The editorial follows:

A RELIGIOUS STAMP

The 8-cent red, white, and blue Statue of Liberty stamp released on Friday will serve to bring the postal paper of the United States in line ideologically with its currency and coins. It certainly is as reasonbale to inscribe a stamp with the motto "In God We Trust" as it is to so inscribe the coins with which that stamp is purchased at a post office window. Critics who have objected to any stamp reflecting the Nation's spiritual character have been at variance with the country's history. Americans were pledged to both religion and freedom long before

their "government of the people, by the people, for the people" was established as such.

If the Post Office Department ever has been at fault in ordering the designs and inscriptions of stamps, it has been in neglecting the ideology of the entire United States in favor of postal adhesives of little or no particular meaning. Some issues have had no national significance whatever, others have been limited to very small geographic areas or to minority social or political groups. The new 8-cent stamp is definitely an expression of the whole American people. It is intended te carry mail abroad and to speak of our national goals and purposes in world-wide terms. Serving this dual objective, it will be, as Postmaster General Summerfield has said, "an ambassador of good will."

The Defense Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, we are getting close to the time when we will consider the Defense Department budget. This is an especially appropriate time to consider what use the services make of the money the Congress gives them, and how effective their management is.

The best testimony is always impartial testimony, and in this case the testimony of a Defense Department official must certainly be impartial between the three services. Because the Air Force budget caused a great deal of discussion last year, this is a good time to ask what the Air Force did with the money appropriated—and to ask what the Air Force is likely to do with the funds that will be appropriated this year. Secretary Wilson has praised the Air Force for achieving increased effectiveness and economy in manpower and materiel at the same time. Mr. Roger Kyes, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, has supported Secretary Wilson's praise with some specific examples of how we are getting more air power—air power as a deterrent to aggression, for defense, and for massive retaliation if such a stroke must be made.

Speaking before the Adcraft Club of Detroit on problems of adequate defense and a balanced budget, Mr. Kyes singled out the Air Force for praise in words that deserve wide circulation. Last year, in calendar year 1953, production for the United States Air Force and for delivery to Allied air forces reached a peak in numbers of aircraft. During this year, 1954, the heavier bombers that always take longer to produce are coming into mass production. Aircraft production will remain at or near the 1954 rate until well into calendar year 1955. Then, during 1956, the initial equipping of the 137-wing Air Force will be practically completed and thereafter production will level off at the rate needed to sustain this force and keep it modern. But the story of how this success has been achieved, was well told by Mr. Kyes.

With the consent of my colleagues, I wish to extend my remarks and insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following extract from Mr. Kyes' Detroit speech of December 4, 1953, as follows:

I want to take this opportunity to compliment the men in the Air Force for their outstanding accomplishment this year. Under the leadership of Secretary Talbott and General Twining, they have made tremendous strides toward improving the organization of the Air Force and its effectiveness. They approached the problem with great courage and determination. I would like to quote a statement given to me by the Air Force, which I am sure you will be pleased to hear:

"We can now see our way clear to provide 115 wings instead of 110 wings in 1954, and the 120 wings by 1955 instead of 115. We have also opened the way to giving the Nation even more airpower as we push this program into 1956 and beyond."

To help you quickly get the significance of this statement, let me explain.

In the hearings before the Congress last spring, the Air Force thought they could get only 110 wings in 1954. In the light of experience, we now know they coupled, sufficient appropriation with their own splendid effort and are going to get 115 wings in 1954.

While they have been doing this outstanding job, they have succeeded in more effectively utilizing their personnel. They have been determined to cut out unnecessary activities, such as excessive air police, excessive bands, and support and overhead personnel. In fact, they are doing so well that they will be able to man 120 wings with 90,000 fewer people than their original estimate. That, my friends, is a constructive effort.

Let me give you one example of how this is being accomplished.

In Great Britain, it cost $6,000 a year to keep an American airman on a job that a British civilian could do for much less money. At the Burtonwood Air Base in England, approximately $11 million is being saved for the United States by the utilization of British civilian personnel. Similar savings are being accomplished in other countries.

The implementation of the entire Air Force plan with respect to personnel will save $112 million, which can be applied to building a stronger Air Force. This is a good example of more combat capability for the dollars spent.

The Air Force has been making great progress in other fields as well. It is in the process of developing a better systems control for its materiel. As a result of an investigation of procurement practices, the Air Force found that less than 3 percent of the total number of items require 60 to 70 percent of the funds being spent for spare parts. It is estimated that the new system will result in a reduction of requirements of more than $100 million.

The Air Force has also adopted a new procedure for computing the projected requirements for spare engines. This new procedure is patterned after the methods used by life-insurance companies in predicting life expectancies. For example, in one engine program alone, careful review of requirements in the light of better knowledge of the life of the engine has permitted an adjustment of the program which shows a saving in the neighborhood of $100 million.

By adopting commercial maintenance practices, the estimated savings by the Air Force this year will be $23,400,000.

By adopting the same practices for vehicle maintenance, $4 million will be saved.

By improving packaging, it is estimated that the Air Force will save $0.3 million.

Through better transportation methods which are being worked out by the Air Force, it is estimated that $9 million a year will be saved.

A Program of Effective Anticommunism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered at Chicago, Ill., Friday, April 9, 1954, by the Most R verend Bernard J. Sheil, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, and founder and international director general of the Catholic Youth Organization.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I would like to talk about a subject we hear a lot of these days—anticommunism. Note that I said anticommunism. I think it is necessary that we give a little thought to just what form anticommunism should take at this point in America's history.

That all decent Americans are against communism, I should think, would go without saying. That we are opposed to communism, both as individuals and as a Nation—and why—hardly needs an explanation. I know that I could stand here and tell you what you already know. I could tell you that communism is morally evil because it is militantly, viciously, one might even say diabolically set against God and man. I could tell you communism deprives men and women of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I could detail the bloody history of communism as it operates in every land where it has taken hold. I could repeat the story of Communist treason in the United States. I could outline the well known attempts of the Communists to infiltrate into our great national institutions. In a word, I could match the oratory so familiar to all of us. Or, I could try to.

But what purpose would be served in going over all that we know to be so bitterly true? The problem is no longer one of alerting people to the danger of communism. We are all aware of that danger. The problem we are facing is what do we do about it. The unsolved problem, in other words, is what constitutes effective anticommunism? More than that, what kind of anticommunism is moral? What kind of anticommunism is proper in a freedom-loving country like ours? The three go together, in my mind. If anticommunism is immoral, it is not effective. You cannot effectively fight immorality with more immorality. If anticommunism flouts the principles of democracy and freedom, it is not in the long run effective. You cannot effectively fight tyranny with tyranny. And if anticommunism is not effective, it is so much sound and fury, signifying nothing.

It is not enough to say that someone is anti-Communist to win my support. It has been said that patriotism is the scoundrel's last refuge. In this day and age anticommunism is sometimes the scoundrel's first defense. As I remember, one of the noisest anti-Communists of recent history was a man named Adolf Hitler. He was not wrong because he was anti-Communist. He was wrong because he was immorally anti-Communist; he countered Communist tyranny with a tyranny of his own. And inevitably, Herr Hitler was a dismal failure as an anti-Communist. Half of his own Germany now lives under communism and half of Europe lives in Communist slavery. Would this be true, I wonder, if Hitler had been morally anti-Communist? If Hitler had fought Communist tyranny with democratic freedom, the world we live in—I am persuaded—would be quite different today. And I venture to

say there would be less, not more, communism in it than there is.

No Hitler has risen in America, and I must say that I think it is nonsense when foreign reporters and journalists describe us as living in a kind of Hitlerian reign of terror. We are still free, and we will remain free; let's have no doubts about that. But it seems to me that now, while we are free, is the time to cry out against the phony anti-communism that mocks our way of life, flouts our traditions and democratic procedures and our sense of fair play, feeds on the meat of suspicion, and grows great on the dissension among Americans which it cynically creates and keeps alive by a mad pursuit of headlines.

How much more of this are we going to tolerate before we remember that we are proud Americans, with values of our own? If we throw those values away—and I am referring to our traditions of innocent-until-proved-guilty, I am referring to our concern for means as well as ends, I am referring to our trust in our basic institutions—then we will be left with our anticommunism but very little else.

An America where the accused is guilty until he is proved innocent, where means don't matter but only ends; an America which has lost faith in the integrity of the Government, the Army, the schools, the churches, the labor unions, press, and, most of all, an America whose citizens have lost faith in each other; such an America would not need to bother about being anti-Communist; it would have nothing to lose. Such an America would have nothing to recommend it to freedom-loving men, nothing at all, not even the shining image of its victorious junior Senator from Wisconsin.

In my view we have been victims in the last few years of a kind of shell game. We have been treated like country rubes to be taken in by a city slicker from Appleton. "Now you see it, now you don't"; the Government is full of Communists; we are all in mortal danger. We hear there are 205—now we hear 81—now the voice says 57 card-carrying Communists in the State Department. We hear that General Marshall is a traitor, a leader of a black conspiracy that dwarfs every other conspiracy in history. This charge is never proved, and now a few years later, in a recent book, has been gently explained away as an exaggeration by the carnival man's intellectual shills. Who cares about the good name of the venerable general who has given a lifetime of service to his country? The game must go on. The Army is "soft on communism"; another heroic general is told that he is not fit to wear the uniform. Hubbub, commotion, everybody suspecting everybody else. Our colleges are called hotbeds of subversion. A headline? Then a Communist is found decoding secret messages (only she doesn't decode messages, and she isn't a Communist). Excitement galore there is; but precious few results as Communists, supposed Communists, phantom traitors, and innocent people are alike pursued from headline to headline, from edition to edition.

What kind of a spectacle are we becoming anyway? What has happened to our sense of balance, our sanity—our sense of humor, you might say? If we Americans could stand off in space and look at this foolishness—the mad, merry search for the spotlight that has been going on for the past 2 or 3 years in the name of anticommunism, I think our native sense of humor, our ability to laugh at ourselves, to recognize that we had been taken in would save us, if nothing else.

Anticommunism is a serious business. It is not a game to be played so publicity mad politicos can build fame for themselves. If someone were to tell me that the masters of the Kremlin inspired this burlesque to distract us from our real dangers and keep us from taking effective anti-Communist measures, I'd have half a mind to believe him.

I can't imagine what would please the Kremlin more than to turn America into a frantic, hysteria-ridden place, full of suspicion of an American for an American. If the Kremlin masters wanted to weaken us—and they do—I suppose that they would be delighted to see Americans lose confidence in the integrity of their political leaders, lose confidence in the stability of their Army, suspect clergymen and teachers. I imagine they would delight in seeing us lose faith in our constitutional privileges, in seeing us ape their courtroom procedures and hound innocent little Government clerks who are blown up to be important spies and saboteurs as long as it is good for a front-page story. Congressional committees have done good work, are doing good work, and will do more. But when they are cynically used to trap headlines rather than spies, they mock themselves—and they mock us, too.

Aside from the actual undermining of democracy that such procedures entail and the harm done to the individuals involved—and tell me, is there anyone who will deny that General Marshall, to name only one, was truly injured? Or is it to be accounted as nothing that an honorable soldier is berated as a traitor to his duty and his country? Aside from such evils as this, there is the fundamental problem that these shenanigans distract us from our real problems, including the problem of communism. They distract us from pursuing a truly effective program of anticommunism. Are we any safer, for instance, because General Marshall was branded as a traitor? No, we aren't. But we are a little less honorable. We have taken what a devoted public servant gave us and offered him abuse and calumny as our gratitude in his years of retirement. Are we any safer because the line between a liberal or a nonconformist and a Communist or subversive is hopelessly blurred? I doubt it. Are we any safer because nonconformity has been practically identified with treason? I think not.

Do we have anything less to fear because people have been bullied by the chairman of an investigating committee and his council. I doubt it. Is America a safer place for ourselves and our children because the morale of our State Department has been blitzkrieged? Or because our fine officer corps has been insulted? Or because political controversy has sunk to a new low of name-calling? Again, I would say no. Are we any more to be feared by the Communists because of all the hundreds of headlines the Senator from Wisconsin has piled up? I don't believe so. Just what has been accomplished? I wonder. The large-type charges almost always peter out to a back-page item after they have served their purpose; to gain a headline. But by then, our man on horseback is charging off in another direction—tomorrow is another day, another edition, there is need for another headline.

This kind of ridiculous goings-on is seriously described as anticommunism. If you will pardon a very lowbrow comment, I say "phooey". America today is faced with a world challenge—military, political, social, religious, the protection of its own institutions from subversion within and aggression from without. It's about time we start taking that challenge seriously and drop the cops-and-robbers game that has been going on.

In my book if a man is truly anti-Communist, he is concerned with meeting the challenge of communism on every level. He is interested first of all, in seeing to it that conditions here and abroad are such that they don't provide a fertile breeding ground for communism. He is interested in such matter as seeing to it that people get enough to eat, have decent homes, are able to raise their children in dignity. His scope is broad. He is interested in measures to share the wealth of "have" nations with the have-nots. He is interested in breaking down the barriers that separate people—national barirers, religious barriers, class barriers. He is interested in making a better place of his own little corner of the world and of doing all he can to see that others are not in want. I judge an anti-Communist—the real thing, not the cops-and-robbers version—by how well he does these things. If he happens to be a legislator, I look at this record. I see how he voted on measures, to make freedom a reality and not merely an aspiration in the lives of his own fellow citizens and of the poor of the world. By this standard, a number of famous anti-Communists, I'm sorry to say, simply don't measure up.

Communism is a military problem. I judge an anti-Communist according to his record of supporting military measures taken to hold back the Communist forces. I judge him according to how much he helped the Army do its work and not according to how much harm he did to Army morale—how many generals he has insulted.

On the question of internal subversion, I judge an anti-Communist according to how well he does the very difficult job of seeking out subversives, clearly identifying them and removing them from critical positions. I take it that a genuine anti-Communist is one who despises the court methods of the Communists. I take it he hates the Communist idea that one is guilty until proved innocent. I take it that the genuine anti-Communist is one who, above all, believes in the democratic procedures and is willing to stand by them, even in the face of great temptations to lose one's temper and to lose one's faith in the methods of freemen. I judge an anti-Communist by how well he fulfills all these responsibilities in a difficult, delicate job.

In a word, on this score I judge an anti-Communist according to how well he succeeds in doing what he is supposed to be doing—not according to how many headlines he makes. I judge him according to how well he clarifies the difference between treason and nonconformity—not according to how well he blurs the distinction. I judge him according to how many innocent people he has helped prove innocent and how many guilty people he has proved guilty. I do not admire him as an anti-Communist according to how many guilty and innocent both leave his courtroom without his having made clear and convincing just what their status is but only fogging the issues and the reputation of innocent and guilty alike.

As you can see, I take a pretty dim view of some noisy anti-Communists—one in particular, the junior Senator from Wisconsin. I do not take a dim view of them because they are anti-Communists, but because they are such pitifully ineffective anti-Communists. I hate to see anticommunism identified with this kind of playing for the grandstand.

Now I want to make clear that what I have said is my personal opinion. I am not speaking for the Catholic Church, but only for myself, a citizen. Other Catholics may take a more kindly view of the public career of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and of the effect he is having on the Nation. That certainly is their privilege, as it is my privilege to speak as I have. Other Catholics may agree or disagree with the judgment I have reached. On political matters such as these, a Catholic's statement—even a bishop's—bears no more authority than whatever he can bring to it as a citizen and public figure. I know that there are many in my church who do not agree with me on this. So be it. Time will tell which of us is right.

But although the church takes no position, and will not, on such a matter of public controversy, the church does take a position on lies, calumny, the absence of charity, and calculated deceit. These things are wrong—even if they are mistakenly thought of as means to a good end. They are morally evil and to call them good or to act as if they were permissible under certain circumstances is itself a monstrous perversion of morality. They are not justified by any cause—least of all by the cause of anticommunism, which should unite rather than divide all of us in these difficult times.

Indebtedness of Italy to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am herewith inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an itemized report on the indebtedness of Italy to the United States, prepared for me by the Library of Congress:

What Italy owes the United States

World War I indebtedness (as of July 1, 1953):	
Principal	$1,618,400,000.00
Due and unpaid	386,500,000.00
Interest	102,112,659.34
Total	2,107,012,659.34
Repayments:	
Principal, funded debts	37,100,000.00
Principal, unfunded debts	364,319.28
Interest, funded debts	5,766,708.26
Interest, unfunded debts	57,598,852.62
Total	100,829,880.16
Indebtedness	2,107,012,659.34
Repayments	100,829,880.16
Balance	2,006,182,779.18
Lend-lease aid (cumulatively, Mar. 11, 1941–Mar. 31, 1951):[1]	
Tanks and vehicles	1,611,662.37
Vessels and other watercraft	51,200,389.05
Miscellaneous military equipment	182,038.75
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	132,510,223.06
Services and expenses	667,365.64
Total	186,371,678.87
Foreign grants and credits (period July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1953):	
Grants:[2]	
American Red Cross	3,183,000.00
Foreign grants, etc.—Con.	
Grants—Continued	
Army (civilian supplies)	$410,107,000.00
Interim aid	176,006,000.00
Mutual security:	
Economic assistance	1,326,325,000.00
Military aid	18,745,000.00
Technical assistance	1,170,000.00
UNRRA	416,769,000.00
Post-UNRRA	117,414,000.00
Treasury (civilian goods)	134,487,000.00
Total	2,604,205,000.00

Credits	Net authorizations	Balance Owing
Export-Import Bank loans	$1,399,000,000	$1,121,309,000
Mutual Security loans	225,600,000	225,600,000
Maritime Administration (ships)	56,036,000	36,591,000
General Services Administration	6,040,000	4,286,000
Credit offsets to grants	353,300,000	335,708,000
Surplus property	332,439,000	305,886,000
Defense Materials Procurement	39,527,000	23,374,000
Total	2,407,357,000	2,052,754,000
Balance outstanding on July 1, 1953		2,052,754,000
Principal repaid by July 1, 1953		354,603,000
Total loans and credits		2,407,357,000

Balance outstanding on July 1, 1953	$314,829,000.00
Principal repaid by July 1, 1953	141,272,000.00
Total loans and credits	456,101,000.00
Recapitulation (status as of July 1, 1953):	
World War I aid	2,006,182,779.18
Lend-lease	186,371,678.87
Grants	2,604,205,000.00
Loans	314,829,000.00
Total	5,111,588,458.05

[1] No reverse lend-lease aid was received from Italy.
[2] No payments requested on grants.

Treatment of Burns in Case of an A-Bomb Attack

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, the best manner of treating burns will become of national importance in case of an A-bomb attack upon the United States. I am therefore taking this opportunity of introducing into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from a report of Navy Commander L. L. Haynes, who was Chief of Surgery at the United States Naval Hospital, Chelsea, Mass. It concerns the treatment of burns of the victims of the recent Leyte disaster who were treated at this hospital. Commander Haynes says:

The use of the closed-method pressure dressing with petrolatum gauze, either using Ace bandage or preferably stockinette, is necessary in all patients who will eventually require transportation * * * once applied the nursing care required of the burn itself is minimal during the first 5-day period, which is the most critical time during any emergency or disaster.

I have had experience with the use of Z plastic sprays which are efforts to give the same effect as the pressure dressing by speedy application, and I have discarded their use.

A Useful Texas Senator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK B. BROOKS
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 11, 1954

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in one of Texas' leading newspapers, the Beaumont Enterprise, of Beaumont, Tex. It will be noted that this splendid editorial reflects the considered opinion of a thinking editorialist, who recognizes the major contributions made to our democratic Government by the senior Senator from Texas, the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON, now serving as the distinguished and most able Democratic leader of the Senate, where his fairminded nonpartisan approach to our national problems has been a major factor in the operation of our Senate.

I feel that the membership of this House will appreciate these factual remarks about Senator JOHNSON'S outstanding ability, judgment, and capacity for hard work in behalf of his country:

A USEFUL TEXAS SENATOR

Texas is fortunate in now having two able, hard-working Senators in the upper House of Congress, LYNDON B. JOHNSON and PRICE DANIEL. Mr. JOHNSON will run for reelection this year.

It is rare that a newcomer to the Senate so quickly rises to the position now held by Senator JOHNSON as a party leader and one of the most influential Members of a body that as a rule is slow to concede the merits of a first-term Senator. Usually he must prove his mettle before such recognition comes to him, and usually this takes time.

Senator JOHNSON is one of the Senate's most influential Members. He enjoys the respect and confidence of his colleagues of both the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Although called a liberal or new dealer when elected to the Senate, Mr. JOHNSON proved to be more conservative than new dealish in his voting. He became a party leader at an age and period of party service when most men in public life are still struggling to achieve a place of prominence. He is rated a worthy successor to Senator Morris Sheppard who served Texas for many years in the upper House of Congress.

Senator JOHNSON also convinced Texans who adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude when he was elected to the Senate that this State did well to give him opportunities for broader and even more useful public service than he had while a Member of the House of Representatives.

The Johnson record is one to date of which both Senator JOHNSON and his friends in Texas are proud. On the strength of that record, Senator JOHNSON has earned a second term. The Enterprise feels that he should be reelected.

He has looked after the interests of his State and Nation with a conscientious regard for their welfare and security. He has shown great zeal in the performance of his duties as well as good judgment.

Even if he were a less capable man, this would be a poor time for Texas to experiment with someone else, possibly a man less experienced and able than Senator JOHNSON has proved to be in one of the most important offices within the gift of the Texas people.

State Offers Air Force Land, Water, Beauty in Four Places

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ED EDMONDSON
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. EDMUNDSON. Mr. Speaker, as the day draws near for selection of an Air Force Academy, the people of Oklahoma extend their invitation to Uncle Sam to place this academy in the heart of our Nation, in Soonerland.

The article which follows is a fine presentation of some of the many attractions which Oklahoma has to offer in its four recommended sites:

[From the Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Okla., April 11, 1954]

STATE OFFERS AIR FORCE LAND, WATER, BEAUTY IN FOUR PLACES

(By Jim Young)

Oklahoma Saturday had four briefs winging toward Washington carrying the State's hope for securing the biggest plum the Federal Government has had to bestow in several years—the $126 million Air Force Academy.

The State is pinning its hopes on locations at Enid, Okmulkee, Claremore, and Shawnee. These sites were selected by a three-man State committee composed of Russell F. Hunt, Tulsa banker; W. P. "Bill" Atkinson, Midwest City builder, and Owen A. Teague, specialist with the Corps of Army Engineers in Tulsa.

What do these four areas have? All can boast a more than adequate water supply to fill the Air Academy's minimum need of 3 million gallons daily. All proposed locations offer scenic areas for classrooms, dormitories, and administration buildings plus level ground for aircraft runways.

All areas fit the minimum requirement of 15,000 acres, and all have Oklahoma's excellent flying weather.

Shawnee proposes a location 4 miles north of that city lying in Pottawatomie and Lincoln counties. A mile south of U. S. 62, the Shawnee location is 3 miles southwest of Meeker.

Elmer Kenison, Shawnee chamber of commerce manager, describes the area as rolling land with beautiful virgin timber and 2 or 3 running streams. An artesian well just 2 miles from the site, could be diverted through the area, he said.

"Our location has flat land where at least three 12,000-foot runways could be built," Kenison says. He adds that a hill on the site would make an ideal location for buildings and they could be seen for 25 miles.

The Shawnee site is 26 air miles from Oklahoma City and 20 air miles from Tinker Air Force base. Tulsa is 68 miles away, and the Turner turnpike is close by.

Shawnee backers say there would be no water problem if the Pottawatomie county site is selected. "We have a city lake with 7,500,000,000 gallons of water in storage, and that's enough water for 4 or 5 years without rain even if you count in the air academy," Kenison said.

A large city waterline runs within 4 miles of the site and the Santa Fe, Frisco, and Oklahoma City, Ada & Atoka Railroads run nearby.

Claremore has a top salesman in Col. Homer M. Ledbetter, commandant of Oklahoma Military Academy. He is helping push for the Rogers county location 3 miles west of Claremore on a bluff overlooking the Verdigris River.

The Claremore area, in a triangle formed by Claremore, Collinsville, and Tulsa, is fronted by U. S. 66, 4 miles north of U. S. 75 and immediately east of U. S. 169.

"There is no question of water," Colonel Ledbetter says. He points out Tulsa's Spavinaw waterline carrying 75 million gallons daily is just 3 miles away and adds that Tulsa has offered Claremore 10 million gallons daily if they get the academy.

The proposed Oologah Dam is just 6 miles away, while Fort Gibson Lake is 20 miles distant, Grand Lake 30 miles, and Tenkiller ferry 50 miles.

Other advantages are that the proposed Joplin-Tulsa Turnpike will run in front of the site; the Missouri-Pacific, Frisco, and Santa Fe rail lines are nearby; and Claremore is in the beautiful Ozark playground area.

"We put our hopes on natural beauty, and we think the name "Will Rogers Country" will strike a note with the Air Force, since Will was the first layman to champion the Air Force when Gen. Billy Mitchell was court-martialed," the colonel said.

He adds the Claremore site is just 11 miles from the big American Airlines maintenance shops in Tulsa and 14 miles from Tulsa Municipal Airport and the Douglas Aircraft plant.

Okmulgee is backing a 5-mile-square area 3 miles north of the east edge of that city in a triangle formed by Okmulgee, Tulsa, and Muskogee. The proposed "beeline" highway from Okmulgee to Tulsa would fall on the west side of the site, and SH 16, connecting with Turner Turnpike, is on the north side.

Tom Dean, Okmulgee Chamber manager, describes the area as rolling, sandy loam, picturesque land, with lots of virgin territory. The site includes a natural amphitheater, and Okmulgee Creek flows over the land.

Dean points out Okmulgee has a 13,200-acre-foot lake with capacity pumping facilities of 8 million gallons daily. Equipment is now geared for 6 million gallons, and the city is using only 3 million.

"Our biggest talking points are good climatic conditions, our nearness to cultural and recreational facilities, and the nearness to the turnpike," he said.

Enid's site is 6 or 7 miles northwest of that city lying adjacent to U. S. 81 and U. S. 64. The site includes rolling ground with hills and trees on the south and a level area for flying strips in the north half. Three spring-fed creeks cross the southern portion.

Robert Nigh, Phillips University economics and business administration professor, who has assisted in preparing Enid's data, says:

"Enid is one of the few cities in the Midwest which has not been troubled by a water shortage."

Nigh says Enid has increased its water supply 1 million to 2 million gallons each year since 1949. Although its main water source is from wells, Nigh said Enid has a high-pressure line built most of the way to Canton Reservoir, and the city has 10,000 acre-feet of yearly water rights in that lake.

Salem Commerce Revival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. BATES
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. BATES. There were 80 vessels that brought $48 million worth of cargoes to Salem, Mass., last year, and the city which once competed with Boston and New York in enterprise and wealth is quite excited. And you can't blame some of the old mariners who still talk about the days when Salem ships went everywhere and Salem boys were sailors long before the present draft age.

Salem holds a unique spot among present day cities. Modern in every sense of the word, it still boasts of seagoing activities. Its glory in the maritime world faded but never disappeared and through the years, ships of various sizes kept calling at Salem's waterfront. They were constant reminders of the days when the old town had an unbelievable commerce and ranked second only to New York.

The old timers proudly boast of the period when Salem ships were the first to engage in trade with Sumatra, Madagascar, and Zanzibar and the town monopolized the gum copal trade in the Far East. Ivory and mocha were also exclusively a Salem importation.

The vessels are now coming in more frequently, with coal, oil, and gasoline as the principal products. The old timers are excited because their hope and dream that Salem might regain its place in the maritime world seems to be coming to a realization. The Salem Evening News, sensed the import of the annual report of the harbormaster, John N. Wiley and gave the story a four-column headline on March 31, 1954. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article:

Activity on Salem's waterfront reflects an upswing in the last year which saw the port of Salem clearing products grossing approximately $48 million.

This reflects a substantial increase over the preceding year when the volume of imports reached $40 million, it was disclosed today in the annual report of Harbormaster John N. Wiley.

ECONOMICALLY IMPORTANT

The port is becoming increasingly important to Salem's economy, Wiley said, because of the volume of business being channeled here, principally bituminous coal, fuel oils, and gasoline. And everywhere on the North Shore the demand increases, both for industrial and domestic needs.

One contributing factor is the volume increase in operations conducted by the George W. Pickering Co., which, in the last year, brought in some 3,223,760 gallons of gasoline by water. This is a staggering increase over the earlier year, Wiley points out, when the figure scaled to 891,399 gallons.

FACILITIES EXPANDED

Expansion of waterfront facilities came with the transfer of the Pocahontas Steamship Co. headquarters from New York to Salem in 1952, the harbormaster said. This subsidiary of the Pocahontas Fuel Co. is operated by Horace E. Davenport, vice president of the fuel company's New England opera-

tions, and also chairman of the board of directors in the Pickering Co.

The Pickering Co. and its affiliates pour more than $1,250,000 into the pay envelopes of employees, virtually all of them residents of Salem or nearby communities.

Wiley cites the marked increase in bituminous coal imports during 1953 as the most significant gain. Oceangoing colliers brought in 4,328,091 tons of coal during that period, pointing up an increase of about 500,000 tons over 1952.

Nearly all of the colliers ply between Norfolk, Va., and Terminal Wharf, and one of the largest consumers is the Salem Harbor Station. Stepped-up power production at this generating plant came during 1953 when all units went into full operation.

More than 80 vessels unloaded cargoes here during 1953, the harbormaster said, and there is every indication that the port will be busier this year.

In addition to the gasoline and bituminous coal imports cited in Wiley's report are the 3,889,670 gallons of kerosene, 1,589,882 barrels of No. 2 fuel oil, and 1,091,178 barrels of No. 6 fuel oil. In each category the volume is well above that for 1952.

Inducement to Quit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: Article from the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal of April 10, 1954:

INDUCEMENT TO QUIT

It is a sad state of affairs when the very rewards Congress and the people have provided for those who serve in the Armed Forces are operating against the best interests of the services. Yet that is just what is going on.

One of the strong points brought out in the Womble report was that the rapid and costly turnover in service personnel is accentuated by the fact that personnel must forego thousands of dollars in GI benefits to remain in service. "There appears to be little justification," the report states, "for denying to the veteran who remains in the service the advantages accorded the veteran who voluntarily separates himself from the service."

Early in 1953 the Department of Defense worked on a project requesting Congress to permit service personnel to avail themselves of some of the GI benefits while remaining in the service. The Bureau of the Budget first rejected this proposal last July.

Recently, as part of its program to rejuvenate service career attractiveness, the Department again proposed legislation to extend to active personnel the same housing benefits they would get if they quit the service. Now the word is that the Bureau of the Budget has again turned this down.

Such action by the Bureau is shortsighted and against the services' interest. This is particularly true of the housing aspect. Both the old and the new administrations have operated on a pinchpenny policy in the matter of housing. They have virtually quit building Government housing and have concentrated on guaranteeing loans to private constructors. This not only has failed to meet the needs, it has been costly to service families, for rental costs have substantially exceeded allowances of junior commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Even the new construction bill just sent to Congress provides for only 20 sets of quarters in the United States and 200 overseas. Many commissioned and noncommissioned officers would buy houses if they could avail themselves of the GI privilege to which they would be entitled if they quit the service.

There can be no long-range savings under the Bureau's policy, for the personnel concerned will get these benefits eventually anyway. Why not now when they need it and it will help the national defense?

The action of the Bureau of the Budget will prevent the Department from submitting or actively supporting such legislation. We hope, however, that some Member of Congress will take it up and push it through to enactment. It would be a real contribution to morale and effective national defense.

The People's Turn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, last year Congress was asked to extend the Trade Agreements Act for 1 year in order that the Nation's entire foreign trade policy might be studied and appraised. That extension was granted despite the fact that thousands of Americans had lost their jobs as a result of the great influx of cheap foreign products.

It has been a dismal year for those thousands and for the many more who have been added to the lists of the unemployed in the intervening months. Yet they carried on in the typical American spirit, with a courage born of hardship itself, and through the grace of God. Some, however, were forced to accept various types of Government and State relief, the charity of their relatives and neighbors. But each day, each week, each month those people have looked forward to the time when they would once again be given their freedom to work—a freedom that cannot be theirs until the rising flow of imported goods is checked.

The principal difficulty has been the growth of a philosophy, instituted some two decades ago, which endangers the entire economic structure of this country. That policy had become so firmly implanted that it cannot be easily overcome in a short space of time. The planned deterioration of American industry and American wage standards began when carefully-placed individuals in important positions in the State Department succeeded in making those offices a veritable infiltration plant for Soviet intrigue. At the same time a horde of State Department dandies—looking like adult Lord Fauntleroys bound for an international cotillion—would hopscotch from one conference to another searching for representatives of other countries ready and willing to accept handouts, either in cash or in the form of trade concessions. The years of this destructive influence cannot quickly be redeemed, but it is obligatory upon Members of Congress to make no more concessions in the interest of the international movement so long as the livelihood of American families is in jeopardy.

The administration's new recommendations on foreign trade policy give our people an opportunity to learn what we in Congress have long realized: if American industry and labor are to be protected from unbridled trade practices which are destroying precious segments of the economy that protection must come from the elected representatives of the people. Government bureaus responsible for tariffs and quotas are on record against any protection whatsoever for the coal industry.

The President appointed a commission to make a fair study of the entire foreign trade policy, and he anticipated that the American people would receive at least the same consideration given other peoples of the world. That commission, however, happened to be loaded with officials and investors in companies up to their corporate ears in foreign financial entanglements, so the interests of the American workingmen were destined from the start to be disregarded lest profits from alien holdings be endangered. These members of the commission arrived at their own conclusions long before the investigation began, and they refused to give a hearing to representatives of coal and other industries severely damaged by the impact of excessive imports.

Mr. Speaker, it is the people's turn this year. In 1953, the wailings of international cartels and foreign diplomats were once again given precedence in our trade program. Now our people must be given an opportunity to rebuild their own economy, and that opportunity cannot be realized unless we provide adequate safeguards against commodities produced in lands where wages are only a small proportion of those established in the United States.

This creation by the freetraders has caused and is continuing to cause a hardship on employment and capital in my district and the Nation. It has silenced the production lines in our coal mines, our glass plants, and other enterprises. It has stilled the wheels of great fleets of rolling stocks that would otherwise be utilized to carry the output of our labors to market. It has impounded related business activity in many industries of our great Nation.

The product of freetraders thrives on cheap foreign goods unloaded on our docks. Let us not delay in driving it from our land for the sake of the welfare of our own people.

H. R. 1227

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to

include in the RECORD a petition and list of signers in support of H. R. 1227. These citizens protest the advertising of alcoholic beverages in magazines and newspapers and over the radio and television. In placing these petitions before the Congress I want to urge the passage of H. R. 1227 which will prohibit the deplorable type of advertisement sponsored by the liquor interests:

MORGANTOWN, W. VA., *April 6, 1954.*

Congressman HARLEY O. STAGGERS,

We, the WCTU members, sincerely urge you to get a hearing on the Bryson bill (H. R. 1227) and also urge you to vote for it.

Mrs. Havilah Pickenpaugh, Mrs. Hattie Everly, Mrs. Lloyd Hall, Mrs. Sidney E. Wells, Mrs. Chas. R. Seeby, Mrs. Elroy Henry, Mrs. A. A. Campbell, Mrs. Margaret White, Mrs. Amos De Moss, Mrs. Adda Sargent, Mrs. T. L. Maust, Mrs. M. M. Gibson, Mrs. Bette Cupp, Mrs. Elizabeth Stuvail, Mrs. J. E. Eaton, Mrs. A. W. Leech, Mrs. Willa Bunten, Mrs. Z. D. Hensell, Miss Pearl Summers, Mrs. Hulda Feather, Mrs. Margaret Steele, Mrs. Sarah E. Dutton, Mrs. Kenneth Conklin, Mr. Enoch M. Brewer, Mrs. C. I. Fox, Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, Mrs. Nellie W. Johns, Mrs. M. S. Johns, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Arlie Ridgway, Mrs. Abe Lee, Junia M. Brewer, Jane S. Shoup, Jeannette Davis, Mabel D. Gibbs, Nell Moore, Mrs. Clyde Heay, Anna B. Darling.

Dependent Care

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Army-Navy-Air Force Journal of April 10, 1954:

DEPENDENT CARE

That Members of Congress will override both the Bureau of the Budget and the Department of Defense when they believe the interests of service personnel are at stake was clearly evidenced this week.

There has been before Congress for some time a bill to permit families of Coast Guard personnel to receive medical and dental care at all Armed Forces hospitals on the same basis as now extended to the other services. Under present law, Coast Guard personnel are entitled to such treatment but not members of their families, who must depend upon facilities operated by the Public Health Service.

Both the Bureau of the Budget, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Defense recommended against enactment of the measure on the flimsy basis that it should await the submission of overall legislation arising from the report of the Moulton Commission.

But the Senate Armed Services Committee reported out the bill anyway. The committee said it disagreed with the recommendations of the departments and "feels that there is a pressing need to take care of such of those of the 26,000 members of the Coast Guard and their dependents who cannot avail themselves of the Public Health facilities."

Chairman SALTONSTALL, subcommittee Chairman HENDRICKSON, and members of the committee are to be commended for their independent forthright stand.

House Concurrent Resolution 58 Consistent With International Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, some question has been raised as to the validity of my resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 58, now pending in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and I am including as part of my remarks an excellent article by Mr. Bohdan Halaichuk, an international lawyer of some repute. This paper is an important contribution to the discussion of the merits of my resolution:

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 58 FORTIFIED BY INTERNATIONAL LAW—UNITED STATES ENVOYS TO UKRAINE AND BYELORUSSIA

(By Senor Bohdan Halaichuk, doctor of political science, doctor of international law, of Argentina, international lawyer)

HAS THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZED UKRAINE?

An obstacle to the establishment of diplomatic relations between governments can lie in either of two areas: legal capacity and capability of action. For example, Tibet was in fact an independent nation, but it did not possess international legal capacity, and from the viewpoint of international law it was not a separate subject of such law, only part of the Chinese nation. Therefore the Chinese attack on Tibet was treated by the United Nations as an internal Chinese affair, in which international factors had no basis for interference. A similar situation prevailed when Indian troops attacked Hyderabad, which similarly was not a subject of international law and had no legal capacity, notwithstanding the fact that its ruler (the Nizam) enjoyed broad privileges of independence while still vassal of the British Crown.

When a Tunisian Minister fled abroad, however, and wanted to bring an indictment against France on the international forum, he met with a different obstacle: incapability of action. Tunisia is not a part of France, only a separate state under French protection. Accepting the protecorate, Tunisia retained international legal capacity, but lost capability of action, surrendering to France all competences in the area of international law. The United Nations would consider a Tunisian complaint against France, but only in such an event, if such complaint were signed by the French general resident.

The Republics of the Soviet Union lack neither legal capacity nor capability of action that would impede the dispatch and acceptance of diplomatic representatives, nor hinder any acts under international law. Since the changes in the Soviet Union's constitution of February 1, 1944, members of the U. S. S. R. have the right to establish direct relations with foreign nations: this right is recognized by the U. S. S. R., i. e., the agency with which they share their competence of statehood. But two Union Republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia, have had their legal capacity and capability of action recognized by extraneous states by signing treaties with them and by admitting them to the United Nations.

Allegations that Ukraine and Byelorussia are component parts of the U. S. S. R. tend to confuse the issue, as not many people realize that a member of a union of states can remain a legal entity under international law and have right of legation. For example, Bavaria, while a member of the German Empire received and dispatched envoys as late as 1919; Canada is also a member of a union of commonwealths, the British Empire, and yet enjoyed the right of legation long before this empire became a free union of entirely independent nations.

Such considerations as that the acceptance or rejection of an American proposal to establish diplomatic relations would not be decided in Kiev or Minsk, only in Moscow, have no validity, in view of the fact that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Rumania, Hungary, or Bulgaria was decided in Moscow and not in Bucharest, Budapest, or Sofia. Similarly, diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were approved in Moscow and not in Sofia.

Warnings are sounded that once the United States have diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia, representatives of the latter will infiltrate international organizations. But it is notorious that Ukraine belongs to many such international unions, and its representatives are quite active in them (as e. g., attacks against colonial nations), and they have been doing all this without waiting for an American Ambassador to arrive in Kiev. Similar allegations would make it also appear as if Ukraine had heretofore been aloof of any international activities, like, for example, the Mongolian Peoples Republic or Tannu Tuva.

But the main point of attack against the establishment of diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia is contained in the first paragraph of a letter from the Department of State to Senator SMITH and Representative CHIPERFIELD, wherein the statement is made that the United States agreed to membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations without taking any position in the matter of whether the two republics are to be considered independent nations, and for other purposes. This discreet indication would have people unacquainted with the issue believe (and obviously not all legislators are experts in international law) that when the United States voted for admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia to the United Nations, such vote did not signify granting them the right of legation, and that capacity for multilateral international relations (like membership in the United Nations) and for bilateral relations (like right of legation) are two entirely different matters.

It is fitting to remark here that representatives of Soviet Ukraine have entered into and signed a number of bilateral acts under international law, like the UNRRA treaty on relief, a treaty with Poland on the exchange of minorities, and peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. But leaving aside polemics concerning this or that act, it is more important for us to explain a matter of principle of international law; the significance of recognition of a state under international law.

Contrary to opinion, or rather innuendo, the fact must be given full credence that capacity of membership in the United Nations and capacity of bilateral international relations are the consequence of a single capability of action under international law. It would be contradictory to recognize a nation as entitled to membership in the United Nations while denying such nation the right to be a legal body within the meaning of international law. In the absence of distinct and clearly defined restrictions formulated at the time of admission, admission to membership in the United Nations is tantamount to recognition de jure which gives the admitted state full international capability of action.

Whether admission to the United Nations, or previously to the League of Nations, is tantamount to international recognition is treated in various ways in literature on international law.

1. A view that admission to the League of Nations results in limited recognition (limited to the area of Geneva) is fairly rare (Erich, p. 496).

2. The majority of writers hold that admission to the League of Nations or to the United Nations is tantamount to recognition of the state de jure. The following authors hold this view: Anzilotti, Sanchez de Bustamente, Olivi, Bollini Shaw, Fauchille, Graham, Scelle, Ruiz Moreno, Kelsen, Marshall Brown, Lauterpacht. This view finds support in international practice, as when recognition is granted newly created states by governments on the strength of their admission to membership in such international bodies. For example, the Baltic republics were recognized by Czechoslovakia on January 5, 1922, the Government of the latter citing their admission to membership in the League of Nations as legal ground therefor. Other governments would simply declare that they consider admission to the League of Nations tantamount to recognition by all member nations of the League (e. g., declaration by the Foreign Secretary of Yugoslavia of September 7, 1926, on the recognition of Estonia and Latvia).

Among the authors enumerated above, there are some differences as to which governments recognize a newly admitted member of an international organization. The different opinions fall roughly into the following categories:

(A) Some consider that a newly admitted member of an international organization has been recognized only by the governments voting for admission of such a new member (Lauterpacht).

(B) Others believe that recognition is given by: (a) Those who vote for admission; (b) those who are absent when a meeting called for such vote is held; and (c) those who are admitted simultaneously (Graham).

(C) Still others, that voting for admission amounts to recognition de jure, abstention from vote to recognition de facto (case of the Estonian Minister Piin cited by Graham).

(D) In the opinion of some authors a newly admitted member becomes recognized de jure by all other members of the organization, because when they join such an organization and accept its constitution, by-laws, or pacts as binding upon themselves, they endow the organization with a right to recognize new members in their name; a member of an organization has duties and rights toward every other member, and it would be impossible to carry out duties or enjoy rights with respect to another member whose legal existence one denies (Kelsen).

(E) Some authors finally believe that admission to membership in such an organization as the United Nations amounts to general recognition, binding all international organizations and even nonmember nations, the status of such newly admitted members being determined objectively (Wright).

The opinions cited under (A), (B), and (C) are based on the principle that a sovereign state constitutes the sole competence unto itself on whom to recognize and from whom to withhold recognition. The two latter opinions seem to be applied in practice (theory of automatic recognition as declared by the Foreign Secretary of Yugoslavia), and their validity is also borne out by legal consequences flowing from membership in such organizations as the United Nations.

Admission to the United Nations means much more than mere recognition of statehood. To rights and duties flowing from international law must be added specific rights and duties enumerated in the United Nations Charter. Chapter I, article 2, clearly states that "the organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members." This principle obviously permits no other interpretation save that the position of each member is legally exactly the same in relation to all other members. It is, therefore, clear that from the principle of the United Nations, Ukraine and Byelorussia are sovereign nations, and that the U. S. S. R. does not represent these two Republics in the U. N., or on the international forum otherwise. The British Commonwealth and the League of Nations used the term British Empire only as applied to Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and those parts of the empire which were not members of the League (Wright). Kelsen holds a similar view: A member of the United Nations has a series of duties and rights in relation to every other member, but no relation could exist in the absence of recognition of legal capacity.

The different opinions of various authors cited above throw full light on the problem of a relation between admission to the United Nations and recognition. In the instant reference to Ukraine and Byelorussia it is quite immaterial, however, which of these views will be taken as the basis for arguing that they have been duly recognized by the United States of America. Regardless of whether we follow the view of Lauterpacht that Ukraine and Byelorussia were recognized by 47 governments voting unanimously for their admission to the United Nations in San Francisco on April 27, 1945, or whether, in accord with Kelsen, we increase the number of those giving recognition to 58, adding those members of the United Nations who were absent from the San Francisco meeting of that date due to a delay in the arrival of their delegates, in each event the United States cast an affirmative vote for the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia. This opinion is shared and expressed by such an authoritative source as "The American Journal of International Law" (1945). The rule of international law permits no doubt that the United States has recognized Ukraine and Byelorussia de jure, and any legal obstacles to the exchange of envoys with these two republics are nonexistent, despite the political fact of their enslavement.

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Medical Care and Desertions Related

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BOB WILSON
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of April 4, 1954:

MEDICAL CARE AND DESERTIONS RELATED

Medical care for the dependents of servicemen should figure importantly in congressional proposals to reexamine diminishing fringe benefits for servicemen.

In both the past and the present, it has been necessary for the services to consider such medical assistance as an "extra" to be taken care of when it could be fitted in.

But funds should be provided to reverse this policy. A serviceman must have assurance that his family will be taken care of when he's home or away, if his morale is to stay high. This must be done without delay.

More adequate dependent medical care also should be provided for the Coast Guard which receives even less assistance than the other services.

Rear Adm. W. K. Harrill, president of the 11th Naval District general court-martial, recently revealed observations which apply to all the services. He has found that any lack of dependent medical care increases financial hardship and increases unauthorized absences and desertions.

This is proof there is a direct relationship between service morale and proper dependent medical care.

Social Security Must Grow Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement I delivered before the House Ways and Means Committee this morning in an effort to obtain more concrete action by the Congress for the purpose of gaining adequate increases in our social-security benefits, so that more security may be available for our older citizens:

SOCIAL SECURITY MUST GROW UP

It is very risky to have some members of your family insured while others are not covered.

The days of the 5-cent policy are gone.

There was a time when insurance on the deceased, sufficient to pay the undertaker's bill, was a goal that some families worked for and never reached.

Now, by Federal law, we are insuring for life as well as death.

Old age and survivors' insurance is mainly concerned with providing a minimum of security during the years of retirement.

It is not doing that job properly.

Millions are still excluded from coverage.

The benefits accompanied by restrictions, have put the poor house out of business, and have replaced it with a system of private pauperism that is only a few degrees better.

When the Social Security Act first became law, it was regarded as a cautious beginning. With ripening experience, it was expected that coverage would gradually extend to all workers, and that a corresponding increase in benefits would provide a real standard of security in old age, and for widows and children suddenly deprived of their breadwinners.

Apart from the humanitarian view, serious economists call this program "one of the props that sustains business activity."

I believe it is time to strengthen that prop. Social security is almost 20 years old.

Time to have reached its majority.

Instead it has been fed on a spartan diet and is only the skeleton of the full-bodied program that it was meant to be.

The only bill permitted for our consideration is the administration-sponsored H. R. 7199, the Reed bill, cited as the "Social Security Amednments of 1954."

It is an improvement on existing legislation, but it does not go far enough.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, testified before the House Ways and Means Committee that the $25 minimum social-security benefit is too low under today's conditions.

That is an understatement.

Twenty-five dollars a month is hopelessly out of the race with the cost of living.

As it stands, the Social Security Act is a fraud and a deceit.

It is not "social" as long as it does not cover all our people, and it is not "security" when it gives them crumbs.

The administration proposes to bring 10 million more people into the fold; to increase the minimum from $25 to $30; and the maximum from $85 to $108.50.

That amounts to one more bone in the soup.

We want to extend coverage to certain groups who have expressed a desire for such coverage, including employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, employees of State and local institutions for higher learning, and of local housing authorities.

Futhermore, the administration bill makes no provision of any kind for disability insurance. This is a serious flaw. The Dingell bill, on the other hand, enlarges the concept of social insurance to establish the same protection for wage loss caused by total and permanent disability which the old-age and survivors insurance system now provides against wage loss caused by death or retirement.

These proposals have been made since 1934. They do not come upon us suddenly and without actuarial data to support them.

The House has made several efforts to remedy this defect in legislation, but the Senate refused to go along.

Two percent of the civilian population between the ages of 14 and 65 are absent from their jobs on a given day, not because they have a cold, or a severe headache, or any other indisposition, but because they have been disabled for 7 months or more.

This is definite evidence of serious disablement.

Since only 1 out of 20 such cases is work-connected, the remaining 19 cannot qualify for the limited protection offered under workmen's compensation laws.

Even excluding those who are covered by private insurance, there are many for whom total and permanent disability is not only a personal hardship, but an economic disaster.

Security?

There is none for them, as long as the Federal Government declines to give them any consideration in legislation.

At least, if the Government cannot approve of a program covering all disabilities, it can make a start by authorizing insurance for total and permanent disability, and leave the question of temporary disability for future consideration.

H. R. 6034, the Dingell bill, extends the payroll base to $6,000, increases the minimum $5 more to $35 and the maximum "primary" benefits to $135, plus one-half percent per year covered; other benefits proportionately. Under the provisions of this bill, a retired couple in 1965 would receive $229.85. Future beneficiaries under the Reed bill would be entitled to $162.75 per month. The Reed, the Curtis, and the Dingell bills cover farmers, farmhands, and domestics meeting the $50 per quarter test. Unanimity on this point is encouraging. All agree that ministers should be included.

The Dingell bill also includes members of the armed services, and is superior to the administration bill in this additional respect.

Old-age assistance and aid to dependent children should be increased in line with the improvement of the old age and survivors' insurance program which is the foundation of all social security legislation.

How to reconcile our differences on this, the most urgent and constructive legislation of our generation in the domestic field, is a question of degree, not of kind.

The Democratic Party maintains that public opinion wants complete coverage under Federal law, protecting the rights enjoyed by some under other retirement systems if they choose incorporation or integration with the OASI.

We also want benefits consistent with the cost of living.

We believe that there is room for much improvement in the Reed bill, and will endeavor to give it greater substance through amendments.

Our policy, supported by an overwhelming majority of Americans is that "Social security must grow up."

Leadership of the United States in World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an address delivered by me at a statewide dinner of Pi Gamma Mu, honorary social science society, at Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., on Thursday, April 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

One of the greatest factors in making effective the leadership of the United States in world affairs involves relationships that are easily stated but hard to achieve. If anything as complex as the attainment of world peace and freedom could be reduced to a single word that word might well be understanding. For our part, we want to be understood not only for what we are but for what we aim to accomplish. In equally great measure, we need to understand the aspirations and needs of other nations, especially our partners in the free world and those we hope to convince in choosing between the democratic way of life and the Communist philosophy.

It is certain that the Communist world understands the language of force, military and economic. We are well understood in Moscow when we speak with firmness backed by strength. This country and its allies have been able to speak with increased authority this blunt language the Soviet best understands as we have accelerated our military power and our strategic defenses. Such show of force and power is not basically the way the American people like to express their genius as a nation but we have had no alternative as we have sought to safeguard our security and maintain world peace.

It is not likely that we can materially lessen this essential military posture very soon. In fact there are some who believe that this is the one and only course we can follow as long as we must assume the responsibility of world leadership. There are others who contend that while this is an immediate answer to the threat of aggression that is heeded in the Kremlin, it is not the final answer to winning the hearts and minds of millions of people. It does not build the mutual understanding and respect which are, after all, the real foundations for friendly and peaceable relations among the nations.

When I traveled in the Far East last fall, I had an opportunity to observe some of the excellent work that has been done by applying American technical skill to solving some of the problems of public health, village development, agricultural production, and similar economic and welfare needs. We have made a real contribution in this field, both by technical advice and by material and financial aid. Our technicians have turned out to be good ambassadors and many people have been brought to a better understanding of Americans and American methods as a result. Surely with the improvement of living conditions these areas should be less fertile ground for the operations of forces hostile to the Western World.

Nevertheless, it is my conviction, based on what I saw and heard, that we can never win the Asiatic people either by the doctrine of force, which Moscow understands, or by merely sharing our material resources and technical skills.

There are at least three "musts" to be included in a more effective program: (1) We must find a new and more effective psychological approach in meeting the challenge of Communist propaganda. (2) We must make our objectives clear to the whole world, in the fact of unscrupulous and baseless charges that paint America and all we do in the worst possible terms. (3) We must recruit and encourage the best and ablest people to serve in our diplomatic missions and foreign service to bring the message of freedom and of American idealism to these people.

A fourth "must" could well be emphasized if this New Look in our psychological, informational, and diplomatic program is to be truly productive. This is the continuing and strengthening of the educational exchange programs. In many respects it is the most effective and far-reaching, as well as least expensive, of all of the projects designed to develop understanding between this country and numerous other nations and their people.

Military aid and technical assistance are important—very important to us and to the countries to whom we give it, but they are not enough. Other nations are impressed, envious, and often fearful of our material power. As a democratic Nation we do not want to coerce other nations to join us in a common cause. We do not want satellite states like the Soviet Union. A union built on force will inevitably collapse. What we do want is for other nations to join freely with us in the common cause of a peaceful world order.

I am convinced that we will fail in our leadership role unless we could give youth around the world an inspiration. We must fire the imagination of youth. And we can only do this by showing them not just the glories of our past, or the accomplishments of our present democratic society. We must also demonstrate in action that our future goals are ones which are desirable for them—ones worth their striving for with us.

Because we have such a high national stake in this effort to win the confidence and

respect of our neighbors overseas, Congress has passed several laws, such as the Smith-Mundt and Fulbright Acts, which authorize the Department of State to conduct a worldwide exchange program. This program provides the vehicle for young people and for people in many other walks of life to get this firsthand experience of other countries. I sincerely hope that many young people in our schools and colleges will take advantage of these opportunities. They will not only be interpreting and exemplifying what America stands for. They will also have much to learn and share with us when they return. One young American studying in Italy described his job as that of "school teacher, American news information spokesman and favorite cousin all in one."

While many private organizations, foundations, and universities have exchange programs, our Government, through the Department of State, conducts an educational exchange program which Congress authorized "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries." More specifically—in consideration of this country's role in world affairs—it seeks through this program to bring about a greater worldwide confidence in, and cooperation with, the United States. It aims to further the realization among other peoples that the motives, objectives, and policies of the United States Government and the American people are in harmony with their own aspirations for peace, progress, and freedom. Its objective is likewise to increase the knowledge of Americans concerning other countries and cultures. Thus the major goal is to create a greater spirit of unity, hopefulness, and determination among free people everywhere.

In seeking these goals the exchange program affords opportunity for person-to-person contacts between the people of the United States and those of foreign countries. The key persons carefully selected as participants promote the program's objectives. At the same time, they can satisfy their own aims and aspirations through such activities as study, teaching, lecturing, research, observation, consultation, or the acquiring of specialized work experience.

During the fiscal year 1953, grants were awarded to more than 7,600 persons involving exchanges with 72 countries of the free world. In addition to bringing persons to the United States and sending them abroad, grants were given to 370 carefully selected foreign youth in Europe and the Middle East to attend American-sponsored schools in those areas, and assistance in the form of cash grants or professional services, involving the expenditure of $132,250, was provided to over 200 American-sponsored schools in the other American Republics.

The total cost of the 1953 program to the United States Government was approximately $23 million. A substantial part of this sum, $9,061,000, was in foreign currencies. A major portion of the dollars used in this program is spent in the United States.

Just as the State Department relies in large measure upon assistance from others in carrying out the Government's exchange program, so does it, in turn, assist many groups and individuals, and foreign governments as well, in carrying out exchanges that will contribute significantly to the objectives of that program. Nearly 450 projects conducted under other auspices, involving over 3,400 exchanges, were thus facilitated during the 1953 fiscal year.

Against this background of activities that have been earning good will and understanding for the United States, we are confronted with action already taken by the House of Representatives aiming to drastically cut the educational-exchange program. The President's budget called for $15 million for the next fiscal year. House action would reduce the requested budget to $9 million, of which $7½ million is in foreign currency, thereby reducing the dollar appropriation approximately 80 percent.

If sustained by the Senate, this action would eliminate educational exchanges completely in 46 countries such as Egypt, Turkey, Korea, Iran, Formosa, Indonesia, Spain, and all of the American Republics, and would eliminate entirely the extremely important leader program in all countries. It would permit foreign-currency programs in only 21 countries but would not provide any funds for meeting stateside expenses of foreign grantees from those countries. It would cause the abrogation of the educational-exchange provisions of the Buenos Aires Convention at a time when we can ill afford it. It would eliminate entirely the teacher-education program with all other countries. It would provide no assistance to private educational-exchange programs. It would eliminate grants-in-aid to American-sponsored schools in Latin America.

Our endeavor in the educational-exchange program has been so valuable in its results that it would be false economy indeed to undertake such curtailment by drying up the needed funds. To cut off educational-exchange relationships with two-thirds of the important foreign countries just when Communist countries are extending and expanding such activities is little short of folly. The American people should take a good, long look at this economy move aimed at curtailing activities which in no sense represent a giveaway program but are an investment in good will and understanding.

The educational-exchange program has been described as "one of the best means devised for promotion of understanding between peoples." It is an undertaking in the best and most enlightened American tradition. It is needed today more than ever before.

The educational-exchange program should be sustained and expanded not for idealistic reasons alone but as a matter of our self-interest for unless we can cement the unity of the free world with understanding, we will lose that moral leadership which is just as important as military power and economic might.

Problems of America's International Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last Monday it was my pleasure to address a distinguished group of our citizens who are working very intensively on the problem of America's international relations. I refer to the foreign relations commission of the American Legion.

I had been pleased to accept an invitation which had been extended to me on behalf of National Commander Arthur Connell by the director of the national public relations division of the American Legion, former Senate Sergeant at Arms of the United States Senate, Hon. Edward McGinnis.

I send to the desk the text of the address which I delivered, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address delivered by me on that occasion.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC FACTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

1. The most urgent and important foreign-relations problems arise, as you of the Legion know so well, from our effort to meet the world-wide Soviet threat by getting the free nations to stand together in a system of collective security.

In this category are our problems in Indochina and in the Far East generally, many of our problems in the explosive Middle East, our problems in Europe—especially those stemming from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Defense Community, some of our problems in Latin America—where communism has established ominous footholds, and above all, of course, our problems arising from such weapons as the hydrogen bomb, and, yes, the dread cobalt bomb which may come.

2. These are all to a considerable degree, interrelated.

Their most acute and serious aspect at the moment is the mounting crisis in and over Indochina.

3. Indochina may very well provide the supreme test of whether or not the free nations of the world can make a system of collective security work.

The problem is as much political as it is military.

Collective security means, in the case of Indochina, getting the free nations of the Far East together and in time, not in some nebulous tomorrow, to help the Indochinese establish secure non-Communist governments. I have advocated a Pacific pact for such a purpose for a long time.

Now, as the Chinese Communists become more and more overt in their support of the Viet Minh, the problem is rapidly becoming too big to be handled by a group of south Asian states and may be one for the United Nations.

4. The catastrophic effect on southeast Asia of a victory for communism in Indochina has often been emphasized and must be obvious to anyone who has even a superficial knowledge of the area.

Thailand, Burma, Indonesia would be under terrible pressure. India would be flanked. Japan would be confronted by a widened Communist front. The Phillipines and even Australia would be threatened.

5. Equally far-reaching are the implications which the outcome of the Indochina war would have in Europe.

The fact that there is a long, bloody war of attrition in Indochina has already had a most adverse effect in Europe. Indochina has drained off limited French resources which otherwise could have been used to strengthen France and NATO. It has greatly increased French reluctance to ratify the EDC.

6. If the forces of the French Union could win a lasting victory in Indochina, France would be relieved of this burdensome commitment which is frightfully expensive in terms of both money and men. The stimulus of victory to France and to all of Western Europe would be very great.

7. On the other hand, if the Communist Viet Minh were to win a lasting victory in Indochina—either on the battlefield or at the negotiation table—France would still, of course, be relieved of fighting there.

But the adverse results in Europe would be devastating. The political consequences in an already divided France would be incalculable. French morale has, as we all know, suffered some terrible blows in the last 15 years. A defeat in Indochina would be another staggering blow.

The drain of the war has had its effect on French morale. The Indochina war is un-

popular in France—so many of whose gallant sons have paid the supreme price in defense of freedom. If all the sacrifices ended only in defeat, the political repercussions would be of the first magnitude. French support of NATO and the building of a European defense force would be gravely jeopardized.

8. Thus, Indochina is intimately involved with EDC, halfway around the world.

A solution in Indochina, while it obviously would not lead to a solution of all our problems in Europe, would certainly make many of those problems more susceptible of solution. But one does not necessarily have to precede the other. EDC is a good thing—an imperative thing—regardless of what happens in Indochina.

As you know, the European Defense Community is a plan to get French, German, Italian, Belgian, and other free European manpower into an European army capable of protecting Western Europe from the Russian threat. This army should serve to relieve our country of pressure on its manpower resources. Neither the United States nor Europe can afford to wait for a settlement in Indochina before pressing on with the defense buildup in Europe.

9. No man can foresee all the consequences of continued failure to put the EDC into operation.

There are certainly not any very good alternatives to EDC. But it is important to remember that EDC is a means to an end, not an end in itself. EDC is one means of making German rearmament acceptable to the French and to the other countries of Europe which suffered so grievously at the hands of the Nazis during World War II.

EDC has the added advantage of, at the same time, integrating the military forces of six countries and furthering the unification of Europe.

10. If EDC proves not to be a workable means of achieving German rearmament we must search for other means to that end, but it certainly does not follow that we should pull our forces out of Europe and scrap NATO. That would be a disastrous, self-defeating course. Twice in my generation American so-called isolation has encouraged attacks on parts of the free world which we have later found we had to defend in our own interests.

11. Nothing would please the Russians more than for the United States to pull out of Europe.

The destruction of free world unity is one of their prime objectives, which they seek to promote through every available means—and they are not overly bothered if these means are sometimes contradictory.

12. The Communists appeal strongly to the desire for national independence and economic development on the part of the people of the underdeveloped countries of the world—countries which account for approximately two-thirds of the earth's population and for a very large percentage of its natural resources.

The Communists denounce the western democracies and the United States in particular for socalled colonialism and imperialism. The fact is, of course, that the Soviet Union is the most brutal colonial, imperialistic power in history.

13. As for our own policies toward the undeveloped areas, I recognize the dilemmas which almost chronically face our diplomats in the Middle East and in Asia. But it is one of the imperatives of our times that means be found whereby the legitimate revolutionary, so to speak, movements of those areas can be channeled into the paths of liberal democracy and diverted from reactionary communism.

14. We have to go no farther than our own neighbors in the Western Hemisphere to see how communism can capture and pervert movements for national independence and economic reform.

This has happened in British Guiana and in Guatemala. In the former, the situation was saved by vigorous action by the British. In the latter, a Communist-dominated government is still in power.

At their recent conerence in Caracas, the American Republics recognized the threat which is inherent in such governments, controlled as they are by an authoritarian, nonhemispheric power. Here again, we are moving to meet the Communist threat in the appropriate way—that is, through collective, united action.

15. This short discussion has been devoted to problems of American foreign policy and therefore has painted a gloomier picture than would emerge from a more extended, detailed review.

16. I have also neglected still another aspect of the world situation which is worthy of more attention, and that is the Russians' own problems.

Those are very great indeed, and I agree with Secretary Dulles that, "Great as our troubles are, I would not trade them for the Russians' troubles."

Throughout the Soviet empire, there is bitter tension and unrest. We cannot expect this to flare into successful revolution in the near future; nor can we expect an imminent collapse of the whole structure. But we can take comfort from the knowledge that this structure is subject to severe internal strains and contradictions. Over the long run, I am confident that it cannot last. Freedom has a long tradition of triumph over tyranny.

17. There are certain conclusions we can draw from the present world situation as to what our policies should be:

A. We must stand fast on the principle of collective security, as embodied in the United Nations and in the various regional pacts to which we belong. In a world of supersonic planes and hydrogen bombs, no nation can be secure so long as any nation is threateend.

B. We must make unmistakably clear our position favoring national independence and economic development for the peoples of underdeveloped countries who have either recently become independent or are on the road to independence. In so doing, we will be acting in the best American tradition.

C. We must continue to put pressure on the Communists wherever we can. They are beginning to feel that pressure now, and this is certainly no time to relax—or to let them relax.

D. We must continue to take part in all reasonable negotiations, but we will have no part of appeasement.

E. Finally, and perhaps this is the most important of all, we must make it perfectly clear to the Soviet Union that we intend to do all of these things and further, that we intend to take whatever action may be necessary and appropriate to frustrate any renewed attempts at aggression.

If that is done, there is a very good possibility that the aggression will not occur and that world war III will never come.

Financial Problems of Small Business Enterprises and Banks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON R. YOUNG

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the RECORD an excellent summary of a speech delivered by R. H. Barry at the annual meeting of the Central California Independent Bankers Association in San Francisco, April 10, 1954.

Mr. Barry is one of North Dakota's outstanding civic leaders and is widely known among bankers and businessmen. He has devoted many years to a study of the complex financial problems affecting small business enterprises and banks. He has had actual management experience of a very responsible nature in both fields of activity, and is well qualified to exercise leadership in solving the problems enumerated in the following summary.

Mr. President, the succession of ownership of bank and small business enterprise poses many difficult problems. Mr. Barry is a recognized authority on this phase of our economic system. He has talked to literally hundred of Government officials, bankers groups, economists, and others throughout the past 5 years, with the hope of finding a solution to this problem.

In my opinion the summary of his most recent address at San Francisco is particularly illuminating and deserves serious, thoughtful consideration.

There being no objection, the summary of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Two commercial banking corporations have been disappearing every week in the United States for over 2 years and the rate at which locally owned banks have been fading from the financial scene has been gaining momentum for over 10 years." This statement was included in an address today before the annual meeting of the Central California Independent Bankers Association being held in San Francisco by Richard H. Barry, president of Barry & Co., Fargo, N. Dak., a small bank and small business consultant organization. Describing the downward trend in the number of banking corporations as "one of the most clearly illuminated economic signposts of what is happening to the local ownership of many types of business," Barry submitted a 10-point bill of particulars on the problems of small banks and small business firms and a 7-point program of recommended remedies. Included in the problems:

1. Although the banks in the Nation as a whole are in good financial condition and their earnings compare favorably with nonbanking firms—if the rate at which banks have been merging and liquidating the last few years continues unchanged, one-fourth of the present 14,000 banking corporations in the United States are doomed to disappear in the next 25 to 30 years.

2. The small-bank stockholder is "the forgotten man" in both private and governmental research programs.

3. The wave of mergers and voluntary liquidations of small banks is one of the least understood economic problems confronting the small cities and towns of America. Just as communities and strong nations do not just happen, but are built where men with vision and leadership want to build them—so it can be said that they do not just happen to disintegrate—but men let them disintegrate. The transition from a private enterprise economy to socialism can be hard to see—especially for those who don't look.

4. It is not generally understood that a substantial percentage of small banks and small companies are confronted with a life expectancy problem—even though they may be in good financial condition.

5. Banks as a general rule are not merging and liquidating because their management believes such action is in the best interests of the community or the economic vitality of the Nation—but because of the unnecessary tax and financing roadblocks confronting a new generation of prospective owner-managers.

6. In some quarters limited branch banking is advocated as the solution to the problem of succession of ownership in small banks. However, these advocates of branch banking fail to discern the difference between the large parent bank in metropolitan financial centers—which has no problem—and the small- and medium-sized parent bank in rural areas, which would have the succession of ownership problem.

7. At least 94 percent of the 14,000 commercial banking corporations in the United States are too small to provide a satisfactory market for the common stock investment of their owners—unless they are given new financial tools.

8. The existing methods of financing the purchase of small- and medium-sized banks are antiquated when viewed in the light of the inflationary and tax developments of the last 25 years.

9. For the good of the private enterprise system and the economic vitality of the Nation, more enlightenment is needed on whether the downward trend in the number of independent banks has been caused by the growth of branch banking and bank holding corporations or if that growth has been the result of failure to remove many of the financial roadblocks that hamper the prospective independent bankers.

10. There is need for more leadership and initiative on the part of national banking associations and bank supervisory agencies on who should do the research on the life expectancy and succession of ownership problems of the small- and medium-sized banking corporations.

"What is needed at the present time to implement the solution for the disappearing small bank," Barry suggested to the bankers, "is prompt and careful study of the apparent causes of the problem by every State and National association connected with the banking business in order that they may unite their efforts behind sound and effective remedies. He offered for their consideration a program of remedies which included:

1. A Nationwide educational program among bankers and other businessmen on the causes and tentative remedies related to the life expectancy and succession of ownership problems of small- and medium-sized banks and other small business enterprises.

2. The establishment of a comprehensive research program on the subject.

3. The establishment of 15-year financing programs for the purchase of small banks with downpayments for qualified buyers, to be set at about 40 percent of the net worth of the bank and with the remaining 60 percent to be financed through institutional investors.

4. The use of a grubstake principle to permit local businessmen and investors and other sources of risk capital to implement the resources of qualified owner-managers in providing the 40 percent beginning equity.

5. Permission from the bank supervisory officials to use a new financial tool in the form of sinking fund stock in the capital structures of small- and medium-sized banks, not to exceed 60 percent of the net worth of the bank.

6. The passage of legislation where necessary, both State and national, similar to that which exists in Iowa where one State bank has successfully sold a $100,000 block of sinking fund stock to an insurance company callable over a period of 20 years.

7. The creation of specialized facilities for brokering such sinking fund stocks to institutional investors.

Conditions in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by Paul W. Ward, and published in the Baltimore Sun of April 7, 1954, which gives valuable insight into French editorial reaction to the call of Secretary Dulles for united action in southeast Asia.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DULLES TALKS RAISING FEAR AMONG FRENCH—PRESS COMMENTS ON HIS HOUSE TESTIMONY SHOW ALARM

(By Paul W. Ward)

PARIS, April 6.—Whatever their impact on those who rule in Moscow and Peiping, recent declarations by John Foster Dulles, United States Secretary of State, about the Indochina situation are frightening, instead of reassuring, the French.

That became apparent today as reports of his testimony yesterday before the House Foreign Affairs Committee touched off another flare of articles of alarm in almost all sections of the French press save those few whose editors do not feel it is necessary to take a sanguine attitude as to Soviet intentions and a doubtful one about the United States' good faith in order to demonstrate their patriotism.

MINTS EMBARRASSED RESTRAINT

Even those few, such as Le Figaro and Paris Presse, dealt with the latest Dulles statement today in a fashion suggestive of embarrassed restraint, while reinforcing their recent suggestions that the Eisenhower administration is engaged in softening up the American electorate in preparation for direct American military intervention in Indochina.

The rest, and far larger section, of the French press which also has been plugging that thesis of late, received with anything but welcome what it construed as intimations that the United States may send men as well as planes and other supplies to the French expeditionary force defending Dien Bien Phu and other points vital in holding back the Communist flood from the rest of Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, too, the French Press Agency, which is being government subsidized in quasiofficial, reported in dispatches from Saigon that Dulles's testimony had made a deep impression on the Viet Nam people who dread internationalization of the conflict, preferring that it be nationalized to the utmost and settled by direct negotiation between their representatives and those of Ho Chi Minh.

FEAR INTENSIFIED WAR

It is only the ultranationalists among the Viet Nam people who want the war internationalized, the dispatch said, adding, however, not only that they hope thereby to improve Indochina's chances of winning complete independence from France but also that they, too, are worried about the war's being intensified by such declarations as that of Dulles.

The dispatch also said that at Hong Kong his testimony caused no disquiet because there is a general conviction there that Communist China is so weak economically just now that its rulers would rather renounce the Indochina struggle than risk further involvement.

The reaction of a majority of the French dailies available bolstered an impression that France is far more interested in ending the war than winning it and little interested, if at all, in those broader consequences of defeat for the free world of which Dulles has recently warned.

AVERAGE FRENCHMAN'S VIEW

This press reaction, however, is not necessarily indicative of the reaction of the average Frenchman, whose interest in the intricacies of international politics is becoming less and less as the difficulty of making ends meet in his private life increases. It is as easy to find such Frenchmen welcoming the prospect of American intervention and even voicing the hope "You Americans soon will drop the H-bomb on the Chinese and end it," as it is to find one who reflects the precisely contrary fears which many French editors are trying to instill in their readers.

The editors' present attitude is reflected in the title, "Dulles Believes in Force," given to a front-page editorial in Le Monde on Dulles' recent Overseas Press Club speech.

"PEACE IN DANGER"

It is also reflected in same paper's front-page editorial this evening on his testimony yesterday before congressional committee headlined "Peace in Danger." This editorial expression of what is probably the most influential though not biggest of all French evening papers, began with a warning of mounting indications, more and more definite, that we may be on the verge of grave developments.

According to Dulles, Le Monde said, the first thing is to get the Chinese to end assistance to Ho Chi Minh and to that end a joint statement of admonition by Western Big Three plus Australia and New Zealand is projected.

Will Mao be stopped by that? Le Monde asks. If he refuses, it adds, United States force might be used against him in the framework of that united action which, providing Washington with an international cover, would probably entail only air and naval intervention by the United States, with troops of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee eventually furnishing the indispensable infantry support.

Proposed Channel at the Mouth of the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Fight To Save Our River," published in the Oregon Journal of March 8, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIGHT TO SAVE OUR RIVER

It's a convincing case some 15 spokesmen for the Columbia Basin are presenting to the Congress in behalf of the 48-foot channel at the mouth of the Columbia.

They represent ports, world shipping, chambers of commerce, bar and river pilots, inland navigation companies, industry, and agriculture.

They are armed with facts and figures.

The have the unanimous support of the four Northwest governors and congressional delegations who want to protect world and inland shipping that totals some 21 million tons a year.

And they maintain that it is imperative to remove the bottleneck at the river's mouth by deepening the channel in order that deeper-draft vessels will not be delayed or grounded in the 40-foot channel.

Journal readers who followed the Rampant River series last spring are familiar with this problem. They know that the deepening of the channel entrance, plus the addition of another jetty later, is one of the most important projects in the entire region. And they know that it will pay for itself by more than 1½ to 1, at the same time protecting and increasing the Columbia's great shipping industry, the lifeblood of the region.

The Journal repeats its suggestion of a year ago:

"Write your Senators and Representatives—wherever you live. Give them your moral support. They're fighting your battle. Let them know that you're for them in their effort to save the Columbia River channel from disastrous deterioration."

With appropriations now under consideration in the House Ways and Means Committee, such a step is more timely and important than ever.

City Milk Marketing Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, down through the years I have pointed out again and again that one of the most shocking conditions on the American scene is the erection of the trade barriers which prevent the movement of products between the 48 States of the Union.

This condition, in effect, "Balkanizes" the Nation—that is, it makes of our country not "a Union, one and indivisible," but a group of economically warring Balkan-type states.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of this consists of the phony so-called health barriers which have for so long barred midwestern milk from eastern markets.

In this connection, I present a hard-hitting editorial from the April 3, 1954, issue of the noted magazine, Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer, endorsing a bill which my able colleague, Representative AUGUST ANDRESEN, of Minnesota, has introduced for the purpose of opening up markets to midwestern milk.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRTY DEAL IN DISTANT MILK MARKETS

Midwest milk has long been getting a dirty deal in distant city markets. Somebody is finally trying to do something about it and he needs your support.

Congressman AUGUST ANDRESEN, of Minnesota, has introduced House bill 8368. It would "remove all domestic trade barriers affecting milk and milk products." It would do this by amending the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1937.

City milk marketing agreements could no longer be used to support local milk monopolies.

Also, the United States Public Health Service would set up uniform sanitation standards for all milk in interstate commerce. Any area which prevents the free movement of such sanitary milk could not operate under milk marketing agreements.

Such a law would be a tremendous victory for Wisconsin farmers. In the long run it is more important than the present fight about high support prices.

Wisconsin Congressmen should fight tooth and nail for the final passage of bill H. R. 8368. It is exactly what Wisconsin Agriculturist has been calling for during past years.

ANDRESEN wisely says: "In our worry about dairy problems, let's remember that the unfairness of present milk orders must be licked before Midwest dairymen can be in a sound position."

We will have to fight dairy interests in the East and South. The Midwest will get no help from national milk groups.

Eastern producers say that cuts in butter and cheese prices don't affect them.

They think they can completely divorce themselves from Midwest manufacturing milk prices. They are talking about raising their fluid prices to make up for the cut they will have to take on surplus milk. Silly, isn't it?

Secretary Benson has talked about cleaning up the milk order mess. Let's help him do it.

The Fiscal Policy of the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Trickle-Down or Percolate," which was published in the Trainman News of March 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRICKLE-DOWN OR PERCOLATE

We do not wish to confuse our coffee with our economics, but this is an editorial on trickle-down and percolator theories of economics. It stems from something that troubles us as it does Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, of Minnesota. We were mortified when some of our readers got a first impression from our recent editorial, HUMPHREY! Catch Up With Hoover, that reference was to Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY instead of Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey. The Senator says even the White House staff gets confused and calls him regarding appointments for Treasury Secretary Humphrey.

First names and initials are not sufficient to distinguish famous persons with identical last names. In the instant case, however, such confusion could not occur to one familiar with the philosophies of these two noted gentlemen, for few men are further apart in their principles of economics and social welfare.

Secretary of Treasury George M. Humphrey has been demanding Government policies, particularly tax policies, that encourage investment, by which he means special benefits to corporations and wealthy citizens. He believes this will result in greater investments in factories and productive equipment and greater production and prosperity. But merchants cannot find buyers for what has already been produced. Bankers cannot find borrowers for money already available for capital investment, and corporations will not invest more in productive capacity when they already have produced more than the people have money with which to buy. Any farmer could explain these truths to Treasury Secretary Humphrey.

Now Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY does not believe in this trickle-down theory that you make everybody prosperous when you give Government benefits to corporations and wealthy citizens only. The Senator believes that effective mass purchasing power rather than piling the rich man's table full to overflowing, is the way to prosperity for all. Let prosperity percolate up from the people, believes the Senator, and there will be plenty of investment opportunities, jobs, and markets for farmers and all industries. The Senator no doubt recalls that it was rich men with money to invest who finally jumped out of hotel windows as the full effects of the trickle-down prosperity of the 1920's were brought to bear on our economy.

So, when you see or hear the name "Humphrey," think of these two basic philosophies of economics and government. You will then never confuse Treasury Secretary George M. "Trickle-Down" Humphrey, with Senator HUBERT H. "Percolator" HUMPHREY. Knowing how Senator HUMPHREY rushes about his duties as a vigorous representative of the great people of Minnesota, we think "Percolator" fits him well also with respect to another connotation of that word. He cooks with gas and really percolates whenever he feels the best interests of all the people are at stake.

New Federal Dams on the Columbia River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Hydro Fat's in the Fire: Washington Claims All," published in the Oregonian of March 31, 1954. It deals with the power issue in the Pacific Northwest and deserves the attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HYDRO FAT'S IN THE FIRE: WASHINGTON CLAIMS ALL

This newspaper was not fooling when it warned on many occasions that the State of Washington has got itself into a position where it can lay claim to the entire electrical output of new Federal dams on the Columbia River. And Washington is not fooling when it now makes such demands.

The medium to be used, in addition to the statewide public utility districts setup, is the Washington Power Commission. This was established by the 1953 legislature under the sponsorship of Republican Gov. Arthur Langlie. It is a master public power agency

for the State. Under the law, public utility districts and municipal power systems can combine to become operating agencies of the State commission. And the commission itself can function as a constructing, operating, and distributing system.

Oregon, which is not self-sufficient in power but must depend for future needs on a fair allocation from a regional water control and generating system, must suffer a jolt to its complacency. On March 11, Director J. Frank Ward of the Washington State Power Commission addressed a letter to Dr. William A. Pearl, Bonneville Power Administrator, which said, in part:

"In order to establish an order of priority of request, this letter may be considered a request by the Washington State Power Commission on a long-term basis for all the firm seasonal energy now available and to become available to the Bonneville Power Administration for sale from the Federal basin developments, together with nonfirm seasonal energy resulting from greater than stream flows, and together with such energy of other character available both seasonal and throughout the year which might be made available to the Washington State Power Commission for resale."

In other words, the Washington commission demands all the power—under the Bonneville Act giving preference and priority to public agencies—not already contracted by other public agencies, and to be produced at the Federal dams under construction—McNary, The Dalles, and Chief Joseph, on the Columbia—and those to be constructed (if any).

The Commission asked for a Federal statement of rates and quantities for both firm and secondary power supplies, with schedules of availability. The Washington commission suggested that it might build some steam plants to make its secondary supply more valuable. More attractive to industries, that is, which might otherwise incline to locate in Oregon.

Bonneville Administrator Pearl expressed interest in the proposal, particularly steam plants, but stalled the Washington demand for a hog-sized share of future Federal generation. He replied on March 22:

"1. The (Bonneville Power) Administration is not in a position to give you the reservation you request until such time as you are able to make a firm agreement with the Administration for the purchase of such power.

"2. We will send you a summary of the amounts of energy available when our studies of nonfirm power supplies are complete.

"3. While we are willing to consider the matter, we are not in a position to negotiate a price for nonfirm energy until we have a somewhat more definite proposition from you. In particular we need to know the grade of interruptible that you would be willing to accept."

Earlier in the letter, Dr. Pearl pointed out that BPA has contracted to deliver all of the firm power from existing dams and those under construction to existing customers. But some of these customers are private utilities. Presumably, operation of the preference clause would cloud such contracts. In any event, Oregon industries and business would be hurt by diversion of all or virtually all nonfirm power to the Washington public agency.

So there we have the fat in the fire. The suspension of Federal dam building makes it imperative that States look at their hole cards. Washington has made its bid for a disproportionate share of the Columbia River's benefits, at the risk of destroying the regional system and crippling the Northwest power pool. In addition to claiming "all" Federal generation hereafter, the Commission and/or its public utility district-municipal operating agencies propose to build Columbia dams at Priest Rapids, Rocky Reach, and Wells sites. The power from these would be claimed exclusively within the State of Washington.

This is States rights, with a public-power flavor, which shows the futility of Oregon continuing to cooperate in the deliberations for an interstate compact. There is no possibility that Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah would permit a compact commission to become a dam-building and energy-transmitting system. Even if Oregon were to set up a State power commission like Washington's, it would have to take what Washington left. We do not have exclusive dam sites on the Columbia.

The only way out for Oregon is to convince Washington leaders that their interests, as well as those of other States, will be served with greater benefits by a public regionwide corporation which would take over the job of building dams and delivering the power to the areas of need, for resale by public and private utilities on a nondiscriminatory basis, without regard to State lines. If Oregon doesn't get behind this plan soon, it may be too late.

Senators Knowland and Bridges Do Not Speak for Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, we cannot at this critical juncture get rough with our allies. Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES demand that ugly ultimatums go forth to France, Britain, Italy, and others demanding that unless they accept EDC forthwith and agree, before the Geneva Conference, to a collective warning to Red China for united action in Indochina—even if that involves serious risks—Congress will cut off all aid.

I do not believe that Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES can speak for the entire Congress. They can only speak for themselves. Many of us resent their terms. It is unrealistic to disregard the doubts and fears that such an inflexible policy as they suggest, generates in the minds and hearts of our allies. Our allies wish to approach Geneva with some bargaining power. They are no less opposed to communism and Russia even though they drag their feet on EDC. Coercion and threats can only stiffen them against it. It is patience and persuasion which can win them over.

Our aid is as much a benefit to us as it is to our allies. They know that even if Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES do not.

Senators KNOWLAND and BRIDGES should be called to the White House and be reminded of what President Eisenhower said recently:

> The one mistake we must never make is to think of our friends in the international world as being tools of ours.

It would seem that KNOWLAND does not speak to the President and the President does not speak to BRIDGES. If we are to have a definite policy it is imperative that they all get together.

Restatement of Trinity Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks, I desire to include an editorial from the April 1 issue of the Eureka (Calif.) Humboldt Standard.

It is a reaffirmation of the position of the people in the Klamath River watershed that they desire to be heard fully and their water needs properly considered before any action is taken which would lead to diverting water from the Trinity River.

Humboldt and Del Norte Counties have a big stake in the Trinity River diversion controversy. This is a leading lumber producing area in the United States. That industry and allied ones depend to a great extent on an adequate water supply.

These counties must have assurance beyond doubt that their position will be fully and properly considered by appropriate committees of the Congress in discussions on the Trinity project.

The editorial, Restatement of Trinity Issue, is as follows:

RESTATEMENT OF TRINITY ISSUE

In view of the renewed agitation for diversion of the waters of the Trinity River to the Central Valley of the State as far south as the San Joaquin area, it is both timely and appropriate that Humboldt County go on record again relative to its position in this issue which for several years has been the center of a continuing controversy. This position was clearly delineated a few days ago when the Humboldt County Board of Supervisors not only took action in the matter but, as well, initiated steps to inform all concerned of the county's viewpoint which has been shared generally by the entire north-coast area.

In restating this position and stand, the board pointed out that the county has maintained a united, consistent position concerning the Trinity diversion project until the ultimate water needs of the county have been determined. Based on that policy, the board declared that the county will continue to oppose diversion until such ultimate needs are determined, and adequate provision made for the future industrial development of the north-coastal region.

However, the action taken by the board did not end with the restatement of the issue, as reflecting local opinion. At the same time, there was voiced the demand that the county be afforded local representation at any and all conferences now being planned, by interests elsewhere, relative to the current campaign to obtain congressional approval of the diversion program during the present session of the Congress.

With reference to the general position of the county, the board also pointed out that while the county invited the Bureau of Reclamation to conduct surveys to determine the ultimate water needs of the area, the preliminary report from that agency does not disclose such ultimate needs. Nor, indeed, can such needs be fully determined by local interests pending this vital information, involving sources and statistics which are not immediately available to any local agencies attempting to determine the same. Thus, in demanding that no positive or final

action be taken pending the determination of these needs, the board's contention is entirely sound and completely justified:

As to the second point raised by the board, that involving representation at forthcoming conferences, it may be recalled that this has been one of the points of irritation that has prompted criticism of the diversion project, ranging from questioning attitudes to outright opposition. Looking back toward the origin of the diversion project, indeed, Humboldt County people were the last to learn that such a move was being considered, notwithstanding the fact that the Trinity flows through the county for many miles to empty into the Klamath, which stream continues to traverse sectors of Humboldt and Del Norte Counties before reaching the sea. Throughout the entire course of the project campaign, there has been repeated effort on the part of its proponents to ignore the interests of Humboldt and the other north coast counties, and to bypass the coastal region in this matter of discussion and conferences.

This point becomes increasingly acute in view of the vigorous agitation now shaping up in the Central Valley areas which would benefit from the proposed diversion project. Recently, proponents of the project held a session in Fresno, to which representatives of central counties were invited but to which no invitation was issued to any north coast representatives. And again the local region learned of this conference only through news which reached local people second-hand, as it were, through the press. Moreover, these new proponents of the project have seemingly adopted a proprietary attitude toward the Trinity and gone direct to valley congressional representatives without cutting in either the north coast area or the State government in the proceedings. Perhaps the failure to invite local representatives may have been an oversight; but even if that be true, then this flouting of local interests simply reemphasizes the cavalier fashion in which proponents have treated all critics who have raised either questions or objections to the project.

On the basis of present plans, arranged again by proponents, without any consultation with north coast interests, further sessions on the Trinity issue are to be held during April in Fresno and in Redding. It is these particular sessions the supervisors had in mind when they demanded that Humboldt County be afforded representation and the right to participation in any discussions or debates. Obviously, it is imperative that such representation be present, in view of the equally obvious fact that there remain many questions as to the practicability of the diversion plan, not to mention the accompanying fact that still undetermined are the needs of the north coast area as related to the Trinity flow.

Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, the bill introduced by nine Republican Senators and Representatives — Representatives CRETELLA, FRELINGHUYSEN, FINO, MORANO, SCOTT, and myself and Senators HENDRICKSON, IVES, and SALTONSTALL—to rewrite the Immigration and Nationality Act following the position of the President that such action is needed to correct inequities and injustices now being widely discussed and commented upon proposes to correct discriminations and injustices now in the law, difficulties which have appeared in the course of its administration and to modernize the quota immigration system. It seems fundamentally equitable that the 1950 census be adopted as the basis for quotas; if this is done the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that the quota will be in the magnitude of 218,542 a year as compared with the present quota of 154,657. The bill also provides for the redistribution of unused quota numbers in one year to quotas heavily oversubscribed in the following year. Altogether it seeks the use of the quota system in accordance with its true spirit. An editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of April 14, 1954, is appended expressing satisfaction with the approach taken by this bill to our country's vitally important immigration policy:

MCCARRAN-WALTER REVISION

The bill introduced by nine Republican Senators and Representatives, proposing certain revisions in the McCarran-Walter immigration act, is welcome. Some of its provisions are in line with proposals made by the President in his 1953 State of the Union message, others are intended to correct inequities which have aroused widespread criticism. Taken as a whole, the bill would go far to redress the glaring imperfections of this highly controversial law.

Among other benefits, the new bill would set up definite standards for the issuance of visas; bar Fascist immigrants along with Communists; alter the present unfair regulations governing the deportation of aliens, and eliminate quota provisions discriminatory toward Asiatic and colonial peoples. The quota system in general would be radically altered by substitution of the 1950 census for the 1920 as a base and by a provision that the unused portions of any year's quotas be shared by nations with small allotments.

Unfortunately, Senator WATKINS, of Utah, chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has already indicated that the bill will have a chilly reception from him and from other lawmakers. Last August he wrote the President that the Refugee Act of 1953, authorizing the entry of 214,000 extra-quota aliens, went as far as Congress was prepared to go in action on immigration. After a 3-month survey of immigration act operations abroad, the Senator stood by his position, adding that a majority in Congress would oppose any change until the need for change had been established from actual operation of the act. This strong opposition, confirmed by Senator WATKINS' most recent statement, shows that friends of the bill will need courage and perseverance in their fight.

Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD what I consider to be one of the most penetrating newspaper columns on the Indochina situation I have read since the critical situation developed there in recent weeks. It is written by Bob Allen and is entitled "Is This a Sort of Second Korea?"

I say most respectfully that, in my judgment, the questions raised by Bob Allen in his column ought to be answered by the administration and by the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The people of this country are entitled to know the answers to the questions. They are particularly concerned with the fact that we may not be very far away from sending thousands of American boys into a military intervention in Asia, in an area, as was pointed out on the floor of the Senate this afternoon, where, if we get into that kind of war, we will not be able to get our boys back, because they will be lost either in prisoner-of-war camps or under fire. Indochina is not a place in which we could fight an all-out war, if one should break out, with Russia.

I believe it to be very important that we find the answers to some of the questions raised by Bob Allen in his very penetrating article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IS THIS A SORT OF SECOND KOREA?

(By Robert S. Allen)

WASHINGTON, April 8.—Secretary of State Dulles said a lot more about Indochina at his secret Saturday afternoon meeting with congressional leaders than he did in his subsequent public talking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Dulles' hush-hush conference may turn out to be as momentous as the one former President Truman held that Sunday afternoon in late June 1950, when the decision was made to use American forces to prevent the Communists from seizing South Korea.

What Dulles and Admiral Radford, who also did considerable talking, actually discussed was doing the same thing to avert a Red victory in aggression-ravaged Indochina.

The official description of this tightly guarded session as a briefing is one of the most imaginative euphemisms used in a long time.

The Republican and Democratic legislators expected a briefing. There wasn't the slightest hint to the contrary when they were asked to Dulles' office. Instead, they got the surprise of their lives.

Dulles and Radford propounded specific proposals for armed intervention in the 8-year-old Indochina conflict.

Dulles dealt with the civilian aspects of such action; Radford with the military. Dulles also stated he had summoned the congressional leaders at the express request of President Eisenhower.

Following are the secret measures outlined by Dulles and Radford:

The Senate and House to adopt a joint resolution authorizing the President to take all steps necessary to keep Indochina from falling into the hands of the Communists.

The United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand to unite in a limited commitment of air and naval forces to do two things: to save the desperately endangered fortress at Dien Bien Phu, and to safeguard the French from any other serious combat reverses until the torrential rains next month force a halt.

The lawmakers made no secret of their astonishment and alarm.

The Democrats asked a lot of questions, a few with definite partisan bias. The Republican leaders brought up a few questions but did considerable general talking much of it distinctly critical of the proposals.

No agreement was reached.

NOTE.—Throughout the 2½-hour meeting, no one said anything about using atomic weapons in Indochina.

Dulles did the talking on the proposed joint resolution.

Senate Republican Leader KNOWLAND, of California, bluntly questioned the wisdom of such a move unless the collapse of the French is actually imminent. This view was backed by Senator MILLIKIN, of Colorado, chairman of the Finance Committee, on the ground that neither Congress nor the people have been prepared for this drastic measure.

Senator CLEMENTS, of Kentucky, chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee, challenged the plan from another angle. He argued it would lead to protracted debate in Congress that would inevitably defeat the purpose of the resolution as a deterrent to Red China.

Other Democrats echoed this attitude. They argued that if the situation is as critical as pictured by Dulles and Radford, then President Eisenhower should take full responsibility and act as he deems best.

Senator RUSSELL, of Georgia, ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, raised another point.

"Wouldn't such a resolution be, in effect, a declaration of war?" he asked.

Dulles expressed belief the resolution could not be viewed in that light.

"It would be a broad request for authority," he explained. "It would not be a specific declaration of war, and I don't see how it could be interpreted that way. That is not our purpose."

Radford, in urging the need for reinforcing the French, stressed that the proposed air and naval forces would be kept in Indochina only until the present danger is over.

But he gravely warned the fall of Indochina would immediately imperil the Philippines, Formosa, Japan, and Korea.

"It is possible," the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff asserted, "that we might have to pull our main defenses all the way back to Hawaii. The loss of Indochina would lay all of southeast Asia open to Communist domination."

Radford was sharply critical of French management of the war.

Re Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Dulles went to London to induce Great Britain to join with the United States and other countries by way of giving a collective warning to Communist China prior to the Geneva Conference. But Secretary Dulles went up the hill and now is down again. Britain refused to go along with this declaration, and Mr. Dulles had to drop his plan for a pre-Geneva warning to the Peiping government against further intervention in Indochina. All he got for his pains was Britain's backing for a defense pact. In effect, this defense pact means that if the Geneva Conference is a dud and hostilities are not stopped in Southeast Asia, then the British would go along with a kind of Pacific NATO. Dulles had previously envisaged a sort of united warning by some 10 nations acting in concert, 5 of whom were to include the United States, France, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand; and 5 were to include the Asian nations of Thailand, the Philippines, and the three Associated States of Indochina, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Britain's refusal to go along with the pre-Geneva warning now casts a shadow over the whole idea and Dulles is having rough going. The Philippines, I am sure, would not have assented. President Magsaysay would have consented, but his Senate would have blocked action. The leaders of the Senate, Senators Laurel and Recto, have have been saying that it is not the business of the Philippines even if Indochina goes Communist. The Associated States of Indochina, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, would no nothing without the consent of France. Undoubtedly, the same cold reception would be given to the idea of collective warning prior to Geneva, in Paris, as in London. Dulles wil find keen opposition even to any united action prior to Geneva. Australia and New Zealand undoubtedly will follow Britain.

What sticks in my craw is the startling suddenness of many of the decisions made by Secretary Dulles. He makes grandiloquent statements and then has to back down when he stubs his toe. All this causes us to lose face. One gets the notion that he may not be making his decisions with uttermost care and after most mature reflection and deliberation. Certainly there has been no consultation with responsible congressional leaders of both parties of both Houses. Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are in the dark as to these sudden decisions. The public is not informed. I do not ask the State Department to operate in a goldfish bowl, but in these parlous times when there is grave possibility that American forces may be used to prevent the collapse of Indochina, the public is entitled to more than Mr. Dulles cares to reveal. As James Reston of the New York Times recently said:

> Various important pronouncements in recent weeks have created a sense of uncertainty, of improvisation entirely out of keeping with the gravity of the subjects concerned. * * * There is an uneasy feeling here, even among many of Mr. Dulles' supporters, in the State Department, that he is gambling an awful lot on his own instinct. They don't know whether he is bluffing the Reds or getting the United States ready for military action in Indochina, and, after all the casual talk about "massive retaliation," they don't particularly like either course.

Secretary Dulles, not too long ago, at the instance of Ambassadress Luce, made some blundering statements concerning Trieste, in which he threatened Yugoslavia and Italy to get together or dire consequences would befall. The Dulles-Luce statement only served to exacerbate the tensions between the two countries. There was no getting together and there were no dire consequences. Mr. Dulles was only made to look ridiculous. A year or so ago, Secretary Dulles, again, threatened France to the effect that unless she accepted EDC, no United States aid would be forthcoming. France resisted and still resists, and aid has not been cut off. Mr. Dulles was left mighty uncomfortable.

Now, with reference to the new Pacific NATO plan, what does it mean? We have not been informed. A warning to Indochina is one thing, but collective action in southeast Asia is something quite different. We are told at the outset that the new southeast Asia pact would exclude Formosa and Japan. Why? We are not told. Has any approach been made to India? Has India been consulted? What about Pakistan? What about Indonesia? They are countries that are vitally interested in southeast Asia. We are told that a southeast Asia NATO would include the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and the Associated States of Indochina. What effect would such a NATO have on ANZUS? Would it commit us to the defense of Hong Kong or Malay? What about the colonial issues which are so inherent in the southeast Asia situation? France's colonialism undoubtedly was one of the main causes of the war in Indochina. There has been no debate of any sort on these momentous questions. In any event, any kind of an alinement, united action, united warning, would be futile unless we tell the Asian people that not only in Indochina but in all parts of southeast Asia, colonialism must go and their striving for independence must be encouraged and independence achieved.

The American people will not swallow the contents of the bottle of any southeast NATO unless they are fully aware of the constituent parts of those contents. It behooves President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles to take the Nation a bit more into their confidence.

Governor Dewey's Address at the Inaugural Dinner, United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, there is appended hereto the address of the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, delivered at the inaugural dinner of the United Jewish Appeal, in New York on April 1, 1954. This address shows the continued deep concern with our foreign policy of New York's Governor. It is especially noteworthy for Governor Dewey's thorough understanding of Near East and Far East problems and his continued ad-

vocacy of a Pacific defense agreement, which he has urged for a long time and which in the Pacific Treaty Organization is now becoming United States foreign policy:

It warms my heart to come again to the inaugural dinner of the United Jewish Appeal and I consider it a great pleasure to be with you. This cause has been close to my heart for many years and the progress since the early meetings when UJA was founded 15 years ago has been staggering.

In Biblical times the events that have occurred in this short space would surely have been recorded as divine miracles. The emaciated and the dying from the concentration camps are being salvaged and nursed back to health. Tens of thousands of uprooted Jews in Europe have been resettled in free countries all over the world and helped to rebuild their lives.

As one of those who led the fight to establish the State of Israel I have always felt that the money raised by the UJA was the firm rock upon which this priceless refuge was founded. As a result, the displaced persons camps are now almost emptied. Countless Jews of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary have geen saved; the oppressed Jews of Yemen were flown in airlifts to safety.

More than 15,000 refugee immigrants have become a part of the life of America and this enormous task has been achieved without strain on our social or economic fabric. More than 98 percent of those we have welcomed here are completely self-supporting today.

This is a thrilling tale of the saving of more than 2 million lives.

The question posed by this inaugural dinner is whether the tale will continue to be a thrilling and successful adventure of hope and rescue. There is much—far too much—still to be done. The deserts have blossomed in Israel, the homeless have shelter, and industry has begun to flower. But the hard task of building a full economic life in the desert has not been completed and immense help is still needed. There are still isolated Jewish communities in north Africa which urgently need help.

There is a truce but no peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The explosive borders, which run through the middle of streets and even homes, are focal points of continuing economic and emotional strain, as well as a genuine danger to the peace of the Near East.

It would be fatuous to ignore the dangerous nature of border incidents; they are a peril point of real gravity. It is a primary task of statesmanship to build harmony in these close-knit neighboring communities so that men of good will can give their time to human welfare—to the production of goods and services—instead of the maintenance of armed camps.

Having fought and sacrificed to create the glorious Israeli homeland and a refuge for the sick, the persecuted, and the homeless, we have an acute interest in the essential steps which lie ahead to bring about peace, irade, and harmony in that area.

As Americans and citizens of the free world, we can only view with dismay the treacherous conduct of the Soviet Union which has played both sides for its own purposes. So long as it served the Soviet design of driving out the British, the Kremlin supported Israel. Almost immediately the Soviet did a complete about-face, swinging back to its traditional position of violent anti-Semitism, and has since evinced nothing but open or covert hostility to the Republic of Israel.

When the Security Council of the United Nations censured an Israeli raid last November, the Soviet Union cynically abstained. Whenever a majority takes action opposed by Israel the Russians are pleased and pretend to take no part.

On the other hand, when the Council majority took the part of Israel in January in the Jordan River dispute, Mr. Vishinsky thundered a stinging vote.

It is difficult at times to separate the incident of the day from the flow of history but one relentless stream of policy is emerging with deadly clarity. The Soviet Union is determined by every dishonorable device at its command to fish in the troubled waters of the Arab world, to stir up tension, violence and revolution. Her ultimate purpose is to bring first the Arabs and then the entire Moslem world under the Communist heel.

That is an ambitious project but not one too great for conquerors who look back with satisfaction upon having swallowed the 100 million people of Central Europe and the 450 million people of China. The Moslem Crescent, extending from Morocco on the West Coast of Africa through the whole of Asia, all the way down to Indonesia, is an immediate Russian objective.

In this vast chess game for world conquest each Soviet vote in the United Nations against Israel is another step to win the Moslem world. It was only Tuesday of this week that Mr. Vishinsky thundered another veto, again against Israel, in a dispute over the Suez Canal.

What he did was intentionally to destroy the ability of the Security Council to bring peace to the Near East.

One of the tragedies of world history is that little Israel should be used as a pawn by the Soviets in their scheme of conquest. It would be a greater tragedy if we of the free world should fail to understand exactly what is going on.

Because there are no great wars now in progress, it may appear to the unthinking that we are now enjoying a breathing spell in the cold war. But the turmoil of the Near East is only one facet of the unrelenting warfare waged by communism against civilization.

They have made much progress in Africa; they have a firm foothold in Latin America and much of Western Europe is in peril from political action from within. Perhaps the most critical spot at this moment is Indochina.

Three years ago I was convinced that, following the end of the Korean war, Indochina would emerge as the crisis spot. As a result I spent a summer in the Pacific to see at firsthand the nature of the problem.

Let me assure you that the fight for Indochina is a cruel and desperate struggle for the highest stakes. In magnitude of purpose and in sinister concept it is comparable only to the Soviet effort to win over the whole Moslem world.

The news today centers around the tiny inland post of Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam, Indochina. It is Dien Bien Phu today, Hanoi tomorrow, and the capital of Laos the next day: It is a continuing war of attrition which has already lasted these 7 long years.

Indochina itself would be no small gain, involving a population of 30 millions of people: but it seems so far away that it is hard for us to realize its vital importance. Stretching from China to the Gulf of Siam, Indochina covers the entire east coast of southeast Asia. For more than a hundred years it has been a French colony and in the last decade the French Government has granted to its three component nations substantially complete independence within the French Union. Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are today almost as free as Canada, Australia, and other members of the British Commonwealth. Nevertheless the Communist war of conquest is waged in the fraudulent name of nationalism.

This is not new. Just to make sure there is no confusion in the mind of anyone, it should be made clear that Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietminh forces, has been a Communist agent all his life. As in so many of these cases a number of American journalists and others swallowed his pretense of being just an agrarian reformer. They apparently did not learn, or did not want to learn the lesson of the other American innocents or worse who swallowed the propaganda that Mao Tse Tung was just a Chinese "agrarian reformer." More than 135,000 American casualties in Korea prove how wrong they were.

As far back as 1916 Ho Chi Minh was active in Communist circles in Paris. After that he spent nearly 10 years in the Kremlin, becoming an integrated part of the Communist scheme of world conquest. In 1925 he became an adviser to Borodin at the Soviet Consulate in Canton, China, meanwhile traveling through southeast Asia organizing Communist fronts. He is still the commander in chief for Moscow in its efforts to conquer Indochina.

It is of the greatest world significance that the Secretary of State and the present national administration have taken such clear and effective steps to aid in this desperate struggle. The speech of the Secretary of State on Tuesday was a luminous statement of our purpose. He made it clear that as the leaders of the free world, we cannot accept a Communist conquest of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Now was this statement made to save French interests in Indochina? Obviously not. The French have limited financial interests in Indochina and have been carrying on one of the most sacrificial struggles of our time, unselfishly, on behalf of all of us. On the side of the French and the Vietnamese, total casualties are more than 177,000, nearly half of whom are killed or missing.

Some people ask why France has not built up larger forces for the defense of Europe. One simple answer is that a nation needs officers to train armies. The French have lost more officers in Indochina in each of the last several years than they have graduated from St. Cyr.

Why else is this a matter of such prime concern to our country? It is not only the 30 million people of Indochina. It is because if those 30 million people are lost it would take a modern miracle to save Thailand and Burma. They would then largely be surrounded by Communist aggressors. If those three nations go down, the rice bowl is gone. Southeast Asia produces two-thirds of the exportable rice of the world. It is rich in rubber, tin, oil, and iron ore.

Still it is not just people and not just resources. If Southeast Asia goes, Malaya would be just an appendix, isolated and in an impossible situation. So would Singapore.

What happens then to Indonesia, the newest great nation on earth, the sixth largest in size, with its 80 million people? This nation, made up of the former Dutch East Indies, has huge resources of tin, rubber, oil, tea, and other products they need to export and which the free world requires. If these areas are gone, where will Japan trade? Where will she get the rice to make up her food deficit? How will 80 million Japanese survive economically? How would Formosa and the Philippines survive and what would be the fate of Australia and New Zealand, totally isolated from the free world?

A grand total of 300 million people live in these countries—nearly twice as many as in the whole United States. These are able, hard working people. Free from Soviet control they provide a decisive margin to the free world; conquered they would give the

Soviets a majority of the people of the civilized world.

The resources of the area are almost unbelievable. They include two-thirds of the exportable rice of the world, nine-tenths of the natural rubber produced in the world, more than half of the world's tin and an increasing share of its oil.

Even this is not the whole horror implicit in the struggle for Indochina. If southeast Asia should fall, India and Pakistan would be almost completely surrounded by the hostile armed forces of Red aggression. Whether any nation could survive under those circumstances is extremely doubtful.

The trials we face, then, in North Africa, in Israel and in Indochina are all of a single piece. The Soviet Union controls the top three-quarters of Asia and 800 million people. The issue is whether communism is to swarm over the rest of Asia in a conquest extending from Japan to the Mediterranean. The outcome will mean life or death for the free world.

I have been asked whether the warning by the Secretary of State concerning Indochina means that we intend to launch another Korea. Speaking only for myself at all times, I think the answer is clear. The statement was designed for the opposite purpose—to prevent another Korea. The way we got into Korea was because in January of 1950, our Government announced that Korea was outside of our defense perimeter. Having set up the republic we then withdrew our troops and abandoned it. That created a power vacuum and served as an invitation for the Communist attack 5 months later.

This is the opposite. Our purpose today is to make certain there will be no more Koreas. On January 12 of this year, the Secretary of State made it clear that the United States will meet the Communist challenge vigorously and at places of our own choosing; that we will reinforce local defenses by the deterrent of massive retaliatory power. As part of this policy we help to support and develop independent, native strength.

It means that the Soviet Empire can no longer be certain that we will react only at the time and place of its choosing.

The free world is not without the capacity for overwhelming retaliation. We have now let the aggressor know in advance that we will use effective means to make aggression too costly to be attempted. Having the strength, our sole purpose is to build peace.

I have pleaded and worked for years in the hope that we could work out a Pacific defense agreement similar to the North Atlantic Treaty. This should be our ultimate aim. We must finally understand that freedom is inseparable. We must continue to make it clear that the free nations will not tolerate picking off the small or the sick nations, one by one.

The world is too small for comfort. Peace and security will only be achieved by strength. They will never be achieved by running away from reality or by abandoning the world bit by bit.

It is an interesting fact that despite continuous threats, bluster, and hostile action since World War II, the Soviet has not launched one single attack where it did not have every reason to believe it was sure to win. Dictatorship is deathly afraid of failure.

Our task is to prevent any misunderstanding—to make it crystal clear that the free world is united and no aggression will be tolerated. We must allow no homegrown chauvinism to divide us or our allies; we must permit no diversions from the great task of saving humanity itself. With faith in the rightness of our cause we can make the free world not only healthy spiritually and economically, but brave enough and firm enough to prevent war and win the peace.

City Prosperity Depends on Farm Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. HAGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, there can be no prosperity for the people of the cities and towns of America if the farm of America is not prosperous. This is especially true of the rural communities who depend almost entirely and directly on the farmer for their very existence.

Merchants across the Nation recognize this basic fact of life in our economy and they are expressing themselves on the side of the farmer in urging that he be guaranteed his fair share of the prosperity of the country.

An example of how the town merchants feel about a strong farm price-support system, which I have always urged, is the following statement and signatures which appeared in the Valley Journal at Halstad, Minn., on March 31, 1954:

FARM AND TOWN PROSPERITY GO HAND IN HAND

As businessmen we know we live in predominantly agricultural areas and we recognize that unless we have a prosperous agriculture we will not have prosperous business communities. For this reason we view as serious the continuing farm price slump and the prediction by Federal Reserve bank authorities that farmers may suffer another 10 percent decline in 1954.

Farm prices are already too low. We will vigorously resist any proposal to lower them even further by dropping the level of the price support. Any program to deliberately lower farm prices and income is dangerous to our rural communities and can only result in weakening our entire national economy.

We insist that Congress maintain a strong farm price-support program with a price floor at not less than 90 percent of parity on all major farm productions; not only on the basics, but on dairy products and other perishables; and field crops such as oats, rye, barley, flax, and soybeans as well.

It is important for all people to understand that a strong farm price support system is in the best long-run interest of all of us, farmers, businessmen, and townspeople alike.

We pledge ourselves to work side by side with farmers to extend and expand our agricultural program.

Harold V. Nelson, Editor, Valley Journal; Robert Brooks, Coowner, Hastad Cafe; Nygaard and Hastad Store; O. D. Bervig, Manager, Halstad Co-op Elevator; Leonard Johnson, Manager, Oil Department, Halstad Elevator; Clayton C. Drake, Owner, Valley Cleaners; H. C. McLaughlin, Owner, McLaughlin Chevrolet Co.; T. B. Gabby, Superintendent, Halstad Municipalities; Clarence Hedahl, Owner, Hedahl Produce; Orville Fallaas Blacksmith Shop; M. O. Opgrand Insurance Agency; Elmer Johnson, Owner Halstad Bakery; Robert Gustafson, Owner, South Service Station; John C. Sulerud and Clark Sulerud, Sulerud Hardware; Fritz W. Herberg, Owner, Herberg Service; H. T. Rice, Owner, Halstad Drug Store; J. W. Cochrane, Dentist; Dr. E. Erickson; C. T. Estenson, Manager, Halstad Telephone Co.; Peter Fog, Vocational Agriculture Instructor; Arnold Kittleson, Superintendent of Halstad School; Carl Opsahl, Clergyman; Ernest Enger, Owner, Ford Garage; Ralph Johnston, Owner, Hartz Store; Louis M. Ogaard Tavern; C. J. Hastad, Professional Engineer; Stener Stenerson, Manager, Stenerson Bros. Lumber Co.; Milton Carlson, Owner, Valley Farmers Supply and Hatchery; Leland Henderson, Grain Buyer; O. J. Reitan, Halstad Mercantile Co.; Eldor Aalgaard, Manager, Halstad Creamery Co.; G. A. Thalacker, Manager, REA; W. R. Wang, Standard Oil Agent; C. J. Gilbert, Woodman Theater; E. L. Knowles, Manager, Peavey Elevator; Melvin Peterson, Commander, American Legion; Ted Olson Dray Line; Jarl Sundseth, Postmaster; Elmer O. Horge, Barber; Arnold Kruse, Manager, Halstad Municipal Liquor Store; L. H. Oftedahl, Accountant; Hauge Bros., Taxidermists; Harold Wiese, Owner, Wiese Equipment Co.; Ralph O. Bossart, Owner, Ralph's Cafe and Hotel; Red River State Bank; J. A. Sipe, Owner, Halstad Implement Co.; Lawrence Foley, Owner, Foley's Gamble Store; J. O. Hesby, Owner, Hesby Service Station; E. R. Hage.

New Power Policy Hurts Labor, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "New Power Policy Hurts Labor, Too," written by W. P. Kennedy, president, one of the distinguished labor leaders of this country, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and published in the January 1954 issue of the Rural Electrification magazine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW POWER POLICY HURTS LABOR, TOO

(By W. P. Kennedy, president, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen)

The same administration electric power policy which threatens adequate wholesale power supply for rural electric cooperatives is a threat to American labor, including trainmen whose jobs are dependent on an expanding level of business activity in the Nation.

Without abundant, reasonable-cost energy, there will be a slow-down in industrial development and activity as surely as there will be a slow-down in rural electrification, low voltages and inadequate power on the farms.

HELLS CANYON, AN EXAMPLE

The meaning of the new giveaway policy to both farmers and labor is well illustrated in the case of Hells Canyon, where the Administration has withdrawn objections to the Idaho Power Co. building three little run-of-the-river dams in the place of one huge multipurpose Federal dam.

Farmers need abundant, low-cost powers in this area for their rural electric systems

and for the development of large cooperative phosphate fertilizer projects in southeastern Idaho. Three farmer co-op groups, Western Farmers of Walla Walla, Wash.; Central Farmers of Chicago, Ill., and Farmers Union, have phosphate rock holdings in the area and are waiting for electric power to develop huge fertilizer plants.

But if the Idaho Power Co. gets the permit, there will be no electric furnace fertilizer plants—the power will be too costly.

Hearings show that the proposed Federal dams at Hells Canyon would add 1,460,000 kilowatts of generating capacity to the Columbia Basin power system. The three small Idaho Power Co. dams would add only 885,000 kilowatts of capacity—575,000 kilowatts or about 40 percent less than the Federal structure.

POWER RATES COMPARED

The Government power would sell for $21 per kilowatt year or about 3.5 mills (about one-third of 1 cent) per kilowatt-hour. The Idaho Power Co. electricity would have to sell at $38 per kilowatt-year, or 6 mills (six-tenths of 1 cent) per kilowatt-hour.

Under a recent Supreme Court ruling, sustaining the right of the Federal Government to use spare capacity of a transmission line built across Federal lands in Idaho, Hells Canyon power could be transmitted to the phosphate area for sale even lower than the 3.5 mills cited above.

The 3.5-mill power would make electric furnace processing and the development of the phosphate plants possible. That would mean low-cost fertilizer for the farmers of the West and Midwest. It would mean jobs for workmen, more freight for the railroads and, as railroad trainmen put it, more freight would mean more "beans for brakemen."

The loss of the 575,000 kilowatts of power potential in the Snake River canyon—and such a loss is involved in the fight between Federal and private development—would mean tremendous economic and job losses to the area and the Nation.

The 1950 census showed that there had been a gain of 325,000 jobs in the Tennessee Valley during the existence of the TVA. The TVA had provided 3.5-million kilowatts of low-cost energy capacity up to that time. This figure, and Bonneville Power Administration experience, both indicate that a new job is provided by approximately each 11 kilowatts of new, low-cost generating capacity.

INCOME, JOB LOSS

Simple arithmetic therefore indicates that the loss of 575,000 kilowatts of potential, low-cost energy will mean the loss of 52,000 jobs in the area, and of tremendous industrial income, taxes, and new service business opportunities.

The Public Affairs Institute has estimated the loss would be at least $180 million in payrolls, $525 million in products value, and around $30 million in Federal taxes annually.

Industries are lined up waiting for low-cost electricity so they can get started. Both TVA and Bonneville have had to turn away many private enterprises because they lacked generating capacity to supply new industries. The electro-process industries especially need electric power sources. So there is no doubt that the development of abundant power at reasonable cost will mean industrial growth.

An advantage always claimed by the private power companies is that they are tax-paying enterprises and Federal projects are not.

Idaho Power Co. claims that it would pay $9,750,000 a year in taxes as a result of its three-dam scheme. This probably would prove untrue, for the company is already applying for Federal accelerated tax amortization certificates on its two upper dams. If granted, this would mean large tax savings.

But assuming it paid full taxes, the cost to the citizens of this tax revenue would be—

Increase of $17 per kilowatt-year in the cost of power (from $21 per kilowatt-year to $38 as cited above). The extra power cost would be more than the taxes collected.

Loss of the 575,000 kilowatts of salable power capacity, and of all the jobs, payrolls and production outlined above.

Loss of taxes from the industries and workmen, and their properties, which would be lost to the area.

Loss of irrigation, farmsteads, and increased property values and business activity which irrigation aided by Hells Canyon revenues would bring to the region.

Again the experience of the Nation with the TVA is an excellent example of the falsity of the power company's short-sighted arguments.

Before the TVA started, the 7 Tennessee Valley States paid 3.4 percent of total national income taxes. In 1952, with TVA, the 7 valley States paid 6.2 percent of all national income taxes. This was an increase of 2.8 percent in the proportion of the Federal income taxes borne in the basin. That equaled a $900 million increase in Federal tax payments from the TVA States in 1952 alone.

Over the years, the increase in proportion of taxes paid by the Tennessee Valley States has amounted to $7 billion and the annual amount is still climbing.

Such increases in revenue, based on the increased prosperity of the area, make the amount of taxes which Idaho Power Co. would pay look picayune indeed.

A policy of abundant, low-cost electric power for the Nation is a must for all of us, farmers, workers and the true, free-enterprise segment of our economy alike.

Tribute to Devotion of Civil Air Patrol Pilots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation many thousands of volunteer pilots are organized in the Civil Air Patrol to render emergency peacetime and wartime service to fellow flyers and to the public—service rendered without compensation.

Last week two officers of the Baltimore CAP squadron lost their lives in a plane crash while on a search mission for a missing Air Force jet T–33 near Chesapeake Bay.

The officers who thus gave "the last full measure of devotion" to their fellow men were the Rev. Edward G. Conrad, pastor of the Aisquith Presbyterian Church and a CAP squadron chaplain, and Capt. Anthony Synodinos. In this Holy Week, when we are wont to give thought to the meaning of sacrifice "even unto death," it is appropriate that we pause in tribute to these two men.

The hazard these men took in line of duty, and the sacrifice they made, attests eloquently to the importance of this agency of service and mercy and to the hazardous and rigorous duties which membership in the Civil Air Patrol involves.

It will not be amiss to bear these facts in mind when reasonable and proper requests for congressional support are received in behalf of this civilian agency.

Annual Communion Breakfast, Valladolid Council No. 70, Knights of Columbus, Lynn, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a portion of my remarks which I delivered at the annual communion breakfast, Valladolid Council No. 70, Knights of Columbus, on Sunday, April 11, 1954:

The name of Vallodolid Council always brings to mind a great Christian civilization of centuries past, and one of the most thriving chapters of a growing organization dedicated to God and country, that is known as the Knights of Columbus.

The profound relationship between the two is taking on a new and important meaning in our time.

I refer to Spain, the first nation to resist communism without qualification, and to the developing alliance between Spain and the United States for the purpose of protecting what we, at this communion breakfast, treasure above all else—the freedom to practice our Catholic faith.

Spain was criticized for many years for taking a forthright stand against communism and for refusing to compromise in any way with the evil that it saw so clearly.

We, in the United States, are now waking up to that fact.

It is fortunate for us that Spain never weakened in her faith or her resolution. For in that strategic country, which is the key to the Mediterranean, and with the cooperation of its government and its people, we have started to build air and naval bases where our poised power will serve as a deterrent to Communist expansion south and west and outflank any Red attempt to sweep across Europe to the English Channel.

Increasing contacts between the two nations will not only put more muscle into the anti-Communist coalition, but will serve to reunite the Christian family of this world and remove the divisions upon which communism has thrived in its campaign to pick off the nations of Europe, one by one.

We have too much of the secular, and too much separatism, in our efforts to halt the spread of atheistic communism.

Only as we come together, united by the fellowship of faith, can we hope to slow down and turn back the monstrous conspiracy that threatens western civilization, and Christianity itself.

Some people shudder when they see pictures of the devastating material energy let loose by the hydrogen bomb.

They are people of little faith.

Who have strayed from religion.

Who have forgotten that they have souls.

Who are denying the greatest power of all, the help of God, to give them the spiritual resources to conquer fear and the wisdom to control the manmade instruments that might otherwise explode in worldwide devastation.

Here is the dread possibility that the materialism we have developed to the exclusion

of all else may come home to us with a vengeance.

With our pagan worship of bigness, we have now made something so big that it scares us.

Even now, confused cries rend the air. "Stop making these bombs." "Keep on making them in the desperate race to stay ahead." "What can we do for civil defense?" "Empty the cities?" "Where are the plans?" "But they say there's no place to hide."

That is up to the various agencies of Government and to voluntary groupings of citizens. Mankind will survive. Not without cost. There is always a price to pay for mistakes.

But what about each one of us, the single, unique, life that is our own to account for?

Alone, beset by anxieties on every side?

No person is ever alone who puts his faith in the creator of all life.

And the Nation itself will rise above fear when it rearms itself spiritually, living up to the motto: "In God We Trust."

For the United States is only as strong as the sum of the courage, and belief, and patience, that each one of us brings to the responsibility of living up to right standards of thought and conduct. Like those taught by our holy mother church.

In an age of extreme and continuing danger, we must not give way to defeatism or hysteria.

The Knights of Columbus is showing the way toward the spiritual regeneration of our Nation, mobilizing the power for good that will master the Frankenstein of science and the anti-Christ of communism.

For the truths that we worship are eternal.

Security and Economy Both Disregarded in Defense Department Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PAUL W. SHAFER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, since the Department of the Army closed the Percy Jones Army Hospial at Battle Creek, Mich., in my district, last September, I have been trying to secure a Defense department decision either to find other use for this property or to release it to private enterprise.

In a memorandum to Defense Secretary Wilson last November 19, I called attention to the financial loss to the Government and the blighting effect upon the community of having this facility, with a $35 million replacement value, standing idle.

Subsequently it was proposed that the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency, responsible for procurement of all medical supplies for the Armed Forces and Civil Defense and for wartime mobilization of the medical supply industry, as well as for developmental engineering and laboratory testing in this field, be relocated and consolidated in the Percy Jones property.

This proposal was unqualifiedly recommended and endorsed by the Chief of Agency, the Directorate of the Agency, the Surgeons General of the three military departments, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health and Medical.

It was shown, by extensive and thorough studies, that the move would eliminate a very grave defense hazard arising from the present location of the headquarters in the prime target area of Brooklyn. It was also shown that it would result in substantial savings which would amortize the relocation costs in less than 3 years, and thereafter save $172,000 a year, and that it would release property now owned by the Government with a rental value of over $600,000 a year, making it available for other military installations now occupying rental property. It was shown that the move would solve a serious space deficiency now facing the agency, and that it would greatly increase operating efficiency through consolidation of the various units.

When, however, the proposal reached the desk of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Supplies and Logistics, the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, who next month becomes Secretary of the Navy, the proposal struck a snag. After months of alleged conferences, studies, doubletalk and runarounds, I was advised this week that this proposed utilization of the valuable Percy Jones property had been turned down.

In the letter from Mr. Thomas, advising me of the adverse decision, no mention whatever was made of the factors of economy and efficiency involved in the proposal—which suggests that the economy consciousness of the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force has not yet permeated the higher realms of the Defense Department.

Under leave to extend my remarks, and in order that this House may be familiarized with the dilatory tactics, economic waste, and superficial arguments offered in support of the adverse decision, I include the letter from Secretary Thomas and my own reply of this date:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., April 13, 1954.

Mr. PAUL W. SHAFER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SHAFER: This office is familiar with the proper and strenuous effort you have made to have the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency moved from its present location in Brooklyn and Fort Totten, N. Y., and St. Louis, Mo., to the Percy Jones Army Hospital at Battle Creek, Mich.

As you know, the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency initiated a study of the removal of their activity and recommended that it be moved to the Percy Jones Army Hospital at Battle Creek.

When this office was advised of this recommendation, it was necessary that we make a complete and objective study of the problem to find out, first, the functions of this particular activity, and second, if it could establish a precedent for the moving of many other like facilities from their present locations.

It was found that this was merely a buying office and there were no medical supplies stored in this facility. It was also found that a move of this kind at this time could establish such a precedent for moving of other facilities.

When all of the facts and information were assembled, it was found that there were several basic reasons which would prevent authorizing this move.

For example, there is no present policy or directive which would authorize the precedent of starting to move established facilities of this kind. As stated before, if the decision to move this facility was made because of its vulnerable location, many other facilities should also be moved.

We are also advised that under the terms of the Geneva Conference a hospital, in order to be used, can house no other activity and serve no other purpose than that of a hospital. Therefore, if this Procurement Agency were moved to Percy Jones Army Hospital, it would either eliminate the use of the remaining 600 beds in case of war or the Agency would again have to be moved to some other location.

In addition, the Department of the Army has established a mobilization requirement for the entire bed capacity for the Percy Jones Army Hospital in the event of war.

I am sure that you can see from the above, and for the reasons stated, that it is not within our province to authorize this move.

We again want to say that we have appreciated your interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

C. S. THOMAS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 14, 1954.

HON. CHARLES S. THOMAS,
Assistant Secretary of Defense,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Needless to say, I am completely dissatisfied with the decision regarding relocation of the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency at Percy Jones Army hospital, and my confidence in Defense Department planning has been severely shaken thereby.

I am especially shocked by the superficiality and contradictory character of the alleged reasons for the decision cited in your letter of April 13.

The conclusion seems inescapable that you feel that the agency responsible for all medical procurement for the Armed Forces and civil defense, and responsible also for mobilization of the medical supply industry in wartime and for developmental engineering and laboratory testing in this field—the agency which you disparagingly refer to as "merely a buying office"—is of minor importance.

You apparently believe that no great hazard to the national security in a sudden emergency is involved in leaving this agency in an admittedly prime atomic target area. Such thinking, in my judgment, is either incredibly superficial or incredibly callous.

I am sure that neither the American people nor the Congress will be pleased with the view that this agency, with its administrative and technical personnel and its vital functions is expendable, merely because of the bureaucratic inconvenience of relocating it.

Your statement that there are no medical supplies stored in this facility—a fact of which I have always been fully aware—seems to suggest that had this been the case a different decision might have been reached. Does this mean that higher priority is attached to the protection of material stockpiles than to the protection of skilled administrative and professional personnel and their vital functions?

You claim that there is no present policy or directive which would authorize or justify transfer of this agency. If this is true, which I find incredible, there should be such a policy forthwith. Otherwise, the whole dispersal and civil-defense program is an obvious fake and sham. The argument you offer completely belies the reported concern of Secretary Wilson for relocation of more military offices outside strategic target areas.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Federal Civil Defense Administration is seeking relocation of its central offices outside Washington in the interests of increased security and has already relocated

several regional offices for the identical reason. Apparently civil defense does not feel itself powerless to take steps dictated by obvious common sense and prudence, and apparently civil defense does not feel that its action on this score will set off a chain reaction of exodus. Incidentally, civil defense itself is dependent on the medical procurement agency for the equipment required to fulfill its own mission.

I can discover no possible basis, in logic or common sense, for arguing that this vital military agency must remain frozen in a location of peril because the present dispersal policy does not call for mass removal of established industrial concerns—a step which no one is advocating. On the other hand, I cannot conceive of successful government advocacy of dispersal of new and expanded industrial facilities if the Defense Department refuses to practice what it preaches with respect to a virtually new military agency. This is especially so in view of the fact that removal of this agency would stimulate dispersal of new and additional medical supply production facilities.

The argument that this facility should not be removed from its admittedly vulnerable location because its removal would mean that other military facilities now in the New York area should also be moved is the ultimate in a do-nothing attitude. If other military facilities in the New York area should be moved that fact is not affected by any decision as to whether the medical procurement agency should or should not be removed.

The position you take on this point amounts to saying that if there is one egg in a weak basket it is permissible to remove it, but that if there are a dozen eggs in a weak basket none may be removed. This is appalling thinking for the hydrogen-bomb age.

The most fantastic portion of your letter is the use of the Geneva Convention alibi for refusing to locate the agency at Percy Jones. This is "digging mighty deep in the barrel" for an excuse for bureaucratic inaction.

The truth is that the Geneva Convention assures protection for "medical establishments"—and the agency here involved is strictly a medical establishment and a service agency to the medical departments of the Armed Forces. Indeed, article 21 of the convention specifically provides:

"The protection to which fixed establishments and mobile medical units of the Medical Service are entitled shall not cease unless they are used to commit, outside their humanitarian duties, acts harmful to the enemy."

The appeal to the technical niceties of Geneva Convention protocol made in your letter will, I am sure, make a profound impression on the savages of the Kremlin. If the Defense Department had sound reasons for its decision on the medical procurement agency, it would scarcely have been necessary to go 3,000 miles afield, to Geneva, Switzerland, to recruit an alibi.

The plain fact of the matter is that this decision overrides all military and professional authorities responsible for execution of the agency's mission, including the chief of agency, the agency directorate, the surgeons general of the three services and the assistant secretary of defense for health and medical.

It also obviously overrides the view expressed by Admiral Carney, Navy member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that—

"It appears to me for strategic reasons, Battle Creek, Mich., is the more desirable location for the Agency."

Furthermore, the decision completely ignores the important considerations of economy, efficiency and increased space requirements of the agency cited as additional reasons for relocation and consolidation of the agency. It also ignores the fact that removal of the agency would release Government-owned properties for use by military installations now located in rental properties.

It is worthy of note that this decision follows strenuous pork barrel protests from New York State politicians—protests based on the completely false premise that removal of the agency "would in no practical sense improve the safety factor."

New York State, as you may know, has just spent $2,500,000 for 100,000 litter-cots for its Civil Defense Commission. Yet the officials of this State have demended that the agency charged with all medical procurement, and with mobilization of the medical supply industry in event of war, remain in a prime target area—and Defense Department officials have weakly bowed to that demand.

You state in your letter that the Department of the Army has established a mobilization requirement for the entire bed capacity of Percy Jones in event of war. This completely contradicts the statement of the Army Surgeon General that "in the event of occupancy by the Armed Services Medical Procurement Agency the mobilization mission for Percy Jones Army Hospital will be tailored so as to permit permanent occupancy by the agency."

The question as to the future status of the $35 million Percy Jones property, which I raised in my original memorandum of November 19, 1953, to Secretary Wilson is completely shrugged off by this decision. The medical procurement agency issue aside, this basic question still calls for a clearcut and unequivocal answer.

As the matter now stands, it appears to be the Defense Department intention to keep this property indefinitely deactivated—performing no useful service to the Government and continuing as an economic blight in the community despite the heavy standby maintenance cost involved.

This situation has no parallel in the entire Defense Establishment, so far as comparable property is concerned. I cannot for a moment accept such a wasteful, inefficient, and indefensible policy.

I realize that this aspect of the matter does not fall within your jurisdiction, but I wish it to be a matter of record that I intend to pursue this matter further with the appropriate authorities.

Percy Jones would be only a drop in the bucket so far as the military and civilian hospital requirements of the Nation are concerned in event of total war. There is no logic or practical sense in selecting a single facility, in only one community of the entire Nation, for the dry rot of indefinite deactivation. A standby program of hospital facilities would be effective only if such permanent standby facilities were provided on a vast scale throughout the country. I am sure no such administrative folly is contemplated. Then why this unique status for Percy Jones?

In all candor, I must say that your decision and the explanation offered therefor gives no evidence of "complete and objective study of the problem."

Accordingly, I respectfully request reconsideration of the matter on such a basis.

Sincerely,

PAUL W. SHAFER.

The Treaty Power and the Constitution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the article from the American Bar Association Journal for March 1954, on The Treaty Power and the Constitution: The Case Against Amendment, by Brunson MacChesney, Myres McDougal, Robert E. Mathews, Covey T. Oliver, and F. D. G. Ribble, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Notwithstanding the fact that the cost of printing this article is estimated to be $382.50, I believe the arguments in the article are of sufficient interest and importance, both to Members of Congress and to the public generally, to justify their being made available in this form, particularly since the case for the amendment in the same issue of the Bar Journal has already been inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TREATY POWER AND THE CONSTITUTION: THE CASE AGAINST AMENDMENT

(By Brunson MacChesney, professor of law, Northwestern University, with the cooperation of Myres McDougal, Yale University; Robert E. Mathews, Ohio State University; Covey T. Oliver, University of California; and F. D. G. Ribble, University of Virginia)

(This statement was prepared in its original form by these five persons on a memorandum for the guidance of the representative of the Association of American Law Schools on the United States National Commission for UNESCO. It has been subsequently revised by Mr. MacChesney in consultation with the others, and is now published as their joint opinion.)

The proposed constitutional amendment, usually called the Bricker amendment, would restrict the treatymaking power of the United States and the power of the President to make executive and other agreements with foreign nations. It thus presents a constitutional issue which may seriously affect the power of the United States Government to speak for the Nation in international affairs and our ability as a people to safeguard our interests in a troubled world. The decision on so grave an issue is not one to be reached blindly or under stress of emotion. It calls for that high standard of reasoned debate and informed judgment which characterized the creation of our Constitution when our Nation was born. It is in that spirit that this memorandum will seek to consider the arguments for and against the adoption of the proposed amendment.

Under the title of Senate Joint Resolution 1, it was reported favorably out of the Senate Judiciary Committee on June 4, 1953, by a vote of 9 to 5, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee being one of the dissenters. It contains 5 sections, of which only the first 3 are relevant here, since the last 2 sections merely set forth the process by which the amendment is to be ratified and the power granted to Congress to implement it. The text actually adopted is essentially the American Bar Association proposal rather than the language of the resolutions Senator BRICKER originally introduced. While the American Bar Association has not officially acted on the exact text, its house of delegates has approved essentially similar language and may be said, therefore, to favor the amendment. That association's section of international and comparative law has, however, opposed the Bricker proposal, and reaffirmed its position as a section at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association last August.

Several State bar associations have agreed with the house of delegates. On the other hand, the Association of the Bar of the city of New York, the Federal Bar Association and the committee on amendments to the Federal Constitution of the New York State

Bar Association have expressed opposition. The lawyers of the country are thus divided on this important question.

The language of the proposed amendment, omitting the implementing clauses, is as follows:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.

"SEC. 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

This proposal has been so frequently discussed as if it contained only the first section—as if its sole objective were the alleged preservation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—that it becomes of particular importance to understand it in its entirety. Any proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States surely merits the most thorough deliberation. Since the United States, as the leader of the free world, must be able to deal quickly and effectively in matters of war and peace and foreign trade, proposals to limit the methods of making and enforcing international agreements deserve unusually careful consideration. Moreover, inasmuch as the present Constitution has worked remarkably well in this area, under changing conditions, for more than a century and a half, a heavy burden of proof rests on the proponents of constitutional change. For reasons more fully developed hereafter, the authors of this memorandum believe the burden has not been met and that the proposed amendment is both unnecessary and dangerous.

Before going into our own discussion of these proposals, it might be helpful to indicate the status of the proposed amendment as of the time of writing (December 1953). Congress adjourned its 1953 session without acting upon it. Prior to adjournment on July 22, 1953, Senator KNOWLAND, the acting majority leader, introduced a substantially different amendment as a substitute for it. The same day President Eisenhower announced his support of the Knowland amendment and stated that he was unalterably opposed to the Bricker amendment. In the Judiciary Committee hearings previously held, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and other officials of the Eisenhower administration had expressed their opposition to the Bricker proposals just as had the previous administration.

A word here as to the Knowland proposal is not out of place. Paraphrased, the most important provisions are (1) that any treaty or other agreement in conflict with the Constitution shall be of no effect, and (2) that, in case the Senate so provides in its consent to ratification, a treaty can only become operative as internal law by the enactment of appropriate legislation by Congress.[1] While it may be correctly suggested that this no more than restates the present situation and is therefore unnecessary, it is our opinion that its adoption could introduce harmful uncertainties into the process of agreement making. Its language contains ambiguities, and since it has not as yet been the subject of a committee hearing, there has been no development of the intent of the drafters. Moreover, if its first section can be construed to incorporate the idea now found in the "which clause" in section 2 of Senator BRICKER's proposal, all the dangers that will be pointed out as latent in that clause would be present here as well. Further, it shares with the Bricker proposal the grave disadvantage of creating doubts in other nations as to our power and intent in the making of treaties and other agreements.

It is now our purpose to set out with necessary brevity the principal contentions of the proponents of the Bricker amendment, the answers of those who oppose it, together with a brief enumeration of the dangers which, in our view, would result from its adoption. The effects of the amendment as a whole will be assessed. We shall discuss subsequently the specific issues relating to each section and then state our conclusions.

I. THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT AS A WHOLE

It is not inaccurate to say that opposition to the adoption of the Genocide Convention and the draft Covenant on Human Rights was a principal source of support for the present proposal. Proponents of the Bricker amendment purported to see in these proposed treaties violations of constitutional rights and invasions of the rights of the States through the use of an unlimited treaty power. The present administration has stated it will not seek to adopt either of these treaties, and the Covenant on Human Rights has not even been completed in the United Nations.

The continued advocacy of the present amendment rests, we believe, on three basic attitudes. The first is that none of the three great branches of government can be trusted to observe the spirit of the Constitution, and that specific curbs must therefore be written into that document in order to prevent abuse. The second is that the increasing need for international agreement on matters which could in the past have been left to the States should not be permitted to change the existing division of Federal and State powers in domestic affairs, but, on the contrary, that the national supremacy in treaty matters, expressly provided for by the framers of our Constitution, should be abandoned in favor of the general concept of State participation in treaty-making which was one of the fatal weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation. The third is that the existing power of the executive in foreign affairs should be curbed and complete control over agreements with other nations should be vested in Congress.

The opponents of the amendment believe that these three basic attitudes are unwise and unwarranted. With respect to the first attitude, it is axiomatic that in the process of government we must trust somebody. There seems no reason to suppose that we may not trust any of our three branches of government; indeed, if we could not, it would be but a futile gesture to put our faith in a Constitution however carefully worded. The Senate has been traditionally cautious and conservative in giving its approval to treaties; there appears no reason to fear that it will cease to afford adequate protection in the future. The fact that the Senate and the President together have never approved a treaty subsequently held unconstitutional should be cause for confidence in both the executive and the legislative branches of the Government. The further safeguard inherent in the ability of the whole Congress to control the effect of international agreements through the powers of appropriation, implementation and supersession internally of undesired provisions of such agreements will be discussed below. Finally, there appears not the slightest reason to suppose that the courts will abdicate their traditional function of determining whether any fundamental constitutional guaranties have been violated by any type of international agreement.

So far as the second attitude is concerned, the amendment is in fact a drastic proposal that would erase the basic principle of national supremacy in international affairs in a Federal form of government, a principle that was considered crucial by the framers of our Constitution, and is even more clearly so today. If this attitude should prevail, the Nation's power to represent effectively American interests in international matters would be dangerously crippled and its practical ability to function would be seriously hampered.

Thirdly, the proposal to curb the executive and enhance the power of Congress is an extreme attempt to change the principle of separation of powers as it was envisaged by the framers of our Constitution. This proposal would deprive the Nation of a traditional method of agreement making that provides the speed and occasional secrecy required in emergencies. In the light of the impotence in foreign policy of nations such as France in which the legislature is, as a practical matter, supreme in foreign affairs, it would be the height of folly so to provide in the Constitution of the leader of the free world.

II. THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT, SECTION BY SECTION

Section 1—Issues and arguments

Section 1 of the proposed amendment reads as follows:

"A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

The principal issue presented by section 1 of the proposed amendment is whether existing doctrine of the United States Supreme Court, that a treaty may not override fundamental constitutional guaranties, is a sufficient safeguard or whether it is desirable to state this doctrine explicitly as an amendment to the Constitution.

Arguments For and Against Section 1

The main argument advanced for this section by the proponents of the amendment is that under presently existing law treaties can override the provisions of the Federal Constitution. More specifically, this contention takes two principal forms:

1. The first of these rests on the wording of the first amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," or abridging such other liberties as freedom of speech and of the press. The argument runs as follows: Since the restriction applies only to Congress (a term that comprises both Houses together), and since at present by the language of article II of the Constitution the treaty power is vested in the President and the Senate alone (rather than in the President and the whole Congress), therefore the first amendment does not serve to restrict the treaty power.

This contention is believed to be erroneous and completely untenable. So narrow a construction would except from the operation of the first amendment many activities of the Federal Government which the courts have frequently recognized to be subject to it, such as the acts of the President, of Territorial legislatures, of the Federal courts, and of one branch of the Congress.[2] Furthermore, just as the due-process clause of the 14th amendment restricts all functions of a State government, so the similar clause in the fifth amendment restricts all functions of the Federal Government, one of which is the making of treaties.[3] The fifth amendment, in our opinion, clearly covers the point, but, if it does not, the sensible remedy would be to change the language of the first amendment and not to cripple the treaty power to accomplish the stated purpose of the proponents. Furthermore, even were this not so under the first and fifth amendments, the Congress itself has unquestioned power to protect our citizens against any infringement of their constitutional rights by a treaty or executive agreement, as it always can supersede the internal consequences of any agreement by a later enact-

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ment.[4] It has always been held that an act of Congress is superior to a prior treaty (and, of course, supersedes an executive agreement also).[5] Thus, under existing constitutional provisions, Congress can always give internal protection, even though the agreement remains binding internationally, and therefore this remedy must be used sparingly. Nonetheless, this is a sufficient safeguard against any possible improvident agreements and makes it clear that the adoption of section 1 of the proposed amendment is unnecessary for this purpose.

2. The second form of contention is that the statement in article VI (the supremacy clause) of the Constitution that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in 'pursuance' thereof and all treaties made under 'authority' of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land" (single quotation marks added), implies that, though statutes must be enacted pursuant to the Constitution, treaties need not be, but may prevail over it.

This textual argument is believed to be utterly without substance on the basis of all historic records and Supreme Court decisions. It is well known that the reason for the difference in the emphasized language was to include treaties made prior to adoption of the Constitution by the authority of the United States under the superseded Articles of Confederation. The Supreme Court has repeatedly stated, either expressly or by implication, that treaties are subject to the Constitution. Thus:

"It would not be contended that [the treaty power] extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids. * * *

"It need hardly be said that a treaty cannot change the Constitution or be held valid if it be in violation of that instrument."[6]

Mr. Justice Holmes expressly denied any intent to imply that there were no constitutional limitations upon the treaty power in an opinion in a famous case often cited by the proponents as supporting their argument:

"We do not mean to imply that there are no qualifications to the treaty-making power, but they must be ascertained in a different way. * * * The treaty in question does not contravene any prohibitory words to be found in the Constitution."[7]

Nor is the judiciary the only branch of Government to have taken the position that treaties cannot override fundamental constitutional rights. Responsible members of the executive branch have repeatedly taken the same attitude. The positions of Secretaries of State Marcy and Blaine are representative.[8]

Conclusion as to Section 1

The foregoing arguments and authorities make clear, we believe, that the proposed section 1 is merely an attempted restatement of the existing doctrine of constitutional law and that it is therefore unnecessary. There is no more need to include this doctrine in the Constitution[10] than there would be the doctrine of *Marbury* v. *Madison*. Furthermore, there is always danger, as lawyers raised in a common law system are particularly aware, of attempting to codify the meaning of existing judicial decisions. The Supreme Court in construing the proposed amendment might find that some different meaning was intended and thus either add to or subtract from the existing law. There might be, for example, the possibility, although we believe it improbable, that the language of section 1 could be construed as incorporating the idea contained in the "which clause" of section 2. In such an event, section 1 would be dangerous for the same reasons that will be noted shortly in the discussion of section 2. If, as Senator BRICKER appears to contend, this section is intended to be retroactive, the possibilities of ambiguity and confusion are further compounded. For all these reasons it is our opinion that the proposed section is both unnecessary and possibly harmful.

Section 2—Issues and arguments

Section 2 of the proposed amendment reads as follows:

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

Section 2 raises two distinct issues that will be discussed separately. The first, presented by the language of the section up to the word "which," concerns the necessity for congressional legislation prior to treaties having any internal effect. Literally, legislation may include State legislation, although congressional legislation seems clearly to have been intended. This ambiguity is an additional difficulty with this aspect of the section. The second issue, raised by the wording of the "which" clause, is whether congressional power to implement treaties should be restricted to its delegated powers apart from the treaty power.

A. The Internal Effect of Treaties

The first issue raised by section 2 (up to the "which clause") is whether the Constitution should be amended to require enabling legislation by Congress before any treaty can become effective as internal law within the United States, or, as indicated above, possibly legislation by the States. Phrased differently, the question is whether the present operation of the supremacy clause in making certain treaties immediately effective, without the necessity for enabling legislation, should be changed by the amendment.

Arguments for and against

To comprehend the arguments for and against this part of the proposal, it is necessary to understand how the supremacy clause (art. VI) operates at the present time. As interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, that clause makes treaties, once they are ratified with the approval of the Senate and are operative internationally, immediately enforceable in State and Federal courts if their terms show such intent. In such case the treaty is said to be self-executing. If immediate effectiveness was not intended, then congressional implementing legislation is necessary before the courts will enforce the treaty. The Supreme Court ultimately decides which consequence was intended on the basis of the language used in the treaty.

The proponents of the amendment contend that no international agreement should be self-executing within the United States for several reasons.

1. They claim that the present system is undesirable because State and Federal legislation may be overridden through this "self-executing" feature of our constitutional system.

There are several answers to this contention. In the first place, whenever immediate effectiveness would be undesirable, it can be easily prevented. Any agreement may, by its very terms, be made "nonself-executing." Adequate protection is afforded under present constitutional provisions through the terms of the agreement itself or by the terms of its ratification. The Senate can, as a condition of approval of ratification require that treaties should not be immediately operative, and can attach whatever other protective provisions it may think necessary. Also, the Congress as a whole possesses power to refuse financial appropriation or enabling legislation to implement any international agreement of which it disapproves. Moreover, it may always, at any later date, modify or override the internal effects of such provisions of these agreements as it finds undesirable.

In the second place, the self-executing feature is often desirable. Many agreements (notably those made to secure rights for our individual citizens and corporations abroad in exchange for granting reciprocal rights to foreign nationals and corporations within the United States) lose a large part of their effectiveness if not operative internally with reasonable promptness; hence, it is unwise to provide by constitutional amendment that no treaty or executive agreement may be immediately effective. The inflexibility of a constitutional requirement of enabling legislation in every case would lead to endless delay even with respect to the most typical and noncontroversial provisions of commercial treaties.

2. The proponents make the further claim that unless their proposal is adopted the United States will not be on equal bargaining terms with other countries.

This contention involves a fundamental misconception of our own procedure as well as a misleading comparison with other governmental systems. Since, for reasons already indicated, any treaty can be made nonself-executing, this alleged disparity can be easily prevented whenever desirable by a provision postponing the internal effectiveness until the other signatories have legislated (such a provision is frequently found in treaties) or the President can postpone his proclamation to achieve the same effect. Furthermore, the two-thirds vote of the Senate required prior to ratification of treaties in the United States is just as much a legislative act as is the subsequent implementation of treaties by a majority of parliament, a requirement in some other major countries such as Great Britain. Inasmuch as the executive and the majority of the legislature are normally controlled by the same party in a parliamentary system of government, implementing legislation in such countries is usually obtained at the same time as ratification and is generaly easier to obtain than the approval of ratification by the Senate alone under our system. Moreover, in some other countries, such as France, Belgium, and Holland, some treaties are immediately enforceable as national law without any implementing legislation.[11] Consequently, this argument is fundamentally misconceived in that in reality the proposed amendment would make our procedure the most cumbersome in the world. Not only would the present approval by two-thirds of the Senate be needed, but there would be the additional requirement of subsequent action by a majority vote of both Houses before internal effectiveness could be achieved. Thus, under Senator BRICKER'S proposal, the Senate by different majorities would have to pass twice on the same treaty. Furthermore, the House of Representatives would be directly associated as a constitutional requirement for the first time in the process of initially making a treaty effective. Such a participation by the House was considered and rejected by the framers of our Constitution as unwise.

3. The proponents, faced with the argument that the amendment would make our treaty process extremely cumbersome, argue that the amendment does not change our treaty method in its international aspects. They claim that only our own internal procedures will be changed by their proposal.

This argument is essentially a formal one and fails to meet the objections based on the practical effects of the proposed requirement on the ability of our Government to conclude expeditiously necessary and desirable agreements. There would be, of course, some agreements which would have no internal effects and so the additional requirement would not apply. There would be many others, such as the typical commercial treaties, which would clearly have internal effect and which have usually been

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self-executing. This class of treaty is important chiefly because of its internal effectiveness. These treaties would now be subjected to needless delay. Finally, there would be numerous agreements which on the surface would seem to have only external effect but which might have unintended internal effects. Because of this uncertainty, the Executive would as a practical matter be forced to follow the more rigorous and time-consuming procedure. Thus, for example, an agreement with a foreign ally to embargo certain materials might have repercussions on domestic contracts. The uncertainty thus created among representatives of foreign governments as to our ability to perform the proposed agreement would not only hamper negotiations but would be an additional factor tending to make the proposed requirement the normal procedure in most cases. For these reasons, it would seem apparent that the proposal would make much more difficult the adoption of many typical and desirable agreements.

Conclusion as to self-executing treaties

It is then our view that this part of section 2 of the proposed amendment is both unnecessary and undesirable. It is unnecessary because existing procedures can bring about the proposed result whenever it is appropriate in any particular agreement. It is undesirable because it is often in our interest that agreements should become effective immediately without further legislation. The proposal to require approval by the House of Representatives in every case was considered and rejected overwhelmingly by the framers of our Constitution. In fact, the framers inserted the supremacy clause in the Constitution so that there would be no doubt that treaties would supersede inconsistent State law. This was a result of their practical experience with State recalcitrance under the Articles of Confederation. If, as suggested above, "legislation" may include State legislation as well as congressional legislation, not only would this create further difficulties of interpretation but it would add even further to the unworkability of the suggested procedure. It is undesirable also because it would make our agreement-making process the most cumbersome in the world, rather than equate it with those of other countries, as alleged by the proponents. It would mean in practice that after the President had negotiated a treaty and ratification had been approved by two-thirds of the Senators present, it would have to go back again in most cases for approval by a majority of the House and the Senate before it could have effect as internal law. This would needlessly complicate and delay the agreement-making process at a time when world conditions require speed and certainty.

B. State Participation Proposal

The second issue presented by section 2 concerns what has come to be referred to as the "which clause." It is whether the Constitution should be amended so as to limit Congress' power to implement treaties to those delegated powers which Congress possesses in the absence of a treaty.

The basic argument of the proponents is that the "which clause" is necessary to preserve our Federal form of Government. This contention is advanced in different aspects.

1. The first is that all powers other than the treaty power are delegated and that the existing treaty power therefore is inconsistent with a Federal-State division of power.

The difficulty with this argument is that it misconceives the nature of a Federal form of Government so far as international affairs are concerned. It is a corollary of the Federal character of our Government that Congress possesses only those powers in the field of domestic affairs which are delegated to it by the Constitution, all other such powers being reserved to the States or to the people. It has also been recognized, however, as a consequence of the express denial to the States by the Constitution of the power to make agreements with foreign nations, that the power of the Federal Government to make such agreements, and of Congress to implement them by appropriate legislation, is limited only by the requirements (1) that the subject matter of the agreement be of "genuine international concern," and (2) that the provisions of the agreement not contravene any basic constitutional guarantees. Nevertheless, the treaty power is itself a delegated power in the same sense that the power over interstate commerce is delegated.[12] The quantum delegated in each instance is different but that which is delegated is not subject to the reservations in the tenth amendment. Because it is essential that negotiations with foreign nations be concentrated and not divided, the framers of our Constitution decided wisely to put this power exclusively in the National Government.

The effect of the proposed "which clause" would be to reverse this decision and require a determination, with respect to each agreement, whether the Federal Government or the States had the power to implement a particular provision. While this determination in the first instance would presumably be made by the Federal authorities, it would require eventually a determination by the Supreme Court as to where the line should be drawn. This would needlessly confuse and weaken our power to make agreements. The danger and impracticability of such a proposal should be self-evident.

2. The second form of the contention is that matters properly the concern of the several States will be taken over by the Federal Government through the use of the treaty power.

This contention, similar to the prior contention, is also based on a misunderstanding of the Federal system in foreign affairs. It also confuses the division of Federal-State powers in domestic matters with the question of the scope of the treaty power of the Nation. It is generally understood that the treaty power of the United States extends to any matter of genuine international concern. Therefore when changing international conditions make matters that have hitherto been regarded as outside the scope of permissible international regulation, now in fact in need of international adjustment, it has always been recognized that these matters may be made the subject of international negotiation and regulation under the treaty power. This method of dealing with changed conditions is a convenient way of providing for necessary commitments.

In the past, for the purpose of securing reciprocal advantages to citizens and corporations of the United States and for other national purposes, such as the conclusion of a treaty of peace, the treaty power has traditionally been thus extended into many areas that might otherwise have been regarded as of State concern only. Illustrations are questions of local taxation, the privilege of conducting certain businesses, the possession and distribution of property, the hunting of migratory game birds, and various other matters which in the absence of treaty are customarily considered to be of State concern and not ordinarily subject to international regulation.[13] The value and convenience of the existing method for negotiation of these reciprocal treaties should be especially emphasized. Our citizens and corporations are often deeply interested in securing such guaranties abroad, whereas Haiti, for example, would have normally nowhere near as great an interest in securing such advantages for its citizens and corporations.

Under the proposed "which clause," the necessity for securing State action in many of these matters would make the negotiation of such traditional agreements extremely difficult, if not impossible. If, for example, one or several important States refused to act, the expected value of the agreement to the foreign country concerned would be gravely impaired. The adoption of the "which clause" in this area would therefore be clearly harmful to our interests.

3. The proponents, faced with this charge that their amendment would prevent in practice the negotiation of many useful treaties, such as those just mentioned, argue that existing broad construction of such Federal powers as that over commerce would be adequate to sustain the typical commercial treaty under Federal power without requiring action by the States under the "which clause."

The basic answer to this argument is that there is a substantial difference of opinion as to whether the commerce clause could be properly construed to justify treaties affecting local taxation, inheritance of property, access to State courts or other similar matters normally subject to State law in the absence of treaty. Moreover, if it were so broadened by construction, it would expand Federal power in nontreaty matters. This unintended result would be undesirable. Furthermore, the additional uncertainties created by the proposed limitation as to where this power lies would be, for reasons previously stated, a further obstacle to the prompt and effective negotiation of such treaties.

Conclusion on the State-participation proposal

This part of section 2 of the proposed amendment is undesirable for the reasons given. It would take us back essentially to the procedures prevailing under the Articles of Confederation. In its actual operation, it might prevent our entering into many desirable treaties, such as commercial treaties. It would generate needless and delaying litigation to determine the proper division of power between the Federal and States Governments, and this new uncertainty would deprive the Nation of the effective power to make agreements which almost all other nations possess. The provisions as they are now embodied in the Constitution are necessary if our Government is to function efficiently in its relations with other countries. Adoption of the proposed "which clause" would be a disaster; it would seriously cripple our ability to make agreements necessary for survival in a dangerous world.

Section 3—Issues and arguments

Section 3 of the proposed amendment reads as follows:

"Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

Before discussing the issues raised by section 3, the nature and history of executive agreements, as distinguished from treaties, will be briefly noted. In both cases the actual conduct of negotiations and the ultimate decision whether or not to agree to the final document rests with the President. They differ, however, in that treaties also require the approval of two-thirds of the Senators present before the adherence of the United States to the agreement can become effective. Executive agreements require no such approval, although in practice the great majority of such agreements are either authorized in advance or ratified later by the Congress as a whole. (In this event they should more properly be called "congressional-executive agreements.")

History has repeatedly demonstrated the necessity, in the interests both of flexibility

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and of speed, of concluding agreements other than treaties; in the period of 1789–1939 the United States made nearly 2,000 international agreements, of which only approximately 800 were formal treaties. As of January 20, 1953, according to annex D of a State Department statement submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee, there have been, since 1928, 1,527 agreements other than treaties, and 299 treaties. While these figures overlap, they serve to indicate the current ratio. Of course, many of the agreements are insignificant in comparison with the typical treaty, so that a purely numerical comparison is somewhat misleading. In many cases Congress actually does not have sufficient time to consider these necessary executive agreements. We give two examples. As recorded in the same annex D referred to, there have been 145 economic and technical cooperation agreements entered into pursuant to the authority of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, and 114 subsidiary agreements entered into under the basic authority of the International Civil Aviation Convention and of congressional legislation. Once the Senate or the Congress has fixed the basic policy, detailed consideration of each subsidiary agreement would be both needlessly time consuming and inefficient.

Apart from particular authorization from the Congress, the President's powers to make executive agreements arise from three principal sources: his own powers as the Chief Executive, the Commander in Chief, and the organ for foreign affairs, implied from his power to send and receive diplomatic officers. The latter two, especially, are the main source of this independent authority. Authorizations from the Congress cause no special concern and, though the President's own powers must, in the interests of the Nation's safety in a world of continual crisis, be broadly construed, they are obviously subject to severe limits. Thus, the Supreme Court may review the exercise of these powers to determine whether any fundamental constitutional guaranties have been violated,[14] and the Congress may, as in the case of a treaty, immediately supersede the internal effects of such agreements by appropriate enactment.[15] These would clearly seem to be sufficient safeguards to prevent abuse of this necessary Presidential authority in foreign affairs.

Section 3, like section 2, presents two distinct issues that require separate discussion. The first sentence raises the issue of whether Congress should control the use of executive agreements and treaties as well as any other agreement. The second sentence seeks to limit executive and other agreements in the same ways that sections 1 and 2 limit the treaty power. It should also be noted that section 3 is not restricted to the internal effects of such agreements but asserts power to control the international consequences as well.

The first sentence of section 3 presents the issue whether the Constitution should be amended to give Congress the power to control the Executive's right to make treaties and other agreements. Put in other terms, should the present balance of powers in the Federal Constitution be radically changed to increase congressional control over foreign affairs? The real argument of the proponents is that congressional rather than executive control of agreements is preferable to any independent executive authority in foreign affairs.

This proposal strikes at the separation of powers provided by the framers. It would shift drastically the control of day-to-day routine arrangements in foreign affairs from the President to Congress. One of the basic premises of the framers was the desirability of establishing a government of

Footnotes at end of speech.

three divisions—executive, legislative, and judicial—possessing separate and balanced powers. In the field of foreign affairs, this balancing of powers between the executive and the legislative departments of the Government is evidenced by the existence of several methods for the making of international agreements: (a) treaties, which must be approved by two-thirds of the Senators present; (b) congressional-executive agreements, which are authorized or ratified by Congress and (c) presidential agreements, which may be concluded without the necessity of congressional approval. A distinction has long been normally recognized in practice between treaties and presidential agreements. The former deal typically with the more serious issues of basic policy; the latter deal usually with more detailed problems of an administrative nature except in unusual emergencies such as the Berlin airlift. Although it is not difficult to understand the broad distinction, it is considerably more difficult to define the distinction in terms that will not seriously hamper the necessary flexibility of the Executive in emergencies. The proposed amendment has abandoned any effort to draw the distinction. Its enactment would serve no constructive purpose and would only succeed in weakening our power in foreign affairs by asserting abstractly the principle of congressional supremacy. It would be wiser and more in accord with our traditions to have the dividing line continue to be drawn from experience in practice through cooperation of all branches of government.

This sentence of section 3 is both unnecessary and undesirable. Existing control by Congress of Executive and other agreements is adequate to prevent abuse. Adoption of the proposal would upset the separation of powers and deprive the Nation of needed speed and flexibility in agreement making. To deprive the Executive of any independence in foreign affairs would be disastrous.

The second sentence of section 3 raises the issue whether the power to enter into Executive agreements should be restricted in the same manner as sections 1 and 2 limit the treaty power. Proponents of the amendment contend that the proposed limits on treatymaking should also apply to the making of Executive agreements.

The objections which have been mentioned previously with respect to the proposed limitations upon the treatymaking power, apply with equal force in the case of Executive agreements. As already noted, the Supreme Court has made it clear that fundamental constitutional rights will be protected with respect to Executive agreements no less than in the case of treaties, and, as with treaties, Congress can supersede the internal effect of any Executive agreement which it finds objectionable.

As a practical matter, the requirements of section 2 of implementing legislation for internal effect, when applied to Executive agreements by the second sentence of section 3 would seriously impede, if not prevent, the adoption of a wide variety of useful arrangements now handled by Executive agreements.[16] Section 3, in the case of reciprocal trade agreements, for example, would require not only initial authorization by Congress of the program as a whole as is the case today, but also each individual agreement reached under that program would then have to be approved by Congress, unless the Congress were to authorize the precise terms of each individual agreement in advance. Were Congress not to do this, each final agreement would be subjected to the evils of congressional logrolling and the policy involved in the program would be seriously jeopardized. It would be time-consuming and absurd for Congress to pass on every detailed arrangement under the mutual security program or for the exchange of Government publications or on other technical matters concluded under the general authorization and directions given by Congress to enter into agreements of a particular type.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The second sentence of section 3 is unnecessary for the same reasons that were given for opposing the identical limits proposed for the treatymaking process. Furthermore, in practical operation, the proposed restrictions would make executive agreement making even more cumbersome than the proposed treaty method. It might well utterly destroy the usefulness of many traditional types of executive agreements, and thereby cripple our power to negotiate effectively with foreign nations.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE BRICKER AMENDMENT

In arriving at any final evaluation of the wisdom of adopting this proposed amendment, it should be borne constantly in mind that it is the United States Constitution with which we are dealing—what William Gladstone once called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." We must recall with admiration the competence and foresight of those men of stature who framed it, and we must realize without question that those who would now change so great a document have a burden that is indeed heavy to convince us today that they have devised a wiser way of dealing with international agreements than did the framers themselves. Moreover, we must challenge those who advocate so drastic a change to point out to us what dangers our country has in fact suffered over the past 166 years from the exercise of these powers as thus originally conceived. They have not shown any such losses. The original constitutional arrangements have indeed served us well.

But not only have the proponents totally failed to support this burden. It is our considered opinion that the proposed amendment is both unnecessary and dangerous. It is unnecessary because the process by which international agreements become effective in this country is presently subject to adequate controls, and its operation in practice has not shown any threat to our form of government or our liberities. It is dangerous because it would make the Nation practically impotent in agreement making at the very time when it most needs the utmost flexibility and power in the use of this vital alternative and supplement to military means. This proposal represents an effort to revert to isolationism and to a procedure for State participation in agreement making that was decisively rejected by the framers of our Constitution in the light of their own experience. The threats and tensions of the day, the trend toward increased participation and cooperation in international affairs which is essential to world peace and vital to our own security make it vital that our traditional powers to make international agreements remain unimpaired. Consequently, this attempt to restrict the freedom and power of the United States in the conduct of its foreign affairs threatens to involve us in grave danger. This attempt should not succeed. The proposed Bricker amendment should be rejected.

[2] It also attempts to restate the judicial power of the United States, and provides for a rollcall vote on treaties. The text of the Knowland amendment, omitting the implementary clause, is as follows:

"SECTION 1. A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect. The judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases, in law or equity, in which it is claimed that the conflict described in this amendment is present.

"SEC. 2. When the Senate consents to the ratification of a treaty the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate.

"SEC. 3. When the Senate so provides in its consent to ratification, a treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through the enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress."

[3] *Rumely* v. *U. S.* (345 U. S. 41, 73 S. Ct. 543 (1953)).

[4] See Edgerton, J., in a dissent on other grounds, who stated in *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *Clark* (177 F. 2d 79 (1949)), at p. 87. "Read literally, the first amendment of the Constitutions forbids only Congress to abridge these freedoms. But as the due process clause of the 14th amendment xtends the prohibition to all State action, the due process clause of the fifth must extend it to all Federal action."

[5] *Moser* v. *United States* (341 U. S. 41, 71 S. Ct. 553 (1951)), is one of the latest cases to that effect.

[6] In fact, there is reason to believe that an executive agreement must be consistent with prior acts of Congress. See *United States* v. *Guy W. Capps, Inc.* (204 F. 2d 655 (4th Cir. 1953)), appeal pending. See also Sutherland, the Bricker Amendment, Executive Agreements, and Imported Potatoes (67 Harv. L. Rev. 281 (1953)).

[7] *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (133 U. S. 258 (1890), at 267).

[8] *The Cherokee Tobacco* (11 Wall. 616 (1870), at 620–21).

[9] *Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416 (1920), at 433).

[10] V. Moore, International Law Digest, pp. 167 and 169 (1906).

[11] Cowles, Treaties and Constitutional Law (1941), reached a similar conclusion in a careful study made prior to the present controversy.

[12] See Preuss, On Amending the Treaty-Making Power: A Comparative Study of the Problem of Self-Executing Treaties (51 Mich. L. Rev. 1117 (1953)).

[13] See *United States* v. *Darby* (312 U. S. 100 (1941)).

[14] In his address before the American Bar Association in Boston, August 26, 1953, Secretary of State Dulles stated, "After it convened in January 1953, the Senate approved 23 treaties, 12 of which, our legal advisers say, would be unconstitutional if the proposed amendment had been in effect, because they deal with matters of State jurisdiction, such as negotiable instrument laws, local licensing laws, etc." (Dulles, 39 A. B. A. J. 1063 at 1064 (1953)). See also, Chafee, Amending the Constitution To Cripple Treaties (12 La. L. Rev. 345, 359–368 (1952)).

[15] *United States* v. *Belmont*, 301 U. S. 324 (1937)) and *United States* v. *Pink*, 315 U. S. 203 (1942)), show the Supreme Court will make this inquiry.

[16] See note 5, supra.

[17] See, for concrete examples, footnote references 22 and 23 in Dillard, Treaty-Making Power, 26 So. Calif. L. Rev. 373 at 381–2 (1953).

Resolution of Chicago Council, Navy League of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 23, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include a resolution adopted by the Chicago council of the Navy League of the United States calling for improvements in the Navy as recommended in the Womble report:

NAVY LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., March 17, 1954.

Following is a resolution adopted by the directors of the council at their regular meeting this date:

"Whereas we have read the summary of the contents of the Womble report re current morale conditions of the Navy; and

"Whereas many of our directors have reported experiences corroborating the findings of this report; and

"Whereas we believe the Womble report points to an undesirable condition in the Naval Service and makes excellent recommendations for its improvement: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this board unanimously endorses the report of conditions mentioned in the Womble report as being accurate, and further recommends to its members that they assist in every way possible to speed the improvements set forth therein."

A. ANDREW BOEMI,
President, Chicago Council.
Attest: BRIAN J. DUCE,
Secretary.

More About Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, shortly after the House passed the income tax bill, sometimes referred to as the Internal Revenue Code revision bill, I sent a letter to the Brooklyn Eagle explaining in detail the Democratic position with reference to that bill.

I have had so many requests for copies of the letter that I am taking this means of giving it wider distribution. The letter reads as follows:

MARCH 31, 1954.

FRANK D. SCHROTH,
Editor and Publisher,
The Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y.

MY DEAR MR. SCHROTH: The Brooklyn Eagle has always tried to be fair in all of its editorials. I know that its editorials on the tax bills were not intended to be unfair, yet I am sure you will agree, that because you have taken into account only one side of the picture, they have been unfair in charging that the Democrats seek merely political advantage in the position they have taken with reference to these tax bills.

Because of your eminent fairness in these matters, I am taking the liberty of setting forth the other side of the story in considerable detail.

I am sure that no one will try to take credit from the committee for having written into this bill larger deductions for medical expenses, and costs of child care and for pensioners.

Criticism in that respect will be leveled only against those who will attempt to contend that those provisions go as far as they should, or accomplish all of the fine purposes that may be attributed to them.

For instance, the deduction for medical expenses is an allowance only of the excess over 3 percent of the income. A family of 4 with a gross income of $5,000 will be permitted to deduct for medical expenses only such sum which exceeds $150. I believe it would be much fairer to the family earning $5,000 a year or less to allow them a medical deduction of $150 a year. The same section contains a provision permitting a deduction of any excess over 1 percent of gross salary spent for traveling for health. I doubt whether any families with a gross income of $5,000 a year or less can spend even the $50 for traveling for health, no less spend a sum in excess thereof.

The special deduction for the costs of child care for widows and widowers is entirely insufficient because it is limited to $600 per year. While we must concede that that $600 a year is better than no deduction at all, it is completely unrealistic because it is utterly impossible to employ anyone for as little as $12 a week to take care of a child or children while a parent is employed.

The tax exemption granted to those who are retired for $1,200 of pension income is also unrealistic because it is limited to those who are 65 years of age or older. A married couple of 65 years of age presently have tax exemption of $2,400, and very few of those people have any income above the $2,400 to apply against an additional $1,200 exemption. The exemption should have been granted without any age limitation.

Then the bill contains an exemption of $100 a week for moneys received from sickness and accident benefit insurance. I do not know of a single family with a gross income of $5,000 a year or less who can afford to own such a policy that pays that kind of benefit.

On the other hand, there are provisions in this bill which will cut the taxes of the large corporations and of the big income earners by billions of dollars. We have been told that the reason for those tax cuts was to expand industry and thereby create new jobs.

I will agree with those who say that a tax on dividends is an unfair tax. But I vigorously disagree with those who contend that by eliminating these taxes industry will be expanded. One need not be a tax expert to know that every corporation out of its profits first sets aside the moneys it needs for its expansion programs. It pays as dividends to its stockholders only what is left after it has planned its expansion programs.

Our income-tax philosophy has been all through the years that taxes be levied and collected on a graduated scale so that those who earn most will pay most. If that theory is to be pursued then the only fair way to reduce taxes is by increasing the exemptions. As we increase the exemptions those in the lowest scales pay the lowest taxes and while getting the same exemption those in the highest scales get a reduction in the highest bracket.

The Secretary of the Treasury with the approval of the President has told the Congress that we cannot afford to reduce our taxes by the total of the taxes that would be lost by increasing the personal tax exemptions by another $100 and by granting tax exemption on corporate dividends.

If that is so then the choice to be made is an easy one. It is not a political choice. It is a sound economic choice. It is not the choice made by the administration. It should be—grant an increased personal exemption as against the exemption for the recipients of corporate dividends.

Most of the small-income earners of our country have savings accounts either in mutual savings banks, in building and loan associations, or in farmer cooperatives. They do not own stocks. The dividends and income receivable from those savings accounts and shares in building and loan associations and farmer cooperatives are specifically ex-

cluded in this bill from the dividend exemption.

Let us consider for a moment what that means. Only 8 percent of our American families own any stock in corporations such as we are discussing. Ninety-two percent of our American families own no such stock. Six-tenths of 1 percent of our American families own 80 percent of all such stock.

Now let us break that down further. Slightly more than 80 percent of all taxpayers having incomes under $5,000 per year get less than 11 percent of such corporate dividends. Less than 4 percent of our taxpayers with incomes over $10,000 get 76 percent of such corporate dividends. Eight-tenths of 1 percent of our taxpayers with incomes over $25,000 get 55 percent of such corporate dividends.

Let us see what this means in dollars and cents.

A taxpayer earning $50,000 gross income, of which $40,000 is dividends, under this bill will save $10,470. As against that, a family of 4 with earnings of $3,500 will save $120, if the Congress will give that family a $700 per person exemption instead of the $600 now provided for. The latter is the Democratic proposal.

I now would like to turn your attention for a moment to the speech made by President Eisenhower to the people of the country on March 15, 1954, on this subject. In that connection I have in mind those reminders coming from our Republican friends of our promises that we would support President Eisenhower's program. But do not overlook that we Democrats promised to support President Eisenhower's program only when it was in the best interests of the country. The President himself failed to make out a case for this tax program of his.

In speaking to the people, President Eisenhower referred to social security, unemployment insurance, better homes, elimination of slums, improved health program, a better farm program, an improved Taft-Hartley Act, wider markets, and protection of our economy from depression.

No one denies that we want all of these things, but there is nothing in the bill or in the report that accompanies the bill, that deals with any of these things. Neither an increase nor a cut in taxes will bring about any of these things.

Let me say again as my colleagues have said many times on and off the floor of the House, we Democrats are not viewing with alarm. We are pointing to facts that cannot be disputed.

We are trying to alert a lethargic administration into action. We are begging that the stable door be locked before the horse is stolen.

We can be sure of a Democratic victory in November if we have a depression, but every right-minded Democrat is an American first.

As an American, each of us wants to avoid a depression, even if we lose an election.

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM J. MULTER.

A Call for a Return to Bipartisanship in Our Foreign Policy and in Defense of Our Liberties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech entitled "A Call for a Return to Bipartisanship in Our Foreign Policy and in Defense of Our Liberties," which I delivered before the Woman's National Democratic Club of Washington on Monday, April 12.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is almost a perennial pilgrimage for me. My association with your organization, at least as a guest speaker, dates way back—back to the days when I was Governor of New York, and then Director General of UNRRA. I think I can claim the honor of old friendship.

And as a member of the Democratic Party for more than 50 years, I can also claim both seniority and veteran's preference. I remember the days when it was hard to be a Democrat, and even harder to convince others to be Democrats.

But now, of course, the situation is different. Women Democrats are not only numerous, but preponderant, and wherever I have been during the last 6 months, I have found Democratic women—and all Democrats—both optimistic and enthusiastic.

Yes, it is quite clear, after only 15 months of Republican rule, that 1954 is a Democratic year. I believe we are going to win. But we must not be smug about the prospect. We must not make the mistake the Republicans made in 1948. Speaking from long experience in political life, I utter this warning: Don't count the votes until the ballots are cast. We can win in 1954, but only if we work to win—and deserve to win. The record is not yet completed. We can lose the election between now and November 5.

Finally, we must not content ourselves with a short-range goal. Victory in 1954 is important, but our goal must be victory in 1956. It is essential, for our country and for the free world, that bold leadership and true direction be substituted for the present regime of vacillation and drift. That change can be wholly made only in November 1956. We must make our plans and define our purposes with that date in mind.

I have been speaking as a partisan, as a Democrat. There is a place for partisanship, a healthy and necessary place, in our national political life.

But there are many issues which override partisan considerations, and cut completely across or even wipe out party lines, and properly so. It is interesting to recall, for instance, that the issue of woman's suffrage, itself, was never contained within partisan bounds.

For years woman's suffrage was strenuously opposed on the eastern seaboard, by both Republicans and Democrats. This cause received its greatest original support in the pioneer areas of the Far West, the Southwest, and the Northwest, from both Republicans and Democrats. The Republican leadership in the Nation was, indeed, the first to endorse woman's suffrage—in the election campaign of 1916. Woodrow Wilson opposed it. But it was President Woodrow Wilson who, in September 1918, called upon the Congress to pass the constitutional amendment which became the 19th amendment. A Democratic President and a Republican Congress worked together to make woman's suffrage part of the supreme law of the land.

And today, who remembers, or who cares, whether woman's suffrage was of Republican or Democratic inspiration. It was a moral issue. It prevailed because of its moral appeal to Americans, regardless of party.

Today we are faced with a number—a frightening number—of great issues which clearly transcend party lines and affiliations. There are, of course, many important issues on which our party—the Democratic Party—takes a stand in firm opposition to the attitude and program of the Republican Party. Most of these issues are economic in nature—taxes, fiscal program, farm program, public power, monopoly, Federal aid to education, rights of labor, tariffs, public lands, and so forth. The Democratic Party is inseparably committed to the philosophy of support for the welfare and interests of the ordinary citizens—the great mass of our people—in contrast to the Republican Party which bases its economic program on favored support for the interests of big business—on the theory that helping General Motors, General Foods, and General Electric helps the people eventually, too, by a feeble trickle from the top down.

But, important as these issues are, there are others today which overshadow them, which dominate and control them as mountains dominate the plains and valleys below.

These overshadowing issues of today involve our survival as a free and democratic nation, the survival of freedom itself in the whole world, and the survival of all civilization.

Obviously these are the bedrock issues of our existence. Obviously every other consideration must stand aside in the contemplation of these problems so vast, so overpowering in their scope and danger, that he must be small of soul, indeed, who would play politics with them.

We have lately unlocked the innermost secrets of nature—the secret of matter itself and the secret of that unmeasurable energy which charges and pervades our earth, our solar system and our universe.

We have learned how to capture hitherto undreamt-of quantities of this energy. We have tamed it and we have trained it—we have trained it to destroy. We have learned to bottle up this vast cosmic energy, and then to release it explosively and destructively—to an extent which dwarfs all description and strikes dumb our senses and our imagination.

During World War II we dropped on Hiroshima and on Nagasaki, in Japan, two atom bombs, each equivalent in explosive power to 20,000 tons of TNT. Almost 100,000 human beings lost their lives in the two split seconds of the release and explosion of those 2 bombs. One hundred and twenty thousand persons were wounded. Two hundred and ninety thousand people were left homeless.

That was in 1945. By 1952 we—and others too—had developed a new form of atomic bomb—the hydrogen bomb. In 1952, 1953, and 1954 we—and the Russians too—conducted test explosions of the new bomb. It is called the hydrogen bomb, but in its latest form, it has no hydrogen in it. It steals from the sun the secret of its vast life-giving energy. The ceiling of destruction potential of the H-bomb is almost unlimited. To talk of it, we have had to invent a new term of magnitude.

Whereas the Hiroshima bomb was described as having the force of 20,000 tons of TNT, we had to devise a new word for the power of the hydrogen bomb—the megaton—the explosive force of a million—a million—tons of TNT. The H-bombs dropped in the wide spaces of the Pacific within recent weeks each had the explosive force of at least 10 megatons—10 million tons of TNT—at least 500 times greater than the force of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

I am not a scientist. I am not privy to the innermost secrets of our national defense. But from what I have heard and read, I tremble at the enormity of the power man has captured, a power which can shake and shatter the structure of life on this earth.

As I have said, we do not hold these secrets alone. The Kremlin has them too. The hydrogen bomb is much cheaper to make

than the old-fashioned—yes I said the old-fashioned—atom bomb.

It no longer matters who can make more of these bombs, or who has a greater stockpile. One is enough. Two are more than enough. Three are cataclysmic. A half dozen can, for all practical purposes, destroy a nation even so vast and great as ours.

Now the problem is, What do we do with this awful knowledge, these dreadful secrets, this cataclysmic power of destruction?

We can all pray, and pray we must, for peace. We can all work, and work we must, for security. We can all strive, and strive we must, for the unity of the free world.

But, in the last analysis, we must trust our Government, and the leaders of our Government, to steer us safely through the dangerous complexities of these dangerous hours, weeks, months, and years.

We must confess that their task is not an easy one.

The problems faced by our country and our Government today are the most delicate and the most difficult that can be conceived or imagined.

There is the heaving, bubbling volcano of the Middle East, with its hates, its fears, its poverty, and its potential violence.

There is India, with its teeming millions, its strangely violent philosophy of pacifism, its brilliant and unpredictable leader, Nehru, whose words are difficult to understand here, but whose authority in India is a mighty restraint against the potentialities of communism in that part of the world.

There is Germany, resurgent and divided, with old ambitions, trying to learn new ways. And France, weakened, proud, perplexed, and deeply fearful of Germany.

There is Spain. There is Italy. There is Yugoslavia. There is Iran. There is Japan. There is Red China. And, last of all, there is Indochina. And I almost forgot to mention that nation which holds the matchstick to almost every powder keg in the world—Soviet Russia.

What an endless array of danger to the peace and security of the world. What a collection of warring ambitions, clashing interests, and deep-seated problems. Each area and each country holds some promise of calamity, if gross mistakes are made, if constructive statesmanship is not provided, if great leadership is not furnished.

To help meet all these problems our Government must necessarily address itself—and all under the shadow of the hydrogen bomb. All of us, whether Democrats or Republicans, must pray for our leaders the most inspired guidance. We will derive no partisan advantage from cosmic disaster.

But as Americans we would be gravely, yes, fatally, amiss in our responsibilities if we failed to furnish constructive criticism of the administration's actions in this field, as in others.

We must regard with deep misgivings the administration's strong inclination to formulate a slogan in place of a policy, its disposition to coin phrases rather than to develop programs, its habit of putting salesmanship ahead of statesmanship.

As a result of this administration's inclinations in these directions, we are constantly being confused and bemused by endless contradictions. We are constantly being alarmed only to be later reassured and then alarmed again. One never knows where a glib slogan ends and a concerted policy begins.

Recently the administration dramatically raised the curtain on a new military policy called instant and massive retaliation—a policy which frightened many of us and deeply shocked the rest of the world. When the criticisms came in, the explanations began. It really wasn't a new policy. It really wasn't instant retaliation. It wasn't necessarily massive retaliation. What it really was—or is—still hasn't been explained.

It was strongly implied that we intended to use the atom or hydrogen bomb against any power which was responsible for an act of aggression anywhere in the world. Later, Secretary Dulles said what we proposed to do was to take collective action—not unilateral action. How this was to be arranged has not yet been made clear. Only last week, Secretary Dulles served what amounted to an ultimatum on China that our new policy—whatever it is—might be invoked if Red China intervened in Indochina. A day or two later Secretary Dulles added that Red China was, indeed, moving very close to the thin line of intervention. And we have moved—and are continuing to move—in the direction of a showdown in Indochina.

But I do know, with every fiber of my being, that we are playing for the highest stakes in Indochina. I hope we have the cards. I doubt whether we have all we could or should have. I do know, in general, that the fate of all mankind is at issue in the vast array of problems we confront on the world scene today.

But I am afraid that the administration is not taking the people into its confidence. I do not feel sure that the administration even knows its own mind or has established a clear policy with regard to these problems.

I fear that the administration is minimizing the difficulties we face, and is giving us a sense of greater security than we should be feeling under the present circumstances.

Now I said early in my remarks that there are problems—the problems I have been discussing—which must not be approached in a partisan spirit. The genius, inspiration, and dedication of every American are urgently required—and beyond that, we must humbly beseech the guidance of the Divine.

Yet this administration has sought neither the counsel nor the participation of outstanding Americans who happen to be Democrats, in the solution of our grave problems. Occasional lip service continues to be paid to bipartisanship in foreign policy. But there is no practice of bipartisanship. Democrats have not been consulted in any way in the formulation of policy. Read off the names of those participating in the direction and execution of our foreign policy, and of our defense policy—there are no Democrats there. Democratic members of the Foreign Relations Committees of the House and Senate and of the Armed Services Committees participate from time to time in high-level briefing sessions on Capitol Hill, but even they are not told all the facts.

The basic structure of bipartisanship in the conduct of foreign policy has been completely abandoned, and stands as an empty shell of occasional words, uttered on appropriate occasions.

Bipartisanship in foreign policy was developed under Democratic administrations, with the help of Republicans, some of whom are now in the highest offices. But these Republicans have not responded in kind, now that they are in power. They have scuttled the constructive bipartisanship by which they arrived to national prominence and which functioned so effectively during the critical war years and up to 1953.

Now there is still another problem which requires a bipartisan approach, but in regard to which an attitude of utter partisanship is being shown today by the Republican leadership. That problem is the protection of our civil liberties.

At long, weary last there is an awareness—it was haltingly expressed by President Eisenhower in his television appearance last Monday night—that there is a threat to our civil liberties, emanating from the congressional investigating committees.

But did President Eisenhower call for resistance? Did he invite all men of good will to join in battle against this threat? No, he did not. He has not. He uttered a homily about public opinion. He sounded no clarion call. He demanded no action.

"So much for that," he said. And yet the threat has grown greater with each passing month, complicating our foreign policy by instilling deep apprehension among our allies and among uncommitted peoples and nations abroad.

Here is a front calling for bold, courageous and unflinching leadership. Here is a threat to the very foundations of our society and our way of life. Here is a threat which must be met by Democrats and Republicans joined together in a solid phalanx of resolve to protect our freedoms, our rights and our sacred privileges—to protect the spirit as well as the letter of our Constitution.

The President did, indeed, say that we must depend on the FBI to protect us against Communist infiltration, subversion and espionage. That was a statement long overdue. It was a statement frequently made by President Truman, and frequently jeered at by Republican spokesmen.

But President Eisenhower did not ask Americans of all parties to join in safeguarding our liberties against infiltration from both the extreme left or the extreme right. No, he apparently did not wish to affront the extreme right in his own party. There is a particular individual, a Senator from Wisconsin, who has been the most spectacular offender against the rights of American citizens, and the decencies of American life. The administration, at long last, has begun to move, timidly, and awkwardly and very slowly to place some check on McCarthy's wild-swinging excesses. But there are no signs of concerted opposition within the administration to the dreadful forces McCarthy has raised, nor to the frightful implications of his evil works.

Had it not been for a vigilant press and an outraged public opinion, the special counsel hired by the committee leadership to investigate some of McCarthy's mischief would have been a man with a record of strong support for both McCarthy and his methods.

We must wait to see the course and consequences of the impending investigation of McCarthy's recent collision with the Army. I will not prejudge it. But I cannot deny that I have strong apprehensions and reservations. I am convinced that the evils represented by McCarthy will go on, unchecked, unless strong and positive measures are taken, under determined and fearless leadership.

I greatly doubt whether the administration is contemplating any such measures or is moving to supply any such leadership in this critical aspect of our national life. I hope, as I have hoped in vain for months past, that I may be wrong. I would love to fall in behind the President, with Republicans and Democrats alike, to restore personal liberty, personal dignity, and the reign of conscience to their accustomed places of privilege in our Government and in our land.

And I would hail the President with all my heart if he were to—if he will—call back into the councils of the Nation in these critical hours of decision the wise, experienced and struggle-tested men from whatever party who helped to chart and conduct our Nation's foreign policy during the past decade.

Let him call these men into the inner councils of policy formulation—let him reestablish a true bipartisanship, and the Nation, and the entire free world, will profit and give a greater regard to our leadership in the treacherous tasks ahead.

But meanwhile we as Americans, and incidentally as Democrats, must continue, no, we must intensify, our efforts and our vigilance. In areas where leadership is not being supplied by the administration, we must supply the leadership. Where facts are being improperly withheld from the people, we must raise questions and demand to know the facts.

We must appeal to all Americans, regardless of party, to mobilize in overwhelming numbers behind those policies and programs which seem wise and necessary for our national existence and for the preservation of peace and security in the world. We must press relentlessly forward in open battle against the forces of reaction and repression, whether from the left or from the right, in defense of our liberties, in defense of decency, in defense of America.

Are Our Teachers Afraid to Teach?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an article by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation. The article was condensed from Look magazine and was published in Money, Banks, and Taxes:

ARE OUR TEACHERS AFRAID TO TEACH?

(By Robert M. Hutchins)

Education is impossible in many parts of the United States today because free inquiry and free discussion are impossible. In these communities, the teacher of economics, history, or political science cannot teach. Didn't a member of Indiana's Textbook Commission call Robin Hood subversive?

The National Education Association studied no less than 522 school systems, covering every section of the United States, and came to the conclusion that American teachers today are reluctant to consider "controversial issues." But what does that mean? An issue is a point on which the parties take different positions. A noncontroversial issue, therefore, is as impossible as a round square. All issues are controversial; if they were not, they would not be issues. * * *

Senator WILLIAM E. JENNER, Republican, of Indiana, says that 20 or more colleges and universities in California are cooperating with State and congressional investigating groups in a blacklisting program under which about 100 members of their faculties have been removed and at least as many more rejected for teaching posts. According to the former chief counsel of the California State Committee on Un-American Activities, some institutions hired full-time investigators, many of them former members of the FBI or the military intelligence, to creep around the classrooms and the campus.

A teacher is peculiarly vulnerable, on or off the campus. An inattentive or malicious listener will pass on his faulty or distorted recollection of what the teacher said, and it will finally reach his superiors, usually through some pressure group, with the holes and embroidery that characterize hearsay. The charge may be absurd or anonymous, or both, but this will not reduce the effect; for it is now almost as bad to be "controversial" as it is to be a spy or a traitor.

* * * We are already short 72,000 teachers; yet 60,000 of those we have leave the profession every year. One reason, of course, is that they are not paid a living wage. Their average salary is $3,400. The average is that high only because of States like New York and California. In Arkansas, more than half the teachers get less than $1,900 a year. To the burden of economics we are adding the ordeal of inquisition.

The teachers of many subjects cannot teach without risking their jobs. Teachers are becoming second-class citizens. In many States, they are required to have special oaths that they have not been disloyal. Why not ask them to sign oaths that they have not been robbers or prostitutes? * * * The entire teaching profession of the United States is now intimidated * * * The spirit of the teaching profession is being crushed, and with it, our hopes of education * * * No country ever needed education more than ours does today.

Era of Stable Primary Commodity Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 18, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, with so much of the free world dependent upon primary commodity prices, it is essential to our position as a world leader that we consider policies which are comprehensive and in line with the magnitude of the problem and our own needs. Appended is an article from the March 1954 issue of the World magazine by Benjamin Graham, president of Graham-Newman Corp., a New York investment company. This is a very interesting analysis of the problem and a challenging proposal with which Members ought to be acquainted.

The article follows:

ERA OF STABLE PRICES

(By Benjamin Graham)

For the American manufacturer or processor, the materials he must use are one of his basic operational costs. Yet this major cost factor is also the most unpredictable. In the 3 years between January 1950 and January 1954, the prices of basic commodities in the United States fluctuated 48 percent. To anticipate this wild element in the economy requires superhuman timing, a sixth sense; it is like trying to do business on a roller coaster.

The chronic instability of commodity prices is not only a constant hazard to individual businessmen; it threatens American prosperity in general. A prime contributor to the depressions of 1920–22, 1929–33 and 1937–38 was the concurrent collapse of world commodity prices. Similarly, the ballooning of raw material prices at the outbreak of the Korean war gave enormous impetus to our most recent inflationary spiral.

In an attempt to create a price stability favorable both to domestic producers and general economic health, the United States Government has made a radical departure from free enterprise economics. But its chosen technique, stabilization by price supports, has cost a fortune, piled up unproductive and unmanageable surpluses, and brought about the current impasse in Government agricultural policy.

Now the underdeveloped nations of the world—mostly raw-material producers—are urging in the United Nations that a price-parity system similar to that in the United States be established for the world at large. The United States—the world's largest consumer of raw materials—cannot afford the immense dollar cost of such a system. However, neither can it afford to ignore the international demand for a solution to ruinous price instability.

The growing pressure in the U. N. arises from the critical importance of price stability to the many nations whose economies are largely based on the export of raw materials. It is perfectly true, as their spokesmen claim, that price fluctuations of primary goods are notoriously much wider than for manufactured articles. Nothing shows this more clearly than the fact that between 1901 and 1950 annual variations between high and low prices for 11 representative commodities averaged 27 percent. Such a price spread has made it increasingly difficult for these underdeveloped nations to operate their economies. In boom times a price rise produces temporary prosperity and encourages dangerous extravagance. This is always followed by a price collapse which very often brings disaster to the producer nation.

Last year, in an attempt to at least moderate such excessive price fluctuations, a group of producer nations—led by Argentina and Indonesia—succeeded in persuading the U. N. General Assembly to set up a Committee of Experts on International Price Relations. This committee was asked to suggest practical ways of minimizing undue fluctuations in terms of trade between nations producing primary commodities and those making manufactured articles.

To show the chronic importance of the problem, the committee's report to the Assembly listed 14 previous studies on the same subject, ranging from the 1927 World Economic Conference to the Paley Commission's report to President Truman in 1952.

Two basic methods of reducing instability were suggested by most of these groups. The first is the rather well-known International Commodity Agreements device, an arrangement by which participating nations (through their governments or groups of producers) cooperate in setting the range of prices—and sometimes of production—for the commodity covered.

The second method is the buffer-stock device, through which surpluses are taken off the market at a time of overproduction and declining prices and are later made available in periods of shortage and rising prices. The current U. N. report, Commodity Trade and Economic Development, gives limited approval to international commodity agreements, but it stresses their drawbacks and limitations. While the committee favors the broad principle of buffer stocks, it goes on to suggest two other measures of general stabilization.

The first, contracyclical lending, calls for greater capital investment in underdeveloped countries in a period of recession. The second, a compensatory scheme, is based on mutual insurance which would provide for payments made between two nations to offset changes in their terms of trade. But the experts struck out into new territory by giving most of their attention to an idea not previously discussed in official studies, the composite commodity reserve, known also as CCR.

This interesting proposal has two distinguishing features. First, it uses stockpiling as a means of stabilizing the price level of raw materials as a whole, but at the same time it recognizes the law of supply and demand by permitting the price of a single commodity to fluctuate on the open market. This is done by letting a governing body acquire complete units or baskets made up of a number of basic commodities whenever the composite price of that unit falls below a stated minimum. Eventually, the complete unit is sold, when the composite price advances above a stated maximum.

The second feature is the use of the stockpile of complete units as backing for international money in the same way that gold now backs most currencies; in fact one ver-

sion of the plan advocates combining these two physical bases into a monetary reserve, 40 percent in gold and 60 percent in complete commodity units.

The great advantage of CCR is that it makes the composite stockpile self-financing, since it generates the money to pay for itself. Other buffer-stock schemes have no way of guaranteeing that the necessary funds will always be available.

Should any of these plans be adopted, the United States, with its large and growing stockpiles of strategic materials and farm products, would play a major role. Not only would it wield considerable financial power, but American raw-material users would be eager to operate on a basis of reasonably stable prices.

The next question, then, seems to be, What effect would each of the plans have on the United States economy?

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS

Originally made between groups of private producers, such agreements have covered a wide variety of commodities. The commonest criticism is that they are a form of cartel.

Most governments, faced with serious declines in raw-material prices, have been more or less compelled to take a chance with ICA. In 1946 a charter was drawn up at Habana for an international trade organization but failed to win ratification. However, chapter VI was incorporated into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) under which most of the free world now operates. The authors of chapter VI knew from past experience that ICA might be used to keep prices higher than they should be. To prevent this, they proposed that consuming nations should have equal representation with producing nations on the controlling body.

This led to the International Wheat Agreement, which the United States joined in 1949, along with 44 other nations. When the wheat agreement came up for renewal last year, some of the consuming nations, noting the enormous world wheat supply, objected to placing what they considered a high floor under the price of wheat. (The renewal set a maximum price of $2.05 and a minimum of $1.55.) Britain, the chief importing nation, refused to agree to an extension on these terms, and Italy failed to validate the signature of its representative.

Despite this typical example of a consuming nation willing to go along with ICA in times of scarcity but balking when markets are oversupplied, strenuous efforts are still being made to put agreements covering other commodities into operation.

The current sugar agreement covers only the "free market," which means that it excludes the important United States as well as some other areas covered by special arrangements. An International Tin Agreement (including a buffer-stock provision) was concluded last December but is not yet in operation. Negotiations are now being held on the subject of cotton, natural rubber, and wool.

The chief objection to ICA, made in a study done by the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, is that the agreements bear a strong resemblance to cartels. The institute doubts whether special rules can be devised to prevent domination of ICA by the producing nations, which will use the agreements to maintain high prices on a commodity when the supply and demand situation calls for a lower valuation. Apparently the British think the wheat producers are trying to do exactly this.

The United States, by joining the wheat agreement, has given some support to the principle of ICA, but opposition within the Government is growing. Washington's main objection seems to be that, by furthering a cartel setup, we are creating the opposite of a free enterprise society and are, in fact, limiting production and marketing without doing anything to stabilize prices in the long run.

The U. N.'s Committee of Experts is not enthusiastic about ICA for three main reasons.

First, it would be extremely difficult to reach separate agreements on a dozen or more commodities.

Second, multicommodity buffer stocks would require a large amount of continuous financing.

Third, the committee says "the management of their price policy would be by no means easy," which, in view of recent British objections to the wheat agreement, ranks as a classic understatement.

COMPOSITE COMMODITY RESERVE

In its report to the General Assembly, the committee of experts, having expressed doubt of the soundness and practicality of the ICA concept, then takes up the Composite Commodity Reserve (CCR)—a proposal that has been endorsed by so conservative an economist as F. A. Hayek.

In Hayek's view, the scheme is mainly an extension of the philosophy and technique of the gold standard. The difference is that CCR would cover a wide range of basic commodities instead of a single precious metal with only a limited relationship to the overall economic process. According to Hayek, the world's production and trade would benefit by extending to raw material producers generally the great advantages now enjoyed only by those lucky enough to own gold mines.

At the same time, world money would also be strengthened by having behind it balanced commodity reserves which would bear an intrinsic value and utility at least equal to that of gold. In effect, CCR would be "sharing the wealth" by giving commodities which are produced by many nations a fairly constant value.

All of this strongly appeals to Hayek. Stanford's Food Research Institute, on the other hand, is attracted by the flexibility of the plan with regard to individual commodities. It feels that CCR provides general price stability without restricting the prices of single commodities, and thus avoids the pit into which ICA falls when it attempts to protect the price of a commodity from changes in the economic picture.

To the U. N.'s committee of experts the best feature of CCR is the solution it offers to the problem of financing.

It is one thing to favor the principle of buffer stocks—the Joseph-in-Egypt or ever-normal-granary technique—as all the recent studies have done. It is quite another matter, however, to fund enough money to pay for a large international stockpile system that would act as insurance against a financial breakdown at a critical stage in the business cycle.

The commodity units will pay for themselves, just as a government's gold reserve does, because for each $1,000 worth of units acquired by the central agency there will be a corresponding increase of $1,000 in the world's money. These units can be regarded as deposits (credits) in the name of the contributing countries on the books of the International Monetary Fund, which is suggested as the most suitable agency to administer the plan.

But, simple as the Composite Commodity Reserve may sound, its future still depends mainly on the attitude of the United States. So far we have objected (and thereby killed) various schemes aimed at improving the world's economy because we tend to interpret such measures as drafts on our Treasury.

Because it does not involve substantial costs to the Treasury, CCR may be able to overcome the objections the United States has had to other stabilization plans. The factor of cheapness should attract political support. In fact, CCR would permit the United States, if it chooses, to convert part of its huge stockpiles of agricultural and mineral products into money, and thus reduce the budget and the public debt—a claim no other plan can make.

In addition to these sizable benefits, CCR would make a start at solving our domestic farm problem by setting a permanent basis of flexible prices for individual products while the overall price structure remained stable.

And United States industry would reap a further gain from CCR. Instead of settling our export balance with weak foreign currencies (or nothing at all), as we are now forced to do, the Government would receive for most of the balance a gold equivalent in the form of an international currency backed by basic raw materials.

But CCR has a meaning for Americans apart from its importance to our role as the foremost creditor Nation. The United States now holds the largest buffer stocks of assorted materials in the world. At the end of June 1953 we had stockpiled (or ordered) $5.5 billion worth of strategic materials, most of which came from abroad. In addition, we had another $5 billion worth of agricultural commodities grown in the United States.

Our Government has been moving in opposite directions as it built these enormous surpluses. Abroad it has been trying to acquire large supplies of strategic materials at the lowest possible price, but at home it has been operating a support program based on acquiring only what is needed to keep prices high.

Political considerations being what they are, the administration is now suggesting that we merge part of our farm surplus with our military stockpile in a combined security reserve. These holdings would be insulated from the market, which should remove some of the pressure from the farm-support program by lowering the supply available to commercial users.

This may mean that, in a peculiar fashion, we are backing into accepting the CCR concept, since the suggested merger of industrial and agricultural products into one giant stockpile would go a long way toward creating complete commodity units. These would be available as a basis for international money and, if CCR were operating, would also be both self-financing and potentially self-liquidating.

FAMINE FOLLOWS GLUTS

As was pointed out before, periods of commodity surpluses have always been followed by shortages. Under CCR when a shortage (usually caused by crop failure or war) occurred, commodity reserves would flow back into consumption through regular purchases in commercial channels, and the payment received (by the IMF) would be used to cancel the deposit credits originally issued against the reserves. This would complete the cycle of currency creation and liquidation.

It is possible to get a good idea of how the plan would work by applying CCR to the American stockpile. If the United States joined CCR, we could, by turning part of our present basic commodity holdings into composite units, convert them into monetary credits carried in our name on the books of the IMF.

The transfer of ownership would mean no loss of physical control, since the commodities would constitute the backing for currency claims held by us and it would be consistent to keep this backing within our own borders, as we now do with the IMF's gold holdings. In case of war or any other emergency we could quickly reestablish ownership by surrendering our money claims in exchange for the actual commodities—just as we now surrender dollars for gold.

After thoroughly weighing all of these considerations, the U. N.'s Committee of Experts recommended the establishment of a new U. N. agency—the Trade Stabilization Commission—which would consider various stabilization proposals in detail and make recommendations to the U. N.'s Economic and Social Council.

One of the basic problems such a commission will have to study is the relative merits and difficulties of CCR and ICA. It is probably safe to say that, in operation, the CCR concept would run into many of the difficulties faced by ICA; the difference is that by putting commodities into a single unit and giving that unit a monetary value, we would obviate the need to work out a lot of price ranges and national quotas.

CCR's adherents feel that, in general, it would bring about an essential reform of the world's money. However, when the rough idea was put forward some years ago, the late Lord Keynes (and some others) felt there would be political difficulties involved in imposing stability from without on unwilling nations.

Backers of CCR reply that the plan imposes on no nation that doesn't want to be imposed upon. What it does is guaranty that basic commodities (as a whole) will have a fixed value in terms of an international currency—a system that corresponds to the fixing of an international value for gold. Individual nations can accept or reject the results of that stability.

The commodity-producing nations that seek internal stability would not be constantly harassed by the feast-or-famine conditions under which they now must make their perilous way toward solvency. On the other hand, nations which feel they should enjoy some of the temporary comforts of inflation or practice the austerity of deflation would be free to pursue whatever fiscal and monetary policies they chose.

American manufacturers would be better able to estimate their production costs because the world economy would be less likely to undergo extreme swings. Some producers of particular commodities, however, among them American farmers, are not likely to welcome a plan that offers them only general price stability and fails to protect them from overproduction.

Oddly enough, understanding of the real problem that CCR attempts to solve starts precisely here: general stability is a sound concept because it assures a healthy economy; individual price freezing is unsound because it ignores supply and demand.

LESS AID REQUIRED

It is perfectly true that weak commodities may still need aid even after general instability is eliminated, but they will need less of it. A healthier economy will have fewer disastrous declines, and the proper type of assistance can more readily be seen and agreed upon when viewed in the framework of a stable and expanding economy free from heavy political demands for Federal aid.

There is still another obstacle for CCR to overcome. The business world is now extremely leary of building up big inventories. Because of this, some businessmen will naturally regard a commodity reservoir as an addition to commercial stocks and, therefore, as a potential threat to prices and prosperity.

But CCR poses no such threat. What it does is recognize the fact that commodity supplies above ground can be as beneficial to the world as natural resources below ground—provided they are insulated from commercial markets and handled so as to promote balanced expansion without costing huge sums in gold-backed currencies. CCR would be a boon to the United States businessman because, by stabilizing raw material prices, it would increase prosperity and enable underdeveloped nations to buy more manufactured goods.

How the basket would be valued

Commodity	World production	World exports	Quantity in $1,000 unit	1950 value of component
	Thousands of metric tons	*Thousands of metric tons*	*Kilograms*	
Agricultural:				
Rice (milled)	98,100	4,230	1,278	$145
Wheat	143,100	16,900	2,000	136
Corn	130,900	4,250	1,690	94
Cotton (raw)	5,410	20,800	102	81
Sugar (raw)	30,490	8,800	490	63
Wool (greasy)	1,650	1,240	36	55
Coffee	2,190	1,780	50	47
Barley	46,100	2,600	609	36
Rubber (natural)	1,890	1,860	48	30
Peanuts (shelled)	7,000	840	97	11
Copra	2,530	1,490	50	10
Jute	1,490	1,150	33	8
Total	470,730	47,940	6,483	716
Industrial:				
Crude petroleum	486,000	133,350	7,750	113
Pig iron	113,100	----------	1,414	68
Woodpulp (chemical)	20,400	4,650	313	41
Woodpulp (mechanical)	11,700	1,020	159	18
Copper	2,270	1,440	46	20
Zinc	2,110	460	45	9
Lead	1,550	780	29	8
Tin	170	130	4	7
Total	619,300	141,830	9,760	284
Grand total	1,090,030	189,770	16,243	1,000

The source of this information is the Statistical Office of the United Nations, as presented in appendix A of the Committee of Experts' Report. Figures for Russia are excluded from production totals, and Soviet bloc figures from export totals.

The 1950 value of total world production was $66 billion; exports equaled $14 billion. Consequently, to find the quantity of each component in a $1,000 unit, we divide the combined total of production and exports by 80 million.

Example: For wheat, production plus exports came to 160 million metric tons. This, divided by 80 million, gives 2,000 kilos, which is the wheat components in the unit. Wheat production and exports totaled $11,680,000,000. This, divided by 80 million, gives $136—the 1950 value of the wheat component—which is equivalent to $1.85 per bushel figured on the basis of current wheat prices.

Buyer, Beware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the ADA World:

BUYER, BEWARE

There are by recent count some 200-odd legislative proposals which the President has recommended to Congress as part of his "bold, new, dynamic program." They represent the "massive" legislative program, so frequently referred to, on which the administration proposes to rest its political case in the November elections. Unlike the improvisations presented by the new administration to the 1953 session of the Congress, they represent its considered recommendations after a year of experience and study of the country's needs, covering a wide range of domestic and international problems.

At best, it can be said of them that they are well intended; at worst, that they are frail and insubstantial offerings, packaged and merchandised with uncommon skill.

As message after message goes forward, the packaging and the merchandising begin to take on a familiar pattern.

First, recognize a serious problem: full employment, taxes, housing, health, education, social security, or the strengthening of the free world against communism.

Then, study it.

Next, state it in picturesque terms, and make faces at it.

Finally, prepare a solution that will sound good to liberals without offending the conservatives who rule the administration.

The whole package is neatly wrapped around the problem of education in the state of the Union message, from which the following section is quoted in its entirety:

"Youth—our greatest resource—is being seriously neglected in a vital respect. The Nation as a whole is not preparing teachers or building schools fast enough to keep up with the increase in our population.

"The preparation of teachers, as, indeed, the control and direction of public education policy, is a State and local responsibility. However, the Federal Government should stand ready to assist States which demonstrably cannot provide sufficient school buildings. In order to appraise the needs, I hope that this year a conference on education will be held in each State, culminating in a national conference. From these conferences on education, every level of government—from the Federal Government to each local school board—should gain the information with which to attack this serious problem."

To those of us who are wrestling in our communities with the problems of schools—overaged, overcrowded, and undermanned—it is ludicrous to think of a hierarchy of conferences as a substitute for building schools and training teachers. Yet this is only one of the most transparent and innocuous pieces of the bold, new, dynamic program.

Item: After a massive and penetrating study of the need for slum clearance and housing, the administration has proposed a program which can accomplish little of either, though making further concessions to builders and financers. It has been aptly said of it that "never have so many owed so much to so few—at 5 percent interest." The recommendation for 35,000 units of public housing is one-fourth the number authorized by the Housing Act of 1949.

Item: Recognizing that the means for achieving good health should be accessible to all and that two of the key problems are the distribution of medical facilities and costs of medical care (who could disagree?), the President has offered proposals inadequate to solve either. While we welcome the extended program of aid to hospital building, who can suppose that limited Federal reinsurance of private health-insurance plans can make even a large dent in the problem of cost and distribution of medical care?

Item: the administration subscribes to "a strong program of resource conservation and development" and proposes greater participation of State, local and private bodies in such a program. Translated into legislation, this means cutting back the appropriations for reclamation, TVA and Bonneville Dam, and turning over segments of our national resources to private business to exploit.

Item: the "bold new program" for agriculture (notwithstanding Secretary Benson's sincerity) is a reversion to the flexible price supports enacted by the 80th Congress but postponed by succeeding Congresses. Though it promises fair incomes to farmers and fair prices to consumers, it fails to recognize that the market-place cannot achieve the twin objectives of maintaining high farm incomes and stimulating abundant consumption—which should be the goal of agricultural policy.

Item: in doing homage to the principles of social security, the President has offered a mixture of constructive and inadequate proposals. The recommendations for almost universal coverage are all to the good. But the program offers very meager increases in old-age benefits, and virtually ignores the need for protection of the disabled. The strengthening of the unemployment insurance program, of particular concern at the moment, is left to the States—which will not do it.

Item: the gaudiest of all the packages in the program is the "first overhaul of the tax structure in 70 years." This is said to correct inequities, and some it does correct: much has been made of concessions to working mothers and other groups with heart appeal. But of the $3.3 million of tax relief under this program, $3 million will accrue to high-income taxpayers.

We do not think the American people will be fooled. Open the packages and examine the contents. It isn't a "bold, new dynamic program." It isn't even a good imitation of the New Deal—still less a program for 1954. Small wonder that the practical politicians of the Republican Party want a smokescreen of McCarthyism to hide behind in the coming elections.

Interest Rates on GI Mortgages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to submit for the RECORD the following release issued by the Brooklyn Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, through its county commander, Charles R. Lewis:

County Comdr. Charles R. Lewis, of Brooklyn Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars, today commended Brooklyn Congressmen who are making valiant efforts to reduce the present exorbitant GI mortgage loan interest rate.

Mr. Lewis particularly commended Representative ABRAHAM J. MULTER for introducing legislation that would encourage banks to make GI loans at 3½ percent and Representative LOUIS B. HELLER for a bill which would lower the present 4½-percent rate to 4 percent.

The VFW leader also lauded Representative EUGENE J. KEOGH for his support of Mr. MULTER's bill and daily attempts to get the measure before the full House of Representatives. Also praised by Mr. Lewis was Representative JOHN J. ROONEY, whose persistent advocacy of veterans' benefits has been outstanding.

Under Mr. MULTER's bill, banks and other lending institutions would be exempt from Federal income taxes on all veterans' loans made at 3½ percent or less.

Mr. Lewis urged all other Representatives in Washington to support the drive to lower GI interest rates and called upon veterans and the general public to demand that Washington give veterans a fair shake on mortgage loans.

The present interest rate of 4½ percent is "unjustified and actually is discriminatory against veterans who, through no fault of their own, delayed the purchase of a home under provisions of the GI bill of rights," Mr. Lewis said.

"The rise from 4 to 4½ percent in May 1953 priced many veterans out of the home-buying market and forced thousands of former servicemen and their families to continue to live in squalor," Mr. Lewis said.

"Juice" Differential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the average wage differentials between northern and southern mills is not the most important cause of industrial migration. Nor is the difference in labor costs between one region and the other the primary factor in causing many northern textile plants to lose business to mills in other parts of the country.

A very brief but well written and closely reasoned editorial in the current issue of Textile Labor, official organ of the Texile Workers Union of America, CIO, prints an editorial entitled " 'Juice' Differential."

This article drives home the fact that the great difference between the cost of electric power between North and South is of greater significance than even wage differentials in the competitive struggles which are now besetting the woolen and worsted branch of the textile industry.

The article follows:

"JUICE" DIFFERENTIAL—MIGRATION-MINDED EMPLOYERS TRY TO SQUEEZE IT FROM WORKERS

As northern textile employers continue their efforts to drive down wages (with non-TWUA workers under the heaviest pressure at the moment) all they talk about is "labor costs." It's a safe bet that many workers and most other citizens believe that hourly earnings are the only major factor in north-south competition.

TWUA has long argued that such items as electric power rates are far more significant. A recent CIO study, intended as a defense of Government power projects, offers some new figures to back us up.

For example, the CIO study shows that industrial electricity in Durham, N. C., costs only 57 percent as much as in Providence, R. I. Comparable differentials exist between other TVA and Bonneville areas and New England cities. Let's translate this differential into wages.

Using cost figures for a "model" yarn mill—and these are almost certainly lower than average—such a saving in the cost of power would amount to more than 5 cents an hour on the present northern cotton-rayon wage scale and 6½ cents an hour on the woolen and worsted wage scale.

In the case of cotton, the power differential is actually greater than the differential in job rates.

It's the same story for residential users. The householder who pays $4.46 a month in Lawrence, Mass., would get the same 100 kilowatts for $2.50 in Knoxville, Tenn. As might be expected, this encourages "electrified" households; the average residential use in Knoxville is 4,534 kilowatt-hours a year, as against 829 in Lawrence.

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE?

At first sight these figures tend only to reinforce the case for textile migration. But this is a shortsighted view. Power is costly in the north because of the north's own indifference.

Who's responsible for cheap power in the southeast and northwest? The Federal Government, whose projects themselves produce cheap power (at a profit to the Government) and by competitive example force private utilities to follow suit.

Who's responsible for costly power in the north? Reactionary businessmen who, on the pretext of defending free enterprise, have blocked Federal development of the Connecticut River Valley and other potential sources of low-rate electricity.

Having defended free enterprise so successfully, the industrialists now leave it to its fate while they transfer their operations to the areas where creeping socialism holds sway.

In short, the power differential (like the wage differential, for that matter) was promoted by those who complain about it.

Cheap, plentiful electric power has been a primary influence in the industrialization of the south, to the great benefit of the Nation. But the purpose was to help the south, not to strangle other areas. We need cheap power everywhere; and if the private utilities cannot or will not supply it, the Government must.

If migration-minded millowners devoted as much attention to such genuine problems as they do to ill-founded attacks on workers' wages, unhealthy sectional competition would shrink to nothingness. But they'd rather try to make the workers pay for a difference they themselves have helped perpetuate.

Farmer Reacts When Income Drops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER JOHNSON
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from the Pierce County Herald, of Ellsworth, Wis., on what the ef-

fect of Secretary Benson's slash in dairy price supports will have on business.

Mr. H. F. Doolittle, in his editorial of April 8, has very neatly summed up the situation, and I commend it to my colleagues. Here is his editoral:

Thought for the week: When the average farmer has money, he spends it. The farmer keeps money in circulation. He's not afraid to take on a good-sized mortgage on property, machinery, stock, or what have you if he knows he can work it off. That keeps industry booming, and small businesses humming. When the farmer gets pinched off, as in the cut from 90 percent to 75 percent in dairy price support, he reacts. He feels that cut came out of his net income, and slows down his spending accordingly. It pays to keep the farm market primed up, even if it requires subsidization. It's cheaper and more constructive than preparing for a future atomic war. The farmers who have plenty of cash, farms paid for, etc., aren't worried. But they are not the majority.

An Unclear Picture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the following editorial from the Reading Times:

AN UNCLEAR PICTURE

As often as not we find ourselves in general agreement with the principles—not necessarily with their implementation, but with the principles themselves—laid down by President Eisenhower as he seeks to lead the Nation along its tortuous domestic and international course. His address to the Nation on Monday night, however, left us with a feeling that the President did not achieve the result he undoubtedly meant to achieve.

Assuredly the United States—and just as assuredly the free world of which this Nation is the acknowledged leader—needs to have its fears allayed, and that is what the President of the United States tried to do. He tried to take the raw edge off the hysteria that has gripped the civilized world since the motion pictures of the first hydrogen bomb were released April 1. Unfortunately, as we read his words it seemed to us that he may have raised other fears.

Said the President: The hydrogen bomb will not be used "by our initiative." He said further: "Of all the sobering effects [of the reality of the H-bomb] none is greater than the retaliation that would certainly be visited upon them [the Russians] if they were to attack any of our Nation or any part of our vital interests aggressively and in order to conquer."

It is comforting to know that our country will not be the first to use the H-bomb, though most thoughtful Americans have felt confident all along that we would not. But Mr. Eisenhower's other statement is open to so many interpretations that its meaning is obscured.

Naturally, we would expect the United States to retaliate in kind if, for instance, the Russians tossed a hydrogen bomb on New York or Detroit. But how shall our vital interests be defined, and by whom? What are our vital interests, and where? Is Indochina now one of the vital interests of the United States? Or Turkey? We are giving military aid to Pakistan; is Pakistan vital to us? If the Russians attacked the soft underbelly of Asia through Pakistan, would we let an H-bomb go? And where? Certainly not in Pakistan, a nonindustrial nation where an H-bomb would be of little strategic value.

Mr. Eisenhower leaves us wondering, too, when he talks about attacking aggressively. Can there be such a thing as a nonaggressive attack? And will we stop short of the H-bomb to debate the Soviet Union on whether or not the Russians have attacked, assuming there is an attack and the question of using the H-bomb arises, "in order to conquer"?

On the same day that Mr. Eisenhower spoke, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles warned that the Chinese Communists were coming awful close to fresh aggression in Indochina. This rather ominous new combat role for the Chinese Communists, according to Dulles, could result in American retaliation, although he told a House committee that the United States has made no commitments to send troops to Indochina.

As in the President's speech, there is something fuzzy here. Does the rather ominous new role of the Chinese Communists in Indochina mean that the United States is thinking in terms of intervention? Does the fact that this country has not made any commitments to send troops to Indochina mean that we will not send such troops or merely what it seems to say, that we have not yet bound ourselves to do so but could in the future decide to do so?

We have substantial confidence in the good will and intentions of the President and his Secretary of State. And we must assume that diplomacy cannot be practiced on the public forum or in open committee meetings. Nevertheless, we could wish that the explanations of Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles explained more than they did.

Joseph Patrick Tumulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the April 9, 1954, edition of the Springfield Daily News, Springfield, Mass., which is an excellent summary of the brilliant career of a great American citizen, the late Joseph Patrick Tumulty.

I am indebted to Richard D. Higgins, secretary, Essex County Young Democrats, for bringing this excellent and factual editorial to my attention:

JOSEPH P. TUMULTY

Joseph Patrick Tumulty, secretary to the late Woodrow Wilson for 10 years, including his 2 terms as President, died yesterday in his 75th year, his role in the great events of World War I still not clearly defined.

Certainly, he was one of Wilson's most influential advisors. He was also his most loyal friend in public life.

As Prof. Henry Steele Commager wrote, "It would be absurd to say that Tumulty needed Wilson; Wilson simply filled his life. But in a very real degree Wilson needed Tumulty—needed not only his shrewdness, his political toughness, his belligerent loyalty, but needed, too, his more personal qualities—his humor, his simplicity, his very simple-mindedness."

Even when it appeared that President Wilson had treated Tumulty badly, the secretary was firm in a loyalty that became devotion. However, when the President was stricken during his postwar tour of the country, the secretary nonetheless recommended that the Secretary of State and the President's physician declare Wilson incapacitated and allow the Vice President to assume the Executive duties. It has been suggested that this indiscretion finally caused Wilson to break with his faithful secretary.

As a press representative to a professor President who was never sure how the public would react to his statements, as a political adviser to a nonpolitical President not accustomed to bosses and patronage men, and as a firm friend to a scholarly and aloof President, Joseph P. Tumulty served both the President and the Nation well.

His death closes the living part of a chapter of America's story, and reopens it to the scholar and historian.

Sugar Adjustment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Times-Picayune of April 12, 1954:

SUGAR ADJUSTMENT

The Ellender-Long proposal for a 100,000-ton increase in the annual mainland sugarcane quota, and hence in the combined mainland-dependencies sugar quota, is justified by the increase in United States domestic sugar consumption since 1948 and since 1951. On the basis of the current quota, unchanged since 1948, the mainland sugarcane industry foresees, acutely, another acreage cut of 30 percent on top of previous depletions.

Though this added allotment would be mostly at the expense of Cuba, it is only a small proportion of the approximately 1 million-ton increase in the supply position which that country enjoyed in 1953, compared with 1948. This increase derives from the fact that Cuba supplies 96 percent of all United States domestic needs over the present combination quota (including the Philippines) of about 5.4 million tons. As United States consumption increases, so does the Cuban benefit; and the effect on Cuba would be 10 percent or less of the current added benefit.

In addition to this benefit, Cuba has participated pro rata in quota redistributions arising from the mainland beet sugar area's failure to fill its own 1,800,000-ton quota. Since 1951 these redistributions have totaled, from this source, some 600,000 tons.

The mainland-and-dependencies quota (excluding the Philippines) has increased less than 200,000 tons since 1948, the benefits going to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands; and the American Sugar Cane League states that Puerto Rico will support the sugarcane-area request and that Hawaii is not at this time seeking an increase.

Early hearings by the House Agriculture Committee on a companion bill would be greatly appreciated, for an emergency condition, long brewing, has arisen atop the adjustment-favoring arithmetic.

A Promise Broken

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the following editorial from the Reading Times:

A PROMISE BROKEN

"With local cooperation we shall aid slum clearance"—from the Republican Party platform adopted in Chicago in July 1952.

"The development of conditions under which every American family can obtain good housing is a major objective of national policy"—from President Eisenhower's special message on housing, January 25, 1954.

"President loses on public housing"—newspaper headline on April 3, 1954.

Here is another sorry example of the cavalier manner in which one or another branch of the Federal legislature has overridden the President to whom a majority of its members gives daily lipservice and has jettisoned the platform on which it was elected.

In his special message on housing, President Eisenhower specifically implemented the platform plank his party adopted at the convention that nominated him. He asked for the authorization of construction, during the next 4 years, of 140,000 units of new public housing, to be built in annual increments of 35,000 units.

The House has told him to go fly a kite and has reduced public housing to the approximately 36,000 units on which the Government already had contracts to pay subsidies. Actually, these subsidy contracts were made before the present administration took office, so that what the House has done is to say to the American people, in effect: "We didn't mean what we said in our platform; those words were meant only to get votes. Actually, we don't like public housing and we don't intend to have any part of it."

Everybody, of course, is entitled to his opinion on public housing. Builders and contractors generally do not like public housing; families that are doubled up and tripled up in a small house or apartment, families in the low-income brackets, for whom private housing simply is not being built and cannot be built, like it. Some people seem to believe public housing is some kind of "socialism;" others feel that the demoralizing effects of poor housing are in themselves sufficient reason for public housing.

Our point here is that the United States House of Representatives, many of whose Members were delegates at Chicago, has flagrantly and callously now admitted that the housing plank in the Chicago platform was so much window dressing, a lure to catch votes, and a fine bit of hypocrisy. Once the votes were snared, the mask came off.

We suppose it is naive to believe that a Congress, this or any other, is devoted to the principles of the platform on which it was elected. Nevertheless, we can recall few instances in recent history when a promise was so baldly and so boldly broken. Even admitting there was more politics than anything else in the killing of public housing, one would have thought that, since this is an election year, the issue would have been allowed to drag along until next year. In this, it would seem, the House was not even politically astute.

There is some chance that some of the President's—and the party's—program may be salvaged in the Senate, which in the past has beaten back House attempts to abandon the public housing program. But the leadership of Senator Taft will be missed, and it was his leadership, as a converted advocate of public housing, that sparked the Senate's housing philosophy in the past.

Whether part of the program is salvaged or not, the action of the House will remind many Americans to do what alert citizens should always do—check performance against promise.

U. S. Frigate "Constellation"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein an article entitled "Council of the Deep Decrees *Constellation* Must Be Saved," which appeared in the Newton Villager of Newton, Mass., by the publisher and the author, Frank A. Jasset, who writes under the pen name of Fantoemas urging the preservation of our first glorious warship, the frigate *Constellation:*

COUNCIL OF THE DEEP DECREES "CONSTELLATION" MUST BE SAVED

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The situation involving the fate of the United States frigate *Constellation,* a contemporary of *Old Ironsides,* the frigate *Constitution* is creating considerable interest. Should the ship be destroyed or preserved? We believe our readers will enjoy the originality of this article and find food for thought in the idea which it advances.)

(By Fantoemas)

At this time and day of March 16, 1954, on the bottom of the ocean, the rays of the sun were unusually strong enough to penetrate the deep waters, thereby illuminating what was left of the decaying frigate *Guerriere.*

Alongside the splintered butt of the marine-growth-covered mast stood the stalwart and determined John Paul Jones, addressing the council, with Stephen Decatur, Edward Preble, William Bainbridge, Isaac Hull, Charles Stewart, John Smith, Richard Somers, and other great marine heroes at his side.

"We, the inhabitants of Davy Jones' Locker, go on record—on this day of protest: That this shameful, disrespectful, and ungrateful deed, which living man is about to do, should not and must not happen.

"America's first glorious and gallant warship is threatened with burial at sea or being dismembered and scrapped. As well burn down Washington's Mount Vernon and say it is too old and useless. We are this great Nation today because warships like the *Constellation* sailed, fought, and bled to win the victories that helped lay the foundation of this many-times-blessed country. With all our wealth we cannot find the means or money to give her a new dress—and a rigging and topmast hair-do.

"The frigate *Constellation*—old and sick (Neptune forbid), would be towed out to sea and cruelly left at the mercy of the modern engines of war. The merciless power of an atomic shell might even be used to send a fractured and blasted hull down to us (you take her, we don't want her), when a little medicine and some bonesetting would make her shine in all her glory again, like her illustrious sister ship, *Old Ironsides.*

"Men of the sea—she will be ours someday, but do we want her yet?" "No! No! a thousand fathoms No," came the deafening answer of the legions of the deep. "By the score of 10,000 rusting anchors, no!"

Stephen Decatur stood up and roared, "Did she not—the *Constellation*—support and share in many ways in the glorious victories of *Old Ironsides*?" The tumultuous voices, like a tidal wave, came back at him: "She did that, sir."

A salty, hard, and leathery skinned seaman got up and yelled, "Aye! aye! sir." "Sit down, you bloated dogfish and ask to address the chair according to the rules and bylaws of the council," roared John Paul Jones. "Now, what have you to say?"

"Sir, have we forgotten what the *Constellation* did to the French frigates *Insurgent* and *Vengeance* under the command of Capt. Thomas Truxton in the West Indies?"

Capt. Thomas Truxton, commander of the U. S. frigate *Constellation* arose slowly and deliberately, as though he were preparing to give orders on his ship.

"Ye old and young salts, hear me out. In the not too well remembered, undeclared war with France in 1798 to 1801, the U. S. frigate *Constellation* under my command, which was launched in 1797, armed with a total of 48 guns; twenty-eight 18-pounders on her gun deck, and a range of 12 pounders on her main deck with her complement of about 300 men, did meet in the West Indies the French frigate *Insurgent* in 1799 and proceeded to destroy her. We got within pistol shot of the *Insurgent's* port quarter and poured a full broadside into her hull.

"Captain Barreaut of the *Insurgent* tried to run alongside of the *Constellation* and board her. I quickly saw the opportunity to push ahead and rake her nose and tail. I then maneuvered my frigate alongside the French frigate and poundered her with thunderous broadsides. I was able to accomplish this because the *Constellation* was considered a very fast ship in her day.

"The gunners, sweating and stripped bare to the waist with a fighting will, in a few minutes sent their salvos to dismount every gun on the enemy's main deck, shot away his mizzen topmast and cut his rigging and sails into ribbons. This was enough for Captain Barreaut, and he immediately ordered the *Insurgent's* colors to be struck.

"This naval victory was hailed with enthusiasm in the States and stimulated popular interest for our small Navy. The Congress, by a strong desire for a strong Navy, moved to appropriate about $2 million for the construction of new ships.

"And while I'm at it," continued Captain Truxtun, "let me tell you sunken, ghostly, salty jack-tars another one.

"I am most proud that my ship carried the Stars and Stripes into action in this one.

"Again in the West Indies [it was February 1 in the morning of the year of 1800] we were slowly moving just to the west of Guadaloupe. We sighted something and it was not an oyster. We gave pursuit. In the evening of the following day we came within gunshot of the French frigate *Vengeance.* This ship was powerfully armed, mounted 52 guns and had a complement of more than 500 men. I then gave thought to what was going to be a bloody marine duel.

"Hold fire until I give the word, men. This is not a child's sabot with a sail in a garden fishpond. She's plenty powerful—this frog ship. And when you popeyed blousters do fire, send every ball straight and smack into her hull.

"The *Vengeance* opened fire with her storm-chasers and quarterdeck guns—the result, many fatalities. Blood flowed and blasphemy rent the air. Still I refrained from giving the order to fire. We advanced into a good position in the darkness. I can still hear myself yell the word "Fire!" Our ship shook like a jellyfish—every tongue of

the battery spitting fire with a thunderous roar. Such howls and shrieks of the *Venegeance's* wounded dogs and frogs, I have never heard the like since.

"The big *Vengeance* put up a stiff fight and did a first-class job with grape on our masts and riggings; some of our gunners had to be sent aloft to repair the spars and sails. For 3 hours we hammered one another. The French frigate's fire seemed to be diminishing, then all of a sudden, out of gun-smoke-filled sky, our mainmast crashed to the deck, broken and splintered and colored with blood as it fell on some of the men. The agonizing groans and shrieks mingled with the cannon's roar. By this time the *Vengeance* was a done-up, bloodsoaked gone goose.

"Aye, aye! good sirs, the world afterward said I and the *Constellation* well deserved the compliments that followed.

"Well proud was I of every man under me on that fine fighting ship and the stars and stripes that flew atop her mast. May she carry a bone in her teeth instead of lying on the ocean's floor."

Capt. Thomas Truxton sat down and John Paul Jones stood up, stern and erect. He stared, but did not speak for a few brief moments. In the silence not even a fish moved. Then, in a loud rumbling tone, John Paul Jones spoke.

"I command every man, woman, and child of the United States of America to take 10 cents from their pockets, wallets, piggy banks, etc., and then personally walk to their post office, to every city, town, and hamlet post office and there deposit their dimes to be sent to Government headquarters in Washington, D. C., and the barrels of dimes would pay for the medicine and setting of her old bones. If possible, she should be left in Charleston alongside her old and proud sistership, *Old Ironsides*.

"If these orders are not carried out, we of Davy Jones' locker shall curse and haunt the living inhabitants of the good old U. S. A. for the rest of their miserable atomic and electronic lives.

"To the President of the United States of America we give this added message to the people of the entire Nation, and thereby repeating by broadcasting my command and orders.

"Approved, signed, and sealed:

"JOHN PAUL JONES,
"Admiral of the Great Anchor and President of the Council of the Deep.
"DAVY JONES' LOCKER."

Federal Employees Local No. 3 Supports President's Recommendation for Pay Rate Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the members of Federal Employees Local No. 3, of Milwaukee, Wis., which is affiliated with the National Federation of Federal Employees, endorsed President Eisenhower's recommendations for pay adjustments for Federal employees as set forth in H. R. 8093. I include herewith a resolution adopted by local No. 3 at its March 11, 1954, meeting:

Whereas the United States Civil Service Commission has recognized the inequities in the existing rates of compensation as provided by the Classification Act of 1949 as amended, and with the endorsement of the President, has recommended to the Congress that certain adjustments be made in such classification rates; and

Whereas the Honorable EDWARD H. REES, chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the House of Representatives, has introduced H. R. 8093, which, if enacted, would among other things, carry into effect the pay adjustments recommended by the President and the Civil Service Commission; and

Whereas, Local No. 3 of the National Federation of Federal Employees is an organization of Federal employees whose membership is distributed in Milwaukee and throughout the State of Wisconsin and which includes employees and officials in practically every grade of the Classification Act and represents practically every agency and department of the United States in the State of Wisconsin (excepting the postal service); and

Whereas the members of Local No. 3 have been aware for some time of the existing inequities in the Classification Act and feel that the situation has reached the point where definite action toward an upward revision in the classification schedules should be taken at this session of Congress, and that H. R. 8093 is an important step in this direction: Now, Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the members of local No. 3 of the National Federation of Federal Employees heartily endorse H. R. 8093 and urge upon the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives from the State of Wisconsin that they give their effective support to its enactment; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the following Members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

United States Senate: Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, Hon. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

House of Representatives: Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH, Hon. GLENN R. DAVIS, Hon. GARDNER R. WITHROW, Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, Hon. CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Hon. WILLIAM K. VAN PELT, Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD, Hon. JOHN W. BYRNES, Hon. LESTER R. JOHNSON, Hon. ALVIN EDWARD O'KONSKI.

Evidence by Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MEADER
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram of April 10, 1954:

EVIDENCE BY WIRETAPPING

The House by a vote of 378 to 10 has passed a measure to make information obtained by wiretapping admissible as evidence in cases involving treason, sabotage, espionage, and sedition. Attorney General Brownell asked for the measure and he was supported by the President.

As passed by the House, the bill followed the lines he laid down. It prohibits the divulging of wiretapped information for any other purpose and provides severe penalties for unauthorized wiretapping. An amendment was written during House debate that provides a Federal court order has to be obtained in advance if such evidence is to be presented in the trial of subversive cases. While the Department of Justice would prefer to decide for itself the need for wiretapping, the requirement of a court order ought not be an insurmountable block. Measure is a good one. It should get Senate approval.

While wiretapping can be compared to tampering with the mails in search of evidence, it can be compared more accurately with common eavesdropping. And while eavesdropping is an unpleasant kind of thing, it is done. Moreover, evidence obtained that way is admissible in court. Attorney General Brownell pointed this out in a recent address in Ann Arbor.

Courts quite generally admit as evidence conversations heard from listening through keyholes. Indeed conversations heard by listening in on party lines is accepted. There is very little difference between that and getting evidence by tapping wires.

Attorney General Brownell does not advocate making legitimate in all manner of cases evidence gained by wiretapping. His measure specifically excludes such evidence except in cases involving espionage, treason, sabotage, and the like. He wants to use it to convict persons plotting against all the people ahd their Government. These conspirators are enemies of the people and necessarily work under concealment. They are not entitled to any of the ordinary rights of privacy. Evidence obtained against them by wiretapping should be admitted in our courts.

Building Boom Continues Through First Quarter of 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, economists tell us that one of the signs of a sound and durable economy is continued building and expansion. F. W. Dodge Corp., the largest construction statistical reporting firm in the world, reports that January, February, and March together constitute the highest period in history for the letting of contracts for construction. This is indeed a hopeful sign for 1954. I append hereto a report of David Lawrence from Washington on April 9, more fully telling the story of the remarkable progress during the last 3 months in building and construction generally throughout the United States:

BIG CONSTRUCTION VOLUME BOLSTER FOR ECONOMY

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, April 9.—There's more good news from the construction industry in America. The month of March is not only very much ahead of February in contract awards, but the combined figures for January, February, and March constitute the best first quarter in 63 years.

This means that not only has 1953 been topped, but also the previous record year, which was 1951.

A MARCH RECORD

The importance of this information to the business world is that contract awards for construction filed in March at the various city and State and Federal offices means a turnover of money by midsummer. It is said that a contract awarded in March means dollars in the hands of consumers by June.

The figures come from F. W. Dodge Corp., which has a large statistical organization for gathering data about construction. George Cline Smith, economist for the Dodge organization, says:

"Preliminary tabulations of the Dodge reports of construction contract awards in the 37 Eastern States indicate that March awards were far and away the highest ever reported for any March.

"In addition to setting an all-time high for the month, the first quarter of 1954 set a new record for any first quarter in Dodge's 63-year history. Since January and February also were at record levels for those months.

"These high March awards are not a fluke but are a continuation of a steady growth in construction activity. The 1953 awards were the highest annual total ever reported by Dodge reports. Seven out of the last 12 months have been at the highest level ever reported for those months.

"These records are not produced by a few large contracts or by any one special branch of construction. They represent high levels of activity in both residential and nonresidential fields. It is hard to conceive of a prolonged severe decline in business activity when both individuals and businesses are expressing sufficient confidence in the future to contract a record volume of construction."

A steady flow of building materials seems assured as well as high employment in the construction segment of the national economy.

When the detailed figures become available in a few days it will be seen that all the percentages are strongly up and the comparisons are on the bright side in every instance.

Officials here who have heard in advance about the figures are naturally pleased with the way the construction industry is going ahead to break all previous records. When the January data came out there was a feeling that perhaps the first month of the year was exceptional, but when February and March showed a substantial increase over 1953 figures, it was apparent that the Nation was experiencing a construction boom which, despite the reduction in governmental spending, was surpassing all records.

This, of course, is a dramatic illustration of what can happen when private spending is given a chance to operate without Government restrictions. Not only is credit available, but there are no controls over materials to force artificial situations that bring higher prices. The law of supply and demand is operating on all fronts.

Just why is there the upturn in all classes on construction? One reason presumably is that whenever a war situation brings controls, there is underconsumption. Commercial buildings, for instance, which would have been built in 1950, 1951, and 1952 during the Korea war era, are only now being erected. While commercial building in itself is not the biggest part of the total, the actual gain over last year in the first 3 months as shown by Department of Commerce figures is about 44 percent over last year.

PROSPERITY CHAIN

The Government's estimate of construction that has actually been in progress—as distinguished from awards of contracts for the future—reveals that in the first quarter of 1954, even after adjusting for seasonal factors, the annual rate is running well ahead of last year.

Whatever else the construction picture means in the way of employment in that one industry, it does indicate that because of the interrelationship of American industries, other businesses will benefit. For every new home means new furnishings, and every new commercial building means new equipment. The construction news is really good news of a continuing confidence that prevails in America about the trend toward a healthy economic era.

Liberation: Key to Survival

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include herewith the text of an excellent radio broadcast given on April 9, 1954, by Mr. Robert A. Vogeler, American citizen who was imprisoned for 18 months behind the Iron Curtain by the Communists.

Mr. Vogeler ably points out in his speech that we are not obliged to choose between appeasing coexistence with communism in the world and atomic-hydrogen warfare. The key to survival lies in encouraging the forces of freedom in undermining Communist power from within—by assisting the oppressed victims of communism in their efforts to liberate themselves from the tyranny which has shackled them. We can embark on such a program of liberation knowing that our own particular interest in safeguarding America coincides with our sympathies for the Communist-enslaved people and with the universal moral principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence.

I include herewith the speech of Mr. Vogeler:

LIBERATION: KEY TO SURVIVAL

(By Robert A. Vogeler)

There can be no doubt that America is once more in the shadow of war. The solemn warning of President Eisenhower that Indochina must be saved from the Communist grasp, together with the dramatic flight of our Secretary of State to Europe over the past weekend, underline the relation of Southeast Asia to our own security. Mr. Dulles wants London and Paris to back united action against the Chinese Communists, but, if they refuse, there is mounting sentiment in the Congress and throughout the country to go it alone—or, at least, to do what is necessary with those allies who will support us with actions as well as with words.

Mr. Dulles himself said, not long ago, that if our European friends could not make up their minds about the world Communist danger, then we would make an agonizing reappraisal of our entire foreign policy. The time for that reappraisal seems just around the corner. With French resistance crumpling in the jungles of the Orient, with the German nation still unarmed, with the horror of the hydrogen bomb ever present in the councils of free men, the decision to review American policy can no longer be postponed.

What is our goal? Is it to live and let live with the Kremlin? Time has shown that such a goal is unrealistic. In every corner of the world, the agents of Moscow are planting the seeds of subversion and revolution. Against these tactics of 20th century warfare, our diplomacy is helpless. It is no good pretending that our sworn enemy will reform. He means to destroy us: by nonviolent means if possible; by war, insurrection and conquest from without if necessary. Men of good will have no choice in the matter. Live and let live is a formula that works only when both sides accept it.

Some of my listeners may object that if we can't have peace with the Soviet Union, then we must wage an atomic-hydrogen war that will annihilate civilization. "Surely," they will agrue, "anything is better than total destruction." The answer to this objection is, of course, that we do not have to choose between a hydrogen war and a policy of indecision and timidity which guarantees victory to the tyrants in Moscow. There is something else we can do to paralyze and eventually defeat our enemy—without using atomic weapons.

The key to survival for America is not appeasement and certainly not any further compromise which gives the Soviets control over more land, more resources and more people. The road to victory is not to bomb Russia and provoke her air fleets to retaliate on us. No! The path to real peace is to cripple the Soviet empire from within—by the same techniques which the Communists have used against the free world.

Hitler and Stalin have proved that the most dangerous weapon of modern warfare is the fifth column—the men and women who will turn against their own government in a time of great crisis and produce chaos, panic, surrender, or even revolt. The Communist fifth column seized Czechoslovakia and China; it is marching to victory in Guatemala and parts of Africa; it is still active in Britain, France, and Italy; it has done incalculable harm here in America.

Why is the Communist fifth column so successful? Because it gets help from the Kremlin, and because the agents of Moscow are convinced they are going to win. They have been told by their masters that nothing can halt the triumph of world revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, according to the gospel of Marx. That kind of propaganda produces a bandwagon psychology; the timid, the confused, the undecided are all stampeded towards the Soviet Union. It isn't that the other side is stronger; it's just that our enemies behave as if they are certain the game is all over, and they are the world champions.

Actually, the Communists have feet of clay. The people they have enslaved despise them; they dream only of the day they will be free from Moscow. Communism has failed in almost every respect. Its farm program can't give the workers enough food; the industrial plant can't turn out enough consumer goods; the criminal governments of the Iron Curtain nations can't maintain order without using millions of security police.

This means that the fifth column for freedom in the Communist world is not a handful of agents, but the overwhelming majority of the whole people. They await the hour when they can strike back at the murderers who rule them. They are our allies—dependable allies, for they know what communism means. They know it means slave labor, midnight arrests, starvation rations, purges, brain washing, and a bullet in the back of the neck in some darkened cellar of an overcrowded prison. Those hundreds of millions of people who live under the terror of the secret police know that it is impossible to live and let live with communism. They want to banish that disease from the face of the earth, and they deserve our help. In fact, we must give them our help or, in the long run, fight the same cancer with the radio activity of atomic bombs. Why should we commit suicide when there is a way out?

This is no time for partisan political quarrels. America is in deadly peril and, if we wish to defeat the enemy, we must unite. The issue of helping our allies behind the Iron Curtain to overthrow the Communists is neither a Republican or a Democratic program. It is a platform for all Americans

who want this country to survive and want, also, to extend our kind of freedom and decency to the slave pens of the Soviet world. In 1954, the globe itself is no larger than the America of 1860; it cannot remain half slave and half free. It is our business to see that it becomes all free.

The battle we seek is a moral and spiritual struggle. For that reason, private citizens can fight as well as generals or statesmen. Indeed, if we can win a moral battle, we may prevent a shooting war. United, the people of America can decide to destroy the Iron Curtain—not with atomic weapons—but with the principles of our own Declaration of Independence. The idea that governments which do not rule with the consent of the governed are illegal and should be abolished has enough explosive power to overturn the Kremlin. Then, and only then, can we have a secure peace.

Perhaps it is time to organize an American liberation center, a committee of private citizens to devise ways and means of giving moral aid to our friends inside the Communist dungeon. We have in this country nearly 15 million citizens who have blood ties with countries now enslaved by our enemy. Many of these men and women have special skills and special knowledge which would be invaluable in any campaign to strengthen our own security by extending freedom to others. If even a small number of such people could be brought together with business and professional leaders and other citizens, it might be possible to change the course of history.

We cannot save America by fighting an endless series of police actions against the hordes of Asia. We cannot save America by granting billions of dollars to nations who do not want to fight. We cannot even save America by building a stockpile of hydrogen bombs, for the enemy has the same weapons and, by now, the means to deliver them.

In another 5 years it will be too late. By then, Moscow will have digested the resources of her stolen empire; she will have perfected her strategic air force; she will have brainwashed our friends and recruited them into mass armies; she will have pushed her underground apparatus deeper into the tunnels that underlie the free world; she will have divorced America from her friends with lies, false promises of trade, and propaganda.

We dare not wait for Malenkov to reform or for Nehru to get off the fence. We must carry the cold war into the camp of the enemy—not with weapons, but with ideas; not with threats of destruction, but with hopes for freedom and deeds of friendship. If we can prove that we dislike slavery as we despise dictatorship, the Russian people themselves will see to it that World War III is never begun.

It is not enough to hope that something will be done. We, who have homes and children to lose, must begin. We must band together to rededicate ourselves to liberty. If there is action among the people, our Government will listen. I earnestly invite all my listeners who would like to help form a liberation center to work for peace to write me in care of this station. Remember, the World War you prevent may be the one that destroys America.

Dilemma for Dulles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of Thursday, April 8, 1954:

DILEMMA FOR DULLES

Few, if any, American Secretaries of State have faced a task so apparently baffling as Mr. Dulles has encountered in Indochina. The President has said that from Indochina the Communists could menace the whole Far East, in which we have particular responsibilities to the Philippines and Japan.

Secretary Dulles holds that a challenge to China is not a matter for the United States alone, but for all the free nations which have special interests or responsibilities in the Far East.

He has asked Britain, France, the Anzac Dominions, the Philippines and Thailand to join us in a warning to Red China against further aggression in Indochina.

Sentiment in Congress seems to be that if go into any joint efforts to save Indochina, our associates must supply substantial contingents, not token force, as generally in Korea.

U. N. isn't in the picture. France would object to its intervention, holding it is a matter internal to the French Union, successor of the former French Empire.

Timing is important. We want joint action taken before the Geneva Conference in order to prevent the issue which would be raised with Red China from getting mixed up with the admission of Peiping to U. N. Red China is expected to make this demand at Geneva as the price of concessions.

The Secretary couldn't pay that price. He wants the warning made as a matter of immediate urgency. But the feeling in at least some of our associated countries is that to push the matter before Geneva is to risk failure there.

The alternatives are tough and serious for us. But the obstacles to the fast action we wish appear almost insurmountable.

Britain Has Cause for Thanks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal of April 6, 1954:

BRITAIN HAS CAUSE FOR THANKS

British Communists and Laborites who have been bedeviling Prime Minister Churchill about American experiments with hydrogen bombs got their answer yesterday in best Churchillian manner. If they have him on the political ropes he didn't let on that he knew it. He made these points:

He reiterated he will not ask the United States to stop the Pacific hydrogen-bomb tests.

He believes that Russia is in large-scale production of thermonuclear weapons like the United States, but to a less degree and possibly in less potent form.

American developments in the atomic weapons and thermonuclear fields increase the chances for peace.

It is an illusion to suppose that a declaration of neutrality would make us (Britain) immune from danger from Russia.

We have time to talk intimately and privately with our American friends and allies on new problems, and Britain is doing that.

Let us all thank God that the United States and not Russia is carrying out the tests which will go on through April.

To this last invitation of the Prime Minister we can all say a fervent "Amen."

It seems to us that those who are raising such a clamor against American thermonuclear experiments do themselves, their country, and civilization a disservice. The only hope for survival now lies in so arming ourselves that no aggressor will dare use atomic or hydrogen weapons.

The only safe place for Britain, if there is such a thing as a safe place, is by this country's side. But be that as it may, this country's primary responsibility is to its own people and their safety. The United States, through President Eisenhower, has offered a thoroughly sound and completely unselfish plan for outlawing hell bombs.

Until that plan is accepted and becomes operative, the experimenting and the weapons development will have to go on regardless of how this country's friends feel.

Philbin Says Fight for Poland Is Our Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein a recent article from the Polish-American Journal relative to the investiture dinner held at Mitchell Air Force Base, Long Island, N. Y., by the American Order of General Pulaski.

The members of this order have been extremely vigorous in espousing the cause of liberation for Poland and brilliantly exemplify loyalty to American ideals.

The order is now forming a new American Committee for a Free Poland to continue its vital work and, like every friend of Poland, I applaud these efforts and urge that they be continued until final victory is won for this noble cause.

[From Polish-American Journal of April 10, 1954]

PULASKI ORDER TO LAUNCH UNITED STATES GROUP FOR FREE POLAND—EISENHOWER, ZALESKI, DULLES, ANDERS SEND MESSAGES—PHILBIN SAYS FIGHT FOR POLAND IS OUR DUTY

MITCHELL FIELD, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.—The American Order of General Pulaski will shortly undertake a task of forming an American Committee for a Free Poland, it was announced by Col. Benjamin T. Anuskewicz, president of the order, at an investiture dinner held at the officers' club here and attended by over 100 prominent persons, representing military, political, religious, and civic circles.

The importance of the occasion and of the order itself, composed of outstanding Americans of Polish descent, was emphasized by messages received from President Eisenhower, President Zaleski, Secretary of State Dulles, General Anders, Senator Ives, Congressmen Becker, Derounian, Philbin, New York State Senator Hults and others.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

In his message President Eisenhower said in part as follows:

"Americans have good cause for enduring devotion to the memory of General Pulaski. His courageous efforts on behalf of liberty and his personal contribution to the Na-

tion's freedom earned him a place of honor in our history and in our hearts. It is most appropriate, I believe, that Americans of Polish origin should dedicate themselves to perpetuating the name of a great patriot and champion of human freedom."

Legal president of Poland August Zaleski especially commended president emeritus of the order, K. Stefan Pomieraki, and expressed his "most sincere best wishes for the successful and effective work of the order on behalf of my enslaved country, with the conviction that with the aid of influential American statesmen, you will succeed in accomplishing your tasks which will bring nearer the day of the liberation of Poland."

DULLES' STATEMENT

The message of Secretary Dulles said in part as follows:

"America is indeed indebted to Casimir Pulaski and the other Polish patriots who out of devotion to liberty contributed so much in our behalf by their brave efforts. Pulaski died while helping Americans in their fight to be free and his place of honor as a hero in our history will not grow dim with time.

"Today Poland is again ruled by foreign oppressors and many of her best citizens are scattered throughout the world. We know how tragic this situation is, yet the stubborn refusal of the Polish people to surrender faith in eventual freedom inspires all of us in our continuing efforts to create conditions which will permit freedom to prevail everywhere. That faith is a constant reminder, as is the life of General Pulaski, that love of liberty is one of the closest bonds between the people of America and the people of Poland."

FIGHT FOR POLAND IS OUR DUTY

The most impressive message was sent by Representative PHILIP J. PHILBIN, Democrat, of Massachusetts, who said in part as follows:

"I am intensely interested in the exalted ideals you stand for in behalf of Poland and America and the splendid work you are doing to advance them. * * *

"As you know, since the cruel betrayal of Poland at Yalta, I have zealously advocated in the Congress and elsewhere on a great many occasions, liberation and freedom for the great Polish nation. While dark shadows still fall over Poland, it is our sacred duty to continue the fight for Polish liberation until it is won. We must go forward, without dismay, and with confidence, courage, and resolution, intensifying our efforts for this noble cause. We must never lose heart. We must furnish the leadership necessary to keep alive the spirit of patriotism and loyalty in the minds and hearts, not only of the Polish people, but of freedom-loving peoples everywhere, so that by our zeal and persistency we will, in time, impress upon the world the urgency of liberating the great Polish nation from cruel human bondage.

"Congratulations upon your brave stand and your vigorous work. Keep it up, because one day it will be crowned with success and triumph."

SENATOR IVES

In expressing his good wishes to the order, Senator IRVING M. IVES, Republican, of New York, said: "It is with hope and confidence in the liberation of the gallant land of Poland that I transmit this message of greeting. May the traditional Polish heritage of freedom continue as an inspiration to all mankind."

LAUD POLAND

The new officers of the order were sworn in by the New York State Supreme Court Justice Marcus J. Christ, who stressed in his brief talk that when Americans talk of Poland they think of freedom.

Similar sentiments were voiced by Brig. Gen. Robert Condon, deputy commander of the First Continental Air Command, and Brigadier General Lininger, both champions of the Polish cause.

Congressman STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT, Republican of New York, who during the last war witnessed the bravery of Polish fighters for freedom, said that he had never seen such bravery as the one exhibited by the Poles and declared emphatically that "no nation on earth has the bravery of the Polish people."

Admiral MAXWELL-DEWONIECKI, first vice president of the order, said that America owes a great debt to Poland for her freedom and should repay it by working for the restoration of a free Poland.

AWARDS

Congressman WAINWRIGHT presented the Order's Certificate of Award to the parents of the late Capt. Victor S. Doroski, who made supreme sacrifice while flying over Germany during the last war. The Order honored the Polish-American flier by awarding him posthumously the title of honorary officer of the organization. Resolution depicting the heroism of Captain Doroski was read by Judge Henry Zaleski.

Another Certificate of Award for meritorious service was presented to the President Emeritus of the Order, K. Stefan Pomierski, by the incoming president, Colonel Anuskewicz.

A score of notables were introduced by Colonel Anuskewicz, including William Schwanda, Czech-American leader; Mr. Pouskin, Russian-American leader; Attorney William Dachuk, Ukrainian-American leader; Col. William Anuskewicz; Colonel Sikora, USAF; Leon Zabriskie, publisher of Great Neck News; Captain Gruszczynski of Free Polish Air Force Association.

The master of ceremonies honors were shared by Col. Benjamin T. Anuskewicz and Attorney Joseph P. Pionski, general secretary of the order.

The invocation was by Representative Anthony P. Zasowski.

What We Must Do About the Bomb

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. E. C. GATHINGS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Memphis Press-Scimitar of April 12, 1954.

WHAT WE MUST DO ABOUT THE BOMB

(By Edward J. Meeman)

The explosion of the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific astonished the world.

It shouldn't have astonished us. It was only the to-be-expected climax of a development that had continued for decades—man's mastery of the material world.

The explosion frightened the world. It frightened us because we didn't see how we could control this power to control the world * * * and the power to control, we saw, is also the power to destroy.

Why did we feel helpless?

Because the amazing, constantly accelerated growth of man's knowledge and mastery of the material world has gone on without a corresponding growth of the knowledge and mastery of himself—his mind and soul.

Had we chosen to progress equally and with equal speed along these two parallel lines, the explosion would have been greeted only with awe, wonder and delight—without a thought of fear of the future.

Before the age of natural science, man didn't think he could know the secrets of, and attain dominion over, nature. When he lost the superstitious fear and sense of helplessness before nature, and applied pure reason, the process of control of the outward world began moving step by step until the climax in the Pacific.

But the man who accomplished this miracle—inconceivable before the time of Roger Bacon—is little different mentally, emotionally and spiritually from the man who wielded sticks and stones and a gun which would kill only one man at a time.

We simply neglected the other parallel line of progress—spiritual progress—although the road of it was as wide open as the road of material progress proved to be once we had curiosity and interest enough to enter upon it.

Now we are confronted with the need to make in one great leap the mental and spiritual progress which we should have been making all the while we were making this amazing material progress.

We can't?

We can. We can do it because we must, and we can always do what we have to do.

Why do we have to make this sudden leap, this great profound change—each of us in ourselves, and all of us together?

We have to do it in order to live, and the desire to live is stronger in mankind than the desire to commit suicide.

Obviously, the current situation gives no assurance of survival, but promises death to our country, to our civilization, to our freedom.

What is our situation?

Face up to it:

The United States has the hydrogen bomb. Communist Russia has the bomb.

Most of the rest of the world stands by, wishfully thinking that it can be neutral and watch the collision of the giants, if it should occur, from the sidelines.

What is our hope?

That the bomb is so awful that the other side will not use it, and we feel sure we won't start anything.

A slender hope.

How can we build a real hope that we can live with the bomb?

By building a preponderant power in the world which will protect freedom and enforce peace.

We can do this by uniting the nations that have freedom and want peace in a great union of the free. This would be, not a loose league like the United Nations, but a permanent, unbreakable federation like the United States, which has brought secure peace, prosperity and freedom to a wide area because it is composed of States, which though widely differing, are firmly united.

Such a great union of the free, from the instant of its formation, would be so strong that no nations outside would dare attack, and there would be no danger it would attack those outside, because it would be nonaggressive. But its greatness would be a magnet that would attract the outsiders, one by one, into it.

Natural science could not have achieved its marvelous results, culminating in the hydrogen bomb, if scientists had been encumbered with prejudice. They asked only: What are we trying to do? What's the next step? How shall we do it? They never asked whether they liked one substance better than another—only which one would work with which. They never dared to be afraid; they did what they had to do.

So we come to the great leap.

We can't survive without a great union of the free.

And we can't form this necessary union without giving up our prejudices. We can't

form it without sacrificing our small, immediate self-interest to our larger, long-range self-interest.

This requires us to make the jump upward from the dark cellar of prejudice and fear to the heaven-lit towers where every action is inspired by reason and love.

To live with the final awesome product of the technological system, we have to face all the facts about man and technology, and man's needs in a technological world. Man is the master of the machine and the process, not an automaton attached to the process. He is not the fascinated victim of speed; his automobile becomes a conveyance, not an instrument of mayhem and murder. He does not produce unneeded things with his great mass-production machines which clutter life and belittle man, but only things which add to man's dignity. He does not fear that the machines will overproduce and bring him depression in a world in which many are in want. He recognizes what he should have recognized in the beginning of our age—that if we are to have a profit system, all must share in the profits, directly, rather than only through wages, and so he makes the capitalist system a system of universal profit sharing. He sells stocks to all, for if we are to have a private-property system, all must own private property.

The American candidly admits that our high standard of living is due to no superiority of Americans over other peoples. It is due to these causes: (1) Our personal freedom guaranteed by a great Constitution, (2) our Federal system which has brought peace, stability, and free trade over a wide area, (3) our productive technological system, itself the result of freedom, free inquiry, and experiment. So if we want other people to understand us, and like us, and join with us for peace, we have to extend these three blessings to other peoples, who racially, are as capable of living up to them and benefiting from them, as we are.

Other nations have to face the facts—that America has no cause of its own, like Communist Russia, but only the cause of peace and freedom—their cause.

We Americans have prejudice and self-interest to give up, too. There is no room for race prejudice in the world of the atom bomb. The brown Filipino has as much a place in the Great Union of the Free as the white American. We need a freer trade with the free world. We cannot refrain from bringing up the standard of living of other nations for fear it might mean some temporary drop in our own. It need not, but if it did, it would be a small price to pay for the survival of our way of life—a way of life that can continue in the world only if it is extended to others. America is like a ship in a river. When we come to the locks we need be willing to take a drop to a lower level so that we may safely continue our progress in a wider stream. Such a drop need not occur, but unless we are unselfish and brave enough to be willing to take it, we are not likely to avoid disaster.

Who says this challenge is too great for this great people? Who says we are not brave enough to do what we have to do?

We have already proved what we can do. Our pampered boys went to Korea and endured unendurable hardships, performed feats of the grandest courage.

The people back home, too, would have endured any sacrifice, any hardship, had they been called upon to win a war rather than reach a stalemate.

But, they say, "people will not sacrifice in peacetime."

Here comes that need for pure reason which we are to employ from now on, that utter facing of all the facts.

It is not peacetime. We are engaged in a war, which however cold it may be, is a war of survival, a war in which every thought, every act of every one of us, every day, is determining whether "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall perish from the earth—and whether the people so governed shall perish from the earth, whether the giant cities their enterprise has built shall be traps of doom.

We shall never have peace again until we build peace.

We face but two alterantives: destruction or construction.

Do we want to die—or live?

If we want to live, then let us now make the great leap—make at once the spiritual progress we might have made in all these years of material progress—the progress we can and must make now.

We can now become men whose every thought and act is governed by reason and love.

Such men can form now, a Great Union of the Free, in which the explosion in the Pacific will become the symbol not of Man's death, but his dominion and triumph.

The hydrogen bomb is a miracle. We must, we can control it with another, better miracle.

The Colorado River Storage Project: What Is It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important bills pending before my committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives is H. R. 4449 to authorize the Colorado River storage project and participating projects. It is a project born of the absolute necessity of the upper Colorado River Basin States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. It is a project which answers in the affirmative, if it is authorized, the question whether these States shall continue to grow and to prosper. Our failure to authorize this project means, in other words, that this Congress shall have said to those five upper basin States that their destiny has been sealed.

In order to understand why it is that the authorization of the Colorado River storage project means so much to this vast segment of our Nation, we need first of all to realize that the country of which we speak, is, in large measure, a desert, and that without the application of water for domestic and agricultural purposes it must remain so. The upper basin proper is an area of some 110,000 square miles. It is fringed by a few large cities; such as, Denver and Salt Lake City, Albuquerque, and Cheyenne. The communities within the basin proper are comparatively small. Some magnificent agricultural development is evident within the basin proper. Much more can be done if water legally available to the upper Colorado Basin States can, as a practical matter, be utilized for increasing the acreage under irrigation. But this is only part of the story. Within the upper basin proper there lie immense mineral resources. We know that the Uncompahgre Plateau in Colorado, for instance, is a huge storage area for uranium deposits. In fact, the activity in that area today in prospecting and locating these deposits is reminiscent of the gold rush days of 1849. We know, too, that in Utah and Wyoming, particularly, the basin contains enormous phosphate beds. The great mountains of oil shale in the upper basin have attracted the attention of major oil companies, and others. Mountains of coal in the upper basin await the day when it will be practicable to change them into liquid fuels. Yet most of these riches, upon which our country will some day lean so heavily, cannot be developed without adequate water and power. All of this, which I have observed in person, caused me to say not too long ago that the area makes me think of a yawning giant ready to awaken.

It would be understandable if my colleagues in the House, some of whom are not as familiar as I am with the upper Colorado River Basin, were to wonder, since I have described it as largely a desert area, how we can bring to it the water and the power that are needed for its development. The answer to that question is the Colorado River storage project, which exemplifies a plan, devised after some 50 years of the most thorough investigation, for storing, and thus regulating the flows of one of nature's most erratic streams. This regulation will make it possible for man in the upper Colorado River Basin to take advantage of huge spring runoffs thundering down the mountain sides from melting snows, and to make use of them, instead of allowing them to run to waste into the ocean. The regulation will be provided by so-called holdover storage reservoirs, two of which we hope to have authorized at this time; to wit, the Echo Park and Glen Canyon Dams and Reservoirs. By the use of these holdover storage reservoirs, water will be accumulated to be released to fulfill compact obligations to the lower Colorado River Basin. As this water is released, it will make hydroelectric power, which has a proven market, and the revenues from the sale of this hydroelectric poyer will not only repay, with interest, the cost of the capital investment for power purposes, but they will, also, in accordance with the fundamental and age-old policy of the reclamation law, help to repay the cost of irrigation development upstream.

The Echo Park Reservoir will store 6.4 million acre-feet of water behind a curved, gravity, concrete dam that will rise 525 feet above the stream bed and will have 200,000 kilowatts of installed electrical generating capacity. The dam, reservoir and related facilities are estimated to cost $176 million. The reservoir will cover an area of 42,400 acres, mostly in the bottoms of deep canyons, and will extend 63 miles up the Green River, into the State of Wyoming, and 44 miles up the Yampa River in Colorado.

Glen Canyon Dam and Reservoir are estimated to cost $421 million. The dam will rise 580 feet above the stream bed and will impound 26 million acre-feet of water in a reservoir that will cover 153,-

000 acres and extend 86 miles up the Colorado River in Arizona and Utah, and 71 miles up the San Juan River in Utah. There will be an installed generating capacity of 800,000 kilowatts.

Ingenuity Leads the Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. JONAS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the movement of industry southward in recent years has been the subject of much public comment. Various reasons have been given for the phenomenal success our section of the country has had in attracting and developing industry. The usual explanation advanced in certain sections of the country credit southern climate, low wages, low taxes, and local inducements as the primary ingredients in the amazing success story of the new South.

I would like to invite attention to the fact that the most important explanation is usually omitted. I refer to the militant, aggressive ingenuity of the southern manufacturer. Working against many disadvantages, including freight rates and lack of capital, he has over the years pulled himself up by his own bootstraps. His struggle has taught him alertness and self-reliance. He is wide awake now to new ideas and is ever on the lookout for better methods and better products. He is a strong exponent of our free-enterprise system.

The Hickory Daily Record, of Hickory, N. C., recently called my attention in an editorial to several examples of ingenuity on the part of manufacturers in my district. These examples explain why the South is moving ahead so rapidly in the industrial world and contradict the claims advanced in certain circles.

Under leave granted, I include this editorial as an extension of my remarks:

INGENUITY LEADS THE WAY

The ingenuity and aggressiveness which during the past century kept Yankee New England on top of the industrial heap in the drive for world trade, appears to have been exhausted, and an area, which at one time asked no favors, is crying for help of all sorts.

Recent developments in our neighboring county of Burke, are evidences of the resourcefulness which characterizes the new South that is taking over leadership.

Instead of bemoaning the current business slowdown, Burke manufacturers are seeking new ways to attract customers. We are informed that a new zipper package, now in use by Drexel Furniture Co. and Morganton Furniture Co., has been well received by furniture dealers and consumers. In Valdese, the Pilot Full Fashion Mills, Inc., has come up with a new product, too, which its officials hope will meet with public acceptance. It is the Pamper Pant, which utilizes nylon stretch yarn in the manufacture of women's undergarments which are guaranteed to fit any form from size 4 through size 7.

It is this ability by management and workers to adjust themselves quickly in meeting modern needs and conditions, that has made the American industrial machine what it is today. The business imagination essential to conceive new techniques and new products, is vital at such a time as this in pushing a concern over a temporary lull. It is a byproduct of our free-enterprise system. Regulations, whether by Government or by labor unions, restrict and discourage initiative which must get its real inspiration from the freedom to think and experiment and to profit as a consequence of successful results, or to feel the pinch of loss if the experiment proves unwise or unacceptable to the public.

* * * * * *

This section of the Piedmont has developed to its present high standing because it has these characterstics in abundance as demonstrated time and again. As long as we retain these assets, our industrial future is virtually unlimited.

Joseph P. Tumulty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the editorial below pays final tribute to Joseph P. Tumulty. It is from the Trenton Times, a paper edited with brilliance during the Wilsonian era by James Kerney, Sr., who was a friend and confidant of both Wilson and Tumulty. Like Wilson and Judge Kerney, Tumulty perceived the longing for reform in the Nation that carried Woodrow Wilson into office as Governor of New Jersey and President of the United States. Joe Tumulty was ever at Wilson's side, lending his keen political advice and unflagging devotion. Joe Tumulty's death serves to remind us that the idealism for which he and Wilson stood is an ever-present characteristic of American political life.

JOSEPH P. TUMULTY

Woodrow Wilson displayed great discernment when, following his election as Governor of New Jersey, he chose a young assemblyman from Hudson County to serve as his secretary. Experience was to prove in later years that Joseph P. Tumulty possessed those qualities of mind and heart that would make him a loyal friend and an invaluable aide in times of world crises.

Joe Tumulty, dead at 74, had long been remote from the New Jersey scene. There are few these days who have personal recollections of his genial, vibrant personality, his skill in the arts of politics, the importance of his part in the emergence of Woodrow Wilson as a dominant figure in international affairs.

When the time came for change, Joe Tumulty proved to be as much at home in Washington as he was in Trenton. He adjusted himself easily to the swift tempo of national and world events. He grew in stature and in all ways measured up to the exacting demands of his post as secretary to President Wilson. He was competent, tactful, and faithful.

His discretion came into question, however, when he suggested, during the illness of the President, that Secretary of State Lansing and Rear Admiral Grayson, the President's physician, declare the President to be incapacitated. This was one cause of the estrangement that eventually took place, saddening a blithe spirit.

Mr. Tumulty was a progressive and a political idealist who knew his way around in the mixed company of Washington in the highly charged atmosphere of the Wilsonian era. He had his own distinctive and legitimate claims upon greatness.

Equal Rights and the Hayden Rider

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on August 1, 1953, over the signature of Alma Lutz, of Berlin, N. Y. The Connecticut Committee for the Equal Rights Amendment is being ably led by Mrs. Florence Kitchelt, chairman of that committee, which also includes many prominent people both in and out of the State.

The article follows:

EQUAL RIGHTS AND THE HAYDEN RIDER

On July 16, a resolution was adopted by the Senate, which affected the rights of half the citizens of the United States, and yet the comment of the press and radio was almost negligible.

I am referring to the equal-rights amendment which was approved by the Senate by a vote of 73 to 11, after the Hayden rider, nullifying it, had been added.

Possibly Senators are playing a practical joke on women. More likely they are so convinced that women are the second sex that they believe that basic citizenship rights need to be modified and qualified before being granted to women.

The equal-rights amendment states simply in language appropriate to the Constitution that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." The Hayden rider provides that the amendment shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits, or exemptions now or hereafter conferred by law on persons of the female sex.

By writing sex into the Federal Constitution, the Hayden rider would set women in a class apart and would open the door wide for all kinds of controls, on the grounds of sex and potential motherhood, from which women would have no redress. Through the so-called benefit of the Hayden rider, women would have no protection from the police power of the State acting in the name of public welfare. Benefits and privileges can be widely and variously interpreted and could well be interpreted so as to restrict women's right to work and their right to education, so as to bar them from certain occupations and professions and to make illegal the employment of married women. This may seem to be a drastic suggestion, but it happened in Germany and Italy not so long ago.

I agree that benefits and protective regulations are necessary at times for certain classes of men and women, such as veterans, miners, sailors, and mothers. Such benefits have heretofore been conferred by statutory law which can be readily amended or repealed as conditions change. The Hayden rider, however, would fasten benefits and

so-called privileges upon women by constitutional law and herein lies the danger.

It is obvious, therefore, that women are better off without the equal rights amendment if it is crippled or qualified by the Hayden rider. After all, the greatest privilege or benefit that can be conferred upon women is the constitutional guaranty of equality before the law. Every self-respecting man demands this for himself.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, which abolished slavery and gave the Negro citizenship and the vote, omit the word "Negro." The men who drafted these amendments were careful that nothing in their wording could in the years ahead be construed as disparaging to the Negro race. For the same reason, the phrase, "persons of the female sex" should have no place in the Federal Constitution.

It is to be hoped that when the equal rights amendment is voted on by the House of Representatives, the objectionable rider will be defeated.

ALMA LUTZ.

BERLIN, N. Y.

Address by Hon. James A. Farley, in Dayton, Ohio, March 22, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL J. KIRWAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. KIRWAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include therein an address by the Honorable James A. Farley, at a dinner in Dayton, Ohio, March 22, 1954:

I have been privileged to visit Dayton on many occasions and have always enjoyed it. But I am particularly happy to be here tonight because it affords me an opportunity to participate in an occasion which can happen only once in the lifetime of a man or a business—the marking of a 50th anniversary.

In my own lifetime, I have come away from many celebrations such as this impressed not so much with the great economic and historic factors which were discussed but with the people whose ingenuity and fortitude gave root and flower to the real meaning of why we are here.

In Dayton, the Coca-Cola saga has been written boldly in the record pages of a growing city—as it has been etched into the progress of great communities across the Nation and throughout the world. You, my friends, are the authors, the builders, the men of vision and integrity who have created here a lasting monument—a thriving, respected and revered business—from something so humble and simple as a pleasant-tasting, wholesome, nickle, soft drink.

Now what does it take? What magic power must you have to attain this splendid achievement? Perhaps the answer may be found in this basic concept. It may be that aside from your abiding faith, your business acumen and your merchandising resourcefulness, the formula for your success is contained in the one word "character." In the words of the old saying:

"Sow an act and you reap a habit;
Sow a habit and you reap a character;
Sow a character and you reap a destiny."

I prefer to believe that you are not exceptional geniuses, but rather you are plain, straightforward, kindhearted, law-abiding citizens—men with healthy consciences, hearty appetities and I hope good digestion, with cheerful but dogged determination to do your part in the sphere of life to which God has called you. It is a truism that no man who continues over the years to add something to the material, intellectual, and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is left long without proper reward. In bringing this business from nothing to its present impressive stature, through the trials and vicissitudes of more than seven times the normal life span of the average American corporation, you are deserving of recognition, not only by your associates, but by your fellow builders of Dayton as well.

It is appropriate at this time also, for me to remind you that deep in the fabric of Coca-Cola's mantle of success is the name Reeder. To the Coca-Cola organization, Reeder is synonymous with builder. The Reeder vision and integrity helped cement bricks of acceptance in the solid foundation of public confidence laid down by the parent company. Because there are men among you in the Reeder mold, the trade-mark Coca-Cola and the product and institution which it indentifies, will continue to hold its position in world favor and renown.

Just as here in Dayton, so in any American city or town the Coca-Cola man is to his neighbor the personification of the institution itself. Through his efforts and through his dedication to the principles of what has been called the Coca-Cola pattern of business, this product benefits and sustains and develops each and all of the communities in which it is bottled and distributed. In the store and in the village, in the city and the Nation, Coca-Cola is a builder.

In fact, to call it a builder may be something of an understatement. Few products have had such a dynamic effect on the whole economy of the country. Because its growth and development have been so nearly concurrent with your own, let me refresh your recollection of some of its highlights.

It took 51 years to sell the first half billion gallons of coca-Cola sirup, but only 7 years to sell the second half billion. And 1953 passed the second billion gallon mark. When the Coca-Cola Bottling Co. of Dayton came into being 50 years ago, total daily sales of sirup everywhere were only 2,400 gallons a day. Today and every day, more than one-third of a million gallons are moved out from our sirup plants. Fifty years ago, total sales everywhere were slightly more than 300,000 drinks a day. Now they have reached 50 million drinks a day.

Those are dramatic figures, but their real significance lies not merely in their size but in what they mean in terms of people employed and in the wages, salaries, and dividends they provide.

It is good to remember also that the division of what the consumer pays for this drink—among all those who participate in making delivery to him—is such that every one, from the manufacturer of the original sirup to the ultimate retailer of the finished beverage, derives a fair return and legitimate profit from doing so. This product has enriched many; it has impoverished none. Every retailer of Coca-Cola has the comforting consciousness that it gives him a faster turnover, draws more people to his door, and creates more secondary sales in his store than anything else on his shelves. As for the manufacturer and bottler, the published values of the operations and facilities of each bear eloquent testimony to a common and basic interest which united them—unites us—in a common bond. I know of no other industry in which the manufacturer and the processor, the wholesaler and the retailer have found so broad an area of mutuality in their economic interests. The Coca-Cola Co. and the bottlers of Coca-Cola throughout the country have been singularly fortunate in their people. You may remember the banner displayed not so long ago at a convention of Coca-Cola bottlers that read: "The answer is men." There is no question in my mind that it has been men, and these men have been a dedicated lot. They have not looked upon their enterprise primarily as a means of making a fast dollar on a quick turn. They resisted the temptation to skim the cream of swift profits. They have been long-term operators, building for their communities and for their grandchildren. They have had an institutional attachment and a product loyalty that is legendary.

As another outstanding factor making Coca-Cola what it is, let us not overlook the exceptional system of distribution that carries sirup through 1,800 jobbers to 125,000 fountain outlets and through one-half dozen parent bottlers to more than 1,000 bottlers and from them to more than 1,500,000 bottling outlets all over the United States. Geographically, that system covers the Nation almost as completely as the Post Office Department. But the truly significant thing about it is that, at both the wholesale and retail levels, it is shot through with economic independence. One hundred percent of the retailers are independent; 100 percent of the jobbers are independent; over 95 percent of the bottling plants are under ownership independent of the sirup-manufacturing company. There is no better example of the free-enterprise system than the mutually interested but individually independent businesses and organizations which produce and distribute Coca-Cola.

What developed in this country over the past 50 years is now repeating itself the world around. The qualities that have brought local and national acceptance to Coca-Cola here are carrying it on toward global popularity. We now have Coca-Cola in 86 countries of the globe.

It may surprise you to know that Coca-Cola sales in Manila are greater than those in Chicago; that sales in Buenos Aires are the same as those in St. Louis and that sales in Brussels equal those of Birmingham.

It might be supposed that a product such as ours would not lend itself to the use of foreign trade. But just the opposite is true. Exports of finished products, of course, have a utility to the foreign country receiving them. But a greater value and a greater benefit is realized by that country when the article of international commerce is the kind that generates a series of secondary local activities. It is in this respect that Coca-Cola differs from many others. For it stimulates in the foreign country a great variety of local enterprises all calling for local management, local personnel and local material.

A great virtue of this product to an overseas country is that a minimum of important material galvanized new and supplementary domestic developments on a widespread front. For example, crowns for Coca-Cola bottles are manufactured in 15 countries now; the bottle itself in 18 countries. In one colonial territory the erection of a bottling plant costing 60,000,000 francs was made possible by the importation of equipment costing only $150. In another area, a new bottling plant entailed the building, also, of an ice plant, a sugar mill and factories to produce carbon dioxide, caustic soda, soda ash, cases, paperboard, ice coolers and bodies for electric coolers. When a public official welcomed Coca-Cola to Cape Town, South Africa, he emphasized that "with a single exception, everything used in the manufacture of Coca-Cola is of South African origin."

Yes, wherever it goes, at home or abroad, Coca-Cola "belongs." It belongs to the man on the street, a native product and a creator of other native products.

So much for the highlights of Coca-Cola. Now let us return to the purpose of this gathering tonight.

While traveling out here from New York, I thought about how cities are built, how businesses are built and how completely entwined is the simultaneous growth of each and how each is interdependent—one upon the other. A city starts with a plot of ground, sometimes by accident, as when two trails cross and a small store is built to accommodate the weary traveler. Some-

times it starts because of some material foundation or blessing of nature such as a lake, navigable river, or good harbor. In the beginning there is nothing but the ground and then a man comes. He may build a home or a store and then other men come and get others and there are added to the ground houses for the people and the people produce the demand for business and the two grow hand-in-hand from a village to a town, to a city.

There are those in this room who can go back to Dayton 50 years ago. The reason for its existence was that it was first a village in a fertile plain where good crops could be grown.

It furnished a market for the products, a supply base for the area, and a jobbing, manufacturing, and distribution center for this part of the State. It grew and flourished. A spirit and an atmosphere prevaded that set Dayton apart to itself as a great thriving enterprise in a great growing section of the country. It had its dark days. It rose from a body blow of flood. But its people had faith; they had convictions; they had principles; and they stood firm for the verities of life.

And so, also, did this business. It started in a very small and insignificant way. But being an integral part of the community it partook of the community spirit. It was warmed by that spirit and it caught step with the strides of the community. It kept pace and developed and grew as the community grew. So, tonight, in this celebration we must also pay high tribute to Dayton, to the citizens of Dayton, and to this State, for a climate in which a business of quality and character could flourish and for their patronage and support of this business. On behalf of the Coca-Cola Co., and I am sure I also speak for the Dayton Coca-Cola Bottling Co., I wish to express to Dayton and its people our great thanks and deep gratitude.

In the growth of this city, in the growth of this business, and in the growth of the men and women of this city, we have the miracle that is America, multiplied by innumerable communities throughout the land—the miracle that has made this Nation the greatest Nation on the on the earth. It is the obligation of those here, and of those to follow, to cling to this pattern of life that has brought us where we are that we may continue to go ever forward.

We stand tonight upon the dividing line between the first and second halves of a century. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past and with hopeful promise walk forth upon sure ground toward the future. And 50 years from today, some other man will be here to pay tribute to this organization and to this city. And then he will remind you, as I do tonight, that the past is prologue. And in the words of the philosopher, he may say again to you:

"Build out of the past;
Live in the present;
Work for the future."

Address of Hon. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, Democratic whip of the National House of Representatives, at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, April 8, 1954, at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Mr. Toastmaster, my distinguished colleagues in the National House of Representatives, distinguished and invited guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I appreciate very much the invitation to be with you this evening and to address this magnificent gathering and banquet of Democrats and Americans.

I am particularly pleased because you have from Philadelphia representing you in the National House of Representatives five of the ablest men in the Congress of the United States—Members of Congress who are possessed of vision, courageous, loyal, always on the job, and who are not only great Americans but real Democrats.

I refer to our good friends, Congressmen GREEN, BARRETT, GRANAHAN, CHUDOFF, and BYRNE.

I have never seen Members, as a group or as individuals, work so hard for their city and their people.

Reference to the fight for Philadelphia that they are making now best illustrates their excellence and character of public service.

The efficiency and serviceability of the Delaware River channel, as you well know, means so much to the people of Philadelphia and of your part of the Commonwealth.

You know of the conditions of the channel and of the effort to have money appropriated to remove the silt and bring the channel back to its 40-foot depth.

My Democratic colleagues are making a determined fight to get the necessary appropriations and are battling for your best interests.

Each one of them is admired and respected by our Congressmen. East one of them I am proud to number among my valued friends. You may rest assured that I and your other Members of Congress will cooperate to the fullest extent possible in winning this victory for you.

There is no question but what a grave emergency confronts the world at the present time. Having this in mind, it is unwise leadership that gives our people sedatives instead of facts. The American people are capable of hearing, appraising, and understanding the truth without fear when given correct information as to any given situation. The American people are fighters—not quitters. They are capable of hearing the bad as well as the good and of making all sacrifices in the national interest.

No matter how serious the crisis, I have enough confidence in the will and the courage of Americans in their determination to be free men and women under God and under law. For we well know, as the Founding Fathers did, "that where tyranny starts, liberty ceases."

Instead of warning our people not to have fear, we should congratulate them for their confidence and their courage. In this emergency, our people have been superb. For I find more fear, more uncertainty, more confusion in the present Republican leadership in Washington than I do among the people throughout the country.

It is when information that can and should be given to our people is withheld from them—which they quickly sense—that fear is generated. It is when responsible leaders talk out of turn, followed by changes, by apologies, and attempted clarifying statements which have an inconsistency—that fear, not on the part of our people, but fear of our leadership, is created.

There have been too many statements made during the past year of this nature. It is about time that responsible and official spokesmen for the present administration brief themselves thoroughly before they make statements that hit the headlines for a few days and then time quickly catches up with their statements, showing their weakness, or that they were simply another wise slogan.

Yes, and before any more speeches are made such as united action in Indochina and in Southeast Asia if the Red Chinese go too far—that an understanding on united action with our allies is arrived at before the speech is made, rather than attempted afterwards.

Look at the uncomfortable, if not embarrassing position we are now in, and the American people learning from foreign sources about negotiations underway, and after—not before the speech—which amounted to an ultimatum, was made.

What about the New Look in the military field. One was led to believe that the present Republican administration had conceived and would develop a new and revolutionary military concept and organization that would make our people and our country immune from attack—a sneak attack, or otherwise.

That conventional weapons could be scrapped.

That we could sharply reduce our Army and our Navy—which this administration is doing, thereby creating the impression of greater defense with less men in the Army and less ships and men in the Navy.

And, let us remember only last year the Republicans reduced our Air Force from a 143 air wing group objective to 120.

The Democrats in Congress fought for a stronger Air Force. The Republicans opposed. The Republicans won, but within less than ? year they realized they were wrong and that Truman and the Democrats were right.

For the budget and recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and of President Eisenhower is to appropriate money this year that commits us to a 137 air wing group objective by latter 1957.

But the Republican action of last year means that the cost will be close to $1 billion more than if we made appropriations then for a stronger force.

One hundred and twenty air wing group in 1953.

One hundred and thirty-seven air wing group in 1954.

The Republicans cannot be right both years. Their action this year shows that the Democrats were right last year. The Republicans were wrong last year on our Air Force strength. They can be wrong this year in reducing the size and the strength of our Army and Navy.

It is not fair for other nations—friends as well as cruel enemy—to construe this as a sign of weakness. Certainly it cannot be construed as a sign of strength.

And at a time if we err in judgment, it is better to err on the side of strength rather than on the side of weakness.

For the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and they fear strength and power greater than they possess.

The greatest strength possible is the Democratic policy—not a diluted strength and not a false economy strength.

The price is the premium we must pay for security and for future peace. For this represents the sound policy of peace through strength.

Again, I repeat, that the only thing the Communists respect is strength and power, and they respect this only because they fear it.

I have reliable information that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not in favor of the cuts made in our national defense in relation to our Army and Navy. As you know, the Army is taking a sharp reduction.

I am sure that it would be most interesting if General Ridgway could express his views on this important matter.

I challenge the present administration to unlip General Ridgway and let him express his real views on the reductions that have taken place.

What about the other choice phrase or slogan "massive retaliation." That looks fine in the headlines for a few days and then brings headaches; explanations as to its meaning; changes; clarifications; trying to differentiate, and finally the knowledge that it represents no change.

For it was under past Democratic administrations that the great offensive power we possess was developed.

For it takes from 3 to 7 and even more years, according to the size and type, to get airplanes off the production lines.

Who had the courage to order the project which produced for us the Atomic bomb? Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If Nazi Germany perfected that bomb before we did, we could have been defeated overnight.

Who ordered the Hydrogen bomb experiment? Harry S. Truman.

Terrible as it is—where would we be if the Soviet Union had this bomb and we did not.

This bomb is so terrible in its destructiveness, that it might be an instrument for peace. And credit is due to Franklin D. Roosevelt and to Harry S. Truman and to the Democratic Party for the vision and courage to make those experiments.

There are many persons who voted for General Eisenhower in 1952 who now wish they had the man from Missouri, Harry S. Truman, back in the White House.

And while I do not charge the present Republican administration with any such intention—if it attempts to disclose, or in any way give away the secrets of this safety of strength we possess that might be inconsistent with our national interest and with future peace—the Democratic Members of Congress will vigorously oppose any such effort.

We have heard President Eisenhower and Vice President NIXON in recent television talks call for unity among our people.

We Democrats agree with them.

The necessity for unity among (a) political parties and (b) our people is of paramount importance to our country, particularly in a crisis.

The very fact they plead for unity shows they are conscious that disunity exists.

Unfortunately, they are correct.

But who is to blame?

Who was it that politically motivated and dastardly attacked the patriotism of a former President of the United States?

It was a Republican member of the President's Cabinet. Did he do any good by that?

I will not offend this fine gathering by even mentioning his name.

Who were the headline seekers, and speaking mildly, temperately, but with contempt for them who made speeches prepared by others, of something about "the past 20 years of treason."

Men who occupy prominent positions in the Republican Party.

You will notice I do not say "prominent members of the Republican Party."

What do Americans say about these libelous statements?

Do they produce unity or disunity?

And while unity is the problem and responsibility of members of both parites—the utterances and the actions that will produce unity must emanate from the members of the party in control of Government.

Certain Republicans cannot continue to lie about the patriotism of millions of Americans who have voted for Democratic candidates during the past 20 years; they cannot carry on the coming campaign based on a declaration of political war made by a Republican Cabinet officer on a low and loathsome level without being properly charged with bringing about emotionalism, fear, disunity, for the purpose of winning a political campaign.

What a terrible risk to take by those in control of our governmental machinery.

We Democrats recognize the importance and necessity of national unity.

To date, even in disagreement, there has not been a responsible Democrat make an attack on President Eisenhower or Secretary Dulles or any other Republican.

Under no conditions, no matter how wide the disagreement, will I ever attack or impunge the motive or the patriotism of any American, particularly the President of the United States.

I have unreserved respect for the Office of the President.

I have profound respect for whoever may be President of the United States.

I can disagree without being disagreeable.

And I expect—and it should not be necessary to demand—that Republicans respect a former Democratic President of the United States—Harry S. Truman.

It is a matter of legislative history of the past 15 months that the most unkind, as well as severe, critics of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, have been Republicans.

The evidence is so great that it shows lack of unity within the Republican Party.

The majority of Republicans in Congress are opposed to President Eisenhower and his policies.

The Old Guard is on the march again.

How often have I heard Republican Members of Congress dramatically state, "I Like Ike" and then proceed to vote against him.

The invisible forces and influences of the Republican Party—the Old Guard—are coming into the open again, showing their fangs and taking again control of the Republican Party.

As an illustration, only a few days ago we Democrats made a motion to carry out President Eisenhower's recommendations on low-cost public housing—the very recommendations made by President Eisenhower.

It was a direct vote.

The motion was defeated.

This vote is very interesting and is one of many votes that clearly supports the charge that I make that the majority of Republicans in Congress are opposed to many of the major recommendations of President Eisenhower. For on this important vote which means so much to the people of America and represents progressive legislation, 150 Republicans, or 75 percent of those recorded, voted against President Eisenhower—the leader of their own party. One hundred and twenty-four Democrats, or 66⅔ percent of the Democrats recorded, voted for the President's recommendation. Of course, this recommendation carried out a Democratic policy of past years. To complete the vote, 61 Democrats voted against the recommendation, and only 51 Republicans and 1 Independent voted for it. President Eisenhower's recommendation was defeated by a vote of 211 to 176. It was defeated by his own party.

Let us review briefly the campaign promises and the legislative record of the Republican Party of this Congress. At least a political party ought to keep the important promises made in its platform or during a campaign. We all have in mind the promise of a balanced budget and at the same time greater defense. Anyone with a discerning mind knew that both of them could not be accomplished at the same time—not in the world today.

The result is the Republicans have kept neither promise. We have a budget out of balance, and it will be out of balance during the next 3 years.

And let me remind you of the Republican promise to labor to amend in a workable and satisfactory way the Taft-Hartley Act. So far as I am concerned, the only way to make a workable and satisfactory Taft-Hartley law is to repeal it outright and to enact simultaneously a fair law, a good law.

But what about the Republican promises?

Last fall in addressing the CIO convention in Massachusetts, I warned labor to be on its guard because I knew that certain antilabor forces in the United States would try to make use of such a bill as a vehicle to make the Taft-Hartley law more unfair, more discriminatory against labor.

The House Committee on Labor has already adopted amendments in committee which, if they remain in the bill, are directly aimed at labor and for which no fair-minded Member should vote.

I might make the observation at this time that labor and its friends in Congress realize the situation, and we are making our plans now to fight a further attack at labor. I shall be in there doing my share.

I think I know something about the House of Representatives, having been a Member for 26 years and having been Majority Leader for 10 out of the past 13 years. I can say with confidence that the great majority of Democratic Members of the House will oppose all unfair provisions.

And in the forefront of those opposing such an unfair bill will be the five Democratic Members from Philadelphia—Congressmen GREEN, BARRETT, GRANAHAN, CHUDOFF, and BYRNE.

I have already made references to the fact that our Army and Navy will be weakened during the next fiscal year, and will be weakened thereafter unless some great emergency arises which calls for increased defense and increased expenditures.

You will remember the promise of greater prosperity, of the hard dollar, of lower prices, of greater purchasing power for our people, all related to one another and none of them has materialized.

Instead of greater prosperity, we have close to 4 million persons unemployed who were working 1 year ago. Instead of the promised lower prices, our people are paying higher prices for food.

You and I well remember that the Republications used to talk about the 53-cent Democratic dollar. This administration, by its unwise leadership, has given us the 48-cent Republican dollar.

What about the promise of liberation of enslaved peoples—the promise made to liberate Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and other Communist-dominated countries, and to give to their people again freedom and independence. The Republicans took the position that the Democratic policy of containment and rolling back the Communist hordes was wrong. They made the promise of liberation. That promise has now been forgotten. I wonder how our Americans of Polish, Lithuanian, and other bloods whose people are dominated by the vicious Communist dictators feel in the knowledge that a promise given during a campaign has been completely broken, and in fact, forgotten.

Do you remember another promise and another slogan "Trade not aid." How prominently that was carried in the newspapers; how much we read about it and what the present Republican administration was going to do on eliminating aid and increasing international trade. How many articles and columns have you and I read about it. What this meant and what would be accomplished under Republican leadership. To date nothing has materialized, and I predict that nothing will.

The only thing the Republicans did was to extend the Democratic reciprocal trade agreements law for 1 year, and in order to get that extension, the administration had to agree with the Old Guard Republicans in the Congress that if given the extension they would not make any trade agreements

during the year's extension. What political mockery. In addition, they also had to agree to appoint two high tariff members to the Tariff Commission.

In other words, speaking and promising one way, and acting another way.

There is no question but what internally conditions are much worse off today than they were on January 20, 1953, and prior thereto. There is no question but what the recession that we are in is in the main due to the unwise, unsound and misguided leadership of the Republican Party in Washington. The Democratic Party has offered to cooperate in the doing of those things that will stop further unemployment and bankruptcies in business, but to date the Republican leadership has failed to take any affirmative, concrete action in this respect. The Democrats have offered tax relief that will benefit the people generally and restore purchasing power. The Republican tax relief is the Hamiltonian Old Guard trickling down policy—to benefit those in the upper income tax brackets in the hope that it will trickle down below. But over the years the American people have had plenty of experience that the Republican trickling down theory benefits only a few and is of slight assistance to the backbone of America, the average American citizen.

In order for President Eisenhower to put through any progressive legislation, as well as legislation to carry out foreign commitments in our national interest, and adequate appropriations for our national defense, he cannot look for sufficient support to his own party in Congress. He must look to the Democrats.

It is only through Democratic support that most of the measures, and they are few in number, President Eisenhower's recommendations have been enacted into law during the present Congress. He cannot look to his own party for the necessary support. The Democrats in Congress voted for such measures because they followed Democratic policies of past years and were in the best interests of our people.

In connection with the slogan of "trade not aid," great publicity has been given to the Randall report. In my opinion, the Republican-controlled Congress will not permit anything important to come out of this report. This report and the President's recommendations are dead now—killed by the Republicans in Congress.

The Republican Party in Washington is badly split—its leadership is confused and certainly conditions throughout the country are much worse off now than they were a year ago. You only have to read the newspapers to form for yourself the opinion that our position internationally has worsened during the last year.

In the 1952 elections President Eisenhower received a plurality of close to 7 million votes, and yet 213 Democratic Members were elected to the National House of Representatives. This clearly showed that while millions of Americans for one reason or another voted for President Eisenhower, they did not want to vote against the Democratic Party. If the people in the 1952 election were against the Democratic Party, with the large Eisenhower plurality, there would not have been more than 160 Democrats elected. And yet, as we know, 213 Democrats were elected, and since then 2 more Democrats in what has heretofore been safe Republican districts.

Having this strange political paradox in mind, and in the knowledge that in an off presidential year the minority party in Congress gains seats, and if there were no trend in our favor or any trend against the Republicans, it would be reasonable to assume that the people would elect a Democratic House in 1954. As you know, the majority in the House is 218 Members.

With the unwise leadership of the Republican Party bringing about the condition that exists among our farmers and in the field of agriculture; with the attack made upon public power which affects at least 11 States of the West and the Northwest; with the business recession that has taken place; with the overall decreased purchasing power; with the fear of security raised in the minds of our people; with the uncertain and confused Republican leadership in the field of foreign affairs, as well as the domestic field; with all of these psychologies favorable to the Democratic Party, the people recognizing that the leadership of the Democratic Party is for their best interests, I predict with confidence that the people will elect a Democratic Senate next fall and will return the Democrats in control of the National House of Representatives anywhere from 40 to 60 seats.

The Democratic Party was in control of our Government for 20 years. We know what are the responsibilities of Government. We think and act affirmatively.

The Republican leaders of the past 20 years who have led their party in a policy of blind opposition are the leaders today when their party is in control of our Government. They are thinking in terms of opposition and not in the affirmative terms necessary for leadership in the party that is in charge of our Government.

We witness the majority leadership of the Senate fighting President Eisenhower, the leader of their own party. We witness the Senate Republican leader programing voluntarily the Bricker amendment which President Eisenhower opposed. No responsible leader would voluntarily program a measure that the leader of his party, the President of the United States, is opposed to.

These are actions of the leadership—the leadership of Capitol Hill challenging the leadership of their own President in the White House.

This produces unfortunately, confusion—such type of leadership is not for the best interest of our country.

As a matter of fact, the country would be much better off with the election of a Democratic House and Senate next fall. We know the responsibility of affirmative leadership. The Democratic Party in the main is progressive. The Republican Party in the main is reactionary.

The election next fall of a Democratic House and Democratic Senate will mean the people will have during the next 2 years in the Congress of the United States affirmative and progressive leadership and action.

It is because the people have confidence in the policies of the Democratic Party, coupled with the failures and the broken promises of the Republican Party, bringing about, unfortunately, confusion and fear in the minds of our people, that I confidently predict that the people of the United States will again turn to the Democratic Party this fall for leadership in the Congress of the United States.

And the same influences should bring to the State of Pennsylvania, and to my Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Democratic successes.

Thoughts on America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most interesting and constructive speech which was delivered by a very distinguished former Member of this body, Hon. Henry Fountain Ashurst, at a banquet of the Arizona Bankers Association, Phoenix, Ariz., on the night of November 13, 1953. I am certain we can all read it with profit.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HENRY FOUNTAIN ASHURST AT A BANQUET OF THE ARIZONA BANKERS ASSOCIATION, PHOENIX, ARIZ., ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 13, 1953

Mr. Toastmaster, when I received your gracious invitation to speak here, thoughts of fascinating bygone days came to mind. Arizona bankers who, 60 years ago, had rashly honored my overdrafts, seemed visible for a moment and then vanished into the distant haze of far-off events where precious memories are stored.

My eyes seek in vain for them for none is here; their ledge are cobwebbed, their pens are rust, their souls, I hope, are serene upon the shining pathway of the stars. They nobly served their day and generation.

The formative days of my career were spent at the foot of the north Arizona mountains whose purple crests in summer and whose snow-white fangs in winter upthrust themselves into the turquoise sky arching above them and I blush to admit that, among the many opportunities presented to me by this happy land, I never acquired that ripe knowledge of the monetary science nor that measure of monetary substance that would enable me to speak with authority upon financial matters.

On August 11, 1877, 76 years ago, Arizona's first bank opened its doors for business. Its doors never closed. On that day there were no railroads in Arizona. The covered wagon period had not ended; the ox team and the 8 to 10 span of horses or mules drawing stout freight wagons brought our supplies, household furniture and mining machinery. Stagecoaches and buckboards bounced their passengers over the rough and rudimentary roads. Neither petroleum, gasoline nor electrical energy, two of God's great horses that are always on the road but never grow weary, had been harnessed up in Arizona at that time. There were no airplanes, no automobiles, electric refrigerators, insulin, Mergenthaler linotypes, motion pictures, penicillin, radium, radio, radar, television, vitamin capsules, and neither the typewriter, telephone nor the electric light was in any general use. At that time we did not know and could not know that our Nation was upon the threshold of a marvelous age in the world's history; an age of such incredible achievement in art, science, literature, luxury, growth, transportation, national power, chemical discoveries and mechanical inventions that it may not be described—even by a sapphire pen—dipped (or ink) into rainbow dew nor by an orator of silver tongue and golden larynx.

Our Nation is now a world-power so mighty that human liberty is gladdened wherever her eager ears may catch the music of an American drum-beat but human nature is the same in all places hence our known wealth and puissance make us the victim of the envy of the less happier lands some of whom accepted American benefactions and are heavily burdened with Lucifer Pride.

Last year the American Chemical Society predicted that the next 75 years will bring marvels surpassing even those of the past 75 years. Does this seem fanciful? If so, please remember that it is not I, but the American Chemical Society that made this prediction, but I believe that their prophecies will be fulfilled and that civilization with luminous wings will carry mankind from his present doubt and confusion to

heights of grand achievement of which today he does not even dream.

Until the birth of the United States Government nations generally had an unregistered birthdate. Their beginnings were usually legendary or obscure. They had no birthday celebrations, for through the many centuries they had at some unknown date severally emerged from some dim, mysterious region said to be peopled with giants or heroes. Romance, tradition, and folklore, false in fact but beautiful in fiction, handed down the myth that some nations were sired or mothered by wolves, some by lions, some by unicorns, some by swans, but the beginnings of our Nation are well known. If one were flippant of speech, one might say that America was a self-starter. We knew the names of the founders, where they were born, and where they were educated. Most of them were learned men, and many of them were word stylists. They bravely raised the banner of a republic at a time when the entire world seemed fixed in autocratic systems of government.

They were not chasing any will-o'-the-wisp; they were not idle dreamers on a sentimental journay, for they well knew that mankind cannot construct a society where all men shall be equal as to intellect, ingenuity, adaptability, temperament, and ambition. They knew that a manmade law cannot give to the nightingale the wings of the eagle nor give to the eagle the art of trilling the beautiful midnight minstrel of the nightingale and that freedom, liberty, and livable conditions of life do not come by the graceful waving of a magician's wand but, like our daily bread, must be earned.

The founders attempted to guarantee freedom of opportunity only, and it was the right and the privilege of every citizen to employ that opportunity and to earn or win as many of the prizes of life as his character, intelligence, zeal, skills, creative imagination, courage, and luck would bring him.

Among the civil liberties protected by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is the right of every citizen to try to acquire a home, a shop, a farm; to acquire property large or small; to earn wages; make investments and increase his fortune so long as he does not interfere with that same right belonging to everyone else.

These civil liberties Karl Marx communism would destroy. The government should be the servant not the master of the citizen but communism would make the government master of the citizen. Communism is a fanatical delusion that has no regard for the sacredness of human life nor the value of human liberty; it would deprive labor of its wage, ambition of its stimulus, excellence of its supremacy and character of its respect. Many, if not most Communists, are persons who will remain obscure unless they become obnoxious and unhappily they choose the latter, but Communists when brought into court quickly avail themselves of that shield—the Constitution—which shield they had so eagerly and so cunning sought to destroy.

Lack of monetary wealth does not necessarily mean lack of success. Many persons who have not accumulated riches live noble, useful lives and are truly good and great. Multitudes of American men with the purse of a peasant, carry themselves with all the politeness, pride, and bearing of a prince. Multitudes of American women with meager financial resources walk with courage and spread sunlight, kindness, and mercy with a grace and dignity that any queen could well emulate. Conversely now and then, some indifferent person, by the legerdemain of chance or the impishness of the dice of destiny is awarded a fortune and believe me when I say that if the refreshment of adventure, risk, and hazard were eliminated, life would be flat, insipid, and almost unbearable, but it is true that success in all departments of life generally gravitates toward those who are competent, industrious, and patient.

Trade and commerce had a proper influence in establishing the Federal Constitution, but it was not the object of the founders to guarantee the financial success of the economic security of the individual although gestures were made toward establishing foundations upon which trade and commerce might flourish with special attention to copyrights, inventions, coinage, weights, and measures.

Anyone who has given serious thought to monetary policies will be amazed by the vastness and the complexity of the problems involved in monetary subjects.

Not long ago I saw a golden coin that was minted about 2,300 years ago in Carthage, a famous city of northern Africa founded in the days of antiquity by Queen Dido, the most intellect ial and most amorous queen of the antique world. The Carthaginians were reluctant coiners and seldom coined money except for foreign activities. Twenty-one hundred years ago the Romans utterly destroyed Carthage; stripped that city of her population; despoiled her of her wealth, and the once opulent city of Carthage has ever since been a mass of ruins. Every vestige of Carthaginian power was utterly extinguished and she left no historian to tell her tale. Her once mighty commanders long ago went to the silence of dreamless dust and her temples and porticoes and palaces are but rubble but that little disk of golden coin minted in Carthage will today, without regard to its value as a museum piece, secure a breakfast for its owner in any part of the world and will do so for another 2,300 years. People have no reverence for gold as such and there should not be any superstition about coins. Then why is it that that little disk of metal (about the size of a nickel) will secure a breakfast for its owner in all ages and in all nations? Answer—because it is gold. Question—why gold? Why not some other commodity? The answer is that gold happens to be the one commodity that possesses permanency, beauty, and utility in the arts, in coinage, and in jewelry and also possesses all the other physical properties (portability, indestructibility, malleability, ductility, divisibility) which are necessary to give an object worldwide or global value. To be an eligible measure of global value a thing must be valuable in itself in all lands and gold is valuable in itself in all lands.

Many nations have no internal circulation of gold coin but gold is the commodity everywhere accepted for the settlement of international trade balances.

Its use as global money or ultimate redemption money has been enshrined in the instincts of the human race since the beginnings of recorded history.

Mankind has tried to use 160 different objects or materials (animal, vegetable, and mineral) as distinct from paper money for global currency but of the 160 objects he has tried to use he has found that gold was everywhere the most acceptable with silver and wheat second and third respectively as global money.

In a country where there is no convertibility of currency into gold—there is an illiquidity and this il-liquidity is cured, or rather final payment is avoided, by substituting one promise to pay for another promise—a new paper promise to pay is given for the old paper promise—but when it comes to global settlements—global money—gold is required.

Aristotle, a Greek philosopher who flourished about 350 B. C., compared the money—the circulating medium—of nations to the lifeblood in the physical body and the comparison is apt, for not more do the health and efficiency of the physical organism depend upon the quantity and condition of the blood than do the welfare and progress of human society depend upon the volume and character of the money flowing in the arteries of commercial circulation. Opulent with irony, as are all human affairs, I do not recall a sharper irony than that, although the United States now holds in its mints and assay offices, and stored at Fort Knox, $23.3 billion, or 70 percent of the world's monetary gold, our resumption of the gold coin standard with most of the nations, including Canada, France, and England off the gold coin standard might bring disaster and subject the United States to the disadvantage of becoming a barter nation. The fact is that while the United States is off the gold coin standard, that is to say, no gold coins circulate internally, we are on a gold bullion standard; the metal is formed into bars—each bar having a value of about $14,000 and is released only for exportation to settle international trade balances.

In most of the countries of the world, including the United States, laws have been passed limiting the issuance of paper money, but the lesson of history is that an unsupported paper currency will easily result in the issuance of excessive amounts, and once a nation sets its feet upon the primrose path of currency inflation, it finds that path, like the primrose path of dalliance, to be a steep declivity, very slippery, with the way out difficult and painful.

You may expect me to indicate some remedy, some way to liquidate our burdensome national debt of nearly $272 billion, and to avoid the perils of currency inflation, but even if I were capable (which I am not) of discussing these two subjects with authenticity, I should probably only do that which most economists and monetary experts do, that is, propose a remedy in words that would require further words of explanation and further definition.

Bill Nye, a famous wit of 70 years ago, had a dog named Epaminondas who hungrily ate everything and who one day greedily gobbled up from a plasterer's board a bucketful of plaster of paris, which hardened. When the dog died, Bill Nye wrote an epitaph for his dog, which read:

"Here lies Epaminondas, interior view—
He bit off more than he could chew."

A valuable lesson may be found in the legendary story of the Lorelei, a siren who haunted a rock by that name upon the right bank of the River Rhine, midway between Bingen and Koblenz, whose voluptuous beauty, feminine charm and sweet singing lured sailors to shipwreck upon the reef of rocks below. The only mariners who navigated that river in safety were those who sealed their ears and lashed themselves to the masts of their vessel as they passed her alluring but treacherous rock. So it is in Government and in statecraft; the twin Lorelei (excessive national debt and currency inflation) are ever singing songs of such transcendent beauty that the wise statesman seals his ears and lashes himself to the mast of the ship of state to avoid the disaster which these twin Lorelei could bring to a nation's prosperity. Statesmen of strong fiber and high moral courage often find it difficult to say to such a siren: "Your charms are invisible to my eyes, your songs are inaudible to my ears." I remember that the poet said: "He who can look upon beauty and then defy her thrall is the noblest, bravest hero of them all." Accustomed as Americans are to luxuries beyond the reach of kings and diplomats, we shall find it difficult and painful to travel the road of national and personal economy and frugality, but that is the highway leading to national security and national solvency, and I am happy to say to you that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board are now holding and have for years wisely and courageously held the line against ruinous currency inflation.

The world frequently seems to be a runaway orb and we sometimes wonder just what sort of civilization is being gestated, but we are encouraged to remember that America

has never been an apostle of despair and I doubt not that you meet many disappointments in your banking enterprises but there are always sources of comfort; the sympathy and support of reasonable people; the assurance that every righteous thing you do will—somehow—serve not only your own interests but also the good of your own State and the good of the Nation as well, for there is somewhere a conservation of spiritual energy that preserves every noble resolve and worthy action and molds them into a beneficent achievement aiding mankind in his arduous struggle upward and onward.

I take no stock in the gloomy jeremiads constantly chanted that the human race will destroy itself; I do not subscribe to the defeatist attitude that human beings are but the helpless zanies of witless fate and thoughtless chance which will overthrow the wisdom of the wise, the valor of the brave and the trophies of the truth. I reject such philosophy and I assert that mankind is endued with reason, conscience, ample power of self-direction and has his fate in his own hands.

Those explosive forces, the atom bomb and its synthetic halfbrother, the hydrogen bomb, which have brought such specters of dreadful terror to so many persons will (before the silver of 60 years shall have crowned the temples of the young guests here) be the selfsame forces that will heat and illuminate man's habitation, transport him and his commerce, and heal and cure many of his physical ills and agonies. Fear and doubt have come to every generation of men since history began and will continue to do so through the future.

America developed the atom bomb and America was the first to use it. Many persons of good repute believe that, even in this fabulous age, we Americans were a little too presumptuous when we thus took into our own hands the power of the Sun—the fire and force of Old Sol himself, but down through all the grand drama of human destiny fear has accompanied inventions.

Mythology tells us that a legendary figure—Prometheus—so-called father of civilization, was punished by his tribe for teaching them the use of fire he stole from heaven, and in the dim, shadowy prehistoric times some persons unknown by name or race (probably women) invented baking, brewing, weaving, knitting, domestication of animals and of plants. Beyond doubt terror and crushing fear came to the tribe when these things were invented. One may imagine the terror that came to the human race when the wheel, one of the most important of inventions, was brought forth.

America is now the world's diamond pivot and Americans may justly exclaim: Mine is the whole majestic past, mine is the shining future. Paraphrasing a great character: "Our eternal maxim: All things for America; she is the vital axle of the restless wheels that bear me onward; beyond the map of America my heart can travel not but fills that limit to its utmost verge," for America is now the only firstrate power left in this world where liberty may speak with a voice of authority, amplitude and grandeur.

Ill-Conceived Retirement Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of Sunday, April 4, with respect to our social-security system and some changes that have been proposed. It speaks for itself and, I am certain, for millions of the aged. The editorial follows:

CASE FOR HIGHER PENSIONS

Recommendation by Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby that old-age and survivors' insurance benefits be raised because they are too low for basic retirement is welcome. As the Secretary of Welfare points out, the benefit levels were originally established in the depression years and rises since then have barely kept pace with cost-of-living increases.

The social-security program is fundamentally a good thing, and should be strengthened not only in this respect but in a number of others. One of the most serious injustices under the present arrangement is the $75 a month limitation on outside earnings.

The new proposal, also inadequate, is to permit annual earnings of $1,000 a year. With minimum benefits now at $25 a month for single persons ($35 recommended in the measure under discussion) the assumption seems to be that a retired person should be made to live on about $1,300 to $1,400 a year, and be penalized if he tries to improve his status. That is still unfair, unrealistic, and out of keeping with the idea of insurance.

The apparent idea that active persons in good health should be compelled to give up the productive pattern of their lives for the rocking chair is unsound and, as health studies have shown, results all too often in demoralization and chronic illness. Our hospitals have burdens enough without adding to them by ill-conceived retirement practices.

Dr. George Harrison Shull, Pioneer in the Development of Hybrid Corn, Reaches His 80th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to Dr. George Harrison Shull upon the occasion of the 80th anniversary of his birth—April 14, 1954. This distinguished scientist, whose research and ingenuity pioneered the development of hybrid corn, began his experiments in corn breeding nearly 50 years ago.

Dr. Shull discovered the basic principles of the origin and inheritance of new characteristics and stated them clearly for the benefit of others who put his basic principles into practice and provided American farmers with the seed which is needed for sowing millions of acres of corn.

Development of hybrid corn is now widely recognized as the greatest step forward in agriculture in modern times, and its use has resulted in the addition of about a half billion dollars to the annual income of American farms. It is now being introduced rapidly into other countries, where it is helping to solve critical food shortages.

Dr. Shull is a true scientist, whose work was motivated by zeal for knowledge rather than economic gain. He has not profited a penny through devising the agricultural technique which is basic to hybrid-corn development. His reward has been the deep satisfaction which comes from the fact that his research has come to be recognized as a classic example of work in pure science that has led directly to economic and humanitarian results of tremendous importance.

A Comprehensive Plan: The Colorado River Storage Project and Participating Projects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. L. MILLER
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, on March 20, 1954, the President gave his and his administration's unqualified support to a much-needed, basinwide, comprehensive water-utilization project for an area that has for many years lagged far behind other major river basins of the Nation in agricultural and industrial development. That the President is fully aware of the needs of the upper Colorado River Basin; and that he desires his administration to have a positive, sound reclamation program for the satisfaction of those needs is ably demonstrated by the straight-from-the-shoulder attitude expressed in his White House press release on March 20, in which he said:

I have today approved recommendations for the development of the upper Colorado River Basin.

The general plan upon which these recommendations are based has been prepared by the Secretary of the Interior. The Secretary's recommendations have been reviewed by the Bureau of the Budget. Legislation embodying the administration's recommendations is being prepared for introduction in the Congress.

This is a comprehensive, well-planned development of a river basin. The close Federal-State cooperation upon which the Secretary's plan is based also carries out this administration's approach to water-resource development.

The development will conserve water, enabling the region to increase supplies for municipal uses, industrial development, and irrigation. It will develop much-needed electric power.

The development calls for sound financing. The legislation now being drafted will set up a fund for the entire project so that it will be constructed and paid for as a basin program.

Construction of the Echo Park and Glen Canyon dams, two of the large projects in the basin plan, is recommended. These dams are key units strategically located to provide the necessary storage of water to make the plan work at its maximum efficiency.

The legislation being drafted will authorize a number of projects which will put to use the waters of the upper Colorado. This authorization will become effective following further consideration by the Secretary of the Interior, with the assistance of the Secre-

tary of Agriculture, of the relation of these projects to the wise use and sound development of the basin.

I am deferring my recommendation on the Shiprock unit of the Navaho project until the Secretary has completed his study.

I hope the Congress will give early consideration to enactment of the administration's legislative proposal. I firmly believe development of the upper Colorado River Basin, in accordance with its provisions, is in the national interest.

Mr. Speaker, the above-mentioned actions of the President and the Bureau of the Budget followed closely upon the heels of the hearings on H. R. 4449, by the gentleman from Utah [Mr. DAWSON], held January 18 to 29 by the Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives.

The Colorado River storage project and participating projects is a bold plan for water resource development of the Colorado River Basin upstream from Lee Ferry, Ariz. It has been conceived as the result of the best example of voluntary interstate cooperation and cooperation between the States and Federal Government that this Nation has ever seen in the peacetime development of the resources of a large segment of the country. The plan for the development of the upper basin is a direct result of the Colorado River compact of 1922, which apportioned the water of the river system between the upper basin and lower basin States; the upper Colorado River Basin compact of 1948, which allocated the upper basin States' share among the States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming; and the Mexican Water Treaty of 1945 with the United Mexican States; coupled with the rapid population growth, and industrial and agricultural expansion of the West in recent years. The plan was made possible by those compacts and that treaty; and, conversely, it was made absolutely necessary by those very same solemn and binding agreements, if the upper basin States are to continue to grow and develop in agriculture and industry. Only with the Colorado River compact could such a program be workable. Without it the lower basin, with its more rapid rate of development, would soon utilize all of the available water of the river system causing consumptive-use development in the upper basin to assume only minor proportions. For instance, some authorities have estimated that present consumptive use in the lower basin has now attained approximately 5½ million acre-feet out of an annual compact apportionment of 7½ million acre-feet; while the upper basin is presently consumptively using about 2 million of its 7½ million acre-feet allotment.

Because the flow of the Colorado River from year to year is highly erratic, varying from an estimated virgin flow at Lee Ferry of 5½ million acre-feet in 1934 to 24 million acre-feet in 1917, and because the upper basin is required by compact terms to deliver at Lee Ferry 75 million acre-feet in any period of 10 consecutive years, the long-term, cyclical, holdover water storage contemplated behind the great storage dams to be constructed as part of the proposed plan for the upper basin becomes highly essential. It is obvious that without the river regulation to be provided by this storage, the upper basin States will be unable to make any considerable additional uses of water of the Colorado River system that would not be subject to catastrophic interference in low-water years. Very little imagination is required to envison the calamitous effects upon both the lower and upper basins of the Colorado, should a decade of drought as serious as the one of 1931–40 be repeated under present conditions of vastly increased domestic consumption plus increased agricultural and industrial uses of water.

Although the Colorado River storage project and participating projects is a single multiple-purpose project that will constitute a beginning on the development of the water resources of the upper Colorado River Basin States, it has two principal and closely integrated divisions. These are the Storage Division and the Participating Projects Division. The Storage Division consists of those units, the paramount purposes of which will be to regulate the flows of the widely fluctuating Colorado River and its major tributaries by storing water during the good water years for use during the lean years, and to produce hydroelectric power from which revenues can be derived to aid in paying for the costs of irrigation projects—participating projects—beyond the ability of farmers to repay. The participating projects consist of the consumptive use parts of the overall plan in the form of irrigation projects and municipal water developments. They vary in size from the enormous multiple-purpose central Utah project with its transmountain diversions, municipal water divisions, supplying of supplemental water to lands now presently irrigated, and reclamation of new land to the small LaBarge project for the development of a small unit of new land along the Green River in Wyoming. It is, of course, contemplated that there will be consumptive-use projects authorized in each of the States of the upper basin, and provision is being made in the authorizing legislation for the addition of other new projects in the future as they become necessary and economically feasible.

While the recommendations recently emanating from the President and the Bureau of the Budget do not contain all of the large river-regulating storage dams and consumptive-use participating projects desired by and recommended by either the people of the upper Colorado River Basin States or the upper Colorado River Commission, yet they do constitute quite an impressive program. Encompassed in these recommendations for construction in the initial phase of the Colorado River storage project and participating projects are the two most important and efficient storage units—the Glen Canyon Dam and Reservoir on the Colorado River in northern Arizona, and the Echo Park Dam and Reservoir on the Green River below the mouth of the Yampa River in northwestern Colorado and partly within the confines of the Dinosaur National Monument.

The Echo Park Reservoir will store 6.4 million acre-feet of water behind a curved gravity, concrete dam that will rise 525 feet above the stream bed, and will have 200,000 kilowatts of installed electrical generating capacity. The dam, reservoir, and related facilities are estimated to cost $176.4 million. The reservoir will cover an area of 42,400 acres, mostly in the bottoms of deep canyons, and will extend 63 miles up the Green River and 44 miles on the Yampa River.

Glen Canyon Dam and Reservoir are estimated to cost $421.3 million. The dam will rise 580 feet above the stream bed and will impound 26 million acre-feet of water in a lake that will cover 153,000 acres and extend 86 miles up the Colorado River and 71 miles on the San Juan River. There will be installed generating capacity for 800,000 kilowatts.

To be considered by the Congress along with the two storage units mentioned above are several participating projects located in the various Upper Basin States. Some of the facts concerning them are tabulated as follows:

Participating projects

Project	State	New acres	Supplemental acres	Acre-feet municipal water	Estimated cost
Central Utah	Utah	28,840	131,840	48,800	$231,044,000
Emery County	do	3,630	20,450		9,865,500
Florida	Colorado	6,300	12,650		6,941,500
Hammond	New Mexico	3,670			2,302,000
La Barge	Wyoming	7,970			1,673,000
Lyman	do		40,600		10,564,000
Pine River extension	Colorado-New Mexico	15,150			8,027,000
Seedskadee	Wyoming	60,720			23,272,000
Silt	Colorado	1,900	5,400		3,356,000
Smith Fork	do	2,270	8,160		3,367,000
Paonia	do	2,210	14,830		6,944,000
Total cost of participating projects					304,356,000

NOTE.—In addition, the authorized Eden project in Wyoming, estimated cost $7,287,000, will be included.

Mr. Speaker, if the present Congress will promptly discharge its obligation to the people of the area and of the Nation in carrying out the Administration's program by enacting the recommended authorizing legislation, the upper basin of the Colorado should experience a new era in the development of its immeasurable natural resources, in irrigation farming, in industrialization, and the providing of new homes and jobs for many Americans.

Professor Sharp's Book Aids the Enemy and Upholds Soviet Conquest of Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the book Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field by Samuel L. Sharp, associate professor at American University, which was published by the Harvard University Press in 1953, is, I believe, calculated to undermine the friendly relations which have long existed between the Polish people and the American people. Such a result could only be of benefit to the Communist regime in Poland, with which Professor Sharp indicates he has been quite friendly. With regard to his visit to Poland in 1948, when the Communist regime was solidly in the saddle in Poland, Professor Sharp states on page vii:

> I have therefore enjoyed, and still feel obliged to acknowledge, the customary courtesies of the Polish authorities in Warsaw, including the supreme courtesy of being left alone to study, travel, and meet people of various shades of political opinion.

It should be apparent that the courtesies extended Professor Sharp were not "the customary courtesies." As a matter of fact, Professor Sharp traveled to Poland in 1948 aboard the steamship *Batory* and his passage was paid for by the Red Polish consulate in New York at the request of the Polish Embassy in Washington. Later when this fact was about to be divulged to the public, Mr. Sharp repaid the Polish authorities and then contended that the transaction was only intended to be a loan in the first instance.

Mr. Sharp was able to travel and study wherever he liked in Poland in 1948 by arrangement with his old friend Jacob Berman with whom he worked on the newspaper Hajnt which was published in Warsaw before World War II. Jacob Berman, according to the research and information center of the national committee for free Europe, is the secretary of the Politburo of the Communist Party in Poland, the actual center of authority in Poland. A report of the committee for free Europe states, "Berman receives instruction directly from Moscow, and although his official position is to all appearances, more modest than the others, persons who are in the know claim that he possesses a greater authority than Bierut or Zambrowski."

Berman has been a Communist since his student days at the University of Warsaw and in his youth headed various Communist organizations in Poland. In 1928, he attended the Red Army Academy in Moscow and published a book in Russian, in Moscow, entitled "The Communist Party and the Problem of War." This book was a defense of Stalin's political-military doctrine. In 1937 he was sentenced to 3 years in prison by the Polish Government for conspiracy against Poland as an agent of the NKVD.

Berman was in the Soviet Union at the outbreak of World War II where he was 1 of the 3 controllers of the Polish Communist Party. After creation of the provisional government in December 1944, Berman held the post of Under Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Later he took the title of Under Secretary of State in the premier's cabinet. After April 1947, Berman supervised the departments of censorship of radio, press, and publicity, and thus was responsible for extending to his old friend Samuel Sharp, the supreme courtesy of being left alone to study, travel, and meet people of various shades of political opinion.

In January or February 1951, David Dallin, a well-known authority on the Soviet Union and who is quoted by Mr. Sharp in his book to support one of the points he wished to make, gave a lecture here in Washington on forced labor in the U. S. S. R. This lecture was given before the board of the foundation for foreign affairs, at which time Professor Sharp was secretary of the board. At this lecture Sharp attacked Dallin contending that Dallin's portrayal of forced labor in the Soviet Union was incorrect, and that his talk was anti-Soviet propaganda.

I understand that the publication of Professor Sharp's book was held up for some time by the Harvard University Press due to some misgivings, not only about the content of his book, but about the circumstances of his trip to Poland. It is to be regretted that the misgivings did not continue to prevail longer. That it is not only the conservatives but also the liberals who have misgivings about Professor Sharp's book is indicated by the review which appeared in the Progressive magazine of February 1954. This review, written by Edmund I. Zawacki, a Harvard graduate himself and a professor at the University of Wisconsin, is highly critical of Sharp's book. For those who may not know the nature of the Progressive magazine, I might state that it is certainly not right of center. In this same February 1954 issue, there were articles by Stuart Chase, Norman Thomas, and James E. Doyle, national vice chairman of the ADA.

In the instant case, scholarship and sophistication have been used to serve the Communist line. The unmasking of such a work is a public service. Such unmasking requires, of course, much patience and scholarship of a higher order than that of the initial fraudulent work. It is too infrequently done. However, in the case of Sharp's book, it has been admirably done by Dr. Jan Karski, assistant professor at the graduate school of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. For example, Sharp cleverly attempts to persuade Americans that, after all, Poland is vital to Russia. Karski, with accuracy shows that Poland is vital only to the Soviet's plan for world conquest by giving them an avenue into western Europe. Further, sources quoted by Sharp were taken out of context and perverted. This required patient research by Karski of many of Sharp's sources to arrive at the truth.

Dr. Karski is, like Professor Sharp, a former citizen of Poland. Dr. Karski risked his life in behalf of his native country during World War II by serving as a courier between the Polish underground and the western powers. Karski's experiences during this World War II episode are vividly described in his excellent book, The Story of the Secret State. A careful reading of Dr. Karski's analysis will lay bare the technique used by Professor Sharp which seeks to destroy the long-standing, friendly relations between the American people and the Polish people.

These two reviews of Sharp's work were called to my attention by Mr. Charles Rozmarek, president of the Polish American Congress, an organization of over 6 million Americans of Polish descent.

I include herewith the review by Professor Zawacki, which appeared in the Progressive Magazine and the review by Dr. Karski:

[From the Progressive magazine for February 1954]

POLAND AND POLITICS

(Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field, by Samuel Sharp. Harvard University Press. 338 pp. $5.)

(Reviewed by Edmund I. Zawacki)

As the author's preface indicates, Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field was written "for the benefit of the intelligent nonspecialist." In a polished conversational tone the book handles a mountainous pile of controversial material about Poland, and reduces the events of 10 centuries of Polish history to a sequence. Particularly clever is Chapter Four, where Sharp sets down and analyzes the complicated political developments in Poland from 1945 to 1952, which led, as the chapter heading designates, "From National Unity to 'People's Republic.'" Only when the author's own theory of history is expounded does the language become abstract and excessively political. The book at all times, however, operates entirely in terms of traditional power politics.

In Sharp's own words his thesis is that "the fate of Poland was merely a particularly striking manifestation of a deep process sometimes described as the inevitable decline of 'parochial sovereignty' in our days." This would seem to mean that Soviet power politics inevitably resolved the problem of Polish sovereignty during and after World War II, and that power politics of this kind will inevitably resolve all other sovereignties which are unviable in a world where "by 1947, the people in the Kremlin had diagnosed acute bipolarization * * * and had initiated a program of vigorous integration within their sphere."

The conclusions of the book are summed up on the last page: "We have narrowed down the choices before the United States to containment, aggressive revindication of Eastern Europe, or abandonment of the area to its present fate."

On closer inspection of these three choices, the reader is somewhat taken aback to find that they boil down without residue to the doctrine of coexistence between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds. For quite obviously, the only question actually raised by them is the area within which communism is to be contained, i. e. the pre-World War II area, or the post-World War II area. Neither of these two areas is defined anywhere in the book. Nor can they be, unless the book is to proclaim itself guilty of confusing the Communist conspiracy with Russian imperialism.

Every intelligent nonspecialist knows, of course, that the doctrine of coexistence was formulated by the late Stalin, and that it remains the doctrinal base from which the Communist so-called peace offensive operates. But the rhetoric in this book is so

blindingly brilliant that these two simple truths are nowhere intelligibly stated. Instead, it is actually hard to discern whether the argument proceeds from the point of view of American interest or from that of neo-Marxist philosophy.

For a book written in A. D. 1953, which acknowledges traditional power politics as the only realistic diplomacy, and which presumes to advise the United States Government on future policy toward the Soviet Union, it is surprising, to say the least, that no distinction is made between the Communist Party regime and the Russian people; but it is indeed arresting that the one and only mention of atomic energy in the entire narrative is a quotation ascribed without further identification to "European public opinion" and referring to "Dulles' readiness to use the threat of the hydrogen bomb in order to get votes in Hamtranck, Mich."

Surely, those experts in political science who, this reviewer presumes, passed favorable critical judgment on this book before it was given the scholarly prestige of Harvard University Press are aware that the atomic epoch is upon us. Nor does it take more than ordinary commonsense to realize that the destructive potential of thermonuclear weapons is foreseeably so great that by the end of even the next 5 years the factor of superior firepower in weapons of this kind will become politically meaningless.

If American political leadership, therefore, should continue to improvise in negotiations from obsolete strength and only fondly hope for some fabric or other to wear thin—as this book advises—it will not be long before we shall be obliged to retreat ideologically either into irresponsible bellicosity or into a stymied Maginot-line mentality behind the hydrogen bomb—which is precisely the set of alternatives this book glibly offers.

Quite obviously, the very idea of two atomically armed and hostile worlds indefinitely coexisting peacefully is worse than a paradox or a delusion, for Stalin's doctrine of coexistence—call it "containment," "containment plus," "coexistence plus," or any other new name—is the first condition for the continuation of the cold war. And being so, it makes for the hair-trigger instability that is so frustrating in the world today: After all, how long can the diplomacy of traditional power politics juggle two subcritical masses of uranium without an explosion?

If one faces this question not with the arrogance born of poverty in ideas, but with the modest common sense, devotion to the pursuit of truth, and courage which the hydrogen epoch demands of every scholar, then the "hard hitting" and "objective" scholarship of this book (alleged on the flyjacket) turns out to be neo-Marxist political scholasticism appropriate perhaps to the politics of the mid-19th century, but obsolete and futile in the mid-20th.

A REVIEW OF POLAND, WHITE EAGLE ON A RED FIELD, SAMUEL L. SHARP

(A Study in Distortion, by Jan Karski)

Professor Sharp's book, Poland, White Eagle on a Red Field (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953) reads easily. Many students, after reading the book, will probably have a feeling of satisfaction that in an easy way they have become well informed. The book is filled with interesting quotations, witty sophistication, indicative of the author's erudition, and in view of the fact that the author was born and lived in Poland, it appears to be admirably objective. It also appears to be a scholar's achievement. The index includes an impressive number of important personalities and interesting subjects and the works quoted are many and outstanding. His use of material hitherto unpublished or unknown in English apparently adds to the prestige, both of the author and the book.

All this on the first reading.

On further study the book reads like a crossword puzzle or a mystery story. The book is biased, one-sided, and full of distortions and half-truths. It is extremely poorly documented. It discards serious works or primary sources in their essential parts and contains loosely selected, out-of-content quotations. This is evident in many cases when quotations are documented—most of them, however, are not documented, so there is no way in which to check them.

The political thesis of the book runs as follows:

There is hardly room for an independent Poland in Europe. The disappearance of the Polish state at the end of the 18th century apparently was not resented by the Polish upper classes or by the masses. There are indications that Poles have no sense of statehood and, certainly, politically they are traditionally foolish. They are, however, shrewd, and know how to publicize their interests or to exploit their historical record. In this, particularly, Americans of Polish descent are clever. Often they were able to misguide America as far as Poland was concerned, playing upon American ignorance and generosity, misrepresenting their own services or services of those Poles whose memory has been cherished in this country. As a rule Poles have a bad reputation in the world; the most prominent leaders, particularly in the field of politics, held them either in contempt or ridicule. Poles are unreliable; support of Poland usually brings great risks. Of all this and much more the author wants Americans to be aware. The book in a way is a friendly warning to American public opinion: Be careful of the Poles, beware of Poland. This seems to be the first part of his thesis.

The second part appears to be for Polish consumption. Historically Poland did not interest the West, nor was she considered as being important to the West. Particularly, the United States is not interested in Poland's independence nor should it be. Historically America offered Poland no more than good wishes and prayers (and Professor Sharp does not seem to attach too great importance to prayers). President Wilson was an exception, but he did not act in agreement with American policies or interests, and on the subject of Poland he was an ignoramus. He was seemingly propagandized by Poles. Today Poland is not, and cannot be, within the sphere of American interests. It is true that responsible American leaders—both Democrats and Republicans—say differently, but their statements should not be taken too seriously. Probably they are uttered with ulterior motives in mind. America is, and she should be, realistic, and realism dictates that she cannot and probably will not be able to help Poland in the future. The author suggests that absolute confidence in America's help would be a mistake on the part of Poles.

The third part of his thesis is that Poland is vital to Russia—any Russia. History proves it, outstanding scholars supposedly say it, and Professor Sharp says it.

Since, however, Poles are as they are, since they are not important to the West, and certainly not to America, and since they are vital to Russia, any Russia, it is probable that in the future reasonable settlement with the U. S. S. R., America will leave Poland where she now is—in the Soviet orbit. It is possible that she will not—Professor Sharp does not say the last word—but probably she will. Indications show that she will.

This thesis represents the political backbone of the book. It starts in the Introduction (pp. 1–13) and is concluded in the last 2 chapters American-Polish Relations (pp. 255–313) and America and the Future of Poland (pp. 314–326). Most of what is between those chapters is evidently written in order to prove it.

In the final account such a thesis serves the Soviet ends, and this regardless of rather restrained objections the author presents with regard to the present reality behind the Iron Curtain. The thesis justifies politically the Soviet hold on Poland and it suggests that the future hold is both probable and understandable. It is particularly understandable, since Professor Sharp implies throughout his work that he does not believe in including morality and concepts of righteousness and wrong in international relations.

It is regrettable that such a book appears today when American leaders are doing their utmost to gain the confidence of the oppressed nations in American policy and good will, and when we are repeatedly stressing the need for a return to morality in international relations. It is particulary regrettable, since indeed we have innumerable proofs that many of those who are oppressed or uprooted see their hope for a better future only in America. The author undermines this confidence. He denounces America before the Poles, denounces Poles before the Americans, tries to destroy the traditional Polish-American friendship, and pushes Poland into the Soviet orbit.

This thesis is not, however, the subject of my review. In this blessed country of freedom it is Professor Sharp's right to present any thesis he likes and I only wish to register my apprehension. I feel forced to do so also in view of the part of his preface, in which he mentions his trip to Poland in 1948 made possible by a grant from the Harvard Russian Research Center (p. vii). While in Poland—as he puts it—"I enjoyed and still feel obliged to acknowledge, the customary courtesies of the Polish authorities in Warsaw, including the supreme courtesy of being left alone to study, travel, an meet people of various shades of political opinion" (p. vii). He states that the trip took place "before the temperature of the cold war had dropped to the zero point of absurdity" (p. vii). We must remember (since the author does not care to mention it) that his trip took place after all the non-Communist legal opposition was completely crushed in Poland, after tens of thousands of democratic leaders were taken to jails and many of them forced to confess never-committed crimes, after former Premier Mikolajczyk and a few of his collaborators had to escape from arrest and possible murder, and at a time when freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of political discussion were no longer allowed save for Communists or Communist-controlled groups and individuals. This was after the American Ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, came to the conclusion that his work was impossible in the reality of Communist terror and Communist breach of all international obligations. With all this in mind, the author's acknowledgment of the Communist courtesies as well as his freedom to study, travel, and meet people of various shades of political opinion appears in a very different light. By 1948 there was only one shade of political opinion allowed and this was red; Professor Sharp will not convince those who are informed in Polish affairs that it was different, whatever he will say. He enjoyed his trip. No wonder that he describes the present temperature of the cold war as an absurdity.

The purpose of this review is to point out at least partially, in what way the author treats his subject; how biased, unscholarly, undocumented and onesided is his book, and what a distorted picture of Poland it presents. For this purpose I have picked a very limited number of examples. Only

out of consideration for space limits am I prevented from offering more.

PROFESSOR SHARP'S HISTORICAL METHOD

The author opens his book with the main part of his thesis and tries to convince the reader that Poland, while not important to the West, and certainly not of interest to the United States, is vital to Russia, any Russia. In this respect he quotes only one, but a valuable source—David J. Dallin, whom he rightly describes as "no friend of Stalinist Russia and no enemy of Poland" (p. 5). According to Dallin, "any Russian government which intends to operate in the West must control Poland," and "Stalin's strength in Europe hinges on his dominance over Poland and he would risk a war rather than restore Polish independence" (p. 5). I have checked Dallin's book (David J. Dallin, the New Soviet Empire, New Haven; Yale University Press, 1951.) Professor Sharp has distorted Dallin's idea. He quotes two sentences from page 6 of Dallin's book and he quotes them evidently out of context. The reading of the first 6 pages of the above-mentioned work shows that according to Dallin, Poland indeed is vital to the U. S. S. R., but because the Soviet goal is the encompassment of the entire globe (Dallin's, p. 2) and because Poland is Russia's main road to the West. But this a completely different problem. If the U. S. S. R. want to dominate the world, and before that, the rest of Europe (and Dallin's thesis is that it does) of course Poland is on the way and becomes vital to the Kremlin. However, throughout the entire book Professor Sharp uses the expression "vital to Russia" without any qualification and in no place does he explain in what sense Dallin understands Poland as vital to Russia. He closes his book (p. 325) with a hope that a favorable position for negotiation with the Soviet Union "• • • can be established short of war," but since "negotiating means inevitably bargaining" and since "Poland is a vital Russian interest and only incidentally or secondarily an object of American interest," he sees it probably that America would abandon Poland to Russia.

The fallacy is evident. No one denies that the United States as well as all other peace-loving nations, Poland included, wants to have an understanding with Russia. However, certainly no one believes that such an understanding would be fruitful if the U. S. S. R. does not abandon its world conquest idea. However, if the U. S. S. R. renounces that idea, Poland, at least according to Dallin, will not necessarily be vital to Russia. But since Poland would not necessarily be vital to Russia there is no need to take for granted Sharp's contention that in case of a peaceful settlement "the bargaining position of Russia is infinitely stronger than that of the United States" (p. 325). And since it is so, the main theory of Professor Sharp as set forth between page 5 and page 325 collapses. It stands only on his distortions of reality and of the writings of respectable scholars.

No wonder he has reason to complain that "the very idea of a reasonable settlement (between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.—J. K.), sound as it may appear to be from an American point of view, is repugnant to many Poles" (p. 321). Reasonable, sound settlement in Professor Sharp's understanding and presentation certainly is repugnant, not only to many Poles but to many others.

On pages 28–19 he writes that "unfortunately for Poland the period of Catholic reaction lasted longer than elsewhere, for into the 18th century" (p. 29). In his "documentation" he refers the reader to the footnote (No. 6) where he treats a report of Cardinal Bolognetto, papal nuncio at the court of Stefan Batory (1576–86). He reveals the "peculiar ways" by which Catholicism maintained itself in Poland. According to Sharp, the King, under the influence of the nuncio, refused "the demand of the English merchants that they be given guaranties against molestation on grounds of religious differences, while staying in Poland." Characteristically for Professor Sharp, in treating Catholicism in Poland he selects as a source a book being on a Catholic index for its anti-Catholic tendencies. Nevertheless, I checked the book. (Leopol Ranke, The History of the Popes, vol. III. London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1851.) Professor Sharp again distorted the issue. A reading of the report shows that the proposed treaty was opposed by the Polish merchants on the basis of the fact that it would enhance the growth of powerful English competition. The nuncio did not oppose the King's guaranties against molestation of the English merchants for their Protestantism, as the author asserts, but he did oppose an (indirect) recognition, or acknowledgment, of the Church of England. Following the nuncio's representation the King agreed not to withdraw his guaranty against molestation but to drop from the treaty any mention of religious matters in order to avoid the above-mentioned acknowledgment. The nuncio, moreover, reported that the spread of Protestantism in Poland (of which Professor Sharp makes a great point) was due partly to the fact that Protestant noblemen "inflicted on their vassals fines if they did not attend the Protestant churches" (Ranke's, p. 250). Professor Sharp omitted this. If we take into consideration that the time was 1576–86, that other Catholic powers at that time were taking much more severe measures regarding the nonrecognition of the Protestant churches, that Poland—whether or not Professor Sharp likes it—has been traditionally a Catholic country, there was nothing, absolutely nothing, which would justify the author's conclusion that Catholicism in Poland maintained itself "at times in peculiar ways." The only peculiar factor is Professor Sharp's distortion.

He makes a great point of the thesis that the problem of defining what Poland is and where it is, becomes much more complicated when approached from the "geographer's point of view" (p. 16). He implies that such definition is impossible and states that "many impartial scholars" say so. (No documentation.) Since, however, he is "objective," he admits that there are Polish scholars who disagree with this idea. He mentions one, page 16, footnote 2, in unfavorable context. Now, there is a serious study written exactly on this subject by a prominent geographer, Waclaw Nalkowski, and entitled "Poland as a Geographical Entity." Professor Sharp has read it, but he ignores it completely when treating the so-called geographer's point of view (pp. 16–17). One hundred pages later, however (p. 112, footnote 18), he will quote it out of context and with respect to assertions that Poles are "frivolous" and "disinclined for systematic work." To what extent the treatment of the above-mentioned work is full of bad faith, his quotation included, can be seen on reading the main chapters of Nalkowski's book (Waclaw Nalkowski, Poland as a Geographical Entity. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1917): "Poland not a border zone, but an independent geographical unit" (Nalkowski's, pp. 48–53) and "Polish history and national character as the outcome of geographical conditions" (Nalkowski's, pp. 54–63).

The present Poland can be defined more easily from the point of view of strategic geography (pp. 16–17), but Professor Sharp is still dissatisfied. This kind of consideration is today "greatly reduced," he says. Evidently there is no hope for Poland; let the U. S. S. R. take care of her. One must raise the question of whether Professor Sharp could define from a geographer's point of view the changing frontiers of Russia, Germany, or France (with its departments in northern Africa), or of Ireland, or Great Britain and her possessions, or the United State and its possessions, or of Pakistan. One wonders what he is talking about.

On page 160 he quotes Karski's book (as in most cases without referring to the page) with respect to the fact that the Polish underground's military branch was "engaged in limited acts of anti-German sabotage," and, besides this, was just "waiting in preparedness," engaged in "preparation for a single powerful blow in the distant future." I checked the book, otherwise not too unfamiliar to me, and found again a distortion. The quotation as used by Professor Sharp is entirely out of context—used only in order to make an impression that the Polish underground did not do much. First, he discards the fact that the book was an incomplete, unofficial personal story, that it did not include all material, particularly military, since Karski was just a political courier. Secondly, he discards the fact that the book was published in 1944, during the war, and the author was unable to present all of the activities of the underground. Third, he extracted only one part of a sentence referring to the general theory of any underground activities and discarded the whole chapter which refers to the underground activities in Poland. The intricacy of the distortion is that the part of a sentence was picked up from a chapter which, describing the activities of both the military and political branches of the underground, makes it clear that they were engaged in far more than "waiting in preparedness" or "limited sabotage." (See Jan Karski, Story of a Secret State, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1944, chapter: The Four Branches of the Underground," pp. 230–237.) Fourth, he conveniently discards at that moment the whole of the extensive and documented material about the underground army which was published in London after the war. He knows this material, and he will quote it elsewhere, but only in order to prove how foolish or anti-Russian Poles were.

Speaking of the Poles at the time of the partitions, he mentions the Russian conquest of Warsaw (1794) by Suvorov after Kosciuszko's defeat. He notes that the "leading members of the nobility, distrustful of Kosciuszko's radicalism, were at the time relieved to see the Russian liberators" (p. 47). This is an undocumented and sweeping statement. He goes further. After the partitions "the more settled elements were rather quick in adapting themselves to the new conditions of captivity" (p. 48). So quick, I might add, that there was no generation, during the more than 130 years of Polish enslavement which did not have a national revolution. He goes still further: "while at home the gentry was accommodating itself to the new situation the leading magnates were transferring their allegiance to the splendid courts of the partitioning powers and the peasantry hardly noticed the change" (p. 48). A statement of such historical importance and implications certainly deserves some evidence but Professor Sharp does not appear to think that any documentation is necessary. Well, the statement represents a gross historical distortion.

Describing the situation in Poland in the years 1945–46 he says that some political parties with a considerable following before the war were not permitted to function legally in postwar Poland, but "this seemed to worry neither Mikolajczyk nor his western protectors" (p. 310) (meaning the United States and Great Britain). One of the most important of those uncared for parties was the Polish National Democratic Party. It had traditionally a great following in Poland. Professor Sharp disapproves of the party. According to him, it "grew out of the secret Polish League organized abroad by a group

animated by outdated romantic notions" (p. 64). There is no documentation for this. When he speaks about prewar Poland, it appears that the gentry had an extraordinary position. "The ranks of the professions, the intelligentsia, the groups which were to provide the leadership of the various political parties, and, in reestablished Poland, the core of the army officers corps, and top echelons of the administration came from the gentry" (p. 84). Professor Sharp will excuse me, but a statement that in prewar Poland the core of the army officers corps and top echelons of the administration came from the gentry is incorrect, although very much stressed in postwar Communist propaganda. It is as true as the Communist slogan that the United States is ruled by the Wall Street warmongers.

Discussing Witos, a Polish statesman three times prime minister, and the most venerated peasant leader, he maintains that "the popularity of Wincenty Witos in Poland was bolstered by his habit of not wearing a necktie and by tales of his propensity for using the shiny floors of government palaces as spitoons" (p. 84). This senseless statement speaks for itself. "The Polish Peasant Party," he writes, "had been traditionally opposed to the aristocratic institution of the senate" (p. 198); this statement, in order to infer that Mikolajczyk was not in accordance with his party's prewar policy when he opposed the liquidation of the senate by the Communists in the referendum of June 30, 1946. He compares the Polish-Prussian alliance of 1790 with the Polish-German nonaggression declaration of 1934 (pp. 44–45). Quoting the words of Count Lucchesini, Prussian envoy to Warsaw in 1790, with regard to the supposed foolishness of the Poles in falling into the Prussian diplomatic trap, he states: "Much later another German diplomat, Ribbentrop, was to instruct his agents in almost the same words to take care that the true intentions of his mast Adolf Hitler should not be grasped by the Poles too early" (p. 46). Again, no documentation whatsoever for his quotation of Lucchesini, nor any documentation for this curious analogy with Ribbentrop's "instructions."

He delights in quoting scholars and statesmen, who, if Poles are usually prominent in Polish history or, if not Poles, are well known for their sympathetic attitude toward Poland. Quoting them, he discards, almost as a rule, what is representative in their activities or works with regard to Poland and quotes them in most cases in a way derogatory to Poland or to their own works. To understand it, it is just enough to follow his index (pp. 327–338) references to, for example, Halecki, Oscar; Lane, Arthur Bliss; Dyboski, Roman; Pilsudski, Joseph; Nalkowski, Waclaw; Mickiewicz, Adam; Slowacki, Juliusz; Konopczynski, Wladyslaw; Lednicki, Waclaw; Lord, Robert H.; Smogorzewski, Casimir; Buell, Raymond L.; etc.

In such cases as those concerning Halecki, Dyboski, Pilsudski, Konopczynski, Lednicki, Buell, he completely discards their numerous and valuable works and quotes them almost exclusively where quotations may create an unfavorable picture of Poland or the Poles. Quotations are not in the slightest way significant in the works of those writers and as a rule they are out of context. He states in his preface that he will not treat the cultural aspects of Poland and he does not. He quotes, however, Slowacki, Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish poets of the 19th century, only where Poland is called "the peacock and parrot of nations" (p. 150) and in connection with errors of Polish foreign policy after the First World War (p. 160). The junction between Mickiewicz's Ode to the Youth and Polish foreign policy after 1918 appears, indeed, very scholarly.

DOCUMENTATION

Professor Sharp's documentation throughout the entire book is very unusual, indeed. One would have to write an entire study to cover this subject alone. He likes quotations very much; they give a scholarly appearance to the book. Most of his 326 pages are full of quotations and documentation. There are no means with which to deal with the entire book in this review, so I limit myself to an analysis of the first 50 pages. In these 50 pages I have found more than 40 quotations. The largest number of them refer to authors, statesmen, leaders, etc., but without even mentioning what books he quotes. What are the sources? There is no way in which to check on whether they are out of context, a factor, we have seen, of utmost importance with respect to Professor Sharp. More of them are derogatory in some way to Poland or the Poles. In the first 50 pages this kind of quotation appears on pages V, 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 19, 20, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 50.

This is not all. There are quotations without ever mentioning who or what book is quoted. Such quotations appear on pages 28, 29, 32, 34, 46, 47, 49. On pages 11 and 39 he indicates what author and what book he quotes, but he does not give the pages, so, again, there is no way in which to check.

He gives correct documentation on pages 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 23, 27, 29. Here, however, as it was shown above, he distorted Dallin's idea (p. 5), misrepresented the problem of Catholicism in Poland (p. 29), and, in addition, quoted out of context Professor Halecki (p. 4). All this is just in the first 50 pages—and there are 276 more. (Professor Halecki has publicly pointed out how unfairly was he quoted by Professor Sharp. When Professor Sharp, in an interview, quoted in his defense another scholar—Mieczyslaw Haiman—Professor Halecki showed again how he distorted Haiman. See the New York Times, Nov. 8, 1953, Letter to the Editor; Nowy Swiat, New York, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1953; ibid., November 21, 1953.)

What contempt Professor Sharp must have for American readers, when he takes it for granted that they are so uncritical and ignorant that no one would check his sources or know enough about a European country to recognize his distortions.

COMMUNIST FEATURES

Professor Sharp expresses his (rather restrained) objections to the Communist regime in Poland. It is a pity, however, that in so many cases he presents Polish problems in the same way as does the Communist propaganda in Poland.

The peasant parties in prewar Eastern Europe "were conservative if not outright reactionary in their outlook," he writes; they "served largely the interests of the well-entrenched elements of the villages and catered to their conservatism" (p. 85). Speaking about the most outstanding peasant leader Witos, who until his death opposed communism, Professor Sharp states that he was "a shrewd politician with a flare for intrigue and deals and with rather conservative social ideas" (p. 65). ("Shrewd"? "conservative"?—for whom? For the Polish peasants who venerate his memory in spite of the Communist indoctrination, or, for Professor Sharp?

He implies often that the Poles are usually anti-Russian. Sometimes in his zeal to prove the point he goes far indeed with his peculiar scholarly approach. On page 115, footnote 20, he quotes Le Petit Parisien of March 16, 1919, regarding Pilsudski's deep hatred of Russia. He took the quotation from Pilsudski's Collected Works. He has to state that the editors of those Collected Works "seem to doubt the authenticity of the statement reported by he French newspaperman." Still he quotes it. Why? Because "yet there is no trace of disavowal of the contents of the interview." Well, if the editors doubt the authenticity of the statement altogether, why should they bother about its content? What kind of historical writing is this?

His presentation of the Warsaw uprising (August 1, 1944—October 3, 1944) demands a separate study. The complexity of the tragic event, the subtleness of Professor Sharp's omissions, his reinterpretations, his selection of quotations cannot be analyzed within the frames of the present review.

Speaking about the arrest (July 1943) and the subsequent death at the hands of the Gestapo of the commander in chief of the underground army in Poland, General Rowecki, he states that "he (Rowecki—J. K.) did not live to fight the Russians as was his desire" (p. 172). How does he know that General Rowecki's desire was to fight the Russians? Wasn't it perhaps that his desire was to defend his country against anyone who tried to enslave it as the U. S. S. R. later did? Treating the Katyn massacre (pp. 291–293) he reproaches the Poles that they did not forget that they appealed in 1943 to the International Red Cross, disapproves of the evaluations of the American congressional committee investigating the murder (p. 293, footnote 18), and does not think at all that the massacre was so important to Poland since Poland has lost millions of citizens anyway. (Does he object to the investigation of the American authorities of the same kind of murders committed on American soldiers in Korea?)

Speaking about the anti-Communist underground which still existed after 1945 he states that "in the chaos of the early postwar situation the underground developed, as all illegal movements are likely to, a lunatic and criminal fringe" (p. 185). This is using Professor Sharp's expression, a "sickening" statement very much stressed in Polish Communist propaganda. He would do better to make a further study of the subject. Certainly he was misinformed by somebody while in Poland in 1948. Besides, for Professor Sharp's information: Not all "illegal movements" are likely to develop "a lunatic and criminal fringe"—those against tyranny and oppression very often lead to freedom through selfless and patriotic sacrifices. He never heard of any?

He at times forgets himself and uses some familiar Soviet phraseology for his own. Discussing European affairs after World War I he speaks about the interallied bodies which had to do with disputes between the quarrelsome offspring of Versailles (p. 270). "Offspring of Versailles"—we have heard this colorful expression. Molotov used it in 1939 in order to justify the Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland. Professor Sharp must like the expression, since he gives it as his own, although applying it to a completely different situation.

He has sympathy for those Poles who in the past were willing to accept Russian domination. Alexander Wielopolski, a Russian collaborationist of the 1860's, most unpopular in Poland (and today hailed by Communist propaganda as a victim of Polish stupidity and as a great statesman) was, according to the Professor, "a well-intentioned and misunderstood collaborationist who believed in gradual reforms and in a Russian rather than a Western orientation of Polish policies" (p. 59). "Misunderstood"—a poor "misunderstood" Russian "collaborationist."

"The elections (in Poland, January 19, 1947) were not exactly free and unfettered" (p. 200). What a delicacy of understatement. Bogdan Raditsa, a militant anti-Communist, is identified only as a "frustrated political exile" (p. 321). Cheka was just a "forerunner of the GPU" (p. 63)—not of the presently operating MVD, but only of the no more existent GPU. What a delicacy.

The Soviet arrest of the 15 Polish underground leaders in 1945 and later their show trial in Moscow and conviction was something of an answer to the arrest by the

Poles of Russian negotiators at the beginning of the 17th century (p. 33, footnote 7). Professor Sharp is really historically minded. Even Soviet propaganda never had the notion of making this junction. Speaking on pages 84–87 in an abusive way about Witos, he sneaks in the statement "in spite of his great popularity with the peasant masses due more to political skill than to advocacy of their interests, Witos never approached the 75 percent support immodestly claimed by his successor to the leadership of the Peasant Party, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk" (p. 86). With this statement again comes to the fore Professor Sharp's objective and scholarly approach. He speaks of Witos before the war, then makes a junction with Mikolajczyk's immodest claim, however, without mentioning that that claim was made in 1946, after the war, when his party was the only non-Communist or non-Communist controlled party to take part in the elections in Poland. In 1946, however, Mikolajczyk's party had the support not only of the peasants but of all the non-Communist Poles. On this account Mikolajczyk made his immodest claim. In those circumstances his claim was indeed excessively modest. Certain at that time the Communists did not represent 25 percent of the entire population. Professor Sharp does not explain all this in connection with his sweeping statement. He just distorts.

It appears from the book that the Poles usually like to invade Russia. In 1920, even the Department of State had to warn the Poles "not to drive too far into Russia" (p. 34). The author refers the reader for documentation (footnote 8) to page 274. But on page 274 there is a long quotation without a documentation. Between the two world wars Poland had an alliance with Rumania "directed against Russia" (p. 127). Actually it was a defensive alliance concluded exclusively for the eventuality of an armed and unprovoked Soviet aggression against either of the two countries. Professor Sharp does not explain this; for him the alliance was just "directed against Russia." There was a Polish revolt in 1846 against Austria. Professor Sharp implies that the insurgents were Communists. Metternich said so (p. 58). Metternich was the head of the government against which the revolt was being waged. An excellent source. (Of course, no documentation.) Karl Marx indirectly confirmed Metternich's evaluation. How? In the Communist Manifesto of 1848, he stated that the Communists supported those who revolted against the Austrian Government. The fact that Karl Marx expressed the Communist support for those who revolted against Austria in 1846 does not necessarily make Communists of the insurgents and does not at all confirm even indirectly Metternich's evaluation. Analyzing the position of Poland in 1939, he quotes a former Polish Foreign Minister Skrzynski (I think from his writing in the early twenties, and without any precise documentation, as usual). He defines the international situation before World War II as "Hitler's Germany on the march, the West paralyzed into inaction, and the Soviet Union determined, as Stalin said, not to pull anyone's chestnuts out of the fire but to make the best out of the conflagration" (p. 69). Well, to explain Soviet policy in 1939 as defined by Stalin is a little too liberal. Doesn't he see anything more in the Soviet position of 1939? Didn't he read any sources pointing out that actually the U. S. S. R. enabled and precipitated the war (notwithstanding Hitler's imperialism) in agreement with the Soviet theory of inciting the capitalist and fascist countries to fight each other?

DENOUNCES THE AMERICANS TO THE POLES

Professor Sharp tries hard to make Americans disinterested in Poland's independence. He also does everything to undermine the confidence of the Poles in America, to destroy a traditional Polish-American friendship. "For more than a century the United States by reason of its international position was unable to offer Poland more than prayers and good wishes" (p. 257). "Poland may derivatively profit or suffer from American policies. Poland may yet be free again as we (he apparently identifies himself with America—J. K.) chose to understand the term, but by no means necessarily so" (p. 326). "Wilson's statement on Poland repeated later with more emphasis in the thirteenth of his Fourteen Points clearly constitutes a departure from the established tradition of nonintervention in areas of no immediate concern to the United States" (p. 265). He goes further: Wilson's statement "statesmen everywhere agreed that there should be a united, independent, autonomous Poland," meets with his sharp disapproval. "Historians are now agreed that never was a factually more incorrect statement made" (pp. 263–264). Historians? What kind of historians? Is he sure that "historians agree" that "never more incorrect statement" was made? He does not elaborate. He does not document. The reader must take his word for it.

Americans were happy about Poland's bloody and unsuccessful uprising in 1863, because they could have exploited it for their own purpose (pp. 261–262; no precise documentation). American diplomatic efforts to ease the Communist terror in Poland and to save as many Polish patriots as possible in the years 1945–47 were not only valueless to the Poles but they might even be dangerous to Americans in certain circumstances (p. 311). He notes that the American Ambassador to Poland had a completely different opinion and approach, but, so what? He, Professor Sharp, knows better.

There is a visible increase of confidence in the American leadership and policies in Polish-American circles. Professor Sharp plays this down: "Our allies should be relieved to know that there is no reason to suppose that Mr. Dulles always believes what he says," he quotes approvingly Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s comment made during the presidential campaign in 1952 (p. 320). Millions of people behind the Iron Curtain as well as millions of Americans of East European descent look with hope and confidence to the present American foreign policy. Professor Sharp disapproves of it: There is no difference in American policy between the past and present administration toward the U. S. S. R. and Eastern Europe. He cannot escape notice that both Truman's and Eisenhower's administrations made it known that "one of the preconditions for a 'reasonable settlement' (with the U. S. S. R.—J. K.) would be the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Eastern Europe" (p. 322). But this does not stop Professor Sharp from undermining the confidence in America. "Some commentators" say that "such statements" are "merely the kind of uplifting affirmation of noble intentions which Americans in high office believe they had to make" (p. 322). Who are those "some commentators?"—he does not say. A fact important enough since there are many great commentators and some not so great, many serious and some not so, many decent and some who follow the fellow-traveler's trail. He does not like statements of either Truman's or Eisenhower's administration concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe, since they are not "an indication of a precise course of action" (p. 322). Why should they be? To give the U. S. S. R. again chances for counteraction? To be indefinitely on a defensive? What is wrong with not giving "an indication of a precise course of action"—let the U. S. S. R. wonder for a change what America is going to do.

The name of Arthur Bliss Lane, the American Ambassador to post-war Warsaw, is well known among the Poles and his help and activities while in Warsaw were deeply appreciated in non-Communist circles. Professor Sharp does not like this: Arthur Bliss Lane in his démarches from Warsaw to Washington was first of all interested in currency exchanges for the Embassy staff (p. 307, footnote 28). When the same Bliss Lane, calling for "repudiation of Yalta" stated that such a repudiation would mean that America "reverted to the principles of international morality" Professor Sharp is critical: "How is this going to help Poland?" He asks (p. 317). Doesn't he really know? If not, this is only because he apparently does not see any necessity nor possibility for an inclusion of the concept of morality in international relations, and this throughout the entire book.

Speaking about the present American-Polish relations, he states that "minor irritations and profuse name calling exhaust at present the tenor of official attitudes between the two countries. The Voice of America considered its mission to be to drive a wedge between the Polish people and their government, or between that government and the Soviet Union although with little regard for the inconsistencies resulting from such an approach" (p. 312). It's a pity that Professor Sharp does not see anything more than "minor irritations and profuse name calling" in the present-day relationship between the United States and Communist dominated Poland. His reasons for disliking the Voice of America are curious indeed. What does he want the Voice to do? To foster friendship and understanding between the Polish people and Soviet agents imposed upon them, or between those agents and their masters in the Kremlin?

DENOUNCES THE POLES TO THE AMERICANS

Throughout the entire book there is a continuous effort to prove that the Poles do not deserve American sympathy and that an independent Poland is none of America's business. He begins his argument with ignorance. "After all, throughout 140 years of American independence, no state existed bearing the name of Poland" (p. 9). By 140 years he means 1776–1918. He is wrong. Poland disappeared in 1795. According to him, it is doubtful that Poles cared for independence in the past. In the 18th century it seems that they did not. After the last partition (1795) "the gentry was accommodating itself to the new situation, the leading magnates were transferring their allegiance to the splendid courts of the partitioning powers, and the peasants hardly noticed the change" (p. 48). (No documentation for this.) Speaking of the 17th century Polish-Swedish wars and describing Polish efforts to liberate Poland from Swedish occupation, he maintains that "Poles somehow rallied for the defense of their country." However, he notes that it was not because of their patriotism. Poles were "apparently moved more by Catholic zeal against Swedish heretics than by patriotism." (P. 37; no documentation of course, no source for this strange statement.) This Catholic zeal was not deep in any case. It is true that the Reformation in the 16th century did not take root among the population. But why did it occur? According to Professor Sharp, it was at least partly because of the fact that "the peasantry lived in a state of dumb subjection to the landlord" (p. 29). And why did the Reformation not take root among the landlords? Because "the gentry had seized upon the Reformation as an instrument of asserting its class position" (p. 29). These reasons and others were responsible for the fact that Poland remained Catholic. All this, new as it is, undocumented. Until now we usually thought that the Poles are so predominantly Catholic because they believe

in Catholic dogmas and the Catholic Church. But Professor Sharp knows better and an uninformed reader will just have to take his word for it.

Historically, Poles as allies are no good. The French Ambassador to the Russian court recommended to Louis XV an alliance with Russia and "specifically recommended that Poland be dropped without hesitation" (p. 40). "Weak allies are a nuisance" quotes Professor Sharp warningly, with no precise indication of what source he quotes.

Poles are, however, shrewd, particularly Americans of Polish descent seem to be. They know how to use American public opinion. For instance, during World War I they put "the main emphasis * * * on the problem of relief, no doubt played up in the expectation that propaganda based on the sufferings of the Poles in war-devastated areas would help to increase the sympathies for their political aspirations" (p. 263).

The Polish representative at Versailles, Dmowski, "had little respect for Wilson's 'doctrinaire liberalism'" (p. 266). "(Pilsudski's) Lieutenants * * * in the thirties more than once voiced their lack of respect for rotten American democracy" (pp. 279–280). Who? When? (No documentation.) When Paderewski wrote in 1920 a letter to President Wilson on behalf of Poland he was "used by the Poles to endorse appeals pertaining to Poland's interests" (p. 268). "Used by the Poles." What does he imply? Paderewski was a Polish statesman, patriot, and a friend of Wilson. On page 322 he denounces present Polish political emigration: "Americans may be surprised to find that among various shades of Polish political opinion there is represented also a 'neutralist' tendency." (No documentation whatsoever.) Who? Where? Are those who profess "neutralism" so numerous or politically important enough to be mentioned? Evidently, none of the Polish exiled political groups serves any purpose. The Polish government-in-exile "continues to lead a shadow-existence in a totally unrealistic setting" (p. 322). Not a word that this government is still reconized by some countries, admittedly at least in principle by a very great part of the emigres and by the Vatican—an extremely important factor for a deeply Catholic Polish nation.

Poles seem to be insatiable. It seems that nothing will satisfy them, for example, the efforts of President Roosevelt at Yalta. "The decisions of American Presidents could never satisfy all expectations of all Poles," Professor Sharp remarks philosophically on page 12. Well? Does he know of any decisions of any American President which would satisfy all expectations of all Americans? On the other hand, could he point out any Poles not Communists or not under Communist control who were or who are satisfied with the Yalta decisions concerning Poland?

The cliche of Poland without a Nazi Quisling during World War II seems to him unjustified. Probably the Nazis did not want at all a Polish Quisling (p. 159). As far as "collaborationism with the Nazis on a very low level and for ugly motives" was concerned—Professor Sharp knows—it was "as widespread in Poland as elsewhere in occupied Europe" (p. 160). His documentation? One is directed to look for footnote 5. There one finds a quotation from George F. Kennan's American Diplomacy, 1900–39.

Americans of Polish descent are proud of the fact that prominent Poles have served this country well in the past and have gained the recognition of American public opinion. They consider it an additional bond, tying them to their great American motherland. They speak of it to their children as an example to follow. They also like to think that America will maintain the tradition, will help and be friendly to the country of their forefathers. All this seems normal and one would suppose that there is no reason to destroy this kind of feeling. But not so with Professor Sharp. Kosciuszko (his statue stands in Lafayette Square across the street from the White House) was no altruist fighting for American independence. He "was involved in long proceedings arising from his claim to a considerable sum long overdue for his military services" (p. 10); before this he was "actually a penniless captain of engineers with a good education acquired in French military schools for which there was no use in the armed forces of the crumbling Polish fatherland. An unhappy love affair clinched his determination to leave Poland"; there was never any warmth between Washington and him (p. 256).

General Pulaski's name is cherished by Americans of Polish descent, and his monuments can be found in many American cities. Professor Sharp considers it his duty to show us a different Pulaski, a sort of an international adventurer. His action at Savannah, which led to his death, was just "spectacular, but militarily unwise" (p. 258). He was self-centered and conceited (pp. 257–258), also a little crazy "for a while he hesitated between suicide and engaging in comamerce—a fate worse than death for a Polish nobleman" (p. 257), adds Professor Sharp penetratingly. Before Pulaski came to America the French police were eager to see him out of France (p. 258). He believed that "enthusiasm for liberty is not the predominant virtue in America" and questioned "American military talents." Lafayette "is supposed" to have said that he was "a general with the brains of a lieutenant" (p. 258). Longfellow in 1825 wrote a poem of homage to Pulaski's memory. No—according to Professor Sharp—Longfellow knew no better. An unknown poet described Pulaski as a devilish figure (p. 259). No evidence or explanation why an unknown poet's words had greater value than Longfellow's. Again, the author gives quotations without informing us of whom he is quoting, a fact so important in his case, because he has such a predilection for taking words out of context.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANTIPOLISH STATEMENTS

The book is a sort of encyclopedia of statements derogatory to Poland and Poles. One has an impression that whoever said anything derogatory about Poland has been quoted in this book. Most of these statements are undocumented. Many are evidently out of context. As a rule he discards and does not quote any favorable statements about Poland.

Poland is a "nation of idiots." This statement supposedly repeatedly made by Pilsudski appears on the first page of the preface. No documentation is offered, so I could not check on the context and the circumstances in which the statement had been made, as well as on the fact if it was made repeatedly. However, in view of Pilsudski's role in Polish history I think that it will be accepted as only an understatement if I suggest that the quotation is out of context. Poland is the "peacock and parrot of nations" (p. 150); this out-of-context quotation from the greatest Polish poet who wrote about Poland in the most exalted way. "As a good European (he) detested the Poles," Talleyrand supposedly said. (Page 4; no documentation.) Briand called Poland "le rheumatisme de l'Europe" (p. 4; no documentation). Clemenceau "had little love for the Poles" (p. 315; no documentation). Napoleon spoke "with levity" about the Poles, called them "trivial people" and "a state difficult to shape to any useful purpose" (p. 50). No page of the quoted work is given, so the quotations cannot be checked.

The Prussian representative in Warsaw, Hoym, reported to his King that "many members of the (Polish) nobility actually enjoyed that the end of the Polish state had relieved them of the burden of contributing to the cost of the elections, Sejm meetings, and sessions of the tribunals (although he added the ladies regretted the passing of the splendid social occasions connected with the function of the state). The Poles, Hoym concluded, were "ein frivoles Volk" not difficult to manage if one catered to some of their vanities and sensitivities (p. 48). (Hoym represented a partitioning power. Besides no documentation is supplied.) Polish exiles, after the unsuccessful revolution against Russia in 1830–31, were, according to Heinrich Heine, "ridiculous 'Krapulinskis and Waschlapskis'" (p. 56; no documentation). The author notes that Trotsky spoke of Pilsudski as "a third-rate Bonaparte" (p. 120). (No documentation—besides the Polish army under Pilsudski defeated the Bolsheviks led by Trotsky in 1920.) Churchill is quoted while describing Poland as "a beast of prey" and the Poles as "glorious in revolt and ruin; squalid and shameful in triumph" (p. 127). (Churchill said this indeed after Yalta to justify his not so glorious policy toward a faithful ally. Professor Sharp, of course, would not quote what Churchill said about Poles during the first part of the war at the time England needed them badly.) "As a matter of fact, the interwar history of Eastern Europe shows that a considerable portion of demagogs, turncoats, and corrupt politicians, came from the ranks of the peasant parties. This was certainly true of Poland and, in a way, still is" (pp. 84–85). No evidence, no names, nor circumstances to prove this sweeping statement.

"Neither the Pilsudski regime nor the Communists have found it difficult to neutralize a number of authentic peasant politicians" (p. 85). The junction between the Pilsudski regime and the Communists (after 1945) is Professor Sharp's own licentia poetica, but let it be. However, to speak of authentic peasant politicians as neutralized by the Communist regime in Poland after their heroic struggle from 1945 on, a struggle still continuing today, and after their sacrifices, is indeed revolting. Civic morality was never very high in Poland (p. 224). Engaging in commerce was a "fate worse than death for a Polish nobleman" (p. 257).

Poles are politically foolish; most of the time they are wrong. They were wrong in the 10th century, and later, in pushing to the east (p. 19). "The Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom of the Jagellonians indeed had great potentialities, but these potentialities were not always wisely used" (p. 27). When they really were wisely used, of course, he will not say. During the time of trouble in Russia "great possibilities were opened for Poland, but were wasted," the gentry had no political vision, and the King was unduly preoccupied with Catholicism, notwithstanding the fact that he was narrow minded and selfish (p. 32).

King Jan Sobieski was "a fool"; Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia, said so (p. 38). The Polish gentry in the 18th century were under "the intellectual bondage of the Jesuit monopoly in education and this had caused the nation to lapse into an unwholesome kind of trust in providence and devotionalism that had in it little of enlightenment, and apathy, in regard even to vital problems of national survival." (P. 41; quoting W. J. Rose, without more precise documentation.) "Napoleon's memory was also dear to the Poles because he had offered to their ancestors opportunities to die gloriously even if on distant battlefields—from Lombardy to Spain and San Domingo and for causes that were not theirs" (p. 129–130). (What a crude and superficial misrepresentation of the Napoleonic legend in Poland.)

The Polish uprisings in the 19th century had little sense, the uprisings of 1830–31 did not bring about the emancipation of the peasants (pp. 53–54)—it was merely the nobility's affair. Professor Sharp knows that the revolt of 1846 did bring about the eman-

cipation of the peasants and that the gentry adhered to it. However, he still scorns the Poles; the gentry adhered to it according to his unsupported opinion, "possibly to neutralize the social aims of the uprising" (p. 58).

Speaking of the inhuman Nazi extermination of the Jews in Poland, he states "there were individual cases of active assistance to hunted Jews, but to many Poles, offering shelter to a candidate for extermination, became a source of extortion's income" (p. 234). What is his source? How did around 100,000 Jews survive, if not because helped by Poles? On what basis does he use the qualifications "individual cases" and "many Poles"? He does not explain. "Hitler offered the Poles a more radical solution for the problem than they had ever dreamed of; complete annihilation in the gas chambers, of millions of Polish Jews" (p. 92). This is to imply how anti-Semitic Poles were.

The above-mentioned excerpts by far do not close the list of Professor Sharp's abuses. Only lack of space prevents me from continuing.

This is only a small part of this writer's study of Professor Sharp's book. For technical reasons it is impossible, at least for the time being, to expand it further in a publishable form.

Let it be finished exactly where the author finishes his book. In the last sentence, page 326, he expresses a fear that "Polish attachment to the West, lavishly drawn upon for centuries will become completely exhausted." This will supposedly happen if his wise advices for America are not followed.

Let not Professor Sharp worry too much. Having read what the Polish, as well as the Polish-American, press wrote about his book; having heard or having read the opinions about it of many of those whom he quoted, it seems rather certain that Poles know what to think about the West; they know what to think about the United States; and they also know what to think about Professor Sharp himself. And, last but not least, definitely most of them know what to think about this literary curiosity which he pleases to call (symbolically?) "Poland, White Eagle on a Red Field."

The President and the Races

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. DAVIS
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Hugh G. Grant, of Augusta, Ga., relative to President Eisenhower's attending the conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This letter appeared on the editorial page of the Augusta Chronicle on March 18. Mr. Grant is a former member of the State Department and United States Minister to Albania and Thailand. The letter follows:

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PRESIDENT AND THE RACES

EDITOR, THE CHRONICLE:

I am not in the habit of writing letters to the editor (this is the first time that I have addressed a letter to you) since I appreciate the fact that your space is limited and there are many private citizens whose views on public matters deserve publication. There was an important event in Washington last week, however, that, in my judgment, should be brought to the attention of the people of this area and, in fact, to all the people of the South. I saw no reference to it in the Chronicle. The event was a conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in which President Eisenhower actively participated.

The news report of this affair was given a big play on the front page of the New York Times of March 11 and, I assume, was also carried in all of the big metropolitan newspapers of the North and East where the Negroes in many instances have heavy bloc voting strength, in some cases holding the balance of political power. The Times story featured a picture of President Eisenhower standing and singing the Star-Spangled Banner, together with Walter White, executive secretary, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The conference, according to the Times, was held in conjunction with a 10-year "Fight for Freedom," inaugurated by the association a year ago to "eliminate remaining racial barriers by 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves."

Many speakers at the conference, the Times reported, referred to the Supreme Court decision on school segregation as possibly an extremely significant milestone toward the goal. Walter White, long-time executive secretary of the Negro association, said his organization, which brought the 5 school segregation test cases now awaiting Supreme Court decision, hoped to add "5 more victories to the 53 already tallied in the Supreme Court."

The most significant feature of this Washington conference of Negroes representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was the presence of the President of the United States and his remarks to the assembly. Mr. Eisenhower was quoted in the New York Times as pledging that he would do his utmost to bring about racial equality wherever Federal authority extended. He said he believed in President Lincoln's statement that this Nation was dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal and with the writers of the Declaration of Independence that all men were endowed with certain inalienable rights.

The President was quoted further by the Times as saying that "there are vociferous minorities that do not hold to the concepts set forth by the Founding Fathers, but by and large the mass of Americans want to be decent, good, and just, and don't want to make a difference based on inconsequential facts of color or race."

Now, in my opinion, it behooves all white Americans, particularly those of us here in the South, to weigh the full implications of Mr. Eisenhower's remarks, especially the last statement quoted above. If I understand the English language, the President of the United States has described those Americans who do not agree with his views on the subject of race as not being decent, good, and just citizens. I personally resent such an implication and I believe I express the views of millions of good, patriotic American citizens, many of whom voted for Mr. Eisenhower for President in 1952.

I respectfully suggest to President Eisenhower that he read up a bit on the history of the times of the Founding Fathers who wrote the Declaration of Independence solely as an instrument of revolution against the British tyranny and for the establishment of a society of white citizens, the Negro slaves not being considered as such. I would also suggest that the President read up on the life of Abraham Lincoln, who declared that his "paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union—and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union." And in one of the great debates with Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln said, "There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social equality, and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." (Quotations from Abraham Lincoln, by Benjamin P. Thomas, executive secretary of the Abrahama Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill.)

As for the so-called vociferous minorities that do not hold to the concepts set by the Founding Fathers, according to Mr. Eisenhower, I respectfully point out that the most vociferous minority group in this Nation today is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in whose conference the President participated last week.

HUGH G. GRANT.

AUGUSTA, GA., *March 15, 1954.*

Justice to Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, the present wage ceiling in the Social Security Act operates as an economic hardship on tens of thousands of elderly people, but it involves, in my judgment an even greater moral injustice. When the Government of the United States tells people they cannot work, and that they will be penalized through loss of social security benefits if they do, it is betraying one of the funamental principles which has made this country great. It is abandoning our tradition of encouraging and rewarding enterprise and self-reliance, for the debilitating and deadly notion that we should all becomes wards of the state.

Mr. Speaker, people all over this country are looking to this Congress to get our social-security program back on an even keel, so that it is in conformity with and not counter to our great traditions. One way we can do this is by abolishing the wage ceiling in the act, if not at age 65, then certainly at age 70.

I include in the RECORD today a letter from a correspondent in Staunton, Va. He is a professional man. He is entitled to maximum benefits under the social-security law—but only if he lives in idleness.

But, as he rightly says, our country and our people have not developed in idleness.

His letter follows:

STAUNTON, VA., *March 25, 1954.*

HAROLD C. OSTERTAG,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OSTERTAG: May I wish you the best of success in securing passage of your bill, described in an Associated Press story in the Herald Tribune for March 23?

Retired since last September, I am entitled to $85 per month, but only if I live in idleness. However, our people have not developed in idleness, nor the country either. I am now using my energy and training and shall have to give up the social-security benefits, with some feeling of injustice, unless your bill is successful.

Sincerely yours,

HERMAN WORK,
Forest Consultant.

Tariff Tussle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks, I ask that the article by William Henry Chamberlin which appeared in the April 7, 1954, edition of the Wall Street Journal be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

This article, I believe, presents a strong and coherent argument for the necessity of American leadership in the direction of freer trade. I heartily endorse Mr. Chamberlin's views on this subject.

The article follows:

TARIFF TUSSLE—MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS FOR HIGH DUTIES ARE OUTDATED, BUT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS WILL RENEW THEM

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

President Eisenhower's recent message to Congress, recommending moderate and gradual tariff reductions, seems likely to rekindle one of the oldest and most persistent arguments in American history. As early as 1832 the agricultural State of South Carolina, a stronghold of States rights sentiment, proposed to nullify the application of a tariff which had been passed by Congress.

Tariff protection probably ranks third in importance, after secession and slavery, as a cause of the Civil War. The agricultural South looked on the tariff as a burden imposed on it for the benefit of the more industrial North. After the Civil War the Republicans favored protectionist tariffs, while the Democrats advocated tariffs for revenue only; and this issue figured prominently in many Presidential elections.

The dispute has gone on up to the present time. But the economic setting changed to the disadvantage of the protectionist case, after World War I. For one of the big economic consequences of this conflict was the transformation of America from a debtor into a creditor country in its relations with the outside world. And if a creditor country refuses to allow its debtors to pay in goods it runs a strong risk of not being paid at all.

AN INEVITABLE DEFAULT

The default of the European Allied countries on their war debts, much resented in the United States at the time, was probably unavoidable economically, just like the collapse of the scheme of German reparations payments. During the 1929–33 depression, when there was a sharp decline of purchasing power all around and every country thought in terms of direct protection of its own industries, it was impossible for Germany to export enough goods to meet reparations payments, and it was equally impossible for Great Britain and France to earn enough dollars to meet their war-debt obligations.

And one result of World War II was that American industrial capacity swelled, while that of most European countries was adversely affected by spoliation, bombing, and blockade.

So it is not surprising that in the years immediately after the end of the war the demand for American goods was out of all proportion to the ability of European and other foreign countries to supply goods for the American market. The "dollar gap" which opened up was narrowed by huge and unprecedented American subsidies to foreign countries, running into tens of billions of dollars in the form of loans, grants, contributions to UNRRA, and, largest item of all, aid through the Marshall plan.

Now this period of vast largess in the economic field has ended. Economic subsidies have not entirely ceased. But they have been cut down to a point where they are a negligible factor in making possible foreign purchases of American goods. A much larger source of dollar earnings—outside exports and earnings from shipping, tourist spending, and the like—is the system of offshore purchases of arms, manufactured in Europe, for the NATO defense program.

However, this is regarded as a transitional and temporary arrangement. The President's recommendations to Congress, which follow closely the lines laid down by the Randall Commission, are based on the assumption that our economic relations with the outside world will be mainly limited to normal trade and investment.

THE PENALTY OF HIGH TARIFFS

There was a time when the high-tariff-low-tariff argument could be represented as an issue between protecting American industry and employment on the one hand and, on the other, sparing the consumer the higher prices which are the natural result of tariff protection for the producer. That time has long passed. Now it is arguable that a policy of high-tariff protection would destroy more jobs and livelihoods than it would preserve. As the President noted, over 4 million American workers depend for their employment on international trade. And in recent years one-third of our wheat, 40 percent of our cotton and rice, one-fourth of our tobacco and soybeans have been exported.

To the extent we restrict imports we shut ourselves out of export markets. There are no huge stocks of gold or other means by which foreign countries, on balance, can buy more, in goods and services, from us than they are able to sell to us, in goods and services. Investment of American funds abroad may bridge the dollar gap temporarily, but only temporarily, for the payment of interest or dividends and the ultimate repayment of the principal require dollar earnings.

There are several reasons why a high level of international trade is preferable to a low level. When trade flows freely, with a minimum of harassment either from tariffs or from quotas and rigged currencies, the efficient producer on both sides of the Atlantic is rewarded and the consumer, American and foreign, gets a better break in terms of price and quality. And a further moderate relaxation of American tariff barriers and a simplification and acceleration of customs procedures (a familiar grievance of foreign exporters) will take the wind out of the sails of the Soviet trade offensive. So far this has been a matter of talking big about small trade. But the lure of Soviet trade is stronger if the American market is unreasonably difficult of access.

RESTRICTIONS REMAIN

President Eisenhower's suggestions are very moderate and seem to be expressed in terms of what he hopes to get through Congress rather than of what might be economically justifiable. The "peril point" and "escape" clauses of tariff legislation, which sometimes may be invoked to choke off a line of foreign imports just when it is becoming profitable, are kept. The proposal to do away with the discriminatory "Buy American" legislation is qualified by reservations on requirements of national security, problems of small business and of areas where there is persistent and substantial unemployment.

Obviously America alone cannot keep up a high level of international trade. Foreign countries have much to contribute in the way of restoring currency convertibility and eliminating cartels, quota systems and other devices. But as the world's richest and strongest industrial power America can do much to give a lead in the direction of freer trade.

The Economic and Industrial Situation in the Borough of Warrior Run, Luzerne County, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. BONIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BONIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following resolution adopted by the Borough Council of the Borough of Warrior Run in my district of Luzerne County, Pa., which was sent to me by Mr. Stanley Nadwodny, the chairman of the Warrior Run townhall organization:

Whereas numerous petitioners residing in the borough of Warrior Run, Luzerne County, Pa., have come before the council of the borough of Warrior Run regarding the economic and industrial situation as it now exists in the borough of Warrior Run and adjacent territories; and

Whereas the recent closing of Truesdale colliery and No. 20 Tunnell collieries of Glen Alden Coal Co., have been shut down and other works of the Glen Alden Coal Co. have been curtailed; and

Whereas Warrior Run Borough has been materially affected by said closing to the extent that 188 men are presently unemployed by reason of layoffs from the anthracite mines; and

Whereas these 188 men represent wage earners from a total population of 1,092 people living in 222 residential buildings in the borough of Warrior Run; and

Whereas the said borough council has made its own investigation and has determined that these facts seriously affect the health and welfare, as well as the economic and political existence of said Warrior Run Borough, as well as the inhabitants thereof; and

Whereas Warrior Run Borough has heretofore in the last presidential and congressional election expressed its confidence in President Eisenhower and Congressman EDWARD BONIN, and generally in the Republican Party principles by a resounding majority: Therefore be it

Resolved, and it is hereby resolved, That the borough of Warrior Run go on record to inform the Honorable EDWARD BONIN of the conditions as now exist in said Warrior Run Borough and that he use his utmost endeavors to bring about legislation for the economic relief of said area and especially recommend the invitation of industry to this area, as well as the promotion of public projects for the benefit of the municipalities, such as the installation and repair of public roads and the public installation of a sewer system such improvements to be fi-

nanced by Federal grants for the promotion of industry and rehabilitation of the citizenry of the borough of Warrior Run, who earnestly seek the free right to earn and maintain a decent living and to promote the welfare of their families.

Passed at the regular adjourned meeting of the Borough Councily of Warrior Run Borough.

BOROUGH COUNCIL OF THE BOROUGH OF WARRIOR RUN, LUZERNE COUNTY, PA.
By WILLIAM BARTLESON, *President.*
Attest:
HENRY J. GARTHAN,
Secretary.

That New Word

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the interest in "spalling" which was precipitated by our colleague from North Carolina, the Honorable GEORGE SHUFORD, continues unabated. I insert a recent article from the Ada (Okla.) News, written by Mr. W. D. Little, its editor.

THAT NEW WORD

Did you ever run across a word that hit you like the unseen swish of a limb on your cold cheek? Well, we have. Some new words appear on the horizon without creating any shock or surprise, but others jar one.

When Representative GEORGE A. SHUFORD wrote a letter to the Asheville, N. C., Citizen, the whole editorial department reacted almost as though a well-known woman had given birth to triplets. The Congressman wrote: "Further spalling in the tunnel on that stretch of road must be prevented."

The word "spalling" is what upset the office. Was there such a word? No one had ever heard of it. All agreed the Congressman had slipped in his spelling, and probably set off a lot of talk about the poor scholars the schools now turn out. But someone did have presence of mind enough to look in the dictionary. And they found "spall" a perfectly good old word coming down from the middle ages. It means "to fall to pieces by the chipping off of small fragments under the action of weather or abrasion."

Maybe the newspaper folk over there do not work crossword puzzles or search rhyming dictionaries. Our guess is, however, that not 1 person in 10,000 would recognize the word at first glance.

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An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

First Prize Essay of Edgar C. Harper, Jr., in National Wildlife Federation Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the junior high winning essay of the nationwide contest sponsored by the National Wildlife Federation and cosponsored by the Tennessee Conservation League. I am very proud of the fact that one of our Tennessee boys, Edgar C. Harper, Jr., of Mountain Home, Tenn., won this high honor, and first prize of $100.

Another Tennessee boy who won the honor of being runner-up in the junior high division was Richard Crider, of Clarksburg, Tenn. It is indeed heartening to know of the civic-mindedness of our young people.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CLEAN WATER MEANS BETTER LIVING IN AMERICA

(By Edgar C. Harper, Jr., Mountain Home, Tenn.)

Many cities all over the United States are turning their nearby lakes and rivers into sewage dumps. The waters along the coast are being contaminated by bilge water and oil emptied from ships as they come into port. This refuse, along with a city's wastes, kills flocks of sea birds and many fish. These fish could have been caught and sold by commercial fishermen, or could have furnished good sport for the angler and could have been made available for the public-food supply.

Streams which were once full of fish are now foaming with chemical waste from factories and with sewage from cities. Now in these streams the fish are all dead and no wildlife can drink the water. This causes the wildlife to move away. Few hunters and fishermen come to these areas. These streams and lakes which were once enjoyed as places for swimming and picnicking have become nuisances and menaces to the health. Property owners adjoining a polluted lake or river cannot sell their land for a price as good as if the water were clean. Livestock which has to drink polluted water may become sick, give less milk, or may even die. A natural source of clean water means much to the livestock grower.

Although some cities are building sewage disposal plants, our waterways cannot be cleaned up unless industries unite in refraining from dumping their waste into these waters. Some industries have found that they can reclaim certain chemicals from this waste and make useful byproducts which can be sold for profit. One manufacturer who made strawboard from wood obtained enough methane from the woodpulp liquor to furnish power and light for his whole plant, with some left to sell. In some plants the byproducts from the waste have exceeded the value of the main product.

The elimination of waste is one of the chief marks of efficiency in industry. The waste from straw, cornstalks, cotton lint, and other plants is now made into useful products such as paper, fiber containers, and rayon. Sugarcane stalks that were once burned in huge piles are now being used to make building insulation. At two plants in California fruit pits are being made into oils, charcoal, acids, and chicken feed.

If these useful byproducts had not been salvaged they would have been dumped into the streams as wastes that would be harmful to fish, fowl, man, and beast.

The sewage dumped into rivers, lakes, and streams is a threat to the health of the people of the surrounding area. Although some cities have not put in sewage disposal plants for the reason of high cost, some cities have paid for their plants by extracting sludge from the sewage and selling it for fertilizer. This process kills the harmful bacteria. Disease germs are very abundant in sewage. Some of these germs may cause dysentery, typhoid fever, polio, and cholera. A polluted stream or lake may look nice and clear, thus fooling boys who may swim in it or drink from it with sad results.

Although some cities and industries have cleaned up their streams, many more have not. By means of radio, newspaper, and other public educational devices the citizens may become informed about the hazards of polluted waters and the many benefits of clean waters. Then they will see that action is taken to keep America's waters clean, thus making America a better place in which to live.

The Threat of Aggressive Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, former United States Ambassador to Denmark, recently addressed the Seventh Annual Convention of Americans for Democratic Action in Chicago, Ill. I ask permission to have the text of Mrs. Anderson's address printed in the appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This has been a dark winter for all those who are dedicated to the continuing struggle for freedom. Our Government has been, and still is, so obsessed with its own Frankenstein that its vital energy has been wasted on its internal power struggle, a deadly conflict that is not yet resolved. Because of this, the American people are confused and divided. Because of this, the unity of the whole free world is endangered.

Meanwhile, the basic threat to American freedom and security—the international Communist conspiracy—has not diminished. Indeed it has grown more serious, because it is today more hidden. While we Americans have been distracted by our own fevers, Soviet communism has been steadily strengthening its position in the world around us.

Lacking leadership from our President, we seem almost to have forgotten that the fundamental threat to us all, is and remains aggressive Soviet communism. I do not mean to minimize the destructiveness of totalitarian tactics in our own midst. Nor do I ever forget the havoc that this evil force has wrought on American prestige abroad. This violence must be repudiated and rejected, and it must be done by our President, by our Senate, by the Republican Party, and by our people—now.

But at the same time, we cannot afford to forget that the basic problems of our survival today are still problems of foreign policy. It is to the most urgent of these issues, with particular reference to Western Europe, that I want to address myself tonight.

We have heard certain appointed spokesmen for the Eisenhower administration proclaim recently that the United States has now gained the initiative in the cold war. If this claim were true, nothing could be more important for mankind. But anyone who is following world events today is bound to observe: This claim simply does not fit the facts. As a slogan, it may appeal to the uninformed. It may even fool some wishful thinkers. But I can assure you that it will not fool the Communists, and it will not fool our allies either.

The truth is that the United States did gain the initiative in the cold war with the Marshall plan in 1948. We built up our lead with the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. We maintained the advantage with point 4, and with United Nations resistance in Korea. By 1952 we had the Communists on the run in Western Europe, and in Asia as well.

But I am not here to talk about the past. What is happening today? If we face the truth squarely, no matter how disquieting it may be, we have to recognize that we are now in danger of losing our dearly won initiative to the enemy. Communist aggression is mounting in Indochina. There are new, alarming Communist gains in Italy and in France. There are restive signs in Germany. There is confusion even in Great Britain, letdown in Scandinavia, growing alienation in India. Clearly the Malenkov peace offensive is gaining steadily. And what is the United States doing to counter it? Clever phrases can no longer hide the tragic reality that we have suffered serious setbacks during the last year.

The first of these losses is economic. While the Soviet Union has been carrying forward an aggressive trade campaign, our President is still sending watered-down reports to Congress, entreating his party to "hold the line" on trade with our allies. While the Republican administration is urging support for the cautious, inadequate Randall Commission recommendations, the Soviet Union is going out and doing business with our allies, every one of whom must trade in order to live. Our Government continues to repeat outmoded slogans, such as "Trade, not aid," when what it is actually doing is "No trade and no aid either." Meanwhile the Soviet Union is sending trade delegations to every one of our European allies, as well as to our friends in Asia. I can assure you that these Soviet representatives

do not come or go emptyhanded these days. They are buying butter from the Danes, ships from the Norwegians and West Germans, textiles from the French. They are selling iron and manganese to the British, negotiating a billion-dollar trade deal with them, too.

Our trade policies meanwhile are literally driving our allies into the economic embrace of the Soviet. Trade is a major political weapon in the Communist world, one that we have made it all but impossible for our market-needy friends to resist. Only last week, I received an anxious letter from a Danish businessman, a true friend of this country. "Please," he implored, "do what you can to stem the Soviet trade tide. We Danes would so much rather go West than East. But where else can we turn?"

We are today also in grave danger of losing the initiative to the Communists in the crucial struggle over Germany. The contest for Germany is the contest for Europe. There we are competing for the future, and decision in Germany can no longer be postponed.

Yet this Republican administration appears to have forgotten that our basic goal is to bring a rearmed democratic Western Germany into the Atlantic Community. This is what we are striving to accomplish, and not simply the jamming through of the EDC. EDC, after all, is only a very complicated mechanism for obtaining French-German rapprochement. EDC is not the goal in itself.

But by our Government's failure to even consider alternatives, we are literally playing into the Communists' hands. The European Defense Community has been stalled on dead center in France for nearly 2 years. Is our diplomacy so unimaginative that we cannot find a new avenue of approach? In foreign affairs, as in human affairs, nations can never afford to assume that there is only one way to solve a problem. If the first method fails, then a new formula must be found.

Germany has reached the point now where its integration can no longer be put off. Yet we are letting this precious initiative slip from our grasp by our obsession with the means—EDC—while the goal that we seek—German participation in the Atlantic Community—is gravely threatened.

Finally, we are losing the initiative in the supremely important area of moral leadership. When we have lately shown such a shameful exhibition of disunity here at home, how can we expect to inspire our allies with unity and faith? Yet, without mutual respect and confidence, no peacetime coalition can maintain its cohesion and drive.

We must never forget that our leadership rests on living up to our own democracy. Then, too, our relationships with our allies must be tempered with compassionate understanding and consistent acts. We should never have to rely on power alone. Especially now in the face of Malenkov's beguiling tactics, we should be straining our every fiber to nurture and cherish that close community of interests on which any great alliance depends.

But yet, during this past year, the Eisenhower administration has blundered from crisis to crisis with our allies, alternately threatening or ignoring our proud and independent partners. Was Britain honored with even a press release on the recent H-bomb experiments? Were our allies consulted by us before the so-called New Look defense policy was laid down? Will this policy promote NATO unity, which remains our strongest bulwark against the Soviet Union?

And here I want to digress for a moment and say that we should support, immediately and gratefully, the administration's belated decision for action in Indochina. We should demand at the same time the independence of the Associated Indochinese States. Above all, Indochina cannot be permitted to fall to the Communists. All southeast Asia is at stake. I know that the Democrats in Congress will back up Secretary Dulles' recognition of what Indochina means to us all. There will be no partisan opposition here.

But in the long run it will be folly if we concern ourselves only with military actions. For in order to achieve our own purposes, and in order to hold the sustained cooperation of the free world, we must be constantly seeking constructive answers to the immense human problems confronting every nation today. Military solutions alone are never going to cure the social and economic maladies of this world. Military power is indispensable—do not misunderstand me. But it is not enough, as this administration seems to think.

The free world can again be rallied to America's cause, if our friends and partners are convinced that it is their cause too. There is still time to regain the initiative, and to go ahead boldly, side by side, once more, carrying forward the good fight for the ennobling hopes and the simple human needs of free men, women, and children.

The Texas Water Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I have spoken many times on the floor of the Senate about the Texas water problem—the No. 1 problem of our great State.

There is a growing awareness on the part of the people of Texas that this is a problem which must, for the fact of our future, be solved. It will be solved.

An indication of the thinking of Texans on this subject is seen in an editorial, Water, Water—Where's the Water? which appeared in the April 11 issue of a great Texas newspaper, the Fort Worth Star-Telegram. This editorial realistically states the present situation. It realistically views future needs.

I commend this editorial to the attention of the Senators and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER, WATER—WHERE'S THE WATER?

With the remarks that "this great area has just begun to grow," Lt. Gen. Lewis A. Pick once put this challenge squarely up to Fort Worth and Dallas:

"Ask yourselves how much water the Fort Worth-Dallas area will need in the year 2000, or in the year 2049. Will our planning of today take care of the population and industry of 50 or 100 years from now?"

That was nearly 5 years ago, when General Pick, long recognized as a leading authority on the control of floods and the conservation of water resources, was Chief of the Army Corps of Engineers. The few years that have elapsed since then have brought such a growth of industry and population in this region as to make his forecast soundly prophetic. Combined with this, the rainfall deficiency of the last 2 or 3 years has made the two cities acutely aware that water is their No. 1 problem, the limiting factor in their future growth unless they act vigorously and foresightedly to overcome it.

Both Fort Worth and Dallas seriously have begun to ask themselves the question General Pick to them 5 years ago, and they are finding it has more immediacy than 50 or 100 years. From present sources, Fort Worth has a prospectively ample water supply until 1965 under normal conditions; Dallas until 1970. If flourishing growth of the area continues beyond that time, more water will be needed, and more water will be needed to provide one of the essentials of that continued growth.

Separately Fort Worth and Dallas are conducting studies to determine the additional volume of water that will be required in future years and to find the sources from which it can be obtained. Engineers are at work on the problem in both cities. The question is, Are these separate studies the best and most effective approach to the long-range problem of water which confronts not only Fort Worth and Dallas but also the smaller cities of the area?

We think not. The water need is a common problem. It is a problem which does not end at city boundaries or lines drawn on a map, and we believe it best can be solved by a pooling of the efforts of all the cities and towns in this area of the Trinity watershed. Whether the necessary water can be supplied by development within the watershed or whether it may be found necessary to tap sources beyond the watershed, it seems certain that the most efficient and productive results could be obtained by unified action.

For such a pooling of efforts there is an instructive precedent. The development of the Trinity River for flood control, water conservation and navigation has been set up on a watershed basis, not a city or a county basis. The whole Trinity program has made progress only because it has had the combined backing and support of Fort Worth and Dallas. The development of the stream for useful purposes failed until the two cities got together and bent their efforts to a common purpose. The results speak for themselves. Nowhere else in the country have four dams for flood control and water supply been built in so short a time as in the upper Trinity area.

Similar cooperation by all concerned in the problem of future water supply for the whole area would be the surest and speediest way of finding the solution essential to a necessarily regionwide growth and development. In a matter of such vital import to each, both cities should bury the hatchet (without leaving the handle sticking out)—at least until they have solved their mutual, practical problems to their greatest benefit, and should stop trying to be self-sufficient.

The Need for Disarmament and Technical Aid Plans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article by the noted authoress,

Barbara Ward, which appeared in the New York magazine on April 11.

Miss Ward was long the distinguished foreign editor of the Economist, of London. This article, entitled "Needed: Point 1 Plus a Renewed Point 4," is peculiarly timely and provocative. I hope it will be widely read both by Members of the Congress and by the public.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEEDED: POINT 1 PLUS A RENEWED POINT 4

(By Barbara Ward)

Let there be no mistake about it. In the world at large, a new phase of the cold war has opened in which—for the time being—the Communists show every sign of seizing the initiative. The clouds rising hideously from the hydrogen tests or the grim battle for Indochina may fill the foreground of the news. But all the time a wider struggle is being waged in which these developments are made to serve their part. This struggle is the Soviet bid to secure the mastery of men's minds.

For a year now, the Soviets have redoubled their efforts to impress on the world what they are pleased to call their heartfelt desire for peace. The first moves in the new maneuver followed quickly on the death of Stalin. Signing the Korean truce after years of stalling, restoring diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and Israel, ending territorial claims on Turkey, appointing a civil authority to replace military government in Austria—these were some of the gestures made in order to propagate the idea of a cordial and cooperative Russia. A sudden spell of diplomatic entertaining and a new readiness to be entertained allowed a wintry sun to play over the forbidding portals of various Soviet Embassies. The change had its effect. It persuaded a number of western leaders—Sir Winston Churchill among them—that it might be worth exploring this possible change of heart.

So much for the preliminaries. The serious challenge is being made now in these early months of 1954. From the Russian standpoint, the importance of the Berlin Conference seems to have lain in the ammunition it provided for the propaganda war. Certainly in Soviet propaganda issued after the meeting, the West was pictured as fanatically determined to recreate German militarism and as brushing aside the Soviet offer of joint action for security.

Since the Berlin Conference, the Russians' proposal that they should join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had the same intention—to demonstrate Soviet readiness for cooperation and to illustrate the West's determination to turn such offers down. Soviet propaganda can announce that all this talk about the peaceful purposes of NATO has now been exploded. If it were peaceful and defensive, Moscow's argument runs, Russian adherence could only strengthen it.

While the Russians spread in Europe and beyond the picture of an armed, warlike western alliance, they project their own policy in terms of peace and disarmament. In Asia, fantastic though it may seem, Russia takes credit for ending the Korean struggle which the American militarists and their lackey Syngman Rhee were determined to war is pinned on French colonialists and their American backers.

Above all, day after day, in the literature which floods mysteriously into every non-Communist territory, in Soviet broadcasts, in all the private conversations made possible by the new Soviet amiability, in official statements issued to the world at large, the Communists repeat tirelessly the theme of atomic disarmament and the barring of the weapons which, in the words of that very active body, the Communist World Peace Council, "can destroy the fruits of a thousand years of human toil." In the smallest township of Africa, in remote Indian villages, the Communists contrive to get their wall posters stuck up, their discussion groups organized, their itinerant propagandist pedaling furiously in on his bicycle with a bag of pamphlets strapped to his back.

Thus, after months of careful preparation, the Soviet peace offensive is once again in full swing. The theme is not new. The cold war has, on the Russian side, been concerned in the main with the issue of peace and disarmament ever since 1948 when the Western World woke up to the fact that Russia alone was armed. But what is new—and frightening—is the extent to which the western alliance is giving the Russian propagandists an unparalleled chance of success.

Ludicrous as it may seem, there is a certain predisposition in the world to fear that the Western Powers may be aggressive. In Asia and Africa, suspicions bred of the long experience of colonial control are still alive. In a recent discussion on American military aid to Pakistan, for instance, the explanation that the purpose of the United States was purely defensive, to help Pakistan defend itself, instantly brought the reply from an Indian: "But the British established themselves in India by offering to defend one rajah against another—or against the French. And for years an excuse to stay in India was found in the need to defend the northwest frontier against Russia. How do we know that this is not the beginning of a similar policy?"

It is, of course, an irony that the United States, which freed itself from colonial control, should now be suspected of imperialist intentions. But in conducting the "cold war," the Western Powers have to recognize the prejudices that exist and not simply dismiss them for their unreason.

Nor is distrust of America confined to this issue of colonialism. It has been reinforced by the worldwide dissemination of half-baked Marxism, according to which, since all "advanced capitalist countries are imperialist," America, as the most advanced, must also be the most imperialist and aggressive.

These ingrained suspicions are permanent Communist assets in waging the war for men's minds. Unhappily, in the last year, much of Western policy seems to fit into this dangerous picture of Western intentions. It is remarkable, for instance, how much recent Western activities and diplomatic statements have seemed solely concerned with arms and military alliances. Arming Germany, arming Japan, arming Pakistan, maintaining the French in Indochina—in each case, the aim is defensive, but how easy it is for Communist propaganda to play down the defensiveness and play up the arms—to the consequent uneasiness and dismay of surrounding countries.

These local and particular worries have been reinforced since the beginning of the year by universal concern over Western atomic policy. Since the United States, alone in the West, possesses the hydrogen bomb, this means in effect American policy. The so-called New Look in atomic strategy—that of massive atomic retaliation at a time of America's own choosing—has been widely discussed even inside America. Outside, it has been seized upon and twisted by Communist propaganda to mean that the United States would be prepared to launch, on its own initiative, an atomic attack. The fact that American explanations of its meaning have varied, merely gives the Soviet propagandists a clearer field for their own misinterpretations.

In the midst of these confusions and before the alarm had in any way abated, the hydrogen bomb explosions of March 1 and March 23 underlined in a horrifying fashion the likely consequences of atomic attack. Nothing at this point was easier for hostile propaganda than to link the so-called "policy of atomic retaliation" with the exploding of the experimental bombs. The picture was flashed around the world of an America ready to spread universal destruction at a time of its own choosing.

Soviet propagandists, after working for years to pin the tag of aggression to the American Government, found their work almost done for them in the atmosphere of emotion and fear created by the hydrogen tests. Even America's closest associates, debarred by the provisions of atomic secrecy from entering fully into American plans, have shown signs of alarm. Yet if friends—in Britain and Canada—can betray uneasiness, how much more disturbing must the consequences be in the uncommitted areas of the free world?

The results have to be frankly faced. The Russians have won and the West has lost an important round in the cold war. The Western Powers have been maneuvered into appearing warlike, truculent, and aggressive. They must now at all costs and with all speed work to end these distortions and to pin responsibility once more where it squarely belongs—on the power which has never disarmed, whose empire covers half the free peoples of Europe and whose Chinese associates are threatening, by indirect aggression, the independent nations of southeast Asia.

There is in fact only one way in which the propaganda tide can be stemmed and turned. President Eisenhower, in two great speeches, in April 1953, to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and in December 1953 to the United Nations, has promised the way. In the first, he spoke of disarmament as the chief goal of western policy and proposed that money saved by abandoning the production of arms should be spent on conquering the real enemies of humanity—hunger and disease and poverty. In the second, he took the initiative in proposing an international pool of atomic energy for peaceful uses.

In those speeches, the fundamental purposes of the Western World and the fundamental direction of American thinking and leadership were revealed. The aim of peace by disarmament, the readiness to share western wealth for the building of a better world—none can doubt that these represent the true policies of the free nations, in keeping with their aspirations and within reach of their wealth and skill. No one can doubt either that such a program could win the battle for men's minds and efface the Communist picture of the Western Powers as aggressive and militarist and imperialist.

But the extraordinary fact remains that, those two great speeches apart, the whole program has virtually gone by default. The first speech had no followup at all. On the contrary, a recent Presidential note to Congress makes the opposite recommendation that the first aim with regard to economic aid is to bring it to an end. The second speech has—from the point of view of propaganda—petered out in a series of private exchanges.

It is this apparent vacuum of policy that needs desperately to be filled. The Western Powers need a new approach, a point 1 of disarmament in their international strategy. The calling together of the United Nations Disarmament Commission is a first step, but the Western World today requires a strategy which makes disarmament not a casual footnote to policy but the central theme of all public statements and a main point in all diplomatic activity. This does not mean that the actual military problem of achieving united action to check a Communist overrunning of southeast Asia is in any way secondary. It does mean that it needs to be discussed in the wider context of the

Western Powers' fundamentally peaceful purposes and of their determination to pursue genuine disarmament.

In other words, western strategy must bring the Communists to the conference table and there compel them to discuss in concrete detail the dismantling not simply of atomic weapons but of the vast land armies of Russia and China which threaten Europe and Asia and are, in the Far East, engaged even now in aggression. If the onus is placed once more on the Communists to disarm fully or disclose to the world the hollowness of their peace campaign, the whole context of the cold war can be revolutionized. Undoubtedly, the change can be brought about all the more speedily if the Western Powers, as President Eisenhower has suggested, add to their point 1 of disarmament a completely refurbished point 4 of aid to underdeveloped areas and announce their long-term plans for using the West's vast economic superiority to expand the wealth of the world and the well-being of its peoples.

In short, the ground lost in the cold war during the last year can be regained if, in the free world, the leadership contained in President Eisenhower's two great speeches is revived, the implications of his proposals fully worked out and the Communists challenged to follow his lead or expose themselves for what they are—the enemies of peace. If, however, no such change of context is achieved, the Western Powers may find themselves, for all their good intentions and peaceful purposes, tarred with the tarnish of aggression and losers in a crucial phase of the cold war.

Tabulation of Replies to a Questionnaire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege recently to mail out to my constituents in the 10th District a questionnaire covering United States foreign policy, United States domestic problems, and local problems affecting the northern Virginia area. Of the 112,000 questionnaires mailed out, over 11,900 were completed and returned for tabulation, a gratifying return of almost 10 percent. To the best of my knowledge a poll of this sort has never been attempted by a Congressman in this area. The questionnaire of 77 queries was headed by the following letter:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 15, 1954.

DEAR NEIGHBOR: The 2d session of the 83d Congress is now underway and we are faced with many vexing problems affecting not only our own Nation but the entire world. The decisions which are made in this session may well determine whether or not we have peace, national security, and economic health in the trying days ahead.

We who have the power to enact the laws of the United States are conscious of our great responsibility and, regardless of political affiliation, want to truly represent the people. That is as it should be in a republican form of government; that is precisely what the framers of the Constitution intended. We need have no fear for the maintenance of our way of life as long as we take the people into our confidence.

It is our duty to find out what opinions have been formed by the people of our districts on the problems of today and to avail ourselves of their wisdom. By learning their thoughts and taking advantage of their counsel they can assist us to do the job we are expetced to do in Congress.

It is with this thought in mind that I take the liberty of addressing you. It is my desire to give my constituents—Republicans and Democrats alike—the kind of representation they are entitled to in the national legislature. To this end I seek your help and your valued advice by means of a questionnaire. Your replies will not only aid me but will also aid your Nation, State, and community as well.

I hope that you will devote some part of your leisure hours to the questionnaire attached hereto. It relates to matters that affect you and your neighbor—matters which are likely to be debated in this session of Congress.

May I also take this opportunity to sincerely thank you for your cooperation during the past 15 months and to say that it has been an honor and a pleasure to represent you in the Congress of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

JOEL T. BROYHILL,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, tabulation of the first 11,900 received follow:

	Percentage		
	Yes	No	No opinion
UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY			
1. Do you approve, generally speaking, of our handling of international relations?	67	22	11
2. Should Congress continue appropriating funds for foreign aid?	63	28	9
3. Should American military aid to foreign nations be reduced?	48	42	10
4. Should American economic aid to foreign nations be reduced?	60	31	9
5. Should American technical assistance (point 4) to foreign nations be reduced?	25	66	9
6. Should we continue assistance to Asia (particularly Nationalist China and South Korea)?	78	12	10
7. Should the United States continue membership in the United Nations?	85	11	4
8. Should the United States financial support of the United Nations be reduced?	51	39	10
9. Should Russia be permitted to remain in the United Nations?	65	25	10
10. Should Communist China be seated in the United Nations?	10	81	9
11. Do you favor more aggressive prosecution of the war in Indochina?	39	39	22
12. Should we assume more of the burden in Indochina?	27	55	18
13. Do you favor keeping American troops abroad?	69	22	9
14. Should we continue our leadership in NATO?	82	9	9
15. Do you favor the Bricker amendment limiting the effect of international treaties?	30	56	14
16. Would you favor the Bricker amendment if the Knowland amendment as suggested by President Eisenhower which would eliminate the so-called which clause be agreed to?	27	42	31
17. Do you agree with Secretary of State Dulles in his warning that any further Communist aggression will be met with full mass retaliation (perhaps the employment of atomic weapons)?	74	15	11
18. Should the United States warn Russia that further Communist aggression will mean total war?	54	29	17
19. Do you favor President Eisenhower's proposal for the creation of an international atomic stockpile for peaceful purposes?	70	21	9
20. Should we have taken the stand in the recent elections in Western Germany as taken by Secretary of State Dulles?	55	16	29
21. Do you favor the shipment of food parcels to the underfed people in Communist-dominated Eastern Germany?	74	17	9
22. Should we demand that our allies halt all trading with Russia?	41	46	13
UNITED STATES DOMESTIC PROBLEMS			
23. Do you favor further tax reductions before the budget is balanced?	28	67	5
24. Do you favor higher taxes, if needed, to balance the budget?	32	61	7
25. Do you favor the President's 25-point tax revision program as suggested in his budget message to Congress?	41	15	44
26. Do you think that Congress should cut the budget which was submitted by President Eisenhower on January 21?	30	50	20
27. Should we further reduce defense spending if President Eisenhower thinks we can do so with safety?	72	23	5
28. Do you believe that increased Federal spending may be harmful to the Nation's economy?	56	32	12
29. Do you favor in general, President Eisenhower's revision of the Social Security Act?	65	11	24
30. Would you approve of increasing old-age and survivorship benefits under the Social Security Act?	76	11	13
31. Do you favor an increase in social-security taxes?	56	27	17
32. Would you pay social-security benefits to persons earning more than $75 a month (the present limitation)?	77	12	11
33. Should the social-security program be expanded to include persons not now eligible?	71	12	17
34. Do you approve generally of the Labor-Management Act, 1947, commonly known as the Taft-Hartley Act?	72	17	11
35. Do you favor the 14 amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act as recommended by President Eisenhower?	37	22	41
36. Do you believe the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act should be amended to provide more liberal admission of immigrants to the United States?	35	54	11
37. Do you favor President Eisenhower's proposals for health and education assistance?	65	17	18
38. Should Congress continue its investigation of Communists in the field of education?	69	23	8
39. Do you favor Senator McCARTHY's investigation of subversive influences?	43	49	8
40. Do you favor Senator JENNER's investigation of subversive influences?	45	39	16
41. Do you feel that the work of Senators JENNER's and McCARTHY's committees should be combined with the work of Congressman Velde's committee on Un-American Activities in order to provide for 1 joint congressional committee to investigate subversive activities instead of 3?	69	17	14
42. Are you in favor of statehood for all of our possessions, including Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands?	35	50	15
43. Should the present rigid price-support program for farmers be continued?	9	82	9
44. Do you favor President Eisenhower's program for flexible price supports for farmers with a gradual reduction?	76	13	11
45. Do you favor complete abandonment of all price supports for farmers?	22	67	11
46. Are you in sympathy with the reciprocal-trade program?	57	7	36
47. Do you favor a more liberal trade-agreement program with lower tariffs?	62	16	22
48. Do you favor outlawing the Communist Party?	63	28	9
49. Do you favor loyalty oaths in schools?	62	30	8
50. Would you favor a Federal compulsory Fair Employment Practices Act?	29	55	16
51. Do you favor abandonment of segregation in the District of Columbia?	35	52	13
52. Do you favor home rule for the District of Columbia?	44	34	22
53. Are you in favor of more liberal loans to small business?	62	17	20
54. Are you in favor of the President's housing program?	56	15	29
55. Should Congress enact a program of universal military training?	67	22	11
56. Do you favor universal military training after expiration of the draft law?	67	22	11
57. Does this Congress represent you correctly as part of a grateful nation in its attitude toward the veterans who have sacrificed so much?	57	17	26
58. Do you favor an increase in postal rates as suggested by Postmaster General Summerfield to decrease or eliminate the postal deficit?	62	30	8

	Percentage		
	Yes	No	No opinion
UNITED STATES DOMESTIC PROBLEMS—continued			
59. Do you favor an increase in the salaries of all Federal employees, including postal employees, to bring them more in line with the rise in the cost of living?	70	22	8
60. Do you favor an increase in congressional and judicial salaries as recommended by the Commission which was set up to study this problem?	47	42	11
61. Do you favor an increase in congressional and judicial salaries but for a lesser amount than that which was recommended by the Commission?	44	35	21
62. Do you favor an increase in pay for members of the Armed Forces?	42	43	15
63. Do you think that our civil-service laws should be strengthened in order to provide more protection and security for career Government employees?	68	22	10
64. Do you think that policy-making positions in the Government should be under civil service?	22	64	14
65. Do you favor amendment of the Hatch Act to permit greater political activity on the part of the Federal employee?	37	51	12
66. Do you favor repeal of the Whitten amendment which limits promotions and permanent appointments of Federal employees?	58	18	24
67. Do you favor placing the Federal employee under social security?	35	47	18
68. Do you feel that the reduction in force of 191,000 Federal employees during the past year was necessary?	68	16	16
69. Do you feel that 18-year-old people should be permitted to vote?	43	51	6
LOCAL PROBLEMS			
70. Do you favor my proposal for a thorough study by a Presidential Commission of competent planners of our bridge, traffic, and transportation problems? (Such a Commission would also coordinate the activities of all the jurisdictions concerned.)	90	3	7
71. Do you think the Federal Government should pay a stipulated sum of money in lieu of taxes to the communities in our district for the property they own in our district, as I have proposed?	76	11	13
72. Should the Soldiers, Sailors, Civil Relief Act which exempts military personnel from the payment of local personal property and other taxes be amended as I suggested?	62	18	20
73. Should the Federal Government contribute more for the education in our public schools of temporary residents in our district?	66	19	15
74. Are you in favor of the construction of an airport at Burke in Fairfax County?	28	39	33
75. Do you feel that we should attempt to restore as much Federal property as possible to our local tax rolls and discourage further expansion of the Federal Government in our district?	51	29	20
76. Do you feel that privately owned water companies in our district where there is a shortage of water should be permitted to obtain water from the District of Columbia Reservoir over the opposition of the local governments concerned or without their cooperation?	25	37	38
77. In the event that the construction of only 1 additional bridge across the Potomac River is authorized which location would you prefer? (Indicate by figure "1" first choice and "2" second choice)			

	First choice	Second choice
(a) Jones Point (at Hunting Creek just south of Alexandria business section)	4	12
(b) Roaches Run (just south of 14th St. Bridge)	14	26
(c) Roosevelt Island (E St. between Memorial and Key Bridges)	26	13
(d) Three Sisters (just north of Key Bridge)	3	9
(e) Nebraska Ave. (halfway between Key and Chain Bridges)	5	8
(f) Cabin John (north of Chain Bridge)	2	5
No opinion	6	27
Total	100	100

What Our Bill of Rights Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, recently I had the pleasure of attending the annual banquet honoring the 12th annual 4-H Club radio and public-speaking contest sponsored by the Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service and the Minnesota Jewish Council. It was my privilege to listen to the addresses of Don Gustafson, speaking champion, and Miss Rhoda Senechel, reserve champion.

These splendid addresses were on the subject, What Our Bill of Rights Means to Me. They represent not only clarity of thought, maturity of judgment, but also splendid presentation.

I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the Appendix of the RECORD the addresses by Miss Senechel and Mr. Gustafson.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT OUR BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME

(By Don Gustafson, St. Peter, champion)

In a few days I shall be down at our county courthouse completing an application for a passport. One of the things which I shall have to do is take an official oath of allegiance. I must promise to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to support and defend it against all enemies. Never before have I been asked officially to pledge my allegiance, and I've been wondering if I would be willing to do it if it were not a passport requirement. In fact, I've been wondering what the Constitution of my country does mean to me. And so, the other evening I picked up a copy of the Constitution and glanced over it. Most of it was concerned with the organization and operation of our Government. Then I came to the amendments which had been added—to the Bill of Rights. And as I read these first 10 amendments, I realized that this is what makes our Constitution both great and famous.

I sat and thought about our rights of jury trial, freedom from unreasonable searches, and our freedoms of speech and religion, but what really impressed me, was not the greatness of these, but rather, the two basic underlying rights which, though not directly stated, yet are expressed and guaranteed by these amendments.

The first is that each person has the right to be an individual. We're so used to making our own choices and decisions that it's difficult to imagine living without this privilege—as many people do, for there are places in which it is dangerous to be different. We call such areas totalitarian states, for there is only one accepted standard of behavior, one faith, one opinion—for everyone. In such states, individuals do not exist. Each person is simply a cog in a machine, and individually is as meaningless and as useless as a single bolt or washer apart from its machine.

Some people would like to have America become like that—they say we would be stronger and more productive. But to such ideas, our Bill of Rights says an emphatic "No," for it pictures each person, not as a part in a machine, but as a flower in a garden. Each individual is like a flower in that while it adds to its surroundings, yet it is meaningful and valuable in itself, possessing a spark of the divine. And so, each person is given the legal right to do and to think as he pleases, as long as he does not destroy the rights and liberties of others. Each of us has that right, simply because we are individuals. So I can walk down any street, step into any church, and talk to anyone about anything without worrying that I may be suspect in the eyes of the local government or police because I'm different from others on that street.

This right of you to be yourself and of me to be myself is guaranteed by the first amendment. But the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth amendments add something more to this principle—for these insist that even a person suspected of crimes has certain rights and privileges, just because he is an individual human being.

That night as I read the amendments, I smiled at the third, which stated that soldiers would not be quartered in private homes without the owner's consent. It seemed out of date. Then I read the fourth, which promised people security in their homes against unreasonable searches and seizures—and, suddenly, I understood. For not only does the Bill of Rights insist that I as an individual am sacred, it also says that my home is sacred. No one, not even the Government, has the right to break into or search it without proper papers. Thus my home is my castle in which I have security. Anne Franck, the little European who has become famous through her diary, never experienced this security. She says that under Nazi occupation, she and her family hid in the back rooms of a warehouse which they called home, constantly in fear that a knock on the door would bring their doom. Their home was not their castle, for to their government, their home was not sacred ground. Anne's diary suddenly stops, but everyone knows the ending. In America we don't have such endings, nor such fears, for our Government recognizes that as individuals we are sacred, and that our individual homes as such are sacred also.

As I closed the book which contained the Constitution with the Bill of Rights, I had a warm feeling all over—as I realized again how lucky I am to be an American. But when I take that oath of allegiance, I will promise not only to have faith in the Constitution, but also to defend it. Right now, I know of two major ways in which I can do this.

First: I must carefully watch and vigorously oppose all those people and ideas which tend to destroy or limit our individuality and the sacredness of our homes. To me, such things as book burning and wholesale accusations, prejudice, and political censorship are in this dangerous category. On the other hand, I must do my utmost to support my church, my 4-H Club, my school, and other organizations and programs which strengthen and preserve these rights.

Second: To defend these rights, I must be a good representative of America when abroad this summer. This means being a courteous traveler, but more important, it means being a living example of America and its ideals in all the countries I visit, from France to Egypt to India. For wherever there are people who oppose or do not accept or understand these rights—there is a danger area which we must not overlook.

You know, I'm looking forward to taking that oath of allegiance, for I won't be volunteering to do something extra. Rather, I'll be officially promising support which I've been trying to give for a long time. Only, it will be a deeper and broader support, for now, I realize more fully than before, what the Bill of Rights does mean to me.

WHAT OUR BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME

(By Rhoda Senechal, Sabin, Clay County reserve champion, 1954)

Come with me for a few moments, won't you? Let me take your imagination by the hand and show you three scenes. Three not very pretty scenes; but ones that to me are very important.

Picture first Mr. Brown, sitting alone in a small room scanning the main points of his carefully prepared talk, The Racial Question. A talk which he has composed for presentation on a lecture tour of southern towns and cities.

The jangle of a telephone breaks through, and he lifts the receiver to his ear.

"Mr. Brown? I'm Mr. Marres of Whiteville," a voice says hurriedly, "I'm terribly sorry to tell you this, but your speaking engagement in our town is quite out of the question, as a result of an unexpected need for the city's auditorium on the night you had scheduled."

"What about schools and churches?"

"Well, no, I'm sorry really, I have checked, but it seems that all of the available space is being used. No, I wouldn't bother about looking for a later date, I believe that we shall be tied up for quite some time. I'm sure you understand."

Mr. Brown understands.

He glances over at his list of towns. Heavy black pencilings mar the list. He slowly adds yet another black pencil mark by crossing out Whiteville, United States of America. It, too, had now joined the ranks of cities that had so nicely informed him that he would be unable to speak.

Next morning, the Whiteville paper carried a small news item. "Negro speaker, John Brown, cancels lecture engagement."

Come with me to the next scene:

The sky above Middleburg City glows fiery red, and the excited shouts of men and women rise above the crackle of flames that leap and dance in the center of the city square.

Mrs. Jones stands righteously to one side of the crowd, smugly watching at last the culmination of her month-long drive.

There, before her, gradually turning to ashes, lie hundreds and hundreds of nasty, horrible books. Books torn from the shelves of every public library in the city, by her and her committee.

Oh, yes. Mrs. Jones and her self-appointed Peace Through Censorship Committee, have done their job very well. After a tremendous public-spirited drive, all of the books labeled "Red" or "Communist" or "subversive" by Mrs. Jones and her committee, now lie burning—twisting and curling and turning gray in mute protest against the martyrlike face of Mrs. Jones.

Let's look at scene three:

An imposing array of silent men sit facing two white-faced women.

After several minutes, one of the men shrugs impatiently and frowns.

"Come now," he says briskly, "don't you really think that you're making too much of an issue out of this loyalty oath? After all, what's wrong with signing an oath declaring that you are a loyal American citizen? All the other teachers have signed it. There's no reason for you two to hold out."

Neither of the two move or speak.

"All right then," he says. "If that's the way you want it, let's put it this way. This is your last chance to sign, and if you choose to refuse, I am afraid that you leave me no alternative other than to demand your resignation."

The two teachers stand silently for a moment. Then, they turn and walk quickly from the room.

Three scenes. Three scenes, not taken from a Communist-controlled country, not lifted from the old Hitler regime of thought control, but three scenes taken from actual happenings here in our own United States.

Our United States, which claims as a basis for its peoples' Government, a document known as the Bill of Rights, which states among many other liberties, that everyone of us has the right to freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of belief.

What does the Bill of Rights mean to me? I see in my mind its neat black words arranged in neat black sentences, and then my eyes and mind go back to the three scenes. Where here in our own United States, freedom of speech is being denied a Negro on pretext of no room for his lecture; where freedom of the press is being destroyed by an overzealous, supposedly righteous censorship committee; where freedom to believe as you please without being challenged to state your belief is being destroyed by mass use of this thing called loyalty oath.

Men drew up the Bill of Rights. Men with foresight, understanding, and a dream. A dream of a world where human beings would live by the principles they had set up. A world where equality and justice and freedom would be not just a dream, but a way of life.

Have we lost even that dream?

I don't think so. Not so long as people like me can speak as I feel about a Bill of Rights, not so long as men and women can see and do something about people who violate our rules of decency and fair play, not so long as we as a free people possess a mind that can think, a heart that can feel, and a soul that can dream.

The Bill of Rights to me is like a magnificent musical instrument. Placed in the hands of those who feel, think, and act contrary to the soul of the instrument, it can produce only discord. But placed in the hands of those who truly seek its meaning and play it to the utmost degree, it can produce a magnificent harmony never before dreamed of.

The Bill of Rights. To me it means absolutely nothing. Nothing. Unless we as a country, we as a nation, we as an individual can see it as the wonderful instrument that it is. An instrument able to bring peace and freedom and harmony if ever at all, each one of us, will use it as it was meant to be used. For the establishment of a nation built on freedom, justice, and equality.

Then to me the Bill of Rights will mean a truly glorious dream. A dream of democracy and brotherhood.

A dream—come true.

Story of a Wildcatter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, one of the least-told but most dramatic stories in our country is that of the wildcatter—the man who literally bets all of his prospects in life on the chance that he will find oil. The wildcatter is a strange breed, a rare combination of courage, determination and willingness to run risks at incredible odds. He is also indispensable to this country's future. There are few things more important to our Nation than oil and nothing that has meant so much to the growth of the oil industry as the wildcatter.

Recently the Houston Post carried the story of Jack Frazier—one of the most respected wildcatters in the business. It is a story which should be studied by all who have the responsibility of writing legislation that will affect the oil industry.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TALES OF THE OIL COUNTRY—MYKAWA MAY END 15-YEAR RUN OF FRAZIER BAD LUCK

(By James A. Clark)

Things were humming last week around the offices of Jack W. Frazier on the third floor of the Mellie Esperson Building. The telephones seemed to have a merry jingle and friends were dropping in with congratulations and best wishes.

It was just like old times to Mr. Frazier. Very old times, that is. In fact, it has been 1939 since he has had any occasion to be happy, to hear a merry jingle in a telephone, or to accept congratulations.

Last week Mr. Frazier made a drill-stem test in his Minnetex No. 2-A at Mykawa. The oil pages have told of the details. It looks like he has found the needle everyone has been searching for for more than a quarter of a century out there on the north banks of Clear Creek in the southern edge of Harris County. The reports say that Mr. Frazier's well has 130 feet of effective oil sand. The test was made in a 50-foot section. There is another similar section above that, and then there are stringers totaling 30 feet above that.

So things are very cheerful around the Frazier office. But it has been a long, long time.

In 1939 Mr. Frazier discovered the Hardin field. In 1939 he brought in Eureka. And in 1939 he found Dyersdale. These were the most important discoveries he made. Others include Southwest Clodine, the Pottsboro gas field, the Columbus gas field, and scattered small fields in Goliad, Lavaca, and Fort Bend Counties. By the end of 1939 Mr. Frazier was considered by many around here to be the genuine king of the wildcatters and the man most likely to be seen driving a different Cadillac every day in the week.

But the gods of fate intervened. Dyersdale—1939—is the last time Mr. Frazier has brought in a commercial oil well. That's 15 years of drouth. Those 15 years have been the very lean ones.

There is an amazing, incredible story about Mr. Frazier. It covers a period of 10 years, from January 1, 1940, to January 1, 1950. Mrs. Bernice Collis, who has been Mr. Frazier's right hand for at least 20 years, has the records in black and white. She started the record right after Mr. Frazier brought in Dyersdale. She thought it would be something to be proud of. She stopped it at the end of 1950. That was when the would-be king of the wildcatters was $1 million in debt. It was time to stop.

But the record tells a strange story. It tells of a man who drilled 200 wildcats in 10 years and made 12 oil or gas discoveries. The discoveries were good enough to set pipe on, build storage and turn into the tanks. But the unbelievable part of it is that not one of the 12 discoveries represented a profitable investment.

In fact, the least Mr. Frazier lost on any was $4,000. His net loss in the 12 discoveries alone (not counting the 188 dry holes) was $287,011.13. It is a story of hope, heartbreak, and financial disaster. It is an object lesson to anyone who thinks that having an oil well or making a discovery automatically makes the discoverer a millionaire.

How, you are entitled to ask, could Mr. Frazier afford such losses? He simply spent some $30,000 to $40,000 a month income from his good pre-1940 successes and he gives credit to the majors and some independents for co-operation. Of course, he could have stopped. The reason he didn't is something the gentlemen in Washington must study to understand why a percentage depletion allowance is necessary.

Mr. Frazier not only lost his $287,000 in the 10-year period. He also lost almost $2 million on other dry holes. But they were not discoveries.

What Mr. Frazier went through would have broken most men. Not simply financially; it would have broken them spiritually, mentally, and physically. But Mr. Frazier has been able to smile through it all.

He even laughs today about a well he drilled in Brazoria County. He calls it the Hurlock well. When it came in it cleaned out perfectly, built up pressure to 6,575 pounds in 4 hours and started making pipeline oil, with no water and no gas, at the rate of 35 barrels an hour through a quarter-inch choke. Ask any oilman what that means. It means the bonanza every wildcatter is looking for.

But (and Mr. Frazier actually laughs as he tells it) the well started giving trouble. The tubing would fill with formation and choke off the flow. The casing parted due to the high pressure. He sidetracked, and then sidetracked the sidetrack. Everything happened. Finally the Humble Oil & Refining Co. came to his aid and took half interest. For 1 solid year Mr. Frazier wrestled with that well. Nothing he could do would make it work.

Two more wells were drilled nearby and never was another drop of oil found. The oil they had produced cost $1,000 a barrel.

"What would you do with a well like that?" Mr. Frazier asks. "You can't go off and leave it. Those things kill you."

Rena Adams, the other and final member of the Jack Frazier staff, has a small vial of black 33.6 gravity crude oil which she keeps to remember the Hurlock. Mr. Frazier needs nothing like that to help him remember. In fact, the very sight of the vial is revolting to him.

At Louise he had a discovery that looked so good he went out and spent $34,000 on a pipeline to carry gas to a trunkline. In fact, it looked so good at Louise that Mrs. Collis actually bought a lease herself. The well went pfft.

Now Mr. Frazier is not merely an oilman. He is a contributor to the lexicon of petroleana. He calls his 12 discovery wells "stinkers." Now that isn't an unusual word. But if you will treat yourself to the privilege of hearing Mr. Frazier say it when he refers to his 1 dozen dry discoveries you will get a new appreciation for the word.

You might want to call Truman or McCarthy or Drew Pearson or Westbrook Pegler or somebody like that a stinker. But you will never be able to give the word the true personality Mr. Frazier gives it when referring to a discovery that goes flat.

Jack Frazier is no newcomer to the oil industry. Back in 1919 he got started in Breckenridge. He bought a set of cable tools and got into the oil business. It didn't take him long to see the error of his ways. Then he started promoting. Promoting in the oil vernacular is a most honorable and necessary profession.

He worked through the boom days and landed in Houston in the thirties. That is when it seemed that his ship had pulled into port. Five great big fat years from 1935 to 1940. Then, boom, the 15-year parade of stinkers started.

Now things look different. Mr. Frazier's Minnetex 2–A at Mykawa could be the start of a new and better cycle. He drilled three dry holes at Mykawa before finding oil. The determination of a guy like that is amazing. He did his job at Mykawa straight up. No one is contributing or helping. Gulf gave him a farm out south of the Minnetex well and he took a lease from H. C. Cockburn and others for the drill site. He has 523 acres in a block.

The drill site has an interesting history. It was first leased in June of 1928. One small well on a 2-acre tract that continues to flow about 9 barrels of oil a day has held the lease intact. Mr. Frazier gave Cockburn and the other leaseholders one-eighth of seven-eighths for the sublease.

He thinks Mykawa can be another Manvel or Goose Creek and produce from 100 to 200 million barrels of oil. So far the vast deep-seated salt dome has given up only 6 million barrels of oil in 25 years. The present production is around 90 barrels a day.

But Mr. Frazier thinks the Minnetex 2–A is just what Mykawa has been looking for. He knews it is what he has been looking for. He say the Frio was laid down over the field before the large dome started pushing up. That makes for perfect geological timing and the possibility of great sands, he says.

The oilmen around town believe Mr. Frazier really has it this time.

But if you really want to ruin his day ask him if there is any possibility that the Minnetex 2–A could turn out to be stinker No. 13.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I was very much interested in what the minority leader had to say about the wildcatter in the oil business. There have been some very famous men in that line of business. As we know, it all started in my own State of Pennsylvania. It may be of interest to the distinguished minority leader, who comes from the great State of Texas, to know that the first well was only 67 feet deep, and took a great deal of work to complete it. We have preserved that well, and we now have at Titusville, Pa., a museum which contains a great many of the old tools used in the business. Many oil men from all over our country come there quite frequently to visit the museum. It is a most interesting and fascinating subject.

It is probable that the discovery of oil has had a greater effect on the world than anything else that has been accomplished thus far, unless it is atomic energy.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania for his informative comment. He has made great contributions to the development of the oil industry.

We often read in newspapers and hear public speeches made about the millionaires that the oil industry has developed. However, for every millionaire in the business there are thousands of paupers. The wildcatter has done more to make America self-sufficient in the field of petroleum than any other part of the industry.

I hope every Member of the Senate will read the very thrilling story of the life of Jack Frazier.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I do not like to take too much time. However, it would be most interesting, I am sure, to the Senate to know that Colonel Drake, the man who completed the first oil well in the world, died practically a pauper. He was never able to gain very much from his great discovery.

House Seen Regaining Stature as Training Ground

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRACIE PFOST
OF IDAHO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mrs. PFOST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert the following article by Joseph F. McCaffrey, which appeared in the Washington Star and which presents some interesting observations and statistics on the value of the House of Representatives as a training ground for higher office:

HOUSE SEEN REGAINING STATURE AS TRAINING GROUND

(By Joseph F. McCaffrey)

Nine present Members of the House of Representatives have announced for the United States Senate and a 10th Member is a receptive candidate for governor. Thus the House, once the training ground of Presidents, is beginning to regain its stature as the Nation's political seedbed.

The latest to announce his intention of moving over to the north side of Capitol Hill is Representative CHARLES R. HOWELL, who will be the New Jersey Democratic candidate for the Senate to oppose former Representative Clifford Case, the Republican candidate.

With more than 4 months to go before all filing dates are closed, a few more House Members may decide to trade the hardship of running every 2 years for the luxury of only having to go before the people every sixth year.

Others who hope to join the graduates already in the Senate are: Herbert B. Warburton, Delaware Republican, who would oppose incumbent Democrat J. Allen Frear, Jr.; Thomas E. Martin, Republican, who seeks Democrat Guy Gillette's seat in Iowa; Wesley A. D'Ewart, who will be the Republican candidate against incumbent Democrat James E. Murray in Montana; Norris Cotton, who must win over two primary opponents to gain the coveted New Hampshire Republican nomination to fill the unexpired term of the late Charles W. Tobey; Ohio's George H. Bender, a seven-term veteran, the Republican choice to unseat appointed Senator Thomas A. Burke from the remaining 2 years of the

term of the late Robert A. Taft, and Samuel W. Yorty, the choice of the California Democrats to oppose appointed Senator Thomas H. Kuchel for the 2 years left in the senatorial term of Vice President Nixon.

DEMOCRATS VERSUS DEMOCRATS

There are two Democratic Members trying to unseat fellow party members in primaries. LAURIE BATTLE is going into the May 4 primary in Alabama against Senator JOHN J. SPARKMAN, while PAT SUTTON is taking on Senator ESTES KEFAUVER in Tennessee's August 5 primary.

The House Members who may run for governor is Connecticut's Thomas J. Dodd, Hartford Democrat, who would oppose Republican incumbent John Lodge, another former Member of the House. And in Massachusetts a former Representative, Foster Furcolo (now State treasurer), will be the Democratic candidate opposing Republican Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

The value of the House as a training ground for higher office is summed up best, perhaps, by J. Caleb Boggs, who went directly to the Delaware Governor's mansion from the House. Said Governor Boggs, "Politics is really the art of successful, honorable compromise and there is no better place to learn this than with the 434 other Representatives who represent every segment of a greatly diverse country."

THIRTY-ONE ALUMNI IN SENATE

Every election year more and more Senators move up from the House. There are 31 now:

Democrats ANDERSON and CHAVEZ of New Mexico, CLEMENTS of Kentucky, FULBRIGHT of Arkansas, GILLETTE of Iowa, GORE of Tennessee, HAYDEN of Arizona, HENNINGS of Missouri, HILL of Alabama, HOEY of North Carolina, JACKSON of Washington, JOHNSON of Texas, KEFAUVER of Tennessee, KENNEDY of Massachusetts, MCCLELLAN of Arkansas, MAGNUSON of Washington, MANSFIELD of Montana, MONRONEY of Oklahoma, NEELY of West Virginia, ROBERTSON of Virginia, SMATHERS of Florida, and SPARKMAN of Alabama.

Republicans BARRETT of Wyoming, BEALL of Maryland, CARLSON of Kansas, CASE of South Dakota, DIRKSEN of Illinois, DWORSHAK of Idaho, MUNDT of South Dakota, POTTER of Michigan, and SMITH of Maine.

The gubernatorial alumni are Republicans Stratton, of Illinois; Herter, of Massachusetts; Boggs, of Delaware; Lodge, of Connecticut; Umstead, of North Carolina; and Byrnes, of South Carolina. Governor Byrnes, incidentally, went from the House, to the Senate, to the Supreme Court, to the White House (as "assistant president"), to the State Department before moving on to the statehouse in Columbia.

Mayors of 2 of the Nation's 6 largest cities are former House Members: Thomas D'Alesandro, Democrat, of Baltimore, and Norris Poulson, Republican, of Los Angeles.

Of the 33 men who have held the presidency, 13 were Members of the House. One other, John Quincy Adams, entered the House after serving as President. The first former House Member to serve as President was James Madison and the last was William McKinley. Not since 1901 has a former House Member sat in the White House, yet during the first 80 years under the present Constitution more than half, 13 out of 25, of our Presidents were House "graduates."

THE GLORY DAYS

Back in the 23d Congress, from 1833 to 1835, there were three future Presidents in the House: James K. Polk, Millard Fillmore, and Franklin Pierce.

A few years later, in 1847, two men sat on opposite sides of the aisle who were destined to become Presidents: Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

The famed 39th War Congress of 1865 saw two men sitting together in the Ohio delegation who were later to serve as Presidents: Rutherford B. Hayes, and James A. Garfield.

But even during the glory days of the House of Representatives as the birthday place of political greatness, one man could never rise above the Speaker's chair. Henry Clay made effort after effort to leave the House for the presidency. In fact, the House held such promise of advancement in those days that Clay gave up his Senate seat to seek and win election to the House.

Recently, however, no one in the Senate has come to think so much of the House as to go to that extreme.

Indebtedness of Italy to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am herewith inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an itemized report on the indebtedness of Italy to the United States, prepared for me by the Library of Congress:

What Italy owes the United States

World War I indebtedness (as of July 1, 1953):	
Principal	$1,618,400,000.00
Due and unpaid	386,500,000.00
Interest	102,112,659.34
Total	2,107,012,659.34
Repayments:	
Principal, funded debts	37,100,000.00
Principal, unfunded debts	364,319.28
Interest, funded debts	5,766,708.26
Interest, unfunded debts	57,598,852.62
Total	100,829,880.16
Indebtedness	2,107,012,659.34
Repayments	100,829,880.16
Balance	2,006,182,779.18
Lend-lease aid (cumulatively, Mar. 11, 1941–Mar. 31, 1951): [1]	
Tanks and vehicles	1,811,662.37
Vessels and other watercraft	51,200,389.05
Miscellaneous military equipment	182,038.75
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	132,510,223.06
Services and expenses	667,365.64
Total	186,371,678.87
Foreign grants and credits (period July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1953):	
Grants: [2]	
American Red Cross	3,183,000.00
Army (civilian supplies)	410,107,000.00
Interim aid	176,006,000.00

[1] No reverse lend-lease aid was received from Italy.

[2] No payments requested on grants.

Foreign grants, etc.—Con.	
Mutual security:	
Economic assistance	$1,326,325,000.00
Military aid	18,745,000.00
Technical assistance	1,170,000.00
UNRRA	416,769,000.00
Post-UNRRA	117,414,000.00
Treasury (civilian goods)	134,487,000.00
Total	2,604,205,000.00

Credits	Net authorizations	Balances owing
Export-Import Bank loans	$147,865,000	$32,210,000
Defense materials procurement	3,342,000	2,912,000
Mutual Security loans	95,600,000	95,600,000
Maritime Administration (ships)	65,222,000	40,435,000
Surplus property	144,072,000	123,673,000
Total	456,101,000	314,829,000
Balance outstanding on July 1, 1953	$314,829,000.00	
Principal repaid by July 1, 1953	141,272,000.00	
Total loans and credits	456,101,000.00	

Recapitulation (status as of July 1, 1953):	
World War I aid	$2,006,182,779.18
Lend-lease	186,371,678.87
Grants	2,604,205,000.00
Loans	314,829,000.00
Total	5,111,588,458.05

Results of a Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I am including in the RECORD today the interesting results of a poll recently taken in my district:

A cross-section of residents living in the Seventh Congressional District took swift advantage of Congressman WILLIAM B. WIDNALL's recent questionnaire covering 17 pertinent questions under consideration by the Congress and President Eisenhower.

The 4,000 or more who returned the questionnaires to Congressman WIDNALL declared themselves in favor of continued foreign military and economic aid, increasing postal rates to balance the postal budget, and continuing reciprocal trade laws.

Universal military training was approved by more than 3 to 1. Congressman WIDNALL pointed out that a breakdown of the figures showed the women's vote on this issue almost as affirmative as that of the men.

Any tax cut before the Federal budget is balanced was protested by more than 2 to 1. A proposal to amend the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act to provide for more liberal immigration into the United States was disapproved by 2½ to 1. Senator BRICKER's constitutional amendment voiding treaties which abridge or deny any constitutional rights of American citizens was rejected by a very small margin.

A large majority of the voters told Congressman WIDNALL they did not want the Taft-Hartley labor law repealed. By 2 to 1 those answering said they were against any changes providing more rights for the work-

ers, and only a margin of 4 votes decided against changes in the act giving more rights to employers.

Senator McCARTHY's investigations were endorsed by 2½ to 1, but an increasingly large number of questionnaires received during the past few weeks contained marginal comments showing growing disapproval of the Senator's methods.

The questionnaires called for the broadening of social security to include groups not now covered; objected to decreasing the social-security rate of payment from 2 to 1½ percent; and favored the United States sharing the cost of the construction of the St. Lawrence Waterway with Canada.

Statehood for Hawaii was favored by more than 4 to 1 and the question of suffrage and home rule for the District of Columbia was approved by a significant 5 to 1 vote. A proposal to lower the voting age limit to 18 years was disapproved by a small margin and Federal reinsurance to assist in paying unusually large medical bills was approved by a similar figure.

A considerable number of persons confessed to no opinion or insufficient knowledge of several specific questions. Highest number of no-opinion answers were discovered on the questions of whether employers should be given greater rights under the Taft-Hartley law and whether or not postal rates should be increased to help balance the postal budget. Others expressed some confusion on the questions of reciprocal trade, foreign economic and military aid and medical reinsurance.

A high percentage of the constituents returning the more than 4,000 questionnaires received by Congressman WIDNALL took the additional trouble to write in additional comments or to enclose explanatory letters. "I have read every comment," Congressman WIDNALL said, "and have found them of considerable interest and assistance to me."

The total yes-and-no vote on these questions throughout the seventh district and for this county follows:

1. Should social security be broadened to include groups not now covered? Yes, 2,053; no, 510.

2. Do you favor decreasing the social-security rate-of-pay deductions from 2 percent to 1½ percent? Yes, 1,297; no, 1,987.

3. Do you favor the United States sharing the cost of construction of the St. Lawrence waterway with Canada? (Canada has offered to build this alone.) Yes, 2,840; no, 959.

4. Do you feel that the Taft-Hartley law—

(a) Should be repealed? Yes, 815; no, 2,238.

(b) Should be changed giving greater rights to workers? Yes, 724; no, 1,415.

(c) Should be changed giving greater rights to employers? Yes, 1,111; no, 1,114.

5. Do you favor increased postal rates to balance the Post Office budget? Yes, 2,416; no, 1,054.

6. Do you believe the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act should be amended to provide for more liberal admission of immigrants into the United States? Yes, 905; no, 2,474.

7. Do you favor Senator BRICKER's proposed constitutional amendment voiding treaties which deny or abridge any constitutional rights of American citizens? Yes, 1,464; no, 1,685.

8. Do you believe we should cut taxes first and balance the budget later? Yes, 1,085; no, 2,266.

9. Do you favor Senator McCARTHY's investigations of subversive influences both in and out of Government? Yes, 2,564; no, 903.

10. Are you in favor of universal military training? Yes, 2,578; no, 819.

11. Do you believe that the reciprocal trade laws should be continued to assist in our foreign trade? Yes, 2,912; no, 309.

12. Do you favor continued foreign economic aid? Yes, 1,624; no, 1,593.

13. Do you favor continued foreign military aid? Yes, 1,911; no, 1,280.

14. Do you favor a program of reinsurance to assist in paying unusually large medical bills? Yes, 1,771; no, 1,309.

15. Do you favor statehood for Hawaii? Yes, 2,657; no, 638.

16. Do you favor suffrage and home rule for the voteless District of Columbia? Yes, 2,628; no, 537.

17. Do you favor a constitutional amendment permitting citizens of the United States to vote upon attaining the age of 18? Yes, 1,563; no, 1,883.

Can We Enter the Indochina War and Still Preserve Our Principles of Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. USHER L. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, while we should not have interfered in the Korean war without a Declaration of War by Congress, there was some semblance of justice in our move. We sought to protect the people of South Korea who had struggled for freedom and were threatened with loss of whatever they had won in this battle for freedom.

In the Indochina situation, however, there is no justification, legal or moral, for entering that contest. To enter a conflict where the people are struggling for independence from a colonial system that has kept them from gaining independence and liberty, and which has held their natural resources open for colonial exploitation, is no part of our business.

Does anyone contend that the people of Indochina have not the right to gain their independence? Suppose that doctrine had been directed against us in the uprising against the British in 1776. What would we have thought if some great power had stepped in against us? What would we have thought if by the influence of such a power we had lost the War for Independence?

I have been led to believe that all our intervention and embroilment in foreign countries was being done in the interest of the free world. Will we be contributing to a free world if we send our troops to Indochina to fight against those who are there struggling for freedom?

Our intervention in the Indochina war is just what the Communists want. It will be a demonstration that the United States, while proclaiming that our efforts are being directed to aid a free world, as a matter of fact is doing just the opposite—fighting against the people who are struggling for liberty. This gives the Communist world an opportunity to prove just what they have been saying right along—that the United States is an imperialistic government, and not much concerned with liberty.

If we have the power to interfere in a country where the inhabitants are struggling against a colonial dictatorship, we have the power to speak up and tell the Government of France to give liberty to the people of Indochina and get out of that country and stay out. Roosevelt took this same course against the British Empire when India gained her freedom, and are we less virile today than we were in Roosevelt's day? Are we still running a Government based on life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or have we deserted our great principles and gone over to the imperialists of the earth?

If the colonial empires with their heads in Europe, would get out of foreign nations and let the people there determine their own government, peace in this world might be brought about. What right did England have to perpetuate her colonial empire in India and exploit the natural resources of that great country? What right has France to perpetuate her colonial empire in Indochina? The answers is—no right, except the power to do it.

We seem so scared that communism will spread. Well, it certainly will if we try to bolster up decaying colonial empires. In justice to the loyal American people who believe in their institutions and traditions of freedom, this Government ought to direct the power of this great Nation against the forces denying freedom, and in support of the cause of freedom that has in 160 years made this the strongest Government on earth. We should associate with no Government that denies freedom to its own people; we should associate with no Government that insists on maintaining a colonial empire, where the people, by reason of force, are denied the same great principles that are the cornerstone of our own development—life, liberty, and the happiness of the people.

I say to the administration, "Go slow on any inclination to enter the Indochina war."

Internal Revenue Collections and Disbursements by States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, the table which I herewith include as part of my remarks is extremely interesting as it reveals the comparison between collections by Federal Internal Revenue from the individual States and the moneys returned to each as grants-in-aid and payments to individuals within each State.

It is particularly interesting to citizens of New Jersey to note that the internal-revenue collections in 1953 in the State of New Jersey amounted to $2,023,700,986 and the Federal grants-in-aid, of one kind and another, and payments to individuals within the State amounted to only $65,232,559, or 3.22 percent of the collections. There were only 6 States with a less percentage of return. By way of contrast there were several States

that received more than 40 percent return and in one instance over 50 percent.

The article to which I have referred was prepared by Paul O. Peters, editor of News Bulletin, published at Washington, D. C. It reads as follows:

Federal internal-revenue collections for the fiscal year 1953, by States, compared with reported grants-in-aid to State and local governments, and Federal-aid payments direct to individuals within the States other than loans

State	Internal revenue collection 1953	Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals	Percent of collection
Alabama	$398,572,462	$95,111,909	23.86
Arizona	165,840,607	31,984,728	19.29
Arkansas	162,118,030	72,007,475	44.78
California	5,287,729,417	339,650,484	6.42
Colorado	681,289,581	70,895,930	10.41
Connecticut	1,228,088,551	32,353,562	2.63
Delaware	845,322,825	7,589,011	.89
Florida	657,863,268	86,973,619	13.22
Georgia	708,213,686	123,157,790	17.39
Idaho	117,604,461	20,022,780	28.53
Illinois	5,878,353,501	168,272,713	2.86
Indiana	1,630,727,456	74,671,797	4.57
Iowa	536,325,871	74,603,240	13.91
Kansas	534,957,361	64,592,242	12.07
Kentucky	1,314,056,491	76,330,677	5.81
Louisiana	540,751,062	137,479,083	25.42
Maine	177,777,857	21,967,614	12.30
Maryland [1]	1,941,422,478	106,452,630	5.43
Massachusetts	1,913,610,801	110,029,561	5.71
Michigan	5,670,122,580	130,290,129	2.29
Minnesota	1,040,300,944	85,166,048	8.19
Mississippi	142,325,453	71,604,720	50.31
Missouri	1,856,156,915	139,636,101	7.52
Montana	122,724,817	32,150,325	26.20
Nebraska	409,329,046	42,842,332	10.46
Nevada	79,262,324	13,163,653	16.61
New Hampshire	122,726,653	12,395,552	10.10
New Jersey	2,023,700,986	65,232,569	3.22
New Mexico	112,791,705	34,008,594	30.15
New York	12,996,197,025	286,076,374	2.20
North Carolina	1,611,536,349	94,716,720	5.88
North Dakota	71,401,340	30,871,714	43.24
Ohio	4,849,079,829	137,944,138	2.84
Oklahoma	656,009,053	103,313,662	15.75
Oregon	472,992,053	56,184,635	11.08
Pennsylvania	5,164,536,946	163,279,726	3.16
Rhode Island	298,664,677	18,892,333	6.32
South Carolina	266,782,452	64,347,578	24.12
South Dakota	76,804,968	31,235,606	40.67
Tennessee	520,956,821	95,531,067	18.33
Texas	2,272,857,627	227,999,606	10.03
Utah	152,390,785	32,518,286	21.34
Vermont	75,151,680	11,604,344	15.44
Virginia	1,124,430,915	65,059,459	5.80
Washington [2]	851,617,325	97,643,322	11.46
West Virginia	301,745,274	46,523,355	15.42
Wisconsin	1,407,264,417	76,596,571	5.44
Wyoming	63,790,618	23,464,184	36.78
Hawaii	136,318,686	26,718,876	19.60

[1] Report for Maryland includes revenue collections from Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.

[2] Report for Washington includes revenue collections from Alaska. Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals for 1953 in Alaska totaled $11,317,467.

Total collections cleared by collectors of internal revenue, fiscal 1953	$70,117,917,819
Total grants-in-aid to State and local units plus checks to individuals within the States, fiscal 1953	$4,053,941,794
Percent of revenue collections returned	5.78
Percent of national income collected, 1953	23.19

Percentage of grants-in-aid and payments to individuals for the last 4 years

	Collections	Returned	Percent
Fiscal year:			
1950	$38,957,131,768	$5,518,879,345	14.16
1951	51,487,378,963	4,850,097,620	9.42
1952	65,009,585,560	4,241,158,202	6.52
1953	70,117,917,819	4,053,941,794	5.78

Grants-in-aid and payments to individuals apparently are getting less and less each year, but our foreign-aid programs and military commitments are taking more and more of the tax revenues.

We hope the American people understand what is happening to their tax revenues.

An Appraisal of the Present Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by me this morning before the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

Officers and members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, after 15 months of the present administration we have an opportunity to appraise its accomplishments and failures.

In considering its record to date we must keep in mind that appropriation bills have to be passed by the Congress for the Government to function during a fiscal year.

What major legislation has this administration passed in carrying out its campaign promises. One of the few major bills is the offshore oil bill, which the great majority of our people opposed.

In the last session the only other real major bills of Republican origin were the extension of reciprocal trade agreements law for 1 year, and the weak bill to admit 214,000 refugees into the United States, and then only by Democratic votes. And what a price the administration had to pay to get the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee to report the bill extending the reciprocal trade agreements law out for action in the House.

1. An agreement by the Secretary of State that if passed for 1 year, no trade agreements would be negotiated or entered into during that period.

2. The appointment of two high-tariff Republican members to the Tariff Commission.

3. The changing since its inception of the Tariff Commission from a bipartisan to a partisan Commission. This was finally defeated, but only as a result of Democratic opposition.

4. The separation of the original Simpson bill and that its high tariff provisions and quotas and restrictions on international trade—which in some cases were higher and more restrictive than the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, and reporting it out of committee.

The passage of this bill would defeat the operation and purposes of the Hull reciprocal trade agreements law and again start among the free nations of the world the vicious and harmful trade barriers against proper international trade.

The House recommitted this bill—defeating it—but only by the votes of Democratic Members.

You are aware the President has recommended the adoption of the Randall report.

With the possible extension of the reciprocal trade agreements law during this Congress—and if it is done it will only be by Democratic votes—this report is now dead. Practically all of the Republican congressional members of the Randall Commission are opposed to its main recommendations. If an extension of the trade agreements law comes out of committee, and I will not be surprised if one does not, that will be the extent of action on the Randall report.

In this session of Congress the one major bill enacted into law to date is the bill relating to excise taxes. You will remember Congress ignored President Eisenhower's recommendations by taking action that will unbalance his budget further by $912 million.

Even at that, the position of the Democratic Party was adopted in the extension for 1 year of the temporary Korean conflict, taxes that expired on April 1 and the ultimate acceptance of the repeal of amusement taxes up to and including 50 cents, proposed in the House by a Democrat, but finally accepted in the conference report by the Republicans.

We witnessed last year the repeal of the low-cost public housing program.

We witnessed only a few weeks ago the repudiation by the House of President Eisenhower's recommendations in this field, with 150 or 75 percent of the Republicans voting against the very recommendations President Eisenhower made, and 124 Democrats or 68 percent of the Democratic Members supporting the President.

This is a significant vote showing the division among the Republican Members.

It happened a number of times last year. It will happen many times during the remainder of this session.

I do not look for the House to do much on progressive legislation. Whatever will be done will be as a result of Democratic votes.

For the majority of the Democrats are forward-looking.

A majority of the Republicans are backward-looking.

It must also be borne in mind that in the field of foreign affairs the strongest opposition to the President's recommendations comes from the Republican side.

During the last session the Democrats saved the President on more than one occasion.

For 95 percent of the Democrats are united on foreign affairs and for strong defense for our country and for our allies.

In the Republican Party there is a strong element in pivotal positions who are what are commonly referred to as isolationists.

And like past Democratic administrations, the present administration recognizes the dangers of isolationism.

I expect a hard fight to put through the President's recommendations on foreign aid, both the authorization act and the appropriations.

I have serious doubt if anything will take place on Taft-Hartley, and if so at least so far as the House is concerned, additional repressive and discriminatory provisions against labor will be attempted.

The Republicans are confused. I am sorry to say bitterness exists among them; strong isolationism exists among them, which is serious in the field of foreign affairs; the number of progressive-minded Members among them are few, which is of significance in the case of any progressive recommendations of the President being enacted into law; and the leadership is the same as during the 20 years of Democratic control when they were in the main opposition minded.

The President cannot rely on his leadership in the Senate. The voluntary programing of the Bricker amendment; the attack upon Secretary Dulles upon his return from Berlin; the attack on the order of President Eisenhower in the awarding of contracts in labor distress areas, are pointed evidence of this fact.

The House of Representatives leadership is the best support the President has on Capitol Hill. But even they will stray every once in a while as evidenced by their action on the recently enacted excise-tax bill, when by their action they unbalanced the President's budget by another 912 millions of dollars.

But I respect them for their intended and their general loyalty to their leader—the President of the United States. You will note I say "intended and general loyalty."

But the unfortunate position the House Republican leadership is in is that when they urge the passage of say progressive recommendations of the President, the Members know they consistently opposed them under the Democrats.

We Democrats are glad to see their temporary conversion based on their desire to be loyal to their leader, and we respect them for their loyalty, embarrassing as it is.

President Eisenhower may not appreciate it, but he is fortunate in having the same Democratic leadership today that Roosevelt and Truman had.

Stating a fact, and not boasting, we are affirmative minded—not opposition minded.

We know through years of experience the responsibilities of leadership in control of Government. I hope the Republicans will not strain our patience too much by attacks on patriotism, and by other fake statements and charges, the only result of which can be to bring disunity among our own people.

In passing, I might call to your attention that the strongest, and in some cases, most severe and unkind critics of Secretary Dulles, are Republicans.

I see plenty of evidence that the feuds, the bitterness, the division, that exists among the Republicans is about to burst into the open.

It is a much divided party.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party is united.

The votes on the wiretap bill and other bills in the House show that fact.

Fifteen months after the Republicans took over, and that is an appreciable period for a test and for objective evaluation, let us see what promises the Republicans made in their platform, made during the campaign, and in messages to Congress, they have not kept.

Need I argue too much about the promise of a balanced budget and greater defense. I doubt if we will have a balanced budget by the end of this administration.

That promise has not materialized.

Our present defense is the result of money recommended in the past by Democratic Presidents and passed by Democratic Congresses.

It takes from 3 to 7 or more years to build a plane.

Last year the Democrats fought for 143 air-wing groups, the Republicans for 120.

The Republicans won.

But President Eisenhower now recommends a 137 air-wing group. This is consistent with the Democratic position of last year.

I think the President is right this year.

But if he is right this year, he was wrong last year.

And he may be wrong this year in reducing the Army and the Navy.

If any of you gentlemen has the opportunity of questioning General Ridgway, I hope you will press him on whether or not the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended the reductions, or if the reductions in the Army and Navy, particularly the Army, were an imposed or mandated one.

Terrible as the atomic and hydrogen bombs are, it is most fortunate that our country possesses them. If the Soviet Union possessed them and we did not, the plight of America would be indescribable. The possession of these bombs are not only vital to our national defense, but may prove to be an important instrument for peace. And who was it that had the courage to order the experiments and the expenditures of money made that produced these bombs? In the case of the atomic bomb, it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In the case of the hydrogen bomb it was Harry S. Truman.

Do you remember the promise and slogan "The Great Crusade"? Do you remember in connection with this the additional related promises or slogans, "Massive Retaliation," the "New Look," also "United Action" in Indochina?

I assumed when Secretary Dulles made his United Action speech in New York, he had negotiated and arrived at agreements with our allies. He should have.

We now know by the way of London and Paris—he did not.

He is abroad now, as he said, on "a mission of peace through strength," which is the democratic policy, trying to repair the damage done.

I hope he does because it would be in the national interest of our country to have this done.

But he should have done this before he made his New York speech and not afterward.

And if he could not have made an agreement for united action he should not have made the speech.

The Communists cooing in Europe for peace, and engaging in war actions in Indochina and southeast Asia.

And Harold Stassen as a peace gesture as he said, lifting trade restrictions on the Communist bloc in Europe.

What consistency.

Where does that leave us?

I will not discuss this any further because no matter what the situation may be as a result of false hopes, poor judgment or unsound methods, as Americans we must do the best we can under the circumstances to meet any situation that may arise from time to time.

Do you remember the President saying something about no action being taken in the international field where our Armed Forces might be committed without submitting the same to Congress?

In relation to decisions strictly within his sphere which he should make himself, he now finds that his past statement is a ghost of the past, staring him in the face and placing him in an embarrassing position in relation to flexibility of action.

What about some other promises in the nature of slogans that received headline space?

Do you remember the promise of liberation of the people of Poland, Lithuania, and the enslaved peoples of other Communist-dominated countries?

This promise built up hopes and confidence here and abroad of millions of persons.

Of course, most persons did not consider the mechanics and the means necessary to carry them out—war.

The Democratic policy of containment which meant to first hold, then roll back; the long, painful journey short of actual war, was an outrage, so the Republicans said.

That promise is now scrapped, bringing in its wake disappointment and disillusionment to millions of persons here and abroad.

Do you remember the other promises through slick-sounding headline-seeking slogans:

(a) Greater prosperity.
(b) Lower prices.
(c) Hard money.
(d) Trade, not aid.
(e) Aid to small business.

For 2 months the Republicans tried to carry out their hard money promise which meant deflation by increasing interest on a long-term Goverment bond issue and contracting bank credit with the Federal Reserve System removing al market support on Government bonds. After 2 months they realized they had created so much fear that deflation had gone much further than they had intended.

They then changed to the easy money policy of inflation, or lower interest rates on short-term issues, not on mortgages or business loans; of expanding bank credit; of the Federal Reserve System stepping back into the market and again buying Government issues, but the damage had been done; they had created fear in the minds of our people.

And as the Republicans and business and finance leaders say, "We will not have a depression because of the cushions that exist." I agree.

But the laws that exist that constitute these cushions were enacted by the Democrats over the opposition of the great majority of Republicans in Congress.

Do we have greater prosperity today than we had on January 20, 1953?

Do we have lower prices than on January 20, 1953?

Trade, not aid has only an academic interest. I knew that was dead when I first read that slogan.

So far as aiding and assisting and strengthening small business in the United States is concerned, I only have to call to your attention the increasing number of bankruptcies among small business; the fact that the awarding of Federal contracts to small business has been sharply curtailed by the present administration carrying out their policy of a concentrated base, and that loans under the existing law have been very few and far between.

And impartially and objectively speaking—this is the record of broken promises, of confused thinking and leadership, of division, that the Republican Party has given to our people during the past 15 months.

Indebtedness of France to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following statement outlining the indebtedness of France to the United States, as prepared for me by the Library of Congress:

What France owes the United States

World War I indebtedness (as of July 1, 1953):	
Principal	$2,629,081,531.41
Due and unpaid	1,234,568,468.59
Interest	1,417,135,801.87
Total	5,280,785,801.87
Repayments:	
Principal funded debts	161,350,000.00
Principal unfunded debts	64,689,588.18
Interest funded debts	38,650,000.00
Interest unfunded debts	221,386,302.82
Total	486,075,891.00
Indebtedness	5,280,785,801.87
Repayments	486,075,891.00
Balance	4,794,709,910.87

Lend-lease aid

(Cumulatively Mar. 11, 1941–Mar. 31, 1951)

Ordnance and ordnance stores	$285,016,673.18
Aircraft and aeronautical material	342,729,816.64
Tanks and other vehicles	428,632,124.56
Vessels and other watercraft	294,704,237.67

Lend-lease aid—Continued

Miscellaneous military equipment	$651,920,447.84
Facilities and equipment	2,348,159.75
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	1,106,518,741.82
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	61,061,053.76
Services and expenses	97,005,215.80
Total	3,269,936,471.02
Reverse lend-lease aid (as of June 30, 1949):	
Miscellaneous military equipment	72,132,115.38
Facilities and equipment	201,674,487.02
Agricultural, industrial, and other commodities	136,959,069.04
Testing and reconditioning of defense articles	4,988,920.92
Services and expenses	452,026,652.34
Total	867,781,244.70

Final assessment of total lend-lease aid for period March 11, 1941, through June 30, 1953 was $2,986,012,000.

Foreign grants and credits

(Period July 1, 1940, through June 30, 1953)

Grants:	
American Red Cross	$9,595,000
Interim aid	311,388,000
Mutual Security:	
Economic	2,534,052,000
Military aid	54,952,000
UNRRA	3,061,000
Post-UNRRA	60,000
Technical assistance	34,000
Total	2,913,141,000

No repayments requested on grants.

Credits	Net authorizations	Balance owing
Export-Import Bank loans	$1,399,000,000	$1,121,309,000
Mutual Security loans	225,600,000	225,600,000
Maritime Administration (ships)	86,036,000	36,591,000
General Services Administration	6,040,000	4,286,000
Credit offsets to grants	353,300,000	335,708,000
Surplus property	332,439,000	305,866,000
Defense materials procurement	39,527,000	23,374,000
Total	2,407,357,000	2,052,754,000
Balance outstanding on July 1, 1953	$2,052,754,000	
Principal repaid by July 1, 1953	354,603,000	
Total loans and credits	2,407,357,000	

Recapitulation

(Status as of July 1, 1953)

World War I aid	$4,794,709,910.87
Lend-lease	2,986,012,000.00
Grants	2,913,141,000.00
Loans	2,052,754,000.00
Total	12,746,616,910.87

Retail Clerks Favor Statehood—Without Partition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in presenting here a resolution adopted on April 9, 1954, by Local 1496 of the Retail Clerks Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and located at Anchorage, Alaska:

Be it resolved, That the members of the Retail Clerks Union, Local 1496, all residents of the Territory of Alaska, being interested in improving our present status as second-class citizens, do hereby go on record as being in favor of immediate statehood without partition for the entire Territory of Alaska.

PEARL GIBSON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES G. OAKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. OAKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by the chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, Mr. WOLCOTT:

THE BROWNSON PROPOSAL

(By Hon. JESSE P. WOLCOTT, Member of Congress)

There are two ways to defeat a piece of legislation in the Congress, one by voting it down in committee or on the floor; the other by tacking on an amendment that would defeat its purpose.

The latter is now being attempted with respect to S. 2150, the bill to authorize United States participation with Canada in construction of the St. Lawrence seaway, which has been endorsed by President Eisenhower, the entire Cabinet, the National Security Council, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the interests of national security.

This bill authorizes the creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to finance and construct the United States share of this project in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River.

To finance the project the Corporation is authorized to sell its revenue bonds to the United States Treasury in the total amount of $105 million. These bonds would be held in the Treasury as an asset of the Government and would be retired from the revenues the Corporation will receive from tolls charged for use of the navigation facilities.

When this bill was originally drawn by its sponsors it provided that this Corporation should have a capital stock of $5 million to be issued to and held by the United States Government and have authority to sell to the public its bonds in the amount of $100 million, the bonds to be guaranteed by the United States.

However, when the bill was submitted to the Treasury Department and the Budget Bureau for comment, they both disapproved of the provisions for the capital stock and for the sale of the Corporation's bonds to the public. They said that capital stock serves little useful purpose in the case of a Government corporation and moreover, being interest free, is a form of subsidy. They further pointed out that it has been the policy of the Government since 1947 to finance all Government corporations by having them sell their obligations to the Treasury, one of the principal objects of this method being to eliminate competition for funds in the money market between the Treasury and other Government agencies.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee accordingly changed the financing provisions of the bill so that they would be in accordance with such established Government policy. In this form the bill was passed by the Senate by a decisive vote and, in due course, was referred to the House Public Works Committee.

When the bill came up for action in the House committee an amendment was offered by Representative HARRY MCGREGOR, of Ohio, changing the description of the securities the Corporation was authorized to issue from bonds or other obligations to revenue bonds. This amendment was adopted by the committee. Following this amendment, Representative CHARLES BROWNSON, of Indiana, offered a further amendment, since known as the Brownson amendment, the effect of which would be to compel the Corporation to sell its revenue bonds to the public instead of to the Treasury, without Government guaranty. This is in complete and absolute contravention of the established Government policy stated by both the Treasury Department and the Budget Bureau, and is without precedent in the financing of Government corporations created by Congress to carry out a Federal policy or program.

This amendment, of course, would defeat the single objective of the bill, namely United States participation in the seaway project, by making it impossible to finance it. The navigation facilities to be constructed will be the property of the United States Government which will own them through its agency, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. The corporation could not, of course, mortgage this public property, nor could it give to the bondholders the right to determine the tolls to insure adequate revenues. The amount of revenues would be determined by an agreement with Canada on rates and on division of receipts. And toll rates could not be firmly established until construction is well along. Until then the final costs which must be repaid through toll revenues could not be definitely ascertained nor could the propriety of proposed rates in the light of future economic conditions be determined. But the construction could not get started unless the bond financing were assured. So the vicious circle would be complete. And of course the opponents of the project, quite influential in the investment banking field and with unlimited means of propagandizing against the economic feasibility of the seaway, would see to it that all these facts were publicized and the bonds of the corporation discredited.

The result is clear: it would be years before the corporation could get off the ground with its financing program, if it ever succeeded in doing so. A study of recent toll-road financing by various States shows that even without the kind of opposition that the seaway financing would have, and without any of the complexities presented by the international nature of the seaway, it took 2¾ years in some cases, and a minimum of 14 months, to accomplish the authorized public financing. That is a perfectly clear warning that such a method of financing cannot be employed in this seaway situation.

Every available fact compels the conclusion that the Brownson amendment would scuttle the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. Every traditional opponent of the seaway is welcoming it with open arms. They know that that method of financing, without precedent in all the cases of Government corporations, will not produce the construction funds without very substantial delay, if at all. And they know that Canada would not be willing to, and need not, accept any such delay—but would proceed on its own. And so, in this indirect but entirely effective manner, the very purpose of the bill, to secure United States participation, would be defeated.

It must, therefore, be recognized that all those who support this Brownson amendment, whatever their various intentions may be, are actually working to defeat the ma-

tional policy embodied in this seaway bill and embarrass the administration in the eyes of the American public. If they should succeed, they will also make our Government as a whole look silly wherever the resulting fiasco is known, at home and abroad.

This Brownson proposal and any other similar amendment which would result in scuttling the Government's program must be defeated.

Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Pilot, Boston, Mass., Saturday, April 10, 1954:

TRUTH GOES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN VIA RADIO FREE EUROPE

(By Ray A. LaJoie)

It was toward dawn after a night of pelting rain. In the glistening semidarkness a young Czech citizen desperately made his way to a border guard station on the German side of the forbidden frontier between Germany and Czechoslovakia. His clothes were muddy and torn. His expression was one of utter weariness. At last inside the station he hopefully asked for food and shelter and then, as though relieved of an unbearable weight, he gladly told what had happened.

Karl Meiner had chosen well the night to make his daring escape across the Iron Curtain. Because of the weather, Communist guards had slackened up on their patrols and the soldiers had concentrated instead on keeping as dry as their officers would allow them to be. Yet even with this advantage the odds were still great. The blond youth had had slowly and painfully to crawl most of his way across the "no man's land"—a stretch several miles wide and where anyone discovered by the guards is shot at without warning and killed instantly. His clothing, ripped and torn in many places, impressively testified of the way in which he had snaked his way through masses of barbed wire—a stinging interval during which the brief brilliant flashes had marked out for him white insulators of the electrified barriers.

Such was the story Karl told. A routine matter perhaps for the free German guards, repeated many times before. They gave him coffee, food, and dry clothing, and next they notified headquarters. Within the hour once again the young man found himself the object of minute questioning, for trained representatives of the several allied agencies were especially interested in what is going on behind the Iron Curtain of rigid censorship. Among them were special interrogators from the powerful American organization—Radio Free Europe, which has 13 outlets to maintain one of the strongest medium-wave transmitters in the world.

Questions that followed were many and probing. Why had he escaped? Had anyone helped him? Where had he lived? The names of neighbors? The community conditions? And countless more. To be sure, the questions were deliberately designed to bring out contradictions for a good reason. Communists had been known to use, many times before, the phony escape ruse in order to place one of their key men in a top allied post. Interrogators made careful note as well, of a new airfield being built near the frontier, of the drastic reductions in food rationing and of a dozen other important bits of information. From these would come the completed jigsaw picture of what was actually going on at that moment in his locality.

PUT TO USE

Agents from Radio Free Europe could make good use of this man's story. He had been forced to flee after friends had warned him that he was about to be arrested for anti-Communist talk he had made to neighbors. In this case, the Czech strongly suspected that the man who informed against him to the secret police was a fellow villager named Kurt Tichy. With this to go on, men back at Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich went through a systematic check of the huge card file which holds thousands of names of individuals in the satellite nations who have ever been mentioned in conjunction with the Communist activity. Requiring only a matter of minutes to find Kurt Tichy's name in the records, the card disclosed as well, that his accomplishments were far from imposing. The man was definitely a small-time stooge and had been noted as a collaborator. That was all RFE needed. On the very next day, in a broadcast to Czechoslovakia, it denounced Tichy and warned the people of his village to avoid him at all times because he was a notorious informer. Tichy's spying game came to an ingiorious end and the frustrated Communists had once again lost one more of their despicable tools.

This incident, multiplied a thousand times, is part of RFE's daily counterattack against the Kremlin propaganda machine. Steadily chipping away at the foundations of communism for more than two highly successful years, its target nations include Albania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland. These come in for a heavy share of the broadcasts because each country still shows strong antagonism to the Communist regime and in each case, the people are our potential allies in opposing the Red Kremlin's ceaseless attempts to rule the world by force.

The beachhead for freedom which is Radio Free Europe does other work as well. Near the old German village of Schleissheim, for example, it operates a radio monitoring station which listens to and extracts all important material from broadcast of Communist-controlled radio stations. In its busy information section in Munich, experts minutely scrutinze newspapers and magazines smuggled from behind the Iron Curtain boundaries and carefully analyze the contents to arrive at what the Reds are talking about.

It is at once obvious that one does not expect to find a shred of truth in both radio broadcasts and in their printed words. Only the diabolically distorted party-line version is given. Trained specialists, however, evaluate Red propaganda with strikingly sound results. It is the frequent practice, for instance, for the Kremlin purposely to leave out important facts which, in itself, is usually more revealing than statements over which a great furore is made. One illustration is when the name of an important official suddenly stops being mentioned—always a positive sign that he has been liquidated. Similarly, when the Red lie propaganda shouts a vehement denial of something, it is again an indication that the subject in question has definitely been causing them trouble.

To build the story of what is going on behind the Iron Curtain takes time, a great and ceaseless effort, and inhuman patience. There will be a fragment of a speech, or a passing mention in a newspaper. Then may be added a few disconnected facts brought by an escapee. Along with other sources of intelligence, the pieces are at last made to fit snugly. At last, they become the vital truth food which makes up Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia broadcasts. Every effective kind of radio technique is utilized to its fullest. There are newscasts, commentaries, dramatic programs, satire—each employed with a telling effect.

Best possible proof of effectiveness is the recent Czech Government protest to our own State Department, demanding that RFE be taken off the air. The United States replied by reminding the Communists that RFE is supported by United States citizens and that freedom of speech is a fundamental of our American democracy.

BREAD FOR RUSSIA

It is internationally known that officials of Red Russia do not want their subjects to hear the truth. For truth raises questions they are not willing to answer. In this regard, as soon as Moscow tries to answer the broadcasts, their own aggressive propaganda quickly falters and loses its original momentum. One clear illustration was when Radio Free Europe bombarded the people of Hungary with the fact that their bread was severely rationed because their summer's harvest of wheat had been shipped, almost in its entirety to Russia to feed the fat and privileged government personnel of the U. S. S. R.

To keep the Reds off balance further, the Crusade for Freedom has used other means of reaching the peoples in the captive states. Last year it carried out its Winds of Freedom Operation. For this, some 10,000 balloons were used to float more than 13 million leaflets over the border into Czechoslovakia and Poland. Not only did the downtrodden people rejoice with this unexpected flood of encouraging messages from the free world, they were especially happy about the helpless frustration of the Communists in preventing them from being received.

As former Ambassador Joseph Grew put it: "The busier we can keep the Bolsheviks in their own backyard, the less chance of their starting trouble elsewhere." Gen. Lucius D. Clay has said: "Because our own liberty and security will be seriously endangered unless Communist influence throughout the world is checked and diminished, the forces of freedom must fight on to win the cold war against the Kremlin and thereby sharply reduce the chances of a shooting war." President Eisenhower also has been a great force in promoting Radio Free Europe, and other Americans, some famous, others ordinary citizens, have done their share in helping to carry on the fight.

This year, as the Crusade seeks the backing of 30 million Americans for Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia, it will use still another dramatic method of encouraging those in Communist lands. To those who join the Crusade, they may sign freedomgrams printed in the language of the six target nations of RFE and in the dialects of China. Freedom-gram messages will reiterate the conviction of the American people that oppression will one day soon collapse before the forces of democracy. At the same time, messages will ask the captive peoples to join together in ceaseless, fervent prayer for liberation. The thousands of personal signatures carried in this manner are expected to have a powerful reaction in definitely proving that millions of individual Americans do care, and are working wholeheartedly for the overall defeat of the hated Kremlin and its inhuman tyranny.

This is the whispered prayer of millions behind the Iron Curtain: "Give us our daily truth, O Lord * * * our daily hope." This prayer, this plea, is addressed to every American. Feeding the greatest hunger of all, the hunger for truth, can help to remake a world, a world where there are no slave nations, where all men are free.

Wishful Thinking on Labor Unions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I place in the RECORD an editorial which appears in the April 17 issue of America, the national Catholic weekly review.

The editorial deals with action recently taken by the House Labor Committee to require a vote in favor of a strike before such strike will be recognized as a protected activity within the meaning of proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act.

On the basis of our national experience with the wartime Smith-Connally antistrike law, America comes to the very proper conclusion that this provision would amount to little more than a needless waste of the taxpayers' money. In 85 percent of the cases under that law, the strike was approved, and of 1,593,937 valid ballots cast, only 332,874 were against striking.

The surprise announcement calling for this vote, which appeared in the President's labor message to Congress, seems to me to indicate continued Republican unwillingness to accept responsible labor unions as an established fact of our society. This administration seems obsessed with the idea that responsible labor-union leadership is an obnoxious growth on the body of the great labor force of this country. To my mind, this administration would just like to see unions go away. The administration would like to disregard labor-union leaders as the responsible voice of millions of American working men and women.

This Congress has already acted to remove from Taft-Hartley another provision which reflects the same spirit. In the 82d Congress, by a unanimous vote in the Senate at the instance of the late Senator Taft himself, and by an almost unanimous vote in the House, we dropped from the law a requirement for a similar vote favoring the negotiation of a union-shop contract. Wage earners had voted more than 90 percent in favor of this type of contract, clearly indicating membership support for union leaders.

The current strike-vote proposal is nothing but a misguided attempt to drive a wedge between union leadership and the general membership. It is based on a mistaken assumption of fact. It will, as America concludes, require the taxpayers' money to prove the obvious.

The editorial follows:

GOVERNMENT STRIKE POLLS

On April 5 the House Labor Committee, by a 16-to-8 vote, approved an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which states that a strike will not be a "protected" activity, "unless, in an election by a secret ballot held within 10 days before the day the strike begins, a majority of the employees in the bargaining unit vote in favor of a strike." This means that if a strike takes place before a vote favoring it has been held the employer is free to fire the strike leaders or otherwise discipline them as he sees fit. Without a strike vote, neither individuals nor their union can have any recourse to the National Labor Relations Board.

Under the terms of the proposed amendment, carrying out a surprise recommendation made by the President in his state of the Union message, the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service would have the duty of arranging for the strike poll. Wherever practical, he would petition State authorities to conduct the vote. When the State, for some reason or other, declined to serve, he would ask local government agencies to do the job. In either case, the Federal Government would pay the bill.

Our only purpose in noting this action of the House Labor Committee is to place this review clearly on record as opposed to Government-supervised strike polls as a waste of the taxpayers' money. However appealing such polls may be in theory—who isn't concerned that decisions to strike reflect the will of those who must walk the picket line and do the suffering?—in practice their outcome is in the vast majority of cases a foregone conclusion. The men almost invariably vote to support their leaders, that is, to strike.

Such was our national experience with the wartime Smith-Connally antistrike law. During the years 1944, 1945, and 1946, the Government conducted under that law 2,168 polls, involving 26,630 employers. In more than 85 percent of the cases the strike won out. All told, employees cast 1,926,811 valid ballots. Despite the patriotic pressures of wartime during 1944 and 1945, 1,593,937 of these ballots favored a strike.

That experience seems to us conclusive. In most cases union members support the demands of their leaders and are prepared to back them up even to the extent of striking. The assumption that strikes lack rank-and-file support is largely baseless. Why should Congress spend more of the taxpayers' money to prove the obvious?

Revision of the Immigration Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of Wednesday, April 14:

MCCARRAN-WALTER REVISION

The bill introduced by nine Republican Senators and Representatives, proposing certain revisions in the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, is welcome. Some of its provisions are in line with proposals made by the President in his 1953 state of the Union message; others are intended to correct inequities which have aroused widespread criticism. Taken as a whole, the bill would go far to redress the glaring imperfections of this highly controversial law.

Among other benefits, the new bill would set up definite standards for the issuance of visas; bar Fascist immigrants along with Communists; alter the present unfair regulations governing the deportation of aliens; and eliminate quota provisions discriminatory toward Asiatic and colonial peoples. The quota system in general would be radically altered by substitution of the 1950 census for the 1920 as a base and by a provision that the unused portions of any year's quotas be shared by nations with small allotments.

Unfortunately, Senator WATKINS, of Utah, chairman of the immigration subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has already indicated that the bill will have a chilly reception from him and from other lawmakers. Last August he wrote the President that the Refugee Act of 1953, authorizing the entry of 214,000 extra quota aliens, went as far as Congress was prepared to go in action on immigration. After a 3-month survey of Immigration Act operations abroad, the Senator stood by his position, adding that a majority in Congress would oppose any change until the need for change had been established from actual operation of the act. This strong opposition, confirmed by Senator WATKINS' most recent statement, shows that friends of the bill will need courage and perseverance in their fight.

Time Consumed in Consummating VA Loans: Correction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY O. TALLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter dated April 9, 1954, from the Veterans' Administration which pertains to a statement that agency supplied at my request in connection with the hearings held on H. R. 7839, 83d Congress. Interested persons will find the original statement of the Veterans' Administration on pages 232 and 233 of the printed hearings and on page 4171 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 2, 1954. The revised statement of the Veterans' Administration follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., April 9, 1954.

Hon. HENRY O. TALLE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TALLE: The purpose of this letter is to clarify the statement which was submitted by the Veterans' Administration to the House Banking and Currency Committee regarding elapsed time in processing loan applications, pursuant to your request during the hearing on Friday, March 5, 1954. The statement referred to was reprinted on pages 232 and 233 of the hearings on H. R. 7839, 83d Congress.

A review of the statement as it appears in the printed record indicates that an error was made in setting up in type the listing of "Typical processing steps," on page 232. The line which follows step 2 reading "Total • • •: 18.0" should have appeared as the total processing time for step 3. It will be noted that the 18 days actually represent the total of the three components listed in subparagraphs (a), (b), and (c) of step 3.

This typographical error was discovered following a review of the debate on the Housing Act of 1954, as reported on pages 4170 and 4171 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for April 2, 1954. As will be recalled, VA's statement regarding processing time was read into the RECORD at that time. The remarks contained on page 4170, indicating that the total VA processing time was 48.4 days, occasioned surprise to the Veterans' Administration until it became apparent that due to the typographical error in printing the submitted

table the figure of 18 days required for the VA appraisal function was actually counted twice in such computation. Accordingly, the maximum figure for VA processing time, arrived at by adding steps 3 and 5 together, would be 30.4 days, rather than 48.4 days.

It should also be emphasized that, as indicated by the second footnote in the table, steps 3 and 5 may be concurrent. Accordingly, in cases where processing was concurrent, the processing time for the longest step would actually represent the total time for VA processing. On this basis, the 18-day average elapsed time for VA processing compares quite favorably with the 13 to 16 day average reported by FHA. Of course, the 18-day average is based on a sample survey made nearly a year ago, and it seems quite certain that in recent months the processing time in most offices has been more favorable than indicated in the table, although it is recognized that the bulge in appraisal activity reported in many offices during February and March may result in some increase in average processing time.

It is hoped that the foregoing discussion will serve to clarify the facts regarding VA's processing time. If any further information is desired, please feel free to call upon this office at any time.

Very truly yours,

G. H. BIRDSALL,
Assistant Administrator for Legislation.

Mr. Speaker, the question I asked in connection with the hearings was: "Approximately how much time elapses between the time when a veteran makes an application for a VA loan and the time when he has the money available for use?"

The original statement showed a total of 48.4 days. The revised statement shows a total of 30.4 days. Assuming the latter figure to be the correct standard, as stated by the agency, veterans seeking loans in the future will have a yardstick for determining whether they are experiencing undue delay in the lending operation. By the same token, veterans who have completed their loans will know whether this announced standard is correct in the light of firsthand experience.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM

The chairman of the Republican National Committee, Leonard W. Hall, believes that President Eisenhower's legislative program "is going along in splendid fashion." This comment is in accord with Vice President NIXON's prediction a week ago that a "substantial part" of the Eisenhower program would be enacted by the present Congress.

Since we believe that this program is, on the whole, a sound one, we would like to believe that these statements of two of the highest-ranking members of the Republican Party represent an accurate appraisal of the situation. But, unfortunately, they sound more like wishful thinking than a hard-headed analysis of the facts.

Apart from temporary defeat of the Bricker amendment, the Senate has done very little since January except pass an excise tax bill that took away from the Treasury almost as much money as it retained, and an Alaska-Hawaii statehood bill in such form that under it neither Alaska nor Hawaii is likely at this session to become a State. To the Senate's credit is the St. Lawrence seaway bill. A Korean defense treaty has been ratified. These few enactments virtually exhaust the list of positive accomplishment.

The House under its rules can move more quickly, and it has done so, but still its record is nothing to boast about. In addition to the excise tax bill it has approved a major tax revision in substantially the form desired by the administration. It long ago approved statehood for Hawaii, but has done nothing about Alaska. It has approved a public housing bill that barely provides for continuation of a small amount of public housing. It has passed a wiretap law with judicial safeguards. It hasn't done much else of real significance.

What remains to be done? Practically everything. Appropriations policy, defense policy, foreign aid policy, atomic policy, agricultural policy, labor-management policy, trade and tariff policy, health, welfare, and education policy, postal policy, congressional investigations policy. And 3 months or so to do it in. True, many important hearings have already been held. But the 83d Congress still has its hands full, and so does the Republican leadership. There is no cause for self-satisfaction and no time for complacency in view of the legislative burden that lies ahead.

The President's Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, in a speech I made in Rochester, N. Y., on March 27, 1954, at a testimonial dinner for Carl S. Hallauer given by the Lincoln Republican League of Rochester, at which my colleagues, the Honorable KENNETH KEATING and the Honorable HAROLD OSTERTAG, were among the honored guests, I urged, in the vital national interest as well as in the interest of the Republican Party, the implementation at this session of the President's legislative program. This is the subject of the appended lead editorial from the New York Times of April 13, 1954, which should be must reading for every Member.

The editorial follows:

America-Israel Society

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement which I have prepared relative to the America-Israel Society.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, I should like to call attention to a new organization, the America-Israel Society, which was organized early this year to promote intercultural relations between the United States and Israel. A nonpolitical, nonsectarian organization, the society is headed by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland. Its founders include eight Members of the Senate of the United States, including Senator DIRKSEN, Senator DOUGLAS, Senator FERGUSON, Senator HUMPHREY, Senator IVES, Senator LEHMAN, Senator SYMINGTON, and myself. We regard the America-Israel Society as a means of adding to that unity of purpose that characterizes freedom-loving peoples, and of relieving some of the tensions which punish and divide the world.

World tensions feed upon mutual fears and suspicions, and these, in turn, spring primarily from ignorance of the customs, ways of life, and human aspirations of the peoples of other nations. From this it follows that every advance that we make in increasing the area of mutual understanding and friendship in the world is a step toward our eventual goal of world peace.

It is because I feel so strongly about this that I am glad to have had a part in bringing this society into being. Its membership is open to all interested Americans. It will not engage in political controversy, but it will seek to foster a greater mutual knowledge of the art, literature, films, theater, history, and institutions of the two countries by encouraging scholarly research, stimulating visits and arranging appropriate events.

A strong bond of affinity, of course, already exists between the people of the United States and of Israel, based on their common spiritual heritage and on the similar experience of nations founded in the pioneering spirit and fed by the immigration of freedom-loving people seeking refuge from oppression. Almost every American who has visited Israel since the establishment of the new state 6 years ago has been impressed by these similarities and has experienced the spiritual enrichment that comes from vividly recalling our own pioneer days.

Among its other purposes, the society will seek to stimulate such visits, including the exchange of students and teachers, and to promote the interchange of ideas and cultural materials. In thus strengthening the bonds of understanding and friendship between these two democratic nations, we believe that the society can make a significant contribution to the cause of international good will and eventual universal peace.

Don't Throw Shemya Island Away

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS M. PELLY
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the next 2½ months will see a decision on the question of the disposition of Shemya Island in the Pacific Ocean by agencies of the Federal Government. The Department of the Air Force has announced that it intends to phase out its operations there by July 1, 1954, and the Civil Aeronautics authorities have made no decision on the question of continuation of this important airbase.

Feeling as I do, I wish to call the attention of the House to the matter. I desire to lay the facts, which speak for themselves, before this body.

There are two main air routes from the west coast of the United States to the Far East. The first is the well-known San Francisco-Honolulu-Tokyo lane, often referred to as the central Pacific route. The second is the north Pacific route from Seattle to Tokyo, by way of Shemya Island.

Shemya Island is located about 1,500 miles due west of Anchorage, Alaska.

It was established during World War II by the Department of Defense as part of the north Pacific defense chain, and has since been used both by military and commercial carriers on regular far eastern air operations. During the recent Korean conflict, the island was used as a base for commercial contract carrier flights to Japan and Korea. At the present time, the Air Force maintains Shemya Island in reduced operational status, but says that it will not continue to do so beyond July 1 of this year. This, Mr. Speaker, sounds the death knell of the north Pacific air route to the Far East.

Without an intermediate base, the north Pacific route is, for all practical purposes, economically inoperative. Present equipment being used by commercial carriers of both passengers and cargo cannot stand up to a nonstop flight, particularly on the westbound trip where strong headwinds are consistently encountered. Furthermore, the payload of aircraft on the north Pacific route is substantially reduced if Shemya goes, because of increased gasoline requirements. The efficiency of any aircraft is obviously reduced by this and other factors.

Perhaps the situation is more easily explained by saying that the loss of Shemya Island for the North Pacific route is equivalent to the loss of the Hawaiian Islands for the central Pacific air route.

But the Air Force says that Shemya Island is no longer essential. Let me say that in the view of many thousands of Pacific Northwest residents, and hundreds of Northwest commercial interests, it is essential. This is doubly true when, as we face a mounting danger in Indochina, we must be on guard for any eventuality. Here are some facts about Shemya Island:

First. Northwest Airlines has been using the northern route and the island since 1947 under a temporary certificate from the Civil Aeronautics Board.

Second. The Shemya Island route is 1,800 miles shorter between the United States and Tokyo than the central Pacific route between San Francisco and Tokyo.

Third. There is a saving of $1,206 per ton in mail subsidy charges over the north Pacific line than in the case of the alternate Central Pacific route.

Fourth. The Civil Aeronautics Administration is now operating central Pacific bases on the central Pacific air route, but has no present plans for similar operations at Shemya.

Fifth. The United States has never before relinquished control of an international air route, once it has been established.

Sixth. Canadian Pacific Airlines, in addition to Northwest Airlines, uses the northern route. Under a Civil Aeronautics Administration examiner recommendation Pan American World Airways would be allowed to use it as an alternate route. This is not a one airline matter.

Seventh. The cost of maintaining Shemya, if the Air Force phased out its entire operation, leaving only its facilities, is estimated at $397,500 per year. On the other hand, if the Air Force left a housekeeping force on Shemya, this cost is estimated at $140,000 per year.

Eighth. In the fiscal year 1953, the Air Force spent $357,798 in construction work at Shemya Island, plus an extra $21,000 for equipment. Smaller capital expenditures were added in fiscal 1954. Now, at the end of fiscal year 1954, the Air Force declares its intention to pull out lock, stock, and barrel. Cannot this be cited as an example of truly false economy?

Ninth. Shemya Island is a major airbase. Its runways are in fine shape. It faces Siberia. It is an integral part of the North Pacific defense perimeter. I need not remind my colleagues that the Japanese were on Kiska in the Aleutian chain of Alaska during the last war before we even knew it.

Tenth. Commercial airlines cannot cope with the logistics problem at Shemya Island. They must have Air Force help for supplies, maintenance, gasoline, and equipment.

Eleventh. To let Shemya Island go by default means we weaken our lifelines to the Far East at a time when we simply cannot afford to do so. Shemya proved its value during the Second World War and during the Korean war. With Indochinese affairs in their present state, it is folly to abandon a key military position.

Twelfth. Obviously, the safety of the north Pacific route is seriously jeopardized by the loss of Shemya. It almost seems superfluous to mention this fact.

Thirteenth. Great commercial gasoline savings are accomplished by using this shortest, fastest route from the United States to the Orient. It means a savings in time and money to the United States Government, which subsidizes these operations.

What can we do about Shemya Island? I recognize, of course, that it is all too easy to criticize without alternative suggestions. In this case, however, there are alternatives. One is to allow the Civil Aeronautics Administration to maintain this island base, as they now maintain central Pacific bases; another is to maintain a skeleton housekeeping crew of Air Force personnel on Shemya. Budgetary restrictions dictate against CAA supervision, Mr. Speaker, and the only answer lies with the Air Force. It does not make sense, militarily or economically, to throw this vital base away.

Still Vital Need for Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Daily Home News of New Brunswick, N. J., on April 14, Wednesday, entitled "Still Vital Need for Foreign Aid":

STILL VITAL NEED FOR FOREIGN AID

The $3.5 billion foreign aid program President Eisenhower is urging this year is unique in at least two aspects.

For the first time it puts the chief emphasis on Asia, not Europe. And it provides no economic aid whatsoever for most European areas.

About a third of the aid money—$1,133,000,000—would go to embattled Indochina. Altogether, Asia would get half the total requested.

Europe is marked in for $947,700,000, virtually all of it for military purposes. Economic aid has ended for Britain, France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Portugal, and West Germany—except for Berlin.

These figures reflect the changed nature of the problems confronting America and the free world. With the principal exception of Italy, the nations of Western Europe have recovered economically and are on the way to being beefed up defensively to check Communist aggression.

No one needs to be reminded how radically different the story is in Asia. Indochina appears to be at the critical stage. We supply more than three-fourths of the money and material cost of the French effort.

Plainly, that effort would collapse if we should fail to maintain that backing on an adequate scale.

It must be hoped that Congress sees the problem this way. We have set ourselves firmly against the loss of Indochina, and are now asking some of our friends to join in cautioning the aggressors not to go too far.

If our diplomacy is not to be mere words, we must support it with substance.

Congress is always economy minded in an election year, and reports have circulated that a vigorous ax may be wielded on this program. But it ought to be noted that President Eisenhower is offering a plan that already is $1 billion below foreign aid for the current year, and $2.5 billion less than the previous year.

There may be some attempt to hack away most heavily at the European phase of the program, on the theory that crisis does not now impend on the Continent.

But a serious cut there would be no wiser than in Indochina. It is precisely because of past help given, that Europe today is in less critical defensive status.

Americans are deeply aware of their need for security safeguards in many parts of the globe.

They must count upon lawmakers with the backbone to resist the glib tendency to chop at foreign programs on the theory that a disappointed foreigner can't hurt you at the polls.

Much more is at stake than the next election.

The Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. JONAS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the record of the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co. is so outstanding in the field of communications that I feel justified in calling attention to it. This company operates radio station WBT and television station WBTV in Charlotte, N. C. These stations cover

the entire southeastern area of the United States.

WBT is the pioner radio station in the South and recently celebrated its 32d birthday. WBTV was established 5 years ago and was the first television station in the Carolinas.

Mr. Charles H. Crutchfield, executive vice president and general manager of the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co., is one of the talented men in broadcasting. He has had wide experience in communications and in 1953 served as regional director of the Crusade for Freedom. Mr. Crutchfield has assembled an outstanding staff of associates who, acting as a team, are responsible for the phenomnal success of these stations. Mr. Joseph M. Bryan is president of the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co. and brings to the top management of this organization an outstanding record in the business world.

It is the record of this company in the field of public service that deserves special mention. Recently, on the anniversary of the founding of WBT, Mr. Crutchfield submitted a report outlining some of the ways in which the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co. has met its responsibilities in this field. The record is so outstanding and indicates such a complete acceptance of the thesis that a broadcasting company owes an obligation to the public, that I have asked permission to include the text of the report as a part of my remarks on this occasion. I commend the record of this company to my colleagues as a shining example of what can be accomplished in the field of public service by an organization interested in human rights as well as profits. It shows progressive, enlightened management at work under the free-enterprise system. The report follows:

As executive vice president and general manager of the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co., which operates both radio station WBT and television station WBTV in Charlotte, N. C., I am immensely gratified to see our stations continue their achievements in the broad field of public service to our millions of listeners and viewers.

It is one of the prime functions of all radio and television stations to serve in the best public interest. That we have succeeded in maintaining such a policy throughout our history is attested to in some degree, I think, by the many awards and citations which have been made to us. Last year the Institute for Education by Radio-Television of Ohio State University presented a first award to station WBT for a program furthering international understanding.

Perhaps one of the finest symbols we uphold in our constant search for opportunity to better serve our audience is our own Grady Cole, whose familiar voice has been accepted for many years in millions of radio homes. Variety, official juornalistic organ in the field of entertainment, each year makes awards to radio and television stations and individuals connected with the industry for assuming civic responsibility, better race relations, promoting public welfare, public service awards, excellent employer-employee relations, showmanship, wholesome entertainment, general friendly relations with the public and commonsense understanding. Variety has singled out Grady Cole of WBT for three such citations in a single year. I quote from one such citation:

"Grady Cole, the farm editor of WBT in Charlotte, is practically a one-man commission. It was Cole who helped 'sell' to the Governor and the North Carolina Legislature the need for better rural roads. Results: a $100 million appropriation. It was Cole who had the United States Department of Agriculture running around in circles filling the requests for peach-canning and other bulletins in the wake of the Cole broadcasts. It is Cole who snowballs his daily 5 a. m. to 9:00 a. m. broadcasts into a farm club that rolls across North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and surrounding States. Combine these accomplishments with the run-of-the-mill tasks expected of a community-conscious farm editor and it all adds up to a driving force that gives Cole a tremendous hold on his listeners. Cole, as such, transcends the role of a radio voice. He has given proof positive of how radio benefits when it becomes an integral part of the community."

Grady Cole is an example of the effectiveness of our policy to provide radio and television facilities in the best interest of our citizens. In the free enterprise system of radio-TV in the United States, which operates so successfully without necessity of Government subsidization, we are licensed by the Federal Government which empowers stations to broadcast and telecast within prescribed regulations, retaining the authority to revoke any license when the FCC finds evidence that such revocation is justified.

Since radio and television in our Nation, therefore, are solely dependent on the sale of time to commercial sponsors as a means of existence, we of the industry must maintain at all times a watchful eye on the apportionment of time to all worthy causes, making sure that a fair and equitable share is granted without charge in the public interest.

We of WBT and WBTV, both pioneer stations of powerful persuasive influence in the areas in which we serve, have taken pride all these years in our respectful and diligent attention to a great percentage of our operating hours being devoted to public service.

I am conscious of the tremendous power of persuasion which both radio and television have among the citizens of, not only our Nation, but the entire world. The first step to revolution is seizure of broadcasting facilities. Dictators of any totalitarian state fear a free voice. They seek its complete silence.

In America we remain free because, as our pioneer fathers proved they were, we are not afraid to face any challenge. We are united and we are strong because of our unity. We stand together and we work together. And together we prosper and remain, God willing, an invincible shield for all freedom-loving peoples in a sometimes darkened and bewildered world.

WBT and WBTV adhere to policies which, we believe, best reflect the true American spirit of cooperation. As our president, Joseph M. Bryan, of the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Co., stated in 1945 when the ownership of WBT was acquired by his company:

"WBT is and shall continue to be your station, dedicated to the service of your family and your community."

Now, in this year of 1954, 9 years later, with WBTV as an added asset to the cultural life of the Carolinas, Mr. Bryan restates his original pledge to the people:

"WBT and WBTV are and will remain your stations, dedicated to the service of your family and your community."

In this, the 32d year of the founding of WBT, the pioneer station of the South, and the 5th year of WBTV, the first television station in the Carolinas, we are of one mind in rededicating the great power entrusted to us by the Federal Communications Commission to the service of the people.

We do so, not only because we of the Jefferson Standard family derive personal pleasure and satisfaction from participating in any and all work for the good of our community, but also in the stanch belief that the free enterprise of American radio and television may best be illustrated through generous cooperation existing between station management and personnel and the public representatives who daily come to us requesting our services and facilities.

Time we gladly give to all worthy public causes—whether in the name of charity, religion, community service, and welfare. Talent we also gladly provide insofar as the abilities of our personnel are required. But we are proud that our company is pioneering in yet another important phase of public service.

We have formed here the Jefferson Standard Foundation, through which we contribute financial aid for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational purposes. It is our power to contribute, made possible by our free system of enterprise. It is our privilege and our duty, and it is part of our heritage of brotherhood to help our fellow men.

Through funds made possible by our foundation, we are assisting the University of North Carolina in the development of educational television in our State. Already we have contributed in excess of $50,000 toward this purpose and we are pleased to note that announcement has been to the effect that educational TV is no longer a dream at the university, but in the coming fall will be a definite reality.

The Jefferson Standard Foundation has presented a 10,000-watt transmitter to the University of North Carolina for use by its own campus radio station.

Gov. William B. Umstead, sensing the vast opportunities for development of education through television, named an advisory committee on educational radio and television to conduct research and make recommendations for the development of eight UHF educational channels allotted North Carolina. The Jefferson Standard Foundation contributed $5,000 to aid this committee in its lengthy study.

Every year the Jefferson Standard scholarship to any branch of the Consolidated University of North Carolina is awarded to some fortunate North Carolina high-school senior. This scholarship of 4-year tenure pays $1,250 annually to the recipient in defraying his or her college expenses and is awarded to that student selected by an impartial board of judges whose qualifications for further study in some field of electronics are deemed superior.

In order to stimulate interest among high-school students in radio as a career our foundation makes three scholarship awards every summer to young people who indicate a desire to enroll in the High School Radio Institute at the University of North Carolina.

We have many high-school students of musical inclination and to such we offer three annual scholarships to attend the Transylvania Music Camp at Brevard.

Working in cooperation with the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, we conduct an essay-writing contest among high-school students each year with cash prizes offered for the best themes submitted on the subject, What Our Jeffersonian Heritage Means to Us, in the belief that a quick awakening to the eternal values of principles set forth by Thomas Jefferson will inspire these young boys and girls to mature into richer, more stable citizens.

Through such projects WBT and WBTV reemphasize the words of Joseph M. Bryan, our president:

"Through our assistance today we are building a better world for our people to live in tomorrow."

I report to you that we are appreciative of the trust placed in us by the Federal Communications Commission and we submit the foregoing analysis as favorable evidence that we are forever dedicated to justifying this trust and faith through the wise use of authority assigned us.

Rules of Procedure for Committees of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ESTES KEFAUVER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, Tenn., which points up the existing need for uniformity of committee work to eliminate overlapping and duplicating activities by creating a single joint investigating committee to serve both the House and the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE SECURITY COMMITTEE

A proposal by Senator MCCARTHY that the Senate Investigating Subcommittee proceed with other inquiries while the McCarthy-Army inquiry is stalled has been wisely rejected by temporary Chairman MUNDT.

Until that controversy has been disposed of in forthright manner, anything else the subcommittee attempted would be prejudiced. Other matters do not involve an element of urgency which would make delay dangerous to national welfare. The Reds will not take over the country if there is a lapse of a few weeks in getting at the matters shelved by the McCarthy-Army embroglio.

While the subcommittee continues its hunt for special counsel, congresional leaders of both parties ought to give thoughtful consideration to the idea of setting up a joint committee to handle investigations into aspects of national security. There is no getting away from the fact that too many committees are now concerning themselves with the same things. The duplication of effort is time wasting and costly. It leads to confusion and detracts greatly from the net results of such activities.

Too, it is amazing that anything approaching efficiency exists in any of the major branches of Government. Instead of being able to direct the affairs of their department without unreasonable interruptions and in an atmosphere of nominal calm, officials—some even on Cabinet level—are being compelled to spend too much time trotting from this committee to that—at the beck and call and subpena of any Congressman with an ax to grind, a loyalty challenge to make, or an insult to hurl.

This is not said to belittle the work being done by any of the congressional investigating committees. We do, however, believe that too many committees are making internal security investigations which a single group could do with far greater effectiveness. The results, we believe, would be better for the Congress as well as the country.

It is not likely that the Congress will approach the idea of a single, joint investigating committee with any enthusiasm, for it means that Members of both Houses would have to subordinate personal ambition and political expediency to legislative and national welfare. The spotlight and the headlines have almost irresistible appeal to men in public office, and there are far more politicians than statesmen in Congress.

The controversies and the party strife which have developed from some of the security investigations have caused the never ending battle of Washington to obscure the basic, life-or-death ideological struggle between democracy and communism. To some degree, the controversies which have been permitted to develop, and the methods which have played a part in that development, have played us into the hands of our enemies and will continue to do so until there is a drastic change in inquiry procedures. That is a change the Congress can and should make on a nonpartisan, nonpersonality basis.

Statement of Gordon Duke, President, Southeastern Oil and Affiliates, Jacksonville, Fla., Relating to the Navy Department's Plan To Charter Up to 20 Industry-Built New Tankers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly interested in the proposal of the Navy Department to provide for the charter of up to 20 industry-built new tankers. My interest arises from the fact that it will provide a necessary addition to the tanker fleet that supplies the needs of the United States Navy, and, also because it will mean additional work for our hard pressed shipyards that are so greatly in need of additional work to keep them going and prevent layoffs of great numbers of shipyard workers.

The following statement was made by Gordon Duke, president of Southeastern Oil and Affiliates, Jacksonville, Fla. Mr. Duke is a man of wide experience and particularly well qualified to speak upon the subject to which he has addressed himself in the following statement. Because of his wide experience and the success that has attended his efforts in this field of activity I have included his statement as part of my remarks, believing that the views he has expressed are entitled to the greatest consideration. The statement is as follows:

My name is Gordon Duke. My company, Southeastern Oil of Jacksonville, Fla., is a tanker owner.

We have followed with interest the Navy Department's plans to time charter up to 20 industry-built new tankers.

On March 4 your hearings developed that the estimated maximum charter rate might be $5 per deadweight ton per month.

Five dollars may be adequate but, in my opinion, there is a strong possibility that more than $5 will be required. Evidently, Mr. Anderson, Secretary of the Navy, and Admiral Denebrink, commander of the Navy's Military Sea Transportation Service are not certain of obtaining sufficient tankers at a maximum of $5. I understand that Mr. Anderson wrote Chairman SALTONSTALL, following his testimony here on March 4, requesting that a $5 ceiling not be set.

I wish to explain some figures which cause me to question whether a $5 rate will be sufficient. I am not opposing a ceiling. I ask only that estimated costs be reviewed carefully before a maximum rate is set.

My Calculations assume that the tankers will cost $7½ million each to build. If an owner receives a $5 charter rate for 10 years he will first have to pay the vessel's operating expenses. Next, he will apply the income toward a 5 percent interest on his invested or borrowed capital. After these two items are covered there would be about $4¼ million left over, out of total charter income, which could apply on $7½ million construction cost of ship.

This means owner would recover about 57 percent of his cost for ship in return for giving the Navy the first and by far the best 50 percent of the vessel's life. Generally, the normal useful life of a tanker is about 20 years.

It is not possible to predict what percentage of invested capital all owners will expect to recover during the first 10 years of the tanker's life. Competitive bidding will take care of that. In my opinion as a shipowner, it is extremely likely that all owners will expect to get back more than 57 percent of their investment in the ship for giving up the first and best half of its normal useful life. A $5 rate, according to my calculations, would return the owner only about 57 percent of his capital invested in the ship.

There is another way to express this. The owner would be buying a 10-year old tanker for about $3¼ million, or 43 percent of its construction cost.

Some idea of the value of a 10-year-old tanker may be gained by looking at the present price of T2 tankers. These are all about 10 years old. They were built by the Government for about $3 million each. Today you can buy them for $600,000, or 20 percent of their construction cost.

Testimony given here on March 4 by the Secretary of the Navy and the commander of MSTS was that if they had to pay a $5-average rate for all 20 new tankers their cost would be about $22 million more in 10 years than if they continued in service the present MSTS fleet of tankers.

I wish to draw attention to the fact that Secretary Anderson and Admiral Denebrink were probably referring only to costs of MSTS, or probably to Navy's costs; their out-of-pocket costs.

If tankers were supplied by owners at $5, the United States taxpayers' cost would be less, not more, in my opinion, as compared with MSTS continuing to operate her present tankers.

The reason is that in addition to MSTS out-of-pocket costs, taxpayers bear a good many charges related to the MSTS fleet. To mention some of these, there is pay and allowances of the 9,000-odd military personnel attached to MSTS, depreciation of the cost of the ships, improvements made to them and debt service on the $85 million MSTS operating fund.

The taxpayers also pay other items which are part of the total cost of MSTS but which are not out-of-pocket expenses of MSTS. Among these are some port charges, wharfage and dock fees; some real estate, equipment and other facilities used in the operation of MSTS; some insurance claims; a share of costs of maintaining the Navy installations throughout the world; postal service; communications over Navy wires; some engineering services and legal services.

I wish to draw attention to another point concerning the 22 million figure supplied to your committee on March 4. Included in

this sum is the cost of preparing MSTS existing tankers for Navy's Reserve Fleet. And it includes the cost of holding them in layup for 10 years, I understand.

Now I return to matters which will be considered by any shipowner that might offer a new tanker to MSTS. If he borrows part of the money to build the ship, the banker will want 3½ to 4 percent on that portion banker supplies. And the United States Maritime Administration will want 1 to 1½ percent for mortgage insurance on the loan. Owner can, therefore, expect 5 percent return only on the portion of capital he supplies. After income taxes, the owner's 5 percent will become about 3 percent.

If the Government built the vessels themselves it would supply the construction funds by increasing the public debt to obtain said funds and its cost would about equal the 3-percent net paid the owner for putting up the capital to build the ships.

In view of the fact that we never seem to be able to reduce our public debt it is probable that interest would continue for many years beyond the life of the vessel, whereas the 3 percent to a shipowner would end with life of ship.

If my beliefs are correct, the taxpayer will be much better off if MSTS uses new industry tankers even at a charter rate above $5. "How far above $5 could the rate go before the taxpayer loses?" is an interesting question. The answer lies in what is the taxpayers' total cost for the MSTS operation. Nobody yet has the answer to that, insofar as I know. But the MSTS subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee may soon have the facts.

I feel satisfied, therefore, that determining what charter-rate ceiling should be embodied in S. 2788 is possible. I also feel satisfied that competitive bidding would make a ceiling unnecessary. But when a realistic ceiling can be computed I see no reason not to set one.

Aside from economy to the taxpayer there are advantages to the Navy in chartering new fast tankers built by industry, particularly in making only 10-year charters. If defense considerations make it desirable for the Navy to go to still faster tankers at the end of 10 years, they could do so.

On the other hand, if Navy is willing to continue its use of the proposed tankers for the vessel's entire life, until the 20th year, its cost for the use of the ships will be only the cost of vessel plus return on capital employed plus some profit to owner for the risk he assumed that the vessel might be worth only its scrap value at end of 10th year.

If Navy built these tankers either they must continue to use them beyond 10 years or charge off their entire construction cost in 10 years.

I wish to draw attention to an extremely important aspect of the S. 2788 program. The offers from industry may be fewer than is hoped for. Most of the United States flag tankers are owned by various oil companies. They are not likely to be interested in building new tankers and chartering them out for the first 10 years, especially if MSTS wishes to use them in clean service a substantial portion of the 10 years. In general, oil companies, like the Navy, prefer to charter in the first years of a vessel's life and be able to go to more efficient tonnage thereafter. An example of this is that today you could not hire out at a decent rate a T2 tanker, which is only 10 years old.

Independent tanker owners are not likely to offer new vessels to MSTS unless several things are done by other committees of Congress and other Government agencies.

Public Law 288, the ship mortgage insurance bill, needs to be revised. Hearings are scheduled next week on that. But a weak spot exists in Commerce Department's tanker trade-in and build program and is receiving insufficient attention, insofar as I know.

I refer to some reserve and some surplus problems. Today there are nearly 70 United States flag tankers idle. Over 30 of them are 10-year-old T2's, only one-half their normal life used. If the S. 2788 program is cleared, Navy will place 57 T2's in her reserve fleet. Commerce Department hopes to create a national defense reserve of 40 tankers.

Industry's surplus ships are always ready to be pressed into service the moment rates climb out of the subbasement. Presumably Navy and/or MSTS could break out their reserves any time they felt industry's rates were higher than they thought they should be. And remember, Navy doesn't pay all the costs of her operation out of Navy's budget. Thus Navy might be inclined to break out her reserves, without too much encouragement, to keep the ships in trim and to conserve Navy's budget. When she charters industry's ships Navy reimburses all of the owner's costs plus a profit, with Navy funds, provided tanker rates are normal.

As pointed out previously, some of MSTS costs of operating their tankers are not paid by Navy funds.

Finally, shipowners will remember the prospect of a national defense reserve of 40 tankers becoming a reality and thus to some extent, hanging over the market. In my opinion, very few persons will invest substantial money in tankers to be chartered to Navy for 10 years, or for any reason whatever, until the tanker surplus problem is resolved.

United States Maritime Administration's present thinking is that no tankers may be traded into the national defense reserve fleet except where owner builds new equivalent carrying capacity. This will insure continuing the excess tonnage at today's level, which is much too high. It does not reduce the problem.

It might be wiser for the United States Maritime Administration to permit the trading in of 1½ times the capacity of each new tanker. It might also be wise to permit one industry T2 to be traded in on each new supertanker built by industry for charter to MSTS, even though MSTS plans to retire two of her T2 for each new-built chartered. My understanding is that present United States Maritime Administration plans are not to permit an industry tanker to be traded in on MSTS new-builts.

Then 1½ for 1 ratio of trade-ins would supply a usable fleet of tankers for the national defense reserve fleet while alleviating the surplus problem of industry. It would also encourage more owners, oil companies, and independents to offer new-builts on the S. 2788 program.

United States Maritime Administration has the authority to regulate the ratio of trade-ins to new-built. Some details of the trade-in legislation are due for correction. Hearings are expected soon on this subject.

The present 1 for 1, on basis of carrying capacity, trade-in plan is desirable from the standpoint of encouraging a greater volume of new-ship construction. But if the volume of surplus industry tankers is to be continued indefinitely at today's level, very few, if any new ones will be built, in my opinion.

Navy's reserve fleet will surely frighten many people away from building tankers unless this fleet is held under injunction that it will not be placed into service except when industry cannot supply the required tonnage, or will not do so at fair prices.

The national-defense reserve is subjected to such findings, but not Navy's reserve commercial tankers.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that our Government must give careful consideration to the surplus problem. It must be resolved if your S. 2788 program is to have a chance to produce the hoped-for results for Navy, shipbuilders, and shipowners.

I regret that it is necessary, as I see it, to raise these problems. But if attention is not drawn to them while S. 2788 is under consideration the bill will be of little, if any, value in achieving the goals desired. If the problems are not resolved few tankers will be built.

S. 2788 is a good program. It deserves full support of taxpayers, Congress, shipowners, and shipbuilders. Defense Department and Commerce Department are both strongly supporting the program, I understand, as is the National Security Council.

Your committee is doubtless aware that this idea of long-term chartering by Navy of new-built, fast, industry-owned tankers was first proposed over 4 years ago. Korea's outbreak shelved the program then.

It has been in the process of formulation again for over a year. S. 2788 is a step in the right direction, but only one step. I emphasize—only one step.

Until the mortgage-insurance law is made workable and the trade-in legislation is passed and in workable form, and until the Commerce Department deals effectively with the industry surplus tanker problem, it will be useless for Admiral Denebrink to send out invitations to industry, in my opinion.

The industry could resolve its surplus problem by simply scrapping all 68 idle tankers. But to scrap the 10-year-old T2's would be almost a crime in view of the fact they have another 10 years of usable life in them. Over 30 of today's 68 idle United States-flag tankers are T2's. Defense Department has repeatedly stated we will be woefully short of tankers in event of a national emergency; that we need more, not less tankers.

It must be remembered, however, that only Government, all the people, can support the cost of maintaining standby-defense facilities. A small segment of a single industry cannot do it. If today's thirty-odd idle T2 tankers are not given attention, they will soon cease to exist. To me it seems unbelievable that this can be permitted to happen to that part of the idle fleet.

My final comment is that I wish to lay this surplus matter face up on the table so that when and if MSTS is given the authority and then invites bids from industry for supertankers, nobody will be able to say that industry failed to respond without all parties realizing that something more than S. 2788 is needed before industry can respond effectively.

Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to insert a resolution adopted by the Baltimore (Md.) City Council on April 12, 1954, a resolution with which I wholeheartedly concur.

Judge Thomsen has distinguished himself as a leader, not only among the members of his chosen profession, but as a leader among men. He is one of the truly outstanding citizens of the city of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. Our President made a wise selection in

nominating this able jurist as a Federal district judge of Baltimore City.

The resolution follows:

Resolution 1807 (introduced by Messrs. Price, Abramson, Goodman, Flynn, McMenamen, Edelman, Miller, Mullin, Curran, McHale, Kennedy, Bertorelli, Duffy, Boyce, DiDomenico, Schueler, Alpert, and Hudnet)

Resolution recommending Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen as a member of the judiciary of the United States

Whereas the citizens of the city of Baltimore have learned with pride and gratification that the President has nominated Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen, of Baltimore City, to be a member of the judiciary of the United States, as a Federal district judge in Baltimore City; and

Whereas Mr. Thomsen has had a long and distinguished career as a member of the bar in Baltimore City, distinguishing himself for ability and integrity in his chosen profession; and

Whereas he already has demonstrated his capacity for public service, having acted for about 10 years as chairman of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City; and

Whereas, in this position, he demonstrated his ability for nonpartisan and conscientious public service in the welfare of all the people of this city; and

Whereas it is the desire of this body to express to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, which is now considering this nomination, the unbounded confidence and respect held in the city of Baltimore for Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the City Council of Baltimore, That this body recommends highly to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States the favorable consideration of the nomination of Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen to be a member of the judiciary of the United States as Federal district judge in Baltimore City; and be it further

Resolved, That the chief clerk of the city council be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, to each of the two Senators from Maryland in the Congress of the United States, and to Hon. Roszel C. Thomsen.

Address by Hon. Herbert C. Bonner at Annual Banquet of the Washington, N. C., Chamber of Commerce

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose an address delivered by me on February 23, 1954, in my hometown, Washington, N. C., at the annual banquet of the chamber of commerce.

It is delightful to be with you on so happy and auspicious an occasion. It is also very pleasant to take leave of the hurly-burly and tumult of the Capital of the United States for a few hours and return to the capital of Beaufort County. You know, Woodrow Wilson used to say that whenever he wanted to learn what the people were really thinking he had to get out of Washington and into the towns and cities, the highways and byways of the country at large. I confess that I am much of Mr. Wilson's mind in this respect. We, your chosen Representatives in the National Legislature, are daily, hourly, confronted with such a mass of problems, national and local, political and personal (for it is our duty to serve our constituents), that even the coolest head and sagest brain is apt at times to be bewildered and fatigued by the mere pressure of the day's work. Some of you may recall the old Greek legend of the giant Antaeus. He was invincible so long as he remained on the ground in contact with his mother, the earth, from whence he drew his strength. Hercules, his opponent, perceiving this, managed to lift him above the ground whereupon he was helpless. I think that old legend might well illustrate the relationship between an elected representative of the people and his constituents. So long as we, your Representatives, remain with our feet on the ground—that is to say, in immediate contact with those who have sent us forth—the source of our strength—so long will we truly represent the electorate and hence make the true voice of the people articulate.

I trust I may be permitted, with all due humility, to express the hope that I have remained in touch with my constituents. Born and reared here, I flatter myself that I know something of the problems and needs, the hopes and the desires of the 14 counties I have the honor to represent in the National Congress. It would indeed be strange if I did not, for I have never known any other home than this region and this town whose 178th anniversary we celebrate.

Our town has a regional history that dates back almost to the Indian troubles of 1711. According to Mr. Francis Hodges Cooper, who published a most interesting article entitled "Some Colonial History of Beaufort County, N. C.", which will be found in the James Sprunt Historical Publications, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society in the year 1916, it was in this year 1711 that a fort and garrison was placed on the estate of Mr. Lionel Reading and named Fort Reading in his honor. Though Fort Reading was on the south side of the river, it may properly be said to have been the beginning of Washington. Little mention of the settlement is made between 1715 and 1775. In 1726 a grant of land was made to Christopher Dudley conveying 337 acres, on a part of which Washington now stands. The following year Dudley transferred this tract to Edward Salter, who, in turn, conveyed it to John Worley. Worley deeded the land to Thomas Bonner in 1729, describing it as "the plantation whereon I now dwell." Bonner moved to the plantation, and at his death Colonel James Bonner came into possession of the estate.

On November 30, 1771, the general assembly authorized Colonel Bonner to establish a town at the forks of the Tar River which 5 years later he named for his commander in chief, Gen. George Washington. Colonel Bonner laid out the streets and lots of the town in 1776, disposing of the tracts by lottery and conveying the streets, together with lots No. 21 on which was to be erected a courthouse, jail, and pillory, and No. 50, which St. Peter's Church now occupies, to the public generally. The George Washington Bi-centennial Commission established the fact that of the 422 cities and towns in the Nation named for George Washington, this, our town was the first. The earliest recorded mention of the place as Washington is an order of the Council of Safety dated October 1, 1776. On that date we find in the Journal of the Council the following:

"*Resolved*, That Capt. John Forster, commander of the armed brig, the *General Washington*, now lying at Washington, do proceed with all possible dispatch to Ocracoke Bar, and to remain within the said bar in order to protect the trading vessels which may be coming into or going out of that port, until one of the aforesaid armed vessels—the *King Tammany* and the *Pennsylvania Farmer*—shall return there, or shall be otherwise ordered."

Thus we see that Washington had already become a town in fact; that its harbor could accommodate small armed vessels which were of greater draft than merchantmen, and that its name had been generally recognized as Washington by 1776.

In this the 178th year of our incorporation we of Washington can look back with pride and the quiet satisfaction which arises from the consciousness of descent from generations of right-thinking, God-fearing, sober, industrious citizens of the Republic. If we have not in the course of our community life achieved great population and vast wealth, we know that it is not by numbers and riches that the honor and true worth of a community are to be measured. If we may not boast ourselves a great metropolis, we can lay claim to something better: we are close to nature, close to mother earth which produces the staples of life without which great cities, however vast their wealth, could not exist; we are close to the heart of things. It was for such quiet, industrious, orderly communities as ours that the great Father of his Country, who gave us his name, had an especial affection. He knew and understood the agricultural life. In the midst of his Presidency he exclaimed in anguish that he would rather be on his farm than be emperor of the world.

But if George Washington loved his farm and the quiet life of the countryside better than anything in life, he knew how to obey the call of duty—"stern daughter of the voice of God," as the poet Wordsworth calls her. For long and weary and heartbreaking years he led his ragged, decimated, sometimes starving troops in the face of what seemed all but insuperable odds with a valor, fortitude, selflessness, and sublime devotion to duty that has come down to us as our most precious legacy in the national story.

What would George Washington say to us today? Our times are more serious, and infinitely more menacing, than his. How would he admonish us? How would he exhort us? What grave and sober counsel would he offer to this latter-day generation of his countrymen? We cannot, of course, put words into his mouth, but we can ponder the words which he did utter, and which he certainly would not disavow could he be in our midst today. In his first inaugural address, taking confidence from the exalted patriotism of the men surrounding him who had framed the Constitution of the United States, the first President said:

"In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be ex-

pected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."

In those noble words Washington breathed the spirit of pure and lofty patriotism, coupled with the sense of duty that the Almighty in permitting this people to undertake the great, untried experiment of republican government on a vast scale, had committed to our hands a solemn, a sacred, indeed, an awful trust, holding as it did the fate for weal or for woe, of countless generations yet unborn. Washington in the first hour of the Government voiced the aspirations of his generation: He presented us for all time with the compass for our national life. May we never cease to be guided by it.

The times we live in are truly fateful. It is reassuring to note that our Government has recently expressed the belief that the tension of the international situation has somewhat relaxed. That is most gratifying news. But, of course, the fact remains that until we, together with the rest of the free world, can reach some form of solid agreement and genuine cooperation with the powers behind the Iron Curtain, the strain of terrible uncertainty will remain and the fever of world unrest will not abate.

So in this year of the celebration of the 178th anniversary of our country we shall do well to turn back to the great days of the struggle for national independence and by pondering upon the deeds and words of those who founded this Nation, absorb the spirit and the wisdom which once animated them.

And we—we, too—in our small community are celebrating our anniversary exactly coincident with that of the Republic, and under the great name of the father of that Republic. Surely we are entitled to a little family self-congratulation of our own.

I am informed that this year marks the 46th anniversary of our chamber of commerce. I congratulate it, you, myself, and all of us. A chamber of commerce—particularly a modern one—fulfills many roles in the life of its community. One of the most important of these is to act as a sort of gateway—perhaps in the case of our town, port of entry would be the more apt expression—of new ideas, of progressive change in our daily lives.

At the dedication of the magnificent Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, D. C., May 20, 1925, the then president of the chamber, Mr. Richard F. Grant, called attention to the inscription engraved on a wall of the new building:

"Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, to see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something to be remembered."

"This edifice," said Mr. Grant, "stands as a symbol to the determination of the American businessman for service. It is something more with him than a wish, a desire, or a belief; it has ripened into a determination for service; a service built upon a great ideal, that the American businessman owes his country something of himself; that training and experience and ability which made him a success in business enterprise, ought to be given in unstinted measure to his country in the solution of our national problems."

I am sure, gentlemen of our own chamber of commerce, that these reflect your views likewise. And allow me, on behalf of this audience and this community the pleasure of saying that I think—and I am sure I speak for all of our townsfolk—that throughout the course of the 46 years of your existence as a body, you have faithfully, indeed nobly, exemplified the ideals set forth in the national chamber of commerce resolve I have previously quoted.

Fifty-odd years ago, when I was a boy, the harbor was filled with sailing craft and, of course, it was always a great event—for the young, at least—when a banana boat arrived from the West Indies. Washington was then the principal port of entry for Greenville and all the hinterland. The schools I and my contemporaries attended consisted precisely of one room, located in the Masonic Building, conducted by Miss Betty Roberson, the academy in the west end and the McNair Building in the east end. The lives of myself and my schoolmates, if not quite as primitive as those of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, were simple enough. In retrospect, they seem to be part of a bygone age—which is what I suppose they were. Oh, I have seen changes. I have lived to see our modern school buildings, the sky filled with man-made birds, and to hear the ether crackling with radio and television. I have seen two great world wars with all the fearful and wonderful scientific inventions which they called forth. Not all of these were harmful to man—far from it. To name only a few, the medical profession evolved the wonders of penicillin, influenza vaccine, streptomycin, blood plasma and sulfa drugs, saving countless lives and now daily affording blessed relief to millions. In every walk of life we have all seen a vast number of wonders unfold, year by year, day by day—almost, it wolud seem, hour by hour, along the path of this 20th century we are treading.

And it has been, and will continue to be, the peculiar duty and responsibility of our chamber of commerce as our "port of entry" to admit the new ideas, inventions, and improvements of every sort which year by year make for progress and the amelioration of society.

And so, gentlemen of the chamber of commerce, once more allow me to offer my hearty congratulations on the 46th anniversary of your honorable body. May your records, and those of our proud little municipality, continue to mark advancement and progress in all the things which make life worth living; that our ways may be ways of pleasantness and all our paths of peace.

Prof. Richard A. Lester Appraises President Eisenhower's Proposals To Amend Taft-Hartley

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Richard A. Lester, chairman of the department of economics and social institutions at Princeton University, is recognized as one of the leading authorities on labor relations in the United States. In the February 8 issue of the New Republic, Professor Lester has written a thoughtful and discerning appraisal of the recommendations of President Eisenhower to amend the Taft-Hartley Act, and I wish to call his informed obesrvations to the attention of the House:

LABOR: PATCHWORK AND HAPPY THOUGHTS

(By Richard A. Lester)

President Eisenhower was elected on a platform friendly to labor. He pledged himself to support and strengthen the laws that protect labor, to defend the rights of unions, to so conduct himself that at the end the workers of America could say, "He has been fair; he has been my friend."

To these workers the Taft-Hartley Act is neither fair nor friendly; nor is a chief executive who perpetuates its wrongs. President Eisenhower, advancing the curious doctrine that the Taft-Hartley Act was built upon the Wagner Act, proposes in turn to build on the Taft-Hartley Act. His program, contained in the message of January 11, and reportedly written by Secretary of Commerce Weeks, seems to many experts to retain the basic evils of the act, and to advance proposals discredited by recent experience.

Underlying the Taft-Hartley law are a number of erroneous notions that make it such an unsatisfactory piece of legislation. They include: that workers need Federal statutory protection from their elected leaders, that such protection can be provided by federally supervised polls of employees on their union's demands, that the Federal Government must regulate the terms of collective-bargaining agreements to prevent employers from making mistakes, that the injunction should be the main instrument of Government intervention in labor disputes, and that a Federal labor-relations law should be an omnibus act, designed to end all alleged evils associated with the activities of any individual union.

The Eisenhower message to Congress accepts those misleading assumptions, while professing a contrary philosophy. The 14 specific recommendations are prefaced by a statement that Federal legislation should impose neither arbitrary restrictions nor heavy-handedness upon a relationship in which good will and sympathetic understanding should be the predominant characteristic.

That precept is completely violated by the series of legislative proposals that follow, providing additional Federal interference with collective bargaining, more Federal regulation of labor agreements, another secret ballot designed to show up union leaders, and a strange new mixture of court injunction and ad hoc mediation in cases of unfair labor practice. New happy thoughts are recommended for enactment; the omnibus approach to labor-relations legislation is embraced with no regard for consistency.

Bungle after bungle has characterized the administration's handling of Taft-Hartley changes. A tripartite committee, improperly conceived and instructed, blew up last spring. Thereafter, a series of behind-the-scenes meetings culminated in the draft of a presidential message to Congress containing 19 recommendations. Held up by Senator Taft's death, that July 1952 message was never officially sent. It was leaked to the Wall Street Journal, followed by an employer campaign to alter its contents and by Secretary Durkin's resignation and charge that the administration had reneged.

The success of the campaign to force the administration to retreat to a more anti-union position is evident from an analysis of the recommendations in the unsent message of last July that were dropped or retained in the 1954 recommendations and study of the 1954 message's six new proposals. The extent of the President's capitulation to management pressure is also clear from a comparison of the 1954 recommendations with the Taft amendments adopted by the Senate in 1949.

Of the 19 recommendations in last July's message, 10 favorable to labor were dropped from the 1954 message, along with 1 to study administration of the act, which is not need-

ed for packing the National Labor Relations Board now that it has an Eisenhower-appointed majority. Apparently, the administration no longer supports legislation to permit hiring-hall arrangements like those in the maritime industry, or to eliminate the severe penalty of complete loss of employee status if a worker participates in a strike during the 60-day notice period, or to cancel the one-sided grant of precedence to State legislation on union security if it is more antiunion than the Federal act.

None of Ike's 6 new proposals favors labor; 2 are decidedly antiunion. Free rein for employer intervention in employee elections disregards the question of whose representatives are being chosen. Experience has abundantly proved that Government strike polls are wasteful and stimulate and prolong strikes by displacing negotiation with electioneering and by solidifying positions. The President, who campaigned on a promise of fairminded treatment for labor, fails to match his strike-poll proposal with one for a corresponding poll of stockholders on union demands. And, instead of discarding the discredited emergency disputes section of the act, he seeks to patch it up by incongruously tacking on a provision for settlement suggestions by boards of inquiry.

Fortunately, the Eisenhower recommendations appear to have little prospect of enactment at this session of the Congress. Apparently, fair and intelligent labor-relations legislation must wait on another test at the polls, so that the atmosphere of 1949 can be recaptured.

Editorial Comment on Speech by Hon. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Regarding Independence for Indochina

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a series of editorials commending the magnificent speech recently delivered on the floor of the Senate by the distinguished junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], in which he discussed the Indochinese question and emphasized the fact that in order to provide full resistance to communism the cooperation of the Indochinese people would be required, and that in the interest of self-preservation the French should set a definite date for granting full independence.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 8, 1954]

THE SENATE DEBATE STRESSED THE DILEMMA

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, April 7.—The full transcript of the Senate debate on Indochina that was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today emphasized the complexity of the central problem: how to induce the non-Communist population of the area and states of southeast Asia wholeheartedly to support the military action directed against the Communist forces.

Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, who touched off the debate, and the several other Members who took part in it were agreed that firm assurances of independence for the Associated States of Indochina are essential before this problem can be solved affirmatively and increased aid to the French and the Vietnamese can no longer be attacked as perpetuating colonialism. But they differed as to the nature of assurances which could effect the desired condition without risking a decision by the French to withdraw from the war against the forces of Ho Chi Minh, the Communist leader.

SENATOR KENNEDY'S SUGGESTION

Senator KENNEDY's final suggestion was that the French at once make 2 treaties with the Associated States, 1 granting complete and immediate independence, the other "binding them to the French Union on the basis of equality." But the following question from Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, that produced this suggestion illustrates the dilemma implicit in the debate:

"Does [KENNEDY] mean that the French administrators should walk out tomorrow, after the parchment has been signed making independence a reality, without any administrative talent to operate in the situation? Under such conditions there would be deterioration overnight.

DIRKSEN's proposed alternative for the suggestion of his Massachusetts colleague was a target date. Thus, he said, the Vietnamese could be told that in 5 years—for example—they would have a constitution and independence. Then, he argued, the charge would be dispelled that United States aid, now and as expanded, would serve to maintain French colonialism in that part of the Far East.

VARIOUS VIEWS

The following points were made by Senators in the anxious discussion which KENNEDY's speech evoked:

KNOWLAND, the majority leader: If the Chinese Communists enter the Indochinese war in force the free nations cannot ignore or sidestep the challenge. Therefore, they should now stand up and be counted. And, if it is decided that the challenge will be met by collective force, there must be no repetition of Korea, where only 17 of the 60 United Nations contributed armed units and all of them together contributed only 10 percent of what the United States supplied, while the Republic of Korea put 600,000 in the field.

JACKSON, of Washington: The administration should come to Congress with a resolution "stating in no uncertain terms our wishes and aspirations for the people of Indochina and for all Asia and outlining the policy to be pursued" in attaining effective collective security. The chief need now is "firm support by the Congress * * * on a full bipartisan basis," and that is the way to assure it.

MANSFIELD, of Montana: "I wonder if [KENNEDY] can tell the Senate" what Secretary of State Dulles had in mind in his recent Overseas Press Club speech. (To this KENNEDY replied that by every indication Dulles meant the United States "will take the ultimate step * * * and that is war.")

SYMINGTON'S PARIS EXPERIENCE

SYMINGTON, of Missouri. KENNEDY clearly established the fact that Indochina "is primarily a problem of Paris." But when SYMINGTON investigated French official opinion in Paris recently he got "No" as an answer to these questions: Do the French see a military solution? Do they see a political solution? With President Eisenhower's statement in mind that Asians should be in the forefront of saving Asia, would the French use in Indochina the troops offered by South Korea? Would the French be willing to utilize there Chinese Nationalist troops from Formosa? If the French were willing to leave Indochina, and the United States were willing to take over the war, would the French agree that the Associated States should have their freedom?

"So after extensive discussions," said SYMINGTON, "our feeling was one of frustration as to any definite, affirmative policy * * * and * * * at times we became suspicious * * * that the matter was being held in such a state of flux because it was a method to secure continued support [from the United States]."

THE MOOD OF THE SENATE

STENNIS, of Mississippi. Under certain conditions Congress would support united action in Indochina, but Congress never would or should vote to have the United States go in on a unilateral basis (minus support by other Asian nations and by the other free nations of the West). Also, without this support our intervention would be for "a lost cause."

The transcript showed plainly that the anxiety of the Senate over Indochina is matched only by its perplexity; that nearly all present were resigned to United States military intervention in a collective context; and that French political policy in Indochina had no friends among them.

[From the Washington Post and Times-Herald of April 9, 1954]

FREEDOM IN INDOCHINA

Senator KENNEDY has done a service of real statesmanship in emphasizing the issue of independence in Indochina. It is easy to forget, amid the French call for bombers and tanks, and Secretary Dulles' somewhat unrequited efforts to mobilize free nations to counter any direct Chinese intervention, that the principal key to success is held by the peoples of Indochina themselves. A main reason for the lack of popular interest in the fight against the Communist Viet Minh is that the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos still do not enjoy the full independence France has promised them, nor is it in sight. Indeed, the prospects have worsened with the breakdown of French-Vietnamese talks in Paris.

The essentials have been well stated by Mr. KENNEDY:

"The hard truth of the matter is, first, that without the wholehearted support of the peoples of the Associated States, without a reliable and crusading native army with a dependable officer corps, a military victory, even with American support, in that area is difficult if not impossible of achievement; and, second, that the support of the people of that area cannot be obtained without a change in the contractual relationships which presently exist between the Associated States and the French Union.

Such a change will not be easy to obtain, for it will necessitate a revision, which the Paris parliament so far has been unwilling to make, in the very nature of the French Union. Unlike the British Commonwealth, the French Union is founded on a system of centralism. Citizens of the Union enjoy equal rights, but they are governed, essentially, from Paris. Under the proposed treaty with Vietnam, Paris would retain control of the Assembly of the French Union, extensive extra-territorial privileges and a veto over foreign policy of the Associated States. This is not independence. Indeed, it is hard to see how the Associated States can remain willing members of the French Union unless they have the right to leave it.

What with the siege of the gallant defenders of Dien Bien Phu, the crisis over Marshal Juin and the other problems facing France, the issue of independence may seem superfluous. It is not; it is basic, both to eventual success and to the effective use of American aid—as President Eisenhower himself has stressed. The question is not one of divorce. The Associated States recognize well enough their dependence on

France, and they would settle for a timetable, as in the Philippines. To give the war a popular base will require that the people be convinced, however, that the fight is against Communist aggression and not for what Senator KENNEDY terms "the maintenance of political relationships founded upon ancient colonialism."

A war without this element of local conviction is bad enough in the present circumstances; it would be hopeless in the event members of the United Nations were forced to join in repelling Chinese intervention. Bipartisan indorsement of Mr. Dulles' warning to China is encouraging, but even with the sanction Mr. Dulles still hopes to obtain from other nations, that warning will be hollow unless accompanying steps are taken to enlist the support of the peoples directly concerned.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of April 11, 1954]

How INSPIRE INDOCHINESE?

Backed by increasing help from the United States, the French have been fighting in Indochina against Communist aggression since 1946.

As of a month ago, the anti-Communist forces were sizable. They included 240,000 soldiers of the French Union—180,000 of them in the French expeditionary corps. Half of these latter are from metropolitan France and the rest are African, north African, and Foreign Legion troops. The other 60,000 are Indochinese volunteers. In addition, there are 247,700 soldiers in the forces of the Associated States—Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The bulk are from Vietnam.

Casualties have been terrific. Since the start of the war there have been 177,025 casualties, 136,233 of them in the expeditionary force, half of those from France itself. There have been 71,502 killed or missing, 1,537 of them officers, the loss of whom has seriously weakened France's military forces.

In spite of these sacrifices, in spite of heavy American materiel aid, the situation in Indochina has deteriorated. The French cannot trust some of their allied troops. They cannot trust many of the people behind their own lines. They are being opposed by some groups in the rebel forces which are not Communist, although the rebels are Communist led and Communist inspired. And, finally, the French are not supported by the other nations of Asia.

Observers are sure that the French cannot win alone. They are sure that if France withdraws the Communists will quickly take over all of Indochina and, eventually, southeast Asia.

Why this lack of support for France in this fight to keep Asian communism from spreading? Because the Asians, even those engaged on France's side, look upon this war as one defending colonialism. France has granted associated state status to Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. But to Asians this is not enough. They want no restrictions on their loyalties. They want outright freedom. Senator KENNEDY (Democrat, of Massachusetts) said this in the Senate the other day:

"Without political independence for the Associated States, the other Asiatic nations have made it clear that they regard this as a war of colonialism; and the united action which is said (by our Secretary of State) to be so desperately needed for victory in that area is likely to end up as a unilateral action by our own country."

KENNEDY's proposal is this: Have the French agree to a date on which full freedom will be given the Associated States and on which France will withdraw its political reins. The Asians, including those now fighting, will thus be given reason to fight the Communists, for they will be fighting for their own freedom.

This may not be the single action needed to turn the tide in Indochina. But it would be an important action—and one without which nothing but armed intervention by other powers would have a hope of stopping the Communists.

[From the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald of April 8, 1954]

SENATOR KENNEDY TALKS SENSE ON INDOCHINA

If ever a Nation had a bear by the tail, the United States has in Indochina.

To let go, abandoning Southeast Asia to communism, is unthinkable. To tighten the grip by enlarging the conflict and probably igniting world war III is unthinkable. And it is equally unthinkable merely to hang on, carrying 70 percent of the war burden with no hope of ending hostilities in honorable fashion.

What, then, is the solution? What is the least of these three evils? Are there other avenues to solution a frustrated Washington has not yet given thought to?

In the first place, the United States is not going to abandon Indochina. Secretary of States Dulles makes this plain. It is not yet plain what methods, or what nations, will be used to implement this decision, but the decision itself was a significant foreign policy move. It signaled American intentions to the world. It told the Kremlin Indochina is considered as something more than a brush fire America is ready to flee: Southeast Asia, the Kremlin now knows, will not topple into communism's arms by default.

In the second place, young Senator KENNEDY has reminded his colleagues that there is an approach not yet fully discussed and whose ultimate consequences have not yet been fully appraised. The object of any fighting in Indochina, says KENNEDY, must be to free the Indochinese. It is an approach worth considering.

Whether we like it or not, whether the French like it or not, the Indochinese will get their freedom eventually anyway, as did India. Some French leaders are quietly saying this would be a good thing, relieving the French of a burdensome millstone. A crusade to free Indochina would add a positive approach to a war now looked upon as largely a negative maneuver, as a protective measure against Communist conquest.

A "Free Indochina" crusade would be neither simple nor safe. It wouldn't automatically wipe away all the prevailing dilemmas, the question of degree of involvement would remain with us, and there would still be danger, as there always is when two nations shoot live bullets at each other. But at least it would cut the rug from underneath Ho Chi Minh, the Red rebel of Indochina; he no longer would be able to tell the Indochinese that he is the only person fighting for freedom.

For Ho Chi Minh to be without this argument would be for him to be without much ammunition. Senator KENNEDY's suggestion makes a lot of sense.

[From the Boston Morning Globe of April 12, 1954]

KENNEDY DESTROYS FALSE HOPES

(By Walter Lippmann)

An air of emergency about Indochina has developed in Washington and we are bound to ask whether that is because things have recently taken a turn for the worse.

Probably but not certainly, so far as I know, the answer to that question is this: There is a fear in high quarters, particularly in the Pentagon, that owing to what may happen at Dien Bien Phu the French will to resist may fall so low that the Laniel government will not be able to negotiate effectively at Geneva.

Dien Bien Phu, we must remember, is about 180 miles from the port of Haiphong. It is surrounded by the Viet Minh Army. It lies in country which has no roads over which a modern army could move to relieve it. What roads there are run through country which is controlled by the guerrilla bands. The only way to the beleagured French Union force is by airlift, and when the rainy season sets in around the first of May the situation will be very difficult and Colonel De Castries may not be able to hold out.

The plight of Dien Bien Phu, which has been made sharply visible by the heroic resistance of the elite troops under Colonel De Castries, marks the failure of the Navarre plan, adopted last year, for winning the war. These French Union troops were placed in this remote, inaccessible, and to the Viet Minh most tempting, place in order to lure the Viet Minh general into committing his main forces in an organized battle. I have heard the strategical idea of Dien Bien Phu described by a Frenchman as tethering a goat in the jungle as bait for a tiger.

The theory and the promise of the Navarre plan, which we have backed, was that in a pitched battle the organized Communist divisions could be decimated. Then the French Union forces would be the only organized military forces in Indochina and their prestige would be such that the native population would rally to them.

After that the mopping up of the guerrilla bands could be carried out by the native troops which the French are training and we are equipping.

The demonstrated failure of the Navarre plan on the eve of the Geneva Conference has produced the air of emergency in Washington. For the French have no other plans for winning the war. Neither have we. Without a plan for carrying on the war to some kind of successful conclusion the negotiating strength of the French and of the Western Allies is dangerously low.

The problem is how to repair the damaged position. Last Thursday a good deal of light was thrown on the nature of the problem by the speeches of Senator KENNEDY and Senator KNOWLAND. "It is time," said Senator KENNEDY, "for us to face the stark reality of the difficult situation before us without the false hopes which predictions of military victory and assurances of complete independence have given us in the past."

Then, with Senator KNOWLAND agreeing, he went on to say that "the hard truth of the matter is first, that without the wholehearted support of the peoples of the Associated States, without a reliable and crusading native army with a dependable officer corps, a military victory, even with American support, in that area is difficult if not impossible of achievement, and second, that the support of the people of that area cannot be obtained without a change in the contractual relations which presently exist between the Associated States and the French Union."

This was also the conclusion of the subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee headed by Representative JUDD, which reported in January that "until political independence has been achieved, an effective fighting force from the Associated States cannot be expected."

The practical question is how and how soon, assuming that the French were prepared to given an absolute promise of independence at a fixed date, the gap could be bridged between being a dependent colony and in independent state.

Even if the country were not torn by a civil war, the Vietnam would still lack every necessary element for its life and its survival as an independent state: the political organs and the personnel for the conduct of public and financial and cultural affairs. The fact of the matter is that the native peoples have not been prepared, as were for example the people of India or of the Philippines, for self-government and independence.

A firm promise of independence would no doubt improve the psychological condition, and it is an essential element of any solution. But we must not once again delude ourselves over this, as we have so many times before in regard to Indochina, by supposing that the promise of independence will have a magical result, that it will conjure up out of the jungles a mass movement eager and willing to conquer the Viet Minh.

After the firm promise of independence is given, we must envisage a long interregnum. Ten years would not be too long a time in which to develop the minimum essential institutions, to train the personnel, and to acquire the habits of a free state—one with sufficient authority and confidence of its own to maintain itself against the pressure of the simpler kind of government which the Communist dictatorship imposes.

Senator KENNEDY'S speech, which ought to be widely read, has an impressive but depressing review of the false hopes that have been held out to us in the past 3 years.

One of the worst of the consequences of this self-deception is that there has been no genuine political preparation in Paris, in Washington, or in Indochina for the eventual negotiation which is now upon us. Yet I do not know of any serious person involved in this business who has really believed, once he has said what was officially expected of him, that the civil war in Indochina could be ended in any other way than by negotiation.

But the false public promises that it would soon be ended by a military decision have served as an excuse and as pretext for doing nothing serious in a political way to make plans and to make preparations for this negotiation.

The sudden demonstration of the failure of the Navarre plan combined with the lack of any other plan—military or diplomatic or both—has left a vacuum in this very critical area of the globe. That is why there is an air of emergency in Washington, and a belated attempt to improvise some sort of political position on which to stand at Geneva.

I would not like to end this article leaving the impression that a negotiating position cannot be developed by France, Great Britain, and the United States. I believe it can be and even that it will be—now that the realities are no longer so deeply hidden as they have been by official propaganda.

Reduction in Civilian Navy Yard Workers and Employment of Navy Enlisted Men on Maintenance Work on Ships

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my letter dated April 12, 1954, to Hon. Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Navy. I have been informed that enlisted Navy personnel are doing ship-maintenance work and repairs at Boston and other navy yards. As I have pointed out in my letter to Secretary Anderson, I believe the enlisted personnel should not do this work while the ships are in the navy yards. He has agreed to look into the matter and advise me concerning it. My letter to him is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1954.

Hon. ROBERT B. ANDERSON,
Secretary of the Navy,
Department of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: You were most cooperative to see me early this morning in reference to the civilian employment problem at the Boston Navy Yard.

As I mentioned to you during our conversation, I am informed there is to be a reduction in the civilian navy yard force of skilled workers approximating 758 by the 1st of June. This reduction is partially due, according to my information, to the employment of Navy enlisted personnel to do ship-maintenance work and repairs while the ship is in the navy yard for repairs.

It is my view enlisted personnel in the Navy are not brought into the service for this purpose. Instead, they are in the service to be trained in the manning of a ship as a fighting unit. To be sure, emergency repairs must be made from time to time, and the men aboard ship must be able to accomplish these. This necessity, however, surely is no basis for a system of using enlisted personnel in preference to trained civilian skilled personnel to do ship maintenance work in the navy yards. In other words, it is my view that it is wrong for the Navy to use enlisted personnel to do the work of trained civilian personnel relating to the entire schedule of repairs required by naval ships to maintain them on an efficient operating basis.

Attention must be directed to the fact that many of the civilian navy-yard workers not only are trained in their particular trades and skills but also have a thorough knowledge of safety measures to prevent accidents both to personnel and to the ship. Enlisted personnel performing this repair work are not trained in these safety devices and as a result there is a great risk of injury to the enlisted personnel as well as a risk of faulty workmanship and accident hazards involving the ship, such as explosion and fire.

Also, it is to be observed the civilian personnel engaged in the skilled trades of ship maintenance work are family men owning their own homes, having children in school, and other community responsibilities. To force them from their jobs in the navy yard means a tremendous dislocation. They cannot obtain employment elsewhere without disposing of their homes and moving from their communities at a great disadvantage to themselves and to their families.

In bringing this matter to your attention this morning, I was confident you could carefully examine this situation and try to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Please be assured I am deeply grateful for your cooperation and many courtesies.

With cordial regards and all good wishes, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,
Member of Congress.

Democracy and the Party Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an article from the March 15, 1954, issue of the New Leader entitled "Democracy and the Party Spirit" by Reinhold Niebuhr:

DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY SPIRIT
(By Reinhold Niebuhr)

A few days before Lincoln's Birthday, President Eisenhower pleaded with both parties to avoid extremism in party conflict in view of the seriousness of the times. This did not prevent his own party followers from celebrating Lincoln's Birthday all over America by accusing the opposition of having been involved in 20 years of treason.

Whether or not the President's advice is heeded may be more fateful for the health of our Nation than the victory of either party, or of the policies which they may follow. The fact is that democracy requires not only the organization of political parties but also a certain degree of mutual respect or at least tolerance. Whenever the followers of one political party persuade themselves that the future of the Nation is not safe with the opposition in power, it becomes fairly certain that the Nation's future is not safe, no matter which party rules. For such political acrimony endangers the Nation's health more than any specific political policies.

The danger that democratic freedom may destroy the unity of the Nation is in fact so great that our Founding Fathers never envisioned the organization of national parties as we know them. Madison was as fearful of the baneful effects of faction as was Washington. Madison argued, in fact, that one virtue of a Federal community would be that it would prevent the organization of factions. He was right in the sense that our political parties are loosely organized federations of local and regional political groups, which lack the ideological consistency of European political parties. But he would certainly have been surprised by the consistency of the national organization of each political group.

The fear of the Founding Fathers of national disruption through the organization of factions, and the complete silence of the Constitution on political instrumentalities which are now the very stuff of the political process, put party government in the same category as constitutional monarchy in, say, Britain. They are both unintended instruments of democracy which contain more wisdom than anyone could have consciously intended.

Theoretically, the rulers should be subject to the constant scrutiny of the people and hold their office only by their suffrage. Practically, the people can make their decisions only when they are confronted with specific alternatives. Thus, modern democracies have evolved the organization of an alternative government which constantly challenges the party in power while it is in office, and tries to replace it in office at the end of the term. Our electoral college, a vestigial remnant of the written Constitution made otiose by our unwritten constitution with its development of parties, is a reminder of the unintended place of parties in our system.

But the necessity of party government makes it all the more important to curb the excesses of the party spirit which our fathers feared so much. The unity of the national community must not be endangered by party strife. The respective parties are bound to contest elections as if the future of the Nation depended upon their victory. But they must nevertheless have a reserve conviction that this is not true, that the Nation will be safe in the keeping of either party. Parliamentary government is, in the phrase of the English historian Herbert Butterfield, a form of limited war. Its success depends upon the constant willingness of the defeated minority to trust both itself and the Nation to the victorious majority.

It is worth noting that stable democracies have developed a technique for limiting party conflict which might strike the visitor from Mars as very illogical. The technique requires that the election contest be fought with few restraints, generating emotions which sometimes divide families and friends. But, when the count is in, the defeated minority submits with what grace it is able to summon, and the party truce goes into effect for the general public—though the professional politicians are expected to carry on a guerrilla warfare. We are told that Latin-American observers are shocked by our custom requiring the loser to congratulate the victor and assure him of support. In Latin America that gesture smacks of insincerity. Actually, it is a ritualistic observance defining the difference between stable nations in which the political struggle has limits, and those nations in which the struggle may be as bitter as it is sincere, and where the minority is not reconciled to defeat.

The mutual trust between parties, which makes the limitation of party conflict possible, rests upon certain conditions. The party programs must not be too contradictory and a large segment of the population must not be irrevocably committed to either party. Above all, there must be a reserve of loyalty to the Nation—and, what may be more important, to principles of justice and freedom—which transcends the party conflict. Whenever these common loyalties and standards of justice are subordinated to party advantage, the community is imperiled by threats of schism.

President Eisenhower's warning against party extremism is thus extremely relevant, for the parties not only must not be too far apart but must not be made to appear more contradictory in their objectives than they really are. Our experience in this matter is partly conditioned by European history.

In Europe, it could be taken for granted that a small number among the parties of the right were either Fascist-minded or tolerant of Fascist ideas. An equally small number among the parties of the left were sympathetic to, or tolerant of, communism. The "vital center" of democracy was held by neither right nor left but by both conservatives and liberals, who put the standards of justice above party advantage. This vital center was constantly threatened by the extremists of the right, who tried to prove that the whole left was involved with the Communist conspiracy and that, in any case, fascism was justified as a weapon against communism; and by the leftest extremists who tried to prove that every kind of conservatism was tantamount to fascism and that communism was justified as a weapon against the Fascist danger. Both theories proved wrong. If they had been right, no democracy could have survived.

There was an ironic quality in history's refutation of these theories. For the two forms of extremism, each of which tried to justify itself as the most effective weapon against the other, were revealed to have identical consequences of tyranny and cruelty. This was the most indisputable proof of the thesis that democracy depends not so much upon particular policies as upon the fairness and justice with which the conflicts of interest are composed and basic rights preserved. This is the more true since the political debate in every modern technological nation centers on the question of how much or how little the government shall interfere in the free play of economic forces. There can be no final solution of this problem. Approaches to it by right and left cannot be objective, for they are prompted by the respective interests on the one hand of those classes which are powerful enough to have security and want liberty for the exercise of their power, and on the other hand of the less privileged classes, which prefer security to liberty, since they have no skill or power of their own to gain security amid the hazards of a technological society. The health of modern societies requires that this debate remain inconclusive.

The first threat to unity above and below party conflict came from the left. The Marxist dogma of the class struggle oversimplified the complex class structure of technical civilization and obscured the mutualities of interest transcending the conflict of economic interests, which Madison recognized as the root of political controversy long before Marx. We know the baleful consequences of a consistent application of the Marxist doctrine in modern communism. Democratic socialism has only slowly extricated itself from the power of the dogma, though it is only fair to say that its practices have been, for a long time, more consistent with democratic mutuality than with the theory to which it payed lipservice.

In modern democratic societies, particularly in our own, the danger of party extremism now comes from the right rather than the left. There are obvious historical reasons for this development, not related to the fortuitous presence of gifted and unscrupulous demagogs on the right.

The fact that the left was influenced by viewpoints and accepted credos which in their most consistent form resulted in the hated Communist conspiracy offered a great temptation to the right to pretend to see the whole political spectrum left of center as involved in the conspiracy. In our Nation the temptation has been particularly great because the party in power during the period when the hated foe of today was an ally in the struggle against nazism was of the left. There was, therefore, a certain plausibility to the absurd charge that the New Deal was involved in 20 years of treason. This charge seemed the more plausible because the climate of opinion in those two decades made it quite impossible to foresee the present demonic realities of Soviet politics. It is significant that those members of the present administration who shared the responsibility of Government in the Roosevelt era were as touched with illusions in regard to Russian realities and intentions as members of the Democratic Party. The charge of connivance with treason is particularly significant, for it is always the final weapon of the demagog to accuse the political opponent of being in secret or open connivance with the enemy of the Nation.

If these considerations do not convince the thoughtful observer that the contest between the President and the extremists of his party is more fateful for the health of our Nation than the contest between the parties, a comparison between two contemporary democracies, Britain and France, may be convincing. The one enjoys a stability beyond that of any other nation. The other has been involved in social instability since the French Revolution.

The sources of British stability are many; but one of the most important surely is the limited character of the party conflict. The commonsense of the whole national community enforces these limits. Thus Britain has survived both the assumption of power by a Socialist Party and its defeat by the Conservatives without an appreciable rent in the national unity. The Socialist Party was significantly not orthodox Marxist and refrained from challenging the whole national tradition. Unlike continental parties, it therefore gained the suffrage of the whole national community. When it became apparent that the cherished policy of collectivization could not overcome the poverty of a war-impoverished nation and that the hiatus between dream and reality could not be overcome by more rigorous collectivization, the prestige of Labor declined and Churchill returned to power. The Conservatives, on the other hand, did not lend themselves to the illusion that they could or should undo everything that Labor had done. They were schooled in an older and wiser tradition than our conservativism. They believed that the economic process must always be subordinated to political power and moral principle. There was an incident in the election after the war which brought Labor to power which shows that even a wise and magnanimous leader such as Mr. Churchill may be tempted to overstep the bounds of limited war in the heat of an election campaign. He prophesied that a Labor victory would usher in a police state. But the satire of the potent cartoonist, David Low, refuted this extremism better than the opposition could have done. Mr. Low merely pictured Clement Attlee trying to look like Stalin. Everybody laughed the analogy out of court. The difference between an ostensible Socialist Party and an ostensible Conservative Party is significantly less than the difference between the two American parties which have elaborated two facets of the old liberalism.

By contrast the French instability obviously derives from the heat of the party conflict. Who remembers the creeds of the various French parties? What remains memorable is the acrimony between the parties, no matter what their policies. Incidentally, the fact that this party conflict takes place in a multiple-party system, as contrasted with the two-party system which distinguishes Anglo-Saxon democracies, is instructive.

Theoretically, two parties might be expected to divide the Nation more consistently than a profusion of parties. But this is another case in which experience refutes theories. Mr. Churchill, in a memorable speech, attributed the two-party system to the indirect influence of the rectangular, rather than circular, architecture of the House of Commons. If this should be true, architecture would have had a most grateful influence upon the health of nations. Fortunately, the two-party system proved powerful enough to transcend its architectural cradle. For we inherited it from the British, though we built our congressional chambers after the pattern of the Continent.

The French party struggle certainly contributed to the French defeat by Hitler. For the French Right, including military leaders such as General Weygand, were so obsessed with the domestic peril from the Left that they were ineffective against a foreign foe, and in some cases overtly preferred capitulation to a victory which would have given the domestic competitor prestige. The indignities to French honor during the Vichy period are well known. In the present instance, communism actually has a power on the French Left which it does not enjoy in any other modern nation. But even when the Left is rigorously anti-Communist, it imperils the security of the nation by neutralist illusions which have their source in the acrimony of the domestic political situation.

In the temper of our political life, we are probably equidistant from the standards of Britain on the one hand, and France on the other. Our political health is correspondingly less robust than that of Britain but more robust than France. That circumstances makes the tension between the President and his party so fateful for our future. Eisenhower obviously is a man of the middle ground in terms of his temper. This remains true despite his unfortunate definition of his campaign as a "crusade," for the word connotes unlimited, rather than limited, conflict. In addition to temper, the President is deeply committed by conviction and previous experience to the foreign policy course which the previous administration elaborated. He is also surprisingly loyal to the domestic policy of controlling economic life at least to the extent of avoiding undue fluctuations of

"boom or bust." This is surprising in view of the temper of his campaign. The contest between the President and the extremists in his party is, therefore, a contest between those who would narrow, and those who would widen, the distance between the parties.

When President Eisenhower stood resolutely against the Bricker amendment and the isolationist nationalism which it expressed and symbolized, it seemed for a time that the issue had been finally joined and we would soon know whether the one or other type of Republicanism would be victorious. But an old pattern repeated itself and an equivocal action followed an unequivocal one. The President did not act until it was too late to rescue an inept Secretary of the Army from at least the appearance of capitulation to Senator McCarthy and thus increased the status of this demagog at home and his caricature of American life abroad.

This incident, together with his failure to enforce anything more than an outward compliance to his rule of moderation even upon members of his own staff, raises the question whether the party in power may not have elaborated, either by design or inadvertence, a method of working both sides of the street. If this works the President will remain an unsullied symbol of moderation and wisdom who will appeal to the dominant mood of the Nation, while the bully boys will rough up the opposition without real hindrance and will appeal to that part of the electorate which speaks of a Republican revolution and desires to set the clock back on both domestic and foreign policy. If this policy should succeed it would make confusion worse confounded in our Nation and make our future ominous.

Why Alaskans Want Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1954

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, on February 19, 1954, at a banquet in Anchorage, Alaska, sponsored by Operation Statehood, an organization of Alaskans interested in promoting statehood, an address was made by Robert B. Atwood, chairman of the Alaska Statehood Committee, which ever so effectively relates why Alaskans want statehood. I take pleasure in presenting Mr. Atwood's address here:

Many years ago I was a little boy in Illinois. I remember watching a crew of men dig a ditch. It was in the days before machines. The crew was made up of laborers, mostly Italian, who worked with shovels. They dug with the rhythm of machines and made a good, straight ditch. One of my young friends asked a workman, "Why do you dig a ditch?"

The sweating workman looked up from the ditch and replied, "Son, I digga-da-ditch to getta-da money to buya da bread."

The boy thought that over a bit and then asked, "Why do you buy bread?" Probably that was the last thing he would use his money for.

The workman replied, "I buya da bread to eat so I getta-da strength to digga-da ditch."

That may have been the first time I was impressed with the monotony and futility that marks many men's lives. The workman's statement—so simple and yet so well spoken—stuck with me for many years since.

The workman apparently had no glimmer of hope for something better. He had no spark of ambition or adventure that might lead to a life that consists of more than digging a ditch to get the money to buy the bread to get the strength to dig the ditch.

As I grew up I saw that ditch-digger's life over and over again, in many cities, in many jobs and under many circumstances. As a newspaper reporter I saw it in the big industrial cities of the East. I saw it in the rural communities of the Middle West. I met many good and ambitious people who had a purpose in life, but I was depressed by the thousands and thousands who seemed to be mere bodies heading for nowhere in particular. There were too many people digging ditches to get bread to get strength to dig ditches.

In 1933 I came to Alaska as a tourist. I saw the magnificent inside passage, visited the picturesque cities and met many fine people. This opened a new world to me. Alaska and Alaskans seemed to have everything to make life interesting—an enchanting country to live in and unlimited fields for development.

It took me 2 years to arrange my affairs to adopt Anchorage as my permanent home. It didn't take me long after arriving here to learn of the handicaps and frustrations that have delayed and complicated the development of Alaska.

I found the people of Anchorage were like a bunch of musicians locked in a room full of fine musical instruments. One should expect some fine music to come from that room. Or they could be likened to a room full of hungry people in a room full of canned foodstuffs. They were surrounded by the food they needed.

But in order to use those musical instruments or open a can of food, they had to go 5,000 miles away to Washington, D. C., to get permission. The controls were in the Nation's Capital in the hands of officials who didn't know whether those musicians could play the instruments, or whether they needed the food they wanted to use.

I found Alaskans living in the Nation's storehouse of riches, but allowed to touch few, if any, of them.

Shortly after arriving in Anchorage, Mrs. Atwood and I were invited to a cocktail party given by Judge and Mrs. Thomas C. Price. He was an elder citizen, highly respected and one of the civic leaders of the community. At the party, I was a cheechako in a roomful of sourdoughts. The chitchat was interesting and much of the talk centered on why various ones there had come to Alaska. A hush fell over the room—one of those hushes that nobody can account for but frequently occurs. Judge Price was caught with a thought half expressed and he finished his statement with everyone listening, and I heard him saying to a friend:

"I came to Alaska to grow up with the country, but I grew too damn fast."

Mrs. Atwood and I exchanged glances. We were both thinking the same thing. Would the day come when we would be saying something like that? Had we chosen wrong? Had we come to a country that would not develop as we had hoped?

It was about 8 years later that statehood came to the forefront as the only solution to the development problems. After much study and effort, I learned that statehood overshadows all other considerations in Alaska.

And this is a great day because we are, perhaps, closer to statehood than ever before. We have favorable reports from committees in both Houses of Congress. We have powerful friends supporting our bill in seeking final enactment. Our opposition instead of growing stronger, is crumbling. Those who have been opponents are showing interest in getting on the statehood bandwagon. This gives us cause to celebrate.

At the same time, however, it is proper that we hesitate in our celebration to appreciate how lucky we are. How lucky that we can ask for self-government, sovereignty, and fullfledged membership in the greatest nation in the world.

Actually, we are asking for a lot. It is much more than the right to govern ourselves. We are also asking for the right to help govern the other 48 States. This is no small matter, and the men in Congress have the right and duty to study our proposal with great care.

The question asked most frequently during all these years in seeking statehood is a simple one: Why do we want statehood? But the answer is not simple. It has been told over the years by hundreds of individuals. Their statements fill volumes, mostly in the form of testimony before the committees of Congress. For this discussion, I have chosen to divide the answer into three general categories. They are:

1. Because of the shameful record of 86 years without it.

2. Because statehood is the only measure that has been proposed that will enable Alaska to fulfill her destiny.

3. Because it is right and proper; we have qualified for it and are entitled to it.

Now, let us look at these three points. Each one covers a lot of ground and is worthy of study so that it might be understood.

The first point—the shameful record of the past—starts with the treaty of purchase in 1867. That treaty, made by the United States with Russia, was one of the few good deals this Nation has ever made with Russia. For $7,200,000 we purchased this great Territory and all its wealth and potentials.

Yet, the United States violated that treaty immediately after it was executed. That is a serious accusation but it is borne out by the history of Alaska under the rule of the United States.

The treaty of purchase provided that the United States should guarantee the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship for all the residents of Alaska. It provided a guaranty that the citizens would have free enjoyment of life, property, and religion.

Did the United States fulfill that promise? It did not.

For the first 17 years under the rule of the United States, Alaska had no civil government at all. Think of the significance of that. It means that during the first 17 years nobody could own property. There was no law. There was no law enforcement. There being no laws, there were no crimes. A man had none of the rights, privileges, or immunities of citizenship. Alaskans had no assurance of the free enjoyment of life, property, and religion. This was all in direct violation of the terms of the treaty of purchase.

During the first 33 years of American ownership, Congress enacted no special code of laws pertaining to Alaska. Efforts to create a system of laws for Alaska were feeble, ineffective, and verged on the ridiculous. After the first 17 years with no government, the Congress extended the Oregon code of laws to Alaska so far as they could be applied. This was known as the organic act of 1884. It created 1 judgeship for the Territory, 1 marshal, and little else. There were 4 United States Commissioners and 4 deputy marshals scattered along the coasts of Alaska. They were helpless to be effective officials for obvious reasons. There was no mail service so their communications were virtually nonexistent. There was no regular transportation system, so travel was uncertain, slow, and difficult. There was no jail so if a marshal, or deputy, made an arrest he had no place to confine his prisoner. Nor did he have funds for use in feeding him.

If the court held a trial it was impossible to have a jury because the Oregon code required that jurors be taxpayers. In Alaska there were no taxes, hence, no taxpayers.

Alaskans were faced continually with the necessity of sending delegations to Washington to request more government—more laws, more officials, and more of anything. For the first 17 years the plea was for any form of government. Then they started asking for a territorial form of government, which would allow Alaska a Delegate to Congress and a legislative assembly to make their own laws.

The pleas of Alaskans were constantly opposed by the vested interests that have always been present in Alaskan affairs. By 1884 the fisheries had become a power. Prior to that the fur traders had opposed efforts to bring law, order, and developments to Alaska. The fur traders were against people because they would not build up the traplines. Both the fur traders and the fisheries opposed government because it would bring regulations and restrictions on the use of natural resources. Both these groups enjoyed free use of the furs and the fish without regulation or taxation. Nothing in their eyes could improve on that.

Throughout the first 39 years of American ownership, Alaskans fought this situation with dubious results. In 1906 their efforts were rewarded by Congress with the creation of a seat in Congress for an Alaskan Delegate. But at the same time Congress stood firm on its previous refusals to allow Alaska to have a legislature.

While agreeing that Alaska should have an official spokesman in Washington to make known its wants, Congress held that the population was too sparse, too migratory, and the economy was not sufficiently developed to warrant a legislature—arguments that were to be heard over and over again throughout the years.

Alaskans continued their struggle for self-government and in 1912 were rewarded with another victory. They won the second organic act which allowed them to have a legislature. This new organic act underwent so many compromises during the legislative procedures in Washington that even Members of Congress viewed it as a temporary measure to be used only until a new one of more permanent value could be enacted. But it is the organic act that still controls today. It is the basic law under which Alaskans are compelled to live.

The territorial government dates from 1912 when the legislature was created. But a cursory study of the government we are allowed to have reveals that Alaska was given more shabby treatment when this government was conceived. Alaska, as a Territory, has not been allowed the traditional rights and powers that go with territorial status. The Territory was deprived of control over the fisheries, a power that has been granted every other territorial government created by Congress.

Thus the history of Alaska under the rule of the United States from the time of the purchase until now has been shameful. The treaty with Russia has been violated consistently through the years. The powers of government for Alaskans have been mostly withheld and those that have been granted have been long delayed and watered down with restrictions and prohibitions.

Now let's look at the second reason we want statehood and see what's behind it. We now turn to statehood as the only measure ever proposed that will enable Alaska to fulfill her destiny.

What is Alaska's destiny? I think it can be stated simply: to become an important economic unit of the United States.

Alaskans contend that their Territory has strategic importance and also economic importance. Her strategic importance has been recognized by the military, and has been developed along that line. Most of the huge developments of recent years have been the result of this recognition of strategic importance.

But the economic importance of Alaska has been ignored and neglected. Why? Not for lack of things to develop. Alaska has an abundance of wealth in her hills and valleys. The world markets are crying for many of the things Alaska has, yet little effort is being made to bring them into productive use.

The reason for this lethargy lies in Federal restrictions on the natural resources, the limitations on the powers of the territorial government, and the instability of territorialism that frightens venture capital.

Under our territorial system of government, Alaskans live subject to the whims of the Secretary of the Interior. He is frequently called the czar of Alaska because of his enormous powers. He rules by executive order, or edict. Through his orders, he can affect the everyday lives and livelihood of Alaskans. Investors are not attracted by a situation that would make them "subjects" of any Government officials without the normal protection of representative government.

This situation retards Alaska's development, but there are other factors retarding it equally effectively. One of them is the fact that the rules of the game of development have been changed. Alaska cannot be opened up under the same rules that made the western part of the Nation attractive to venture capital.

When the first pioneers went into the West they could have whatever they found. The land was available for the taking. The minerals were theirs for the finding. The timber, water power and all the other things of economic value were transferred to private ownership as rapidly as anybody wanted them.

Since then, conservation has become a part of the national policy. Natural resources, instead of being given away for development, are now held under tight Federal laws and policies known as "conservation."

The major resources of Alaska were locked up under these Federal rules. They are held under Federal control 5,000 miles away and, those holding the controls, not knowing what to do with them, usually do nothing. Alaskans have found conservation, as practiced in Alaska, the opposite of wise management of controlled use that it is supposed to be. It is a paralysis—a deep freeze that holds everything in suspended animation. Indeed, it frequently results in wanton waste.

Ever since 1912, Alaskans have been trying to improve their powers through amendments in the organic act and better administration by the Federal bureaus in charge. Success has been so infrequent and inadequate that it is reasonable to say there has been none. Patchwork improvements don't work. So long as Congress remains the ultimate authority on Alaska, the prospects of substantial developments remain virtually nil. Even the Supreme Court has ruled against Alaska. When an appeal against discriminatory laws enacted by Congress, was made by Alaskans they were handed an immortal blow. The highest court of the land ruled that it is legal for Congress to discriminate against a Territory.

It is a result of that ruling that we have such obnoxious laws as the Jones Act, section 27 of which discriminates against Alaska. This law provides that cargo originating in the East and moving to Prince Rupert can be shipped to Alaska only in American ships, while the same cargo can move south from Prince Rupert to west coast ports in ships of any country.

It is under the Supreme Court ruling that that we have the infamous provision of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, which treats Alaskans like foreigners when they travel south and enter continental United States. They must pass immigration inspection.

It is because discrimination is legal that Congress has been skimpy in its grants-in-aid for Alaska while many bountiful programs have been enacted into law for the States. A prime example is the Federal Highway Act in which Alaska is specifically excluded from sharing the Federal funds while Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands are included.

Only through full-fledged membership in the Federal Union, and a voting representation in Congress will Alaska ever get the consideration she deserves and needs.

Statehood would end the shameful treatment that marked her rule under American ownership and eliminate the Federal discriminations and prohibitions that have kept her development in shackles.

Now let's look at the third reason we want statehood—because it is right and proper; Alaska has qualified for it and is entitled to it.

Like the first two, this reason also covers a lot of ground and can only be outlined here.

Under the American system of government, territorial status carries with it the promise of statehood. That is historic. It appears in various court decisions. It is not speculation or wishful thinking. A lawyer might say, it is "res adjudicata."

Ever since the 14th State joined the Union, this process has been at work. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 first set up the terms for statehood, prominent among which was the requirement that the population be 60,000. But it is interesting to note that many States have been admitted even though they lacked the 60,000 population. The attitude toward new States was different in those days. Congress was more liberal and generous in welcoming new members to the Federal family.

The attitudes and generosities were demonstrated over and over again. One case which is a good illustration is the method under which the Territory of Nebraska was admitted as a State in 1864.

Nebraska had an enabling bill in Congress just as Alaska has today. Her population was only 27,000—less than half of the requirement under the Northwest Ordinance. Each Congressman at that time represented 127,000 constituents and Nebraska's population would entitle her to about one-fifth of one Congressman. The debates in Congress on the Nebraska enabling bill were strikingly similar to those that have marked the Alaska bill. Anyhow, Congress passed it despite the shortcomings and Nebraska was then well on the road toward statehood.

The Nebraskans then went through the same process that Alaska will have to go through if the present enabling bill is enacted—the holding of a constitutional convention and a referendum vote ratifying the constitution.

In Nebraska there were 7,776 votes cast in the constitutional referendum. There were 3,938 votes in favor and 3,838 against the constitution. The proposition carried by a bare 100 majority. The Nebraskans then reported to Congress that they had complied with the enabling act and had ratified a constitution and they were ready for admission.

In Congress, objections were raised. There were some who held that the vote was too small to be significant of the true wishes of Nebraskans. There were objections because the State constitution had a provision that disenfranchised colored people. Then, too, charges of fraud were brought into the debate. The matter was referred to a committee for investigation.

It was found that two companies of soldiers from Iowa had been allowed to vote in Nebraska, although they were not eligible. It was also found that an Indian agent who had been in Nebraska 4 months was allowed

to vote, although a 6 months' residence was required. The agent also had voted 18 half-breed Indians under this control, and they were not eligible to vote.

If all the illegal votes were thrown out it became highly questionable whether the Nebraska constitution had been ratified at all. But the Senate showed its generosity of that date. Senators seemed to have the attitude, "Oh, well, these poor people in Nebraska—they are living under a Territorial government and one can't blame them for wanting something better."

Congress took appropriate action admitting Nebraska as a State. One amendment was inserted by Congress. It forbade the new State from discriminating against colored people.

President Johnson vetoed the measure on the grounds that Congress had no right to prescribe the conditions of franchise. He also held that the frauds made it questionable whether the constitution had been ratified by the people.

It happened that President Johnson was unpopular with Congress at that time. The Congress seized upon his veto as an opportunity to show their disapproval of him and his administration. His veto was overridden by an overwhelming vote, and thus Nebraska became a State.

It must be noted, that Nebraska has been a mighty fine State. It is one of the great units of the American economy and has produced many great men. Today the chairman of the Senate committee considering statehood for Alaska is the senior Senator from Nebraska. The chairman of the House committee considering Alaska statehood is a Representative from Nebraska.

Thirty-five States have been admitted to the Union. Thirty-five times the arguments against admission have been repeated. Most of them are the same arguments now being used against Alaska—the population is too sparse, too migratory, the economy is immature, unstable, the Territory is not ready yet.

Each time the Territories seeking admission have overcome those attacks. Sometimes through special concessions like Nebraska where many of the facts were overlooked.

Nothing has been overlooked in handling Alaska statehood in Congress. We have been bisected, dissected, probed, X-rayed, and held under the miscroscope by Congress. We have undergone every test any man could dream up for us. And we have passed every one of them.

Every deliberative body that has ever considered statehood has come out in favor of it. Not once has a committee of Congress ever ruled against us, no matter how hostile its members were when they undertook their studies. This is truly a remarkable record.

The population of Alaska today is greater than that of 28 States at the time they were admitted. The Territorial government is today carrying most of the responsibilities of statehood. We have proven our ability for self-government and are entitled to it.

Now our statehood bill has gone into the ring of national politics. We, as Alaskans, did all we could in preparation for the great day that is so near—the day we hope it is accepted by final action in Congress. It is out of our hands now. It is up to the Members of Congress to say "Yes" or "No."

The statehood bill is most generous in its provisions for the new State.

The bill gives the State of Alaska the right to select for its own a total of 103,350,000 acres of land from the public domain. It provides for the Federal Government to pay to the State $48 million for use in road construction over a period of 5 years. It provides an additional $30 million for highway maintenance over a period of 15 years. It provides for the Federal Government to retain responsibility for mental cases institutionalized prior to statehood.

The bill would give the State rights to 33,000 acres of valuable coal lands, rights to precious oil and gas lands, the reserved lands along the highways. It would guarantee no more land withdrawals would be made by the Federal Government for 5 years, except for military purposes. And it would freeze Alaska's participation in the Federal highway program for 15 years on the basis of $87 Federal dollars for each $13 advanced by the State.

All of these provisions are unprecedented in admitting a State to the Union. They are beautiful from the Alaskan point of view, but they are certainly not all essential to make the State of Alaska a success. We must hope that the statehood bill has not been made so generous that Alaska will be turned down and get nothing.

If statehood is enacted, it will be a new impetus to restore the era of great development that marked the opening of the West. It will prime the economy of the Nation by opening a new area for investment and growth, and by providing a new place for men to go and live, to build for themselves an important and permanent niche in the national economy.

We will replace remote controls with local controls on many of our resources and activities. We will guide our own destiny instead of being subject to the whims and edicts of the Secretary of the Interior, or some other absentee interest. We will make our own rules for development. We will open up this big storehouse of wealth to make it useful for man and the Nation.

The great land of Alaska has been the best investment the United States has ever made. Alaska paid for itself fifteen times in whales before it was purchased. It paid for itself three times in fur seals in the first year of American ownership. It paid for itself in furs between 1870 and 1880. It paid for itself in walrus between 1880 and 1890. In all, it has paid for itself 19 times in the various furs taken.

Alaska has paid for itself 47 times in copper. In the last 50 years it has paid for itself each 7 months in gold taken from her hills. In the last 20 years it has paid for itself each 30 days in salmon. In all, Alaska has paid for itself 425 times in the 86 years under the American flag.

Today the Federal Government owns timber that would pay for Alaska 400 times if it were brought into use. The minerals known to exist would pay for Alaska 600 times if mined.

Statehood will enable this rich territory to fulfill its destiny as an important economic unit whose benefits accrue to the Nation. The achievements of the past, sensational as they are in the face of the shameful treatment under the territorial system, will be overshadowed and forgotten when the tremendous economic forces are unleashed to develop under the normal conditions that have fostered the development of the world's greatest nation.

Academic Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CARL T. DURHAM

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted to revise and extend my remarks, I am enclosing a version of an address made and edited by Victor S. Bryant, of Durham, N. C., on the occasion of the sixth annual Oliver Max Gardner award dinner held at Leazer Hall, North Carolina State College, March 22, 1954:

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Mr. President, Mrs. Gardner, ladies and gentlemen of the three faculties of the University of North Carolina, and distinguished guests, when President Gray asked me several months ago to speak to you on academic freedom, I confess I accepted with enthusiasm, not because I felt that I had any new thought to bring to you, or any eloquent way in which to present an old one, but because I felt we should discuss openly this timely and important subject.

The more I have reflected upon the assignment the keener has become my apprehension that lack of academic experience might prevent my doing justice to the subject.

The shades of Wilse Caldwell must rest uncomfortably tonight, for it was he who gave up a dignified janitorial position at Chapel Hill for a less academic but more lucrative job in the bull tobacco factory in Durham. In due time, as many wise men do sooner or later, he voluntarily returned to Chapel Hill with the observation to President Battle that "Durham warn't no place for a literary man." Were he here tonight I fear he would rise and point out pithily that no bull from Durham had any place in an academic china shop.

President Gray, by the length of his notice to me, must have had in mind the adage that, given sufficient time, any man should be able to be concise. I shall try to be.

May I make it clear at the outset that I have no authority to speak for the board of trustees. Indeed, I am confident some of them will differ vigorously with at least parts of what I shall have to say. The views I express, therefore, are mine, and neither the trustees nor the administration should be held responsible for them.

Any basic consideration of the meaning, purpose, and necessity for academic freedom requires a clear concept of what a university should be. On this point I am willing to accept the mid-19th century definition of Cardinal Newman—"A university," said he, "is a school of knowledge of every kind, consisting of teachers and learners from every quarter. * * * It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries verified and protected, and rashness rendered innocuous, and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge." Thus a university exists not only for imparting knowledge in such manner as to quicken the intelligence and imagination of young men and women, but in addition it must insist upon the extension of the known boundaries of knowledge by a relentless search for truth.

The heart of any university is its faculty, and the best results may not be expected from any faculty unless its members have full freedom in both research and teaching in their particular fields; in short, unless they enjoy academic freedom.

Real academic freedom insists upon the recognition of certain positive and fairly well defined principles. Let us examine them.

First of all, it stands for a teacher's full freedom in research, and for the right to publish the results of his research.

No university should presume to circumscribe the boundaries within which a faculty member may search for the truth, although for the performance of his order duties it may limit the time allowable for research. It must be anticipated that the results of his search will collide at times with orthodox beliefs, and it might be further expected that not infrequently unorthodox beliefs will emerge. These may be highly unpalatable to both the university administrative officials and the trustees. However, it must be remembered that the heresies of one age frequently become the accepted standards of

the next. The dissenting opinions of our Federal Supreme Court offer eloquent proof of this. More dramatic, perhaps, is the case of Roger Bacon, who, because he dared maintain that God's rainbow could be explained by the laws of physics, was forced to spend 14 years of his life in prison. Galileo, who discovered and asserted that the earth moved around the sun, was arrested, threatened with physical torture and duressed into a sworn retraction. Progress is rarely made by conforming to accepted views, and the privilege of dissent must be protected carefully.

Your research in the humanities and the natural sciences will probably bring you little, if any, unpopularity, since the average layman has scant interest in a newly discovered physical formula, and is not likely to become highly aroused over a translation which supplies a new interpretation of passages from Euripides or Marcus Aurelius. You would be well advised, however, to verify and recheck carefully before publishing or teaching any new ideas which you feel you have discovered in the fields of the social sciences, because here you begin to trespass on posted land. There is perhaps less tolerance for original thinking in these fields than in any others. And yet we know so much about how to kill our brother man, and so relatively little about how to get along with him that these are the places where research and vision are perhaps needed most.

There is a second privilege which the teacher should enjoy under academic freedom: A faculty member in his classroom should be absolutely free in teaching those subjects which he has been assigned to teach. Of course, the instruction should be of a scholarly nature and compatible with the dignity of the profession. A teacher must not take advantage of his position to introduce into the classroom provocative and irrelevant discussions on matters not related to his subject. He should present his honest and free opinions, and when he has done this every resource and energy of the university must protect him from any restraint upon his freedom in teaching. Neither inside nor outside the classroom has the teacher any right to teach students immoral precepts or subversive doctrines, and I assume the term "subversive" to mean the overthrow of our Government by fraud or force.

Academic freedom stands for a third privilege for the faculty member: Outside his classroom and beyond his chosen field he has the same right to formulate and express his opinions as any other citizen. He must, however, in doing so dissociate himself from his academic ties insofar as possible in order that the institution is not represented as concurring in the opinions expressed. Perhaps more conflict arises in this field than in either of the other two. At times professors probably fail to realize that their opinions carry much weight and that laymen frequently judge them as official spokesmen of the institution regardless of the subject on which they may choose to express themselves. Certainly it would seem appropriate to cite the existence of a controversy within his discipline, when such is the case, lest he give the appearance of speaking authoritatively, and thus lead the public to attach unjustified weight to the substance of his views.

A university should have on its faculty members representing as many respectable viewpoints as possible. As these professors express themselves on public matters some will naturally be on the unpopular side. As men and women of learning they should at all times in their public utterances be accurate, and exercise appropriate restraint and respect for the opinions of others. A professor by ill-advised utterances may do serious damage to his profession as well as his institution, and may even destroy his own influence with students, most of whom you may rest assured have a keen eye for the fallacious.

The university teacher enjoys freedoms both as a citizen and as a faculty member. He enjoys them simultaneously, but they are not to be resolved into the same thing. When the professor speaks of socially and politically controversial matters outside the field of his professional specialty, he steps out of character as a faculty member, and exercises his freedom as a citizen.

If the administrative officials or trustees of an institution assume the right to censor or dictate what a professor may not say extramurally, they must, as a matter of fairness, assume responsibility for what he may say, and this is a responsibility which I definitely recommend that the trustees forego. In spite of any possible damage to the institution, as a trustee I would feel that the danger of attempting to impose restraints on extramural utterances of faculty members would be attended with far more harm than would be done by leaving them free and trust their good judgment and that of their hearers.

Our own university in 1856 discharged a science professor because he advocated publicly the abolition of slavery. I cannot refrain from speculating how fortunate this Nation might have been had he and others like him prevailed, and we had avoided that collapse of reason which made possible the catastrophic Civil War some 5 years later.

As I understand it, these are the basic principles upon which academic freedom rests. I endorse them wholeheartedly. They should be your inalienable privileges, and certainly they are necessary for the highest attainments in your great profession. They are neither rewards granted nor bargains offered to the faculty by the trustees. They are not guaranteed by the Constitution or prescribed by statute. I doubt seriously that they are universally accepted, and such vitality and respect as they enjoy have been made possible only through the long and patient efforts of the members of your profession and your allies among the laity. They are not self-perpetuating, and most assuredly they require constant and diligent protection. No one should attempt to deprive you of them, and you have every right to expect that any efforts to do so will be resisted to the fullest extent by both the university administration and the university trustees.

Nevertheless, they may be forfeited. Becoming a professor does not remove one from the inexorable tests of integrity, competence, and citizenship. A baseball player who is unable to hit or field his position is benched. A doctor who loses his skill must hand over the scalpel to another. A lawyer who surrenders his integrity or falls short in his professional ability must pay the penalty.

So must a university professor be judged by his integrity and his professional competency as demonstrated in his research and teaching. A professor, who misuses his classroom or other relationships with his students for subversive propaganda or wrongful purposes, or is guilty in his extramural relationships of subversive acts which disqualify him as a citizen, must be responsible as an individual for the violation of professional principles or the law of the land as the case may be, and, when found guilty, after a proper hearing, should be dismissed from his institution.

Because of much recent agitation, perhaps it would be advisable to refer to two specific matters bearing directly on the question of academic freedom. The first relates to communism, the second to the invocation by a professor of the fifth amendment to the Federal Constitution as grounds for refusal to testify.

The member of the Communist Party who does not know what his party stands for is too incredibly ignorant to occupy a position on a university faculty. The person who remains a member of the Communist Party after finding out what it does stand for thereby disqualifies himself for faculty membership.

May I quote from the annotations to the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Joint-Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *McGrath* (95 Law Edition, p. 876):

"It has now been judicially recognized that the (Communist) Party is a highly organized conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence, with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when the leaders feel that the time has come for action, that its goal is to seize powers of government by and for a minority rather than to acquire power through the route of a free electorate, that it alone among American parties past or present is dominated and controlled by a foreign government, that violent and undemocratic means are the calculated and indispensable methods to attain the party's goal, and that every member of the party is an agent to execute the Communist program." (*Dennis* v. *United States* (341 U. S. 494), and *American Communications Association* v. *Douds* (339 U. S. 382).)

No person who embraces such beliefs has any place on our university faculty. I think I can speak for my brother trustees when I say positively and unequivocally that we want no teacher on any of our three campuses whose thinking and teaching is directed by any foreign power, or who is not free to search for and transmit the truth honestly. Such a person has no regard for the principles of academic freedom. I hasten to add that I do not believe that there are any such among your ranks.

Any member of a university faculty who is charged with being under the discipline of a foreign government or of a political party which is under the discipline of a foreign government, and therefore without the required liberty to teach honestly and objectively in a university which stands for freedom, should have his case studied carefully by a committee of his eminent colleagues who should report their findings for the information and consideration of the administration before a recommendation is made to the trustees as the governing board with final authority under the law. The accused should, of course, have the right to know definitely the charges against him, to face his accusers and to present adequately his side of the case. Some such procedure would insure substantial due process. If found guilty he should be dismissed.

I confess to more difficulty with the case of the professor who takes advantage of the fifth amendment, and reach a somewhat different conclusion. This amendment provides, in part, "No person * * * shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Its provisions are usually taken advantage of by a witness answering a question substantially as follows: "I refuse to answer the question upon the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate me, and rely upon my rights as guaranteed by the fifth amendment to the Constitution." The advisability or inadvisability of the retention or modification of this provision of the Constitution is not now before us. Our question is whether a faculty member who answers in such manner a question put by a congressional or other investigating committee or grand jury should, by reason of such answer, be deprived of membership on a university faculty.

A teacher, dedicated as he must be to the search and exposition of truth, owes the duty at all times of complete candor to himself, his pupils, his institution, and his colleagues. There must be in his mind no mental reservation, and, when appearing be-

fore a committee or grand jury in search of the truth, his attitude should be one of complete cooperation rather than of studied refusal and defiance.

It is indeed a very sorry spectacle to see a teacher on one day proclaim his right to pursue and teach the truth and on the next day invoke his constitutional right of remaining silent on the ground that to speak the truth might tend to incriminate him. In the court of public opinion he has destroyed his usefulness as a teacher, and has done a disservice to his profession. The amendment does not and should not protect him against the commonsense judgments and adverse reactions of others.

I can well see how a teacher might feel that his rights of free speech, guaranteed under the first amendment, were in danger of being invaded by annoying or embarrassing inquiries about his beliefs, writings, or teachings, but in my judgment he would be extremely ill-advised to express his objection by refusing to cooperate, however righteous may be his resentment of the methods of his inquisitors. His remedy lies elsewhere. Full public discussion rather than refusal to answer is a much more effective weapon of those opposed to intolerance and bigotry.

I find nothing in the Constitution which says that its provisions may not be invoked by a university professor. While refusal to answer is usually taken as an admission of guilt, a supposition which may be true, it does not always follow that the witness who refuses to answer is guilty, nor does the refusal prove the nature of the crime, if any, of which he may be guilty.

However, let me point out that a professor who claims the protection of the fifth amendment against self-incrimination thereby serves notice upon his institution and its trustees that there is something which calls for a thorough investigation. It would be a negligent bank director who failed to investigate promptly any employee who, when questioned about shortages, refused to answer upon the ground that his answer might tend to incriminate him, though I do not insist upon the suitability of the analogy. A professor who claims the protection of the fifth amendment should expect a speedy investigation as to just what crime or alleged crime he has refused to testify about. If a fair investigation showed that he was not guilty of anything for which he should be dismissed, it would follow, I think, that he should not be dismissed merely because he had claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment, but on the contrary, that his standing as a faculty member should be protected and the cloud on his title lifted. Should the investigation reveal, however, that he was committed to a party which advocated subversive activities he should be dismissed, not because of his invocation of the fifth amendment, but because of his subversive commitments.

I cannot, therefore, bring myself to conclude that the mere invocation of the fifth amendment in itself constitutes sufficient grounds for dismissal.

It has been suggested that the Congress enact a law prohibiting the payment of Federal funds to any educational institution which retains on its faculty one who has claimed the protection of the fifth amendment. Such legislation, in my opinion, would represent such poor judgment that I cannot believe it would be seriously considered. The rights of the other members of the faculty, and those of the students, as well as the need for education, are all too important and paramount to suspend merely because one member of a faculty has rightly or wrongly chosen to invoke the amendment.

Where do the administrative officials and members of the board of trustees of our university fit into these concepts of academic freedom?

Obviously a commonwealth itself cannot operate a university. Our State has chosen to have this important function carried out by a corporate body of trustees acting for it. As such they have important duties which I do not minimize.

The trustees should interest themselves in seeing that those bodies which determine the State's spending policies are acquainted through proper channels with the university's physical needs. They should be greatly concerned that the faculty salary schedules are adequate to insure the employment and retention of a thoroughly competent faculty, and in the selection of such a faculty with freedom to live, learn, and teach in a congenial atmosphere. After the legislature has made an appropriation to the University, the trustees and the institution's administrative officials should endeavor to see that the money is wisely spent and that the State receives full value for every dollar expended. I believe that once the legislature has made an appropriation for the university the expenditure of the funds should not be withheld by any other State agency so long as the funds are available and the expenditures are made for the purposes which the legislature intended.

For this discussion, however, I am primarily interested in faculty-trustee relationships as they bear on the question of academic freedom.

Our State law on this subject is concise:

General Statutes of North Carolina 116–12: "The trustees shall have the power of appointing a president of the University of North Carolina and such professors, tutors, and other officers as to them shall appear necessary and proper, whom they may remove for misbehavior, inability, or neglect of duty."

It has been said that "A good trustee selects a good president and then goes home."

In all matters pertaining to the discipline or discharge of faculty members after employment the board of trustees would certainly be well advised to act through the offices of the president or other administrative officials rather than to attempt independent action. For equally good reasons the board should resent independent and direct disciplinary action in matters pertaining to the academic freedoms by any outside agency. Faculty members are employees of the State acting through the board of trustees, and any outside complaints involving faculty members should be brought to the administration or the board who are and should be on the firing lines, and must stick to their guns in defending the rights of those whom they have employed. Faculty members should recognize and remember this.

It is highly essential that the trustees refrain from any project which has the appearance of spying, and it is necessary from every standpoint that no methods of inquisition or intimidation be employed. Even the threat of any such plays havoc with academic freedom. If methods of this kind are employed all members of the faculty should and will resent them. In such event some will seek freer and more congenial fields, others will quietly adopt a safe but sterile course.

But that is not the worst of it. What happens to the student when fear stalks the classroom? The stimulation of adventurous thinking will vanish. Teachers who should beckon pupils, to follow them through the portals of wisdom to new vistas of inspired learning will halt at the threshold, content only to point out timidly a safe and uninspired way. References to important present-day world movements will become conventional and innocuous. Discussion in civics, literature, economics, and history classes will become so trite and colorless that the college bell and fresh air will be hailed with heartfelt relief. Free inquiry will be stifled, discussion will leave off where it should begin, and academic freedom will lose its vitality.

On the other hand, the offices of a trustee before the employment of a faculty member differ sharply from those after his employment. Before employment the trustee must satisfy himself of the applicant's moral character, his competence and zeal as a teacher, and his qualifications as a citizen.

Here again the trustee must rely largely upon the judgment of the faculty and administrative officials in accepting recommendations for faculty appointments. Obviously, however, his duties in this respect should not be entirely delegated.

To establish criteria in the selection of a faculty which insure that all its members think alike, or that they come from any particular section of the country, would most certainly violate the basic concepts of a university. We are proud of our Southern heritage and our cultural background, and want them preserved, and this I should like to emphasize, but it would be a mistake to limit faculty appointees to Southerners, or Conservatives, or even Democrats. Trustees or administrative officers who, in their selection of faculty members, try to slant faculty teachings all one way, violate the academic freedoms and do an equal disservice to both the institution and the student. Intellectual vigor and quickening of the youthful impulse to learn are inspired from the clash of viewpoints rather than the conforming of opinions. Perhaps a certain amount of heresy on a campus should be both normal and healthy.

Sometimes trustees seek to lock the door too late by exacting loyalty oaths of faculty members. If the task of selection had been properly attended to there would be little or no need for the question to arise. Loyalty oaths, in my judgment, have no beneficial value. A person who believes in subversive practices would probably not hesitate to swear falsely to any proposed oath. To single out the faculty member for a loyalty oath might properly be construed by him as a reflection upon his intellectual honesty and an invasion of his academic freedom. Since the oath can accomplish no practical good, and is properly resented by the teacher, and since it leaves the trustees with a false sense of security, I can see no reason for it. Its uselessness is as obvious as the pledge with which a young lady closed a freshman English quiz. Said she, "I ain't received no help on this quiz, and God knows I couldn't give any to nobody else."

To acquaint himself with a prospective teacher's background a trustee must make inquiries, and has the right and duty to ascertain whether the applicant is now or has been a Communist. Present membership would certainly disqualify him as far as I am concerned. Past membership would not necessarily do so.

Let me explain. In late 1942 the retreating Russians, with everything destroyed in the path of the advancing German Sixth Army, and with hundreds of thousands of their citizens and soldiers lying dead along the path of retreat, dug in at Stalingrad, and in surprising ferocity turned aggressively on the German horde estimated at 40 divisions, which had then been ordered by Hitler, the homicidal maniac, not to give ground. What ice and famine and pneumonia and dysentery failed to do the Soviet forces accomplished in the annihilation of the German Army. I had joined associations and worked to raise funds for the soldiers and civilians of Britain and our other allies. Had I been requested to do the same for our then Russian allies I would have complied willingly. Many people in those days joined the associations of our allies for laudable motives of assistance. Later when it became known that some of these were Communist controlled, they promptly withdrew their mem-

berships. However, many of these people are now being held up to undeserved scorn and embarrassment. While it is praiseworthy to expose those presently engaged in subversive activities, there should be no wanton failure to recognize that the motives of men and women must be judged on the basis of the only facts known to them at a particular time.

And this leads me to my conclusion: Why have we been so perilously ignorant about the social facts of our national and international life? Why are we now embroiled in so many difficulties with China and some of our former allies? Why did we not know sooner about Hitler? He had written Mein Kampf. Why did we not know what communism stood for? Lenin, the guiding spirit of the Communist International, had written prior to 1924, "It is necessary * * * to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs." (Selected Works of Lenin, English translation, vol. X, p. 95.) Why have our young men and women been graduated from our colleges and universities without more adequate, yes, I even use the word "practical," concepts of the world's basic political and social philosophies, and particularly a workable knowledge of those of our own Nation?

I am sure you realize that the paid propagandists, who presume to think for you; the false phophets, who, with their counterfeit logic, foretell your doom; the torturers of the truth, who, with their stupid doubts, endeavor to undermine your faith in the fundamentals on which our Nation has prospered; and the smearers, who, with their reckless accusations and other allied forms of intellectual terrorism, seek to intimidate, have made you, the members of an honored profession, their chief targets. This is no accident. You are the responsible preceptors of our young men and women who will be the thinkers of tomorrow, and the architects of our grandchildren's destiny. But you will not be intimidated, and you must not remain silent.

The point I make is that academic freedom is a matter of noblesse oblige. It carries with it definite and inescapable responsibilities. If the teacher is free to seek and teach the truth, it must follow that it is his obligation to differentiate the true from the false and to expose the fallacious, regardless of how firmly entrenched it may be. The teacher has no right to seek the comfort and complaisance of silence through fear of giving offense.

Personally, I am more concerned that you will not use fully your academic freedom than that you will abuse it. If you have found the truth you must not worry too much about the effect your views will have on the appropriations for the University of North Carolina. If I know the people of this State you will need to worry about appropriations if the time ever comes when you surrender your academic freedom, and become a party to suppressing the truth. Then there will probably not be much of a university to worry about. I should advise, however, that you take care that you have gotten your facts straight and that you have actually discovered the truth before proclaiming any startling ideas, for the people of this State, and particularly those who spend its money, do not remain misled for very long at a time.

I point out to you a rugged, difficult, controversial and perhaps at times an unpopular path. Most surely there will come times when your academic freedom will be threatened. When this happens I am confident you will find your administration resisting any invasion of your rights.

Listen to President Gray in his inaugural address:

"Academic freedom must be preserved at all costs * * *. We will attempt to guarantee the search for truth, and the protections which an open mind should enjoy * * *. This institution believes in freedom of inquiry and the right of unshackled research."

Risking the loss of certain types of Federal aid, President Gray, only last summer, refused to surrender to a branch of the Government the right to discharge such members of the faculty as it might disapprove.

Frank Graham, a vigorous champion of academic freedom, when commissioned by Governor Gardner as president of the Greater University on November 11, 1931, said in his inaugural address:

"We are dedicated to making the University of North Carolina a stronghold of learning, and an outpost of light and liberty along the frontiers of mankind * * *. Freedom of the university means freedom of the scholar to find and report the truth honestly without interference by the university, the State, or any interests whatsoever."

He was only saying then for the University of North Carolina what Thomas Jefferson years before had said for the University of Virginia: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow the truth, wherever it may lead, not afraid to tolerate error so long as reason is left to combat it."

With equal confidence I pray and anticipate that your trustees, in any future hour of peril, will defend your academic freedoms to the utmost, rather than initiate or tolerate any effort to destroy them.

You must not, however, leave the protection of academic freedom to either the administration or to the trustees. You are, and must continue to be, its real defenders. Permit any infringement or surrender of these principles, even piecemeal, and you will have betrayed a sacred trust.

It is far better that you fight and be thankful for having to do so, than that you complacently expect to enjoy the academic freedoms as your inalienable birthright. Defend and make full use of them with the intelligence I know you possess. Your efforts will ripen into fruition. Through quickened and independent thinking you will promote the welfare of the university and thereby that of the State of North Carolina, for the 2 are dependent 1 upon the other. You will furnish stimulation and direction to our Southland in its struggle for educational, industrial, and agricultural leadership. You will lend valuable counsel to our Nation in its position of international importance as it charts its course in a confused world. And finally, under the guidance of free men and women higher education will have reached its finest hour.

Department of Agriculture Appropriation Bill, 1955

SPEECH
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 8779) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I want to take just a minute to explain some statements that I think were made in error about the actions of our subcommittee.

Our subcommittee was presented with an operating budget for the Department of Agriculture which provided funds in the amount of $698 million for the regular activities of the Department. Our subcommittee attempted to keep the appropriations going to the Department in our bill at the same level as the budget figure recommended by the Bureau of the Budget. The control programs and the various action programs, such as the Soil Conservation Service were cut down. Those cuts were restored by the subcommittee and at the expense of increases that had been recommended by the administration and by the Secretary of Agriculture for research and for extension services.

Certainly the executive department of our Government has the opportunity at any time to review recommendations which it has made and if it does come up with revisions that are important enough and meritorious enough to go beyond the budget figures, certainly we should consider the requests. That is what we are doing here today in several amendments that will be offered. There has been no amendment that I have seen which proposes a higher figure than was in the budget as originally submitted by the Bureau of the Budget. Hearings have been had on those items and consideration given the figures which wil be recommended in the various amendments I have seen thus far.

May I say that our subcommittee chairman, the members on the minority side and on the majority side of our subcommittee, worked hard to keep the budget within the limitations. Certainly our chairman is correct in saying that we would have been headed for much more serious trouble on the floor of the House if we had brought in the cuts in the action programs, the Soil Conservation Service and in many of the other recommendations of the Budget Bureau. We would have had many complaints from all of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

The chairman of our subcommittee is certainly a real friend of agriculture. He has been very helpful, he has been very thoughtful, he has helped me at all the times, which I appreciate, and I want him to know that there were no members from our subcommittee who attended any meeting at the White House on Saturday.

Department of Agriculture Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOE L. EVINS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, in commending the committee for its diligent work in writing this bill, I do so in full recognition of the task confronted and accomplished. They have labored long

and hard and in a commendable atmosphere of bipartisanship.

However, I do want to say that I had hoped that its work might have been coupled with a more generous attitude toward and a greater concern for the continued progressive general welfare of our agriculture economy and with a keener perception as to the difference between economy and false economy.

We all recognize the need and essentiality for keeping Government expenditures to the absolute minimum consistent with proper and adequate service to the people. Neither party has a monopoly on this point of view. But I most certainly question the wisdom, at this time, or at any time, of hampering by any means—through the denial of needed funds or otherwise—the great soil-conservation program, the agriculture extension program, the school-lunch program, the rural electrification and telephone program and the other meritorious and beneficial programs which our farmers have come to depend upon as a means of keeping their economy stable and prosperous—and which they recognize have had so much to do with the attainment of their present state of agriculture progress and the present overall well-being of our rural population.

Each year when the time comes for the House to act upon the question of funds for operations of the Agriculture Department, the farmers of the district which I am privileged to represent, the Fourth District of Tennessee—and I am sure this reaction is general in agriculture areas of the country—exhibit understandable concern. They realize as do we all, that their enterprise and activities in the field of agriculture are almost completely at the mercy of the Congress and that they can be greatly impaired by improper attention to and concern for the Department of Agriculture and its requirement for adequate funds for pursuing the progressive programs heretofore created to enhance the well-being of the farm economy.

It is not a matter of minor or isolated importance—this providing of full and adequate funds for the continuation of the beneficial operations of the Department of Agriculture. The welfare of our whole economy, we know and appreciate, is closely allied to and tied in with farm prosperity, for agriculture is our basic industry and good times and orderly progress in this field is the start of the circle which rounds out into good times and prosperity for all the Nation.

For reasons which I am unable to appreciate, the committee has seen fit to reduce below the amount recommended funds for extension and research, for State experiment stations, for market research and such programs. And funds for such absolutely necessary programs as soil conservation, rural electrification and telephones, school lunches and others are totally inadequate in the committee bill.

Funds deleted or cut should be restored. Full and adequate funds should be made available where the provision has been insufficient. As I have indicated, I strongly question the wisdom of this measure in its overall perspective. It is simply inadequate to the need.

I have spoken too many times previously on the need and necessity for continuing these great agriculture programs unimpaired to make a repetition of my views necessary at this time. It is necessary only to say that I propose to fight for restoring the cuts effected in the essential programs and shall exert every effort in support of increasing funds for these programs.

I respect and esteem the members of the committee who have exerted a bipartisan effort to whip an agriculture appropriations bill into shape and bring it to the floor for debate and consideration. But I must emphasize that it is my intention in considering this measure to fight to the last ditch to pass a bill which more accurately reflects our interest and concern for the farmers and which shows that not only his present welfare but his future welfare is of importance and concern to the Congress. I shall exert every effort to eliminate from the measure all false economies and to assist the passage of a measure which embraces the beneficial elements of true economy. Minimizing the farmer's welfare is not my estimate of true economy.

Questionnaire to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY J. LATHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I wish to extend in the RECORD a questionnaire which I intend to send to my constituency:

HOW WOULD YOU VOTE?

DEAR FRIENDS: I invite you to be Congressman for a day. Will you step into my shoes and indicate below by a check mark how you would vote on these current Federal issues?

Since I represent you in Congress and must vote in your behalf, your views will be of great interest and assistance to me. This is the best way I know to make Federal Government more responsive to the ideas of the individual American.

I have deliberately presented these proposals simply, so that they would be unbiased and not an indication of my own feelings.

I shall be very grateful for your cooperation on this project. Your individual opinion will be kept strictly confidential.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. Do you favor the United States joining a world government? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Has United States participation in the United Nations been worthwhile? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Should economic aid to Europe be increased? ☐ Decreased? ☐ Discontinued? ☐

4. Do you favor continued military aid to Europe? Yes ☐ No ☐

5. Do you favor admission of Communist China to the United Nations? Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Should we help the French in Indochina with war supplies? Yes ☐ No ☐ With American troops, ships, and planes? Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Do you favor additional American expenditures under point 4 for the development of backward nations? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. Do you favor an absolute free-trade policy? Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Should tariffs be high enough to protect American industries? Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Do you favor a limited exchange of atomic information with our allies? Yes ☐ No ☐

MILITARY

11. Do you favor universal military training while we are still subject to the draft? Yes ☐ No ☐

12. Are you satisfied we are getting more defense for less money under the present administration? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Do you believe there is a strong present probability of an H-bomb attack on American cities by the Reds? Yes ☐ No ☐

14. Would you rearm Japan and Germany? Yes ☐ No ☐

DOMESTIC

15. Do you believe there are still numerous Communist agents in our Federal Government? Yes ☐ No ☐

16. Do you support Senator JOE MCCARTHY'S fight against subversives? Yes ☐ No ☐

17. Do you believe that active communism within the United States today is a real live threat to American freedom? Yes ☐ No ☐

18. Should the Communist Party be outlawed? Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Do you approve of President Eisenhower's record thus far? Yes ☐ No ☐

20. On the following list of accomplishments by the present administration and Congress, please mark the three which you consider most important:

(1) Korean fighting stopped. ☐

(2) Personal-income taxes cut 10 percent. Excess-profits tax ended. Excise taxes cut. ☐

(3) Nineteen hundred and fifty-four appropriations cut $14 billion. ☐

(4) One hundred and eighty thousand Government jobs abolished. ☐

(5) Crackdown on Reds, racketeers, and alien criminals. Eight hundred deported. ☐

(6) Honesty, integrity, and efficiency restored. ☐

(7) Stronger defense at less cost. Heavier reliance on atomic and H-weapons and airpower. ☐

(8) Foreign aid reduced. ☐

(9) Segregation ending in armed services, VA hospitals, Government agencies, etc. ☐

(10) Groundwork laid for expanding and improving social security. ☐

21. Would you like to see the administration more conservative? ☐ More liberal? ☐

22. Do you favor the objectives of the Bricker amendment? Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Do you favor the Latham-Halpern-Preller plan to eliminate overlapping and duplication of taxes by Federal Government, States, and cities (i. e., gasoline, tobacco, income)? Yes ☐ No ☐

24. Should there be more congressional investigations? Yes ☐ No ☐

25. Do you favor development of Niagara waterpower by private capital? ☐ New York State? ☐ Federal Government? ☐

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

26. Do you favor any Federal aid for education? Yes ☐ No ☐

(a) If so, do you favor such aid for children attending nonpublic schools where the laws of the States of residence permit? Yes ☐ No ☐

27. Do you favor old-age pensions of $100 per month for persons 60 years or over? Yes ☐ No ☐

28. Would you favor increased social-security benefits supported by larger deductions from your pay envelope? Yes ☐ No ☐

29. Do you favor a national compulsory health-insurance plan supported by additional payroll taxes? Yes ☐ No ☐

30. Do you favor more federally subsidized, tax-exempt public housing? Yes ☐ No ☐

AGRICULTURE

31. Do you favor elimination of the price-support program for farmers? Yes ☐ No ☐

LABOR

32. Should the Taft-Hartley law be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐ Should it be strengthened? Yes ☐ No ☐ Should it be weakened? Yes ☐ No ☐

33. Do you favor an increase in the minimum-wage law? Yes ☐ No ☐

VETERANS

34. Should veterans with non-service-connected disabilities be entitled to full and free treatment and care in veterans' hospitals? Yes ☐ No ☐

35. Should present veterans' benefits be further expanded? Yes ☐ No ☐

CIVIL RIGHTS

36. Do you favor Federal laws to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or color? Yes ☐ No ☐

IMMIGRATION

37. Should the McCarran-Walter Act be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐

GENERAL

38. Would you favor a national lottery to help defray Government expenses? Yes ☐ No ☐

39. Which of the major political party platforms most nearly meet with your own views: Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ Liberal ☐ American Labor ☐

40. Should 18-year-olds be given the right to vote? Yes ☐ No ☐

41. Should Hawaii be admitted to statehood? Yes ☐ No ☐

Alaska Yes ☐ No ☐

42. Do you favor building the St. Lawrence Seaway? Yes ☐ No ☐

Sign this, or not, as you wish. Please return to Congressman HENRY J. LATHAM, room 1118, House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Feel free to use reverse side for comments and remarks. Thanks for your cooperation.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

International Understanding Through Cultural Exchange

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton on April 12, 1954, at a luncheon given in honor of the Azuma Kabuki dancers and musicians from Tokyo, Japan, by the Washington Board of Trade:

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH CULTURAL EXCHANGE

I

(a) It seems appropriate to me, today, to speak on a topic which, while being very much related to the occasion, constitutes an idea which may well be called a prerequisite for peace; namely, "International understanding through cultural exchange."

I am certain that you will agree with me if I say that we can only have feelings about people and things we actually know. And that we can only understand and love that which we know well. True international understanding, therefore, can only come about when nations will have thoroughly known and understood each other. And peace will only be lasting when this has been achieved.

Since all peoples alike crave for harmony, peace, economic stability, and progress, which wars make impossible, all nations are basically linked by a common desire which is prevented from bearing fruit only because of their ignorance of one another. And their not knowing, not understanding each other, makes for suspicion, and suspicion for fear, and fear brings about subjective attitudes, built on misconceptions which have devastating consequences. It is obvious, therefore, that this ignorance is the basis of international misunderstanding. To root it out, all nations on the five continents of this planet must endeavor to gain as much knowledge of one another as possible—and this is best brought about by cultural exchange in its very broadest meaning.

(b) Cultural exchange is realized in innumerable ways. For instance, through international travel. (I should like to interject here that the idea of intensified international travel appears so imperative to the legislative branch of my Government that Congress has recently introduced a bill which calls for its promotion.)

Cultural exchange is achieved through technical cooperation.

It is realized through the exchange of clergymen, teachers, artists, scientists, and journalists, among Asian, American, European, and African countries. These individuals and groups who travel to distant lands carry with them the very seed of good will and the sword against ignorance.

II

It is with this awareness and in this spirit that I welcome the Azuma Kabuki dancers and musicians to America. I should also like to pay tribute to Japan for having been in the forefront of those free nations who have been actively cooperating in cultural interchange. None of us will ever forget the glorious exhibition of the treasures of Japanese art, which last year were shown at the National Gallery and other American museums.

Since July 2, 1951, Japan has been an active member of UNESCO. Through the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, an exhibit of American children's drawings was recently sent to Tokyo. The exhibition was a great success and a short while ago a group of 59 drawings by Japanese children was received here as a token of appreciation and with them a medal, a certificate and 2 books for Geraldine Payne, a 7-year-old little girl from Greensboro, N. C., whose drawing had received the first prize in Tokyo. Thus, the spirit of international understanding through cultural exchange, grows roots in the hearts of little children who, we pray, will be the citizens of a peaceful tomorrow.

III

I think it is important to remember here the value of the international organizations which further a better understanding among nations.

First, of course, I should like to speak of UNESCO, which has been joined by more countries than even the United Nations. It counts 69 member nations. It is an interesting fact that Russia, and none of the Iron Curtain countries, are members of UNESCO, and that Soviet Russia with the largest program of cultural and other propaganda, and its interminable cultural conferences, refuses to cooperate on the international level, and in developing the freedom of the arts. Instead, she turns the arts into slaves of the state. In fear of freedom, lest the regime collapse, the Soviet ideology bars individualistic expression. Its concept is diametrically opposed to the idea of artistic freedom, which has been so beautifully formulated by Thornton Wilder. He says that "the artist is not insisting upon freedom for freedom's sake—as thoughtless adolescents do as criminals do. Freedom presents itself to an artist not as a void but as a severe summons. Of all men, artists and men of religion have the clearest vision of what freedom is; and they live in fear lest they abuse it. No one commands their laborious hours, no one can help them. The only freedom the artist desires is a servitude to the truth. For his interior struggles we can do nothing."

But coming back to UNESCO, nothing could better illustrate the purpose for which it was created than these words taken from its constitution. I quote:

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed; ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern * * * peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

To realize this purpose the organization will (a) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreement as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image; (b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture; (c) and finally, maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge.

UNESCO has truly become an indispensable tool for the promotion of international interchange of knowledge and the combating of illiteracy.

Let us also remember here such valuable organizations as the Cultural Commission of the League of Arab States; the Council of Europe, which recently passed a convention on human rights; the International Bureau of Education in Geneva with its annual conferences of ministries of education from all over the world; the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which protects writers and composers within member states in matters pertaining to copyright; and last but not least, the Organization of American States, formerly the Pan American Union.

IV

Of course, there are many non-governmental organizations, engaged in the furtherance of international good will along the lines mentioned. I shall not attempt to name them all, for they are too great in number. However, ANTA, the American National Theater and Academy on the national level, and the International Theater Institute on the international level, provide an excellent illustration of what nongovernmental groups can do in this realm. ANTA, for instance, is the United States center of the International Theater Institute. It produces plays by distinguished foreign authors, a play that reflects the life and living of another country, or one concerned with those ideas and ideals of mutual helpfulness and good will. The theater has a tremendous role to play as a means toward understanding. It lifts the audience into participation and through participation to a sympathy that is more powerful in that it is experienced through the emotions as well as apprehended by the mind.

V

(a) Finally, I should like to speak of the United States Government efforts fostering international understanding through cultural exchange.

It is only natural that I should first think of the tremendous contribution my own organization, the Foreign Operations Administration, is making: FOA cooperates with 56 nations in one or more aspects of the mutual security program. Sixteen of those nations are in Europe; 14 in the Near East, South Asia, and Africa; 7 in the Far East; and 19 in Latin America. No program is undertaken except upon specific request of the participating government. No technical program has any military strings attached as the price of United States cooperation.

Technical cooperation is such an important factor in creating better understanding between America and other nations because it is a two-way street. Not only are we providing knowledge, new skills, techniques through a fisheries adviser for Liberia, a fertilizer expert for India, a tax consultant for Iran; or a teacher-training specialist for Jordan, but through our contracts between United States and foreign colleges, professors, students, scientists, Government officials, and labor experts from other countries come to the United States colleges and through their very presence stimulate United States research and interest in their native land. For instance, Mark Gordon, of the FOA mission in Ethiopia, explained upon his recent visit here that through an Ethiopian contract with the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical University, Oklahoma has become the only State where everybody knows something about Ethiopia.

FOA finances part of the costs involved in these contracts. The fundamental difference between United States and foreign universities is the extension service American colleges give. In the United States, the university does not teach only a selected few, but it also extends vast services to the people. Here university personnel goes out into the field and works with farmers, advises industries, renders services to the government. It offers evening and weekend classes and special courses during vacation periods. These concepts are passed on to foreign universities through the consummation of these contracts, and they will slowly revolutionize the role of foreign universities in faraway lands, always assisted by American professors and United States university personnel who teach their techniques in demonstration services.

I know it will amuse you to hear how one FOA project affected the Iranian village of Sheraz. There, FOA assisted in the building of a new village water-supply system. A few months after its completion, the keeper of the village morgue went to see the village council with a seemingly grave complaint. He explained that he had hitherto been paid by the number of bodies he buried, but that he had now to insist upon an annual salary due to the severe drop in business.

The foreign trainees and productivity teams program is another important factor. We have at present 3,000 to 4,000 foreigners here who have come over under this program for additional training in specific technical fields, important to the economic development program of their native countries. Simulataneously, they learn to understand our political, social, and economic institutions which is just as important as their technical training.

Work-study training programs, primarily for young workers from Europe, make possible their working in American factories for American wages. They spend time with American families, go to American amusements, take out American girls and return to their home countries to tell about their experiences. They are also given special orientation courses which enable them to transpose that which they have learned into workable and applicable methods at home.

Before their departure, our American technicians are likewise oriented as to the history, culture, and customs of their prospective host country. However qualified these technicians may be, they could be worse than useless, would they and their wives not understand the attitudes and the differences in tradition, motivation, and social organization of the foreign country they are about to visit.

In collaboration with the Department of State, FOA is now developing technical training for Asians in Japan. The type of training they can secure in Japan is much more applicable to the situation to which the individual is going to return, than training obtained in the United States.

But don't let me forget the other United States programs in my great enthusiasm over the work of the Foreign Operations Administration.

(b) The Department of State with its international educational exchange service promotes genuine understanding and mutual respect between the United States and all free peoples. This program seeks to bring about greater worldwide confidence in, and cooperation with, the United States. It furthers the realization among other peoples that the motives, objectives, and policies of the United States Government and its citizens are in harmony with, and will in fact advance, their own legitimate aspirations for peace, progress, and freedom. In 1953, grants were awarded to more than 7,600 persons, involving exchanges, with 72 countries of the free world. These persons were key persons—leaders or potential leaders of affairs in their countries.

The positive results of this program are best illustrated through the statements made by foreigners upon conclusion of their visit here. A young German who landed on our shores with some very harsh criticisms of United States fraternities as a breeding ground for self-styled snobs commented after he had been here for a year:

"I do not think that I have been assimilated here, that I have been Americanized to any great extent, but I have found in Sigma Chi, a common meeting ground where I can be a close friend to Americans and still be a good German. That may not sound too extraordinary but imagine this concept really being applied on a large scale in international relations."

A Japanese legislator told of his understanding in this way:

"I realized from this trip that the essential difference and disagreement between Communist Russia and the United States is that the former represents a way of life by compulsion and the latter represents a way of life which is based on and derives its strength from voluntary processes. The American way is just and proper for human society."

Even the sports are not neglected in this program. A particularly effective tour was the visit to Japan of the New York Giants. The Japanese, who are avid baseball fans, came in great numbers to see the Giants in action against a Japanese team. Widely and favorably reported was the message of President Eisenhower which Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick brought with him.

(c) Turning to Latin America, I should like to remind you that our whole concept of using cultural relations as an instrument of foreign policy began with our Government's official programs of cultural exchange with Latin America in 1939. These programs have been and still are the concern of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs in the Department of State. "Stable, satisfactory relations between the United States and the nations of Latin America are vital as we seek to build a cooperative peace characterized by freedom and rising levels of well-being," to use the words of Milton Eisenhower, pronounced upon his return from Latin America last November. And again, in March 1954, at the 10th Inter-American Conference at Caracas, several of the most important agenda items were concerned with cultural relations and the exchange of persons.

VI

These programs then, of which I have spoken to you, today, are the implementation of President Eisenhower's concept as expressed before the fourth national conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO in September 1953. He said: "I cannot urge too strongly or too often the dedication of the energies, resources, and imaginations of peoples throughout the world to the waging of a total war upon the brute forces of ignorance and poverty."

Civil Aeronautics Administration Breaks Solemn Commitment Made to City of Waterloo, Iowa, to Citizens of That Area, and Members of Congress

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. H. R. GROSS
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD herewith material from my files which sets forth clearly and effectively how an administrative agency of Government, in this case the Civil Aeronautics Administration, can and does set aside a firm commitment, deals lightly with the public safety, and thereby flaunts congressional intent.

There would be no reason for Congress to appropriate funds for air-traffic-control facilities at airports were it not for the factor of human safety. Unquestionably the CAA must establish certain criteria as a basis for providing operational facilities, but when this criteria has been met and a firm commitment made—as in the case of Waterloo, Iowa—it is dealing capriciously with Congress and the public to say in effect: "Our regrets—we no longer feel that way."

For many months—in numerous letters, telephone calls, and personal conversations—I have urged the activation of this tower, pointing out the constant jeopardy to human life. Moreover, and only a comparatively few miles distant from this airport, is an installation vital to national defense.

Space permits only a small part of my bulky file on this case to be printed herewith, but the statistical, factual proof that Waterloo is being given a raw deal is overwhelming.

The material which follows includes, first, an editorial from the March 19, 1954, issue of the Waterloo Daily Courier; second, a resolution adopted by the Waterloo City Council; third, a letter from Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce; fourth, a memorandum from F. B. Lee, Administrator of Civil Aeronautics; fifth, two letters from Walter E. Betsworth, manager of the Waterloo Municipal Airport and past president of the National Airport Managers Association;

sixth, a letter from L. Homer Mouden, chairman, regional air safety committee of the Air Line Pilots Association; and seventh, a letter from Rear Adm. Charles E. Horne, former Civil Aeronautics Administrator.

It is interesting to note that even the Secretary of Commerce admits that Waterloo met all of the requirements for the establishment of a combination control tower-communications station in 1951, 1952, and 1953, and that the CAA had advised Waterloo to proceeed with the construction of a tower.

I have repeatedly pointed out to the Secretary of Commerce this commitment made to the city of Waterloo and warned that if a tragedy occurs as a result of the lack of air traffic control, I will personally and publicly hold the Department of Commerce responsible.

Despite these commitments and the documented evidence, the CAA still refuses to act. The control tower at Waterloo's beautiful, well-planned municipal airport remains empty, a silent monument to broken promises and an invitation to tragedy.

[From the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier of March 19, 1954]

WATERLOO AIRPORT'S EMPTY TOWER—III

In two previous editorials, the Courier has told the story of the way the Department of Commerce has unfairly discriminated against Waterloo by refusing to provide air traffic control facilities which are provided in other cities with far less air traffic.

There are some interesting new developments in this controversy; but the story can best be told by relating the sequence of events leading to the present situation.

STEP-BY-STEP STORY

1. On January 3, 1951, the Civil Aeronautics Administration informed Waterloo airport officials that the airport here fulfilled all requirements for a CAA control tower facility and that they should proceed with plans for construction of a tower.

2. During 1952 the tower was constructed in accordance with CAA specifications and with CAA official approval. Waterloo taxpayers paid half of the $45,000 cost.

3. The Truman budget submitted to Congress early in 1953 proposed funds for manning the Waterloo tower; but these funds were struck out when the Republican administration revised the budget.

4. In January of this year, the CAA revised the requirements or criteria for establishing control tower facilities; and the revision constituted rank discrimination against Waterloo. Under the new criteria a DC–6 airliner with 60 passengers is weighted exactly the same as a Piper Cub with only 1 passenger. In other words, under this criteria an airport with 24,000 annual nonlocal air movements of single-seater, 1-engine planes would rate a control tower, while an airport with 23,900 air movements of multi-engine passenger airlines would not.

This means that the CAA rates the safety of 24,000 1-passenger flights higher than the safety of 1,436,000 airline passengers. Airports much used by "Sunday fliers" on afternoon jaunts thus receive CAA consideration, while Waterloo, with 20,766 nonlocal air movements last year, and with a high percentage of scheduled airline movements, is ignored.

6. Under this new criteria, the CAA proproposes this year to establish 9 new control towers at airports elsewhere in the country, only 2 of which have as much scheduled airline traffic as Waterloo. And all but one of these proposed new installations already have CAA radio communications facilities, which are a major safety control feature.

CAA ADMITS COMMITMENT

This is the background of the controversy. The CAA freely admits that it made a solemn commitment to establish a control tower at Waterloo. In a memorandum prepared for Representative H. R. GROSS, CAA Administrator F. B. Lee declares: "We have, in the past, led the people of Waterloo to believe that they need and deserve the traffic control and communications service which we are now unable to provide. It is regrettable that we are placed in this position, but we can ill afford to abandon our new planning concepts and accommodate Waterloo's needs without realizing that many other localities would expect similar treatment."

How could other communities expect similar treatment? No other airport in the United States with more than 18,000 air movements has been refused a control tower after receiving a CAA commitment, and after proceeding with construction of a tower under that commitment.

The CAA does not disestablish control towers until air movements drop below 18,000 a year. Thus, after the CAA commitment to Waterloo was made, it is not justified in refusing to honor that commitment unless operations here drop below 18,000 a year. No other city could claim that the CAA was violating the new criteria if it honored the pledge it gave when the Waterloo tower was constructed.

GIVE CEDAR RAPIDS CONTROL?

But the CAA is apparently concerned with the safety situation at the Waterloo Airport. Nearly a year ago, Lee declared in a letter, "It is agreed that sufficient need and activity exists at Waterloo to justify establishment of such services (control tower)." And in a memorandum, dated March 8 of this year, Lee proposes the desperate alternative of controlling Waterloo air traffic from the communications station at Cedar Rapids. "If this plan does not work as expected, it will be in order for us to program a communication station at Waterloo," he says. Apparently he does not know that Cedar Rapids is in the Chicago control area, while Waterloo comes under the Minneapolis zone. There is no teletype service between the Waterloo and Cedar Rapids airports, so scheduling of air movements from the latter city is not feasible.

Investigation reveals that Waterloo is the only city in the United States, with one possible exception, which has as many as 11 scheduled airline flights a day without either a control tower or radio communications facilities.

As a matter of fact, there are 23 cities with fewer airline flights than Waterloo which have both a control tower and communications facilities.

BROKEN PROMISES

This, then, is the raw deal being given Waterloo:

1. The CAA, under its new criteria, does not withdraw its control tower and communications personnel from an airport unless annual air movements drop below 18,000.

2. The CAA committed itself to a control tower at Waterloo and Waterloo taxpayers paid half the cost.

3. The CAA has withdrawn its solemn commitment, even though Waterloo air movements last year totaled 20,800.

Resolution 11840

Resolution to call upon the Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, and the Congress of the United States to honor the solemn commitments made to the citizens of Waterloo, Iowa, by allocating funds for air-traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport

Whereas Mr. Charles Horne, Director of the Office of Federal Airways, Civil Aeronautics Administration, on January 23, 1951, wrote to the Waterloo Airport Commission as follows:

"It is desirable that you proceed at this time with your plans for the construction of a tower cab to be available either for combined facility operation or to house the operating position of the communications station"; and

Whereas the Waterloo Airport Commission did accordingly proceed with plans for the construction of the tower on the Waterloo Municipal Airport administration building, and submitted these plans for the approval of CAA officials; and

Whereas the CAA did approve these plans and construction was completed at a cost of approximately $45,000 of which the Federal Government paid half and the taxpayers of Waterloo half; and

Whereas the volume of air traffic at the Waterloo Municipal Airport during 1951, 1952, and 1953 met all existing CAA criteria for establishment of a combination interstate airway communication station (INSAC) and an airport traffic control tower; and

Whereas on December 15, 1952, Administrator Charles F. Horne of the CAA informed Senator B. B. HICKENLOOPER: "We are very glad to inform you that appropriate steps are being taken to include a combined tower-communications station at Waterloo in our fiscal year 1954 budget request"; and

Whereas these and other official communications from the CAA were accepted in good faith by officials of the Waterloo Airport Commission who thereupon expended tax funds entrusted to them by the citizens of Waterloo; and

Whereas these and other communications constituted a solemn commitment on the part of the Federal Government to honor its part of the joint undertaking by providing manpower and technical equipment for air-traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport; and

Whereas the CAA in January of 1954 revised its criteria for establishing a combined station-tower facility and provided that airports having in excess of 24,000 annual nonlocal air movements would be entitled to a new facility but that established facilities would not be withdrawn until annual nonlocal air movements dropped below 18,000; and

Whereas in 1953 there were in excess of 20,000 nonlocal air movements at the Waterloo Municipal Airport and the volume of both nonlocal and local traffic is steadily increasing; and

Whereas if the Federal Government had honored its commitment and respected its own criteria for establishment of a combined station-tower facility by inserting funds for the Waterloo service in the fiscal 1954 budget, the combined station-tower facility would have been in operation and would not be subject to withdrawal under the revised criteria; and

Whereas investigation reveals that Waterloo is the only city in the United States, with one possible exception, which has as many as 11 scheduled airline flights a day without either a control tower or an Interstate Airway Communication Station; and

Whereas there are at least 23 other airports with fewer airline flights than Waterloo which have both a control tower and a communication station and more than 100 such airports with radio communications; and

Whereas the CAA proposal to control air traffic at Waterloo Municipal Airport from the communication station at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is not only impractical because of the distance and lack of interconnecting communication facilities but is also an insult to Waterloo in view of the fact that the Cedar Rapids Municipal Airport has considerably less annual nonlocal air movements and far less local traffic; and

Whereas establishment of a combined tower-communication facility, or at least a communication facility alone, would not involve the CAA in any new obligations to other airports seeking service since there is no other known airport in the United States with more than 18,000 annual nonlocal air movements which constructed a tower with CAA approval and does not have any form of traffic control; and

Whereas the CAA has budgeted $5 million for fiscal 1955 for the establishment of new air navigation facilities and proposes to establish tower control at 8 airports which already have a communications station but has refused to budget funds for any traffic control whatever at Waterloo; and

Whereas control of air movements is by law a Federal function and control by municipal authority impractical because jurisdiction does not extend beyond the city limits; and

Whereas the lack of any effective air traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport constitutes a grave hazard to the safety of the approximately 250,000 persons who annually use this airport: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the city council of Waterloo, Iowa, hereby respectfully calls upon the Department of Commerce, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and the Congress of the United States to honor the solemn commitments made to the citizens of Waterloo by allocating funds for air traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport; and be it further

Resolved, That the city council of Waterloo would consider failure to allocate these funds a serious breach of faith which would lay at the door of the above-named bodies full responsibility for any loss of life resulting from the lack of adequate air traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport.

Passed and adopted this 1st day of April 1954.

LAWRENCE A. TOUCHAE,
Mayor.

Attest:

H. W. WENTE,
City Clerk.

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, March 10, 1954.

The Honorable H. R. GROSS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GROSS: I have had the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics look into the matters raised in your letter of January 28, 1954, concerning the need for an airport traffic control tower at Waterloo, Iowa. The Administrator's comments are enclosed.

Thank you for your interest in safeguarding air traffic, and for the opportunity to comment on the situation at Waterloo. Please be assured that we shall keep in mind the possibility of including Waterloo in future programs, as soon as the amount of traffic reaches the prescribed levels.

Sincerely yours,

SINCLAIR WEEKS,
Secretary of Commerce.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
CIVIL AERONAUTICS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, March 8, 1954.

Memorandum prepared in response to a letter dated January 28, 1954 from Congressman H. R. GROSS.

The necessity for a reexamination of the planning standards on which we base requests for appropriations to establish Federal Services to aviation has caused a great deal of comment Nationwide, and the tightening of these standards has resulted in changes of plans which are difficult to explain satisfactorily to those whose hopes and plans are affected adversely. The end of this period of enforced change and readjustment to new concepts is not in sight, and any change which calls for a reduction in the number of places served by Federal facilities is going to arouse much protest from aviation circles.

Joint action by industry and Government aviation interests, acting through the Air Coordinating Committee, has resulted in adoption of a new planning standard governing our recommendations for setting up new airport traffic control towers, and for discontinuing service at towers whose activity is below certain levels. A copy of the new standard is enclosed.

Waterloo does not have enough activity to meet the requirements for a new tower, under the new standard. We have set up 24,000 operations (other than local) as the amount of activity required, and Waterloo had about 20,800 such operations, by its own admission, in the calendar year 1953.

Our planning standard for provision of airway communications service has also been changed. No longer do we include as a qualifying factor the service which we provide as a by-product to the task of relaying traffic control information. Therefore, while in 1951 we pointed to Waterloo as an example of a place which needed a communication station, we no longer feel that way. We have built an omnirange at Waterloo, but we feel that communications with interstate airway traffic flying at minimum instrument altitudes and above can be adequately handled from the Cedar Rapids station. If this plan does not work as expected, it will be in order for us to program a communication station at Waterloo.

We have, in the past, led the people of Waterloo to believe that they need and deserve the traffic control and communications service which we are now unable to provide. It is regrettable that we are placed in this position, but we can ill afford to abandon our new planning concepts and accommodate Waterloo's needs without realizing that many other localities would expect similar treatment.

The new planning standard was developed to set up a more adequate measure of need for traffic-control service, and to determine the level of activity which warrants the expenditure of Federal funds to provide the facility and services in question.

We have adopted this standard, and in doing so we stated that no amount of purely local activity justifies the expenditure of Federal funds for traffic control. Admittedly, if 24,000 operations of a nonlocal character would warrant a tower at Waterloo, it is logical for the proponents of the Waterloo tower to state that the 65,000 local operations at Waterloo create a problem for the 20,000 operations of a nonlocal character. In fairness to all, at the expense of some, we state that 24,000 operations of air carrier and itinerant aircraft is the dividing line, without regard to the amount of local traffic.

The instances cited, whereby there have been near misses, would not be entirely prevented by the establishment of tower service; such instances could also occur at places where the total activity is much less than at Waterloo.

We have failed, because of the time lag between inception of a project and its realization, to keep promises made to the people of Waterloo. This is regrettable. To go back and keep these promises would, we feel, result in new and serious charges of discrimination and inconsistency.

We stand ready, at any time when the activity at Waterloo reaches the required amount, to request funds for federally financed tower service.

F. B. LEE.

WATERLOO MUNICIPAL AIRPORT,
Waterloo, Iowa, March 17, 1954.

The Honorable H. R. GROSS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GROSS: Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter CAA Administrator F. B. Lee sent to you under date of March 8, 1954, in reference to the Waterloo Airport control tower.

In paragraph 2 of the letter reference is made to "joint action by industry and Government"—the American Association of Airport Executives, which represents practically every city in the United States where control-tower facilities are operated, was not consulted. We have been advised that the Air Transport Association or the Airline Pilots' Association were not consulted. The owners of the airports, the airlines, and the pilots—the people most directly concerned with the problem—were not consulted. Who is the industry?

It is true, as stated in paragraph 3, that Waterloo did not have 24,000 scheduled and itinerant movements in 1953, but had 20,800. However, Waterloo did meet the criteria as established by the CAA in 1951, 1952, and 1953. This new criteria Mr. Lee refers to was not adopted until January 14, 1954. Under this new criteria a new tower will not be established until an airport has 24,000 annual air carrier and itinerant aircraft movements. It will not be discontinued until it falls below 18,000 annual movements. Had the Federal Government lived up to its commitment to Waterloo in 1953 we would now have our control tower in operation and would be well above the decommissioning criteria of 18,000.

We note that President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles, in presenting to the Congress the continued need for funds for foreign aid, stress the fact that the United States Government has made commitments to our foreign friends, and the Government of the United States must keep its promises. Is the word of the United States Government of no value as regards its written promises to the States or cities of the United States? Does the administration hold the Iowa congressional delegation in such low esteem that it openly flaunts and repudiates the written agreements of the United States Government to the people of Iowa?

The CAA can keep their promises to Waterloo and still not abandon their new planning concepts if they consider the Waterloo problem in its true perspective as a contract already made. In addition, on page 8 of the new criteria we find the following paragraph:

"The new airport traffic control criteria shall be used as a guide for determining present and future programs. The criteria are not to be considered as inflexible, and unusual conditions may justify exceptions to the criteria. Such exceptions, however, should be rare, and will be made only after thorough study and justification."

The statement that, "The instances cited whereby there have been near misses would not be entirely prevented by the establishment of tower service; such instances could also occur where the total activity is much less than Waterloo," is the same as saying there is no more danger of a collision at La Guardia or Chicago than there is at Waterloo. We concede that wherever two aircraft are in the air there is a possibility of a collision. But when you multiply that by thousands of aircraft movements, the possibility of a collision becomes that much greater. Another plane would not have been flying blindly in the overcast over the Waterloo airport when a scheduled airliner was executing his instrument approach and let down procedure had we had radio communications with the itinerant aircraft.

Is the final paragraph of Mr. Lee's letter any more to be depended upon than his previous letters to us or than those of the former administrator to Senator HICKENLOOPER?

We are sure that all of the Iowa congressional delegation realizes that constituents from their own districts fly east and west or north and south through Waterloo every day. An accident here will not just claim the lives of the residents of the third district but from all the other districts as well.

We would appreciate being advised when the Senate Appropriations Committee plans

to hold hearings on the CAA appropriations bill and would appreciate having an opportunity to appear before that committee and present the case of the people of Iowa versus the discrimination being exercised against them by one Robert B. Murray, Jr. We would appreciate the support of the entire Iowa delegation in this hearing.

Yours very sincerely,

WATERLOO AIRPORT COMMISSION,
WALTER E. BETSWORTH,
Manager, Waterloo Municipal Airport.

WATERLOO MUNICIPAL AIRPORT,
Waterloo, Iowa, April 9, 1954.

Congressman H. R. GROSS,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN GROSS: I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks to Senator JOHN W. BRICKER, chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, relative to the Waterloo, Iowa, airport control tower. We were particularly interested in noting that the Secretary candidly admits that Waterloo met all of the requirements for the establishment of a combination control tower-communications station in 1951, 1952, and 1953, and that the CAA had advised Waterloo to proceed with the construction of a tower.

"I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter which I recently received from the Airline Pilots Association pointing up the hazards that exist at the Waterloo Airport. In the second paragraph of Mr. Weeks' letter he says, "an omnirange at Waterloo is nearly complete. The traffic-control information will be adequately handled by personnel in our communications station at Cedar Rapids." The omnirange is not nearly complete. In fact, the only part of an omnirange we have is an empty building with no radio or navigational equipment in it whatsoever. We have recently been advised by the CAA that due to the delay in the shipment of equipment the omnirange cannot be completed until sometime in July or August.

Traffic control cannot be adequately handled from Cedar Rapids, which is 60 miles away. Even if an airway were established at Waterloo and this area were designated as a control area or a control zone, the only aircraft flying into the Waterloo area of which the communications station at Cedar Rapids would have cognizance would be those which filed an instrument flight plan. With the ceiling at 1,000 feet or above itinerant aircraft could approach this airport flying under the overcast and proceed to land while at the same time an air carrier could be letting down on instruments to land on the same runway. Cedar Rapids radio would have no way of knowing that itinerant aircraft flying contract or in visual reference to the ground, were in the vicinity. Cedar Rapids would know nothing of the wind or weather conditions at Waterloo, or the runway being used by local traffic. If such a remote control is satisfactory why did the CAA move the communications station 25 miles from Iowa City to Cedar Rapids? If traffic can be controlled remotely with safety why does the CAA propose operating a second tower at Baltimore Harbor Airport when Baltimore Friendship Airport with all facilities handled less than 100,000 total movements in 1952? Both are in the same town. Why not handle Lincoln, Nebr., from Omaha; they are only 60 miles apart. Why not handle Kansas City Fairfax Airport from Kansas City Municipal? They are just across the river from each other and the two together have less traffic than Chicago. Several cities have two control towers and communications stations operating in the same city. Apparently, such a practice is not safe enough for other cities but is safe enough for the farmers of northeast Iowa.

In the second paragraph of Mr. Weeks' letter he says the problem at Waterloo is not in any way connected with statistics on activity at other localities. The statistics point out the discrimination against the 600,000 people of northeast Iowa who use this airport. Statistics reveal that Waterloo is the only city with possibly one exception in the United States with as much scheduled traffic as we have that does not have either a communication station or a control tower. Statistics reveal that 23 cities with less such traffic have both control towers and communication stations. Call it what you want—we call it discrimination.

Statistics reveal that, of the 375 cities with the most aircraft departures in 1952, only 142 had more scheduled flight departures than did Waterloo. Only 139 such cities boarded more passengers than did Waterloo and only 107 such cities boarded more passengers per scheduled flight departure. Yet airway communication stations are provided at 405 other locations in the United States and control towers in 165 other locations.

Waterloo wants a combined tower and communication station, or at least a communication station located in our tower cab. None of the 18 existing towers that were closed had as much traffic as Waterloo and did not meet the criteria then existing. Mr. Weeks admits that Waterloo met the criteria in every respect. The new planning standard referred to ACC paper 59/30D was adopted according to the date thereon in January 1954 not the summer of 1953.

Mr. Weeks says that to keep their promises to Waterloo would open them to new charges of discrimination. What other cities have as much traffic as does Waterloo which have neither a communication station or a control tower and to whom the CAA has made definite commitments? What cities would be discriminated against by activating the Waterloo control tower? Would it be discrimination against any other city to keep a commitment made to Waterloo previous to the adoption of the new criteria?

The paragraph which state that "the near accidents at Waterloo would not necessarily have been prevented by the presence of a communication station or a tower at Waterloo," is obviously misleading. The fact is that proper contact between the tower/station and the pilot minimizes the danger of collision and the lack of any contact increases the danger many fold. If this were not true there would be no reason for establishment of communication facilities or towers anywhere.

Because the need for a communication station/tower is so great here for the public safety, we at Waterloo believe that the new criteria referred to by Mr. Weeks should be enforced subject to the outstanding commitments to Waterloo. There is no discrimination in keeping the faith. Incidentally if the tower were now in operation it would qualify for continued operation under the new criteria as Mr. Weeks states. We hope this is not the distinction between the quick and the dead.

Sincerely yours,

WATERLOO AIRPORT COMMISSION,
WALTER E. BETSWORTH,
Manager, Waterloo Municipal Airport.

AIR LINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. WALTER E. BETSWORTH,
Manager, Waterloo Municipal Airport,
Waterloo, Iowa.

Subject: Need for traffic control and communications facility at Waterloo, Iowa.

DEAR MR. BETSWORTH: The Air Line Pilots Association has long been concerned over the extreme need for airway traffic control at the Waterloo Municipal Airport. Pilots have reported incidents involving near misses and collision course traffic at consistently regular intervals. Braniff Airways is the only air carrier serving this airport; yet there are a total of 12 flights per day into the Waterloo Municipal Airport by this 1 air carrier.

The critical situation resulting from the heavy traffic by air carriers, itinerant aircraft of an executive type, and light aircraft has been discussed with representatives of the Civil Aeronautics Administration several times. They are completely in agreement with us as to the urgent need for such traffic control, but have demonstrated to our satisfaction that at the present time, it is physically impossible to provide such traffic control and communication station to effect such control, due to the lack of money in the budget.

A look at the aeronautical charts will show that a large void exists without a communication station in this part of the country. The area is bounded by Mason City, Iowa, Rochester, Minn., LaCrosse and Lone Rock, Wis., Rockford and Moline, Ill., Iowa City, Cedar Rapids, and Des Moines, Iowa. A communication station commonly known as INSAC at Waterloo, Iowa, would permit adequate radio conversation for aircraft operating at minimum en route altitude between any one of the two points listed above as circumscribing this area. This also lies just inside of the present ADIZ and for security purposes, aircraft entering the ADIZ have need of an INSAC or some means of obtaining clearance prior to entering the defense zone.

The problem is not one for the air carrier, who has his own communications, but rather for the itinerant business-type aircraft, whose sole means of contact is by the federally operated communication stations. The very near misses experienced during instrument approaches at a busy airport out of the control area are numerous. I would like to point out typical examples:

A Braniff flight from Kansas City arrived over Waterloo on top of an overcast at approximately the same time as another Braniff flight from Sioux City, Iowa. In accordance with company procedures, the two flights effected their own clearance off airways, and the first flight worked an instrument approach from on top of an overcast to contact under the minimum ceiling conditions. Upon reaching contact, this flight then advised the second flight of his contact condition, and the second Braniff flight made its instrument approach. Between the time the first flight broke contact and arrived at the ramp, an itinerant Grumann Mallard, who apparently had arrived at Waterloo on instruments (since he had not been observed on top), worked an approach somewhere in between the two aircraft, and not over a minute and a half behind the first Braniff flight.

Another incident involved a Braniff flight which made an approach at minimum altitude and, being unable to establish contact, executed a missed approach, only to be advised by the ground personnel who were outside, waiting for the flight, that another aircraft was also heard making a pull-up over the field from another direction. This was later tentatively identified as a Navy aircraft working an approach off of the commercial broadcasting station. There was no illegality involved in either case, since they constitute off airways approaches.

Numerous examples of the need for traffic control under contact conditions are observed daily. Typical examples are such as occurred a few weeks ago, in which a Braniff flight was making approach at night to the lighted runway only to have a light aircraft land on another—an unlighted—runway, then taxi back into the path of the landing air carrier.

Such examples of instrument and contact near misses indicate only a very small portion of the total. The Air Line Pilots Association has been instrumental in getting an airway established through Waterloo at such time as the Waterloo omni range is commissioned. However, the air-traffic control that can be effected for the air carriers through their private communication system will not be available to other aircraft. This will be extra hardship on such pilots, and will tend to discourage business or itinerant aircraft from coming to Waterloo. It has a further tendency to encourage pilots to attempt marginal VFR approaches into the area with the resultant hazards of such flights.

Your community has every reason to expect airline and general air traffic to increase. The pilots of ALPA are doubly concerned over the possibility of an accident resulting from noncontrolled traffic. We are of the opinion that a communication station (INSAC), or better, a combined tower and communication station (TOWRAC), would eliminate existing conditions.

We shall stand ready to do everything we can to alleviate this condition, and would appreciate anything and everything that your office and the cities of Waterloo and Cedar Falls could do toward pointing up the dire need for a communication station at the Waterloo Municipal Airport in conjunction with the navigational facility soon to be commissioned. It is seldom that so many problems can be solved by the establishment of one facility, as in this particular case. The failure to do so rests as a tremendous responsibility on all of us toward the American public.

HOMER MOUDEN,
Chairman, Regional Air Safety Committee.

(Copy to T. G. Linnert.)

POMONA, CALIF., *April 9, 1954.*

MR. WALTER E. BETSWORTH,
Waterloo Municipal Airport,
Waterloo, Iowa.

DEAR MR. BETSWORTH: I am happy to reaffirm to you that while I was the Administrator of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and before that, while acting as the Director of the Federal Airways, I reviewed the needs of the Waterloo Municipal Airport on a number of occasions. I was convinced then, and so stated officially on a number of occasions, that the growth of traffic using the Waterloo Municipal Airport has been so significant that I believe tower-control facilities to be necessary at the airport for reasons of safety. Appropriate facilities were included in CAA programs, and all concerned were appropriately notified. I am very sorry to hear that economy reasons apparently have resulted in further delays in commissioning this necessary facility.

Although it must be clearly understood that since the 6th of March 1953, I have had no authority, responsibility, or connection with the Civil Aeronautics Administration or its programs, because of my continued personal interest in the progress of aviation in this country and in adequate aviation safety for the American public, I make the following statement as a purely personal opinion. It is my belief that at least a combined tower and communications station should be installed as soon as practicable. As I understand it, the traffic counts of actual use of the airport more than justify such installation for safety reasons by any criteria of which I am aware.

Sincerely yours,

C. F. HORNE,
Rear Admiral, United States Navy, Retired.

Play Safe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I know the title of this piece should read "Play Safely," but who can take the time to be grammatical during the baseball season?

The two best baseball teams in the country may not get much publicity, but they do a great deal of good in creating a fund to send many poor children to camp.

In preparation for the traditional baseball conflict between the Democratic and Republican Members of Congress, spring training is now underway.

Although the Dodgers may produce some ailments peculiar to baseball, it is now well known that those ailments do not have any geographical limitations.

The Brooklyn Chapter of the American Red Cross has devised safety measures to alleviate pains and aches.

With the generosity that is so typical of the Dodger fans, I appropriated for our colleagues the following item published by the public-information department of the American Red Cross and radio station WMGM of New York and dedicate it to the well-being of our baseball-playing colleagues. It follows:

HOW TO AVOID HYPERPIESIA STRAPHICOI ENTHUSIASTAE, ULCUS BROOKLYNENSIS LUDORUM (DUODENI, PEPTI, ET GASTRI), AND BROKEN NOSES

CARE AND PROTECTION OF DODGER FANS, VOLUME IV—A HEALTH AND SAFETY MANUAL FOR THE 1954 BASEBALL SEASON FOR SPECTATORS, FOR RADIO AND TV FANS, FOR ALL BROOKLYNITES AND OTHER DODGER FANS WHEREVER THEY ARE

By way of introduction

Taking note of the advent of Walter Alston as the new manager of the Brooklyn National League Professional Baseball Club, the return of Don Newcombe, and other related events of major importance to Dodger fans, the Brooklyn Chapter of the American Red Cross and radio station WMGM this year have decided to resume the issuance of timely manuals on the care and protection of Dodger fans.

This year's manual takes special note of the rising tide of psychosomatic ailments and tension-created conditions. One large Brooklyn hospital reports a noticeable increase in patients admitted for treatment of ulcers and high blood pressure during the period of the 1953 world series. (There are no figures available relating to apoplexy.) Brooklyn doctors have noted on many occasions the sharp rise in ulcer and other gastrointestinal disorders in the spring and fall—the time of spring training and the time of hot, down-to-the-wire pennant races and world-series contests.

For this reason, special attention is given to the three ailments listed below:

Hyperpiesia straphicoi enthusiastae (Columbia University classics department for Dodger fans hypertension).

Ulcus brooklynensis ludorum (duodeni, pepti, gastri) (Coney Island hospital for Brooklyn praisers' ulcers, duodenal, peptic, and gastric).

Broken noses (Brooklynese for an ailment which is not psychosomatic but is very disturbing).

How to avoid hyperpiesia straphicoi enthusiastae, ulcus Brooklynensis ludorum, broken noses, and other injuries, or ailments

1. Regardless of dire predictions from the Southlands or extended spring training victory strings, approach the 1954 baseball season in a calm, relaxed manner. To avoid all types of illness and injury stemming from Dodger fandom, take it easy. Let the Dodgers and announcers Connie Desmond, Vince Scully, and Andre Baruch do the work and the worrying.

2. Sit still. Whether at Ebbets Field or watching the games on television or listening to them on WMGM, avoid jumping up and down. This will keep you physically relaxed and also avoid contusions, sprains, and other injuries that might come from colliding with furniture, from falls and sudden movements.

3. Root calmly, thoughtfully, and coherently. Avoid sore throats, strained voice boxes, fisticuff-provoking insults, and guilt feelings which might arise as you wonder whether or not you exposed the children to undue profanity. When shouting (with controlled verve), take care not to shake loose bridgework, bite your tongue, or dislocate your jaw.

4. Control your temper, until you have something safe like a pillow to punch. If you hit your neighbor—or a Giant fan—he might hit back. Also, by controlling your temper and confining your reactions to ballfield events to low-grade rages, you can help keep the old blood pressure down.

5. Eating while cheering on the Dodgers should be carefully controlled. Avoid biting or swallowing at crucial, exciting moments so that you can avert chocking, biting of fingers, breaking of teeth, etc. Also, plan your eating so that you shun heavy meals before an exciting double-header or night game. No sense putting too much strain on the digestive system. Remember, when the blood rushes to the head, there's none left for the stomach muscles. This can lead to ulcers or other alimentary ailments.

6. Don't flail about during moments of exultation. When Roy Campanella hits that 10th inning home run, control any tendency toward wild waving. You might hurt your neighbor, or yourself, or run your hand through the radio loudspeaker or television screen.

7. If you are planning to sit outdoors, at the ballpark or in the yard, for instance, while watching or listening to the game, keep your head covered with a loose-fitting cap, skimmer, or other summer hat or bonnet. No sense inviting sunstroke.

8. Imbibe in cooling drinks in moderation, and not too cold, during the games. Too many cold drinks can cause stomach troubles. And the drowning of one's sorrows or the floating of one's joys can produce all kinds of physical ills and dangers.

9. If Dodger fielding or baserunning ever reverts to the days of Babe Herman (although with players like Robinson, Gilliam, Cox, Reese, and Hodges it's unlikely), lower your head quickly between your knees to avoid fainting. Then remain perfectly still while regaining your composure. This goes double for dropped third strikes and Giant home runs with the bases loaded.

10. To remain perfectly well and sane at all times, and to be prepared to care for ills caused by overexcited fellow spectators, take

a Red Cross home nursing and first-aid course. Knowing the Dodgers like we do, we can assure you that then you will be ready for anything.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is not completely in jest by any means. Overexcitement often leads to serious accidents and intestinal or hypertensive disorders. Therefore, we urge all Dodger fans to join thousands of health-and-safety-conscious Brooklynites in taking Red Cross first aid and home nursing courses now. With the knowledge you will gain, you will be able to protect your self and your fellow fans. For information about these free courses, telephone MAin 4-6001 or write to the Brooklyn Red Cross, 57 Willoughby Street.

School-Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LOUIS B. HELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. HELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am very much perturbed over the request of the Secretary of Agriculture to reduce the appropriation for the school-lunch program by $15 million for the coming fiscal year. With the amount of surplus food commodities available at the present time, it would seem to me to be more logical to expand this program so that more schools throughout the country could adopt it and more of our children would benefit by it. I can think of no better investment in the future of America.

But instead of bringing this program of better nourishment and higher standards of health to more children, it is proposed that the appropriation be reduced by $15 million from the current year's level of $83,365,000, or a reduction of about 18 percent in the amount of Federal assistance toward the program. This reduction will cause a great deal of hardship to local communities which already are burdened with financial difficulties due to increased school enrollments.

It is needless for me to stress too much the assistance that our schools have received as a result of the school-lunch program and the tremendous help which this program has been in improving the health and well-being of our children. The health and welfare of the younger generation of America is our best assurance of a stronger, a healthier, and a happier Nation tomorrow.

Unfortunately poverty and malnutrition are still very much a factor in our country, despite our great national wealth and our scientific progress. In many communities it has been found that a large number of children come to school undernourished and underfed, and that this condition interferes with their school work and with their development into healthy, normal citizens. There is no need for children in this country to go hungry.

It just does not make sense that in this great country of ours, where we spend billions of dollars for defense and national security, our children should be cheated of the necessary nourishment in order to save a measly few dollars. Our children constitute our greatest hope for security and survival in the future. We cannot afford to neglect them.

The school-lunch program, which has accomplished wonders in improving the health, physically and spiritually, of many underprivileged children, should be continued in the coming year at least in the same degree as in the past. In fact, every consideration should be given to expand it in order to reach more schools and benefit more children. This is one cause which deserves fullest support from all of us. Reducing the appropriation for the school-lunch program may prove to be a very costly act of economizing. The reduction in this appropriation should be restored in full.

Mr. Speaker, I have received many letters from parents, educators, school administrators, and others urging that the school-lunch appropriation be restored. Of these I have selected one which clearly presents the views of school officials and parents in the matter, and I am happy to insert this letter into the RECORD. It is from Dr. William Jansen, superintendent of schools of the city of New York, and it reads as follows:

Hon. LOUIS B. HELLER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HELLER: In its budget request for fiscal 1955, the United States Department of Agriculture requests a decrease of $15 million in the amount previously appropriated for the school-lunch program, and proposes that the decrease be accomplished by the elimination of funds for the purchase and distribution of commodities pursuant to section 6 of the National School Lunch Act. The justification that is offered for the proposed cut is that increased quantities of section 32 commodities anticipated in 1955 should be sufficient not only to maintain the level of Federal assistance but also should offset some of the additional costs resulting from increased school enrollments.

We are advised by the New York State Department of Education that the city of New York will suffer a loss of section 6 commodities valued at nearly $500,000 if the proposed cut in the school-lunch appropriation is approved. We do not share the opinion of the Department of Agriculture that this loss will be offset by the value of increased donations of section 32 commodities, for the following reasons:

1. No one knows that commodities will be surplus next year, or what quantities will be available, because most of these commodities have yet to be produced.

2. The schools cannot use any more than they are already using of those surplus commodities that the Government now owns, such as dairy products, canned beef, and vegetable oils.

3. Many surplus commodities can be used only as additions to school-lunch menus, and therefore do not save the schools any money that could be used to buy other foods.

4. Those surplus commodities that can be used in place of other foods do not represent dollar savings equivalent to the amounts at which these commodities are valued by the Government. For example, butter permits a saving of 20 cents a pound, the cost of the oleomargarine it replaces, and not the 69 cents a pound at which it is valued by the United States Department of Agriculture.

We believe that the school-lunch program provides a means for disposing of surplus agricultural products in a manner that is well accepted by the public, and we welcome these donations for the additional benefits they afford our children. At the same time, we believe that their dollar value to the school-lunch program is greatly overstated by the Department of Agriculture in its efforts to justify the proposed cut. We hope, therefore, that you will seek to have the amount of the school-lunch appropriation restored to at least the level of $83,365,000 which was provided for the current fiscal year, and thus prevent impairment of a program that is essential to the health and well-being of 400,000 New York City schoolchildren.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM JANSEN,
Superintendent of Schools.

Columbus Circle Housing Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of the letter sent by Mr. Bernard F. Gimbel, president and chairman of the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau, Inc., to Hon. JOHN TABER, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives:

APRIL 1, 1954.

Hon. JOHN TABER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN TABER: It was reported in the New York Times of March 27, 1954, that Congressman JOHN PHILLIPS, chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee, in commenting on the public-housing program and particularly on slum clearance projects under title I of the Federal Housing Act, took exception to the Columbus Circle project in New York City.

His reasons are not fully outlined in the news report and seem to be based upon the erroneous assumption that only 40 percent of the site is being devoted to residential use and the balance has been set aside for commercial, park, coliseum, or other purposes. The fact is that more than 50 percent of the project area is being devoted solely to residential use and the remainder has been transferred to the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority for the construction of a new modern exhibition hall which has been needed by the business interests in New York City for many years.

There is no question that this is a slum area in need of clearance and replanning. This question has been passed upon and determined by the Federal Government through its Housing and Home Finance Agency. The city planning commission and the board of estimate, as well as the courts, who have uniformly upheld the project right up to the Supreme Court of the United States where it is now pending and will undoubtedly be affirmed.

The fact is that the entire purpose of the slum-clearance title of the Federal law, which is title I, is the clearance of slums. There is no point in clearing half a slum in an area on the theory that that is where the housing belongs and leaving other slums where development would not be housing, but commercial or governmental. The development of the plan for the coliseum as a part of slum-clearance project is one that

was assumed largely at the request of the business community of the city and was not at all sought for by the Triborough Bridge and tunnel authority. The record clearly shows that this was made clear both to the board of estimate and all the other agencies involved. The Triborough Bridge and tunnel authority as a public duty volunteered to construct this improvement if requested by the business community and the city. It did not seek the task, although willing to assume it when requested.

The combined residential and coliseum improvements will have a revitalizing effect on an extensive surrounding area. Experience shows that improvements of this kind are inevitably followed by improvement and rebuilding of surrounding areas with higher grade uses and increased taxes to the communities. This kind of development serves the double purpose of stopping the further deterioration of an entire central slum area and acting as the first step in the initiation of a program for rebuilding not only the area directly involved in the project but the surrounding area as well.

In addition, it serves the useful public purpose of making available a large coliseum exhibit building, with public parking and office facilities. This has been needed in this city for a long time. No private enterprise was willing to enter this field because it could not be made self-sustaining as is evidenced by the abandonment of Grand Central Palace for exhibition use and its rental to the Federal Government for office purposes.

Although the authority was authorized by the State legislature in 1946 to construct such a building with incidental commercial uses to make it self-supporting, the cost of land in a suitable location and construction made it impossible to proceed until the writedown provisions of title I were made available to it. You, of course, are aware that the authority has no taxing power, that its projects cannot be mortgaged, and that the cost of construction must be paid out of the proceeds of self-supporting revenue bonds.

The business stimulated by the convention and exhibition industry is an important part of our national economy. The records of our convention and visitors bureau show that approximately 2,750,000 persons attended conventions and exhibitions in New York City during 1953, and during their stay they spent about $200 million for lodgings, entertainment, merchandise, and services. This business helps all who live in or visit New York from the cultural, educational, commercial, and entertainment, as well as the business standpoint. We are confident that the new improved facilities to be provided by the coliseum will give important public benefits to the entire Nation.

The New York Coliseum is of vital importance. It serves the dual purposes of slum clearance and making needed public services and facilities available. We urge that your committee take no action which might imperil its successful completion.

Sincerely yours,

NEW YORK CONVENTION AND VISITORS BUREAU,
By BERNARD P. GIMBEL.

Judicial Safeguard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the April 9, 1954, issue of the New York Times, commending our action on the wiretap bill:

JUDICIAL SAFEGUARD

The House did well yesterday to require Federal law-enforcement and intelligence officers to obtain judicial approval before collecting wiretap evidence admissible in the Federal courts in national security cases. Mr. Brownell was wrong in insisting that the Attorney General alone be given such authority. We trust that the Senate will agree that the bill as passed by the House, providing for the safeguard of a prior court order, is much more within the spirit of the Bill of Rights than was the proposal of the Attorney General.

Mr. Speaker, I add to the foregoing the hope that the other body will also strike from the bill the retroactive provision permitting the use of wiretap evidence heretofore obtained without a court order.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks the very excellent speech of Mrs. Karl Bernard Steele, delivered in Washington on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the Declaration of Lithuanian Independence:

Good evening to you, all of my friends here.

Around the turn of the century there was a girl named Mariona who arrived in Chicago from Lithuania. In a strange land she had difficulty with the American language because of the many identically-sounding words which have different meanings and because many of the many words not pronounced as they are spelled. One day in her English class her teacher laughed when Mariona pronounced c-o-l-o-n-e-l as col-o-nel instead of "kernel." Hurt, Mariona even became more sensitive when people stared at her foreign dress and when children taunted her by calling her "greenhorn." She was miserable and tried to hide her inferiority complex with an air of superiority. Her feelings were not unlike those of many who have arrived here in the last few years. She, like them, lost courage and tried to lose identity. That is always wrong.

One night Mariona had a dream. In it she seemed to be in a large amber palace. From the far end came a deep voice. It was very spiritual, very like that of souls past. The voice said, "You are in the castle of amber. All Lithuanians pass through here before they are born. The sunshine gleaming through the windows bathes all who enter in a golden hue, giving them a lustrous color of wonderful character. Amber is found in abundance in Lithuania because its people have characteristics like the gem. Therefore, all Lithuanians are really beads of amber."

The voice continued as Mariona listened. "Some of you are opaque beads, who are doers and not talkers, others are iridescent whose brilliant personalities win many friends. Still others are crystal clear in their ability to paint, to write, or to appear before audiences to gain admiration from non-Lithuanians for Lithuanians." Mariona continued to listen as the voice went on, "Through hundreds of years the people of Lithuania have been pulverized by aggressors. In the year 1000 it was the Teutonic Knights who came to christianize by fire and sword. In 1795 it was the Czar's army who ground to powder Lithuania's amberlike people. But those who try to crush Lithuanians do not know another characteristics of amber. That is when amber is pulverized it can be reunited and made stronger through heat and pressure. That is why every Lithuanian knows this adage, 'Kas bus, kas ne bus, Lietuva neprasus.'" (Translation: "What will be, what will not be, but Lithuania will always be.")

All of us here this evening should remember Mariona's dream. We should, as beads of amber, try always to display our gemlike characteristics. If we are of the opaque type we must continue to be doers; if we are of the iridescent, we must try to charm others of non-Lithuanian origin to like us and the country from whence we came. And if we are of the crystal kind we must talk to all of the cultures of our forefathers and the beauty of our ancient language. All the amber beads in this room are, in a sense, strung on the same string as those left in Lithuania. It is our duty to hold up their lifeline by impressing as many non-Lithuanians as possible of Lithuania's worth. Recently, greater strides have been made in making known the infamous acts of Russia in Lithuania. As Lithuanian beads of amber we must all continue to do, to win friends and to talk of Lithuania's eventual freedom. As the people of Mariona's time regained courage and won friends and eventually saw Lithuania's independence in 1918, so we all in this room may live, by God's grace, to see the day when all Communists will be swept out of our beloved Lithuania.

Christian Principles Protect Individual Freedoms; Save Our Nation From Destruction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, each of us becomes more and more disturbed when we see daily evidence of neglect and indifference, hatred, bigotry, juvenile delinquency, and all the other problems of human behavior we face today.

When we pause to consider that the sum total of each of these problems represents a weapon in the hands of Communists who hope to capture the United States without firing a shot, we realize how serious our concern should be.

The answer to these problems lies in the Christian principles upon which our Nation is founded, and to which most of our fellow citizens give at least lip service.

How Christian teachings in our homes and in our schools may solve these problems; and how this in turn will cut down the human failures in government are forcefully, and clearly, pointed out in a speech delivered by the Honorable John J. Griffin, vice president, United Bank & Trust Co., St. Louis, Mo., at the Kiwanis Club luncheon in Springfield, Ill., on April 14.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert Colonel Griffin's remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I believe Members may find it not only worth while but fitting to read this speech as we depart for the Easter recess.

We are living in a troubled world today, a time and an age where we are losing many of the fundamental rights guaranteed to our citizens under our form of government and its divine inspiration, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. We are losing them under the guise of emergency, etc. Unfortunately, in times such as this, many of our fundamental rights are taken from us and are not returned. I say that we are living in a troubled world, an era that creates feelings of insecurity and worry as to what tomorrow may bring. As we listen to the news over the radio, read the daily press, see the commentators on television, especially in an election year, we are subject to the usual political speeches and harangues, each party contradicting the other; each party accusing the other of committing acts of depradation, which according to the other side, are going to create ruin and destruction for America. Many of you read in the daily press where some of our scientists stated they had a fear of exploding the H-bomb, lest it start a chain reaction that would melt the whole world into a glassy substance. We read or listen to all the information, misinformation, truths and part truths, purposely misleading statements, etc., and whether or not we realize it, they are creating a situation in America that is causing our people to live under a fear. In too many instances, they are fostering the impression that our form of government has failed. That is exactly the frame of mind Joe Stalin would like us to be in and is the type and kind of thinking he and his agents are spending millions of dollars to create in this country.

Several years ago, the President of one of our great universities, made a public statement that the ideal secondary school is the comprehensive public school and that the only way we can achieve unity in America is for our public schools to remain in the primary vehicle for the education of our youth; he further recommended that all the youth of the community attend the same school. In other words, this great professor is again doing the work that followers of Malenkov would like him to do, or that is usually done under totalitarian governments, the work of regimentation. Of course, this educator overlooks entirely the fact we have learned the hard way through three world wars, namely, that the men who have fought and died on the battlefield in order that we might live were products of the school system of America, public and private, and had no particular quarrel among themselves as to whether the school in which they were educated was public or private. The education they received in both public and private schools certainly did not lessen, in any way, shape, or form, the patriotic sacrifice they made for the preservation of America. Would you say that the four chaplains who stood on the deck of a sinking ship, took off their life preservers, and gave them to their men, the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish chaplains, all products of the private school, displayed any other than a type of patriotism, service, and sacrifice, to America unsurpassed in its existence? Their actions, as they went down with the ship, each praying to his God in his own way, left an example and a lesson in unity for the American people, which we did not heed and certainly do not follow. They did not quarrel among themselves as to whether the men who received the life preservers were products of public or private educational institutions. They were united in the way in which all America should unite today—they were Americans and true personifications of the battle cry of the crusaders of old, "For God and country." Four men, consecrated in their particular faiths to teach the religion of their fathers, gave to us an example of patriotic service as they paid the debt they felt they owed America with their last measure of devotion. Yes, if any lesson can be learned from these four men, it would be one of liberty and freedom in their fullest extent and deepest meaning. It would be a lesson of self-sacrifice in the service of God and country, a service it would be well for the men of the cloth to teach, follow, and live in their daily lives. That lesson is in the true spirit of America—go down your own side of the street with your own conscience; worship your God as you please, but when you come out on that great national highway where all streets converge, unite as this Nation has never been united before on the one basic fundamental about which there can be no quarrel—that is, we are Americans.

The second lesson we can learn from their heroic sacrifice is not to fear death so much, but to fear not being prepared to meet our Maker when the time comes for us to cross that great divide where time blends with eternity.

Let liberty and freedom be not bywords or euphonious phrases. Let the words and their true meaning live in the hearts of men. When our education and religious leaders inculcate this spirit in the minds of our citizens, we will not have groups in America organizing under the guise of pseudo-patriotism to deprive other men of their constitutional rights. If liberty and freedom are to live in America, then each and every citizen must be sincere in his determination to die, if necessary, in order that his fellow man may enjoy the same rights, under these principles which he, himself, demands.

Much of our worry, care, and trouble today are of our own making because we, as individuals, have forgotten one fundamental principle, namely, that we, personally and individually, are the government; that as citizens, we are strictly responsible for the type and kind of government we have. Our troubles and trials of today are of our own making because we have, in too many numbers, taken the attitude on public affairs of "Let George do it." When, oh when, will we awaken to the fact that what has happened in other parts of the world can happen here? Since the end of World War II in 1945, 9 countries, with a total population in excess of 700 million people, have been reduced to a condition of slavery and servility which is without precedent in the entire history of the world. As you look over the conditions in these countries, you find the fundamental cause of their particular condition today has been the neglect and indifference of their citizens. The people in these countries were too occupied with the things of the moment, too much concerned with their pleasures, chasing the elusive dollar, engaging in wild and riotous living. Their greed, bigotry, and hypocrisy engrossed them to the point where they were divided into groups and elements each seeking the destruction of the other. This cleared the path of the common enemy, who, while few in number, were united in purpose. They took advantage of the chaotic conditions to rise to power. Then and then only the people of these lands awakened to find too late, much too late, the price they had paid for their indifference and neglect. This is particularly disturbing when one realizes those guilty of the neglect and indifference were the very people who had every reason to be most cautious. The great majority of these people went on living in their smug little worlds, too busy with their business, their parties, and all the rest of the absorbing things of the time to see the danger, and to realize the frightful penalty their indifference and neglect were to inflict upon them. They awoke one morning (and this is the story in all of these countries), to find that the organized minority, bent upon reducing them to the level of slaves and serfs, had lined their streets with machine guns; taken over their communication systems, their government, their army, their schools, anything and everything which had been taken for granted. This group had placed its godless leaders in authority to force upon the majority that which they did not want, but which their own conduct had brought upon them.

Do you realize that when Hitler and his followers of a few thousand were coming into power in Germany, the people of that country were too intent upon other things to see the danger? The result was that Hitler and his few thousand cohorts took over, making a shambles and a wreck of that once great nation. Do you realize that Lenin gives to us a sickening reminder of how a terrible tragedy could have been averted, not only for 190 million Russians, but for hundreds of millions of human beings now under Communist domination? Lenin made the statement that if only a handful of Russians had possessed the courage and sense to fight as hard for the common good as they had for their own selfish interests, the whole course of modern history might have been changed. Lenin's exact words were: "If there had been in Petrograd in 1917 only a group of a few thousand men who knew what they wanted, we would never have come to power in Russia." As you analyze that statement, you must realize that if these few thousand had only worked to save others with the same devotion they employed in promoting their own selfish interests, they might have saved themselves and hundreds of millions with them.

Let me quote Lenin again. Close to the end of his life, he came to a belated recognition of the importance of the individual who is dominated and imbued with spiritual ideals, when he made this statement: "I have made a great mistake. Our main purpose was to give freedom to a multitude of oppressed people. But our method of action has created worse evils and horrible massacres. You know that my deadly nightmare is to feel that I am lost in this ocean of blood, coming from innumerable victims. It is too late to turn back now, but in order to save our country, Russia, we should have had 10 men like Francis of Assisi. With 10 such men, we would have saved Russia."

It is hard to believe such a statement as the above could come from a man like Lenin, the father of communism. However, we should read it, reread it, study, and analyze it. We should profit by its meaning because it should check us up, making us stop and take an inventory of ourselves, if we are to continue to live in America under the divine principles our fathers outlined for us at the birth of this Nation.

The thing that is troubling us and causing most of our fears in America today is the collapse of country after country all over the world. Whether or not you wish to admit it, it is disturbing you. However, the thing which should be disturbing you more is the disintegration which is taking place in our own midst. I feel safe in saying that if communism were to disappear overnight, to be wiped off the face of the earth, our own, personal, national, big problem would still remain, namely, the failure of our average citizen to participate intelligently in the functioning of his Government. Of course, communism will not fade overnight. Let us not be lulled into a feeling of false security that communism fails at this point or that point. Temporary setbacks mean nothing to them. They have one, everlasting goal, to take America without firing a shot. Yes, to take it without disturbing a hair on the head of a solitary individual; probably without interrupting a single party; maybe without disturbing one car in any garage. But take it they will unless we overcome our weakness. Our weakness of indifference to assuming the obligations of citizens is the thing

that will assure the success of the Communist aims to destroy us.

Each 4 years we hold a national election in this country, at times when we were entering one of the greatest crisis in our history, a time recently, when every citizen should have been alarmed and should have concerned himself with selecting the type and kind of men, who for the next 4 years were going to be responsible for the safety and security of this Nation. Yet only approximately 50 percent of our people were sufficiently concerned about the security of this country to exercise their right of suffrage to select the caliber of man they wanted to represent them in government. That indifference, neglect, and weakness upon our part is our enemies strength, being to him and his advisers evidence of the fact that their plan for America is taking shape. Neglecting to exercise our rights in a time of crisis is proof conclusive that their program to divide and conquer is gaining strength and momentum. In their opinion, it is hastening the day when they can take over.

Certainly, I would say the 50 percent of our people who were too engrossed with other matters or too indifferent to participate actively in the affairs of this Government in times such as these, definitely cannot be classed as good citizens. They enjoy to the fullest every blessing this Nation of freemen under divine guidance has given to them. Yet they have forgotten that acceptance of all the benefits that come from living in this country entails a duty to take their places upon the firing line of civic responsibility which they dare not disregard, and, in conscience, cannot shirk.

One of the alarming signals in this era of let-George-do-it citizenship through which we are going, is brought home to me every day in listening to the people discussing articles in the press where some official is being investigated or has been indicted for alleged corruption in office. The general attitude of too many of our people is that all public officials should be sent to jail, as they are all crooks. Of course, if they are crooks, they should go to jail. Nevertheless, this is still a Nation of law where it is fundamental that a man is innocent until proven guilty. The thinking of the people today seems to be just the reverse; that all men are guilty until proven innocent. That is exactly what Malenkov would like you to believe, namely, that our form of government has failed. When enough of our people believe that way, he will step in and take over. The fact of the matter is that the ideas and principles, the basic rights and spiritual values which have built America and are the guaranty of the continuation of liberty and freedom, are the same divine rights today as they have been throughout the years. The failure is with the people who have abandoned them in the conduct of their daily lives. Certainly, there have been graft and corruption in government. But do not overlook the fact that there are millions of public employees, municipal, State and Federal, who are honest, conscientious, hard-working, patriotic citizens. In many instances they are underpaid and making great sacrifices to stay in their jobs in order that they might do their part in upholding our Government.

No, our form of government has not failed. Some individuals in it have failed. There, again, we come back to the statement that you, personally and individually, are the government. That being true, you will have exactly the type and kind of government you want, no better, no worse. Crime, corruption, indecency, dishonesty, hypocrisy, and all their kindred ailments cannot exist in a community where the people do not want them. Let me quote you a few figures to show you what I have in mind on our situation in this country when you look at it on an overall picture. It is alarming to find in a study of the report of J. Edgar Hoover that in the year 1951, of all crimes committed, as reported by him in his compilation of figures from police departments throughout the United States, 52.9 percent of robbery cases, 60.3 percent of the burglaries, 43.9 percent of the larcenies, and 68.4 percent of the automobile theft crimes were committed by persons under the age of 25 years. Apparently there is something wrong. In other words, we are failing to inculcate into the minds and hearts of our people a respect for law and authority. Let me give it to you in another way. During the year 1950, every 5 minutes around the clock someone in the United States was feloniously assaulted or killed. Each day of the year 146 persons were robbed, 458 cars were stolen, and 11,029 places were burglarized. Every 30 seconds around the clock a larcency was recorded. Obviously when you analyze these figures in their entirety, it must bring home to you again the fact that there is a disrespect and disregard for law and authority in this Nation. For a country which places upon its coins the inscription, "In God we trust," we have evidently failed to inscribe these words in our hearts and live them in our daily lives.

In summarizing, let me make this statement; the neglect and the indifference of our people; the disregard for law and authority; the hatreds, bigotries, and lack of interest in the affairs of government on the part of our people; the thought as expressed in too many places that there has been a complete breakdown of law and authority; the statement that our form of government is failing; each and all of these things individually, and particularly when you add them up for their cumulative effect, bring a great source of satisfaction to the vultures waiting to add America to the nine countries behind the Iron Curtain.

It can happen here. It will happen here unless we engrave on the hearts of our people the inscription we have on our coins, "In God We Trust," in so doing, teach them the meaning of the gospel text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Not just words, but the meaning should be taught, for it tells us specifically that we cannot be good Christians and bad citizens. If we obey its injunction, each and every citizen will fight for the preservation of this Nation on the homefront with the same ardor and devotion with which our sons have fought and are fighting for it on the battlefronts.

You, personally and individually, are the Government. It is your individual job. It will be the type and kind of government, you, personally and individually, want it to be. The manner in which you, personally and individually, meet and face your obligations of citizenship will take its place in history. As generations yet unborn read, study, and analyze that history; they will either bless or curse the heritage you have left them.

A Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Melrose (Mass.) Free Press of April 1, 1954:

A BEGINNING

There is one extremely significant paragraph in the President's budget message to Congress. He said: "This budget marks the beginning of a movement to shift to State and local governments and to private enterprise Federal activities which can be more appropriately and more efficiently carried on in that way."

The philosophy underlying that statement is infinitely more important even than the praiseworthy cuts in Federal spending the budget contemplates. For only by turning our backs squarely on the superstate idea, and by confining the Federal Government to the constitutional functions which only it can undertake, can we preserve either our liberties or our solvency as a nation.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks the very excellent speech of Mr. Harold C. Vedeler, of the Department of State, on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence:

This week we have reached another anniversary of the Lithuanian Republic. A birthday is always an occasion to take stock—for the nation as for the individual. So let us who love Lithuania take stock of that nation. As we do so, we are distressed by the sad fate it is now suffering and has in fact experienced ever since the fall of 1939. But in looking at Lithuania through the ages, we are impressed by more than its temporary tragic plight of the present.

The feature that perhaps does most to win our admiration is the enduring capacity of the nation for survival whatever the triumphs and tragedies of history. The Lithuanian nation has endured in the past the agony of conquest and domination, yet such times of trouble have never subdued the Lithuanian spirit. Those harsh times have served rather to strengthen and temper that spirit. They have better prepared it to meet whatever fortune held in store. The severities of the nation's trials have served to develop the very traits which ensure its survival.

To mention an example, Lithuanians are known for, and may well be proud of, their tenacity. This trait has been molded into the national character by the struggles of the Lithuanian nation to endure. This quality in turn helps to sustain the further efforts of the nation to weather the storms of history. Lithuanian tenacity has proved the great preservative of the values and traditions the nation holds most dear. National tenacity appears even to have shaped the language and kept it distinct from other European tongues. It is in many ways—as students of linguistics tell us—a collection of ancient forms. And when the Lithuanians emerge from the shadow to the sunlight, national tenacity assures that they keep their heads in good fortune.

So was it during the two decades of national freedom and independence between the world wars. The Lithuanian people demonstrated then how faithfully they had preserved and developed during the previous years of repression their potentialities for national self-realization in freedom. The

world took note of the extent to which the energies of the nation were quickened to constructive uses at that time as the people built a national life of their own.

We are confident that there can and will be such a birth of national freedom and growth again. One way to help toward this end is never to let the cause of a free Lithuania and free sister Baltic Republics lack your support and all our support. This cause has fortunately received the most important assistance this past year from the inquiry of the committee headed by Representative KERSTEN on the forced incorporation of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union, the statement of Secretary Dulles on these countries before the committee, and the Secretary's discussion at the Berlin Conference of the fate of the Baltic States under the so-called security pacts with the Soviet Union.

In the imperishable strength of this cause and in the remarkable capacity of the Lithuanian nation for survival we take hope for the future. To this capacity for national survival we pay tribute tonight in commemorating the anniversary of the Lithuanian Republic.

Is Another Cheat in Store for the Indians?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the recent appearance of Montana's Indians before the Joint Senate-House Interior Affairs Subcommittee on the pending termination bill for the Flathead Indians occasioned a good deal of editorial comment in Montana. A typical one is that of the Camas Hot Springs Exchange:

IS ANOTHER CHEAT IN STORE FOR THE INDIANS?

A full-blooded Indian from the Flathead Reservation said Saturday in opposing pending legislation to terminate Federal supervision over the reservation.

Testifying before a joint Senate-House Interior Affairs Subcommittee, Jerome Hewankorn, a council member of the Salish and Kootenai Tribe of the Salish Kootenai Tribe on the reservation said, "I am no tongue twister like you in Congress, I am not a professional talker. I have had only 1 year of education," but he left no doubt that he was opposed to the legislation.

"The Indians are now pushed back against a stone wall," he said.

Chief Paul Charlo, a great-grandson of the chief who signed the 1855 treaty with the Federal Government, told the committee through an interpreter he did not "trust anybody else but our people." Charlo also spoke against the legislation.

Stephen C. DeMers, a member of the Flathead Tribe, brought out a good point in saying that the tribe should be allowed a minimum of 10 years to prepare themselves before supervision is removed. He also added that no coercion on the Indians be allowed—that all Federal claims involving the Flatheads be settled first, and that a full inventory of timber, minerals and such on the reservation be made.

In reply to the words of Senator WATKINS (Republican, Utah) saying that he was quite amazed to find such reaction—that they are trying to arrange it so you could manage your own affairs and that Congress is dead in earnest about giving the Indians more freedom, Walter McDonald, chairman of the tribal council reported "I have a lot of freedom right now, Senator, I am fighting for my freedom now."

The editor of the Ronan Pioneer, of Ronan, Mont., added this comment:

THE EDITOR'S THINKING

This editor adds that she has been on the Flathead Reservation for 44 years and she finds that the Indians were not only scalped in the opening of the reservation to white settlement, as it took away their grazing land and pushed them back on 80- and 160-acre tracts of land that they did not know how to farm, and had little incentive to, as they were hunters and cattle raisers, but from time to time steps have been taken by these same whites to squeeze them every time there was a chance.

We had no right to any claim for compensation from the Kerr Dam. The land and the water belonged to the Flathead Indians, but we lobbied enough to get in our wedge, and with the Indian it was take it or leave it. It surprises us that we have not made a claim to a share of their timber wealth. It may be that no white man has been smart enough to dope out a workable plan.

Several times we have passed through the reservation of the Navajos and the Hopi Indians in Arizona and New Mexico, and they have been reduced to a miserable existence.

Now, we don't know what the white man is further planning to take from the Indians, unless he has an eye on Indian land that might be future wealth in oil, or perhaps he wants to rob the tribe of the yearly income from the Kerr Dam in this section.

How can such people go to church and pray and come out and look the Indian squarely in the face?

Whatever assets in wealth is left should belong to the Indians and their descendants, and to try to take it from him is placing one crime upon another, and yet we join a United Nations with a promise that we will go to arms for any country in which an aggression is waged.

No wonder Chief Charlo said he trusted no one but our own people.

So far as citizenship goes, the Indian may become a citizen as any other person not a citizen may become, and without giving up his inherent rights as a robbed person of that which was his.

Democracy in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER THORNBERRY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, every year, during the first week in March, the State of Texas observes Public School Week. This year a contest was held by the J. D. Giddings Lodge, No. 280, A. F. and A. M., in Giddings, Tex., among the schoolchildren of the Giddings public schools for the best essay written.

The winning essay, which was written by Miss Juanice Peyton, of Giddings, Tex., is one of the most inspiring essays I have ever read on democracy. For that reason I would like to read it to my colleagues today, and I know all of you will agree with me that Miss Peyton has captured the true meaning of democracy as we know it here in the United States of America.

The essay follows:

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

(By Juanice Peyton)

What is democracy? How is it put into action in our everyday life? What makes America tick?

Let me borrow a motion picture projector and a screen for a few minutes and show you some scenes from American life.

It is Sunday morning in a typical American city and churches whose spires rise high in the blue heavens toward Almighty God open their doors to all who would come and worship. Protestant, Jew, or Catholic, they send out a call which is answered by people of all types. The president of the local bank sits next to the man who earns his daily bread by digging ditches; and both are equally humble as they pray to a universal Creator. This is democracy in action, for democracy is faith.

Two small children are playing together when a violent dispute arises over who is to operate the electric train. Mama intervenes and Junior is persuaded to take turns. And so all is peace and quiet once more as the toy chugs merrily onward. This is democracy in action, for democracy is sharing.

The rap of a gavel calls a town meeting to order and a young woman rises to state her opinion on a question of common concern. When she is finished, a young man is given the floor and he presents an entirely different view on the same question. Yet the two young people are the best of friends even after such a heated debate. Why? Because this is democracy in action and democracy means freedom—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom from fear and hunger, freedom to do as one pleases as long as one abides by the rules of human decency.

It is a bright spring day and a radiant couple who have just said, "I do," stand at the threshhold of a new life, looking with starry eyes into the future; dreaming of the day when they can raise a healthy family in a home all their own, furnished just as they please. This young dream is another facet of democracy in action, for democracy promises security.

A group of men meet to formulate plans for a community improvement project. They discuss the procedure with enthusiasm and readily volunteer for the jobs which each does best. This is a sample of democracy in action, for democracy depends on cooperation.

Common scenes, you say? Unimportant? Do you think that democracy is a treasure to be put upon a shelf and admired, but never used? I think it is not. I think democracy is a rare thing that grows more precious with use. It becomes more dear as each passing day of our heritage of freedom burnishes it to blinding glory.

Democracy is, in many ways, a tangible substance; and yet, its very core is an intangible thing that lives in the hearts of freemen. It is a spark in men's hearts that makes them proud to fight for and sometimes die for the country they love so dearly. It is pride in this great Nation and its inspiring history—its Valley Forge, its Washington and Lincoln, its pioneering spirit, its Okinawa, and its Iwo Jima. It is a desire to become better. It is a way of life—the American way!

In a way democracy gives us the freedom to abide by rules. For instance, we know it is safe to cross a busy street because we abide by traffic laws and we can expect our fellow citizens to do the same. We respect our neighbors' possessions and we expect them to respect ours. Can you imagine the horrible confusion that would result if there were no such laws?

Have you ever stopped to count the things you take for granted about democracy?

How often do you exercise your freedom to express your political views or your right to criticize the President without fear of being thrown into prison? How often do you use your privilege of voting? Stop and think of all the things you, as an individual, own—all your worldly possessions. Would it be possible for you to own them in a totalitarian government?

This precious democracy of ours has grown from a tiny seed planted countless ages ago to full blossom in this, the greatest country on earth. Let us exercise this democracy; let us nourish it and tend it with the greatest of care, and with God's help, it will give forth in even greater abundance.

Taxes and Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. HESELTON
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, from certain sources, and from some on this floor, we hear constant criticism of the administration as to economic conditions. Those critics would like to convince the American people that the administration had done nothing and will do nothing to improve those conditions. They have failed; but they refuse to recognize their failure even though their acceptance of the role of prophets of doom and gloom, in fact, makes them them contributory factors in creating a more difficult task for the administration.

On March 24, Russell J. Boyle published a column in the Michigan Tradesman under the title "The Boyleing Point" in which he discusses many of the facts the critics conveniently omit in their efforts to deceive and delude the American people. It merits careful reading and thoughtful consideration by everyone interested in the future of this country rather than in some petty, partisan political advantage. It follows:

TAXES AND DEMOCRATS

Until January of 1953 the Democrats occupied White House and had a preponderant majority in both Houses of Congress for 20 years. From 1932 until January 1953, the American public had nothing but increased taxation at the hands of the Federal Government and Democrats.

The Democrats take part credit for the expiration of the excess profits tax which expired by limitation January 1954, and to be sure such limitation could not have been incorporated in the taxation measure without the approval of the Democrats. Neither could the tax limitation have been possible of accomplishment if it hadn't been for the Republican administration which took office in January of 1953. Through the economies incorporated by President Eisenhower, his Cabinet and Republican Members of Congress the excess-profits tax was dropped in accordance with the limitation provided in the statute.

The Republicans cut the budget of the Truman administration and when the statute providing for the expiration of the excess profits tax arrived the United States exchequer was in position to stand the loss of revenue.

For 20 long years the Democrats have taxed the American public to the point where businessmen have been doing little else than work for the Federal Government. Small industries, small-wage earners, small banks have been so penalized during that 20-year period that it has been impossible for many to build up any appreciable surplus.

In the last few weeks this writer has been amused by the antics of the Democrats in Congress trying to get aboard the Republican program of reducing taxes and there will be many a voter who will say that the Democrats are entitled to occupy a prominent spot in the accomplishment of economies that have already been started.

In fact, the Democrats have shown inconsistency, because for 20 years they have certainly socked it to the American taxpayer and they never would have changed their tactics if it hadn't been for the fact that the voters turned them out in the November election of 1952.

The inflationary trend which has been rampant in America for 20 years under Democratic rule has stopped and the Federal Government is no longer spending more money than they take in, which was the cause of the inflationary trend and high prices for everything that the workingman must acquire.

If the Democrats could have had their way in the Congress in the last few weeks they would have reduced the taxes another $2½ billion or more, but it would have forced the Republican administration to further inflate the currency thus causing another inflationary spiral.

Nobody wants lower taxes any more than this writer, and the many small businesses which the Michigan Tradesman serves regularly. Now that the Republicans have taken the reins and are doing such a splendid job the inflationary trend has been stopped. American business is back in a competitive market unhampered by Government intervention. We are willing to follow the Republican plan of reducing spending and then taxes. It would have been pretty smart politics on the part of the Democrats if they could have reversed the trend already charted by a wise, prudent President and his Republican and Democratic supporters.

President Eisenhower in his television speech to the Nation while the reduction of taxes was before the House of Representatives was very gracious in his presentation. He never once called attention to a few of the facts that we have given to you in this article. The only point at which he came close to such a reference was when he reminded the audience that it was an election year.

As long as the Democrats stayed in power there was no relief from taxation.

There wouldn't have been any relief from taxation now if the Republicans hadn't had the courage to reduce expenditures. Now that they have received the approbation of the American people, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, the Democratic Party so-called, tried to horn in on the accomplishment. They would have gone through with their skulduggery if the American people didn't have great confidence in the President of the United States.

The Republican Party under the able leadership of the greatest general the world has known up to now is responsible for the end of the Korean war. The wasteful spending of that undeclared war has been stopped; that isn't all, the loss of our valiant young men has been stopped. American families are not being called upon to use their young men to create a false prosperity.

The Democrats have tried to broadcast the temporary unemployment situation and point with scorn to the Republican Party for this temporary relexation. The new program of the Eisenhower administration will soon take America back to a sound prosperity and adequate employment for everybody who really wants to work.

Lithuanian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in my remarks the excellent speech of Mr. J. Kajeckas, counselor of the Lithuanian Legation, delivered in Washington last February:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. J. KAJECKAS, COUNSELOR OF THE LITHUANIAN LEGATION, ON THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE AT HOTEL ANNAPOLIS, WASHINGTON, D. C., ON FEBRUARY 20, 1954

Again I have the honor and the great pleasure to be with you on this solemn occasion.

Alas, on this memorable day so dear to Lithuanian hearts and dedicated to joy, we are still afflicted by sorrow. We feel depressed because the land of our ancestors is still enslaved. On this 50th anniversary since the regaining of the freedom of the Lithuanian press, all freedoms, including that of the press, are abolished in the Lithuanian homeland. The nation of crosses is being crushed by an unscrupulous enemy. It is being martyred, oppressed, and humiliated. Her sufferings are on the increase. Her wounds grow deeper, her mournings multiply, the number of deportations of her noble sons and daughters to Siberia magnifies. And who can guess how many more victims will suffer atrocities before the day of freedom dawns? Such in brief is the plight of the Lithuanian nation today.

With ruthless fanaticism, the enemy of Lithuania seeks the downfall of the Lithuanian nation under the weight of Bolshevik tyranny. It seeks to accustom the Lithuanians to slavery, to terrorize them into submission, and to force them to abandon in desperation their hitherto most sacred aspirations.

"May you, Russians, not live to see that," Bishop Baranauskas would say. "May you not, Communists, live to see that. It will not be as you wish." Such is also the hope of the Lithuanian people today.

Nevertheless, the situation is not beyond hope. There are signs of rejoicing on the horizon of Lithuania. I will mention a few examples.

We are happy to note the strongly and repeatedly emphasized policy of liberation of oppressed nations expressed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Lithuania has been enslaved for a long period of time in the past, but never has any foreign government shown so much understanding and expressed itself so strongly in favor of the liberation of enslaved nations as is being done by the American Government. It is nearly 14 years since night has descended on Lithuania, but it is also nearly 14 years since Soviet violence in regard to Lithuania has been condemned by the American Government. The Honorable John Foster Dulles denounced that outrage recently to the Baltic committee in the Capitol, on November 30 of last year. He reiterated those denouncements more recently twice in the presence of Molotov, the undertaker of Lithuania's independence, in Berlin. It has also been denounced on the occasion of February 16, by the Acting Secretary of State, the Honorable Walter B. Smith. We owe the American Nation and her Government our deepest gratitude for her just and courageous stand and her moral support of Lithuania.

I doubt if any nation enslaved in history has ever been the object of the investigation

of a parliamentary committee as is the case today in this country in regard to the violence perpetrated against the Baltic countries. The Soviet lies, as well as their dark deeds, and their cruel treatment of the Lithuanian nation are being exposed. The efforts of numerous persons, their precious time, and this country's funds are being sacrificed to immortalize and denounce throughout the world the wrong inflicted on the much-crucified Baltic nations. If we rejoice at and appreciate individual public statements of American statesmen and officials, and newspaper articles favorable to Lithuania, how much more grateful and proud we should feel at the unanimous adoption of a resolution by the United States Congress to create a Baltic committee to investigate the dark deeds of the Soviet regime in the Baltics.

It is an honor and a great pleasure to have with us this occasion a person very closely connected with the creation of that committee and with its work, Hon. CHARLES J. KERSTEN. He, as the chairman of the Baltic committee, is fundamentally acquainted with the fate of the Lithuanian nation in the Communist hell. Such diabolical deeds as the Praveniskial, Raihial Forest, and Cervene tragedies, and the greatest crime of all, the crushing of Lithuania's freedom, are well known to Mr. KERSTEN from firsthand sources. To him the Lithuanian nation owes a special and eternal gratitude for his great aid to Lithuania. We join in that gratitude with hearts of deepest sincerity. We are extremely grateful for the creation of that committee and for its undertakings.

Finally, we are grateful to the heads of numerous States and cities for their proclamations dedicated to suffering Lithuania and for numerous public and weighty statements by American Senators and Congressmen in honor of Lithuania.

We are also glad to note with satisfaction the great honor extended to the Right Reverend Monsignor Louis J. Mendelis, a Lithuanian priest who has so greatly served both his fatherland and his adopted country, by the historical opportunity accorded him to deliver the invocation in the Senate on Lithuanian Day. The honor accorded him is also a noble gesture by the whole United States Senate in regard to the Lithuanian nation. It is a great consolation to the enslaved Lithuanians.

Thus, with such authoritative support, with God and right on our side, with history testifying as to the fate of tyrants and tyranny we can be sure of Lithuania's future freedom.

Real Price Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ANGIER L. GOODWIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of April 2, 1954:

REAL PRICE CUTS

We hope our readers, who watch eagerly for every announcement of bargains in our big stores, will realize the full significance of the cuts by Congress of excise taxes on goods and services to the extent of over $900 million. This, we think, is one of the biggest, if not the biggest, price slash in history. What it means is that it will, in effect, add about half a week's pay a year to every individual's purchasing power.

Retail outlets for the goods involved can now adjust prices to attract purchasers who have been stymied by high taxes.

The New Haven Railroad announced all taxable train fares were reduced immediately by 5 percent, and, of course, the other railroads will do likewise. For Massachusetts it is authoritatively estimated it will cut $5,900,000 on local telephone calls and $4,410,000 on jewelry, with similar big savings on furs, cosmetics, sporting goods, and numerous others, including theater tickets. On a percentage basis, the reduction in taxes will amount to 10 percent, in most instances, on the prices of the goods involved.

In brief, it all amounts to a gigantic bargain sale announcement, and it seems a certainty that the public, which has been holding back in the purchase of many items awaiting this word from Washington, will take advantage of the new low prices.

The Case for Wool

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an excellent editorial that appeared in the Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass., on Monday, April 12, 1954.

This points out the problems of our woolen and worsted industry with great accuracy and integrity. The woolen and worsted industry is striving to have a greater protection for American manufacturers, in view of the tremendous difference in labor costs here and outside our own country.

The editorial follows:

We're proud of the fact that Boston is one of the major wool centers of the world. That's an important item in New England economy.

Now, if we want to keep it that way, we're going to need a little understanding and help from Washington.

The American woolen and worsted manufacturers haven't been having an easy time of it in these postwar years. In the past 5 years alone, nearly 150 of their mills have liquidated or gone out of business. That has meant unemployment for some 45,000 workers. Assuming that some of the mills were victims of bad management or obsolescence, there still were others that had to shut their doors in spite of management ability and good equipment.

What forced them out of business, then?

One big factor was their inability to compete with foreign imports.

In 1952, woolen and worsted imports hit their highest point in 30 years, with a total of some 24 million square yards. In 1953, the rate of importation continued to climb at a time when the American mills were fighting depressed market conditions.

Competition from the mills of England, Italy, and Japan was stiff and still is. The American manufacturer has to meet a wage scale of approximately $1.55 an hour, compared to 43 cents an hour in England, 35 in Italy, and 14 in Japan.

Now there is talk in Washington of reducing the tariff on cloth imported from those three countries.

This would be a devastating blow to the American manuafcturer, who even now has to fight to stay on his feet. It would be certain to drive still more mills out of business and broaden the plane of unemployment.

In addition, it would slash our woolen and worsted production potential at a time when the threat of war might loom at any moment. In all other wars, American mills not only have produced clothing and blankets for our own forces but have turned out great quantities for our allies as well. Who would take up the slack if another conflict came?

Viewed from any angle, Washington should be wary of legislation that might mean further weakening of our woolen and worsted industry.

Personal Rights and Liberties Under the Soviet Constitution: Fact and Fancy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES J. KERSTEN
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1954

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Communists always continually cry about personal rights and liberties. In view of this it might be worthwhile to recount the status of personal rights and liberties under the Soviet Constitution as they actually exist. A recent study by an expert on communism has recently come to my attention which shows how the people in the Soviet Union live as compared to their supposedly guaranteed rights under the Soviet Constitution:

I include herewith the study:

PERSONAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES UNDER THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION: FACT AND FANCY

"We benefit greatly from all the rights and liberties written into the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. They have firmly entered into the daily life of the people. As soon as we begin to compare the most ordinary factors of our Soviet life with the factors of reality of the capitalized world, the greatness of the rights of Soviet citizens is shown to us in its fullness and concreteness." (Radio Moscow, December 3, 1953.)

The above extract, taken from the broadcast, "The Rights of the Soviet People are Secured," is representative of the claims of Radio Moscow as it warmed up for the celebration of Soviet Constitution Day, December 5. Many rights and liberties have indeed been written into the constitution—but how little they actually mean when translated into the actual everyday life of the Soviet citizen. Here are the facts on the rights and liberties enumerated by Radio Moscow's broadcast:

1. The right to work (art. 118 of the constitution):

Soviet citizens are granted the right to work, but not the right to freely change or choose their jobs. In fact, Soviet work discipline has been tightened over the years to the point that at present it is the most severe in the world. Every Soviet worker has been required, ever since 1938, to have a workbook in which are entered the complete record of his employment since 1939. The same decree provides that no worker can be hired without presentation of his workbook, which is then kept by the management for the duration of the workers' employment.

On June 26, 1940, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet followed this up with a decree forbidding a worker to leave his job without special permission from the head of the enterprise. Such permission has been granted only if the employee became inca-

pacitated and no other work could be found for him in that enterprise, or if the worker had been admitted for special training or study in an educational institution. The same act provided for a 2- to 4-month jail sentence for those caught violating this provision. Absenteeism was to be punished by 6 months' corrective labor, together with a cut in pay of up to 25 percent.

Another decree passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet during 1940, provided for the conscription of youth for training in trade, railway, and factory-training schools. This was extended in 1947 to the coal and ore-mining industry.

Control over the workers was made complete on October 19, 1940, when a decree was passed giving the heads of industrial commissariats (now ministries) the right to transfer engineers, technicians, skilled workers, office help, and their families, to any place in the Soviet Union where their services might be required.

Furthermore, Soviet workers on the job are subjected to norms or regulated amounts of work that must be performed within a certain time. These norms are constantly revised upwards on the basis of records made by Stakhanovites, or shock workers. The average worker is placed in the position of making constantly greater exertions without the hope of ever catching up with the pacesetters.

2. The right to rest (art. 119):

The trend in the Soviet Union has been toward more rather than fewer hours of work. A decree passed in 1940 brought an end to both the 7-hour and 6-hour day (5 work days and 1 day off) in favor of the 8-hour day. The daily and monthly salaries remained the same, but norms were raised while piece rates were lowered. The standard workweek in the Soviet Union at present is 48 hours.

Only a small percentage of Soviet workers ever visit any of the rest homes and sanatoria during the year, despite the intensive Soviet propaganda about these facilities. According to Trud of March 20, 1952, about 2,700,000 workers and employees went either to Soviet rest homes or sanatoriums during 1951. These constitute but a small fraction of the 110 million estimated labor force. Twenty percent of the passes for sanatoria and 10 percent of the passes for rest homes are issued free to workers, the cost being borne by the State Social Insurance Fund, but these go chiefly to Stakhanovites, engineers, and officials. Others must pay 30 percent of the cost. This is not a negligible fee when one considers that the average cost at a rest home for 2 weeks is about 500 rubles, of which the worker must pay 150 rubles. This is in addition to the cost of transportation, which the worker must pay. A round-trip ticket from Moscow to the Black Sea costs about 400 rubles, plus the cost of the food on the 2- to 4-day trip. The average Soviet industrial worker earns about 700 rubles per month.

3. Material security in old age (art. 120):

Males are entitled to receive an old-age pension at 60, but only if they have worked without a break for 25 years; women are entitled to a pension at 55 but only if they have worked 20 years continuously. The maximum they may receive is 240 rubles a month.

4. The right to an education (art. 121):

Getting an education in the Soviet Union is an expensive proposition. Education was free until 1940, but all this was changed by an amendment to the constitution. A decree passed during that year called for the payment of tuition for all education above the 7-year (incomplete) school level. The following charges were to be made for tuition: Grades 8 through 10—200 rubles for Moscow, Leningrad, and the capitals of the republics and 150 rubles per year for the other towns and cities. For higher institutions (universities and institutes)—400 rubles per year for Moscow, Leningrad, and republican capitals and 300 rubles per year for all other towns. For drama, music, and art schools 500 rubles. To this must be added the students' living expenses.

Even education in the 7-year school, however, is not altogether "free." Pupils or their parents have to pay for textbooks used in the school. Thus Pravda of August 9, 1948, declared: "Every effort must be made to insure that textbooks reach the trading network and are sold to the pupils on time."

5. The full equality of all citizens irrespective of nationality or race (art. 123):

In spite of this guaranty whole groups of people were deported and their territorial units abolished during World War II because the Kremlin feared their disloyalty. The entire population of the Chechen-Ingush and Crimean Republics were deported in 1944. In 1941, the Volga-German ASSR was abolished and the entire population, numbering 600,000 people, was deported into Soviet Central Asia. The Karachai, Balkars, and the Kalmyks were similarly deported and their autonomous regions abolished. A grave-like silence hangs over the subsequent fate of these peoples in all Soviet publications.

Minority peoples are discriminated against in many other ways. Great Russians monopolize the best positions in industry, party, and government. This holds true even in the national republics. Thus "Pravda Vostoka" of September 1, 1950, revealed that in the Stalin electro-chemical combine in the Uzbek SSR only 6–7 percent of the workers were Uzbeks, and these were mostly employed in the least desirable positions. Figures published by "Kazakhstan Pravda" of August 13, 1948, show that at that time in the Kazakh ministries the Kazakhs held only 2 percent of the administrative posts in local industry and public health, 4 percent in light industry, 6.7 percent in textiles, 10 percent in agriculture, and 14 percent in meat and dairy ministries. Sometimes natives are assigned to the top jobs in their republic but this is only windowdressing: the real power is in the hands of the Great Russians, though nominally they are subordinates. The same picture holds true for education. In 1938 for example, less than a quarter of the students at the university of Kazakhstan were Kazakhs, a trend that persists to the present day.

6. Emancipation of women (art. 122):

Actually women have been emancipated only to do work of the most exhausting and back-breaking nature. "Komsomol Pravda" of April 9, 1947, lauded Karelo-Finnish girls for putting in 10 hours a day in lumbering operations under temperatures of 40° below zero. As of November 1, 1939, 24.8 percent of the personnel employed in coal mining were women; in iron-ore mining, 23.6; in iron and steel, 24.9; in woodworking, 43.9 (V. Orlikova, Problems of Economics, Moscow, July 1940). "Pravda" of March 8, 1951, reported that 41 percent of the industrial force of the Kazakh S. S. R. were women, with 47 percent as the corresponding figure for the Tadjik S. S. R. well over half the farm laborers in the U. S. S. R. are women.

7. Freedom of conscience (art. 124):

The attitude of the Communists has never varied since Karl Marx called religion "the opiate of the people." Here, for example, is one of the many antireligious statements found under the heading "God" in volume five of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia published in 1950:

"The liquidation of religious survivals and of the chief one among them, the belief in God, constitutes one of the problems of Communist education of the Soviet people."

While article 124 of the constitution allows freedom of worship it does not grant freedom to propagate religion. Article 122 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (printed by the Ministry of Justice, Moscow, 1948) declares:

"Instruction of the underaged or minors in religious doctrine in state or private educational institutions or schools * * * is punishable by corrective labor for a period of 1 year."

Further, article 353 (paragraph 17 (c)) of the Collection of Laws of the RSFSR reads:

"Religious organizations are forbidden to organize special prayer or other gatherings for children, youths, or women, or to organize meetings, groups, circles, or offices, either Bible, literary, handiwork, or labor, for instruction of religion."

Paragraph 17 of the same law expressly forbids religious instruction in any private or state educational institution.

Even freedom of worship is restricted inasmuch as members of the Communist Party or the Komsomol (Young Communist League) are expressly forbidden to be a member of any religious group or to believe in God. Statements such as the one made by the paper Zarya Vostoka of January 27-28, 1949, are commonplace in the Soviet press:

"It is not to be tolerated that even the smallest manifestation of religiousness should be observed among Communists."

8. Freedom of speech and press (art. 125):

These are only theoretical rights as the facilities for their exercise are securely in the hands of the Communist Party. Thus Pravda of June 22, 1936, declared:

"Whoever postulates the overthrow of the Socialist regime is an enemy of the people. He will not obtain a sheet of paper, he will not be able to cross the threshold of a printing office, should he try to fulfill his wretched purpose. He will not find a hall, room, or a mere corner in which to spread his poison by speech."

Furthermore, the Soviet law of 1932 concerning printing, still in force, states that printing offices of any kind "may be opened only by Government agencies, cooperatives, and public organizations." (RSFSR Laws, 1932: 288, sec. 1.)

The rigid censorship exercised by the regime and party over speech and press further insure that none but official or proregime sentiments can be expressed. Chief among the censorship agencies is Glavlit, the Main Administration for Literary and Publication Affairs. It was created for the carrying out of all kinds of political and ideological, military, and economic control of printed matter, manuscripts, photographs, pictures, etc., destined for publication or circulation and of radio messages, lectures, and exhibitions. (Statute on Glavlit, RSFSR Laws, 1931: 273, sec. 1.) The statute further provides that works appearing in print are subject to a double censorship—before and after printing.

The other chief agency concerned with censorship is Glavrepertkom, the Main Administration for Control Over Public Performances and Repertoire. Its functions, as laid down by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of February 26, 1934, are the exercise of politico-ideological, artistic, and military control, both preliminary and subsequent, over all types of public performance and repertoire (theater, music, variety, cinema, recording, artistic radio broadcasting) on the territory of the RSFSR.

9. Inviolability of person (art. 127):

A number of legal enactments negate this constitutional safeguard. The Corrective Labor Code of the RSFSR, for example, states in article 8: "Persons are directed to corrective labor who have been sentenced thereto by * * * the decree of an administrative organ"—that is to say, without a court trial.

Moreover, on July 11, 1934, the Central Executive Committee passed a decree (published in the Collection of Laws of the Government of the U. S. S. R., No. 36, of July 19, 1934, art. 8) which states:

"Under the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs a special council is to be organized which, on the basis of regulations laid down for it, is to be invested with the power of applying as an administrative measure, expulsion, exile, imprisonment in corrective labor camps for a period of up to 5 years and expulsion beyond the confines of the U. S. S. R."

10. Universal, direct, free suffrage (art. 134):

The nomination of candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies. (Art. 141 of the Soviet Constitution.) The Communist Party is described as the leading core of all these organizations. (Arts. 15, 20, and 126.) The usual procedure at one of these nomination meetings, according to refugees, is for a candidate to be introduced, whereupon the assembly automatically approves the choice. Any counterarguments would be considered counterrevolutionary. While not all candidates are party members those who are not must have proved their devotion to the Soviet State. Only persons who are worthy of the cause of Lenin-Stalin are worthy to be candidates. (Vakhmistrov, A., Mass Agitational Work in the Electoral Precinct, Moscow, 1945.)

Only one slate of candidates is offered the electors—the Communist and nonparty bloc of candidates. A gigantic preelection campaign with campaigning only for the official candidates precedes the election. The voter has no choice except to vote for the official slate of candidates that is offered, unless he resorts to the futile and dangerous action of either spoiling his ballot or voting against the official candidates. It is scarcely surprising that under these circumstances the vote is always overwhelmingly in favor of the official slate. The following shows how little Soviet elections are worth: In 1938 the Volga Germans were said to have voted by nearly 100 percent in favor of the regime. Yet in 1941 these same Volga Germans were exposed as traitors.

These are but some of the ways the constitutional safeguards in the most democratic constitution in the world are reduced to what they really are: empty phrases. The same may be said of other constitutional rights not mentioned in the December 3 radio Moscow broadcast. They have only one value—to serve as propaganda to the outside world.

The Tariff on Handmade Glass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to call attention to a letter just received from the Mid-Atlantic Glass Co., of Ellenboro, W. Va., in which the company lodges a protest against the Reciprocal Trade Act and against Japanese competition. The letter follows:

MID-ATLANTIC GLASS CO.,
Ellenboro, W. Va., April 12, 1954.

Hon. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BAILEY: The Mid-Atlantic Glass Co., of Ellenboro, W. Va., just 5 miles west of Pennsboro, W. Va., would like for you to do all in your power to have the tariff raised on handmade glass. Foreign-made ware is hurting us very much. We are working part-time about 3 days a week.

Our New York representative, William J. Rosen, 1133 Broadway contacted the glass-buyer for Woolworth Co. He showed him our stemware plain blanks, our price was $2.73 a dozen. The buyer showed him stemware from Japan with fancy cutting on them laid down in this country for $1.85. Our chances are very poor against this price. I only hope you can do some good in your position. I know you know the glass industry and I am telling the truth.

Very truly yours,

MID-ATLANTIC GLASS CO.,
LLOYD GAMES, *President.*

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Address by Hon. Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, Before Sons of the American Revolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me before the annual meeting of the New Hampshire Society, Sons of the American Revolution, at Concord, N. H., on Saturday, April 17, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE MINUTEMEN'S RESPONSE TO THE LEXINGTON ALARM

It gives me very real pleasure to be here today and join my fellow members of the Sons of the American Revolution on the 65th annual meeting of our New Hampshire Society.

I am delighted that I have this opportunity to recall with you, briefly and informally, the contributions which New Hampshire patriots made to this Nation some 179 years ago. I think that we are well-advised to stop and consider these valiant men and women, in the terms of world crisis with which we are faced today. It may well be that there are lessons to be learned and precepts which can be applied with profit to the great issues which now confront us.

As long as there are Americans, that long will the deeds of these men be remembered. Speaking personally, I am constantly reminded of them, and if you will visit me in Washington, you will soon see why. As you walk into my offices in the Senate Appropriatio Committee, your eyes will immediately be attracted to two larges frescoes, on opposite walls, painted by a noted artist. One of these paintings is the Battle of Bunker Hill. The other—you can guess—is the Battle of Lexington. One day an English major, visting the Capitol, admired the pictures, and asked what they were. When told, he beat a hasty retreat, covering his confusion with a couple of resounding h-a-r-u-m-p-h-s. Even in his memory, the battles had lasting significance.

And when I take my place in the Presiding Officer's chair, as President pro tempore of the Senate, my mind often goes back to that day 165 years ago when another President pro tem—the first President pro tem—took his seat. He was John Langdon, of New Hampshire. He was not only President pro tem of the Senate, from which position he had administered the oath of office to both Washington and Adams, he had also been a delegate to the Continental Congress, a signer of the Constitution, a commander at Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, Governor of our State, and, with John Sullivan, leader of the troops which actually precipitated the first armed conflict of the Revolution. Yes, such men as he, and such battles as Lexington will never die in the minds and hearts of all those who believe in the principle of equality and freedom for all men.

Today we are celebrating the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. New Hampshire has reason for its interest in this anniversary, as you all know well. The shot heard 'round the world in 1775 perhaps had more significance than any overt act of hostility before or since. I like to think of the engagement at Lexington as representing the many deeds of individual and collective heroism which preceded that date. I suppose that an engagement which lasted but a few hours would be considered a minor skirmish in terms of modern warfare. In the American Revolution that skirmish crystallized the seething discontent against misrule and formally commenced the 7 years of war for independence.

The Battle of Lexington, then, earned for itself a foremost niche in our history. And why was this so? What was the climate of the times that led relatively disorganized rebels to challenge the well-armed and well-trained troops of General Gage to open combat? It perhaps can best be stated that they found a just cause which sparked them into great heroism and eventually led to the founding of a free nation.

These men were no mercenaries, hired in foreign lands, transported across thousands of miles of water to fight in a strang land for a cause they had neither knowledge of nor belief in. These men left their homes, their farms, their shops, their wives and children, determined to gain for themselves and their families those rights, privileges, and freedoms which they considered inalienable in freemen, and which we preserve today, engraved in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution.

When these men formed their lines there in Lexington they were subjects of the Crown, without proper representation to combat the capricious whims of a ruler who in a few short years had, among other things, imposed the odious Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts upon them, blockaded their harbors, thwarted their westward development, imposed on them the notorious Quartering Act, dissolved their legislative bodies, and obstructed justice by abolishing the free system of English laws.

When the British left Lexington to march on Concord, all New England was aflame and these same stalwarts were imbued with a sense of freedom that conceived a new Nation.

You all know well the immediate causes which led to the fight at Lexington:

How the British General Gage had been informed by his spies that ammunition and other military stores had been collected by the provincial committees at Worcester and Concord.

How on Tuesday, the 18th of April, he sent spies to infiltrate Cambridge and to intercept all communications.

How, on the night of the 18th, he sent Colonel Smith by boat with over 800 grenadiers and light infantry—the flower of the army at Boston—to East Cambridge and thence through the marshes that are now a stately city down the road through West Cambridge to Concord to destroy the stores of ammunition.

And you all know well the countermeasures which the ever-alert colonists had taken.

How Gage's attempt had been expected for several weeks and how signals had been arranged to announce any troop movements.

How Warren sent a timely message to Sam Adams and Hancock, so that the Committee on Safety was able to remove the stores and hide the cannons.

How, at about 2 a. m., a peal from the meetinghouse bell brought together the young and the old, firelocks in hand, powder horn and bullet pouch slung at their sides, ready to punctuate with lead the resolute words of their town debates.

Yes, and how the minute men spread the alarm through the night so that with the dawn, as the British approached Lexington Green they saw—I quote: "A body of country people drawn up in military order, with arms and accouterments."

The men of New Hampshire were there in that body of country people, in fact as well as in spirit. On the alarm lists for this battle and the subsequent engagements were the great New Hampshire generals, Stark, Reed, Cilly, and Dearborn. Benjamin Pierce, father of the President, was there. Gordon Hutchins and Abiel Chandler were there. Benjamin Thompson had come from Concord. Four Greggs came from Londonderry. John Morison and the three Mitchell boys came from Peterborough; Thompson Maxwell came from Amherst; and Nathan Hale from Rindge. Hollis was represented, as were Temple, Jaffrey, Kenne, Derryfield, Gilmanton, Nottingham, Windham, and Walpole.

You, proud descendants of the men who fought, could name many others.

And you know the outcome of the battle itself, and that at Concord, and of the crimson trail the redcoats left as they hastened to Boston. The ferries over the Merrimack were crowded with men from New Hampshire. "We go," they said, "to the assistance of our brethren." Men from Nottingham set out for Cambridge at 1 o'clock on the 20th. Bands from Deerfield and Epsom joined them at 2. At dusk they reach the Haverhill Ferry, a distance of 27 miles. They had raced, not marched. By sunrise on the 21st they paraded on Cambridge Common, having covered 55 miles in less than 20 hours. By the 23d there were over 2,000 men from New Hampshire there, who would not return until the work was done.

These events, historically, were the start of the Revolution.

But actually, the revolt had begun long before this, in New Hampshire and elsewhere. In the spring of 1774 the Sons of Liberty in Portsmouth had confiscated the stamps and the official orders given George Meserve to act as agent to enforce the notorious Stamp Act. And on June 25, 6 months after the Boston Tea Party, Portsmouth had conducted a little tea party of its own with the result that the tea consigned to New Hampshire was reshipped to Halifax.

And again in December of 1774, the citizens of Portsmouth struck one of the first blows for liberty at Fort William and Mary, now known as Fort Constitution. They knew that the fort contained quantities of gunpowder and small arms and was shortly to be reinforced. On December 13, Paul Revere rode to Portsmouth to inform the committee on safety that the British had placed an embargo on the shipment of gunpowder and military stores to America. The next day, the Sons of Liberty, about 400 strong, marched on the fort. They were commanded by John Sullivan, later a major general in the Continental Army, and Capt. John Langdon. Surrounding the fort, they de-

manded that the defenders surrender, which they did. One hundred barrels of gunpowder were carried away and hidden under the meetinghouse pulpit in Durham. Later, Sam Langdon, John's cousin, carried the powder by oxcart to Cambridge in time to be issued to the soldiers on the eve of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

These and subsequent actions make their descendants proud of their forebears and proud they are men of New Hampshire. I wish that I could recount again more than a few of their many actions, for which we are so deeply obligated.

New Hampshire was the first colony to suggest a Declaration of Independence.

New Hampshire was the first colony to permanently rid herself of a Governor appointed by the Crown.

New Hampshire was the first colony to establish independent self-government on a constitutional basis.

New Hampshire was the first colony to commit an overt hostile act against the military power of Great Britain. It antedated the Declaration of Independence by more than a year and a half.

New Hampshire supplied more than half of all the American troops engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

New Hampshire supplied more than two-thirds of all the troops under Stark at the Battle of Bennington, which culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga and was the decisive battle of the war.

New Hampshire regiments were at Bunker Hill, Trenton, Saratoga, Valley Force, and Yorktown. The 1st New Hampshire Regiment served for 8 years and 8 months, probably the longest service record of any Revolutionary regiment.

And New Hampshire, despite the great anxiety and doubt of the times, had the great honor of being the ninth State to ratify the Federal Constitution, and in so doing, gave life to the Federal Government and made perpetual the liberty won in battle.

Truly it has been said that New Hampshire was the first ready to give her sons to the cause of liberty.

Today the words "flintlock" and "powder horn" have a quaint and venerable ring to them. They have been replaced by such terrying phrases as "fissionable material," and "thermonuclear reaction." The Paul Reveres of today are known as "reconnaissance night fighters" and "radar screens." The electrifying march of the New Hampshiremen to Cambridge Common—covering those 55 miles in 20 hours—was a notable achievement. But our modern aircraft, riding the jet stream, have just spanned the continent in 4 hours. The news of the passage of the Stamp Act took a month to reach America. Today the pulsating attacks by savage Red hordes in Indochina, halfway round the world, are felt in Washington within the hour. At Lexington the British left 8 dead militiamen and 10 wounded; today a single bomb has the power to annihilate millions of men, women, and children without a trace. Distances have been telescoped; communications are instantaneous; the power of instruments of war have increased many millionfold.

And today once again, the battlelines are being drawn in a crisis far greater than that which we have come here to commemorate. We, as a country, have in times past encountered problems which have shaken our people to their roots, rent the Nation, and brought a well of tears from the hearts of strong men. But never before has this country been brought face to face with the problem of its actual survival as it faces us today.

Our foes no longer speak our language—either in tongue or mind. They are as deadly as they are guileful, as inscrutible as they are unscrupulous, and as strong as the devil himself in their godlessness. Already they have swallowed up over 850 million people in their mad surge to power and have strung the barbed wire of totalitarianism around one-third of the earth's surface. Even as we gather here today they threaten to engulf southeastern Asia and enslave millions more.

One of the greatest attributes of our Lexington ancestors was their indomitable courage. We can all emulate that spirit. We are not afraid of Communists nor communism. But as minutemen of this modern era we must guard our stores of military supplies around the world, scan the skies from our belfry towers, and with all our friends in the free world, keep our rifles fit and our powder dry.

We must make these preparations quickly and calmly, yet not be pushed to panic and ill-considered expenditures of materiel, manpower and funds. We must be prepared to maintain this arsenal of democracy over a long period, perhaps 10, 20, or 50 years. And we must gear our military strength to the capacities of our economy if we are to keep America spiritually, militarily and economically strong. For communism thrives in countries which are weak in any one of these ways, and wins bloodless victories in lands torn with internal dissension and poverty.

After World War II our country fell on grievous times. In 1945 this Nation had the strongest Air Force, the strongest Navy, the best Army, and exclusive control of the atomic bomb. We had allies and friends in nearly every part of the world. We had mountains of supplies. We threw these advantages away in 5 short years so that when the Red barbarians struck in Korea we were woefully unprepared for the emergency. And we did not even have enough ammunition for our boys to put in their guns to fight for their lives.

During those years our foreign policy was one of vacillation and letting the dust settle. It was a piecemeal policy of waiting for events to happen and allowing the Russians to call the shots. We watched the rising flood with apprehension but we did not man the ramparts and make secure the hatches. We stood waiting to put our fingers in the dike, though the waters crested over the very bulkheads of our security.

This is no longer true. Since Korea we have expended huge sums for our own defense and that of our allies and it has borne fruit. We have the strongest Navy in the world. We have an Air Force second to none, and growing stronger daily. We have a capable Army, small in size when compared with that of Russia, but well-equipped with the weapons of modern warfare. And we have another weapon which when carried over enemy territory in a single plane will unleash a cargo of destruction exceeding all the TNT dropped on Germany in World War II.

In providing for our national defense we have also committed ourselves to the defense of 694 million people of 39 nations on 6 continents, across 3 oceans, embracing a land mass of over 21 million square miles. And, in addition, not included in the above totals, we have mutual assistance agreements and other commitments with 25 other nations. We have rededicated ourselves to the pursuit of liberty, not only for ourselves, but for all nations who wish to remain free.

A month ago I was in Europe and I was struck by a subtle change in their attitudes from a few years ago. They were no longer afraid. They knew—with certain knowledge—that they were growing strong, that if Russia should attack there would be no sudden push to the sea in a matter of hours or days. The free world, despite differences of opinion, has been revitalized.

During the Revolution a few men could finance the cost of a single battle or a campaign. John Langdon was the financial backer of the troops which defeated the British at Bennington, when privates were paid $6.66 a month. Today, since the start of World War II we have given over $165 billion in various kinds of foreign aid. For just 1 year—1954—our total expenditure for national defense, foreign aid and atomic energy was over $50 billion. It is two-thirds of our total budget. We hope that our defense expenditures will be a little less for 1955. This the Eisenhower administration has made possible by the application of sound business practices to the military machine. Increased efficiency and modern methods have effected cost reductions which will be reflected in taxpayer assessments. Yet the cost is still prodigious.

The problems which beset the Continental Congress—of providing sufficient funds for our military machine, of balancing the budget, and of lightening the tax load—are as real today as ever before. And they are magnified by the conviction that upon the right decisions rest the fate of our whole civilization.

The present administration inherited a house which was badly in need of repair. Its former occupants had lived luxuriously on the premise that regardless of cost or need, nothing was too good for them. It was staffed by the largest number of public servants in our peacetime history. And it was mortgaged down to the very last shingle, with a public debt approaching $275 billion.

The present administration has worked long and hard to put this house of ours in order. The first thing that it did was to cut $14 billion from President Truman's budget request for 1954. Despite this, we were still unable to balance that budget, because the cuts we could and did make were in new money—appropriations by the Congress—and not in expenditures, which are a combination of the new money appropriated by the present Congress and old money appropriated by previous Congresses. Only when expenditures, not appropriations, are no greater than revenues is the budget in balance. These uncontrolled expenditures were so great because the present administration had inherited an $81 billion carryover of funds previously appropriated but which were to be spent in 1954 and later years. However, if present conditions continue for the next year or two, we shall definitely balance the budget.

Probably few of the colonists at Lexington were fully aware of how portentous was their action. But they were aware of their just grievances, of their rights as human beings, and of the need for united action if they were to live as freeborn men. Their brave resolution in the face of great odds should remain as a beacon to guide us today.

For America is at the crossroads of destiny. The decisions we make now may well determine the course of civilization for centuries to come. Our first responsibility is to ourselves, but in the interests of our own safety we cannot disregard the welfare of our allies.

At the same time we, and our friends abroad, must fully realize that our resources are limited, that mutual defense is a two-way street, and that no free nation can hope to long survive if it is not willing to fight to save itself.

It is axiomatic that America must provide the leadership in this world struggle. Without us the free world fails. For this reason we must remain strong militarily, spiritually, and economically. We must provide a solid unity of purpose in all matters involving our national security. We must provide ourselves with blueprints of action for any crisis. We must maintain a sympathetic understanding of the problems of our allies abroad, but we must be firm in our resolve to allow no minor issues and considerations to swerve us from our established goals.

We wish to live in peace, but we will not bargain away our liberties in the search for

a temporary appeasement which leads to eventual squalor and enslavement. I hope that our enemies know this. I hope they know that the spirit of Lexington still burns brightly here in New Hampshire, as it does all over our great country. They do know we are willing at anytime to sit down at the conference tables and work out a just peace for the world. I hope they know, too, that our muskets are ready and our powder is dry.

Annual Dinner of the Amen Corner and Addresses by Hon. John S. Cooper, of Kentucky, and Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, on April 10, in Pittsburgh, Pa., the celebrated Amen Corner held its annual dinner. The dinner was in honor of the Honorable Charles J. Margiotti, the retiring president. Four United States Senators spoke: the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURKE], the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER], my distinguished colleague [Mr. DUFF], and myself.

I am very sorry that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURKE] and my colleague [Mr. DUFF] spoke from notes; and, therefore, we are not able to insert in the RECORD their full speeches. I ask unanimous consent that the account of this meeting, as given in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of Monday, April 12, and the addresses delivered by the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] and myself be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of April 12, 1954]

Leaders in politics, business, and civic affairs mingled at the 28th annual dinner of the Amen Corner Saturday night in a lively gathering somewhat sombered by warnings of four United States Senators that the A-bomb, H-bomb, and C-bomb era poses an undeniable danger to the United States.

The Senators were JAMES H. DUFF and EDWARD MARTIN, Pennsylvania Republicans, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Kentucky Republican, and THOMAS A. BURKE, Ohio Democrat, who was appointed to fill the seat of the late Senator Robert A. Taft.

CONSTRUCTIVE WARNINGS

The four speeches all were constructive warnings.

Senator MARTIN said that America's first line of defense in the bomb era is its moral and spiritual strength. He called on every church, synagogue, and temple to join in a determined battle against communism.

Senator DUFF told the approximately 900 diners at the William Penn Hotel that the choice between peace and the end of the world is completely in the hands of Soviet Russia.

"The hydrogen bomb is a weapon with which mankind can destroy itself," he said, and added that the cobalt bomb, for which science already has the basic formula, is vastly more destructive.

A cobalt bomb, if exploded on a barge 100 miles off the California coast, he asserted, would cast death and destruction from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

COOPER PRAISES IKE

Senator COOPER praised the Eisenhower administration's military policy as strong and designed to do everything possible to maintain peace. He said, "The administration has done well, extremely well."

Senator BURKE differed from his Kentucky colleague when he made a strong criticism of American foreign policy, declaring that the United States is spending billions abroad and still doesn't have a friend in the world.

He called for united action in Indochina, as proposed by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles last week, and added:

"We learn to our horror that our friends won't join us. Are we going it alone? Are we going to pick up the entire check?"

BIPARTISAN ASPECT

The traditionally Republican gathering took on even more of a bipartisan aspect as Dr. William D. McClelland, Allegheny County coroner, and candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor, and Lt. Gov. Lloyd H. Wood, Republican candidate for governor, sat side by side.

The dinner was in honor of former Attorney General Charles J. Margiotti, the club's retiring president.

Mr. Margiotti was presented with a self-winding clock by United States District Attorney John W. McIlvaine in behalf of the Corner.

SHALL WE CALL IT THE NEW LOOK?

(Speech of Senator JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican, of Kentucky, before the Amen Corner, Pittsburgh, Pa., April 10, 1954)

The headlines we have been reading during the last few weeks make it most appropriate to center my talk tonight on the subject of national security. More specifically, I would like to speak on the program of the administration, as I see it, for national security. Major news items from the four corners of the world are bringing home once more to the American people the nature of the persistent and unchanging danger that we face. In Europe, the Soviet Union is increasing its efforts to destroy the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and prevent the establishment of a European Defense Community, including the Federal Republic of Germany. In the Near East tensions are increasing. In southeast Asia, the struggle in Indochina has reached a new pitch of intensity. And—overshadowing all these events—come headlines from the Pacific telling of unprecedented H-bomb explosions.

Out in the vastness of the Pacific, man left the atom age and stepped into the hydrogen age. He has now learned to release destructive energy not measured in thousands of tons of dynamite, but in millions of tons. A small island disappeared from the surface of the earth, as a mushroom cloud ascended 25 miles into the sky and spread 50 miles in all directions. Last week, Admiral Strauss, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, made it clear in his public statement that the new bomb could destroy any city in the world. It has been calculated that such a bomb could completely annihilate life within a radius of more than 3 miles, cause heavy damage in sections 7 miles from the center of the explosion, and produce lighter, but still serious, destruction at even greater distances.

These events present us with grave issues, but we must not believe that they are insoluble.

The series of tests in the Pacific have aroused new fears and questions, for we know that Soviet Russia too possesses the hydrogen bomb. There is a demand for assurance that the administration is building adequate military strength to meet the threat of this destructive force in Soviet hands.

The administration has full knowledge of all these facts. It is for this reason that it has reviewed our military policy, and our foreign policy as well, and has adjusted both to the realities of the world situation. Its task is not easy or one soon ended. The President has stated that we face a long struggle over an indefinite period and our plans and programs have been honestly adjusted to this inescapable truth.

The path toward security is sown with pitfalls, because we encounter again and again circumstances, such as those we witness in Indochina or in the Middle East, over which we can exercise only partial control. But despite this fact, the administration has done well, extremely well. Our country is rebuilding its Armed Forces. It is supporting our friends in strengthening their defenses for the mutual protection of all. It is using its diplomatic and moral leadership to awaken and unite the anti-Communist world against the mortal danger which it faces. The successful prosecution of this task is the major challenge that confronts America.

It is natural that questions should be raised about changes in policy, and that the opposition should criticize the administration. Our Democratic friends, with their preoccupation for titles, call the administration's policy the New Look. In passing, I note that at times they forget and say there is nothing new in the New Look.

There are those, wedded to the past, who take the position that any change from old plans will lead to disaster. There are others who measure military strength in dollars alone. They seem to think that the efforts of the Defense Department toward better management, economy, and even greater firepower are of small account and are suspect, unless accompanied by larger appropriations.

One of the harsh criticisms heard on the floor of the Senate is that the Military Establishment is being drastically cut, and our safety endangered, to keep the campaign promise of a balanced budget. Sincere differences of opinion on the adequacy of these programs are inevitable. But this particular attack is political and wholly unjustified. In effect, it suggests that the President and his advisers are willfully endangering the country. I think it ought to be emphasized to the country that the military program of the admiinstration represents the considered and unanimous judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—our professional military advisers: Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Ridgway, Chief of Staff of the Army, Admiral Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, and General Twining, Chief of Staff of the Air Force. It represents the judgment of the National Security Council, which is charged with welding together into a coherent policy the military, economic, and political factors which affect our security. The program represents the judgment of the President, who carries the major responsibility for the safety of our country. These men have weighed the alternatives. They have reached the conclusion that the program they recommend is best suited for the safety of the country. They have planned a military establishment that can be expanded as circumstances require and one that can be sustained over an indefinite period. While the Congress ought not to accept, and will not accept without searching review their conclusions, we can assume as a first proposition that the collective judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and the President is based on sounder foundations than the judgment of critics who do not carry their responsibilities. It is in my opinion a sound program.

The dollar argument constantly advanced is the argument that appropriations and manpower strength are the chief tests of military power. In making this argument the critics bemoan the fact that 1954 military expenditures were reduced by $7 billion from the estimate of the previous administration, and that a further reduction of $4 billion in expenditures is recommended for 1955. The critics do not mention that the Department of Defense had $96 billion available for expenditures during the current fiscal year and, if the President's budget is approved, will have $83 billion available for the next fiscal year, when expenditures are estimated at $37 billion—the largest peacetime military spending in the Nation's history.

The dollar argument ignores any improvement in combat strength gained by shifting military personnel from supporting to combat units. It never includes the fact that improved management in the Department of Defense has saved millions of dollars which are being applied to the procurement of more effective and more modern weapons and equipment. It ignores the improvement in firepower made possible by these new weapons and their revolutionary effect on tactics and strategy. It ignores the increasing contribution in military strength made by our allies.

I think it would be well to look at the Military Establishment in terms of facts rather than in terms of dollars. What are the facts?

We will have on June 30, 1955, an Army of 17 divisions and 18 regimental combat teams, and 122 antiaircraft battalions. This force represents a reduction of 3 divisions from the high peak reached during the Korean conflict. Then there is the matter of the disposition of these forces. During the Korean war, the Army's ready combat strength was tied up in either the Far East or Europe. The new program proposes a centrally placed strategic reserve ready for emergencies. This reserve, and the withdrawal of troops from Korea is also cirticized. The critics do not take into account the development of local forces. It should be noted also that Great Britain, our strongest ally, is following an identical course.

Our Navy and Marine Corps will undergo no major changes under the administration's program. The Marine Corps will continue at a strength or 3 divisions supported by 3 Marine Air Wings. The Navy will have on June 30, 1955, 404 major warships in commission, only 4 less than projected by the previous administration. Our Navy is and will remain second to none in the world. It will continue to maintain the command of the seas, so vital to our national security.

The most persistent and the severest criticism of our Democratic friends has been directed against the administration Air Force policy. It is charged that the administration has declared a policy of massive retaliation by the Air Force, but at the same time is nullifying the policy by limiting the development of the Air Force upon which its success depends. The critics speak always as if this administration has destroyed the program of the previous administration to provide 143 wings by June 30, 1955. There is nothing in the record to support the assumption that we would have had 143 fighting wings at the date scheduled. Year after year, the established goals had not been met. When the new administration took over, the Air Force had 106 wings on its books, but only 93 of these were equipped with aircraft. One of the major accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration has been its success in bringing order into Air Force planning and production. As a result we will have by July of this year 115 wings; 110 of them are to be combat ready at this date, and the remainder shortly thereafter. The Air Force goal has been set at 137 wings to be reached in June 1957. This is 6 less than planned by the previous administration, but the number of combat wings remains the same—126. These combat wings will include the most modern equipment. I am informed by the Air Force that today 30 percent of our combat aircraft is jet-equipped and that by the end of the next fiscal year the figure will reach 94 percent. This administration has placed increased emphasis on our air power and is developing the strongest and most modern air force in our existence.

These are the forces which the administration is developing and intends to maintain near the present level over an indefinite period, modifying their size and composition as circumstances may dictate. It is certain that they will not be allowed to disintegrate, as they were in the period between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Korean war.

It is argued by some that the program is not broad enough in scope and in its relation to the strength of Soviet Russia. It is undoubtedly true that this country could double the number of its divisions, fleets, and air wings. To accomplish this, however, it would be necessary to regiment our economy and our manpower, and all we would attain for a time would be the disorder we are attempting to correct. We would not have absolute security. Our continental security has been lost through the conquest of space by the long-distance bomber supplemented by the development of nuclear weapons. Under these circumstances, maximum relative security is the only available goal.

I would like to say here that the administration has introduced order into another field, one on which a long-range defense program must always depend. This is in the fiscal affairs of the Nation. I do not need to elaborate on facts well-known—that the administration has reversed the fiscal policies of the past 20 years—that it has reduced wasteful expenditures, and is returning to the people a part of their earnings through tax reductions. We can have no doubt that these policies will strengthen the economy and the productive power of the country, and thus our national security.

While I have argued that the military program of the administration is sound and that it is making better progress than at any previous date, this does not mean that there are not many things that remain to be done. For example—our Reserve System, and our actions in the field of civil defense are woefully inadequate. There remains the enactment of measures to provide proper inducements for young men to enter and remain in the armed services. Modern weapons and equipment demand greater ability and intelligence in personnel and longer service periods for training than ever before. These programs cannot be attained by the Executive alone. They must be supported by the Congress and the people. I do not believe that our defense will be adequate until these things are done.

Finally, our security requires more than just a sound military establishment. We must have sufficient military strength to impress the potential enemy with our ability to stop his aggression—sufficient strength to retaliate effectively, if we are bound to do so, wherever and whenever he launches his aggression. Such forces, however, are only the outward evidence of our determination to preserve our security and peace. The key to our security is the determination itself. Experience has shown that the only thing respected by the Communists is force, but all the force in the world will be of little use if the impression is created that we are unwilling to employ this force.

It is difficult to understand the criticism against the diplomatic and political decision of the administration to use our full force to deter aggression at places and with means of our own choosing. This is the criticism of the so-called New Look of the administration in the field of foreign policy. It is a criticism which confuses the people by saying that the administration has discarded or minimized the importance of other instruments of foreign policy, and now relies on the threat of massive retaliation. Of course, this is not what Mr. Dulles said in his speech in New York. In that speech and on many occasions since, he has emphasized the importance of local defense, and of collective security—policies which have been followed since the end of World War II. Further, he has proved his belief in these concepts, by his insistence upon the completion of the European Defense Community, and aid to Indochina.

The new factor which the President and Mr. Dulles have added is to make it clear that this nation will not be limited in the use of all the weapons and means that are available to it for its protection. Unlike the preceding administration, the Eisenhower administration has given notice of those areas which are essential to the interests of the United States. The recent issue of the London Economist, which is not always complimentary to American policy, put the change into these words: "Compared with the uncertainty about the American attitude which led up to the Korean war, Peking and Moscow have now been fully warned. Compared with the American indifferences to the aid of the southeast Asian mainland area, which existed only 5 years ago, the wheel has turned full circle and this has now been declared to be an area of direct interest to the United States."

Again, the administration has taken the initiative. It is not allowing Soviet Russia to dictate our methods of defense. There is certainly no sense in advising Russia in advance that we will not use a particular weapon in a particular place or that we will not use it at all. It is the declaration of freedom of choice on the part of the administration which has given us a new initiative in our relations with Soviet Russia.

When the administration let the Chinese Communists know that they might not long enjoy the protection of Manchuria if the Korean war continued, that knowledge undoubtedly had its effect in bringing about an armistice. When the administration withdrew the 7th Fleet from the Formosan Straits it did not mean necessarily that the Nationalists would invade the mainland; but, again, the possibility had to be taken into account by Communist China. The deep interest expressed by the administration in the development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the future of Indochina notified Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communists of the possible grave consequences of further aggression. It is true that the situation in Indochina is serious and that our declaration and the resolution of our allies may be tested. Nevertheless, I believe that the administration has taken the only possible course of safety for our long-range security and that of the non-Communist world. I have confidence that, if aggression comes, this administration will be able to organize the forces of freedom in a common effort to halt aggression.

And, again, despite the suggestions made in some countries that we stop the series of hydrogen bomb experiments, it is obvious that we cannot stop them unless a way is found to make the Russians stop their experiments also. There can be no question that it is the hope of this country that the H-bomb will never be used. The only certain assurance of such a development would be for Soviet Russia to agree with the rest of the world on a system of effective control. The other extreme, and one most dangerous, is to suggest that, because of the great destructiveness of the H-bomb we will say in advance that we will not use it. If this view should be accepted by our country and our

allies it would mean eventual surrender to the enemy. There is no one in this country who, believing in freedom, will accept any idea of surrendering freedom to a prison state. Until a system of international control of atomic energy has been attained, our only course is to see to it that equal or greater power remains in our hands and that, while we develop this power to prevent war, we will make it plain that, if necessary, we are prepared to use it for our security and to maintain freedom. These are the things which, it seems to me, the policy of massive retaliation actually means.

In closing, I make it clear again that the whole purpose of the defense program of our country is to maintain our security and to advance toward the goal of peace with freedom. Believing in freedom, we must believe that oppression and conformity will at last reap their inevitable consequences within the totalitarian system—that we will finally see at least an adjustment to the demands of the other peoples of the world for peace and the maintenance of their freedom. It is the hope for peace and freedom which, all of us know, the President is raising throughout the world by his leadership and determination. In this effort, he deserves the support, regardless of party, of all citizens.

REMARKS OF SENATOR MARTIN INTRODUCING SENATOR THOMAS A. BURKE, OF OHIO, AT THE AMEN CORNER DINNER, PITTSBURGH, PA., APRIL 10, 1954

It is an extreme pleasure to introduce as our next speaker a distinguished statesman who hails from our neighboring State to the West.

He comes from the great State of Ohio, so long represented in the United States Senate by that great American, Robert A. Taft.

Upon the death of Bob Taft, he was appointed by his close political and personal friend, Governor Lausche, to fill the vacancy.

I can tell you that citizens of both political parties in Ohio approved the appointment from the standpoint of ability and integrity.

Our guest is in the class of Senators sometimes referred to as freshmen. But he is no freshman in public life, politics, or Government. With a splendid background of legal attainment he has served the State of Ohio and his native city of Cleveland in many positions of high responsibility. His public service has extended over a quarter of a century. He was mayor of Cleveland for 9 years, a longer period than any other man who has held that office.

In 1953 he received the great honor of being elected President of the National Conference of Mayors.

My fellow Americans, it is a great privilege to present my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Ohio, THOMAS A. BURKE.

OUR SPIRITUAL HOPE FOR PEACE

(Remarks of United States Senator EDWARD MARTIN, of Pennsylvania, at the annual dinner of the Amen Corner, Pittsburgh, Pa., Saturday evening, April 10, 1954)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and my fellow Americans, I come before you this evening with deep appreciation of the great honor I feel in being invited once more to address this important meeting.

The Amen Corner represents the highest standards of American citizenship—unquestioned loyalty to our Republic and patriotic devotion to the ideals that made us the greatest nation in all history.

Tonight I want to talk briefly about the hope that is in the heart and mind of every one of us—the hope that we and our children may live at peace with each other and the world.

I want to discuss the steps we can take—the manner in which we should live—in order to strengthen the hope that we shall not be plunged into conflict that can end only in the destruction of all civilization.

During our own lifetime revolutionary changes have taken place. The swift pace of modern scientific developments has touched upon every aspect of human activity.

The old concepts of time and space have been swept away. Military strategy no longer places reliance on the movement of large masses of troops.

The battlefield has been brought into the cities—into the very homes built and maintained by work, love, and sacrifice.

Every civilian—every man, woman, and child—is the target of war—exposed to death-dealing attack from the skies, with weapons of terrifying force and destructive power.

In 4 years of World War II a total of 40,000 planes dropped 2,700,000 tons of explosives on enemy objectives. Now we know that a single bomb—just 1 hydrogen bomb—has more explosive force than all the bombs used against our enemy in 4 years of World War II.

Only a few days ago the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lewis L. Strauss, stated that a hydrogen bomb can be made large enough to destroy any city in the world.

The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission made another statement that should be of the gravest concern to every American and to all the free world. He said, and I quote:

"We now fully know that we possess no monopoly of capability in this awesome field."

My fellow Americans, in a world divided against itself—with contending forces engaged in an international hydrogen bomb race—there can be no victory—only death and destruction.

I bring these grim facts to your attention in order to emphasize my firm belief that the time has come for clear thinking and a clear understanding of the eternal and unchanging truths that govern the destiny of men and nations.

The little people of the world—the so-called common men of this and every other Christian land, do not want war. They want peace. They pray that the world may be ruled by the ideals of peace and goodwill ordained by the Prince of Peace 2,000 years ago.

Armies, navies, statesmen, educators, diplomats—all have failed. But hope remains—the hope that springs eternal in the human breast—the hope inspired by abiding faith in the omnipotent power and goodness of God.

During my long career as a soldier and as a public official I have always advocated strong military preparation. I have favored universal military training in order to build an efficient reserve, ready to meet any emergency.

In many public statements I have argued that our national defense should be based on the most powerful Army, Navy, and Air Force in the world.

I still believe in the value of great material forces to defeat the enemy—but I realize more and more the greater importance of a powerful spiritual force as a potent influence for peace.

There have been other times of crisis in the history of our Republic.

In the dark and discouraging days of the Revolution our liberty and independence hung by a slender thread, but hope lived in the heart of George Washington as he knelt in humble prayer in the snow at Valley Force.

We were in a time of crisis when brother fought against brother in the War Between the States, but Abraham Lincoln never wavered in the faith expressed in his first inaugural address from which I quote:

"Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties."

We have suffered the tragedies of two World Wars to defend our God-given freedom.

We fought to uphold the dignity and sanctity of the individual and to protect free nations against enslavement by an aggressor who knows no god.

We gained great military victories, but we learned that military power alone cannot defeat communism.

It seems to me that the great lesson we have learned is that our hope to overcome the forces of communism lies in spiritual strength—the strength that comes from faith in God.

Our first line of defense must always be a strong moral and spiritual America, living in righteousness, obedient to the laws of God and man.

We must reinvigorate the religious life of America. We must make the church strong—and I mean every church, temple, and synagogue of every faith and every creed. All religions that worship at the altar of God make up the spiritual power of our country.

Let us make the motto "In God we trust" a bright beacon to guide our daily lives.

With religion in the hearts of our people, with better and more sincere church attendance, we can face the future confident and unafraid.

If we live according to the teachings of the Holy Bible, we can strengthen our spiritual defense against communism among our own people.

If we are devout in our religious beliefs our example will spread to our allies and even the Iron Curtain will be unable to resist the powerful influence of our spiritual hope for peace.

In closing I should like to read a brief statement in which President Calvin Coolidge enumerated our country's needs.

He said and I quote:

"We do not need more material development; we need more spiritual development.

"We do not need more intellectual power; we need more moral power.

"We do not need more knowledge; we need more character.

"We do not need more government; we need more culture.

"We do not need more law; we need more religion."

In every crisis our great leaders have placed their faith in God and have prayed for Divine help and guidance.

If we are firm in the faith of our fathers the higher power that rules the world will not forsake us now.

We will have an army of such spiritual strength that none can defeat us.

Chinese-American Newspaper Backs Complete Freedom for Indochina

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, among the many comments I have received from all parts of the country on my statement on this floor April 5 urging

complete independence for the peoples of Indochina and bringing the Indochina war before the United Nations, one of the most significant is a letter from the director of a leading Chinese-American newspaper published in San Francisco, the Chinese World. The letterhead styles this newspaper as "the most powerful weapon in the West engaged in a relentless fight against Communist China," and indicates that it is the only daily newspaper published in America in both Chinese and English.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. Jun-Ke Choy be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHINESE WORLD,
San Francisco, Calif., April 6, 1954.

The Honorable GUY GILLETTE,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: We strongly support your policy of starting a program of political warfare, as distinct from military measures, in Indochina, as reported by an AP dispatch on April 5 from the Capitol. Indochina should not only be completely independent and free but we think it should have a democratic constitutional government with the rule of law.

We should export our democratic and legal ideas abroad which are of equal importance with the bombs, tanks, planes, and cannons supplied to our allies, otherwise the common people in those countries will think that we only support either colonial powers or their dictatorial rulers.

Justice William O. Douglas recently advocated the spreading of our political gospel in backward countries in a speech delivered in Colgate University and in another talk before the Alumni Association of the Columbia Law School. He knows Asia, for he had taken the trouble of visiting the countries there and talked with their people.

Prominent leaders of both major parties should back up your program so that the public will become conscious of its importance.

Yours respectfully,
JUN-KE CHOY,
Director.

So Little for Great Forests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial appearing in the April 1 issue of the Grand Rapids Herald-Review be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. It is a great editorial on a most vital subject to America's interest, and it is entitled to very careful consideration. It deals with the budget allotment for the Forest Service and the sharp reductions that have been advocated for the coming fiscal years.

On another occasion I have protested what I consider to be unwise economy with respect to our Forest Service, and I have also made my views clear to the Committee on Appropriations.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SO LITTLE FOR GREAT FORESTS

There is hardly a citizen who does not appreciate the great forests of the Nation and State. But appreciation, dependence upon, and affection for forests has never yet been translated into enough money to properly protect and develop forests. That is just as true in 1954 as it has been in any of the recent years.

First, take a look at Federal expenditures for forests. Minnesota is both familiar and concerned with two great Federal forests, the Superior and the Chippewa, within the confines of the State.

For various purposes, such as the management of existing timber stands, fighting forest fires, controlling pests and rust, and for road maintenance, the 1954 Forest Service apportionment by the Federal Government was $45,545,000. These operations did not, basically, increase the yield of the Federal forests. They were for management and particularly to make possible the sale and harvest of timber on the forests. Uncle Sam makes real money on these essential expenditures. In 1953 the Federal forests returns, primarily in the form of timber sales, were more than $76,463,000. In other words, for an important part of the Federal expenditures for forestry, the Government gets back from the sale of timber resources much more than it spends.

In addition to the expenditures, which the Federal Government makes to permit harvest and income, there are appropriations made for general improvement and rehabilitation of the Federal forest areas. These expenditures are for replanting, experimentation, research, and all of the other activities which tend to make 2 trees grow where once only 1 flourished. This may be called the real conservation expenditure, money dedicated to the future production and welfare of the forest. The appropriations for these purposes in 1954 are set at $26,337,000.

There are two ways of looking at this picture. One is to add the two classifications of expenditures. The total would be more than $63 million. With sales and returns of $76 million in 1953 it is obvious that the Federal forests more than pay their way. If the income is balanced against the expenditures which makes income possible and the real forest-conservation expenditure of $26 million stands by itself it means that the real advancements of Federal forests costs each citizen of the United States a little over 15 cents a year.

A somewhat similar analysis might be made of State forestry expenditures and, particularly, those in Minnesota. Again there would be large expenditures primarily to sell and make available the timber that the State has for sale. It is somewhat difficult to separate those expenditures which enable the State to add to its trust funds and those which make a longtime contribution to sustained forest growth. Minnesota plants some trees, far to few. It experiments a little in the field of forest growth and protection from disease. But as in the case of the Federal forests, those expenditures for real conservation constitute but a small part of the total expenditures for forestry or the income of the State forests. On a person-by-person basis the State expenditures are probably no greater than the 15 cents which hardfisted Uncle Sam expends to make forests everlasting.

Again, the conclusion can be expressed that the overall income from timber sales of both the State and Federal forests now exceeds the total expenditures to make and harvest the sales and to do some things which will perpetuate or increase the timber stands. On the basis of the real conservation expenditures, those without reference to current forest income, the American people are spending no more than 30 or 40 cents per person for the preservation and extension of their forest resources. There is nothing inspiring about this condition. In fact, it is pitiful.

For a long, long time the people of the United States have had forestry as a cause. It is a cause that is close to the heart of all people. It is a cause which rallies interest and conversation. But it is a cause which has not yet reached the pocketbook of the Nation. Even if the American people tripled their expenditures for the most constructive forest purposes, these contributions would still be but a dollar for each man, woman and that child to whom forests will have such practical and sentimental returns. That dollar a person would still be but a fractional cost of the present annual contributions to a French war in Indochina and so little compared to the Nation's contributions to other nations.

Forestry has gone just far enough in America to show how great and useful its accomplishments may be.

Whose Job Is It To Prevent Water Pollution?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an essay entitled "Whose Job Is It To Prevent Water Pollution?" Edward D. Hurley, Jr., of Central High School, Manchester, N. H., submitted this prize-winning essay in the senior high division of the National Wildlife Federation's nationwide contest.

There being no objection, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHOSE JOB IS IT TO PREVENT WATER POLLUTION?

(By Edward D. Hurley, Jr., Central High School, Manchester, N. H.)

In determining the responsibility for preventing pollution, it is first necessary to define the term "pollution" and examine its causes and results, and how it may be prevented. To us, pollution is the introduction of disharmonious elements into water from man-made sources.

Water pollution is caused primarily by either sewage or industrial wastes, both of which have the effect upon water of lowering its normal oxygen content. This hurts the plant life in the water upon which fish life depends and in some cases kills the fish outright. This sequence lowers the ability of the water to purify itself of its contamination, thus resulting in further pollution—a vicious circle.

The effects of pollution are many and varied. It prevents the use of water for drinking and other types of human consumption, in some cases its use by industry, impairs its recreational use for swimming, boating, and fishing, and in general has an important influence upon the economic and social life of the community.

The obvious way to avoid pollution is to stop putting waste products into the water. Unfortunately, this is practically impossible because people must live and factories oper-

ate, all of which produces waste which has to be disposed somewhere.

It is necessary, therefore, to find ways of treating waste materials to render them harmless before their discharge into our waters. Controlling water pollution in this way is a complicated and expensive matter. Water pollution from industrial sources generally results from the discharge of acids and alkalis. When these are present in waste, it is difficult to get rid of them without expensive purifying methods for which industries are reluctant to pay. Sometimes tanks and settling ponds can be built where waste can accumulate and its water content allowed to evaporate. However, this is satisfactory only in a small operation.

The other general type of pollution results from the discharge of sewage and garbage by individuals and municipalities. The individual can control his pollution by installing drainage systems designed to filter his waste through the earth before it is actually discharged. This means that individuals living close to water must build dry wells so as to arrange for this purification-by-nature.

Municipalities can eliminate pollution by building settling tanks or ponds and systems where sewage is treated until the liquid is free of harmful bacteria and the remaining sludge can be carted away to be dumped where it will do no harm (or perhaps do good as a fertilizer). Sometimes communities introduce chlorine into their sewage before discharging it. This does kill off the harmful bacteria but it also has the effect of polluting the water with chlorine poison which eventually causes the death of the plant and fish life anyway.

A complete community sewage treatment system is quite expensive: for example, a city the size of Manchester, N. H., which today discharges its sewage directly into the Merrimack River would require an expenditure of several million dollars to build such a plant. Unfortunately, most cities lack the money for this purpose, particularly in that the city itself would not benefit directly from the expenditure—rather the communities downstream.

We have gone to considerable lengths here to indicate the scope of the pollution problem so as to show there is no easy solution. However, fixing the responsibility for preventing pollution is not so difficult.

It would seem that the prime responsibility rests with the source of the pollution, whether it be a homeowner, industry, or municipality. The English common law upon which our legal structure is erected very clearly fixes responsibility for a harmful act upon the agent causing it. However, the problem here (and it is the crux of the whole pollution control matter) is that pollution control legislation calls for not just negative restrictions but rather positive (and costly) steps to be taken by the pollutor for the benefit not of himself but of others.

There is plenty of precedent for placing upon the pollutor the responsibility for preventing pollution. Rigid building codes exist today which insist that those building install plumbing, furnaces, and electric wiring in certain specified ways for the sake of the health and safety of the community. It does not seem unreasonable therefore to insist that the pollutor be required to control his wastes according to specifications drawn up for the welfare of all. Some way should, of course, be found to help those incurring heavy costs in undertaking pollution control in existing setups. The required measures could well be spread over a period of years so that undue hardships would not be worked and some sort of tax relief might be given.

But the responsibility for preventing pollution should not rest completely with the pollutor. There should be some sort of overall body which can make surveys, decide where pollution control is needed, and arrive at ways in which control can be reasonably achieved. This agency could decide how best to use our rivers and lakes and make recommendations to the legislature as a basis for laws designed to control pollution. This overall agency should be on a State basis, because different municipalities are involved, and should be responsible for policing the pollution control laws. Also required is a Federal pollution control board to settle problems involving adjacent States.

In conclusion, it would seem that the prime responsibility for preventing pollution rests with the agent who has caused it, but that secondary responsibility for arriving at reasonable pollution control methods and their enforcement should lie with some sort of State (and Federal) body equipped to deal with this problem.

Antirecession Act of 1954

SPEECH
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of the House to a bill which I have just introduced, H. R. 8837, which I have called the Antirecession Act of 1954.

Although this bill proposes a comprehensive program to assure the Nation's economic health, I hasten to explain that I introduced this bill in full recognition that probably no one person has all of the answers to the troublesome question of how this country shall continue to prosper and how it shall meet the need for economic growth in order to expand the standard of living of our people and maintain full production and full employment.

This bill is introduced in the hope that it will provide a starting point from which the Congress can this year consider the measures which are necessary and appropriate to the achievement of this objective.

The state of the Nation's economic health was recently summarized by the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, when it said:

Unemployment, however measured, has increased. Industrial production has fallen off, especially in recent months. We have passed from a period of inventory accumulation to one of inventory liquidation. Farm income, which affects a large segment of our people directly, has declined with inevitably adverse effects upon those whose prosperity is indirectly connected with agricultural conditions.

Almost 4 million persons are unemployed, and the number is rising. An additional 2,500,000 Americans have recently suffered reductions in their weekly earnings through either reduced hours of available work or lowered hourly rates. Steel production has decreased almost 40 percent; industrial production has dropped 4 percent; building construction in the Midwest is off 31 percent; $9 billion of farm assets have been liquidated; income from wages is going down at a rate of $6 billion per year; farm parity has dropped from 99 percent to 91 percent. Yet the wholesale food index as well as living costs generally are still near an alltime high, and the American people are caught in the squeeze of high prices and lower income.

Whether these figures spell recession, a temporary downturn or a drift toward the long bottom, or a rolling readjustment, I do not know. Regardless of the label, however, it is the inescapable obligation of our Government to plan a well conceived and comprehensive program designed to avoid any such eventuality. Congress explicitly recognized its capability and its responsibility for watching these economic signposts and to take action to promote maximum employment and for expansion of the purchasing power so vital to our economy when it passed the Full Employment Act of 1946. It is the intention of this bill to offer a concrete method for fulfilling that pledge.

To meet this responsibility we do not need a war, nor do we need boondogglers or extensive Federal expenditures. Increased purchasing power can be achieved through programs and techniques which legislators have come to respect, for which the public has long since voiced its approval.

No, the economy can be healthy and stable if we produce not for war but to make available to all segments of our population the conveniences of modern-day living by permitting them opportunities to work, to produce the goods that are so vitally needed by so many who cannot now afford them. Great stress has been placed upon maintaining economic activity at our present or at some specified past level. But ours is a growing economy. Population growth demands constant expansion of opportunities and facilities. In June of this year more than 1½ million high school and college graduates will enter the labor market. Therefore, even if unemployment does not otherwise increase there will be about 5½ million unemployed in July, unless some action is taken to absorb them into jobs. Technological advances, improved production techniques and added worker skills have increased the amount of goods which the average hour of work produces. Unless we keep pace by actually increasing consumption and thereby increasing jobs, and in achieving a higher overall standard of living for our people, maintenance at a given level of the economy is completely illusory—we, in fact, go backward.

So essential is economic vitality to the general welfare that we cannot afford to wait with confidence for an economic catastrophe, or even for overwhelming indications of a downturn before taking positive steps to insure our continued prosperity.

The antirecession bill which I have today introduced is designed to provide a measure of that insurance. Those of its provisions directly increasing consumer purchasing power include: An increase in personal income-tax exemptions, elimination of discrimination in employment, expansion of social security, liberalized unemployment-compen-

sation benefits, and upward revision of the minimum hourly wage. The more indirect provisions to expand our economy include: A planning program for public facilities, public housing for lower-income groups, and assistance to cooperatives furnishing housing for middle-income groups. The bill also includes a program to protect small business from the crippling effects of monopoly, development of low-cost electric power in the Northeast, and a program which will assist in maintaining income standards for our farmers.

None of these provisions is novel. In fact, the substance of several of the titles has been introduced by some of my colleagues in the House as well as Members of the Senate. What I seek to accomplish here is a coordination of vital and basically inseparable economic legislation in the interest of restoring the Nation's economic health.

What I have attempted by the introduction of this measure is to propose a constructive solution to our economic problems as an alternative to the technique of merely whistling in the dark to maintain courage while coining the 1954 version of slogans like "prosperity is just around the corner." Slogans did not work in 1930 to 1932 and even the slogans of 1954's most high-powered hucksters will not work today.

About a month ago, the President said slam-bang action was not necessary to prevent economic decline. I do not propose slam-bang action. Most of the provisions of this bill are mere extensions of tried and tested legislation in the public interest. In fact their adoption should not be contingent on a recession or a depression. The minimum wage law, the unemployment compensation statutes, social-security legislation, proposals for public housing for lower income groups and the protection of small business are legislative keystones of our national policy. In many instances, however, they need streamlining and modernizing. Inequities must be eliminated and the benefits related to present day conditions. A 40-cent minimum wage was meaningful in 1938 but meaningless in 1949. By the same token, a 75-cent minimum wage tends to become meaningless in 1954.

In my opinion the failure to bring the provisions of these various enactments up to date could well render meaningless the basic policy which they encompass. The failure to revise could be tantamount to repeal.

The provisions of the Antirecession Act will not only help prevent recession but will furnish further impetus to the expansion of the standard of living of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, with this background I shall now discuss the provisions of the bill, the need for its enactment and what I see as its economic effect.

1. INCREASE IN INCOME-TAX EXEMPTIONS

An increase in income-tax exemptions is proposed because it is not only equitable, but because it is a practical antirecession measure. It places additional spending power directly in the hands of those consumers most likely to invest it in the purchase of consumer goods. It would affect in largest number, the lower and middle income groups, thereby increasing the purchasing power of those whose daily necessities make spending mandatory.

The increased exemption would bring a greater measure of equity to our tax structure. Under the present tax system the middle and lower income groups bear a substantial share of the tax burden. This group is composed chiefly of wage earners, a group for whom tax exemptions as a practical matter are least liberal.

The wage earner is allowed little or no deduction for working expenses; nor is it often that his income can be converted into capital gains. While there has been a sharp increase in personal income taxes collected over the past decade, corporation taxes have contributed a correspondingly smaller percentage of Federal revenues.

Title II of this bill would raise personal income tax exemptions from the present $600 to $800 for the taxable year 1954 and to $1,000 for succeeding years. It is similar to the proposal of Senator GEORGE.

While this proposal would reduce Federal revenues, you must balance this against the effect on Federal revenue if unemployment continues to increase and purchasing power contracts. As with individuals, if the economy shows signs of ill health, the cure must be applied, and the cost becomes secondary.

2. FAIR LABOR STANDARDS (MINIMUM WAGES)

There is no better means of expanding purchasing power than through the establishment and conscientious administration of meaningful fair labor standards.

There are still many industries in which workers are paid less than 75 cents per hour minimum wage. A Wage and Hour Division report observes that some firms paying far below the minimum wage are, surprisingly enough, located in highly industrialized areas. Raising the minimum wage and expanding the coverage would boost the wage structure of these low-wage industries.

This title of the bill would increase the minimum wage from 75 cents to at least $1.25 per hour and would re-create the industry boards which would have the authority to increase the minimum wage for their industry.

I also propose to broaden the coverage of the minimum-wage and maximum-hour provisions, making them applicable to employees of larger retail establishments — particularly chain stores. Under the present law there is tremendous difficulty in determining whether a given establishment or a service is recognized as retail. This bill would eliminate this problem by prescribing a simpler test for coverage or exclusion. If the establishment has three or more places of business or does more than $300,000 worth of business, it would be covered.

Employees of cleaning establishments would be covered as would many other employees in establishments whose activities affect commerce.

For Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands a minimum wage of 40 cents would be established.

To assist in adjusting the minimum wage upward when the conditions in a given industry demand, the industry committees, established by the 1938 act and dissolved by the 1949 amendments, are reestablished. With this built-in flexibility minimum wages could be kept in line with improvements in the overall economy.

3. UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(A) Extension of coverage:

First. Employees of small firms:

The size-of-firm restriction in the original unemployment insurance provisions of the Internal Revenue Code limiting tax liability to employers of 8 or more employees in each of 20 weeks during the year was adopted to simplify administration during the early years of the program. Now, however, it has been adequately demonstrated by experience with old-age and survivors' insurance and under State laws that collecting contributions and wage credits from smaller firms presents no grave administrative difficulty.

This title broadens the coverage to include employers of one or more employees at any time—rather than the present in each of 20 weeks limitation—during the taxable year. This extension would increase the benefit-rights of many employees because, in determining their rights, the wages earned in employment for small firms will be added to those they earned in firms employing eight or more.

It has been estimated that this change alone would extend unemployment insurance coverage to 3½ million workers who do not now enjoy this protection. Twenty-nine State laws already contain provisions permitting automatic broadening of coverage to the extent that the Federal size-of-firm limitation is reduced. Therefore, no further legislation would be necessary in those States if this provision were adopted.

Second. Agricultural labor: This bill would extend the protection of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers on farms employing eight or more. It would also include those who are engaged in handling, grading, storing, packaging, and other processing of agricultural products. It is estimated that at least 200,000 persons are in this processing and packaging group, and 1.7 million agricultural workers are employed on farms employing 8 or more.

Third. Salesmen: Coverage would be extended to insurance salesmen and solicitors working on commission as well as house-to-house salesmen who are required to meet a minimum sales quota or must serve specific customers or prescribed routes. This extension will grant unemployment insurance protection to many milk, laundry and other route salesmen. Also, coverage would be extended to taxi drivers, homeworkers and others.

Fourth. Federal employees:

Approximately 1.7 million Federal civilian employees are without protection against unemployment. The civil-service system itself provides no counterpart for unemployment compensation. Its retirement system represents some measure of protection against old age but not against unemployment during

the employee's working life. Recent large scale dismissals have made abundantly clear the job insecurity that can accompany Federal service, even in the case of career employees.

Under this bill the usual benefits for employees of private firms would be extended to Federal employees. The Federal Government is not, under these provisions, to be taxed as an employer but State agencies are to be reimbursed for benefits paid Federal employees. The law of the State in which last officially stationed, the law of the employee's residence at the time of filing, or the law of the District of Columbia (for the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico) governs the eligibility and benefit provisions under which Federal employees will be paid.

(B) Federal standards for approval of State laws:

First. Maximum weekly benefit entitlement:

During the first year in which unemployment insurance benefits were paid, average weekly benefits were 49 percent of average weekly earnings. The proportion of benefits to earnings has now decreased to 33 percent. For June of last year, the average weekly benefit was 23.23 percent of average earnings.

In order to replace a major portion of the buying power lost through unemployment, and to again make unemployment insurance meaningful in the economy and to the individual, benefits must be increased.

This title prescribes a maximum benefit which the State must pay if its plan is to be approved. The amount which the State pays must be equivalent to two-thirds of the individual's average weekly wage or two-thirds of the average weekly wage in covered employment within the State, whichever is lower. In no case is this maximum benefit amount to be less than $30. Benefits are thus realistically related to the employee's actual earning capacity. Such a system, paying higher benefits to those who are able to earn more, supports general economic incentives, encourages the return to work and compensates for a greater percentage of wages lost due to unemployment. Also under this bill, a State law must provide a minimum of 26 weeks duration of benefit entitlement except in cases of cancellation of wage credits or exhaustion of benefits.

The closer the relation of unemployment benefits to actual wage levels, the less likely is loss of earning power due to unemployment to create further unemployment. In at least three States benefits to those eligible for the maximum would be automatically increased to, first, at least $30; or, second, to two-thirds of the average for his State if his earnings were more than $45 but less than the State average; or, third, to two-thirds of his own wage rate if it happened to be higher than the State average.

At present, only 16 of the 46 States provide maximum benefits of $30 or more and no State has a maximum of as much as two-thirds of its average weekly wage. Average weekly wages in the 16 States range from $119.08 in Alaska to $47.81 in Mississippi, the lowest average weekly wage in the Nation. Yet this provision would work no hardship for Mississippi since that State already has a maximum benefit of $30, a close approximation to two-thirds of its average weekly wage of $47.81.

To finance increased benefits the employer would pay his tax on the first $4,800 he pays to each employee instead of $3,600 as is now provided. The percentage of his payroll on which taxes are paid would be no higher than it was when unemployment insurance laws were just enacted.

Second. Standards for disqualifications:

In 22 States benefit rights are canceled or reduced for some cause other than fraud or misrepresentation. This means that those who are disqualified are not only denied benefits for unemployment immediately resulting from voluntarily quitting his job, or refusing suitable work or for discharge for misconduct, but they lose accumulated benefit rights which would otherwise be available to them if they are subsequently employed and again experience unemployment. This inequity would be corrected under the proposed title. States are prohibited from canceling wage credits or considering benefit rights exhausted except for fraud or misrepresentation.

More than half the States withhold benefits for an indeterminate length of time after the employee leaves his job voluntarily, or because of misconduct, or because he refuses suitable work. These States insist on the arbitrary presumption that the original disqualifying act continues indefinitely as the cause of unemployment. This bill, therefore, sets 6 weeks as the maximum period of disqualification except where the employee's misconduct resulted in conviction of a crime, where he is actively participating in a strike, or for fraud or misrepresentation. But the disqualification, as pointed out above, does not cancel benefit rights except for fraud or misrepresentation.

Third. Experience rating: Under this title, the experience rating provisions in effect in most States could not be so used as to reduce the income of the system to a point where adequate benefit standards would be threatened. The State could give additional credit allowances to employers only if the nature and size of its fund assure adequate reserves for benefit payments. The State would have a pooled fund of an amount equal to a given percentage of its annual cost rate.

Fourth. Administrative costs:

Legislative history of the Unemployment Tax Act reveals that the 0.3 percent of covered payroll derived from the Federal Unemployment Tax was originally intended to finance the administrative costs of the program. At present, however, it goes into the Federal Treasury without being earmarked. The fluctuations in the labor market, particularly at this period of economic uncertainty, make it imperative that the States have access to some fund upon which they can draw when administration of the employment security program necessitates it. A provision of this title would transfer excess taxes collected under the act since July 1, 1951, and before July 2, 1954, to the Federal unemployment account. This provision of an additional source of financing makes possible better State administration in accordance with at least minimum Federal standards.

Each State would also be entitled to a reinsurance grant in any calendar quarter where the amount in the State's unemployment fund and required contribution rate meet with detailed specifications.

4. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN EMPLOYMENT

Taking into account first, loss of purchasing power resulting in low wages; second, acute manpower shortages; third, cost of crime and delinquency; and, fourth, costs of segregated facilities, it is estimated that discrimination against minorities costs American business $30 billion each year. This is accompaned by a projected Federal tax loss of approximately $3,300,000,000.

This title prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry by, first, employers in or affecting commerce who have 50 or more employees; second, labor organizations with 50 or more members; and, third, nongovernmental employment agencies. It is identical with H. R. 2576 which I introduced last year and which Senators LEHMAN, HUMPHREY, and IVES sponsored as S. 692.

5. SOCIAL SECURITY

(A) Expanded coverage and benefits:

Our social-security system, if expanded to its maximum potential, can reduce Federal expenditure for public assistance to a fraction of its present magnitude. As presently operating, however, the system has serious shortcomings.

The coverage is inadequate. Over 12 million American workers have no social security protection. Coverage, as proposed under this title, would be increased to approximately 57 million—covering more than 9 out of 10—workers in the civilian labor force, an increase of almost 10 million.

Benefits are inadequate to meet the rising cost of living. Under the antirecession proposal beneficiaries would get an increase ranging from $10 to $14 a month. When applied to the more than 5 million workers now on the rolls, this increase would mean an additional fifty to sixty million dollars in consumer purchasing power.

(B) Permanent and total disability:

The provision of a special system concerned with wage loss due to total and permanent disability is generally accepted as an important segment of a complete social insurance system if it is to furnish protection against the most common causes of the interruption of private income: old age, unemployment and disability, occupational and nonoccupational. Since 1935 the social insurance system in this country has covered wage loss due to retirement, unemployment, or death to the wage earner. Some States have provided protection against occupational disability through workmen's compensation, but none have in-

surance programs for the permanent and totally disabled.

Under the existing social-security program, a worker who is totally disabled for a long period of time may lose all benefit rights to future old-age and survivor's insurance. Even if he does not lose his insured status, his social-security benefits will be reduced because he will lack wage credits for the period of his disability.

This title would provide rehabilitation services and disability benefits for disabled individuals who have not reached retirement age. It would provide cash sickness benefits for those who are temporarily disabled and who are not entitled to old-age and survivors' insurance.

The rehabilitation features of this title are of especial significance since the disabled or handicapped worker would be trained with a view toward restoring him to a useful and remunerative job. Since evidence shows that a majority of persons accepted for rehabilitation are successfully restored at least to the point of having at least some earning capacity, the cost of the system would be reduced. It is believed that Federal tax payments by rehabilitated persons returning to work should exceed the total costs of rehabilitation.

(C) Grants to States for welfare programs:

Another provision would increase Federal grants to States for assistance with programs for aid to the blind, to dependent children, and the permanently and totally disabled. This additional aid, which is similar to proposals of Senator LONG, of Louisiana, would provide increased income for approximately 5,117,965 persons.

The social security title, except for its coverage of physicians and dentists and the provision for grants to States for welfare funds, is identical to H. R. 6036 which was sponsored in the House last year by Representatives EBERHARTER, CELLER, DODD, RHODES, SHELLEY, BOLLING, HOWELL, ELLIOTT, DINGELL, HOLIFIELD, and myself, and S. 2260 which was sponsored in the Senate by Senators LEHMAN, MURRAY, JACKSON, KENNEDY, DOUGLAS, GREEN, MORSE, PASTORE, NEELY, and MAGNUSON.

6. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Ours is still a growing country. Our annual population growth has been estimated at 1.5 million people, a rate which over a 10-year period would result in a populational increase equivalent to the addition of a country larger than Canada. With this constant growth there is a constantly expanding need for public facilities such as highways, schools, hospitals.

This need, because it is so directly related to population increase, persists, even in periods of maximum economic stability, as a requisite to full employment and community development. In periods of economic crisis, however, the need becomes more acute and sound judgment demands that a reservoir of public-works projects be developed as early in advance of actual economic catastrophe as is possible. At the present time no such comprehensive plan exists.

This title of the Antirecession Act, which is similar to the Douglas-Bolling bill, would provide a unified approach to the problem of developing a public-works reservoir capable of immediate implementation when the need arises.. Responsibility for advanced planning, currently not centralized in any specified office or agency, would be placed with the President, for whose assistance the office of Public Facilities Administrator would be created.

The President would be directed to devise, with the assistance of the Administ[illegible]

lemma. A system of financial aid to co[illegible] operative or nonprofit corporation[illegible] would be established. Technical assist[illegible] ance and loans for the planning of hous[illegible] ing projects would be provided. By pro[illegible] viding an amortization period of [illegible] years, a low interest rate, and a lo[illegible] downpayment, monthly costs to familie[illegible] would be reduced. This reduction in co[illegible] would reduce not only the initial cost o[illegible] a house but the continuing cost of hou[illegible] ing.

(C) Slum clearance: Slum dwel[illegible] constitute 33 percent of the [illegible]

TIGHT BOU

[illegible] public housing is essential.

In response to the needs of our lowest income families, the housing provisions of the bill include restoration of the public housing program of 1949. Construction of 810,000 units of low-cost public housing would be authorized at the rate of 135,000 units per year.

(B) Middle-income families:

This segment of our population presents a special problem. This group is composed, by and large, of families too well off to receive public assistance or subsidy yet too poor to compete in the private market for housing meeting more than minimum standards of livability. The irony of their situation is revealed by Public Housing Authority figures indicating that a taxpayer making $4,000 this year will contribute, through income tax, 6 cents to subsidize public housing facilities. These facilities in many instances are better than these middle-income families can themselves afford.

The bill seeks to provide a realistic solution to the middle-income housing di-

tempts at fraud as was practiced [illegible] some recipients of GI loans.

(F) Reorganization of the Housing and Home Finance Agency: Responsibility for administration and organization of the constituent agencies would be transferred to the agencies themselves instead of remaining the responsibility of the Administrator. There would thus be greater opportunity for coordination of various Agency programs by the Administrator.

Another provision of the bill would establish a supplemental direct loan program for loans to nonveterans in low and middle-income groups for the purpose of home construction. Most nonveterans in these income groups do not find such loans available from private lending agencies.

8. ASSISTANCE TO SMALL BUSINESS

It is essential to the preservation of our system of free competitive enterprise that we counterbalance the inescapable hazard of monopolistic abuse with assistance to and encouragement of small business.

Enactment of the Small Business Act 1953 constitutes congressional recognition of this principle. Unfortunately, this recognition will continue to be merely lipservice if the basic weaknesses in the statute are allowed to go uncorrected.

Title X of the bill attempts to strengthen weaknesses in the statutory authority of the Small Business Administration by—

First. Eliminating the existing termination date of the Small Business Administration and establishing it on a per-

[redacted]

than now. This bill would meet this need by establishing the President's Committee on Farm Policy, a 12-man advisory committee with membership including representatives of industry, agriculture, labor, and the public. The committee would study the problems of price support and production quotas for a period of 9 months at the end of which time it would recommend to Congress methods of alleviating the current agricultural dilemma. It would also make recommendations concerning the present price-support system and for meth-

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agreement.

(C) Disposition of dairy surplus:

The problem of accumulated dairy surplus is the clearest illustration of how far from literal the designation "surplus" is; of our failure to arrange for orderly disposal of accumulated surpluses when large sectors of our population are suffering nutritional deficiencies attributable to the absence from their diets of milk and milk products.

Among those in greatest nutritional need are our schoolchildren. A recent study by the National Dairy Research Council stipulated 1 quart of milk per day as the adequate fluid milk intake for a growing child. Yet our school-lunch program provides only one-half pint of milk per day for each child under the program of participating schools. This bill would direct the Secretary of Agriculture to prescribe as a minimum nutritional requirement twice that amount.

New outlets for dairy products would thus be provided and the basic requirements for our children's health would be more nearly approached. Since the farmer receives almost 46 percent more for milk sold for fluid consumption than for manufacturing purposes, this requirement would significantly increase the dairy farmer's overall income. Schools participating in the program purchase milk locally at the prevailing market price so there would be no depressing effect on the dairy market.

The bill would also provide for increase in servicemen's beverage milk ration—whole fluid milk—to one quart per day. The Commodity Credit Corporation, from the sums available for price support to dairy products, would be required to reimburse the appropriate agency for funds expended in providing milk under these provisions.

These two surplus disposal plans would result in additional income to the dairy farmers at no additional cost to the Government. The proposal with respect to the armed services alone, would run over 10 percent of the dairy products which are considered to be surplus.

10. HYDROELECTRIC POWER

Development of adequate hydroelectric facilities is essential to meeting the growing power needs of an expanding economy.

The northeastern section of the United States is the only part of our country in which there is no low-cost hydroelectric power. This is despite the fact that in Niagara Falls the country has the greatest potential for hydroelectric energy of any site in the Nation.

The New York-New England area, the potential market area for Niagara power, is one in which we find the Nation's greatest economic concentration, industrial as well as in population. Yet this is the area in which costs of electricity are greatest.

For the industrial consumer, these high power costs have meant reluctance to modernize industrial plants through efficient use of power machines. Expansion is thus limited for industries already in the area and new industries have not been willing to relocate in an area of highest power rates. High industrial rates contribute to the problem of "runaway" industries and consequent unemployment for thousands of area residents. A Public Affairs Institute study reveals that a manufacturer with a 300-kilowatt demand with a 60,000-kilowatt-hour a month use will pay $5,664 or 63 percent more per year for his power in Lawrence, Mass., than he would in Memphis, Tenn. The smaller manufacturer would pay 93 percent more in Bridgeport, Conn., than in Portland, Oreg., with the increased cost for a larger manufacturer being 151 percent more. In light of these figures, and of numerous studies of the area's economy, it becomes evident that the industrial vitality of the Northeast demands the availability of low cost electric power.

For the residential consumer, low electric rates mean a decrease in monthly expenditures, hence greater personal savings, increased spending power, availability of more electricity for consumption through home appliances and

cance not only in terms of farm family welfare but for the consumer market generally. Decline in farm cash income means decrease in markets for nonagricultural items which farmers and farm laborers would buy.

For the past several years there has been growing disparity between supply and demand for some agricultural commodities. Until this equilibrium is restored, interim measures must be adopted to enable the farm family to achieve an acceptable standard of living and to counteract the depressing effects on the economy of lower farm income.

Price supports were developed as a cost-of-living device for the farmer and ideally should be directly dependent on the cost of industrial commodities. These latter however are less vulnerable to market fluctuation than farm prices so that the predictability of the supply-demand formula breaks down.

The need for study and analysis of our entire system of agricultural production and marketing was never more pressing

surance programs for the permanent and totally disabled.

Under the existing social-security program, a worker who is totally disabled for a long period of time may lose all benefit rights to future old-age and survivor's insurance. Even if he does not lose his insured status, his social-security benefits will be reduced because he will lack wage credits for the period of his disability.

This title would provide rehabilitation services and disability benefits for disabled individuals who have not reached retirement age. It would provide cash sickness benefits for those who are temporarily disabled and who are not entitled to old-age and survivors' insurance.

The rehabilitation features of this title are of especial significance since the disabled or handicapped worker would be trained with a view toward restoring him to a useful and remunerative job. Since evidence shows that a majority of persons accepted for rehabilitation are successfully restored at least to the point of having at least some earning capacity, the cost of the system would be reduced. It is believed that Federal tax payments by rehabilitated persons returning to work should exceed the total costs of rehabilitation.

(C) Grants to States for welfare programs:

Another provision would increase Federal grants to States for assistance with programs for aid to the blind, to dependent children, and the permanently and totally disabled. This additional aid, which is similar to proposals of Senator LONG, of Louisiana, would provide increased income for approximately 5,117,965 persons.

The social security title, except for its coverage of physicians and dentists and the provision for grants to States for welfare funds, is identical to H. R. 6036 which was sponsored in the House last year by Representatives EBERHARTER, CELLER, DODD, RHODES, SHELLEY, BOLLING, HOWELL, ELLIOTT, DINGELL, HOLIFIELD, and myself, and S. 2260 which was sponsored in the Senate by Senators LEHMAN, MURRAY, JACKSON, KENNEDY, DOUGLAS, GREEN, MORSE, PASTORE, NEELY, and MAGNUSON.

6. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Ours is still a growing country. Our annual population growth has been estimated at 1.5 million people, a rate which over a 10-year period would result in a populational increase equivalent to the addition of a country larger than Canada. With this constant growth there is a constantly expanding need for public facilities such as highways, schools, hospitals.

This need, because it is so directly related to population increase, persists, even in periods of maximum economic stability, as a requisite to full employment and community development. In periods of economic crisis, however, the need becomes more acute and sound judgment demands that a reservoir of public-works projects be developed as early in advance of actual economic catastrophe as is possible. At the present time no such comprehensive plan exists.

This title of the Antirecession Act, which is similar to the Douglas-Bolling bill, would provide a unified approach to the problem of developing a public-works reservoir capable of immediate implementation when the need arises.. Responsibility for advanced planning, currently not centralized in any specified office or agency, would be placed with the President, for whose assistance the office of Public Facilities Administrator would be created.

The President would be directed to devise, with the assistance of the Administrator, programs for submission to the Congress to aid in the construction of needed public facilities by Federal, State, and local governments. The President would be authorized, upon determination that such need exists, to accelerate Federal public-works programs. He would be required to include in his Annual Economic Report to the Congress: First, specific information on the reservoir of public facilities needed and planned by all levels of government; second, the policy of the Federal Government with respect thereto; and, third, recommendations for legislation to implement Federal policy.

7. HOUSING

It has been estimated that a healthy housing industry can contribute about $12 billion annually to the real wealth of our Nation; that it can provide employment for more than a million construction workers and many others in allied industries.

How capable is the housing industry, as presently organized, of meeting the housing needs of all sectors of our population?

(A) Low-income groups:

It must be conceded that private industry has never, even during construction booms, been able to meet the housing needs of our lowest income families. It is highly improbable at this stage that the necessity of profits will permit large scale private construction of housing units for that third of our population with family incomes of less than $2,500. For this group, low-cost public housing is essential.

In response to the needs of our lowest income families, the housing provisions of the bill include restoration of the public housing program of 1949. Construction of 810,000 units of low-cost public housing would be authorized at the rate of 135,000 units per year.

(B) Middle-income families:

This segment of our population presents a special problem. This group is composed, by and large, of families too well off to receive public assistance or subsidy yet too poor to compete in the private market for housing meeting more than minimum standards of livability. The irony of their situation is revealed by Public Housing Authority figures indicating that a taxpayer making $4,000 this year will contribute, through income tax, 6 cents to subsidize public housing facilities. These facilities in many instances are better than these middle-income families can themselves afford.

The bill seeks to provide a realistic solution to the middle-income housing dilemma. A system of financial aid to cooperative or nonprofit corporations would be established. Technical assistance and loans for the planning of housing projects would be provided. By providing an amortization period of 50 years, a low interest rate, and a low downpayment, monthly costs to families would be reduced. This reduction in cost would reduce not only the initial cost of a house but the continuing cost of housing.

(C) Slum clearance: Slum dwellers constitute 33 percent of the Nation's population—among them are represented both low- and middle-income families—and involve an even larger percentage of municipal police, health, and fire costs. The bill would liberalize the slum-clearance and urban-redevelopment program by reducing from one-third to one-fifth the costs local communities bear in making slum-cleared land available for approved new houses.

(D) Housing research:

Capital cost reduction can only be accomplished through improved building methods and techniques. This, however, is not the sole item to be considered in overall reduction of housing costs. Broader, though no less directly related, are the problems of reducing land costs, eliminating uneconomic planning costs of city services to property owners, and discovering ways to lengthen the useful lives of the houses constructed. These problems cannot be handled without extensive, efficient, and centralized research.

A provision of the bill would restore the housing research program authorized in 1948 and 1949 to assist in reducing housing costs and to increase the production of better housing.

(E) Consumer warranty: A buyer of 1- or 2-family houses, built with Federal assistance, would, under provisions of the bill, be given a warranty that the house was built according to the plans and specifications on which Federal assistance was based. This provision should reduce to a minimum such attempts at fraud as was practiced on some recipients of GI loans.

(F) Reorganization of the Housing and Home Finance Agency: Responsibility for administration and organization of the constituent agencies would be transferred to the agencies themselves instead of remaining the responsibility of the Administrator. There would thus be greater opportunity for coordination of various Agency programs by the Administrator.

Another provision of the bill would establish a supplemental direct loan program for loans to nonveterans in low and middle-income groups for the purpose of home construction. Most nonveterans in these income groups do not find such loans available from private lending agencies.

8. ASSISTANCE TO SMALL BUSINESS

It is essential to the preservation of our system of free competitive enterprise that we counterbalance the inescapable hazard of monopolistic abuse with assistance to and encouragement of small business.

Enactment of the Small Business Act of 1953 constitutes congressional recognition of this principle. Unfortunately, this recognition will continue to be merely lipservice if the basic weaknesses in the statute are allowed to go uncorrected.

Title X of the bill attempts to strengthen weaknesses in the statutory authority of the Small Business Administration by—

First. Eliminating the existing termination date of the Small Business Administration and establishing it on a permanent basis.

Second. Authorizing the Small Business Administration to make loans to States and municipalities.

Present law authorizes such loans but leaves to the President's discretion designation of the agency to handle them. Since the agency has not been designated, many communities, badly in need, are without this source of Federal credit.

Third. Abolishes the Loan Policy Board. This Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Commerce and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, establishes the agency's loan policy. The Board now has veto power over the Administrator in loan matters, making the Small Business Administration less than an independent agency. In any policy conflict there is a great probability that small business will be the loser.

Fourth. Increasing the loan limitation from $150,000 to $500,000, rendering eligible for loans a larger percentage of independent businesses engaged in essential production.

Fifth. Prescribing the Small Business Administration maximum interest rate as the maximum for all loans whether or not made in participation with banks.

9. AGRICULTURE

In 1953 the farmers' net income represented the lowest percentage of his gross income since 1932. This percentage decline resulted from a decline in prices and hence gross income. This decrease in cash farm income has significance not only in terms of farm family welfare but for the consumer market generally. Decline in farm cash income means decrease in markets for nonagricultural items which farmers and farm laborers would buy.

For the past several years there has been growing disparity between supply and demand for some agricultural commodities. Until this equilibrium is restored, interim measures must be adopted to enable the farm family to achieve an acceptable standard of living and to counteract the depressing effects on the economy of lower farm income.

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The need for study and analysis of our entire system of agricultural production and marketing was never more pressing than now. This bill would meet this need by establishing the President's Committee on Farm Policy, a 12-man advisory committee with membership including representatives of industry, agriculture, labor, and the public. The committee would study the problems of price support and production quotas for a period of 9 months at the end of which time it would recommend to Congress methods of alleviating the current agricultural dilemma. It would also make recommendations concerning the present price-support system and for methods of encouraging export of farm commodities.

Direct participation of the farmer in agricultural policymaking would be provided by a requirement that State and local committees be elected rather than appointed and that they be utilized in administration of acreage allotments and price-support programs.

(A) Extension of price support: Price supports on basic commodities at existing parity rates would be extended for 1 year pending the report of the advisory committee. Feed grains and sorghums would be supported at 90–100 of parity through the crop year 1956. Milk butterfat and its products would be supported at 90 percent of parity for the same period.

(B) Distribution of surplus commodities: This provision would make surplus agricultural commodities, purchased by the Government under Public Law 320 — 74th Congress—and by the Commodity Credit Corporation through price-support operations, available to distressed labor areas. The Bureau of Employment Security is now authorized to designate an area a distressed labor or group IV area when the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that surplus labor in the area exceeds 5 percent of the labor market. Upon such certification, the area may be given preference in award of Government contracts. Under this proposal food as well would be provided for these areas. These commodities would be distributed to the needy unemployed by State and local agencies pursuant to agreement.

(C) Disposition of dairy surplus:

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Among those in greatest nutritional need are our schoolchildren. A recent study by the National Dairy Research Council stipulated 1 quart of milk per day as the adequate fluid milk intake for a growing child. Yet our school-lunch program provides only one-half pint of milk per day for each child under the program of participating schools. This bill would direct the Secretary of Agriculture to prescribe as a minimum nutritional requirement twice that amount.

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For the residential consumer, low electric rates mean a decrease in monthly expenditures, hence greater personal savings, increased spending power, availability of more electricity for consumption through home appliances and

generally a higher standard of living. Yet, in the Niagara market area we find the 1952 average residential electric bill for 250-kilowatt-hours monthly use at $8.01 as compared with $5.86 in States in the Bonneville and TVA areas. Cities having the lowest average annual residential consumption for the year 1950 were found to be in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and New York.

The basic objective of sound power policy is to provide electric power at such rates as will permit the consumer to use electricity in abundance, to enjoy the blessings of the age of electricity. Federal power projects have achieved this objective through strict adherence to a system of distribution preference which protects the interests of the consumer. The competitive effect of their low rates, as a public yardstick, has brought savings even to consumers of adjacent private systems.

Title XII of this bill seeks to retain the advantages offered the consumer by the Federal projects without sacrificing maximum State participation in public-power development. It would do this by authorizing construction and operation of the Niagara project by a public agency of New York State with the proviso that specific consumer safeguards be included as provisions in the State's license to build.

These safeguards are traditional not only with national public-power policy but with that of the State of New York prior to the reconstitution of the State power authority in 1950. They furnish protection of the public interest which has been developed over the past 50 years and which has been insisted upon in every public hydroelectric development since the time of President Theodore Roosevelt. Congress has always insisted upon them and confided them in the Federal Flood Control Act of 1944.

These safeguards are essential to the creation of an effective public yardstick and the consequent lowering of rates. Such a yardstick cannot be created under the Dondero-Miller bill which would give the redevelopment rights to five private power companies. The profitmaking motivation, though an entirely legitimate one for private industry, is irreconcilable with an objective of providing electricity at lowest possible rates by the utilization of public resources.

To leave to New York State, as does the Ives-Becker bill, the final decision as to whether these safeguards will be adhered to, would constitute a complete denial of the Nation's stake in production of low-cost electric power and an abdication of national power policy.

The provisions of title XII would assure the future of our electro-processing industries which are essential to national defense. It would create greater opportunities for industrial expansion throughout the region and grant long awaited relief to residential consumers from burdensome electricity rates. They are identical with the bill which Senator LEHMAN and I recently introduced.

The Editors and the Federal Deficit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech made by one of America's most distinguished citizens, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, before the American Society of Newspaper Editors last Saturday evening, April 17, at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C.:

I have no doubt that everyone in this town has been telling the editors what to do next. You would not expect me to accept your urgent invitation to speak unless I, like all the rest of the town, say something more about how to run your editorial job.

This whole town is full of people with some kind of a cause for which they want your help. There are, in fact, more than 1,200 organizations or persons licensed under the law to pressure the Congress for some cause. Each of them employs a public-relations man—or a dozen of them—to present their cause to editors with handouts. That makes life simple for you. You only have to add their handouts to those you receive from the Federal Departments to fill your columns, that is, insofar as paid-for advertising will permit. It also helps unemployment, because you must engage a lot of bright young men to sort out two or three thousand daily handouts.

There are four varieties of these handouts. The first are designed to bring good to somebody. Those require a doublecheck. The second variety of handouts come from those who believe they need something from the Federal Treasury. They should be subject to violent suspicion. The third group want their particular taxes reduced. They should have sympathy tempered with perplexity. There is a fourth pressure group who want to reduce Government expenditures. There are only two of these organizations in addition to Senator BYRD. Their proceedings are righteous. They are popular in the abstract.

Certainly each of you will agree as a broad generalization that all of the first three hand-out groups plus the governmental ones—ought to relax. That is, except of course for the particular cause you favor. And you will bear with me if I casually mention that if there are enough of these exceptions, the dynamics of this generalization as to mass force for reducing expenditures has about the power of goose feathers.

But I do not want to leave the impression that all civil organizations and government agencies with a cause and a hand-out are evil. They are an essential expression of free men. Moreover each of their organizations and each of their hand-outs are specifically authorized by the first amendment to the Constitution. I said the first amendment.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

Be all this as it may, on this occasion I wish to discuss a grave problem which needs your urgent consideration and service. That is, the deficit in the Federal budget. I have been assigned a job of finding methods and policies of economy and increasing revenues. I, therefore, view this town with an anxious eye.

With the exception of 2 years, we have diligently maintained the practice of a deficit for 23 years. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953, the deficit was $9.4 billions. We began to be more cheerful when, due to the valiant efforts of President Eisenhower, Secretary Humphrey and the administration generally, the budget provided a reduction of the deficit to $3.3 billion for the fiscal year ending this June 30. We even became more cheerful when their budget proposals for next year showed a decrease of a further $400 million. It seemed we were on our way to the sunshine of a balanced budget the following year.

But the disciples of more spending and still lower taxes, are having their way. Until Congress completes its surgical operations on the budget the position will not be precise. But it is already clear that the deficit for this year ending 76 days hence will be larger than the budget estimate. For next year, instead of $2.9 billion, it will rise to a minimum of $5 billion; and if the George amendment passes, the deficit may rise to $7.5 billion or possibly more. This does not take into account what Congress may do by way of appropriations. But here again if the demands of pressure groups have their sweet way the situation will be even worse. Some people have expressed the horrid thought that it may reach $9 billion.

In fact, by my inquiring mind and by adding machine, I detect that the handout brigade would chain you to this treadmill until death.

I can, however, give you a partially cheerful note. The handout philosophy at one time was "tax and tax, spend and spend." Now the tax end of the formula is "cut taxes, cut taxes," but the "spend and spend" end is still alive. That is a philosophic improvement, but it does not cure the deficit. There needs to be a fundamental change of ideas or there is no end of deficits.

WHERE THE EDITORS COME IN

This is the place where you come in. You are familiar with the whole gospel of balancing the budget. I don't need to tell you the elements of deficit economics, or the theology of deficit salvation, or the future damnation from this economic sin.

But I wonder if it would not help the country if you again would spell out for your readers what really happens from a Federal Government deficit. It needs to be done in such elementary terms that any grammar-school youngster can get it—also many elders.

And I am going to take 3 minutes of your time to spell it out myself—although I know the repetition will not be front-page news like quarrels over hunting Communists.

Obviously one of three things must happen from a Federal budget deficit. The deficit must be met by decreased Government expenditures which hurt the feelings of some pressure groups or by levying more taxes which hurts most everybody's pocket nerves; or it must be met by the Federal Government's borrowing the money. The borrowing alternative is where the eternal damnation comes in.

CUTTING TAXES

I will deal with the tax side first. That indeed needs to be spelled out so as to still the clamor of the people and the pressure groups for excessive tax reductions until we get out of the deficit treadmill.

I will not take your time to demonstrate the particular painful element in every variety of taxes. Or which of the excise taxes on luxuries should not have been removed. Nor to tell you about the sweet nostrums for putting the tax burden on somebody else.

I fully sympathize with all these pressures for reduced taxes because, in my view, our tax burden has been more than the country can bear. Whether this abstraction is true or not, our taxes are still stupendous, they are still overburdensome, and they raise many questions of grave concern. One of these questions is the moral corruption from the spreading evasion of taxes. Another of these grave questions is that they are undermining the economic foundations of progress.

By the valiant efforts of the Congress and the administration, the tax burden will be reduced for the next fiscal year by over $7 billions without the George and other amendments.

However, in any ecstasy from this relief, do not forget we still will be spending about $65 billions a year—and do not forget the sin of the continued deficit.

The theology of this is that only a period of self-denial in expenditures and no further tax cuts can wash this sin away.

GOVERNMENTAL BORROWING

Thus, the tax question which stands out today is whether bearing the pains of holding up taxes is worse than the greater pain of the undermining of our economic health from Government borrowing.

The borrowing medicine to cure the deficit is easiest of all for the taxpayers to take. But it is the deadliest of poisons that can be poured into the Nation's system of life. It is a far greater economic sin than higher taxes, for when the Federal Government borrows to make up a deficit it must do 1 of 3 things—print currency, borrow from the banks, or borrow from investors. The latter is the least evil, but there are never enough investors about. Printing currency and borrowing from the banks have only one end—that is, inflation—and let no one believe that Government borrowing from the banks is in the long run any less inflationary than printing currency. Its results are the same—it either inflates credit or the banks turn their bonds into the Federal Reserve for currency.

I will not spend your time in comment on the illusion spread by Lord John Maynard Keynes that it does not matter how much the Federal Government may borrow because we "owe it to ourselves." Just the same, you have to pay taxes to meet the interest on the debt, and worse, you get stabbed in the back by the inflation it can produce. You might try that philosophy on your food bills and see how the groceryman takes it.

INFLATION IS IN ACTION

Do not believe that inflation has been stopped. It will continue as long as we have a deficit. And we have not stopped the deficit. As sure as the sun sets, their continuation will produce the darkness of rising prices and wages, no matter what some cheery economists may say.

We might, in extension of these elementary remarks, take a short look at what has happened from our national experience of 23 years of deficit borrowing—with those 2 exceptions. Our Federal debt has increased to $275 billions from $19.1 billions. The interest on this amount alone is almost twice the whole cost of Government of 23 years ago. Currency in circulation has increased from $4½ billions to over $30 billions. Government revenues, which are mostly taxes, have increased from $3½ billions a year to over $65 billions. The consequences of all this is that the cost of living has increased by about 80 percent. By taxes through the front door and rising prices through the back door, a family requires an income of $3,700 a year to give the same standard of living that an income of $1,500 a year would buy 23 years ago. And the purchasing power of all pensions, savings bank deposits and income from trustee securities, has been reduced by more than one-half amid millions of tragedies.

These effects have been repeated ever since Government discovered this barbiturate to put deficits to sleep. It has happened repeatedly over the last 500 years. It has happened in 40 nations. It is the surest road to disaster in our system of freemen. It is the surest road to disaster in our defense against the Communist horde.

Now I am not unaware of the effect on the deficit of World War II, the Korean war, the cold war. But there have been huge unnecessary expenditures and waste alongside these events. Nor am I dense to the political implications of these problems, but I am also alive to the political and living consequence of failure.

REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURES

Now I come to the real remedy for this disease of budget deficit. The immediate medication is no further reduction of taxes than the administration proposals, and to systematically reduce Government expenditures until the budget deficit is met. Then, and then alone, can inflation be stopped. You will be surprised how quickly the patient will respond to this treatment.

The Congress has not yet passed the appropriations for next year. The appropriation committee headed by such valiant soldiers of economy as Senator STYLES BRIDGES and that old Trojan, Congressman JOHN TABER, are earnestly searching for reduction in spending. They may, I believe, have some success. But they cannot cure this immediate huge deficit.

Again this is where you come in, for theirs is a battle with pressure groups and handouts.

There are some matters of theory and practice you could urge upon the pressure groups who want more spending and upon those who oppose its curtailment. Their projects may be meritorious but the Nation will not be destroyed if they wait awhile and give the Congress a chance to act and the taxpayer a chance to breathe.

SOME FUTURE HOPES

There are hopes for the future if the pressure groups and the people will have patience. And again here is where you come in because you are potent in advocating patience.

I recently mentioned elsewhere publicly that if the private pressure groups and the pressures of State and local governments for Federal money would quit their handouts, and would leave the Federal Government alone for 2 years, we could reduce expenditures between $5 billions and $7 billions, annually, without damaging necessary functions. My colleagues of the Commission on Organization and our task forces and I will be able to give you the full details in a few months. By such reductions we could come near to wiping out the deficit even with the already agreed tax reductions.

RELIEF IN MILITARY EXPENDITURES

With a little patience, there is another hope of reduction in Government spending. Our major burden is for defense. But, let there be no mistake, we must have full defense. However, some of us during 4 years have urged a reappraisal of our methods of warfare and the weapons we make and use. We insited that in view of scientific discovery and the character of our enemy, some of our methods of warfare and some of our weapons are now obsolete. We also urged during these years that we were spending too much trying to cure the age-old hates, fears, and disunities of Western Europe. We have contended that our genius in producing the gigantic deterrents of aggression would give a better assurance to the free world and lessen our economic burdens and deficit.

There is hope in these fields, for the new looks by the Eisenhower administration gaze in these directions.

RELIEF THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

I can give you still another hope for reducing our economic burdens and deficit provided the people will have a little patience. With maintained free minds and free spirits, we daily open vast new frontiers of science and invention. They expand our productivity and thus increase the Government's revenues.

It was the increased productivity from the invention of the steam engine that aided Britain to carry its economic burden after the Napoleonic Wars. It was the railway development of our country that helped us carry the burdens after our Civil War. It was the advances in air transport, electric power, communications, and agriculture that helped carry our burdens after World War I.

We now have again many new inventions and new applications of older knowledge. One of them is the growing application of atomic energy and its byproducts to industry. We are today in another new era of great promise in further expansion of our productivity and our Government's income.

CONCLUSION

We could both cure the budget deficit and many of the pains of taxes without lessening our effectiveness in defense or in the needed functions of Government if we could now have a period of self-denial and patience.

That is the end of this sermon. The text has been to balance the budget, and afterward to cut taxes as fast as we can further reduce expenditures. The penalties of failure are more than you may think.

But this being an educational job directed to the public and the pressure groups, it is mostly up to you. You have thousands of pulpits and millions of voices.

Trends in Public Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, Mr. Claude Bowers, distinguished historian and for many years a member of our diplomatic corps, has delivered a remarkable address before the Woman's National Democratic Club, reviewing our present state of affairs in comparison with other periods of our history. Mr. Bowers' penetrating analyses are worthy of the consideration of all serious persons who are concerned with recent trends in our public affairs.

I ask unanimous consent to have part I of the address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, part I of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. CLAUDE BOWERS, WOMAN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, APRIL 5, 1954

It is not easy to discuss Republican or administration policies because it is so difficult to determine who is the authentic leader. Certainly the honeymoon of the administration is over, and domestic infelicities and family brawls have landed the party into a sort of domestic relations court, with the inevitable television equipment all set up and a lie detector in the offing.

All we really know is that most of the campaign promises of 1952 have been discredited and dishonored.

By some magic, they were going to stop inflation—and it has increased.

The cost of living was coming down and it has gone up.

By some miracle, the budget was to be balanced, and, of course, it has not been balanced.

The farmer was to be given greater protection than during the Truman administration, and instead he has been given the Benson plan.

The interest of the consuming millions was to be paramount—and power sites have been turned over to privileged interests for the exploitation of the people.

The containment policy of the Truman administration was to be scrapped as "soft on communism." They were going to liberate the nations under the iron heel of Malenkov, but we do not hear the tread of marching men or the rolling of the drums and Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland Hungary, and Czechoslovakia are still in chains.

They pretended to a warm partiality for the social-security program of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations; and they place at the head of the committee to formulate their program a chairman who says that social security is "totally unmoral."

They promised to continue and expand the housing program; and the administration reduced the number of units from the 135,000 planned by the Truman administration to 35,000—a reduction of 100,000 units; and not content with that the party leaders in Congress rejected the President's plea for a 4-year program.

They promised tax relief to the people; and it develops that what they meant was tax relief for the few in the upper brackets with the people getting only the crumbs from the rich man's table. Thus they would reduce by almost a billion the taxes on the six families out of a thousand who get dividends from stock in the great corporations, and leave the mass of the people without any relief at all.

They go on the theory so beautifully phrased by a member of the Cabinet that whatever is good for General Motors is good for the country; but even here they cannot agree, since a repetition of that assertion before the directors and workers of the Chrysler plants would not be received with rapturous applause.

This disposition to brush aside the rank and file of the people in the interest of the few comes at a very bad time. If war comes—which God forbid—we shall turn, as always, to this ignored mass for the manning of our fighting forces. Kipling long ago protested against this disposition to ignore the masses between wars in his tribute to Tommy Atkins:

"It is Tommy this, and Tommy that,
And Tommy stand aside.
But it's special train for Atkins
When the troopers are on the tide."

We believe in giving some attention to Atkins between wars.

With the mass of the people utterly ignored by the party in power, Senator GEORGE, backed by the Democrat Party, has submitted this plan that would reduce the burden of the plain people and increase their purchasing power by more than $2 billion.

Now this is intended to serve another purpose. The administration is hiding its head in the sands so as not to see that we are tending toward a recession. That is what happened during the last Republican administration when nothing was done until 13 million jobless men were tramping the streets in hunger.

Now, no sane man wants another depression, but whether you call it a rolling or stumbling readjustment, the fact is that more than 4 million men are on the street today. The Secretary of the Treasury thinks this is deplorable, but not serious.

We think it is serious.

They seem to think that they can combat depression by reducing the taxes of the few men in the upper brackets; and we know that the way to hold off depression is to increase the purchasing power of the masses, and that is the primary object of the Democrat plan presented by Senator GEORGE.

And that is the reason Senator DOUGLAS led the fight to strike from the excise tax the household equipment that the plain people buy.

Now, strange as it may seem, there is one pledge made the privileged few in the last campaign that has not been redeemed; they promised the exploiting class that the social and economic progress of the Democratic administrations would be reversed. Senator Taft promised them that "there will be no trouble in working out a program to put the country back on the track it abandoned 20 years ago before the New Deal." Well, the track to which he referred was then crowded with idle, empty freight cars, for it was during the last Republican administration when there was scarcely anything to haul.

II

How little these Bourbons who forget nothing and learn nothing understand the onward march of history.

And yet they have not dared touch many of the enactments of Democratic administrations. The economic and monetary reforms of the Wilson administration are still on the statutes. The historic reforms and humanitarian legislation of the Roosevelt administration are still on the books. And even President Eisenhower has indicated that he has no stomach for putting the country back. That is the reason that some of his party fear that having become a mild convert to the welfare state, he may turn out to be a creeping socialist. Well that is for the Republican Party to determine, but as far as carrying out the promise of Taft is concerned, he certainly is creeping.

III

How proud we should be of these Democratic regimes. The political topography of America may be described as two towering peaks, Mount Wilson and Mount Roosevelt, with a deep declivity between filled with the bones of business houses that went bankrupt and of banks that crashed sweeping away the hard-earned savings of millions—a Republican desert where 13 million men tramped the sterile sands in search of bread.

Why, then, the simulated confidence of the Republicans? With a cynical audacity unmatched in history they have announced, with a flourish of trumpets, that for the congressional campaign they have collected the greatest slush fund ever known before.

Well, the people will want to know whence the money comes, and why. They know of course that something more is to be sold or given away, but just what is still on the lap of the gods; but they do know that it will be something profitable to the contributors and at the expense of the people.

IV

Conscious of their dearth of achievement, they hope to divert attention from their record of ineptitude and failure by pointing their finger at 30 million Americans and shouting traitors. It reminds me of the pickpocket in a crowd who cries thief to take advantage of the confusion to pick the pockets of the people near him.

The plan is to smear members of the party of Roosevelt and Truman as Communists and traitors. In this they have stooped lower than ever before in our national life. They scraped the bottom of the well of infamy when a man twice repudiated by the American people at the polls dared tell an audience in Connecticut that the blood of the boys who died in Korea is on the hands of the great American President who so magnificently accepted the challenge of the Communists in Asia.

To carry out their slander, they announced that they had found and dismissed 2,400 Communists or bad security risks in government. Under the pressure of public opinion and the press, it is now admitted that many of these had resigned, many had been dismissed to make way for deserving Republicans, many had been transferred from one department to another; that of the 332 dismissed by the Treasury Department only 4 went out as security risks, and of the 4, only 1 was thought possibly subversive; that of the 500 dismissed by the State Department, only 11 went out as security risks, that initial action had been taken in the case of 7 of the 11 by the Truman administration, and that none of these were subversive.

Yes, and—God save the mark—that 200 of these Communists are still on the payroll of the Eisenhower administration.

With this cynically dishonest hoax they seek to divide the American people and create the fear on which hysteria feeds.

Now we do not intend that these lurid falsehoods, smearing as Communists and traitors the Democratic administration under which the people thrived as never before, and the American flag was placed by consent at the head of the column of free nations, shall divert us from a discussion of the reactionary record of the Republican regime; but we challenge them to even approach our record of opposition to the Communist advance.

First, we resent the smear campaign as a reflection on the patriotism of President Eisenhower. He rose from comparative obscurity to a deserved fame as the protege of Roosevelt and Truman, and if these men are traitors, the President is stamped with guilt under the new rule of guilt by association. I don't believe it.

The record shows that the major moves against communism in America and the world were made by those Democratic administrations.

Practically every law aimed at communism was passed during the Roosevelt and Truman regimes.

The hierarchy of communism in America was arrested during the Democratic administrations.

According to the record, the membership of the Communist Party was reduced 75 percent during these "20 years of treason."

Yes, a more vigorous and continuous campaign has been waged by Democratic administrations against communism in our country than in any other country in the world.

The arrest and imprisonment of Communist spies and agents occurred during the Truman administration.

The Rosenbergs were apprehended, arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death during the regime of Harry Truman.

Yes, more was done during those Democratic administrations—a million times more—than has been done by all these noisy, self-advertising witch-hunters posing before television as the sole enemies of Moscow.

For example, it was the Truman administration that conceived the Marshall plan which saved continental Europe from the Communist advance; and yet it was attacked by a wing of the Republican Party with a bitterness approached only by that of the men in the Kremlin. And not content with that, two Republican leaders, stamped with the approval of the Republican National Committee, denounced the author, Gen. George Marshall, to whose planning we owe the winning of the war, as the head and front of communism in America.

Yes, and when the challenge come from Korea, it was a Democratic President who instantly accepted the challenge and stayed the advance of communism in Asia.

More—our United Nations representative in Iran has just reported that the Truman point 4 program saved Iran from Communist domination.

It was the Truman administration that conceived the European army for the defense of European democracy which Moscow knows is the greatest obstacle to their imperialistic plans; and for the truth of that assertion we commend the people to President Eisenhower, who played a part in its organization, as an appointee of President Truman. Heavens, how the evidence accumulated that the President is a bad security risk under the new rule of guilt by association.

And something more—the Truman administration refused to sit down in conference with Communist China and the Eisenhower administration has agreed to do so. Now I have no criticism to make of Secretary Dulles, for whom I have a great respect. He believes that his agreement is wise, and I do not pretend to know, but had Dean Acheson made that agreement can you imagine the cries of anguished patriotism in the Republican camp?

V

Now we hope that for the sake of America and its reputation for dignity and decency that the campaign of scurrility and fakery will be ended, that we may concentrate like civilized beings on principles and policies. There are some indications that even Chairman Hall has found that an asset may become a liability. President Eisenhower has repudiated the plan of the national committee for a low campaign of vilification. It remains to be seen if the President has any influence on his national chairman.

This planned campaign of vulgarity, which discredits American institutions, is one of the lowest that ever disgraced a nation of self-respecting men and women. Democrats and Republicans alike hated communism long before a congressional committee began to hold star-chamber sessions. They know that our danger comes from Malenkov, not from Mrs. Moss, the poor colored woman in a petty position in the Department of the Army who, despite her now acknowledged innocence, was subjected to the ordeal of mental torture and smeared in the headlines of papers over the land.

That this campaign of vilification will continue for 7 months I have no doubt, for, while the President says he wants it stopped, his national chairman says it must go on. But even should it be stopped now, grave damage has been done to our civil liberties, to democratic institutions, and the American way of life. When, under the pretense of fighting communism we are adopting the methods of Hitler and Stalin, it is time for us to take an inventory of our dangers.

VI

Now Americans familiar with the history of their country know that this is not the first time that democracy and civil liberties have been threatened. The policies, methods, and tendencies that threaten our freedoms now are precisely those that called the Democratic Party into existence more than a century and a half ago. The Federalist Party was then in power and, in attempting to crush civil liberties and the democratic aspirations of the people, they resorted to methods, similar to those of Hitler and not dissimilar to those in use today. The Federalist Party was led by brilliant men of wealth and the aristocracy who openly despised democracy. They honestly believed in the right of the rich to use the instrumentalities of government for their selfish ends. Hamilton, their great leader, made no secret of his belief. In a letter to Robert Morris, he said that the way to make a strong government was to make government a source of profit to the powerful. It was he who described the people—Lincoln's people—as a great beast.

Now, the American people have been instinctively democratic from the landing of the Mayflower, but there was a powerful minority that hated democracy—as now; and scorned individual rights—as now, and these proposed to crush democracy in its incipiency.

When the Constitution came from the convention with no provision for the protection of the people against the abuse of power, Thomas Jefferson demanded and forced the incorporation of a Bill of Rights. But within 8 years of its incorporation a determined effort was made to make a mockery of this covenant of our freedoms, to destroy democracy, to deny the right of petition, to make the individual a mere cog in the machinery of a police state and to stamp every liberal and democrat as subversive and a traitor—as now.

In resorting to the big lie—as in the case of the 2,400 Communists dismissed by the Republicans—they worked the people into a state of hysteria over the French Revolution. They fed the uninformed on hate, which is the drug that paralyzes the reasoning faculties of man. When the hysteria began to subside, their press put out the big lie that the French Army had landed in Charleston and was marching on New York and Philadelphia, kidnaping children, attacking women, and giving farm houses to the flames—and the hysteria rose again. Ignorant mobs, inflamed by this new lie, rushed into the streets wrecking the presses of democratic papers and stoning the houses of men supporting the democratic creed.

The one man the conspirators feared was Thomas Jefferson—and they made a desperate effort to drive him from his post as Secretary of State.

They played the Rogues' March under the windows of the author of the Declaration of Independence and the architect of the American way of life.

They pilfered his mail in the hope of finding an isolated sentence on which he could be arrested for subversion.

They pursued him with spies, and they circulated against him the most atrocious lies.

They smeared the statue of Benjamin Franklin with mud from the gutter because he was a liberal and a Democrat.

And so, taking advantage of the hysteria, fed on lies, they passed the sedition law of odorous memory. With this instrument of tyranny they proposed to intimidate public opinion, to penalize free speech, to silence or destroy the democratic press and the democratic aspirations of the people.

In a great speech in Congress against the passage of this nefarious measure, Edward Livingston gave a warning which I find strikingly applicable to our own time.

"The country," he said, "will swarm with informers, spies, and delators, and the odious reptile tribe that breeds in the sunshine of despotic power. The hours of the most unsuspected confidence, the intimacies of friendship, the recesses of domestic retirement afford no security. The companion whom you trust, the friend in whom you must confide, the domestic who waits on your chamber, are all tempted to betray your unguarded conversation, to misrepresent your words, to convey them, distorted by calumny, to the secret tribunals where jealousy presides, where fear officiates as censor, and suspicion is the only evidence that is heard. Do not let us be absurd enough to call ourselves free and enlightened while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic tyranny."

Armed with this weapon of despotism, the conspirators incited ignorant mobs to wreck the equipment of democratic papers and to attack their owners. Scores of editors, bearing the scars of the Revolution, were dragged from their beds at night, thrown into jails unfit for the habitation of a dog, hurried before packed juries, presided over by anti-democratic judges who abused them as traitors and sent them to prison.

Just now it is well to remember that for 2 years in our country despotism, booted and spurred, rode roughshod over the legal rights of the people. By irresponsible abuse and terrorism they tried to seal the mouth of protest. The hysteria and fear of some, and the cowardice of others, spurred them on to insolent attacks on the Bill of Rights; and so the circulation of petitions for the repeal of the sedition law was treated as an act of treason. The author of the Newburg Letters that rendered such service in the Revolution, wrote a petition and gave it to a member of the New York Legislature to circulate for signatures, and he was seized as a common criminal, thrown on a horse, and surrounded by armed horsemen not unlike the storm troopers of Hitler; he was paraded for 200 miles through the rain to the mockery of a trial in New York City and sentenced to prison.

Most of this was tragedy, but it was not without its comic relief. When a cannon was fired as a salute to John Adams, and a laughing wag was overheard to say that it was a pity the ball did not land in the seat of his pants, he was instantly arrested for subversion and thrown into jail.

VII

I am dwelling on the terrorism of the sedition law because it was to defend the freedoms and democracy that the Democratic Party came into existence more than a century and a half ago. Jefferson was its leader, and the fight he and his party made in defense of the inalienable rights of the people was most vital and dramatic in American history.

He perfected a fighting organization that included the worker in the factory, the farmer in the field, the small merchant at the crossroads store.

He levied on his friends for money to pay the fines of editors.

When a liberal paper was wrecked by a mob he found the money to launch a new one.

He carried the fight to every nook and corner.

He directed the strategy in Congress.

He summoned Madison, Monroe, Gallatin, and Livingston to take up their pens.

He awakened the people to their peril.

To meet the poisoned arrows of lie he gave the people the heavy artillery of the truth.

Now, the people in those days were close to the Revolution, and they knew that they had fought for freedom and civil rights. Their mouths could not be closed by fear of demagogs. They actually believed in democracy and civil rights. They had courage and character. They were not afraid, and they rose in the majesty of their might and under the banner of Jefferson, at the head of the column, they won the victory that we thought had definitely determined that ours should be a democratic republic. That was the first great victory won for the people by the Democratic Party.

Economic Conditions in the Intermountain Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, we have heard considerable talk about recession and depression. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD an objective survey on this subject, taken only recently in my State.

The survey, made by the Salt Lake Tribune, confirms the President's estimate that 1954 is shaping into a pretty good business year, in spite of all the pessimistic talk which seemed inspired by a desire to assist the country into an economic tailspin.

The article was written by Robert W. Bernick, veteran business editor of the Salt Lake Tribune.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUNE TESTS INTERMOUNTAIN ECONOMIC PULSE—FINDS HEALTHY BEAT

(By Robert W. Bernick)

All last week, regional bureaus of the Salt Lake Tribune were out sampling business trends from Pocatello and Twin Falls, Idaho, south past Cedar City and Moab in southern Utah.

They came up with a remarkable testimony from all sections on how big business and little business are showing their faith in the region and the national economy.

The evidence isn't an expression of mere verbiage or so much conversation.

These people are backing their talk with hard cash.

Take the utilities of the area, for example.

Here in Salt Lake City, Utah Power & Light Co. places its construction, transmission, and distribution budget for 1954 at around $25 million—covering subsidiary operations in western Colorado and activities in southern Idaho.

Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Co. says that at least $14 million will be spent in southern Idaho, southwestern Wyoming, and in Utah during this year.

Mountain Fuel Supply Co. has a $7½ million expansion program in southwestern Wyoming and northern Utah under way.

Idaho Power has additional millions scheduled for its south-central Idaho construction, transmission, and distribution program this year.

Union Pacific Railroad Co. has a multimillion-dollar tracks improvement program underway at Ogden; a multimillion diesel-repair building under construction at Salt Lake City—plans investment of a million or more in rail-wheel facilities at its Pocatello shops.

Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad Co. will continue to receive new equipment, carry out extensive track and roadway improvements in Utah and western Colorado.

Here in Salt Lake City, First Security Bank of Utah, N. A. is erecting a modern $2½-million office building on Main Street, a $3½-million shopping center is nearing completion in suburban Sugar House.

Kennecott Copper Corp. completes a $3-million concentrator renovation at Arthur and Magna and a million-dollar research center at University of Utah.

And so the story goes—through the industrial and business list: Chicago Bridge & Iron Co.; Western Phosphates, Inc.; Eimco Corp.; Salt Lake Tungsten Co.; Sure-Seal Corp.; Phillips Petroleum Co.; Salt Lake Refining Co.—all expanding, some a good deal, others to a lesser extent. But, they're growing.

Explorations for oil and gas, nonmetallics continues throughout the area. This is a last frontier for the petroleum industry.

There will be no end to this important work. Establishment of big division offices at Salt Lake City by major companies underscores the prophecy.

Down in Moab, and to a lesser degree in southwestern Utah and southwestern Wyoming, the uranium rush grows and grows and grows.

Monticello, which once had two banks—and hasn't had any for years—may get a branch of a Moab institution. Grand County is hard put to house and to provide water and other services for its inhabitants.

The Atomic Energy Commission is putting a big ore sampling plant up at Moab—is engaged in a multimillion expansion of its Monticello uranium mill.

And as for construction of a uranium mill at Moab—well, the fabulous Charlie Steen says, "Let there be no doubt. It will be."

According to the Cedar City Chamber of Commerce, there'll be $2 million in new construction there this year. The chamber thinks the business outlook is excellent—has faith in permanence and growth of this iron mining and mineral belt.

Twin Falls—one of the most beautiful cities of the West—looks ahead at its and southern Idaho's developments optimistically.

Consolidated Freightways has a new $150,000 warehouse; new churches, buildings, Masonic Temples are going up. In surrounding areas, Burley, Malta, and Declo, along with other school districts, are engaged in extensive educational building programs.

Growing Idaho Falls—a center of great activity by the Atomic Energy Commission—is seeing a new multimillion-dollar aircraft propulsion project underway. A chemical plant will be modified by the AEC—a job to employ 700 workmen.

Construction continues on a 55-unit apartment house.

While up the line a bit at Moran, Wyo., a $6 million project at Rockefeller Lodge is nearing completion.

Idaho Falls has added population at a rate of 1,000 persons a year for the last 4 years.

Back in north Utah—significant growth progress is reported in Weber, Davis, and Utah Counties. Transportation, education, steel fabricating, and production of foodstuffs weigh heavily in an area linked to Salt Lake County distribution centers.

Residential construction in these populous Utah counties is expected to equal, and even possibly exceed, 1953 levels, under impact of more favorable money rates.

The Federal Housing Administration estimates the effective demand will carry the pace well past 1955 in these areas.

If you want to look for spotty conditions in the Intermountain economy you can find them. But what do they mean?

Kennecott Copper Corp. has reduced its operating week at Utah and Nevada divisions. But this forestalls even more serious cutbacks in the future—a future which would have seen far more copper produced than could be consumed if around-the-clock wartime operations continued.

The huge civilian economy inventories are gradually being reduced in lead and zinc. And there is great hope an effective minerals policy will be adopted by the administration.

Talk about retail sales being down.

They are—but it isn't a fatal decline.

Savings are at record levels in communities of the West. And generally, in this area, consumer debt is being liquidated faster than it is being incurred, say observers.

The New Look in salesmanship you see these days will elicit the "furtive dollar"—especially when buyers get bargains. And the slice in excise taxes makes a "bargain."

Who's wearing the long face with oil booms in Nevada and uranium booms in Utah and Colorado—and heavy construction continuing.

Who's complaining about the "times" when it is a fact that people must eat and the farmer will grow their food?

Who's worried about the future—certainly not the electric-light man, the telephone man, or the gas man, the banker, or the builder.

We went looking—found not pessimists but the fellow on the other side of the coin, the optimist.

Editorial Comment on Senate Speech Delivered by Hon. John F. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, on the International Crisis in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a series of editorials appearing in the Los Angeles Daily News on April 8, 1954, the New York Daily News of April 7, 1954, the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram of April 9, 1954, and the Boston Post of April 11, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. These editorials all recognize the statesmanlike contribution which the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] made on the floor of the Senate a few days ago in connection with the present international crisis in Indochina.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Daily News of April 8, 1954]

WHAT THE EDITOR THINKS

In the Senate, meanwhile, a hopeful note of sense was beginning to rise from the debate over our policy. Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, from Massachusetts, laid the groundwork for a constructive bipartisan support for a policy of protecting southeast Asia from Communist domination.

Senator KENNEDY, with a refreshing straightforwardness that sounded like the expression of traditional American principles again, pointed out that the hard truth is that the native people of Indochina will not give adequate support to the fight against the Communist-led rebels unless France grants the claim for independence of the Indochinese states.

He said frankly that without this support no military victory could be won, even with American intervention.

Some of Senator KENNEDY's lucid words bear repeating:

"It seems to me, therefore, that the dilemma which confronts us is not a hopeless one; that a victorious fight can be maintained by the French with the support of this Nation and many other nations—and most important of all the support of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the associated states—once it is recognized that the defense of southeast Asia and the repelling of Communist aggression are the objectives of such a struggle, and not the maintenance of political relationships founded upon ancient colonialism.

"In such a struggle the United States and other nations may properly be called upon to play their fullest part."

It is to be hoped that these sound words will restore the debate to our traditional American principles, for it is only when grounded in those principles that America can lead the free world in the quest for peace.

[From the Boston Sunday Post of April 11, 1954]

THE VALLEY OF DECISION

(By Ken Crotty)

The eyes of the world this Palm Sunday, 1954, are focused on the dusty plains and valleys which lie before the mountain outpost of Dien Bien Phu in northwest Indochina.

Six months ago, Dien Bien Phu was a pin point on the map of the world, unknown except to the students of geography.

Today the history of the world may be in the writing in the savage battle which is going on between the West and the East for the possession of this lonely outpost in the Thai Mountains of Vietnam.

All week, a garrison of 10,000 weary French Union troops have battled to hold this Indochina bastion against an attacking horde of between 25,000 and 50,000 Communist-inspired rebel Vietminh troops.

HIGH STAKES

The stakes are high in Indochina.

If Dien Bien Phu falls to the Vietminh, southeast Asia will be overrun by the Communists.

It could mean millions of Asians and the rich, raw materials of this undeveloped land would be swallowed up by the Reds. This would be a tragedy to the free Western world.

This week it became apparent the final decision as to the fate of Dien Bien Phu may be up to a man who is thousands of miles away, Dwight Eisenhower.

Dien Bien Phu could be the valley of decision for President Eisenhower.

The United States has already pledged itself to a policy that Indochina must not be lost to the Communists.

That Red China has been staking the rebels is a a foregone conclusion. Mr. Eisenhower and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, have already warned Red China the United States might take action in the event of an increased degree of intervention by Red China in Indochina.

There are good reasons to believe neither Mr. Eisenhower nor Mr. Dulles is bluffing.

This week, however, there were reports from the battlefront that Chinese soldiers have been manning antiaircraft guns of the Vietminh.

CRUCIAL MOMENT

Mr. Eisenhower may well be facing the most momentous decision he will ever be called upon to make in a lifetime of momentous decisions.

England and France have already sidestepped an appeal to present with the United States a united front against Red China in this struggle for Indochina.

Both France and England have no desire to irk either Moscow or its principal ally, Red China, with the Geneva Conference coming up on April 26.

The decision Mr. Eisenhower may be called upon to make soon is to determine what form American action will take in case the degree of Red Chinese intervention is stepped up in Indochina.

That Mr. Eisenhower is reluctant to outline this American action is understandable enough.

There is no earthly reason why he should tip his hand to the enemies of the United States even to satisfy his critics.

But the principal alternatives open to him are not difficult to unearth.

There is the possibility of a naval blockade of the Chinese coast, there is the threat of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, there is the possibility of sending American troops to help the embattled French Union troops.

NO INTENTION

Mr. Eisenhower has already stated the administration has no intention of sending American troops into Indochina.

Then, too, the President's feelings on using the atom bomb only as a retaliatory measure are well known.

But an unforseen event could conceivably change the whole present administrative philosophy.

This past week, Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, took the floor of the Senate and asked for a clarification of the Indochina policy.

Senator KENNEDY said bluntly, "It is time the American people were told the truth."

The Bay Senator called upon Mr. Eisenhower to clear up the point whether the fighting in Indochina is to result in freeing the peoples of Indochina or the maintenance of French colonialism.

Senator KENNEDY'S words made sense.

He said the peoples of Indochina will never enter into any struggle against communism until the are assured of their freedom.

Mr. Kennedy said until this freedom is assured the "channeling of American men and arms into Indochina will be futile."

Meanwhile, the fighting goes on at Dien Bien Phu and at Hanoi, too.

NO INDICATION

It is important to note none of either President Eisenhower's or Mr. Dulles' remarks have indicated any American action will necessarily take place in the event of the fall of Dien Bien Phu.

Only in the event of an "increased degree of intervention on the part of the Chinese Red," which, as Mr. Dulles said, was "awfully close to the line" this past week.

Neither west nor the Reds can afford to lose too much face in Indochina.

The Communists have alreadys spread the word among the nations of the east that they were the winners at Korea.

To have to back down to the supposedly vanquished at Korea now in Indochina would be unthinkable.

And for the United States to be discovered bluffing in this day of power politics it would be disastrous also.

Over and beyond everything is the fact the Geneva conference will begin in 2 weeks. Red China has not yet given up hopes of winning a seat in the United Nations.

Needing trade badly with the west to prevent domestic difficulties, Red China has undoubtedly decided just how far it can go in Indochina without getting in completely over its head.

But any situation like this is as full of danger elements as a fruitcake is raisins.

The nations of the world are treading on thin ice in Indochina.

[From the Worcester (Mass.) Telegram of April 9, 1954]

INDOCHINESE INDEPENDENCE IS KEY IN ASIATIC CRISIS

(By J. M. Roberts, Jr.)

If the United States finally is pushed into direct intervention in the Indochina war, she will be in need of two vital political developments.

First is completion of negotiations now under way for independence of the three Indochinese states.

Second would be the association in some fashion of Asiatic countries in the effort, to avoid the impression that she is either displaying colonial tendencies herself or supporting France in them.

Senator KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts, was striking at one of the most important factors in the war when he pointed out the difficulties of winning any war in Indochina while the people there either remain aloof or actively support the Communists because they are fighting the longtime rulers.

FRENCH EFFORTS

To say that the war cannot be won while this situation exists may be carrying it too far. But certainly it could not be won without payment of an exorbitant price.

French efforts to meet this situation with new independence treaties may not work out. They may satisfy the reigning political leaders, long under the French thumb, without satisfying the people.

A treaty with Laos already has been signed, giving it so-called independence within the French Union. Negotiations with Vietnam are still under way in Paris. An agreement in principle has been reached for an independence treaty to be followed by another of adherence to the Union. The Vietnamese insisted independence was meaningless unless it included the right to decide afterward about joining the union. The compromise is a technical one, unlike the complete freedom of action left to India by the British under similar circumstances.

Paris expects to begin negotiations with Cambodia in the next 2 or 3 weeks.

But this does not mean France is getting out of Indochina, politically, remaining only as a defender. She will still exercise many controls. The Indochinese armies will still be under her command for the duration of this emergency.

Unless the people can be convinced that this is sufficient under the circumstances—and they are not likely to be convinced—an intervening United States would appear to many of them not as a liberator, but as a supporter of colonialism and even, perhaps, as intending to replace France as the colonial power.

As a further effort to avoid this tag of colonialism, alinement of some Asiatic countries in the war effort would have its effect on a wide section of Asiatic opinion. Association by the Philippines would help to some extent, though many would discount it as due primarily to her connections with the United States. Thailand would be better, and Burma still better. However, Burma is so badly torn by her own troubles that she can hardly assume any more, and might be inviting attack from Red China.

But independence for the Indochinese is a key matter. If those people should be convinced they are to have real independence from the French, and must fight to preserve it from the Communists, present forces could win the war without outside intervention.

[From the New York Daily News of April 7, 1954]

WHOSE WAR IN INDOCHINA?

Much more sensational than the President's Monday evening speech are the current doing and sayings of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Mr. Dulles told the House Foreign Affairs Committee Monday that the Chinese Reds are skating mighty close to direct intervention in the Indochina war—intervention against which he warned them in his vigorous St. Louis foreign policy speech last September.

Asked whether the administration is thinking of direct United States action in Indochina, Dulles didn't say yes but he didn't say no.

Yesterday it came out that our Government has asked Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand to join it in a solemn warning that further Red Chinese monkeying in the Indochina affair could bring on a general war.

Such a joint declaration is clearly what Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles would much prefer. But there is as yet no guarantee from them that they won't urge a United States go-it-alone course if they feel they must. And they keep telling us that they regard the saving of Indochina from communism as essential to the so-called free world's safety.

Maybe it is. We hope, though, that the administration will give ample thought to a striking speech made in the Senate yesterday by Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democrat, Massachusetts, who we think is one of the better Democratic lawmakers.

Senator KENNEDY insists that the French are still stalling on their longtime promise to give Indochina its independence eventually. This, he says (though there are correspondents who disagree with him), keeps the bulk of the natives feeling that there's

little to choose between being ruled from Paris and being ruled from Moscow.

Unless most of the natives can be convinced that defeat of the Reds will mean early independence for Indochina, KENNEDY feels that the West cannot win a lasting victory there, or keep communism out of all southeast Asia.

Whether KENNEDY is mistaken or not, we think this much is certain: That, as of now, United States public opinion is mostly against pouring out money indefinitely to preserve French colonialism, and just about unanimously against sending United States fighting men into a second and possibly worse Korea down on the Indochinese bulge.

The Dulles Trip and Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able article published this morning in Walter Lippmann's column, Today and Tomorrow. It is entitled "The Dulles Trip and Indochina." I believe it deserves the very careful attention of the Senate.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
THE DULLES TRIP AND INDOCHINA

The general position, both immediately and for the longer run, seems to have been improved considerably by the talks Mr. Dulles has just had in London and in Paris.

We had been having the immediate crisis at Dien Bien Phu. And there is the problem, which must be met at Geneva, of how to bring the war to an end in a way which promotes the independence of the Indochinese peoples and preserves the independence of Thailand and of Burma.

The battle for the beleaguered fortress of Dien Bien Phu is, as such, not strategically decisive. As a matter of fact, the French have lost similar outposts in the past without important consequences. Dien Bien Phu had become a critical battle because Ho Chi Min, with strong Chinese support, has been attempting to destroy the French will to resist and, therefore, the French capacity to negotiate, just as the Geneva Conference is to meet.

This caused the crisis which blew up in Washington before Mr. Dulles' trip. It turned on whether direct American intervention at Dien Bien Phu was necessary to prevent a general collapse of all the resistance in Indochina before the Geneva Conference. But direct intervention would surely have touched off a worldwide crisis of enormous magnitude and in all probability a general war in the Far East. In the American view it was, therefore, of the highest moment that the crisis of Dien Bien Phu should be resolved lest the much bigger crisis be provoked. Whether the American estimate was exaggerated is arguable. But it did in fact coincide, so it seemed, with Ho Chi Min's estimate, or why was he spending such enormous effort to capture the fortress?

The only statesmanlike way to resolve the crisis of Dien Bien Phu was to take measures which would make the outcome cease to have such critical importance—to downgrade, so to speak, the significance of Dien Bien Phu. To do this it was necessary to make it plain to Ho Chi Min that he will not have won the war and he will not be the master of Indochina even if he captures Dien Bien Phu; conversely, it was necessary to make it plain to the peoples of Indochina and of southeast Asia that the loss of Dien Bien Phu will not mean a withdrawal and surrender which leaves the whole area open to Communist domination.

This down-grading, we may venture to believe, has been accomplished. The war cannot be lost in Dien Bien Phu. Indeed, it may already be—if it is not it ought to be—a serious question in Peiping and Moscow whether it would not be better not to take Dien Bien Phu as the Geneva Conference assembles. For it is now impossible for Ho Chi Min to crush the French will to resist, and it is always possible as long as the fighting rages that something can happen to enlarge the war.

Indeed, an enlargement of the war is very probable if an armistice cannot be negotiated at Geneva before the rainy season ends. It should be understood in Moscow and in Peiping that against the determined opposition of the great sea and air powers of the Atlantic world, the fate of islands and of peninsulas cannot be settled finally on the ground.

So they, as well as we, both in at least the same degree, must desire a negotiated armistice. If a dictated armistice was ever conceivable, it is not conceivable now. And since that is the way it is, they would improve immensely the atmosphere at Geneva if a battlefield truce were set up at Dien Bien Phu, and the wonded were evacuated.

The public declarations agreeing to an "examination of the possibility of establishing a collective defense within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations Organization" have no practical bearing upon the war today. They must not be looked upon as consolation prizes given to Mr. Dulles in lieu of the "warnings" that got so much too much publicity before he went abroad. The declarations have to do with future diplomatic moves and are not just a little bit of an original American proposal.

The truth about the warning to Red China is that the warning has already been given, that it is and has been effective, and that to create the impression that it is necessary to negotiate about it with our allies can serve only to diminish its effectiveness. When a great power like the United States says plainly, as we said it long ago, that we would oppose the intervention of the Chinese armed forces, it is not necessary and it is undesirable to act as if our words were of so little consequence that we have to keep repeating them to keep them alive. The Chinese have been warned about Indochina, and they can have no doubts about it.

During the period of the Dien Bien Phu crisis, Mr. Dulles was naturally concerned to go further and to warn the Chinese about the scale and the character of their indirect intervention. These warnings, though they were not precise, have contributed no doubt to the larger business of downgrading the importance of Dien Bien Phu.

The pacts that we are going to examine may be of some theoretical military significance if the war goes on after a failure at Geneva. But strong chains are not made by putting together many weak links, and not too much military significance should be attributed to such multilateral pacts. They are diplomatic and not strategic instruments.

The proposed pact should be examined for what can be done with it to meet the fundamental political problem in southeast Asia. How is there to be provided an international framework, collective and not imperial, within which the small, frail, politically undeveloped countries of southeast Asia, and particularly of French Indochina, can enjoy their independence? If the overriding centralizing authority of France is withdrawn, and if a new overriding and centralising authority under Ho Chi Min is contained and limited, the small states of Laos, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Annam, and Tonking will need some kind of collective protection. They cannot hope to stand alone.

Is that not plain enough to warrant an approach to India and Pakistan for leadership and for help in arranging a viable system for these infant Asian states? There is no pact now in existence. Therefore there is no reason why it should be rejected in advance. A pact has still to be drafted. It need not become the kind of military alliance to which Pandit Nehru and the Indian nation are so very much opposed. It is an American interest that it should not become that kind of pact. For if it were, the future would be desperate.

If the free nations of Asia would participate, a pact could be framed that was the instrument with which the old imperial authority could be withdrawn without creating a vacuum into which the new imperialism of China would flow.

Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILTON R. YOUNG
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent editorial on the subject of farm prices which appeared in the Minot (N. Dak.) Daily News of Saturday, April 10, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR WHEAT PROBLEM

The subject of farm-price supports can be argued up one side and down the other, as an academic matter, without arriving anywhere. Everybody seems to be taking part in this fruitless argument. It is our idea that too much of the discussion is half-baked, failing to take into consideration all of the hard facts of agricultural economics and accepted national policy.

We don't pretend that we can add anything to the argument, but we hope we can make clear our stand with respect to policy measures immediately needed.

It's our view that as things stand now and until the overall economic picture changes, the farmer of North Dakota must have and is entitled to rigid price support for his crops.

We are not advocating the 90-percent-of-parity formula for the wheatgrower as a permanent and cure-all remedy, but for the present we support it.

Until the time comes when there is more flexibility than today in the costs of farming, we think rigid supports must be continued. We see no reason why the farmer should be the goat in our economy, subject to the uncertainties of supply-and-demand prices when the industries he buys from are able to exercise control over their prices.

We cannot go along with the concept of flexible price supports as a means of reducing the production of those crops that are in surplus. History shows lower prices do not decrease wheat production on our farms.

At the same time we cannot flaunt forever the fact of acute oversupply when it really exists. Farm surpluses, on paper, are not a bugaboo to us. We have been hearing about them for 40 years. Sometimes they were real, and sometimes they disappeared overnight. But when wheat in great quantity is being dumped into all kinds of warehouses never intended for grain storage the fact and danger of mounting surpluses have to be faced.

For all of our educated cleverness in devising ways and means of alleviating surplus production, we have never found a better way to hold surpluses in control than the direct method of reducing production. The situation being what it is, we see no alternative in the wheat-growing business than to accept marketing quotas.

Here our views deviate a little from the present farm program. The method now is to allot acreages. But acreage controls do not hold production down any more than flexible price supports would. Our idea is that until the present imbalance in production works itself into something more tolerable, the individual wheat grower should accept his marketing quota in bushels. Something similar was proposed in the McNary-Haugen bill. We are thinking, however, that the quotas should be based on long-range consumption records, and that they could be maintained at quite a stable level from year to year.

The Canadian wheat-marketing system is far from perfect, but we think the United States wheat grower could learn something from it. If our wheat growers had market quotas in bushels, but were free to grow as many acres of crop as they saw fit, they would find it imperative to enlarge and improve storage facilities on their farms. An excess of wheat produced 1 year would be held over and marketed the next, or the year after that. If a following year's crop was poor, the farmer still would be able to market a normal amount of wheat from his stores.

In our opinion wheat in farm bins under such a program would not drug the Nation's marketing organism the way it does when commercial warehouses are continually plugged. In fact, surpluses as a national policy matter, and as a marketing bugaboo, might almost cease to exist. Whatever the surplus, it would be in the farmer's own bins. Knowing it was there, each farmer would have to adjust his production goals accordingly. That would make the farmer the regulator of his own, and the Nation's wheat supply. But whatever the weather, he could reasonably expect to market every year his full annual quota of bushels at a stable, cost-covering price.

We are not imagining that this change from acres to bushels would be the ultimate or that it would be entirely palatable. Probably it would be harder to distribute bushelage quotas equitably than to parcel out shares of the national acreage. But we think it could be managed with a tolerable degree of justice. Our experience under the farmer-committee system leads us to believe that bushels could be allotted and adjusted democratically and with reasonable impartiality.

Anyhow, this method would have the advantage of starting where we are now, and of moving gradually in the direction we must go. It would meet the problem of production control just a little more directly than we are meeting it today. It would tend to stabilize wheat production near the level of national consumption by changing the farmer's present incentive to keep on producing at a wartime rate. For that part of his farming establishment which reasonably should be devoted to wheat raising, the farmer could expect an equitable crop return that would cover cost of operation plus a fair profit. Beginning with that, he could consider how to get an equal return if possible, from diversion of the rest of his plant to other enterprise.

Let's Plan Now To Meet Future Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, amidst all the current talk about rolling readjustments and recession, most people assume that the responsibility for action against such economic distress lies exclusively with the Federal Government. It is natural that people's thoughts should turn to Washington when economic difficulties loom on the horizon, inasmuch as for 20 years the public was conditioned to believe that all our major problems had to be laid in the lap of Uncle Sam.

Fortunately, a glimmer of awakening local responsibility is discernible in the land. As an example, I have before me an excellent editorial, published on February 14, 1954, in the Salt Lake Tribune. The editorial recommends that local government take steps to engage in public improvement planning that could be used to offset declines in the national economy. Such procedures are eminently commendable, and could well be considered by city, county, and State governments throughout the land.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S PLAN NOW TO MEET FUTURE CHALLENGE

The economic outlook for Utah and the Nation is a matter of major interest and concern at the present time. And it should be.

Not that the Tribune takes a pessimistic view as to the future. We are convinced that the basic business, financial, and political factors underpinning the economy today are such that there is no reason for the current readjustment to worsen into a recession.

But economics is not an exact science. It depends too much on the vagaries of human decision to permit it to be. Lack of confidence on the part of the public, insufficient progressive or constructive action on the part of business leadership, errors of judgment, or simple dilatoriness on the part of public officialdom—any or all of these human factors could extend what should be merely a needed readjustment into an economic downturn.

It is possible. We should be alert to the danger and be ready to meet it should it arise.

There are some hopeful signs that we are alert on the national front. The administration has promised it will promptly take remedial measures to cushion the downturn if, in the opinion of our economic watchdogs, it threatens to become serious.

That's fine. We need national alertness—national readiness to keep the economic readjustment from getting out of hand.

But we need local alertness and readiness, too.

In the past we have been too willing to let Uncle Sam do the job of bolstering a sagging economy. And that willingness has helped to shift far too much power, along with the responsibility, from local governments back to Washington.

If we mean what we have been saying in Washington, D. C., and in Utah about more local responsibility, now is a good time to prove it. Let's not put the whole burden of alertness on the Federal Government. Let's be alert and ready ourselves. Let's have a program of needed public improvements in Utah, and in all of our larger cities and counties, ready to put into effect if it is required to relieve the unemployment which the Utah Department of Employment Security reported last week to be almost double what it was a year ago.

We should add right here that this unemployment is not yet dangerous. It represents only 8 percent of the labor force. But we should be prepared to provide public works employment if that percentage were to double, let us say, later on this year, or in some future year.

Having a public works program ready will enable us to meet an emergency without resort to the kind of boondoggling which at times meant sheer waste of money back in the thirties. It would not only relieve unemployment and give a needed stimulus to the economy, it would enable us to get some of the worthwhile public improvements, such as highways, public buildings, sewer systems, water improvements, parks, and recreation areas which we need.

Constructive thinking and advance planning is required—and we should begin working right now. Fortunately, some communities did just such planning to meet the unemployment widely anticipated following World War II. Those plans ought to be reviewed now and brought up to date. Other local governmental units, which did no post-World War II planning, should move the more swiftly to make up for that lack.

It may well be that these projects will not have to be initiated this year. But the planning will not be wasted. The economic readjustment is an incentive and an opportunity for us to take a good look at our requirements for the future. We need such intelligent advance planning, emergency or no emergency. If the emergency comes, we will be ready to do our full part along with the Federal Government in meeting it. If it doesn't come, we'll have a better idea of what we need for our future growth and progress, and can then determine on the basis of priority of needs and available finances how and when to carry out that improvement program.

But let's not delay. Let's get to work on it now so we'll be ready on a local level to meet whatever challenge the future has to offer us.

Exemption From Federal Income Tax of Certain Earnings of Children

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New Yorker of April 10, 1954, which deals with the question of adopting an amendment to the Federal tax law which would prevent making crooks of children and their parents by encouraging them to resort to all sorts of subterfuges to evade the present law, which deprives the parent of the right to claim the deduction allowed for a dependent if the child, working his way through school, earns more than $600. I think it is a very interesting little

article, and supports the proposed legislation I have pending on the calendar, which would raise the amount to $1,200, without the parent having to lose his tax exemption.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

NOTES AND COMMENT

A season or so back, we mentioned that the tendency of our present tax laws is to cause the simple-minded, 19th-century notion of get up and go to lie down and die. We cited in evidence the case of a Yale sophomore whose diligence nearly cost his father a precious $600 exemption on his income-tax return. Rather than loll about during the long summer vacation, the boy took a job in a factory, and by the middle of August he had earned so much that his father, discovering in a panic that junior was on the ragged edge of becoming, in the eyes of the Government, independent, had to summon him home from the factory and beg him to retire. The boy was reluctant to do so, but finally gave in and was placed on a substantial allowance. Now we've heard of a similar case—one in which the parental panic came even closer to being too late. Up in Scarsdale lives an ambitious throwback of 13 who has a newspaper route and occasionally works as a delivery boy for a local drugstore. Year before last, he carelessly ran up an income of $602.37, and when he broke the bad news to his father, the latter was vexed indeed. Finally, a way out occurred to him. Hadn't the boy paid for certain repairs to his bicycle in the course of the year? The boy had. How much? Four dollars and fifty cents. Very well, then—why not disclose the total earnings and the expense item, and claim the boy's earnings for the year to have been only $597.87? The father did so, then waited to see what would happen. If the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had chosen to construe the law strictly, the claim would, of course, have been disallowed, since the boy's dependency hinged on his gross income, not on his net. We're glad to say that the Commissioner, an old 19th-century boy himself, allowed the claim.

Righteous Wrath Along the Kaskaskia—Smelly Deal on the Kaskaskia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the tragic story of stream pollution is told once again in the following editorials, one from the Decatur (Ill.) Herald, and the other from the St. Louis (Mo.) Post-Dispatch.

Time and time again, America's streams have been polluted to the point of destruction of fish and plant life and to the hazard of people depending upon these streams as a source of water supply.

It is high time that adequate stream-pollution legislation be enacted by Congress. We cannot depend merely upon the type of a program which produces studies of such situations, but we must quickly develop a program which compels the restoration of our rivers and streams to a healthy state. Stream pollution is a serious national liability calling for attention not only at the State level but at Federal level.

I fully realize that the proper Federal agencies have made and are making studies of this serious problem, but it seems to me that we should get into action immediately else there will be few safe sources of water left in this country for human consumption and there will be many more incidents such as the Kaskaskia, leading to the destruction of fish and plant life in and along these streams.

The 1,000 or more Illinoisans who descended upon their State capitol for action in this matter were fully justified in their demands. They not only let it be known to their State officials that they want action on a specific condition existing on the Kaskaskia River, but they have helped to awake America to the national problem of river pollution.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch]

RIGHTEOUS WRATH ALONG KASKASKIA

The 1,000 or more Illinoisans who descended upon their State capital in protest against continued pollution of the Kaskaskia River gave the responsible officials an unmistakable display of righteous wrath. They brandished jars of yellow water and discolored cloth, bore placards saying "Shelbyville wants good clean water" and "Who is boss? Petro or the State?"

They booed and scoffed at State officials who sought to explain at a stormy meeting in the house of representatives. Clarence Klassen, technical secretary of the sanitary water board, who had declared the water safe to drink by bacteriological standards, was presented with a container of the polluted water to drink, but he declined. Joseph Carey, one of Governor Stratton's aides, actually took a taste of it.

The aroused and angry citizens of Shelbyville, Vandalia, Belleville, and Centralia departed with expressions of dissatisfaction. But at least they accomplished one thing.

They gave their State officials impressive evidence that many voters are much concerned over this public-health hazard and over the failure of the State to abate it.

After many sympathetic, cooperative, and reassuring words, National Petro-Chemicals Corp. has made clear that if the sanitary water board expects its order to be honored it will have to compel the company in a court of law.

The manager of the offending plant, D. J. Stark, said "the matter is certainly political in nature" and the company's suit for judicial review of the board's order is intended to get the matter out of the realm of hysteria and into a basis of fact.

The basis of fact on which the board ordered National Petro-Chemicals to cease polluting the Kaskaskia is given in an editorial from the Decatur Herald written before the most recent developments and reprinted on this page today. The polluted Kankaskia is still, as the Herald says, a river of death for wildlife. And not only does the situation still smell—it smells worse every day.

[From the Decatur (Ill.) Herald]

SMELLY DEAL ON THE KASKASKIA

More than a month after the Kaskaskia River pollution situation became critical State agencies are making tests of the water, and the National Petro-Chemicals Corp. is installing machinery designed to deal with the situation temporarily.

The fish, frogs, turtles, and plantlife in the stream are long dead. Years will pass before the stream bed, poisoned by industrial wastes, will be clean and fertile to encourage animal and plantlife.

So far as the Kaskaskia's wildlife is concerned, there is no present emergency. There is no river life.

But a water-supply emergency exists in downstream communities that depend upon the Kaskaskia for a supply of drinking water. Residents of those communities continue to protest the taste and odor of the water that has been contaminated by wastes discharged from the Petro-Chemicals plant at Tuscola.

Officials at the Petro plant, prodded by State agencies and representatives from Gov. William Stratton's office, have vowed the company "wants to do everything it can" to clear up the trouble—and the water.

Right now the industrial plant is installing a recirculating system which will make possible the reuse of water taken from the river. But the plant will continue to discharge daily into the stream 4 million gallons of water used for cooling and, presumably, containing no industrial wastes.

Continuing tests and continuing studies are promised by all concerned. But tests that take 3 or 4 days, installation of temporary equipment, and the quotation of scientific phrases—such as chemical oxygen demand—must not distract public interest from a situation that actually smells.

Address by William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor, Before Americans for Democratic Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of Labor, was one of the principal speakers at the seventh annual convention of Americans for Democratic Action which was held in Chicago, Ill., April 9, 10, and 11.

Mr. Schnitzler's address will be of interest to those who desire to encourage an enlightened attitude in meeting the larger issues of the day. I ask that this interesting speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I have deleted certain portions of the speech in order to conform to rule XIX of the Senate.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

There are times when valor, in the face of danger, is the better part of discretion—when it is wise to stick your neck out and folly to play it safe. At such a time, the guilty ones are those who believe that an area of sweet reason can be found between rights and wrongs, or a middle of the road between decency and dishonor. And at such a time, an organization such as ADA justifies its existence many times over.

You have learned the hard way—as labor learned it long ago—that the struggle to keep human values uppermost is not for the summer soldier or the bandwagon campaigner. Those who champion the rights of property, the divinity of balanced budgets, the supremacy of the States, and the sovereignty

of nations are generally counted as statesmen, sound as a dollar, and the upholders of our finest traditions—though they may pass their entire lives without one act to improve the condition of their fellowmen. But those who venture to stand up for human values, and who champion the sovereign rights of man, can never enjoy such a secure and settled status.

Those who asesociate themselves in any effective way with the cause of victimized minorities, of unemployed workers, of the dwellers in slums, and of others who have problems and needs rather than influence, can expect to draw forth the choicest terms in the vocabulary of reaction. They are "bleeding hearts," "prophets of gloom and doom," "creeping Socialists," "sinister malcontents," or even "traitors"—in ascending order of current preference. In the absence of a broad economic base such as trade unions enjoy, their organizations operate on a shoestring and live from hand to mouth, drawing their strength, not from their treasuries, but from the spirit and devotion of the individual men and women who comprise their membership.

This may seem a great handicap, but it can also serve as a source of inspiration and encouragement. For the living ideals of America were not brought forth in the spirit of narrow conformity or of a safe-and-sane conservatism, from the board rooms, countinghouses, and country clubs of privilege. They were forged under the hammer of adversity—on the immigrant boat, in the small printer's shop, in caulkers' hall—and in the heat of controversy. If we remain active in their defense, our ideals and values will emerge all the stronger from the trials to which they are being subjected today.

We frequently hear it said, rather loosely, that a climate of fear prevails in America today. No doubt there is too much caution, timidity, and misplaced fear in the air. But I cannot agree with this diagnosis as one which offers the key to the troubles of our times. If by fear is meant an awareness of the true nature of the dangers that confront us, perhaps we would be better off if we had more of that kind of fear.

The basic trouble is not fear, but an excess of gullibility. For without a gullible audience, the merchants of false fears could never flourish, nor the huckster's empty phrases catch on as a substitute for constructive action to overcome genuine danger.

A healthy, well-developed attitude of skepticism on the part of the people, and an ability to see through transparent absurdities, are the strongest safeguards of human freedom, under democracy. When those qualities disappear, freedom is in danger. The freedom of labor in America was most in jeopardy when a campaign to destroy unions, and to deprive workers of their right to organize and associate freely, was able to flourish under that ridiculous label, the "American plan." Freedom disappeared in Nazi Germany when an entire nation swallowed whole the absurdity of the doctrine of the master race and the guilt of a scapegoat minority.

In the past this skepticism, this power to pierce the ridiculous and to penetrate shabby pretense, has been commonly regarded as an American trait. It has been advanced as one of the main reasons why tyranny could never hope to gain a foothold here. But where is it today?

I am not suggesting that our problems should be viewed in a humorous light. It is, after all, hard to maintain a very active sense of humor when hydrogen bombs are sending up bigger and better mushroom clouds—to foreshadow, perhaps, the shape of judgment day. There is nothing funny about the dangers we face when the Soviet Union is building up the power, not just of "massive retaliation," but of massive initiation as well—and when we are told that, as far as civil defense is concerned, we are in a position somewhat less satisfactory than that of a certain nimble boxer scheduled to enter the ring with Joe Louis. Louis, you may recall, summed up his opponent's chances with the comment: "He can run, but he can't hide."

But many weighty matters face us now which, while in no sense humorous, are certainly absurd. And a better sense of proportion, of the fitness of things, and an ability to recognize the absurd would help us to find the right way out of the mess we are in today.

It appears to be an axiom in certain quarters of Congress today that the interests of our Nation are best served by creating, in the minds of as many people as possible, a growing distrust in the integrity of the clergy, our educational system, our Armed Forces, the civil service, and those other institutions that have always hitherto been regarded as the stout bulwarks of our best traditions. By this standard, the measure of your loyalty to America is determined by the number of its citizens, officials, and institutions in whom you have no faith—and the more you distrust the more loyal you are. There is very little humor in this proposition, but it is surely absurd.

A warped and one-sided obsession with the so-called alien menace has led us into another situation today that can only be described as a ridiculous mess. Last August, Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act, to give sanctuary to 209,000 persons who had fled Communist tyranny. Since then, the diligent administrators of that act have erected such a foolproof screen of red tape, security checks, and rechecks, oaths, and affidavits, that the impressive total of seven persons has at last managed to gain entry into this country under its provisions.

Such infinite pains would seem far more reasonable if it were not for one simple fact. While our security-conscious officials are scrutinizing the life history, antecedents, associations, and personal habits of those who formally apply for entrance at the front door, a million and a half illegal aliens are swarming into this country each year, through the back door, without bothering to knock. And no one can tell who they are, what they bring, from whence they come, whither they go, or for what purpose.

This much is known in a general way about the wetbacks who stream unchecked across our southern border. They bring disease, crime, and poverty, and they leave disease, crime, and poverty in their wake. At a time when unemployment is mounting in this country, they take jobs away from citizens and undercut American standards of life and labor. And in their ranks are Communists and potential spies and saboteurs.

Why should a Soviet agent try to buck the eastern ports of entry? With an undermanned border patrol and no laws strong enough to discourage the wetback flow, he finds the Mexican border an open and inviting gate, where he can be easily lost in the traffic.

But that border is also an unfailing source of cheap labor for the factory farms, and that is why it remains an open gate. That is why our Texas millionaires are financing no educational campaigns to arouse pubic interest in this issue. And that is why our Red-hunting Senators are conducting no investigations and embarking on no crusades to expose and stamp out this subversive menace.

The manner in which the dollar has gained and held ascendancy over conscience in this matter, even in the reckoning of trusted officials, was very clearly illustrated a few weeks ago. The Governor of our largest State, and one of this administration's favorite trained Democrats, was found to be using wetback labor in the operation of his ranch—at such a princely wage that they are able to earn almost as much in a week as the average American factory worker earns in a day. Yet this interesting fact excited little notice or comment outside of labor journals. When the problems of tariffs and trade are at issue we often see how Senators and Representatives from some of our Western States become, of a sudden, grievously concerned for the standards of labor, and ride the cheap foreign labor argument ragged in the promotion of higher tariffs and more protection for their favorite industries. But when appropriations for the border patrol, to check a direct and first-hand influx of cheap alien labor, come under consideration, they are suddenly smitten with a statesman like passion for stern economy, regardless of the human cost.

The note of grim irony that runs through this entire situation could be played upon endlessly. But it is perhaps best symbolized by a recent case involving the construction of a Government building, for the use, if you please, of the Justice Department's border patrol, near El Centro, in the Imperial Valley of California. Illegal wetbacks were used in the construction of the building.

We in the trade-union movement, who must fight to protect the jobs and standards of our members, see no humor in the wetback mess. But it is, to say the least, absurd that this problem should continue to be met with willful neglect on the part of public officials and legislators. And one of the real dangers we face today is aggravated by the failure of the public—a public that is alleged to be plagued by nervous fears—to raise a clamor for corrective action in the face of this travesty.

In the Congress of the United States today, while barren controversies rage, constructive action for the good of the Nation hangs suspended in limbo. The modest program put forward by the President has been lost in the shuffle of advancing and retreating factions of the party in power.

While slums continue to grow, a meager housing program is mutilated. While unemployment rises, and the incomes and buying power of the working people of America decline, we are offered the consolation that this, after all, is "normalcy." Where these problems are concerned, the administration is carrying out the responsibilities of executive leadership with all of the imposing force, authority, and influence of a notary public whose commission has expired.

Yet it cannot be said that the administration is without the power to act aggressively and effectively in support of its declared objectives. On one occasion it has successfully exercised that power, in an all-out cloakroom campaign—marked by ruthless pressure and threats of political reprisal—to salvage a tax bill in the House of Representatives, a tax bill which, if enacted in its present form, would take us far down the road toward a rich man's welfare state. On this occasion, the administration won a famous victory, in behalf of the favored few and at the expense of that great majority of the families of America who own no corporate stock and hardly any oil wells.

The administration's tax bill is an accurate measure of the distance between promise and performance, and of the change that has taken place in the dominant philosophy of government. It is based upon the premise that the wealthy have been getting too little in the way of privileges and advantages in return. The poor, on the other hand, have been paying too small a share, and have been getting far too much in the way of governmental aid and assistance.

In 1952, you may recall, the President and his party campaigned against what was described as the "crushing burden" of taxes, on a platform of tax relief for all. They did not say, or imply then, that only a few stockholders, oil magnates, and corporation executives were being crushed so badly as to re-

quire relief to the exclusion of other citizens. But that was long ago and in another climate—and besides, the pledge is dead. Now it seems that a small measure of tax relief for the poor comes under the heading of slam-bang emergency action that must await the advent of a depression and that, if applied prematurely, would wreck the Nation's economy.

While industry cuts production, leaving plants and equipment idle for lack of markets, the administration argues that a new tax bonanza for shareholders will lead to the expansion of production and the construction of new plants. Lower taxes on small incomes—to revive the market for goods and services so as to make possible the full use of facilities now idle—on the other hand, would rattle the majestic transquility of our readjustment to normalcy.

This is absurd, but it isn't funny—at least not to those who face the day-to-day problems of life on a low budget. It could be seriously advanced, under the color of economic statesmanship, only by those who have an infinite faith in the gullibility of the American people. Yet it represents a genuine present danger, that we may with ample reason fear—for this measure, and the philosophy for which it stands, bear the seeds of potential ruin.

If this is the atomic era, it is also the ad-man age. The conduct of Government increasingly reflects the influence of the advertising and public relations experts who entered Washington in the train of the big business crusade. We are subjected to the techniques of the "hard sell" in the promotion of dubious measures. Public policies vital to all of us are treated like articles of merchandise. A serious recession is being met—not with a clear-cut program of constructive action—but with psychological warfare, to persuade us that it is all in our heads, and with massive doses of political AD-X2, to create the illusion that something worth while is being done about it.

In the absence of practical action, guided by a realistic view of our situation, this period may come to be regarded by historians of the future as one of lost opportunity and dissipated advantages—to be spoken of in those saddest of all words, "what might have been." When we begin to fall for the huckster's pitch without a careful look at the goods, and to shed the power to distinguish between illusion and reality, we are in trouble. Only the truth, and the power to weigh the ungilded facts, can keep us free. Freedom can end with a slogan, as well as a bang.

We look today to groups such as your own—whose only vested interest is a devotion to the cause of a liberal, enlightened, and humane society—to help us steer clear of the course of danger.

Soviet Science Is a Challenge to Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT GORE
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an extremely interesting editorial entitled "Soviet Science Is a Challenge to Us," appearing in the New York Times magazine of April 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIET SCIENCE IS A CHALLENGE TO US—IT IS A DANGEROUS DELUSION, A BRITISH AUTHORITY WARNS, TO UNDERESTIMATE THE VITALITY OF RUSSIA'S ALL-OUT TECHNOLOGICAL DRIVE

(By Eric Ashby)

In September 1945, I was doing a piece of research in one of the laboratories of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. I wanted to weigh something with particular accuracy and I asked a Russian scientist who was working in the same room which balance I should use for this weighing. "Oh," he said, "if you want to weigh accurately it's no good using a Russian balance; we've got a German balance for accurate work." And my scientific colleague smilingly unlocked a cupboard and produced one.

A few weeks later I was being shown over another laboratory belonging to the academy. We came to an elaborate X-ray apparatus. My guide, a good physiologist and a good patriot, turned to me and said: "To you there's nothing remarkable about this apparatus. But for us Russians it is wonderful. Although it is entirely Russian made, valves and all, it really works."

Today Russian scientists, who 8 years ago were modestly doubting the value of their own scientific equipment, have produced a hydrogen bomb and claim they are using atomic energy for industrial purposes. What has happened in the last 8 years to lift Soviet technology from mediocrity to its present position?

Of course, there are many answers, with a little of the truth in all of them. Russian spies have stolen from the west data essential for the making of atomic weapons. First-class German scientists and technicians are now working in the pay of the Russians. Scientific instrument firms with an unrivaled tradition in the making of precision instruments—the firm of Zeiss, for example, in Jena—were swallowed up in the Russian advance to Berlin. But we delude ourselves if we imagine that there is nothing more to the matter than this. America faces Russia, each with its atomic stockpile, across the Bering Strait and across the Atlantic. We may be absolutely certain that Russia does not underestimate the science and technology of the west. We should be making a bad mistake if we were to underestimate the science and technology of the east.

In my opinion, there are two main causes which, flowing together, have produced the Soviet hydrogen bomb and which (let us not deceive ourselves) are going to produce a lot more technological triumphs.

The first cause is the birthrate. There are about 200 million people in Russia and a large proportion of them are young. There is every reason to believe that intelligence is no less common among Russians than among Americans. That is to say, about the same proportion of young Russians and young Americans who reach the age of 17 each year are highly intelligent and capable of being turned into good scientists and technologists.

Whether this is so depends on the efficiency of the education system. The American education system is efficient. Everyone in the west recognizes that, and the Russians have not overlooked it.

Now, the U. S. S. R. has a population greater than that of the United States. What use is Russia making of the cream of her intelligence? The figures are impressive for a country which three decades ago was almost as illiterate as India. Twelve percent of Russia's total budget in 1953 was spent on education. There are 33 universities and 887 higher educational establishments for training technologists of various kinds. This is not so impressive in fact as it is on paper. There are still shortages of accommodation and equipment, and what is more serious, only two generations of teachers are soundly trained: those about the age of 35–40, who completed their training just before World War II, and those about the age of 30 or under, who completed their training since the war. But each year nearly 150,000 graduates are poured into industry and the professions. And this stream of trained experts is going to increase in volume.

The second cause is exemplified by the incidents about the balance and the X-ray equipment. The Russian is self-critical, not complacent, about his science. He has a gnawing inferiority complex which drives him to spectacular accomplishments.

One symptom of this is the silly claims they make for precedence in inventions. They attribute the discovery of penicillin to Ermolyeva, not to Fleming; and the exploitation of radio to Popov, not to Marconi. This, of course, draws ridicule from the West. But do not be taken in by this exhibitionism—it is very superficial. Behind it is something much more formidable; for example, the speech made by Stalin as long ago as 1931 to the All Union Conference of Managers of Socialist Industry. "We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries," he said. "We must make good the distance in 10 years. Either we do this or they will crush us. We must ourselves become experts; we must turn to science."

Let us, therefore, realize that the Russians have long been aware of their inferiority in science and technology compared with the West, and they now have the intellectual and economic resources to overcome this inferiority.

Moreover, they have a total disregard for individual freedom and they are under no obligation to enlist public opinion before pursuing a policy in the interests of the state. If necessary, public opinion can be enlisted with the aid of the concentration camp. Therefore, they can turn policy into action more quickly than we can in the West.

In the 8½ years since the war ended, they have mobilized their intellectual resources to tackle their most urgent technical and scientific problems, which are, of course, defense problems. It has been done by keeping the standard of living low and by depriving higher education of all the traditional priviliges of academic freedom. It has been done at a price which we in the West are not prepared to pay, in peacetime at any rate. But it has been done.

What are the chances of survival of such a system? Can the scientific and technological drive be maintained? This depends on the intellectual atmosphere which Russia creates for her scientists and the sort of training she gives them. The heart of the matter is the quality of education the Soviet science student gets, and what encouragements and opportunities there are for him after graduation.

The young Russian in his last year at high school in Moscow will have had a sound training in Russian literature and history, a foreign language, mathematics, science, geography, the constitution of the U. S. S. R., and physical training.

From kindergarten onward, these subjects have been taught in such a way to to condition the boy to fit into the Soviet state. The spelling book for 7-year-olds includes the words machinegun, cannon, sword, pistol, bayonet, hero, bullet. The history book exalts the Russian people above all others (a fault from which the Western countries in their various ways are not exempt). The chemistry syllabus starts with a preamble saying that "this subject must be taught in

such a way as to give an antireligious bias." All social activities at school are centered round the Komsomols—the young Communists. The boy's whole outlook is irredeemably impregnated with Marxism-Leninism. He is ready to become a tool of the state.

The 17-year-old in Moscow, if he is lucky enough to have had teachers who are themselves well trained—and this is rapidly becoming more probable—would compare pretty well in a factual examination with a 17-year-old in New York. Proceeding to higher education, merit is the only test, for although higher education costs money, there are numerous state grants to subsidize students, and, in fact, nearly all students are in receipt of financial aid from the state.

The distribution of state grants to a student is such that he is drawn into those professions where the need of the state is greatest. The better his qualifying examination from school is, the more choice he has.

When he comes to make his choice, the Moscow boy is influenced by the immense prestige, deliberately built up by the state, of engineering and science. Newspaper headlines there go to the scientists, not to the film stars or the football players or thugs. Every expedition to discover minerals, every new meteorological station in the Arctic, every improvement in making aluminum alloys, is written up for the newspapers in the racy style of a sports review.

More than all this, the books written for children (commissioned, of course, by Government committees) are used to boost the status of scientists. The heroes of schoolboy stories are not spies or detectives but engineers or scientists. To measure the salinity or water under icebergs at the North Pole, to divert the course of a river to irrigate the deserts of Dagestan, to hunt for uranium in the forests of Yakutski—these are the adventures which fill the story books. Even medicine is sissy by comparison with engineering and is becoming more and more regarded as a job for sister to do.

There is no doubt that the social pressures which drive an intelligent boy into science and technology are diverting the intellectual cream of Russian youth away from other professions into the laboratories and workshops of the Soviet Union in a way without parallel in any other country in the world. Once in the university or a technological institute there follows a rigorous course extending over 5 years, ending with no fewer than 45 examinations. Discipline is strictly maintained. One failure, one lapse in "civic behavior," and the grant may be terminated and the course have to be abandoned. There is no spare time. In the science faculty of Moscow University as many as 46 hours a week may be devoted to compulsory classes. All courses in applied science include periods of practical experience in factory or mine or farm.

And the quality of the graduate? Well, he is up to the level of an American doctor of philosophy by the time he is finished, and the atmosphere of a science laboratory in a university (I was in one for a sort time 8 years ago) is every bit as stimulating as that of an American laboratory. There was the same enthusiasm to finish experiments, the same hard questioning at seminars, the same sense of adventure. It was only when the conversation sailed near to politics that I realized I was on the dark side of the curtain.

Of course, all the intensive production of technical experts got into its stride only after the war. The first products of peacetime education did not come off the assembly line until 1950. The legacy of badly trained teachers, especially those in their fifties who were at school in the crazy go-as-you-please phase of Soviet education, is rapidly being replaced in the upper classes of schools and in universities. The full impact of this policy will not be felt for another 10 years yet. By then the young men of the class of 1950 will have had 10 years' experience "on the job."

For us in the West this is not a reassuring picture. Perhaps that is why we willingly listen to those who comfort us by saying that scientific work cannot be done except by freemen working in a free society. The persecution of biologists by Lysenko and his colleagues (at present it is Lysenko himself who is under fire in Moscow as a "scientific monopolist"), the purge of Sergeev and other medical-research workers, the fulminations against physicists who accept the work of Heisenberg and Einstein—these circumstances, we are assured, justify us in expecting that science will not survive in Russia.

Is this true? If theories (such as Heisenberg's) are outlawed, can good physics be done? Even experts differ as to whether good science can be done indefinitely in a totalitarian state. My own opinion is based on two considerations. First, it is a mistake to assume that Russian scientists need (or even want) the same intellectual climate as American scientists. The right to differ, so treasured by the West, is not similarly treasured by the East. Surely, there are thousands of scientists who would doubtless leave Russia for an atmosphere of freedom if they could get away. But they can't get away, and martyrs are as rare in Russia as anywhere else.

I remember spending an afternoon in a birch wood near Moscow discussing this very topic with a Soviet scientist. I asked him how he could work calmly when he knew that someone in the laboratory must be the MVD spy, and when he knew that some chance remark or unconscious deviation might land him in a concentration camp. "The Russian police," he answered, "is like the Russian climate. It is hard, but we are used to it, and we take precautions."

Second, I remember that the golden age of Russian literature was not dimmed by the political persecution of that time. It is well to assume that what Pushkin and Dostoevsky accomplished in the police state of the 19th century, their scientific successors are just as likely to accomplish in the police state of the 20th century.

To the modern Russian, what seems harder to bear than lack of individual freedom is lack of social prestige. The scientist is assured of it. With it goes privilege. He can travel widely inside Russia in connection with his work. He has access to foreign journals and books. The highest honors of the state are within his reach if he succeeds. The French statesman Edouard Herriot summed it up years ago when he wrote: "Soviet rule has bestowed on science all the authority of which it deprived religion." It has bestowed on science, too, all the prestige of which it deprived blue blood.

The future vitality of Soviet science depends on five factors: (1) a supply of high intelligence; (2) an education system which trains this intelligence well and steers it into careers of pure and applied science; (3) a social climate which accords a high prestige to science; (4) a familiarity with the currents of thought among scientists in other countries; and (5) sufficient immunity from interference to insure that a man can follow his bent in research.

The first three of these factors are assured. Is Soviet science likely to deteriorate because the last two are deficient? There are some who think it will, but personally I doubt it. For valuable as it is for scientists to have personal contact with one another (and the Russians value it as much as any of us), yet solid accomplishment in pure science is measured by what is published, and solid accomplishment in applied science by what is manufactured. The Russians have easy access to everything published in the West and a good deal of what is manufactured.

I once had a reader's ticket to the Lenin Library and I used to amuse myself by testing its capabilities. No scientific journal, however obscure, seemed to be missing. Now every qualified research worker in Russia has had to pass a severe test in the reading of two foreign languages. So it can be assumed that all we publish is not only available in Russia but is being carefully read.

As to immunity from interference, we have to remember first that the day-to-day work of the scientist depends on modest working hypotheses rather than on broad sweeping theories. So even if a theory is outlawed—as Mendel's theory of inheritance is at present—it may not cripple the scientist's actual laboratory work, on the short-term view at any rate. Doubtless he will compromise his conscience to the extent of giving lip service to the official dogma (I remember a distinguished biologist telling me with a twinkle in his eye: "I am instructed to be impressed by Lysenko"). But it does not deeply injure his integrity.

Of course this sort of thing hampers thought. Of course it may well deflect a man from making the really big discovery. But then big discoveries are very rare anyway, and they are bound to be published, and the Russians can rely on world science for them and adjust their dogmas accordingly.

Secondly, it is wrong to imagine that there is pressure on all Soviet scientists to produce immediate results. Those attached to the various ministries are undoubtedly under such pressure, but not those in the academy, where the elite of Soviet scientists work.

When we assess Russian scientists, then, it is dangerous to assume that they live by our values. For generations our tradition has encouraged individuality; for generations their tradition has suppressed it. Freedom means less to them, and the amenities of civilization—hot water, good food, comfortable accommodations—they can readily forego.

But we ought to assume some fundamental similarities between the Russians and ourselves. They are just as intelligent as we are and soon they will be just as well educated. They are just as capable as we are of adjusting themselves to clumsy politicians. And they have one quality we in the West have lost, the deep inferiority complex which drives them to spectacular achievements.

How can the West meet this challenge? Certainly not by studiously remaining ignorant of it. Certainly not by persuading ourselves it is less menacing than it in fact is. Certainly not by telling ourselves fairy stories about despondent scientists doing hack work to the orders of the Politburo.

I think we should evaluate Soviet science as critically and as accurately as possible. I think we should insure that a good many of our scientists read Russian fluently enough to follow closely the progress of scientific research there. And I think the Western World should unite in collective security not just for military defense and economic aid, but for the express purpose of manning the scientific front of the free world.

Two Bishops for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial appearing in the April 11, 1954, issue of the St.

Louis Post-Dispatch. The editorial entitled "Two Bishops for Democracy" follows:

TWO BISHOPS FOR DEMOCRACY

Two Roman Catholic bishops—one speaking officially, the other unofficially—have just made distinguished contributions to decent, self-respecting democracy in the United States. One is Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, of San Antonio, who abolished racial segregation in the parochial schools of his diocese, which embraces 33 counties in southern Texas. The other is Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago, who denounced the "sheil game" with which Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, has been trying to dupe the people of the United States.

Both bishops took a positive stand for democracy, rather than merely condemning those who weaken it. Archbishop Lucey did condemn the "sin of segregation," but his condemnation was incidental to an order opening diocesan schools to pupils regardless of "color, race, or poverty." Furthermore, his order did not go blindly against environmental prejudices. It came after experimentation and preparation; and so it is expected to cause no untoward incidents.

Bishop Sheil, while condemning unsupported assumptions of guilt and the exploitation of phantom traitors and innocent people to gain political headlines, made a greater point of insisting that true anticommunism makes sure, first of all, that people have decent homes and enough to eat. Those who know Bishop Sheil's years of work on behalf of Chicago's blighted back-of-the-yards area and the city's potential young delinquents will recognize that he was only preaching what he has long practiced.

Both men deserve full praise for practical service to democratic ideals which all too often get only lip service.

Harsh Words on Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 6, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, for more than a year, we conservationists have waited in vain for the two Federal departments most concerned to come forward with their conservation program.

If a dynamic program has been drawn up in the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, I have yet to see it. All I have seen so far is an alarming tendency to let the selfish interests move in on our public domain.

That this feeling is shared by conservationists of both major political parties is made evident in a speech at Chicago recently by one of the leading conservationists in this Nation. He is Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute. Dr. Gabrielson is an oldtime career man in government. He is a former director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and of its predecessor, the United States Biological Survey.

Addressing opening sessions of the 19th North American Wildlife Conference, Dr. Gabrielson said:

No constructive, progressive program for advancing conservation activities has yet been developed, and little interest has been shown by the two great departments responsible for the most important of our conservation estate in protecting the gains made in the past.

He also said that "at no time since I have been in Washington have those who represent the efforts to destroy or to convert to their own use such public resources been more active or more aggressive."

Dr. Gabrielson emphasized that the salvation of our public resources rests with Congress. It is indeed fortunate that the conservationists of both parties in Congress have not gone along with the departments in their obvious yielding to those whom Dr. Gabrielson calls the "gimme boys—those people who want something for nothing out of the public resources."

Dr. Gabrielson's address is discussed at some length in the May issue of Nature magazine, published by the American Nature Association. The article follows:

HARSH WORDS FROM "GABE"

Opening the sessions of the 19th North American Wildlife Conference in Chicago in early March, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of the Wildlife Management Institute, sponsors of this important annual meeting of conservationists, had some harsh words to say about the conservation policies—or lack of them—of the present administration. Harking back to his opening remarks at the 1953 conference, Dr. Gabrielson, who was formerly Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, said that, a year ago, he had pointed out that Washington was full of the gimme boys—those people who want something for nothing out of the public resources.

"I expected," he said, "that most of the old efforts for invading or destroying the National Park System, refuges, national forests and other areas reserved for the public would appear in one form or another. A review of the past year indicates that my prognostications were quite accurate. At no time since I have been in Washington have those who represent the efforts to destroy or to convert to their own use such public resources been more active or more aggressive."

Dr. Gabrielson said that the new administration has had a year to find itself and to establish a conservation program. In general, it can only be said that no constructive, progressive program for advancing conservation activities has yet been developed, and little interest has been shown by the two great departments responsible for the most important of our conservation estate in protecting the gains made in the past. It is fair to say that no dynamic program has appeared in the major conservation bureaus, or the departments which administer them.

These are stern words, indeed, and, coming from one of the country's leading conservationists, and a Republican, they command serious attention. Sad to say, it is difficult to find effective refutation for Dr. Gabrielson's charges.

"The Interior Department," he asserts, "has repeatedly refused to take a positive stand with regard to the perpetuation of the national parks and monuments and wildlife refuges for which it is responsible. There have been repeated statements that each and every attempt to invade or destroy parks and refuges will be judged on its merits. This seems to be a euphonious way of saying that if political pressures become strong enough, we want to be in a position to yield to those pressures."

Dr. Gabrielson applauded the Department for thus far opposing the timber raid in Olympic National Park, then pointed, by contrast, to its active espousal of the invasion of Dinosaur National Monument. He accuses the Department of indifference to a bill that would make possible better administration of Taylor grazing lands, and points to its approval of a measure constituting "one of the crudest attempted land grabs in recent years," and of another measure that is "the stockmen's attempt to pull down the administration of the national forests to the low level that prevails on Taylor grazing lands." He also pointed to the fact that the Fish and Wildlife Service had "liberalized the migratory bird hunting regulations beyond the point justified by its own reports on breeding success."

Turning to the Department of Agriculture, Dr. Gabrielson described its conservation record as "equally unimpressive." He added: "It emasculated the Soil Conservation Service's technical staff, and no one can yet tell how adverse the effect of this action will be on the basic soil conservation program. Most conservationists believe, however, that it will be very bad."

The former Federal bureau chief deplored the policy of taking "all of the top positions in the conservation bureaus out of the career service." This, he asserted, insures the scientific program and continuity of work of these agencies.

Dr. Gabrielson finds the brightest spot in the picture to be the Congress itself, which has refused to go along with these attempted raids. He pointed out: "Conservationists have been aware of these dangers, and it is their activity in alerting Congressmen who are interested in these public resources that have made it possible to hold the line. They have had no help from the officials who are responsible for these public resources. Only as you and your fellow citizens, who believe in maintaining and managing these public lands continue to take an active interest, can these lands be maintained for public use for the generations yet to come. If you relax your vigilance and your effort, they will melt away, and once they are gone it will be difficult, if not impossible, to replace them."

This constitutes a serious and sobering indictment. It is, of course, made against a background of 20 years of real governmental concern for our natural resources—whether parks, forests, soil, water, or wildlife. Perhaps the new administration's memory goes only so far back that it thinks that this conservation attitude was exclusively the creature of the party now out of power. This is to ignore the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt in giving the greatest impetus to our conservation program. To our thinking, preservation and jealous administration of our natural resources—for the benefit of all the people, today and tomorrow—is a completely nonpartisan matter. To consider these resources on any other basis is stupid.

We sincerely trust that Gabe's charges will serve to alert all conservationists; that they will receive careful attention on the part of those now charged with administering and protecting our natural resources. Gabe spoke from the heart—the heart of a true conservationist who knows well whereof he speaks.

Clay County, Fla., Stretches Its Wings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, one of my true friends is George Harvey, executive secretary of the Green

Cove Springs Chamber of Commerce. He has written me this week of how Clay County is thriving and growing in every respect. Under leave previously granted, it is a pleasure for me to insert here his letter. Incidentally, no small part of the wing-stretching which this wonderful county is experiencing is the direct result of Mr. Harvey's labors. The letter is as follows:

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BENNETT: Do you know that my adopted State of Florida intrigues me more and more as the months and years come and go? New things and activities come and the old sloughs off. Consider our Clay County, which in 1950 had a population of approximately 14,000. Today we have 18,000 more or less. More people throughout the years are not only finding Florida a good home State, but are selecting Clay County for its attractiveness.

The growth of the towns, like Keystone Heights, with its surrounding lakes, its progressive spirit, and proud residents, tell part of the story, while Orange Park, not far from the thriving city of Jacksonville, is building beautiful homes and substantial commercial houses.

The county seat, Green Cove Springs, probably shows more definite improvement along all lines than it has shown for many years. You need to see it to believe it. St. John's River is one of America's most beautiful streams, and a fisherman's delight.

A modern highway over Orange Avenue from city line to city line seems to have sparkplugged the city. Other highway surveys and right-of-way acquirements are bringing much encouragement to our Clay County citizens. We expect, in the near future, to have a splendid highway from Jacksonville over Route 17 through the city, out to, and over Route 16 to beautiful Penney Farms. Surveys and plans call for a completion of other portions of this latter route to Route 21, which joins the Blanding four-lane highway. It is highly probable in the near future there will be a highway connecting Macclenney in Baker County with Green Cove Springs, thus establishing a direct route from Baker County, which is on Route 90, that extends to California, and also connecting this new highway with 301.

What is really needed is a new bridge across the St. Johns River, making possible a direct and safe highway from routes 90 and 301, through Green Cove Springs to St. Augustine.

In the last year many new and very beautiful homes have been built; new store building is now in progress. Our bank has been renovated inside with new bank equipment, and the outside has been permastoned.

You are familiar with the school situation, with our new high school costing nearly one-half million, and now under construction a new elementary school in the western section of the city. We wish that industry in general could see our land advantages for building; our river, highways, and the Atlantic coastline for transportation.

Our natural mineral spring with its flow per minute of 2,400 gallons of water, with a temperature of 77°, is a source of surprise and wonder to the many hundreds of visitors.

Thousands of cattle roam our pasture lands. Thousands of acres of standing slash pine will furnish the pages for the reading public for generations. Only a pine tree today, in the near tomorrow a sheet of paper.

Every church in Green Cove Springs is making very definite all-around progress. Membership is increasing, attendance up, new educational units are a must. Two new parsonages have been completed, and a new church building soon to be history are material improvements. A steady growth is upon us, and a few growing pains, for which we are thankful.

The Navy personnel is a decided factor with us. The spirit of friendliness and cooperation with the city and the chamber of commerce is a civic asset. Retired personnel, officers, and enlisted men must like our city, as they have been and are acquiring and building homes in and around the city.

Wishing you and your colleagues the vision needed to keep our country upright, strong, courageous, and unselfish, I am, sincerely,

Your friend and constituent,
GEORGE F. HARVEY,
Executive Secretary, Green Cove Springs Chamber of Commerce.

A Time for Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include an editorial entitled "A Time for Caution," which appeared in the April 11, 1954, issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

A TIME FOR CAUTION

Rightly or wrongly the feeling is growing in the United States that this country is dangerously close to military involvement in the Indochinese war. This feeling can only increase as it becomes known that so eminent a military authority as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Arthur W. Radford—successor to the greatly esteemed Gen. Omar Bradley—favors immediate intervention with forces of all arms.

Neither President Eisenhower nor Secretary of State Dulles takes such an extreme position. Yet President Eisenhower's point of view in published statements over the last 2 months seems to show at least some of the impact of the Radford arguments in the National Security Council. Secretary Dulles has said that the extent of Chinese Communist participation has already reached a point that is close to aggression and creates a situation which should be met by united action.

Whether Indochina is potentially another Korea in military terms, Indochina is not another Korea politically. The United Nations stand in Korea was against naked military aggression by the North Korean Communists across the 38th parallel in violation of the Republic of Korea, as set up under the auspices of the U. N. itself.

The United States and the other nations which stood with us in Korea went to the defense of defenders of freedom. Not to have taken that stand would have been to repudiate the principles on which World War II was fought and to disown the very basis of the U. N.

However essential it is, in the administration's view, to contain communism in Asia within its present limits; however necessary it is to halt a Communist march to Thailand, Burma, and the rest of southeast Asia—it must be recognized that the war in Indochina has no such basis as the war in Korea had.

The war in Indochina began largely as a revolt against French colonialism. The French, though at war for nearly 8 years, have never drafted their own men for putting down the native uprising. They have found it very difficult to recruit support for their side among the Indochinese. After all this time, France is still highhanded with respect to eventual self-rule for the Indochinese peoples. Paris still has not taken its cue from the British freeing of India and the Dutch freeing of Indonesia.

The latest French announcement, from Premier Laniel, is that his country will pursue the war while making every effort for a negotiated peace.

This is all to the good, but it is not good enough. For although it is late in the day to be doing so, France should make it crystal clear to the people of Indochina that the way to win freedom is to support France rather than the Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh.

The Indochinese war ought to be brought to an end without enlargement due to greater participation by either the Chinese Communists or the United States. If this can be achieved at the Geneva Conference so much the better. Meantime France could help greatly by a diplomatic offensive, presenting an all-out pledge of self-rule.

Washington must make it moves with greatest care. Secretary Dulles now seeks personally to persuade England and France to join in his proposed "united action." Since first reactions to the Secretary of State's plea were frankly negative—only Indochina's next-door neighbor, Thailand, a relatively minor state, has accepted—Mr. Dulles is now carrying his case directly to London and Paris.

Here at home Members of the Senate are beginning to divide on the proposal to use foreign aid, even for military purposes, as a device in lining up support for the Dulles "united front." Thus the doubts and worries increase.

The American people need much more information than they have. They need to know how important Indochina actually is to the free world. They need to know what can be done to save the situation without American participation with arms.

In short, a great deal of clarification is required. In particular clarification is required as to why the United States must contemplate military intervention on behalf of an ally, France, which is fighting not for liberation but for colonial rule. That clarification should come from Dwight D. Eisenhower. This is the kind of emergency situation for which the country overwhelmingly elected him President.

Let Us Studiously Avoid the Term "Communist Poland" as Being Unfair and Untrue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, April 2, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include at this time a resolution recently adopted by the Worcester County (Mass.) Association of Polish American Citizens' Clubs on March 13, 1954.

The point of the resolution in trying to remove any confusion, and indeed, stigma, especially for historical purposes, about Poland being in any way willingly associated with communism is very timely taken. It should be made clear,

and I urge my colleagues to join with me in doing everything within their power in correspondence, speeches, and newspaper releases to make it clear, that the native people of Poland are being presently dominated, subjugated, and persecuted by Communist tyranny, against their will, and no confusion on that score should be permitted to exist.

May I urge you all, therefore, to now and hereafter studiously avoid any use of the factually untrue term "Communist Poland" and religiously adopt, for all purposes, the clear expression "Poland dominated by communism."

The resolution follows:

Resolved, that we contact our Congressmen and Senators in regard to the use of the wording Communist Poland, and that the expression "Poland dominated by communism" be used instead.

We urge and request that you do your utmost to bring this about, so that Poland will not carry the stigma of communism.

Respectfully yours,

WORCESTER COUNTY ASSOCIATION OF POLISH AMERICAN CITIZENS' CLUBS,

By STELLA A. CIBOROWSKI, *President*.
PETER J. WOJCIECHOWSKI,
Recording Secretary.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

The Challenge We Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, yesterday the President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], delivered an address of great interest and importance to the Daughters of the American Revolution. It is a vigorous expression, which merits reading and consideration by all of us. I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE

(Address by Hon. STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire before the National Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C., April 19, 1954)

I am honored by the opportunity of addressing the Daughters of the American Revolution. You and I are the descendants of the men and women who sacrificed life and fortune to lead the great struggle for human rights in the 18th century. In their day, our forefathers fought for the dignity of the individual, for free inquiry and a free conscience. It is fitting that your society, so watchful of our historic values, so deeply associated through lineage and understanding with the origins of the Republic, should be assembled again at a critical hour to confront the challenge facing us all and to defend the institutions once won at such cost.

Each age must cope with its own problems, crises, and challenges. That is the nature of history.

This is borne to mind by my daily experience in the Congress. Each day when I am not presiding as President pro tempore of the Senate I take my seat in the Senate Chamber at the desk once occupied by Daniel Webster. It is the oldest and most famous desk in the Senate.

At that same desk, just 120 years ago, Daniel Webster rose in the course of Senate debate and addressed himself to the very point we are discussing. He said:

"God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it."

The Daughters of the American Revolution have long understood and appreciated the importance of this thought. America has, in the past, demonstrated on repeated occasions a recognition of its truth. I hope it will always continue to do so.

What challenge must we as Americans meet today? I believe we will all agree the challenge arises from the compulsive and malevolent will to power animating world communism. We need not discuss the will to dominate all mankind; a will put into language by Karl Marx a century ago and now embodied by Malenkov and his evil comrades in the Kremlin. Nor do we need to review the long and tortuous development of ideological communism or the bitter quarrels that have marked that movement's rise into ascendancy over so much of the earth and its peoples. We can likewise pass over the multiplied horrors that have affronted decent men everywhere, staining the pages of Russia's history for a generation with the blood of countless victims of police terror, torture by night and slave labor.

What we are called upon to do is to understand the nature of the challenge that the Soviet Union offers us; and what we must do to be saved from a similar fate. The challenge is not merely the usual military challenge of one nation, or imperial system, to another. If we were only dealing with territorial ambitions by a great power we would not today have so deep a sense of concern.

No; that challenge of Communist imperialism strikes us to our deepest chords precisely because it is a challenge to every ideal, every moral principle and every spiritual and social concept by which we have lived since the days of 1776. Moreover, we take alarm because, in advancing its claims to world dominion, communism openly rejects objective truth, morality and the rights and liberties of the citizen and of all social institutions. To pervert the values traditional with us of the West, communism has developed a theory with which to rationalize its black deeds.

This enemy of man is both within and without our country. He threatens us militarily on a worldwide front, he has, and is, waging war against our strategical interests. Within we face the challenge of demoralization at the hands of the enemy's Trojan-horse tactics. This is to some degree the subtler peril. While we must oppose it within the framework of our democratic system, we must not allow ill-founded appeals to our free principles to handicap us in meeting the challenge of treason.

You opposed communism, as I did, when it was not fashionable or popular to do so. It has become more popular to oppose communism today. Sometimes this opposition is expressed perfunctorily, with, as the Bible says, "words of the mouth." We must also oppose it with passion, zeal; with the "genuine thoughts of the heart." For, at bottom, the titanic struggle of our age is moral. Our forefathers seldom failed to recognize and face moral issues. We can do no less. And, if we arm ourselves with the strongest weapon of all, the weapon of moral anger, we shall prevail for ourselves and, beyond that, we shall capture the allegiance of all other free peoples.

The overwhelming challenge of communism has not always been clear and apparent to the statesmen of the West, who have been, at times, shortsighted and who have frequently appeased the evil. Yet the people have apprehended the moral values involved from the beginning. Never yet has communism captured a people at the polls.

Abroad, the Soviet imperial system, created in part with the connivance of Western statesmen since World War II, challenges our national security, our existence itself, in many areas of the Eurasian Continent. To meet this challenge, we have taken various steps. Among others, we have established a regional coalition for the security of Europe (and ourselves) known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; we have helped effectuate in southeastern Europe and the Near East a military league comprising Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey.

The present administration has pressed for a Western European army and supplemented regional arrangements with a series of bilateral treaties linking our defenses with those of Spain, Japan, South Korea, and Pakistan, as well as strengthening our ties with Greece and Turkey.

These were diplomatic moves looking to the future. Today, as in 1950, we are face-to-face with an immediate military challenge in the Far East. Our Secretary of State is at this moment attempting to preserve southeastern Asia, all Asia itself, from Soviet domination by organizing a collective will to resist. The new coalition consists of the peoples, dominions, and colonies lying in the path of Communist expansion in what remains of free Asia and the island of the Pacific.

It may be asked: "Why should we be concerned over the fate of a beleaguered garrison in the hills of Indochina; must we again face the prospect of hostilities in Asia?" The reason, which we have gradually and reluctantly come to understand, is that our own military security, perhaps our own survival indeed, depends upon our free access to the western Pacific.

We won command of that vast ocean in a long, brilliant, and costly war fought from Australia to Tokyo. We fought to defeat Japan's ambitions to command the Pacific and Asia itself. The present crises is identical in dimension. The Soviet world empire, reaching to the Bering Straits, almost to Alaska itself, seeks to conquer all Asia and gain command of the Pacific. The results of our victory in the Pacific are thus put to hazard.

We have, therefore, unique interests in the Far East; interests which have not as yet been wholly recognized by certain of our European allies, primarily Great Britain and France. And the fact that they have not understood our vulnerability to attack from a hostile power with all Asia at its back and the Pacific in his grasp weakened and put to naught the common effort in Korea.

Our failure to achieve victory in Korea has merely transferred the underlying conflict, which must finally be resolved one way or other, to Indochina. Had our Government, and the United Nations, accepted the military judgment of General MacArthur and not abstained from a military decision, I think it safe to say there would be no crisis in Indochina now. If we allow Indochina and southeastern Asia to fall, or if we permit an indecisive truce, the struggle for Asia and the Pacific will continue in a new arena, one less favorable to us strategically than Korea or Indochina.

These are coastal lands, available to access from the sea. It is the view of highly competent strategists that, because we command the Pacific, we have the advantage over the enemy in the vital constituent of victory, logistics, or supply. We have likewise at the service of this cause the fourth and fifth largest regular armies on earth, the Nationalist Chinese and the South Koreans; both armies trained and equipped by ourselves, both sworn to deadly enmity of the common foe.

As President Eisenhower noted the other day, the loss of Indochina would almost certainly bring all of southeastern Asia into the Communist orbit. In that case, India itself would be flanked (as would Pakistan),

Burma, Thailand and the British protectorate of Malaya, as well as Indonesia, would be likely to succumb with only a token resistance. The dominions of Australia and New Zealand would be placed in jeopardy.

We of the United States and the free world have a forward line of defense running through the archipelagos off the coast of Asia; a screen of islands extending from the Aleutians, through Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, and on down through the Philippines. These are now strongholds assuring us command of the western Pacific. Our Joint Chiefs of Staff fear that a Communist conquest of southeastern Asia, finally bringing the entire mainland of Asia under the red banner, would render our island chain indefensible. They consider it unlikely that we could, in such case, even hold a line from Hawaii to the Aleutians.

It is, therefore, plain that, if we lose the Pacific, we are outflanked on our western approaches. The Soviet Union has developed large air bases in eastern Siberia, from which bombing operations could be conducted against the industrial centers of our great, Midwestern heartland as well as the west coast. Moscow is making the Kamchatka peninsula an arsenal of war. That peninsula's port, Petropavlovsk, has become a busy harbor, receiving thousands of tons of armaments aimed eventually at us.

So long as we command the Pacific, the coastal waters of Asia, we can interdict the supply lines to eastern Siberia. If we lose those waters, the routes will be free from the Russian and Red China refineries of southeastern Asia, the mills and factories of Asia, eastern to Siberia.

That, in strategic terms, is "the clear and present danger" against which the President and Secretary of State have been warning us during these recent, anxious days.

This all too inadequate review indicates how realistically this administration views our vital interests in the Pacific. It displays also the necessity under which the administration works in proceeding to forge the diplomatic, military, and strategic power with which to avert the danger. We now have in Washington a clearly defined, truly American approach to the problem of safeguarding American interests everywhere that they lie under challenge.

We inherited a foreign policy which, unfortunately, had not always insisted upon a quid quo pro from our friends; and often did not ask for the fulfillment of such commitments as were made. We do not now begrudge the tens of billions of dollars that we expended to restore and strengthen our European allies and activate the free world against the enemy of us all.

But the time has now come when we must except from the friends to whose welfare we have so generously contributed some specific and unequivocal cooperation. Our task, and the task of all free men (as the President has said) is clear and specific in southeast Asia. We have made our decision. The hour of decision is at hand for our associates. They must stand up and be counted or run the risk of disastrous division of the free world.

I am not discouraged by this prospect. Although coalitions, as Napoleon observed, are unstable; although alliances often present painful problems of reconciling diverse interests, at critical moments in the past, notably at the recent Berlin conference, the free world has held together; the West has shown itself firm and unified. Let us hope that we may continue to be united in the ordeal of Asia and at Geneva.

So much for the challenge in its strategic, diplomatic, and military aspects. Let us now consider the challenge on the domestic front; a challenge that is imperfectly perceived by some and about which great and stormy controversies have arisen.

We are a free people. We insist upon the fullest discussions of public questions, the widest debates on honest differences of opinion. The right to discuss and debate must be protected. Yet our basic freedoms and privileges must not be used by the enemy to confuse, divide and in the end defeat us.

We cannot allow the very mechanisms of freedom to lead us into slavery. It would be tragic in the extreme if the free devices created to safeguard us should be perverted to our destruction. The Communists are expert in such tactics. In their march across Eastern Europe and into Asia they have turned the instruments of democracy upon democratic peoples. The death of free Czechoslovakia is a perfect example of how a tolerant people awoke too late to find their tolerance had undone them.

Too much emotion, too little hardheaded American commonsense has been brought to bear upon this urgent problem. Nearly all Americans will agree that we cannot permit enemy agents pledged to overthrow our Government through force or violence to operate without molestation in our free society. Such an open license is unthinkable.

Our differences arise over how such individuals, and others prone to subversion, should be discovered and expelled from posts of influence. There are those who insist that this is entirely a function of the executive arm of our Government and that the congressional committees have no part to perform in this endeavor.

Others, who agree that Congress has the uncontested right and duty to investigate whatever it sees fit, condemn the methods of various committees. I have no desire to fish in troubled waters, I do not intend to take a partisan position, and yet I do recall that no congressional committee inquiring into Communist activities among us ever has gained even a modicum of approval or cooperation from Communists, or their sympathizers, conscious or unconscious, or from far too many well-meaning Americans who, bewildered by the issues raised by the enemy, have raised hysterical cries to preserve our freedoms when those freedoms were not even under attack.

I would be remiss did I not point out that the Congress has a wide range of power and obligation in its investigating capacity. It must maintain, unabridged and undiluted, its right to inquire, not only for the purpose of studying the groundwork for prospective legislation, but likewise for the purpose of satisfying itself whether the executive branch is properly carrying out legislation already enacted.

We may rejoice, counting it one of our major blessings, that the tripartite system of government, the division of powers among the judicial, legislative, and administrative branches, established by your forefathers, has prospered and endured and today represents an island of stability in a world so largely politically insecure.

The executive branch, acting through the Attorney General, is to be commended for seeking new legislation which should make more effective its determination to uncover and punish agents of sedition. Yet, as we face this grave situation, we cannot count exclusively on the administrative arm. No one could more fully appreciate than myself the efficiency, loyalty, and vigilance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It has done magnificent work. However, the FBI is limited by law to certain functions. Although its critics sometimes maintain that the FBI is a secret-police force similar to those which have harried and terrorized the victims of totalitarian despotism, such is emphatically not the case. The FBI has no power to prosecute, find guilty, or punish. It can only make its findings available to higher authority in the Department of Justice and elsewhere in the executive branch. That is fitting. We do not want a secret police in America.

At this point the congressional committee, with its power to subpena, to question under oath, and to lay bare evil and abuse of power and position, vindicates its usefulness. It is of the very genius of our system that the people shall be constantly informed of matters of grave concern to them so that an intelligent public opinion can be created and nourished.

We have heard a great deal about a reign of terror invoked by congressional committee and under which we are presumed to be cowering in dread. Where do we hear about this dark night of oppression? We hear it daily in dozens of books, hundreds of magazine articles, in thousands of interviews, editorials and columns, and in a never-ending volume from radio and television. These voices are raised and circulated to assure us that they have been gagged or suppressed. I, for one, shall not tremble much over the loss of freedom of speech, as long as such alarms can be freely printed and uttered.

These are, indeed, times that try men's souls. In its simplest framework, the challenge we face threatens not only our physical, but our moral and spiritual survival; our immortal souls as well as our mortal bodies. In this hour, it is my fervent hope and faith that the qualities infused into the American system by the Founding Fathers, shall withstand the challenge; withstand it and, when the clamor of these days is spent, press on to that bright destiny which has always called Americans forward.

We represent the strongest military, economic, and spiritual force among the nations. The peoples of the world look to us for courage, steadfastness, and sureness of spirit. If we stand firm in the faith of our fathers, we shall not only deserve the leadership of the free world, but we shall penetrate the Iron Curtain and gain the allegiance of the masses now held in bondage by world communism. The moral weapon of our indignation may in the end determine the course of civilization to a greater degree than the hydrogen bomb.

Let us here again highly resolve, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, that we shall not fail the oppressed peoples as we shall not fail ourselves.

Let us face forthrightly the problems of these critical times and, with God's help, we will successfully meet the challenge.

Address Delivered by Hon. A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia, at Staunton, Va.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by my colleague, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], at Staunton, Va., on April 10, complimenting the gallantry of the 116th Infantry, a Virginia regiment participating in World War I and in World War II, and paying tribute to certain of its officers.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In 1863 an election was called in Berkeley County, of which the county seat was Martinsburg, to determine whether or not that

county would stay with Virginia or join a group of western counties which had left the mother State over the issue of secession, calling themselves West Virginia. Only 19 were permitted to vote in that election because all who openly sympathized with the southern cause were disfranchised. A majority of those 19 voted to join with West Virginia. When those who had served in the Confederate Army returned home after the war they brought a suit to challenge the legality of the election which had made them a part of West Virginia. That case finally reached the United States Supreme Court of Appeals which President Grant had packed to uphold unconstitutional legislation aimed at the Confederacy and, needless to say, that packed Court held the election to be valid and that is the way I happened to have been born in West Virginia. But thank goodness, it was beyond the power of the Supreme Court or any other Government agency to change the geography of the Old Dominion and Berkeley County was then, is now, and always will be in the valley of Virginia. A wonderful area in which I was proud to be born and an area in which my adult life has been lived.

Berkeley County, along with other counties of the valley in northern Virginia, furnished the soldiers who won great fame in the War Between the States under the sobriquet of the Stonewall Brigade. My father's father, Capt. Archie Robertson, of Albemarle County, was a captain in the 19th Virginia Infantry of Jackson's Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia and was killed at First Cold Harbor or Gaines Mills—that bloody battle which the Yankees claimed they won and which the Confederates, of course, claimed they won because they were still on the field of battle after the fighting ended. But all historians are agreed that the battle was a touch-and-go affair until late in the afternoon when Jackson arrived with his Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. And as the veterans of the Stonewall Brigade were being deployed along a thin and hard-pressed Confederate line, a shout rang out from one end of the line to the other "The valley men are here."

That was not the first time when valley men have turned the tide of battle and pray God it will not be the last.

Before I give you a bird's-eye view of how valley men in the famous 116th Infantry have turned the tide of decisive battle in two world wars, I desire to comply with the primary request of my friend, Colonel Sproul, to give you a report on the current thinking of the Department of the Army concerning the National Guard and the general utilization of Reserves.

I regret that I cannot give you many specific details because so many of them which are well known to the Russians are denied to our own people for alleged security reasons.

As some of you probably know the National Security Training Commission issued on December 1, 1953, was called the Adler report, in which the conclusion was stated that the present Reserve system is unfair and that our Reserves are inadequate. In this report it was recommended: (1) That all fit young men of 18 should enter a training pool when they registered under the Selective Service System; (2) that if there is another emergency trained nonveterans should, so far as practicable, serve ahead of veterans; (3) that trainees should become the basis of a realistic nonveteran Reserve; and (4) that young men should draw lots when they register to determine which ones would go into training and which ones into service.

Another study made by the Office of Defense Mobilization at the request of the President produced what is called the Appley report. In this it was recommended (1) that the National Security Council determine the size and composition of military reserve forces needed to meet security requirements; (2) that the Department of Defense prepare for consideration of the Security Council a program for establishment of an immediately callable Reserve and a selectively callable Reserve; and (3) that the Defense Department plan a training program for the immediately callable Reserve.

Still another study was made by the Subcommittee on Preparedness of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and this resulted in the Saltonstall report, which concluded: (1) There is an acute shortage of personnel needed to meet requirements in Reserve forces. (2) Adequate and efficient training is handicapped by the tremendous annual turnover of personnel. (3) There is a lack of balance between the ranks which must be corrected. (4) Responsibilities and opportunities of individual reservists should be defined and fixed with some degree of permanency. (5) There is need for better acceptance by the general public of Reserve training, and more support is needed from civic groups and industry.

All of these reports were considered by the Defense Department task force of five high-ranking officers who made their report recently to the Office of Defense Mobilization which has now forwarded it to the National Security Council.

It has been indicated to me that this report, when finally approved, will be the basis on which the administration will determine its legislative program and other actions to strengthen our Reserve system.

More than a score of bills already are pending before the Congress dealing with such matters as Reserve retirement credits, changes in physical-fitness review procedures, scholarships for nurses, commissions for X-ray technicians, and for male nurses, maternity and infant care for dependents, appointment of osteopaths to the Medical Corps, interservice transfer of officers, and disability or death benefits for Reserves on inactive-duty training. None of these has been acted on by the committees to which they were referred.

The House last year passed bills providing for repeal of the present limitation on strength of the Ready Reserve and to revise regulations covering promotion, retention, and elimination of Reserve officers. These still are pending before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

It was explained to me by the Army that in addition to these bills there are others which have been prepared but which will not be introduced until the general administration program to which I referred has been formulated. And lack of information about that program also accounts for the reluctance of the committees to act on those bills which have been introduced.

I believe I am safe in saying, therefore, that with the end of this session of the Congress fast approaching and with the heavy schedule of legislation which must be acted upon before adjournment, there is little prospect of significant changes in the laws affecting Reserves being made this year and when Congress meets next year it will have an opportunity to take a new look of its own at whatever new look proposals the Defense Department may make.

I also have no hesitancy in saying that any program for our national defense which does not recognize the important part which Reserve units have played in the past or which does not give them full opportunity to continue to play a major role in the future would be grossly deficient.

In a Communist or other totalitarian nation founded on the philosophy that the individual exists for the benefit of the state, large professional military forces are to be expected. Men serve because they must, knowing that if need by they will be herded to destruction like cattle to slaughter and many seem to face death bravely only because the alternative is the longer agony of a slave labor camp.

Our Nation, on the other hand, is founded on the principle that the purpose of the state is to serve the individual and to preserve for him the precious rights of individual liberty and the acquisition and possession of property.

From the day when the embattled farmers at Concord and Lexington stood and fired the shots heard round the world, we have relied for our defense not on professional soldiers but on men normally devoted to the arts of peace but whose patriotism led them to put down their tools and leave their plows when the bugle call sounded an alarm.

Many of these men made competent professional soldiers for longer or shorter periods of service and some of them, along with their sons, were induced to spend their whole lives in the Regular Military Establishment.

Modernization of warfare has changed the timetable of mobilization, just as progress has changed the timetable of travel and we know that we shall never again have the opportunities we had at the start of World War I and World War II to grow vast forces from a little seed army while sturdy allies held our enemies at bay.

I cannot agree, however, that these changed conditions call for huge permanent forces—although we obviously must have larger forces-in-being at crucial times such as the present—nor do I agree that the atomic age has relegated the Reserves to a less important place. On the contrary, the presence in each community of a trained and disciplined body of men was never so important.

We know that a single hydrogen bomb today could wipe out any establishment in which we sought to concentrate our defense forces. We also know that what we have been able to do in landing on foreign hostile shores may someday be duplicated on our own shores, with waves of transport planes filled with paratroopers following an all-out atomic attack. Within hours after the outbreak of another major war, there is no community in the United States which might not conceivably be in dire need of a trained force which could come from another community to evacuate the injured and to preserve civil order and there is no strategic area in which there might not be need of efficient armed units to round up saboteurs dropped from the skies.

And needless to say, that while our military authorities are planning the future of Reserve units I shall not fail to ask that they review the history of the organization now known as the 116th Infantry.

It is an organization which proudly traces its history directly back to the French and Indian Wars, when it guarded the western border of Virginia and to Dunmore's War. The majority of the men who fought under George Washington as a young colonel of militia in the border wars were from the same places which today furnish units of the 116th Infantry. Those early units accompanied the ill-fated expedition of General Braddock against Fort Duquesne and, after failing to prevail upon the British regulars to adopt garb and tactics suitable for wilderness fighting, saved Braddock's remnants and made an honorable retreat to the safety of the Shenandoah Valley.

Under Gen. Andrew Lewis, units from the 116th's valley area defeated a larger force of Indians under Chief Cornstalk in the terrible battle of Point Pleasant at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers on October 10, 1774. Included in this engagement were Augusta County troops under Col. Charles Lewis, a Botetourt regiment under Col. William Fleming and a Culpepper regiment under Col. William Christian.

I pause to say that my mother was born in Culpeper and educated in this historic city at what was then called the Staunton Female Institute but known since the service there of Jeb Stuart's widow as Stuart Hall.

Veterans of the French and Indian Wars rallied around Washington at the outbreak of the Revolution and followed him through the bitter campaigns all the way to Yorktown. Gen. Andrew Lewis himself, although aged and suffering from disease incurred in the frontier wars, raised a regiment of Valley of Virginia men to serve with Washington.

The artillery red in the coat of arms of the 116th Infantry commemorates the artillery units from this area which participated in both the War of 1812 and the War Between the States, among them the Staunton Artillery and the Rockbridge Artillery.

The most famous of your ancestor units was, of course, the Stonewall Brigade—Thomas Jonathan Jackson's "foot cavalry," which included the 2d, 4th, 5th, 27th, and 33d Virginia Regiments. This Brigade won immortality on a score of battlefields from First Manassas to Appomattox. Stonewall Jackson's fame as a master of military tactics is a matter of pride today not only in his native Southland but throughout the Nation and in other lands which send their military men here to study his methods. Similarly national pride in the Stonewall Brigade which fought for the lost cause of the Confederacy is indicated by the authorization which the 116th Infantry has to parade the Confederate battle flag with its national and regimental colors.

During the brief War with Mexico troops from this area were not needed and in the Spanish-American War your predecessor units—the Second and Third Virginia Regiments—got no farther than Florida but when the Mexican guerrilla Pancho Villa gave trouble along our southern border in 1916 the First and Second Virginia Regiments, with units in the western part of the State and the Fourth Virginia Regiment, from Tidewater, were called into active service and received experience which hardened them for the great struggle that was to come.

Mustered out after the Mexican border service in February 1917, the First, Second, and Fourth Virginia Regiments were mobilized again from March to July of that year and a few months later were in training at Camp McClellan, Ala. The 3 regiments were consolidated on October 4, 1917, to form the 116th Infantry and, as a unit of the 29th Infantry Division, became a part of the American Expeditionary Force in France the following June.

After being "blooded" in the Alsace defensive sector, and serving in reserve for the St. Mihiel battle, the 116th was thrown into the climactic campaign of World War I, the Meuse-Argonne offensive. It was in this bloody fighting that the 116th was commended for never giving ground and won the right to the regimental motto, Ever Forward, which was suggested by then Capt. E. W. Opie who was adjutant of the regiment as reorganized in 1920–21.

The Bureau of Heraldry of the War Department approved the motto and the coat-of-arms with its red to commemorate the artillery ancestor units, the saltire cross of blue and gray to signify units serving with both the Federal and Confederate forces, and the fleur-de-lis emblazoned in chief, for service in France during World War I.

In February 1941, 10 months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the 116th was again mobilized and began the arduous training at Fort Meade, A. P. Hill, and the First Army maneuver area in the Carolinas to harden it for the campaigns which added to the regimental colors streamers for service in Normandy, northern France, the Rhineland, and central Europe.

After acting as a defense force for the Chesapeake Bay area during the period immediately after Pearl Harbor, the regiment spent 20 months in England preparing for the Normandy landings and was selected to spearhead the assault on Omaha Beach, on which occasion the noted historian Dr. Douglas Freeman has said its gallantry rivaled the famous charge of Pickett's men at Gettysburg. The regiment added to its glory in the succeeding fierce engagements of the Brest campaign, around Aachen, in the crossing of the Roer River, in helping take the Ruhr and the fighting which continued all the way to the Elbe River where the war ended.

Deactivated upon its return from Europe in January 1946, the regiment was reorganized in 1947–48 and stands ready for the next call—which we pray God will never come—with a large group of combat-experienced officers and noncommissioned officers and more than one thousand veterans and young men who would form the nucleus of a first-class war strength division.

Virginia can well be proud of the unit decorations of the 116th which include the distinguished unit streamer for the Normandy Beach operation, the streamer of the Croix de Guerre with palm, the unit streamer of the 1st Battalion won for operations at Vire, for which the battalion also received the Croix de Guerre and the Meritorious Unit streamer awarded to the Service Company for operations in the European theater. Individual awards within the regiment have included a Congressional Medal of Honor won by T. Sgt. Frank D. Peregory, of Charlottesville, in World War II and others, including the Croix de Guerre with palms and the Distinguished Service Cross.

During the mobilization period for World War II and after Pearl Harbor the 116th supplied 400 new officers for our expanded Army. Its original officer corps of 120 helped to officer and train 5 new divisions. There were 23 of these officers who were transferred and advanced to field grade and its commanding officer was made a general officer. Another field officer advanced to command another regiment in Europe and 11 who served continuously with the 116th advanced to field grade, commanding battalions or holding important staff positions.

Five officers of field grade from the 116th were killed in World War II and 13 of its junior officers were killed. Only two other divisions in the European theater had heavier casualties than the 29th Division which was engaged in some the hardest fighting of the war and which kept the 116th Regimental Combat Team almost constantly on its forefront.

That is the generalized story of the record of the 116th Infantry and the units from which it is descended and if much of what I have said is familiar to many of you, I know you will forgive me because one of the ways of giving immortality to brave men is to recite in later times the story of their heroic deeds.

And, since this is so, I want to pay special tribute to the performance of men of the 116th Infantry on two notable occasions—in the Meuse-Argonne offensive of World War I and the Omaha Beach landing in World War II.

No Virginian could read without pride the account of this regiment's service from 1917 to 1919 compiled by a wounded soldier, Henry P. Seal, and published by the office of the adjutant general of Virginia, Maj. Gen. S. Gardner Waller, who himself served in France as major commanding the Second Battalion—a unit which had 7 officers and 46 men killed in action, 32 men missing, and an additional 286 men wounded.

So many instances of personal and group heroism are recounted that it is difficult to single out any for mention but since this meeting is taking place in Staunton I found myself especially attracted by the experiences of the Third Battalion, which, during the period of heaviest fighting, was commanded by the late Gen. Heirome L. Opie, of this city, and, after he was wounded, by Capt. A. D. Barksdale, now serving this area as Federal district judge.

On October 8, 1918, when the crucial Meuse-Argonne offensive was getting under way, the Third Battalion was given the assignment of attacking prepared positions which the Germans had held and improved for a period of 4 years. Opie, then a major, made a personal night reconnaissance in front of the lines before his battalion was committed and remained in the thick of the fighting until October 16, when he had his index finger shot off. Even then he remained at the front directing his men until he was ordered evacuated and Captain Barksdale took over. At the time of this change of command the battalion had been reduced to one-third of the strength with which it entered the engagement.

One of those present when Major Opie was shot was Lt. Marvin Menefee, who served as my secretary for 2 years before transferring to the office of Senator Byrd. Regardless of the character of fighting—war or politics—any man is fortunate to have by his side a brave and loyal man like Peachy Menefee. In the Meuse Argonne Battle, Peachy and his one-pounder platoon had been detached from his headquarters company and assigned to accompany the 3d battalion. Menefee and Opie also had been together a few days earlier after Peachy had accompanied a raiding party through that sector. More than half of the 3 officers and 150 men in the raiding party were lost and an officer and 4 sergeants were trapped in a shell hole. After he was safely back in his own lines, Peachy volunteered to guide a scouting party from Major Opie's battalion to rescue these men and after they were accounted for Peachy, still without any rest, volunteered to go with a third party in search of missing men.

Menefee was shot through the face with a machine-gun bullet shortly after Opie was hit and for their performance in that engagement both of these men received the Distinguished Service Cross, the Croix de Guerre with Palm, the French Legion of Honor and the Purple Heart.

Recently I asked Peachy about his recollections of Major Opie and he told of seeing Heirome holding a bandage on the stump of his severed finger while he continued to command his men and he recalled another occasion on which he saw Opie personally rally a company which had broken under fire and send them back into the lines before their retreat imperiled the troops in reserve.

He told me: "Heirome Opie was an expert marksman with small arms and was one of the best instructors in the 29th Division. He was one of the most efficient officers I ever served with and had a reputation for as much courage as any officer we had. He was absolutely fearless but he showed good judgment too and wouldn't throw himself or his men away."

Peachy pointed out that although usually in World War I, troops were not kept in the front lines for more than a week, the 116th was kept at the head of the Meuse-Argonne offensive for 3 weeks. "Our orders during that time," Peachy said, "were to advance regardless of cost in men or ammunition and so far as Heirome Opie was concerned he carried out that order."

At the end of that advance the Third Battalion had been reduced from 24 officers and 790 men to 9 officers and 205 men, and had won from units who fought beside it the soubriquet of the Fighting Third.

And during that period the 116th Regiment as a whole suffered losses of 34 officers and 1,299 men, killed, wounded, gassed, or missing in action.

In view of the fighting reputation which the 116th Infantry gained in World War I,

it was hardly surprising that it was picked for one of the toughest and bloodiest jobs in World War II—the landing at Omaha Beach on the Normandy coast, where it was teamed with the seasoned First Division.

The problem here was a tidal flat which offered no cover for an attacking force and along which the Germans had built their "Atlantic wall," with obstacles in the water, mines on the beach, and guns presighted to command the area from strong points along the cliffs.

The story of this assault too is a thrilling one and I wish I could recite some of the details as they are given in the War Department's published account.

Dr. Douglas Freeman, as I previously mentioned, compared this assault to Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, and in my own mind I have associated it with the famous charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava, because as at Balaclava the opposing artillery had not been knocked out before the charge was ordered and those in the charge faced a withering fire.

Company A, for example, had casualties during the landing operation of two-thirds of its strength, including every officer and most of the sergeants, and Company F lost half of its strength during the first 45 minutes of fighting. A veil of charity must be drawn over the failure of naval guns and bombing planes to prepare the way for that landing.

The unit citation, signed by Gen. George C. Marshall as Chief of Staff, said of this operation: "In the face of heavy fire and despite suffering high losses, the 116th Infantry Regiment overcame the beach obstacles, took enemy-defended positions along the beach and cliffs, pushed through the mined area immediately in the rear of the beach while still under heavy fire and continued inshore to take its objective. The successful attack and landings of the 116th Infantry Regiment made possible the subsequent landings of the other elements of the 29th Infantry Division which landed behind it with only light losses. During its landing and assault of the beach positions, the 116th Infantry Regiment sustained more than 800 losses in officers and men."

You men of the 116th Infantry have a truly great heritage.

The last military command given by Stonewall Jackson at the Battle of Chancellorsville, where he was mortally wounded, was: "General Pender, you must keep your men together and hold your ground."

Those who picked up the banner of the Stonewall Brigade have carried out the spirit of that order and whenever there is a new threat to the liberties of Americans, in war or in peace, I know that the 116th can be counted on to keep the faith.

Address by Dr. Charles L. Anspach, President of Michigan College of Education

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER FERGUSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD the text of an address delivered by Dr. Charles L. Anspach, president of Michigan College of Education, at Mount Pleasant, Mich., at the college assembly in connection with the Related Arts Festival Week.

Dr. Anspach is a distinguished educator, and his message on this occasion is worthy of the consideration of all Americans, since he calls attention to a matter of fundamental concern in the age of material progress in which we live.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAUPER OR MILLIONAIRE?

Some years ago a friend of mine, pastor of a church in southern Ohio, decided that he would go down to Cincinnati to see a new fountain which had been erected in one of the squares. Having an appreciation for art and feeling that a rather well-to-do farm member of his congregation would enjoy seeing the fountain, he invited him to go along. They went to Cincinnati. Standing on the street corner looking at the fountain, my friend was taken with the beauty of the fountain and was deep in imagination trying to interpret the creative motives of the sculptor. He was rudely awakened with a nudge in his ribs and by the voice of his friend who said, "Good gosh Doc, look at that mule." My friend was attuned to the creative beauty of the fountain and his guest parishioner was attuned to the mule. He hadn't seen the fountain. There is nothing wrong in being attuned to a mule but in the presence of creative beauty and artistic values, one should be above the level of a mule.

In contrast, I recently met a taxicab driver in New York who declared himself to be a millionaire. In riding from the hotel where I had been staying to the railroad station, I had a very interesting conversation with this cab driver. Because of his accent, general appearance, and his apparent wide range of interests, I assumed that he was a member of an English family which had experienced difficult financial times. I asked about his educational background and much to my surprise discovered that he came to this country as a boy from Italy. His formal education was quite limited. He was unable to attend school in the United States because of the financial situation, and was forced to work. His interest in art, music, literature, and history was amazing. He could carry on a conversation that would do credit to a university graduate. He finally made a remark which impressed me very much. He said, "You know sir, I am a millionaire."

The contrast between these two persons is pronounced, the one was accumulating money with the idea that sometime he would buy many experiences and would enrich the days of his retirement. The other man had little money but he was acquiring those experiences which were enriching his life as he traveled life's highway, and would finally come to the time when he could really relive the dreams he rightly had earned.

The question whether one is pauper or millionaire is determined to a large degree by the person himself. If one would accumulate a wealth of experiences in the fields of art, music, drama, and literature, it is necessary that a state of aliveness be developed. The difference between a dead man and a live man is aliveness, that is the ability to respond to situations. That is perfectly obvious. The difference between a marginal existence and an enriched life in this area is the degree of aliveness which one has.

A newspaper editor one day was asked the question, "Is life worth living?" He replied by saying, "Of course life is worth living. If one doesn't think so it is because he doesn't understand all the beautiful things that can happen to him—the stars on a clear night, a magnificent sunrise, a glorious sunset, the perfection of a flower, a song, a story, a vibrant human voice, the look of understanding in the eyes of another, the shake of a friendly hand, knowledge of a kind father—of course life is worth living." This man was alive to his environment. The putting together of these items creates a philosophy of life which is rich and good.

Most of us live restricted lives when we could live rich lives. A little child has a tremendous amount of curiosity. He is always asking what, and why, and how. Parents frequently, as we say, are almost driven to distraction because of the extreme curiosity of their children. Unfortunately, many of us seem to lose this intense interest in our universe. There seems to come a time when instead of reaching out for ideas we try to avoid and fight them off.

Also, if we would become rich we must tap the sources of wealth. We may be aware of the sources but lack the drive to tap them. The universe is ours to understand, appreciate, and enjoy. It is not hostile and unfriendly as many say. There are friendly voices from all over the world and from all phases of life, whispering things that can be done and directing our attention to possible enriching experiences. Life is a process of growth and is motivated by our understanding. It is not a place in which we reside but an attitude toward the entire world.

In the process of understanding, we become literate. Richard Lynes, editor of Harper's magazine, says that literacy has come to mean the ability to read and write but, he says that it is more than that, it is the ability to communicate ideas and to understand and judge other people's ideas. A literate person, therefore, is one who is at home with ideas. He can communicate his ideas and receive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the ideas of others. It is at this point that we can get into the discussion of the practical and theoretical. A student frequently asks, "Why take a certain course? What good will it do me?" If we agree with Mr. Lynes that literacy is the communication of ideas and the receiving of ideas we then must understand the process of thinking. If one would equip himself so he can think well he must be alive to the complete range of human kowledge. He must appreciate the judgments of history, the creative movements that develop schools of art and music, the times that create philosophies and the effect of those philosophies in turn upon times and periods.

There must be a balance between the sciences and the humanities and all related subjects and knowledge, if we would have literate people. This sort of balanced program of related and interrelated knowledge should produce people with flexible minds. A literate person should be able to appreciate the position of others for he understands how he has arrived at his own position. He is not the type described by Dr. Everett Dean Martin who tames an idea and then uses it to fight off all other ideas, nor is he so dominated with what he thinks on a particular topic that he can't hear what others are saying.

With proper mental flexibility one is better equipped to meet new situations as they arise. New patterns can be formulated and new approaches developed for if one has a sense of well-being he also has a sense of security which gives poise, confidence, vision, and faith.

Also, the mind of a literate person is well disciplined, for it recognizes orderliness. Ours is an orderly universe, and our form of life and government is based on orderliness. By bringing together the related arts, one is able to recognize a system of order.

In conflict to literacy as defined by Richard Lynes, there is a "cult of the incomprehensible" described by Sir Norman Angell. Sir Norman describes how we can be confused by words and pictures. By multiplying words and using them in a different order and in certain combinations, we can confuse to the point that we convey the ideas to others that the statement has great significance. In other words, if we cannot

understand something we may conclude that it is true and significant. When such confusion arises as he says, people see no inconsistency in calling a government that denies freedom the people's republic or in calling those who resist aggression warmongers.

Persons often become the victims of the cult of the incomprehensible because they are illiterate in the broadest meaning of the term.

As previously said, in achieving a degree of literacy we must concern ourselves with the arts which make life more intelligent and interesting and more pleasing. All of the arts are based upon the idea of the communication of ideas and feelings which challenge the intellect and the emotions. In the field of music, one's feelings are stirred. He is lifted up to a higher level, and in a way his soul is cleansed. In a play, motives are interpreted, ideas are emphasized, emotions are aroused, and thinking stimulated. Plays have changed the lives of people and the direction of social movements. The arts contribute to the enrichment of life by the extension of understandings and appreciation, the clarification of ideas, and the direction of human efforts.

All of us cannot be on the level of the genius, but we can live on the level of the near great or the interpreters and the listeners. Without the interpreters and listeners we would have few creators. Dr. Rollo Brown has said there would not have been a Mozart without those near at hand to help him, appreciate him, and encourage him.

If we would become millionaires we should remember the Biblical injunction, "To him who hath shall be given, and to him who hath not shall be taken away." This merely says that if one would acquire he must start acquiring and continue to acquire, otherwise he loses all that he has. It should also be remembered that the course of wealth to all about us, and as the Master said, "Consider the lilies of the field; they toil not, neither do they spin, yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."

To us is given the privilege of becoming literate men and women, with the status of millionaires, or illiterates with the status of paupers.

Terminating Federal Jurisdiction Over Several Tribes of American Indians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three articles what I believe deal very adequately with the question of terminating Federal jurisdiction over several tribes of American Indians. I fully subscribe to the viewpoint expressed in these articles which appeared in editorial form in the New York Times, the Washington Post and Times-Herald, and America, the national Catholic weekly review.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 9, 1954]

RESPONSIBILITY TO THE INDIAN

Pending before Congress at this time are 10 so-called termination bills, which would remove all special Federal protection from more than 60,000 American Indians in a dozen States (including New York) and, by giving them a theoretically equal status with other citizens, would throw them on the tender mercies of a civilization that every lesson of history shows has used them ill. The bills would divest the Federal Government of a responsibility that morally belongs to the Federal Government and practically can still be exercised only by the Federal Government.

In those few cases where Indian tribes want and are ready for abondonment of the special Federal services and removal of Federal protection, Congress can afford to grant them their wish. But in the many cases where those conditions do not exist Congress cannot afford to cast them adrift. Too many Indians are now suffering from hopeless poverty, chronic ill health, abject ignorance, for Congress to be promoting the termination of Federal responsibility against their will at the present time. Too many special interests are lying in wait to take advantage of the Indians' helplessness once Federal protections are removed.

John Collier, former Indian Commissioner and now president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs, points out that virtually none of the termination bills require prior consent of the Indians. The Association of American Indians Affairs, headed by Oliver La Farge, says the bills would destroy tribal governments and nullify rights assured by treaties. Of the various tribes affected by the present bills the association names several that are opposed, pointing out that many others not immediately involved are also against the program because of what they see in store for them in the future. Congress and the administration should take full note of the interests and desires of the people most directly concerned.

[From the Washington Post and Times-Herald of April 12, 1954]

MOTHERING THE INDIAN

Congress has run into a storm of protest against some of the Indian bills it has under consideration. When hearings on the so-called termination bills were held recently, tribes from 21 States and Alaska are said to have sent to Washington the largest gathering of Indians ever to appear here. Complaints are continuing to flow in by mail and telephone and personal visits. Some of the tribes appear to be almost frantic over the suggestion that they be freed from Indian Bureau supervision—and aid.

In general, we sympathize with the long-range aims of the administration to "get out of the Indian business." But it cannot be accomplished overnight. Certainly the Government ought not to withdraw the special aid and protection it has given the tribes on reservations until they are prepared to manage their own affairs. The vice in some of the bills now being considered is that they disregard the wishes of the Indians as well as the illiteracy and unpreparedness of the members of some tribes to make a living in competition with other Americans.

While the Bureau of Indian Affairs seems to be pushing tribes out from under the governmental wing, it also holds some of their affairs under tight supervision. For example, the Fort Peck Tribe has been denied the right to increase the compensation of its attorney from $3,000 to $10,000 on the vague ground that it would not be in the best interest of the Indians. The Fort Peck Tribe has land in the rich Williston Basin in eastern Montana and the Dakotas and is demanding expanded legal service in connection with the leasing of oil lands. Yet both Commissioner Emmons and Secretary McKay have turned them down. We cannot help thinking that, if the Indians are expected to assume increasing responsibility for direction of their own affairs, they ought to be given leeway in hiring counsel, even if they should make mistakes and fritter away some of their resources.

[From America of March 20, 1954]

DANGER TO INDIANS' RIGHTS

Are the United States Indian tribes eventually to disappear and be assimilated into the surrounding white world? That they inevitably will is generally agreed upon by both friends and foes of pending Federal Indian legislation. This would terminate existing Federal services to 10 of the major tribes and throw all obligations to the American Indians back upon the States. Agreement is also general that no form of special Government protection of the Indians should be extended indefinitely. Certain of the more advanced tribes are now ready to dispense with such aids. Nevertheless, many experienced friends of the Indians, as well as the majority of the Indians about whom there is now question, are seriously alarmed at what would happen to many tribes if these Federal services—which are a special privilege guaranteed by treaties—were discontinued and the Indians left exposed to the competition of interests and individuals eager to seize and exploit their lands. This alarm applies particularly to the Indians of the Southwest, who still lack the education and training necessary for such a transformation. Other tribes are concerned as well. Testifying before a Senate subcommittee, Rev. Cornelius E. Byrne, S. J., of St. Ignatius Flathead mission in Montana, called for careful integration of the Indians into American life rather than an abrupt transition. "I am not opposed to properly understood withdrawal under trust status," said Father Byrne; "but it should be worked out with the tribe's representatives." Ill-considered legislation will be a disservice, not only to the Indians but to the whole country.

Civil Defense and Evacuation of Cities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, all over the Nation, an increasing amount of attention is rightfully being given—at long last—to the crucial issue of making plans for evacuation of our major cities in the event of warning of an attack against our country.

The news of the hydrogen bomb has demonstrated quite clearly that the fate of our people, particularly in our 70 largest cities, is, as one writer vividly put it, "Evacuation or vaporization."

I might note, incidentally, that few, if any, cities of our country have given more study to this subject than Wisconsin's largest city, Milwaukee, under its industrious mayor, Frank Zeidler.

I present a series of articles from current periodicals on the civil-defense challenge.

The first is an excerpt from the April 17 issue of the national Catholic weekly, America, from an article by Father Edward A. Conway entitled "Let's Get Out of Here."

The second is a news article from the Saturday, April 17, Milwaukee Journal,

describing the hard-hitting comments of Milwaukee's deputy civil-defense director, Dr. George A. Parkinson.

The third is an article from yesterday's Washington Daily News by Mr. Jack Steele, describing the overall significance of civil defense in minimizing casualties.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM AMERICA, ARTICLE BY FATHER E. A. CONWAY

The public, 67,750,982 of whom are now concentrated in the 70 critical target areas designated as such by the Federal Government on July 1, 1953, should be told at once about this policy of dispersal. It will want to know as soon as possible how to get out of town if and when it has adequate warning.

In his budget message the President correctly stated that "much planning, organization, and training remains to be done, however, to make this strategy of civil defense (population dispersal) fully effective at all levels of government." The time to begin, not only that planning and organization but that training, is now. Not only should the policy of dispersal be announced to the public at once, but training should begin forthwith.

CIVIL DEFENSE GLOSSARY

Planning and organization, fortunately, have at long last begun. On paper, everything looks salutary. But, as Bernard M. Baruch once said, "No aggressor was ever stopped by blueprints." Nor was any target city evacuated by them.

This is the summary of the New Look given in FCDA's Advisory Bulletin 158:

1. Study of the feasibility of a dispersal plan.

2. Completion of the shelter survey to determine whether existing shelters, or present structures which can be strengthened, will prove adequate to the needs of those who cannot be removed.

3. Selection of loading perimeters, vehicle routes, and pedestrian routes.

4. Recruitment and training of auxiliary police who live or work along or immediately adjacent to routes and perimeters selected.

5. Extension of shelter surveys to outskirts, as well as along loading perimeters, to provide emergency shelter for people in transit from downtown areas.

6. Completion of recruitment and training of warden service to furnish guidance for dispersing population.

7. Preparation of transportation and care plans for each public and private school in event warning comes when school is in session.

8. Completion of an emergency transportation plan to insure prompt utilization of maximum movement capacity.

9. Preparation of welfare plans to meet conditions necessitated by application of dispersion policy.

10. Preparation of a public education plan to acquaint public with action to be taken when dispersal plan is effected.

11. Survey of public warning system's potential effectiveness in reaching people during actual dispersal.

This is a pretty adequate blueprint of what we must do as we wait for that adequate warning system. But have you ever heard of a loading perimeter?

This is a point on the circumference of the downtown area of your city to which you will have to walk (or run, if possible) to reach transportation (busses, commandeered cabs, trucks, and private cars) which will whisk you away from incineration.

FCDA seems to assume that there will be a traffic freeze in the downtown area of a city, so that people will have to walk. That assumption is open to question. Remember, we are supposing a 2-hour warning. It should be possible to set up a traffic-control system which would give priority to vehicular transportation from the heart of a city (see A-Bomb Over Manhattan, America, July 22, 1950). The calculations of that article called for designation of both north and south one-way streets. Now every street in town should become outbound at the first warning. Fire engines within the devastation area should have top priority. They will be needed in the far suburbs.

At the risk of being denounced as undemocratic, I would like to see doctors and nurses given a 5-minute head start. The same goes for the elderly, the sick, the handicapped, and the schoolchildren. If this were put to a national referendum, who would vote against it?

Preparation of welfare plans conceals probably the most complicated and most essential of all evacuation procedures. It involves food, shelter, and medical aid for thousands, even millions, of evacuees by small communities on the periphery of the catastrophe. Now that we can determine on the basis of the blowout how far the most powerful H-bomb can reach, why should not each critical target city help these communities prepare to take care of its inhabitants?

Why shouldn't the Federal Government help? The President said in his budget message that the Government would limit itself to providing warning of impending attacks and to providing stockpiles of medical supplies. He asked appropriations for nothing else. What about our tremendous food surpluses? A bread-and-butter sandwich would not be considered surplus by a starving evacuee if he found it at the point of no return.

PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN

It is now official FCDA policy to prepare a public education plan to acquaint the public with action to be taken when dispersal plan is effected. This has been FCDA policy since January 18 of this year. The FCDA has had 3 months to work out its plan. Half of it could be salvaged from the hydrogenized plans for the atom age. The time to acquaint the public with a definitive plan is now. FCDA asserts that it will not enforce any measures, but our 70 critical target cities will welcome its New Look recommendations. The public apathy, so frequently alleged as the reason for failure of civil-defense programs, stemmed mostly from conflicting advice. It is no longer a question of shelters versus evacuation. It is evacuation versus vaporization. So let's get on with plans and training for evacuation.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of April 17, 1954]

OFFICIAL DEMANDS CITY HAVE EVACUATION PLAN—H-BOMB IS CALLED SO BIG THAT THERE WON'T BE TIME TO WALK OUT OF DANGER AREA

Immediate development of a plan to evacuate metropolitan Milwaukee in the event of an air attack was demanded Friday by a civil-defense official. George A. Parkinson, deputy city civil-defense director, said he believed that all who wanted to go could be moved out by vehicular transport in 2½ hours. "The plans that we make now may be our last ones," he said, "because either they will be satisfactory * * * and successful, or they will in fact be our last ones, because we will not be here to make any others."

Parkinson noted that there had been conflicting opinion whether a city should be evacuated by foot or by vehicle.

NOT ENOUGH TIME

"The size of the present hydrogen weapon," he declared, "answers the question for us. You cannot expect enough time to make an evacuation on foot."

The deputy director outlined his evacuation ideas at a meeting of the city civil-defense administration at the city hall annex.

Afterward, Mayor Zeidler told the civil-defense officials that an evacuation plan should be worked out at once and that he thought "all of us will be more comfortable when this is done."

Parkinson said that evacuation had been in the organization stages for 5 years but that little had been done.

BREAKS LOG JAM

"Now," he said, "this rather sadly neglected child has been catapulted to the head of the column." He said he believed the picturization of the first hydrogen explosion had "broken the log jam of public apathy."

He said that evacuation planning, now the prime problem of civil defense, must include:

Giving the widest possible distribution to a yellow alert (warning that enemy or unidentified aircraft are approaching continental United States).

Being prepared to move out of the metropolitan area all the people who want to go.

Setting up one-way traffic on all streets leading out of the city and blocking off all incoming traffic miles outside the metropolitan limits.

Preparing in outlying communities to receive 800,000 people, register them and filter them to temporary homes and billets.

CITIES SERVICES NEED

Parkinson made it plain that he thought this could be done.

"There are those of you sitting here who will say that these problems are just unmanageable and impossible and I think as of now that you may be right," he said. "But I suggest to you that we had better make them manageable."

He said although evacuation demanded all our interest, all of our ability, and all of our diligence right now, that the community would still need police, fire protection, engineering, transportation, medical, communications, and welfare services.

He recommended that fire department dispersal points be moved farther from the center of the city. Police, he said, probably face an impossible problem in traffic control and that, therefore, block wardens might have to take responsibility for their blocks and leave on the last vehicles.

[From the Washington Daily News, of April 19, 1954]

GOOD CIVIL DEFENSE CAN CUT H-BOMB DEATHS, SAY EXPERTS

(By Jack Steele)

Are America's 70 big cities and the 70 million people who live in them doomed by the hydrogen bomb?

The composite answer of Washington's civil defense experts is a reassuring: "No."

These experts—including top officials of the Federal Civil Defense Administration—were asked for answers to two questions.

Could cities possibly survive an all-out hydrogen bomb attack?

If so, what should the cities be doing about civil defense?

This is what the experts replied:

The hearts of cities would be completely destroy by an H-bomb. Surrounding areas, largely residential, would be heavily damaged by bombs like those already tested.

Millions of lives could be saved, and many casualties prevented, by proper civil-defense planning and organization by the cities—provided there is adequate warning of an attack.

These experts concede that, as of today, the gloomy prospect is that many city dwellers would be killed or maimed.

UNPREPARED

Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson recently made this blunt statement: "We are just plain unprepared for defense in an atomic era."

The grim truth is that we are not yet adequately prepared in all three vital areas of defense against nuclear weapons—continental defenses to stop an attack, radar networks to give advance warning and civil defenses to save lives and cope with damage.

The experts insist, however, that the situation is far from hopeless. Better continental defenses and radar networks are on the way. And civil defense, potentially, can complete the Nation's guard against H-bombs.

Civil defense, by decree of Congress, is the primary responsibility of States and cities, which for the most part have done very little about it. Even the experts have been at odds about some of the things they should do. However, most agree on these general principles:

Evacuation of cities is possible, despite the great difficulties involved. A 1-hour warning is the absolute minimum for dispersal. Many cities will need 2 hours or more. Only a few minutes' warning can now be anticipated, but this will steadily increase. Many cities may have reasonable assurance of adequate warning by the time they can perfect evacuation plans.

In the meantime, cities will have to rely on shelters. If an attack came tomorrow, cities could only warn people to take shelter. But any shelter is better than none against either A- or H-bombs. Even with dispersal, shelters will be needed.

The experts are confident that a combination of evacuation and the use of shelters would save millions of lives, keep the Nation's manpower resources intact and preserve its will to resist.

RESPONSIBILITY?

Who is to blame for our inadequate civil defenses?

The answers to that get into a lot of buck-passing.

Cities and States say the FCDA has failed to give necessary leadership and guidance.

The FCDA says people have been complacent, pointing out that many cities have only part-time civil defense directors and have budgeted only a few thousand dollars for planning and education.

Congress assigned FCDA largely an advisory role and has provided relatively meager Federal funds for civil defense.

Atomic secrecy also has greatly hampered civil defense.

The FCDA had observers at the "Operation Ivy" H-bomb test in November 1952. But the whole affair was kept secret. Mayors were told about it—but sworn to secrecy—last December.

The FCDA put out its first official recommendation that cities start evacuation planning in early February. The public was finally let in on some H-bomb secrets last month.

Even today, the FCDA has not been informed on exactly how much damage H-bombs will do. Until it gets this information officials cannot give cities more explicit instructions.

However, some civil defense authorities are willing to say they believe the public has formed two major misconceptions about the H-bomb:

Many people have received—largely as a result of fanciful newspaper and magazine articles—a somewhat exaggerated idea of the H-bomb's destruction power.

People have therefore falsely concluded that civil defense against H-bomb would be useless.

(As examples of such exaggeration, they cite recent articles to the effect that an H-bomb would reduce a whole metropolitan area to rubble and kill everyone within a radius of 50 or 100 miles or more.)

Civil defense officials take a much less gloomy view on the basis of information released by the Atomic Energy Commission. This is the damage pattern for the ivy bomb—the 1952 blast. Its pattern was:

Within a radius of 3 miles of the target—virtually complete destruction.

Within a 3- to 7-mile radius—heavy damage.

Within a 7- to 10-mile radius—light damage.

CONFIDENT

The experts are confident that civil defense measures are feasible against such damage.

In a city hit by an ivy bomb, they say, hundreds of thousands—even millions—of lives might be saved by clearing people from the 3-mile ring of complete destruction, and by evacuating or getting into shelters those within 10 miles of the target.

Civil defense measures would be more difficult—but not useless—against H-bombs many times more powerful than that exploded in the ivy test, they said.

Unconfirmed estimates have rated the power of the ivy bomb at 5 to 8 megatons. A megaton is equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT. The A-bomb which killed 70,000 Japanese at Hiroshima (where there were no civil defense measures) was equal to only 20,000 tons of TNT.

To double the radius of damage caused by an 8-megaton bomb, its size would have to be increased to 64 megatons. Physicists say this is possible—in fact, that there is no limit to the size of an H-bomb.

However, President Eisenhower has said the United States, at least, is not going to get into a race to build bigger and bigger H-bombs.

The European Defense Community

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article on the European Defense Community, written by John R. Cauley, news editor of the Kansas City Star. This article gives a very clear explanation of the plan of the European Defense Community and how it could work. It was published in the Kansas City Star on April 4, 1954, and was reprinted in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat on April 11, 1954. Mr. Cauley, who is in Washington covering the 83d Congress, is an exceptionally able news editor and reporter. This article, dealing with a question that affects all Americans, has attracted much attention in my State.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By John R. Cauley)

WASHINGTON, April 3.—In the quest for a permanent peace in Europe, the European Defense Community has been advanced as the most hopeful solution.

The following questions are the ones most frequently asked about EDC. The answers come from experts in the State Department here.

What nations will be in EDC?

The German Federal Republic, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, and Luxembourg.

What is the purpose of EDC?

The immediate purpose is to create a unified European defense force under the control of a European Defense Community. German soldiers thus will be able to participate in the common defense of Europe without revival of a German national army and general staff. EDC carries forward into the military field the progress toward unity already made through the establishment of the coal and steel community.

What is the origin of EDC?

EDC is a European idea developed by Europeans to safeguard their war-torn countries against future aggression. In September 1950 the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France agreed on the principle of German participation in such a united army. The treaty was signed by the foreign ministers of the six nations in Paris, May 27, 1952.

How will it be organized?

All defense forces of the member nations will be gathered into a single European defense force except national police forces, troops recruited for defense of a member's overseas territories or for international missions, and naval forces designed for other than coastal missions. All troops and officers within a groupment, which is comparable to a division, will be of the same nationality. At the next level, the army corps, several groupments of different nationalities will be brought together under a combined staff.

Where will the money and arms come from?

There will be a common agency, the commissariat, roughly corresponding to a defense department, which will be responsible for budgetary matters, armaments, and research programs.

Then there would be no national armies as such?

Correct. National armies would be participating units in a European defense force under supernational authority.

When will EDC begin to operate?

As soon as the treaty is ratified by the six member nations.

What is the current status of ratification?

EDC has been approved by the German and Dutch Parliaments and articles of ratification deposited. Approval in Belgium awaits only the formal signature of the head of the state. Luxembourg is scheduled to take up the issue soon.

Why has not France ratified?

There are three main reasons:

Fear of a revival of German militarism. It is afraid the Germans eventually will become too powerful in EDC.

France is so heavily committed in Indochina that it hesitates to join until it is able to concentrate its forces in Europe.

The Communists in France are throwing every possible roadblock to ratification.

What is the trouble in Italy?

Italy is scheduled to debate EDC soon. The Christian Democrat coalition has such a slim margin of control that it would prefer to wait until it is more solidly entrenched. There is also opposition from the Communists and some misgivings from the extreme rightists who are unhappy at the prospect of Italy not having a national army of its own.

Do all six nations have to ratify EDC before it becomes operative?

Yes. Refusal by either France or Italy could kill the proposal.

What are EDC's relations with NATO?

All EDC members except West Germany are also NATO members. The two organizations have exchanged guaranties of assistance in the event of any attack upon any

member of either. Secretary Dulles has said EDC is the core of NATO.

What are American interests in EDC?

United States policy was written into law in the ECA Act of 1949, which says: "It is further declared to be the policy of the United States to encourage the unification of Europe." This Government recognizes that a strong and united free Europe is essential to our security and well-being.

What is the British position on EDC?

British policy has been to keep aloof from the continent as far as becoming involved in a formal mechanism, such as EDC, was concerned. However, the British attitude has shifted somewhat recently and there is consideration being given to becoming associated with EDC on a sort of a semidetached or informal basis. The next few months should see a clearer British policy on this arrangement.

What do the Russians think about EDC?

At the Berlin Conference, Foreign Minister Molotov made it clear Russia was out to scuttle EDC at any cost.

What is Russia doing to scuttle EDC?

Principally playing up traditional distrust between France and Germany. The Russians tell the Germans the French are trying to hold them back and, in turn, capitalize on French fears of a revitalized German Army.

Will EDC be an important issue at the Geneva Conference April 26, and, if so, why?

Yes. For one thing, the Communist bloc will, in effect, tell France, "You lay off ratifying EDC and we'll use our influence to call off the war in Indochina."

This would have a strong appeal for the French who are fed up with the heavy drain on their manpower and resources.

However, if France came to Geneva with EDC ratification behind it, the Russians and the Chinese would not have much of a bargaining point.

What is the principal hope in the establishment of EDC?

The foreign ministers of the United States, United Kingdom, and France stated jointly at their 1953 conference: "Such a community, peaceful by its very nature, is not directed against anyone. The interests and security of all countries cannot be better safeguarded than by removal of causes of conflict in Europe. Indeed, the provisions laid down in the European Defense Community treaty are a guaranty that its forces would never be used in the service of aggression."

Disposal of Surplus Dairy Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolution:

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby certify that the Senate of the State of California on April 1, 1954, adopted the following:

"Senate Resolution 26

"(By Senator Donnelly)

"Resolution relative to the disposal of surplus dairy products under Federal control

"Whereas the accumulation of vast surpluses of dairy products under the Federal price-support program now has the effect of a depressant upon current dairy prices; and

"Whereas this adverse development in the wealth and stability of the dairy industry is a threat to other areas of the economy in this State and in the Nation generally: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, That the Senate of the State of California memorializes the President and the Congress and the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to take such action as may be necessary to liquidate the surplus dairy products, and in particular surplus butter, under Federal control by immediate distribution of such products to the Armed Forces, public schools under the school-lunch program, public institutions, and for governmental purposes generally, and to individuals who qualify under State and local needy aid and relief programs; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Member of Congress from California, and to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States."

J. A. BECK,
Secretary of the Senate.

Reclassify the Central Reserve Cities?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 1, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the March 31, 1954, issue of the American Banker.

The subject referred to is of extreme importance. I make no comment as to the merits of the matter because I am not yet convinced that legislation is necessary to correct the situation. I believe the matter could be very well handled by the Federal Reserve Board without any new legislation.

RECLASSIFY THE CENTRAL RESERVE CITIES?—IF LEGISLATION IS REQUIRED, LET'S GET ON WITH IT

Advices from Washington are that New York City banks have informally asked the Federal Reserve Board to consider easing the special reserve requirements imposed on them, and on the Chicago banks, as a result of their classification as central reserve city banks. The need for some such change has become increasingly obvious, as New York City bank earnings have lagged behind banks in other centers.

But also there seems to be no disposition at the Federal Reserve Board to respond with administrative action which would wipe out the 3 percent additional in reserves required of the central reserve city banks, and put them at least on a parity with the banks in the reserve city classification. The Reserve Board's view, it is said, is that the Federal Reserve Act will not permit declassification of New York and Chicago to the status of reserve cities. An amendment by Congress, the Board's lawyers hold, is the only way out of the strait-jacket which is penalizing the New York and Chicago banks to the tune of an estimated potential, and badly needed, $6 million additional annual gross income, i. e., the interest return that could be had on the $600 million in idle funds represented in the 3 percent additional reserves required on their $20 billion of demand deposits.

M. A. Schapiro, New York City bank analyst, brought the discussion of the need for a change in the central reserve city banks' reserve requirements in a talk last week to the New York Security Analysts. His word was that declassification has become "imperative." He expressed confidence that the Federal Reserve authorities know the banks' earning problem and may favorably consider remedial action.

The unfairness and mischief in the present situation lies in the fact that conditions have made banks in many centers bankers' banks to a degree proportionate if not comparable to New York and Chicago. Because of their 3 percent differential in required reserves, these banks can spend more money and officer time in soliciting and serving their interbank business, and still make a profit. If the 3 percent in additional reserves, required of the New York and Chicago banks, conferred any material advantage upon them, the situation might be tolerable. But there are no merchantable advantages. Once upon a time, when our big money center city banks could pay interest on demand deposits, and when a condition in many business transactions was payment in New York funds, the geographical accident of a bank's location in the big city was decidedly advantageous to its development as a bankers' bank. But that began to disappear when the Federal Reserve System was created in 1913. Today, whatever geographical advantage is left to New York and Chicago is pretty well nullified by the fact that they have to carry 22 percent in idling reserves while banks in other major centers are allowed to carry only 19 percent. It is chiefly the capacity for important and superior service as correspondent banks which continues the tradition of keeping balances in the big money center banks.

Reserve requirements are much misunderstood elements in banking. In truth they have ceased to be the factors of safety which cash reserves originally were in early banking. Today they are a curiously frozen and sterile sort of asset, which can only be unfrozen for the benefit of anybody after a bank goes into liquidation. In their present size they are a cause of unduly large Federal Reserve bank monetization of debt, both Federal and corporate. They bar earnings which would add importantly to bank safety and capitalization. They are a bar to earnings out of which more attractive wages and salaries could be paid bank workers, and out of which dividends more attractive to capital could be paid bank stockholders. Finally, they are a barrier to the maximum loan and investment service which banks could perform in the support of business, consumer, and governmental financing.

The suggestion has been heard that if the Reserve Board does not feel that it has legal power to reclassify the central reserve cities as reserve cities, and thus to end the unfairness that now exists in the competition between their respective banks, it might move in the opposite direction. It could, it is said, reclassify a score or more of the larger reserve cities as central reserve cities, at the same time materially reducing the reserve requirements of the then enlarged central reserve class to well below that which now applies to the reserve cities. But this probably is not politically expedient, even though there might be some reserve city banks which would welcome the opportunity to have the name and fame of being a central reserve city institution.

Possibly, then, the only way open to relief is by appeal to Congress for legislation that will reclassify and redefine the reserve requirements. If that be the case, let's get on with it. The whole concept of bank reserve requirements may well need revision. So let's bring the discussion well out into the open, and get some bills under consideration in Congress, if action is what the central reserve city bankers want.

Sale of Government Securities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 31, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following statement issued by the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy. In doing so, I do not undertake to prejudge the question as to whether they are right or wrong in wrong in their recommendation. I do, however, say that the Banking and Currency Committee of both Houses of Congress should undertake a complete study of the question at once.

For several years last past, the committees of both Houses have been bringing in a bill at the last minute to extend this power of the Treasury to sell these Government securities directly to the Federal Reserve banks. We are then told that the authority is about to expire and it is essential that we extend the authority. Before it is done this year, I urge that the entire matter be given careful and full consideration by the congressional committees of both Houses.

SALE OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES

SIXTY MEMBERS RECOMMEND THAT THE POWER OF THE TREASURY TO SELL SECURITIES DIRECTLY TO THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS NOT BE EXTENDED

In the interests of sounder management of this Nation's monetary and fiscal affairs we, the undersigned, members of the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, recommend that those provisions of section 14 of the Federal Reserve Act, which permit the Treasury, until July 1, 1954, to sell directly to the Federal Reserve banks up to $5 billion of "any bonds, notes, or other obligations of the United States or which are fully guaranteed by the United States as to principal and interest," not be renewed.

In lieu of the present authority of the Federal Reserve banks to purchase Government securities, of any type or maturity up to $5 billion, directly from the United States Treasury, and in the interest of orderly money markets, particularly during taxpaying periods, the Federal Reserve banks should be authorized to purchase from the United States Treasury so-called 1-day Treasury overdrafts. The maximum period during which these overdrafts (special certificates) might run probably should not exceed 5 days. Apparently the maximum amount of such certificates which the Federal Reserve banks should hold at any one time could safely be put at $1.5 billion, judging by the common stipulations of the Federal Open Market Committee (for example in the annual report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for 1948, pp. 96–97).

As a stabilizing mechanism in the money markets and in respect to bank reserves, these Treasury overdrafts are particularly useful during quarterly taxpaying periods when tax receipts do not match Treasury outlays, as, for example, those required for the redemption of Government securities scheduled for retirement at quarterly taxpaying periods. Such limited overdraft accommodation, which is wholly consistent with the fiscal agency functions of the Federal Reserve banks performed on behalf of the United States Treasury, would in no way jeopardize the independence of the former. The establishment and firm maintenance of this independence is a basic condition for sensitive contact with the needs of the money market. Sound procedure in this respect requires termination of present practices.

John F. Adams,[1] Temple University; Charles C. Arbuthnot, Western Reserve University; John W. Beck, Oklahoma Publishing Co.; James Washington Bell, Northwestern University; Douglas H. Bellemore, Boston University; H. H. Beneke, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; William A. Bergidge, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York City; Ernest L. Bogart, New York City; Frederick I. Bradford, Lehigh University; Cecil C. Carpenter, University of Kentucky; Arthur W. Crawford, Chevy Chase, Md.; William W. Cumberland, Ladenberg, Thalmann & Co., New York City; Rev. Bernard W. Dempsey, S. J., St. Louis University; Raymond de Roover, Wells College; James C. Dolley, the University of Texas; William E. Dunkman, the University of Rochester; William F. Edwards, Brigham Young University; D. W. Ellsworth, E. W. Axe & Co., Inc., Tarrytown, N. Y.; Fred R. Fairchild, Yale University; Charles C. Fichtner, Buffalo, N. Y.; Major B. Foster, Alexander Hamilton Institute and New York University; Roy L. Garis, University of Southern California; Alfred P. Haake, Economic Consultant, Park Ridge, Ill.; E. C. Harwood, American Institute for Economic Research; Hudson B. Hastings, Yale University; Harold J. Heck, the Tulane University of Louisiana; George H. Hobart, High Point College; John Thom Holdsworth, the University of Miami; Harold Hughes, Economic Consultant, Fort Worth, Tex.; Frederic A. Jackson, Morgan State College; Montfort Jones, the University of Pittsburgh; Donald L. Kemmerer, University of Illinois; Arthur Kemp, Claremont Men's College; J. L. Leonard, Culver City, Calif.; Edmond E. Lincoln, Wilmington, Del.; A. Wilfred May, Executive Editor, the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, New York City; David H. McKinley, the Pennsylvania State College; Austin S. Murphy, Seton Hall University; Fred R. Niehaus, Stanford University; Melchior Payli, Chicago, Ill.; Frank Parker, University of Pennsylvania; Robert T. Patterson, New York University; Clyde W. Phelps, University of Southern California; Frederick G. Reuss, Goucher College; O. H. Ritter, Stockton, Calif.; Leland Rex Robinson, 76 Beaver Street, New York City; R. G. Rodkey,[1] University of Michigan; Olin Glenn Saxon, Yale University; R. Harland Shaw, Conference of American Small Business Organizations, Chicago, Ill.; Murray W. Shields, University of Florida; Walter E. Spahr, New York University; William H. Steiner, Brooklyn College; Gilbert R. Stonesifer, Mt. Union College; Charles S. Tippetts, Mercersburg Academy; James B. Trant, Louisiana State University; John V. Van Sickle, Wabash College; V. Orval Watts, Economic Consultant, Altadena, Calif.; Edward J. Webster, Clearwater, Fla.; G. Carl Wiegand, University of Mississippi; Edward F. Willett, F. Eberstadt & Co., Inc., New York City.

[1] With reservations.

More Facts Are Needed on Social Security Proposals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial that appeared in the April 10, 1954, issue of the Sacramento Bee, the Modesto Bee, and the Fresno Bee:

MORE FACTS ARE NEEDED ON SOCIAL SECURITY PROPOSALS

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's social security proposals include some excellent features but they also contain some which are highly questionable. The former are widely discussed by administrative spokesmen but the latter are ignored or glossed over to the extent there is almost no awareness of their effect if made into law.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education, and others say the program would give the States increased responsibility and freedom to handle welfare matters in their own way. They fail to explain this so-called flexibility applies to little more than the method of figuring how much Federal aid would go to each State for its welfare programs and could not possibly have the claimed effect.

The Federal Government at present bears the same proportion of the assistance costs as each State but the new plan would cut its contribution in high income States and increase it in those less wealthy.

Mrs. Hobby did not clarify matters when she stated in a Fresno interview last Monday that no State would lose funds under the flexible formula. She maintained any cuts would be made up by the proposed expansion of the old age and survivors insurance program.

Yet careful analysis of the bills leads to the inescapable conclusion their passage would jeopardize the welfare programs of wealthier States. It is evident California would have to supply several million dollars more annually from State funds, perhaps as much as $14 million for old age assistance alone each of the first 2 years, to maintain its aid program.

The proposal to extend OASI coverage to 10 million more workers and increase benefits is excellent and should be passed by Congress. But its full effect on the assistance program would not be felt for some years.

The proposal for Federal reinsurance of prepaid health plans is good though the suggested amount is inadequate.

The same is true of the Federal subsidy to encourage the establishment of vocational rehabilitation training and treatment centers. In California and some other States this token aid would be canceled out by the much larger share of the total program's cost they would have to assume.

And so it would go with child welfare and crippled children's services and the other programs aided by Federal grants.

It is understood some of the States, including Nevada and Oregon, are protesting this attempt of the Eisenhower administration to shove a greater burden of the welfare costs on the States that already supply

the biggest share of the tax resources which finance Federal grants.

California's representatives in the House and the Senate should make sure they understand all of the implications of the entire social-security program for their State before they vote on this important subject.

St. Patrick's Day Greetings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD St. Patrick's Day greetings to Agnes Wendt, and her reply.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. PATRICK'S DAY GREETINGS TO AGNES WENDT

During the young Ireland disorders of 1848, nine young men were captured, tried, and convicted of treason against the Queen. The sentence was death.

The presiding judge read the names of the condemned: Charles Duffy, Morris Lyene, Patrick Donahue, Thomas McGee, John Mitchel, Thomas Meagher, Richard O'Gorman, Terrence McManus, Michael Ireland.

"Have you anything to say before the court passes sentence?"

Thomas Meagher had been chosen to speak for them all:

"My lord, this is our first offense, but not our last. If you will be easy with us this once, we promise on our word as gentlemen to try to do better the next time. And the next time, sure we won't be fools enough to get caught."

The indignant judge sentenced them to be hanged by the neck. But passionate protest from all over the world forced Queen Victoria to commute the sentence. The men were transported for life to the penal colonies of the then savage Australia.

In 1871, a Sir Charles Duffy was elected prime minister of the Australian State of Victoria. To her amazement, Queen Victoria learned that this was the same Charles Duffy who had been transported for high treason 23 years before. She demanded the records of the other men who had been transported, and this is what she learned:

McManus and Donahue were brigadier generals in the United States Army.

O'Gorman was the governor general of Newfoundland.

Morris Lyene had been attorney general of Australia, to which office Michael Ireland succeeded.

McGee was president of the Council for the Dominion of Canada.

Mitchel was a prominent New York politician who became the grandfather of the Mitchel who was mayor of New York.

Meagher was Governor of Montana (also a brigadier general in command of the Irish Brigade in the Civil War).

Greetings.

A REPLY TO THE GREETINGS

DEAR FITZ[1]—

Shure now we got your greetings
In that lovely Shamrock sheen
And begorra, should I tell the truth
'Twas the cleverest we've seen.
I'll bet those Irish heroes
Made more trouble for Queen "Vic"
Than all the snakes in Ireland
Made for St. Pat and his stick!
Shure names like Duffy and Lyene,
Ireland, McGee and the like
Are words that fit together
Just as slick as Pat and Mike.
Mitchel, Meagher, McManus,
O'Gorman, and Donahue
Are names that must make Erin proud—
I'll slip in McDermott, too.
(For McDermott was my mother's name—
Her father's name was Barney;
He married Mary Hickey, wouldn't
You know I'd love Killarney!)
But to get back to "ould Ireland"—
And who wouldn't if they could—
Don't try to list a few great Gaels—
Arrah go wan, they all were good.
Land, rich with lore and legend
Erin's sons are great and true;
And those sons' sons and daughters
All love her, that we do.
(Oh, Kathleen Mavourneen, darlin',
I've been wond'rin' all the while
Why they had to plead, "Come back, come back,"
To that lovely Emerald Isle.
Shure when I hear Bing Crosby
In his Irish brogue just croon
"Mother Machree," why the likes of me
Knows that's the time to swoon!)
Well, greetings right back at you, Fitz[1]
And to your sweet colleen;
Excuse all this, dears, for through some tears
I've just been seeing green!

—*Agnes Wendt.*

[1] This surprised me too.

Josh Clarke Plan for the United States of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the Josh Clarke plan for the United States of America:

BAKERSFIELD, *February 23, 1953.*

To: General Motors better highways awards.

JOSH CLARKE PLAN FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(Please read more than once so that you may follow my trend of thought.)

Let me tell you about the Josh Clarke plan for the United States of America.

And I'll wager it will do us a lot more good than the Marshall plan for Europe. Not to mention the fact it will cost a lot less of taxpayers' money, because the Clarke plan will pay back—in use, services, and money advanced.

My plan represents the experience and thinking I have accumulated over a period of more than 10 years working on various highway committees for city, county, and State chambers of commerce.

The plan I propose is a gigantic one, all right. But I think if it is put into operation we will be able effectively and efficiently to overcome the hugh deficiencies in our county, State, and Federal highways. It will, I am sure, serve all transportation needs, present and future, and be paid for by the users over a long period of time.

Primary objective of my plan is a transcontinental 6-lane highway—3 lanes running in each direction.

Incorporated in the transcontinental route I propose would be limited access freeways along the east coast and on the west coast.

For defense and military purposes, I would submit that the access freeways be placed 50 to 100 miles inland from the seaboards.

I would also propose two connecting highways from east to west, a good distance from border lines.

To this ambitious traffic network I would propose the transcontinental span be bisected by another major route traversing the country north and south.

My transcontinental highway plan also would call for four-lane arteries to interconnect all permanent military installations in the Nation, unless there are in existence other highways from coast to inland points that do not bottleneck traffic flows. The military access routes would all, of course, "feed" into the big transcontinental span.

I would propose the six-lane transcontinental highway be constructed to traverse the country adjacent to but not through cities or towns. The route should be free from grade crossings—underpasses or overpasses would take care of that—and should have limited access every mile or so, as required.

The project would probably take 20 years to develop, in my estimation. However, properly administered, some of the highways in the vast plan would be returning revenue in 5 years.

It is my opinion this enterprising transcontinental highway project would tap untold billions in natural resources. It would, of course, also be a boon to the Nation's automotive industry. It would build for defense in time of peace. It would employ thousands of workers.

Wherever needed, I would propose construction of tunnels instead of deep cuts along the highway. The tunnels could be so designed as to be enlarged for underground safety facilities in time of emergency.

Since this is a national plan—one that affects every State and every person in our Republic—it should be started as soon as possible.

The transcontinental highway, of course, will traverse through several States. Hence the planning for the route should be put on the drawing boards soon so the States concerned will be able to participate in the project.

This would save a lot of duplication and money, since most States have a master highway plan under way or under study at this time. Now is the hour, then to begin envisioning the transcontinental project.

The plan can be accomplished only by an act of Congress. (Why not the 83d Congress?)

There should be set up a new Government commission. I would propose the Federal agency be known as the National Highway Commission.

The principal committee of the Commission should consist of, say, 11 top officials who would be named by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

For harmony and good business practices, I would propose appointees to the Commission should not be an executive or affiliate of the automobile, truck, railroad, waterway, airway, oil or gas industry.

And no one on the Commission should be under 50 years of age. This, I believe, would remove personal or political desires and aspirations.

The action of the Commission's executive committee would be final in all decisions except to the level of the President and Congress.

The executive committee would be empowered to name all subcommittees; to set the wages of subcommittee members. The wages of the executive committee would be set by the Senate.

The executive committee must be ready to cooperate with the various States, highway commissions, and other proper authorities as to the location, rights-of-way, and construction of the transcontinental system.

Through its subcommittees, the executive committee would take full responsibility for

the maintenance of the highway, fixing toll charges, and collecting and properly distributing revenue derived by the operation of the highway to the States crossed or touched on a mileage basis—per mile in the State.

I would recommend toll fees be fixed on a ton per mile basis, and fees be collected such as the system used by railroad and bus companies.

From the toll charges, the cost of operation would be paid first. Then there should be a low rate of interest on the original Government loan. The balance of the toll fees collected could be divided among the States traversed by the highway, on a per mileage basis.

When moneys advanced by the Government are paid back in full, the Government could retire the original cost of the project. Then all toll fees collected, except maintenance costs, would be returned to the States spanned by the highway.

I believe the plan could be put into operation now—today—by Congress. It could be done by setting aside a 2-cent per gallon Federal gas tax fund for the project. No, I would not propose additional gas taxes, but recommend using the existing 2-cent per gallon Federal gas tax.

This fund could go far in, at least, getting the project organized, administered, and into operation.

Let us assume the transcontinental artery will be known as United States Highway No. 1. State highway commissions should be responsible for all State system roads connecting with United States Highway No. 1.

County officials within the counties of the States could be responsible for the highway within their province. Similar responsibility could be delegated to cities and towns whose highways would be linked with United States Highway No. 1.

Of first importance, however, is a national master plan to determine the route of United States Highway No. 1.

The National Highway Commission's executive branch could, through Congress, set up its own financing program and make funds available to cities, counties, and States for local projects (if they can qualify) that would be integrated into the United States Highway No. 1, however, to always remain under States, counties, and cities ownership, control, and operation.

Such financing could be arranged over a long-term period at a small interest rate along the lines of FHA or Wherry plan.

In event the route decided for United States Highway No. 1 would interfere with plans or highways already prevalent, to the point where it would be poor business to duplicate construction of a highway, then the National Highway Commission could lease the existing road over a long-term period. Another alternative might be outright purchase of such an existing highway.

The ton-per-mile fee would not be exorbitant at present. (Neither did the toll on the Panama Canal before it was built.) It would provide employment for thousands of persons, who would purchase transportation and make available excellent traveling facilities for our Nation's motorists. I believe a fair toll would more than take care of itself in retiring bonds and providing sufficient funds to meet all future highway needs.

Cost of this vast project should be of comparatively small concern. I believe that in 50 years—if it takes that long—the cost still will be of no great concern.

The important thing is that the funds set up should go directly into the project, setting up the plan, organizing, acquiring rights-of-way, engineering surveys, and other features essential to development of the project.

It goes without saying that the materials, the equipment, and manpower that will go into the construction of the project will be of the made in United States of America variety.

It will be our citizens, after all, who will finally pay the toll; buy the oil and gas, and create the revenue to retire the obligation, and make the highway safe and adequate for future generations to come.

This highway plan can be started in several places in the several States at the same time as soon as proper authorities are set up and locations are agreed upon.

Political influence in the past was the main reason why our highways are in the deplorable condition they are in today, insofar as locations are concerned, because every politician with any influence wanted and got highways past his or his friends' business at a great expense to the taxpayers. This practice must be changed and the longer we wait the more it will cost (under the Clarke plan this cannot happen) just for the want of a general plan.

This, I am confident, will be a major economy plan within a few short years.

Social Security Act Faces Change

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 20, 1954

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, several of my constituents have sent me copies of an article by Mr. Camp Harris, Sr., which appeared in the Dallas News of April 4, 1954, with the suggestion that it be inserted in the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT FACES CHANGE

(By Camp Harris, Sr.)

(The writer, Dallas resident, was a founder of the Dallas Advertising Club.)

More than 1,400,000 men and women over age 65 do not receive social security retirement income checks. They have the required work years and amount of earnings credits. These people did not even apply for their $75-a-month income. They refused to sign the work clause agreement. This is a restriction that limits your earnings from effort to $75 a month.

This limitation applies only to those who work. If you have an income of $1,000, more or less, each month you may receive your Government check. It is estimated that over 300,000 persons who have access income from dividends, rents, etc., do receive their $75 checks. This amounts to over $250 million each year. Then over 23,000 checks are sent all over the world to people who worked here, returned to foreign homes, many never qualified for citizenship in America.

Would you refuse to sign that work clause agreement? As an American your freedom to work and earn is too precious to be limited. You can keep your old job, maybe, or you can get a new one. You can refuse to get on a dole, decorate a park bench, or be a burden on your children by taking money needed to educate your grandchildren.

Would you accept a payment in cash to loaf? If you are experienced, efficient, and willing there will be plenty of jobs for you after age 65. You can have that contentment that goes with work for self support. You can be happier and live much longer.

The 1,400,000 people now not receiving their $75 monthly checks are donating well over a billion dollars a year to the fund. At this time there is over $18 billion in the fund reserve invested in United States bonds. The fund now receives over $2 billion income from employee and employer contributions.

This obsolete and unfair Social Security Act of 1935 is now up for revision or conversion to a new law. A nonpartisan effort will be made to remove the work clause. Six bills have been introduced in the House and Senate. The House Ways and Means Committee is now considering four of these.

So now more than 3 million Americans may be released from the limit clause and permitted to keep all they are able to earn. The 66 million people now on the rolls should get better informed on the changes needed. Many will urge all candidates for Congress to work and vote for the new 1954 Security Act, one that will grant $75 a month to all who reach age 65 with no strings attached.

Ask Dedication of Nation's Christmas Tree as National Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert the Senate Joint Resolution 6, adopted at the 1954 first extraordinary session of the Legislature of the State of California:

Senate Joint Resolution 6

Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President of the United States for the dedication of the Nation's Christmas tree as a national shrine and for the issuance of a Nation's Christmas tree stamp.

Whereas the General Grant tree, growing in the Kings Canyon National Park, in Fresno County, Calif., was, at the request of the citizens of Sanger, Calif., on April 28, 1926, dedicated by the Federal Government as the Nation's Christmas tree; and

Whereas Sanger, Calif., was, on October 1, 1949, recognized by the Post Office Department as the Nation's Christmas tree city; and

Whereas because of such dedication, because of the work done, and because of the interest shown by the citizens of Sanger, Calif., the Nation's Christmas tree has become known not only nationally but also internationally; and

Whereas citizens throughout the United States and the world have requested that the Nation's Christmas tree be made the subject of a permanent commemorative stamp; and

Whereas the issuance of a permanent commemorative Nation's Christmas tree stamp of the denomination of the first-class postage rate would greatly increase the revenues of the Federal Government, improve the postal service, increase travel to the Kings Canyon National Park, and stress the spiritual values which have made this Nation great: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President of the United States to move the proper officials of the Federal Government to dedicate the Nation's Christmas tree as a national shrine and to issue a permanent commemorative Christmas stamp pursuant to such action; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate be hereby directed to prepare and to transmit suitable copies of this resolution to the President and the Vice President of the United States, the Postmaster General, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.

Appendix

Outlook for Business in 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS
OF VERMONT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 21, 1954

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD what seems to me to be a very intelligent and informative address, delivered at Bridgeport, Conn., by Mr. W. Dudley Jewell, executive vice president of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Among those whose duties require them to look into 1954, there seems to be a consensus that it will be a good year for jobs, for business, and for earnings, although it may not be quite as good as 1953 for some lines of business.

First, let's build our thinking on what has happened during 1953. The past year has been one of the best in our history for workers, savers, and businessmen. The one exception has been agriculture. But even farmers suffered only a 5-percent decline in income from the previous year. The national income increased by more than $20 billion—at relatively stable prices. Compensation of employees absorbed $16.3 billion of this increase, or more than 75 percent. Here are a few other indices which point up the operating results for the year, so to speak. Gross national production jumped $24 billion from the 1952 level of $345 billion. Disposable income increased $13 billion over the 1952 level of $237 billion. Gross private investment increased from $52.3 billion to $56.5 billion. National income increased $10.4 billion to a high of $310.8 billion. Corporate net profits increased from $17.5 billion to $20.9 billion. And during this boom period the consumer price index showed a very small increase from 114.2 to 115.4. A phenomenal record by any measuring stick.

Considering the enormous readjustments following the end of the Korean war and the shift away from the super boom of war mobilization, this is a record we can hold proudly up to the rest of the world. Consumer prices increased less than 1 percent. Workers received the bulk of the increase in the enormous outpouring of goods and services. If, a year from now, we can report an equally good performance, we would indeed have grounds for thankfulness and a spirit of cooperation to make our unique economic system work effectively in the interests of all.

New peaks of economic activity were reached in 1953, with some slight slackening in the last half of the year. Are we moving from a superboom and overemployment into a state of prosperity? A pause? A dip or a recession? No one can be sure. There are elements of strength and elements of weakness. But this is generally true at all times—contractive and expansive forces operating concurrently. Which set of forces will take the lead during 1954? The answer depends upon policies and imagination of both business executives and of Government action. Trouble foreseen can mean trouble avoided.

We in our free country are frustrated easily. One demagog opens his face and predicts doom. A few unsuccessful but ambitious second-string politicians tune in with him—not an authority or an economist in the whole sorry huddle. But what do you see? Headlines. "$30 Billion Slash in Orders Held a Recession Cause." What's news about that? Certainly, it must have been anticipated. All that has happened is that a President has stopped a shooting war, resulting in a degree of relative unemployment.

We need to face up to the fact that the superboom is over. The great, powerful, somewhat artificial stimuli growing out of World War II and the reconstruction, as well as the Korean expansion are over. Overly easy, inflation generating credit policy, Government pressures to expand plant and equipment, military and defense build-up—and the enormous expansion of incomes which these together created—most such expansionist factors are behind us. We are now on our own.

In fact, we are in something of a fix. Official Government policy since the Korean attack of June 1950 has been (1) fight the war, (2) aid our allies, (3) greatly expand our industrial base and military hardware and other supplies including stockpiles of raw materials. The aim was to build an industrial base to the point where we could fight world war III if forced upon us, and yet maintain a civilian economy.

This threefold program has been artificially generated and promoted by specific Government policies. In the interim, employment, production and incomes have expanded. This in turn has stimulated the civilian economy to the point where both business and consumers have substantial quantities of new goods and inventories. Steel capacity has been pushed, for example, from 100 million tons at the time of Korea to about 120 million tons now. The total capacity was intended to be in readiness just in case of all-out war.

It is unreasonable to demand or expect that in time of peace we can fully utilize all of the expanded capacity in every line immediately for civilian needs. Indeed, we added this extra capacity for emergencies. In one sense, we have been overworking and overproducing in certain lines in relation to normal civilian requirements, even after allowing for desirable normal growth. We should not be shocked or surprised if some of the war connected industries particularly, will from now on operate for a time at something less than full capacity. That was part of the war mobilization strategy. We should, of course, be able to improve our living standards with this added capacity. The personal and so-called excess-profits tax cuts provide for an automatic shift in this direction and should help stimulate the economy in 1954. It is a most favorable factor.

Now, let's take a quick look at the prospects in various segments of our economy. The construction industry looks favorable. Several independent studies indicate that total construction for 1954 will be within 2 percent to 4 percent of the high 1953 levels. Housing starts are expected to approach 1 million. Highway and school construction will be up while most other public construction will be down, moderately. The automobile industry produced about 6 million passenger cars last year and expects to reach around 5 million this year.

Experts in the Department of Agriculture believe that the worst of the readjustment is over and the farmer's net income in 1954 is likely to be about the same as last year.

With the heavy emphasis on construction, including new housing and durable goods in the last year, the prospect for improvement in some soft goods lines and services is a possibility. It is anticipated that wholesale prices will remain reasonably stable. The cost of living as expressed by the consumer-price index is likely to be a shade lower a year from now.

While 1954 may see a decline of perhaps 5 percent from the superboom levels of 1953, our economy is more depression proof today than in the past. Chaotic farm prices are not likely to occur. Through unemployment insurance and public and private pension programs, spending is partly underwritten. While private debt has been rising rapidly, most of it is on amortized basis. And in spite of its expansion it is only about half the level of 1929 relative to the national income. Both business and individuals are well fortified through the ownership of liquid assets. Bank deposits are insured.

The large expenditures on research, new-product development, market research, and improved equipment are beginning to pay off.

We can look forward to an excellent year—probably about 5 percent below 1953 levels—but still a near record.

Now, what about all this gloom and doom talk we've been hearing. Millions of words have been written and spoken over the last few months that seem designed to condition men's minds to the worst. Are they the whole truth? If not, doesn't every businessman, every business firm, every business organization have the clearcut responsibility for getting the whole truth—the facts to the people?

Before I attempt to answer that, it's only fair to state that we're not implying that some of the gloom and doom forecasts are based on spurious statistics. Not at all. But I am strongly suggesting that too much publicity has been given to the negative factors—and virtually none to the positive factors operating in today's economy.

Well, are gloom and doom words the whole truth? Let's see.

Item: Automobile manufacturing is one of our basic industries. General Motors recently announced a billion-dollar expansion program. Ford hit a record January in sales of cars and trucks. As a Ford representative said, "While everybody was out selling 'gloom and doom' we sold cars."

Item: According to the February 1954 issue of Fortune, corporate expenditures for new plants and equipment have averaged almost 22 billion a year since 1945—2½ times the 1923–29 average—and are expected to top $26 billion during the current recession year.

Item: The February letter of the National City Bank of New York reports that in the fourth quarter of 1953 consumers bought goods and services at the annual rate of $230.5 billion, approximately the same as in the previous two record breaking quarters. For January, reports indicate little slackening. Department store sales have

matched those of a year ago, despite severe weather, and seasonal white sales showed a pronounced gain.

Item: Unemployment, in 1949 we had about 4 million unemployed. Today we have about 3 million. In 1949 there was a smaller total work force, making the percentage of unemployment higher than it is today. Yet in that year, there was no talk of depression. Right here in Bridgeport we had about 16,000 unemployed as against todays total of 5,600.

Item: The February 1 issue of Sales Management reports that Alfred Fromm, a champagne salesman, first came to this country during the depression years of the thirties. He knew no English—and yet that year, and the next one too, he sold more wine than any other salesman in America. "It was simple," he explained, "I couldn't understand the newspapers so I didn't know there was a crisis. I just went out and sold."

Well, I could go on and on, but perhaps the last item puts the idea into a nutshell. The gloom and doom chatter has been on too many front pages, in too many magazines, on too many lips—and the whole truth isn't getting the play it deserves. Most of this loose talk is being generated by uninformed persons writing and speaking on a subject they know very little about. Most of them have never had to run a business, but are confusing others who do, with their egghead theories of catastrophe.

There are two powerful forces that can have a powerful impact on our economy and our people. The force of change and the force of needs. These two forces together can result in a substantial, long-time upgrading of everybody's standard of living.

The changes include:

Change: Our population is increasing at an astounding pace. Total births in 1953—approximately 4 million, the highest annual figure ever recorded. By 1960 our population will be close to 180 million. Every day nearly 11,000 babies are born. Each month we add to our population more than an Omaha, a Norfolk, or a Toledo, Ohio.

Change: We have more new families. Of the estimated 37 million couples living together in 1953, over half were married within the last 13 years. A larger proportion of our adult population is married than ever before, and they marry younger.

Change: Our people are living longer. By 1960 our population over 65 years old will number 15½ million people. That's a million more than the entire population of Canada. Today, older people are more active, travel more, and have more money to spend.

Change: We have more jobs. Total employment, including agriculture, in September 1953 was 62,306,000. Nonagricultural employment was 332,000 higher than in 1952, and 20 million higher than the 1939 average.

Change: We're earning more money. Nine times more Americans were in the $5,000-plus income bracket in 1953 than in 1941. Many more have moved up to the $3,000-plus bracket. In 1941 the average middle-income family earned $1,460. In 1953 this figure climbed to $3,981. Discretionary spending power of the mass of the population is now over 5 times as great as 1940, and even after discounting for inflation, this will buy more than twice as much.

Change: Our farms have become mechanized. And they have better methods and are far more efficient. Although our population has had a net shift of almost 6 million away from the farms since 1940, there has been a 52-percent increase in farm output per man-hour, resulting in higher living standards for both farm and urban people.

Change: We have more high-school graduates. Eighty percent more in our adult population than in 1940. Our 1953 school enrollment totaled 32,796,000 including 7,266,000 in high school.

Change: We're making great technological progress. Only 5 percent of the work done in the United States today is manual; 95 percent is done by machinery and power. There is more power under the hood of a car today than was found in the average factory of 1890.

Now, all these changes produce needs which grow more compelling every day. Here are some of the needs.

Need: Our school facilities ought to be almost doubled in the next few years. In America today, there are almost 70 percent more children under 5 years of age than we had in 1940.

Need: We need more and better highways. In fact, we should completely remodel our highway system within the next few years. Today's roads are carrying almost 55 million vehicles, 72 percent more than in 1940. The pressure for action to relieve this congestion has become intense.

Need: We must rebuild the great majority of our dwellings. Sixty-seven percent of our homes are now over 20 years old; 50 percent of our homes are over 30 years old. Since 1950, we have built 3 million new homes, but our population has increased by 9 million. This has forced wide-scale rebuilding or remodeling of existing homes. Tied closely to this pressing need is—

Need: We must rebuild many of our cities. Entire sections of many of our cities need modernizing. For example, some authorities say that slums are the cities' No. 1 problem. Cities such as Pittsburgh and Los Angeles have already taken positive steps toward large-scale renovation.

Need: We must modernize much of industry. Because of new industrial needs and developments, we face a continuous need for plant modernization and for the replacement of industrial equipment which has become obsolete, outmoded, or inadequate. Here are some of industry's facts and figures on machine-replacement needs: materials-handling equipment and processes, 28 percent need replacing; production equipment and manufacturing processess, 28 percent; machining equipment, 30 percent.

To meet our obvious needs requires more than $500 billion worth of goods and services. These sweeping changes, these tremendous needs, these vast potentials of the future, add up to greater opportunities for practically every person in America today.

We must not allow gloom and doom words to throw us into a psychodepression. It is time to reaffirm our faith in the vitality of our great Nation and our free institutions.

Thomas Frederick Davis, April 24, 1877–October 17, 1946

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, 77 years ago, at another Easter season, on April 24, 1877, to be exact, there was born to Judge and Mrs. Horatio Davis, at Wilmington, N. C., a fine young son who later came to be known as the outstandingly able Florida historian, T. Frederick Davis. I am happy to pay tribute to him today.

He and my father, Walter J. Bennett, were contemporaries as employees of the United States Weather Bureau, weathermen, as they were called. In this way I came to know Mr. Davis very well and he inspired in me a great interest in his hobby, history. He encouraged the strong desire which I formed to help to bring about the establishment of a national park at the site of the 1564–65 colony, Fort Caroline. The fact that the park was actually established after the death of Mr. Davis in no way detracts from the fact that without him the park probably would not have been established, memorializing as it does important American history that but for Mr. Davis might be mostly forgotten—the establishment of the first settlement to be made in this country for religious freedom and America's first permanent settlement. I am happy at this time to remember my dear friend, Mr. Davis, by the inclusion of the following article by our mutual friend, Julien C. Yonge, editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly:

THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIS

Thomas Frederick Davis will always be remembered as Jacksonville's historian especially, but those who write of any period of Florida's history are in debt to him, for much of his work was research which brought to light little-known facts of every era of Florida's more than four centuries. A large part of that work was for the benefit of other writers, such as his Digest of Florida Material in Niles' Register. That periodical might be regarded as a continuous, contemporaneous, and semiofficial history of the United States for the years of its publication, 1811–1849. He extracted all of the Florida historical material from the 76 volumes of the Register and condensed it into a single volume. Copies of this he placed in the principal historical libraries of Florida and in the Library of Congress, so it is available to anyone. That volume is as much a monument to him as is his History of Jacksonville.

For some years he was the foremost contributor to the Florida Historical Quarterly, his articles being a source for many writers since. Noteworthy are his series on Pioneer Florida, his Ponce de Leon, and his McGregor's Invasion of Florida.

There were not many of his days in which Florida history did not claim at least an hour or two. His research was a continual search for the truth, not an effort to write history as he wished it to be. Only when the evidence seemed indisputable did he suggest his conclusions; more often he spread the result of his research before the reader and left it for each one to draw his own conclusions.

The Florida Historical Society owes him a debt equally as large as does our State's history. He was an officer for many years and in shouldering the greater part of the work of the society he kept it alive both in prosperity and when interest was low. We are grateful.

The Arab States: Jordan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article, which is the fourth in a series of articles on the Arab States. It appeared in the April 5, 1954, issue of the official publi-

cation of the American Jewish Congress, Congress Weekly:

THE ARAB STATES: JORDAN

(By Sh. Yin'am)

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan—thus named officially since 1946, previously Transjordan—came into existence, in its present shape and character, in April 1950, when its ruler, then King Abdullah, formally annexed the Arab part of Palestine that he had conquered by military force during the Arab-Israel war of 1948. The Kingdom of Jordan consists therefore of two distinct parts—the one that was Transjordan, with an area of about 34,000 square miles and a population of 400,000 (including 150,000 to 170,000 nomads and seminomads) plus 90,000 Palestinian refugees from the territory that is now Israel; and the Arab part of Palestine, with an area of about 3,000 square miles and a population of 400,000 plus about 360,000 refugees. Jordan is the only Arab country that accords to the Palestinian Arab refugees full citizenship and regards them as an integral part of its population—although officially joining in the all-Arab demand for their ultimate return to Israel.

This dichotomy between the two component parts of the kingdom is one of the major, if not the principal internal socio-political characteristic and problem of Jordan. Constitutional and administrative practices are based, at least in principle, on equal representation of the two parts. Parliament consists of 20 Transjordanians and 20 Palestinians; the senate usually of 10 and 10; and the cabinet, too, is composed of both groups, although not to the same degree of rigid equality.

The Palestinian Arabs, however, are discontented. First, they claim that the very principle of equality does not do them justice, as they constitute the majority of the population; secondly, they complain—with some justification—that the Transjordanian elements play, de facto, the decisive role in affairs of state; and thirdly, they regard themselves—again with a considerable measure of justification—as a community which is economically, socially, and culturally more highly developed than their Transjordanian compatriots. They chafe, therefore, against the Transjordanian rule imposed on them, resenting particularly the remnants of autocracy and demanding a fuller implementation of responsible parliamentary government and civil liberties. This stand is coupled with a more extremist nationalist (i. e., anti-British, anti-Western, and anti-Israeli) line. The partition of Palestine in 1948, and particularly the nonimplementation of the Arab part of the partition decision which provided for an independent Arab state in half of Palestine and economic union with Israel, has hit the economy of Jordan as a whole, but especially that of its Palestinian part. The economic dislocation, the closing of the traditional markets and outlets for agricultural products, and of the old established trade and communications routes and ports—all contribute to make the Arab Palestinian population of Jordan malcontent and an element of ferment.

The Kingdom of Jordan is not economically viable and depends for its survival on British subsidies. The absence of peace and normal trade relations with Israel is one of the important factors contributing to this state of affairs, but not the only one. Jordan has a heavily passive balance of trade; in addition, it cannot balance its budget. Annual subsidies granted by Britain amount to about eight to ten million pounds, out of an annual budget of twelve to fourteen million pounds. Most of these subsidies are earmarked for the upkeep of the Jordanian Army, the Arab Legion, about 20,000 strong, considered as the best trained and most efficient Arab army, and led by British officers, at whose head is Gen. John B. Glubb Pasha. The Jordanian budget contains no items for the upkeep of the army other than the British grant.

The Emirate (or principality) of Transjordan was created in 1921, in a somewhat strange way—unplanned and unforeseen. When Prince Faisal, the son of Britain's wartime ally Hussein, the sherif of Mecca, was defeated by the French and expelled from Damascus, in 1920, his brother, Emir (Prince) Abdullah, prepared to march on Damascus at the head his Arabian Bedouin troops. The British, however, bent on reconciliation with French interests in the Near East, persuaded Abdullah to desist from his plans by offering him a crown and a country—the one in which he found himself on his way to Damascus. In 1921 Abdullah was installed as Emir of Transjordan. Transjordan itself remained under British mandate. Originally it had been part of the Palestine mandate, but in 1922 the British unilaterally excluded it from the territory to which the operative part of that mandate, the one providing for the establishment of a Jewish national home, applied (the League of Nations approved of that exclusion in 1923). While the British high commissioner for Palestine remained high commissioner for mandated Transjordan, too, the foundations were laid for the future independent state.

In 1928, a treaty, while still retaining the mandatory character of British-Jordanian relationships, widened the scope of Transjordanian internal autonomy. In 1946, the mandate was finally abrogated by Britain (the League of Nations having gone out of existence), Transjordan was recognized as independent and its name changed to Jordan; Emir Abdullah proclaimed himself King. At the same time a treaty of mutual assistance was concluded between Britain and Jordan, on the lines of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930 and the Anglo-Egyptian one of 1936, but granting Britain rights and privileges somewhat more extensive than those she enjoyed in Iraq or Egypt. In 1948 this treaty was amended to widen the scope of Jordanian independence.

In contrast to the other countries of the "Fertile Crescent," Jordanian independence—as far as it goes, in view of the complete dependence of the country on British good will and subsidies—was thus achieved without any violent struggle. This may be ascribed to two main causes. First, Jordan lacked almost entirely the element of the urban intelligentsia, the university students, etc., that constituted the leadership and the backbone of the national movement in the other Arab countries (this element has now been added to its body politic by the annexation of Arab Palestine), as well as the machinery of parliamentary or semiparliamentary institutions through which the national struggle was usually conducted. Secondly, the semiautocratic ruler was moderately content with the degree of gradual progress toward full independence that was prescribed by his British tutors.

Abdullah was, indeed, one of the very few genuine friends Britain could count upon in the Middle East. He was the only Arab ruler who fully stood by his ally in its hour of need. Although this act was of purely symbolic value, in 1939 he declared war on Germany; in 1941, when Britain's power in the Middle East was at its lowest and the Iraqi Army marched against the British, Abdullah sent part of his Arab Legion against the Iraqis.

Abdullah was not, however, entirely content with developing the independence of the small principality British statesmanship had alloted to him. The vision of a greater Arab Kingdom that had inspired his father, Hussein, during the Arab revolt of 1916, and his brother Faisal in 1918–20, was alive in his heart. Transjordan was only a stepping stone for his schemes. A union between Jordan and Iraq, under his crown, and the annexation of Syria to his domain were the mainspring of his political plans. For them he schemed for many years, but was restrained by lack of support on the part of his British allies. These schemes brought him into inevitable conflict with Egypt and Saudi Arabia which opposed any increase in Hashemite might, and with most of Syria's politicians who were adverse to the idea of their country being merged into a greater unit. Abdullah's attitude to the Saudi dynasty was in any event hostile, for had not Ibn Saud robbed Abdullah's father and family, in 1924, of their heritage, the Sherifate-Kingdom of Hedjas and Mecca?

Abdullah also had his own special attitude toward the Palestine problem and Jewish aspirations for statehood. He was one of the few Arab statesmen who understood the inevitable historical necessity of the emergence of some form of Jewish autonomy in Palestine, and he was prepared to accord to such an autonomous or independent Jewish area in Palestine a recognized place in his scheme of things—his Greater Syria or his Iraqi-Jordanian Hashemite Kingdom (a place, to be sure, that was never clearly defined or agreed). When the British mandate over Palestine drew to an end, in 1948, the other Arab states feared Abdullah might take over the Arab part of Palestine while making his peace with the emerging Israel—an apprehension that seemed to have been not unfounded. For with the exception of the attempt to conquer Jerusalem, Abdullah's army remained during the Arab-Israel war more or less within the part of Palestine allotted to the Arab state and hardly attempted to invade the area assigned to the Jewish state. It was this fear, and the wish to prevent such an increase in Abdullah's power, such a violation of the inter-Arab status quo, that finally persuaded the other Arab states, and especially Egypt, to enter the Palestine war, against wiser counsels and previous decisions.

While the Arab States thus succeeded in preventing an agreement between Abdullah and Israel, they could not prevent Abdullah from reaching his immediate aim: the incorporation of Arab Palestine in his domain. Against violent opposition on the part of the other Arab States (including a formal motion to expel Jordan from the Arab League), Abdullah proclaimed the annexation in April 1950. To save pan-Arab face, the merger was termed "temporary" and "until the final solution of the Palestine problem"; but there is hardly any doubt as to the finality of that merger. Jordan, however, is paying the price. With the merger, the ferment of the unruly intelligentsia, the extremist opposition, has been introduced into its political life. Abdullah himself paid with his life. In July 1951 he was assassinated within the walls of the Mosque of Jerusalem by extremist Palestinian elements.

There was a 2-year-long struggle for the succession. After an initial struggle between Abdullah's sons, Talal and Naif (Naif reportedly backed by Iraq), Talal was crowned. He was, however, ousted by Parliament in August 1952 as mentally unbalanced. His son Hussein, Abdullah's grandson, assumed the throne in May 1953.

With Abdullah's death there died all that was special and significant about Jordan and its policies—true and genuine friendship for and loyalty to Britain; wisdom and statesmanship above the average level of Levantine politics; moderation and a sincere desire for peace with Israel. Abdullah's vision of Arab unity under his leadership died with him, too. No longer is the Jordanian monarch the senior partner in any projected union with Iraq or Syria—as Abdullah would have been. Union with Iraq today would mean the absorption of small and poor Jordan in big and rich Iraq; a greater Syria scheme would today be centered in Damas-

cus rather than in Amman. Although opposition elements, particularly among the Palestinians, would favor such a merger, the King and leaders of Jordan today oppose any such move and strive to maintain the independence—admittedly restricted and dependent on British aid—of their small country.

While many Jordanians may be intellectually aware of the fact that Jordan's future as an independent state, more than any other Arab State, lies in peace and cooperation with Israel, Jordan's official attitude to Israel is now no different from that of the other Arab States. Moreover, the long, winding, and only recently established Jordan-Israel border, coupled with the partial economic and social dislocation of the Palestinian-Jordanian population near that border, have created that difficult problem of border incidents, infiltration and marauding that has bedeviled even the restricted relations between Jordan and Israel under the armistice.

It should be noted, however, that Jordan maintains an attitude different from and opposed to that of its Arab allies at least in two important issues connected with the Arab-Israel conflict. It accords full citizenship rights to all Palestinian Arab refugees and to a certain degree encourages their resettlement in Jordan—this being a remnant of King Abdullah's policies (in his days, a call was issued even to refugees in the other Arab countries to come to Jordan and settle there). Further, it violently and consistently opposes the internationalization of Jerusalem which is demanded—for political reasons—by its Arab allies in their anti-Israel campaign. The old city of Jerusalem, containing the holy places of the three monotheistic religions, is considered by Jordan as an inseparable part of its kingdom, so that even moderate compromise proposals acceptable to Israel, such as international supervision of the holy places (not affecting the political sovereignty of Jordan or Israel), are opposed by Jordan.

The Treaty Power and the Constitution—The Case for the Bricker Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 21, 1954

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD one of two articles entitled "The Treaty Power and the Constitution." Both articles appear in the March 1954 issue of the American Bar Association Journal. The first article, entitled "The Case Against Amendment" has already been printed in the RECORD. The article I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD is entitled "The Treaty Power and the Constitution—The Case for Amendment" and is the answer to the one previously printed in the RECORD.

I have obtained from the Public Printer an estimate that the cost of printing the article in the RECORD will be $616.25. Notwithstanding the estimate, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE TREATY POWER AND THE CONSTITUTION—THE CASE FOR AMENDMENT

(By Vermont Hatch, of the New York bar, in collaboration with George A. Finch, of the District of Columbia bar, and Frank B. Ober, of the Maryland bar)

To assure supremacy of the Constitution over treaties; to prevent distortion of the treaty power through its use as a device to enlarge Federal power at the expense of the States; to effectuate domestic reforms, and to accomplish things that in substance, if not in form, are "un-American"; and to prevent international executive agreements from accomplishing what a treaty could not do—these are the primary objectives of the Bricker amendment.

These are considerations of the utmost importance to everyone because, unlike most other countries,[1] our Constitution provides that treaties become the supreme law of the land, our domestic law, overruling State laws and constitutions, and because, of late, certain international agreements made by the Executive without the concurrence of either House of Congress, although nowhere mentioned in the Constitution, have been raised to a similar dignity in overriding State law.

The subject has become vastly more important in the last decade because of the impetus given by the United Nations to the formulation of treaties for the international regulation, supervision, and control of the most fundamental everyday rights and relationships of individuals and for the erection of international bodies and organizations to supervise, regulate, and enforce such treaties.

In Charles Henry Butler's work, The Treatymaking Power of the United States (1902), volume I, page 5, the author expressed the opinion:

"First. That the treatymaking power of the United States, as vested in the Central Government, is derived not only from the powers expressly conferred by the Constitution, but that it is also possessed by that Government as an attribute of sovereignty, and that it extends to every subject which can be the basis of negotiation and contract between any of the sovereign powers of the world, or in regard to which the several States of the Union themselves could have negotiated and contracted if the Constitution had not expressly prohibited the States from exercising the treatymaking power in any manner whatever and vested that power exclusively in, and expressly delegated it to, the Federal Government."

The thesis of Mr. Butler was adopted in substance in 1936 by Mr. Justice Sutherland in *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright*,[2] when he stated that the power to make treaties would have vested in the Federal Government as a necessary concomitant of nationality if it had never been mentioned in the Constitution.

This would be a treaty power, in part at least, above and beyond the Constitution.

Mr. Butler's thesis was challenged by Henry St. George Tucker in his work, Limitations on the Treatymaking Power (1915), at length, but pithily in these words (p. 98):

"If such power existed independently of the Constitution, the inquiry is certainly pertinent, why was the grant of power ever given in the Constitution? Why grant what already existed?"

In *Missouri* v. *Holland*, Mr. Justice Holmes stated:[3]

"To answer this question it is not enough to refer to the 10th amendment, reserving the powers not delegated to the United States, because by article II, section 2, the power to make treaties is delegated expressly, and by article VI treaties made under the authority of the United States, along with the Constitution and laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, are declared the supreme law of the land."

In 1945 Prof. Myres S. McDougal, of the Yale Law School, wrote:

"But whatever the rationale used, it is perfectly clear that in the conduct of our international relations, the powers of the Federal Government are ample to deal with any problem, because they derive not only from the Constitution, but 'from the necessities of the case'."[4]

Finally in 1952 the present Secretary of State asserted that treaties "can override the Constitution."[5]

Here then are the basic and fundamental questions: Is the treaty power derived from the Constitution and to be construed as an integral part of and in harmony with the other provisions of that instrument or is it derived in whole or in part from a totally different source and, in either event, is it subject to constitutional limitations? This should be kept in mind at every stage of any discussion of the Bricker amendment.

On February 26 and September 18, 1952, the house of delegates of the American Bar Association recommended to the Congress for consideration the text of a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States in respect of the treatymaking power and on September 18, 1952, the text of a proposed amendment in respect of executive agreements.[6]

On June 4, 1953, after extended hearings in 1952 and in 1953 on Senate joint resolutions on the subject introduced by Senator BRICKER, of Ohio, on February 7, 1952, and January 7, 1953, and by Senator WATKINS, of Utah, on February 16, 1953,[7] the proposed amendment in its present form was reported favorably to the Senate by a vote in the Committee on the Judiciary of 5 Republicans and 4 Democrats in favor to 3 Democrats and 2 Republicans against.[8] The text of the amendment, so proposed by the Senate Judiciary Committee, follows closely the American Bar Association proposal.

At the annual meeting of the American Bar Association in August 1953 the section of international and comparative law offered in the house of delegates[9] a resolution which, if adopted, would have put the American Bar Association on record as opposing the amendment in its present form, but that motion was defeated after prolonged debate by a vote of almost 4 to 1 (117 to 33).[10]

Readers of the journal are well aware that article II, section 2, of the Constitution, vests the power to make treaties in the President, not alone but "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

Article VI, paragraph 2, reads:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Article I, section 1, provides:

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Article I, section 8, clause 12, confers on Congress power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution of the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof."

The Constitution will be searched in vain for any mention of or reference to executive agreements.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The Constitution has been amended 22 times—12 times in addition to the Bill of Rights, which was adopted out of fear of the powers given by the Constitution to the Federal Government; and

The 10th amendment provides:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The Supreme Court has stated that the purpose of the 10th amendment was "to allay fears that the new National Government might seek to exercise powers not granted, and that the States might not be able to exercise fully their reserved powers"—a statement wholly incompatible with the idea that there are no such reserved powers beyond the reach of the Federal Government.[11]

A good deal of confusion can be eliminated by a statement of what the Bricker amendment would not do.

First. It would not affect the method of negotiating or ratifying any treaty.

Second. If a treaty did not conflict with the Constitution, the amendment would not affect it in any way unless it attempted to change the internal law of this country.

Third. It would not prevent any treaty from being self-executing law by its own terms—unless it would change our internal law.

It would affirm the power of Congress, which is probably a power which Congress already has, to regulate executive agreements. Except for that, unless an executive agreement were either in conflict with the Constitution or sought to change our domestic law, the amendment would not affect it.

Section 1 of the Bricker amendment reads:

"A provision of a treaty which conflicts with this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect."

Section 1 was thus designed to declare that the treaty power could not override the other provisions of the Constitution but must operate in harmony with them. It would also give the courts a clear constitutional basis for declaring, and the power to declare a treaty provision void if it should conflict with the Constitution.

SOME ARGUMENTS OF OPPONENTS OF THE AMENDMENT

It is stated by many who oppose the amendment that this section is the law today,[12] that there is no need to amend the Constitution to say so; and that there is danger in even the attempt to codify the alleged existing rule lest the courts find a different meaning from that intended. This last argument deserves little attention,[13] but it strongly suggests that opinions may differ fundamentally as to what is meant by "conflicts with the Constitution." This may be the root of much of the opposition to section 1. (Opponents who believe that the treaty power derives from a source other than the Constitution, would of course object to section 1.)

To illustrate, the State Department has said:

"The treatymaking power is a constitutional power, and as such cannot possibly violate the Constitution.[14]

This could mean either (a) that the treaty power, springing from the Constitution itself, cannot accomplish ends at variance with the Constitution's other provisions or (b) that, since the treaty power is delegated by the Constitution without explicit limitation, nothing that a treaty can accomplish can be at variance with the Constitution.

Proponents of amendment believe the law should be in accordance with the first interpretation and that section 1 of the amendment would mean just that.

Is that the law today? Can it be possible that the second interpretation—an omnipotent treaty power—is today's status? What, if any, limitation can be said to apply to the treaty power as of now?

Suppose opponents of amendment should state clearly that there was no limitation on the treaty power contained in the rest of the Constitution. Then indeed would the case for amendment be unassailable.[15] But usually opponents claim that there are limitations. In general it is said that the treaty power is unlimited (a) if it deals with a subject of real international concern and (b) does not run contrary, some say to constitutional prohibitions,[16] others say to fundamental or basic constitutional guaranties, still others to constitutional limitations in favor of private rights.[17]

It becomes immediately obvious that any matter can be made one of international concern ("real," if you will) by the mere device of our State Department, getting any other government at all interested enough to be willing to make a treaty with us on the subject.[18]

So that the first suggested element of limitation on the treaty power is in fact one that can be made to order by the power it is alleged to limit.

The very variation in the statement of the other suggested requisite, by different opponents, and even by the same people at different times, and the lack of clarity as to exactly what is meant by those statements makes it impossible to believe that there could be a basis here for limitation on the treaty power which could be relied on with any degree of assurance, if indeed it exists at all.

From the earliest times courts have indicated that it was doubtful whether they had the power to pass upon the constitutional validity of treaties.[19] It has been said that the making of treaties "being an exercise of the political power" they are not the official concern of the courts except as to their existence and construction.[20]

If the courts cannot pass on the constitutionality of treaties, what constitutional limitation exists?

There is no explicit limitation on treaties in the Constitution and no treaty has ever been declared unconstitutional.

Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard, met the issue squarely in 1952. He said flatly that the Supreme Court had never squarely decided whether the treaty power is subject to constitutional limitation.[21]

As to the argument founded on dicta of the Supreme Court made years ago, principally the dictum in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (133 U. S. 258 (1890)), that a treaty may not do what the Constitution expressly forbids. Professor Sutherland, of the Harvard Law School, wrote in 1952:

"President Coolidge and the Senate evidently thought that a treaty could prevail over at least one amendment."[22]

He was referring to a treaty made in 1924 permitting British ships to transport liquor as sea stores without penalty in the teeth of prior decision of the Supreme Court saying:

"This is prohibited transportation and importation in the sense of the amendment [the 18th] and the act."[23]

When it was sought to challenge that treaty as doing what the Constitution expressly forbade, the courts dismissed saying that there were no sufficient allegations of damage to the appellants or their proprietary rights as to warrant the inquiry.[24]

So at least one treaty apparently has flown in the face of explicit constitutional prohibition after the prohibition was interpreted by the Supreme Court.

Thus there is no assurance that even a constitutional prohibition limits the treaty power.

If prohibitions in the Constitution were in fact the only limitation on treaty power, could a self-executing treaty (which is not a law of Congress) infringe on the first amendment providing "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" or abridging freedom of speech or of the press? The prohibition would not fit.

Opponents of amendment challenge this suggestion and their challenge will be dealt with infra. It is referred to here to illustrate the difficulties opponents labor under in trying to define constitutional limitations on the treaty power alleged to exist at the present time when the Supreme Court has never clearly decided that there is any such limitation. This may also explain why some opponents speak of constitutional prohibitions, others of basic constitutional guaranties, and others of specific limitations in the Constitution in favor of private rights.[25]

The suggestion that basic or fundamental constitutional guaranties or constitutional limitations in favor of private rights are limiting factors is far less specific than constitutional prohibitions and quite unsatisfactory.

The dicta in the cases of *Geofroy* v. *Riggs*, *The Cherokee Tobacco*, and *Missouri* v. *Holland* (frequently cited on treaty limitation) speak of what the Constitution forbids, cannot change the Constitution or be held valid if it be in violation of that instrument, and not contravening any prohibitory words.

The Founding Fathers knew the word "guarantee." They used it exactly once in the entire Constitution, when in article IV, section 4, it was provided "The United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government," and "It is well settled that questions arising under" that "clause are political, not judicial, in character and thus are for the consideration of the Congress and not the courts."[26]

The constitutions of some other nations, with ideas radically different from ours as to the source of rights of the individual, confer or guarantee in terms certain of these rights. Ours does not.[27] The phrase "constitutional guarantees" although often used is not a happy one.

Further examination of some of the positions taken by opponents will further demonstrate the lack of precise conviction as to where, if at all, limitations in the treaty-making power may be said to lie.

In a work edited by Prof. Edward S. Corwin the following appears:

"Our system being theoretically opposed to the lodgment anywhere in government of unlimited power, the question of the scope of this exclusive power has often been pressed upon the Court, which has sometimes used language vaguely suggestive of limitation, as in the following passage from Justice Field's opinion for the Court in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs*, which was decided in 1890."

And:

"Justice Sutherland's later assertion in the Curtiss-Wright case that the powers "to declare and wage war, to conclude peace, to make treaties," etc., belong to "the Federal Government as the necessary concomitants of nationality" leaves even less room for the notion of a limited treatymaking power, as indeed appears from his further statement that "as a member of the family of nations, the right and power of the United States * * * are equal to the right and power of the other members of the international family." No doubt there are specific limitations in the Constitution in favor of private rights which "go to the roots" of all power. But these do not include the reserved powers of the States, nor do they appear to limit the National Government in its choice of matters concerning which it may treat with other governments."[28]

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Furthermore, Professor Corwin does not think section 1 would impose any new limitations on the treaty power.[30]

Another learned opponent of the amendment, Prof. Myres S. McDougal, apparently believes in amendment of the Constitution by informal adaptation and usage rather than formal textual alteration. In 1945 he wrote: [31]

"In preferring to alter the Constitution by informal adaptation, the American people have also been motivated by a wise realization of the inevitable transiency of political arrangements. The ultimate advantage of usage over formal textual alteration as a method of constitutional change is that, while it preserves the formal symmetry of the document, it reduces the danger of freezing the structures of government within the mold dictated by the expediencies or political philosophy of any given era. A formal amendment may be outmoded shortly after it is adopted, but usage permits continual adjustment to the necessities of national existence. Thus the Constitution is enabled to fulfill its role as a symbol of national unity and continuity, while nevertheless being ceaselessly adapted, as its framers intended, to the problems of ages to come."

Where this would leave any limitation on the treaty power believed to exist at any given time or from time to time seems clear.

Still another opponent of amendment, in discussing the proposed international criminal court states: [32]

"Recently the Supreme Court has refused to review convictions by the Tokyo and Nuremberg tribunals on the ground that international tribunals established by treaties do not exercise the judicial power of the United States. Consequently, if an international criminal court should be established by treaty, its procedure would not be limited by provisions of the constitutional Bill of Rights."

He thus asserts that by treaty we could set up an international criminal court, which, under certain circumstances, could try our citizens for acts done within the United States, but which would not be bound even by the prohibitions of our Bill of Rights. If that would not be destroying the safeguards of our constitutional Bill of Rights by the treaty route, no more can possibly be said.

A treaty to establish an international criminal court is in process of being drafted. The original draft would have eliminated both indictment by a grand jury and trial by jury and it failed to afford adequate protection against the introduction at the trial of an accused of an involuntary confession made by him.[33]

Even as revised last year, there is no indictment by a grand jury, no adequate protection against involuntary confessions and a jury trial only if the instrument conferring jurisdiction so provides; but this is an instrument of the adhering state, not of the accused.[34]

Finally, we have the considered opinion of the present Secretary of State expressed in 1952:

"Whereas treaty law can override the Constitution. Treaties, for example, can take powers * * * from the States and give them to the Federal Government or to some international body, and they can cut across the rights given [sic] the people by their constitutional Bill of Rights." [35]

With a record such as just outlined, can it possible be said with certainty that there is any limitation on the treaty power, even in the minds of those who regard it as exclusively a delegated power?

If there were less doubt than there is that a treaty or treaty law may override the Constitution, nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of an amendment which would dispel that doubt for all time.

Other arguments made against the amendment are equally unconvincing and totally unimportant unless there is some limitation on the treaty power itself.

It is argued that in government we must trust somebody; that we can trust any one of the three branches of our Government; and that if we cannot it would be futile to trust in a written Constitution.

That argument proves too much. If a Constitution is worthless without such complete confidence in each of the separate instrumentalities it sets up as this argument would suggest, why a Constitution at all? Why provisions for impeachment and removal from office? What of history which demonstrates that constitutional requirements have not always been adhered to, either by the Congress in enacting statutes or by the President himself, as in the seizure of the steel mills? Why was the Bill of Rights demanded and added to the Constitution?

Of course we must trust someone and we do so daily and in every walk of life. That is not the question; but rather what basic rules should be laid down to circumscribe the area within which that trust shall be vested.

The Founding Fathers understood this. Hamilton wrote in the 75th Federalist Paper:

"The history of human conduct does not warrant that exalted opinion of human virtue which would make it wise in a nation to commit interests of so delicate and momentous a kind, as those which concern its intercourse with the rest of the world, to the sole disposal of a magistrate created and circumstanced as would be a President of the United States."

And Jefferson wrote in the famous Kentucky resolutions [36] "that it would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is every where the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy, and not in confidence; it is jealousy, and not confidence, which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power. * * *

"In questions of power, then, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

The argument, referred to above, that a self-executing treaty (which is not a law of Congress) might impair the protection of the first amendment providing that "Congress shall make no law" respecting an establishment of religion, freedom of speech and of the press overlooks the implications of Mr. Justice Holmes' statement in *Missouri* v. *Holland:*

"Acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land only when made in pursuance of the Constitution, while treaties are declared to be so when made under the authority of the United States. It is open to question whether the authority of the United States means more than the formal acts prescribed to make the convention."

The argument overlooks also the statement in *United States* v. *Pink* that "the fifth amendment does not stand in the way of giving full force and effect to the Litvinoff assignment" and the comment of Dr. Philip C. Jessup that "from the point of view of our constitutional law, the decision may well mark one of the most far-reaching inroads upon the protection which it was supposed the fifth amendment accorded to private property." [37]

No comfort is to be drawn from citation of authorities dealing with purely internal statutory or administrative acts. We are dealing with the treaty power.

The proposition that comfort should be drawn from the admitted fact that no treaty has ever been declared unconstitutional, has already been dealt with.

There is little profit either in asserting or in questioning the oft-repeated assertion of opponents that the present constitutional provisions have served us well for 165 years, because it is not the past 165 years we must regard, but the present—the tendency which has been developing during recent years to consider treatymaking as a way to effectuate domestic reforms.[37]

In 1920 the Supreme Court in *Missouri* v. *Holland*, through Mr. Justice Holmes, rendered opponents' argument in this regard as dead as the dodo bird when he said:

"The case before us must be considered in the light of our whole experience and not merely in that of what was said a hundred years ago. * * * We must consider what this country has become in deciding what that amendment [the tenth] has reserved. * * * No doubt the great body of private relations usually fall within the control of the State, but a treaty may override its power."

The case in which he spoke was dealing with no conventional treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, but with the first situation that has been discovered in the history of this Nation where the Government deliberately sought and made a treaty for the express purpose of conferring on itself legislative competence in domestic fields where it had none before. This occurred more than a century and a quarter after the Constitution was adopted.

It was 16 years later, in 1936, that Mr. Justice Sutherland stated in *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright* (299 U. S. 304, 318) that the power "to make treaties, to maintain diplomatic relations with other sovereignties, if they had never been mentioned in the Constitution, would have vested in the Federal Government as necessary concomitants of nationality." [38] The learned justice may have been declaring the international point of view—the view among nations looking at the United States as a member of that family; but, it is submitted that, he was far from the facts as regards the internal constitutional status of the treaty power—which is a delegated power.

Section 1 of the amendment would not stop with forbidding treaties which interfered with personal rights or infringed on fundamental constitutional guaranties or which violated a constitutional prohibition. Section 1 would invalidate any treaty provision in conflict with the Constitution. It would require the treaty power to live in harmony with the rest of the Constitution.

To illustrate: Section 1 of article 1 vests in the Congress "all legislative powers herein granted." Here are no "prohibitory words" or "fundamental or basic constitutional guaranties." But if a treaty attempted to transfer legislative power from the Congress to any foreign or international body, it would conflict with that provision and should be stricken down; for, in the language of the Supreme Court, "the powers of Government are delegated in trust to the United States, and are incapable of transfer to any other parties. They cannot be abandoned or surrendered." [39]

Section 2 of the amendment states:

"A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of treaty."

This would have no effect whatever on treaties which did not attempt to change our internal domestic law.

Courts sometimes disagree as to whether particular treaty provisions create internal law under article VI.[40] But under this section of the amendment, legislation would be

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required to change our internal law and that possibility of doubt would be eliminated. Both courts and citizens would know what was intended to govern them, when it was to take effect, and where to look for it.

As of 1950 24 nations required all treaties to be submitted to the approval of the national legislatures and 28 nations required parliamentary approval of all treaties which affect internal law, the right of citizens, or which need implementation by legislation.[41]

In Great Britain an act of Parliament is necessary to give effect to a treaty which would change their internal law.[42] The same is true in Canada.[43]

Since with us a treaty becomes supreme domestic law automatically unless its terms call for legislation to effectuate it, a treaty could be internal law here and not effective within the other country.

OPPONENTS' POSITIONS ARE NOT CONSISTENT

Opponents argue that this inequality could be met by our inserting a treaty provision postponing internal effectiveness with us until the other party legislated. They also argue that securing the rights of our citizens abroad requires that treaties be operative at once. These positions quarrel, and the latter would have more persuasiveness if opponents would point to countries (other than the 28 where speed on our part may not make the treaty operative abroad) with which it is desirable that treaties should be immediately effective.

Those favoring amendment think legislation is always desirable both because it is always required in many other major countries and also because we are dealing here with our domestic law, which one should be able to find in the statute books.

It is asserted by opponents that the framers of the Constitution considered and rejected a proposal for participation by the House of Representatives in treatymaking.

The proposal to which opponents refer was that "no treaty shall be binding on the United States which is not ratified by a law."[44] Section 2 of the Bricker amendment, on the other hand, would permit the treaty to become binding upon the United States immediately under international law and would have no effect on any treaty unless it sought to alter our internal law. The difference is obvious.

Professor McDougal, who joins in objecting to giving the House of Representatives a voice in legislating in implementing treaties as domestic law, sees no objection to participation by the House of Representatives in making congressional-executive agreements for after quoting from a letter of Jefferson, he wrote:

"Considered in this spirit, the most significant fact about the motives which are supposed to have impelled the framers to exclude the House of Representatives from the treatymaking process and to require the Senate to give its consent by a two-thirds majority is that none of them have any validity today; most indeed were outmoded within 50 years after the drafting of the Constitution."

And:

"The result is that our constitutional law today makes available two parallel and completely interchangeable procedures, wholly applicable to the same subject matters and of identical domestic and international legal consequences, for the consummation of intergovernmental agreements."

He was referring to treaties and to executive agreements and he said there is what may be called an agreement-making procedure, which may operate either under the combined powers of the Congress and the President or in some instances under the powers of the President alone and "in such a system the survival, as a sort of constitutional vermiform appendix, of an additional undemocratic mode of validating international agreements by the two-thirds vote of a single house, can do no harm to the national interest, if it is agreed by all parties that this mode of validation is not exclusive of the more democratic mode and that its continued existence is not to be used to obfuscate issues of substantive policy by the invocation of procedural subtleties."[45]

It is objected that it might be difficult to determine what effects as internal law a treaty might have. It is not shown, however, that other countries experience this difficulty.

It is objected that a treaty might have unintended internal effects. A plea for law by inadvertence scarcely appeals.

The argument that the treaty process would be exceedingly cumbersome under section 2 because of legislation being required to change internal law might be directed against our entire system of law enactment. The fact that the legislative process will insure complete airing of the proposals and public knowledge of what is being done to the laws governing their daily lives more than counterbalance any argument of alleged cumbersomeness.

In the Sawyer case (343 U. S. 579), both Justices Frankfurter (p. 613) and Douglas (p. 629) quoted the dissent of Mr. Justice Brandeis in *Myers* v. *United States* (272 U. S. 52, 293), as follows:

"The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787, not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power. The purpose was, not to avoid friction, but, by means of the inevitable friction incident to the distribution of the governmental powers among three departments, to save the people from autocracy."

This should be a sufficient answer to those who plead for speed and certainty in making international agreement so far as internal law is concerned.

In 1787 it was thought "that the necessity of secrecy in the case of treaties forbade a reference of them to the whole legislature."[46] No one should be heard today to advocate secrecy in the enactment of domestic laws.

Were section 2 adopted, the world would be on notice that we, like many other nations, require legislation to make a treaty effective internally.[47]

Reliance on the power of Congress to breach our international agreements subsequently by nullifying their internal effect by legislation, is scarcely to be recommended, although opponents put much reliance on it.[48]

It is sometimes said that the consent of two-thirds of the Senate present partakes of the nature of a legislative act. The complete answer is article I, section 1, of the Constitution, as well as the pressure in the Senate to ratify treaties presented.[49]

The second effect of section 2 of the amendment would be to prevent the Federal Government from acquiring by treaty additional legislative competence in domestic affairs beyond that possessed by it in the absence of treaty.

In 1916, after a Federal game law was declared unconstitutional as not within the powers delegated to the Federal Government, our State Department deliberately negotiated a treaty with Great Britain for the express purpose of being able to sustain such a game law, when again passed, as necessary and proper to our treaty obligations. Here was no commercial treaty—no conventiontl treaty of any kind. But the bootstrap operation succeeded. The new game law was upheld in a decision (*Missouri* v. *Holland* (252 U. S. 416 (1920))), which has been said dangerously to approach a constitutional amendment.[50] Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"If the treaty is valid there can be no dispute about the validity of the statute under article I, section 8, as a necessary and proper means to execute the powers of the Government."

Eighty-four years earlier the Supreme Court had said "Congress cannot, by legislation, enlarge the Federal jurisdiction, nor can it be enlarged under the treatymaking power."[51]

Opponents invariably cite *Ware* v. *Hylton* as a bulwark of their argument and as a precedent for *Missouri* v. *Holland*. The argument will not withstand analysis.[52]

No longer is a single reserved power of the States safe against destruction by the Federal Government under the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland* that "No doubt the great body of private relations usually fall within the control of the State, but a treaty may override its power."

Section 2 of the Bricker amendment would overrule the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland*.

The Committee on Amendments to the Federal Constitution of the New York State Bar Association, although opposing amendment, truly said in its report presented in June 1952:

"The principle announced in *Missouri* v. *Holland* has a logical ground and is based on express constitutional provisions. As applied to treaties normally within the treaty power it is satisfactory enough, but if it is to be applied to such pacts as the Covenant on Human Rights it would be destructive of the existing division of authority between States and Nation. In that case, to enlarge Federal power, all that would be necessary would be for us to find some foreign nation willing to make an agreement with us as to how we would treat our own people. Such a distortion of the treaty power should be condemned as a mere device to enlarge Federal power at the expense of the States and not within the treaty power."[53]

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS ONE OF DELEGATED POWERS

While opponents of the amendment rely on the fact that the treaty power, the field of foreign affairs, is delegated to the Federal Government and forbidden to the States, they must and do admit that in the domestic field power is divided between Nation and the States by the Constitution itself, the Federal Government being one of delegated and limited powers at least in that field.[54] This division of powers over domestic matters is fully as fundamental to our form of government as the former, and division of power in the domestic field must continue and, what is more, must be respected if our concept of a Federal republic is to endure. If delegated Federal power in the foreign field can be used to destroy its equal partner, the principle of division of powers domestically, then as proponents of amendment contend, the treaty power can be used to destroy the powers of the States.

That, however, is the situation today under the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland*.

It is clear, then, that today there exists no reliable protection against the power over foreign affairs swallowing up and extinguishing the cardinal concept of division of powers over domestic affairs between Nation and State.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, James Madison said:[55]

"The object of treaties is the regulation of intercourse with foreign nations and is external."

Alexander Hamilton wrote of treaties:[56]

"They are not rules prescribed by the sovereign to the subject, but agreements between sovereign and sovereign."

Later Jefferson wrote in his Manual of Parliamentary Procedure that the Constitution in the grant of the treaty power "must

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have meant to except out of these the rights reserved to the States." [57]

Use of the doctrine of *Missouri* v. *Holland* has been urged to effectuate social reforms within our country and to make our domestic social, cultural and economic affairs the concern of foreign nations and international bodies.

Already the division of power between Nation and States to legislate in domestic affairs has been destroyed by a treaty which pledges the Federal Government to take separate action in cooperation with the United Nations and joint action with it and the other member nations for the achievement of the widest types of social and economic objectives which might well cover almost every human activity and relationship from the cradle to the grave.[58] Under *Missouri* v. *Holland*, the Federal Government could move into these fields legislatively and thus oust the States completely. The test of the validity of Federal legislation is no longer whether the legislation is valid under the Constitution—it might be invalid considered by that standard alone—but whether in the light of *Missouri* v. *Holland* it is valid under articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter.

The draft Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights,[59] if adhered to, would require the United States "to take steps, individually and through international cooperation, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in this covenant by legislative as well as by other means," and these rights again embrace all kinds of social, economic and cultural objectives—all defined in the widest and most general terms.[60]

Mr. John P. Humphrey, while Director of the Division of Human Rights of the United Nations, stated unequivocally: [61]

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. * * * What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supranational supervision of this relationship between the state and its citizens."

While Secretary Dulles does not believe that the treaty device can properly or constitutionally be used to effectuate internal reforms,[62] and while the present administration did not intend to become a party to any such treaty,[63] those who advocate the propriety of treaties for "'supranational supervision' of the relationship of a state to its own citizens" although apparently revolutionary,[64] will undoubtedly continue to press for this type of revolutionary step.

As late as April 8, 1953, the New York Times stated editorially:

"The resolution (Bricker amendment) is dangerous because it forbids any treaty that would allow any foreign power or any international organization (meaning the U. N. or one of its agencies) to control the constitutional rights of American citizens within the United States 'or any other matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States'."

When, if ever, control over our constitutional rights within our own country is to be given to and become the business of any foreign power or international organization, it should only be done by constitutional amendment on which the voice of all the people will be heard.

Opponents of amendment say that treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation cannot secure rights for our citizens abroad unless they confer reciprocal rights on aliens here and that in this connection the Federal Government must be able to invade powers otherwise reserved to the States. But do opponents say that an exception to section 2 of the amendment in favor of reciprocal treaty rights of aliens would satisfy them? Furthermore, in 1953 five treaties (with Denmark, Ethiopia, Greece, Israel, and Japan) were ratified, which made the right of the aliens involved to acquire real property dependent upon local laws.[65] Earlier treaties had done the same, as for example the seventh article of the treaty with France of 1853, dealt with in *Geofroy* v. *Riggs* (133 U. S. 258), the treaty with China of 1946 and with Italy of 1948. There is no showing that any of these provisions were operative in all of our States and as designed they may well not have been.

Thus any suggestion that section 2 would leave a no man's land in the treaty field [66] is contradicted by treaties we have made in the past. With how a treaty shall be made effective as internal law, no foreign nation with whom we contract has any business.[67] The contention is open to challenge legally because as the Privy Council pointed out in the case of *Canada* v. *Ontario* ((1937) A. C. 326, 353):

"It must not be thought that the result of this decision is that Canada is incompetent to legislate in performance of treaty obligations. In totality of legislative powers, dominion and provincial together, she is fully equipped. But the legislative powers remain distributed."

There is nothing in the Constitution which forbids a State from passing a law which is consonant with a treaty made by the Federal Government touching domestic matters wholly within the State's jurisdiction, absent the treaty; and certainly there would not be after the amendment. To pass such a statute would not involve any treaty, agreement or compact with a foreign power, but enactment of local law. The existing laws of the various States relating to land tenure by aliens is a case in point.[68]

The time has come and developments demand the implementation by constitutional amendment of those wise words of the late Chief Justice Hughes:

"But if we attempted to use the treaty-making power to deal with matters which did not pertain to our external relations but to control matters which normally and appropriately were within the local jurisdictions of the States, then I again say there might be ground for implying a limitation upon the treatymaking power that it is intended for the purpose of having treaties made relating to foreign affairs and not to make laws for the people of the United States in their internal concerns through the exercise of the asserted treatymaking power." [69]

Section 3 of the amendment reads:

"Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization. All such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties by this article."

Executive agreements are nowhere mentioned in the Constitution. Some are unquestionably a necessity. Great numbers of them have to do with governmental housekeeping. They have been discussed at great length.[70]

As noted earlier, however, only recently has an executive agreement, made without the intervention of either House of Congress, been held by the courts to be on a parity with treaties as supreme law of the land under article VI.

The term executive agreement has been used to refer to two classes and possibly to a third class of agreements as follows:

1. Those made by the Executive alone.

2. Those made by the President pursuant to express congressional authority.

3. Those made by the President and specifically conditioned on subsequent approval by the Congress.

Obviously that part of section 3 of the amendment providing that Congress shall have power to regulate all executive and other agreements with any foreign power or international organization, can have nothing to do with classifications 2 and 3 but only those made by the Executive alone.

United States v. *Belmont* (301 U. S. 324 (1937)), involved the Litvinoff assignment, which included an assignment to the United States of amounts due the Soviet government from American nationals by reason of Russia's nationalization decrees. Neither House of Congress participated in making the agreement. Mr. Justice Sutherland (who wrote the Curtiss-Wright opinion) stated for a majority of the Supreme Court:

"Plainly, the external powers of the United States are to be exercised without regard to State laws or policies. The supremacy of a treaty in this respect has been recognized from the beginning. * * * And while this rule in respect of treaties is established by the express language of clause 2, article VI, of the Constitution, the same rule would result in the case of all international compacts and agreements from the very fact that complete power over international affairs is in the National Government and is not and cannot be subject to any curtailment or interference on the part of the several States. Compare *United States* v. *Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.* (299 U. S. 304, 316, et seq.). In respect of all international negotiations and compacts, and in respect of our foreign relations generally, State lines disappear. As to such purposes the State of New York does not exist" (p. 331).

In *United States* v. *Pink* (315 U. S. 203 (1942)), the Court stated:

"A treaty is a law of the land under the supremacy clause (art. VI, clause 2) of the Constitution. Such international compacts and agreements as the Litvinoff assignment have a similar dignity. *United States* v. *Belmont*, supra (301 U. S. at p. 331)" (p. 230).

In *Etimar Société Anonyme* v. *United States* (106 F. Supp. 191 (Ct. Cl. 1952)) it was said at page 195:

"The Byrnes-Blum agreement between the United States and France is the type of agreement which has been recognized as a treaty within the meaning of article VI, clause 2, of the Constitution and thus is a part of the supreme law of the land."

Here, then, an executive agreement nowhere mentioned in the Constitution is given the same supreme law effect as a treaty.

So we have progressed from the point where not only can the Congress legislate in domestic affairs in implementation of a treaty in direct derogation of the rights reserved to the States by the 10th amendment (or by failure to delegate them to the Federal Government, as you please) to the point where one single person may make domestic law, overruling State laws and constitutions by executive agreements with foreign powers.

Not even the wildest antagonist of the amendment could call this a legislative act by the widest stretch of imagination.

It is said that this power to make executive agreements—without congressional authorization—comes from the President's powers as Chief Executive, as Commander in Chief, and the organ for foreign affairs.[71]

But where foreign commitments have rechocheted into domestic or internal matters, the Supreme Court has recently expressed itself more fully than previously on presidential powers.

In *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* (343 U. S. 579), the opinion of the Court, delivered by Mr. Justice Black, contains this significant language:

"In the framework of our Constitution, the President's power to see that the laws are faithfully executed refutes the idea that he is to be a lawmaker. The Constitution lim-

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Footnotes at end of speech.

its his functions in the lawmaking process to the recommending of laws he thinks wise and the vetoing of laws he thinks bad. And the Constitution is neither silent nor equivocal about who shall make laws which the President is to execute (citing article I section 1 of the Constitution). * * * The Constitution does not subject this lawmaking power of Congress to Presidential or military supervision or control (pp. 587, 588)."

And Mr. Justice Jackson said:

"But no doctrine that the Court could promulgate would seem to me more sinister and alarming than that a President whose conduct of foreign affairs is so largely uncontrolled, and often even is unknown, can vastly enlarge his mastery over the internal affairs of the country by his own commitment of the Nation's Armed Forces to some foreign venture (p. 642)."

And:

"It [Congress] is also empowered to make rules for the 'government and regulation of land and naval forces,' by which it may, to some unknown extent, impinge upon even command functions (p. 644)."

And:

"We should not use this occasion to circumscribe, much less to contract, the lawful role of the President as Commander in Chief. I should indulge the widest latitude of interpretation to sustain his exclusive function to command the instruments of national force, at least when turned against the outside world for the security of our society. But when it is turned inward, not because of rebellion but because of a lawful economic struggle between industry and labor, it should have no such indulgence. His command power is not such an absolute as might be implied from that office in a militaristic system but is subject to limitations consistent with a constitutional Republic whose law and policymaking branch is a Representative Congress. The purpose of lodging dual titles in one man was to insure that the civilian would control the military, not to enable the military to subordinate the presidential office. No penance would ever expiate the sin against free government of holding that a President can escape control of executive power by law through assuming his military role. What the power of command may include I do not try to envision, but I think it is not a military prerogative, without support of law, to seize persons or property because they are important or even essential for the Military and Naval Establishment (p. 645)."

The District Court in *United States* v. *Capps* (100 F. Supp. 30) upheld an executive agreement dealing with import of potatoes from Canada, placing reliance on the *Curtiss-Wright*, *Belmont* and *Pink* cases. The Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit reversed (204 F. 2d 655) and held the executive agreement void as "not authorized by Congress," as contravening "provisions of a statute dealing with the very matter to which it related" and because Congress has authority over foreign commerce, "the Executive may not exercise the power by entering into executive agreements." Certiorari was granted by the Supreme Court where the case now pends.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, testified that of the whole series of executive agreements made at Yalta, the ones having a long-range permanent effect could not properly have been made by the President and could have no legal effect until made as treaties—with the same for those made at Teheran.[12] Senator WATKINS remarked: [13]

"I agree they never had force of law. They were completely illegal and invalid, but it is done."

Originally Senate Joint Resolution 1 would have required advance congressional authority for Executive agreements. As reported out it confirms in Congress the power to regulate them but does not require advance authorization and unnecessary or unwise congressional interference is not to be presumed, especially when a presidential veto would call for a two-thirds vote in both houses. But no executive agreement could become internal law or the supreme law of the land without legislative implementation.

"Some future generation may, however, deem it so urgent that the President have legislative authority that the Constitution will be amended (343 U. S. 579, 633. Douglas, J.)"

Probably Congress now has power under the necessary and proper clause to regulate executive agreements,[14] but this power must not be left in doubt.

Any claim that section 3, in affirming the right of Congress to control executive agreements, would change the balance of power in the Federal Government, presupposes that the power does not now exist.[15]

Obviously it would be foolish to restrict the treaty power and leave the door open for a lateral pass via executive agreements.

The assertion that reciprocal trade agreements would require both initial authorization by Congress and also subsequent approval by Congress unless Congress authorized the exact terms in advance overlooks the fact that congressional-executive agreements are not executive agreements in the true sense of the term, but joint acts by Congress and the President, involving in the case of reciprocal trade agreements, and the like, permissible delegations of power by the Congress to the Executive over that part of the subject matter of the agreements which rests in congressional competency.[16]

No reason is given for the suggestion made by some opponents why if Congress first approved an executive agreement it must later reapprove. The amendment does not say that the legislation must follow in time the treaty or executive agreement. If something is already the law under competent statutory enactment it would be absurd to argue that a consonant treaty or executive agreement repealed that wholly compatible enactment and required its reenactment.

It is wholly inaccurate to state that the amendment would return to the general concept of States rights in treaty matters that prevailed under the Articles of Confederation. Those articles provided (art. IX) that the United States in Congress assembled should not enter into any treaties unless nine States assent to the same. What a far cry from saying that the laws of the States on subjects admittedly within their reserved powers as domestic matters shall not be made by the Federal Government beyond the latter's delegated powers over domestic legislation by a treaty bootstrap operation.

Madison said: [17]

"The management of foreign relations appears to be the most susceptible of abuse of all the trusts committed to a Government, because they can be concealed or disclosed, or disclosed in such parts and at such times as will best suit particular views; and because the body of the people are less capable of judging, and are more under the influence of prejudices, on that branch of their affairs, than of any other. Perhaps it is a universal truth that the loss of liberty at home is to be charged to provisions against danger, real or pretended, from abroad."

Jefferson said: [18]

"Our peculiar security is in the possession of a written Constitution. Let us not make it a blank paper by construction. I say the same as to the opinion of those who consider the grant of the treatymaking power as boundless. If it is, then we have no Constitution."

Footnotes at end of speech.

[2] 1953 hearings on S. J. Res. 1 and S. J. Res. 43 (hereafter called 1953 hearings), p. 1121.

[3] 299 U. S. 304, 318. "Much of the Court's opinion is dictum." *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* (343 U. S. 579, 635); footnote 2 to Mr. Justice Jackson's opinion. But as stated at the outset the implications of the language must be taken into account as indicating an unlimited treaty power above and beyond the Constitution and therefore unrestrained thereby. The next year (1937) Justice Sutherland in the case of *U. S. v. Belmont* (301 U. S. 324) declared an executive agreement, made by the President alone, of equal status with a treaty under the supremacy clause in its effect in overruling State laws and constitutions; and 5 years later (1942) *U. S. v. Pink* (315 U. S. 203) reaffirmed this doctrine. As noted earlier executive agreements are nowhere mentioned in the Constitution. These cases will be considered infra.

[4] *Missouri v. Holland* ((1920), U. S. 416, 432).

[5] Treaties and Congressional-Executive or Presidential Agreements: Interchangeable Instruments of National Policy, by Myres S. McDougal and Asher Lans, 54 Yale Law Journal 181, 534 at 260 (hereafter referred to as McDougal and Lans).

[6] 1953 hearings, p. 862; cf. 39 American Bar Association Journal, 1064 (1953).

[7] 77 American Bar Association Report, pp. 447 and 122.

[8] S. J. Res. 130, 82d Cong., 2d sess.; S. J. Res. 1, 83d Cong., 1st sess.; and S. J. Res. 43, 83d Cong., 1st sess.

[9] S. Rept. No. 412, 83d Cong., 1st sess, with minority views. Those voting favorably were JENNER, Republican, Indiana; WATKINS, Republican, Utah; HENDRICKSON, Republican, New Jersey; WELKER, Republican, Idaho; BUTLER, Republican, Maryland; MCCARRAN, Democrat, Nevada; EASTLAND, Democrat, Mississippi; JOHNSTON, Democrat, South Carolina; and MCCLELLAN, Democrat, Arkansas. Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, would have voted favorably had he not been absent on official business. Opposed were: KEFAUVER, Democrat, Tennessee; KILGORE, Democrat, West Virginia; WILEY, Republican, Wisconsin; HENNINGS, Democrat, Missouri; and LANGER, Republican, North Dakota.

[10] 39 American Bar Association Journal, 1034.

[11] 39 American Bar Association Journal, 1036. The house of delegates is the body vested by the constitution of the American Bar Association with control and administration of that association and its membership includes one or more representatives from every State in the Union.

[12] *U. S. v. Darby* (312 U. S. 100, 124 (1941)). Judge Charles C. Nott, of the Court of Claims, asserted, however, that this was a clause "which politically has made much mischief during these 125 years, but which under the necessities of judicial construction has amounted to nothing." 7 Encyclopedia Americana (1939 ed.), p. 568.

[13] "It is unobjectionable in itself, but unnecessary." Chafee, Harvard Law School Record, February 21, 1952; 8 Record of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, No. 9, p. 22; Statement of Position on the Bricker Amendment by Committee for Defense of the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power accompanying letter of December 27, 1953, New York Times editorial, Jan. 7, 1954, p. 30, col. 2.

[14] The argument proceeds on two basic fallacies: (1) That existing law cannot be successfully codified, because the courts may well find a different meaning, due to the attempt to codify, and (2) that the courts will not have or will not avail themselves of the legislative history of a codification to ascertain its true purpose.

[15] 1953 Hearings, p. 830. (The phrase is quoted for illustrative purposes only and not to interpret its intended meaning.)

[16] There are, as indicated, apparently two schools of thought among opponents, first, those who agree with Mr. Butler and the dictum of Justice Sutherland, and second, those who regard the treaty power as a delegated power exclusively.

[30] See, for example, Report of Committee on Federal Legislation and Committee on International Law of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, dated April 28, 1952 (hereafter referred to as city bar) at pp. 12 and 16.

[31] Constitution of the United States of America, Revised and Annotated 1953, edited by Prof. Edwin S. Corwin, at p. 429.

[32] See June 1952 Report of the Committee on Amendments to the Federal Constitution of the New York State Bar Association, p. 17.

[33] *Ware* v. *Hylton* (3 Dall. 199, 237 (U. S. 1796); *Oetjen* v. *Central Leather Co.* (246 U. S. 297, 302 1918)); see also *U. S.* v. *Reid* (73 F. 2d 155, 155 (9th Cir. 1934)).

[34] *U. S.* v. *Domestic Fuel Corporation* (71 F. 2d 424, 430 (1934)); *Z. & F. etc.* v. *Hull* (114 F. 2d 464, 468 (D. of C., 1940)), particularly footnote 13.

Attorney General Brownell assumes that the courts could declare a treaty unconstitutional, 1953 hearings, pp. 946, 913, 935. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, apparently so assumes (id., p. 878), although how this can be true in view of his quoted statement that treaties "can override the Constitution" is not clear. The Supreme Court said, in *U. S.* v. *Pink* (315 U. S. 203, 222 (1942)): "This Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Sutherland, held that the conduct of foreign relations is committed by the Constitution to the political departments of the Federal Government; that the propriety of the exercise of that power is not open to judicial inquiry."

[35] "No doubt, the question whether the treaty power is subject to constitutional limitations has never been squarely decided by the Supreme Court, because fortunately no American treaty has come near enough to violating the Constitution to make the issue worth litigating." Harvard Law School Record, February 21, 1952, col. 4.

[36] "Restricting the Treaty Power," 65 Harvard Law Review, 1305, 1319 (1952).

[37] *Cunard S. S. Co.* v. *Mellon* (262 U. S. 100 (1923)). It has been suggested that since Congress exempted traffic through the Panama Canal and over the Panama Railroad a treaty could properly make this exemption, but the time sequence refutes the argument: The 18th amendment was ratified effective January 29, 1919; the National Prohibition Act was passed October 28, 1919; the Cunard case was decided in 1923 and the treaty made thereafter in 1924. The decision probably called for revision of the enforcement statute rather than for an exception in the face of the prohibition.

[38] *Milliken* v. *Stone* (16 F. 2d 981, 984 (1927), cert. den., 274 U. S. 748 (1927)).

[39] See footnotes 16 and 17, supra.

[40] Constitution of the United States, Revised and Annotated, 1938 ed., p. 548.

[41] Constitutional concepts should not be expressed in ambiguous terms. Our Constitution "recognizes" and "protects" certain of our "unalienable rights," with which we are endowed by our Creator. The word "guaranteed" was, perhaps for that very reason, abandoned in the Draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in favor of "recognized or existing." Art. 18, Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Seventh Session (April 16 to May 19, 1951), p. 22, as quoted in footnote 1 p. 8 of 1 City Bar; art. 4, sec. 2 of Draft Covenant on Human Rights—Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, United Nations Bulletin, September 1, 1952, p. 254.

[42] Corwin, cited supra, note 17, at pp. 428, 429.

[43] July 1953 issue of Think, where Professor Corwin stated: "In short, section 1 of the Bricker proposal, which specifies no new limitations to the treaty power, would leave things just as they stand today—it would be surplusage." He did not there comment on the right to pass on treaties which section 1 would unquestionably confer on the courts.

[44] McDougal and Lans, cited supra, note 4, of p. 294.

[45] Quincy Wright, 26 Southern California Law Review 392.

[46] Appendix C, Report of American Bar Association Committee on Peace and Law, February 1, 1952, p. 31; 38 American Bar Association Journal 641, 644; August 1952.

[47] U. N. Bulletin, September 1, 1953, pp. 196–198, arts. 33, 35, 37, 38.

[48] 1953 hearings, p. 862. Secretary Dulles believed that concern over the use of the treaty power to effectuate reforms "particularly in relation to social matters, and to impose upon our Republic conceptions regarding human rights which many felt were alien to our traditional concepts" was legitimate; but that arousing concern corrected "the evil" (p. 824). He had even tried drafting an amendment himself (p. 866). He stated: "We do not consider that you properly can or constitutionally can use the treaty device in order to effectuate internal reforms" (p. 878). See also footnote 5.

[49] 4 Elliot's Debates, 543.

[50] *U. S.* v. *Pink* (314 U. S. 203 (1942)); 36 Am. Jour. of Intl. Law 282 (1942).

[51] 1953 hearings, p. 824.

[52] See footnote 2 supra.

[53] The Chinese Exclusion Case, 609 (1889) (130 U. S. 581).

[54] See *Fujii* v. *California* (217 P. 2d 481, 218 P. 2d 595, 242 P. 2d 617). Writers on the subject also disagree. Hudson, Charter Provisons on Human Rights in American Law, 44 American Journal of International Law 543 (1950); Wright, 45 American Journal of International Law 62 (1951).

In *Oyama* v. *California* (332 U. S. 633 (1948)), the Supreme Court found that the Alien Land Law of California denied equal protection of the laws to the infant citizen, Oyama. The decision was by a divided Court—6 to 3. In the concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Black (joined in by Mr. Justice Douglas) it is stated (p. 649): "There are additional reasons now why that law stands as an obstacle to the free accomplishment of our policy in the international field. One of these reasons is that we have recently pledged ourselves to cooperate with the United Nations to 'promote * * * universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.' How can this Nation be faithful to this international pledge if State laws which bar land ownership and occupancy by aliens on account of race are permitted to be enforced?"

The concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Murphy (joined in by Mr. Justice Rutledge) stated (p. 673):

"Moreover, this Nation has recently pledged itself, through the United Nations Charter, to promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion. The alien land law stands as a barrier to the fulfillment of that national pledge. Its inconsistency with the Charter, which has been duly ratified and adopted by the United States, is but one more reason why the statute must be condemned."

[55] Report, September 1, 1950, American Bar Association Committee on Peace and Law Through United Nations, pp. 11, 55.

[56] McNair, The Law of Treaties, pp. 7–8. Case and Comment, September–October 1953, page 17, quoting the Law Times (England) April 24, 1953: "As previously stated, where a treaty imposes financial burdens of [sic?] the community—as, for example, treaties of commerce, which may affect scales of import duties—parliamentary sanction is essential. The curious result may follow that, while a treaty is perfectly valid 'internationally,' it may be completely without effect so far as British subjects are concerned."

[57] *Canada* v. *Ontario* ((1937) A. C. 326, 347); 1953 hearings 920, 835; Canadian Bar Review, November, 1951, page 969.

[58] 2 Farrand 392–394.

[59] McDougal and Lans, op. cit., pp. 545, 181, 535, and see p. 211.

[60] 2 Farrand 538: "* * * decision, secrecy, and dispatch, are incompatible with the genius of a body so variable and so numerous." 75th Federalist Paper (Hamiliton); see also 5 Eliot 523.

[61] 5 Hackworth, Digest of International Law, 154.

[62] See Hughes Recent Questions and Negotiations, 18 American Journal of International Law, 229, at p. 230 (1924).

[63] See 1953 hearings, p. 728.

[64] Lauterpacht, An International Bill of Rights of Man, p. 179.

[65] *New Orleans* v. *United States* (10 Pet. 662, 736 (U. S. 1836)).

[66] *Ware* v. *Hylton* ((3 Dall. 199), 1 City Bar, p. 12; 39 A. B. A. J. 805); it must be remembered that *Ware* v. *Hylton* dealt with the treaty of peace of 1783 and in that connection Justice Chase said:

"The authority to make war, of necessity implies the power to make peace; or the war must be perpetual" (p. 232).

And:

"A right to make peace, necessarily includes the power of determining on what terms peace shall be made" (p. 236). And since under article IX of the Articles of Confederation the "United States in Congress assembled" had the exclusive right "of determining on peace and war" there was no question of interference with reserved rights of the States (or corresponding rights) in *Ware* v. *Hylton*.

[67] 1953 hearings, p. 49. That committee included in its membership William D. Mitchell and John W. Davis, Lewis R. Gullick, John J. Mackrell, and also Harrison Tweed, who was separately recorded.

[68] This domestic division exists under the Constitution at least in that field whether or not opponents believe the treaty power to be exclusively one of the delegated powers or an inherent power not derived solely from the Constitution and perhaps therefore not subject to its limitations. If the latter is their position, where do they find the consent of the States to have their part of the domestic field invaded by a power not granted by them?

[69] 3 Elliot's Debates, 514.

[70] 75th Federalist Paper.

[71] 81st Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. 739, p. 283 (1950).

[72] Articles 55 and 56 of the United Nations Charter, read:

"ARTICLE 55

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

"(a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

"(b) Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

"(c) Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

"ARTICLE 56

"All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in article 55."

See footnote 40 supra.

[73] United Nations Bulletin, September 1, 1952, p. 253.

[74] Ibid., pp. 254 and 255. It is said that scores of multilateral treaties are being

drafted under the aegis of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. In addition to those mentioned, the Genocide Convention, the draft Convention on Freedom of Information, the Convention on the Gathering and International Transmission of News and Right of Correction, and not less than 93 conventions prepared by the ILO dealing with all sorts of domestic internal problems (1953 hearings, p. 537) should be noted.

[4] Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January 1948.

[5] 1953 hearings, p. 878.

[6] Ibid. 825; but as a loyal member of the United Nations we are continuing to participate in technical drafting. State Department Bulletin, August 17, 1953, p. 216; and see id. April 20, 1953, p. 579; id. June 15, 1953, p. 842.

[7] Moskowitz, 35 American Bar Association Journal 359; April 1949. See also ibid. at pp. 285 and 286.

[8] Executive I, F, J, and R, Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., art. IX; Executive O, Senate 83d Cong., 1st sess., art. IX.

[9] 1953 hearings, 829; 8 record Association of the Bar, New York City, No. 9, p. 13. This report states: "In our dealings with other countries we must speak with one voice." The amendment would not affect this although it might well affect what that voice said as related to our domestic law.

[10] *Taylor* v. *Morton* (2 Curtis 454, affd. 2 Black 481 (U. S. 1862)).

[11] 1953 hearings, p. 1123.

[12] Proceedings of American Society of International Law, 1929, p. 196. Secretary Dulles, 1953 hearings, p. 825: "I do not believe that treaties should, or lawfully can, be used as a device to circumvent the constitutional procedures established in relation to what are essentially matters of domestic concern."

[13] Borchard, Shall the Executive Agreements Replace the Treaty? (53 Yale Law Journal 664 (1944)). McDougal and Lans, cited supra note 4. Borchard, Treaties and Executive Agreements—a Reply (54 Yale Law Journal 616 (1945)). Report of Committee on Peace and Law, September 1, 1952, pp. 10-18, and additional authorities there cited.

[14] McDougal and Lans, op. cit. note 4 at pp. 244 et seq.

[15] 1953 hearings, pp. 873, 885.

[16] 1953 hearings, p. 885.

[17] See report of American Bar Association committee on peace and law, September 1, 1952, p. 12; *Ex parte Quirin* (317 U. S. 1, 25-27 (1942)); *Youngstown Steel & Tube Co.* v. *Sawyer* (343 U. S. 579 (1952)); 1953 hearings, pp. 711, 932, and 1244. The Supreme Court, through Mr. Justice Black, said in the Sawyer case (June 2, 1952): "It is said that other Presidents without congressional authority have taken possession of private business enterprises in order to settle labor disputes. But even if this be true, Congress has not thereby lost its exclusive constitutional authority to make laws necessary and proper to carry out the powers vested by the Constitution 'in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof' " (343 U. S. 579, 588).

[18] The same argument was used against the power of the courts to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional.

[19] While there seems to be some dispute as to whether this is a delegation of power by Congress, at very least it must be a delegation of so much power as Congress has in the premises. See 54 Yale Law Journal, pp. 200 et seq.; 274, 645, 648, 653.

[20] Padover, The Complete Madison, p. 257, quoting a letter to Thomas Jefferson of May 13, 1798.

[21] 10 Writings, lib. ed. 419.

Rehabilitation and Employment of Physically Handicapped Citizens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LISTER HILL
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, April 21, 1954

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the subject of the rehabilitation and employment of physically handicapped citizens, delivered by Paul A. Strachan, president of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on Wednesday, April 7, 1954.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF PAUL A. STRACHAN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1954

Mr. Chairman, the most important problem before the Nation today is safeguarding and improving the health and economic conditions of our own citizenry.

Rehabilitation and employment of our 38 million handicapped citizens, including the blind, partially sighted, deaf, hard of hearing, amputees, arthritics, cardiacs, cerebral palsied, diabetics, epileptics, victims of muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, poliomyelitis, rheumatism, tuberculosis, and other cripplers, as well as those having congenital defects and deformities, is, of necessity, of prime concern to you, and to all Members of Congress, generally.

After more than 40 years of study and practice in this field, and in the light of the multitude of needs of our handicapped people, we have developed and there is now pending before you, the bill, S. 2570, to establish a Federal agency for handicapped.

This bill does what no other bill now pending proposals: It provides a practical blueprint of a program—not just an excuse for a program—to show you, and all others, a clearly defined plan. It is not vague, nor does it evade meeting issues that have been ignored, largely, by existing Federal agencies. In short, it shows exactly what is proposed to be done for the handicapped; what agency would be best qualified to do it; how the job would be done; to whom it would be done; the cost, and the results. Today, there is no coordination of 35 agencies now existing, each having a piece of the program.

We respectfully point out the necessity of establishing this agency, not only for the advancement of welfare of handicapped, themselves, but for the benefit of the whole Nation, and, briefly, the bill would—

1. Establish an independent agency, based for housekeeping purposes in the Department of Labor.

2. Establish in said agency, an advisory council on affairs of the handicapped, consisting of three representing employers; three representing labor; three representing physically handicapped, themselves (who, after all, are the chief persons concerned, and who, therefore, should and must be so represented); three to represent farmers and stockraisers, and three experienced in public affairs.

3. Establishes an office of services for blind in the agency and brings into it all farflung agencies for blind now in Federal service, thus consolidating and making more efficient such services.

4. Establishes cooperative enterprises for handicapped revolving fund, with $10 million as initial appropriation, to take the first step toward providing handicapped a practical means to be trained in business and job conditions, so they may stand on their own feet, and gradually get away from the pitifully inadequate and uneconomic so-called public-assistance programs, which, at best, are only stopgaps, and in addition to being a continual drain upon the finances of the people, solve nothing and provide no permanent remedies.

5. Establishes a Federal interagency committee on rehabilitation and employment of handicapped to coordinate activities of the present 35 Federal agencies ecah of which, now, has a piece of the program. We respectfully point out the necessity for establishing such committee. Previous testimony before this committee has concentrated upon the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation with one or two corollary agencies in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and have completely ignored the fact that a multitude of activities, costing hundreds of millions of dollars annually, which are within the orbit of an overall handicapped program, are very much in the picture. Such agencies, surely, as good business policy, should have one focal point, the proposed interagency committee, through which the results of their efforts could and would be evaluated. This would not only prevent useless duplication of effort and expense, but would facilitate continual improvement in the overall program.

6. Provides a $60 monthly Federal grant to totally disabled persons, who are unfeasible for rehabilitation. It is pointed out that this grant provides a Federal base, to which States may add additional sums, as it is clear that no person, totally disabled and unable to support himself or herself, could be medically treated, fed, clothed, and housed, to say nothing of necessary incidental living expenses, on $60 per month.

Further, the $60 would not be given, unless competent medical examinations, once yearly, prove such person to be totally disabled and unfeasible for rehabilitation. In short, the initial placement of a person on such grant does not mean such person is so supported eternally, as is often now the case, but, they would have to prove, by annual examinations, that they are still unfeasible in every way for rehabilitation.

7. Provides $5 million initial, and $2 million annual continuing appropriation, for grants for training of homebound persons.

This is very important, since, particularly in rural areas, today, there is little or no means for providing this essential service at all, and, given such training, many such homebound, could support themselves wholly or in part.

8. Provides $10 million revolving loan fund, from which States which have exhausted their appropriations for rehabilitation may borrow, between sessions of their own legislatures.

It may surprise the committee to know that, despite under present laws, wherein the Federal contribution takes care of administrative expenses of the State setups, on an annual basis, yet, because of exhaustion of appropriations, prevent States from rendering any actual services to handicapped for more than half the time.

9. Establishes a division for handicapped in the United States Civil Service Commis-

sion. As we are dealing with millions of handicapped, including disabled veterans, facilitating their examinations, tests for physical capacities, and ultimate appointment, make such division imperative.

10. Provides for promotion of public-safety programs designed to safeguard life and limb on Federal property. This, no doubt, would save the Government millions of dollars in present cost of accidents and disease.

11. Provides for reports from Federal agencies having parts of the handicapped program, so that there would be a continual and continuing check on overall activities, and improvements designed and applied, in the light of experience.

12. Provides special programs for the severely handicapped (those from 60 to 100 percent disabled), of whom it is estimated, on basis of composite reports from all reliable public and private agencies, that there are now from 7 million to 9 million in such categories.

13. Provides for rehabilitation centers throughout the Nation. This is a vital necessity to development of the program.

14. Establishes a Federal second injury tax and fund, something which has been vitally needed for the past 50 years, and which, when functioning, will enable hundreds of thousands of severely handicapped, with multiple disabilities, to secure and hold remunerative employment, and thus be enabled to support themselves, their families, and make their contribution to the Nation, as a whole, by paying Federal, State, county, and municipal taxes.

15. Provides legal definitions of a physically handicapped person, and, persons who are totally disabled and unfeasible for rehabilitation. Lack of clear definitions, today, is not only confusing, but often seriously obstructs the application of benefits needed by the individual.

The foregoing, Mr. Chairman, is more definitively outlined in the statement which I made, in July 1953, to the House Committee on Education and Labor, and I am attaching and sending a copy of this statement to each member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with respectful request that members give it careful study, as it outlines each section of S. 2570, so that you will know exactly what is intended, and what, when established, the Federal agency for handicapped will be prepared to do.

Such a program, Mr. Chairman—and I emphasize "program"—rather than "bill," is essential today, both as a means of providing vitally important manpower for our national defense, and to develop continuing means of medical, educational, guidance, and placement services for all handicapped who require such services.

We are today at that point where, as a matter of national policy, we must determine whether or not we shall continue the expensive fallacy of so-called public assistance, which produces nothing, and provides no remedies other than meager, temporary aid, or, that we shall make a capital investment in the individual handicapped citizens and get them onto their feet so they may make their own contribution to our economic and social life, and be taxpayers, instead of taxeaters.

Our federation, with associated organizations supporting this necessary program, brings to you the pleas of more than 15 million American citizens to support this bill 100 percent. Enactment of this bill would not disturb the basic principles of the present Federal-State setup.

For the betterment of our people, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, and for the preservation of our Nation, itself, we respectfully urge that you substitute S. 2570 for all other pending measures, which are totally inadequate, unrealistic, and will do nothing more than continue the miserably ineffective, inefficient, and unbusinesslike present programs.

Public Laws 307 to 311

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include my 15th and 16th reports on legislation of the 83d Congress mailed to my constituents in the Second District of Illinois:

FIFTEENTH REPORT ON LEGISLATION OF THE 83D CONGRESS

DEAR FRIEND: Public Law 325 will be covered later in these reports. I am calling your attention to it now because I very much need your help.

Public Law 325 provides for an Air Academy similar to the Army Academy at West Point, the Naval Academy at Annapolis. I cast your vote for the bill. I think we will have to be airminded.

The new Air Academy (site at this date undecided) will open in July of 1955 with a class of 300 cadets. Later the number of cadets will be increased. However, only 300 can have the honor of belonging to the first class. I wish the Second District to have the distinction of representation in that class. That is why I am asking for your help.

It is possible for our district to have 13 cadets in that historic first class. It is possible in equal measure to have no representation.

Illinois has 13 of the 300 cadetships to be filled by the State's delegation in the Congress. Each Senator and each Representative is entitled to submit 10 names. That makes a total of 270 prospective candidates eligible to compete for the 13 cadetships. The test will be statewide. The 13 (of the 270) who come through with the highest marks will go to the new Air Academy.

Where you can help is by furnishing me names of young men interested and qualified. First, be certain they can qualify physically. The Air is especially exacting as regards ears and eyes. Second, be reasonably satisfied that they are prepared, or can prepare, for a stiff mental examination.

In apt time I will arrange for all candidates recommended to me to take an examination under the auspices of the United States Civil Service Commission. The names of the 10 finishing highest in this examination I will submit as the nominees of the Second District for the final statewide runoff.

I will appreciate your help and your comments.

AN EXPLANATION

At the time of the present writing the number of public laws has reached a total of 331. My last report to you covered up to and including Public Law 306. Now that the House is taking time out for an Easter recess I will catch my breath and get caught up. I do appreciate your patience.

It has been a matter of putting first things first.

My committee, Banking and Currency, gave the greater part of a month to the housing bill of 1954, the final executive session breaking up near midnight. I attended all the sessions. I think you wish your Representative to maintain a perfect attendance record with his committee as well as on the floor of the House.

Since my last report to you the House also has been unusually active. Leadership is driving hard for an early adjournment, possibly by July 15. Thus every legislative day is action filled. I have felt that my presence as representing you was required on the floor to the fullest extent possible.

My work in committee and on the floor of the House necessarily comes first. Next is my office work, including study of pending legislation and my correspondence. I am proud and happy that our district is among the top-ranking districts of the Nation in congressional letterwriting. I open and read every letter that comes to me from the district. I feel that this keeps me in an intimate personal relationship with the men and women whose vote I, as an agent for them, cast in the Congress of the United States.

In the scheduling of my time I have to work in the preparation and writing of these reports. I am thankful that the approaching week of recess will permit me to get you up to date on the laws we have passed.

YOUR OFFICE

Here in 1420 in the New House Office Building is your office in Washington. My staff and I are sincere in saying that we do regard it just that—your office. Please make the most of it when you visit the Nation's Capital. Since the unfortunate incident of March 1 the rules governing admission to the House gallery have been tightened. Please drop in at 1420 and we will be happy to supply you with identifying cards of admission.

Beginning where I left off in the last report:

PUBLIC LAW 307

H. R. 2326, extends for 3 years the 5-million ceiling on Armed Forces personnel:

Today our total armed strength is between 3,250,000 and 3,300,000 persons. After World War II the ceiling was put at 2,005,882. Then came Korea and the ceiling was lifted to 5 million, effective until July 31, 1954. Without Public Law 307 (which continues the 5-million ceiling another 3 years) the Armed Forces would have faced the necessity on July 31 of this year of reducing personnel to the 2,005,882 figure. Chairman SHORT, of the Armed Services Committee, told the House that in view of the international situation an armed force in excess of 2 million persons will be necessary for at least 4 years more.

Since the Secretary of Defense, and the committee, regarded this legislation as essential to the national security the House acted by unanimous consent.

PUBLIC LAW 308

H. R. 5773, refund of premiums on insurance canceled for fraud:

This is some break for veterans holding Government insurance policies.

Under the practice of commercial insurers and the decisions of the courts (29 American Jurisprudence 456; 129 A. L. R. 66; Cyclopedia of Insurance Law, Couch, vol. 3, par. 720), after the voiding of a policy for fraud, the insured is not entitled to refund of premium payments.

Public Law 308, recommended by the Committee on Veterans Affairs, provides that where after a lapse of time fraud is found to exist in a Government life insurance policy or national service life insurance policy all premiums shall be refunded except for the first 2 years. The premiums paid during the first 2 years are to be kept as an offset against the cost of administration in connection with a policy later found to be invalid because of fraud.

The law as enacted is a compromise. The original proposal was to make all Government life insurance policies and national service life insurance policies incontestable for fraud after they had been in existence for 2 years. There was much merit in this proposal. As every ex-service person knows, what later may develop as technically invalidating misrepresentation may have been occasioned entirely without understanding complicity on the part of the insured. It may have stemmed from someone else's haste or carelessness in paperwork.

Public Law 308 at least returns to the insured (or his beneficiary) all that has been paid in, less sufficient to protect the Government against financial loss. As far as it goes it is consistent with the wise and equitable policy of the Government in not taking advantage of its veterans and the conditions existing when the insurance was written.

You will be interested, I think, in Public Law 309, which will be covered in my 16th report, shortly to reach you. This is the Mexican farm labor measure (sometimes called the wetback bill). It was under debate in the House when the shooting from the gallery ended the legislative day.

Cordially and sincerely,

BARRATT O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

SIXTEENTH REPORT ON LEGISLATION OF THE 83D CONGRESS

DEAR FRIEND: Beginning where I left off in my last report here are the new laws of the land enacted at the present session of the 83d Congress and the manner in which your vote was cast:

PUBLIC LAW 309

House Joint Resolution 355, Mexican agricultural workers:

This was the measure that was under debate on March 1, 1954, when five Members of the Congress were struck down my bullets from the gallery. After the shooting the House adjourned, and it was not until the next day, March 2, that the House passed the bill after a motion to recommit had failed on rollcall, 156 to 250. I voted to recommit. I think you will approve.

Public Law 309 consists of exactly 86 words. It substitutes (in existing law governing so-called wetback labor) for the words "pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico" the words "pursuant to arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Mexico or after every practical effort has been made by the United States to negotiate and reach agreement on such arrangements."

This, of course, was by way of saying to the Government of Mexico that if it failed or refused to come to agreement with us (on a matter which concerned equally the United States and the nationals of Mexico) we would write the ticket. Previously a bilateral agreement (expired December 31, 1953) governed.

It was coincidental that the measure came up in the House the very day our Secretary of State was meeting with the American family of nations at Caracas to strengthen hemispheric ties.

I think the President was as fearful of unpleasant repercussions on the phase of friendly hemispheric relations as those of us who voted to recommit the bill. It is significant that although the resolution cleared House and Senate on March 4 it was not signed by the President until March 16, or 4 days after an agreement had been reached with the Republic of Mexico.

Farmers raising crops requiring hand labor (fruits and vegetables principally) have been giving seasonal employment to Mexican farmworkers. There have been abuses: (a) Exploitation of Mexican nationals; (b) inadequate protection of our own migratory workers; (2) exposure of the United States to a flood of illegal entries impossible to control. It was stated in debate (authority cited: New York Times) that many foreign agents, including Communists, were coming in as through an open door, undetected. What is needed is a new program eliminating the abuses.

Most of the vegetables and fruits in the United States are raised within 200 miles of the Mexican border. In California great agricultural corporations are taking over. We are hearing more and more of this. See my remarks as regards cotton and the ultimate threat to the small cotton farmers in Dixie Land in my report No. 12 on Public Law 290.

Some of the members from beet-growing sections of Michigan voted for Public Law 309, doubtless on the line that local interest justified them in a bad vote. The real power pressure came from the agricultural corporations of California. Fruit growing is big business.

Fortunately the two Governments did get together prior to the Presidential approval of a measure which otherwise could have had most unhappy consequences in both countries. This is not a justification, however, of a very bad legislative procedure.

The new bilateral agreement of the United States and Mexico will govern until December 31, 1955, the temporary emigration of Mexican farm workers into the United States under conditions expected to clear up some of the past abuses.

A joint migratory labor commission was created to study the problem in both its legal and illegal aspects and to make recommendations not later than October 31, 1954. Walter Thurston, former United States Ambassador to Mexico, heads our representation on the commission. Other members are Raymond A. McConnell, Jr., Nebraska editor; John E. Gross, for the Department of Labor; and L. B. Taylor, for the Department of Agriculture.

PUBLIC LAW 310

H. R. 2567, further relief for disbursing officers of Armed Forces:

After every major war Congress has relieved disbursing officers in the Armed Forces of responsibility for losses arising out of extraordinary cricumstances attendant upon war and its aftermath. Reasons: Volume of work, inexperienced personnel, necessity of speed in making prompt payments to greatly increased numbers of personnel and in negotiating contracts in furtherance of the war effort.

The act of July 26, 1947, granted this relief for the period between September 8, 1939, and July 1, 1946. Public Law 310 extends the period to July 1, 1948. Rapid demobilization proved as full of administrative headaches as the job of mobilization. In addition the tremendous task of closing out and consolidating large volumes of records was made more difficult by a shortage of personnel. Naturally those in the disbursing offices were as eager as others to get back to their families with the termination of hostilities.

The House passed the bill without debate. It was recommended by the Department of Defense, the Judiciary Committee, and the sense of fairness of all Members, including your Representative.

PUBLIC LAW 311

H. R. 2984, total disability compensation and insurance final after 20 years:

This, I am sure you will agree with me, is good legislation. It beneficially affects totally disabled war veterans by prohibiting the reduction of any rating of total disability or permanent total disability for compensation, pension, or insurance purposes in effect for 20 or more years.

Total disability is one which continuously renders it impossible for the disabled person to follow a substantially gainful occupation. It is deemed permanent when conditions appear to make it reasonably certain the total disability will continue through life.

Nevertheless, there are cases of unexpected recovery, of improved condition as disclosed in the reports of hospitalization, and also where evidence is received showing the original ratings to have been erroneous. Under existing law the ratings could be changed to conform.

This has occasioned a mental hazard. Many veterans live under the fear that in their advanced years they will lose the full benefits of their ratings through an arbitrary ruling, a doctor's mistake, or even a slight and temporary improvement. Public Law 311 removes this hazard by making the rating final and immune to change after 20 years. Recommended by VA and the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, it was passed by the House by cheerful consent.

Cordially and sincerely,

BARRATT O'HARA,
Member of Congress.

Business Opportunities in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 21, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Road Back," published in the Boston Traveler of April 15, dealing with the desirability of returning to New England, and with what New England offers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROAD BACK

One of our readers called in recently to identify himself as a man who had left New England to seek good business opportunities—and had found them by coming home again.

It struck us that he is typical of thousands who are keeping this area's economic wheels on the whirl today. In case after case that we know about, the individual has been lured out of New England by attractive promises and by the grass-is-greener-elsewhere bait. In case after case, the individual returns and finds in this region the very reward that he was chasing in other parts.

This turnabout is profitable not only for the individual but for the whole New England economy as well.

In other words, the worker's road back to New England is New England's road back to prosperity. At the moment, the traffic is increasing.

We have argued long and earnestly against letting New England talent and energy drift abroad when brilliant opportunities exist here at home. It is unfair to the individual to let him go without an argument. It is unfair to this region, to waste the benefits of New England training, education, and ability.

Today, New England is on the rise. The trend is shown in every table of statistics and every point of the economic cycle. For a man to leave now and seek new opportunities elsewhere is like a fisherman leaving the Atlantic shore to drop his line in a creek.

This year will be one of the biggest years in New England's history for construction and expansion. Our six-State program for the development of atomic power is off to a good start. Our educational facilities are in bigger demand than ever before. Our high standing in professional fields is unchallenged. Transportation, communications, research, small business, recreation industry—all are making fast strides of progress.

It is time for the absent New Englander to take the road back home. It is time for the young New Englander to realize there is more opportunity at his own front door than in some corner a thousand miles away.

The line is getting longer on the road leading back to New England prosperity.

House Resolution 438, To Expand Investigation of Communist Domination, Should Be Unanimously Approved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 2, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to congratulate the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KERSTEN] for introducing House Resolution 438, which, I understand, is scheduled for action in the near future.

This resolution, to expand the scope of the present committee, would authorize, first, a full and complete investigation of the seizure and forced incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the treatment of these Baltic peoples during and following that seizure and incorporation; and, second, to investigate and report the subversion and destruction of free institutions and human liberties in all other areas under Communist control and domination, including the treatment of the people in such areas.

Unfortunately, there appear to be a great many people, including responsible heads of States, who seem not to understand the terrible implications of the Communist threat to freedom and to liberty. Unfortunately, there appear to be a great many who do not really believe that the Communist methods embrace persecution, terrorization, and cruel tyranny to attain their objectives.

It is indeed axiomatic that the truth encourages and preserves freedom and liberty. For those who are still in ignorance and in darkness in our time, and for those who will come after us and face new problems concerning freedom and further threats to liberty, the true historical record of what actually happened in these suffering nations must be written. The facts must be completely set down. They must be verified, so that the case against communism will be overwhelmingly convincing.

On various ceremonial days of the year, meaning so much to the peoples of Lithuania, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and all the others that are suffering the sharp heel of Communist barbarism, we make dutiful pledges to help. Up to this time, I am sorry to say, there has been little sign of any concrete supporting action.

I believe firmly that this resolution is the first realistic step in carrying out our promises. Communist propaganda has enslaved people with lies and deceit. We must help to liberate them with truth, but first we must have the determination and the facilities to get the facts from those who have suffered from the cruelties of communism so that the power of world opinion and cooperative action will guarantee its defeat.

The searchlight of careful and probing investigation, under the wide scope of this resolution, will reveal the truth of Communist crimes to the Christian world and, God willing, advance the day of liberation for millions of persecuted, suffering people. I earnestly hope this resolution will be unanimously approved at the appropriate time.

Businessmen for Farm Price Supports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on March 31, I presented a resolution signed by 84 businessmen of Cut Bank, Mont., as an example of the community of interest in farm prosperity among the farmers and the businessmen in the communities which serve them.

Today I received an identical resolution signed by 158 businessmen in Conrad, Valier, Brady, and Ledger, Mont.

The signers, a cross section of the businessmen in these towns, favor maintenance of farm price supports at at least 90 percent of parity and ask Congress to try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities.

The resolution follows:

PARITY FOR THE FARMERS

Being as the State of Montana is a majority agricultural State, the undersigned businessmen feel that it is most imperative that we work side by side with those who are attempting to maintain a farm program which will enrich and develop the agricultural activities wherever they are a major industry or source of livelihood.

In view of the above conclusion, we, the following businessmen resolve:

That we go on record opposing any effort on the part of any Congressman, the Department of Agriculture, or any agency for attempting to disrupt the stabilization program, affecting all farm commodities.

We further resolve that Congress not only maintain 90 percent of parity, but shall try to establish 100 percent of parity for all farm commodities. We do not favor any tendency toward flexibility of price supports, but urge Congress to maintain a production control program, which is necessary in order to have stablized price support.

We further resolve to condemn any form of prosperity based on war and bloodshed, but favor genuinely sane and sound economic program, particularly for the producer, which shall be based on industry, security, and individual initiative.

We further urge all business groups in other cities of this State as well as of other agricultural States to go on record favoring similar resolutions.

Conrad businessmen: R. G. Arnot, Arnots Furniture; H. H. Burger, auto business; A. K. Conrad, Conrads' Real Estate and Insurance; H. W. Conrad, Conrads' Real Estate and Insurance; R. G. Barth, the Toggery; Avery L. Roser, Roser's Department Store; Perne M. Baker, Baker's Real Estate and Insurance; Ebert Malone, Pastime Billiard Parlor; H. W. Armstrong, Sr., Armstrong's Barber Shop; Sidney M. Dodge, Oil City Cleaners; Dave Humble, Humble's Cafe; Louis Salansky, Salansky's Fine Foods; William McKee, manager, Buttrey Foods, Inc.; Jack Baumann, service station; Chas. C. Whitney, Whitney's Motor Service; Tom McCracken, Pondera Farm Equipment; Ralph E. Hales, Conrad Creamery; Shirley J. Rise, Montana Cleaners; Kenneth E. Sheppard, Modern Shoe Shop; M. R. Carlton, Conrad Cafe; Fern D. Corcoran, Corcoran's Floral Shop; Don R. Burgess, aerial crop sprayer; D. J. Felska, Ben Franklin Store; Earl F. McCracken, Earl's Cash Market; E. C. Robinson, secretary-treasurer, Conrad PCA; Joe Quenemoen, manager, Equity Cooperative Association; C. M. Borgen, manager, Occident Elevator; A. G. Dehler, president, Dehler Bernatz Co.; Cecil E. Mills, manager, Farmers Supply Co-op Store; Edward Holstein, manager, General Mills, Inc.; L. A. Larson and H. Wiese, managers, Cargill, Inc.; B. P. Hennessy, Hennessy Lumber Co.; Lynn E. Wallace, manager, Farmers Supply Co-op; Charles J. Berry, manager, Greely Elevator Co.; Elmer M. Munson, contractor; Herman Brakke, Pontiac agency; H. R. Schmidt, Herb's Service Station; H. N. Stenseth, investments; M. McIntyre, McIntyre's Texaco; Vaughn Dutro, manager, Conrad Implement Co.; Dr. Thomas Towey, D. M. D.; Jack A. Smith, public accountant; George Bourquin, public accountant; E. F. Erwin, Gene's Barber Shop; Mrs. D. J. McClue, Conrad Bakery; J. F. Fooshee, Pondera Drug Co.; Lloyd Erickson, Erickson's Welding & Machine Shop; G. A. Holmes, Hannah & Holmes, auto dealer; Harold Pyle, Harold's Jewelry; Elvin Jensen, manager, People's Co-op Meat Co.; Ralph Sutherland, Marshall-Wells Store; Harry H. Drake, Drake's Drug Store, Inc.; E. H. Powell, manager, Towey Hotel; Elmer Jensen, Coast-to-Coast Store; Jerome L. Scott, Gamble Store; Clyde E. Flynn, Flynn's Electric Shop; A. V. Verzuh, Al's Plumbing and Heating; Robert S. Hamilton, M. D.; A. O. Freebury, Conrad Cleaners; R. Siler, Siler's Texaco; A. Len Miller, Miller Motors, Inc.; O. Wieringa, Conrad Body Shop; Otis T. Misfeldt, electrical worker; B. C. Elsberry, Elsberry's Hardware; Mrs. E. P. Patten, Pondera Abstract Co.; Lawrence D. Abel, Jr., City Hardware & Radio; J. W. Clark, manager, J. C. Penney Co.; Vernon Martin, Martin's Jewelry; Wesley A. Pearson, the Electric Center; William E. Hadcock, M. D.; J. P. Calvin, Hotel Conrad; Howard T. Francisco, attorney-at-law; A. G. Petesch, Twin Service Co.; Jack Huntsinger, Huntsinger Buick; Asa Pickett, Silver Cafe; C. A. Mills, Reo Motors; C. B. Glaim, manager, Monarch Lumber Co.; Ruben Bortvedt, manager, Northern Montana Mustard Growers; L. P. Richardson, Luce Hotel; E. F. Wyse, E. F. Wyse Funeral Home; H. W. Conrad, Jr., attorney-at-law; Pat McElliott, North Montana Machinery Co.; Robert J. Ege, Conrad Sport Shop; P. J. Schultz, Schultz Lumber Co.; Ed Sincavage, manager, Safeway food store; John Preputin, barber; D. W. Doyle, attorney-at-law; P. S. Cannon, M. D.; Guy Fogelsong, West Apartments; V. H. Anderson, mustard dealer; John R. Dahlin, Dahlin & Sons, agricultural supplies; William Grubb, gravel and excavating; J. F. Holstein, Fred & Pat's Furniture Repair; James R. Miller, manager Jacobson's Drive-In; Marie Brakke, Northgate Motel; Con Christenson, auctioneer; James Tennis, Cone Cafe; Richard E. Eckstein, Dick's Conoco; Tom Egan, Egan Metal Products; Eugene V. Crawley, New York Life insurance agent; James B. Ball, Pondera Machine Works; Willard Robinson, agent, Consolidated Freightways; Hal Gollehon, Conrad Transfer; Melvin Fladstol, apartment houses; Dr. Harry R. Yunck, D. M. D.; Harold Kirk, Dean Hotel; R. D. Mason, M. D.; H. H. Dolliver, insurance agent; Ed. G. Valentine Valentine's Style Shop; Everett Auren, Jr., N & A Auto Co.; W. L. Rader, publisher, Independent-Observer.

Valier businessmen: Jim Fitzpatrick, Fits Repair Shop; K. P. Munyon, Valier Lumber Co.; Jesse Kibbee, manager, Cargill, Inc.; U. B. Urness, Gambles Store; Ernest Sorenson, manager, Farmers Union GTA; A. C. Geiger, Capitol Theater; William Bohn, Montana Cafe; R. W. Leet, Trail Cafe; Minnie Ethel Leet, Leet's Apparel Shoppe; Lloyd

M. Gigstad, Gig's Cash Cleaners; N. S. Swanson, president, Farmers & Stockmens Bank; Lloyd Eppe, Lloyd's Market; DeVoe Swank, DeVoe's Builders Service; Eugene Bonnet, Gene's Dairy; P. E. Ames, Pete's Cafe; Hal K. Ferris, utilities worker; W. J. Schneider, Wesley's Service; John T. Briden, manager, Briden Chevrolet; S. G. Snortland, Valier Implement Co.; Gordon Shephard, Shep's Union Service; W. R. Kincaid, manager, Continental Oil Co.; James Curry, Curry's Market; Geo. E. Boyd, manager, Greely Elevator Co.; Sam Stokes, Clack Service Station; Lyle Marsh, Marsh's Confectionary; L. Wefsenmoe, manager, Montana Western Railway; J. N. Starbuck, Starbuck Drug Co.; Mervin Chausse, Valier Garage; Andy A. Hammer, Hammer Plumbing & Heating; Charles Donovan, Valier Hotel; Ralph Bowman, general contractor; Sam Stokes, manager, Gallatin Valley Milling Co.; Carl Monroe, Carl's Barber Shop; Roy Hanna, manager, Farmers Union Oil Co.

Brady businessmen: Gilbert Mundy, manager, Equity Cooperative Association; Charles L. Armstrong; Bruce Petersen, Pete's Repair Shop; Robert E. Laurence, manager, Monarch Lumber Co.; Richard J. Thompson, M. & T. Implement Co.; Mrs. Julia L. Rose, confectionery; J. A. Magdall, Brady Garage; Fred W. Froebel, Fred's Super Market; H. McComb, manager, Montana Elevator Co.; E. Reiner, agent, Gallatin Valley Milling Co.; Hazel A. Andersen, the Coffee Cup Cafe.

Ledger businessmen: Richard Gemar, manager, Farmers Union Elevator; Freda L. Hall, Ledger Store.

Agriculture Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I can make no pretense at qualifying as an expert on all the problems of our national agriculture. However, I have always given deep study and taken great interest in our actions on the annual Agriculture Department appropriation measures coming before this House.

I am particularly and vitally concerned with those items of the Agriculture appropriations bill providing for research, pest control, extension service, and the school-lunch program.

I have consistently supported adequate appropriations for agriculture research and earnestly hope the current amount granted for that purpose will be retained and even increased. Such an expenditure and activity is obviously necessary for the healthy preservation and growth of our agriculture economy. The results of research in farming are not only valuable today, but will inevitably benefit the coming generations of American farmers. Continuing research is no less vital to farm improvement than it is to industrial production. Agriculture research may also, in my opinion, well contribute to finding the answer to reduce and solve our agriculture surplus problem. Certainly when new uses are found for these products the surplus problem will diminish in proportion. That alone is perhaps reason enough to expand research activity.

Hand in hand with the research division is the Federal Extension Service as the educational arm of the Department of Agriculture. It works with all Department agencies on the one side and with the State extension services on the other. It provides an essential connecting link for bringing to farmers research results from the Department and other States, information and interpretation of nationwide problems and policies for agriculture, and information on how the action programs of the Department can best serve them. Strong national leadership and effective counsel and assistance for the State extension services is a prerequisite for a really effective, efficient, coordinated educational program.

Much research, both that done in the Department and in the States, has application regionwide or countrywide. Many marketing problems, so important today, are interstate problems. Education can do much to improve marketing efficiency and step-up consumption. But a State-by-State approach is not the complete answer. A strengthened Federal Extension Service staff working with the States is required, and I earnestly hope no unwise reduction to cripple the Federal Extension Service will be made.

The gypsy moth control problem is a very serious matter in my State of Massachusetts. It also is giving serious concern to other parts of New England and New York. I know that the committee has given full consideration to our delegation's presentation of this problem, and I understand they are in agreement in recommending the full amount of money appropriated for such pest control in the last fiscal year. I want to express my own appreciation for the committee's courtesy and understanding and urge my colleagues to approve this budget item without any reduction.

Now I understand there are some here who feel that a real substantial reduction in the money for the so-called school-lunch program is presently warranted. While I respect their opinions, of course, I must speak in strong disagreement.

There is probably no subject upon which I have received personally more favorable and entreating correspondence from people in all walks of life. In my considered judgment, the school-lunch program is one of the best things ever undertaken by our Government. It is a real investment in the sound future of America because it is an investment to improve the health of our children. The number of young men rejected for military service for physical reasons is in itself sufficient proof of the essential need for this program's continuation in full. In all too many cases these rejections could be traced directly to inadequate diets in childhood. Every statistical study on record clearly demonstrates that the overall national health of our children has considerably increased since the initiation of this school-lunch program.

This is a matter beyond any partisan consideration because it fundamentally affects the health, progress and security of our Nation. I sincerely believe that any curtailment and reduction in this appropriation would be a striking instance of false and unwise economy. I hope that a great majority of the Membership here will join with me in voting for the full amount to insure the maintenance of a high health standard for American youth. It seems to me that while we are apparently willing to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to feed starving populations all over the world, we can, therefore, afford to appropriate this relatively small amount to guarantee the health and well-being of our own children.

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Appendix

Farm Conditions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 22, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement submitted yesterday by the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY, APRIL 21, 1954

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, since my last appearance before this committee on January 18, you have heard the testimony of many witnesses on the various aspects of the current farm problem. Not only here in Congress but throughout the Nation there has been a continuing discussion of this question.

The determination of this committee to obtain all of the available facts on this whole broad matter is demonstrated by the extended hearings at which you have given so many interested persons an opportunity to testify freely and fully. I firmly believe that all of this is to the good. An informed public is one of the great bulwarks of our Government. Only through free and open debate can the American people obtain the fundamental facts which are essential to the intelligent formulation of major policies.

In a larger sense, what confronts us today is more than just a farm problem. While this committee and the Department which I represent are principally concerned with agriculture, the decisions which we make affect all of our citizens. Programs designed to assure an adequate supply of food and fiber to meet the growing needs of our Nation are in the direct interests of everyone. As taxpayers, both farmers and urban residents have a vital stake in whether the results of these programs justify their cost. The interdependence of agriculture and other segments of our economy highlight the genuine need for maintaining a fair balance among all of them.

During recent weeks, this committee and its counterpart in the House have heard the testimony of numerous witnesses representing farm organizations, trade groups, and industries allied with agriculture. On some matters there has been a wide divergence of opinion—on others almost unanimous agreement. With your permission, I should like to deal with what seem to be the most important issues raised in this discussion.

I should also like to discuss the outlook for agriculture, as I see it, under each of the three possible situations which would confront us:

1. If supports for the basic commodities are continued at 90 percent of parity for 1 or more years.

2. If the administration's recommendations are adopted substantially as the President has outlined them.

3. If no new farm bill is enacted, either through the absence of legislative action or through a Presidential veto of legislation passed by Congress.

There are four other matters which are of considerable current interest—diverted acres, drought, foreign trade, and the dairy situation. I shall report on some of the more important developments relating to each.

Returning now to some questions which have arisen frequently during hearings before this committee and the House Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, let us consider for a moment this one:

"Doesn't history show that in periods of lower prices farmers seek to maintain their income through increased production?"

Of course, it is quite possible to produce some isolated statistics which answer this affirmatively. Any careful evaluation of the evidence, however, indicates that farm production does respond to price. If this were not true, we would lack an explanation for the admirable manner in which, through the years, agricultural production has adjusted itself to consumer demands.

We have only to look at the hog market to demonstrate that prices and production are closely related. You will recall that during 1952 hog prices dropped to 75 percent of parity. It became unprofitable to produce pork. Farmers promptly reduced farrowings and hog prices rebounded. For some time now hogs have been bringing about 120 percent of parity.

All of you know that the 1953 potato crop was marketed at disastrously low prices. The theory that low prices stimulate production should have brought an increased acreage into cultivation this year. Instead, what has happened? Potato growers have indicated that they are reducing 1954 plantings by approximately 11 percent.

When Congress sought to stimulate greater agricultural production during the Second World War and again during the Korean war, high price supports were provided. Certainly no one ever seriously suggested during those periods that lower supports would step up farm output.

Our long-term studies indicate that a 10-percent reduction in the price of wheat on the average will result in a 2-percent drop in acreage the following year. There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule. Such factors as soil conditions at planting time, subsequent drought and rust damage—all of which are beyond our control—may completely upset these calculations in a given year.

The First World War brought us our first billion-bushel wheat crop. As prices rose from 80 cents per bushel to more than $2 between 1913 and 1919, some 21 million additional acres of wheat came into production. The Second World War brought an even greater increase in wheat plantings—from 53 million seeded acres in 1942 to more than 78 million in 1947, as average prices jumped from $1.10 per bushel to $2.29.

While it may be useful, in arguing for higher supports, to maintain that farmers do not react in a rational manner to the factor of price, nevertheless, the evidence is all to the contrary. Individual farmers are just as intelligent as businessmen in responding to economic influence. Farmers increase production of a commodity when the demand for it is strong and just as logically they reduce the output when prices soften.

Another question which has been raised throughout the hearings runs something like this:

"In view of the drought situation and current world tension don't we need every bushel and pound of food and fiber now on hand to meet any possible contingency?"

Today we have the anomalous situation of hunger in many parts of the world while this Nation has been blessed with an abundance of food. We should be thankful that our problem is one of learning to manage surpluses rather than one of underproduction.

Certainly we should maintain adequate stockpiles of farm commodities for our own security. This administration has recommended upward revisions in the law defining normal supplies with respect to corn and wheat. Actually we do not have excessive stocks of more than a few commodities. We must, however, draw a sharp distinction between adequate reserves and unmanageable surpluses.

Today we have approximately $2¼ billion committed to price-support operations in wheat alone. This represents more than one-third of the $6½ billion which Commodity Credit Corporation has obligated in loans and inventories. We own outright 427 million bushels of wheat and we stand to acquire a large part of the more than 500 million bushels currently under loan or purchase agreement.

Our wheat carryover on July 1 is estimated at 875 million bushels. The 1954 crop may yield an additional 900 million bushels. Even though we should not harvest a single bushel of wheat this year, we would still have enough on hand to meet our full domestic requirements, plus most of our foreseeable exports, for a 12-month period. In view of the anticipated production in 1954, such a supply of wheat represents far more than an adequate reserve. It is a burdensome surplus which is exerting heavy downward pressure on wheat prices.

Our current wheat supplies would enable us to ride in safety through such serious droughts as we experienced in 1934 and 1936. Even in those disastrous years our wheat harvest was 526 million and 630 million bushels, respectively.

In cotton we have a somewhat similar problem, with supplies building up well above a level which might be considered adequate. The carryover on August 1 is estimated at 9.6 million bales—enough to meet domestic requirements for a year—and this cotton will be on hand as we begin picking a new crop. CCC has well over 8 million bales of cotton in loan and inventory, representing an investment of $1.4 billion.

Even though we should gather the smallest crop in the last 50 years—one comparable to the 1946 harvest of 8.6 million bales—we would still have more than enough for a safe reserve.

Our carryover of corn next October 1 is estimated at 900 million bushels, which would be a new record. While I would like to see a figure somewhat lower than this, we utilize approximately one-quarter of a billion bushels of corn per month and even

a partial failure of the 1954 crop would bite deeply into this prospective carryover.

I should like to emphasize, however, that a large corn supply has a depressing effect upon prices and forces the Government to take over large quantities of this grain under the 90 percent of parity loan program. We have sizable stocks from the 1948 and 1949 crops which we are now selling at substantial losses because of deterioration.

The Government also owns more dairy products and more vegetable oils than we need for an adequate supply of such perishable commodities.

There is a very real danger in a program which makes the Government the principal owner of a farm commodity. Private trade is weakened. The Government, rather than industry, carries the inventory and this, in turn, invites further encroachment upon activities which have heretofore been reserved to private business. If Government is to be the largest owner of food and fiber, how long will it be before we are also the largest wholesalers and eventually, perhaps, even the largest retailers?

In an uncertain world, perhaps we could never stockpile enough food or fiber or anything else, for that matter, to meet every eventuality. What a 10-year drought or 10 hydrogen bombs might do to our Nation are things beyond human comprehension. We could conceivably be faced with either or both. As prudent men, however, I believe we should base our calculations upon a less pessimistic note, being guided more by our experiences of the past than by fear of the future. If we employ such a yardstick, it is apparent that our current supplies of some commodities far exceed our foreseeable needs. It would also appear that they exceed those of any potential enemy.

Now I should like to turn briefly to a question which has been raised repeatedly in these hearings.

"Why is it?" some witnesses have asked, "that the farmer is getting less and less and the consumer's food dollar while retail food prices move higher and higher?"

When this administration took office in January of 1953, the farmer was receiving 45 percent of the consumer's food dollar. He still is. Throughout the last 15 months his share has averaged 45 percent.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, retail food prices reached their high point in August of 1952 at 116.6 percent of the 1947–49 average. During February of this year, the index stood at 112.6, which represented a slight decline from the preceding month and a 4 point drop from the record high.

Going back into history a bit, our records show that during the 30-year period, 1913 through 1942, farmers received an average of 43 percent of the food dollar. During the 1935–39 period, the average was only 40 percent. Through the Second World War, this percentage climbed steadily to 54 in 1945. It had dropped back to 48 percent in 1949 and stayed there through 1951, moving sharply lower during the final months of 1952.

I say categorically that the farmer's share of the consumer's dollar has not declined under this administration nor have retail food prices moved upward.

It seems clear that more efficiency and improved marketing methods offer the greatest hope for helping farmers to obtain their fair share of the retail food dollar. Under the Research and Marketing Act of 1946, we are stepping up the tempo of applied research in this area. I am certain that all of us are committed to these objectives.

The question of whether high price supports insure high farm income has been discussed in some detail at these hearings. I believe most of the evidence indicates they do not.

Unprecedented demands for food and fiber both here and abroad kept most farm prices well above parity during the Second World War and the years immediately following. Because we had price supports at 90 percent of parity during this same period, many farmers naturally associate high supports with high prices. That the two don't necessarily go hand in hand has been clearly demonstrated during the last 2 years.

Despite 90 percent supports, wheat prices averaged only 82 percent of parity during 1953. Although corn is supported at the same level, free market prices during March were only 80 percent of parity. The surpluses which have been accumulated under these rigid supports tend to offset the effect of the loan program itself. This has been true even though this administration has undertaken the greatest grain-storage expansion program in history in an effort to make crop loans function effectively.

The very fact that net farm income has declined in 5 of the last 6 years, despite supports at 90 percent of parity on the basic crops and some other commodities, raises this point:

Are we not placing too much reliance upon the factor of price alone and forgetting that it is price times volume which determines gross income? And, just as important, that gross income, minus expenses, equals net income?

The individual farmer measures his own prosperity by what he has left after his crops have been marketed and his bills have been paid. Overemphasis of price—only one of the many factors which enter into the final reckoning—can blind us to the other equally important items which finally translate themselves into net income.

The six basic crops account for only about one-fourth of farmers' cash marketing receipts, while nearly 60 percent of the total comes from commodities which enjoy no direct price supports. It would be dangerous to assume that if we should legislate high wages for one-fourth of our industrial employees, the other three-fourths would prosper. We would appear also to be on rather shaky ground in assigning to price supports of the basic commodities greater economic importance than they actually possess.

The very fact that the nonsupported commodities have actually averaged slightly higher in price than the supported ones, relative to the base period, suggests to me the likelihood that we have at work economic forces far stronger than mere Government loans and purchase programs. I am personally convinced that the general level of prices exerts a far greater influence upon farm prices than any conceivable support program possibly could.

This emphasizes the enormous stake that all of us—farmers and city people alike—have in maintaining a prosperous and expanding economy. We are undergoing some readjustments during this transition from a wartime basis to what we pray will be a time of peace. Some dislocations—principally the result of declining farm exports—have hit certain segments of our agricultural economy particularly hard.

I am enough of an optimist to believe that the long-term outlook for agriculture is bright. I am also enough of a realist to believe that we should never relax our efforts to improve this outlook through broader research and education, improved marketing methods, increased efficiency, and a workable Government price-support program.

This brings us to another question:

"Is it not true that flexible supports provide greater assistance in times of short supply, when prices would tend to be high anyway, and less assistance when the supply is large and supports are most needed?"

Under the act of 1949, a normal supply is supported at 90 percent of parity. I believe it should be made very clear that farmers would always get that maximum guaranty if they held production within the bounds defined by Congress. With the supply of a given crop at 130 percent of normal, the minimum level of support at 75 percent of parity could be invoked. This larger supply, sold at 75 percent of parity, however, would actually bring farmers 8 percent more in gross income than would a normal supply marketed at 90 percent of parity.

This further emphasizes that it is not just price alone, but price times volume, which determines gross farm income.

The effect of price upon consumption has been discussed at some length. Several witness have pointed out that the cost of the wheat in a loaf of bread represents only 2½ to 3 cents of the retail sales price. They have argued that the price of wheat would have to be reduced by some 80 cents per bushel to achieve a 1-cent cut in the cost of a loaf of bread, and that this would not encourage any greater consumption.

With respect to this specific example, I would be the first to agree that lower wheat prices won't encourage the American people to eat appreciably larger quantities of bread. In fact, through the years they have been eating less and less of it per capita without any regard to wheat-market fluctuations. National consumption of wheat for food has remained stationary for nearly half a century despite the enormous growth of our population.

Even though "potatoes are cheaper" right now than they were when Eddie Cantor made those words famous in song back in the depression days, the fact remains that a substantial drop in prices brings about only a slight increase in consumption.

Because this is true of a few commodities, however, it would be extremely dangerous to conclude that price generally is not a major factor affecting consumption. It very definitely is. Even in the case of wheat.

Certainly if wheat prices dropped to the level of corn—and I assure you I would not welcome such a situation—the amount of wheat fed to livestock in this country would increase enormously. Prior to and during World War II we did feed large quantities of wheat. We also know that price is a factor in the movement of wheat into export.

It is the more perishable and relatively expensive commodities which demonstrate how readily consumption responds to price movements—both upward and downward. Retail sales of such items as eggs, beef, and pork often react quickly and emphatically to broad prices changes.

During 1953, the 2-year decline in cattle prices reached its low point as marketings hit an alltime peak. The buying public responded immediately to bargain beef prices. Consumption reached a record high of 76.3 pounds per person in 1953.

While all of this was happening, there were demands from some sources for supports on live cattle at 90 percent of parity. Similar recommendations have been put forward during these hearings.

We consistently rejected these proposals, as did most of the Nation's cattlemen. Instead we embarked upon a direct-purchase program which resulted in the diversion of some 865,000 head, mostly grass-run cows, from normal market channels. We joined with the industry in promoting increased use of beef.

The success of this overall program may be measured by the fact that average beef cattle prices have increased some 13 percent since last November. What is even more important, the cattlemen of the country have kept control of their own industry. Today we have a far healthier situation than the one which would have resulted had we embarked upon a program of price supports upon live cattle, with all of the production

controls and regimentation which such a decision would have made inevitable.

The canned beef which we obtained is being rapidly moved into channels of consumption through sales and through domestic and foreign-assistance programs. The cost has been small compared with the outlays which would certainly have been required under a direct-support program.

In the course of these hearings, the contention has been put forward that supports at 90 percent of parity can be made effective if production controls are vigorously applied. The example of tobacco is cited. The question is:

"Why can't we enforce similar restrictions upon such crops as wheat, cotton, and corn?"

Certainly it is true that the tobacco industry has accepted the adjustment principle. Supplies have been kept in line with demands. The total acreage involved is much smaller than for the other major basics and so are the individual allotments. The problem of diverted acres in connection with tobacco is relatively minor. At the same time, tobacco is cultivated on an extremely intensified basis. Growers are already doing just about everything possible to obtain maximum production on their limited acres.

Moreover, tobacco is an important source of revenue to Federal, State, and local governments. This is one of the reasons it has been subjected to such stringent controls, not only in the United States but throughout much of the world.

The capitalization of program benefits into land values means that the advantages of the program are captured largely by those who owned farms when it began. Benefits dwindle as the next generation must pay higher land prices in order to participate.

Because practically all of the tobacco grown is marketed, it is less difficult to apply controls than in the case of corn, where three-fourths of the crop is consumed on the farms. Tobacco growers also have more to gain and less to lose by restricting production than do the producers of most crops. A small reduction in the available supply brings a sharp increase in tobacco prices. This is less true of such commodities as cotton and corn because consumers can turn to substitute products.

We know from experience that many growers of wheat, cotton and corn not only can but also do manage to increase their per acre yield under controls. Moreover, most of them appear unwilling to accept the drastic reductions which are sometimes called for under existing law. Along with Congress, I have bowed to pleas for alleviation of these hardships.

When I appeared before you 3 months ago, I expressed some doubts that we could achieve substantial production cutbacks with acreage restrictions and marketing controls. Their purpose can be defeated if farmers employ their best land, fertilize more heavily, improve tillage practices, extend irrigation and step up the fight against insects and plant diseases. More machinery, science and labor tend to offset reduced plantings. Such actions are laudable enough. They are in the best tradition of efficient farming. But they simply do not reduce production.

Despite efforts to control production on acres diverted from the basic crops, this land will add its output to the total. Overall production may not be reduced. Acreage controls will be needed during the next several years for those crops which are in urgent need of production adjustment. But a general and permanent program of restricted agricultural production does not seem to be a promising route for agriculture.

I have attempted here to give my views on some of the questions which have been raised in previous testimony. I have purposely limited this discussion to what appear to be the more controversial points.

My own reading of a considerable part of the testimony indicates that there is rather general agreement upon several administration proposals, including the set aside of certain surplus commodities, the plans to expand foreign markets and the recommended use of soil conservation payments to help meet the problem of diverted acreage.

Turning now to a matter which I mentioned earlier—the three possible situations confronting agriculture—I should like to discuss first the outlook if rigid supports are continued on the basic commodities for one or more years.

The evidence at hand convinces me that we would risk our entire farm program if this course is followed. The prospect would be for huge financial losses, continued unmanageable surpluses of some commodities and drastic production controls.

It might be well at this point to take a quick look at the financial position of Commodity Credit Corporation. As you know, Congress recently increased the borrowing authority of this agency from $6¾ billion to $8½ billion, upon the recommendation of the President.

Attached to this statement as exhibits A and B are departmental news releases relative to the status of CCC price support programs as of February 28, 1954, and for the same date a year earlier. They reveal an increase of more than $3¼ billion dollars in CCC's loans and inventories during a 12-month period, with $6¼ billion committed on February 28, 1954. Obviously, we cannot continue at this pace for another year without a further boost in the borrowing authority of CCC.

It should perhaps be noted that four basic commodities—wheat, cotton, corn and tobacco—account for more than 90 percent of all outstanding loans which total nearly $8.6 billion. The same thing was true a year earlier when loans totaled just under $1.9 billion.

Also attached as exhibits C and D are more current weekly inventory reports of CCC for April 7, 1954, and April 6, 1953. These show an increase of more than $1.5 billion in the inventory position of the agency during the past year. Commodities now owned outright by CCC were acquired at a cost of approximately $2¾ billion. Because of the very large quantities of wheat, cotton, and corn currently under loan, our inventories are certain to increase sharply during the months ahead, even though we are encouraging farmers to reseal farm-stored grains for an additional year.

This swelling total of CCC loans and inventories—limited though it is to a few commodities—is fast approaching a point where the entire program may collapse of its own weight. I sincerely hope this will not happen. There is so much in our present farm programs that is sound and should be preserved. Yet I am fearful that if we do not heed the storm warnings now on the horizon many positive gains in the field of agricultural legislation will be swept away.

I cannot believe that the continuation of a program which helped to create some of our most serious farm problems will ever solve them.

On the other hand, I am convinced that the program recommended by the President will point our efforts in the direction we must take to meet these grave issues. It is not a quick and easy remedy for all of the ills of agriculture. There is no overnight cure-all. But this plan which the President has proposed to the Congress will encourage better balanced production. It will work toward giving farmers more control over their own operations. It will encourage increased consumption of many commodities both at home and abroad. It will permit us to attack the surplus problem with increased vigor. And, finally, it will insure a more stable and prosperous agriculture over the long-term pull.

There has apparently been some misunderstanding of the immediate effects of the program recommended by the President upon agricultural income. I have seen some calculations which purport to show that violent declines would take place in the level of price support and in farm income. This simply is not true.

Since the flexible features of the act of 1949 do not become operative until 1955, this year's farm income would not be altered adversely in any way. The nonbasic crops, which account for about three-fourths of our farm income, would not be directly affected by the changeover.

Attached to this statement as exhibits E and F are tabulations which show in detail the levels of support for the various commodities in 1955 and in 1956 under both S. 3052 and the House committee print. In the case of wheat, with a set aside of 500 million bushels, they show that the minimum level of support would be 84 percent in 1955 and 87 percent in 1956 under the House committee print version. Under S. 3052, the minimum level would be 81 percent in 1955 and 85 percent in 1956, with the 500 million bushels set aside. Even with the transitional parity which becomes effective in 1956, the level of support would be above $2 per bushel.

The differences in levels of support under the two bills are accounted for by the provision for a larger carryover allowance in the committee print.

In the case of corn the 1955 crop would be supported at 85 percent of parity and the 1956 crop at 87 percent, under the committee print, and at 81 and 85 percent, respectively, under S. 3052. Cotton would receive 90 percent supports throughout the next 3 years under S. 3052. Under the committee print version, the level would vary from a low of 82 percent in 1955, with a 3 million set aside, and a low of 86 percent with a 4 million bale set aside, to a high of 90 percent in subsequent years.

Rice and tobacco would continue to be supported at 90 percent of parity under both bills, according to our calculations. The minimum level on peanuts would be 83 percent of parity under the committee print and 86 percent under S. 3052.

A comprehensive discussion of this tabulated material would require more time than is available today. I have cited some of the highlights to demonstrate that the proposed measures are in keeping with the President's recommendations for gradual changes in the levels of price support on the basic commodities.

As a matter of fact, these proposals would provide the highest levels ever written into any permanent farm legislation. You will recall that the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 established flexible supports between 52 and 75 percent of parity. The act of 1948, provided a range between 60 and 90 percent. The act of 1949 narrowed this flexibility between 75 and 90 percent. This law would become effective, as scheduled, next January 1, but the set aside provision would maintain supports at a higher level than is now directed.

The record shows that all recent Secretaries of Agriculture have favored flexible price supports. Mr. Wallace did and still does. Mr. Wickard did. Mr. Anderson did and still does. Mr. Brannan did through at least a considerable part of his service.

Flexible price supports were a part of the platforms of both major parties in 1948 and these recommendations were embodied into law that year and in 1949. All major farm organizations favored the principle then, as did overwhelming majorities of both parties in Congress. Certainly the record of overall support for such a program is impressive enough to justify a fair trial for it now.

Should this Congress not agree upon a new farm bill, or in the event of a Presidential veto of legislation which might be passed, the act of 1949 would become effective as now scheduled. Even without the changes which have been recommended by this administration, I believe this is essentially a sound law. We could carry forward with a workable program which would be in the long-time interests of American agriculture. Under the discretionary authority vested in the Secretary, it would be possible to cushion the year-to-year drop in the level of support if conditions warranted.

For my part I believe that the 1949 act as it stands today would be infinitely preferable to an extension of high level, rigid supports for the basic commodities.

Whatever program we operate under after 1954, the problem of diverted acres is likely to be with us for some time. With some 25 million acres normally planted to wheat, cotton, and corn being taken out of such production this year, farmers are preparing to seed a considerable part of this land to other crops. This could compound our problems by creating new surpluses.

The Crop Reporting Board of the Department of Agriculture found that as of March 1 farmers' intentions to plant indicated sizable increases in acreages of several important commodities. This estimate showed a potential increase of 48.9 percent in barley, 27.8 percent in grain sorghums, 19.1 percent in sugar beets, 18 percent in flaxseed, 14 percent in peas and beans, 12.4 percent in soybeans, 8.2 percent in rice, and 7.4 percent in oats. Only prospective potato acreage showed a significant decrease.

As you know, for 1955 we are requesting an advance authorization of $250 million for the agricultural conservation program. This represents an increase of more than one-fourth in the $195 million authorized for 1954. Through these augmented funds, we expect to encourage the planting of soil-building and soil-protecting crops upon many of the diverted acres next year.

Under the ACP program it is also possible to share the costs in assisting farmers to employ soil conserving practices on acreage suitable for continued crop production and to help farmers make permanent land use adjustments on soil which is not well suited for continuous cultivation. Our greatest emphasis will be upon the employment of ACP funds in carrying forward conservation practices on farmlands diverted from normal crops under acreage allotment programs.

We may be confronted with a serious drought problem again this year, although recent moisture has brought partial relief in some areas. In the important North Central area, which encompasses about half of our annual crop acreage, farmers are still concerned about shortages of subsoil moisture, despite recent rains.

The most seriously affected area is in the Southwest, embracing southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado, eastern New Mexico, extreme western Oklahoma, and much of Texas. Much of this area had sufficient moisture for seeding last fall and it appeared that the 1953 drought had been broken with a good rain December 3. But this was the last rain in much of the area for 16 weeks, and wheat there was damaged by dust storms, drought, insects, and disease. Good rains over the April 10–11 weekend may save much of the crop that remains.

In the Southwest, the heaviest damage has been on acreage that should not be under cultivation. In the past 12 years, some 3½ million acres have been plowed up and put into wheat and cotton. Most of this land is sandy and unsuited for farming.

The high prices of cotton and wheat encouraged the plowing up of this land. Artificially high price supports have tended to keep these acres under cultivation and add to the wind erosion problem.

Any permanent solution of the problem includes retirement to grass of land not suited to cultivation. This is a long-time process since it will involve changes in the pattern of farm management. All told, we estimate there are about 8 million acres that should be retired.

Our emergency drought program, designed to assist farmers and ranchers includes:

1. Loans from the Farmers Home Administration.

2. Use of Government-owned feed concentrates at below market cost.

3. Use of ACP funds for wind erosion control practices.

4. Use of Federal disaster relief funds to encourage chiseling and listing of land which is subject to blowing.

No discussion of the agricultural outlook would be complete without some mention of foreign trade. As you know, the Foreign Agricultural Service has been given major status in the Department of Agriculture. We are seeking increased funds to carry forward the important task of finding new trade outlets in every part of the free world.

Currently we have three trade missions operating in Europe, South America, and Asia. We have sought to obtain the services of highly qualified personnel in this project. We are hopeful that they will uncover new markets for our surplus commodities.

As a result of increased production throughout the world and the complete economic rehabilitation of many war-torn countries, our exports of farm products have declined sharply from the high point reached in 1951–52. During the year ending June 30, 1953, such exports dropped 31 percent below the preceding 12 months. During the final half of 1953 we managed to export slightly more than we did in the same period a year earlier but since January 1 our sales of farm goods abroad have shown further declines.

Wheat is moving more slowly than at anytime in the postwar period. Current indications are that the importing nations will fall considerably short of taking the quotas allotted to them under the International Wheat Agreement.

We are seeking to expand wheat sales abroad through every possible device, including barter and the acceptance of foreign currences. We have recently concluded 1 transaction involving the sale of 10 million bushels of CCC-owned wheat to Spain in exchange for pesetas. The actual movement of this wheat will be through normal commercial channels.

During the first 3 months of 1954 commercial buyers have purchased approximately $110 million worth of CCC holdings, either for export or domestic sale. In addition, we have negotiated international barter exchanges involving approximately $14 million of Government-held surpluses. Other products valued at more than $13 million have been sold to foreign governments, relief agencies, and other noncommercial outlets for use abroad. We have transferred or donated some $63 million worth of commodities for school lunches, emergency drought assistance, and foreign and domestic relief programs.

Despite these efforts, we are still acquiring additional surpluses of some farm commodities far more rapidly than we can dispose of them, even under the most generous terms. The development of substantial new outlets overseas will not be accomplished within a matter of weeks or months. It will be a year-in and year-out job. While I promise no miracles in this field, I assure you that the search for expanded foreign markets will continue to go forward at an accelerated pace.

In conclusion, I should like to discuss the recent decision to lower dairy price supports from 90 to 75 percent of parity for the current marketing year. This was a most difficult decision. It was made in what we sincerely believed to be the best interests of the dairy industry and agriculture generally.

Stocks of butter, cheese, and dried milk now in Government hands are heavy. During the marketing year which ended March 31, the equivalent of 10 percent of the Nation's total milk production—some 12 billion pounds—found its way into CCC ownership. The greatest buildup in Government supplies came at a time of the year when the trade would normally be clearing out storage in order to get ready for the flush spring production.

We are facing a critical situation in our dairy price-support program. While our stocks are still in good condition, we are fast approaching a time when we shall have to move them—somehow, somewhere—or be confronted with the costly and embarrassing problem of spoilage.

We have done our utmost to move these stocks at home and abroad, but have thus far been able to dispose of only a limited amount.

We have no controls on dairy production. Regulating the number of cows or the volume of milk deliveries is stiffer medicine than the dairy industry seems ready to take.

Some people point to the gradual transition from the present program to the legislation recommended by the President for the basic commodities, and contrast this with the recent action on dairy products. But the circumstances differ. The basics are storable and are subject to production control; dairy products are perishable and not controlled. The difference is fundamental, as witnessed by our experience with potatoes and eggs.

It is true that the 1954 crop of corn is supported at 90 percent of parity and feed grains at 85 percent, and that this works somewhat of a hardship on dairy producers. But the importance of this point is often exaggerated. For the United States as a whole, corn comprises about 6 percent of the cost of producing milk. Other feed grains comprise about 5 percent of the cost, so that feed grains in the aggregate make up only about 11 percent of the cost of milk production. Much of this is homegrown, so that price is not a major consideration. Of the purchased grain, the bulk is bought at the market level, currently 80 percent of parity, rather than at the support level.

The law says that dairy products shall be supported at such level not in excess of 90 percent nor less than 75 percent of the parity price therefor as the Secretary determines necessary in order to assure an adequate supply. The Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture has ruled that, in view of this section of the law and in the light of the present supply situation, the level of support could not legally be fixed higher than 75 percent of parity for the new marketing season.

Dairying is the only livestock enterprise, other than wool, currently being given price support, and it is open end, unqualified support, with no production controls.

Despite our efforts to support prices of dairy products at 90 percent of parity the past year, the effective level of support was only 84 percent of parity for manufactured milk and 87 percent for butterfat. Thus the decline to 75 percent of parity is less than has been commonly thought.

This is an issue in which the short-term interests of dairymen run counter to their long-term advantage. Over the next 12 months, the dairy industry would probably receive more income if an effort were made to support prices at a high level. Over the next 12 years dairymen will probably receive more income if supports are held at moderate levels.

We have obtained reports on butter sales since April 1 from retail stores and food chains in 18 cities throughout the United States. The general feeling is that it is still

too early to know at what level butter sales will be stabilized as a result of the new price levels.

The increases in sales were influenced to some extent by bargain sales in early April, restocking by consumers who had bought light during March in anticipation of price reductions, the initial psychological impact of reduced prices, and some strengthening of the market which normally takes place during the Easter holidays. It is felt that some decrease from the sales levels of early April may be anticipated.

Subject to these reservations, the reports indicate a wide range in the volume of increased sales, from no increase to as much as a 90 percent increase over March levels. Most reported increases were between 10 and 20 percent. Considerable feeling was reported that sales would level off at about 10 percent above pre-April levels.

Retail prices of Grade A butter in 21 cities in the first half of April ranged from 48 to 79 cents per pound. Bargain sales reported early in the month at 60 cents per pound or less are being discontinued in many cases. The most commonly reported Grade A butter prices in the week ending April 17 were between 63 and 69 cents per pound. These prices run from 10 to 15 cents per pound under prices prevailing prior to the announcement of the change in the support level.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you and the members of the committee for this opportunity to discuss in considerable detail the overall farm picture, as I see it. It is, of course, impossible to cover such a broad subject in a single morning but I have attempted to anticipate in this testimony many questions which I thought would be of major interest to you.

Importance of World Trade to the National Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 22, 1954

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech by Richard Bowditch, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, in New Orleans, on the subject of our merchant marine. It is a wholesome speech, full of pertinent facts concerning one of our important industries. Mr. Bowditch is particularly well informed because in his business capacity he operates ships himself.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY RICHARD L. BOWDITCH, PRESIDENT, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, BEFORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE NEW ORLEANS AREA, NEW ORLEANS, LA., MARCH 25, 1954

It was a privilege to receive your invitation to visit New Orleans. It is also a privilege to bring you greetings and best wishes from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

I feel very much at home here, although Boston and New Orleans are about as different as to climate—as to appetites—and as to accents—as any two American cities could be. Nevertheless, there is an affinity between our towns, and I am somehow reminded of the story about the Italian farmer who moved to Argentina.

He was a very lonesome man for awhile. All of his neighbors spoke Spanish which he did not understand. So he paid regular calls on the nearest Italian consulate just so he could talk to someone in his own tongue.

After awhile, however, he quit calling, and one of the consular officials went out to visit him and asked him why.

"Well, you see," he said, "my Argentine neighbors do not speak Italian, but they know about farming. We do not need to speak the same tongue to understand each other. You speak Italian, but you do not talk about farming, and that is my language."

In this case, our two cities both speak the language of a port city. The people of New Orleans and the people of Boston both know the stimulation of living in a port of call for the ships from far away places. We both understand the pulse beat of the world trade routes.

We both know the importance of world trade to the entire national economy. We are both interested in maintaining a merchant marine that is capable of serving trade routes essential to our peacetime commerce and equally capable of providing an effective auxiliary to our national defense.

That is why I thought I might talk with you a little while today about our merchant marine. It has fallen on rather parlous days.

The United States today has the largest and best merchant marine in its history. It consists of some 768 privately owned freighters, 42 passenger ships, and 443 tankers.

But numbers tell only part of the story. More than 80 percent of our cargo and passenger ships were built during World War II. Since the normal life of a ship is only 20 years, 8 out of every 10 ships will become obsolete within the next 10 years. They must be replaced.

Yet today there is not a single freight or passenger ship being built for private ownership in any American shipyard. Unless a planned program of ship replacement is begun now, America will soon find itself with a has-been fleet.

Broadly speaking, the American people are prone to take the merchant fleet for granted—until war cracks around our heads. That has happened twice in this century. And twice in this century we have run around like mad, trying to repair, in a matter of months, the neglect of many decades, at terrific expense and in an atmosphere of intense anxiety.

During World War II, the United States completed the greatest shipbuilding program the world has ever seen.

More than 5,000 merchant-type vessels were constructed to aid the United States and her allies in the prosecution of the war. Of these, some 4,800 remained.

Under a ship sales program which gave equal opportunity to American and foreign buyers, but the privilege of first selection to American purchasers, nearly 2,000 ships were sold and the remaining ships are either in the national defense reserve fleet or are in temporary use providing logistical support to overseas armed forces, or carrying mutual security aid commodities.

Having completed this huge building program, there was, unfortunately, a great relaxation in United States shipbuilding activities for private account.

Since 1945 other than tanker construction for bulk petroleum products, there has been built in the United States for private account, and for postwar design, only three ocean-going passenger steamships and two dry cargo vessels.

True, the Government is building 35 mariner-type vessels, largely as a measure of national defense, and has also built and completed one prototype, dry cargo vessel, but these must be differentiated from private account shipbuilding activities.

Meanwhile, the world's merchant fleet for operation in the foreign trades has been rebuilt to a point where war losses have been more than made good. United States vessels engaged in foreign trade must therefore expect more and keener competition from a larger and more modern fleet of ships of foreign registry.

In the passenger carrying trades, other nationalities have built new and modern ships and the deficit created by war losses has been largely overcome. Our passenger carrying capacity is only one-half of prewar.

It is imperative that we readjust our sights. Our merchant marine is a carrier of foreign commerce, both imports and exports. It, therefore, assumes an increasing importance in our economy in light of our newly awakened interest in trade among the nations as a substitute for aid.

These are also tense times. They will continue as such, despite the fact that the dove of peace has been fluttering its wings.

The merchant fleet remains—as it has always been—the fourth arm of our national defense, supporting our Army, Navy, and Air Corps.

We need to recruit a better understanding of our merchant marine in the minds of our people. Our port cities might very well undertake the leadership in this. Every State in the Union would be more keenly aware of its dependence on shipping if the facts were given a full-dress treatment. An aroused public opinion can also be depended upon to jar government when government needs jarring.

In between wars, American shipping is expected to be seen and not heard. Government officials who are supposed to be its guardians have had a habit of begrudging their attention. Our merchant fleet has been a Government stepchild for many years, and while there are signs of improvement in the offing, the merchant fleet is still on a hand-me-down basis.

The apathetic point of view about American shipping that prevails between wars is understandable in large degree of course. Our land empire of 3,000 miles between our shore lines east and west—and so rich in natural resources—has largely absorbed the imagination and energies of America since colonial days.

But without ships, it is dubious if our economy and our society could ever have achieved its present status. In the early colonial days, before the building of our railroads and great highways, the basic transportation was by water. Water transportation is still vital—and New Orleans and Boston are living witnesses to that fact. The port of New Orleans is first in exports of cotton and corn; first in imports of burlap, jute, hemp, and sisal; second in the United States in dollar value of foreign commerce and fourth in tonnage of foreign commerce.

You are at the crossroads of the Mississippi River and the gulf intracoastal waterway. Mississippi River barge traffic is now well above the 20 billion ton mile mark, and gulf intracoastal waterway barge traffic is now well above the 8 billion ton-miles mark.

The value of American shipping to the United States is not confined to the coastal areas. Sometime ago the Shipbuilders Council of America made an intensive study of the source of materials which went into the building of an ocean-going vessel.

It was not difficult to realize the steel from Pennsylvania; lumber from Oregon; lead from Missouri; copper from Michigan and Arizona; brass fittings from Connecticut; turpentine from the Carolinas; cotton from Georgia.

But the study revealed that in a large vessel of this class, every State in the Union made a commodity contribution directly or indirectly.

When the vessel is ready for sea, its value in the transportation of American exports and imports is also subject to wide geographical distribution. Besides cotton, one of our big export commodities is wheat from Washington, Oregon, the Dakotas, Kansas, and the entire Middle West; we export vast amounts of barley and dried and canned fruits from California; coal from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky.

In manufacture, the area of distribution covers almost the whole of the United States, headed by automobiles from Michigan and Indiana; we export washing machines, radios, refrigerators, and tires, and countless other manufactured items. The foreign trade of the United States constitutes about 10 percent of the value of our national production, and as you all know, the last 10 percent in any business is often the margin of profit or loss.

This foreign trade is dependent upon American shipping as a guaranteed delivery service, so the American merchant marine becomes a component part of the foundation upon which this export business rests.

The United States is no longer self-sufficient in material resources. American industry imports 55 necessary raw materials from all parts of the world. Some of these are manganese—without which high-quality steel could not be produced; cobalt and columbium which are necessary for the production of jet aircraft engines; chromium, without which stainless and heat-resistant steels could not be produced, and then there is nickel. Ships are the invisible helpers at either end of the assembly lines in our vast industrial community.

Facts like these are not too well known. Our port cities have a man-sized public relations job to do. Perhaps the least understood aspect of the merchant marine is the need of shipbuilders and operators for Government assistance.

From the earliest days of American shipping, there was a recognition that Government encouragement was necessary if ships of our flag were to play an important part in the overseas trade. This was not a new philosophy. It was then, and has been since, the policy of maritime nations to sustain their national merchant marines by encouragement and financial aid, in order that they maintain a strong position in the international trades. It was natural for young America to think in terms of those employed by the mother country to give aid to its young merchant fleet in the form of a preferential tariff. This proved unsuccessful in the United States—as it had been with Great Britain.

The next move was the payment of compensation for the carriage of mail out of proportion to the value of the actual service rendered. It was intended as financial aid which would enable the continued operation of ships of the national flag over certain routes.

Carrying the mail also provided common-carrier service for cargo and passengers. This was also a following of the precedent of the British Government.

Several laws were passed by the American Congress with variations of the mail-pay concept during the years 1916, 1920, and 1926. This was necessarily a subterfuge. The primary payment was for the maintenance of service and not for the carriage of mail, and so criticism arose, and many difficulties were encountered.

It was not until 1936 that Congress discarded the subterfuge and passed a Merchant Marine Act that called a shipping subsidy by its correct name, and providing for payments measured by the competitive handicaps which American ships suffer in the international trades. These handicaps were, of course, the high wages and operating costs which are incident to the maintenance of the American standards of wages and living in American industries.

The new law came into effect shortly before, and was affected by, World War II. It was also substantially affected by the post-war conditions of heavy interoceanic traffic caused by rehabilitation and the restoration of war damage.

The trade route concept of the 1936 act requires regular, dependable, scheduled service over routes declared by the Government as essential for the transportation of our foreign commerce on a year-round basis. Other provisions of these service contracts require a modest dividend policy and the funding of any profits above a modest level for replacement of existing, and the construction of additional ships for these route services.

Between 1938 and 1951 the number of ships operating on these contract services was more than doubled. In the first 13 years of their operation these contract service ships actually paid in Federal taxes more money than they received in Government subsidies after recapture.

In comparison with Government subsidies to various industries, the subsidy for ship operation stood near the bottom of the list.

There are two questions that arise at this point: First, is this Government policy toward our shipping in the foreign trades in the public and national interest? And, second, is the American citizen and taxpayer getting full value for the amount he expended? Let us see if we can find the answers:

It is estimated that the annual cost of Government aid to American shipping in the foreign trade at the present level of service and the present differential between American and foreign wages and costs will be between $40 and $50 million per year. In World War II the United States expended $17 billion in the creation of emergency shipyards and for hastily constructed commercial-type ships.

The war cost of these poor-quality vessels would have subsidized—in normal times—the orderly construction and operation of a substantial segment of this fleet for the next 340 years. And in saying that, I am deliberately ignoring the fact that the war was possibly prolonged by at least a year because we were short of merchant-type auxiliaries for our combatant forces—and I am also ignoring the terrific toll of life and property inherent in any such delay.

Was the stepchild policy toward our shipping a wise one in the years preceding World War II? I will leave it to you to come up with your own answer, and proceed to another phase of the problem.

Construction aid is also necessary due to the high wages paid in American shipyards, so if we allowed $50 million a year additional for construction subsidy, we still could cover our subsidy expenditures from our World War II costs for a period of 170 years. And we would have fast, modern vessels—not the war-built fleet which fills our anchorages. We also would get an efficient, economical, even-flow workload in our shipyards.

We have learned by experience that we can rely only on American ships for dependable delivery service for our overseas commerce. Due to war conditions in other parts of the world, or crises arising from threatened international conflict, the merchant marines of other countries have sometimes deserted our ports.

We have seen the time when ports of the United States were piled high with cargoes waiting export for months on end because we lacked an adequate merchant marine. The loss to our American exporters and merchants was terrific.

In 1939, American ships carried only 21.8 percent of the country's foreign trade; in 1946, American ships carried as much as 65.3 percent of the country's foreign trade; in 1952, the proportion of the country's foreign trade carried by American ships had fallen again to as low as 37.4 percent.

Today, it is the aim of the American merchant marine to carry 50 percent of the Nation's overseas commerce. Why only 50 percent? Why not 100 percent—or as great a percentage as possible?

Because the shipping industry recognizes the urgent need of other nations to earn dollars. This is one of the principal reasons why a goal of 50 percent—and not more—has been erected. It would be difficult to find a more reasonable and enlightened viewpoint, and I might add that the national chamber endorses this point of view.

Our merchant marine asks Government for a consistent policy toward its needs as an element of national defense. It needs to be removed from the stepchild role and assured equitable consideration with other elements in our economy that are vital in both peace and war.

I am glad to be able to report to you today that our merchant marine has acquired some strong new friends in Government circles. The Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Mr. Robert B. Murray, Jr.; the Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, Mr. Charles L. Dearing; and the Chairman of the Federal Maritime Board and Maritime Administrator, Mr. Louis S. Rothschild, constitute an excellent team. They are working for a better American-flag merchant marine.

It has been a great pleasure to me to have had the chance to become well acquainted with these men. I wish you all had the same opportunity. I know you would enjoy talking with them.

They are taking their jobs with the utmost seriousness—and—very properly—they have looked before leaping. In hearings before the House Appropriations in January, Mr. Murray said that "A study of what should should be modern Government's role in the field of land, air, and sea transportation is under way. A basic principle held by the new administration in commerce is that Government should withdraw from the transportation business except to the extent required by national security needs and those promotional activities and reasonable regulatory processes that can be clearly justified as responsibilities of the Federal Government. These studies should lead to a clearer definition of the basic needs of the Nation for shipping, aviation, and highway transportation."

That is the end of Mr. Murray's quotation, but I would like to add that I doubt if anyone interested in maritime affairs would quarrel with that kind of an approach.

In the meantime, this team of men, Mr. Murray, Mr. Dearing and Mr. Rothschild, have been doing more than studying. Mr. Murray told the Appropriations Committee that the Department of Commerce is encouraging tanker trade-ins; that appropriations will be requested for two Moore-McCormack and two Grace Line passenger ships; that the Department is recommending reconversion of four Liberty ships to experiment with installing additional speed and more efficient cargo-handling gear; that restrictions on shipbuilding for foreign account have been eased; that the Department is trying to make it easier to obtain private financing for ship construction.

All in all, it is a story of progress, written by men in Government who have demonstrated a friendship for the merchant marine.

The merchant marine also needs more friends in the business community. American shipping needs more business from Americans who have goods to ship—from or into the ports of this country.

As more American business comes to American ships, they will need less Government aid; they will pay more taxes. They will give more employment to American workers. By using American ships, the American businessman has a real opportunity to keep down Government expenditures—a contribution that will cost him nothing and will actually help him develop his overseas business. It is not only patriotic to use American ships. It is good business.

It is also a substantial advantage to the free world for the United States to own and operate a merchant fleet of reasonable size. The American people are not unlike other nationalities. Unless we have a merchant fleet to carry our commerce to other nations, this commerce will dwindle. If we do not trade with other countries, our interest in these countries will diminish. And if we have no such interest, we could not have the same acute feeling about their welfare and their freedom—about collective security and the peace of the world. It is not that the principles of liberty and freedom are less dear, but we will be less well acquainted and interested in their application to these countries.

The United States has, by necessity, if not by choice, assumed the role of a leader in world affairs. We cannot carry out our obligations to these less fortunate countries, and we cannot have the influence we could and should exert, unless we have sufficient strength upon the seas to implement this role. It is not an answer to say that in the event of emergency we can rely upon the pooling of the ships of the maritime nations of the free world: First, because in an emergency there is great uncertainty as to who will be our allies and who will be our foes. Secondly, certain countries may be overrun by a powerful neighbor before their merchant shipping can be extricated. And third, the United States, as an important world power, must never rely on any other nation for so important a component of its national strength and defense equipment.

Plight of the United States Shipbuilding Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. GLENN BEALL
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 22, 1954

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, the sad plight of the shipbuilding industry in the United States is becoming worse day by day. The time has come—if not already gone—when the Congress and the proper executive agencies of Government must take action to avert a national disaster.

Yesterday, Mr. J. M. Willis, general manager of the Bethlehem shipbuilding division, in Baltimore, knocked half a million dollars off the price of a ship, if any company or individual would contract to have a ship built in that Baltimore yard. A $500,000 discount is a sizable and attractive reduction in any business, and it demonstrates very effectively the fact that at this time there is no business for American shipyards. The Bethlehem yard in Baltimore will be completely shut down by October, unless there is some new business.

In this morning's Baltimore Sun appears an article stating that it has been 16½ months since an order has been placed with an American shipyard.

It is almost inconceivable that by the end of this year the backlog of orders in American shipyards will be for only two ships for delivery in 1955. Yet that is the report of the president of the Shipbuilders Council of America.

Mr. President, the shipbuilding situation is now critical; and I invite attention to two articles appearing in the Baltimore Sun of April 22, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LACK OF SHIP ORDERS HIT—SANFORD SAYS "TIME IS RUNNING AGAINST THE YARDS"

NEW YORK, April 21.—"Time is running against the shipyards," Leigh R. Sanford, president of the Shipbuilders Council of America, stated today at the 25th annual meeting of the group's members.

Sixteen and a half months have passed since an order has been placed in a United States shipyard, it was pointed out, and the situation is very dark.

"In the meantime, the backlog of orders on the books of American shipyards has dwindled to the extent that, by the end of 1954, there will be only two such ships left for delivery in 1955," Mr. Sanford said.

"Even if orders are placed forthwith, there can be little actual construction work in the shipyards on any such new orders before the first of 1955."

TRAGIC FEATURE CITED

Mr. Sanford said the tragic feature of the situation is the steadily decreasing employment in the industry and the rapidly accelerating dispersion of skilled craftsmen and technicians so laboriously built up during the past many years.

The council pointed out that some bills have been introduced in Congress and that Washington is aware of the situation facing the shipbuilding and ship repairing industry.

"There appears to be every indication that out of their investigations and deliberations, there eventually will be evolved sound and constructive recommendations to safeguard the future of the American merchant marine and of the shipbuilding and ship repairing industry."

RECOMMENDATIONS DUE

"In addition, there have been exhaustive and searching investigations going on within the administrative agencies of the Government, as a result of which, it is reported, recommendations are about to be presented to accomplish the same objectives.

"Some of the foregoing programs are tentative in nature and some of them encouraging only in the long run.

"What the congressional and administrative recommendations will be is not yet known. But the question of greatest moment to the shipbuilder today is how soon?

"Time is running against the shipyards."

SHIPBUILDING LURE IS CAST—FIVE-HUNDRED-THOUSAND-DOLLAR DISCOUNT OFFERED ANY WHO WILL ORDER JOB

A $500,000 discount was offered yesterday to any company or person who would build a new ship now at the Bethlehem-Sparrows Point Shipyard by J. M. Willis, general manager for the Bethlehem shipbuilding division in this area.

Mr. Willis made this proposal at the launching of the steamship *Keytrader* with only four more ships left to go down the ways at the yard which faces a complete shutdown by October.

The shibuilding executive stated that every launching at the shipyard now means the laying off of at least 400 men and "something must be done to save Sparrows Point."

SPEAKS AT CELEBRATION

"I am going to offer ships at $500,000 less than they will be next year in order to keep the Point going," he told 528 persons who joined in celebration of the *Keytrader's* touching water for the first time.

The crowd was one of the largest at a ship launching since the war and the luncheon afterward had to be served in both the assembly and ballrooms of the Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, with cocktails earlier in the Charles room.

PLEA TO OIL FIRMS

Mr. Willis asserted that the oil companies and other firms like them "owe it to us" to build ships here because "we use their products like gasoline and oil which they haul in the ships."

"They should build them all in American yards, because we reciprocate," he added.

Standard Oil of California and the Union Oil Corp. have provided Sparrows Point with considerable postwar shipbuilding and an attempt is being made to get another ship or two from them.

Herbert R. O'Conor, former Senator and now an executive with the American Merchant Marine Institute, declared that "unless something is done to stimulate shipbuilding and ship operation on world routes, the American flag will disappear from the high seas."

REMINDER TO OFFICIALS

"Without men like Jack Willis and Charles Kurz (president of Keystone Tankship Corp., builder of the ship), that flag would have disappeared from the high seas already," Mr. O'Conor declared.

"Our officials at the helm of our Government must be reminded of the serious situation today and not let our boys who might be called upon to defend our country again depend on ships from other nations in the world for their supplies and transportation."

The tanker *Keytrader*, 551 feet long with a deadweight tonnage of 18,000 and a 15.4-knot speed, was christened by Mrs. Dene B. Hodges, wife of the vice prsident in charge of transportation and supplies of the Shell Oil Co. A ship of this type costs between $6 million and $7 million.

Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle (U. S. Air Force Reserve) who led the World War II air attack on Tokyo, was present at the launching as vice president and a director of the Shell Oil Co.

Echo Park Dam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR V. WATKINS
OF UTAH
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 22, 1954

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, in speaking before the University of Utah Institute of Government last week, former Secretary of the Interior Chapman demonstrated for those in attendance the weakness and inconsistency in the arguments of those who now oppose the construction of the vitally needed Echo Park reclamation dam. These weaknesses and inconsistencies were very ably pinpointed by an editorial in the Deseret News-Salt Lake Telegram of Friday, April 9, 1954, and I ask unanimous

consent to have that editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MR. CHAPMAN MAKES A SPEECH

Oscar L. Chapman is a pleasant sort of fellow. He had nice things to say about this area and its people during his speaking visit here as a guest of the University of Utah Institute of Government. He said some useful things about the need for and the future of conservation of America's resources.

He also displayed, rather shockingly, the weakness and inconsistencies in the arguments of those who oppose the Echo Park Dam. Of all its opponents, he ought to be best-informed. The shallow thinking and lack of understanding he demonstrated here are sad commentaries on the whole pseudo-conservationist argument that has so badly confused the public.

For example:

"The thing to do is to forget for now about the areas of disagreement (Echo Park) and move forward in areas in which we do agree," said the former Secretary of Interior. "Let's add as many units as we can as fast as we can for full development of the region." In answer to questions, he went on to say he meant let's tie in as many participating projects such as the central Utah project as we can and push ahead with those.

This is sheer nonsense, and Mr. Chapman knows better. He knows that the storage of water on the Colorado is necessary to control downstream delivery and that no participating project can be built on a sound basis until the river control dams are in. He knows that Congress won't—and can't and shouldn't—grant 1 dime to build "participating projects" until there is at least a guaranty of something for them to participate with.

The series of statements Mr. Chapman made within the space of a half hour on the question of alternate sites was, if possible, even more confusing. He said first he favored fullest possible development of the river basin—as many dams and projects as possible. Then he said the engineering study made by U. S. Grant III, convinced him there are alternate sites and that he based his opposition to Echo Park on that study.

But what has happened to the Grant study? General Grant admitted he has never been near either Echo Park or any of his alternate sites—and that has become painfully obvious. One of his alternate sites he abandoned when he found it would flood part of Arches National Monument. Another he abandoned for engineering reasons. The alternate sites that remain and that form the sole basis for his argument are not alternates at all. They are part of the overall plan, to be built in addition to Echo Park.

Mr. Chapman knows this. It is basic inconsistency to talk about full development in one breath and about General Grant's alternate sites in the next.

To his credit, Mr. Chapman at least, didn't conjure up the shopworn specter of setting a precedent for invasion of other national parks and monuments. "Im not worried about a precedent," he said. He could hardly have taken a different stand in view of his letter of June 27, 1950, approving the entire project including Echo Park. In this he said: "The order establishing the extension of the monument in the canyons in which the dams would be placed contemplated use of the monument for a water project, and my action, therefore, will not provide a precedent dangerous to other reserved areas."

But this is strange, too. For only 2 months ago, in the American Forests magazine, Mr. Chapman wrote: "In asking for the authorization of this dam in a monument area the Department is conceding a principle and giving away its fight to preserve other park and monument areas."

Truly the ways of partisan politics and the effects of an election can be strange indeed.

The Arab States: Iraq

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, fifth in a series of eight articles on the Arab States, is deserving of our colleagues' attention. It appeared in the April 12, 1954, issue of Congress Weekly, official publication of the American Jewish Congress:

THE ARAB STATES: IRAQ

(By Sh. Yin'am)

Iraq—ancient Mesopotamia—was under Ottoman-Turkish rule, like most of the other Arab countries, for four centuries. The modern Iraqi state was created by the peace settlement after the First World War and following the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Secret Anglo-French agreements negotiated during the war had envisaged Iraq as an independent Arab state (or part of a larger Arab entity), allotted in its southern part to a British zone of influence and in its northwestern part to a similar French zone. After the war, however, the British reneged on this agreement—no doubt largely because of the oil riches discovered in the Mossul-Kirkuk area originally allotted to France. In 1920–21, the Allies and the emerging League of Nations conferred upon Britain the mandate for Iraq. Further doubts and conflicts as to Iraq's boundaries and territory were resolved in 1925, when the League of Nations rejected Turkish claims to the Mossul area, Iraq's northwestern part, and confirmed Iraq's possession of that valuable district.

The population of Iraq had not been consulted as to their desire for a British mandate, and troubles and riots opened the first chapter of Anglo-Iraqi relations. To stabilize the situation and make possible the establishment of such arrangements as British enlightened imperialism thought desirable—an independent Iraqi state that would still guarantee and satisfy British imperial interests, strategic, political and economic, either by its own free consent or by certain limitations on its independence—the British created a throne and imported a king.

In 1921 they brought to Iraq and enthroned (endorsed by a plebiscite) Prince Faisal, of the Hashemite dynasty of the Sherifs of Mecca, who had been their ally in the revolt in the desert (1916–18) and had been expelled from Syria by the French. Faisal I died in 1933; his grandson, Faisal II, has occupied the throne since 1953. In spite of this stability of the reigning dynasty, however, the fact that the Hashemite house is not indigenous to Iraq but had been imposed from the outside by foreign rulers is alive in Iraq's popular sentiment. The same fact explains that Faisal himself, and to a certain degree his descendants as well, have always been the staunch backbone of pro-British opinion in Iraq—in contrast to public opinion that has remained deeply anti-British.

The character of the ruling dynasty is the basis for another important feature of Iraqi politics: its expansionist drive, its dream of a union between Iraq and either all the other Arab countries, or at least Syria and Jordan, under Iraqi leadership. While this expansionism is now more or less common to most Iraqi statesmen, its roots lie in the days when the Hashemite princes—Arabs, not Iraqis—planned for an all-Arab state or federation centered in Damascus. A group of aides whom Faisal I had brought with him to Iraq—the survivors of whom are now the elder statesmen of Iraq—and who directed Iraqi policies for many years, are also deeply steeped in this tradition. Public opinion in the Middle East has always regarded these Hashemite schemes for expansion or federation as backed by British interests.

Since 1922, when the first Anglo-Iraqi treaty was concluded, the British have regarded Iraq as de facto independent, although within limitations and within the framework of the League of Nations mandate. A constitution was drawn up and adopted in 1925, a parliamentary regime established (albeit with far too frequent changes of cabinets, dissolutions of parliament, and similar symptoms of political immaturity), an army, a civil and diplomatic service, and other paraphernalia of independent statehood built up. In 1930, a new Anglo-Iraqi treaty, concluded for 25 years and still in force, conferred full independence upon Iraq, in return for an Anglo-Iraqi alliance and two military bases, at Habbaniya and Shu'aiba. In 1932, when that treaty came into force, Iraq joined the League of Nations—the first Arab state to do so. This Anglo-Iraqi treaty served as a model for similar treaty experiments later—in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan.

Despite this official settlement, however, public opinion in Iraq has never acquiesced in the treaty of 1930 and has demanded ever since its revision or abrogation and the evacuation of the British bases. In 1941, when Britain's fortunes in the Second World War were at their nadir, an extremist Iraqi Government actually joined the Axis Powers in making war upon Britain (the pro-British Regent and a few statesmen were forced to flee for their lives); it was only by military force that Iraq was then compelled to honor the treaty of alliance. (That campaign revealed the utter incompetence of the Iraqi army, from the military point of view, as it was defeated by a mere handful of British troops.)

In 1948 an Iraqi Government negotiated a new treaty with Britain much more favorable to Iraq than the one of 1930, which it was designed to replace. The new treaty would have included a provision for the liquidation of the British bases and their replacement by a procedure of mutual consultation on defense problems. This treaty was, however, torn to pieces and the cabinet that had made it was deposed by mob riots led by extremist politicians for whom the mere idea of a new treaty with Britain was anathema, no matter how profitable its content was. The old treaty of 1930, therefore, remains in force until 1957.

The deep cleavage between a pro-British royal dynasty and usually pro-British cabinets, on the one hand, and a fanatically anti-Western, neutralist, and xenophobic public opinion, fostered and exploited by an irresponsible opposition, has remained one of Iraq's foremost problems. It is a real issue today, behind a pleasant facade of a parliamentary government which appears to head the only Arab state prepared to join Western defense alliances (through joining the 1954 Turkish-Pakistani Pact, for instance). This problem is connected with that of an ingrained instability of the parliamentary regime. Iraq has had, in the 22 years of its independence, about 60 cabinets—that is an average of almost 3 cabinets a year; it has seen 8 military coups d'etat since 1936—the last one in November 1952; Iraqui and foreign observers have described its elections as in-

variably rigged and prearranged, and its parliamentary procedures as sham.

Iraq's real and vital problems, however, are deeper than those of governmental procedures and foreign politics. They are connected with, first, the issue of economic development and social reform; and second, with the problem of minorities.

Iraq has today a population of about 4½ million, part of which lives in conditions of abject poverty, in semifeudal bonds to semitribal chiefs and landlords. Yet Iraq is abundantly rich in natural resources; in ancient times it supported a population many times larger than it has today and it possessed a highly developed irrigation system built on the great Euphrates and Tigris Rivers—partly derelict since the 13th century. Iraq's chief subsoil resource—oil—is being developed by an international, British-led company, under conditions that are now, after years of bickering and dispute, highly favorable to Iraq. Iraq's income from oil royalties alone reached $110 million in 1952, an estimated $140 million in 1953—more than a third of the national income and about equivalent to the entire annual budget. Seventy percent of those oil royalties are permanently earmarked for development works. Indeed, Iraq has ample means to tackle the huge tasks of flood control, river development, irrigation, power generation, and resulting industrialization, which are both possible and necessary and which could insure fruitful wealth and well-being for the whole of its population and many millions more.

While the Government is pursuing several development schemes, the connected issue of social and agrarian reform, without which economic development alone is meaningless, has hardly been tackled. About 8 to 10 percent of Iraq's population are nomadic tribes; almost 40 percent are seminomads, tribes in various stages of transition to settlement. Most of these have lost the primitive patriarchal democracy of tribal desert life without having acquired the advantages of a free, settled peasantry, while the tribal chiefs have become semifeudal absentee landlords opposed to any venture of planned settlement or agrarian reform. Iraq, with its tremendous riches and potentialities, has the highest rate of illiteracy, the highest death rate (almost equaling the birth rate) and the highest infant mortality of all the countries of the Middle East, the latter estimated at 30 percent of all infants in their 1st year, 50 percent of infants up to the age of 5.

Iraq's population contains a high percentage of national and religious minorities. Slightly more than half of the population is Shi'ite, that is, belongs to an Islamic sect different from the Sunni Muslims, who form the overwhelming majority in all the other Arab countries except the Yemen, and regarded as unorthodox by them. While the Shi'ites are Muslims, and Arabs in language and consciousness, the Sunni-Shi'i cleavage is deep enough to constitute a serious problem for Iraq. This is aggravated by the fact that the Sunnis, while being a minority, constitute a majority in the major towns and play a much larger role in government, administration, and leadership than would numerically be their due. The Shi'ites, semitribal and backward in their majority, have a close affinity to Persia, which has a Shi'i majority and which supplies part of the religious leadership for Iraq's Shi'ites, too.

Iraq's largest national minority, the Kurds, are religiously orthodox Sunni Muslims, and together with the Arab Sunnis they form about half of Iraq's population. The 750,000 Kurds, however, are not Arabs; they speak a different language and have an outspoken national character and consciousness of their own. While they are split as to the degree of autonomy or independence they would like to have (the Kurds of Iraq, Turkey, and Persia were promised an independent state by the Western Allies in World War I—a promise that was unceremoniously broken), and while their tribes are socially backward and without united leadership, their rebellions have plagued Iraq since its birth (the Iraqi Army, here too, has never been able to subdue such rebellions without the active help of the British Royal Air Force). As statistics and administrative procedures are based on religion, and as the Kurds are religiously Sunni Muslims, there is no provision for special Kurdish representation in parliament, government, or administration. Kurds do, however, take part in these institutions, and most Iraqi Cabinets contain 1 or 2 Kurds from among those leaders who collaborate with the Government.

The Nestorians, or Assyrians, are a small Christian sect of ancient oriental rite. Tracing their origin back to the ancient Assyrians, they, too, have a national rather than a purely religious group consciousness. In 1933, immediately after becoming fully independent, the Iraqi Army subjected them to cruel massacres and outrages. Although attempts by the League of Nations to resettle the Assyrians elsewhere failed, many of them have emigrated. Today, twenty to thirty thousand of them remain in Iraq. Most of Iraq's 120,000 Christians are Chaldeans, that is, Nestorians who joined the Catholic Church. They are entitled to special representation in parliament—at present 6 deputies among 138. Iraq has several other small, esoteric minority groups, such as the Yazidis (so-called devil worshipers), Mandeans, etc.

Iraq's ancient Jewish community, resident in the country since the days of the Babylonian exile, long before the Arab conquest, has been liquidated almost in its entirety in the wake of the Arab-Israel war of 1948. Anti-Zionist, and later anti-Israel sentiment was the most fanatical in Iraq, fanned by every government in power, and the life of Jews, always suspected of Zionist leanings, was gradually becoming intolerable. During and after the war of 1948, in which the Iraqi Army participated with large contingents, mob outrages were joined by administrative and judicial persecution that caused thousands of Jews to flee—emigration being illegal. In 1950, the government admitted that it could not prevent the growing exodus of Iraq's Jews and preferred to legalize it. By June 1951, the bulk of Iraq's Jewish community, about 120,000, had been flown to Israel in Operation Ali Baba. Today, only six to ten thousand Jews remain in Iraq—with no representation in parliament (there were six deputies before), and hardly any institutions, properties, or communal life. At the time of the exodus the government had frozen—de facto expropriated—the properties of all Jews who left the country, variously estimated at $100 million to $250 million.

Biggest Firecracker

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS CASE
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, April 22, 1954

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter to the editor of the Rapid City Daily Journal, Rapid City, S. Dak., written by Badger Clark, the poet laureate of South Dakota. In this letter Mr. Clark expresses a thought in sharp satire for all of us to consider.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIGGEST FIRECRACKER

To the EDITOR:

Once when I was a boy, I invested the greater part of my Fourth of July money in the largest firecracker I could find in town. There was no size limit in those days and the firecracker, which cost, I think, a whole dollar, was a humdinger. The folks objected in their dull, middle-aged way, and were scared. I was scared too, but that was part of the fun. Early in the morning of the great day, I appropriated an old but perfectly usable dishpan, fired the uncomfortably short fuse of the firecracker, dropped the dishpan over it and fled. My ears endured a shock, the windows of the house rattled, and dishpan shot far skyward and then tumbled back to earth, a shapeless ruin. "Gosh," I murmured, in mingled terror and delight.

The scientific and military boys in the Pacific, with their limitless funds, can buy more firecrackers than I could, and buy them bigger and bigger. They are grave and learned fellows, yet I can partly understand their mood when I remember my boyhood. They thrill to their experiment much as I did, only it is more thrilling because they know it is an excitement such as no sons of men ever felt before. They touch off their firecracker with a fuse a hundred miles long; they watch the awful cloud shoot far into the sky; they wait, breathless, until the vast roar shocks their ears and the blast of wind smites their faces. "Gosh," they murmur, in mingled terror and delight.

We quiet and less daring folks are scared. The atomic boys are scared, too, for that matter, but unfortunately being scared is part of their thrill. Nehru, of India, demands that the experiment cease. Little chance of that. Great is the power of the atom, but greater still is the power of human curiosity. Great stuff. It's dangerous, of course, and we mustn't go too far, but we must just see what a bigger one will do. And so the boys will go on until some day they may set off a firecracker with such a majestic wallop that, mayhap, it will rip the atmospheric envelope off the earth. "Gosh," we shall all murmur, with our last breath.

BADGER CLARK.

HERMOSA, S. DAK.

Watch on the Potomac

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK E. SMITH
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 5, 1954

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the following editorial from the Journal of Commerce for March 30, 1954:

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC

This is the day on which President Eisenhower is to submit to Congress his foreign economic policy program.

Whether or not the President adopts, as expected, a good many of the recommendations made by the Randall Commission, his proposals will doubtless set off another high-level discussion of what our national trade policy objectives should be.

This is all right with us; it is, in fact, one of our favorite subjects. But we hope it will not be allowed to obscure the fact that

the crucial battles in this sphere will not be fought out this spring on high policy levels, but on the more familiar and down-to-earth levels of straight politics.

Moreover, the administration will in all probability find itself fighting hardest not to put over a new policy of its own choosing, but to hold what it now has in hand, and it must face the fact that if it loses on the lower levels its chances of success on higher ground will be dim indeed.

Among other things, the administration would do well to look carefully at the so-called watch case, now before the Tariff Commission, and especially at its timing.

This is an escape-clause proceeding brought by three United States watch manufacturers—Waltham, Elgin, and Hamilton—in their second postwar attempt to secure greater protection. The first was approved by the Tariff Commission but turned down by President Truman.

It is a complex case because the watchmaking business is complex. Not all United States watch manufacturers support Waltham, Elgin, and Hamilton, for example. Some, who import movements, oppose their plea.

But, in its second phase, it is especially interesting for three reasons:

First, as this proceeding was launched, the Department of Justice suddenly opened an investigation of Swiss watch cartel operations, while the Treasury instituted an inquiry of watch adjustments that could lead to a higher tariff on Swiss watches outside the escape clause. The Swiss are, therefore, on the defensive all up and down the line.

Second, in presenting their arguments before the Tariff Commission in the second phase of this case, the three United States manufacturers repeatedly stressed the national defense angle of their case. They argue that without tariff relief their business will decline and the country will be faced with the loss of valuable defense equipment and skills.

Third, the case is so timed that it must go from the Tariff Commission to the White House by May 31, in which event the President would have to act on it by July 31. This means it will be up for consideration about the same time a decision on the Trade Agreements Act renewal must be reached.

How much coincidence there is in all this we do not know. We do know, however, that, by coincidence or by design, the stage is being set for some highly dangerous political trading.

Will the President's protectionist friends tell him in May or June that he must appease Congress by granting a higher watch tariff if he is to secure a 2-year, or even a 1-year, renewal of the Trade Agreements Act?

We do not know, but we do know that the watch case is widely considered as a test case. It has been carefully built around the issue of national defense, and the evidence is that virtually all protectionist forces are waiting to see whether it achieves a breakthrough. If it does, there will be others in very short order.

If the three United States watch manufacturers are right in describing their equipment and skills as irreplaceable in the defense picture, and if they can demonstrate (as they have not yet) that these will be lost to the Nation failing higher tariffs, the President will be justified in granting them this relief.

But are their arguments valid? There is certainly room for serious doubt on this score. Other prominent watch manufacturers and assemblers who do not seek this relief have pretty much the same equipment and skills and engage heavily in defense work. Moreover, the American Watch Association has assembled an imposing list of other industries not engaged in watch manufacturing which do the same work.

This is something for experts to decide, but it is important that the experts decide it while there is still time to act, not on the basis of last-minute judgments and certainly not under the pressure of a hurried legislative deal.

We hope the administration will be prepared for this test when it comes. This is where it can lose the most ground in the shortest time unless it keeps its eyes open and its wits about it.

Action Now on Lead and Zinc

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE METCALF
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, the United States Tariff Commission's recent report on this Nation's depressed lead and zinc industry is a three-volume documentation of the need for immediate action.

Last July the Senate Committee on Finance and the House Committee on Ways and Means directed the Commission to make a thorough study of all factors bearing on the domestic lead and zinc situation and to report the result of that investigation.

Although no recommendations were ordered, many of us hoped that they would come out of an 8-month full-dress study which included extensive hearings.

As I read the report, the Commission found that present tariffs on lead and zinc have only a slight effect in restricting imports. But there are no recommendations regarding tariff changes at this time.

Meanwhile, the lead and zinc industries continue their progressive decline. Employment in those key industries has dropped more than 20 percent, according to the Tariff Commission. With miners out of work, business in the mining communities is depressed.

Lead and zinc are mined at about 900 mines scattered over 23 States and Alaska, although the bulk of the newly mined production of each metal comes from about 100 of these.

Of the 100 large producers, the Bureau of Mines tells me that 40 are shut down now, representing between 20 and 25 percent of the mine production. Other estimates range up to 40 percent.

We are told that the lead and zinc areas hardest hit are in the so-called tri-State district in Oklahoma, Kansas, and southwest Missouri, and Western States in general.

Montana was the leading producer of zinc last year and ranked fifth in mine production of lead. Montana mines accounted for 80,250 of the 534,730 short tons of zinc produced in the United States in 1953. From our mines came 19,630 short tons of the 335,412 national mine production of lead.

Prices show what has happened to lead and zinc. The yearly average price for lead in 1952 was 16.5 cents a pound. The average yearly price in 1953 was 13.5 cents. The price on March 10, latest date covered in the Tariff Commission report, was 13 cents. Between the first quarter of 1952 and March 10, 1954, the New York price for lead declined 32 percent.

The yearly average price of zinc was 16.2 cents in 1952. In 1953 it was 10.8 cents. On March 10, 1954, the price was 9.75 cents. Between the first quarter of 1952 and March 10, 1954, the price of zinc was declined 50 percent.

Now, it is certainly in the national interest to keep a healthy, active mining industry going in the United States. We need raw materials for our industry. We need critical and strategic minerals and metals—such as lead and zinc—for defense.

The Tariff Commission reports of the situation is not as strong as the one of a year ago by the House Select Committee on Small Business.

The Tariff Commission says domestic mine production of lead and zinc "has declined, accompanied by mine closures and reduced employment."

The Small Business Committee found the basic lead and zinc industry "in grave jeopardy." This paragraph from their report:

> The principal complaints came primarily from small-business men engaged in mining whose main complaint was that such increased amounts of lead and zinc were being imported into the country as to drive the price down 41 percent below the Government ceiling price of 19½ cents for zinc and 16 cents for lead only recently taken off by OPS. Also that whereas in 1952 the United States needed only 225,000 tons of zinc from foreign countries that actually 565,000 tons had been imported. This amounted to dumping of these metals on American markets, and driving some domestic producers into bankruptcy, causing distress, unemployment, and serious economic repercussions in many sections of the United States.

It appears to me that the solution to the problem breaks down into two phases—an immediate and a long-range program.

The immediate program should include an increase in stockpile. As I interpret the President's recent order, the stockpile will be considerably increased and the Government will buy more of 35 to 40 metals. The order is believed to be primarily a shot in the arm for the lead and zinc industries.

This should be accompanied by a subsidy plan aimed at reopening the mines now closed.

Our Federal Government also should provide more money for unemployment compensation in the lead and zinc areas, because many workers have used up their benefits. They should be carried until the industries are back on their feet.

Quantities of surplus food should be made available to the States for distribution to the miners out of work through no fault of their own.

The long-range program should include efforts to increase per capita use of these metals.

We also should enact a mine-incentive-payment program, based on the belief that the urgency of obtaining strategic raw materials will be as great in any subsequent emergency as during World War II, when such a program

worked for 5 years for copper, lead, and zinc. I have introduced such a bill.

If we find that producers cannot operate even under the incentive-payment plan that takes production cost into account, then we should set up a program to help management, labor, and the communities which now are based upon lead and zinc.

We should help the producers build new plants and facilities to improve their efficiency. We should help them convert to other enterprise.

We should help the workers by providing adequate unemployment compensation, training for new jobs, and transportation to areas where they can find other jobs.

We should aid the communities by encouraging new industry to utilize the available materials and labor force.

This administration has had more than a year to study this situation. Now it is time to act.

American Press Lauds Democratic Amendment to Wiretapping Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the time that I have been here I have learned there are occasions when hysteria controls votes in this body. Members are elected every 2 years; one election is no sooner over than another is just around the corner.

Because the Members of this body are so close to the people whom they represent, and a good vote conceivably could encompass their defeat in an election close at hand by reason of the impossibility in the available time to combat misrepresentation, they are on occasions subject to hysteria. This is especially noticeable when measures presumably in the interest of national security are under consideration.

I think when measures intended to safeguard and strengthen our security are before us the approach should be wholeheartedly nonpartisan. The presumption should be that all members of a body, the overwhelming majority of whom are war veterans, are equally concerned in the protection of their country and their government against all forms of evil design. If they disagree as to methods and the nature of legislative provisions, it is a healthy disagreement among good and patriotic American lawmakers calculated to result in the enactment of laws that will safeguard with fullest efficiency our national security and, at the same time, avoid the doing of violence to the sacred rights of all law-abiding persons.

JUGGLING TERMINOLOGY

When recently we had under consideration H. R. 8649, unfortunately the majority leader sought to insure its passage by labeling it the "antitraitor bill." As originally presented it was a very bad bill since it sought to confer upon an essentially political office the power to subject to eavesdropping any person in his conversations over a telephone line for which he had contracted and for which he paid. The integrity and sagacity of the present Attorney General was in no sense involved. Attorneys General come and go. Since the establishment of the office we have had 60 Attorneys General.

Fortunately, the House on this occasion did not go overboard. As it was the majority that voted to place the power in the courts, as is done in the case of the issuance of warrants for search and seizure, was slim. Some Republican Members voted against the courts, obviously for political reasons and under political pressures. Others, I suppose, were thrown into panic by the fear that someone who had never seen the bill or would ever read it would get wrong notions because of the majority leader's political juggling with terminology.

REACTION OF THE PRESS

What they lost sight of was that the American press, our strongest and most dependable defender against any nature of invasion of the rights of a free press, also is a vigilant champion of the right of free speech and the constitutional guaranties against search and seizure without judicial authorization. The American press does not get panicky as quickly as those in public office with an election just around the corner.

It is interesting to note that the press of the Nation, with very few exceptions, supported the position of the Democrats who solidly voted for the amendment and of the courageous Republicans who joined with them. I am extending my remarks to include the editorials on the subject from the two morning newspapers in Chicago.

The editorial of April 13, 1954, in the Chicago Sun-Times, a supporter of President Eisenhower, follows:

THE WIRETAP BILL

As finally approved by the House, the proposed Federal wiretapping bill is better than the administration's original measure. It confers on the courts, rather than the Attorney General, the right to authorize wiretapping in cases of suspected treason, espionage, and sabotage.

We have grave doubts, however, whether wiretapping should be legalized even for so heinous an assortment of crimes. For once that wiretapping evidence is admitted in such cases, the danger always exists that its use may be permitted in a continually growing list of lesser cases.

As the Wall Street Journal observed on that point: "Once a government is given a tool to tap liberty, there is unfortunately no guaranty that it will necessarily stop where it at first means to stop. The normal and safe course in this country has always been to keep that kind of tool out of the Government's hands."

The main argument for the wiretapping bill is that it's needed to help the FBI combat Communist conspiracies in this country. Conversely, it seems to us that the FBI has done pretty well in that direction without the help of evidence obtained by wiretapping.

A somewhat similar wiretapping bill was sought by the Roosevelt administration in 1941, during the emergency period preceding Pearl Harbor. But it was narrowly defeated in the House, largely because of Republican opposition to the measure. Representative ALLEN, Republican, of Illinois, who was against the bill, charged that it was based on un-American principles. Other Republicans feared that it would lead to the establishment of a secret police force in the worst totalitarian traditions.

Times have changed, and it can be argued that the threat of Communist Russia is greater than the menace of nazism ever was. But have times changed to such a degree that we must take risks which were deemed much too dangerous 13 years ago?

That is the dilemma which will confront the Senate when it takes up the wiretapping bill—to pass it as it is, to amend it with ever greater safeguards to liberty than those in the House bill, or to defeat it once and for all.

If there is to be a bill at all, it might be wise to require a panel of three judges to give advance authority for wiretapping. When the House amended the administration measure, it was argued that no one man—namely, the Attorney General—should have the power to approve wiretapping. A Federal judge is one man, too.

CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN VIEWPOINT

The editorial of April 10, 1954, in the Chicago Tribune, a conservative Republican newspaper, and a supporter of Senator Taft in the 1952 primary campaign, follows:

WIRETAPPING

The House, asked by Attorney General Brownell for authority to use evidence obtained by wiretapping in prosecution of subversives, acted correctly in accepting the amendment by Representative WILLIS, Democrat, of Louisiana, before passing the bill.

The bill as drafted had provided that if the Attorney General authorized a wiretap, evidence so obtained could be introduced as evidence. Courts now refuse to accept wiretap evidence because of a provision in the Federal Communications Act.

Representative WILLIS' amendment provided that the permission to tap wires must be obtained from a Federal judge. Tapping a wire is a process similar to search of a man's premises, except that it is done without the knowledge of the suspect. Only a court may issue a search warrant. Only a court should authorize the greater invasion of privacy involved in wiretapping.

There was a curious byplay in the effort of administration forces to head off the Willis amendment. It was proposed that power to authorize wiretaps be vested in the head of the FBI instead of the Attorney General. The theory was that everyone trusts J. Edgar Hoover.

We trust Mr. Hoover. For that matter, we have no reason to think that Mr. Brownell would abuse the authority if it were given to him. Of course, if he couldn't be trusted to use the wiretapping authority properly, he couldn't be trusted to be Attorney General of the United States, either, but that seems to have escaped the would-be compromisers. No one knows who, in the future, may succeed either Mr. Brownell or Mr. Hoover. We do know, or expect, that the Federal bench will continue to be occupied by judges faithful to the concept that we are to be ruled by laws, not men.

The safeguard provided by Representative WILLIS made the wiretapping bill as acceptable as any measure can be that curtails civil rights. It is not enough to say, as was said in this case, that those rights are curtailed only as to scoundrels. Every limitation of rights that has ever been proposed has been offered on such grounds, and every limitation so enacted is a tool that can be used by scoundrels against honest men. That is why the protection of the courts is so necessary.

Allegiance Reaffirmed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to include an excellent editorial, worthy of wide attention, outlining the organization and development of that wonderful group of American citizens known as the United Spanish War Veterans.

The article, appearing in a recent issue of National Tribune—The Stars and Stripes, presents a stirring reminder to the Congress of our beloved Abraham Lincoln's strong admonition, "To care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan."

Let us hope that in keeping faith with that patriotic admonition the appropriate committees will soon favorably report to the Congress those current bills providing for an essentially needed increase in the too modest pensions now being received by the widows and dependents of these valiant old soldiers. The editorial follows:

ALLEGIANCE REAFFIRMED

April is a most significant month of the year to the organized veterans of the Spanish-American War because it memorializes not only the anniversary of declaration of the War with Spain in 1898 but also marks the amalgamation of several societies which combined to make up the United Spanish War Veterans. As a matter of historical fact, more should be known by our younger veterans' associations of the principles which led former servicemen to form their societies at the turn of the century and which ultimately resulted in a combined membership that has boasted 68 percent of all eligibles and made of the USWV one of the most substantial groups of war veterans the world has ever known.

Space here, however, permits only the most sketchy of reviews. Almost before they were out of uniform there were to spring up strong local units of the veterans who subdued Spain in a matter of months and then went on to pacify the islands of the Caribbean and mid-Pacific and put down insurrection in China and the Philippines. Soon after the war a strong core became the rallying point for others of like purpose and, on April 18, 1904, there were amalgamated into the USWV the National Association of Spanish-American War Veterans, National Army and Navy Spanish War Veterans and National Encampment of Servicemen of the Spanish War. Only a little later, in 1906 and in 1908, respectively, there joined with them the Legion of Spanish War Veterans and the Veteran Army of the Philippines. All members had voluntarily answered the call of President McKinley and had gone to war to free backward and oppressed peoples who had long suffered under the oppression of the Spanish monarchy.

More than 458,000 of the most virile young men of the country entered its service after war came on April 21, 1898, and thousands of others tried vainly to enlist. It has been related by some who would belittle the patriotism of these warriors that they were motivated by revenge and that their battle cry of "Remember the Maine" was unjustified, because nobody could prove that this country's most boasted man-o'-war was sent to the bottom of Habana harbor in February at the hands of an enemy. Indeed, it is recalled that a then Nebraska Senator had proclaimed that war with Spain would—as it eventually did—increase the business of American railroads, enlarge upon the output of every factory and stimulate every branch of industry and commerce, but association with Spanish War veterans gives the lie to such aspersions. They answered the call to the colors solely to relieve human beings who were being trodden upon by the iron heel of aggression. Theirs was a war for humanity, the first to be fought overseas, and they carried their ancient and unfit equipment with a spirit that has not before nor since been equaled. The opening of the seas of the world to commerce, the resultant coming of a golden age and the advancement of medical science through their wholesome efforts were incidental, if beneficial, results of their sacrificial service, not the cause.

On the nearest meeting day to April 21 the survivors of that 4-year war, fought under the most grueling conditions of any in which this Nation has been engaged in all of its history, will participate in observances that are peculiar to them alone. They may fight again their battles and excusably boast a little of their aggressiveness in days long gone by, but their purpose of meeting will be the renewal of allegiance to their country and its flag. Just as they have done for over half a century, they will hold up their right hands and make the same pledge of fealty they made 56 years ago, when they donned the uniform and marched off to war. And they will do it proudly and confidently, feeling that they have the right to enjoy the vanity that prompted them to fight for principle rather than for material gain.

But not unlike others who are alined with similar organizations, these men, who now average 79 years, will not only unite in stressing their fraternal bonds, they will also be mindful of still broader objects and purposes. The principles of liberty are born in them and have had a strong influence upon their lives. Their loyalty proved beyond question, they hold a marked reverence for our country's institutions, for obedience to its laws and for the promotion of honesty and integrity in the conduct of public affairs. And they expect their people to keep faith with them and their kind.

It is entirely coincidence that, as these veterans of necessity discuss their personal problems and as they once more utter the vows of enlistment, a subcommittee of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives last week heard spokesmen for their organization recite some of the economic difficulties which face them and tell of the perplexities that cause special concern to the dependents of their departed comrades. One of the most compelling reasons for any organization of war veterans is to succor its sick and disabled and to care tenderly for the widows and orphans of the heroic dead, and the impact of living conditions and costs of survival were debated ably at the Capitol. Of the nearly half-million men who served so well in 1898–1902, only 68,000 survive; the dead have left behind some 82,000 living dependents most of whom are in dire need and none of whom can possibly live in decency on the modest pension payments they now receive.

Typical of their regard for others, and consistent with policy followed throughout the years, the first concern of the USWV has been for those who have lost their breadwinners, and a strong case was made for these widows in the presentations made last week by those who are burdened with that responsibility. It is unthinkable that the Congress will deny the little that is sought, and we have every confidence that it will be granted. To that extent we fall in line entirely with the thinking of our friends who direct the legislative efforts of Spanish War beneficiaries. On the other hand, we contend that rising living costs affect everybody alike and our files are loaded with evidence which points up the need to grant similar relief to the surviving veterans of the war.

Another subcommittee has jurisdiction over bills that ask for substantial remodeling of compensation and pension laws relating to veterans and dependents of later wars, and detailed representations have been made to that group to recommend reasonable increases in payments and other adjustments to help alleviate exactly the same conditions which pose living problems to the more elderly veterans and widows. The President of the United States, as a candidate for office, made promises to disabled war veterans and their loved ones to grant increases in pensions in accord with rising living costs, and the Republican platform especially presented such a plank to the voters. We, therefore, believe it is as fully consistent to demand recognition of such pledges in the solution of this troublesome question as it is to believe in the constant policy of the Nation to care properly for its other victims of war, and we have asked our readers to press that argument with every Representative and Senator on Capitol Hill.

There seems to have entered the minds of some Congressmen a concern about precedents. They question comparisons between the costs of meeting other government obligations and the allotments made to the veteran class. There has never been a doubt in our minds that charity begins at home, and we assert without fear of intelligent contradiction that this country and its every activity have been the creators of precedents and a virtual slave to them. That is what has made the Nation great, and no example has helped to serve it more than its historic generosity in caring for the victims of war. The policy of treatment accorded to Spanish War beneficiaries has followed exactly that which has gone to those of the Civil War, and, in our judgment, some errors were made when bigger wars and the costs involved have caused departures from those practices. Costs have no part, however, in the necessity to extend humane handling of a matter of such great consequence as this, subject of course to the ability of the country to pay. In all events, we assure our comrades of the Spanish War and their dependents that we shall not depart from the loyalty they have demonstrated, and we pledge to them whatever we can do to assist them in their hour of trial. We congratulate them on their anniversary, and we join with them in their reaffirmation of allegiance to the high principles for which they stand.

An Old Flag Unfolds American Destiny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 14, 1954

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions I have spoken in the House on the important part of the Spanish-American War in the advancement of the manifest destiny of the United States. Modern historians have been too much inclined to understress an event in our history which carried us far into the Pacific and set the present outposts of democracy's crucial struggle with communism in the Orient. Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines have added a strength to the world of free

men that would have been unlikely if the war with Spain had not come to change the course of history.

As the last veteran of that conflict in this body I am voicing the hope that the distinguished Commandant at West Point will take advantage of a flag presentation shortly to be made to have impressed upon the cadet body the significance to our country and to the free world of a bit of bunting now over half a century old.

Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the story of the flag and its scheduled presentation to the Military Academy as told in the Chicago Tribune:

A satin flag displaying 45 stars made by hand by Filipinos and presented in 1900 to an American battalion fighting the insurrectionists will be donated to the United States Military Academy's museum at West Point, N. Y.

The flag will be given on behalf of his former troops and the members of the 39th Volunteers Infantry Regiment by Col. George T. Langhorne of 1120 Lake Shore Drive. Colonel Langhorne, a retired West Pointer, served as chief of staff of the 65th Cavalry Division. He commanded the 2d battalion of the 39th Infantry after the Spanish-American War.

THREE THOUSAND PRESENT FLAG

The flag was presented to the 2d battalion by the 3,000 townsfolk of San Pablo on the Isle of Luzon in appreciation of the treatment and services given them by the troops. Colonel Langhorne, then a major, directed a clean-up program and issued quantities of quinine to the natives to stem the plague of malaria which also attacked his troops. His men crushed insurgent uprisings, supervised elections, and restored good government to the community.

Langhorne's battalion fought Malvar's insurrectionists in 19 engagements during 31 days of mopping up operations before they set up headquarters at San Pablo under the direction of Col. Robert Lee Bullard. The volunteers who defeated the insurrectionists were called Bullard's Indians because they fought Indian style.

When the battalion, decimated by malaria, was ordered south to recover, the populace gathered in the town square and the flag presentation was made by the curate, the Reverend Francisco Alcantara, who directed the making of the flag.

THIRTY SUPPLY MUSIC

Music was supplied by 30 former insurrectionists who quit fighting when Langhorne's troops donated band instruments and made musicians of them. Landowners who had paid fines when they failed to comply with the Army's clean-up orders were there to pay their respects to the parting troops who Father Alcantara, said has restored "peace and tranquility" to their community.

The flag is artistically worked. Its silver stars are embroidered with metallic thread and its edges are trimmed with metallic gold fringe. With it went a staff of ebony and a storage case of hand-carved mahogany.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further*, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

The Defense of Freedom—Today and Tomorrow

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "The Defense of Freedom—Today and Tomorrow," delivered by me before the 63d Continental Congress of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Washington, D. C., on April 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM—TODAY AND TOMORROW

(Address by United States Senator EDWARD MARTIN, of Pennsylvania, before the 63d Continental Congress of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C., Thursday evening, April 22, 1954)

It is a rare privilege to address this honorable and outstanding American organization.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have always been steadfast and militant in defense of the United States and our heritage of liberty and independence.

No organization defends and supports the ideals of freedom with deeper loyalty to the principles upon which our Republic was established.

No organization fights harder for 100 percent Americanism.

No organization appreciates more sincerely the fundamental principle that the greatness of our country is based on the most precious gift bestowed by God upon mankind—freedom of the individual.

Yes, my fellow Americans, our birthright of freedom was not conferred by government. It was not granted by legislative enactment.

It was held by the Founding Fathers to be a divine blessing—a sacred trust to be treasured, guarded, and defended with all we have and all we are—with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Upon that foundation the United States, in less than 200 years, has become the greatest and most powerful Nation in all history.

Upon that foundation a savage wilderness was transformed into a bright land of freedom, with the highest material, cultural and spiritual attainments in all the world.

We can point with the greatest pride to all that has been achieved in a comparatively short span of years. But we must never forget that we did not reach the proud position we occupy without struggle and sacrifice.

It is ours today because heroes and patriots in every generation were willing to shed their blood and give their lives in defense of freedom.

The troubled times in which we live call upon everyone of us to take up the cause they so nobly served. The dangers we face today call for renewed dedication to our country and our flag. They call for deeper devotion to the ideals of liberty and independence, for new strength and courage in defense of freedom.

America faces a desperate challenge.

It is a challenge hurled by evil forces that would destroy the principle of individual freedom.

The voice of the demagogue is loud in the land. The brazen tongues of self-seeking politicians still proclaim the false and deceptive promise of prosperity and security without effort and without sacrifice.

The advocates of a planned and controlled society—call it socialism, collectivism, communism, or by any other name—are still among us. They are still offering their fantastic hope of a more abundant life if we will but give up our individual freedom.

Their one objective is to undermine our system of free government and to replace it with the same Socialistic pattern that has led other great Nations to destruction.

The danger is real. It must have our careful attention when we consider the defense of American freedom.

Unfortunately we have among us so many misguided persons who do not fully appreciate the real meaning of Americanism.

They do not seem to realize that our system of free government places upon each citizen an equal share of responsibility for our growth and progress.

They do not seem to understand that the progress of our country has always depended on the principle that each American must bear his share of the burden of supporting and defending our country.

That principle was so well set forth by George Washington when he said, and I quote:

"Every citizen who enjoys the protection of a free government owes not only a portion of his property but even of his personal service to the defense of it."

The Founding Fathers were men of keen perception and far-sighted vision. They knew from the record of history that under self-rule the people might destroy their government by robbing their own treasury.

They feared that political demagogues would undertake projects that seemed good for the individual with no regard for the ability of the people to pay the cost.

The vastly increased cost of government at all levels gives some indication of how far we have gone in that direction.

I do not want to burden you with too many figures, but I feel that this great and powerful organization should have all the facts.

Twenty-five years ago the total cost of all local government in the United States was about $5½ billion a year. It has now more than doubled. At that time local government had outstanding bonds of about $12 billion. That debt has now increased to $22 billion.

Twenty-five years ago the cost of operating State government in all the 48 States was about $2 billion a year. It has now increased to the enormous sum of $12 billion. At that time the 48 States owed about $2 billion, which in 25 years has been expanded to nearly $10 billion.

The total cost of the Federal Government was less than $3 billion 25 years ago and in 1953 it was close to $75 billion, which, I hope, can be greatly decreased in the next fiscal year.

Twenty-five years ago the national debt was about $16½ billion. Now it has just about reached the statutory limit, the staggering sum of $275 billion.

Twenty-five years ago there were 500,000 employees on the Federal payroll. Today there are 2,347,000, a decrease of 200,000 from the high figure of a year ago. The total number of all Government employees, Federal, State, and local, is now more than 8 million while 25 years ago it was about 3 million.

The salaries of the Federal employees is now equal to the wages of all the workers in the steel industry of America and twice that of all the railroads.

I bring these figures to your attention because the solvency of our country has an important bearing on the defense of our freedom.

They are a solemn warning that financial irresponsibility is the first step to disaster for a Nation just as it is for an individual.

They should make us stop and reflect upon the grim truth that in a bankrupt Nation there is no freedom, no justice—only hunger, poverty, dictatorship, and slavery.

What is the reason for the enormous cost of Government?

It is because we are shirking our individual responsibility.

We have permitted the expenditure of vast sums of money for undertakings by Government which are properly the business of private enterprise.

We have permitted large expenditures for sectional and regional advantage which have been detrimental to other parts of the country.

We have seen the development of a powerful Central Government because the States have surrendered many of their functions and responsibilities in exchange for so-called Federal aid.

The same process is taking place at the lower levels of Government. Local responsibility is being destroyed by the shifting of purely local functions to the State level.

Our people seem to forget that every tax dollar spent by Government comes from the earnings of the worker and that Government has nothing to give except that which it first takes from the people themselves.

Are the American people so attracted by gaudy promises and glowing pictures of a carefree future, that they are willing to close their eyes to the most terrible waste and extravagance our country has ever known?

Are the American people so indifferent to the real facts that they are willing to be fooled?

Can America be awakened to the danger?

Can the fighting spirit of American people be aroused to save America from the Socialistic system that has brought other great nations to destruction?

Unless we learn and apply that lesson of history, American freedom will be wiped out.

If America is to be preserved as the greatest Nation in history, our people must stop leaning on the Government and stand once more on their own feet as our forefathers did.

I am confident that the loyal and patriotic Daughters of the American Revolution will be in the front line of the battle to save American freedom.

We must restore a sense of individual integrity and responsibility.

We must think more about our duties as citizens than our rights and privileges.

We must drive out corruption at all levels of Government.

We must rid ourselves of racketeers and profiteers who demand something for nothing.

We must clamp down on law evaders and law violators.

We must crush the poisonous influence of communism and every other subversive element that is undermining loyalty to America.

We must resist the efforts of those who would replace our free Republic with the planned economy of the welfare state.

We must safeguard the national economy against abuses by big business, big labor, and big government.

We must strengthen the moral and spiritual vitality of our people.

We must depend more upon ourselves and less upon the Government.

We must practice honesty, self-reliance, thrift, tolerance, and, above all, faith in God.

As soldiers we are taught that we must have an estimate of the situation and a plan of action before we go into battle.

First we learn all we can about the enemy and his possible action, also complete information about our own troops. I believe I have given you an accurate estimate of the situation.

In this conflict we know that our enemies abroad are the godless, treacherous, aggressor nations. We know that our enemies here at home are traitors who conspire to tear down the American flag and to overthrow this Government by force if necessary. In addition, we have the careless and selfish American. He is not a well-trained soldier. We know we must be prepared. We must be equipped and we must be trained.

I humbly submit for your consideration the following training program as a basis for our plan of action.

First, we must strengthen the influence of the family and the home. There are few juvenile delinquents in good families. The morale is high. They possess a high degree of integrity.

Second, our schools must be presided over by men and women imbued with the highest ideals of this Republic. Their job is a sacred trust. They should teach the young to be self-reliant, tolerant, and unselfish. They should teach the glories of the American way of life and what it has accomplished.

Third, we need militant and tolerant churches. We should all be generous in support of our churches, cathedrals, and synagogues. They should teach the dignity and the freedom of the individual. They should provide for the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, the YMCA, the YWCA, the youth organizations of every faith, and all the other great groups that stand for Americanism at its best.

My fellow Americans, one of our most important duties in defense of American freedom is to mould the minds of youth so as to build men and women of character, principle, and integrity.

We should teach our boys and girls to be grateful for the strength and loyalty of the men who, in the name of liberty, created this powerful Nation. It was the first time in history that a government had as its prime purpose the preservation of the God-given right of freedom of the individual. Our Government was consecrated in the blood and tears of stalwart men and women for that purpose.

Our rich soil and our great endowment of natural resources were important in the development of the America we enjoy, but the strongest factor was the iron spirit in the hearts and minds of the men and women who founded, created, and developed the United States.

Let us work and fight to preserve the heritage they have so gloriously given us.

Are Legislative Investigations a Threat to Academic Freedom?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, one of the controversial questions today is whether the legislative investigation committees are threatening freedom in any of its aspects. Much has been said and much has been written on the subject.

Therefore, I feel that we are fortunate whenever anyone with knowledge contributes material dealing with this matter. Such an informative article has been written by Mr. Fay George Child and is published under the title "Are Legislative Investigations a Threat to Academic Freedom?" It appears in the April issue of Minnesota, the alumni magazine of the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Child, a member of the Minnesota State Legislature, a newspaperman, and former legislative assistant to the Honorable HAROLD HAGEN, has made a rather thorough study of this question; and I am happy to ask unanimous consent to have the survey of his findings printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ARE LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATIONS A THREAT TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM?

(By Fay George Child)

(The author: In addition to being editorial editor of the News at Maynard, Fay Child represents Chippewa and Lac Qui Parle Counties in the Minnesota State Senate. He spent 5 years in Washington as administrative assistant to Congressman HAROLD C. HAGEN, where he observed first hand the activity of congressional investigating committees. Senator Child presently is associated with the Louis F. Dow Co., representing that company in the counties adjacent to his district.)

Just as a university must be protected in its scholarly search for truth, so must the constitutional prerogatives of a congressional investigating committee be safeguarded against unfair attack by those who seek to curb or discredit this important legislative function.

Many critics are laboring under the false assumption that congressional investigating committees have some kind of judicial power—and are abusing that power. This is not true. Only the executive branch of our Government can make arrests. Only the judicial branch can punish. Congressional committees can do nothing but ask questions.

Individuals called before a congressional committee are not the accused, they are the witnesses, protected by all of the rights of a witness.

To protect the reputation of a witness, be he professor or otherwise, committees make a practice of questioning him first in executive session. The vast majority of witnesses do not appear at public hearings where reporters are present.

A congressional investigating committee is not concerned with guilt or innocence or with individual acts. Its functions is to secure testimony and information so as to better formulate Government policies and draft specific legislation. Witnesses who have information are requested or subpenaed to appear before the committee to answer questions and to supply helpful information.

If, in the course of the questioning, a witness resorts to the fifth amendment and refuses to answer on the grounds that to do so would tend to incriminate him, be subjects himself to widespread suspicion which is damaging to his reputation and career. Often his defiance is encouraged by the editorial support his kind receives from anti-anti-Communists.

It must be recorded that if the witness commits perjury during the interrogation, he may later have to face a grand jury, where he will have all of the safeguards and rights of a man accused.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION IS GOAL

At the conclusion of the hearing, and out of the vast compilation of information, comes a committee report, recommending legislative action, designed to promote the general welfare and to protect our Republic against crime or subversion.

State legislatures have the constitutional right to investigate possible Communist infiltration into schools and universities, but it is my opinion that it would be inadvisable for State legislative committees to engage in this type of investigation. They have neither the funds nor the trained investigative personnel to do the job adequately. In addition, the Communist conspiracy is of national rather than State scope. A State legislative committee would be handicapped by its lack of overall knowledge of the conspiracy and its inability to subpena witnesses from other States.

Congressional committees, on the other hand, have, over the years built up voluminous files and valuable experience on the Communist conspiracy as it affects the Republic.

In spite of contentions to the contrary, congressional committees have not investigated institutions such as the universities and churches. The mere fact that a witness may be a professor or a minister, however, offers no restraint to the members of the investigating committee who, like the scholars, are seeking the truth wherever they find it.

FACULTY RESPONSIBILITY DEFINED

In 1953, the Association of American Universities (AAU) adopted a splendid statement concerning the rights and responsibilities of universities and their faculties, Dr. J. L. Morrill, of our own university, was one of those responsible for this clear expression of position:

"He (the professor) owes equal candor to the public. If he is called upon to answer for his convictions it is his duty as a citizen to speak out. It is even more definitely his duty as a profressor. Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect upon a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society. In this respect, invocation of the fifth amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his university an obligation to reexamine his qualifications for membership in its society."

The statement also says that no scholar can adequately disseminate knowledge or pursue investigation in the effort to make further progress toward truth if he is a member of the Communist Party, adheres to the party line, or is subject to party discipline. It further states that if he is a Communist, he forfeits not only all university support but his right to membership in the university.

Referring to university presidents as businessmen, not scholars, my opponent, in a

previous debate on this question, hoped to minimize the declaraton of the AAU. He defended the right of Communists to teach at universities.

I might suggest, however, that several of the presidents who worked with our own distinguished Dr. Morrill on the AAU statement are scholars of acknowledged eminence and prestige—men such as Wriston, Kiewiet, and Dodds.

The honest teacher, whether he be a nonconformist or otherwise, has nothing to fear from congressional investigators. Only those who are disloyal or subversive need be alarmed or concerned. However, any public reprisals resulting from his inability to weigh the validity of his opinions and the manner in which they are expressed is an occupational hazard from which there is little protection. Congressional investigations have not increased this hazard.

It has long been my contention that much of the responsibility for the damage to reputations of witnesses can be credited to the news-disseminating agencies. Their reporting is frequently mischievous, if not actually vicious. For that reason, I have advocated editorially, that where reputations are at stake, those witnesses should be questioned in executive sessions, with no news releases to the reporters until a complete and unabridged text of all of the testimony can be made available to them at the conclusion of the hearings. A scare headline on the first day of the hearing may create a sensation and sell newspapers—but more often than not the headline is fraught with fallacious implications.

Freedom of the press will not be jeopardized by this proper restraint on the part of the committees—in fact, the cause of truth—the whole truth, will best be served by this more deliberate and thoughtful approach.

Exposing subversion in our Government and institutions is a thankless and distasteful job. It is because the Members of Congress are concerned with preserving our freedoms, that they are making such an exhaustive study of insidious influences in America.

Academic freedom is one of the most important of those freedoms.

Record of Campaign for Election of a President of the Parent-Teachers Association of Hastings, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following record of a most important campaign for election of a president of the Parent-Teachers Association of Hastings, N. Y.

This series of news items and editorials is important to all communities in the United States because it shows what a local community can do by orderly, dignified means under our present laws, to defend itself with courage and clear-sightedness, against the danger of Communist infiltration in education.

The Public Printer informs me that the cost of printing this record in the Appendix is estimated to be $538.35.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCEEDINGS, 10TH STATE CONVENTION, COMMUNIST PARTY, NEW YORK, SESSION V, SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1938, 2 P. M.

ALICE UDREN, UNITED PARENTS ASSOCIATION

Comrades: Our party has become a political factor in the life of the American people today. A majority of the people are for peace and against fascism, and although not quite ready to accept fully the program of our party, will become that progressive part of a movement to build the democratic front.

It is well to remember that the politicians of the major political parties owe their success partly to the fact that their leaders get to know who is who and what is happening down the street. We are better prepared, fortified with the teachings of our party, to become the leaders in our communities.

Amongst the many phases of community life the Parent Associations are a great contributing factor of community interest, offering tremendous possibilities in building the democratic front. Throughout New York State the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has affiliated to it many parent organizations. The leadership of this organization is very conservative, and we haven't even begun to penetrate.

In New York City the Federation of Mothers Clubs, which exists mainly in the neighborhood settlement houses and which has a large mass base, is little known to our party. However, in one particular phase of parent organization, our party in New York City is rapidly becoming an influential part, namely, the United Parents Association of New York City. Approximately 250 parent groups are organized around a minimum program, such as: A seat for every child, free hot lunches, carfare and clothing for needy children, dental and eye clinics in every school, a doctor and a nurse in every school, playgrounds, libraries, swimming pools, etc. The composition is a cross-section of our metropolitan city, of all political and religious beliefs, Negro and white, and all nationalities. It includes every economic group from unemployed, factory and white-collar workers to professionals.

The United Parents Association has become the progressive representative of nearly 200 affiliated parents associations. Only recently, the UPA sent a delegation of parents as part of the Teachers' Union delegation to Albany in support of the $200 million bond issue for more schools. Here I would like to pause for a word to the upstate comrades. Judge Cole, a member of the committee on education, who greeted our delegation, stated that although he is in sympathy with our requests he feels that we ought to realize that conditions upstate are even worse.

The UPA went on record against the McNaboe bill and urged its locals to take action in order to help defeat it. The UPA has cooperated with our city government in promoting better conditions and better education. It upholds the right to academic freedom. It has taken an active part in the support of the child-labor amendment.

Although our party comrades are a small minority in the UPA we have been a contributing factor in the last elections of the organization in defeating the reactionaries and putting into leadership a progressive slate with 5 comrades out of 25 on the Harlem executive committee. Two of us are known Communists; in my own case, having been a party candidate in the last two campaigns. Comrades, we have been able to nip in the bud any Red-baiting, precisely because we were known Communists.

It is our task to lead these parents against the reactionaries in our Government, who have consistently attacked appropriations for education; to become, through the leadership of our party, that political force that will not only defend but extend better education for our children. Today, when these reactionaries are attempting to split the unity amongst the teachers, attacking the activity program within the school as communistic, our leaders in parent work can expose those reactionary forces in our school system as being against the interest of our children.

Comrades, these parents are also concerned with the high cost of living, housing, and peace, and are willing allies in the struggle for jobs, security, democracy, and peace. Through such activity our party can lay the basis for the democratic front, going forward in the coming elections with many more progressives elected in the city, State, and Federal Government.

The comrades working in the UPA are conscious of the fact that there is a lack of Negro leadership, and because of our efforts we were able to elect a progressive Negro woman. However, no little blame lies with our comrades from Harlem. There are many comrades active in parents' associations in Harlem. Their problems should be UPA problems. A determined effort should be made to get these comrades into the UPA so that we can raise the conditions in Harlem schools, which are worse than in any other part of the city.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 21, 1954]

THE RED UNDERGROUND—ORDER GIVEN COMRADES TO INFILTRATE THE PTA

(By Herbert A. Philbrick)

During the last few weeks in a number of secret cells throughout New York State special orders were received: "As a Communist you must participate in organizations concerned with schools." Comrades with children in school were thereupon directed to infiltrate one of the largest and most important organizations in this area—the Parent Teachers Association.

Detailed instructions were given to the underground cell members, outlining the issues to be exploited, tactics of infiltration, and strategy of exerting influence.

TACTICS OUTLINED

Tactics of penetration were carefully prescribed. The members were warned not to be too aggressive, but to exert utmost diplomacy. "In joining a parent teachers association," they were instructed, "you join a well-established organization, many of whose members have been active for many years and are in positions of leadership. They are not looking for someone to tell them what to do."

The proper procedure, the Reds were told, is to volunteer to serve in a minor position, such as on a committee, or as typist, or offer to solicit advertisements for the Parent Teachers' paper or publication. They were cautioned that, "The PTA is an organization in which you work your way to the top, slowly and patiently." Even after careful cultivation, moves are to be made cautiously: "We can then give leadership on issues like the raising of the school entrance age."

TEAMWORK

The cell members were also instructed to work as a team, and to discuss the objectives and progress of individual comrades in branch meetings of the party.

Party branch bosses are to provide instruction as to how to approach and influence non-Communist members of the PTA; analysis of mistakes; and coordination of the efforts of individual members for better effect. "The party branch gives our work a Communist orientation so that we can help set in motion thousands of women," they were advised.

Finally, specific victims are to be singled out, according to the Red instructions; the branch leadership will determine, for example, which PTA member is to be invited to attend a meeting to be addressed by a teacher discharged for subversion and whom to approach with an invitation to purchase party literature. After successful infiltration, the members were told the cell could

concentrate on the task of recruiting PTA members into the party itself.

As to the issues to be exploited for party purposes, the members were instructed to include a number of legitimate slogans, such as better schools, more teachers, more money for education, etc. In addition, however, they were instructed to fight atom drills, to hurl charges of bookburning whenever a pro-Communist book is not used for school purposes, to protest the discharge of teachers who have refused to answer questions relating to Communist affiliation or membership, and to make other attacks against the Government and policies of the United States. "Our schools," concluded one party boss, "are weapons in the cold war."

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[From the New York Times of March 18, 1954]

RED CHARGE BARS P. T. A. ELECTION—HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON MEETING DISRUPTED AS CANDIDATE, ACTOR'S WIFE, IS SCORED

HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON, N. Y., March 17.—The denunciation as Communists sympathizers of a candidate for the presidency of the local Parent-Teacher Association and her husband, a veteran stage and screen actor, deadlocked tonight an election meeting of the organization. It turned the session into a 2-hour contest of arguments, applause, and boos.

At the end of the stormiest meeting in its history, the group finally decided to postpone the elections until next month to study charges of membership in subversive organizations brought against Mr. and Mrs. Albert Dekker.

The alleged pro-Communist associations of the Dekkers were placed before the group by Gardner Osborn, New York State secretary of the Sons of the American Revolution and executive director of the Federal Hall Memorial.

Mr. Osborn, who stressed that he was making no accusations but merely submitting facts, based most of his material on the controversial 1948 report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities, known as the "Tenney Committee," for its chairman Jack Tenney.

The Dekkers lived in California until 2 years ago.

Mrs. Dekker, whose three children attend school in this commuters' community, emphatically denied that she and her husband had ever been Communists. She admitted having served for 5 months in 1946–47 as chairman of the California branch of the Congress of American Women, which is listed as Communist by the Attorney General.

Mrs. Dekker said that the congress, the only association listed against her by Mr. Osborn, had not been classified as subversive at the time of her membership.

Mr. Dekker, who is now in Texas with the road company of "Death of a Salesman," was mentioned in the Tenney report as a former pro-Red member of the California Legislature.

Mr. Dekker was also identified with seven organizations described as Communist in the Tenney report. Only two of the latter appear, however, on the Attorney General's list as Communist and subversive groups. They are American Youth for Democracy and the California Labor School, Inc.

Mrs. Dekker was one of five candidates for the PTA presidency and was backed by the group's nominating committee.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of March 18, 1954]

PTA POSTPONES ELECTION AS SUBVERSIVE CHARGES AGAINST NOMINEE STUDIED

Last-minute charges made available to officials of the Hastings Parent-Teachers Association this week that Mrs. Albert Dekker, candidate of the nominating committee for president of the organization for the coming 2 years, had been affiliated in activities of a subversive organization in California threw a bombshell into the annual election of the body at the high-school auditorium Wednesday evening.

More than 500 citizens of the community hurriedly summoned by phone packed the auditorium, and following a 3-hour discussion of the qualifications of Mrs. Dekker for the position voted overwhelmingly to postpone the balloting until April 12, at which time a special election meeting will be held. The motion for postponement was made early in the meeting by Dr. John Harry, member of the nominating committee, who said he deemed the step most advisable for the better interests of the parent-teachers association.

Near the close of the session when half of the assembly had drifted away homeward the crowd voted with only slight objection the motion offered by Dr. Phillip Langworthy, superintendent of schools, that the PTA president name a committee of three or five members to study further the charges against Mrs. Dekker and to report back to the organization regarding their nature. At press time the committee had not been made public by Mrs. Nelson L. Bigelow, Jr., president of the organization.

During the spirited meeting, Mrs. Dekker, who is the wife of Albert Dekker, Broadway actor, taking the floor in her defense, conceded that she had been chairman of the California branch of the Congress of American Women for 5 months a few years ago. She said that it was not classified as a subversive organization at the time and there was no way of knowing such was the case.

Vermont C. Royster, speaking from the floor, placed Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer, of Summit Drive, in nomination for the presidency. The motion was duly seconded and accepted by Mrs. Bigelow, chairman, with indications that Mrs. Plimmer and Mrs. Dekker will contest the position of president at the April session.

The question of Mrs. Dekker's qualifications for the position came into the open early in the meeting when Frank J. Adams, of the high-school faculty, and chairman of the nominating committee, gave a unanimous report of a factual nature covering the history of the developments of the case against Mrs. Dekker. He said he was advised by Dr. Langworthy of the situation and charges against Mrs. Dekker for the first time on Tuesday. He said the committee met that same afternoon with Mrs. Bigelow and Mrs. Dekker to hear data on the case and after studying the California Tenney Report, named after State Senator Jack Tenney, made available to them by Donald Grant, members deemed it desirable to hear "further information from those who initiated criticism of Mrs. Dekker's nomination." Mr. Adams said the committee therefore invited Gardner Osborne, former member of the board of education, to bring all data available on the case before its members. He said Mr. Osborne did so and cooperated in a most objective manner with the committee, as did Mrs. Dekker.

COMMITTEE SPLITS

The committee agreed at the close of this that the evidence was "not conclusive." Mr. Adams said "that it did not have the same meaning for each of us." He said the committee was split as to what the election of Mrs. Dekker would mean in terms of dissension in the PTA.

In response to demands from supporters of Mrs. Dekker for the appearance of Mr. Osborne, the former school trustee took the floor to explain the material on both Mr. and Mrs. Dekker which had been placed before officials and the nominating committee of the PTA.

Mr. Osborne urged temperateness in considering the charges, asserting that it was not pleasant to be put in the position of being a "witch hunter" but that he considered the PTA such a sensitive position in our American democracy he had had no hesitation in assuming the responsibility of placing the material before the proper school and PTA officials, at the earliest moment it came to his attention. He said that at no time had he discussed the matter in terms of personalities nor in a derogatory manner and that he had no intention of so doing in the future.

COMMENDS OSBORNE

Mrs. John Chattin commended Mr. Osborne for his sense of responsibility and courage in presenting the data to the Parent-Teachers' Association.

Discussion of the evening for the most part centered on the Congress of American Women chairmanship of Mrs. Dekker rather than the long list of subversive organizations cited in the record against Mr. Dekker. Mrs. Dekker, who came to Hastings with her husband and family 18 months ago, said that Mr. Dekker was away, being "at work," and could defend himself when present. She said that neither she nor Mr. Dekker were Communists nor ever had been Communists. There was no allegation of either charge made during the meeting.

Mr. Dekker, who is now in Texas with the road company of Death of a Salesman, was mentioned in the Tenney report as a former pro-Red member of the California Legislature. He was also identified with seven organizations described as subversive. Only three of these groups appear, however, on the Attorney General's list.

The floor fight for the most part centered around the efforts of the adherents of Mrs. Dekker to secure an immediate election vote, speakers contending that the bylaws made it imperative. Mrs. Bigelow ruled that the Chair could postpone the vote if it was the wish of those present.

Mrs. Plimmer urged for calmness, which she said she believed would be more readily obtained if the members of the organization had an opportunity to think things over until another meeting in order to get a clear view.

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HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENTS

"1. Tuesday, March 16:

"(a) Dr. Langworthy called Mr. Pomeroy and me into his office to make us aware of the situation that was developing with respect to our nominee for president of the PTA.

"(b) I phoned Mrs. Bigelow, the president of the PTA, for further information.

"(c) Later in the morning Mr. Donald Grant came to school to loan me a copy of the Tenney report. The book was marked with paper clips to indicate the sections that were relevant to the activities of Mr. and Mrs. Dekker.

"(d) I called a meeting of the nominating committee for 3:30 p. m. in the library.

"1. Both Mrs. Bigelow and Mrs. Dekker were invited to attend this meeting.

"(a) Mrs. Bigelow was asked to comment to the committee on the situation as it was developing and on possible courses of action.

"(b) Mrs. Dekker was asked to explain some of the information mentioned in the Tenney report and give any other information of an explanatory nature.

"(c) After Mrs. Bigelow and Mrs. Dekker left the committee discussed the comments made by Mrs. Bigelow and Mrs. Dekker.

"(d) It was decided that in all fairness we should hear further information from those who initiated criticism of Mrs. Dekker's nomination.

"(e) I called Mr. Gardner Osborne to see if he could attend a meeting at 10 p. m. in Dr. John Harry's home. Mr. Osborne said that he had further information available and would be glad to be of service to the committee. After deciding to meet at Dr. Harry's home at 10 p. m. we adjourned.

"(f) At 10 p. m., or thereabouts, Mr. Osborne presented the additional information that he had, and commented on items in the Tenney report pertinent to Mr. and Mrs. Dekker. Mr. Osborne presented among other things a pamphlet that discussed the organization and activities of the Congress of American Women; and a list of subversive organizations made under the supervision of the Attorney General of the United States; and a pamphlet discussion the infiltration of Communists in school organizations, and a pamphlet entitled 'Red Treason on Broadway' by Myron Fagan.

"The committee appreciate the fact that both Mrs. Dekker and Mr. Osborne presented their facts in a cooperative and objective manner.

"After Mr. Osborne left, the committee discussed and rediscussed all the phases of the situation as it saw them. This meeting terminated at 2:35 a. m. This meeting resulted in three main conclusions:

"1. The committee was unanimous in its opinion that Mrs. Dekker should have an opportunity to explain to the PTA the references to her and her husband in the Tenney report.

"2. After examining the evidence the committee unanimously agreed that the evidence was not conclusive; i. e., that it did not have the same meaning for each of us.

"3. The committee is split on what Mrs. Dekker's election might mean in terms of dissension in the PTA.

"Respectfully submitted.

"FRANK J. ADAMS.
"Mrs. THOMAS V. BROOKS.
"Mrs. BALDWIN GUILD.
"J. B. HARRY.
"ADDISON R. POMEROY."

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of March 18, 1954]

SHH—CHILDREN AT WORK

Coming at the close of a 3-hour discussion Wednesday evening on the question of electing a president to the Parent Teachers Association came a plea to which we hope the community will give heed during the coming 3 weeks when it is considering the respective merits of the 2 candidates for the presidency of the organization.

The plea was that Hastings keep in mind during discussion that young children are involved in the decision and in the consideration of the question, so that things not be said or done that will tend to injure or wound or warp maturing minds and bodies.

The position of the News in the matter will be to carry all phases of the news and to provide an open forum for the people to discuss the question on its merits. The editor hopes and will insist that material presented be not of an abusive or personal nature and that arguments be confined to the question at issue at all times.

Editorially, the sole measuring stick will be benefit to the Parent Teachers Association and in turn the local schools wherein lie buried so much of the treasure and heritage of the community. Presidency of the PTA seems scarcely the place for vindication of political views in any form. Ironic, indeed, it would be if qualifications of a candidate for such a sensitive position in our school system as this would be membership in a subversive organization or vindication of membership.

As a neighbor we may love Mrs. Dekker and her charming husband of stage fame and make a place for them and their family in our home-loving community. That hardly means, however, that we as a group of parents are ready to place our schools in her custodianship on a brief 18 months' acquaintance in view of the cold, stark record which all the oratory and rhetoric in kingdom come can't laugh away.

Especially, is this true, in view of the excellent record of the opposing candidate, Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer, who during her many years of residence here has obtained the complete trust, respect and confidence of the community.

The News unhesitatingly endorses Mrs. Plimmer for the position of president of the Parent Teachers Association and trusts that the people of the community select her for the position at the special election to be held at the high school auditorium April 12. That such a step will be to the better interests of Hastings schools is difficult to question. There is utterly no reason our school children should be carried to the political altars as so much burnt offerings.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of March 25, 1954]

SWITZER NAMED TO HEAD COMMITTEE FOR PTA STUDY IN CONTESTED ELECTION

Personnel to the committee of five Hastings residents to study information before the Hastings Parent-Teachers' Association relative to political activities of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Dekker, the latter of whom is a candidate for president of the organization, was announced today by Mrs. Nelson L. Bigelow, Jr., president of the PTA.

Resolution authorizing such appoint was made by the membership of the PTA at an overflow crowd at the high-school auditorium last week at which time decision to postpone the election was voted.

The committee is composed of W. H. Switzer, chairman, 84 Cochrane Avenue; Mayor John E. Thilly, 27 Calumet Avenue; Dr. Paul G. Lauffer, 9 Ashley Road; Mrs. G. A. Wichura, Hastings House; Mrs. Morris B. Mahannah, 21 Overlook Road.

Thomas J. Coyle, 3 Pleasant Street, village counsel, was named attorney and consultant, but is not a voting member of the committee.

Mr. Switzer, chairman, is a former president of the board of education, serving as president 1 year. He refused the nomination last year because business made it impossible to give the necessary time to the work.

Dr. Lauffer is a former Democratic mayor, serving from 1949 to 1951, rejecting a renomination by his party in the latter year.

No announcement was made by the committee though it is known that the group began study of the question early this week. Information before the committee included alleged subversive activities of Mr. Dekker who is a well-known stage and screen actor. Activities of Mrs. Dekker were not under major consideration of the committee as she has publicly stated that the only information filed with the PTA against her as to being chairman of a California branch of the Congress of American Women in 1947 was correct.

In the meantime factions supporting and opposing the candidacy of Mrs. Dekker were drawing their lines in preparation for a vote at the high school auditorium on the night of April 12. Opposing her is Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer, resident of Hastings for the past 5 years, who has been active in PTA work, Girl Scouts, and other civic work.

Heading the Plimmer candidacy was Vermont C. Royster, a winner of the Pulitzer editorial prize for 1953, as senior associate editor of the Wall Street Journal. In a statement in the News Forum of this issue Mr. Royster said that supporters of her candidacy were concentrating solely on stressing the fine qualities of their candidates, believing she was the best in the field for carrying on the work of the Hastings Parent-Teachers Association during the coming 2 years.

"We are approaching the problem from a positive, constructive angle, rather than a negative one," he asserted in asking the News to stress that fact.

The explanatory statement regarding the committee which was released by Mrs. Bigelow, follows:

"At the Parent-Teachers Association meeting held on March 17, the following motion was moved by Dr. Philip Langworthy, 'that the president appoint a committee from 3 to 5 members to take the necessary steps to find out what the charges (contained in the documentary information presented to the PTA on March 17) are and that Mrs. Dekker be allowed to answer the charges, so that the committee might report to the meeting of the association on April 12. This motion was duly seconded and adopted by the association.'"

Dr. Langworthy, who proposed the motion, has approved the personnel of this committee.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of March 25, 1954]

BY THEIR FRUITS—

(Editorial)

After nearly a quarter of a century of sound, progressive schools, the envy of our suburban neighbors, Hastings stood this week at the educational crossroads, pondering which way to turn.

One road pointed in the direction we have been treading these many years. Minor obstructions may be seen, here and there, occasional knolls on the journey, tending to vary the monotony and presenting a challenge of accomplishments but with it all a firm, sound highway, tamped by patient and sincere years of trodding by many humble feet. On the road stands an experienced and competent guide, proven by many years of quiet, devoted, and intelligent service to the community—Peggy Plimmer.

Pure logic and sound reasoning dictates selection of this highway, rather than turning aside into the somewhat obscure path, lying to the left. Decision, however, brings forth a searching of hearts and such in turn brings forth the Bible on which our Christian faith is reared. Therefore, faithful to the adopted vogue the editor in his quest for further light and guidance turns away, momentarily, from logic and reason, to drink knowledge from the Holy Book.

Here he finds in Matthew vii: 20 the words, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

It was nearly 1,800 years later that Patrick Henry, speaking in St. John's Episcopal Church at Richmond, Va., gave voice to similar thought by telling his American brethren, "I know of no way of judging the future but by the past."

In modern political life under our democratic procedure this has come to be translated into the thought, "let the record speak for itself." This maxim has become an accepted standard in our modern day political democracy. Indeed, the editor knows of no other way, of no other test, that could be applied whereby an effective and intelligent decision could be reached by the people wherein lies the judgment. To cut off the record is to shut out light. Without light we cannot possibly have an informed, intelligent electorate. Without it, in fact, we cannot have democracy. Beyond that lies totalitarianism.

It is somewhat shocking therefore, to the editor to discover that in some quarters we are being asked to lay aside momentarily—just this once, if you please—our democratic forms because there is embarrassment in the records. The asking price, frankly, to the editor, seems a trifle steep, and one, it must be confessed, he himself is unwilling to pay, either now or in the future.

At the postponed election of the Parent Teachers' Association last week it was voted overwhelmingly by the assembled group that the president appoint a committee of citizens to investigate the information being considered by the organization against Mrs. Albert Dekker. The obvious thought guiding the resolution was that such information would be valuable to the membership of the PTA in reaching a rather vital decision. The

committee has been named, composed of five representative citizens, a group in whose findings of facts the community can give full weight.

In the meantime, it is highly pertinent to the case at hand to outline the information so that the search by the committee need not go far afield. Summed up, the only data on the record is that political activities of Mr. and Mrs. Dekker in past years present poor recommendations for the latter in such a key and sensitive position in our school affairs as president of the parent teachers' association. In the case of Mr. Dekker there are numerous facets of alleged subversive activities before the committee for investigation. The study is now under way and a report will be forthcoming.

In the case of Mrs. Dekker the situation is not quite so complex. There has been presented only one item of information, namely, that she was chairman of the California branch of the Congress of American Women for 5 months in 1947. She has publicly stated this information is correct, pleading that it was not subversive at the time, a plea to which Hastings should give due consideration as a newcomer and neighbor in our community.

It is at this vital point in the train of thought, however, that advocates of Mrs. Dekker leave the mental track of logical reasoning. They cry that Mrs. Dekker's loyalty is being impugned. Such clearly is not the case. It is not her loyalty that has been brought into question. It is her judgment, it is her gullibility. "The future is only the past again, entered through another gate," we are told in the fourth act of the Second Mrs. Tanqueray. There seems no reason why Hastings schools should be "another gate" for gullible persons when such competent and qualified candidates as Mrs. Plimmer stand at hand ready to carry on sound leadership.

In this matter the privileges of making the choice rests on the sovereign membership of the Parent Teachers' Association, far transcending that of a routine nominating committee. It is the privilege of its members, verily a duty and a responsibility to seek leadership in which they have confidence. That leadership in this case can mean only Peggy Plimmer.

Parents of Hastings, at this critical juncture in your school affairs, the editor can offer only this counsel. Mistake not, on Farragut Hill wherein lie your most precious possessions, the bugle has blown, calling you forth to battle. Go forth with your neighbors in orderly and peaceful array with clear heads and clean hearts, sans hysteria, and yes, above all, with charity—charity to the children you have brought into this world. Therein lies your sole duty at this point.

This is a battle in which Hastings cannot afford defeat. To hesitate now is to lose. Your strength rests in the ballot box at the Hastings High School auditorium on the night of April 12. Use it courageously, quietly, and cheerfully.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of March 25, 1954]

SCURRILOUS DOCUMENT

To the EDITOR:

In reading the story of Mrs. Albert Dekker's disputed nomination for PTA president, I was appalled to discover that her loyalty was questioned solely on the basis of information from the California Tenney report. I am not a member of the PTA nor am I acquainted personally with Mrs. Dekker, but I must take exception to the use of so scurrilous a document as a reliable source of information. The Tenney committee, its methods and its findings have been long disavowed by responsible Californians, including State Senator Tenney's fellow Republicans. The following is from an article in the March 13, 1954, edition of the New York Times:

"Each of the bills suggested by the Tenney committee was never adopted by the State legislature mainly because of opposition to Senator Tenney's outrageous attacks on individuals and organizations; because of his rejection by the public he was forced to resign as chairman of the committee.

"In informed circles, the findings of the Tenney committee are regarded as worthless because of the failure to grant hearings and because of the loose and dragnet nature of the listings."

It seems extremely important to me, in these difficult times, that the democratic process be given its full opportunity to work; for our own protection, all evidence to be considered in a decision such as this must come from substantiated, highly reputable sources.

MIMI GOLDBERG
Mrs. Victor S. Goldberg.
HASTINGS ON HUDSON, N. Y.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of April 1, 1954]

MRS. PLIMMER DECLINES PROPOSITION IN LOCAL PTA POSTPONED ELECTION FIGHT

Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer, candidate for presidency of the Hastings Parent-Teachers' Association, declined a proposition put before her by the Dekker forces, Saturday, in a 3-hour session.

The proposition, as presented by the Dekker camp called for mutual withdrawal of the two candidates for presidency in the contested election, scheduled to be held at the high school auditorium, Monday evening, April 12.

The session which was held at the Plimmer home on Summit Drive met at the request of the Dekker group.

Presenting the proposal to Mrs. Plimmer were: Thomas V. Brooks, Lawrence S. Apsey, Cyrus Collins, Baldwin Guild, and Dr. George K. Hirst. Dr. Langworthy, superintendent of schools, attended the parley at the request of Mrs. Plimmer.

Under the plan presented, both candidates would withdraw and a third compromise candidate would be advanced to the office of president.

Another suggested stipulation was that the compromise candidate would appoint both Mrs. Dekker and Mrs. Plimmer to other positions on the council of the parent-teachers association.

The attempted deal highlighted the activities of the week as supporters of both candidates rallied their forces for a decisive battle at the ballot box 1 week from Monday. Opposition against Mrs. Dekker centered largely around her record as chairman of a California branch of Congress of American Women in 1947. The organization is on the Attorney General's subversive list. Mrs. Dekker, at the original election, said she had been chairman of the Congress of American Women branch in accordance with information presented to the PTA. She said it was not subversive at the time and she had no way of knowing that it was such an organization.

Another development in the chain of rapidly moving events was a statement issued today by the Clergy Association of Ardsley, Dobbs Ferry, Hastings, and Irvington, declining endorsement of either candidate but urging that citizens apply the principles of democratic life in disposing of the issue.

The statement was signed by pastors of 9 Protestant churches in the area, including 2 from Hastings—Rev. Arthur R. Willis, of the Grace Episcopal Church, and Rev. A. G. Bossenbroek, of the First Reformed Church.

The statement, in full, follows:

"We, the undersigned, are concerned over the issue raised in the Hastings Parent-Teachers' Association by the spreading of information about certain associations of a candidate for office. We believe that the citizens of Hastings desire to approach this matter in a spirit of justice and considerate understanding.

"We, therefore, while not presuming to judge the qualifications of the nominees, nor to endorse one candidate in preference to another, do urge that the issue be faced honestly and settled fairly by giving careful regard to these principles of our domestic life:

"First, fair play. We believe it is unfair to present evidence which aims to disqualify a candidate simply by arousing suspicion.

"Second, justice. It is fundamental to the American concept of justice to believe a person innocent until proved guilty.

"We hope that in this issue justice will be done and the community guarded against the prevalent pattern of fear and smear."

THE AMERICAN WAY

To the EDITOR:

After reading editorials and letters in our local papers concerning the candidates for the presidency of our Parent-Teachers Association for the ensuing year, it appears to me that what should merely be an unfortunate incident, is unwittingly being permitted to grow into a disrupture force in our community.

We have always been able, in Hastings, to resolve our differences of opinion in an objective way, and after the arguments are over, we are able to work together and give effect to the will of the majority.

If after we resolve a difference, we find the town divided into two hostile camps, we have failed to resolve them in the American way.

Let us look at the problem. Candidates to hold an important office in our community, have been nominated by duly constituted processes. If the result does not suit us we cannot change the rules to apply retroactively. Thanks to democratic processes that still prevail in our community, nomination is by no means an assurance of election. But some of us seem to have considered them as one and the same thing. They surely are not.

Our system happily permits us time to give consideration to the candidates, and in this instance, due to the vigilance of some of our citizens, this time has been provided. During this interval the fitness of each candidate can be thoroughly aired. I will grant you that this process is at times unpleasant, but candidates must know and expect this.

This airing can be done in an orderly manner, providing an opportunity for the candidates and their proponents to present or refute statements, during which process the voters eyes and ears will make up his mind as to which candidate suits him.

We have always been able to carry out this process in Hastings with fairness and have been able to live together and respect each other after elections. Let's continue to do it that way.

Very truly yours,
WILLIAM STEINSCHNEIDER.

COMMUNISM AND FASCISM

To the EDITOR:

As a member of the nominating committee of the Parent Teachers Association of Hastings, I wish to state emphatically that never, under any circumstances, would I support a candidate who is a Communist. Just as emphatically I will have no part in judging a person disqualified for office until I have proof beyond a doubt of their guilt.

I abhor communism. It is well to remember, however, that communism is not the only enemy of democracy. Surely the people who think there is nothing political in the present controversy have forgotten that what is happening in Hastings today is exactly what happened in Germany in the 1930's. They, too, were fighting communism. But their method of combating it—namely, creating dissension in organizations of unquestionable integrity (such as the PTA and the Girl Scouts) brought fascism and Hitler.

For me it has horrendous implications.

MRS. BALDWIN GUILD.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

BIG BOLD MEN

(Editorial

Clouds of misunderstanding hanging over Hastings these past few weeks as so much smog quietly evaporated this week, drifting slowly over the Hudson and fading behind the Palisades on the western shore. Stood revealed in the clearing atmosphere an inspiring picture of an American woman, head high, a smile upon her lips, decision in her carriage and courage in her heart. The editor caught a brief glimpse of that vision Saturday and will cherish it to his grave.

It was Peggy Plimmer, candidate of the people of Hastings, for the presidency of the Parents Teachers Association quietly, serenely but firmly giving the answer to supporters of Mrs. Dekker after a 3-hour conference, "No deal."

Her firm decision that issues must be met and the race must be run now has presented an opportunity to the community for moral evaluation and spiritual determination which the preceding weeks had not offered in the turmoil and bustle.

Final victory in this respect came when Peggy Plimmer made clear to all that there could be no deal whereby she and Mrs. Dekker, opposing candidates for the PTA presidency, would withdraw to permit a compromise candidate to be named.

It would have been so easy to have succumbed before the dangling lure, to have dropped her eyes at the soft words of appeasement and blandishment and said, "it's a deal." But Peggy Plimmer, facing the greatest test of her life, realized that it would solve nothing and would have denied the people the right to vote on the type of schools they wish to have in the future.

Hastings, too, was on test before the world on Saturday as Mrs. Plimmer was called upon to make her decision and well did the latter know it. Was Hastings to thrust orderly, democratic procedure by the ballot box out of the window and say that Mrs. Dekker did not have the right to come before it at election time? Was Hastings to have this stigma cast upon its name before the outside world? Was Hastings to forfeit its own self-respect by such a decision? The answer rested with Peggy Plimmer and with supreme courage she faced it.

Hastings, it may be said, has emerged from its trial of fire and water, victorious in spirit and democratic concepts.

Summed up, there emerges from the clouds and from her no-deal decision three fundamental facts which Hastings must hold dear during the next 10 days if it is to retain its own moral stature and its democratic processes.

These are:

1. The right of Mrs. Dekker to run for the presidency of the Hastings PTA.

2. The right of Mrs. Plimmer to run for the presidency of the Hastings PTA.

3. The right of the people of Hastings to make a choice and vote its selection on the night of April 12 in the high-school auditorium.

Peggy "No Deal" Plimmer has placed these facts in proper focus in the Hastings school picture and for that the community says, "Thank you, Peggy."

With the return of proper perspective to the community an amusing flash moves across the horizon for the first time. It is good for Hastings to smile at this juncture, and so we present the picture. Two, 3, 4, 5, big bold men, uncertain and bewildered, huddled about one lone gracious lady, quietly calm and decisive, in her own living room, grilling, catechizing, pleading, begging her to take them off the hook, hour after hour. Ah, for a candid camera. Big, bold men.

Ironic, too, it seems that these big, bold men would be seeking what they called a compromise candidate. Sitting alone in their very presence was that compromise candidate. Mrs. Plimmer, advanced by her supporters for the presidency of the PTA because they believed she was representative of the community and would help to carry the schools forward in the direction in which they wish to travel—neither leftward nor rightward, but right down the center of sound educational practices. And they were seeking a compromise candidate? Were these big, bold men also blind? It would so appear.

Peggy Plimmer has kept the faith with the community. Hastings people, we are confident, will do likewise on the night of April 12 by supporting her at the ballot box. We can do no less and face our Maker on judgment day.

God bless you, Peggy Plimmer, for your serenity, confidence, and courage during Hastings' critical days.

[From the Hastings News of April 1, 1954]

CONSIDERING THE FACTS

To the EDITOR:

I would like to point out that the California Committee on Un-American Activities is still a going committee. All that is required to obtain any year's report is a 3-cent stamp on an envelope addressed to "Chairman, Un-American Activities Senate Committee, Public Office Building, Sacramento, Calif.," with a note enclosed requesting it to be mailed. There may be individuals or groups who call such reports scurrilous documents, but let's not forget for a moment that the report in question is an official State document, recorded as such in California and in Washington, D. C.

But let's not forget the Tenney report, as it is called, and consider the facts. Mrs. Dekker admits belonging to the Congress of American Women from October 1946 to March 1947, and also being chairman of the organization. How did the Congress of American Women come about? Back in 1945, November 26, to December 1, the International Congress of Women convened in Paris, France, "at the call of international Communist forces," with two Communist members of the French House of Deputies serving as cochairmen. It was here that a continuing committee was set up in the United States which eventually became known in 1946 as the Congress of American Women. This organization was incorporated in January 1947, with headquarters in New York City. Mrs. Dekker was chairman at the time.

Attorney General Tom Clark, in his letters to the Loyalty Review Board released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948, cited the Congress of American Women as subversive and Communist. The California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the same organization as "one of the most potentially dangerous of the many Communist fronts."

Mrs. Dekker explained she was unaware of the activities of the organization and was innocent of any connections with communism or subversion. Here I would like to quote Justice Minton, of the United States Supreme Court. He stated when the Feinberg law was upheld in 1952: "One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty." Nominating committees in the future could well keep this in mind. Would you want as president of your parent and teachers association a person so gullible and naive, no matter how charming, as to be chairman of an organization and not know what it was all about? How could she recognize any similar danger here should it occur? And that is not an impossibility. As far back as 1938 at the 10th State convention of the Communist Party of New York it was stated: "Amongst the many phases of community life the parent associations are a great contributing factor of community interest, offering tremendous possibilities in building the democratic front. Throughout New York State the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has affiliated to it many parent organizations." Our PTA is one. Continuing with the minutes, it states: "The leadership in this organization is very conservative, and we haven't even begun to penetrate." That was 16 years ago. Let's pray the parent organization has remained as conservative as it was then. But let's get up to date. On February 6, 1954, Howard Rushmore in the New York Journal American tells of Party Voice the guide for comrades.

He explains the Communist Party is now deeply underground, but they are busy in their various hidden cells undermining, infiltrating, and setting up fronts and committees. He states: "A clue to these actions can be gained from Party Voice, a 20-page publication issued only to party members. In one article parents are urged to join the parents association. Make friends and you'll find yourself with a 'mass base,' Communist mothers are told. In the parent association these Reds can fight atom drills, bookburning, purging of teachers and McCarthyism if we can gain the respect and affection of the other mothers."

"The same article warns that the Communist cell within the parents' association must direct such infiltration. Just to be active is not enough. We need our party branch to give our work a political orientation, a Communist orientation, the directive adds." Party Voice should serve as a warning to those who think the Communist Party is out of business.

Then on February 21, 1954, Herbert A. Philbrick, a counterspy for the United States, joined the Communist Party and remained for 9 years reporting all his findings to the FBI, had this article in the Herald Tribune.

"During the last few weeks in a number of secret cells throughout New York State special orders were received: 'As a Communist you must participate in organizations concerned with schools.' Comrades with children in school were thereupon directed to infiltrate one of the largest and most important organizations in this area—the Parent-Teacher Association.

"Detailed instructions were given to the underground cell members, outlining the issue to be exploited, tactics of infiltration, and strategy of exerting influence."

Tactics of penetration were carefully outlined. Members were warned not to be too aggressive, but to exert utmost diplomacy.

The proper procedure, the Reds were told, is to volunteer to serve in a minor position. They were cautioned "The PTA is an organization in which you work your way to the top slowly and patiently. We can then give leadership on issues like raising the school entrance age."

Cell members were also instructed to work as a team, and discuss objectives and progress of individual comrades.

Instructions are to be provided by party bosses on how to approach and influence non-Communist members of the PTA the article stated. "After successful infiltration, the members were told the cell would concentrate on the task of recruiting PTA members into the party itself.

"As to the issues to be exploited for party purposes, the members were instructed to include a number of legitimate slogans, such as 'better schools,' 'more teachers,' 'more money for education,' etc. In addition they were instructed to 'fight atom drills,' to hurl charges of bookburning whenever a pro-Communist book is not used for school purposes, to protest the discharge of teachers who have refused to answer questions relating to Communist affiliation or membership, and to make other attacks against the Government and policies of the United States.

'Our schools,' concluded one party boss, 'are weapons of the cold war!' "

So you see, we have been warned. It can happen in Hastings. Let's not take chances. Let's elect as president of our PTA Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer who has been around long enough to be known. We have a fine school, a wonderful faculty and principal, our PTA has been beyond reproach. Let's keep it that way for our children and their children's sake. Fellow residents of Hastings, I humbly suggest you vote on this issue, April 12 and for Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer.

MARIE F. BOSCH,
Mrs. LOUIS J. BOSCH.

HASTINGS.

A MOTHER SPEAKS

SCARSDALE, N. Y.

To the EDITOR:

As a mother who loves her children and her country may I say to you your editorial on the Hastings PTA presidency situation is the most gratifying I have read in many years.

I wish more American editors would gain some clearness of thought and see that they are making a mess of public thinking.

Anyone who has believed in the Congress of American Women at all has proved their unworthiness to lead children.

As you know we still have Howard Fast's books in the school. To a large measure it is due to the Scarsdale Inquirer.

Sincerely,

FLORENCE MEEHAN.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of April 8, 1954]

COMMITTEE STUDIES DATA ON MRS. DEKKER IN PTA ELECTION OF MONDAY NIGHT

On the eve of the contested election for president of the Hastings PTA, Chairman William H. Switzer, of the special PTA fact-finding committee announced that no statement was ready for release to the public on its investigation of political activities of Mrs. Albert Dekker, one of the candidates for the PTA position.

The committee, according to Chairman Switzer, has held a number of sessions, interviewed humerous persons, including Mrs. Dekker, and obtained much documentary material.

On Saturday the committee voted unanimously to release tentatively to the public some letters obtained from Mrs. Dekker's friends in California reporting on her work in the PTA at her former home there.

On Monday the committee obtained documentary material consisting of photostatic copies of west-coast newspapers reporting on Mrs. Dekker's public activities, the nature of which has not been disclosed by the committee.

On Tuesday the committee voted by a 4-to-1 vote to recall all material which it had previously voted to make public and to issue no material at all pending further discussion. The committee also decided not to issue a statement at that time, and up to press time none had been issued.

Tonight the committee is scheduled to talk to Mr. Albert Dekker, as well as Mrs. Dekker, according to Chairman Switzer. Mr. Dekker has been out of town during the controversy on an acting engagement.

The special PTA committee is composed of Chairman Switzer, Mayor John Thilly, Dr. Paul G. Lauffer, Mrs. Morris Mahannah, and Mrs. G. A. Wichura. Thomas Coyle, village counsel, is legal adviser to the committee.

This committee was authorized at the last meeting of the PTA to study the facts surrounding the public activities of Mrs. Dekker and to report back to the membership for the special election meeting next Monday evening, April 12, at the high-school auditorium.

In the meantime during the week plans for handling the anticipated crowd for Monday evening were mapped out by PTA officials. The meeting will start at 8 o'clock but people are requested to come earlier to facilitate handling of arrangements by the workers in charge of the election.

A publicity release by the PTA follows:

"At the April 12 PTA meeting scheduled from 8 o'clock only members of the Hastings-on-Hudson Parent-Teachers' Association will be admitted to the high school auditorium, or to the room in which the overflow will be assigned. Due to fire laws, the first 900 members to arrive will be seated in the auditorium. All other members will be seated in another location where they will be unable to take part in the meeting. However, they will be able to make nominations, and will be given all pertinent information and will be able to vote.

"The PTA membership committee cannot guarantee the processing by April 12 of any membership application received by mail after Saturday, April 10.

"Ballots will be given out by the membership tables from 7 to 8 p. m., April 12. Members are asked to enter the school at the south entrance on Farragut Parkway and go up one flight of stairs. This is the entrance nearest the administration offices. The membership tables will be arranged alphabetically along the corridor leading to the auditorium. Kindly find the correct table, and after your membership has been verified, a ballot will be given to you. Your ballot will be your admission ticket to the auditorium.

"The membership committee will greatly appreciate your early arrival. Please remember—from 7 to 8.

"Since there is a scarcity of babysitters available for Monday night, April 12, Mrs. Addison Campell has taken charge, and will have the names of juniors and seniors from the high school who will sit. Call Mrs. Campell at Hastings 5–6953 and make arrangements."

WHAT BETTER PLACE?

To the EDITOR:

What better place than the PTA?

Surely it is for the good of the PTA that its members believe in the democratic principle of innocent until proved guilty. It is for the good of the PTA that its members have the courage to refuse to condemn a person without sufficient evidence.

It is for the good of our children that their parents and teachers believe in principle and feel it their duty to have the courage of their beliefs.

On the other hand if one wonders about the possibility of a person being too idealistic or lacking in judgment or even the fear that "where there's smoke there's fire," where better than the PTA to give such a person a chance? A place where any pro-Communist would be quickly apparent but where a person would have no direct authority.

SARAH R. CARMALT.

NO ARENA FOR VINDICATION

There has been considerable discussion pro and con regarding the Dekker matter. I wonder if we are taking the proper approach to the entire problem.

Throughout the United States there is criticism of our schools. Some of it is justified; much of it isn't. As a result there is a great deal of argument. The teacher is in the middle as are the paid officials of our schools. Taxpayers wonder if it is all worth while. Parents hearing so much talk about things wrong with education generally, doubt that everything is as it should be. As we all know, this community has good reason to be proud of its school. Why, therefore, should we handicap ourselves by bringing into this pleasant situation an element of doubt and a possible cause of dissension?

Many people in Hastings are bound to a policy of some sort of vindication. Should our school be victimized as a result?

Let that issue be settled in some other arena. Our school system must not serve as a football field over which one group fights for vindication against another group equally bent on proving that a candidate is not acceptable because of former association with the Congress of American Women.

We parents are not an investigative body nor are we a judicial body to weigh evidence. Why should the proving of the innocence or giult of Mrs. Dekker be our burden?

Mrs. Dekker apparently prefers the course of self-justification, otherwise she would have declined to seek the presidency of the PTA because of current developments.

Let us not cast our votes to justify either Mrs. Dekker or those who oppose her but carefully weigh the qualifications of both candidates and select the one most likely to serve the best interests of our school. This is our duty as parents, taxpayers, and citizens.

GERTRUDE MACDONALD.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of April 8, 1954]

THE ONE AND ONLY ISSUE

Amidst bitterness and dissension, unparalleled in the annals of Hastings schools, the people of the community will meet at the high school auditorium next Monday evening to make a momentous decision affecting the future welfare of its own children.

Throughout the 3 weeks that have marked the controversy of the PTA presidency the News has deemed it highly important that those who are marking their ballots on the evening in question recognize the underlying issue at stake. That issue is the same issue it was 3 weeks ago despite the odd and freakish manner in which arguments have been tortured since that night of March 17 when Hastings as a whole realized for the first time that Mrs. Albert Dekker, a resident of the village for 18 months, and a candidate for the PTA presidency, had been associated actively in the work and program of the California branch of the Congress of American Women in 1947.

Into this clear-cut picture of a small community seeking answers to its own grave school needs has piled like a covering blanket extraneous matter and material. For some strange and unsolved reason we are asked to thrust aside our school policies of years' standing in order to vindicate a candidate.

Upon the background of the situation we have the 114-page report of the Un-American Activities Committee, issued October 23, 1949, after a lengthy investigation, signed by nine Congressmen of both parties indicating the organization in question as "anti-American and pro-Soviet since its inception."

That issue, summed up, is whether Hastings, having throughout the years, by blood and toil, built up one of the best school organizations in the metropolitan section, is prepared to abandon it overnight, as it were, as if it was no more than a whim of the season.

Questions voters must ask of themselves and their consciences next Monday night as they scratch an X upon their ballots are:

Are we being fair to the heritage of the community and the most precious possession therein, our children?

Are we protecting a major investment, spiritual and financial, into which we have unquestionably poured our labor and our fortune through the years?

It is our opinion that if logic holds fast to these two fundamental points voters inevitably on marking their ballots will turn

to the name of Mrs. Peggy Plimmer, whose record of many years in the comunity stands above challenge. To abandon the certain for the unknown when community stakes are so high would appear to be folly of the highest order.

In all earnestnesa we ask at this point:

Can Hastings now trust the judgment of Mrs. Dekker in such a sensitive and key spot as our schools?

Can Hastings entrust the future welfare of our children to her guidance?

Is there any reason we would be called upon to do so when such a competent woman as Mrs. Plimmer stands at hand, willing to carry on our schools as they have been administered these many years?

It is most unfortunate that such a seemingly simple issue has been warped and twisted, so as to permit it to become complex, intermingled with political theories and opinions that go far beyond our school boundaries.

It is essential to a correct solution of the problem, as well as the peace and well-being of the community, that name calling cease and that Hastings return to the fundamental problem involved, namely, as to what is good for our local schools and the thousands of children now and in the future.

The question then remains.

Shall we gamble or shall we take the path we know?

Mrs. Plimmer represents the path we know.

A vote now for Mrs. Plimmer means that you love Hastings schools of the past and have faith that they will continue their mission in the future along the lines we know and respect and understand. The News heartily recommends such a vote.

With your conscience, Mr. and Mrs. Voter, rests the decision next Monday night in the high-school auditorium. This is a decision you must live with through the years.

[From the Yonkers (N. Y.) Record of April 4, 1954]

MINISTERS GET MIXED UP IN HASTINGS MESS

A lot of people are asking: "Where are we going?" This has been caused by a group of ministers from Hastings, Dobbs Ferry, Ardsley, and Irvington, who are sticking their noses into the Hastings PTA mess.

These ministers, who seem to think that it is all right for a person to be a member of a subversive organization and then take over as president of a PTA, are right in the middle. In other words, their aim seems to be that no one should be criticized on past performances, no matter what their connections.

Here is part of the statement which seems astounding: "First, fairplay. We believe it is unfair to present evidence which aims to disqualify a candidate simply by arousing suspicion." This is astounding, it is shown.

"Second, justice. It is fundamental to the American concept of justice to believe a person innocent until proved guilty." What about justice for Americans?

"We hope that in this issue justice will be done and the community guarded against the prevalent pattern of fear and smear."

These ministers, it is shown, evidently do not believe that America is fighting the Communists not only abroad but at home. Now when Mrs. Albert Dekker runs for the presidency of the PTA, and she is accused of leftist leanings with the record of the California committee on subversive organizations, which shows she was a member of a subversive front, what should a loyal American do? Gardner Osborn, a former school trustee, submitted the proof. Is this a smear, as the ministers would like to have the people believe? The ministers, it is shown, must think that the taxpayers and fathers and mothers of Hastings interested in who runs the schools are just a lot of dumb clucks, and they don't know what they are doing.

Can these ministers, it is asked, after reading about the treachery of Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Curry, and the Rosenbergs, the atomic spies, think that this is smearing, because a loyal American presents the record?

The ministers certainly stuck their noses into this one, and instead of yelping justice they should do all in their power, it is shown, to see that Mrs. Dekker is not named president of the PTA. And every loyal mother and father should see to it that this does not happen. They should write the ministers and ask them about the Communist butchering in Korea.

* * * * *

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

SEES MCCARTHYISM

To the EDITOR:

I am writing this letter as a member of a family which has been intimately connected with Hastings for almost 60 years. I have lived half my life in Hastings and consider it my hometown.

I was horrified to learn that McCarthyism had made an appearance in Hastings, and that the Senator's infamous technique of guilt by association, unfounded accusation, slander, and lack of moral responsibility is being applied to deprive the village of Mrs. Dekker's services.

Mrs. Dekker is an exceptional woman. It is not often that talent, imagination, intelligence, and integrity are found in one person. Because she has these qualities, I am convinced that she would be perfect for the PTA job. I would unhesitatingly entrust my children to her supervision, not only because I know and admire her and her husband, but also because I know and admire her three independent, polite, interesting, and resourceful children. It is too bad there aren't more women like Esther Dekker.

The irresponsible statement made against her has been disproved. The Congress of American Women was not a subversive organization when she was a member of it. The other evidence is not what I would call dependable. Myron Fagan, for instance, author of Red Treason on Broadway? Who is he? Is he not the man who has written a tract against the United Nations? Why should the community accept the judgment of this unauthorized person? Is it not far better to measure the case by the experience of living side-by-side with the Dekkers for a year and a half?

There are two possible courses of action. Either the village shamefully surrenders to the dishonest MCCARTHY method, which is, in fact, the un-American method, or, by vindicating Mrs. Dekker, Hastings earns a reputation as a community American in the best sense—strong, fearless, and free.

Could the choice be more obvious?

JOHN S. ZINSSER, Jr.

MT. KISCO, N. Y.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

PASTORS ISSUE STATEMENTS ON HASTINGS' CONTESTED PTA ELECTION

Two statements, relative to the contested presidency of the Hastings Parent-Teachers' Association were issued last week, one to the press by the Clergy Association of Ardsley, Dobbs Ferry, Irvington, and Hastings, and the other to his congregation by the Reverend George W. E. Nickelsburg, pastor of the St. Matthew's Lutheran Church.

The first statement which was carried in full by the News last week is reprinted by request. The latter statement is published this week for the first time.

CLERGY GROUP STATEMENT

Statement of the clergy association is reprinted, in full, as follows:

"We, the undersigned, are concerned over the issue raised in the Hastings Parent-Teachers' Association by the spreading of information about certain associations of a candidate for office. We believe that the citizens of Hastings desire to approach this matter in a spirit of justice and considerate understanding.

"We, therefore, while not presuming to judge the qualifications of the nominees, nor to endorse one candidate in preference to another, do urge that the issue be faced honestly and settled fairly by giving careful regard to these principles of our democratic life:

"First, fair play. We believe it is unfair to present evidence which aims to disqualify a candidate simply by arousing suspicion.

"Second, justice. It is fundamental to the American concept of justice to believe a person innocent until proved guilty.

"We hope that in this issue justice will be done and the community guarded against the prevalent pattern of fear and smear."

Pastors signing the statement of the Clergy Association of Ardsley, Dobbs Ferry, Irvington, and Hastings, were:

The Reverend Langford Baldwin, St. Barnabas Episcopal Church, Ardsley; the Reverend A. G. Bossenbroek, First Reformed Church, Hastings; the Reverend Philip W. Furst, Irvington Presbyterian Church; the Reverend Richard L. Harbour, Church of St. Barnabas, Irvington; the Reverend Charles E. Karsten, Zion Episcopal Church, Dobbs Ferry; the Reverend David O. Kendall, the South Presbyterian Church, Dobbs Ferry; the Reverend Arnold O. Olson, Ardsley Methodist Church; the Reverend Ross W. M. Rolland, Summerfield Methodist Church, Dobbs Ferry; and the Reverend Arthur R. Willis, Grace Episcopal Church, Hastings.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

NICKELSBURG'S STATEMENT

The Reverend Mr. Nickelsburg wrote:

"DEAR FRIEND IN CHRIST: A letter has appeared in the Hastings News, signed by some members of the Clergy Association of Ardsley, Dobbs Ferry, Hastings, and Irvington. Several times since your pastor has been asked whether he is a member of the association, and whether he was asked to sign the letter. The answer is 'No' in both counts.

"But the pastor and president of our congregation feel the members of St. Matthew's and the parents of our children have the right to know the position of the pastor and their church.

"Lutherans have a heavy investment in America. Our forefathers paid with their blood for the tradition that has made her great. With all our strength, we shall gratefully continue the labor of molding the hearts and minds of our people, the children of our Sunday school and of Pilgrim Lutheran School within the pattern of Jesus Christ.

"Our pulpit, prayer, and educational program will continue to vigorously preach the only business of the church—God's redeeming love in Christ.

"In our acceptance of Daniel Webster's conviction that 'what makes good Christians makes good citizens,' our subsequent thoughts, words, and actions will exert their full being to protect and work for the integrity and greatness of America, no matter what the cost.

"'Occupy 'til I come,' is the commission of Jesus Christ.

"Occupy, we will. We know no other course.

"In our Saviour's name.

"Rev. GEORGE W. E. NICKELSBURG."

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News of April 15, 1954]

MRS. PLIMMER WINS PTA RACE AS MRS. DEKKER RETIRES

Dinners were eaten early in Hastings, Monday evening, and at seven o'clock 1,900 peo-

ple of the community began to file quietly around the Hastings school building, moving into the auditorium, overflowing into the balcony, and from there to the gymnasium below, all qualified voters ready to cast a ballot in the warmly contested PTA presidential election between Mrs. Albert Dekker and Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer.

As the large assemblage, double that of any past election in school history, moved in orderly fashion to its seats, rumors already were in the air here and there that Mrs. Dekker, nominee of the nominating committee, whose candidacy had been challenged because of alleged association with leftwing organizations, would withdraw from the race but no confirmation was possible.

Events moved quickly after Mrs. Nelson Bigelow, Jr., president of the organization, opened the meeting at 8:05 o'clock, into the heralded drama of the evening as William Switzer, former president of the board of education and chairman of the special fact-finding committee reported the unanimous findings of the group following a study of Mrs. Dekker's past political activities.

A pinfall could be heard through the crowded auditorium as Mr. Switzer read "the committee finds no evidence of disloyalty on the part of Mrs. Dekker or Mr. Dekker in the material available to the committee."

The hush continued through the balance of the report, with a sharp gasp coming as the chairman neared the close, reading:

"The committee feels that Mrs. Dekker, in joining and continuing for a 6 months' period in the Congress of American Women and her support of some persons and issues both as a member of the Congress of American Women and individually, shows a serious lack of critical judgment in such matters."

Followed a statement from the nominating committee by Frank Adams, chairman, as to the background under which Mrs. Dekker had been selected for the position.

At this stage, Mrs. Dekker asked for the floor, indicating that she had a statement which she believed would facilitate the business of the evening. It was this statement of withdrawal that automatically closed the ballot boxes to 1,200 people who had come to the school hall to register their votes between the two candidates.

Speaking under emotion, Mrs. Dekker said she was withdrawing her name as president of the PTA for two reasons.

"First, I am unwilling that I should be used as an excuse for the disappointed, the frustrated, and the disgruntled to attack our fine schools in general, and the PTA.

"Second, I'm not the same woman I was 3 months ago. Suspicion and sometimes hate corrupt the air we breathe and permeates the tissues. My family and I need a little time to heal ourselves."

She said she hoped in the future to be useful to the community and to the PTA, but for the present asked that she and her family be left in peace.

As she took her seat she received generous applause from the audience, and a few arose from their seats in tribute to the candidate who had stepped down after a grueling race that had echoed into all corners of the community for 3 weeks.

Business of the evening was concluded within a few minutes as members elected Mrs. Plimmer to the presidency without opposition.

* * * * *

The doors for last night's meeting opened at 7 p. m., but long before that hour a two-block long double line of members waited outside the school seeking admittance. Everyone entering the building was checked and only those found eligible as members were permitted to remain and receive a ballot. Police were on duty to assist, but were not called upon.

The elaborate preparations for the meeting provided 15 staffed checking desks in alphabetical rotation to speed the entrance of the members and 37 tellers and inspectors were ready, but were not called upon to act.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

To the EDITOR:

It seems to me that the recent events involving the PTA are an example of democracy in action at its best. It proved that the PTA belongs to all of us—all the citizens of Hastings—and is not the property of any one clique or faction.

It proved that when an aroused body of citizens stands up and speaks out it must be heard.

However, as one of those who supported Mrs. Plimmer because I sincerely thought she represented the best for the office, I cannot let go without a word of criticism some of the bitter remarks delivered by Mrs. Dekker during her statement at the Monday night meeting. To describe the hundreds of decent men and woman of good will who supported Mrs. Plimmer as disappointed, disgruntled, irrational and frustrated seems to me the height of irresponsibility.

I respect the overwhelming majority of those who supported Mrs. Dekker as honest and sincere persons who believed that what they did was for the best interests of the school and our children.

Cannot they extend the same respect to the other side?

Unfortunately, a tiny segment of those supporting Mrs. Dekker employed a campaign of high-pressure propaganda and name-calling in advancing their cause. To sneer at somebody who opposes you on an issue as Fascist, reactionary, super-patriot, is to hack down the very fabric of mutual respect by which any group relationship must exist. We may disagree with each other on a variety of facts, but, surely, we must respect each other's integrity if we are to live side by side.

One thing has been vindicated in this election, namely, the right of a citizen in an election to bring up any charges which he sincerely believes disqualify that person for the job of a public servant. I will fight as hard as anybody else for the right of any human being to hold any ideas whatever in his private life, to live privately any way he pleases. But public office is a privilege, not a right. If we attempt to limit controversy, to limit discussion, to howl down our opponents with vague smear charges—then we cannot have any vital differences of opinion.

I think all of us owe a vote of thanks to the courage of those men—chiefly Gardner Osborn, Donald Grant, Dr. John Harry, Addison Campbell and Vern Royster—who refused to be intimidated and who faced up to an issue they sincerely believed was vital. Theirs was a disagreeable task, made doubly so by the fact that a woman was involved. Above all, our gratitude must go out to Peggy Plimmer who stood her ground in the face of great pressure.

The charges of a tiny group of hysterics that fear and hate stalked Hastings, that people were afraid to have their names be quoted by a radio broadcaster were nonsense, of course. Why these articulate and intelligent people should have fed such misinformation to the press and radio, why they should have painted a cloud over our town, is something I will never understand.

Now that the fracas is over, I hope we shall never be afraid of controversy—of free and open discussion of any and all subjects that arise in the future. As the English poet John Milton wrote in his immortal defense of free speech, Aeropagitica, "Let truth and falsehood grapple: whoever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

Sincerely yours,

MAURICE ZOLOTOW.

HASTINGS ON HUDSON, N. Y.

[From the Hastings (N. Y.) News]

A PERSONAL NOTE

Personal messages by the scores have come to the editor by telephone, by letter, in person, during the past few weeks in connection with the efforts of the News in its fight to keep the Hastings schools on the same even keel they have followed for a quarter of a century.

For these, the editor is grateful and takes this opportunity to thank, most humbly, the many people for their kind communications. During trying days they have been most encouraging and gratifying.

THE AMERICAN WAY

Never has Hastings had more reason for self-congratulations than by its close adherence to democratic procedure in the PTA presidential election which came to the climax this week with the election of Mrs. Edward L. Plimmer. In a situation that well could have been surcharged with electricity, damaging to the schools and the community as a whole, Hastings has made its decision in orderly fashion minus wild and unsubstantiated charges and countercharges.

Countless occasions presented itself during the past 3 weeks of somewhat underlying bitterness when the community could have taken side paths, diversionary journeys, so to speak, which would not have been traveling the American road, as we know and love it. It is to the community's credit that it resisted such temptations of expediency and pursued its objectives in orderly and democratic fashion during the entire controversy.

At the end Hastings made its choice, calmly and orderly, without public hysteria or fanfare which have surrounded other communities in similar tragic situations. For that maturity of judgment the News commends the community and the principals who assisted in conducting a contested and highly controversial election in such a sane manner.

Out of the controversy appear to have emerged a number of fundamental realities, all tending to affirm our democratic system of government. The right of any person, for instance, to place his or her name before the electorate of Hastings for public office whether by nominating committee or by the rank-and-file membership was affirmed in unmistakable terms as was the privilege and responsibility of the electorate to check the record of any candidate who comes before it for approval.

In this respect it should be noted that the process was most orderly, the major task being assigned to a committee of representative citizens who after 2 weeks of study reported unanimously that the candidate in question "shows a serious lack of critical judgment," but that there was "no evidence of disloyalty." It further should be noted that throughout the campaign personalities were minimized, the election in this regard being conducted on a far higher level than many of our more recent political frolics.

Considerable credit for this feat should be given to Mrs. Nelson Bigelow, Jr., outgoing president of the organization, who culminated 2 successful years as leader by an exhibition of sheer artistry during 3 rather crucial weeks. For her skill, and tact, and clear judgment, and conscientious zeal the community owes her a deep vote of thanks.

Newswise, it has been said by metropolitan newspapers that the meeting was an anticlimax, resulting as it did in the unexpected withdrawal of one of the candidates. It is more than that to the News. It is unfortunate. Nothing is more democratic than counting of noses via the ballot box. Especially can this prove salutary in the wake of a rhetorical binge such as Hastings has endured for this spring season.

Lacking an opportunity for a clear-cut decision it can safely be said, however, that the 1,200 people who flocked from their

homes and wended quietly around the schoolhouse, Monday evening, had not come for cake and tea because refreshments were not being served. Nor, judging from the subsequent exodus from the auditorium at the conclusion of the evening's business had they come to see, on this particular occasion, the PHA film.

They were there—and there in legions—it is rather apparent because there had arisen a challenge to the community schools with which they have lived and have loved for a generation or more. They were there, in short, to vote for Peggy Plimmer who had emphatically made clear that she stood as a candidate for continuation of the middle-of-the-road policy in Hastings schools. They wanted to vote. We think it is most unfortunate the opportunity did not arise. It is good, however, to know that such a corrective force stands at hand and its very existence will cause hundreds of people to sleep more peacefully this weekend than they did last.

And thus closes an important battle in the history of Hastings schools, we trust. Hastings has given a mandate to continue its middle of the road educational policies that have placed the schools of the community in such an enviable educational position during the past quarter of the century. We sincerely hope it is heeded by those with whom the responsibility of carrying out the policies of the parents and taxpayers is entrusted.

We believe it is important that individual and community wounds be permitted to heal whether self-inflicted or not. As Scripture has emerged occasionally through the campaign it is quite fitting that the eventful days of the past few weeks be laid to rest in similar style. To the editor's desk has come a message and he gives it to the people of Hastings as individuals and to the community, as a whole:

"This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth into those things which are before, I press toward the mark." (Philippians 3:13, 14.)

Defense of Dien Bien Phu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the principal passages of a speech delivered on April 13 by Premier Buu-Loc, of Vietnam, on the occasion of the dedication of the Nguyen Hoang Bridge at Hue. In one of the first paragraphs of his speech, the Premier pointed out that 60 percent of the French parachute battalions, that once more have distinguished themselves in the battle of Dien Bien Phu, are Vietnamese, and that 4,700 Vietnamese are taking part in the defense of that camp.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRINCIPAL PASSAGES FROM A SPEECH MADE APRIL 13 BY PREMIER BUU-LOC OF VIETNAM ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE NGUYEN HOANG BRIDGE AT HUE

In this moment, I am thinking of the soldiers who have hastened from France, as well as from all the provinces of Vietnam, to repulse the furious assault of an adversary who is in the hire of a foreign power. I am thinking of the admirable fighters engaged at this very moment in the greatest battle our land has ever witnessed * * * and since I have just pronounced the name of Dien Bien Phu, let me express publicly the admiration of the whole Vietnamese people.

The soldiers of Colonel de Castries have made Dien Bien Phu part of the history of France and the history of Vietnam. With profound respect, I salute the newly dug graves in this corner of Vietnamese earth. Living or dead, all those who were in that furnace have a right to a special place in the heart of every Vietnamese. Be assured that this place will not be denied them. In fact, for Vietnam, the stakes of this battle are its own independence, that is to say its life, for to a proud people there can be no life without liberty. But in fighting for our liberty, we are aware that we fight also for that of all men of good faith. Beyond the armies which oppose each other on the battlefields of Vietnam lie two opposing conceptions of life; and on both sides each phase of the battle is followed with passionate attention by enormous masses of people.

To this great cause, which concerns all freedom-loving men, Vietnam has already consecrated an effort, the importance of which is not always recognized. For that reason, I should like to recall a few figures: Practically nonexistent 3 years ago, the National Vietnamese Army now numbers 230,000 men. That is only the effective force of its regular units, to which must be added 170,000 men of the paramilitary forces. These forces are under the Vietnamese military authority. One hundred and five thousand Vietnamese under the French command are fighting in the ranks of the forces of the French Union, without counting 45,000 belonging to the auxiliary units. Therefore, 550,000 Vietnamese are in service at the present time. A document coming from a highly placed source recalled recently that the ranks of the Freneh parachute battalions, who have once more distinguished themselves in the battle of Dien Bien Phu, are 60 percent Vietnamese. As I have just spoken of Dien Bien Phu, I will further state that 4,700 Vietnamese are taking part in the defense of the encircled camp. These figures in themselves are sufficiently indicative. There are, alas, others which are still more eloquent. During the year 1953, the operational losses of the Vietnamese National Army amounted to 220 officers, 1,060 noncommissioned officers, and 15,143 men.

To the United States also, Vietnam owes a debt of gratitude for the supplies furnished over a period of years at an ever-increasing rate. Even if I must offend your modesty, Mr. Ambassador, you will allow me to add that your personal action accounts in a large measure for the amount of American aid and the rapidity with which it has been delivered, and you must not forget that no small part of our gratitude toward your country is destined for you personally. However, the United States has not given us a material aid only, important though it is. The moral support we receive from America is no less precious. More and more, the Government, the Congress, the American press, and public opinion are aware of the importance of the battle which we are fighting here against one of the forms of international communism. Is it necessary to tell you that I have followed with the greatest attention the recent manifestations of your sympathy toward Vietnam? Leaving aside the letter which the press and diplomatic circles of the several capitals have criticized, what I want to remember in the recent statements of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, is the spirit which inspired them. From them stems a lesson of determination Vietnam will know how to profit by.

A like spirit infuses the important actions of these last 2 weeks, by which His Majesty Bao Dai, whose directives the Government does no more than loyally apply, has sought to affirm his determination for an effort in Vietnam toward greater vigor and cohesion. The oath of the National Army and the creation of the War Cabinet stem from the same thought. I can define this thought no better than by quoting to you the three pledges constituting the oath taken by the Army of Vietnam under the command of the Chief of State. First, that they would fight unto death for the defense of the country and people of Vietnam against Communist slavery; second, that they would remain indefectibly true to His Majesty Bao Dai, Chief of State; third, that they would serve without faltering His Majesty Bao Dai in the battle for complete independence for Vietnam.

But it is not enough that the army be true to this solemn oath. The whole nation is in this war and must be utterly convinced of the irresistible necessity to engage itself wholly in the battle for liberty, in which each citizen has his part. That is why, in replying to the pledge which he had just received, the Chief of State declared, "I received your irrevocable oath and turn toward the nation to show it, as an example, your determination and your sacrifice." The oath of the army, in itself an important act, is nonetheless only a beginning. The Chief of State in making an example of it wanted to indicate his determination to commit to the battle against an implacable adversary all the vital forces of the nation. The establishing of the War Cabinet forges an instrument which by assuring more complete cohesion of the country's energies and by tightening from top to bottom of the hierarchy the ties between military authority and the civil power, must allow an increased efficiency to the efforts of all.

It is still too soon to judge with any validity the effect of the measures which I have just mentioned. It is, however, unquestionable that national independence, solemnly hallowed by an unequivocal treaty will contribute to the success of these measures, because such a treaty possesses the persuasive vigor which can enthuse a whole people. To the technical conditions which the Vietnamese Government is carrying out with the help of France and other friendly countries must be added the psychological conditions which a satisfactory issue to the present Franco-Vietnamese negotiations could bring about.

The obligation to be frank, which must always govern the relations between friends impels me to point out that Vietnamese opinion, which welcomed the opportunity of the generous declaration of July 3 by the French Government, is surprised by the duration of the Paris negotiations. However, I am certain that beyond the discussions and the ideas, there exists in the members of the two delegations an immense goodwill, a will which is sure to act in favor of an independent Vietnam as a cornerstone of the free world and of a renovated French Union, based on the sovereign equality of its member states, as the keystone to world peace.

Protecting National Security by Protecting Strategic Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have emphasized time and again that, in my judgment, the greatest single obligation of the Congress is to fulfill the first law

of nature, so far as our country is concerned.

That first law is, of course, self-preservation. Our job is to preserve this Nation from its enemies, foreign and domestic.

Self-preservation is the principle on which we must decide all of the key questions of national policy.

One such policy relates to America's international trade.

Every thinking person naturally favors an increase in international trade, so as to improve the economic health, the bonds of friendship and understanding among the free nations of the world.

In our process of promoting trade, however, we must always appraise the effect of our trade upon domestic industries. And in one specific area we must be doubly careful, and that is that we do not damage strategic industries which would be indispensable in time of war or other emergency.

In his recent message urging legislative action on the recommendations of the Randall Commission, President Eisenhower rightly stated that our efforts aimed at the highest possible level of trade must be in a manner consistent with our national security.

There is no nation in the world which does not recognize that its own national security must come before any other ideas it may have on promoting wider freedom of trade.

Even here in the United States all the advocates of a more liberal trade policy, including the Public Advisory Board for Mutual Security, the Committee for a National Trade Policy, and others, recognize the significance of this national-security factor.

The issue is highlighted by a problem facing one particular industry today.

I refer to the domestic jeweled-watch manufacturers, whose skills and facilities are soundly regarded by our military leaders as essential to national security.

Yet, the trend of domestic production has been going downward in the face of increasing quantities of watches and watch movements imported from Switzerland.

I send to the desk now the text of a frank, hard-hitting article which was published in the Sunday, April 18, 1954, issue of the New York Herald Tribune by its business and financial editor, Mr. Donald I. Rogers.

The Herald Tribune has to my knowledge long been in favor of trade reciprocity among the nations.

I believe that Mr. Rogers' comments will be of interest to my colleagues. His remarks raise questions of deep concern of all of us, both to Senators, for example, who favor the Randall Commission's majority recommendations and to those who question those recommendations.

I raise this issue because, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I deeply sense my obligation to encourage a greater degree of understanding among the nations.

But, at the same time, I know that a strong America is the great hope of the world. For her to weaken her own security does not strengthen the free world's security. If we go down, the free world cannot stand.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Rogers' article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN BUSINESS: DANGER IN FREER TRADE TO UNITED STATES SECURITY CITED

(By Donald I. Rogers)

In our refreshed zeal to establish freer world trade, a positive objective of the Eisenhower program and the Randall plan, it would be possible to forsake caution to a degree that might jeopardize national security. Such seems to be the case in the deliberations on whether we should raise the tariff on jeweled Swiss watch movements. The worn contentions of the watch industry to the Tariff Commission boiled over in a steaming splash of senatorial words last week, the culmination of a long wrangle over whether this Nation should withdraw concessions granted on the importation of Swiss movements under the Reciprocal Trade Act.

SENATOR HUNT'S STAND

For the benefit of the deliberators on duties, there was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 6 a statement by Senator LESTER C. HUNT in which the Wyoming Democrat charged that the American watch manufacturers do not need protection because there are many concerns capable of making timing devices. In other words, it's his contention that a self-sustained domestic watch industry is of no military or strategic importance.

Senator HUNT is no mechanical engineer. He is, in fact, a dentist. For him to presume such an enormous responsibility as deciding the importance of monstrously complicated industry of proved military significance is unusual.

More important, however, is the fact that he has raised the issue of the watch industry's involvement with national security. A determination of this factor is not in the province of the Tariff Commission. The problem does not belong there. It belongs with the military, the Defense Department, or the Office of Defense Mobilization.

WAR STAND CITED

Even the military cannot be trusted with snap judgment on this. Before our involvement in World War II, a special military commission decided, that it was not necessary to manufacture jewel bearings in this country even though the Germans threatened to cut off our supply from Switzerland.

There was near-disastrous confusion a few months later when it was discovered that an American bomber cannot even leave the ground until it has had installed in its various instruments something like 4,000 jewel bearings—along with the horrifying fact that nowhere in the United States was there the machinery or knowledge to make the bearings.

Two men were smuggled out of Switzerland and in time they assembled some of the exceptionally complicated machinery that makes jewel bearings. Months later they had taught a few skilled workers how to produce them.

A good watch has 17 of these jewel bearings. A fighter plane has 1,500 to 2,500. A battleship has 5,000. A bombsight requires up to 350. Ordinarily the United States imports 150 million jewel bearings a year. Because of the World War II experience, we have the nucleus of a bearing industry in Rolla, N. Dak., but the hoped-for rate of production, not yet attained, would result in only 4 or 5 million bearings a year.

INQUIRY URGED

This then is the lesson. It may be that Senator HUNT has been misinformed, and before the domestic watch industry is allowed to perish the whole business should be explored.

For watch manufacturers are unique producers. They are wizards of miniaturization in a time which may call for a war of instrumentation. Skilled watch workers call "plumbing" the work that employees in other industries regard as being in fine tolerances.

Reciprocity and freer trade may be desirable aims. As it pertains to Swiss watch movements, however, we are not dealing with free traders but with a tightly controlled cartel, and cartels manage to control wage costs.

In 1940 a 17-jeweled Swiss watch movement cost $2.50 plus $2.10 duty, making a total cost of $4.60. At that time American producers could make a watch for $4.25 to $4.50.

Today, because wages have risen somewhat in Switzerland, a typical imported movement costs $4 plus $2.10 duty, for a total cost of $6.10. But in the United States, even with greatly improved efficiency of production, the cost of a similar watch movement is at least $10.50.

Withdrawal of concessions granted importers, as asked by the domestic watch producers, would add 75 cents to $1.65 to the cost of a Swiss watch.

If it can be shown that our own watch industry is, in fact, a vital part of our strategic defense, or more importantly, an irreplaceable part of our security machinery, it is doubtful that Americans would want to imperil their Nation's safety for $1.65 per watch.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

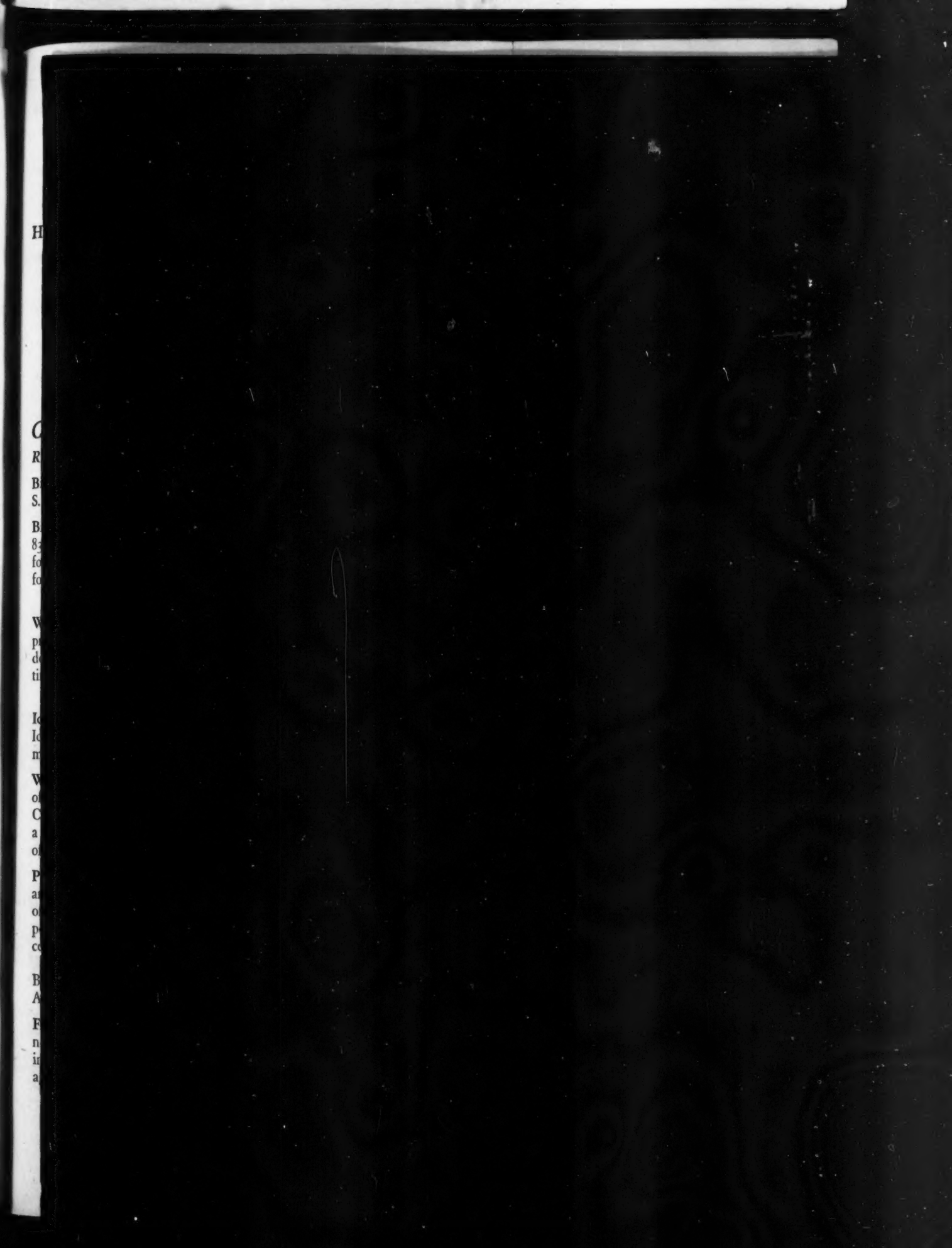

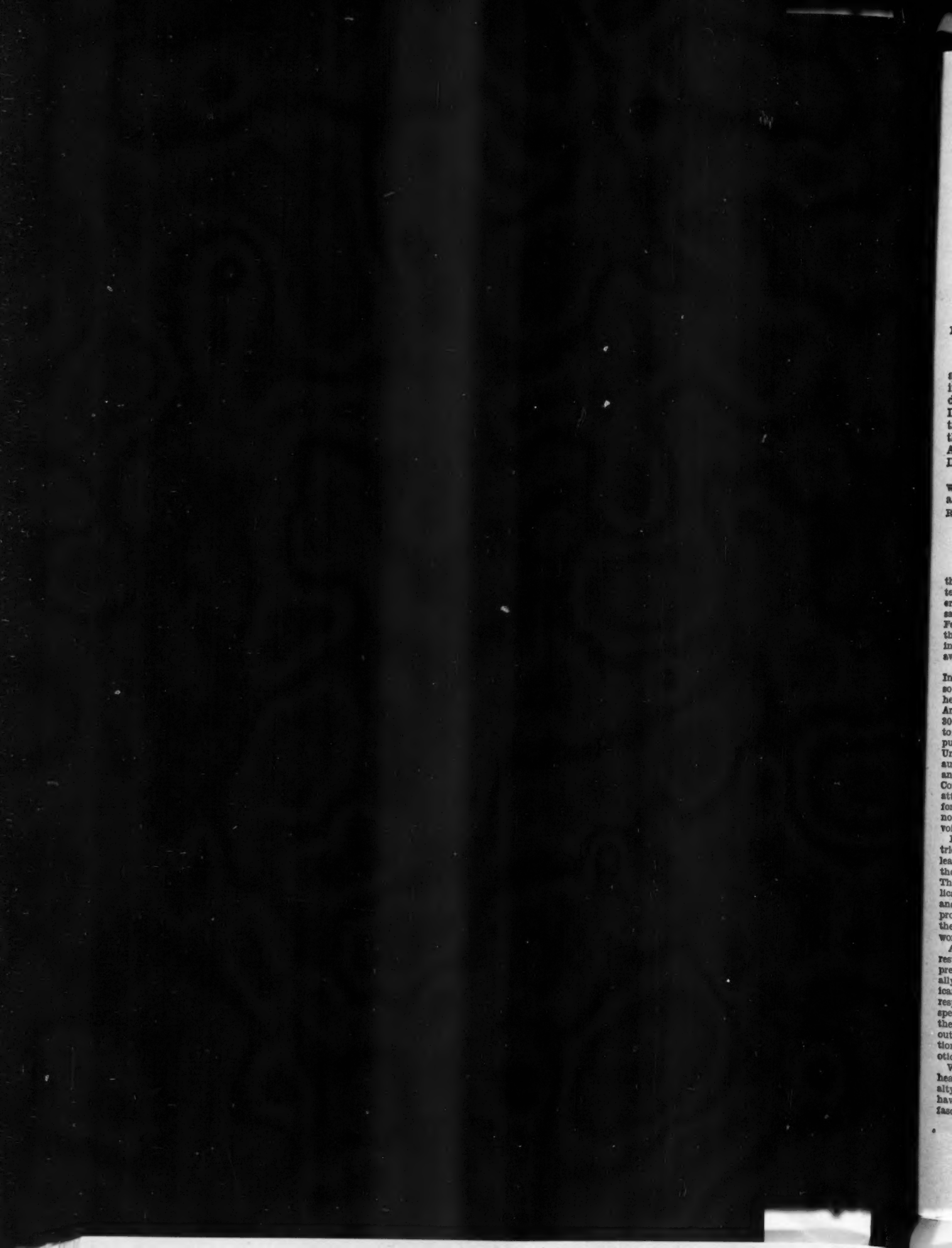

Appendix

The FBI and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HENRY C. DWORSHAK

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the Continental Congress of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution, in Washington, D. C., on April 22, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, BEFORE THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, APRIL 22, 1954, WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is a high honor to receive this award of the 63d Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution. I consider this award a tribute to the loyal and self-sacrificing efforts of my associates in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is really their achievements which you are recognizing this morning, and in accepting this award I do it on their behalf.

Just as the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflects the tempo of the times, so its accomplishments give testimony to the helpful assistance we have received from Americans in every walk of life. In the past 30 years, during which I have been privileged to head the FBI, it has had a singleness of purpose—to protect the people of these United States to the fullest extent of our authority and to insure to them the rights and liberties which are guaranteed by our Constitution. It has vigorously resisted every attempt to inject it into partisanship of any form. The FBI will continue to maintain a nonpartisan status so long as I have any voice in its destiny.

I am continuingly impressed with the patriotic devotion to America of our national leaders in the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of our Government. The Congress, years in and year out, Republicans and Democrats alike, has closed ranks and thrust aside partisan considerations in providing for the needs of the FBI. Without the loyal, patriotic support of Congress, our work would be completely handicapped.

As real national security ultimately must rest on the dedicated efforts of all people to preserve our American way of life, we naturally must look to our fellow patriotic Americans for major assistance in fulfilling our responsibilities. With a force of only one special agent to every 26,000 inhabitants in the United States, we could not possibly carry out our duties without the fullest of cooperation from all law-abiding people and patriotic organizations.

With all honesty, we need to examine our hearts to determine the depth of our loyalty; then, with every ounce of strength we have, we must do our part to fight Red fascism—this evil enemy within our gates.

Over the years, the Daughters of the American Revolution on national, State, and local levels, has been alert to this menace and outstanding in its cooperation with the FBI. You as individual members have time and again rendered assistance of the highest order to the FBI. This is another reason why I am so happy to meet with you today. More and more, the women of the country have been capably filling their rightful roles in our national life. In protecting the home, women, are also protecting the security of our Nation. The Daughters of the American Revolution, long before the general public recognized the true nature of communism, was out in the forefront calling attention to this growing menace.

In taking a stand for the preservation of the American way of life, your organization became the target of vile and vicious attacks. So have all other partiotic organizations and, for that matter, every other person who has dared to raise his voice against the threat of communism. It is an established fact that whenever one has dared to expose the Communist threat he has invited upon himself the adroit and skilled talents of experts of character assassination. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has stood year after year as taunts, insults, and destructive criticism have been thrown its way.

To me, one of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phonemena in the fight on communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. The pseudo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites.

Thinking people now know that a fifth column assault was launched on this Nation years ago. International communism has unmistakably revealed itself as a sinister force. One-fourth of the earth's surface and one-third of the world's population have now come under the godless tyranny of Communist dictatorship.

Red fascism has come to have an evil, ugly meaning in the world today. We have come to associate it with greed, cruelty, lust for power; it means war and death for innocent peoples; it threatens our security and all the heritage we, as Americans, hold dear.

Literally thousands of homes and careers have been disrupted by the worldwide assault of international communism. There is not a home in the land which has not been adversely affected by this menace. Think, for example, what could be done for the general welfare of America and, in fact, the world if the sums of money which have been appropriated to defend ourselves from the Communist menace could be used for peaceful purposes.

As President Eisenhower recently observed, while the membership of the Communist Party in the United States is small in numbers, they are dangerous. The American Communists and the Soviet Communists follow the same pattern. They are motivated by the same ideology and they are dedicated to the same base objectives. The American Communist Party is an integral unit of the international Communist conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Over the years, I have observed that the Communist leaders themselves have not stressed the need for large numbers of members as they hold to the principle that Communist Parties, when favorable situations arrive, have the power of swift and solid growth. Communist classes hear the words of William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party, iterated and reiterated that the Communist Party's strength runs far beyond all formal measurements. Leaders of the Communist Party frequently point out that often 1 or 2 dedicated Communists in the proper places can better serve the Communist cause than masses. This, too, can now be clearly seen.

Outside of the hard-core party membership, which today numbers some 25,000, the Communists are supported by their legions of fellow travelers, sympathizers, apologists, and otherwise seemingly innocent persons who have been duped into doing the party's work.

The FBI has been in the front lines of the fight against the Communist meanace for many years. Its effectiveness can be measured by the intensity with which the Communists, their sympathizers, and respectably cloaked apologists have advanced their attacks on the FBI. There have been times when they might have succeeded in their efforts to destroy our effectiveness were it not for the manner in which Members of Congress, the media of public opinion, patriotic organizations, and the citizens on the street raised their voices in protest against distortion, misrepresentation, and smear. All true Americans have our deepest pratitude. As I have already observed, the measure of our success is in direct ratio to the fullness of the cooperation we receive.

The matter of maintaining internal security is complicated, difficult, and calls for caution and the utmost of perseverance. Experience has demonstrated that the real subversives are identified only through painstaking professional work with information gleaned from innumerable sources. That is why Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower each in turn have called upon all patriotic organizations and persons to promptly communicate to the nearest office of the FBI any information they may possess on espionage, sabotage, or subversive activities.

Information furnished confidentially to the FBI will be protected, as the FBI zealously guards the identity of its sources of information and the confidential character of it files. The sole objective of the FBI investigative efforts is to ascertain the truth or falsity of complaints, information, or suspicions communicated to it. We always have been sensitive to our sacred duty to protect the innocent. And the facts, when secured, do this just as they establish the guilt of the wrongdoer.

The Communists, above all else, fear the truth. They fear the traditions of liberty and justice bequeathed us by our freedom-seeking forefathers. That is why they seek to rewrite the past. The fine and loyal members of your great organization are to be congratulated for uring the study of American history. There can be no sure way to appreciate American democracy than to understand its origins and growth. We should understand also the things our forefathers were willing to fight for and the ideals in which they believed.

In the days and years which lie ahead, the strength of America must rest in the desire and the willingness of our people to remain true to the ideals of 1776, for when a national ideal dies, a nation perishes. To

trust the Nation's security to the tangible strength of weapons and fortifications only, is not the complete answer. Americans must feel proud of thei Nation and have faith in their Government and its servants. They must be willing to sacrifice for the common good. They must be anxious to keep this Nation a land of the free. The heart of America is true, unafraid, unselfish, and has deep understanding.

You, and thousands of others like you, are an inspiration to all Americans to work in the cause of liberty. In this hour, when an alien ideology would destroy our institutions, no cause could be mode sacred. Freedom must be jealously guarded. Unless it is nourished, protected, and exercised it will be lost. It is the very essence of our lives.

I have the deepest faith in the future of America. Communists are driven by fanaticism, selfish ambition, and an urgency to dominate and destroy all that is good. They endeavor to subvert the minds, the bodies and the souls of men. But in the end they are destined to fail because they are blind slaves of a human tyranny—not servants of God. They are puppets of a dictator, not free men and women.

Should the spirit of freemen die—our Nation would no longer survive. To keep that spirit alive is the task of every true American. This means that truth must prevail in every walk of life and there must be a dedication to fight if need be to maintain that truth. The truth is that the American way of life is the hope of the world; we can have no more sacred trust than to preserve that way—of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are fighting together for God and country. In the end we shall win. So keep up your courage. Keep up your fight for God and country. Millions of good Americans support you.

Excerpt From Address Made by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD MARTIN
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from the remarks I made at a luncheon meeting inaugurating the capital-funds campaign of the Washington, D. C., YMCA on Tuesday, April 20, 1954.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and my fellow Americans, there are many reasons why I am happy to be here today.

First, because the YMCA is one of the great institutions of our country.

Second, because the YMCA embodies the highest and most practical form of Christian brotherhood in action.

And third, because the capital-funds campaign for the Washington metropolitan area will bring increased usefulness and expanded YMCA service from which great benefits will flow into every section of the United States.

On many occasions, in public speeches and statements, I have discussed the source of our Nation's greatness. I have placed emphasis on the God-given freedoms we are privileged to enjoy as Americans. I have tried to outline the course we must take as individual citizens and as a Nation to defend and preserve the precious liberties which we hold sacred.

I have argued that we must build the most powerful defensive strength in the world in order to overcome any threat to the safety and security of our Republic.

I had in mind, of course, the military power of our Armed Forces and the new weapons of terrifying destructive power that have been developed by our atomic scientists.

There is also our material strength represented by our financial resources, and our high industrial and agricultural production.

But, my fellow Americans, with the passing of each succeeding year I am more and more convinced that the greatest source of our national strength is the spiritual power of our people—the strength that comes from high moral standards, righteous living, tolerance, helpfulness, faith in our country, and faith in God.

We find ourselves today in a troubled time of unrest and perplexity. Our most fervent prayer is for an honorable peace that will brighten the world with new hope, new understanding, and new progress toward fellowship among men and nations.

In considering the situation in the world today we cannot fail to recognize that the most potent influence for peace is deeper devotion to the principles of religion. More widespread and more effective Christian education is one of the paramount needs of our times.

Without the sustaining power of religion America could never have become the greatest and most powerful Nation in all history.

Without the deep religious convictions of the pioneer settlers the blessings of freedom we now take for granted could never have been attained.

Through faith in God, unity of purpose was achieved. Through submission to the divine will, the will to help one another was strengthened among men.

My fellow Americans, the YMCA is important because it holds out a helping hand—a hand that shows the right way to those who need it most—the young people who are the future of our country.

The YMCA is important because it guides and instructs—because its educational, social, physical, and spiritual activities enrich the lives of all who come under its influence.

I repeat, the YMCA is important because the defense of our freedom and our hope for a better world is strengthened by every activity that makes up the YMCA program.

Let us consider just one of its objectives—the development of Christian character. In that endeavor the YMCA has wrapped up in a single package available to every young man, all the elements of good, decent, patriotic American citizenship.

Christian character, based on love of God and the teachings of the Holy Bible, is the strongest safeguard we can build for a future of security, peace, and progress.

The YMCA has been doing that for more than a century. Its whole history has been a magnificent record of steady growth, expanding usefulness, and increased service. It has always been ready to accept new responsibilities—ever striving for new ways to bring Christianity into the lives of young men who might otherwise be attracted in the wrong direction.

How fortunate we are that the candle of faith, lighted in London by George Williams and his small group of fellow workers 110 years ago, has grown into a great white beacon for the guidance of the mind, the body, and the spirit.

The task before them was not easy but they persevered in their efforts to bring more young people to the worship of God and the way of Christ. The movement they launched in a humble way now serves more than 3 million members in every part of the free world.

In our own country 1,726 YMCA's are at the service of our young people, a great Christian organization supervised by 260,000 volunteer board and committee members. These men are leaders in business, industry, and the professions. They are assisted by nearly 4,000 professionally trained YMCA secretaries.

Here in Washington the YMCA was organized in 1852. I shall not dwell upon the history of its growth and expansion. I need only point out that millions of young people from all parts of the United States have been helped socially, educationally, and spiritually by contact with its program.

The second century of its career brings to the YMCA greater opportunities for service in this great community which in every respect is the heart of the Nation.

The vital need is for adequate equipment to meet the standards and the requirements of the present day.

This capital funds campaign is the biggest ever undertaken by the YMCA in this area. It offers a great challenge. I know that when Americans meet for a great moral purpose we need only the will and the determination to go forward to success.

My fellow Americans, you are the leaders of a great community, called by destiny to be the crossroads of the civilized world.

The noble cause to which this meeting is dedicated is deserving of your best effort and most generous support. Let the word go forth that you will meet the challenge before you.

The Spires of the Spirit—The Golden Door

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article written by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, and published in yesterday's Washington Sunday Star.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPIRES OF THE SPIRIT

(By Frederick Brown Harris, Minister, Foundry Methodist Church; Chaplain, United States Senate)

THE GOLDEN DOOR

More glad eyes have gazed with rapture at more radiant rainbows arching New York harbor than ever have gemmed any other patch of the blending blue. France's gift to America—Liberty holding high her flaming torch to all the earth—has become the most revered symbol of the free world. To earth's remotest bounds it is the inspiring emblem of something new under the sun, a free people in a free land; all men equal before God and the law, endowed with rights no state can give or take away. That famous statue, in sight of Manhattan's towering skyscrapers, marking freedom's golden door has set more hearts rejoicing, more tears streaming, more lips praising, more hopes soaring than has any other figure ever fashioned by the skill of man.

Millions of Americans oceanbound have watched it fade in the receding distance as gray leagues have stretched ahead to other shores. The one farewell consolation has

been that when "It's home again" the lady with the lamp, keeping her constant vigil, will welcome travelers abroad back to the blessed land of room enough, "where the sky is full of sunshine and the flag is full of stars."

It is eminently fitting and meaningful that in this day of desperate battle, when a godless materialism is lifting blasphemous banners of negation upon which are emblazoned, "In our own might we trust," that our America should consecrate with the benediction of its top leaders and almost a hundred envoys of other countries a postage stamp as a witness to the fundamental faith by which the Republic lives.

A correspondent witnessing the launching of this red, white, and blue proclamation of a nation's faith declared: "Never before in history has any stamp received such a gala and impressively serious inaugural." Thus, millions of messages which will be speeding over land and sea and air are sealed with liberty's familiar uplifted torch inscribed with the humble acknowledgment that "In God We Trust." These tiny banners become hymns of national affirmation. This stamp is sent forth on its sacred mission with the triumphant certainty that in this quartet of mighty monosyllables is stored more potent power than godless forces, who see nothing higher than the dirt on which they tread, ever can mobilize.

This new 8-cent stamp, which will carry United States mail mostly across the seas and is expected to reach an annual sale of 200 million, bears no arrogant better-than-thou boast. It does not egotistically assume that we are God's people and this is God's country. It does, as will the projected 3-cent stamp for domestic use, carry the soul-searching sense of commission involved in the conviction that this favored land, as Lincoln put it, under God is "freedom's last, best hope" for a world threatened by engulfing tyranny. That sobering mandate rests not on privilege, power, or position. It does rest on that trio dedicated as the channels of God's purposes for all mankind.

Woodrow Wilson uttered words which forever interpret America's manifest destiny: "We desire nothing for ourselves that we do not want for the whole world." Malignant forces which plot world domination have marked America as their most hated foe, because it is her might, material, and moral, which is blocking fell designs and, in this dread day of destiny, is saying: "They shall not pass." It is this solemn ability and awful responsibility to save the human race from degrading serfdom which makes Americans God's chosen people. That distinction lifts us to no pedestal to lord it over others. We sadly confess that there are those born in America in whom America never has been born.

If, as God's chosen people, in Him we trust, then with deep searching of soul the paramount question is: Can God trust us? Can God bless America? If so, then He must be in the driver's seat, not we. If God has chosen us to prevent certain things happening on this planet in this 20th century, then we may be sure it is not an American purpose He is after. To be chosen simply means that we have been asked by God to do something He wants done in this generation—not for us, but for all men.

Our colossal task in America as we put under our feet the subtle tyranny of things, expressed in gadgets and gain, is to bring the realization of our democratic practice up to the Alpine levels of "In God We Trust." To this people, strangely mingled and as strangely welded into one, has been given a place of leadership, a time of opportunity, and resources equaled by no other peoples.

The significance of our motto on coin and stamp depends on whether it is a boast or a prayer. "'In God we trust' declares our belief that it is God who undergirds all ordered, lasting society. Man never can have any continuance of national life, or of civilization, without recognizing Him and what He wants." In this midtwentieth century, beset as we are by crises and confusion, we need to find the words of a famous Frenchman who visited America long ago: "A despotism can do without faith. But liberty cannot. Belief in God is an essential in a republic." And so as we publish our faith and profess it, for America's sake, for the world's sake, may we prove it by our practice, cost what it may.

A democracy is the most costly thing there is. It must be validated by self-imposed disciplines, which are now, alas, too often in what we call "our way of life," conspicuous by their absence. A discerning prophet of our day warns: "Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of this tumultuous generation is the fact that we have loosed our hold upon the spiritual beliefs that animated the founding of this Nation." But as we lift our prayer, "America, America, God mend thine every flaw," even as we send forth our "In God we trust" stamp, let us thank Him who hath made and preserved us a nation that the statue on Bedloe Island still stands with its torch of fire. Pictured on the stamp and seen in the harbor it awakens within the breast of every true lover of freedom the same exultation as it did in the heart of an American woman, back at last in America after living through the Fascist tyranny in Italy, where she had seen a great people cowed into silence and frightened into conformity. As, with emotion too deep for words, she passed the Statue of Liberty, it was with a sense of great release—of fetters snapped. "Suddenly," she exclaimed afterward, "I knew what America is, and what I wanted most in America to hear. I wanted to hear somebody talk back. And I wanted to hear somebody laugh spontaneously, laugh out loud, in the freedom of his soul."

That we can still talk back, and laugh out loud, and spontaneously, we thank the God we trust, and raise our Jubilate that in a world like this Liberty still lifts her lamp beside the golden door.

The President's Early Religious Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CARLSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The President and the Still Small Voice," written by William H. Stringer, chief of the Washington news bureau of the Christian Science Monitor.

This informative article gives the background of the President's early religious training and gives several evidences of his sincere Christian faith.

Our Nation has been blessed because our forefathers laid the groundwork for the principles of this Nation, based on the teachings of the Man that walked the shores of Galilee 2,000 years ago.

We are fortunate that the President and men and women in high positions in our Government are carrying on in the faith of our forefathers. Continuing in this faith, our Nation will go forward and serve as a guide to other nations during this dark and trying period.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT AND THE STILL SMALL VOICE
(By William H. Stringer)

WASHINGTON.—"Let us bow our heads." With words simple as these, the Chief Executive of the United States each Friday morning at 10 a. m. opens his weekly Cabinet meeting with a minute or more of silent prayer.

To President Eisenhower it has seemed natural and normal thus to launch every Cabinet meeting since inauguration, for he is naturally a religious man. Talk to members of his administration—Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, himself a dedicated Christian, or members of the White House staff—or the President's pastor, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, and you will find that they all so regard Dwight D. Eisenhower.

They will comment that Ike is something a little rare in the Presidency, and, furthermore, that his influence has affected the whole atmosphere of his administration. The members are more dedicated men and women than they otherwise might be—except when certain of them fall prey to the old Adam of extreme political partisanship.

To say the President is a religious man is not to contend that his policies always will be right. Holy Writ does not specify an always-right course of political salvation—liberal, conservative, or midroad. It is a matter of daily demonstration.

There will be those who object, too, that the President has not always applied his counsel of moderation effectively to his own party. In human affairs practice does not always measure up to intention. The fact remains that here is a President with a strong and humble sense that God is at work in human affairs.

TONE SET ON INAUGURATION DAY

The administration's religious tone was established on the very morning of Inauguration Day, when the President-elect inserted his famous "little prayer"—which was not in the script—at the beginning of the inaugural ceremony.

That morning Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower had attended, with members of the incoming official family, a quiet preinauguration ceremony of dedication, timed exactly to the minute, at the National Presbysterian Church, of which they were soon to become members. The President-elect had returned to the Statler Hotel with a 2-hour wait ahead of him before he would mount the inauguration platform at noon.

In those tense, reflective moments the President-elect considered the inaugural address. The element of spirituality was not sufficiently stressed, he decided. He asked Ann Whitman, his personal secretary, for a pad of paper. Then and there, on a pad of yellow legal ruled paper, he composed the short, eloquent prayer of three paragraphs which millions of Americans, and millions more beyond these shores, read or heard over the radio that noon of January 20.

He read the prayer there at the hotel to just one person, his brother, Milton Eisenhowever. Then he handed it to Miss Whitman to have a reading copy made, and notified James Hagerty, White House press secretary, because this was a change in the prepared text. There was no ghost writing here.

"Almighty God," he had written, "as we stand here, at this moment, my future associates in the executive branch of the Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng and their fellow citizens everywhere. * * *"

The inauguration thus was launched with prayer. But this was not the first inkling the American people had that their former

wartime commander in Europe was a man who stressed spiritual values as well as action. His campaign speeches had a spiritual content so often that some well-meaning political associates urged him to avoid the obvious. He refused to delete the passages which referred to God.

ADMIRES SPIRITUAL VALUES IN PEOPLE

The President admires spiritual values in people too. When he conferred with Mr. Benson about his entering the Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, who is one of the 12 directing apostles of the Mormon Church, remonstrated, "Why, General, I am virtually an ordained minister. You won't want a preaching minister in your Cabinet."

"Ezra, where in the United States is there more need for spirituality than right here in this Cabinet?" the President-elect replied in substance. "We need to restore the people's confidence. We have a big job ahead. We need men of your type."

And Mr. Benson joined the Cabinet. To imagine the President discarding his Secretary of Agriculture for ephemeral political reasons is not to understand the President's basic thought process.

When Mr. Eisenhower first called his Cabinet and chief advisers together for a preinaugural session in New York on January 12, 1953, he had been talking with Mr. Benson that very morning about what he felt was the need for more spiritual content in the National Government. It was unexpected, but hardly unnatural, that when all were seated for this first session of the new regime the Chief Executive-elect should rise and ask Mr. Benson to lead them in prayer. This action set the practice of the later silent prayers which have opened each Cabinet session.

The President, then, is a believer, a deep believer. But what does he believe? During his campaign and in utterances since and interviews before he has spoken strongly enough about what is vital to him.

For one thing, Mr. Eisenhower deeply believes that this Nation's greatness, its world leadership, its prosperity, even its material wealth, rest upon its spiritual strength, and that there would be no lasting greatness without this spiritual strength. Without it, the United States would go the way of the Roman Empire.

More than once in his campaign speeches he quoted the words of de Tocqueville, a great Frenchman who came to these shores more than a century ago seeking the essence of this Nation's greatness.

"Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness," he quoted, "did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because America is good—and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Spiritual strength, Mr. Eisenhower often has stressed, must come ahead of military and economic strength.

FREE RULE LINKED TO RELIGION

A second fundamental point of Mr. Eisenhower's religious philosophy, closely akin to the preceding, is that free government is verily the outcome of religious principles rightly held to, and that in turn free government exists to preserve man's God-given rights.

"Free government is the expression of a deeply felt religious faith," he declared succinctly in his first speech to the Nation after returning from Europe.

To an interviewer who talked with him during the busy precampaign days in Denver, just after he had been chosen to lead the Republican Party, Presidential Nominee Eisenhower said:

"You simply cannot explain free government in any other terms than religious. The Founding Fathers had to refer to their Creator and His design for man in order to make their revolutionary experiment make sense. It was because 'all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights' that men could dare to be free.

"They wrote their religious faith into our founding documents, stamped their trust in God upon our coins and currency, put it squarely at the base of our institutions. And when they framed their bold Bill of Rights, where did they put freedom of worship? First!"

The President has laid more stress upon this Nation's religious heritage than have most Presidents, excepting of course, Lincoln and Washington. But perhaps his most spiritually searching definition of faith came in his closing campaign speech in Boston November 3, 1952, when he said:

"This is the faith teaching us all that we are children of God. It teaches us the divine origin of each man's dignity. It teaches us the sublime meaning of our brotherhood under His fatherhood.

"This faith teaches us that our ideals of democracy and freedom are much more than sentimental moods, much more than romantic notions. They are not tender inventions of poets.

"They are eternal laws of the human spirit."

EVOCATION OF SPIRITUAL VALUES

Somewhere in almost every Eisenhower address, whether it be a major speech during a trip to Canada or a simple talk at a Christmas tree lighting ceremony on the White House lawn, there is an evocation of spiritual values. And this evocation is not lugged in perfunctorily; it is embedded as an integral and purposeful part of the message.

The President undoubtedly would argue, too, that spiritual truths are the world's best weapons against communism, because they are the spiritual bulwark and support for the freeman and the free nation.

"What is our battle against Soviet communism if it is not a fight between anti-God and a belief in the Almighty?" he has said. "Communists know this. They have to eliminate God from their system. For when God comes in, communism must go."

A third important facet in President Eisenhower's religious attitude is his evident willingness to rely on divine guidance.

"You know, the President feels Lincoln around the White House more than he senses any other President," Mr. Hagerty remarked one day. This may seem a curious comment. He did not mean that the President likened himself to Lincoln—far from it. He meant that Mr. Eisenhower feels the example of Lincoln, the Lincoln who often sought divine guidance, who often prayed to God for wisdom, in dark and divisive times.

These are not the tumultuous days of Lincoln's term of office, but their mental perplexities are profound, and the presidency now shoulders burdens and decisions which are global in scope. It is a time when the mortal forces of destruction seem capable of cataclysmic detonation. But their pretensions of evil can be thwarted and dissipated by the good in human society, energized by men of spiritual dedication. In this juncture a President needs guidance from on high.

"Any general who has had vast wartime responsibilities, with thousands of lives dependent on his decisions, comes out of that war either a profound believer in God, or an atheist. General Eisenhower emerged as a believer," a White House aide has summed up.

The President's faith is simple. It is not profound spiritual understanding, but it is vigorous faith, believing in "good works." He admires the vigor of Billy Graham, the evangelist, because Billy has revived interest in religion among thousands. He likes a vigorous hymn, such as Onward, Christian Soldiers. But he also likes Lead, Kindly Light.

RELIED ON PRAYER IN WARTIME TASKS

Back in the war years when he stood on a hill in Malta and watched the allied armada setting out for the initial invasion of Europe through Sicily, General Eisenhower prayed. Undoubtedly, also, he sought divine guidance in those anxious hours of June 1944, when the weather seemed utterly unpropitious for D-day, and when someone had to make the tremendous decision whether to cross the English Channel or postpone the whole vast undertaking. Many men among the waiting transports and assault craft said prayers on that climactic day.

How did Mr. Eisenhower become the man who has exerted unusual influence among his administration colleagues? He was not known in the Army as a particularly religious individual. That was partly because he kept his religious opinions to himself. He has little use for forms and elaborate religious ceremony. If others like them, well and good; this is a free country, but he was not brought up that way.

Nor does he care for compulsory religion. The story is told that he volunteered to teach a Sunday school class of officers' children while at West Point—to avoid the compulsory Sunday chapel attendance.

The President also, incidentally, does not like to have his religion capitalized upon. If he could, he would prefer that he and his wife attend church in Wasington just as plain Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower, but he realizes that, as President, he cannot come and go as freely as he would like.

But any basic estimate of the President would say that his religious conviction has grown upon him, from upright early beginnings. It is a hackneyed phrase to say that a man was reared by God-fearing parents, but in the President's case that is exact statement.

DAILY WORSHIP IN BOYHOOD HOME

His parents were members of a devout Mennonite group, known as "River Brethren," because the original community of German stock had located near the Susquehanna River in early Pennsylvania days. Menno Simons, from whom the Mennonites took their name, first proclaimed his teachings in Zurich in 1528. He claimed to have rediscovered true Christianity after centuries of distortion of Jesus' teachings. He denied the whole sacerdotal idea of a divinely authorized priesthood. His followers, persecuted in Germany because of their nonconformity, had come to America in 1740 and divided into various "brethren" sects.

The President's grandfather had been a preaching elder in the church and had led his band of brethren to Kansas. The President's mother in later years became a member of Jehovah's Witnesses because, she said, "she admired their zeal." The President still admires religious zeal.

He well remembers the daily worship in his boyhood home, with his father reading from a large Bible and occasionally halting to emphasize a special text to his six sons. He remembers more Bible reading and hymn singing and discussion on Sunday afternoons, when neighbor brethren came to call. He recalls his mother's loving advice to him, which was simply, "Do your best, and leave the rest to God."

The Eisenhowers were a closely knit family, and there were sacrifices, and instances of brotherly support in tribulation, and moments of that same brand of high courage and warm humanity which was to make General Eisenhower an effective and popular wartime commander. And beneath it all, there was the bulwark of spiritual strength.

As a military officer, moving from post to post, Dwight Eisenhower attended Army chapels from time to time and developed

a nondenominational attitude. "He never staked down his religion," says his present-day pastor.

But if he was religiously reticent, he could, even so, "quote Scripture by the yard," according to Lt. Gen. Willard S. Paul, who was General Eisenhower's director of personnel in Europe and is now elder and trustee at the Washington church of which the Eisenhowers are members.

General Eisenhower would quote from the Bible to illustrate a point at staff meetings, General Paul comments. And, if someone else misquoted Scripture, General Eisenhower knew enough of the Bible to correct the speaker, and usually would do so. He keeps a Bible in his White House desk today.

JOINED CHURCH AT MODEST CEREMONY

When Mr. Eisenhower became President, he decided it was time to join a church. It seemed the proper thing for a President to attend church on Sunday. Mrs. Eisenhower already had joined the Presbyterian, in Denver days. Their son, Maj. John Eisenhower, had once attended a Boy Scout troop at the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, when Eisenhower, Sr., was considerably less than a five-star general.

Dr. Elson, the minister at National Presbyterian, was a wartime chaplain in the European theater, and had been delegated by General Eisenhower to explain to German religious leaders the allied policy for reconstitution of the church as the war ended. He was an indefatigable pastor, General Eisenhower knew, with wide-ranging interests and a soldierly cast of thought.

Whatever the main motivating reason for choosing the National Presbyterian Church, President Eisenhower discussed the proposed step with Dr. Elson, received pastoral instruction, and then, quietly and simply, at a modest ceremony at 9 a. m. Sunday morning, February 1, 1953, Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower, along with 48 other applicants, were received into membership. The other 48 did not know the Eisenhowers were joining until that morning moment.

Dr. Elson is, of course, proud of his chief parishioner, and also, no doubt, of his church attendance. The President missed only 4 Sundays in the first 12 months, usually because he was out of town. Mr. Eisenhower hears brisk preaching from the pulpit. Dr. Elson does not believe people want to hear a minister air his doubts on Sunday mornings but that preachers should speak with certainty and feel free to say, "Thus saith the Lord."

The National Presbyterian Church is in the spotlight of American Protestantism these days. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, some 11 Senators, and still more Representatives attend services at the romanesque graystone edifice on Connecticut Avenue.

If Adlai E. Stevenson had become President, he almost certainly would have chosen All-Saints' (Unitarian) Church in Washington, where the Reverend A. Powell Davies is pastor. Former President Truman attended the First Baptist Church, with the Reverend Edward H. Pruden as minister. When the President joined the National Presbyterian, this was apparently the first time in American history that a President had joined a church while in office, although others have transferred their membership to Washington.

Apart from his many duties, Dr. Elson is completing a book which will deal in part with his Washington experience and will stress the religious revival that he senses as actively underway in the United States. It would be incorrect, of course, to suggest that the President's attitude toward religion had occasioned a larger religious activity in the Nation's Capital, but the Eisenhower attitude is certainly one facet of the general scene.

BROAD RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY IN CAPITAL

There are, for instance, 14 religious breakfast groups functioning in Washington—those for House and Senate Members, a breakfast which embraces the judiciary, a businessmen's group, and others. The President annually has attended a breakfast launching the annual Christian Action Conference sponsored by the International Council for Christian Leadership. The President, in his capacity as Chief Executive of all groups of Americans, was present at the annual Roman Catholic red Mass in Washington this year. He was the first President to attend.

Examples of the Capital's interest in religion, as seen by Dr. Elson, include the enthusiastic reception given to Evangelist Billy Graham, the extensive church construction of the past few years, the multiplying radio programs on religion, and the increased earnestness among young persons in colleges and universities.

Moving within the Washington scene is a President whose warmth and sensitive humanity shine often through official protocol. Recently at a White House function the President was shaking hands with a long and seemingly endless line of officialdom. In that line was a German veteran, a minor diplomat whose right hand, lost in the war, was replaced by a glove.

As he moved up to the President, Mr. Eisenhower instantly shifted and shook hands with the German's left hand. That the Chief Executive would immediately sense his situation in a prolonged siege of hand-shaking really amazed the German.

On the Sunday afternoon when the Nation was waiting, hopefully, to hear that a Korean armistice had been signed, President Eisenhower had just returned from a 3-day defense conference at Quantico. The Communist and United Nations high brass had met at the Panmunjom tent, but no one knew what might go wrong or how delayed the signature might be.

As the President waited at the White House and the anxious moments ticked away, he began a project. It was an undramatic little project, but it was interesting that he should choose this moment for its commencement.

In those 6 waiting hours he started to paint a portrait of Abraham Lincoln from one of the old photographs taken just prior to the Gettysburg Address.

This simple act, almost of homage—at a moment of stress—to perhaps the most God-seeking man ever to occupy the White House speaks quietly of Dwight Eisenhower's own desire to tread a right and God-directed path as President.

The Philippines' New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on April 21, Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, special and personal representative of the President of the Philippines, and for many years one of the outstanding leaders of the Filipino people, addressed the National Press Club, in Washington, on the subject of the Philippines' New Look.

It was such an interesting speech, in terms of its revelation of what has been going on in this far eastern outpost of democracy during the past few years, that I ask unanimous consent that portions of it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I hope it may be widely read.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PHILIPPINES' NEW LOOK

(Address by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, special and personal representative of the President of the Philippines)

I have given a good deal of thought to the expression "the New Look," when it was assigned to me as my subject today, to try and tell you something about the "New Look in the Philippines." Tracing its origins, I find that here in America it was first used some 7 years ago, when skirts came down. I am not sure that it was used, or a variation was used, when they went up again, or whether the trend was referred to as the "old look-back."

Then more recently the term has been applied to the new defense policy as announced by President Eisenhower for the United States. I gather that President Eisenhower is not too pleased with this description of his program. This, I can also understand. Because in the last analysis there is substantially nothing of a "new look" either about a defense policy or about the forces which make it necessary. You may call it the New Look in the Army, but from where I stand, when you can hit the other fellow harder at less cost, I would say it is nothing more than a "better look," and there is really nothing that is new about it—unless saving the taxpayers' money is something new.

In this sense, there is really a new look in the Philippines—and I am happy to tell you that it promises to be a better look as well. But before I can give you a notion of what this new look is like, I shall have to let you in on the old look in our country—give you some idea of what things were before our people decided that they wanted the new look—any new look.

So let us take a look at the old look in the Philippines.

First of all, allow me to take you back in history to a time when our people first awakened to the fact that the Government was theirs—that they, the governed, had in their possession the right to grant or to withhold the power to govern. We began our acquaintance with America about 50 years ago, before the concept of government by consent of the governed gained general acceptance. True, the English had their Magna Carta. But Europe came to the Philippines, you will recall, at a time when English notions were not favorably considered by the Europeans who first came to our islands—the Spanish of King Philip II.

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In the latter years of the last century a group of brilliant and brave Filipinos came into being—agitators, subversives, from the standpoint of Madrid and of the Council of the Indies—men of the breed of Otis and Sam Adams in your own history. They were the first to proclaim the fact that Filipinos no longer meant the man of pure Spanish blood who made his home in the Philippines, the colony of Spain, but also included the lowly people of the islands themselves—those peoples whom the Spanish rulers then called Indios.

These men were inspired by the history of the United States and its Revolution, of France, and of the influence of the French of Voltaire and Rousseau.

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With American help—and, let it be admitted, not without some fighting against American power by our Aguinaldos, Lunas, del Pilars, Malvars—our people established on our islands a government of, for, and by the people. These words, too, are as familiar to you as they are to us.

Then followed 40 years of self-government and of struggle and aspiration for full self-government. The Pacific war interrupted the development, but we had had enough of real self-government to realize what a boon it was. The people came to know their power, to realize and to act on the sense of power to control those whom they chose to govern them. In these 40 years, as we continued the struggle for complete sovereignty, we knew that we had to be close to our governors—and those who governed us then, by our free choice and with our consent, also knew it, and the men your country sent out to us exercise the functions of American sovereignty also knew it. That is why the names of William Howard Taft and of the brilliant roster of the men who followed him are today revered in the Philippines. Show me another former dependency of a great power whose public places still bear the names of that power's preconsuls.

Then came the horrible interlude of the Pacific war, in which the people again for a brief time lost the power over their government. After the war had ended they regained it—but their hold on it was not strong enough to cope with the phenomenon which was born of the disintegration that was a natural if deplorable aftermath of 3 years of enemy occupation and of enemy oppression. Tragedy stalked our newly restored freedoms. The first President of our Republic, Gen. Manuel Roxas, able, brilliant, and a real statesman, died 2 years after his election. After his untimely death, in the space of 3 years following our liberation from the Japanese, a group of selfish, greedy men took advantage of the disordered state into which the country had been plunged, and established a curtain between the people and their government. It was not a curtain of iron, but it was impenetrable just the same, because it consisted of influence, of misuse of wealth, of subversion of the powers of government to the requirements of those whom easily gained wealth had endowed with influence over venal officials. Such officials, supported and financed by persons with illgotten wealth, formed a barrier between the government and the people.

This, fundamentally, was the "old look"—not old in the sense that it was what the Filipino people had been accustomed to—on the contrary, it was a Look alien to all that three generations of Filipinos had struggled for and largely achieved.

The disease was this "old look." What were some of its symptoms? On the domestic scene, they appeared in a general breakdown of the people's faith in their government. There was nothing to have faith in. Government employees, from the highest to the lowest, seemed to have lost a sense of obligation to the people who supported them. Public works, needed for the progress of the country and for the welfare of the masses, were either held up or started only where they were politically useful. The American point 4 program was shackled, immobilized because the counterpart section was not functioning. Mishandling of the police power gave the subversive elements their opportunity—an opportunity they were kept from seizing only by the force and devotion of the one man who was to emerge later as the man who restored the government to the people.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, ultimate power was handed over to incompetence personified and complicated by greed. Important negotiations were shelved, delayed, ignored. The last year of the administration, there was an ignoring of the functions of the country's representation in the United Nations and as a result the country's prestige in the eyes of the world plummetted down to a record low.

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I could cite you innumerable instances of these symptoms of the disease of the "old look" in the Philippines. Many of them have been reported by your own comrades. The mistake those able observers and writers made in reporting them was to paint a picture of inevitability—of a people so far gone in acquiescence to governmental corruption, so supine before bad government, that there was no hope of restoring good government, of saving democracy. That is where your friends, and mine, were wrong.

First came the mass reaction of an outraged people, who retained the memory of the power to grant or withhold consent to be governed. For one thing, neither the observers nor the men in control under the "old look" reckoned with the one force in the Philippines which no one could destroy or control—not even the Kempeitai of the hated and feared Japanese—the force of public opinion, buttressed and stimulated by a press, a radio and other means of public expression who refused to be silent. So strong was this force that the most virulent of those interested in maintaining the "old look" did not dare to challenge it on any broad front. The "old look" signed its own death warrant when it tried to manipulate a convention against all tenets of justice and fairness.

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So our people made their New Look in government. They simply reasserted their basic faith in the principle of a government by the consent of the governed. All they needed to do this was the leader—the man—or as we call him, the guy. They voted for him literally in the millions, and they expected him to make good on his promises. And forthwith, the day after his election, weeks before he was even inaugurated, he began to redeem his pledge.

Ramon Magsaysay, the guy, began by initiating inquiries into every aspect of governmental activity. He chose men whom he could trust—mainly on the basis of their lack of standing with the "old look" crowd. Before he took his oath, he had a pretty good idea of the basic faults in the whole governmental setup. Then, with his inauguration, he went to work.

His first concern was the home problem. You all know that the Philippine economy, following a principle set up by our American governors, operates on a principle of government participation in business and industry—a sort of pump-priming operation. Government corporations function in most major economic spheres. Under the "old look" some of these corporations were, to put it mildly, operating in an aura of an ancient and fishlike smell. The guy went into them without a gas mask, and old jobs began to fall. New men, young men, earnest, sincere, and above all able men took over, manned the directorates, and the corporations began to lose their old aspect of preserves for favored incompetents.

One of the key jobs at his disposal was that of collector of customs. I needn't tell you how important this job is. His appointee in an interim capacity, without pay, was Col. Jaime Velasquez, a retired Army officer who was one of our most distinguished graduates of West Point. Jimmy Velasquez has his own idea of honesty in the customs. And he wielded the big broom effectively. Nor did the Guy spare old friends. In the case of one Army officer, who had been a trusted supporter, a confidante, he did not hesitate to fire him when he found out that the officer whom he had elevated to a high post, had developed old look notions in a new look setup. He has, in the few months in which he has been in office, instilled a new spirit into the Government; a spirit in which Government officials are entering the service in the spirit of service, not to enrich themselves or to make things easy for their friends.

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In the broader phases of government, he has replaced confusion with order, by the simple method of bringing to all public servants the conviction that they, like he, are in their job as servants of the people, not as overlords, large or petty. Where he saw that lack of coordination hampered the true function of government, which is the service to the people, he acted drastically, radically, even ruthlessly, to restore coordination.

There was some doubt in some circles about his capacity in handling foreign affairs. But here, too, the Guy brought to his job the twin tools of his native common sense and his deep faith in the service of the masses.

* * * * *

He knows that the people want peace, stability and security at home. So he naturally rejected a suggestion that would involve him in foreign problems. Where an ambitious man would have yielded to the prospect of emerging as a "leader of Asia," the Guy made it clear that he had to do "his homework" first. Yet this does not mean that he is indifferent to the major international problems of the day. He refuses to be anybody's puppet and he acts with firmness and courage on his own, spurning such advice as he thinks is inimical to the nation's welfare.

Came the proposal by Secretary of State Dulles for united action in Indochina. Considering the fact that there is an important sector in his own party that does not believe in involving the Philippines in a war not of its own making and which holds to the belief that the Philippines should not invite reprisal by taking an aggressive attitude against Red China, it is significant that on April 11, President Magsaysay made the following statement:

"The President pointed out that the nation's security requires, and that the policy of his administration has declared, Philippine commitment to the principle of associating itself with the other free nations of the world in resisting Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

"The President expressed the readiness of the Philippines to discuss with the other nations, in accordance with this principle, how best to present a united front against further Communist aggression, subject to agreement on details among all participants. * * *"

Then on April 17, President Magsaysay issued a statement which, in the long-range view of history, may prove to be the most statesmanlike approach to the problem of Indochina and the most effective weapon against communism in Asia. He proposed, and it is the first time that such a proposal has been made by anyone, that if a joint declaration is made, as suggested by the United States, such a declaration be the Asia equivalent of the Atlantic Charter.

President Magsaysay's statement on April 17 follows:

"The Philippine Government agrees in principle with the United States proposal to issue a joint declaration against Communist aggression in Indochina. At an appropriate time we shall give more detailed consideration to the actual text of the declaration itself.

"Our first concern is and has always been our national security. This concern today has become more grave with the deepening crisis in Indochina.

"In the interest of our national security, it is our duty to strengthen ourselves in every way. But in the face of the Communist peril in Asia, it has also become our grave duty to multiply our strength through joint action with our allies in the free world. It

is particularly important to maintain our alliance with the United States, which is today the principal bulwark of the free world against Communist aggression and tyranny.

"In the Indochina crisis, however, there is an element which is of great concern to the Philippines as an Asian country. This is the political element of independence of the peoples of Indochina.

"Our Government believes that the proposed declaration should contain an affirmation of the rights of all peoples to freedom and independence. Thus, it would not only be a warning against further Communist aggression in Asia, but an assurance that the contemplated united action is aimed at the defense of the independence of the Indochinese peoples against Communist imperialism or any other threat.

"The joint declaration, to have maximum effectiveness, should approach as closely as possible the guaranties of the Atlantic Charter. As a matter of fact, it should be the Asian equivalent of that historic document."

The treaty of mutual defense between the United States and the Philippines provides for consultations "whenever in the opinion of either of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of either of the parties is threatened by external armed attack in the Pacific." Even without this treaty provision, the special relations existing between our two countries would have required consultations for joint action in the face of the rising Communist menace in southeast Asia.

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The conflict in southeast Asia involves not merely rich lands and strategic territories. It involves human beings and their God-given aspirations to a better life in larger freedom. President Magsaysay, therefore, recognizes that Philippine participation in any joint action against the Communist threat in Indochina must have as powerful a justification as the relentless campaign which is being pursued at home under his personal direction against the internal enemies of the country's freedom and security. If, as may eventually be necessary, such joint action should require direct military cooperation, then it must be made clear to the Filipino people that such action is being undertaken not merely against something but for something, namely, the right of the Indochinese peoples to freedom and independence.

The tradition and history of the Filipino people would require this political motivation as a necessary precondition for the united action that is contemplated in southeast Asia. I think it is true to say that this would be equally true of the American people, whose own traditions of liberty cannot allow them to ignore the fundamental right of self-determination which lies at the heart of the Indochina conflict.

It has been said that there is need for an Asian equivalent of NATO in Europe. The comparison is based on what appears to be considerations of a strictly military character. President Magsaysay has made what is undoubtedly a most pertinent observation regarding this proposal. While recognizing the importance of arrangements that might be made to insure the military security of the region, he has introduced the political element which alone can give meaning to any security arrangements in southeast Asia. Instead of invoking NATO, he has gone somewhat farther back in history to invoke the Atlantic Charter. He is thus the first statesman to refer to a document which enshrined the ideals of the Allied Powers of World War II and to insist that those ideals be made applicable to Asia.

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I stress these two statements on a burning international topic of the day because it shows Ramon Magsaysay in a new light and it throws into bold relief what the New Look in the Philippines really is. Here is a man of the people, one who sprung from the masses, who with his native intuition and unalloyed patriotism, senses an imminent danger to his country. He did not pussyfoot. He acted. He knows that his country cannot be secure with the forces of communism on the rampage in Asia. And as one of the first truly Asian leaders—he is of pure Malayan stock—elected overwhelmingly in an uncontaminated popular election—he strikes at the root of the Asian revolution and speaking for the masses whence he came proposes the equivalent of the Atlantic Charter for Asia.

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On a smaller stage, yet one just as significant, Magsaysay is fighting for the salvation of his people. The issue as he sees it is not the danger of disunion, or only partly that. It is the disrupting influence of international communism that Magsaysay sees as the great problem, the major threat to his people—because he has fought the Communists and he knows what they want, and what their program means. His devotion to the basic principle of serving the people is closely linked with his conviction that communism constitutes the greatest threat to the people. As he sees the problem in an unorthodox way, so he tackles his solutions. Like Lincoln, or should I say, after the manner of Lincoln, he is not governing by the book. He writes his own book, and in doing so he gives democracy a deeper meaning, a stronger implementation.

Because of this he has won his people's faith—and he is strengthening it daily. To our older people he has opened a vista which brings to them the memories of the days when they believed in a government that was their government. To the youngest of them he brings the New Look, which in its essence is a reaffirmation of the basic principle of democracy: That the governed alone have the power to consent to government.

Continued Need for Agricultural Research and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted at this time to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received today from Mr. Bruno E. Schroeder, of the Texas Federation of Cooperatives.

Mr. Schroeder refers graphically to the continued need for agricultural research and education. He observes that the authorized sum of over $29 million for vocational education has never been actually appropriated and that this year a further cut of 6.4 percent in the appropriation has been scheduled in the budget.

Noting that the State of Texas spends $5 for every $1 of Federal funds for vocational education, Mr. Schroeder urges that this reduction not be made.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXAS FEDERATION OF COOPERATIVES,
Austin, Tex., April 23, 1954.

The Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
United States Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR JOHNSON: It is my understanding that the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture is now considering the agricultural appropriation bill which was passed on the floor of the House last week. As you know, there are those who are attempting to cut the direct cash appropriations and the loan authorizations for agriculture.

Of course I am vitally interested in the overall appropriation bill but at this time I would like to direct your attention to a specific segment of the bill—namely, the appropriations for agricultural research and education.

The total authorized George-Barden funds for vocational education under the 1946 act were $29,300,000. The total amount has never been appropriated for the reason that the large veteran appropriations for GI training were authorized and used to supplement the vocational agriculture funds because of the large number of veterans who enrolled in the schools. Within the last year the veteran attendance has declined to a few percent of the large previous enrollment. At the same time the available funds have also declined, and the George-Barden funds have not been increased by the Federal Government.

With regard to the George-Barden funds for vocational education, the budget this year carries a 6.4-percent cut over last year. This amounts to $1,173,261 from last year's appropriation of $18,673,261, leaving a total of $17½ million budgeted for next year.

In many areas in Texas the schools are unable to meet the demands for vocational education. Many schools have only 1 vocational agriculture teacher, when they should have perhaps 3 or 4. Further cut in appropriations along with the increasing enrollment means that the percentage of unfulfilled desires for vocational education will increase greatly. In Texas the State is spending approximately $5 for vocational education for every $1 spent by the Federal Government.

In the face of our agricultural problems today we need more research and education as a possible solution.

I sincerely urge you to lend your support in opposition to any reductions in the appropriations for vocational education and toward an increase to the amount as called for in the original George-Barden fund under the 1946 act.

Sincerely yours,
BRUNO E. SCHROEDER.

Cambodia: Key to Victory in Indochina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MIKE MANSFIELD
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Key to Victory in Indochina—Cambodia, With Self-Rule, Unites Against Reds," published in the U. S. News & World Report of April 30, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEY TO VICTORY IN INDOCHINA—CAMBODIA, WITH SELF-RULE, UNITES AGAINST REDS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The King of Cambodia is winning his war against Communists in Indochina. His formula: Independence for his people. He talked the French into pulling out. Now his army is growing. Enemy troops are deserting, coming over to his side. The Cambodians, after 6 months of self-rule, are disproving France's arguments against freedom for the Indochinese.)

PNOMPENH, CAMBODIA.—A key to the puzzle of how to stop the Communists in Southeast Asia without putting United States troops into the fight may be turning up in this remote corner of Indochina.

Cambodia is doing an impressive job against the Communists on its own—without the help of French forces or the massive United States military aid that is going into the war in neighboring Vietnam.

A year ago Communist-led rebels were a real threat to this country—second in size of the three Indochinese States. Six months ago the Cambodians bargained and bullied their way to virtual independence from France. Now the Communists are losing popular support almost by the hour and Cambodia's Army is stronger and more loyal than at any time since the start of the Indochinese war.

The Cambodians claim they have disproved practically every French argument opposing immediate independence for the peoples of Indochina.

The French were arguing along these lines 6 months ago:

Cambodia lacked a civil service to run the country efficiently. French troops were needed to put down insurrections and fight off Communist raids from neighboring Vietnam. Immediate independence would reduce Cambodia to economic chaos and political anarchy. Cambodia, if independent, would refuse to support the rest of Indochina in the war against the Communists.

What has actually happened since Cambodia got self-rule is this:

Almost all factions in the country have sworn allegiance to King Norodom Sihanouk and are serving in his army. Bands of Communist-let Viet Minh still operate inside the country, but the Government and the people are taking a much tougher attitude toward the Communists, not only in Cambodia but in the rest of Indochina. Cambodian troops are still fighting alongside the French Union forces in Laos and Vietnam. The Cambodians are learning how to run their own affairs, and appear to be doing quite well at it.

On top of all this, the feeling against the French has declined noticeably in Cambodia and there is a better-than-even chance that France will be able to hold many, if not all, of its economic interests here if the Communists are finally defeated in Indochina.

One argument that remains between France and Cambodia is how fast and how thoroughly King Norodom's military force should be armed. The country is drafting men between the ages of 20 and 25 years to build the present army of 22,000 up to a maximum of 40,000. Half the national budget—about 24 million dollars—is being spent on defense.

But the French are not helping much. Until last year they refused to recruit a large Cambodian Army for fear it would revolt and turn against the French forces. Even now King Norodom is still appealing in vain for French 75-millimeter field-artillery pieces and for observation and scouting planes. Laos, with a military budget only a tenth as large as Cambodia's gets the same amount of American arms from the French as Cambodia gets.

Despite these handicaps, King Norodom appears to be doing all right without the French.

A year ago, bands of so-called freedom fighters were roaming the countryside, gathering supporters and threatening revolution. Many were former French Union soldiers who had deserted. Several of their leaders had direct links with the Viet Minh and were receiving supplies and advice from the Communists. After Cambodia won self-rule and French forces were withdrawn, more than 6,000 of the freedom fighters surrendered to the King. Their officers and best soldiers are now serving in the Cambodian Army, fighting the Communists they once followed.

Independence has not ended the threat to Cambodia. The King admits frankly that the Communists may never be completely crushed in his country until they are eliminated in neighboring Vietnam. About 6,000 Communist troops are still operating in Cambodia. They came in originally claiming they were liberating the country from French control. But they stayed on after French forces were withdrawn, and now the Cambodians are fighting the Communists as foreign invaders.

Fighting still flares intermittently, and the countryside is far from secure. In many areas travel is unsafe without a military escort. The King intends to increase the forces defending the fields and villages, but he is handicapped by the shortage of arms. His small-arms factory at Battambang turns out relatively few weapons. Thailand has helped out with a gift of 2,000 rifles, and the government has bought a few more, but there still aren't enough to go around. The 20,000-man home guard, for example, has only 5,000 guns.

The King: Getting the weapons—or anything else, for that matter—is up to the King. He is, by all odds, the key figure in this tiny country that is no larger than the State of Missouri. Most of his subjects are illiterate peasants who have absolute faith in their ruler. If it doesn't rain at the proper time, the Cambodians believe the King has displeased heaven and that he can intercede with the gods to change the weather.

At 31, King Norodom is an expert at political maneuvering. In the years of unrest and turmoil after World War II, he sat on the fence as well as the throne—talking about independence but not doing much about it. He moved quickly, however, once it became clear that the Communists were developing into a threat to his throne. He jumped off the political fence and hurried to Paris, demanding full and immediate freedom. He even threatened to join the Communist-led Viet Minh unless France agreed to give up its hold on his country.

He won. In the end, Cambodia was given full control over its army, except for three battalions fighting under the French elsewhere in Indochina. The Cambodians took over direction of their own courts and police systems. Their country, technically, still is in the French Union but, practically, it is an independent kingdom at last.

At first meeting, King Norodom does not appear to be a powerful personality. He has many of the attributes of a playboy monarch. He maintains court dancers to entertain visitors with the classic, stylized Cambodian dances—but he personally prefers jam sessions with his own palace orchestra, in which he plays saxophone. The bachelor king—a father of 10 children—has written the scripts for, directed, and acted in a number of palace-produced movies, most of them slapstick comedies.

The near-dictatorial powers he now enjoys do not lessen the long-range problems Norodom faces. His country is rich in raw materials, but it is underpopulated and the people are backward. There is an awesome shortage of technicians and trained Government workers. Cambodia has a good balance of trade, with exports—mainly rubber and rice—balancing imports almost exactly. Rice production could be increased, but the typical Cambodian sees no profit in working much harder so long as he is able to eat.

The Cambodians like the feeling of independence and they want to keep their country that way—free from domination by the French, the Communists, or anybody else. What gives this fact worldwide importance now is that Cambodia occupies a vital strategic position in the fighting in Southeast Asia.

The country is bounded on the east by Vietnan, much of which is dominated by Communist armies. To the north is Laos, which has been invaded by Communists. And on the west is Thailand—nervous and unhappy whenever the Communists move close to their border.

The question is whether the affable Cambodians—content to live in their tiny stilt-legged huts dotting the fertile countryside—are capable of defending this strategic crossroads. That question has yet to be answered, but one thing is certain: They are going at the job with much more enthusiasm, energy, and success now as an independent nation than they ever did when the French were governing their country.

The Water Problem in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is encouraging to note that the people of my State of Texas are devoting hard study to the vitally important problem of water supply. They are aware of the serious truth of the admonition that "we must store up water or starve."

That awareness is shown not only in official efforts of the State government and local government units to bring about a solution of the Texas water problem but also in expressions by the people generally.

During any given week, I receive several hundred letters from Texans expressing concern about the Texas water problem and offering suggestions for meeting it.

This morning, for example, my mail contained a letter from J. C. Powell, who lives in the country near Austin, Tex. Mr. Powell has taken a long, realistic look at this problem. I commend to the Senators wrestling with similar problems in their own States one of the conclusions reached by Mr. Powell.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for a portion of the letter from Mr. J. C. Powell, of Route 6, Austin, Tex., to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the portion of the letter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The ideal in water control must necessarily be correlated with soil erosion.

Such control must, to be most effective and thorough, be begun at or near the source of water runoff; namely, just below the divides. Dams and the proper vegetation must be placed carefully from the divides to the mouths of the big rivers, with a pur-

pose of controlling both water runoff and soil erosion.

Control at the mouth of a river is impossible unless control has been well established all the way from the divides to the river mouth.

Our large dams and lakes behind them, with their valuable hydroelectric plants, are very temporary things in our Nation's history unless we minimize the vast erosive forces in the watershed of those lakes. The sediment from erosion will quickly convert these beautiful lakes into little more than vast level plains of sediment covered with a shallow sheet of water.

The vast reservoir that exists today will soon be vast only in square feet of surface. The depth will be lost, and with the loss in depth will be lost much of the lake's capacity to store up water and to control floods that threaten the valley below the dam.

Record of Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator JOHNSON'S Record," published in the Houston Chronicle of April 23, 1954. The editorial deals with the record of the distinguished minority leader the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON]. And what a magnificent record Senator JOHNSON of Texas has made and is making in the United States Senate. Members of the Senate will recall that this splendid newspaper is published by Jesse Jones, one of America's really great men.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR JOHNSON'S RECORD

Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S effective service to the State and Nation during his first term in the Senate entitles him to a second term. He has proved a capable leader and has enhanced the prestige of Texas in the Federal Government.

His usefulness is indicated by his unprecedented accomplishment of being elected Democratic leader in the Senate during his first term. His position was further strengthened when the Democrats gained the one-vote majority that they have in the Senate. While Mr. JOHNSON has the title of minority leader in the upper body, he might well be regarded as the leader of the Senate. His powerful stature places Texas in an advantageous position in Federal affairs which should be retained. It can be retained by electing Senator JOHNSON to a second term.

Texans now hold leadership posts in both Houses of Congress, since former Speaker SAM RAYBURN is the minority leader in the House of Representatives. Never before has Texas achieved this distinctive and beneficial position.

The friendship and respect that Senator JOHNSON won for himself during his 12 years in the House of Representatives enabled him to rise to prominence quickly in the Senate.

The Chronicle did not support Mr. JOHNSON in 1948, when he gave up his seat in the House to run for the Senate post being vacated by W. Lee O'Daniel. But like many others who opposed him in 1948, the Chronicle believes that Mr. JOHNSON has made a good Senator. He has followed a generally conservative course, supporting much of the Eisenhower legislation, but opposing that which he felt was against the best interest of the country. Although a stanch Democrat, he has risen above partisan politics in his role as minority leader.

Opinion Poll Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. J. CRUMPACKER, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Mr. Speaker, for the past several weeks I have been conducting an opinion poll among the citizens of the Third Congressional District of Indiana on eight questions dealing with President Eisenhower's 1954 legislative program and other issues of vital interest to all Americans.

My objectives in sponsoring this referendum—the third I have conducted in as many years—were threefold:

First. To promote responsible citizenship by stimulating the widest possible discussion and understanding of major legislative issues of current concern;

Second. To determine in broad terms, for my own benefit, the attitudes and opinions of my constituents on these issues; and

Third. To enable me to present to Congress, for its consideration during debate over these issues, the views of an important segment of the voting population.

Questionnaires were mailed in mid-March to a substantial cross section of voters in the four northern Indiana counties I represent—St. Joseph, Elkhart, La Porte, and Marshall. To insure complete coverage, the newspapers of my district were invited to publish the questions as a public service and ask their readers to clip them and send them to me with their answers. I am happy to report that nearly 20 newspapers—including every major daily in the district—cooperated.

The response has been more than gratifying. A total of 21,483 ballots—including mail and newspaper—have been returned to date, and they are still coming in.

This compares with approximately 12,000 ballots returned in my 1952 poll and 15,172 returns in the referendum I conducted last year.

The results of my 1954 poll, as tabulated by the IBM service bureau, an impartial private concern, are listed below. Within the limitations of any survey of this nature, they reflect the current attitude of responsible citizens of the Third Indiana District. Their views are of timely significance as Congress, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, proceeds with the active consideration of these issues.

[Percent]

	Yes	No	No opinion
Do you believe that Congress should—			
1. Extend social-security coverage to all persons gainfully employed?	71	21	8
2. Strip citizenship rights from Americans convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Government?	93	4	3
3. Amend the Taft-Hartley Act to provide for secret, Government-supervised strike votes?	60	26	14
4. Make the Post Office Department self-supporting by increasing postal rates?	62	28	10
5. Adopt a constitutional amendment voiding treaties which deprive citizens of any constitutional right?	59	19	22
6. Shift farm price supports from fixed to flexible levels as advocated by the President?	76	12	12
7. Increase personal tax exemptions from $600 to $700 even if this leaves the budget unbalanced?	50	45	5
8. Grant 18-year-olds the right to vote?	42	52	6

On some of the questions a separate tabulation of responses by occupation groups was made. Here, for example, is how the farmers of my district voted on question No. 6:

Should Congress shift farm price supports from fixed to flexible levels as advocated by the President?

	Percent
Yes	62
No	32
No opinion	6

In my 1953 poll, in response to a similar question, third district farmers voted to end fixed price supports by a margin of 57 percent to 37 percent, with 6 percent expressing no opinion.

On the question of reducing taxes even at the expense of a balanced budget there apparently has been a decided shift of opinion during the past year.

Here was the response in my 1953 poll to the following question:

Should Congress balance the budget before reducing taxes?

	Percent
Yes	71
No	23
Don't know	6

As an indication of changing sentiment it is interesting to compare the above vote with the response to this question in my 1954 poll:

Should Congress increase personal tax exemptions from $600 to $700 even if this leaves the budget unbalanced?

	Percent
Yes	50
No	45
No opinion	5

In order to stimulate interest in public affairs among future citizens I again

conducted a separate poll this year among high school students of my district. Students of nearly 30 high schools were polled by their instructors, after a discussion of the questions, and the results by classes were reported to my office.

A year ago 2,294 students from 20 high schools participated in similar survey. A total of 4,227 students took part in this year's poll—nearly double the 1953 figure. Here are the results of the 1954 high school poll which reveal, among other things, that students differ sharply with their parents on the question of lowering the voting age to 18 years.

[Percent]

	Yes	No	No opinion
Do you believe that Congress should—			
1. Extend social-security coverage to all persons gainfully employed?	73	17	10
2. Strip citizenship rights from Americans convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Government?	90	6	4
3. Amend the Taft-Hartley Act to provide for secret, Government-supervised strike votes?	45	29	26
4. Make the Post Office Department self-supporting by increasing postal rates?	38	52	10
5. Adopt a constitutional amendment voiding treaties which deprive citizens of any constitutional rights?	49	26	25
6. Shift farm-price supports from fixed to flexible levels as advocated by the President?	64	16	20
7. Increase personal tax exemptions from $600 to $700 even if this leaves the budget unbalanced?	54	36	10
8. Grant 18-year-olds the right to vote?	66	29	5

Many voters this year found it difficult to give arbitrary yes or no answers to all of the questions. More than half of those participating wrote letters or added comments to their ballots explaining or qualifying their replies. These letters and comments were very much appreciated and I regret that it was not possible—due to the limitations of my office staff—to reply to all of them personally.

Damage to American Petroleum Industry From Excessive Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a recent article in the Forth Worth Star-Telegram, written by Mr. LeRoy Menzing, oil editor of that great Texas newspaper, contains facts on the results of excessive imports of foreign crude oil which ought to be made known to all Americans concerned with our national security.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Damage being done to the domestic producing industry, particularly Texas, by the high level of imports has been pointed up in recent statements by oil industry officials.

Included among the industry leaders who warned of ill effects arising from imports were:

Ernest O. Thompson, chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission.

Walter S. Hallanan, president of Plymouth Oil Co., and chairman of National Petroleum Council.

John G. Pew, vice president of Sun Oil Co., and also of the American Petroleum Institute's production division.

Hines H. Baker, president of Humble Oil & Refining Co., Nation's largest domestic producer.

The attacks of Thompson and Pew were made at industry gatherings, while Hallanan and Baker blasted imports in annual reports to stockholders.

On the heels of these statements came the reduction last week in the Texas allowable for May, slashed after increases during 3 of the first 4 months of the year.

Thompson told the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association at Houston:

"It is hauntedly necessary that something be done to protect the reserve oil we (United States) have built up for national defense."

He suggested as an import policy one that is geared to the rise and fall in demand.

He told TIPRO that "the administration has given close study to this problem to see that imports do not supplant domestic oil.

"It is suggested that the importers be told emphatically by the administration that it is desirable that imports be not increased except in the percentage that demand for oil increases and that if demand should decrease that then each importer reduce his imports by that percentage.

"Thus if demand in 1954 increases 4 percent, as is predicted, then imports could be increased by 4 percent, but not any greater than that. This would mean an increase of about 40,000 barrels in imports and 250,000 barrels daily in domestic production.

"The administration is well aware that our security depends on a good reserve daily oil-producing ability, say 1 million barrels at most efficient rates, producing each day instead of 18 days as we now are doing in Texas.

"This reserve can only be maintained by a prosperous oil-producing industry.

"That is why the 27½ percent depletion allowance can be successfully defended.

"I believe firmly that this approach is far better than the resort to law or quotas."

Hallanan pointed to the fact that while domestic demand went up 4.8 percent in 1953, production within the United States increased only 3.3 percent before declaring:

"At the same time, the output of Iraq increased 48.1 percent and that of Kuwait 15.4 percent. Production in the free world outside of the United States was up 15.1 percent. This imbalance between increased consumption and the increase in domestic production was of much larger proportions in the closing months of 1953, as well as in the first 2 months of 1954, than are reflected in the overall percentages for the last year."

In this connection, statistics show crude imports east of California increased 38,600 barrels per day during the 13 weeks ended March 27 over the comparable 1953 period. Those in the United States increased 47,300 barrels daily.

In his report, Hallanan declared "this competition of oil from the Middle East, where production is unrestrained, where dry holes are almost nonexistent, and where operating costs are much lower than in the United States, was dramatized in late February of this year when a tanker unloaded 100,000 barrels of Saudi Arabian oil in Houston.

"'This delivery was made in a State which produces 40 percent of our domestic output, and where, at the time of delivery, the industry was permitted only 15 days of allowable production during the month.

"'The unfairness of this competitive situation and its inevitably serious adverse effect upon the domestic industry is further portrayed by the fact that only 40 wells in Saudi Arabia produce more oil than all of the 17,003 wells drilled in Texas last year.

"'The daily average production per well in Saudi Arabia is 6,257 barrels, as compared to less than 13 barrels in this country. It costs no more to operate a well producing 6,000 barrels daily than it does a 10-barrel 'stripper.'"

Pew told the Rocky Mountain producing division of the API that as evidence of the fact imports are supplanting rather than supplementing domestic production "imports have risen from 377,200 barrels a day in 1946 to 1,049,700 barrels a day in 1953, an increase of 178 percent.

"According to a recent Bureau of Mines forecast, imports will rise another 46,000 barrels a day in 1954.

"As a result of this great increase in the size of imports, many domestic wells cannot be operated at peak rates consistent with sound conservation requirements.

"States—notably Texas—have restricted the rates at which wells can be produced. This prevents waste, which is beneficial to all, but unfortunately it also, in effect, makes possible the supplanting of domestic production by imports. And that is precisely what is occurring."

Pew also referred to the unloading of foreign oil at Houston, which he said represented a day's production from approximately 5,000 average Texas wells.

"The situation is plain to see," continued Pew. "Because of high rates of production, Middle East oil can undersell domestic oil, particularly at refineries along the seaboard.

"The problem grows more critical every day. The restriction of domestic wells cannot provide a long run solution to the import problem. In the first place, as Texas loses position in the market, she will become less and less effective as a counterbalance to expanding imports.

"In the second place, Texas producers cannot long stand the strain of operating at 10 or 15 percent below maximum efficient rates of production. They have rising costs to face and financial obligations to meet.

"They need the income from their wells to maintain and strengthen their ability to safeguard our Nation in the event that a world emergency should result in the loss of oil sources in the uncertain Middle East.

"And in the third place, adjustment of production allowables to domestic demand was never intended as an instrument to counterbalance excessive imports. This practice was adopted in some States as a conservation measure designed to husband our resources below ground and to end above ground waste.

"* * * But still, the fact remains, the reduction of allowables below maximum efficient rates, although sound in principle and valuable in practice as an internal measure, does unfortunately add up to conceding the

domestic market to imports without a fight."

Baker told his stockholders that "imports increased in 1953 even though reserve producing capacity exceeds 1 million barrels daily and despite the fact that a number of circumstances made it necessary to curtail domestic production during the year, particularly in Texas.

"In this situation, imports were higher than needed."

Birthday Tribute to Judson King, Director, National Popular Government League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
OF MONTANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, April 23, 1954

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, today the birthday of a man who has rendered long years of effective service in the public interest is being celebrated by his many friends. I refer to the 82d birthday of Judson King, director of the National Popular Government League.

Mr. King was a pioneer—a valiant one—with Gifford Pinchot and others in the early days of the conservation struggle to prevent further ravishment of our natural resources, and with Senator Norris in the long fight to create and protect TVA. His work in behalf of REA and other programs is likewise widely known.

Mr. King is still doing original research and brilliant writing. A recent example of his work is found in an article appearing in the April issue of Public Power, which sets forth in detail the actual dollar reimbursements into the Federal Treasury from such Federal public power projects as TVA, Bonneville, Hoover Dam, and REA. It is a complete refutation of the current private power companies' propaganda.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have Mr. King's article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRIVATE RATES AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT—UNCLE SAM GETS BACK INVESTMENT WHILE COMPANIES GET RATE GRANTS

(By Judson King, director, National Popular Government League)

For many years now—so that I can easily recall—the American people have been assured of the superiority of privately owned but publicly regulated power systems over municipal and Government systems. Of late the cordial radio spokesman for the companies, who accompanies Corliss Archer and her boy friend in their romantic adventures, constantly informs us that electric service is the cheapest thing in the family budget.

I am possessed of a trustful disposition, hence it was disconcerting when studying the annual statistical number of Electrical World (January 17), voice of the private industry, to come across a page titled "Regulation" and filled with tables which, when analyzed, showed that during the past 6 years State commissions had made 333 "grants" to private companies which upped private rates to a total annual collection by around $316,000,000.

More specifically, the known increases from 1946 to 1953, inclusive, were $216 million. It is not out of line to add $100 million for the 123 unknown, hence the above figure. There were 34 applications pending as of December 31, of which the 24 known totaled $52 million and if we add a modest $20 million for the 10 unknown we have a further uppage of around $72 million in 1954.

My curiosity was aroused. For years it has been legendary that public rates have been far below private rates as a general rule. But expenses had gone up, perhaps rates had also. Calling up the editor of Public Power I was promptly informed that with minor exceptions there had been no such general increase in retail rates among the 2,400 municipal plants of the Nation. Official reports and personal inquiry disclosed the same fact respecting Federal and State power systems, public power districts and the REA co-ops.

Then the question came: Why this startling contrast? It lay, of course, principally in two different systems of finance. Public systems set rates to meet fixed charges and operating expense on the actual cash spent on the projects and to amortize the investment. Private systems in the past have been found to contain watered stock, and even today none of them amortize.

I reflected that for a quarter century and longer private utility spokesmen had been warning us against the Federal Government increasing the national debt by spending the money of the Nation's taxpayers on projects like TVA, leaving the distinct impression that no repayments were being made, and that millions of people believe this shameless falsehood.

I began to wonder how much the United States Treasury had gotten back on these so-called spending sprees. I put the question to a top expert in the Department. He replied that no such cumulative figure was available. It was a huge amount, but would take weeks to figure it.

Blocked there, I sought a few samples to get some idea of the amount of actual cash entered on the books as repayments. Following are official figures on four projects much in the headlines:

Tennessee Valley Authority: "In the fiscal year (June 30, 1953) TVA paid $10 million into the United States Treasury general fund and retired $5 million in bonds, bringing total repayments of power investment to more than $81 million. * * * TVA is ahead of schedule on repayments" (annual report, p. 9). A statement on January 15, 1954, showed the grand total from power proceeds to be $93,600,000. But, in addition, $214 million of said power proceeds, not tagged "Repayments," had been plowed back into new construction.

Columbia River power system: "Repayment of the Federal investment in the power system continues well ahead of schedule. Total cash receipts of $292,782,000 returned to the Treasury through June 30, 1953, have covered operation and maintenance expenses of $74,865,000 and interest expense of $72,060,000, leaving $145,857,000 repaid on the capital investment * * * 19.6 percent of the power capital investment on the Columbia Basin project" (1953 report, p. 11).

Boulder Canyon project: "The repayment record for the Boulder Canyon project shows that for the 15-year period through May 31, 1952, approximately $70,456,000 has been repaid to the United States Treasury * * *. This is, of course, after paying operation and maintenance expenses of $35,380,000 and payments to the States of Arizona and Nevada and to the Colorado River development fund, totaling $16,500,000." (Special statement by Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.)

Rural Electrification Administration: As of January 1, 1954, the amount due from 1,079 borrowers stood at $407,100,000. Total repaid $468,500,000. That is, the farmers are $61,400,000 ahead of contract requirements. (Official figures not yet printed. See also Statistical Bulletin, No. 152, October 1953.)

So right there I had a handy figure and could say to any Doubting Thomas, "Don't let them kid you. These four projects alone, each of which has been operating less than 20 years, have already returned $443,200,000; all will be repaid within 40 years from the dates the various plants began functioning. If you don't believe it ask Lindsay Warren's boys at the United States General Accounting Office. They audit the books."

Now although statistics are not as interesting as radio music or love stories or magazine ads, bear with me a little longer. Thirty years ago I learned from research experts in Ontario that an electrified home would enable a housewife to do her work in one-half the time and with one-third the bone labor she would expend without such aid. Since I have always been interested in the Nation's health problem and home security, I verified this statement by many interviews with housewives and it remains fixed in memory.

So when scanning the 1952 report of the Ontario hydroelectric power system, which began operating in 1910 with 14 municipalities connected, I found that a large majority of the 324 now connected were out of debt. This public system has been amortising for over 40 years. And what are the benefits to consumers from the effects of amortization, and the absence of watered stock and other antics of business managers too numerous to mention? Well, 20 years ago, in 1934, the average industrial and commercial costs were already less than one-half our private costs, and domestic service had dropped below 2 cents per kilowatt-hour, when our national average stood at 7.4 cents. Further, since 1946 the domestic average has been at 1.04 cents or less for the Province, but many of the largest and longest connected places reported the domestic average to be from 6 to 9 mills.

Turning to the 1952 Statistical Bulletin of the Edison Electric Institute (p. 43) I found that American railroads were paying private companies 1.05 cents, that is 10.5 mills, to run their trains and shops, with large industries also at 1.05 cents. The residential average stood at 2.77 cents.

There emerged the startling fact that many thousands of Canadian housewives are paying less for service from their public system than American railroads and big industries pay private utilities.

How about the United States? We are on our way. Years ago when investigating the how and why of low Ontario rates I used to say to their engineers: "Our Government power systems when in operation will soon catch up with you." The prediction is coming through faster than I expected.

For example, last year homemakers in the cities and towns of the Tennessee region paid an average of 1.3 cents per kilowatt-hour for electricity; out on the Columbia, 1.34 cents, down on the Colorado, 2.1 cents. As to farmers, the national average for REA co-ops was already down to 3.4 cents for TVA farmers, 2 cents with 1 cent as the fighting objective of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, for all America, which is why they fight for cheap Government wholesale power.

The human side of the picture is this: 250 kilowatt-hours will partially and 500 kilowatt-hours will fully electrify the average home, exclusive of heating. Many millions of middle class and low income families can afford that service when the costs are from $3 to $5 per month, but the lady of the house cannot balance her budget if she has to pay

from $8 to $15. What this means to the health, happiness, culture and security of the family and the Nation, our many public and private health agencies should sharply consider.

Balance-sheet minds which think only in terms of dollar profits will complain that this article does not tell the whole story. True. It would be worse for them if it did, including the truth about taxes. Kindly remember that I set out to demonstrate three things only: Private rates are going up by millions; public rates remain relatively stable, and Uncle Sam is getting his money back. Done.—Q. E. D.

Finally the American people might reflect that when all municipal and Federal power-plants are amortized and rates are still lower, that they have paid and will continue to pay to kingdom come dividends on the $25 billion enterprising gentlemen claim to have invested in privately owned electric facilities today.

Social Security Act Changes Covering Public Employees Should Be Very Carefully Spelled Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to include at this time a resolution recently adopted in the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts relative to any proposed changes in the Social Security Act to include public employees. The resolution follows:

Whereas the matter of extension of Federal Social Security to public employees in positions covered under existing retirement systems, State and local, through the amendment of section 218 (d) of the 1950 Social Security Act, has been proposed and is now under consideration by the Congress of the United States; and

Whereas the public employees now covered in existing retirement systems do definitely and unalterably oppose any detrimental change to their existing coverage and at the same time desire that provisions of some type be made to cover public employees not now covered in a retirement system: Therefore be it

Resolved, That any amendments to the existing Social Security Act should provide in detail the conditions under which any such extension to public employees should be permitted; and be it further

Resolved, That both active and retired members of such existing retirement systems shall be guaranteed any benefits enjoyed at the time of the enactment of such legislation without diminution or impairment; and be it further

Resolved, That in case of such extension or integration, the members shall be assured that the benefits of such combined plan are equal to or better than those of the existing retirement system; and be it further

Resolved, That such on extension should be limited to those retirement systems in which at least two-third of the active members vote in the affirmative to accept a plan for coordinating their retirement system with the Federal social security program; and be it further

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts hereby urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation providing that no Commonwealth or State having a retirement system shall be required to have its employees brought under the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, unless two-thirds of the members of the retirement system of such Commonwealth or State approve of such action; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the State secretary to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

Adopted, house of representatives, March 10, 1954.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, *Clerk.*

Adopted in concurrence, senate, March 16, 1954.

IRVING N. HAYDEN, *Clerk.*

A true copy. Attest:

EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Education for Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Adm. Arthur Radford, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, before the 100th anniversary convocation of the University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y., on April 9, 1954:

EDUCATION FOR SECURITY

It is with great pleasure that I participate tonight in your hundredth anniversary convocation. I wish to salute the university system of the State of New York, and the fine democratic traditions which it exemplifies.

From the official position which I occupy I am able to survey American education with detachment, but with an interest and a concern fully as great as yours. During our lifetimes, you and I have witnessed tremendous changes in knowledge and its application. We, in the military service, have had to make enormous adjustments in order to avoid being caught a war and a half behind. Undoubtedly, you educators, since your undergraduate days, have had to experience much this same intellectual adjustment, particularly in the sciences.

There is a definite relationship between the two, between education and national security. This evening provides a timely occasion for me to discuss this relationship with you, particularly in its application to collective allied security. By collective security I really mean the same thing as teamwork and unified effort. I mean security in conjunction with our allies.

Our Government is clearly committed to participation in a major community effort among free nations for collective defense and the preservation of security. In this community effort, the mantle of leadership, whether we like it or not, rests upon the shoulders of the United States. Such leadership is, in turn, the responsibility of the American people inasmuch as, in our democracy, the people rule. This poses to educators a grave responsibility because education develops the attitudes and the abilities in our body politic to make sound judgments. A look at the headlines indicates the gravity and value of making sound judgments.

In the early days of our United States our Founding Fathers established the framework in which freedom could flourish. As representative government grew, these early Americans realized that our democratic processes would have to be free of dependency on the few, and rest on the informed opinion of the majority.

Their philosophy and thinking were reflected, for example, in article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The first sentence of that article reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Thus, in their concept, public schools, offering greater educational opportunity for all, would have to exist.

In making education common to all, and in some sense compulsory for all, the success of our free Republic was assured. This country continued to grow. It adjusted itself to ever-changing conditions of technological advancement and civilized progress. Our standard of living attests to this fact.

None of us can look back upon our own early years and fail to recognize the influences of school, the influences by precept and example of the men and women leading intellectual development in our classrooms. We have felt these influences keenly in our democracy where free people openly discuss the pro and con of issues, and ballot the decisions. As a result, the traditions of this land, "under God" as Lincoln reminded us, are traditions which we are proud to share with others.

Sometimes we seem inclined to take for granted this society where human beings are raised on freedom of thought, where minds are subject to a variety of influences, and they follow no dictated pattern. None of us should take freedom for granted and become self-satisfied. Instead, we should work for it, sacrifice for it, and keep it safe. "Freedom is an inside job," meaning that it is inside everyone of us. Every citizen shares in the responsibility.

That being the case, what can you and I do today to help young people adjust to the present situation and share in this responsibility?

1. We can help them recognize communism as the evil threat it is.

2. We can develop and encourage their long-term support of our security programs. This can come only through understanding what are our security problems, and what has to be done with them.

3. As world conditions change, we can make education keep pace in order that science and engineering—and even more important, the unity and resolution of the United States and free nations—advance so as to insure our future.

4. We can work for freedom. The term "work for freedom," in the sense I use it this evening, is all-inclusive. It blankets the many, many things we can do to help perpetuate our American ideals.

COMMUNIST THREAT

Today, you and I know that there are forces in the world which oppose our American ideals, and our freedom. Those forces constitute a form of evil as tyrannical in its concepts as any ever known. That evil is international communism. If anyone thinks we are not being challenged today, he is either incredibly uninformed or intellectually confused, one or the other.

Communist tactics were described bluntly by Lenin in 1920 when he said: "We have to agree to any sacrifice, and even, if need be, to resort to all sorts of strategem, maneuvers, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges." Today, the drums of Communist hate roll out choruses of harsh invec-

tives and soothing lullabies in an attempt to confuse the issue.

Personally, I see the issue of communism as much more than just a threat of vast military forces on a scale unprecedented in history. I see it as a combination of threats: political, economic, and psychological, as well as military.

Without question, communism is the most important threat to freedom in the world today. It challenges our economic system. It ridicules our political tenets. It rejects our spiritual creed. It disregards the principles of right and wrong. It operates by internal pressures, subversion, and psychological propaganda. In essence, it is based on, and committed to, a system of mass indoctrination and thought control.

Communists proclaim that there is no God or moral law, and they condemn religion because it weakens revolutionary hatred. They recall that Thomas Jefferson said: "The Bible is the cornerstone of liberty"; and they will have none of it. Thus, Communists live without the comfort of spiritual freedom. To me, the militant Communist decrees are a poor substitute for the humbleness of the Lord's Prayer.

In order to bring about this atmosphere under which whole countries and races are mass indoctrinated, certain special conditions must prevail. In particular, it is essential to isolate the region. In the past 15 years, hundreds of millions of people have been dragged from light into darkness. They have been cut off physically, mentally, and spiritually from the rest of the world, and imprisoned where only the party line is tolerated. This has led to the more or less apt term of "curtain," both of the iron and bamboo varieties.

It is hard to realize that behind these "curtains," and elsewhere when possible, this vast effort is underway to cut off the right to think independently. It is so camouflaged that some people do not comprehend it. It is so devious, so brutal, and so abhorrent to our way of life, it is beyond the preoccupation of many. To me, it is a definite hostile challenge.

The answer to the challenge is first, to appraise the menace and understand its evil threat to the world; and second, to take intelligently all necessary positive actions against it.

ALLIED SECURITY

One very positive action taken by our Government is its participation with our allies in the development of a collective system for security. This system is comparable in principle to your system of joining together schools and colleges all over New York State into a community. In the collective-security system, each nation freely shares in community security. Each nation is expected to contribute in accordance with its capabilities and facilities.

You ladies and gentlemen may have heard that emphasis in collective security is on preparedness for the long pull. That means not just for 1 year, but for many years—even a century. History has taught us that aggressors have profited when our security has run the gamut from vast rearmament in emergencies, to weakness in periods of fancied calm. Since it is impossible to forecast precisely the year and the moment of maximum military danger, it is necessary to provide a sturdy collective military posture which can be maintained indefinitely over an extended period of tension.

On a broad basis, the United Nations strives to make collective security effective. The central principle of its charter is that armed aggression is of universal concern, and calls for collective measures of resistance. The Soviet Union, by its veto power, has tried to nullify the program of the United Nations by casting dissenting votes on numerous occasions.

Perhaps the North Atlantic Treaty Organization best exemplifies the collective security concept. It has organized joint forces and joint bases to meet a common threat.

There are other areas where the same concept is developing—in the Western Pacific, in the Middle East, and in the Western Hemisphere. These developments show a growing acceptance of the community security concept. But note well that such developments are more than just military.

To develop a system of effective and strong partners requires a combined program of cooperation. At times, we are called upon to improve our partner's productive capacities, to develop an interchange of strategic materials, to assist them maintain stability of government, to help train their military forces, to help improve their health standards, and to do many other things. Activities, such as these, require skills of a high order. Such skills require men and women who are creative, resourceful, and educated.

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SKILLS

In developing such skills, both for national security and for Allied security, education is important. It is just as important as food, trucks, weapons; just as important as any capital equipment. Remember that an intelligent nation, or groupment of nations, is more likely to be a success politically, militarily, and economically than one which has great material resources but does not know what to do with them.

Successful operation of our international programs has two great effects. It helps to increase the strength of the free nations; and it serves to decrease the burdens upon us.

Yes, in one fashion or another, we must interact internationally with our allies all over the world in order to increase the effectiveness of our unified effort against Communism. How are we to deal with matters as broad as the guidance for supersonic rockets, on the one hand, unless we have people who know something about calculus? How are we to cooperate effectively with the Pakistanis, on the other hand, unless we have people who can speak a little Urdu or Bengali, plus understand a little of the Koran?

The answer is that we must have education which will give us the needed knowledge. In the United States, education must improve our technical competence. It must develop superior abilities in cooperating and working with our allies, improve our managerial skills, and increase our physical health.

Moreover, education should help emphasize the best collective use of free manpower. The hard cold facts indicate that we are actually in a race with the Communists to improve the educational and technological quality of manpower. In such a race, we must stay ahead in quality, particularly if we lag in numbers. It would be fallacious to assume we are qualitatively so far ahead of communism that we can take our lead for granted. It may be that we are ahead. It may be also that the gap is closing. This we cannot afford.

Accordingly, programs for security and for education must continue today, unabated, undiluted, and enthusiastically encouraged. I would lay down as a basic tenet, the fact that American education and American national security go hand in hand; that education is a factor of great military importance. Each is part of the other; each is vital. Each is necessary for survival, and both must be correlated for progress.

In these times, responsible and informed Americans, both in and out of uniform, must have a growing appreciation for, and knowledge of, political, military, economic, and psychological considerations so essential to up-to-date, comprehensive national security policy. Education can help teach this correlation and integration to the young people in our colleges and our high schools.

You ladies and gentlemen are the educators. You are the enlightened. You are, by virtue of the greater knowledge which you possess, more blessed in freedom than others. You are able, more notably, to wield your power and influence on the young. Therefore, you are more than free.

Yes, you are accountable. You are accountable for you use of freedom and your powers to teach—accountable to God, to country, and to yourselves. It is your leadership and patriotism that will instill in young people the understanding that their world is the kind of world it is, only because others fought and died for principles which cannot be sustained by trite lip-service. I think this is a firm and just guideline for our academic system.

To the young person growing up in a country where all the freedoms are accepted facts rather than prizes to be won, the world can too easily seem to be his for the taking, without personal effort. Yet, history and other social sciences have taught us that this is not the case.

WORK FOR FREEDOM

Actually, all of us must work together to help preserve our freedom and our way of life. No one automatically becomes a good citizen simply by birth alone. It is only through the influence of home, church, and school that good citizenship results. It is through education and devotion to its practice.

Therefore, let us work with the youth in such a way that he will have a complete understanding of the rights and the responsibilities of a citizen. Teaching him to recite the Declaration of Independence and the bill of rights by memory, line by line, word for word, is not enough, for you could teach a parrot to do that. Instead, teach him to understand the meaning of it. Then, give him a "bill of responsibilities" to go along with his "bill of rights," and instill in him a spirit of service. Teach him to work for the perpetuation of our American ideals.

I stress these points because out of these youthful hosts must come the men and women who will undertake the future leadership of our Nation, and other free nations. Out of our youth of today must come our citizens of tomorrow, citizens with an increasing awareness of their obligation for serving their country. Indeed, we must make vigorous efforts to provide good education while, at the same time, we guard against the efforts of those who would distort the story of America's greatness.

In essence, the most important aspects of education are those of attitudes and those of objective analysis. If individuals are soundly grounded in their democratic ideals and in their attitudes of duty to their country, and if they are able to analyze objectively our major problems, we are sure to perpetuate the fundamentals which made this country great. There can be no compromise, no halfway measures, in the preservation of these United States. It must be all or there is nothing left for us.

To help keep the United States and our allies secure, we in the military need your approval and help. In this period of continuing tension, the responsibility of our copartners, the schools, the churches, and the homes, becomes greater, not smaller. Leadership in moral, spiritual, and physical qualities becomes more essential than ever.

It is imperative that academic institutions, which address themselves to the development of the leadership in our youth, should carry on within the broad framework of our national and international responsibilities. It is education's responsibility to point the way to an America that is greater than ever.

How Would You Vote?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT H. BOSCH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following questionnaire which I intend to send to my constituency:

HOW WOULD YOU VOTE?

DEAR VOTER: This questionnaire is an endeavor to obtain the frank opinions of the constituents in my congressional district. I should like you to carefully consider the propounded questions and to then exercise your freedom of expression, as though you were the Congressman. It appears to me to be the one way in which you, the people, can make known your feeling on these national and international problems.

I deeply appreciate the interest and consideration which you evidence in responding to these various questions of public interest.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. Do you favor the United States joining a world government? Yes ☐ No ☐
2. Has United States participation in the United Nations been worthwhile? Yes ☐ No ☐
3. Should economic aid to Europe be increased? Yes ☐ No ☐ Decreased? Yes ☐ No ☐ Discontinued? Yes ☐ No ☐
4. Do you favor continued military aid to Europe? Yes ☐ No ☐
5. Do you favor admission of Communist China to the United Nations? Yes ☐ No ☐
6. Should we help the French in Indochina with war supplies? Yes ☐ No ☐ With American troops, ships, and planes? Yes ☐ No ☐
7. Do you favor additional American expenditures under point 4 for the development of backward nations? Yes ☐ No ☐
8. Do you favor an absolute free trade policy? Yes ☐ No ☐
9. Should tariffs be high enough to protect American industries? Yes ☐ No ☐
10. Do you favor limited exchange of atomic information with our allies? Yes ☐ No ☐

MILITARY

11. Do you favor universal military training while we are still subject to the draft? Yes ☐ No ☐
12. Are you satisfied we are getting more defense for less money under the present administration? Yes ☐ No ☐
13. Do you believe there is a strong present probability of an H-bomb attack on American cities by the Reds? Yes ☐ No ☐
14. Would you rearm Japan and Germany? Yes ☐ No ☐

DOMESTIC

15. Do you believe there are still numerous Communist agents in our Federal Government? Yes ☐ No ☐
16. Do you support Senator JOE MCCARTHY's fight against subversives? Yes ☐ No ☐
17. Do you believe that active communism within the United States today is a real live threat to American freedom? Yes ☐ No ☐
18. Should the Communist Party be outlawed? Yes ☐ No ☐
19. Do you approve of President Eisenhower's record thus far? Yes ☐ No ☐
20. On the following list of accomplishments by the present administration and Congress, please mark the three which you consider most important:

(1) Korean fighting stopped. ☐
(2) Personal income taxes cut 10 percent. Excess-profits tax ended. ☐ Excise taxes cut. ☐
(3) 1954 appropriations cut $14 billion. ☐
(4) 180,000 Government jobs abolished. ☐
(5) Crackdown on Reds, racketeers, and alien criminals. 800 deported. ☐
(6) Honesty, integrity, and efficiency restored. ☐
(7) Stronger defense at less cost. Heavier reliance on atomic and H-bomb weapons and airpower. ☐
(8) Foreign aid reduced. ☐
(9) Segregation ending in armed services, VA hospitals, Government agencies, etc. ☐
(10) Groundwork laid for expanding and improving social security. ☐

21. Would you like to see the administration more conservative? Yes ☐ No ☐ More liberal? Yes ☐ No ☐
22. Do you favor the objectives of the Bricker amendment? Yes ☐ No ☐
23. Do you favor the plan to eliminate overlapping and duplication of taxes by Federal Government, States, and cities (i. e., gasoline, tobacco, income)? Yes ☐ No ☐
24. Should there be more congressional investigations? Yes ☐ No ☐
25. Do you favor development of Niagara waterpower by private capital? Yes ☐ No ☐ New York State? Yes ☐ No ☐ Federal Government? Yes ☐ No ☐

SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE

26. Do you favor any Federal aid for education? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, do you favor such aid for children attending nonpublic schools where the laws of the States of residence permit? Yes ☐ No ☐
27. Do you favor Federal old-age pensions of $100 per month for persons 60 years or over? Yes ☐ No ☐
28. Do you favor the Bosch bill providing for an increase in the minimum benefit payable under social security to $75 per month, reducing the age to 60 years, and eliminating the limitation on outside earnings after 60 years of age? Yes ☐ No ☐
29. Do you favor a national compulsory health insurance plan supported by additional payroll taxes? Yes ☐ No ☐
30. Do you favor more federally subsidized, tax-exempt public housing? Yes ☐ No ☐

AGRICULTURE

31. Do you favor elimination of the price-support program for farmers? Yes ☐ No ☐

LABOR

32. Should the Taft-Hartley law be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐ Strengthened? Yes ☐ No ☐ Weakened? Yes ☐ No ☐
33. Do you favor an increase in the minimum-wage law? Yes ☐ No ☐

VETERANS

34. Should veterans with non-service-connected disabilities be entitled to full and free treatment and care in veterans' hospitals? Yes ☐ No ☐
35. Should present veterans' benefits be further expanded? Yes ☐ No ☐

CIVIL RIGHTS

36. Do you favor Federal laws to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or color? Yes ☐ No ☐

IMMIGRATION

37. Should the McCarren-Walter Act be repealed? Yes ☐ No ☐

GENERAL

38. Would you favor a national lottery to help defray Government expenses? Yes ☐ No ☐
39. Should 18-year-olds be given the right to vote? Yes ☐ No ☐
40. Should Hawaii be admitted to statehood? Yes ☐ No ☐
41. Should Alaska be admitted to statehood? Yes ☐ No ☐
42. Do you favor building the St. Lawrence seaway? Yes ☐ No ☐
43. Which of the major political party platforms most nearly meet with your own views?
Republican ☐
Democrat ☐
Liberal ☐
American Labor ☐

Sign this, or not, as you wish. Please return to Congressman ALBERT H. BOSCH, Room 433, House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. Feel free to use reverse side for comments and remarks.

Name _____
Address _____

The Jenkins Bill Encourages the Self-Employed To Build Their Own Retirement Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to say that the American people in the past few years have become security conscious. I was a member of the House Committee on Ways and Means when that great committee wrote the first social-security law.

The first law provided protection for the needy aged. That was about the extent of the first bill as reported to the House for its consideration. While we were considering this bill in committee, I offered an amendment to include provisions for the needy blind. My amendment was rejected by the Democratic controlled Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Roosevelt was then President. He expressed opposition to the inclusion of the blind and offered as his reason the fact that most of the States had institutions which took care of the blind. This was not quite true generally speaking. These State schools, where they existed, took care of some of the blind children. To be eligible for existing State help it was frequently necessary for the children to leave their homes and families to be institutionalized. It was at best an inadequate and unsatisfactory arrangement.

I offered an amendment on the floor of the House which would include the needy blind of our country. This amendment was included in the first social security law. I have always felt proud of my efforts in having the blind included under the protection of the social security law.

After the passing of the first law in 1935 which only included the needy aged, needy dependent children, and the needy blind, the sentiment for expanding social security has increased greatly. Title II of the social security law, known as old-age and survivors insurance law, was enacted in the original legislation providing for a contributory system of tax payments with the employee and the em-

ployer both paying a certain small percentage of the wages earned. These payments are paid into the OASI trust fund to be used exclusively for the purpose of paying benefits to retired workers under the provisions of the social security law. The coverage and benefits provisions of the OASI program have been made more adequate by subsequent amendments.

The OASI program as originally enacted did not include the self employed. Even under our present Social Security Act, as amended, there are many categories of employed and self-employed persons who are denied OASI coverage. Many of the large corporations and employers of labor provided their own retirement programs whereby many employees were given security coverage.

In spite of this very general trend toward security coverage there remain many thousands of our people who are not included under our social-security protection and who are not given the opportunity of providing for their own retirement through plans approved under the Internal Revenue Code. These persons have come to the conclusion that their best relief will come if they entered into a plan of self-insurance. Already many persons who do not qualify under any plan, presently in force, have come to the conclusion that they owe it to themselves and to their families to guard against the vicissitudes and uncertainty of life. It is to meet this demand that the Jenkins bill, known as H. R. 10, was introduced in the present Congress.

The Jenkins bill, H. R. 10, will give to self-employed persons and others not eligible under existing law to be covered by an approved retirement program, the opportunity to establish their own individual retirement plans. H. R. 10 would give to these taxpayers benefits comparable to those available to corporations and their employees under section 165 of the Internal Revenue Code. This section of our tax laws provides that employees participating in plans approved under the statute do not have to include the employer's contribution to a retirement program in their gross income for tax purposes until pensions are actually received. Company contributions are deductible by the company in the year in which made.

H. R. 10 would allow eligible persons to exclude from their gross income limited amounts paid into a restricted retirement plan or toward the purchase of a restricted retirement annuity contract. Annuity payments received under this program would be fully taxable. A qualified individual under my bill is defined as one "not eligible to participate in a pension or profit-sharing plan qualified under section 165 or established by a governmental or charitable employer." It thus covers employees of corporations or partnerships which have no qualified plan. It would also cover owners of small businesses, professional people, and farmers. The amount deductible in any 1 year cannot exceed 10 percent of earned income or $7,500, whichever is less, and there is a lifetime limitation of $150,000. I stress the fact that my bill would merely give to millions of our taxpayers benefits that are comparable to those already received by other millions of American taxpayers.

I shall not go into a further discussion of the bill. Much has been written about it. One of the most lucid and convincing articles that I have seen is an editorial that appeared in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post published under date of April 24. This is not simply a news article but is instead a considered opinion based on careful analyses of the issues and equity involved. It is an editorial that has been written by a man who recognizes that there is one more important step that must be taken before the security of a great and responsible group of our people has been provided. This editor puts himself and his very popular and widely circulated magazine on record as supporting the lawyers, doctors, dentists, farmers, and many thousands of our best citizens in their desire to establish security for themselves and their families.

This editorial is as follows:

WHY NOT ENCOURAGE THE SELF-EMPLOYED TO BUILD THEIR OWN RETIREMENT FUNDS?

Employed persons in the United States are at least partially protected for their old age by social security. In addition, many of them are the beneficiaries of company pension funds. Payments into such funds by employers, as well as the employers' share of the social security tax, are deductible from taxable income. Up to now, however, there is no similar provision for a large group of self-employed people, such as physicians, lawyers or farmers. Their efforts to provide for retirement are hampered by exorbitant taxation.

In the Philadelphia area recently, a physician enjoying a large and presumably profitable private practice retired and took a job in a Government hospital. He gave as his reason for doing so the fact that he had been unable to educate his children and at the same time save enough to provide for eventual retirement. He felt himself compelled to become an employed person in order to receive the benefits of a pension fund. A young doctor or lawyer, after a long and expensive education and apprenticeship, is likely to find adequate saving almost impossible under present conditions.

Congress is now considering a measure which is designed to fill some of these gaps. The Jenkins-Keogh bill, which was introduced last year, is an outgrowth of several efforts to solve the problem. In general, it provides that any individual who is not eligible to participate in a pension or profit-sharing plan may set aside each year an amount not to exceed 10 percent of his earned income, and in no case more than $7,500, to be paid into a restricted retirement trust or insurance annuity. The amount thus set aside could be deducted from his taxable income. The proposed law places certain restrictions on the means by which these savings can be accumulated and provides that the taxpayer may not tap the fund until he is 65 years old, "except in the case of total disability." This would place him roughly on the same footing with employed individuals who are the beneficiaries of private pension funds.

Undoubtedly the proposed measure does give the self-employed certain other advantages over their opposite numbers in the ranks of the employed. For example, the beneficiary of some company pension funds may not accept a job in another company without forfeiting his equity in a pension from his first employer. The self-employed doctor who builds up his own retirement fund may leave his community and set up shop somewhere else and still hang on to his retirement allowance. There are undoubtedly other discrepancies, but if an individual can do better on his own account than through a company pension fund, this might be an important step away from the welfare state. Private saving should be made at least as attractive as reliance on contributions by employers or the Government.

Few reliable estimates have been made of the possible loss of revenue to the Government if such a law were passed. However, as a writer in the Harvard Law Review has observed, "even the possibility that the revenue loss would be so considerable as to necessitate higher tax rates is not a valid objection; it seems more equitable to distribute the tax burden among all taxpayers than to continue discrimination against one group."

Unwelcome Visitors in the Mailbox

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, many private individuals, as well as business houses and newspapers, are objecting to the delivery of unsolicited mail addressed to no one by name.

I think that the following editorial from one of the best weeklies in my district, the Walden Citizen-Herald, gives a forceful and intelligent argument against this form of mailing, pointing out that this service may well in time become an added burden and expense to the Post Office Department:

UNWELCOME VISITORS IN THE MAILBOX

Lately our mailbox has been swamped by unsolicited literature, addressed to no one by name—in fact, not even fully addressed. It is promotional and advertising literature, mostly from out-of-town firms we do not know and have no desire to know. It is a nuisance.

We do not request this mail. We do not want it. It is not addressed to us. And yet, under new postal regulations, the mailman has to become a delivery boy for circulars, throwaways, and handbills. It used to be that all such matter was delivered to parked autos and houses by small boys who got 50 cents or a dollar for the effort. Today the mailman has been made to replace the small boy.

Last year the Post Office Department lost some $660 million. There is supposed to be an earnest program underway to put the Department back in the black.

But the Post Office Department will never do it by opening the mails to an unwanted and unsolicited flood of handbills and circulars. Its willingness to deliver third-class mail in bulk with no address other than the name of the city or village on the bundle is an invitation to financial disaster.

It is no secret that the flow of such material is so heavy at times that local post offices are swamped and postal carriers and clerks are given enormous extra work.

The situation could be remedied if the previous law were restored, making it necessary to have street address as well as city address on the literature. And, for that matter, the name of the addressee should appear, too.

The way things are shaping up, unless a change is ordered the post office is going to be so tied up handling bulk, third-class mail, it won't be able to handle your own first-class mail the way you want it handled.

The Resurrection in Three Dimensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a sermon, The Resurrection in Three Dimensions, delivered by the Reverend E. Robert Chable, B. B. A., B. D., M. A., Ph. D., eminent grand prelate, the grand commandery, Knights Templar of the State of New York, on Easter Sunday, April 18, 1954, at Arlington National Cemetery:

THE RESURRECTION IN THREE DIMENSIONS

The morning light is breaking, and as it floods the eastern sky o'er this hallowed shrine made sacred by heroic deeds and precious memories, we think of the Lord's words to Moses—"Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Here but a few feet from the Tomb of our Nation's Unknown Soldier we have gathered to proclaim the resurrection faith. What do we mean? What is it we do here? What is this resurrection of which we speak this day? Is the resurrection a past event? Is it a future hope? Or is it a present reality? What can we say of it?

We can say that there are three distinct dimensions to the resurrection. The first of these is the dimension of the past. In this dimension we see an open tomb in a faraway land on a morning long centuries ago. We see a risen Saviour who burst the bands of death, triumphed over the grave, and lives forevermore. What does that open tomb mean? It means that right ever triumphs over wrong, that truth outlives falsehood, that hope is stronger than despair, that faith is master of unbelief, that love conquers hate, that good is victorious over evil, that light dispels darkness, that life conquers death. Men may imprison justice with the stone of tyranny, charity with the stone of greed, brotherhood with the stone of prejudice—but God pays no attention. He simply rolls those stones away. It was that open tomb and that living presence which impelled the spread of Christianity within a few years throughout the Graeco-Roman world as fast as fire runs through stubble. Without that open tomb and that risen Lord Christianity would have died in infancy. The crucifixion would have been the end. Only the resurrection of Jesus can explain the march of Christian soldiers across the frontiers of the ancient world. Christianity began in a manger cradle; it was confirmed in an open tomb. No hand carved on that tomb the epitaph, "Here lies an unknown soldier," for that tomb was empty; no epitaph was needed, and henceforth no tomb could ever imprison any unknown soldier's immortal soul. This is the real meaning of the events that Easter dawn long years ago. This is the resurrection's past dimension.

But is there not another dimension to the resurrection? Is it only a past event? If so, then all we can do here is to commemorate it. In that case it becomes only an historical fact which can be studied, evoking in us a sense of wonder and awe and gratitude. Men visit tombs to recall the greatness of the past. But we did not come here to do that this morning. We are engaged in more than a memorial service. However meaningful the past dimension of the resurrection may be, we know it has a future dimension as well. The resurrection is not only history; it is also a future hope.

There is indeed a future dimension to the resurrection. In the words of the Apostle Paul, "Death hath no more dominion over us. O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God Who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Or, in the words of the Christian Hope, "I know that my Redeemer Liveth, and because He lives, I too shall live." This is the resurrection's future dimension.

Judaism was a religion which looked not backward but forward to its Golden Age. It was always in the future when they expected a Messiah who would usher in a time of peace, prosperity, and plenty. Christianity looks to the future also—to what it calls the "Resurrection of the Last Day." Early Christians eagerly awaited the visible return of the Lord on the clouds of Heaven. Many expected it then, and since then, in their own lifetimes. The dead would rise from their graves at the final judgment. This was the Resurrection of the Future, when, like their Risen Lord, they would ascend with transcendent majesty into Heaven. This hope has nourished Christians through all ages, and it is the hope of many of us today. Paul expressed it saying, "Now I see in a glass darkly, but then I shall see face to face. Then I shall know even as I am known."

This future dimension of the resurrection makes life meaningful. We know we were not born to die, but to live. We know God did not create us to destroy us. He is not like a little boy blowing soap bubbles which exist for a brief moment in the sunlight of time and then are gone.

Here lie men who fought "from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli." Here are those with whose blood our Nation's flag has been dyed a richer hue. Here, surrounding us like a company of unseen witnesses, are men who sang as they marched—

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on."

It is the resurrection hope which convinces us that they have not died in vain, that death is but a doorway to a larger life, that the evening shadows are but a prelude to an everlasting morning. The tree may be cut down, but it will sprout again. The tender branch thereof will not cease. Indeed, it is this very future dimension of the resurrection which leads us to cast our eyes to that resurrection morning of the future when earth's tears are dried, when earth's broken bonds shall be renewed, when earth's unfinished tasks will be brought to completion when "With the morn those angel faces smile which we have loved and lost but for a little while." This is our resurrection of the future, possible only because of His resurrection in the past.

But just as there is a danger in emphasizing only the past dimension of the resurrection, so there is a like danger in thinking only in terms of its future dimension. If we limit our concept of the resurrection to the past, Easter morning becomes nothing but a beautiful and inspiring memorial service. If we make the resurrection nothing but a future hope, then we run the equal danger of being like one who calmly folds his hands and simply waits for his "pie in the sky by-and-by." To hope for the future and neglect the past in the resurrection is to hope for a flower without a root. Have we, then, exhausted the significance of the resurrection when we speak of its past and future dimensions? Or is there not a present dimension without which we have only a memorial on the one hand and a hope on the other?

Indeed, the resurrection is not complete without its present dimension. Jesus was there in the past, and He will be there in the future, but He is also here now. The resurrection is not only a past event, nor is it only a future hope. It is an ongoing experience, an ever-present reality in our lives. In every age Jesus says to us, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

The martyrs in the circus of Nero lifted up their Lord, and many Romans became Christians. Because the martyrs had lifted Him up He had drawn others to Him. On the soil of many a foreign land missionaries have exalted Him, and the Christian church was established. There is a line in a poem by Henry Van Dyke which points up this present dimension of the resurrection: "Lift the stone and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood and there am I."

As night falls on the eastern shore of our land a lady holds aloft the lighted torch of liberty, and in the words of Emma Lazarus she says to the world, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free; the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

As that lady of liberty holds her glowing torch aloft during the evening hours, so in the darkness of this age must we lift up Him who is the light of the world, that He may draw all those unto Him with His words: "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for My yoke is easy and My burden is light, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

"He lives! He lives! Salvation to impart,
You ask me how I know He lives?
He lives within my heart!"

This is the present dimension of the resurrection.

In its past it is glorious history; in its future it is blessed hope; in its present it is the on-going duty of lifting Him up anew in our hearts as a continuing presence. Past, present, and future—this is indeed the resurrection in three dimensions.

What the United Nations Means to the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States Representative to the United Nations, which you will find to be very enlightening and interesting:

WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS MEANS TO THE UNITED STATES

I am glad to have this opportunity to discuss the question "What the United Nations means to the United States."

In seeking the answer to this question we must look at the U. N. with the utmost objectivity. We must scrutinize its purposes, its achievements, its shortcomings, its utility, and its future promise. The times are far too serious for self-delusion. We must see this thing as it is—and coolly appraise its value. We must ask ourselves the great question: Is it good for America?

In bluntest terms, the United Nations is an international device whose primary pur-

pose is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" by developing enough strength to deter aggression and if, in spite of the United Nations, it should occur, to repel it.

It was created by a charter, which was ratified by the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 in 1945 at the close of the bloodiest war in history. It was invited to establish itself in the United States by a unanimous vote of the United States Congress and has its headquarters in New York City.

To promote peace, the charter created a Security Council of 11 members, which has the power, subject to the veto of any one of its 5 permanent members, in case of aggression to issue action orders which are legally binding on all United Nations members.

It also set up a General Assembly, which cannot issue orders but has power to debate and to recommend. In the General Assembly each of the 60 member nations has one vote, regardless of size.

When the United Nations was founded, it was assumed that the great Allies of World War II would stay together to keep peace. But the Soviet Union became hostile to the free world and, by its abuse of the veto, caused the Security Council to become less and less active, with the result that the General Assembly has become the busy place. (A veto-proof method has at last been evolved for bringing a collective defense program into being by recommendations passed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. When, as, and if aggression occurs in the future, we will no longer be paralyzed by the Communist abuse of the veto.)

This growth of the General Assembly is in many ways a sound development because a solid foundation for peace actually depends on two things: (1) the existence of common practical interests; and 2) the existence of a commonsense of justice, which means a commonsense of right and wrong and a common view of the relation of the individual to his government.

Until both of these things exist, those who insist on schemes for world union or world government do more harm than good because, like someone feeding fried potatoes to a new-born baby, they are trying to ram something down the throat of the world which it cannot digest. If any one of the Thirteen Colonies, at the time of the American Revolution, had had a view of life as different from the rest of the world as the view of the Soviet Union is different from the free world today, there would have been no United States. The American revolutionists, unlike the people of the world today, all had the same general thoughts about the nature of man.

In the modern world there is already a growing knowledge that countries have many common practical interests. But the growth of a commonsense of justice seems to come more slowly—and, as any effective scheme for world order depends on such a sense of justice, the essential first step is a world forum where issues can be debated and put to a vote, and where world public opinion can develop. The General Assembly is thus a place where they talk and vote—just as they do in any democratic assemblage—because it is by talking and voting that you sometimes avert war, and it is by talking and voting that you build a world sense of right and wrong.

The 60-member nations of the United Nations are a sizable majority of the world's nations and of the world's population. The General Assembly is, therefore, the indispensable first step—the necessary foundation for any future world order which mankind may wish to build. It is as far as we can go now. But we should go this far.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations is a place where:

Public opinion is developed—and public opinion makes things happen in spite of iron curtains.

We can see what the Communists are doing in the war of ideas—and sometimes in other ways. Without it we could not see nearly as much.

You can get authoritative reactions quickly on the state of opinion in almost any part of the world, which it would take days, if not weeks, to get otherwise.

Americans can see how their American public servants are conducting the American side of the cold war. It therefore enables us to correct our mistakes more quickly and with greater sureness than we could do otherwise.

The free world gets consolidated. Being free, the non-Communist nations naturally tend to go their own way and to drift apart. But sooner or later some Communist spokesman will make some statement that is so monstrous that you can almost see the free nations getting together before your very eyes. This more than counterbalances whatever advantages the Communists may get out of their propaganda.

We have developed valuable allies—certainly not as many as we should have liked. But, equally certain, whatever allies we have are welcome and are that much clear gain.

Six of the member nations are peoples who were under alien control when the charter was signed. Of the 800 million people in the free world who were dependent 10 years ago, some 600 million—or three-fourths—have won full independence since 1945. The newly independent countries which belong to the United Nations include India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Israel.

Representatives of nations can meet without formality to settle disputes. Those who want to divide and rule are impeded, for this is a hard game to play when the entire free world is looking on.

The threat of war in Iran in 1946, due to pressure of Russian troops, was moderated and gradually extinguished.

The initiative was taken, with substantial American backing, to prevent Communist encroachment on Greece in 1947.

Open warfare over Kashmir between India and Pakistan was stopped.

The advent of Israel into the family of nations was determined and an end put to a bloody war in the Holy Land, although the situation is still dangerous.

Working with the Netherlands and the Indonesians, full independence was given to the 76 million people inhabiting Indonesia.

Part of the free world was organized to repel the bloody aggression in Korea, which threatened the whole free world—and not only Asia.

The Kremlin has a real headache in the United Nations. They cannot control the United Nations; they cannot break it up; they do not dare leave it.

WHAT IT IS NOT

The United Nations is not a world government. It cannot impose a tax of any kind. It cannot draft a single soldier—from any country for service in Korea or elsewhere. Its charter specifically prohibits its intervention in domestic matters, (art. 2, par. 7). Your representative at the United Nations is called Ambassador by act of Congress—for the simple reason that he represents a sovereign state and not a political subdivision. It would, of course, be a manifest absurdity to give the large and small states each one vote in a body which had the powers of a government.

It is not a heavy burden on the United States taxpayer—16 cents per citizen in year 11 of the atomic age. This is less than half of what is spent for the sanitation of the city of New York, or one-fourteenth of what is spent for cigarettes. The amount spent—according to the New York Times figures—by the United Nations, foreign delegations, and secretariat members living in New York far exceeds our annual contribution to the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and the American contribution was reduced both in percentage and in actual dollars at the last session of the General Assembly.

It does not threaten the destruction of our Constitution because, as the Supreme Court has said, "The treatymaking power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids." There is only one organ of the United Nations which can take action which is legally binding. That is the Security Council, and there the United States is completely protected by the veto. None of the other things the United Nations can do are anything but recommendatory.

It is not a nest of Communist spies, because there is nothing to spy on in the United Nations—which is why the Soviets haven't even filled their quota of employees. No United States citizen employed by the United Nations has ever been prosecuted for espionage. Every United States citizen employed there will within a few months have been screened in accordance with a Civil Service Commission-FBI plan. With so many good Americans to choose from there is no justification whatever for employing a single American in the United Nations who is a Communist.

It is not a snare which dragged the United States into the Korean war. The United States took the iniative in getting the United Nations to take action against the Communist aggressor in Korea.

It is certainly not a device which has had an unbroken record of successes. Far from it. It did not prevent the Communist victory in China. Neither did the United States. Communist successes in other parts of the world have taken place in spite of the United Nations. Yet it not only survives but actually functions helpfully, though imperfectly, in spite of the fact that the Communist bloc is in a cold war with the rest of the world.

ITS FUTURE

The need for the United Nations is sure to grow as rapidly as science progresses. Today, none of the 60 nations comprising the United Nations is able to maintain itself alone—except for the Soviet Union, which does it by harsh slave labor. The United States cannot exist without supplies far in excess of what we produce here. If we were denied as few as 20 essential materials, we would be completely crippled economically. The whole of North America, with guided missiles and atomic weapons, can be crippled militarily. Maybe it was possible to get along without a place like the United Nations in the days when the 4½-day boat to Europe was the quickest way to travel across the seas—although even in those days we got into two world wars. But a place like the United Nations is as necessary now in international politics as an airport in international travel.

It is perhaps because of this need that the United Nations, with all its faults, has been able, more than any other body in modern history, to organize peace and security—in spite of the great threats to peace and security at large in the world.

This is, undoubtedly, why war woud be inevitable if the United Nations disappeared.

If war came in spite of the United Nations, it would then be the indispensable instru-

ment for repelling the aggression—which is probably one reason why the Communists don't leave it.

This explains why men of good will throughout the world would be straining every nerve to create even the imperfect device which we have now if the United Nations did not exist.

Therefore there is a need for the United Nations—a need as real as the yearning of mankind no longer to send its sons off to slaughter.

Three questions have been raised in the United States with regard to the United Nations, and satisfactory answers must be given.

One concerns the loyalty of United States personnel on the payroll, and, as I have said, within a few months every American employed there will have been screened in accordance with the Civil Service Commission-FBI plan.

The second is that the Soviets used the United Nations to fight their cold war battles whereas the United States did not. This situation does not exist in the United Nations today. We follow the policy of actively using the United Nations as the one great world forum for international presentation and rebuttal. At the last session of the General Assembly we used it as a place in which the big truth could be used to demolish the big lie. To give a few examples, Dr. Charles Mayo, of the Mayo Clinic, who was an American delegate, made a smashing demonstration of the diabolical falsity of the Communist charge that the United States has been using germ warfare in Korea. Other delegates focused the spotlight of world attention on forced labor behind the Iron Curtain and on treatment of World War II prisoners of war. I presented the dreadful story of Communist atrocities in Korea which so moved the General Assembly that it adopted a condemnatory resolution. In addition to these specific topics, we have adopted the practice of always answering a Communist speaker immediately so that no news story goes out of the United Nations to the world public consisting only of the Communist side. In that news story there is always something from the side of the free world.

In November the President came to the conclusion that, if the Legislature of Puerto Rico adopted a resolution asking for complete independence, he would be glad to do all in his power to see that Puerto Rico got it. The President chose the United Nations as the place at which that announcement should be made. When it was made, it created great good will for the United States among Latin American countries and also in countries in Asia and Africa where the colonial question is a matter of active interest.

The third question asks whether it is true that the United States has given an undue proportion of manpower to the Korean war, and that the other members of the United Nations have put in too little.

There is no doubt that the contribution of the United States to the war in Korea was of overriding importance and was in fact utterly indispensable. In combat manpower alone the contribution of the United States was far larger than that of any one country except the Republic of Korea—and it is the United States which trained and equipped the Republic of Korea Army.

It is also true that the other United Nations members put up the equivalent of two divisions. Two United States divisions at World War II figures cost $600 million a year. The cost today is probably greater, but is a secret. If, therefore, the United States had had to furnish these two divisions, the added dollar cost would have been at least $600 million. When you compare that with our annual contribution of $25 million, you can see that on a financial basis alone the United Nations is not a bad deal.

Carrying the fiscal argument still further, remember that the most expert studies indicate that after every last bill has been paid, World War II will have cost us $1,300,000,000,000—which again makes our $25 million contribution to the United Nations seem smaller.

Of course, money is not the only—and not even the most important—consideration. If the United States had had to supply two more divisions, there would have been that many more American casualties, that many more tragedies in American homes, which were instead suffered in homes of other countries whose brave men answered the call.

There is no doubt, in my mind, that if United States officials at that time had not required states having valuable manpower to reimburse us in dollars for the supplies which we provided them, we might well have had perhaps as much as three more divisions. But, naturally, nations not having mechanized equipment, not having shipping, and not having dollars were unable to undertake to supply equipment, shipping, and dollars which they did not possess. This had the effect of reducing the foreign troop contribution. This, of course, was a reversal of the policy of World War II. It is a situation which will not be repeated.

CONCLUSION

Many persons had the idea at the end of World War II that the United Nations would be an automatic peace producer—that a few gifted lawyers scattered around the world would draft a charter, that this charter would be ratified by the nations, that a handsome building would be erected, and that then the world would have an automatic device for peace.

The truth is that there is no automatic device for peace. If the United Nations is as automatic as a burglar alarm, it is doing well. But what happens after the bell rings is up to the members, and you will get results solely in proportion as you contribute. In the grim struggle for peace, the payments which must be made are not merely in money; they are chiefly in the service of men. In the face of something as critical as an impending war nothing less than human muscle, human hearts, and human service will do the job.

Rather than draft a charter and then look for troops, it might have been more logical at the time for the nations to have earmarked the troops and then drafted the charter. But history is not always logical and we do progress.

In the struggle for peace, as in every other human endeavor, the success of the struggle depends directly on how hard you work, how deeply you sacrifice, how sincerely you care, how much in the service of your sons you are willing to put in. No amount of diplomatic nicety and verbal courtesy can alter this fact, and the future of the United Nations is bound up in it.

The United Nations is a place where the nations of the world may take whatever collective action they are at any given moment capable of taking. Such a place is a vital necessity.

While the need for the United Nations is as strong and as steady as the human yearning for peace, its future success depends entirely on the extent to which its members support it. It is up to them. They can drop it impatiently and destroy it because it has not brought the millenium, or they can kill it by failure to support it. Or, like the Wright brothers with their first airplane in 1903, they can perfect it and transform it into something which will make future generations forever grateful that we in the 1950's had the patience and the foresight to make this beginning.

For Americans the United Nations is not only a place to promote peace; it is the greatest single place in which to develop partners who, valuing their own freedom, will fight to defend it whenever it is attacked, and thus, on a basis of mutual respect, help us in our struggle to survive. For a nation like the United States, which has most of the world's wealth and only 6 percent of the world's population, the conclusion must be obvious that we cannot have too many partners to help us carry the load of combat.

The United Nations is primitive; it is evolutionary; it has not brought—and will not bring—the millenium. But it is useful; its cost is small; it is an intelligent first step; it stands between us and international anarchy. It thus stands between us and world war III or the extinction of human freedom—or both.

Operation Huckster

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, it is to Abraham Lincoln that the following wise statement is attributed:

If you once forfeit the confidence of your fellow citizens, you can never regain their respect and esteem. It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time.

The following article appeared in the New Republic of April 26:

OPERATION HUCKSTER
(By Tom Fitzsimmons)

Operation Huckster opens this year. For the first time, central control over a nationwide political campaign has been given over to the advertising agencies. Republican candidates will be "merchandised." And although the Republican National Committee campaign budget has been given as $3,800,000, executives of Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn, advertising; and Whitaker and Baxter, the Carl Byoir, and the Steve Hannegan public-relations firms, are assuming that they can spend up to $10 million to do the job. Women will not only be appealed to, but used on an unprecedented scale. While the Democrats, poor by comparison, try to lure the public to political meetings in hundreds of congressional districts, the Republicans will use the ladies to get their message to where the folks are—the home.

One of the constant, solution-defying problems of politicking is how to use all those inexperienced volunteers who offer their services in a moment of enthusiasm, then get bored, if not plain mad, as the weeks go by and they are offered no more interesting jobs than stamp licking. A former Newsweek editor, Robert Humphrey, has long thought that the answer law in a simple gadget used by traveling salesmen as far back as 1938. Humphrey now is Republican campaign director. And the gadget—tested in 1950 and 1952—promises to be the Republican secret weapon this year.

A few weeks ago, 1,300 Republican ladies came to Washington from all over the United States for a centennial conference, which was really a coordinating conference for the coming campaign. All the ladies were leaders of Republican Women's Clubs, and they attended workshops on how to organize the girls back home into an effective political force. They were enthusiastic about almost everything, but they were most enthusiastic about a neat little 14-pound leatherette case, which any of them could carry without dis-

turbing the set of her dress, containing a 35-millimeter film projector, a turntable for long-playing records, and a loudspeaker. Given 5 minutes instruction and a roll of film which fits into a purse, the most politically inexperienced gal in the block leaves campaign headquarters ready and able to conduct a successful political meeting in her own livingroom, over coffee, for a small, intimate group. ("In the poorer districts," say the Republicans, "we'll supply the coffee.")

Consider the effect: the intimate surroundings, the eagerness to appear knowing, a political message not delivered to the ear alone, but dramatically and entertainingly to the eye as well. ("The audience sits transfixed," says a Republican training film describing itself, "almost hypnotized by this double onslaught—and they are convinced.") There is no rebuttal. Then, soon after the film ends, there is a ring at the door and the man on the screen—the local candidate—arrives to shake hand and exchange smiles with the ladies. Five minutes later he is gone on his way to meet another neighborhood group. His knottiest problem—how to find time to meet many constituents face to face and also address them seriously and convincingly—is largely solved, and the financial burden on him is significantly eased. Films—both standard presentations on national issues and 1 or 2 tailormade for him—are provided free by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. The The projectors? His organization has a few; many of the women's husbands own one; there is likely to be a sympathetic local firm which has several; and a recent survey indicates that in every town of more than 600 population a projector is available for a nominal rental.

In addition to these coffee hours in the home, Republicans have found that their secret weapon allows them to track down the independent voter—who won't come to a typical political meeting—no matter where he hides. The ladies tote their little machines into service clubs, women's clubs, civic organization meetings, libraries, and even churches—"places," as one Republican put it, "we never thought we could reach with a political message." Even the innocent pedestrian will not be safe from this gadget. Detailed instructions on how to transform the show window of an empty store into a movie screen—by pasting white paper all over it and projecting a reversed image upon the paper from the interior—were given all the girls convened in Washington.

The ladies at the centennial conference—they really fell for the little machine—got quite excited about something else too: one of the films which will be made available to them, the Case of Harry Dexter White. This is essentially a series of film clips from newsreels of Harry Truman's television answer to the charge that he had knowingly promoted a Communist spy, and of the testimony later given the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Attorney General Herbert Brownell and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover. The clips are juxtaposed so that Brownell and Hoover seem to be answering specific points in Truman's speech, and the whole is sandwiched between scenes in which Representative C. B. BROWNSON, Republican, Indiana—a personable man—explains from his desk how this film was made to get the facts to the folks. The whole has the aspect of a documentary film and is terrifically effective—Truman is made to appear a foolish man determined to save face at any cost. To get this effect all anyone needs is a pair of scissors and some glue. You take a strip of film on which Truman makes a statement, you find another on which Brownell or Hoover makes a statement which, if cut at just the right place and lifted from context, seems a flat contradiction of Truman's, and you glue them together. Only a very intent viewer, and one who has carefully studied the record involved, is able to discern that only the most tenuous relation exists between the two statements, that the seemingly contradictory statement is not really to the point, and that this would be made obvious by the next sentence. But the next sentence never comes. Once again Truman is on the screen, then Brownell or Hoover and the whole process is repeated—most effectively. This technique can, of course, be applied by anyone to any event recorded on film in effect to rewrite history. Think of what MCCARTHY could do to the Army-Cohn-Schine hearings whatever their outcome, or, if public hearings should be held, to the Oppenheimer case. Any speech filmed by newsreel cameras can be doctored. Lift a sentence here, another there, join them and you can make a man say whatever you wish—the only limit would be the limit of your boldness and the degree to which the public mind has been made willing to believe your thesis, a willingness which would grow with each success.

Humphrey was careful in introducing the ladies at the conference to the Case of Harry Dexter White to state that the film had not been made by, nor would it be distributed by, the Republican National Committee. He gave Representative BROWNSON all the credit. Facts are that all the editing was done by an employee of the Republican congressional campaign committee and that it will be available for rent to the ladies at $28 per print if they care to invest in 16-mm movie equipment.

There are other films, for which the national committee does take credit, already made and in the making. Some were tried out in the 1952 campaign: Korea—the 5-year record of appeasement * * * dating from Yalta and culminating in * * * Korea; America's Creeping Socialism—how Marxism * * * has infiltrated our country and weakened the Democratic Party until today it advocates a socialistic program; The Brannan Plan—a cartoon presentation * * * Farm experts call this presentation devastating. These are in color and will be used again this year—although the present administration's increasing involvement in the Indochina war, its continuating of so many socialistic programs initiated by the Democrats, and its Brannan plan for wool, suggests that their usefulness may be limited. Others are in the works, and the favorable reception of The Case of Harry Dexter White by the ladies has encouraged the national committee to be bold. For raw material it has at its disposal the film libraries of major motion-picture companies.

These films are not primarily designed for use in the home. They will be used on local television broadcasts in a saturation campaign designed to overwhelm the opposition during the closing days of the campaign after the ladies have prepared the ground. The plan is magnificently expensive, but simple. Large packages of time will be bought from local television stations in low-cost areas and from the new ultra-high-frequency stations which sell time more cheaply. Dozens of half-hour segments of time will be bought to show films like the Case of Harry Dexter White many times a day during the weeks just before election. Spotted properly, at least one film will reach most viewers in the area. As for cost, since the arrangements with the local stations will be made by the advertising men who control so many of the soap, cigarette, gasoline, etc., accounts upon which the stations depend for their existence, advantageous arrangements as to price will probably be worked out. There are some 280 television markets (areas) comprising 32 million homes in this country today. Campaign Director Humphrey has promised that he will use at least 190 of these in the biggest off-year election campaign in the Nation's history.

That campaign, of course, is not going to be conducted entirely by means of TV saturation, "doctored documentaries," and 35-mm. projectors. All the usual precinct chore work will be done. But this, too, will be directed by the advertising men and here, too, they have turned to their natural allies, the ladies. Tidy, colorful, attractively packaged books of instructions—in which the word "leader" appears always and only in bold, black type—have been distributed to the women's clubs. Life-size posters are available showing President Eisenhower leaning on the shoulder of a smartly tailored, average woman triumphantly labeled "the precinct worker." For women political work is to be the latest thing, and definitely chic. Morning coffee hours are to be de rigueur (a Republican survey fixed the American housewife's freest hours 10 to 11:30 a. m.). Innocent neighbors are to be invited and their politics tactfully plumbed. Good but ignorant Republicans will be passed on to other morning meetings, where experts will coax them into and prepare them for precinct work (and the weight of Ike on their slender shoulders). Others are to be educated, if possible: no arguments, the instructions insist, the "let's talk about it" approach is the only proper one, and "let's talk about it" cards containing precise, clipped Republican answers to all political questions are available for $6 a thousand.

Next to femininity the accent is on youth. President Eisenhower's statement that 18-year-olds are old enough to vote will be merchandized to the hilt. The Young Republican clubs all have set up first voters committees which search high-school yearbooks and other such sources for likely looking youngsters. Once selected, these are invited to barbecues, dances, picnics, and what all—where occasionally a young, attractive local political personality (Republican) appears to shake their hands and overwhelm them—until they understand beyond the shadow of a doubt which party is on the side of youth.

A young Republican campus program also has been launched to which the advertising men have contributed slogans like "College Clubs Are the West Points of Politics" where you can get "political savoir-faire," and devices like "official fighting elephant emblems and pins"—tie bars, tie chains, cuff links, bracelet charms, and earrings, all flaunting a green pugilistic elephant. Young Republicans will, of course, also show films at the drop of a hat.

Then there are the "Citizens for Eisenhower" who have now become "Citizens for Republicans." Originally dedicated to a political idea, they believed "Ike" would serve, they have talked themselves into thinking that, regardless of which individual might support "Ike" on key issues, any Republican is better than any Democrat. They will also look to Madison Avenue for direction.

As for the candidate himself, he, too, will be well supplied. The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has arranged to allow each Republican Congressman to make one or two films particularly aimed at his own area. He may call upon the services of artists, photographers, ghost writers, and admen—all for free. He will be supplied with news releases, mats for political newspaper ads (with a space for his photograph), headlines for newsletters, and a complete speech kit containing speeches on all major issues, "quotable quotes," and "speech quips of a humorous nature." (This year the item "numerous short, pungent examples of Government waste" has been dispensed with.) And he may participate in filmed TV shows. In addition to the "television saturation" campaign, the national committee is preparing many 1-, 2-, 5-, and 15-minute radio shows, as well as 1- and 2-minute television "spots" for national use. (Remember?—"Voice: Mr. Eisenhower, what about the high cost of living? Eisenhower: Mamie worries

about the same thing. I tell her it's our job to change that on November 4.")

And what of the Democrats? At the moment they have to count every penny. There will be no "secret weapon," no "saturation," and very few "services" or Madison Avenue consultants. In their plight they are trying to convince themselves that while the Republicans "go to the folks" they can bring the folks to them in the usual political meetings. They talk about and old-fashioned campaign and seem not to realize just how old-fashioned it will be. Their rosiest dreams involve the making of 1, maybe 2, films for television use—5 and 15 minutes—and possibly a few 1-minute "spot" films. They hope to provide some women with recordings of speeches for coffee-hour use.

After the 1952 Republican victory, the editor of Tide, an advertising and sales trade publication, announced "Advertising * * * demonstrated beyond question that it can sell a good idea as successfully as it can sell a good product." He didn't mention that it can do the same for a bad idea. Or that unless there is competition—the equal prominence of a good idea, or product, for purposes of comparison—the idea being advertised is likely to be put over solidly, and the methods of doing it made respectable by success, no matter how bad it might be. Competition in ideas is liable to be pretty weak this year—about of the order of a one-shot derringer pistol versus a Buck Rogers death-ray gun. If that disproportion is allowed to persist into 1956, the consequences may well be drastic, for Democrats at the very least.

Stop the Reds Without a Thermonuclear War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article, Stop the Reds Without a Thermonuclear War, written by Louis J. Twomey, S. J., appearing in the May 1954 issue of the Queen's Work:

STOP THE REDS WITHOUT A THERMONUCLEAR WAR

(By Louis J. Twomey, S. J.)

In late February at a Chicago convention, Representative STERLING COLE, of New York, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, gave the American people their first authoritative briefing on the devasting force of themonuclear (hydrogen) bombs. It was a chilling night. "The themonuclear test of 1952," said the Representative, "completely obliterated the test island in the Eniwetok Atoll. It tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean—a crater—measuring a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth at its lowest point." The crater was big enough to absorb the whole of downtown Chicago; the area of destruction extended over 300 square miles.

In the light of this information it takes little reflection to conclude that we are all literally sitting, not on a keg of dynamite, but on an arsenal of atomic and hydrogen bombs. When these become the principal weapons in a shooting war, civilization will have come to the beginning of the end.

It is small comfort to hear even such an authority as Sir John Slessor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force, express the conviction that "the supersonic airplane, allied to the atomic and soon the hydrogen bomb * * * has made total war an obsolete conception." The Marshal believes that a fleet of United States and British atomic bombers are "the world's best hope of keeping the cold war cold" (cf. Time, Mar. 1, 1954, p. 21).

This rather gruesome optimism is based on the idea that Russia, in fearing the massive retaliatory power of the Western nations, would not be so foolhardy as to set off world war III. However, this idea presupposes that the masters of the Kremlin are men subject to normal human reactions—a risky presupposition.

No one in the Western World can make up his mind as to who the trigger man in the Soviet hierarchy actually is. But it makes no appreciable difference. Whether it is Malenkov, Molotov, Khrushchev, or some unheard-of individual or group of individuals, each is a down-the-line Communist. Each one's reflexes in this matter of war, as in all other matters, are well conditioned by the slavish acceptance of the inevitability of world domination by communism through the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions.

War, atomic or otherwise, is to be viewed, not in terms of the human slaughter and suffering it will cause, but solely in the light of whether it will help speed the day of complete victory for communism. This is the supreme norm of living by which is to be determined the goodness or badness of war and of every other activity of man. In other words, morality in the mind of a Communist is wholly subordinated to the interests of the revolutionary program of destroying the non-Communist world. Lying, stealing, perjury, murder, treason—all are morally good if they help to bring on the conditions for the ultimate triumph of communism.

With a cynicism probably unmatched in history, the most brilliant revolutionary of them all spells out in a short sentence to what ruthless extremes the logic of Communist morality can be drawn: "It does not matter if three quarters of mankind is destroyed; all that counts is that ultimately the last quarter becomes Communist." Lenin said that. And the current top echelon of Communist leaders are his direct descendants.

"Maybe he (Lenin) didn't mean that a billion and a half persons actually had to be killed to be destroyed. But Communist followers of Lenin—of Stalin—of Malenkov—are willing to go that far; with bombs and bullets if necessary.

"But, Communists know how to destroy without bombs and bullets. They know how to destroy the minds and souls of men by threats, treachery, blackmail, lies, and brutality. They have been so successful that in Europe and Asia today 800 million people—one-third of mankind—exist under Communist tyranny, without the God-given rights of freedom and human dignity.

"The Communists have no intention of stopping—until they are stopped." (From a pamphlet of the Crusade for Freedom, 345 East 46th, New York, N. Y.)

But is the brandishing of massive retaliatory power or the threat of atomic war itself the only way of stopping communism? By such measures we can only succeed in deferring the day of judgment. For a time these tactics may cool the ardor of Communists for an immediate showdown with the non-Communist world. But it seems rather naive that we should expect from such defenses more than a temporary reprieve. Unless we are able to supplement our military power with a much better use of our spiritual and material resources than we have thus far made, there will come a day, sooner perhaps than later, when the fear of atomic reprisals will no longer checkmate the cold-blooded strategy of Malenkov and his coconspirators. Then the war of annihilation will be in full swing. If no one ever wins a conventional or rifle war, what will be said of the apparent victor in an atomic war?

There must be a cheaper price to the defeat of communism than the slaughter of an indeterminable number of the world's population and the destruction of a greater part of the world's wealth. There is a cheaper price, one immeasurably cheaper. But it is a stiff price nonetheless—a price which we have not as yet been willing to pay.

A necessary part of that price is the achieving of some meaningful integration among the free nations. During the dark years from 1939 to 1945, at least a workable kind of integration was forged in the common recognition that without it certain defeat was the only prospect. We are now living in a period when the menace to freedom and decency is even more deadly.

Still, even in our own country there are many to whom the advocacy of the United Nations or some other sound effort at world government adds up to treachery and treason. And Catholics in notable number and influence associate themselves with these critics, despite the oft-repeated insistence of the Holy Father on the necessity for "an effective political organization of the world." These Catholics may well ask themselves whose lead they are following: the rabidly nationalistic preachments of a Merwin K. Hart and a Joseph P. Kamp or the orthodox teaching of the church—that the law of love is universal, applying to all men of all nations of all races. There would be far less division among Catholics if all of us were sincerely to subscribe to the principle of international unity as enunciated by the Pope in his 1948 Christmas message:

"The Catholic doctrine on the State and civil society has always been based on the principle that, in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties. Even when the proclamation of this principle and its practical consequences gave rise to violent reactions, the Church denied her assent to the erroneous concept of an absolutely autonomous sovereignty divested of all social obligations. The Catholic Christian, persuaded that every man is his neighbor and that every nation is a member, with equal rights, of the family of nations, cooperates wholeheartedly in those generous efforts whose beginnings might be meager and which frequently encounter strong opposition and obstacles, but which aim at saving individual states from the narrowness of a self-centered mentality."

Many other passages of like nature could be cited from the writings and addresses of the Pope to give pause to those Catholics who line up on the side of isolationism and exaggerated nationalism.

Another part of the price we must pay for the defeat of communism short of an all-out war is the honest admission that had it not been for our failures, the threat of world enslavement could never have materialized. It is scarcely short of maddening when in the face of a crisis, the like of which the world has never before seen, large and significant groups refuse to acknowledge that our own serious weaknesses are the principal causes of the crisis. To make such an acknowledgment takes humility. And humility is not one of the characteristic virtues of a West steeped in the traditions of utilitarianism in education, positivism in law, rugged individualism in economics, racism in social relations, and in general, secularism in our outlook on life and its meaning. Throughout this series we have been striving to find the answers to the distressing problems of how and why these false standards of thought and action can still have validity for innumerable Americans despite the overwhelming evidence that to continue to follow them will probably be the death of us all. One wonders what additional headaches,

heartaches, frustration, and confusion we must still experience before we shall have been humbled enough to see the light.

The withering effect of American racial policies on our effort to win the friendship of the two-thirds of the world's population who are nonwhite should be clear to all but the hopelessly prejudiced. And yet there are millions of American whites, north and south, who still look down upon and treat the Negro as an inferior being.

The extent to which the materialistic outlook in education, in business, in banking, in the professions, and in labor has beclouded the idealism inherent in our two basic documents, which express the true genius of America, is an ominous sign that we are drifting ever more closely toward the same fundamental philosophy of man and of society which makes communism the despicable thing it is.

If this were the complete picture of the West and of the American way of life, then we should be honest enough with ourselves to recognize that western civilization and the American way of life are not worth suffering, fighting, bleeding, and dying for. If there is no God, and man is nothing more than a highly developed form of animal life, then we might just as well fold up now, for communism and its militant materialism will sooner or later crush our dispirited secularism. If there is no God, as such American leaders as John Dewey, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and thousands of others who follow their lead proclaim, then there is no morality, no freedom, no justice, and no decency worth the shedding of a drop of blood. If there is no God to give sanction to the actions of men and nations, then there is nothing to make honesty and virtue anything more than stupid superstitions. If there is no law except that which might can enforce, then let men and nations be avaricious, dishonest, selfish—if, in popular terms, they can get away with it.

But, happily, there is another side, the true side of the West and of the United States. Beneath the wounds inflicted on America by rank materialism, there is still a sound body and a noble soul. It is this body of faith, of truth, and of love that we must revitalize; it is this soul, whose aspirations reach into eternity, that we must recapture.

Only by such revitalization and by such recapture can communism be stopped without the necessity of thermonuclear warfare. Suggestions as to how we as individuals and as social beings can contribute to this revitalization, to this recapture, will form the subject matter of future articles in this series.

Pilot Watersheds and the Federal Government Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the unanimous consent granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a speech which I delivered at Topeka, Kans., March 24, at a watershed conference sponsored by the Friends of the Land:

I am happy to be in Topeka today and have a part on this watershed conference which is being sponsored by that great conservation organization, Friends of the Land. It is my understanding that this is the first of a series of such conferences which will be held in various parts of the country, and I am proud that Kansas has been chosen for the location of this initial meeting.

Today this Nation is water conscious as it has never been before. More and more it is being brought to our attention that water is the primary limiting factor in the development of cities, industry, and agriculture, not only throughout the West but in many parts of the East. The key not only to sound resource conservation but to our future progress as a nation will to a considerable extent lie in our success or failure with water; that is, in the way we handle, conserve, utilize, and control it.

The difficulties now faced by many cities which depend upon surface runoff for their water supplies are well known. Even cities and industrial establishments that get most or all of their water from underground sources are having their difficulties. It is not necessary for me to cite specific examples to this audience.

And, yet, this water which in many places is becoming so difficult to get is the same stuff that on all too many occasions comes roaring down our creeks and rivers spreading hardship and destruction. What is the difference between the pure, clear water that flows from our springs and wells and the yellow torrent of silt and debris that periodically lays waste to our river valleys? The essential difference is that the clear water, the usable water stayed for a time where it fell. The other did not.

The watershed programs which are receiving so much consideration in all parts of our country today are based upon a realization that the way that we can get good and adequate water supplies and at the same time reduce our destructive floods is to get the rain and melting snow into the ground. The ground is the greatest and most wonderful reservoir of all. There is more natural water storage capacity in the earth than in all the man-made structures and reservoirs we can ever hope to build on top of it.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not mean to say that anything we can do to the land and the small streams in the upper watersheds is going to persuade all the water to soak into the ground and prevent forever the rapid accumulation of runoff water sufficient to cause floods in the river valleys down below. What I do mean to say is that every drop of water which can be retained in the area in which it falls, either in the earth or in small retarding structures, is one drop subtracted from a potential flood and one drop added to our useful water supply.

This to me constitutes the basic philosophy behind the watershed legislation which has been given so much consideration throughout the country and in Congress during recent years.

Before I get into the specfic subject which has been assigned to me, let me refer briefly to the basic legislation under which Federal watershed programs have been developed. Up until the present, watershed programs conducted by the Department of Agriculture have been based upon two legislative acts.

One is the Soil Conservation Act of 1935, Public Law 46 and the 74th Congress. Among the purposes of that act are flood control, the prevention of the impairment of reservoirs and the maintenance of navigability of rivers and harbors. In carrying out the provisions of the act the Secretary is authorized among other things to carry out preventive measures including, but not limited to, engineering operations, methods of cultivation, the growing of vegetation and changes in use of land. It is further provided in section II of the act that the activities authorized may be carried out on federally owned land or on any other lands, upon obtaining proper consent or the necessary rights or interests in such lands.

The act further provides that as a condition to the extension of benefits under the act on privately owned lands, the Secretary of Agriculture may, insofar as he may deem necessary for the purposes of the act require contributions in money, services, materials, or otherwise to any operations conferring such benefits.

The other is the 1936 Flood Control Act, primarily designed to cover works of improvement for flood control in downstream locations. In the act, however, the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to make surveys on the watershed lands in the interest of soil-erosion prevention, waterflow retardation and sediment control.

Under this legislation it was intended that the two programs should be coordinated and the Department of Agriculture was authorized to make surveys on the upper watersheds and the streams on which the Corps of Engineers made surveys for downstream work and when surveys on the upper watersheds were made by the Department of Agriculture, the Corps of Engineers was authorized to make downstream surveys and investigations.

Thus since 1936 there have been two acts under which the Department of Agriculture was authorized to carry out watershed programs.

So it can be seen that Federal aid to watershed programs is not a new idea but it is a fact that during the period which has elapsed since 1935 accomplishments in this field have been very meager, both as compared with what has been done in the way of downstream flood-control works and with what has been accomplished in the field of soil conservation.

In fact it was not until last year that any activities in the way of Federal assistance to watershed programs was undertaken under the Soil Conservation Act of 1935. Until that time, all that was accomplished was confined to programs under the Flood Control Act of 1936.

In 1944, 11 watershed projects to be carried out by the Secretary of Agriculture were authorized under the 1936 Flood Control Act. These are all large projects, but appropriations have been so small in comparison with the amount of work to be done that at the existing rate it will be 40 or 50 years before some of the projects are completed.

In addition, under the 1936 act there have been 139 preliminary examinations and surveys made, divided as follows: 61 reports submitted to Congress; 22 reports under review; 26 surveys in progress; and 30 preliminary examination reports completed for surveys not started. These figures are as of a year ago. Undoubtedly some further work has been done in the meantime.

However, as far as actual work is concerned, everything that was done until July 1, 1954, was included in the 11 projects which have been enumerated. In other words, until a year ago the program being carried out under the 1936 Flood Control Act, as amended, was making no progress as far as new projects were concerned; and while the Department of Agriculture had made extensive surveys as mentioned above, it had not received sufficient funds to enable it to make survey reports on many watersheds where the Army engineers were making such reports on downstream projects.

I shall not go into the reasons for this lack of progress, but it all adds up to the fact that the program authorized by the 1936 act was simply not working as far as progress in watershed projects was concerned.

That situation had been apparent for several years past, notwithstanding the fact that there was a constantly growing interest in watershed programs on the part of the public. The full measure of the failure of the 1936 act to bring about watershed development is shown by the fact that the total funds made available for upstream flood pre-

vention improvements in the 11 watersheds up to and including the 1954 fiscal year have been $41 million.

By way of comparison, in round figures, the flood-control improvements completed and placed in operation by the Corps of Engineers to date have cost $1 billion. The projects which were in the construction stage in 1953 were estimated to cost $3.4 billion. Additional projects in the planning stage were estimated to cost $3.2 billion, and other flood-control projects authorized but on which no work had been accomplished, were estimated to cost $2½ billion. In other words, the total flood-control program on the larger rivers of the Nation today, including projects completed, under construction, being planned or authorized, represents a total cost of $9.2 billion. It is estimated that the total non-Federal contributions to the national flood-control program have been less than 8 percent. While it is not contended that the amount spend for upstream flood prevention during this period should have been comparable to the amount spent for downstream work, it was contemplated, I think, in the 1936 act that the two programs should move concurrently. Certainly the figures show the utter failure of the 1936 act as far as watershed programs are concerned.

It was this failure to make progress under the 1936 act that has finally brought about a different approach to Federal aid for watershed projects. The new approach is one which comes straight from the grass roots as a result of widespread interest on the part of members and officials of the soil-conservation districts and the activities of many conservative organizations, such as the one which is sponsoring this meeting today.

This "new look," to use a term which we frequently hear nowadays, has been reflected in a shift from activity under the 1936 act to programs set up under the original Soil Conservation Act of 1935.

This brings me to the pilot-plant program, the subject which has been assigned me today.

I am sure most of you are familiar with this program. You know that it was inaugurated under an appropriation contained in the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for 1954. It marks a complete break-away from the old program under the 1936 act and gets away from all of the red tape which had heretofore prevented the start of new upstream flood prevention conservation programs until agreement could be reached on the complicated and often controversial plans for major downstream works or further development of the whole river valleys.

These 62 projects which have been set up under the new program are being started under the authority contained in the 1935 act. They are entirely under the control and jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture. They are in the program by reason of the fact that local people, interested in solving local problems in the field of conservation and watershed protection, sat down together with the Soil Conservation Service and worked out a plan under which they agreed to carry out certain obligations on their part in return for such assistance as the Federal Government might be able to give them under the 1935 Soil Conservation Act.

Seemingly, this program was gotten up in a hurry. Certainly it went through Congress with a minimum of discussion and with unusual speed. But the fact is, the pilot-plant program was not developed quickly or suddenly, but rather as the result of work over a period of years which has been done by the Soil Conservation Service working with local groups in all parts of this country. The only thing sudden or new about the program was the decision to go ahead over a period of years under the 1935 act and do the job that needed to be done through cooperation between local communities and the Federal Government.

The 62 small projects which have been started as a result of the item carried in the 1954 appropriation bill are scattered widely throughout the country. They will serve as demonstration projects to help work out the patterns and procedures for future programs of this kind and to demonstrate to cities and local communities what can be done in this important field of conservation.

The total estimated Federal cost of all of these projects is $28,706,000. The appropriation for the fiscal year 1954 is $5 million and the budget estimate for 1955 is in the same amount.

One of the projects will be completed during this fiscal year. Others are in various stages of progress, although it has not been possible in all cases to get the work started as promptly as hoped for. The program covers a 5-year period, although a number of projects will be completed much earlier. The estimated total cost of the program is about 70 millions of dollars, of which about 34 million or its equivalent will be expended by landowners or operators. About 7 million will come from State and local funds. The remainder of approximately 29 millions of dollars will come from Federal funds. This will be less than 50 percent of the total.

These watersheds range in size from less than 6,000 to more than 250,000 acres. For individual watersheds, the total cost will range from less than $100,000 to more than 6½ million. The maximum Federal cost on any one project will be 2.2 million.

The most significant and, to me, the most inspiring aspect of this pilot plant program is the enthusiasm of the local people and their willingness to take the initiative in sponsoring and carrying out the projects. I have received many letters from officials of local soil conservation districts as well as individuals in watershed districts expressing their enthusiasm over this program and their gratification at the progress which was being made.

The pilot plant program, although the total amount of funds involved is comparatively small, was a dramatic step in the field of water conservation. This is not because the program itself was new—because it was not—but rather because it marked the beginning of a new policy which meant that from now on these watershed programs were going to stand on their own feet and not be a neglected adjunct to downstream flood control developments.

This is not said in criticism of what has been done on downstream programs. It is not said in criticism of any other agency of the Government but simply as a statement of fact which deserves to be recorded. Certainly as we proceed with these programs there must be coordination and cooperation between the agencies doing downstream work and the Department of Agriculture in its activities in the upper watersheds. I am sure there will be cooperation.

While the pilot plant projects marked the first specific step to be taken in getting the watershed program off to a new start it is limited of course in its extent. Its importance however should not be judged solely by the fact that it embraces only 62 projects, some of which are quite small.

Its importance derives not only from the fact that it marks a new approach but also because it constitutes a program on which it was possible to make an immediate start.

Furthermore because the projects are widely scattered there is a great variation in rainfall, topography, climate, and types of soil. Thus there will not only be an opportunity to study the effects of these installations on runoff, erosion, sedimentation, and evaporation but there will exist in widely scattered areas actual projects on which work can be completed within a comparatively short time which will serve as demonstrations of what can be done in this field.

In order that these scientific studies may be carried out there will be installed as a part of the operation of these projects the necessary instruments to measure and record the effects and results. Also cooperative arrangements are being made with the Geological Survey and the Weather Bureau in order that we may have the benefit of their activities in measuring, recording, and analyzing the effects of the installations and the practices which will be carried out in connection with them.

However, it should be very clearly understood that these projects are not experiments. They are being installed as the result of almost 20 years of experience on the part of the Soil Conservation Service in projects of this type. Every installation is expected to serve a useful purpose in the field of conservation and flood prevention.

Now I want to leave the pilot plant program and conclude my remarks with a discussion of the general watershed bill which in one form or another has been pending in the House of Representatives for the past 3 years and which passed that body on Thursday, March 11. A similar bill is now pending in the Senate and it is hoped that action will be taken in that body reasonably soon. The bill which passed the House was reported unanimously by the Committee on Agriculture and passed the House without a dissenting vote. As already indicated this bill has been the subject of consideration by the House Committee on Agriculture for several years past. It was the subject of hearings both in Washington and throughout the country during the 82d Congress. At these hearings the bill had the support of every major farm organization, most of the large groups interested in resources conservation and development as well as by such important organizations as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the CIO, and the American Federation of Labor.

It has the full and complete support of the Eisenhower administration and was the subject of a special message from the President to the Congress on July 31, 1953.

With that message was included a revised draft of the House bill—and the bill which passed the House on March 11 was exactly the same as the bill proposed by the President with the exception of three minor perfecting amendments.

In this message the President made the following significant statements:

"It is fortunate that today there is a growing recognition on the part of land users and the public generally of the need to strengthen conservation in our upstream watersheds and to minimize flood damage. Inadequate conservation measures and unsound land-use patterns vastly increase the danger of loss of valuable topsoil from wind erosion in time of subnormal rainfall and from water erosion in time of floods.

"This should be done as an integral part of our total flood-control and water-use program. In our past efforts to better utilize our water resources, to control floods and to prevent loss of life and property, we have made large investments on the major waterways of the Nation. Yet we have tended to neglect the serious waste involved in the loss of topsoil from the Nation's farms and the clogging of our streams and channels which results from erosion on the upper reaches of the small streams and tributaries of the Nation's rivers.

"It is important, too, for groups of farmers banded together in local organizations, such as soil-conservation districts and watershed associations, to take the initiative, with the technical advice and guidance of the appro-

priate Federal and State agencies, in developing adequate plans for proper land use and resource improvement in watersheds throughout the Nation. As these plans are prepared and local agreement and cooperation are assured, I believe that we should move ahead in the construction of works of improvement and the installation of land-treatment measures as rapidly as possible consistent with a sound overall fiscal program."

This bill is in thorough harmony with the statements of the President which I have just quoted. It does not create any new authority or enlarge the existing authority of the Department of Agriculture to deal with soil- and water-conservation work or upstream watershed activities. On the contrary, it takes away some of the authority previously possessed by the Department because it repeals that part of the Flood Control Act of 1936 which confers authority on the Department of Agriculture to deal with watershed programs as a part of the national flood-control program to which I have already made reference. It repeals those provisions because they are not needed and because their use and existence has tended to complicate and hinder rather than advance the cause of watershed protection.

However, the bill specifically provides that the 11 projects which have been set up under this act shall be continued and completed and in no way affected by the repeal of the provision in question.

What the act does, as stated in the report, is to provide the legislative authority and direction for cooperative Federal and local action in attacking the problems of upstream soil and water conservation and flood prevention.

It will provide the policies, the framework, and the standards under which action in this field can be taken jointly by the Federal Government, States, counties, and other local government entities, soil conservation or watershed districts, and local citizens' groups based on the sound principle of payment for value received.

The bill provides that the cost of the program and the improvements shall be shared equitably between the participants in proportion to the benefit which each will receive. The program will supplement both our present agricultural soil- and water-conservation programs and our programs for the development and flood potection of major river valleys. It will bridge the gap between these two types of programs and greatly enhance the ultimate benefits of both. It will provide an additional means of aiding in the conservation of scarce water supplies.

Under the policies established by this bill plans and projects will not be handed down from the top as part of some overall development plan but can be initiated only by the people of the localities most intimately involved and can be carried into operation only with the fullest cooperation and initiative on the part of local groups and agencies.

The legislation will make possible more cooperation and better teamwork between the Department of Agriculture and the Army engineers and other Government agencies dealing with water resources because it defines the responsibilities of the Department of Agriculture in the watershed field and thereby makes it easier to bring about a coordination of programs on the basis of understandable terms spelled out by the Congress.

Contrary to certain statements that have been made this program does not in any way infringe on the downstream program of the Army engineers nor does that program duplicate or infringe upon the watershed activities of the Department of Agriculture.

The differences in the nature of the activities carried on by the two agencies is clearly shown by the record. Up to the present time the Corps of Engineers has built or has under construction a total of 165 flood control and multiple purpose reservoirs which will have a total of storage capacity of approximately 158 million acres each. The average size of these reservoirs is therefore approximately 958,000 acre-feet. The Corps of Engineers has built a total of 10 dams that contain less than 7,000 acre-feet of storage and these 10 special-purpose dams contain just three ten-thousandths of 1 percent of the total storage provided by the Corps of Engineers in all its reservoirs for flood control and other purposes.

On the other hand, the record shows that the Department of Agriculture has completed or has under construction in the 11 watersheds authorized for flood-prevention programs in 1944 a total of 204 waterflow retarding structures containing a total storage of approximately 112,00 acre-feet, or an average storage per structure of 556 acre-feet. Only 2 of these structures were over 5,000 acre-feet in size.

In other words the average capacity of reservoirs built by the Corps of Engineers to date has been 1,724 times that of the average waterflow retardation dams built by the Department of Agriculture. Under the pending bill the structures to be built under the Department of Agriculture program are limited to those which provide 5,000 acre-feet or less of total capacity.

Taken in connection with the above figures it will be seen that this limitation of 5,000 acre-feet substantially marks the line between the smallest structures which have been built by the Army engineers and the largest structures built by the Soil Conservation Service.

To sum up, this bill embodies what I conceive to be a simple, sound, and practical soil- and water-conservation program. That conception can be expressed as follows:

First. There is such a close relationship between soil conservation and water conservation that they are in many respects the same.

Second. The water which a farmer retains in his fields by practical conservation measures, which soaks into the soil of our forests, or which is retained in small upstream water-holding structures, will not contribute to floods in the rivers below and will be available for constructive use if it is needed.

Third. While much has been done, and is being done, in the way of soil conservation on the land itself, and vast sums have been spent or obligated for flood-control projects in our main river valleys, we have done practically nothing toward the treatment of upstream watersheds in a coordinated manner so as to bridge the gap between the downstream activities of the Corps of Engineers and the land treatment and utilization practices of our soil-conservation programs.

Fourth. This type of conservation is the responsibility of all the people, and it should be carried out as a cooperative activity between the Federal Government, States, local government entities, and individuals.

Fifth. Insofar as practicable, the cost of this kind of program should be shared among the participants on the basis of benefits received. The Federal Government should bear the cost of those benefits which will accrue to the Nation as a whole or are interstate in character. The States and local agencies should bear a cost proportionate to the benefits which will accrue to the States and local communities within the State. Farmers themselves should share in the cost in proportion to the value and productivity which will be added to their own land.

Sixth. It is not necessary to wait until complete plans for whole river valleys have been worked out and agreed upon before carrying out this upstream work. This work will need to be done, no matter what type of downstream development is finally decided upon. Much of it is urgently needed now. More than two-thirds of all the annual flood loss in the United States occurs above our main river valleys—above the areas which would be protected by downsteam flood-control projects—and silt from these upstream areas is even now destroying our investment in downstream structures and adding to the complexity of downstream problems.

I am assuming, of course, that this legislation will be enacted by the Senate. For it to fail now would be unthinkable. After that, just how important this program may become depends upon you, the people who live in the watersheds. Upon you rests the responsibility of setting up a local organization, of initiating the projects, of raising the funds, securing the land and easements, and assuming the responsibility for operation and maintenance.

To a lesser extent, it depends upon the willingness of Congress to appropriate funds; but in this Congress will undoubtedly follow the sentiment of the country, keeping in mind the availability of funds and economic conditions.

What has been accomplished legislatively so far is due to the support which the legislation has received from the country; from the farmers and farm organizations; from businessmen and business organizations; from labor groups and organizations; from conservation groups like this one; and from all those who believe in conservation in all walks of life.

Only through your continued interest and support can this program realize its full potentialities. It will cost money, yes—but to me every dollar we spend for purposes of this kind is an investment in the future of America—an investment which will be returned many times.

Representative Frank S. Giles, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under consent, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a stirring appeal from a fine young American that became the feature news in the April 18 edition of the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass.

Representative Frank S. Giles, Jr., is a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, where he also serves as the Republican whip.

His home is in Methuen, scarcely more than a half hour's ride from Lexington and Concord, where the American Revolution began.

Frank Giles is a "minuteman" of 1954, aware of the present danger, fighting it with forthright courage and sincerity, summoning us to join with him in routing communism from its hiding places and defeating it with the spirit that is America.

Massachusetts is in the forefront of that fight, leading the way as it has ever since the first crusaders for freedom stepped ashore at Plymouth Rock.

Frank Giles is the living symbol of that spirit.

Young, intelligent, clear-sighted, and purposeful, he calls us to arms against the menace of our century with the sure

and indomitable voice of the town meeting democracy that nourished him.

We in Massachusetts are proud of him.

To the fainthearted, to the sophisticates, to those who have become confused and used by the subtle and divisive techniques of communism, we recommend the words and actions of Frank Giles, who truly represents the people where American patriotism was born.

In speaking for them, he awakens in us the passion for freedom and the vigilance in its defense that constitutes our mightiest weapons.

"Legion Alerted To Lead Fight" was the banner headline in the Lawrence Sunday Sun of April 18, 1954, that gave well-merited recognition to the address he delivered before the Essex County Council of the American Legion at the home of Methuen Post, No. 122, on April 17.

His remarks are worthy of a national audience.

They will inspire everyone who reads them to become "minutemen" in the struggle against communism, which is the worst of all tyrannies.

The article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE GILES URGES SAME VIGILANCE AGAINST HIDDEN ADVOCATES OF COMMUNISM THAT ANIMATED MINUTEMEN AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD ON APRIL 19, 1775

Calling upon all legionnaires to fight the hidden advocates of communism with the same alertness and zeal that animated the minutemen of Essex and Middlesex Counties when they battled a visible foe—the redcoats of Lord Percy—at Lexington and Concord on April 19 in 1775, Representative Frank S. Giles, Jr., Republican whip of the Massachusetts Legislature, made a stirring appeal to the patriotism of every citizen in a speech before the Essex County Council of the American Legion, meeting Saturday night at the home of Methuen Post, No. 122.

Stating that today "America faces a new challenge" in "the insidious technique of those masters of the intellectual underworld who seek to subvert our youth, infiltrate our institutions of learning, and transform the America you and I love into a Soviet state," Representative Giles lauded the consistently anti-Communist attitude of the American Legion as the highest possible type of pure Americanism.

The text of Representative GILES' address follows:

"As you gather here in my home town of Methuen, on the outskirts of rock-ribbed Essex County, we of the eastern Massachusetts area are preparing in a few hours to observe a holiday which is peculiarly and distinctly ours.

"I refer, of course, to Patriot's Day. On Monday we shall honor the memory of those patriotic forebears who 179 years ago in the dawn of the 19th of April in 1775 on Lexington's Green and at Concord's rude bridge 'fired the shots heard 'round the world.'

"The reverberations of their musketry will never die. So long as there are free men, and women, so long as the ideals of our democracy are constantly invigorated by such outstanding organizations as the American Legion, the sacrifice of those Essex County men who tramped the lanes and meadows between here and those famous Middlesex towns to repulse the trained forces of Lord Percy will remain fresh in the hearts of all loyal Americans.

"Today—179 years after the muskets of our Essex County farmers helped to defeat the strongest power on the European Continent—America faces a new challenge.

"On Lexington's Green, our forebears at least had tangible and living foes upon which to train their muskets. Today all who love America and our way of life have no certainty that we can stand up to such a visible enemy. The exponents of the Godless and materialistic philosophy who seek to abolish the American system and replace it with their own despicable way of life do not operate in the open.

"Their first and perhaps greatest messiah publicly boasted, and I quote the words of Lenin:

" 'I will conquer the greatest Nation in the world without firing a single shot.'

"Vainglorious words. Words that, with God's help, will never be made a reality. But they illustrate the insidious technique of those masters of the intellectual underworld who seek to subvert our youth, infiltrate our institutions of learning, and transform the America you and I love into a Sovietized state.

"Daily their insidious work becomes more obvious as additional apostles of the philosophy of Communism are dragged forcibly from the positions of power into which they have clearly infiltrated.

"And, throughout all of your many years of service, from the First World War, through the second world conflict, into the Korean Red-inspired attack upon our freedom, you have constantly demanded that America remain strong, and that its priceless heritage to civilization be preserved intact for future generations.

"How wise you have been. How patriotic and rewarding has been your service only the America of the future will fully appreciate.

"On the grim morning of April 19, 1775, when the embattled farmers of Essex and Middlesex Counties engaged in the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington which were to change not only the world's maps but the entire course of human history, our forebears had but two things upon which to place their reliance, the skill of their musketry, and faith in their God.

"How true the constant demand of their field commanders that they 'keep their powder dry.'

"Today the American people, engaged in the greatest conflict for economic and spiritual survival in their history, are reduced to the self-same expedients.

"Their greatest resources are still the strong offense and faith in their Creator.

"We, too, must keep our powder dry.

"And our 'powder' is the great spiritual force contained in national unity.

"Together with a striking force impregnable against attack from any quarter, we must have behind it a solidified people, a Nation economically and spiritually strong in its resolution and determination to defend and enrich the American way of life."

Nixon Speech Jolts Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, it appears that the Eisenhower administration is now facing up to the situation in Indochina. The recent comments of the Vice President with regard to Indochina make clear the seriousness of the situation.

This is a matter of such importance that all of us must keep in mind but a single objective—the welfare of our country. No matter how justifiably outraged we may have been by the false charges, the cheap sloganeering, and the political chicanery of the political hucksters, this is no time for politics.

The President has a right to expect cooperation in an emergency. He should tell us the facts. He should tell us the policy of our Government with regard to Indochina. The President has a right to believe that informed and responsible citizens will react to an emergency as patriots, not as partisans.

In this connection, I include two excellent articles by Richard L. Strout, of the Christian Science Monitor:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of April 19, 1954]

POLITICAL ECHOES: NIXON SPEECH JOLTS NATION

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—Vice President RICHARD M. NIXON'S unequivocal declaration that the United States cannot afford the loss of Indochina, that it must defend that region alone if necessary, even to the dispatch of American troops, changes the whole political climate in Washington.

It changes so many positions that had been assumed to be fixed, alters so many conceptions of administration policy, and throws up so many balls of controversy for the two parties that its effect is not yet measurable. Even the effort by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to moderate the Nixon statement and suggest it was unlikely that American troops would go to Indochina did not greatly alter the new atmosphere.

The Nixon statement is probably one of the big events of the fall election.

To begin with, the circumstances plainly indicate that it was not the offhand, casual remark of an official on the spur of the minute.

BLIND ALLEYS

Mr. NIXON took the platform at the editors' convention here as a scheduled speaker, spoke carefully and deliberately, and many thought brilliantly, covered the whole field of Asiatic policies, and then with the same care and deliberation answered questions candidly for half an hour.

The essence of the Nixon speech was to take up one after another the alternatives in Indochina and to show that each is probably a blind alley except that requiring greater United States intervention and aid.

Listeners could not but feel that Mr. NIXON was speaking with the full knowledge and weight of the administration and National Security Council, of which he is a member.

LEAK CALLED NATURAL

As to whether Mr. NIXON knew he would be quoted directly, there are still two schools of thought. Ostensibly the speech was off the record, but neither Mr. NIXON nor the administration is so naive that it can believe a speech of this importance, given by the Vice President, in effect warning of the possible imminence of war, and delivered before a mixed audience of 1,000 composed of editors, reporters, their wives and guests, could be concealed. Actually it is amazing that it was 24 hours rather than 1 or 2 before the facts were out.

The heart of the Nixon speech involved the following points:

Indochina is a continuation of the South Korean war and the stake of each is the same—Japan. The United States simply can't afford to let the industrial potential of Japan—equal to about half that of the Soviet Union—fall into the Communist orbit.

The natives won't put their heart into the fight because they are afraid they won't get independence.

It is to the short-term interest of both France and Britain to seek a negotiated peace in Indochina, though Mr. NIXON says flatly (and buttresses this with arguments) that this actually means quick Communist domination.

Among all these unpleasant circumstances the cardinal fact is that Indochina is too important for the United States to lose and that it can't retreat further in the area—even if it means dispatch of American soldiers.

GRAVITY STRESSED

All this was said with deepest gravity, care, and deliberation. It carried immense weight because so much of it seemed against the political interest of the administration, a fact Mr. NIXON frankly faced himself. He took deserved credit to the Eisenhower administration for facing up to a problem which he agreed would be politically unpopular. Some observers were amazed when Mr. NIXON went so far as to declare it was perhaps unwise to have ended the Korean war when it did without victory. Here is how the Associated Press quoted this fragment of the Nixon questions and answers:

"By hindsight a 'better decision might have been made during the Korean war' that would have 'inflicted a substantial defeat on the Chinese Communists at that point and take the risks.' The end of the Korean war," he said, "produced the present French crisis by permitting the Chinese Communists to increase their help to the Communist-led Vietminh forces."

MEANING SCOUTED

Mr. NIXON'S meaning was a little obscure and the transcript of his address, submitted to the State Department and in the possession of the newspaper editors, has not been released. According to one version, Mr. NIXON felt that the Korean war should have been pushed to victory in 1 or 2 of the drives north; according to another he implied that ending it without victory was open to question "in hindsight."

A startling feature of the affair is how rapidly the Eisenhower administration's views appear to have crystallized and altered.

This is where the political echoes are bound to be loudest.

The mere possibility of sending United States troops back into Asia after getting an armistice rouses emotions. In view of the present feelings in Washington, that Mr. NIXON should have boldly advanced such a course indicates with what deep seriousness the administration takes the Indochina crisis. Talk like this hasn't been heard around here since the Greek and Turkish intervention and the Korean crisis itself.

Only 1 month ago, on March 15, Mr. NIXON, in a nationwide radio-television address, replied to Adlai E. Stevenson's questions about the administration's New Look. One rhetorical question Mr. NIXON put to Mr. Stevenson was:

"First, does he [Mr. Stevenson] think the Korean war should not have been stopped?"

His second question was whether Mr. Stevenson opposed withdrawing United States divisions from South Korea whose presence (Mr. NIXON argued) was made unnecessary by the New Look policy.

In this speech—only a month ago—Mr. NIXON clung to the thesis that the threat of "massive retaliation" had ended the chance of involvement in peripheral wars (presumably like that in Indochina):

"Rather than let the Communists nibble us to death all over the world in little wars, we would rely in the future primarily on our massive mobile retaliatory power which we could use in our discretion against the major source of aggression at times and places that we chose."

[From the Christian Science Monitor of April 22, 1954]

WHAT ARE THE FACTS, MR. PRESIDENT?

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—Every now and then some great crisis arises in America's life that can involve peace or war. Such an emergency came just before Pearl Harbor; it came in the Greek-Turkish crisis; it came again in the invasion of South Korea. The Nation has to be aroused and mobilized—quick. Sometimes the Nation has been worked up to the affair; sometimes as in the Greek-Turkish crisis, it hasn't.

The process of mobilizing national attention and understanding in these really first-rate emergencies is a law to itself. The United States is not like England. All the news nerves in England lead to London. But the United States is a continent country. News may appear for weeks in the New York and Washington papers and not emotionalize itself in the isolated home on the prairie, or the cabin in the cotton, or the city tenement.

There is no substitute here for a direct, first-hand talk by one man, the President. He can talk into TV and radio, or he can make a sudden, dramatic appearance before a joint session of Congress. That is about the one thing calculated to make the great news organization of America click—like a fire alarm we all hear.

In the past months there were solemn signs in Washington of a major development, or evolution, of foreign policy. Reporters have noticed it, but they have felt some concern as to whether their alerts and alarms were being understood. That is partly because the administration has been shifting its own approach.

Take a couple of illustrations. At Mr. Eisenhower's press conference February 10 he said he could conceive of no greater tragedy than for America to get heavily involved now in all-out war in Indochina. No one could be more bitterly opposed to such involvement. But on March 25 Mr. Eisenhower's approach was different. He did not contradict what he had said earlier. But he warned with deep gravity that the defense of Indochina was of "transcendent importance." Emphasis in the first comment tended to be negative; in the second, positive.

A month ago Vice President NIXON, similarly, in a radio-TV speech answering Adlai Stevenson, defended the New Look in military affairs as something that minimized the dangers of peripheral wars, or of new Koreas. He asked Mr. Stevenson rhetorically if he would have continued the war in Korea. Hardly a month later, on Friday, April 16, Mr. NIXON off the record candidly and solemnly told newspaper editors here that the United States could not give ground further in Indochina; that in the unlikely chance of French collapse he personally felt the stake so grave that he would favor sending American soldiers, and that it may have been a mistake, in hindsight, not to have fought the South Korea war to a complete victory.

There have been supplementary developments. The instant-retaliation slogan now suddenly seems discarded, if not discredited. Simultaneously Mr. Eisenhower has taken drastic action, (1) to declare Eisenhower policy that United States troops will be kept in Europe; (2) to back the drive for an anti-Communist front in southeast Asia; (3) to introduce new bills to revise the Atomic Energy Act to share certain secrets with our allies.

Anybody in Washington can see that big things are stirring. The question is whether this message is getting out to the public? The news seems contradictory in some aspects. The question I ask is whether anything short of a specific, categorical, personal statement by President Eisenhower can make the public understand the gravity which the administration seems to feel. Talking with Senators of both parties, I find them confused. Mr. Eisenhower in 1952 built up the idea of no more Koreas; the thesis was advanced of instant retaliation indicating that the A-bomb made peripheral small wars unlikely, or unnecessary.

The Army was reduced. Only on March 15 Mr. NIXON told the country that our massive mobile retaliatory power would deal with the Communist effort to nibble us to death all over the world in little wars. The administration deserves, and will get, patriotic support in any big emergency. But it must first make its position completely clear.

A Price Formula Is Not Enough For a Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, the April issue of the Country Gentleman magazine contains an interesting and thought provoking editorial by Albert J. Ebers, of Seward, Nebr. Mr. Ebers operates a farm of 280 acres near Seward, 160 acres of which have been in the family since 1880. Mr. Ebers is a graduate of the Nebraska College of Agriculture, overseer of the Nebraska State Grant, a director of the Nebraska State Dairymen's Association, a leader of a 4–H soil-conservation club, and a member of three farm cooperatives. In 1951 he was honored by being elected to the Nebraska Hall of Agricultural Achievement.

It seems to me that this editorial article by Mr. Ebers contains much food for thought. His suggestions are both sound and practical and I believe they represent the views of many farmers who have been giving serious consideration to agricultural problems in recent years. It seems to me that the ideas so well presented by Mr. Ebers should be given most careful consideration by the Congress in formulating the Agricultural Act of 1954.

I am happy to place this article in the RECORD and sincerely hope it will be read by all Members of Congress:

A PRICE FORMULA IS NOT ENOUGH FOR A FARM PROGRAM

Can farm production be controlled by prices? This economic law of business is being proposed for agriculture and is accepted by many in nonfarm circles. If applied to agriculture it will not hold because the controlling factors are different. Farm production cannot be adjusted simply by lowering prices, and it will be a mistake to base a farm program on that assumption.

The first and most universal law observed by all farmers is that the greatest profit comes from the highest yield. Experience has taught us that this is so and it fits the natural inclination of the farmer to raise the largest crop and manage his livestock enterprise to get the best returns possible.

On family-sized farms, 75 percent of the costs are now fixed. The farmer cannot reduce them by firing himself or letting a part of his land lie idle, for it is the last few acres and last few bushels of yield that may bring the margin of profit over costs. Moreover, as

the prices of his products decline the farmer is harder pressed for efficiency, and the biggest factor in efficiency is high yield. So he will strive for the highest possible yield to maintain his standard of living and meet his fixed costs. Farmers did that in the 2 years of lowest farm income—1932 and 1933—when they planted the largest acreage on record in crops.

Those who say that lowering prices will reduce farm production either have not farmed for too long or do not believe history. It may even have an opposite effect. Take, for instance, the dairy farmer whose cows in 1953 netted $200 per cow in milk receipts over feed costs. Say that in 1954, because of lower milk prices, his herd will net only $125 a cow. With your income reduced three-eighths, would you reduce it further by selling off some of your cows? Hardly. More likely, if your feed production and milking setup would enable you to do it, you would try to make up for this reduction in income by increasing your herd.

A change in farm policy will not change the facts. The farmer knows that the lower his prices go the more he must try to come out even by striving for the most efficient production and the highest yield.

Therefore, flexible price supports will tend to flex only downward, as they will have no noticeable effect on total farm production.

Something besides a purely price formula is necessary in a farm program that will enable farming to come through this surplus period safely, and without endangering the whole economy through the loss of farm-purchasing power.

In considering such a program certain facts, well realized by farmers, will have to be faced. One of the present theories is that farmers can be induced, either by acreage and marketing controls or lower prices, to shift out of a product that is in surplus production.

Farmers will restrict acreages of surplus crops if all farmers do so through Government programs, but restricted acres will be put in the next most profitable crop so that overall production will be reduced but little.

Ordinarily we have some choice between crops we raise, and can shift acreage from one crop to another if it is more profitable. But usually prices of farm crops in any region stay in a rather stable relationship with one another, and unless one is in short supply, it will not pay to make a shift. Also we have the choice of deciding whether it will be more profitable to sell our crops, or if we have livestock, to feed them. This, too, is not as much of a choice as it first seems, for if a farmer is equipped for dairying, he will keep dairy cows and must feed them. Here again efficiency counts more for profit than shifting to another livestock enterprise.

But now the opportunity to shift from one crop or one kind of livestock to another has become less open to us. Research and farming progress have produced higher yielding crops and increased breeding and feeding efficiency to such an extent that our farm output potential is away above domestic needs.

An effectual farm program consequently must have these other objectives besides price supports:

1. Expanding outlets for farm products by finding ways of trading our surpluses to foreign countries or using them to promote our interests abroad, and by developing larger markets at home.

2. Bringing about a better balance between farm production and market needs by diverting sufficient acreage to soil conserving and other nonsurplus uses until we can work our surpluses down to safe carryover proportions.

I think farmers generally want the most use possible made of our surplus production, both at home and abroad. This might be helped by a two-price system, particularly for wheat and cotton, whereby domestically used production would bring a parity price and the surpluses move into world trade at world market prices. Many of us feel, too, that more effort should be directed toward finding new uses for farm products through research and also toward cutting down the growing price spread between farmers and consumers, so that our own people could afford more and higher quality food products.

These measures will take time. Meanwhile, storing our surplus fertility in the land, for use when needed, would be a better investment than storing surplus production in elevators and warehouses. It would protect farm price levels now and consumer needs in the future.

Those of us who farm use the products of industry in both our living and our work. We know from past history that when farm prices are low for any extended period, compared with things the farmer has to buy, the effects spread to all other lines of business and employment. Our economy is feeling a little of the influence of below-parity farm prices now. That is why a program that will maintain stable farm prices and income is as much to the interest of the public as it is to the farmer.

Patriots' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Daily Globe, Boston, Mass., of Monday, April 19, 1954:

PATRIOTS' DAY

"The difference between a people really free and all others," remarked a thoughtful historian recently, "is that the former always have a very good idea about what makes them tick. The latter seldom ask themselves whether they do or not."

Massachusetts has an excellent illustration of this point handy today as Boston and nearby communities turn once more to observance of Patriots' Day. Why is it that year after year this typically American folk tale is reenacted by the people themselves? How does it happen that, generation by generation, the children of a country altered out of all comparison with colonial Boston and the simple rural hamlets that once sprawled the countryside from Cambridge to Concord and Lexington are initiated into this precious ritual of remembrance? And why—to broaden the question—do scores of thousands of Americans stream into this same hallowed area every summer, from one end of America to the other, to stand thoughtfully at Concord Bridge; to wander down the village green and meditate before the famous battle monument?

Patriots' Day has been through the vicissitudes common to the annals of our national historical festivals. It has provided the theme for uncounted thousands of orations, the setting for none knows how many pageants. During the twenties (like so many episodes our our past history) it underwent the inevitable debunking, a mere brawl on a village green, fearfully exaggerated, a silly affair precipatated by a few hotheads, the first act in a tragedy of needless misunderstanding.

Nevertheless, it has survived, strengthened if anything by the very ordeal undergone for survival, waning no whit in popularity, its dramatis personae a part of the living biography of a people, its script, replete in detail, absorbed into the very bloodstream of that people's consciousness and identity. There is more to this, apparently, than the mere momentum of habit and established custom.

A few years before the onset of World War II, an estimable and wise old friend, deeply versed in the American legend, confessed to a certain uneasiness about the spirit of our people. Patriotism, he observed, seemed to be on the wane. Some time in the wake of World War I, under the bludgeonings of official corruption, blatant greed, social violence, and disillusionment bred of cynicism, official and public, it had begun to decay.

"The difficulty," he suggested, "is that principles are becoming blurred. That is usually the prelude to confusion, division, and national apathy. It signifies that men are losing faith in each other. Your real patriot has to feel confident that his stand for principle will find supporters. In a generation mute and apathetic—or worse—he is lost."

Half a dozen years later the Nation rallied from economic disaster, galvanized its will and reenergized its faith, in the most magnificent solidarity its people had ever displayed, to snatch victory from the most terrible of wars. An appeal had been made to its principles.

What makes a people tick? Patriots' Day proffers a useful opportunity to ask that question again, at this mid-twentieth-century transition point in our history.

Not the recurrent shouts of the tubthumpers, quite clearly. Not the alternating doses of officially generated alarm and beseechments, from the same quarters, to remain calm. None of these touch the heart of the matter. Neither will one find answer in current campaigns to press conformity of opinion upon the public, to water the seeds of hatred, or to undermine the tenets by which freemen and women must live if they are to survive with integrity and selfrespect.

What makes a people tick is its principles, clearly grasped and courageously fought for by those who care, even if they are for the moment few. Let us not forget that the patriots who gave this day a name by their action were extremely unpopular among the timid and the comfortable, hereabouts. Champions of principle usually are.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

Oppenheimer Will Get a Fair Hearing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Oppenheimer Will Get a Fair Hearing," which appeared in the April 20, 1954, issue of the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky.

Dr. Oppenheimer deserves a fair hearing as an American citizen but the time has come when for security reasons all men in positions which affect the safety of our Nation must be more than outstanding men in their respective fields. They must first, last and always be active and loyal Americans with not only knowledge of what our Nation stands for but with a deep abiding belief in those principles, one of which is "We the peo-

ple of the United States in order to form a more perfect union establish justice for the United States of America." This principle also places responsibility upon investigators, congressional committees, and our courts to conduct all hearings according to our system of jurisprudence and tradition without resort to tactics used under tyrannies. As pointed out by the Messenger, of Madisonville, Ky., Dr. Oppenheimer is assured a fair hearing under Gordon Gray.

I enclose at this point in the RECORD the editorial:

OPPENHEIMER WILL GET A FAIR HEARING

J. Robert Oppenheimer, so-called father of the atomic bomb, is entitled to—and we believe will get—a fair hearing on the question of his loyalty to the Government and the people of the United States. Already, though, those big prints which howl with anguish when the finger is pointed at any one who is suspected of disloyalty are building up a case for Dr. Oppenheimer. They are trying the doctor in advance, and the verdict when it comes in their editorial columns, will be one of acquittal.

Truth is, we have here one of the most serious cases of the kind that has confronted the American people. Oppenheimer has been suspended as an adviser for the Atomic Energy Commission, and some months ago a stone wall was erected between the scientist and our hydrogen bomb experiments, but this is too late, really. Suspension can accomplish little, the Messenger suggests respectfully, if Dr. Oppenheimer is disloyal. He knows all the secrets of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb for the simple reason that he was a leading genius in devising these mighty and fearsome weapons. However, it was necessary to sever him from further participation until his case is disposed of, and this has been done.

Dr. Oppenheimer denies that he is disloyal and brings to his defense a number of prominent and influential associates. He denies he was ever a communist, and the manner in which he insisted upon a hearing had a ring of sincerity to it. It is to be hoped that when the time comes, Dr. Oppenheimer will answer frankly the questions put to him, and that we will not see in this new case a reenactment of the fifth amendment technique which has disgusted Americans for some time, now.

There seems little doubt that Dr. Oppenheimer at one time showed considerable interest in the theories of communism, and also had friends who were Communists. That was in the days when a lot of intellectuals were dabbling in left-wing theories, and was before the realization dawned upon soldier-furnishing Americans that Russian-hatched philosophies were getting a hold in some American universities, in some of the big labor unions, and in the ranks of scientists and other intellectuals.

In Dr. Oppenheimer's case it is necessary to remember that he directed the big job on the atom bomb at Los Alamos, and the results which he produced for Uncle Sam are known to everybody. He says frankly that he opposed work on the hydrogen bomb, thinking it too terrible, but that he went to work wholeheartedly on the H-bomb when President Truman ruled that work should start.

This man—every man, too—deserves a full and fair hearing, and the Messenger is confident that, under Gordon Gray, Dr. Oppenheimer will have that kind of hearing. It is certain that if he will answer frankly and honestly the American people will arrive at a correct verdict as to whether this top scientist, while working for Uncle Sam, was at heart or maybe actively disloyal to the American people.

These are critical days in the life of our Republic and the ideals for which it stands, and the people are entitled to the truth about Dr. Oppenheimer and everybody else who has a hand in our destiny.

Let's Store Surplus Fertility in the Soil, Not in Elevators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, the March number of the Country Gentleman magazine contains an excellent editorial article entitled "Let's Store Surplus Fertility in the Soil, Not in Elevators."

I have read this editorial with a great deal of interest. It is most timely, and I commend it to the attention of all Members of Congress as containing helpful suggestions in connection with a long-range farm program.

The editorial follows:

LET'S STORE SURPLUS FERTILITY IN THE SOIL, NOT IN ELEVATORS

Most of the arguments over the new farm program involve only the issue of fixed or flexible price supports and ignore one plain, hard fact Any program that meets the necessities of the present situation must bring about a reasonable balance between production and what the markets will take at fair prices. Neither fixed nor flexible prices alone will do this.

Price supports on basic farm crops are necessary, but a sound farm program calls for something more. It calls for a policy that will store our surplus fertility in the soil instead of in elevators and warehouses or allowing it to depress farm prices through overproduction.

The answer has been at hand all the time in the basic Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, of which the 1948 and 1949 acts and current plans are merely offshoots. The basic 1938 act says in its preamble that its purpose is to "Provide for the conservation of national soil resources and to provide an adequate and balanced flow of agricutural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce and for other purposes."

Its declaration of policy put conserving national resources and preventing the wasteful use of soil fertility ahead of price-supporting loans and all other provisions of the program. Further, the act carried the power to make these aids to farmers conditional on "their treatment or use of their land, or a part thereof, for soil conservation, soil restoration * * * and changes in the use of their land."

In the political handling of the farm program this prior part of the basic farm law was shoved aside. All the emphasis came to be put on price supports and both the 1948 and 1949 acts and the extension of the 90-percent supports all continued this tendency. The result has been to get agriculture badly out of balance, with stored-up surpluses so large that expedients have to be contrived to relieve their price-depressing effects.

Nor is it now simply a problem of one or several surplus crops, but a problem of total farm production. Any forced or voluntary shift out of a surplus crop creates a surplus threat for others. In this sort of situation, programs that depend only on fixed or flexible price supports simply mean offering the same kind of cures, only in bottles of different strength, that have aggravated the trouble.

The only feasible solution lies in adjusting the balance between production and markets by the means contained in the basic 1938 act. Such a policy would enlist public support and, if presented in terms of the emergency that actually exists, should be acceptable to farmers. Many are thinking that way now, as indicated by the resolution of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which said: "By stockpiling fertility in the soil, we will build a 'soil fertility bank' as a reserve for use in national emergencies."

This policy can be put into effect in a number of ways under either type of price-support program. One method, suggested by a group of Illinois farmers, is cited here. Any farm or other unit producing one or more price-supported commodities would be given a minimum soil-conserving base. Only farmers who comply with this base would be eligible for price-supporting loans or production payments. This is in line with further proposals in the farm bureau resolution mentioned above. Compliance could be encouraged by increased ACP payments, as the Department of Agriculture is now considering. But these alone would not be enough to do the job.

By establishing such minimum soil-conserving bases on all farms producing price-supported crops it should be possible to remove enough acreage from competitive production to effect a reasonable balance between supply and markets. This would simply be good management, saving our capital resources instead of dissipating them to the farmers' own detriment. It would probably mean sacrifices for some. But the cost of not adopting such an adjustment policy would be a lot higher.

The No. 1 object of the new farm law ought to be to get us out of the present surplus emergency in a way that results in stability to farming and benefit to the Nation. A program which gears price supports to a prudent land-use policy offers the only visible hope of doing so.

What Civil Service?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDGAR A. JONAS
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. JONAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have watched with misgiving the manner in which the civil service merit system has been debauched over a period of nearly 2 decades, and who have observed the failure of current efforts to restore that system on any substantial basis, were heartened recently by a speech delivered by former President Herbert Hoover before the National Press Club here in Washington.

Mr. Hoover pointed out truthfully that the Federal civil service, as it was originally established, provided that Government employment should be based on competitive examination through a bipartisan Civil Service Commission. He quoted authentic figures to show that today only 1 in 2 Government employees holds his job by reason of demonstrated ability to do the work assigned him.

That 50 percent of Federal employees who never took a competitive examina-

tion, Mr. Speaker, comprises chiefly those who were "blanketed" under permanent civil service status by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, which turned over to patronage brokers the recruitment of employees for the so-called economic and war emergency agencies of Government.

Over the same period, while the executive branch of Government was working to stultify the civil-service system, the Congress enacted 72 laws which exempted segments of the service from the necessity of qualifying under the merit system as originally established.

As a result of these things, anyone is justified, when the Federal civil service is mentioned, in asking, "What civil service?"

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD today an editorial entitled "What Civil Service?" published recently in the Chicago Tribune. I believe it sets forth a fair statement of the civil-service problem with which Congress must deal:

WHAT CIVIL SERVICE?

Herbert Hoover, who has embarked on the leadership of another commission to promote efficiency and economy in the Federal Government, reported on his problems recently in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington.

Among those problems, he noted, is the civil service, which he pronounced the greatest industry in Washington. During the Roosevelt-Truman regime the number of Federal civilian employees expanded from 600,000 to 2,400,000.

"Any civil service to be efficient and to command public respect must be built upon competitive examination through the bipartisan Civil Service Commission," said Mr. Hoover, "and promotion must be based on merit. But those principles have been badly messed up.

"In the 20 years from 1932 to 1952, the Congress has enacted 72 laws exempting segments of the service from passing through the civil service merit gate. Other entrances around the gate have been discovered. How many got in without a pass, I do not know accurately, but the latest estimate I have heard is that the percentage of those who had passed through the merit gate had decreased from over 80 percent to about 50 percent."

Roosevelt began the debauchery of the civil service with the so-called emergency agencies that he created in 1933 to deal with the depression by buying democratic votes. On the plea that time would not permit recruiting of civil-service personnel, the jobs were turned over to the party patronage brokers. The same procedure was followed in the much larger war agencies. But as time went on all of these employees were "blanketed in" to the civil service—they were given civil-service status without being required to show that they could do the work they were hired to do.

The result, as Mr. Hoover noted it, is that 1 out of ever 2 Government servants can't prove his fitness to hold his job. Civil service to such an employee is more often than not a highly complicated instrument for protecting mediocrity, incompetence, or even crookedness and disloyalty.

If past sins are forgiven and the attempt is made to recreate the Federal civil service by again following the examination and merit system, it will take another 20 years to restore the system to good repute and efficiency. You can't get a good barrel of apples by putting sound fruit into it when half of its contents are already rotten.

If the Federal Government is to have a civil service worthy of the name, the way to achieve it is to make every present employee who entered the service or was advanced in it without examination take a proper examination for his present position, competing against any other applicants with proper qualifications. Competent employees would have nothing to fear.

Friendship Pays Dividends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an article written by Charles Lee Morgan entitled "Friendship Pays Dividends," which appeared in the April 15, 1954, issue of the Meade County Messenger, of Brandenburg, Ky.

Our expenditure for development and control of atomic energy has grown from $174 million in fiscal 1947 to an estimated $2.4 billion in fiscal 1955. We find that not all of this vast amount of money is to be used for military purposes alone because we are concerning ourselves to a large extent with the development of atomic energy for peacetime nondefense purposes. Business planning generally has radically changed in the past 90 days due to the H-bomb tests in the Pacific. As pointed out by the Meade County Messenger, the friendship of people in many countries is still the greatest security that any nation can possess.

The article is as follows:

FRIENDSHIP PAYS DIVIDENDS

(By Charles Lee Morgan)

In recent weeks the bomb tests in the Pacific have provoked discussions in capitals around the world. Prime Minister Churchill found it necessary to give the British a review of the agreements with the United States on the use of the atomic bomb. In various countries certain groups apparently favorable to the Communist cause have raised protests against the tests of bombs by the United States. As far as possible, they have tried to obtain official protests on the part of responsible officials of these countries. So far the official reaction in democratic countries has been favorable to the tests that are in progress or may be undertaken. Even the disaster suffered by the Japanese fisherman has not caused too much concern.

Probably the most outspoken reaction favorable to the United States has been that expressed by the Australian Government. In answer to Communist elements that wanted the government to ask that the tests be discontinued, the reply was that it was far more preferable for our friends to be testing such powerful weapons than our enemies. The inference is that the Australian Government would be much concerned if the Russians were engaged in such tests.

The friendship of people in many countries is the greatest security that any nation could possess. World opinion is a weapon that eventually prevails in the affairs of nations and people. During the years this country has attempted to deal fairly with other peoples, regardless of some questionable practices at times. The attitudes and the deeds of this country have been appreciated by the majority of nations. As opportunity presents itself at this time, they are expressing their feelings in this regard. Emerson said that in order to have friends it was first necessary to be one. This is a good rule for individuals as well as nations. Our friendship seems to be paying dividends in the most valuable specie.

What My Home State Offers Young People Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Miss Evelyn Ann Jackson, a student at the East High School, Memphis, Tenn., was awarded first prize in the scholarship contest sponsored by the Lion Oil Co., of El Dorado, Ark.

Four of these contests are offered by the company during the year to further education of young people in the South. She chose to write on the subject, What My Home State Offers Young People Today. It is very short, but is so well done that I have asked permission to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include it. In brief, it summarizes some of the advantages offered by the State of Tennessee.

The essay follows:

WHAT MY HOME STATE OFFERS YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY

No State could offer more beauty and variety or more possibilities for a young person of today than my own home State—Tennessee. It spreads like an Indian blanket—"all long and no wide"—432 miles from the crests of the Great Smoky Mountains to the currents of the Mississippi River.

Every Tennesseean has a just right to be proud of his State. Sturdy, intelligent, hospitable people, quantities and varieties of raw materials and natural resources, excellent transportation systems, unexcelled recreational facilities, and splendid educational opportunities are agencies worthy of pride. What more could one ask than human happiness which comes from education, recreation, economic security, and good health? Tennessee gives to each of her children such a heritage.

Tennessee's people, from the very beginning, have had the ability to take care of themselves, and an independence which hardships could not destroy. Coming from such vigorous, sturdy people is an asset to any young person. The natural, material, and cultural growth of the people has made possible our way of life, and southern hospitality is only a part of our everyday living.

In Tennessee one has the opportunity to pursue either agricultural or industrial interests. The land which produces the agricultural wealth of Tennessee holds also much of its industrial wealth. One may even select his section, since Tennessee is a threefold State. Like all Gaul, it is divided into three parts.

Each division is clearly laid out with very small farms in the mountainous east; dairying, livestock raising, tobacco, and truck farming in the blue-grass region of middle Tennessee, and large-scale cotton, corn, and hay crops in the west.

Because of the many different kinds of raw materials and natural resources, Ten-

nessee offers a great field in industry. From the mines, forests, and fields there has come an endless amount of raw materials—and out of her mills, shops, factories, and chemical plants powered by electricity from the great Tennessee Valley Authority come all kinds of finished and processed products.

Both the industrial and the agricultural growth is due, too, to excellent highways, rail, waterway, and air transportation systems.

There are 14 important railway systems, 9 major rivers, 8,200 miles of paved highways, and service from 7 of the Nation's principal airlines.

My State offers one of America's favorite playgrounds. It has high mountains, dense forests, big lakes, beautiful rivers, and fertile fields which provide fishing, boating, hunting, camping, and other recreational activities.

The educational facilities are far from the least of the State's advantages.

Tennessee has 49 institutions of higher learning. Nashville, the capital, has 10 colleges.

The medical school of the University of Tennessee at Memphis is the largest in the Nation in the number of students enrolled annually.

Since Tennessee offers her sons and daughters every opportunity to develop along all levels, it is surely up to us to become worthy men and women who will continue to lead a great State's progress.

Atomic Misinformation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, in recent days certain statements by persons, who by their position are generally presumed to be authoritative, have appeared which convey the impression that the successful development of hydrogen bombs by the United States has proceeded from, or is based upon, scientific principles or techniques developed by the Soviets. No doubt those making such statements are motivated by the highest of purposes, and this makes it doubly unfortunate that these statements are founded on unreliable information.

The statements generally contain remarks to the effect that by analyzing debris from Red bomb tests, we have been tipped off to some new principle, and thereafter, we immediately proceeded to build or design our hydrogen devices along Russian lines.

Such statements invite the reader to conclude that the hydrogen devices being tested during our current Pacific series are copies of the Russian test of last August. As any knowledgeable observer would realize, United States weapons tests are planned long in advance. Insofar as the present series of shots is concerned, the devices being tested were designed long before the Soviet thermonuclear explosion of last August 12, which was the first Red thermonuclear test. It is simply not correct to imply that following the Soviet test we proceeded to change our plans and copy so-called new principles.

I believe the public should be more fully informed concerning atomic matters but, in all honesty, I cannot see this objective being forwarded by statements which are at variance with the facts, particularly when such statements come from Government officials, including Congressmen, whose present positions or previous connections, lend their words special, although unwarranted, credence.

It seems to me that in this critical area of national security, it is highly important that statements by responsible Government officials be founded on fact. Statements of the type I have referred to, I can well imagine, will be used quite effectively for propaganda purposes by the Soviets.

United States Taxes Driving Little Man to Wall

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the following interesting and informative article appeared in a recent issue of the Kansas City Labor Beacon. The Beacon, a fast-growing paper, is filling a useful and important role in the greater Kansas City area:

UNITED STATES TAXES DRIVING LITTLE MAN TO WALL

Income taxes are forcing the little wage earner into bankruptcy.

While Congress rejects raising personal income-tax exemptions to stimulate business, and ease the economic plight of the little man, wage-earner petitions have taken the lead of Federal bankruptcy court here as the number of bankruptcies for March reached the highest level in 8 years.

And high United States income taxes are given as a major cause in the actions taken by wage earners.

These facts are revealed in a study of figures on March bankruptcy petitions released by Judge Henry A. Bundschu, of the Federal Bankruptcy Court for the Western Division of Missouri.

THIRD IN LIVING COSTS

Schedules prepared in accordance with bankruptcy procedures show that income taxes rank third in the living costs reported by petitioners. "Only food and rent take more of the workers' dollars than income taxes," Judge Bundschu said.

Revelation of the serious burden of income taxes on wage earners came at the same time that Senate and House committees again rejected AFL-endorsed appeals to reduce taxes by increasing personal and dependency exemptions or by cutting tax percentages on the lowest brackets, thus providing relief particularly for small-income families where the help is most needed.

EQUAL TAX-CUT BENEFITS

Such changes would spread tax benefits most widely and produce the greatest increase in purchasing power to bolster the economy, advocates of the increased exemptions contend.

Judge Bundschu pointed out that no relief from taxes is provided by bankruptcy proceedings because, under chapter XIII of the Federal Bankruptcy Act, taxes are all prior claims, and the applicant is not discharged from tax liabilities. However, he pointed out that delinquent taxes frequently are the cause for the desperate wage earner's petition in bankruptcy.

Oppenheimer's Plight Result of Weird Isolation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Oppenheimer's Plight Result of Weird Isolation," which appeared in the April 18, 1954, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

It is heartening today to know that our educators have come to the conclusion that it is important to send out from our schools and colleges well-rounded personalities. Instead of the theory of a few years ago of teaching more and more about less and less, the emphasis today is on the well-informed and alert human being not in one field alone but in related fields of thought. At one time in our educational experiments college students hardly realized what was taking place in the world around them, but today every encouragement is given our young people to study and think about the events that are taking place, regardless of what subjects are most interesting to them. As pointed out by the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky., the future should be safer in the hands of those who will refuse to shut themselves up in ivory towers.

I include at this point in the RECORD the editorial:

OPPENHEIMER'S PLIGHT RESULT OF WEIRD ISOLATION

The case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who headed the wartime Los Alamos laboratory where the atomic bomb was made, adds up to a very strange and sad story.

He is now under suspension from his various advisory positions to top Government defense agencies, pending the outcome of an inquiry by a special security panel of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Oppenheimer is charged with many things that are said to make him a security risk. On most of these he has been tried and cleared before, but since new accusations have been added and new security regulations are in force, the AEC felt it mandatory to reexamine the scientist's file.

It would not be wise for outsiders to try to prejudge his case. A board of respected men is studying it and we must await its findings. But it is reasonable to look at some parts of Oppenheimer's life which seem to account for his present involvement.

For the most part, he is charged with having actively pursued Communist associations during the period 1940 to 1943. But he insists he never joined the Communist Party nor accepted its rigid doctrines. He was drawn to Communist ideas through their humanitarian appeal, as were so many intellectuals in recent decades.

Yet Oppenheimer had no knowledge against which to measure the validity of this appeal. His mind then was a complete vacuum on politics and economics.

During his early professional days in California, except for some outside attention to literature, he was totally immersed in science. He never read newspapers or magazines. He had no radio and no telephone. He did not learn of the 1929 stock market crash until long after the event. He did not vote until he was 11 years past eligible voting age.

That any intelligent adult could so isolate himself from his world seems really incredible. He had only to pick up his newspaper to get a broad and reasonably accurate portrait of his time, yet for years this brilliant scientist never did that simple thing.

For this weird isolation, which made him so incomplete a man and a thinker, Oppenheimer must bear much personal blame. Arthur H. Compton, Vannevar Bush, and James B. Conant are proof that scientists can be politically informed and intelligent, can, indeed, sometimes make unique contributions to practical world affairs.

Yet the whole blame is not Oppenheimer's. He was one product of a time when it was not thought necessary to teach scientists anything but science, or engineers anything but building. They were trained for special performance and keen pursuit of special knowledge.

Most educators in these fields know better now. Many schools try to make the scientist a whole man. But the pressures of time work against him, tending to squeeze out all but his mind-consuming specialty.

No one could demand that the scientist make of himself also a historian, an economist, and a political specialist. But it would appear fair to ask that he step away from his retorts and test tubes long enough each day to read his newspaper well.

Schedule of Hearings on H. R. 8862, a Bill To Amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, as Amended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. STERLING COLE
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will begin hearings on H. R. 8862, a bill to revise the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, as amended, on Monday, May 3.

A tentative schedule of hearings is:

May 3: 10 a. m., executive session, Atomic Energy Commission; 2 p. m., executive session, Department of State; Department of Justice.

May 4: 10 a. m., executive session, Department of Defense, Military Liaison Committee; 2 p. m., executive session, Department of the Army; Department of the Navy; Department of the Air Force.

May 5: 10 a. m., public session, Atomic Energy Commission; 2 p. m., public session, Department of State; Department of Defense.

May 6: 10 a. m., public session, Department of Justice; 2 p. m., public session, Interior Department; Commissioner of Patents.

May 7: No witnesses specified, executive session.

May 10–17: Volunteer witnesses, public sessions.

Beginning May 10, the joint committee will hear interested persons who desire to present views of any or all portions of the bill. Such persons or organizations are urged to communicate with the joint committee at the earliest possible date in order to permit the details of the hearing schedule to be arranged.

All witnesses testifying in public session will be requested to present a written statement as far as possible in advance of the scheduled date of the appearance in order to expedite analysis of the testimony and to facilitate discussion during the actual appearance.

Insofar as possible requests to appear on any specific date or any particular time will be honored. Persons or organizations wishing the opportunity to appear before the Joint Committee should address requests to Representative W. STERLING COLE, chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, room F–88, the Capitol, United States Senate, Washington 25, D. C.

Our Wool Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. LANE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 15, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Daily Record, Boston, Mass., Tuesday, April 20, 1954, which was brought to my attention by Mr. Harry J. Blake, president, Blake & Co., Inc., wool merchants, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.:

OUR WOOL BUSINESS

It isn't enough to gloat over the fact that Boston is the most important wool center of the world.

It is much more practical and sensible to make sure that Boston keeps on enjoying that distinction.

This making sure business won't be easy.

The free traders are up to their old tricks. They want to reduce the tariff on cloth brought into the United States from England, Italy, and Japan. They say this concession will make the people in those countries feel good.

Maybe so. But what about the people in the United States especially the people who owe their livelihood to the woolen and worsted industry? Is the best interest of America to be served by plunging these people into bankruptcy or by taking away their jobs and forcing them to accept paltry doles and handouts from the Government?

We don't think anything worthwhile can be expected from such nonsensical policies.

The frivolous freetraders ought to look around the world. There's a cold war with an Iron Curtain and a lot of A-bombs and H-bombs. We could be cut off in an instant from the low-wage, long-hour mills of England, Italy and Japan. And what would our people and our troops do then? Where would they get their warm clothing, blankets, and medical and surgical supplies?

Our wool business and the employment it affords are as vital to our peacetime prosperity and wartime security as the newest weapon in our military arsenal.

Auto Industry Probe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. S. J. CRUMPACKER, JR.
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include several letters I have received concerning my resolution, House Joint Resolution 484, directing the Federal Trade Commission to conduct an investigation into competitive practices in the automotive industry.

The reaction of automotive trade associations and individual auto dealers throughout the country to this proposed investigation has been almost universally favorable.

The Department of Justice also has revealed that its antitrust division is looking into various phases of the automobile business and will decide within the next 2 months whether antitrust action will be started.

Assistant Attorney General Stanley N. Barnes has been quoted as saying that the Justice Department is "genuinely concerned about the concentration of production in General Motors and Ford and the loss of business to other manufacturers, particularly independents."

Mr. Barnes, who heads the Department's Antitrust Division, also has said:

We are certainly interested in figures which show a continuing shift to Ford and General Motors, which indicates that they are moving toward a monopoly position.

We now have four areas of investigation, which include the bootlegging matter, but we cannot discuss the others at this time. There will probably be a suit in one field, and our decision on whether to go or not will likely be reached within the next 60 days.

The following letters dealing with conditions in the auto industry have been selected at random from my daily mail:

NASSAU-SUFFOLK,
CHRYSLER DEALERS ASSOCIATION,
Long Island, N. Y., April 23, 1954.

Hon. SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CRUMPACKER: Many thanks to you for your stand on the abuses going on in the auto industry. It's about time some legislators took notice that our industry is one of the bulwarks of our country's economy.

The present war of production between GM and Ford hurts our products and has certainly raised havoc with the independents. Bootlegging is definitely a cause of factory pushing and should and could be controlled at the source of production.

Legitimate competition has always been an asset to good business but today the word competition no longer is proper as it pertains to our industry.

I represent a group of 27 Chrysler-Plymouth dealers who are wholeheartedly with your resolution and we would like to see it considered by the House committee.

Very truly yours,

CHRYSLER DEALERS ASSOCIATION,
JACK H. LEOPOLD, *President.*

LILLY MOTORS, INC.,
Chicago, Ill., April 21, 1954.
Representative SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER,
United States Capitol,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I am enclosing a clipping from Automotive News which is a large national publication. It is a good indication of what is taking place throughout the entire country.

Ford, Mercury, Chevrolet, and Buick dealers are overloaded with new and used cars. Some have as many as 150 new cars in stock. They are parked in open lots and on the streets, many have new 1953 cars in stock.

I have been an auto dealer for 40 years and I have never seen the auto retail business as bad as it has been the past 10 months. They built 6,100,000 new cars in 1953, this was 1 million too many.

I have asked Representative FRED BUSBEY, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, and Representative EDWARD J. THYE to help in this problem.

Respectfully,

LILLY MOTORS, INC.,
L. E. LILLY.

RIVER BEND FARM,
Selma, Ind., April 15, 1954.
Hon. S. J. CRUMPACKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CRUMPACKER: In the interests of free enterprise and to protect the economic welfare of our country, I certainly endorse your request for a House resolution calling for the Federal Trade Commission to probe and determine if the General Motors Corp. is a monopoly.

Any corporation controlling 50 percent or more of the market would appear to be monopolistic, whether intentional or not; even more so in the particular case of General Motors, where they not only control 50 percent of the carbuilding but also more than 50 percent of the parts industry.

I trust that you will succeed in obtaining a thorough investigation through Assistant Attorney General Stanley N. Barnes.

Yours very truly,

T. J. AULT.

STEBBINS NASH MOTORS,
Greeley, Colo., April 20, 1954.
Hon. SHEPARD CRUMPACKER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Your efforts may be unavailing, but I believe I can safely say that thousands of dealers across the land appreciate your efforts to bring to justice two vicious, greedy corporations. Only little men with lack of character would do to the Nation what the heads of these two corporations are doing. You have sufficient facts to see the situation clearly, I am sure, and I hope some other right-minded individuals will get in the battle with you. Thousands of small dealers face liquidation if this thing isn't stopped quickly and the administration will be grievously hurt by the results. I sincerely hope that does not happen to the people and the President.

Very truly yours,

MARLIN R. STEBBINS.

J. A. PLASTERER & SON,
Highspire, Pa., April 7, 1954.
Representative SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In response to your recent statement concerning Ford and General Motors, we wish to volunteer and supply you with any information we may have that will be of any assistance to you.

For 13 years we held a sales agreement with Ford Motor Co. Their pressure and interference in our business became so great that we finally balked and as a result Ford canceled the sales agreement. Their business methods certainly are un-American. If the Ford Motor Co. is not now violating antitrust laws now in existence then certainly these laws need some revision.

Very truly yours,

J. A. PLASTERER, Jr.

MOTOR AND EQUIPMENT,
WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION,
Chicago, Ill., April 8, 1954.
Hon. S. J. CRUMPACKER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CRUMPACKER: We note reports that you have introduced a bill calling for a full-scale investigation of competitive practices in the automobile industry with a view to determining if practices in the industry restrain competition and, therefore, tend toward monopoly.

We shall watch with interest developments in the matter. We feel you are performing a very necessary service to the American public through the introduction of your resolution.

Yours very truly,

B. W. HUARK,
General Manager.

ATKINSON MOTORS, INC.,
Charlotte, N. C., April 6, 1954.
Hon. SHEPARD CRUMPACKER,
United States Congress,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CRUMPACKER: We have just read, with a great deal of interest, of your monopoly probe that you are seeking in the House, regarding the monopoly of the two big manufacturers in this automobile business, who it looks as if they have set out to take over this industry. We congratulate you on your aggressive thinking along this line, and sincerely hope that you will pursue this matter to a conclusion.

We believe you certainly will have the wholehearted backing of all the automobile dealers across this Nation, who represent Chrysler products, as well as the independents.

If there is anything that we can do regarding this probe here in Charlotte, please let us hear from you.

Again thanking you for your aggressive thinking, I am

Very truly yours,

S. T. ATKINSON,
President.

GREATER NEW YORK,
WILLYS DEALERS ASSOCIATION, INC.,
Huntington, N. Y., April 22, 1954.
Hon. SHEPARD CRUMPACKER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CRUMPACKER: Please accept our sincerest congratulation for your courage in attempting to correct some of the great abuses in the automobile industry.

You will undoubtedly encounter unbelievable obstacles in your effort to spotlight the ruthlessness of the monopolistic practices of General Motors and Ford.

However the present war being waged by Ford upon Chevrolet for so-called leadership in sales is absolutely destroying the independent dealers. Ford and Chevrolet dealers, who wish to retain their franchises, are no longer free citizens of our country, but in truth and in fact are now forced to consider allegiance to their respective factories above loyalty to their country.

Bootlegging is only one of the direct evils of overproduction and bullying "big two" factory practices. These enslaved dealers of the Ford Co. and General Motors, particularly Chevrolet, have no choice but to direct their unwanted cars to bootleg channels. The result—demoralization of the entire industry and the jeopardizing of billions of dollars invested by independent dealers in their agencies throughout our country.

We, a veteran Willys dealer, have felt the pinch of ruthless competition ever since the Ford-Chevrolet war started.

Hudson, Studebaker, Nash, and other independents are also brutally affected, and, if General Motors and Ford are not soon restrained, we will find thousands of independent dealers facing bankruptcy, and, their employees will be added to the constantly growing ranks of the unemployed.

Just from a factory standpoint consider the plight of Studebaker employees, Kaiser-Willys employees, and other independent manufacturers.

There is no question of legitimate competitive selling involved. The question is one of power and ruthlessness of giants of industry unrestrained and trampling to death all who stand in their way. Please keep up the fight, and, we are sure you will get the support of virtually all the honest dealers in America.

If we can be of any assistance to you, please feel free to call upon me and my association, and, we'll do all we can to help you in your courageous fight. Our association is made up of approximately 50 Willys and Kaiser dealers.

Respectfully,

EDWARD C. SCOTTI,
President.

P. S.—And damn it we aren't Communists.

JOHN P. MOONEY,
McKeesport, Pa., April 22, 1954.
Congressman CRUMPACKER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have read with considerable interest the forceful appeal that you are making on behalf of the independent businessmen as it relates to automobile dealers.

I am certain that you are justified in asserting all the pressure you possibly can to obtain consideration for those in our industry. We are being obliged to do as ordered or get out. I do sincerely hope that you are receiving cooperation from our National Automobile Dealers Association; however, as you have observed there is no question but what most dealers find themselves fearful of giving voice to opinions, desires, or hopes for fear of reprisals. I have been in the retail automobile business going on my 46th year and conditions have never been much worse for the representatives of the independent manufacturers due to the fact that two large corporations are battling for a lion's share of the business regardless of who it hurts including their own dealers who have been obliged to dispose of thousands of automobiles at low gross margin for themselves and with a terribly low net profit opportunity.

You only need look at the net profit after taxes of General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford companies as compared to the average net profit on the sales dollar of the dealers. It may be familiar to you and it may be interesting for you to know that these factories attempt to compare percentage of profit on the investment of the dealer against the percentage of profit on the sales dollar of their own operations. The two are entirely different and any comparison should be made on the same basis.

The situation is such that every dealer and his investment is precariously endangered and please remember that they in most instances small-business men. May I suggest that you continue your fight to bring into the open the manipulations and strangling power that these organizations assert over competitors at both the manufacturing and retailing levels.

Yours very truly,

JOHN P. MOONEY CO.
JOHN P. MOONEY.

CENTRAL SECURITIES, INC.,
Newton, Kans., April 6, 1954.

Hon. SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CRUMPACKER: You are to be congratulated on your speech in the House of Representatives concerning the abuses which have grown up in the automotive industry during the past year. This speech should be of particular importance to General Motors and Ford dealers as well as the independents.

It appears that the factories are only interested in moving their cars into the hands of the dealers and receive their full profit. The dealers, in turn, have been forced to take cars in at inflated prices and the result has caused a number of them to liquidate their business. Some steps should be taken to prevent the automotive manufacturers from shipping cars to dealers unless they have received bona fide orders from the dealers for such cars.

The Chrysler Corp., approximately 2 years ago, forced some trucks on their automotive dealers. As a result, they changed their policy and are now only manufacturing to meet and fill bona fide orders.

It is my understanding that a very large and well-financed dealer in Bartlesville for the Ford Motor Co., because of the fact that he had refused to accept new cars, had his franchise in Bartlesville and Miami, Okla., canceled by the Ford Motor Co. This same practice has occurred in many instances throughout the country. The Ford Motor Co. also followed this practice back before the great depression.

It is my hope that we can forestall such action during the current year of 1954. This is of importance not only to the automotive dealers, but also to the employees and ultimately to the factories themselves. I heartily endorse your stand and hope that you can focus public attention on the problem in order to avoid any catastrophic period in the immediate future.

Wishing you success, I am

Sincerely yours,

GEO. D. HANNA,
President.

NEW JERSEY AUTOMOTIVE TRADE ASSOCIATION,
April 19, 1954.

Hon. SHEPARD J. CRUMPACKER,
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN CRUMPACKER: I have read with great interest House Joint Resolution 484 introduced by you in the House of Representatives as of March 30, 1954. I have also read your remarks delivered in the House of Representatives on March 30. I note that one of the points that is disturbing you greatly is the loss of sales on the part of the Studebaker Corp. and the increase in the number of sales on the part of Chevrolet and Ford.

As a dealer for the past 40 years I certainly hope that the independent manufacturers maintain their proportionate share of the market. To do so, it is only right to expect every dealer representing an independent make of car to concentrate on the sale of that car which he is enfranchised to represent. To this end I am calling your attention to 2 ads appearing in 1 of the prominent statewide newspapers of New Jersey. You will note it is the ad of Price Motors Co., Newark, N. J., who are duly enfranchised as Studebaker dealers. Under the license granted them in New Jersey, they are not authorized to sell any other make of car as new, yet you will note they feature in the smaller ad—1954 Chevrolets in the Belair and 210 model, at $1,875—and represent the cars as never having been registered.

In the larger ad you will note the same dealer advertises 1954 Pontiacs, Chevrolets, and Buicks.

A checkup discloses the fact that this Studebaker dealer is devoting more time to the sale of Chevrolet than to Studebaker, and therefore, is playing a large part in helping to increase the total number of Chevrolets in use. If reports be true, this dealer is only one of a number who are pushing the sale of competing cars.

I am also enclosing photostat of a letter which was broadly distributed by Price Motors Co. during the month of February. You will note in this letter a statement that they are in position to deliver any make of new 1954 that a purchaser may be interested in. In this letter they are pushing the sale of Ford, Chevrolet, Plymouth, Buick, and Oldsmobile, which is naturally working for competition and helping to bring about a greater penetration of competing makes. And to further help competition Price Cotors Co. invite the public to push the sale of cars manufactured by the Big 3—principally the Big 2.

I am sure the above will be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM L. MALLON,
Secretary.

Let's Get Out of Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD BOLLING
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, sound decisions, prompt and effective action about civil defense could mean the difference between destruction and survival not only of our country but of all freedom.

The following excellent article appeared in the fine magazine, America, on April 17:

LET'S GET OUT OF HERE—WHAT THE NEW LOOK IN CIVIL DEFENSE CAN MEAN FOR YOU

(By Edward A. Conway)

Buried in the President's budget message of January 21 was a section on civil defense. It is newsworthy now because everyone is asking whether civil defense has any future, whether, in fact, our cities have any future.

The President made it clear that the Government had taken a New Look as civil defense in the lurid light of the cuty-busting hydrogen bomb. In the old dispensation, the slogan was "duck and cover." Now it is "beat it." Mr. Eisenhower told the Congress:

This budget reflects a new concept of civil defense which takes account of the destructive threat of modern weapons and which emphasises improved warning of impending attack and planning for the dispersal of populations of potential target cities in advance of enemy attack."

WARNING SYSTEM

The administration's new concept of civil defense is more radical by far than the New Look in military-foreign policy. It is based on the assumption, which at least half of our population should start thinking about, that no one will survive in a city, no matter how large, that is struck by a hydrogen bomb. Is that assumption unwarranted? The fireball of the bomb detonated November 1, 1952, was 3½ miles in diameter. The H-bomb which surprised not only the President but the scientists when it was exploded on March 1 was four times as powerful. Theoretically, there is no limit to the power of the H-bomb.

So it is simply goodby to shelters, both communal and family-type. Carbon monoxide poisoning from the fire-storm would finish you even though you survived incineration, radiation, and burial under debris.

Obviously, in the H-bomb era, safety depends on the time you have to get out of town. That in turn depends on the warning you are given. If H-bomb laden Russian planes attacked across the Atlantic you would probably have time to flee. But if they came by the Arctic route (the best route, for the Russians) you could count on, at the most, 15 minutes warning. President Eisenhower asserted in his budget message that the funds requested for continental defense would "provide improved early warning of enemy attack."

But when? The President assured the Congress that "expenditures for continental defense in the fiscal year of 1955 are expected to be greater than ever before in our history." Even with these expenditures, we are told, we will not get a 2-hour warning of enemy approach for another 18 months. Two hours notice is conceded to be the minimum time needed to evacuate even a medium-size target city.

The budget does not tell us how much is being spent on the early warning system. But suppose it is $200 million. With 70 American cities depending on it for survival, why not make an emergency appropriation of 10 times that amount? If technicians and material are at hand, we could have a 2-hour warning system by the Fourth of July, this year.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW LOOK

To be frank about it, this writer is scandalized by the leisurely way the new concept of civil defense is being implemented. The key date is November 1, 1952. Then, as the American public learned on March 31, 1954, a thermonuclear test device was detonated in what was designated as Operation Ivy. According to the Federal Civil Defense Administration, it produced "complete annihilation within a radius of 3 miles, severe to moderate damage out to 7 miles, light damage as far as 10 miles." Furthermore, "it created the largest nuclear explosive fireball ever produced—3½ miles in diameter at its maximum, enough to engulf about one-quarter of Manhattan Island. (With the Empire State Building as ground zero, the fireball would have extended from Washington Square uptown to Central Park)." It is 50 blocks from Washington Square to Central Park.

It must have been evident at once to the President, the National Security Council, the Federal Civil Defense Administration, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that all civil defense plans based on the A-bomb were the first casualties of Operation Ivy. Yet no hint of this fateful "quantum jump" in destructiveness seems to have been given during 1953 to municipal defense directors. They were allowed to go on enrolling volunteers, assigning shelters, training bomb-damage groups, as though they still lived in the atomic age.

The September 1953 Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists was devoted entirely to Project East River, a study begun August 1, 1951, on the vulnerability of the United States to atomic attack. Nowhere in its 16 articles is Operation Ivy of November 1, 1952, so much as mentioned. In a six-page interview with Dr. Ralph A. Lapp, special editor of the issue, Val Paterson, Civil Defense Administrator, solemnly discussed "one of the biggest problems we have in civil defense":

"We have on the one side the shelter idea, and on the other side, the early warning and evacuation idea. Now you can't, as I see it today, say that either one or the other is absolutely the answer."

It is inconceivable that Mr. Peterson had not been told about Operation Ivy. Security regulations must have constrained him to deceive his interviewer. He thought we "didn't know enough about the effects of an atomic explosion upon our great cities" to justify an extensive communal shelter program. He continued:

"In FCDA we are sold absolutely on the importance and desirability—yes; the absolute necessity—of family-type shelters. We know, on the basis of experiments conducted out in Nevada, that these shelters can save lives under many circumstances, and we think they are absolutely sound and necessary."

This interview was tape recorded for the Bulletin in July 1953, 8 months after Operation Ivy.

It must be said for Mr. Peterson that soon after the announcement on August 12 that the Russians had detonated a thermonuclear device, he began talking about taking to the hills as the only sure means of survival. But his own policy planners did not go along with him. As late as January 1954 one of them asserted that FCDA had no plans for urban evacuation. This despite the fact that a special report presented to FCDA in June 1953 raised the question whether, in view of Russian H-bomb developments, the shelter program should be continued, or other action taken.

FCDA ADVISORY BULLETIN 158

On January 18, 1954, only 3 days before the President told the Congress that the administration had taken a number of actions to deal with the serious problem (i. e., that a Russian hydrogen bomb, if exploded over our American cities, would be capable of effecting unprecedented destruction) FCDA sent Advisory Bulletin 158 to State and local civil-defense directors. It outlined the New Look in civil defense.

It also raised a fundamental question which should be settled at once. Assuming the necessity of planning for tactical dispersal (evacuation), should we stop at planning, or proceed to implementation? The question arises from the wording of Mr. Peterson's directive. "Planning for tactical dispersal" he said, "should start immediately, but implementation is not recommended now because the success of an evacuation program depends on early warning. The likelihood of early warning is not acceptably high at present (0–15 minutes). Therefore, until further notice, the public should take the best available shelter when there is a public warning of attack."

I disagree diametrically with Mr. Peterson's concluding decision:

"The FCDA will be working constantly with the military authorities and, as soon as adequate early warning can be anticipated, will recommend that the policy of dispersal be announced to the public."

The public, 67,750,982 of whom are now concentrated in the 70 critical target areas designated as such by the Federal Government on July 1, 1953, should be told at once about this policy of dispersal. It will want to know as soon as possible how to get out of town if and when it has adequate warning.

In his budget message the President correctly stated that much planning, organization, and training remains to be done, however, to make this strategy of civil defense (population dispersal) fully effective at all levels of government. The time to begin, not only that planning and organization but that training, is now. Not only should the policy of dispersal be announced to the public at once, but training should begin forthwith.

CIVIL-DEFENSE GLOSSARY

Planning and organization, fortunately, have at long last begun. On paper, everything looks salutary. But, as Bernard M. Baruch once said, "No aggressor was ever stopped by blueprints." Nor was any target city evacuated by them.

This is the summary of the New Look given in FCDA's Advisory Bulletin 158:

"1. Study of the feasibility of a dispersal plan.

"2. Completion of the shelter survey to determine whether existing shelters, or present structures which can be strengthened, will prove adequate to the needs of those who cannot be removed.

"3. Selection of loading perimeters, vehicle routes, and pedestrian routes.

"4. Recruitment and training of auxiliary police who live or work along or immediately adjacent to routes and perimeters selected.

"5. Extension of shelter surveys to outskirts, as well as along loading perimeters, to provide emergency shelter for people in transit from downtown areas.

"6. Completion of recruitment and training of warden service to furnish guidance for dispersing population.

"7. Preparation of transportation and care plans for each public and private school in event warning comes when school is in session.

"8. Completion of an emergency transportation plan to insure prompt utilization of maximum movement capacity.

"9. Preparation of welfare plans to meet conditions necessitated by application of dispersion policy.

"10. Preparation of a public education plan to acquaint public with action to be taken when dispersal plan is effected.

"11. Survey of public warning system's potential effectiveness in reaching people during actual dispersal."

This is a pretty adequate blueprint of what we must do as we wait for that "adequate warning system." But have you ever heard of a "loading perimeter?" This is a point on the circumference of the downtown area of your city to which you will have to walk (or run, if possible) to reach transportation (buses, commandeered cabs, trucks, and private cars) which will whisk you away from incineration.

FCDA seems to assume that there will be a traffic freeze in the downtown area of a city, so that people will have to walk. That assumption is open to question. Remember, we are supposing a 2-hour warning. It should be possible to set up a traffic-control system which would give priority to vehicular transportation from the heart of a city. (See "A-bomb over Manhattan," America July 22, 1950.) The calculations of that article called for designation of both north and south one-way streets. Now every street in town should become outbound at the first warning. Fire engines within the devastation-area should have top priority. They will be needed in the far suburbs.

At the risk of being denounced as undemocratic I would like to see doctors and nurses given a 5-minute headstart. The same goes for the elderly, the sick, the handicapped, and the schoolchildren. If this were put to a national referendum, who would vote against it?

"Preparation of welfare plans" conceals probably the most complicated and most essential of all evacuation procedures. It involves food, shelter and medical aid for thousands, even millions, of evacuees by small communities on the periphery of the catastrophe. Now that we can determine on the basis of the "blowout" how far the most powerful H-bomb can reach, why should not each critical target city help these communities prepare to take care of its inhabitants?

Why shouldn't the Federal Government help? The President said in his budget message that the Government would limit itself to providing warning of impending attacks and to providing stockpiles of medical supplies. He asked appropriations for nothing else. What about our tremendous food surpluses? A bread-and-butter sandwich would not be considered surplus by a starving evacuee if he found it at the point of no return.

PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN

It is now official FCDA policy to prepare a public education plan to acquaint the public with action to be taken when dispersal plan is effected. This has been FCDA policy since January 18 of this year. The FCDA has had 3 months to work out its plan. Half of it could be salvaged from the hydrogenized plans for the atom age. The time to acquaint the public with a definitive plan is now. FCDA asserts that it will not enforce any measures, but our 70 critical target cities will welcome its New Look recommendations. The public apathy, so frequently alleged as the reason for failure of civil-defense programs, stemmed mostly from conflicting advice. It is no longer a question of shelters versus evacuation. It is evacuation versus vaporization. So let's get on with plans and training for evacuation.

Address of Hon. Heber Ladner, Secretary of State of Mississippi, at the Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statue of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on April 12, 1954, the State of Mississippi honored one of its most distinguished sons, the late United States Senator Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, by placing his statue in the Hall of Fame in the State capitol at Jackson. The late Senator's contributions to the growth and prosperity of our State will be remembered by generations to come, and he is deserving of this honor in the fullest. Nationally and locally, Senator Bilbo was a controversial figure, but to a vast majority of Mississippians he was a loved and respected leader—fearless, energetic, and dedicated to bettering the welfare of Mississippi.

The principal address on the occasion of the unveiling of Senator Bilbo's statue was delivered by the Honorable Heber Ladner, secretary of state of the State of Mississippi. Mr. Ladner was a lifelong personal friend to Senator Bilbo, and his brilliant address dealing with the Senator's life and career of public service is of particular significance. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include Mr. Ladner's address:

Mr. Chairman, Governor White, members of the legislature, State officials, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, we are gathered here today to honor one of Mississippi's greatest sons and one of the outstanding statesmen of the Nation. Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, a native of Pearl River County and a member of one of its first and most respected families, was the 32d man to became chief executive of the State of Mississippi. He was born at Juniper Grove on October 13, 1877, the son of James

Oliver and Beedie Wallace Bilbo. His family was Scotch-Irish and moved to Mississippi from South Carolina soon after 1800.

After receiving his early education in the public schools of Pearl River County, he attended the University of Nashville, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Michigan. While he was striving for an education, he taught school for 5 years in south Mississippi. After completing his education, he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law.

He was an ardent Baptist, and one of the great joys of his life was his part in the successful campaign to erect the magnificent Juniper Grove Baptist Church in Pearl River County. He served for many years as clerk of his church, and was the secretary of the Hobolochitto Association of Baptists.

It was Fitzgerald who said: "The moving finger writes; and having writ moves on."

The one to whom we pay tribute wrote into Mississippi history an indelible chapter of progress. Few men, if any, have been so signally honored by the people of our State as was Theodore Gilmore Bilbo. As State senator, Lieutenant Governor, twice Governor, and three times United States Senator, his service was to mankind.

Our Master said: "And whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be the servant of all."

Out of obscurity he came to the State senate in 1908, from Pearl River County. He came fortified with the characteristics of a truly great leader. That he was a man of rare intellectual ability, even his most ardent political foes would admit; that he possessed great courage no one can deny; that he was imbued with an insatiable desire to help humanity there can be no question. His entire career was dedicated to lifting up to higher ground the average men and women who, for generations, had been denied their rightful place in the social, cultural, and economic life of our State. His decisions and actions reached into the humblest homes in the land. He knew that the welfare of a nation depended upon the well-being of the great rank and file of its population. The world is blessed most by men who do things and not by those who talk about them.

His imperfections were infinitesimal when compared to the magnitude of his contributions to mankind. "The Man" Bilbo was never satisfied with the present. He looked to the future. He refused to accept the status quo attitude of most governmental leaders. He believed that such a policy was responsible for keeping the people of Mississippi in a state of economic squalor and dependency. If you read his speeches to the people during his long political career, and his messages to the members of the legislature who served while he was the chief executive of the State, you will find projected almost all the great governmental reforms that have come to pass in our State.

Helen Keller, one of America's greatest women, once proclaimed: "Be not dismayed, in the future lies the hope of the world."

Fellow Mississippians, fellow Americans, we cannot think in terms of weakness and be strong; we cannot think in terms of doubt and have faith. Because of Bilbo's fight, which began almost a half century ago, and the efforts of others who followed after him, Mississippi's economic horizon is today labeled one of "good visibility."

During his first administration as governor, more worthwhile legislation was enacted in the interest of the average people of our State than in any previous 4-year period. One of his greatest achievements as governor was in providing greater educational opportunities for the youth of the State of Mississippi. His struggle for an education and his experience as a teacher made him realize that education had been primarily for a select few, and not for the great masses of the people. He became convinced that the State or nation that had the schools had the future. As a part of his campaign to bring education to the children of all the people, he created the education commission to codify, reorganize, and systematize the school laws of the State. The Mississippi Illiteracy Commission was created during his administration to carry on a statewide campaign to reduce adult illiteracy. His efforts were continually directed toward more financial support for the schools and better salaries for the teachers. He strongly recommended the enactment of free textbook legislation, but his proposal fell on deaf ears. It was through the courageous efforts of the late lamented Gov. Paul B. Johnson that this beneficial governmental reform became a reality.

He succeeded in establishing the Charity Hospital at Laurel, the sanatorium at Magee, the Industrial and Training School at Columbia, the State Mental Institution at Ellisville, and Mississippi Southern College at Hattiesburg.

It was during Bilbo's tenure as Governor that the State tax commission was created, the purpose of which was to equalize the tax burden of our people. He strongly recommended the passage of a general sales tax law, but his recommendation again fell on deaf ears. It was through the wise leadership of the late lamented Gov. Mike Sennett Conner that the sales tax was finally enacted and our State's credit reestablished.

Bilbo realized that progress was predicated on good transportation and, consequently, he lent his efforts in 1916 to the creation of the State highway commission. He called a special session of the legislature recommending the enactment of an $82 million hard surface road program, but this recommendation likewise fell on deaf ears. It was through the efforts of Gov. Hugh White that this much needed program was enacted and became a reality. Mississippi today has one of the finest road systems in the United States.

Under Bilbo's leadership, the board of legal examiners was constituted, so that the profession could operate with more dignity and honor, and the first "blue-sky" law was passed for the purpose of preventing the sale of bogus stock. Notwithstanding violent public opportion, he set about ridding the State of the Texas fever tick, and today Mississippi ranks among the best in the Nation in dairying and livestock production.

Among other important reforms which were brought about during his tenure as Governor were the establishment of a board of pardons, the restoration of the old capitol, the abolition of public hanging, the enactment of the home printing bill, the rebuilding of the school for the deaf, the creation of the State plant board, and the expansion of the services of the State board of health.

Bilbo continued his splendid record of service as United States Senator. Knowing that man is a product of the soil, he labored constantly to improve the lot of the farmer. Agriculture is the world's most important industry because 3 out of every 4 persons earn their living on the farm. Perhaps his greatest contribution as a Member of the United States Senate was the establishment of the four regional research laboratories at Peoria, Ill.; Philadelphia, Pa.; San Francisco, Calif., and New Orleans, La. In the laboratory at Peoria a method of producing penicillin by fermenting farm crops was perfected, and millions of lives have been saved by this wonder drug. This contribution alone justifies the expenditure. Only recently the New Orleans laboratory has discovered how to treat cotton fabric so as to make it weatherproof, and at the present time is in the midst of a nutritive cottonseed research project, which might prove to be of tremendous benefit to the cotton growers. It is now admitted by the leadership of both national parties that Bilbo's plan of chemurgic research is one of the most far-reaching and worthy solutions to the many agricultural problems ever to be offered to the Congress of the United States.

Man is only about 6 inches from starvation—the average depth of the top soil—and Bilbo, realizing this, constantly worked to build up our soil conservation and soil-reclamation programs.

He also carried on a successful fight to place the responsibility of flood control upon the shoulders of the Federal Government, thereby saving the landowners of Mississippi and other States millions of dollars. He was a stanch supporter of the Tennessee Valley Authority, rural electrification, farm and home-loan legislation, parity prices to farmers, and all other benefits that would help to raise the living standards of the people.

Had he lived, it was his plan to introduce an act setting up Federal laboratories to do research on cancer and mental diseases. It was his thought that chemo-therapy might prove to be the solution to the control of the great killer, cancer.

From the standpoint of national defense, Bilbo refused to follow the pacifist line. Instead, he chose to build the greatest Army, the greatest Navy, the greatest Marine Corps, and the greatest Air Force the world had ever known. As a result of his action and others like him, we are today still living where freedom is supreme.

Bilbo was a dreamer, and he worker to make his dreams come true. He had vision to realize that the nation that had the most and best planes, manned by the best crewmen, would be the victor should world war III come. As a result of this thought, he introduced on November 3, 1941, an act to establish additional military academies. It might interest you to know that just recently the Congress passed, and the President signed, an act providing for an additional Academy to be used to train Air Force officers and personnel.

To the laboring men and women of Mississippi and the Nation, may I say, you never had a better friend than Bilbo. He was one of the few Southerners who voted for the wage and hour law, which forever removed the threat of sweat-shop wages. He believed there was a "place in the economic sun for all of God's people."

In the field of social relations, he was convinced that the welfare of the Nation could best be served by preserving the racial integrity of the races.

Bilbo, with almost prophetic vision, and with fortitude seldom exemplified in this country, set about to unwrap and expose the treasonous conspiracy of those who would destroy our way of life in the United States. You know the story of how he was maligned, vilified, and misrepresented. When the United States Senate refused to seat him, it committed, in my judgment, one of the most cowardly acts in its long and glorious history. Its action violated one of the great pillars of hope in this country—"that everyone should have his day in court."

Napoleon said: "Great men are like meteors, they glitter and are consumed to enlighten the world." Confucius characterized a great man as one who is free from anxiety, free from perturbability, and free from fear. How well these statements characterize the one whom we honor here today.

He possessed a mind that was keen, bold, independent, and decisive; a will that knew no limits; an energy that was indescribable; a conscience that was pliable to the touch of human interests. He lived constantly in the springtime, because spring is full of promise.

May this statue, executed by one of the world's greatest sculptors, stand as a living testimonial for the very high esteem and appreciation which the people of Mississippi hold for this great leader and friend. To the members of the legislature, to the many true and loyal friends who gave of their time and

money to make this occasion possible, my sincere thanks.

And now, in conclusion:

"Looking upon a valiant
Soldier dead,
'He's taller in death
Than life,' they said."

The Bar Militant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD DAVIS
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Walter P. Armstrong, Jr., is a distinguished member of the Tennessee Bar Association. He is the son of the late Walter P. Armstrong, a former president of the American Bar Association and who in his lifetime was considered one of the truly great solicitors in this country. He contributed somewhat frequently to the legal literature of the Nation.

His worthy son so well equipped by a family background of culture, beautifully educated in the arts and in the law, has followed in the footsteps of his father both as lawyer and deep student of jurisprudence. Recently he contributed an article to the American Bar Association Journal entitled "The Bar Militant: the Organized Bar in Wartime." It was a real contribution and reflected thorough research. I am sure that it will prove of very great value to students, lawyers, and the Membership of the House.

The article follows:

THE BAR MILITANT: THE ORGANIZED BAR IN WARTIME

(By Walter P. Armstrong, Jr.)

At the time of the formation of the American Bar Association three-quarters of a century ago, our Nation had emerged only 13 years before from the bloodiest armed conflict in which it had yet engaged. It was, therefore, only natural that among its founders, "many were the men who had been at the height of their powers during the crises of the Civil War, and had as soldiers or statesmen on either side developed a reputation for character." Even the selection of a site for the organizational meeting was made with the thought in mind that one function of the association would be to heal the breach which the war had left between lawyers of the North and South. "Saratoga Springs, in northern New York State, was chosen as the meeting place. It was perhaps the best known summer resort of reconstruction days. There many southern lawyers came to idle, play cards, attend the races, get a toddy at dusk and discuss politics and statecraft with their northern brothers. There was a growing tendency to mend the wounds between the South and the North, to smile away old enemities. The South had a proud legal tradition, and the group at Saratoga could be depended on for sympathy in a professional venture."

This tradition continued to dominate the early years of the association. The era following its organization was "a period of foundation, and the leaders of the association were mostly Civil War figures." James Overton Broadhead, the first president, was a lieutenant colonel in the Union Army and Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri. Benjamin Helm Bristow, the second, was likewise lieutenant colonel of Kentucky Infantry in the Federal Army. "He fought with distinction in a long list of engagements—Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing; he was wounded at Shiloh, helped capture the raider Morgan, became a colonel of cavalry and while in the field was elected to the State senate."

Alexander Robert Lawton, V, was a brigadier general in the Confederate Army. "From the 7 Days Fight to Antietam, 3 months later, he served under Jackson in a long list of famous battles: Cold Harbor, Malvern Hill, the second Bull Run, Chantilly, Harper's Ferry. At Antietam (called Sharpsburg in the South) his horse was shot under him and himself wounded in the leg." Later he became quartermaster general for the Confederacy. These men, and others like them, had learned the value of unity, whether in nation or profession, and were determined to apply it to the construction of a consolidated bar devoted to a single purpose—the advancement and improvement of the legal profession.

A score of years after the association's formation, the Nation was again plunged into war. But fortunately, when the annual meeting convened on August 17, 1898, an armistice had been signed only 5 days before, and the incoming president, Joseph H. Choate, was able to say:

"We meet at a most auspicious moment. Since this association last assembled for its annual conference the Nation has been engaged in a war which has absorbed all thoughts and necessarily distracted us from those peaceful purposes which annually bring us together. But now, with unexpected suddenness, at the cost of great treasure and much precious blood of our heroes, the truly noble object of the war has been accomplished, and peace is already in sight. It might perhaps be expected that in accepting the very great honor of delivering the annual address provided by your Constitution, I should enter upon a discussion of some of those important questions which must arise out of the consequences and results of the war. It is obvious that all such questions as they arise must naturally engage the best thought and the noblest and most patriotic exertions of our profession, which has always exercised a controlling influence upon controversies about constitutional power and national policy, and to whose special keeping is entrusted the study of those principles of right and justice, which must govern the conduct of nations as well as of the individuals who compose them. At all the great and critical points of our national progress the American bar has found its appropriate spokesmen for the public honor and the public safety.

"When Otis, against the malignant power of the British Crown, pleaded for the right of every citizen to be secure against tyranny in his person, his home and his papers, and set the ball of freedom rolling; when Henry led the friends of Colonial rights in Virginia and shook the Continent by the thunder of his eloquence; when Hamilton by the main strength of his arguments carried the Federal Constitution against a defiant majority in the New York Convention; when Webster by his majestic speech inculcated in the hearts of Americans that flaming spirit of nationality which saved the Union twice and will preserve it forever, when Fessenden and Trumbull sacrificed their political fortunes to rescue the great office of the Federal Executive from destruction; they furnished examples for the lawers of all times to stand at all hazards for public justice and for public honor. But it seems to me that it would be out of place for us today to undertake to pronounce, as the organized representatives of the American Bar, upon the possible, but as yet unformulated, questions in diplomacy, in policy, and in public law which will naturally follow upon such a momentous struggle and such overwhelming victories by sea and land. In the meantime I prefer, as I hope you prefer, to rely upon the wisdom and the patience, the courage and the firmness of the President and his constitutional advisers, who have conducted the campaigns of our gallant army and navy to swift and sweeping victory."

At the same meeting the Committee on International Law filed a long and interesting report on the legal aspects of the war, in which it said:

"The principle that free ships make free goods, for which the United States have contended since 1780, has been recognized by both belligerents. Both have abstained from privateering. * * * There is great reason for satisfaction that the practice is finally abandoned, and that the right of search of neutral vessels except in extreme and unusual cases, has also been given up. The right to seize enemy's property carried in neutral ships was really at the foundation of this right of search. It led to innumerable abuses and the abandonment of it is a distinct advance in the progress of civilization."

At the time this report was presented, a resolution to the effect that "in the judgment of the American Bar Association it is the duty of our Government to utilize its present opportunity to secure to the people of the Philippine Islands as far as practicable the benefits of American Civilization" was referred to the committee, without debate for report at the next annual meeting, but the question became moot before that time, as under a treaty signed at Paris on December 10 of the same year the Philippines became an American possession.

LAWYERS SERVE IN ARMED FORCES

Despite this awakening interest in the law of nations, the chief contribution of the bar to the Spanish-American War, as to its predecessors, was in the form of outstanding individuals. Typical of these was the late Edgar B. Tolman, known to generations of younger members of the American Bar Association as "Major Tolman." Of him it was said, upon the occasion of the bestowal upon him more than 40 years later of the American Bar Association Medal, "He was in combat at Santiago and after the surrender of that city he was honored with command of the guard of the captured Spanish Army. The title by which he is affectionately known was earned by merit and confirmed in the field, not bestowed by courtesy."

Regardless of the optimistic view taken by the Committee on Internal Law on the subject of free ships, in 1917 Germany began unrestricted submarine warfare, and on April 6 of that year the United States entered upon yet another war. In September the American Bar Association convened in its 40th annual meeting and at the opening session the following resolution was offered by Elihu Root on behalf of the executive committee:

"The American Bar Association declares its absolute and unqualified loyalty to the Government of the United States.

"We are convinced that the future freedom and security of our country depend upon the defeat of German military power in the present war.

"We urge the most vigorous possible prosecution of the war with all the strength of men and materials and money which the country can supply.

"We stand for the speedy dispatch of the American Army, however raised, to the battlefront in Europe, where the armed enemies of our country can be found and fought and where our own territory can be best defended.

"We condemn all attempts in Congress and out of it to hinder and embarrass the Government of the United States in carrying on the war with vigor and effectiveness.

"Under whatever cover of pacificism or technicality such attempts are made, we deem them to be in spirit pro-German and in effect giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

It is noted in the report that "the resolutions were seconded by delegates in all parts of the house" and were unanimously adopted. Along equally patriotic, if somewhat more limited lines, the following resolution was also presented:

"*Resolved*, That the executive committee of the American Bar Association recommends to the various State and local bar associations of the United States that they undertake war work along the following lines:

"(a) Rendering legal assistance to those entering the Federal service and to exemption boards.

"(b) Conservation of the practice of lawyers entering such service.

"(c) Relief, where not otherwise provided for, of the families of lawyers engaged in such service.

"(d) Assist the Federal and State authorities in all activities in connection with the war, including the furnishing of capable public speakers for the promotion of patriotism and patriotic endeavor.

"And it is further recommended that the work of the various State and local bar associations, along the foregoing lines, be so far as possible coordinated and standardized."

This was implemented by the authorizing of a committee, to consist of Mr. Root and four other members of the association to be appointed by the President to "consider and take such action as may be appropriate concerning matters from time to time arising by reason of war and in which the association may be of service to the general welfare," and buttressed by a directive that $20,000 of the association's funds be invested in war bonds and that the dues of members in the Armed Forces be waived. The chairman of the membership committee noted with pardonable pride:

"Members of our profession are absolutely dominating this war. President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing are lawyers, as are Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of the Navy Daniels, even General Crowder, who as Provost Marshal General is building our new armies, and General Pershing the commander in chief of all our overseas troops, also Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, who is raising the billions necessary to prosecute the war."

The committee referred to above was reappointed at the 1918 annual meeting, which as a whole had a distinctly military flavor. In addition a resolution was adopted calling upon the bar to assist in implementing the Selective Service Act and its members to recognise this imperative summons to duty; to volunteer their professional skill unstintedly to the boards and the registrants of their respective communities; and to give the right of way over all other affairs, during the next 3 months, to this patriotic task. This was supplemented by a pledge on the part of delegates from State and local bar associations to renew service to the Nation in all the fields of war activity where the knowledge and experience of the lawyer especially qualify him, and by a resolution calling for the appointment of a special committee to examine into the need for State legislation supplementing the Federal war enactments. In line with the former a special war service committee consisting of a single member, John Lowell, of Boston, Mass., was appointed.

The purpose of this committee was to find out what departments and bureaus of the Government required the services of lawyers and to furnish them competent lawyers to perform such services. In order to accomplish this it proved necessary to know what competent lawyers in the different sections of the country are willing to serve the Government either with or without compensation, what compensation they would require, if any, what their special qualifications are, and whether or not they could take a position in Washington. Altogether an ambitious project; but only slightly more than 8 months after this call went out, and before the program was well underway, an armistice was signed and the war ended.

ARMY REPORT SHOWS SUCCESS OF COMMITTEES

The nature and success of the activities of these various committees and their cooperating agencies is indicated by the following excerpt from the report of the Provost Marshal General on the cooperation of the bar in administering the Selective Service System:

"The response of the profession at large was magnificent. Indeed, promptly upon the publication of the President's call, and before they learned of the definite plans of organization, attorneys became so impatient to respond to the call that meetings for preliminary organization were held through the length and breadth of the land; meetings attended by hundreds and sometimes by thousands. With such splendid spirit to build upon, the success of the plan depended largely upon the organization of this willingness to serve."

Meanwhile another aspect of the problem was likewise under consideration. On March 14, 1919, a special committee had been appointed to consider revisions of court-martial procedure. The need for change had become apparent during the war. As one speaker put it:

"All agree that in many instances excessive penalties have been imposed; that an excessive and altogether unnecessary number of courts martial have been held; that in many instances the prisoner was not adequately defended; that there has not been a proper supervision of the courts martial, nor provisions made for a full preliminary investigation, nor have the commanding officers in many instances sufficiently realized, or at any rate impressed upon their subordinates, the fact that a large number of courts martial are a reflection upon the capacity for leadership of the officers as much as upon the lack of discipline of the men. All agree also that, due to the necessities of the case and the haste with which the army was raised and officered, many of the officers and most of the men were entirely ignorant of the military law which they were enforcing or required to obey, and that there was a tendency even among those in high command to feel that military control knew no constitutional limitations. All agree, for instance, that the practice of sending back cases for a revision of the finding or of the sentence after a verdict of not guilty is absolutely unwarranted and absolutely unconstitutional."

The committee filed a report of more than a hundred printed pages, containing thirteen specific suggestions, all based upon the following proposition:

"It is true that the rights of a private soldier who voluntarily or upon the compulsion of the law goes out to fight the battles of his country, to suffer and even if necessary, to die for her, may not be the same, as his remuneration certainly is not on the same scale, as those of us who sit in the ease and comfort of civil life and enjoy the peace and security which his suffering, his valor and sacrifice make possible for us; but such rights as he has are not to be taken away without adequate safeguards for ascertaining under the military code his guilt of such transgression of its provisions as alone authorize the forfeiture of those rights."

Although this report provoked much discussion, it resulted in no action, as it was referred back to the executive committee for further consideration, and nothing further appears in connection with it.

Again a score of peaceful years intervened; but in 1940 war and rumors of war again penetrated to the American Bar Association, and in that year the division of international law, of the section of international and comparative law, appointed a special committee on international legal problems raised by war conditions. A special committee on national defense was also authorized and appointed, and from the discussion in connection with it, it was clear that the membership of the American Bar Association stood solidly behind the principle of defense and of service to the country; that any debate was as to the methods by which those ends could best be gained.

At the next year's annual meeting the warlike note was even more dominant. Various resolutions were presented upon the subject and the president's annual address dealt with The Organized Bar and National Defense. A special committee was authorized to study continuously during the period of its existence the effect of war economy upon the activities of the association," and another appointed to assist the president "in advancing and coordinating the work of the American Bar Association in national defense."

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE PRESENTS ITS PLANS

At this meeting the committee on national defense also presented a report. This committee had previously presented a comprehensive report to the mid-year meeting, outlining a number of projects including the setting up of machinery for rendering legal assistance to members of the Armed Forces, the preparation of a manual of law for the use of Selective Service Boards, and continuing activities in the fields of legal aid, the improvement of the administration of justice, public relations, and legislation. To the board of governors it reported that—

"Close contact has been established with all but two State bar associations, and the personnel of State committees has been expanded. Most States have set up a standard committee of 5 to 9 members, but in several the entire State has been covered by 80 to 200 active members * * *. Members of the association committee and of the State committees have been speaking at regional and State meetings, and many more such addresses are scheduled. The broadcast of April 22 was given extraordinary radio facilities; an estimated 50 million people were told in 15 minutes that the bar is on the job and something of what it is attempting to do."

The committee's report to the association confirmed these facts. These reports fully warranted the statement made by The Adjutant General that the broad scope of the services to be rendered by the American Bar Association is impressive and the War Department has welcomed this assistance.

Little more than 2 months after the 1941 annual meeting adjourned, Pearl Harbor was bombed by the Japanese and the United States was again at war. The following year saw the appointment of a dozen committees to deal with various phases of the war; but the special committee on national defense (the name of which was changed to the committee on war work) continued to take the lead. Its activities had been somewhat curtailed by the creation at the mid-year meeting of a committee on coordination and direction of war effort to have complete direction of all agencies of the association engaged in activities which in its judgment shall be in the interest and advancement of the war or related thereto. This committee, in its first annual report, outlined a 10-point program, based upon the following proposition:

"The total war levied upon the Nation requires that the organized bar gather and collect its powers and energies and place them under coordinated direction to contribute effective service in winning the war.

The assault upon the Nation is an attempt to destroy government by law and to substitute for it the reign of power. To seek out all things which are within the competence of the organized bar, and in keeping with its history and traditions, by which government by law may be protected and preserved, has been the initial endeavor of the committee."

This resulted in the limitation of the jurisdiction of the committee on war work to "those subjects which have to do with the men in the armed services and persons dependent upon them. In presenting its report, its chairman said:

"By tradition, by Federal legislation, and by regulations of both the Army and the Navy, there have been only certain organizations which have any official status whatever, of a civilian kind, with the Armed Forces. • • • For 2 years, while doing many things and having very kind things said to and about us, your committee from this association has been well-liked, very useful, civilian volunteers, and nothing more."

However, this was soon to be changed. On March 16, 1943, the War Department issued an official directive setting up, in cooperation with the committee on war work of the American Bar Association, a system of legal assistance to members of the Army, "thus instituting, for the first time in the history of the Armed Forces, an official, uniform, and comprehensive system for making legal advice and assistance available to military personnel and their dependents in regard to their personal legal affairs." On June 26, 1943, the Navy followed suit. From the civilian side, this work was carried on through State and local bar associations, which cooperated in many other ways as well. As the special committee on war work reported to the midyear 1943 meeting:

"All of the State bar associations and many of the local ones are devoting a large part of their time to the war effort. The jurisdiction of their respective war committies, in most instances, covers all phases of activity related to the war. They organize committees, frequently represented by chairmen in all the counties; they create panels of volunteer lawyers to render legal service to those in the Armed Forces; they make use of the press and the radio; they speak from the platform; they encourage patriotic debates in the schools; they cooperate closely with various agencies, governmental and otherwise, of local or nationwide scope; they aid lawyers in finding war work to do and posts to be occupied; they work with employment agencies to place lawyers actually at the benches in war plants; they lend their assistance in the conservation of the practice of lawyers entering upon military duty; they conduct technical institutes for members of the bar; they establish so-called legal clinics at the different camps, forts, posts, and stations; they prepare useful forms of sample wills and powers of attorney; they wrestle with the difficult question of absentee marriages by proxy or by telephone; they maintain systems by which lawyers in the Armed Forces are kept abreast of current events at home through regular correspondence from their old offices, from special committees, or from individuals assigned the pleasant duty of sustaining this close contact; they keep up the quality of those on duty with selective service; they foster necessary changes in State and Federal laws; and, in general, cheerfully and efficiently undertake to uphold the honor and dignity of the profession by responding to every call upon the bar and to render every service calculated to let those who are fighting for us understand that, so far as lies within our power, we shall not fail them."

The Committee on Coordination and Direction of War Effort continued to function as before, but more and more the emphasis came to be placed upon legal assistance to the serviceman. By the 1943 annual meeting the Committee on War Work was able to report that the Army had established 553 legal assistance offices in 46 States and the District of Columbia. At the following annual meeting the Special Committee on Coordination and Direction of War Effort recommended its own dissolution, on the ground that "further direction by this committee of the divisional committees of the association engaged in its war effort is unnecessary"; while on the other hand the Special Committee on War Work recommended that its scope be expanded to include "legal problems of veterans of the present war and their dependents." These anticipations proved to be well founded, because before the next annual meting V–E and V–J Days arrived, and the war was over.

LEGAL ASSISTANCE SHOULD GRATIFY ALL LAWYERS

The history of legal assistance during World War II should be a matter of gratification to all members of the bar. The chairman of the committee summarized it as follows:

"The operation of the legal assistance plan progressed rapidly after its inception in the two services. Legal assistance officers were appointed, and legal assistance offices were established in ever-increasing numbers in both the Army and the Navy. During the first 6 months, approximately 600 legal assistance offices were established in the Army (including the Army Air Forces), and by the end of the first year (March 31, 1944), approximately 850 such offices were in operation. Thereafter, the number of offices continued to grow more slowly, but by the end of the second year (March 31, 1945), the total in operation was over 1,200. Most of the expansion the second year was at overseas installations, which was encouraged, whenever possible. This trend continued until V–J day (September 2, 1945) when a peak of over 1,600 offices were in operation."

Nor was official recognition long in coming. On December 19, 1945, at the 67th annual meeting of the American Bar Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, the following joint letter from the Secretaries of War and of the Navy was presented by the Judge Advocates General of the Army and of the Navy to the president of the American Bar Association:

"The American Bar Association has contributed generously and effectively in the establishment and support of legal assistance programs in the armed services, and in the mobilization of thousands of volunteer civilian lawyers to collaborate with legal assistance officers in the Army and Navy. Under these programs millions of service personnel and their families have been assisted with their personal legal problems. This work has been of great benefit to the morale of servicemen everywhere.

"We take pleasure in commending the American Bar Association for these patriotic services to the Nation. On behalf of the members of the armed services who have been the beneficiaries, we thank the members of the legal profession for their participation in that work."

Although the record of the organized bar in World War II is impressive, it should not obscure the contribution of the individual lawyers. As Major General Myron C. Cramer, then the Judge Advocate General, wrote in 1943, at a time when 3,691 members of the American Bar Association were serving in the Armed Forces:

"The gratifying manner in which the profession is responding to its opportunities strengthens my conviction that when the record of this war is finally written, and all the facts can be frankly disclosed, the American legal profession will have just cause for pride in the manner in which its members responded, even beyond the call of duty, to serve the effort of the war in keeping with legal abilities, training, and experience, and in keeping with the high calling of the profession of the law."

The contribution of lawyers serving in the Armed Forces was by no means always in the legal field. At the beginning, the number of legal positions being limited, they were considered more or less of a drug on the market; but as the war continued, lawyers repeatedly proved their worth in administrative and command positions completely divorced from anything legal, and it began to be recognized that the qualities and training which fitted a man for the practice of law likewise equipped him for a position of military authority. As Kenneth C. Royall, former Secretary of War and first Secretary of the Army, said:

"So it is that in World War II lawyers and prospective lawyers served with distinction in every branch of the armed services, including the active combat branches. In artillery, and infantry, and marines, on combat vessels and with fighter planes, many members of the bar qualified for the aristocracy of courage.

"The success of lawyers in battle assignments is not surprising. A legal training—and particularly the active practice of law—develops the very traits which have ever made Americans great soldiers. These traits include initiative and resourcefulness in meeting varying practical situations—and a combative determination to win."

Postwar planning had already begun as early as 1943 under the auspicies of a postwar work correction committee. This committee made its first report to the annual meeting of that year, in which it said:

"Your committee ventures to remind the Members of the House that the formulation, during war, of peacetime objectives relating to the administration of justice is exploratory, in a degree. Many phases of postwar planning in advance, as well as postwar building at the time, will bring up countless conflicts in doctrines and clashes of ideologies. If the organized bar is to make significant contribution in this work, it must be through careful, continuing study."

The work of this committee terminated with the filing of its next annual report, but at that time a new committee on postwar planning was appointed. This committee was reappointed the following year, which appears to have been the final year of its existence. In the same year, the Committee on War Work reported that it was investigating the possibilities of "cooperation by this Association in legal assistance to the permanent peacetime Armed Forces," and in the next it was discharged at its own request, its function being turned over to a new Committee on Legal Service to the Armed Forces. This committee was reappointed from year to year and in 1949 the Committee on Scope and Correlation of Work defined its function as follows:

"The purpose of this committee is to sponsor the creation of machinery by the State and local associations to provide active members of the Armed Forces with means of referring cases requiring legal services to competent civilian counsel in the localities concerned."

In the following year these activities once again took on an increased importance, for on June 25 the Republic of Korea was invaded and thereafter, although not technically at war, the United States was again engaged in an armed conflict which required the cooperation of all available agencies, including the organized bar. The Committee on Legal Service to the Armed Forces had reported to the midyear meeting that—

"The volume of work, although not as great, of course, as during the war, is still considerable and is increasing percentagewise. The reports generally are that about once in every 6 months, at least 10 percent of the members of the Armed Forces do need some type of legal assistance and that is a

pretty accurate base upon which to figure the volume."

At the annual meeting, Chairman Milton J. Blake stated that "The committee is ready to swing into action, as it did in 1943, and has already set up a pattern of cooperation with State and local bar associations." The following year the program was included among the long-range objectives of the Association. The committee in its report to the annual meeting repeated the statement made to the midyear meeting to the effect that:

"As mobilization progresses, legal assistance activities in the Armed Forces will increase in proportion, with consequent increase of referrals to the civilian bar. How large this will become depends on the international situation. However, it is believed that the steps already taken by this committee, the State and local committees and the Armed Forces will make it possible to meet to meeet the needs. Nonetheless, it is most important that all concerned be alert to the developing situation and be prepared to make adjustments and do whatever else is necessary to meet conditions as they arise. This may call for unusual and very prompt activities on the part of this committee which cannot be foreseen at this time. War moves fast and its challenges and requirements must be met without delay."

This was repeated in each of the committee's two reports for the following year. That this prognosis was fully justified is borne out by figures released recently by the various branches of the Armed Forces participating in the program. As of the end of the year just past, the Army, since 1943, had handled 11,962,347 legal matters for its personnel through its legal assistance officers, working in conjunction with civilian lawyers in many cases. The Navy handled at least 8 million such matters during the same period. Since 1948, when it became a separate branch of the service, the Air Force has handled an estimated 1½ million. Thus, at a conservative estimate, "it appears that over 20 million items have been disposed of by all the services during the 10 years of the legal-assistance plan."

The bar has every reason to be proud of the contribution which it has made to the Nation in time of war. It has played its part in maintaining the cherished traditions of liberty and justice, for which all of our wars have been fought, through troubled times as it has in time of tranquility. It has offered its services without stint to its Government and to individuals in the Armed Forces. And its members have served with distinction in both legal and nonlegal positions, in all branches of the service. The history of our Nation could not be written without recording the part which the bar has played, in war as in peace, in its preservation and development.

Foreign Imports Won't Make Jobs for Unemployed United States Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, April 17, 1954, from 7 to 7:15 p. m.:

FOREIGN IMPORTS WON'T MAKE JOBS FOR UNEMPLOYED UNITED STATES WORKERS

The global planners at Washington seem to have lost sight of mounting unemployment within the United States.

Wishing to help the rest of the world first, they would put the duties we owe to our own people on the shelf.

Of course they have some arguments on their side, but it seems to me that we have been more than generous in helping the rest of the world. With the aid we have given, by the billions, it's about time that foreign nations should stand on their own feet.

Where has this money gone?

Has it restored and modernized production and raised wages, so that foreign products would have a right to fairly compete with us?

I think not.

The average wage paid to American workers is $1.78 per hour. Next in line comes our neighbor Canada, with $1.38 per hour. Then the earnings drop rapidly. Switzerland, 57 cents; Belgium, 48 cents; the United Kingdom, 47 cents; France, 46 cents; Germany, 44 cents.

The question of tariff versus free trade has always been a problem, with the accent shifting from time to time with changing conditions. During the early days of this Nation, we needed a high protective tariff to give our young economy a chance to develop. Later, during periods of so-called full employment, we could afford to let more foreign goods come into the American market. Now, with rising unemployment, we dare not risk additional hardships for certain of our depressed industries, by allowing more foreign goods to come in.

The main domestic issue, as I see it, is to favor those policies that will put our own unemployed back to work.

The textile industry and the commercial fishing industry of New England have been battered from pillar to post during the last few years. If protective tariffs are lowered in these categories that would be the final, crushing blow from which they would never recover.

We have a foreign-aid program, but no program to aid distressed industries at home.

Now we are being called upon to make further sacrifices.

This does not make sense.

Time and again we have asked Washington for help, but have received none. That is a matter of record. Now we must fight to block those policies that would worsen our situation.

There are some thriving American industries that, in the process of seeking additional foreign markets, would throw other American industries to the wolves.

Some of them have even figured out a way to undersell their own workers by the device of moving some of their operations overseas to benefit from lower costs and then shipping their goods back for sale in our domestic market. If this trend should develop it would increase their profits but throw more Americans out of work.

No wonder these companies are lobbying so hard for free trade.

They even try to depict the United States as being selfish.

Ignoring the fact that most European countries have higher tariffs than we have, and prevent the entrance of goods by their system of cartels and exchange controls.

As E. Howard Bennett stated in America's Textile Reporter, and I quote: "Right today there is a great outcry for free trade, for a low tariff, for a nonprotective policy for this country. We are against it and we hate it. We've seen the textile industry grow great over the course of years, very, very largely due to our old established protective tariff policy. We know that 99 percent, perhaps a full 100 percent of the woolen and worsted manufacturers of this country would swear to it that they cannot live under a free-trade basis, let alone a low-tariff basis."

In 1947, imports of apparel fabrics amounted to 4 million square yards. By 1952, they had jumped to 24 million square yards.

Tariff protection is not sinful. It is neither new nor startling. The first act of the First Congress and the first law signed by President George Washington was a protective tariff. We have had protective tariffs ever since, under Democratic and Republican administrations.

The present administration has called for a liberalized trade program to improve our domestic employment, our standard of living, our security, and the solidarity of the free world.

How more foreign textiles and fish products coming into New England and the Nation will help the tens of thousands of our own people who have already lost their jobs in those industries is not explained.

Are more expected to surrender their jobs out of deference to foreign imports?

There are some products and raw materials that we need. These could be imported duty free without harm to anybody.

But to allow foreign agricultural and industrial products to come in and undersell us in the home market would wreck the American economy.

Right here in New England we are going through a difficult period of readjustment in respect to the textile and fishing industries. The argument that other industries in the Nation might benefit through free trade does not impress us when we are fighting to save two of our key industries that are essential to our regional economy, especially when the Federal Government has been strangely indifferent toward our problems.

Big business seems to have gone over to the free-trade idea. It can afford to, with subsidiaries located abroad to produce goods at low wages that then come back to undersell home-manufactured products.

Furthermore, small American industries that we look to for diversification cannot compete on a basis of equality with cheap foreign imports. Opening the gates to foreign goods would drive employment and wages down.

The doctrine of trade, not aid, sounds good, and eventually it may come to pass, but not under present conditions.

The first requirement is to restore several million unemployed Americans to productive jobs in industries that have a chance to make a profit.

It has always seemed strange to me that in the process of giving billions to restore the economies of European countries, we did not insist upon changes in their methods of doing business that would enable them to compete but fairly.

George W. Ensley, staff director for the joint House-Senate Economic Committee, has hit the nail on the head.

After an extensive tour of Western Europe, he reports that economic restrictions over there constitute a far greater threat to economic health than do trade barriers erected by the United States. There is, he found, a market in Western Europe that can absorb the goods and services that Europe produces. That is if the barriers are removed. He concludes that, while outside markets, such as in the United States, are important, they have been greatly exaggerated. Europe should not look continually to the United States for economic assistance, unless she is

willing to tackle her own basic structural policy.

In plain English, the only worthwhile imports are those that supplement our own production, not displace it.

Europeans, fond of criticizing the United States, would do better to raise their own standards, which they can, if they will.

Not by displacing American workers and forcing us down to their inefficient level.

American advocates of free trade admit that some of our workers will be thrown out of jobs by foreign imports, but they say that this problem, in time, will be solved by moving these workers into relatively more efficient industries.

In other words, just move them around to suit the economic planners.

Human beings, however, refuse to become pawns in any kind of a game.

People have families, friends, down payments on homes—precious roots in a community.

Remember the migrant workers from the Dust Bowl in the thirties—the story of Grapes of Wrath?

Torn away from every security—set adrift?

We don't want to see that again. Never.

Towns and small cities are the real heart of the United States. We want to maintain that basic strength by helping their economies, not hurting them.

Unwise tariff policies will only compound the problems of distressed areas, and we have more than our share of surplus labor in certain New England communities.

Surviving industries must be protected, or unemployment will become a barrier to recovery. We cannot hope to attract replacement industries to fill the gap if we have to face the further handicap of low-priced foreign goods.

New England communities, caught in the cross currents of transition, are not expendable.

They deserve a little consideration from the Federal Government.

The tariff question is never simple.

But it is imperative that we approach it with human understanding as well as with cold figures.

Easter is now here commemorating the resurrection, bringing hope and joy.

A time to think of our spiritual resources, of people, and of the best way to create more, not less, opportunities for them.

Especially those who are unemployed.

Thank you for listening.

Address by Gov. Walter J. Kohler, of Wisconsin, National Press Club, Washington, D. C., April 26, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on April 14, 1954, I called to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives an editorial which appeared in the Hoard's Dairyman, presenting a program for the dairy industry. This program, which was proposed by the Hoard's Dairyman and recommended by me for consideration by this 83d Congress, was an adaptation of a proposal now before Congress which was offered by the National Milk Producers Federation and has been devised after a great deal of study and consultation with dairy leaders throughout the country. This noon the Honorable Walter J. Kohler, of Wisconsin, addressed a luncheon at the National Press Club here in Washington, at which he outlined the proposal made editorially by the Hoard's Dairyman. The Governor of our State, America's dairyland, in his speech this noon came out wholeheartedly in support of the proposal as made in the April 10 issue of the Hoard's Dairyman. In his speech he frankly discussed the problems facing Wisconsin and presented in detail this new self-help program. Under the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I include the speech of the distinguished and able Governor of Wisconsin in the Appendix of the RECORD today. The speech is as follows:

Your invitation to speak at this luncheon meeting of the National Press Club provides me with a rare opportunity to discuss a problem of great concern to my State and, I think, the Nation.

As you know, I am Governor of a State which boasts the slogan, "America's Dairyland," on its auto license plates.

The milk production statistics attest that this is no idle boast, for Wisconsin annually produces far more than its proportionate share of the Nation's dairy products. Its cheese production, for example, is just about equal to that of the other 47 States combined.

You will understand, therefore, that the problem of farm price supports, and dairy supports in particular, is of considerable concern to me and to the citizens of Wisconsin whom I serve. It is also of concer to the Nation, and for that reason I want to use this opportunity to talk to you about it.

Before you jump to the conclusion that I am another governor coming to Washington for a Federal handout, I want to assure you that I don't like Federal aids, Federal subsidies, or Federal controls. I believe in local self-government. I believe in individual self-reliance.

Because of these convictions, I share Secretary Benson's skepticism about the effectiveness of the rigid 90 percent price support program under which we have been operating, and are still operating for basic commodities. These supports have produced surpluses because they have encouraged production by inefficient and high-cost producers who can produce profitably only because they are being subsidized by our grandchildren.

Secretary Benson has suggested that this program is good neither for agriculture nor for the country, and I agree with him.

Meanwhile, however, I am equally unhappy with the present 75 percent dairy support program, because I don't believe it will achieve the results expected of it.

I doubt, first of all, that the relatively modest price decline which it will produce will greatly increase consumption.

I am certain that the reduction will do nothing to reduce production, anti will, in fact, increase it.

I am troubled by the fact that the present program does nothing to protect the dairy industry against the threat of additional dairy production on 25 million acres being diverted from production of basic commodities through production controls.

In short, despite the reduction of the support level for dairy products, I believe surpluses will continue to grow under the present program. This must not be allowed to happen, and to prevent it new methods must be adopted.

Before I conclude my remarks this noon, I propose to outline to you a program which I believe will solve the problem. It is a program which will guarantee to the farmer 90 percent of parity for that portion of his production which is required to meet current domestic needs, but which will pay him for surplus production only the true value of the commodity in the surplus market.

This proposal will give the farmer a measure of real security, yet it will get the Government out of the dairy business. It will provide the farmer with a fair return without demanding that the housewife pay twice for her butter—once when she buys it, and again when she and her husband pay their taxes.

Before discussing specific solutions, however, I would like to talk for a moment about the plight of the dairy farmer. I am particularly eager to do so before this audience because I believe the dairyman has taken a beating in the press during recent months as a result of the emphasis which has been placed on the dairy surplus problem.

There is little doubt that the average newspaper reader has concluded that the dairy farmer is the principal beneficiary of the price-support program. Many citizens, in fact, have been led to believe that the dairy farmer is a selfish individual who has demanded Federal subsidy out of relation to his importance in the agricultural field.

Butter has become the ogre in the price-support fairytale, and I find that a great many citizens are blissfully unaware that the Government has any surplus problems or price-support expenses in other fields.

Actually, as you know, this is far from the case, and I wish you would join me in letting the American people know it. Let's examine a few of the facts of life about Government support programs.

When the cost to the Government of supporting butter is viewed in relation to the entire cost of Government support programs, its importance is small—almost minute.

Throughout the history of the price-support program butter has accounted for only $63 million of the realized losses on purchased commodities. That is the net loss to the Government after buying the butter and then reselling it for whatever price it can get.

This is roughly 7 percent of the total realized losses on price supports, which, you will agree, is a very small proportion of the total cost. Of course, in Wisconsin, $63 million is still regarded as a lot of money, but for a good many years in Washington such a sum has been generally regarded as "peanuts."

Speaking of peanuts, how much have any of you read about the peanut surplus problem?

During the life of the price-support programs the realized losses by the Government on peanut purchases have totaled $103 million—$40 million more than its losses on butter—yet there has been little publicity over the cost of this program. Yet the total value of peanut production is only a fraction of that of butter.

Let's look at some other facts.

The Federal Government currently, under the price-support program, is approaching $7 billion in surplus stocks and loans outstanding. Of this total, dairy products account for just under half a billion dollars, or about 7 percent of the total.

In comparison, wheat accounts for more than $2 billion of the total, cotton for almost $1½ billion, and corn for almost $1½ billion.

On any basis which you want to use, the dairy farmer has been responsible for far less than his share of the price-support cost. Dairy products represent about 20 percent of our agricultural income; yet, considering either realized losses or current investments, dairy products represent much less than 20 percent of the total cost.

The figures are equally interesting on an individual-farm basis.

At the present time, 745,000 wheat farmers are responsible for more than $2 billion in storage stocks and loans outstanding. To put it another way, 15 percent of the Nation's wheat farms are responsible for 35 percent of the Government's current investment in surplus farm commodities.

Meanwhile, nearly 2 million dairy farmers have been responsible for only $410 million invested in surplus dairy products.

To use the other comparison, 40 percent of the Nation's dairy farms are responsible for only 7 percent of the Government's investment in surplus butter, cheese, and dried milk.

Let me repeat that. The wheat farmers represent 15 percent of America's farmers, yet they have received 35 percent of the benefit from price supports—an average of $2,945 per farm.

Dairy farmers constitute 40 percent of the Nation's farm population, yet they received only 7 percent of the benefit from price supports and an average of only $206 per farm.

Now let me tell you, briefly, about some of the other problems of the dairyman.

If you return to the early days of Federal subsidy, you will discover that the first cash payments to farmers were largely justified as soil conservation measures. They were designed to encourage the planting of grass and legumes, to build up the soil. Presumably, the national interest was to be served by making good farmers out of bad farmers.

This may have been good for the country, but it was no help to the dairy farmer. He was already a good farmer. He was already planting grass and legumes. He sat by and watched the Government spend his money to provide him with additional competition.

Subsequently, when the parity program was established on the period from 1909–14, it was a break for the wheat farmer, whose costs had dropped markedly since that time because of mechanization. It was no break for the dairymen, who in the intervening years had watched prices soar on farm labor and the costs of the feed needed to produce milk.

Then came price supports. Today, while the Government supports the price of basic commodities at 90 percent of parity, thus maintaining an artificially high price on the feed the dairyman must buy, he is required to accept 75 parcent or parity for the milk he sells.

Meanwhile, the corn, wheat or cotton producer, as part of the Government loan and purchase program, is under production controls. He is required to divert acreage—some 25 million acres this year—to other crops.

Much of this acreage is planted to grass and legumes. The grass and legumes are fed to cattle—dairy or beef. If fed to dairy cattle, it adds to the milk surplus. If fed to beef cattle, it depresses the beef price, on which the dairyman relies for 25 percent of his income.

Finally, the dairyman who is now condemned for overproduction cannot forget how recently the Government was pleading with him to produce more milk. As recently as the fall of 1951, a Federal-State committee was active in Wisconsin attempting to encourage greater milk production. The farmer who worked extra hours, and made additional investments in order to respond to these patriotic appeals, now is criticised for doing the very thing his Government asked him to do.

Now don't misunderstand me. The Wisconsin dairy farmer is not crying over his lot. He understands the problems which our Government faces. He doesn't want an exorbitant price, but he feels he is entitled to a fair price and an honest living, just as every other worker in America is entitled to these things.

I have no doubt, if Federal subsidies on all commodities were wiped out tomorrow, the Wisconsin dairy farmer would make out very well. He is a good farmer—an efficient producer. He has proven over the years that he can withstand any competition in dairy production, if he is left alone.

He cannot survive against subsidized competition, however, unless he, too, receives a helping hand. That is all he wants or expects—an even break.

During recent months I have discussed this problem with countless dairymen in Wisconsin and other States, exploring potential solutions to the problem. That time and effort and thought has, I believe, produced a solution.

It is a self-help program which will get the Federal Government out of the dairy business, and maintain economic security in the dairy industry at no expense to the American taxpayer.

That may sound too utopian to be true, but I assure you, it isn't.

The program which I propose is an adaptation of a proposal now before the Congress, which was offered by the National Milk Producers Federation. It was devised after a great deal of study and consultation with dairy leaders throughout the country.

In its final form it is largely the product of Mr. William Knox, a nationally known dairy leader, farm editor and agricultural economist who has worked closely with members of my staff.

It would be difficult to outline all the details of the program in this speech, but essentially, it is this:

A 15-man dairy stabilization board, appointed by the President will undertake to conduct a continuing analysis of the supply and demand for dairy products.

At the beginning of each marketing period—let us say quarterly—the board would determine what percentage of anticipated production will be required for domestic needs, and what percentage will be surplus.

Each milk producer in the Nation will be assigned a share of the domestic market, on the basis of his average milk production over the preceding 3-year period. For this portion of his production he will receive from the milk plant operator payment which, on the national average, reflects not less than 90 percent of parity. For the remainder of his production—that portion which is surplus—he will receive exactly what the board expects to obtain for the dairy product when it is disposed of to the Armed Forces, institutions, or in the world market.

Perhaps the program could be more readily understood if I give you an example of how it would work in the case of a mythical farmer.

Under this proposal, the dairy stabilization board would announce that during the month of May 90 percent of the milk produced in the Nation will be needed for domestic market requirements, 10 percent will be surplus.

This mythical farmer, during the past 3 years, has produced during the month of May an average of 25,000 pounds of milk. Of this production, then, 90 percent, or 22,500 pounds, will be his "market" or "base." Any amount which he produces above this base will fall into the surplus category.

For the 22,500 pounds which represents this farmer's share of the market requirements, he would receive a price based up 90 percent of parity. Let us say this is $4 per hundred pounds in his particular market. If he continued to produce an additional 2,500 pounds, he would receive for that milk the price it is estimated that the stabilization board will receive when it disposes of its surplus purchases.

The stabilization board, of course, would buy milk in the market at the 90 percent of parity price in order to stabilize the price at that level.

Its losses from buying at 90 percent of parity and selling at the surplus level would be financed by a division of the payment made by each dairy-plant operator for surplus milk. The plant operator, under this program, receives at least 90 percent of parity on each 100 pounds of milk which he sells. Let us say, again, that this price is $4. For that portion of the milk he buys which is in the surplus category, however, he pays the farmer at the surplus price established by the stabilization board. Let us say this price is $2 per hundred. In addition to the payment which he makes to the farmer on these surplus purchases, he makes a payment to the stabilization board of the difference between the surplus price which he paid for the milk, and the full market price which he received when he sold it. In this case, that payment would be $2 per hundred pounds.

The stabilization board, then, would be paying 90 percent of parity on the national average, or in this example, $4 per hundred pounds for the milk which it buys. It would receive $2 per hundred when it sold the milk, and it would receive an additional $2 per hundred pounds from the dairy plant operator. A small brokerage fee on the transaction would make the entire operation self-financing by those who produce the actual surplus.

This is an oversimplified version of the program, but rather than trouble you with details at this time, I think it might be more helpful to tell you that from a technical standpoint authorities I have consulted agree that the program will work.

It is, in effect, a self-financing support program, with built-in voluntary production controls.

It is a two-price program which guarantees to the dairy producer 90 percent of parity for that portion of his production which is required to meet current domestic needs. It permits him to produce surplus milk, but it pays him for that surplus production only what that milk is expected to bring under the surplus disposal program.

The program costs the taxpayer nothing. It guarantees a fair price for the dairy farmer, and a fair price for the consumer, in direct relation to the current costs of the other things consumers buy.

Its principal advantage, in addition to getting the Government out of the dairy business, lies in the fact that it will discourage overproduction without actually telling the farmer what he can produce.

If the farmer is sufficiently efficient so that he can produce milk at the surplus price, he has the right and opportunity to do so.

If, however, he is not that efficient, he can then reduce his production to the amount which represents his fair share of the existing domestic demand.

The great defect in the present support program, in my opinion and that of the many agricultural economists with whom I have discussed the problem, lies in the fact that it is not apt to reduce the surplus.

I know, for example, that in my own State of Wisconsin many farmers expect to maintain their gross income under the lowered price supports by producing more milk.

This can only aggravate the problem by creating greater surpluses.

Similarly, the present program does nothing to discourage the utilization of diverted acres for milk production.

Cattle buyers in Wisconsin report to me that during the past two or three months they have established new records for the sale of dairy cows in South Dakota and other States where wheat farmers are now building dairy herds to consume the grass and legumes which they will plant on their diverted acres.

This, too, will further glut the market for dairy products.

The plan which I have outlined today will solve both of these problems.

When the revenue from consumer sales and surplus sales is blended into a slightly lower price, as it is under the 75 percent support program, it remains profitable for the farmer to increase milk production to maintain his gross sales.

Under a two-price plan, however, he does not have this same encouragement for, while he receives the full support price for the milk which he produces which is needed to meet the consumer demand, all his surplus production must be sold at a much lower "surplus" price.

Similarly, the farmer who has not produced milk in the past, but now wants to harvest an extra profit from diverted acres by producing milk for an already glutted market, will also be compelled to sell that milk at the surplus price.

This proposal has been discussed with the leaders of many of our national farm organizations. It has been discussed with many Members of Congress. It has been outlined to economic advisors in the White House, and to several of the principal assistants to the Secretary of Agriculture.

The reaction to the proposal has been remarkably good, and I am hopeful that the administration and the Congress can reach agreement with respect to it, and enact such a program before the present session adjourns.

It is, I believe, a solution which will benefit producer, consumer, and taxpayer alike.

Outlawing the Communist Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the April 25, 1954, issue of the New York Herald Tribune. I believe this column written by Roscoe Drummond to be most apropos:

ON OUTLAWING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Because the case for outlawing the Communist Party is so logical and, to many, so persuasive, it is important to take the time to examine faithfully the case against outlawing the Communist Party.

The case against outlawing the party does not rest upon any soft attitude toward subversion. Opponents of banning the Communist Party, including Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., are convinced that this course of action would not help, and would very likely obstruct the work of the FBI and the Justice Department in immobilizing the Communists.

To impugne the motives of either non-Communists side in this controversy is unfair and misses the point. The advocates and the non-Communist opponents of outlawry are vigorously anti-Communist. The issue is what is wise, practicable and constitutional.

The principle reasons which the Attorney General recently cited to the House Judiciary Committee against legislation to ban the Communist Party were these:

That the present legal weapons of the courts, the Justice Department, and the FBI, together with others which Mr. Brownell is strongly urging Congress to pass, including wiretapping in security cases, denaturalization, making peacetime espionage a capital offense, etc., are effectively doing the job of dealing with Communist subversion and are sufficient.

That outlawing the Communist Party would destroy at least two of the legal weapons which the Justice Department finds most useful (the Internal Security Act and the Smith Act) and would hamper the work of the FBI.

That outlawing the Communist Party would probably be found unconstitutional, and the Attorney General and others cite substantial evidence to fortify this judgment.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 strikes at the root of the Communist conspiracy, the secrecy which masks its Soviet subservience and its devious methods, in that it requires Communist-action and Communist-front organizations to disclose their membership, their officers and their financial backing.

The Internal Security Act does not make membership in the Communist Party per se a crime. Registration can be made compulsory because, since membership is not per se a crime, no one is thus forced to give evidence against himself by registering. Thus Mr. Brownell points out that to make membership in the Communist Party per se a crime would nullify the Internal Security Act.

The Smith Act, which makes it illegal for anyone knowingly to support any group favoring the overthrow of the Government by force, is another powerful tool of the Justice Department, which has already resulted in the indictment of 105 Communist leaders. Here Mr. Brownell points out that outlawing the Communist Party would either go no further than the Smith Act, or, by attempting to make membership a crime without proof that the individual personally knew of the party's illegal objectives, would go beyond the limits of the Constitution.

The crux of the constitutional issue is whether making membership in the Communist Party a crime per se—a crime without having to prove in court that the individual knowingly committed the crime—is a denial of due process of law. The Supreme Court has ruled in *United States* v. *Lovett* (1946) that "legislative acts, no matter what their form (which) apply either to named individuals or to easily ascertainable members of a group in such a way as to inflict punishment on them without a judicial trial are bills of attainder"—and therefore unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court struck down the Oklahoma loyalty oath on the ground that "Indiscriminate classification of innocent with knowing activity must fail as an assertion of arbitrary power."

The Attorney General adds this practical warning: to the extent that outlawing the Communist Party "would force the Communist movement underground, cause it to close its headquarters, terminate its publications, it would at the same time and to the same extent increase the already difficult investigatory job of the FBI."

Knowing participation in the Communist conspiracy is already illegal. The threat of the Communist advocate, however misguided, can best be met in the arena of American free speech.

Excerpt From Paul Harvey News Broadcast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER
OF ARIZONA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excerpt from a broadcast by Paul Harvey on April 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How can a man of means and respectability and intelligence become a traitor to his country? Especially in the last half-dozen years Americans have wondered why the millionaire turned subversive; what makes the professor turn Communist; the scientist who works for them, the movie star who fronts for them—how come the home-grown citizen saboteur?

Mostly the answers have been fuzzy, academic, unsatisfactory. Because we forget men are rarely all right or all wrong. All knight or all knave.

Rarely are men totally honest or entirely dishonest * * * rarely 100 percent good or through and through bad. And you have to understand this to understand today's headlines. It helps explain why * * * an atom spy. Judas Iscariot could tell you the rest of the story.

Jesus was crucified. Judas didn't mean to. Judas Iscariot had a big idea and a chance to pickup a few pieces of silver. He didn't figure they'd try to make a federal case out of it. Judas didn't want any blood on his hands.

He'd seen Jesus turn water into wine, make loaves and fish out of nothing, heal the sick, raise Lazarus from the dead. Anybody who could perform miracles like that wasn't going to let himself get in any serious trouble. Judas only meant to force his Master's hand. Make him declare himself. Get him to assert his authority. Throw the rascals out and take over and make himself, Judas, top lieutenant. All twelve were impatient to get going on the temporal kingdom. Judas did not intend to be a traitor. This was not meant to be treason. Judas was not all evil. Understand that. All his life he was pretty good.

In this year of our Lord, 1954, when we must live so close to the making of history, it is important that Americans see this. Judas was not a card-carrying traitor. And remember, he was the educated one of the twelve. Judas was of better birth than the 11 mostly illiterate fishermen. Judas was a smart cookie. That's why they made him treasurer. He was better born and bred. He was more cultured, trained, educated. He was highly regarded by the other disciples. True, Judas caused Jesus' suffering and crucifixion * * * But he didn't mean to.

Like that time the repentant harlot was washing Jesus' feet with some very expensive oil * * * And Judas said, that's wasteful. He said I could get $45 for that precious ointment. And we could give the money to the poor. And he really would have given it to the poor. But we know now that Judas also figured to take a cut for himself. But he was not alone in thinking such thoughts. Once Simon Peter said to Jesus, all right * * * we left our homes and our work and came with you * * * now what do we get out of it? That was not jet black Satanic wickedness that caused him to say that. He, alone, defended Jesus with the sword. Yet again, once Jesus was arrested, Peter denied even knowing him.

These fellows were human * * * subject to human frailty and temptation. The devil never once stopped trying to pull them in the opposite direction * * * and he used whatever bait he figured would do the trick. With Judas, he played on the man's idealistic ambitions to see his Candidate in the high office running the whole show. Convinced him it was right that he should. The 30 pieces of silver were little added inducement. He could easily have pilfered more from the money pouch. In fact, Judas had decided on the mutiny before there was any talk of a payoff. And, though he led an arm-

ed mob in that last act, he made a point of asking them to lead Jesus away safely.

Then, when he saw the awfulness of what he had done * * * saw the hour-after-hour brain washing Jesus was going through * * * he ran back to the authorities and tried to get them to call off the whole deal * * *. Take back the money. When they wouldn't, he threw it on the floor. And when he knew it was too late * * * he fetched a rope and found a tree and hanged himself. Stray dogs were already eating at his remains when Jesus was marched to Calvary.

In that last few seconds up there in the tree, doubtless sobbing real tears in that final spasm of remorse as he fumbled to tie the knot for the noose, the disciple from Judea must have wished with all his heart that he could undo that last vile kiss.

He had not meant to betray his Master unto death. He didn't run and jump into the sewer. He backed in. There was no thought of bloodstained hands. He was no disciplined, dues-paying subversive. Judas was a man of a little greed and a little lust and a little pride * * * but they added up. And finally, 30 miserable little pieces of silver were all it took to tip the scales.

Do you understand what I'm saying? Judas, this man who might have been, was not an all-bad fellow. But that made no difference. He was weak enough so that he permitted evil men to use him. And to conspire with him to commit treason. And so no baby, Jew or Gentile, since and to this day, has ever been called by the name he soiled. Think of it—he made a name unfit for further use.

And Jesus was crowned with thorns and nailed to a tree. And the one perfect life the world had ever seen was destroyed. Jesus was dead. And Judas did that. What does it matter * * * that he didn't mean to.

Anniversary of the 1915 Armenian Massacre

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I issued in commemoration of the anniversary of the 1915 Armenian massacre:

Each April 24 we join in paying homage to the memory of 1,500,000 Armenians who were massacred on this day in 1915 because they would not compromise their faith. In the last 39 years millions of others have died for being members of minority groups and refusing to renounce their religious beliefs or national heritage. Armed only with tremendous courage, the martyred groups and nations have for the most part withstood the horrors heaped upon them. This is especially true of the Armenians, who, through centuries of ruthless oppression, have maintained their national spirit and are today actively fighting the Soviet conquerors.

But though we draw inspiration from the way brave men have refused to surrender before terror, we can find no comfort in this. The courage of the tortured millions does not in any way diminish their suffering, and we can no longer tolerate a state of affairs in which men pay with their lives for their devotion to freedom. It has become imperative that we move immediately toward the alleviation of the terrible lot that has befallen the victims of tyranny. We must change our present immigration laws so as to enable displaced persons to come to the United States and live in enjoyment of that freedom for which they sacrificed so much. We must also press for the ratification of the genocide convention. Only after we have made our position on this issue completely clear to the whole world can we hope to exert effective pressure on the Communists and force them to cease their brutal crimes against the people of Armenia and other Iron Curtain countries.

Let us pay tribute to the memory of those who have died to preserve their liberties by helping and defending those who are now engaged in the same struggle.

Bovine Tuberculosis Eradication

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY O. TALLE
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a reprint from the American Veterinary Medical Association Journal for April which appeared in the Cedar Rapids Gazette under date of April 18, 1954, and was supplied to me by Dr. Grant B. Munger, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa:

CONCERN VOICED AGAINST TB INDEMNITY CUTOFF

The bovine tuberculosis-eradication program, once a robust and popular campaign against the insidious equivalent of man's great white plague, now shows signs of suffering from senility and anemia.

Meanwhile, its quarry, like a vicious beast, battered and driven to its lair by a once concerned and resentful public is, instead of being destroyed while cornered, apt to become the benefactor of the complacent "let George do it" attitude of that same, but now less concerned, public.

It is disturbing to learn that in spite of its existing anemia the program is due for some additional blood-letting. In the name of a worthy cause, national economy, the Federal indemnity for tuberculosis reactors has been eliminated from the budget of the Department of Agriculture on which hearings were being held at the time this was written.

Also of concern is an overconfidence and indifference in many who seem to consider bovine tuberculosis as an already eradicated disease. Significantly, the report of the chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, 1953, states that "Although the overall rate of tuberculosis in cattle is very low, in some States the incidence of infection is increasing."

TUBERCULOSIS RESURGENCE

Examples of the resurgence of bovine tuberculosis are numerous but may we briefly cite one which was found in a small, beef-type herd in March 1938.

From the inception of the voluntary program this closed herd had been tested regularly with never a sign of a reaction, nor had reactors been found in neighboring herds. Yet, when the intradermal test was applied to the 7 older cattle and 3 calves, 8 of the 10 (all but a recently purchased milk cow and a young calf) reacted, some with swellings larger than hen eggs; the reactors subsequently showing lesions. On the second retest, the cow and calf also reacted.

The spreader must have been an aged cow, negative on two previous tests, which had recently been sent to market because of progressive emaciation.

Had this infection occurred after the area retest interval was lengthened, had it been in a large herd, and had the herd been dispersed without test, as is legal and usual at farm sales in many States, how far might the disease have traveled and what might have been the cost of subduing it?

OF GERMAN ORIGIN

The bovine tuberculin test was originally introduced into the United States from Koch's laboratory in Germany, by Dr. Leonard Pearson, in 1891. After extensive, successful field trials, the Tuberculosis Eradication Division was established in the Bureau of Animal Industry on May 1, 1917. Then on December 23, 1917, the accredited herd plan was launched, soon to be supplemented with the accredited area plan.

In the words of the late Dr. J. A. Kiernan, first administrator, it was "the most gigantic work ever assumed by the veterinary profession." With tuberculosis rare, except locally in cattle of the Southern and Western States, Dr. Kiernan predicted that, by 1930, two-thirds of the area of the United States would be free of the disease.

However, he cautioned that success would depend not only on the veterinarians, the legislators, and the sanitary officials, but largely on the attitude of the livestock owners.

Economic factors were favorable for the launching of such a program. The sharp drop from war-inflated levels, in the price of cattle and other farm produce, about 1920, facilitated the selling to the owners, of a plan which paid an indemnity for a damaged, surplus product. Furthermore, this economic trend made it both possible and desirable for the veterinary practitioners to cooperate.

PEAK IN 1935

Testing reached its peak, with 25 million cattle tested, in 1935, and then fell rapidly to 11 million in 1939. It has remained near that level since, with 9,675,245 tested in 1953.

Meanwhile, the national incidence of bovine tuberculosis has dropped gradually from 4.9 percent in 1918 to 1.5 percent in 1935 and 0.11 percent in 1953. However, the records of many isolated, heavily infected areas is more dramatic.

In the District of Columbia, used as a trial test area, tuberculin reactors were reduced from 18.87 percent in 1910 to 0.84 percent in 1917; and Virginia, with 18.27 percent reactors in 1910 and 6.39 percent in 1917, was down to 0.3 percent in 1953.

The prediction of great areas soon being free of the disease has, for some reason, not yet been realized. Instead, in 1953, the reactors were surprisingly uniformly distributed. In only 1 State, Nevada, were no reactors found, yet only 5 States had more than 0.2 percent reactors, with Louisiana's 0.49 percent being high.

QUESTION RAISED

This upniformly low incidence raises a question about the irreducible minimum. Could it be that the slower, more patchwork type of testing is less thorough than when larger areas are more simultaneously tested? Or is it because cattle are being reinfected by man or other animals?

Or is it possible that many of these reactions are of the nonspecific type and that bovine tuberculosis actually is more nearly eliminated than indicated?

The human species also has profited much from the reduction of tuberculosis in cattle. The death rate in man from the bovine type of infection which, in 1900, was 19.9 per 100,000 population dropped to 1.7 in 1950, a 91.5 percent reduction. During the same period

deaths from the human type of tuberculosis dropped 86 percent.

TOUGHER GOING

Truly, the reduction both in the bovine type of human infection and in bovine tuberculosis is a remarkable achievement, but apparently, as in climbing a mountain peak, the nearer the goal the harder the going. No one doubts that the job ultimately will be done, but complacency and apathy will increase the difficulty and may indefinitely postpone total eradication.

We urge the House Agricultural Appropriations Committee and every Congressman to take a second look at the scoresheet on bovine tuberculosis eradication before eliminating Federal indemnities for reactors for economy reasons. To withdraw support now, is, in our judgment, a shortsighted and dangerous move. The record does not justify such action.

The Air Force Academy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL W. YORTY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 29, 1954

Mr. YORTY. Mr. Speaker, the passage of Public Law 325, 83d Congress, providing for the establishment of an Air Force Academy, is one of the most important steps taken by this Nation in recent years. It is to be hoped that this act marks the turning point in our long-term military preparedness program. At the present time the five-member Site Selection Commission, appointed to make recommendations regarding the location of the Air Force Academy, is in the process of examining sites proposed for the Academy.

Selection of a permanent site for the Air Force Academy is naturally of great interest to us all. It is a very important step, and I am sure that any community in the United States would feel honored to have a site in its area selected for this purpose. I am most happy to propose that the State of California be given this honor.

Recently I obtained from the Department of Defense a list of the major factors to be considered by the Site Selection Commission in determining the location to be recommended for the Academy. This list of factors has served to strengthen my belief that possibly no other area in the country is more suitable for the purposes of this Academy than is California. There are the factors:

1. Acreage: The Academy will require facilities for a 4-year academic and flying training program. In addition to classrooms, library, laboratories, dormitories, etc., provision must be made for a modern flying field, rifle and machinegun ranges, maneuver areas, athletic fields, and for possible future expansion. It is estimated that 15,000 acres will be required.

2. Topography: The Air Academy will become a national monument as are West Point and Annapolis. In selecting the permanent location, consideration will be given to the natural beauty of the site and of the surrounding country as well as to the availability of level ground suitable for a modern flying field.

3. Community aspects: Consideration will be given to the character and variety of educational institutions, religious, cultural, and recreational facilities, readily accessible to the site. Consideration will be given also to accommodations for parents and friends of cadets visiting the Academy.

4. Climate: A four-seasonal climate without extremes of heat or cold is desirable. Other climatic consideration are: Precipitation; depth and duration of snow cover; temperature; humidity; fog, wind, and dust conditions.

5. Water supply: An adequate and dependable water supply is essential. It is estimated that 3 million gallons per day will be required.

6. Utilities: Electric power and natural gas or other fuel will be required. Consideration will be given to the location of existing power and pipelines with respect to the site.

7. Transportation: Cadets and visitors will come from all parts of the country. Consideration will be given to the convenience of the site with respect to railway, airline, and highway systems.

8. Cost: Factors to be considered are the cost of the land and necessary easements, preparation of the site, removal or relocation of existing installations, access roads, railroad spurs, the construction index for the particular location, etc.

9. Flying training: Flying training, both airplane observer and airplane pilot, will be included in the courses of instruction. Under this factor consideration will be given to the extent to which other air traffic might interfere with this training.

It is readily apparent that no place in the world combines these particular factors as well as does California. Our great State fulfills every single requirement. California has long been famous for its climate and topography. Our metropolitan areas are surrounded by suitable acreage and can supply the necessary extensions of transportation facilities and utilities at a minimum cost. Most of all, our educational, religious, cultural, and recreational facilities provide the best possible atmosphere for the building of character.

Two particular factors make it especially appropriate that the Air Academy should be located in California. We are education-conscious and air-minded. Nearly 200,000 students are enrolled in our institutions of higher learning—the second highest total for a single State—and within our State is manufactured approximately 40 percent of all United States aircraft products. These are factors indicative of the youth and vigor of our State. They demonstrate a progressive, pioneer spirit suited to the air age.

The pioneer spirit of California is the spirit that should guide United States air policy, the importance of which can hardly be overstated. Western Europe is free today largely because the United States possessed the atomic bomb and the means of delivering it at the close of World War II. The Red army of the Soviet Union thus far has been denied the prize of Western Europe by our ability to strike the Soviet homeland with long-range strategic bombers. This fact should be recognized at every step we take to build up and maintain a program of military security.

During the past year I have taken every opportunity to oppose the defense officials' efforts to cut back our military airpower, and recently it has become evident that those same officials have finally seen the error of their past judgment. Last spring they ignored the heroic but vain plea of Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, who devoted his energies to the struggle for adequate airpower almost to his death. Last spring they overruled this distinguished airman and cut back the Air Force budget by $5 billion. This year, after examining our defense requirements, these same officials have revised upward their estimates of our military airpower needs. They have come to understand what General Vandenberg and the rest of us who have been advocating increased airpower have known all along—that adequate airpower is indispensable to our national security.

The time and money lost and the disruption suffered by our aircraft industry are tragic reminders of last year's blunder; but the important thing is that we look to the future and by concerted action attempt to make up for those mistakes. While the so-called New Look emphasis on airpower is not at all new, I am encouraged that the Pentagon officials have finally taken a look at this Nation's airpower requirements. I am encouraged that they now see the importance which airpower plays in the world today. I am hopeful that this Nation will never again permit a reckless and ill-considered cutback of its greatest source of strength against Communist aggression.

The establishment of the Air Force Academy is a most significant step in building up and maintaining an Air Force second to none. I hope that California—which is the logical home for the Academy—will be chosen to furnish the location for this worthy institution. I am confident that the Site Selection Commission will find no other State whose resources and characteristics provide so adequately for all of the foreseeable needs of the Academy.

Flood Control and Soil Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD S. MILLER
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. MILLER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, other problems may come and go, but in eastern Kansas, where it nearly always either rains too little or too much, the question of the best way to utilize the rainfall remains always with us.

Since soil-conservation measures in the form of terraces, prepared waterways, and detention dams with drop inlets conserve both moisture and soil, and at the same time reduce danger of flood damage, the great majority of people writing me on this subject favor such measures over those proposed in the way of large dams on river channels. Many are convinced from their own experience and operations that such measures, along with dikes and flow ways in the city areas, would make big dams unneces-

sary. They are positive that we cannot know what measures, if any, will be necessary on the main channel until these necessary measures are taken.

Following are very interesting letters from constituents on this subject:

ABILINGTON, KANS., *April 23, 1954.*
Representative HOWARD S. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MILLER: As a farmer in the Delaware River Valley, I note with much concern that House Document 642 provides for the authorization of the Perry Reservoir. This project would take thousands of acres of our very best and most productive farmland, and make of it a lake which would be practically worthless to the farmers affected. And bear in mind that it is not the farmers of this valley who want the Perry Reservoir. It is the people who have built their homes and industries in the lowlands of the valleys below here who are begging for relief from the folly of their efforts. History tells us that the Indians advised the white people not to build in the lowlands—yet they gave no heed to the warning. To me, the fact that millions of dollars' worth of factories and industries have been built in valleys that are subject to flood is no reason why our farmlands should be sacrificed to their shortsightedness. Those industries knew that the land they were building on was subject to flood. They were apparently willing to take the risks involved. Now they are crying to sacrifice our investments to protect their own. Take a look along the full length of the Delaware River Valley and you will find very few farm buildings placed within the flood zone. The farmers went to the expense and inconvenience of locating their buildings on higher ground, but what of the industrialist, and the city homeowner? They have built in the lowlands because it was easier and less costly to build there—disregarding the commonsense laws of safety which farmers throughout this valley have practiced for a lifetime. Do you think it is justice to charge their folly, both past and proposed, to the account of the farmers?

The proposal of a reservoir does nothing toward the prevention of the runoff which causes the floodwaters. It does nothing toward the prevention of erosion, a major cause of that runoff. The siltation of all the great reservoirs which have been built is a matter of common knowledge. Why not start at the top of the hill—the bottom of the problem—and put in terraces and small retention dams and ponds on land of lesser value. Keep that soil on its original location, where it is needed, and keep the rainfall there as much as possible. Then if that doesn't prove adequate there is sufficient time to adopt additional measures. The assertion by the Army engineers that there is only one solution to this flood problem, and that they have it, seems to me a bit naive. They are human, and fallible. The big difference between them and us farmers is that we have to foot our own bills, as well as theirs, and are, therefore, less carefree about the vast sums of money we are willing to spend on questionable projects.

I have lived on the Delaware River for over 50 years, and have spent considerable money in attempts to control the river, water runoff, and erosion. I have had my land terraced for over 20 years. I have carefully watched the results of pond construction, and the resulting erosion prevention from the use of ponds and terraces, and I am convinced from the practical standpoint that this is the method to control floods. I believe that the observations of a great many years gained through practical application, should be of more value than the slide-rule calculations of an engineer, who probably has never owned a piece of land or had cause to worry over the flood damage to something of his own.

I have much respect for our engineers, but they should keep their efforts within the bounds of reason. I hope that you agree with my attitude, and that you will use your most diligent efforts to prevent the authorization of the Perry Reservoir, and others which have been proposed for the Delaware Valley.

Very truly yours,

RALF E. HOCKENS.

MANHATTAN, KANS., *April 22, 1954.*
Congressman HOWARD S. MILLER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D C.

DEAR MR. MILLER: I am heartily opposed to the House Document 642 because it is following the planning of some people who would lump a great many things into one big Government obligation, not caring whether little people are benefited. It is not fair to the planning which has authorized over 50 watershed projects. I am afraid that the industrialists are cleverly trying to get big dams in for industrial uses, using drought and floods as their cry. How can people say that nothing has been done for flood control? All up and down the Blue River the people have been making ponds and small dams, have terraced their acres to stop the water where it falls. The poor river which got blamed for the fury of the Kaw (because Army engineers wanted it so) will not pour down a lot of water onto Kansas City.

Sincerely,

RUBY JOHNSON.

RANDOLPH, KANS., *April 21, 1954.*
Representative HOWARD S. MILLER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I want you to vote against House Document 642. I know you will but I wanted you to know how I feel about this matter. We need to stop the water where it falls so that we can raise food to feed our ever-increasing population.

Thank you for what you have been doing for the upstream flood-control and watershed program.

Sincerely,

ROBERT STITT.

VALLEY FALLS, KANS., *April 23, 1954.*
Hon. HOWARD S. MILLER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I would like for you to vote no on House Document 642. I cannot see why we should cover up the most fertile land of our country with water and mud and take it out of production, which seems like a lot of nonsense to me.

Respectfully,

HARRY E. POST.

Only Free People Can Punish Abuse of Free Discussion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES R. HOWELL
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, April 26, 1954

Mr. HOWELL. Mr. Speaker, because of its timeliness, I include in the RECORD the following editorial from the newspaper Daily Home News, New Brunswick, N. J., April 17, 1954:

ONLY FREE PEOPLE CAN PUNISH ABUSE OF FREE DISCUSSION

The defenders of democracy naturally focus on free discussion as a prime element in our system. To be able to say what you think and feel is one of the highest privileges of liberty. It is also an absolute necessity.

Obviously, in a system where the ultimate power resides in the people, a premium is put on their having the information needed to make wise decisions. Free debate on the merits of issues and policies is vital to the process of informing the public.

You cannot hedge this freedom about with any major restriction and still have it. There is no way—in law—to guarantee that you shall have no bad discussion, but only good discussion.

To preserve the opportunity for honest and sincere discussion, the barriers must be kept low.

We must accord men the privilege of being wrong, accidentally or deliberately. We must allow a flood of propaganda of epithets and exaggerations.

We draw the line only at libel and slander, and language deliberately calculated to incite men to riot.

Our history shows we have always had a good mixing in of bad discussion with the good. It is to be expected.

The only real restraint we can exercise is the moral force of a public opinion that may finally discredit men who falsify issues or malign (without libeling) individuals.

Lately, however, in our democracy and others, the danger has grown that bad discussion may become dominant. "Free discussion" is interpreted by too many men as the competition of propaganda.

As we have seen, we cannot legislate bad discussion away. We can rely only on the power of the people, the people who must decide the great issues.

They can enforce a better balance between good and bad discussion when they are sufficiently stirred to communicate their views to their representatives, and to cast into the discard those public men who practice the rivalry of lies.

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